

Chinese Linguistics

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE III

**FROM MIDDLE CHINESE TO MODERN
CHINESE PHONETIC SYSTEM**

Xi Xiang



A Brief History of the Chinese Language III

As the third volume of a multivolume set on Chinese phonetics, this book examines the phonetical system of Modern Chinese and phonetical changes from Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese.

Chinese language history is generally split into three phases: (1) Old Chinese, the form of the Chinese language spoken between the 18th century BCE and the 3rd century CE, (2) Middle Chinese, between the 4th century CE to around the 12th century CE, and (3) Modern Chinese, since the 13th century. This volume studies the phonetical systems of Modern Chinese, including the initials system, vowel final system, nasal final system, entering final system, and tonal system. The author discusses the distinct change of these systems from the period of Middle Chinese to that of Modern Chinese and studies the formation of the standard pronunciation of the common language of the modern Han nation.

This comprehensive groundwork on Chinese phonetical history will be a must read for scholars and students studying Chinese language, linguistics, and especially for beginning learners of Modern Chinese phonetics.

Xi Xiang is Professor at Sichuan University (China) and a distinguished linguist. His research interests are focused on Chinese language history and Chinese linguistics. His major works include *A Brief History of Chinese*, the *Dictionary of Poetry Classics*, *Commentary on the Translation of Poetry Classics*, the *Dictionary of Ancient Chinese Knowledge*, and the *Concise Ancient Chinese Dictionary*, among others.

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1 Phonetic system of the Modern Chinese language

1.1 Introduction

The phonetic system of Modern Chinese refers to the common language phonetic system of the Han nationality during the 14th century in China, which is the inheritance and development of “yǎyán”¹ since the pre-Qin period. Based on the phonetics of the Central Plains (Henan area), such a system could be used in the whole northern part and many regions of the country. Since there are no clear official documents or standards recognized by the whole society established at that time, there were no such things as “the only correct” standard pronunciations.

Studies of the phonetic system of modern Chinese language are mainly based on *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* (《中原音韻 zhōng yuán yīn yùn》) by Zhou Deqing 周德清 of the Yuan dynasty, and the rhyming in *yuánqū* (元曲, popular verse in the Yuan dynasty). Some materials for the phonetic comparison between Chinese and Mongolian are valuable references, such as Phags-pa written language (八思巴字 bā sī bā zì)² and *Mongolian Rhymes* (《蒙古字韻 méng gǔ zì yùn》).³ The following sections will respectively introduce the initials system, final, system and tone system in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

1.2 Initials system in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*

There are 5,876 characters in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* (5,877 characters according to another counting) with 19 final groups, each of which is divided into four tones, namely, yīnpíng (陰平, high and level tone), yángpíng (陽平, rising tone), shǎngshēng (上聲, falling-rising tone), and qùshēng (去聲, falling tone). Characters of the same tone are divided into several homophone groups where each of them starts with a common character and is separated with the next group by a circle, without the usage of fǎnqiè. In the *Rules for Correcting Expressions and Composing Words* (《正語作詞起例 Zhèng Yǔ Zuò Cí Qǐ Lì》), Zhou Deqing said, “[I]n *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, each space represents a new pronunciation beginning with an easily recognized character as the reference for the pronunciations of the rest of the

2 Phonetic system of the Modern Chinese language

characters without the usage of fǎnqiè”.⁴ The initials and finals of the characters in each homophone group are identical, so the initial categories in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* can be figured out by analyzing and summing up all the homophone groups, and the sound value of each initial in it can also be worked out by referring to materials for the comparison between different languages as well as modern dialects in the north of China. If a homophone group contains more than two letters of the 36 middle ancient letters, it means that those letters have been merged into one initial in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Take the falling tone of the final group of 齊(qí<ts’i) 微(wēi<ui) as an example. There are 35 homophone groups in it, among which 25 contain more than two of the 36 letters. See the following examples.⁵

- 胃(wèi<ui)蝟wèi渭wèi謂wèi駟wèi [喻(yù<iu)-III]尉wèi慰wèi [影(yǐng<iəŋ)-III] 緯(wēi<ui) (喻yù-III)穢(huì<ui)(影yǐng -III) 衛(wèi<ui) (喻yù-III)魏wèi [疑(yí<i)-III]畏wèi餒wèi (影yǐng -III)位wèi (喻yù-III)飭(yù<ui) (影yǐng -III) – [ø]
- 異(yì<i)(喻yù-III)裔yì(喻yù-III)義yì議yì誼yì毅yì(疑yí-III)藝yì(疑yí-IV) 易yì(喻yù-III)翳yì瘞yì(影-IV)勣yì柲yì曳(yè<i)(喻yù-IV)譬(yì<i)(影yǐng-III) 詣yì(疑yí-IV)饒yì(影yǐng-III)刈yì乂yì(疑yí-III)意yì(影yǐng-III)劓yì(疑yí-III)懿yì(影yǐng-III) – [ø]
- 貴(gui<kui)[見(jiàn<kien)-III]櫃gui[群(qún<k’iuən)-III]餽(kui<kui) (群qún -III)愧kuì (見jiàn -III)恠(jì<ki)(群qún -IV)桂(gui<kui)(見jiàn -IV)檜gui 膾(kuài<kui)(見jiàn -I)跪(gui<kui)(群qún -III)猶(kuài<kui)繪(huì<kui) (見jiàn -I) – [k]
- 計(jì<ki)(見jiàn-IV)記jì寄jì(見jiàn-III)繫xì繼jì(見jiàn-IV)妓jì伎(zhì<ki) 技(jì<ki)(群qún-III)髻jì(見jiàn-IV)偈jì(群qún-III)忌jì(群qún-III)季jì(見jiàn-III)縊(yì<ki)(影yǐng-IV)騎(jì<ki)(群qún-III)既jì(見jiàn-III)驥jì冀jì(見jiàn-III)薊jì (見jiàn-IV)鰓(gui<ki)[pronounced as桂gui, 見jiàn-IV] – [k]
- 會(huì<xui)[匣(xiá<xia)-I]悔(huǐ<xui)誨(huì<xui)[曉(xiǎo<xiau)-I]諱huì(曉xiǎo -III)惠huì蕙huì慧huì[匣xiá-III]潰kuì闡huì[匣xiá-I] – [x]
- 戲(xì<xi)(曉xiǎo -III)系xì係xì[匣xiá-IV] – [x]
- 帝(dì<ti)諦dì締dì[端(duān<tuən)-IV]弟dì娣dì第dì睇dì地dì遞dì[定dìng (dìng <tiəŋ)-IV]蒂dì[端-IV]棣dì(定dìng -IV) – [d]
- 對(duì<tui)(端-IV)隊(定-I)碓(端-I)兌(定-I) – [t]
- 霽(jì<tsi)濟[精(jīng<tsiəŋ)-IV]祭際[精-III]劑[從(cóng<ts’iuŋ)-IV] – [ts]
- 罪(zuì<tsui)(從-II)醉[精-IV]最[精-I] – [ts]
- 歲(suì<sui)[心(xīn<siəm)-IV]碎粹(cuì<sui)(心-I)崇(suì<sui)邃(心-IV)燧穗燧隧彗(huì<sui) [邪(xié<siɛ)-IV] – [s]
- 制(zhì<tʂi)製[照(zhào<tʂiau)-III]置[知(zhī<tʂi)-III]滯雜稚[澄(chéng<ts’iəŋ)-III]致[知-III]焜治(澄-III)智[知-III]幟[照-III]熾(chì<tʂi)[穿(chuān<tʂ’iuən)-III]質(zhì<tʂi)(知-III) – [tʂ]
- 墜(zhuì<tʂui)(澄-III)贅[照-III]綴[知-III]緹對(duì<tʂui)(澄-III) – [tʂ]
- 世(shì<ʂi)勢[審(shěn<ʂiəm)-III]逝誓[禪(shàn<ʂien)-III] – [ʂ]
- 睡(shuì<ʂui)(禪-III)稅說[審-III]瑞(ruì<ʂui)(禪-III) – [ʂ]

- 背(bèi<pui)貝狽[幫(bāng<puaŋ)-I]焙[並(bìng<piaŋ)-I]倍(幫-I)婢(bì<pui)
(並-IV)備(bèi<pui)(並-II)避(bì<pui)(並-IV)輩(bèi<pui)(幫-I)被(並-
III)臂(bì<pui)(幫-IV)幣(並-IV)譬(pì<pui)[滂(pāng<p'uaŋ)-IV]髮(bì<pui)
(並-III)跛(pèi<pui)(幫-III) – [p]
- 閉(bì<pi)蔽畀(幫-IV)餽斃(並-IV)嬖庇比(bǐ<pi)秘(bì<pi)(幫-IV)陛(並-
IV)賁(幫-III) – [p]

From the preceding examples, it can be seen that in the falling tone, characters of 影(yǐng)喻(yù)疑(yí) are mixed in their usage, and so is the same as the characters of 見群jiàn qún, 端定duān dìng, 曉匣xiǎo xiá, 精從jīng cóng, 心邪xīn xié, 知照zhī zhào chéng, 審禪shěn chán, and 幫並bāng bìng. By using this method and referring to other materials, phonologists managed to sort out the initial system in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. The work began in the 1930s with various conclusions being established. Luo Changpei 羅常培 assumes there are 20 initial groups in it;⁶ Zhao Yintang 趙蔭棠 and Ji Fu 忌浮 25;⁷ Lu Zhiwei 陸志韋 24;⁸ Wang Li 王力, in his early years, 20 and 24 after the 1950s;⁹ and Yang Naisi 楊耐思 21.¹⁰ The focus of their disagreements lies in whether the initials of 知莊照(zhī zhuāng zhào) groups could be divided into two different sets or combined into one in Middle Chinese. We argue that there are 25 initial groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, which are shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 25 initial groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*

Initial Group	Initials of Middle Chinese in It and Its Example Characters
幫[p] (bāng)	(幫)崩(bēng)邦(bāng)榜(bǎng)比(bǐ)庇(bì)杯(bēi)悲(bēi)彼(bǐ)補(bǔ)賓(bīn)本(běn)班(bān) (oblique tone of 並)傍(bàng)蚌(bàng)棒(bàng)斃(bì)陛(bì)倍(bèi)婢(bì)捕(bǔ)步(bù)稗(bài)贖(bìn)辦(bàn)
滂[p'] (pāng)	(滂)烹(pēng)滂(pāng)胖(pàng)匹(pǐ)披(pī)配(pèi)普(pǔ)品(pǐn)噴(pēn)盤(pán)頗(pō)怕(pà) (level tone of 並)棚(péng)朋(péng)疲(pí)皮(pí)裴(péi)培(péi)蒲(pú)貧(pín)盆(pén)判(pàn)婆(pó)爬(pá)
明[m] (míng<miəŋ)	(明)迷(mí)米(mǐ)梅(méi)美(měi)媚(mèi)模(mú)母(mǔ)埋(mái)買(mǎi)門(mén)蠻(mán)民(mín)
非[f] (fēi<fu)	(非)風(fēng)封(fēng)諷(fēng)方(fāng)坊(fāng)放(fàng)非(fēi)飛(fēi)沸(fèi)廢(fèi)夫(fū)斧(fǔ) (敷, fū<fú)豐(fēng)鋒(fēng)峰(fēng)芳(fāng)妨(fāng)訪(fǎng)霏(fēi)菲(fēi)妃(fēi)費(fèi)敷(fū)拂(fú) (奉, fèng<fùn)馮(féng)逢(féng)鳳(fèng)奉(fèng)縫(féng)房(fāng)防(fāng)肥(fèi)吠(fèi)浮(fú)佛(fú)婦(fù)
微[v] (wēi)	(微)忘(wàng)網(wǎng)妄(wàng)微(wēi)尾(wěi)未(wèi)無(wú)武(wǔ)務(wù)文(wén)吻(wěn)問(wèn)
端[t] (duān)	(端)東(dōng)冬(dōng)當(dāng)黨(dǎng)擋(dǎng)低(dī)堆(duī)對(duì)都(dū)堵(dǔ)戴(dài)刀(dāo) (oblique tone of 定)洞(dòng)動(dòng)盪(dàng)宕(dàng)弟(dì)地(dì)隊(duì)兇(duì)杜(dù)度(dù)大(dà)道(dào)

(Continued)

4 *Phonetic system of the Modern Chinese language*

Table 1.1 (Continued)

<i>Initial Group</i>	<i>Initials of Middle Chinese in It and Its Example Characters</i>
透[tʰ] (tòu<t'au)	(透)通(tōng)桶(tǒng)痛(tòng)湯(tāng)梯(tī)體(tǐ)退(tuì)土(tǔ)兔(tù) 他(tā)太(tài)滔(tāo) (level tone of 定)同(tóng)桐(tóng)堂(táng)唐(táng)啼(tí)題(tí)頹(tuí) 圖(tú)徒(tú)抬(tái)團(tuán)桃(táo)
泥[n] (ní<ní)	(泥)農(nóng)膿(nóng)囊(náng)娘(niáng)釀(niàng)尼(ní)你(nǐ)努(nǔ) 怒(nù)惱(nǎo)撓(náo)鬧(nào) (a few of 疑)讖(yàn)噉(niè)臬(niè)藪(niè)
來[l] (lái<lai)	(來)龍(lóng)隆(lóng)郎(láng)良(liáng)離(lí)利(lì)雷(léi)淚(lèi)盧(lú) 路(lù)連(lián)戀(liàn)
照[tʃ](zhào)	(知)中(zhōng)忠(zhōng)張(zhāng)帳(zhàng)知(zhī)智(zhì)追(zhuī)豬(zhū) 珍(zhēn)遭(zhāo)轉(zhuǎn)單(zhān) (oblique tone of 澄)仲(zhòng)澄(chéng)杖(zhàng)丈(zhàng)直(zhí)擲(zhì) 置(zhì)住(zhù)柱(zhù)宅(zhái)豸(zhì)陣(zhèn) (照-II)莊(zhuāng)裝(zhuāng)壯(zhuàng)阻(zǔ)俎(zǔ)齋(zhāi)責(zé) 側(zè)仄(zè)債(zhài)榛(zhēn)蓋(zhǎn) (照-III)鐘(zhōng)終(zhōng)鐘(zhōng)種(zhǒng)章(zhāng)掌(zhǎng)之(zhī)支(zhī) 脂(zhī)朱(zhū)諸(zhū)真(zhēn)振(zhèn) (oblique tone of 床-II, chuáng<tʃ'au)狀(zhuàng)寨(zhài)毗(zì)棧(zhàn) 讓(zhuàn)饜(zhuàn)閩(zhā)乍(zhà)禡(zhà)佻(zhòu)驟(zhòu)
穿[tʃʰ] (chuān)	(徹, chè<tʃ'ie)忡(chōng)暢(chàng)悵(chàng)螳(chī)恥(chǐ)楮(chù)褚(chù) 畜(chù)趁(chèn)超(chāo)騁(chěng)逞(chěng) (level tone of 澄)沖(chōng)重(chóng)長(cháng)場(chǎng)池(chí)持(chí) 除(chú)陳(chén)塵(chén)纏(chán)朝(cháo)荼(chá) (穿-II)聰(chuāng)瘡(chuāng)創(chuàng)笞(chī)癡(chī)初(chū)楚(chū) 差(chā)測(cè)鏟(chǎn)抄(chāo) (穿-III)充(chōng)昌(chāng)敞(chǎng)唱(chàng)蚩(chī)吹(chuī)杵(chǔ) 處(chǔ)春(chūn)蠢(chǔn)闌(chǎn)川(chuān) (level tone of 床-II)崇(chóng)床(chuáng)雛(chú)鋤(chú)柴(chái)豺(chái) 儻(chái)滌(chán)巢(cháo)槎(chá)愁(chóu)岑(cén) (level tone of 床-III)唇(chún)船(chuán)乘(chéng)媵(chéng) (level tone of 禪)裳(cháng)常(cháng)嘗(cháng)垂(chuí)蝮(chú)辰(chén) 晨(chén)臣(chén)純(chún)醇(chún)蟬(chán)韶(sháo) (審-II)產(chǎn)槩(shuò) (審-III)舂(chōng)椿(chūn)娠(shēn)
審[ʃ] (pān)	(審-II)雙(shuāng)霜(shuāng)爽(shuǎng)蔬(shū)所(suǒ)數(shù) 色(sè)曬(shài)莘(shēn)山(shān)沙(shā) (審-III)商(shāng)賞(shǎng)餉(xiǎng)失(shī)世(shì)水(shuǐ)稅(shuì)書(shū) 鼠(shǔ)恕(shù)晒(shěn)奢(shē) (禪)上(shàng)尚(shàng)拾(shí)十(shí)逝(shì)誰(shuí)瑞(ruì)睡(shuì) 屬(shǔ)署(shǔ)慎(shèn)社(shè) (床-III)實(shí)食(shí)蝕(shí)贖(shù)述(shù)術(shù)神(shén)楯(shǔn) 順(shùn)蛇(shé)舌(shé)射(shè)
日[ʒ] rì<tʃi	(日)戎(róng)冗(rǒng)壤(rǎng)讓(ràng)如(rú)汝(rǔ)入(rù)人(rén)忍(rěn) 然(rán)弱(ruò)熱(rè)
支[tʃ] (zhī<tʃi)	(照-III)支(zhī)枝(zhī)肢(zhī)卮(zhī)之(zhī)芝(zhī)脂(zhī)紙(zhǐ)旨(zhǐ) 止(zhǐ)志(zhì)至(zhì) (知)胝(zhī)徵(zhī) (徹)祉(zhǐ<tʃiə)

Initial Group	Initials of Middle Chinese in It and Its Example Characters
哆[tʂʰ] (chī<tʂʰ`iɛ)	(穿-III)哆(chǐ)嗤(chī)齒(chǐ)
詩[ʂ] (shī<ʂi)	(審-III)施(shī)詩(shī)尸(shī)屍(shī)鳴(shī)著(shī)矢(shī)始(shī)屎(shī) 試(shì)弑(shì) (審-II)師(shī)獅(shī)史(shī)使(shī)駛(shī)瑟(sè)澀(sè)弛(chí)豕(shī) (禪)時(shí)埶(shí)匙(shì)是(shì)氏(shì)市(shì)侍(shì)恃(shì)蒔(shì)嗜 (shì)豉(chǐ)視(shì) (床-II)柿(shì)士(shì)仕(shì)事(shì) (床-III)示(shì)諡(shì)
兒[z] (ér<ɿ)	(日)兒(ér)而(ěr)爾(ěr)邇(ěr)耳(ěr)餌(ěr)珥(ěr)駢(ěr)二(èr)貳(èr)
精[ts] (jīng)	(精)擠(jī)濟(jì)祭(jì)最(zuì)醉(zuì)租(zū)祖(zǔ)卒(zú)沮(jǔ)戕(zāi)煎 (jiǎn)左(zuǒ) (oblique tone of 從)疾(jí)集(jí)寂(jì)劑(jì)罪(zuì)族(zú)祚(zuò)胙 (zuò)聚(jù)在(zài)賤(jiàn)坐(zuò)
清[tsʰ] (qīng<tʂʰ`iən)	(清)妻(qī)七(qī)戚(qī)崔(cuī)翠(cuì)粗(cū)簇(cù)錯(cuò)取(qǔ)猜 (cāi)千(qiān)磋(cuō) (level tone of 從)齊(qí)臍(qí)摧(cuī)殂(cú)徂(cú)才(cái)材(cái)秦 (qín)存(cún)蹲(dūn)前(qián)攄(cuó)
心[s] (xīn)	(心)西(xī)洗(xǐ)細(xì)雖(suī)歲(suì)蘇(sū)素(sù)須(xū)宿(sù)新(xīn) 先(xiān)些(xiē) (邪)夕(xī)席(xí)習(xí)襲(xí)隨(suī)遂(suì)徐(xú)俗(sú)續(xù)燼(jìn) 羨(xiàn)邪(xié)
見[k] (jiàn)	(見)工(gōng)公(gōng)剛(gāng)光(guāng)幾(jǐ)記(jì)歸(guī)姑(gū)古 (gǔ)君(jūn)堅(jiān)嬌(jiāo) (oblique tone of 群)共(gòng)及(jí)極(jí)技(jì)忌(jì)劇(jù)悸(jì)具(jù) 巨(jù)郡(jùn)件(jiàn)轎(jiào)
溪[kʰ] (xī<k`i)	(溪)空(kōng)孔(kǒng)康(kāng)匡(kuāng)欺(qī)起(qǐ)虧(kuī)枯(kū)苦 (kǔ)坤(kūn)牽(qiān)窺(kuī) (level tone of 群)強(qiáng)狂(kuáng)奇(qí)其(qí)祈(qí)畿(jī)葵(kuí)渠 (qú)瞿(qú)群(qún)乾(qián)喬(qiáo)
曉[x] (xiǎo)	(曉)轟(hōng)哄(hǒng)荒(huāng)謊(huǎng)希(xī)喜(xǐ)灰(huī)呼(hū) 虎(hǔ)軒(xuān)獻(xiàn)噐(xiāo) (匣)紅(hóng)橫(héng)黃(huáng)皇(huáng)畦(qí)系(xì)回(huí)胡(hú) 戶(hù)賢(xián)現(xiàn)學(xué)
疑[ŋ] (yí)	(some of 疑)昂(áng)印(yǎng)仰(yǎng)我(wǒ)餓(è)虐(nüè)
影[ø] (yǐng)	(影)翁(wēng)勇(yǒng)央(yāng)汪(wāng)衣(yī)倚(yǐ)一(yī)威(wēi)畏 (wèi)鳴(wū)於(yú)哀(āi) (喻)容(róng)永(yǒng)揚(yáng)王(wáng)移(yí)矣(yǐ)易(yì)圍(wéi)胃 (wèi)與(yǔ)育(yù)引(yǐn) (疑)寔(ní)疑(yí)儀(yí)議(yì)危(wēi)桅(wéi)魏(wèi)吾(wú)五(wǔ)悟 (wù)魚(yú)遇(yù)

In Middle Chinese, the initial groups of 知 (zhī) and 照 (zhào) were combined into one in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, and 並 (bǐng) was in the process of turning from frontals of [tʃ], [tʃʰ], and [ʃ] into retroflex sounds of [tʂ], [tʂʰ] and [ʂ]. Some initials are kept as [tʃ] (照 zhào), [tʃʰ]

(穿 chuān), and [ʃ] (審 shěn), and some were transformed into [tʂ] (支 zhī), [tʂʰ] (侈 chǐ), and [ʂ] (詩 shī). In the language of Middle Chinese, some characters of the 日 (rì) group were pronounced as [ʒ] (日 rì) and some changed into [z] (兒 ér). Together with the changes of the initials groups, there were the changes of final groups with [i] into [ɿ] and [ʅ], that is the final group of 支思 (sī < sǐ). The initials of [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ], and [ʒ] and those of [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ], and [z] complemented each other in that the final group of 支思 (zhī sī) contained only [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ], and [z], and [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ], and [ʒ] only appear in the rest of the final groups.¹¹ Based on this, some scholars combine them into one group, and hence, there are only 21 initial groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. In addition, most characters in the 疑 (yí) group turned into zero-initial ones with only a small number still being pronounced as [ŋ].

The 25 initial structure of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* did not last long. All [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ], and [ʒ] were transformed into [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ], and [z] and [ŋ] into zero initial about 100 years later. As a result, there were only 20 initial groups left during the 15th century. In the *Easy Comprehension of the Outline of Rhymes* (《韻略易通 Yùn Lüè Yì Tōng》) (1442 CE) by Lan Mao 蘭茂, style name of Tingxiu 廷秀 of the Ming dynasty, there is an alphabet song titled *A Poem Enchanting Early Wintersweet* (《早梅詩 Zǎo Méi Shī》), which reads as follows:

東 dōng[t]	風 fēng[f]	破 pò[pʰ]	早 zǎo[ts]	梅 méi[m]
向 xiàng[x]	暖 nuǎn[n]	一 yī[ø]	枝 zhī[tʂ]	開 kāi[kʰ]
冰 bīng[p]	雪 xuě[s]	無 wú[v]	人 rén[z]	見 jiàn[k]
春 chūn[tʂʰ]	從 cóng[tsʰ]	天 tiān[tʰ]	上 shàng[ʂ]	來 lái[lái]

Ranked by their parts of pronunciation, the twenty initials are [p], [pʰ], [m], [f], [v], [t], [tʰ], [n], [l], [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ], [z], [ts], [tsʰ], [s], [k], [kʰ], [x], and [ø]. In this way, the initial systems of the northern Chinese language during the 15th century are quite similar to the modern Mandarin language.

1.3 Final system in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 19 final groups, namely, 東(dōng < tuŋ) 鐘(zhōng < tʂiŋ), 江(jiāng < kjaŋ) 陽(yáng < iaŋ), 支 zhī 思 sī, 齊 qí 微 wēi, 魚(yú < iu) 模(mú < mu), 皆(jiē < kiai) 來 lái, 真(zhēn < tʂiən) 文(wén < vuən), 寒(hán < xan) 山(shān < ʂan), 桓(huán < xuən) 歡(huān < xuən), 先(xiān < sien) 天(tiān < tʰien), 蕭(xiāo < siau) 豪(háo < xau), 歌(gē < ko) 戈(gē < kuo), 家(jiā < kia) 麻(má < mua), 車(chē < tʂʰie) 遮(zhē < tʂie), 庚(gēng < kiəŋ) 青(qīng < tsʰiəŋ), 尤(yóu < iou) 侯(hóu < xou), 侵(qīn < tsʰiəm) 尋(xún < siəm), 監(jiān < kiam) 咸(xián < xiam), 廉(lián < liəm) 纖(xiān < siəm). It can be seen from the homophonic groups in each final group that some final groups have only one vowel, while others have two or even three or four vowels. There are 46 vowels altogether in the 19 final groups, including the following:

- (1) 東鐘 [uŋ] 風(fēng<fuŋ), 萌(méng<muŋ), 夢(mèng<muŋ),
(dōngzhōng) 東, 冬(dōng<tuŋ), 通(tōng<t' uŋ), 動(dòng<tuŋ),
蔥(cōng<ts' uŋ), 籠(lóng<luŋ), 送(sòng<suŋ),
宮(gōng<kuŋ), 紅(hóng<xuŋ)
- [iuŋ] 龍(lóng<liuŋ), 從, 蹤(zōng<tsiuŋ), 松(sōng<siuŋ),
頌(sòng<siuŋ), 中(zhōng<t̄siuŋ), 鐘, 窮(qióng<k' iuŋ),
洵(xiōng<xiuŋ), 兄, 永(yǒng<iuŋ), 涌

The following examples are from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Li Haogu 李好古, *Zhāng Shēng Zhǔ Hǎi* (《張生煮海》, *A Student Named Zhang Yu Boils the Sea*), scene one (excerpt)

[*Xiānlǚ*¹²·*Diǎnjiàngchún*¹³ (仙呂·點絳脣)] 海水淘淘 hǎi shuǐ xiōng xiōng, 晚風微送 wǎn fēng wēi sòng, 兼天湧 jiān tiān yǒng, 不辨西東 bù biàn xī dōng, 把凌波步輕那動 bǎ líng bō bù qīng nuó dòng。¹⁴

[*Hùnjiānglóng* (混江龍)] 清宵無夢, 引着這小精靈, 閒伴我遊蹤。恰離了澄澄碧海, 遙望那耿耿長空(kōng<k' uŋ)。你看那萬朵彩雲生海上, 一輪浩月映波中, 覷了那人間鳳闕, 怎比我水國龍宮。清湛湛、洞天福地任逍遙, 碧悠悠、那愁他浴鳧飛雁爭喧哄(hòng<xuŋ)。似俺這閨情深遠, 直恁般好信難通。¹⁵

qīng xiāo wú mèng, yǐn zhāo zhè xiǎo jīng líng, xián bàn wǒ yóu zōng. qià lí le chéng chéng bì hǎi, yáo wàng nà gěng gěng cháng kōng. nǐ kàn nà wàn duǒ cǎi yún shēng hǎi shàng, yī lún hào yuè yìng bō zhōng, qù le nà rén jiān fèng què, zěn bǐ wǒ shuǐ guó lóng gōng. qīng zhàn zhàn, dòng tiān fú dì rèn xiāo yáo, bì yōu yōu, nà chóu tā yù fú fēi yàn zhēng xuān hòng. sì ǎn zhè guī qīng shēn yuǎn, zhí nèn bān hào xìn nán tōng.

[*Yóuhúlu* (油葫蘆)] 海上神仙年壽永, 這蓬萊在眼界中。風飄仙袂絳綃紅, 則我這雲鬢高挽金釵重(zhòng<ts' iuŋ)。蛾眉輕展花鈿動; 袖兒籠, 指十蔥, 裙兒簌, 鞋半弓(gōng<kiuŋ)。只待學吹簫同跨丹山鳳(fèng<fuŋ), 那其間, 登碧落, 趁天風。¹⁶

hǎi shàng shén xiān nián shòu yǒng, zhè péng lái zài yǎn jiè zhōng. fēng piāo xiān mèi jiàng xiāo hóng, zé wǒ zhè yún huán gāo wǎn jīn chāi zhòng. é méi qīng zhǎn huā diàn dòng xiù ér lóng, zhǐ shí cōng, qún ér sù, xié bàn gōng. zhǐ dài xué chuī xiāo tóng kuà dān shān fèng, nà qí jiān, dēng bì luò, chèn tiān fēng.

[*Tiānxiàlè* (天下樂)] 不比那人世繁華掃地空, 塵中, 似轉蓬, 則他這春過夏來秋又冬。聽一聲報曉雞, 聽一聲定夜鐘, 斷送的他世間人猶未懂。¹⁷

bù bǐ nà rén shì fán huá sǎo dì kōng, chén zhōng, sì zhuǎn péng, zé tā zhè chūn guò xià lái qiū yòu dōng. tīng yī shēng bào xiǎo jī, tīng yī shēng dìng yè zhōng, duàn sòng de tā shì jiān rén yóu wèi dǒng.

[*Nèzhāolìng* (那吒令)] 聽疎刺刺晚風, 風聲落萬松; 明朗朗月容(róng<iuŋ), 容光照半空; 響潺潺水沖(chōng<ts' iuŋ), 沖流絕澗中。又不是採蓮女撥棹聲, 又不是捕魚叟鳴榔動, 驚的那夜眠人睡眼朦朧(lóng<luŋ)。¹⁸

tīng shū là là wǎn fēng, fēng shēng luò wàn sōng; míng lǎng lǎng yuè róng, róng guāng zhào bàn kōng; xiǎng chán chán shuǐ chōng, chōng liú jué jiàn zhōng. yòu bú shì cǎi lián nǚ bō zhào shēng, yòu bú shì bǔ yú sǒu míng láng dòng, jīng de nà yè mián rén shuì yǎn méng long.

8 *Phonetic system of the Modern Chinese language*

[Quètàzhī(鵲踏枝)] 又不是拖環珮, 韻玳瑤(dōng<tʉŋ); 又不是戰鐵馬, 響錚縱(zòng<tʃiŋ); 又不是佛院僧房, 擊磬敲鐘, 一聲聲說的我心中怕恐(kǒng<k'ʉŋ)。原來是廝琅琅, 誰撫絲桐(tóng<t'ʉŋ)。¹⁹

yòu bú shì tuō huán pèi, yùn dāng dōng; yòu bú shì zhàn tiè mǎ, xiǎng zhēng zòng; yòu bú shì fó yuàn sēng fáng, jī qìng qiāo zhōng, yī shēng shēng háo de wǒ xīn zhōng pà kǒng. yuán lái shì sī láng láng, shuí fǔ sī tóng.

- (2) 江陽 [aŋ] 綱(gāng<kaŋ), 當(dāng<taŋ), 湯(tāng<t'aŋ),
(jiāngyáng) 蒼(cāng<ts'aŋ), 行(háng<xɑŋ), 廊(láng<laŋ),
裝(zhuāng<tʃɑŋ), 壯(zhuàng<tʃɑŋ), 霜(shuāng<ʃɑŋ),
窗(chuāng<tʃ'aŋ), 望(wàng<vaŋ)
- [uaŋ] 光(guāng<kuaŋ), 匡(kuāng<k'uaŋ), 荒(huāng<xuaŋ),
謊(huǎng<xuaŋ), 晃, 黃(huáng<xuaŋ), 皇,
汪(wāng<uaŋ), 王(wáng<uaŋ), 往(wǎng<uaŋ),
旺(wàng<uaŋ)
- [iaŋ] 腸(cháng<[ʃ'iaŋ]), 場, 長, 良(liáng<liɑŋ), 涼, 糧, 量,
牆(qiáng<ts'iaŋ), 翔(xiáng<siaŋ), 揚(yáng<iaŋ), 羊

The following examples are from yuánqǔ.

[Yuan Dynasty] Ma Zhiyuan馬致遠, *Hàn Gōng Qiū* (《漢宮秋》), *Autumn in the Han Palace*, scene three (excerpt)

[Chuānbōzhào (川撥棹)] 怕不待放絲繩(jiāng<kian), 咱可甚鞭敲金鐙響(xiǎng<xian)。你管變理陰陽, 掌握朝綱, 治國安邦(bāng<puan), 展土開疆(jiāng<kian)。假若俺高皇, 差你個梅香(xiāng<xian), 背井離鄉(xiāng<xian), 臥雪眠霜, 若是他不戀恁春風畫堂(táng<t'aŋ), 我便官封你一字王。²⁰

pà bù dài fàng sī jiāng, zán kě shén biān qiāo jīn dèng xiǎng. nǐ guǎn xiè lǐ yīn yáng, zhǎng wò cháo gāng, zhì guó ān bāng, zhǎn tǔ kāi jiāng. jiǎ ruò ǎn gāo huáng, chà nǐ gè méi xiāng, bèi jǐng lí xiāng, wò xuě mián shuāng, ruò shì tā bù lián nèn chūn fēng huà táng, wǒ biàn guān fēng nǐ yī zì wáng.

[Qīdìxiōng (七弟兄)] 說甚麼大王, 不當, 戀王嬪(qiáng<ts'ian), 兀良, 怎禁他臨去也回頭望, 那堪這散風雪旌節影悠揚, 動關山鼓角聲悲壯。²¹

shuō shén me dà wáng, bù dāng, liàn wáng qīng, wù liáng, zěn jìn tā lín qù yě huí tóu wàng, nǎ kān zhè sǎn fēng xuě jīng jié yǐng yōu yáng, dòng guān shān gǔ jiǎo shēng bēi zhuàng.

[Méihuājiǔ (梅花酒)] 呀, 俺向着這迥野悲涼。草已添黃, 兔早迎霜, 犬褪得毛蒼, 人攔起纓槍(qiāng<ts'ian), 馬負著行裝, 車運著餼糧, 打獵起圍場。他他他, 傷心辭漢主; 我我我, 攜手上河梁(liáng<lian)。他部從入窮荒, 我鑿與返咸陽。返咸陽, 過宮牆; 過宮牆, 遶回廊; 遶回廊, 近椒房(fāng<fuɑŋ); 近椒房, 月昏黃; 月昏黃, 夜生涼; 夜生涼, 泣寒蟿(jiāng<tsian); 泣寒蟿, 綠紗窗; 綠紗窗, 不思量。²²

yā, ǎn xiàng zhe zhè jiǒng yě bēi liáng. cǎo yǐ tiān huáng, tù zǎo yíng shuāng, quǎn tú dé máo cāng, rén lǎn qǐ yīng qiāng, mǎ fù zhe xíng zhuāng, chē yùn zhe hóu liáng, dǎ liè qǐ wéi chāng. tā tā tā, shāng xīn cí hàn zhǔ; wǒ wǒ wǒ, xié shǒu shàng hé liáng. tā bù cóng rù qióng huāng, wǒ luán yú fǎn xián yáng. fǎn xián

yáng, guò gōng qiáng; guò gōng qiáng, rào huí láng; rào huí láng, jìn jiāo fáng; jìn jiāo fáng, yuè hūn huáng; yuè hūn huáng, yè shēng liáng; yè shēng liáng, qì hán jiāng; qì hán jiāng, lǚ shā chuāng; lǚ shā chuāng, bù sī liang.

[*Shōujiāngnán* (收江南)] 呀! 不思量, 除是鐵心腸, 鐵心腸, 也愁滴淚千行。美人圖今夜掛昭陽, 我那裏供養(yǎng<ian), 便是我高燒銀燭照紅妝(zhuāng<tɕian).²³

ya! bù sī liang, chú shì tiě xīn cháng, tiě xīn cháng, yě chóu dī lèi qiān háng. měi rén tú jīn yè guà zhāo yáng, wǒ nà lǐ gōng yǎng, biàn shì wǒ gāo shāo yín zhú zhào hóng zhuāng.

[*Yuānyāngshà* (鴛鴦煞)] 我煞大臣行說一個推辭謊, 又則怕筆尖兒那夥編修謹(jiǎng<kian), 不見他花朵兒精神, 怎趁那草地裏風光, 唱道竚立多時, 徘徊半晌(shǎng<ɕian), 猛聽的塞雁南翔, 呀呀的聲嘹亮(liàng<lian), 却原來满目牛羊, 是兀那載離恨的羶車半坡裏響。²⁴

wǒ shā dà chén xíng shuō yī gè tuī cí huǎng, yòu zé pà bǐ jiān ér nà huǒ biān xiū jiǎng, bù jiàn tā huā duǒ ér jīng shén, zěn chèn nà cǎo dì lǐ fēng guāng, chàng dào zhù lì duō shí, pái huái bàn shǎng, měng tīng de sài yàn nán xiáng, yā yā de shēng liáo liàng, què yuán lái mǎn mù niú yáng, shì wù nà zài lí hèn de zhān chē bàn pō lǐ xiǎng.

(3) 支思 i[ɿ] 資(zī<tsī), 漬(zì<tsī), 字, 此(cǐ<tsī), 慈(cí<tsī), 詞, 斯(sī<tsī), 思, 絲, 死(sǐ<tsī), 四(sì<tsī)

i[ɿ] 之(zhī<tɕī), 至(zhì<tɕī), 脂(zhī<tɕī), 持(chí<tɕī), 齒(chǐ<tɕī), 詩, 師, 時(shí<tɕī), 史(shǐ<tɕī), 視(shì<tɕī), 兒

The examples that follow are from *yuánqū*:

[Yuan dynasty] Wang Shifu 王實甫, *Xī Xiāng Jì* (《西廂記》), *Romance of Western Bower*, scene two of act five (excerpt)

[*Zhōnglǚ·Fēndiē'ér* (中呂·粉蝶兒)] 從到京師, 思量心旦夕如是(shì<sī), 向心頭橫躺着俺那鶯兒。諸醫師, 看診罷, 一星星說是。本意待推辭(cí<sī), 則被他察虛實不須看視。²⁵

cóng dào jīng shī, sī liang xīn dàn xī rú shì, xiàng xīn tóu héng tǎng zhe ǎn nà yīng ér. zhū yī shī, kàn zhěn bà, yī xīng xīng shuō shì. běn yì dài tuī cí, zé bèi tā chá xū shí bù xū kàn shì.

[*Zuìchūnfēng* (醉春風)] 他道是醫雜症有方術, 治相思無藥餌(ěr<ǐ)。鶯鶯呵, 你若是知我害相思, 我甘心兒死、死。四海無家, 一身客寄, 半年將至。²⁶

tā dào shì yī zá zhèng yǒu fāng shù, zhì xiāng sī wú yào ěr. yīng yīng a, nǐ ròu shì zhī wǒ hài xiāng sī, wǒ gān xīn ér sǐ, sǐ. sì hǎi wú jiā, yī shēn kè jì, bàn nián jiāng zhì.

[*Yíngxiānkè* (迎仙客)] 疑怪這噪花枝靈鶯兒, 垂簾幙喜蛛兒, 正應着短檠上夜來燈爆時。若不是斷腸詞, 決定是斷腸詩。寫時管情淚如絲, 既不呵, 怎生淚點兒封皮上漬。²⁷

yí guài zhè zào huā zhī líng què ér, chuí lián mù xǐ zhū ér, zhèng yīng zhe duǎn qíng shàng yè lái dēng bào shí. ruò bú shì duàn cháng cí, jué dìng shì duàn cháng shī. xiě shí guǎn qíng lèi rú sī, jì bù a, zěn shēng lèi diǎn ér fēng pí shàng zì.

[*Shàngxiǎolóu* (上小樓)] 這的堪爲字史，當爲款識(*shǐ<sjǐ*)。有柳骨顏筋，張旭張顛，羲之獻之。此一時，彼一時，佳人才思，俺鶯鶯世間無二(*èr<jǐ*)。²⁸

zhè de kān wéi zì shǐ, dāng wéi kuǎn shí. yǒu liǔ gǔ yán jīn, zhāng xù zhāng diān, xiāng zhī xiàn zhī. cǐ yī shí, bǐ yī shí, jiā rén cái sī, ǎn yīng yīng shì jiān wú èr.

[*Yāopiān* (么篇)] 俺做經咒般持，符籙般使(*shǐ<sjǐ*)。高似金章，重似金帛，貴似金貲(*zī<tsī*)。這上面若僉個押字，使個令史，差個勾使，則是一張忙不及印赴期的咨示(*shǐ<sjǐ*)。²⁹

ǎn zuò jīng zhòu bān chí, fú lù bān shǐ. gāo sì jīn zhāng, zhòng sì jīn bó, guì sì jīn zī. zhè shàng miàn ruò qiān gè yā zì, shǐ gè lìng shǐ, chāi gè gōu shǐ, zé shì yī zhāng máng bù jí yìn fù qī de zī shì.

[*Mǎntíngfāng* (滿庭芳)] 怎不教張生愛爾(*èr<jǐ*)，堪鍼工出色，女教爲師。幾千般用意鍼鍼是，可索尋思。長共短又沒個樣子(*zǐ<tsǐ*)。窄和寬想象着腰肢(*zhī<tsǐ*)，好共歹無人試(*shǐ<sjǐ*)。想當初做時，用煞那小心兒。³⁰

zěn bù jiào zhāng shēng ài ěr, kān zhēn gōng chū sè, nǚ jiào wéi shī. jǐ qiān bān yòng yì zhēn zhēn shì, kě suǒ xún sī. cháng gòng duǎn yòu méi gè yàng zǐ. zhǎi hé kuān xiǎng xiàng zhe yāo zhī, hǎo gòng dǎi wú rén shì. xiǎng dāng chū zuò shí, yòng shā nà xiǎo xīn ér.

- (4) 齊微 [ei] 杯(*bēi<pei*), 悲, 醅(*pēi<p`ei*), 胚, 裴(*péi<p`ei*),
(*qíwēi*) 梅(*méi<mei*), 飛(*fēi<fei*), 黑(*hēi<xēi*), 得(*dé<tei*), 德,
肋(*lèi<lei*)
- [uei] 堆(*duī<tuei*), 推(*tuī<tʂ`uei*), 吹(*chuī<tʂ`uei*),
翠(*cui<tsuei*), 醉(*zui<tsuei*), 隨(*suí<suei*), 歸(*guī<kuei*),
灰(*huī<xuei*), 徊(*huái<xuei*), 類(*lèi<luei*), 淚
- [i] 壁(*bì<pi*), 避, 低(*dī<ti*), 地(*dì<ti*), 利(*lì<li*), 離(*lí<li*),
裏(*lǐ<li*), 疾(*jí<tsi*), 知, 遲(*chí<tʂ`i*), 池

The following examples are from *yuánqū*:

[Yuan dynasty] Wang Shifu, *Xī Xiāng Jì*, scene three of act four (excerpt)

[*Zhènggōng-Duānzhèngǎo* (正宮·端正好)] 碧雲天，黃花地，西風緊，北雁南飛。曉來誰染霜林醉？總是離人淚。³¹

bì yún tiān, huáng huā dì, xī fēng jǐn, běi yàn nán fēi. xiǎo lái shuí rǎn shuāng lín zuì? zǒng shì lí rén lèi.

[*Gǔnxiùqiú* (滾繡毬)] 恨相見得遲，怨歸去得疾。柳絲長玉驄難系(*xì<xi*), 恨不得倩疏林掛住斜暉(*huī<xuī*)。馬兒迤迤的行，車兒快快的隨。却告了相思回避，破題兒又早別離。聽得一聲去也，松了金釧，遙望見十裏長亭，減了玉肌(*jī<ki*)，此恨誰知？³²

hèn xiāng jiàn de chí, yuàn guī qù de jí. liǔ sī cháng yù cōng nán xì, hèn bù dé qiàn shū lín guà zhù xié huī. mǎ ér yǐ yǐ de xíng, chē ér kuài kuài de suí. què gào le xiāng sī huí bì, pò tí ér yòu zǎo bié lí. tīng de yī shēng qù yě, sōng le jīn chuàn, yáo wàng jiàn shí lǐ cháng tíng, jiǎn le yù jī, cǐ hèn shuí zhī?

[*Kuàihuósān* (快活三)] 將來的酒共食(*shǐ<sjǐ*)，嘗著似土和泥。假若便是土和泥，也有些土氣息(*xī<si*)，泥滋味(*wèi<ouì*)。³³

jiāng lái de jiù gòng shí, cháng zhe sì tǔ hé ní. jiǎ ruò biàn shì tǔ hé ní, yě yǒu xiē tǔ qì xī, ní zī wèi.

[*Mǎntíngfāng*] 供食太急(jí<kǐ), 須與對面, 頃刻別離。若不是酒席間子母每當回避, 有心待與他舉案齊眉(méi<mú)。雖然是廊守得一時半刻(kè<k'iai), 也合着俺夫妻每共桌而食。眼底空留意(yì<i), 尋思就裏, 險化做望夫石(shí<shì)。³⁴

gōng shí tài jí, xū yú duì miàn, qīng kè bié lí. ruò bú shì jiù xí jiān zǐ mǔ měi dāng huí bì, yǒu xīn dài yǔ tā jū àn qí méi. suī rán shì láng shǒu de yī shí bàn kè, yě hé zhe ǎn fū qī měi gòng zhuō ér shí. yǎn dǐ kōng liú yì, xún sī qǐ jiù lǐ, xiǎn huà zuò wàng fū shí.

[*Cháotiānzǐ* (朝天子)] 暖溶溶玉醴, 白冷冷似水, 多半是相思淚。眼面前茶飯怕不待要吃(chī<tǐ'ì), 恨塞滿愁腸胃。蝸角虛名, 蠅頭微利, 拆鴛鴦在兩下裏。一個這壁, 一個那壁, 一遞一聲長吁氣(qì<k'ì)。³⁵

nuǎn róng róng yù pēi, bái lěng lěng sì shuǐ, duō bàn shì xiāng sī lèi. yǎn miàn qián chá fàn pà bù dài yào chī, hèn sāi mǎn chóu cháng wèi. wō jiǎo xū míng, yíng tóu wēi lì, chāi yuān yāng zài liǎng xià lǐ. yī gè zhè bì, yī gè nà bì, yī dì yī shēng zhǎng xū qì.

[*Sìbiānjìng* (四邊靜)] 霎時間杯盤狼藉(jí<tǐ), 車兒投東, 馬兒向西(xī<sì)。兩意徘徊, 落日山橫翠。知他今宵宿在那裏? 有夢也難尋覓(mì<mì)。³⁶

shà shí jiān bēi pán láng jí, chē ér tóu dōng, mǎ ér xiàng xī. liǎng yì pái huái, luò rì shān héng cuì. zhī tā jīn xiāo sù zài nǎ lǐ? yǒu mèng yě nán xún mì.

[*Shuǐhái'ér* (耍孩兒)] 淋漓襟袖啼紅淚, 比司馬青衫更濕(shī<shì), 伯勞東去燕西飛, 未登程先問歸期(qī<k'ì)。雖然眼底人千里(lǐ<lǐ), 且盡生前酒一杯。未飲心先醉, 眼中流血, 心裏成灰。³⁷

lín lí jīn xiù tí hóng lèi, bǐ sī mǎ qīng shān gèng shī, bó láo dōng qù yàn xī fēi, wèi dēng chéng xiān wèn guī qī. suī rán yǎn dǐ rén qiān lǐ, qiě jìn shēng qián jiǔ yī bēi. wèi yǐn xīn xiān zuì, yǎn zhōng liú xiě, xīn lǐ chéng huī.

Both the final groups of 支思 (zhī sī) and 齊微 (qí wéi) are originated from the final groups of 支zhī, 脂, 之, and so on in *Guǎng Yùn* with some connections after being divided into the two groups. Among the 333 rhyming characters from 支思 (zhī sī) and 齊微 (qí wéi) in *yuánqǔ*, characters from 支思 (zhī sī) are exclusively used 46 times, those from 齊微 (qí wéi) 263 times, and those from both 24 times. In the last case, sometimes it is the characters from 支思 (zhī sī) that are mixed with a few characters from 齊微 (qí wéi), such as the rhymes of “詩shī”, “使shǐ”, “裏lǐ”, “時shí”, “視shì”, and “差(cī<tǐ'ì)” in the tune of *Sìshà* (《四煞》, *Last Stanza but Three*) from scene two of act five of *Xī Xiāng Jì* by Wang Shifu of the Yuan dynasty, as well as the rhymes of “事(shì<shì)”, “賊(zéi<tsei)”, “而(ér<tǐ)”, “私(sī<sī)”, “司(sī<sī)”, “市(shì<shì)”, “耳(ěr<tǐ)”, and “夥chǐ” in the tune of *Hūnjiānglóng* of Scene One of *Bāo Shì Zhì Sān Kān Hú Dié Mèng* (《包待制三勘蝴蝶夢》, *High Official Bao Zheng Investigated the Butterfly Dream Three Times*) by Guan Hanqing 關漢卿 of the Yuan dynasty. (The underlined characters belong to 齊微 [qí wéi].) Others are characters from 齊微 (qí wéi) mixed with a few characters from 支思 (zhī sī), such as the rhymes of “子zǐ”, “碎suì”, “持chí”, “你(nǐ<nǐ)”, “你”, “底(dǐ<tǐ)”, and “碎” in *Shàngxiǎolóu* of Scene Two

of *Zhà Nǚ Zǐ Tiáo Fēng Yuè* (《詐妮子調風月》, *Pretty Girl Changed Her Fate of Love*) by Guan Hanqing, as well as “衣(yī<i>)”, “食shí”, “地dì”, “起(qǐ<k'ì)”, “裏lǐ”, “曆(lì<lì)”, “題(tí<t'ì)”, “事shì”, “知zhī”, and “眉méi” in *Gǔnxiùqiú* of *Chén Tuán Gāo Wò* (《陳搏高卧》, *Chen Tuan Lied High*) by Ma Zhiyuan of the Yuan Dynasty. (The underlined characters belong to 支思[zhī sī].) The preceding examples show that most of the characters in the final groups of 支思(zhī sī) and 齊微(qí wéi) have clear distinctions in their usage in yuánqǔ with only a small fraction being mixed in usage, and they would undergo further differentiation and recombination.

- (5) 魚模 [u] 夫(fū<fu), 服(fú<fu), 都(dū<tu), 途(tú<t'u), 爐(lú<lu),
(yúmú) 路(lù<lu), 初(chū<t's'u), 故(gù<ku), 袴(kù<k'u), 戶(hù<xu)
[iu] 沮(jǔ<t'siu), 除(chú<t's'iu), 住(zhù<t'siu), 去(qù<k'iu),
處(chǔ<t's'iu), 暑(shǔ<xiu), 書(shū<xiu), 舒(xū<xiu),
雨(yǔ<iu)

The following examples are from yuánqǔ.

[Yuan dynasty] Meng Hanqing 孟漢卿, *Mó Hé Luó* (《魔合羅》, *A Clay Doll*), Scene One (excerpt)

[*Xiānlǚ-Diānjiàngchūn*] 七月才初, 孟秋時序(xù<siu), 猶存暑。穿着這單布衣服, 怎避這懸麻雨。³⁸

qī yuè cái chū, mèng qiū shí xù, yóu cún shǔ . chuān zhe zhè dān bù yī fú, zěn bi zhe xuán má yǔ.

[*Hūnjiānglóng*] 連陰不住, 荒郊一望水模糊(hū<xu)。我則見雨迷了山岫, 雲鎖了青虛。雲氣深如倒懸着東大海, 雨勢大似翻合了洞庭湖(hú<xu), 好叫我滿眼兒沒處尋歸路, 黑暗暗雲迷四野, 白茫茫水滄長途。³⁹

lián yīn bú zhù, huāng jiāo yī wàng shuǐ mó hū. wǒ zé jiàn yǔ mí le shān xiù, yún suǒ le qīng xū. yún qì shēn rú dào xuán zhe dōng dà hǎi, yǔ shì dà sì fān hé le dòng tíng hú, hào jiào wǒ mǎn yǎn ér méi chù xún guī lù, hēi àn àn yún mí sì yě, bái máng máng shuǐ cāng cháng tú.

[*Yóuhúlu*] 恰便是畫出瀟湘水墨圖(tú<t'u), 淋的我濕淅淅(lù<lu)。更那堪吉丟古堆波浪渲成渠(qú<k'iu), 你看他吸留忽刺水流乞留曲律路更和這失留疏刺風擺希留急了樹(shù<xiu)。怎當他乞紐忽濃的泥, 更和他疋丟撲搭的淤(yū<iu)。我與你便急章拘諸慢行的赤留出律去, 我則索滴羞跌屑整身軀(qū<k'iu)。⁴⁰

qià biàn shì huà chū xiāo xiāng shuǐ mò tú, lín de wǒ shī lù lù. gèng nǎ kān jí diū gǔ dūī bō làng xuàn chéng qú, nǐ kàn tā xī liú hū là shuǐ liú qǐ liú qū lǚ lù gèng hé zhè shī liú shū là fēng bǎi xī liú jí le shù. zěn dāng tā qǐ niǔ hū nóng de ní, gèng hé tā pǐ diū pū dā de yǔ. wǒ yǔ nǐ biàn jí zhāng jū zhū màn xíng de chì liú chū lǚ qù, wǒ zé suǒ dī xiū diē xiè zhěng shēn qū.

[*Tiānxiàlè*] 百忙裏鞋兒斷了乳(rǔ<xiu), 好着我難行也, 是我窮對付(fù<fu), 扯將這蒲包上繫麻且系住。淋的我頭怎抬, 走的我脚怎舒, 好着我眼巴巴無是處。⁴¹

bǎi máng lǐ xié ér duàn le rǔ, hǎo zhe wǒ nán xíng yě, shì wǒ qióng duì fù, chē jiāng zhè pú bāo shàng qǐng má qiē xì zhù. lín de wǒ tóu zěn tái, zǒu de wǒ jiǎo zěn shū, hǎo zhe wǒ yǎn bā bā wú shì chù.

[Zuìzhōngtiān (醉中天)] 折供卓撐着門戶，野草荒遍階除。我這裏搨土焚香畫地爐。我拜罷也忙瞻顧(gù<ku)，多謝神靈祐護。望爺爺金鞭指路，則願無災殃早到鄉園(lú<liu)。⁴²

zhé gòng zhuō chēng zhe mén hù, yě huāng cǎo biàn jiē chú. wǒ zhè lǐ niǎn tǔ fén xiāng huà dì lú. wǒ bài bà yě máng zhān gù, duō xiè shén líng yòu hù. wàng yé yé jīn biān zhǐ lù, zé yuàn wú zāi yāng zǎo dào xiāng yuán.

[Zuìfúguī (醉扶歸)] 我這裏扭我這單布袴，曬我這漏衣服。我則怕蓋行李的油單有漏處。我與你須索從頭覷(qù<ts'iu)。奇怪這兩三番措不乾我這額顛(lú<lu)。可忘了將我這濕淥淥頭巾去。⁴³

wǒ zhè lǐ niǔ wǒ zhè dān bù kù, shài wǒ zhè lòu yī fú. wǒ zé pà gài xíng lǐ de yóu dān yǒu lòu chù. wǒ yǔ nǐ xū suǒ cóng tóu qù. qí guài zhè liǎng sān fān cuò bù gān wǒ zhè é lú. kě wàng le jiāng wǒ zhè shī lù lù tóu jīn qù.

- (6) 皆來 [ai] 白(bái<pai), 派(pài<p' ai), 台(tái<t' ai), 胎(tāi<t' ai), 來, (jiē lái) 哉(zāi<tsai), 海(hǎi<xai), 摘(zhāi<t'ai), 澤(zé<t'ai), 客(kè<k' iai)
- [uai] 怪(guài<kuai), 乖(guāi<kuai), 崩(kuāi<k' uai), 快(kuài<k' uai), 淮(huái<xuai), 壞(huài<xuai), 畫(huà<xuai), 歪(wāi<uai), 外(wài<uai)
- [iai] 界(jiè<kiai), 皆, 揩(kāi<k' iai), 矮(ǎi<iai), 額(é<iai), 厄(è<iai), 解(jiě<kiai), 諧(xié<xiai), 涯(yá<ia), 崖.

The following examples are from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Li Haogu, *A Student Named Zhang Yu Boils the Sea*, Scene Two (excerpt)

[Nánlǚ·Yìzhīhuā (南呂·一枝花)] 黑瀰漫水容滄海寬，高崢嶸山勢崑崙大(dà<tai)。明滴溜冰輪出海角，光燦爛紅日轉山崖。這日月往來，只山海依然在(zài<tsai)。彌八方，遍九垓(gāi<kai)，問甚麼河漢江淮，是水呵，都歸大海。⁴⁴

hēi mí mǎn shuǐ róng cāng hǎi kuān, gāo zú lù shān shì kūn lún dà. míng dī liū bīng lún chū hǎi jiǎo, guāng càn làn hóng rì zhuǎn shān yá. zhè rì yuè wǎng lái, zhǐ shān hǎi yī rán zài. mí bā fāng, biàn jiù gāi, wèn shén me hé hàn jiāng huái, shì shuǐ a, dōu guī dà hǎi.

[Liángzhōudiqī (梁州第七)] 你看那縹緲間十洲三島，微茫處閭苑蓬萊(lái<lai)，望黃河一股兒渾流派。高沖九曜，遠映三台，上連銀漢，下接黃埃(āi<ai)。勢汪洋無岸無涯，出許多異寶奇哉。看看看，波濤涌，光隱隱無價珠璣：是是是，草木長，香噴噴長生藥材(cái<ts'ai)；有有有，蛟龍偃，鬱沉沉精怪靈胎。常則是雲昏氣靄(ǎi<ai)，碧油油隔斷黃塵界，恍疑在九天外，平吞了八九區雲夢澤，問甚麼翠島蒼崖。⁴⁵

nǐ kàn nà piāo miǎo jiān shí zhōu sān dǎo, wēi máng chù lǎng yuàn péng lái, wàng huáng hé yī gǔ ér hún liú pài. gāo chōng jiǔ yào, yuǎn yǐng sān tái, shàng lián yín hàn, xià jiē huáng āi. shì wāng yáng wú àn wú yá, chū xǔ duō yì bǎo qí zāi. kàn kàn kàn, bō tāo yǒng, guāng yǐn yǐn wú jià zhū jī: shì shì shì, cǎo mù cháng, xiāng pēn pēn cháng shēng yào cái; yǒu yǒu yǒu, jiāo lóng yǎn, yù chén chén jīng guài líng tāi. cháng zé shì yún hūn qì ǎi, bì yóu yóu gé duàn huáng chén jiè, huǎng yí zài jiǔ tiān wài, píng tūn le bā jiǔ qū yún mèng zé, wèn shén me cuì dǎo cāng yá.

[*Mùyángguān* (牧羊關)] 猛地裏難回避，可叫人怎離撞，則見他又手前來。多管是迷了路的行人，多管是失了船的過客。比及你來相問，先對俺說明白。且將個采芝女，權休怪；只問那可意人，安在哉？⁴⁶

měng de lǐ nán huí bì, kě jiào rén zěn lí zhāi, zé jiàn tā chā shǒu qián lái. duō guǎn shì mí le lù de xíng rén, duō guǎn shì shī le chuán de guò kè. bǐ jí nǐ lái xiāng wèn, xiān duì ǎn shuō míng bái. qiě jiāng gè cǎi zhī nǚ, quán xiū guài; zhǐ wèn nà kě yì rén, ān zài zāi.

[*Màiyùláng* (罵玉郎)] 可知道龍宮美女多嬌態(tài<t'ai), 想當時因有約, 則今日獨尋來。拼的個舍殘生, 做下風流債(zhài<tšai)。那龍也青臉兒長左獐(cāi<tš'ai), 惡性兒無可解, 狠勢兒將人害(hài<xai)。⁴⁷

kě zhī dào lóng gōng měi nǚ duō jiāo tài, xiǎng dāng shí yīn yǒu yuē, zé jīn rì dú xún lái. pīn de gè shě cán shēng, zuò xià fēng liú zhài. nà lóng yě qīng liǎn ér zhǎng zuǒ cāi, è xíng ér wú kě jiě, hěn shì ér jiāng rén hài.

[*Gǎnhuáng'ēn* (感皇恩)] 呀, 他把那爪牙張開(kāi<k'ai), 頭角輕抬(tái<tai)。一食兒起波濤, 一會兒摧山嶽, 一會兒捲江濤。變大呵, 乾坤中較窄(zhǎi<tšai); 變小呵, 芥子裡藏埋(mái<mai)。他可便能英勇, 顯神通, 放狂乖。⁴⁸

ya, tā bǎ nà zhǎo yá zhāng kāi, tóu jiǎo qīng tái. yī shí ér qǐ bō tāo, yī huì ér cuī shān yuè, yī huì ér juǎn jiāng huái. biàn dà a, qián kūn zhōng jiào zhǎi; biàn xiǎo a, jiè zǐ lí cáng mái. tā kě biàn néng yīng yǒng, xiǎn shén tōng, fàng kuáng guāi.

[*Cǎichágē* (採茶歌)] 他興雲霧, 片時來。動風雨, 滿塵埃, 則怕驚急烈一命喪屍骸(hái<xiai)。休爲那約雨期雲龍氏女, 送了你個攀蟾折桂俊多才(cái<ts'ai)。⁴⁹

tā xìng yún wù, piàn shí lái. dòng fēng yǔ, mǎn chén āi, zé pà jīng jí liè yī mìng sàng shǐ hái. xiū wèi nà yuē yǔ qī yún lóng shì nǚ, sòng le nǐ gè pān chán zhé guì jùn duō cái.

(7) 真文 (zhēnwén)	[əŋ]	臻(zhēn<tšəŋ), 榛(gēn<kəŋ), 跟(kēn<k'əŋ), 懇(kěn<k'əŋ), 狠(hěn<xəŋ), 恨(hèn<xəŋ), 痕(hén<xəŋ), 恩(ēn<əŋ)
	[uəŋ]	敦(dūn<tuəŋ), 褪(tùn<t'uəŋ), 尊(zūn<tsuəŋ), 寸(cùn<ts'uəŋ), 孫(sūn<suəŋ), 困(kùn<k'uəŋ), 昏(hūn<xuəŋ), 魂(hún<xuəŋ), 奔(bēn<puəŋ), 問(wèn<vuəŋ)
	[iəŋ]	賓(bīn<piəŋ), 民(mín<miəŋ), 親(qīn<ts'iəŋ), 盡(jìn<tsiəŋ), 陣(zhèn<tš'iəŋ), 塵(chén<tš'iəŋ), 人(rén<riəŋ), 神(shén<šiəŋ), 信(xìn<siəŋ), 印(yìn<iəŋ)
	[iuəŋ]	君(jūn<kiuəŋ), 軍, 群, 困(qūn<kiuəŋ), 遵(zūn<tsiuəŋ), 春(chūn<tš'iuəŋ), 准(zhǔn<tšiuəŋ), 純(chún<tš'iuəŋ), 倫(lún<liuəŋ), 熏(xūn<xiuəŋ)

The examples that follow are from *yuánqū*:

[Yuan dynasty] Li Zhifu 李直夫, *Hǔ Tóu Pái* (《虎頭牌》, *Tiger-headed Tablet*), Scene One (Excerpt)

[*Xiānlǚ-Diǎnjiàngchún*] 一來是祖父的家門(mén<muən), 二來是自家的福分(fèn<fuən); 懸牌印, 掃蕩征塵, 將勇力施呈盡。⁵⁰

yī lái shì zū fù de jiā mén, èr lái shì zǐ jiā de fù fēn; xuán pái yìn, sǎo dàng zhēng chén, jiāng yǒng lì shī chéng jìn.

[*Hūnjiānglóng*] 幾回家開旗臨陣，戰番兵累次建功勳。怕不的資財足備，孳畜成群。長養着百十槽衝鋒的慣戰馬，掌管着一千戶屯田的鎮番軍。我如今欲待去消愁悶(mèn<muən), 則除是飛鷹走犬逐逝追奔。⁵¹

jǐ huí jiā kāi qí lín zhèn, zhàn fān bīng lěi cì jiàn gōng xūn. pà bù de zī cái zú bèi, zǐ chù chéng qún. cháng yǎng zhe bǎi shí cáo chōng fēng de guān zhàn mǎ, zhǎng guǎn zhe yī qiān hù tún tián de zhèn fān jūn. wǒ rú jīn yù dài qù xiāo chóu mèn, zé chú shì fēi yīng zǒu quǎn zhú shì zhuī bēn.

[*Yóuhúlu*] 疑怪這靈鵲兒坐在枝上穩(wěn<uən), 暢好是有定準(zhǔn<t̚siuən). 則見他左來右去, 再說不出甚親人(rén). 爲甚麼叨叨絮絮佔着是迷丟沒鄧的混(hùn<yuən), 爲甚麼獐獐狂狂便待要急張拒遂的褪。眼腦又剔抽禿禿的慌, 口角又劈舌摸搭的噴(pēn<p̚uən). 只見他喳喳忽忽身子兒無些分寸, 覷不的那轟轟詐詐沒精神。⁵²

yí guài zhè líng què ér zuò zài zhī shàng wěn, chàng hǎo shì yǒu dìng zhǔn. zé jiàn tā zuǒ lái yòu qù, zài shuō bù chū shèn qīn rén. wèi shèn me dāo dāo xù xù zhàn zhe shì mí diū méi dèng de hùn, wèi shèn me zhāng zhāng kuáng kuáng biàn dài yào jí zhāng jù suì de tuì. yǎn nǎo yòu tī chōu tū chuǎi de huāng, kǒu jué yòu pī diū mō dā de pēn. zhǐ jiàn tā zhā zhā hū hū shēn zǐ ér wú xiē fēn cùn, qù bù de nà hōng hōng zhà zhà méi jīng shén.

[*Tiānxiàlè*] 只見他越尋思越着昏, 敢三魂, 失了二魂。莫不是鐵哥鎮撫家遠探親? 莫不是達魯家老太君? 莫不是普察家小舍人(rén)? 莫不是叔叔孀子兩口兒來訪問?⁵³

zhǐ jiàn tā yuè xún sī yuè zhāo hūn, gǎn sān hún, shī le èr hún. mò bú shì tiě gē zhèn fū jiā yuǎn tàn qīn? mò bú shì dá lǔ jiā lǎo tài jūn? mò bú shì pǔ chá jiā xiǎo shè rén? mò bú shì shū shū shēn zǐ liǎng kǒu ér lái fǎng wèn.

[*Zuìzhōngtiān*] 叔叔, 你鞍馬上多勞困; 孀子, 你程途上受艱辛(xīn<siən). 一自別來五六春, 數載家無音信。則這個山壽馬別無甚痛親, 我一言難盡, 來探你這歹孩兒, 索是遠路風塵。⁵⁴

shū shū, nǐ ān mǎ shàng duō láo kùn; shēn zǐ, nǐ chéng tú shàng shòu jiān. yī zì bié lái wǔ liù chūn, fù zài jiā wú yīn xìn. zé zhè gè shān shòu mǎ bié wú shén tòng qīn, wǒ yī yán nán jìn, lái tàn nǐ zhè dǎi hái ér, suǒ shì yuǎn lù fēng chén.

[*Jīnzhǎn'ér* (金盞兒)] 我自小化了雙親, 成孤貧(pín<p̚iən). 謝叔叔孀子把我來似親兒般訓(xùn<xiuən), 演習的武和文。我如今鎮邊關, 爲元帥, 把隘口, 統三軍。我當初成人不自在, 我若是自在不成人。⁵⁵

wǒ zì xiǎo huà le shuāng qīn, chéng gū pín. xiè shū shū shēn zǐ bǎ wǒ lái sì qīn ér bān xùn, yǎn xí de wǔ hé wén. wǒ rú jīn zhèn biān guān, wèi yuán shuài, bǎ ài kǒu, tǒng sān jūn. wǒ dāng chū chéng rén bù zì zài, wǒ ruò shì zì zài bù chéng rén.

- (8) 寒山 [an] 丹(dān<tan), 歎(tàn<t'an), 難(nán<nan), 闌(lán<lan), 殘(cán<ts'an), 散(sàn<san), 綻(zhàn<t̚san), 山, 漢(hàn<xan), 寒(hán)
- [uan] 斑(bān<puan), 班, 盼(pàn<p'uan),⁵⁶ 饜(zhuàn<t̚suan), 關(guān<kuan), 寰(huán<xuan), 鬢, 患(huàn<xuan), 彎(wān<uan), 頑(wán<uan)

[ian] 間(jiān<kian), 艱, 簡(jiǎn<kian), 諫(jiàn<kian),
慳(qiān<k'ian), 閑(xián<xian), 限(xiàn<xian),
顏(yán<ian), 眼(yǎn<ian), 雁(yàn<ian)

The following examples are from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Bai Pu 白樸, *Wú Tóng Yǔ* (《梧桐雨》), *Rain on Chinese Parasol*, scene two (excerpt)

[*Zhōnglǚ Fēndié'ér*] 天淡雲間(xián<xian), 列長空數行征雁。御園中夏景初殘, 柳添黃, 荷減翠, 秋蓮脫瓣(bàn<puan)。坐近幽園, 噴清香玉簪花綻。⁵⁷

tiān dàn yún xián, liè cháng kōng shù háng zhēng yàn. yù yuán zhōng xià jǐng chū cán, liǔ tiān huáng, hé jiǎn cuì, qiū lián tuō bàn. zuò jìn yōu yuán, pēn qīng xiāng yù zān huā zhàn

[*Jiàoshēng* (叫聲)] 共妃子喜開顏(yán<ian), 等閒等閒, 御園中列餚饌; 酒注嫩鵝黃, 茶點鷓鴣斑。⁵⁸

gòng fēi zǐ xǐ kāi yán, dèng xián dèng xián, yù yuán zhōng liè zhuàn jiǔ zhù nèn é huáng, chá diǎn zhè gū bān.

[*Zuichūnfēng*] 酒光泛紫金鐘, 茶香浮碧玉盞(zhǎn<tʂan)。沉香亭畔晚涼多, 把一搭兒親自揀(jiǎn<kian)、揀。粉黛濃妝, 管弦齊列, 綺羅相間。⁵⁹

jiǔ guāng fàn zǐ jīn zhōng, chá xiāng fú bì yù zhǎn. chén xiāng tíng pàn wǎn liáng duō, bǎ yī dā ér qīn zì jiǎn, jiǎn. fěn dài nóng zhuāng, guǎn xián qí liè, qǐ luò xiāng jiàn.

[*Hóngsháoyào* (紅芍藥)] 腰鼓聲乾(gān<kan), 羅襪弓彎, 玉鞏丁東響珊珊(shān<san); 即漸裏舞嬋雲鬢, 施呈你蜂腰細, 燕體翻(fān<fuan), 作兩袖香風拂散(sàn)。寡人親捧盃玉露甘寒(hán), 你可也莫得留殘, 拚着個醉醺醺直吃到夜盡更闌。⁶⁰

yāo gǔ shēng gān, luó wà gōng wān, yù gǒng dīng dōng xiǎng shān shān; jí jiàn lǐ wǔ tuǒ yún huán, shī chéng nǐ fēng yāo xì, yàn tǐ fān, zuò liǎng xiù xiāng fēng fú sàn. guǎ rén qīn pěng bēi yù lù gān hán, nǐ kě yě mò de liú cán, pàn zhe gè zuì xūn xūn zhí chī dào yè jìn gēng lán.

[*Mǎntíngfāng*] 你文武兩班, 空列些烏靴象簡, 金紫羅襪; 內中沒一個英雄漢, 掃蕩塵寰。慣縱的個無徒祿山, 沒揣的撞過潼關, 先敗了哥舒翰。疑怪昨宵向晚, 不見烽火報平安。⁶¹

nǐ wén wǔ liǎng bān, kōng liè xiē wū xuē xiàng jiǎn, jīn zǐ luó wà; nèi zhōng méi yī gè yīng xióng hàn, sǎo dàng chén huán. guàn zòng de gè wú tú lù shān, méi chuāi de zhuàng guò tóng guān, xiān bài le gē shū hàn. yí guài zuó xiāo xiàng wǎn, bú jiàn fēng huǒ bào píng ān.

[*Pǔtiānlè* (普天樂)] 恨無窮, 愁無限, 爭奈倉卒之際, 避不得驀嶺登山。鑾駕遷(qiān<ts'ien)⁶², 成都盼, 更那堪滌水西飛雁, 一聲聲送上雕鞍(ān<an)。傷心故園(yuán<iuen)⁶³, 西風渭水, 落日長安(ān<an)。⁶⁴

hèn wú qióng, chóu wú xiàn, zhēng nài cāng zú zhī jì, bì bù dé mò líng dēng shān. luán jià qiān, chéng dū pàn, gèng nà kān chǎn shuǐ xī fēi yàn, yī shēng shēng sòng shàng diāo ān. shāng xīn gù yuán, luò rì cháng ān.

[*Zhuómù'érwěi* (啄木兒尾)] 端詳了你上馬嬌, 怎支吾蜀道難。替你愁那嵯峨峻嶺連雲棧(zhàn<tʂan), 自來驅馳可慣(guàn<kuan)。幾程兒捱得過劍門關。⁶⁵

duān xiáng le nǐ shàng mǎ jiāo, zěn zhī wú shǔ dào nán. tì nǐ chóu nà cuó é jūn
líng lián yún zhàn, zì lái qū chí kě guān. jǐ chéng ér ái dé guò jiàn mén guān.

(9) 桓歡 [uən] 半(bàn<puən), 伴, 判(pàn<p`uən), 滿(mǎn<muən),
(huánhuān) 慢(màn<muən), 端, 短(duǎn<tuən), 團(tuán<t`uən),
緩(huǎn<xuən), 亂(luàn<luən), 官(guān<kuən),
歡(huān<xuən)

The final group of 桓歡 (huán huān) is originated from the final group of 桓 (huán) in *Guǎngyùn*. Literally, it belonged to the rounded-mouth characters of the 寒(hān) final, but in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, 桓歡 (huán huān) group and 寒山(hān shān) group became distinguished in pronunciations. In *Guidelines for Composing Verses* (《度曲須知》), Shen Chongsui沈寵綬 maintained,

There are more than half of the characters in the 寒山(hān shān) group similar to those in 桓歡(huán huān), and about 20 to 30 percent similar to those in 先天(xiān tiān). However, half of the characters in 桓歡(huán huān) are labials while half in 寒山(hān shān) are unrounded-mouthed. For instance, similar to “班” (bān) is “搬(bān<puən)”, to “攀(pān<p`uən)” is “潘(pān<p`uən)”, to “粲(càn<ts`an)” is “竄(cuàn<ts`uən)” and to “貫(guàn) is “貫(guàn<kuən)”. Those who understand that can make clear distinctions, so it is unnecessary to cite further examples.⁶⁶

Around the time in the Yuan dynasty, the main vowel of the 桓 (huán) final was affected by the head vowel of *u*, and thus its opening tended to become smaller. Therefore, it has been decided that it would be pronounced as [uən].

The following examples are from yuánqǔ.

[Yuan dynasty] Jia Zhongming 賈仲名, *Xiāo Shū Lán* (《蕭淑蘭》), *Xiao Shulan*, scene four (excerpt)

[*Huángzhōng·Zuìhuāyīn* (黃鐘·醉花陰)] 離恨閒愁早填滿, 俺主人非長是短。謝兄嫂得團圞(luán<luən), 陪羔雁花紅, 下正禮三千貫。度量闊, 眼皮寬(kuān<k`uən), 把斷送房奩全盡管(guǎn<kuən)。⁶⁷

lí hèn xián chóu zǎo tián mǎn, ǎn zhǔ rén fēi cháng shì duǎn. xiè xiōng sǎo dé tuán luán, péi gāo yàn huā hóng, xià zhèng lǐ sān qiān guàn. dù liàng kuò, yǎn pí kuān, bǎ duàn sòng fáng qiān quán jìn guǎn.

[*Xǐqiānyīng* (喜遷鶯)] 納幣帛綾段(duàn<tuən), 不斷頭花擔盒盤(pán<p`uən)。堪觀(guān<kuən), 披掛的遍身紅滿, 來往官媒一剗地錦繡攢(cuán<ts`uən)。人亂竄, 親屬交錯, 羅綺彌漫(màn<muən)。⁶⁸

nà bì bó líng duàn, bù duàn tóu huā dān hé pán. kān guān, pī guà de biàn shēn hóng mǎn, lái wǎng guān méi yī chǎn de jīn xù zǎn. rén luàn cuàn, qīn shǔ jiāo cuò, luó qǐ mí mǎn.

[*Chūduizi* (出隊子)] 這都是姻緣前判, 幸今生得聚完(wán<uən)。玉肩同並赴雲端, 素手相攜跨綵鸞(luán<luən), 清韻雙吹鳴鳳管。⁶⁹

zhè dōu shì yīn yuán qián pàn, xìng jīn shēng de jù wán. yù jiān tóng bìng fù yún duān, sù shǒu xiāng xié kuà cǎi luán, qīng yùn shuāng chuī míng fèng guǎn.

[*Guādifēng* (刮地風)] 剗地亂講歪談一萬端，尚古自苦澀寒酸(suān<suən)。聽笙簧一派聲撩亂。翠擁珠攢，舞態輕盈，歌聲紆緩。香篆靄，絳蠟明，低垂簾幔(màn<muən)。端的個畫堂深，和氣暖(nuǎn<nuən)，受用千般(bān<puən)。⁷⁰

chǎn de luàn jiǎng wāi tán yī wàn duān, shàng gǔ zì kǔ sè hán suān. tīng shēng huáng yī pài shēng liāo luàn. cuì yōng zhū zǎn, wǔ tài qīng yíng, gē shēng shū huǎn. xiāng zhuàn ài, jiàng là míng, dī chuí lián màn. duān de gè huà táng shēn, hé qì nuǎn, shòu yòng qiān bān.

[*Sìménzǐ* (四門子)] 香馥馥合盃杯交換(huàn<xuən)，正良宵勝事攢，碧天邊燦燦寒星換，冰輪皓月團團。樂意的酬，盡興的拚(pàn<p' uən)，貪歡娛自然嫌漏短。樂意的酬，盡興的拚，索強似鳳亭月館(guǎn<kuən)。⁷¹

xiāng fù fù hé jīn bēi jiāo huàn, zhèng liáng xiāo shèng shì cuán, bì tiān biān càn càn hán xīng huàn, bīng lún hào yuè tuán tuán. lè yì de chóu, jìn xìng de pàn, tān huān yú zì rán xián lòu duǎn. lè yì de chóu, jìn xìng de pàn, suǒ qiáng sì fèng tíng yuè guǎn.

[*Gǔzhài'èrlìng* (古寨兒令)] 我這裏偷看(kàn<k' uən)，不由人心歡。沒包彈(dàn<t' uən)，忒丰韻，表正形端。趁着這風和月圓春夜暖。逢天喜，值紅鸞，配宿緣，成仙伴。⁷²

wǒ zhè lǐ tōu kàn, bù yóu rén xīn huān. méi bāo dàn, tè fēng yùn, biǎo zhèng xíng duān. chèn zhe zhè fēng hé yuè yuán chūn yè nuǎn. féng tiān xǐ, zhí hóng luán, pèi sù yuán, chéng xiān bàn.

[*Shénzhàng'er* (神仗兒)] 荔枝漿乳酪蜜團，甘蔗汁酥油鏘拌(bàn<p' uən)。薔薇露秋菊春蘭，紫蘇鹽薑醋薦款(kuǎn<k' uən)。碧芥芽蔥針寸段。細端詳俊沈嬌滯，可不道尊瞻視，正衣冠(guān<kuən)。⁷³

lǐ zhī jiāng rǔ lào mì tuán, gān zhè zhī sū yóu táng bàn. qiáng wēi lù qiū jú chūn lán, zǐ sū yán jiāng cù jiàn kuǎn. bì jiè yá cōng zhēn cùn duàn. xì duān xiáng jùn shěn jiāo pān, kě bù dào zūn zhān shì, zhèng yì guān.

[*Wěishēng* (尾聲)] 錦片前程今美滿，舞菱花一對青鸞，早不入鳳臺閑玉管。⁷⁴

jǐn piàn qián chéng jīn měi mǎn, wǔ líng huā yī duì qīng luán, zǎo bù rù fèng tái xián yù guǎn.

In *yuǎnqū*, 桓歡(huán huān) final is used exclusively in 10 places with 37 rhymed characters. There are many cases where 桓歡(huán huān) are mixed with 寒山(hān shān) and 先天(xiān tiān). Sometimes, the finals of 寒山(hān shān) and 先天(xiān tiān) include some characters from 桓歡(huán huān), while other times, the 桓歡(huán huān) group contains some characters from 寒山(hān shān) or 先天(xiān tiān). Among them, the 桓歡(huán huān) group embodies characters from 寒山(hān shān) and 先天(xiān tiān) twice, and the 寒山(hān shān) group from 桓歡(huán huān) 6 times, and the 先天(xiān tiān) group from 桓歡(huán huān) 14 times. Look at the following examples. In [*Huángzhōng-Zuìhuāyīn*] of scene 20 in *Xī Yóu Jì* (《西遊記》, *Journey to the West*) by Yang Jingxian 楊景賢 in the Yuan dynasty, the rhymes include “滿mǎn”, “轉(zhuǎn<tʃiuen)”, “漫màn”, “官guān”, “管guǎn”, “桓huán”, and “暖nuǎn”, in which “轉zhuǎn” belongs to the 先天(xiān tiān) group and the rest to 桓歡(huán huān) group. In [*Sānshà* (三煞, *Last Stanza but Two*)] from scene two of act three in *Xī Xiāng Jì* by Wang Shifu in the Yuan dynasty, “看kàn”, “案(àn<an)”, “暖nuǎn”, “寒hán”,

“看kàn”, and “安ān” are functioned as rhymes. Here “暖” belongs to the 桓歡 (huán huān) group, while the rest belong to the 寒山(hān shān) group. [Shàwěi (煞尾, Epilogue)] of scene one in *Huò Guāng Guǐ Jiàn* (《霍光鬼諫》, *Admonishment from Huo Guang's Ghost to the Emperor*) contains rhymes of “官”, “宣(xuān<siuen)”, “顯(xiǎn<xien)”, and “淺(qiǎn<ts'ien), in which “官guān” belongs to the 桓歡 (huán huān) group and the rest belong to the 先天 (xiān tiān) group. Almost 20 characters are mixed in their rhyming, including “官guān”, “斷(duàn<tuon)”, “盤pán”, “畔(pàn<puon)”, “亂 luàn”, “慢màn”, “冠guān”, “歡huān”, and “暖nuǎn”, among others. Since they constitute only a small part in all rhymed characters, it can be said that the final groups of 桓歡(huán huān), 寒山(hān shān), and 先天 (xiān tiān) are separated.

(10) 先天 (xiāntiān)	[iɛn]	邊(biān<pien), 偏(piān<p'ien), 面(miàn<mien), 天tiān, 漣(lián<lien), 前(qián<ts'ien), 牽(qiān<k'ien), 先xiān, 戰(zhàn<tsien), 然(rán<rien)
	[iuɛn]	全(quán<ts'iuɛn), 拳, 倦(juàn<kiuɛn), 卷juǎn, 穿 chuān, 犬(quǎn<k'iuɛn), 川(chuān<ts'iuɛn), 言(yán<iuɛn), 願(yuàn<iuɛn), 怨

The following examples are from yuánqǔ:

[Yuan dynasty] Yang Xianzhi楊顯之, *Xiāo Xiāng Yǔ* (《瀟湘雨》, *Rain in Xiaoxiang*), scene four (excerpt)

[Zhèngōng·Duānzhenghāo] 雨如傾, 敢則是風如扇(shàn<sien), 半空裏風雨相纏(chán<ts'ien)。兩般兒不顧行人怨, 偏打着我頭和面。⁷⁵

yǔ rú qīng, gǎn zé shì fēng rú shàn, bàn kōng lǐ fēng yǔ xiāng chán. liǎng bān ér bù gù xíng rén yuàn, piān dǎ zhe wǒ tóu hé miàn.

