

## **'Phags-pa Chinese and the Standard Reading Pronunciation of Early Míng: A Comparative Study**

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There are a number of striking similarities between the Chinese 'Phags-pa spelling system (completed 1269) and the Standard Reading pronunciation recorded in alphabetic notation by the Korean sinologist, Sin Sukchu, around 1450. The 'Phags-pa system may represent a koine pronunciation of the thirteenth century, while the Standard Readings probably reflect an early form of the principal Guānhuà standard pronunciation used during the Míng Dynasty. The present paper tests the hypothesis that the system found in the 'Phags-pa spellings could be directly ancestral to that of Sin Sukchu's Standard Readings. Comparison of the two reveals that the Standard Readings include phonological distinctions not found in the 'Phags-pa system and therefore suggests that there could not be a direct line of development between the two. It is proposed that they may instead represent "sister" koine systems of the Yuán/Míng period, and certain historical implications of this hypothesis are then considered.

Key words: 'Phags-pa, Korean sinology, Sin Sukchu

### **1. Introduction**

We have argued elsewhere (Coblin 1999) that the sound system underlying the Chinese 'Phags-pa spelling system was probably based on the pronunciation of one or more koine varieties current among the Chinese entourage of Qubilai, Emperor Shizǔ of the Yuán Dynasty (元世祖), during the 1260's. The 'Phags-pa system is in many ways reminiscent of the Standard Reading system of Early Míng times as recorded ca. 1450 in alphabetic writing by the Korean scholar Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417-1475). This similarity raises the question of what the relationship between the two systems may have been. Can the pronunciation reflected in Sin's spellings be directly descended from that underlying the 'Phags-pa system? If so, why? And if not, what was the nature of the relationship between them? The present paper is an exploration of these questions.

## 2. Sources and conventions

### 2.1

The 'Phags-pa system is a Tibetan script-based orthography devised by or at least under the direction of the 'Phags-pa lama (1235-1280) and submitted to the throne in 1269. The 'Phags-pa forms cited here are taken for the most part from the *Ménggǔ Ziyùn* 蒙古字韻 (hereafter: MGZY). The extant version of this text was published in 1308 but is almost certainly based on earlier exemplars completed in the late thirteenth century. We have used the well-known older edition included in Luó and Cài (1959) and also the newer one, with editorial apparatus, compiled by Junast and Yáng (1987). In discussing it, it is convenient to use a Latin script transliteration of the original graphemes, to which phonetic interpretations must then be assigned. The transcription used here was introduced in our earlier paper (1999:91-9).

The 'Phags-pa script does not indicate tones. Characters in the MGZY are arranged according to the four classical tones of the traditional *Qièyùn* 切韻 system (QYS) lexica. Whether this is an accurate representation of some actually current tonal system of that period, or, on the contrary, is an artificial arrangement, remains uncertain.

### 2.2

The Standard Readings (正音; hereafter: SR) of Sin Sukchu are found in 1) the *Hongmu chông'un yôkhun* 洪武正韻譯訓 (completed in 1455) and 2) the *Sasông t'onggo* 四聲通考 (completed ca. 1450), a lost work whose spellings are preserved in the *Sasông t'onghae* 四聲通解 (completed 1517) of Ch'we Sejin 崔世珍 (1478?-1543). In the present paper Korean transcriptional forms from Sin's materials are taken from Kim (1991). In this source they are given in a phonemic transcription, but we have restored them to their narrow or phonetic forms (usually as determined by Kim), which are more useful for our purposes. For Kim's [ju] we substitute [y]. Elsewhere, Kim's glides, [j] and [w], are retained in the Korean transliterations. In addition to the Standard Readings, we shall in certain cases cite two further types of Korean transcriptions:

The Popular Readings (俗音; hereafter: PR) of Sin, as preserved in the *Yôkhun* and the *T'onghae*.

The Left Readings (左音; hereafter: LR) in the *Pônyôk No Gôltae* 翻譯老乞大 and the *Pônyôk Pak T'ongsa* 翻譯朴通事 of Ch'we Sejin. The Left Readings in these works are believed to derive from Sin Sukchu.

In the view of Yùchí (1990:18), with which we are in general accord, all of Sin's readings are based on varieties of fifteenth century Míng Guānhuà. He holds that the two basic types of material (i.e., SR on the one hand versus PR (+ LR) on the other) derive from two different Chinese speakers, both of whom are known from historical sources to have served Sin as informants. These individuals were from the Yangtze watershed area and had held official posts in Nanking for years before moving to the north. For further details, see Yùchí (1990:17-19) and Coblin (2000).

## 2.3

Our object in comparing the 'Phags-pa and SR systems will be to test the possibility that the former could have been directly ancestral to the latter. We must therefore identify and focus upon any counter-evidence to this hypothesis. In the discussion, sound correspondences between the earlier and later stages will wherever possible be formulated as if they were historical developments. Cases where this is not possible will then become the main focus of our attention. Each correspondence will be illustrated by at least one example. In these examples, *Qièyùn* 切韻 system (QYS) spellings will be given in the “Ancient Chinese” system of Bernhard Karlgren as emended by F. K. Li. It is not assumed here that these represent actual linguistic forms of any period. They are given merely for reference.

## 3. Comparative study

### A. Syllable initials

The 'Phags-pa initial system was as follows:

p	p'	b	m	f	v	u	
t	t'	d	n	ŋ	l		
ts	ts'	dz			s	z	
tʂ	tʂ'	dʂ			ʂ	ʐ	r
k	k'	g	ŋ	ʔ	x	ɣ	ɦ
∅							

The SR system was quite similar:

p	p'	b	m	f	v	u
t	t'	d	n	l		
ts	ts'	dz			s	z
tʂ	tʂ'	dʂ			ʂ	ʂ <sub>l</sub> r
k	k'	g	ŋ	ʔ	x	ɣ
∅						

### 3.1 Labials and labiodentals

**3.1.1 'Ph p- > SR p-.** 'Phags-pa *p-* corresponds directly and exclusively to SR *p-* and could conceivably have been ancestral to it; e.g.:

biān 邊 QYS pien  
'Phags-pa: MGZY bȳan (平) [pjɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR pjen (平); PR —; LR —

**3.1.2 'Ph p'- > SR p'-**

pò 破 QYS phuâ-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY phwo (去) [p'wɔ]  
Sin Sukchu SR p'wɔ (去); PR —; LR —

**3.1.3 'Ph b > SR b-.** Both the 'Phags-pa and SR systems had series of initials corresponding to the *zhuó* 濁 or “turbid” class of the traditional phonological nomenclature. Sin describes syllables with this feature as “harsh” or strident in quality (see Coblin 2000:273). It seems clear that for him it consisted not of syllable initial voicing as such but rather of murmur on the syllable as a whole. How it was to be realized in the 'Phags-pa system is uncertain.

péng 篷 QYS bung  
'Phags-pa: MGZY pung (平) [buŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR buŋ (平); PR —; LR —

**3.1.4 'Ph m- > SR m-**

mài 賣 QYS mai-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY may (去) [maj]  
Sin Sukchu SR maj (去); PR —; LR —

**3.1.5 'Ph f- > SR f-**

fēng 風 QYS pjung  
'Phags-pa: MGZY hwung (平) [fuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR fuŋ (平); PR —; LR —

**3.1.6 'Ph v- > SR v-**

fēng 縫 QYS bjwong  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwung (平) [vuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR vuŋ (平); PR —; LR —

**3.1.7 'Ph v-** This sound usually corresponds to SR v-; e.g.:

wàng 望 QYS mjwang-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY wang (去) [vaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR vaŋ (去); PR —; LR —

However, there is an interesting set of exceptions to this, as illustrated in the following examples:

mèng 夢 QYS mjung-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY wung (去) [vuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR muŋ (去); PR —; LR —

móu 謀 QYS mjəu  
'Phags-pa: MGZY (khuw >) wuw (平) [vuw]  
Sin Sukchu SR məw (平); PR —; LR —

mù 目 QYS mjuk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY wu (入) [vu]  
Sin Sukchu SR mu (入); PR —; LR —

mù 牧 QYS mjuk

'Phags-pa: MGZY wu (入) [vu]

Sin Sukchu SR mu (入); PR —; LR —

In these cases 'Phags-pa has initial *v*- opposite SR *m*-. SR agrees here with all known modern forms of Chinese and with the overwhelming majority of known pre-modern forms dating from the period in question. However, parallel examples for the 'Phags-pa forms do occur in at least one ancient dialect, which is attested on the verso of the London Long Scroll (Takata 1993). The Long Scroll is a large Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional document from Dunhuang and comprises a number of separate texts. On the recto of the scroll, the word 目 (QYS *mjuk*) is found in the expected Tibetan transcriptional form *'bug*, probably representing a well attested medieval northwest Chinese [ʰbuk]. But on the verso, line 156, it is transcribed as *'wug*, which may reflect something like [ʰvuk] or [vuk]. A similar case in the Long Scroll corpus is the word 牟 (QYS *mjəu*). This syllable occurs many times in the Scroll texts. On the recto it is always spelled as Tibetan *'bu* [ʰbu], while the verso equally consistently renders it as *'wu* [ʰvu] or [vu]. The corresponding 'Phags-pa form is *wuw* (平) [uw], while the SR system reads *məw*. It would therefore seem that certain materials on the verso side of the Long Scroll reflect a dialect which, like the 'Phags-pa system, underwent dentilabialization of earlier *\*m*- in syllables of the type in question here. The SR system, following what must have been a preponderant majority of Chinese dialects, does not agree with 'Phags-pa on this point.

## 3.2 Coronal stops and resonants

### 3.2.1 'Ph t- > SR t-

dāng 當 QYS tāng

'Phags-pa: MGZY dang (平) [taŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR taŋ (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.2.2 'Ph t'- > SR t'-

tiān 天 QYS thien

'Phags-pa: MGZY then (平) [t'en]

Sin Sukchu SR t'jen (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.2.3 'Ph d- > SR d-

táng 唐 QYS dāng  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tang (平) [daŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR daŋ (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.2.4 'Ph n- > SR n-

ní 泥 QYS niei  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ni (平) [ni]  
Sin Sukchu SR nej (平); PR ni; LR —

**3.2.5 'Ph ŋ- > SR n-**. In this instance SR lacks a distinction made in the 'Phags-pa system, but this could have conceivably been lost as part of a direct development from the latter to the former.

nǐ 你 QYS nǐ:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ñi (上) [ɳi]  
Sin Sukchu SR nej (上); PR ni; LR ni

nǚ 女 QYS njwo:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ñyu (上) [ɳy]  
Sin Sukchu SR ny (上); PR —; LR —

niáng 娘 QYS njang  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ñang (平) [ɳaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR njaj (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.2.6 'Ph l- > SR l-

liǎng 兩 QYS liang:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY (l̄yang >) lyang (上) [ljaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ljaŋ (上); PR —; LR —

## 3.3 Sibilants

### 3.3.1 'Ph ts- > SR ts-

zǎo 早 QYS tsâu:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY dzaw (上) [tsaw]  
Sin Sukchu SR tsaw (上); PR —; LR —

**3.3.2 'Ph ts'- > SR ts'-**

cǐ 此 QYS tshje:

'Phags-pa: MGZY tsh<sup>h</sup>i (上) [ts'ɿ]

Sin Sukchu SR ts'ɿ (上); PR —; LR —

**3.3.3 'Ph dz- > SR dz-**

cái 才 QYS dzâi

'Phags-pa: MGZY tsay (平) [dzaj]

Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); PR —; LR —

**3.3.4 'Ph s- > SR s-**

sēng 僧 QYS səng

'Phags-pa: MGZY s<sup>h</sup>ing (平) [səŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR səjŋ (平); PR səŋ; LR səŋ

**3.3.5 'Ph z- > SR z-**

cí 詞 QYS zī

'Phags-pa: MGZY z<sup>h</sup>i (平) [zɿ]

Sin Sukchu SR zɿ (平); PR —; LR —

sòng 誦 QYS zjwong-

'Phags-pa: MGZY zj<sup>h</sup>ung (去) [zjuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR zjuŋ (去); PR suŋ; LR —

There are two curious exceptions to this general correspondence:

chóu 愁 QYS dzjəu

'Phags-pa: MGZY z<sup>h</sup>iw (平) [zəw]

Sin Sukchu SR dzəw (平); PR —; LR —

zòu 驟 QYS dzjəu-

'Phags-pa: MGZY z<sup>h</sup>iw (去) [zəw]

Sin Sukchu SR dzəw (去); PR —; LR —



Here the 'Phags-pa forms bear an odd resemblance to certain modern southern dialects; e.g.:

*Hànyǔ fāngyīn zìhuì* (1989:207)

	Sūzhōu	Wēnzhōu	Méixiàn
愁	ɛZY	ɛZau	ɛSEU

Whatever the reason for this may be, the SR system has followed a different course and shows a retroflex affricate reading.

