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*Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion
to Grammata Serica Recensa*
Axel Schuessler

Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese

A Companion
to *Grammata Serica Recensa*

Axel Schuessler



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PREFACE

Bernhard Karlgren's Archaic Chinese (= Old Chinese, OC) as presented in his standard work *Grammata Serica Recensa* (*GSR*) of 1957 has long been outdated. This present manual is an attempt to update *GSR* with a relatively simple "Minimal Old Chinese" (OCM, for OC-Minimal) which incorporates those features on which there is broad agreement among investigators today. Though this manual can be thought of as a *Grammata Serica Recensa* update, I will refer to it as *Grammata Serica Companion* (*GSC*) for short.

The perception of the mysterious nature and confusing state of OC has been shaped by several factors. First, *GSR* does not present the data in a transparently organized fashion, so that only patient scrutiny reveals what the OC system is, behind Karlgren's bewildering diacritics and phonetic symbols. The ordinary user has to take Karlgren's, or anyone's, authority at face value. Secondly, the experts' arguments are so specialized and arcane that only the initiated are in a position to follow them. The Introduction to this manual attempts to provide an overview over some of the terms and issues, demystify OC if you will, so that outsiders may have some notion of the data, sources and theories on which expert arguments are based. Thirdly, superficially scholars do not seem to agree on much, because they debate unclear issues and not the many features of OC on which there is a tacit consensus. Furthermore, old settled issues in Middle Chinese (MC) and OC phonology are periodically raised again so that the non-expert must conclude that almost all about OC is still up in the air.

Since the publication of *GSR*, historical linguists have tried to simplify and systematize Karlgren's reconstructions, have suggested emendations or their own OC systems which sometimes look as different from each other as if they were different languages. Compare, for example, (P: = Pulleyblank):

		Karlgren GSR	Baxter 1992	Sagart 1999	Pān 2000	OCM
'today'	今	kjəm	k(r)jəm	-im	krūm	kəm
'remember'	念	niəm	nims	[*mə-]nəm-s	mqltums	nîms
'offspring'	子	tsjəg	tsjə?	*tsi?	splū	tsə?
'plum'	李	ljəg	rjə?		b-rū	rə?
'offense'	罪	dz'wəd	dzuj?		sblul	dzûi?
'think, be'	惟	djwər	wjij	*t(ə)-wij		wi
'little bird'	佳	tjwər		*tu[j]	P: kwjəl	tui

After Karlgren, the field seems to have fallen apart. The occasional user of OC material probably finds it difficult or impossible to tell which OC proposals are just an author's latest theories, ideas and speculations, and what is actually widely accepted.¹ For the purposes of OCM, we will attempt to separate generally agreed OC features from more speculative and probing hypotheses — however valuable and insightful they may be — which are often presented in such definitive language that an unsuspecting reader may think he now has the OC language in front of him to work with.

¹ Witness comments like this by the Indo-Europeanist Douglas Adams: "There are a number of 'competing' systems of [OC] reconstruction (Karlgren, Pulleyblank, Li) whose inherent likelihood and mutual interrelationships can baffle the outsider" (*JIES* 23, 3e4, 1995: 401).

The Introduction outlines basic issues in OC phonology since *GSR*, and the rationale for OCM, a relatively simple form of OC, a minimum on which most investigators may agree, and which shows that OC is not quite as enigmatic and complex as it often appears. The OCM forms are “minimal” in several respects: they incorporate only the more widely accepted insights into OC gained since *GSR* was published, but leave out more speculative proposals with their often complex OC reconstructions; OCM is based on simple and less complex hypotheses and assumptions than some other proposals (see Intro. sections 6, 8 and 9); OCM is written in a simple form, similar to recordings of modern dialects. Unfortunately, these objectives need to be compromised on occasion because it is necessary to decide a detail on which there is no consensus, in order to be able to put something on paper. But these doubtful cases will be clearly pointed out.

The user will find, it is hoped, a simple, transparent form of OC that may be useful. This is the essence of this endeavor. As pointed out in section 9.2.5 of the Introduction: The user of this manual can add phonemic elements to OCM forms as he may deem appropriate, but it is difficult, even impossible, for an unsuspecting user to visualize an initial cluster presented to him with a questionable or highly hypothetical element deleted or changed; thus a minimalist form *râuk or *tâm is preferable to writing *g-rauk or *qlam.

A manual like the present one is not the place for original contributions to OC; with few exceptions, all proposals and ideas have been offered in the past by others. OCM is to a large extent a mechanical transcription of Karlgren’s OC into Baxter’s 1992 system with some mostly notational changes. However, the approach to the material on which reconstructions are based is unusual for OC. Often, an investigator asks: could the data possibly support a certain reconstruction? The answer is usually “yes,” and then hypotheses are developed and reconstructions built on a possibility — reconstructions that may, or may not, stand the test of time. We will turn the question around and ask: do the data necessarily compel us to postulate a certain (complex) reconstruction for OC? Our answer is usually “no.” Therefore typical OC sources of MC forms override irregularities and oddities in the phonetic composition of graphs of the kind that often result in complex OC reconstructions. As a result, OCM is eliminating much that is highly hypothetical in others’ (and my former) proposals, is on firmer ground, and appears relatively straightforward.

The user should be aware of some features of *GSC*:

(1) This *GSC* can stand on its own as long as one wishes to look up *pinyin*, MC, LHan and OCM readings of graphs. However, it is really only a companion to *GSR* because it does not repeat other information provided there, such as English glosses, reference to first textual occurrence, and inscriptional forms. In addition to Karlgren’s original *GSR*, the following is available:

Pān Wùyún 潘悟雲, translator and editor. 1997. *Hàn wén diǎn* 漢文典. Shanghai.

Pān’s is a translation of *GSR*. Its merit is a *pinyin* index of all the graphs in *GSR*; but it refers only to Pān’s page, not to the *GSR* series number which is, however, found on that page.² Pān also quotes the text passage of a graph’s earliest occurrence; and he corrects the occasional error.

²*GSR* numbers can also be looked up in Pulleyblank 1991 which, however, does not include graphs which occur only in OC texts; Schuessler *DEZ* (it includes only graphs found in early Zhou texts).

(2) This manual’s Introduction provides a broad sketch of major sources and methods for OC for the lay-person (first parts of the Introduction), as well as explanations for what I am doing and why, for the inquisitive reader (later parts). Each can conveniently skip over sections which are irrelevant for his quest. Because of the manual’s general survey nature, references to scholars and publications are kept to a minimum. That information, the history of ideas and discoveries with proper credits, as well as more detail and depth, is found in:

Baxter, William. 1992. *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*. Berlin.

(3) For further phonological notes and details on OCM, as well as other information (abbreviations, list of languages, bibliography, complete etymological notes) the reader is referred to:

Schuessler, Axel. 2007. *Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese (EDOC)*. Honolulu.

In addition to OCM, *GSC* also provides

- Later Han Chinese (LHan or LH) is the earliest form of Chinese which can be set up without relying heavily on interpretations of phonetic series and morphological speculations. The transcription of LHan forms are much simpler than Karlgren’s/Li’s traditionally quoted MC in that it avoids most of the diacritical clutter and is written in the way modern Chinese dialects are recorded. It also antedates MC by almost half a millennium. At the very least, LHan can be viewed as MC written in a simple notation and adjusted by evidence from Han data.

Originally I suggested that LHan represents a hypothetical conservative strain of the language of about the 2nd century AD. After completing this manual it occurred to me that a more fitting name for this language should be Mid-Han Chinese (MHan), as that stage still had all those features which survived as archaisms in later dialects, and which have been taken into consideration for the conservative LHan forms for this manual.

- This manual also provides the traditional MC readings of graphs (i.e., Li Fang-kuei’s emendations to *GSR*’s ‘Ancient Chinese’) which are often cited for phonological reference. Unlike *GSR*, I will note the *Qieyun* system’s so-called *chóngniǔ* doublets and Divisions (see 2.4). The Divisions can be ascertained in:

Shěn Jiānshì 沈兼士. *Guǎngyùn shēngxì* 廣韻聲系. 1977. Taipei.

Liáng Sēngbǎo 梁僧寶. *Sì shēng yùnpǔ* 四聲韻譜. 1967. Taipei.

In addition to these reconstructed stages of pre-modern Chinese, transcriptions in alphabetic scripts, and Chinese transcriptions of foreign names and words have been cited (see Intro. 1.1). For this purpose I have drawn heavily on many relevant publications of W. South Coblin who has analyzed and interpreted transcriptional data from different periods.

Often, I have added in the right margin Baxter’s 1992 reconstruction which will show the usual similarity with OCM, but also on occasion differences. Baxter 1992 does not, however, represent its author’s current thinking. This will become available in the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction of Old Chinese that provides cutting edge scholarship, with OC forms that may be more complex than OCM and therefore engender discussions for some time before one or other aspect of it (or all) will be widely accepted.

A work like this manual deals with masses of detailed and minute data. *GSR* is nearly error free, Pān Wùyún has caught some of Karlgren’s rare oversights; in addition I have still encountered a couple of slips in *GSR* as well as in Pān; these typically involve erroneous tone

PREFACE

marks, vowel timbres or diacritics.³ The compilation of this present *GSC* required manual copying; every effort has been made to prevent new errors from slipping in.

The present work also includes a comprehensive *pinyin* index.

Organization

The original plan was to retain the sequence of *GSR* numbers since this work is meant to be a companion manual. But syllable types that according to our present knowledge should belong together are widely scattered in Karlgren's work — he grouped the phonetic series strictly by syllable finals with his minutely differentiated OC vowel timbres. Thus syllables of the type *KAN are found in *GSR* 139-143, 184-185, 191-192, 196-198, 249, and 1248. For logic and convenience, we list all syllables with similar initial and identical OC rimes together. *GSC* sorts the OC rime categories into sections (1 to 38). Within phonetic series, the graphs are here also rearranged in a way that brings out subgroups with their phonological characteristics.

This being a by-product of the author's *Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese (EDOC)*, some parts have been taken over from that work, notably Signs and Abbreviations and the References. The *EDOC* ought to be consulted for additional details.

Some OCM and LHan notations differ here occasionally from those in the *EDOC*; they should be considered to supersede the latter.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This manual is a by-product of the project by A. Schuessler, *Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, Honolulu 2007. Therefore I wish once more to express my gratitude and appreciation to Victor Mair who secured financial support through grants from the Freeman Foundation and other generous sources. Furthermore, this manual has benefitted from helpful suggestions by W. S. Coblin, Victor Mair and especially Ch. Harbsmeier. Of course the mistakes are this author's responsibility.

³E.g., *GSR* 1143m 操 should be MC ts^hâu^A, not ts^hâu^B; *GSR* 866i 醞 'some sort of wine' should be read *tí*, not *tí* in Pān's edition. In many instances, dictionaries disagree on Mandarin readings; I usually follow Pān, but in cases of competing pronunciations I often rely on *Gūdài Hànyǔ cídiǎn*.

GSC ENTRIES

- > 'developed into, becomes'
- < 'derives from an earlier form / from an earlier stage of a language'
- > 'loaned to'
- <- 'borrowed from'
- <> separates footnote entries
- ※ 'cognate (to)' or 'allofam' (fellow member in a word family)
- § refer to sections in the introduction to the *EDOC*
- ~ or, variant

- K. = Karlgren's *GSR* number. Rare graphs which I was unable to find in an available font are referred to by their *GSR* letters
- pīnyīn transcription of Mandarin, followed by the Chinese character(s) *zì* 字. When no character exists (as is often the case with colloquial dialect forms) an empty box □ takes its place.
- MC Middle Chinese or Qièyùn system (QYS), ca. AD 600.
- LH Later Han Chinese (also LHan) of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. See §12.1.1. In the text, LHan is usually placed in brackets, thus [ka] = LHan ka unless otherwise identified.
- MHan Middle Han transcriptions of foreign names and words (Pulleyblank 1962; Coblin ms. 1993)
- QYS Qièyùn System = MC
- S alternate Old South form of LHan (from later southern dialects, especially Mǐn)
- S. Siamese (Tai)
- OC Old Chinese
- OCB Baxter's OC (1992)
- OCM Minimal Old Chinese form (starred items)
- R. Rime section (nos. 1 through 38)
- R ! the unexpected rime and tone are confirmed by a rhyme in poetry
- ac acute initials (see 1.4)
- gr grave initials (see 1.4)
- lab OC labial[ized] initials (p...m [kw...]); non-lab = non-labial initials
- w OC initial w- (which allows pre-initial velars and s, z)

- [D] Chinese dialect forms; col. = colloquial form (bai 白), lit. = literary or reading form (wén 文). Dialects (actually Sinitic languages) are identified by location. See §12.1.3. Since many of them are not well known, the dialect affiliation is prefixed to the name of the location. These abbreviations are: G = Gàn, K = Kèjiā (Hakka), M = Mǐn, W = Wú, X = Xiāng, Y = Yuè (Cantonese), Mand. = Mandarin, P = Proto-, as in PMin = Proto-Min (also CMin = Common Min). Place names are sometimes shortened: -m = -men, -zh = -zhou, HK = Hongkong.

- [E] comments on etymology, especially foreign connections (cognates or loans); details and the key to abbreviations are found in the *EDOC*
- [N] introduces further notes or comments
- [T] transcriptions of the Chinese word; these are occasionally provided to show a word's later development (see §12.1):
Sin Sukchu or *Sin S.* (EMing = Early Ming period Chinese); SR 'standard reading,' PR 'popular reading,' LR 'left reading'
 MGZY = *Měnggǔ zìyùn* ('Phags-pa) of the Yuan (Mongol) period (1270-1308)
 ONW(C) = Old Northwest Chinese from about AD 400, as interpreted by Coblin 1994. Occasionally Sui-Tang Chang'an (Coblin's STCA, ca. AD 640) and MTang (Middle Tang, ca. AD 775) forms are also added.
 BTD = Buddhist Transcriptional Dialect (later Han period) (Coblin)
 MHan = Middle Han (pre-BTD) (Coblin ms. 1993; Pulleyblank 1962); sources are mostly the Hanshu and the Hou-Hanshu (HHanshu)

The OC rime categories are arranged and numbered as follows:

1 a	2 ak	3 aŋ
4 ə	5 ək	6 əŋ
7 e	8 ek	9 eŋ
10 o	11 ok	12 oŋ
13 u	14 uk	15 uŋ
16 au	17 auk	--
--	18 ai	19 oi
20 et, e(t)s	21 at, a(t)s	22 ot, o(t)s
23 en	24 an	25 on
26 i	27 əi	28 ui
29 it, i(t)s	30 ət, ə(t)s	31 ut, u(t)s
32 in	33 ən	34 un
	35 ap, op	36 am, om
	37 əp, ip, up	38 əm, im, um

Within rime categories, the phonetic series are arranged by initial types, usually in the following sequence (OCM initials):

k kw w h(w) ?(w) ŋ(w) t l j r n ts s p m

Tables

The entries in the fields consist of MC + LHan + OC *

Horizontal lines = MC (QYS) 'Divisions'

Vertical columns = OC rime categories

Grayed fields show phonologically impossible combinations

R.	= Rime section in GSC
ac	acute initials (see 1.4)
gr	grave initials (see 1.4)
lab	OC labial[ized] initials (p...m, kw...);
non-lab	= non-labial[ized] initials
w	OC initial w- (which permits pre-initial velars and s, z)

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Middle Chinese

Karlgren's MC ('Ancient Chinese') of *GSR* with Li Fang-kuei's emendations (Li 1971: 4-7; 1974-1975: 224-227) will be used here with some additional adjustments (see also 2.2):

(1) The tones will be indicated by superscript letters ABCD; see section 2.2.

(2) Glottal stop will be represented by ?.

(3) ě (ě) will be written e.

(4) ĭ will be written i.

(5) In Karlgren's/Li's MC, the rounded medial is represented as *-u-* in some syllables (ɲuo, gjuən); as *-w-* in others (mwan, kjwän, kjwei); in some syllable types rather inconsistently: there are both *kjuen* and *kjwen*; *kuât*, but the *qūshēng* counterpart *kwâi^C*. To eliminate this confusion, I will write MC *w* for Karlgren's/Li's medial *w* as well as *u*, thus *pwân* (not *puân*), *kjwän*, *kjwən*, etc. Some syllables have a well-established *uo* where I will keep it (kuo, suoŋ). In the Introduction where I specifically cite Karlgren's/Li's MC forms, the *u* may still appear.

After labial initials, the medial *u/w* is redundant — one could write *pân* for *puân*, or *pât* for *pwât*. The Div. I *u/w* is written systematically and well established; it will be retained here (*puân*); but the *w* in Div. II is not applied consistently: Li writes *pwäi* (in analogy to *ɣwäi*); but *pähn* in analogy to *kän*, and not parallel to *kwän*; or *pək* (not *pwək*). Therefore, the *w* will usually be omitted in such Div. II syllables (*pät*, *pək*), as is done by some writers.

(6) The strong palatal medial in *chóngniǔ* Div. IV (here '3/4'; see Intro. 2.4) is represented by *ji* in Li's system (e.g., *pjiän* 4 vs. *pjän* 3). But in some syllable types, it is written simply as *i* without the *j* which is so characteristic of Div. III, 3/4 syllables: *pi* 4, *si*, *kwi*. In light of MC syllables like *kjwie* 4 (vs. *kjwe*), the omission of *j* looks odd, therefore one could write more logically *kjiwi* instead (parallel to *jiwi*, and contrasting with Li's *kjwi* 3). In the *EDOC* I wrote *kjiwi*, etc., but here I will remain close to Li's system and write *kwi* 4. The numbers 3 and 4 which are referring to the *chóngniǔ* division are always added for clarity (*pi* 4, *pji* 3).

(7) Like Karlgren, Li omits the medial *j* in syllables with the single vowel *i* (*źwi*, parallel to *kwi* 4), but Li inserts a *j* with other finals, e.g., *źjwe* (Karlgren *źwie*).

Later Han Chinese

The LHan transcription follows for the most part MC. Note, however, the distinction between *a* and *ɑ*; the latter could also be written *â* if one prefers. See Intro. section 7.

Old Chinese

The Minimal Old Chinese (OCM) phonemes are for the most part Baxter's. The initial consonants are listed in the Introduction 4.6.

Some notational changes to Baxter's system are self-evident, e.g., OCM **kw* for Baxter's *k^w*; since the source of some MC *kw-* is ambiguous, it could derive from **k^w*, **kuV* or **kw < k+w*. Though aspirated initials *p^h k^h t^h ts^h* are unit phonemes in LHan and MC, their OC sources are often voiceless sonorants or may be C+h clusters, hence OCM *ph*, etc.

Voiceless sonorants are marked by an *h*, but are unit phonemes. See Intro. 5.1.5 for details.

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Some OC pre-initials or prefixes which are weakend or lost by MC are hyphenated to avoid confusion with otherwise identical initial configurations, thus lâ-m < *g-râm vs. gam < *grâm; or zjwen < s-win vs. sjwen < swin.

Baxter's (and OCM's) six OC vowels are a i u e ə o. The six vowels are written without additional marks in OCM syllables that correspond to MC Div. III (e.g., 張 OCM *taŋ > LHan tʃaŋ, MC tʃjaŋ). In MC Div. I/IV and II syllables (no medial j), which seem to have been lax (huân 緩) in Later Han Chinese, the OCM vowels are marked with an accent circumflex (as in French *lâche* 'lax') which is here purely symbolic; however:

OC syllable type A (> MC Div. I/IV, II)	â î û ê ô ô
OC syllable type B (> MC Div. III, 3/3, 3/4)	a i u e ə o

E.g., 五 OCM ŋâ? > LHan ŋa^B, MC ŋuo^B; or 我 OCM *ŋâi? > LHan ŋai^B, MC ŋâ^B; note that the MC circumflex â represents a darker a, as in French *lâche*, and is not (directly) related to the symbolic OCM one.

Elements of diphthongs, including the unstressed ones, are written with vowels (i y u), as in modern dialect transcriptions, instead of semi-vowels (j, w), thus 僚 *riâu, for example.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

This list is taken from the *EDOC* and may include abbreviations that do not occur in this manual.

□	no Chinese graph exists (for a dialect word)
✕	cognate, allofam, members of a wf within a language
<>	cognate(s), or loans between languages in either direction; separates forms cited from different language families
=	s. w. as = same word as
~	or, variant
>	develops into
<	derives from
<-	borrowed from
->	loaned into
→	cross-reference
§	section / paragraph of the Introduction to <i>EDOC</i>
a.	and
AA	Austroasiatic (languages)
AAS	Association for Asian Studies
abbr.	abbreviation(s)
ac	acute consonants
acc. to	according to
AM	<i>Asia Major</i>
AN	Austronesian (languages)
aux.	auxiliary (e.g., verb)
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient</i>
Běidà	Běijīng Dàxué: Hànyǔ fāngyán cǐhuì 漢語方言詞匯
BI	bronze inscriptions
BIHP	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology</i> (Academia Sinica, Taiwan) (中央研究院, 歷史語言研究所集刊)
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i> , Stockholm
BSLP	<i>Bulletin de la société linguistique de Paris</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , London
BTD	Han Buddhist Transcriptional Dialect (W. S. Coblin, ms.)
BV	Bahing-Vayu languages (= Kiranti languages; Tibeto-Burman)
[C]	introduces comments on further cognates
CAAAL	<i>Computational Analysis of Asian and African Languages</i>
CDC	Common Dialectal Chinese (J. Norman's reconstruction)
CH	Chinese
CLAO	<i>Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale</i>
cogn.	cognate
[D]	introduces Chinese dialect forms
DEZ	A. Schuessler, <i>A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese</i>
ditr.	ditransitive
E	east(ern); early
[E]	introduces etymological comments
EAC	Dobson, <i>Early Archaic Chinese</i>
EOC	Early Old Chinese, Shang and early Western Zhou

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

f. (ff.)	following page(s)
FY	(1) <i>Fāng yán</i> 方言 by Yáng Xióng 楊雄; (2) the modern journal <i>Fāngyán</i> 方言
G-	Gàn dialects
gr	grave consonants
GSC	<i>Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa</i>
GSR	B. Karlgren, <i>Grammata serica recensa</i>
GY	Guǎng-yùn 廣韻: Yú Nǎi-yǒng 1974. <i>Hù zhù jiàozhèng Sòng běn Guǎng-yùn</i>
GYSX	Shěn Jiānshì 沈兼士. <i>Guǎngyùn shēngxì</i>
Hao-ku	Ulrich Unger, <i>Hao-ku. Sinologische Rundbriefe</i>
HCT	Li Fangkuei 1977, <i>A Handbook of Comparative Tai</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HK	Hong Kong
HOCP	William H. Baxter 1992, <i>Handbook of OC Phonology</i>
HPTB	Matisoff 2003, <i>Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman</i>
HST	W. South Coblin 1986, <i>A Sinologist's Handlist of Sino-Tibetan Lexical Comparisons</i>
ICSTLL	International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics
id.	idem (the same as above)
IG	indo-germanisch ('Indo-European')
intr.	intransitive
IST	R. Shafer, <i>Introduction to Sino-Tibetan</i>
J(.)	Journal
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JAS	<i>Journal for Asian Studies</i>
JCL	<i>Journal of Chinese Linguistics</i>
JCLTA	<i>Journal of the Chinese Teachers' Language Association</i>
JDSW	<i>Jīngdiǎn shìwén</i> 經典釋文 by Lù Déming 陸德明
JGWZ	Lǐ Xiàodìng 李孝定, <i>Jiǎgǔ wénzì jíshì</i> 甲骨文字集釋
JIES	<i>Journal of Indo-European Studies</i>
JP	Jǐng-pō 景頗 (a Tibeto-Burman language)
JR	rGya-rung = Jia-rong (a Tibeto-Burman language)
JWGL	Zhōu Fǎgāo 周法高, <i>Jīnwén gǔlín (bǔ)</i> 金文詁林(補)
K-	Kèjiā (Hakka) dialects
K.	Kachin (a Tibeto-Burman language close to or identical with Jing-po)
Kan.	Kanauri (a Tibeto-Burman language of the Himalayan branch)
KC	Kuki-Chin languages (Tibeto-Burman)
KN	Kuki-Chin-Naga languages (Tibeto-Burman)
KS	Kam-Sui languages
KT	Kam-Tai languages
lab	labial[ized] initial consonants
LAC	Dobson, <i>Late Archaic Chinese</i>
LB	Lolo-Burmese languages (a Tibeto-Burman branch)
LB-M	Matisoff's reconstruction of LB
lg. (lgs.)	language(s)
LH, LHan	Later Han Chinese (Eastern Han)
LL	<i>Language and Linguistics</i> 語言暨語言學 (Academia Sinica, Taipei)
LOC	Later Old Chinese (Zhànguó)
LTBA	<i>Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area</i>
Lush.	Lushai (a Tibeto-Burman language of the Kuki-Naga branch)
M-	Mǐn dialects
M-	Middle (e.g., MM = Middle Mon)
MC	Middle (or ancient) Chinese (ca. AD 600)
MGZY	<i>Měngǔ zìyùn</i>

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

MK	Mon-Khmer languages
MKS	<i>Mon-Khmer Studies</i>
MM, MMon	Middle Mon (an Austroasiatic language)
MS	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
MSOS	<i>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</i>
MY	Miao-Yao (Hmong-Mian) languages
MZYW	<i>Mínzú yǔwén</i> 民族語文
[N]	introduces further notes
n.	noun
Oxx	Old xx (e.g., OC = Old Chinese)
OB	Shang dynasty oracle bone inscriptions
OC	Old (or archaic) Chinese
OCB	Old Chinese, Baxter's reconstruction
OCM	Minimal Old Chinese
OE	<i>Oriens extremus</i>
OL	<i>Oceanic Linguistics</i>
OM	Old Mon (an Austroasiatic language)
ONW(C)	Old Northwest Chinese ca. AD 400 (W. S. Coblin, <i>Old Northwest Chinese</i>)
P	Proto
p. c.	personal communication
PCH	Proto-Chinese
perh.	perhaps
PLB	Proto-Lolo-Burmese (= 'Lolo-Burmese,' LB)
PMin	Proto-Min (J. Norman's reconstructions)
poss.	possibly
prob.	probably
PTai	Proto-Tai
PTib.	Proto-Tibetan
PVM	Proto-Viet-Mong languages
PWA	Proto-Western-Austronesian
PWMiao	Proto-Western-Miao
QY	<i>Qièyùn</i> 切韻
QY(S)	Qieyun system, i.e., MC (or 'ancient Chinese') reconstructions
R.	Rime section
R!	final confirmed by rime in the <i>Shijing</i> or <i>Chuci</i>
S.	Siamese
Siam.	Siamese
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sōrui	Shima Kunio 島邦男, <i>Inkyo bokuji sōrui</i> 殷墟卜辭綜類
SSYP	<i>Sì shēng yùnpǔ</i> 四聲韻譜 by Liáng Sēngbào
ST	Sino-Tibetan
STC	Paul K. Benedict, <i>Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus</i>
SV	Sino-Vietnamese
sv.	stative verb
SW	Xǔ Shèn 許慎, <i>Shuōwén jiězì</i> 說文解字
SWJZGL	Dīng Fúbǎo 丁福保, <i>Shuōwén jiězì gǔlín</i> 說文解字詁林
s. w. as	same word as
[T]	introduces transcriptional forms
TB	Tibeto-Burman
TSR	James A. Matisoff, <i>The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited</i>
Tib.	Tibetan
tr.	transitive
vb.	verb
Viet.	Vietnamese

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

W	west(ern)
W-	Wú dialects
w	OC syllables with initial *w-
WB	Written Burmese
wf(s)	word family (families)
W(r)	Written-
WT	Written Tibetan
WTib.	Western Tibetan dialects
X-	Xiāng dialects
XS	xiesheng series (phonetic series)
Y-	Yuè dialects (Cantonese)
YWYJ	<i>Yǔwén yánjiū</i> 語文研究
YYWZX	<i>Yǔyán wénzì xué</i> 語言文字學
Zang-Mian 1992	Huáng Bùfán 黃布凡 et al., <i>Zàng-Miǎnyǔ zú yǔyán cíhuì</i> 藏緬語族語言詞匯
ZGYW	<i>Zhōngguó yǔwén</i> 中國語文
ZM92	Zang-Mian 1992 (Beijing)
ZWDCD	<i>Zhōngwén dàcídiǎn</i> 中文大辭典

**Minimal Old Chinese
and Later Han Chinese**

INTRODUCTION

1 APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF CHINESE

The Chinese language has a long documented history that started with the writing on the Shang Dynasty oracle bones around 1250 BC. The most important pre-modern stages of the language are Old Chinese (ca. 1000 to 200 BC) and Middle Chinese (around AD 600). This 'Companion to *Grammata Serica Recensa*' ('*Grammata Serica* Companion', or *GSC* for short) is concerned with Old Chinese, but cites the conventional Middle Chinese forms, and adds an intermediate layer of Later (Eastern) Han Chinese (ca. 1st cent. AD). Later Han Chinese (LH, LHan) was intended to represent a hypothetical conservative strain of the period; it could, with hindsight, be considered Middle Han Chinese of the first centuries BC and AD.

Records in alphabetic writing provide the best information on the phonology of earlier stages of Chinese; these reach back to the Yuan Dynasty, the late 13th century (see 1.1 below). Beyond that, Chinese transcriptions of foreign words, especially in Buddhist literature, reach back to the Han period (206 BC to AD 220). But these transcriptions tell us only what at the time a Chinese translator found to be the nearest Chinese equivalent to a foreign sound (*bâ-lâ* for Indic *brah-*, for example). The methods of comparative historical phonology offer another approach by comparing modern dialects in order to reconstruct their common ancestor (Common Dialectal Chinese, 1.2), leading us back no farther than the middle of the 1st millennium AD, though. Middle Chinese (MC) is reconstructed with a philological approach, through the rime dictionary *Qiyèyùn* of AD 601 (section 2 below).

Old Chinese (OC) is only indirectly recoverable; its two major foundations are (1) MC, and (2) the writing system and rimes in poetry (3 below) that reveal abstract phonological categories which are filled with MC phonological content. The OC writing system has evolved over a thousand years until it was standardized around 200 BC. Therefore OC is not really 'a language', since the OC reconstructions represent information on the reading of graphs that may come from different centuries and, we must assume, also different dialects. This is the best we can do. When setting up *shéng* 繩 as OC *m-ləŋ 'rope', the *m- disappeared perhaps around 1000 BC, while the *l had lost its lateral feature before 100 BC or so. On the other hand, a simple word like 'five' *ŋa may not have changed much during the first millennium BC. Overall, an OC form gives us a good idea of what a word was, phonemically and historically, during the Zhou period, thus *m-ləŋ is from a historical and linguistic standpoint an early, informative and relevant form — however Confucius might have pronounced it.

1.1 Alphabetic records

The phonologically most accurate recordings of Chinese are in alphabetic scripts. Missionary publications and documents from the 17th century onward have used transcriptions in the Latin alphabet (e.g., Francisco Varo, late 1600; see Coblin 2006). Pre-missionary transcriptions of Chinese in Korean (by Sin Sukchu) and 'Phags-pa alphabets (derived from Tibetan) reach back to the early Ming (14th century) and late Yuan (Mongol) period (13th century AD), Tangut material even to the end of the 12th century (Gong Hwang-chenng 1989). In *GSC*, samples of early transcriptions are provided as an additional 13th-14th century stage of Chinese (after the symbol [T] — these forms kindly provided by W. S. Coblin):

Sin Sukchu or *Sin S.* (EMing = Early Ming period Chinese); *SR* 'standard reading,' i.e., the reading pronunciation; *PR* 'popular reading' is the vernacular; *LR* 'left reading' (by a different recorder).

MGZY = *Měngǔ zìyùn* 蒙古字韻 ('Phags-pa) of the Yuan (Mongol) period (1270-1308) (Coblin 2007).

Even earlier, Tang period documents found in Dunhuang include Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese words, as do Tibetan inscriptions of AD 822 in Lhasa. However, these transcriptions do not indicate tones, and the material is not as plentiful as the later alphabetic records.

Information on still earlier stages of Chinese is available in the form of transcriptions of foreign words with Chinese graphs, mostly transliterations from Indic (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Gandhari). A corpus of transcriptional forms is the basis of Coblin's

ONW(C) = Old Northwest Chinese of about AD 400 (Coblin 1994).

On a few occasions Sui-Tang Chang'an (Coblin's STCA, ca. AD 640) and MTang (Middle Tang, ca. AD 775) forms are also added. Buddhist transcriptions from the Eastern Han period (2nd cent. AD) have been investigated by Coblin (1982, 1983, 1993); they are utilized here for the reconstitution of Later Han Chinese. Earlier Middle Han (MHan) transcriptions of foreign names and words are quoted from Coblin ms. 1993; his source was primarily Pulleyblank 1962.

1.2 The comparative method and internal reconstruction

The standard approach to historical reconstruction is the comparative method; three or more of today's seven major 'dialects', more accurately 'Sinitic languages', are compared and through 'triangulation' their common proto-forms reconstructed. The Chinese term translated as 'dialect', *fāngyán* 方言, lit. 'regional speech', can refer to any local Chinese language or dialect. The Sinitic languages are: Modern Standard Chinese, conventionally called 'Mandarin' (*guānhuà* 官話, or *pǔtōng-huà* 普通話, *guóyǔ* 國語), Wú 吳 (major cities include Shanghai and Suzhou), Gàn 贛 (Nanchang), Xiāng 湘 (Changsha), Yuè 粵 (= Cantonese), Kèjiā 客家 (= Hakka; a major city is Méixiàn), and Mǐn 閩 dialects (Fuzhou, Xiàmén = Amoy). This list of seven dialects follows a practical convention, yet the lines separating dialect groups can be fuzzy, and other configurations have also been suggested. Except for Mǐn and the oldest colloquial layer in southern dialects (Norman's 'Old South'), the phonological categories of modern dialects correlate with the Middle Chinese (MC) categories of the rime book *Qièyùn* (see 2.1). Since information from modern dialects provides the phonological basis for MC, GSC occasionally cites dialect forms for illustration (after the symbol [D]).

J. Norman (2006) has compared modern dialects, excluding Mǐn, and arrived at common forms, Common Dialectal Chinese (CDC). For example, Mandarin mén 門, Shuangfeng *mien*, Meixian and Guangzhou *mun* all derive from a CDC *mun*². With this method one can reach back as far as the Tang period (ca. AD 600-800), perhaps.

Of particular interest for pre-MC are the archaic Mǐn dialects, because their phonology and that of Old South cannot always be correlated with the categories of the *Qièyùn*; therefore these dialects must have separated from the rest of Chinese before MC, probably as a consequence of migrations during the Qin-Han dynasties (221 BC-AD 220). (Proto-Mǐn [or 'Common Mǐn'] forms cited here are earlier reconstructions by J. Norman.) For example, the Mǐn and general Old South word for 'I, me' *ŋai*^B (Mand. wǒ 我) is not an analogue of MC

ŋā^B; Mandarin *cháng* 長 'long' agrees with MC *djaŋ*, whereas Mǐn would correspond to a MC *dāŋ*; *shí* 石 'stone' agrees with MC *žjak*, while Mǐn would correlate to a MC (d)žjak; *tiān* 天 'heaven' corresponds to MC *t^hien*, while Mǐn points to *t^hân*; *yú* 魚 'fish' corresponds to MC *ŋjwo*, while some Mǐn forms have initial *h*- instead of *ŋ*-; *liù* 六 'six' has initial *s*- in northern Mǐn dialects. Also the Mǐn vocabulary is more archaic, thus the word for 'dog' is etymologically the *quǎn* 犬 of classical texts, while this has been replaced in other dialects by *gǒu* 狗.

Internal reconstruction is another tool of historical linguistics; it will be successfully applied in section 4.

1.3 The philological approach

The reconstruction of MC and OC are not possible through the above material and methods because of the non-phonetic writing system and the impossibility of triangulation (OC has no known dialects or Sinitic sister languages). The reconstruction of MC is based on rime dictionaries and rime tables; see section 2 below. MC is projected back into OC, i.e., MC forms must by default be assumed to have been the same in OC unless there is OC evidence that requires adjustments. OC evidence is provided by the (fortunately many) graphs which are phonetic compounds with corroborating support from rimes in poetry (section 3), and by phonological distributional patterns (section 4). Sections 5 to 9 of this Introduction are concerned with the philological approach because this is the main path to OC.

This philological procedure for recovering MC and OC is not 'reconstruction' in the usual sense of historical linguistics; it is more like 'interpreting' the Chinese characters (Coblin). But since the term 'reconstruction' is well established, we will continue to use it.

1.4 Segments of a Chinese syllable

Sinitic languages (Chinese dialects) share many areal features with neighbors. With the likely exception of OC, all forms of Chinese, including all modern dialects, are tonal languages. OC and MC were monosyllabic languages (one word = one syllable = one graph), notwithstanding bisyllabic expressives (like Engl. *ding-dong*) and a few other words, notably names for insects (like Mandarin *húdié* 蝴蝶 'butterfly', *mǎyǐ* 螞蟻 'ant'), which are seized upon by those who want to disprove the 'monosyllabic myth'; technically they may have a point, depending on the definition of a 'monosyllabic language'. It is sometimes hypothesized that OC may also have had 'sesquisyllabic' (Matisoff) or 'iambic' (Sagart) words, i.e., with an unstressed pre-syllable.

What matters for MC and OC phonology is that a Chinese graph writes a **syllable** which linguists analyze as consisting of segmental and supra-segmental phonemes. For example, the MC syllable *kjaŋ*^B:

k	= initial, initial consonant
jaŋ ^B	= final
aŋ	= rime (rhyme), rime category (i.e., the final without medial(s), tone and vowel gradations like <i>ǎ</i> , <i>ɛ</i>)
j	= medial, medial glide (j, w) or medial vowel (u, i)
a	= vowel
ŋ	= coda, final consonant
B	= tone

Syllables can have an additional medial *u* or *w*, called *hékǒu* 合口 'closed mouth', i.e., 'rounded mouth' (2.4). Thus MC *kjaŋ* has a *hékǒu* counterpart MC *kjwaŋ*, or MC *kân* vs. *kwân*, etc. A syllable without medial *w/u* (like *kjaŋ*^B) is called *kāikǒu* 開口 'open mouth'.

Certain initial consonants can occur only before certain categories of finals (see 2.4; 4.1). Occasionally, finals of a rime category differ depending on whether the initial consonant is grave or acute (see more details in 4.6):

grave consonants are all labials (p p^h b m) and gutturals (velars k k^h g ŋ, and laryngeals h x ɣ ?), i.e., where in articulation the tongue is not involved

acute consonants are all others: dentals (t n s ts etc.), retroflex (tʂ, ʂ ...), palatals (tʃj ...), lateral (l), i.e., those where the tongue is involved

After acute initials, the OC final *-un, for example, developed a high glide in front of the dental final (OC *run > LHan luin, MC ljwen), but after grave initials, no glide emerged, or the glide was a less prominent ə (OC *kun > LHan kun > MC kjwən).

1.5 Ancient stages and dialects

Before delving into the matters at hand, it is important to remember that the pre-modern stages of Chinese, which are known only from written records, represent literary standards, koinés, but probably not spoken dialects of specific regions. Yet vernacular variants and dialects must have existed at earlier times, just as today. Literary readings of graphs vs. a vernacular language are attested for the early Ming period (Coblin 1999; 2001). Earlier, the preface to the rime dictionary *Qièyùn* (AD 601), the basis of MC, points out that at that time the reading pronunciations of north and south differed.

Commentators and philologists of the Han period (206 BC-AD 220) were aware of dialectal differences. Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (53 BC-AD 18) has collected dialect words in his *Fāngyán* 方言. Rimes in poetry and sound gloss patterns also allow conclusions about specific regional dialects (Coblin 1983: 20-26). For example, a few features of the Shandong (ancient Qí 齊) dialect are revealed by the commentator Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (AD 127-200), a native of Shandong who worked in Luòyáng (for a biographical sketch, see Coblin *MS* 34, 1979-1980: 265), as well as by his contemporary and fellow Shandong native Liú Xī 劉熙 (ca. AD 200), author of the *Shì míng* 釋名 (Bodman 1954; Miller in M. Loewe 1993: 424ff). Their dialect distinguished the OC rimes *-a and *-o, while these have merged in the language of other Han writers and poets. Zhèng's dialect also had lost final *n* in some environments. In Xǔ Shèn's language (d. AD 149), OC *-wa (III) and *-o (III) had merged, as they have in modern dialects. Zhèng Xuán still retained the OC rime *-ai (as do modern Mǐn dialects whose first wave of immigrants came from Shandong during the Qin and Han dynasties). In early Eastern (Late) Han, the dialect of Cháng'ān had a final velar -ŋ in fēng 風 'wind', while the Luòyáng dialect in Central China still retained final -m (Coblin *AO* 48, 1987: 107).

According to Baxter the OC language of the *Shijing* and the phonetic loans and compounds of graphs had merged the syllable types *mô and *mâ (> *mâ), while there must have been an OC dialect ancestral to MC which distinguished these two (MC 母 mǎu vs. 每 mǎi).

A historical stage of Chinese is not necessarily a direct descendent from the previous one. For example, what is called 'Mandarin' was until the middle of the 19th century a standard based on the Nanjing dialect, the old capital city of the Ming Dynasty; but after the destruction of Nanjing during the Taiping rebellion in 1864, Mandarin shifted to a standard based on the dialect of Beijing, the capital of the Manchu empire since the 17th century.

2 MIDDLE CHINESE AND THE *QIÈYÙN*

Middle Chinese (MC, Karlgren's 'Ancient Chinese' = Anc. Ch., Zhōnggǔ Hànyǔ 中古漢語) of around AD 600 is the point of departure for investigations of pre-MC stages of the language, because MC is the earliest form of Chinese which is known from a comprehensive rime dictionary and phonological tables. (Chao Yuen Ren started the habit, followed by some authors, of using in Chinese linguistics the English spelling 'rime' for 'rhyme.') The reconstruction of MC is based on the rime dictionary *Qièyùn* and its interpretation through rime tables which have been created centuries later. However, these MC forms include, at least symbolically, all available phonological information for a given syllable and are therefore often cited as points of reference for older stages of Chinese as well as modern dialects.

This present manual on OC is not the place to debate the issues and controversies relating to MC and the QY. The following sections summarize only some relevant points about MC.

2.1 The rime dictionary *Qièyùn*

The basis for MC is the rime dictionary *Qièyùn* 切韻 (QY) by Lù Fǎ-yán 陸法言 (completed in AD 601). Best known among the later enlarged versions are the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 (GY; AD 1007-1008) and the *Jiyùn* 集韻 (JY; AD 1038-1039). The latter include characters which are rare or not attested in actual texts; some variant readings of graphs may be "informed rationalizing guesses on how a graph ought to be read rather than observations on how they are read, or reports how in earlier sources they were said to be read" (Ch. Harbsmeier, p.c.). Hence one cannot always be sure if one deals with 'real' words or with lexicographic ghosts.

The QY lists graphs in homophone groups which are separated by a circle (*niǔ* 紐); these groups are combined into **rime categories**. The sound of a graph or homophone group is suggested by a *fǎnqiè* 反切 spelling. This system has been used since the 2nd century AD in commentaries and dictionaries to indicate pronunciation. A word is split into its initial (consonant) and its final (what comes after it; see 1.4 above); each is expressed by a 'speller', the first ('upper') indicates the initial, the second ('lower') the final; for example, *dōng dé hóng fǎn* 東德紅反 means that *dōng* 東 is spelled *dé* 德 (t[ək]) + *hóng* 紅 ([ɣ]uŋ^h) = tuŋ^h (from Baxter 1992: 33).

The QY material is organized and interpreted through Sòng Dynasty **rime tables**, the earliest and most important of which is the *Yunjing* 韻鏡 (prefaces from AD 1161 and 1203). The table format brings out systematic relationships among and within rime categories (or rime groups, *yùnbù* 韻部). Within a rime category, individual finals belong to one of four *děng* 等 'divisions' or 'grades' (see below 2.4).

The often cited rimes of the QY as interpreted through the rime tables are summarized in many publications on the subject, for example, in

Baxter 1992: 65-85

Pulleyblank 1962: 72-73; 1984: 238ff.

Li Fāng-kuei 李方桂 1971. Shàngǔ yīn yánjiù 上古音研究. *Tsing Hua J. of Chinese Studies*, n.s. IX, 1&2: 1-61 (see p. 21f). In English: Gil Mattos, translator, Li Fang-kuei, *Studies on Archaic Chinese. MS 31* (1974-1975): 219-287 (see p. 226f).

Pān Wùyún 潘悟云 2000. *Hànyǔ lìshǐ yīnyùnxué* 漢語曆史音韻學, p. 83ff.

The QY and the rime tables provide only *categories* of initial consonants and of finals. These empty categories need to be filled with phonological content. For this purpose, Karlgren

collected the pronunciations of graphs from several modern dialects as well as from Chinese loan readings in Sino-Japanese. Thus he concluded, for example, that the initial consonant of dé 德 was in MC *t-*, and that the rime must have been MC *-ək* (cf. Cantonese *tek*⁵⁵).

The nature and linguistic value of the *Qièyùn* and the language it represents has long been a matter of debate which colors one's attitude towards MC as well as OC. Lù Fǎ-yán's preface makes some points clear: the *Qièyùn* was written for those interested in literary pursuits, "for use in writing literature and in vocalizing literary texts" (Coblin, *JCL* 24.1: 95). It incorporated much information from earlier, now lost, dictionaries and commentaries. What prompted the compilation was the realization among Lu and his friends that north and south differed in their pronunciation. Thus the MC of the *QY* does not represent a language that was actually spoken, but reading traditions of the literati (Coblin and Norman *JAOS* 115.4 [1995]: 580).

In light of these and other caveats (see 2.5), Coblin and Norman proposed the term "Qièyùn System" (QYS) instead of 'MC' to refer to this somewhat artificial dictionary / rime table construct. 'MC' is a well-established term, but we will occasionally prefer 'QYS', especially when referring to features which are not reflected in an actual language, but only exist in this *QY* system, such as 'categories' and 'Divisions' (see 2.4).

2.2 MC notational systems

Today 'MC' usually means Karlgren's 'Ancient Chinese' as emended by Li Fang-kuei (1971; 1974-1975) who simplified Karlgren's MC by eliminating some non-distinctive diacritics — he replaced Karlgren's *i* by *j*; he indicated aspiration by *h* (*phj-* for Karlgren's *p'j-*); etc. Those who cite Karlgren/Li have often further eliminated non-contrastive features, such as non-phonemic distinctions between medial *w* and *u* after labials (see the note on Transcriptions in the front matter).

There are alternative proposals for MC, most notably Pulleyblank 1984; 1991. In spite of improvements over Karlgren / Li, Pulleyblank's MC does not have as much practical value because the author introduced his own complex notations (*-ɛjk*, *-æp*, *puawŋ*, and the like), and because many words which occur only in OC texts are of course not listed in an inventory of MC. Baxter's version of MC (Baxter 1992: 27-85, especially the charts on p. 45 and on pp. 82-85) is a computer-friendly notation without IPA symbols, so that a not immediately transparent phonetic value needed to be assigned to some ordinary English letters. In the end, the Karlgren/Li version appears to be the most often cited.

2.3 Middle Chinese tones

The *QY*'s MC had four tones: A *píngshēng* 平聲 'level' or 'even' tone; B *shǎngshēng* 上聲 'rising' tone; C *qùshēng* 去聲 'departing' or 'falling' tone; D *rùshēng* 入聲 'entering' tone, i.e., a short-stopped syllable ending in *p*, *t*, or *k*. A 'tone D' syllable can be viewed as toneless so that only three of the traditional four 'tones' remain.

I will use these letters for tone notations as is done in modern dialect studies, and add them as superscript letters to a MC (as well as LHan) syllable: thus MC *k^huo^B* for Karlgren's *k'uo-*; *kuo^C* for his *kuo-*. As long as one notes tones B and C, tones A and D can be left unmarked. Occasionally, I may add A for the first MC tone to emphasize that this, and not a potential other one, is intended.

MC still had voiced initial consonants like *gdbz*, but their later devoicing caused a split into so-called *yīn* 陰 (MC *ʔjəm^{A1}*) tones after voiceless initials (e.g., *ʔ-*), and *yáng* 陽 (MC *jian^{A2}*) tones after most voiced initials (e.g., *ji-*), resulting in a post-MC category of four *yīn* series

tones A1, B1, C1, D1, and a corresponding *yáng* set A2, B2, C2, D2. As a result, Chinese dialects can have up to eight tones, rare further splits may lead to additional ones. In most dialects, the tones have coalesced again into a smaller number, in Mandarin into four where MC tone A *píngshēng* split into a *yīn píng* (Mand. tone 1) and a *yáng píng* (Mand. tone 2), so that Mand. syllables like *dāng* and *tāng* had the same MC tone (*tâŋ^A*, *dâŋ^A*).

MC	Mand.	MC	Mand.	MC	Mand.
tâŋ ^A > A1	dāng	dâŋ ^A > A2	tāng	t ^h âŋ ^A > A1	tāng
tâŋ ^B > B1	dǎng	dâŋ ^B > B2	dàng	t ^h âŋ ^B > B1	tǎng
tâŋ ^C > C1	dàng	dâŋ ^C > C2	dàng	t ^h âŋ ^C > C1	tàng
tâk ^D > D1	duò	dâk ^D > D2	duò	t ^h âk ^D > D1	tuò

Also in Mand. and some other dialects, *yángshǎng* 陽上 tone B2 merged with *qùshēng* (tone C) (*shǎng guī qù* 上歸去 "tone B goes to C"). Therefore the four MC tones do not correlate directly with the later four Mandarin tones:

Mand. tone	MC	Mand. tone	MC
1	dāng (A1)	1	tāng (A1)
2	—	2	tāng (A2)
3	dǎng (B1)	3	tǎng (B1)
4	dàng (B2, C1, C2)	4	tàng (C1)

This is a simplified summary; some syllable types have their own tonal developments. For instance, after MC nasal initials and *l-*, the *yángshǎng* tone behaves like a *yīn* tone.

2.4 The QYS (MC) medials and 'Divisions' 等

The rime tables systematize the *QY* material and place the graphs of every rime category into one of four so-called "Grades" or "Divisions" ('Div.', *děng* 等), resulting in up to four different finals within a rime. A *děng* can be envisioned as a row in the rime tables:

- Div. I: Modern words in the first Division have no palatal medial (Mandarin *gai*, *lang*, *gong*, etc.), only initial consonants can occur which are non-palatal, not retroflex, not affricated (except *ts-*...), or not dentilabialized, which leaves MC *k-*, *t-*, *p-*, *l-*, *s-*, etc.; see 4.1.
- Div. II: also has no palatal medial, but the MC vowels have a special timbre which caused a rather recent palatalization of velars (家 *jiā* < *ka*); MC Div. II vowels in Karlgren's / Li's system are *a*, *ã*, *ǎ*, *ɛ*, *ɛ*. Only grave (labial and guttural; see 1.4) and retroflex initials (*t-*, *tɕ-*, *ʃ-*) can occur in this Division, but no dentals and palatals.
- Div. III: includes words with a palatal post-initial glide, i.e., Karlgren's MC medial 'yod' *j* = Li's *j*; words in this Division have in Mandarin medial *i*, or affricate, sibilant or dentilabial initials, e.g., *liang*, *jiang*, *chong*, *fen*, etc). There are no dental initials (*t^h d n*).
- Div. IV: includes syllables with a prominent medial *i* after the same initials as in Div. I (Mand. *tiān*, *diǎo*, etc.). Because of this and because of complementarity (no main vowel *e* in Div. I, only main vowel *e* in Div. IV), Div. IV belongs structurally to Div. I. Therefore one can combine them into 'Div. I/IV'.

A defining feature of a Division is the presence or absence of a medial *yod j* or *i*: there is no medial in Div. I and II, *j* in Div. III, *i* in Div. IV. Div. III *j* mixes freely with Div. I, II and IV syllables in phonetic series (see below) as well as word families (*kjān*, *kân*, *kǎn*). The other medial *w* or *u* marks so-called *hékou* 合口 'rounded mouth' syllables (MC *kjwan*, *kwân*)

(Karlgren/Li write *w* in some syllables, *u* in others); syllables without this bilabial medial are called *kāikǒu* 開口 ‘open mouth’ (MC *kjaŋ*, *kân*). The MC *w* is, however, of a completely different nature from medial *j*. The latter is tied to Division III, but the medial bilabial can occur in any Division and freely combine with Div. III *j* (-*ju*-) and Div. IV *i* (-*iwe*-): *kwân*, *kjwân*, *kiwen*. The medial *w/u* belongs to a word’s root, hence *hékǒu* words do not mix with *kāikǒu* words in phonetic series (see below) and word families. Similarly, Div. IV *i* also belongs to a word’s root. For the description of syllable structure *kāikǒu* examples suffice, because the *hékǒu* counterparts are predictable.

Karlgren reconstructed MC finals belonging to the four divisions of rime category *-an*, for instance, as follows:

Div.		Mand.	MC <i>kāikǒu</i>	Mand.	MC <i>hékǒu</i>
I	寒	hán	γân	官 guān	kwân
II	顏	yán	ŋan	關 guān	kwan
III	健	jiàn	kjen ^C	緘 qiǎn	k ^h jwɛn ^B
IV	見	jiàn	kien ^C	犬 quǎn	k ^h iwen ^B

Some rimes, such as *-an*, have an additional set of finals with medial *j*, the so-called *chóngniǔ* doublets. As we have seen, a circle called *niǔ* 紐 ‘knot, button’, marks the start of a set of homophones. In some rimes a set is followed by a superficially identical one (looking like a ‘doublet’) which is introduced with a ‘second button’ (*chóngniǔ* 重紐). But one set is placed in Div. III, one in Div. IV. We will write a 3 or 4 after a *chóngniǔ* syllable, and refer to the subdivisions as 3/3 (*chóngniǔ* Div. III) and 3/4 (*chóngniǔ* Div. IV) respectively:

Div.		Mand.	MC	<i>chóngniǔ</i> doublets
I	○ 寒	hán	γân	
II	○ 顏	yán	ŋan	
III	○ 健	jiàn	kjen	3/3 ○ 蹇 jiǎn, MC <i>kjǎn</i> ^B 3
IV	○ 見	jiàn	kien	3/4 ○ 遣 qiǎn, MC <i>k^hjiǎn</i> ^B 4

These doublets occur only in certain rimes after grave initials (see 1.4 above). Grave initials tend to have more finals (e.g., MC *kjen*, *kjǎn*, *kjiǎn*) than acute initials (only *tšǎn*).

Karlgren considered the finals of 蹇 *kǎn* and 遣 *k^hǎn* (in his MC notation) the same — considered them ‘doublets’, and the *chóngniǔ* distinctions spurious. Li took note of the *chóngniǔ* doublets in his emendations to Karlgren’s MC, thus his *kjǎn* for Div. 3/3, a stronger medial *kjiǎn* in Div. 3/4. Traces of this *chóngniǔ* 3 vs. 4 distinction have been uncovered in Chinese dialects, medieval transcriptions, and Chinese loans in Vietnamese and Korean. There is a trace even in Mandarin: 悸 (GSR 538e), Karlgren’s Anc. Ch. *g^hiwi-*, is actually in *chóngniǔ* Div. 4 (Karlgren says that *ji* for the expected *gui* is ‘irregular’), vs. 隕 (GSR 540g) Anc. Ch. *g^hiwi-* in *chóngniǔ* Div. 3.

With these *chóngniǔ* subdivisions, the QYS has up to six finals within a rime category, actually seven when considering two vowel timbres in Div. II:

Div. I	no MC medial yod — 寒 hán, MC γân, OCM *gân
Div. II	from OC medial *r — 顏 yán, MC ŋan, *ŋrân from OC medial *r — 間 jiān, MC kǎn, *krên
Div. III	MC medial yod — 健 jiàn, MC <i>kjen</i> ^C , *kans

Div. 3/3	<i>chóngniǔ</i> Div. III after grave initials — 蹇 jiǎn, MC <i>kjǎn</i> ^B 3, *kran?
Div. 3/4	<i>chóngniǔ</i> Div. IV after grave initials, only in combination with OC front vowels — 遣 qiǎn, MC <i>k^hjiǎn</i> ^B 4, *khen?
Div. IV	MC ‘pure’ Div. IV — 見 jiàn, MC <i>kien</i> ^C , *kêns

All these Divisions have, of course, *hékǒu* counterparts: MC *γwân*, *ŋwan*, *kjwɛn*... *kiwen*.

2.5 Problems with the *Qièyùn* and Middle Chinese

The value and reliability of the *Qièyùn*, and with it of MC, has been much debated, among other reasons because of its admittedly and obvious heterogeneous composition as well as its interpretation through much later rime tables.

Some MC features did not exist in AD 600 but have been projected back from the rime tables of later centuries. When these tables were compiled, the main vowel *e* (as opposed to *je*) always combined with a preceding *i*, there was only *ie* as in *tiān* 天 *t^hien*. The rime tables placed these syllables into a fourth row, Division IV, which according to Karlgren was characterized by this strong vocalic medial *i*. However, earlier during the Tang period and before, the final was simply *-en*, as transcriptions of foreign words indicate and the syllable structure of MC would require. Thus 天 was really MC *t^hen*; the vowel *e* warped into *ie* only later (on warping, see 7.6 below). Thus the MC Div. IV syllables are really of the Div. I type, and can be combined into Div. I/IV, as was already noted.

Another rime table feature, which Karlgren and his successors have perhaps misinterpreted and projected back into MC, concerns Div. III syllables with later dentilabial initials (*f*, *w*). In the tables, Mand. *fan* (Div. III) relates to *ban* (Div. I), as *zhan* (Div. III) does to *dan* (Div. I). It was assumed that a Div. was marked by a single feature, which for Div. III was believed to be the palatal medial *j*. Since *zhan* could derive from MC *tšǎn*, it was then assumed that *fan* must derive from something like *pjwɛn*. However, all dialectal and transcriptional evidence points to a bilabial glide *w*, without a palatal; also phonetically, a medial *w* (or main vowel *u*), not *j*, would explain dentilabialization (*pw*->*f*; *mw*->*w*-, *mut*>*wut*) (Coblin 1991b). Hence there was no medial *j* in any of these labial-initial syllables; the rime tables may have placed them in Div. III because of the parallelism and complementary distribution with medial *j* syllables after non-labial initials. While Karlgren / Li write, therefore, *wù* 物 ‘thing’ as MC *mjwət*, Pulleyblank (Early MC) and Norman (CDC) are certainly correct in postulating EMC and CDC *mut*; the word was the same in LHan. However, QYS forms are customarily quoted for reference, because they contain all the linguistic information of the Chinese philological tradition. Thus *mjwət* tells the reader that historically (i.e., in MC) the initial of *wù* 物 is *m*-, the rime category is *-ət*, the syllable belongs to Div. III (-*j*-), and it is a *hékǒu* syllable (-*u*-). A frontish vocalic glide has developed between the vowel *u* and the following dental, thus phonemic *mut* was probably phonetically realized as [muət] so that *-ət* was felt to be the rime. Such off-glides are still clearly heard in Mandarin in careful enunciation so that *lún* 論 sounds like *luən* or *luin*.

The heterogeneous nature of the QY corpus is not only mentioned in its preface, but is also revealed by several syllables which do not fit the system. Thus *dì* 地 (MC *di*^C) ‘earth’ and *lěng* 冷 (MC *lɛŋ*^B) ‘cold’ are non-canonical syllables, because *d*- cannot occur in combination with final *-i*, and *l*- and Div. II *-ɛ*- are mutually exclusive. Less conspicuous is a word like *jǐn* 緊 MC *kjien*^B, whose *k*- in front of the Div. 3/4 medial *-ji-* should have palatalized. Its failure to

do so betrays *jǐn* as a Southern intrusion. The *QY* is not in error because the Mandarin pronunciations of these three words are regular analogues to MC. On the one hand, this raises the question: which features of the *QY* reflect regional doublets that should not be projected back into OC? And given this uncertainty, should one dare reconstruct OC at all? And the *QY* has a suspiciously large inventory of phonemes. Some scholars have suspected, for example, that MC *zj-* and *dzj-* reflect dialectal variants. On the other hand, virtually every *QY* distinction has been confirmed by some dialect somewhere. Then again: reconstruction of CDC results in a simple phonological system so that CDC looks like a 'real' language, and the *QY* surreal. On the other hand, CDC is painted with a very broad brush; inclusion of more dialects would probably alter the picture and bring it closer to the *QY*.

Whatever the *QY* may be, it is not fiction; it has preserved pre-*QY* features, as is confirmed by the OC phonetic series. Furthermore the *QY* is all we have to work with when probing into pre-*QY* stages of the languages. We have no choice but to base reconstructions of earlier stages like OC on the *QYS* reconstructions. Even considering that incongruous readings have slipped in, the bulk of the *QY* material is probably reliable, as long as one restricts oneself to words that are still in use today, or words that occur in actual texts.

3 OLD CHINESE: PHONETIC SERIES

Any reconstruction of Old Chinese (OC = Karlgren's Archaic Chinese = Arch. Ch. *shànggǔ Hànyǔ* 上古漢語), including, of course, Baxter's (OCB = Old Chinese - Baxter) and Minimal Old Chinese (OCM) is based, first, on Middle Chinese which was discussed in the previous section 2; and secondly, on the composite graphs as grouped into phonetic series which are the subject of the present section. Phonetic series are analyzed together with rimes in early texts, especially the *Shījīng* 詩經, a collection of about 300 early and mid Zhou-period songs, but unfortunately redacted during the Han period.

3.1 Composite graphs

Graphs ('characters') are key to OC. They fall into several types (for more details, see, for example, Norman 1988: 65ff; Boltz 1994; Qiu Xigui 2000). The main division is between *wén* 文 'simple non-composite graphs', and *zì* 字 'composite graphs'. *Wén* are semantographs; they indicate the meaning but contain no phonetic information. These include pictograms: *rì* 日 'sun', *mù* 木 'tree'; symbolic graphs: *shàng* 上 'above', *yī* 一 'one'; deictic graphs: *běn* 本 'root' where a stroke at the lower part of *mù* 木 'tree' indicates that the root is meant.

The vast majority of graphs are composites or compounds. They are of two kinds: (1) semantic composites (*huìyì* 會意 'joined meanings'), like *hào* 好 'woman' + 'child' = 'love'. (2) Crucial for the reconstruction of OC are the much more numerous phonetic composites or 'phonograms' (*xiéshēng* 諧聲 or *xíngshēng* 形聲) that consist of a **phonetic** element, which roughly indicates the sound, and of one of 214 **classifiers** or ('radicals', 'significs'), which broadly suggests the semantic category. Phonetic compound graphs emerged in order to disambiguate multiple readings and their words. Thus 自 originally wrote both *zì* 'self' and *bí* 'nose', then *bì* 畀 'give' was added to 'nose' as the phonetic element, hence 鼻 'nose', but now *zì* 自 'self' only. Much more common was the inverse process in which a classifier was added to a graph that was borrowed for its sound, as *yán* 言 MC *njen* 'speech' was added as classifier to *wú* 吾 MC *ŋuo* 'I' serving now as phonetic to write the word *yǔ* 語 MC *ŋjwo*^B.

Graphs with the same phonetic element form a **phonetic series**, or **xiéshēng series** (XS series). The implication is that members of a phonetic series sounded similar in OC at the time of their creation, as their MC forms already suggest, e.g., 亶 *tân*^B, 鱸 *tjan*, 鱸 *tšjan*, 擅 *zjan*^C.