[Gǔnjiùqiú (滾繡毬)] 當日箇近水邊, 到岸前, 怎當那風高浪捲(juǎn<kiuɛn)。則俺這兩般兒景物淒然, 風刮的似箭穿, 雨下的似響灑(jiǎn<kien), 看了這風雨呵, 委實的不善(shàn<sien), 也是我命兒裏惹罪招愆(qiān<k'ien)。我只見雨淋淋寫出瀟湘景, 更和這雲淡淡妝成水墨天, 只落的兩淚漣漣。⁷⁶

dāng rì gè jìn shuǐ biān, dào àn qián, zěn dāng nà fēng gāo làng juǎn. zé ǎn zhè liǎng bān ér jǐng wù qī rán, fēng guā de sì jiàn chuān, yǔ xià de sì wèng jiǎn, kàn le zhè fēng yǔ a, wěi shí de bù shàn, yě shì wǒ mìng ér lǐ rě zuì zhāo qiān. wǒ zhǐ jiàn yǔ lín lín xiě chū xiāo xiāng jǐng, gèng hé zhè yún dàn dàn zhuāng chéng shuǐ mò tiān, zhǐ luò de liǎng lèi lián lián.

[Bàndúshū (伴讀書)] 我這裏告解子且消遣(qiǎn<k'ien), 我肚裏饑, 難分辨(biàn<pien)。只他這風風雨雨強將程途來踐(jiàn<tsien), 走的我筋舒力盡渾身戰, 一身疼痛十分倦, 我我我立盹行眠(mián<mien)。⁷⁷

wǒ zhè lǐ gào jiè zǐ qiě xiāo qiǎn, wǒ dù lǐ jī, nán fēn biàn. zhǐ tā zhè fēng fēng yǔ yǔ qiáng jiāng chéng tú lái jiàn, zǒu de wǒ jīn shū lì jìn hún shēn zhàn, yī shēn téng tòng shí fēn juàn, wǒ wǒ wǒ lì dǔn xíng mián

[Xiàohéshang (笑和尚)] 我我我捱一夜似一年(nián<nien), 我我我埋怨怨天。我我我敢前生罰盡了淒涼願, 我我我哭乾了淚眼⁷⁸, 我我我叫破了喉咽(yān<ien)。來來來哥哥, 我怎把這燒餅來嚙(yàn<ien)。⁷⁹

wǒ wǒ wǒ ái yī yè sì yī nián, wǒ wǒ wǒ mán yuàn tiān. wǒ wǒ wǒ gǎn qián shēng fá jìn le qī liáng yuàn, wǒ wǒ wǒ kū gān le lèi yǎn. wǒ wǒ wǒ jiào pò le hóu yān. lái lái lái gē ge, wǒ zěn bǎ zhè shāo bing lái yàn.

[*Kuàihuósān*] 我揪將來似死狗牽，兀的不夫乃婦之天。任憑你心能機變口能言，到俺老相公行說方便(biàn<pien)。⁸⁰

wǒ jiū jiāng lái sì sǐ gǒu qiān, wù de bù fū nǚ fù zhī tiān. rèn píng nǐ xīn néng jī biàn kǒu néng yán, dào ǎn lǎo xiàng gōng xíng shuō fāng biàn.

[*Zuitàipíng*(醉太平)] 不爭你虧心的解元(yuán<iuēn), 又打着我薄命的嬋娟(juān<kiuēn)。險些兒做樂昌鏡破不重圓(yuán<iuēn), 乾受了這場罪譴(qiǎn<iuēn)。爹爹呵另巍巍穩掌着森羅殿(diàn<tiēn)。崔通呵喜孜孜還歸去秦川縣(xiàn<xien)。我翠鸞呵，生刺刺硬踹入武陵源(yuán<iuēn), 也都是蒼天可憐(lián<lien)。⁸¹

bù zhēng nǐ kuī xīn de jiě yuán, yòu dǎ zhe wǒ bó mìng de chán juān. xiǎn xiē ér zuò le chāng jìng pò bù chóng yuán, gān shòu le zhè chǎng zuì qiǎn. diē diē a lìng wēi wēi wěn zhǎng zhe sēn luó diàn. cuī tōng a xǐ zī zī huán guī qù qín chuān xiàn. wǒ cuī luán a, shēng là là yìng chuài rù wǔ líng yuán, yě dōu shì cāng tiān kě lián.

(11) 蕭豪
(xiāoháo)

[au]	薄(báo<bau), 袍(páo<p`au), 暴(bào<pau), 刀(dāo<tau), 條(tāo<t`au), 道(dào<tau), 盜, 牢(láo<lau), 告(gào<kau), 拷(kào<k`au)
[iau]	交(jiāo<kiau), 敲(qiāo<k`iau), 絞(jiǎo<kiau), 巧(qiǎo<k`iau), 肴(yáo<iau), 爻(yáo<iau), 角(jiǎo<kiau), 覺(jiào<kiau), 學(xiáo<xiau), 腳(jiǎo<kiau)
[ieu]	標(biāo<pieu), 刁(diāo<tiēu), 條(tiáo<t`ieu), 了(liǎo<lieu), 交(xiǎo<sieu), 笑(xiào<sieu), 超(chāo<t̚`ieu), 着(zháo<t̚sieu), 爍(shuò<ɕieu)

The following examples are from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Yue Bochuan岳伯川, *Tiě Guǎi Lǐ* (《鐵拐李》), *Immortal Li with An Iron Stick*, scene one (excerpt)

[*Xiānlǚ-Diànjàngchún*] 名分輕薄，俸錢些小。家私暴，又不曾耕種鋤創(páo<bau), 倚仗着答杖徒流絞。⁸²

míng fèn qīng báo, fèng qián xiē xiǎo. jiā sī bào, yòu bù huì gēng zhòng chú páo, yǐ zhàng zhe chí zhàng tú liú jiǎo.

[*Hùnjiānglóng*] 想前日解來強盜，都只為味心錢買轉了這管紫霜臺(háo<xau)。減一筆教當刑的責斷，添一筆教為從的該敲。這一管扭曲作直取狀筆，更狠似圖財致命殺人刀。出來的都關來節去，私多公少，可曾有一件兒合天道？他每都指山賣磨，將百姓畫地為牢。⁸³

xiǎng qián rì jiě lái qiáng dào, dōu zhǐ wèi mèi xīn qián mǎi zhuǎn le zhè guǎn zǐ shuāng háo. jiǎn yī bǐ jiào dāng xíng de zé duàn, tiān yī bǐ jiào wéi cóng de gāi qiāo. zhè yī guǎn niǔ qū zuò zhí qǔ zhuàng bǐ, gèng hěn sì tú cái zhì mìng shā rén dāo. chū lái de dōu guān lái jié qù, sī duō gōng shǎo, kě céng yǒu yī jiàn ér hé tiān dào? tā měi dōu zhǐ shān mài mò, jiāng bǎi xìng huà dì wèi láo.

[Yóuhúlu] 你欺侮俺孩兒年紀小，出家人廝扇搖(yáo<iau)，吃的來滴滴鄧鄧醉陶陶(táo<iau)。門前哭罷門前笑，街頭指定街頭鬧(nào<nau)，孩兒他娘引着，你罵他爺死了。也不索官中插狀衙中告，只消得二指闊紙提條。⁸⁴

nǐ qī wǔ ǎn hái ér nián jì xiǎo, chū jiā rén sī shàn yáo, chī de lái dī dī dèng dèng zuì táo táo. mén qián kū bà mén qián xiào, jiē tóu zhǐ dìng jiē tóu nào, hái ér tā niáng yǐn zhe, nǐ mà tā yé sǐ le. yě bù suǒ guān zhōng chā zhuàng yá zhōng gào, zhǐ xiāo de èr zhǐ kuò zhǐ tí tiáo.

[Tiānxiàlè] 敢把你拖到官司便下坐，我先教你，省會了，你和那打家賊並排壓定腳。祇從人解了你條，首領每剥了你袍，我着你似生驢般吃頓搯。⁸⁵

gǎn bǎ nǐ tuō dào guān sī biàn xià zǎo, wǒ xiān jiāo nǐ, shěng huì le, nǐ hé nà dǎ jiā zéi bìng pái yā dìng jiǎo. zhǐ cóng rén jiě le nǐ tiáo, shǒu lǐng měi bō le nǐ páo, wǒ zhe nǐ sì shēng lú bān chī dùn kǎo.

[Jīnzhǎn'ér] 你道是新官正決難逃(táo<t'au)，俺這舊吏富易通交。眼見得一官二吏三年了。家私休想落分毫。他這新官倚俸祿，俺這舊吏靠窠巢(cháo<t'au)：他這官清司吏瘦，俺這家富小兒嬌(jiāo<kiau)。⁸⁶

nǐ dào shì xīn guān zhèng jué nán táo, ǎn zhè jiù lì fù yì tōng jiāo. yǎn jiàn de yī guān èr lì sān nián le. jiā sī xiū xiǎng luò fēn háo. tā zhè xīn guān yǐ fèng lù, ǎn zhè jiù lì kào kē cháo; tā zhè guān qīng sī lì shòu, ǎn zhè jiā fù xiǎo ér jiāo.

[Hòutinghuā] (後庭花) 怕不初來時妝會么(yāo<iau)，看他間深裏探會瓜(zhǎo<tau)。我見先，他見後(hòu<xou)⁸⁷，他臨行，我放刁，笑裏暗藏刀。代官來到(dào<tau)，不道咱輕放了。⁸⁸

pà bù chū lái shí zhuāng huì yāo, kàn tā jiān shēn lǐ tàn huì guā . wǒ jiàn xiān, tā jiàn hòu, tā lín xíng, wǒ fàng diāo, xiào lǐ àn cáng dāo . dài guān lái dào, bù dào zán qīng fàng le

- (12) 歌戈 [o] 哥(gē<ko), 閣(gé<ko), 個(gè<ko), 科(kē<ko), 娥(é<ŋo), (gēgē) 我(wǒ<ŋo), 何(hé<xo), 鑿(záo<tso), 濯(zhuó<tso), 鐸(duó<to)
- [uo] 多(duō<tuō), 奪(duó<tuō), 羅(luó<luō), 破(pò<p`uo), 婆(pó<p`uo), 磨(mó<muō), 過(guó<kuō), 火(huǒ<xuō), 和(huó<xuō), 鎖(suǒ<suo)
- [io] 着(zhuó<tŋio), 略(lüè<lio), 掠, 若(ruò<tio), 弱, 虐(nüè<ŋio), 學(xué<xio), 岳(yuè<io), 樂, 約(yuē<io)

The examples that follow are from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Anonymous author, *Huò Láng Dàn* (《貨郎擔》, *Pedler's Load*), scene one (excerpt)

[Xiānlǚ·Diǎnjiàngchún] 你把解庫存活(huó<xuō), 草堂工課(kè<k`uo), 都耽閣, 終日波波白日休空過。⁸⁹

nǐ bǎ jiě kù cún huó, cǎo táng gōng kè, dōu dān gé, zhōng rì bō bō bái rì xiū kōng guò

[Hūnjiānglóng] 到晚來早些來箇(gè<ko), 直至那玉壺傳點二更過。你教我可憐見，你待敢是無奈之何。你比着東晉謝安才藝淺，比着江州司馬

浪痕多。也只爲婚姻事成拋綫(duǒ<tuò), 勸不醒癡迷楚子, 直要娶薄倖巫娥。⁹⁰

dào wǎn lái zǎo xiē lái gè, zhī zhī nà yù hú chuán diǎn èr gēng guò. nǐ jiāo wǒ kě lián jiàn, nǐ dài gǎn shì wú nài zhī hé. nǐ bǐ zhe dōng jìn xiè ān cái yì qiǎn, bǐ zhe jiāng zhōu sī mǎ lèi hén duō. yě zhī wèi hūn yīn shì chéng pāo, quàn bù xǐng chī mí chǔ zǐ, zhī yào qǔ bó xìng wū é.

[Yóuhúlu] 氣的我粉臉兒三間投汨羅, 只他那情越多, 把雲期雨約枉爭奪。你望着巫山廟, 滿門兒燒香火。怎知高陽臺, 一路上排鉞鑿(jué<kuò)。休這般枕上說, 都是他栽下的科。他是箇萬人欺千人貨(huò<xuò), 你只待娶做小家婆。⁹¹

qì de wǒ fěn liǎn ér sān jiān tóu mì luó, zhī tā nà qíng yuè duō, bǎ yún qī yǔ yuē wǎng zhēng duó. nǐ wàng zhe wū shān miào, mǎn dòu ér shāo xiāng huǒ. zěn zhī gāo yáng tái, yí lù shàng pái jué. xiū zhè bān zhēn shàng shuō, dōu shì tā zāi xià de kē. tā shì tǒng wàn rén qī qiān rén huò, nǐ zhī dài qǔ zuò xiǎo jiā pó.

[Hòutíng huā] 你踏踏的我忒太過, 這妮子欺負的我沒奈何。支使的大媳婦都隨順, 偏不着小渾家先拜我。他那裏鬧鑊鏗, 我去那窗兒前瞧破。那賤人俏聲兒訴一和, 俺這廝側身兒搜抱着, 將衫兒腮上抹(mò<muò), 指尖兒彈淚顆(kē<k'uo)。⁹²

nǐ chǎ tà de wǒ tè tài guò, zhè nǐ zǐ qī fù de wǒ mò nài hé. zhī shǐ de dà xí fù dòu suí shùn, piān bù zhāo xiǎo hún jiā xiān bài wǒ. tā nà lǐ nào huò duó, wǒ qù nà chuāng ér qián qiào pò. nà jiàn rén qiào shēng ér sù yī hé, ǎn zhè sī cè shēn ér lǒu bào zhe, jiāng shān ér sāi shàng mǒ, zhǐ jiān ér tán lèi kē.

[Liǔyè'ér] (柳葉兒) 你道他爲甚來眉峰暗鎖, 則要我慶新親茶飯張羅。都是些胡姑姑、假姨姨, 廳堂上坐(zuò<tsuo)。待着我供玉饌, 飲金波(bō<puo), 可不道誰扶持你姐姐哥哥。⁹³

nǐ dào tā wèi shèn lái méi fēng àn suǒ, zé yào wǒ qìng xīn qīn chá fàn zhāng luó. dōu shì xiē hú gū gū, jiǎ yí yí, tīng táng shàng zuò. dài zhe wǒ gòng yù zhuàn, yǐn jīn bō, kě bù dào shuí fú chí nǐ jiě jie gē ge.

[Jīnzhān'ér] 俺這廝偏意信調唆(suō<suò), 這弟子業口沒遭磨, 有情人惹起無明火。他那裏精神一掇顯儂(luó<luò)? 他那裏尖着舌語刺刺, 我這裏掩着面笑呵呵(hē<xō)。你道我嘲撥着你箇花奶奶, 我也不是箇善婆婆。⁹⁴

ǎn zhè sī piān yì xìn tiáo suō, zhè dì zǐ yè kǒu méi zāo mó, yǒu qíng rén rě qǐ wú míng huǒ. tā nà lǐ jīng shén yī duō xiǎn lóu luó? tā nà lǐ jiān zhe shé yǔ là là, wǒ zhè lǐ yǎn zhe miàn xiào hē hē. nǐ dào wǒ cháo bō zhe nǐ gè huā nǎi nǎi, wǒ yě bú shì gè shàn pó pó.

- (13) 家麻 [a] 巴(bā<pa), 怕(pà<p'a), 罷(bà<pa), 馬(mǎ<ma), 發(fā<fa), 乏(fá<fa), 達(dá<ta), 踏(tà<ta), 沙(shā<şa), 灑(sǎ<şa)
- [ua] 瓜(guā<kua), 寡(guǎ<kua), 誇(kuā<k'ua), 花(huā<xua), 滑(huá<xua), 華, 畫, 誑(huá<xua), 窪(wā<ua), 瓦(wǎ<ua)
- [ia] 家, 加, 嫁(jià<ka), 蝦(xiā<xia), 暇(xiá<xia), 下(xià<xia), 峽(xiá<xia), 鴉(yā<ia), 啞(yǎ<ia), 亞(yà<ia)

The following examples are from *yuánqǔ*.

[Yuan dynasty] Zheng Dehui 鄭德輝, *Qiàn Nǚ Lí Hú* (《倩女離魂》), *A Beauty with Her Soul Leaving the Body to Chase Her Love*, scene two (excerpt)

[Yuèdiào·Dòu'ānchún (越調·鬥鶴鶩)] 人去陽臺，雲歸楚峽。不爭他江渚停舟，幾時得門庭過馬。悄悄冥冥，瀟瀟灑灑，我這裏踏岸沙，步月華。我覷這萬水千山，都只在一時半霎(shà<sa)。⁹⁵

rén qù yáng tái, yún guī chǔ xiá. bù zhēng tā jiāng zhǔ tíng zhōu, jǐ shí dé mén tíng guò mǎ. qiāo qiāo míng míng, xiāo xiāo sǎ sǎ, wǒ zhè lǐ tà àn shā, bù yuè huá. wǒ qù zhè wàn shuǐ qiān shān, dōu zhī zài yī shí bàn shà.

[Zīhuā'érxù (紫花兒序)] 想倩女心間離恨，趕王生柳外蘭舟，似盼張騫天上浮槎(chá<ts'a)。汗溶溶瓊珠瑩臉，亂松松雲髻堆鴉，走的我筋力疲乏。你莫不夜泊秦淮賣酒家，向斷橋西下，疎刺刺秋水菰蒲，冷清清明月蘆花。⁹⁶

xiǎng qiàn nǚ xīn jiān lí hèn, gǎn wáng shēng liǔ wài lán zhōu, sì pàn zhāng qiān tiān shàng fú chá. hàn róng róng qióng zhū yíng liǎn, luàn sōng sōng yún jì duī yā, zǒu de wǒ jīn lì pí fá. nǐ mò bù yè pō qín huái mài jiǔ jiā, xiàng duàn qiáo xī xià, shū là là qiū shuǐ gū pú, lěng qīng qīng míng yuè lú huā.

[Xiǎohóngtáo (小桃紅)] 驀聽得馬嘶人語鬧喧譁，掩映在垂楊下。說的我心頭丕丕那驚怕，原來是響噹噹鳴榔板捕魚蝦。我這裏順西風悄悄聽沉罷，趁着這厭厭露華，對着這澄澄月下，驚的那呀呀呀寒雁起平沙。⁹⁷

mò tīng dé mǎ sī rén yǔ nào xuān huá, yǎn yìng zài chuí yáng xià. háo de wǒ xīn tóu pī pī nà jīng pà, yuán lái shì xiǎng dāng dāng míng láng bǎn bǔ yú xiā. wǒ zhè lǐ shùn xī fēng qiāo qiāo tīng chén bà, chèn zhe zhè yàn yàn lù huá, duì zhe zhè chéng chéng yuè xià, jīng de nà yā yā yā hán yàn qǐ píng shā.

[Tiáoxiàolìng (調笑令)] 向沙堤款踏，莎草帶霜滑。掠濕湘裙翡翠紗(shā<sa), 抵多少蒼台露冷凌波襪(wà<ua)。看江上晚來堪畫，玩冰壺激灩天上下，似一片碧玉無瑕(xiá<xia)。⁹⁸

xiàng shā dī kuǎn tà, suǒ cǎo dài shuāng huá. lüè shī xiāng qún fěi cuì shā, dǐ duō shǎo cāng tái lù lěng líng bō wà. kàn jiāng shàng wǎn lái kān huà, wán bīng hú liàn yàn tiān shàng xià, sì yī piàn bì yù wú xiá.

[Tūsī'ér (禿廝兒)] 你覷遠浦孤鶩落霞(xiá<xia), 枯藤老樹昏鴉。聽長笛一聲何處發，歌歛乃櫓啞。⁹⁹

nǐ qù yuǎn pǔ gū wù luò xiá, kū téng lǎo shù hūn yā. tīng zhǎng dí yī shēng hé chù fā, gē Āi nǎi lǔ yǎ.

[Shèngyàowáng (聖藥王)] 近蓼窪，縵釣槎，有折蒲衰柳老蒹葭(jiā<kia)。近水凹，折藕芽(yá<ia), 見煙籠寒水月籠沙，茅舍兩三家。¹⁰⁰

jìn liǎo wā, lǎn diào chá, yǒu zhé pú shuāi liǔ lǎo jiān jiā (jiā kia). jìn shuǐ āo, zhé ǒu yá(yá ia), jiàn yān lóng hán shuǐ yuè lóng shā, máo shè liǎng sān jiā.

- (14) 車遮 [iɛ] 別(bié<piɛ), 鐵(tiě<t'ie), 者(zhě<tɕie), 車, 烈(liè<lie),
(chēzhē) 嗟(jiē<tɕie), 謝(xiè<ɕie), 舍(shě<ɕie), 也(yě<ie), 夜(yè<ie)
[iuɛ] 絕(jué<tɕiue), 決, 闕(què<k'iuɛ), 缺(quē<k'iuɛ),
雪(xuě<ɕiue), 說(shuō<ɕiue), 月(yuè<iue), 拙(zhuō<tɕiue),
輟(chuò<tɕiue), 劣(liè<liue)

The following examples are from yuánqǔ:

[Yuan dynasty] Bai Pu 白樸, *Qiáng Tóu Mǎ Shàng* (《墻頭馬上》), *Passing by the Courtyard Wall on Horseback*, scene three (excerpt)

[*Shuāngdiào·Xīnshuǐlìng* (雙調·新水令)] 數年一枕夢莊蝶(dié<tiē), 過了些不明白好天良夜, 想父母關山路途遠, 魚雁信音絕。爲甚感歎咨嗟, 甚日得離書舍。¹⁰¹

shù nián yī zhěn mèng zhuāng dié, guò le xiē bù míng hǎo tiān liáng yè, xiǎng fù mǔ guān shān lù tú yuǎn, yú yàn xìn yīn jué. wéi shèn gǎn tàn zī jiē, shèn rì dé lí shū shě.

[*Zhù mǎ tīng* (駐馬聽)] 憑男子豪傑(jié<kiē), 平步上萬里龍庭雙鳳闕, 妻兒真烈。合該得五花官誥七香車, 也強如帶滿頭花向午門左右把狀元接(jiē<tsiē), 也強如掛拖地紅兩頭來往交媒謝。今日簡改換別, 成就了一天錦繡佳風月。¹⁰²

píng nán zǐ háo jié, píng bù shàng wàn lǐ lóng tíng shuāng fèng què, qī ér zhēn liè. hé gāi dé wǔ huā guān gào qī xiāng chē, yě qiáng rú dài mǎn tóu huā xiàng wǔ mén zuǒ yòu bǎ zhuàng yuán jiē, yě qiáng rú guà tuō dì hóng liǎng tóu lái wǎng jiāo méi xiè. jīn rì gǎn gǎi huàn bié, chéng jiù le yì tiān jīn xiù jiā fēng yuè.

[*Guà yù gōu* (掛玉鉤)] 小業種把權門掩上些(xiē<siē), 道不的跳天擲地十分劣, 被老相公親向園中撞見者, 說的我死臨侵地難分說。氤氳的臉上羞, 撲撲的心頭怯(qiè<k'ie), 喘似雷轟, 烈似風車。¹⁰³

xiǎo yè zhǒng bǎ lóng mén yǎn shàng xiē, dào bù de tiào tiān jūē dì shí fēn liè, bèi lǎo xiàng gōng qīn xiàng yuán zhōng zhuàng jiàn zhě, háo de wǒ sǐ lín qīn dì nán fēn shuō. yīn yūn de liǎn shàng xiū, pū pū de xīn tóu qiè, chuǎn sì léi hōng, liè sì fēng chē.

[*Gū měi jiǔ* (沽美酒)] 本是好人家女豔冶(yě<iē), 便待要興詞訟發文牒(dié<tiē), 送到官司遭痛決。人心非鐵, 逢赦不該赦(shè<siē).¹⁰⁴

běn shì hǎo rén jiā nǚ yàn yě, biàn dài yào xīng cí sòng fā wén dié, sòng dào guān sī zāo tòng jué. rén xīn fēi tiě, féng shè bù gāi shè.

[*Yàn 'ér luò* (雁兒落)] 似陷人坑千丈穴(xuē<xiē), 勝滾浪千堆雪。恰才石頭上損玉簪, 又叫我水底撈明月。¹⁰⁵

sì xiàn rén kēng qiān zhàng xuē, shèng gǔn làng qiān duī xuě. qià cái shí tóu shàng sǔn yù zān, yòu jiào wǒ shuǐ dǐ lāo míng yuè.

[*Chén zuì dōng fēng* (沉醉東風)] 夢驚破情緣萬結(jié<kiē), 路迢迢煙水千疊(dié<tiē)。常言道有親娘有後爺(yé<iē), 無親娘無疼熱(rè<riē)。他要送我到官司逞盡豪傑, 多謝你把一雙幼女癡兒好覷者, 我待信拖拖去也。¹⁰⁶

mèng jīng pò qíng yuán wàn jié, lù tiáo yáo yān shuǐ qiān dié. cháng yán dào yǒu qīn niáng yǒu hòu yé, wú qīn niáng wú téng rè. tā yào sòng wǒ dào guān sī chěng jìn háo jié, duō xiè nǐ bǎ yī shuāng yòu nǚ chī ér hǎo qù zhě, wǒ dài xìn tuō tuō qù yě.

Among the 188 characters of 車遮 chēzhē group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, only 56 were transformed from 麻 má group, and altogether, 132 from characters with the entering tone. Hence, it can be seen that characters in 車遮 group were mainly turned from characters with the entering tone in Middle Chinese language.

(15) 庚青 (gēngqīng)	[əŋ]	登(dēng<təŋ), 蹬, 疼(téng<t'əŋ), 騰, 能(néng<nəŋ), 爭(zhēng<tʂəŋ), 增(zēng<tsəŋ), 羹(gēng<kiəŋ), 生(shēng<ʂəŋ), 省(shěng<ʂəŋ)
	[uəŋ]	肱(gōng<kuəŋ), 觥, 礦(kuàng<kuəŋ), 轟(hōng<xuəŋ), 薨, 宏(hóng<xuəŋ), 橫(héng<xuəŋ), 閔(hóng<xuəŋ), 泓, 嶸(róng<xuəŋ)
	[iəŋ]	兵(bīng<pīəŋ), 並, 名(míng<mīəŋ), 命(mìng<mīəŋ), 頂(dǐng<tīəŋ), 定, 廷(tíng<diəŋ), 情(qíng<dziəŋ), 刑(xíng<yīəŋ), 應(yīng<iəŋ)
	[iuəŋ]	扁(biǎn<piuəŋ), 瓊(qióng<k'iuəŋ), 榮, 兄xiōng, 熒(yíng<iuəŋ), 迴(jiǒng<xiuəŋ), 永(yǒng<iuəŋ), 詠, 榮(róng<iuəŋ), 頃(qǐng<k'iuəŋ)

The examples that follow are from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Anonymous writer, *Chén Zhōu Tiào Mǐ* (《陳州糶米》), *Selling Grain in Chenzhou*, scene one (excerpt)

[*Xiānlǚ-Diǎnjiàngchún*] 則這官吏知情, 外合裏應, 將窮民併(bìng<piəŋ)。點紙連名, 我可便直告到中書省。¹⁰⁷

zé zhè guān lì zhī qíng, wài hé lǐ yìng, jiāng qióng mín bìng(bìng pi). diǎn zhǐ lián míng, wǒ kě biàn zhí gào dào zhōng shū shěng.

[*Hùnjiānglóng*] 做的個上樑不正(zhèng<tʂəŋ), 只待要損人利己惹人憎(zēng<tsəŋ)。他若是將啗刁蹬, 休道我不敢掀騰。柔軟莫過溪澗水, 到了不平地上也高聲(shēng<ʂəŋ)。他也故違了皇帝命, 都是些吃倉廩的鼠耗, 啞膿血的蒼蠅(yíng<iəŋ)。¹⁰⁸

zuò de gè shàng liáng bù zhèng, zhǐ dài yào sǔn rén lì jǐ rě rén zēng. tā ruò shì jiāng zán diào dēng, xiū dào wǒ bù gǎn xiān téng. róu ruǎn mò guò xī jiàn shuǐ, dào le bù píng dì shàng yě gāo shēng. tā yě gù wéi le huáng dì mìng, dōu shì xiē chī cāng áo de shǔ hào, zā nóng xuè de cāng yíng.

[*Jīnzhǎn'ér* (金盞兒)] 你道你奉官行(xíng<xīəŋ), 我道你奉私行。俺看承的一合米, 關着八九個人的命, 又不比山麋野鹿衆人爭。你正是餓狼口裏奪脆骨, 乞兒碗底覓殘羹。我能可折升不折斗, 你怎也圖利不圖名?¹⁰⁹

nǐ dào nǐ fèng guān xíng, wǒ dào nǐ fèng sī xíng. ǎn kàn chéng de yī hé mǐ, guān zhe bā jiǔ gè rén de mìng, yòu bù bǐ shān mí yě lù zhòng rén zhēng. nǐ zhèng shì è láng kǒu lǐ duó cuì gǔ, qǐ ér wǎn dǐ mì cán gēng. wǒ néng kě zhé shēng bù zhé dòu, nǐ zěn yě tú lì bù tú míng.

[*Cūnlǐyàngǔ* (村里逐鼓)] 只見他金鎚落處, 恰便是轟雷着頂。打的來滿身血迸, 教我呵怎生扎掙。也不知打着的是脊樑, 是腦袋, 是肩井(jǐng<tsiəŋ); 但覺的刺牙般酸, 剜心般痛(tòng<t'əŋ), 剔骨般疼。哎喲, 天那, 兀的不送了我這條老命。¹¹⁰

zhǐ jiàn tā jīn chuī luò chù, qià biàn shì hōng léi zhāo dǐng. dǎ de lái mǎn shēn xuè bèng, jiào wǒ ā zěn shēng zhā zhēng. yě bù zhī dǎ zhe de shì jí liáng, shì nǎo dai, shì jiān jǐng dàn jué de cì yá bān suān, wān xīn bān tòng, tī gǔ bān téng. āi yō, tiān nà, wù de bù sòng le wǒ yě zhè tiáo lǎo mìng.

[*Shèng húlú* (勝葫蘆)] 都只待遙指空中雁做羹，那個肯爲朝廷？有一日受法餐刀正典刑，恁時節，錢財使罄(*qìng<k'ìəŋ*)，人亡家破，方悔道不廉能。¹¹¹

dōu zhǐ dài yáo zhǐ kōng zhōng yàn zuò gēng, nǎ gè kěn wèi cháo tíng? yǒu yī rì shòu fǎ cān dāo zhèng diǎn xíng, nèn shí jié, qián cái shǐ qìng, rén wáng jiā pò, fāng huǐ dào bù lián néng.

[*Qīnggē'er* (青哥兒)] 雖然是輸贏輸贏無定，也須知報應報應分明。難道紫金錠就好活打殺人性命，我便死在幽冥(*míng<miəŋ*)，決不忘情，待告神靈(*líng<liəŋ*)，拏到階庭(*tíng<t'ìəŋ*)，取下招承(*chéng<tʂ'ìəŋ*)，償俺殘生，苦恨才平(*píng<p'ìəŋ*)。若不沙，則我這雙兒鶻鶻也似眼中睛應不暝(*míng<miəŋ*)。¹¹²

suī rán shì shū yíng shū yíng wú dìng, yě xū zhī bào yìng bào yìng fēn míng. nán dào zǐ jīn chuí jiù hǎo huó dǎ shā rén xìng mìng, wǒ biàn sǐ zài yōu míng, jué bù wàng qíng, dài gào shén líng, ná dào jiē tíng, qǔ xià zhāo chéng, cháng ǎn cán shēng, kǔ hèn cái píng. ruò bù shā, zé wǒ zhè shuāng ér gú líng yě sì yǎn zhōng jīng yīng bù míng.

- (16) 尤侯 [ou] 謀(*móu<mou*), 頭(*tóu<t'ou*), 透(*tòu*), 樓(*lóu<lou*), 漏(*lòu<lou*),
(*yóuhóu*) 口(*kǒu<k'ou*), 叩(*kòu<k'ou*), 寇, 侯(*hóu*), 奏(*zòu<tsou*)
[iou] 舊(*jiù<kiou*), 秋(*qiū<ts'iou*), 洲(*zhōu<tʂiou*), 究(*jiū<kiou*),
晝(*zhòu<tʂiou*), 流(*liú<lǐou*), 休(*xiū<xiou*), 憂(*yōu<iou*),
由(*yóu<iou*), 遊

The following examples are from *yuánqū*:

[Yuan dynasty] Fan Zi'an 范子安, *Zhú Yè Zhōu* (《竹葉舟》, *A Boat Turned into a Bamboo Leaf*), scene two (excerpt)

[*Shuāngdiào-Xīnshuǐlǐng*] 五湖四海自遨遊，則俺這拂天風雨枚袍袖(*xiù<siou*)。喚靈童採瑞草，同仙子下瀛洲。似這等蕩蕩悠悠(*yōu<iou*)。歎塵世幾昏晝。¹¹³

wǔ hú sì hǎi zì áo yóu, zé ǎn zhè fú tiān fēng yǔ méi páo xiù. huàn líng tóng cǎi ruì cǎo, tóng xiān zǐ xià yíng zhōu. sì zhè děng dàng dàng yōu yōu. tàn chén shì jǐ hūn zhòu.

[*Zhùnmǎtīng*] 仙苑優遊，物換星移幾度秋，將玄觀參透，經了些夕陽西下水東流。一生空抱一生愁(*chóu<tʂ'ou*)，千年可有千年壽(*shòu<ziou*)，則合的早回頭，和着那閑雲野鶴常相守(*shǒu<ʂiou*)。¹¹⁴

xiān yuàn yōu yóu, wù huàn xīng yí jǐ dù qiū, jiāng xuán guān cān tòu, jīng le xiē xī yáng xī xià shuǐ dōng liú. yī shēng kōng bào yī shēng chóu, qiān nián kě yǒu qiān nián shòu, zé hé de zǎo huí tóu, hé zhe nà xián yún yě hè cháng xiāng shòu.

[*Déshènglìng* (得勝令)] 呀，你不道經史習如流，青紫不須憂，怎不將連城壁丹墀奏，博一個取凌陽萬戶侯。今日個啾啾(*jiū<tsiou*)，這是你爲官的偏生受(*shòu<ʂiou*)，倒不如休也波休，早隨我出家兒得自由。¹¹⁵

yā, nǐ bù dào jīng shǐ xí rú liú, qīng zǐ bù xū yōu, zěn bù jiāng lián chéng bì dān chí zòu, bó yī gè qǔ líng yáng wàn hù hóu. jīn rì gè jiū jiū, zhè shì nǐ wéi guān de piān shēng shòu, dào bù rú xiū yě bō xiū, zǎo suí wǒ chū jiā ér dé zì yóu.

[*Guàiyùgōu*] 你道我不是知音話不投(tóu<t'ou), 只去把九域志閑窮究, 翻惹動你一點鄉心淚間流, 滴滿了征衫袖。現如今路又迷, 途難哩, 你則認那畫裏家山, 怎知是夢裏神遊。¹¹⁶

nǐ dào wǒ bú shì zhī yīn huà bù tóu, zhǐ qù bǎ jiǔ yù zhì xián qióng jiū, fān rě dòng nǐ yī diǎn xiāng xīn lèi jiān liú, dī mǎn le zhēng shān xiù. xiàn rú jīn lù yòu mí, tú nán kòu, nǐ zé rèn nà huà lǐ jiā shān, zěn zhī shì mèng lǐ shén yóu.

[*Chuānbōzhào*] 我笑你這呆頭, 便奪個狀元來應了口, 受用着後擁前鑿(zōu<t̚sou), 畫閣朱樓, 舞袖歌喉(hóu<xau), 也做不得功施宇宙(zhòu<t̚siou)。怎如俺這馭清風列禦寇。¹¹⁷

wǒ xiào nǐ zhè dāi tóu, biàn duó gè zhuàng yuán lái yīng le kǒu, shòu yòng zhe hòu yōng qián zōu, huà gé zhū lóu, wǔ xiù gē hóu, yě zuò bù dé gōng shī yǔ zhòu. zěn rú ǎn zhè yù qīng fēng liè yù kòu.

[*Qīdìxiōng*] 怎如俺這運籌(chóu<t̚'iou), 訣謀, 漢留侯, 怎如俺這煉丹砂葛令辭句漏, 你則看王溪邊煙水不停流, 翠岩前風月長依舊。¹¹⁸

zěn rú ǎn zhè yùn chóu, jué móu, hàn liú hóu, zěn rú ǎn zhè liàn dān shā gé líng cí jù lòu, nǐ zé kàn wáng xī biān yān shuǐ bù tíng liú, cuì yán qián fēng yuè zhǎng yī jiù.

- (17) 侵尋 [əŋ] 晤(wù<u), 簪(zān<t̚səm), 譖(zèn<t̚səm), 岑(cén<t̚'əm), (qīnxún) 讖(chèn<t̚'əm), 森(sēn<ɣəm), 參(shēn<ɣəm), 滲(shèn<ɣəm), 糶(shè<ɣəm), 怎(zěn<t̚səm)
- [iəm] 今(jīn<kiəm), 金, 侵qīn, 心xīn, 音(yīn<iəm), 枕(zhěn<t̚siəm), 沉(chén<t̚'iem), 深(shēn<ɣiəm), 音, 尋(xún)

The examples that follow are from *yuánqū*:

[Yuan dynasty] Wang Shifu, *Xī Xiāng Jī*, scene four of act three (excerpt)

[*Yuèdiào·Dòu'ānchūn*] 則為你彩筆題詩, 迴文織錦(jīn<kiəm), 送得人臥枕着床, 忘餐廢寢(qīn<kiəm)。折倒得鬢似愁潘, 腰如病沈(chén<t̚siəm)。恨已深, 病已沉, 昨夜箇熱臉兒對面搶白, 今日箇冷句兒將人廝侵。¹¹⁹

zé wèi nǐ cǎi bǐ tí shī, jiǒng wén zhī jīn, sòng dé rén wò zhěn zhuó chuáng, wàng cān fèi qīn. zhé dǎo dé bìn sì chóu pān, yāo rú bìng chén. hèn yǐ shēn, bìng yǐ chén, zuó yè gè rè liǎn ér duì miàn qiǎng bái, jīn rì gè lěng jù ér jiāng rén sī qīn.

[*Tiānjìngshā* (天淨沙)] 心不存學海文林(lín<liəm), 夢不離柳影花陰(yīn<iəm), 則去那竊玉偷香上用心。又不曾得甚(shèn<ɣiəm), 自從海棠開想到如今。¹²⁰

xīn bù cún xué hǎi wén lín, mèng bù lí liǔ yǐng huā yīn, zé qù nà qiè yù tōu xiāng shàng yòng xīn. yòu bù céng dé shèn, zì cóng hǎi táng kāi xiāng dào rú jīn.

[*Tiáoxiàoling*] 我這裏自審, 這病爲邪淫(yín<iəm), 屍骨崑崑鬼病侵。更做道秀才每從來恁(nèn<iəm)。似這般乾相思的好撒啞(tūn<t'iem),¹²¹ 功名上早則不遂心, 婚姻上更返吟復吟(yín<iəm)。¹²²

wǒ zhè lǐ zì shěn, zhè bìng wèi xié yín, shī gǔ yán yán guǐ bìng qīn. gèng zuò dào xiù cái měi cóng lái nèn. sì zhè bān gān xiāng sī de hǎo sā yǎ, gōng míng shàng zǎo zé bù suí xīn, hūn yīn shàng gèng fǎn yín fù yín.

[Tūsī'ér] 身卧着一條布衾(qīn<k'iam), 頭枕着三尺瑶琴(qín<k'iam), 他來時怎生和你一處寢? 凍得來戰戰兢兢, 說甚知音。¹²³

shēn wò zhe yī tiáo bù qīn, tóu zhěn zhe sān chǐ yáo qín, tā lái shí zěn shēng hé nǐ yī chù qǐn? dòng dé lái zhàn zhàn jīng jīng, shuō shèn zhī yīn.

[Shèngyàowáng] 若果你有心, 他有心, 昨日鞦韆院宇夜深沉。花有陰, 月有陰, 春宵一刻抵千金。何須詩對會家吟。¹²⁴

ruò guǒ nǐ yǒu xīn, tā yǒu xīn, zuó rì qiū qiān yuàn yǔ yè shēn chén. huā yǒu yīn, yuè yǒu yīn, chūn xiāo yī kè dǐ qiān jīn. hé xū shī duì huì jiā yín.

[Dōngyuánlè (東原樂)] 俺那鴛鴦枕, 翡翠衾, 便遂殺了人心, 如何肯賃(lìn<niəm)? 至如你不脫解和衣兒更怕甚? 不强如手執定指尖兒恁。倘或成親, 到大來福蔭(yīn<iəm)。¹²⁵

ǎn nà yuān yāng zhěn, fēi cuī qīn, biàn suì shà le rén xīn, rú hé kěn lín? zhī rú nǐ bù tuō jiě hé yī ér gèng pà shèn? bù qiáng rú shǒu zhí dìng zhǐ jiān ér nèn. tǎng huò chéng qīn, dào dà lái fú yīn.

[Miándāxù (綿搭絮)] 他眉彎遠山不翠, 眼橫秋水無塵¹²⁶, 體若凝酥, 腰如嫩柳, 俊的是龐兒俏的是心。體態溫柔性格兒沉。雖不會法灸神鍼(zhēn<tɕiəm), 更勝似救苦難觀世音。¹²⁷

tā méi wān yuǎn shān bù cuì, yǎn héng qiū shuǐ wú chén, tǐ ruò níng sū, yāo rú nèn liǔ, jùn de shì páng ér qiào de shì xīn. tǐ tài wēn róu xìng gé ér chén. suī bù huì fǎ jiǔ shén zhēn, gèng shèng sì jiù kǔ nán guān shì yīn.

[Yāopiān] 口兒裏漫沉吟, 夢兒裏苦追尋。往事已沉, 只言目今, 今夜相逢管教恁。不圖你白璧黃金, 則要你滿頭花, 拖地錦。¹²⁸

kǒu ér lǐ màn chén yín, mèng ér lǐ kǔ zhuī xún. wǎng shì yǐ chén, zhǐ yán mù jīn, jīn yè xiāng féng guǎn jiào nèn. bù tú nǐ bái bì huáng jīn, zé yào nǐ mǎn tóu huā, tuō dì jǐn.

(18) 監咸 [am] 擔(dàn<tam), 淡, 貪(tān<t'am), 談(tán<t'am), 男(nán<nam), (jiānxián) 婪(lán<lam), 斬(zhǎn<tɕam), 讒(chán<tɕ'am), 三(sān<sam), 衫(shān<ɕam), 俺(ǎn<am)

[iam] 監jiān, 鑑(yi<i), 減(jiǎn<kiam), 嵌(qiàn<k'iam), 咸xián, 銜, 陷(xiàn<xiam), 檻(jiàn<xiam), 岩(yán<iam)

The following examples are taken from yuánqū:

[Yuan dynasty] Gao Wenxiu高文秀, *Yù Shàng Huáng* (《遇上皇》), *Running into the Ex-emperor*, scene four (excerpt)

[Shuāngdiào·Xīnshuǐlǐng] 要甚麼兩行祇從鬧交參(cān<ts'am), 怎如馬頭前酒餅十擔。這紗幪頭, 直紫襴(lán<lam), 怎如白纏帶舊紬衫? 又不會鬧論高談, 休想我做官濫(làn<lam)。¹²⁹

yào shèn me liǎng háng zhǐ cóng nào jiāo cān, zěn rú mǎ tóu qián jiǔ píng shí dàn. zhè shā fú tóu, zhí zǐ lán, zěn rú bái chán dài jiù chóu shān? yòu bù huì kuò lùn gāo tán, xiū xiǎng wǒ zuò guān làn.

[Qiáopái'er (喬牌兒)] 這言語沒掂三, 可知水深把杖兒探(tàn<t'am)。對君王休把平人陷, 趙元酒性淹(yān<iam)。^{130,131}

zhè yán yǔ méi diǎn sān, kě zhī shuǐ shēn bǎ zhàng ér tàn. duì jūn wáng xiū bǎ píng rén xiàn, zhào yuán jiǔ xìng yān.

[Zhéguìlìng (折桂令)] 我怕的是鬧垓垓虎窟龍潭(tán<t'am), 原來這龍有風雲, 虎有山峯。玉殿金階, 龍爭虎鬥, 惹起奸讒。朝野裏誰人似俺, 術蒼懂愚濁癡憨(hān<xam)。語語喃喃(nán<nam), 崢嶸嶸嶸。早難道宰相王侯, 倒不如李四張三?¹³²

wǒ pà de shì nào gāi gāi hǔ kū lóng tán, yuán lái zhè lóng yǒu fēng yún, hǔ yǒu shān yán. yù diàn jīn jiē, lóng zhēng hǔ dòu, rě qǐ jiān chán. cháo yě lǐ shuí rén sì ǎn, zhūn méng dōng yú zhuó chī hān. yǔ yǔ nán nán, zhēng zhēng chán chán. zǎo nán dào zǎi xiàng wáng hóu, dào bù rú lǐ sì zhāng sān?

[Qīdìxiōng] 微臣怎敢把大官參, 我則知苦澀酸渾淡, 清光滑辣任迷盪, 下民易虐何曾濫?¹³³

wēi chén zěn gǎn bǎ dà guān cān, wǒ zé zhī kǔ sè suān hún dàn, qīng guāng huá là rèn mí tān, xià mín yì nüè hé céng làn.

[Měihuājiù] 呀, 微臣最小膽(dǎn<tam), 則待逐日醞酣(hān<xam), 聖主台鑑(jiàn<kiam)。休兩兩三三, 也不做明廉共按察, 伯子共公舅。自羞慚(cán<ts'am), 官高後不心甘(gān<kam), 祿重也自貪婪。¹³⁴

yā, wēi chén zuì xiǎo dǎn, zé dài zhú rì xūn hān, shèng zhǔ tái jiàn. xiū liǎng liǎng sān sān, yě bù zuò míng lián gòng àn chá, bó zǐ gòng gōng nán. zì xiū cán, guān gāo hòu bù xīn gān, lù zhòng yě zì tān lán.

[Shōujiāngnán] 我汴梁城則做酒都監, 自斟自飲自清談, 無煩無惱口勞藍(lán<lām)。是非處沒俺, 這玉堂食怎如我甕頭甘。¹³⁵

wǒ biàn liáng chéng zé zuò jiǔ dōu jiān, zì zhēn zì yǐn zì qīng tán, wú fán wú nǎo kǒu láo lán (lá n lām). shì fēi chù méi ǎn, zhè yù táng shí zěn rú wǒ wèng tóu gān.

[Yàn'érhuò] 姜太公顛倒敢(gǎn<kam), 魯義姑心中鑑。倚官府要了手模, 你今日遭坑陷。¹³⁶

jiāng tài gōng diān dǎo gǎn, lǔ yì gū xīn zhōng jiàn. yǐ guān fǔ yào le shǒu mó, nǐ jīn rì zāo kēng xiàn.

[Déshènglǐng] 却不道風月擔兒擔, 早難道蜻蜓把太山撼(hàn<xam)。你往日忒餘濫, 今番刀下斬。忍不住揪掇(xián<siam), 鳳雪裏將人賺(zuàn<tšam)。說得臉如藍, 索休書却大膽。¹³⁷

què bù dào fēng yuè dān ér dān, zǎo nán dào qīng tíng bǎ tài shān hàn. nǐ wǎng rì tè yú làn, jīn fān dāo xià zhǎn. rěn bú zhù jiū xián, fèng xuě lǐ jiāng rén zhuàn. háo dé liǎn rú lán, suǒ xiū shū què dà dǎn.

(19) 廉纖 [iəm] 點(diǎn<tiem), 添(tiān<t'iem), 漸(jiàn<tsiem), 尖jiān, (liánxiān) 廉, lián, 臉(liǎn<liem), 儉(jiǎn<kieim), 欠(qiàn<k'iem), 厭(yàn<iem), 染(rǎn<riem)

The following examples are from yuánqǔ:

[Yuan dynasty] Jia Zhongming, *Xiǎo Shū Lán*, scene one (excerpt)

[Xiānlǚ-Bāshēnggānzhōu (八聲甘州)] 傷春病染, 鬱悶沉沉, 鬼病慳慳(yān<iem)。相思即漸, 碧窗唾漬稠粘(nián<niem)。幾縷遊絲空系情, 滿院楊花不捲簾(lián<liem), 髻髻楚雲鬆, 懶對妝奩(lián<liem)。¹³⁸

shāng chūn bìng rǎn, yù mèn chén chén, guǐ bìng yān yān. xiāng sī jí jiàn, bì chuāng tuò zì chóu zhān. jǐ lǚ yóu sī kōng xì qíng, mǎn yuàn yáng huā bù juǎn lián, bìn duǒ chǔ yún sōng, lǎn duì zhuāng lián.

[*Hùnjiānglóng*] 曉來情厭，收拾心事上眉尖。把金錢暗卜，龜卦時占(zhān<tɕiem)，杏臉腮消嬌淡淡，柳腰香褪弱纖纖，料應也是前生欠。因無兄嫂，有失拘鈐(qiān<k'iem)。¹³⁹

xǎo lái qíng yàn, shōu shí xīn shì shàng méi jiān. bǎ jīn qián àn bo, guī guà shí zhān, xìng liǎn yān xiāo jiāo dàn dàn, liǔ yāo xiāng tuì ruò xiān xiān, liào yīng yě shì qián shēng qiàn. yīn wú xiōng sǎo, yǒu shī jū qián.

[*Tiānxiàlè*] 我如今紕得金針却倒拈(niān<niem)，牙尖，抵玉纖，羅帖上淚痕千萬點。恐梅香冷句兒剗(chán<tɕ'iem)，怕孌娘閒話兒厭簽(qiān<ts'iem)。我則索強支吾陪笑臉。¹⁴⁰

wǒ rú jīn rèn de jīn zhēn què dào niān, yá jiān, dǐ yù xiān, luó tiē shàng lèi hén qiān wàn diǎn. kǒng méi xiāng lěng jù ér chán, pà nǎi niáng xián huà ér yàn qiān. wǒ zé suǒ qiáng zhī wú péi xiào liǎn.

[*Nézhānglǐng*] 向湖山緊虛(chān<tɕiem)，惹遊絲滿臉；惹遊絲滿臉，驚飛花亂點(zhǎn<tɕiem)；驚飛花亂點，蕩殘紅數點。我禮忙迎情欲親，他頭不抬身微欠。真所謂君子謙謙(qiān<k'iem)。¹⁴¹

xiàng hú shān jǐn chū, rě yóu sī mǎn liǎn; rě yóu sī mǎn liǎn, jīng fēi huā luàn zhǎn; jīng fēi huā luàn zhǎn, dàng cán hóng shù diǎn. wǒ lǐ máng yíng qíng yù qīn, tā tóu bù tái shēn wēi qiàn. zhēn suǒ wèi jūn zǐ qiān qiān.

[*Quètàzhī*] 則見他氣炎炎(yán<iem)，那裏也笑掀鬚(rán<riem)。顯出些外貌威嚴(yán<iem)，內性清廉。他避我遮遮掩掩(yǎn<iem)，抵多少等等潛潛(qián<ts'iem)。¹⁴²

zé jiàn tā qì yán yán, nà lǐ yě xiào xiān rán. xiǎn chū xiē wài mào wēi yán, nèi xìng qīng lián. tā bì wǒ zhē zhē yǎn yǎn, dǐ duō shǎo děng děng qián qián.

[*Jìshēngcǎo* (寄生草)] 你惱怎麼陶學士蘇子瞻(zhān<tɕiem)，改不了強文撇醋饑寒臉，斷不了詩云子曰酸風欠，離不了之乎者也腌窮儉。想你也夢不到翔龍飛鳳五雲樓，心則在鳴雞吠犬三家店(diàn<tiem)。¹⁴³

nǐ nǎo zěn me táo xué shì sū zǐ zhān, gǎi bù liǎo qiáng wén piē cù jī hán liǎn, duàn bù liǎo shī yún zǐ yuē suān fēng qiàn, lí bù liǎo zhī hū zhě yě yān qióng jiǎn. xiǎng nǐ yě mèng bú dào xiáng lóng fēi fèng wǔ yún lóu, xīn zé zài míng jī fèi quǎn sān jiā diàn.

[*Jīnzhǎn'ér*] 這生不忤(xiān<xiem)，倒憎嫌(xián<xiem)。早則騰騰烈火飛紅焰(yàn<iem)，將姻緣簿親檢自撕擗，若得咱香腮容並貼，玉體肯相沾(zhān<tɕiem)，怕甚麼當家尊嫂惡，恩養劣兄嚴。¹⁴⁴

zhè shēng bù wǎn, dào zēng xián. zǎo zé téng téng liè huǒ fēi hóng yàn, jiāng yīn yuán bù qīn jiǎn zì sī xián, ruò dé zán xiāng sāi róng bìng tiē, yù tǐ kěn xiāng zhān, pà shén me dāng jiā zūn sǎo è, ēn yǎng liè xiōng yán.

[*Hòutíng huā*] 你道女孩兒家休弄險(xiǎn<xiem)，你讀書人不會諂(chǎn<tɕ'iem)。爲非事無行止，見家兄有甚臉。不索你話兒咭(diān<tiem)，你須惡厭，不由我腮斗兒上添笑靨(yè<iem)。¹⁴⁵

nǐ dào nǚ hái ér jiā xiū nòng xiǎn, nǐ dú shū rén bù huì chǎn. wèi fēi shì wú xíng zhǐ, jiàn jiā xiōng yǒu shèn liǎn. bù suǒ nǐ huà ér diǎn, nǐ xū è yàn, bù yóu wǒ sāi dòu ér shàng tiān xiào yè.

[*Zuìzhōngtiān*] 怕甚麼孌母舌兒慳(qiān<ts'iem)，梅香嘴兒尖，恐早晚根前冷句兒添，便知道也難憑驗(yàn<iem)。家醜事必然羞掩，放心波風流雙漸。早則麼懶折腰歸去陶潛。¹⁴⁶

pà shén me nǎi mǔ shé ér qiàn, méi xiāng zuǐ ér jiān, kǒng zǎo wǎn gēn qián
lěng jù ér tiān, biàn zhī dào yě nán píng yàn. jiā chǒu shì bì rán xiū yǎn, fàng xīn
bō fēng liú shuāng jiàn. zǎo zé me lǎn zhé yāo guī qù táo qián

There are only yīn finals and yáng finals in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* with no rù finals. Characters with the entering tone were classified into different yīn-final groups, which are discussed in detail in the Section 1.4.

1.4 The tone system in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*

There are four tones in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, including the following:

yīnpíng (陰平, high and level tone) – 幫(bāng)當(dāng)莊(zhuāng)希(xī)香
(xiāng)央(yāng)非(fēi)堆(duī)偷(tōu)之(zhī)斯(sī);
yángpíng (陽平, rising tone) – 朋(péng)堂(táng)藏(cáng)奇(qí)紅(hóng)王
(wáng)肥(fēi)頹(tuí)頭(tóu)白(bái)奪(duó);
shāngshēng (上聲, falling-rising tone) – 捧(pěng)董(dǒng)總(zǒng)好(hǎo)
享(xiǎng)養(yǎng)尾(wěi)餒(něi)甲(jiǎ)法(fǎ)帖(tiē);
qùshēng (去聲, falling tone) – 謗(bàng)凍(dòng)葬(zàng)笑(xiào)向(xiàng)
映(yìng)未(wèi)內(nèi)透(tòu)覓(mì)力(lì).

The preceding four tones are quite different from the level, rising, departing, and entering tones that were used in the Middle Chinese language. It is a pioneering work of Zhou Deqing to classify the level tone into two categories of yīn and yáng in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. According to him, “The level tone has both yīn and yáng¹⁴⁷ characters, while the falling-rising and the falling tones have only one category with no distinctions between yīn and yáng characters”.¹⁴⁸ As for the characters with the entering tone in Middle Chinese, *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* has incorporated them into the level, falling–rising, and falling tones, respectively. Zhou Deqing explained,

Among the different levels, falling–rising, falling and entering tones, there is no entering tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. The characters with an entering tone are incorporated into the level, falling–rising and falling tones. The masterpieces of predecessors have already made it clear, but no one has integrated them into one work thus far.¹⁴⁹

He continued, “The purpose of putting the characters with the entering tone into the level, falling–rising and falling tones is to broaden rhymes for composing lyrical poetry. However, it is still recognizable in spoken language”.¹⁵⁰ In specific arrangement, he did not mix characters of the entering tone with yīn-final characters. Instead, he divided them into the categories of “entering tone as level tone”,

“entering tone as falling-rising tone”, and “entering tone as falling tone” and had listed them after the level, falling–rising, and falling tones, respectively, in each final group. Wang Li commented that this was because “he is afraid of being criticized by others for not adopting the traditional dividing method of level and oblique tonal patterns for lyrics and poems. As a defense, he added ‘it is still recognizable in spoken language’”.¹⁵¹ The four tones in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are consistent with the tones in most modern dialects in the north of China. The tone system of the Modern Chinese common language (Mandarin) began to take shape with the existence of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

Notes

- 1 Yǎyán, 雅言, refers to the standard language commonly used throughout the country in ancient times of China. See *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (Seventh Edition)* (《现代汉语词典第七版Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn Dìqī Bǎn》), Beijing: The Commercial Press, p. 1501.
- 2 Phags-pa was the leader of the Sakya sect of Lamaism in Tibet. In 1253, Kublai Khan, the first emperor of the Yuan dynasty, summoned him and converted him into a Buddhist. In the first year of Zhongtong (中統) (1260), Phags-pa was granted the title of imperial master and was ordered to formulate new Mongolian written language, commonly known as Phags-pa written language. It was a kind of alphabetic writing born out of Tibetan alphabets, mainly used for official documents, as well as for the transfer of Chinese and Tibetan. Later, it was gradually abandoned. The cultural relics are preserved till today with Phags-pa writings to spell Chinese including inscribed stone tablets, official plates and seals, banknotes, signature seals, sliding weight of a steelyard, and so on.
- 3 *Mongolian Rhymes* is a reference book for translating and writing Chinese with Phags-pa written language. The book divides finals into 15 final groups, with the finals in each group arranged according to their initials and in the order of level tone, falling–rising tone, falling tone, and entering tone successively. A Phags-pa letter serves as the first character on top with the spelled Chinese characters under it. There are 856 first characters of Phags-pa representing 9,420 Chinese characters. It is quite convenient to know about Chinese phonetic system at that time by comparing the phonetics of Chinese and Phags-pa characters.
- 4 Literal text: 音韻每空是一音 yīn yùn měi kòng shì yī yīn, 以意識字為頭 yǐ yì shí zì wéi tóu, 止依頭一字呼吸 (發音) zhǐ yī tóu yī zì hū xī (fā yīn), 更不別立切脚 (反切) gèng bù bié lì qiè jiǎo (fǎn qiè).
- 5 In this chapter, if the phonetic spellings of successive example characters are the same, only the first character is to be noted.
- 6 See Luo Changpei, “Studies on the initial groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*” (《中原音韻聲類考 Zhōng Yuán Yīn Yùn Shēng Lèi Kǎo》), from *Selected Papers on Linguistics by Luo Changpei* (《羅常培語言學論文選集 Luó Cháng Péi Yǔ Yán Xué Lùn Wén Xuǎn jí》), Beijing: The Commercial Press, pp. 65–79.
- 7 For Zhao Yintang’s opinion, see “Studies of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*” (《中原音韻研究 Zhōng Yuán Yīn Yùn Yán Jiū》), pp. 100–102; for Ji Fu’s opinion, see “Theory of 25 initial groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*” (《中原音韻二十五聲母集說 Zhōng Yuán Yīn Yùn èr Shí Wǔ Shēng Mǔ Jí Shuō》), from *Studies of the Chinese Language* (《中國語文 Zhōng Guó Yǔ Wén》), Volume 5, 1964.

- 8 See Lu Zhiwei, “Explaining *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*” (《釋中原音韻Shì Zhōng Yuán Yīn Yùn》), from *Yenching Journal* (《燕京學報Yān Jīng Xué Bào》), Volume 31, pp. 35–70.
- 9 See *Chinese Phonology* (《漢語音韻學Hàn Yǔ Yīn Yùn Xué》), *Manuscript of Chinese History I* (《漢語史稿Hàn Yǔ Shǐ Gǎo》上冊), and chapter seven of *History of Chinese Phonetics* (《漢語語音史Hàn Yǔ Yǔ Yīn Shǐ》).
- 10 See Yang Naisi, “Phonetic System of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*” (《中原音韻音系Zhōng Yuán Yīn Yùn Yīn Xì》), Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, p. 24.
- 11 Lu Zhiwei, Zhao Yintang, and Ji Fu all believe that some characters in other final groups have been pronounced as retroflex sounds of [tʂ], [tʂʰ], and [ʂ].
- 12 In yuánqū, the noun before the dot in the bracket refers to one of the modes of ancient Chinese music. Ancient Chinese modes of music are called gōngdiào (宮調). In the Tang dynasty, there were 28 gōngdiào, every seven of which were on one string of pipa, four-stringed Chinese lute. Those on the lowest string were named gōng (宮), and the rest diào (調). Later on, the number of gōngdiào was getting smaller. In the Yuan dynasty, there maintained only five gong, namely, zhènggōng (正宮), zhōnglǚgōng (中呂宮), nánlǚgōng (南呂宮), xiānlǚgōng (仙呂宮), and huángzhōnggōng (黃中宮), as well as four diào on the other three strings, namely, dàshídiào (大石調), shuāngdiào (雙調), shāngdiào (商調), and yuèdiào (越調) in operas. For reference see *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (Seventh Edition)*, Beijing: The Commercial Press, p. 456.
- 13 In yuánqū, the noun after the dot or used solely in the bracket refers to the name of a tune to which the qǔ (曲) following it is composed. For reference see *The Chinese English Dictionary (Third Edition)* (《漢英大詞典》第三版), Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, p. 252.
- 14 Literal meaning: [ROUGHED LIPS OF A FAIRY] The sea is rough; the evening breeze is blowing and the wave is huge. It’s hard to distinguish West from East. I’m walking with light steps.
- 15 Literal meaning: [DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER] I cannot fall asleep in such a good night. Followed by this little elf, I am strolling with his companion. We are just left with the clear blue sea and are now looking up at the bright vast sky. Look! Thousands of colorful clouds are born over the sea. A bright moon is reflected in the water. I have peeped at the human Palace. How can it compete with my water kingdom, the Dragon King’s Palace? A clear fairyland with tremendous freedom. A blue land of peace without the noise of wet wild ducks or flying wild geese. I have such a deep love in my heart only to encounter so many difficulties to have the good message sent.
- 16 Literal meaning: [FIELD CRICKET] The sea immortal lives forever. Penglai is within sight. The red silk sleeves are flying in the wind. I wear my hair in a high bun with luxurious hairpins. My long slender eyebrows are slightly extending. The gold flowers on my head are gently trembling. The sleeves are long enough to cover my hands. My ten fingers are white and slender. The skirt is rustling. My shoes are no more than four inches. All that I need is to learn to play the flute and ride on the phoenix from Mount Dan with you, when we fly over the first layer of sky full of emerald glow with the help of heaven’s wind.
- 17 Literal meaning: [UNIVERSAL JOY] The earthly prosperity swept away cannot be compared to it. The mortal life is like dried agriophyllum, leaving its root and rolling in wind, with seasonal changes from spring to summer and from autumn to winter. (However, in heaven), the rooster’s crow resembles daybreak and the bell makes known the fall of midnight. Even if both are given to human beings, it is unlikely to understand them.
- 18 Literal meaning: [SONG OF CHERUBIN] Listen to the whistling of the strong night wind. Tens of thousands of pine needles are blown off. The moon is bright and the brightness lights half sky. The brook is babbling and flowing into a dead-end valley. It’s not the sound of rowing a boat by the girl picking lotus. Nor is it the sound of

knocking the wood to scare fishes by the fishman. But it frightens people asleep to wake up with sleepy eyes.

- 19 Literal meaning: [*MAGPIE ON THE BRANCH*] It is not the jangling of jade pendants or metal jewelry with rhythm. Nor is it the collision of metals of battle steeds equipped with irons. Nor is it ringing the bell in a Buddhist temple or striking the chime stone in a monk's room. I am scared by such noise. It turns out to be the fine music of someone playing the zither.
- 20 Literal meaning: [*ROWING A BOAT ON THE RIVER*] I'm afraid we cannot wait till the drop of silver rein. What whip can we use to strike the gold stirrups to clang? You are in charge of yīn and yáng as well as the laws and regulations of the country, administer state affairs, ensure national security, and expand our territory. If the founding emperor sent you a maidservant, who left her hometown for you and underwent hardships during the travel, and if she did not cling to your grace and elegant palace, I would grant you the title of Prince.
- 21 Literal meaning: [*SEVEN BROTHERS*] Do not tell me it is no good for a king to fall in love with a lady-in-waiting. I feel suffered seeing her looking back before leaving. How can I bear to watch the flying flags scattering wind and snow, and to hear the tragic drum and horn shaking the frontier mountain?
- 22 Literal meaning: [*WINTERSWEET WINE*] Facing the far wildness, I feel sorrow. The grass has turned yellow. Hares have already been faced with frost. The dog hair has become gray. People are holding spears with tassels. Horses are equipped with outfits for journey. The army soldiers are transporting solid dry food. Hunting ground is set up. She is sad to depart from the Emperor of the Han Dynasty. I am seeing her off. Her suite is heading toward the poor and wild place. My imperial carriage will return to Xianyang. Back to Xianyang, I would pass the imperial wall, walk in the winding corridor and approach her Palace. The moon would be blur and yellow. The night would be cold. The cicadas would be crying in the chilliness. The screen windows would be green. I would not miss her so much.
- 23 Literal meaning: [*RECAPTURE THE SOUTH OF THE YANGTZE RIVER*] Alas! I would not miss her so much. How can I be so hard-hearted? Even if I were hard-hearted, I still can not help shedding thousands of tears. Tonight, the portrait of the beauty will hang in the Zhaoyang Palace, my place, for worship. It is I who will light the high silver candles to illuminate her gorgeous appearance.
- 24 Literal meaning: [*LOVEBIRDS' EPILOGUE*] I try to stop the Minister by fabricating an excuse, but am afraid the compilers writing it down in history. I cannot see her loveliness like flowers any more. How can I catch up with the wind and light on grass? I am standing on the road for a long time, talking to myself and lingering about. Suddenly, I hear the loud cries of wild geese flying to the south beyond the frontier. But what I really see is countless sheep and cows. The sound is indeed the noise of carriages with felt roof climbing halfway up the slope, bearing my sorrow of departing.
- 25 He sings to the tune of *PINK BUTTERFLY*: / Since I came here, / I have been longing for her day and night. / In my heart lies my dear / Dear Yingying fair and bright. / The doctor came to see / What's wrong with me. / What he said was all right. / I tried in vain to evade; / Before an attempt was made, / He had seen through my plight. Translations are from *Romance of Western Bower*, Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2018, p. 189.
- 26 Tune: *INTOXICATED VERNAL WIND* / He said that each disease / May have its remedies, / But that no medicine could cure / Lovesickness, he was sure. / O my Young Lady dear, / If you knew how lovesick I lie, / How willingly for you I'd die, / For you I'd die! / Lonely without a home, / In foreign land I roam. / Now it is almost half a year.
- 27 He sings to the tune of *WELCOMING IMMORTALS*: / On blooming branch sings the happy magpie; / Above the curtain hangs the spider high; / The lamp burst into sparkling flame last night: / All seem to show a lucky foresight. / Here comes her letter of

- a broken heart, / Her verse of lovers kept far, far apart. / When she wrote it, she must have shed copious tears. / Otherwise, why with stains the envelope appears?
- 28 He sings to the tune of *MOUNTING THE TOWER*: / Her handwriting is like that of a calligraphist / May be inscribed on precious list. / It has the strength and power / Of the two Zhangs And the two Wangs, / Talents who had their glorious hour. / See what today my Yingying's done! / Her handwriting's second to none.
- 29 Tune: *THE SECOND PART* / As sacred book I hold, / I'd use it as a charm, / Precious as seal of gold / And valuable without harm. / If it were duly signed / And an official was made / Its messenger to come behind, / 'That would be at once obeyed.
- 30 He sings to the tune of *COURTYARD FULL OF FRAGRANCE* / How can I not love you? / Your needlework is excellent. / It's a model in view, / In which I can perceive your sentiment / How can you know how long my dress should be? / Imagining my waist, you had to start. / You had no one to try the dress for me/ On making it, you gave it all your heart. Ibid, p. 192.
- 31 She sings to the tune of *CALM DIGNITY*: / With clouds the sky turns grey / O'er yellow-bloom-paved way. / How bitter blows the western breeze! / From north to south fly the wild geese. / Why like wine-flushed face is frosted forest red? / It's dyed in tears the parting lovers shed. Ibid, pp. 159-160.
- 32 Tune: *ROLLING BALL*/ It's my regret/ So late we met;/ It grieves my heart/ So soon to depart. / Long as the willow branch may be, / It cannot tie his departing steed to the tree. / What would I not have done / If autumn forest could hang up the setting sun! / Go slowly, departing steed; / Cab, follow it with speed! / Of lovesickness just cured, / The grief of departing must now be endured. / "I'm going," when a voice is heard to say, / My body seems to waste away. / When the Pavilion of Farewell comes in sight, / My bracelet becomes no longer tight. Ibid, p. 160.
- 33 Yingying sings to the tune of *HAPPY THREE*:/ They offer me both food and wine, / Which taste like muddy water 'neath the feet:/ As mud the food is not so fine;/ As water the wine is not so sweet. Ibid, p. 164.
- 34 She sings to the tune of *COURTYARD FULL OF FRAGRANCE*: / So quickly passes the feast. / We sit now face to face:/We'll then be west and east. / If Mother were not in her place, / We might have enjoyed a bridal meal alone. /Although the time will soon pass by, / It might be called a dinner of our own. / In vain I center on him my eye, / Keep thinking on, / And nearly be turned into a stone. Ibid, pp. 163-164.
- 35 Tune: *HOMAGE TO EMPEROR* / Even warmed wine as cold as ice appears: / It is diluted with my lovesick tears. / Not that I will not eat the food before my eyes; / But that my stomach is filled with grief and sighs. / For fame as empty as the horn of a snail. / For profit trifling as the head of a fly. / Two lovebirds torn apart bewail. / One here, the other there, we are giving sigh for sigh. Ibid, p. 164.
- 36 Tune: *FOUR-SIDE TRANQUILLITY*: / They remove in a moment dish and cup. / The cab goes down, the horse goes up. / Both linger till / The sun sinks behind the bar of a green hill. / Who knows tonight where thou shalt be? / Even in dreams I cannot find thee. Ibid, p. 164.
- 37 Yingying sings to the tune of *PLAYING THE CHILD*: / My sleeves in crimson tears of love are drowned. / I know more soaked are yours, those of the blue-gowned. / Eastward the oriole and westward the swallow flies. / Before you start, I ask when you'll return. / Although afar, still you will be before my eyes. / I'll drink a cup of wine to show my deep concern. / Before I drink, my heart is drunk. / My eyes shed blood, in ash my feeling's sunk. Ibid, p. 166.
- 38 Literal meaning: [*ROUGHED LIPS OF A FAIRY*] It is now early July, the first month of autumn according to the seasonal change order, with summer heat lingering about. Wearing such unlined cotton dress, how can I take shelter from the heavy rain?
- 39 Literal meaning: [*DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER*] It keeps raining. The wild suburb witnesses unbroken blur rain curtain. What I see is the rain makes the mountain indistinct and the clouds block the green hills. The air of the clouds is like the vast

East Sea upside down. The rain is as heavy as the turbulence in Dongting Lake. All of them makes me unable to find my way back. The surroundings are blurred by the dark clouds. The whiter water submerges the road extending far away.

- 40 Literal meaning: [*FIELD CRICKET*] It is like drawing the ink and wash painting in Xiaoxiang. I am all wet in the rain. How can I bear the sound of the waves that turn the water into a canal? Look. The noisy running water makes the road even more circuitous. Moreover, the scream of the swaying wind annoys the trees. What's worse is the mud everywhere. You and I are stumbling slowly ahead in great anxiety and panic. And my whole body can't help shivering.
- 41 Literal meaning: [*UNIVERSAL JOY*] In great hurry, the nose of my shoe is broken, which makes it difficult for me to move ahead. I have to make do with it by wrapping it with a mallow rope on my cattail bag. The heavy rain makes me unable to raise my head or stride forward. I am helpless and there is nothing I can do.
- 42 Literal meaning: [*A DRINKER'S SKY*] I take the tribute table to support the house door. The steps are full of wild grass. I nip a little dirt to burn incense on it and build up a pit-store. After the worship, I look around. Thanks for the blessing of God. Wish they show me directions with their gold whips, so that I can find my hometown early without having more difficulties.
- 43 Literal meaning: [*SUPPORTING THE DRUNK BACK*] I am squeezing water out of my trousers and hanging my wet clothes to dry. I'm afraid that the asphalt felt covering my luggage has leaks. You and I should examine it thoroughly. It is so weird that I cannot wipe my forehead dry for a couple of times. The reason is that I forget to remove the wet headcloth.
- 44 Literal meaning: [*A SPRIG OF FLOWERS*] The black water is as wide as the sea. The high mountain with frightening cliffs is as huge as the Kunlun Mountain. The bright round icy wheel emerges from the sea corner. The shining red sun appears from the cliff. The moon and the sun come and go. What remains there is the sea and the hills, which extends to all directions and reaches even the sky. No matter whether it is the Yangtze River, the Han River, the Yellow River or the Huaihe River, all rivers will flow to the sea.
- 45 Literal meaning: [*THE SEVENTH IN LIANGZHOU*] Look at the misty ten continents and three islands where the immortals live. The fairyland of Penglai is in the far distance with vague vision. The Yellow River is running with muddy branches. It faces high the seven stars of the Big Dipper and its two auxiliary stars, and reflects far the constellation of Three Platforms, joining the Milk Way upward and linking the yellow dust downward. The water is boundless with no ending seashore. A lot of rare treasures come from it. Look! The waves are surging. Hiding behind the light are priceless pearls. Yes! There grow grass and woods, sweet crude drugs for immortality. There is the Dam of Dragon in charge of rain, grand as a spiritual descendent. Very often, the clouds are dark and the air is misty. The greenness cuts the earthly world off. It is like being above the sky. It swallows misty and mythic water in eight to nine regions. Let alone green islands and gray cliffs.
- 46 Literal meaning: [*SHEEP TENDING PASS*] He is walking toward me all of a sudden. How can I have the time to shun him? He is approaching me with his hands folded in front. He may be a passerby losing his way, or a passing traveler missing his boat. Now that you ask me the direction, please answer my questions first. Now I bring a lady picking glossy Ganoderma. Do not blame me for the moment. All that I want to know is where the girl in your heart is.
- 47 Literal meaning: [*SCOLDING THE GENTLEMAN*] Do you know that the beauties in the Dragon Palace are most sweet and charming? Thinking about the appointment, today you come to look for her all alone. You struggle for your fate, risking the rest of your life, and run into debts of love. The green-faced dragons have a very suspicious mind. Their vicious characters are incurable. They can be very cruel to harm ordinary people.

- 48 Literal meaning: [THANKS TO THE EMPEROR'S KINDNESS] Alas! If she opens her claws and raises her head, she can provoke high waves or destroy mountains one moment, or twist rivers the next. If she turns big, the space between the earth and the sky is not huge enough to hold her. If she were turned to be small, she can hide herself in mustard seeds. She could be courageous, with infinite power, or wild and arrogant.
- 49 Literal meaning: [SONG OF PICKING TEA LEAVES] If she could summon clouds and fog, they would appear instantly. She could provoke wind and rain, or fill the sky with dust. I'm afraid you might well be too frightened as to lose your life. You are handsome and have the talent of passing the imperial exam. Do not sacrifice your life for such a girl with the surname of Long and able to call for wind and rain.
- 50 Literal meaning: [ROUGHED LIPS OF A FAIRY] One is due to the family clan of my grandfather. The other is due to the good fortune of my own family. With the official tablet and seal hanging on my waist, I go on expeditions and wipe off enemies. I have my power and courage all revealed.
- 51 Literal meaning: [DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER] For times, I have been on the battlefield in person and returned home with triumph flags swaying in the wind. For times, I have done meritorious deeds for the country by fighting against invaders' armies. I have long been possessed over one hundred mangers for raising war horses used to charging forward on battlefield. I am in charge of one thousand households of garrison troops opening up wasteland and growing grains. Now if I want to kill time, all that I can do is to go hunting.
- 52 Literal meaning: [FIELD CRICKET] I am curious how steady the magpie is able to sit on the tree branch, right with accuracy. He keeps talking, but fails to name a relative. Why is he babbling so much confusing talks? Why is he all in a fluster and hastily walk backward? His alarmed eyes are moving up and down very briskly. His mouth keeps talking nonsense. He staggers and cannot control his body. Judged carefully, he is treacherous with no vitality.
- 53 Literal meaning: [UNIVERSAL JOY] The more he thinks, the more he is confused. It is like that he lost two souls of the three. Is that a family member of brother Tie in charge of the town from afar to visit his relative? Or the mother of the Mongolian official? Or the son of family Pucha? Or my uncle and his wife to pay a visit?
- 54 Literal meaning: [A DRINKER'S SKY] Uncle, you must be tired after all the riding journey. Aunt, you must have undergone hardships during the journey. It has been five or six years since I left. We have not heard from each other for several years. I, Shan Shouma, has no close relatives. It is hard for me to explain the situation to you in just a few words. You come all the way to visit me, such a bad boy, despite of the far distance and the hardships.
- 55 Literal meaning: [DAFFODILS] My parents died when I was a small child. I became an orphan living in poverty. Thank you, uncle and aunt, for treating me as your own child and drilling me in martial arts as well as reading and writing. Now I am the Marshal guarding the frontier, manning the passes and commanding the army. I become a powerful person without much freedom or comfort. If I had had much freedom or comfort, I would not become today's powerful man.
- 56 Labials such as “斑bān, “班bān”, and “盼pàn” all belong to unrounded mouth in *Phonetic System of “Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China”* (《中原音韻音係》) by Yang Naisi.
- 57 Literal meaning: [PINK BUTTERFLY] The sky is clear and the clouds are still. Several rows of wild geese are traveling across the sky. In the imperial garden, the summer view begins to decay. The willows add some yellowness. The lotus leaves loose some greenness. The autumn lotus drops some petals. Sitting near the orchids, the fragrant plantain lilies are blooming with aroma.
- 58 Literal meaning: [YELL] Together with my imperial concubines, we are as happy as we could be. Casually, we are having a sumptuous dinner. The right yellow wine is poured. The pastries are like the dots on Chinese francolins.

- 59 Literal meaning: [*INTOXICATED VERNAL WIND*] The wine is shining in the red copper goblets. The smell of the tea is floating in the jade cups. It is cool to sit beside the pavilion made of agalwood. I hold several of them and make selections in person. Beauties are wearing gorgeous make-ups and dresses. All musical instruments are lining in good order. Sitting in between them are women in elegant silk dresses.
- 60 Literal meaning: [*RED PEONY*] The beat of waist drums is+ clear and loud. Tiny feet with long silver socks on are like the arch of a bow. Jade pendants are tinkling. The beauties are sometimes dancing, and sometimes playing the musical instruments. The slim figure is displayed. They are dancing like swift swallows with sleeves giving out fragrance. I hold a glass of sweet and cold wine myself. You, too, shall drink it up. Let's keep drinking till the midnight, no matter how drunken we are.
- 61 Literal meaning: [*COURTYARD FULL OF FRAGRANCE*] You have two sets of civil officials and military officers, but they are unworthy of their positions. None of them are heroes able to beat the world. As a result, it is all of a sudden that An Lushan, a solitary marshal, won the battle in Tongguan and beat Ge Shuhan. No wonder no beacon-fire for safety was sent at dusk yesterday.
- 62 “遷qiān” belongs to 先天xiān tiān and are rhymed with characters in 寒山hán shān.
- 63 “園yuán” belongs to 先天xiān tiān and are rhymed with characters in 寒山hán shān.
- 64 Literal meaning: [*JUBILATION ALL OVER THE WORLD*] Hatred is endless. Sorrow is infinite. However, it is too hasty to avoid crossing peaks or climbing mountains. Even the imperial chariot has to flee for Chengdu. How can I bear to hear the honks of wild geese flying to the west of Chanshui, which send me onto the saddle with carved patterns? I am so sad to leave my home Palace. Weishui River is in the west wind, and Chang'an in sunset.
- 65 Literal meaning: [*THE TAIL OF A WOODPECKER*] I see you ride on your horse, very weak. Why do you murmur that the road to Shu is hard to take? I am worried for you about the high peaks and the dangerous trestles enveloped by clouds. It is always easy to get used to driving the horses to its full speed, but it is hard for them to survive to the Jianmen Pass.
- 66 Literal text: 寒山一韻，類桓歡者過半，類先天者十二三，但桓歡半含唇，寒山半開口，即如“班”之有“搬”，“攀”之有“潘”，“粲”之有“竄”，“慣”之有“貫”，明者自能鑿剖，無須贅列。hán shān yī yùn, lèi huán huān zhě guò bàn, lèi xiān tiān zhě shí èr sān, dàn huán huān bàn hán chún, hán shān bàn kāi kǒu, jì rú “bān” zhī yǒu “bān”, “pān” zhī yǒu “pān”, “càn” zhī yǒu “cuàn”, “guàn” zhī yǒu “guàn”, míng zhě zì néng lí pōu, wú xū zhuì liè.
- 67 Literal meaning: [*INTOXICATED IN THE SHADOW OF FLOWERS*] My heart is filled with the hatred of departing as well as worries from nowhere. We are directing people's criticism. Thanks to my brother and sister-in-law for making us united by offering bride's presents and 3,000 strings of coins (each string contains 1,000 coins). You are very tolerant and have broad horizon. You have offered all the necessary trousseau.
- 68 Literal meaning: [*MOVING THE ORIOLE HAPPILY*] Silks and satins are offered as betrothal presents from the bridegroom. Headwear keeps being sent in on trays. I look good in red, and all matchmakers are coming and going in colorful silk dresses. People are wandering about. Relatives propose toasts to each other. There are many elegant people in silk dresses.
- 69 Literal meaning: [*SETOUT OF THE TROOP*] Marriage has already been decided in past life. It is lucky for us to realize it as this kind of life. Let's go shoulder to shoulder to reach the clouds in the sky, hand in hand to ride a phoenix, and side by side to blow the euphonic flute directing it.
- 70 Literal meaning: [*WIND SWEEPING THE GROUND*] How come you invented so many terrible arguments? And you were living a poor and painful life. Listen. How clamorous the pipes are being played! Look. Beauties wearing jade and pearls are

- dancing gracefully and singing melodious songs. The incense is swirling upward, forming a veil of smoke. The red candles are very bright. The curtains are lowered. The hall is truly vast and the atmosphere warm. Everything is very pleasant.
- 71 Literal meaning: [*FOUR DOORMEN*] We have drunken cross-cupped wine. It's great time for all the good things gathered together. Far away in the green sky, the cold bright stars are changing positions and the icy wheel of the moon is round. People are pleased to exchange toast and get as drunken as possible. They are enjoying themselves too much that it seems that time is not left long enough. Everybody wants to win over others so they are drinking as if being at some place for fun.
- 72 Literal meaning: [*SONG OF ANCIENT VILLAGE*] I am peeping at him and cannot help feeling happy in my heart. He has no weak points. He is so charming with the appearance of a gentleman. At this moment of spring warmth with soft breeze and round moon, and at this moment of heaven wedding, let's become an immortal couple to continue our predestined marriage.
- 73 Literal meaning: [*WEAPONS OF THE IMMORTALS*] Litchi juice, cheese and honey cake. Sugarcane juice, butter and sugar. Rose dew, autumn chrysanthemums and spring orchids. Purple perilla salt, ginger vinegar and the style of straw mats. The green mustard buds, and scallions into short and fine slices. As I look at the charming Shen closely, I find that he has an air of dignity and dresses himself appropriately.
- 74 Literal meaning: [*EPILOGUE*] Our bright and perfect future is established today. Looking into the mirror are a pair of green phoenixes. Luckily, we do not have to go to the phoenix platform and the jade lute is no longer in use.
- 75 Literal meaning: [*CALM DIGNITY*] The rain is pouring. And the wind is blowing hard. They are twining around each other in the air. They are not afraid of being cursed by pedestrians and choose to beat me right on the head and in the face.
- 76 Literal meaning: [*ROLLING BALL*] On the same day, I reached the bank, but the wind was too strong and the waves too high. Everything was gloomy and forlorn. The wind was like arrows hitting on me. The rain was like water pouring from a jar. The wind and the rain were really unkind. I was in such a bad luck that I had invited the hardship. All that I saw was the scene of Xiaoxiang drawn by the rain, turning into the sky of water and ink with the light clouds. I could not help shedding tears.
- 77 Literal meaning: [*STUDY COMPANION*] Jiezi, let me tell you the truth, but do not feel offended. I am too hungry to make sound judgements. I have managed a terribly hard journey with strong wind and heavy rain. Now I am exhausted and cannot help trembling. I am suffering from pain all over and extreme tiresome. I, I, I fall asleep even when standing or walking.
- 78 “眼” belongs to the 寒山 group.
- 79 Literal meaning: [*SMILING MONK*] I, I, I passed the night as if it were a year. I, I, I curse the heaven. I, I, I may have been punished for all the bad wishes I had made in my past life. I, I, I've been exhausted my tears. I, I, I've lost my voice from shouting. Come over here, my bro. How can I swallow the sesame cake?
- 80 Literal meaning: [*HAPPY THREE*] I drag you in like pulling a dead dog. How can I not know husband is the heaven of wife? No matter how eloquent and cunning you are, I will give you the chance to speak with the old officer.
- 81 Literal meaning: [*DRUNK IN TIME OF PEACE*] Not only are you a cheating first place in the provincial imperial examination, but also you beat me, such a poor and graceful lady. We have undergone such a terrible hardship and nearly become a broken mirror that cannot be reunited. My father is tall and noble, in charge of people's death. Cuitong is as happy as he can be since he will return to Qinchuan county. As for me, Cuiluan, all of a sudden, I fall into the retreat from the world. All of that is the bless from Heaven.
- 82 Literal meaning: [*ROUGHED LIPS OF A FAIRY*] My status and salary is at a low rank. The family properties have been squandered, but I do not know how to do farm

work. I have to make a living by dealing with criminals, beating them with bamboo rods or sticks, and enslaving, banishing or hanging them.