### 3.4 Retroflexes

#### 3.4.1 'Ph tʂ- > SR tʂ-

zhǎng 掌 QYS tʂjang:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY jang (上) [tʂaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR tʂjaŋ (上); PR —; LR —

#### 3.4.2 'Ph tʂ'- > SR tʂ'-

chāo 抄 QYS tʂhau  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY chaw (平) [tʂ'aw]  
 Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'aw (平); PR —; LR —

#### 3.4.3 'Ph dz̥- > SR dz̥-

chéng 程 QYS d̥jäng  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY cing (平) [dz̥iŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR dz̥iŋ (平); PR —; LR —

zhí 直 QYS d̥jək  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (入) [dz̥i]  
 Sin Sukchu SR dz̥i (入); PR —; LR —

This is the usual correspondence. However, there is a sub-class where 'Ph *dz̥-* corresponds to SR *z̥-*, as illustrated in the following:

shén 神 QYS dźjen

'Phags-pa: MGZY cin (平) [dzjn]

Sin Sukchu SR zjn (平); PR —; LR —

shí 食 QYS dźjək

'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (入) [dzi]

Sin Sukchu SR zj (入); PR —; LR —

shí 實 QYS dźjet

'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (入) [dzi]

Sin Sukchu SR ši (入); PR —; LR —

shéng 繩 QYS dźjəng

'Phags-pa: MGZY cing (平) [dzjn]

Sin Sukchu SR zjn (平); PR —; LR —

shì 示 QYS dźi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (去) [dzi]

Sin Sukchu SR zj (去); PR zj; LR —

shù 述 QYS dźjuet

'Phags-pa: MGZY c̄yu (入) [dz̄y]

Sin Sukchu SR z̄y (入); PR —; LR —

shùn 順 QYS dźjuen-

'Phags-pa: MGZY c̄yun (去) [dz̄yn]

Sin Sukchu SR z̄yn (去); PR —; LR —

shì 事 QYS dźi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY c<sup>h</sup>i (去) [dz̄j]

Sin Sukchu SR zj (去); PR zj; LR zj

shì 士 QYS dźi:

'Phags-pa: MGZY c<sup>h</sup>i (上) [dz̄j]

Sin Sukchu SR zj (上去); PR zj; LR —

Many of these cases involve the QYS initial *dź-* (*chuáng sān mǔ* 床三母). Several others have the QYS *dź-* (*chuáng èr mǔ* 床二母). In the 'Phags-pa orthography these

are combined with QYS *ž-* (*chánmǔ* 禪母) to form a common 'Phags-pa initial, *dž-*. In the SR system they are not so combined and have instead become part of SR *z-*. There is no way to predict this SR bifurcation on the basis of the 'Phags-pa system, though it is describable in terms of the QYS. An early medieval dialect which behaved rather like 'Phags-pa here is the late sixth century language of the Nanking area as reflected in the Mahāmāyūrī transcriptions of Sanghabhara. In this language QYS *dž-* and *ž-* had merged into a common voiced affricate initial which was used to transcribe Sanskrit *j* (Coblin 1990:206-7). QYS *dž-* does not occur in the Mahāmāyūrī material at all, so we cannot be certain if the parallel is perfect. But it seems clear that on this point the 'Phags-pa system reflects some ancient sound system similar to that reflected in the Sanghabhara transcriptions. The SR system was on the contrary quite different here and cannot have descended directly from such an earlier language.

#### 3.4.4 'Ph *ʃ-* > SR *ʃ-*

shān 山 QYS *ʃän*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY (zhan >) shan (平) [ʃan]  
 Sin Sukchu SR *ʃan* (平); PR —; LR —

**3.4.5 'Ph *z-* > SR *z-*.** This is the general correspondence pattern for this initial, as illustrated in the following:

chén 辰 QYS *žjen*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY *zhin* (平) [zjin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR *zjin* (平); PR —; LR *dzjin*

shàn 善 QYS *žjän:*, *žjän-*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY *zhen* (上) [zʃen]  
 Sin Sukchu SR *zjen* (上去); PR (去); LR *zjen* (上)

shàng 上 QYS *žjäng:*, *žjäng-*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY *zhang* (上去) [zʃaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR *zjaŋ* (上去); PR —; LR —

shèng 盛 QYS *žjäng-*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY *zhing* (去) [zjin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR *zjin* (去); PR —; LR —

shí 時 QYS zhī

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhi (平) [zɨ]

Sin Sukchu SR zɨ (平); PR zɨ; LR zɨ

There is however a subsidiary development which is illustrated in the following cases:

cháng 常 QYS zhāng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zɑŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

cháng 嘗 QYS zhāng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zɑŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

cháng, shang 裳 QYS zhāng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zɑŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (平); PR zjaŋ; LR zjaŋ

chéng 成 QYS zhēng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zɨŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzɨŋ (平); PR —; LR —

chéng 城 QYS zhēng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zɨŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzɨŋ (平); PR —; LR —

chéng 盛 QYS zhēng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zɨŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzɨŋ (平); PR —; LR —

chéng 承 QYS zhēng

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zɨŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzɨŋ (平); PR —; LR —

In these cases, píng tone syllables having the finals 'Ph -aŋ/SR -jaŋ and 'Ph/SR -iŋ regularly develop SR initial dz- instead of z-.

Finally, we may note the following case having 'Ph/SR final *-in*, where the SR initial is unexpectedly *dz-*:

chén 臣 QYS źjen  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY zhin (平) [zjin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR dzin (平); PR —; LR —

This is an isolated example. (Compare *chén* 辰, given above, which has the expected SR initial *z-*.) Though exceptional, it does not represent a general correspondence between the 'Phags-pa and SR systems. Interestingly, Nicolas Trigault recorded a variant late Míng Guānhuà reading *sin* (i.e., in addition to his *tš'in*), which would correspond regularly to a SR *zin*. Thus, in earlier times there was apparently an authorized reading of this type which Sin either rejected or neglected to record.

#### 3.4.6 'Ph r- > SR r-

rén 人 QYS ríjen  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY Zhin (平) [rin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR rin (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.5 Gutturals

#### 3.5.1 'Ph k- > SR k-

gǎi 改 QYS kǎi:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gay (上) [kaj]  
 Sin Sukchu SR kaj (上); PR —; LR —

#### 3.5.2 'Ph k'- > SR k'-

kāi 開 QYS khài  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY khay (平) [k'aj]  
 Sin Sukchu SR k'aj (平); PR —; LR —

#### 3.5.3 'Ph g- > SR g-

jìn 近 QYS gjøn:, gjøn-  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY kin (上去) [gin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR gin (上去); PR —; LR —

**3.5.4 'Ph η-**. Before the 'Phags-pa vowels *i* and *ε* this initial is generally lost in the SR system; e.g.:

yì 義 QYS ngje<sup>3</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ngi (去) [ŋi]  
Sin Sukchu SR i (去); PR —; LR —

yán 言 QYS ngjæn  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ngen (平) [ŋen]  
Sin Sukchu SR jen (平); PR —; LR —

However, there are some interesting exceptions to this. Some involve variant readings:

yí 宜 QYS ngje<sup>3</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ngi (平) [ŋi]  
Sin Sukchu SR i, (ŋi)\* (平); PR —; LR ŋi, i  
\*Following the *Ménggǔ yùn* 蒙古韻.

yí 疑 QYS ngjī  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ngi (平) [ŋi]  
Sin Sukchu SR i, (ŋi)\* (平); PR —; LR ŋi  
\*Following the *Ménggǔ yùn* 蒙古韻.

In these cases Sin explicitly states that the SR forms in *ŋ-* have been copied from 'Phags-pa dictionaries. From the standpoint of the SR system, they were apparently “bookish” readings. Sin was perhaps induced to include them by the fact that they were actually current in the LR system. In the following example, Sin gives an *ŋ-* variant which seems to have been known in the SR system:

niú 牛 QYS ngjəu  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ngiw (平) [ŋiw]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋiw, iw (平); PR niw; LR niw

Finally, we have the following example where *ŋ-* has been irregularly retained before 'Phags-pa *ε* :

yè 業 QYS ngjəp  
'Phags-pa: MGZY —; (Inscriptional nge [ŋε])  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋje (入); PR —; LR —

Elsewhere, 'Phags-pa *ŋ-* has direct correspondences with SR *ŋ-*; e.g.:

wǒ 我 QYS ngâ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY ngo (上) [ŋɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋɔ (上); PR ɔ; LR ɔ

ài 礙 QYS ngâi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY ngay (去) [ŋaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋaj (去); PR —; LR —

### 3.5.5 'Ph ʔ- > SR ʔ-

ài 愛 QYS ʔâi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY 'ay (去) [ʔaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ʔaj (去); PR —; LR —

### 3.5.6 'Ph x- > SR x-

hēi 黑 QYS xək

'Phags-pa: MGZY hiy (入) [xij]

Sin Sukchu SR xəj (入); PR —; LR xəj?

