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 Ming 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/Ming 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 Shìzu 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 Ming 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 Mênggu Ziyin 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 Luò and Cài (1959) and also the newer one, with editorial apparatus, compiled by Junast and Yâng (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 Qièyun 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 決武正韻譯訓 (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 Pönyök No Gôltæ 翻譯老乞大 and the Pönyök Pak T’ongsæ 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 Yüchí (1990:18), with which we are in general accord, all of Sin’s readings are based on varieties of fifteenth century Ming Guān huà. 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 Yüchí (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>'Phags-pa</th>
<th>SR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
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<tr>
<td>p’</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>η’’</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>η’’</td>
<td></td>
<td>fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η’’’</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The SR system was quite similar:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
p & p' & b & m & f & v & u \\
t & t' & d & n & l \\
ts & ts' & dz & s & z \\
t̄ & t̄' & dz̄ & ʂ & ʐ & r \\
k & k' & g & ȵ & ? & x & y & ō
\end{array}
\]

3.1 Labials and labiodentals

3.1.1 \( \text{'Ph p-} \rightarrow \text{SR p-}. \) 'Phags-pa \( p- \) corresponds directly and exclusively to SR \( p- \) and could conceivably have been ancestral to it; e.g.:

\[
\text{biān} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{pien}
\]

\( \text{'Phags-pa: MGZY bûn (平) [pjen]} \)

\( \text{Sin Sukchu SR pjen (平); PR —; LR —} \)

3.1.2 \( \text{'Ph p'-} \rightarrow \text{SR p'-} \)

\[
\text{pō} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{phûâ-}
\]

\( \text{'Phags-pa: MGZY phûo (去) [p’wɔ]} \)

\( \text{Sin Sukchu SR p’wɔ (去); PR —; LR —} \)

3.1.3 \( \text{'Ph b} \rightarrow \text{SR b-}. \) Both the 'Phags-pa and SR systems had series of initials corresponding to the \text{zhuó} 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.

\[
\text{pêng} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{bung}
\]

\( \text{'Phags-pa: MGZY pûng (平) [buŋ]} \)

\( \text{Sin Sukchu SR buŋ (平); PR —; LR —} \)
3.1.4  'Ph m-  >  SR m-

mer  QYS may-

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

3.1.5  'Ph f-  >  SR f-

feng  QYS pjung

'Phags-pa: MGZY hwung (平) [fʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR fʊŋ (平); PR —; LR —

3.1.6  'Ph v-  >  SR v-

feng  QYS bjwong

'Phags-pa: MGZY hwung (平) [vʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR vʊŋ (平); PR —; LR —

3.1.7  'Ph v-  >  SR v-

This sound usually corresponds to SR v-; e.g.:

wang  QYS mjwang-

'Phags-pa: MGZY wang (去) [vʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR vʊŋ (去); PR —; LR —

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

meng  QYS mjung-

'Phags-pa: MGZY wung (去) [vʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR vʊŋ (去); PR —; LR —

mou  QYS mjiu

'Phags-pa: MGZY (khuw >) wuw (平) [vʊw]
Sin Sukchu SR mʊw (平); PR —; LR —

mu  QYS mjuk

'Phags-pa: MGZY wu (入) [vʊ]
Sin Sukchu SR mʊ (入); PR —; LR —
In these cases 'Phags-pa has initial \( \nu^- \) opposite SR \( \text{mr}^- \). 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 \( \text{目} \) (QYS \( \text{mjuk} \)) is found in the expected Tibetan transcriptional form \( \text{'bug} \), probably representing a well attested medieval northwest Chinese \( ['\text{buk}] \). But on the verso, line 156, it is transcribed as \( \text{'wug} \), which may reflect something like \( ['\text{vuk}] \) or \( [\text{vuk}] \). A similar case in the Long Scroll corpus is the word \( \text{牟} \) (QYS \( \text{mjów} \)). This syllable occurs many times in the Scroll texts. On the recto it is always spelled as Tibetan \( \text{'bu} \) \( [\text{bu}] \), while the verso equally consistently renders it as \( \text{'wú} \) \( ['\text{vu}] \) or \( [\text{vu}] \). The corresponding 'Phags-pa form is \( \text{wuw} \) (QYS \( \text{mjów} \)), while the SR system reads \( \text{mów} \). 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 \( *\text{mr}^- \) 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 \( \text{t}^- \) > SR \( \text{t}^- \)

\( \text{dāng} \) \( \text{當} \) QYS \( \text{tàng} \)

'Phags-pa: MGZY \( \text{dāng} (\text{平}) [\text{taŋ}] \)
Sin Sukchu SR \( \text{taŋ} (\text{平}) \); PR —; LR —

#### 3.2.2 'Ph \( \text{t}'^- \) > SR \( \text{t}'^- \)

tiān \( \text{天} \) QYS \( \text{thien} \)

'Phags-pa: MGZY \( \text{then} (\text{平}) [\text{t'en}] \)
Sin Sukchu SR \( \text{tjen} (\text{平}) \); PR —; LR —

#### 3.2.3 'Ph \( \text{d}^- \) > SR \( \text{d}^- \)
3.2.4 ‘Ph n- > SR n-

nǐ 泥 QYS nǐ:
‘Phags-pa: MGZY nǐ (平) [nǐ]
Sin Sukchu: SR nje (平); PR n; LR —

3.2.5 ‘Ph ȵ- > 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.

nǚ 女 QYS njwo:
‘Phags-pa: MGZY ȵyu (上去) [ȵy]
Sin Sukchu: SR ny (上去); PR n; LR —

3.2.6 ‘Ph l- > SR l-

liāng 两 QYS liang:
‘Phags-pa: MGZY lǐ (阴平) liang (上) [ljan]
Sin Sukchu: SR ljan (上); PR —; LR —

3.3 Sibilants

3.3.1 ‘Ph ts- > SR ts-

zǎo 酉 QYS tsāu:
‘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 tshk'i (↑) [ts'γ]
Sin Sukchu SR ts'γ (↑); PR —; LR —

3.3.3 'Ph dz- > SR dz-

cái才QYS dzāi
'Phags-pa: MGZY tsay (平) [dzaj]
Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); PRそŋ; LRそŋ

3.3.4 'Ph s- > SR s-

sēng僧QYS sōŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY s'hing (平) [sŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR saŋ (平); PRそŋ; LRそŋ

3.3.5 'Ph z- > SR z-

cǐ词QYS zǐ
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhi (平) [zì]
Sin Sukchu SR zì (平); PR —; LR —

sōng誦QYS zjwong-
'Phags-pa: MGZY zjung (去) [zjunŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR zjunŋ (去); PR суŋ; LR —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>There are two curious exceptions to this general correspondence:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

chóu愁QYS dzjōu
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhiw (平) [zow]
Sin Sukchu SR dzow (平); PR —; LR —

zōu驟QYS dzjōu-
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhiw (去) [zow]
Sin Sukchu SR dzow (去); PR —; LR —
Here the 'Phags-pa forms bear an odd resemblance to certain modern southern dialects; e.g.:

Hànnyǔ fāngyīn zìhui (1989:207)

Sūzhōu Wēnzhōu Méixiàn

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-

zhāng 扎 QYS tʂjang:
'Phags-pa: MGZY jang ( thượng ) [tʂaŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR tʂaŋ ( thượng ); 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 dʐ- > SR dʐ-

chēng 程 QYS dʒāŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY cing (平) [dʒiŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR dʒiŋ (平); PR —; LR —

zhī 直 QYS dʒōk
'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (入) [dʒi]
Sin Sukchu SR dʒi (入); PR —; LR —

This is the usual correspondence. However, there is a sub-class where 'Ph dʐ- corresponds to SR ʐ, as illustrated in the following:
Many of these cases involve the QYS initial dz (chuáng sān mǔ 床三母). Several others have the QYS dz- (chuáng èr mǔ 床二母). In the 'Phags-pa orthography these
are combined with QYS ɻ- (chánmu 禪母) to form a common 'Phags-pa initial, dz-. In
the SR system they are not so combined and have instead become part of SR ɻ-. 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 dz- and ɻ- had
merged into a common voiced affricate initial which was used to transcribe Sanskrit
j (Coblin 1990:206-7). QYS dz- 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 ʂ- > SR ʂ-

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

3.4.5  'Ph ʐ- > SR ʐ-

This is the general correspondence pattern for this initial,
as illustrated in the following:

chéng 銘 QYS ʐjen
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhin (平) [ʐin]
Sin Sukchu SR zin (平) ; PR — ; LR dzịn

shān 善 QYS ʐjän:, ʐjän-
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhen (上去) [ʐen]
Sin Sukchu SR zjen (上去) ; PR (去) ; LR zjen (上)

shàng 上 QYS ʐjäng:, ʐjäng-
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (上去) [ʐan]
Sin Sukchu SR ʐan (上去) ; PR — ; LR —

shèng 盛 QYS ʐjäng-
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (去) [ʐıŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ʐıŋ (去) ; PR — ; LR —
There is however a subsidiary development which is illustrated in the following cases:

chang 常 QYS .staff QY S jian
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

chang 常 QYS zhan
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

chang, shang 襄 QYS zhan
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

cheng 成 QYS zhang
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

cheng 城 QYS zing
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

cheng 盛 QYS zing
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

cheng 承 QYS zhan
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhing (平) [zhan]
Sin Sukchu SR dz_jan (平); PR zjan; LR zjan

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

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

chéń臣 QYS ǰjen
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhin (平) [zjn]
Sin Sukchu SR dzjn (平); PR —; LR —

This is an isolated example. (Compare chén, 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 Ming Guānhuà reading śin (i.e., in addition to his t̡ɕîn), which would correspond regularly to a SR zǐn. 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-

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

3.5 Gutturals

3.5.1 'Ph k- > SR k-

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

3.5.2 'Ph k’- > SR k’-

kái開 QYS khái
'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 gjon; gjon-
'Phags-pa: MGZY kin (上) [gin]
Sin Sukchu SR gin (上); PR —; LR —
Before the 'Phags-pa vowels ʰ and ʰ this initial is generally lost in the SR system; e.g.:

\[\text{yì 義 QYS ngje}\]

'Phags-pa: MGZY ngi (去) [ŋi]
Sin Sukchu SR i (去); PR —; LR —

\[\text{yán 言 QYS ngjen}\]

'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:

\[\text{yí 易 QYS ngje}\]

'Phags-pa: MGZY ngi (平) [ŋi]
Sin Sukchu SR i, (ŋi)* (平); PR —; LR ŋi, i
*Following the Mēnggu yün 蒙古韻.

\[\text{yí 疑 QYS ngiŋī}\]

'Phags-pa: MGZY ngi (平) [ŋi]
Sin Sukchu SR i, (ŋi)* (平); PR —; LR ŋi
*Following the Mēnggu yün 蒙古韻.

In these cases Sin explicitly states that the SR forms in ʰ 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 ʰ variant which seems to have been known in the SR system:

\[\text{niú 牛 QYS ngjæu}\]

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

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

\[\text{yè 業 QYS ngjæp}\]

'Phags-pa: MGZY —; (Inscriptional nge [ŋe])
Sin Sukchu SR nje (入); PR —; LR —
Elsewhere, 'Phags-pa 今 has direct correspondences with SR 今; e.g.:

\[\text{wò 我 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 (今) [ŋɔ]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 今; LR 今} \]

\[\text{ài 爱 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 (今) [ŋai]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 今; LR 今} \]

3.5.5  ‘Ph [-] > SR [-]

\[\text{ài 愛 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 (今) [ŋai]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 今; LR 今} \]

3.5.6  ‘Ph x- > SR x-

\[\text{héi 黑 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 (今) [ŋai]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 今; LR 今} \]

3.5.7  ‘Ph 今- > SR 今-

\[\text{hóng 紅 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 (今) [ŋai]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 今; LR 今} \]

3.5.8  ‘Ph 今-. Correspondences for this initial are illustrated in the following examples:

\[\text{wá 瓦 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 瓦 (今) [fiwa]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 瓦; LR 瓦} \]

\[\text{wài 外 QYS 今:} \]
\[\text{'Phags-pa: MGZY 今 瓦 (今) [fiwe]} \]
\[\text{Sin Sukchu SR 今 (今); PR 瓦; waj; LR waj} \]
We see in these examples that 'Phags-pa ˙- corresponds to two different SR initials, ɲ- and Œ-. 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 ɲ- (yímu 雀母) while those of the second have QYS Œ- (yuìsñmüi 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 ˙- 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  QYS jwet

'Phags-pa: MGZY xwēa (入) [fiye]
Sin Sukchu SR ˙ye (入); PR ； LR —

Here the SR form unaccountably has initial ˙ where the QYS initial was ˙-.