The Han period dictionary *Shuōwén Jiězì* 說文解字 (*SW*) by Xǔ Shèn 許慎 (d. 149 BC) explains the role of a particular element in a graph, whether Xǔ takes it to be phonetic or semantic. The *SW* may therefore furnish information for ambiguous graphs, or confirm what modern scholars already suspect. But the *SW* is to be taken with a grain of salt; see the discussion in 8.1. Many graphs write different words with their distinct readings as, for instance, 長 *cháng* 'long', *zhǎng* 'grow'; or 區 *qū* 'conceal' can be borrowed for *gōu* 'crooked'. Commenting on classical texts, the *Jīngdiǎn Shìwén* 經典釋文 (*JD*) by Lù Dé-míng 陸德明 (556-627) identifies the correct word behind a graph with multiple readings and provides the appropriate *fanqie* spelling.

3.2 The Xiesheng principle

A graph by itself, like 亶, tells us nothing about its OC pronunciation. All we can do is fill in the blanks with MC readings. Thus the graph can only be interpreted through its reconstructed MC reading *tân*. OC is basically MC; we must assume MC phonological values for OC unless there is evidence from OC phonological categories and phonological distributional patterns, and perhaps also other evidence, that the MC forms need adjustment to fit OC categories.

The first step in the reconstruction of OC is to identify the categories of initials through phonetic series, and of rimes through phonetic series and rimes in poetry. As in MC, these are abstract categories with no phonological content. The challenge is to distribute the rather unsymmetrical, reconstructed MC phonological categories over the OC ones (tables at the head of many *GSC* Rime sections illustrate this). The list of the generally accepted OC categories is presented below (5.4) with OCM (basically Baxter's) phonological values. Many dictionaries are organized by rime categories, including Karlgren's *GSR*. Unfortunately, *GSR* numbers the phonetic series without break from 1 through 1260, without making the rime categories explicit. (In this *GSC*, the rime categories are numbered from 1 through 38.)

There was apparently a system behind the creation of OC phonetic compounds, the 'xiésheng principle' (XS principle), according to which members of a phonetic series share the same OC rime and the same or similar set of initial consonants. This principle led Karlgren to a number of conclusions about OC, including:

- One set of words in MC *-jəŋ* (e.g., 京 *kjəŋ*) occurs in XS series consistently with words in OC **-aŋ*, another set (e.g., 驚 *kjəŋ*) in OC **-eŋ* series, hence two distinct OC rimes must have merged in MC (see Table 2-1 under Rime 2).
- The MC final *-jān* must have been *an*-like in OC: note 亶 *tân*^B, 鱸 *tjan*, 鱸 *tšjan*, 擅 *zjan*^C. These words all had the same OC rime, because in phonetic series MC *-jān* mixes with MC *-ān*, but not with MC *-ien*.
- MC *-āŋ* has systematic XS contacts with MC *-uŋ*, *-jwoŋ*; according to the XS principle, 江 must have had the same OC rime as the other graphs in the series; note *gōng* 工 (MC *kung*), *hóng* 紅 (*ɣung*), *qióng* 邛 (*gɣwong*). Consequently the OC words were, in OCM notation, *kōŋ*, *gōŋ*, *gōŋ*, *krōŋ*.

Li's XS principle was formulated in simple terms: (1) every OC rime category had one vowel (and not variants correlating to *QYS* Divisions, such as *ā*, *a*, *â*, *ə*). (2) In a XS series only initials from a single manner series (set of homorganic consonants) can occur. This formula advanced our understanding of OC phonology in significant ways.

3.3 Incongruous series

Naturally, a XS concept is apt to have fuzzy edges. The developers of the OC script have occasionally stretched the principle by allowing XS contacts between homorganic final consonants (-k ~ -ŋ ~ open vowel; -t ~ -n; -p ~ -m), and final -i and -n are occasionally written with the same phonetic. Velar initials can also co-occur with laryngeals h- and ʔ-, or even nasal ŋ-.

Many phonetic series are difficult or impossible to reconcile with a XS principle. These are of two kinds: (1) **Systematic** incongruous series in which the initials belong to completely different places of articulation, like MC l co-occurring with k, p, or s. This kind of mix in phonetic series is encountered so often that some principle was followed in their creation. (2) Occasionally phonetic series include initials of different manner series and/or different vowels/final consonants alternating in a rare, even unique and therefore **unsystematic** way; note, for example, 'bird' *zhuī* 隹 which was borrowed for the word *wéi* 'to be' (9.2.6). These cases leave much room for interpretation and speculation, and generate, of course, the most hypotheses and disagreements — and since specialists debate mostly these, they project the skewed impression that virtually *all* about OC is still not settled. I believe that some of these unsystematic series and graphs share only the rime, or initial, or no common phonetic denominator at all so that, I submit, the XS principle does not apply; see 9.2.1.

4 OLD CHINESE THROUGH INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Preface (p. x) has already defined "Minimal Old Chinese" (OCM). In this section and in section 5 of this Introduction, generally accepted post-Karlgrenian improvements and proposals, which are also incorporated in Baxter's OCB and hence OCM, will be summarized. 'OC' and 'OCM' are for the most part (nearly) identical. Sections 4 and 5 present the rationales for reconstructions in broad outline; for details and proper intellectual credits, consult Baxter 1992. Throughout, particulars of OCM will be pointed out; section 6 summarizes some principles and criteria for OCM; for a fuller account of my rationales for certain OCM details, see the Introduction to *EDOC*. Assumptions, premises, interpretations and sources will be considered in sections 8 and 9.

Karlgren's objective was to reconstruct the *sounds* of OC, not its phonemes. He represented his sounds and their subtle gradations with diacritics and special letters that alone create for the occasional user a formidable barrier for detecting a system. Therefore scholars after Karlgren soon tried to simplify and systematize his Arch. Chin., now called OC.

Some phonemic features of OC can be reconstructed with the methods of internal reconstruction, without reference to graphs, XS principles, and interpretation of phonetic series. Therefore the conclusions generally tend to be well founded.

4.1 The distribution of QY initials

Studying MC in alphabetic transcription, without reference to graphs, already reveals several features of pre-MC, i.e., OC. The MC initial consonants are distributed over the QY Divisions (2.4) unevenly, resulting in an unbalanced phonological system. The tabulation on the next page shows:

With Div. I/IV finals can occur all initials except *g*, palatals, and retroflex ones.

With Div. II finals can only occur grave initials (except *g*) and retroflex initials.

All initials can combine with Div. III finals, except *ɣ* and the dentals *t tʰ d n*.

Div.	I/IV -ân/-ien	II -an	III -jän, -jen
grave	k kʰ - ŋ ʔ x	k kʰ - ŋ ʔ x	kj kʰj gj ŋj ʔj xj
	ɣ	ɣ	—
	p pʰ b m	p pʰ b m	pj pʰj bj mj
acute	ts tsʰ dz s l	—	tsj tsʰj dzj sj zj lj
	t tʰ d n	—	—
	—	—	tʃj tʃʰj ʒj dʒj ʃj ńʒj j
	—	t tʰ d ɳ	tj tʰj dj ɳj
	—	tʃ tʃʰ dz ʃ	tsj tsʰj dzj sj

(MC finals of the -an rime category are added to the Div. for illustration.) Thus *ɣän*, *gjän*, *län* and *tän* are permissible MC syllables; *tän*, *šan*, *san*, *lan* or *tjän* are not, but *ʃän*, *tjän* and *šan* again are.

4.2 MC initial ɣ-

The tabulation in 4.1 shows that the MC initial *ɣ-* (only in Div. I/IV, II) is in complementary distribution with MC *gj-* (only in Div. III). The earlier, i.e., OC source of *ɣ-* was **g-*:

	Mand.	MC	OCM	Mand.	MC	OCM
k-	干 gān	kân	kân	建 jiàn	kjēn ^C	kans
kʰ-	看 kàn	kʰân ^C	khâns	褰 qiān	kʰjän 3	khan
g	—	—	—	乾 qián	gjän 3	gan
ɣ	寒 hán	ɣân	gân	—	—	—

The phonetic series confirm this because *ɣ-* mixes freely with velars. The phoneme *ɣ-* can thus be eliminated from OC, and the system of initials is thereby simplified and regularized.

4.3 MC palatal initials

The tabulation in 4.1 shows that the palatals and dentals are in complementary distribution; palatals are the Div. III counterparts to the Div. I dentals: *tʃj-* relates to *t-*, as *kj-* does to *k-*. Palatals must have resulted from OC dentals + *j* (*tj-*), or rather from OC dentals plus the feature which resulted in the QYS Div. III finals with medial *j* (4.6). XS series confirm the affinity of palatals to dentals, as in *GSR* 148, for example: 寔 *tân^B* < OCM **tân?*, 鱧 *tʃjän* < **tan*, 擅 *ʒjän^C* < **dans*. Thus the set of palatal consonants is removed from the OC inventory, and phonetic series in question conform now to Li's XS principle. This is confirmed by the near absence of palatals from foreign transcriptions in the Middle Han period and earlier (Coblin ms. 1993:15); for foreign palatals Chinese dental affricates are used (LH 龜茲 **khu-dziə* = Kuca [Hanshu]; LH 且末 *tsʰia^B-mat* = Calmadana; LH 丘就 *kʰu-dziu* = Kujula).

4.4 MC medial w and u

One striking imbalance in the distribution of MC rimes is the association of medial *w* or *u* (*hékǒu* 合口 'rounded mouth') with dental final consonants (-n, -t, Karlgren **-r* = OCM **-i*) after *all* initials, even after acute ones (短 *twân*), whereas this medial occurs in velar and most open rimes only after guttural initials in MC; there are no OC **tuang* and **tuəŋ*, nor **ton* and **tun* in Karlgren's system:

干 kân	*kan	剛 kâŋ	*kaŋ
官 kwân (1)	*kwan	光 kwâŋ	*kwaŋ
貫 kwân (2)	*kon	公 kuŋ	*koŋ
短 twân	*ton	東 tuŋ	*toŋ
根 kən	*kən	互 kəŋ	*kəŋ
壺 kwən (1)	*kwən	肱 kwəŋ	*kwəŋ
困 kwən (2)	*kun	宮 kjuŋ	*kuŋ
敦 twən	*tun	冬 tuoŋ	*toŋ

The dental *hékǒu* rimes are parallel to the finals *-oŋ and *-uŋ; therefore, MC *twan* derives from *ton, *twən* from *tun. For velar rimes, one assumes labialized unit phonemes such as OCB *kʷ-, *ʔʷ-, *hʷ- (in OCM simply *kw-, *ʔw-, *hw-). Baxter has tried to show that rimes such as *-un, *-on, *-en (rather than *-uən, *-uan, *-ian) formed distinct categories in the XS series and *Shijing* poetry and hence in OC. By and large, the rimes appear to support such narrower categories and simple vowels for OC. At any rate, this phonemic analysis presents a balanced picture, whatever the actual pronunciation might have been around 600 BC.

Neither internal reconstruction nor the XS principle can determine which MC *kwân* and which MC *kwən* had an OC labiovelar initial (*kwan*, *kwən*), and which a rounded vowel (*kon*, *kun*). One must rely on the interpretation of rimes in literature, which are, however, lacking for the majority of words in question.

4.5 OC consonant clusters and *r

MC *l-*, retroflex initials, and Div. II are traced back to an OC *r by using the XS principle together with the method of internal reconstruction.

4.5.1 In not a few phonetic series MC *l-* interchanges with velar, labial, or retroflex initials. Following Karlgren (1933: 57f; 1954) and Li (1971), all investigators assume OC consonant clusters in such series. Consider series 36-5/609 which includes *jiàn* 監 'look at' and *lán* 藍 'indigo'. How to apply the XS principle (Karlgren's OC forms):

- (a) *jiàn* 監 (kam) < *klam ~ *lán* 藍 (lâm) < *lâm
 (b) *jiàn* 監 (kam) < *kam ~ *lán* 藍 (lâm) < *glâm
 (c) *jiàn* 監 (kam) < *klam ~ *lán* 藍 (lâm) < *glâm

Karlgren (who used *GSR* 766 各 for illustration) opted for the consonant cluster (c) because this best complied with his principle in making the OC forms most similar, and because of support from Tai where 藍 'indigo' has initial *g-. He needed two initial OC *g-, though, in order to account for minimal pairs in which one aspirated consonant survived in MC, one unaspirated disappeared:

lán 藍 MC lâŋ (Div. I) < *glâm vs. *xiàn* 檻 MC ɣam^B (Div. II) < *g'lam

Bodman, followed by OCB and OCM, symbolized the distinction by hyphenating the suspected pre-initial that was lost in MC: *lán* < OCM *g-râm vs. *xiàn* < *grâm. Karlgren cautioned that his choice (c) is not necessarily appropriate in all XS. In some of his series MC *l-* derives from Arch. Ch. *l-, in others from *gl- or *bl-.

4.5.2 Li's XS principle does not permit initials from more than one manner series to mingle in a XS series (hence MC *tšj* < OC *tj); when MC *l-* is part of the mix, one assumes clusters, as in *jiàn* 監 above. MC *s*, *ts...* and retroflex *ʃ*, *ʃs...* do mix, though:

24-45/193	shān 山	MC ʃan, ʃān
	xiān 仙	MC sjan

Li's XS principle requires clusters here. That the retroflex initial derives from an earlier combination MC *s-* + *r* (Li's OC *l) is suggested by XS contacts like this:

4-52/975	shǐ 史	MC ʃi ^B Div. III	< OCM *srəʔ
	lì 吏	MC lji ^C Div. III	< OCM *rəh

Retroflexion develops under the influence of an adjacent retroflex sound; an earlier OC *r is about the only candidate for triggering retroflexion. An *r* is in the world's languages, including many cognate Tibeto-Burman ones and other languages in the geographic neighborhood, typically a retroflex flap or trill of some sort. Note, for example, Skt. *varṇa* (not *varna*) 'color', *vṛṣa* 'bull'; Skt. *śiras* nom. 'head', *śirṣṇas* gen. 'of the head'; Written Tibetan (WT) *drag* > modern Tibetan ʒaà, WT *bkra* > modern Tib. t̪ā; while Vietnamese *traŋ* for MC *tjaŋ* is most instructive. According to the rule of economy, a single OC phoneme *r accounts for both MC *l* and retroflexion, therefore the reconstruction of the OCM forms above.

4.5.3 MC Div. II goes back to the same feature as retroflex initials; it must also have been triggered by the loss of an OC medial *r, because

if 𦉳 shān	MC ʃam Div. II	< OCM *srām,
then 監 jiàn	MC kam Div. II	< OCM *krām.

(Note that in OCM the circumflex as in *â* does not indicate a special timbre, but is a neutral symbol for the unknown source of later Div. I/IV and II.) Karlgren already reconstructed a medial *l (= OCM *r) in *GSR* 609 (*klam), but he did so because of the XS principle, which can, however, be subject to interpretation (note how he pondered the cluster choices). Now the Div. II medial *r is proven on phonological grounds independent of the XS environment.

The tabulation in 4.1 above shows, furthermore, that MC initial *l-* in Div. I/IV is in complementary distribution with retroflexion and Div. II (the only exception is 冷 MC ləŋ^B [Div. II] > lěŋ 'cold'), so that *l-* in MC Div. I/IV and Div. II syllables had the same OC final:

<i>lán</i> 藍	MC lâŋ Div. I	< OCM *râm
<i>jiàn</i> 監	MC kam Div. II	< OCM *krâm
<i>shān</i> 𦉳	MC ʃam Div. II	< OCM *srâm

OC medial *r can also occur in MC Div. III syllables:

shǐ 史	MC ʃi ^B Div. III	< OCM *srəʔ
lì 吏	MC lji ^C Div. III	< OCM *rəh

4.5.4 As to the phoneme sequence, whether the *r and sonorants followed the main consonant (*kram, *srəʔ) or preceded it (OC *rkam, *rsəʔ), or followed the vowel as Pullayblank has suggested (*karn), a maxim of linguistics holds that not all possible combinations have equal

weight. In languages throughout the world the sequence C+r is typical, it is 'unmarked', normal and natural, while the switch of the two would be highly marked, unusual, and requires special pleading. An exceptional (!) language is Written Tibetan (WT) with words like *rta* 'horse'. But even in Tibetan it is the post-initial *r* that triggers retroflexion (WT *drag* > ʈaà), while pre-initial *r* does not (WT *rta* > tā).

4.6 OC syllable types A and B: QYS Div. III and medial yod

Since MC Div. I/IV and II share the same OC final (4.5.3), only two syllable types remain in OC (Li's Div. III *j* is written in for clarity, though recent OC proposals have eliminated it):

	(A) Div. I/IV/II -ân	(B) Div. III -jan
grave	k k ^h g ŋ ? h	kj k ^h j gj ŋj ?j hj
	kr k ^h r gr ŋr ?r hr	krj-... inferred from XS series
	p p ^h b m	pj p ^h j bj mj
	pr p ^h r br mr	prj-... inferred from XS series
acute	t t ^h d n	tj t ^h j dj nj l j
	tr t ^h r dr nr	trj t ^h rj drj nrj
	ts ts ^h dz s r	tsj ts ^h j dzj sj zj rj
	tsr ts ^h r dzr sr	tsrj ts ^h rj dzrj srj

Now the parallelism and balance are perfect; the two OC syllable types are:

type A corresponds to QYS Div. I/IV and II,
type B corresponds to QYS Div. III (including 3/3 and 3/4 with *j*).

In Karlgren's / Li's MC, all Div. III syllables are characterized by a medial *j* which in the past has been projected back into OC. A medial *j* in an OC reconstruction like *tjan or *tjan nicely explains both the palatalization as well as the vowel fronting in the MC equivalent *tšjān*.

However, a little more than half of all MC words have this yod; an actual Han period text has 3/4 of all words with MC medial *j*, only 1/4 without (Jakob Dempsey, p.c.). This proportion is very unusual for a language. Pulleyblank has long argued that these yods did not exist in OC, and this is widely believed today. Many Div. III syllables had no *j*, even in MC, according to Pulleyblank (see 2.5), nor in LHan (see below); dentilabialized syllables never had a palatal glide (2.5). The absence of *j* is suggested by the rule of economy and by the transcription of foreign syllables without medial yod, which are rendered by Div. III syllables (Pulleyblank 1994: 73f); and the closely related TB language group, which does not have this phenomenon of a prolific medial palatal, supports the assumption that such medial *j* are typologically unlikely for ST; they seem to be a Chinese innovation.

Two Han period commentators have described the pronunciation of Div. I vs. Div. III syllables, but their phrasing leaves some room for interpretation:

(1) Pān Wùyún (2000: 148-149) quotes and discusses the remarks by Gāo Yòu 高誘 (fl. AD 196-219), the commentator of the texts *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* (all statements cited in Coblin 1983: 228-233). According to Gāo, the Div. III words are pronounced *jí qì* 急氣, the Div. I/IV/II words *huǎn qì* 緩氣. Zhengzhang Shangfang understands these terms to mean 'fast' (*jí* basically means 'urgent') and 'slow' (*huǎn* basically means 'slack') articulation, which he takes to mean 'short' and 'long'. However, the terms could just as well be translated

'tense' and 'lax' pronunciation (Pān and Zhengzhang reject this because they believe that more TB languages make length distinctions than tense/lax distinctions).

(2) Hé Xiū 何休 (AD 129-182), quoted by Bodman (1980: 162), describes the distinction: 言乃 (nâi^B) 者內而深, 言而 (ńǎjǐ) 者外而淺 "nâi^B (Div. I) is pronounced inside and deep, and ńǎjǐ (Div. III) is pronounced outside and shallow" (QYS readings).

Whatever this means, the Han commentator did not describe long vs. short. He might possibly have tried to describe lax (內而深 = 緩氣?) and tense (外而淺 = 急氣?), or pharyngeal vs. plain.

So far the OC origin of the QYS Div. III is a matter of hypotheses and speculation. Pulleyblank considers the distinction prosodic (*JCL* 22.1, 1994: 95). Norman leaves type B syllables unmarked and considers Type A (Div. I/IV) syllables pharyngealized. Zhengzhang Shangfang and Pān Wùyún explain the distinction as differences in length. Most promising is the idea that at some point in OC the difference has been between tense and lax syllables as in Austroasiatic (AA) register languages (Ferlus); in fact, Pulleyblank (1994: 93) has already pointed to parallelism with Khmer registers, after having drawn heavily on the AA languages Vietnamese and Muong in his arguments.

Proposals for OC usually indicate the syllable types with phonologically neutral symbols. For OCM we mark type A syllables (Div. I/IV and II) with a symbolic circumflex accent (as in French *lâche* 'lax') and leave type B syllables unmarked; but the notation of the features is immaterial (*OC > MC):

Syllable	Type A	Type B
OCM > MC	*tân > tân	*tan > tšjān
Norman	*'tan > tân	*tan > tšjān
Recent trend	*ttan > tân	*tan > tšjān
Pulleyblank	*tán > tân	*tàn > tšjān
Sagart 1999	*tan > tân	*btan > tšjān
Pān Wùyún	*tan > tân	*tǎn > tšjān
Karlgren, Li	*tân > tân	*tjan > tšjān
Baxter 1992	*tan > tan	*tjan > tsyen

5 OLD CHINESE THROUGH THE XIESHENG SYSTEM

The methods of historical linguistics discussed so far (above) have provided fairly reliable reconstructions of some features of OC. However, other aspects of OC are only recoverable through the analysis of the graphs and the phonetic series with the XS principle. For example, if it were not for phonetic series, the connection between MC initial *x*- and nasals could never be known (5.1.5). Unfortunately, the phonetic series do not reveal other OC features as transparently as in the case of MC *x*-, so that one needs to rely on interpretations based on assumptions and theories (see section 9).

5.1 Initial consonants

5.1.1 The QYS has two MC initial yod (*j*-, in Chinese yù 喻), one placed in Div. III (yù sān 喻三), one in Div. IV (yù sì 喻四):

yù sān = MC *jw-* Div. III, as in *yuè* 越 MC *juwet*, Karlgren **g_iwat* (OCM **wat*)
 yù sì = MC *ji-* Div. IV, as in *yuè* 悅 MC *jiwät*, Karlgren **d_iwat* (OCM **lot*)

Since MC *jw-* has XS contacts with gutturals, Karlgren set up Arch. Ch. **g_iwat* 越 with *g-*; for MC *ji-* he variously postulated initial **g_i-*, **b_i-*, **z_i-*, but mostly **d_i-* depending on the XS environment, hence 悅 is **d_iwat* in his Arch. Ch. To distinguish the voiced stops, which disappear by MC, from ones that survive, he set up the more endurable type as aspirated: **g^h_i-*, **b^h_i-*, and **d^h_i-* (see 4.5.1).

MC *jw-* occurs always with the medial glide *w* (exceptions are the two grammatical words *yān* 焉 and *yī* 矣 with plausible sandhi explanations). This initial is now generally written as OC **w-*, as required by the rule of economy, and confirmed by Buddhist transcriptions of Indic words in Han-period transliterations where this initial consistently represents Indic *v*, e.g., *yuè* 越 *juwet* 3 < **wat* for Indic *vat*.

The process of elimination and historical phonology both lead to the conclusion that the major source of the MC *ji-* was OC **l*. MC *ji-* mixes in phonetic series with *d* and *t^h*, among others; they must all be variants of a distinct OC consonant. The source of MC *ji-* cannot have been a dental stop or **r* (they are already identified in OC), nor a palatal (it would not mix with dentals). It cannot have been OC **j-*, because too many unusual phonological steps would be required to explain a connection with **d-*. This leaves OC **l-*: phonetically it is only one step from *l* to *d* (*l* is simply *d* with the air escaping laterally), as illustrated in Línchūān *tí* (< *dí*) for Mand. *lǐ* 里. Then, initial *l*- being replaced by *j*- has parallels, e.g., Burmese (*r*, *l* > *j*, note Yangon 'Rangoon'), and Spanish. By the Middle Han period a high medial glide (*i* or *j*) had emerged in later Div. III syllables as a result of vowel warping (see 7.6). This medial became the new initial *j*- because the old **l-* had to give way to a new *l-* (> MC *l-*) from OC **r-*:

because 亮 OC **raŋ* > *riaŋ* > LH *liaŋ*
 therefore 陽 OC **laŋ* > *liaŋ* > LH Ø_{iaŋ} = *jaŋ*
 perhaps also 莠 OC **wu?* (?) > *wiu?* (?) > LH Ø_{iu}^B = *ju*^B (MC *jiəu*^B); see below.

Foreign loans and cognates confirm the OC **l* (e.g., *yè* 葉 MC *jiäp* < **lap* 'leaf' ≠ TB **lap* 'id.'). Karlgren's Archaic Chinese set of voiced stops is thus replaced by a single phoneme **l-*:

Arch. Ch. **g_i-*, **d_i-*, **b_i-* = OC **l-* (Li OC **r-*) = MC *ji-*
 Arch. Ch. **g^h_i-*, **d^h_i-*, **b^h_i-* = OC **g-*, **d-*, **b-* = MC *g-/* *γ-*, *d-*, *b-*

Thus phonetic series with dental initials fall into two sets, one with OC initial dental stops ('T series'), one with OC **l-* ('L series'). They can be distinguished with these diagnostic MC initials (see also tables in EDOC §8; §12.1.2):

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) T series only | MC <i>t</i> , <i>t</i> (* <i>tr-</i>), <i>t^h</i> (* <i>t-</i>), <i>zj</i> (* <i>d-</i>) |
| (2) T and L series | MC <i>t^h</i> (* <i>th-</i> / * <i>lh-</i>), <i>d</i> (* <i>d-</i> / * <i>l-</i>), <i>d</i> (* <i>dr-</i> / * <i>r-l-</i> ?),
<i>t^h</i> (* <i>thr-</i> , * <i>rh-</i> / * <i>r-lh-</i> ?? — rare), <i>t^hh</i> (* <i>th-</i> / * <i>k-lh-</i> — rare) |
| (3) L series only | MC <i>ji</i> (* <i>l-</i>), <i>śj</i> (* <i>lh-</i>), <i>d^hzj</i> (* <i>m-l-</i>), <i>zj</i> (* <i>s-l-</i>) |

In an OC T series, only initials from sets 1 and 2 can occur; in an L series only, sets 2 and 3. This distinction accords with Li's XS principle. For an example, compare GSC 9-11 with 9-17; both are particularly large XS where the absence of any irregular initials cannot be chance. Co-occurrence of MC *ji-* and *t-* is exceptional. Some XS are ambiguous (e.g., only *d-*), some include exceptional graphs, but the distinction is a strongly marked tendency.

Yù sì followed by MC *w* (*jiw-*) derives from OC **lu*. Thus it would seem that the pre-classical copula *wéi* 惟維 (GSR 575; Karlgren **d_iwər*) should be something like **lui*. Li reconstructed it **rəd*, Tibeto-Burmanists took it as something like **wəi*. An emerging consensus (Baxter, Sagart, this writer, and others) interprets this syllable type as OC **wi* (Baxter **wjij*). The high vowel *i* caused the syllable to move into the *yù sì* (Div. IV) category in spite of the initial OC **w-*. The OC and Han period form **wi* is confirmed by its use for Indic *vi* in Han Buddhist transcriptions, just as *yuè* 越 *juwet* 3 < **wat* is used for Indic *vat*.

OCM only: In some XS, MC *ji-* may derive from OCM **j-*, not **l-* (see EDOC §9, and Table in §12.1.2), but this is difficult to sort out. OCM assumes **j-* where the phonetic series includes initial **ts-*, as in *yǔn* 允 and *yǒu* 酉; the phonological reasons for these XS contacts are not clear. Also some other phonetic series probably had **j-* rather than **l-*, such as *yáng* 羊 **jaŋ*, as opposed to *yáng* 易 **laŋ*; *yì* 亦 **jak* and all its members; *yán* 鹽 **jam* < **r-jam* 'salt'.

OCM only: I suspect that MC *ji-* can also reflect earlier (PCH, OC?) **w-* which was lost through labial dissimilation when followed by a back vowel; e.g., 莠 *yǒu*; see previous page.

5.1.2 Karlgren's MC has two voiced palatals, *zj-* and *d^hzj-*. This QYS distinction has often been thought artificial, but it is confirmed by the *fānqiè* of Yán Shīgǔ 顏師古 (581-645) (Coblin 1991: 20f), and in the Chinese of the Miao people of Jīnshuǐxiàng in Húnán who distinguish *shén* 神 (*d^hzj-*) *ciŋ*^{A2} from *shí* 石 (*zj-*) *dzia*^{C2} (Pān 2000: 49).

Initial *d^hzj-* is rare, but *zj-* is as common as *t^hsj-*, *t^hsj-*. This shows that it is *zj-*, not *d^hzj-*, that derives from an earlier ordinary dental stop **d-*, just as MC *t^hsj-* derived from **t-*, hence 鑿 *t^hsjän* < **tan*, and 擲 *zjän*^C < **dans*.

The rare initial MC *d^hzj-* (LH *z-*) seems to derive from OCM **m-l(i)-* (see EDOC: 89f.). The OC **m-l* cluster is suggested, among others, by the phonetic series 6-24; almost all foreign cognates of syllables with QYS *d^hz-* have initial **m-l-*, which confirms the OC form.

5.1.3 MC *zj-* can derive from OCM **s-l-*, **s-w-*, **s-j-*, perhaps even **zj-* (in non-ST loan words, as probably in *xiàng* 象), because this initial only occurs in XS with OC **l-* (see 5.1.1) or with **s-*. OCB writes **zl-*, but since hyphenation is already introduced (4.5.1), the OCM consonantal inventory can be simplified by replacing *z* with **s-* as in **s-l-*, etc.

5.1.4 In OCM only: In a few word families and phonetic series MC *d^hz-* alternates with MC *l-* or *ɣ-* only. OC **dz-* is not a derivational morpheme; therefore OCM **s-r* (MC *d^hz-*) is assumed in such words, which is parallel to **s-l* (MC *zj-*); 4-32/967 is a suggestive XS.

5.1.5 OC voiceless sonorants (i.e., nasals, *r*, *l*, *j*, *w*) are clearly revealed by phonetic series. MC initials *t^h*, *śj-* co-occur in XS with *n-* and *ji-*, *t^h* also with *l-*; MC *x-* (*χ-*) co-occurs with *m-* and *ŋ-*, rarely also with other sonorants. Karlgren set up OC clusters like *t^hn-*, *śn-*, *χŋ-*, *χm-*. These can be simplified by postulating voiceless sonorants so that the single feature voicelessness explains them all. Since voicelessness is often accompanied by aspiration (as in 'Lhasa'), it is customary to write these initials with an *h*: OCM **nh*, **rh*, **lh*-, **hm-*, and **hŋ-* — note that these are unit phonemes. In OCM, the *h* is written after the sonorant when the MC outcome is an acute initial, but before it when the MC trace is *x-*, in order to distinguish an OC cluster as in **hrāk* > MC *xək* (Div. II) from a voiceless **r* as in **rhāk* > MC *t^hāk* (Div. I).

A few illustrations: *hǎi* 海 MC *xäi*^B < **hmä?* (phonetic is *měi* 每 **mä?*), *tǐ* 體 MC *t^hiei*^B < **rhī?* (phonetic is *lǐ* 豐 MC *liei*^B < **rī?*), *shì* 世 MC *śjāi*^C < **lhats* writes *yì* 勸 MC *jiāi*^C < **lats*, *xiǎng* 饗 MC *śjaŋ*^{A/B/C} < **nhaŋ?*/*h* shares the phonetic with *ràng* 讓 MC *n^hzjaŋ*^C < **nanh*.

A summary of OC sonorant initials and their MC reflexes (^ = syllable type A):

Div. I/IV	Div. II instead of I/IV	Div. III
MC < OCM	MC < OCM	MC < OCM
ŋ x < *ŋ^ *hŋ^		ŋj xj < *ŋ^ *hŋ
m x < *m^ *hm^		mj xj < *m^ *hm
n t^ < *n^ *nh^		ńźj śj < *n^ *nh
d t^ < *l^ *lh^		ji śj < *l^ *lh
(also < *d^ *th^)		(also < *j, *hj)
l t^ < *r^ *rh^		lj t^h j < *r^ *rh (also < *thr)
	yw xw < *w^ *hw^	jw xjw < *w^ *hw
	(also < *gr^, *hr^)	

5.1.6 Not widely acknowledged: MC t^h j- in XS, which include both initial *K- and *l-, derives from *k-hl- (出 k-hlut). MC t^h- may perhaps on rare occasions represent a parallel configuration *k-hr- (黜 k-hrut).

5.2 Chóngniǔ doublets

The distinction between so-called *chóngniǔ* Div. III and IV doublets has been introduced in 2.4 above.

5.2.1 Chóngniǔ 3/4 syllables mingle in phonetic series and rimes with 'pure' Div. IV syllables (Karlgren's MC -iei-, -ien-, etc.); they represent the equivalent of Div. III (yod) syllables in association with the high front vowels *i and *e. Above (2.4) we have provided an illustration for the *chóngniǔ* arrangement in the rime tables:

Div.	Mand.	MC	<i>chóngniǔ</i> doublets
I	寒 hán	yân	
II	顏 yán	ŋan	(also O 揀 jiǎn Anc. Ch. kǎn: MC kĕn ^B)
III	建 jiàn	kjĕn ^C	O 蹇 jiǎn Anc. Ch. kĭǎn: MC kĭǎn ^B 3
IV	見 jián	kien	O 遣 qiǎn Anc. Ch. k'ĭǎn: MC k'hĭǎn ^B 4

According to Baxter, these fall now into the following OCM rime patterns with the two main vowels *a and *e:

I	寒	yân	< *gân	IV	見	kien ^C	< *kĕns
II	顏	ŋan	< *ŋrân	II	揀	kǎn ^B	< *krĕn?
III	健	kjĕn ^C	< *kans	3/4	遣	k'hĭǎn ^B	4 < *khen?
3/3	蹇	kjǎn ^B	3 < *kran? (or *kan? ?)				

5.2.2 In certain rimes Div. 3/3 reflects an OC non-front vowel (without *r), thus MC -jau 3 < *-au (苗) vs. -jiau 4 < *-iau (眇); and MC -je 3 < *-ai (皮) vs. -jie 4 < *-e (卑). Baxter accounts for the many other instances of Div. 3/3 by postulating an OC medial *r (hence 蹇 *kran?). Such grave initial syllables would then be parallel to retroflex initial syllables in Div. III as *zhāng* 張 *traŋ. He cites examples where TB cognates to such syllables have indeed a medial *r (jǐ 几 MC kĭ^B < OC *kri? ≠ WT k'ri 'seat').

Baxter's medial *r in Div. 3/3 is different from the Div. II medial *r. The latter alternates in XS with other initials, e.g., MC l- < *r- interchanges with Div. II k-, ʃ-, and others (*r- ~ *kr- ~

*sr-...); the consonants seem to be 'movable'. The *chóngniǔ* 3/3 medial *r, as well as the *r in MC retroflex Div. III syllables like *zhāng* 張 *traŋ, have hardly any XS contact with MC l-, they seem to be a firm part of the initial. Gong Hwang-chenng has suggested writing OC *r as a pre-initial in these retroflex syllables; he may write *r-taŋ instead of *traŋ.

Rimes without a QYS Div. 3/3 category are ambiguous as to OC medial *r; Baxter wrote *k(r)ji, *k(r)jo, etc. OCM writes *kə, *ko, etc. by default and inserts an *r only when supported by evidence.

5.2.3 The many syllables of *chóngniǔ* Div. 3/3, with Baxter's OC medial *r, result in a suspiciously large number of OC words with *r. For example, according to SSYP (p. 336) there are in MC

15 syllables of the type MC	mjwəi III	< OCB *mjəj, OCM *məi
27 syllables of the type MC	mji 3/3	< OCB *mrəj, *mri = OCM *mri ?
0 syllables of the type MC	mi 3/4	— (would be OCB *mjij, OCM *mi)

By comparison we find with OC rime *e, *-ai (SSYP, p. 318)

16 syllables of the type MC	mje III	< OCB *mjəj, OCM *məi
3 syllables of the type MC	mje 3/3	< OCB *mrjəj, OCM *mrjəj
27 syllables of the type MC	mjie 3/4	< OCB *mjə[j], OCM *mə

Something is out of balance with these types of syllables. For the sake of simplicity, OCM will try remove *r in some Div. 3/3 finals. Table I-1 provides a synopsis.

Table I-1: MC Div. 3/3 without OCB medial *r (R. = Rime no.)

R.	Div. III < OCM *-wə-, *-wa-				Div. 3/3 < OCM *-u-, *-o-			
	MC	LHan	OCM	OCB	MC	LHan	OCM	OCB
34	雲 jwən 君 kjwən	wun kun	*wən *kwən	wjən kjun	允 jwiwən ^B 菌 gjwən ^B 3 慁 mjĕn ^B 3 春 ts'jwĕn	juin ^B guin ^B min ^B ts'uiŋ	*jun? *gun? *mun? *thun	*grjun? *mrjĕn *thjun
31	謂 jwei ^C 貴 kjwei ^C	wus kus	*wəs *kwəs	wjəts	位 jwi ^C 3 賈 gjwi ^C 3	wis guis	*wus *gus	*(w)rwjəps *grjuts
28	圍 jwei 歸 kjwei	wui kui	*wəi *kwəi	kwjəj	帷 jwi 3 夔 gjwi 3 誰 žwi	wi gui džui	*wui *gui *đui	
	尾 mjwei ^B	mui ^B	*məi?	*mjəj?	美 mjĭ ^B 3	mi ^B	*mui?	*mrjəj?
25	遠 jwĕn ^B 勸 k'hjwĕn ^C	wan ^B k'hyan ^C	*wan? *khwans	*wjān?	沿 jiwān 4 卷 kjwān ^B 3	juan kyan ^B	*lon *kon?	*krjon?
22	越 jwĕt	wat	*wat	*wjat	擻 kjwāi ^C 3 稅 šjuāi ^C	kyas śuas	*kots *lhots	*hljots
21					傑 gjāt 3 揭 k'hjāi ^C 3	giat k'hias	*gat *khats	*grjat *khrjats

In some rimes, the proportion of OCB medial-r-syllables to ones without the medial is implausibly high; in some finals there are only syllables with *-r-, as seen above. I suggest that

in many rimes in *n*, *t* and *Vi*, the Div. 3/3 finals had the OCM plain vowel *o* or *u*, while the regular Div. III finals had a *w followed by *a or *ə. Most syllables with OC initial *w- occur in Div. III, while Div. 3/3 is rare with this initial. If MC gjwi^c 3 < OCM *gus, then it follows that the rare 位 jwi^c 3 < OCM *wus, and 美 mji^{B3} < OCM *mui? (< **mi? ?). In this proposal, the MC finals after gutturals are the same as after acute initials. See further detailed explanations in Rime 28.

This proposal agrees with the XS series and simplifies OCM, because a medial *r is removed from many syllables, and reconstructions are less complex. In GSC, OCB is cited where available so that the reader can adjust OC to Baxter's if the reader wishes (reinserting medial r in most 3/3); the MC readings would provide the necessary information — they are, after all, supplied for such a purpose.

Further elimination of OC *-r-: In the OC rimes *-en (R. 23) and *-e(t)s (R. 20), MC hékou Div. II ɣwan (normally < *[g]wrân) and ɣwai^c (normally < *[g]wrats) are very common, I take these to derive from OC *wên and *wê(t)s, also after aspirated *kh-. The rarer MC yiwen and yiwei^c derive, I assume as a working hypothesis, from OC *gwên and *gwê(t)s; similarly Div. II ɣwân derives from the expected OC *gwrên.

5.3 OC sources of MC tones

MC tonal categories (see 2.3) agree with corresponding OC ones. That the OC sources of MC tones B (*shǎngshēng*) and C (*qùshēng*) were segmental phonemes *-ʔ and *-s is now widely accepted. Tones A (*píngshēng*) and D (*rùshēng*) had no additional feature, were unmarked. Haudricourt proposed this tonogenesis because of Chinese parallelism with Vietnamese (where *-s became a tone via *-h). Evidence from dialects and transcriptions of foreign words support the reconstructions. Some Chinese dialects have preserved a glottal stop in the *shǎngshēng*; also the creaky phonation of Mand. tone 3 (< *shǎngshēng*) is a typical trace of glottalization. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, I will use the term 'tone' for the categories in spite of earlier OC segmental features.

5.3.1 Comparing the transcriptions of foreign words of the Middle Han period with those of the Later Han period reveals interesting tonal developments.

It is striking that in the Middle Han period only tone A and D syllables are normally used in transcriptions while tones B and C do not occur (except in special positions). This implies that the latter were not suitable because of the presence of some additional, interfering segmental feature. The exceptions occur with **tone C syllables** from earlier dental series, which consistently render foreign final -s or sibilants (LHan forms after the graphs):

對馬	tuəs-maʔ	Tsushima
奈	nas	Japanese (kara)nashi; also in Skt. [Vārā]ṇasī
都賴	ta-las	Talas
罽賓	kias-pin	Kashmir
貴	kuis	Kušan
劫貝	kiap-pas	kārpāsa 'cotton' (an Austroasiatic loan)
央價	ʔiaŋ-guis	Tocharian B ankwaṣ 'asafoetida'
蒲類	ba-luis (*bâ-rus)	Bars (*barus) (Altaic 'tiger', Mongolian bars)
謂	wus	Skt. puṣa
貳	nis	Indic niṣ- (Coblin 1982: 132; 1983: 87)
會	ɣuas, 衛 was	Skt. vāsa

味 mäs Skt. (sa-)mādhi (Pulleyblank 1983:100: Skt. dh > Prakrit z)

The last four Indic items are from the later LHan where this final -s still survived, but rendered occasionally dentals in general. These transcriptions (and additional ones in BTD material) confirm a Han period and OC final -s in the relevant OC rime categories.

Never does tone C from non-dental finals suggest an s. Instead, the rare transcriptions suggest an -h or -χ in such finals:

護澡	ɣuah-tsauʔ	waxšab
大宛	dah-ʔyan	? *Taχwār, Tóχaroi (Tocharians) (assuming dah rather than das)
謝	zah	? šāhi 'Shah'
徑路	keŋh-lah (< *-râkh)	qiŋiraq 'Hunnish sword'

Otherwise, tone C syllables (from non-dental finals) occur, rarely, in the last syllable of a foreign word when additional sounds are omitted, as if final -h reflects some trailing off:

丘就	k ^h u-dziuh	Kujula
高附	kau-buoh	Kάβουρα (Kabul)

Tone B syllables are rare; they typically occur at the end of a foreign word where they represent a final stop consonant; this seems to confirm the final -ʔ:

昆子	kuən-tsiəʔ (*kūn-tsoʔ)	*qīrsaṣ 'arctic fox'
獅子	ʃi-tsiəʔ	Tocharian A śiśāk, B šecake 'lion'
史	ʃəʔ (or srəʔ ?)	S(u)liṣ 'Sogdian'
撲挑	p ^h ok-deuʔ/-theu	Puśkalāvati, Πευκελαώτις (ambiguous)
護澡	ɣuah-tsauʔ	waxšab
對馬	tuəs-maʔ	Tsushima (tone B not clear — short syllable?)
奄蔡	ʔiamʔ-sas	Abzoe, Ἀόρσοι
且末	ts ^h iaʔ-mat	Calmadana

The last two items with tone B in the middle of the word seem exceptional. In the last name, LHan ts^hia^B was perhaps to be read LHan tsia.

In the BTD of LHan the final -s from OC dental final categories was still reserved for Indic syllables ending in s, ʃ, ś, but occasionally also for dental stops. But the other tones were now disregarded in transcriptions, except that LHan syllables in tone B tend to avoid Indic long vowels, their brevity is probably a trace of the final glottal stop (e.g., 首陀衛 śu^B-da-was Skt. śuddhāvāsa). Non-dental *qùshēng* (*-h) has a slight tendency to represent Indic long vowels (e.g., 墮舍利 hyai-śah-lih Skt. Vaiśālī). All this suggests that the OC and MHan segmental features were strong and prominent -ʔ and -χ; but they were giving way to phonemic tones in LHan (BTD).

OCM only, concerning tone C (*qùshēng*). Considering that the Han period -s from dental finals is in complementary distribution with the -h from non-dental finals, one should reconstruct a single OC phoneme *-s. This is generally done. On the other hand, the s / h distinction must be maintained for OC as well. OC *qùshēng* words with open syllables (+s) like OCB *kəs have occasional rime contact with ones in *-k like *kəks; these converged eventually. But if the feature here actually was *-s, one should expect rime contact with *-ts as well. But this is not the case; in OC rimes the two are strictly kept apart, which suggests two distinct phonemes, although at one point in the past their common source was probably an *-s. Furthermore, I suspect that some phonetic series with (almost) exclusively *qùshēng* words (OCB *-ts) actually ended in a simple *-s (see EDOC §3.4). Therefore *-s cannot be used for tone C with

open syllables, as both MC kuo^C and MC kâi^C would then derive from OC *kas. Therefore I suggest *-h after open vowels and velar finals, and *-s after dental finals or when by itself:

Table I-2: OCM final *-s

	MC	OCB	OCM
害	ɣâi ^C	gats	gâts
大	dâi ^C	lats	dâs
故	kuo ^C	kas	kâh
路	luo ^C	raks	râkh

二 OCB *njits, here OCM *nis; 賴 OCB *rats, here OCM *râts; 故 OCB *kas, here OCM *kâh; 織 OCB *tjəks, here OCM *təkh. However, the reader can mechanically rewrite all OCM *-s to *-ts, and all OCM *-h to *-s, if preferred.

5.3.2 MC tones and Karlgren's OC voiced final consonants. One puzzling feature of traditional OC rime categories is the presence of MC open and closed syllables in the same phonetic series, as, for instance, in 5-13/920 (vs. 4-27/962), and also inter-riming in literature. Thus, using OC *ək and *ə as an illustration, the MC reflexes seem to form a single rime category:

Table I-3: Karlgren's voiced final *-g

GSR phonetic series	MC	Karlgren OC	Li OC	OCB '92	OCM
920 職 zhí duty	tʃjək	tjək	tjək	tjək	tək
織 zhī to weave	tʃjək	tjək	tjək	tjək	tək
織 zhì cloth	tʃi ^C	tjəg	tjəgh	tjəks	təkh
識 zhì remember	tʃi ^C	tjəg	tjəgh	tjəks	təkh
962 之 zhī walk	tʃi	tjəg	tjəg	tjə	tə
志 zhì aim	tʃi ^C	tjəg	tjəgh	tjəs	təh

(A reminder: Baxter 1992 actually wrote i for ə, and he has since eliminated the OC medial j.) If 織識 MC tʃi^C were compatible with MC tʃək in OC, they must have had a final consonant as well, according to Karlgren: GSR *tjəg. Then it follows that 志 MC tʃi^C must also derive from *tjəg, and 之 MC tʃi as well: *tjəg. Through this sort of chain-reasoning, the majority of words in MC open syllables ended with a final consonant *-g, *-d, *-b, or *-r in Karlgren's / Li's OC.

Karlgren's successors have projected MC tone categories back into OC where rimes and XS confirm their existence. This revealed that final consonant contacts occur only with a limited number of MC open syllables, all with MC *qūshēng* (tone C), and in XS which include final *-k or *-t. Contacts between final stop consonants and open syllables with tones A (level) and B (rising) stand out as exceptions. For example, the MC final i^C resulted apparently from a merger of the two OC finals *-ək (or OCB *-əks 織識) and *-əh (or OCB *-əs 志). Thus, the OC categories needed to be cut differently from Karlgren, as in the OCB and OCM columns in Table I-3. Consequently, OC final voiced stop consonants *-g, *-d, *-b and *-r are not

warranted; this simplified inventory of final consonants brings OC, now with a majority of open syllables, typologically in line with MC, modern dialects and cognate TB languages.

The *Shijing* and other Zhou period poetry occasionally include exceptions where the rimes do not agree in tone, or especially where a short-stopped syllable (-k, -t, -p) rimes with an open one. Some of the incongruous rimes are so consistent that one can assume an OC final which would agree with the OC rime (Mattos) rather than with a MC backward projection; for example, lái 來 OCM *rə ended in the oldest parts of the *Shijing* in a stop consonant, either -k or -ʔ. Occasionally in the *Shijing*, and more frequently later in Han poetry, the last line of a rhymed stanza ends in a short stopped syllable (ending in -k, -t or -p) (see examples in Coblin *JCL* 11.2 [1984]: 6-7 and in Luo and Zhou 1958). In the *Shijing* it can be the second-to-last line. Therefore, some of these exceptional rime contacts reflect poetic prosody.

5.3.3 The inclusion of tones and elimination of voiced final consonants had the following consequences for OC:

(a) Karlgren's *-g are eliminated; instead of *-ag, *-əg, *-eg, *-əg, *-og, *-ug we have now OC *-a, *-ə, *-e, *-u, *-au, *-o. Those with rime and XS contact with *-k are set up by most investigators as OC *-ks, here OCM *-kh. An additional consequence is the combination of GSR *â, *o (nos. 32-107) with some *-ag (nos. 801-807 and elsewhere) into the now generally accepted OC rime *-a; and Arch. *-u and *-ug form a single rime OC *-o.

(b) Final *-d with tone C is now *-ts (and also OCM *-s). Words in Arch. Ch. *-d with MC tones other than C derived from *-i (Karlgren's *-r).

(c) Final *-b is eliminated; it either was also OC *-ts; or it was not warranted due to misinterpretation of the phonetic elements, as in GSR 642.

(d) Final *-r is replaced by OCM *-i (OCB *-j). Thus *kai (or *kaj) for Karlgren's *kar. Karlgren reconstructed final *-r in order to explain occasional rime / XS contact with *-n. But archaic southern dialects show *-ai, etc. in these finals which would explain the occasional interchange with *-n just as well. Now Arch. Ch. *â and *âr actually form one rime group, OCM *-ai (OCB *-aj).

The absence of voiced final stops and the presence of segmental phonemes for later tones are now widely accepted. The only influential authority to retain the voiced finals was Li Fang-kuei. This was perhaps prompted by his, and a general Chinese, skepticism toward the idea that the MC tones could derive from a toneless form of Chinese. However, Li left the question open, retained the voiced finals, and added the symbols -x and -h to his syllables to indicate sources of later tones B and C.

5.4 Summary of OC rimes

Bodman had proposed and Baxter has worked out a six-vowel system for OC: a, ə (Baxter 1992 i), e, i, o, u; diphthongs OCB aj, əj, uj, aw, jaw, iw, also ej (OCM ai, əi, ui, au, iau, iu; OCB ej = OCM e). As a result, Baxter's system of OC rime categories overlaps exactly with the traditional ones which had been identified by Chinese scholars and adopted by Karlgren. The system is furthermore confirmed by TB cognates (see *EDOC*). All that is necessary to update GSR rimes and vowels is simply to substitute mechanically Baxter's 1992 values for Karlgren's: *-u for *-əg, *-ai for *-â.... OCM is Baxter's system except where indicated:

GSR *-o, *-ag	= OCM *-a; except some GSR *-ag in MC tone C
	= OCM *-akh (OCB *-aks), i.e., MC tone C
GSR *âk, *âŋ	= OCM *-ak, *-aŋ

<i>GSR</i> *-u, *-uŋ	= OCM *-o, except some <i>GSR</i> *-u(g) with MC tone C = OCM *-okh (OCB *-oks), i.e., MC tone C
<i>GSR</i> *-uk, *-uŋ	= OCM *-ok, *-oŋ
<i>GSR</i> *-ôg	= OCM *-u, except some <i>GSR</i> *ôg with MC tone C = OCM *-ukh (OCB *-uks), i.e., MC tone C
<i>GSR</i> *-ôk, -ôŋ	= OCM *-uk, *-uŋ
<i>GSR</i> *-og	= OCM *-au (OCB *-aw); except some <i>GSR</i> *-og with MC tone C = OCM *-aukh (OCB *-awks), i.e., MC tone C
<i>GSR</i> *-ok	= OCM *-auk (OCB *-awk)
<i>GSR</i> *-əg	= OCM *-ə (OCB 1992 *-i) = OCM *-əkh (OCB 1992 *-iks), i.e., MC tone C
<i>GSR</i> *-ək, *-əŋ	= OCM *-ək, *-əŋ
<i>GSR</i> *-eg	= OCM *-e; except some <i>GSR</i> *-eg with MC tone C = OCM *-ekh (OCB *-eks), i.e., MC tone C
<i>GSR</i> *-ek, *eŋ	= OCM *-ek, *-eŋ
<i>GSR</i> *-â, *-âr	= OCM *-ai
<i>GSR</i> *-uâ, *-uâr	= OCM *-oi, except after gutturals also *Kwai; not after labials
<i>GSR</i> *-ər	= OCM *-əi or *-i
<i>GSR</i> *-uər	= OCM *-ui; rarely after gutturals also *Kwi; not after labials
<i>GSR</i> *-ât, *-âd, -ân	= OCM *-at, *-a(t)s (OCB *-ats, and similarly passim), *-an
<i>GSR</i> *-uât, *-uâd, *-uân	= OCM *-ot, *-o(t)s, *-on, except after gutturals also *Kwat, etc.; not after labials
<i>GSR</i> *iat, *-ian	= OCM *-et, *-en
<i>GSR</i> *-ət, *-əd, *-ən	= OCM *-ət, *-ə(t)s, *-ən, also after gutturals *Kwət, etc.
<i>GSR</i> *-uət, *-uəd, *-uən	= OCM *-ut, *-u(t)s, *-un, after gutturals also *Kwət, etc.; not after labials
<i>GSR</i> *-et, *-en	= OCM *-it, *-in
<i>GSR</i> *-âp, *-âm	= OCM *-ap, *-am
<i>GSR</i> *-iap, *-iam	= OCM *-ep, *-em
<i>GSR</i> *-əp, *-əm	= OCM *-əp or *-əm
<i>GSR</i> *-iəp, *-iəm	= OCM *-ip, *-im

5.5 Summary of OC initials

This is a list of MC initials and their OC sources which are for the most part Baxter's (1992):

k, k ^h , g, ŋ, ʔ	< OC k, kh, g, ŋ, ʔ
gʝw	< OC w
ɣ / ɣw	< OC g, rarely perhaps fi / gw or w
x	< OC hm, hŋ, h, h(w), rarely hl, hn
t, n, l	< OC t, n, r
t ^h	< OC th, nh, lh, rh
d	< OC d, l
t, ŋ	< OC tr, nr
t ^h	< OC thr, rh, rarely perhaps t-hl
ɖ	< OC dr, dr < rl ?

tś, ź (LH dź), ńź	< OC t, d, n
tś ^h	< OC th, rarely k-hl-
dź (LH ź)	< OC m-l (also m-d?)
ś	< OC lh, nh, hj
ji	< OC l, j, rarely w
ts, ts ^h , dz, s	< OC ts, tsh, dz, s (some tsh- perhaps from earlier ks-)
zj / zjw	< OC s-l, s-j / z-w
tś, tś ^h , dz, ś	< OC tsr, tshr, dzr, sr
p, p ^h , b, m	< OC p, ph, b, m

6 MINIMAL OLD CHINESE: PRINCIPLES AND CRITERIA

As pointed out earlier, OCM simply has selected and adopted more or less commonly accepted proposals for OC and does not claim credit for the OC forms (except for rare suggestions).

Two points need to be stressed: First, OCM does not necessarily preclude the validity of other OC reconstructions. Thus *lè* 樂 is OCM *râuk, but it could well have been *g-rauk, or something else. Second, etymological relationships often remain unaffected by the MC system or most OC reconstructions; 五 'five' is cognate to TB *b/l-ŋa whether we read it MC ŋuo^B, or Arch. Ch. (Karlgren) *ŋo, or OCB *ŋa?

OCM retains the widely recognized overall categories of *GSR*, while incorporating post-Karlgrenian proposals which have been summarized above. Thus OCM is broadly based on, and agrees *mutatis mutandis* with, Baxter 1992 (OCB) and others' reconstructions, but it errs on the side of simplicity. OCM avoids some finer, debatable distinctions of others' systems. For details of the OCM notations, see under Transcriptions, pp. xix-xx; for Baxter's 1992 *ɣ OCB write *ə, as he does in his later work.

Occasionally, OCM needs to settle on a default form, especially in cases of ambiguous and controversial evidence. The following general principles and criteria serve here as a guide for evaluating proposals and ideas for the purposes of OCM; most have been tacitly assumed by others.

All reconstructions of, and proposals for, OC are based on implicit or explicit premises, assumptions, biases and interpretations. Some will be discussed in more detail in the Introduction sections 8 and 9.

- (1) Investigators often approach OC phonology and the interpretation of graphic elements with this question: Is there possibly a phonological connection between two or more elements under consideration? (E.g., *jīm* 今 phonetic in *tān* 貪?) The answer is mostly yes, and then OC forms are reconstructed (rightly or not) on a possibility. For OCM, we ask: are the indications, is the evidence, compelling for postulating a phonological link? The answer is often no, resulting in simpler, more conservative forms for OCM.
- (2) I am suspicious of chain reasoning, especially chains that include links which are suppositions and conjectures. This kind of procedure has led to Karlgren's voiced final consonants, for example, or to complex initial clusters.
- (3) Following the rule of economy, OCM prefers the smallest number of steps to arrive at a reconstruction — simple hypotheses or OC forms are preferred to complex ones (Occam's razor).

- (4) Simplicity. E.g., OCM retains final *-an where Baxter and Starostin suggest *-ar (though they may be right). Or OCM 樂 is OCM *râuk, but it could well have been *g-râuk.
- (5) Because the comparative method of historical reconstruction cannot be applied, we are left with projecting the QYS (MC) back into OC. The QYS values are assumed to reach back unchanged unless evidence (rime, phonetic series, patterns for internal reconstruction) requires adjustments.
- (6) Priority of MC. When in doubt, the *typical OC sources of MC forms* will override oddities in phonetic series, because phonological evolution is expected to be regular, whereas the selection of one graphic element over another can be at the whim of a writer (Qiú Xīguī 2000: 269, referring to Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 [AD 127-200] to that effect).

When there is no scholarly agreement on the same data, the issue is apparently beyond rational explanation, no matter how erudite the argumentation. When a proposal for a reconstruction cannot be proven or disproved, OCM is content with backward projected MC values by default.

- (7) In light of most of the above criteria, OCM refrains from sweeping addition of phonemes. Occasionally, pre-initial elements or medial laterals seem to be motivated by the assumption that all members in a phonetic series were more similar in OC than is really required by the overall syllable structure of Sinitic languages and ST. To anticipate what is said in 7.2.1 below: The user of this manual can add phonemic elements to OCM as he deems necessary, but it is very difficult for an unsuspecting user to visualize an initial cluster with an element deleted.
- (8) A phonological reconstruction of OC, such as OCM, should be kept separate from an etymological reconstruction. OCM restricts itself to those features which are knowable from within Chinese, as far as possible, without recourse to extensive etymologization. For example, *nèi* 內 MC nuâi^C 'inside' is written with the phonetic element *rù* 入 MC úzjəp, OCM *nəp 'enter'. There is no rime that would suggest an OC labial final for *nèi* (*nups) or any other word which etymologically might have ended in *-ps. The 'phonetic' element *rù* for *nèi* is explained by the transparent etymological relationship beside some similarity in sound. An etymologizing reconstruction of OC would set up *nûps and *nup respectively; but all that can be safely assumed is OCM *nûts and *nəp.
- (9) Foreign cognates or loans are only taken into consideration in cases where they could clarify which of a number of choices within OC would be the likely one, e.g., initial *hm- in *huǒ* 火 'fire' and *huǐ* 虫 'snake', thus ruling out the theoretical alternative *hŋ-. However, TB morphemes and phonemes are not projected into OCM. Thus *huǒ* 火 OCM *hmâi? 'fire' was not OC *smâi?, as TB *sme or *smâi may suggest, since there is within Chinese no evidence for an *s- in this word, only for a voiceless nasal. Or: It is suggested that in some words morphological voicing of an initial consonant was due to an earlier nasal prefix, thus *jiàn* 見 OCM *kêns 'to see' > *xiàn* 現 OCM *gêns 'to appear' which could have been at some early period *Nkens. TB parallels as well as MY loans with nasalized initials seem to confirm this (Baxter 1992 writes *fi-; L. Sagart 2003 writes *N-; Schuessler 1987 had *m- in some words, now only in *m-l-). But for the sake of not complicating matters, OCM retains the simple voiced initials; there seems to be no compelling evidence within OC for a distinction between ordinary voiced and pre-nasalized initials; furthermore, it would be difficult to sort out which OC initial would be which kind — after all, one of the intended purposes of OCM is its practicality.

7 LATER HAN CHINESE

Later Han Chinese (LHan, LH) represents an older strain of the language of the Eastern Han period from perhaps the 1st century AD. It includes features of Middle Han Chinese (MHan), which must have been present in some LHan speech because they survive in the modern Mǐn dialects as well as in the language of Later Han period writers from Shandong. Thus Mǐn dialects still have traces of the OC / MHan diphthong -ai (in rimes as in 歌寄), and of unpalatalized velars as in 支. LHan is based on modern dialect evidence (especially Mǐn), Old Northwest Chinese (ONW, ONWC; Coblin 1991a; 1994b), Han period rimes in poetry (Luó Chángpéi and Zhōu Zǔmó 1958), Wei-Jin rimes (Ting 1975), and Buddhist transcriptions (Coblin 1982; 1993). LHan is discussed in detail in Schuessler 2006. It retains most of the QY categories, but is about 500 years older and simpler than MC. The conservative strain of LHan, which is provided in this manual, could perhaps also be called Mid-Han; it can be converted to that of Eastern Han mainstream literature using the following paradigms:

LHan older (MHan)	LHan mainstream literature
古 ka ^B	ko ^B a > o in open syllables
居 kia	kiɔ a > ɔ in open syllables
無 mua	muɔ a > ɔ in open syllables
寄 kiai	kie merger with the reflex of OC gre, MC gjie 3 技
歌 kai	ka ai > a in open syllables
支 kie	tse palatalization of velars (see 7.3)

7.1 Phonemes

See the note on Transcription in the front matter. The consonants and almost all vowels are the same as in MC, but high medial glides, which are Han period innovations, are written as vowels *i*, *i*, *y*, *u* (in later QYS Div. III), not *j*, *ji* and *w* (see 7.6). The vowels *a* (could also be written *â*) and *a* are not to be confused.

LHan's notation is phonemic, has shed some of the complexities of MC and follows the transcriptional conventions used for CH dialects (e.g., -au, -ai, -iau; -yaŋ for MC -jwaŋ).

7.2 No consonant clusters

Like MC and CH dialects, Mid-Han and LHan had no consonant clusters, as transcriptions show: *shī-lì* 師利 LH ši-li^C = Skt. śrī; *pó-luó-mén* 婆羅門 LH bâ-lâ-mən 'brahmana' (*fàn* 梵 'brahman' is an earlier transcription, or one that simply ignores some element in a cluster).

7.3 Palatalization of certain velar consonants

This occurred under the influence of the immediately following high vowel *i*, even a secondary one, thus OCM *ke > LH kie > tse > MC tsje 支. For reasons that are not yet clear, this palatalization of velars did not occur in all rimes (e.g., jí 吉 MC kjet < OCM *kit), nor with aspirated *k^h*, nor with voiced *g*- in tone A (Schuessler 1996).