### 3.5.7 'Ph ɣ- > SR ɣ-

hóng 紅 QYS yung

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xung (平) [ɣuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣuŋ (平); PR —; LR —

**3.5.8 'Ph f-**. Correspondences for this initial are illustrated in the following examples:

wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa:

'Phags-pa: MGZY xwa (上) [fwa]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋwa (上); PR wa; LR wa

wài 外 QYS ngwâi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fwɛ]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋwaj (去); PR ŋwaj, waj; LR waj

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo

'Phags-pa: MGZY x̄yü (平) [f̄hy]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋy (平); PR —; LR —

yuán 元 QYS ngjwən

'Phags-pa: MGZY xw̄yan (平) [f̄hyen]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋyen (平); PR —; LR —

yuè 月 QYS ngjwət

'Phags-pa: MGZY xw̄ya (入) [f̄hyɛ]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋye (入); PR —; LR —

wáng 王 QYS jwang

'Phags-pa: MGZY xwang (平) [f̄hwan]

Sin Sukchu SR wan (平); PR —; LR —

wǎng 往 QYS jwang:

'Phags-pa: MGZY xwang (上) [f̄hwan]

Sin Sukchu SR wan (上); PR —; LR —

wéi 爲 QYS jwe

'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (平) [f̄hue]

Sin Sukchu SR uj (平); PR —; LR —

yǒng 永 QYS jwəng:

'Phags-pa: MGZY x̄yung (上) [f̄hjuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR juŋ (上); PR juŋ; LR juŋ

yǔ 雨 QYS ju:

'Phags-pa: MGZY x̄yü (上) [f̄hy]

Sin Sukchu SR y (上); PR —; LR —

We see in these examples that 'Phags-pa *f̄*- corresponds to two different SR initials, *ŋ*- and *Ø*-. There is no way to predict this SR bifurcation on the basis of the 'Phags-pa system. But it is easily explainable in terms of the QYS, because cases of the first type have the QYS initial *ng*- (*yímǔ* 疑母) while those of the second have QYS *j*- (*yùsānmǔ* 喻三母). In examples of the type cited here, the SR system has preserved the QYS distinction intact, while the 'Phags-pa forms have effaced it through merger into a



single entity, realized as *h-*. At this point, then, there is no way the 'Phags-pa system could be directly ancestral to the SR one.

There is in the data an exception to the general pattern:

yuē 曰 QYS jwət  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY xwya (入) [h̥yɛ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ɲye (入); PR —; LR —

Here the SR form unaccountably has initial *ɲ-* where the QYS initial was *j-*.

**3.6 'Ph Ø-**. SR Ø- is the most common equivalent of this initial; e.g.:

yán 鹽 QYS jiäm  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yem (平) [jɛm]  
 Sin Sukchu SR jem (平); PR jen; LR jen

yáng 羊 QYS jiang  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yang (平) [jaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR jaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

yǐ 以 QYS jiī:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yi (上) [ji]  
 Sin Sukchu SR i (上); PR —; LR —

yǔ 與 QYS jiwo:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yǔ (上) [jy]  
 Sin Sukchu SR y (上); PR —; LR —

yuán 緣 QYS jiwān  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY ywyan (平) [jyen]  
 Sin Sukchu SR yen (平); PR —; LR yen

It will be noted that all these syllables had the QYS initial *ji-* (*yùsi* 喻四). An exception is the following:

é 額 QYS ngək  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yay (入) [jaɣ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR əj (入); PR ɲəjʔ; LR —

A regular sub-variety of the common pattern is the 'Phags-pa syllable-type [yi], which regularly yields SR *vi*; e.g.:

wéi 惟 QYS jiwi  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ywi (平) [yi]  
Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); PR —; LR —

However, there is a significant class of exceptions to the general pattern, where the SR equivalent to 'Phags-pa  $\emptyset$ - is *ŋ*-. One subtype within this class is illustrated by the following:

yìng 硬 QYS ngeng-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ying (去) [jiŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋiŋ (去); PR —; LR —

yá 涯 QYS ngāi  
'Phags-pa: MGZY yay (平) [jaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋja, jaj (平); PR ja; LR aj

yǎn 眼 QYS ngǎn:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY yan (上) [jan]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋjan (上); PR jan; LR jen

As we have seen above, 'Phags-pa syllables beginning in  $\emptyset$ - regularly correspond to SR syllables in  $\emptyset$ -. It is thus not possible on the basis of the 'Phags-pa sound system to predict the appearance of SR *ŋ*- in examples of this type. However, it is noteworthy that all of them had the QYS initial *ng*-. This suggests that in these cases 'Phags-pa had at some point lost an earlier *ŋ*-, while the SR system had preserved it. We must consequently assume that the two types represented different linguistic strains here.

Closely related are cases of the following type:

wán 玩 QYS nguân-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY on (去) [ɔŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋwɔŋ (去); PR wɔŋ; LR —

wò 臥 QYS nguâ-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY o (去) [ɔ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋɔ (去); PR ɔ; LR ɔ

wú 吾 QYS *nguo*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY u (平) [u]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ɲu (平); PR —; LR —

wǔ 五 QYS *nguo:*  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY u (上) [u]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ɲu (上); PR —; LR ɲu

Since the 'Phags-pa system lacks syllables of the type *ɲwɔn*, *ɲwo*, and *ɲu*, it is possible to assume here that SR *ɲ-* in these examples is a regular reflex of earlier *Ø-*. However, in the light of the preceding set of examples, it seems more likely that this is yet another case where the SR system has preserved an initial which 'Phags-pa, taking a different tack, had lost.

## B. Syllable finals

The finals of the 'Phags-pa system were as follows:

ɿ ɿ ɿ?  
 i ji ij? yi yi? iŋ jŋ in jin win iw jiw im jim  
 u u? uɛ uɛ? ye ye? uŋ wung juŋ un uw  
 y y? yn  
 aj aj? jaj jaj? waj waj? aŋ jaŋ waŋ yaŋ an jan wan aw  
 aw? waw? jaw jaw? am jam (a a?) ja ja? wa wa?  
 Aŋ  
 ɛn jɛn yɛn ɛw ɛw? jɛw jɛw? ((yɛw?)) ɛm jɛm (ɛ ɛ? jɛ  
 jɛ?) wɛ wɛ?  
 ɔŋ ɔn yɔn ɔw ɔ ɔ? wɔ wɔ?  
 ɔj? ɔŋ ɔn ɔw ɔm

The final enclosed in double brackets is rare and will not be treated here. Those in single brackets are missing from the received MGZY text.

Sin's SR finals were:

ɿ ɿ ɿʔ ɿʔ  
 i iʔ iw in im iŋ  
 u uʔ uj ujʔ un uŋ juŋ ujŋ juŋŋ  
 y yʔ yjʔ yn  
 je jeʔ ye yeʔ jej jew jen yen jem  
 ɔ wɔ ɔʔ wɔʔ ɔn wɔn  
 a ja wa aʔ jaʔ waʔ aj jaj waj aw jaw awʔ jawʔ wawʔ  
 an jan wan aŋ jaŋ waŋ am jam  
 əjʔ əw jəw ən əm əjŋ

### 3.7 Finals ɿ ɿ ɿʔ

#### 3.7.1 'Ph -ɿ > SR -ɿ

cǐ 詞 QYS zǐ  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY z<sup>h</sup>i (平) [zɿ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR zɿ (平); PR —; LR —

**3.7.2 'Ph -ɿ.** This final occurs exclusively after retroflexes in the 'Phags-pa system. After voiceless affricates it corresponds directly to SR -ʔ; e.g.:

cè 廁 QYS tʂhǐ-  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY ch<sup>h</sup>i (去) [tʂʰɿ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR tʂʰɿ (去); PR —; LR tʂʰɿ

Elsewhere it corresponds to SR -i; e.g.:

shī 師 QYS ʂi  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY sh<sup>h</sup>i (平) [ʂɿ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ʂi (平); PR ʂɿ; LR ʂɿ

shǐ 使 QYS ʂi:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY sh<sup>h</sup>i (上) [ʂɿ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ʂi (上); PR ʂɿ; LR ʂɿ

shì 事 QYS dʒi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY c<sup>h</sup>i (去) [dʒɿ]

Sin Sukchu SR ʒi (去); PR ʒɿ; LR ʒɿ

The relationship between the orthographies is systematic and could be the result of a direct evolutionary development. However, it is noticeable that 'Phags-pa final *-ʒ* in these cases invariably occurs after affricates of the QYS *zhào'èr* series (i.e., *tʂ-*, etc.) Thus, an alternative and in our view more likely scenario is that the ancestral forms of both the 'Phags-pa and SR systems had original *-i* in these cases and that the 'Phags-pa system developed final *-ʒ* after the *zhào'èr* affricates, while the SR system did not. This scheme requires the assumption that the two systems were not separate stages in the same line of development.

### 3.7.3 'Ph -ʒ(?) > SR -ʒ(?)

sè 瑟 QYS sjet

'Phags-pa: MGZY sh<sup>h</sup>i (入) [ʃɿ]

Sin Sukchu SR ʃɿ (入); PR —; LR —

## 3.8 Finals i ji ij? yi yi? inj jin in jin win iw jiw im jim

**3.8.1 'Ph -i.** This final has several different correspondences in the SR system. After dental initials of various types, the usual SR final is *-jej*; e.g.:

dì 弟 QYS diei:

'Phags-pa: MGZY ti (上) [di]

Sin Sukchu SR djej (上); PR di; LR di

lǐ 裡、裏 QYS lji:

'Phags-pa: MGZY li (上) [li]

Sin Sukchu SR ljej (上); PR li; LR li

xī 西 QYS siei

'Phags-pa: MGZY si (平) [si]

Sin Sukchu SR sjej (平); PR si; LR si

The same is true after the guttural initials *k-*, *k'-*, and *ɣ-*; e.g.:

jī 基 QYS kjī  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gi (平) [ki]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjej (平); PR ki; LR ki

qī 欺 QYS khjī  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khi (平) [k'i]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (平); PR k'i; LR —

qì 氣 QYS khjei-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khi (去) [k'i]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (去); PR k'i; LR —

After the gutturals *g-*, *x-*, and *ʔ-* the corresponding SR final is *-i*; e.g.:

qí 奇 QYS gje<sup>3</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ki (平) [gi]  
Sin Sukchu SR gi (平); PR —; LR —

xǐ 喜 QYS xjī:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY hi (上) [xi]  
Sin Sukchu SR xi (上); PR —; LR —

yì 意 QYS ʔji-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY 'i (去) [ʔi]  
Sin Sukchu SR ʔi (去); PR —; LR —

This same SR *-i* is also found after retroflexes; e.g.:

zhī 之 QYS tsi  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ji (平) [tʂi]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂi (平); PR tʂɿ; LR tʂɿ

zhī 知 QYS tje  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ji (平) [tʂi]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂi (平); PR —; LR —

zhǐ 指 QYS tsi:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ji (上) [tʂi]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂi (上); PR tʂɿ; LR tʂɿ

chǐ 齒 QYS tshī:

'Phags-pa: MGZY chi (上) [tʂ'i]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'i (上); PR tʂ'ɿ; LR tʂ'ɿ

chí 持 QYS dī

'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (平) [dzi]

Sin Sukchu SR dzi (平); PR —; LR —

shī 施 QYS śje

'Phags-pa: MGZY shi (平) [ʃi]

Sin Sukchu SR ʃi (平); PR ʃɿ; LR ʃɿ

shí 時 QYS ži

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhi (平) [zi]

Sin Sukchu SR ži (平); PR žɿ; LR žɿ

However, there are a few exceptions to this; e.g.:

chi 熾 QYS tshī-

'Phags-pa: MGZY chi (去) [tʂ'i]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'ɿ (去); PR —; LR —

chi 翹 QYS śje-

'Phags-pa: MGZY shi (去) [ʃi]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'ɿ, ʃi (去); PR ʃɿ; LR tʂ'ɿ

Exceptional cases of this type invariably belong the QYS *zhàoosān* series of initials (i.e., *tʂ*-, etc.). Now it is noticeable from the various examples given above that, where data are available, the PR/LR system readings usually have final *-ɿ* in *zhàoosān* initial syllables, whereas the SR system normally has *-i* in this environment. The presence of *-ɿ* here appears to have been an epitomizing feature in PR/LR pronunciation. And what would seem to have happened in the exceptional SR cases is that *-ɿ* final readings of this type were occasionally borrowed into the SR system as variants or replacements, resulting in irregular correspondences with the 'Phags-pa system.