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

yán  QYS jiām

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

yáng  QYS jiang

'Phags-pa: MGZY yang (平) [jan]
Sin Sukchu SR jan (平); PR —; LR —

yǐ  QYS jüi:

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

yū  QYS jiwō:

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

yuán  QYS jiān

'Phags-pa: MGZY ywēan (平) [jyen]
Sin Sukchu SR yen (平); PR —; LR yen

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

cé  QYS ngêk

'Phags-pa: MGZY yay (入) [jaj]
Sin Sukchu SR aj (入); PR ˙aj; LR —
A regular sub-variety of the common pattern is the 'Phags-pa syllable-type [yi],
which regularly yields SR \(\text{vi} \); e.g.:

\[
\text{wéi 惟 QYS jiwi}
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'Phags-pa: MGZY ywi (平) [yi]
  \item Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); PR —; LR —
\end{itemize}

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

\[
yìng 硬 QYS ñeng-
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'Phags-pa: MGZY ying (去) [jiŋ]
  \item Sin Sukchu SR njŋ (去); PR —; LR —
\end{itemize}

\[
yá 涯 QYS ngaï
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'Phags-pa: MGZY yay (平) [jaj]
  \item Sin Sukchu SR njja, jaj (平); PR ja; LR aj
\end{itemize}

\[
yān 眼 QYS ngān:
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'Phags-pa: MGZY yan (上) [jan]
  \item Sin Sukchu SR njjan (上); PR jan; LR jen
\end{itemize}

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 \(\empty{p}\) - in examples of this type. However, it is noteworthy that
all of them had the QYS initial \(\text{ng}\) -. This suggests that in these cases 'Phags-pa had at
some point lost an earlier \(\empty{p}\) -, 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:

\[
wán 玩 QYS nquän-
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'Phags-pa: MGZY on (去) [ɔn]
  \item Sin Sukchu SR ɔwɔn (去); PR wɔn; LR —
\end{itemize}

\[
wò 舞 QYS nguà-
\]

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'Phags-pa: MGZY o (去) [ɔ]
  \item Sin Sukchu SR ɔ (去); PR ɔ; LR ɔ
\end{itemize}
wú 吾 QYS nguō

’Phags-pa: MGZY  u (平) [u]
Sin Sukchu  SR  ŋu (平);  PR —;  LR —

wǔ 五 QYS nguō:

’Phags-pa: MGZY  u (上) [u]
Sin Sukchu  SR  ŋu (上);  PR —;  LR ŋu

Since the ’Phags-pa system lacks syllables of the type ɡwɔn, ɡwo, and ŋu, it is possible to assume here that SR ŋ in these examples is a regular reflex of earlier θ-. 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:

ì ǐ í?
i jì ij? yi yi? in jìn jin win iw jiw im jim
u u’ ue ue’ ye ye’ un wung juŋ un uw
y y’ yn
aj aj? jaj jaj? waj waj? an jaŋ waŋ yaŋ an jan wan aw
aw? waw? jaw jaw? am jam (a a?) ja ja? wa wa?
Aŋ
ën jen yen ew ew? jɛw jɛw? ((yɛw?)) ēm jem (ɛ ɛ? je je?) we we?
ēŋ ɛŋ cɛc ɛŋ cɛc ɛ? ɛw ɛw?
aj? âŋ âŋ ɛŋ ɛŋ ɛŋ ɛŋ

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:
3.7 Finals ² ¹ ²

3.7.1 'Ph - ¹ > SR - ¹

cf QYS zǐ
'Phags-pa: MGZY z³i (平) [zǐ]
Sin Sukchu SR z₁ (平); PR —; LR —

3.7.2 'Ph - ¹. This final occurs exclusively after retroflexes in the 'Phags-pa system. After voiceless affricates it corresponds directly to SR - ¹; e.g.:

cè 割 QYS tʂʰi-
'Phags-pa: MGZY chʰi (去) [tʂʰi]
Sin Sukchu SR tʂʰ₁ (去); PR —; LR tʂʰ₁

Elsewhere it corresponds to SR - ¹; e.g.:

shē 師 QYS ši
'Phags-pa: MGZY shʰi (平) [ši]
Sin Sukchu SR ši (平); PR ši; LR ši

shē 使 QYS ší:
'Phags-pa: MGZY shʰi (上) [ší]
Sin Sukchu SR ši (上); PR ši; LR ši
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 -ṣ 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 -ṣ 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 -ṣ(?) > SR -ṣ(?)

The same is true after the guttural initials k-, kʼ-, and y-; e.g.:
After the gutturals /-, x-, and ? the corresponding SR final is -i; e.g.:

qi 祁 QYS gje³
'Phags-pa: MGZY  ki (平) [gi]
Sin Sukchu SR  gi (平) ; PR — ; LR —

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

yi 意 QYS ?ji-
'Phags-pa: MGZY  'i (去) [?i]
Sin Sukchu SR  'i (去) ; PR — ; LR —

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

zhī 之 QYS tši
'Phags-pa: MGZY  ji (平) [tši]
Sin Sukchu SR  tši (平) ; PR tš˧ ; LR tš˧

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

zhī 指 QYS tši:
'Phags-pa: MGZY  ji (上) [tši]
Sin Sukchu SR  tši (上) ; PR tš˧ ; LR tš˧
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chi 齒 QYS tśʰī:
'Phags-pa: MGZY chi (讕) [tʂʰʼ]
Sin Sukchu SR tšʼi (讕); PR tʂʼ; LR tʂʼ

chi 持 QYS ʥ
'Phags-pa: MGZY ci (平) [dzi]
Sin Sukchu SR dzi (平); PR —; LR —

shī 施 QYS šje
'Phags-pa: MGZY shi (平) [ši]
Sin Sukchu SR ši (平); PR šl; LR šl

shi 时 QYS ži
'Phags-pa: MGZY zhi (平) [zi]
Sin Sukchu SR ži (平); PR žl; LR žl

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

chi 篤 QYS tší-
'Phags-pa: MGZY chi (去) [tʂʼ]
Sin Sukchu SR tsʼ (去); PR —; LR —

chi 翅 QYS šje-
'Phags-pa: MGZY shi (去) [ši]
Sin Sukchu SR tsʼ, ši (去); PR šl; LR tsʼl

Exceptional cases of this type invariably belong the QYS zhàosān series of initials (i.e., tś-, etc.). Now it is noticeable from the various examples given above that, where data are available, the PR/LR system readings usually have final -l in zhàosān initial syllables, whereas the SR system normally has -i in this environment. The presence of -l 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 -l 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) [fิ]
Sin Sukchu SR fî (平); PR —; LR fî
bī 比 QYS piː⁴
'Phags-pa: MGZY bi (↑) [pi]
Sin Sukchu SR pi (↑); PR pāj; LR pi

After m- the correspondence is to SR -jej:

mī 米 QYS mjie³ː-
'Phags-pa: MGZY mi (平坦) [mi]
Sin Sukchu SR mjey (平坦); PR —; LR —

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

3.8.2 ’Ph -ji. This final occurs after initial Ø- and the gutturals. After initials k-, k'-, and y- it corresponds to SR -jej:

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

qī 荦 QYS kʰie⁴
'Phags-pa: MGZY khī (去) [k'ji]
Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (去); PR k'i; LR —

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

yī 伊 QYS jiï;
'Phags-pa: MGZY yi (↑) [ji]
Sin Sukchu SR i (↑); PR —; LR —

yī 伊 QYS ?jiï⁴
'Phags-pa: MGZY Yi (平坦) [?ji]
Sin Sukchu SR ?i (平坦); PR —; LR —

3.8.3 ’Ph -ij? > SR -oij?