7.4 Tones and vowel length

Tones are marked with letters (B, C) as in MC (see 2.3); for the tonal development in MHan and LHan, see 5.3.1. LHan may have preserved earlier segmental features in weakened form, thus one could write LHan *kaa*, *ka?*, *kah*; however, for the sake of consistency we use the tone letters instead, hence LHan *ka*, *ka^B*, *ka^C*. **Vocalic length** distinctions did not exist in LHan

syllables. The transcription of Indic syllables with their strict length distinctions reveal no correlation with the later QYS divisions. Only open syllables in tone B tend to be avoided in transcribing Indic long vowels.

7.5 LHan Final -s

As transcriptions show, final *-s survived from OC finals *(t)s (Karlgren's OC *-d, Baxter's *-ts); see 5.3.1.

7.6 Vowel bending or warping

Vowel bending (or warping) resulted from the distinction between high vocalic onset syllables (HS = Pulleyblank's OC type B syllables) vs. low vocalic onset syllables (LS = OC type A syllables), as explained in Schuessler 2006 (see also 4.6). In HS the onset of a vowel is bent up to the high vowel above it which becomes a medial (*i i y u*); in low onset syllables the vowel is bent down. In Table I-4 the unbent vowels are in the marked boxes; these are *i* and *u* which cannot bend any higher, and *a* cannot bend any lower; the eventual change from *a* 古 *ka^B* to 古 *ko^B* is due to a different type of phonological change where the original *a* was pushed into the slot of earlier *o* which had warped to *əu* (狗 *kəu^B*).

Table I-4: LHan vowel bending

HS	脂 (*ki >) tsi 比 pi ^B 死 si ^B	支 kie > tse 卑 pie 知 tje	居 kia 無 mua 胥 sia	基 kiə 謀 mua > mu 子 tsiə ^B	具 kio (or kuo) 務 muo 取 ts ^h io ^B	九 ku 浮 bu 秋 ts ^h (i)u
OC	i	e	a	ə	o	u
LS MHan	稽 kei 米 mei ^B 體 t ^h ei ^B	雞 ke 裨 be 啼 de	古 ka ^B 布 pa ^C 土 ta ^B	該 kə 每 mə 才 dzə	狗 ko ^B 母 mo ^B 頭 do	告 kou 寶 pou 道 dou ^B
LHan later stage	稽 kei 米 mei ^B 體 t ^h ei ^B	雞 kei 裨 bei 啼 dei	古 ko ^B 布 po ^C 土 to ^B	該 kaə > kəi 每 maə > məi ^B 才 dzəə > dzəi	狗 kəo > kəu ^B 母 məo > məu ^B 頭 dəo > dəu	告 kəu 寶 pəu 道 dəu ^B

The basic pattern of up-bending is represented in the first row of the table (with initial *k*). Deviations and further changes are the result of other phonological mechanisms. Thus the high glide was assimilated to *u* after labial initials (無 HS [mia >] mua), but was assimilated to *i* after acute initials (子 HS [tsiə^B >] tsiə^B). Uncertainties remain, e.g. 秋 qiū < MC ts^hjəu could have been MHan ts^hu (the high vowel *u* does not bend), or it could have been MHan ts^hiu (after acute initials the glide is *i*). The two stages in LS are suggested by transcriptions and rime patterns.

Syllables with diphthongs or final consonants are subject to the same vowel bending, e.g.

	Mand. < MC	<	LHan <	<	OC	
冬	dōng	tuəŋ	touŋ	tūŋ	NWC (ca. AD 400) tauŋ; cf. 告寶 in Table 1-4	
表	biǎo	pjäu ^B 3	piəu ^B	pau?		
標	biāo	pjiäu 4	piau	piau	<i>i</i> in <i>iau</i> cannot bend higher	
小	xiǎo	sjäu ^B	siau ^B	s(i)au?		
幾	jǐ	kjei ^B	kji ^B < kiəi ^B	kəi?	leveling might have occurred	

佛	fó	bjwət	but	—	
吉	jí	kjiet 4	kit	kit	
寮	liáo	lieu	leu < leiau	riäu	leveling might have occurred

8 HAN PERIOD SOURCES ON PHONOLOGY

The dictionary *Shuōwén jiězì* and phonological information from Han period sound glosses are considered important sources for the reconstruction of OC. These frequently mentioned materials will be briefly introduced and their utility for OC phonology discussed.

8.1 The *Shuōwén jiězì*

The oldest comprehensive dictionary of graphs, the *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 (*Shuowen* for short [SW]) seems to provide answers for puzzling phonetic composites. Its author Xǔ Shèn 許慎 (d. AD 149) was removed from the OC period by only a few centuries. Among others, the eminent philologist Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 (1735-1815) has made emendations to the transmitted text that had been tampered with over the centuries, and has added comments which are widely taken as authoritative interpretations. The SW arranges the Han period corpus of graphs (with a few omissions) under 540 'classifiers' or 'radicals', and identifies the other graphic element, if there is one, as either phonetic or semantic. The SW thus provides early information on phonetic series and indirectly on OC phonology. A frequent formula is *cóng A, B shēng* "A is the classifier, B is phonetic"; for example, 語从言吾聲 *yǔ, cóng yán, wú shēng* [SW 961] "to tell": *yán* 'word' is the classifier, *wú* 'I' is phonetic." Occasionally, a graph may serve as an 'abbreviated' phonetic, as in SW 2532 梳从木疏省聲 *shū cóng mù shū shěng shēng* "shū 'comb': 'wood' is the classifier, *shū* is the abbreviated phonetic"; only the right element of *shū* 疏 is used as phonetic, while the actual phonetic to the left is left out. Occasionally the SW uses the formula *cóng A, cóng B, B yì shēng* "A and B are classifiers, B is also phonetic," because no clear line can be drawn between the phonetic and semantic role of a graphic element; for example, SW 989: 詔... 从言从召召亦聲 *zhào ... cóng yán cóng zhào, zhào yì shēng* "zhào 'to tell'... has the classifiers *yán* 'word' and *zhào* 'to call', *zhào* is also phonetic." The phonetic role may be less obvious, or wrongly assumed, in a graph like *guān* 冠 'cap' (SW 3357) where Xǔ Shèn states that *yuán* 元 'head' is "also phonetic."

Typically the SW's identification of a graphic element as semantic or phonetic agrees with the obvious structure of the graph and its membership in an OC phonetic series according to the XS principle. However, by "phonetic" Xǔ Shèn may occasionally have meant as little as the rime, the final consonant, the initial consonantal category, or nothing phonetic at all, as in this case:

SW 518 states that in *mǒu* 牡 *mú? 'male' (of larger quadrupeds), *tǔ* 土 *thâ? 'earth' is "phonetic." However, in the OB the element 土 was actually *shì* 士 'male' (Li Xiaoding 1.159), neither *tǔ* nor *shì* can have been phonetic, *mǒu* was originally a semantic compound.

In a few instances, Xǔ Shèn says that a graphic element is semantic (*cóng* 从) when it must also have been at least partially phonetic. Thus SW 1283 analyzes the graph *jiān* 堅 *kîn 'hard' as consisting of the semantic elements *qìn* 𠄎 *khins 'solid' and *tǔ* 土 *thâ? 'earth', where *qìn* is clearly (also) phonetic.

Thus Xǔ's explanations for irregular compounds need to be treated with caution. His loose XS "system" was apparently also that of the earlier creators of graphs.

Several additional limitations of the *SW* and its author must be kept in mind.

First, Xǔ and his contemporaries were not aware of the OB and BI and therefore of the paleographic history of graphs. Often Xǔ simply describes the graph he sees without explaining it. Thus the left element in the graph for *shè* 射 ‘to shoot’ he described as *shēn* 身 ‘body’, whereas we know from OB that what appears like *shēn* is the corrupted form of a bow with arrow. See Qiu X. 2000, especially ch. 8 for cases where Xǔ Shèn has misanalyzed graphs.

Secondly, this was not a dictionary of words and their phonology, but only of graphs and graphic relationships – phonetic (phonetic elements / loans) or otherwise (see 8.2.1).

Third, Xǔ Shèn’s Later Han Chinese language had simplified and eliminated initial consonant clusters and voiceless sonorants. Evidence for LHan simplification include, for example, writing *chǐ* 耻 LHan tʰə^B > tʰi^B (the phonetic is *təʔ > LHan tʰə^B) for the graph *chǐ* 耻 *nhreʔ > LHan tʰə^B ‘shame’ (Qiu 2000: 20). Buddhist transcriptions of Indic words show that LHan had no initial clusters; an Indic cluster with post-consonantal *r* is split into two syllables, see 7.2; conversely, a Div. II syllable like *jiā* 迦 MC ka (would be OC *krā) transcribes Indic *ka*. When foreign clusters in Han period loans agree with OC clusters, the loans must go back to Early Han or earlier. In Xǔ’s language, the initial consonants of *jiàn* 監 LH kam^C and *lán* 藍 LH lam were phonetically as irreconcilable as today. When he states that the former is “phonetic” in the latter, he cannot have included the initials if he based this comment on his own language; he can only have meant either the rimes, or he made a guess based on philological traditions and the many parallel *k* ~ *l* interchanges in phonetic series.

These instances already show that the *SW*’s notion of “phonetic” is looser than the modern definition of the XS principle, and that we are dealing in the *SW* at least partially with Han period Chinese, not OC. The subsequent discussions will demonstrate that, whatever Xǔ Shèn’s insightful pointers, we cannot build an OC reconstruction of a specific word on his statements alone.

8.2 Sound glosses

Late Zhou and especially Han period literature contains sound glosses where one graph is suggesting, or is thought to suggest, the sound of another. The interpretation of such glosses is somewhat uncertain and has been much discussed (see a summary in Coblin 1983: 10-13). Sound glosses fall into different types; most common are loan graph glosses (graph X is to be read as Y, is a loan for Y), so-called *dúruò* glosses (8.2.1), and paronomastic glosses (8.2.2). The phonological parameters for these glosses, which actually are puns, are uncertain. At best, broad tendencies may reveal features of the language or dialect of a writer. But they cannot always be relied upon for the reconstruction of a specific OC word.

8.2.1 *Dúruò* glosses. Occasionally the *SW* and commentators remark that graph X “is read like” graph Y (X dú ruò 讀若 Y, hence the name) (for an introduction to these, see, for example, Coblin 1983: 12f; *JCL* 6.1, 1978: 27-33). Clear are the cases where a *dúruò* gloss tells us which of two or more readings of a graph is at issue. Often a gloss seems to refer only to part of a word’s sound, similar to English, “‘either’ is pronounced like ‘eat’ and not like ‘eye’”. For example, *SW* 1440 states, *jué* 瞞, MC ?iwet, LHan ?uet, *?wít (13-17) is “read like 卹”, *xù*, MC sjuet, LHan suit, *swit (that is, in the sense of ‘care about’ as in *wù xù* 勿卹 ‘don’t care’, and not like *xù* 卹, MC swət, LHan suət, *sút ‘to rub’), i.e., with final *-it, and not like its phonetic *yǎo* 窈, MC ?ieu^B, LH ?eu^B, *?iú? with the vowel *-u.

An example for a misunderstood *dúruò* gloss is the following case, where the *SW* is sometimes thought to confirm that *zì* 自 ‘self’ was phonetically similar to *bí* 鼻 ‘nose’ in OC, hence one encounters OC reconstructions like *zbid.

SW 1472: 自鼻也象鼻形 *zì bí yě, xiàng bí xíng...* “‘zì’ is bí ‘nose’, the pictograph has the shape of bí ‘nose’...”

Xǔ Shèn was compiling a dictionary of *wén* 文 ‘simple graphs’ and *zì* 字 ‘compound characters’, not words, sounds, and etymologies. Given his objective, he can only have meant that originally the *graphs* for ‘self’ and ‘nose’ were the same (which is indeed true), nothing more. Therefore this statement does not prove complex initials. But elsewhere he has the gloss 自讀若鼻 *zì dú ruò bí* “self is read like nose,” which has been discussed in sinological literature. But turning to the complete *SW* passage one discovers that the phrase has been taken out of context and completely misinterpreted:

SW 109 (under *huáng* 皇): ... 自始也 ... 自讀若鼻。今俗以始生子為鼻子 ... *zì shǐ yě... zì dú ruò bí. jīn sú yǐ shǐ shēng zǐ wéi bí zǐ.*

In the seal script, the upper element in *huáng* 皇 was not *bái* 白, but looked like *zì* 自 (its OB source was yet something else). Xǔ explains: “... 自 means ‘first’... 自 is read like *bí* ‘nose’. Nowadays one customarily considers the first-born offspring *bí zǐ*.” Taken out of context, he seems to say that ‘self’ is to be read like ‘nose’. But he suggests nothing of the sort. First, he is referring only to the graph 自, not the word *zì* ‘self’ or any other behind it. Since the graph originally wrote both *zì* ‘self’ and *bí* ‘nose’, Xǔ points out that the graph in question is to be read like *bí* (and not like *zì*) since it stands for a homophone ‘first(-born)’ (also written 顛). In sum, a phonetic similarity of the two words ‘self’ and ‘nose’ is certainly not suggested by Xǔ Shèn. As to 3000 years ago, there could have been, as today, a mental association of the two because one customarily points to one’s nose when pointing to oneself.

8.2.2 Paronomastic glosses. Some late Zhou and Han period texts make use of so-called paronomastic glosses which may indicate a word’s sound. The *Shì míng* 釋名 (written ca. AD 200) is a collection of such glosses by Liú Xī 劉熙 (Bodman 1954). Some glosses, like *Shì míng* 7.24 provide interesting information on pronunciation:

車古者曰車。聲如居，言行所以居人也。 *chē gǔzhě yuē jū* (LH *kia*). *shēng rú jū* (LH *kia*), *yán xíng suǒyǐ jū rén yě*. “‘Carriage’, the ancients called it *kia*. It sounds like ‘dwell’ *kia*, because one says that when travelling it is that whereby one causes a person to ‘dwell’ [in it].” 今日車聲近舍也。 *jīn rì chē shēng jìn shě yě...* “Nowadays, ‘carriage’ (LH *tʰa*) sounds close to ‘stay in a place’ (LH *śa^B*). ...”

The author’s point is that the graph for ‘carriage’ has two pronunciations, an older one (LH *kia*) and a current one (LH *tʰa*). These are obviously puns with a phonetic as well as a semantic ingredient.

Apart from clarifications of this kind and general trends which may reveal something about an authors dialect, the utility of paronomastic glosses for the reconstruction of individual OC words is doubtful. A pun does not prove much about an individual graph, especially since the material in the *Shì míng* does not reveal identifiable phonological patterns (glance through Bodman 1954). The basis of some glosses seems to be even purely graphic rather than phonological, as *fù* 付 in *rǒng* 駟 (Coblin 1978: 50, 51; Bodman 1954: 128-129, notes 274,

347). Furthermore the historical stage and dialect of the punning language are uncertain. Once formulated, a paronomastic gloss “became a philosophical verity.... For example, the gloss 兑, 說也 *duì yuè yě* “The hexagram *dui* means ‘pleasure,’” occurs in the *Yijing*, *Shuowen* and the *Shimíng*” (Coblin 1983: 15). At least some glosses are phonologically close in LHan, but were quite distinct in OC for which they are thought to be revealing, note 視 *shì*, LH *dzi*^B glossed as 是 *shì*, LH *dze*^B — but these are OCM *gi? vs. *de?.

Considering all these caveats, a pun like *sāng wáng yě* 喪亡也 “‘Burial’ means to ‘disappear’”, for instance, does by itself not necessarily prove an OC *sm cluster in *sāng*; nor does *shè* 舍 LH *śa*^C as a gloss for *kù* 庫 LH *kʰa*^C prove a velar in *shè*.

9 INTERPRETATIONS OF IRREGULAR PHONETIC COMPOUNDS

The XS principle is only meaningful when applied to regular and systematic phonetic series (3.2). It has limited, or no, applicability for unsystematic series and irregular graphs. Pushing the XS principle beyond a certain limit into this area can lead to over-interpretation — something that most investigators have understood (Karlgrén, Li, Baxter).

9.1 Premises

One’s approach to the interpretation of phonetic series, graphs and data is guided by many conscious and unconscious premises and assumptions which can lead to spectacularly different OC forms. There are two premises with which one can approach irregular phonetic compounds: (a) the strictly phonetic premise; and (b) a premise that allows for broader mental or cultural associations and inferences in the choice of graphic elements. In this section 9, some difficult-to-analyze graphs are discussed as examples for the different results of these premises, and for the preference of the ‘associative’ path. (More practical guidelines have been mentioned in section 6 above.)

9.1.1 The ‘phonetic’ premise, as it could be called for lack of a better term, approaches XS primarily through deduction. A hypothesis like the XS principle is formulated and with strict logic applied to all phonetic series whose members are assumed to have been as similar as possible. If one postulates *glâm for MC lâm, then one could deduce that *rén* 人 (OCM *nin) was OC *znin because the graph is phonetic in *qiān* 千 (OCM *snhîn) ‘thousand’. The hypothetical OC *znin is based purely on this exclusively phonological way of interpreting the XS principle in *all* phonetic series and irregular graphs, yet outside the frame of the phonetic premise there is no evidence for the phoneme *z-, for a XS contact with *snhin itself is not evidence, it merely suggests one of several possible *interpretations*. Evidence would be only MC forms, for example.

9.1.2 The ‘associative’ premise relies on what we actually know about the language (MC, categories, transcriptions, typology), and approaches irregular phonetic series and graphs with the realization that not only phonological, but *also mental or cultural associations* can have prompted the choice of a graphic element, so that the strict phonological similarity, which strict logic would require, cannot be assumed in irregular cases.

9.2 Illustrations for premises and assumptions

9.2.1 李 (4-37/980)

In SW 2376 Xǔ Shèn defines *lǐ* 李 ‘plum’ as a ‘fruit’ (*guǒ* 果), and the graph as consisting of the classifier *mù* 木 ‘tree’ and the “phonetic” *zǐ* 子 ‘offspring’ (子聲).

The phonetic premise: Pān (2000: 307) sets up *lǐ* as OC *b-rǔ (the rationale for his *b* is immaterial here); since *zǐ* 子 is ‘phonetic’, he reconstructs it as *splǔ in order to create a phonological link. This exemplifies the strict phonetic premise as well as the rigid application of the deductive mode of reasoning. The reconstructions may be right, but for by now familiar reasons and for the sake of simplicity, we prefer the other method.

The associative premise: First, we have seen that Xǔ Shèn’s notion of ‘phonetic’ was not identical with that of modern investigators; he could mean as little as the rime, or nothing at all. Second, Xǔ Shèn explicitly had *lǐ* the fruit on his mind, not the tree. Traditionally, plums are a symbol for prolific offspring (*zǐ* 子). That this symbolism does not derive from the graph, but that the graph probably reflects a folk tradition is suggested by *méi* 梅 ‘a kind of plum’ (without the element *zǐ* 子) which carries the same symbolism. Thus cultural associations have played a role in the choice of the element *zǐ* 子 so that there is no compelling reason to bring the initials together phonetically. Finally, *zǐ* cannot be separated from the prolific TB root *tsa. Consequently, 李 was OCM *rə?, and 子 was *tsə?.

This example demonstrates several OCM premises and assumptions:

- (1) Usually one has reconstructed the OC language by applying the classical XS principle to the writing system. In light of our knowledge of OC (based on MC, etc.), *I now stand the XS principle on its head when considering irregular graphs. The question is: why was the word written in this way — not: what was the puzzling OC word behind the odd graph?* Not: what was the presumably complex word for ‘plum’ and ‘offspring’? But: why was plum (which for all we know was OCM *rə? < MC lji^B) written in this particular way?
- (2) Rather than proposing complex word forms, in odd ‘phonetic’ compounds the typical OC source of a MC form overrides writing conventions (phonetic series).
- (3) Not too much weight should be given to Xǔ Shèn’s identification of a “phonetic” when he is proven to be wrong on other occasions, as in *mǒu*, 8.1 above.
- (4) This example demonstrates the associative premise: not only phonology entered into the choice of a graphic element, but also cultural and other mental associations. The selection of elements in a composite graph can be on a sliding scale, from purely phonetic (as in *jū* 居 *ka ‘dwell’, phonetic *gǔ* 古 *kâ? ‘antiquity’), to purely semantic (e.g., *jiān* 尖 ‘pointed’: graph for ‘small’ on top of ‘big’). Many graphic choices fall between these ends, like *lǐ* which still shares the rime with *zǐ*. *The greater the semantic or mental overlap of a graphic element with the word it writes, the greater the chance that phonological similarity has been compromised.* A strict XS principle works only when the compound is strictly phonetic; when other mental associations could have interfered with the selection of a graphic element, a phonology-based XS principle may lead to phonological connections where probably none existed.

9.2.2 犀 (26-33/596)

There are other irregular graphs which share only the rime, if that. Xǔ can only have meant the rime at best when he states (SW 540) that in the graph for *xī* 犀 *sâi ‘rhinoceros’, the element *wěi* 尾 *mâi? ‘tail’ was “phonetic.” The initials were irreconcilable in Xu’s Han period language as well as throughout the preceding archaic stages of Chinese because the words

derive from ST *səj 'rhino' and *mrəj or *rməj 'tail' respectively (assuming something like OC *msəj — cf. WT *bse* — drifts into the realm of speculation). When investigating phonetic series, we encounter more examples of just rimes being sufficient as a common denominator (see 8.1). Therefore, we cannot assume that in such instances the initial consonants need to be reconciled for OC.

9.2.3 zuì 罪 (28-20/513)

The graph *zuì* 罪 (dzwâi^B) *dzûi? 'crime, offense' was originally written 辜, but for taboo reasons was replaced during the reign of Qin Shi Huangdi by 罪 which originally wrote a word for 'fish trap' (SW 3381). *Fēi* 非 looks like a possible phonetic, but initial consonant clusters of the type *sb- did not exist during the Qin dynasty, if they ever existed in OC. Hence the choice of the element *fēi* 非 'is not' could not have been phonetic; it was probably chosen for its mental association with the notion 'wrong, offense'. Because of the possibility of semantic interference I doubt that an OC reconstruction with an initial *sb-* cluster (or the like) is justified. All we can say is that the OC form was something like *dzûi?. If the SW intended to say that *fēi* was phonetic, it would have referred only to the rime -(u)i.

9.2.4 wèi 位 (31-7/539)

Morphological patterns can be of help in establishing an OC form (see 9.2.9). The problem is that morphology is often a judgement question.

In the OB and BI, the graph 立 stood for both *wèi* 位 MC jwei^C 'position, seat', as well as for *lì* 立 MC ljəp 'to stand'. *Lì* 立 is often believed to be phonetic in *wèi* 位 and thus phonologically very close and perhaps even etymologically related. Thus the two words look similar in some scholars' OC reconstructions. OCM tries to stay on the side of mundane straightforwardness. *Lì* 'stand' would be a prime candidate for a semantic element in a graph for 'position', which weakens the case for phonological similarity (9.2.1 [4]). The final *-ps in *wèi* is based on the possible cognation with *lì*, and initial *w- is otherwise not known to alternate in word families with initial *r- except in PCH *r-w- configurations which cannot be the case here, in light of the TB cognate *k-rap for *lì* (EDOC §10). Hence OCM *wrə(t)s (or even *wus — see 5.2.3) vs. *rəp.

9.2.5 yuè and lè 樂 (17-8/1125)

Many phonetic series include MC features which leave us in a gray area where the application of the XS principle and its premises are debatable. Karlgren and Li applied it in some cases more comprehensively than is proposed here for OCM. For example:

Co-occurrence of MC ŋ- and l- in a series is rare, as in the much-discussed 樂 which writes (a) *lè* 'joy' (MC lâk) OCM *râuuk, and (b) *yuè* (MC ŋâk) *ŋrâuuk 'music'; the graph was originally invented for (c) *lì* 櫟 (MC liek) *riâuuk 'oak' and then borrowed for the other words (樂 is the drawing of an oak tree; U. Unger *Hao-ku* 29, 1984). Because the same graph writes two words with rather different MC initials, Karlgren thought that strict logic requires that *lè* must have had some velar initial in OC as well, in order to make it more similar to *yuè*, thus Karlgren's *ŋlök vs. *glâk. Accordingly, he reconstructed almost all graphs in the series with initial *g-, even though not a single one shows a trace of it in MC.

OCM avoids sweeping creation of OC phonemes which are based not on tangible evidence (MC or otherwise), and assumes the simplest forms, hence *ŋrâuuk vs. *râuuk. As already pointed out, the user of this manual can add phonemic elements to OCM as he may deem appropriate, but it is very difficult for an unsuspecting user to visualize an initial cluster,

which has been presented to him, with an element deleted; thus *râuuk may be less misleading than writing “*g-râuuk” — even though, we may speculate (!), this may have been the OC form after all.

9.2.6 wéi 隹惟維 (28-11/575)

Strict phonetic application of the XS principle led to Karlgren's conclusion that *wéi* 隹惟維 'to be' must have been Arch. Ch. *d̥iəwə (OCM *wi) with an initial dental stop consonant, since the graph was originally invented for *zhuī* 隹 *t̥iəwə (OCM *tui) 'little bird' (so SW 4685; GSR 575; OB). Sagart follows Karlgren, although he recognizes, like Baxter (as well as OCM), that at least the root of 'to be' was *wi (or *wij, *wjj). He explains the puzzling choice of a word beginning with *t- for phonetic in 'to be' with no dental initial in MC by hypothesizing that the copula must have had an iambic prefix *tə- (*tə-wij) that was regularly lost by MC (Sagart 1999: 91). Thus the iambic prefixes seem to correspond to some extent to Bodman's (and OCM's) hyphenated in OCM.

However, we prefer a simpler solution through the associative premise. All that is *knowable* with some degree of reliability is that, based on MC, 'bird' was *tui and 'to be' was *wi. When in doubt, OCM assumes these MC-based OC forms regardless of phonetic environment in XS. What is *not knowable is the mental association* by which a writer 3200 years ago selected *tui 'bird' to write the grammatical word 'to be' so that a contemporaneous reader could retrieve the intended word.

Just for the sake of argument, an alternative hypothesis for the irregular XS series could run like this: the word 隹 OCM *tui 'little bird' is likely an onomatopoeic imitation of a bird's chirping; the same phonetic writes another imitation of a bird's call, that of a 'female pheasant': *wěi* (yǎo) 鷩 OCM *wi?. Classifiers like *kǒu* 口 'mouth' and *niǎo* 鳥 'bird' are later additions to disambiguate graphs, hence 隹 could have originally written both *tui and *wi?. From *tui derive some graphs in the phonetic series, from the *wi? others like *wéi* 隹 *wi 'to be'. This hypothesis requires fewer assumptions and steps, and is hardly more speculative than alternatives.

The preceding considerations may leave the impression that the OC word 'to be' was the issue, when in fact they were only about the *t-, not the widely agreed-on base *wi. Thus even this t-prefix hypothesis does not invalidate an OCM *wi (and vice versa) which is taken as the minimal foundation on which further hypotheses can be built. This discussion illustrates furthermore how easy it is to become distracted by marginal hypotheses about such things as prefixes, to the point of obfuscating fundamental consensus on OC issues.

A final consideration: **Availability**. The degree of adherence to a phonology-based XS principle seems to depend partly on the number of words in a rime category and, in correlation with this number, *the availability of graphic elements for writing a word*. A rime category with a large corpus of words naturally has a sufficient supply of graphic elements to allow a fairly narrow phonological parameter of a phonetic series. Thus in the common OC rime *-a, words of the type KA and KRA each tend to have their own phonetic (古家假). Rimes which are comprised of relatively few words, such as *-əp, *-en, and *-ui, have a more limited supply of graphic elements, therefore phonetic similarity may occasionally be reduced to the rime or even the final consonant. This could possibly have something to do with irregular graphs and series.

9.2.7 jīn 今, tān 貪, niàn 念 (38-3/651, 652)

The graphs *tān* 貪 MC *tʰəm* (OCM **rhəm*) ‘to covet’ and *niàn* 念 MC *niem*^C (OCM **nims*) ‘think of’ share the element *jīn* 今 MC *kjəm* (OCM **kəm*) ‘today’ which *SW* states is phonetic in the other two. This implies that all three words must have sounded similar in OC; according to strict logic, they should have had some complex initial clusters in OC (see p. ix).

Let us step back for a moment. We know as facts the MC forms *tʰəm* and *niem*^C; we know that *tān* would normally derive from OC **thəm*, **lhəm*, **nhəm*, or **rhəm* in a regular fashion, there is little argument about that; transparent cognates make OC **rhəm* a virtual certainty. MC *niem*^C normally is expected to go back to something like OC **nems*, **niam*s or **nims*, depending on one’s OC system. It is known that *tān* (**rhəm*) is related to TB **C-rum* and that Chinese regularly unrounds vowels before final labial consonants (ST **-um* > OC, MC **-əm*); and that *niàn* (**nims*) is related to WT *snjam-pa*. On the basis of MC alone, common ST forms like **C-rum* (ST **-um* > OC **-əm* > MC **-əm*) and **nim* (?) ~ **njam* can be postulated. Any OC reconstruction which is significantly out of line with these givens must be suspect, no matter what the XS principle can be construed to imply. The claim of an OC medial **r* in *jīn* is probably based on *tān*. An *m*-prefix for *niàn* is suggested by a meaningless preceding *wú* 無 **ma* in one *Shijing* line. The OC form may well have been **mnims*, but for the sake of simplicity and to avoid arguments about elusive prefixes, we will be content with the minimal form OCM **nims*. When Xǔ Shèn looked at these graphs and stated that 今 was “phonetic,” he may have had just the rimes in mind, or he may have presumed that there ought to have been some earlier phonological connection, just as in the case of 監 LHan *kam* ~ 藍 LHan *lâm* of his language.

Since we have touched on speculation, let me add my own in order to show that there can be alternative interpretations. It seems that the graph 今 was invented for the word *hàn* 頤 **gəm*? ‘jaw’, it shows the downward-turned open mouth (cf. *míng* 命 ‘to order’, *yuè* 龠 ‘pan pipe’, *líng* 令 ‘order’, *qiān* 僉 ‘glib-tongued’, *hé* 合 ‘fit’ = downward-turned open mouth covering the opening of a vessel like a lid; *shí* 食 ‘to eat’ = open mouth hovering over a full bowl); a stroke points to one side, i.e., the jaw, just as *běn* 本 ‘root’ is *mù* 木 ‘tree’ with a stroke pointing to its lower end. (In ‘jaw’, the elongated stroke may suggest the tongue, perhaps.) ‘Jaw’, like ‘mouth’, is associated with words meaning ‘hold in the mouth, hold back, resent’. ‘Hold/keep in the mouth’ is a widely encountered metaphor for internal psychological processes. Therefore, 今 is at least partially semantic in 貪 ‘to covet’ and *niàn* 念 ‘to think of’, which diminishes the likelihood of a purely phonetic role of 今.

Ruminations as in the preceding paragraph illustrate the above claim (see 9.2.1) that in unsystematic XS the principle is stood on its head. Here, these speculations have no bearing on the OCM forms, because the question we tried to address was: why did they write these OC words with this graphic element? This is the opposite of asking how similar the words that share this graphic element must have sounded. In contemplating the phonological rules and steps required for connecting Pān’s forms with MC, OCM seems less complex and hence preferable.

9.2.8 jiàng 匠 (3-52/729)

SW 5729 states that in *jiàng* 匠 ‘do carpentry work, carpenter’ both *jīn* 斤 ‘axe’ and *fāng* 方 ‘box’ are semantic. In spite of this, it has sometimes been proposed that *fāng* was phonetic after all, and the word should hence be reconstructed OC **zbjaŋ* or the like and related to WT *byaŋ-pa* ‘skilled, experienced’. However, a phonetic role of *fāng* is not compelling in light of

the semantic overlap of graph and word, hence OCM **dzaŋh*. This is apparently confirmed by foreign connections: *jiàng* is indirectly connected with Khmer *cāmna* /caŋ/ ‘to dress (wood, stone), rough out, trim...’ (i.e., do carpentry work), while the WT word is probably cognate to *fāng* 方 ‘method’ ≈ *fāng* ‘imitate, conform’.

9.2.9 jì 計 (26-3/1241a)

The word *jì* 計 MC *kiei*^C ‘calculation, accounting’ is often reconstructed with an OC final labial, i.e., **-ps*, because *shí* 十 **gip* ‘ten’ is suspected to be phonetic. Karlgren refrained from proposing an OC form because he graph for *jì* is not a rime word in poetry, the *SW* (1002) is silent on the question if 十 is phonetic. Because *shí* ‘ten’ can in a word for ‘calculate’ play a semantic role, the requirement for close phonological agreement according to the XS principle is weakened (see 9.2.1). A semantic role of ‘ten’ is, in fact, confirmed by an early variant of the graph written with *qiān* 千 ‘thousand’ instead, so at least these writers made no phonological connection with 十 **gip*. Because a phonetic role of ‘ten’ **gip* is not compelling, let us reconsider what the simplest solution could be. MC *kiei*^C can theoretically derive from many different OC syllables: from OCM **kê(k)h*, **kîh*, **kê(t)s* (< **kê[t]s* or **kêps*), or from **kí(t)s* (< **kî[t]s* or **kîps*) — these would be in Baxter’s system **ke(k)s*, **ki(k)s*, **kets* (< **kets* or **keps*), or **kits* (< **kits* or **kips*). Since open syllables are more common than closed ones, and final labials are particularly rare, the OC default form should be suspected to be either OCM **kêh* or **kîh*. Now we should look for possible cognates for confirmation among words with an open syllable. Indeed, it turns out that *jì* is simply an ordinary tone C derivation from *jī* 稽 MC *kiei*, **kî* ‘to calculate’, hence *jì* was OCM **kîh*. If *shí* **gip* played a phonetic role, it was only its initial and vowel.

10 CONCLUSION

It was my intention that with this Introduction’s summaries and considerations of data, sources, premises and assumptions, the reader may perhaps follow arguments about OC in broad outline. I hope it may help the non-specialist evaluate OC reconstructions by distinguishing (relatively) widely accepted proposals from more probing hypotheses.

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1 OCM rime *-a Yú bù 魚部

GSR 32 - 106

Baxter 1992: 478 ff. (§10.2.4)

The OC / Han period value *-a is confirmed by sporadic archaisms in dialects, and MHan transcriptions where the vowel represented foreign a (see examples under the entries).

The OCM final *-wâ has eventually merged everywhere with *-â into MC div. I -uo.

MC div. III -jwo 魚 and -ju 虞 have merged in the North, but in the South (as seen in PMin and some Wu and Gan dialects) QYS -jwo is unrounded -jɤ, while MC -ju is rounded (Mei Tzu-lin CAAAL 9, 1978: 44ff; Sagart 1993: 191). The ONWC and BTD also maintain the distinction. Initials *w, *kw- probably developed into LH wuaŋ, kwua etc. in QYS div. III; but we write LH waŋ, kya, etc. Sporadic MC -ja III after acute initials has developed in analogy to the regular forms in OCM *-akh > MC ja^C, as in 借 MC tsja^C, LH tsia^C < OCM *tsakh.

Table 1-1: OCM rimes *-aŋ, *-ak, *-a in QYS categories

Div.	*-aŋ R.3	*-ak R.2	*-akh R.2	*-a R.1
I	鋼 kâŋ kaŋ *kâŋ 光 kwâŋ kuawŋ *kwâŋ 當 tâŋ taŋ *tâŋ	各 kâk kak *kâk 郭 kwâk kuak *kwâk 落 lâk lak *râk 莫 mâk mak *mâk	路 luo ^C lo ^C *râkh	古 kuo ^B ko ^B *kâ? 土 t ^h uo ^B t ^h a ^B *thâ? 步 buo ^C bo ^C *bâh
III lab				懼 gju ^C gyo ^C *gwah 于 ju wa *wa 無 mju mua *ma
III gr	疆 kjaŋ kiaŋ *kaŋ 王 wjaŋ waŋ *waŋ 亡 mjwaŋ muawŋ *maŋ	卻 k ^h jak k ^h iak *khak 攫 kjwak kyak *kwak (縛 bjwak buak *bak) ¹		居 kjwo kia *ka?
III ac	章 tsaŋ tsaŋ *taŋ 陽 jiaŋ jaŋ *laŋ 相 sjaŋ siaŋ *saŋ 籍 sjaŋ saŋ *sraŋ	著 djak diaŋ *drak (rare)	庶 sjwo ^C sa ^C *lha(k)h (rare)	書 sjwo sa *lha 余 jiwo ja *la 所 sjwo ^B sa ^B *sra?
III ac		石 zjak dzak *dak 亦 jiäk jak *jak 射 dzjak zak *m-lak 夕 zjak ziaŋ *s-jak	柘 tsja ^C tsa ^C *takh 射 dzja ^C za ^C *m-lakh	社 zja ^B dza ^B *da? 野 jia ^B ja ^B *la?
3/3 gr	京 kjeŋ kieŋ *kraŋ 兄 xjweŋ hyan ^B *hwraŋ 永 jweŋ ^B waŋ ^B *wraŋ? 明 mjjeŋ miaŋ *mraŋ	戟 kjeŋ kiek *krak 碧 pjek piak *prak ¹		
II	更 keŋ kaŋ *krâŋ 觥 kweŋ kuawŋ *kwrâŋ 烹 p ^h eiŋ p ^h aŋ *phrâŋ	客 k ^h ek k ^h ak *khrâk 宅 dek dak *drâk 百 pek pak *prâk 獲 ywek yuak *wrâk		家 ka ka *krâ 寡 kwa ^B kua ^B *kwrâ? 巴 pa pa *prâ

Notes on the Table: In the boxes are provided: 字 / QYS / LHan / *OCM. Abbreviations: gr = grave initials, ac = acute initials, lab = labial(ized) initials. R. in the top row refers to the Rime and section in GSU. Occasionally heavier framed boxes include MC homophonous finals.

¹ The only syllable of this type, MC bjwak and pjek (or pjäk 3) are unique.

1-1	= K. 49, 1258a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	古	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B < ka ^B	kâ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (上); MGZY gu (上) [ku]; ONW ko <> [E] WT rga-ba 'old'; JP lōga				
m	罍	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
q	鹽	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
r	鹽	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
-	牯 male	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	-
	[T] ONW ko <> [D] PMin *ko ^B				
go	姑 姑	gū	kuo	ka	kâ
k	沽 a river, buy	gū	kuo	ka	kâ
	careless	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
p	辜	gū	kuo	ka	kâ
g'	棒	gū, kū	k(h)uo	k(h)a	kâ, khâ
i	故	gù	kuo ^C	ka ^C	kâh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (去); MGZY gu (去) [ku]				OCB *ka?(s)
u	苦 bitter	kǔ	k ^h uo ^B	k ^h a ^B	khâ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'u (上); MGZY khu (上) [k'u]; ONW k ^h o <> [D] PMin *k ^h o ^B				TB *kha 'bitter'
	苦 bad	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
h'	楷 a tree	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
	bad	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
t	枯	kū	k ^h uo	k ^h a	khâ
vxy	枯 枯 枯	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
b'	酷	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
		gū	kuo ^(C)	ka ^(C)	kâ, kâh
f	固	gù	kuo ^C	ka ^C	kâ(k)h
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (去); MGZY gu (去) [ku]; ONW ko				
e'	鋼	gù	kuo ^C	ka ^C	kâ(k)h
1258a	涸	hé	γâk	gak	gâk
f'	箇 箇	gè	kâ ^C	ka ^C < kai ^C	kâih
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kō (去), LR kō; MGZY gō (去) [kō]; ONW kō				
	[D] Y-Taishan kuoi ^{C1} , Kaiping kuai ^{C1} ; K-Meix 55ke ^C ; PMin *kai ^C 'bamboo stalk' > 'piece, item' <> [E] PTai *kai ^{B1} , Saek k ^h al ⁴ (< gal ⁴) > k ^h an ⁴ classifier				
a'-	胡 > 鬚	hú	γuo	gō < ga	gâ
	胡 what	hú	γuo	ga	gâ
	胡 蝴蝶 butterfly	hú	γuo	ga	gâ
i'k'	瑚 葫	hú	γuo	ga	gâ
j'	湖	hú	γuo	ga	gâ
l'm'	餽 鷓	hú	γuo	ga	gâ
c'	居 dwell	jū	kjwo	kio < kia	ka?, kah
	[T] Sin S. SR ky (平); MGZY gūy (平) [ky]; MTang ky < kō, ONW kō < kio (?)				≠ 1-18/85a chū 處 'dwell'
	[D] Y-Guangzh 55kæy ^{A1} , Taishan kui ³³ , M-Amoy 44ku ^{A1}				
	居 final particle	jū	kjwo, kjī	kia	ka
o'p'q'	据 据 裾	jū	kjwo	kia	ka
n'r's'	倨 倨 鋸	jù	kjwo ^C	kia ^C	kah
t'	裾	jū	kjwo ^(C) ,	kia ^(C) ,	ka, kah,
			k ^h jwo	k ^h ia	kha
u'	踞	jū, qú	kjwo, gjwo	kia, gia	ka, ga

1-2	= K. 50	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ag	鼓 磬	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
	[E] PWa *klo? 'bronze-drum', PTai *kloŋ ^{A1} 'drum', Saek tloŋ ^{A1} <> [D] PMin *ko ^B				
1-3	= K. 51	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	股	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
	[E] KS *kwa ¹ , S. k ^h aa ^{A1} < *k ^h - 'leg, thigh'				
b	殺	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
					Kan. k ^h as 'sheep'
1-4	= K. 52	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	蠱	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?
1-5	= K. 56	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	壺	hú	γuo	ga	gâ
					S. kaa ¹ 'kettle, teapot'
1-6	= K. 53, 91	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	戶	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR γu (上); MGZY Xu (上) [γu]; ONW γo				
	[E] TB *(C)ga 'door'; LB *?ga ¹ 'door' ≠ ga ³ 'open', NNaga *ga ^A 'door', WT sgo 'door'				
c	扈	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
					WB ka ^B 'stretched, widen'
-	滬	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
					TB-Lu. k ^h aar ^R < k ^h aar? 'a weir'
de	雇 雇	hù	γuo ^B	ga ^B	gâ?
					WB ə-k ^h a ^C 'wages'
g	顧	gù	kuo ^C	ka ^C	kâh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (去); MGZY gu (去) [ku]				
91a	所 'whack!'	hǔ	xuo ^B	ha ^B	hâ?
					= 1-30/60i; see also 1-63/91a.
1-7	= K. 54	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abc	互 互 互	hù	γuo ^C	ga ^C	gâh
1-8	= K. 642a-g	For 盍 and the graphs GSR 642g-x, see 35-1. The phonetic 去 (GSR 642a) resulted from a merger of two different OB graphs that look superficially similar: one of the phonological type KAP showing 'a lid', one of the phonological type KA? showing a standing person with an opening indicated between the spread legs (note WT 'excrement').			
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	去 put away	qù	k ^h jwo ^B	k ^h ia ^B	kha?
	go away		k ^h jwo ^C	k ^h ia ^C	khah
					OCB *kh(r)jas
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'y (去); MGZY khÿu (去) [k'y]; ONW k ^h o < k ^h io (?)				
	[E] WT skyag-pa, bskyags 'to spend, lay out, expend' ≠ skyag ~ rkyag 'dirt, excrement'; WB kya ^C 'fall, become low, expand' ≠ k ^h ya ^C 'throw down, put down'				
c	祛	qū	k ^h jwo ^(C)	k ^h ia ^(C)	kha, khah
de	祛 祛	qū	k ^h jwo	k ^h ia	kha
g	祛 enclose	qū	k ^h jwo	k ^h ia	kha
f	麩	qù	k ^h jwo ^{B/C}	k ^h ia ^{B/C}	kha?, khah
1-9	= K. 803	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	虞	qú	gjwo ^(C)	gia ^(C)	ga, gah
c	虞	jù	gjwo ^C	gia ^C	gah

j	籩 basket	qú jǔ	gjwo kjwo ^B	gia kia ^B	ga ka?	籩 = 筥 1-54/76j
k	籩	qú	gjwo	gia	ga	
fg	籩 籩	jù	kjwo ^C	kia ^C	kah	≠ jū 据 1-1/490'
e	籩	jù	gjwo ^(C) , gjak	gia ^(C) , giak	ga, gah gak	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (去); MGZY gya (去) [ky]; MTang ky < kø, ONW kø < kio (?)
h	籩	jué	gjak	giak	gak	
i	籩	jù	gjek	giak	grak	
1-10	= K. 74	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	車	chē, jū	tshja, kjwo	tsha, kia	k-lha, ka	[E] Cf. Toch. B kokale OCB *k(r)ja
e	庫	kù	khuo ^C	kha ^C	khâh	
-	褲 pants	kù	khuo ^C	—	—	= 1-23/43h
1-11	= K. 32	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	家	jiā	ka	ka	krâ	OCB *kra [T] Sin Sukchu SR kja (平); MGZY gya (平) [kja]; ONW kä <> [E] WT mkhar 'house'
e	嫁	jià	ka ^C	ka ^C	krâh	[D] PMin *ka ^C 'marry'
f	稼	jià	ka ^C	ka ^C	krâh	[T] ONW kä <> [E] KT: PTai *kla ^{C1} , Saek tlaa ³ > traa ³ 'rice seedlings', KS *kla ³ id.
1-12	= K. 33	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
acd	假假假	jiǎ	ka ^B	ka ^B	krâ?	[T] 假 Sin Sukchu SR kja (上); MGZY gya (上) [kja]; ONW kä <> [E] WT kar-skyin 'a loan'
ef	假假	jiǎ	ka	ka	krâ	
i	假	xiǎ	ya	ga	grâ	[D] PMin *fia 'shrimp'
hjdkl-	假假假假假	xiǎ	ya	ga	grâ	
g	假	xià	ya ^C	ga ^C	grâh	
1-13	= K. 34	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	假	jiǎ	ka ^B	ka ^B	krâ?	
1-14	= K. 35	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	下 down descend	xià xià	ya ^B ya ^C	ga ^B ga ^C	grâ? grâh	[D] PMin *a ^B [T] Sin Sukchu SR yja (上去); MGZY (Hya >) Hya (上去) [yja]; ONW yä ^B [D] PMin *fia ^C
d	苳 Rehmannia	xià hù	ya ^C yuo ^B	ga ^C ga ^B	grâh gâ?	
1-15	= K. 36	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	夏 great summer	xià xià	ya ^B ya ^C	ga ^B ga ^C	grâ? (or fiâ? ?) grâh	[D] PMin *fia ^C
cd	廈	xià, shà	ya ^B	ga ^B	grâ?	
1236c	廈	shà	sa ^C , ?äi ^C	sa ^C , ?as ?	srâh, ?äs ?	'breaking voice'

1-16	= K. 38	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	商	xiǎ	xa ^B	ha ^B	—	
b	賈 merchant	gǔ	kuo ^B	ka ^B	kâ?	[T] 賈價 Sin Sukchu SR kja (去); MGZY gya (去) [kja]. <> [E] WB ə-kyā ^C 'price'. <> Tai: Saek khaa ⁵ < gaa ^B 'value, price' ≠ khaa ⁶ < k'aa ^B 'engage in trade' -> P-Miao *nqa ^C
c	賈 price	jià	ka ^C	ka ^C	krâh	[D] PMin *ka ^C
d	價 price	jià	ka ^C	ka ^C	krâh	[E] WB ə-kyā ^C 'price'
	價	jiǎ	ka ^B	ka ^B	krâ?	
1-17	= K. 55	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ae	乎虐	hū	yuo	fiā	fiâ	[T] Sin Sukchu SR yu (平); MGZY Xu (平) [yu]; ONW yo
h	呼	hū	xuo ^(C)	ha ^(C)	hâ, hâh	
i	呼	hū	xuo	ha	hâ	
1-18	= K. 57, 78, 85	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
57bf	虎虜	hǔ	xuo ^B	ha ^B	hlâ?	OCB (post 1992) *hlâ? [T] MHan 虎魄 ᾗραξ (harpax) <> [D] PMin *kho ^B <> [E] AA *kala? 'tiger' > MK *kla? > OKhm *klaa
85a	處 dwell place	chǔ chù	tshjwo ^B tshjwo ^C	tsha ^B tsha ^C	k-hla? k-hlah	≠ 1-1/49c' [T] chù Sin Sukchu SR ts'y (去); MGZY chy (去) [ts'y]; ONW tshø < tsho [E] WT gda'-ba 'to be there', Mikir kedō 'to dwell'; TGTm *gla: ^{A/B} 'place'
78a	虛 mound empty	qū xū	khjwo xjwo	kha hia	kha ha	[T] Sin Sukchu SR xy (平); MGZY hy (平) [xy]; MTang hy, ONW hø < hio ?
78b	墟 ruins market	qū xū	khjwo xjwo	kha hia	kha	[D] Y-Guangzh ⁵⁵ hæy ^{A1} , Taish ²¹ hui 'seasonal market'
78c	墟	xū	xjwo	hia	ha	
78d	墟	xū	xjwo ^(C)	hia ^(C)	ha, hah	
78eg	虞g	jù	gjwo ^B	gia ^B	ga?	
1-19	= K. 95	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ace	巨 ¹ > 矩架	jǔ	kju ^B	kyā ^B	kwa?	'carpenter's square' 矩 jǔ [T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (上); MGZY gy (上) [ky]; MTang ky < kuo, ONW kuo
f	拒	jǔ	kju ^B	kyā ^B	kwa?	
i	拒 oppose	jù	gjwo ^B	gia ^B	ga?	
a	拒 troops in sq.	jǔ	kju ^B	kyā ^B	kwa?	
	巨 ² great	jù	gjwo ^B	gia ^B	ga?	[E] ST *wa 'large, wide, distant'; TB-Lushai vak ^H 'with force, very hard / much, (open mouth) wide'
jkno	拒 k 拒拒	jù	gjwo ^B	gia ^B	ga?	
pqr	詎距距	jù	gjwo ^B	gia ^B	ga?	p 詎 also tone C
gh-	渠距但	qú	gjwo	gia	ga	
1-20	= K. 96	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
96cdeg	瞿 ² 衢躍鵲	qú	gju	gyā	gwa	See 2-7.

1-21	= K. 41	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	瓜	guā	kwa	kua	kwrâ OCB *k ^w ra
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwa (平); MGZY gwa (平) [kwa]; ONW kuä <> [D] PMin *kua
bcd	呱孤罟	gū	kuo	kua	kwâ
					罟 [E] WB k ^h wa ^C 'kind of net' ≠ TB *kwan ~ *gwan 'casting net', WT rkon 'net'
					孤 [E] Tai: Wuming kla ^{C2} < *gl- 'orphan'
efg	苽觚輻	gū	kuo	kua	kwâ
hi	弧狐	hú	ɣuo	ɣua	gwâ OCB *g ^w a
					狐 hú [E] OTib fio, Tib. dial. *gwa, WT wa, Bunan goa-nu ~ gwa-nu
1-22	= K. 42	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	寡	guǎ	kwa ^B	kua ^B	kwrâ?
1-23	= K. 97, 43	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
97a	于	yú	ju	wa	wa
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (平); MTang y < uo; ONW uo; Han BTd Skt. va. MHan 于闐 wa-den Hvatāna (Khotan) <> [E] TB *wa, *s-wa: Newari wa 'to come', JP wa ³¹ 'to go back'; Chepang wah-ʔo 'moving', wah-sa 'walk'; WB swa 'to go'; Magari, Chepang hwa 'to walk'
qijkn	零杆玕盃笋	yú	ju	wa	wa
h	宇	yǔ	ju ^B	wa ^B	wa?
o	芋	yù	ju ^C	wa ^C	wah
					[D] PMin *uo ^C <> [E] Area word: MY *vəu ^{B2} <> WB wa ^C 'kind of potato'
p	迂	yú,	ju,	wa,	wa,
		yū	?ju	?ya	?wa
y-	紆扞 ¹	yū	?ju	?ya	?wa
za'	圻朽	wū	?uo	?ua	?wâ
tuv-	吁吁訃扞 ²	xū	xju	hya	hwa
d'	屮	xū	xju ^B	hya ^B	hwa?
97b'c'	汗污 / 43k 洿	wū	?uo	?ua	?wâ 'impure'
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?u (平); MGZY 'u (平) [?u]; ONW ?o
					impure, dig wā ?wa ?ua ?wrâ
43abc	夸誇媠	kuā	k ^h wa	k ^h ua	khwrâ WB krwa ^B 'be vain, boastful'
d	跨 step over	kuà	k ^h wa ^C	k ^h ua ^C	khwrâh
	squat over	kuà !	k ^h uo ^C	k ^h ua ^C	khwâh
e	夸	kuā,	k ^h wa,	k ^h ua,	khwrâ,
		xū	xjwo	hia	ha
fg	剝誇	kū	k ^h uo ^A !	k ^h ua	khwâ
hi	誇誇	kù	k ^h uo ^C	k ^h ua ^C	khwâh = 1-10/74
j	瓠	hú	ɣuo ^(C)	ɣua ^(C)	gwâ, gwâh
lm	瓠瓠	huà	ɣwa ^C	ɣua ^C	gwrâh or wâh
1-24	= K. 98	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	羽	yǔ	ju ^B	wa ^B	wa?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (上); MGZY x̣y (上) [fiy]
cd	羽翮	xǔ	xju ^B	hya ^B	hwa?

1-25	= K. 99	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	禹偶	yǔ	ju ^B	wa ^B	wa?
					[T] MTang y < uo, ONW uo
efg	橋萬踠	jǔ	kju ^B	kyo ^B	kwa?
1-26	= K. 100	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	雨 rain n.	yǔ	ju ^B	wa ^B	wa? OCB *w(r)ja? [D] PMin *fuo ^B
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (上); MGZY x̣y (上) [fiy]; MTang y < uo, ONW uo <> [E] TB *r-wa?
	雨 to rain	yù	ju ^C	wa ^C	wah
1-27	= K. 44	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
					There are no OC syllables with initial w- in Div. I in this rime, only in Div. II; I suspect that they represent OC simple *wâ rather than the more complex *wrâ. This shift into Div. II after OC initial *w- seems to have occurred in other rimes as well. 1-23/97 yú is perhaps phonetic.
a	華 ¹ flower	huá	ɣwa	ɣua	wrâ or wâ
					[T] ONW ɣuä <> [D] PMin *hua ^{A1}
c	驩	huá	ɣwa	ɣua	wrâ or wâ
a-	華 ² a mt., 樺	huà	ɣwa ^C	ɣua ^C	wrâh or wâh a mountain
	樺	huà	ɣwa ^C	ɣua ^C	wrâh or wâh
					樺 [E] WT gro-ga 'bark of birch'
d	譚	huá !	xwa	hua	hwrâ or hwâ
1-28	= K. 61	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	烏鳴	wū	?uo	?a	?â
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?u (平); MGZY 'i (平) [?u]; ONW ?o; BTd Skt. o; MHan 烏弋山離 ?a-jik-šan-liai Alexandria; 烏桓 ?a-ɣuan *Awar
e	於 oh	wū	?uo	?a	?â
	於 be in; honor.	yú	?jwo	?ia	?a [E] TB *?a- honorific prefix
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?y (平); MGZY 'yu (平) [?y]; MTang ?y < ?ø, ONW ?io (?) > ?ø
	於 satiate	yù	?jwo ^C	?ia ^C	?ah = 16-10/1242a 飫
g	於	yù	?jwo ^C	?ia ^C	?ah
h	於	yū !	?jwo ^C	?ia ^C	?ah
i	於	yū	?jwo	?ia	?a
270a	闕	è	?ât	?at	?ât = 21-1/3131 馱
1-29	= K. 58	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ae	五伍	wǔ	ɳuo ^B	ɳa ^B	ɳâ? OCB *ɳa?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɳu (上); MGZY u (上) [u]; ONW ɳo <> [D] PMin *ɳho ^{B2}
					[E] TB *l-ɳa, *b-ɳa > WT lɳa, WB ɳa ^B , PL *ɳa ² , Lushai pa ^L -ɳa ^H < ɳaa
f	吾 I, my	wú	ɳuo	ɳa	ɳâ
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɳu (平); MGZY u (平) [u]; ONW ɳo
					[E] TB *ɳa > WT ɳa; WB ɳa 'I' ≠ ɳa ^C , PL *C-ɳa
	吾 reserved	yú	ɳjwo	ɳia	ɳa
m	梧	wú	ɳuo	ɳa	ɳâ
jkln	梧梧梧梧梧	wù	ɳuo ^C	ɳa ^C	ɳâh 梧梧梧 = 1-30/60gh 忤迕
s	衙 to go	yú	ɳjwo	ɳia	ɳa
	a place	yá	ɳa	ɳa	ɳrâ
pq	圍敵	yǔ	ɳjwo ^B	ɳia ^B	ɳa?

t	語 to speak	yǔ	ɲjwo ^B	ɲia ^B	ɲa?	
	語 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲy (上); MGZY xǔ (上) [fɲy]; MTang ɲy < ɲø < ONW ɲio (?)					
	[E] WT ɲag, dɲags 'speech, talk, word' ≠ sɲa					
v-	語 to tell	yù	ɲjwo ^C	ɲia ^C	ɲah	
	鋸齧	yǔ	ɲjwo ^(B)	ɲia ^(B)	ɲa, ɲa?	
1-30	= K. 60	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	午	wǔ	ɲuo ^B	ɲa ^B	ɲâ?	
f	件	wǔ	ɲuo ^{B/C}	ɲa ^{B/C}	ɲâ?, ɲâh	
gh	忤迕	wǔ!	ɲuo ^C	ɲa ^C	ɲâh	= 1-29/50kl 唔唔
i	許 approve	xǔ	xjwo ^B	hia ^B	hɲa?	
	許 whack	hǔ	xuo ^B	ho ^B	hâ?	= 1-6/91a 所
k	滸	hǔ	xuo ^B	ho ^B	hɲâ?	
	[E] WT dɲo 'shore, bank'					
l	御 drive	yù	ɲjwo ^C	ɲia ^C	ɲah	
	御 meet	yà	ɲa ^C	ɲa ^C	ɲrâh	≠ 2-1/766u' 輅, 1-34/37fe 迕訝
	[E] WB ɲra ^B 'meet'					
p	禦	yù	ɲjwo ^B	ɲia ^B	ɲa?	[E] WT mɲa' 'might'
1-31	= K. 79, 67	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
79agdm	魚漁虞齧	yú	ɲjwo	ɲia	ɲa	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲy (平); MGZY xǔ (平) [fɲy]; ONW ɲio (?) > ɲø < [D] PMin *ɲy					
	[E] TB *ɲya: WT ɲa; Lushai ɲha ^F , Tiddim ɲaa ^R < *ɲaa?, Chepang ɲa? 'fish'					
67a	蘇	sū	suo	sa	sɲâ	
67c	蘇	sū	suo	sa	sɲâ	OCB *sɲa
	[T] MHan 蘇薤 sa-geh soyd or soydak					
1-32	= K. 81	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	圉	yǔ	ɲjwo ^B	ɲia ^B	ɲa?	= 1-29/58p 圉
1-33	= K. 80	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	馭	yù	ɲjwo ^C	ɲia ^C	ɲah	
1-34	= K. 37	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	牙芽	yá	ɲa	ɲa	ɲrâ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲja (平), PR, LR ja; ONW ɲä < [D] M-Xiam b. ge ^{A2} , giã ^{A2} , w. ga ^{A2}					
	[E] MK: Viet ngà, Bahnar ɲəla 'tusk, ivory'. PTai *ɲa ^{A2} ; PWMiao *ɲha ^A < [D] TB: Lushai ɲho ^L 'tusk'					
gc	雅房	yǎ	ɲa ^B	ɲa ^B	ɲrâ?	
fe	迕訝	yà	ɲa ^C	ɲa ^C	ɲrâh	
	≠ 1-30/60 l < [E] WB ɲra ^B 'meet'					
h	鴉	yā	?a	?a	?râ or ?a	
1-35	= K. 59	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	吳	wú	ɲuo	ɲua	ɲwâ	
de	誤悞	wù	ɲuo ^C	ɲua ^C	ɲwâh	
fjk	悞囊	yǔ	ɲju ^B	ɲya ^B	ɲwa?	
gh	悞虞	yú	ɲju	ɲya	ɲwa	

1-36	= K. 62	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	土 earth	tǔ	t ^h uo ^B	t ^h a ^B	thâ?	
	roots	dù	duo ^B	da ^B	dâ?	
d	吐	tǔ	t ^h uo ^{B/C}	t ^h a ^{B/C}	thâ?, thâh	[E] TB *(m-/s-)twa 'spit'
g-	杜肚	dù	duo ^B	da ^B	dâ?	
e	徒社	tú	duo	da	dâ	[E] Tai: S. taa ⁴ 'only, sole'
j	社	shè	zja ^B	dza ^B	da?	
1-37	= K. 64	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	圖	tú	duo	da	dâ	≠ 2-16/801a
	[T] MHan 浮圖 bu-da Buddha					
1-38	= K. 45	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	者赭	zhě	t ^h ja ^B	t ^h a ^B	ta?	[E] TB *(y)a: WB tya 'very red'
p	諸	zhū	t ^h jo	t ^h a	ta	[T] MTang t ^h y, ONW t ^h ø < t ^h o
l'	儲	chǔ!	djwo	ɲia	dra	
klmnq	渚 煮鷺渚	zhǔ	t ^h jo ^B	t ^h a ^B	ta?	
	煮 [T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^h y (上); MGZY jǔ (上) [t ^h y] < [D] PMin *t ^h y ^B					
o	署	zhù	t ^h jo ^C	t ^h a ^C	tah	
r	署	shǔ!	zjo ^C	dza ^C	da(k)h	
m'	曙	shǔ, shù	zjo ^C	dza ^C	dah or djah?	
	[E] WT ≠ ya 'above, up' ≠ yar 'up, upward' > 'char-ba, šar < *s-yar 'ro rise' (of sun, moon)					
h	豬	zhū	tjo	ɲia	tra	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^h y (平); MGZY jǔ (平) [t ^h y] < [D] W-Kaihua ta ^{A1} (Chén Zhōng-mǐn ms. 1); W-Wenzhou tsei ^{A1} (< tsi), G-Linchuan te ^{A1} , M-Xiamen ti ^{A1} .					
k'	瀦	zhū	tjo	ɲia	tra	
i	楮	chǔ	t ^h jo ^B , tuo ^B	t ^h a ^B , ta ^B	thra?, tâ?	
g	褚	zhǔ	tjo ^B	ɲia ^B	tra?	= 1-39/84g 貯
j	著	zhù	djwo ^C	ɲia ^C	drah	[D] PMin *dy ^C
n'	著 place n.	zhù	tjo ^C	ɲia ^C	trakh	
	[E] WT sta-gon 'preparation' ≠ stad-pa 'to put on, lay on', Tsangla t ^h a 'to put, place', Kanauri ta 'place, set, appoint', Kachin da 'put, place', LB *ta ² , WB tha ^B < ?ta ² 'put, place', Lushai da? ^L 'to put, place, set, put aside'					
	著 to place	zhuó	tjak	ɲiak	trak	[T] ONW tak
	著 attach	zhuó	djak	ɲiak	drak	[T] MTang dak, ONW dak
	著 particle	zhe	tjak, djak	—	—	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjaw, dzjaw (入), LR tsjaw?; MGZY jew, cew (入) [t ^h sew ~ dzew]. A Mand. progressive suffix					
o'	躐 advance...	chú	djwo	ɲia	dra	
	jump over	chuò	t ^h jak	t ^h iak	t ^h rak	= 2-21/1258b
p'	斲	zhuó	tjak	ɲiak	trak	
e'	都	dū	tuo	ta	tâ	
	[T] MHan 都賴 ta-las Talas; 都密 ta-mit (*tâ-mrit) Tarmita, Termes					
h'	闍	dū	tuo, dzja	ta, za	tâ, —	
	[T] BTD 術闍 zuit-za Skt. vidhya, Pali vijja					
yb'	堵堵	dǔ	tuo ^B	ta ^B	tâ?	

c'd'	睹觀	dǔ	tuo ^B	ta ^B	tâ?	[T] ONW to [E] TB *ta 'to see'
-	賭	dǔ	tuo ^B	ta ^B		[E] S. t ^h aa ^{C2} < *d- 'challenge'
i'j'	屠瘡	tú	duo	da	dâ	[T] MHan 浮屠 bu-da Buddha
s	緒	xù	zjwo ^B	zia ^B	s-la?	= 1-43/83h 序; 1-42/82o 紕
t	書	shū	sjwo	śa	lha	[T] Sin Sukchu SR sy (平); MGZY shÿu (平) [sy] <> [D] PMin *tšy ~ šy
x	暑	shǔ	sjwo ^B	śa ^B	lha?	
e	奢	shē	śja	śa	lha	
1-39	= K. 84	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	宁	zhù, chú	djwo ^(B)	dia ^(B)	dra, dra?	
cdf	佇佇	zhù	djwo ^B	dia ^B	dra?	
-e	苧苧	zhù	djwo ^B	dia ^B	dra?	
g	貯	zhù !	tjwo ^B	tja ^B	tra?	= 1-38/45g 褚
1-40	= K. 1242b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
b	桴	chū	t ^h jwo	t ^h ia	thra or rha ?	
1-41	= K. 86	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	杵	chǔ	tš ^h jwo ^B	tš ^h a ^B	tha?	午 1-30/60a is not phonetic
1-42	= K. 82	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	余	yú	jiwo	ja	la	
li	餘餘	yú	jiwo	ja	la	餘 [T] MTang iy < iø < ONW io. <> [E] Tai: S. lia ^{A1} < *hl- 'left over'
f	畚 field	yú	jiwo	ja	la	PEMiao *la ⁶ 'field'
g	畚	shē	śja	śa	hja ?	LB *hja ¹ 'swidden', WB ya
m	除 eliminate	yù	jiwo ^C	ja ^C	lah	= 譽 1-45/89i, 豫 1-43/83e
c'	除 pass away	chú	djwo ^C	dia ^C	drah < r-lah	[T] Sin S. SR dzy (平); MGZY cÿu (平) [dzy]; MTang dy; ONW dø < dio (?)
x	茶 tea	chá	ɖa	ɖa	dra < r-lâ	[D] M-Xiam lit. du ^{A2}
uvd'y-	茶 a bitter plant	tú	duo	da	lâ	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dza (平); ONW dâ. BTD Skt. ɖa, jhâ <> [D] PMin *da ^A
st	茶 slowly	shū	sjwo	śa	lha	[E] Loloish (TB) *la 'leaf, tea'
-	茶 a plant EY	shé	džja	ža	m-la	also 'to scoop, ladle'
pq	涂塗塗	tú	duo	da	lâ	[T] Han BTD Pkt. jha (Coblin 1993: 882)
o	徐徐徐	xú	zjwo	zia	s-la	[T] ONW do <> [D] PMin *dho 'soil, earth'. <> [E] S. t ^h aa ^{A2} < *d- 'smear, paint'
o	紕	xù	zjwo ^B	zia ^B	s-la?	= 序 1-43/83h, 緒 1-38/45s

a'	琮	tú !	t ^h uo	t ^h a	lhâ	
b'	琮	tú !,	t ^h uo ^(B) ,	t ^h a ^(B) ,	lhâ, lhâ?,	
		dù	duo ^B	da ^B	lâ?	
1-43	= K. 83	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	予 'I'	yú	jiwo	ja ^B	la? !	
	予 give	yǔ	jiwo ^B	ja ^B	la?	[T] MTang iy < iø, ONW io
c	迂	?				
e	豫 slow, joy	yù	jiwo ^C	ja ^C	lah	= 念 1-42/82g, 譽 1-45/89i
f	杼 shuttle	zhù	djwo ^B	dia ^B	dra? < r-la?	[N] Does not mean 'elephant', the right element has a different graphic origin
	oak	shù	džjwo ^B	ža ^B	m-la?	
	trough	shù	džjwo ^C	ža ^C	m-lah	
g	抒	shū !	džjwo ^B	ža ^B	m-la?	WT 'dag-pa 'remove'
k	舒	shū	sjwo	śa	lha	WT sla-ba 'easy'
j	紕	shū,	sjwo,	śa,	lha,	
		shù	džjwo	ža	m-la	
h	序	xù	zjwo ^B	zia ^B	s-la?	= 紕 1-42/82o, 緒 1-38/45s
i	茅	xù	zjwo ^B	zia ^B	s-la?	
lm	野墅 country	yě	jia ^B	ja ^B	la?	ONW ia = 埜 1-44/83n
	field hut, villa	shù	žjwo ^B	dža ^B	da?	
1-44	= K. 83n	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
n	埜	yě	jia ^B	ja ^B	la?	= 野 1-43/83 l
1-45	= K. 89, 75	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	昇	yú	jiwo ^A !	ja	la	tone A acc. to GY
b	與 give	yǔ	jiwo ^B	ja ^B	la?	= 予 1-43/83a
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (上); MGZY yÿu (上) [jy]; MTang iy < iø, ONW io
	與 participate	yù	jiwo ^C	ja ^C	lah (or *jah ?)	
	與 a particle	yú	jiwo	ja	la	= e 歟
e	歟 a particle	yú	jiwo	ja	la	OCB (post-1992) *lâ
fl	璵璠	yú	jiwo	ja	la	
i	譽 praise	yú	jiwo	ja	la	WT bla ~ rla 'above, upper'
	譽 joy	yù	jiwo ^C	ja ^C	lah	= 念 1-42/82g, 豫 1-43/83e
j	輿	yú	jiwo	ja	la	Tai: S. lo ^B 'car, carriage'
g	輿	yǔ	jiwo ^B	ja ^B	la?	
k	輿	yù	jiwo ^C	ja ^C	lah	
n	輿	xù	zjwo ^B ,	zia ^B ,	s-la?,	
		yǔ	jiwo ^B	ja ^B	la?	
o	輿	xù	zjwo ^B	zia ^B	s-la?	
75a	輿	jǔ	kjwo ^B	kia ^B	kla?	[T] MTang ky < ONW kø < kio (?)
1-45A	与	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-		yǔ	jiwo ^B	ja ^B	la?	