- 83 Literal meaning: [*DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER*] One day, I was escorted with a robber. For dishonest money, I helped bribe the officer with authoritative brush, so that he sentenced the principal criminal to be punished less and the accessory criminal more. This brush which can overthrow justice is more like a knife used for murder for money. Anyone coming out would be locked up and refrained from being released. Not even a single case is inconsistent with ways of Heaven. Every time, he would cheat people and coax them into prison.
- 84 Literal meaning: [*FIELD CRICKET*] You deliberately abused my boy, who is too small to be understood. You are a monk, but you are shaking a fan and getting too drunken to walk steadily. You are in front of our door, crying and laughing, pointing to him and making a scene in the street. The boy was led by his mother, but you cursed him by saying his father was dead. I do not have to ask for the imperial lawsuit form from the officer to sue you. A piece of paper note of two fingers wide is enough.
- 85 Literal meaning: [*UNIVERSAL JOY*] As long as you are brought to the court, you will be put into prison. I will teach you first and make you understand. You will be locked together with the robbers. Then, the servant will open your note, the officer will strip your clothes, and I will watch you being given a good beat.
- 86 Literal meaning: [*DAFFODILS*] You believe that I am doomed to be punished by the new county magistrate, but I, being long as an official, have rich wealth and friendship. So far, I have been on the position for three years, my family properties have not suffered any loss. The new governor relies on its salary, but I rely on bureaucratic shield. He is an uncorrupted governor and his men are thin, but my family is rich and my boy is being taken good care of.
- 87 “後hòu” belongs to the 尤候yóuhòu group.
- 88 Literal meaning: [*BACKYARD FLOWERS*] I am afraid when he first arrives here, he may pretend to be noble for a while, and then he will try to stretch his hands further. I am earlier than he is. Before his departure, I will make things difficult for him, hiding my true feeling. When the successor governor arrives, he will have no idea that it is we that should be punished.
- 89 Literal meaning: [*ROUGHED LIPS OF A FAIRY*] You hang up the business in the pawnshop and the study at school. You are busy enjoying yourself and keep wasting the daytime.
- 90 Literal meaning: [*DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER*] But in the evening, you come very early, and never leave until the midnight. You hope that I would show sympathy to you. Is it that you are helpless? You are not as knowledgeable as Xie An in the East Jin Dynasty, but it is more miserable than the Minister of War in Jiangzhou. It is all because you had abandoned your marriage for a fickle beauty. You are such an obsessed fool unable to be waken up, who dream of marrying such a fickle woman.
- 91 Literal meaning: [*FIELD CRICKET*] I am so angry that I turn red and want to throw myself into the Miluo River like Qu Yuan. He is so deep in love that he looks forward to an early marriage. You look at the Wushan Mountain Temple. Many people there are burning joss sticks. How do we know there might be so many people with shovels at Gaoyangtai? Do not talk about it in bed. It is all her fault. She is a person bullied and sold by thousands of people, but you want to have her as a concubine.
- 92 Literal meaning: [*BACKYARD FLOWERS*] You seriously trample my dignity. That mistress humiliates me but I could do nothing. I, as his wife, have to be obedient, while, she, as a concubine, is allowed not to greet me first. His room is clamorous. I go there to peep at them through the window. The bitch is whispering and my husband is holding her on one side, wiping off her tears on the face with his lower hem and his fingers.
- 93 Literal meaning: [*WILLOW LEAVES*] Why is she frowning when I have to prepare dinner and tea for them? All those sitting in the guest room are fake aunts. I have to serve them tea and wine. Nobody cares who is serving their sister and brother.

- 94 Literal meaning: [*DAFFODILS*] My stupid husband believes her abetment. That whore's mouth is evil. The lovers irritate me. She appears sharp with high spirit. She talks in sharp voice and I cover my face, smiling. You consider I laugh at you, a retired whore. But I am no good mother-in-law.
- 95 Literal meaning: [*FIGHT OF QUAILS*] I left the porch. Clouds gather at Chuxia. It does not matter he anchors his boat at the bank, or when he will pass by my courtyard on horse. Quietly and lightly, I travel on the sand by the riverbank in the moonlight. I pass ten thousand crags and torrents all in an instant.
- 96 Literal meaning: [*VIOLET FLOWER*] Qiannü's heart is full of worries for departure, so I run after Whang, who is leaving by boat. It is like expecting the floating boat in the sky of Zhang Qian (a Master). Sweat is dropping down from my face and my hair is loose. I am so tired after such a long walk. Have not you anchored at a hotel nearby in Qinhuai River and headed toward west to the broken bridge? The autumn waters are chilly. The moon and the reed catkins are cheerless.
- 97 Literal meaning: [*RED PEACH BLOSSOM*] All of a sudden, I hear horses' neigh and people's talking. Very noisy under the willow. I am startled. It turns out to be the knock of wood to catch fish and shrimps. I listen carefully to the sound carried here by the west wind under the cheerless moonlight of the chilly moon. It even frightened the wild geese in such a cold weather to fly away from the land.
- 98 Literal meaning: [*SONG OF FLIRTATION*] I walk slowly toward the sand bank. The sand grass is slippery with frost on. My silk dress as well as socks are all wet due to the cold dew on grass. The river looks like a painting at night. It seems that I appreciate a jade pot for ice and the ripples are running toward the sky, like a piece of flawless jade.
- 99 Literal meaning: [*THE BOLD HEAD*] Look at the distant riverbank. A lonely wild duck, the evening glow, the withered vine, an old tree and a crow in twilight. Listen, from nowhere comes the sound of flute, singing and the creak of oars.
- 100 Literal meaning: [*KING OF MEDICINE*] I walk toward the pool of smartweed and see a fishing boat tied there, with cattails, withered willows, and old reeds and rushes. I approach the puddles of water and tramp some newborn lotus roots. The cold water is surrounded by mist and the sand is covered by moonlight. There are two or three thatched huts.
- 101 Literal meaning: [*SONG OF NEW WATER*] For years, it is like dreaming and countless good days and nights are passed absentmindedly. My parents live very far away from here that no message can be sent to me. Why do I sigh? When can I leave the study?
- 102 Literal meaning: [*HALTING THE HORSE*] Depending on his excellent talent, he has managed to serve the imperial palace. His wife and son are also staunch and upright, deserving the imperial edict and elegant carriage. It is better than welcoming the Number One Scholar at the front gate with my head decorated with flowers, or meditating between different parties wearing long red robe. All those are replaced today by a beautiful love story.
- 103 Literal meaning: [*HANGING JADE HOOKS*] Little bad children. Close the door. You are too naughty. You dare to climb up to the sky and dig the ground. If we were seen by the old gentleman, I'd be frightened to death and unable to make an excuse. I am so shameful that I feel blushing. I am so scared that my heart is pounding and my breath is as loud as thunder and carriage.
- 104 Literal meaning: [*BUYING SWEET WINE*] I used to be a pretty lady of a decent family. How come I am about to be sued, sent an official indictment and judged by the government office? Nobody's heart is made from iron. Why can not my punishment be remitted?
- 105 Literal meaning: [*WILD GEESSE'S FALL*] It is like falling into an abyss of miles in depth, or waves as deep as miles of snow. Just a moment ago, I was asked to knock a jade hairpin on a stone. Now I am required to fish the moon from the water.

- 106 Literal meaning: [*INTOXICATED EAST WIND*] I wake up from my dream of deep love. The destination is far far away with millions of waters and mist. An old saying goes that with birth mother aside, the stepfather will raise the child, while nobody takes care of the child with the departure of the birth mother. He is found out even despotic gentry to send me to prison. Thank you so much for looking after my younger daughter and little son. I shall leave as soon as possible.
- 107 Literal meaning: [*ROUGHED LIPS OF A FAIRY*] Now that this officer knows what is going on. They are cooperated with each other with one from inside and the other from outside to put the poor citizens together. With their names on the indictment, I can sue them even to the highest office.
- 108 Literal meaning: [*DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER*] He sets up a very bad example. He seeks power and wealth at the cost of others. He is abhorred by people. If he deliberately makes things difficult for us, I dare overturn him. The softest thing in the world is water from brooks, but even it will raise its voice on uneven roads. He has broken the God's saying. He is the rat stealing grains in the barn and the fly sucking people's blood.
- 109 Literal meaning: [*DAFFODILS*] You insist that you follow the official order. I believe that you pursue your own benefits. The 16 pounds of rice you have granted concern the lives of eight to nine people. It is not like elks or wild deer in the mountain fought for by many people. You are pulling out bones from the hungry wolves and stealing remains from the bottom of the beggars' bowls. I may give them less for sheng (1 shēng = 1.5 kg) not for dǒu (1 dǒu = 15kg). How come you are after only profits not fame?
- 110 Literal meaning: [*VILLAGE DRUMS*] Wherever his bronze stick beats is like being hit by thunder. I am bleeding all over by myself. How can I struggle for more? I have no idea whether it is my spine, or head, or shoulder that is beaten. I feel the sour like the rotten teeth, the hurt like cutting off my heart and the pain like peeling my bones. Oh my God! I'm almost dying!
- 111 Literal meaning: [*THE WINNING FIELD CRICKET*] All that they want is to make the wild geese in sky be their dishes. Who really cares for serving the government? Someday, they will be sentenced to death in accordance with the law. Only when their money is used up and their family members are all dead will they have a feeling of regret.
- 112 Literal meaning: [*BLUE BIRDS*] Although winning or loss is unpredictable, there is no denying that you shall mow as you sow. Dare the bronze stick beat people alive to death? If I were dead and went to the nether world, I would not forget it and report it to the divinities so that they would be arrested and made confession in the court. Only by this means could my remaining years of life be compensated, and my hatred and suffers be pacified. Or else, my pupils as bright as those of hawks would not close when I died.
- 113 Literal meaning: [*SONG OF NEW WATER*] I travel all over the world. My sleeves can reach the sky and create wind and rain. I summon child servants to pick up celestial herbs. I visit Yingzhou with immortals. I enjoy travelling here and there leisurely. I feel sorry for days and nights of earthly life.
- 114 Literal meaning: [*HALTING THE HORSE*] I am travelling in the immortals' palace. Many years have passed with the changes of stars. I have understood profundities, and undergone many sunsets and east flowing water. One life may be full of emptiness and worries. There can be longevity of one thousand years. It is better to repent in time, and live a free life forever.
- 115 Literal meaning: [*TRIUMPHANT SONG*] Alas! You never expect that people can become knowledgeable very quickly and high officials have no worries. Why not report to the God for the priceless jade in exchange for a very high position in the imperial court? Today's hurly is what you have to suffer as an official. Why not quit and become a monk with freedom?

- 116 Literal meaning: [*HANGING JADE HOOKS*] You consider I am not your bosom friend so we cannot see eye to eye. I have only made a thorough inquiry into your great ambitions, but did not expect to stir your homesickness and cause your tears to wet your sleeves. Now you are lost and it is difficult to find the way. You have recognized your hometown in the painting. However, it turns out to be a mind tour in dream.
- 117 Literal meaning: [*ROWING A BOAT ON THE RIVER*] I am laughing at you, such an idiot. Even if you act on what you say, winning the first place in the imperial examination, and enjoying crowds of followers, elegant towers and red buildings as well as dancing and singing, you cannot make grand contributions to the world. How can you compare to me, uncorrupted like Lie Yukou?
- 118 Literal meaning: [*SEVEN BROTHERS*] How can you compare to me, making plans, decisions, policies and strategies like the marquis of the Han Dynasty (Zhang Liang 张良)? How can you compare to me, practicing alchemy and studying language? However, what you have seen is the running water of the emperor's brooks with mist and the still view in front of the green rocks.
- 119 She sings to the tune of *FIGHT OF QUAILS*: / You were the first to write / A poem to the scholar bright / So that he could not raise his head / From the pillow of his bed / Forgetful of his food and sleep. / And now his hair turns gray / His figure wastes away / For his regret and illness are both deep. / But you rebuffed him to his face / Your icy words brought to him more disgrace. Translations are from *Romance of Western Bower*, Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2018, p. 130.
- 120 She sings to the tune of *CLEAR SKY OVER THE SAND*: / For literature and learning you do not care. / You dream of willow's shade and lady fair. / Your heart is bent on secret meeting with dear one / But so far you have done nothing. / I have seen love-sickness wring / Your heart is since crabapple blooms in spring. Ibid, p. 132.
- 121 啖 (tūn) means "being foolish". 撒啖 (sǎ tūn) means "daydreaming".
- 122 She sings to the tune of *SONG OF FLIRTATION*: / Examine your improper desire! / You are a skeleton whose blood is sucked by vampire. / You may say such has been a scholar's fate. / But your one-sided love had better abate. / I fear your literary ambition will fail / And your matrimonial attempts of no avail. . . .
- 123 Tune: *A BALD HEAD* / You sleep under a simple coverlet. / And use pillow as your long lute. / Where could she sleep in your poor cabinet / Shivering with cold from head to foot? / How could you start/To talk from heart to heart?
- 124 Tune: *KING OF MEDICINE* / If you love her and she loves you. / At dead of night in courtyard with a swing in view. / The moon was veiled and flowers veiled. / Of such a nuptial night why were you not availed? / Why should you croon/Averse beneath the moon?
- 125 Tune: *JOY OF EASTERN PLAIN* / I have pillows broidered with lovebirds in pair / And coverlet of turquoise blue. / Which would captivate any lady fair. / But how could I lend them to you? / Why do not you doff your clothes with your fingers wet / With her imaginary sweat? / Could you fulfil your love / Heaven would bless you above.
- 126 “塵chén” belongs to the 真文zhēn wén group. 真文zhēn wén and 侵尋qīn xún are combined in rhyming.
- 127 She sings to the tune of *WADS OF COTTON*: / Her eyebrows look like distant hills green. / Her eyes like autumn water serene. / Her skin milk-white / Her waist like willow slender. / Her face beams bright. / Her heart is tender. / She is gentle, kind and sure; / She needs no holy needle for a cure / For she is the Goddess in white dress / To relieve you from your distress.
- 128 She sings to the tune of *PETTY SONG*: / I still wonder / While you ponder. / Your past is gone; / I will talk about what is going on. / Why should she come so late tonight? / Have I not done for you with main and might? / I do not want as reward your gold or jade. / Nor flowers over my head nor carpet of brocade.
- 129 Literal meaning: [*SONG OF NEW WATER*] What is the point of forming two opponent groups and impeaching each other? How can it compare to ten jars of wine? The

silk head scarf. The long purple gown. How can they compare to the white head scarf and the old robe? I do not know how to harangue and I will not randomly seek an official position.

130 “淹yān” belongs to the 廉纖lián xiān group.

131 Literal meaning: [*PSEUDO-MELODY*] The remark is offensive. Do not you know that it is necessary to use a stick to probe the depth of the water? Never frame up an ordinary person in front of the emperor. Zhao Yuan must be too drunk.

132 Literal meaning: [*PICKING LAUREL*] I thought it might be a place as dangerous as a tiger’ den or a dragon’ pool. However, there are clouds and wind for the dragon, or rocks for the tiger. In the elegant palace, two opponent parties fight against each other, irrigating the treacherous officials. In the government and among ordinary people, who is like me, truly naïve, dull and straightforward. They either laugh and talk, or murmur to each other. They appear to be noble. How come ministers and princes are no better than ordinary people.

133 Literal meaning: [*SEVEN BROTHERS*] How dare I, a humble servant, impeach high officials. I know of those terrible tastes, while they are fascinated at tasty wine. However, the common citizens are treated cruelly, but have you ever seen them greedy?

134 Literal meaning: [*WINTERSWEET WINE*] Ho my God! I, the humble servant, is most coward. When I get drunk, I shall send a written pleading to the emperor. I shall not group them or rank them according to their positions. I feel ashamed. People will not feel satisfied after achieving high ranks and become greedier when bestowed high salaries.

135 Literal meaning: [*RECAPTURE THE SOUTH OF THE YANGTZE RIVER*] I used to be the wine supervisor in Bianliang city. I poured wine by myself, drank wine alone and talked to myself quietly in peace. I had no worries and needed too much talking. I never went to troublesome places. How can those dishes at the imperial hall compare to my wine in the jar?

136 Literal meaning: [*WILD GEESE’S FALL*] Jiang Taigong dares to make a difference, and Lu Yigu knows the right from the wrong. They rely on the government to have your fingerprint and make false accusations against you.

137 Literal meaning: [*TRIUMPHANT SONG*] Do not you know weak lady can carry loads, and small dragonflies can shake the mountain? You used to be indiscreet and now will be beheaded. I cannot help looking for him and am afraid of missing him in such a snowy and windy day. He is so scared and his face turns blue. I am brave enough to ask for my divorce letter.

138 Literal meaning: [*EIGHT BEATS OF GANZHOU SONG*] I fall in love and feel sick. I am unhappy and cheerless. I begin to miss him. I stand by the window and my mouth is dry. My love seems to be unattainable. There are lots of willow catkins I do not want to roll up the curtains. My hair is untidy because I have no mood to dress up.

139 Literal meaning: [*DRAGON IN TROUBLED WATER*] I feel joyless in the early morning. Thinking of my worries, I am frowning. I secretly divine my future with coins and turtle shells. My face is pale. My waist is weak. It may be that I owed him in a previous incarnation. I lack discipline because I have no brother or sister-in-law.

140 Literal meaning: [*UNIVERSAL JOY*] I get the thread through the eye of the gold needle, but hold it upside down with the pinpoint pricking my finger. My handkerchief is wet with thousands of tearful drops. I am afraid of Meixiang’s mordacity or nanny’s gossips, so I have to force a smile, hemming and hawing.

141 Literal meaning: [*SONG OF CHERUBIN*] I turn to the direction of the lake and the hill. The ripples reflect on his face like fine silk thread. I am so scared that I cannot help trembling, with a few head flowers swaying. I hurriedly approach him to make acquaintance, but he lowers his head and bows slightly. A real gentleman!

142 Literal meaning: [*MAGPIE ON THE BRANCH*] He has an air of dignity. When he smiles, he smooths his beard. He looks noble with an honest and upright personality. He tries to avoid staring at me. All I have to do is wait quietly.

- 143 Literal meaning: [PARASITIC GRASS] Why are you so angry? You are no scholar Tao of the Imperial Academy, or great writer as Su Zizhan. Composing articles cannot hide your hunger and coldness. Talking about classics cannot hide your numbness. Using formal language cannot hide your poverty. I think you never dream of flying to the gorgeous building like dragons or phoenix. Your heart resides in small towns with roosters and dogs.
- 144 Literal meaning: [DAFFODILS] He does not fall in love with me, but begins to dislikes me. I am really angry and want to tear the *Book of Marriage* apart. If we are able to get close and be together, I shall no longer be afraid that my sister-in-law, the head of our family, will treat me badly, or my brother, who raises me up, will be strict with me.
- 145 Literal meaning: [BACKYARD FLOWERS] You mentioned that girls should not break rules, and you, as an intellectual, should never talk nonsense. You would have no face to meet my brother again if you behaved improperly. You do not have to be eloquent when you talked about your dislikes. I cannot help smiling.
- 146 Literal meaning: [A DRINKER'S SKY] Do not be afraid of the gossip nannies, or the sarcastic Meixiang. Do not be afraid of being mocked by them someday. Even if it might be true, who can prove it? Domestic shame should not be made public. Let us release our emotions and fall in love with each other. I would not have greeted you. I would have returned quietly.
- 147 Yīnpíng, 陰平, the high and level tone; yángpíng, 陽平, the rising tone.
- 148 Literal text: 陰陽字平聲有之, 上去各止一聲, 俱無陰陽之別 yīn yáng zì píng shēng yǒu zhī, shàng qù gè zhǐ yī shēng, jù wú yīn yáng zhī bié.
- 149 Literal text: 平、上、去、入四聲, 《音韻》無入聲, 派入平、上、去三聲。前輩佳作中備載明白, 但未有以集之者。píng, shàng, qù, rù sì shēng, 《yīn yùn》 wú rù shēng, pài rù píng, shàng, qù sān shēng . qián bèi jiā zuò zhōng bèi zài míng bái, dàn wèi yǒu yǐ jí zhī zhě.
- 150 Literal text: 入聲派入平、上、去三聲者, 以廣其押韻, 為作詞而設耳。然呼吸言語之間, 還有入聲之別。rù shēng pài rù píng, shàng, qù sān shēng zhě, yǐ guǎng qí yǎ yǔ, wèi zuò cí ér shè ěr. rán hū xī yán yǔ zhī jiān, hái yǒu rù shēng zhī bié.
- 151 Wang Li, *History of Chinese Phonetics*, Beijing: The Commercial Press, p. 387. Lu Zhiwei and Yang Naisi both believe that there remained the entering tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

2 The development of the initial system from Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese

2.1 Introduction

From the 35 initials present in the late Tang and early Song dynasties to the 25 initials mentioned in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* of the Yuan dynasty, the development of the Chinese initial system is quite uneven. The initial groups of 明(míng) [m] and 來(lái) [l] were very stable in that no changes had occurred in their sound values and embodied characters. As for the 13 initial groups of 幫(bāng)[P], 滂(pāng)[p`], 非(fēi)[f], 端(duān)[t], 透(tòu)[t`], 泥(ní)[n], 精(jīng)[ts], 清(qīng)[ts`], 心(xīn)[s], 見(jiàn)[k], 溪(xī)[k`], 曉(xiǎo)[x], and 影(yǐng)[ø], their sound values had not changed, but their characters were greatly enlarged for the voiceless sounds that mutated from the voiced ones of the same articulation parts had been allocated in them, respectively. 敷(fū) [f`] had become merged with 非(fēi)[f] since the Song dynasty. The characters included in 微(wēi) had not changed, but its sound value was changed from [m] to [v]. The following are the changes of the 17 initial groups from middle ancient times to modern times.

幫(bāng) [p]→[p]	篋(bì)比bǐ妣(bǐ)閉(bì)庇杯bēi悲彼bǐ鄙(bǐ)背 bèi 貝 逋(bū)補bǔ圃(pù)布(bù)賓 bīn鬢(bìn)奔bēn本běn班 bān板(bǎn)邊biān崩bēng迸(bèng)
滂(pāng) [p`]→[p`]	批(pī)圯(yí)披pī佩(pèi)普 pǔ鋪(pù)拍(pāi)派 pài 噴pēn 品pǐn攀pān盼pàn篇(piān)片 piàn拋(pāo)泡(pào)漂(piāo)坡(pō)頗 怕pà烹pēng捧pěng滂pāng胖pàng
明(míng) [m]→[m]	迷mí米mǐ謎(mí)梅méi美měi 妹(mèi)模mó母mǔ 埋mái買mǎi 邁(mài)民mín敏(mǐn)悶(mèn)眠mián 免(miǎn)面miàn明míng皿(mǐn)命mìng蒙(méng)猛 (měng)夢mèng忙(máng)
非(fēi) [f]→[f]	非fēi扉(fēi)緋飛fēi廢夫 fū膚(fū)甫(fū)斧府 付fù賦(fù)富分(fēn)粉(fěn)奮(fèn)蕃(fān)返(fǎn)販 (fàn)缶(fǒu)否鳳fèng封fēng
敷(fū) [f`]→[f]	菲fēi霏腓(féi)妃fēi費fèi肺(fèi)敷 fū孚(fú)桴 撫(fū)赴(fù)仆(pú)訃(fù)拊(fù)紛(fēn)芬氛 忿(fèn)番(fān)翻反(fǎn)泛(fàn)豐fēng鋒

微(wēi) [m]→[v]	薇薇(wēi)尾甕(wěi)未味wèi文紋(wén)聞刎(wěn)吻 問wèn紊(wěn)晚(wǎn)挽萬(wàn)
端(duàn) [t]→[t]	低dī底(dǐ)帝dì堆duī對duì都dōu堵dǔ妬(dù)敦dūn頓 (dùn)丹dān旦(dàn)端duān短duǎn斷(duàn)顛(diān)典 (diǎn)多duō朵(duǒ)刀dāo到dào東dōng董dǒng凍dòng
透(tòu) [t']→[t']	梯tī體tǐ替(tì)涕推tuī腿(tuǐ)退tuì土tǔ吐(tù)兔胎tāi太 tài吞(tūn)灘(tān)坦(tǎn)炭(tàn)滔tāo討(tǎo)廳(tīng)聽 偷tōu透tòu通tōng痛tòng
泥(娘)(ní) [n]→[n]	泥ní娘niáng你nǐ禰(mí)膩(nì)餒něi內nèi奴(nú)驚 努nǔ怒nù女(nǚ)乃(nǎi)奶nǎi奈(nài)嫩(nèn)難nán赧(nǎn))暖nuǎn年(nián)腦(nǎo)耨(nòu)農nóng囊náng
來(lái) [l]→[l]	梨(lí)離裏lǐ李(lǐ)利戾(lì)雷lèi磊(lěi)淚lèi盧lú魯(lǔ) 路lù呂(lǚ)慮(lù)來lái賴(lài)論(lùn)闌lán爛(làn)亂luàn 連lián勞(láo)牢弄(nòng)
精(jīng) [ts]→[ts]	擠jǐ濟jì祭租zū祖zǔ沮jǔ咀(jǔ)哉zāi宰(zǎi)再(zài)精jī ng進(jìng)尊zūn擗(zǔn)俊(jùn)贊(zàn)纂(zuǎn)鑽(zuān) 遭(zāo)早(zǎo)井jǐng宗(zōng)綜
清(qīng) [ts']→[ts']	妻qī棲(qī)砌(qì)粗cū醋(cù)蛆(qū)取qǔ猜cāi采(cǎi) 菜(cài)親qīn村(cūn)忖(cǔn)寸cùn逡(qūn)餐(cān)粲 càn竄cuàn操(cāo)草(cǎo)青qīng請(qǐng)倉(cāng)搶 (qiǎng)
心(xīn) [s]→[s]	西xī洗xǐ細xì蘇sū素sù需(xū)絮(xù)腮(sāi)賽(sài)新xīn n信xìn孫sūn損(sǔn)遜(xùn)詢(xún)筍(sǔn)傘(sǎn)散 sàn酸suān騷(sāo)嫂(sǎo)星(xīng)省(xǐng)性(xìng)
見(jiàn) [k]→[k]	肌jī幾jǐ計jì孤(gū)古(gǔ)故gù居(jū)舉(jǔ)據(jù)該(gāi))改(gǎi)蓋(gài)巾(jīn)謹(jǐn)根gēn幹(gān)趕(gǎi)官 guān高(gāo)縞(gǎo)哥gē京(jīng)景(jǐng)
溪(xī) [k']→[k']	欺qī起qǐ氣qì枯kū苦kǔ區(qū)去qù開(kāi)凱(kǎi)慨kǎi i坤kūn闕(kūn)困kùn刊(kān)艱jiān簡jiǎn看kàn寬kuān 款(kuǎn)考(kǎo)珂(kē)可kě輕(qīng)慶(qìng)罄qìng
曉(xiǎo) [x]→[x]	希xī喜xǐ戲xì呼hū虎hǔ虛xū許(xǔ)海hǎi欣(xīn)囂(xīn))昏hūn葷(hūn)勳(xūn)訓xùn罕(hǎn)漢hàn歡huān喚 (huàn)蒿(hāo)好hǎo訶(hē)興(xīng)兄xiōng轟hōng
影(yǐng) [ø]→[ø]	伊(yī)倚yǐ意yì委(wěi)畏wèi汗(hàn)於yú愛(ài)隘 (ái)阿(ā)窩(wō)窩wā憂yōu恩ēn穩wěn因(yīn)安ān彎 wān媯(yān)燕(yàn)盎(àng)央(yāng)翁wēng

There are three major changes in the Chinese initial system from middle ancient times to modern times. To begin with, the full-voiced sounds were transformed into voiceless ones. Second, the 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) groups were combined into one and the retroflex sounds came into being. In addition, 影(yǐng), 喻(yù), and the majorities of 疑(yí) were merged into one, and the number of zero-initial characters was increased. Those changes were not simultaneous but occurred one after another. The following sections have a detailed discussion of them, respectively.

2.2 Transformation of full-voiced sounds to voiceless ones

There were 10 full-voiced sounds among the 35 initial groups in the Middle Chinese language, namely, 並**bìng**[b], 奉**fèng**[v], 定**dìng**[d], 澄**chéng**[dʒ], 從**cóng**[dz], 床**chuáng**[dʒ], 群**qún**[g], 邪**xié**[z], 禪**chán**[ʒ], and 匣**xiá**[ɣ]. However, in modern times, all of them have disappeared and have been turned into voiceless sounds with the same articulation parts. The turning of voiced sounds into voiceless ones first appeared in the Tang dynasty. In *Notes of Biography of Zhang Jing in Book of Han* (《漢書(張敬傳)注》), Yan Shigu 顏師古 noted, “把(bǎ<pua), 步(bù<pu)馬 mǎ, means to hold”, which uses “步bù” in 並(bìng) group to spell “把bǎ” in 幫(bāng) group. In the *biànwén*(變文)¹ of Dunhuang, there is no distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds. For instance, “輩” is written as “倍(bèi<puì)”, “到dào” as “道dào”, and “瀉(xiè<siè)” as “謝”. In *Kāi Méng Yào Xùn* (《開蒙要訓》, *Teachings to the Beginners*), there are also cases with voiced sounds noted by voiceless ones or vice versa. For example, “跛(bǒ<puǒ)” is noted by “婆pó”, and “瓢(piáo<p’iau)” by “標biāo”, representing the mutual notation of 幫bāng and 並bìng; “腓(fēi<fēi)” by “沸(fèi<fui)”, and “腐(fǔ<fu)” by “父(fù<fu)”, of 非fēi and 奉fèng; “鍛(duàn<tuǎn)” by “段”, and “蹬(dēng)” by “等(děng<tǎng)”, of 端duān and 定dìng; “障(zhàng<tǎng)” by “長(zhǎng<dǎng)”, and “蕘(zhī<tǎng)” by “至”, of 照 and 澄; “蹤” by “從(zòng<ts’iung)”, and “鱒(zūn<tsuǎn)” by “尊(dǎo<tau)”, of 精jīng and 從cóng; “毳(qú<k’iu)” by “鬼(guǐ<kǐwǎi)”, and “柑(qián<gǎn)” by “甘gān”, of 見(jiàn), and 群(qún). However, among all 242 pairs of mutual notations, almost only 10 pairs represent mutual notation between voiced and voiceless sounds, constituting merely 5% of the total, so they cannot serve as proof that all full-voiced sounds were transformed into voiceless ones at that time. In rhyme books and charts such as *Jí Yùn* (《集韻》) and *Yùn Jīng* (《韻鏡》) of the Song dynasty, the 36 letters are widely used, “all five tones are possessed with natural voiced and voiceless sounds”, and the full-voiced initials were all preserved without dying out. However, in some *fānqiè* systems of the works of the Song dynasty, full-voiced initials have clearly disappeared. For example, in Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 *fānqiè* system, there are only 21 initials, including 見jiàn, 溪xī, 疑yí, 喻yù, 曉xiǎo, 端duān, 透tòu, 泥ní, 知zhī, 徹chè, 審shěn, 精jīng, 清qīng, 心xīn, 幫bāng, 滂pāng, 明míng, 非fēi, 微wēi, 來lái, and 日rì, among others,² and in Wu Yu’s 吳棫 *fānqiè* and *zhíyīn* system in *Yùn Bǔ* (《韻補》), there are only 16 initials, namely, [p](幫bāng 並bìng 非fēi 奉fèng), [p’](滂pāng 敷fū), [m](明míng 微wēi), [f](非fēi 敷fū 奉fèng), [v](微wēi), [t](端duān 定dìng 知zhī), [t’](透tòu 徹chè), [n](泥ní 娘niáng 日rì), [ts](精jīng 知zhī 莊zhuāng 章zhāng 從cóng 澄chéng 崇chóng 邪xié), [ts’](清qīng 徹chè 初chū 昌chāng), [s](心xīn 邪xié 生shēng 書shū 常cháng 船chuán 崇chóng [止zhǐ final group]), [k](見jiàn 群qún), [k’](溪xī), [ŋ](疑yí), [x](曉xiǎo 匣xiá), and [ø](影yǐng 疑yí 雲yún 以yǐ), among others,³ with all full-voiced sounds turning into voiceless ones. During the time of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, such a characteristic of voiced sounds being turned into voiceless ones became more apparent and comprehensive. The rules of changes are as follows: For the plosives (並bìng, 定dìng, 群qún) and the affricates (澄chéng, 從cóng, 床chuáng) in Middle Chinese, those with a level tone became voiceless sounds with aspiration with the

same articulation parts, and those with the oblique tone were turned into voiceless sounds without aspiration with the same articulation parts; all assibilants were transformed into voiceless ones with the same articulation parts with no distinction between aspirated or unaspirated ones. Only the changes of 床(chuáng) and 禪(chán) were exceptions.

2.2.1 The change of voiced sounds with the level tone into voiceless ones with aspiration at the same articulation parts

The tone system of the Song dynasty is the same as that in *Qièyùn*, with the level, falling–rising, departing, and entering tones and with no distinction between yīn and yáng in the level tone. In rhyme books such as *Ji Yùn* and *Yùn Jīng*, each initial has only one level tone. In fǎnqiè, characters with the high and level tone and those with the rising tone can spell each other. For instance, in *Shī Jí Zhuàn* (《詩集傳》, *Biography with Poetry*) by Zhu Xi, “來láí” is spelled “陵(líng<liəŋ)之” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Zhōng Fēng*, 《終風》), “梅méi” by “莫(mò<mau)悲bēi” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Zhōng Nán*, 《終南》), “濡(rú<ɹiu)” by “而ér朱(zhū<tɕiu)” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Gāo Qiú*, 《羔裘》), “潛(jiē<kiai)” by “賢(xián<xien)雞(jī<ki)” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Gǔ Zhōng*, 《鼓鍾》), “難nán” by “乃(nǎi<nai)多” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Sāng Hù*, 《桑扈》), “翰(hàn<xan)” by “胡(hú<xu)千(qiān<ts`ien)” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Sōng Gāo*, 《崧高》), “芹(qín<k`iəŋ)” by “其(qí<k`i)斤(jīn<kiəŋ)” (*Pàn Shuǐ*, 《泮水》), “旂(qí<k`i)” by “巨(jù<kiu)依(yī<i)”, or “巨jù斤jīn” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Cǎi Shū*, 《采菽》). The second spelling of the characters all belong to the high and level tone to spell characters with the rising tone. “宮gōng” is spelled “諸(zhū<tɕiu)王wáng” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Sāng Zhōng*, 《桑中》), “菱(wěi<ui)” by “於(yú<iu)回(huí<xui)” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Gǔ Fēng*, 《谷風》), “差(chā<tɕ`a)” by “初chū(yí<i)” (*Yàn Yàn*, 《燕燕》), “敦dūn” by “都dōu回huí” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Běi Mén*, 《北門》), “孫sūn” by “須(xū<siu)倫lún” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Hé Bǐ Nóng Yī*, 《何彼禴矣》), “氏(dǐ<ti)” by “都dōu黎(lí<li)” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Jié Nán Shān*, 《節南山》), “租(zū<tsu)” by “子zi胡hú” (*Chī Xiāo*, 《鷓鴣》), and “熏xūn” by “眉méi貧pín” in the pronunciation of Ye Town (*Fú Yī*, 《鳧鷖》). The second spelling of the characters all belong to the rising tone to spell characters with the high and level tone. All the preceding examples show that the level tone in the Song dynasty had not been classified into two categories of yīn and yáng.⁴

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, all full-voiced characters with the level tone are classified separately in the group with the high and level tone. Hence, it is impossible to decide whether they are aspirated or not or whether they are voiceless or not. However, satisfactory answers can be found in the materials about yīn and yáng in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central State of China* (《Zhōng Zhōu Yīn Yùn 中州音韻》) by Zhuo Congzhi 卓從之.⁵ It classifies the level tone into three categories of yīn, yáng, and yīn and yáng, with yīn containing only voiceless characters, yáng only voiced ones, and yīn and yáng both. Sometimes, the voiced and voiceless characters in the yīn and yáng group are

listed in one group and sometimes in two groups. Those listed in one group have the same initial. The same is true for those listed in two groups. A study on the voiceless characters listed in the same or different group with the voiced characters in the yīn and yáng group of the level tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central State of China* suggests that all of them are aspirated sounds. The following are examples of voiced and voiceless characters listed in the same group:

東鐘 (dōngzhōng)	蓬(péng)篷 péng(並 bìng)烹 pēng(滂 pāng)彭(péng)棚 péng 鵬 péng(並 bìng)
江陽(jiāngyáng)	湯 tāng(透 tòu)唐 táng(堂 táng)棠(táng)(定 dìng)
魚模 (yúmú)	初 chū 雛 chū(初 chū)鋤 chú(床 chuáng)
庚青 (gēngqīng)	青 qīng 清 qīng(清 qīng)情 qíng 繒(zēng)晴(qíng)(從 cóng)

The following are examples of voiced and voiceless characters listed separately in different groups:

東鐘(dōngzhōng)	通 tōng 通(tōng)(透 tòu) 同 tóng 童(tóng)銅 tóng 桐 tóng 峒 dòng 筒(tǒng)瞳(tóng)潼 tóng 鬃(dōng)(定 dìng)
江陽(jiāngyáng)	鏘(bàng)霧(páng)(滂 pāng) 傍 bàng 龐(páng)逢 fēng(並 bìng)
齊微 (qíwēi)	妻 qī 淒(qī)萋 qī 棲 qī(清 qīng) 齊 qí 臍 qí(從 cóng)
真文 (zhēnwén)	嗔(chēn)瞋 chēn(昌 chāng) 陳 chén 塵 chén(澄 chéng)臣 chén(禪 chán)
天先(tiānxiān)	牽 qiān 愆(qiān)騫 qiān 褰 qiān(溪 xī) 乾 gān 虔(qián)(群 qún)

Since all characters have the same initial no matter whether they are listed in one or two groups, and the characters with the level tone in the same group or in a parallel group with the full-voiced ones all belong to aspirated sounds of voiceless initials, a conclusion can be drawn that in the Central Plains of China in the Yuan dynasty, the level-tone characters of full-voiced plosives and affricates had been transformed into voiceless sounds with aspiration.

2.2.2 *Transformation of full-voiced plosives and affricates with the falling–rising tone and the falling tone into voiceless falling tone without aspiration at the same articulation parts*

Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China has fully confirmed the fact that voiced characters with the falling–rising tone have been turned into the falling tone. The majority of the full-voiced plosives and affricates with the

falling–rising tone and the falling tone have been grouped together with voiceless characters with the falling tone without aspiration at the same articulation parts. Obviously, they are considered homophones and are set up in the same group. Take characters in the 並(bìng) group as examples. Nine groups with the falling–rising tone and the falling tone in this group merged into the 幫(bāng) group, namely, the following (the ones without “_” are characters with the falling tone in the ancient Chinese language, and those with “_” are characters with the falling–rising tone in the ancient Chinese language).

江陽(jiāngyáng)	• 謗bàng(幫bāng)傍bàng蛙bàng棒bàng(並bìng)
齊微(qíwēi)	• 閉bì蔽bì弍bì(幫bāng)餽bì斃bì(並bìng)嬖bì庇bì比bì秘mì(幫bāng)陴bì(並bìng)賁bì(幫bāng)
	• 背bèi貝bèi狽bèi(幫bāng)焙bèi倍bèi婢bì備bèi避bì(並bìng)輩bèi(幫bāng)被bèi(並bìng)臂bì(幫bāng)弊(bì)幣bì髮bì(並)諛bì帔pèi(幫bāng)
寒山(hánshān)	• 辦(bàn)瓣bàn(並bìng)扮bàn絆bàn(幫)
先天(tiānxiān)	• 變(biàn)(幫bāng)便biàn(並bìng)遍biàn徧biàn(幫bāng)辨biàn辯biàn下biàn汴biàn弁biàn(並bìng)
宵豪(xiāoháo)	• 豹(bào)暴bào(幫bāng)瀑pù(並bìng)
	• 抱(bào)(並bìng)報bào(幫bāng)暴bào鮑bào鞞(páo)泡pào(並bìng)
家麻(jiāmá)	• 罷bà(並bìng)霸(bà)襍bà靶(bǎ)壩(bà)鈹(bǎ)弋(bà)(幫bāng)
庚青(gēngqīng)	• 病(bìng)並bìng(並bìng)柄(bǐng)(幫bāng)憑(píng)(並bìng)

There is one group of 並bìng initial allocated into 滂pāng initial, namely, the following:

宵豪(xiāoháo)	• 砲(pào)(滂pāng)泡pào(並bìng)
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There are five groups that are mixed with 幫bāng, 滂pāng and 並bìng initials, namely, the following:

齊微(qíwēi)	• 配pèi(滂pāng)佩pèi珮(pèi)(並bìng)饜pèi(幫bāng)霈pèi沛pèi(滂pāng)悖(bèi)諷bèi(並bìng)
皆來(jiēlái)	• 拜(bài)(幫bāng)湃(pài)(滂pāng)敗(bài)憊(bèi)稗bài(並bìng)
魚模(yúmó)	• 布bù(幫bāng)怖(bù)(滂pāng)佈bù(幫bāng)部bù簿bù哺(bǔ)捕bǔ步bù(並bìng)
桓歡(huánhuān)	• 半bàn(幫bāng)伴bàn(並bìng)泮(pàn)(滂pāng)畔pàn(並bìng)絆(bàn)(幫bāng)
宵豪(xiāoháo)	• 俵(biào)(幫bāng)鰲biào(並bìng)鰲(piǎo)(滂pāng)

There are 49 characters in the 並(bìng) initial among the preceding 15 groups of falling-tone characters. Among them, 16 characters were mixed with the falling-rising tone in Middle Chinese, 30 with the falling tone, and “筓bì”, “便biàn”, and “憑píng” with both the level and the falling tones.⁶ Judging from aspiration, the initials of nine groups belong to 幫bāng[p] without aspiration, one group to 滂pāng[pʰ] with aspiration, and “泡pào” had two pronunciations of the level tone and the falling tone in Middle Chinese, the latter belonging to 並bìng.⁷ Characters in 幫bāng and 滂pāng are mixed in the other five groups. Based on the rule in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* that “each space represents one single pronunciation”, they should possess only one initial, either 幫bāng[p] or 滂pāng[pʰ]. It cannot prove whether they are aspirated or not after becoming voiceless.⁸ However, a study on the full-voiced characters with the falling-rising tone and the falling tone in Beijing dialect proves it to be true that they were non-aspirated [p] in the Yuan dynasty.⁹

2.2.3 Transformation of full-voiced characters with the falling tone into voiceless rising tone without aspiration

Among the 186 full-voiced characters of Middle Chinese in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, 173 turned into the rising tone, and only 13 into the falling-rising tone, less than 7% of the total number. Most of the full-voiced initials are grouped separately in the rising-tone category with only two groups of voiceless and voiced characters listed in parallel, namely, the following:

蕭豪(xiāoháo)	薄báo箔(bó)泊(並bìng)博bó(幫bāng) (bó)
家麻(jiāmá)	達dá(定) (dìng)撻(tà)(透tòu)踏 tà(定)(dìng)

Characters of 並(bìng) and 幫(bó) in the 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group share the same pronunciation without aspiration, and those of 定(dìng) and 透(tòu) in 家麻(jiāmá) have the same pronunciation with aspiration, so it is unlikely to decide from these two examples whether full-voiced characters with the falling tone in Middle Chinese became voiceless ones with aspiration or without. It is necessary to find other methods. In the modern Beijing dialect, most of the time, the falling tones of Middle Chinese are pronounced as voiceless plosives or affricates without aspiration. See the following examples.

Initial 並(bìng)	拔(bá)別 bié(別離bié lí, departure)跋(bá)勃(bó)渤bó僕(pú) 白bái帛(bó)舶bó薄báo泊pō箔bó
Initial 定(dìng)	疊dié牒dié(讒)蝶(dié)達dá跌(diē)敵(dí)狄dí獨(dú)毒dú鐸duó dié dié xiè (xiè) dié (dié) dá diē(diē) dí(dí) dí dí dú(dú) dú duó duó
Initial 澄(chéng)	直zhí蛭(zhì)秩zhì蝨(zhè)轍zhé宅zhái澤zé擇(zé)濁(zhuó) 擢zhuó擢zhuó著(zhù)軸(zhóu)逐(zhú)
Initial 從(cóng)	疾jí嫉(jí)集jí寂jì族zú鑿(záo)絕 jué 雜(zá)捷(jié)截jié

Hence, it can be deduced that in the Yuan dynasty, full-voiced plosives and affricates in Middle Chinese had almost all been turned into voiceless ones without aspiration.

The transformation of full-voiced plosives and affricates from middle ancient times to modern times is shown as follows.

並(bìng) (level tone)[b]–[p`]	裴 péi 陪(péi) 皮 pí 蒲 pú 排(pái) 爬 pá 貧 pín 牝(pìn) 盤 pán 蟠(pán) 便(piàn) 駢 pián 平(píng) 屏 píng 蓬 péng 彭 péng 朋 péng 棚 péng 傍 bàng 龐 páng
並(bìng) (oblique tone)[b]–[p]	界 bì 斃 bì 陞 bì 倍 bèi 備 bèi 弊 bì 部(bù) 步 bù 罷 bà 辦 bàn 伴 bàn 畔(pàn) 卞(biàn) 辨 biàn 抱(bào) 鮑 bào 病 bing 並 bìng 棒(bàng) 蚌 bàng
定(dìng) (level tone)[d]–[t`]	提(tí) 啼 tí 徒 tú 圖 tú 台 tái 抬 tái 桃 táo 逃 táo 條 tiáo 調(tiáo) 豚(tún) 屯 tún 田(tián) 填 tián 團 tuán 停(tíng) 同 tóng 童 tóng 唐 táng 堂 táng
定(dìng) (oblique tone)[d]–[t]	弟 dì 第 dì 地 dì 杜 dù 度 dù 待(dài) 代 dài 道 dào 盜(dào) 舵(duò) 惰 duò 豆(dòu) 遁(dùn) 鈍 dùn 段 duàn 電(diàn) 殿 diàn 定 dìng 動 dòng 盪 dàng
群(qún) (level tone)[g]–[k`]	奇 qí 其 qí 期(qī) 葵 kuí 逵(kuí) 渠 qú 喬 qiáo 橋(qiáo) 求(qiú) 球 qiú 勤(qín) 群 qún 乾 gān 虔(qián) 擎(qíng) 鯨(jīng) 狂 kuáng 強 qiáng 窮 qióng 邛(qióng)
群(qún) (oblique tone)[g]–[k]	妓 jì 忌 jì 巨 jù 櫃 guì 懼(jù) 具 jù 轎 jiào 嶠(jiào) 臼(jiù) 舅 jiù 舊 jiù 咎 jiù 柩 jiù 近(jìn) 郡 jùn 件 jiàn 倦 juàn 圈(juàn) 競(jìng) 共 gòng
澄(chéng) (level tone) [d]–[tj`]	遲 chí 池 chí 持 chí 鎚(chuí) 除 chú 廚 chú 儲(chù) 綱(chóu) 惆 chóu 陳 chén 纏 chán 傳(chuán) 橙(chéng) 澄 chéng 呈 chéng 懲 zhòng 重 zhòng 蟲(chóng) 長 zhang 場 chǎng
澄(chéng) (oblique tone) [d]–[tj]	稚 zhì 雉 zhì 致 zhì 治 zhì 墜 zhui 住 zhù 柱 zhù 紆(zhù) 紂(zhòu) 宙 zhòu 陣 zhèn 篆(zhuàn) 鄭(zhèng) 朕(zhèn) 鳩 zhèn 仲 zhòng 重 zhòng 撞(zhuàng) 丈 zhàng 杖 zhàng
從(cóng) (level tone) [dz]–[ts`]	慈 cí 齊 qí 徂 cú 才 cái 摧 cuī 樵(qiáo) 囚(qiú) 泗 qiú 秦 qín 前 qián 蠶(cán) 慚 cán 潛 qián 情 qíng 晴 qíng 繒(zēng) 叢(cóng) 從 cóng 藏 cáng 牆(qiáng)
從(cóng) (oblique tone) [dz]–[ts]	字 zì 自(zì) 漬 zì 劑 jì 罪 zuì 聚 jù 祚 zuò 在 zài 坐 zuò 就(jiù) 鷺 jiù 盡(jìn) 賤 jiàn 暫(zàn) 漸 jiàn 鑿(zàn) 淨(jìng) 靜 jìng 靖 jìng 匠(jiàng)

The affricate in initial 床(chuáng) (崇[chóng] and 船[chuán]) is special and is discussed later on.

2.2.4 Transformation of full-voiced assibilants into voiceless ones with the same articulation parts

Full-voiced assibilants of the 奉(fèng), 邪(xié), and 匣(xiá) initial groups were transformed into voiceless ones with the same articulation parts. Those with the level tone were turned into the rising tone, the falling–rising tone and the falling tone were turned into the falling tone, and the same as plosives and affricates. Take the initial groups of 曉(xiǎo) and 匣(xiá) as an example.

齊微(qíwēi)	• 會hui(匣xiá)悔hui誨hui諱hui(曉xiǎo)惠hui蕙hui慧hui潰kui(匣)(xiá)
	• 戲xì(曉xiǎo)系xì係xì(匣)(xiá)
寒山(hánshān)	• 旱(hàn)悍hàn鐸hàn(匣xiá)漢hàn(曉xiǎo)翰hàn瀚hàn汗hàn
	• 軒xuān(曉xiǎo)肝(gān)(匣)(xiá)
桓歡(huánhuān)	• 喚huàn(曉xiǎo)換huàn(匣xiá)煥(huàn)渙huàn(曉xiǎo)緩huǎn
	• 道(dào)(匣xiá)奂huàn(曉)(xiǎo)
先天(xiāntiān)	• 獻(xiàn)(曉xiǎo)現xiàn(匣xiá)憲xiàn(曉xiǎo)縣xiàn(匣)(xiá)
蕭豪(xiāoháo)	• 號(hào)皓hào(匣xiá)好hǎo(曉xiǎo)吳(wú)嗶(háo)(匣xiá)耗(hào)(曉xiǎo)浩hào顯hào灑hào(匣)(xiá)
	• 孝(xiào)(曉xiǎo)效xiào傲xiào校xiào(匣)(xiá)
歌戈(gēgē)	• 禍(huò)(匣xiá)貨huò(曉xiǎo)和huò(匣)(xiá)
家麻(jiāmá)	• 下xià夏(xià)(匣xiá)嚇xià罈xià(曉xiǎo)暇xiá夏(xià)(匣)(xiá)
	• 化(huà)(曉xiǎo)畫huà華huà蠖(huò)樺(huà)話huà(匣)(xiá)
庚青(gēngqīng)	• 迴jiǒng(匣xiá)調(tiào)夔xiòng(曉)(xiǎo)
	• 杏(xìng)幸xìng悻xìng脛(jìng)(匣xiá)興xìng(曉xiǎo)行(xíng)(匣)(xiá)

Among the preceding 12 groups, 曉(xiǎo) and 匣(xiá) with the falling–rising tone and the falling tone in Middle Chinese were mixed in usage; all were pronounced in the falling tone. The characters with the level tone of 匣(xiá) all became the rising tone, and those of 曉(xiǎo) all turned into the high and level tone. No case with 曉(xiǎo) and 匣(xiá) grouped together has been found so far. However, according to the materials about yīn and yáng in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central State of China* by Zhuo Congzhi, they all belong to initial 曉(xiǎo).

The same is true for 奉(fèng) and 邪(xié) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Hence, the transformation of full-voiced assibilants from the middle ancient times to modern times can be exemplified as follows:

奉(fèng) [v] – [f]	馮féng逢féng鳳fèng防fáng肥fēi吠(fèi)扶(fú)符fú浮fú 父fù婦fù阜(fù)負fù墳(fén)焚(fēn)煩(fán)繁fán凡fán犯 (fàn)縫(féng)奉(fèng)
匣(xiá) [ɣ] – [x]	紅hóng洪(hóng)橫héng行háng杭(háng)兮(xī)攜(xié)系 xì胡hú戶hù害hài霞(xiá)下xià魂hún渾(hún)寒hán汗hàn 閑xián限xiàn賢xián現xiàn橫héng

邪(xié)[z] – [s] 訟(sòng)詞cí辭cí似(sì)巳 sì寺sì夕xī席xí隨
 suí遂sui敘(xù)邪xié謝 xiè巡(xún)旬xún涎(xián)羨xiàn
 松sōng訟sòng詳(xiáng)祥xiáng象(xiàng)
 song (sòng) cí cí shì(sì) sì sì xī xí suí suí xù(xù) xié xié
 xún(xún) xún xián(xián) xiàn sōng sòng xiáng(xiáng)
 xiáng xiàng(xiàng)

2.2.5 Changes of initial 床(chuáng) (崇[chóng] and 船[chuán])¹⁰ and 禪(chán)

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, initial 床(chuáng) (崇[chóng] and 船[chuán]) and 禪(chán) of Middle Chinese underwent a completely different change with other full-voiced initials. Unlike the latter turning into voiceless affricates or assibilants with the same articulation parts, characters of the same initial in them became both affricates and assibilants. As mentioned earlier, initial 床(chuáng) of the 35 initials in the Tang dynasty contains initial 崇(chóng) and 船(chuán) in the Sui and Tang dynasties. Their changes also bear some unique features. Initial 床(chuáng) is turned into [tʃ], [tʃ̣], [ʃ], and [ʃ̣] as is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Changes of initial 床(chuáng)

床[dʒ] (chuáng)	[tʃ̣]	[崇(chóng) of the level tone]	崇 chóng 床 chuáng 雛 chú 鋤 chú 柴 chái 豺 chái 儕 chái 潺 chán 槎 chá 愁 chóu 岑 cén
		[船(chuán) of the level tone]	船 chuán 唇 chún 乘 chéng 膝 chéng 覓(chán) 讒 chán 饒 chán
	[tʃ]	[崇(chóng) of the oblique tone]	助(zhù) 寨 zhài 眦 zì 棧 zhàn 譏 zhuàn 饌 zhuàn 闍 zhá 乍 zhà 措(zhà) 伯 zhòu 驟 zhòu
	[ʃ̣]	[船(chuán) of the level tone]	神 shén 蛇 shé 繩(shéng)
		[船(chuán) of the oblique tone]	實 shí 食 shí 蝕 shí 贖 shù 述 shù 秫(shú) 術 shù 屨(shèn) 腎 shèn 慎 shèn 楯 dùn 射 shè 麝(shè) 貫(shì) 腸 cháng 乘 chéng 剩(shèng)
	[ʃ]	[崇(chóng) of the oblique tone]	柿 shì 仕 shì 事 shì
		[船(chuán) of the oblique tone]	示 shì 諡 shì

Table 2.2 Changes of initial 禪(chán)

禪[ʒ] (chán)	[tʃ̥]	[Level tone]	慵(yōng)常 cháng 嘗 cháng 裳 shang 償 (cháng)匙 shì 垂 chuí 陲(chuí)蜎 chú 臣 chén 辰 chén 晨 chén 純 chún 淳(chún) 鶉 chún 禪(chán)蟬 chán 成(chéng)城 chéng 誠 chéng 承 chéng 酬(chóu)蟾 (chán)
	[ʃ]	[Level tone]	誰 shuí 殊(shū)茱(zhū)銖 zhū 洙 zhū
		[Oblique tone]	上(shàng)尚 shàng 十 shí 什(shí)石 shí 拾 shí 逝 shì 誓 shì 睡 shuì 瑞 ruì 屬 shǔ 淑(shū)蜀 shǔ 孰(shú)熟 shú 樹 shù 豎 (shù)署 shǔ 善 shàn 鱗(shàn)鱗 shàn 墀 shàn 蟬 chán 紹(shào)邵 shào 舌 shé 涉 (shè)社 shè 盛(shèng)受 shòu 授(shòu)壽 shòu 售 shòu 甚 shèn 榭(shèn)贍(shàn)
	[ʒ]	[Level tone]	時 shí 峙 shí 鱗(shí)
		[Oblique tone]	是 shì 氏 shì 市 shì 侍 shì 恃 shì 蒔(shì)嗜 shì 筮 shì 噬 shì 視 shì

Initial 禪(chán) became [tʃ̥], [ʃ] and [ʒ] as is shown in Table 2.2.

From Table 2.1 and Table 2.2, it can be seen that characters with the level tone of 床(chuáng)-II (崇) (chóng) in Middle Chinese are all turned into affricates of [tʃ̥] with aspiration, those with the oblique tone are mostly turned into affricates of [tʃ̥] without aspiration and only a few into assibilants of [ʒ]. Characters with the level tone of 床(chuáng)-III (船) (chuán) mostly became affricates of [tʃ̥] with aspiration, with only a few becoming assibilants of [ʃ], and those with the oblique tone all became assibilants of [ʃ] or [ʒ]. Characters with the level tone of 禪(chán) are mostly turned into affricates of [tʃ̥] with only a few being turned into assibilants of [ʃ] or [ʒ], and those with the oblique tone are all turned into assibilants of [ʃ] or [ʒ]. The division of [ʃ] and [ʒ] is based on different finals with characters in the 支思(zhīsī) final group being turned into [ʒ] and those in the others being turned into [ʃ].

2.3 The merge of the 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) groups and the emergence of retroflex initials

照zhào[tʃ̥], 穿 chuān[tʃ̥], 床chuáng[dʒ], 審shěn[ʃ] and 禪chán[ʒ] from the 35 initials in the late Tang and early Song dynasties used to fall into two categories of 莊zhuāng[tʃ̥], 初chū[tʃ̥], 崇chóng[dʒ] and 生shēng[ʃ] (i.e., 照zhào-II), and

章zhāng[te], 昌chāng[te`], 船chuán[dz], 書shū[ε] and 禪chán[z] (i.e., 照zhào-III) before the Tang dynasty. They came from different sources and were strictly separated during the Sui and Tang dynasties. However, they merged into one group during the late Tang and early Song dynasties. In addition, in the literatures of Dunhuang, sometimes “知zhī” is written as “支zhī” (initial 章zhāng) and “諸zhū” (initial 章zhāng) as “誅(zhū<t̚siu)” (initial 知(zhī)). In the *Chart of Heavenly and Earthly Pronunciation* (《天聲地音圖tiān shēng dì yīn tú》), the initial group of 知zhī is put right after that of 照(zhào), while in *Comprehensive Chart of Qièyùn* (《切韻指掌圖Qièyùn Zhǐ Zhǎng Tú》), characters in the 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) groups are intertwining. For instance, in *Chart One* (“圖一tú yī”), “惛(chāo<t̚s'iau)” (initial 徹) is under 穿chuān, “肇(zhào<t̚s'iau)” (initial 澄chéng) under 床(chuáng) and “芍(sháo<s'iau)” (initial 照[zhào]) under 知(zhī). Hence, we can see that, since the late Tang dynasty, characters in 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) had begun to be mixed in usage. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, 知(zhī)-II and 照(zhào)-II are mixed together. So are 知(zhī)-III and 照(zhào)-III, as well as 知(zhī)-II, 知(zhī)-III, 照(zhào)-II, and 照(zhào)-III. Therefore, the initials of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) are completely merged into one group. The following are examples in which 知(zhī)-II and 照(zhào)-II are mixed.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 江陽(jiāngyáng)
(High and level tone)
皆來(jiēlái)
(Falling tone as
falling-rising tone)
(Falling tone) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 莊zhuāng妝zhuāng裝zhuāng(照(zhào)-II)樁(zhuāng)(知zhī-II) • 責zé噴(zé)(照(zhào)-II)摘(zhāi)謫(zhé)(知zhī-II)測cè窄zhǎi仄zè晷(zè)簞(zé)迄zé(照(zhào)-II) • 寨zhài(床chuáng-II)豸zhì(澄chéng-II)瘵(zhài)債zhài(照(zhào)-II)薑(chàng)(徹chè-II)皆(zì)(床chuáng-II) |
| 寒山(hánshān)
(Falling tone)
蕭豪(xiāoháo)
(High and level tone)
(Falling tone as
falling-rising tone) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 棧zhàn(床chuáng-II)綻zhàn組(zhàn)(澄chéng-II) • 嘲(cháo)(知(zhī)-II)抓(zhuā)(照zhào-II)啁(zhōu)(知(zhī)-II) • 捉(zhuō)(照(zhào)-II)卓(zhuó)琢zuó(知zhī-II) |
| 家麻(jiāmá)
(High and level tone)
(Falling tone as
falling-rising tone) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 查(zhā)楂zhā蹠(chā)(床chuáng-II)吒(zhā)(知zhī-II) • 笞chī(知zhī-II)札(zhā)(照(zhào)-II) |
| 庚青(gēngqīng)
(High and level tone) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 鐙(chēng)錚(zhēng)杼(chēng)琿chēng(穿chuān-II)撐chēng(徹chè-II)瞠chēng(穿chuān-II) |

The following are examples in which 知(zhī)-III and 照(zhào)-III are mixed.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 東鐘(dōngzhōng)
(High and level tone) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 鍾(zhōng)鐘zhōng(照zhào-III)中zhōng衷zhōng忠zhōng(知[zhī]-III)終zhōng(照[zhào]-III) |
|--|--|

江陽(jiāngyáng) (Rising tone) (Falling tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 章zhāng漳(zhāng)樟zhāng璋zhāng獐zhāng麤zhāng g(照zhào-III)張zhāng(知(zhī)-III) • 帳zhàng脹(zhàng)漲zhǎng(知[zhī]- III)丈zhàng仗zhàng杖zhàng(澄chéng- III)障zhàng璋(zhāng)瘡zhàng(照[zhào]-III)
支思(zhīsī) (Falling-rising tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 紙(zhǐ)砥(dǐ)底dǐ旨zhǐ指(zhǐ)止zhǐ止zhǐ芷zhǐ趾 zhǐ祉zhǐ址zhǐ址zhǐ(照zhào-III)徵zhēng(知zhī- III)咫zhǐ(照[zhào]-III)
先天(xiāntiān) (High and level tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 氈(zhān)鸛zhān(照zhào-III)鱸zhān(知zhī-III) 鱸zhān(照zhào-III)遭zhān(知zhī-III)旃zhān旃 zhān(照[zhào]-III)
齊微(qíwēi) (High and level tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 笞chī癡chī邶(xī)(徹chè-III)蚩chī媿(chī)(穿chuān- III)螭chī(徹chè-III)鴟chī(穿chuān-III)焮(xī)(徹 chè-III)
魚模(yúmú) (Falling-rising tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 杵chǔ(穿chuān-III)楮chǔ褚chǔ(徹chè- III)處chù(昌chāng-III)杼(zhù)(澄chéng-III)出(chū) (昌-III)黜(chù)畜chù(徹chè-III)
真文(zhēnwén) (Rising tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 陳chén(澄chéng-III)臣chén(禪chán-III)塵chén (澄chéng-III)娠shēn(書shū-III)辰chén晨chén宸 (chén)(禪chán-III)
蕭豪(xiāoháo) (Falling tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 趙(zhào)兆zhào(澄chéng-III)照zhào(照[zhào]- III)旄zhào(澄chéng-III)召zhào(澄chéng-III)肇 zhào(澄chéng-III)
尤侯(yóuhóu) (Falling tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 晝zhòu(知zhī-III)呪(zhòu)(章zhāng-III)胃zhòu紂 zhòu宙zhòu籀zhòu(澄chéng-III)咄zhòu(知zhī-III)

Following are examples in which Grade II and Grade III of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) are mixed together.

東鐘(dōngzhōng) (Rising tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 重zhòng蟲chóng(澄chéng-III)臚(chōng)(徹chè- III)鱸(yōng)(禪chán-III)崇chóng(床chuáng-II)
支思(zhīsī) (Falling-rising tone) (High and level tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 眇chī眇(chī)(穿chuān-III)差(chā)(穿chuān-II) • 施shī詩shī(審shěn-III)師shī獅shī獅(sī)(審shěn- III)尸shī屍shī鳴shī著shī(審shěn-III)
家麻(jiāmá) (Falling tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 汊(chà)(穿chuān-II)咤(zhà)(知(zhī)- II)姪(chà)訛chà(徹chè-II)魏(chě)(穿chuān-II)
尤侯(yóuhóu) (Falling tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 肘(zhǒu)(知(zhī)-III)箒zhǒu(照zhào-II)酌(zhòu) (澄chéng-III)
侵尋(qīnxún) (Rising tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 岑cén(床chuáng-II)鷓(líng)鏝(chěn)(知zhī-III)涔 (cén) 霽 xí (床chuáng-II)
監咸(jiānxián) (Falling tone)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 蘸(zhàn)(照(zhào)-II)站zhàn(知[zhī]-II)賺(zhuàn) (澄chéng-II)湛(zhàn)(澄chéng-III)

The preceding examples clearly indicate that 知(zhī)-II, 照(zhào)-II, 知(zhī)-III, and 照(zhào)-III have completely merged into each other with no distinction between Grade II and Grade III. As for the initial 審(shěn) in the 照(zhào) group, since there are no corresponding initials in group 知(zhī), the combination of 審(shěn) and 知(zhī) is out of the question. The voiced initials of 澄chéng and 床chuáng both became voiceless initials and lost their independence. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, most of the characters in 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) are divided into Grade II and Grade III, respectively, due to their differences in finals. Grade III has the head vowel of [i], and Grade II does not, so it is only reasonable for them not to be listed together.

Both initial 知(zhī) and initial 照(zhào) possess retroflex initials of [tʂ], [tʂʰ], and [ʂ] in modern Beijing dialect, which began to exist after the 15th century. It first appeared in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* but remained to be in a transitional period of evolution, when retroflex initials were only confined to certain characters in 照(zhào) and 日, as well as “𠵹(zhī<tʂi)”, “𠵹(zhī<tʂi)”, and “𠵹” in 知. At that time, [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ] and [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ] co-existed but were not in the same final group. The separation of the 支思(zhīsī) final group and the 齊微(qíwēi) final group shows that the initials of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) in the 支思(zhīsī) group had, in effect, been changed from [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ] into retroflex initials of [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ], while those in other final groups of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) remained to be pronounced as [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ]. According to the rules of the modern Beijing dialect, retroflex initials are not to be spelt with [i]. In the Yuan dynasty, the finals of some characters of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) became [i] (those of 精jīng, [ɿ]), with the change of their initials evolving into retroflexes. The majority of the characters in 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) were still pronounced as [tʃ], [tʃʰ], and [ʃ] with their vowel being [i]. Hence, Zhou Deqing took 支思(zhīsī) and 齊微(qíwēi) as two final groups. Some scholars believe that all initials of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) had been turned into retroflexes of [tʂ], [tʂʰ] and [ʂ] during the Yuan Dynasty. If it were true, why do 支思(zhīsī) and 齊微(qíwēi) fall into different final categories since the fact is that both 支思(zhīsī) and 齊微(qíwēi) contain unrounded-mouth characters of Grade III from 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) with the same sources?

Some scholars believe that the initial groups of 知(zhī), 莊 and 章(zhāng) can be divided into two types in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. One is 知(zhī)-II and 莊(zhuāng)(照[zhào]-II), not spelling with vowel [i] or vowels with the head vowel of [i] and being pronounced as [tʂ], [tʂʰ], and [ʂ]. The other is 知(zhī)-III and 章(zhāng)(照[zhào]-III), only spelling with vowel [i] or vowels, with the head vowel of [i] and being pronounced as [tʃ], [tʃʰ] and [ʃ]. In fact, 知(zhī)-III and 章(zhāng) initials only appear in the 支思(zhīsī) final group, and their vowels do not contain [i], while in other final groups, characters from 莊(zhuāng)(照[zhào]-II), 章(zhāng)(照[zhào]-III), 知(zhī)-II and 知(zhī)-III are sometimes mixed together. The general division of 知(zhī)-II, 莊(zhuāng)(照-II) and 知(zhī)-III, 章(zhāng)(照[zhào]-III) into two types may attribute to the difference in their finals. Judged from articulation positions, [tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ] and [tʃ],

Table 2.3 The transformation of the initials of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào)

知[t] (zhī)	照[tʃ] (zhào)	(知 zhī)知 zhī 蚱(zhā)致 zhì 置 zhì 朝 cháo 爪 zhǎo 爹(diē)啁(zhōu)肘 zhǒu, (澄 chéng)稚 zhì 治 zhì 滯 zhì
照[tʃ] (zhào)		(照 zhào-II)瘵(zhài)抓 zhuā 楂(zhā)姪 chà 詐(zhà), (照 zhào-III)枝 zhì 質 zhì 制 zhì 沼(zhǎo)遮 zhē 周 (zhōu)帚(zhǒu)鄒(zōu)陬 zōu
澄[d] (chéng)	支[tʃ] (zhī)	(床 chuáng-II)助 zhù 寨 zhài 棧 zhàn 撰(zhuàn)乍 zhà 闍 zhá 驟 zhòu
徹[tʃ] (chē)		(照(zhào) -III)支 zhī 枝 zhī 肢 zhī 之 zhī 芝 zhī 脂 zhī 紙 zhǐ 旨 zhǐ 指 zhǐ 止 zhǐ 志 zhì 至 zhì (知 zhī)胝(zhī)微(zhī), (徹 chē)祉 zhǐ
穿[tʃ] (chuān)	穿[tʃ] (chuān)	(徹 chē)超 chāo 詔(zhào)瞠(chēng)撐 chēng 聘 pìn 逞 chěng, (澄 chéng)茶 chá 遲 chí 池 chí 馳(chí)綢 chóu 儔(chóu) (穿 chuān-II)炒(chǎo), (穿-III)(chuān)車 chē 哆 duō 醜(chǒu)臭(chòu), (床 chuáng-II)柴 chái 儕 chái 豺 chái 抄 chāo 叉(chā)差 chà 愁 chóu
		(床 chuáng-III)船 chuán 唇 chún 乘 chéng 讖 chán, (審 shěn-II)產 chǎn, (審 shěn-III)審 shěn 椿 chūn, (禪 chán)裳 shang 臣 chén 成 chéng
床[dʒ] (chuáng)	眇[tʃ] (miǎo)	(穿 chuān-III)眇 chǐ 齒 chǐ, (審 shěn-III)翅(chì)
審[ʃ] (shěn)	審[ʃ] (shěn)	(審 shěn-II)篩(shāi)曬 shài 梢(shāo)沙 shā 紗 shā 裛(shā)奢 shē 除(shē)搜(sōu)澆 sōu 餒 sōu 霜 shuāng
		(審 shěn -III)燒(shāo)少(shǎo)舍 shè 赦 shè 收 (shōu)首(shǒu)手 shǒu 守 shǒu 狩(shòu)獸 shòu 失 shī 室(shì)勢 shì (床 chuáng-III)實 shí 食 shí 贖 shù 術 shù 射 shè 舌 shé 社 shè, (禪 chán)邵(shào)佘(shé)壽 shòu 授 shòu 綬(shòu)
禪[ʃ] (chán)	詩[ʃ] (shī)	(審 shěn-II)師 shī 獅 shī 史 shǐ 使 shǐ 駛 shǐ, (審 shěn-III)施 shī 屍 shī 詩 shī 始 shǐ 試 shǐ
		(床 chuáng-II)柿 shì 士 shì 仕 shì 事 shì, (床 chuáng-III)示 shì 諡 shì (禪 chán)時 shí 矢 shǐ 是 shì 氏 shì 時 shí 侍 shì 視 shì 噬(shì)社 shè

Table 2.4 The transformation of the initial 日rì

日 [ɲz] (rì)	[z]	兒 ér 而 ér 爾 ěr 邈 ěr 耳 ěr 餌 ěr 珥 ěr 二 èr 貳 èr (支思 zhīsī final group)
	[ʒ]	戎 róng 絨(róng)茸 róng 日(rì)入 rù 如 rú 儒(rú)汝(rù)人 rén 忍 rěn 然 rán 饒(ráo)仍(réng)柔(róu)任(rèn)染 rǎn (other final groups except 支思 zhīsī)

[tʃ̥], [ʃ̥] can only exist under different situations, and they are complementary to each other, belonging to the same articulation position. It is acceptable to view 知(zhī), 莊(zhuāng), and 章(zhāng) as being with the same initial type and pronounce them as [tʃ̥], [tʃ̥̃], and [ʃ̥] according to what Luo Changpei and Yang Naisi did, or as [tʃ̥], [tʃ̥̃], and [ʃ̥] like what Zhao Yintang and Ning Jifu 甯繼福 did. In this book, the initials of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) in the 支思(zhīsī) final group are pronounced as [tʃ̥], [tʃ̥̃], and [ʃ̥], and those in other rhyme groups as [tʃ̥], [tʃ̥̃], and [ʃ̥] with the purpose of making a distinction.

The transformation of the initials of 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) from middle ancient times to the appearance of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are listed in Table 2.4.

During the Yuan dynasty, the half sibilants of initial 日rì of Middle Chinese was also divided into two initials of voiced retroflex assibilants of [z] in the 支思(zhīsī) final group and voiced frontal assibilants of [ʒ] in the rest of the final groups. That is shown in Table 2.5.

2.4 The merging of 影(yǐng), 喻(yù), and 疑(yí), and the expansion of zero initials

The initial 影(yǐng) in Middle Chinese was pronounced as zero initial [ø], a voiceless sound. 疑(yí), as [ŋ], a sub-voiced sound. 云yún[ɣ] and 以yǐ[j]¹¹ of the Sui and Tang dynasties were united into 喻yù [j] in the late Tang dynasty, also a sub-voiced sound. 喻(yù) and 影(yǐng) were combined into one group in the phonetic systems of Shao Yong 邵雍, Wu Yu, and Zhu Xi during the Song dynasty. In the 14th century, 影(yǐng), 喻(yù), and most of 疑yí had merged. The following examples are from the 齊微(qíwēi) and 先天(xiāntiān) final groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

齊微(Rising tone)

(qíwēi)

(Falling–rising tone)

(Falling tone)

- 移yí 彥yí(喻yù)兒ér 鯢(ní)霓ní 倪ní 猊ní 輓ní(疑yí) 姨(yí) 夷yí 萸tí(喻yù) 疑yí 疑yí(疑) (yí) 鷲(yí) 影yǐng) 沂(yí) 宜yí 儀yí 驥(yí)(疑yí) 彝(yí) 貽yí 怡yí 怡yí 貽yí 貽yí 圮yí 頤yí 遺yí 虵(yí)(喻) (yù)
- 倚yǐ 椅yǐ(影yǐng) 錡(qí)(疑yí) 宸(yí) 侷yí(影yǐng) 蟻yǐ(疑yí) 矣yí 已yí 以yí 苴yǐ(喻yù) 顛yǐ 擬(ní) 驥(yí) (疑) (yí) 一(影) (yǐng)

- 異(yì)裔(yì)(喻(yù))義(yì)議(yì)誼(yì)毅(yì)藝(yì)(疑(yí))易(yì)(喻(yù))翳(yì)瘞(yì)(影(yǐng))勣(yì)柎(yì)曳(yè)(喻(yù))譬(yì)(影(yǐng))詣(yì)(疑(yí))鏡(yì)(影(yǐng))刈(yì)刈(yì)(疑(yí))意(yì)(影(yǐng))劓(yì)(疑(yí))懿(yì)(影(yǐng))逸(yì)易(yì)場(yì)譯(yì)驛(yì)(喻(yù))益(yì)(影(yǐng))溢(yì)鎰(yì)(喻(yù))鷗(yì)(疑(yí))液(yè)腋(yè)掖(yè)疫(yì)役(yì)(喻(yù))一(影(yǐng))侖(yì)洸(yù)(喻(yù))逆(nì)(疑(yí))乙(yǐ)邑(yì)憶(yì)揖(yī)(影(yǐng))射(yì)翊(yì)翼(yì)(喻(yù))(yù)
- 先天 (Rising tone)
(xiāntiān)
(Falling–rising tone)
(Falling tone)
- 元(yuán)龜(yuán)(疑(yí))圓(yuán)員(yuán)捐(juān)園(yuán)園(yuán)袁(yuán)猿(yuán)轅(yuán)(喻(yù))原(yuán)嫫(yuán)源(yuán)(疑(yí))垣(yuán)鉛(qiān)鳶(yuān)爨(yuán)援(yuán)(喻(yù))(yù)
- 遠(yuǎn)(喻(yù))(yù)阮(ruǎn)(疑(yí))苑(yuàn)畹(wǎn)(影(yǐng))
- 院(yuàn)(喻(yù))(yù)愿(yuàn)願(yuàn)(疑(yí))怨(yuàn)(影(yǐng))遠(yuǎn)援(yuán)(喻(yù))(yù)

In the *Chart of Heavenly and Earthly Pronunciation* by Shao Yong, they are arranged as follows, which can be seen in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 Chart of heavenly and earthly pronunciation by Shao Yong

Grade III				Grade II			
Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless
目(mù<mu)	母(mǔ<mu)	□	安(ān)	吾(wú<u)	五(wǔ<u)	黃(huáng<xuan)	黑(hēi)
兒(ér)	馬(mǎ)	爻(yáo)	亞(yà)	牙(yá<ia)	瓦(wǎ)	華(huá)	花(huā)
眉(méi)	美(měi<mui)	王(wáng)	乙(yǐ<i)	月(yuè)	仰(yǎng<ŋian)	雄(xióng<yiuŋ)	香(xiāng)
民(mín)	米(mǐ<mi)	寅(yín<iən)	一(yī<i)	堯(yáo<iau)	□	賢(xián)	血(xiě<hiwet)
明(míng)	明(míng)	喻(yù)	影(yǐng)	疑(yí)	疑(yí)	匣(xiá)	曉(xiǎo)

Shao Yong divided characters with the same initials and different tones into two rows of voiced and voiceless lists. Characters in 明(míng) and 疑(yí) were listed in two rows, respectively, according to whether they belonged to the level tone or the falling–rising tone. Initial 匣(xiá) became voiceless, so 曉(xiǎo) and 匣(xiá) were only different in their tones. Deduced from this, 影(yǐng) and 喻(yù) should have the same sound value.

What is the sound value after 影(yǐng), 喻(yù), and 疑(yí) merged together? In modern Beijing dialect, all of them belong to zero initial. Characters of 影(yǐng) and 喻(yù) in the majority of parts of North China belong to zero initial, too. Characters of 喻 for phonetic comparison between Chinese and Tibetan in the Tang and Song dynasties are marked as “j”, which suggests that 影(yǐng) and 喻(yù) became zero initials during the Yuan dynasty. Since most characters of initial 疑(yí) were mixed with those of 影(yǐng) and 喻(yù), there is no doubt that it belonged to zero initial as well.

The rules for 喻(yù) and 疑(yí) to be turned into a zero initial are as follows:

(1) All characters with the level tone fell into those of the rising tone after becoming zero initial. Examples are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 東鐘(dōngzhōng)
(Rising tone) | • 容róng溶(róng)蓉róng瑤róng鏞róng庸(yōng)傭yōng
鄘yōng鏞yōng墉yōng融(róng)榮róng(喻) (yù) |
| 齊微(qíwēi)
(Rising tone) | • 圍wéi闡(wéi)韋wéi幃wéi違wéi(喻)yù嵬wéi巍(wēi)
危wēi桅wéi爲wèi(喻) (yù) |
| 蕭豪(xiāoháo)
(Rising tone) | • 遙(yáo)搖yáo謠yáo瑤yáo飄(piāo)颿(yáo)窑yáo(喻)
yù堯yáo(疑 yí)陶táo姚(yáo)(喻) (yù)曉xiǎo(疑) (yí) |

喻(yù) and 疑(yí) belong to sub-voiced sound, so their level tones fall into the rising tone; 影(yǐng) is a voiceless sound, so its level tones are turned into the high and level tones. There are only a few exceptions. “驚(yī<i>”)”, level tone of 齊qí final group of 影(yǐng) initial, existed again in the high and level tone and the rising tone of 齊微qíwēi final group; “呀(yā<ia>”)”, level tone of 麻má final group of 疑(yí) initial, belonged to the high level and level tone of 家麻(jiāmá) final group; “空(yà<a>”)”, tone of 麻má final group of 影(yǐng) initial, fell into the rising tone of 家麻(jiāmá) final group; “龔(ān<am>”)”, level tone of 覃(tán<t`am>) final group of 影(yǐng) initial, fell into the falling–rising tone of 監jiānxián final group.