hēi 黒 QYS xak
'Phags-pa: MGZY hiy (入) [xij]
Sin Sukchu SR xāj (入); PR —; LR xāj?
3.8.4  'Ph yi > SR ui

věi 唯 QYS jiwi
'Phags-pa: MGZY ywi (平) [yi]
Sin Sukchu SR ui (平); PR —; LR —

3.8.5  'Ph -yi? > SR -yj?

yi 役 QYS jiwāk
'Phags-pa: MGZY ywi (入) [yi]
Sin Sukchu SR ŋyj (入); PR i?; LR —

3.8.6  'Ph -ŋ > SR -ŋ

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

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

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

jing 凱 QYS kjēŋ-
'Phags-pa: MGZY ging (去) [kiŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR kiŋ (去); PR —; LR —

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

zung 准 QYS tśāŋ-
'Phags-pa: MGZY dzing (去) [tsiŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR tsoŋ (去); PR tsoŋ; LR tsoŋ

3.8.7  'Ph -jŋ > SR -ŋ. This is the usual correspondence pattern for this final.
However, there is a significant body of exceptions to this, where the corresponding SR final is -'jN; e.g.:

'Phags-pa: MGZY  zdjęć (平) [kjin]
Sin Sukchu SR  kij (平);  PR —;  LR —
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(i.e., where 'Ph -jiN = SR -iN) 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 xjweng
Phags-pa: MGZY (Hyeng >) hying (平) [xjin]
Sin Sukchu SR xjun(平); PR ─; LR xjun

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

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

jìn 紧 QYS kjen³
Phags-pa: MGZY gin (平) [kin]
Sin Sukchu SR kin(平); PR ─; LR ─

jìn 紧 QYS kjien⁴
Phags-pa: MGZY gin (平) [kin]
Sin Sukchu SR kin(平); PR ─; LR ─

yīn 因 QYS ?jien⁴
Phags-pa: MGZY Yin (平) [?jin]
Sin Sukchu SR Yin(平); PR ─; LR ─

3.8.9 'Ph-win > SR-yn

yún 雲 QYS juan
Phags-pa: MGZY xwin (平) [fiwin]
Sin Sukchu SR yn(平); PR ─; LR ─
3.8.10  'Ph -iw > SR -iw.  This is the general correspondence.

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

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

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

hòu 後 QYS γòu:
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xiw (上) [śiw]
Sin Sukchu  SR  γaw (上) ;  PR — ;  LR —

3.8.11  'Ph -jiw > SR -iw

yòu 幼 QYS ŋìau.4
'Phags-pa: MGZY Yiw (去) [jiw]
Sin Sukchu  SR  γiw (去) ;  PR — ;  LR —

yòu 由 QYS jìu
'Phags-pa: MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]
Sin Sukchu  SR  iwire (平) ;  PR — ;  LR —

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

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

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

However, after labials the corresponding SR final is -im; e.g.:
bǐng 果 QYS pjom:
'Phags-pa: MGZY bim (上) [pim]
Sin Sukchu SR pin (上) ; PR — ; LR —

pǐn 品 QYS phjom:
'Phags-pa: MGZY phim (上) [p’im]
Sin Sukchu SR p’in (上) ; PR — ; LR —

3.8.13 'Ph -jim > SR -im

yǐn 淫 QYS jiom
'Phags-pa: MGZY yim (平) [jim]
Sin Sukchu SR im (平) ; PR in ; LR in

3.9 Finals u u? ue ue? ye ye? 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 tšjwo
'Phags-pa: MGZY chu (平) [t’s’u]
Sin Sukchu SR t’s’u (平) ; PR — ; LR —

cǔ 粗 QYS tshuo
'Phags-pa: MGZY (麤) tshu (平) [t’s’u]
Sin Sukchu SR ts’u (平) ; PR — ; LR —

3.9.2 'Ph -u? > SR -u?

bù 不 QYS pjøu, pjøu:, pjøu-, pjuat
'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:

běi 悲 QYS pji\(^3\)
Phags-pa: MGZY  bue (平) [pue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  pi (平) ;  PR  pøj ;  LR  —

bèi 被 QYS bje\(^3\), bje\(^3\)
Phags-pa: MGZY  pue (上) [pue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  bi (上) ;  PR  — ;  LR  bi

pí 皮 QYS bje\(^3\)
Phags-pa: MGZY  pue (平) [pue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  bi (平) ;  PR  — ;  LR  —

mí 極 QYS mje\(^3\), -:
Phags-pa: MGZY  mue (平上) [mue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  mi (平), mjej (上) ;  PR  maj (平) ;  LR  —

péi 陪 QYS buāi
Phags-pa: MGZY  pue (平) [pue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  buj (平) ;  PR  baj ;  LR  —

měi 妹 QYS muāi:
Phags-pa: MGZY  mue (上) [mue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  muj (上) ;  PR  maj ;  LR  maj

měi 妹 QYS muāi:
Phags-pa: MGZY  mue (去) [mue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  muj (去) ;  PR  maj ;  LR  maj

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 -uāi will have SR -uj, while those with variousDivision III finals will take SR -i.

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

chuī 吹 QYS tʃˈjwe
Phags-pa: MGZY  chue (平) [tʃˈue]
Sin Sukchu  SR  tʃˈuj (平) ;  PR  — ;  LR  —
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dui 對 QYS tuǎi-
'Phags-pa: MGZY due (去) [tue]
Sin Sukchu SR tuj (去); PR —; LR —

However, the following form is exceptional:

wài 外 QYS ngwái-
'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fiue]
Sin Sukchu SR ñwaj (去); PR ñwaj, waj; LR waj

With this we may compare the next two examples:

wèi 位 QYS jwi-
'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fiue]
Sin Sukchu SR uj (去); PR —; LR —

wèi 為 QYS jwe-
'Phags-pa: MGZY xue (去) [fiue]
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 -ue?. After labials this corresponds to SR -i( in QYS Div. III syllables) or -a/ (in QYS Div. I syllables), a configuration which is not explainable in terms of the 'Phags-pa system itself:

bǐ 笔 QYS pjetʰ
'Phags-pa: MGZY bue (入) [pue]
Sin Sukchu SR pi (入); PR —; LR —

mò 墨 QYS mák
'Phags-pa: MGZY mue (入) [mue]
Sin Sukchu SR máj (入); PR —; LR máj?
The pattern here parallels that observed for 'Phags-pa -ue in the preceding section. Elsewhere, 'Phags-pa -ue regularly corresponds to SR -uj: 

guó 国 QYS kwak

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

huó 或 QYS ywak

'Phags-pa: MGZY Xue (入) [yue]
Sin Sukchu SR yuj (入); PR —; LR xuj?