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
1-46	= K. 63				
a	兔	tù	t ^h uo ^C	t ^h a ^C	lhâh Jiarong ka-la 'rabbit'
-	虬 tiger	tù	t ^h uo ^C	t ^h a ^C	lhâh MK *kla? 'tiger'
c	菟	tú	duo	da	lâ
1-47	= K. 47				
ab	邪耶 a place	yé	jia	ja	la or ja?
	[T] ONW ia. MHan 莫邪 mah-ja Skt māyā				
	slow	xú	zjwo	zia	s-la
abc	邪耶袞 obliq.	xié	zja	zia	s-la or s-ja? 'oblique'
1-48	= K. 48				
a	舍 give	shě	śja ^B	śa ^B	lha?
	[T] Sin S. SR sje (上); MGZY shya (上) [sje]; ONW śa <> [E] MMon salah 'to give away, disburse'				
	舍 stop	shè	śja ^C	śa ^C	lhah
	[T] BTD 墮舍利 hyai-śah-lih Skt. Vaiśālī <> [E] KN-Lushai thla?L (< *slas) 'to let go'				
c	捨	shě	śja ^B	śa ^B	lha?
1-49	= K. 92				
a	鼠	shǔ	śjwo ^B	śa ^B ~ tś ^h a ^B	nha? ? OCB *hja? (?)
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR śy (上); MGZY shyū (上) [sy]; ONW śo > śø				
	[D] Southern and NW dialects: PMin *tśhy ^B ; Xiam ts ^h u ^B , Fuzh ts ^h y ^B ; Ke *tś ^h u ^B : Meix ts ^h u ^B ; Wu Wenzh tś ^h i ⁴⁵ (Běidà tś ^h ei ^B). NW-Xining tś ^h y ⁵³ , Dunhuang -tś ^h u ⁴² , Lanzh p ^h u ³³				
b	瘋	shǔ	śjwo ^B	śa ^B	nha? ? [E] TB *na > WT na-ba 'ill, ache'
1-50	= K. 93				
a	黍	shǔ	śjwo ^B	śa ^B	nha? ? OCB *hja? [T] ONW śo > śø
1-51	= K. 69				
ad	虬廬	lú	luo	la	râ
	[T] BTD 比廬持 pi ^C -la-diə Skt. vairāṭi-				
jkl	廬廬廬	lú	luo	la	râ
mno	廬廬廬	lú	luo	la	râ
p	顛	lú	luo	la	râ S. p ^h aak < *p ^h r/1- 'forehead'
-	廬 'boat'	lú	luo	la	— TB-WB hlo- 'boat'; KS *lwa ^A
e	虬	lǔ	luo ^B	la ^B	râ?
qr	廬廬	lú !	ljwo	lia	ra WT gra-ma 'the awn, bristles'
-	廬	lú	ljwo	lia	ra WB la ^B 'mule'
	廬 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ly (平); MGZY lǔ (平) [ly], ONW lio				
u	廬	lú	ljwo	lia	ra [D] PMin *lho ^C
f	慮	lù	ljwo ^C	lia ^C	rah
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ly (去); MGZY lǔ (去) [ly]; ONW lio; BTd Skt. lo				
	[E] ST *rwa-?: WT bgro-, bgros 'to consider', Lushai ruat ^F 'to think, believe, consider'				
vy	鑪鑪	lù	ljwo ^C	lia ^C	rah
-	慮	lù	ljwo ^C	lia ^C	rah
t	億	lǔ	ljwo ^B	lia ^B	ra?
x	慮	chū	t ^h jwo	t ^h ia	rha

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
g	膚	fū	pju	pua	pra OCB *prja
	[E] Cf. TB *s-pak > WT -lpags 'skin'. <> Tai-S. pliak ^{D1L} < *pl- 'husk, bark'				
1-52	= K. 70				
ae	魯櫓	lǔ	luo ^B	la ^B	râ? OCB *C-rja?
1-53	= K. 71				
a	鹵	lǔ	luo ^B	la ^B	râ? TB *s-la 'salt'
1-54	= K. 76				
ade	呂侶侶	lǔ	ljwo ^B	lia ^B	ra? = 旅 1-55/77a
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ly (上); MGZY lǔ (上) [ly]; ONW lio				
-	鋁	lǔ	ljwo ^B	lia ^B ?	ra? (?) WT ra-gan 'brass' < rag
g	閩	lú	ljwo	lia	ra
h	邵	lǔ	ljwo ^B	lia ^B ?	ra?
jl	筮筮	jǔ	kjwo ^B	kia ^B	ka? = 籬 1-9/803j [E] LB *kak 'large basket'
1-55	= K. 77				
ae	旅簪	lǔ	ljwo ^B	lia ^B	ra? = 呂 1-54/76a
f	旅	lú	luo	la	râ = 盧墟 1-51/69dj OCB *g-rja?
1-56	= K. 94				
a	女 woman	nǚ	ŋjwo ^B	ŋia ^B	nra? OCB *nrja?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ny (上); MGZY nǚ (上) [ny]; ONW nø < nio <> [D] PMin *ny ^B				
	[E] WT mna'(-ma) 'd.-in-law'; West Tib. ñag(-mo) 'woman'; JP nã ³³ 'older sister, sister-i.l.'				
f	女 give a wom.	nǚ	ŋjwo ^C	ŋia ^C	nrah
j	妝	nǚ	ŋjwo ^B	ŋia ^B	nra? WT mna' 'cake'
	[D] PMin *ny ^B , Amoy li ^B <> [E] TB: *na ~ *nan 'you'				
g	如	rú	ńjwo, ńjwo ^C	ńa, ńa ^C	na, nah Mru na 'be so' see 21-27/318
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ry (平); MGZY Zhǔ (平) [ry]; ONW nó > nø				
r	茹 madder	rú	ńjwo	ńa	na
	茹 interlaced	rú	ńjwo ^(C)	ńa ^(C)	na, nah
	茹 rotten	rǔ	ńjwo ^B	ńa ^B	na?
	茹 to swallow	rú !	ńjwo ^{B/C}	ńa ^{B/C}	na?, nah MY: *na? ⁷ 'to swallow'
	Also: PVM *s-ja:?' to chew, masticate'; Kharia po? 'to eat'				
	茹 deliberate	rù	ńjwo ^C	ńa ^C	nah WT mno-ba 'to think'
q	茹	rù	ńjwo ^(C)	ńa ^(C)	na, nah WT na 'meadow'
s	駕	rú	ńjwo	ńa	na
o	絮	nú, rú	ŋjwo	ŋia	nra
p	絮	rú !	ŋjwo	ŋia	nra
t	絮	shù	śjwo ^C	śa ^C	nhah
u	絮 silk	xù	sjwo ^C	sia ^C	snah
	to season	chù	t ^h jwo ^C	t ^h ia ^C	nhrah?
l	奴	nú	nuo	na	nâ
	[T] Sin S. SR nu (平); MGZY nu (平) [nu]; ONW no. 匈奴 LH huon-na Xiōng-nú, Huns				
vy	拏絮	nú	nuo	na	nâ

b'c'	擎 c'	ná	ɲa	ɲa	nrâ	[T] BTD Skt. nā
d'	磬	nú, nǔ	nuo ^(B)	na ^(B)	nâ, nâ?	
e'	笄	nú,	nuo ^(C) ,	na ^(C) ,	nâ, nâh	
		ná	ɲa	ɲa	nrâ	
f'	鴛	nú	nuo	na	nâ	
-	努	nǔ	nuo ^B	na ^B	nâ?	
a'	怒	nù	nuo ^{B/C}	na ^{B/C}	nâ?, nâh	
		[E] ST *nwar: Lushai nōr ^F < nōr? 'press, push' ≠ Lushai nuar ^H / nōr? ^L < nuar < nōr?/h 'be displeased, disgruntled', Khami *nuar 'get angry'				
z	弩	nǔ	nuo ^B	na ^B	nâ?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR nu (上); MGZY nu (上) [nu]; ONW no				
-	瘴	nà	ɲa ^C †, i.e., prob. na ^C [JY]			TB *na 'ill'
1-57	= K. 46	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab'	且 ¹ > 祖	ancest	zǔ	tsuo ^B	tsa ^B	tsâ?
h'	粗		cū,	ts ^h uo,	ts ^h a,	tshâ,
			zù	dzuo ^B	dza ^B	dzâ?
i'j'	徂殂		cú	dzuo	dza	dzâ
m'	駟		zù,	dzuo ^B ,	dza ^B ,	dzâ?
			zǎng	tsâŋ ^B	tsaŋ ^B	tsâŋ?
d'	租		zū	tsuo	tso	tsâ
q'	租		zū,	tsuo,	tso,	tsâ,
			qū, jū	ts ^(h) jwo	ts ^(h) ia	tso, tsha
e'	組		zǔ	tsuo ^B	tsa ^B	tsâ?
k'	虐		cuó	dzuo	dza	dzâ
v's'u'	馱 馱 馱		zhā	tʂa	tʂa	tsrâ
r'	馱		chǔ	tʂ ^h jwo ^B	tʂ ^h a ^B	tshra?
i	租		zhā	tʂa	tʂa	tsrâ
j	担		zhā, jiè,	tʂa, tsja ^B	tʂa, tsia ^B ,	tsrâ, tsa?
			jiè	dzja ^B	dzia ^B	dza?
46a	且 ² moreover		qiè	ts ^h ja ^B	ts ^h ia ^B	tsha?
		[T] Sin S. SR ts'je (上); MGZY tshya (上) [ts'je]; ONW ts ^h ia. MHan 且末-mat = Calmadana				
	且 obstruct		qū	ts ^h jwo	ts ^h ia	tsha
	且 many		jū	tsjwo	tsia	tso
h	置		jiè	tsja	tsia	tso
k	沮 leak		jù	dzjwo ^B	dzia ^B	dza?
	沮 marshy		jù	tsjwo ^C	tsia ^C	tsah
n'	涖		jū !	tsjwo	tʂa	tsra
u	咀		jū !	dzjwo ^B	dzia ^B	dza?
m	蛆		jū	tsjwo	tsia	tso
opqrs	狙 疽 砮 雉 鷓		jū !	ts ^h jwo	ts ^h ia	tsha
t	苴 hemp, straw		jū !	ts ^h jwo	ts ^h ia	tsha
	straw shoe		qū, jū	ts ^(h) jwo	ts ^(h) ia	tso, tsha
	dung straw		zhǎ	tʂa ^B	tʂa ^B	tʂâ?
n	咀		jū !	ts ^h jwo	ts ^h ia	tsha

vy	俎阻	zǔ	tsjwo ^B	tʂa ^B	tsra?	
x	詛	zǔ !	tsjwo ^C	tʂa ^C	tsrah	
a'	鉏	jǔ !	dzjwo ^B	dza ^B	dzra?	
z	助	zhù	dzjwo ^C	dza ^C	dzrah	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzu (上); MGZY cu (上) [dzu]				
o'	耨	zhù, chú	dzjwo ^(C)	dza ^(C)	dzra, dzrah	
p'	鋤	chú	dzjwo	dza	dzra	
		[D] W-Kaihua za ^{A2} ; PMin *dhy, dy, ɲy <> [E] OKhmer /crās/ 'to scrape', OKhmer ≠ OKhmer camrās 'to rake, hoe' ≠ Khmer rā'sa /roəh/ 'to scrape, rake, hoe, harrow'				
1-58	= K. 65	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	犓		cū	ts ^h uo	ts ^h a	tshâ
1-59	= K. 66	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	麤		cū	ts ^h uo	ts ^h a	tshâ
1-60	= K. 87	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	初		chū	tʂ ^h jwo	tʂ ^h a	tshra
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'u (平); MGZY chu (平) [tʂ'u]; MTang tʂ'y, ONW tʂ ^h ø < tʂ ^h o				
		[D] PMin *tʂhø, Xiamen lit. ts ^h ɔ ^{A1} , col. ts ^h ue ^{A1}				
1-61	= K. 68	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	素		sù	suo ^C	sa ^C	sâh
		Khmer /saa/ 'white, colorless'				
1-62	= K. 90, 88	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
90a	疋		shū	sjwo	ʂa	sra
bd	疏蔬		shū	sjwo	ʂa	sra
		[T] MHan 疏問 ʂa-mun ^C (*sra-məns) Skt. śramana <> [D] PMin *ʂø				
-	梳		shū	sjwo	ʂa	[D] PMin *ʂø
		[E] ST *Crja(t): TB *hryat 'to comb': KN-Lai hriat / hria?, WT(g)šad-pa < *(g)-rhjat				
88a	楚		chǔ	tʂ ^h jwo ^B	tʂ ^h a ^B	tshra?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tʂ'u (上); MGZY chu (上) [tʂ'u]; ONW tʂ ^h o > tʂ ^h ø.				
		[E] Khmu /cərɬa?/ 'thorn'				
90e	胥		xū	sjwo	sia	sa
f	涪		xǔ	sjwo ^B	sa ^B	sra?
		[N] Probably with OCM *r because shū 灑 sjwo ^A 7-21/878h) is the same word				
		[E] Khmer /srak/ 'to drop, drip'				
g-	稽 譎		xǔ	sjwo ^B	sia ^B	sa?
h	糈		xǔ	sjwo ^B ,	sia ^B ,	sa?
			shǔ	sjwo ^B	ʂa ^B	sra?
i-	婿 婿		xù	(—)	sia ^C	sah
				~ siei ^C	se(i) ^C	son-in-law
		[T] Coll. Shazhou siei (si?) <> [D] PSMIn *sai ^C : Xiam col. sai ^C , lit. se ^C , Chaozh sai ^C , Fuzhou sa ^C ; W-Wenzh sei ^C , K-Meix se ^C , Guangzh fai ^{C2}				
1-63	= K. 91	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	所 'place'		suǒ	sjwo ^B	ʂa ^B	sra?
		OCB *s(k)rja?				
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂu (上), LR ʂwo; MGZY (zhu >) shu (上) [ʂu]; ONW ʂø < ʂo				
		[E] TB *sra 'place': JP fā ³¹ -ra ³¹ 'place', WB ra 'place, situation, thing, subject'				

[N] It seems that the graph for 'whack' 1-6 所 may have been borrowed for an obsolete **ga 'place', cf. JP *ga*⁵⁵ 'earth, place', and then used for the synonym suò. This **ga is perhaps represented by hù 戶 1-6a 'to stop', and perh. also by the meaning 'household' (i.e., 'dwelling'?) which folk etymology may have associated with the homophonous 'door' as a *pars pro toto* (words for 'stop, dwell, place' tend to be related).

	斫	chū	tʂʰjwo ^B	tʂʰa ^B	—	SW
1-64	= K. 72	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	普	pǔ	p ^h uo ^B	p ^h a ^B	phâ?	
1-65	= K. 73	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	步	bù	buo ^C	ba ^C	bâh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR bu (去); MGZY pu (去) [bu]; MTang bu < bo, ONW bo [D] PMin *b-: Jiànyáng vo ⁶ ; Yao bia ⁶ (< *nb-) <> [E] TB-Mru pak 'go, walk'				
1-66	= K. 101	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	夫 man	fū	pju	pua	pa	TB *pa > JP wa ³³ 'man'
	夫 that	fú	bju	bua	ba	PL *m-ba ¹ , WT p ^h a 'there'
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR fu (平); MGZY Hwu (平) [fu]; MTang pfu < pfuo, ONW puo				
f	扶 assist	fú	bju	bua	ba	also a pre-syllable [D] PMin *bhuo
	扶 a measure	fú	pju	pua	pa	
		[T] MTang bvü < bvuo, ONW buo <> [D] PMin *bhio <> [E] TB *pa 'palm of hand'				
e	扶 crawl	fú, pū	bju, p ^h uo	bua, p ^h a	ba, phâ	
gh	扶 鉄	fū	pju	pua	pa	~ 1-67/102h
	扶 芙	fú	bju	bua	ba	
1-67	= K. 102, 771	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
102ah	父 > 斧 axe	fǔ	pju ^B	pua ^B	pa?	OCB *p(r)ja?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR fu (上); MGZY Hwu (上) [fu]; MTang pfu < pfuo, ONW puo [D] PMin *puo ^B <> [E] TB *r-pa 'axe'				
a	父 father	fù	bju ^B	bua ^B	ba?	TB *pa, Lu. pa ^F < *paa?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR fu (上); MGZY hwu (上) [vu]; MTang bvü < bvuo, ONW buo				
f	父 honorific	fú	pju ^B	pua ^B	pa?	
n	釜	fǔ	bju ^B	bua ^B	ba?	
rst	甫 honorific	fú	pju ^B	pua ^B	pa?	WT -pa masculine suffix
u	脯 甫 黼	fǔ	pju ^B	pua ^B	pa?	
v	簠	fǔ	pju ^(B/C)	pua ^(B/C)	pa, pa?, pah	
y	輔	fǔ	bju ^B	bua ^B	ba?	[E] OKhmer /βnak/ 'support'
i'j'	哺 捕	bǔ !	buo ^C	ba ^C	bâh	
		[D] PMin *bo ^C , but Jian'ou pió ⁴⁴ (prob. from *bo ^C via bæ ^C)				
z	圃	pǔ !	puo ^{B/C}	pa ^{B/C}	pâ?, pâh	OCB *pas
e'	鋪	bù	puo ^(C)	pa ^(C)	pâ, pâh	TB *wa (or *pa) 'bite, chew'
c'	補	bǔ	puo ^B	pa ^B	pâ?	
		[T] MTang pu < po, ONW po <> Also WB p ^h a 'mend, patch' <> [D] PMin *puo ^B [E] MK: PVM *k-pa:?'to repair, sew', Khmer /pah/ (i.e., prob. = pa?) 'to patch'				
f'	浦	pǔ	p ^h uo ^B	p ^h a ^B	phâ?	Viet phá < p ^h a? 'inlet, cove'
n'o'	蒲 菹	pú	buo	ba	bâ	
		[T] 蒲 類 ba-lus Bars (*barus) 'tiger' [Hanshu]				

d'	逋	bū	puo	pa	pâ	
		[E] TB: WT sbas 'hide, conceal', 'ba-bo 'hole, cave, cavern', Kitanti bha 'anus', Mikir iŋbò < *m-ba ^A 'lose, get lost'				
k'	酺 drinking	pú	buo	ba	bâ	
	deity	bù	buo ^C	ba ^C	bâh	
g'h'	痛 鋪	pū, fū	p ^h uo, p ^h ju	p ^h a, p ^h ua	phâ, pha	
l'	匍 匐	pú-fú	buo, bju	ba, bua	bâ, ba	
		[D] Mand. col. pá 爬 'to climb'				
-	葡萄	pú-táo	buo-dâu	ba-dau		'grape'
		<- Iranian *budāwa or *bādāwa				
j	布	bù	puo ^C	pa ^C	pâh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR pu (去); MGZY bu (去) [pu]; ONW po <> [D] Min *pio ^C . W-Qingtian pa? (Pān 1991:238) <> [E] Lushai p ^h a ² (< *phah) 'to spread' (as cloth)				
m	怖	pù	p ^h uo ^C	p ^h a ^C	phâh	
		[T] ONW p ^h o ^C <> [D] Mand. col. pà 怕 'to fear' <> [E] TB-Lushai p ^h o ^{ok} ^F 'be afraid'				
p'q't'	專 q' 敷	fū	p ^h ju	p ^h ua	pha	[T] ONW p ^h uo
u'	傳 assist	fù	pju ^C	pua ^C	pah	
	attach		bju ^C	bua ^C	bah	
v'	搏	fú	bju	bua	ba	
x'	賻	fù	bju ^C	bua ^C	bah	
y'	y'	pū	p ^h uo	p ^h a	phâ	
771a	博	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	[T] ONW pak
d	搏 beat, seize	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	
	drum	bó, fù	pâk, pju ^C	pak, pua ^C	pâk, pakh	
n	簿	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	
gj	縛 j	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	
-	膊 膊	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	[E] PMon *pnah 'shoulder'
l	膊	pò	p ^h âk	p ^h ak	phâk	
		Also TB-LB *pak ~ *?pak > Lahu phâ? 'unfasten, dismantle' ≠ pâ? 'collapse, come undone'; Akha pa ^{HS} 'break, split.'				
f	溲 a river	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	
	great	pǔ	p ^h uo ^B	p ^h a ^B	phâ?	
o	簿	bó	buo ^B	ba ^B	bâ?	
p	薄 trellis, thin	bó	bâk	bak	bâk	[E] TB *ba 'thin'
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR baw (入), LR baw?; MGZY paw (入) [baw]; ONW bak <> [D] PMin *bok				
qr	薄 a sound	pò	p ^h âk	p ^h ak	phâk	
	薄 薄	bó	bâk	bak	bâk	
		薄 Also PMonic *c(1)-m-ək 'a hoe, spade', in Yue dial. like Taishan ɲɔŋ ^{35/A1}				
m	縛	fù	bjwak	buck	bak	
		[T] MTang bvua ^k , ONW buak < bak <> [D] PMin *buk > Amoy bak ^{D2} , Fuzh puo ^{D2} , Jiany po ^{D2} 'to tie'. <> [E] MK-Khmer p̄a'ka /pak/ 'to enlace, embroider' ≠ /bamnak/ 'to be enlacing, stitching together'; Mon /pak/, Semai /bək/, Temiar /bag/ 'to bind'				
1-68	= K. 39	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	巴	bā	pa	pa	prâ	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR pa (平); MGZY: suppl. ba (平) [pa]; ONW pā				
-	笆 bamboo	bā	ba ^B , pa	ba ^B , pa	—	WT spa ~ sba 'cane'
	笆 fence	bā	pa	—	—	TB: *rpa 'fence'

-	疤	bā	pa	pa	—	WT 'bar 'uneven, rough'
c	芭	bā	pa	pa	prâ	
d	狃	bā	pa	pa	prâ	MK-Wa-L.-B. *bras 'wild boar'
b	把	bǎ	pa ^B	pa ^B	prâ?	
		[T] Sin S. SR pa (上); MGZY: suppl. ba (上) [pa] <> [E] WT spar-ba 'the grasping hand'				
-	葩	pā	p ^h a	p ^h a	—	
		[E] WT 'bar-ba 'to blossom'; Lepcha bor 'to bloom' a-bor 'blossom'; Lushai paar ^H 'flower, blossom' ≠ par? ^L 'to open' (as flower) ≠ p ^h ar? ^L 'to open' (as hand, flower), KN-Khami par 'flower'; WB pan ^B 'flower'; JP 'nam-2pan				
-e	耙	pá, bà	ba ^(C)	ba ^(C)	brâ(h)	[T] ONW bā
		[E] ? JP bra? ⁵⁶ 'forked' (road); Kanauri pra 'spread, stretch', WB pra ^B 'divided into several parts', JP bra? ⁵⁵ < brak ⁵⁵ 'be forked'				

1-69	= K. 103	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
agh	無 > 舞 ^h	wǔ	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	'dance' OCB *m(r)ja?
	無 not have	wú	mju	mua	ma	[E] ST *ma: TB *ma 'not'
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR vu (平); MGZY wu (平) [vu]; MTang mvu < muo, ONW muo				
i	蕪	wǔ	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	
		[E] S maa ^{C1} (WrSiam hmaa) 'beautiful'				
j	憊 stupefied	wǔ	mju ^B , huo	mua ^B , ha	ma?, hmâ	
	憊 love	wǔ	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	≠ 2-40/802h 慕
		[T] ONW muo ^B <> [E] WB maŋ ^A 'to like, love'; KS *maŋ ⁴ 'to like'				
k	甌	wǔ	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	
		[E] S. moɔ ^{C1} < *hm- 'cooking pot'				
lm	蕪 蕪	wú	mju	mua	ma	
n	憊	hū	xuo	ha	hmâ	
o	膾	hū, xǔ	xuo, xju ^B , mju	ha, hia ^B , mua	hmâ, hma?,	'big slice of dried meat'
	膾 big	wǔ	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	
q	郟 a state	xǔ	xjwo ^B	hia ^B	hma?	~ 許 *hja? 1-30/60i
p	撫	fū	p ^h ju ^B	p ^h ua ^B	pha?	

1-70	= K. 106	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	无	wú	mju	mua	ma	= 無 1-70/103a

1-71	= K. 104	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	武	wú	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	OCB *Np(r)ja?
		[T] MTang mvu < muo, ONW muo. <> [E] WT dmag 'army'				

f	鵠	wǔ	mju ^B	mua ^B	ma?	
g	賦	fù	pju ^C	pua ^C	pah	WT dpya 'tax, duty, tribute'
		The 'phonetic' wǔ may have been chosen because tax collection was until not too long ago enforced with the help of the military				

1-72	= K. 105	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	巫 覡	wū	mju	mua	ma	
		[N] The original graph shows two hands holding up some object. <> [E] WT 'ba-po < *nba 'shaman(ess), sorcerer'				
b	誣	wū	mju	mua	ma	[E] Chepang ma?- 'to lie, deceive'

1-73	= K. 40	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	馬	mǎ	ma ^B	ma ^B	mrâ?	OCB *mra?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ma (上); ONW mä ^B <> [D] PMin *ma ^B <> [E] TB *mraŋ				
f	馮	mà	ma ^C	ma ^C	mrâh	
h	罵	mà	ma ^{B/C}	ma ^{B/C}	mâ?, mâh	

2 OCM rime *-ak Duó bù 鐸部

GSR 766 - 807

Baxter 1992: 484 ff. (§10.2.5)

See Table 1-1 for OCM rimes *-aŋ, *-ak, *-a in QYS categories.

Table 2-1: Comparison of OCM rimes *-aŋ, *-ak with *-eŋ, *-ek

Div.	*-aŋ R.3	*-ak R.2	*-ek R.	*-eŋ R.9
I	綱 kâŋ kaŋ *kâŋ 光 kwâŋ kuŋ *kwâŋ 當 tâŋ taŋ *tâŋ	各 kâk kak *kâk 郭 kwâk kuak *kwâk 落 lâk lak *râk 莫 mâk mak *mâk		
IV			擊 kiek kek *kêk 鴟 kiwek kuek *kwêk 麻 liek lek *rêk 覓 miek mek *mêk	經 kienŋ keŋ *kêŋ 肩 kiweŋ kueŋ *kwêŋ 定 dienŋ denŋ *dêŋ
III	疆 kjaŋ kiaŋ *kaŋ 王 jwaŋ waŋ *waŋ 亡 mjwaŋ muŋ *maŋ 章 tsjaŋ tsaŋ *taŋ	卻 khjak khak *khak 攪 kjwak kyak *kwak (縛 bjwak buak *bak) 著 djak diak *drak		
III ac		石 zjak dzak *dak 亦 jiak jak *jak 射 dzjak zak *m-lak 夕 zjak ziak *s-jak	刺 tshjak tshiek 易 jiak jek *lek 役 jiwak wek *wek	正 tsjanŋ tseŋ *teŋ 盈 jianŋ jenŋ *leŋ 營 jiwänŋ4 weŋ *weŋ
3/4 gr			益 ?jiak4 ?iek *?ek 辟 pjiak4 piek *pek	勁 kjiänŋ4 kienŋ *kenŋ 頃 khjiwänŋ4 khyeŋ *khweŋ 名 mjianŋ4 mienŋ *meŋ
III gr	京 kjeŋ kiaŋ *kraŋ 兄 xjweŋ hyaŋ *hwraŋ 永 jweŋ ^B wan ^B *wraŋ? 明 mjjeŋ mianŋ *mraŋ	戟 kjeŋ kiaŋ *kraŋ 碧 pjeŋ piaŋ *praŋ		驚 kjeŋ kiaŋ *kreŋ 榮 jweŋ weŋ *wreŋ 鳴 mjjeŋ mienŋ *mreŋ
II	更 keŋ kaŋ *krâŋ 觥 kweŋ kuaŋ *kwrâŋ 烹 p ^h weŋ p ^h aŋ *phrâŋ	客 kh ^h ek khak *khrâk 宅 dek dak *drâk 百 pek pak *prâk		生 seŋ seŋ *srêŋ (irreg.)
II		獲 ywek yuak *wrâk (irreg.)	搗 kek kek *krêk 畫 ywek yuek *wrêk 脈 mek mek *mrêk 責 tsek tsek *tsrêk	耕 keŋ keŋ *krêŋ 爭 tseŋ tseŋ *tsrêŋ

See Table 17-1 for comparison of OCM rimes *-ek, *-ak, *-auk, *-uk that shows the shift from OC *-auk to MC -jak, and *-ak to MC -jäk after acute initials in div. III where the latter final merged with the reflexes of OCM *-ek in standard Chinese (Table 2-1), but has the expected QYS analogue -jak in Min dialects. In the OC rimes *-ak, *-ek, *-ok and *-auk, syllables with MC retroflex initials, especially of the expected type djak, djäk, djwok, tend to be rare in Div. III and seem to have shifted into Div. II dek, ðäk, dek, ðök.

MC xâk (LH hak) is rare, if not unique, while MC xək II, LH hak occurs more often. Perhaps MC xək is the regular reflex of OCM *hâk (not *hrâk), while MC xâk may derive from OCM *hŋâk or *hmâk.

2-1	= K. 766	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
axz	各 > 恪 格 ¹	gé	kək	kak	krâk 'go to, arrive'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaw (入); MGZY gyay (入) [kjaŋ] ≠ jiä 假 *krâ? 1-12/33c				
	各 each	gè	kâk	kak	kâk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaw (入), LR kaw?, kō?; MGZY gaw (入) [kaw]; ONW kak 'each'				
de	脛 ¹ 裕 armpit	gē	kâk	kak	kâk < *klak
	[E] PMon *knlak 'armpit'; TB *g-lak > WB lak-kali ^B 'armpit'				
f	閣	gè	kâk	kak	kâk
gp'	恪 p'	kè	khâk	khak	khâk
hj	貉 ¹ j animal	hé	yâk	gak	gâk
h	貉 ² a tribe	mò	mək	mak	mrâk = 貉
	a sacrifice	mà	ma ^C	ma ^C	mrâkh
c'	骼	gé	k(h)ək	k(h)ak	k(h)râk,
			kâk	kak	kâk < klak [E] KS *k-la:k ^D , *tla:k ^{D1}
d	脛 ² haunch	gé, gè	kək	kak	krâk
b'	骼	gé	kək	kak	krâk
g'	垆	hè	yək	gak	grâk [E] LB *?krak 'dry'
z	格 ² obstruct	hè	yək	gak	grâk
	branch	gè	kâk	kak	kâk [E] TB *ka:k 'branch'
d'	客	kè	khək	khak	kh râk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'əj (入), LR k'əj?; MGZY khyay (入) [k'jaŋ]				
o'	喀	kè	khək	khak	kh râk [E] PMV *krhak 'to spit'
-	咯	kǎ			'cough up phlegm'
	[D] Min: Xiàmén khak ^{D2} and ke? ^{D1}				
	咯	luò	lâk	lak	râk Tai: S. raak ^{D2} 'to vomit'
j'	額	é	ŋək	ŋak	ŋrâk
	[D] PMin *ŋhiak: Xiam gio? ^{D2} , hia? ^{D2} , lit. gik ^{D2}				
h'	詔	é	ŋək	ŋak	ŋrâk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR əj (入), PR ŋəj?; MGZY yay (入) [jaŋ]				
k	洛	luò	lâk	lak	râk OCB *g-rak
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (入), LR law?; MGZY law (入) [law]; ONW lak				
q'	落	luò	lâk	lak	râk OCB *g-rak
	[D] PMin *lhək 'to fall'				
n	烙	luò	lâk	lak	râk S. kh ^h lök ^{D2L} < *gl- 'burn'

o	絡	luò	lâk	lak	râk	
						[E] LB *ʔkrak 'rope', WT 'grags-pa 'bind'
p	酪	yoghurt	lào	lâk	lak	râk < *g-rak
						[T] Cf. Mongol *ayiray (Pulleyblank 1962: 253)
qrst	韃駱駱	luò	lâk	lak	râk	q OCB *C-rak
u	珞	luò,	lâk,	lak,	—	
		lì	liek	leuk	riâuk	= 17-8/1125j 礫
v	略	lüè	ljak	liak	rak	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljaw (入); MGZY lew (入) [lew]; ONW l(i)ak
k'	賂	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	OCB *g-raks
n'	輅	chariot	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh
	crosspiece	hè	ɣək	gak	grâk	
	to meet	yà	ŋa ^C	ŋa ^C	ŋrâh	
						= 御 1-30/60l; 迓訝 1-34/37fe <> [E] WB ŋra ^B 'meet'
x'	輅	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	
l'	路	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	OCB *g-raks
						[T] Sin S. SR lu (去), PR, LR lu; MGZY lu (去) [lu]; ONW lo. MHan 徑路 ken ^C -la ^C qinjiraq (Hunnish sword) <> [D] W-Wenzh løy ²¹ ; PMin *duo ^C : Yǒng'ān tiu ^{C1} , Jiàny tiō ^{C2} , Fuzh tuo ^{C2}
s'	籊	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	< *g-rakh
						[E] Tai: S. k ^h laa ^{C2} (WrSiam glaa) 'bamboo'
t'u'	露	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	OCB *g-raks
						[T] ONW lo. Transcribes a pre-Han TB word for 'black' (cf. WT rog, rag-po); Unger <i>Hao-ku</i> 50, 1995 <> [D] PMin *lho ^C > Jiàn'ou su ⁴⁴ -/- 'appear' <> Middle Viet tlô 'to show'
v'	鷺	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	
r'	璐	lù	luo ^C	la ^C	râkh	
2-2	= K. 776	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	谷	jué	gjak	giak	gak	
bc	卻却	què	k ^h jak	k ^h iak	khak	
def	給卻却	xì	k ^h jek	k ^h iak	khak	
g	腳脚	jiǎo	kjak	kiak	kak	[T] MTang kiak, ONW kak
2-3	= K. 785	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	a 戟	jǐ	kjek	kiak	krak	
2-4	= K. 786	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𠂔	jí	kjek	kiak	krak	
2-5	= K. 787	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	𠂔𠂔	qì	k ^h jek	k ^h iak	khvak	
c	隙	xì	k ^h jek	k ^h iak	khvak	
d	𠂔	xì	xjek	hiak	hrak	= 2-11/789a 𠂔
2-6	= K. 774	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	郭	guō	kwâk	kuak	kwâk	[T] ONW kuak
ef	檇檇	guǒ	kwâk	kuak	kwâk	
ghi	廓鞞鞞	kuò	k ^h wâk	k ^h uak	khwâk	[E] TB *(r-)kwâk 'skin'

2-7	= K. 96, 778	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
96a	𠂔	jù	kju ^C	kya ^C	kwakh	
96c	瞿 ¹ anxious	jù,	kju ^C	kya ^C	kwakh	OCB *g*(r)jas
96i	懼	jù	gju ^C	gya ^C	gwakh	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR gy (去); MGZY kÿu (去) [gy]; MTang gy < guo, ONW guo
778a	𠂔	jué,	kjwak,	kyak,	kwak,	
		xuè	xiwak	hyak	hwak	
778b	攪	jué	kjwak	kyak	kwak	
						[E] WT 'gog-pa, bkog 'snatch, seize, take away'
778c	獲	jué	kjwak	kyak	kwak	
778d	躩	què, jué	k ^(h) jiwak	k ^(h) iyak	kwak, khwak	
778e	懼	xuè, jué	xjwak	hyak	hwak	
96c	瞿 ² lance	qú	gju	gya	gwa	
96deg	衢躩鸛	qú	gju	gya	gwa	
96h	臞	qú	gju ^(C)	gya ^(C)	gwa, gwah	
						[E] WB k ^h wak 'concave' (as a cup), 'sunken' (face)
2-7A	= K. 783	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𠂔	guó	kwək	kuak	kwrâk	
2-8	= K. 784	The proportion of syllables with initial or medial *w- in MC Div. II is suspiciously high; I suspect that such syllables represent OC simple *wâk > ɣwe/ak, rather than a complex *(g)wrâk.				
ad	萑獲	huò	ɣwək	ɣuak	gwrâk or wâk	[T] ONW ɣuək
e	獲	huò,	ɣwək,	ɣuak,	gwrâk or wâk,	[E] WT 'grog-pa 'to bind'
		wò	?wək	?uak	?wrâk or ?wâk	
hi	穫獲	huò	ɣwâk	ɣuak	gwâk	
l	獲	huò	ɣwa ^C ,	ɣua ^C ,	gwrâkh or wâkh,	
			?wək	?uak	?wrâk or ?wâk	
k	護	hù	ɣuo ^C	ɣua ^C	gwâkh	
						[T] MHan 護澡 ɣuo ^C -tsau? = waxšab <> [E] WT 'gogs-pa 'to prevent'
fg	獲獲	huò,	ɣwək,	ɣuak,	gwrâk or wâk,	
		yuē	?jwak	?yak	?wak	
j	獲 boil	huò	ɣwâk	ɣuak	gwâk	
	獲 a dance	hù	ɣuo ^C	ɣua ^C	gwâkh	
m	獲	wò	?wâk	?uak	?wâk	
n	獲	huò !	?wâk	?uak	?wâk	
2-9	= K. 767	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	壑	hè	xâk	hak	hâk	
2-10	= K. 779	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	赫	hè	xək	hak	hrâk	OCB *xrak
						[E] TB *s-ryak 'ashamed, shy'
b	嚇	xià,	xa ^C ,	ha ^C ,	hrâkh	
		hè	xək	hak	hrâk	

2-10A = K. 1259a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 諫	huò !	xək	hak	hrāk	
2-11 = K. 789	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 覷	xì	xjək	hiak	hrak	= 2-5 號
2-12 = K. 775	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ae 霍霍	huò	xwāk	huak	hwāk	
f 臙	huò	xuok	houk	hūk	
2-13 = K. 805	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 亞	yà	ʔa ^C	ʔa ^C	ʔrāk	
Div II (<*r-) occurs suspiciously often sound symbolic words so that one may doubt of a medial *r in some OC syllables.					
e 剗	yā	ʔa	ʔa	ʔ(r)â	
f 啞 laugh	è	ʔak	ʔak	ʔ(r)âk	
mute	yǎ	ʔa ^B	ʔa ^B	ʔ(r)âʔ	
(ʔa ^B) [D] M-Xiam b. e ^{B1} , w. a ^{B1} <> [E] TB *(m-)a 'mute' > PL *ʔa ^{2/3} , WB a ^C 'mute'					
g 望	è	ʔâk	ʔak	ʔâk	
h 惡 bad	è	ʔâk	ʔak	ʔâk	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔaw (入), LR ʔawʔ; MGZY 'aw (入) [ʔaw]; ONW ʔak,					
惡 hate	wù	ʔuo ^C	ʔa ^C	ʔâkh	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔu (去); MGZY 'u (去) [ʔu] <> [E] WT ʔag-po 'bad'					
惡 how	wū	ʔuo	ʔa	ʔâ	
2-14 = K. 788	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	This series prob. belongs to 2-34.
ac a 逆	nì	ŋjək	ŋiak	ŋrak	OCB *ŋrjak
[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (入), PR ŋi; MGZY ŋi (入) [ŋi]; ONW ŋek					
fg f 𪔐	è	ŋâk	ŋak	ŋâk	[E] WT rŋa 'drum'
- 𪔑	è	ŋâk	ŋak	ŋâk	[E] PTai *ŋiak, WB ŋak 'gills'
hli 𪔒	è	ŋâk	ŋak	ŋâk	= 𪔒
[D] Xiamen gia ^{ʔD2} , lit. gok ^{D2}					
kmn 𪔓	è	ŋâk	ŋak	ŋâk	
j 𪔔	wù	ŋuo ^C	ŋa ^C	ŋâkh	
792 hij 𪔕	sù	suo ^C	sa ^C	ŋâkh	= 𪔕 2-34/769b
2-15 = K. 768	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 𪔖	è	ŋâk	ŋak	ŋâk	= 2-14/788hli 𪔖
- 𪔗	è	ŋâk	ŋak	ŋâk	
d 𪔘	wù	ŋâk, ŋuo ^C	ŋak, ŋa ^C	ŋâk(h)	
2-16 = K. 801	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 度 to measure	duó	dâk	dak	dâk	[E] WB t ^h wa 'a measure'
[T] Sin Sukchu SR daw (入); MGZY taw (入) [daw]					
度 a measure	dù	duo ^C	da ^C	dâkh	[T] ONW do
b 渡	dù	duo ^C	da ^C	dâkh	[E] WT 'da-ba, das 'pass over'
c 剗	duó	dâk	dak	dâk	

2-17 = K. 795	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ahd 石颯	shí	ʒjək	džak	dak	
Xiam. tsio ^{ʔD2}					
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʒi (入); MGZY zhi (入) [ʒi]; MTang žek < džek, ONW džek					
e 碩	shuò !	ʒjək	džak	dak	
i 跖	zhí	tšjək	tšak	tak	
j 磔	zhé	tək	ʔak	trāk	
no 妬妒	dù	tuo ^C	ta ^C	tâkh	
l 柘	zhè	tšja ^C	tša ^C	takh	[T] ONW tša
k 斫	zhuó	tšjak	tšak	tak or tauk ?	
[T] ONW tšak. <> [E] TB *tuk > LB *ntök ~ *ʔtök 'to cut by a blow, hack away at', WB tok 'cut by a single light blow', JP tok ⁵⁵ 'cut into pieces'					
m 拓	tuò	t ^h âk	t ^h ak	tâk	
pq 橐 q	tuó	t ^h âk	t ^h ak	tâk	q = 2-23/792e
r 蠹	dù	tuo ^C	ta ^C	tâkh	
2-18 = K. 804	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 庶 all	shù	šjwo ^C	ša ^C	lha(k)h < *tlha(k)h ?	
庶 a title	zhù	tšjwo ^C	tša ^C	ta(k)h	
d 遮	zhē	tšja	tša	ta	
ef 摭蹠	zhí	tšjək	tšak	tak	
2-19 = K. 791	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 炙	zhì	tšjək	tšak	tak = *tjak?	
[E] LB *kyik, WB k ^h yac 'burnt'					
炙	zhè	tšja ^C	tša ^C	takh = *tjakh?	
2-20 = K. 794	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 尺	chǐ	tš ^h jək	tš ^h ak	thak ?	
2-21 = K. 1258b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
b 𪔙	chuò	t ^h jək	t ^h ik	t ^h rak	= 1-38/450' 𪔙
2-22 = K. 780	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 𪔚	zé	tək	ʔak	trāk	
b 宅	zhái	ʔək	ʔak	drāk	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzəj (入), LR dzəjʔ; MGZY cay (入) [dzəj]; MTang dək, ONW dək					
hi 詫侘	chà	t ^h a ^C	t ^h a ^C	thrāk	
g 吒	zhà	ʔa ^C	ʔa ^C	trāk	
[T] BTD Skt ʔa, ʔha, e.g. 阿迦貳吒 ʔa-ka-nis-ʔa ^C Skt. akaniṣṭa					
f 秣	chá,	ʔa,	ʔa,	drâ,	
	dù	tuo ^C	ta ^C	tâ(k)h	
j 託	dù	tuo ^C	ta ^C	tâkh	
e 託	tuō	t ^h âk	t ^h ak	tâk	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR t'aw (入); MGZY thaw (入) [t'aw]					

2-23 = K. 792 The central element in 辟 writes words with the meaning 'oppose, disobedient'. Therefore this graph and its derivative 斥 plays partially a semantic role here in 2-23, and also in 2-14; 2-34.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abc	辟斥斥 rebuff	chì	tʂhjäk	tʂhak	k-lhak
	spy	chì	tʂhjäk	tʂhak	k-lhak
	spread	chì	tʂhjäk	tʂhak	k-lhak
d	垢	chè	tʰək	tʰak	thräk
	≠ 2-17/795j 礫 *träk; ≠ 18-8/3j 侈 *thrai?				
ef	榔柝 a rattle	tuò	tʰäk	tʰak	thäk = 2-17/795q
2-24 = K. 793	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	赤 red	chì	tʂhjäk	tʂhak	k-lhak
	expel	cì	tʂhjäk	tʂhiak	s-lhak ?
d	赦	shè	ʂja ^C	ʂa ^C	lhakh
e	螿	shì	ʂjäk	ʂak	lhak
-	郝	hè	xäk	hak	häk

2-25 = K. 790 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 abce 翠圍憚釋 yì jiäk jak ~ jak lak 憚 'pleased' ≠ 1-42/82g *lah
 fgghi- 譯醇驛驛驛 yì jiäk jak ~ jak lak

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
d	鞞 ¹ fed up	yì, dù	jiäk, duo ^C	jak, da ^C	lak, lâkh = 2-26/807a
dq	鞞 ² 殲 destroy	dù	tu ^C	ta ^C	tâkh < tlâkh ?
k	釋	shì	ʂjäk	ʂak	lhak
l	釋	shì	ʂjäk	ʂak	lhak

Xiam. tʂhio?^{A1} tʂhak
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂi (入); MGZY shi (入) [ʂi]; ONW ʂek; BTD 釋迦文 ʂak-k(j)a-mun Skt. ʂäkyamuni <> [E] KS *s-lak or ?lak⁷ 'to wash clothes'; <> ? PTai *zæk 'wash clothes'

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
o	澤 marsh	zé	ɖək	ɖak	drak < r-lak
	[T] MHan 澤散 ɖak-san ^C Alexandria				
	lay open	shì	ʂjäk	ʂak	lhak
	wine	yì	jiäk	jak ~ jak	lak
n	擇	zé	ɖək	ɖak	drak < r-lak
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzəj (入); MGZY cay (入) [dzaj]; MTang ɖək, ONW ɖək				
	[E] KT: KS *lai ⁶ 'to pick, select', Tai: S. liak ^{D2} 'to choose'				
	[N] The expected MC div. III ɖjak has shifted to div. II ɖək in this rime				

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
r	擇	tuò	tʰäk	tʰak	lhäk
m	擇	zé,	ɖək,	ɖak,	drak < r-lak,
		shì	ʂjäk	ʂak	lhak
p-	鐸澤	duó	däk	dak	lâk

2-26 = K. 807 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 a 射 hit w. bow shí dźjäk źak, m-lakh
 Fuzh. sio?^{D2} źak [D] PMin *ziok ~ *ziak,
 射 shoot shè dźja^C źa^C m-lakh [T] ONW ia [D] PMin *zia^C
 射 fed up yì jiäk jak ~ jak lak = 2-25/790d

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	麝	shè	dźja ^C	źa ^C	m-lah [E] WT gla-ba 'musk deer'
eg	榭	xiè	zja ^C	za ^C	s-lakh [T] MHan šahi

2-27 = K. 800 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 aml 亦¹ > 腋 yè jiäk jak jak armpit
 腋 [E] TB-Mru yak, Lushai zak^L (< *jak) 'armpit', Newari jak-wa 'armpit'
 a 亦² also yì jiäk jak jak
 [T] ONW iek <> [E] Lushai ve^L < ve?^h 'also' ≠ vek^R < vek 'again, over again'
 def 奕奕弈 yì jiäk jak jak
 n 液 yè ! jiäk jak jak [E] TB *ryak 'grease'
 j 夜 yè jiä^C ja^C jah > jakh OCB *(l)jAks
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR je (去); ONW ia < ja <> [E] TB *ya? 'night'
 l 掖 yè jiäk jak jak
 gh 跡迹 jī, jì tsjäk tsiak tsjak
 [T] ONW tsiek <> [E] Limbu yok² 'trace, track', Lushai hniak^H 'footprint, hoofprint'

2-28 = K. 796 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 a 夕 xī, xì zjäk ziak s-jak
 [T] ONW ziek <> [E] TB *s-ryak '24 hr day'
 - 汐 xī, xì zjäk ziak s-jak 'evening tide'
 e 窈 xī, xì zjäk ziak s-jak

2-29 = K. 797 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 a 席 xí zjäk ziak, s-lak [T] ONW ziek
 Xiam. tʂhio?^{D2} ziak [D] PMin *dzhiok
 b 蓆 xí zjäk ziak s-lak

2-30 = K. 777 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 a 若 ruò nźjak, nök nak
 [T] Sin S. SR rjaw (入), LR rjaw?; MGZY Zhew (入) [rew]; ONW nök
 nźja^B GY ONW nā
 g 箬 ruò nźjak nök nak [E] Lushai hna?^L 'leaf'
 i 都 ruò nźjak nök nak
 f 諾 nuò nāk nak nāk [T] ONW nak
 k 媯 chuò tʰjak tʰiak nhrak ?
 媯羌 ruò-qiāng nźjak- nök-k^hiaŋ name of a TB people
 [T] 媯 may transcribe TB *nak (WT nag) 'black' (cf. Pulleyblank 1983: 417); or the ethnonym WT mi-nāg for the later Mi-niau (Tangut, Xixia) people; GY reads MC nźie in this sense.
 l 匿 nì n̄jak n̄ik nrək < *r-nək ?
 n 暱 nì n̄jak n̄ik nrək [E] KN-Lai neek 'familiar'
 o 慝 tè tʰək tʰək nhök [E] WT nag 'black'
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR t'əj (入), LR t'əj?; MGZY (c^hiy > th^hiy) (入) [t'əj]

2-31 = K. 806 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
 af 乍咋 zhà dza^C dza^C dzrâkh
 g 詐 zhà tʂa^C tʂa^C tsrâkh
 k 筴 zé tʂək tʂak tsrâk [E] Khmer /craak/ 'insert'

p	杵 oak	zuò,	tsâk,	tsak,	tsâk,	
		zuó	dzâk	dzak	dzâk	
	杵 clear away	zé	tʂek	tʂak	tsrâk	
l	作	zuò	tsâk	tsak	tsâk	
	[T] Sin SR tsaw (入), tso (去), tsu, PR tso, LR tsaw?; MGZY dzaw (入)[tsaw], dzu (去) [tsu]					
m	迮	zuò	tsâk	tsak	tsâk	
rv	作 v	zuò	dzâk	dzak	dzâk	
s	昨	zuó	dzâk	dzak	dzâk	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (入), LR dzaw?; MGZY tsaw (入) [dzaw]					
t	酢	zuò	dzâk	dzak	dzâk	= 2-32/798t 醋
-	酢 eat	zuò	dzâk	dzak	dzâk	[E] ST *dza
hij	祚昨昨	zuò	dzuo ^C	dza ^C	dzâkh	
2-32 = K. 798	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	昔	xī	sjäk	siak	sak or sjak ?	
	昔 [T] Sin Sukchu SR si (入); MGZY si (入) [si]. — The OB graph shows a sun under water, i.e., the notion of 'yesterday' (Pankenier <i>EC</i> 7, 1981-82: 19)					
fg	惜腊	xī	sjäk	siak	sak or sjak ?	
u	借	jiè	tsjäk,	tsiak,		[T] ONW tsiek
	Xiam. tsio ^{2D1}			tsiak,	tsak,	[D] PMin *tsiok
	借	jiè	tsja ^C	tsia ^C	tsakh	
v	借	jiè	tsja ^C	tsia ^C	tsakh	
k	踏 walk rev.	jí	tsjäk	tsiak	tsak or tsjak ?	
	踏 trample	jí	dzjäk	dziak	dzak or dzjak ?	
	踏 reverent	qì, què	ts ^h jäk, ts ^h jak	ts ^h hiak	ts ^h hak	
ln	趙鵠	què	ts ^h jak	ts ^h hiak	ts ^h hak	
y	蜡 maggot	qù	ts ^h jwo ^C	ts ^h ia ^C	tshakh	
	sacrifice	zhà	dza ^C	dza ^C	dzrâkh	
ia'	藉籍	jí	dzjäk	dziak	dzak or dzjak ?	
b'	藉 a field	jí	dzjäk	dziak	dzak	
	a mat	jiè	dzja ^C	dzia ^C	dzakh	
pq	厝造	cuò	ts ^h âk	ts ^h ak	tshâk	[T] ONW ts ^h ak
s	錯 mistake	cuò	ts ^h âk	ts ^h ak	—	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'aw (入), LR ts'aw?; MGZY tshaw (入) [ts'aw]; ONW ts ^h ak					
t	醋	zuò	dzâk	dzak	dzâk	= 2-31/806t 醋
o	斲	zhuó	tsjak	tʂak	tsrak	
z	措	zé	dʒek	dʒek	dzrêk	
x	措	cuò	ts ^h uo ^C	ts ^h ah	tshâkh	
c'	籍	cè	tʂ ^h ek	tʂ ^h ak	tshrâk	
2-33 = K. 770	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	索 twist rope	suǒ	sâk	sak	sâk	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR saw (入), PR, LR saw?; MGZY saw (入) [saw]; ONW sak					
	[E] MK-PVM *jak 'rope' PMonic *jook 'creeper, vine, rope' <> Tai: S. č ^h iak ^{D2L} < PTai j- 'rope', Saek saak ^{D2} < z- 'vines, rope'					
	索 fear	suǒ	sâk	sak	sjâk	WT sjaŋ-ba 'be afraid'

	索 select	sè	ʂek	ʂak	srâk	
2-34 = K. 769	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	朔	shuò	ʂäk	ʂak ?, ʂok ?	sjrak ?, srok ?	
	The left element 'go against' is partly semantic. This series prob. belongs to 2-14.					
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʂaw (入), PR ʂaw?; MGZY shwaw (入) [ʂaw]					
b	愬	sù	suo ^C	sa ^C	sjâkh	
c	謝	sù	suo ^C	sa ^C	sjâkh	= 2-14/792h 訴
d	遡	sù	suo ^C	sa ^C	sjâkh	
2-35 = K. 799	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ae	寫瀉	xì	sjäk	siak	sak	
f	寫	xiě	sja ^B	sia ^B	sa?	[T] ONW sia
h	瀉	xiè !	sja ^B	sia ^B	sa?	
2-36 = K. 773	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	毫	bó	bâk	bak	bâk	
2-37 = K. 781	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	百	bǎi	pæk	pak	prâk	[E] ST *(p)ria: TB *r-ya
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pəj (入), LR pəj?; MGZY bay (入) [paj]; ONW pæk					
fg	貉陌	mò	mæk	mak	mrâk	= 2-1h
2-38 = K. 782	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	白	bái	bæk	bak	brâk	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR bəj (入); LR bəj?; MGZY pay (入) [baj]; ONW bæk					
f	帛	bó	bæk	bak	brâk	
i	伯	bó	pæk	pak	prâk	
	[E] TB-Kukish prak 'eldest br.'					
j	柏	bǎi, bó	pæk	pak	prâk	
k	迫	pò	pæk	pak	prâk	
m	拍 beat	pāi !	p ^h æk	p ^h ak	phrâk	
	shoulder	bó	pâk	pak	pâk	
	[E] TB *(r)ak, *r-pak 'shoulder'					
o	魄	pò	p ^h æk	p ^h ak	phrâk	= 2-39/772b 霸
	[T] MHan 虎魄 ἄρπαξ (harpax)					
l	怕 quiet	pò	p ^h æk	p ^h ak	phrâk	
	fear	pà	p ^h a ^C	—	—	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR p'a (去); MGZY pha (去) [p'a]; Sui-Tang pā ^C					
pq	粕粕	pò	p ^h âk	p ^h ak	phâk	
r	泊	bó	bâk	bak	bâk	
s	碧	bì	pjek	piak	prak	(not MC pjäk: Baxter 1977:192)
2-39 = K. 772	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	霏	pò	p ^h âk	p ^h ak	phâk	'hide soaked in rain'
b	霸 hegemon	pò	p ^h æk	p ^h ak	phrâk	
	lead	bà	pa ^C	pa ^C	prâkh	

2-40 = K. 802 The phonetic is perhaps 3-64/709

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	莫 ¹ > 暮	mù	muo ^C	ma ^C	mâkh	evening
	[T] MHan 莫邪 mah-ja Skt māyā					
	莫 ² nobody	mò	mâk	mok	mâk	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR maw (入), LR maw?; MGZY maw (入) [maw]; ONW mak					
ar	莫 ³ 嘆 silent	mò	mæk	mak	mrâk	
npq	寞 漠 瘞	mò	mâk	mok	mâk	
o	幕	mù	mâk	mok	mâk	
-	膜	mò	mâk	mok	mâk	
k	膜 membrane	mó	mâk	mok	mâk	
	kneel	mó	muo	ma	mâ	
e	募	mù	muo ^C	ma ^C	mâkh	
f	墓	mù	muo ^C	ma ^C	mâkh	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (去); MGZY mu (去) [mu]; ONW mo <> [D] PMin *mhuo ^C					
h	慕	mù	muo ^C	ma ^C	mâh !	※ 4-65 煤
gj	嫫 模	mó	muo	ma	mâ	
l	謨	mó	muo	ma	mâ? !	[T] ONW mo
m	(蝦) 蟆	xiā-má	ya-ma	ga-ma	grâ-mrâ or ga-ma?	
s	幕	mì	miek	mek	mêk	

3 OCM rime *-aŋ Yáng bù 陽部

GSR 697 - 765

Baxter 1992: 489 ff. (§10.2.6)