(2) Characters with the falling–rising tone and the falling tone did not change their tones after turning into zero initial. Examples with the falling–rising tone are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 真文(zhēnwén) | • 隱(yǐn)(影yǐng)引yǐn蚓yǐn尹yǐn(喻) (yù) |
| 先天(tiānxiān) | • 兗(yǎn)(喻yù)偃yǎn(影yǐng)演yǎn(喻yù)堰(yàn)
(影yǐng)衍yǎn(喻yù)颯yǎn(yǎn)(影) (yǐng) |
| 蕭豪(xiāoháo) | • 杳(yǎo)夭(yāo)妖yāo(影yǐng)舀(yǎo)(喻) (yù) |
| 庚青(gēngqīng) | • 影yǐng(影yǐng)郢(yǐng)穎yǐng(喻) (yù)瘿yǐng(影)
(yǐng) |

Examples with the falling tone are as follows:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 皆來(jiēlái) | • 艾(ài)(疑yí)愛ài噫(yī)餽(ài)(影) (yǐng) |
| 蕭豪(xiāoháo) | • 奧(ào)懊ào澳ào(影yǐng)鸛(è)鵠(è)(疑yí)惡(è)(影yǐng)
愕(è)(疑) (yí) |

- 庚青(gēngqīng) • 哄(hōng)應(yīng)膺(yīng)(影)(yǐng)凝(níng)硬(yìng)
(疑)(yí)
- 尤侯(yóuhóu) • 又(yòu)右(yòu)佑(yòu)祐(yòu)狄(yòu)宥(yòu)柚(yòu)喻(yù)幼
yòu(影yǐng)囿(yòu)侑(yòu)(喻)(yù)

There are some exceptions. “蘊(yùn<iuən)” and “憚(yùn<iuən)”, a falling–rising tone of the 叻(wěn<vuən) final group of 影(yǐng) initial, are turned into the falling tone of 真文ZhēnWén final group; “拗(ǎo<au)”, a falling–rising tone of the 巧qiǎo final group of 影(yǐng) initial, fell into the falling tone of 蕭豪(xiāoháo) final group; “忤(wǔ<u)”, falling tone of the 暮(mù<mu) final group of 疑(yí) initial, is turned into the falling–rising tone of 魚模yú mó final group; “靄(ǎi<ai)”, falling tone of the 泰(tài<t’ ai) final group of 影(yǐng) initial, fell into the falling–rising tone of the 皆來jiē lái final group; and “俺(ǎn)”, falling tone of the 豔(yàn<iem) final group of 影(yǐng) initial is turned into the falling–rising tone of the 監咸jiānxián final group.

(3) All entering tones are turned into the falling tone after becoming zero initial. See the following examples:

- 魚模(yúmó) • 玉(yù)獄(疑)欲浴(喻)郁(影)昱鵠(喻)(yù)
yù(yù) yù(yí) yù yù(yù) yù(yǐng) yù yù(yù) (yù)
- 蕭豪(xiāoháo) • 岳獄(yuè)(疑)藥(yào)(喻)約(影)躍(yuè)鑰淪(喻)(yù)
yuè yuè(uè)(yí) yào(yào)(yù) yuē(yǐng) yuè(yuè) yào
yuè(yù) (yù)
- 歌戈(gēgē) • 萼(è)鶚(疑)惡壘(影)(yǐng)鄂(疑)(yí)
è(è) è è(yí) è è(yǐng) (yǐng) è (yí) (yí)
- 車遮(chēzhē) • 月(疑)悅(yuè)說閱(喻)(yù)軋(疑)越鉞械蟻(喻)刑(疑)
(yí)
yuè(yí) yuè(yuè) shuō yuè(yù) (yù) yuè(yí) yuè yuè
yuè(yù) yuè(yí) (yí)

Characters of 疑(yí) in Middle Chinese were mostly turned into zero initial in the northern dialects of the 14th century but did not disappear and remained to be in some finals as [ŋ]. They coexisted with characters of 影(yǐng) and 喻(yù) under the same circumstances in opposition to each other. The examples are as follows.

- 江陽(jiāngyáng) • 仰yǎng(疑)(yí) • 養yǎng癢(yǎng)(喻)(yù)鞅(yāng)
(Falling-rising tone) (影)(yǐng)
- (Falling tone) • 仰yǎng(疑)(yí) • 養(yàng)羨yàng煬yáng養(yǎng)樣yàng
(喻)(yù)
- 蕭豪(xiāoháo) • 傲(ào)鼻鏊(疑) • 奧ào懊ào澳ào(影yǐng)萼è鶚è
(Falling tone) (yí) ào(à o) ào è(疑 yí)惡è(影yǐng)愕è(疑)(yí)
- ào (yí) (yí)

(Entering tone as falling tone)	• 虐nüè瘡nüè(疑)(yí)	• 岳yuè樂lè(疑yí)藥 yào(喻yù)約 yuē(影yǐng)躍yuè鑰yào瀾yuè(喻) ¹² (yù)
歌戈(gēgē) (Falling-rising tone)	• 我wǒ(疑)(yí)	• 婀(ē)(影)(yǐng)
遮(chēzhē) (Entering tone as falling tone)	• 業(yè)鄴yè額(é)(疑)(yí)	• 拽(yè)(喻)(yù)噎(yē)謁(yè)(影)(yǐng)葉yè燁yè(喻)(yù)

In the preceding examples, the six groups of characters on the left are independent 疑(yí) initial with the preservation of [ŋ], while those on the right are the mixture of 影(yǐng), 喻(yù), and 疑(yí), with 疑(yí) initial becoming a zero initial. In *Mongolian Rhymes*, characters in 疑(yí)-I and 疑(yí)-II were also pronounced as [ŋ]; hence, it can be seen that the dialect of the capital of the Yuan dynasty still had [ŋ] of 疑(yí) initial in certain characters.

In addition, some characters of 疑(yí)-III and 疑(yí)-IV in Middle Chinese were transformed into 泥ní initial. Examples are as follows:

先天(xiāntiān) (Falling-rising tone)	• 撚(niǎn)輓zhǎn碾niǎn(泥ní)讖yàn(疑)(yí)
車遮(chēzhē) (Entering tone as falling tone)	• 捏(niē)聶(niè)躡niè鑷niè(泥ní)嚙niè臬niè(疑)(yí)

The initials of “讖yàn”, “嚙niè”, “臬niè”, and “藥niè” are all [n].

As a result, the development of 疑(yí) initial from middle ancient times to modern times can be shown in Table 2.6.

By the 15th century, the initial system of the northern dialects underwent further changes. In *A Poem Enchanting Early Wintersweet*, the initials in both 知zhī

Table 2.6 The development of 疑(yí) initial

[ŋ]	[ŋ]	(Small fraction)	○ 昂(mǎo)印 yìn 仰 yǎng 噉(áo)敖 áo 聲 áo 葵 áo 驚 ào 遨 áo 冪 ào 熬 ào 虐 nüè 瘡 nüè 哦(ò)蛾(é)娥 é 俄 é 峩 é é (wǒ) é (é)
	[ø]	(Large amount)	○ ní 倪 ní 猊 ní 疑 yí 沂 yí 宜 yí 儀 yí 擬 nǐ 義 yì 誼 yì 藝 yì 詣 yì 刈 yì 義 yì 嵬(wéi)危 wēi 吾 wú 吳 wú 五 wú 午 (wǔ)魚 yú 隅(yú)語(yǔ)禦(yù)艾(yì)外 wài 銀(yín)眼 yǎn 頑 wán 妍(yán)言 yán 嶽(yuè)牙(yá)瓦 wǎ 月 yuè 牛(niú) ¹
	[n]	(A few)	○ 讖 yàn 嚙 niè 臬 niè 藥 niè

Table 2.7 The development of the initial system from middle ancient times to modern times

Middle Chinese	14th Century	15th Century
幫[p'] (bāng)	[p]	[p]
並[b](bìng) { (oblique tone) (level tone)		
滂[p'] (pāng)	[p']	[p']
明[m] (míng)	[m]	[m]
非[f] (fēi)		
敷[f'] (fū)	[f]	[f]
奉[v](fèng)		
微[m] (wēi)	[v]	[v]
端[t] (duān)	[t]	[t]
定[d] (dìng) { (Oblique tone) (Level tone)		
透[t'] (tòu)	[t']	[t']
泥[n] (ní)	[n]	[n]
疑[ŋ] (yí)	[ŋ]	[ŋ]
喻(yù) [j]	[ø]	[ø]
影(yǐng) [ø]		
來[l] (lái)	[l]	[l]
知[k] (zhī)	[tʃ]	[tʃ]
澄[d] (chéng) { (Oblique tone) (Level tone)		
徹[t'] (chè)	[tʃ']	[tʃ']
照[tʃ] (zhào)	[tʃ]	[tʃ']
床[dʒ] (chuáng) { (Oblique tone) (Level tone)		
穿[tʃ'] (chuān)	[tʃ']	[tʃ']
審[ʃ] (pān)	[ʃ]	[ʃ]
禪[ʒ] (chán)	[ʒ]	[ʒ]
日[ɲʒ](rì)	[ʒ]	[ʒ]
精[ts] (jīng)	[ts]	[ts]
從[dz] (cóng) { (Oblique tone) (Level tone)		
清[ts'] (qīng)	[ts']	[ts']
心[s] (xīn)	[s]	[s]
邪[z] (xié)		
見[k] (jiàn)	[k]	[k]
群[g] (qún) { (Oblique tone) (Level tone)		
溪[k'] (xī)	[k']	[k']
曉[x] (xiǎo)	[x]	[x]
匣[x] (xiá)		

and 照zhào had been turned into retroflex sounds and no longer belonged to two sets. [ŋ] of the initial 疑yí disappeared. The initial system of northern dialects witnessed further simplification.

To summarize, the development of the initial system from middle ancient times to modern times is shown in Table 2.7.

From the preceding description, it can be seen that the Chinese initial system of the 14th and 15th centuries was very much similar to that of the modern times.

Notes

- 1 A popular form of narrative literature flourishing in the Tang dynasty (618–907), with alternate prose and rhymed parts for recitation and singing (often on Buddhist themes). See www.zdic.net/hans/%E8%AE%8A%E6%96%87.
- 2 See Wang Li, “Studies on Zhu Xi’s fānqiè” (《朱熹反切考Zhū Xī Fǎn Qiè Kǎo》), from Book Three of *Collected Works of Longchongbingdiao Room* (《龍蟲並雕齋文集Lóng Chóng Bīng Diāo Zhāi Wén Jí》), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, pp. 336–337.
- 3 See Shao Rongfen (邵榮芬Shào Róngfēn), “Yùn Bǔ by Wu Yu and Jian’ou’s Dialect of North Min in the Song Dynasty” (《吳械<韻補>和宋代閩北建甌方言Wú Yù Yùn Bǔ Hé Sòng Dài Mǐn Běi Jiàn ōu Fāng Yán》), from *Studies of the Chinese Language*, Volume 5, 1995.
- 4 See Wang Li, “Studies on Zhu Xi’s fānqiè”, from Book Three of *Collected Works of Longchongbingdiao Room*, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, pp. 336–337, 338.
- 5 Zhuo Congzhi was from Yanshan in the Yuan dynasty (now the place of Beijing) with no recorded profile. *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central State of China* (《中州音韻Zhōng Zhōu Yīn Yùn》), full name as the *Collection of Pronunciation and Rhyme Groups in the Central State of China from the Lyric Poetry Collected by Official Conservatory in the Han Dynasty*, 《中州樂府音類編Zhōng Zhōu Yuè Fǔ Yīn Lèi Biān》, also called *Rhymes in the Central State of China* (《中州韻Zhōng Zhōu Yùn》), the *Collection of Pronunciation and Rhyme Groups in the Central State of China* (《中原音韻類編Zhōng Yuán Yīn Yùn Lèi Biān》) and *Rhyme Groups in the North* (《北腔韻類Běi Qiāng Yùn Lèi》), divides finals into 19 groups, the same as *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, but with 1,700 characters less than the latter and only 40 unrecorded in the latter.
- 6 “篋bì” belongs to 齊qí, 12th group of the high and level tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, 部(bù<bu)迷(mí<míei) qiè, bamboo ware for hunting shrimps, and to sixth group of the falling tone of 至 in *Jìyùn*, 毗(pí<bi)至 qiè, the same meaning with 櫛(zhì<tsǐ). “便biàn” belongs to the second group of the lower level tone of 仙xiān in *Guǎngyùn*, 房連(lián<lien) qiè, sycophant, and to 線xiàn, 33rd group of the falling tone characters, 婢(bì<pui)面miàn qiè, interests. “憑píng” belongs to the 16th group of the lower level tone of 蒸zhēng in *Guǎngyùn*, 扶(fú<fu)冰(bīng<piəŋ) qiè, relying on, and to 證zhèng, 47th group of the falling tone characters, 皮(pí<p`i)證(zhèng<tsiəŋ) qiè, the same meaning.
- 7 In 肴yáo, the fifth group of the lower level tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “泡(pào) means floating on the surface of water, 匹(pí<p`i)交 qiè”. In 效xiào, 36th group of the falling tone characters in *Jìyùn*, it reads, “泡(pào) refers to a water spring, 皮教(jiào<kau) qiè”.
- 8 In modern Beijing dialect, the initial of “泮(pàn<puən)”, “湃(pài<pai)”, “配(pèi<p`ui)”, “沛(pèi<p`ui)”, and “霏(pèi<p`ui)” is [p], those of “避”(bì), both [p] and [p`], and that of “栳(bù<pu)”, [p].
- 9 According to the *Collected Works with Various Literary Styles by Qingjiao* (《青郊雜著Qīng Jiāo Zá Zhù》) by Sang Shaoliang 桑紹良 in the Ming dynasty (1543 CE), all

ancient full-voiced initials were categorized into voiceless characters with aspiration with the same articulation parts instead of non-aspiration. Sang Shaoliang was from Puzhou (濮州 pú zhōu) of Henan (Fan County, 範縣 fàn xiàn today). Scholars assume that his findings had shown the features of Henan dialect at that time. That ancient full-voiced initials are all pronounced as voiceless characters with aspiration with the same articulation parts also preserved in the dialect of Shanji Town (善濟鎮 shàn jì zhèn) of Jiangling County (江陵縣 jiāng líng xiàn) in Hubei (west of Jiangnan Plain, 江漢平原 jiāng hàn píng yuán) nowadays.

10 “崇 chǒng” is “床 chuáng-II”, and “船 chuán”, “床 chuáng-III”.

11 “云 yún” is “喻 yù-III”, and “以 yǐ”, “喻 yù – IV”.

12 This group reappears in 歌戈 (gēgē) final group (entering tone as falling tone).

3 The development of the vowel final system from Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese

3.1 Introduction

There is a great development of the Chinese Yīn final (陰聲韻 yīnshēngyùn)² system in the Chinese language. From middle ancient times to modern times, the final system of the Chinese language has undergone dramatic changes. *Guǎngyùn* inherits the phonetic system of *Qiè yùn* and expands the finals of the latter to 206, which can be divided into three categories including yīn, yáng (陽聲韻 yángshēngyùn)³ and rù (入聲韻 rù shēngyùn),⁴ with 95 final groups containing 140 finals. The level tone, including the falling–rising tone and the entering tone, has 26 yīn final groups with 40 finals and 35 yáng final groups with 50 finals, as well as 34 rù final groups with 50 finals. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the division of final groups in *Guǎngyùn* is quite elaborate in that some of them may be a comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of some dialects and ancient pronunciation, and some of them are only different in head vowels. Most of these finals could be mixed in usage in the poetic rhyming from the Tang dynasty. During the Song dynasty, people summarized them into 16 groups, which were not coherent to the final groups and finals at that time. The poetry differences when composing rhyming poems were even larger in its process. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 19 final groups with 46 finals. The entering tone has disappeared and the yīn and yáng finals are often combined. The general trend is that the whole final system is greatly simplified.

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 9 yīn final groups including 支思(zhīsī), 齊微(qíwēi), 魚模(yúmú), 皆來(jiēlái), 蕭豪(xiāoháo), 歌戈(gēgē), 家麻(jiāmá), 車遮(chēzhē), and 尤侯(yóuhóu) with 22 finals, evolving from the 26 final groups with 40 finals in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 支zhī, 脂zhī, 之zhī, 微(wēi), 魚yú, 虞(yú<iu), 模mó, 齊qí, 灰huī, 哈(hāi<t'ai), 佳(jiā<kia), 皆jiē, 祭(jì<tsi), 泰tài, 夬(guài<kuai), 廢(fèi<fui), 蕭xiāo, 宵xiāo, 肴xiāo, 豪háo, 歌gē, 戈gē, 麻má, 尤yóu, 侯hóu and 幽(yōu<iəu).

The following section discusses the changes of the yīn final groups and their finals from *Guǎngyùn* to *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. The exemplified characters under each final follow the order of the 25 initials in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, namely, 幫bāng[p], 滂pāng[p`], 明míng[m], 非fēi[f], 微wēi[v], 端wēi[t], 透tòu[t`], 泥ní[n], 來lái[l], 照zhào[t], 穿chuān[t`] , 審shěn[ʃ], 日rì[z], 支zhī[tʂ], 咍chī[tʂ`], 詩shī[ʂ], 兒ér[z], 精jīng[tʂ], 清qīng[tʂ`], 心xīn[s], 見jiàn[k], 溪xī[k`], 曉xiǎo[x], 疑yí[ŋ],

and 影 yǐng[ə]. The initial group that they belong to is marked by a bracket and is omitted if there is no exemplified character.

3.2 支思 [i(ɿ, ʅ)](zhī sī)

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the final of the 支思(zhī sī) group is [i], including two variants: [ɿ] after initial 精(jīng) and [ʅ] after initial 支(zhī), coming from the unrounded-mouth-III characters in the 精(jīng) and 章zhāng (照[zhào]-III) initial groups in *Guǎngyùn* with some from the 日rì final group and very few coming from 祭(jì)-III:

Table 3.1 Finals in 支思(zhī sī) group

支 (zhī) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[i̯]→[i]→[i]:	[tʂ]	支zhī枝zhī肢zhī厄zhī氏shì梠(zhī)樁zhī (章zhāng) 紙zhǐ坻zhǐ咫zhǐ(章zhāng)
		[tʂʰ]	侈chǐ(昌chāng) 差chā(初chū) 翅chì(書shū)
		[ʂ]	施shī(書shū) 匙shí(禪chán) 弛chí 豕shǐ(生shēng) 是shì 禪chán(禪chán) 施shī(書shū) 豉shì(禪chán)
		[ʐ]	兒(日rì) (ér) 爾ěr 邈èr(日rì)
		[ts]	髭(zī) 贛zī 鬚zī(精) (jīng) 紫(zǐ)(精) (jīng) 漬zì 齏(cī) 齧(zì)(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	雌(cī)(清qīng) 疵(cī) 玼cǐ 苾(zǐ)(從cóng) 此cǐ 瞿zì 玼cǐ 泚cǐ(清) (qīng) 刺(cì) 薊cì(清) (qīng)
		[s]	斯sī 廝sī 澌sī(心) (xīn) 賜(cì)(心) (xīn)
		[tʂ]	脂(章zhāng) (zhī) 胝zhī(知zhī) 底(dǐ) 旨zhǐ 指zhǐ(章zhāng) 至zhì(章zhāng)
		[ʂ]	師shī 獅shī 獅(sī)(生shēng) 屍shī 鴟shī 薯shī(書shū) 矢shǐ 屎shǐ 隄shǐ(書shū) 示shì 諡shì(船chuán) 嗜shì 視shì(禪chán)
		[ʐ]	二èr 貳èr(日rì)
脂 (zhī) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[i]→[i]:	[tʂ]	資zī 咨zī 諮zī 姿zī(精) (jīng) 姊(zǐ)(精) (jīng) 自zì(從cóng) 恣(zì)(精) (jīng)
		[ʂ]	
		[ʐ]	
		[ts]	

		[ts`]	資(cí)茨(cí)(從 cóng) 次(cì)(清) (qīng)
		[s]	私(sī)(心) (xīn) 死(sǐ)(心) (xīn) 兇(sī)(邪 xié) 泗(sì)泗(sì)肆(sì)駟(sì)(心) (xīn)
之(zhī) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iə]→[i]→[i]:	[tʂ]	之(zhī)芝(zhī)章(zhāng) 止(zhǐ)止(zhǐ)芷(zhǐ)趾(zhǐ)址(zhǐ)址(zhǐ)址(zhǐ)(章 zhāng) 微(zhēng)(知zhī) 祉(zhǐ)(微wēi) 志(zhì)誌(zhì)(章zhāng)
		[tʂ`]	瞞(昌chāng) 齒(chǐ)(昌chāng)
		[ʂ]	詩(shī)(書shū) 時(shí)埶(shí)鯽(shí)(禪chán) 史(shǐ)駛(shǐ)使(shǐ)始(shǐ)(生shēng) 市(shì)恃(shì)蒔(shì)侍(shì)(禪chán) 柿(shì)士(shì)仕(shì)事(shì)(崇chóng) 使(shǐ)(生shēng) 試(shì)弒(shì)(書shū)
		[z]	而(ér)洏(ér)(日rì) 耳(ěr)餌(ěr)珥(ěr)駢(èr)(日rì) 餌(ěr)(日rì)
		[ts]	茲(zī)孳(zī)孜(zī)滋(zī)籽(zī)(精) (jīng) 淄(zī)(莊zhuāng) 子(zǐ)粹(zǐ)(精) (jīng) 字(zì)字(zì)(從 cóng)
		[ts`]	慈(cí)騫(cí)磁(cí)茲(zī)(從 cóng) 廁(cè)(初chū)
		[s]	颯(sǎ)(初chū) 鷲(sī)思(sī)司(sī)絲(sī)僂(cāi)戛(sī)(心) (xīn) 詞(cí)祠(cí)辭(cí)穢(cí)(邪xié) 似(sì)媿(sì)巳(sì)汜(sì)祀(sì)耜(sì)嗣(sì)飼(sì)耜(sì)寺(sì) 食(shí)(邪xié) 涖(sì)侯(qí)(崇chóng) 笱(sì)思(sī)(心) (xīn)
祭(jì) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iɛi]→[i]→[i]:	[ʂ]	筮(shì)噬(shì)(禪chán)

3.3 齊微(qíwēi) [ei], [i], and [uei]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the finals of 齊微(qíwēi) include [ei], [i], and [uei], coming from 支(zhī), 脂(zhī), 之(zhī), 微(wēi), 齊(qí), 祭(jì), 廢(fèi), 灰(huī), and 泰(tài) in *Guāngyùn*.

3.3.1 Final [ei] from the unrounded-mouth bilabials of 灰(huī), 泰(tài), 支(zhī), 脂(zhī), and 祭(jì), as well as the rounded-mouth labiodentals of 微(wēi) and 廢(fèi) in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.2 Final [ei] in 齊微(qíwēi) group

灰 (huī) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uɔi]→[ei]:	[p]	杯bēi(幫)(bāng) 輩bèi背bèi(幫)(bāng) 倍bèi焙bèi(並) ⁵ (bìng)
		[p']	胚pēi醅pēi(滂)(pāng) 裴péi陪péi培péi(並)(bìng) 配pèi(滂)(pāng) 佩pèi珮pèi悖bèi諱bèi(並)(bìng)
		[m]	梅méi莓méi枚méi媒méi煤méi(明)(míng) 洩měi(明)(míng) 妹mèi昧mèi瑁(mào)(明)(míng)
		[p]	貝bèi狽bèi(幫)(bāng)
		[p']	沛pèi霈pèi(滂)(pāng)
		[p]	卑(bēi)碑bēi陂bēi(幫)(bāng) 彼bǐ(幫)(bāng) 婢bì避bì被bèi髮bì(並)(bìng) 誑bì臂bì(幫)(bāng) 帔pèi(滂)(pāng)
		[p']	披pī(滂pāng) 皮pí(並)(bìng)
		[m]	糜(mí)醢mí(明)
		[p]	悲bēi(幫)(bāng) 鄙bǐ(幫)(bāng) 備bèi(並)(bìng)
		脂 (zhī) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i]→[ei]:
[m]	眉méi湄méi楣méi帽(mào)麋(mí)(明)(míng) 美měi(明)(míng) 媚mèi魅mèi寐mèi(明)(míng)		
[f]	非fēi(非fēi) 非(fēi) 扉fēi緋fēi緋fēi飛fēi(非fēi) 非(fēi)霏fēi駢fēi菲fēi妃fēi(散sàn) 肥féi淝féi(奉fèng) 沸fèi芾fèi(非) 非(fēi) 費fèi(敷fū)		
[v]	微wēi薇wēi(微)(wēi) 甕mén尾wěi(微)(wēi) 未wèi味wèi(微)(wēi)		
[p]	幣b幣b(並)(bìng)		
[m]	袂(mèi)(明)(míng)		
祭 (jì) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[īei]→[ei]:	[p]	幣b幣b(並)(bìng)
廢 (fèi) (Rounded-mouth III)	[īwəi]→[ei]:	[f]	廢fèi(非fēi) 非(fēi) 肺fèi(敷)(fū) 吠fèi(奉fèng)

3.3.2 Final [i] from the unrounded-mouth characters of 支(zhī), 脂(zhī), 之(zhī), 微(wēi), 齊(qí), 祭(jì), and 廢(fèi) in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.3 Final [i] in 齊微(qíwēi) group

支 (zhī) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[ǐe]→[i]→[i]:	[p]	賁(bì)(幫bāng)		
		[p`]	脾(pí)疲(pí)(並bìng) 罍(pí)(幫bāng)		
		[m]	彌(mí)瀾(mí)(明míng) 弭(mǐ)(明míng)		
		[n]	旄(máo)(泥ní)		
		[l]	離(lí)璃(lí)籬(lí)醜(lí)羅(lí)鸚(lí)驪(lí)麗(lí)漓(lí)(來lái) 罍(lí)(來lái)		
		[tʃ]	知(zhī)蚰(zhī)(知)zhī 只(zhǐ)(章zhāng) 智(zhì)(知zhī)		
		[tʃ`]	螭(chī)(微wēi) 池(chí)馳(chí)籠(lù< lu)(澄chéng) 侈(chǐ)(昌chāng)		
		[ʃ]	璽(xì)徙(xǐ)(心xīn) 屣(lǐ)(生shēng)		
		[k]	奇(qí)羈(jī)羈(jī)(見jiàn) 奇(qí)(見jiàn) 妓(jì)技(jì)騎(qí)(群qún) 伎(jì)(章) 縊(yì)(影yǐng)		
		[k`]	欹(qī)(影yǐng) 奇(qí)騎(qí)琦(qí)碯(qí)芪(qí) 岐(qí)(群qún) 綺(qǐ)(溪xī)		
		[x]	羲(xī)犧(xī)曦(xī)(曉xiào) 戲(xì)(曉xiào)		
		[ø]	猗(yī)漪(yī)(影yǐng) 移(yí)屻(yí)虵(shé)(以yǐ) 宜(yí)儀(yí)驥(yí)(疑yí) 迤(yǐ)(以yǐ) 媿(qǐ)(溪xī) 綺(qí)椅(yǐ)(影yǐng) 錡(qí)蟻(yí)臙(yí)(疑yí) 易(yì)(以yǐ) 義(yì)議(yì)誼(yì)(疑yí)		
		脂 (zhī) (Unrounded- rounded III)	[i]→[i]:	[p]	鼻(bí)(並bìng) 妣(bǐ)比(bǐ)匕(bǐ)(幫bāng) 庇(bì)秘(mì)(幫bāng) 比(bǐ)畀(bǐ)(非fēi)
				[p`]	紕(pī)(滂pāng) 比(bǐ)毗(pí)(並bìng) 痞(pǐ)否(pǐ)圮(pǐ)(並bìng) 齏(pī)(滂pāng) 秕(bǐ)(幫bāng)

(Continued)

Table 3.3 (Continued)

		[t]	地dì(定dìng)
		[n]	尼ní(泥ní) 膩nì(泥ní)
		[l]	梨lí(來láí) 履(lǚ)(來láí) 利lì痢lì(來láí)
		[tʃ]	雉zhì稚zhì致zhì(澄chéng) 質zhì(知zhī)
		[tʃʰ]	郗xī絺chī(徹chè) 鴟chī(昌chāng) 遲chí墀chí(澄chéng)
		[k]	肌jī饑jī(見jiàn) 几(jǐ)麂jǐ(見jiàn) 季jì驥jì冀jì(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	祁(qí)耆qí鬻qí(群qún) 器(qì)棄qì(溪xī)
		[ø]	伊yī(影yǐng) 姨yí夷yí痍yí彝yí遺yí(以yǐ) 饑yì懿yì(影yǐng) 疑yí(疑yí)
之(zhī) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iə]→[i]→[i]:	[n]	你nǐ(泥ní)
		[l]	狸(lí)嫫lí(來láí) 里lǐ裏lǐ理lǐ鯉lǐ鯉lǐ李lǐ(來láí)
		[tʃ]	置zhì(知zhī)治zhì(澄chéng)幟zhì熾zhì(昌chāng)
		[tʃʰ]	咎chǐ癩chǐ(初chū)蚩chǐ媿chǐ(昌chāng) 持chí(澄chéng) 恥chǐ(徹chè)
		[s]	泉xiǎ(心xīn)
		[k]	菁(jī)箕jī基jī姬jī(見jiàn) 己(jǐ)紀jì(見jiàn) 記jì(見jiàn) 忌jì(群)
		[kʰ]	欺qī(溪xī) 萁(qí)期qī旗(qí)綦qí其qí 祇(zhī)麒(qí)琪qí藪qí(群qún)起qǐ杞qǐ(溪xī)
		[x]	熹(xī)嘻xī僖xī熙xī(曉xiǎo)喜xǐ嬉xǐ(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	醫(yī)噫yī(影yǐng) 疑yí疑yí(疑yí) 貽yí怡yí貽yí飴yí圮pǐ頤yí(以yǐ) 矣yǐ己yǐ以yǐ以yǐ(以yǐ)擬nǐ(疑yí) 異yì(以yǐ) 意yì(影yǐng)
微(wēi) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iəi]→[i]:	[k]	機(jī)幾jǐ磯jǐ譏jǐ(見jiàn) 蟻(jì)幾jǐ(見jiàn) 既jì(見jiàn)

		[k']	旂qí 祈qí 畿jī(群qún) 豈(qǐ)(溪xī) 氣qì(溪xī)
		[x]	希xī 稀xī 豨xī(曉xiào)
		[ø]	衣yī 依yī(影yǐng) 沂yí(疑yí) 宸yī 儼yī(影yǐng)顛yī(疑yí) 毅yì(疑yí)
祭(jì) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iei]→[i]:	[p]	蔽bì(幫bāng)斃bì(明míng)
		[m]	袂mèi(明míng)
		[l]	例(lì)癘lì 礪lì 厲lì(來lái)
		[tʃ]	制zhì(章) 滯zhì 礙zhì(澄chéng)
		[ʃ]	世shì 勢shì(書shū) 逝shì 誓shì(禪chán)
		[ts]	祭jì 際jì(精jīng)
		[k]	偶(ǒu)(群qún)
		[k']	憇(qì)(溪xī)
		[ø]	裔yì 勳yì 榘yì 曳yè(以yǐ) 瘞yì(影yǐng) 藝yì(疑yí)
齊(qí) (Unrounded- mouth IV)	[iei]→[i]:	[p]	篋(bì)鑿bī(幫bāng) 閉bì 嬖bì(幫bāng) 篋bì 陛bì(並bìng)
		[p']	批pī 鉍pī(滂pāng)
		[m]	迷mí(明míng) 米mǐ 眯(mǐ)(明míng) 謎mí(明míng)
		[t]	低dī 堤dī 砥dī 砥(dī)氏(dī) 氐(dī) 氐dī(端duān) 底dǐ 邸dǐ 砥dǐ 砥dǐ 氐dǐ(端duān) 帝dì 諦dì 蒂dì(端duān) 締dì 弟dì 娣dì 悌(tì) 第dì 遞dì 棣dì(定dìng)
		[t']	梯tī(透tòu) 啼tí 蹄tí 提tí 題tí 醍tí 綈tí 梯tí(定dìng) 體tǐ(透tòu) 剃(tì) 替tì 涕tì(透tòu) 嚏tì(端duān)
		[n]	泥ní 鬻ní(泥ní) 襪mí(泥ní) 殫(tì)(透tòu) 泥ní(泥ní)
		[l]	黎lí 黎lí 犁lí 藜lí 瓊lí(來lái) 禮(lì) 醴lì 蠡lí(來lái) 莉(lì) 唳lì 戾lì 滸lì 離lí 隸lì 洿lì 荔lì 麗lí 麗lì(來lái)
		[ts]	齋(jī<) 齋(lài<lai) 擠jǐ 躋(jì)(精jīng) 濟jì 擠jǐ(精jīng) 霽jì 濟jì(精jīng) 劑jì(從)

(Continued)

Table 3.3 (Continued)

[ts`]	妻 qī 淒 qī 萋 qī 悽 qī 棲 qī (清 qīng) 齊 qí 臍 qí (從 cóng) 砌 qì 妻 qī (清 qīng)
[s]	西 xī 犀 xī 嘶 (sī) (心 xīn) 洗 xǐ (心 xīn) 細 xì 埧 (xù) (心 xīn)
[k]	笄 (jī) 雞 jī 稽 jī (見 jiàn) 計 jì 繫 xì 繼 jì 髻 jì 薊 jì (見 jiàn)
[k`]	溪 xī (溪 xī) 啓 (qǐ) 榮 qí 縈 qǐ (溪 xī) 契 (qì) (溪 xī) 楔 (xi) (匣 xiá)
[x]	醯 (xī) (曉 xiǎo) 奚 xī 兮 xī 畦 qí 攜 xié 蹊 (xī) (匣 xiá) 系 xì 係 xì (匣 xiá)
[ø]	鸞 yī (影) 兒 ér 覓 ní 霓 ní 倪 ní 猊 ní 輓 ní (疑 yí) 鸞 yī (影 yǐng) 鸞 yì 鸞 yì (影 yǐng) 詣 yì (疑 yí)

Exceptions are as follows:

祭 (jì) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwei]→[i]:	[k]	鯁 (見) ⁶
廢 (fèi) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛi]→[i]:	[ø]	乂刈 (疑)

3.3 Final [uei] from the rounded-mouth characters of 灰 (huī), 泰 (tài), 支 (zhī), 脂 (zhī), 微 (wēi), 祭 (jì), 廢 (fèi), and 齊 (qí) in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.4 Final [uei] in 齊微 (qíwēi) group

灰 (huī) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uai]→[uei]:	[t]	堆 duī (端 duān) 對 duì 碓 duì (端 duān) 隊 duì (定 dìng)
		[t`]	頽 tuí 魁 tuí (定 dìng) 腿 tuǐ (透 tòu) 退 tuì (透 tòu)
		[n]	餽 něi (泥 ní) 內 nèi (泥 ní)
		[l]	雷 léi 樞 léi 壘 léi (來 lái) 磊 lěi 儡 lěi 蕾 lěi (來 lái) 醅 (lěi) 搗 léi 類 lèi 耒 (lěi) (來 lái) 磈 (wèi) (疑 yí)
		[ts]	罪 zuì (從 cóng)

		[ts']	崔 cuī 催 cuī (清 qīng) 摧 cuī (從 cóng) 悴 (cuì) 淬 cuì 焯 cuì (清 qīng)
		[s]	碎 suì (心 xīn)
		[k]	魁 (kuí) 盍 (kuī) (溪 xī) 瑰 (guī) (見 jiàn)
		[x]	灰 huī 陔 huī (曉 xiǎo) 回 huí 徊 huái 迴 huí (臣 chén) 悔 huǐ 賄 huì (曉 xiǎo) 晦 (huì) 誨 huì 潰 huì (曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	隈 (wēi) 隈 wēi 煨 wēi (影 yǐng) 嵬 wéi 桅 wéi (疑 yí) 猥 (wěi) (影 yǐng) 隈 wēi (疑 yí)
泰 (tài) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uai]→[uei]:	[t]	兑 duì (定 dìng)
		[t']	蜕 (tuì) (透 tòu)
		[ts]	最 zuì (精 jīng)
		[k]	檜 guì 膾 kuài 鱠 (kuài) 獮 kuài (見 jiàn) 繪 huì (匣 xiá)
		[x]	會 huì (匣 xiá)
支 (zhī) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwe]→[uei]	[l]	羸 (léi) (來 lái) 累 (lěi) (來 lái)
		[tʃ]	絕 zhuì (澄 chéng)
		[tʃ']	吹 chuī 炊 chuī (昌 chāng) 垂 chuí 睡 chuí (禪 chán) 捶 chuī 篋 chuí (章 zhāng) 吹 chuī (昌 chāng)
		[ʃ]	水 shuǐ (書 shū) 睡 shuì 瑞 ruì (禪 chán)
		[ʒ]	蕊 ruǐ (日 rì)
		[ts]	精 (zuǐ) (精 jīng)
		[s]	隋 (suí) 隨 suí (邪 xié) 髓 (suǐ) (心 xīn)
		[k]	規 (guī) (見 jiàn) 詭 (guǐ) (見 jiàn) 跪 guì (群 qún)
		[k']	虧 kuī 窺 kuī (溪 xī)
		[x]	麾 (huī) (曉 xiǎo) 毀 (huǐ) 譏 huǐ 燬 huǐ (曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	爲 (wéi) (云 yún) 危 wēi (疑 yí) 委 wěi (影 yǐng) 餽 wèi (影 yǐng)
脂 (zhī) (Rounded-mouth III)	[wi]→[uei]:	[v]	維 (wéi) 惟 wéi' (以 yǐ)

(Continued)

Table 3.4 (Continued)

		[l]	纍(léi)(來 lái) 壘(lěi)(來 lái) 諫(lài)淚 lèi 類 lèi (來 lái)
		[tʃ]	追 zhuī(知 zhī) 騅(zhuī)錐 zhuī(章 zhāng) 墜 zhuì 懟 duì(澄 chéng)
		[tʃ̣]	捶 chuī(昌 chāng) 鎚 chuī(澄 chéng)
		[ʃ]	誰 shuí(禪 chán)
		[ts]	醉 zuì(精 jīng)
		[tsʰ]	衰(cuī)櫟 cuī(生 shēng) 翠 cui(清 qīng) 頓 cui 萃 cui 悴 cui(從 cóng)
		[s]	雖 suī 萎 suī 綏 suī 睢 suī (心 xīn) 粹 cui 崇 sui 邃 sui(心 xīn) 燧 sui 穗 sui 隧 sui 遂 sui 悞 hui(邪 xié)
		[k]	龜 guī(見 jiàn) 簋(guǐ)癸 guǐ 軌 guǐ 晷 guǐ 宥 guǐ(見 jiàn) 愧 kuì(見 jiàn) 櫃 gui 餽 kui 悸 jì(群 qún)
		[kʰ]	葵 kuí 馱 kuí 夔 kuí 逵 kuí (群 qún) 揆 kuí 簣(kuì)蕘 kuí(群 qún)
		[ø]	唯(wéi)(以 yǐ) 位 wèi(云 yún)
微 (wēi) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwei]→[uei]:	[k]	歸 guī(見 jiàn) 鬼 guǐ(見 jiàn) 賁 guì(見 jiàn)
		[x]	揮(huī)暉 huī 輝 huī 翠 huī 徽 huī(曉 xiǎo) 卉(huì)虺 huī(曉 xiǎo) 諱 hui(曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	威 wēi(影 yǐng) 巍 wēi(疑 yí) 魏 wèi(疑 yí) 韋 wéi 圍 wéi 關 wéi 幃 wéi 違 wéi (云 yún) 葦(wēi)偉 wèi(云 yún) 胃 wèi 蝟 wèi 渭 wèi 謂 wèi 緯 wěi(云 yún) 尉 wèi 慰 wèi 畏 wèi(影 yǐng)
祭 (jì) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwei]→[uei]:	[tʃ]	綴 zhuì(知 zhī) 贅 zhuì(章 zhāng)
		[tʃ̣]	喙(huì)(昌 chāng)
		[ʃ]	稅 shuì 說 shuō(書 shū)
		[ʒ]	蚺(ruì)芮 ruì 虯 ruì(日 rì) 銳 ruì(以 yǐ)
		[tsʰ]	脆(cuì)(清 qīng)
		[s]	歲 sui(心 xīn)
		[ø]	衛 wèi(云 yún)

廢 (fèi) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwei]→[uei]:	[ø]	穢hui(影yǐng)
齊 (qí) (Rounded-mouth IV)	[iwei]→[uei]:	[k]	圭(guī)邦guā 闈guī (見jiàn) 桂guì(見jiàn)
		[k']	奎(kuī)(溪xī)
		[x]	惠hui 蕙hui 慧hui (匣xiá)

3.4 魚模 (yúmú) [u] and [iu]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 魚模(yúmú) final group contains two finals of [u] and [iu], with characters from the entering tone in Middle Chinese as well as those coming from 魚(yú), 虞(yú), and 模(mú) finals, with others coming from 尤(yóu) and 侯(hóu) finals in *Guāngyùn*.

3.4.1 Final [u] from the labials of 模(mú), 魚(yú), and 虞(yú) finals and characters of 照(zhào) group, as well as a few from the labials of 尤(yóu) and 侯(hóu) finals in *Guāngyùn*

Table 3.5 Final [u] in 魚模(yúmú) group

模 (mú) (Rounded-mouth I)	[u]→[u]:	[p]	逋bū 鋪(pū)哺(bū)(幫bāng) 補bǔ 圃pǔ 謁(bū)(幫bāng) 浦pǔ(滂pāng) 布bù 佈bù (幫bāng) 怖bù (滂pāng) 部bù 簿bù 哺bǔ 捕bǔ 步bù (並bìng)
		[p']	蒲pú 脯(fù)醜(pú)蒲(pú)(並bìng) 普pǔ 溥pǔ (滂pāng) 譜(pǔ)(幫bāng) 鋪pù(滂pāng)
		[m]	模mó 漠(mò)摸(mō)(明míng) 姥(mǔ)(明míng) 暮mù 慕(mù)墓mù 募mù (明míng)
		[t]	都dōu(端duān) 覩(dǔ)堵dǔ 賭dǔ (端duān) 妬dù 蠹dù(端duān) 杜dù 肚dù 渡dù 度dù 鍍dù 鞞yì(定dìng)
		[t']	徒tú 圖tú 菟(tú)屠(tú)荼(tú)途tú 瘡tú 駮tú 塗tú (定dìng) 土tǔ 吐tǔ (透tòu) 兔tù 吐tù (透tòu)
		[n]	奴nú 孥nú 拏(nú)驚nú (泥ní)弩(nǔ)努nǔ(泥ní) 怒nù(泥ní)

(Continued)

Table 3.5 (Continued)

		[l]	盧 lú 蘆 lú 顱 lú 鱸 lú 鱸 lú 櫛 lú 瀟 lú 鑪 lú 爐 lú ú(來 lái)
			魯 lǔ 櫓 lǔ 虜 lǔ 鹵 lǔ 瀨 lǔ (來 lái)
			路 lù 潞 lù 鷺 lù 輅 hé 露 lù 賂 lù (來 lái)
		[ts]	租 zū (精 jīng)
			祖 zǔ 組 zǔ (精 jīng)
			祚 zuò 昨 (zuó) (從 cóng)
		[ts']	粗 cū (清 qīng)
			殂 cú 徂 cú (從 cóng)
			醋 cù 措 (cuò) 錯 cuò (清 qīng)
		[s]	蘇 sū 蘇 sū 麻 sū 甦 sū (心 xīn)
			素 sù 訴 sù 塑 sù 遡 sù 泝 sù 唌 sù (心 xīn)
		[k]	孤 (gū) 姑 gū 辜 gū 鴣 gū 酤 gū 沽 gū 蛄 gū 菰 gū gū 觚 gū (見 jiàn)
			古 gǔ 罟 gǔ 詬 gǔ 沽 (gū) 拮 (gū) 蠱 gǔ
			估 (gū) 鹽 (gǔ) 鼓 gǔ 瞽 gǔ 股 gǔ 殺 gǔ
			賈 gǔ (見 jiàn)
			故 gù 固 gù 鋼 gù 顧 gù 雇 gù (見 jiàn)
		[k']	枯 kū 劬 kū (溪 xī)
			苦 kǔ (溪 xī)
		[x]	呼 hū (曉 xiǎo)
			胡 hú 糊 hú 湖 hú 醐 hú 鶻 hú 壺 hú
			狐 hú 弧 hú 乎 (hū) (匣 xiá)
			虎 hǔ 滸 hǔ (曉 xiǎo)
			庠 (hù) (曉 xiǎo) 戶 hù 扈 hù 岫 hù 怙 hù 護 hù 護 hù 瓠 hù 互 hù 護 hù (匣 xiá)
		[ø]	鳴 wū 汙 wū 烏 wū (影 yǐng)
			吾 wú 浯 wú 蜈 wú 嶼 wú 吳 wú 梧 wú
			鷓 wú (疑 yí)
			五 wǔ 伍 wǔ 午 wǔ 仵 wǔ 忤 wǔ (疑 yí)
			塢 (wù) 鄔 wū (影 yǐng)
			誤 (wù) 悞 wù 悟 wù 寤 wù (疑 yí)
			惡 wù 汙 (wū) (影 yǐng)
侯 (hóu) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[əu]→[u]:	[m]	母 mǔ 某 (mǒu) 牡 (mǔ) 畝 mǔ (明 míng)
		[v]	戊 (wù) (明 míng)
魚 (yú) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iø]→[u]:	[tʃ]	阻 zǔ 俎 zǔ (莊 zhuāng)
			詛 (zǔ) (莊 zhuāng)
			助 zhù (崇 chóng)
		[tʃ']	初 chū (初 chū)
			鋤 chú (崇 chóng)
			楚 chǔ 礎 chǔ 礎 chǔ (初 chū)
		[ʃ]	梳 (shū) 蔬 shū 疏 shū 疎 shū (生 shēng)
			所 suǒ (尘 chén)
			疏 shū (生 shēng)
		[ø]	銛 (wú) (疑 yí)

虞(yú) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iü]→[u]	[f]	膚fū 夫fū 鉄fū 玦fū 跌fū (非fēi) 敷fū 馱fū 孚fū 鄜fū 葦fū 稭fū 郛(fū) (敷fū) 枹bāo(奉fèng) 扶fú 夫fú 蚨fú 符fú 芙fú 晷fú (奉fèng) 甫(fū<pǐu) 斧fū 黼fū 脯fū 府fū 俯fū 腑fū 父fù(非fēi) 撫fù(敷fū) 付fù 賦fù 傅fù (非fēi) 拊fù 赴fù 仆pú 訃fù(敷fū) 父fù 釜fù 輔fù 紛fēn 膊(bó)附(fù) (奉fèng)
		[v]	無wú 蕪wú 巫(wū)誣wū(微wēi) 武wǔ 舞wǔ 鷓wǔ 侮wǔ 廡(wǔ)(微wēi) 務wù 霧wù 鷺wù (微wēi)
		[tʃ̣]	雛chú(崇chóng)
		[ʃ̣]	數shù(生shēng)
		[tṣ]	芻(chú)(初chū)
		[ø]	娛(yú)(疑yí)
尤(yóu) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iəu]→[u]:	[m]	謀móu(明míng)
		[f]	浮fú(奉fèng) 否fǒu(非fēi) 富fù(非fēi) 婦fù 阜fù 負fù (奉fèng)

3.4.2 Final [iu] from 魚(yú) and 虞(yú) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.6 Final [iu] in 魚模(yúmó) group

魚(yú) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iəu]→[iu]:	[n]	女nǚ(泥ní)
		[l]	呂lǚ 侶lǚ 旅lǚ 簪lǚ (來lái) 慮lù 濾lù (來lái)
		[tʃ̣]	豬zhū 滌zhū (知zhī) 諸zhū(章zhāng) 煮zhǔ 渚zhǔ 翥(zhù)(章zhāng) 墅(shù)(禪chán) 著zhù (知zhī) 紓zhù 苧zhù貯zhù 貯zhù (澄chéng)
		[tʃ̣]	樗(chū)攄(shū)(徹chè) 除chú 滁chú 籛chú 儲chǔ(澄chéng) 蝮chú(禪chán) 杵chǔ 處chǔ (昌chāng) 楮chǔ 褚chǔ (徹chè) 杼zhù(澄chéng) 處(chù)(昌chāng)

(Continued)

Table 3.6 (Continued)

		[ʃ]	書shū 舒shū 紓shū (書shū) 鼠shǔ 黍shǔ 署shǔ (書shū) 恕shù 庶shù (書shū) 署shǔ 曙shǔ (禪chán)
		[ts]	沮jǔ 苴(jū)(精jīng) 疽jū 趨jū 狙jū 睢(huī<suei)(清qīng) 咀jǔ(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	蛆qū(清qīng) 覷(qù)(清qīng)
		[s]	胥(xū) 醜(xù)(心xīn) 徐(xú)(邪xié) 嶼(yù)(邪xié) 絮xù(心xīn) 序xù 敘xù 緒xù (邪xié)
		[k]	居jū 裾jū 琚jū 鷓jū 車jū (見jiàn) 舉jǔ 莒jǔ 櫛jǔ (見jiàn) 鋸(jù) 踞jù 據jù (見jiàn) 詎jù 巨jù 拒jù 拒jù 炬jù 炬jù (群qún)
		[kʰ]	渠qú 葉qú 礫qú 籛qú (群qún) 去qù(溪xī)
		[x]	墟(xū) 虛 ⁸ xū (溪xī) 虛xū 嘯xū 歔xū (曉xiào) 許xǔ(曉xiào)
		[ø]	於yú(影yǐng) 魚yú 漁yú (疑yí) 餘(yú) 余yú 與yú 輿(yú) 璵yú 瓊yú 昇yú 好yú 歟yú 譽(yù) (以yǐ) 語yǔ 禦yù 圉(yù) 圉(yù) 齏yǔ 敌yǔ (疑yí) 與yǔ(以yǐ) 御(yù) 馭yù(疑yí) 譽yù 預yù 豫yù (以yǐ)
虞 (yú) (Rounded- mouth III)	[i̯u]→[iu]:	[l]	藎(lóu)(來lái) 縷(lǚ) 儻(lǚ)(來lái) 瀟(lù) 屢(lǚ)(來lái)
		[tʃ]	株(zhū) 蛛zhū 誅zhū 邾zhū (知zhī) 朱zhū 珠zhū 侏zhū (章zhāng) 姝(shū)(昌chāng) 拄(zhǔ)(知zhī) 主(zhǔ) 塵zhǔ(章zhāng) 註(zhù) 駐zhù(知zhī) 柱zhù 住zhù(澄chéng) 注(zhù<teiu) 澍(zhù<zǐu) 炷zhù 鑄zhù (章zhāng)
		[tʃʰ]	樞(shū)(昌chāng) 廚chú 櫛chú 躡chú (澄chéng)
		[ʃ]	輸(shū)(書shū) 殊shū 茱zhū 銖zhū 洙zhū (禪chán) 戍(shù)(書shū) 豎shù 樹shù (禪chán)

[ʒ]	儒 rú 襦 rú 繡 xū 嚙 rú 濡 rú (日 rì) 乳 rǔ (日 rì) 孺 (rú) (日 rì)
[ts]	聚 jù (從 cóng)
[tsʰ]	趨 (qū) (清 qīng) 取 qǔ (清 qīng) 娶 (qù) 趣 (qù) (清 qīng)
[s]	須 xū 鬚 xū 需 xū 繡 xū (心 xīn)
[k]	拘 (jū) 駒 jū 俱 (jù) (見 jiàn) 矩 (jǔ) (見 jiàn) 懼 jù (群 qún) 句 jù (見 jiàn)
[kʰ]	區 qū 軀 qū 驅 qū 嘔 qū (溪 xī) 羆 (chū) (徹 chè) ⁹ 劬 (qú) 瞿 qú 衢 qú 臞 qú (群 qún) 偃 (yǎn) (影 yǐng) ¹⁰
[x]	吁 (xū) (曉 xiǎo) 詡 (xǔ) (曉 xiǎo)
[ø]	迂 (yū) 紆 yū (影 yǐng) 虞 yú 愚 yú 禺 yú 隅 yú (疑 yí) 於 yú 竽 yú 雩 yú 孟 yú (云 yún) 臾 yú 榆 yú 愉 yú 兪 yú 餽 yú 瑜 yú 審 yú 逾 yú 渝 yú 腴 yú 諛 yú 莠 yú (以 yǐ) 餽 (shū) (生 shēng) ¹¹ 雨 yǔ 羽 yǔ 宇 yǔ 禹 yǔ (云 yún) 愈 (yù) 庾 (yǔ) (以 yǐ) 遇 yù (疑 yí) 嫗 yū (影 yǐng) 裕 yù 諭 (以 yǐ) 芋 yù (云 yún)

3.5 皆來 (jiē lái) [ai], [uai], and [iai]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 皆來 (jiē lái) final group contains three finals of [ai], [uai], and [iai], with characters from 𠵼 (hāi), 皆 (jiē), 佳 (jiā), and 夬 (jué). Some of them are from the 泰 (tài) final, while others are from the 支 (zhī) and 脂 (zhī) finals in *Guǎngyùn*.

3.5.1 Final [ai] from the unrounded-mouth characters of 𠵼 (hāi), 皆 (jiē), 佳 (jiā), and 夬 (jué) finals in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 3.7 Final [ai] in 皆來 (jiē lái) group

𠵼 (hāi) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[vi]→[ai]:	[t]	殆 (dài) 給 dài (定 dìng) 戴 dài (端) 怠 dài 迨 dài 待 dài 代 dài 袋 dài 岱 dài 黛 dài (定 dìng)
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(Continued)

Table 3.7 (Continued)

			[t']	台tái 胎tāi 郅tái (透tòu) 駘tái(定dìng) 哈hāi(曉xiào) ¹² 台tái 臺tái 抬tái 儻tái 苔tái 奘tái (定dìng) 態tài(透tòu)
			[n]	能néng(泥ní) 乃nǎi(泥ní) 耐(nài) 鼐nài(泥ní)
			[l]	來(lái) 萊lái 駭lái (來lái) 賚lài(來lái)
			[ts]	哉zāi 栽zāi 災zāi (精jīng) 宰(zǎi) 載zài(精jīng) 在zài (從) 再zài 載zài (精jīng)
			[ts']	猜cāi(清qīng) 才cái 材cái 財cái 裁cái 纔cái (從cóng) 采cǎi 彩cǎi 採cǎi 菜cǎi 綵cǎi (清qīng) 菜cài(清qīng)
			[s]	腮sāi(心xīn) 賽sài 塞sài (心xīn)
			[k]	該(gāi) 垓gāi 菱gāi 陔gāi (見jiàn) 改(gǎi)(見jiàn)
			[k']	開kāi(溪xī) 凱kǎi 鎧kǎi 壘kǎi (溪xī) 慨kǎi (溪xī)
			[x]	孩(hái) 頰(kē)(匣xiá) 海hǎi 醞hài (曉xiào) 亥hài(匣xiá)
			[ø]	哀āi 埃āi 唉āi (影yǐng) 欸(ái)(疑yí) 乃nǎi ¹³ 萑(ái)(影yǐng) 愛(ài<vi)(影yǐng)
泰(tài) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ai]→[ai]:		[t]	帶(dài) 大dà(定dìng)
			[t']	泰tài 太tài 汰tài (透tòu)
			[n]	柰(nài) 奈nài(泥ní)
			[l]	賴lài 籟lài 瀨lài 癩lài (來lái)
			[ts']	蔡(cài)(清qīng)
			[k]	蓋gài 丐gài (見jiàn)
			[k]	害hài(匣xiá)
			[ø]	霽ài 藹ài (影yǐng) 艾ài(疑yí)
佳(jiā) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ai]→[ai]:		[p]	擺(bǎi)(幫bāng) 裨bài(並bìng)
			[p']	牌(pái) 筆pái(並bìng) 派pài(滂pāng)
			[m]	買mǎi(明míng) 賣(mài)(明míng)

		[n]	奶nǎi(泥ní)
		[tʃ]	債zhài(莊zhuāng) 豸(zhì)(澄chéng) 耻(zhì)(崇chóng)
		[tʃ̣]	釵(chāi)差chāichà(初chū) 柴(chái)柴chái(崇chóng)
		[ʃ]	灑sǎ 曬shài(生shēng)
皆(jiē) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ei]→[ai]:	[p]	拜bài(幫bāng) 滂pāng(滂pāng) 憊bèi(並bìng)
		[p̣]	排pái 俳pái(並bìng)
		[m]	埋mái 霾mái(明míng)
		[tʃ]	齋(zhāi)(莊zhuāng) 瘵zhài(莊zhuāng)
		[tʃ̣]	豺chái 儕chái(崇chóng)
		[ʃ]	鍛(shā)熬shā ¹⁴ (生shēng)
		[ø]	駭(sì)(疑yí) 噫yī(影yǐng)
夬(jué) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æi]→[ai]:	[p]	敗bài(並bìng)
		[m]	邁mài(明míng)
		[tʃ]	夬chài(徹chè) 寨zhài(崇chóng)
		[ø]	錫ài(影yǐng)
支(zhī) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[ĩe]→[ai]:		篩shāi(生shēng) ¹⁵

3.5.2 Final [uai] from some rounded-mouth characters of 泰(tài), 佳(jiā), 皆(jiē), 夬(jué), 支(zhī), and 脂(zhī) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.8 Final [uai] in 皆來(jiē lái) group

泰(tài) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uai]→[uai]:	[ø]	外wài(疑yí)
佳(jiā) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wai]→[uai]:	[x]	歪wāi(曉xiǎo)
皆(jiē) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wei]→[uai]:	[k]	乖guāi(見jiàn) 怪guài(見jiàn)
		[ḳ]	蒯kuǎi(溪xī) 塊(kuài)(溪xī)
		[x]	懷(huái)淮huái 槐huái 懷huái 滾huài (匣xiá) 壞huài(匣xiá)
		[ø]	瞞(màn)(疑yí)

(Continued)

Table 3.8 (Continued)

夬 (jué) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wæi]→[uai]:	[k]	拐(guǎi) ¹⁶ 夬guài(見jiàn)
		[k']	快kuài 噲kuài (溪xī)
支(zhī) (Rounded-mouth III)	[īwe]→[uai]	[tʃ']	揣(chuāi)(初chū) ¹⁷
脂(zhī) (Rounded-mouth III)	[wi]→[uai]	[ʃ]	衰(shuāi)(生shēng) 帥(shuài)率shuài(生shēng)

3.5.3 Final [iai] from the velar–laryngeal unrounded-mouth characters of 佳(jiā), 皆(jiē), and 夬(jué) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.9 Final [iai] in 皆來(jiē lái) group

佳(jiā) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ai]→[iai]:	[k]	街jiē(見jiàn) 解jiě(見jiàn) 懈(xiè)解xiè(見jiàn)
		[x]	鞋(xié)(匣xiá) 蟹(xiè)(匣xiá) 懈(xiè)(見jiàn)解xiè懈xiè(匣xiá)
		[ø]	崖yá 厓yá 捭(ái) ¹⁸ (疑yí) 矮ǎi(影) 捭ái(疑yí) 隘ài 阨(è)搯è ¹⁹ (影yǐng)
皆(jiē) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ei]→[iai]:	[k]	皆jiē 楷jiē 階jiē 楷jiē 楷(xié)楷(jiē)楷jiē(見jiàn) 戒(jiè)誠jiè介jiè界jiè芥jiè疥jiè屈jiè蚘jiè(見jiàn)
		[k']	楷kǎi(溪xī) 楷(kǎi)(溪xī)
		[x]	諧xié 骸hái(匣xiá) 駭(hài)(匣xiá) 械(xiè)薤xiè 瀝xiè(匣xiá)
		[ø]	挨(āi)(影yǐng)
夬(jué) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æi]→[iai]:	[k]	犗(jiè)(見jiàn)

3.6 蕭豪(xiāoháo) [au], [iau], and [ieu]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the final group of 蕭豪(xiāoháo) contains [au], [iau], and [ieü], coming from the four final groups of 豪(háo), 肴(yáo), 宵(xiāo), and 蕭(xiāo) in *Guǎngyùn*.

3.6.1 Final [au] mostly from the 豪(háo) final group with a few from 肴(yáo) and very few labials from the 候(hóu) and 尤(yóu) final groups in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.10 Final [au] in 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group

豪 (háo) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[au]→[au]:	[p]	褒(bāo)(幫bāng) 寶(bào)保bǎo 堡bǎo 褱bǎo 葆bào (幫bāng) 報bào(幫bāng) 抱bào暴bào(並bìng) 飽(bào)(幫bāng) 詔(páo)(定dìng) ²⁰
		[p']	袍páo(並bìng)
		[m]	毛(máo)茭máo 旄máo 髦máo (明míng) 冒(mào)帽mào 耄mào 眊mào (明míng)
		[t]	刀dāo 叨dāo 劬dāo(端duān) 叨(dāo)(透tòu) 倒(dǎo)島dǎo 搗dǎo 禱dǎo (端duān) 到dào 倒dào (端duān) 道dào 稻dào 韜dào 燾dào 燾dào 盜dào 導dào 悼(dào)蹈(dǎo)(定dìng)
		[t']	條tāo 饒tāo 叨tāo 滔tāo 鞫tāo 慆tāo (透tòu) 掏(tāo)(定dìng) 桃táo 逃táo 眺táo 譏táo 陶táo 萄táo 綯táo 陶táo 淘táo 濤(tāo)橈(táo)(定dìng) 討tǎo(透tòu)
		[n]	獠(náo)獯(nóng)(泥ní) 腦nǎo 惱nǎo 礪nǎo (泥ní)
		[l]	牢láo 勞láo 漕(lào)撈(lāo)醪(láo)輜(lǎo)(來lái) 老lǎo 佬lǎo 獠(liáo)潦lǎo 櫟lǎo (來lái) 滌lào 勞láo 嫪(lào)(來lái)
		[ts]	遭zāo 糟zāo (精jīng) 早zǎo 棗zǎo 澡zǎo 藻zǎo 蚤zǎo 噪zǎo (精jīng) 漕(cáo)早(zào)造zào(從cóng) 燥zào(清qīng) 躁zào灶zào(精jīng)
		[ts']	操cāo(清qīng) 曹(cáo)漕cáo 槽cáo 嘈cáo 蠟cáo (從cóng) 草cǎo(清qīng) 糙(cāo)操cāo 造zào 慄(cāo)(清qīng)
		[s]	騷sāo 搔sāo 艘(sōu)臊(sāo)纛sāo 颯sāo (心xīn) 掃(sǎo)嫂sǎo(心xīn) 噪(zào)譟zào 掃(sào)(心xīn)
		[k]	高gāo 篙gāo 膏gāo 羔gāo 糕gāo 皋gāo 槲gāo (見jiàn) 杲(gǎo)皐gǎo(見jiàn) 槁gǎo(溪xī) 鎬hào 郤(hào)(匣xiá) 告gào 誥gào 郤gào (見jiàn)

(Continued)

Table 3.10 (Continued)

		[k']	考kǎo 拷kǎo (溪xī)
		[x]	蒿hāo 薈hāo (曉xiǎo) 豪háo 毫háo 號háo 濠háo 皐háo (匣xiá) 好(hǎo)(曉xiǎo) 好(hào)耗(曉xiǎo) 皓hào 昊hào 皦hào 浩hào 顛hào 灑hào 號hào (匣xiá)
		[ŋ]	嗷áo 敖áo 厥(juéc<kiue)嗷(áo)聲áo 葵áo 鷺áo 噐(xiāo)遼áo 焯áo (疑yí) 傲ào 冪ào 鏊ào (疑yí)
		[ø]	麇áo 燻áo 鑪(á) (影yǐng) 襖ào 懊ào 媼ào (影yǐng) 奧ào 懊ào 澳ào (影yǐng)
肴(yáo) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[au]→[au]:	[p]	鮑bào 鞞páo(並bìng)
		[p']	炮páo 跑(páo)鞞páo 匏páo 咆páo 庖páo (並bìng)
		[m]	茅(máo)蝥máo 貓(māo)(明míng) 貌(mào)(明míng)
		[n]	饒(náo)叻náo 恹náo 饒náo 撓náo(泥ní)
侯(hóu) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[əu]→[au]:	[p']	剖(pōu)(滂pāng)
		[m]	茂(mào)(明míng)
尤(yóu) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iəu]→[au]:	[f']	缶fǒu(非fēi) 覆(fù)(奉fèng)

3.6.2 Final [iau] from the 肴(yáo) final group with very few from the 豪(háo) and 蕭(xiāo) final groups in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.11 Final [iau] in 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group

肴(yáo) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[au]→[iau]:	[p]	包(bāo)胞bāo 苞bāo (幫bāng) 鮑bǎo(幫bāng) 豹bào爆bào(幫bāng)
		[p']	拋pāo 脬pāo 胞bāo(滂pāng) 泡pào 砲pào(滂pāng)
		[m]	卯(mǎo)鼻mǎo(明míng)
		[n]	撓náo(泥ní) 鬧nào 淖nào(泥ní)
		[t]	嘲cháo 啁zhāo(知zhī) 抓zhuā(莊zhuāng) 爪zhǎo(莊zhuāng) 罩zhào(知zhī) 策(zhào)(莊zhuāng) 棹(zhào)(澄chéng)

	[tʃ]	抄chāo 讓chāo (初chū) 巢cháo(崇) 灤(cháo)(精) 炒chǎo(初chū) 鈔(chāo)(初chū)	
	[ʃ]	梢shāo 捎shāo 隋(qiào)笱(shāo)旃shāo 髻shāo 鞫(qiào)颺(xiāo)(生shēng) 稍(shāo)(生shēng) 哨(shào)(心xīn) ²¹	
	[k]	交jiāo 蛟jiāo 咬(yǎo)郊(jiāo)菱jiāo 鱈(jiǎo)膠(jiāo)教jiāo (見jiàn) 狡(jiǎo)攪jiǎo 鉸jiǎo 姣(jiāo)菱jiāo 絞(jiǎo)(見jiàn) 窖(jiào)校jiào教jiào覺jiào玃jiào鉸jiào 較jiào 酵jiào (見jiàn)	
	[kʰ]	敲qiāo 曉qiāo (溪xī) 巧qiǎo(溪xī)	
	[x]	哮(xiào)噓(xiāo)然xiāo嗚(xiào)詔 xiào (曉xiǎo) 爻yáo 肴yáo 淆(xiáo)鞞xiáo(匣xiá) 孝xiào(曉xiǎo) 効(xiào)徼xiào校xiào(匣xiá)	
	[ŋ]	齧(yǎo)(疑yí)	
	[ø]	坳(ào)凹(āo) ²² (影yǐng) 拗ǎo 鞫(yào)凹(āo)(影yǐng) 樂(yào)(疑yí)	
豪 (háo) (Falling tone; unrounded-mouth I)	[au]→[iau]:	[p]	瀑(bào)(並bìng)
蕭 (xiāo) (Falling tone; unrounded-mouth IV)	[ieu]→[iau]:	[k]	徼(jiǎo)(見jiàn)

3.6.3 Final [ieu] from the 宵(xiāo) and 蕭(xiāo) final groups in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.12 Final [ieu] in 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group

宵 (xiāo) (Unrounded- rounded III)	[ieu]→[ieu]:	[p]	標biāo 膘biāo 臙biāo 幪biāo 杓biāo 颺biāo (幫bāng) 表(biǎo)(幫bāng) 俵biào(幫bāng) 鰲biào(並bìng) 幪biào(滂pāng)
		[pʰ]	飄piāo 漂piāo (滂pāng) 瓢piáo 藻piáo (並bìng) 漂piào 標(piào)剽(piāo)黠piào (滂pāng) 殍(piǎo)(並bìng)

(Continued)

Table 3.12 (Continued)

[m]	苗(miáo)描miáo緝miáo(明míng) 眇(miǎo)渺miǎo杪miǎo藐miǎo森miǎo (明míng) 妙(miào)廟miào(明míng)
[l]	燎(liáo)(來lái) 療liáo(來lái)
[ʈ]	朝(zhāo)(知zhī) 昭zhāo 招zhāo (章zhāng) 沼zhǎo(章zhāng) 趙zhào 兆zhào 旄zhào 肇zhào 召zhào (澄chéng) 照zhào 詔zhào (章zhāng)
[ʈʰ]	超chāo(徹chè) 朝cháo 潮cháo 鼃cháo (澄chéng) 韶sháo(禪chán)
[ʃ]	燒shāo(書shū) 少(shǎo)(書shū) 紹shào 邵shào (禪chán)
[ʒ]	饒ráo 禱ráo 堯ráo (日rì) 遶(rào)繞rào 嬈(ráo)擾(rǎo)(日rì)
[ʈs]	蕉(jiāo)焦jiāo 椒jiāo 焦jiāo 黠jiāo (精jīng) 醮(jiào)(精jīng) 噍(jiào)(從cóng)
[ʈsʰ]	鞦(qiāo)(清qīng) 樵qiáo 譙qiáo (從cóng) 悄(qiǎo)楸(qiǎo)(清qīng) 俏(qiào)峭qiào(清qīng) 諂qiào(從cóng)
[s]	銷(xiāo)消xiāo 銷xiāo 宵xiāo 霄xiāo 硝xiāo 蛸xiāo 瘠xiāo 魑xiāo (心xīn) 小xiào(心xīn) 笑xiào 肖(xiāo)鞘(qiào)(心xīn)
[k]	嬌jiāo 驕jiāo (見jiàn) 矯(jiǎo)矯jiǎo(見jiàn) 鞦jiào 嶠jiào (群qún)
[kʰ]	趨(qiáo)橈(qiāo)(溪xī) 喬qiáo 蕎qiáo 橋qiáo 僑qiáo 翹qiáo (群qún)
[x]	囂xiāo 枵xiāo 歛xiāo (曉xiào) 鴞(xiāo)(云yún)
[ø]	邀yāo 夭(yāo)沃(wò)嚶(yāo)腰yāo 妖yāo 要yāo 婁yāo (影yǐng) 遙yáo 搖yáo 謠yáo 瑤yáo 飄yáo 窑yáo 陶yáo 姚yáo (以yǐ) 夭yāo 殍yāo (影yǐng) 舀yǎo(喻yù) 要(yào)(影yǐng) 譎yào 曜yào 耀yào 囂yào (以yǐ)

蕭 (xiāo) (Unrounded- mouth IV)	[ieu]→[ieu]:	[t]	刁 diāo 韶 diāo 碉 diāo 彤(tóng<duoŋ) 颯 diāo 凋 diāo (端 duān) 鈞(diào) 弔 diào 寫 diào (端 duān) 調 diào 掉 diào (定 dìng)
		[tʰ]	挑(tiāo)(透 tòu) 迢(tiáo) 髻 tiáo 蝸 tiáo 調 tiáo 條 tiáo 佻(tiāo) 跳(tiào)(定 dìng) 挑(tiǎo) 窈 tiǎo(定 dìng) 糶(tiào) 眺 tiào(透 tòu) 跳 tiào(定 dìng)
		[n]	鳥(niǎo)(端 duān) ²³ 裊 niǎo ²⁴ 嫋 niǎo 裊 niǎo(泥 ní) 溺(niào)(泥 ní) ²⁵
		[l]	寮(liáo) 遼 liáo 僚 liáo 鷯 liáo 繆 liáo 聊 liáo (來 lái) 了 liǎo 瞭 liǎo 蓼 liǎo (來 lái) 廖(liào) 料 liào 鐮 liào 寮 liáo(來 lái)
		[s]	蕭 xiāo 簫 xiāo 瀟 xiāo 驕(sù) 颯 xiāo 儵(xiāo)(心 xīn) 筱(xiǎo) 謔 xiǎo(心 xīn) 嘯(xiào)(心 xīn)
		[k]	皎(jiǎo) 繳 jiǎo(見 jiàn) 叫(jiào)(見 jiàn)
		[kʰ]	竅(qiào)(溪 xī)
		[x]	梟(xiāo) 驍 xiāo(見 jiàn) 曉 xiǎo(曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	幺 yāo(影 yǐng) 堯 yáo 嶢 yáo (疑 yí) 杳 yǎo(影 yǐng)

3.7 歌戈 (gēgē) [o], [uo], and [io]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 歌戈(gēgē) final group contains three finals of [o], [uo], and [io], from characters of the 歌(gē) and 戈(gē) groups in *Guāngyùn*, in addition to the entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese.

3.7.1 Final [o] from velars and laryngeals of the 歌 (gē) final group in *Guāngyùn*

Table 3.13 Final [o] in 歌戈(gēgē) group

歌 (gē) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ɑ]→[o]:	[s]	些 xiē(心 xīn)
		[k]	歌 gē 哥 gē 柯(kē) 荊 kē(見 jiàn) 舸(gē) 駕 gè(見 jiàn) 箇 gè 個(gè 見 jiàn)

(Continued)

Table 3.13 (Continued)

[k']	軻(kē)珂kè(溪xī) 可(kě)珂kè 軻kě (溪xī)
[x]	呵hē訶hē(曉xiǎo) 何hé 河hé 荷hé 苛(kē)荷(hé)(匣) 荷(匣xiá) 歌(hē)(曉xiǎo) 荷hé 賀(hè) 禍hè(匣xiá)
[ŋ]	哦ó 蛾é 娥é 哦é 駝é 莪é 俄é(疑yí) 我wǒ(疑yí) 餓è(疑yí)
[ø]	阿(ē)痲ē(影yǐng) 婀ē(影yǐng)

3.7.2 Final [uo] from the 戈(gē) final group with linguo-dental characters of the 歌(gē) final group in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.14 Final [uo] in 歌戈(gēgē) group

戈 (gē) (Rounded-mouth I)	[ua]→[uo]:	[p]	
		[p]	波bō 幡fān 番pān(幫bāng) 坡pō(滂) 跛bǒ 簸bǒ (幫bāng) 播(bō) 謠(bò) 簸bò(幫bāng)
		[p']	坡pō 頗pō(滂pāng) 婆pó 幡pó 翻pó 幡(pán) ²⁶ (並bìng) 頗pō 叵(pǒ)(滂pāng) 破pò(滂pāng)
		[m]	麼(mó)(明míng) 摩mó 磨mó 魔mó 磨mó 麼(mó)(明míng) 嫫mó(明míng) 麼mó 磨mó(明míng)
		[t]	朵duò 髻tuò(端duān) 墮(duò) 髻tuò 惰duò 塚duò(定dìng) 剝duò(端duān)
		[t']	妥(tuǒ)(透tòu) 唾(tuò)(透tòu)
		[n]	掇(ruó)(泥ní) 糯(nuò) 懦nuò(泥ní)
		[l]	螺(luó) 騾luó 蠱(lǐ<liè) 蠱(來lái) 裸(luǒ) 贏(yíng<jiē) 擲(luó)(來lái) 夥(huǒ)(匣xiá) ²⁷ 擲(luò)(來lái)
		[ts]	坐zuò 座zuò(從cóng)
		[ts']	矧cuó(從cóng) 脞(cuò)(清qīng) 挫(cuò)(精jīng) 銼cuò 判pàn 壘cuò(清qīng)

		[s]	莎(suō)簞suō唆suō梭suō(心xīn) 馐suō(精jīng) ²⁸ 鎖suō 瑣suō 趙suō(心xīn)
		[k]	戈gē 過guò 鍋(guō)(見jiàn) 果guǒ 裹guǒ 螺guǒ(見jiàn) 過guò(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	科kē 蝌kē 窠kē(溪xī) 顆kē(溪xī) 課kè(溪xī)
		[x]	禾(hé)和hé(匣xiá) 火huǒ(曉xiǎo) 貨huò(曉xiǎo) 禍huò 和huò(匣xiá)
		[ŋ]	訛é 鉞é(疑yí)
		[ø]	窩wō ²⁹ 涸wō 倭wō 踈wō(影yǐng) 卧(wò)(疑yí) 洩wò(影yǐng)
歌(gē)	[a]→[uo]:	[t]	多duō(端duān) 踣(duō) 躄(duò)(端duān) 瘡(dān)(端duān) 馱(duò) 大dà 舵duò(定dìng)
		[tʰ]	他(tā) 佗tuó 拖(tuō)(透tòu) 詫(tuó)(定dìng) 駝tuó 紮tuó 陀tuó 迨(yí) 跹(tuó) 鮓tuó 駝tuó 沱tuó 馱tuó 鼉tuó(定dìng)
		[n]	那(nā) 挪(nuó) 儻nuó(泥ní) 娜nà 那nà(泥ní) 柰nài 那(nà)(泥ní)
		[l]	羅luó 蘿(luó) 籬luó 囉luó 囉luó 鑼luó 邏luó 邏luó(來lái) 邏(luò) 邏luó(來lái) 邏luó 囉luó(來lái)
		[ts]	左(zuǒ)(精jīng) 佐zuǒ 左zuǒ(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	磋cuō 磋cuō 蹉cuō 搓cuō(清qīng) 瘡(cuó) 齧(cuó)(從) 搓cuō(從cóng) 磋cuō(清qīng)
		[s]	娑(suō) 挈suō(心xīn)

[io] in the 歌戈(gēgē) final group were all from the entering-tone characters of Middle Chinese. They are discussed in Section 5.

3.8 家麻(jiāmá) [a], [ua], and [ia]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the final group of 家麻(jiāmá) contains [a], [ua], and [ia], which come mainly from the 麻(má) final group, with very few from 箇(gù), 泰(tài), 卦(guà) (divinatory symbols), and

夬(jué) finals of *Guǎngyùn* in addition to the characters from the entering tone in the language of Middle Chinese.

3.8.1 Final [a] mainly from labials of the unrounded-mouth II characters and linguo-dental characters of the 麻(má) final group in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 3.15 Final [a] in 家麻(jiāmá) group

麻(má) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[a]→[a]:	[p]	巴bā 疤bā 笆bā 𦍋bā 芭bā (幫bāng) 把bǎ(幫bāng) 霸bà 杷bà 靶(bǎ) 壩(bà) 弮bà (幫bāng) 𦍋bǎ(滂pāng)
		[p']	葩(pā)(滂pāng) 琶(pá) 杷pá 爬pá (並) 帕(pà) ³⁰ 怕pà(滂pāng)
		[m]	麻má 蟆má 痲má (明míng) 馬mǎ(明míng) 罵(mà)(明míng)
		[n]	拏(ná)(泥ní)
		[t]	查(zhā) 楂zhā(崇chóng) 吒zhā(知zhī) 𧈧(zhà)(莊zhuāng) 詐(zhà) 榨(莊zhuāng) 乍zhà 𧈧zhà ³¹ (崇chóng)
		[t']	叉(chā) 杈chā 𦍋(chá) 差(chā) 𦍋chā 𦍋chā (初chū) 茶chá(澄chéng) 𦍋chá(崇chóng) 𦍋chà ³² 𦍋chà (徹chè) 吒zhà(知zhī) 𦍋chà 𦍋chà (徹chè) 𦍋chě(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	沙shā 砂shā 紗shā 𦍋shā 𦍋shā (生shēng) 灑sǎ 𦍋shǎ ³³ (生shēng)
歌(gē) (Falling tone; unrounded- mouth I)	[a]→[a]:	[n]	那nà(泥ní)
泰(tài) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[ai]→[a]:	[t]	大dà(定dìng)
模(mú) (Falling-rising tone; rounded- mouth I)	[u]→[a]:	[m]	媽(mā)(明míng)
佳(jiā) (Falling tone; unrounded- mouth II)	[ai]→[a]:	[p]	罷bà(並bìng)
		[t']	𦍋chà(初chū)

3.8.2 Final [ua] mainly from the linguo-dental characters of rounded-mouth II characters as well as velars and laryngeals from the 麻(má) final group in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.16 Final [ua] in 家麻(jiāmá) group

麻(má) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wa]→[ua]:	[tʃ]	搗(zhuā)(知zhī) ³⁴ 鬚zhuā(莊zhuāng)
		[k]	瓜guā(兒ér) 寡guǎ 罌guō 剛guǎ(兒ér)
		[kʰ]	夸(kuā)誇kuā(溪xī) 髀(kē)跨(kuà)胯kuà(溪xī)
		[x]	花huā(曉xiǎo) 譚(huá)(曉xiǎo) 劃huà 華huá 驢huá(匣xiá) 化huà(曉xiǎo) 華huá 樺huá 鱧(hù)(匣xiá)
		[ø]	蛙(wā)洼wā窪wā哇wā(影yǐng) 媯wā 蝸wō(見jiàn) 瓦wǎ(疑yí) (wà)(疑yí) ³⁵
佳(jiā) (Falling tone; Rounded-mouth II)	[wai]→[ua]:	[k]	卦(guà)掛guà(見jiàn) 畫huà(匣xiá)
夬(juè) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wæi]→[ua]:	[x]	話huà(匣xiá)
肴(yáo) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[au]→[ua]:	[tʃ]	抓zhuā(莊zhuāng)

3.8.3 Final [ia] from velars and laryngeals of the unrounded-mouth II characters of the 麻(má) final with a few from the 佳(jiā) final group in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.17 Final [ia] in 家麻(jiāmá) group

麻(má) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[a]→[ia]:	[k]	家jiā 加jiā 跏jiā 珈jiā 笱jiā 枷jiā 袈jiā 迦jiā 痂jiā 葭jiā 豸jiā 麩jiā 嘉jiā(見jiàn) 賈(jiǎ)假jiǎ 罌jiǎ(見jiàn) 駕jià 嫁jià 稼jià 價jià 架jià 假jiǎ(見jiàn)
		[x]	蝦xiā(匣xiá) 霞xiá 遐xiá 瑕xiá(匣xiá) 嚇xià 鱗xià(曉)下xià 芊xià 夏xià 厦xià 暇xiá
		[ø]	鴉yā 丫yā(影yǐng) 呀yā(疑yí) 牙yá 芽yá 衙yá(疑yí) 訝(xiā)(曉xiǎo) 亞yā(影yǐng) 雅(yà)(疑yí) 瘥yǎ(影yǐng) 迓(yà)訝yà 訝yà(疑yí) 亞yà 婭yà(影yǐng)

(Continued)

Table 3.17 (Continued)

佳(jiā) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ai]→[ia]:	[k]	佳(見jiàn)(jiā)
		[ø]	涯(疑yí)(yá)

According to the *Guǎngyùn*, characters such as “涯”(yá), “話(huà<xua)”, “佳”(jiā), “娃”(wá<ua), and “崖”(yá) in the佳(jiā) final group had started to evolve into the 麻(má) final group since the Tang dynasty, which has already been mentioned when discussing the Middle Chinese finals system. This phonetic transformation was not widely acknowledged in phonetic books until the existence of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.³⁶

3.9 車遮(chēzhē) [iɛ] and [iuɛ]

The車遮(chēzhē) final group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* contains [iɛ] and [iuɛ], the majorities of which are from the entering tone of Middle Chinese with only a small part from 麻(má) and 戈 finals in *Guǎngyùn*.

3.9.1 Final [iɛ] from the unrounded-mouth III characters of 麻(má) final group in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 3.18 Final [iɛ] in 車遮(chēzhē) group

麻(má) (Unrounded – mouth III)	[īa]→[iɛ]:	[t]	爹diē(知zhī)
		[tʃ]	遮zhē(章zhāng) 者zhě赭zhě(章zhāng) 柘(zhè)鷓zhè炙(zhì)蔗(zhè)(章zhāng)
		[tʃʰ]	車chē(昌chāng) 摻(chè)哆duō(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	奢shē 賒shē(書shū) 蛇shé(船chuán) 佘shé(禪chán) 舍shě 捨shě(書shū) 舍shè 赦shè(書shū) 射shè 麝shè 貰shì(船chuán) 社shè(禪chán)
		[ʒ]	若ruò 惹rè 曙nuò(日rì)
		[ts]	嗟jiē 置(jū)(精jīng) 姐(jiě)(精jīng) 借(jiè)(精jīng) 藉(jiè)(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	且(qiè)(清qīng)
		[s]	些xiē(心xīn) 斜(xié)邪xié(邪xié) 寫(xiě)瀉xiè(心xīn) 卸xiè瀉xiè(心xīn) 謝xiè樹xiè(邪xié)

		[ø]	爺yé ³⁷ 耶yé 玃(yà)鄒(yé)(以yǐ) 野(yè)也yě 冶yě (以yǐ) 夜yè射yè(以yǐ)
魚(yú) (fish) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iø]→[iɛ]:	[ts`]	起(qìè)(清qīng)

3.9.2 Final [iuɛ] mostly from the entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese with two from the rounded-mouth III characters of the 戈(gē) final group in Guāngyùn

Table 3.19 Final [iuɛ] in 車遮(chēzhē) group

戈(gē) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iua]→[iuɛ]:	[k`]	癩(qué)
		[x]	靴(xuē)(曉xiǎo)

The division of the 麻(má) final group in Middle Chinese into two final groups of 家麻(jiāmá) and 車遮(chēzhē) started during the Song dynasty. According to the notes by Mao Huang (Máo Huáng毛晃) of the Song dynasty for final 微(wēi) in *Supplement, Amendment and Annotation of the Finals Issued by the Ministry of Rites* (《增修互注禮部韻略ZēngXiūHùZhùLǐBùYùnLüè》),

麻(má), 馬(mǎ) and 禡(mà<mua), etc. all belong to laryngeals, and 奢(shē<ɕiɛ), 寫(xiě<siɛ) and 藉(jiè<tsiɛ), etc., are sibilants. Their pronunciations would be totally different if following the rules in *Official Pronunciation in the Central Plains* (《中原雅音ZhōngYuánYǎYīn》).