After labiodentals and labial stops, 'Phags-pa *-i* corresponds to SR *-i*:

fēi 非 QYS pjwei

'Phags-pa: MGZY h(w)i (平) [fi]

Sin Sukchu SR fi (平); PR —; LR fi

bǐ 比 QYS pi:<sup>4</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY bi (上) [pi]  
Sin Sukchu SR pi (上); PR pəj; LR pi

After *m-* the correspondence is to SR *-jej'*:

mí 彌 QYS mjie<sup>4</sup>, -:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY mi (平) [mi]  
Sin Sukchu SR mjej (平上); PR —; LR —

mǐ 米 QYS miei:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY mi (上) [mi]  
Sin Sukchu SR mjej (上); PR —; LR —

**3.8.2 'Ph -ji.** This final occurs after initial  $\emptyset$ - and the gutturals. After initials *k*-, *k'*-, and *ɣ*- it corresponds to SR *-jej'*:

jī 雞 QYS kiei  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gyi (平) [kji]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjej (平); PR ki; LR ki

qì 棄 QYS khi-<sup>4</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khyi (去) [k'ji]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (去); PR k'i; LR —

Elsewhere it corresponds to SR system *-i'*; e.g.:

yǐ 以 QYS jii:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY yi (上) [ji]  
Sin Sukchu SR i (上); PR —; LR —

yī 伊 QYS ?ji<sup>4</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Yi (平) [ʔji]  
Sin Sukchu SR ?i (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.8.3 'Ph -ij? > SR -əj?

hēi 黑 QYS xək  
'Phags-pa: MGZY hiy (入) [xij]  
Sin Sukchu SR xəj (入); PR —; LR xəj?



### 3.8.4 'Ph yi > SR ui

wéi 惟 QYS jiwī  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ywi (平) [yi]  
Sin Sukchu SR ui (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.8.5 'Ph -yiʔ > SR -yjʔ

yì 役 QYS jiwāk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ywi (入) [yi]  
Sin Sukchu SR ŋj (入); PR iʔ; LR —

### 3.8.6 'Ph -iŋ > SR -iŋ

jīng 精 QYS tsjäŋg  
'Phags-pa: MGZY dzing (平) [tsiŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR tsiŋ (平); PR —; LR —

bīng 兵 QYS pjwəŋg  
'Phags-pa: MGZY bing (平) [piŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR piŋ (平); PR —; LR —

jīng 驚 QYS kjəŋg  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ging (平) [kiŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR kiŋ (平); PR —; LR —

jìng 竟 QYS kjəŋg-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ging (去) [kiŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR kiŋ (去); PR —; LR —

An exception to the equation proposed here is the following example:

zèng 甌 QYS tsjəŋg-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY dzing (去) [tsiŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR tsəjŋ (去); PR tsəŋ; LR tsəŋ

### 3.8.7 'Ph -jiŋ > SR -iŋ. This is the usual correspondence pattern for this final.

jīng 經 QYS kieng

'Phags-pa: MGZY gying (平) [kjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR kiŋ (平); PR —; LR —

xíng 形 QYS yieŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hying (平) [ɣjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR yiŋ (平); PR —; LR —

xíng 行 QYS yəŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hying (平) [ɣjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR yiŋ (平); PR —; LR —

xìng 幸 QYS yəŋ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hying (上) [ɣjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR yiŋ (上); PR —; LR —

héng 衡 QYS yəŋ; (ɣwəŋ)

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hying (平) [ɣjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR yiŋ (平); PR —; LR —; SR yujŋ (平); PR yuŋ; LR —

However, there is a significant body of exceptions to this, where the corresponding SR final is *-əjŋ*; e.g.:

gēng 更 QYS kəŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY gying (平) [kjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR kəjŋ (平); PR kəŋ ~ kiŋ; LR kiŋ

gēng 耕 QYS kəŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY gying (平) [kjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR kəjŋ (平); PR kiŋ, kəŋ; LR —

hēng 亨 QYS xəŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY hying (平) [xjiŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR xəjŋ (平); PR xiŋ; LR —

In cases of this type, the PR/LR readings sometimes show the expected readings in *-iŋ*. The QYS finals in question are usually *-əng* or *-əng*, in Division II (*èrděng* 二等) of the traditional rime tables. However, as we have seen above, there are also regular cases

(i.e., where 'Ph *-jiŋ* = SR *-iŋ*) having these same QYS finals. Thus, the bifurcation of SR finals here is only partially describable in terms of QYS categories. It is totally unpredictable from the standpoint of the 'Phags-pa system alone and therefore cannot have been a regular development from that system.

Finally, a common word showing a completely irregular final correspondence is the following:

xiōng 兄 QYS xjwəŋ  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hŷing >) hŷing (平) [xjiŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR xjuŋ, xjuŋ (平); PR —; LR xjuŋ

### 3.8.8 'Ph -in, -jin > SR -in

qīn 親 QYS tshjen  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY tshin (平) [ts'in]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ts'in (平); PR —; LR —

jīn 巾 QYS kjen<sup>3</sup>  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gin (平) [kin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR kin (平); PR —; LR —

jǐn 緊 QYS kjien:<sup>4</sup>  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gŷin (上) [kjin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR kin (上); PR —; LR —

yīn 因 QYS ʔjen<sup>4</sup>  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY Yin (平) [ʔjin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ʔin (平); PR —; LR —

yǐn 引 QYS jien:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yin (上) [jin]  
 Sin Sukchu SR in (上); PR —; LR —

### 3.8.9 'Ph -win > SR -yn

yún 雲 QYS juən  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY xwin (平) [fw̃in]  
 Sin Sukchu SR yn (平); PR —; LR —

**3.8.10 'Ph -iw > SR -iw.** This is the general correspondence.

jiǔ 久 QYS kjəu:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY giw (上) [kiw]  
Sin Sukchu SR kiw (上); PR —; LR —

liú 流 QYS ljəu  
'Phags-pa: MGZY liw (平) [liw]  
Sin Sukchu SR liw (平); PR —; LR —

However, after guttural fricatives, the corresponding SR final is *-əw*; e.g.:

hòu 後 QYS yəu:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xiw (上) [ɣiw]  
Sin Sukchu SR yəw (上); PR —; LR —

**3.8.11 'Ph -jiw > SR -iw**

yòu 幼 QYS ʔjiəu<sup>4</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Yiw (去) [ʔjiw]  
Sin Sukchu SR ʔiw (去); PR —; LR —

yóu 由 QYS jiəu  
'Phags-pa: MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]  
Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); PR —; LR —

**3.8.12 'Ph -im > SR -im.** This is the general correspondence.

jīn 今 QYS kjəm  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gim (平) [kim]  
Sin Sukchu SR kim (平); PR kin; LR kin

xīn 心 QYS sjəm  
'Phags-pa: MGZY sim (平) [sim]  
Sin Sukchu SR sim (平); PR sin; LR sin

However, after labials the corresponding SR final is *-in*; e.g.:

bǐng 稟 QYS pjəm:

'Phags-pa: MGZY bim (上) [pim]

Sin Sukchu SR pin (上); PR —; LR —

pǐn 品 QYS phjəm:

'Phags-pa: MGZY phim (上) [p'im]

Sin Sukchu SR p'in (上); PR —; LR —

### 3.8.13 'Ph -jim > SR -im

yín 淫 QYS jiəm

'Phags-pa: MGZY yim (平) [jim]

Sin Sukchu SR im (平); PR in; LR in

## 3.9 Finals u uʔ uɛ uɛʔ ye yeʔ uŋ (wung) juŋ un uw

### 3.9.1 'Ph -u > SR -u

bù 布 QYS puo-

'Phags-pa: MGZY bu (去) [pu]

Sin Sukchu SR pu (去); PR —; LR —

chū 初 QYS tshjwo

'Phags-pa: MGZY chu (平) [tʂ'u]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'u (平); PR —; LR —

cū 粗 QYS tshuo

'Phags-pa: MGZY (麤) tshu (平) [ts'u]

Sin Sukchu SR ts'u (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.9.2 'Ph -uʔ > SR -uʔ

bù 不 QYS pjəu, pjəu:, pjəu-, pjuət

'Phags-pa: MGZY bu (入) [pu]

Sin Sukchu SR pu (入); PR —; LR —

dú 讀 QYS duk

'Phags-pa: MGZY tu (入) [du]

Sin Sukchu SR du (入); PR —; LR —

**3.9.3 'Ph -ue.** After labials this final corresponds to SR *-i* or *-uj*:

bēi 悲 QYS pji<sup>3</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY bue (平) [pue]

Sin Sukchu SR pi (平); PR pəj; LR —

bèi 被 QYS bje:<sup>3</sup>, bje-<sup>3</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY pue (上去) [bue]

Sin Sukchu SR bi (上去); PR —; LR bi

pí 皮 QYS bje<sup>3</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY pue (平) [bue]

Sin Sukchu SR bi (平); PR —; LR —

mí 靡 QYS mje<sup>3</sup>, -:

'Phags-pa: MGZY mue (平上) [mue]

Sin Sukchu SR mi (平), mjej (上); PR məj (平); LR —

péi 陪 QYS buài

'Phags-pa: MGZY pue (平) [bue]

Sin Sukchu SR buj (平); PR bəj; LR —

měi 每 QYS muài:

'Phags-pa: MGZY mue (上) [mue]

Sin Sukchu SR muj (上); PR məj; LR məj

mèi 妹 QYS muài-

'Phags-pa: MGZY mue (去) [mue]

Sin Sukchu SR muj (去); PR məj; LR məj

This SR bifurcation cannot be predicted on the basis of the 'Phags-pa forms. However, it clearly relates to differences in the corresponding QYS forms, i.e. syllables having QYS final *-uài* will have SR *-uj*, while those with various Division III finals will take SR *-i*.

Elsewhere, 'Phags-pa *-ue* usually corresponds to SR *-uj*; e.g.:

chuī 吹 QYS tshjwe

'Phags-pa: MGZY chue (平) [tʂ'ue]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'uj (平); PR —; LR —

duì 對 QYS tuâi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY due (去) [tuε]

Sin Sukchu SR tuj (去); PR —; LR —

However, the following form is exceptional:

wài 外 QYS ngwâi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fue]

Sin Sukchu SR ηwaj (去); PR ηwaj, waj; LR waj

With this we may compare the next two examples:

wèi 位 QYS jwi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fue]

Sin Sukchu SR uj (去); PR —; LR —

wèi 爲 QYS jwe-

'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fue]

Sin Sukchu SR uj (去)\*; PR —; LR —

\*This form is missing from Kim (1991) and has been added from Yu (1973:26).

These three syllables are homophones in 'Phags-pa. The separate development of *wài* 外 in the SR system corresponds to differences in the QYS forms but cannot be explained in terms of the 'Phags-pa spellings.

**3.9.4 'Ph -ueʔ.** After labials this corresponds to SR *-iʔ* (in QYS Div. III syllables) or *-əjʔ* (in QYS Div. I syllables), a configuration which is not explainable in terms of the 'Phags-pa system itself:

bǐ 筆 QYS pjet<sup>3</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY bue (入) [pue]

Sin Sukchu SR pi (入); PR —; LR —

mò 墨 QYS mək

'Phags-pa: MGZY mue (入) [mue]

Sin Sukchu SR məj (入); PR —; LR məjʔ

The pattern here parallels that observed for 'Phags-pa *-ue* in the preceding section. Elsewhere, 'Phags-pa *-ue?* regularly corresponds to SR *-uj?*:

guó 國 QYS kwək  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gue (入) [kue]  
Sin Sukchu SR kuj (入); PR kuj?; LR kuj?

huò 或 QYS γwək  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xue (入) [γue]  
Sin Sukchu SR γuj (入); PR —; LR xuj?