See Table 1-1 for OCM rimes *-aŋ, *-ak, *-a in QYS categories. Some OC finals in *-aŋ have converged with ones in *-eŋ (Rime 9) in QYS Div. III -jeŋ, see Table 2-1. For the QYS syllables with this final, which pattern like *chóngniǔ* Div. 3/3 syllables, Baxter reconstructs an OC medial *r.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
3-1 = K. 698						
a	亢 ¹	gāng	kâŋ	kaŋ	kâŋ < klaŋ ?	
	[E] MY *kla:ŋ ^A 'neck'					
abc	亢 ² 抗 伉	kàng	k'hâŋ ^C	k'hâŋ ^C	khâŋh	'to oppose'
-	罔 to store	kàng	k'hâŋ ^C	k'hâŋ ^C		
	[E] Tai: S. k'hâŋ ^{A1} < *k'h1- 'to hold water, confine'					
d	忱	kāng	k'hâŋ ^{B/C}	k'hâŋ ^{B/C}	khâŋ?/h	※ 3-12/746m 憊
hi	坑 阮	kēng	k'hēŋ	k'hâŋ	kh râŋ	
eg-	杭 頡 航	háng	yâŋ	gaŋ	gâŋ	[T] ONW yaŋ
f	沆	hàng	yâŋ ^B	gaŋ ^B	gâŋ?	
3-2 = K. 697						
a	岡	gāng	kâŋ	kaŋ	kâŋ	TB *kaŋ 'mountain, spur'
be	剛 綱	gāng	kâŋ	kaŋ	kâŋ	
f	牂	gāng	kâŋ	kaŋ	kâŋ < klaŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaŋ (平); MGZY gang (平) [kaŋ] <> [E] TB: WT glaŋ 'ox'					
h	鋼	gāng	kâŋ ^(C)	kaŋ ^(C)	kâŋ(h)	[E] Lushai k'hâŋ ^F 'solidified'
3-3 = K. 710						
ab	疆 壇	jiāng	kjaŋ	kiaŋ	kaŋ	
h	疆 boundary	jiāng	kjaŋ	kiaŋ	kaŋ	
	[D] Min Xiamen col. kiū ^{A2} , lit. kioŋ ^{A2}					
	疆 hard	jiàng	gjaŋ ^B	giaŋ ^B	gaŋ?	
c	僵	jiāng,	kjaŋ,	kiaŋ,	kaŋ,	
	qiáng	gjaŋ	giaŋ	gaŋ		
e	彊 fierce	jiāng	kjaŋ	kiaŋ	kaŋ	
	彊 strong	qiáng	gjaŋ	giaŋ	gaŋ	= 3-4/713a 強
	彊 effort	qiǎng !	gjaŋ ^B	giaŋ ^B	gaŋ?	
d	薑	jiāng	kjaŋ	kiaŋ	kaŋ or kjaŋ ?	
	[D] PMin *kioŋ <> [E] TB- SChin-Areng kachiŋ; WB k'hyaŋ ^B 'ginger'. AA: PVM *s-gə:ŋ 'ginger'; PTai *xiŋ ^{A1} : S. k'hij ² , KS siŋ 'ginger'					

3-4	= K. 713	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	強 strong	qiáng	gjaŋ	giɑŋ	gaŋ = 3-3/710e 彊
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR gjaŋ (平); MGZY (k'yang >) kyang (平) [gjaŋ]; MTang giaŋ < gaŋ, ONW gaŋ; BTD Skt. kaŋ[giya] <> [D] Min Xiam col. kiū ^{A2} , lit. kioŋ ^{A2}
cd	強 effort	qiǎng !	gjaŋ ^B	giɑŋ ^B	gaŋ?
	繾綣	qiǎng !	kjaŋ ^B	kiɑŋ ^B	kaŋ?
3-5	= K. 711	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	姜	jiāng	kjaŋ	kiɑŋ	kaŋ or kjaŋ ?
					[T] MTang kiaŋ < kaŋ, ONW kaŋ. — 姜羌 the element 羊 *jaŋ 'sheep' in the graphs may be phonetic, but could also be semantic (names referring to nomads).
3-6	= K. 712	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ae	羌蜚	qiāng	k ^h jaŋ	k ^h iaŋ	khaŋ or khjaŋ ?
3-7	= K. 752	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	竟 boundary	jìng	kjeŋ ^B	kiɑŋ ^B	kraŋ?
	end	jìng	kjeŋ ^C	kiɑŋ ^C	kraŋh [T] ONW keŋ
b	境	jìng	kjeŋ ^B	kiɑŋ ^B	kraŋ?
c	鏡	jìng	kjeŋ ^C	kiɑŋ ^C	kraŋh
					[T] Sin S. SR kiŋ (去); MGZY giŋg (去) [kiŋ]; ONW keŋ
					[D] PMin *kiaŋ ^C > Amoy kiā ^{C1} , Fuzh kiaŋ ^{C1}
d	澆	jiǎng	gjaŋ ^B	giɑŋ ^B	gaŋ?
3-8	= K. 753	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	慶	qìng	k ^h jeŋ ^C	k ^h iaŋ ^C	khraŋ(h)
					[E] ? WT g-yaŋ 'blessing'
3-9	= K. 754	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	競	jìng	gjeŋ ^C	giɑŋ ^C	graŋh
3-10	= K. 755	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	京	jīng	kjeŋ	kiɑŋ	kraŋ
					[T] ONW keŋ <> [E] Khmer /kraŋ/ 'steep knoll, bluff or crag overlooking a plain'
d	景	jǐng	kjeŋ ^B	kiɑŋ ^B	kraŋ? [T] ONW keŋ
h	憬	jiǒng	kjweŋ ^B	kyaŋ ^B	kwraŋ? ?
eg	勍鯨	qíng	gjeŋ	giɑŋ	graŋ
f	鯨	jīng	gjeŋ	giɑŋ	graŋ
l	涼	liáng	ljaŋ	liɑŋ	raŋ [E] WT graŋ-ba 'be cold'
ijm	涼亮諒	liàng	ljaŋ ^C	liɑŋ ^C	raŋh OCB *C-rjaŋs
k	掠	lüè,	ljaŋ,	liɑŋ,	rak,
		liàng	ljaŋ ^C	liɑŋ ^C	raŋh
					[D] Min: Amoy lŋ ^C 'to beat' <> [E] Lushai rok ^L 'to plunder'
3-11	= K. 745	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	更 change	gēng	keŋ	kaŋ	krâŋ
					[T] Sin S. SR kəŋ (平), PR kəŋ ~ kiŋ, LR kiŋ; MGZY g'ying (平) [kjiŋ]; ONW kəŋ
	更 still more	gèng	keŋ ^C	kaŋ ^C	krâŋh

cd	哽鯁	gěng	keŋ ^B	kaŋ ^B	krâŋ?
e	梗	gěng	keŋ ^B	kaŋ ^B	krâŋ?
					[E] Lepcha kraŋ 'be strong on legs', Lushai taŋ ^H / taŋ ^L < taŋh (< traŋs) 'put forth all one's strength'.
f	纆	gěng	keŋ ^B	kaŋ ^B	krâŋ?
					'well rope'
					See also 23-25/221.
-	硬	yìng	ŋeŋ ^C		
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋiŋ (去); MGZY ying (去) [jiŋ]
3-12	= K. 746, 700	MC	LHan	OCM	
746a	庚	gēng	keŋ	kaŋ	krâŋ
g	賡	gēng	keŋ ^(C)	kaŋ ^(C)	krâŋ, krâŋh
h	康	kāng	k ^h âŋ	k ^h ɑŋ	khâŋ = khlaŋ
					[E] Lushai tlaŋ ^R / tlan ^L adv. 'peaceably, quietly, calmly', vb. 'be good, kindly, peaceably'
k	康 empty	kāng	k ^h âŋ	k ^h ɑŋ	khâŋ
no	糠糠	kāng	k ^h âŋ	k ^h ɑŋ	khâŋ = khlaŋ
					[E] WT: lgaŋ 'shell, husk'
m	慷	kāng !	k ^h âŋ ^B	k ^h ɑŋ ^B	khâŋ?
					≠ 3-1/698d
700a	唐	táng	dâŋ	daŋ	g-laŋ
					[T] Sin S. SR daŋ (平); MGZY tang (平) [daŋ]; ONW daŋ
cde	塘糖糖	táng	dâŋ	daŋ	lâŋ = g-laŋ
	塘				[E] PYao *glaaŋ ² 'pond'
3-13	= K. 747	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	羹	gēng	keŋ	kaŋ	krâŋ
3-14	= K. 748	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	行 road	xíng	ɣeŋ	gaŋ	grâŋ
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣiŋ (平); MGZY H'ying (平) [ɣjiŋ]; ONW ɣeŋ <> [D] M-Xiam kiā ^{A2}
					[E] Khmer /rɔŋ/ 'way, line, row or bed, gutter'
	行 go round	xíng	ɣeŋ ^C	gaŋ ^C	grâŋh
	行 a row	háng	ɣâŋ	gaŋ	gâŋ
	行 strong	háng	ɣâŋ ^(C)	gaŋ ^(C)	gâŋ, gâŋh
e	苻	xìng	ɣeŋ ^B	gaŋ ^B	grâŋ?
f	桁 lid	héng	ɣeŋ	gaŋ	grâŋ
	fetters	háng	ɣâŋ	gaŋ	gâŋ
g	珩	héng	ɣeŋ	gaŋ	grâŋ
h	衡 crosswise	hóng	ɣweŋ	ɣuaŋ	gwrâŋ = 3-23/7071 横
	crosspiece	héng	ɣeŋ	gaŋ	grâŋ
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣiŋ (平), SR ɣuŋj (平), PR ɣuŋ; MGZY H'ying (平) [ɣjiŋ]; ONW ɣueŋ.
j	蘅	héng	ɣeŋ	gaŋ	grâŋ
3-15	= K. 749	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	杏	xìng	ɣeŋ ^B	gaŋ ^B	grâŋ?
3-16	= K. 714	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	皂	xiāng	xjaŋ	hiɑŋ	haŋ
lm	腳蕘	xiāng	xjaŋ	hiɑŋ	haŋ

c	鄉	village	xiāng	xjaŋ	hiaŋ	haŋ	
		towards	xiàng	xjaŋ ^C	hiaŋ ^C	haŋh < hnaŋh?	
		to feast	xiǎng	xjaŋ ^B	hiaŋ ^B	haŋ?	=j
i	嚮		xiàng	xjaŋ ^C	hiaŋ ^C	haŋh < hnaŋh?	= 3-18/715a 向
n	響		xiǎng	xjaŋ ^B	hiaŋ ^B	haŋ ^A !	
j	饗		xiǎng	xjaŋ ^B	hiaŋ ^B	haŋ ^A !	= 3-17/716a 享
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	xjaŋ (去); MGZY (h ^h yang >)	hyang (去) [xjaŋ]; MTang hiaŋ < ONW haŋ			
k	鄉		xiàng,	xjaŋ ^{B/C} ,	hiaŋ ^{B/C} ,	haŋ [?] /h,	
			shǎng	śjaŋ ^{B/C}	śaŋ ^{B/C}	hjaŋ [?] /h	
o	卿		qīng	k ^h jeŋ	k ^h iaŋ	khraŋ	
3-17	= K. 716	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	享	享 feast	xiǎng	xjaŋ ^B	hiaŋ ^B	haŋ ^A !	= 3-16/714cj 鄉饗
		penetrate	hēng	xəŋ	haŋ	hraŋ	
			The word 'to feast, meal' MC xjaŋ ^(B) ~ śjaŋ ^(B) is written with additional graphs: 3-16/714cj 鄉饗, 3-18/715e 餉, 3-42/730 饗.				
3-18	= K. 715	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	向		xiàng	xjaŋ ^C	hiaŋ ^C	haŋh	= 3-16/714ic 嚮鄉
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	xjaŋ (去); MGZY (h ^h yang >)	hyang (去) [xjaŋ]; MTang hiaŋ < ONW haŋ			
		[D] Min: Xiam col.	hiǎ ^{C1} , η ^{C1} .				
e	餉		xiǎng	śjaŋ ^{A/B/C}	śaŋ ^{B/C}	hjaŋ [?] , hjaŋh	
			~ 3-42/730c 饗 [T] ONW śaŋ				
3-19	= K. 717	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	香		xiāng	xjaŋ	hiaŋ	haŋ	
3-20	= K. 718	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	央	center	yāng	?jaŋ	?iaŋ	?aŋ	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	?jaŋ (平); MGZY (yāng >)	'yang (平) [?jaŋ]; BTD Skt. añ. MHan 央			
			?iaŋ-guis Tocharian B ankwaş 'asafoetida'				
		央 brilliant	yīng	?jeŋ	?iaŋ	?raŋ	
e	殃		yāng	?jaŋ	?iaŋ	?aŋ	
-	秧		yāng	?jaŋ	?iaŋ	?aŋ	
		[D] PMin	*ɔŋ ^{A1} <> [E] MY	*?zon ^A 'young rice plant'			
g	泱		yāng	?jaŋ	?iaŋ	?aŋ	
h	鴛		yāng,	?jaŋ,	?iaŋ,	?aŋ,	
			āng	?âŋ	?aŋ	?âŋ	
c	佚		yǎng,	?jaŋ ^B ,	?iaŋ ^B ,	?aŋ [?] ,	
			āng	?âŋ	?aŋ	?âŋ	
f	鞅		yǎng	?jaŋ ^B	?iaŋ ^B	?aŋ [?]	
d	快		yàng	?jaŋ ^{B/C}	?iaŋ ^{B/C}	?aŋ [?] /h	
k	英		yīng	?jeŋ	?iaŋ	?raŋ	OCB *?raŋ
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	?iŋ (平); MGZY	'ing (平) [?iŋ]; ONW ?eŋ (?æŋ?)			
ij	盎	j	àng	?âŋ ^C	?aŋ ^C	?âŋh	[E] Khmer /?aaŋ/ 'jar'

3-21	= K. 756	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	影	yǐng	?jeŋ ^B	?iaŋ ^B	?raŋ [?]		
		[D] Coastal Min	*?ɔŋ ^B > Fuzhou	ouŋ ^{B1} , Amoy ŋ ^{B1} ; Jiàn'ou, Jiànyang	ioŋ ^{B1} (< *?ioŋ ^B)		
3-22	= K. 706	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	光	guāng	kwâŋ	kuaŋ	kwâŋ		
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	kwaŋ (平); MGZY	gwang (平) [kwaŋ]; ONW kuaŋ			
f	洸	guāng	kwâŋ	kuaŋ	kwâŋ		
g	統	kuàng	k ^h wâŋ ^C	k ^h uaŋ ^C	khwâŋh		
h	恍	guāng,	kwâŋ,	kuaŋ,	kwâŋ,		
		gōng	kwəŋ	kuaŋ	kwraŋ		
i	觥	guāng	kwəŋ	kuaŋ	kwraŋ		= 3-23/707i 觥
		[T] ONW	kuəŋ <> [E] MY	*kroŋ ^A 'horn'. MY <- TB (*kroŋ ^A ~) *k-rwaŋ ^A			
j	恍	huǎng	xwâŋ ^B	huaŋ ^B	hwâŋ [?]		
3-23	= K. 707	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	黃	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	gwâŋ		
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	ɣwaŋ (平); MGZY	Xong (平) [ɣɔŋ]; ONW ɣuaŋ			
		[E] WB	waŋ ^B 'brightly yellow'				
ceg	璜	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	gwâŋ		
-	蟻	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	gwâŋ		
m	橫	crossw. hóng, héng	ɣwəŋ	ɣuaŋ	gwrâŋ		
		= 3-14748h 衡 [T] ONW	ɣuəŋ				
		fully	guàng	kwâŋ ^C	kuaŋ ^C	kwâŋh	
l	鱗	guāng	kwəŋ	kuaŋ	kwraŋ		= 3-22/706i 鱗
h	廣	wide guǎng	kwâŋ ^B	kuaŋ ^B	kwâŋ [?]		
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR	kwaŋ (上); MGZY	gwang (上) [kwaŋ]; ONW kuaŋ			
		廣 cohort	guàng	kwâŋ ^C	kuaŋ ^C	kwâŋh	
s	獷	guǎng	kwəŋ ^B	kuaŋ ^B	kwraŋ [?]		
nop	曠	kuàng	k ^h wâŋ ^C	k ^h uaŋ ^C	khwâŋh		
r-	曠	kuàng	k ^h wâŋ ^{B/C} ,	k ^h uaŋ ^{B/C} ,	khwâŋ [?] /h,		
			k ^h âŋ ^B	k ^h aŋ ^B	khâŋ [?]		
t	擴	kuò	k ^h wâk	k ^h uak	khwâk		
3-24	= K. 708	Wáng	王 3-26/739 may be phonetic, see Introd.				
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ag	皇	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	wâŋ		
		[T] ONW	ɣuaŋ. MHan 敦煌	tuən-ɣuaŋ Sogd. *ðruwan, Θρόανα (Dunhuang)			
defh	徨	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	wâŋ		
ijkl	惶	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	wâŋ		
[o]	惶	huáng	ɣwâŋ	ɣuaŋ	wâŋ		
m	蝗	huáng,	ɣwâŋ,	ɣuaŋ,	wâŋ		
		hóng	ɣwəŋ	ɣuaŋ			
		[N] MC Div. II	vocalism because the syllable is onomatopoeitic, cf. EDOC §7.2.2.				
n	惶	huáng,	ɣwəŋ,	ɣuaŋ,	wâŋ,		
		hōng	xwəŋ	huaŋ	hwâŋ		
		[N] MC Div. II	vocalism because the syllable is onomatopoeitic, cf. EDOC §7.2.2.				

3-25 = K. 763	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 罔	jiǒng	kjwɛŋ ^B	kyan ^B	kwraŋ?
3-26 = K. 739	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 王 king	wáng	jwaŋ	waŋ	waŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR waŋ (平); MGZY xwang (平) [fiwaŋ]; ONW uaŋ			
	王 govern	wàng	waŋ ^C	waŋh
ki 往 i	wǎng	jwaŋ ^B	waŋ ^B	waŋ?
	[T] Sin S. SR waŋ (上); MGZY xwang (上) [fiwaŋ]; ONW uaŋ <> [E] TB *waŋ 'to come'			
- 旺盛	wàng	jwaŋ ^C	waŋ ^C	waŋh
l 廷 to go	wàng	jwaŋ ^C	waŋ ^C	waŋh
	frighten	wǎng	waŋ ^B	waŋ?
	廷 deceive	guǎng,	kjwaŋ ^B ,	kwaŋ?
		kuàng	gyaŋ ^B	gwaŋ?
m 匡	kuāng	k ^h jwaŋ	k ^h yaŋ	khwaŋ
	[E] WB kwaŋ ^B 'bend, curved'			
v- 筐	kuāng	k ^h jwaŋ	k ^h yaŋ	khwaŋ
u- 眶	kuàng !	k ^h jwaŋ	k ^h yaŋ	khwaŋ
o 狂	kuáng	gjwaŋ	gyaŋ	gwaŋ
x 誑	kuáng !	kjwaŋ ^C	kyan ^C	kwaŋh
y 枉	guàng	gjwaŋ ^B	gyaŋ ^B	gwaŋ?
q 枉	wǎng	?jwaŋ ^B	?yaŋ ^B	?waŋ?
rt 汪	wāng	?wāŋ	?uaŋ	?wāŋ
3-27 = K. 764	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 永	yǒng	jwɛŋ ^B	waŋ ^B	wraŋ? OCB *wraŋ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR juŋ (上), PR, LR juŋ; MGZY xýung (上) [fijuŋ]; ONW ueŋ			
gi 咏	yǒng	jwɛŋ ^C	waŋ ^C	wraŋh
j 咏	yǒng	jwɛŋ ^C	waŋ ^C	wraŋh
3-28 = K. 765	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 兄	xiōng	xjwaŋ	hyaŋ	hwraŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR xjuŋ, xjuŋ (平), LR xjuŋ; MGZY (Hýing >) hýing (平) [xjin]			
f 恍	huǎng	xjwaŋ ^B	hyaŋ ^B	hwaŋ?
	'confused', also xwāŋ ^B /hwaŋ ^B			
g 况	kuàng !	xjwaŋ ^C	hyaŋ ^C	hwaŋh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwaŋ (去), PR xyaŋ; MGZY (Hwyang >) hwyang (去) [xyaŋ]			
h 况	kuàng !	xjwaŋ ^C	hyaŋ ^C	hwaŋh
i 况	huàng	xjwaŋ ^C	hyaŋ ^C	hwaŋh
3-29 = K. 699	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 仰 high	áng	ŋaŋ	ŋaŋ	ŋaŋ
	look up	yǎng	ŋjaŋ ^B	ŋaŋ?
b 昂	áng	ŋaŋ	ŋaŋ	ŋaŋ
c 仰 look up	yǎng	ŋjaŋ ^B	ŋjaŋ ^B	ŋaŋ?
	[T] Sin S. SR ŋaŋ (上), PR jaŋ, ŋjaŋ, LR jaŋ; MGZY (ngýang >) ngyang (上) [ŋjaŋ]; ONW ŋaŋ <> [D] PMin *ɔŋ ^C > Amoy ŋ ^{C1} , Fuzh auŋ ^{C1} ; G-Ruijin ŋiaŋ ^C niu ^{A2} 仰牛 'to tend livestock'			

d 迎 meet	yíng	ŋjɛŋ	ŋjaŋ	ŋraŋ
	[T] ONW ŋɛŋ <> [D] PMin *ŋjaŋ > Jiany ŋjaŋ ^{A1} ; Xiam col. ŋiã ^{A2} / giã, lit. geŋ ^{A2} / giŋ 'to receive ceremoniously' <> [E] ST *ŋraŋ: TB *ŋraŋ > WB ŋraŋ ^B 'contradict, deny'			
迎 receive	yìng	ŋjɛŋ ^C	ŋjaŋ ^C	ŋraŋh
3-30 = K. 701	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 宕	dàng	dāŋ ^C	daŋ ^C	dāŋh
3-31 = K. 723	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
aef 章彰	zhāng	tśjaŋ	tśaŋ	taŋ
hj 璋	zhāng	tśjaŋ	tśaŋ	taŋ
k 障	zhàng	tśjaŋ ^(C)	tśaŋ ^(C)	taŋ, taŋh
g 獐	zhāng,	tśjaŋ	tśaŋ,	taŋ or
	Xiam. kiū ^{A1}		kiŋ	kjaŋ?
3-32 = K. 725	Since TB cognates to words in this series have root initial *j-, some OC forms may also have had a *j in the initial.			
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 尚	shàng	śjaŋ ^C	dźaŋ ^C	daŋh, probably = djaŋh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjaŋ (去); MGZY zhang (去) [zaŋ]; MTang źaŋ, ONW dźaŋ.			
	[E] ST *jaŋ: WT yaŋ 'again, still, once more'			
d 裳	cháng	śjaŋ	dźaŋ	daŋ = djaŋ
	[D] PMin dźioŋ <> [E] WT g-yaŋ 'animal skin clothing'			
e 常	cháng	śjaŋ	dźaŋ	daŋ = djaŋ
fi 嘗 i	cháng	śjaŋ	dźaŋ	daŋ = djaŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (平); MGZY zhang (平) [zaŋ]; MTang źaŋ			
	[D] PMin *dźioŋ points to earlier *m-d(j)aŋ			
	[E] TB *m-yaŋ 'taste', Chepang yaŋ-sā 'to taste', WT myoŋ-ba, myaŋs / myoŋ 'to taste'			
v 贍	cháng	śjaŋ	dźaŋ	daŋ = djaŋ
n 賞	shǎng	śjaŋ ^B	śaŋ ^B	hjaŋ? [T] ONW śaŋ
y 償	cháng, shàng	śjaŋ ^(C)	dźaŋ ^(C)	daŋ(h) 'indemnify, pay back'
j 掌	zhǎng	tśjaŋ ^B	tśaŋ ^B	taŋ? 'palm of hand'
l 惝	chǎng	tś ^h jaŋ ^B	tś ^h aŋ ^B	thaŋ?
mx- 惝	chǎng	tś ^h jaŋ ^B	tś ^h aŋ ^B	thaŋ?
k 尙	chǎng,	tś ^h jaŋ ^B ,	tś ^h aŋ ^B ,	thaŋ?, 'stop suddenly'
	tǎng	t ^h āŋ ^(B)	t ^h aŋ ^(B)	thāŋ(?)
q 當 match	dāng	tāŋ	taŋ	tāŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR taŋ (平); MGZY dang (平) [taŋ]; ONW taŋ			
	當 ought	dāng	tāŋ ^C	tāŋh
r 黨	dǎng	tāŋ ^B	taŋ ^B	tāŋ?
za'b'c' 儻	tǎng	t ^h āŋ ^B	t ^h aŋ ^B	thāŋ?
std' 堂	táng	dāŋ	daŋ	dāŋ
e' 鏜	tāng	t ^h āŋ	t ^h aŋ	thāŋ
f' 瞪	chēng	t ^h ɛŋ	t ^h aŋ	thraŋ
	'Look straight at' [Zhuang].			≠ 4-30/976a'
u 定	chéng	ɬɛŋ	ɬaŋ	draŋ = 3-35/721n
- 撐	chéng	ɬɛŋ	ɬaŋ	[T] 撐犁 ɬaŋ-li Xiongnu tengri 'sky'

3-33	= K. 726	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	上 rise	shàng	ʒjaŋ ^B	dʒaŋ ^B	daŋʔ, probably = djaŋʔ
					[T] Sin S. SR zjaŋ (上去); MGZY zhang (上去) [zaŋ]; MTang ʒaŋ, ONW dʒaŋ
					[D] PMin *dʒion ^B < PCH *m-daŋʔ or rather *m-jaŋʔ?
					[E] WT yaŋ as in yaŋ-rtse 'highest point, summit' ≠ ya 'above, up'
	上 up	shàng	ʒjaŋ ^C	dʒaŋ ^C	daŋh = djaŋh [D] PMin *dʒion ^C

3-34	= K. 724	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
aefg	昌猖菖闖	chāng	tʰjaŋ	tʰaŋ	k-hlaŋ or thaŋʔ [T] ONW tʰaŋ
cd	倡唱	chàng	tʰjaŋ ^C	tʰaŋ ^C	k-hlaŋh
					[D] PMin *tʰhion < [E] WB ə-kʰraŋ ^B 'a song'

3-35	= K. 721	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	長 grow	zhǎng	tjaŋ ^B	tjaŋ ^B	traŋʔ OCB *trjaŋʔ
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjaŋ (上); MGZY jang (上) [tʃaŋ]
	長 long	cháng	djaŋ	djaŋ	draŋ OCB *ftrjaŋ
					[T] MTang daŋ, ONW daŋ, BTD Skt. -diyānika
	長 length	zhàng	djaŋ ^C	djaŋ ^C	draŋh
h	張 stretch	zhāng	tjaŋ	tjaŋ	traŋ
					[E] WT draŋ(s) 'draw, drag, pull, draw tight' (a rope), LB *raŋ 'draw, pull, drag'
	張 swell	zhàng	tjaŋ ^C	tjaŋ ^C	traŋh
g	帳	zhàng	tjaŋ ^C	tjaŋ ^C	traŋh
ij	糗餵	zhāng	tjaŋ	tjaŋ	traŋ
lm	悵鞵	chàng	tʰjaŋ ^C	tʰiaŋ ^C	thraŋh
f	莨	cháng	djaŋ	djaŋ	draŋ
k	俵	chāng,	tʰjaŋ,	tʰiaŋ,	thraŋ,
		chèng	tʰeŋ ^C	tʰaŋ ^C	thraŋh
n	棖	chéng	ɬeŋ	ɬaŋ	draŋ = 3-32/725n
					[E] Tai: S. soŋ ^{A2} [WrSiam drŋ]; or TB-Lepcha tã-raŋ 'upright beam in house'

3-36	= K. 722	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	丈	zhàng	djaŋ ^B	djaŋ ^B	draŋʔ
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (上); MGZY cang (上) [dʒaŋ]; MTang daŋ, ONW daŋ
b	杖 stick	zhàng	djaŋ ^B	djaŋ ^B	draŋʔ
	lean on	zhàng	djaŋ ^C	djaŋ ^C	draŋh

3-37	= K. 719	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	鬯	chàng	tʰjaŋ ^C	tʰiaŋ ^C	thraŋh
					[E] WT ɕʰaŋ 'fermented liquor'

3-38 = K. 720 This phonetic 易 originally wrote OC l-initial words, the series 羊 3-39/732 wrote OC j-initial words; but after the initials had merged, one finds crossovers.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
aeh	易陽暘	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	laŋ [E] WB laŋ ^B 'be bright'
jp	揚颺	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	laŋ [E] WT laŋ-ba 'to rise, arise'
q	楊	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	laŋ [E] WT lɕaŋ < *lhjaŋ 'willow'
st	瘍錫	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	laŋ

i	煬 melt	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	laŋ 'melt metal'
	roast	yàng	jiaŋ ^C	jaŋ ^C	laŋh
z	湯 flowing	shāng	ʃjaŋ	ʃaŋ	lhaŋ
	湯 hot liq.	tāng	tʰaŋ	tʰaŋ	lhāŋ
j'	傷	shāng	ʃjaŋ	ʃaŋ	lhaŋ [E] Tai: S. laaŋ ^{A2} 'destroy'
k'l'	瘍觴	shāng	ʃjaŋ	ʃaŋ	lhaŋ
h'g'	瘍湯	shāng	ʃjaŋ	ʃaŋ	lhaŋ
i'	瘍	shāng,	ʃjaŋ,	ʃaŋ,	lhaŋ,
		qiāng	tsʰjaŋ	tsʰiaŋ	s-lhaŋ
					[E] Tai: S. sa-leeŋ 'harmful'
x	場	cháng	djaŋ	djaŋ	draŋ < r-laŋ
y	腸	cháng	djaŋ	djaŋ	draŋ < r-laŋ
					[D] PMin *tɕaŋ ^{A2} . < [E] WT loŋ-ka 'intestines, entrails, guts', Chepang yoŋ-kli? ~ lyoŋ-ki. <
					MY: *gl-: PY klaaŋ ² 'intestines' MTang daŋ, ONW daŋ
uv	暢暢	chàng	tʰjaŋ ^C	tʰiaŋ ^C	thraŋh (or t-lhaŋh, k-hraŋh ?)
c'	錫	táng	dāŋ	daŋ	—
n'	盪 eliminate	dàng	dāŋ ^B	daŋ ^B	lāŋʔ
	push	tàng	tʰaŋ ^C	tʰaŋ ^C	lhāŋh
m'o'	盪蕩	dàng	dāŋ ^B	daŋ ^B	lāŋʔ
p'	蕩 immense	dàng	dāŋ ^B	daŋ ^B	lāŋʔ
	purify	dàng	dāŋ ^C	daŋ ^C	lāŋh
e'	惕 carefree	dàng	dāŋ ^B	daŋ ^B	lāŋʔ
	directly	shāng	ʃjaŋ	ʃaŋ	lhaŋ
f'	碭	dàng	dāŋ ^C	daŋ ^C	lāŋh
-	邊	dàng	dāŋ ^C	daŋ ^C	—

3-39 = K. 732 This phonetic 羊 originally wrote OC j-initial words, the series 易 3-38/720 wrote OC l-initial words; but after the initials had merged, one finds crossovers.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	羊 goat	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	jaŋ
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR jaŋ (平); MGZY yang (平) [jaŋ]; ONW iaŋ < [E] Lushai -jaa? 'a wild goat', JP ja ⁵⁵ 'blue sheep' < ? PTai *-l-: S. liaŋ ^{A2} -p ^h aa ^{A1} 'goat, antelope'.
	羊 a fly	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	jaŋ
					[D] PMin *zion ^{A2} < [E] TB *yaŋ ^A 'a fly'
ef	佯佯	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	jaŋ
h	洋	yáng	jiaŋ	jaŋ	jaŋ [E] WT yaŋs- 'wide, broad'
i	痒 disease	yáng,	jiaŋ,	jaŋ,	jaŋ,
		xiáng	zjaŋ	ziaŋ	s-jaŋ
	ulcer	yàng	jiaŋ ^B	jiaŋ ^B	- (Zhouli) ~ 3-38/720s 瘍 (Zuo)
g	恙	yàng	jiaŋ ^C	jaŋ ^C	jaŋh
j	養 nourish	yǎng	jiaŋ ^B	jaŋ ^B	jaŋʔ ? S. liaŋ ^{C2} 'feed, nourish'
	養 support	yàng	jiaŋ ^C	jaŋ ^C	jaŋh
r	癢 itch	yǎng	jiaŋ ^B	jaŋ ^B	jaŋʔ
					[D] PMin *dʒion ^B < *N- < [E] WT g-ya-ba 'to itch'
ks-	漾漾	yàng	jiaŋ ^C	jaŋ ^C	jaŋh
-	樣	yàng	jiaŋ ^C	jaŋ ^C	jaŋh
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR jaŋ (去); MGZY yang (去) [jaŋ]; ONW iaŋ

mnp	庠祥翔	xiáng	zjaŋ	ziaŋ	s-jaŋ
q	詳	xiáng	zjaŋ	ziaŋ	s-jaŋ

[T] LMing c'iaŋ [ts'iaŋ]; Sin SR zjaŋ (平), LR zjaŋ; MGZY (z'yang >) zyang (平) [zjaŋ]

3-40 = K. 734	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
af	商賈	shāng	śjaŋ	śaŋ	lhaŋ

The graph is used to write the name of a place; it is therefore the drawing of some building.

3-41 = K. 728	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	象	xiàng	zjaŋ ^B	ziaŋ ^B	s-jaŋ? ^{OCB *zaŋ?}

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjaŋ (上); MGZY (z'yang >) zyang (上) [zjaŋ]; MTang ziaŋ < ONW zaŋ.
[D] M-Xiamen col. ts^hiū^{C2}, lit. sioŋ^{C2} <> [E] PTai *jaŋ^C, Saek saŋ^{C2} < z- 'elephant'; MK-PMonic *ciŋ <> TB-LB *tsaŋ 'elephant' > WB chaŋ^A

ef	像橡	xiàng	zjaŋ ^B	ziaŋ ^B	s-jaŋ?
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3-42 = K. 730	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	襄	xiāng	sjaŋ	siaŋ	snaŋ
b	纒	xiāng	sjaŋ	siaŋ	snaŋ
fg	襉襉	ráng	ńzjaŋ	ńaŋ	naŋ 襉 [E] WB hnaŋ ^B 'dew, fog'
h	穰	ráng	ńzjaŋ ^(B)	ńaŋ ^(B)	naŋ, naŋ?
e	攘 steal	ráng	ńzjaŋ	ńaŋ	naŋ
	oppose	rǎng	ńzjaŋ ^B	ńaŋ ^B	naŋ?
d	壤	rǎng	ńzjaŋ ^B	ńaŋ ^B	naŋ?

[E] S. daaŋ^{B1} < *?d- (< *?n- ?) 'potash, lye', Li Ngam ?nǎŋ^{B1}

i	讓	ràng	ńzjaŋ ^C	ńaŋ ^C	naŋh [E] WT gnaŋ 'to concede'
j	釀	ràng	ńzjaŋ ^C	ńaŋ ^C	naŋh
c	饜	xiǎng	śjaŋ ^{A/B/C}	śaŋ ^{B/C}	nhaŋ?, nhaŋh ~ 3-18/715e

A late graph? See also 3-17/716. [T] ONW śaŋ

-	孃	niáng	njaŋ	—	— = 娘
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[T] Sin S. SR njaŋ (平); MGZY nāng (平) [naŋ]; ONW naŋ <> [E] Tai: S. naaŋ^{A2} < *n- 'lady'

l	囊	náng	nāŋ	naŋ	nāŋ ONW naŋ
k	囊	nǎng	nāŋ ^B	naŋ ^B	nāŋ? [E] WT gna' 'ancient'

3-43 = K. 735	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	良 good	liáng	ljaŋ	liaŋ	raŋ cf. 9-19/823a
e	糧	liáng	ljaŋ	liaŋ	raŋ = 3-45/737d
f	儻	liáng,	ljaŋ,	liaŋ,	raŋ,
		làng	lāŋ ^C	lāŋ ^C	rāŋh
il	粮狼	láng	lāŋ	lāŋ	rāŋ
k	浪 river	láng	lāŋ	lāŋ	rāŋ
	浪 reckless	làng	lāŋ ^C	lāŋ ^C	rāŋh
n	琅 tinkle	láng	lāŋ	lāŋ	rāŋ
	licentious	làng	lāŋ ^C	lāŋ ^C	rāŋh
oqt	粮娘廊	láng	lāŋ	lāŋ	rāŋ
p	簞	láng	lāŋ	lāŋ	rāŋ

[E] Tai: Po'ai laaŋ^{A2} < *nl/raŋ 'bamboo shoot'

r	郎	láng	lāŋ	lāŋ	rāŋ
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[T] Sin Sukchu SR laŋ (平); MGZY lang (平) [laŋ]; ONW laŋ

s	閭	láng, làng	lāŋ ^(C)	laŋ ^(C)	rāŋ, rāŋh
g	琅	làng	lāŋ ^C	laŋ ^C	rāŋh
h	朗	lǎng	lāŋ ^B	laŋ ^B	rāŋ?

3-44 = K. 736	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	兩 two	liǎng	ljaŋ ^B	liaŋ ^B	raŋ?

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljaŋ (上); MGZY (l'yang >) lyang (上) [ljaŋ]; MTang liaŋ < laŋ, ONW laŋ
[D] PMin *liŋ^{B/C} 'two', liŋ^B 'a tael' > NMin Jiànyáng sŋ^{C1} 'two', liŋ^{B1} 'tael'

	兩 arrange	liǎng	ljaŋ ^{B/C}	liaŋ ^{B/C}	raŋ?/h
	兩 chariot	liàng	ljaŋ ^C	liaŋ ^C	raŋh
c	輛	liàng	ljaŋ ^C	liaŋ ^C	raŋh
d-	輛	liǎng	ljaŋ ^B	liaŋ ^B	raŋ?

3-45 = K. 737	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	量 to meas.	liáng	ljaŋ	liaŋ	raŋ

[D] PMin *liŋ 'measure' > Fuzh liŋ^{A2} <> [E] WT 'graŋ-ba 'to count'

	量 a measure	liàng	ljaŋ ^C	liaŋ ^C	raŋh [E] WT graŋs 'number'
d	糧	liáng	ljaŋ	liaŋ	raŋ = 3-43/735e

3-46 = K. 738	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	梁	liáng	ljaŋ	liaŋ	raŋ

[D] PMin *liŋ 'beam' > Amoy niū^{A2}, Fuzh liŋ^{A2}

b	梁	liáng	ljaŋ	liaŋ	raŋ
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3-47 = K. 702	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	葬	zàng	tsāŋ ^C	tsaŋ ^C	tsāŋh ONW tsaŋ

3-48 = K. 703	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	倉	cāng	ts'āŋ	ts'aŋ	tshāŋ < k-sāŋ OCB *tshaŋ

[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'aŋ (平); MGZY tshang (平) [ts'aŋ]. <> [E] WT gsaŋ-ba 'conceal'

d	滄	cāng	ts'āŋ	ts'aŋ	tshāŋ
e	蒼	cāng	ts'āŋ	ts'aŋ	tshāŋ < k-sāŋ

[E] ? ST *saŋ 'live, green': TB-Garo t'haŋ < *saŋ 'live' ≠ gat'haŋ *k-saŋ 'green'

f	鶻 crane	cāng	ts'āŋ	ts'aŋ	tshāŋ
	tinkle	qiāng	ts'jaŋ	ts'iaŋ	tshaŋ
hijk	槍槍	qiāng	ts'jaŋ	ts'iaŋ	tshaŋ
g	搶 to rush	qiǎng	ts'jaŋ ^(B)	ts'iaŋ ^(B)	tshaŋ, tshaŋ?
	beat	chuǎng	ts'jaŋ ^B	ts'aŋ ^B	tshraŋ?
l	創 wound	chuāng	ts'jaŋ	ts'aŋ	tshraŋ
	begin	chuàng	ts'jaŋ ^C	ts'aŋ ^C	tshraŋh
m	愴	chuàng	ts'jaŋ ^C	ts'aŋ ^C	tshraŋh
n	瘡	chuāng	ts'jaŋ	ts'aŋ	tshraŋ
c	滄	chuàng,	ts'jaŋ ^C ,	ts'aŋ ^C ,	tshraŋh,
		cāng	ts'āŋ	ts'aŋ	tshāŋ

3-49 = K. 727	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad 并斫	qiāng	ts ^h jaŋ	ts ^h iaŋ	tshaŋ
f 將 bring	jiāng	tsjaŋ	tsiaŋ	tsaŋ
	[E] WT 'č ^h aŋ-ba 'to hold, keep'			
將 intend	jiāng	tsjaŋ	tsiaŋ	tsaŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjaŋ (平); MGZY (dz ^y ang >) dzyang (平) [tsjaŋ]; MTang tsiaŋ < tsjaŋ, ONW tsjaŋ < [E] AA: OKhmer caŋ /caŋ/, Khmer ca'na /caŋ/ 'to want, desire, hope for, be willing to, about to, on the point of'			
將 to lead	jiàng	tsjaŋ ^C	tsiaŋ ^C	tsaŋh
將 beg	qiāng	ts ^h jaŋ	ts ^h iaŋ	tshaŋ
鏘	qiāng	ts ^h jaŋ	ts ^h iaŋ	tshaŋ
v 漿	jiāng	tsjaŋ	tsiaŋ	tsaŋ
x 蔣 a plant	jiǎng !	tsjaŋ	tsiaŋ	tsaŋ
	a state	tsjaŋ ^B	tsiaŋ ^B	tsaŋ? name of a state
u 獎	jiǎng	tsjaŋ ^B	tsiaŋ ^B	tsaŋ?
y 醬	jiàng	tsjaŋ ^C	tsiaŋ ^C	tsaŋh
a' 蔣	shāng	śjaŋ	śaŋ	lhaŋ ? or hjaŋ ?
g 戕	qiāng !	dzjaŋ	dziaŋ	dzaŋ
ilmj' 牆牆廢牆	qiáng	dzjaŋ	dziaŋ	dzaŋ
-- 牆	qiáng	dzjaŋ	dziaŋ	dzaŋ
oq 妝莊	zhuāng	tsjaŋ	tɕaŋ	tsraŋ
n 壯	zhuàng	tsjaŋ ^C	tɕaŋ ^C	tsraŋh
i' 裝	zhuāng	tsjaŋ ^(C)	tɕaŋ ^(C)	tsraŋ, tsraŋh
r 牀床 bed	chuáng	dzjaŋ	dzjaŋ	dzraŋ
	[T] ONW dzjaŋ (?) < [D] PMin *dzhoŋ			
s 狀	zhuàng	dzjaŋ ^C	dzjaŋ ^C	dzraŋh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (去), PR dzjaŋ; MGZY c ^h ang (去) [dzjaŋ]; ONW dzjaŋ (?)			
	[E] Tai: S. raŋ ^{B2} 'form, shape' ← Khmer rāna /rāŋ/ 'body build, form, figure, shape'			
t 牂牂	zāng	tsaŋ	tsaŋ	tsaŋ
f' 臧	zāng	tsaŋ	tsaŋ	tsaŋ [E] WT bzaŋ-po 'good'
g' 藏 to store	cáng	dzjaŋ	dzjaŋ	dzjaŋ OCB *fits ^h aŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu S dzjaŋ (平); MGZY tsang (平) [dzjaŋ]; ONW dzjaŋ			
h' 藏 a store	zàng	dzjaŋ ^C	dzjaŋ ^C	dzjaŋh
	臧	zāng	tsaŋ	tsaŋ
3-50 = K. 727mj'	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
mj... 廢牆牆	qiáng	dzjaŋ	dziaŋ	dzaŋ
	= 727j... w/o phonet. 并 3-49, q.v.			
3-51	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
- 床 bed	chuáng	dzjaŋ	dzjaŋ	dzraŋ = 3-49/727r 牀
3-52 = K. 729	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 匠	jiàng	dzjaŋ ^C	dziaŋ ^C	dzaŋh
	See Intro. 9.2.8. [T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjaŋ (去); MGZY (ts ^y ang >) tsyang (去) [dzjaŋ]			
	[E] Khmer /caŋ/ 'to dress (wood, stone), rough out, trim...'			

3-53 = K. 704	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 桑	sāng	sāŋ	saŋ	sāŋ
	[T] ONW saŋ, MHan 桑門 saŋ-mən śramaŋa			
b 類	sǎng	sāŋ ^B	saŋ ^B	sāŋ?
3-54 = K. 705	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 喪 burial	sāng	sāŋ	saŋ	sāŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR saŋ (平); MGZY sang (平) [saŋ] < [E] WB saŋ- 'grave'			※ 3-47/702 葬
喪 destroy	sàng	sāŋ ^C	saŋ ^C	sāŋh = smāŋh OCB *smaŋs
	※ ? 3-65/742 亡. Some graphic forms incorporate the element wáng 亡 *maŋ 'lose, ruin', but its role may be semantic and only apply to the meaning 'destroy'.			
3-55 = K. 731	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 相 look at	xiàng	sjaŋ ^C	siaŋ ^C	saŋh
相 appear	xiàng	sjaŋ ^(C)	siaŋ ^(C)	saŋ, saŋh
相 mutually	xiāng	sjaŋ	siaŋ	saŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjaŋ (平); MGZY (s ^y ang >) syang (平) [sjaŋ]; MTang siaŋ < saŋ, ONW saŋ			
d 想	xiǎng	sjaŋ ^B	siaŋ ^B	saŋ?
ef 湘箱	xiāng	sjaŋ	siaŋ	saŋ
霜	shuāng	sjaŋ	ɕaŋ	sraŋ
	[T] ONW 霜; MHan 貴霜 Kuṣāṇa < [D] W-Wenzh cyo ^{44/32} -peŋ ^{44/33} 'ice', PMin *šoŋ: Xiamen sŋ ⁵⁵ , Chaozhou suŋ ³³			
h 孀	shuāng	sjaŋ	ɕaŋ	sraŋ
3-56 = K. 733	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 爽 go astray	shuǎng	sjaŋ ^B	ɕaŋ ^B	sraŋ?
爽 bright	shuǎng	sjaŋ ^B	ɕaŋ ^B	sraŋ?
3-57 = K. 740	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 方 square	fāng	pjaŋ	puŋ	paŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR faŋ (平); MGZY Hwang (平) [faŋ]; MTang pfaŋ, ONW puŋ < paŋ			
方 begin	fāng	pjaŋ	puŋ	paŋ [E] NNaga *praŋ 'begin'
方 method	fāng	pjaŋ	puŋ	paŋ
	[E] WT byaŋ- 'skill, practice'			
方 tossed	páng	bwāŋ	baŋ	bāŋ
l 犆	fāng	pjaŋ	puŋ	paŋ
o 郝	fāng	pjaŋ	puŋ	paŋ
k 枋 a tree	fāng	pjaŋ	puŋ	paŋ
	a handle	bìng	pjaŋ ^C	paŋ ^C = 3-61 柄
g 舫	fāng	pjaŋ ^C , pwāŋ ^C	puŋ ^C , paŋ ^C	paŋh
i 放 let go	fàng	pjaŋ ^C	puŋ ^C	paŋh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR faŋ (去); MGZY Hwang (去) [faŋ]; MTang pfuaŋ (?), ONW p ^h uaŋ < p ^h aŋ			
	[E] WT 'p ^h aŋs 'to fling, throw'			
放 imitate	fāng	pjaŋ ^B	puŋ ^B	paŋ?
j 昉	fāng	pjaŋ ^B	puŋ ^B	paŋ?
mn 瓶旌	fāng	pjaŋ ^B	puŋ ^B	paŋ?
q 妨	fáng	p ^h jaŋ	p ^h uaŋ	phaŋ

s	芳	fāng	p ^h jwaŋ	p ^h uaŋ	phaŋ	
uv	髮仿	fǎng	p ^h jwaŋ ^B	p ^h uaŋ ^B	phaŋ?	
r	紡	fǎng	p ^h jwaŋ ^B	p ^h uaŋ ^B	phaŋ?	
						[T] MTang pfhuaŋ (?), ONW p ^h uaŋ < p ^h aŋ <> [E] WT p ^h aŋ 'spindle'
t	訪	fǎng	p ^h jwaŋ ^C	p ^h uaŋ ^C	phaŋh	※ 9-27/817a pin 聘
xza'	坊防 a'	fáng	bjwaŋ	buaŋ	baŋ	
y	房	fáng	bjwaŋ	buaŋ	baŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR vaŋ (平); MGZY h(w)ang (平) [vaŋ]; ONW buaŋ < baŋ [E] WT baŋ-ba 'storeroom'
b'	魴	fáng	bjwaŋ	buaŋ	baŋ	
e'	彷彿	páng	bwân	baŋ	bân	
j'	彷彿	bēng	peŋ	paŋ	prân	= 3-58/750e
f'	旁 side	páng	bwân	baŋ	bân	
						[E] Lushai paŋ ^L 'side of body'
		bang!	bēng	peŋ	paŋ	pân!
n'	騁 bang!	páng,	bwân,	baŋ,	bân	
		péng	beŋ	baŋ		
m'	傍	páng	bwân ^(C)	baŋ ^(C)	bân, bânh	
o'	傍	bàng	bwân ^C	baŋ ^C	bânh	
-	榜	bàng	pwân ^C	paŋ ^C	pânh	
						[E] AN *qaBaŋ 'two boats lashed together'
k'	謗	bàng	pwân ^C	paŋ ^C	pânh	
l'd'c'	滂沱	páng!	p ^h wân	p ^h aŋ	phân	
p'	榜	bàng!	peŋ ^C	paŋ ^C	prânh	[E] WT spaŋ 'board, plank'
r'	旁	bēng,	peŋ,	paŋ,	prân,	
		páng	bwân	baŋ	bân	
3-58 = K. 741	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	𠂔	fāng	pjwaŋ	pucaŋ	paŋ	
3-59 = K. 750	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	彭 Pl.N.	péng	beŋ	baŋ	brân	
	forceful	páng	bwân	baŋ	bân	
	bang!	pāng	pwân	paŋ	pân	
e	繫	bēng	peŋ	paŋ	prân	= 3-57/740j'
3-60 = K. 751	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	烹	pēng	p ^h eiŋ	p ^h aŋ	phrân	
3-61 = K. 757	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	丙	bǐng	pjeŋ ^B	piaŋ ^B	praŋ?	
g	柄	bǐng	pjeŋ ^{B/C}	piaŋ ^{B/C}	praŋ?/h	OCB *prjaŋs
h	柄	bǐng	pjeŋ ^C	piaŋ ^C	praŋh	[D] PMin *paŋ ^C
i-j	炳昞邴	bǐng	pjeŋ ^B	piaŋ ^B	praŋ?	
k	病	bǐng	bjeŋ ^C	biaŋ ^C	braŋh	
						[T] ONW beŋ <> [D] PMin *baŋ ^C > Fuzh paŋ ^{C2} , Amoy pi ^{C2}

3-62 = K. 758	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	秉	bǐng	pjeŋ ^B	piaŋ ^B	praŋ?	[T] ONW peŋ
d	棟	bǐng	pjeŋ ^C	piaŋ ^C	praŋh	
3-63 = K. 759	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	兵	bǐng	pjeŋ	piaŋ	praŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR piŋ (平); MGZY bing (平) [piŋ]; ONW peŋ
3-64 = K. 709	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-a	𦵏 ¹	mǎng	mwân ^B	maŋ ^B	mân?	
						SW 483. [E] TB-Chep. maŋ? 'grass'
	𦵏 ²	mò	muo ^B	ma ^B	mâ? < mla? ?	
						[E] TB *m-lyak 'grass'
-	𦵏	mǎng	mwân ^B	maŋ ^B	mân?	
3-65 = K. 742	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	亡	wáng	mjwaŋ	mucaŋ	maŋ	
						[T] Sin S. SR, LR vaŋ (平); MGZY wang (平) [vaŋ] <> [E] Lushai maŋ ^F 'to die, die out'
i	忘	wàng	mjwaŋ ^(C)	mucaŋ ^(C)	maŋ (!)	
						[T] MTang mvuaŋ, ONW muaŋ
la'	罔 ¹ 網	wǎng	mjwaŋ ^B	mucaŋ ^B	maŋ?	[E] PTai *muaŋ ^{A2} 'fishnet'
	罔 ² 網	wǎng	mjwaŋ ^B	mucaŋ ^B	maŋ?	
						[E] S. p ^h raaŋ ^{A2} < *br- 'deceive'
b'	惘	wǎng	mjwaŋ ^B	mucaŋ ^B	maŋ?	
k	芒 sharp	máng	mwân,	maŋ,	mân,	
			mjwaŋ	mucaŋ	maŋ	
	芒 great	máng	mwân,	maŋ,	mân	
	芒 confused	máng	mwân,	maŋ,	mân,	
			xwân ^(B)	hucaŋ ^(B)	hmân, hmân?	
c'	鋤	máng!	mjwaŋ	mucaŋ	maŋ	
d'	茫	máng	mwân	maŋ	mân	
g	妄	wàng	mjwaŋ ^C	mucaŋ ^C	maŋh	
m	望	wàng	mjwaŋ ^{A/C}	mucaŋ ^{A/C}	maŋ ^A	= 3-66/743
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR vaŋ (去); MGZY wang (去) [vaŋ]; MTang mvuaŋ, ONW muaŋ < maŋ [E] TB *mraŋ 'to see'
op	忙 忙	máng	mwân	maŋ	mân	
q	盲	máng	meŋ	maŋ	mrân	[T] ONW mēŋ
-st	虻 虻	méng	meŋ	maŋ	mrân	
						[E] WT sbraŋ 'a fly'
ur	氓 氓	méng	meŋ	meŋ	mrân or mrân	
						[E] WT dmaŋs 'people'
y	盲	huāng	xwân	hucaŋ	hmân	
z	盲	huāng	xwân	hucaŋ	hmân	
						[E] MK: PMnong *mham 'blood'
v	荒	huāng	xwân	hucaŋ	hmân	
e'	荒	huāng	xwân	hucaŋ	hmân	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwaŋ (平); MGZY hwang (平) [xwaŋ]
f'	謊	huǎng	xwân ^(B)	hucaŋ ^(B)	hwân(?)	

3 OCM *-aŋ 陽部 (GSR 697-765)

g'	慌	huǎng	xwâŋ ^B	huɑŋ ^B	hwâŋ?	
h'i'	幌	máng	mwâŋ	maŋ	mâŋ	
3-66 = K. 743	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
adg	望	wàng	mjwaŋ ^C	muɑŋ ^C	maŋh	望 = 3-65/742m
3-67 = K. 744	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ac-	网	wǎng	mjwaŋ ^B	muɑŋ ^B	maŋ?	网 = 3-65/742a' 網
3-68 = K. 760	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	明	míng	mjeŋ	miaŋ	mraŋ	OCB *mrjaŋ
						[T] Sin S. SR miŋ (平); MGZY ming (平) [miŋ]; ONW meŋ <> [D] PMin *maŋ 'next' (year)
e	盟	méng	mjeŋ	miaŋ	mraŋ	
g	萌	méng	meŋ	meŋ	mrâŋ or mrêŋ?	
						[E] Viet. mām 'sprout, shoot'; TB-Lepcha mlam 'shoots from stump of tree'
3-69 = K. 761	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	皿	mǐn	mjeŋ ^B	miaŋ ^B	mraŋ?	
						[E] Viet. mām 'food tray'
e	孟	mèng	meŋ ^C	maŋ ^C	mrâŋh	[T] ONW mēŋ
g	猛	měng	meŋ ^B	maŋ ^B	mrâŋ?	

4 OCM rime *-ə Zhī bù 之部

GSR 936 - 1001

Baxter 1992: 464 ff. (§10.2.1)

Table 4-1: OCM rimes *-əŋ, *-ək, *-ə in QYS categories

Div.	*-əŋ R.6	*-ək R.5	*-ək R.5	*-ə R.4
I	恆 kəŋ ^C kəŋ ^C *kəŋh 肱 kwəŋ kuəŋ *kwəŋ 登 təŋ təŋ *təŋ 崩 pəŋ pəŋ *pəŋ	克 kʰək kʰək *khək 或 ɣwək ɣuək *wək 得 tək tək *tək 北 pək pək *pək	塞 sâi ^C sə ^C *sək 背 pwâi ^C pə ^C *pək	改 kâi ^B kə ^B *kə? 恢 kʰwâi kʰwə *khwə 每 mwâi ^B mə ^B *mə? 在 dzâi ^B dzə ^B *dzə?
III lab	弓 kujŋ kuŋ *kwəŋ 雄 juŋ ³ wuŋ *wəŋ 夢 mjuŋ ^C muŋ *məŋ	福 pjuk puk *pək 牧 mjuk muk *mək	富 pjəu ^C pu ^C *pək	丘 kʰjəu kʰu < kʰwə *khwə 有 jəu ^B wu ^B < wuə ^B *wə? 婦 bjəu ^B bu ^B < buə ^B *bə?
3/3 lab	冰 pəŋ piŋ *prəŋ	逼 pjək pik *prək	備 bji ^C 3 bi ^C < biə ^C *brək	龜 kjwi ³ kui < kwə *kwə 鄙 pji ^B 3 pi ^B < piə ^B *prə?
III non-lab	兢 kjəŋ kiŋ *kəŋ 承 zjəŋ dzjəŋ *dəŋ 孕 jəŋ ^C jjiŋ ^C *ləŋ	亟 kjək kik *kək 泄 xjwək huik *hwək 域 jwək wik *wək 織 tsjək tsik *tək 弋 jək jik *lək 色 sjək sik *srək	亟 kʰji ^C kʰiə ^C *khək 織 tsj ^C tsə ^C *tək 異 jji ^C jə ^C *lək	其 gjj gi < giə *gə 以 jji ^B ji < jə ^B *lə? 子 tsi ^B tsi ^B < tsjə ^B *tsə? 史 sji ^B sji ^B < sjə ^B *srə?
II	黽 meŋ ^B meŋ ^B *mrəŋ?	革 kek kek *krək 麥 mek mek *mrək	憊 bāi ^C be ^C *brək	戒 kǎi ^C ke ^C *krək 怪 kwāi ^C kue ^C *kwrək

In this section are also found phonetic series in OCM *-u (section 13) that are suspected of including words in OCM *wə. In late Western Han poetry, these words tend to rime with ones in OC *-ə (Coblin 1986: 103f). By LHan these words seem to have ended in -u. The multitude of MC rimes with medial u/w in this OC category and their multiple OC sources are interpreted as follows:

	Mand.	MC	LHan < earlier	OCM
九	jiǔ	kjəu ^B	ku ^B	ku?
丘	qiū	kʰjəu	kʰu < kʰwə	khwə
有	yǒu	jəu ^B	wu ^B < wuə ^B	wə?
負	fù	bjəu ^B	bu ^B < buə ^B	bə?
龜	guī	kjwi ³	kui < kwə	kwrə
丕	pī	pʰji ³	pʰi < pʰiə	phrə
恢	huī	kʰwâi	kʰwə	khwə
灰	huī	xwâi	hwə	hwə
誨	huì	xwâi ^C	hwə ^C	hməh

MC and modern dialects distinguish between OC syllable types *Po, *Mo and *Pə, *Mə; but these have merged in the language of the *Shijing* and phonetic series (Baxter 1992); this has led to some confusion of these finals.

See Table 26-1 for OC rimes *-i, *-ai, *-ui and *-ə in QYS categories.