3.10 尤侯(yóuhóu) [ou] and [iou]

尤侯(yóuhóu) final group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* contains [ou] and [iou], which come, respectively, from characters in the 尤(yóu), 侯(hóu), and 幽(yōu) final groups in *Guāngyùn*, in addition to those that are from the entering tone of Middle Chinese.

3.10.1 Final [ou] from the 侯(hóu) final group as well as the sibilants and labials in the 尤(yóu) final group in Guāngyùn

Table 3.20 Final [ou] in 尤侯(yóuhóu) group

侯(hóu) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[əu]→[ou]:	[p`]	杯(póu)衰póu(並bìng) 剖pōu(滂pāng)
		[m]	貿(mào)懋mào(明míng)
		[t]	兜(dōu)筭dōu(端duān) 斗(dǒu)抖dǒu料dǒu蚪dǒu陡dǒu(端duān) 鬪(dòu)(端duān) 豆 dòu 脰 dòu 逗 dòu 竇 dòu(定dìng)

(Continued)

Table 3.20 (Continued)

		[t']	偷tōu 媮tōu 鋤tōu (透tòu) 頭tóu 投tóu 骹tóu (定dìng) 透tòu(透tòu)
		[n]	禱nòu(泥ní)
		[l]	樓lóu 婁lóu 艘lóu 樓(lǒu) 艘(lóu) 樓lóu(來lái) 樓lǒu 樓lǒu 簍lǒu(來lái) 漏lòu 陋lòu 鏤lòu 瘦lòu(來lái)
		[ts]	鰓(zōu)(從cóng) 走(zǒu)(精jīng) 奏zòu(精jīng)
		[ts']	湊(còu) 鞣còu(清qīng)
		[s]	叟(sǒu) 艘sǒu 藪sǒu(心xīn) 嗽(sòu) 漱(shù)(心xīn)
		[k]	鉤(gōu) 句gōu 篝gōu 溝gōu 鞫gōu 緞gōu(見jiàn) 狗(gǒu) 垢(gòu) 苟(gǒu) 耇gǒu 枸gǒu(見jiàn) 詬(gòu) 搆gòu 遘gòu 媾gòu 駒gòu 媾gòu 穀gòu 句gòu(見jiàn)
		[k']	搆(kōu)(溪xī) 口kǒu(溪xī) 扣(kòu) 寇kòu(溪xī) 薙kòu(曉xiǎo)
		[x]	齣(hōu)(曉xiǎo) 侯hóu 猴hóu 喉hóu 餒hóu 篛hóu(匣xiá) 吼(hǒu)(曉xiǎo) 後hòu 厚hòu 后hòu 逅hòu 候hòu 喉hóu(匣xiá)
		[ø]	謳(ōu) 鷗ōu 漚ōu 甌ōu 歐ōu 區ōu(影yǐng) 耦(ǒu) 偶ǒu 藕ǒu(疑yí) 嘔(ōu) 毆ōu(影yǐng)
尤(yóu) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iəu]→[ou]:	[m]	繆(móu) 矛(máo) 眸(móu) 鞮móu 蝨(máo) 牟(móu) 擘móu 侷móu(明míng)
		[f]	否fǒu(非fēi)
		[tʃ]	鄒zōu 陬zōu 騶zōu 緅zōu(莊zhuāng) 傷zhòu(崇chóng) 皺(zhòu)(莊zhuāng) 驟zhòu(崇chóng)
		[tʃ']	筓(chōu) 擗chōu(初chū) 愁chóu 惝chǒu(崇chóng) 懣(zhòu)(崇chóng)
		[ʃ]	搜sōu 颯sōu(生shēng) 瘦(shòu)(生shēng)
		[ts']	髡(zhòu)(莊zhuāng)
		[s]	搜sōu 餽sōu 餽sōu(生shēng)
虞(yú) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iü]→[ou]:	[tʃ]	諷(zōu)(精jīng)

3.10.2 Final [iou] from 尤(yóu) and 幽(yōu) final groups in Guǎngyùn

Table 3.21 Final [iou] in 尤侯(yóuhóu) group

尤 (yóu) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[ɿəu]→	[n]	扭(niù)狃niù紐niù鈕niù忸niù ³⁸ (泥ní)
	[iou]:	[l]	劉(liú)留liú溜(liù)瘤(liú)榴liú鷗liú騶liú流liú旒liú(來lái) 柳(liǔ)溜liǔ颯liǔ(來lái) 瀏(liú)溜(liù)霽liù 留(liú)餽(liù)餽liú 瘤(li)窳(liù)(來lái)
		[tʃ]	惆zhōu駟zhōu(知zhī) 周zhōu調zhōu週zhōu ³⁹ zhōu洲zhōu州zhōu舟zhōu(章zhāng) 肘zhǒu(知zhī) 酎zhòu(澄chéng) 帚zhǒu(章zhāng) 味zhòu 書shū(知zhī) 紂zhòu 胃zhòu 宙zhòu 籀zhòu (澄chéng) 呪zhòu (章zhāng)
		[tʃ˘]	抽(chōu)瘳chōu(徹chè) 惆chóu(徹chè) 紬(chóu)稠chóu綢chóu籌chóu儔chóu疇chóu疇chóu(澄chéng) 擘(chōu)(昌chāng) 讎(chóu)酬chóu(禪chán) 丑(chǒu)(徹chè) 醜chǒu(昌chāng) 臭chòu(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	收shōu(書shū) 首shǒu手shǒu守shǒu(書shū) 獸shòu首shǒu狩shòu(書shū) 受shòu授shòu綬shòu壽shòu售shòu(禪chán)
		[ts]	啣jiū 擎jiū 湫jiǎo(精jīng) 酒(jiǔ)(精jīng) 就jiù 鷲jiù(從cóng)
		[ts˘]	秋qiū 鞦qiū 鞦qiū 鞦qiū 鞦qiū 鞦qiū(清qīng) 酋(qiú)適qiú(從cóng)
		[s]	脩(xiū)修xiū羞xiū饒xiū ⁴⁰ (心xīn) 囚qiú囚qiú(邪xié) 秀(xiù)琇xiù宿xiù繡xiù(心xīn) 岫xiù袖xiù(邪xié)
		[k]	鳩(jiū)鬪jiū(見jiàn) 九jiù 韭jiù 玖jiù 玖jiù 灸jiù 疾(jiù)(見jiàn) 救jiù 麩jiù 究jiù(見jiàn) 臼jiù 舅jiù 咎jiù 舊jiù 柩jiù(群qún)
		[k˘]	丘(qiū)坵qiū(溪xī) 求qiú 賕qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú 毬qiú(群qún)
		[x]	休xiū 咻xiū 貅xiū 麻xiū(曉xiǎo) 朽(xiǔ)(曉xiǎo) 嗅(xiù)(曉xiǎo)

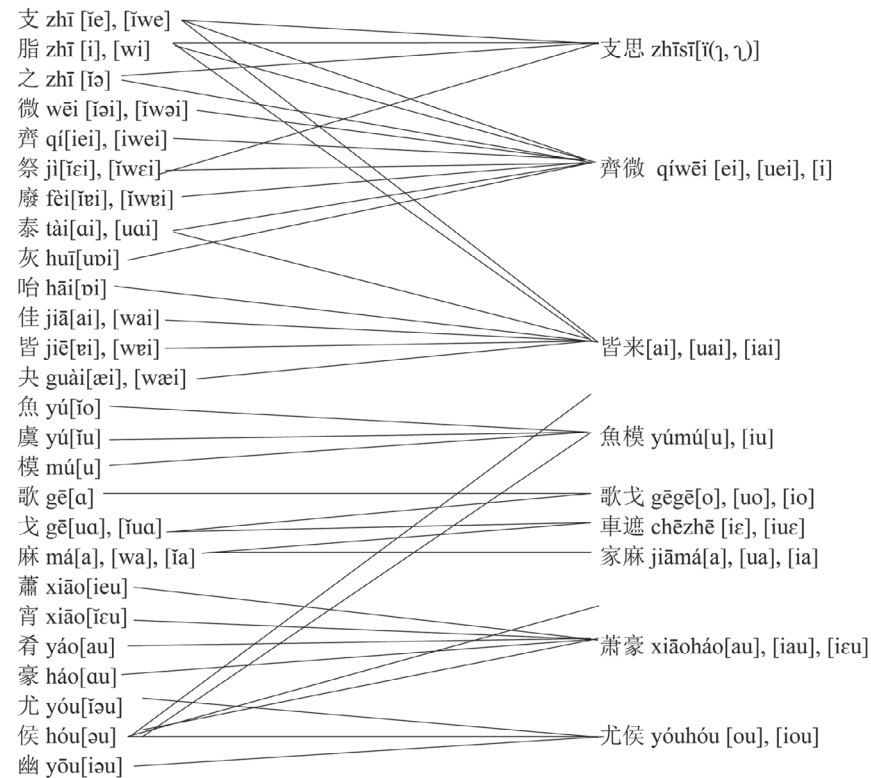
(Continued)

Table 3.21 (Continued)

		[ø]	憂 yōu 優 yōu 樛 yōu 麀 yōu (影 yǐng) 尤 yóu 蚰 yóu 疣 yóu 詵 yóu 遊 yóu 遊 yóu 游 yóu 由 yóu 油 yóu 郵 yóu 廔 yóu 猷 yóu 繇 yáo 輶 yóu 猶 yóu 繇 yóu 猶 yóu 樛 yóu 悠 yōu 攸 yōu (以 yǐ) 牛 niú (疑 yí) 有 (yǒu) 友 yǒu (云 yún) 酉 yǒu 牖 yǒu 莠 yǒu 莠 yǒu 誘 (yòu) (以 yǐ) 又 yòu 右 yòu 佑 yòu 佑 yòu 狄 yòu 宥 yòu 囿 yòu 侑 yòu (云 yún) 柚 yòu (以 yǐ)
幽 (yōu) (Unrounded- mouth IV)	[iəu] →	[p]	彪 (biāo) (幫 bāng)
	[iəu]:	[m]	繆 (miù) 繆 miù (明 míng)
		[k]	糾 (jiū) (見 jiàn)
		[k']	繆 jiū (見 jiàn) 蚪 (qiú) (群 qún)
		[ø]	幽 yōu (影 yǐng) 黝 (yǒu) (影 yǐng) 幼 (yòu) (影 yǐng)

Table 3.22 The development of the nine yīn-final groups

Graph 3-1



The development of the 9 yīn-final groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* from the 26 in *Guǎngyùn* is listed in Table 3.22, with slight changes in their order for the convenience of displaying.

Notes

- 1 Yīn final, 陰聲韻 yīn shēng yùn, refers to a final with no tail vowel or ending with a vowel. In this book, yīn final groups include 支思 zhī sī, 齊微 qí wēi, 魚模 yú mó, 皆來 jiē lái, 蕭豪 xiāo háo, 家麻 jiā má, 車遮 chē zhē, and 尤侯 yóu hóu.
- 2 Yīn final, 陰聲韻 yīn shēng yùn, refers to a final with no tail vowel or ending with a vowel. In this book, yīn final groups include 支思 zhī sī, 齊微 qí wēi, 魚模 yú mó, 皆來 jiē lái, 蕭豪 xiāo háo, 家麻 jiā má, 車遮 chē zhē, and 尤侯 yóu hóu.
- 3 Yáng final, 陽聲韻 yáng shēng yùn, refers to a final with a nasal ending of [n], [m], and [ŋ]. In this book, yáng final include 東鐘 dōng zhōng, 江陽 jiāng yáng, 真文 zhēn wén, 寒山 hán shān, 桓歡 huán huān, 先天 xiān tiān, 庚青 gēng qīng, 侵尋 qīn xún, 監咸 jiān xián, and 廉纖 lián xiān.
- 4 Rù final, 入聲韻 Rù shēng yùn, refers to a final ending with a voiceless plosive of [-p], [-t], and [-k].
- 5 In *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “倍(bèi) means that the interest and the capital are equal, 薄亥(hài<kai) qiè, belonging to 海(hǎi) group”. In *Jiyùn*, it belongs to the 賄(huì<xuì) group, 部(bù<pu)洸(měi<mui) qiè. In *Jiyùn*, it reads, “焙(bèi), 浦(pǔ<pu)昧(mèi<mui) qiè, belongs to 隊(duì) group”.
- 6 In *Final* 祭(ji) (《祭韻 Ji Yùn》) of *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “鰓(juē) refers to the name of a kind of fish with big mouth, small scales and mottles, 居(jū<kiu)卫(wèi<ui) qiè”. In modern Chinese, it is pronounced as gui, belonging to rounded-mouth characters. However, in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, it is classified as an unrounded-mouth character, which is really strange.
- 7 In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, “微 wēi”, “薇 wēi”, “維 wēi”, and “惟 wēi”, with the rising tone in 齊微 qí wēi group share the same pronunciation. In “Studies on Initial Groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*” by Luo Changpei, it is noted, “In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, among characters of 微(wēi) group, only the category of ‘微薇’(wēi wēi) in 齊微(qí wēi) group is mixed with ‘惟’ and ‘維’(wēi) in 喻(yù) group. According to Matteo Ricci’s phonetic symbols, ‘惟’(wēi) is marked as üui, different from that of other characters in 喻(yù) group. Moreover, in the transliteration of Annan, as well as the dialects of Hakka, Shanxi, and Fujian today, they belong to 微(wēi) group. Therefore, the two characters, as the only exceptions for the transformation of 喻(yù) to 微(wēi), cannot hinder the independence of 微(wēi)”. In the majority parts of North China, including Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi, among others, “惟”(wēi) and “維”(wēi) both belong to 微(wēi) group.
- 8 The characters of “墟 xū” and “墟 xū” literally belonged to 溪 xī final group in Middle Chinese.
- 9 In *Guǎngyùn*, “羆 chū” belongs to 虞 yú, 10th group of upper level-tone characters, 敕(chì<tʂ’i)俱(jù<kiu) qiè.
- 10 In *Guǎngyùn*, “僞 yǔ” belongs to 虞 yú, the ninth group of falling-rising-tone characters, 於武(wū<vu) qiè.
- 11 In *Guǎngyùn*, “餽 shū” belongs to 虞 yú, 10th group of upper level-tone characters, 山芻 qiè.
- 12 In *Guǎngyùn*, “哈 hāi” belongs to 哈 hāi, 16th group of upper level-tone characters, 呼(hū<xu)來 qiè.
- 13 In *Guǎngyùn*, “乃 nǎi” belongs to 海 hǎi, 15th group of falling-rising-tone characters, 奴(nú<nu)亥(hài) qiè, which is another version. According to 24th Item of “A few examples of 揮疑 huī yí group (略舉揮疑字樣 Lüè Jǔ Huī Yí Zì Yàng)”, from *Rules*

- for *Correcting Expressions and Composing Words*, “歛(ǎi<ai)乃(nǎi) is pronounced as 襖(ǎo<au)靄(ǎi, from *Yú Gē* (《漁歌》, *Fishermen's Songs*)”.
- 14 In 怪, 16th group of falling-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “煞shā, 所(suǒ<su)介(jiè<kiài) qiè, refers to something evil or means to spoil”.
- 15 In *Initial* 竹zhú of *Chapter* 玉yù (《玉篇·竹部 Yù Piān. Zhú Bù》), it reads, “篩shāi, 所街(jiē<kiài) qiè”.
- 16 In *Guǎngyùn*, “拐guǎi” belongs to 求(qiú<giǒu)蟹 qiè, not this pronunciation. In the note of “騙piàn”, *Volume Seven of Collected Works in Phonology* (2009) (《韻學集成 Yùn Xué Jí Chéng》), Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Bookstore Co., Ltd., it reads, “According to *Official Pronunciation in the Central Plains* (《中原雅音 Zhōng Yuán Yǎ Yīn》), 拐guǎi in 拐騙guǎi piàn is pronounced as 拐guǎi”, from *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “拐guǎi belongs to the 乖guāi(mǎi<mai) qiè”.
- 17 In 紙zhǐ, 40th group of falling-rising tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “揣chuāi, 初委(wēi<ui) qiè, means to estimate, or try, or measure, or remove”.
- 18 In 佳jiā, 13th group of upper level-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “捱ái, 宜佳yí jiā qiè, means to refuse”.
- 19 In 卦guà, 15th group of falling-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “搯è, 烏(wū<u)懈 qiè, means to grip”. In 麥mài, 21st group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “搯è means to hold, grip or lift, 於革(gé<kǎk) qiè”. It is different from this.
- 20 In 褰 the sixth group of lower level tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “詔táo”, equals “譚(táo<tau)”, 徒(tú<t)u)刀 qiè.
- 21 In 宵xiāo, the fourth group of lower level-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “哨shào, 相(xiāng<sian)邀(yāo<iau) qiè, means the mouth is crooked”. Also, in 笑xiào, 35th group of falling-tone characters, it reads, “哨shào, 七(qī<ts' i)肖(xiāo<siau) qiè, refers to dark spout of a teapot”.
- 22 In 肴yáo, the fifth group of lower level-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “凹āo, 于(yú<iu)交 qiè, means being dented”.
- 23 In 篠xiǎo, 29th group of falling-rising-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “鳥niǎo, 都了dōu liǎo qiè, means birds with tails in *Shuōwén*”.
- 24 This character is recorded in neither *Guǎngyùn* nor *Jiyùn*, but in *Zì Huì* (《字彙》, *Chinese Wordbook*), 尼了 qiè.
- 25 In 嘯xiào, 34th group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “尿niào is also written as 溺nì, 奴nú弔(diào<tiau) qiè”.
- 26 In 歌gē, the seventh group of lower level-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “膾fán, refers to fat belly, 蒲(pú<bu)波bō qiè”. Also, in 桓huán, 26th group of upper level-tone characters, it reads, “蒲官 pú guān qiè”.
- 27 In 果guǒ, 34th group of falling-rising-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “夥huǒ, 胡hú果(guǒ<kuo) qiè, refers to many people among Chu people”.
- 28 In 稜zhèn, 22nd group of falling-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “峻suǒ, 祖(zǔ<tsu)峻(jùn<siuən) qiè, means to look at”.
- 29 “窩wō” is literally written as “窰”. In 戈gē, the eighth group of lower level-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “窰, 鳥(niǎo<niau)禾(hé<xuo) qiè, refers to a cave to live in”.
- 30 In 禡mà, 40th group of falling-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “帕pà, 普(pǔ<p^hu)駕(jià<ka) qiè”.
- 31 “禡zhà” is written as “楷cuò” in many books. This book turns it into “禡zhà” according to *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central State of China*.
- 32 In 馬mǎ, 35th group of falling-rising-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “婁chà, 醜(chǒu<ts' iau)下 qiè, means young girl in *Shuōwén*”.
- 33 In 馬mǎ, 35th group of falling-rising-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “傻shǎ, means being foolish, 沙瓦shā wǎ qiè”, rounded-mouth character.
- 34 In 麻má, the ninth group of lower level-tone characters of in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “搥wō, 張(zhāng<tshian)瓜guā qiè, means to strike”.

- 35 In 禡mà, 40th group of falling-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “瓦, 吾(wú<u)化(huà<xua) qiè, means to tile the roof of a house”.
- 36 “涯”(yá) has already been embodied in 麻(má) final group in *Jiyùn*.
- 37 “爺”(yé) is literally written as “耶”(yé). According to *Initial 父fù* of *Chapter 玉* (《玉篇·父部Yù Piān Fù Bù》), “爺(yé) refers to grandfather of the father’s side”. In *Volume Nine of Mulan Ballad* (《木蘭詩Mù Lán Shī》) in *Ancient Literary Collection* (《古文苑Gǔ Wén Yuàn》), it reads, “軍書十二卷, 卷卷有耶名jūn shū shí èr juǎn, juàn juàn yǒu yé míngn” (My father’s name appears in all military documents recording in-service men). Notes: “Today it is written as ‘爺’(yé), which is referred to as father in colloquial language”.
- 38 In 屋wū, the first group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “忸niǔ means being shy, 女(nǚ<niu)六(liù<liǒu) qiè”. In 有yǒu, 44th group of falling–rising-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “忸niǔ means being ashamed, 女九(jiǔ<kiǒu) qiè”.
- 39 According to *Chapter 玉yù*, “週zhōu, 職(zhí<tǐ)由yóu qiè”, is the same as “周zhōu”.
- 40 In 尤yóu, 18th group of lower level–tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “饘xiū, 思sī留(liú<liǒu) qiè. *Shuōwén* explains it as ‘to offer tribute’”, the same as “羞xiū”.

4 The development of the nasal final system from Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese

4.1 Introduction

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 10 yáng final groups with 24 finals, namely, 東鐘dōngzhōng, 江陽jiāngyáng, 真文zhēnwén, 寒山hánshān, 桓歡huánhuān, 先天xiāntiān, 庚青gēngqīng, 侵尋qīnxún, 監咸jiānxián, and 廉纖liánxiān, respectively, from the 35 yáng final groups with 51 finals (including the level tone, falling–rising tone, and falling tone) containing 東dōng, 冬dōng, 鐘zhōng, 江jiāng, 真zhēn, 諄(zhūn<t̚siuən), 臻zhēn, 文wén, 欣(xīn<xiən), 魂hún, 痕hén, 元yuán, 寒hán, 桓huán, 刪(shān<ʂan), 山shān, 先xiān, 仙(xiān<siən), 陽yáng, 唐(táng<t`aŋ), 庚gēng, 耕gēng, 清qīng, 青qīng, 蒸(zhēng<t̚siəŋ), 登dēng, 侵qīn, 覃tán, 談tán, 鹽(yán<iem), 添tiān, 咸xián, 銜xián, 嚴yán, and 凡(fán<fuan). Those yáng finals can be divided into three categories according to their tails of [-m], [-n], and [-ŋ]. The changes of these three types of final groups and finals from *Guǎngyùn* to *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are discussed in the following section. For simplicity, it is necessary to change the sequence of the final groups in *Guǎngyùn* and *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. The example characters keep the order of the 25 initials in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* with the initial it belongs to being noted by a bracket. Those with no example characters are omitted.

4.2 真文 (zhēnwén) [əŋ], [uəŋ], [iəŋ], and [iuəŋ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 真文(zhēnwén) final group has four finals including [əŋ], [uəŋ], [iəŋ], and [iuəŋ], which comes, respectively, from真(zhēn), 諄(zhūn), 臻(zhēn), 文(wén), 欣(xīn), 魂(hún), and 痕(hén) in *Guǎngyùn*.

4.2.1 [əŋ] from the 痕(hén) final and the 莊(zhuāng) (照[zhào] II) group of 真(zhēn) and 臻(zhēn) finals in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 4.1 Final [əŋ] in 真文(zhēnwén) group

痕(hén) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[əŋ]→[əŋ]:	[k]	根gēn 跟gēn (見jiàn)
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		[kʰ]	懇 kěn 壘 kěn 齷 (yín) (溪 xī)
		[x]	痕 hén (匣 xiá) 狠 hén (匣 xiá) 恨 hèn (匣 xiá)
		[ø]	恩 ēn (影 yǐng)
臻 (zhēn) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛn]→[ɛn]:	[tʃ]	榛 zhēn 臻 zhēn (莊 zhuāng)
真 (zhēn) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛn]→[ɛn]:	[tʃʰ]	襯 (chèn) 齷 chèn (初 chū)
		[ʃ]	莘 shēn 詵 shēn (生 shēng)
登 (dēng) (Falling–rising tone; Unrounded-mouth I)	[əŋ]→[ən]:	[kʰ]	肯 kěn (溪 xī)

4.2.2 [uən] from 魂 (hún) final and labiodentals of 文 (wén) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.2 Final [uən] in 真文 (zhēnwén) group

魂 (hún) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uən]→[uən]:	[p]	奔 bēn 賁 bēn 犇 bēn (幫 bāng) 本 běn 畚 běn (幫 bāng) 遼 ¹ (bèn) 奔 bèn (幫 bāng)
		[pʰ]	噴 pēn (滂 pāng) 盆 péng 湓 péng (並 bīng) 噴 (pèn) (滂 pāng)
		[m]	門 mén 捫 mén (明 míng) 悶 mèn 懣 mèn (明 míng)
		[t]	敦 dūn 墩 dūn (端 duān) 燉 (dùn) (透 tòu) 頓 dùn (端 duān) 囤 dùn 鈍 dùn 盾 dùn 沌 dùn 遁 dùn (定 dìng)
		[tʰ]	噉 (tūn) (透 tòu) 豚 (tún) 屯 tún 鈍 tún 臀 tún (定 dìng)
		[n]	嫩 nèn (泥 ní)
		[ts]	尊 zūn 樽 zūn (精 jīng)
		[tsʰ]	村 cūn (清 qīng) 存 cún 蹲 cún (從 cóng) 忖 cǔn (清 qīng) 寸 cùn (清 qīng)
		[s]	孫 sūn 殮 sūn 蓀 sūn 蓀 sūn (心 xīn) 損 sùn (心 xīn) 遜 xùn 巽 xùn (心 xīn)
		[k]	鯤 (kūn) 鷓 kūn 褪 kūn ² 昆 kūn (見 jiàn) 袞 (gǔn) (見 jiàn)

(Continued)

Table 4.2 (Continued)

		[k ^ˈ]	坤kūn髡kūn(溪xī) 闕kūn壺kūn惘kūn(溪xī) 困kùn(溪xī)
		[x]	昏hūn昏hūn婚hūn闕hūn(曉xiǎo) 魂hún渾hún(匣xiá) 混hùn(匣xiá)
		[ø]	溫(wēn)瘟wēn(影yǐng) 穩wěn(影yǐng) 搵(wèn)(影yǐng) 諱(hùn)(疑yí)
痕(hén) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[ən]→[uən]:	[t ^ˈ]	吞tūn(透tòu)
文 (Rounded- mouth III)	[iwən]→[uən]:	[f]	分fēn(非fēi) 紛fēn芬fēn氛fēn(敷fū) 汾(fén)(奉fèng) 墳fèn焚fèn焚fèn(奉fèng) 粉fěn(非fēi) 糞(fèn)奮fèn(非fēi) 忿fèn(敷fū) 分fèn(奉fèng)
		[v]	文wén紋wén聞wén蚊wén(微wēi) 勿wǔ吻wǔ(微wēi) 問wèn紊wèn(微wēi)
		[x]	葷hūn(曉xiǎo)

4.2.3 [iən] from 真(zhēn) and 欣(xīn) finals in Guǎngyùn with a few from 侵(qīn) final

Table 4.3 Final [iən] in 真文(zhēnwén) group

真(zhēn) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iĕn]→[iən]:	[p]	賓bīn濱bīn鑛bīn彬bīn(幫bāng) 鬢bìn殯bìn(幫bāng) 贖(pín)(並bìng)
		[p ^ˈ]	貧pín瀕(bīn)頻(pín)蘋pín顛pín嘸pín (並bìng) 牝pìn(並bìng)
		[m]	民mín璿(mín)縉mín旻mín(明míng) 閔(mín)憫mǐn泯mǐn溷mǐn敏mǐn(明明míng)
		[n]	紉(rèn)(泥ní)
		[l]	鄰(lín)鱗lín鱗lín磷lín麟lín鄰lín麟lín (來lái) 吝(lìn)憫lìn 蘭lín 磷lín(來lái)
		[tʃ]	珍zhēn(知zhī) 真zhēn振zhēn甄(zhēn)(章zhāng) 軫(zhěn)疹zhěn診zhěn稕zhěn(章zhāng) 鎮(zhèn)(知zhī) 陣zhèn(澄chéng) 震zhèn振zhèn賑zhèn(章zhāng)

		[tʰ]	嗔 chēn 瞋 chēn (昌 chāng) 陳 chén 塵 chén (澄 chéng) 娠 chén (書 shū) 臣 chén 辰 chén 晨 chén 宸 chén (禪 chán) 趁 chèn 荻 chèn (徹 chè)
		[ʃ]	申 (shēn) 紳 shēn 伸 shēn 身 shēn (書 shū) 神 shén (船 chuán) 晒 shěn (書 shū) 屨 shèn (禪 chán) 腎 shèn 慎 shèn (禪 chán)
		[ʒ]	人 rén 仁 rén 忍 rěn (日 rì) 刃 (rèn) 刃 rèn 仞 rèn 認 rèn (日 rì)
		[ts]	津 (jīn) (精 jīng) 盡 jìn (從 cóng) 晉 (jìn) 進 jìn 璉 (jīn) (精 jīng)
		[tsʰ]	親 qīn (清 qīng) 秦 qín (從 cóng)
		[s]	新 xīn 薪 xīn 辛 xīn (心 xīn) 信 xìn 訊 (xùn) 迅 xùn (心 xīn) 贖 (jìn) 燼 jìn (邪 xié)
		[k]	巾 jīn (見 jiàn) 繫 (jīn) (見 jiàn) 瑾 jǐn (群 qún) 覲 (jìn) (群 qún)
		[x]	覺 xiào (曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	因 yīn 姻 yīn 茵 yīn 湮 yān 闐 yīn (影 yǐng) 銀 yín 閻 yín 垠 yín (疑 yí) 寅 yín 夤 yín (以 yǐ) 引 yǐn 蚓 yǐn (以 yǐ) 印 yìn (影 yǐng)
欣 (xīn) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iəŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[k]	斤 jīn 筋 jīn (見 jiàn) 謹 jǐn 謹 jǐn 鴛 jūn (見 jiàn) 近 jìn (群 qún)
		[kʰ]	勤 qín 懃 qín 芹 qín (群 qún)
		[x]	欣 xīn 忻 xīn 昕 xīn (曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	殷 yīn (影 yǐng) 覲 yín 鄞 (yín) (疑 yí) 隱 yǐn (影 yǐng)
諄 (zhūn) (Falling–rising tone; Rounded-mouth III)	[iueŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[ø]	尹 yǐn (以 yǐ)
蒸 (zhēng) (Falling tone; Unrounded-mouth III)	[iəŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[ø]	孕 (yùn) (以 yǐ)
侵 (qīn) (Falling–rising tone; Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛm]→[iəŋ]:	[pʰ]	品 pǐn (滂 pāng)

4.2.4 [iuən] from 諄(zhūn) and 文(wén) finals in Guǎngyùn with rounded-mouth characters from 真(zhēn) final

Table 4.4 Final [iuən] in 真文(zhēnwén) group

諄 (zhūn) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwēn]→[iuən]:	[l]	論lún 綸lún 掄lún 輪lún 淪lún (來lái)		
		[t]	諄zhūn(章zhāng) 迕zhūn(知zhī) 准zhǔn 準zhǔn (章zhāng)		
		[tʃ]	春chūn(昌chāng) 椿chūn(徹) 唇chún(船chuán) 純chún 尊chún 淳chún 醇chún 鎔chún 鶉chún chún(禪chán) 蠢chǔn(昌chāng)		
		[ʃ]	瞬(shùn)(書shū) 楯shǔn(船chuán) 舜(shùn)(書shū) 順shùn(船chuán)		
		[ʒ]	潤(rùn) 潤rùn(日rì)		
		[ts]	遵zūn(精jīng) 俊jùn 駿jùn(精jīng)		
		[tsʰ]	逡qūn 皴(cūn)(清qīng)		
		[s]	詢xún 荀xún(心xīn) 巡xún 旬xún 馴(xùn) 循(xún)(邪xié) 筍sǔn 隼sǔn(心xīn) 峻jùn 浚jùn 嘽 ³ (xùn)(心xīn) 殉xùn(邪xié)		
		[k]	均(jūn) 鈞jūn(見jiàn)		
		[ø]	勻(yún)(以yǐ) 允(yǔn) 狃yǔn(以yǐ)		
		真 (zhēn) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwēn]→[iuən]:	[k]	麿(jūn)(見jiàn) 困qūn 窘(jiǒng)(群qún)
				[ø]	筠(yún)(云yún) 殞(yǔn) 隕yǔn(云yún)
		文 (wén) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwoən]→[iuən]:	[k]	君jūn 軍jūn 鞞jūn(見jiàn) 郡jùn(群qún)
				[kʰ]	裙(qún) 群qún(群qún)
				[x]	薰(xūn) 醺xūn 勳xūn 暎xūn 燻xūn(曉xiǎo) 訓xùn(曉xiǎo)
[ø]	氳(yūn) 愠yūn(影yǐng) 云yún 芸yún 雲yún 紘yún 耘yún 員yún (云yún) 蘊(yùn) 憚yùn 醞yùn 愠yùn(影yǐng) 運yùn 暈yùn 韻yùn(云yún)				

4.3 寒山(hánshān) [an], [uan], and [ian]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 寒山(hánshān) final group has three finals including [an], [uan], and [ian], which come, respectively, from the寒(hán), 刪(shān), 山(shān), 元(yuán), and 凡(fán) finals in *Guǎngyùn*.

4.3.1 [an] from 寒(hán) final, labials, and linguo-dentals of 刪(shān) and 山(shān) finals, as well as labiodentals from 元(yuán) and 凡(fán) finals in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 4.5 Final [an] in 寒山(hánshān) group

寒(hán) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[an]→[an]:	[t]	丹 dān 單 dān 殫 dān 鄴 dān 簞 dān (端 duān) 癩 dān 直 (zhí < ㄓㄧˊㄝˊ) (端 duān) 旦 dàn (端 duān) 啞 (tān) (透 tòu) 誕 (dàn) 彈 dàn 憚 dàn 但 dàn (定 dìng)
		[t']	灘 tān 攤 tān (透 tòu) 壇 (tán) 檀 tán 彈 tán (定 dìng) 坦 tǎn (透 tòu) 袒 tǎn (定 dìng) 歎 tàn 炭 tàn (透 tòu)
		[n]	難 nán (泥 ní) 難 (nàn) (泥 ní)
		[l]	闌 lán 蘭 lán 欄 lán 欄 lán 攔 lán (來 lái) 懶 (lǎn) (來 lái) 爛 làn (來 lái)
		[ts]	躑 (zǎn) (從 cóng) 贊 zàn 讚 zàn 潑 zàn 鄭 zàn (精 jīng) 瓚 zàn (從 cóng)
		[ts']	餐 cān (清 qīng) 殘 cán 羸 (jiān) (從 cóng) 粲 càn 燦 càn 璨 càn (清 qīng)
		[s]	珊 shān 跚 shān (心 xīn) 散 sǎn 傘 sǎn 繖 sǎn (心 xīn) 散 sàn (心 xīn)
		[k]	干 (gān) 竿 gān 肝 gān 秆 gān 乾 gān (見 jiàn) 趕 (gǎn) 稈 gǎn 簕 gǎn (見 jiàn) 幹 (gàn) 榦 gàn (見 jiàn)
		[k']	刊 kān 看 kān (溪 xī) 侃 (kǎn) (溪 xī) 看 kàn (溪 xī)
		[x]	寒 hán 邯 hán 韓 hán 汗 hán 翰 hàn (匣 xiá) 罕 hǎn (曉 xiǎo) 漢 hàn (曉 xiǎo) 旱 hàn 悍 hàn 鐸 hàn 翰 hàn 瀚 hàn 汗 hàn 盥 hān (匣 xiá)

(Continued)

Table 4.5 (Continued)

		[ø]	安ān鞍ān(影yǐng) 岸(àn)犴(àn)嘍(yàn)(疑yí) 案(àn)按(àn)(影yǐng) 吓(gàn)(見jiàn) 閑(hàn)(匣xiá)
刪(shān) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[an]→[an]:	[p]	斑bān班bān般bān扳bān頒bān (幫bāng) 板bǎn鋏bǎn(幫bāng)
		[p`]	攀pān(滂pāng) 攀(pàn)(滂pāng)
		[m]	蠻mán(明míng) 慢màn 嫚màn 謾(mán)(明míng)
		[n]	赧nǎn(泥ní)
		[tʃ]	棧zhàn(崇chóng)
		[ʃ]	刪(shān)潛shān(生shēng) 訕(shàn)汕shàn 汕shàn(生shēng)
		[x]	𪗇(gàn)(匣xiá)
山(shān) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æ̃n]→[an]:	[p]	扮bàn(幫bāng) 辦bàn瓣bàn(並bìng)
		[p`]	盼pàn(滂pāng)
		[l]	爛(lán)(來lái)
		[tʃ]	盞zhǎn瓊zhǎn(莊zhuāng) 綻zhàn組zhàn(澄chéng)
		[tʃ`]	潺chán(崇chóng) 產chǎn(生shēng) 鏟chǎn剗chǎn(初chū)
元(yuán) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwen]→[uan]:	[f]	蕃fān藩(fān)(非fēi) 番fān 翻fān 輻fān 幡fān 反(fān)(敷fū) 煩fán 繁fán 幡fán 攀fán 蠻fán 樊fán (奉fèng) 反fǎn 返fǎn 阪(bǎn)(非fēi) 販(fàn)販fàn(非fēi)飯fàn(奉fèng)
		[v]	晚wǎn挽wǎn(微wēi) 萬wàn 蔓(màn)曼màn(微wēi)
凡(fán) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwen]→[an]:	[f]	凡fán 帆(fān)(奉fèng) 泛fàn(敷fū) 範fàn範fàn犯fàn(奉fèng)

4.3.2 [uan] from rounded-mouth characters in 刪(shān) and 山(shān) finals with a few from 仙(xiān) and (huán) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.6 Final [uan] in 寒山(hánshān) group

刪(shān) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wan]→[uan]:	[tʃ]	詮(quán)(莊zhuāng) 饌zhuàn(崇chóng)
		[tʃ`]	篡(cuàn)(初chū)

		[ʃ]	櫪 ⁴ (shuān)(生shēng)
		[k]	攢(huàn)(見jiàn) 慣guàn卍guàn攢guàn(見jiàn)
		[x]	還(huán)環huán鬢huán寰huán闌huán 圓huán鑲huán(匣xiá) 患huàn宦huàn攢huàn豢huàn(匣xiá)
		[ø]	彎wān灣wān(影yǐng) 頑wán(疑yí) 緝(wǎn)(影yǐng)
山(shān) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wæn]→[uan]:	[k]	綸guān鰓guān(見jiàn)
		[x]	幻(huàn)(匣xiá)
仙(xiān) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwen]→[uan]:	[tʃ]	饌zhuàn(崇chóng)
		[ʃ]	渲(xuàn)(心xīn)
桓(huán) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uan]→[uan]:	[p]	絆bàn(幫bāng)
		[ø]	腕(wàn)(影yǐng)

4.3.3 [ian] from velars and laryngeals in 刪(shān) and 山(shān) finals with a few from the 寒(hán) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.7 Final [ian] in 寒山(hánshān) group

寒(hán) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[an]→[ian]:	[k]	奸(jiān)(見jiàn)
刪(shān) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[an]→[ian]:	[k]	姦(jiān)姦jiān菅jiān(見jiàn) 澗(jiàn)諫jiàn(見jiàn)
		[ø]	顏yán(疑yí) 雁yàn贗yàn(疑yí) 晏yàn鸚yàn(影yǐng)
山(shān) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æn]→[ian]:	[k]	間jiān艱jiān(見jiàn) 簡jiǎn揀jiǎn(見jiàn) 間jiān覲jiān(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	慳qiān(溪xī)
		[x]	閑xián鷓xián癩xián(匣xiá) 闕(xiàn) (痕hén)限xiàn莧xiàn(匣xiá)
		[ø]	殷yīn(影yǐng) 眼yǎn(疑yí)

4.4 桓歡(huán huān) [uən]

[uən] in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* comes from 桓(huán) final in *Guǎngyùn* as well as the 寒(hán), 桓(huán), 刪(shān), and 山(shān) finals in *Guǎngyùn*. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains*

of China, the 寒(hán) final is classified within the 寒山(hán shān) group together with rounded-mouth characters in 刪(shān) and 山(shān) finals, while 桓(huán) alone falls into the 桓歡(huán huān) group. Their evolution is as follows:

Table 4.8 Final [uən] in 桓歡(huán huān) group

桓 (huán)	[uən]→[uən]:	[p]	般bān 搬bān ⁵ (幫bāng) 半bàn 絆bàn(幫bāng) 泮pàn 汧pàn(滂pāng) 伴bàn 畔pàn(並bìng)
		[p']	潘pān 拚pàn(滂pāng) 槃(pán) 癩(bān) 磬(pán) 鞞pán 盤pán 躡(fán) 嬾(pán) 蟠pán 弁(biàn) 嬾pán 幣pán(並bìng) 胖(pán)(滂pāng) 判pàn(滂pāng) 拚pàn(並bìng)
		[m]	瞞(mán) 謾mán 鞞mán 饅mán 鏞(màn) 縵màn 漫màn(明míng) 滿(mǎn) 懣mèn(明míng) 饅màn 幔màn 漫màn 墁màn(明míng)
		[t]	端duān 耑duān(端duān) 短duǎn(端duān) 斷duàn 鍛duàn(端duān) 段duàn(定dìng)
		[t']	湍(tuān)(透tòu) 團tuán 搏tuán 溥tuán 博tuán(定dìng) 瞳(tuǎn)(透tòu) 豢(tuàn)(透tòu)
		[n]	暖nuǎn 餽nuǎn(泥ní) 慳(nuò)(泥ní)
		[l]	鸞luán 鑾luán 鑿luán 樂luán 滌luán(來lái) 卵(luǎn)(來lái) 亂luàn(來lái)
		[ts]	鑣zuān(精jīng) 纂zuǎn 纘zuǎn 穢zuǎn 鄼zàn(精jīng) 鑣zàn(精jīng)
		[ts']	攢(cuān<ts ^h uan)(清jīng) ⁶ 攢cuán 攢(cuán<d ^h uan)(從) 竄cuàn 爨(cuàn<ts ^h uan) 攢cuàn(清jīng)
		[s]	酸suān 豸(suān<suan)(心xīn) 筭(suàn<suan) 蒜suàn(心xīn)
		[k]	官guān 冠guān 棺(guān<kuan) 觀guān(見jiàn) 管guǎn 瘡(guǎn<kuan) 琯(guǎn<kuan) 肱(wǎn<ku an) 盥(guàn<kuan) 館guǎn(見jiàn) 貫guàn 冠guàn 觀觀灌(guàn<kuan) 裸guàn 罐guàn 鶴guàn(見jiàn)
		[k']	寬kuān(溪xī) 款kuǎn(溪xī)

[x]	歡 huān 讜 huān 驩 huān 攏 huān 獾 huān (曉 xiǎo) 桓 huán 統 huán (匣 xiá) 澣 (huàn) (匣 xiá) 喚 huàn 煥 huàn 渙 huàn 奐 huàn (曉 xiǎo) 緩 huǎn 換 huàn 道 huàn (匣 xiá)
[ø]	剗 (wǎn) 腕 wǎn 蜿 wān (影 yǐng) 汜 (wán) 虱 wán 岍 wán (疑 yí) 丸 wán 綰 huán 紈 wán 完 wán 瓏 (huán) (匣 xiá) 腕 (wǎn) (影 yǐng) 玩 (wán) 翫 wán (疑 yí) 腕 wàn 惋 wǎn (影 yǐng)

4.5 先天(xiān tiān) [iɛn] and [iueŋ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 先天(xiān tiān) final group contains [iɛn] and [iueŋ], respectively, from the 仙(xiān), 元(yuán), and 先(xiān) finals in *Guǎngyùn*.

4.5.1 [iɛn] mainly from unrounded-mouth characters of 仙(xiān), 元(yuán), and 先(xiān) finals in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 4.9 Final [iɛn] in 先天(xiān tiān) group

仙 (xiān) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iɛn]→[iɛn]:	[p]	編(biān) 鱗biān 鞭biān (幫bāng) 變biàn 遍biàn 徧biàn (幫bāng) 辨biàn 便biàn 卞biàn 汧biàn 弁biàn (並bìng)
		[pʰ]	篇piān 扁piān 偏piān 翩piān (滂pāng) 便pián (並bìng) 論(piǎn) (並bìng) 騙(piàn) (滂pāng)
		[m]	綿(mián) (明míng) 沔(miǎn) 漣miǎn 黽miǎn 免miǎn 冕miǎn 勉miǎn 倂fǔ (明míng) 面miàn (明míng)
		[n]	輓niǎn 碾niǎn 讖yàn (泥ní)
		[l]	連lián (泥ní) 輦(niǎn) 璉(liǎn) (來lái)
		[t]	鱣zhān 遭zhān (知zhī) 甄zhān 鸚zhān 嬪(shàn) 旃zhān 栴zhān (章zhāng) 展(zhǎn) (知zhī) 戰zhàn 顛(chàn) (章zhāng) 纏chán (澄chéng)
		[tʰ]	塵(chán) 躔chán 纏chán (澄chéng) 禪chán 蟬chán (禪chán) 闡chǎn (昌chāng) 蒧chǎn (徹chè)

(Continued)

Table 4.9 (Continued)

		[ʃ]	羶(shān)扇shān煽shān(書shū) 扇shān煽shān(書shū) 善shàn鱗shàn墾shàn禪shàn膳shàn擅shàn 單shàn(禪chán)
		[ʒ]	然rán燃rán(日rì)
		[ts]	煎(jiān)湔jiān(精jīng) 剪jiǎn翦jiǎn(精jīng) 箭(jiàn)煎jiān濺jiàn(精jīng) 踐jiàn賤jiàn餞jiàn(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	遷qiān韃qiān(清qīng) 錢(qián)(從cóng) 淺(清qīng)
		[s]	仙xiān躡xiān鮮xiān(心xīn) 涎xián(邪xié) 鮮(xiān<sǎn)獮xiǎn 蘚xiǎn 巖(xiān)(心xīn) 線(xiàn)(心xīn) 羨xiàn(邪xié)
		[k]	甄zhēn(見jiàn) 蹇(jiǎn)驪jiǎn(見jiàn) 件jiàn(群qún)
		[kʰ]	愆qiān褻qiān騫qiān(溪xī) 乾qián虔qián(群qún) 遣qiǎn(溪xī) 譴qiǎn(溪xī)
		[ø]	媽yā(影yǐng) 延(yán)筵yán鋌(chán)蜒(yán)蜒yán(以yǐ) 演yǎn衍yǎn(以yǐ) 諺(yàn)彥yàn(疑yí)
仙(xiān) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iwen]→[ien]:	[k]	絹(juàn)(見jiàn)
		[ø]	沿(yán)緣(yuán)(以yǐ) 兗yǎn(以yǐ) 緣yuán 掾(yuàn)(以yǐ)
元(yuán) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[ien]→[ien]:	[k]	建(jiàn)(見jiàn)
		[x]	軒xuān 掀(xiān)(曉xiǎo) 獻xiàn 憲xiàn(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	言yán(疑yí) 偃yǎn堰yǎn驪yǎn(影yǐng), 堰yàn(影yǐng)
先(xiān) (Unrounded- mouth IV)	[ien]→[ien]:	[p]	邊biān 漣biān(幫bāng) 扁biǎn 匾biǎn(幫bāng) 騙(biàn)(並bìng) 辯biàn(並bìng)
		[pʰ]	騙(pián)(並bìng) 拼pián 駢pián 駢(pián)(並bìng) 片(piàn)(滂pāng)
		[m]	眠mián(明míng) 眇(miǎo)(明míng) 面miàn(明míng)

		[t]	顛 diān 瘡 diān 巔 diān (端 duān) 典 diǎn (端 duān) 電 diàn 殿 diàn 甸 diàn 佃 diàn 鈿 tián 填 tián 闋 tián 靛 diàn 奠 diàn (定 dìng)
		[tʰ]	天 tiān (透 tòu) 田 tián 畝 tián 闋 tián 填 tián 鈿 tián (定 dìng) 腆 (tiǎn) (透 tòu) 殄 (tiǎn) 診 lì (定 dìng)
		[n]	年 nián (泥 ní) 燃 rán (泥 ní)
		[l]	蓮 (lián) 憐 lián (來 lái) 練 (liàn) 煉 liàn 棟 liàn (來 lái)
		[ts]	笈 (jiā) 鞮 jiān 濺 jiān 錢 jiān (精 jīng) 薦 (jiàn) (精 jīng)
		[tsʰ]	千 qiān 阡 qiān 芊 qiān (清 qīng) 前 qián (從 cóng)
		[s]	先 xiān (心 xīn) 跣 (xiǎn) 洗 xiǎn 銑 xiǎn 毳 xiǎn 筓 xiǎn (心 xīn) 霰 (xiàn) (心 xīn)
		[k]	堅 jiān 肩 jiān (見 jiàn) 繭 (jiǎn) 筭 jiǎn 覘 jiǎn 襴 jiǎn 鞞 jiǎn (見 jiàn) 見 jiàn (見 jiàn)
		[kʰ]	牽 qiān (溪 -level tone) 牽 qiān (溪 -falling tone)
		[x]	袂 (xiā) (曉 xiǎo) 賢 xián 絃 xián 弦 xián 絃 xián (匣 xiá) 顯 xiǎn (曉 xiǎo) 現 xiàn (匣 xiá)
		[ø]	煙 (yān) 燕 yān 咽 yān 咽 yān (影 yǐng) 妍 yán 研 yán (疑) 硯 (yàn) (疑 yí) 燕 yàn 嘅 yàn 讌 yàn 嬾 yàn 宴 yàn (影 yǐng)
先 (xiān) (Rounded- mouth IV)	[iwen]→[ien]:	[x]	懸 (xuán) (匣 xiá) 縣 xiàn (匣 xiá)

4.5.2 [iueŋ] mainly from rounded-mouth characters of 仙(xiān), 元(yuán), and 先(xiān) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.10 Final [iueŋ] in 先天(xiān tiān) group

仙 (xiān) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwen]→[iueŋ]:	[l]	攣 (luán) (來 lái) 襁 luán 變 luán (來 lái) 戀 liàn (來 lái)
		[t]	專 (zhuān) 磚 zhuān (章 zhāng) 轉 (zhuàn) 轉 zhuàn (知 zhī) 轉 zhuàn 轉 zhuàn (知 zhī) 篆 zhuàn 傳 zhuàn (澄 chéng)

(Continued)

Table 4.10 (Continued)

		[tʰ]	川(chuān)穿(chuān)(昌chāng) 傳(chuán)椽(chuán)(澄chéng) 船(chuán)(船chuán) 喘(chuǎn)舛(chuǎn)(昌chāng) 釧(chuàn)穿(chuān)串(chuàn<kwan) (昌chāng)
		[ʒ]	軟(ruǎn)(日rì)
		[ts]	鑄(jiān)(精jīng), 吮(shǔn)(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	痊(quán)詮(quán)筌(quán)銓(quán)痊(quán)荃(quán) 全(quán)(清jīng) 駿(juān)(精jīng) 全(quán)泉(quán)(從cóng)
		[s]	宣(xuān)揅(xuān)瑄(xuān)(心xīn) 旋(xuán)還(huán)璇(xuán)(邪xié) 選(xuǎn)(心xīn) 選(xuǎn)(心xīn) 旋(xuán)漩(xuán)辮(xuàn)(邪xié)
		[k]	娟(juān)(見jiàn) ⁸ 卷(juǎn)捲(juǎn)(見jiàn) 眷(juàn)絹(juàn)狷(juàn)(見jiàn) 倦(juàn)(群qún)
		[kʰ]	圈(quān)(溪) 拳(quán)顛(quán)權(quán)鬚(quán)(群qún)
		[ø]	圓(yuán)員(yuán)園(yuán)源(yuán)(云yún) 捐(juān)鉛(qiān)鸞(yuān)(以yǐ) 院(yuán)援(yuán)(匣xiá)
仙(xiān) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛn]→[iuɛn]:	[l]	聯(lián)(來lái) ⁹
元(yuán) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iɤn]→[iuɛn]:	[k]	圈(quān)(群qún) 繕(quān)(溪xī)
		[kʰ]	勸(quàn)券(quàn)(溪xī)
		[x]	喧(xuān)暄(xuān)萱(xuān)煊(xuān)瑄(xuān)(曉xiǎo) 韃(xuàn)(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	兗(yǎn)宛(wǎn)鶻(yuān)鴛(yuān)蜿(wān)(影yǐng) 元(yuán)鼃(yuán)原(yuán)蠓(yuán)源(yuán)(疑yí) 園(yuán)袁(yuán)猿(yuán)轅(yuán)垣(yuán)援(yuán) án(匣xiá) 阮(ruǎn)(疑yí) 遠(yuǎn)(云yún) 苑(yuàn)畹(wǎn)(影yǐng) 愿(yuàn)願(yuàn)(疑yí) 遠(yuǎn)(匣xiá) 怨(yuàn)(影yǐng)
先(xiān) (Rounded-mouth IV)	[iɤn]→[iuɛn]:	[k]	涓(juān)鵑(juān)蠲(juān)(見jiàn) 冓(juàn)(見jiàn)
		[x]	玄(xuán)(匣xiá) 眩(xuàn)(匣xiá) 絢(xuàn)(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	淵(yuān)(影yǐng)

4.6 侵尋(qīnxún) [ə̃m] and [iə̃m]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 侵尋 (qīnxún) final group contains [ə̃m] and [iə̃m], from 侵 (qīn) final of *Guāngyùn*.

4.6.1 [ə̃m] from characters in the 莊(zhuāng) (照[zhào]-II) initial group of 侵(qīn) final in *Guāngyùn*

Table 4.11 Final [ə̃m] in 侵尋(qīnxún) group

侵 (qīn) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iə̃m]→[ə̃m]:	[tʃ]	簪 zān(莊 zhuāng) 鯪 (qīn)(從 cóng) ¹⁰ 譚 zèn(莊 zhuāng)
		[tʃ̃]	岑 cén 涔 cén 鸞 cén 鵲 (chén)(崇 chóng) 鎮 chèn(徹 chè) ¹¹ 疹 chěn 疹 chěn(初 chū) 疹 (shèn)(生 shēng) 識 chèn(初)
		[ʃ]	森 sēn 摻 (chān) 參 cān(生 shēng) 滲 shèn 穉 shèn(生 shēng)

4.6.2 [iə̃m] from unrounded-mouth III characters in 侵(qīn) final except those in the 莊(zhuāng) (照[zhào] II) initial group in *Guāngyùn*

Table 4.12 Final [iə̃m] in 侵尋(qīnxún) group

侵 (qīn) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iə̃m]→[iə̃m]:	[n]	您 (nín) 質 lín(泥 ní)
		[l]	林 lín 淋 lín 琳 lín 淋 lín 淋 (lín) 臨 (lín) 淋 lín 淋 (來 lái) 廩 (lǐn) 懔 lín 凜 lín(來 lái) 臨 lín 淋 lín(來 lái)
		[tʃ]	砧 (zhēn) 榘 zhēn(知 zhī) 針 (zhēn) 斟 zhēn 箴 zhēn 城 (jiǎn) 鱗 (zhēn)(章 zhāng) 枕 zhěn(章 zhāng) 朕 zhèn 沈 (shěn) 鳩 zhèn(澄 chéng) 枕 zhěn(章 zhāng)
		[tʃ̃]	琛 (chēn) 琛 chēn 郴 chēn(徹 chè) 沉 chén 霏 chén 鈇 chén 湛 zhàn(澄 chéng)
		[ʃ]	深 shēn 蓀 shēn(書 shū) 唵 (shěn)(書 shū) 忱 (chén) 懃 chén(禪) 審 shěn 嬾 shěn 沈 shěn 暉 shěn(書 shū) 甚 shèn(禪 chán) 緝 (shèn)(船)
		[ʒ]	壬 (rén) 任 rèn 衽 (rèn) 鴛 (rén)(日 rì) 稔 (rěn) 飪 (rèn) 衽 rèn 荏 (rèn)(日 rì) 任 rèn 衽 rèn 緝 (rèn) 妊 rèn(日 rì)

(Continued)

Table 4.12 (Continued)

	[ts]	鍍(qǐn) 稷(jīng) 浸(jìn) 鬣(qīn)(清qīng) 浸jìn 稷jìn(精jīng)
	[tsʰ]	侵(qīn)(清qīng) 寢(qǐn)(清qīng)
	[s]	心xīn 忪xīn(心xīn) 尋xún 澗xún 鱈xún 鐸(xín) 燭(xún) 鬻(zèng)(邪xié) 沁(qìn)(清qīng) ¹² 忖(xǐn)(心xīn)
	[k]	金jīn 今jīn 衿jīn 襟jīn 禁jīn(見jiàn) 錦jīn(見jiàn) 噤(jìn)(群) 禁jìn(見jiàn) 噤jìn 襟jīn 衿jīn(群qún)
	[kʰ]	欽(qīn) 衾qīn 欽qīn(溪xī) 琴qín 琴qín 禽qín 擒qín 檣qín 噤qín(群qún)
	[x]	歆(xīn)(曉xiǎo)
	[ø]	音yīn 窳(yùn) 陰yīn 喑yīn(影yǐng) 吟yín 壺yín(疑yí) 淫yín 媵yín 霪yín 蟬yín(以yǐ) 飲(yǐn)(影yǐng) 蔭yīn 窳yùn 飲(yìn)(影yǐng) 恁nèn(日rì)

4.7 監咸(jiānxián) [am] and [iam]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, 監咸(jiānxián) contains [am] and [iam], respectively, from 覃(qín), 談(tán), 咸(xián), and 銜(xián) finals in *Guǎngyùn*.

4.7.1 [am] from 覃(qín) and 談(tán) finals as well as characters in the 知(zhī) and 莊(zhuāng) (照/zhào-II) initial groups of 咸(xián) and 銜(xián) finals in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 4.13 Final [am] in 監咸(jiānxián) group

覃 (qín) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[ɔm]→[am]:	[t]	耽(dān) 湛 zhàn 酖(dān) 耽 dān(端 duān)
		[tʰ]	貪 tān 探 tàn(透 tòu) 覃 tán 潭 tán 譚 tán 燂 tán 潭 tán 曇 tán(定 dìng) 禫(dàn) 倓 菡 簪(定 dìng) 探 tàn(透 tòu)
		[n]	南(nán) 楠 nán 男 nán(泥 ní) 膾(nǎn)(泥 ní)
		[l]	婪 lán 燂 lán 嵐 lán(來 lái)

			[ts]	簪 zān 簦 zān 憾 zān 鐸 (精 jīng) 嗒 (zán) (精 jīng) ¹³ 咎 (zǎn) (精 jīng) 馱 (zhuó) (從 cóng) 搯 (zǎn) (精 jīng) 蔘 (shēn) (心 xīn) ¹⁴
			[tsʰ]	參 cān 驂 cān (清 qīng) 蠶 cán (從) 慘 (cǎn) 黻 cǎn (清 qīng) 慘 cǎn (清 qīng)
			[s]	參 (sān) (心 xīn) 參 (sēn) (心 xīn)
			[k]	感 (gǎn) 鱧 gǎn 憾 gǎn ¹⁵ (見 jiàn) 贛 (gàn) 淦 gàn 紺 gàn (見 jiàn)
			[kʰ]	堪 (kān) 龕 kān 戡 kān (溪 xī) 弁 (yǎn) (見 jiàn) 坎 (kǎn) (溪 xī) 勘 (kān) 礪 (kàn) (溪 xī)
			[x]	含 hán 涵 hán (匣 xiá) 撼 hàn 頰 hàn 憾 hàn 琺 (hán) 荅 (hàn) 哈 (hán) (匣 xiá)
			[ø]	庵 (ān) 菴 ān 鸛 ān 醜 ān 唵 (ǎn) 諳 (ān) (影 yǐng) 揞 (ǎn) 醜 ān 唵 àn (影 yǐng) 暗 (àn < ʋm) 闇 àn (影 yǐng)
談 (tán) (Unrounded- mouth I)	[am]→[am]:	[t]	擔 dān 儋 dān (端 duān) 聃 dān (透 tòu) 膽 dǎn 膽 dǎn 攪 dǎn (端 duān) 擔 dān (端 duān) 淡 dàn 啖 dàn 憺 dàn (定 dìng)	
		[tʰ]	談 tán 銛 tán 痰 tán (定 dìng) 毯 (tǎn) (透 tòu)	
		[l]	藍 lán 籃 lán 爛 (làn) (來 lái) 覽 (lǎn) 攬 lǎn 攬 lǎn 攬 lǎn (來 lái) 濫 làn 醜 làn 纜 (lǎn) (來 lái)	
		[ts]	暫 zàn 鑿 zàn (從 cóng)	
		[tsʰ]	漸 jiàn (從 cóng)	
		[s]	三 sān 鬘 sān (心 xīn) 三 sān (心 xīn)	
		[k]	甘 gān 柑 gān 疳 gān ¹⁶ 泔 gān (見 jiàn) 敢 gǎn (見 jiàn)	
		[x]	憨 hān (曉 xiǎo) 酣 hān (匣 xiá) 邯 hán (匣 xiá) 喊 (hǎn) (曉 xiǎo)	
咸 (xián) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[em]→[am]:	[t]	訖 (zhān) (知 zhī) 斬 zhǎn (莊 zhuāng) 站 zhàn (知 zhī) 蘸 zhàn (莊 zhuāng) 湛 zhàn 賺 zhuàn (澄 chéng)	
		[tʰ]	讒 chán 饑 chán (崇 chóng)	

(Continued)

Table 4.12 (Continued)

		[ʃ]	杉shān(生shēng)
		[x]	獫(xiàn)(匣xiá)
銜(xián)	[am]→[am]:	[tʃ̥]	攙(chān)(初chū)
(Unrounded-			鑣(chán)𪔐chán𪔐chán(初chū)
mouth II)			懺(chàn)(初chū)
		[ʃ]	衫shān(生shēng)

4.7.2 [iam] from velars and laryngeals in 咸(xián) and 銜(xián) finals as well as some velars and laryngeals in 談(tán) and 鹽(jiān) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.14 Final [iam] in 監咸(jiānxián) group

談(tán)	[am]→[iam]:	[kʰ]	瞰(kàn)闕kàn(溪xī)
(Unrounded-mouth I)			
咸(xián)	[ɐm]→[iam]:	[k]	緘(jiān)(見jiàn)
(Unrounded-mouth II)			械jiān(匣xiá)
			減jiǎn𪔐jiǎn(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	鵠(qiān)(溪xī)
		[x]	咸xián𪔐xián𪔐xián(匣xiá)
			陷xiàn(匣xiá)
		[ø]	黯(àn)(影yǐng)
銜(xián)	[am]→[iam]:	[k]	監jiān(見jiàn)
(Unrounded-mouth II)			鑿(jiàn)監jiān(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	嵌qiàn(溪xī)
		[x]	銜xián(匣xiá)
			輾(jiàn)檻jiàn𪔐jiàn(匣xiá)
		[ø]	巖(yán)岩yán(疑yí)
鹽(jiān)	[iɛm]→[iam]:	[ø]	渰(yān)(影yǐng)
(Unrounded-mouth III)			俺ǎn(影yǐng)
			渰yǎn(影yǐng)

4.8 廉纖(liánjiǎn) [iɛm]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the final of 廉纖(liánjiǎn) is [iɛm], from 鹽(jiān), 巖(yán), and 添(tiān) finals in *Guǎngyùn* with a few from the falling–rising–tone characters of the 咸(xián) final.

Table 4.15 Final [iɛm] in 廉纖(liánjiǎn) group

咸(xián)	[ɐm]→[iɛm]:	[l]	臉liǎn(來lái)
(falling–rising tone; Unrounded-mouth I)			
鹽(jiān)	[iɛm]→[iɛm]:	[n]	黏(nián)(泥)
(Unrounded-mouth III)			

		[l]	廉lián簾lián奩lián帘lián(來lái) 斂(liǎn)(來lái) 激(liàn)斂liàn殮liàn(來lái)
		[tʃ]	沾zhān霑zhān(知zhī) 粘zhān(泥ní) ¹⁷ 瞻zhān詹zhān占zhān(章zhāng)
		[tʃ̃]	覘chān(徹chè) 檐(chān)簷(chàn)(昌chāng) 蟾(chān)(昌chāng) ¹⁸ 蟾chán(禪chán) 諂chǎn(徹chè) 韃chàn(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	苫(shān)(書shū) 閃(shǎn)陝shǎn(書shū) 苫shān(書shū) 贖shàn(禪chán)
		[ʒ]	髻rán(日rì) 染rǎn苒rǎn冉rǎn(日rì) 染rǎn(日rì)
		[ts]	尖jiān漸jiān殓jiān(精jīng) 漸jiàn(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	僉(qiān)槩(qiàn)簽qiān(清qīng) 潛qián(從cóng) 塹qiàn 嬖qiàn(清qīng)
		[s]	織xiān銛(xiān)儉xiān暹(心xīn) 嬰(qiàn)(精jīng) 燭xún(邪xié) 擗xián(禪chán)
		[k]	檢(jiǎn)(見jiàn) 臉liǎn(見jiàn) ¹⁹ 儉jiǎn(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	鈐qián鉗qián黔qián(群qún) 芟(qiàn)(群qún)
		[x]	險xiǎn諛xiǎn(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	淹yān稽(yàn)闞(yān)馱(yàn)懈 (影yǐng) 鹽yán閻(yán)簷yán(以yǐ) 掩yǎn魘(yǎn)屨yǎn奄yǎn暍yǎn崦 (yān)(影yǐng) 琰(yǎn)剡yǎn(以yǐ) 驗yàn(疑) 豔yàn灑yàn焯yàn(以yǐ) 厭yàn驥yàn(影yǐng)
嚴(yán) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛm]→[iɛm]:	[k]	劍(jiàn)(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	欠qiàn(溪xī)
		[x]	杌(xiān)(曉xiǎo)

(Continued)

Table 4.15 (Continued)

		[ø]	腌(yān)醃yān(影yǐng) 嚴yán(疑yí) 掩(ǎn)(影yǐng) 醃(yàn)(疑yí)
添(tiān) (Unrounded-mouth IV)	[iɛm]→[iɛm]:	[t]	掂(diān)(端duān) 點(diǎn)(端duān) 玷(diàn)店diàn墊diàn(端duān) 戥(diàng)(定dìng) ²⁰
		[tʰ]	添(tiān)(透tòu) 甜(tián)(恬tián)(定dìng) 忝(tiǎn)(透tòu)
		[n]	鮎(nián)拈niān(泥ní) 念(miàn)(泥ní)
		[ts]	僭(jiàn)(精jīng)
		[k]	兼(jiān)緜jiān鸚jiān鱗jiān(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	謙(qiān)(溪xī) 歉(qiàn)(溪xī)
		[x]	嫌(qiàn)(匣xiá)
先(xiān) (Unrounded-mouth IV)	[iɛn]→[iɛm]:	[tsʰ]	茜(qiàn)(清qīng)

The characters of the 凡(fán) final in *Guǎngyùn* had been transformed into the 寒山(hán shān) group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, and “品”(pǐn) of 侵(qīn) final into the 真文(zhēn wén) group. The transformation of [-m] into [-n] had already started in some dialects of the Tang dynasty. For example, in *Making a Mock of My Wife's Improper Accent* (《戲妻族語不正Xi Qī Zū Yǔ Bù Zhèng》) (volume 32 of the *Complete Collection of Tang Poetry*, 《全唐詩QuánTáng Shī》卷三十二 Juàn Sān Shí èr), Hu Zeng胡曾 of the Tang dynasty writes as follows,

呼十(shí<ʂi)却爲石, 喚針(zhēn<tʂiɛm)將作真。
 △ △ △ △
 忽然雲雨至, 總道是天因(yīn<iɛn).²¹
 △

Here, “針”(zhēn) is pronounced as “真”(zhēn), and “天陰tiān yīn”(cloudy) as “天因”(tiān(yīn), which means that the tail vowel [-m] had been turned into [-n]. However, [-m] was clearly maintained in the whole phonetic system of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Contrary to that, the tail vowel of “茜(qiàn<tsʰiɛm)” had evolved from [-n] to [-m].

4.9 江陽(jiāngyáng) [aŋ], [uaŋ], and [iaŋ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, 江陽(jiāngyáng) final contains [aŋ], [uaŋ], and [iaŋ], which is, respectively, from the江(jiāng),

陽(yáng), and 唐(táng) finals in *Guǎngyùn*, with the level-tone, falling–rising-tone, and falling tone characters all included. Characters of the 江(jiāng) final group all belonged to the 東dōng group in Old Chinese. Their final became [ɔŋ] in Middle Chinese. In *Guǎngyùn*, it ranks last after the 東dōng, 冬dōng, and 鐘zhōng groups, which are far different from the 陽(yáng) and 唐(táng) finals. However, the mixed usage of 江jiāng and 陽(yáng) was revealed in fǎnqiè of the Tang dynasty. For instance, “三月生天棊(bàng<puan)” (Three months later appears the constellation of Tiānbàng) in *Constellations of The Grand Scribe’s Records* (《史記·天官書Shǐ Jì·Tiān Guān Shū》) is noted by Zhang Shoujie張守節 in *Proper Comprehension of The Grand Scribe’s Records* (《史記正義Shǐ Jì Zhèng Yì》) that 棊bàng is 蒲pú講jiǎng fān, belonging to the 講jiǎng final. Meanwhile, “右五星曰天棊” (The five stars in the front right are called Tiānbàng) is noted as 厖(máng<man)掌(zhǎng<tɕian) fān in the same source, belonging to unrounded-mouth of the 養 final. Since both “棊bàng” have the same meaning, it is only natural for them to share the same pronunciation. In modern times, the main vowels of the 江(jiāng) final group opened larger, resulting in its combination with both the 陽(yáng) and 唐(táng) finals.

4.9.1 [aŋ] from the 唐(táng) and 江(jiāng) finals in *Guǎngyùn* with unrounded-mouth characters of 莊zhuāng(照zhào-II) and rounded-mouth labials in the 陽(yáng) final

Table 4.16 Final [aŋ] in 江陽(jiāngyáng) group

唐(táng) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[aŋ]→[aŋ]:	[p]	幫bāng(幫bāng) 榜(bǎng)(幫bāng) 擲(bàng)(滂pāng) ²² 謗(bàng<paŋ)(幫bāng) 傍bàng(並bìng)
		[p’]	滂pāng鏘bàng霧(pāng)(滂pāng) 旁(páng)傍bàng 房fāng(並bìng)
		[m]	忙máng茫máng邙máng芒máng (明míng) 蟒(mǎng)莽mǎng滂mǎng(明míng)
		[t]	當dāng璫dāng簫dāng擋dāng牆dāng (端duān) 黨dǎng讜dǎng(端duān) 當dāng擋dǎng(端duān) 蕩(dàng)宕dàng礪dàng(定dìng)
		[t’]	湯tāng鏜tāng(透tòu) 唐táng搪táng塘táng糖táng堂táng棠táng (定dìng) 倘(tǎng)帑tǎng(透tòu) 湯tāng盪dàng(透tòu)
		[n]	囊náng(泥ní)

(Continued)

Table 4.16 (Continued)

		[l]	郎láng廊láng榔láng螂láng糧láng浪 (làng)琅(láng)狼láng(來lái) 朗(lǎng)(來lái) 浪làng閻làng(來lái)
		[ts]	臧(zāng)臟zāng(精jīng) 髒zāng(精jīng) 葬zàng(精jīng) 藏zàng(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	倉cāng蒼cāng(清qīng) 藏cáng(從cóng)
		[s]	桑(sāng)喪sāng(心xīn) 頽(sǎng)穰sǎng噪sǎng(心xīn) 喪(sàng)(心xīn)
		[k]	岡(gāng)剛gāng鋼gāng網wǎng 亢 (kàng)(見jiàn) 鋼(gāng)(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	康kāng糠kāng(溪xī) 炕(kàng)亢kàng抗kàng(溪xī)
		[x]	杭háng行háng頰háng航háng(匣xiá) 沆(hàng)(匣xiá) 行háng(匣xiá)
		[ŋ]	昂áng 𠵼áng(疑yí)
		[ø]	盎àng(影yǐng)
江(jiāng) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɔŋ]→[aŋ]:	[p]	邦bāng梆bāng幫bāng 蚌bàng棒bàng(並bìng)
		[pʰ]	龐páng逢páng(並bìng) 胖pàng(滂pāng)
		[m]	龐máng 𧈧máng 龍máng(明míng)
		[tʃ]	椿zhuāng(知zhī) 撞zhuàng(澄chéng)
		[tʃʰ]	悤chuāng(初chū) 幢(chuáng)撞zhuàng(澄chéng)
		[ʃ]	雙shuāng艘shuāng(生shēng)
		[tʂ]	戇(zhuàng)(知zhī)
		[k]	扛(káng)玕(hóng)(見jiàn) 缸(gāng)(匣xiá) ²³
陽(yáng) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɑŋ]→[aŋ]:	[tʃ]	莊zhuāng粧zhuāng裝zhuāng (莊zhuāng) 壯zhuàng(莊zhuāng) 狀zhuàng(崇chóng)
		[tʃʰ]	瘡chuāng(初chū) 牀(chuáng)(崇chóng) 創chuàng 𦘒chuàng(初chū)
		[ʃ]	霜shuāng孀shuāng驕shuāng鶻 shuāng(生shēng) 爽shuǎng溲shuǎng(生shēng)
		[tʂʰ]	愴(chuàng)(初chū)

陽 (yáng) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwaŋ]→[aŋ]:	[m]	鎡(máng)(微wēi)
		[f]	方 fāng 坊 fāng 枋 fāng 肪(fāng)(非fēi) 芳 fāng(敷) 房 fāng 防 fāng(奉 fèng) 倣(fāng)放 fàng 昉(fāng)訪 fǎng 舫 fāng (非fēi) 放 fàng(非fēi) 訪 fǎng(敷)
		[v]	亡(wáng)忘 wàng(微wēi) 罔(wǎng)網 wǎng 鞴 wǎng(微wēi) 望 wàng 忘 wàng 妄 wàng(微wēi)

4.9.2 [uaŋ] from rounded-mouth velars and laryngeals of the 陽(yáng) and 唐(táng) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.17 Final [uaŋ] in 江陽(jiāngyáng) group

唐 (táng) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uaŋ]→[uaŋ]:	[k]	光 guāng 胱 guāng(見 jiàn) 廣(guǎng)(見 jiàn)
		[kʰ]	曠(kuàng)壙 kuàng 續 kuàng(溪 xī)
		[x]	荒 huāng 樛 huāng 育 huāng(曉 xiǎo) 黃 huáng 潢 huáng 簧 huáng 皇 huáng 蝗 huán g 篁 huáng 凰 huáng 惶 huáng 惶 huáng 遑 huá ng 隍 huáng 鯨 huáng(匣 xiá) 恍(huǎng)(見 jiàn) 謊 huǎng(曉 xiǎo) 晃 huǎng 幌 huǎng(匣 xiá)
		[ø]	汪 wāng 尙 wāng(影 yǐng)
陽 (yáng) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwaŋ]→[uaŋ]:	[k]	誑(kuàng)(群 qún)
		[kʰ]	匡 kuāng 筐 kuāng 眶(kuàng)(溪 xī) 狂 kuáng(群 qún)
		[x]	況(kuàng)貺 kuàng(曉 xiǎo)
		[ø]	王 wáng(云 yún) 枉(wǎng)(影 yǐng) 往 wǎng(云 yún) 旺 wàng 王 wàng(云 yún)

4.9.3 [iaŋ] from unrounded-mouth characters of the 陽(yáng) final as well as unrounded-mouth velars and laryngeals of the 江(jiāng) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 4.18 Final [iaŋ] in 江陽(jiāngyáng) group

江(jiāng) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[oŋ]→[iaŋ]:	[k]	江 jiāng 杠(gāng)缸 gāng(見 jiàn) 講 jiǎng 港(jiāng)(見 jiàn) 絳(jiàng)降 jiàng 滄 jiàng 虹(hóng)(見 jiàn)
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(Continued)

Table 4.18 (Continued)

		[k ^ˈ]	腔(qiāng) 腔(hōng)(溪xī)
		[x]	降(xiáng)(匣xiá) 項(xiàng) 巷(xiàng)(匣xiá)
陽(yáng) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[ĩaŋ]→[iaŋ]:	[n]	娘(niáng)(泥) 釀(niàng)(泥)
		[l]	良(liáng) 糧(liáng) 涼(liáng) 諒(liáng) 梁(liáng) 梁liáng 量(liáng) 來(lái) 兩(liǎng) 魍(liǎng) 來(lái) 亮(liàng) 諒(liàng) 量(liàng) 輛(liǎng) 輛(liàng) (來lái)
		[tʃ]	張(zhāng)(知zhī) 章(zhāng) 漳(zhāng) 漳(zhāng) 樟(zhāng) 漳(zhāng) 彰(zhāng) 漳(zhāng)(章zhāng) 長(zhǎng)(知zhī) 掌(zhǎng)(章zhāng) 帳(zhàng) 脹(zhàng) 漲(zhàng)(知zhī) 丈(zhàng) 杖(zhàng)(澄chéng) 障(zhàng) 漳(zhàng) 漳(zhàng)(章zhāng)
		[tʃ̣]	昌(chāng) 猖(chāng) 娼(chāng) 菖(chāng) 闖(chāng) (昌chāng) 長(cháng) 絳(cháng) 腸(cháng) 場(cháng) (澄chéng) 常(cháng) 裳(cháng) 嘗(cháng) 償(cháng)(禪chán) 昶(chǎng)(微wēi) 敞(chǎng) 擘(chǎng)(昌chāng) 暢(chàng) 悵(chàng) 鬯(chàng)(徹chè) 唱(chàng) 倡(chàng)(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	商(shāng) 傷(shāng) 殤(shāng) 觴(shāng) 湯(shāng) (書shū) 賞(shǎng)(書shū) 餉(shǎng)(書shū) 上(shàng) 尚(shàng)(禪chán)
		[ts]	將(jiāng) 漿(jiāng) 漿(jiāng) 精(jīng) 蔣(jiǎng) 漿(jiǎng) 漿(jiǎng) 精(jīng) 將(jiàng) 醬(jiàng)(精jīng) 匠(jiàng)(從cóng)
		[ts ^ˈ]	搶(qiāng) 鏘(qiāng)(清qīng) 牆(qiáng) 牆(qiáng) 牆(qiáng) 戕(qiāng)(從cóng) 搶(qiāng)(清qīng)
		[s]	相(xiāng) 湘(xiāng) 廂(xiāng) 箱(xiāng) 襄(xiāng) 驥(xiāng) (心xīn) 詳(xiáng) 祥(xiáng) 翔(xiáng) 邪(xié) 想(xiǎng) 薰(xiǎng)(心xīn) 相(xiàng)(心xīn) 象(xiàng) 像(xiàng)(邪xié)
		[k]	姜(jiāng) 薑(jiāng) 疆(jiāng) 薑(jiāng) 疆(jiāng) 僵(jiāng) iāng(見jiàn) 鏘(qiāng)(見jiàn) 強(qiáng)(疆qiáng)(見jiàn)

[kʰ]	羌(qiāng)虻(qiāng)(溪xī) 强(qiáng)(群qún) 强(qiǎng)(群qún)
[ŋ]	仰(áng)(疑yí) 仰yǎng(疑yí)
[x]	香xiāng鄉xiāng(曉xiǎo) 響xiǎng蟹xiàng享xiǎng饗xiǎng(曉xiǎo) 向xiàng(曉xiǎo)
[ø]	央yāng鸞yāng殃yāng秧yāng泐yāng(影ǐng) 陽yáng揚yáng楊yáng陽yáng易yáng颺yán g羊yáng佯yáng洋yáng(以yǐ) 養yǎng癢yǎng(以yǐ) 秧(yāng)(影ǐng) 漾yàng漾yàng湯yàng養yàng樣yàng漾yàng g恙yàng(以yǐ) 快(yàng)缺(yǎng)(影ǐng)

4.10 東鐘(dōngzhōng) [uŋ] and [iuŋ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 東鐘(dōngzhōng) final contains [uŋ] and [iuŋ], which is taken, respectively, from the 東(dōng), 冬(dōng), and 鐘(zhōng) finals in *Guǎngyùn*, with a few characters from the 庚(gēng), 耕(gēng), and 登(dēng) finals.