### 3.9.5 'Ph -ye > SR -uj

guī 規 QYS kjwie<sup>4</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gŷue (平) [kye]  
Sin Sukchu SR kuj (平); PR —; LR —

kuī 窺 QYS khjwie<sup>4</sup>  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khŷue (平) [k'ye]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'uj (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.9.6 'Ph -ye? > SR -ye?

jué 絕 QYS dzjwät  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tswŷe (入) [dzye]  
Sin Sukchu SR dzye (入); PR —; LR —

jué 決 QYS kiwet  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gwŷa (入) [kye]  
Sin Sukchu SR kye (入); PR —; LR —

shuō 說 QYS śjwät  
'Phags-pa: MGZY shwŷe (入) [sye]  
Sin Sukchu SR sye (入); PR —; LR —

### 3.9.7 'Ph -uj. After retroflexes, this final usually corresponds to SR *-juj*:

chōng 充 QYS ts'ung  
'Phags-pa: MGZY chung (平) [tɕ'uj]  
Sin Sukchu SR tɕ'uj (平); PR tɕ'uj; LR tɕ'uj



chǒng 寵 QYS ṭhjwong:

'Phags-pa: MGZY chung (上) [ṭʂ'uŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR ṭʂ'juŋ (上); PR ṭʂ'uŋ; LR —

zhōng 中 QYS ṭjung

'Phags-pa: MGZY jung (平) [ṭʂuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR ṭʂjuŋ (平); PR ṭʂuŋ; LR ṭʂuŋ

An exception is the following word:

chóng 崇 QYS dzjung

'Phags-pa: MGZY cung (平) [dzuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzuŋ (平); PR —; LR —

It differs noticeably from our other examples above in that it is voiced, and in fact there are no voiced affricate initial examples showing the 'Ph -*uŋ*/SR -*juŋ* correspondence.

Elsewhere 'Phags-pa -*uŋ* usually corresponds directly to SR system -*uŋ*:

dōng 東 QYS tung

'Phags-pa: MGZY dung (平) [tuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR tuŋ (平); PR —; LR —

gōng 工 QYS kung

'Phags-pa: MGZY gung (平) [kuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR kuŋ (平); PR —; LR —

mèng 夢 QYS mjung-

'Phags-pa: MGZY wung (去) [vuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR muŋ (去); PR —; LR —

hóng 紅 QYS yung

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xung (平) [yʉŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR yʉŋ (平); PR —; LR —

There are, however, exceptions of the following type:

héng, hèng 橫 QYS ywəng; ywəng-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xung (平), Xung (去) [yʊŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR yujŋ (平); PR yuŋ; LR —; SR yujŋ (去);  
PR yuŋ; LR yuŋ or yəŋ?

měng 猛 QYS məŋ:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY mung (上) [muŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR məjŋ (上); PR məŋ; LR məŋ

These examples are notable in that they involve the QYS final *-(w)əng*, either in its rounded form or with a labial initial. This distinction may have conditioned their special development in the SR system. However, there is nothing in the 'Phags-pa system alone which could explain this behavior.

**3.9.8 'Ph -wuŋ > SR -ujŋ.** This is an isolated correspondence, for which there is a single representative syllable. It is similar to the examples in the preceding paragraph.

hóng 泓 QYS ?wəŋ  
'Phags-pa: MGZY 'wung (平) [ʔwuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ?ujŋ (平); PR —; LR —

**3.9.9 'Ph -juŋ > SR -juŋ.** This is the usual correspondence pattern; e.g.:

chóng 蟲 QYS dʒuŋ  
'Phags-pa: MGZY cʏung (平) [dzjuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR dzjuŋ (平); PR dzuŋ; LR —

cóng 從 QYS dzjwəŋ  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tsʏung (平) [dzjuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR dzjuŋ (平); PR dzuŋ; LR dzuŋ

gōng 供 QYS kjwəŋ  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gʏung (平) [kjuŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjuŋ (平); PR kuŋ; LR —

yǒng 勇 QYS jiwəŋ:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY yʏung (上) [juŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR juŋ (上); PR —; LR —

However, the following exceptional types occur:

yǒng 永 QYS jwəŋ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY xýung (上) [hjuŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR jujŋ (上); PR juŋ; LR juŋ

yíng 營 QYS jiwǎng

'Phags-pa: MGZY yýung (平) [juŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR jujŋ (平); PR juŋ, iŋ; LR iŋ

These examples involve the QYS finals *-jwəŋ* and *-jiwǎng*, which are not found at all among the regular cases. Thus, the SR bifurcation here is explainable in terms of the QYS, but cannot be accounted for on the basis of the 'Phags-pa forms.

### 3.9.10 'Ph -un > SR -un

běn 本 QYS puən:

'Phags-pa: MGZY bun (上) [pun]

Sin Sukchu SR pun (上); PR pən; LR pən

cūn 村 QYS tshuən

'Phags-pa: MGZY tshun (平) [ts'un]

Sin Sukchu SR ts'un (平); PR —; LR —

**3.9.11 'Ph -uw > SR -əw, -u.** This final often corresponds to variant forms in the SR system.

móu 謀 QYS mjəu

'Phags-pa: MGZY (khuw >) wuw (平) [vuw]

Sin Sukchu SR məw (平); PR —; LR —

mǒu 某 QYS məu:

'Phags-pa: MGZY muw (上) [muw]

Sin Sukchu SR məw, mu (上); PR —; LR mu

mǔ 母 QYS məu:

'Phags-pa: MGZY muw (上) [muw]

Sin Sukchu SR mu, məw (上); PR —; LR mu

### 3.10 Finals y yʔ yn

#### 3.10.1 'Ph -y > SR -y

chú 除 QYS ɕjwo  
'Phags-pa: MGZY c̣yü (平) [dẓy]  
Sin Sukchu SR dẓy (平); PR —; LR —

jū 居 QYS kjwo  
'Phags-pa: MGZY g̣yü (平) [ky]  
Sin Sukchu SR ky (平); PR —; LR —

jù 聚 QYS dzju:, dzju-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tṣyü (上去) [dẓy]  
Sin Sukchu SR dẓy (上去); PR —; LR —

#### 3.10.2 'Ph -yʔ > SR -yʔ. This is the usual correspondence; e.g.:

qū 屈 QYS khjuət  
'Phags-pa: MGZY kḥyü (入) [k'ỵ]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'ỵ (入); PR —; LR —

qǔ 曲 QYS khjwok  
'Phags-pa: MGZY kḥyü (入) [k'ỵ]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'ỵ (入); PR —; LR —

zhú 逐 QYS ɕjuk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY c̣yü (入) [dẓy]  
Sin Sukchu SR dẓy (入); PR dẓuʔ; LR —

shù 述 QYS dẓjuet  
'Phags-pa: MGZY c̣yü (入) [dẓy]  
Sin Sukchu SR ẓy (入); PR —; LR —

However, after 'Phags-pa initials *ʃ*, *ʃ*, and *ʃ*, the corresponding SR final is *-uʔ*;  
e.g.:

liù 六 QYS ljuk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ḷyü (入) [lỵ]  
Sin Sukchu SR lu (入); PR luʔ; LR luʔ

ròu 肉 QYS níjuk

'Phags-pa: MGZY Zhÿu (入) [ry]

Sin Sukchu SR ru (入); PR —; LR ru?

shóu 熟 QYS źjuk

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhÿu (入) [zy]

Sin Sukchu SR zu (入); PR zu?; LR zu?

shú 孰 QYS źjuk

'Phags-pa: MGZY zhÿu (入) [zy]

Sin Sukchu SR zu (入); PR —; LR —

### 3.10.3 'Ph -yn > SR -yn

chún 唇、脣 QYS dźjuen

'Phags-pa: MGZY cÿun (平) [dzyn]

Sin Sukchu SR zyn (平); PR —; LR —; CPR dzyn

jūn 君 QYS kjuən

'Phags-pa: MGZY gÿun (平) [kyn]

Sin Sukchu SR kyn (平); PR —; LR —

**3.11 Finals** aj aj? jaj jaj? waj waj? aŋ jaŋ waŋ yaŋ an jan  
wan aw aw? waw? jaw jaw? am jam (a a?) ja ja? wa  
wa?

**3.11.1 'Ph -aj > SR -aj.** This is the general correspondence pattern.

ài 愛 QYS ?ài-

'Phags-pa: MGZY 'ay (去) [ʔaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ʔaj (去); PR —; LR —

cái 財 QYS dzài

'Phags-pa: MGZY tsay (平) [dzaj]

Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); PR —; LR —

kāi 開 QYS khài

'Phags-pa: MGZY khay (平) [k'aj]

Sin Sukchu SR k'aj (平); PR —; LR —

chái 柴 QYS dzai

'Phags-pa: MGZY cay (平) [dzaj]

Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); PR —; LR —

bài 敗 QYS pǎi-, bǎi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY bay, pay (去) [paj ~ baj]

Sin Sukchu SR pai, bai (去); PR —; LR —

The following correspondences are irregular:

bà 罷 QYS bǎi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY pay (上) [baj]

Sin Sukchu SR ba (去); PR —; LR —

bèi 貝 QYS pwâi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY bay (去) [paj]

Sin Sukchu SR puj (去); PR pəj; LR pəj

### 3.11.2 'Ph -ajʔ > SR -əjʔ

bái 白 QYS bæk

'Phags-pa: MGZY pay (入) [baj]

Sin Sukchu SR bəj (入); PR —; LR bəjʔ

zé 擇 QYS ʧək

'Phags-pa: MGZY cay (入) [dzaj]

Sin Sukchu SR dzəj (入); PR —; LR —

### 3.11.3 'Ph -jaj > SR -jaj

jiē 街 QYS kai

'Phags-pa: MGZY gyay (平) [kaj]

Sin Sukchu SR kaj (平); PR kje; LR kaj, kje

xié 鞋 QYS ɣai

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hyay (平) [ɣaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣaj (平); PR ɣje; LR ɣje

### 3.11.4 'Ph -jaj? > SR -əj?

é 額 QYS nɛk

'Phags-pa: MGZY yay (入) [jaj]

Sin Sukchu SR əj (入); PR ɲəj?; LR —

kè 客 QYS khək

'Phags-pa: MGZY khyay (入) [k'jaj]

Sin Sukchu SR k'əj (入); PR —; LR k'əj?