3.9.5 'Ph -ye > SR -uj

guī 规 QYS kjwie4

'Phags-pa: MGZY gûue (平) [kje]
Sin Sukchu SR kuj (平); PR —; LR —

kuí 窺 QYS khjwie4

'Phags-pa: MGZY khûue (平) [k'ye]
Sin Sukchu SR k'uj (平); PR —; LR —

3.9.6 'Ph -ye? > SR -ye?

jué 绝 QYS dzwät

'Phags-pa: MGZY tsûye (入) [dzye]
Sin Sukchu SR dzye (入); PR —; LR —

jué 决 QYS kiwet

'Phags-pa: MGZY gwûa (入) [kye]
Sin Sukchu SR kye (入); PR —; LR —

shuō 說 QYS sjwät

'Phags-pa: MGZY shwûe (入) [gye]
Sin Sukchu SR gye (入); PR —; LR —

3.9.7 'Ph -uŋ. After retroflexes, this final usually corresponds to SR -juŋ:

chông 充 QYS ts’ung

'Phags-pa: MGZY chung (平) [ts'ung]
Sin Sukchu SR ts’jun (平); PR ts’uŋ; LR ts’uŋ
chòng 龍 QYS ʈʰjwong:
'Phags-pa: MGZY chung (上) [ʈʂ’unŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ʈʂ’jun (上); PR ʈʂ’unŋ; LR —

zhōng 中 QYS ʈjunɡ
'Phags-pa: MGZY juing (平) [ʈʂunŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR tʂ’un (平); PR tʂ’unŋ; LR tʂ’unŋ

An exception is the following word:

chóng 崇 QYS dzjunɡ
'Phags-pa: MGZY cung (平) [dzung]
Sin Sukchu SR dz’un (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-��/SR-_jump correspondence.

Elsewhere 'Phags-pa -entropy usually corresponds directly to SR system -��:

dōng 東 QYS tung
'Phags-pa: MGZY dung (平) [tunŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR tun (平); PR —; LR —

gōng 乒 QYS kung
'Phags-pa: MGZY gung (平) [kunŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR kun (平); PR —; LR —

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

hóng 紅 QYS yung
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xung (平) [yunŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR yun (平); PR —; LR —

There are, however, exceptions of the following type:
héng, hèng：QYS ɣwŋ; ɣwŋ-
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xung (ㆢ), Xung (تهديد) [ɣuŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ɣuŋ (ㆢ); PR ɣuŋ; LR —; SR ɣuŋ (تهديد); PR ɣuŋ; LR ɣuŋ or ɣəŋ?

mèng：QYS ㄥməŋ:
'Phags-pa: MGZY ㄥmʊŋ (ㆢ) [mʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ㄥməŋ (ㆢ); PR ㄥməŋ; LR ㄥməŋ

These examples are notable in that they involve the QYS final -(Ɣwŋ), 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 -wʊŋ > SR -ʊŋ. This is an isolated correspondence, for which there is a single representative syllable. It is similar to the examples in the preceding paragraph.

hóng：QYS ㄥwʊŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY ㄥwʊŋ (ㆢ) [ʔwʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ㄥwʊŋ (ㆢ); PR ㄥ; LR —

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

chóng：QYS ㄥdʒʊŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY ㄥdʒʊŋ (ㆢ) [dʒuŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ㄥdʒʊŋ (ㆢ); PR ㄥdʒʊŋ; LR —

cóng：QYS ㄥdzwʊŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY ㄥdzʊŋ (ㆢ) [dzʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ㄥdzʊŋ (ㆢ); PR ㄥdzʊŋ; LR ㄥdzʊŋ

gōng：QYS ㄥkjwʊŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY ㄥkjwʊŋ (ㆢ) [kjʊŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ㄥkjwʊŋ (ㆢ); PR ㄥkjʊŋ; LR —

yǒng：QYS ㄥjiwʊŋ:
'Phags-pa: MGZY ㄥjiwʊŋ (ㆢ) [juŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ㄥjuŋ (ㆢ); PR ㄥ; LR —
However, the following exceptional types occur:

yǒng 永 QYS jwèng:
'Phags-pa: MGZY Ӿyung ( thượng) [fjun]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  juj ( thượng);  PR  juj;  LR  juj

yīng 靈 QYS jiwǎng
'Phags-pa: MGZY Ӿyung (平) [jum]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  juj (平);  PR  juj, iŋ;  LR  iŋ

These examples involve the QYS finals -jwèng and -jiwǎng, which are not found at all among the regular cases. Thus, the SR bifurcation here is explainable in terms of the 'Phags-pa forms.

3.9.10  ’Ph -un > SR -un

běn 本 QYS pǔn:
'Phags-pa: MGZY Ӿun ( thượng) [pun]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  pun (으);  PR  pɔn;  LR  pɔn

cūn 村 QYS tshuàn
'Phags-pa: MGZY Ӿshun (平) [ts'un]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  ts'un (平);  PR  —;  LR  —

3.9.11  ’Ph -uw > SR -ɔw, -u. This final often corresponds to variant forms in the SR system.

móu 謂 QYS mjɔu
'Phags-pa: MGZY (khuw >) wuw (平) [ув]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  mɔw (平);  PR  —;  LR  —

móu 謂 QYS mɔu:
'Phags-pa: MGZY muw (으) [u워]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  mɔw, mu (으);  PR  —;  LR  mu

mǔ 母 QYS mɔu:
'Phags-pa: MGZY muw (으) [u워]
  Sin Sukchu  SR  mu, mɔw (으);  PR  —;  LR  mu
3.10 Finals  

y     y?    yn

3.10.1  'Ph -y > SR -y

chú 除  QYS  djwo

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  cṣu (ד) [dzy]
Sin Sukchu  SR  dzy (ד);  PR —;  LR —

jū 居  QYS  kjwo

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  ḡṣu (ד) [ky]
Sin Sukchu  SR  ky (ד);  PR —;  LR —

jū 居  QYS  dzju:, dzju-

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  tsṣu (ד) [dzy]
Sin Sukchu  SR  dzṣu (ד);  PR —;  LR —

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

qū 拳  QYS  kjuat

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  kṣu (ד) [k'y]
Sin Sukchu  SR  k'y (ד);  PR —;  LR —

qū 拳  QYS  khjwok

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  kṣu (ד) [k'y]
Sin Sukchu  SR  k'y (ד);  PR —;  LR —

zhū 逐  QYS  djuk

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  cṣu (ד) [dzy]
Sin Sukchu  SR  dzy (ד);  PR dzu?;  LR —

shū 逐  QYS  dzjuet

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  cṣu (ד) [dzy]
Sin Sukchu  SR  dzy (ד);  PR —;  LR —

However, after 'Phags-pa initials ʾl-, r-, and ʾz-, the corresponding SR final is -u?;
e.g.:

liū 六  QYS  ljuk

'Phags-pa:  MGZY  lṣu (ד) [ly]
Sin Sukchu  SR  lu (ד);  PR  lu?;  LR  lu?
ròu 肉 QYS ūţjuk
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY zhû (入) [ry]
  Sin Sukchu SR ru (入); PR —; LR ru?

shǒu 熟 QYS ņjuk
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY zhû (入) [zy]
  Sin Sukchu SR zu (入); PR zu?; LR zu?