4.10.1 [uŋ] from the 東(dōng)-I and 冬(dōng)-I finals, labials, velars, and laryngeals of the 鐘(zhōng) final and the 東(dōng)-III final, as well as labials and velars of the 庚(gēng), 耕, and 登(dēng) finals in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 4.19 Final [uŋ] in 東鐘(dōngzhōng) group

東(dōng) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uŋ]→[uŋ]:	[pʰ]	蓬péng篷péng芃péng鬢péng(並bìng)
		[m]	蒙(méng)濛méng朦méng矇(mēng)(明míng) 蠓(měng)懵měng(明míng) 夢mèng(明míng)
		[t]	東dōng(端duān) 董dǒng懂dǒng(端duān) 竦(dōng)棟(dòng)凍dòng(端duān) 動dòng洞dòng(定dìng)
		[tʰ]	通tōng通tōng(透tòu) 同tóng筒tǒng 桐tóng銅tóng童tóng僮tóng 瞳tóng瞳tóng腫tóng潼tóng(定dìng) 桶tǒng(透tòu) 痛tòng(透tòu) 慟tòng(定dìng)

(Continued)

Table 4.19 (Continued)

		[n]	農nóng儂nóng膿nóng(泥ní)
		[l]	籠lóng隴lóng隴lóng權lóng隴lóng隴lóng隴lóng óng聾lóng隴lóng(來lái) 簣(lǒng)(見jiàn) ²⁴ 攏lǒng(來lái) 弄(lòng)哢lòng隴(lóng)(來lái)
		[ts]	稜(zōng)駿zōng(精jīng) 總(zǒng)(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	匆(cōng)蔥cōng聰cōng驄cōng凶cōng(清qīng) 叢cóng(從cóng)
		[s]	惚(sōng)(清qīng) 送sòng(心xīn)
		[k]	工gōng功gōng攻gōng公gōng蚣gōng(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	空kōng控kōng(溪xī) 孔kǒng(溪xī) 控(kòng)空kòng鞞kòng(溪xī)
		[x]	烘(hōng)哄hōng(曉xiǎo) 紅hóng哄hóng虹hóng洪hóng鴻hóng(匣xiá) 噴(gǒng)(曉xiǎo)汞gǒng(匣xiá) 哄hòng關hòng(匣xiá)
		[ø]	翁wēng翁wēng(影yǐng) 甕(wèng)甕wèng韃 ²⁵ (yōng)(影yǐng)
冬(dōng) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uəŋ]→[uŋ]:	[t]	冬dōng(端duān)
		[tʰ]	鞏dōng(透tòu) 統(tǒng)(透tòu)
		[n]	膿(nóng)(泥ní)
		[ts]	宗zōng(精jīng) 綜zōng(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	琮(cóng)(從cóng)
		[s]	松sōng(心xīn) 宋(sòng)(心xīn)
登(dēng) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[əŋ]→[uŋ]:	[p]	崩bēng(幫bāng)
		[pʰ]	鵬péng(並bìng)
		[m]	瞢(méng)(明míng)
登(dēng) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uəŋ]→[uŋ]:	[k]	肱gōng(見jiàn)
		[x]	藹hōng(曉xiǎo) 弘(hóng)(匣xiá)
庚(gēng) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[eŋ]→[uŋ]:	[pʰ]	烹pēng(滂pāng) 彭péng(並bìng)

		[m]	盲(máng)(明míng) 猛měng魘měng魘měng(明míng) 孟(mèng)(明míng)
庚(gēng) (Rounded- mouth II)	[wɛŋ]→[uŋ]:	[k]	觥gōng(見jiàn)
		[x]	橫héng(匣xiá) 橫hèng(世shì)
耕(gēng) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[æŋ]→[uŋ]:	[p]	繡(bēng)(幫bāng) 迸bèng(幫bāng)
		[pʰ]	棚péng(並bìng)
耕(gēng) (Rounded- mouth II)	[wæŋ]→[uŋ]:	[m]	甍(méng)萌méng(明míng)
		[x]	轟hōng(曉xiǎo) 宏hóng絃hóng嶸(róng)(匣xiá)
東(dōng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iʉŋ]→[uŋ]:	[ø]	泓hóng(影yǐng)
		[f]	風fēng楓fēng(非fēi) 豐fēng(敷fū) 馮fēng(奉fèng) 諷fēng(非fēi) 鳳fèng(奉fèng)
鐘(zhōng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iwoŋ]→[uŋ]:	[k]	弓gōng躬gōng宮gōng(見jiàn)
		[f]	封fēng葑fēng(非fēi) 峯fēng鋒fēng峰fēng丰fēng蜂fēng(敷fū) 逢féng縫féng(奉fèng) 啐(fèng)(奉fèng) 奉fèng縫féng(奉fèng)
		[k]	恭(gōng)龔gōng供gōng(見jiàn) 拱(gǒng)鞏gǒng供gòng(見jiàn) 供(gòng)(見jiàn) 共gòng(群qún)
		[kʰ]	恐kǒng(溪xī)
		[ø]	雍(yōng)癘yōng黷yōng(影yǐng)

**4.10.2 [iʉŋ] from the 東(dōng)-III and 鐘(zhōng) finals in
Guāngyùn with a few rounded-mouth characters from
the 庚(gēng), 清(qīng), and 青(qīng) finals**

Table 4.20 Final [iʉŋ] in 東鐘(dōngzhōng) group

東(dōng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iʉŋ]→[iʉŋ]:	[l]	隆lóng癘lóng隆lóng(來lái)
		[t]	中zhōng衷zhōng忠zhōng(知zhī) 終zhōng(章zhāng) 中(zhòng)(知zhī) 仲zhòng(澄chéng) 衆zhòng(章zhāng)

(Continued)

Table 4.20 (Continued)

		[tʰ]	忡chōng(澄chéng) 充chōng(昌chāng) 蟲chóng(澄chéng) 崇chóng(崇chóng) 銃(chòng)(昌chāng)
		[ʒ]	戎róng(日rì)
		[ts]	粽(zòng)(精jīng) ²⁶
		[s]	嵩(sōng)(心xīn)
		[kʰ]	穹(qióng)芎(xiōng)(溪xī) 窮qióng(群qún)
		[x]	熊xióng(匣xiá)
		[ø]	融róng(以yǐ)
鐘(zhōng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iwoŋ]→[iuŋ]:	[n]	濃(nóng)醴nóng(泥ní)
		[l]	龍lóng(來lái) 隴(lǒng)壟lǒng(來lái)
		[tʃ]	鍾zhōng(章zhāng) 塚(zhǒng)(知zhī) 腫zhǒng(章zhāng) 重zhòng(澄chéng) 種zhǒng(章zhāng)
		[tʃʰ]	沖chōng(昌chāng) 舂chōng(書shū) 重zhòng(澄chéng) 慵yōng(禪chán) 寵(chǒng)(徹chè)
		[ʒ]	茸rōng(日rì) 冗rǒng(日rì)
		[ts]	縱zòng(從cóng) 縱zòng(精jīng) 從cóng(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	從cóng(從cóng)
		[s]	松sōng(邪xié) 聳(sǒng)竦sǒng(心xīn) 訟sòng(邪xié)
		[kʰ]	叩(qióng)蛩qióng(群qún)
		[x]	凶(xiōng)兇xiōng(曉xiǎo) 洵xiū(晚wǎn)
		[ø]	邕(yōng)甞yōng(影yǐng) 容róng(影yǐng)蓉róng(影yǐng)榕róng(影yǐng) 甬yǒng(以yǐ) 勇yǒng(以yǐ) 擁(yōng)(影yǐng) 用(yòng)(以yǐ)

庚 (gēng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iweŋ]→[iuŋ]:	[x] [ø]	兄 xiōng(曉 xiǎo) 榮 róng(云 yún) 永 yǒng(云 yún) 詠 yǒng(云 yún)
清 (qīng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iweŋ]→[iuŋ]:	[kʰ]	傾 (qīng)(溪 xī)
青 (qīng) (Rounded- mouth IV)	[iweŋ]→[iuŋ]:		瑩 (yíng)(影 yǐng)

Before the Song dynasty, there used to be clear boundaries between the 通(tōng) final group and those of 梗(gěng) and 曾(zēng), and under no circumstances were they to be mixed up in usage. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 通(tōng) group turned into 東鐘(dōng zhōng), with the 梗(gěng) and 曾(zēng) groups evolving into 庚青(gēngqīng), respectively, forming two separated final groups. However, in *Guǎngyùn*, a few characters in the 梗(gěng) and 曾(zēng) groups were classified into the 東鐘(dōng zhōng) final group. As a result, they may appear in both the 東鐘(dōng zhōng) and the 庚青(gēngqīng) groups in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

4.11 庚青 (gēngqīng) [əŋ], [uəŋ], [iəŋ], and [iuəŋ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 庚青(gēngqīng) final contains [əŋ], [uəŋ], [iəŋ], and [iuəŋ], respectively, from the level-tone, falling-rising-tone, and falling tone characters of 庚(gēng), 耕(gēng), 清(qīng), 青(qīng), 蒸(zhēng), and 登(dēng) finals in *Guǎngyùn*. The 梗(gěng) and 曾(zēng) groups used to have clear-cut boundaries when used in the Tang poems but gradually became mixed in usage after the Song dynasty right up until their combination into one in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

4.11.1 [əŋ] from unrounded-mouth characters in 登(dēng), 庚(gēng), and 耕(gēng) finals in *Guǎngyùn* with a few from 冬(dōng) final

Table 4.21 Final [əŋ] in 庚青(gēngqīng) group

登 (dēng) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[əŋ]→[əŋ]:	[p]	崩 bēng(幫 bāng)
		[pʰ]	朋 péng 鵬 péng(並 bìng)
		[t]	登 dēng 簞 dēng 毘 dēng 甌 dēng 燈 dēng (端 duān) 等 dēng(端 duān) 凳 (dèng) 嶝 dèng 墜 dèng 鐙 dèng 磴 dèng(端 duān) 鄧 dèng(定 dìng)

(Continued)

Table 4.21 (Continued)

		[tʰ]	滕(téng)藤téng騰téng滕téng騰téng (定dìng)
		[n]	能néng(泥ní)
		[l]	楞(léng)棱léng(來lái)
		[ts]	曾(zēng)憎zēng矚zēng罍zēng增zēng (精jīng) 贈zèng(從cóng)
		[tsʰ]	層(céng)曾céng(從cóng)
		[s]	心xīn(心xīn)
		[k]	互gèn(見jiàn)
		[x]	恒(héng)(匣xiá)
冬(dōng) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uoŋ]→[əŋ]:	[tʰ]	疼téng(定dìng)
庚(gēng) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[eŋ]→[əŋ]:	[pʰ]	烹pēng(滂pāng)
		[m]	盲máng(明míng) 虻měng(明míng) 孟mèng(明míng)
		[n]	獍(níng)(泥ní)
		[l]	冷(lěng)(來lái)
		[tʃʰ]	撐chēng ²⁷ 瞠chēng(徹chè) 鐺dāng(初chū) 根(chēng)莖chéng(澄chéng) 撐chēng(徹chè)
		[ʃ]	生shēng甥shēng笙shēng牲shēng猩 (xīng)(生shēng) 省shěng省shěng(生shēng)
		[x]	亨(hēng<hɛŋ)(曉xiǎo)
耕(gēng) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æŋ]→[əŋ]:	[p]	緇bèng(幫bāng) 迸bèng(幫bāng)
		[pʰ]	棚péng(並bìng)
		[m]	氓(méng)甍méng萌méng(明míng)
		[tʃ]	争zhēng箏zhēng(莊zhuāng) 諍(zhèng)诤zhèng(莊zhuāng)
		[tʃʰ]	狰(zhēng)(莊zhuāng) 錚zhēng诤zhēng(初chū) 橙chéng)
		[x]	莖(jìng)(匣xiá)
		[ø]	甍(yīng)(影yǐng)

4.11.2 [uəŋ] from rounded-mouth velars and laryngeals in
登(dēng), 庚(gēng), and 耕(gēng) finals

Table 4.22 Final [uəŋ] in 庚青(gēngqīng) group

登(dēng) (Rounded- mouth I)	[uəŋ]→[uəŋ]:	[k]	肱gōng(見jiàn)
		[x]	蕤hōng(曉xiǎo) 弘hóng(匣xiá)
庚(gēng) (Rounded- mouth II)	[wəŋ]→[uəŋ]:	[k]	觥gōng(見jiàn) 礦kuàng鑛kuàng愷(kuǎng) ²⁸ (見jiàn)
		[x]	橫héng(匣xiá) 橫hèng(匣xiá)
耕(gēng) (Rounded- mouth II)	[wəŋ]→[uəŋ]:	[x]	轟hōng(曉xiǎo) 宏hóng 紘hóng 閎hóng 嶸róng鉉hóng (匣xiá)
		[ø]	泓hóng(影yǐng)

4.11.3 [iəŋ] from 庚(gēng)-II characters, unrounded-
mouth velars and laryngeals of 耕(gēng) and 庚(gēng)-III characters and
unrounded-mouth characters of 清(qīng), 蒸(zhēng), and
青(qīng) in Guǎngyùn with a few rounded-mouth characters
in 庚(gēng)-III, 清(qīng), and 青(qīng) finals

Table 4.23 Final [iəŋ] in 庚青(gēngqīng) group

庚(gēng) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[eŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[k]	庚gēng 鷓gēng 賡gēng 更gēng 梗gěng 羹gēng (見jiàn) 骸hái 鯁(gěng) 緹gěng 梗gěng 哽gěng(見jiàn) 更gèng(見jiàn)
		[k']	坑(kēng)(溪xī)
		[x]	行(háng) 珩(héng) 桁héng 衡héng(匣xiá) 杏xìng 行(xíng)(匣xiá)
耕(gēng) (Unrounded- mouth II)	[æŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[k]	耕(gēng)(見jiàn) 耿dǎn(見jiàn)
		[k']	誣(kēng) 輕kēng 鏗kēng(溪xī) 幸xìng 倅xìng(匣xiá)
		[ø]	櫻(yīng) 嬰yīng 鸚yīng(影yǐng) 硬yìng(疑yí)

(Continued)

Table 4.23 (Continued)

庚 (gēng) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iɛŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[p]	兵bīng(幫bāng) 丙(bǐng)炳bǐng邴bǐng秉bǐng(幫bāng) 柄bǐng(幫bāng) 病bìng(並bìng)
		[pʼ]	平píng評píng枰píng(並bìng)
		[m]	明míng盟(méng)鳴míng(明míng) 皿mǐn(明míng) 命mìng(明míng)
		[s]	瘡(shěng)(心xīn)
		[k]	京jīng麤jīng驚jīng荆jīng(見jiàn) 景jǐng倣jǐng漿(qíng)驚jīng境(jìng)(見jiàn) 鏡jìng獍jìng竟jìng(見jiàn) 競jìng(群qún)
		[kʼ]	卿(qīng)(溪xī) 慶qìng(溪xī)
		[ø]	英(yīng)瑛yīng(影yǐng) 迎(yíng)(疑yí) 影yǐng璟(jǐng)(影yǐng) 曠(yìng)(影yǐng)
庚 (gēng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iɤŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[k]	璟jǐng(見jiàn)
清 (qīng) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iɛŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[p]	并(bìng)(幫bāng) 餅(bǐng)屏bǐng(幫bāng)
		[pʼ]	娉(pīng) 俾pīng聘 ²⁹ (pìn)(滂pāng)
		[m]	名míng(明míng)
		[l]	嶺(lǐng)嶺lǐng(來lái) 令(lìng)(來lái)
		[tʃ]	貞(zhēn)禎zhēn(知zhī) 征(zhēng)正zhēng(章zhāng) 整(zhěng)(章zhāng) 鄭zhèng(澄chéng) 正zhèng政zhèng(章zhāng)
		[tʃʰ]	禎(chēng)檉chēng螳chēng(徹chè) 呈(chéng)程chéng醒chéng(澄chéng)成chéng 城chéng誠chéng成chéng盛chéng(禪chán) 騁chǒng逞chěng(徹chè)
		[ʃ]	聲shēng(書shū) 聖(shèng)(書shū) 盛shèng(禪chán)
		[ts]	精jīng睛jīng晶jīng旌jīng鶻jīng菁jīng(精jīng) 井jǐng(精jīng) 清(qīng)圃(qīng)(清qīng) 靜jìng并(jìng)績(qīng)淨jìng(從cóng)

		[tsʻ]	清 qīng 鯖 qīng (清 qīng) 情 qíng 晴 qíng 賄 qíng (從 cóng) 請 qǐng (清 qīng) 倩 (qiàn) (清 qīng) 請 qǐng (從 cóng)
		[s]	駢 (xīng) (心 xīn) 錫 (xíng) (邪 xié) 惺 (xīng) 省 (心 xīn) 性 xìng 姓 xìng (心 xīn)
		[k]	頸 (jǐng) (見 jiàn) 勁 (jìng) (見 jiàn)
		[kʻ]	輕 qīng 捰 (溪 xī)
		[ø]	纓 (yīng) 瓔 yīng (影 yǐng) 盈 (yíng) 贏 yíng 羸 yíng 羸 yíng (以 yǐ) 郢 yǐng (以 yǐ) 癭 yǐng (影 yǐng)
清 (qīng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iweŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[kʻ]	傾 qīng (溪 xī)
		[ø]	縈 (yíng) (影 yǐng) 營 yíng 營 yíng (以 yǐ) 穎 yǐng (以 yǐ)
蒸 (zhēng) (Unrounded- mouth III)	[iəŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[p]	冰 bīng (幫 bāng) 憑 píng (並 bìng)
		[pʻ]	憑 píng 馮 píng (並 bìng)
		[l]	陵 líng 凌 líng 菱 líng 綾 líng 凌 líng (來 lái) 凌 líng (來 lái)
		[tʃ]	徵 (zhēng) (知 zhī) 蒸 zhēng 蒸 zhēng (章 zhāng) 拯 (zhěng) (章 zhāng) 證 (zhèng) (章 zhāng)
		[tʃʻ]	稱 (chēng) (昌 chāng) 澄 chéng 懲 chéng (澄 chéng) 丞 chéng 承 chéng (禪 chán) 乘 chéng 媵 chéng (船 chuán) 稱 (chèng) 秤 chèng (昌 chāng)
		[ʃ]	升 (shēng) 勝 (shèng) 昇 (shēng) 陞 (shēng) (書 shū) 繩 shéng (船 chuán) 勝 shèng (書 shū) 贖 (shèng) 乘 shèng 剩 shèng (船 chuán)
		[ʒ]	仍 réng (日 rì)
		[ts]	甌 (zèng) (精 jīng)
		[tsʻ]	繒 zēng (從 cóng)
		[k]	競 jìng 矜 (jīn) (見 jiàn)
		[x]	興 xīng (曉 xiǎo) 興 (xìng) (曉 xiǎo)

(Continued)

Table 4.23 (Continued)

青 (qīng) (Unrounded- mouth IV)	[ieŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[ø]	膺(yīng)(影yǐng) 凝níng(疑yí) 蚩yīng(以yǐ) 應yīng膺yīng(影yǐng) 凝níng(疑yí)		
		[p]	並bìng(並bìng)		
		[pʻ]	俦pīng(滂pāng)萍(píng)屏píng瓶píng (並bìng)		
		[m]	銘(míng)冥míng溟míng暝míng螟míng莫 míng(明míng) 茗míng醕(mǐng)(明míng) 暝míng(明míng)		
		[t]	丁(dīng)釘dīng玎dīng汀dīng(端duān) 鼎(dǐng)酊(dǐng)頂dǐng(端duān) 定dìng錠dìng(定dìng) 訂dìng釘dìng訂dìng釘dìng(端duān)		
		[tʻ]	汀(tīng)斤jīn 聽tīng鞞tīng鞞tīng(透tòu) 亭(tíng)停tíng婷tíng廷tíng庭tíng蜓tíng霆 tíng(定dìng) 玎(dīng)(端duān) 叮tīng(透tòu) 挺(tǐng)艇tíng誕tǐng(定dìng) 聽tīng(透tòu)		
		[n]	寧(níng)(泥ní) 佞(nìng)濘nìng甯nìng(泥ní)		
		[l]	靈líng樞líng醜líng麤líng令líng零líng苓líng 伶líng聆líng鈴líng齡líng齡líng冷líng瓴líng 翎líng鴿líng(來lái)		
		[tsʻ]	青qīng 鯖qīng(清qīng)		
		[s]	星(xīng)醒(xǐng)惺(xīng)鯉xīng腥xīng (心xīn) 醒xǐng(心xīn)		
		[k]	經jīng涇jīng(見jiàn) 徑(jìng)徑jìng經jìng(見jiàn)		
		[kʻ]	磬(qǐng)磬(qìng)磬qìng(溪xī)		
		[x]	馨(xīn)(曉xiào) 形(xíng)刑xíng邢xíng銅xíng硃xíng(匣xiá) 溱(xìng)(匣xiá) 脛jìng(匣xiá)		
		青 (qīng) (Rounded- mouth IV)	[iweŋ]→[iəŋ]:	[ø]	螢(yíng)(云yún)

4.11.4 [iuəŋ] from rounded-mouth velars and laryngeals of 庚(gēng)-III, 清(qīng), and 青(qīng) in Guāngyǔn

Table 4.24 Final [iuəŋ] in 庚青(gēngqīng) group

庚 (gēng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iweŋ]→[iuəŋ]:	[k]	囧(jiǒng)(見jiàn)
		[x]	兄xiōng(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	榮róng(云yún) 永yǒng(云yún) 詠yǒng(云yún)
清 (qīng) (Rounded- mouth III)	[iweŋ]→[iuəŋ]:	[kʰ]	瓊qióng 鞏qióng 鞞qióng(群qún) 頃qǐng 霖qǐng(溪xī)
		[x]	訶(xiè) 夔xiòng(曉xiǎo)
青 (qīng) (Rounded- mouth IV)	[iweŋ]→[iuəŋ]:	[k]	肩(jiān) 峒jiōng(見jiàn)
		[x]	熒yíng 營yíng(匣xiá) 迴jiōng(匣xiá)
		[ø]	瑩yíng(影yǐng)

During the Tang dynasty, there used to be clear-cut boundaries between the 梗(gěng) and 曾(zēng) final groups. They started to merge during the Song dynasty. In *Tiān Shēng Dì Yīn Tú* (《天聲地音》, *Charts of Heavenly and Earthly Sounds*), Shao Yong put the two finals in one sound, as seen in Table 4.25.

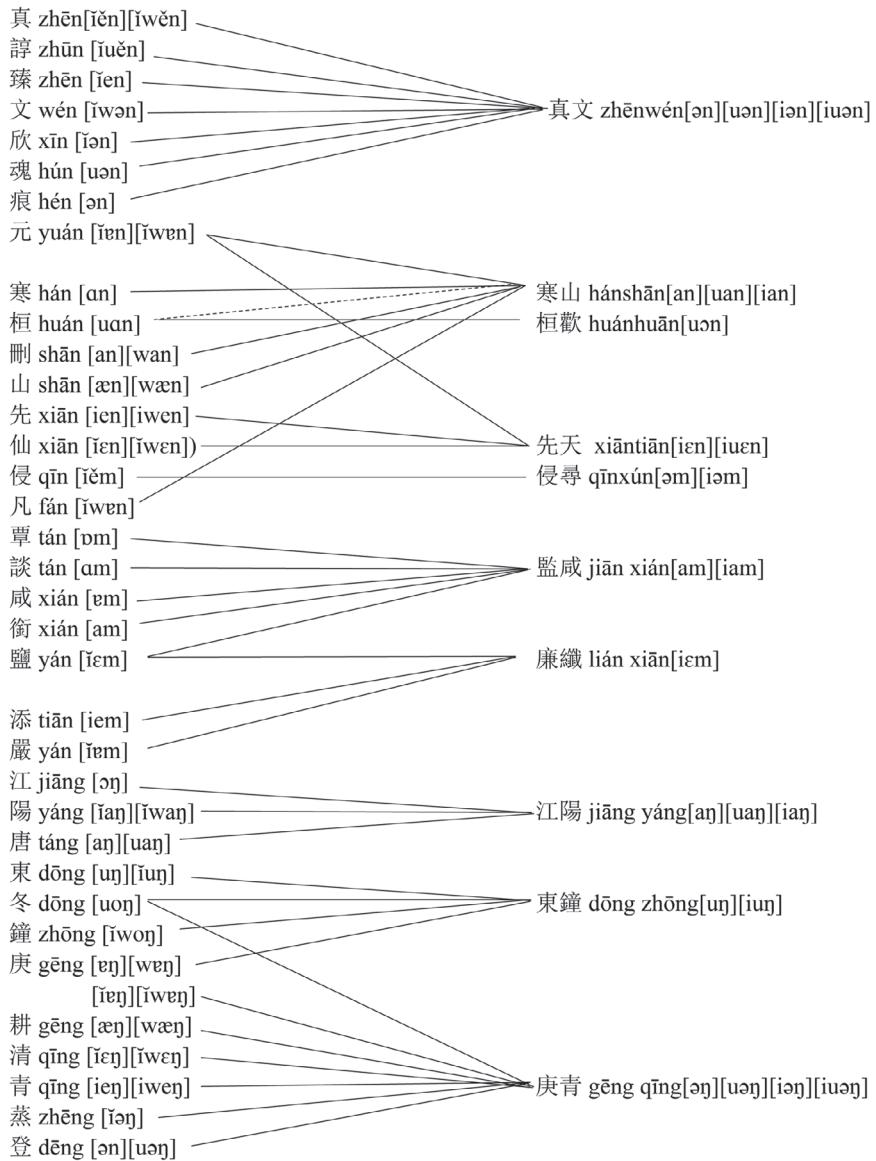
Table 4.25 Two finals in one sound

Rising Tone			
Rounded-Mouth	Unrounded-Mouth	Rounded-Mouth	Unrounded-Mouth
兄xiōng	丁(dīng<tiəŋ)	光guāng	良liáng
永yǒng	井jǐng	廣(guǎng<kuaŋ)	兩(liǎng<liəŋ)
瑩(yíng<iuŋ)	冪(gèn<kəŋ)	況(kuàng<k'uaŋ)	向(xiàng<xiaŋ)
○	○	○	○

Here, “丁”(dīng) and “井”(jǐng) of the third line belonged to the 梗(gěng) group, and “冪.gèn” to the 曾(zēng) group. However, their finals were indistinguishable in the Bialiang and Luoyang areas of the Song dynasty and were completely combined into one group of 庚青(gēngqīng) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

For an overall and clear understanding, the development and evolution of the 35 *yáng* finals in *Guǎngyùn* to the 10 *yáng* finals in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are shown in Table 4.26. Necessary changes to the order have been made for the convenience of displaying.

Table 4.26 The development and evolution of the 35 *yáng* finals



Notes

- 1 “遼bèn” is the falling tone of “奔bēn”.
- 2 In 魂hún, 23rd group of upper level–tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “棍kūn belongs to 公(gōng<kuŋ)渾(hún<xuən) qiè”, the same as “暉kūn”, “禪kūn”, and 幌“kūn”.
- 3 In *Lóng Kān Shǒu Jiàn* (《龍龕手鑑》, *Dictionary Helping with Better Understanding of Buddhist Texts like a Clear Hand Mirror*), it reads, “嚳xùn is 蘇(sū<su)困 fān”.
- 4 櫪shuān equals “門shuān”. In 刪shān Final of *Jiyù*, it reads, “櫪 refers to door-locking devices of gates”.
- 5 “搬bān” and “般bān” share the same pronunciation but are not recorded in *Guǎngyùn* or *Jiyùn*.
- 6 In *Jiyùn*, according to 桓huán, 26th group of upper level–tone characters, “擻cuān belongs to 七qī丸(wán<yuan) qiè”, while in 換huàn, 29th group of falling–tone characters, it belongs to “取qǔ亂(luàn<luan) qiè”.
- 7 The other version of “規jiǎn” is “規jiǎn”.
- 8 In 仙xiān, the second group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “娟juān, 於yú緣(yuán<ien) qiè”, belonging to the 影ying initial group.
- 9 In 仙xiān, the second group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “聯lián, 力(lì<li)延(yán<ien) qiè” and belongs to the unrounded–mouth III. It is different from that in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* in terms of today’s pronunciation.
- 10 In 侵qīn, 21st group of lower level–tone characters of in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “鯨qín, 昨(zuó<tsu)淫yín qiè”, belonging to the 從cóng initial group.
- 11 In 寢qǐn, 47th group of falling–rising–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “鋹chēn, 醜chǒu甚shén qiè”, belonging to the 徹chè initial group.
- 12 In 沁qìn, 52nd group of falling–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “沁, 七qī鳩(jiū<kiəu) qiè”, belonging to the 清qīng initial group.
- 13 In 感gǎn, 48th group of falling–rising–tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “啗zá is 子zǐ感(gǎn<kam) qiè”.
- 14 In 覃tán, 22nd group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “蓼shēn is 蘇sū含(hán<xam) qiè. 蓼綏shēn suī means drooping”. Its pronunciation is sān.
- 15 In 感gǎn, 48th group of falling–rising–tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “噉 is 古(gǔ<ku)禪(dàn<t’am) qiè”, belonging to 鳥(niǎo<niau) initial.
- 16 In 談tán, 23rd group of lower level–tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “疢gān is a kind of disease, 沾三gū sān qiè”.
- 17 In 鹽jiān, 24th group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “粘zhān, 女nǚ廉qiè”, belongs to the 泥ní initial group.
- 18 “檐” is mistaken as “檐dàn” in other books. Here correction is made according to *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. In 鹽jiān, 24th group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “檐dàn, as in 檐幃chān wéi, refers to bed curtains according to *Shì Míng*. 處占chù zhàn qiè”.
- 19 According to *Item 24 in Rules for Correcting Expressions and Composing Words*, “in ‘桃腮杏臉táo sāi xìng liǎn’ (cheeks like peaches and a face like an apricot, describing the beautiful outline of a woman’s face – the translator), ‘臉liǎn’ is pronounced as 檢(jiǎn<kiem), while in ‘美臉兒měi liǎn ér’ (a beautiful face), as 斂liǎn(liǎn<liem)”.
- 20 墊diàn means putting something underneath an item to make it steady. Later it is written as “墊diàn”. In 56th group of 榛tiàn in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “墊diàn means to shore up”.
- 21 “十shí” is pronounced as “石shí”, and “針zhēn” as “真zhēn”. When it is going to rain, she often says “天因tiān yīn” instead of “天陰tiān yīn”.
- 22 In *Zhèng Zì Tōng* (《正字通》, *Dictionary for Chinese Characters*), it reads, “擲péng is the popular form of 擲(péng<puan).” In 庚gēng, 12th group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “撈bàng means to beat with a stick, 薄庚báo gēng qiè”, belonging to the 並bìng initial group.

- 23 In 江jiāng, the fourth group of upper level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “缸gāng, 下江xià jiāng qiè”, belonging to the 匣xiá initial.
- 24 In 東dōng, the first upper level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “簧lǒng is 古紅gǔ hóng qiè”.
- 25 In 鐘zhōng, the third group of upper level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “鞮yōng is 於容yú róng qiè”. Also in 用yòng, the third group of falling-tone characters, it reads, “鞮yōng is 於用(yòng<iuŋ) qiè”.
- 26 According to 送sòng, the first group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, “粽zòng” is the popular form of “糉zòng”, 作(zuò<tsau)弄(nòng<lun) qiè, a Grade I character.
- 27 In 庚gēng, 12th group of lower level–tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it is written as “楞chēng”, 丑(chǒu<ʂ’iəu)庚gēng qiè, belongs to “木mù”.
- 28 In 梗gěng, 38th group of falling–rising-tone characters in *Jiyùn*, it reads, “橫kuǎng means being tough, 古gǔ猛(měng<mun) qiè”.
- 29 In 勁jìn, 45th group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “聘pìn, 匹正pǐ zhèng qiè, means to employ”. It is also read in *Zi Hui*, “it belongs to 披pī經(jīng<kiəŋ) qiè”.

5 The development of the entering final system from Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese

5.1 Introduction

The biggest change of the Chinese final system from middle ancient times to modern times is the disappearance of [-p], [-t], and [-k] tail vowels, which evolved into yīn finals.

In *Guǎngyùn*, there are 34 rù final groups with 50 finals, namely, 屋(wū<uk), 沃(wò<uok), 燭(zhú<tɛjuok), 覺(jiào<kək), 質(zhì<tɕi), 術(shù<dz^hjuet), 櫛(zhì<tɕjet), 物(wù<mjuət), 迄(qì<xjət), 月(yuè<ɲjuet), 沒(méi<t^huət), 曷(hé<ɣat), 末(mò<muat), 黠(xiá<ɣæt), 鎋(xiá<ɣat), 屑(xiè<suət), 薛(xuē<sjæt), 藥(yào<jak), 鐸(duó<d^hak), 陌(mò<mək), 麥(mài<mæk), 昔(xī<sjək), 錫(xī<siek), 職(zhí<tɛjək), 德(dé<tək), 緝(jī<ts^hjep), 合(hé<ɣAp), 盍(hé<ɣap), 葉(yè<jæp), 帖(tiē<t^hiɛp), 洽(qià<ɣɛp), 狎(xiá<ɣap), 業(yè<ɲjɛp), and 乏(fá<b^hjuɛp), among which [ət] in the 痕(hén<ɣən), final group is allocated to the 沒 group because it embodies too few characters. As early as the Tang dynasty, or even earlier, there were signs that the tail vowels of those rù finals were mixed in usage. In *Making a Mock of My Wife's Improper Accent* by Hu Zeng of the Tang dynasty, it reads, “呼hū十(shí<zjɛp)却què爲wèi石shí(shí<zjɛk)”. Here, “十shí” belongs to the 緝jī group and “石shí” to the 鐸duó group, which reflects the fact that the distinctions between the tail vowels of [-p] and [-t] in rù finals no longer existed in certain spoken dialects of the Tang dynasty. Throughout the Song dynasty, rù finals underwent such development that the tail vowels of [-p], [-t], and [-k] could generally rhyme with each other in Song lyrics. Take the example of *Niàn Nǚ Jiāo·Chì Bì Huái Gǔ* (《念奴嬌·赤壁懷古》), *Charm of a Maiden Singer-Memories of the Past at Red Cliff* by Su Shi蘇軾 as follows.

大江東去，浪淘盡，千古風流人物(wù<mjust)(物)。

△

故壘西邊，人道是三國周郎赤壁(bì<piɛk)(錫xī)。

△

亂石穿空，驚濤拍岸，捲起千堆雪(xuē<sjuət)(薛xuē)。

△

江山如畫，一時多少豪傑(jié<g^hjǎt)(薛xuē)。

△

遙想公瑾當年，小喬初嫁了，雄姿英發(fā<pjuət)(月yuè)。

△

羽扇綸巾，談笑間，檣櫓灰飛煙滅(miè<mjæt)(薛xuē)。

△

故國神遊，多情應笑我，早生華髮(fā<pjuət)(月yuè)。

△

人生如夢，一樽還酹江月yuè (月yuè)。¹

△

dà jiāng dōng qù, làng táo jìn, qiān gǔ fēng liú rén wù
gù lěi xī biān, rén dào shì sān guó zhōu láng chì bì
luàn shí chuān kōng, jīng tāo pāi àn, juǎn qí qiān duī xūě
jiāng shān rú huà, yī shí duō shǎo háo jié
yáo xiǎng gōng jīn dāng nián, xiǎo qiáo chū jià liǎo, xióng zī yīng fā
yǔ shàn guān jīn, tán xiào jiān, qiáng lǔ huī fēi yān miè
gù guó shén yóu, duō qíng yīng xiào wǒ, zǎo shēng huā fā
rén shēng rú mèng, yī zūn huán lèi jiāng yuè.

In this lyric, “物wù”, “雪xuě”, “傑jié”, “發fā”, “滅miè”, and “月yuè” end with [-t], while “壁bì” ends with [-k]. Take *Niàn Nǚ Jiāo·Chuí Hóng Tíng* (《念奴嬌·垂虹亭》, *Charm of a Maiden Singer-The Rainbow Pavilion*) by Zhu Dunru朱敦儒 as another example.

放船縱櫂，趁吳江風露，平分秋色(sè<jjæk)(職zhí)。

△

帆卷垂虹波面冷，初落蕭蕭楓葉yè(葉yè)。

△

萬頃琉璃，一輪金鑑，與我成三客(kè<k^hæk)(陌mò)。

△

碧空廖廓，瑞星銀漢爭白(bái<b^hæk)(陌mò)。

△

深夜悄悄魚龍，靈旗收暮藹，天光相接(jiē<tsjæp)(葉yè)。

△

瑩澈乾坤，全放出，疊玉層冰宮闕(què<k^hjuət)(月yuè)。

△

洗盡凡心，相忘塵世，夢想都銷歇(xiē<xjæt)(月yuè)。

△

胸中雲海，浩然猶浸明月yuè(月yuè)。²

△

fàng chuán zòng zhào, chèn wú jiāng fēng lù, píng fēn qiū sè
fān juǎn chuī hóng bō miàn lěng, chū luò xiāo xiāo fēng yè
wàn qǐng liú lí, yī lún jīn jiàn, yǔ wǒ chéng sān kè
bì kōng liào kuò, ruì xīng yín hàn zhēng bái
shēn yè qiāo qiāo yú lóng, líng qí shōu mù ǎi, tiān guāng xiāng jiē
yíng chè qián kūn, quán fàng chū, dié yù céng bīng gōng què
xǐ jìn fān xīn, xiāng wàng chén shì, mèng xiǎng dōu xiāo xiē
xiōng zhōng yún hǎi, hào rán yóu jìn míng yuè (yuè).

Here, “葉yè” and “接jiē” end with [-p] and “闕què”, “歇xiē”, and “月yuè” with [-t], while “色sè”, “客kè”, and “白bái” end with [-k]. See *Mǎn Jiāng Hóng·Sòng Hù Fù Rù Jiāng Xī Mù* (《滿江紅·送宋惠父入江西幕》, *The River All Red Sending Song Huifu to the Tent Office of Jiangxi*) by Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊.

滿腹詩書，餘事到，穰直兵法(fǎ<pjuəp)(乏fá)。

△
新受了，烏公書幣，著鞭垂發(fā<pjuət)(月yuè)。

△
黃紙紅旗喧道路，黑風青草空巢穴(xué<γjuət)(屑xiè)。

△
向幼安，宣子頂頭行，方奇特(tè<dʰək)(德dé)。

△
谿峒事，聽農說(shuō<cjuət)(薛xuē)。

△
龔遂外，無長策(cè<tʰæk)(麥mài)。

△
便獻俘非勇，納降非怯(qiè<kʰjəp)(業yè)。

△
帳下健兒休盡銳，草間赤子俱求活(huó<kuat)(未wèi)。

△
到崆峒、快寄凱歌來，寬離別(bié<bʰjǎt)(薛xuē)。³

△
mǎn fù shī shū, yú shì dào, ráng zhí bīng fǎ
xīn shòu liǎo, wū gōng shū bì, zhuó biān chuí fà
huáng zhǐ hóng qí xuān dào lù, hēi fēng qīng cǎo kōng cháo xué
xiàng yòu ān, xuān zǐ dǐng tóu xíng, fāng qí tè
xī dòng shì, tīng nóng shuō
gōng suì wài, wú cháng cè
biàn xiàn fú fēi yǒng, nà xiáng fēi qiè
zhàng xià jiàn ér xiū jìn ruì, cǎo jiān chì zǐ jù qiú huó
dào kōng tóng, kuài jì kǎi gē lái, kuān lí bié

Here, “法fǎ” and “怯qiè” end with [-p], “發fā”, “穴xué”, “說shuō”, “活huó” and “別bié” with [-t], while “特tè” and “策cè” end with [-k].⁴

However, the tail vowels of [-p], [-t], and [-k] did not disappear completely in the Song dynasty. In *Standard Finals from Song Lyrics* (《詞林正韻Cí Lín Zhèng Yùn》), Ge Zai 戈載 of the Qing dynasty divided finals in Song lyrics into 19 groups with five rù final groups, including

- (1) 屋wū 沃wò 燭zhú;
- (2) 覺jué 藥yào 鐸duó;
- (3) 質zhì 術shù 櫛zhì 陌mò 麥mài 昔xī 錫xī 職zhí 德dé 緝jī;
- (4) 物wù 迄qì 月yuè 沒mò 曷hé 末mò 黠xiá 鎋xiá 屑xiè 薛xuē 業yè 帖tiē;
- (5) 合hé 盍hé 業yè 洽qià 狎xiá 乏fá

After analyzing Zhu Xi's fānqiè system, Wang Li sorted 32 finals, among which, 10 belong to rù finals.⁵ They are as follows.

- (1) 屋 wū 燭 zhú (屋 wū, 沃 wò and 燭 zhú in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (2) 質 zhì 職 zhí (質 zhì, 術 shù, 櫛 zhì, 物 wù, 迄 qì, 陌 mò, 昔 xī, 錫 xī and 職 zhí-III/IV in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (3) 物 wù 沒 mò (物 wù [唇 chún] and 沒 mò in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (4) 曷 hé 黠 xiá (曷 hé, 末 mò, 黠 diǎn, 鎋 xiá and 月 yuè [labials] in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (5) 月 yuè 薛 xuē (月 yuè [velars and laryngeals], 屑 xiè and 薛 xuē in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (6) 藥 yào 覺 jué (藥 yào, 鐸 duó and 覺 jué in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (7) 麥 mài 德 dé (陌 mò-II, 麥 mài, 職 zhí-II and 德 dé in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (8) 緝 jī 立 lì (緝 jī in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (9) 合 hé 洽 qià (合 hé, 盍 hé, 洽 qià and 狎 xiá in *Guǎngyùn*)
- (10) 葉 yè 業 yè (葉 yè, 帖 tiē and 業 yè in *Guǎngyùn*)

According to Tang Zuofan's (唐作藩 Táng Zuò Fān) study, there are a total of 22 final groups in the ancient style poems by Su Shi of the Song dynasty, among which, four belong to rù groups, including 屋 wū (沃 wò 燭 zhú), 鐸 duó (藥 yào 覺 jué), 曷 hé (末 mò 黠 xiá 鎋 xiá 月 yuè 薛 xuē 屑 xiè 合 hé 盍 hé 洽 qià 狎 xiá 業 yè 葉 yè 乏 fá 帖 tiē) and 職 zhí (德 dé 陌 mò 麥 mài 昔 xī 錫 xī 質 zhì 術 shù 櫛 zhì 物 wù 迄 qì 沒 méi, and 緝 jī).⁶

Lu Guoyao 魯國堯 divides the finals into 17 groups in the poems by Su Shi and Xin Qiji, among others, including three rù final groups, namely 屋 wū 曲 qū, 鐸 duó 覺 jué and 德 dé 業 yè.⁷

Their studies all suggest that rù finals did exist in the literary language of the Song dynasty, though there is no unanimous opinion on how they are classified. However, in *Xī Xiāng Jì Zhū Gōng Diào* (《西廂記諸宮調》, *Modes of Ancient Chinese Music in Xī Xiāng Jì*, another name *Dǒng Xī Xiāng*, 《董西廂》, *Dong's Xī Xiāng Jì*) by Dong Jieyuan 董解元 in the Jin dynasty, rù finals were classified as yīn finals. The book consists of eight volumes with 196 cycles of songs containing 117 rù rhymes. For the majority of the time, the rù final characters of Middle Chinese are mingled with the yīn final characters. For instance, in *Volume One of [Xiānlǚ·Zuì Luò Pò Chán Lìng]* (《仙侶·醉落魄纏令》, *Drunk and Broken Rap*), the rhymes include “化 huà”, “暇 xiá”, “甲(jiǎ<kia)”, “洽(qià<xia)”; “唄(wò<uo)”, “價(jià<kia)”, “咱(zán<tsa)”, “涯 yá”; “花 huā”, “罷 bà”, “家 jiā”, “剥(bō<pau)”; “下 xià”, “他(tā<t'uo)”, “捺(nà<na)”, “馬 mǎ”; “雅(yǎ<ia)”, “花 huā”, “話 huà”, among which “甲(jiǎ<kap)”, “洽(qià<y ɤp)”, “唄(wò<ɔk)” and “剥(bō<pɔk)” belonged to rù final characters in Middle Chinese. In the same volume of *[Bānshèdiào·Shào Biàn]* (《般涉調·哨遍》, *Whistle Everywhere*), the rhymes contain “谷(gǔ<ku)”, “縷(lǚ<liu)”, “渚(zhǔ<tʃiu)”, “雛(chú<tʃ Tang Zuofan u)”, “主(zhǔ<tʃiu)”, “土(tǔ<t Tang Zuofan u)”; “住”, “囑(chú<tʃ Tang Zuofan iu)”, “素(sù<su)”, “奴(nū<nu)”, “暑(shǔ)”, “去 qù”, “樹 shù”, “絮(xù<siu)”, “浦(pǔ<pu)”, “蒲(pú<p Tang Zuofan u)”, “枯(kū<k Tang Zuofan u)”, “暮 mù”, “圖(tú<t Tang Zuofan u)”, “路 lù”, “墟(lú<lu)”, “疏 shū”; “續(xù<siu)”, “度(dù<tu)”, “古 gǔ”, “露(lù<lu)”, “區(qū<k Tang Zuofan iu)”, “負(fù<fu)”, “古(gǔ<ku)”, “遇(yù<iu)”, “束(shù<tʃ Tang Zuofan u)”, “曲(qū<k Tang Zuofan iu)”; “數(shù<ju)”,

“楚(chǔ<tǎng Tang Zuofan u)”, “餘(yú<iu)”, “虎(hǔ<xu)”, “狐(hú<xu)”, “夫(fū)”, “女(nǚ<niu)”, “護(hù<xu)”, “書(shū)”; “府(fǔ<fu)”, “宇(yǔ<iu)”, “儒(rú<ziu)”, “女(nǚ)”, “戶(hù)”, “句(jù<kou)”, “侶(lǚ<liu)”, “度(dù)”, “付(fù<fu)”, “做(zuò<tsu)”, “雨(yǔ)”; “作(zuò<tsau)”, “付(fù)”, “處(chù)”, “許(xǔ<xu)”, among which “谷(gǔ<kuk)”, “續(xù<ziwok)”, “束(shù<eiwok)”, “曲(qū<k'iwok)” and “作(zuò<tsuo)” belonged to rù final characters in Middle Chinese. On a few occasions, most of the rhymes are rù final characters in Middle Chinese amid a few yīn final characters. For instance, in *Volume Seven* of [Shuāngdiào·Wén Rú Jīn] (《雙調·文如錦》, *Elegant Writings*), the rhymes are “斜(xié<siē)”, “熱(rè)”, “姐(jiě<tsiē)”, “拙(zhuō)”, “捨(shě<fīē)”, “呆(dāi<tiē)”, “業(yè<iē)”, “迭(dié<tiē)”, “別(bié)”, “捻(niē<niē)⁸”, “帖(tiē<t Tang Zuofan iē)”, “徹(chè)”, “些(xiē)” and “烈(liè)”, among which only “斜(xié<ziǎ)”, “姐(jiě<tsǎ)”, “捨(shě<ciǎ)”, “呆(dāi<doi)” and “些(xiē<siēi)” are yīn final characters with all the rest belonging to rù final characters in Middle Chinese.⁹ Since the existence of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* by Zhou Deqing, the fact that rù final characters were recategorized into the other three tones has been established as a truth in all rhyme descriptions.

In northern dialects, the tail vowels of [-p], [-t], and [-k] in rù final characters did not disappear simultaneously. It is a gradual process, close to the following display:

[-p], [-t], [-k] → [-t], [-k] → [k] → [-ʔ] → [-∅]

Based on historical resources and the dialects of today, it is likely that [-p] first disappeared, turning into [-k] or [ʔ], for in *Ancient and Present Finals* (《古今韻會Gǔ Jīn Yùn Huì》) by Huang Gongshao 黃公紹, there are only [-t] and [-k], with no [-p] in the book. Later on, [-t] and [-k] were turned into [ʔ] so that rù finals were further weakened to such an extent that only distinctions among tones were maintained while tail vowels with consonants no longer existed. In today's Chenghai dialect of southern Fujian Province, both [-p] and [-t] have been turned into [-k] or [ʔ]. In modern times, the rù final characters in the Wu dialect all end with [ʔ], and all the rù final characters have no tail vowels with consonants in the Changsha dialect, which proves that the disappearance of rù finals, mentioned earlier, conforms to the reality of Chinese evolution. In the Southern Song dynasty, rù finals in northern dialects were undergoing the process of merging and disappearing in that most characters ending with [-p], [-t], and [-k] became those ending with [ʔ]. Due to such reconstruction of rù final characters, those previously with different tail vowels of [-p], [-t], and [-k] were able to mix in usage throughout Song lyrics.

It was not until the Yuan dynasty that rù finals disappeared completely and were allocated into the nine yīn final groups of 支思(zhīsi), 齊微(qíwēi), 魚模(yúmú), 皆來(jiēlái), 蕭豪(xiāoháo), 歌戈(gēgē), 家麻(jiāmá), 車遮(chēzhē), and 尤候(yóuhóu) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. During the period when there were tail vowels of [-p], [-t], and [-k], they formed a crucial basis for the classification of rù final groups. With the disappearance of [-p], [-t], and [-k] vowels have become the only guideline for dividing final groups. Hence,

different rù final characters in Middle Chinese usually fell into the same finals or vowels and thus were distributed into the same yīn final group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. For instance, characters in the 14 final groups, such as 曷hé, 末mò, 鎋xiá, 黠xiá, 陌mò, 薛xuē, 月yuè, 屑xiè, 盍hé, 合hé, 洽qià, 狎xiá, 乏fá, and 帖tiē in *Guǎngyùn* entered the 家麻(jiāmá) final group. In doing so, the whole final system has been greatly simplified. The following section discusses the rù final groups one by one.

5.2 支思(zhīsī) [i̯(ɿ, ʅ)]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the 支思(zhīsī) final group contains only three rù final characters of Middle Chinese, respectively, from 緝(jī), 櫛(zhì), and 德(dé) finals in *Guǎngyùn*.

Table 5.1 Rù final characters in 支思(zhīsī) group

緝(jī) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛp]→[ɿ]:	[ʅ]	澀(sè)(生shēng)
櫛(zhì) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛt]→[ɿ]:	[ʅ]	瑟(sè)(生shēng)
櫛(zhì) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[əɸk]→[ɿ]:	[s]	塞(sè)(心xīn)

5.3 齊微(bēiwēi) [ei], [i], and [uei]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 齊微(qíwēi) final group partly came from the eight rù final groups of Middle Chinese in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 質(zhì), 迄(qì), 緝(jī), 職(zhì), 德(dé), 陌(mò), 昔(xī), and 錫(xī).

5.3.1 [ei] partly from unrounded-mouth characters of 德(dé)-I in *Guǎngyùn* with a few from labials of 質(zhì)-III final [ei]

Table 5.2 Final [ei] in 齊微(qíwēi) group

德(dé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[əɸk]→[ei]:	[p]	北(běi)(幫bāng)
		[m]	墨(mò)(明míng)
		[t]	德dé得dé(端duān)
		[l]	勒(lè)肋(lē)(來lái)
		[ts]	賊zéi(從cóng)
		[x]	劾(hé)(匣xiá) 黑hēi(曉xiǎo)
質(zhì) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛt]→[ei]:	[p]	筆(bǐ)(幫bāng)
		[m]	密(mì)(明míng)

5.3.2 [i] partly from 陌(mò)-III as well as the unrounded-mouth rù final characters of 職(zhí), 昔(xī), 質(zhì), 迄(qì), 緝(jī), and 錫(xī) in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.3 Final [i] in 齊微(qíwēi) group

質 (zhì) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛ̄t]→[i]:	[p]	必bì畢bì蹕bì篳bì(幫bāng)		
		[pʼ]	匹pǐ(滂pāng)		
		[m]	蜜(mì)(明míng)		
		[l]	栗(lì)(來lái)		
		[tʃ]	姪(zhí)秩zhì(澄chéng) 質zhì 隲(章zhāng)(zhí)		
		[tʃʰ]	叱(chì)(昌chāng)		
		[ʃ]	實shí(船chuán) 失shī 室shì(書shū)		
		[ʒ]	日(rì)(日rì)		
		[ts]	疾jí嫉jí(從cóng)		
		[tsʼ]	七qī漆qī(清qīng)		
		[ø]	一yī(影yǐng) 逸yì溢yì鑑yì俯yì沃yì(以yǐ) 一yī 乙yǐ(影yǐng)		
		迄 (qì) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛ̄t]→[i]:	[kʼ]	乞(qì)(溪xī) 訖(qì)(見jiàn)
			[i̯ɛ̄p]→[i]:	[l]	立(lì)粒lì笠lì(來lái)
		[tʃ]		汁(zhī)(章zhāng)	
[ʃ]	十shí什shí拾shí(禪chán) 濕shī(書shū)				
[ʒ]	入rù(日rì)				
[ts]	茸(qì)(精jīng) 集jí(從cóng)				
[s]	習xí襲xí(邪xié)				
[k]	及jí(群qún) 急jí汲jí給(jǐ)(見jiàn)				
[kʼ]	泣(qì)(溪xī)				
[x]	吸(xī)翕(曉xiǎo)				
[ø]	邑yì揖yǐ(影yǐng)				
陌 (mò) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛ̄k]→[i]:	[p]		碧(bì)(幫bāng)	
		[k]		鞞(jì)(陌mò) 劇jù(群qún)	
		[x]		隙(xì)(曉xiǎo)	
		[ø]		逆nì(疑yí)	
		[p]	璧(bì)(幫bāng)		
昔 (xī) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[i̯ɛ̄k]→[i]:	[p]	璧(bì)(幫bāng)		

(Continued)

Table 5.3 (Continued)

		[p ^ˈ]	僻(pi)(滂pāng) 闞pi(並bìng)
		[tʃ]	擲zhi(澄chéng) 隻(zhī)炙zhi(章zhāng)
		[tʃ̃]	尺(chī)赤(chì)(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	射shè(船chuán) 石shí(禪chán) 適(shì)釋shì爽shì(書shū)
		[ts]	積(jī)跡(jì)脊(jǐ)(精jīng)
		[ts ^ˈ]	刺cì(清qīng)
		[s]	夕xī 席xí(邪xié) 昔xī惜xī(心xīn)
		[ø]	易yì場chǎng譯yì驛yì液yè腋yè掖yè è疫yì役yì射yì(以yǐ)
職(zhí) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iək]→[i]:	[p]	逼(bī)(幫bāng)
		[n]	匿(nì)(泥nì)
		[l]	力lì(來lái)
		[tʃ]	直zhí值zhí(澄chéng) ¹⁰ 織(zhī)(章zhāng)
		[tʃ̃]	勅(chì)鶻chi(徹chè)
		[ʃ]	食shí蝕shí(船chuán) 識shí拭(shì)軾shì飾shì(書shū)
		[ts]	唧(jī)鯽(jì)稷jì(精jīng)
		[s]	息xī(心xīn)
		[k]	極jí(群qún) 譴qiā棘jí(見jiàn)
		[ø]	翊yì翼yì(以yǐ) 憶yì(景yǐng)
錫(xī) (Unrounded-mouth IV)	[iek]→[i]:	[p]	壁bì(幫bāng) 甓(pì)(並bìng)
		[p ^ˈ]	劈(pī)(滂)
		[m]	覓mì(明míng)
		[t]	逖(tì)(透tòu) 荻(dí)敵dí狄dí笛dí籬dí(定dìng) 的dí鞞dí嫡dí滴(dī)(端duān)
		[t ^ˈ]	剔(tī)踢tī(透tòu) 滌(dí)(定dìng)
		[l]	曆lì歷lì瀝lì霨lì爍lì(來lái)
		[tʃ̃]	喫(chī)(溪xī) ¹¹
		[ts]	寂jì(從cóng) 績(jì)(精jīng)
		[ts ^ˈ]	戚qī(清qīng)
		[s]	錫xī漸xī(心xīn)
		[k]	擊(jī)激jī(見jiàn)
		[x]	檄(xí)覘(xī)(匣xiá)
		[ø]	鷓yì(疑yí)

5.3.3 [uei] mostly from yīn finals with a few from rounded-mouth rù final characters of 德(dé)-I in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.4 Final [uei] in 齊微(qíwēi) group

德(dé) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uək]→[uei]:	[k]	國(guó)(見jiàn)
		[x]	惑(huò)(匣xiá)

5.4 魚模(yúmú) [u] and [iu]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 魚模(yúmú) final group partly came from the six rù final groups of Middle Chinese in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 屋(wū), 沃(wò), 燭(zhú), 術(shù), 物(wù), and 沒(mò).

5.4.1 [u] partly from 屋(wū)-I, 沃(wò), and 沒(mò) finals and labials of 屋(wū)-III and 物(wù) finals, as well as 莊(zhuāng) (照[zhào]-II) of 燭(zhú) and 術(shù) finals

Table 5.5 Final [u] in 魚模(yúmú) group

屋(wū) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uk]→[u]:	[p]	卜(bǔ)(幫bāng)
		[pʼ]	僕(pú)(並bìng) 撲(pū)(滂pāng) 暴(pù)(並bìng)
		[m]	木(mù)沐(mù)鶩(wù)(明míng)
		[t]	獨(dú)讀(dú)牘(dú)瀆(dú)犢(dú)(定dìng)
		[tʼ]	禿(tū)(透tòu)
		[l]	祿(lù)鹿(lù)漉(lù)麓(lù)(來lái)
		[ts]	鏃(zú)(精jīng)族(zú)(從cóng)
		[tsʼ]	簇(cù)(清qīng)
		[s]	速(sù)歛(sù)(心xīn)
		[k]	谷(gǔ)穀(gǔ)穀(gǔ)(見jiàn)
		[kʼ]	哭(kū)(溪xī)
		[x]	斛(hú)榭(hú)(匣xiá)
		沃(wò) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uok]→[u]:
[t]	毒(dú)蠱(dào)(定dìng) 篤(dū)督(dū)(端duān)		
[x]	鵠(hú)(匣xiá)		
沒(mò) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uət]→[u]:	[ø]	沃(wò)(影yǐng)
		[m]	沒(méi)(明míng)
		[n]	訥(nè)(泥ní)
		[ts]	卒(zú)(精jīng)
		[k]	骨(gǔ)(見jiàn)

(Continued)

Table 5.5 (Continued)

		[kʰ]	窟(kū)(溪xī)
		[x]	鶻(gǔ)(匣xiá) 笏(hù<)>忽(hū)(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	兀(wù)(疑yí)
屋(wū) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iuk]→[u]:	[m]	目mù牧mù穆mù睦mù(明míng)
		[f]	復(fù)伏(fú)鶻fú服fú(奉fèng) 復(fù)福(fú)幅fú蝠fú腹(fù)(非fēi) 覆fù(敷fū)
		[s]	縮(suō)謏(suò)(生shēng)
燭(zhú) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwok]→[u]:	[tʃʰ]	觸(chù)(昌chāng) 束shù(書shū)
		[ʃ]	贖shù(船chuán) 屬shǔ(禪chán)
物(wù) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwoʔ]→[u]:	[p]	不bù(幫bāng)
		[f]	佛fú(奉fèng) 拂fú(敷fū)
		[ø]	物wù勿wù(微wēi)
術(shù) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iuct]→[u]:	[ʃ]	术(shù)述shù秫shú術shù(船chuán)

5.4.2 [iu] partly from rounded-mouth III rù finals of 屋(wū)-III, 燭(zhú), 術(shù), and 物(wù) finals in Guāngyùn with a few from 緝(jī) final

Table 5.6 Final [iu] in 魚模(yúmú) group

屋(wū) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iuk]→[iu]:	[l]	陸(lù)戮lù(來lái)
		[tʃʰ]	逐zhú軸zhóu(澄chéng) 竹(zhú)築zhú(知)粥(zhōu)(奉fèng)
		[tʃʰ]	畜chù(徹chè)
		[ʃ]	淑shū孰shú熟shú塾shú(禪chán) 叔(shū)菽shū(書shū)
		[ts]	蹙(cù)(精jīng)
		[s]	宿sù(心xīn)
		[k]	菊(jú)鞠(jū)(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	麴(qū)(溪xī) ¹²
		[ø]	育yù(以yǐ) 郁yù(影yǐng)
燭(zhú) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iwok]→[iu]:	[l]	綠(lù)錄lù錄lù醜lù(來lái)
		[tʃʰ]	燭zhú(章zhāng)

		[ʃ]	蜀shǔ(禪chán)
		[ʒ]	辱(rǔ)褥(rù)(日rì)
		[ts]	足(zú)(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	促(cù)(清qīng)
		[s]	俗sú續xù(邪)
			粟(sù)(心xīn)
		[k]	局(jú)(群qún)
			局jú(群qún)
		[kʰ]	曲(qū)(溪xī)
		[ø]	玉yù獄yù(疑yí)
			欲yù浴yù鴿yù(以yǐ)
術(shù)	[iuēt]→[iu]:	[l]	律(lǜ)(來lái)
(Rounded-mouth III)		[tʃʰ]	黜chù(徹chè)
			出chū(昌chāng)
物(wù)	[iʷət]→[iu]:	[k]	屈(qū)(見jiàn) ¹³
(Rounded-mouth III)		[kʰ]	屈qū(溪xī)
緝(jī)	[iěp]→[iu]:	[ʒ]	入rù(日rì)
(Unrounded-mouth III)			

5.5 皆來(jiēlái) [ai], [uai], and [iai]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 皆來(jiēlái) final group came partly from the four rù final groups in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 陌(mò), 麥(mài), 職(zhí), and 德(dé).

5.5.1 [ai] partly from unrounded-mouth II characters of 陌(mò) and 麥(mài) finals, 莊(zhuāng) (照[zhào]-II) of unrounded-mouth III characters of 職(zhí) final, as well as a few from unrounded-mouth I characters of 德(dé) final in *Guǎngyùn*

Table 5.7 Final [ai] in 皆來(jiēlái) group

德(dé)	[ək]→[ai]:	[ts]	則(zé)(精jīng)
(Unrounded-mouth I)			
陌(mò)	[ek]→[ai]:	[p]	白bó帛bó舶bó(並bìng)
(Unrounded-mouth II)			伯bó百(bǎi)柏bǎi迫(pǎi)(幫bāng)
		[pʰ]	拍pāi珀(pò)魄pò(滂pāng)
		[m]	陌mò貌mò暮mò(明míng)
		[n]	搦(nuò)(泥ní)
		[tʃ]	宅zhái澤zé擇zé(澄chéng)
			窄zhǎi迮zé(莊zhuāng)

(Continued)

Table 5.7 (Continued)

麥 (mài) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æk]→[ai]:	[ʃ]	索(suǒ)(生shēng)
		[p]	擘(bò)擘bò(幫bāng)
		[m]	麥mài脈mài(明míng)
		[tʃ]	摘zhāi諳zhé(知zhī) 責zé噴zé簣zé(莊zhuāng)
職 (zhí) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iək]→[ai]:	[tʃ̣]	册(cè)策cè 柵cè(初chū)
		[tʃ]	側zè仄zè昃zè(莊zhuāng)
		[tʃ̣]	測cè(初chū)
		[ʃ]	色sè穢sè(生shēng)

5.5.2 [uai] partly from rounded-mouth falling-tone velars and laryngeals of 麥(mài) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.8 Final [uai] in 皆來(jiē lái) group

麥 (mài) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wæk]→[uai]:	[k]	擱(guó)(見jiàn)
		[x]	畫huà劃huà(匣xiá)

5.5.3 [iai] partly from falling-tone characters of 陌(mò)-II final, unrounded-mouth velars and laryngeals of 麥(mài) final, as well as a few from 德(dé) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.9 Final [iai] in 皆來(jiē lái) group

德(dé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ək]→[iai]:	[kʰ]	刻kè(溪xī)
陌(mò) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɛk]→[iai]:	[k]	格(gé)鶻(qià)(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	客kè(溪xī)
		[x]	嚇xià(曉xiǎo)
麥(mài) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[æk]→[iai]:	[ø]	額é峇é(疑yí)
		[k]	革gé隔gé(見jiàn)
		[ø]	厄è 羸(gé)(疑yí)

5.6 蕭豪(xiāoháo) [au], [iau] and [iɛu]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 蕭豪(xiāoháo) final group came partly from the four rù final groups in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 鐸(duó), 末(mò), 覺(jué), and 藥(yào).

5.6.1 [au] partly from unrounded-mouth falling-tone characters of 鐸(duó) final as well as a few from labials of 末(mò) and 藥(yào) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.10 Final [au] in 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group

鐸 (duó) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ak]→[au]:	[p]	博bó(幫bāng) 薄bó箔bó泊bó(並bing)
		[m]	莫mò漠mò寞mò(明míng)
		[t]	鐸duó度duó躅duó(定dìng)
		[tʰ]	託(tuō)拓(tuò)橐(tuó)魄 pò 託(tuō)柝(tuò) (透tòu)
		[n]	諾(nuò)拏nuò(泥ní) ¹⁴
		[l]	落(luò)絡luò烙luò洛luò酪(lào)珞(luò)樂 (lè)(快樂kuàilè)(來lái)
		[ts]	鑿záo(從cóng) 作zuò柞(zuò)鑿zuò(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	錯cuò遣cuò(清qīng)
		[s]	索suǒ擦(cā)(心xīn)
		[k]	各(gè)闍gé(見jiàn)
		[x]	鶴(hè)涸hé(匣xiá) 焯(hè)壑hè(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	愕è萼è鸞è鱒è(疑yí) 惡è(影yǐng)
		末 (mò) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uat]→[au]:
藥 (yào) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iak]→[au]:	[f]	縛(fù)(奉fèng)

5.6.2 [iau] partly from falling-tone characters of 覺(jué) final as well as rounded-mouth velars and laryngeals of 鐸(duó) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.11 Final [iau] in 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group

鐸 (duó) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uak]→[iau]:	[k]	郭(guō)(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	廓(kuò)(溪xī)
		[x]	鑊(huò)(匣xiá)
覺 (jué) (jiào) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɔk]→[iau]:	[p]	剥bō駁(bó)(幫bāng)
		[tʰ]	濁zhuó濯zhuó鑄zhuó擢zhuó(澄chéng) 卓zhuó琢zuó(知zhī)
		[tʰ]	戳(chōu)(徹chè) 槩shuò(生shēng)
		[ʃ]	朔shuò稍shuò(生shēng)

5.6.3 [iɛu] partly from unrounded-mouth falling-tone characters of 藥(yào) final as well as rounded-mouth velars and laryngeals of 覺(jué) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.12 Final [iɛu] in 蕭豪(xiāoháo) group

覺(jué) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɔk]→[iɛu]:	[k]	角(jué) 桷jué 覺jué(見jiàn)
		[x]	學xué 鸞xué(xué)(匣xiá)
		[ø]	岳yuè 樂yuè(音yīn 樂yuè)(疑yí)
藥(yào) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iak]→[iɛu]:	[l]	略lüè 掠lüè(來lái)
		[t]	著zhù(澄chéng)
			斫(zhuó) 酌zhuó 灼zhuó 繳zhuó(章zhāng)
		[tʃ̣]	綽(chuò) 焯chào(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	芍sháo 杓sháo(禪chán)
			爍shuò 鑠shuò(書shū)
		[ʒ]	弱ruò 莧ruò 箸zhù(日rì)
		[ts]	爵jué(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	雀què(精jīng)
			鵲què 趙què(清jīng)
		[s]	削(xiāo)(心xīn)
		[k]	脚jiǎo(見jiàn)
		[ŋ]	虐nüè 瘡nuè(疑yí)
		[x]	譎(xuè)(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	約yuē(影yǐng)
	藥yào 躍yuè 鑰(lún) 淪lún(以yǐ)		

5.7 歌戈(gēgē) [o], [uo], and [io]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 歌戈(gēgē) final group came partly from the nine rù final groups in *Guǎngyùn*, namely 覺(jué), 物(wù), 沒(mò), 曷(hé), 末(mò), 藥(yào), 鐸(duó), 合(hé), and 盍(hé).

5.7.1 [o] partly from falling-tone characters of 鐸(duó), 沒(mò), 曷(hé), 合(hé), 盍(hé), and 覺(jué) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.13 Final [o] in 歌戈(gēgē) group

鐸(duó) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ak]→[o]:	[p]	泊bó 薄bó 箔bó(並bìng)
		[t]	鐸duó 度duó(定dìng)
		[ts]	鑿záo(從cóng)
		[x]	鶴hè(匣xiá)

		[ø]	鄂è 萼è 鸚è 鰓è (疑 yí) 惡è 聖è (影 yǐng)
沒 (mò) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uət]→[o]:	[p]	勃bó 渤bó (並 bīng)
曷(hé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[at]→[o]:	[k] [k']	葛(gě) 割(gē) (見 jiàn) 渴(kě) 厠(è) (溪 xī)
合(hé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ɔp]→[o]:	[k] [x]	鴿(gě) 閣gé 蛤gé (見 jiàn) 合hé 盒hé (匣 xiá)
盍(hé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ap]→[o]:	[k'] [x]	嗑(kē) (見 jiàn) 盍hé (匣 xiá)
覺(jué) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɔk]→[o]:	[tʃ]	濁zhuó 濯zhuó 鑄zhuó (澄 chéng)

5.7.2 [uo] partly from falling-tone characters of 鐸(duó) and 末(mò) finals as well as a few from labiodentals of 物(wù) and 藥(yào) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.14 Final [uo] in 歌戈(gēgē) group

鐸(duó) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ak]→[uo]:	[p']	粕(pò) (滂 pāng)
		[m]	莫mò 寞mò 幕(mù) (明 míng)
末(mò) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uak]→[uo] [uat]→[uo]:	[n]	諾nuò 諾nuò (泥 ní)
		[l]	洛luò 落luò 絡luò 酪lào 烙lào 樂lè (來 lái) 鐸duó (rounded-mouth-I)
		[x]	鑊huò (匣 xiá)
		[p]	跋bá 魃bá (並 bīng) 鉢(bō) 撥bō 跋bá ¹⁵ (幫 bāng)
		[p']	潑(pō) 鉞(bó) (滂 pāng)
		[m]	抹mǒ (明 míng) 末mò 沫mò (明 míng)
		[t]	奪duó (定 dìng) 掇(duō) (端 duān)
		[t']	脫(tuō) (透 tòu)
		[ts']	撮(cuō) (清 qīng)
		[k]	括(kuò) 聒(guō) (見 jiàn)
[k']	闊(kuò) (溪 xī)		
[x]	活huó (匣 xiá)		
物(wù) (Rounded-mouth III)	[ɿwət]→[uo]:	[f]	佛fú (奉 fèng)
藥(yào) (Rounded-mouth III)	[ɿwak]→[uo]:	[f]	縛fù (奉 fèng)

5.7.3 [io] partly from unrounded-mouth falling-tone characters of 覺(jué) and 藥(yào) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.15 Final [io] in 歌戈(gēgē) group

覺(jué) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɔk]→[io]:	[x]	學 xué(匣 xiá)
		[ø]	藥 yuè 嶽 yuè(疑 yí)
藥(yào) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iæk]→[io]:	[l]	略 lüè 掠 lüè(來 lái)
		[tʃ]	著 zhù(澄 chéng)
		[ʃ]	杓 sháo(禪 chán)
		[ʒ]	若 ruò 弱 ruò 弱 ruò(日 rì)
		[ŋ]	虐 nüè 瘡 nüè(疑 yí)
		[ø]	藥 yào 躍 yuè 鑰 lún(以 yǐ) 約 yuē(影 yǐng)

5.8 家麻(jiāmá) [a], [ua], and [ia]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 家麻(jiāmá) final group partly came from the 10 rù final groups in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 曷(hé), 末(mò), 黠(xiá), 鎋(xiá), 月(yuè), 合(hé), 盍(hé), 洽(qià), 狎(xiá), and 乏(fá).

5.8.1 [a] partly from falling-tone characters of 曷(hé), 合(hé) and 盍(hé) finals; 莊(zhuāng) (照zhào-II) of 黠(xiá) and 洽(qià) finals; and labiodentals of 月(yuè) and 乏(fá) finals, as well as a few from labials of 末(mò) final in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.16 Final [a] in 家麻(jiāmá) group

曷(hé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[at]→[a]:	[t]	達 dá(定 dìng) 撻 tà(透 tòu)
		[tʰ]	獺 tà(透 tòu)
		[l]	辣 là 糲 lì(來 lái)
		[s]	薩 sà 撒 sǎ(心 xīn)
末(mò) (Rounded-mouth I)	[uat]→[a]:	[m]	抹 mǒ(明 míng)
合(hé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ɔp]→[a]:	[t]	沓 tà(定 dìng) 踏 tà(透 tòu) 答 dā 搭 dā 嗒 dā 答 dā(端 duān)
		[n]	納 nà 衲 nà(泥 ní)
		[l]	拉 lā(來 lái)
		[ts]	雜 zá(從 cóng) 匣 zā 啞 zā(精 jīng)
		[s]	颯 sà 鞞 sà(心 xīn)

盍 (hé) (Unrounded-mouth I)	[ap]→[a]:	[tʰ]	塔(tǎ)榻(tà)塌 ¹⁶ (tā)(透tòu)
黠(xiá) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ǣt]→[a]:	[p]	拔(bá)(並bing) 八(bā)(幫bāng)
		[tʃ]	紮(zhā)(莊zhuāng)
		[tʃʰ]	察(chá)(初chū)
		[ʃ]	殺(shā)(生shēng)
洽 (qià) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɛp]→[a]:	[tʃ]	闡(chǎn)(崇chóng) 劊(ɡuài)(知zhī)
		[tʃʰ]	插(chā)錘(chuī)笈(jí)(初chū)
		[ʃ]	霎(shà)(生shēng)
月 (yuè) (Rounded-mouth III)	[ĩwet]→[a]:	[f]	伐(fá)筏(fá)罰(fà)(奉fèng) 發(fā)髮(fà)(非fēi)
		[v]	襪(wà)(微wēi)
乏 (fá) (Rounded-mouth III)	[ĩwɛp]→[a]:	[f]	乏(fá)(奉fèng) 法(fǎ)(非fēi)

5.8.2 [ua] partly from rounded-mouth falling-tone velars and laryngeals of 鐹(xiá) and 黠(xiá) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.17 Final [ua] in 家麻(jiāmá) group

鐹 (xiá) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wat]→[ua]:	[ʃ]	刷(shuā)(生shēng)
		[k]	刮(guā)(見jiàn)
黠 (xiá) (Rounded-mouth II)	[wǣt]→[ua]:	[x]	滑(huá)猾(huá)(匣xiá)
洽 (qià) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɛp]→[ua]:	[ø]	凹(āo)(影yǐng) ¹⁷

5.8.3 [ia] partly from unrounded-mouth falling-tone velars and laryngeals of 鐹(xiá), 洽(qià), 狎(xiá), and 帖(tiè) finals in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.18 Final [ia] in 家麻(jiāmá) group

鐹 (xiá) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[at]→[ia]:	[x]	轄(xiá)鐸(xiá)(匣xiá) 瞎(xiā)(曉xiǎo)
洽 (qià) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɛp]→[ia]:	[k]	夾(jiā)(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	恰(qià)掐(qiā)(溪xī)
		[x]	峽(xiá)洽(qià)袷(jiá)(匣xiá)
狎 (xiá) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ap]→[ia]:	[k]	甲(jiǎ)狎(xiá)(見jiàn)
		[ø]	壓(yā)狎(yā)鴨(yā)(影yǐng)
帖 (tiè)	[iep]→[ia]:	[x]	俠(xiá)(匣xiá)

5.9 車遮(chēzhē) [iɛ] and [iuɛ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 車遮(chēzhē) final group partly came from the seven rù final groups in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 陌(mò), 薛(xuē), 月(yuè), 屑(xiè), 葉(yè), 業(yè), and 帖(tiè).

5.9.1 [iɛ] partly from unrounded-mouth falling-tone characters of 陌(mò), 薛(xuē), 月(yuè), 葉(yè), 業(yè), 屑(xiè), and 帖(tiè) finals in *Guǎngyùn* with only a few exceptions

Table 5.19 Final [iɛ] in 車遮(chēzhē) group

陌(mò) (Unrounded-mouth II)	[ɐk]→[iɛ]:	[kʰ]	客kè(溪xī)
		[x]	嚇xià(曉xiǎo)
		[ø]	額é(疑yí)
薛(xuē) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛt]→[iɛ]:	[p]	別bié(並bìng) 斃(bì)別biè(慙(biē)(幫bāng))
		[m]	滅miè(明míng)
		[n]	孽niè(疑yí)
		[l]	列(liè)裂liè(來lái)
		[t]	哲(zhé)(知zhī)
		[tʃ]	折zhé(章zhāng)
		[tʃ̣]	撤(chè)輗zhé(澄chéng) 掣chè(昌chāng)
		[ʃ]	舌shé(船chuán) 折shé(禪chán) 設(shè)(書shū)
		[ʒ]	熱rè(日rì)
		[s]	薛xuē(泄(xiè)緘xiè(媾xiè)褻xiè(痲xuē) (心xīn))
		[k]	傑jié(群qún)
		[ø]	拽zhuài(以yǐ)
		月(yuè) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛk]→[iɛ]:
[x]	歇xiē(蝎xiē)(曉xiǎo)		
[ø]	謁yè(影yǐng)		
葉(yè) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛp]→[iɛ]:	[n]	聶niè(躡niè)躡niè(泥ní)
		[l]	獵(liè)鬣liè(來lái)
		[t]	折zhé(章zhāng)
		[ʃ]	涉shè(禪chán) 攝shè(瀟shè)(書shū)
		[ts]	捷jié(從cóng) 睫jié(精jīng) 接jiē(楫jí)(精jīng)
		[tsʰ]	妾(qiè)(清qīng)
		[ø]	葉yè(以yǐ) 燁yè(云yún)

業 (yè) (Unrounded-mouth III)	[iɛp]→[iɛ]:	[k]	劫(jié)(見 jiàn)
		[ø]	業 yè 鄰 yè (疑 yí)
屑 (xiè) (Unrounded-mouth IV)	[iɛt]→[iɛ]:	[pʼ]	瞥(piē)撇 piē(滂 pāng)
		[m]	蔑(miè)篋 miè(明 míng)
		[t]	迭 dié 跌 diē 埵(dié)經 dié 凸(tū)(定 dìng)
		[tʼ]	鐵(tiè)饗(tiè)(透 tòu)
		[n]	臬 niè 嚙 niè(疑 yí)
		[ts]	截 jié(從 cóng) 節(jié)癭(jiē)(精 jīng)
		[tsʼ]	切(qiè)竊 qiè 沏(qī)(清 qīng)
		[s]	屑 xiè(心 xīn)
		[k]	結 jié 潔 jié(見)
		[kʼ]	挈(qiè)(溪 xiàn)
		[x]	穴 xué 纈(xiè)(匣 xiá)
		[ø]	噫 yī 影 yǐng
		[x]	血 xuè(曉 xiǎo) ¹⁸
屑 (xiè) (Rounded-mouth IV)	[iɛwɛt]→[iɛ]:		
帖 (tiè) (Unrounded-mouth IV)	[iɛp]→[iɛ]:	[t]	疊(dié)牘 dú 揲(dié)喋 dié 諜 dié 蝶 dié (定 dìng)
		[tʼ]	貼(tiē)貼 tiē(透 tòu)
		[tʃ]	褶(zhě)(定 dìng)
		[s]	變(xiè)屨 xiè(心 xīn)
		[k]	頰(jiá)袂(jiā)莢(jiá)(見 jiàn)
		[kʼ]	篋(qiè)(溪 xī)
		[x]	協 xié 俠 xiá 挾 xié(匣 xiá)

5.9.2 [iue] mostly from rounded-mouth falling-tone characters of 薛(xuē), 月(yuè), and 屑(xiè) in Guǎngyùn

Table 5.20 Final [iue] in 車遮(chēzhē) group

薛 (xuē) (Rounded-mouth III)	[iɛwɛt]→[iue]:	[l]	劣 liè(來 lái)
		[tʃ]	輟 chuò(知 zhī) 拙 zhuō(章 zhāng)
		[tʃʼ]	啜 chòu(昌 chāng)
		[ʃ]	說(shuō)(書 shū)
		[ts]	絕 jué(從 cóng)
		[s]	菱(xuè)(邪 xié) 雪 xuě(心 xīn)
		[kʼ]	缺 quē(溪 xī)
		[ø]	悅 yuè 說 yuè 閱 yuè(以 yí)

(Continued)

Table 5.20 (Continued)

月 (yuè) (Rounded-mouth III)	[i̯wɛt]→[iuɛ]:	[k]	擻(juè)擻juè(群qún)
			蕨juè(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	闕què(溪xī)
		[ø]	月yuè別yuè軌yuè(疑yí)
			越yuè鉞yuè樾yuè鉞yuè(云yún)
屑 (xiè) (Rounded-mouth IV)	[i̯wɛt]→[iuɛ]:	[k]	決juè玦juè訣juè譎juè鳩juè(見jiàn)
		[kʰ]	闕(què)(溪xī)

5.10 尤侯(yóuhóu) [ou] and [iou]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters in the 尤侯(yóuhóu) final group partly came from the two rù final groups in *Guǎngyùn*, namely, 屋(wū) and 燭(zhú), both with the final of [iou]. [ou] did not exist among rù final characters in the Middle Chinese language, which came from the yīn final characters of that time.

Table 5.21 Final [ou] and [iou] in 尤侯(yóuhóu) group

屋 (wū) (Rounded-mouth III)	[i̯uk]→[iou]:	[l]	六liù(來lái)
		[tʃ]	軸zhóu逐zhú(澄chéng)
			竹zhú(知zhī)
			粥zhōu(章zhāng)
			熟(shóu)(禪shàn)
		[ʒ]	肉(ròu)(日rì)
		[s]	宿sù(心xīn)
燭 (zhú) (Rounded-mouth III)	[i̯wok]→[iou]:	[tʃ]	燭zhú(章zhāng)
		[ʒ]	褥rù(日rì)

Table 5.22 displays the recategorization of rù final characters evolving into yīn final groups of Middle Chinese.

Further discussion follows on the issue of the reappearance of some characters in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Ninety-three characters with only one fānqiè in both *Guǎngyùn* and *Jí Yùn* appear in two final categories in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Among them, 58 characters are from rù finals in Middle Chinese, constituting for the majority of them, as can be seen from Table 5.23.

The 30 yáng final characters reappear in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, namely, as can be seen in Table 5.24.

Table 5.22 The recategorization of rù final characters evolving into yīn final groups of Middle Chinese

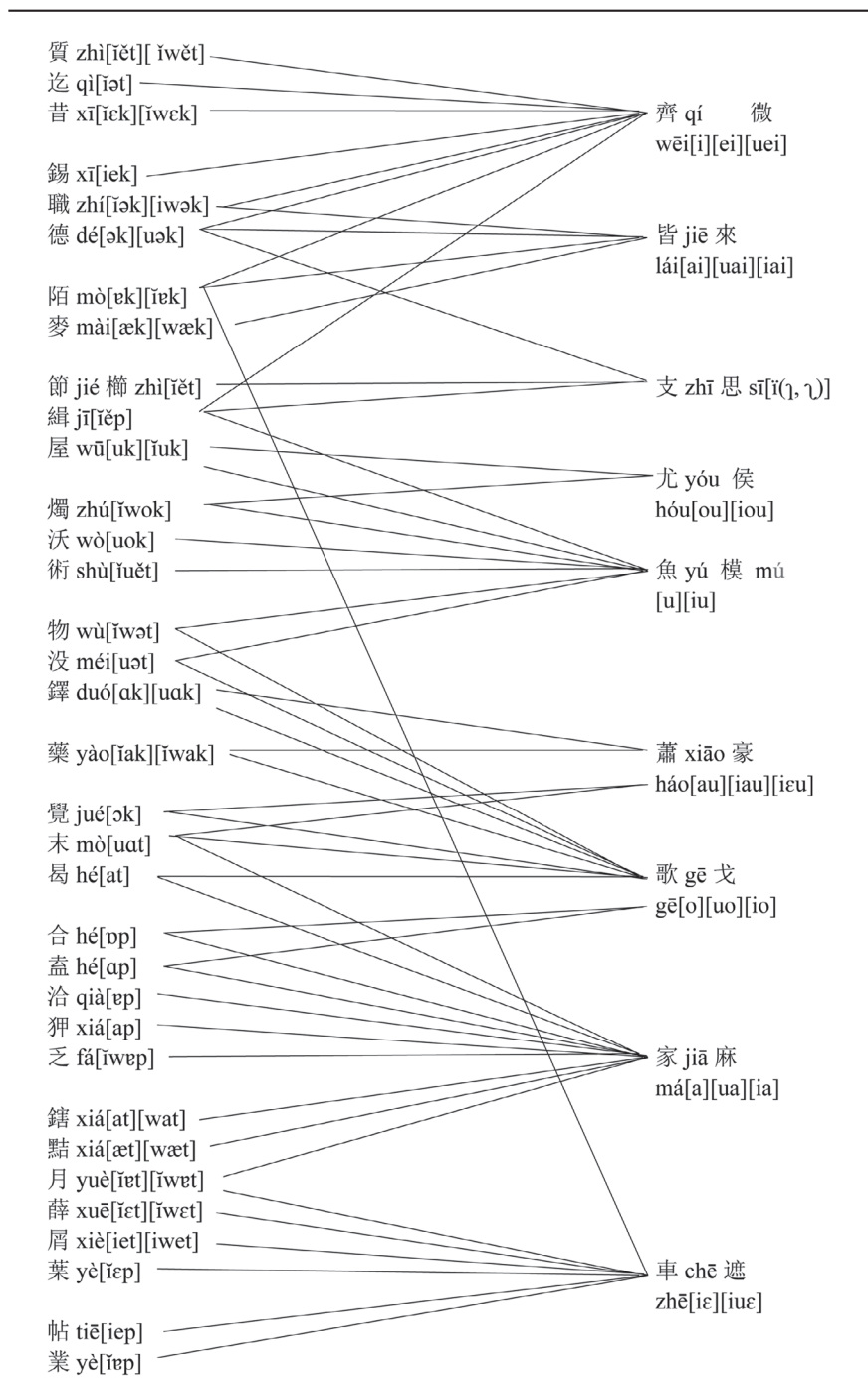


Table 5.23 The 58 characters are from rù finals in Middle Chinese

Character	Guǎngyùn		Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China	
	Group	Fǎnqiè	Group	Group
褥rù	屋wū	而ér蜀(shǔ<fīu) qiè	魚模yú	尤侯yóu
逐zhú軸zhóu	屋wū	張zhāng六liù qiè	mú	hóu
竹zhú	屋wū	張zhāng六liù qiè		
燭zhú	燭zhú	之zhī欲(yù<iu) qiè		
粥zhōu	屋wū	之zhī六liù qiè		
熟shóu	屋wū	殊(shū<fīu)六liù qiè		
宿sù	屋wū	息xī逐(zhú<tīu) qiè		
薄bó泊pō箔bó	鐸duó	傍(bàng<pan)各(gè<kau) qiè	蕭豪 xiāo	歌戈gē gē
末mò沫mò	末mò	莫mò撥(bō<puo) qiè	háo	
幕mù莫mò莫mò	鐸duó	慕(mù<mu)各 qiè		
縛fù	藥yào	符(fú<fu)夔(huó<xiau) qiè		
鐸duó度duó	鐸duó	徒tú落(luò<luo) qiè		
諾nuò	鐸duó	奴nú各gè qiè		
諾nuò	×	在zài各gè qiè		
落luò洛luò烙luò絡luò酪lào樂lào	鐸duó	盧(lú<lu)各gè qiè		
鑿záo	鐸duó	在zài各gè qiè		
鶴hè	鐸duó	下xià各gè qiè		
萼è鶻è鰓è	鐸duó	五wǔ各gè qiè		
惡è	鐸duó	烏wū各gè qiè		
浊zhuó濯zhuó鑷zhuó	覺jué	直(zhí<tī)角jiǎo qiè		
鑊huò	鐸duó	胡hú郭(guō<kiau) qiè		
略lüè掠lüè	藥yào	離lí灼(zhuó<tīeu) qiè		
弱ruò莧ruò	藥yào	而ér灼zhuó qiè		
着zhaó	藥yào	直zhí略lüè qiè		
杓shaó	藥yào	市shì若ruò qiè		
學xué	覺jué	胡hú覺jué qiè		
虐nüè瘡nüè	藥yào	魚yú約yuē qiè		
岳yuè樂yuè	覺jué	五wǔ角jiǎo qiè		
約yuē	藥yào	於yú略lüè qiè		
跃yuè鋤yuè	藥yào	以(yǐ<i)灼zhuó qiè		
客kè	陌mò	苦(kǔ<k Tang Zuofan u) 格gé qiè	皆來jiē lái	車遮 chē zhē
嚇hè	陌mò	呼hū格gé qiè		
額é	陌mò	五wǔ陌(mò<mai) qiè		
入rù	緝jī	人rén執(zhí<tī) qiè	齊微qíwēi	魚模 yú mú
佛fó	物wù	符fú弗(fú<fu) qiè	魚模yú mú	歌戈gē gē

Character	Guǎngyùn		Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China	
	Group	Fǎnqiè	Group	Group
抹 mǒ	末 mò	莫 mò 撥 bō qiè	歌 gē 戈 gē	家 jiā 麻 má
俠 xiá	帖 tiē	胡 hú 頰 (jiá < kiep) qiè	家 jiā 麻 má	車 chē 遮 zhē

Table 5.24 The 30 yáng final characters reappeared in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*

Character	Guǎngyùn		Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China		
	Group	Fǎnqiè	Group	Group	Tone
崩 bēng	登 dēng	北 (bēi < pei) 滕 (téng < t Tang Zuofan əŋ) qiè	東 dōng 鐘 zhōng	庚 gēng 青 qīng	high and level
繡 xiù	耕 gēng	北 bēi 萌 méng qiè			
迸 bèng	諍 zhēng	北 bēi 諍 (zhèng < tʂəŋ) qiè			falling
烹 pēng	庚 gēng	撫 (fū < fu) 庚 gēng qiè			high and level
鵬 péng	登 dēng	步 bù 崩 (bēng < pəŋ) qiè			rising
棚 péng	耕 gēng	薄 bó 萌 méng qiè			
薨 hōng 萌 méng	耕 gēng	莫 mò 耕 (gēng < kiəŋ) qiè			
盲 máng	庚 gēng	武 wǔ 康 (kāng < k Tang Zuofan əŋ) qiè			
魴 fáng 魴 měng	梗 gěng	莫 mò 幸 (xìng < k Tang Zuofan iəŋ) qiè			falling—rising
孟 měng	映 yìng	莫 mò 更 (gēng < kiəŋ) qiè			falling
肱 gōng	登 dēng	古 gǔ 弘 (hóng < xuŋ) qiè			high and level
觥 gōng	庚 gēng	古 gǔ 模 mó qiè			
轟 hōng	耕 gēng	呼 hū 宏 hóng qiè			
薨 hōng	登 dēng	呼 hū 肱 hóng qiè			
宏 hóng 紘 hóng	耕 gēng	戶 hù 萌 méng qiè			rising
嶸 róng					
橫 héng	庚 gēng	戶 hù 盲 (máng < muŋ) qiè			rising; falling
弘 hóng	登 dēng	胡 hú 肱 hóng qiè			rising
泓 hóng	耕 gēng	烏 wū 宏 hóng qiè			high and level
傾 qīng	清 qīng	去 qù 營 (yíng < iəŋ) qiè			
兄 xiōng	庚 gēng	許 xǔ 榮 róng qiè			
榮 róng	庚 gēng	永 yǒng 兵 bīng qiè			falling

(Continued)

Table 5.24 (Continued)

Character	Guǎngyùn		Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China		
	Group	Fǎnqiè	Group	Group	Tone
永yǒng	梗gěng	于yú憬(jǐng<kiəŋ) qiè			falling–rising
詠yǒng	映yìng	爲(wéi<ui)命 qiè			falling
瑩yíng	庚gēng	烏wū定dìng qiè			
腕wàn	換huàn	烏wū貫guàn qiè	寒山hán shān	桓歡huán huān	falling
幡fān	元yuán	附(fù<fu)袁(yuán<iuən) qiè	寒山hán shān	歌戈gē gē	rising

Table 5.25 Five yīn final characters appeared in different categories in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*

Character	Guǎngyùn		Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China		
	Group	Fǎnqiè	Group	Group	Tone
抓zhuā	肴yáo	側(cè<tʃai)交jiāo qiè	蕭豪xiāo háo	家麻jiā má	high and level
那nà	箇gè	奴nú箇gè qiè	歌戈gē gē	家麻jiā má	falling
否fǒu	有yǒu	方(fāng<fan)九jiǔ qiè	魚模yú mú	尤侯yóu hóu	falling–rising
剖pōu	厚hòu	普(pǔ<p Tang Zuofan u)後hòu qiè	蕭豪xiāo háo	尤侯yóu hóu	falling–rising
大dà	泰tài	徒tú蓋(gài<kai) qiè	皆來jiē lái	家麻jiā má	falling

Only five yīn final characters appear in different categories in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, as shown in Table 5.25.