The following correspondence is irregular:

gé 格 QYS kək

'Phags-pa: MGZY gyay (入) [kjaj]

Sin Sukchu SR kaw (入); PR —; LR —

### 3.11.5 'Ph -waj > SR -waj

guāi 乖 QYS kwǎi

'Phags-pa: MGZY gway (平) [kwaj]

Sin Sukchu SR kwaj (平); PR —; LR —

huái 淮 QYS ɣwǎi

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (平) [ɣwaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣwaj (平); PR —; LR —

The following cases are exceptional. They involve syllables having the QYS finals *-wai* and *-wǎi*, and this may be a conditioning factor for the SR correspondences. In any case, the pattern is not predictable on the basis of the 'Phags-pa forms.

huà 話 QYS ywai-

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (去) [ɣwaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣwa (去); PR —; LR —

huà 畫 QYS ywǎi-

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (去) [ɣwaj]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣwa (去); PR —; LR —

Finally, the following case is also irregular. Note that the PR system form has the expected correspondence.

shuāi 衰 QYS  $\text{ɕwi}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY (zhway >) shway (平) [ɕwaj]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{ɕuj}$  (平); PR  $\text{ɕwaj}$ ; LR —

### 3.11.6 'Ph -waj? > SR -uj?

huà 畫 QYS  $\text{ɣwək}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (入) [ɣwaj]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{ɣuj}$  (入); PR —; LR —

**3.11.7 'Ph -aŋ.** This final corresponds to SR *-aŋ* in most environments; e.g.:

bāng 邦 QYS  $\text{pāŋ}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY bang (平) [paŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{paŋ}$  (平); PR —; LR —

fāng 方 QYS  $\text{pjwɑŋ}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwang (平) [faŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{faŋ}$  (平); PR —; LR —

gāng 綱 QYS  $\text{kāŋ}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY gang (平) [kaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{kaŋ}$  (平); PR —; LR —

làng 浪 QYS  $\text{lāŋ-}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY lang (去) [laŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{laŋ}$  (去); PR —; LR —

However, after retroflexes the SR system has *-jaŋ* rather than *-aŋ*; e.g.:

cháng 常 QYS  $\text{ʒjaŋ}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{dzjaŋ}$  (平); PR —; LR —

shàng 上 QYS  $\text{ʒjǎŋ-}$ ,  $\text{ʒjǎŋ-}$   
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (上去) [zaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR  $\text{zjaŋ}$  (上去); PR —; LR —



shàng 尙 QYS źjäng-  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (去) [zɑŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR zjaŋ (去); PR —; LR —

zhǎng 長 QYS tjang:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY jang (上) [tʂɑŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR tʂjaŋ (上); PR —; LR —

zhǎng 掌 QYS tsjang:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY jang (上) [tʂɑŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR tʂjaŋ (上); PR —; LR —

A similar pattern to that in the above examples is found in the following 'Phags-pa *n*- initial syllable:

niáng 娘 QYS njang  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY ñang (平) [ɳɑŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR njaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.11.8 'Ph -jaŋ > SR -jaŋ

jiāng 將 QYS tsjang  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY (dzýang >) dzyang (平) [tsjaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR tsjaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

jiǎng 講 QYS káng:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY (gýang >) gyang (上) [kjaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR kjaŋ (上); PR —; LR —

yàng 樣 QYS jiang-  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yang (去) [jaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR jaŋ (去); PR —; LR —

An irregular case is the following. Note that the expected form actually occurs in the PR/LR readings.

yǎng 仰 QYS ngjang:  
 'Phags-pa: MGZY (ngýang >) ngyang (上) [ŋjaŋ]  
 Sin Sukchu SR ŋaŋ (上); PR jaŋ, ŋjaŋ; LR jaŋ

**3.11.9 'Ph -waŋ.** After 'Phags-pa gutturals this final corresponds to SR *-waŋ*:

guāng 光 QYS kuāng  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gwang (平) [kwaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR kwaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

wáng 王 QYS jwang  
'Phags-pa: MGZY xwang (平) [fiwaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR waŋ (平); PR —; LR —

After retroflexes, the correspondance is with SR *-aŋ*. In these cases the PR/LR readings invariably have readings in *-waŋ*, and the QYS final is *-aŋ*:

chuāng 窗 QYS tshāng  
'Phags-pa: MGZY chwang (平) [tʂ'waŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'aŋ (平); PR tʂ'waŋ; LR —

zhuàng 撞 QYS dāng-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY cwang (去) [dzwaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂaŋ (去); PR tʂwaŋ; LR tʂwaŋ

shuāng 雙 QYS shāng  
'Phags-pa: MGZY shwang (平) [ʂwaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR ʂaŋ (平); PR ʂwaŋ; LR ʂwaŋ

Our suspicion here must be that, in this matter at least, the PR and LR systems are more closely related to the 'Phags-pa one, while the SR system belongs to a different strain.

**3.11.10 'Ph -yaŋ > SR -waŋ**

kuàng 況 QYS xjwang-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hwyang >) hwyang (去) [xyaŋ]  
Sin Sukchu SR xwaŋ (去); PR xyaŋ; LR —

**3.11.11 'Ph -an > SR -an.** This is the most common correspondence.

bān 班 QYS pwan  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ban (平) [pan]  
Sin Sukchu SR pan (平); PR —; LR —

cān 餐 QYS tshân

'Phags-pa: MGZY tshan (平) [ts'an]

Sin Sukchu SR ts'an (平); PR —; LR —

nán 難 QYS nân

'Phags-pa: MGZY nan (平) [nan]

Sin Sukchu SR nan (平) PR —; LR —

shān 山 QYS şăn

'Phags-pa: MGZY (zhan >) shan (平) [şan]

Sin Sukchu SR şan (平); PR —; LR —

However, after gutturals SR has *-ɔn*; e.g.:

gān 乾 QYS kân

'Phags-pa: MGZY gan (平) [kan]

Sin Sukchu SR kɔn (平); PR kan; LR kan

gàn 幹 QYS kun-

'Phags-pa: MGZY gan (去) [kan]

Sin Sukchu SR kɔn (去); PR kan; LR kan

kàn 看 QYS khân-

'Phags-pa: MGZY khan (去) [k'an]

Sin Sukchu SR k'ɔn (去); PR k'an; LR k'an

hǎn 罕 QYS xân:

'Phags-pa: MGZY han (上) [xan]

Sin Sukchu SR xɔn (上); PR xan; LR xan

ān 安 QYS ?ân

'Phags-pa: MGZY 'an (平) [ʔan]

Sin Sukchu SR ?ɔn (平); PR ?an; LR ?an

And after labiodentals, the SR system has *-wan*, e.g.:

fǎn 反 QYS pjwɛn:

'Phags-pa: MGZY h(w)an (上) [fan]

Sin Sukchu SR fwan (上); PR fan; LR —

fàn 飯 QYS bjwən-, bjwən:

'Phags-pa: MGZY H(w)an (去) [van]

Sin Sukchu SR vwan (去); PR van; LR van

wàn 萬 QYS mjwən-

'Phags-pa: MGZY (khan >) wan (去) [van]

Sin Sukchu SR uwan (去); PR —; LR uwan

SR *-ən* and *-uan* in these cases are predictable on the basis of the pertinent initial types. However, one cannot help but wonder if they are not in fact archaic features, retained by the SR system but lost in 'Phags-pa.

### 3.11.12 'Ph -jan > SR -jan

jiān 間 QYS kǎn

'Phags-pa: MGZY (gÿan >) gyan (平) [kjan]

Sin Sukchu SR kjan (平); PR —; LR —

xián 閑 QYS yǎn

'Phags-pa: MGZY (Xÿan >) Xyan (平) [ɣjan]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣjan (平); PR —; LR —

yǎn 眼 QYS ngǎn:

'Phags-pa: MGZY yan (上) [jan]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋjan (上); PR jan; LR jen

**3.11.13 'Ph -wan > SR -wan.** This correspondence is found for 'Phags-pa guttural initial words.

guān 關 QYS kwan

'Phags-pa: MGZY gwan (平) [kwan]

Sin Sukchu SR kwan (平); PR —; LR kwɔn

wán 頑 QYS ngwǎn

'Phags-pa: MGZY (tshwan >) xwan (平) [fiwan]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋwan (平); PR wan; LR wan

In the following case, which does not have a guttural initial, a rather different correspondence obtains:

zhuàn 撰 QYS dzjwän:, dzwan:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY cwan (上) [tʂwan]  
Sin Sukchu SR dz,yen (去); PR —; LR —

**3.11.14 'Ph -aw > SR -aw**

bāo 包 QYS pau  
'Phags-pa: MGZY baw (平) [paw]  
Sin Sukchu SR paw (平); PR —; LR —

gāo 高 QYS kâu  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gaw (平) [kaw]  
Sin Sukchu SR kaw (平); PR —; LR —

**3.11.15 'Ph -aw(?) > SR -aw(?)**

bó 薄 QYS bâk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY paw (入) [baw]  
Sin Sukchu SR baw (入); PR —; LR baw?

cuò 錯 QYS tshâk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tshaw (入) [ts'aw]  
Sin Sukchu SR ts'aw (入); PR —; LR ts'aw?

**3.11.16 'Ph -waw? > SR -waw?**

kuò 廓 QYS khwâk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khwaw (入) [k'waw]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'waw (入); PR —; LR —

zhuō 卓 QYS tʂâk  
'Phags-pa: MGZY jwaw (入) [tʂwaw]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂwaw (入); PR —; LR tʂwaw?

The following form is exceptional. The expected form is found in the PR system.

shuò 朔 QYS şák

'Phags-pa: MGZY shwaw (入) [şwaw]

Sin Sukchu SR şaw (入); PR şwawʔ; LR —

### 3.11.17 'Ph -jaw > SR -jaw

jiào 教 QYS kau-

'Phags-pa: MGZY (gÿaw >) gyaw (平去) [kjaw]

Sin Sukchu SR kjaw (平去); PR —; LR —

qiǎo 巧 QYS khau:

'Phags-pa: MGZY (khÿaw >) khyaw (上) [k'jaw]

Sin Sukchu SR k'jaw (上); PR —; LR —

### 3.11.18 'Ph -jawʔ > SR -jawʔ

xué 學 QYS yák

'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hÿaw >) Hyaw (入) [ɣjaw]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣjaw (入); PR —; LR ɣjawʔ

wò 握 QYS ʔák

'Phags-pa: MGZY Yaw (入) [ʔjaw]

Sin Sukchu SR ʔjaw; PR —; LR —

### 3.11.19 'Ph -am > SR -am

fán 凡 QYS bjwəm

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwam (平) [vam]

Sin Sukchu SR vam (平); PR van; LR —

gān 甘 QYS kām

'Phags-pa: MGZY gam (平) [kam]

Sin Sukchu SR kam (平); PR kan; LR —

### 3.11.20 'Ph -jam > SR -jam

jiàn 監 QYS kam-, (kam)

'Phags-pa: MGZY (gÿam >) gyam (去) [kjam]

Sin Sukchu SR kjam (去); PR (kjan); LR kjen

xiàn 陷 QYS yām-

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hyam (平) [ɣjam]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣjam (平); PR ɣjan; LR ɣjen

### 3.11.21 'Ph -ja > SR -ja

jiā 家 QYS ka

'Phags-pa: MGZY gya (平) [kja]

Sin Sukchu SR kja (平); PR —; LR —

xià 下 QYS ya:, ya-

'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hÿa >) Hya (上去) [ɣja]

Sin Sukchu SR ɣja (上去); PR —; LR —

### 3.11.22 'Ph -ja? > SR -ja?

jiǎ 甲 QYS kap

'Phags-pa: MGZY gya (入) [kja]

Sin Sukchu SR kja (入); PR —; LR —

xiā 瞎 QYS xat

'Phags-pa: MGZY (hÿa >) hya (入) [xja]

Sin Sukchu SR xja (入); PR —; LR —

### 3.11.23 'Ph -wa > SR -wa

guā 瓜 QYS kwa

'Phags-pa: MGZY gwa (平) [kwa]

Sin Sukchu SR kwa (平); PR —; LR —

huā 花 QYS xwa

'Phags-pa: MGZY hwa (平) [xwa]