4-1	= K. 936	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
	改	gǎi	kâi ^B	kə ^B	kə? < klə?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaj (上); MGZY gay (上) [kaj]; ONW kai [E] PTai *klai ^{A1} 'to pass by, change into'			
4-2	= K. 937	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	亥	hài	ɣâi ^B	gə ^B	gə?
h	孩	hái	ɣâi	gə	gə
g	咳 smile	hái	ɣâi	gə	gə
	咳 cough	ké !	k ^h âi ^C	k ^h ə ^C	khəkh
s	效 cough	ké	k ^h âi ^C	k ^h ə ^C	khəkh
			k ^h ək	k ^h ək	khək
		[D] Min: Amoy lit. k ^h ek ^{D1} 'sound of coughing' <> [E] TB *ka:k: Lushai k ^h aak ^H 'eject forcibly from the throat' ≠ k ^h aak ^R 'phlegm', WT k ^h ogs 'cough', WB hak 'to hawk, raise phlegm'; <> Tai: S. k ^h aak ^{D1} 'to spit out', Saek k ^h aak ⁶ 'cough up phlegm', PVM *k-ha:k / krha:k 'to spit'			
i	咳	hài	ɣâi ^C	gə ^C	gəh
j	孩 N.Pr.	gāi	kâi	kə	kə
	swallow	ài	ŋâi ^C	ŋə ^C	ŋəh
klm	咳咳咳	gāi	kâi	kə	kə
opq	咳該咳	gāi	kâi	kə	kə
r	咳	gāi	kâi	kə	kə
		[E] WB hle-ka ^B 'stairs, ladder' (hle 'ladder'), JP lă ³³ -ka ³³ 'steps', ? WT skras, skas-ka, skad 'ladder'			
n	核	gāi, xié	kâi, ɣai	kə, gə	kə, grə
y	駭	hài	ɣâi ^B	gə ^B	grə?
z	骸	hái	ɣâi	gə	grə
a'	核	hé	ɣek	gək	grək = 5-3/1260a 覈
		[E] TB: WT rag 'fruit stone, bead', Mikir rak 'fruit stone'			
tu	核闕	ài	ŋâi ^C	ŋə ^C	ŋəkh = 4-23/956g 礙
v	刻	kè	k ^h ək	k ^h ək	khək
x	劓	hé, hài	ɣək, ɣâi ^C	gək, gə ^C	gək(h)
4-3	= K. 990	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	戒誠	jiè	kâi ^C	kə ^C	krəh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjaj (去), PR kjej; MGZY gyay (上) [kjaj]; ONW kēi			
d	械	xiè	ɣâi ^C	gə ^C	grəh
e	賊	xiè	ɣâi ^B	gə ^B	grə?
f	械	gāi	kâi	kə	kə
4-4	= K. 952	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
af	其 ¹ > 箕	jī	kji	ki < kiə	kə 'basket', OCB *k(r)jə
a	其 ² this	qí	gji	giə	gə
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (平); MGZY ki (平) [gi]; ONW giə			
	其 ³ probably	jī	kji ^C	kiə ^C	kəh
g	基	jī	kji	kiə	kə OCB *k(r)jə
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjej (平), PR, LR ki; MGZY gi (平) [ki]; BTD 基耶今波羅 kiə-ja-kim-po-la Skt. keśakambala			
e'	璣	qí	gji	giə	gə

jl	暮棋	jī	kji	kiə	kə	[T] ONW kiə
k	期 time	qí	gji	giə	gə	
	year	jī	kji	kiə	kə	[T] ONW kiə
m	萁 stalks	qí	gji	giə	gə	
	a vegetab.	jī	kji	kiə	kə	
n	謀 plan	jī	kji	kiə	kə	
	deceive	qī	k ^h ji	k ^h iə	khə	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (平), PR k'i; MGZY khi (平) [k'i]; MTang k ^h i, ONW k ^h iə,				
pqf'	俱欺傲	qī	k ^h ji	k ^h iə	khə	
-	魁	qī	k ^h ji	k ^h iə	khə	
rtuv	箕棋旗	qí	gji	giə	gə	
xya'b'	琪棋騏驎	qí	gji	giə	gə	
z	綦 grey	qí	gji	giə	gə	
	cord	qí, jì	gji ^(C)	giə ^(C)	gə(h)	
c'	碁	jì	gji ^C	giə ^C	gəh	OCB *g(r)jə?(s)
		= 4-5/953su 碁 碁				
d'	碁	jì	gji ^C	giə ^C	gəh	
4-4A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-	刃	jī	kji	ki < kiə	SW 2003	
-	刃	jì	kji ^C	kiə ^C	SW 2004	
4-5	= K. 953	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	己	jǐ	kji ^B	ki ^B < kiə ^B	kə?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjej (上), PR, LR ki; MGZY gi (上) [ki]				
f	改	jǐ	kji ^B	kiə ^B	kə?	
i	紀	jì	kji ^B	kiə ^B	kə?	OCB *k(r)jə?
j	記	jì	kji ^C	kiə ^C	kəh	[T] ONW kiə
s	忌 dread	jì	gji ^C	giə ^C	gəh	OCB *g(r)jə?(s)
		= 4-4/952c' 碁				
	忌 a particle	jì	kji ^C	kiə ^C	kəh	
u	忌	jì	gji ^C	giə ^C	gəh	
xy	踉 y	jì	gji ^B	giə ^B	gə?	
k	杞	qǐ	k ^h ji ^B	k ^h iə ^B	khə?	
l	杞	qǐ	k ^h ji ^B	k ^h iə ^B	khə?	
		[E] ? TB: WT k ^h ri-sin 'a creeper'				
q	芭	qǐ	k ^h ji ^B	k ^h iə ^B	khə?	[E] ? TB: WT k ^h re 'millet'
r	起	qǐ	k ^h ji ^B	k ^h iə ^B	khə?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (上), PR k'i; MGZY khi (上) [k'i]; ONW k ^h iə				
4-6	= K. 985	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	龜	guī	kjwi 3	kui < kwia ~ ku	kwɛ R! OCB *kwrjə	
		[T] 龜茲 *ku-dzə = Kuca [Hanshu] <> [D] PMin *kui ~ *ku. In Han and Wei-Jin poetry the word rimes with both *-ə and *-u.				
4-7	= K. 986	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	篋	guī	kjwi ^B 3	kui ^B < kwia ^B	kru? R! OCB *k ^h rju?	
		= 4-8/987 ≠ 31-2/540a, g-j gui 櫃				

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
4-8	= K. 987					
a	段	guǐ	kjwi ^B 3	kui ^B < kwia ^B	kru? R!	OCB *k ^w rju?
	= 4-7/986					
eg	餽	jiù	kjəu ^C	ku ^C	kuh	
4-9	= K. 988					
a	頰 face	kuí	gjwi 3	gui < gwia	gru	OCB *g ^w rju
	= 4-12/992e 頰					
	mien	kuǐ	k ^h jiw ^B 3	k ^h ui ^B < k ^h wia ^B	khru?	
	[T] ONW gui <> [E] Lepcha tǎ-gryu 'cheek'					
b	頰	huì	huài ^C	huə ^C	hwəh	
	= 31-2/540f 頰 *hwəh 'wash the face'					
4-10	= K. 989					
a	達	kuí	gjwi 3	gui < gwia	gru R!	OCB *g ^w rju
	= 4-12/992m 達					
4-11	= K. 991					
a	怪	guài	kwǎi ^C	kuə ^C < kwe ^C	kwəh?	[T] ONW kuēi
	The phonetic could be yòu 又. Seems to be cognate to 愧 28-1/569d guǐ (kwài) *kūi.					
4-12	= K. 992					
a	九	jiǔ	kjəu ^B	ku ^B R!	ku? / kwə? ?	OCB *k ^w ju?
	[N]The graph was perh. invented for a word 'to bend, elbow' → jú 鞠鞠.					
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kiw (上); MGZY giw (上) [kiw]; MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku					
	[D] PEmIn *kəu ^B : M-Xiamen, Fuzhou kau ^B ; PWMIn *kiu ^B .					
	[E] ST *kwə?: TB *d-kuw, Lushai kua ^R < *kua? (< *?, not *-h < *-s)(kə ¹)					
e	頰	kuí, qiú	gjwi 3, gjəu	gui < gwia, gu	gru, gu	OCB *g ^w rju
	= 4-9/988a 頰 [T] ONW gui					
m	馱	kuí	gjwi 3	gui < gwia	gru	OCB *g ^w rju
	= 4-10/989a 馱					
n	鳩	jiū	kjəu	ku	ku	
	[T] MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku. <> [D] Y-Guǎngzhōu, Hongkong kəu ^{A1} ~ k ^h eu ^{A1} , Foshan, Nanhai et al., have k ^h .; M-Xiamén kiu ^{A1} ~ k ^h iu ^{A1} <> [E] TB *kuw 'dove'					
fgj	宛	guǐ	kjwi ^B 3	kui ^B < kwia ^B	kwə?	
	宛: Wei-Jin rime -wə (Ting: 53)					
k	軌	guǐ	kjwi ^B 3	kui ^B < kwia ^B	kru?	OCB *k ^w rju?
l	甌	guǐ	kjwi ^B 3	kui ^B < kwia ^B	kru?	= 4-7/986 甌
o	究	jiū !	kjəu ^C	ku ^C	kuh	OCB *k(r)jus
	< kwuə ^C R! ~ kwəh					≠ 4-15/1066a 求
	[T] MTang keu < kiu, ONW ku. In Han poetry jiū rimes sometimes with *-u, sometimes with *-ə (Luo / Zhou p. 132).					
p	仇	qiú	gjəu	gu < gwuə R!	< *gwə, gu R!	= 4-15/1066 逮
qrst	叕	qiú	gjəu	gu	gwə or gu	
u	尻	kāo	k ^h āu	k ^h ou	khú	
v	虺	xiāo	xau	həu	hú	
	An onomatopoeic word, hence no *r in spite of QYS Div. II.					
x	旭	xù	xjwok	huok	hok	

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
4-13	= K. 993					
ac	久玖	jiǔ	kjəu ^B	ku ^B < kwuə ^B R!	kwə? R!	OCB *k ^w jə?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kiw (上); MGZY giw (上) [kiw] <> [D] PMin *kiu ^B : Xiamen ku ^B					
b	灸	jiǔ	kjəu ^{B/C}	ku ^{B/C}	kwə?/h	
de	疾	jiù	kjəu ^C	ku ^C < kwuə ^C R!	kwəh R!	
g	樞	jiù	gjəu ^C	gu ^C	gwəh	
f	羨	yǒu	jəu ^B	wu ^B < wuə ^B	wə?	
4-14	= K. 994					
a	丘	qiū	k ^h jəu	k ^h u < k ^h wuə R!	khwə R!	OCB *k ^w hja
	In Han poetry, qiū rimes with both *-ə and *-u. <> [T] MTang k ^h eu < k ^h iu, ONW k ^h u; BTDA Prakr. khu, Skt kṣu. MHan 丘就 k ^h u-dziu ^C = Kujula <> [E] ST *kwə: TB-Phön kəwa, Lushai k ^h ua ^H 'village', Lai k ^h ua 'cosmos, village'.					
d	蚯	qiū	k ^h jəu	k ^h u	khwə	
4-15	= K. 1066					
ae	求 ¹ > 裘	qiú	gjəu	gu < gwuə R!	gwə R!	OCB *g ^w jə 'fur'
a	求 ² seek	qiú	gjəu	gu	gu R!	OCB *g(r)ju
	≠ 4-12/992o 究 <> [T] Sin S. SR giw (平); MGZY kiw (平) [giw]; MTang geu < giu, ONW gu					
f	球	qiú	gjəu	gu	gu R!	
	[D] PMin *g ^h iu <> PTai *gwa ^{C2} 'to search' <> [E] Tai: Wu-ming klau ^{A2} 'ball'					
g	掬 curved	qiú	gjəu	gu	gu	
	collect	jiū	kjəu	ku	ku	
k	逮	qiú	gjəu	gu	gu R!	OCB *g(r)ju
	= 4-12/992p 仇					
lh	錄	qiú	gjəu	gu	gu R!	
n	俵	qiú	gjəu	gu	gwə R!	
m	救	jiù	kjəu ^C	ku ^C	kuh R!	OCB *k(r)jus
j	賅	qiú	gjəu	gu	gu	
i	鯨	qiú,	gjeu,	giu,	giu,	
	jiū	kjeu	kiu	kiu	kiu	= 13-8/1064ef 蚪 斛
4-16	= K. 1067					
a	臼	jiù	gjəu ^B	gu ^B R!	gu?	
	[D] PMin *g ^h iu ^B : Xiam k ^h u ^{C2} , Fuzh k ^h ou ^{C2} <> [E] PVM *t-koi? 'rice mortar'					
b	舅	jiù	gjəu ^B	gu ^B	gu? R!	OCB *g(r)ju?
	[D] PMin *g ^h iu ^B > Xiam ku ^{C2} , Fu'an kou ^{C2} <> [E] TB *kuw 'uncle'					
c	舊	jiù	gjəu ^C	gu ^C	gwə?/h R!	OCB *g ^w jə?(s)
	[T] MTang geu < giu, ONW gu <> [D] PMin *g ^h iu ^C					
f	匱	jiù	gjəu ^C	gu ^C	guh or gwəh	
4-17	= K. 995					
a	又	yòu	jəu ^C	wu ^C < wuə ^C	wəh	OCB *wja(k)s
	Original graph for 右 <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (去); MGZY ngiw (去) [njiw]					
e	友	yǒu	jəu ^B	wu ^B < wuə ^B	wə?	[T] ONW u
i	右	yòu	jəu ^B , jəu ^C	wu ^{B/C} < wuə ^{B/C}	wə?, wəh	OCB *wja?(s)
	[T] Sin S. SR iw (去); MGZY ngiw (去) [njiw]; MTang eu < u, ONW u					
kl	佑祐	yòu	jəu ^C	wu ^C < wuə ^C	wəh	

m	盍	yòu	jəu ^{B/C}	wu ^{B/C} < wuə ^{B/C}	wəʔ/h
n	醢	hǎi	xâi ^B	hə ^B	hwəʔ?
o	有	yǒu	jəu ^B	wu ^B < wuə ^B	wəʔ OCB *wjaʔ
[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (上); MGZY ngiw (上) [ɲiw]; MTang eu < u, ONW u; Han BTD *wu [D] PMin *u ^B ~ iu ^B : Xiamen u ^{C2} , Fuzhou ou ^{C2}					
qr	侑宥	yòu	jəu ^C	wu ^C < wuə ^C	wəh
u	囿	yòu	jəu ^C	wu ^C < wuə ^C	wəkh, OCB *wjaʔ(k)s
			juk	wuk < wuək	wək
xy	脍鮪	wěi	jwî ^B	wî ^B < wîə ^B	wrəʔ
z	賄	huì	xwâi ^B	hwə ^B	hməʔ? ! (Baxter 1992: 352)
a'	郁	yù	?juk	?uk < ?wək	?wək

4-18 = K. 996	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
adef	尤訖疣狀	yóu	jəu	wu < wuə	wə
[T] ONW iu <> [E] WT yus 'blame'					

4-19 = K. 997	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	郵	yóu	jəu	wu < wuə	wə

4-19A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	詎	huì	ɣwâi ^C	ɣuə ^C	wəh SW 1042
自 'nose' is semantic, not phonetic					

4-20 = K. 950	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	灰	huī	xwâi	huə	hwə
[T] Sin Sukchu SR xuj (平); MGZY hue (平) [xue]. The phonetic could be yòu 又, hence OCM *hwə, also the graphic derivatives huī, kuī point to OCM *hw- rather than *hm-.					
b	恢	huī!	khwâi	khwə	khwə
-	盔	kuī	khwâi	—	'helmet; basin'
c	脰	méi	mwâi ^(C)	mə ^(C)	mə(h) = 4-64/947m 脰
This graph occurs late (first in Liji) as a loan graph for 脰 when *hm- and *hw- had already merged. Note 4-17/995z 賄 for a similar graphic confusion of *m- vs. *w-.					

4-21 = K. 955	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	喜禧	xǐ	xji ^B	hiə ^B > hi ^B	həʔ
[T] Sin Sukchu SR xi (上); MGZY hi (上) [xi]; MTang hi, ONW hiə					
efg	嘻禧嬉	xī	xji	hiə	hə
ijk	嘻禧熹	xī	xji	hiə	hə
lm	饘饘	chì	tshî ^C	tshə ^C	k-hjəʔ OCB *KHjəʔ(s)
= 4-34/960k 饘					

4-22 = K. 958	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	醫	yī	?i	?iə > ?i	?ə
[E] KT: PHlai ja ¹ 'medicine', KS *gja ² 'medicine, to cure', PTai *?ia ^{A1} 'medicine'					

4-22A	毒	āi	?âi ^(B)	?ə ^(B)	SW 5653
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4-23 = K. 956	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	疑 doubt	yí	ɲji	ɲiə > ɲi	ɲə
[T] MTang ɲi [ɲgi], ONW ɲiə					
	疑 stop	yì	ɲjək	ɲik	ɲək
b	擬	nǐ	ɲji ^B	ɲiə ^B	ɲəʔ [T] BTD Skt. jña
c	疑 a mount.	yí	ɲji	ɲiə	ɲə
	firmly	yì	ɲjək	ɲik	ɲək
d	擬	nǐ	ɲji ^B	ɲiə ^B	ɲəʔ
e	疑	yǐ, nǐ	ɲji ^B , ɲjək	ɲiə ^B , ɲik	ɲəʔ, ɲək
f	齶	yí, ní	ɲji, ɲjək	ɲiə, ɲik	ɲə, ɲək
g	礙	ài	ɲâi ^C	ɲə ^C	ɲêkh = 4-2/937t 礙
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲaj (去); MGZY ngay (去) [ɲaj]; ONW ɲai ^C [E] ? TB: WT 'geg(s)-pa, bkag, dgag 'to hinder, prohibit, shut'					
h	凝	níng	ɲjəŋ	ɲiŋ	ɲəŋ

4-24 = K. 998	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	牛	niú	ɲjəu	ɲu < ɲwə R!	ɲwə OCB *ɲwə
[T] Sin S. SR ɲiw, iw (平); PR, LR niw; MGZY ngiw (平) [ɲiw]; ONW ɲu <> [D] PMin *ɲju: Xiamen gu ^{A2} , Fuzhou ɲu ^{A2} <> [E] Tai: S. ɲua ^{A2} < *ɲwue ? 'ox', TB *ɲwa 'bovine'					

4-25 = K. 939	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	臺	tái	dâi	də	də
-	孀	tái	dâi	də	də
[E] AA: Khmer tai /dəj/ 'female human, female slave'					

4-26 = K. 961	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ag	止趾	zhǐ	tshî ^B	tshə ^B > tshî ^B	təʔ
hj	芷	zhǐ	tshî ^B	tshə ^B	təʔ
k	祉	zhǐ!	tshî ^B	tshîə ^B	thrəʔ
l	齒	see 4-29			
m	寺	sì	zi ^C	ziə ^C	s-ləh? OCB *sdjəʔ
d'	詩	shī	sí	śə	lhə? OCB *stjə
[E] ? TB: Lushai hlaa ^R 'song, poem, poetry'					
e'	邠	shī	śi	śə	lhə?
z	時 ¹ this	shí	zi	dza	də OCB *djə(?)
[E] WT da 'there'					
zb'	時 ² 皆 time	shí	zi	dza	dəʔ (tone!)
[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (平), PR, LR zi; MGZY zhi (平) [zi]; MTang zi < dzi, ONW dza					
j'	峙	shí	zi	dza	də OCB *djə
y	恃	shì	zi ^B	dza ^B	dəʔ OCB *djəʔ
x	侍	shì	zi ^C	dza ^C	dəh
[T] MTang zi < dzi, ONW dza					
v	詩	zhǐ	tshî ^B	tshə ^B	təʔ
p	持	chí	dji	diə	drə
[T] BTD 比盧持 pi ^C -la-diə Skt. vairati-					
qrst	峙時痔痔	zhì	dji ^B	diə ^B	drəʔ
u	跣	zhì	dji ^B	diə ^B	drəʔ

g'	待	dài	dâi ^B	də ^B	dê?
		[T] BTD nán-dài 難待 Skt. nanda			
k'	侍	zhì	dji ^B	diə ^B	drə?
h'	特	tè !	dək	dək	dək = 5-12/919f 犏
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR daj (入), LR daj?; MGZY t'iy (入) [daj]; ONW dək.			
		[E] ? ST: tak 'one' in Western Himalayan languages, e.g., Darmiya taku 'one'			
	特	male	tè	dək	dək dək dək OCB *dək
		[E] Tai: S. t'ik ^{D1S} < *th- (in northern dial. *d-) 'young male animal' <> NNaga *te:k 'buffalo'			
i'	等	děng	təŋ ^B	təŋ ^B	təŋ?

4-27 = K. 962	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	之芝	zhī	tí	tí < tío	tə
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsi (平), PR, LR tsi; MGZY ji (平) [tsi]; ONW tío			
		[E] WT t'ha-ba 'to go, become, be going to'; WB caC 'begin, at first' *ə-caC 'beginning'			
ef	志誌	zhì	tí ^C	tío ^C	təh
-	痣	zhì	tí ^C	tío ^C , kiə ^C ?	[D] PMin *ki ^C
d	蚩	chī	tshí	tshə	thə

4-28 = K. 963	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	市	shì	zí ^B	dzí ^B < dzə ^B	də?	[D] PMin *džhi
		[T] MTang zí < dži, ONW dzə <> [E] ? PTai *ji ^{C2} 'to buy', Ahom 'come to terms, consent'				
-	柿	shì	dzi ^B	dziə ^B	-ə?	[D] PMin *ghi ^B

4-29 = K. 961-1	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
l	齒	chǐ	tshí ^B	tshí ^B < tshə ^B	k-hjə?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsh'i (上); PR, LR tsh'í; MGZY chi (上) [tsh'í]; MTang tsh'i, ONW tshə			
		[D] PMin *khi ^{B1} ~ t'hi ^{B1} <> [N] The phonetic 止 was added later.			

4-30 = K. 976	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	呂以	yǐ	jií ^B	ji ^B < jə ^B	lə?	OCB *ljə?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (上); MGZY yi (上) [ji]; MTang i, ONW iə. <> [E] ? ST *lə: Lushai la ^L < laah / laak 'to take, get', Tiddim laa ^R / laak ^R < laa? / laak 'to take', Newari laa-				
fg	苜苳	yǐ	jií ^B	jə ^B	lə?	
h	似	sì	zi ^B	ziə ^B	s-lə?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR z1 (上); MGZY z ^{hi} (上) [z1]				
ik	姒耜	sì	zi ^B	ziə ^B	s-lə?	
p	台 ¹ my	yí	jií	jə	lə	
u	怡	yí	jií	jə	lə	
v	詒 give	yí	jií	jə	lə	
	deceive	dài	dâi ^B	də ^B	lê?	
xy	貽貽	yí	jií	jə	lə	[T] ONW iə
d'	臬	xǐ !	si ^B	siə ^B	sə?	
p'	治	yě	jiə ^B	ja ^B	la?	[T] ONW iə
e'	始	shǐ	shí ^B	shə ^B	lhə?	
z	治 ¹ regulate	zhì	dí ^(C)	diə ^(C)	drə, drəh < r-lə, r-ləh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzi (去); MGZY ci (去) [dzi]; MTang di, ONW diə; OCB *lrjə				
p	台 ² rounded	tāi	t'âi	t'ə	lhə	

-	苔 moss	tái	dâi	də	lê	
		[D] PMin *dhəi, *dhi <> [E] PTai *glai ^{A2} 'moss'				
z	治 ² kill	tái	dâi	(dâi)		
		[D] 'To kill' in Min: PMin *dhai ^{A2} , dhi <> [E] Area word: Tai: S. taaj ^{A1} , Zhuang t'hai ^{A1/2} 'to die' (< PTai *traí, *prai), MY *təjH 'to kill' *dəjH 'to die' from a hypothetical **pə-təjH and **mətəjH respectively (M. Ratliff, p.c.)				
n'o'	迨 o'	dài	dâi ^B	də ^B	lê?	
		[E] TB *la: LB *la, WB la 'come, reach in degree'				
q'	箔	dài	dâi ^B	də ^B	lê?	
h'	胎	tāi	t'âi	t'ə	lhə	
t	怡	yí, chī	jií ^B , t'hi ^C	jə ^B , t'hiə ^C	lê?, rhəh < r-lhə?	
a'	胎	chī,	t'hi ^C ,	t'hiə ^C ,	rhəh * 3-32/725f'	
		zhèng	djəŋ ^C	djəŋ ^C	drəŋh	
b'	答	chī	t'hi	t'hiə	rhə < r-lhə?	
1240a	哈 laugh	hāi	xâi	hə	hə	
976c'	鉛	sì	zi ^B	ziə ^B	s-lə?	
i'	奠	tái	dâi	də	lê	
j'	駘 ugly	tái	dâi	də	lê	
	slack	dài	dâi ^B	də ^B	lê?	
k'l'm'	怠殆給	dài	dâi ^B	də ^B	lê?	
l	矣	yǐ	jií ^B 3!	jə ^B	lê?	final enclitic particle
mno	俟俟	sì	dzi ^B	dziə ^B	s-rə?	
938ab	唉埃	āi	?âi	?ə	?ə	
c	挨	āi, āi	?âi, ?ăi?	?ə, ?e?	?ə, ?(r)ə?	
d	欸	āi	?ăi	?e	?ə	onomatopoetic, no *r
ef	唉諛	xī	xji	hiə	hə	

4-31 = K. 977	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	已	yǐ	jií ^B	ji ^B < jə ^B	lə?	OCB *ljə?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (上); MGZY yi (上) [ji]; MTang i, ONW iə				
b	異	yì	jií ^C	jə ^C	ləkh	= 5-17/954a 異

4-32 = K. 967	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
adi	已祀祀	sì	zi ^B	zi < ziə ^B	s-lə?
k	尻	shì	dzi ^B	dziə ^B	dzrə? < s-rə?

4-33 = K. 968	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	辭	cí	zi	zi < ziə	s-lə	= 4-53/972j 詞
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR z1 (平), LR z1; MGZY z ^{hi} (平) [z1]				

4-34 = K. 960	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
acd	臣頤 d	yí	jií	ji < jə	jə	
k	鯤	chì	tshí ^C	tshə ^C	k-hjə? !	OCB *KHjə?(s); = 4-21 鯨
i	莖	chǐ,	tshí ^B ,	tshə ^B ,	k-hjə?,	
		zhǐ	tshí ^B	tshə ^B	k-jə? ?	
j	熙	xī	xji	hiə	hə (*hjə?)	
f	姬	jī	kji	kiə	kə (*kjə?)	

[N] The phonetic suggests hjə (j) and kjə, but such words should have become palatalized.

4-35 = K. 978	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 里	lí	ljǐ ^B	li ^B < liə ^B	rə? OCB *C-rjə?
	[T] ONW liə <> [E] ST *rwə: TB *rwa > WB rwa 'town, village'			
d 理	lǐ	ljǐ ^B	liə ^B	rə? OCB *C-rjə?
	[T] ONW liə <> [E] TB *riy 'draw, paint, write, delimit'			
e- 裏裡	lǐ	ljǐ ^B	liə ^B	rə?
j 鯉	lǐ	ljǐ ^B	liə ^B	rə? OCB *C-rjə?
c 裡	lí	ljǐ	liə	rə
hi 狸狸	lí	ljǐ	liə	rə or C-rə (because of Min)
	OCB *C-rjə (*p ^h rə ~ *p ^h ə-rə) *rə? <> [T] ONW liə <> [D] Min: Jiànōu se ^{A2}			
mn 藿藿	mái	mǎi	mɛ	mrə
l 埋	mái	mǎi	mɛ	mrə
- 莖	chì, lí	t ^h jək, t ^h ək	—	— SW 272
	xjuk, t ^h juk			

4-36 = K. 979	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 虀	lí	ljǐ	li < liə	rə
	xī	xǐ	hiə	hə
c 虀	lí	ljǐ	liə	rə
fglk 虀虀虀 k	lí	ljǐ	liə	rə
ijk 虀虀	lí	ljǐ	liə	rə
	[E] TB: WT 'bri-mo 'domesticated female yak'			
1237q 虀	chí	dzi, ljǐ	dziə	s-rə

4-37 = K. 980	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 李	lí	ljǐ ^B	li ^B < liə ^B	rə? or C-rə? (because of Min)
	See Intro. 9.2.1. OCB *C-rjə? <> [T] ONW liə <> [D] Min: Jiànyōu se ^{C2}			

4-38 = K. 945	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 乃	nǎi	nǎi ^B	nə ^B	nə?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR naj (上); MGZY nay (上) [naj]; ONW noi ^B ; BT D Skt. 不乃 pūrṇa			
- 奶	nǎi	nǎi ^B	—	—
	(an OC form might have been *nǎi? or, unlikely, *nǎi?) <> [D] Min: Xiam lit. lǎi ^B , col. lǎi ^B			
d 鼻	nài	nǎi ^{B/C}	nə ^{B/C}	nə?/h
e 仍	réng	nǎjəŋ	nǎj	nəŋ [E] TB *(s-)naŋ 'follow'
fgh 扔芳苻	réng	nǎjəŋ	nǎj	nəŋ
j 孕	See 6-14/9451.			

4-39 = K. 946	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 迺	nǎi	nǎi ^B	nə ^B	nə?
	[N] xī 西 26-32/594 'west, nest' is sometimes thought to be phonetic			

4-40 = K. 981, 959	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 耳	ěr	nǎi ^B	nǎi ^B < nǎi ^B	nə?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (上), PR, LR rǐ; MGZY Zhi (上) [ri]; ONW nǎi ^B			
	[E] TB *r-na 'ear / hear' > WT rna-ba 'ear'			
de 珥珥	ěr, èr	nǎi ^C	nǎi ^C	nəh
cf 珥珥	èr	nǎi ^C	nǎi ^C	nəh

g 珥	ěr	nǎi ^B	nǎi ^B	nə(?)
h 珥	ěr	nǎi ^C	nǎi ^C	nəh [T] ONW nǎi
	[E] PTai: *hñ-: S. jia ^{B1} 'bait' // ST *njə: WT: nǎ 'tendon, sinew'			
i 珥	èr, nè	nǎi ^C , nek	nǎi ^C , nek	nəh, nrək
959a 耻	chǐ	t ^h ǐ ^B	t ^h ǐə ^B	rhə? or nhrə? OCB *hnrjə?

4-41 = K. 982	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 而	ér	nǎi	nǎi > ní	nə
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (平), PR, LR rǐ; MGZY Zhi (平) [ri]; ONW nǎi			
cdef 栢栢栢栢	ér	nǎi	nǎi	nə
g 鮪	ér	nǎi, nǎjək	nǎi, nǎk	nə, nuk
h 耐	nài	nǎi ^C	nǎi ^C	nəh
ij 隰隰	réng,	nǎjəŋ,	nǎj,	nəŋ, = 4-38/945e 仍
	nú	nəu ^B	nə ^B	nə?

4-42 = K. 940	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad 災灾	zāi	tsǎi	tsə	tsə = 4-45/943z 裁
	[E] ? ST *tsə > TB: JP tsa ³¹ 'be damaged' ≠ fǎ ³¹ -tsa ³¹ 'to destroy'			
	[N] This may be phonetic in 4-50/969.			

4-43 = K. 941	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 再	zài	tsǎi ^C	tsə ^C	tsəh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaj (去); MGZY dzay (去) [tsaj]; ONW tsai ^C			

4-44 = K. 942	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad 采 ¹ 採 gath.	cǎi	tsǎi ^B	tsǎi ^B	tsǎi?
采 ² color	cǎi	tsǎi ^B	tsǎi ^B	tsǎi?
	[E] ? WT ts ^h os 'paint, dye, to color'			
采 ³ appana.	cài	tsǎi ^C	tsǎi ^C	tsǎi ^h
e 菜	cài	tsǎi ^C	tsǎi ^C	tsǎi ^h
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'aj (去); MGZY tshay (去) [ts'aj]; ONW tsǎi			
	[E] ST *tsə: LB*tsyak ^H 'to pluck'			

4-45 = K. 943	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
agh 才材財	cái	dzǎi	dzə	dzə
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); MGZY tsay (平) [dzaj]; ONW dzai (dzei ?)			
i 在	zài	dzǎi ^B	dzə ^B	dzə?
lo 戔戔	zāi	tsǎi	tsə	tsə
p 戔	zài	tsǎi ^C	tsə ^C	tsəh
z 裁	zāi	tsǎi	tsə	tsə = 4-42/940a 災
v 哉	zāi	tsǎi	tsə	tsə
y 栽	zāi	tsǎi	tsə	tsə
	erect	zài	dzǎi ^C	dzə ^C
a' 載	zài	tsǎi ^C	tsə ^C	tsəh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaj (去); MGZY dzay (去) [tsaj]; LTang tsai ^C or tsei ^C , ONW tsai ^C			
載	zài	dzǎi ^C	dzə ^C	dzəh
載	zāi	tsǎi ^{B/C}	tsə ^{B/C}	tsə?/h
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaj (上); MGZY dzay (上) [tsaj]; ONW tsai ^B			

c'	裁	zài, cái	dzài ^(C)	dzə ^(C)	dzə(h)
r	羸	zī	tsi	tsiə	tsə
s	絳 black	zī	tʃi	tʃiə	tsrə = 4-50/969e, ~ 4-49/966a
d'	裁	zì	tʃi ^C	tʃiə ^C	tsrəh
t	豺	chái	dzǎi	dzɛ	dzrə
e'	戴	dài	tʰai ^C	tə ^C	tʰh
4-45A = K. 1240b Mand. MC LHan OCM					
b	猜	cāi	tsʰai	tsʰə	tshə
[N] MC tsʰai can derive from OCM *tshə; OCM tshəi would be MC tsʰie. See EDOC 8.2.5.					
4-46 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
-	纒	cái	dzài	dzə	dzə [T] ONW dzai (dzei ?)
The 'phonetic' looks like 36-23/612.					
4-47 = K. 964 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	子	zǐ	tsi ^B	tsi ^B < tsiə ^B	tsə?
See Intro. 9.2.1. [T] Sin Sukchu SR tʃi (上); MGZY dzʰi (上) [tʃi]; ONW tsiə; MHan 昆子 *kún-tʃə? = Kirsaq; 獅子 ʃi-tʃiə? Tocharian A śiśāk, B ʃecake 'lion' <> [E] TB *tsa or *za > WT tsʰa-bo 'grandchild', Atsi tso, Maru tsō, PBurm. *tsa ^B ; Lushai faF 'child, son, daughter'					
m	子	zì	tsi ^C	tsiə ^C	tsəh
	籽	zǐ	tsi ^B	tsiə ^B	tsə?
[E] ? WT tsʰi-ba 'furrow' (in a ploughed field)					
k	仔	zǐ, zǐ	tsi ^(B)	tsiə ^(B)	tsə(?)
l	孜	zī	tsi	tsiə	tsə
n	字	zì	dzi ^C	dziə ^C	dzəh = 4-49/966k 孳
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzɿ (去); MGZY tsʰi (去) [dzɿ]; ONW dziə					
4-48 = K. 965 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	梓	zǐ	tsi ^B	tsi ^B < tsiə ^B	tsə?
b	宰	zǎi	tsʰai ^B	tsə ^B	tsə?
4-49 = K. 966 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	茲 black	zī	tsi	tsi < tsiə	tsə ~ 4-45/943s, 4-50/969e
b	茲 mat; this	zī	tsi	tsiə	tsə
[T] ONW tsiə; MHan 龜茲 *ku-tʃə = Kuca					
ghi	滋滋	zī	tsi	tsiə	tsə
j	慈	cí	dzi	dziə	dzə
[E] TB: WT *mdza'-ba 'to love', WB ca 'to feel for'					
k	孳 multiply	zī	tsi	tsiə	tsə
	孳 copulate	zì	dzi ^C	dziə ^C	dzə ^C = 4-47/964n 字
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzɿ (去); MGZY tsʰi (去) [dzɿ]; ONW dziə					
[N] The two readings are not distinguished consistently.					
4-50 = K. 969 K. 940 災 may be phonetic.					
ab	笛	zī	tʃi	tʃiə	tsrə [T] BTd Skt. ci
cd	笛 a field	zī	tʃi	tʃiə	tsrə

	蓄 stump	zī, zì	tʃi ^(C)	tʃiə ^(C)	tsrə(h)
ef	緇 black	zī	tʃi	tʃiə	tsrə = 4-45/943s, ~ 4-49/966a
ghij	輜 緇	zī	tʃi	tʃiə	tsrə [T] 輜 BTd Skt. ji
-	輜	zī	tʃi	tʃiə	tsrə
4-51 = K. 970 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
ad	士仕	shì	dʒi ^B	dʒiə ^B < zə	s-rə?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR zɿ (上去), PR zɿ; MGZY cʰi (上) [dzɿ]; MTang dʒi (?), ONW dzə (?)					
4-52 = K. 975, 971 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
975a	史	shǐ	ʃi ^B	ʃiə ^B	srə?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʃi (上), PR, LR ʃɿ; MGZY shʰi (上) [ʃɿ]; MTang ʃi, ONW ʃə; MHan ʃə?					
(or srə? ?) S(u)liy 'Sogdian' <> [D] PMin *ʃai ^B 'to use'					
-	駛	shǐ	ʃi ^{B/C}	ʃiə ^{B/C}	— [T] BTd Skt. ʃya
n	使 command	shǐ	ʃi ^B	ʃiə ^B	srə?
	envoy	shì	ʃi ^C	ʃiə ^C	srəh
k	k	shì	ʃi ^C	ʃiə ^C	srəh
g	吏	lì	lji ^C	liə ^C	rəh [T] MTang li, ONW liə
971a	事	shì	dʒi ^C	dʒiə ^C	s-rə? R!
[T] Sin Sukchu SR zɿ (去), PR, LR zɿ; MGZY cʰi (去) [dzɿ]; MTang dʒi (?), ONW dzə (?)					
[D] PMin *dʒi ^C ~ ʃai ^C 'matter'					
d	割	zì	tʃi ^C	tʃiə ^C	tsrəh
4-53 = K. 972 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	司	sī	sɿ	sɿ < siə	sə [T] ONW siə
[E] ST *zə: WT mdzad-pa, mdzod (< m-za-t) 'to do, act' ≠ bzo 'work, labor', Kuhish ca, Mru caŋ 'to do, make'					
f	伺	sī, sǐ	si ^(C)	siə ^(C)	sə(h)
g	筭	sì	si ^C	siə ^C	səh
h	祠	cí	zi	ziə	s-lə
j	詞	cí	zi	ziə	s-lə = 4-33/968 辭
[T] Sin S. SR zɿ (平), LR zɿ; MGZY zʰi (平) [zɿ] <> [E] ST *s-lə: WT zla-ba, zlas 'to say, tell'					
k	嗣	sì	zi ^C	ziə ^C	s-ləh
-	飼	sì	zi ^C	ziə ^C	s-ləkh = 5-19/921ae
4-54 = K. 973 Contrary to SW 4643, 囟 *sins or *səns 'head' (32-34/1241) is not phonetic, but probably semantic.					
Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	思 think	sī	sɿ, si ^C	sɿ < siə	sə OCB *sjə
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sɿ (平); MGZY sʰi (平) [sɿ]; ONW siə					
	思 brood	sì	si ^C	siə ^C	səh OCB *sjəs
	思 bearded	sāi	si, sʰai	s(i)ə	sə, sʰə
b	總	sī	sɿ	siə	sə
cd	蔥認	xǐ!	si ^B	siə ^B	sə?
e	颯	sī, chī	tʃi ^h	tʃiə ^h	tshrə < k-srə
f	偲 forceful	cāi	tsʰai	tsʰə	tshə < k-sə
	偲 forcible	sī	sɿ	siə	sə

-	腮 jaw	sāi				
4-55	= K. 974	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	絲	sī	sī	si < siə	sə	
4-56	= K. 951	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	佩珮	pèi	bwâi ^C	bə ^C R!	bêh	
4-57	= K. 983	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	鄙	bǐ	pji ^B 3	pi ^B < piə ^B	prə?	
e	鄙	bǐ	pji ^B 3	piə ^B	prə?	
4-58	= K. 1237a'	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a'	圮	pǐ	bjī ^B 3	bi ^B < biə ^B	brə?	
4-59	= K. 1237r	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
r	夙	bì	bjī ^C 3	bi ^C < biə ^C	brə(k)h	≠ 4-61/999k 丕
4-60	= K. 1237y	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
y	轡	pèi	pji ^C 3	pi ^C < piə ^C	prəh	? ≠ 緘鞅 *brəh (5-36/935)
4-61	= K. 999	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	不 soar	fōu	pjəu ^B	pu ^B < puə ^B	pə?	
						[T] BTD Skt. 不乃 pūrṇa <> [E] Cf. WT 'phag-pa 'to rise, raise, soar up'.
e	不 not	bù	pjəu ^(B/C)	pu < puə R!	pə	[T] ONW pu
e	否 ¹ = 不 not	fōu	pjəu ^B	pu ^B < puə ^B	pə? R!	OCB *pjə?
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR fəw (上); MGZY Hwuw (上) [fuw]
g	紆	fóu	phjəu ^(B)	phu ^(B) < phuə ^(B)	phə	OCB *phjə
h	罟	fú	bjəu	bu < buə R!	bu R!	
						loan for = 罟 *bu (13-73/1233j)
i	茱	fú	bjəu	bu < buə	bə	
q	陴	pēi, péi	phwâi	phə	phə	
s	坏	péi	bwâi	bə	bə	
j	杯	póu	bəu	bo	bô	
e	否 ² bad	pǐ	pji ^B 3	pi ^B < piə ^B	prə?	
	否 ³ obstruct	bèi	bjī ^B 3	biə ^B	brə?	
-	邳	pí	bjī 3	biə	brə	
-	豨	pī	phji 3	phīə	phrə?	
klm	丕 伾 駮	pī	phji 3	phīə	phrə R!	
n	秭	pī	phji 3,	phīə ^B < phīə,	phrə,	
			phjəu	phu < phuə	phə R!	
-	胚	pēi	phwâi	phə	phə	
tu	杏 音 spit	pòu	phəu ^C	phə ^C	phôh	
						[N] The initial th- may be an error (Karlgren) or due to paronomastic attraction, see 34-12/459 涇.
v	剖	pōu !	phəu ^B	phə ^B	phô?	
z	部	pōu, bù	bəu ^B	bo ^B R!	bô?	
						[E] Tai: PTai *buə ^{A2} , Po'ai poo ^{A1} < *p- 'mountain' <> WT 'bog 'small hillock'

g'	葩	bù, pǒu	bəu ^B , phəu ^B	bo ^B , phə ^B	bô?, phô?	
a'	培 mound	pǒu	bəu ^B	bo ^B R!	bô?	
	earth up	péi	bwâi	bə	bə	
-	菩	pú	bəu	bo		[T] BTD Skt. bo(dhi)
x	楛	pǒu, pǒu	phəu ^B , bəu	phə ^B , bo	phô?, bô	
y	瓠	bù	bəu ^B	bo ^B	bô?	
d'	培	bǒu, pǒu	p(h)əu ^B	p(h)ə ^B	p(h)ô?	
po	楛杯	bēi	pwâi	pə	pə	
						[T] ONW pai <> [E] TB: WT phor-pa 'bowl, cup'
b'	陪	péi	bwâi	bə	bə	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR buj (平); PR bəj; MGZY pue (平) [bue]; ONW bai
c'	倍 double	bèi	bwâi ^B	bə ^B	bə?	
						[T] ONW bai. <> [E] WT 'p'har-ma 'double, manifold'
	倍 turn back	bèi	bwâi ^C	bə ^C	bəkh	= 5-32/909e 背
						[T] ONW bai; BTD -pa(ka)
e'	踏	bó, pòu	bək, phəu ^C	bək, phə ^C	bək, phək	
f'	轄	běng	puŋ ^B	poŋ ^B	pôŋ?	
4-62	= K. 1000	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	負	fù	bjəu ^B	bu ^B < buə ^B	bə? R!	OCB *fipjə(k)?
						[T] MTang bu, ONW bu <> [E] ? TB *buw 'carry on back or shoulder'. Or ST *bə: WT 'ba-ba 'to bring, carry'
bc	負	fù	bjəu ^B	bu ^B < buə ^B	bə?	
4-63	= K. 1001	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	婦	fù	bjəu ^B	bu ^B < buə ^B R!	bə? R!	OCB *bjə?
						[T] Sin S. SR vu (去), vū (上), LR vu (去); MGZY Hwuw (上) [vūw]; MTang bu, ONW bu
						[D] PMin *bu ^C : Xiamen pu ^{C2} <> [E] Tai *baa ^A 'wife'
4-64	= K. 947	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	母 mother	mǔ	məu ^B		< *mô?	
						mə ^B R!
						< mə? R!
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu, məw (上), LR mu; MGZY muw (上) [muw]; ONW mou ^B
						[N] OC and Han poetry, mǔ rimes consistently with *-ə (Luo / Zhou p. 266).
						[E] TB *mow 'woman, bride' > WT -mo 'female suffix', Chepang mo 'wife'
107a	毋 don't	wú	mju	muə //	mə	OCB *m(r)jo
	毋 a cap	móu	mjəu	mu < muə	mə	
947f	姆	mǔ	məu ^B	mo ^B	mô?	
g	拇	mǔ	məu ^B	mo ^B	mô?	[E] TB: PL: *C-ma ³ 'thumb'
-	莓	mù	məu ^C	mo ^C	—	
h	姆	mù	mjuk	mok	mok	
i	每 flourish	mèi	mwâi ^(C)	mə ^(C)	mə(h)	
	每 each	měi	mwâi ^B	mə ^B	mə?	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR muj (上), PR, LR məj; MGZY mue (上) [mue]; ONW mai
1251q	敏	mǐn	mj(w)en ^B	miən ^B R! //	mə? R!	
947l	梅	méi	mwâi	mə	mə and mə?	
						[E] ? Old Japanese ume ² 'plum'
m	膺	méi	mwâi ^(C)	mə ^(C)	mə(h)	= 4-20/950c 膺

4 OCM *-ə 之部 (GSR 936-1001)

n	銜	méi	mwaï	mə	mə̃	
o	晦	mǔ, mǒu	məu ^B	mo ^B	mōʔ	= 4-66/949a
t	晦	huì	xwâi ^C	huə ^C	hmə̃ʔ R!	OCB *hmə̃(k)ʔ(s)
u	誨	huì	xwâi ^C	huə ^C	hmə̃h	
q	痲	mèi,	mwaï ^C ,	mə ^C ,	(h)mə̃h	
		huì	xwâi ^C	huə ^C		
		[E] WT rma 'wound, JP mēmà 'wound, scar'				
r	𪗇	huì	xwâi ^C	huə ^C	hmə̃h	
st	悔晦	huǐ!	xwâi ^C	huə ^C	hmə̃h	
x	海	hǎi	xâi ^B	hə ^B	hmə̃ʔ R!	
138a	侮	wǔ	mju ^B	muo ^B	moʔ R!	
		MC is irregular. <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR xaj (上); MGZY hay (上) [xaj]; ONW hoi				
4-65 = K. 948	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	某 > 梅	méi	mwaï	mə	mə̃(?)	'plum tree'
	某 a certain	mǒu	məu ^B	mo ^B	mōʔ	
f	謀	móu	mjəu	mu < muə R!	mə R!	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR məw, mu (上), LR mu; MGZY muw (上) [muw]; ONW mou				
ce-	媒媒媒	méi	mwaï	mə	mə̃	'go-between'
d	煤	méi	mwaï	mə	mə̃	
-	煤	mǔ	muo ^B [GY], ma ^B ,	—	—	≈ 2-40/802h 慕
			mju ^(B)	muo ^B		
		[N] GY muo ^B writes a Han period dialect variant of wǔ *maʔ 憐 1-69/103j 'love'				
4-66 = K. 949	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	畝	mǔ	məu ^B <	*moʔ	= 4-64/947o	
			mə ^B R!	mə̃ʔ R!	OCB *mo/əʔ	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu, məw (上); MGZY muw (上) [muw] <> [D] W-Suzhou col. m ^{C2} , Wenzh me ^{B2} ; X-Changsha mru ^B ; G-Nanchang me ^B ; Y-Guangzhou mau ^{B2} ; M-Xiamen bo ^B				
		[E] WT rmo-ba 'to plow', Mikir -mò classifier for strips of fields				

5 OCM rime *-ək Zhí bù 職部

GSR 903 - 935
Baxter 1992: 472 ff. (§10.2.2)

See Table 4-1 for OCM rimes *-əŋ, *-ək, *-ə in QYS categories. See also Rime 14 *-uk for mergers after labial initials. Instead of LHan kik one could also write kiək, instead of jək one could write jik, etc.

5-1 = K. 903	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
afg	克剋剋	kè	k ^h ək	k ^h ək	khək
5-2 = K. 931	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	革 skin	gé	kək	kək	krək
	extreme	jí	kjək	kiək	kək = 5-4d
c	慄 change	gé	kək	kək	krək
d	鞞	hé	ɣək	gek	grək ~ 8-2/855g 翻
5-3 = K. 1260a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	覈	hé	ɣək	gek	grək = 4-2/937a' 核
5-4 = K. 910	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	亟 urgently	jí	kjək	kik	kək
	often	qì	k ^h ji ^C	k ^h iə ^C	khək
cd	極 urgent	jí	kjək	kik	kək = 5-2a
e	極	jí	gjək	gik	gək
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (入); MGZY ki (入) [gi]; ONW gik			
		[E] LB *kak 'expensive, intense, at its peak'			
5-5 = K. 911	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	棘	jí	kjək	kik	kək OCB *krjək
c	棘	jí	kjək	kik	kək
5-6 = K. 929	There are hardly any MC jwək < *wək, hence no OC medial *r here. One could also write LHan wək instead of LHan wik.				
ae	或! > 域	yù	jwək	wik	wək OCB *wrək
gj	械戥	yù	jwək	wik	wək
kn	闕緘	yù,	jwək,	wik,	wək,
		xù	xjwək	huik	hwək
l	減	xù	xjwək	huik	hwək = 5-7/930a 漚 ≈ 域
m	錢	xù	xjwək	huik	hwək

aq	或 ² 惑	huò	ɣwək	ɣuək	wək	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣuj (入), LR xujʔ; MGZY Xue (入) [ɣue]; ONW ɣuək
r	蚨	huò,	ɣwək,	ɣuək,	wək,	
		yù	jwək	wik	wək	
suv	轔馘馘	guó	kwek	kuek	kwrək	
t	蠲	guō	kwek	kuek	kwrək	
o	國	guó	kwək	kuək	kwək	OCB *k-wək
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (入), PR, LR kujʔ; MGZY gue (入) [kue]; ONW kuək
y	彘	yù	ʔjuk	ʔuk	ʔuk	
5-7	= K. 930	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	洫	xù	xjwək	huik //	hwit	
						= 減 5-6L 'moat' < 'boundary', 'threshold'. See also 29-7/410d; GSR 410 'moat'
b	恤	xù,	xjwək,	huik,	hwək,	
		huì	hjwi ^C	hui ^C	hwək ^h	
c	殂	xù	xiwek,	huek,	hwək,	= 8-7/1260f 弄
			xjwək	hyek	hwek	
5-8	= K. 914	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	盡	xì	xjək	hik	hək	
5-9	= K. 915	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	抑	yì	ʔjək	ʔik	ʔək	
5-10	= K. 957	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	意	yì	ʔi ^C	ʔiə ^C	ʔək ^h	OCB *ʔ(r)jəks
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔi (去); MGZY 'i (去) [ʔi]; MTang ʔi, ONW ʔiə
c	鷓	yì	ʔi ^C	ʔiə ^C	ʔək ^h	
d	醴 a drink	yì	ʔjək,	ʔik,	ʔək,	
			ʔi ^B	ʔiə ^B	ʔəʔ	
	醴 a breath	ài	ʔäi ^C	ʔe ^C	ʔəh ! an onomatopoeic syllable	
efghi	億憶憶憶憶	yì	ʔjək	ʔik	ʔək	OCB *ʔ(r)jək
						[T] ONW ʔik.
b	噫 oh!	yì	ʔi	ʔiə	ʔə	
	to belch	ài	ʔäi	ʔe	ʔə ! an onomatopoeic syllable	
5-11	= K. 905	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	尋得	dé	tək	tək	tək	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR təj (入), LR təjʔ; MGZY d ^h iy (入) [təj]; ONW tək
5-12	= K. 919	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	直 straight	zhí	djək	dik	drək	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzi (入); MGZY ci (入) [dzi]; ONW dik.
						[E] LB *N-d(y)ak ^l 'truly, very', WB tyak-tyak 'very'; Lushai tak ^l 'real, true, genuine, very'
	直 take place	zhì	dj ^C	djə ^C	drək ^h	
b	植	zhí	tjək	tik	trək	ONW tik
g	置	zhì	tj ^C	tjə ^C	trək ^h	
						[T] MTang ʔi, ONW tiə <> [E] TB: WT 'jog-pa, bžag 'to put, place, arrange'

h	值	zhí	dj ^C	djə ^C	drək ^h	
						[T] MTang ʔi, ONW diə
cd	殖殖	zhí	zjək	dzik	dək	
e	植	zhí, zhì	zjək, dj ^C	dzik, djə ^C	dək, drək ^h	[T] ONW dzik
ki	德惠	dé	tək	tək	tək	
						[T] ONW tək. MHan 粟德 siok-tək Soyð or soyðik
f	植 single	tè	dək	dək	dək	= 4-26/961h' 特
						[E] ? ST: tak 'one' in Western Himalayan languages, e.g., Darmiya taku 'one'
	植 hem	zhí	djək	dik	drək	
5-13	= K. 920	There is no paleographic connection with 5-10/957 (Unger, Hao-ku 78, 2003: 84)				
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	戠	zhí, shì	tjək	tjik	tək	
gi	職職	zhí	tjək	tjik	tək	
f	織 to weave	zhī	tjək	tjik	tək	[T] ONW tjik
						[E] TB *tak > WT 'thag-pa 'to weave' ≠ thags 'texture, web'; LB *tak/*dak 'weave, spin'
	織 material	zhì	tj ^C	tjə ^C	tək ^h	[T] ONW tjə ^C
						[E] WT btags 'thag- 'woven' ≠ thags 'texture, web', JP daʔ ³¹ < dak ³¹ 'woven material'
e	織	zhí, dé	tjək, dək	tjik, dək	tək, dək	
k	識 remember	zhì	tj ^C	tjə ^C	tək ^h	
	識 know	shì	sjək	sjik	lhək	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔi (入); MGZY shi (入) [ʔi]; ONW sjik
j	幟	shì,	sjək, sjj ^C ,	sjik, sjj ^C ,	lhək(h),	
		zhì	tj ^h _i ^C	tj ^h _ə ^C	thək ^h	
l	熾	chì	tj ^h _i ^C	tj ^h _ə ^C	thək ^h	
5-14	= K. 916	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	陟	zhì	tjək	tik	trək	[T] ONW tik
						[E] LB *ntak 'ascend' > WB tak 'go up, ascend, advance, increase', WB ə-tak 'upper part, prior time', WT ltag-pa 'the upper part / place'
1257d	驚	zhì	tjək (tjjet)	tik	trək	Coblin 1983: 222
5-15	= K. 917	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	敕	chì	tjək	tjik	rhək	
5-16	= K. 918	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ace	弋妣妣	yì	jiək	jik	lək	
						[T] MHan 烏弋山離 ʔa-jik [likʔ]-šan-liai Alexandria; 粟弋 siok-jik Soyð or soyðik
g	忒	tè	t ^h ək	t ^h ək	lhək	
h	貸	tè	t ^h ək, dək	t ^h ək	lhək	
i	代	dài	daj ^C	də ^C	lək ^h	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR daj (去); MGZY tay (去) [daj]; ONW dai; BTD 植代 Skt. śuddha
qr	岱黛	dài	daj ^C	də ^C	lək ^h	
p	貸	dài, tè	t ^h aj ^C	t ^h ə ^C	lhək ^h	
s	蟻	tè !	dək	dək	lək	
fkl	式拭拭	shì	sjək	sjik	lhək	[T] ONW sjik
no	試弒	shì	sj ^C	sjə ^C	lhək ^h	[T] MTang sj, ONW sə
m	試	chì	tjək	tik	rhək	

5-17	= K. 954	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	異	yì	jii ^C	jə ^C	ləkh	OCB *ljəks
	= 4-31/977b 昇					
di	翼	yì	jiək	jik	lək or jək	OCB *ljək
	= 5-18/912 翼 [T] ONW ik					
e	虞	yì	jiək, jii ^C	jik, jə ^C	lək(h)	
g	禔	chì	tʰjək	tʰik	rhək	
-	禔	zì	zji ^B	ziə ^B	—	

5-18 = K. 912 The rimes are very irregular, the phonetic role of li 立 is not clear; perhaps these do not form a single phonetic group.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	翊	yì	jək	jək	lək or jək	= 5-17/954d
-	昱 bright	yù	jiuk	juk	luk or juk	
	SW 2928: li 立 *rəp is phonetic, hence Baxter 1992: 556 *(w)rji/ up					
-	煜 bright	yù, yì	jiuk, jiəp	juk, jəp	luk/juk or ləp/jəp	

5-19	= K. 921	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	食 ¹ 蝕	shí	dźjək	zik	m-lək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (入); MGZY ci (入) [dzi]; ONW zik. <> [E] TB *m-lyak 'lick'					
	[N] Any or all words in this XS may have had an OC medial *j					
ae	食 ² 飴	sì	zi ^C	ziə ^C	s-lək	
	= 4-53/972[m] <> [T] ONW ziə ^C <> [D] PMin *džhi ^C 'raise livestock'					
	[E] TB *s-lyak > LB *?ljak 'to feed an animal'; Garo srak 'lick'					

h	飾	shì	sjək	sik	lhək	
g	飭	chì	tʰjək	tʰik	rhək	≈ 5-21/928 力

5-20	= K. 913	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	奭	shì	sjäk,	šak,	hjak,	[D] Am tsʰio? ^{A1}
			xjək	hik	hək	
b	襖	shì	sjäk	šak	hjak ?	

5-20A	= K. 1260b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
	疒	nè	nek	nek	nrək or nrək	

5-21	= K. 928	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	力	lì	ljək	lik	rək	OCB *C-rək
	※ 飭 5-19/921g <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR li (入); MGZY li (入) [li]; ONW lik					
	[E] ST *rə > LB *(k-)ra ² 'strength, power' > PL *ra ² 'strength', WB a ^B <> Viet sùc 'force'					
c	伋	lè, lì	lək, ljək	lək, lik	rək, rək	
deh	拏防泐	lè	lək	lək	rək	[T] ONW lək
f	勒	lè	lək	lək	rək	
	Middle Viet mləc > nhəc (only in certain expressions)					
-	枋	lì	ljək	lik	rək	OCB *C-rjək

5-22	= K. 944, 932	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
944a	來 > 麥 wheat	mài	mək	mək	mrək	OCB *mrək
	[E] ? TB: LB *g-ra ² 'buckwheat', WT bra-bo 'buckwheat'					

932a	麥 > 來 come	lái	lài	lə	rê < rək R!	OCB *C-rə(k)
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR laj (平), LR laj; MGZY lay (平) [laj]; ONW loi <> [E] ST *rə > TB *ra					
944j	萊	lái	lài ^(C)	lə ^(C)	rê(h)	
m	駮	lái	lài	lə	rê	
-	鯨鯨	lái	lài	lə	—	
fg	徠速	lái	lài	lə	rê	
ki	賚勅	lài	lài ^C	lə ^C	rək	
-	睞	lài	lài ^C	lə ^C	—	SW 1042

5-23	= K. 907	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	賊	zéi	dzək	dzək	dzək	
	[T] ONW dzək <> [E] ? TB: WT jag < 'robbery'					

5-24	= K. 906	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	則	zé	tsək	tsək	tsək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsəj (入), LR tsəj?; MGZY dzʰiy (入) [tsəj]; ONW tsək					
c	側	cè	tsjək	tsik	tsrək	= 5-27/924 仄仄
ef	側測	cè	tsʰjək	tsʰik	tshrək	= 5-25/922a 變
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰəj (入); MGZY chʰiy (入) [tsʰəj]; ONW tshik					
g	廁	cè	tsʰi ^C	tsʰiə ^C	tshrək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰi (去); LR tsʰi; MGZY chʰi (去) [tsʰi]					
	[E] TB *ts(y)i 'urinate' > WT gci(d)-pa 'to urinate'; WB tsʰi ^B 'urine', NN *C-chi					

5-25	= K. 922	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	爨	chì,	tsʰjək,	tsʰik,	tshrək,	= 5-24/906ef 測測
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰəj (入); MGZY chʰiy (入) [tsʰəj]; ONW tshik					
	爨	jì	tsjək	tsik	tsək	
b	稷	jì	tsjək	tsik	tsək	
c	讓	sù	sjuk	şuk	şuk ?	

5-26 = K. 923 即 also serves as phonetic for MC tsjet, see 29-30/399

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	即 螂	jí	tsjək	tsik	tsək	
d	鷓	jí	tsjək, tsjək	tsik, tsiak	tsək, tsek	

5-27	= K. 924	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
adefc	矢仄吳昊	c zè	tsjək	tsik	tsrek	= 5-24/906c 側

5-28	= K. 908	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	塞 to block	sài, sāi, sè	sək, sài ^C	sək, sə ^C	sək(h)	
	[T] ONW sək, sai. MHan sək Saka <> [E] ? AA-Khmer suka /sok/ 'to stop up, block, cram...'					
	塞 frontier	sài	sài ^C	sə ^C	sək	
b	蹇	sè	sək	sək	sək	

5-29	= K. 925	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	息	xī	sjək	sik	sək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR si (入); MGZY si (入) [si]; ONW sik. MHan 安息 Aršak					
	[E] TB *sak: LB *C-sak 'breath, air, breath of life': WB ə-sak 'breath, life'; Mru chak 'heart, life'; JP sa ³¹ 'to breathe' ≈ n ³¹ -sa ³¹ 'breath, force'					

b	熄	xī	sjək	sik	sək	
5-30	= K. 926	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ae	齧	sè	sjək	ʃik, S ʃək	srək	OCB *srjək
	[T] ONW ʃik <> [E] ? TB: LB *C-ʃak 'pluck, pick'					
5-31	= K. 927	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	色	sè	sjək	ʃik, S ʃək	srək	OCB *srjək
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʃəj (入), LR ʃəj?; MGZY sh ^h iy (入) [ʃəj]; ONW ʃik [E] TB-Lushai saar ^H < saar 'prismatic colors' ≠ saar ^R / sarh ^R 'healthy looking, rosy, ruddy'					
5-32	= K. 909	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	北	bèi	pək	pək	pək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pəj (入), LR pəj?; MGZY bue (入) [pue]; ONW pək					
e	背 ¹ the back	bèi	pwəi ^C	pə ^C	pək	'the back'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR puǰ (去); PR pəj; LR pəj; MGZY bue (去) [pue]					
ef	背 ² 借 turn b.	bèi	bwəi ^C	bə ^C	bək	= 4-61/999c' 倍
	[N] 'turn the back' <> [T] ONW bai [E] TB: Lepcha buk 'back, wrong side' /- 'carry on back'; ST *bək: TB *bak > JP ba ²³¹ (< *bak) 'carry' (child on back), Lushai pua ^L / puak ^F 'carrying on the back as a child'					
-	邨	bèi	bwəi ^C	bə ^C	bək	
5-32A		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	燹 name	bó	pək	pək	pək	'name of a people'
5-33	= K. 933	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	冐	fú	bjuk	buk < buək	bək	
-	幅	fú	bjuk	buk		
m	匐	fú, bó	bjuk, bək	buk, bək	bək, bək	
dij	福 蓄 幅	fú	pjuk	puk	pək	
	福 [T] Sin Sukchu SR fu (入), PR, LR fu; MGZY Hwu (入) [fu]; MTang pfuk, ONW puk					
k	幅 width	fú	pjuk	puk	pək	
	幅 strap	fú, bī	pjuk, pjək	puk, pik	pək, prək	
l	蝠	fú, bī	pjuk, pjək	puk, pik	pək, prək	
-	蝙蝠 a bat	biān-fú	pien-pjuk	pen-puk	—	
	[E] TB *ba:k > Lushai baak ^R , Garo do-bak (do 'bird') 'bat', Mikir plāk-wúk ~ -plāk-bat					
r	富	fù	pjəu ^C	pu ^C	pək	
	[T] MTang pfu, ONW pu; BTD Skt. pu. <> [E] WT: p ^h yug-pa 'rich' ≠ p ^h yugs 'cattle'					
o	逼	bī	pjək	pik	prək	
p	逼	bī	pjək	pik	prək	
n	僣 crowd	bī	pjək	pik	prək	OCB *prjək
	[T] ONW pik < ? TB-Lushai pik ^L 'be thick, dense, impenetrable, overcrowded, overgrown'					
	僣 P.L.N.	fú	pjuk	puk	pək	
s	副 cleave	pì	p ^(h) jək	p ^(h) ik	p(h)rək	OCB *p(h)rək ?
	副 aid	fù	p ^h jəu ^C	p ^h u ^C , p ^h uə ^B R!	phək	
q	副	pì, bò	p ^h jək, pək	p ^h ik, pək	phrək, prək	
	? Tai: S. plik ⁴ 'divide into small pieces, evade'					

5-34	= K. 984	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	菴 ¹ > 箬	fú	bjuk	buk < buək	bək	'a giver'
ad	菴 ² 備 prepar	bèi	bjj ^C 3	bi ^C < biə ^C	brəkh	OCB *brjəks
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去), LR bi; MGZY pue (去) [bue] 'prepare' [E] Cf. WT 'byor-ba ~ 'byar-ba 'be prepared' <> Tai: S. p ^h rak ^{D2} < *b- 'prepare'					
fg	構 備	bèi	bjj ^C 3	bi ^C < biə ^C	brəkh	
h	備	bèi	bäi ^C	be ^C	brəkh	
5-35	= K. 934	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	服	fú	bjuk	buk	bək	
d	服 submit	fú	bjuk	buk	bək	= 5-36/935a 伏
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR vu (入); MGZY hwu (入) [vu]; MTang bvuk, ONW buk; OCB *bjək					
	服 box	fù	bjəu ^B	bu ^B	bə?	'carriage box'
g	箬	fú	bjuk	buk	bək	
5-36	= K. 935	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	伏 lie down	fú	bjuk	buk	bək	OCB *bjək
	[E] TB-Lushai bək ^L / bə? ^L 'to lie down'					
	伏 to hatch	fù	bjəu ^C	bu ^C	bək	
	'To hatch' [Li] <> [D] PMin bu ^C : Fúzh pou ^{C2} , Xiàmén pu ^{C2}					
	[E] TB: Chepang bhyuk-sa 'to hatch' <> Tai: S. vak ^{D2} 'to hatch'					
-	垞	fù	bjū ^C	buo ^C	boh	= 10-39/136k 附
--	絃 鞅	bì	bjj ^C 3	biə ^C	brə(k)h	
	[N] 'harness a horse' [SW]. ? ≠ 轡 'reins' 4-60/1237y					
5-37	= K. 1062	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	冒 covetous	mò	mək	mək	mək	
	For additional items of GSR 1062, see 13-74.					
5-38	= K. 904	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	黑	hēi	xək	hək	hmək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR xəj (入), LR xəj?; MGZY hiy (入) [xij]					
	[E] WT smag 'dark, darkness', mōg-pa 'dark-colored'; Limbu mak 'black, dark' (of color) ≠ makt- 'to become night', JP ma? ³¹ < mak ³¹ 'black'					
c	墨	mò	mək	mək	mək	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR məj (入), LR məj?; MGZY mue (入) [mue]					
f	纒	mò	mək	mək	mək	
de	默 嘿	mò	mək	mək	mək	
5-39	= K. 1037	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	牧	mù	mjuk	muk	mək	OCB *mjək
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (入); MGZY wu (入) [vu]; ONW muk [E] ST *m/brək ? : WT 'brog-pa < *nbrak 'summer pasture, solitude, wilderness, nomad'					

6 OCM rime *-əŋ Zhēng bù 蒸部

GSR 881 - 902

Baxter 1992: 476 ff. (§10.2.3)

See Table 4-1 for OCM rimes *-əŋ, *-ək, *-ə in QYS categories.