Among the previously mentioned reappearing characters, rù final characters account for the majority, among which most are characters that appear in both 歌戈(gēgē) and 蕭豪(xiāoháo), as well as in 魚模(yúmú) and 尤侯(yóuhóu). With the disappearance of tail vowels ending with [-p], [-t], and [-k], the vowels might witness differentiation, most of which end with [-u], falling into 蕭豪(xiāoháo) or 尤侯(yóuhóu), respectively, and a few of which end with [i], reappearing in 皆來(jiē lái) or 齊微(qíwēi). The vast majority of yáng final characters reappeared in 東鐘(dōngzhōng) and 庚青(gēngqīng). The characters in these two groups used to be quite different before the middle ancient times. However, some vowels of those characters with the same tail vowels in the past gradually became the same vowels. The era of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* may be right in such a transitional stage. As a result, in modern times, some no longer possess two pronunciations, while others maintain two different pronunciations.

Notes

- 1 The endless river eastward flows; / With its huge waves are gone all those / Gallant heroes of bygone years. / West of the ancient fortress appears / Red Cliff where General Zhou won his early fame / When the Three Kingdoms were in flame. / Rocks tower in the air and waves beat on the shore / Rolling up a thousand heaps of snow. / To match the land so fair, how many heroes of yore / Had made great show! / I fancy General Zhou at the height / Of his success, with a plume fan in hand / In a silk hood, so brave and bright / Laughing and jesting with his bride so fair / While enemy ships were destroyed as planned / Like castles in the air. / Should their souls revisit this land / Sentimental, his bride would laugh to say: / Younger than they, I have my hair turned grey. / Life is but like a dream. / O Moon, I drink to you who have seen them on the stream. Translations see Translations see *300 Song Lyrics II*, Beijing: China Translation & Publishing House, pp. 453–455.
- 2 Literal meaning: I am paddling my boat amid the wind and the mist of the Wu River, which divides the autumn scenery into half. / My sail is set toward the Rainbow Pavilion, where the water surface is cold and the maple leaves begin falling. / The long glassy waterway, the bright moon and I are three guests here. / The sky is clear and vast, with lucky stars and the milky way competing for brightness. / Late at night, fishes and dragons all become quiet, their battle flags already taken back in the evening mist, which soon joined with night light. / The brightness of the heaven and the earth is all released, like the imperial palace decorated with jade as clear as ice. / My mundane heart is purified, the earthly world is forgotten and all my dreams come to a halt. / The sea of clouds in my heart is as immense as that blocks the bright moon.
- 3 Literal meaning: Knowledgeable as you are, you still study Rang Ju's 穰苴 art of war in your spare time. / Lately, you have been promoted by the Jiangxi Commanding Office and are getting ready for departure. / The imperial decree and banners can be seen everywhere along your way, and it is sure you will soon sweep away the rebels' nest of Heifeng and Qingcao. / By then your achievements will surpass those of Wang Xuanzi (Wang Zuo 王佐) and Xin You'an (Xin Qiji 辛弃疾), which will establish your extraordinary capability. / With regard to the rebellion of ethnic minorities, please listen to my piece of advice: / there is no better way than to follow Gong Sui's 龔遂 example. / To claim credit to the government by capturing prisoners of war is by no means a brave conduct; / to accept the surrender of the rebels should not be considered coward. / It is better for your valiant fighters to control their keenness for all the rebellious rural farmers only wanted to find a way to survive. / When you reach the anti-rebellion front, please send me good news of victory as quickly as possible so as to release my sorrow for departing.
- 4 The phonetic notations before this paragraph are all from *Guǎngyùn*.
- 5 See Wang Li, "Studies on Zhu Xi's fānqiè", from Book Three of *Collected Works of Longchongbingdiao Room*, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, pp. 257–338.
- 6 See "Study on the finals in Su Shi's poems" (《蘇軾詩韻考Sū Shì Shī Yùn Kǎo》), from *Commemorative Papers by Mr. Wang Li* (《王力先生紀念論文集Wáng Lì Xiān Shēng Jì Niàn Lùn Wén Jǐ》), Beijing: The Commercial Press, pp. 91–113.
- 7 See "Study on the finals in lyrics composed by poets from Sichuan in the Song Dynasty such as Su Shi (《宋代蘇軾等四川詞人用韻考Sòng Dài Sū Shì Dēng Sì Chuān Cí Rén Yòng Yùn Kǎo》)", from Volume Eight of *Essays on Linguistics* (《語言學論叢Yǔ Yán Xué Lùn Cóng》) by the Chinese Department of Peking University, Beijing, 1981. And see "Study on the finals in lyrics composed by poets from Shandong in the Song Dynasty such as Xin Qiji (《宋代辛棄疾等山東詞人用韻考Sòng Dài Xīn Qì Jí Dēng Shān Dōng Cí Rén Yòng Yùn Kǎo》)", from *Journal of Nanjing University* (《南京大學學報Nán Jīng Dà Xué Xué Bào》), Volume 2, 1979.
- 8 According to 忖tiē, 30th group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, 捻(niē), as in 指捻zhǐ niǎn (to twist with fingers), is 奴協(xié<xie) qiè.

- 9 See Zhou Dapu周大璞, “Study on finals in *Dǒng Xī Xiāng* (《董西廂》用韻考 *Dǒng Xī Xiāng yòng yùn kǎo*)”, from *Wuhan University Journal* (《武漢大學學報 wǔ hàn dà xué xué bào》), Volume 2, 1963, pp. 84–100.
- 10 In 志zhì, the seventh group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “值zhí means to hold, 直(zhí<t̚ʰi)吏(li<li) qiè”. In 職zhí, 24th group of falling-tone characters in *Jìyùn*, it reads, “值zhí means to place, 逐(zhú<t̚ʰiu)力 qiè”, belongs to the 澄chéng initial. It also reads, 值zhí “means to place, 丞(chéng<t̚ʰiəŋ)職 qiè”, belonging to the 禪chán initial.
- 11 In 錫xī, 23rd group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “喫chī means to eat, 苦(kù<k Tang Zuofan u)擊(jī<ki) qiè”.
- 12 In 屋wū, the first group of falling-tone characters in *Jìyùn*, it reads, “麴qū, according to *Shuōwén*, refers to yeast, 丘(qiū<k’iəu)六liù qiè, also written as ‘鞠(jū<kiu)’, ‘麴(qū<kiu)’, ‘鞠(jū<kiu)’ or ‘鞠(jū<kiu)’”.
- 13 Here is a supplement according to the book written by Zui Libushi (樵李卜氏). In *Item Eight of Rules for Correcting Expressions and Composing Words*, it reads, “people tend to pronounce 屈(qū<k’iu) in Qu Yuan屈原 the same as that in 屈伸qū shēn (to bend and to stretch), but it is not right, for it is only used to mark its final”. Therefore, “屈” should be available. In 物wù, the eighth group of falling – tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “屈(chū<t̚ʰiəu), as in 屈產qū chǎn (made in Qu), refers to a place rich in producing excellent horses; it is also a surname, as in 屈平(Qu Ping) from the Chu State, 九勿(wù<vu) qiè”.
- 14 There is no “拞nuò” in *Guǎngyùn*. According to *Zì Hui* by Mei Yingzuo梅膺祚, “拞 is 如(rú<ɕiu)關 qiè”. It also appears in 歌gē gē final.
- 15 In 末mò, 13th group of falling-tone characters in *Jìyùn*, it reads, “跋bá, according to *Shuōwén*, means to rush about, 北(běi<pui)末(mò<mau) qiè”. It is not recorded in *Guǎngyùn*.
- 16 In 盍hé, 28th group of falling-tone characters in *Jìyùn*, it reads, “塌tā means (of the earth) to subside, 託(tuō<t’au)盍(hé<xò) qiè”.
- 17 In 洽qià, 31st group of falling-tone characters in *Guǎngyùn*, it reads, “凹āo, means being sunken, 烏洽(qià<xia) qiè”. It also appears in 肴yáo, the fifth group of lower level-tone characters in *Jìyùn*.
- 18 In modern Chinese, 血 had two pronunciations in Mandarin, namely, xié²⁴ and xuè⁵¹. In Wu dialect, it was pronounced as [ɛyɛ²⁵] and, in Shuangfeng dialect of Hubei, as [ɛyɛ²⁴].

6 The development of the tone system from Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese

6.1 Introduction

In Middle Chinese, the four tones, namely, the level tone, the falling-rising tone, the falling tone, and the entering tone, all contained voiceless and voiced initials, which were different both in their pronunciation and in their pitches. However, in the common language at that time, the pitch difference between voiceless and voiced initials was not significant, and they could be classified into the same tone category. This can be evidenced from the rhyming of the Tang poetry. For example:

太乙近天都(dū<tu), 連山接海隅(yú<ŋǐu)。白雲迴望合,
青靄入看無(wú<mǐu)。分野中峰變, 陰晴衆壑殊(shū<zǐu)。
欲投人處宿, 隔水問樵夫(fū<pǐu)。¹

tài yǐ jìn tiān dū, lián shān jiē hǎi yú. bái yún huí wàng hé, qīng ǎi rù kàn
wú. fēn yě zhōng fēng biàn, yīn qíng zhòng hè shū. yù tóu rén chù sù,
gé shuǐ wèn qiáo fū. (
Zhōng Nán Shān [《終南山》, *Mount Eternal South*], Wang Wei 王維, Tang
dynasty)

胡馬大宛名(míng<mǐɛŋ), 鋒稜瘦骨成(chéng<zǐɛŋ)。
竹批雙耳峻, 風入四蹄輕(qīng<k^hɛŋ)。
所向無空闊, 真堪託死生(shēng<ʃɛŋ)。
驍騰有如此, 萬里可橫行(xíng<ɣaŋ)。²

hú mǎ dà wǎn míng, fēng léng shòu gǔ chéng. zhú pī shuāng ěr jùn, fēng
rù sì tí qīng. suǒ xiàng wú kōng kuò, zhēn kān tuō sǐ shēng. xiāo téng
yǒu rú cǐ, wàn lǐ kě héng xíng.

(*Fáng Bīng Cáo Hú Mǎ Shī* [《房兵曹胡馬詩》], *A Horse of Hu Breed Raised by Mr. Fang, a Military Officer*, Du Fu杜甫, the Tang dynasty)

Both of the preceding poems rhyme with level-tone characters. In the first poem, there are five rhyming characters, with “都” dū and “夫” fū belonging to voiceless sound, “殊” shū voiced sound, and “隅” yú and “無” wú sub-voiced sound. In the second poem, there are also five rhyming characters with “輕” qīng and “生” shēng belonging to voiceless sound, “成” chéng and “行” xíng voiced sound, and “名” míng sub-voiced sound.

楚山有高士，梁國有遺老(lǎo<lau)。築室既相鄰，向田復同道(dào<dau)。

△

△

糗糲常共飯，兒孫每更抱(bào<bau)。忘此耕耨勞，愧彼風雨好(hǎo<hau)。

△

△

蟋蟀鳴空澤，鶻鴟傷秋草(cǎo<ts'au)。日夕寒風來，衣裳苦不早(zǎo<tsau)。³

△

△

chǔ shān yǒu gāo shì, liáng guó yǒu yí lǎo. zhù shì jì xiāng lín, xiàng tián fù tóng dào. qiū bèi cháng gòng fàn, ér sūn měi gēng bào. wàng cǐ gēng nòu láo, kuì bǐ fēng yǔ hǎo. huì gū wū kōng zé, tí jué shāng qiū cǎo. rì xī hán fēng lái, yī shang kǔ bù zǎo.

(*Tián Jiā Zá Xīng* [《田家雜興》], *An Extempore Poem on Farmers' Life*), Chu Guangxi儲光羲, the Tang dynasty)

空山不見人，但聞人語響(xiǎng<hǎn)。

△

返景入深林，復照青苔上(shàng<zǎn)。⁴

△

kōng shān bú jiàn rén, dàn wén rén yǔ xiǎng. fǎn jǐng rù shēn lín, fù zhào qīng tái shàng.

(*Lù Zhài* [《鹿柴》], *The Deer Enclosure*), Wang Wei, the Tang dynasty)

The preceding two poems rhyme with falling–rising-tone characters. In the first poem, there are six rhyming characters with “好hǎo”, “草cǎo”, and “早zǎo” belonging to voiceless sound; “道dào” and “抱bào” to voiced sound; and “老lǎo” to sub-voiced sound. In the second poem, there are two rhyming characters with “響xiǎng” belonging to voiceless sound and “上shàng” to voiced sound.

客自長安來，還師長安去(qù<k'io)。狂風吹我心，西掛咸陽樹(shù<zǐu)。

△

△

此情不可道，此別何時遇(yù<ŋiu)，望望不見君，連山起煙霧(wù<mǐu)。⁵

△

△

kè zì cháng ān lái, huán shī cháng ān qù. kuáng fēng chuī wǒ xīn, xī guà xián yáng shù. cǐ qíng bù kě dào, cǐ bié hé shí yù. wàng wàng bú jiàn jūn, lián shān qǐ yān wù.

(*Jīn Xiāng Sòng Wēi Bā Zhī Xī Jīng* [《金鄉送韋八之西京》], *Seeing Wei Ba off at Jinxiang for Xijing*), Li Bai李白, the Tang dynasty)

崢嶸赤雲西，日脚下平地(di<di)。柴門鳥雀噪，歸客千里至(zhì<tei)。

△

△

妻孥怪我在，驚定還拭淚(lèi<lwi)。世亂遭飄蕩，生還偶然遂(suì<zwi)。

△

△

鄰人滿牆頭，感歎亦歎歎(xī<hǎi)⁶。夜闌更秉燭，相對如夢寐(mèi<mi)。⁷

△

△

zhēng róng chì yún xī, rì jiǎo xià píng dì. chái mén niǎo què sāng, guī kè
qiān lǐ zhì. qī nú guài wǒ zài, jīng dīng huán shì lèi. shì luàn zāo piāo
dàng, shēng huán ǒu rán suì. lín rén mǎn qiáng tóu, gǎn tàn yì xū xī. yè
lán gēng gbǐng zhú, xiāng duì rú mèng mèi.

(*Qiāng Cūn Sān Shǒu* [《羌村三首》之一], one of the three poems of
Coming Back to Qiang Village, Du Fu杜甫, the Tang dynasty)

The preceding poems are both rhymed with falling-tone characters. In the first poem, there are four rhyming characters, with “去qù” belonging to voiceless sound, “樹shù” to voiced sound, and “遇yù” and “霧wù” to sub-voiced sound. In the second poem, there are six rhyming characters with “至zhì” and “歎xī” belonging to voiceless sound, “地” and “遂suì” to voiced sound, and “淚lèi” and “寐mèi” to sub-voiced sound.

漢上有遊女，求思安可得(dé<tək)，袖中一割書，欲寄雙飛翼(yì<jǐək)。

△

△

冥冥愁不見，耿耿徒緘憶(yì<iǎk)。紫蘭秀空蹊，皓露奪幽色(sè<jǐək)。

△

△

馨香歲欲晚，感歎情何極(jí<gǐək)，白雲在南山，日暮長太息(xī<sǐək)。⁸

△

△

hàn shàng yǒu yóu nǚ, qiú sī ān kě dé. xiù zhōng yī zhā shū, yù jì shuāng
fēi yì. míng míng chóu bú jiàn, gěng gěng tú jiān yì. zǐ lán xiù kōng qī,
hào lù duó yōu sè. xīn xiāng suì yù wǎn, gǎn tàn qíng hé jí, bái yún zài
nán shān, rì mù cháng tài xī.

(*Gǎn Yù Three* [《感遇》十二首之三, the third of the 12 poems of *Lyrics
on What I Saw and Heard*], Zhang Jiuling張九齡, the Tang dynasty)

大車揚飛塵，亭午暗阡陌(mò<mək)。中貴多黃金，連雲開甲宅(zhái<qək)。

△

△

路逢鬥雞者，冠蓋何輝赫(hè<hek)。鼻息干虹蜺，行人皆怵惕(tì<tʰiek)。

△

△

世無洗耳翁，誰知堯與跖(zhí<teǐək)。⁹

△

dà chē yáng fēng chén, tíng wǔ àn qiān mò. zhōng duō
guī huáng jīn, lián yún kāi jiǎ zhái. lù féng dòu jī zhě, guān gài hé huī hè. bǐ xī
gān hóng ní, xíng rén jiē chù tì. shì wú xǐ ěr wēng, shuí zhī yáo yú zhí.

(*Gǔ Fēng* 24 [《古風》五十九首之二十四, 24th of the 59 poems of *Ancient
Customs*], Li Bai, the Tang dynasty)

The preceding poems are rhymed with falling-tone characters. In the first poem, there are six rhyming characters, with “得dé”, “憶yì”, “色sè”, and “息xī”

belonging to voiceless sound; “極jí” to voiced sound; and “翼yì” to sub-voiced sound. In the second poem, there are five rhyming characters, with “赫hè”, “惕tì”, and “碓tuó” belonging to voiceless sound; “宅zhái” to voiced sound; and “陌mò” to sub-voiced sound.

With the development of phonetics, the pitch difference between voiced and voiceless tones gradually increased, resulting in the differentiation of tone categories, which started as early as the Tang dynasty.¹⁰

In 880 CE (the second year of Guangming [廣明guǎngmíng] of Xizong’s Reign [唐僖宗] of the Tang dynasty), An Ran 安然, a Japanese, wrote eight volumes of *Xī Tán Zàng* (《悉曇藏》, Buddhist Scriptures of Siddham),¹¹ of which volume five described tones of the Wu and Chinese languages taught by four Buddhist scholars, namely, Biao (Biao Xin 表信), Jin (Jin Lixin 金禮信), Zheng (Wei Zheng 惟正), and Cong (Zhi Cong 智聰),¹² which shows the differentiation of Chinese four tones of the Tang dynasty:

Japan was the first country to spread the use of the two pronunciations. In Biao’s speech, the level tone is straightforward and at a low pitch with distinctions between voiceless and voiced sounds. His falling-rising tone is straightforward and high with voiceless sound only. The pitch of his falling tone lowers a little with no distinction between voiceless and voiced sounds. Biao’s entering tone comes to a sudden halt with no distinction between the length and the height of vowels. Among the level-tone 还 characters, the nasal and lateral sound is the same as the voiced sound, while in falling-rising-tone characters, the voiced sound bears no difference to the falling tone. However, Jin’s strength and pitch in pronunciation is different than that of Biao. Although their voiced sound in the falling-rising tone seems to be the same manner, the level tone of the former begins with a voiced sound and ends with a voiceless sound, which resembles their differences in aspiration. They also differ in the positioning of their lips and tongue. In the late Chenghe’s Reign, Master Zheng returned to Japan, who pursued study in Luoyang before listening to lectures in Taiyuan, and finished his learning in Chang’an.

As a result, his way of pronunciation is quite different. All four of his tones possess voiceless and voiced sounds. His level tone has both voiceless and voiced sounds and its voiceless sound also bears voiceless and voiced ones. His voiced sound in the voiceless level-tone characters belongs to the nasal and lateral sound in Jin’s pronunciation. His falling-rising tone has voiceless (and voiced) sounds too, with his voiceless sound seemingly the same as that of Jin. Among the voiceless level-tone and the voiceless falling-rising-tone characters of Jin, the aspiration starts with the level tone and ends with the falling-rising tone. Master Zheng’s voiced sound of the level and the falling-rising tones is like Jin’s voiced sound of the falling tone without abruptness. His falling tone has both voiceless and voiced sounds, with the former being short and the latter being long. His falling tone also has voiceless and voiced sounds with the former being high and the latter being low. During the early time of Yuanqing’s Reign, Master Cong returned to Japan, and lived in

Chang'an for a long period of time, appointing and searching for successful candidates in the highest imperial examinations. He traveled from north to south, becoming familiar with different types of dialects along the way. His four tones all have voiceless and voiced sounds. His voiceless and voiced sounds of the level and the falling-rising tones are like the falling-rising tone during Zhenghe's Reign. His voiceless sound of the falling-rising tone is like the upper falling-rising tone of Zhenghe's Reign. His voiced sound of the falling-rising tone is like the voiced sound of the upper-level tone of Zhenghe's Reign. The voiced sound of the level tone is like Jin's nasal lateral sound. What makes this different from today's sound is his aspiration strength. The voiceless and voiced sounds of his falling tone seem derived from the voiced sound of the falling-rising tone, but with a longer and more complicated sound as the falling tone. At the end of any sound, there are subtle voiceless and voiced sounds, with the former ending straight and the latter rising upwards slightly. Here the strength of the aspiration also belongs to a nasal and lateral sound. The two of these masters both spoke the Wu language and Chinese. . . . However, according to Master Cong, the pronunciations of the former three figures did not exist at all during the whole duration of the Tang Dynasty. Hence it is noted: with the changes of time and customs, it is disharmonious and against the rules to pronounce ancient characters judged by today's pronunciation rules.¹³

The previous quotes inform that the Chinese pronunciation, taught by Biao Xin, contains five tones: the voiceless level tone, voiced level tone, falling-rising tone, falling tone, and entering tone. The Wu pronunciation, taught by Jin Lixin, has six tones: the voiceless level tone, voiced level tone, voiceless falling-rising tone, voiced falling-rising tone, falling tone, and entering tone. The Wu and the Chinese pronunciations, taught by Wei Zheng and Zhi Cong, contain eight tones: the level tone, falling-rising tone, falling tone and entering tone are all divided into voiceless and voiced sounds. In the original text, “輕qīng” refers to a voiceless sound; “重zhòng”, a voiced sound; “怒聲nùshēng”, a nasal and lateral sound; “內外nèi wài”, height and length of vowels; and “角引jiǎo yǐn”, a long and complicated tone. The Chinese and Tang pronunciations in Japan were originated from the Central Plains of China; their tones may not necessarily be the same as those in Chinese. However, it is obvious that the differentiation of the four Chinese tones had already started, on the basis of the voiceless and voiced sounds of initials at that time.

In the 14th century, a Japanese Buddhist monk named Liao Zun了尊 wrote *Manuscript Charts for General Interpretation of Siddham* (《悉曇輪略圖抄》xī tán shū lüè tú chāo).¹⁴ In *Volume One of Eight Discussions on Four Tones* (“論四聲八事lùn sì shēng bā shì”), it reads,

According to Si Song私頌, who first established the four tones, the voiced level tone is low from the beginning to the end, and the voiceless level tone begins with a high pitch and ends with low pitch; the voiced falling-rising tone

begins with a low pitch and ends with high pitch, and the voiceless falling-rising tone is high from beginning to end; the voiced falling tone starts with a low pitch before coming to a halt, and the voiceless falling tone starts with a high pitch before coming to a halt; the voiced entering tone is low from beginning to the end, and the voiceless falling tone is high from beginning to end. . . . There are eight pitches altogether among the four tones. . . . The low and high pitches of one tone constitute level and falling-rising tones, dividing the four tones into eight types. Hence the eight tones are interlinked.^{15,16}

In this way, the four tones in Chinese are divided into eight types. Based on Liao Zun's writings, Ding Xinbang 丁新邦 has an analysis of eight Chinese tones in *New Studies on Chinese Tones* (《平仄新考》 *píng zè xīn kǎo*)¹⁷ as is shown in Table 6.1.

It can also be displayed by the five-grade tone marks as is shown in table 6-2.

As for “偃yǎn” in “初低後偃chū dī hòu yǎn” or “初昂後偃chū áng hòu yǎn” of the falling tone, some scholars hold that it is actually a zigzag tone (including a falling-rising tone and a rising-falling tone, 曲折調qū zhé diào),¹⁸ while some consider it as a prompt dropping tone (速降調sù jiàng diào).¹⁹ Both views can be held for references.

However, Liao Zun's description of the eight tones may not show the tone system in the northern dialects of the Yuan dynasty. However, the high and level tone, the rising tone, the falling-rising tone and the falling tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, by Zhou Deqing, reveals the truth of

Table 6.1 Eight Chinese tones by Ding Xinbang

Level tone	}	Yīn level tone (Voiceless level tone)	Falling tone
		Yáng level tone (Voiced level tone)	Low flat tone
Falling-rising tone	}	Yīn falling-rising tone (Voiceless falling-rising tone)	High flat tone
		Yáng falling-rising tone (Voiced falling-rising tone)	Rising tone
Falling tone	}	Yīn falling tone (Voiceless falling tone)	High falling tone
		Yáng falling tone (Voiced falling tone)	Low/middle falling tone
Entering tone	}	Yīn entering tone (Voiceless entering tone)	High flat tone
		Yáng entering tone (Voiced entering tone)	Low flat tone

Table 6.2 Five-grade tone marks

Level tone	}	Yīn level tone	ˊ	53
		Yáng level tone	ˊ	22
Falling–rising tone	}	Yīn falling–rising tone	ˋ	55
		Yáng falling–rising tone	ˋ	35
Falling tone	}	Yīn falling tone	ˋ	51
		Yáng falling tone	ˋ	31
Entering tone	}	Yīn entering tone	ˋ	55
		Yáng entering tone	ˋ	22

the tone system in the vast northern dialects based on the pronunciation in the Central Plains (around the Henan area) in the 14th century. Different from the level tone, falling–rising tone, falling tone and entering tone in Middle Chinese, the system features the division of the level tone into yīn and yáng, reclassification of the entering tone into the three other tones, the transformation of the voiced falling–rising tone into the falling tone, and the steadiness of the falling tone. The following section discusses them, respectively.

6.2 The division of the level tone into yīn and yáng

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, all level-tone characters are divided into yīn and yáng, with no exceptions among the 19 categories. In the *Preface* of the book, Zhou Deqing writes,

As for characters with yīn and yáng, they are represented in the level tone. The falling–rising tone and the falling tone have no distinctions between yīn and yáng. They have only one sound, while only the level tone has two sounds, namely the upper-level tone and lower-level tone. The upper-level tone covers characters from group one of the 東(dōng) to group 28 of 山(shān), and the lower-level tone from group one of 先(xiān) to group 27 of 咸(xián).²⁰

The upper level tone, termed by Zhou Deqing, refers to the rising tone and the lower level tone and the high and level tone. Characters of the high and level tone mostly came from those in voiceless level-tone initials in Middle Chinese, while those of the rising tone from voiced level-tone initials. Take the 東鐘(dōngzhōng)

final group as an example. There are 84 high and level tone characters altogether, including the following:

- 東 dōng(端 duān)
- 鍾鐘終(照 zhào-II)中忠衷 zhōng(知 zhī-III)
- 通 tōng(透 tòu-I)
- 松 sōng(邪 xié-IV)嵩 sōng(心 xīn-IV)
- 充衝幢 chōng(穿 chuān-III)春椿 chōng(審 shěn-III)忡 chōng(徹 chè-III)冲
翀 chōng(澄 chéng-III)
- 邕邕雍 yōng(影 yǐng-III)
- 空控 kōng(溪 xī-I)
- 宗稜 zōng(精 jīng-I)
- 風楓封 fēng(非 fēi-III)豐峰鋒丰蜂 fēng(敷 fū-III)
- 鬆慙 sōng(心 xīn-I)
- 匆葱聰鹵 cōng(清 qīng-I)
- 蹤 zōng縱 zòng樅 cōng(精 jīng-IV)
- 穹 qióng(溪 xī-III)傾 qīng(溪 xī-IV)
- 工功攻公蚣 gōng(見 jiàn-I)弓躬恭宮龔供 gōng(見 jiàn-III)肱 gōng(見 jiàn-I)
觥 gōng(見 jiàn-II)
- 烘叻 hōng(曉 xiǎo-I)轟蕘 hōng(曉 xiǎo-II)
- 凶兇胸洵兄 xiōng(曉 xiǎo-III)
- 翁鏞 wēng(影 yǐng-I)癡 yōng靡 yōng壅 yōng泓 hóng(影 yǐng-III)
- 崩 bēng繃 běng(幫 bāng-I)
- 烹 pēng(滂 pāng-II)

Among the 84 characters of the 19 groups, all belong to voiceless initials, except “冲” chōng, “翀” chōng, and “種” zhǒng in 澄 chéng initial (直弓 zhí gōng qiè), as well as “松” sōng in 邪 xié initial (祥容 xiáng róng qiè), which belonged to voiced initials in ancient Chinese. There are altogether 93 rising-tone characters. They are as follows:

- 同 tóng筒 tǒng銅 tóng桐 tóng峒 dòng童 tóng僮 tóng幢 tóng瞳 tóng瞳 tóng潼 tóng
鞏 dōng(定 dìng-I)
- 戎 róng茂 róng駢 róng絨 róng毳 róng茸 rōng(日 rì-III)
- 龍 lóng隆 lóng癘 lóng隆 lóng(來 lái-III)
- 窮 qióng窮 qióng蛩 qióng邛 qióng筇 qióng(群 qún-III)
- 膿 nóng農 nóng農 nóng(泥 ní-I)
- 濃 nóng濃 nóng釀 nóng(娘 niáng-III)
- 重 zhòng蟲 chóng(澄 chéng-III)慵 yōng(徹 chè-III)鏞 yōng
(禪 chán-III)崇 chóng(床 chuáng-II)
- 馮 féng逢 féng縫 fèng(奉 fèng-III)
- 叢 cóng叢 cóng琮 cóng(從 cóng-I)
- 熊 xióng雄 xióng(匣 xiá-III)
- 容 róng溶 róng蓉 róng瑤 róng鎔 róng庸 yōng傭 yōng鄺 yōng鏞 yōng墉 yōng
(喻 yù-IV)榮 róng(喻 yù-III)

- 蒙méng濛méng朦méng矇méng瞢méng(明míng-I)瞞méng盲máng萌méng(明míng-II)
- 紅hóng洪hóng虹hóng洪hóng鴻hóng(匣xiá-I)宏hóng絃hóng橫héng嶸róng弘hóng(匣xiá-III)
- 蓬péng篷péng芴péng髻péng鵬péng(並bìng-I)彭棚péng(並bìng-II)
- 從cóng(從cóng-IV)

The previously mentioned 93 characters all belong to voiced initials as do the characters in all 19 groups of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* with only 39 exceptions, among which 24 were voiced level-tone characters pronounced as high and level tone. These were “沖chōng 翀chōng 種zhǒng” (澄chéng), “松sōng”(邪xié), “缸gāng”(匣xiá), “邳pī”(並bìng), “枹bāo”(奉fèng), “駘tái”(定dìng), “汾fēn”(奉fèng), “蹠pián”(並bìng), “掏tāo”(定dìng), “鴟xiāo”(喻yù-III), “託tuō”(定dìng), “瘡chāi cuó”(從cóng), “麼me”(明míng), “查chá 楂zhā 躋chà”(床chuáng-III), “呀ya”(疑yí), “鱗qín<k' iəm)”(從cóng), “酣hān”(匣xiá), “槓jiān”(匣xiá), and “粘zhān”(泥ní), and 15 are non-level-tone voiced characters pronounced as rising tones, including the voiceless level-tone Middle Chinese characters of “幫(pí<p Tang Zuofan i)”(幫), “娠shēn”(審shěn), “訝xiā”(曉xiǎo), “譚huá”(曉xiǎo), “滂pīng”(滂pāng), “驪(chōu<tʂ' iəu)”(照zhào), “惆chóu”(徹chè), “繆jiū”(見jiàn), “鑣剗嶼chán”(初chū), and “瞻chān”(昌chāng) and the voiceless falling-rising-tone Middle Chinese characters of “櫟(cháo<tʂ' əu)”(精jīng) and “鋸chěn”(徹chè), as well as the voiced falling-tone Middle Chinese character of “胖pàng”(並bìng).

All in all, the fact that level-tone characters in Middle Chinese are divided into yīn and yáng based on whether their initials are voiced or voiceless is, in effect, one of the most important rules of the evolution of modern tones. However, the values of the yīn and yáng level tones in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are untraceable now. The modern dialects of a few regions (such as Zhuanghe of Liaoning, Zhangjiakou and Wei County of Hebei, Taiyuan and Ningwu of Shanxi, Kangle and Zhuanglang of Ganxu) have one tone type only, with the level tone. In most regions, the level tone is divided into yīn and yáng. Most high-and-level-tone characters are level, but their pitches vary to some extent. For example, the sound value of the dialects from Beijing, Xiamen, and Shuangfeng, among others, is 55; that of Chengdu, Kunming, Mei County, Suzhou, Wenzhou, and Fuzhou, among others, 44; and that of Poyang, Changsha, Yangjiang, and Chaozhou, among others, 33. A small number of high-and-level-tone characters are falling or zigzag. For instance, the sound value of the dialects of Nanchang is 42; that of Yangzhou, 31; that of Xi'an, 21; that of Jinan, 213; and that of Hefei, 212. Most of the rising-tone characters are rising, such as the sound value of Beijing and Poyang being 35; that of Yangzhou, 34; that of Suzhou, Xiamen, Nanchang, and Xi'an, 24; that of Shuangfeng, 23; and that of Changsha, 12. A few rising-tone characters are falling, such as the sound value of the dialects of Chengdu, Kunming, and Wenzhou being 31; that of Fuzhou, 52; and that of Jinan, 42. Only the dialects in the Central Shaanxi Plain are special in that most high-and-level-tone characters are rising with very few level-tone ones left.²¹ Based on

the previously mentioned facts, the deduction in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* states that the high-and-level-tone characters are level and that the rising-tone characters are rising, which may actually be quite close to the truth or even fact.

6.3 The reclassification of the entering tone into the other three tones

During the Yuan dynasty, the vowel endings of [-p], [-t], and [-k] in Chinese had disappeared, and the vowel structure had undergone some major changes. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language were reclassified into the rising tone, the falling-rising tone and the falling tone, and the high and level tone having no entering-tone characters. According to Zhou Deqing, a famous scholar, the fact that the entering tone is dispatched into the other three tones has already been recorded in the masterpieces of the predecessors, but nobody has put them into one book²² (see *Rules for Correcting Expressions and Composing Words*). In the rhyming of Yuan verses and lyrics, falling-tone characters not only rhyme with yīn finals but also have level and falling tones, which is consistent with Zhou Deqing's observation. For example, in scene four of act one of *Xī Xiāng Jī, Zhù mǎ tīng* ([駐馬聽]zhù mǎ tīng, *Halting the Horse*), the rhymes are “饒náo”, “角jiǎo”, “號hào”, “梢shāo”, “敲qiāo”, “報bào”, and “飽bǎo”; in scene three of act two of the same book, *Tiánshuǐlǐng* ([甜水令], *Song of Sweet Water*), the rhymes are “那nà”, “多duō”, “過guò”, and “合hé”; in scene three of *Xiè Tiān Xiāng* (《謝天香》, *Xie Tianxiang*) by Guan Hanqing, *Zhèng Gōng-Duānzhèng hǎo* ([正宮·端正好], *Calm Dignity*), the rhymes are “妓jì”, “席xí”, “鬼guǐ”, and “內nèi”; in act one of *Shān Shén Miào Péi Dù Huán Dài* (《山神廟裴度還帶》, *Pei Du Returned the Jade Belt in The Temple of Mountain God*), *Xiān Lǚ-Diǎnjiàngchún* ([仙侶·點絳脣], *Roughed Lips of a Fairy*), the rhymes are “埋(mái<mai)”, “蓋gài”, “載zài”, “白bái”, and “債zhài”. (Characters with black dots belong to the entering tone.)

After analyzing the entering-tone characters in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, it can be seen that the reclassification of the entering tone into the other three tones follows three rules as follows:

(1) Full-voiced entering-tone characters falling into the rising tone

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 176 full-voiced entering-tone characters belonging to the 並bìng, 定dìng, 群qún, 從cóng, 邪xié, 澄chéng, 床chuáng, 禪chán, 奉fèng and 匣xiá initials in Middle Chinese, among which 166 are recategorized into the rising tone. See the following examples.

並bìng	僕pú白bái帛 bó舶bó泊pō箔bó薄báo勃bó渤 bó跋bá魃bá拔 bá 別bié
奉fèng	復fù伏fú鵬 fú服fú佛 fú縛fù伐fá筏fá罰fá乏 fá
定dìng	狄dí荻dí敵dí笛dí籬dí獨dú 讀dú瀆dú犢dú毒dú燾dào突 (tū<tu)度dù躅duó鐸duó奪duó 達dá 逕tā疊牒喋迭埜 經dié跌diē

澄chéng	直zhí姪zhí擲zhì秩zhì逐zhú軸zhóu澤zé擇zé宅zhái濁zhuó濯zhuó鑄zhuó擢zhuó著zhuó
床chuáng	闡zhá(床chuáng-II)實shí食shí蝕shí射shè贖shú術shù秫shú述shù舌shé(床chuáng-III)
禪chán	石shí十shí什shén拾shí屬shǔ淑shū蜀shǔ孰shú熟shú塾shú芍sháo杓biāo涉shè折zhé
從cóng	疾jí嫉jí集jí寂jí族zú鑿záo雜zá捷jié截jié絕jué
邪xié	夕xī席xí習xí俗sú績xù襲xí
群qún	及jí極jí局jú傑jié竭jié碣jié鰈(jué<kiue)擗juē
匣xiá	斛hú榭hú鵠hú鶻gú畫huà劃huà鶴hè涸hé學xué鸞xué合hé盒hé盍hé活huó狎xiá轄xiá俠xiá峽xiá洽qià袷jiá匣xiá滑huá猾huá協xié穴xué

There are a few exceptions. “髀pì關pì暴bào (並bing)”, “滌dí(定ding)”, “檄xí覘xí(匣xiá)”, and “輒zhé撤chè澈chè(澄chéng)” are allocated into the falling-rising tone and “劇jù(群qún)” into the falling tone.

(2) Sub-voiced entering-tone characters falling into the falling tone

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 188 sub-voiced entering-tone characters belonging to the 明míng, 微wēi, 泥ní(娘niáng), 來lái, 日rì, 疑yí and 喻yù initials in Middle Chinese, among which 187 are recategorized into the falling tone. Examples are as follows.

明míng	蜜mì覓mì密mò墨mù木mù沐mù穆mù睦mù牧mù 鷺wù目mù沒méi 麥mài 脈mài陌mò 貌mò 驀mò 末mò沫mò莫mò幕mù漠mò寞mò 滅miè篋miè蔑miè
微wēi	勿wù物wù襪wà
泥ní娘(niáng)	匿nì訥nè擱nuò諾nuò納nà納 nà捏niē聶niè躡niè鑷niè
來lái	立lì粒lì笠lì力lì栗lì曆lì歷lì瀝lì櫪lì肋lè勒lèi 鹿lù漉lù麓lù祿lù律lù陸lù戮lù錄lù 綠lù醜lù 略lüè掠lüè落luò洛luò絡luò酪lào 烙lào樂lè 臘(là<la)蠟là拉là糲lì辣là裂liè列liè洌liè獵liè 鬣liè劣liè
日rì	入rù日rì辱rǔ褥rù弱ruò蕝ruò 箸 ruò若ruò肉ròu熱rè熱(ruó<ɽiue)
疑yí	逆nì兀wù玉yù 獄yù額é峇è羈é愕è萼è 鴟è鄂è岳yuè樂lè虐nüè瘡nuè 嚙niè臬niè藜niè業yè鄴yè 軋yuè 月yuè 別yuè
喻yù	逸yì易yì場yì譯yì驛yì溢yì鎰yì腋yè 掖yē液yè役yì 疫yì 翼yì射shè欲yù 育yù藥yào躍yuè鑰yào淪yuè 葉yè燁yè悅yuè 閱yuè 越yuè 鉞yuè

Among all the sub-voiced entering-tone characters, only one character, “抹”, is reclassified as the falling-rising tone, and none are reclassified as the rising tone.

(3) Voiceless entering-tone characters falling into the falling–rising tone

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 357 voiceless entering-tone characters belonging to the 幫(bāng), 滂(pāng), 非(fēi), 敷(fū), 端(dūan), 透(tòu), 知(zhī), 徹(chè), 照(zhào), 穿(chuān), 審(pān), 精(jīng), 清(qīng), 心(xīn), 見(jiàn), 溪(xī), 曉(xiào), and 影(yǐng) initials in Middle Chinese, among which 331 are recategorized into the falling–rising tone. See the following examples.

幫(bāng)	必bì 畢bì 蹕bì 碧bì 璧bì 筆bì 北běi 卜bo 佰(bǎi<pai) 白bái 百bǎi 柏bǎi 迫pò 擘bāi 髒bò 剥bō 駁bó 撥bō 跋bá 鉢bō 八bā 別bié 繫(biē<pie) 撇
滂(pāng)	匹pǐ 僻pì 闢pì 劈pī 撲pū 拍pāi 珀 魄pò 滂pō 粕pò 鉞bó 警piē 撇piē
非(fēi)	不bù 復fù 福fú 幅fú 蝠fú 腹fù 法fǎ 發fā 髮fà
敷(fū)	覆fù 拂fú
端(dūan)	的de 嫡dí 滴dī 德dé 得dé 篤dū 督dū 掇duō 答dá 搭dā 嗒dā
透(tòu)	踢tī 剔tī 秃tū 託tuō 拓tà 柝tuō 橐tuō 飪tuō 魄pò 脫tuō 塔tǎ 榻tà 獺tǎ 鐵tiě 饗tiè 帖tiē 貼tiē
知(zhī)	笞chī 竹zhú 築zhú 卓zhuō 琢zuó 摘zhāi 謫zhé 輟chuò 哲zhé
徹(chè)	勅(chì<ts'ɿ) 鸕chì 畜chù 黜chù 戳chuō
照(zhào)	札(zhá<tʂa) 責zé 幘zé 簣zé 側cè 仄 zè 昃zè 窄zhǎi 迕zé 捉(zhuō<tʂau)(all belonging to 照zhào-II); 質zhì 鷲zhì 炙zhì 只zhǐ 織zhī 汁zhī 燭zhú 粥zhōu 斫zhuó 酌zhuó 繳jiǎo 灼zhuó 折zhé 浙zhè 摺zhé 拙 zhuō (all belonging to 照zhào-III)
穿(chuān)	察chá 插chā 策cè 柵zhà 册cè 測cè 錘chā 笈jí (all belonging to 穿chuān-II) 尺chǐ 赤chì 叱chì 觸chù 出chū 綽chuò 焯chào 掣chè 啜chuài (all belonging to 穿chuān-III)
審(pān)	瑟sè 澀sè 縮suō 色sè 穢sè 索suǒ 朔shuò 稍shāo 槩shuò 殺shā 霎 shà (all belonging to 審shěn-II) 失shī 室shì 識shí 拭shì 軾shì 飾shì 釋shì 適shì 爽shuǎng 濕shī 束shù 叔shū 淑shū 設shè 攝shè 說shuō (all belonging to 審shěn-III)
精(jīng)	積jī 績xù 跡jī 唧jī 鯽jī 稷jī 脊jí 卒zú 足zú 蹙cù 則 zé 作zuò 柞zhà 爵jué 雀què 啞yǎ 匝zā 節jié 席xí 接jiē 楫jí
清(qīng)	七qī 漆qī 刺cì 威qī 簇cù 促cù 錯cuò 鵠gù 趙què 撮cuō 切qiè 竊qiè 沕qī 妾qiè
心(xīn)	塞sāi 昔xī 惜xī 息xī 錫xī 浙xī 析xī 速sù 蕞sù 縮suō 謾sù 宿sù 粟 sù 索suǒ 擦cā 削xuē 颯sà 鞞sǎ 撒sǎ 薩sà 屑xiè 薛xuē 泄xiè 緹 xiè 變xiè 雪xuě
見(jiàn)	吉(jí<ki) 激jī 擊jī 棘jī 戟jǐ 汲jí 給gěi 急jí 國guó 谷gǔ 穀gǔ 骨gǔ 菊jú 踞jù 局jú 格gé 骼gé 革gé 隔gé 擱gē 閣gé 各gè 郭guō 角jiǎo 覺jué 脚jiǎo 葛gé 割gē 鵠gē 蛤há 聒guā 括kuò 甲jiǎ 胛 jiǎ 夾jiā 結jié 潔jié 頰jiá 鈇jiá 劫jié 決jué 訣jué 玦jué 譎jué 蕨jué

溪(xī)	乞qǐ 訖qì 喫chī 泣qì 隙xì 哭kū 酷(kù<k Tang Zuofan u)窟kū 屈qū 曲qū 黼qū 客kè 刻kè 廓kuò 渴kě 闊kuò 恰qià 掐qiā 刮guā 挈qiè 怯qiè 篋qiè 缺quē 闕què 闕què
曉 (xiǎo)	吸xī 翕xī 隙xì 黑hēi 忽hū 笏hù 嚇xià 壑hè 髙hè 謔xuè 瞎xiā
影(yǐng)	歇xiē 蝎xiē 一yī

There are a few exceptions. “逼bī 博bó(幫 bāng)”, “逃tāo 撻tà 踏tà(透 tòu)”, “譁huá(曉 xiǎo)”, and “茸qǐ 鋤zú 睫jié 凜cháo(精 jīng)” are recategorized as the rising tone and “刷shuā(生 shēng)” and “惡è 堊è 鴨yā 謁yè 噎yē 約yuē 藥yào 決jué 屋wū 鬱(yù<iu) 厄è 益(yì<i) 一yī 乙yǐ 邑yì 憶yì 揖yī(影yǐng)” as the falling tone. Among them, characters in the 影yǐng initial are exceptional. According to rules, as voiceless entering-tone characters, they should have been allocated into the falling–rising tone. However, in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the only entering-tone character that falls into the falling–rising tone is “一”, which reappears in the falling-tone characters. Meanwhile, 17 characters fall into the falling tone, the same as sub-voiced initials of 喻yù and 疑yí. The reason why the entering tone of 影yǐng, 喻yù, and 疑yí share the same transformation rules may lie in the fact that all of them had transformed into zero initials during the Yuan dynasty.

6.4 The transformation of the voiced falling–rising tone into the falling tone

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the voiceless falling–rising tone remained unchanged. The transformation of the voiced falling–rising tone into the falling tone refers to the change of the full-voiced falling–rising tone, which started in the seventh century. In *Correcting Errors in Printing* (《刊誤》), Li Fu 李涪 criticized *Qièyùn*, saying, “characters of the same pronunciation are divided into two final groups”.

“恨”hèn as in “恨怨yuàn (grudge)” belongs to the falling tone, while “恨(hèn<xən)” as in “佷戾hèn lì(being fierce)”, to the falling–rising tone; “辯(biàn<puan)” as in “言辯yán biàn(debate)”, to the falling–rising tone, while “弁”biàn as in “冠弁guān biàn(ancient cap)”, to the falling tone; “舅”jiù as in “舅甥jiù shēng(uncle and nephew)”, to the falling–rising tone, while “舊”jiù as in “故舊gù jiù(old friends)”, to the falling tone; “皓” as in “皓白hào bái(white)”, to the falling–rising tone, while “號hào” as in “號令hào lìng(order)”, to the falling tone.²³

“佷hèn 辯biàn 舅jiù 皓hào” are all full-voiced falling–rising–tone characters, and “恨hèn 弁biàn 舊jiù 號hào”, full-voiced falling–tone ones. Li Fu maintained that each pair of the four pairs shared the same pronunciation, which revealed that full-voiced falling–rising–tone characters of “佷hèn 辯biàn 舅jiù and 皓hào” were pronounced as the falling tone.²⁴ Han Yu 韓愈 argued in *Discussion on Taboos* (《諱辯》 huì biàn) that, “In the Zhou Dynasty, there was a man named

騏(qí<k Tang Zuofan i)期(qī<k Tang Zuofan i), and in the Han Dynasty, 杜(dù<tu)度dù. Then what taboo should their sons follow?”²⁵ According to Han Yu, “杜”dù and “度”dù shared the same pronunciation, with the former belonging to the falling-rising tone and the latter, the falling tone. In the item of “Falling-rising-tone characters with the falling sound (上shǎng聲shēng去qù 音yīn字zì)” at the beginning of *Yùnjīng*, it writes clearly, “Today, characters in the濁zhuó initial of the 逐zhú final group should be pronounced as the falling tone²⁶”, such as “動dòng”, “道dào”, “禱dǎo”, “士shì”, “上shàng” and “父fù”, and the like. In *Rules of Collection of Poems* (《詩緝·條例》shī jí tiáo lì) by Yan Can^平粲, it reads, “All voiced falling-rising-tone characters should be pronounced as the falling tone, except voiceless falling-rising-tone characters in popular language”.²⁷ In the phonetic chart of the same book, it reads,

Among the four tones, only full-voiced falling-rising-tone characters are pronounced as the falling tone, which is called zhòngdào (重道, heavy pronunciation). Take “同”tóng, “動”dòng, “洞”dòng and “獨” as examples. Amongst them, “動”dòng and “洞”dòng belong to zhòngdào, for their four tones are all full-voiced tones. Although “動”dòng belongs to the falling-rising tone, its pronunciation is the same as that of “洞”dòng, since it is full-voiced.²⁸

In Song lyrics, full-voiced falling-rising-tone characters are used to rhyme with falling-tone characters. For instance, in *Xúnfāngcǎo* (《尋芳草》, Looking for Fragrant Grass) by Xin Qiji, the rhymes are “淚lèi”, “被bèi”, “睡shuì”, “戲xì”, “意yì”, and “字zì”. In his *Yùlóuchūn* (《玉樓春》, Spring in the Jade Building), the rhymes are “住zhù”, “路lù”, “絮xù”, “誤wù”, “負fù”, and “處chù”. In his *Shēngzhāzǐ* (《生查子》, Raw Fruit of Chinese Papaya), the rhymes are “困kùn”, “信xìn”, “盡jìn”, and “近jìn”. (Those with black dots are falling-rising-tone characters.) All those example characters reveal that the full-voiced falling-rising tone has been transformed into the falling tone.

However, full-voiced falling-rising-tone characters were still listed in the falling-rising-tone group without being put into the falling-tone group in the phonetic chart of the Song dynasty. For instance, in *Cháng Mù Yè Xíng Dī Jīn Duī Shì* (《長木夜行抵金堆市》, Walking at Night in Changmu to Head for the City of Jindui), the rhymes include “雨yǔ”, “塢wù”, “堵dǔ”, “杼zhù”, “處chù”, “虎hǔ”, “旅lǚ”, and “古gǔ”, among which “雨yǔ”, “塢wù”, “堵dǔ”, “處chù”, “虎hǔ” and “古gǔ” are voiceless, “旅lǚ” is sub-voiced, and “杼zhù” is full-voiced. In his *Yì Rì Zǎo Qíng* (《翌日早晴》, Clearing up in the Next Morning), the rhymes contain “潦lǎo”, “浩hào”, “島dǎo”, “老lǎo”, “掃sǎo”, “草cǎo”, “討tǎo”, and “道dào”, among which “島dǎo”, “掃sǎo”, “草cǎo”, and “討tǎo” are voiceless; “潦lǎo” and “老lǎo” are sub-voiced; and “浩hào” and “道dào” are full-voiced.

It was not until the era of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* that the restrictions in traditional rhyming books were broken, and the full-voiced falling-rising-tone characters in Middle Chinese were officially put into the falling tone. See the following examples.

並 bing	倍 bèi 被 bèi 婢 bì 陛 bì 罷 bà 部 bù 簿 bù 鏢 biào 抱 bào 鮑 bào 辨 biàn n 辯 biàn 伴 bàn 牝 pìn 笨 (bèn < puən) 蚌 bàng 棒 bàng 並 bing
奉 fèng	奉 fèng 父 fù 釜 fǔ 輔 fǔ 婦 fù 負 fù 阜 fù 範 fàn 犯 fàn 範 fàn
定 dìng	動 dòng 盪 dàng 弟 dì 娣 dì 悌 tì 杜 dù 肚 dù 怠 dài 待 dài 盾 dùn 沌 dùn n 囤 dùn 誕 dàn 道 dào 稻 dào 舵 duò 惰 duò 墮 duò 淡 dàn 斷 duàn
澄 dèng	重 杖 雉 柱 紵 豸 篆 兆 趙 旒 肇 联 (lián < liuen) 湛
床 chuáng	仕 shì 柿 shì 涖 sì 俟 qí 饌 zhuàn 譔 zhuàn 糴
禪 chán	是 shì 氏 shì 市 shì 恃 shì 豎 shù 腎 shèn 善 shàn 鱔 shàn 埤 shàn 紹 shào 社 shè 甚 shén
從 cóng	罪 zuì 聚 jù 在 zài 盡 jìn 瓚 zàn 踐 jiàn 阜 zào 造 zào 靜 jìng 靖 jìng 奔 jǐng 漸 jiàn
邪 xié	象 xiàng 像 xiàng 似 sì 似 sì 巳 sì 汜 sì 耜 sì 兕 sì 祀 sì 序 xù 敘 xù 緒 xù
群 qún	技 jì 跪 guì 揆 kuí 巨 jù 詎 jù 拒 jù 距 jù 秬 jù 近 jìn 件 jiàn 咎 jiù 臼 jiù 舅 jiù 儉 jiǎn 芡 qiàn
匣 xiá	項 xiàng 晃 huǎng 幌 huǎng 户 hù 扈 hù 蛄 hù 怙 hù 亥 hài 解 jiě 混 hùn 旱 hàn 限 xiàn 緩 huǎn 昊 hào 皓 hào 浩 hào 顛 hào 荷 hé 禍 huò 廈 (shà < xia) 杏 xìng 幸 xìng 倖 xìng 迺 jiǒng 后 hòu 後 hòu 厚 hòu 撼 hàn 額 hàn

The rule that full-voiced falling–rising-tone characters conform to that in Modern Chinese Mandarin and most dialects. The preceding example characters are all pronounced as falling tones in Modern Chinese Mandarin, the Xiang dialect, and the Hakka language (such as in Mei County and Da Bu). However, there are a few exceptions. Characters of “殍 piǎo 諛 piǎn (並 bing)”, “噤 jìn (奉 fèng)”, “詒 yí (dài < tai) 給 dài 艇 tǐng 挺 tǐng 袒 tǎn 誕 dàn 菘 dàn (定 dìng)”, “盾 dùn (床 chuáng-III)”, “趨 zǎn 吮 shǔn (從 cóng)”, “噤 jìn 窘 jiǒng (群 qún)”, and “汞 gǒng 沆 hàn 狠 hěn 獾 huān and 澣 huàn (匣 xiá)”, all belonging to the full-voiced falling–rising tone in Middle Chinese, are still pronounced as falling–rising tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, which does not affect the rule that full-voiced falling–rising-tone characters are transformed into the falling tone. As for the sub-voiced falling–rising tone, it remains to be pronounced as the falling–rising tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, as do voiceless falling–rising-tone characters. Examples are as follows.

明 míng	蠓 měng 懵 měng 猛 měng 虻 měng 莽 mǎng 蟒 mǎng 米 mǐ 弭 mǐ 洩 měi 美 měi 母 mǔ 某 mǒu 牡 mǔ 畝 mǔ 敏 mǐn 閔 mǐn
微 wēi	罔 wǎng 網 wǎng 綱 wǎng 尾 wěi 甕 mén 武 wǔ 舞 wǔ 鷓 wǔ 侮 wǔ 蕪 wǔ 刎 wěn 吻 wěn 晚 wǎn 挽 wǎn
泥 (娘) ní	囋 nóng 你 nǐ 旎 nǐ 禰 mí 餒 nǐ 努 nǔ 弩 nǔ 女 nǚ 乃 nǎi 奶 nǎi 赧 nǎn 暖 nuǎn 碾 niǎn 撚 niǎn 腦 nǎo 惱 nǎo
日 rì	壤 rǎng 穰 ráng 爾 ěr 邇 ěr 耳 ěr 餌 ěr 葦 ruǐ (ruǐ < rui) 汝 (rǔ < rui) 乳 rǔ 忍 rěn 軟 ruǎn 繞 rào 嬈 ráo 擾 rǎo 稔 rěn 荏 rěn

來 lái	攏 lǒng 隴 lǒng 壟 lǒng 兩 liǎng 魍 liǎng 禮 lǐ 里 lǐ 理 lǐ 李 lǐ 磊 lěi 纍 lěi 蕾 lěi 魯 lǔ 呂 lǔ 懶 lǎn 輦 niǎn
疑 yí	仰 yǎng 錡 qí 蟻 yǐ 擬 nǐ 艤 yī 顛 yī 隗 (kuí < ui) 五 wǔ 伍 wǔ 午 wǔ 仵 wǔ 忤 wǔ 語 yǔ 圉 yǔ 讞 yàn 阮 ruǎn
喻 yù	勇 yǒng 涌 yǒng 踴 yǒng 俑 yǒng 永 yǒng 養 yǎng 癢 yǎng 往 wǎng 宇 yǔ 矣 yǐ 已 yǐ 以 yǐ 唯 wéi 偉 wěi 雨 yǔ 羽 yǔ

There are only two exceptions: “誅(lěi < lui)(來 lái)” belongs to the 本旨 běn zhǐ final group, the falling tone, “麼 me(明 míng)”, and the 本果 běn guǒ final group to the level tone and falling tone.

6.5 Steadiness of the falling tone

Falling tones in Middle Chinese remained steady no matter whether the voiceless or voiced initials had changed or not, and their tone type remained unchanged as well. There are a total of 1,285 falling-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language, all belonging to the falling tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Examples are shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Examples for steady falling tones in Middle Chinese

<i>Initial in Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China</i>	<i>Middle Chinese Initial and Example Characters</i>
幫 [p] (bāng)	謗 bàng 閱 (bēng < puŋ) 蔽 bì 秘 mì 貝 bèi 具 (jù < kiu) 備 bèi 布 bù 拜 bài 豹 bào 播 bō 霸 (bà < pua) (幫 bāng) 蚌 bàng 棒 bàng 斃 bì 陞 bì 步 bù 捕 bù 並 bīng 病 bīng 瀑 pù 憑 (並 píng, oblique tone)
滂 [p Tang Zuofan] (pāng)	胖 pàng 配 pèi 沛 pèi 霏 pèi 怖 bù 鋪 pū 湃 pài 派 pài 怕 pà 砲 pào 破 pò (滂 pāng)
明 [m] (míng)	夢 mèng 孟 mèng 妹 mèi 媚 mèi 暮 mù 墓 mù 邁 mài 悶 mèn 謬 miù 繆 móu 帽 mào (明 míng)
非 [f] (fēi)	諷 fēng 放 fàng 沸 fèi 廢 fèi 販 fàn (非 fēi) 訪 fǎng 費 fèi 肺 fèi 泛 fàn (敷 fū) 鳳 fèng 縫 (féng < fuŋ) 吠 fèi 分 fēn 飯 fàn (奉 fèng)
微 [v] (wēi)	未 wèi 味 wèi 問 wèn 紊 wěn 妄 wàng 志 zhì 蔓 màn 萬 wàn (微 wēi)
端 [t] (duān)	凍 dòng 棟 dòng 帝 dì 諦 dì 對 duì 隊 duì 帶 dài 戴 dài (端 duān) 洞 dòng 宕 dàng 弟 dì 地 dì 度 dù 遁 dùn 鈍 dùn (定 dìng, oblique tone)
透 [t'] (tòu)	剃 tì 吐 tǔ 兔 tù 太 tài 態 tài 歎 tàn 炭 tàn (透 tòu)
泥 [n] (ní)	膩 (nì < ni) 內 nèi 怒 nù 奈 nài 耐 nài 霽 nài 嫩 nèn 鬧 nào 耨 nòu 質 lìn (泥 ní, 娘 niáng) 弄 nòng 礪 lóng 諒 liàng 亮 liàng 利 lì 例 lì 麗 lì 爛 làn 賃 lìn (來 lái)
照 [tʃ] (zhào)	帳 zhàng 脹 zhàng 註 zhù 著 zhe 駐 zhù 貯 zhù 鎮 zhèn 單 zhào 晝 zhòu 味 zhòu (知 zhī) 仲 zhòng 丈 zhàng 杖 zhàng 墜 zhui 住 zhù 柱 zhù 綻 zhàn 棹 zhào 鄭 zhèng (澄 chéng, oblique tone) 壯 zhuàng 瘵 zhài 債 zhài 詐 zhà 榨 zhà 諍 zhèng 斂 zhòu 譖 zèn 蘸 zhàn (照 zhào - II) 狀 zhuàng 事 shì 助 zhù 寨 zhài 皆 zī 棧 zhàn 乍 zhà 驟 zhòu 憊 zhòu (床 chuáng - II, oblique tone) 障 zhàng 瘴 zhàng 志 zhì 至 zhì 注 zhù 鑄 zhù 柘 zhè 蔗 zhè 正 zhèng 政 zhèng (照 zhào)

Initial in Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China	Middle Chinese Initial and Example Characters
穿[tʃ̌] (chuān)	暢chàng帳zhàng鬯chàng趁 chèn齷chèn疾chèn姪chà詫chà (徹chè)創chuàng廁cè (cè<tʃai) 櫛chèn(chèn<tʃ Tang Zuofan ən) 蠶chài纂 cuàn紗chāo(chāo<tʃ Tang Zuofan au)識chèn 懺chàn(穿 chuān-II)銃chòng倡chàng唱chàng喙huì處chù 釧zhāo(zhāo<tʃiau)臭chòu稱chēng秤chèng(穿 chuān-III)
審[ʃ] (pān)	數shù曬shài鍛shā帥shuài率lǜ汕shàn訕shàn疝shàn瘦shòu 滲shèn (審shěn-II)啊shāng世 shì勢shì稅shuì說shuō恕shù 庶shù舍shě聖shèng勝shèng(審shěn-III)上shàng尚shàng誓 shì逝shì睡shuì瑞rui樹shù署shǔ慎shèn贍shàn(禪chán) 順shùn (shùn<ʃiuən)射shè麝shè貫shì 乘chéng剩shèng (床chuáng, oblique tone)
日[z] (ri)	讓(ràng<tʃian)日rì入rù芮rui孺 rú茹rú刃rèn 認rèn閏rùn任rèn(日rì)
支[tʃ̌] (zhī)	至zhì志zhì誌zhì(照zhào三sān)
詩[ʃ] (shī)	生shēng(審shěn-II)試shì弑shì(審shěn-III)是shì氏shì市shì侍shì蒺shí嗜 shì豉shì視shì筮 shì 噬shì(禪chán)事 shì(床 chuāng-II)
兒[z] (ér)	二èr貳èr餌ěr(日rì)
精[ts] (jīng)	綜zōng縱 zōng粽zòng葬zàng醬 jiàng將jiāng濟 jì 霽jì祭 jì最zui 再zài進jìn(精jīng) 匠jiàng劑 jì 祚zuò胙zuò賤jiàn餞jiàn坐zuò座zuò 藉 jí贈 zèng 靜jìng(從cóng, oblique tone)
清[tʃ̌] (qīng)	次cì刺 cì砌qì 翠 cui脆cui醋cù措cuò娶qǔ趣qù菜cài寸cùn 粲càn(清qīng)
心[s] (xīn)	宋sòng送 sòng喪 sàng相xiāng四sì肆sì細 xì碎suì素sù塞sāi 信xìn散sàn(心xīn)訟sòng誦sòng頌sòng象xiàng巳sì似 shì寺sì穗suì燼jìn殉 xùn羨(xiàn<sien)謝xiè(邪 xié)
見[k] (jiàn)	貢gòng降jiàng見jiàn貴guì檜guì踞jù戒jiè介jiè幹gàn貫guān 告gào叫jiào(見jiàn)共gòng忌 jì 劇jù櫃guì跪guì具jù郡 jùn倦juàn圈quān輻jiào競jìng舊jiù(群 qún, oblique tone)
溪[ǩ] xī	抗kàng曠kuàng器qì棄qì去qù困kùn看kàn竅qiào課kè跨kuà 慶qìng礪kàn(溪xī)
曉[x] xiǎo	向xiàng況kuàng戲xì晦huì庠hù釁xìn訓xùn漢hàn喚huàn獻 xiàn化huà興xīng(曉xiǎo)闕(hòng<xuŋ)巷xiàng系xì會huì 護hù互hù害hài壞 huài恨 hèn汗hàn現xiàn號hào(匣xiá)
影[ø] (yǐng)	盎àng意yì慰wèi印yìn 按àn要yào應yīng 幼yòu(影yǐng)用yòng樣yàng 旺wàng異 yì易yì 刈yì胃wèi位wèi 夜yè又yòu(喻yù)義yì議yì 劇jù毅yì藝yì 馭yù遇yù岸 àn卧wò硬yìng驗yàn(疑 yí)

In addition, 219 falling-tone characters in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are transformations of Middle Chinese falling-tone characters, 164 from voiced falling-rising tone, 9 from voiced level tone, 17 from voiceless falling-rising tone, 6 from voiceless level tone, and 42 from others, with a total of 1,742 characters, resembling an expanded scope.

6.6 Summary

To sum up, the development of the Chinese tone system from Middle times to the era of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are displayed in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 The development of the Chinese tone system

Middle times		Yuan dynasty
Level tone	Voiceless	High and level tone
	Voiced	
Falling–rising tone	(Voiceless)	Rising tone
	(Sub-voiced)	
	Full-voiced	
Falling tone	(Voiceless)	Falling–rising tone
	(Voiced)	
Entering tone	Full-voiced	Falling tone
	Voiceless	
	Sub-voiced	

From *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* to Modern Chinese Mandarin, the four-tone pattern has been preserved with changes of pure contents. Chapter 7 provides a detailed discussion.

Notes

- 1 The highest peak scrapes the sky blue; / It extends from hills to the sea. / When I look back, clouds shut the view; / When I come near, no mist I see. / Peaks vary in the north and south side; / Vales differ in sunshine or shade. / Seeking a lodge where to abide by, / I ask a woodman when I wade.
- 2 Literal meaning: The horse of Hu breed is from Dayuan, a place famous for horses of such blood; / Its scrap manifests sharp-edged bones. / Its two ears are as upright as sharply peeled bamboo pieces; / Its four hoofs run so fast as to stir whirls of wind. / No place is unreachable for it; / You can entrust your life to it. / With such vigorous gallops, it can surely advance quickly for thousands of Li.
- 3 Literal meaning: In Mount Chu, there is a noble hermit and in the State of Liang, there is an old man retired from the government service. / They built their houses next to each other and share the same route to their farmlands. / They often have dinners together

- and take care of each other's children and grandchildren. / They forget the hardship of farming and feel grateful for how well the other party treats himself. / Winter cicadas are chirping in the open swamp and cuckoos are singing sorrow songs for the autumn grass. / Sunset brings chilly wind; if only we put on more clothes earlier.
- 4 In pathless hills no man is in sight, / But I still hear echoing sound. / In gloomy forest peeps no light, / But sunbeams slant on mossy ground.
- 5 Literal meaning: You are a guest from Chang'an, and now you will return where you came from. / The strong wind blows my heart all the way west, hanging high on the tree in Xianyang (another name for Chang'an). / Words fail me when I try to describe my feelings. When can we meet each other again after our departure? / I keep watching you until I lose sight of you; Fog and mist rise in the mountains.
- 6 “歇xī” has two pronunciations of level tone and falling tone in *Guǎngyùn*. One belongs to 微wēi, the eighth group of upper level-tone characters, 香衣xiāng yī qiè; the other, to 未wèi, the eighth group of falling-tone characters, 許(xǔ<xīu)既(jì<kǐ) qiè.
- 7 Like rugged hills hangs gilt-edged cloud; / The sunset sheds departing ray. / The wicket gate with birds is loud / When I come back from far away. / At my appearance starts my wife; / Then calming down, she melts in tears. / By chance I come back still in life, / While people drift in bitter years. / My neighbors look over the wall; / They sigh and from their eyes tears stream. / When night comes, candles light the hall; / We sit face to face as in dream.
- 8 Literal meaning: A maiden is on the stream for sightseeing; / I wonder if I can win her heart. / A letter is in my sleeve pocket; / I wish a bird could help me send it to her. / I am too far away from her to see her; / All I can do is miss her secretly and anxiously. / Violet orchids bloom alongside the empty trail; / But they are veiled by white dew. / Their fragrance will come to an end; / People cannot help sighing seeing that; / White clouds are surrounding the south mountain; / Sunset often provokes sighs.
- 9 Literal meaning: Big carts stir up dust; / It makes the fields during midday very dark. / The powerful eunuchs are very rich; / Their huge and high houses almost reach the sky. / On the road, I meet a person conducting cockfighting (Here refers to Jia Chang 賈昌, a eunuch favored by the emperor); / His clothes and cart are very luxurious. / Even his sneeze can shake the rainbow; And people around are all frightened. / There is no discerning and upright man like Xu You 許由 in this world; / So who can tell the difference between Yao 堯, the well-known emperor, and Zhi 跖, a notorious robber.
- 10 Characters before this paragraph in 3.6 are noted with their Middle Chinese phonetic notations. – The translator.
- 11 “悉曇xī tán” is the transliteration of “siddham” in Sanskrit, meaning “achievements”. The alphabet in Sanskrit in “悉曇藏xī tán zàng” was the beginners' version for children. It matches 14 “matā” (摩多 mó duō, vowels in Sanskrit) and 32 “vyanjanam” (體文 tǐ wén, consonants in Sanskrit) into 18 chapters. It is named after the example word in the first line of the book, that is “siddham”.
- 12 In the Buddhist scripture of *Three Confidential Copies of Siddham* (《悉曇三密鈔》xī tán sān mì chāo) (1682 CE) by Jing Yan 淨嚴 from Japan, it reads, “Japan is the first country to spread Wu and Chinese pronunciations. At the very beginning, Jin Lixin stayed in the Tsushima State to teach Wu pronunciation and people of the whole nation learned from him, so it is called the pronunciation of Tsushima. Then came Biao Xin to live in Tonkatsu and spread Chinese pronunciation, which is called the pronunciation of Tang. In the late Chenghe's Reign (承和chéng hé, 834 CE–848 CE), Master Zheng came, and in the early Yuanqing's Reign (元慶yuán qing, 877 CE–885 CE) came Master Cong. They spoke both Wu and Chinese languages. It is also said that a Buddhist nun named Fa Ming 法明 from Wu first spoke Wu pronunciation”. (Literal text: 我日本國元傳吳、漢二音。初金禮信來留對馬國，傳于吳音，舉國學之，因名曰對馬音；次表信公來築博多，傳于漢音，是曰唐音。承和之末正法師來，元慶之初聰法師來。此二法師俱說吳、漢兩音，或曰吳尼法明始來誦吳音也。wò rì běn

guó yuán chuán wú, hàn èr yīn . chū jīn lǐ xīn lái líú duì mǎ guó, chuán yú wú yīn, jù guó xué zhī, yīn míng yuē duì mǎ yīn cì biǎo xīn gōng lái zhū bó duō, chuán yú hàn yīn, shì yuē táng yīn . chéng hé zhī mò zhèng fǎ shī lái, yuán qīng zhī chū cōng fǎ shī lái . cǐ èr fǎ shī jù shuō wú, hàn liǎng yīn, huò yuē wú ní fǎ míng shī lái sòng wú yīn yě .) No historical records can be found about Jin Lixin, who might have lived in a period a little earlier than Biao Xin. According to *Study on the Three Tones of Chinese Characters* (《漢字三音考》hàn zì sān yīn kǎo) (1785 CE), Yuan Jinqing袁晉卿 was mistakenly written as Biao Xin. Yuan Jinqing lived in the Tang dynasty and arrived in Japan in 24th year of Kaiyuan's (開元kāi yuán) reign of Emperor Tang Xuanzong唐玄宗 (736 CE, the eighth year of Tianping's [天平tiān píng] reign in Japan). Master Zheng refers to Wei Zheng, Japanese, returned from Tang to Japan in 14th year of Chenghe's reign (847 CE). Master Cong is Zhi Cong, Japanese, returned from Tang to Japan in the first year of Qingyuan's reign (877 CE).

- 13 Original text: 承和之末正法師來，初習洛陽，中聽太原，終學長安，聲勢大奇。四聲之中，各有輕重；平有輕重，輕亦輕重，輕之重者，金怒聲也；上有輕[重]，輕似相合。金聲平輕上輕，始平終上呼之，重似金聲上重不突呼之；去有輕重，重長輕短；入有輕重，重低輕昂。元慶之初，聰法師來，久住長安，委搜進士，亦游南北，熟知方音。四聲皆有輕重著力；平入輕重同正和上，上聲之輕似正和上上聲之重，上聲之重似正和上平輕之重。平輕之重，金怒聲也，但呼著力為今別也；去之輕重，似自上重，但以角引為去聲也。音響之終，妙有輕重，直止為輕，稍昂為重。此中著力，亦怒聲也。此兩法師共說吳音、漢音……但聰和上說雲，前三家音互唐無矣。以評曰：時世改變，人俗轉換，職今呼昔，乖實違體。chéng hé zhī mò zhèng fǎ shī lái, chū xí luò yáng, zhōng tīng tài yuán, zhōng xué cháng ān, shēng shì dà qí. sì shēng zhī zhòng, gè yǒu qīng zhòng; píng yǒu qīng zhòng, qīng yì qīng zhòng, qīng zhī zhòng zhě, jīn nù shēng yě; shàng yǒu qīng [zhòng], qīng sì xiāng hé. jīn shēng píng qīng shàng qīng, shǐ píng zhōng shàng hū zhī, zhòng sì jīn shēng shàng zhòng bù tū hū zhī; qù yǒu qīng zhòng, zhòng cháng qīng duǎn; rù yǒu qīng zhòng, zhòng dī qīng áng. yuán qīng zhī chū, cōng fǎ shī lái, jiǔ zhù cháng ān, wěi sōu jìn shì, yì yóu nán běi, shú zhī fāng yīn. sì shēng jiē yǒu qīng zhòng zhuó lì; píng rù qīng zhòng tóng zhèng hé shàng, shàng shēng zhī qīng sì zhèng hé shàng shàng shēng zhī zhòng, shàng shēng zhī zhòng sì zhèng hé shàng píng qīng zhī zhòng. píng qīng zhī zhòng, jīn nù shēng yě, dàn hū zhuó lì wéi jūn bié yě; qù zhī qīng zhòng, sì zì shàng zhòng, dàn yǐ jiǎo yīn wéi qù shēng yě. yīn xiǎng zhī zhōng, miào yǒu qīng zhòng, zhí zhǐ wéi qīng, shāo áng wèi zhòng. cǐ zhōng zhuó lì, yì nù shēng yě. cǐ liǎng fǎ shī gòng shuō wú yīn, hàn yīn ... dàn cōng hé shàng shuō yún, qián sān jiā yīn gèng táng wú yì. yǐ píng yuē: shí shì gǎi biàn, rén sú zhuǎn huàn, zhí jīn hū xī, guāi shí wéi tǐ.
- 14 In the *Preface* of the book, Liao Zun writes, “于時弘安滿數之歲yú shí hóng ān mǎn shù zhī suì” (It is the year when the Reign of Hong'an is full [referring to ten years of reign]), “仲呂半闌之日zhōng lǚ bàn lán zhī rì” (and on a day in late the fourth lunar month). That is the 10th year of Hong'an's Reign, when it was 24th year of Zhiyuan's (至元zhì yuán) reign of the first emperor of the Yuan dynasty, which is 1287 CE.
- 15 Original text: 先明四聲輕重者，私頌云：平聲重初後俱低，平聲輕初昂後低；上聲重初低後昂，上聲輕初後俱昂；去聲重初低後偃，去聲輕初昂後偃；入聲重初後俱低，入聲輕初後俱昂。……四聲各輕重八聲。……一音低昂名平上，低昂前後互成八，是故八音各相通。xiān míng sì shēng qīng zhòng zhě, sī sòng yún: píng shēng zhòng chū hòu jù dī, píng shēng qīng chū hòu jù dī; shàng shēng zhòng chū dī hòu áng, shàng shēng qīng chū hòu jù áng; qù shēng zhòng chū dī hòu yǎn, qù shēng qīng chū áng hòu yǎn; rù shēng zhòng chū hòu jù dī, rù shēng qīng chū hòu jù áng. sì shēng gè qīng zhòng bā shēng ... yī yīn dī áng míng píng shàng, dī áng qián hòu hù chéng bā, shì gù bā yīn gè xiāng tōng.
- 16 The text is from *Volume 2709 of New Amendments to Tripitaka in Dazheng's Reign* (《大正新修大藏經》dà zhèng xīn xiū dà zàng jīng), according to Luo Changpei,

- Introduction to Chinese Phonology* (《漢語音韻學導論》 hàn yǔ yīn yùn xué dǎo lùn), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1956, p. 80.
- 17 See *Book I* of the 47 books of *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica* (《歷史語言研究所集刊》 lì shǐ yǔ yán yán jiū suǒ jí kān), 1975.
- 18 See Yuchi Zhiping (尉遲治平 wèi chí zhì píng), “Ancient Chinese tone values spread by Japanese scholars in Siddham” (《日本悉曇家所傳古漢語調值》 rì běn xī tán jiā suǒ chuán gǔ hàn yǔ diào zhí), from *The Study of Language* (《語言研究》 yǔ yán yán jiū), Volume 2, 1986, pp. 17–35.
- 19 See Xing Gongwan (邢公畹), “Discussions on Four Tones”, from *The Study of Phonology* (《音韻學研究》 yīn yùn xué yán jiū), Book One, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p. 448.
- 20 Literal text: 字別陰陽者，陰陽字平聲有之，上去俱无。上去各止一聲，平聲獨有二聲；有上平聲，有下平聲。上平聲非指一東至二十八山而言，下平聲非指自一先至二十七咸而言。zì bié yīn yáng zhě, yīn yáng zì píng shēng yǒu zhī, shàng qù jù wú. shàng qù gè zhǐ yī shēng, píng shēng dú yǒu èr shēng; yǒu shàng píng shēng, yǒu xià píng shēng. shàng píng shēng fēi zhǐ yī dōng zhì èr shí bā shān ér yán, xià píng shēng fēi zhǐ zì yī xiān zhì èr shí qī xián ér yán.
- 21 In *Research Report on Dialects in the Central Shaanxi Plain* (《關中方言調查報告》 guān zhōng fāng yán diào chá bào gào) by Bai Dizhou 白滌洲, it covers 39 aspects of dialects in the Central Shaanxi Plain, including 38 points of high and level tone with falling or rising tones and only one with level tone.
- 22 Literal text: 前輩佳作中間，備載明白，但未有以集之者。qián bèi jiā zuò zhōng jiān, bèi zài míng bái, dàn wèi yǒu yǐ jí zhī zhě.
- 23 Literal texts: 字同一聲，分爲兩韻恨怨之恨則在去聲，假戾之假，則在上聲；又言辯之辯則在上聲，冠弁之弁則在去聲；又舅甥之舅則在上聲，故舊之舊則在去聲；又皓白之皓則在上聲，號令之號則在去聲”。zì tóng yī shēng, fēn wéi liǎng yùn ... hèn yuàn zhī hèn zé zài qù shēng, hèn lì zhī hèn, zé zài shàng shēng; yòu yán biàn zhī biàn zé zài shàng shēng, guān biàn zhī biàn zé zài qù shēng; yòu jiù shēng zhī jiù zé zài shàng shēng, gù jiù zhī jiù zé zài qù shēng; yòu hào bái zhī hào zé zài shàng shēng, hào lìng zhī hào zé zài qù shēng.
- 24 See Li Rong, “Discussions on Li Fu’s criticism on *Qièyùn* and relevant issues”, from *Studies on the Chinese Language*, Volume 1, pp. 1–9.
- 25 Literal texts: 周之時有騏期，漢之時有杜度，此其子宜如何諱？zhōu zhī shí yǒu qí qī, hàn zhī shí yǒu dù dù, cǐ qí zǐ yǐ rú hé huì?
- 26 Literal text: 今逐韻上聲濁位並當呼爲去聲。jīn zhú yùn shàng shēng zhuó wèi bìng dāng hū wéi qù shēng
- 27 Literal text: 凡上聲濁音，讀如去聲，俗讀作上聲清者非。fán shàng shēng zhuó yīn, dú rú qù shēng, sú dú zuò shàng shēng qīng zhě fēi.
- 28 Literal text: 四聲惟上聲全濁者讀如去聲，謂之重道。如“同”，“動”，“洞”，“獨”是重道，蓋四聲皆全濁也。‘動’字虽是上聲，以其爲上聲濁音，只讀如‘洞’字。sì shēng wéi shàng shēng quán zhuó zhě dú rú qù shēng, wéi zhī zhòng dào. rú “tóng”, “dòng”, “dòng”, “dú” shì zhòng dào, gài sì shēng jiē quán zhuó yě. ‘dòng’ zì suǐ shì shàng shēng, yǐ qí wéi shàng shēng zhuó yīn, zhǐ dú rú ‘dòng’ zì.