Sin Sukchu SR xwa (平); PR —; LR —

wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa:

'Phags-pa: MGZY xwa (上) [fwa]

Sin Sukchu SR ŋwa (上); PR wa; LR wa

### 3.11.24 'Ph -wa? > SR -wa?

guā 刮 QYS kwat

'Phags-pa: MGZY gwa (入) [kwa]

Sin Sukchu SR kwa (入); PR —; LR —

shuā 刷 QYS sjwät

'Phags-pa: MGZY (zhwa >) shwa (入) [šwa]

Sin Sukchu SR šwa (入); PR —; LR —

**3.12 Final -Aŋ.** The vowel “A” of this final was an “a-like” sound of indeterminate quality. Nakano (1971:94) has speculated that it was phonetically [ɐ]. The final corresponds to SR *-aŋ*:

chuāng 瘡 QYS tshjang

'Phags-pa: MGZY ch<sup>h</sup>ang (平) [tʂ'Aŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'aŋ (平); PR tʂ'waŋ; LR tʂ'waŋ

shuāng 霜 QYS sjang

'Phags-pa: MGZY sh<sup>h</sup>ang (平) [ʂAŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR ʂaŋ (平); PR ʂwaŋ; LR —

zhuàng 壯 QYS tsjang-

'Phags-pa: MGZY j<sup>h</sup>ang (去) [tʂAŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR tʂaŋ (去); PR tʂwaŋ; LR tʂwaŋ

**3.13 Finals** ɛn jɛn yen ɛw ɛwʔ jɛw jɛwʔ ((yɛwʔ)) em jem (ɛ  
ɛʔ jɛ jɛʔ) wɛ wɛʔ

#### 3.13.1 'Ph -ɛn > SR -jen

biàn 辯 QYS bjän:<sup>3</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY pen (上) [ben]

Sin Sukchu SR bjen (上); PR —; LR —

biàn 便 QYS bjiän:<sup>4</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY pen (去) [ben]

Sin Sukchu SR bjen (去); PR —; LR —



jiàn 建 QYS kjən-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gen (去) [kɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjen (去); PR —; LR —

lián 連 QYS ljân  
'Phags-pa: MGZY len (平) [lɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR ljen (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.13.2 'Ph -jen > SR -jen

biān 邊 QYS pien  
'Phags-pa: MGZY bŷan (平) [pjɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR pjen (平); PR —; LR —

jiān 堅 QYS kien  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gŷan (平) [kjɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjen (平); PR —; LR —

qiān 千 QYS tshien  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tshŷan (平) [ts'jɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR ts'jen (平); PR —; LR —

shàn 扇 QYS sjän-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY (zhŷan >) shŷan (去) [sjɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR sjɛn (去); PR —; LR —

### 3.13.3 'Ph -yen > SR -yen

chuān 穿 QYS tshjwän  
'Phags-pa: MGZY chwŷan (平) [tʂ'yɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'yɛn (平); PR —; LR —

quǎn 犬 QYS khiwen:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khwŷan (上) [k'yɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'yɛn (上); PR —; LR —

Two exceptional cases are the following:

xiàn 縣 QYS yīwen-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xwŷan (去) [ɣyɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR ɣjen (去); PR —; LR —

qiān 鉛 QYS jiwān  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ywŷan (平) [jyɛn]  
Sin Sukchu SR jen (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.13.4 'Ph -ew > SR -jew

liǎo 了 QYS lieu:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY lew (上) [lew]  
Sin Sukchu SR ljew (上); PR ljaw; LR —

shāo 燒 QYS śjāu  
'Phags-pa: MGZY shew (平) [sɛw]  
Sin Sukchu SR śjew (平); PR śjew; LR —

### 3.13.5 'Ph -ew? > SR -jaw?

luè 略 QYS ljak  
'Phags-pa: MGZY lew (入) [lew]  
Sin Sukchu SR ljaw (入); PR —; LR —

què 卻 QYS khjak  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khew (入) [k'ɛw]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'jaw (入); PR k'ɔʔ; LR k'ɔʔ

ruò 弱 QYS nížjak  
'Phags-pa: MGZY Zhew (入) [rɛw]  
Sin Sukchu SR rjaw (入); PR —; LR rjaw?

### 3.13.6 'Ph -jew > SR -jew

jiào 叫 QYS kieu-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gŷaw (去) [kjɛw]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjew (去); PR kjaw; LR —

xiǎo 小 QYS sjäu:

'Phags-pa: MGZY sÿaw (上) [sjew]

Sin Sukchu SR sjew (上); PR sjaw; LR —

### 3.13.7 'Ph -jew? > SR -jaw?

què 確 QYS khâk

'Phags-pa: MGZY khÿaw (入) [k'jew]

Sin Sukchu SR k'jaw (入); PR k'ɔʔ; LR —

què 雀 QYS tsjak

'Phags-pa: MGZY dzÿaw (入) [tsjew]

Sin Sukchu SR tsjaw (入); PR ts'jawʔ; LR ts'jawʔ

### 3.13.8 'Ph -em > SR -jem

diǎn 點 QYS tiem:

'Phags-pa: MGZY dem (上) [tem]

Sin Sukchu SR tjem (上); PR —; LR —

niàn 念 QYS niem-

'Phags-pa: MGZY nem (去) [nem]

Sin Sukchu SR njem (去); PR —; LR —

qiàn 欠 QYS khjem-

'Phags-pa: MGZY khem (去) [k'em]

Sin Sukchu SR k'jem (去); PR k'jen; LR k'jen

shǎn 閃 QYS śjäm,-

'Phags-pa: MGZY shem (上去) [sem]

Sin Sukchu SR sjem (上); PR —; LR —

### 3.13.9 'Ph -jem > SR -jem

xián 嫌 QYS yiem

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hÿem (平) [yjem]

Sin Sukchu SR yjem (平); PR yjen; LR yjen

yán 鹽 QYS jiäm

'Phags-pa: MGZY yem (平) [jɛm]

Sin Sukchu SR jem (平); PR jen; LR jen

### 3.13.10 'Ph -wɛ > SR -ye

qué 癩 QYS giwa

'Phags-pa: MGZY kwe (平) [gwɛ]

Sin Sukchu SR gye (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.13.11 'Ph -wɛʔ > SR -yeʔ

jué 蹶 QYS kjwɛt

'Phags-pa: MGZY gwe (入) [kwɛ]

Sin Sukchu SR kye (入); PR —; LR —

## 3.14 Finals ɔŋ ɔn yɔn ɔw ɔ ɔʔ wɔ wɔʔ

### 3.14.1 'Ph -ɔŋ > SR -waŋ

huáng 黃 QYS ywâŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xong (平) [yɔŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR ywaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

huáng 皇 QYS ywâŋ

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xong (平) [yɔŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR ywaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.14.2 'Ph -ɔn > SR -wɔn

bān 搬 QYS puân

'Phags-pa: cf. 般 MGZY bon (平) [pɔn]

Sin Sukchu SR pwɔn (平); PR pɔn; LR pɔn

duān 端 QYS tuân

'Phags-pa: MGZY don (平) [tɔn]

Sin Sukchu SR twɔn (平); PR —; LR —

guān 官 QYS kuân

'Phags-pa: MGZY gon (平) [kɔn]

Sin Sukchu SR kwən (平); PR —; LR —

### 3.14.3 'Ph -yɔn > SR -yen

juǎn 捲 QYS kjwän:<sup>3</sup>

'Phags-pa: MGZY gyon (上) [kyɔn]

Sin Sukchu SR kyen (上); PR —; LR —

quàn 勸 QYS khjwən-

'Phags-pa: MGZY khyon (去) [k'yɔn]

Sin Sukchu SR k'yen (去); PR —; LR —

liàn 戀 QYS ljwän-

'Phags-pa: MGZY lyon (去) [lyɔn]

Sin Sukchu SR lyen (去); PR —; LR —

### 3.14.4 'Ph -ɔw > SR -əw

fú 浮 QYS bjəu

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwow (平) [vɔw]

Sin Sukchu SR vəw (平); PR —; LR —

fù 婦 QYS bjəu:

'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwow (上) [vɔw]

Sin Sukchu SR vu (去), vəw (上); PR —; LR vu (去)

### 3.14.5 'Ph -ɔ > SR -ɔ

duō 多 QYS tâ

'Phags-pa: MGZY do (平) [tɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR tɔ (平); PR —; LR tɔ, twɔ

hé 何 QYS yâ

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xo (平) [yɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR yɔ (平); PR —; LR yɔ

**3.14.6 'Ph -ɔʔ > SR -ɔʔ**

gē 割 QYS kâp

'Phags-pa: MGZY go (入) [kɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR kɔ (入); PR —; LR —

The following case is irregular. The PR/LR data show the expected form.

hé 合 QYS yâp

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xo (入) [yɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR ya (入); PR yɔʔ; LR yɔʔ

**3.14.7 'Ph -wɔ > SR -wɔ.** This is the general correspondence.

bō 波 QYS puâ

'Phags-pa: MGZY bwo (平) [pwɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR pwɔ (平); PR —; LR —

guò 過 QYS kuâ-

'Phags-pa: MGZY gwo (去) [kwɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR kwɔ (去); PR —; LR —

suǒ 鎖 QYS suâ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY swo (上) [swɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR swɔ (上); PR —; LR —

zuò 坐 QYS dzuâ:, dzuâ-

'Phags-pa: MGZY tswɔ (上去) [dzwɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR dzwɔ (上去); PR —; LR —

However, after the dental stops and lateral, SR has -ɔ; e.g.:

duǒ 朵 QYS tuâ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY dwo (上) [twɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR tɔ (上); PR —; LR tɔ, twɔ

luó 騾 QYS luâ

'Phags-pa: MGZY lwo (平) [lwɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR lɔ (平); PR —; LR lɔ

### 3.14.8 'Ph -wɔʔ > SR -wɔʔ

kuò 闊 QYS khuât

'Phags-pa: MGZY khwo (入) [k'wɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR k'wɔ (入); PR —; LR —

mǒ 抹 QYS muât

'Phags-pa: MGZY mwo (入) [mwɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR mwɔ (入); PR —; LR mwɔʔ

tuō 脫 QYS thuât

'Phags-pa: MGZY thwo (入) [t'wɔ]

Sin Sukchu SR t'wɔ (入); PR —; LR —

### 3.15 Finals əjʔ əŋ ən əw əm

#### 3.15.1 'Ph -əjʔ > SR -əjʔ

dé 得 QYS tək

'Phags-pa: MGZY d<sup>h</sup>iy (入) [təj]

Sin Sukchu SR təj (入); PR —; LR təjʔ

kè 刻 QYS khək

'Phags-pa: MGZY kh<sup>h</sup>iy (入) [k'əj]

Sin Sukchu SR k'əj (入); PR —; LR —

#### 3.15.2 'Ph -əŋ > SR -əŋŋ

kěn 肯 QYS khəŋ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY kh<sup>h</sup>ing (上) [k'əŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR k'əŋŋ (上); PR k'ən; LR k'ən

děng 等 QYS təŋ:

'Phags-pa: MGZY d<sup>h</sup>ing (上) [təŋ]

Sin Sukchu SR təŋŋ (上); PR təŋ; LR təŋ

#### 3.15.3 'Ph -ən > SR -ən

ēn 恩 QYS ʔən  
'Phags-pa: MGZY ʰin (平) [ʔən]  
Sin Sukchu SR ʔən (平); PR —; LR —

gēn 根 QYS kən  
'Phags-pa: MGZY gʰin (平) [kən]  
Sin Sukchu SR kən (平); PR —; LR —

zhēn 臻 QYS tʃjən  
'Phags-pa: MGZY jʰin (平) [tʃən]  
Sin Sukchu SR tʃən (平); PR —; LR —

The following case is exceptional. The PR form shows the expected correspondence.

tūn 吞 QYS t'ən  
'Phags-pa: MGZY thʰin (平) [t'ən]  
Sin Sukchu SR t'un (平); PR t'ən; LR —

### 3.15.4 'Ph -əw > SR -əw

dòu 豆 QYS dəu-  
'Phags-pa: MGZY tʰiw (去) [dəw]  
Sin Sukchu SR dəw (去); PR —; LR —

kǒu 口 QYS khəu:  
'Phags-pa: MGZY khʰiw (上) [k'əw]  
Sin Sukchu SR k'əw (上); PR —; LR —

### 3.15.5 'Ph -əm > SR -əm

sēn 森 QYS sjem  
'Phags-pa: MGZY shʰim (平) [səm]  
Sin Sukchu SR səm (平); PR —; LR —

**3.16 Tones.** The 'Phags-pa and SR systems have identical sets of four tones, corresponding directly to the classical set, *píng* 平, *shǎng* 上, *qù* 去, and *rù* 入 of the traditional lexica.