Note: the OC final *-əŋ is rare with MC tone B; words with this tone (OC *-?) have either lost the nasal, or changed the nasal to a different place of articulation (-n, -m), or have doublets. OC *-uŋ (Rime 15) has no tone B words at all.

6-1	= K. 881	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	互	gèng, gèn	kəŋ ^C	kəŋ ^C	kəŋh
d	恆 constant	héng	ɣəŋ	gəŋ	gəŋ
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣiŋ (平), PR ɣəŋ (平); MGZY Xing (平) [ɣiŋ]; ONW ɣəŋ; BTD Skt. gaŋga		
	恆 moon	gèng	kəŋ ^C	kəŋ ^C	kəŋh 'increasing moon'
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR kəŋj (去), PR kiŋ (去)		
fg	f 緼	gēng	kəŋ	kəŋ	kəŋ
h	壘	gèng	kəŋ ^C	kəŋ ^C	kəŋh
6-2	= K. 882	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ba	肯 ¹ 肩 meat	kěn, kǎi	kʰəŋ ^B , kʰəi ^B	kʰəŋ ^B , kʰə ^B	khêŋ?, khəŋ? < khêŋ?
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'əŋj (上), PR, LR k'an; MGZY kh'ing (上) [k'əŋ]		
			[D] PMin *kheŋ ^B , which is the analog to MC kʰəŋ ^B and kʰieŋ ^B		
b	肯 ² willing	kěn	kʰəŋ ^B	kʰəŋ ^B	khêŋ?
6-3	= K. 888	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	兢 fear	jīng	kjəŋ	kiŋ	kəŋ
	兢 strong	jīng	gjəŋ	giŋ	gəŋ
6-4	= K. 901	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	弓	gōng	kjuŋ	kuŋ	kwəŋ
			[T] ONW kuŋ <> [D] K-Meix ⁴⁴ thien- ⁴⁴ kiuŋ ^{A1} 天弓 'rainbow'; PMin *kyŋ		
			[E] TB *kuŋ ^{A/B} > WB ə-kʰuiŋ ^B 'large branch, bough of tree', kuiŋ ^A 'hang over in a curve'		
			<> Tai: S. koŋ ⁴ 'to arch, bend (bow)'		
e	穹	qióng !	kʰjuŋ	kʰuŋ	khwəŋ
6-5	= K. 887	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abf	𠂇 肱	gōng	kwəŋ	kuəŋ	kwəŋ
g	弘	hóng	ɣwəŋ	ɣuəŋ	gwəŋ
hijk	宏 紘 紘 閱	hóng	ɣweŋ	ɣueŋ	gwrəŋ
m	鞞	gōng, kōng	kwəŋ, kʰwəŋ	kuəŋ, kʰuəŋ	kwəŋ, khwəŋ

6 OCM *-əŋ 蒸部 (GSR 881-902)

l	雄	xióng	juŋ ³	wuŋ	wəŋ	OCB *wəŋ
			[N] rimes with *-əŋ in Shijing, also in Zuozhuan (Shaughnessy EC 20: 231)			
6-6	= K. 889	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	興 raise	xīng	xjəŋ	hiŋ	həŋ	ONW hiŋ
	elated	xīng	xjəŋ ^C	hiŋ ^C	həŋh	
6-7		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	擻	xǐng	xjəŋ ^C	hiŋ ^C	həŋh	
6-8	= K. 890	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	雁 鷹	yīng	ʔjəŋ	ʔiŋ	ʔəŋ	ONW ʔiŋ
e	膺	yīng	ʔjəŋ	ʔiŋ	ʔəŋ	? Lushai eŋ ^H 'the breast'
d	應 ought	yīng	ʔjəŋ	ʔiŋ	ʔəŋ	
	應 answer	yīng	ʔjəŋ ^C	ʔiŋ ^C	ʔəŋh	ONW ʔiŋ
6-9	= K. 883	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
aeij	a 登 燈 燈	dēng	təŋ	təŋ	təŋ	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR təŋj (平), PR, LR təŋ; MGZY d'ing (平) [təŋ]; ONW təŋ			
k	澄	dèng	təŋ ^C	təŋ ^C	təŋh	
l	鄧	dèng	dəŋ ^C	dəŋ ^C	dəŋh	
m	澄	chéng	djəŋ, dɛŋ	djəŋ, daj	drəŋ	
			[E] Tai: S. rian ^{A2} 'limpid, clear'			
n	證	zhèng	tśjəŋ ^C	tśiŋ ^C	təŋh	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR tśiŋ (去); MGZY jing (去) [tśiŋ]; ONW tśiŋ			
6-10	= K. 896	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	承	chéng	zjəŋ	dziŋ	dəŋ	
c	承	chéng	zjəŋ	dziŋ	dəŋ	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR dziŋ (平); MGZY zhing (平) [ziŋ]; ONW dziŋ			
d	丞	chéng	zjəŋ	dziŋ	dəŋ	
g	丞	chéng	zjəŋ	dziŋ	dəŋ	
h	丞	zhēng	tśjəŋ	tśiŋ	təŋ	
k	蒸	zhēng	tśjəŋ	tśiŋ	təŋ	
			[T] ONW tśiŋ <> [E] TB *taŋ: WT t'han 'pine, fir, evergreen tree', WB t'han ^B 'firewood'			
j	香	zhēng	tśjəŋ	tśiŋ	təŋ	
i	拯	zhěng	tśjəŋ ^B	tśiŋ ^B	təŋ?	
6-11	= K. 891	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	徵 examine	zhēng	tjəŋ	tjəŋ	trəŋ	[T] MTang tjəŋ, ONW tjəŋ
	徵 suppress	chéng	djəŋ	djəŋ	drəŋ	
	徵 a note	zhǐ	tji ^B	tjə ^B	trə? < trəŋ? >	
b	懲	chéng	djəŋ	djəŋ	drəŋ	
6-12	= K. 894	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	稱 稱	chēng	tśhəŋ	tśhəŋ	k-hləŋ (or thəŋ?)	
g	稱 weigh	chēng	tśhəŋ	tśhəŋ	k-hləŋ (or thəŋ?, but note Khmer)	
			[T] ONW tśhəŋ <> [E] ? MK: Khmer thləŋ 'to weigh'			

	稱 equal to	chèng	tʂʰjəŋ ^C	tʂʰiŋ ^C	k-hləŋh (or thəŋh?)
6-13 = K. 893	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	奔併	yìng	jiəŋ ^C	jiŋ ^C	ləŋh
kl	滕騰	yìng	jiəŋ ^C	jiŋ ^C	ləŋh
f	朕 I, my	zhèn	djəm ^B	d̄im ^B	drəŋ? < r-ləŋ?
	a seam	zhèn	djen ^B	d̄in ^B	drən? < r-lən? or r-ləŋ?
j	柁	zhèn	djəm ^B	d̄im ^B	drəŋ? < r-ləŋ?
p	勝 equal to	shēng	śjəŋ	śiŋ	lhəŋ
	勝 vanquish	shèng	śjəŋ ^C	śiŋ ^C	lhəŋh ONW śiŋ
qrtv	滕 r 滕騰	téng	dəŋ	dəŋ	ləŋ ONW dəŋ
u	滕 a snake	téng	dəŋ	dəŋ	ləŋ
	an insect	tè	dək	dək	lək
n	滕	chéng	dźjəŋ	ziŋ	m-ləŋ
6-14 = K. 945j	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
j	孕	yùn	jiəŋ ^C	jiŋ ^C	ləŋh = 6-24/892c 臙
	[T] ONW iŋ				
-	鯽	yùn [JY] = 鯽			
	The element 乃 'contain' (4-38/945a) is semantic; it also occurs in yíng 盈 'full'				
6-15 = K. 895	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	乘 to mount	chéng	dźjəŋ	ziŋ	m-ləŋ
	乘 chariot	shèng	dźjəŋ ^C	ziŋ ^C	m-ləŋh
6-16 = K. 897	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
acd	升昇陞	shēng	śjəŋ	śiŋ	lhəŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR śiŋ (平); MGZY shing (平) [śiŋ]; ONW śiŋ				
e	拊	shēng,	śjəŋ,	śiŋ,	lhəŋ,
		zhèng	tśjəŋ	tśiŋ	təŋ
	OC *təŋ is the reading of a synonym like 6-10/896hj				
6-17 = K. 898	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	凌陵	líng	ljəŋ	liŋ	rəŋ 陵 [T] BTd Skt. lavim[k]
f	凌 ice	líng	ljəŋ	liŋ	rəŋ OCB *b-rjəŋ
	~ 9-19/823h 冷 <> [T] ONW liŋ				
	凌 repress	líng	ljəŋ	liŋ	rəŋ OCB *b-rjəŋ
eghi	凌菱菱凌	líng	ljəŋ	liŋ	rəŋ
-	凌	líng	ljəŋ	liŋ	—
	A Han period dialect variant of 伶 [FY 1.6]				
6-18 = K. 885	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	能 bear n.	néng	nəŋ	nə(ŋ)	nə ! [T] ONW nəŋ
	[E] AA: Kharia bonoi 'bear', Santali bana 'Indian black bear' → TB-Lepcha sá-na 'bear'				
	能 able	néng	nəŋ	nəŋ	nəŋ, nə?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR nəŋ (平), PR, LR nəŋ; MGZY n ^h ing (平) [nəŋ]; ONW nəŋ				
f	態	tài	t ^h ai ^C	t ^h ə ^C	nhəŋ

	曾 to add	zēng	tsəŋ	tsəŋ	tsəŋ
6-19 = K. 884	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	曾	zēng	tsəŋ	tsəŋ	tsəŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsəŋ (平), PR tsəŋ; MGZY dz ^h ing (平) [tsəŋ]; ONW tsəŋ				
	曾 pf. tense	céng	dzəŋ	dzəŋ	dzəŋ
cde	增憎槽	zēng	tsəŋ	tsəŋ	tsəŋ
fg	罍罍	zēng	tsəŋ	tsəŋ	tsəŋ
h	繒	zēng,	tsəŋ,	tsəŋ,	tsəŋ,
		qíng	dzjəŋ	dzjəŋ	dzəŋ
i	層	céng	dzəŋ, tsəŋ	dzəŋ, tsəŋ	dzəŋ, tsəŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzəŋ (平), PR, LR dzəŋ; MGZY ts ^h ing (平) [dzəŋ]				
j	贈	zèng	dzəŋ ^C	dzəŋ ^C	dzəŋh
k	甌	jìng, zèng	tsjəŋ	tsiŋ	tsəŋ
-	僧	sēŋ	səŋ	səŋ	—
	[T] BTd 僧伽 səŋ-ga Skt. saṃgha				
6-20 = K. 886	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
afgj	朋棚備鵬	péng	bəŋ	bəŋ	bəŋ
	[T] Pre-ONW bəŋ				
m	崩	bēng	pəŋ	pəŋ	pəŋ
	[T] ONW pəŋ <> [D] PMin *p̄-: Jiànyáng vaiŋ ⁹ ; Yao baar ¹ (< *nb-) 'collapse, fall over'				
	[E] ? TB-Chepang bəŋh- 'to slip, slide' (earth, rock) ≠ bəŋh- 'landslide'				
kl	k 崩	bèng	pəŋ ^C	pəŋ ^C	pəŋh
	[E] TB: WT 'bum 'tomb, sepulcher', Lushai p ^h uum ^h 'to bury, inter'				
o	繡	bēng	pəŋ	pəŋ	prəŋ
	[E] ? TB: WT (')p ^h reŋ 'string on which things are filed' ≠ 'p ^h reŋ-ba 'string of beads, rosary' ≠ 'breŋ-ba 'strap, rope', 'p ^h reŋ 'to love'				
n	棚	bīng	pjəŋ	pjəŋ	prəŋ
6-21 = K. 899	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	冰	bīng	pjəŋ	pjəŋ	prəŋ OCB *prjəŋ
	[T] ONW pjəŋ				
	[E] ? TB *pam > Tangkhul Naga p ^h am, Kanauri pom 'snow', Jiarong ta-rpam 'ice'				
de	馮憑	píng	bjəŋ	biŋ	brəŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR biŋ (平); MGZY ping (平) [biŋ]				
6-22 = K. 900	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	凭	píng	bjəŋ ^(C)	biŋ ^(C)	brəŋ(h)
6-23 = K. 902	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	夢 ^{1c} dream	mèng	mjuŋ ^C	muŋ ^(C)	məŋ (tone A!)
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR muŋ (去); MGZY wung (去) [vuŋ]; MTang moŋ, ONW muŋ				
	[E] ST *məŋ: WT rmaŋ-lam 'dream'				
	夢 ² blind	méng	muŋ	moŋ	mōŋ < mlōŋ? = 12-27/1181 ca 矇蒙
d	瞢	méng	mjuŋ	muŋ	məŋ
			mwəŋ	məŋ	māŋ
g	薨	hōng	xwəŋ	huəŋ	hməŋ
e	薨	méng	meŋ	meŋ	mrəŋ
f	薨	máng	mwəŋ	maŋ	māŋ

6-24 = K. 892, 1252d	MC	LHan	OCM	
1252d 黽 frog mǐn	mɛŋ ^B	mɛŋ ^B	mɛŋ ^B	mrəŋ?
黽 Pl.N. méng	mɛŋ	mɛŋ	mɛŋ	mrəŋ
黽池 Pl.N. miǎn-	mjiǎn ^B 4, mian ^B ,	mjen ^B 3 ! min ^B	mjiɛn ^B 4 min ^B	men?, min?
黽勉	mǐn-miǎn	mjen ^B 3 ! min ^B	-mjǎn ^B 3 -mian ^B	mrən?-mran? = 33-36/475m 忒
892a 蠅	yíng	jiəŋ	jiəŋ	ləŋ
[E] Old Sino-Viet. lAŋ 'a fly'				
b 繩 rope shéng	dźjəŋ	źiŋ	m-ləŋ	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɹiŋ (平); MGZY cing (平) [dʒiŋ]				
[E] ? ST *mləŋ; WB ə-hmyaŋ ^B 'string, thread, fiber, nerve' ~ mín 緝				
繩 full yìng	jiəŋ ^C	jiəŋ ^C	ləŋ ^C	
= yùn 孕 *ləŋh (6-14/945j) 'pregnant'				
- 麗 pregnant shèng	dźjəŋ ^C	źiŋ ^C	m-ləŋh	
* yùn 孕 *ləŋh (6-14/945j) 'pregnant'				
- 鯉 shéng, shèng,	dźjəŋ ^{A/C} ,	źiŋ ^(C) ,	—	'spawn' n. (of fish) [EY]
鯉 yùn	jiəŋ ^C	jiəŋ ^C		
Same word as = 鯉 and = yùn 孕 *ləŋh (6-14/945l) 'pregnant'				
鯉 mǐn	mɛŋ ^B	mɛŋ ^B	mrəŋ?	
GY: 'a kind of frog'; Pl.N.; JY: 'a kind of fish'. Prob. s. w. as 黽.				

7 OCM rime *-e Zhī bù 支部

GSR 861 - 880

Baxter 1992: 491 ff. (§10.2.7)

See Table 8-1 for OCM rimes *-eŋ, *-ek, *-e in QYS categories.

Table 7-1: Comparison of OC *-i, *-e and *-ai in QYS Divisions

Div,	*-i R.26	*-e R.7	*-ai R.18
I			何 yâ gai *gâi 跛 puâ pai ^B *pâi? 多 tâ tai *tâi
IV	啟 k ^h ie ^B k ^h ei ^B *khî? 米 mie ^B mei ^B *mî? 睽 k ^h iwei k ^h uei *khwî 氏 tie ^B tei ^B *tî?	雞 kiei ke *kê 圭 kiwei kue *kwê 啼 diei de *dê	
3/3 gr	耆 gji3 gi *gri 戮 gjwi3 gwi *gwri	技 gje ^B 3 gie ^B *gre?	騎 gje3 gai *gai 皮 bje3 bai *bai
3/4 gr	伊 ʔi4 ʔi *ʔi 癸 kwi ^B 4 kwi ^B *kwi? 比 pi ^B 4 pi ^B *pi?	歧 gjie4 gie *ge 規 kjwie4 kye *kwe 卑 pjie4 pie *pe	
III ac	死 si ^B si ^B *si? 維 jiwi4 wi *wi	支 tsje tse < kie *ke 知 tje ʔie *tre	離 lje liai *rai
III ac			蛇 dźja zai *m-lai
II	階 kǎi kei *krî	解 kai ^B ke ^B *krê? 卦 kwai ^C kue ^C *kwrêh 買 mai ^B me ^B *mrê?	加 ka kai *krâi 麻 ma mai *mrâi 沙 ʂa ʂai *srâi

The table shows how most OC finals of rime *-e have merged in MC with reflexes of other rimes.

While there are virtually no syllables of the type *Tai (Rime 18), here type *Te abounds; conversely, syllables of the type *(C)le are rare while *(C)lai is rather common. See the introductory comments to Rime no. 18 *-ai. For the palatalization of velars with *chóngniǔ* div. 4/4 vocalism (as in series 7-3 to 7-6), see Schuessler, *JCL* 24.2, 1996: 197-211.

7-1	= K. 876	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	系	xì	ɣiei ^C	ge ^C	gêh OCB *N-keks
	= 8.1 繫 <> [T] ONW	ɣèi			
c	係	xì	kiei ^C	ke ^C	kêh OCB *keks = 8.1 繫; 7-2 繼
dgkl	奚娛餽蹊	xī	ɣiei	ge	gê
m-	驪驪	xī	ɣiei	ge	gê
i	徯	xī	ɣiei, ɣiei ^B	ge, ge ^B	gê, gê?
j	譏 disgrace	xǐ	ɣiei ^B	ge ^B	gê?
	perverse	xǐ	ɣiei, ɣiei ^B	ge, ge ^B	gê, gê?
np	雞鷄	jī	kiei	ke	kê
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'ej (平), PR, LR ki; MGZY g'yi (平) [k'ji]; ONW k'ei <> [D] PMin *kei, Ke: Meix kai ^{A1} <> [E] KT, MY: PTai k'ei ^{B1} < *k- 'chicken', KS *kai ⁵ , MY *kai				
q	谿	xī, qī	k ^h iei	k ^h e	khê < khle
-	溪	xī	k ^h iei	k ^h e	khê < khle
	[E] ? PWMiao *kle ^{A1} 'water, river'				
7-2	= K. 1241b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
b	繼	jì	kiei ^C	ke ^C	kêh OCB *keks
	= 7-1/876c 係, 8-1/854a 繫 <> [T] ONW k'ei				
7-3	= K. 864	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abc	支枝肢	zhī	tšje	tše < kie	ke 'branch > limb'
	[T] ONW tše (kie?); BTD Skt. ke, tye, Pkt. ce. MHan 一支 ?it-kie lki, 條支 deu-kie Taokê [D] PMin *ki <> [E] TB: Chepang gwe? 'finger', Tani *ke(ŋ) 'finger'; WT bkye 'to divide'				
e	翅 wing	chì	šje ^C	// kie	ke
	[N] 'Wing' *ke is the same etymon as 'branch, limb' above. The reading <i>chì</i> has been transferred from the synonym shì 翼 *lkeh ? 'wing'.				
	[T] Sin SR tš'ŋ, ši (去), PR š, LR tš'ŋ; MGZY shi (去) [ši]; MTang ši, kie (?), Sui-Tang ki, ONW kie (?); see Coblin 1994, Compendium of Phonetics in Northwest Chinese: 209f.				
	翅 only	chì	šje ^C	še ^C	lhek = 7-12/877k 蕾
	[N] The graph 翅 was borrowed for 'only' because of its reading for 'wing'				
d	伎	zhì	tšje ^C	tše ^C < kie ^C	keh
	[E] Tai: S. keek ^{D1} 'wicked, perverted'				
ih-	歧歧歧	qí	gjie 4	gie	ge [T] ONW gie
g	趾 tiptoe	qǐ, qì	k ^h jie ^{B/C} 4	k ^h ie ^{B/C}	khe?, kheh = 7-4/862a 企
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (上), PR k'i; MGZY kh'yi (上去) [k'ji]; Sui-Tang k ^h i, ONW k ^h ie				
	趾 6 toes	qí	gjie 4	gie	ge
f	伎	qì	k ^h jie ^C 4	k ^h ie ^C	kheh
	[E] TB: JP k ^h yè, n ³¹ .k ^h yen ³¹ 'oblique, slanting'				
m	頰	kuǐ	k ^h jwie ^B 4	k ^h uie ^B	khwe?
j	伎 talented	jì	gje ^B 3	gie ^B	gre?
	run	qí	gje 3	gie	gre
k	技	jì	gje ^B 3	gie ^B	gre?
l	芰	jì	gje ^C 3	gie ^C	greh
-	妓	jī, jì	kje 3, gje ^B 3	gie ^B	—
	[T] Wei-Jin kie, gie ^B 'prostitute' <> [E] MK: PVM *ke:?'woman' > Viet. cá / gái 'feminine', PWA *krih 'girl'; Bahnar North kadri, PNBahn. *kadri 'female'				
-	魁	jì	gje ^(C) 3		

-	度	jǐ	kje ^B 3		
1259b	屐	jī	gjek	giak	grak OCB 1977: 193 *grjek
7-4	= K. 862	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	企	qǐ	k ^h jie ^{B/C} 4	k ^h ie ^{B/C}	khe?/h = 7-3/864g 跂
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'jej (上), PR k'i; MGZY kh'yi (上去) [k'ji]; Sui-Tang k ^h i, ONW k ^h ie				
7-5	= K. 865	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	只 a particle	zhǐ	tšje ^B	tše ^B < kie ^B	ke?
	只 only	zhǐ	tšje ^B	tše ^B	— ~ 7-6/867i 祗
	[T] ONW kie ~ tše ?				
cd	軹	zhǐ	tšje ^B	kie ^B	ke?
e	枳 (枳棋)	zhǐ	kjie ^B 4 !	kie ^B	ke? 'Hovenia dulcis'
	[T] ONW kie, Mid-Tang k				
	枳 a citrus	zhǐ	tšje ^B	kie ^B	ke? 'Poncirus trifoliata' (citr.)
b	肢	zhī	tšje	kie	ke = 7-3/864c 肢
-	俛	xì	ɣiei ^B	ge ^B	— SW
-	迟	—	k ^h jiak	k ^h iek	— SW
7-6	= K. 867	There is some confusion with 26-14/GSR 59.			
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	氏 clan	shì	žje ^B	dže ^B < gie ^B	ge?
	月氏 Yuè-zhī		-tšje	-tše < -kie	-ke
	[N] Yue-zhī does not mean 'Moon clan'				
de	坻抵	zhǐ	tšje ^B	kie ^B	ke?
g	痍 illness	qí	gjie 4	gie	ge
	For the synonym 867h, see 26-14/590				
j-	軹	qí	gjie 4	gie	ge
i	祗 spirit	qí	gjie 4	gie	ge
	祗 only	zhī	tšje	tše < kie	ke ~ 7-5/865a 只
	[T] BTD Skt. je(tavana), -khye-, khya ~ khyeya				
f	舐	shì	džje ^B	že ^B	(m-le?) OCB *m-laj?
	Said to be the vulgar form of 8-12/850 舐; = 7-18/1238e 舐 etc. <> [T] ONW že ^B <> [D] Yue-Guangzh lai ³¹ <> [E] Kam-Tai: S. lia ^{A2} < *dl- 'to lick', KS *lja ² ? <> [N] [Zhuang]. The phonetic element has been added after palatalization.				
-	紙 paper	zhǐ	tšje ^B	tšai ^B < kiai ^B ?	
	[T] ONW tše <> [D] PMin *tšiai ^B <> [E] Viet. giáy, PVM *k-caj?				
	[N] LHan kiai ^B , not kiai ^B , would account for palatalization				
7-7	= K. 861	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	解 unloose	jiě	kai ^B	ke ^B	krê?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaj (上); PR, LR kje; MGZY gyay (上) [kaj]; ONW k'ei				
	[E] ? Area *C-re: TB: Chepang greh- 'to sever, chop off, cut cleanly'				
	解 residence	jiě !	kai ^C	ke ^C	krêh
	解 underst.	xiè	ɣai ^B	ge ^B	grê?
	[D] Min: Jiànyáng hai ^C , Fuzhou a ^{C2} , Xiàm ue ^{C2}				
	解 careless	jiè, xiè	kai ^C , ɣai ^B	ke ^C , ge ^B	krêh, grê? [T] ONW ɣèi
bc	懈	xiè, jiè	kai ^C	ke ^C	krêh

d	蟹	xiè	ɣai ^B	ge ^B	grê? ?
		[D] PMin *he ^B <> [E] TB *d-ka:y / *d-gra:y > NNaga *gra:n, JP tʃã ⁵⁵ -kʰan ⁵¹ , Mikir çehê 'crab', Lushai cha ^L -kai ^L < -kaih 'crab', Tangkhul khai 'fish'; Adi take			
e	邂逅	xiè-hòu	ɣai ^C -ɣəu ^C	ge ^C -go ^C	grêh-grôh
7-7A	= K. 1240fg	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
fg	溜薙	xiè	ɣai ^C	ge ^C	grê(k)h or grê(k)h ?
		[T] 蘇薙 sa-geh soɣd or soɣðak			
7-8	= K. 879	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abc	圭珪	guī	kiwei	kue	kwê
d	桂	guì	kiwei ^C	kue ^C	kwêh
e	闈	guī	kiwei	kue	kwê
g	鮭 porpoise	guī	kiwei	kue	
	a demon	huá, xié	ɣwa, ɣai	ɣuai, ge	gwrâi, gwrê
j	哇	qí !	ɣiwei	ɣue	gwê
h	刳	kuī	kʰiwei	kʰue	khwê
		[D] ua ^{A1} in Jiang-Huai Mand. 'stab something with a knife, slaughter'			
i	奎	kuí	kʰiwei	kʰue	khwê
		[E] TB: WB kwai ^B 'be divided, split, parted' ≠ kʰwai ^B 'divide, split', JP gai ³¹ -gai ³¹ 'walk with legs spread wide'			
l	跬	kuǐ	kʰjwie ^B 4	kʰye ^B	khwe?
stu	卦挂掛	guà	kwai ^C	kue ^C	kwrêh
v	絀	huà,	ɣwai ^C ,	ɣue ^C ,	gwrêh,
		guà	kwai ^C	kue ^C	kwrêh
x	哇	wā	ɣwai ^(C)	ɣue ^(C)	gwrê, gwrêh
n	佳	jiā	kai	kɛ	krê
o	街	jiē	kai	kɛ	krê
pqr	厓崖涯	yá, ái	ɲai	ɲe	ɲrê
a'	睚	yá, ái	ɲai ^C	ɲe ^C	ɲrêh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲja, jaj (平), PR, LR ja; MGZY yay (平) [jaj]			
y	鼃 frog	wā	?wa, ?wai	?uai, ?ue	?wrâi, ?wrê
		huá	ɣwa, ɣwai	ɣuai, ɣue	wrâi, wrê
z	蛙 frog	wā	?wai	?ue	?wrê
		[E] PT *kw-: Boai kwɛ ^{C1} , Wuming klwe 'small green frog'; KS *k-wai ^C 'small frog'			
f	窪	wā,	?wa,	?uai,	?wrâi,
		guī	kiwei	kue	kwê
		Guī may just be the reading of the phonetic.			
b'	窪	wā	?wa	?uai	?wrâi
k	洼	wā	?iwei	?ue	?wê
m	恚	huì	?jwie ^C 4	?ye ^C	?weh
7-9	= K. 880	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	襦襦	xí, xī	ɣiwei	ɣue	wê
c	攜	xié	ɣiwei	ɣue	wê
d	蠲	xì, xī	ɣiwei	ɣue	wê
ef	觸鑷	xī, huī	ɣiwei, xjwie	ɣue, hye	wê, hwe

7-10	= K. 875	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	規	guī	kjwie 4	kye	kwe
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (平); MGZY gŷue (平) [kye] <> [E] TB: Chepang *gwe? 'circular in shape' ≠ kwe? 'hook, fishhook'; TB *koy 'bend round, be curved, coil et al.'			
b	覷	guī	kjwie 4	kye	kwe
cd	窺闕	kuī	kʰjwie 4	kʰye	khwe
7-11	= K. 873	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	兒	ér	ńzje	ńe	ɲe
		[T]- Sin Sukchu SR ri (平), PR, LR rɿ; MGZY Zhi (平) [ri]; ONW ńe. MHan 臨兒 lim-ńe Skt. Lumbini <> [D] Xiang: ɲa <> [E] Area word: TB: JP ɲai ³³ (< ɲai ?), tʃã ³³ -ɲai ³³ 'baby', Mru ɲia 'child'. AA: PSBahn. *ɲe 'baby'			
e	哢	ér	ńzje	ńe	ne
		[E] TB *m-nwi(y) 'to laugh', KN *m-nui > Lushai nui ^H / nui ^L , Bodo, Dimasa mini, JP mǎ ³¹ -ni ³³ 'to laugh'			
f	倪	ní	ɲiei	ɲe	ɲê
		[E] WB ɲai 'small, little, inferior'			
ijl	輓邲輓	ní	ɲiei	ɲe	ɲê
o	甕	ní	ɲiei,	ɲe,	ɲê
			miei, mjie	me, mie	mê, me
		This is the reading of the syn. 甕 7-31/360e			
mn	甕	ní, yè	ɲiei, ɲiet	ɲe, ɲet	ɲê, ɲêt
g	倪	nǐ	ɲiei ^{B/C}	ɲe ^{B/C}	ɲê ^{B/C} /h
h	睨	nì	ɲiei ^{B/C}	ɲe ^{B/C}	ɲê ^{B/C} /h
p	鵠	yì	ɲiek	ɲek	ɲêk
q	闕	xì	xiek	xek	ɲjêk
7-12	= K. 877	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	帝	dì	tiei ^C	te ^C	têh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ti (去), PR, LR ti; MGZY di (去) [ti]; ONW tɛi. OCB *teks; but the <i>Shijing</i> rimes do not compel the assumption of OCM *têkh.			
		[E] WT tʰe 'celestial gods', JP mǎ ³¹ -tai ³³ 'sky god'			
e	帝	dì, tì,	tʰiei ^C ,	tʰe ^C ,	têh, thêh,
		chì	tʰjâi ^C	tʰies	thres
f	諦	dì	tiei ^C	te ^C	têh
gh	啼蹄	tí	diei	de	dê
j	締	dì, tí	diei ^(C)	de ^(C)	dê(h)
i	蒂	dì	diei ^C	de ^C	dêh
k	適 only	chì	śje ^C	śe ^C	lhekh = 7-3/864e
s	適 go to etc.	shì	śjak	śek	lhék [T] ONW śek. OCB *stjek
	go to	zhī	tśjak	tśek	tek only 'go to'
t	擿	zhì	đjak	điek	drek
mn	嫡嫡	dí	tiek	tek	têk
o	躄 hoof	dí	tiek	tek	têk
	to stop	zhí	đjak	điek	drek
-	滴	dī	tiek	tek	têk
		[E] WT: gtig(s)-pa ~ tʰig-pa, tʰigs 'to drop, drip' ≠ tʰig-pa, btigs 'cause to fall in drops' ≠ tʰigs-pa 'a drop', JP the ³¹ < tʰek ³¹ 'dropping, dripping'			

q	敵	dí	diək	dek	dək	
		[E] TB *m-tay (or rather *tai?): JP tai ³¹ 'avenge, retaliate', mətài 'vengeance', Lushai tai ^R < tai? 'be at enmity with one another, have a grudge against'				
p	摘	tì,	t ^h iek,	t ^h ek,	thək,	
		zhāi	tək	tək	trək	
r	謫 blame	zhé	tək, ɖək	tək, ɖək	trək, drək	OCB *trek
	sun ch.	zhé	ɖək	ɖək	drək	'change in the sun'
u	謫 blame	zhé	tək, ɖək	tək, ɖək	trək, drək	
7-13	= K. 863	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	知	zhī	tje	tje	tre	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR t̃si (平); MGZY ji (平) [t̃si]; ONW te [E] Lushai hria ^R / hre ^H / hriat ^F 'to know', JP tje ³³ < rje ³³ 'to know'				
b	智	zhì	tje ^C	tje ^C	treh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR t̃si (去); MGZY ji (去) [t̃si]; ONW te				
d	蜘蛛	zhī-zhū	tje-tju	tje-tjo	tre-tro	'spider'
e	踟躕	chí-chú	dje-dju	ɖie-ɖio	dre-dro	
		[E] Tai: S. rii ^{A2} -rɔɔ ^{A2} 'walk hesitatingly, undecided'				
7-14	= K. 866	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	是	shì	zje ^B	dze ^B	de?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR z̃i (上), PR z̃i; MGZY zhi (上) [z̃i]; ONW dze. [E] TB *day: WT de 'that'; JP n ⁵⁵ -de ²⁵⁵ 'this, there', n ⁵⁵ -de ⁵¹ 'so (many...), thus'				
d	隄	shì	zje ^B	dze ^B	de?	
g	隄	dī	tiei	te	tê	
h	鞦韆	dī, tí	tiei, diei	te, de	tê, dê	
i	醞 wine	tí	t ^h iei ^B	t ^h e ^B	thê?	
j	緹	tí, tǐ	diei, t ^h iei ^B	de, t ^h e ^B	dê, thê?	
k	堤	dī!	diei	de	dê	
lm	媿媿	tí	diei	de	dê	
o	媿	tí	diei	de	dê	
-	驥	tí	diei	de	—	'A type of horse'
n	提	tí	diei	de	dê	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR djej (平), PR, LR di; MGZY ti (平) [di]; ONW dei; BTd Skt. de[va]				
	提	cut off	dǐ	tiei ^B	te ^B	tê?
	提	flock	chí	zje	dze	de
p	題	forehead	tí	diei	de	dê
		look at	dì	diei ^C	de ^C	dêh
r	鯢	dì, tí,	diei ^C , diei	de ^C , de	dêh, dê	
		shì	zje ^B	dze ^B	de?	
q	踶	kick	dì	diei ^C	de ^C	dêh
		[E] WT rdeg, LB *tek ^H 'kick', Garo ga-tek, Tangkhul Naga kəkət ^h ək				
	踶	effort	zhì	dje ^B	ɖie ^B	dre?
e	提	zhī, shí, tí	t̃sje, zje, diei	t̃se, dze, de	te, de, dê	[E] WT bde-ba 'happy'
f	翼	wing	shì	sje ^C	še ^C	lhev
		[N] The alternate reading ji, MC kje ^C 4 probably has been transferred from the old reading of the synonym 7-3/864e 翹 *ke (tone C here is probably borrowed from the reading MC sje ^C). In turn, the regular reading of 翼 has later been applied to the synonym chì 翅.				

s	寔	shí	zjak	džik	dək	~ 29-18/398a 實
		[E] TB: LB *dyak 'truly, very, intensive', WB tyak-tyak 'very', Lushai tak ^L 'real, true' [N] This word *dək is probably written with 是 *de? 'this, be right' because the semantics outweighed the less than perfect phonetic fit.				
t	湜	shí	zjak	džik	dək	
7-15	= K. 1238d	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
d	厄	zhī	t̃sje	t̃se	te or ke or tai	
7-16	= K. 1238b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
b	豸	zhì	dje ^B	ɖie ^B	dre?	~ zhì, zhài 7-17 豸
		This graph is perhaps phonetic in 32-21/372 豸 *drin?				
7-17		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	鷹	zhì, zhài	dje ^B , ɖai ^B	ɖie ^B , ɖe ^B	dre?	~ zhì 7-16 豸
		[E] MK *draay > OMon *dray 'hog deer' (→ WB darai 'hog deer'), Biat draai 'swamp deer', PVM *k-de: 'deer'				
7-18	= K. 1238e	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
e	啞	lick	shì	džje ^B	ze ^B	m-le? [Zhuang]
		Also written 7-6/867f 舐 [Zhuang], 8-12/850 舐 [SW], 18-9/4 舐 [Yupian]				
7-19	= K. 1238f	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
f	豕	shǐ	sje ^B	še ^B	lhe? ?	
		[E] ? MK: PMonic *cliik, Mon klot, kloik 'pig', PWA *lik 'pig'. Theoretically, the OC rime could also be *-ai?.				
7-20	= K. 359	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	OCB *-ej (1992: 419)
a	爾	you, part.	ěr	ńzje ^B	ńe ^B	ne?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (上), PR r̃; MGZY Zhi (上) [ri]; ONW ńe. OCB *njaj? (1992: 453), *njaj? <> [E] TB: Chepang ni 'you' ≠ niŋ 'you' (plural), WB ńań ^B				
	爾	luxuriant	nǐ	niei ^B	ne ^B	nê?
-	你	you	nǐ	ni ^B	—	—
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR njej (上), PR, LR ni; MGZY ńi (上) [ni]; STang ni ^B > ni ^B , ONW nii				
c	邇	ěr	ńzje ^B	ńe ^B	ne?	OCB *njaj? (1992: 453)
		[T] ONW ńe. <> [E] TB *ney > WT ńe-ba 'near' ≠ sñen-pa 'come near'; JP ni ³¹ , PL *b-ni ⁵⁵ , WB ni ^B (< ne ^B); but Lushai in ^L -hnai ^R < hnai? 'near, close', LB *nay ²				
d	孌	nǎi!	niei ^B	ne ^B	nê?	
gh	彌	nǐ	niei ^B	ne ^B	nê?	
i	爾	luxuriant	nǐ	niei ^B	ne ^B	nê?
		oblivious	niè	niet	net	nêt
j	璽	xǐ	sje ^B	sie ^B	sne?	
lk	獼	xiǎn	sjän ^B	sian ^B	snen?	
		LH actually = sien ^B , but for consistency's sake we write rimes in -n as -ian.				
m	彌	complete	mí	mjie 4	mie	me = 7-31/360a
		[T] MTang mi, ONW mie [i.e. QYS div. 3], BTd Skt. mai-, -me, -mi-				
	彌	finish	mǐ	mjie ^B 4	mie ^B	me?
o	彌	mǐ,	mjie ^B 4,	mie ^B	me?	= 7-31/360a 彌
		mí	mjie, miei ^B	—	—	= 26-40/598h 敍

7-20A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
尔	ěr	ńzje ^B	ńe ^B	ne?	SW 492
7-21 = K. 878	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
acde 麗擺擺擺	lì	liei ^C	le ^C	rêh	
f 驪	lí	liei, lje	le, lie	rê, re	
g 繩 rope	lí	lje	lie	re	
h 繩 band	shǐ, shǎi	şje ^B , şai ^B	şie ^B , şe ^B	sre?, srê? = 7-28/871g 繩	
	醞	shī	şje	şie	sre
					[E] ST *s-lai: Lushai t ^h iei ^R < sle? 'to sift' (by side to side motion) <> Viet. rây 'to strain, sift, sieve' <> [N] Also shū, şjwo, LHan şa, OCM *sra, it is the same etymon as 1-62/90f.
i 灑	sǎ, shǐ	şai ^{B/C} , şje ^{B/C}	şe ^{B/C} , şie ^{B/C}	srê?/h, sre?/h	[T] ONW şä
- 曬	shài, shì	şje ^C	şie ^C	sreh	
j 躑	xǐ	şje ^B	şie ^B	sre?	= 7-28/871g 躑
7-22 = K. 1241o-q	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 慘	xié	gai	ge	grê	
o 蠹 worm	lǐ	liei ^B	le ^B	rê?	'wood-worm'
	itch	luǒ	loi ^B	rôï?	
pq 蠹 蠹 蠹	lǐ, lí	liei ^{B/C} , lje	le ^{B/C} , lie	rê?/h, re	
					See GYSX p. 292 for more graphs in this XS series.
7-23 = K. 1241r	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
r 荔	lì	liei ^C , lje ^C	le ^C , lie ^C	rêh, reh	
7-24 = K. 872	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 罨	lì	lje ^C	lie ^C	reh	
7-25 = K. 358	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	OCB *-ej (1992: 419)
a 此	cǐ	tsh ^h je ^B	tsh ^h ie ^B	tshe?	OCB *tshjej?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'ɿ (上); MGZY tsh ^h i (上) [ts'ɿ]; ONW ts ^h e
c 𪗇	cǐ	tsh ^h je ^B	tsh ^h ie ^B	tshe?	
d 𪗈	cì	tsh ^h je ^C	tsh ^h ie ^C	tsheh	
hi 𪗉	cǐ	tsh ^h je ^B , tsh ^h ie ^B	tsh ^h ie ^B , tsh ^h e ^B	tshe?, tshê?	
fg 雌 𪗊	cī	tsh ^h je	tsh ^h ie	tshe	OCB *tshje
					[D] Wu-Suzhou ts'ɿ ⁴⁴ -ni ^{v24/21} 雌牛 'cow'; opposite xióng 雄 'male'
e 𪗋	cǐ	tsh ^h je ^B	tsh ^h ie ^B	tshe?	
mno 𪗌	zǐ	tsje	tsie	tse	
j 紫	zǐ	tsje ^B	tsie ^B	tse?	
kl 𪗍	zǐ	tsje ^B	tsie ^B	tse?	'slander'
	𪗎	zǐ	tsje	tse	
	𪗏	sí	zje	zie	s-le or s-je
p 𪗐	cí	dzje	dzie	dze	
q 𪗑	cī	dzje ^(C)	dzie ^(C)	dze(h)	= 18-13/5 𪗑 [Lüshi ch.]
r 𪗒	zì	dzje ^C	dzie ^C	dzeh	OCB *dzjejs
	𪗓	zì	dzje, tsh ^h je	dzie, tsh ^h ie	dze, tshe 'small intestines'
					[E] PTai *sai ^{C1} 'intestines'

s 皆	zì, jì	dzje ^C , dziei ^C	dzie ^C , dze ^C	dzeh, dzêh	
t 觜 beak	zuǐ, zī	tsjwe ^B , tsje	tsye ^B , tsie	tsoi?, tse or tsai?	
					[E] ? TB: WT mts ^h ul-pa 'lower part of face, muzzle, beak'.
- 嘴	zuǐ	tsjwe ^B ?			
x 柴 wood	chái	dzai	dze	dzrê	
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaj (平); MGZY cay (平) [dzaj]
	柴 heap	zì	dzje ^C , tsje ^C	dzie ^C , tsie ^C	dzeh, tseh OCB *dzjejs
uv 𪗔	chái	dzai	dze	dzrê	
1236a 些 a particle	suò	sâ ^C	sai ^C or sa ^C		
	a few	xiē	sja		
7-26 = K. 869	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 斯 cleave	sī	sje	sie	se	
					[T] MTang si, ONW se <> [E] ST *ser: WT ser-ka 'cleft, split', Chepang ser- 'divide, split cleanly'
	斯 complet.	sì	sje ^C	sie ^C	seh 'completely'
cd 𪗕	sī	sje	sie	se	
ef 𪗖	sī!	siei	se	sê	
7-27 = K. 870	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 𪗗	sī	sje	sie	sle	
d 𪗘	tí	diei	de	lê	
e 𪗙	dì	diei ^{B/C}	de ^{B/C}	lê?, lêh	
- 𪗚	yí	je	je	le	
c 𪗛	chí	dje	die	dre < r-le ?	
b 𪗜	chǐ,	t ^h je ^B ,	t ^h ie ^B ,	rhe?	
	chí, zhì	dje ^(B)	die ^(B)	dre, dre?	
7-28 = K. 871	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abf 徙 徙 徙	xǐ	sje ^B	sie ^B	se?	
					徙 [T] Sui-Tang si, ONW se, LHan
					[E] ? TB: WB sai 'carry from one place to another, remove by repeated processes'
gh 𪗝	xǐ	sje ^B	şie ^B	sre?	= 7-12/878j 𪗝
7-29 = K. 874	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 卑	bēi	pjie 4	pie	pe	
					[T] ONW pie. LHan 鮮卑 sian-pie *Sārbi
d 碑	bēi	pjie 4	pie	pe	
e 裨 add	bì	pjie 4	pie	pe	
	a robe	bēi, péi	pjie, bjie 4	pie, bie	pe, be
c 俾	bǐ	pjie ^B 4	pie ^B	pe?	
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (上), PR pəj; Phags-pa: MGZY bi (上) [pi]; ONW *pie
x 鞞	bǐ,	pjie ^B 4,	pie ^B ,	pe?,	
	bǐng	pie ^B	pe ^B	pêŋ?	
gi 鞞	pí	bjie 4	bie	be	
h 脾	pí	bjie 4	bie	be	
					[T] ONW bie <> [E] TB *r-pay, *pay ~ *play: JP pāi, Mru pai, but Angami Naga ú-pri, Mikir pli-ha < *-i, Garo pilai, Chepang leh

k	埤 accumul. low gr.	pí bì	bjie 4 bjie ^B 4	bie bie ^B	be be?		
lm	婢庫	bì	bjie ^B 4	bie ^B	be?		'low ground'
n	賴	pǐ	p ^h iei ^B	p ^h e ^B	phê?		
p	擎	pí	biei	be	bê		
q	棹 shaft coffin	pí bì	biei biek, bjäk	be bek, biek	bê bêk, bek		
f	髀	bì	biei ^B , pjie ^B , pji ^B 4	be ^B , pie ^B	bê?, pe?		
							[D] Yue dial 'thigh': Guangzhou tai ²² -pei ³⁵ 大髀 'thigh' [E] TB *pey 'leg', Lushai p ^h ei ^L 'foot, leg'; ? WT dpyi 'hip, hipbone'
r	捩 open	bǎi	pai ^B	pe ^B	prê?		
							[E] ST *prai: WB prai ^B 'to gape'
st	捩 cleave	bò	pek	pek	prêk	cf. 8-19/853p	
u	裨裨	bài	bai ^C	be ^C	brêh		
v	裨	pí	bai	be	brê		
	廬	pái, pí, bèng	bai, bjie 4, beŋ ^B	be, bie, beŋ ^B	brê, be, brêŋ?		
-	算	pái	bai	be	brê?		
7-30		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-	辰	bī	pjie 4				[D] *pe, *pet <> [E] ST *bet ? : LB *(y)et ^L 'vulva', Kanauri p ^h e:ts
7-31	= K. 360	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	OCB *-ej (1992: 419)	
a	弭	mǐ	mjie ^B 4	mie ^B	me?	= 26-40/598h 枚 = 7-20/359m 彌	
							[T] MTang mi, ONW me [i.e., QYS div. 3]
d	溷	mǐ	mjie ^B 4	mie ^B	me?		
e	廩	mí	miei	me	mê	syn. 7-11/873o 廩	
7-32		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-	犇	mǐ	mjie ^B 4	mie ^B	me?	'to bleat; bear' n.	
							[E] KS *muri ¹ -fi, PTai *hm-: S. mii ^{A1} , Po-ai muui ^{A1} ; Hlai mui ⁴ 'bear' n.
7-33	= K. 1240c,e	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
c	買	mǎi	mai ^B	me ^B	mrê?		
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR maj (上); MGZY may (上) [maj]; ONW mēi [E] TB *b/m-rey > WT rje-ba (< *N-rje ?) 'to barter', JP ma ³¹ -ri ³³ 'to buy'
e	賣	mài	mai ^C	me ^C	mrêh		[T] ONW mēi
7-34		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-	乜	miē	mjia ^B 4	—	—	'to squint, glance (sideways)'	
							This is a unique syllable [GY]. <> [D] Canton mêt, Hakka mak, Ningpo mi ^C [E] Area etymon *Cmit or *Cmet 'wink / signal with eyes or finger'

8 OCM rime *-ek Xī bù 錫部

GSR 844 - 860

Baxter 1992: 494 ff. (§10.2.8)

In the OC rimes *-ak, *-ek, *-ok and *-auk, syllables with MC retroflex initials, especially of the expected MC type djak, djäk, djwok, tend to be rare in Div. III and seem to have shifted into Div. II ðek, ðäk, ðek, ðok. See Table 2-1 for a comparison of OCM rimes *-aŋ, *-ak with *-eŋ, *-ek; Table 17-1 for comparison of OCM rimes *-ek, *-ak, *-auk, *-uk.

Table 8-1: OCM rimes *-eŋ, *-ek, *-e in QYS categories

Div.	*-eŋ R.9	*-ek R.8	*-ekh R.8	*-e R.7
IV	經 kien ^C keŋ *kêŋ 肩 kiweŋ kueŋ *kwêŋ 定 dien ^C deŋ ^C *dêŋh	擊 kiek kek *kêk 鵝 kiwek kuek *kwêk 麻 liek lek *rêk 覓 miek mek *mêk	縊 ?iei ^C ?e ^C *?êkh	雞 kiei ke *kê 圭 kiwei kue *kwê 啼 diei de *dê
3/3	驚 kjeŋ kieŋ *kreŋ			技 gje ^{B3} gie ^B *gre?
3/4 gr	勁 kjian ^{C4} kien ^C *kenh 頃 k ^h jiwän ⁴ k ^h yeŋ *khweŋ 名 mjian ⁴ mieŋ *men	益 ?jiäk ⁴ ?iek *?ek 辟 pjia ⁴ piek *pek	臂 pjie ^{C4} pie ^C *pek ^h	歧 gjie ⁴ gie *ge 規 kjwie ⁴ kye *kwe 卑 pjie ⁴ pie *pe
III ac	正 tsjän ^C tseŋ *teŋ 盈 jian ^C jeŋ *leŋ 營 jiwän ⁴ weŋ *weŋ	刺 tshjäk tshiek *tshék 易 jia ⁴ jek *lek 役 jiwäk wek *wek	刺 tshje ^C tshie ^C *tshekh 易 jie ^C je ^C *lekh	支 tsje tse < kie *ke 知 tje tie *tre
II	耕 keŋ keŋ *krêŋ 爭 tseŋ tseŋ *tsrêŋ 生 seŋ seŋ *srêŋ (irreg.)	搨 kek kek *krêk 畫 ywek yuek *wrêk 脈 mek mek *mrêk 責 tsek tsek *tsrêk	陞 ?ai ^C ?e ^C *?rêkh 畫 ywai ^C yue ^C *wrêkh	解 kai ^B ke ^B *krê? 卦 kwai ^C kue ^C *kwrêh 買 mai ^B me ^B *mrê?

8-1	= K. 854	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	毆	qī	k ^h iek	k ^h ek	khêk
b	擊	jī	kiek	kek	kêk
c	擊	jì	kiei ^C	ke ^C	kêkh
d	繫	attach xì	kiei ^C ,	ke ^C ,	kêh, OCB *keks
			[T] ONW kēi. = 7-1/876c 係; 7-2/1241b 繼		
		be attached xì	yi ^C	ge ^C	gêh OCB *N-keks
			[T] ONW yēi, = 7-1/876a 系		

8-2	= K. 855	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	鬲	a pot lì	liek	lek	rêk
	鬲	handful gè	kek	kek	krêk

d	搨	gè	kek	kek	krêk	
ef	膈隔	gé	kek	kek	krêk	[T] ONW kək
-	鄒	gé	kek	kek	krêk	
		[T] MHan 鄒昆 gé-kūn LH kek-kuan < krêk-kūn Qyrqyz < qyrqyr (Pulleyblank 1983: 455)				
g	翮	hé	ɣek	gek	grêk	~ 5-2/931d 翮
h	鶻	yì	ŋiek	ŋek	ŋêk	
8-3	= K. 1260d	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
d	覲	xí	ɣiek	gek	gêk	
		Prob. not *giâu or *giúk, the initial and vowel of 見 may be partially phonetic				

8-4 = K. 844 Words with initial OC *ʔ- and *w- do not occur in MC Div. I, but almost exclusively in Div. II; hence there was probably no OC medial *r in the Div. II items in 8-4, 8-5 and 8-9.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	扈厄	è	ʔek	ʔek	ʔrêk or ʔêk (passim)	= 8-5/849h
def	輓輓扼	è	ʔek	ʔek	ʔrêk	[T] ONW ʔêk
gh	隄阨	è, ài	ʔai ^C	ʔe ^C	ʔrêkh	
8-5	= K. 849	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	See comment under 8-4.
a	益	yì	ʔjiäk 4	ʔiek	ʔek	
cd	隘隘	yì	ʔjiäk 4	ʔiek	ʔek	
g	縊	yì	ʔiei ^C	ʔe ^C	ʔêkh	
		[E] TB *ʔik > Nung i < ik 'strangle'; WB ac 'squeeze, throttle'				
e	搯	è	ʔek	ʔek	ʔrêk or ʔêk (passim)	
h	隘 distress	è	ʔek	ʔek	ʔrêk	
	narrow	ài	ʔai ^C	ʔe ^C	ʔrêkh	= 8-4/844ah
f	鶻	yì	ŋiek	ŋek	ŋêk	= 7-11/873p
8-6	= K. 860	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abc	臭鷓鴣	jú	kiwek	kuek	kwêk	
d	闕	qù	k ^h iwék	k ^h uek	khwêk	
8-7	= K. 1260f	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
f	春	xū, huò	xiwek, xwek	huek	hwêk	= 5-7/930c
8-8	= K. 851	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abc	役瘞疫	yì	jiwäk	wek	wek	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR 𠬞j (入); MGZY ywi (入) [yi]				
8-9	= K. 847	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	See comment under 8-4.
a	畫	huà	ɣwai ^C	ɣue ^C	wrêkh or wêk	
		[T] MGZY Xway (去) [ɣwaj]; ONW ɣuä				
	畫	huò	ɣwek	ɣuek	wrêk or wêk	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR 𠬞j (入); MGZY Xway (入) [ɣwaj]				
e	繡	huà, huò	ɣwai ^C , xwek	ɣue ^C , huek	wrêkh or wêkh hwrêk or hwêk	

-	劃	huà	ɣwek	ɣuek	wrêk or wêk	
8-10	= K. 856	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	狄	dí	diek	dek	lêk	
		[E] For the initial OC *l-, see Pulleyblank 1983: 448)				
	狄鞮	dí-dī	diek-diei	dek-de		'translators, interpreters'
d	荻	dí	diek	dek	lêk	
e	愁	tì	t ^h iek	t ^h ek	lhêk	
f	逖	tì	t ^h iek	t ^h ek	lhêk	
8-11	= K. 1260c	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
c	隻	zhī	tšjäk	tšek	tek	
		[T] ONW tšek <> [E] TB *tyik ~ tyak > LB *C-tik ^L , ti ² 'one' > WB tac ≠ LB *ʔdik 'only'; WT gčig 'one'; JR kətiag				
8-12	= K. 850	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	易 change	yì	jiäk	jek	lek	
		[E] Tai: S. leek ^{D2L} < *dl- 'to change, exchange'; KS *hlik ⁷ 'exchange'				
	易 easy	yì	jie ^C	je ^C	lekh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (去); MGZY yi (去) [ji]; Sui-Tang i, ONW ie <> [E] TB *lway 'easy': WB lwai 'easy, yielding', JP loi ³¹ 'easy'; WT legs 'good, happy, comfortable'				
fg	蜴場	yì	jiäk	jek	lek	
p	賜	shì	sjäk	šek	lhek	
-	賜	shì	sjäk	šek	lhek	
n	錫	xí	siek	sek	slêk	
		[T] MTang sik, ONW sèk-- [E] MK: Late OMon släk /slaik/ 'bronze'. Tai: Longzh hik ^{D1S} , Po'ai liik < *t ^h r- 'tin'; Nung xlek < Chinese				
l	緡 cloth ornament	xī tì	siek t ^h iei ^C	sek t ^h e ^C	slêk lhêkh	
m	褻 bare wrapper	xī tì	siek t ^h iei ^C	sek t ^h e ^C	slêk lhêkh	
t	賜	cì	sje ^C	sie ^C	slekh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR s ₁ (去); MGZY s ^h i (去) [s ₁]				
i	惕	tì	t ^h iek	t ^h ek	lhêk	
		'Be anxious, to respect, to grieve' [Shi, Shu]				
hk	剔邊	tì	t ^h iek	t ^h ek	lhêk	cf. ti 26-15/591 剃
r	鬻 cut off	tī, tì	t ^h iek, t ^h iei ^C	t ^h ek, t ^h e ^C	lhêk, lhêkh	cf. ti 26-15/591 剃 = tī 剃 (t ^h iei ^C)
		[T] ONW t ^h ei. <> [D] PMin *thie ^C				
	鬻 false hair	dī, xī	diei ^C , sjäk	de ^C , siek	lêkh, slek	
s	髻 false hair	dī	diei ^C	de ^C	lêkh	
-	舐 lick	shì	džje ^B	že ^B	m-le? [SW]	= 7-18/1238e 舐 etc.
8-13	= K. 858	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	秣	lì	liek	lek	rêk	

eh	歷曆	li	liek	lek	rêk	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR li (入); MGZY li (入) [li]; ONW lèk <> [E] WB re 'to count', Kanauri ri, WT rtsi-ba < *rhji < *rhi 'to count' ≠ rtsis-pa 'astronomer'				
i	曆	li	liek	lek	rêk	
-	輾輾	lì-lù	liek-luk	lek-lok	—	'spinning wheel'
8-14 = K. 868	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	束	cì	ts ^h je ^C	ts ^h ie ^C	tshekh	
d	刺 to kill	cì	ts ^h je ^C	ts ^h ie ^C	tshekh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'ŋ (去); 'Phags-pa: MGZY tsh ^h i (去) [ts'ŋ]				
	刺 to stab	cì	ts ^h jäk	ts ^h iek	tshek	
		[E] WT ts ^h er-ma 'thorn, thorn bush' ≠ gzer-ba 'to bore into' ≠ gzer 'nail'				
ef	刺諫	cì	ts ^h je ^C	ts ^h ie ^C	tshekh	
j	速	qì	ts ^h jäk	ts ^h iek	tshek	
l	策	cè	ts ^h ek	ts ^h ek	tshrêk	
m	責 to exact	zé	tšek	tšek	tsrêk	OCB *tsr(j)ek (< *Strek?)
	debt	zhài	tšai ^C	tše ^C	tsrêkh	
-	債	zhài	tšai ^C	tše ^C	tsrêkh	
o	噴	zé	tšek, dzék	tšek, dzék	tsrêk, dzrêk	
p	幘 kerchief	zé	tšek	tšek	tsrêk	
	reg. teeth	cè	ts ^h ek	ts ^h ek	tshrêk	
q	簣	zé	tšek	tšek	tsrêk	
r	噴	cè	ts ^h ek	ts ^h ek	tshrêk	
s	蹟	zé	dzék	dzék	dzrêk	
uh	蹟速	jì	tsjäk	tsiek	tsek	≠ *tsjak
t	積 collect	jī	tsjäk	tsiek	tsek	[T] ONW tsiek
	積 store	jì	tsje ^C	tsie ^C	tsek	
		[E] WT rtseg-pa 'to put on top, pile up, stack'				
x	漬	zì	dzje ^C	dzie ^C	dzekh	
v	績	jī	tsiek	tsek	tsêk	
8-15 = K. 845	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	冊	cè	ts ^h ek	ts ^h ek	tshrêk	= 8-14/868la 策 = 8-16/846a 策
		[T] ONW ts ^h ek				
g	冊	cè	ts ^h ek,	ts ^h ek,	tshrêk	
			ts ^h ek	tsak		
8-16 = K. 846	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	筴	cè	ts ^h ek	ts ^h ek	tshrêk	= 8-15/845a 冊
		[T] ONW ts ^h ek				
8-17 = K. 852	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	脊 spine	jí	tsjäk	tsiek	tsek	
	脊 trample	jí	dzjäk	dziek	dzek	
cd	瘠瘠	jí	dzjäk	dziek	dzek	
b	躋	jí	tsjäk	tsiek	tsek	

8-18 = K. 857	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	析	xī	siek	sek	sêk	
		[E] ST *sek: Mikir iŋsək < *m-sək 'to split' (Mikir -ek can derive from both -ik or -ek), JP se ²⁵⁵ < sek 'cut'				
cde	皙皙浙	xī	siek	sek	sêk	
8-19 = K. 853	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	辟 ruler	bì	pjiäk 4	piek	pek	[T] ONW piek
	辟 law	bì	bjiäk 4	biek	bek	
	辟 coffin	pì	biek	bek	bêk	
dgh	壁躋躋	bì	pjiäk 4	piek	pek	
		[T] MHan 壁流離 piek-liu-lioi Skt. vaidurya, Pkt. veluriya				
i	僻	pì	p ^h jiaek 4	p ^h iek	phek	
k	闢	pì	bjiäk 4	biek	bek	
		[E] ST *pe: WT 'byed-pa, p ^h yes, dbye 'to open'; Lushai p ^h en ^R < p ^h en? 'to open'				
j	擗	bì	bjiäk 4	biek	bek	
s	臂	bì	pjie ^C 4	pie ^C	pekh	
		[E] TB: Lepcha a-ká pek, Limbu phuk-bek 'forearm'				
t	譬	pì	p ^h jie ^C 4	p ^h ie ^C	phekh	
		[T] ONW p ^h ie <> [E] TB: WT dpe 'pattern, model'				
u	避	bì	bjie ^C 4	bie ^C	bekh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去); MGZY pi (去) [bi] <> [E] Lushai pai ^R < pai? 'oblique'				
l	壁	bì	piek	pek	pêk	
m	躋	pì	p ^h iek	p ^h ek	phêk	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR p ^h i (入); MGZY phi (入) [p ^h i]				
-	劈	pī	p ^h iek	p ^h ek	phêk	
		[E] ? TB: JP bjek ³¹ 'to divide; JP p ^h ja ²⁵⁵ < p ^h jak ⁵⁵ 'split open'				
n	嬖	pì	biek	bek	bêk	
v	嬖	bì	piei ^C	pe ^C	pêkh	
		[T] ONW pèi <> [E] KT: KS *jaak 'woman, girl'; PT *?b-: Boai bik ^{D1} 'girl'				
x	薜 a plant	bì	biei ^C	be ^C	bêkh	
	crack	bò	pek	pek	prêk	
p	擘	bò	pek	pek	prêk	cf. 7-29/874r 擘
		[D] Y-Guangzh mak ⁷ 'to break', G-Nanchang mie ³ , Hakka mak ⁷ 'to open, break', note KS *hma:k ⁷ 'to split, chop'. <> [E] TB-Chepang prek- 'cleave, divide down center'. <> KT (OC loan?) KS *pra:k ⁷ -ti 'break, tear'; PT *pr-: S teek ^{D1L}				
q	緝	bò	bek	bek	brêk	
o	辟	mì	miek	mek	mêk	= 9-30/841 暮冥 禩
8-20	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
	覓	mì	miek	mek	mêk	
		[T] MTang mik, ONW mēk <> [D] Min: Quanzhou ba ^{2D2} , Amoy ba ^{C2} , bai ^{D2} , lit. bek ^{D2}				
8-21 = K. 859	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	鼻 cover	mì	miek	mek	mêk	
8-22 = K. 1260e	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
e	篾 cover	mì	miek	mek	mêk	= 8-21/859a
		20-18/311 蔑 may be partially phonetic.				