shú 熟 QYS ņjuk
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY zhû (入) [zy]
  Sin Sukchu SR zu (入); PR —; LR —

3.10.3 ’Ph -yn > SR -yn

chùn 唇・脣 QYS dzjuen
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY çûn (平) [dzyn]
  Sin Sukchu SR zûn (平); PR —; LR —; CPR dzyn

jùn 芸 QYS kju:n
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY gûn (平) [kyn]
  Sin Sukchu SR kûn (平); PR —; LR —

3.11 Finals aj aj? jaj jaj? waj waj? an jaŋ wan yan 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 ?a:i-
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY ’ay (去) [aj]
  Sin Sukchu SR ?aj (去); PR —; LR —

cái 財 QYS dzâi
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY tsû (平) [dzaj]
  Sin Sukchu SR dzû (平); PR —; LR —

kâi 閣 QYS kâi
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY khû (平) [ka:j]
  Sin Sukchu SR kû (平); PR —; LR —
The following correspondences are irregular:

3.11.2 ’Ph -aj? > SR -øj?

bái 白 QYS bek  
’Phags-pa: MGZy pay (入) [baj]  
Sin Sukchu SR boj (入) ; PR — ; LR boj?

zé 擇 QYS ʃek  
’Phags-pa: MGZy cay (入) [dzøj]  
Sin Sukchu SR dzøj (入) ; PR — ; LR —

3.11.3 ’Ph -jaj > SR -jaj

jíê 街 QYS kaî  
’Phags-pa: MGZy gyay (平) [kjaj]  
Sin Sukchu SR kjaj (平) ; PR kj; LR kjaj, kjjej

xié 鞋 QYS ʃaî  
’Phags-pa: MGZy Hyay (平) [ʃjaj]  
Sin Sukchu SR ʃjaj (平) ; PR ʃjej ; LR ʃjej
3.11.4 'Ph -jaj? > SR -əj?

é 颯 QYS ngək
 'Phags-pa: MGZY yay (入) [jaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR əj (入); PR əaj?; LR —

kè 客 QYS khək
 'Phags-pa: MGZY khyay (入) [k'jaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR k'aj (入); PR —; LR k'aj?

The following correspondence is irregular:

gé 格 QYS kək
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gyay (入) [k'jaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR k'aj (入); PR —; LR —

3.11.5 'Ph -waj > SR -waj

guāi 乖 QYS kwāi
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gway (平) [kwaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR kwaj (平); PR —; LR —

huái 惠 QYS ywāi
 'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (去) [ywaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR ywaj (去); PR —; LR —

The following cases are exceptional. They involve syllables having the QYS finals -wai and -wai, 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 话 QYS ywai-
 'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (去) [ywaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR ywa (去); PR —; LR —

huà 惠 QYS ywai-
 'Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (去) [ywaj]
 Sin Sukchu SR ywa (去); PR —; LR —
Finally, the following case is also irregular. Note that the PR system form has the expected correspondence.

shuāi 宋 QYS świ
’Phags-pa: MGZY (zhway >) shway (平) [śwaj]
Sin Sukchu SR ści (平); PR śwaj; LR —

3.11.6 ‘Ph-waj? > SR-uŋ?

huà 画 QYS ṣwak
’Phags-pa: MGZY Xway (入) [ywaŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ụj (入); PR —; LR —

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

bāng 邦 QYS pāŋ
’Phags-pa: MGZY bang (平) [pañ]
Sin Sukchu SR paŋ (平); PR —; LR —

fāng 方 QYS pjaŋ
’Phags-pa: MGZY Hwang (平) [fan]n
Sin Sukchu SR ụaj (入); PR —; LR —

gāng 綱 QYS kāŋ
’Phags-pa: MGZY gang (平) [kan]
Sin Sukchu SR ụaŋ (去); PR —; LR —

lāng 浪 QYS lāŋ-
’Phags-pa: MGZY lang (去) [laŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ụaŋ (去); PR —; LR —

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

chāng 常 QYS žiang
’Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (平) [ţaŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (平); PR —; LR —

shāng 尚 QYS žiŋŋ-, źiŋŋ-
’Phags-pa: MGZY zhang (上去) [ţaŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR țjaŋ (去上); PR —; LR —
3.11.8 ’Ph -jaŋ > SR -jaŋ

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

niāng 娘 QYS ɲaŋ-

’Phags-pa: MGZY ɲaŋ (平) [ɲaŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR ɲaŋ (平); PR —; LR —
3.11.9 'Ph-wañ. After 'Phags-pa gutturals this final corresponds to SR -wañ:

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

wáng 王 QYS jwan
'Phags-pa: MGZY xwang (去) [fiwañ]
Sin Sukchu SR wañ (去) ; PR — ; LR —

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

chuǎng 窗 QYS tʃhăng
'Phags-pa: MGZY chwang (平) [tʃ‘wañ]
Sin Sukchu SR tʃ’añ (平) ; PR tʃ‘wañ ; LR —

zhuàng 撞 QYS dånɡ-
'Phags-pa: MGZY cwang (去) [dziwañ]
Sin Sukchu SR tʃaŋ (去) ; PR tʃwañ ; LR tʃwañ

shuǎng 撞 QYS şåŋ
'Phags-pa: MGZY shwang (平) [şwañ]
Sin Sukchu SR şaŋ (平) ; PR şwañ ; LR şwañ

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-yañ > SR-wañ

kuāng 窗 QYS xjwang-
'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hwyang >) hwyang (去) [xyañ]
Sin Sukchu SR xwaŋ (去) ; PR xyañ ; 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 tshān
 'Phags-pa: MGZY tshan (平) [ts’an]
 Sin Sukchu SR ts’an (平); PR —; LR —

nán 難 QYS nān
 'Phags-pa: MGZY nan (平) [nan]
 Sin Sukchu SR nan (平); PR —; LR —

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

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

gān 乾 QYS kān
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gan (平) [kan]
 Sin Sukchu SR kān (平); PR kan; LR kan

gàn 干 QYS kān-
 'Phags-pa: MGZY gan (去) [kan]
 Sin Sukchu SR k’on (去); PR kan; LR kan

kàn 看 QYS kḥān-
 'Phags-pa: MGZY khan (去) [k’an]
 Sin Sukchu SR k’on (去); PR k’an; LR k’an

hān 幫 QYS xān:
 'Phags-pa: MGZY han (上) [xan]
 Sin Sukchu SR xān (上); PR xan; LR xan

ān 安 QYS ?ān
 'Phags-pa: MGZY ’an (平) [?an]
 Sin Sukchu SR ?ān (平); PR ?an; LR ?an

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

fān 反 QYS pjev:
 'Phags-pa: MGZY h(w)an (上) [fan]
 Sin Sukchu SR fwan (上); PR fan; LR —
3.11.12 'Ph -jan > SR -jan

SR -$\alpha$ and -$\dddot{u}an$ 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.