## 4. Conclusions

We began this study with the observation that the 'Phags-pa and Sin Sukchu SR systems seemed to be structurally similar. This impression has been borne out by detailed comparison of the two, for in item after item above we have found instances of systematic, and in many cases one-to-one correspondences between them. In each of these cases, configurations in the SR system could in theory, at least, have developed regularly from the 'Phags-pa forms.

However, there is also a significant set of instances where such direct derivation is impossible. Many of these, mentioned seriatim above, involve readings of individual syllables, at least some of which could perhaps be explained away in detail. But in addition to these there are also eleven fundamental systemic incongruencies where the SR forms show distinctions which the 'Phags-pa system did not possess and could not have yielded through regular, conditioned sound change. Full arguments to this effect have been given in Part 3, in the sections listed and summarized below:

3.1.7 'Phags-pa syllables having the shape [vuʔ] correspond to SR [vuʔ] and [muʔ] in ways which the 'Phags-pa system itself cannot predict.

3.3.5 'Phags-pa *z-* corresponds to SR *z-* and *dz-* in a way which the 'Phags-pa forms cannot predict.

3.4.3 'Phags-pa *dz-* includes syllables which in the SR system have either *dz-* or *z-*, a distinction not explainable in terms of the 'Phags-pa system.

3.5.8 Opposite 'Phags-pa *h-* SR has both *ŋ-* and *Ø-*, with no discernible conditioning factors.

3.6 For 'Phags-pa *Ø-* SR has both *Ø-* and *ŋ-*. The 'Phags-pa system cannot account for this distinction.

3.8.7 'Phags-pa *-jŋ* corresponds to SR *-iŋ* and *-əjŋ*. The distinction is not predictable from the standpoint of the 'Phags-pa system.

3.9.3 After labials 'Phags-pa *-uε* corresponds to SR *-i* or *-uj* in ways that are accounted for by the QYS but not the 'Phags-pa system. Similar problems affect this 'Phags-pa final in certain *Ø-* initial syllables.

3.9.4 Similarly, after labials 'Phags-pa *-uεʔ* corresponds to SR *-iʔ* (in QYS Div. III syllables) or *-əjʔ* (in QYS Div. I syllables), a configuration which is not explainable in terms of the 'Phags-pa system itself.

3.9.7 'Phags-pa *-uŋ* corresponds to SR *-uŋ*, *-ujŋ*, or *-əjŋ* in ways for which the 'Phags-pa system cannot account.

3.9.9 'Phags-pa *-juŋ* corresponds to SR *-juŋ* and *-jujŋ* in ways which are not predictable from within the 'Phags-pa system.

3.11.5 'Phags-pa *-waj* stands opposite SR *-waj* and *-wa* in unpredictable ways.

In addition to these points, in sections 3.7.2, 3.11.9, and 3.11.11 we have examined SR distinctions which, while predictable in terms of the 'Phags-pa system, seem unlikely to have evolved from the relevant phonetic configurations of the type found in that system.

Our conclusion must then be that, while there are numerous points of similarity between them, the 'Phags-pa system cannot have been directly ancestral to the SR one. Although the two are obviously related, they are not simply earlier and later forms of the same system. This then is the answer to the question posed in section 2.3 above.

## 5. Taxonomic observations and historical hypotheses

The conclusions reached in the preceding section inevitably raise taxonomic and historical questions the full treatment of which lies beyond the scope of the present study; but in closing we can in this connection broach certain questions and hypotheses for future consideration.

It is wont in the field of Chinese historical linguistics to raise the question of the “dialectal basis” (*fāngyán jīchǔ* 方言基礎) of textually attested sound systems. The nature of this question deserves close scrutiny. To begin, as Kun Chang pointed out long ago, it is unlikely that any premodern source preserves a true picture of any “dialect”, if by that term we mean an actually spoken regional vernacular. For the recording of dialects is a phenomenon of modern linguistics (Chang 1979:243). In pre-modern times, the interest of recorders was nearly always in standard or koine pronunciation systems. This is unquestionably true of Sin’s SR system and appears to have been so for the 'Phags-pa system as well. Thus, in examining these systems, we can at most speak of the possible dialectal components they comprise, rather than “which dialect” they represent.

In addressing the question of this sort of dialect affiliation, two methodological possibilities suggest themselves. If there were actual, contemporaneous records of spoken dialects, one could compare these records with the systems in question to try and identify connections. But, for the reasons adumbrated in the preceding paragraph, such records are not ordinarily available to us. This leaves the second alternative, which is to bring modern dialect material to bear on the problem. Such an approach is feasible, but it requires extensive groundwork before it can be implemented. For, in order to achieve the necessary time depth on the dialect data side, it is necessary to first

compare these data among themselves and devise common or proto-systems for them. Only this approach can avoid the problem of anachronistic comparisons, where modern data are willy-nilly treated on a par with ancient ones. Once such common systems have been developed, they can be compared with the textual data to highlight possible affiliations. The difficulty here is that work on such common systems has never been central to the field of historical phonology and is still in its infancy. As it progresses, we will be offered more and more opportunities to assay the dialect components in systems such as those we have dealt with here. But this work lies in the future.

On the other hand, one may pursue the origins of these systems from the standpoint of attested historical events, to see if they suggest testable hypotheses. Let us now explore certain possibilities of this type. We have argued elsewhere that the 'Phags-pa spelling system reflects the pronunciations of the Chinese members of Qubilai's entourage (Coblin 1999:90). These were educated individuals who came from many different areas of China. They spoke to each other in some mutually intelligible language type, which must have been based on the koine varieties which were in use in both north and south China in the early to mid-thirteenth century. These were the Chinese speakers with whom the 'Phags-pa lama regularly came in contact and whose speech would have struck him as worth recording in alphabetic form. Indeed, it is possible that some of them actually worked for and with him to arrive at the final spelling forms. The idea, which is sometimes broached, that the 'Phags-pa system was based on the dialect of the Yuán capital, Dàdū, seems untenable. For, at the time the 'Phags-pa system was completed in 1269, the new capital was still being planned and built on the virtually abandoned ruins of the earlier Jīn 金 city of Zhōngdū 中都 (Lǐ 1981:193-94, Allsen 1994, Rossabi 1994). It was not to be officially finished until 1276, and no audiences were held there until at least 1274. The colleagues with whom the 'Phags-pa lama lived and worked were for the most part not from the former Zhōngdū or its neighborhood. (On this question, see in particular Rachewiltz 1966). It is therefore improbable that the speech of this particular area could have been the basis for the 'Phags-pa orthography, whatever prominence it may later have gained during the Yuán period. Ultimately, what we have in the 'Phags-pa system is much more likely to be a record of late Southern Sòng/Jīn koine phonology, in a composite form of some sort. This, we suggest, is an hypothesis worth pursuing in the future.

What then are we to make of Sin's SR system? This type of pronunciation came into prominence around the time the Míng Dynasty was founded in 1368 and took the city of Nanking as its capital (Lǚ 1985, Yang 1989, Coblin 1997). It is neither necessary, nor in all probability correct, to assume that the actual dialect of Nanking became the koine of the new dynasty (Chou 1989, Coblin 2000). But it seems likely that some generally current late Yuán period pronunciation of the lower Yangtze

watershed, the homeland of Zhū Yuánzhāng 朱元璋 (1328-1398) and his followers, may have formed the basis of the sound system used at Nanking by the new court and its officialdom (Endo 1984, Gě et al. 1993:347, 1997:20-31). What Sin Sukchu recorded may have been this sort of pronunciation, in the form it had assumed after some eighty years of evolution. By 1450 the primary national capital had been in Peking for thirty-odd years; but, as is now generally known, this had little effect on the standard pronunciation system, which in fact remained a Yangtze watershed-based one until well into Qīng times. What then is the earlier origin of this hypothetical late Yuán/early Míng koine pronunciation? We may suppose that in late Sòng times some ancestral form of it was already in use in the same general area where it was found in Zhū Yuánzhāng's time. This sort of sound system may be characterized as a Lower Central Plains/Yangtze Watershed-type koine pronunciation. At the same time, we may suppose with Lǐ Xīnkúí that further north there existed an Upper Central Plains standard pronunciation, perhaps ultimately derived from the Kāifēng-Luòyáng area (Lǐ 1980). The two may have been similar in many respects and would surely have been mutually intelligible. They would in fact have been sister koine systems. It may have been some form of the Upper Central Plains-based system which the 'Phags-pa lama recorded in 1260-1269. The more southerly system would have remained in use in the lower Yangtze watershed during the Yuán period and emerged into national prominence with the founding of Míng. This new Míng standard may thus have been descended from a system which was collaterally related to the 'Phags-pa one but was not identical with it. As comparative studies afford us a better grasp of the common systems from which the modern Central Plains and Yangtze watershed dialects derive their pronunciations, these hypotheses will become actively testable.

There has over the years been much interest in what form of pronunciation was standard in the city of Dàdū during the Yuán proper. The *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* 中原音韻 is often cited as the exemplar of this sort type of sound system, and opinions have differed about its origins, with some suggesting that it was an essentially northern or northeastern linguistic type, while others have held that it was connected with the Luòyáng-Kāifēng area. In the early 1500s the Korean transcriber Ch'we Sejin recorded two forms of Chinese pronunciation, know in the Korean tradition as the Current Popular Readings (今俗音) and the Right Readings (右音). The two are similar in certain respects and different in others. Both are quite distinct from the sorts of pronunciation which Sin Sukchu had elicited half a century or so earlier. The Right Readings in particular seem to share many common points with the system inherent in the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*. Yùchí (1990) believes they were taken down somewhere in Liáodōng and reflect a standard form of pronunciation used in that area. Could they in fact be derived from or at least connected with some form of Yuán-period

north/northeastern standard, which was subsequently overshadowed by the new Ming standard in the mid-1300s but remained current in north and northeast China down to Ch'we's time? Evidence of other kinds, recently summarized by Norman (1997), suggests that this may well have been the case. The question should be tested in future studies.

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[Received 25 September 2000; accepted 16 April 2001]

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