7 Formation of the standard pronunciation of common language of modern Han nationality

7.1 Introduction

The standard pronunciation (Beijing pronunciation) system of the modern common language of the Han nationality has been established since the Yuan dynasty. As can be seen from the above sections, the phonetic system of the northern dialects based on the phonetics in Central Plains is reflected in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* from the 14th century, which is relatively close to the standard pronunciation of Modern Mandarin Chinese, but there are still many differences among them due to the changes over time, the migration of residents, and the interaction of various dialects. The following section will discuss it from the three aspects of their initials, finals, and tones.

7.2 The changes of initials

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, there are 25 initials. Modern Mandarin has 22. From *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* to Modern Mandarin, the initials system has undergone changes in the following three aspects.

7.2.1 The existence of linguo-palatal sound of [tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ]

[tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ] in Modern Chinese initials have two sources. One is from dental sibilants of Middle Chinese, namely, 精jīng[ts], 清qīng [tsʰ], 從cóng[dz], 心xīn[s], and 邪xié[z]; the other is from velars and laryngeals of Middle Chinese, namely, 見jiàn[k], 溪xī[kʰ], 群qún[g], 曉xiǎo[x], and 匣xiá[ɣ]. During the Yuan dynasty, the voiced sound was turned into a voiceless sound. During the process, dental sibilants were merged into 精jīng[ts], 清qīng [tsʰ] and 心xīn[s] without being differentiated into two groups of [ts], [tsʰ], [s] and [tɕ], [tɕʰ], [ɕ], while velars and laryngeals into 見jiàn[k], 溪xī[kʰ], and 曉xiǎo[x] without being differentiated into two groups of [k], [kʰ], [x] and [tɕ], [tɕʰ], [ɕ]. The initials in the 精(jīng) group and the 見(jiàn) group were not mixed in their usage.

When did Grade III and Grade IV characters in 精jīng[ts], 清qīng[tsʰ], and 心xīn[s], as well as Grade III, Grade IV, and unrounded-mouth Grade II characters

in 見jiàn[k], 溪xī[kʰ], and 曉xiǎo[x] begin to evolve into [tɕ], [tɕʰ] and [ɕ]? No evidence of differentiation can be found in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. In the *Handbook for Qièyùn* (《切韻指南》 *Qièyùn zhǐ nán*) (1336 CE) by Liu Jian劉鑒 of the Yuan dynasty, “堅jiān” is spelled as “古賢gǔ xián”, illustrating its resemblance in pronunciation. In *Zǎo Méi Shī*, [ts], [tsʰ], and [s] are represented by “早zǎo”, “從(cóng), and “雪”(xuě), and [k], [kʰ] and [x] by “見(jiàn), “開”(kāi), and “向”(xiàng), bearing no differentiation. The linguo-palatal sounds of [tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ] began to emerge from the 精(jīng) and 見(jiàn) groups after the 17th century.

In Guihai (癸亥guǐ hài) Year of Qianlong’s reign of the Qing dynasty (1743 CE), Cun Zhitang (存之堂cún zhī táng) edited *Amendments for Buddhist Pronunciation* (《圓音正考》 *yuán yīn zhèng kǎo*), which distinguishes between tuányīn (團音, rounded sound) and jiānyīn (尖音, sharp sound or oxyphomia).¹ In the *Preface* of the book, it reads, “analyzing the 36 characters, 見(jiàn), 溪(xī), 群(qún), 曉(xiǎo) and 匣(xiá) belong to tuányīn, while 精(jīng), 清(qīng), 從(cóng), 心(xīn) and 邪(xié) to jiānyīn, with clear-cut boundaries”.²

Jiānyīn refers to the fine sounds in the 精(jīng) initial group, that is, syllables of [ts], [tsʰ], and [s] spelled with [i] and [y]. Tuányīn refers to palatal sounds of [k], [kʰ], and [x], that is, linguo-palatal sounds of [tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ].

During Qianlong’s 乾隆 reign, [ts], [tsʰ], and [s] were combined with [i] and [y] into [tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ], the same as [tɕ], [tɕʰ] and [ɕ] being turned from linguo-palatal of [k], [kʰ], and [x], with no distinctions of jiānyīn and tuányīn. That is why the author of *Amendments for Buddhist Pronunciation* intended to make corrections based on the sources of letters. This indicates that [tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ] had already been in existence no later than 18th century. The changes are exemplified in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 The merge of [tɕ], [tɕʰ], and [ɕ]

[ts]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (unrounded, rounded)→ (i-class, rounded-lip)→ 	[ts]:	臧zāng遭zāo贊 zàn增zēng宗zōng租zū尊 zūn 鑽zuān
		[tɕ]:	將jiāng擠jì尖jiān精jīng沮jǔ聚jù嵩(juàn<tsiuen)俊jùn
[tsʰ]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (unrounded, rounded)→ (i-class, rounded-lip)→ 	[tsʰ]:	倉cāng操cāo餐cān層céng匆cōng粗cū擻 cuān 村cūn
		[tɕʰ]:	槍(qiāng<tsʰian)親qīn 前qián情qíng蛆 qū 取qǔ詮quán逡qūn
[s]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (unrounded, rounded)→ (i-class, rounded-lip)→ 	[s]:	桑sāng騷sāo 散 sà散(sēng<səŋ)酸suān 蘇sū孫 sūn松sōng
		[ɕ]:	湘xiāng線 xiàn蕭xiāo星xīng須xū 序xù 宣xuān洵(xún<siuən)

(Continued)

Table 7.21 (Continued)

[k]	(unrounded, rounded)→	[k]:	剛gāng 高gāo該gāi歌gē姑gū 官guān鯤kūn 光guāng
	(i-class, rounded-lip)→	[tɕ]:	姜jiāng肌jī斤jīn嬌jiāo居jū 涓juān君jūn 肩jiān
[k']	(unrounded, rounded)→	[k']:	康kāng開kāi可kě堪kān枯kū 寬kuān 坤kūn空kōng
	(i-class, rounded-lip)→	[tɕ']:	羌qiāng欺qī 牽qiān輕qīng區qū 群qún 圈quān瓊qióng
[x]	(unrounded, rounded)→	[x]:	航háng海hǎi 何hé 憇hān呼hū 昏hūn歡huān 轟hōng
	(i-class, rounded-lip)→	[ɕ]:	香xiāng欣xīn 賢xián興xìng 虛xū勳xūn 喧xuān兄xiōng

In the following section, every two characters form a pair with the former belonging to jiānyīn of 精(jīng)group and the latter to tuányīn of 見(jiàn) group. They bear no difference in the Modern Mandarin language.

齋(jí<tsi)機jī	妻欺qī qī	西希xī xī	疽居jū jū
蛆區qū qū	需吁xū xū	津斤jīn jīn	秦勤qín qín
新欣xīn xīn	箋(jiān<tsien)堅jiān	遷愆qiān qiān	先掀xiān xiān
鐫(juān<tsiuēn)涓juān	悛圈quān quān	宣喧xuān xuān	醮叫jiào jiào
俏竅qiào qiào	小曉xiǎo xiǎo	精京jīng jīng	青輕qīng qīng
星興xīng xìng	啾鳩jiū jiū	秋丘qiū qiū	修休xiū xiū
津金jīn jīn	侵欽qīn qīn	心歆xīn xīn	殲兼jiān jiān
塹欠qiàn qiàn	纖鋏xiān xiān		

In regions speaking the Wu language and official languages in Shijiazhuang, Qingdao, Zhengzhou, Luoyang, Liuzhou, and Guilin, among others, jiānyīn and tuányīn were never mixed up and had differences in their usage.³

Besides Grade III and Grade IV characters, unrounded-mouth Grade II velars, and laryngeals in 江(jiāng), 蟹(xiè), 山(shān), 效(xiào), 假(jià), and 咸(xián) were mostly pronounced as [tɕ], [tɕ'], and [ɕ]. Examples are as follows.

江 group (jiāng)	江jiāng 講jiǎng 鏗qiāng 絳jiàng 降jiàng 澤jiàng 腔qiāng 巷xiàng 項xiàng(jiāng)
蟹 group (xiè)	皆jiē 階jiē 借jiè 佳jiā 街jiē 解jiě 戒jiè 介jiè 界jiè 屆jiè 鞋xié 嚇xià 蟹xiè 懈xiè 械xiè 薤xiè 瀝xiè(xiè)
山 group (shān)	姦jiān 間jiān 艱jiān 菅jiān 簡jiǎn 揀jiǎn 間jiān 澗jiàn 諫jiàn 慳qiān 閑xián 癩xián 限xiàn 覓xiàn(xiàn)

效 group (xiào)	交 jiāo 蛟 jiāo 郊 jiāo 狡 jiǎo 姣 jiāo 絞 jiǎo 攪 jiǎo 校 xiào 教 jiào 較 jiào 敲 qiāo 巧 qiǎo 哮 xiào 爻 yáo 孝 xiào (xiào)
假 group (jià)	家 jiā 加 jiā 嘉 jiā 賈 jiǎ 假 jiǎ 駕 jià 嫁 jià 架 jià 價 jià 蝦 xiā 霞 xiá 瑕 xiá 下 xià 夏 xià 暇 xiá (jià)
咸 group (xián)	監 jiān 緘 jiān 減 jiǎn 鑿 jiàn 嵌 qiàn 咸 xián 銜 xián 艦 jiàn 輻 jiàn 陷 xiàn 餡 xiàn (xián)

Some unrounded-mouth Grade II velars and laryngeals were not palatalized and were still pronounced as [k], [k'] and [x]. See the following examples.

江 group (jiāng)	缸 gāng 扛 káng 缸 gāng (江 jiāng final)
蟹 group (xiè)	楷 kāi 楷 kǎi 骸 hái 駭 hài (皆 jiē final)
梗 group (gěng)	亨 hēng (庚 gēng final)

In addition, in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, “庚 gēng, 鷓 gēng, 賡 gēng, 更 gēng, 梗 jǐng (稭 jīng) and 羹 gēng” share the same pronunciation with “京 jīng (荆 jīng) and “靛 gěng (<kiəŋ) 鯁 gěng 梗 gěng 耿 gěng”, with “警 jǐng (<kiəŋ) 頸 jǐng”, with the initial of [k]; “桁 héng (珩 háng 衡 héng) with “形 xíng” (邢 xíng), with the initial of [x]. In modern Mandarin, the initial of characters in the “庚” (gēng) and “靛” (gěng) groups is [k], while in “京” (jīng) and “警” (jǐng), it is [tɕ]. The initial of “桁 héng 珩 háng 衡 héng” is [x], and that of “形 xíng” (邢 xíng) is [ɕ]. “更” (gēng) as in “三更 (sān gēng)” (midnight) and “打更 (dǎ gēng)” (to sound the night watches on clappers or gongs) is pronounced as gēng⁵⁵ in the Mandarin language but as jīng⁵⁵ in the Beijing colloquial language. “稭” (稭) (gěng) is also pronounced as jīng⁵⁵ in the Mandarin language, with the initial of [tɕ].

Most rounded-mouth Grade III velars and laryngeals were turned into [tɕ], [tɕ'], and [ɕ], but rounded-mouth velars and laryngeals in the 止(zhǐ)-III and 止(zhǐ) IV initial groups (重 initial included), characters in the 蟹(xiè)-IV initial group, and some characters in the 通(tōng) and 宕(dàng) initial groups, as well as a few characters in the 臻(zhēn) initial group, continued to be pronounced as [k], [k'], and [x]. Characters of the rounded-mouth 通(tōng)-III initial group pronounced as [k] include “弓躬宮貢” (rounded-mouth 東[dōng]-III), “恭供龔拱珙共供”(gōng) (rounded-mouth 鐘[zhōng]-III), and those pronounced as [k'] include “恐”(kǒng) (rounded-mouth 腫[zhǒng]-III); characters of rounded-mouth 宕(dàng)-III pronounced as [k'] include “匡 kuāng 筐 kuāng 眶 kuàng 狂 k uáng” (rounded-mouth 陽[yáng]-III); characters of rounded-mouth 止(zhǐ)-III pronounced as [k] include “規 guī 詭 guǐ 跪 guì” (rounded-mouth 支[zhī]-III), “龜 guī 簞 guǐ 癸 guǐ 軌 guǐ 晷 guǐ 宄 guǐ 櫃 guì 餽 kuì” (rounded-mouth 脂 zhī-III), and “歸 guī 鬼 guǐ 貴 guì” (rounded-mouth 微[wēi] III); those pronounced as [k'] include “虧 kuī 窺 kuī” (rounded-mouth 支[zhī] III) and “葵 kuī 廬 kuī

夔kuí逵kuí簣kuí蕢kuí揆kuí” (rounded-mouth 脂[zhī] III); and those pronounced as [x] include “麾huī毀huī譏huī燬huī” (rounded-mouth 支[zhī] III) and “徽huī卉huī虺huī諱huī” (rounded-mouth 微[wēi] III); characters of the rounded-mouth 蟹(xiè)-IV initial group pronounced as [k] include “閨guī圭guī邽guī桂guī” (rounded-mouth 齊[qí]-IV); those pronounced as [kʰ] include “奎”(kuí) (rounded-mouth 齊[qí]-IV); those pronounced as [x] include “惠huī蕙huī慧huī” (rounded-mouth 齊[qí]-IV); and characters of the rounded-mouth 臻(zhēn) III pronounced as [x] include “葷hūn” (rounded-mouth 合[hé]-III), among others.

7.2.2 Further development of retroflex initials

It is indicated in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* that retroflex initials had already been in existence as early as the Yuan dynasty, although they were still in a transitional phase. All characters in 章(zhāng) initial, and a few in 知(zhī) and 日(rì) initials of the 支思(zhīsī) final group are with [ts], [tsʰ], [ʂ], and [ʐ], while characters in the 知(zhī), 莊(zhuāng), 章(zhāng), and 日(rì) initials of other final groups are with [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ], and [ʒ]. In *Easy Comprehension of the Outline of Rhymes* by Lan Mao in 15th century, characters in the 知(zhī), 莊(zhuāng), 章(zhāng), and 日(rì) initials are all turned into [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ], and [ʒ], greatly enlarging the scope of retroflex initials. Retroflex initials are seldom spelled with [i] or [y] sounds after the i-class became unrounded-mouth sounds, and rounded-lip ones turned into a rounded-mouth sounds. A few i-class sounds are also turned into rounded-mouth sounds.

(1) I-class sounds into unrounded mouth

[tʃi]→	[tʃʲ]:	知zhī 蚰zhī 質zhì 鷲zhì 炙zhì 汁zhī 織zhī 只zhī 智zhì 質zhì 置zhì 制zhì
[tʃiɛ]→	[tʃə]:	遮zhē 者zhě 赭zhě 哲zhé 摺zhé 浙zhè 折zhé 柘zhè 鷓zhè 炙zhì 蔗zhè
[tʃiau]→	[tʃau]:	昭zhāo 招zhāo 朝cháo 沼zhǎo 照zhào 詔zhào
[tʃiou]→	[tʃou]:	啁zhāo 鞦zhōu 周zhōu 媵zhōu 州zhōu 洲zhōu 舟zhōu 肘zhǒu 帚zhǒu 竹zhú 燭zhú 粥zhōu 晝zhòu 咄zhòu 呪zhòu
[tʃiam]→	[tʃan]:	瞻zhān 詹zhān 占zhàn 粘zhān 沾zhān 霑zhān 颯zhān 颯zhān
[tʃiam]→	[tʃəm]:	砧zhēn 楫shèn 針zhēn 斟zhēn 箴zhēn 枕zhěn
n]→	[tʃan]:	鱸zhān 遭zhān 氈zhān 鸚zhān 旂zhān 鱣zhān 梅zhān 展zhǎn 戰zhàn 顫chàn
[tʃiən]→	[tʃən]:	珍zhēn 真zhēn 振zhèn 甄zhēn 軫zhěn 疹zhěn 診zhěn 稕zhěn 鎮zhèn 震zhèn 振zhèn 賑zhèn
[tʃian]→	[tʃan]:	張zhāng 章zhāng 漳zhāng 獐zhāng 樟zhāng 麝zhāng 長zhǎng 掌zhǎng 帳zhàng 脹zhàng 漲zhǎng 障zhàng 瘡zhāng 瘡zhàng

[tʃiəŋ]→	[tʃəŋ]:	徵zhēng征zhēng蒸zhēng蒸zhēng拯zhěng整zhěng正zhèng政zhèng證zhèng
[tʃʰi]→	[tʃʰɿ]:	笞chī癡chī 郗xī螭chī絺chī鴟chī蚩chī池chí馳chí遲chí持chí簾chí恥chǐ侈chǐ尺chǐ赤chì叱chì吃chī
[tʃʰiɛ]→	[tʃʰə]:	車chē哆duō 擗chě輟zhé撤chè澈chè掣chè
[tʃʰiau]→	[tʃʰau]:	超chāo朝cháo 潮cháo鼯cháo
[tʃʰiou]→	[tʃʰou]:	擗chōu筍chōu 愁chóu睺chǒu 憊zhòu
[tʃʰiem]→	[tʃʰan]:	檐chān 規chān蟾chán嶂chān詔chǎn 韞chàn
[ʃʰiəm]→	[[tʃʰən]:	琛chēn 榭chēn沈shěn湛zhàn
[tʃʰien]→	[tʃʰan]:	塵chán躔chán纏chán禪chán蟬chán闡chǎn葢chǎn
[tʃʰiən]→	[[tʃʰən]:	嗔chēn瞋chēn陳chén臣chén塵chén辰chén晨chén宸chén趁chèn疚chèn
[tʃʰian]→	[tʃʰan]:	昌chāng猖chāng菖chāng闖chāng長zhǎng 葢cháng場chǎng 腸cháng常cháng裳shang嘗cháng敞chǎng 擘chǎng昶chǎng唱chàng倡chàng暢chàng悵chàng 鬯chàng
[tʃʰiəŋ]→	[tʃʰəŋ]:	稱chēng檉chēng螳chēng頰chēng澄chéng呈chéng程chéng醒chéng成chéng城chéng誠chéng承chéng丞chéng懲chéng乘chéng墜chéng騁chéng逞chéng秤chéng
[ʃi]→	[ʃɿ]:	實shí十shí什shén 拾shí石shí射shè 食shí 蝕shí 失shī室shì 識shí 適shì拭shì釋shì濕shī 世shì 勢shì 逝shì誓shì
[ʃiɛ]→	[ʃə]:	奢shē賒shē蛇shé余shé 舌shé涉shè舍shě設shè攝shè社shè射shè赦shè 貰shì
[ʃiau]→	[ʃau]:	燒shāo杓biāo 芍sháo少shǎo爍shuò 鑠shuò紹shào邵shào
[ʃiou]→	[ʃou]:	收shōu熟shú手shǒu首shǒu守shǒu受授綬壽獸狩售shòu
[ʃiem]→	[ʃan]:	苫shān閃shǎn陝shǎn贍shàn
[ʃiəm]→	[ʃəm]:	深shēn審shěn孀shěn 甚shén
[ʃien]→	[ʃən]:	羶shān煽shān扇shàn 善shàn禪chán 饈shàn擅shàn單dān
[ʃiən]→	[ʃən]:	申紳伸身shēn神shén 哂shěn蜃shèn慎shèn腎shèn
[ʃian]→	[ʃan]:	商傷瘍觴shāng 湯tāng賞shǎng晌shǎng上shàng尚xiǎng 餉shàng
[ʃiəŋ]→	[ʃəŋ]:	聲shēng升shēng 勝shèng繩shéng聖shèng乘chéng剩shèng盛shèng
[ʃi]→	[ʒɿ]:	日rì入rù
[ʃiɛ]→	[ʒə]:	惹rě若ruò喏nuò 熱rè
[ʃiau]→	[ʒao]:	饒ráo撓ráo 遶ràorào 繞ráo擾ràorǎo
[ʃiou]→	[ʒou]:	柔(róu<ɿiəu)揉róu蹂róu肉ròu

[ziem]→	[zan]:	髻rán冉苒染 rǎn
[ziəm]→	[zən]:	壬rén任rèn紅rèn鳶rén稔rèn衽rèn荏rěn姪rèn
[ziən]→	[zən]:	人rén仁rén忍rěn刃rèn仞rèn認rèn
[ziaŋ]→	[zaŋ]:	穰rǎng穰rǎng讓ràng讓 xiàng(xiǎng<[i]aŋ)

(2) Rounded-lip sounds into rounded mouth

[tʃiue]→	[tʃuo]:	拙zhuō輟chuò
[tʃiu]→	[tʃu]:	豬zhū邾zhū株zhū珠zhū朱zhū拄zhǔ主zhǔ煮zhǔ諸zhū 翥zhù塵zhǔ著zhe拄zhǔ注zhù澍shù炷zhù鑄zhù
[tʃiueŋ]→	[tʃuan]:	專zhuān磚zhuān轉zhuǎn嘽zhuàn
[tʃiuəŋ]→	[tʃuəŋ]:	迤yǐ諄zhūn/淮zhǔn
[tʃiuŋ]→	[tʃuŋ]:	中衷忠鍾鐘終zhōng塚腫踵種zhǒng衆zhòng
[tʃ ^h iue]→	[tʃ ^h uo]:	啜chuài
[tʃ ^h iu]→	[tʃ ^h u]:	樞shū除籵廚樹儲chú蝮chú楮chǔ 褚chǔ杵chǔ處chù杼zhù出chū黜chù畜chù
[tʃ ^h iueŋ]→	[tʃ ^h uan]:	川chuān穿chuān船chuán傳fù椽chuán喘chuǎn 舛chuǎn串chuàn釧chuàn
[tʃ ^h iuəŋ]→	[tʃ ^h uəŋ]:	春chūn椿chūn唇chún純chún淳chún醇chún 鶉chún蠹chǔn
[tʃ ^h iuŋ]→	[tʃ ^h uŋ]:	沖chōng忡chōng翀chōng種zhǒng充chōng春chūn 重zhòng蟲chóng崇chóng寵chǒng銃chòng
[ʃiue]→	[ʃuo]:	說shuō
[ʃiu]→	[ʃu]:	書shū舒shū輸shū殊shū塾shú淑shū蜀shǔ 孰shú熟shú菜zhū鼠shǔ黍shǔ暑shǔ恕shù 庶shù樹shù戍shù豎shù署shǔ曙shǔ
[ʃiuəŋ]→	[ʃun]:	瞬shùn舜shùn順shùn
[ʃiu]→	[ʃu]:	如(rú<[iu])茹rú儒rú襦rú繡xū嚙rú濡rú乳rǔ汝rǔ 孺rú入rù辱rù褥rù
[ʃiuəŋ]→	[ʃuan]:	軟ruǎn
[ʃiuəŋ]→	[ʃun]:	閏rùn潤rùn
[ʃiuŋ]→	[ʃuŋ]:	戎róng絨róng茸rōng冗rǒng

(3) I-class sounds into rounded mouth

[tʃio]→	[tʃuo]:	著zhuó
[tʃiau]→	[tʃuo]:	著zhuó斫zhuó酌zhuó繳jiǎo灼zhuó
[tʃiou]→	[tʃu]:	竹zhú燭zhú逐zhú
[tʃiau]→	[tʃuo]:	綽chuò焯chāo
[ʃio]→	[ʃuo]:	杓biāo

[ʒio]→	[zuo]:	若弱莠ruò
[ʒiou]→	[zu]:	褥rù

In some Modern Chinese dialects, the preceding characters remain to be pronounced as i-class or rounded-lip sounds. For instance, in the Guangdong dialect, “者” (zhě) is pronounced as [tʃiɛ³⁵], “抄” (chāo) as [tʃiəu⁵⁵], and “少”(shǎo) as [ʃiu³⁵] (多少 (duō shǎo; many and a few) or [ʃiu³³] (老少(lǎo shǎo; old and young). In the Changsha dialect, “豬”(zhū) is pronounced as [tɕy³³], “處”(chù) as [tɕy⁴⁴], and “書”(shū) as [ɕy³³].

7.2.3 The disappearance of 疑(yí) and 微(wēi) initials

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, a small fraction of characters in 疑(yí) initial preserve the pronunciation of [ŋ], which completely disappeared after 15th century and was turned into the zero initial with only a few exceptions. The initial of “讞yàn 梟niè 藁niè and 齧niè” is [n]. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, “牛”(niú) shares the same pronunciation with “尤yóu 猶yóu”, “倪ní 鯢ní 霓ní 猊ní 輓ní” with “移yí” (yíyí), and “凝”(níng) with “盈yíng 營yíng”, all belonging to the zero initial. In Modern Mandarin, the initials of “牛niú, 倪ní, 鯢ní, 霓ní, 猊ní, 輓ní and 凝níng” are all [n].

As for 微(wēi) initial, [v] still existed in the Yuan dynasty and did not disappear in the 15th century. In *Zǎo Méi Shī*, “一”(影yǐng, 喻yù, and 疑yí) is different from “無wú”(微wēi initial). However, in the 17th century, 微(wēi) initial completely disappeared. In *Re-amendment of Mr. SiMa Wen's Division of Rhymes* (《重訂司馬溫公等韻圖經》zhòng dìng sī mǎ wēn gōng děng yùn tú jīng)⁴ (1602 CE) by Xu Xiao 徐孝, “問”(wèn) and “文”(wén) from 微(wēi) initial share the same final and initial, with “溫”(wēn) and “穩”(wěn) from 影(yǐng) initial. Xu Xiao adds,

Although characters such as 吳(wú), 無(wú), 晚(wǎn), 玩(wán), 悟(wù), and 勿(wù) fall into two or three initial groups, they do indeed share the same pronunciation, so it is not necessary to separate them into different groups . . . today they all belong to the 影 initial.⁵

“Falling into two or three initial groups” means that “吳wú玩wán悟wù” belong to the 疑(yí) initial in Middle Chinese and “無wú晚wǎn and 勿wù” to the 微(wēi) initial. That “they indeed share the same pronunciation” means that they were all turned into a zero initial at that time and had the same pronunciation, so Xu Xiao put them all in the 影 initial in *Division of Rhymes*. In the Modern Mandarin language, characters in the 微(wēi) group in Middle Chinese are pronounced as rounded-mouth semivowel of [w], such as “無wú毋wú巫wū誣wū武wǔ舞wǔ侮wǔ務wù微wēi尾wěi未wèi味wèi晚wǎn挽wǎn萬wàn襪wà文wén蚊wén聞wén吻wěn問wèn物wù勿wù亡wáng忘wàng罔wǎng網wǎng望wàng妄wàng” and so on.

All in all, the initial system of modern Beijing pronunciation (Mandarin) had been finally formed as early as 17th century or no later than 18th century. Wang Li wrote *Tài Píng Gē* (《太平歌》 *tài píng gē*, *Song of Peace and Tranquility*) with 22 characters, saying:

子 zǐ(z) 夜 yè(ə) 久 jiǔ(j) 難 nán(n) 明 míng(m),
 喜 xǐ(x) 報 bào(b) 東 dōng(d) 方 fāng (f) 亮 liàng(l).
 此 cǐ(c) 日 rì(r) 笙 shēng (sh) 歌 gē(g) 頌 sòng(s) 太 tài (t) 平 píng (p),
 眾 zhòng(zh) 口 kǒu(k) 齊 qí (q) 歡 huān (h) 唱 chàng (ch).⁶

The preceding 22 characters stand for 22 initials in the Mandarin language, and it is very convenient for people to remember them all.

7.3 The changes of finals

From the time of *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* to modern times, Chinese finals have undergone numerous changes, mainly including the following five aspects.

7.3.1 The merge of nasal tail vowels

One of the most significant changes of the Chinese final system since the Yuan dynasty is the disappearance of the tail vowel [-m] and the merging of yáng finals.⁷ In the Yuan dynasty, the yáng finals ending with [-m], including [ə̃m] and [iə̃m] of 侵尋(qīnxún), [am] and [iam] of 監咸(jiān xián), as well as [iə̃m] of 廉纖(liánjiān) embodied 417 characters. Labials such as “品 pǐn 帆 fān 凡 fán 範 fàn 犯 fàn 範 fàn 泛 fàn” were allocated into the tail vowel of [-n] before the Yuan dynasty. *Easy Comprehension of the Outline of Rhymes* (1442 CE) by Lan Mao in 15th century divides finals into 19 groups, with 侵尋(qīnxún), 緘咸(jiān xián), and 廉纖(liánjiān) ending with [-m]. Similarly, *Collected Works with Various Literary Styles* by Qingjiao (1543 CE) by Sang Shaoliang in 16th century classifies finals into 18 groups, namely, 東(dōng), 江(jiāng), 侵(qīn), 覃(qín), 庚(gēng) 陽(yáng), 真(zhēn), 元(yuán), 歌(gē), 麻(má), 遮(zhē), 皆(jiē), 灰(huī), 支(zhī), 模(mó), 魚(yú), 尤(yóu) and 蕭(xiāo), with 侵(qīn) ([ə̃m], [iə̃m]) and 覃(qín) ([am], [iam]) ending with [-m].

However, at that time, the tail vowel of [-m] began to show signs of change. In the folk songs from the Ming dynasty, “針zhēn, 深shēn, 禁jìn, 金jīn and 心xīn” of the 侵qīn final, “慚cán 賺zhuàn and 三sān” of the 監咸(jiān xián) final, and “嫌xián, 添tiān, 念niàn, 點diǎn, 臉liǎn and 廉lián” of the 廉纖(liánjiān) final tended to become mixed in usage with other characters ending with [-n] and [-ŋ]. See the following examples.

水路難行，是等來人好問音。若有姻緣分，勝似權州印。嗟，來到豫章城，日西沈，玉兔東升，慢把船兒趁，彩鳳求鸞何處尋？⁸ shuǐ lù nán xíng, shì děng lái rén hǎo wèn yīn. ruò yǒu yīn yuán fēn, shèng sì quán zhōu yìn. chā,

lái dào yù zhāng chéng, rì xī chén, yù tùn dōng shēng, màn bǎ chuán ér chèn, cǎi fèng qiú luán hé chù xún?

(*Sài Sài, Zhùyúnfēi*, 《賽賽駐雲飛》, *Saisai, The Flying of the Still Clouds*)

十一月天寒，瑞雪飄飄樵鬢斑。山嶺梅初綻，惟有青松伴。嗒，西江月兒彎，好難擔。⁹ shí yī yuè tiān hán, ruì xuě piāo piāo qiáo bìn bān. shān líng méi chū zhàn, wéi yǒu qīng sōng bàn. chā, xī jiāng yuè ér wān, hǎo nán dān.

(*Shí Èr Yuè, Zhùyúnfēi*, 《十二月駐雲飛》, *12th Month, The Flying of the Still Clouds*)

扯碎花箋，跌脚捶胸珠淚漣，白把青天怨，似此無靈驗。嗒，翻作歹姻緣。廟堂前，訴盡衷腸，神目明如電光，應辜義不全。¹⁰ chě suì huā jiān, diē jiǎo chuí xiōng zhū lèi lián, bái bǎ qīng tiān yuàn, sì cǐ wú líng yàn. chā, fān zuò dǎi yīn yuán. miào táng qián, sù jìn zhōng cháng, shén mù míng rú diàn guāng, yīng gū yì bù quán.

(*Wáng Kuí Fù Guì Yīng*, 《王魁負桂英》, *Wang Kui's Betrayal of Guiying*)

The first poem has nine rhyming characters, namely, “音 yīn, 沉 chén and 尋 xún” of the 侵尋 (qīnxún) final, “分 fēn, 印 yìn and 趁 chèn” of the 真文 (zhēn wén) final, and “行 xíng, 城 chéng and 升 shēng” of the 庚青 (gēngqīng) final. The second poem has six rhyming characters, namely, “寒 hán, 斑 bān, 綻 zhàn and 彎 wān” of the 寒山 (hánshān), “伴 bàn” of 桓歡 (huán huān), and “擔 dān” of 監咸 (jiānxián). The third poem has seven rhyming characters, namely, “箋 (jiān) of 先天 (xiān tiān), “驗 (yàn) of 廉纖 (liánjiān), and “漣 lián, 怨 yuàn, 緣 yuán, 前 qián and 全 quán” of 先天 (xiān tiān). It's likely that during that period, not only [-m] began to be turned into [-n], but also some characters ending with [-ŋ] began to be changed into [-n].

Up until the 16th century, [-m] merged with [-n] and then completely disappeared. Based on their vowels, 侵尋 (qīnxún) was incorporated into 真文 (zhēn wén), 監咸 (jiānxián) into 寒山 (hánshān), and 廉纖 (liánjiān) into 先天 (xiān tiān):

[əɱ]→	[ən]:	潛 qián 岑 cén 鋸 chèn 識 shí 森 sēn 參 cān 慘 sǎn 滲 shèn 霖 shèn
[iəɱ]→	[in]:	林 lín 淋 lín 臨 lín 浸 jìn 緜 (qīn <tsiəɱ) 侵 qīn 寢 qǐn 心 xīn 沁 qìn 金 jīn 今 jīn 錦 jǐn 禁 jìn 欽 qīn 琴 qín 禽 qín 歆 xīn 音 yīn 陰 yīn 吟 yīn 淫 yín 飲 yǐn 蔭 yīn
[am]→	[an]:	擔 dān 耽 dān 膽 dǎn 澹 dàn 貪 tān 探 tàn 談 tán 潭 tán 毯 tǎn 南 nán 婪 lán 斬 zhǎn 讒 chán 杉 shān 簪 zān 蠶 cán 三 sān 甘 gān 感 gǎn 堪 kān 含 hán 庵 ān 暗 àn
[iəɱ]→	[ian]:	掂 diān 點 diǎn 添 tiān 甜 tián 拈 niān 念 niàn 廉 lián 臉 liǎn 尖 jiān 漸 jiàn 纖 xiān 慝 qiàn 謙 qiān 欠 qiàn 嫌 xián 淹 yān 炎 yán 豔 yàn 厭 yàn

In *Private Edition of Studies on Pronunciation and Meaning of Characters from Books and Writings* (《書文音義便考私編》 shū wén yīn yì biàn kǎo sī biān) (1587 CE) by Li Deng 李登, it reads as in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Examples of sound merge in *Private Edition of Studies on Pronunciation and Meaning of Characters from Books and Writings*

七真(7) 真zhēn	兼舊韻侵，內自有辨；jiān jiù yùn qīn, nèi zì yǒu biànqīzhēn It embodies the old final of 侵qīn. Distinctions can be made by nature.
十二寒 (12) 寒hán	兼舊韻刪覃咸，內自有辨；jiān jiù yùn shān tán xián, nèi zì yǒu biànèr It embodies the old final of 刪shān覃tán咸xián. Distinctions can be made by nature.
一先(1) 先xiān	兼舊韻監，內自有辨。jiān jiù yùn jiān, nèi zì yǒu biàn It embodies the old final of 監jiān. Distinctions can be made by nature.

Here, Li Deng clearly states the fact of the merge of [-m] and [-n]. “內èr自zì有yǒu and辨biàn” means, in effect, that only phonologists and dramatists can make distinctions. In colloquial language of ordinary people, they no longer made differences.

Excerpts to Correct Pronunciations (《正音摺言》zhèng yīn zhè yán; published in 1628 CE) by Wang Li 王荔 divides finals into 22 groups, with all finals ending with [-m] recategorized into those with [-n]. For instance, in *Couplet Sentences of Rhymed Writings II* (對句韻語之二 duì jù yùn yǔ zhī èr) from “*Chanting Rhymes II*” (吟韻下 yín yùn xià) in chapter nine of volume two of the book, which reads as follows:

蓮對菊，鳳對麟，麻冕對葛巾。渚清對沙白，霞重對嵐深。荒邱夢，故園心，吹笛對鳴琴。草迎金埽馬，花伴玉樓人。風細窗前橫夏簟，月明門外急秋砧。清夜詞成，煬帝那思玉樹曲；長門獻賦，相如不記白頭吟。¹¹
lián duì jú, fèng duì lín, má miǎn duì gé jīn. zhǔ qīng duì shā bái, xiá zhòng duì lán shēn. huāng qiū mèng, gù yuán xīn, chuī dí duì míng qín. cǎo yíng jīn liè mǎ, huā bàn yù lóu rén. fēng xì chuāng qián héng xià diàn, yuè míng mén wài jí qiū zhēn. qīng yè cí chéng, yáng dì nǎ sī yù shù qū, cháng mén xiàn fù, xiàng rú bù jì bái tóu yín.

In this excerpt, there are eight rhyming characters, including “深shēn, 心xīn, 琴qín, 砧zhēn and 吟yín” ending with [-m] and “麟lín, 巾jīn and 人rén” with [-n].¹²

Comprehensive Studies on Finals (《韻略匯通》yùn lüè huì tōng; completed in 1642 CE) by Bi Gongchen 畢拱宸 in Chongzhen’s 崇禎 reign of the Ming dynasty divides finals into 16 groups, namely, 東洪(dōng hóng), 江陽(jiāng yáng), 真尋(zhēn xún), 庚晴(gēng qīng), 先全(xiān quán), 山寒(shān hán), 支辭(zhīcí), 灰微([huīwēi]), 居魚(jūyú), 呼模(hūmú), 皆來(jiē lái), 蕭豪(xiāo háo), 家麻(jiā má), 遮zhē蛇shé, and 幽yōu and 樓lóu, without such groups as 侵尋(qīn xún), 監咸(jiān xián), or 廉纖(lián xiān) ending with [-m] in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

During Shunzhi’s 順治 reign (1644–1661) or Kangxi’s 康熙 reign (1662–1722) of the Qing dynasty, there were no 深(shēn) or 咸(xián) finals in the 13 final groups in either *Pronunciations of All Directions* (《五方元音》wǔ fāng yuán yīn) by Fan Tengfeng (樊騰鳳 fān téng fēng) or *Division of Rhymes* by Xu Xiao. The immergence of the 深(shēn) final into 臻(zhēn) and 咸(xián) into 山shān reveals that both [-m] and [-n] had disappeared in northern Chinese dialects at that time.

Earlier than that were *Comprehensive Understanding of Four Tones* (《四聲通解》 sì shēng tōng jiě)¹³ (1517 CE) by Cui Shizhen 崔世珍 during Zhongzong's 中宗 Reign of the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮王朝 chāo xiān wáng cháo). In its *Reading Guidance*, which reads,

From the very beginning, finals ending with [-n], [-ŋ] and [-m] did not mix in usage so that only 侵(qīn), 覃(qín) and 監(jiān) ended with rounded mouth, which were all pronounced as [-n] in the popular Chinese language. As a result, characters in 真(zhēn) and 侵(qīn), 刪(shān), and 覃(qín), and 先(xiān) and 鹽(jiān) tended to be mixed together at that time.¹⁴

The so-called 漢俗(hàn sú), a popular Chinese pronunciation, actually refers to the “official language (官話) guān huà” of the time, which shows that in the early 16th century, [-m] had been pronounced as [-n] in the official Chinese language.

7.3.2 The merging of the 寒山(hánshān), 桓歡(huán huān), and 先天(xiān tiān) final groups

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, 寒山(hánshān), 桓歡(huán huān), and 先天(xiān tiān) belong to three separated groups with different finals. The finals of 寒山(hánshān) are [an], [uan], and [ian], that of 桓歡(huán huān) [uən], and those of 先天(xiān tiān) [ien] and [iuən]. In *Easy Comprehension of the Outline of Rhymes* by Lan Mao of the Ming dynasty, “端桓” remains a separate group. However, in *Comprehensive Studies on Finals* by Bi Gongchen, the “端桓” group in *Easy Comprehension of the Outline of Rhymes* is put into the “山寒”(shānhán) group. *Division of Rhymes* by Xu Xiao further combines 寒山(hánshān), 桓歡(huán huān), and 先天(xiān tiān) into the 山 final group. In the Modern Mandarin language, labials that used to belong to the 桓歡(huán huān) final group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are pronounced as [an], and others as [uan], bearing no difference with those in the 寒山(hánshān) final group.

[uən]→	[an]:	般bān搬bān半bàn伴bàn泮pàn畔pàn絆bàn潘pān盤pán 磐pán槃pán蟠pán胖pàng判pàn拼(pīn)瞞(mán)謾mán 漫màn縵màn鏘màn饅mán滿mǎn懣mèn幔màn墁màn
[uən]→	[uan]:	端duān短duǎn段duàn端tuān團tuán瞳tuǎn豕shǐ 暖nuǎn鸞luán卵luǎn亂luàn鑽zuān竄cuàn酸suān 官guān觀guān管guǎn寬kuān款kuǎn歡huān桓huán 喚huàn換huàn

In the Modern Mandarin language, characters in the 先天(xiān tiān) final group are pronounced as [ian], [an], [yan], and [uan].

[ien]→	[ian]:	邊biān扁biǎn變biàn篇piān偏piān片piàn眠mián 顛diān天tiān田tián年nián煎jiān千qiān 先xiān堅jiān牽qiān掀xiān煙yān燕yàn演yǎn 宴yàn硯yàn
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[ien] (Retroflex)→	[an]:	氈zhān旃zhān展zhǎn戰 zhàn纏chán扇shàn善shàn然rán
[iuen]→	[yan]:	鸞luán變luán全quán泉quán 宣xuān選xuǎn涓juān拳quán喧xuān元yuán 冤yuān
[iuen](Retroflex)→	[uan]:	專zhuān磚zhuān轉zhuǎn川chuān穿chuān舛 chuǎn串chuàn軟ruǎn

In the modern Mandarin language, 寒山(hán shān), 桓歎(huán xiē) and 先天(xiān tiān) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are merged into one final group including four finals, spelt as “an”, “uan”, “ian” and “üan” according to the Scheme for the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet.

7.3.3 *The existence of Érhua final (R-ization)*

Such characters as “兒(ér), 而ér, 爾ěr, 邇ěr, 耳ěr, 駉ěr, 餌ěr, 珥ěr, 二èr and 貳èr” of the 日(ri) group in 支思(zhīsī) final in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* were pronounced as [ʐ]. During the Ming dynasty, which was turned into the retroflex vowel [ər]. In *Division of Rhymes*, Xu Xiao lists “而ér, 爾ěr and 二èr” of the 日(ri) group in unrounded-mouth 影(yǐng) of the 止(zhǐ) group, meaning that they have no consonant initials. *A Help to Western Scholars* (《西儒耳目資》 xī rú ěr mù zī) (1626 CE) by Nicolas Trigault (金尼閣jīn ní gé), a French missionary, notes it as [ul], with no consonant initial. In *The Original Pronunciation by Qièyùn* (《切韻聲原》 Qièyùn shēng yuán)¹⁵(1641 CE) by Fang Yizhi 方以智, it reads, “兒ér (ər) is a unique character, so it is here noted as 人rén誰shuí qiè”.¹⁶ At that time, “兒ér”(ər) was already pronounced as [ər], quite different from other characters of 日(ri) group, so it is regarded as a “unique” character. In a word, by the 17th century, retroflex vowels of [ər] had begun to emerge.

In the following section, the emergence and development of the érhua final are to be discussed. The retroflex vowel of [ər] never combines with any initials. Written as “兒ér”, it often follows a word to form an érhua word. Such words flourished even before the 14th century. Take *Dāodāoling* (《叨叨令》 dāo dāo lìng, *MURMURING SONG*) of scene three of act four of *Xī Xiāng Jì* as an example:

兒安排着車兒、馬兒，不由人熬熬煎煎的氣。有甚麼心情將花兒、靨兒，打扮的嬌嬌滴滴的媚。準備着被兒、枕兒，則索昏昏沉沉的睡。從今後衫兒、袖兒，都搵濕做重重疊疊的淚。兀的不悶殺人也麼哥！兀的不悶殺人也麼哥！久已後書兒、信兒，索與我恹恹惶惶的寄。¹⁷ jiǎn ān pái zhe chē ér, mǎ ér, bù yóu rén áo áo jiān jiān de qì. yǒu shèn me xīn qíng jiāng huā ér, yè ér, dǎ bàn de jiāo jiāo dī dī de mèi. zhǔn bèi zhe bèi ér, zhěn ér, zé suǒ hūn hūn chén chén de shuì. cóng jīn hòu shān ér, xiù ér, dōu wèn shī zuò chóng chóng dié dié de lèi. wù de bù mèn shà rén yě me gē! wù de bù mèn shà rén yě me gē! jiǔ yǐ hòu shū ér, xìn ér, suǒ yú wǒ xī xī huáng huáng de jì.

The lyrics contain ten érhua words, namely, “車兒chē ér”, “馬兒mǎ ér”, “花兒huā ér”, “靨兒yè ér”, “被兒bèi ér”, “枕兒zhěn ér”, “衫兒shān ér”, “袖兒xiù ér”, “書兒shū ér” and “信兒xìn ér”. In *Jīn Píng Méi* (《金瓶梅》, *Chin Ping Mei*

or *The Plum in the Golden Vase*) by Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng 蘭陵笑笑生 of the Ming dynasty, such words appear with a high frequency and in great quantity.¹⁸ See the following examples.

半中腰裏有個發放巡捕的廳兒，對門有個石橋兒，轉過石橋兒，緊靠着個姑姑庵兒，傍邊有個小胡同兒，進小胡同往西走，第三家豆腐鋪隔壁上坡兒，有雙扇紅對門兒的就是他家。¹⁹ bàn zhōng yāo lǐ yǒu gè fā fàng xún bǔ de tīng ér, duì mén yǒu gè shí qiáo ér, zhuǎn guò shí qiáo ér, jìn kào zhe gè gū gū ān ér, páng biān yǒu gè xiǎo hú tòng ér, jìn xiǎo hú tòng wǎng xī zǒu, dì sān jiā dòu fu pù gé bì shàng pō ér, yǒu shuāng shàn hóng duì mén ér de jiù shì tā jiā. (chapter 68)

In the rhyming of poems and lyrics, “兒”ér literally was attached to other finals as an auxiliary syllable. For instance, in *Yī Kǒu Qì·Yǒu Gǎn Yú Liáng Bié Jià Zhī Shì II* (《一口氣·有感于梁別駕之事》之二 《yī kǒu qì yǒu gǎn yú liáng bié jià zhī shì》zhī èr, *ONE BREATH-Reflections on Secretary Liang's Affairs II*), a popular song recorded in *Han Lyric Poetry in Fangru Garden* (《芳茹園樂府》fāng rú yuán yuè fǔ) by Zhao Nanxing 趙南星 during the Wanli's reign, reads:

只怕房先兒，全輕府判兒，勉強相留沒個笑臉兒，陪着咱坐似針尖兒。

△ △ △ △

只合先兒們，那們咎兒張三兒。饒你有伶俐聰明，彈唱聰明，

△ △

瀝丁拉丁，也還差點兒張三兒。²⁰

△

zhǐ pà fāng xiān ér, quán qīng fǔ pàn ér, miǎn qiǎng xiāng liú méi gè xiào liǎn ér, péi zhe zán zuò sì zhēn jiān ér. zhǐ hé xiān ér men, nà men zǎn ér zhāng sān ér. ráo nǐ yǒu líng lì cōng míng, tán chàng cōng míng, lì dīng lā dīng, yě hái chà diǎn ér zhāng sān ér.

The main rhyme here is not “兒”ér, but the rhyme of “先”xiān, “判”pàn, “臉”liǎn, “尖”jiān, “先”xiān, “三”sān, and “三”sān should be in its front position. Since “兒”ér was not the main rhyme, it is likely that its pronunciation was getting shorter and lighter and merged with the syllable before it. Hence, it existed as the érhua final. The transformation process was completed by the 17th century. In *Understandings of Rhymes in My Small Thatched Hut* (《拙庵韻悟》zhuō ān yùn wù) (1674 CE) by Zhao Shaoji 趙紹箕 during Kangxi's Reign of the Qing Dynasty, the six monophthongs include “姑gū[u]” and “格gé[x]”, while the 14 mutual rhymes included “姑兒gū ér[ur]” and “閤兒gé ér[xr]”, obvious proof of the existence of érhua finals from that time.

In modern times, there are more than 1,500 natural érhua words within the Beijing dialect, with a wide scope almost embodying all parts of speech, such as “大褂dà guà(guà<kua)兒ér” (long gown) and “人緣兒rén yuán ér” (relations with other people) of nouns, “玩兒wán ér” (to play) and “納悶兒nà mèn ér” (to be bewildered) of verbs, “味兒wèi ér[極了jí le]” (smelly [very much]) and “乾gān淨(jìng<tsiəŋ)兒ér de” (clean)” of adjectives, “一半兒yī bàn ér” (half) and “千兒八百qiān ér bā bǎi” (tens of thousands) of numbers, “[一yī]盒兒hé

ér” ([one] box of) and “[一yī]份(fèn<fuən)兒ér” (a share of) of measure words, “倍兒bèi ér[好hǎo]” (extremely [good]) and “噴兒pēn ér” [香xiāng]” ([fragrant] very much) of adverbs, and “咯(gē<kau)兒ér咯gē兒ér [地dì笑xiào]” ([to laugh] in a giggling way) and “咳(ké<k’uo)兒ér咳hāi兒ér [地dì咳ké嗽sòu]” ([to cough] in a continuous way) of onomatopoeic words, as well as “崩bēng兒ér崩bēng兒ér [地dì蹦bèng]” ([to jump] like a spring) and “針zhēn兒ér針zhēn兒ér [地dì疼téng]” ([to feel painful] like being pierced by a needle) of mimetic words, and so on. From the perspective of phonetics, it can be seen that almost all finals can be turned into érhuà finals.

7.3.4 The change of vowel [o] and the existence of vowel [ɤ]

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the vowels of the 歌戈(gēgē) final group are [o], [uo], and [io], and those of 尤侯(yóuhóu), [ou] and [iou], with [o] being the major vowel. In the Modern Mandarin language, they went through great changes as follows.

(1) Unrounded-mouth [o] in 歌戈(gēgē) final into [o], [uo], and [ɤ]:

[o]→	[o](labials):	薄báo泊pō箔bó勃bó渤海
[o]→	[uo](linguo-dentals):	度dù濁zhuó濯zhuó鑿zhuó鑿záo
[o]→	[ɤ](velars and laryngeals):	哥gē歌gē柯kē軻gě駝gě葛gé割gē 鵠gē閣gé箇gè個gè軻kē珂kē 渴kě渴kě嗑kē呵hē訶hē 何hé河hé荷 hé合hé 盒hé鶴(hè<xau)盍hé賀hè俄é戛é餓è阿ā萼è 鰐è鄂è惡è

(2) Rounded-mouth [uo] into [o], [uo], [a], [u], and [ɤ]:

[uo]→	[o](labials):	波bō玻bō嶓bō跛bō簸bō播bō坡pō頗pō婆 pō 叵pǒ潑pō粕pò破pò磨mó 摩mó 魔mó 抹mò末mò沫mò莫mò寞mò佛fú
[uo]→	[u](labials):	幕mù縛fù
[uo]→	[uo](linguo-dentals; parts of velars and laryngeals):	多duō 奪duó朵duǒ掇duō舵duò墮duò惰duò剝duò 馱tuó拖tuō駝(tuó<t’uo)妥tuǒ唾tuò攤nuó糯nuò羅lu ó裸luǒ洛luò落luò絡luò左zuǒ佐zuǒ坐zuò磋cuō搓c uō 莎shā蓑suō鎖suǒ過guò果guǒ闊kuò活huó火hu ǒ貨huò禍huò窩wō倭wō卧wò
[uo]→	[a]:	跋bá 魃bá他tā那nà
[uo]→	[ɤ](parts of velars and laryngeals):	戈gē科kē蝌kē窠kē顆kē課kè禾hé和hé訛é

(3) I-class vowel [io] into [yɛ] and [uo]:

[io]→ [yɛ]: 略lüè掠lüè學xué虐nüè謔xuè岳yuè樂lè藥yào約yuē躍yuè鑰yào
[io]→ [uo]: 若ruò弱ruò弱ruò

It was a late time for [io] to be changed into [yɛ]. In *Sources of Rhymes* (《音韻逢源》yīn yùn féng yuán) (1840 CE) by Yu En in the mid-19th century, it was still pronounced as [yə] and was not pronounced as [yɛ] until the late 19th century.

(4) Unrounded-mouth [ou] of 尤侯(yóuhóu) final group mostly into [ou] and a few into [au] in the modern Beijing language.

[ou]→ [ou]: 牟móu侑móu兜dōu斗dòu偷tōu透tòu樓lóu漏lòu走
zǒu湊còu搜sōu勾(gōu<kəu)狗gǒu摳kōu口kǒu侯hóu
歐ōu

[ou]→ [au]: 矛máo貿mào懋mào

(5) I-class vowel of [iou] in the 尤侯(yóuhóu) final group into [iou], [ou], [iau], and [u] in the modern Beijing language:

[iou]→ [iou]: 劉liú柳liǔ酒jiǔ就jiù秋qiū修xiū秀xiù鳩jiū九jiǔ丘qiū
求qiú休xiū憂yōu尤yóu有yǒu又yòu牛niú

[iou]→ [ou]: 周zhōu洲zhōu舟zhōu肘zhǒu晝zhòu抽chōu稠chóu臭
chòu收shōu手shǒu首shǒu獸shòu柔róu揉róu肉ròu

[iou]→ [iau]: 彪biāo

[iou]→ [u]: 逐zhú竹zhú燭zhú褥rù宿sù

It can be analyzed from the above examples that from the Yuan dynasty to Modern Mandarin time, the vowel of [o] went through the following trend of development:

- (1) The change of monophthongs into compound vowels. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the vowel of [o] in the 歌戈(gēgē) final group was pronounced as [uo] after i-class finals, which all originated from Middle Chinese entering-tone characters, such as “鐸duó濁zhuó鑿záo” and others.
- (2) The change of compound vowels into monophthongs. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the vowel of [uo] in the 歌戈(gēgē) final group lost its head vowel of [u] and became [o] after labials, such as “波bō坡pō磨mó” and others. The vowel of [iou] in the 尤侯(yóuhóu) final group turned into [u] after initials in the 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) groups, such as “竹zhú逐zhú燭zhú”. They were all from the Middle Chinese entering tone and reappeared in the 魚模(yúmú) final group.

- (3) The change of rounded-lip vowels into unrounded-lip ones. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the vowel of [o] in the 歌戈 (gēgē) final group was changed into unrounded-lip [ɤ] after velars and laryngeals, such as “哥gē, 科kē and 何hé”. Part entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese of the vowel of [ət] became [yɛ] after 18th century, [o] into unrounded-lip vowel of [ɛ] with the first half of the mouth higher than that of the latter, such as “略lüè, 掠lüè, 學xué and 虐nüè”.
- (4) Lowerization of vowels. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, characters of the vowel of [uo] in the 歌戈 (gēgē) final group were partly transformed into [a] in modern times, such as “跋bá, 他tā and 那nà”, with a few into [iau], such as “彪”(biāo). Their main vowels turned from back vowels of half height into low vowels [a].

The formation of [ɤ] will be discussed in the following section. In the modern Mandarin language, [ɤ] partly came from velars and laryngeals of [o] of the 歌戈 (gēgē) final group as mentioned earlier. Besides that, there are three other sources. One is from the characters in the 知(zhī) and 照(zhào) groups of [iɛ] of the 車遮(chēzhē) final group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, such as the example of “遮zhē者zhě折zhé哲zhé柘zhè蔗zhè車chē掣chè撤chè輟zhé澈chè奢shē舍shě蛇shé社shè射shè麝shè貫guàn赦shè” and others. The second is from the characters in the 莊(zhuāng) group of [ai] of the 皆來 final group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, such as “澤zé 擇zé 責zé 幘zé 簣zé 仄zé 則zé 側cè 測cè 册cè 策cè 色sè 穢sè” and others, as well as velars and laryngeals of [iai], such as “革gé 隔gé 格gé 酪gé 客kè 刻kè 額é 厄è 阨è 搯è” and the like. The third is from [ei] of the 齊微qí wēi final group such as “德dé, 得dé, 勒lēi, 肋lē and 劾hé”. They all used to be entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language. When they lost their tail vowels of [-p], [-t], and [-k] and were allocated into different yīn final groups, their vowels might not be the same. With further development of the Chinese language, they went through different changes yet again.

When did [o], [iɛ], [ai], and [ei] in the Yuan dynasty turn into [ɤ]? *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* contains 歌戈 (gēgē) ([o], [io], [uo]), 家麻(jiāmá) ([a], [ia], [ua]), and 車遮(chēzhē) ([iɛ], [iue]). 戈gē hé, 家麻(jiāmá) and 遮蛇zhē shé in *Easy Comprehension of the Outline of Rhymes* (1442 CE) by Lan Mao; 果guǒ, 假jiǎ, and 拙zhuō groups in *Division of Rhymes* (1602 CE) by Xu Xiao; [a], [o], and [e] in *A Help to Western Scholars* (1626 CE) by Trigault, as well as 馬mǎ (house), 駝tuó (camel), and 蛇shé (snake) groups in *Pronunciations of All Directions* (1664 CE) by Fan Tengfeng are all equivalent to 歌戈 (gēgē), 家麻(jiāmá), and 車遮(chēzhē) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, with no sign of [ɤ]. However, among the 14 mutual finals of 昆kūn, 官guān, 公gōng, 光guāng, 規guī, 乖guāi, 鈎gōu, 高gāo, 格gé, 迦jiā, 戈gē, 瓜guā, 姑兒gū ér, and 閤兒gé ér in *Understandings of Rhymes in My Small Thatched Hut* (1674 CE) by Zhao Shaoji during Kangxi's reign, the four groups of “格gé”[ɤ], “迦jiā”[iɛ], 戈gē[o], and 瓜guā[a] are parallel to each other, indicating that the vowel of [ɤ] had been in existence and became an independent group in the 17th century.

7.3.5 The change of four ways of pronunciation, namely, unrounded mouth, I-class, rounded mouth, and round lip

From the Yuan dynasty to Modern Mandarin times, due to the development of retroflex initials, the disappearance of the yáng tail vowel of [-m], and the change of vowels, the four ways of pronunciation also underwent evolution. The existence and development of retroflex initials had changed some i-class sounds into unrounded-mouth ones, and some rounded-lip ones into rounded-mouth ones. This has been discussed in the previous section with examples, which is not articulated here.

The variation of initials and finals cause the change in the number of the four ways of pronunciation. There are 46 finals in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, among which 13 are unrounded-mouth, 11 rounded-mouth, 16 i-class, and 6 rounded-lip.²¹ In the Modern Mandarin language, there are 37 finals, including 14 unrounded-mouth ones, 9 rounded-mouth ones, 10 i-class ones, and 4 rounded-lip ones. Comparatively speaking, the unrounded-mouth finals were added with [ɤ] and [əɾ] and reduced with [əɱ] and [am]. In the *Scheme for the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet*, “ong” is actually pronounced as [uŋ]. Rounded-mouth [uən] and [uan] are combined into one. [io], [iai], [iəu], [iən], [iəm], [iam], and [iəm] are removed from i-class finals. [iuŋ] and [iuən] of the rounded-lip finals are combined into [yŋ] (“iong” in the *Scheme for the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet*). Linguo-dental of [iuŋ] is pronounced as “ong [uŋ]” in modern times, such as “濃nóng, 穠nóng, 醲nóng, 龍lóng, 隴lǒng, 戎róng, 冗rǒng, 中zhōng, 鐘zhōng, 腫zhǒng, 重zhòng, 沖chōng, 樅cōng, 從cóng, 松sōng and 嵩sōng”. Its velars and laryngeals are pronounced as “iong [yŋ]” in modern times, such as “穹qióng, 芎qiōng, 窮qióng, 邛qióng, 凶xiōng, 胸xiōng, 洵xiōng, 熊xióng and 雄xióng”. [iuən] is pronounced as “iong [yŋ] in modern times, such as “侗dòng, 瓊qióng, 榮róng, 惇dūn, 兄xiōng, 頃qǐng, 迥jiǒng, 榮róng, 永yǒng and 詠yǒng”. The transformation of a few characters between these four ways of pronunciation concerns all of them, and they will not be listed here in detail.

7.4 The change of tones

The names of the four tones of the Modern Mandarin language, namely, high-level and level tones, rising tone, falling–rising tone, and falling tone, are the same as those in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. However, after evolution during the Ming and the Qing dynasties, the contents of each tone, as well as the characters embodied, tend to vary. This can be represented by the following two aspects.

7.4.1 Reallocation of entering-tone characters into the other three tones

There are no entering-tone characters classified into the high-level and level tones in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*. Among the 721 entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language in the book, full-voiced

ones belong to the rising tone, constituting 24%; while sub-voiced ones belong to the falling tone, constituting 28%; and voiceless ones to the falling–rising tone, constituting 48%. However, in modern times, such layout is broken.

(1) The majority of the voiceless characters fell into the high-level and level tones, the rising tone, and the falling tone. *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* records 360 entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language, with 334 into the falling–rising tone, constituting 93%, eight into the rising tone and 18 into the falling tone, constituting seven percent together.

However, in Modern Mandarin, 96 voiceless entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language, such as “逼bī, 劈pī, 剔tī, 踢tī, 隻zhī, 織zhī, 汁zhī, 吃chī, 失shī, 濕shī, 積jī, 跡jī, 七qī, 漆qī, 戚qī, 昔xī, 惜xī, 息xī, 浙xī, 擊jī, 激jī, 吸xī, 翕xī, 一yī, 揖yī, 黑hēi, 撲pū, 督dū, 禿tū, 哭kū, 窟kū, 忽hū, 屋wū, 粥zhōu, 出chū, 叔shū, 菽shū, 屈qū, 曲qū, 麴qū, 擘bāi, 拍pāi, 摘zhāi, 割gē, 葛gé, 鴿gē, 約yuē, 撥bō, 鉢bō, 鏝pō, 潑pō, 脫tuō, 撮cuō, 聒guā, 答dá, 搭dā, 踏tà, 插chā, 錘chā, 剗dá, 雜zá, 匝zā, 啞yā, 夾jiā, 掐qiā, 恰qià, 瞎xiā, 八bā, 發fā, 鴨yā, 壓yā, 押yā, 刮guā, 驚biē, 警piē, 撇piē, 帖tiē, 貼tiē, 接jiē, 切qiē, 薛xuē, 歇xiē, 蝎xiē, 噎yē, 拙zhuō, 說shuō, 缺quē, 闕quē, 託tuō, 飪tuō, 剝bō, 捉zhuō, 卓zhuō, 截jié, 郭guō, and 削xuē”, which are put into the high and level tones, constituting 27% of the total voiceless entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese.

Eighty-two characters, such as “的de嫡dí滴dī鞞dí識shí唧jī唧zéi錫xī吉jí殛jí棘jí急jí汲jí覲xī檄xī國guó得dé福fú幅fú蝠fú拂fú卒zú竹zhú燭zhú足zú菊jú踰jú局jú責zé憤zé贊zé謫zhé迕zé則zé革gé隔gé格gé骼gé摑guāi閣gé蛤há跋bá撥duō達dá劓zhā察chá笈jí別bié慙biē哲zhé折zhé摺zhé褶zhě轍zhé節jié癘jiē楫jí結jié²²潔jié劫jié頰jiá鈇jiá莢jiá決jué玦jué訣jué鳩jué蕨jué譎jué博bó閣gé駁bó琢zuó酌zhuó灼zhuó斫zhuó繳jiǎo爵jué覺jué角jiǎo脚jiǎo²³桷jué” are put into the rising tone, constituting 24% of the total voiceless entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese language.

One hundred forty-five characters such as “塞sāi瑟sè澁sè(澀sè)必bì畢bì蹕bì篳bì壁bì磬bì辟pī僻pì逖tī質zhì炙zhì鷲zhì赤chì勅chì叱chì鶻chì室shì適shì拭shì軾shì釋shì爽shì葦qī稷jī績jī刺cì泣qì訖qì隙xì益yì邑yì憶yì不bù復fù腹fù覆fù觸chù束shù簇cù菽sù謾sù縮suō速sù酷kù沃wò兀wù笏hù築zhù黜chù畜chù蹙cù促cù粟sù宿sù郁yù迫pò槩bò魄pò珀pò側cè昃zè仄zè册cè冊zhà策cè測cè色sè穉sè客kè刻kè嚇xià厄è阨è隘ài惡è堊è粕pò括kuò闊kuò撻tà踏tà塌tà榻tà曇shà颯sà鞞sà薩sà髮fà浙zhè澈chè撤chè掣chè設shè攝shè灑shè竊qiè妾qiè沕qī屑xiè緹xiè泄xiè媿xiè褻xiè變xiè屨xiè痂xuē怯qiè挈qiè篋qiè謁yè輟chuò啜chuài闕quē拓tà橐tuó魄pò柝tuó作zuò柞zhà繫zuò錯cuò遣cuò各gè煊hè壑hè擗shuò朔shuò稍shuò廓kuò綽chuò婬nào爍shuò鑠shuò爍yuè鵲què雀què趙què諺xuè藥yào躍yuè鑰yào淪yuè” are put into the falling tone, constituting 40% of the total voiceless entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese language, making them the largest in number.

Only 34 characters, such as “尺chǐ脊jǐ戟jǐ給gěi乞qǐ乙yǐ卜bo 篤dū谷gǔ穀gǔ穀gǔ骨gǔ伯bó百bǎi柏bǎi窄zhǎi渴kě瘍tǎ塔tà塔tà撒sǎ甲jiǎ胛jiǎ法fǎ撇piē鐵tiē饜tiē帖tiē血xuè雪xuē索suǒ繚huì”, are put into the falling–rising tone, constituting only 9% of the total voiceless entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese language.

There seems that there was no law to be followed when Middle Chinese voiceless entering-tone characters were transformed into the high-level and level tones, the rising tone, and the falling tone in a large number. Those with the same pronunciation in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* usually have different tones in the Modern Mandarin language. For instance, “督dū and 篤dǔ” both belong to 冬dōng and 毒dú qiè in *Guāngyùn*, and the falling-rising tone of 魚模(yúmú) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, but in modern times, “督dū” is pronounced as “du⁵⁵”, high and level tone, and “篤dǔ” as “du²¹⁴”, falling-rising tone; “忽hū and 笏hù” both belong to 呼hū and 骨hù qiè in *Guāngyùn*, and the falling-rising tone of 魚模(yúmú) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, but in modern times, “忽” is pronounced as “hu⁵⁵”, high and level tone, and “笏hù” as “hu⁵¹”, falling tone; “摘zhāi and 謫zhé” both belong to 陟(zhī<tǚ) and 革gé qiè in *Guāngyùn*, and the falling-rising tone of 皆來(jiēlái) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, but in modern times, “摘zhāi” is pronounced as “zhai⁵⁵”, high and level tone, and “謫zhé” as “zhe³⁵”, rising tone. Some characters have only one pronunciation in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* but have several pronunciations in Modern Mandarin. For example, “答dá” belongs to 都合 dōu hé qiè in *Guāngyùn*, and the falling-rising tone of 家麻(jiāmá) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, but in modern times, “答dá” is pronounced as “da⁵⁵” in “答應dā yìng” (to agree), high and level tone, and as “da³⁵” in “回答huí dá” (to answer) huǐde, rising tone; “帖tiē” belongs to 他協tā xié qiè in *Guāngyùn*, and the falling-rising tone of 車遮(chēzhē) in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, but in modern times, “帖tiē” is pronounced as “tie⁵⁵” in “妥帖tuǒ tiē” (proper), high and level tone; as “tie²¹⁴” in “請帖qǐng tiē” (invitation) or “庚帖gēngtiē” (age card or written marriage proposal on which one’s birth year, month, date and hour are stated), falling-rising tone; and as “tie⁵¹” in “碑帖bēi tiē” (a rubbing from a stone inscription) or “法帖fǎ tiē” (a copy of celebrity calligraphy for copying or appreciation), falling tone. All those can only be explained as “acceptance through common practice” so far.

(2) A small number of full-voiced entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language fell into the high-level and level tones, the rising tone, and the falling tone. *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* records 176 full-voiced entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese language, with only eight into the falling-rising tone; one, that is “劇”(jù), into the falling tone; and all the rest into the rising tone. In the Modern Mandarin language, it remains to be a reality that the majority of full-voiced entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language fell into the rising tone, but a few characters also entered other three tones. “夕xī 突tū 淑shū 跌diē and 凸tū” are classified into the high-level and level tone, “屬蜀shǔ shǔ” into the falling-rising tone, and the tone of “擲zhì 秩zhì 射shè 寂jì 惑huò 術shù 術shù 述shù 續xù 畫huà 劃huà²⁴ 鑿záo 鶴hè 縛fù 鑊huò 撻tà 踏tà 逯tà 闢zhá 洽qià 涉shè 穴xué” into the falling tone. Among the nine full-voiced characters dispatched into the falling-rising tone in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the five, that is, “闢pì 髒zāng 暴bào 撤chè 澈chè”, belong to the falling

tone. While the other four, that is, “滌轍覲檄dí zhé xí xī”, belong to the rising tone today, they are not belonging to the falling-rising tone any longer.

(3) A few sub-voiced entering-tone characters in Middle Chinese language fall into the high-level and level tones, the rising tone, and the falling-rising tone. In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, sub-voiced entering-tone characters in the Middle Chinese language belong to the falling tone. So do they in the Modern Mandarin language, such as “密mì覓mì匿nì立lì曆lì力lì栗lì日rì入rù木mù睦mù目mù沒méi訥nè鹿lù祿lù兀wù玉yù獄yù欲yù浴yù育yù” (mī) and others. However, a small amount of such characters went through certain changes. For instance, nowadays, “拉lā摸mō捏niē曰yuē” (mó) belong to the high and level tone, “額”(é) to the rising tone, and “辱抹”(rǔmò) to the falling-rising tone.

7.4.2 *The existence of sub-voiced and full-voiced characters of the high-level and level tones*

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, the level tone is divided into the high-level and level tones and the rising tone, with no sub-voiced characters belonging to the high-level and level tones. It is an exception for “麼”(mó) to belong to the high-level and level tones. In *A Help to Western Scholars* (1626 CE) by Nicolas Trigault, a French missionary of the Society of Jesus, “麼”(mó) is put into the rising tone, so there have been no exceptions ever since. In *Studies on Phonetics by Mr. Li* (《李氏音鑿》lǐ shì yīn jiàn) (1805 CE) by Li Ruzhen of the Qing dynasty, such characters as “捫mén顛mán摸mō媽mā” (mó) belong to the high and level tone. In modern Mandarin Chinese, the four sub-voiced initials of [m], [n], and [l], and [z] are all pronounced as the high-level and level tones. See the following examples.

- [m] 媽mā麼mó摸mō摩(mó) (摩挲mā sā, to stroke gently)嫫mā(嫫嫫mā mā, grannie)抹(mā)(抹布mā bù, cleaning rag)貓顛māo mán(顛顛mán, mǎn hǎn, muddleheaded and careless)悶mèn(悶熱mèn rè, be hot and suffocating)蒙(mēng)(蒙騙méng piàn, to deceive)眯(mī)(眯縫mī fèng, to narrow one's eyes)
- [n] 囔(nāng)(囔囔nāng nāng, to murmur)妮(nī)(妮子nī zǐ, girl)拈niān(拈鬮niān jū, to cast lots)蔫(niān)(植物失水萎縮zhí wù shī shuǐ wēi suō, withered)捏niē(兒兒niē ér, girl)
- [l] 拉lā(垃圾lā jī, garbage)撈lāo(撈摸lāo mō, fishing and touching)勒(lēi勒根繩子lēi gēn shéng zi, to strangle a rope)擂léi(擂了一拳léi le yī quán, to beat with fist)撩(liāo)(把東西下垂的部分掀起來bǎ dōng xī xià chuí de bù fèn xiān qǐ lái, to lift up the sagging part of something)拎(līn)(拎着籃子līn zhe lán zi, to lift a basket)溜liū(溜冰liū bīng, to skate)溜liū(醋溜白菜cù liū bái cài, to fry quickly the Chinese cabbage with vinegar)撿liǒu(撿柴火liǒu chái huǒ, to gather firewood)噎lōu(噎一眼lōu yī yǎn, to take a look)掄lūn(掄刀lūn dāo, to swing a broadsword)捋lūo(捋虎鬚, luō hǔ xū, to stroke a tiger's whiskers)
- [z] 扔(rēng) (throw)

In *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*, full-voiced level-tone characters in the language of Middle Chinese belong to the rising tone, which complies with the reality of Modern Mandarin most of the time, with only a few limited numbers of tones belonging to the high and level tone. For instance:

並(bìng)	癩bān滌(biāo<piəu)邳pī
喻(yù)	庸yōng 傭yōng 墉yōng 鄜yōng 鏞yōng 鳶yuān
定(dìng)	滄tāo 焘(dào<tau) 佻tiāo 苔tái
禪(chán)	殊shū 茈zhū 洙zhū 銖zhū
群(qún)	譏jī 矜jīn 期qī 鯨jīng
匣(xiá)	莖jīng 鰕(xiā<xia) 兮xī 奚xī 蹊qī 嚮guī 攜xié 鏞(xī<si) 嵇(jī<ki) 鴉xiāo 酣hān

Among all the previously mentioned full-voiced level-tone characters, “鱣”(zēng) is pronounced as “zēng” in today’s Mandarin language, “鯨”(jīng) and “莖”(jīng) as “jīng”, and “嵇”(jī) as “jī”. Not only have their tones changed, but their initials have also become different. It may be that they are pronounced according to the phonetic component of the characters.

7.5 Summary

As can be seen from the preceding discussions that the phonetic system of the Yuan dynasty represented by *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* has built a solid foundation for the modern phonetic system of Mandarin. From *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* to present, Chinese has undergone many changes in its initials, finals, and tones, but their outlooks are consistent with each other. After spreading for 600 years, the influence of the Beijing language is becoming larger and larger to an extent that it can be understood and spoken in most regions across the country. Therefore, it is completely correct to choose the pronunciation of Beijing as the standard pronunciation of the Modern Chinese common language after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China.

Notes

- 1 The book records 1,600 characters divided into 96 groups of 48 pairs, with jiānyīn following tuányīn. In each group, the first character is of Manchu language with the Chinese characters below it possessing the same syllable. It opposes tuányīn against jiānyīn and points out their sources. The existing versions are the engraved edition of Gengyīn (庚寅) year of Daoguang’s (道光) reign and the printed edition in 1929.
- 2 Literal text: 試取三十六字母審之, 隸見、溪、群、曉、匣五母者屬團, 隸精、清、從、心、邪五母者屬尖, 判若涇渭。shì qǔ sān shí liù zì mǔ shěn zhī, lì jiàn, xī, qún, xiǎo, xié wǔ mǔ zhě shǔ tuán, lì jīng, qīng, cóng, xīn, xié wǔ mǔ zhě shǔ jiān, pàn ruò jìng wèi.
- 3 See Yuan Jiahua 袁家驊, *Overview of Chinese Dialects (Second Edition)*, Beijing: Language and Culture Press, pp. 31, 60.
- 4 *Re-amendment of Mr. SiMa Wen’s Division of Rhymes* (Abbreviation as 《等韻圖經》děng yùn tú jīng, *Division of Rhymes*) was written in 38th year of Wanli’s (萬

- 曆 wàn lì) reign (1602 CE), collected in *A Thorough Introduction to Rhymes from Collected Philological Writings* (《合併字學篇韻便覽》) hé bìng zì xué piān yùn biàn lǎn). There are 22 initials in *Division of Rhymes* in form, among which three exist in name only. In effect, the book contains 19 initials and divides finals into 13 groups, which roughly reflects the reality of Beijing pronunciation in the late Ming dynasty.
- 5 Literal text: 吳、無、晚、玩、悟、勿之類，母雖二三，音實為一味，不當分別而分別也， 今並於影母領率。 wú, wú, wǎn, wán, wù, wù zhī lèi, mù suī èr sān, yīn shí wéi yī wèi, bù dāng fēn bié ér fēn bié yě jīn bìng yú yǐng mǔ lǐng lǜ.
 - 6 Literal meaning: Midnight is long and hardly bright. Good news comes that the sun lightens the east sky. Today, people are playing the musical instruments and singing to worship peace and tranquility. Everybody sings happily.
 - 7 It has been long since tail vowels [-m] and [-n] are mixed in usage in dialects. In *Making a Mock of My Wife's Improper Accent* by Hu Zeng of the Tang dynasty, it reads, “呼十却為石，喚針將作真。忽然雲雨至，總道是天因” hū shí què wéi shí, huàn zhēn jiāng zuò zhēn. hū rán yún yǔ zhì, zǒng dào shì tiān yīn (from Volume 870 of the *Complete Collection of Tang Poetry*). “針 zhēn” and “陰 yīn” belong to 侵 qīn final ending with [-m], and “真 zhēn” and “因 yīn” to 真 zhēn final ending with [-n]. Hu Zeng, born in Shaoyang of Hunan of the Tang dynasty, used to be Jiédùshǐ Cóngshì (節度使從事) jié dù shǐ cóng shì, governor in charge of both civil and military affairs of a province – the translator) of Hannan. His wife was from Shu state. This poem shows that the tail vowel of [-m] had disappeared in the Shu dialect of the Tang dynasty.
 - 8 Literal meaning: The waterway is hard for traveling. I'm waiting for the person to send me a message. If there is a good marriage, it is better than being an official. Alas! When I arrive at Yuzhang City, the sun is sinking in the West and the jade moon is rising in the East. I am travelling slowly by boat. Where can the male phoenix find the female one?
 - 9 Literal meaning: In 11th month, it is very cold. The snow is dropping. The hair of the woodcutter tuns gray. The wintersweets start blooming on top of mountains. All those accompanying them are green pine trees. Alas! The moon over the Xijiang River is crescent. It is hard to carry the firewood.
 - 10 Literal meaning: I tear the letter, beat the breast and stamp the feet with tears running down. I curse the Heaven, but in vain, though its prediction is wrong. Alas! It turns out to be a bad fate of marriage. I am exposed with all of my heart in the temple. The eyes of God are as bright as lightning. It may be they are offended by his betrayal.
 - 11 Literal meaning: 蓮 lián (Lotus) rhymes with 菊 jú (chrysanthemum), 鳳 fèng (phoenix) with 麟 lín (female Chinese unicorn), and 麻冕 má miǎn (hemp crown) with 葛巾 gé jīn (hemp cloth scarf). 渚清 zhǔ qīng (dark green) rhymes with 沙白 shā bái (pure white) and 霞重 xiá zhòng (deep rosiness) with 嵐深 lán shēn (thick mist). 荒邱夢 huāng qiū mèng (the dream of a mound) rhymes with 故園心 gù yuán xīn (the longing for the hometown), and 吹笛 chuī dí (playing the flute) with 鳴琴 míng qín (playing the zither). The green grass welcomes precious horses, and flowers accompany the beauties in the jade building. The summer bamboo mat is laid beside the window with gentle wind blowing in. The quick beats of washing cloths come from outside the door under the bright autumn moon. In the happy night, the lyrics were finally completed, but Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty never cared about *Yù Shù Qǔ* (《玉樹曲》) yù shù qū, *Song of a Jade Tree*). Sima Xiangru composed a poem titled *Cháng Mén Fù* (《長門賦》) cháng mén fù, *Changmen Palace*, a poem to make an appeal to the emperor of the Han dynasty for the disfavored queen), but he himself even forgot *Bái Tóu Yín* (《白頭吟》) bái tóu yín, *Chant by a White-Haired Lady*, a poem composed by his wife, Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君, to scold him of abandoning her to marry a young concubine).
 - 12 See Tang Zuofan 唐作藩, Final System in “Excerpts to Correct Pronunciations” (《正音括言》) zhèng yīn kuā yán de yùn mǔ xì tǒng, from *Studies of the Chinese Language*, Volume 1, 1980. See also Yang Naisi, *Transformation of [-m] in Modern Chinese* (《近代漢語[-m]的轉化》) jìn dài hàn yǔ [-m] de zhuǎn huà, from *Essays on Linguistics*, Volume Seven, Beijing: Chinese Department of Peking University.

- 13 The book is the supplemented notes for *Comprehensive Studies of Four Tones* (《四聲通考》) sì shēng tōng kǎo (1449 CE) by Shen Shuzhou (1417–1475) in the Shizong's Reign of the Joseon dynasty.
- 14 Literal text: 諸韻終聲ㄨ、○、ㄛ (-n, -ŋ, -m)之呼, 初不相混, 而直以侵、覃、監合口終聲, 漢俗皆呼爲ㄨ(-n), 故真與侵、刪與覃、先與與鹽之音多相混矣。
zhū yùn zhōng shēng ㄨ、○、ㄛ (-n, -ŋ, -m) zhī hū, chū bù xiāng hùn, ér zhí yǐ qīn, qín, jiān hé kǒu zhōng shēng, hàn sù jiē hū wèi ㄨ(-n), gù zhēn yǔ qīn, shān yǔ yán, xiān yǔ yán zhī yīn duō xiāng hùn yǐ.
- 15 The book is collected in volume 50 of *Tōngyǎ* (《通雅》, *Proper Language*) by Fang Yizhi, which was finished in 14th year of Chongzhen's reign of the Ming dynasty (1641 CE).
- 16 Literal text: 兒為獨字, 姑以人誰切附此。ér wéi dú zì, gū yǐ rén shuí qiè fù cǐ.
- 17 Tune: MURMURING SONG / Seeing the cab and steed ready to start / How can I not feel grief and anguish gnaw my heart? / How can I rouge my cheeks and powder my face / Adorn myself with winning charm and grace? / What can I do is but to bury deep / My head between my coverlet and pillow and sleep / And let my hundred-folded dress with flowing sleeves / Drowned in a stream of tears no one perceives. / O what unconsolable grief! / O what unconsolable grief! / Could words and letters bring me any relief? – Translations are from *Romance of Western Bower*, Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2018, pp. 160–161.
- 18 See Li Sijing 李思敬, “Studies on érhuà in north China in mid-16th century from ‘Jin Ping Méi’” (《從<金瓶梅>考察十六世紀中葉北方話中的兒化現象》), in *Essays on Linguistics*, Volume 12, pp. 97–108, Beijing: Chinese Department of Peking University.
- 19 Literal meaning: Halfway down the road is a hall to hold police. Its opposite lies a stone bridge. Turning around the stone bridge, there is a Buddhist nunnery right next to it. Beside it there is a small lane. Turn into the lane for the west and go upslope lying beside the next door of the third Tofu shop. Then you'll see a pair of red doors, where is right her house.
- 20 Literal meaning: I am concerned that the governors all look down upon the secretary. He reluctantly stays there with no smiling face, and accompanies us like being on pins and needles. All the governors are like Zhang San'er. No matter how clever you are, or how good you are at playing the musical instruments and singing, still you cannot compare to Zhang San'er.
- 21 The six rounded-lip finals in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* are [iu], [iuɛ], [iuɛn], [iuən], [iuəŋ], and [iuŋ]. The head vowel is [iu], different from [y] in Modern Chinese. In *General Introduction to Rhymes in “Shī Jīng”* (《詩經通韻》) shī jīng tōng yùn (1685 CE) by Piao Yinzi 朴隱子, 魚模 yú mó group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China* is divided into 烏 [u] and 紆 [y], the formal transformation of rounded-lip finals of [iu] into [y]. So here [iu] is regarded as rounded-lip final.
- 22 “結jié” belongs to the high and level tone, too.
- 23 “脚jiǎo” is the homophone of “角jiǎo”, belonging to the rising tone (jue³⁵), which is usually pronounced as the falling–rising tone (jiao²¹⁴).
- 24 In 卦guà final of Guǎngyùn, it reads, “畫huà, belongs to 胡卦hú guà qiè, and also 胡麥hú mài qiè”. In 麥mài, 21st group of entering-tone characters, it reads, “畫huà, belongs to 胡麥hú mài qiè, and also 胡卦hú guà qiè. 劃huà means to carve with a knife, 胡麥hú mài qiè”. They both belong to the rising tone of 皆來jiē lái group in *Pronunciation and Rhyme in the Central Plains of China*.

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