3.11.13 'Ph -wan > SR -wan. This correspondence is found for 'Phags-pa guttural initial words.
In the following case, which does not have a guttural initial, a rather different
correspondence obtains:

zhuan 撰 QYS dzjwanː, dzwan:
'Phags-pa: MGZY cwan (上) [tswan]
Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (去); PR —; LR —

3.11.14 'Ph -aw > SR -aw

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

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

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

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

cuo 错 QYS tshaw
'Phags-pa: MGZY tshaw (入) [ts'aw]
Sin Sukchu SR ts’aw (入); PR —; LR ts’aw?

3.11.16 'Ph -waw > SR -waw?

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

zhuo 卓 QYS tâk
'Phags-pa: MGZY jwaw (入) [tswaw]
Sin Sukchu SR tswaw (入); PR —; LR tswaw?

The following form is exceptional. The expected form is found in the PR system.
shuò 朔 QYS šāk

'Phags-pa: MGZY shwaw (入) [šaw]

Sin Sukchu SR šaw (入); PR šaw?; LR —

3.11.17 'Ph -jaw > SR -jaw

jiào 教 QYS kau-

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

Sin Sukchu SR kjaw (平去); PR —; LR —

qiăo 巧 QYS khau:

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

Sin Sukchu SR k′jaw (上); PR —; LR —

3.11.18 'Ph -jaw? > SR -jaw?

xué 学 QYS yāk

'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hāw >) Hyaw (入) [yjaw]

Sin Sukchu SR yjaw (入); PR —; LR yjaw?

wò 握 QYS ʔāk

'Phags-pa: MGZY Yaw (入) [ʔjaw]

Sin Sukchu SR ʔjaw; PR —; LR —

3.11.19 'Ph -am > SR -am

fān 凡 QYS bjwem

'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

jiăn 監 QYS kam-, (kam)

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

Sin Sukchu SR kjam (去); PR (kjan); LR kjen
3.11.21 'Ph -ja > SR -ja

jia 家 QYS ka
'Phags-pa: MGZY gya (平) [kja]
Sin Sukchu SR kja (平); PR —; LR —

xia 下 QYS ya; ya-
'Phags-pa: MGZY (Hya >) Hya (上去) [yja]
Sin Sukchu SR yja (上去); PR —; LR —

3.11.22 'Ph -ja? > SR -ja?

jia 甲 QYS kap
'Phags-pa: MGZY gya (入) [kja]
Sin Sukchu SR kja (入); PR —; LR —

xia 蔭 QYS xat
'Phags-pa: MGZY (hya >) hya (入) [xja]
Sin Sukchu SR xja (入); PR —; LR —

3.11.23 'Ph -wa > SR -wa

gua 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 —

wā 瓦 QYS ngwa:
'Phags-pa: MGZY xwa (上) [fiwa]
Sin Sukchu SR ywa (上); PR wa; LR wa
3.11.24  'Ph-wa? > SR-wa?

guā 刨 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) [śwa]
Sin Sukchu SR śwa (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 [æ]. The final corresponds to SR -aŋ.

chuāng 闯 QYS tɕhianq
'Phags-pa: MGZY chʰang (平) [tʃ’Aŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR tʃ’aŋ (平); PR tʃ’waŋ; LR tʃ’waŋ

shuāng 丿 QYS sjianq
'Phags-pa: MGZY shʰang (平) [ʂAŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR şaŋ (平); PR şwaŋ; LR —

zhuāng 壮 QYS tɕjiang-
'Phags-pa: MGZY jʰang (去) [tʃAŋ]
Sin Sukchu SR tʃaŋ (去); PR tʃwaŋ; LR tʃwaŋ

3.13 Finals en jen yen ew ew? jew jew? ((yew?)) ŭm jem (e e? je je?) we we?

3.13.1  'Ph-en > SR-jen

biān 边 QYS bjān:³
'Phags-pa: MGZY pen (上) [ben]
Sin Sukchu SR bjen (上); PR —; LR —

biān 边 QYS bjiān-⁴
'Phags-pa: MGZY pen (去) [ben]
Sin Sukchu SR bjen (去); PR —; LR —
3.13.2 ‘Ph -jen > SR -jen

bian 邊 QYS pien
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY bÿan (平) [pjen]
  Sin Sukchu SR pjen (平) ; PR — ; LR —

jian 建 QYS kjen-
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY gen (去) [ken]
  Sin Sukchu SR kjen (去) ; PR — ; LR —

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

3.13.3 ’Ph -yen > SR -yen

chuan 穿 QYS tshjwån
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY chwÿan (平) [t’s’yen]
  Sin Sukchu SR t$’yen (平) ; PR — ; LR —

quan 犬 QYS khiwen:
  ’Phags-pa: MGZY khwÿan (上) [k’yen]
  Sin Sukchu SR k’yen (上) ; PR — ; LR —

Two exceptional cases are the following:
3.13.4 'Ph-eu > SR-jew

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

shào 燃 QYS sjau
'Phags-pa: MGZY shew (平) [saw]
Sin Sukchu SR sjew (平)；PR sjew；LR —

3.13.5 'Ph-eu? > SR-jew?

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

què 却 QYS khjak
'Phags-pa: MGZY khew (入) [k’ew]
Sin Sukchu SR k’jaw (入)；PR k’ș?；LR k’ș?

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

3.13.6 'Ph-jew > SR-jew

jiāo 叫 QYS kieu-
'Phags-pa: MGZY gǐaw (去) [kjew]
Sin Sukchu SR kjew (去)；PR kjaw；LR —
xiǎo 小 QYS sjāu:
'Phags-pa: MGZY sīaw (上) \[sjew\]
Sin Sukchu SR sjew (上) ; PR sjaw ; LR —

3.13.7 'Ph -jew? > SR -jaw?

què 確 QYS kāk
'Phags-pa: MGZY khāw (入) \[k’jew\]
Sin Sukchu SR k’jaw (入) ; PR k’ā ; LR —

què 雀 QYS tsjāk
'Phags-pa: MGZY dzīaw (入) \[tsjew\]
Sin Sukchu SR tsjaw (入) ; PR ts’jaw? ; LR ts’jaw?

3.13.8 'Ph -em > SR -jem

diǎn 點 QYS tiēm:
'Phags-pa: MGZY dem (上) \[tem\]
Sin Sukchu SR tjem (上) ; PR — ; LR —

niàn 念 QYS niēm-
'Phags-pa: MGZY nem (去) \[nem\]
Sin Sukchu SR njem (去) ; PR — ; LR —

qiān 欠 QYS khjem-
'Phags-pa: MGZY khem (去) \[k’em\]
Sin Sukchu SR k’jem (去) ; PR k’jen ; LR k’jen

shān 閃 QYS sjām:-
'Phags-pa: MGZY shēm (上) \[šem\]
Sin Sukchu SR šjem (上) ; PR — ; LR —

3.13.9 'Ph -jem > SR -jem

xián 嫌 QYS yiem
'Phags-pa: MGZY Hyém (平) \[yjem\]
Sin Sukchu SR yjem (平) ; PR yjen ; LR yjen
yán 鹽 QYS jiām
  'Phags-pa: MGZY yem (平) [jem]
  Sin Sukchu SR jem (平); PR jen; LR jen

3.13.10 'Ph -ве > SR -ye

quě 鵪 QYS giwa
  'Phags-pa: MGZY kwe (平) [gwe]
  Sin Sukchu SR gye (平); PR —; LR —

3.13.11 'Ph -ве? > SR -ye?

jué 雉 QYS kjwet
  'Phags-pa: MGZY gwe (入) [kwe]
  Sin Sukchu SR kye (入); PR —; LR —

3.14 Finals ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ ㄘ

3.14.1 'Ph -ォ > SR -wagon

huáng 黃 QYS .truth
  'Phags-pa: MGZY Xong (平) [y翁]
  Sin Sukchu SR ywan (平); PR —; LR —

huáng 皇 QYS .truth
  'Phags-pa: MGZY Xong (平) [y翁]
  Sin Sukchu SR ywan (平); PR —; LR —

3.14.2 'Ph -ォ > SR -won

bān 鳀 QYS puân
  'Phags-pa: cf. 色 MGZY bon (平) [p翁]
  Sin Sukchu SR pwon (平); PR p翁; LR p翁

duān 端 QYS tuân
  'Phags-pa: MGZY don (平) [t翁]
  Sin Sukchu SR twn (平); PR —; LR —
guān 官 QYS kuān
'Phags-pa: MGZY gon (平) [kɔn]
   Sin Sukchu SR kwon (平); PR —; LR —

3.14.3 'Ph-γɔn > SR-γen

juān 捲 QYS kjwan³
'Phags-pa: MGZY γyɔn (上) [kyɔn]
   Sin Sukchu SR kyon (上); PR —; LR —

quān 勤 QYS khjwen-
'Phags-pa: MGZY khγɔn (去) [k’yɔn]
   Sin Sukchu SR k’yen (去); PR —; LR —

liān 倚 QYS ljwan-
'Phags-pa: MGZY lyɔn (去) [lyɔn]
   Sin Sukchu SR lyen (去); PR —; LR —

3.14.4 'Ph-ɔw > SR-ɔw

fú 浮 QYS bjou
'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwɔ (平) [vɔw]
   Sin Sukchu SR vɔw (平); PR —; LR —

fú 妇 QYS bjou:
'Phags-pa: MGZY Hwɔ (上) [vɔw]
   Sin Sukchu SR vu (去), vɔw (上); PR —; LR vu (去)

3.14.5 'Ph-ɔ > SR-ɔ

duō 多 QYS tā
'Phags-pa: MGZY do (平) [tɔ]
   Sin Sukchu SR tɔ (平); PR —; LR tɔ, twɔ

hē 何 QYS ɡa
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xɔ (平) [ɣɔ]
   Sin Sukchu SR ɣɔ (平); PR —; LR ɣɔ
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3.14.6 'Ph - ŋ? > SR -ə?

gê 割 QYS kêt
'Phags-pa: MGZY go (入) [kɔ]
Sin Sukchu SR kə (入); PR —; LR —

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

hé 合 QYS ɡap
'Phags-pa: MGZY Xo (入) [γɔ]
Sin Sukchu SR ya (入); PR γo?; LR γɔ?

3.14.7 'Ph -wo > SR -wo. 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 swo (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.:

duō 朵 QYS tuâ: 
'Phags-pa: MGZY dwo (上) [twɔ]
Sin Sukchu SR tɔ (上); PR —; LR tə, twɔ

luó 横 QYS luâ
'Phags-pa: MGZY lwo (平) [lwɔ]
Sin Sukchu SR lɔ (平); PR —; LR lɔ
3.14.8 'Ph -wo? > SR -wo?

kuò 闊 QYS khuát
'Phags-pa: MGZY khwo (入) [k’wo]
    Sin Sukchu SR k’wo (入); PR —; LR —

mò 抹 QYS muát
'Phags-pa: MGZY mwo (入) [mwo]
    Sin Sukchu SR mwo (入); PR —; LR mwo?

tuō 脱 QYS thuát
'Phags-pa: MGZY thwo (入) [t’wo]
    Sin Sukchu SR t’wo (入); PR —; LR —

3.15 Finals øj? øŋ ŏn .TXT

3.15.1 'Ph -øj? > SR -øj?

dé 得 QYS tæk
'Phags-pa: MGZY dʰiy (入) [tøj]
    Sin Sukchu SR tøj (入); PR —; LR tøj?

ekè 刻 QYS khak
'Phags-pa: MGZY khʰiy (入) [k’øj]
    Sin Sukchu SR k’øj (入); PR —; LR —

3.15.2 'Ph -sł > SR -sł

kèn 聲 QYS không:
'Phags-pa: MGZY khʰing (上) [k’ǝn]
    Sin Sukchu SR k’ǝn (上); PR k’ǝn; LR k’ǝn

dèng 等 QYS tông:
'Phags-pa: MGZY dʰing (上) [tǝŋ]
    Sin Sukchu SR tǝŋ (上); PR tǝŋ; LR tǝŋ

3.15.3 'Ph -ǝn > SR -ǝn
The following case is exceptional. The PR form shows the expected correspondence.

3.15.4 'Ph -ow > SR -ow

dòu 多 QYS dòu-
'Phags-pa: MGZY tʰìw (平) [dʰw]
Sin Sukchu SR daw (去); PR —; LR —

3.15.5 'Ph -om > SR -om

sēn 森 QYS sjem
'Phags-pa: MGZY shʰim (平) [ʃʰm]
Sin Sukchu SR ʂəm (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, shàng 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 been given in Part 3, in the sections listed and summarized below:

3.1.7  'Phags-pa syllables having the shape [vu?] correspond to SR [vu?] and [mu?] 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  'Phags-pa li- SR has both η- and θ-, with no discernible conditioning factors.

3.6  For 'Phags-pa θ- SR has both θ- and η-. The 'Phags-pa system cannot account for this distinction.

3.8.7  'Phags-pa -jiN corresponds to SR -iN and -ajN. The distinction is not predictable from the standpoint of the 'Phags-pa system.

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

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

3.9.7  'Phags-pa -uj corresponds to SR -uŋ, -uŋ, or -ajŋ in ways for which the 'Phags-pa system cannot account.
3.9.9 'Phags-pa -juŋ corresponds to SR -juŋ and -juŋ 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” (方言基礎/fānyáng jīchǎnɡ) 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 premodern 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 Ming 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, Gē 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 Qīn times. What then is the earlier origin of this hypothetical late Yuán/early Ming 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 Xīnkū 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 Dàdù during the Yuán proper. The Zhōngyuán yīnyín 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, known 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 yīnyín. Yūchí (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.

References


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