8-23	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 糸	mì	miek	mek	mêk	SW 5790
8-24 = K. 848	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab 脈	mài	mek	mek	mrêk	
	[E] TB: Lushai mar ^H < *mar 'the pulse'				
c 脈	mài-mù	mwek-muk	mek-mok	mrêk-mrôk	
d 覷	mài, mì	mek, miek	mek, mek	mrêk	SW 5790

9 OCM rime *-eŋ Gēng bù 耕部

GSR 808 - 843

Baxter 1992: 497 ff. (§10.2.9)

See Table 8-1 for OCM rimes *-eŋ, *-ek, *-e in QYS categories, and Table 2-1 for a comparison of OCM rimes *-aŋ, *-ak with *-eŋ, *-ek.

After grave initials, some OC finals in *-eŋ have converged with ones in *-aŋ in MC Div. III -jəŋ, see the table under Rime 3. Since these pattern like chóngniǔ Div. 3/3 syllables, Baxter reconstructs an OC medial *r. Syllables that pattern like chóngniǔ Div. 3/4 syllables (MC -jiǎŋ) had the OC final *-eŋ (Baxter 1992 *-jeŋ).

9-1 = K. 831	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 涇	jīng	kien	keŋ	kêŋ	
c 經 norm	jīng	kien	keŋ	kêŋ	OCB *keŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kin (平); MGZY gying (平) [kjin]; MTang kien < kin, ONW kén				
	[E] TB: WB ə-k ^h yaŋ ^B 'diameter', WT kyan 'straight, slender'				
	經 warp	jìng	kien ^C	keŋ ^C	kêŋh
g 涇	jīng	kien	keŋ	kêŋ	
fi 徑 涇	jìng	kien ^C	keŋ ^C	kêŋh	
	徑 [T] MHan 徑路 keŋ ^C -la ^C qinjiraŋ (Hunnish sword)				
e 剉	jǐng	kien ^B	keŋ ^B	kêŋ?	
j 壑	qìng	k ^h ien ^C	k ^h eŋ ^C	khêŋh	
l 脛	xíng	ɣien	geŋ	gêŋ	
k 脛	xìng, jìng	ɣien ^C	geŋ ^C	gêŋh	[E] TB-Mikir keŋ ^L 'foot, leg'
m 勁	jìng	kjiǎŋ ^C 4	kien ^C	keŋh	
n 頸	jǐng,	kjiǎŋ ^B ,	kien ^B ,	keŋ?	OCB *kjen?, *gjen
	qíng	gjiǎŋ 4	gieŋ	geŋ	
o 輕 light	qīng	k ^h jiǎŋ 4	k ^h ien	kheŋ	
	[T] ONW k ^h ien <> [E] TB *r-ya:ŋ ~ *gya:ŋ, WT yan 'light'				
	輕 swift	qìng	k ^h jiǎŋ ^C 4	k ^h ien ^C	kheŋh
p 鑿	qīng,	k ^h jiǎŋ 4,	k ^h ien,	kheŋ,	
	qìng	k ^h ien ^C	k ^h eŋ ^C	khêŋh	
s 磴	kēng	k ^h eŋ	k ^h eŋ	khreŋ	
t 徑	kēng, héng	k ^h eŋ, ɣeŋ	k ^h eŋ, geŋ	khreŋ, grêŋ	
q 徑	kēng, héng	k ^h eŋ, ɣeŋ	k ^h eŋ, geŋ	khreŋ, grêŋ	
u 莖	héng, jīng	ɣeŋ	geŋ	grêŋ	
	[E] TB *r-k(l)aŋ > WT rkaŋ 'marrow, leg bones, stalk'; WB k ^h raŋ-chi < *skraŋ 'marrow' (chi 'oil, lymph')				
v 徑	yíng	ŋeŋ	ŋeŋ	ŋrêŋ	
x 經	chēng	t ^h ǎŋ	t ^h ien	threŋ	
	A late graph [Yili] for = 9-12/834m 頰 [Shijing]				

9-2	= K. 832, 822 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
832ac	𪗇 > 𪗇 qìng	k ^h ieŋ ^C	k ^h en ^C	khêŋh
d	𪗇 qìng	k ^h ieŋ ^C	k ^h en ^C	khêŋh
e	𪗇 qǐng	k ^h ieŋ ^B	k ^h en ^B	khêŋ?
f	𪗇 xīng	xieŋ	heŋ	hêŋ
[E] ST *hiŋ: Lushai hiŋ ^H / hiŋ ^L 'be sour, nasty smelling, stinking'				
822a	𪗇 shēng	śjāŋ	śeŋ	hjeŋ OCB *xjeŋ
[T] Sin Sukchu SR śiŋ (平); MGZY shing (平) [śiŋ]; ONW śeŋ				
[D] M-Xiamen siā ^{A1} , Fuzhou siaŋ ^{A1} ; K-Meixian saŋ ^{A1} .				
9-3	= K. 813 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	敬 jìng	kjeŋ ^C	kieŋ ^C	kreŋh [T] ONW keŋ
g	驚 jīng	kjeŋ	kieŋ	kreŋ
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kiŋ (平); MGZY ging (平) [kiŋ]; ONW keŋ				
hi	倣傲 jǐng	kjeŋ ^B , gjeŋ ^C , kjāŋ ^B	kieŋ ^B , gieŋ ^C , kieŋ ^B	kreŋ?, greŋh, keŋ?
[E] ? MK: OKhmer krēna /kreŋ/ 'be stiff or rigid with fear, to fear, afraid of' → Tai: S. kreen ^{A1} 'to fear'				
j	警 jǐng	kjeŋ ^B , kjāŋ ^B	kieŋ ^B , kieŋ ^B	kreŋ?, keŋ?
kl	擎檠 qíng	gjeŋ	gieŋ	greŋ
9-4	= K. 808 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	耕 gēng	keŋ	keŋ	krêŋ
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kəŋ (平), PR kiŋ ~ kəŋ; MGZY gying (平) [kjiŋ]				
bd	刑形 xíng	ɣieŋ	geŋ	gêŋ OCB *geŋ
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣiŋ (平); MGZY Hying (平) [ɣjiŋ]; MTang ɣieŋ < ɣiŋ, ONW ɣeŋ				
efgh	俐劓劓劓 xíng	ɣieŋ	geŋ	gêŋ
i	荊 jīng	kjeŋ	kieŋ	kreŋ
9-5	= K. 810 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	幸倖 xìng	ɣeŋ ^B	geŋ ^B	grêŋ?
cd	倖倖 xìng	ɣieŋ ^B	geŋ ^B	gêŋ?
9-6	= K. 809 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	耿 gěng	keŋ ^B	keŋ ^B	krêŋ?
[E] TB: WB kraŋ < kriŋ 'clear, bright'				
c	𪗇 jiǒng	k ^h iweŋ ^B	k ^h ueŋ ^B	khwêŋ?
9-7	= K. 828 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	頃 slanting qīng	k ^h jiwāŋ ⁴	k ^h yeŋ	khweŋ
	interval qǐng	k ^h jiwāŋ ^{B4}	k ^h yeŋ ^B	khweŋ?
b	傾 qīng	k ^h jiwāŋ ⁴ , k ^h jiāŋ ⁴	k ^h yeŋ,	khweŋ [T] ONW k ^h ueŋ
c	穎 pointed yǐng	jiwāŋ ^B	weŋ ^B	weŋ?
	a cushion jǐng,	kjiāŋ ^B 4,	kieŋ ^B ,	
	jiǒng	kiweŋ ^B	kueŋ ^B	kwêŋ?

d	頰 jiǒng	kiweŋ ^B	kueŋ ^B	kwêŋ?
e	頰 jiǒng, qiǒng	k ^h iweŋ ^B	k ^h ueŋ ^B	khwêŋ?
9-8	= K. 842 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	回垌 jiǒng	kiweŋ	kueŋ	kwêŋ
e	𪗇 jiǒng	kiweŋ	kueŋ	kwêŋ
d	肩 bolt jiǒng	kiweŋ	kueŋ	kwêŋ
	clear-mind jiǒng	kiweŋ ^B	kueŋ ^B	kwêŋ?
f	綱 jiǒng	k ^h iweŋ ^B	k ^h ueŋ ^B	khwêŋ?
h -	洞迴 jiǒng	ɣiweŋ ^B	ɣueŋ ^B	gwêŋ? or wêŋ?
9-9	= K. 843 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	螢 yíng	ɣiweŋ ^(B/C)	ɣueŋ ^(B/C)	wêŋ(?/h)
i	螢 yíng	ɣiweŋ	ɣueŋ	wêŋ
cfj	螢營營 yíng	jiwāŋ ⁴	weŋ	weŋ OCB *wjeŋ
營 [T] Sin Sukchu SR juŋ (平), PR juŋ, iŋ, LR iŋ; MGZY yung (平) [juŋ]; ONW iueŋ				
k	螢 yíng,	jweŋ,	weŋ,	wreŋ, OCB *wrjeŋ
	yìng	?ieŋ ^C	?eŋ ^C	?êŋh
d	榮 róng	jweŋ	weŋ	wreŋ [T] ONW ueŋ
e	榮 róng	jweŋ ^(C)	weŋ ^(C)	wreŋ(h)
h	榮 yíng	?jiwāŋ ⁴	?yeŋ	?weŋ OCB *?wjeŋ
[E] TB: Lushai veŋ ^R / ven ^L 'to gird / wear round the waist'				
l	驚 yīng	?eŋ	?eŋ	?rêŋ
m	崢嶸 chéng-róng	dzeŋ-jweŋ,		
		-ɣweŋ	dzeŋ-ɣueŋ	dzeŋ-wreŋ?
b	𪗇 qǐng !	k ^h iweŋ ^B ,	k ^h ueŋ ^B ,	khwêŋ?, khweŋ?
		k ^h jiwāŋ ^{B4}	k ^h yeŋ ^B	
g	𪗇 qióng	gjiwāŋ ⁴	gyeŋ	gweŋ
= 32-8/830 惇, 23-10/829, 256 嫻				
9-10	= K. 814 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ace	嬰纓纓 yīng	?jiāŋ ⁴	?ieŋ	?eŋ
d	纓 yǐng	?jiāŋ ^B 4	?ieŋ ^B	?eŋ?
fgh	嬰鸚鵡 yīng	?eŋ	?eŋ	?rêŋ
9-11	= K. 833 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	丁 cyclic. dīng	tieŋ	teŋ	têŋ 'cyclical character'
[T] Early Han 丁靈 Dīng-líng LH teŋ-leŋ < *têŋ-rêŋ Turk. Tägräg				
	sound zhēng	teŋ	teŋ	têŋ (!) 'sound of beating'
-	打 hit dǐng	tieŋ ^B	teŋ ^B	—
	dǎ	teŋ ^B	taŋ ^B	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tiŋ (上), LR ta <> [D] Suzhou taŋ ^B , Xiamen tā ^B				
[E] TB: Lushai deŋ ^H / den 'to throw, strike, hit'				
e	頂 dǐng	tieŋ ^B	teŋ ^B	têŋ? * 32-16/375mn 顛顛
-	酉 dǐng	tieŋ ^B	teŋ ^B	
g	町 banks dǐng	dieŋ ^B	deŋ ^B	dêŋ?
	trampled tǐng	t ^h ieŋ ^B	t ^h eŋ ^B	thêŋ?

h	亭	tíng	dien	deŋ	dêŋ			
i	停	tíng	dien	deŋ	dêŋ			
						[T] MTang dien < diŋ, ONW dêŋ [E] TB *diŋ > Lushai diŋ ^H / diŋ ^L 'to stand, stop, halt, stand up, go straight up', Lepcha diŋ 'be erect, stand', JP diŋ ³³ 'be perfectly straight', WB taŋ 'to place in position, build'		
f	汀	tīng	t ^h ien	t ^h en	—	'island' [Chuci]		
z	定	dìng	dien ^C	deŋ ^C	dêŋh	= 9-13/363a		
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR diŋ (去); MGZY ting (去) [diŋ]; ONW dêŋ [E] ST *diŋ or *deŋ; LB *?diŋ ¹ 'put, place on, set up, establish', WB taŋ 'place in position, build', Lepcha diŋ 'be erect, to stand'		
-	定	forehead	dìng	tien ^C	teŋ ^C	têŋ < tleŋ		
	額	forehead	dìng	tien ^C	teŋ ^C	têŋ < tleŋ		
						[E] AA: Mon tneŋ 'forehead', PVM *tlaŋ ^B 'forehead'; Bahnaric *kliãŋ 'forehead'; Pearic kliŋ ² . Wa-Lawa-Bulang *k/sŋtaŋ 'forehead'.		
j	正	first	zhēng	t ^s jäŋ	t ^s en	teŋ	OCB *tjeŋ	[T] ONW t ^s en
	正	correct	zhèng	t ^s jäŋ ^C	t ^s en ^C	teŋh		
								[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^s iŋ (去); MGZY jing (去) [t ^s iŋ]; ONW t ^s en
o	征	zhēng	t ^s jäŋ	t ^s en	teŋ			
v	鉦	zhēng	t ^s jäŋ	t ^s en	teŋ			
ru	政証	zhèng	t ^s jäŋ ^C	t ^s en ^C	teŋh			
t	整	zhěng	t ^s jäŋ ^B	t ^s en ^B	teŋ?			
								[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^s iŋ (上); MGZY jing (上) [t ^s iŋ] <> [E] TB-Lushai diŋ ^F 'to go straight or direct, go straight through without breaking the journey, etc.'; Chepang d ^h en- 'be straight'; JP teŋ ³¹ 'right, correct', Lepcha at ^h an 'right, correct', WB taŋ ^C 'straightforward, direct'
y	覷	look	chēng	t ^h en	t ^h en	—	'look straight at' [SW]	
								[N] ~ 3-32/725f'. The graph seems to be at least partially semantic. <> [E] Tai: S. t ^h lin (WSiam t ^h a-lin) 'a fierce stare, to stare hard at'
		red	chēng	t ^h än	t ^h ien	threŋ	= 9-12/834m	
								The graph occurs in Zuozhuan for = 9-12/834m 頰 [Shijing]
1248b	綻	zhàn	đän ^C	den ^C	drîns			
9-12 = K. 834	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM				
a	鼎	dǐng	tien ^B	teŋ ^B	têŋ?			
								[T] Sin Sukchu SR tiŋ (上); MGZY ding (上) [tiŋ]; ONW tèn
g	貞	zhēn	tjäŋ	tien	tren			[T] MTang teŋ, ONW teŋ
j	禎	zhēn	tjäŋ	tien	tren			
k	偵	zhēng,	tjäŋ,	tien,	tren,			
		zhēn	t ^h jäŋ ^(C)	t ^h ien ^(C)	threŋ(h)			
l	禎	zhēn	tjäŋ	tien	tren			
m	禎	red [Shi]	chēng	t ^h jäŋ	t ^h ien	threŋ	= 9-1/831x; 9-11/833y	
								[E] Tai: S. deŋ ^{A1} < *?dl/rieŋ 'red', Saek riŋ ^{A1} 'red', Be liŋ ¹³ 'purple'; PMiao *?l_NA 'red'
9-13 = K. 363	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM				
a	奠	present,	diàn,	dien ^C ,	den ^C ,	dîns	= 9-11/833z	
		settle	dìng	dien ^C	deŋ ^C	dêŋh		
		stagnant	tíng	dien	deŋ	dêŋ		
e	鄭	zhèng	đjäŋ ^C	dien ^C	dreŋh			
f	躑	zhí	đjak	diek	drek			

9-14 = K. 818	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM				
a	成	complete	chéng	žjäŋ	dzeŋ	deŋ		
								[T] Sin S. SR dziŋ (平); MGZY zhing (平) [ziŋ]; ONW dzeŋ <> [D] PMin *džian 成 'percent'
e	城	chéng	žjäŋ	dzeŋ	deŋ	(or geŋ ?)		OCB *djeŋ
								[E] ? TB: WT gyaŋ, gyeŋ 'pisé, stamped earth, wall' *rgyaŋ 'wall' *geŋs-pa 'to fill'
h	誠	chéng	žjäŋ	dzeŋ	deŋ			
i	盛	put into	chéng	žjäŋ	dzeŋ	deŋ		
		ample	shèng	žjäŋ ^C	dzeŋ ^C	deŋh		
								[T] Sin Sukchu SR ziŋ (去); MGZY zhing (去) [ziŋ]
9-15 = K. 815	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM				
a	盈	yíng	jiän	jeŋ	leŋ			OCB *(l)jeŋ
								[E] TB *bliŋ, *pliŋ 'fill' > Chepang bliŋh-?o 'full' *leŋ? 'be full', PL-B *m-bliŋ ³ > OBurm plaŋ, WB praŋ ^C 'full'
c	楹	yíng	jiän	jeŋ	leŋ			= 9-17/835y
9-16 = K. 816	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM				
aef	羸羸羸	yíng	jiän	jeŋ	leŋ		f = 9-15/815a	OCB *(l)jeŋ
9-17 = K. 835	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM				
a	壬	tǐng	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B	lhên?			
d	廷	tíng, dìng	dien ^(C)	deŋ ^(C)	lên, lêŋh			
h	庭	court	tíng	dien	deŋ	lên		OCB *leŋ
								庭 [T] MTang dien < diŋ, ONW dêŋ <> [D] M-Xiam tiã ^{A2}
	庭	distant	tíng	t ^h ien ^C	t ^h en ^C	lhênh		
i	挺	pull out	tǐng	dien ^B	deŋ ^B	lên?		
		straight	tǐng	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B	lhên?		[E] TB: *pleŋ 'straight'
j	挺	tǐng !	dien ^B	deŋ ^B	lên?			
o	鋌	rod	dìng	dien ^B	deŋ ^B	lên?		
		to rush	tǐng	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B	lhên?		
m	霆	tíng	dien	deŋ	lên			OCB *leŋ
kl	筵筵	tíng	dien	deŋ	lên			
								[E] Perh. ST *C-liŋ; TB *r-kliŋ > Mikir arkleŋ, Lushai t ^h liŋ ^R 'marrow', Mru kliŋ 'id.'; WT gliŋ-bu 'flute', LB *kliŋ > PL *?liŋ ¹ ~ *hliŋ ¹ 'flute', WB kyaŋ 'tube'
n	蜓	dìng,	dien ^B ,	deŋ ^B ,	lên?			
		diàn	dien ^B	den ^B	lín?			
pq	蜓	tǐng	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B	lhên?			
rt	呈程	chéng	đjäŋ	dien	dreŋ < r-leŋ (?)			
u	程	chéng	đjäŋ	dien	dreŋ			
								程 [E] TB-Mikir -reŋ ^L angse ^H 'naked', WT sgreŋ-mo 'naked', JP krin ³¹ 'naked', Lushai teŋ ^R 'be bare (as a hill side)' <> [N] In an L-series, the MC initial should derive from OCM *r-l-, but the TB cognate speaks in favor of *dr-
s	理	a stone	chéng	đjäŋ	dien	dreŋ		
		tablet	tíng	t ^h ien	t ^h en	rhên		
v	醒	chéng	đjäŋ, t ^h jäŋ	dien, t ^h ien	dreŋ, rheŋ	'dead drunk'		OCB *lrjeŋ
x	逞	chéng	t ^h jäŋ ^B	t ^h ien ^B	rheŋ?			= 9-27/817a 騁
								The OC form could also be *threŋ? or *r-lheŋ?
y	程	tǐng !	jiän	jeŋ	leŋ			= 9-15/815c

z	聖	shèng	śjäŋ ^C	śeŋ ^C	lhenh	※ 9-17/835d'
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR śiŋ (去); MGZY shing (去) [śiŋ]; ONW śeŋ				
d'	聽	listen	tīng	t ^h ieŋ	t ^h ieŋ	lhenh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR t'ieŋ (平); MGZY thing (平) [t'ieŋ]; MTang t ^h ieŋ < t ^h ieŋ, ONW t ^h ieŋ				
	聽	obey	tīng	t ^h ieŋ ^C	t ^h ieŋ ^C	lhenh
c'	櫻	chēng	t ^h jāŋ	t ^h ieŋ	rhenh	
9-18 = K. 836	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	霽	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ ~ rīn R!	= 9-19/823u 零
		[T] MTang lieŋ < liŋ, ONW lēŋ. The OB graph shows 'cloud' with raindrops, not mouths				
i	靈	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR liŋ (平); MGZY ling (平) [liŋ]; ONW lēŋ. Early Han 丁靈 LH teŋ-leŋ < *tēŋ-rēŋ Dīng-líng = Turk. tāgräg				
egh	靈	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ	
9-19 = K. 823	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	令	command	lìng	ljāŋ ^(C)	lieŋ ^(C)	reŋ(h) ~ rin(s)
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR liŋ (平去); MGZY ling (平去) [liŋ]; ONW lieŋ				
	good	líng	ljāŋ	lieŋ	reŋ	cf. 3-43/735a
	PI.N.	lián	ljān	lian	ren	
f	領	lǐng	ljāŋ ^B	lieŋ ^B	reŋ?	OCB *C-rjeŋ?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR liŋ (上); MGZY ling (上) [liŋ]; ONW lieŋ				
		[D] 'Collar' in PMin *liāŋ ^B : Fuzh liāŋ ^{B1} , Xiām niā ^{B1} <> [E] TB: Lushai riŋ ^F 'neck'				
j	冷	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ	
gikl	伶	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ	
npq	齡	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ	
rvx	齡	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ	
ou	零	líng	lieŋ	leŋ	rêŋ ~ rīn R!	
		零 = 9-18/836a 霽 <> [T] MTang lieŋ < liŋ, ONW lēŋ				
h	冷	lěng	lieŋ ^B , lēŋ ^B	leŋ ^B	rêŋ?	~ 6-17/898f 陵凌
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ləŋ (上), PR, LR ləŋ; MGZY l ^h ieŋ (上) [ləŋ] <> [D] Yue lan ² 'cold' < ?				
		[E] TB: Mikir niŋ-kreŋ 'cold weather, winter' (niŋ 'season')				
-	岭	líng	lieŋ			
-	伶	líng	lieŋ	leŋ?		
		~ líng 凌 a Han period dialect variant [FY 1.6]				
9-20 = K. 837	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
abc	寧	níng	nien	neŋ	nêŋ	
		[T] ONW nēŋ <> [E] WB hñāŋ ^B 'soft, gentle, quiet'				
g	寧	nìng	nien ^C	neŋ ^C	nêŋh	
h	寧	néng	neŋ	neŋ	nrêŋ	
9-21 = K. 820	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	晶	jīng	tsjäŋ	tsieŋ	tseŋ	
9-22 = K. 819	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	井	jǐng	tsjäŋ ^B	tsieŋ ^B	tseŋ?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsieŋ (上); MGZY dzieŋ (上) [tsieŋ]				

f	妍	jìng	dzjäŋ ^B	dzien ^B	dzeŋ?	
hi	奔	jǐng	dzjäŋ ^B	dzien ^B	dzeŋ?	
9-23 = K. 811	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	爭	zhēng	tseŋ	tseŋ	tsrêŋ	OCB *tsr(j)eŋ
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšəŋ (平), PR, LR tšəŋ; MGZY j ^h ieŋ (平) [tšəŋ]; ONW tšəŋ				
		[E] TB: WT 'dziŋ-ba 'quarrel, contend, fight', WB cac 'war, battle'				
d	淨	jìng	dzjäŋ ^C	dzien ^C	dzerh	[T] ONW dzieŋ
e	淨	jìng	dzjäŋ ^B	dzien ^B	dzeŋ?	= 9-25/812m' 靖
c	嶢	chéng-róng	dzeŋ-jweŋ,	dzeŋ-yeŋ	dzeŋ-yeŋ	dzeŋ-wrêŋ
9-24 = K. 821	Acc. to Karlgren the phonetic is unrelated to 32-33/382a xīn 辛	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	鮮	xīng	sjāŋ	sieŋ	seŋ	
c	駢	xīng	sjāŋ	sieŋ	seŋ	
9-25 = K. 812	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ae	生	shēng	šəŋ	šəŋ	sreŋ	OCB *srjeŋ
		生 [T] Sin Sukchu SR šəŋ (平), PR, LR šəŋ; MGZY sh ^h ieŋ (平) [šəŋ]; ONW šəŋ				
		[E] TB *s-riŋ (*sriŋ) > Manchati sriŋ 'to live, alive'				
g	甥	shēng	šəŋ	šəŋ	sreŋ	OCB *srjeŋ
		[E] WT sriŋ-mo 'sister', Lower Kanauri riŋs				
i	省	shěng	sjāŋ ^B , sjəŋ ^B	šəŋ ^B	sreŋ?	
l	省	observe	xǐng	sjāŋ ^B	sieŋ ^B	seŋ?
		reduce	shěng	sjāŋ ^B , sjəŋ ^B	šəŋ ^B	sreŋ?
qs	姓	xìng	sjāŋ ^C	sieŋ ^C	seŋh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR siŋ (去); MGZY sing (去) [siŋ]; ONW sieŋ				
tu	狴	xìng, shēng!	sjāŋ ^C	sieŋ ^C	seŋh	'weasel'
		[T] WT *sre(ŋ) > sre-moŋ, sre-mo 'weasel', Lepcha sā-myón 'marmot', Mikir inren < *m-ren 'mongoose', WB hraŋ ^C 'squirrel'				
x	星 ¹	star	xīng	sieŋ	seŋ, S ts ^h ieŋ	sêŋ
		[T] MTang sieŋ < siŋ, ONW sêŋ <> [D] Y-Guangzh ⁵⁵ seŋ ^{A1} , Taish ³³ ien ^{A1} , Enping ³⁵ siaŋ ^{A1} ; PMin *tshaŋ ~ *seŋ: Xiam col. ts ^h i ^{A1} ~ san ^{A1} , lit. siŋ ^{A1}				
x -	星 ²	晴	qíng	dzjäŋ	dzien	dzeŋ 'clearing sky' OCB *fitshjeŋ
z	猩	to bark	xīng	sieŋ	seŋ	sêŋ
		[E] KN-Liangmei t ^h aŋ, Zemei ¹ ke- ⁵ t ^h aŋ 'to bark'				
	猩	monkey	shēng	šəŋ	šəŋ	sreŋ
a'	腥	xīng	sieŋ ^(C)	seŋ ^(C)	sêŋ(h)	
		[T] MTang sieŋ < siŋ, ONW sêŋ <> [E] TB: JP siŋ ³³ 'smell; scent; odor of fresh, raw food', Chepang səŋ- 'emit smell, odor, be rotten', Lepcha mñ-šieŋ, Rawang pušëŋ 'stench'				
b'	醒	xǐng	sieŋ ^(B/C)	seŋ ^(B/C)	sêŋ(?/h)	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR siŋ (上), LR siŋ; MGZY sing (上) [siŋ]				
		[E] ST *seŋ: WT seŋ-po ~ bseŋ-po 'clear, white, airy, pale' ※ gseŋ-po 'clear and sharp' (sound), JP seŋ ³³ 'clean'; Lushai t ^h iaŋ ^H / thian ^L 'be clear, clean'				
v	旌	jīng	tsjäŋ	tsieŋ	tseŋ	
c'	青	green	qīng	t ^h ieŋ	t ^h ieŋ	t ^h ieŋ < k-sêŋ? OCB *sreŋ (!)
		[E] ST *siŋ: WT gsiŋ-ma < *k-siŋ 'pasture land, meadow', Mikir reŋ-seŋ < *se/iŋ 'green', Rawang məsëŋ 'green', məšieŋ 'blue'				

		青 luxuriant	jīng	tsieŋ	tseŋ	tsêŋ	OCB *tseŋ
i'	清	qīng	ts ^h jiāŋ	ts ^h ieŋ	tshēŋ	< k-seŋ ?	OCB *tshjeŋ
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts ^h iŋ (平); MGZY tshing (平) [ts ^h iŋ]; ONW ts ^h ieŋ					
e'	蜻	qīng	ts ^h ieŋ	ts ^h eŋ	tshêŋ		
g'	精	jīng	tsjāŋ	tsieŋ	tseŋ		
f'	菁	jīng	tsjāŋ, tsieŋ	ts(i)eŋ	tseŋ, tsêŋ		
k'	請	qīng	ts ^h jiāŋ ^B ,	ts ^h ieŋ ^B ,	tshēŋ?,		
			dzjāŋ	dzieŋ	dzeŋ		
		[E] TB-PKIranti *sin 'ask', Garo siŋ? 'to inquire, question, ask'					
h'	清	qīng	ts ^h jiāŋ ^C	ts ^h ieŋ ^C	tshēŋh		
l'	情	qíng	dzjāŋ	dzieŋ	dzeŋ	[T] ONW dzieŋ	
m'n's'	靖靜靚	jìng	dzjāŋ ^B	dzieŋ ^B	dzeŋ?	靖 = 9-23/811e 靖	
t'	靖 tuck in	zhēng	tseŋ	tseŋ	tsrêŋ		
	dark red	qiàn	ts ^h ieŋ ^C	ts ^h eŋ ^C	tshĩns		
1250cd	倩靚 red	qiàn	ts ^h ieŋ ^C	ts ^h eŋ ^C	tshĩns		
		OCB tshins 'dark red' (Baxter 1992: 433)					
9-26 = K. 825	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a -	平坪	píng	bjeŋ	bieŋ	breŋ	OCB *brjeŋ	
		[T] ONW beŋ <> [D] PCoastal Min *baŋ > Amoy pi ^{A2} < *baŋ 'even, flat' ≠ p ^h i ^{A2} < *b ^h aŋ 'to flatten'; Fuzh paŋ ^{A2} ; PNMin *piaŋ 'level' 平, 'yard' 坪					
		[E] TB *pleŋ 'flat surface' > Tamang pleŋ 'big flat stone'; Mikir kapleŋ 'plank'					
-	評	píng	bjeŋ	bieŋ	breŋ		
c	萍 Artemisia	píng	bjeŋ	bieŋ	breŋ		
	duckweed	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ		
-	萍	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ		
d	萍 rain m.	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ < bleŋ 'rain master'		
		[E] AA: Khmer bhlieŋ 'rain', PNB *plín 'sky', Pearic phlieŋ 'sky'					
	萍 duckweed	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ		
e	伴	bēng, pēng	p ^(h) eŋ	p ^(h) eŋ	prêŋ, phrêŋ		
		[E] ? TB-WT sprin-ba, sprins 'to send a message'					
fg	伴碎	pēng	p ^h eŋ	p ^h eŋ	phrêŋ		
9-27 = K. 839, 817	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	粵	pīng	p ^h ieŋ	p ^h eŋ	phêŋ		
cd	聘聘	pìn	p ^h jiāŋ ^C 4	p ^h ieŋ ^C	phenh	≠ 3-57/740t 訪	
817a	聘	chēng	t ^h jiāŋ ^B	t ^h ieŋ ^B	rheŋ?	= 9-17/835x 逞 OCB *hlrjeŋ	
		(a) 'gallop, drive rapidly'; (b) 'develop one's potential'. According to SW 4326, 粵 is phonetic that can mean as little as the rime; the element could be semantic ('inquire'). The OC form could also be *threŋ? or *r-lheŋ?.					
9-28 = K. 840	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
ab	竝竝	bìng	bieŋ ^B	beŋ ^B	bêŋ?		
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR piŋ (去); MGZY bing (去) [piŋ]; ONW bēŋ					
-	碰	pèng	beŋ ^C [Zihui],				
		bāŋ ^C [Duan Yucai]					

		9-29 = K. 824	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	a 并	bìng	pjiāŋ ^(C) 4	pieŋ ^(C)	peŋ, peŋh	[T] ONW bieŋ
e	頰	pīng	p ^h ieŋ ^(B)	p ^h eŋ ^(B)	phêŋ, phêŋ?	
f	屏 screen	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ	OCB *beŋ
	remove	bìng	pjiāŋ ^{B/C} 4	pieŋ ^{B/C}	peŋ?/h	OCB *pjeŋ?
	anxious	bīng	pjāŋ ?	pieŋ	peŋ	
g	倂	bìng	bjiāŋ ^C 4	bieŋ ^C	beŋh	
-	駢	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ	
d	併	bìng	bieŋ ^B ,	beŋ ^B ,	bêŋ?,	
			pjāŋ ^C ?	pieŋ ^C	peŋh	
h	迸 beat	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ	[T] BTD Skt. bim[bisara]
ij	餅瓶	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ	[T] BTD Skt. bim[bisara]
		[E] AA: Khmer bīna /piin/ 'swollen, pot-bellied, earthen water pot'				
k	莽 a plant	píng	bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ	
	to cause	pēng	p ^h eŋ	p ^h eŋ	phrêŋ	
l	緝	bēng	peŋ	peŋ	prêŋ	
m	迸	bèng	peŋ ^C	peŋ ^C	prêŋh	
n	駢 horses s.	pián	bieŋ,	ben,	bên or bīn, 'horses side by side'	
			bieŋ	beŋ	bêŋ	
		[E] ? TB: Chepang b ^h iŋ- 'be close together (lay object, friends), double up'				
	駢 double	pián	bieŋ	ben	bīn	'side by side'
o	餅 double	pián	bieŋ	ben	bīn	'side by side'
pq	胼胝	pián	bieŋ	ben	bīn	
9-30 = K. 841	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	冥 dark	míng	mieŋ ^(B)	meŋ ^(B)	mêŋ(?)	
		[T] MTang mieŋ < miŋ, ONW mēŋ <> [D] PMin *maŋ ^{A2} 'night'				
		[E] TB *miŋ > WB maŋ ^B ~ mai ^B 'dark, black' <> MY *mhwaan ^{N1C} [Purnell] or *mweŋ ^{C1} [Wang Fushi 20/140] 'evening, night', MK: PNBahn. mǎŋ 'night'				
	冥 cover	mì	miek	mek	mêk	
-	暝	míng	mieŋ ^(B)	meŋ ^(B)	mêŋ, mēŋ?	
c	溟	míng	mieŋ	meŋ	mêŋ	
b	瞑 sleep	míng,	mieŋ,	meŋ,	mêŋ,	
		mián	mien	men	mīn	= 32-40/457e 眠
	瞑 dizzy	mián	mien ^C	men ^C	mīns	
d	螟蛉	míng-líng	mieŋ-lien	meŋ-leŋ	mêŋ-rêŋ	
		[E] Tai: S. ma-leŋ ^{A2} < *ml/r- 'insect'				
efg	螟霧襪	mì	miek	mek	mêk	= 8-19/853o 襪
		[T] MTang mian < mián, ONW mén				
9-31 = K. 826	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	名	míng	mjiāŋ 4	mieŋ	meŋ R!	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR miŋ (平); MGZY ming (平) [miŋ]; MTang mieŋ, ONW mieŋ				
		[E] TB *r-miŋ > WT miŋ, OTib myiŋ 'name', Jiarong termi, LB *?-miŋ ^{1/3} , Lushai hmiŋ ^H 'name' <> [N] In Chuci míng rimes also with *-in.				
d	銘	míng	mieŋ	meŋ	mêŋ	
		[T] MTang mieŋ < miŋ, ONW mén				

9-32 = K. 762 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 命 mìng mjɛŋ^C miɛŋ^C min R! ~mreŋ R! OCB *mrjɛŋ(s)
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR miŋ (去); MGZY míng (去) [miŋ]; ONW meŋ <> [D] PMin *mian^C 'life'

9-33 = K. 827 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 鳴 míng mjɛŋ miɛŋ mreŋ OCB *mrjɛŋ
 [E] TB: WB mrañ 'to sound'; Mikir marèŋ 'make noise, cry', Lushai riŋ^H / riŋ^F 'be loud'

10 OCM rime *-o Hóu bù 侯部

GSR 108 - 138; 1229 - 1235

Baxter 1992: 500 ff. (§10.2.10)

Table 10-1: OCM rimes *-oŋ, *-ok, *-o in QYS categories

MC	*-oŋ R.12	*-ok R.11	*-o, *-okh R.10, 11
I	公 kuŋ koŋ *kôŋ 蒙 muŋ moŋ *môŋ 東 tuŋ toŋ *tôŋ	谷 kuk kok *kôk 木 muk mok *môk 獨 duk dok *dôk	口 k ^h əu ^B k ^h o ^B *khô? 豆 dəu ^C do ^C *dôh 穀 kəu ^C ko ^C *kôkh
III	共 gjwoŋ ^C guoŋ ^C *goŋh 縫 bjwoŋ buoŋ *boŋ 龍 ljwoŋ lionŋ *roŋ 種 tšjwoŋ ^B tšoŋ ^B *toŋ? 重 djwoŋ ^B djoŋ ^B *droŋ? 用 jwoŋ ^C joŋ ^C *loŋh	曲 k ^h jwok k ^h uok *khok 俗 zjwok ziok *s-lok 蜀 źjwok dźok *dok	拘 kju kuo *ko 付 pju ^C puo ^C *poh 朱 tju tjo *tro 俞 jiu jo *lo 裕 jiu ^C jo ^C *lokh
II	江 kãŋ kœŋ *krôŋ 邦 pãŋ pœŋ *prôŋ 撞 đãŋ đœŋ *drôŋ	角 kâk kœk *krôk 璞 p ^h âk p ^h œk *phrôk 濁 đâk đœk *drôk	No Div. II

10-1 = K. 108 Kǒu 口 10-3 may be phonetic.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a-c	句 ¹ 句鉤 gōu	kəu	ko	kô	'hook'
	[E] WT dgu-ba 'to bend'				
a	句 ² phrase jù	kju ^C	kuo ^C	—	
	[T] 句決 kuo ^C (or kio ^C)-kueŋ 'a kind of hat', cf. Mongol köküŋ (Pulleyblank 1983: 453)				
d	狗 gǒu	kəu ^B	ko ^B	kô? klo?	
	[D] PMin *kəu ^B <> [E] MY *klu ²				
efh	筍 耨 苟 gǒu	kəu ^B	ko ^B	kô?	
i	雛 gòu	kəu ^C	ko ^C	kôh	
qr	拘 駒 jū	kju	kuo	ko	OCB *k(r)jo
p	拘 grasp jū	kju	kuo	ko	
	[T] ONW kuo; BTD Skt. ku; 拘律陀 kuo-luit-da Skt. kolita				
	拘 receive gōu	kəu	ko	kô	
	拘 tree st. qú	gju	guo	go	'tree stump'
o	枸 a tree jū	kju ^B	kuo ^B	ko?	
	crooked gōu	kəu	ko	kô	
tuv	劬 絢 胸 qú	gju	guo	go	
xy	鞫 鳩 qú	gju	guo	go	

l	袴	kōu	k ^h əu	k ^h o	khô	
k	敬	kòu !	k ^h əu ^B	k ^h o ^B	khô?	= 10-3/110f 鉞
j	恂	kòu	k ^h əu ^C	k ^h o ^C	khôh	
m	詢	hòu	ɣəu ^C , xəu ^C	ɣo ^C , ho ^C	fiôh, hôh	≠ 10-5/112f
n	蚰	hǒu	xəu ^B	ho ^B	hô?	
-	駒	hōu	xəu	ho	—	
		[E] WT ɲur-ba 'to grunt' ≠ sɲur-ba 'to snore'				
z	詢	qǔ, kōu !	k ^h ju ^B , k ^h əu ^B	k ^h (i)o ^B	kho?, khô?	
a'	响	xū	xju ^(C)	huo ^(C)	ho, hoh	
b'	响	xǔ	xju ^B	huo ^B	ho?	
-c'	煦煦 warm	xù	xju ^C	huo ^C	hoh	煦 also MC xju ^B
10-2 = K. 109	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	葍	gòu	kəu ^C	ko ^C	kôh	OCB *k(r)os
efgijkl	構構構觀購邁	id.				
		邁 [E] TB *gow > WB ku ^B 'cross over, transfer', JP gau ³³ 'pass over'				
hi	溝箒	gōu	kəu	ko	kô	
1198a	講	jiǎng	kǎŋ ^B	kɔŋ ^B	krôŋ?	
10-3 = K. 110	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	口	kǒu	k ^h əu ^B	k ^h o ^B	khô?	OCB *kh(r)o?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'əw (上); MGZY kh ^h iw (上) [k'əw]; ONW k ^h ou				
		[E] TB: JP k ^h u ³³ 'hole, hollow', Lushai kua ^L (kɔ ^L) < kua ^h /h 'a hollow, cavity' ≠ kua ^L / kuak ^F 'to open up (a path)'				
de	叩扣	kòu	k ^h əu ^{B/C}	k ^h o ^{B/C}	khô?/h	
		[E] ? WB k ^h ok < *k ^h uk 'knock, rap'				
f	鉞	kòu !	k ^h əu ^B	k ^h o ^B	khô?	= 10-1/108k 敏
10-4 = K. 111	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	寇	kòu	k ^h əu ^C	k ^h o ^C	khôh	
		[E] TB *r-kuw > Chepang ku? 'steal', WT rku-ba 'to steal', JP lǎ ³¹ -ku ⁵⁵ 'to steal', NNaga *C/ V-kə:w, WB k ^h ui ^B < *C-kui ^B , PL *ko ² 'to steal' < [N] Baxter 1992: 238 considers 25-19/257m 完 phonetic, but it could also be semantic, cf. SW 1358.				
10-5 = K. 112	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	后	hòu	ɣəu ^{B/C}	go ^{B/C}	gô?/h	OCB *g(r)o?
c	邈迤	hòu	ɣai ^C -ɣəu ^C	ge ^C -go ^C	grêh-grôh	OCB *gres-gros
d	垢	gòu	kəu ^B	ko ^B	kô?	
		[T] MTang kəu, ONW kou < [E] ? TB: WT bsgo-ba 'to soil, stain, defile, infect'				
e	垢	gòu	kəu ^C	ko ^C	kôh	
f	詬	hòu,	xəu ^C ,	ho ^C ,	hôh,	≠ 10-1/108m
		kòu, gòu	k ^h əu ^C , kəu ^B	k ^h o ^C , ko ^B	khôh, kô?	
		[E] WT 'k ^h u-ba 'insult, offend'				
g	垢	hòu	xəu ^{B/C}	ho ^{B/C}	hô?/h	
10-6 = K. 113	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	侯 target	hóu	ɣəu	go	gô	OCB *g(r)o
		[E] ? AA: Khmer koh /kaoh/ 'to raise (crossbow) with a view to aiming' ≠ kpoḥ 'be raised up, clearly visible'; or goḥ /kóh/ 'to hit (squarely)'				

	侯 be, have	hóu	ɣəu	go	gô	
		[E] AA: PVM *kɔ? 'to be, have, there is', PMonic *goo? 'to get, possess, obtain'				
e	候 watch	hòu	ɣəu ^C	go ^C	gôh	
f	喉	hóu	ɣəu	go	gô	
		[E] ? TB: Chepang guk 'throat' < MK *kɔ? 'neck'				
g	猴	hóu	ɣəu	go	gô	
		[D] PMin *ǰəu < *ŋgo ? < ? TB: PL *ʔ-ko ^{2/1}				
hj	猴猴	hóu	ɣəu	go	gô	
i-	猴猴	hóu	ɣəu ^(C)	go ^(C)	gô, gôh	
10-7 = K. 114	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	厚 thick	hòu	ɣəu ^B	go ^B	gô?	OCB *g(r)o?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣəw (上); MGZY Xiw (上) [ɣiw] < [D] ǰəu ^B				
	厚 thickness	hòu	ɣəu ^C	go ^C	gôh	
10-8 = K. 115	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	後 behind	hòu	ɣəu ^B	ɣo ^B	fiô?	OCB *fi(r)o?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣəw (上); MGZY Xiw (上) [ɣiw]; MTang ɣəu, ONW ɣou < [D] PMin *fiəu ^B < [E] TB *ok > WT 'og (not ʔog) 'below, afterward, later, after'; LB *ʔok 'lower side, below' > WB ok 'under part, space under'; Limbu yo 'down, below, downhill'				
	後 support	hòu	ɣəu ^C	ɣo ^C	fiôh	
10-9 = K. 121	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	具	jù	gju ^C	guo ^C	goh	
		[T] MTang gy < guo, ONW guo				
d	俱	jū	kju	kuo	ko	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ky (平); MGZY gŷu (平) [ky]; MTang ky < kuo, ONW kuo				
e	棋	jǔ	kju ^B	kuo ^B	ko?	
10-10 = K. 122	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	區 ¹ conceal	ōu	ʔəu	ʔo	ʔô	
l	甌	ōu	ʔəu	ʔo	ʔô	
		[E] WB ui ^B 'pot, jar, chatty'				
m-	謳	ōu	ʔəu	ʔo	ʔô	
		[T] Sin Sukchu 歐 SR ʔəw (平); MGZY 歐 ^h iw (平) [ʔəw]; ONW ʔou				
j	毆	ōu !	ʔəu ^B	ʔo ^B	ʔô?	
i	嘔	vomit	oǔ	ʔəu ^B	ʔo ^B	ʔô?
	babble	ōu	ʔəu	ʔo	ʔô	
k	漚	soak	où	ʔəu ^C	ʔo ^C	ʔôh
	seagull	ōu	ʔəu	ʔo	ʔô	
n	偃	yǔ	ʔju ^B	ʔuo ^B	ʔo?	
o	嫗	warm	yù, yǔ	ʔju ^B	ʔuo ^B	ʔo?
		[E] ST *ʔo: WB u ^B (i.e., /ʔu ^B /) 'lay an egg' ≠ ə-u ^B 'egg'				
	嫗	mother	yù	ʔju ^C	ʔuo ^C	ʔoh
-	葑	brood	yòu	ʔjəu ^C	ʔu ^C	—
		[D] Min: Jiàn 'ōu iu ^{C1} , Chóngān ieu ^{C1}				
p	鱸	yù,	ʔju ^C ,	ʔuo ^C ,	ʔoh,	
		qū	k ^h ju	k ^h uo	kho < kʔo ?	

a	區 ²	conceal	qū	k ^h ju	k ^h uo	kho < kʔo ?
		crooked	gōu	kəu	ko	kō = late graphic loan for 句鉤
h	摳		kōu	k ^h əu, k ^h ju	k ^h o, k ^h uo	kho
						[E] ? TB *ku > WB k ^{hu} B 'take out or up and put in dish, gather'; Yakha k ^u 'lift up, raise'; Bahing ku-to 'bring up'
g	軀		qū	k ^h ju(C)	k ^h uo(C)	kho ! OCB *kh(r)jo
						[T] MTang k ^{hy} < k ^{huo} , ONW k ^{huo} <> [E] TB *(s-)kuw > WT sku, WB kui 'body'
cd	驅毆		qū	k ^h ju(C)	k ^h uo(C)	kho, khoh
						[E] ? WT 'k ^{hyug} -pa 'to run, dart, hasten' ≠ 'k ^{hyu} -ba, k ^{hyus} 'to run' ≠ dkyu-ba 'a race' ≠ 'gyu-ba, 'gyus 'to move quickly'
q	樞	pivot	shū	t ^h ju	t ^h o	k-hlo ? or khjo ?
						[D] Yue: HK-NT ²³² k ^{hy} A1, Conghua k ^{hy} 55, Doumen k ^{hui} 45; Hakka: Huizhou ky ³³ , Dongguan k ^{hi} 33
r	樞	an elm	shū, ōu	ʔəu	ʔo	ʔō
	貓	wild cat	chū	t ^h ju	t ^h io	thro ? or rho ?

10-11 = K. 124

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	禺	monkey	yù	ŋju ^C	ŋuo ^C	ŋoh
						[E] TB: Kuki-Naga *ŋa:w 'ape' > Lushai ŋau ^H < ŋau 'grey monkey'
	禺	a fish	yú	ŋju	ŋuo	ŋo
c	寓		yù	ŋju ^C	ŋuo ^C	ŋoh
fi	隅		yú	ŋju	ŋuo	ŋo
g	愚		yú	ŋju	ŋuo	ŋo
						[T] MTang ŋy < ŋuo, ONW ŋuo <> [D] K-Sung Him Tong ŋɔŋ ^C , Meixian ŋɔŋ ^C 'stupid'
						[E] Tai: PTai *ŋua ^{B2/C2} 'stupid, idiot, ignorant', S. ŋoo ^{C1} 'stupid'
jk	隅		yú, ōu	ŋju, ŋəu ^B	ŋuo, ŋo ^B	ŋo, ŋō?
l	隅		yú, ōu	ŋju, ŋəu	ŋuo, ŋo	ŋo, ŋō
h	遇		yù	ŋju ^C	ŋuo ^C	ŋoh
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋy (去); MGZY x̄y (去) [ŋy]
o	耦	a pair	ǒu	ŋəu ^B	ŋo ^B	ŋō?
n	偶	a pair	ǒu	ŋəu ^B	ŋo ^B	ŋō?
		unexpected	òu	ŋəu ^C	ŋo ^C	ŋōh
m	喁		yú,	ŋju, ŋəu ^B ,	ŋuo, ŋo ^B ,	ŋo, ŋō?
			yóng	ŋjwoŋ	ŋuoŋ	ŋoŋ
p	顛		yóng	ŋjwoŋ	ŋuoŋ	ŋoŋ

10-12 = K. 117

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	兜		dōu	təu	to	tō
						[T] BTD 兜術陀 to-zuit-da Skt. tuṣita

10-13 = K. 116

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	斗料	bushel	dǒu	təu ^B	to ^B	tō?
	斗料	ladle	zhǔ	t ^h ju ^B	t ^h o ^B	to?
						[D] PMin *təu ^B

10-14 = K. 1246a

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	豸		dòu	təu ^C	to ^C	tōh

10-15 = K. 1235

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	豨		dòu	dəu ^B	do ^B	dō?
b	斲		zhuó	t ^h ak	t ^h ok	trōk
c	鬪		dòu	dəu ^C	do ^C	dōh = 10-17/1234a 鬥

10-16 = K. 118

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	豆		dòu	dəu ^C	do ^C	dōh
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR dəw (去); MGZY t ^{hiw} (去) [dəw] <> [D] PMin *dəu ^C
-	荳		dòu	dəu ^C	do ^C	—
						[E] TB *tu-ŋ 'bean'
d	脰		dòu	dəu ^C	do ^C	dōh
						[D] PMin *d ^{əu} C: Fúzhōu tau ^{C2} -kau ^{D1} , Jiànyáng lo ^{C2}
						[E] TB *tuk ≠ *du(k) 'neck, head', JP du ^{ʔ31} 'neck', Garo gitok, Mikir tsethok, Lepcha tük-tok 'neck', Abor-Miri a-tuk, Atong dək-əm, Kaikē t ^h oppā (< *t ^h ok-pa) 'head'
-	逗		dòu	dəu ^C	do ^C	—
e	頭		tóu	dəu	do	dō
						[T] ONW dou; BTD Skt. dhu <> [D] PMin *d ^{həu} A2: Jiànglè t ^{həu} D1, Fuzh ⁵² t ^{həu} , Xiàmen t ^{həu} A2-k ^h ak; W-Wenzh ²¹ d ^h eu
fg	逗豎		shù	ʒju ^B	d ^z o ^B	do?
169a	短		duǎn	twān ^B	tuān ^B , S toi? tōn?	—
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR twon (平); MGZY don (平) [ton]; ONW tuān. <> [D] PMin *toi ^B

10-17 = K. 1234

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	鬥		dòu	dəu ^C	do ^C	dōh = 10-15/1235c
						[T] ONW dou <> [E] TB *daw > WB do ^B 'interfere in a quarrel'; Lushai do ^H 'be at enmity'

10-18 = K. 128

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
af	朱 ¹ > 株	zhū	tju	tio	tro 'tree trunk'
ar	朱 ² 株 ¹ red	zhū	t ^h ju	t ^h o	to
					[T] ONW t ^h uo <> [E] MK: PVM *t ^h 'red'
de	侏珠	zhū	t ^h ju	t ^h o	to
gh	蛛	zhū	tju	tio	tro
klm	誅	zhū	tju	tio	tro
u	殊	dòu, zhòu	təu ^C , t ^h əu ^C	to ^C , t ^h o ^C	tōkh, trokh = 11-13/1218b 啄
s	殊	shū	ʒju	d ^z o	do
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR zy (平); MGZY zh ^h y (平) [zy]; BTD Skt. ju
					[E] ST *do(k): JP do ^{ʔ31} < tok ³¹ 'cut off'
t	銖	zhū	ʒju	d ^z o	do
pr	姝	shū !	t ^h ju	t ^h o	tho 'beautiful'

10-19 = K. 129

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	主	zhǔ	t ^h ju ^B	t ^h o ^B	to?	
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^h y (上); MGZY j ^h y (上) [t ^h y]; ONC t ^h uo ^B <> [D] PMin *t ^h o ^B	
-	麋	zhǔ	t ^h ju ^B	t ^h o ^B	to? 'large kind of deer in the mountains'	
b-	望炷	zhù	t ^h ju ^C	t ^h o ^C	toh	
c	注	touch	zhù	t ^h ju ^C , tju ^C	t ^h o ^C , t ^h o ^C	toh, troh
					[E] ST *tu: WB tui ^C 'touch lightly', Lushai tuuk ^F 'to touch' (as in a game)	
	注	pour	zhù	t ^h ju ^C , tju ^C	t ^h o ^C , t ^h o ^C	toh, troh = 13-22/1090a 鑄

	注	flow in	zhù	t̚ju ^C , t̚ju ^C	t̚so ^C , t̚io ^C	toh, troh	
							[E] WT mdo 'confluence, lower part of valley'
d	註		zhù	t̚ju ^C , t̚ju ^C	t̚so ^C , t̚io ^C	toh, troh	
e	拄		zhǔ	t̚ju ^B	t̚io ^B	tro?	
f	拄		zhù	t̚ju ^C	t̚io ^C	troh	
g	住		zhù	d̚ju ^C	d̚io ^C	droh	[D] PMin *diu ^C
h	柱		zhù	d̚ju ^B	d̚io ^B	dro?	
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzy (上); MGZY c̚yū (上) [dzy] <> [D] PMin *dhiu ^B
							[E] TB-WB tuiŋ 'post, column'; SChin Daai ktuŋ 'post', JP to?³¹ < tok³¹
i	甃		t̚ou	t̚əu ^B	t̚o ^B	thō?	

10-20 = K. 1232 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	鼻		zhù	t̚ju ^C	t̚so ^C	toh	
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10-21 = K. 130 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	爰		shū	žju	d̚zo	do	
c	投		tóu	dəu	do	dō	

[T] ONW dou <> [E] WT 'dor-ba 'to throw or cast away, throw out, eject, decline, reject' * gtor-ba 'to strew, scatter, throw, waste'

323a	殺		dài !	twāi ^C	tus	tōs	
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10-22 = K. 127 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	壹		zhù	t̚ju ^C	t̚io ^C	troh	
eh	壹		shù	žju ^C	d̚zo ^C	doh	
j	樹	to plant	shǔ	žju ^B	d̚zo ^B	do?	

樹 [T] Sin Sukchu SR zy (上); MGZY zh̄yū (上) [zy]
[E] ? Area word: TB-Lushai tu?² (< *tus) 'to plant (a seed)'

	樹	tree	shù	žju ^C	d̚zo ^C	doh	
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[T] Sin Sukchu SR zy (去); MGZY zh̄yū (去) [zy]; ONW d̚zuo <> [D] PMin *d̚zhiu^C

m	廚		chú	d̚ju	d̚io	dro	
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n	躑	(躑躅)	chú	d̚ju	d̚ie-d̚io	dre-dro	
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[E] Tai: S. rii^{A2}-ro^{A2} 'walk hesitatingly, undecided'

10-23 = K. 125 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	俞	canoe	yú	jiu	jo	lo	'dug-out, canoe' SW 3803
							The original graph consisted of 'boat' and 'knife'. The upper element was either part of the knife, or the downward turned mouth, thus writing yù 'instruct'. — 俞 look like the original graph for 'canoe', but appear only later (JY) and are read <i>dāo</i> 'a small, knife-shaped boat', i.e., the word is taken as a special meaning of 'knife'.

	俞	agree	yú	jiu	jo	lo	'say yes'
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[E] WB lyo 'suit, agree with, be proper'

fg	愉		yú	jiu	jo	lo	
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愉 [E] WB lyo^C 'loose, slack, subside' * hlyo^C 'loosen, make lax, lessen, diminish'

no	踰		yú	jiu	jo	lo	
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[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (平); MGZY ȳyū (平) [jy]

k	瑜		yú	jiu	jo	lo	
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l	覿		yú	jiu ^(C)	jo ^(C)	lo, loh	
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cm	喻		yù	jiu ^C	jo ^C	loh	[E] ? WT blo 'mind, intellect'
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q	竅		yú, tóu	jiu, dəu	jo, do	lo, lô	
							[E] MK: Old Sino-Viet. lo 'small hole' (Pan Wuyun 1987: 29), Loven luh 'hole', Khmer / tluh/ 'perforate' * /luh/ 'pass through, pierce, perforate...'
p	揄		yú	jiu, dəu ^B	jo, do?	lo, lô?	
r	輸		yú, chú	jiu, d̚zju	jo, zo	lo, m-lo	
dj	愈		yù	jiu ^B	jo ^B	lo?	
s	輸		shū	šju	šo	lho	
							[T] MTang šu < šuo, ONW šuo <> [D] PMin *šo
uv	偷		tōu	t̚əu	t̚o	lhō	偷 [E] WB lu ^C 'take by force'
t	歛		tóu	dəu	do	lō	
							[E] WT glu 'song', Mru klō 'sound, melody', WB kyu ^B 'produce melodious sound'

10-24 = K. 126 The OCM initial was either *-j- or *-l-.

			Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	與	drag	yú	jiu	jo	jo < r-jo (cf. 10-29/123a)	
ef	腴		yú	jiu	jo	jo	
bcdg-	庾	料	腴	jiu ^B	jo ^B	jo?	

10-25 = K. 1243b Mand. MC LHan OCM

b	麻		yú	jiu ^B	jo ^B	lo?	* 10-23/125f,u
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10-26 = K. 1243c Mand. MC LHan OCM

c	戍		shù	šju ^C	šo ^C , t̚š ^h o ^C	hjo?	
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[T] ONW šuo <> [D] PMin *t̚shio^C; Yue-Guangzh 33^{ts}hy^{CD}, Taish ts^hui²¹ 'house'

10-27 = K. 120 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	漏		lòu	ləu ^C	lo ^C	rōh or rōkh	
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[T] Sin S. SR ləw (去); MGZY l̄hiw (去) [ləw]; MTang ləu, ONW lou <> [D] PMin *ləu^C
[E] Old Sino-Viet. rō <> Tai: S. rua^{B2} < *r- 'to leak'

10-28 = K. 1246b Mand. MC LHan OCM

b	陋		lòu	ləu ^C	lo ^C	rōh	
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10-29 = K. 123, 1207 MC LHan OCM

123a	婁	drag	lú	lju	lio	ro = rjo (cf. 10-24/126a)	GYSX 1024
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		bind	lǔ	lju ^B	lio ^B	ro?	
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		empty	lóu	ləu	lo	rō	
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		mound	lóu	ləu ^(B)	lo ^(B)	rō, rō?	
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j	樓		lǒu	ləu ^B	lo ^B	rō?	[T] ONW lou
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b	樓		lóu, lǔ	ləu, lju ^B	lo, lio ^B	rō, ro?	
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c	樓		lú, lóu	lju, læu	lio, lo	ro, rō	
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d	樓		lú, lǒu !	lju, læu	lio, lo	ro, rō	
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e	樓		lú, lóu	lju ^(B) , læu	lio ^(B) , lo	ro, ro?, rō	
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f	樓		lǔ !	lju ^C	lio ^C	roh	* 10-29/1207a
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g	樓		lú	lju	lio	ro	
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h	樓		lǔ	lju ^B	lio ^B	ro?	
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i	樓		lóu, lù,	ləu, lju ^C ,	lo, lio ^C ,	rō, roh,	
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			jù	kju ^C	kuo ^C	kroh	
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k	樓	lóu	ləu	lo	rô	[T] BTD Skt. ro[hita]. MHan 樓蘭 Krorayina <> [D] PMin *ləu
l	螻 cricket	lóu	ləu	lo	rô	
	sickness	lòu	ləu ^C	lo ^C	rôh	
m	鏤	lòu	ləu ^C	lo ^C	rô, rôh	[E] WT 'bru-ba 'chisel, carve, cut'; Nung ə-ru 'carve, write' <> Tai: S. pək ^{D1} 'to peel', but also PTai *dlək : S. lək ^{D2} 'to skin, peel' ≠ plək ^{D1} 'an encasement'
n	體	lóu	-ləu	[dok-]lo	rô	= a 'empty'
op	窶窶	jù	gju ^B	guo ^B	gro?	
123q	履	jù	kju ^C	kuo ^C	kroh	
123r	數 to count	shǔ	sju ^B	šo ^B	sro?	[T] Sin Sukchu SR shu (上); MGZY (zhu >) shu (上) [shu]; ONW shuo [E] ? AA: Mon ruih [røh], hypoth. sruih 'to count', Iros id.
	數 number	shù	sju ^C	šo ^C	sroh	
1207a	數 frequent	shuò	şák	şok	sròk	≠ 10-29/123f
	數 net	cù	ts ^h jwok	ts ^h iok	tshok	< k-sok
b	藪 a measure	shǔ	sju ^B	šo ^B	sro?	'a measure of capacity' [Yili]
	container	sǒu	səu ^B	so ^B	sô?	'container for rinsing rice' [SW]
c	藪	sǒu	səu ^B	so ^B	sô?	= 10-35/131o 藪 [T] ONW sou <> [E] ? OTib. sog 'grassland'

10-30 = K. 133 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ad	須 ¹ beard	xū	sju	sio, ts ^h io	sno	[D] PMin *tshiu ~ siu
	須 ² wait	xū	sju	sio, ts ^h io	sno	= 10-31/134a 需 'wait'
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR sy (平); MGZY sŷu (平) [sy]; MTang sy, ONW suo; BTD Skt. su [D] PMin *tshiu ^{A1} ~ *siu ^{A1}
e	婁	xū	sju	sio	sno	
f	盪	xǔ	sju ^B	sio ^B	sno?	

10-31 = K. 134 There is some confusion between this series and 25-35/238 奕 ruǎn

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	需 wait	xū	sju	sio, ts ^h io	sno	= 10-30/133a 須 'wait'
						[T] MTang sy, ONW suo
	需 soft	ruǎn,	ńźjwǎn ^B ,	ńuan ^B ,	non?	
		nuǎn	nuân ^B	nuan ^B	nôn?	
b	孺	xū, rú	sju, ńźju	sio, ńo	sno, no	
c	孺	rú	ńźju	ńo	no	
-	孺兒 孺兒	rú-ér	ńźju-ńźie	ńo-ńe	no-ne	
						'Forced laugh, strong laughter' [Chuci] is a reduplicated form.
fg	濡 g	rú	ńźju	ńo	no	
h	孺 soft	rú	ńźju	ńo	no	
	shoulder	nào	nâu ^(C)	nau ^(C)	nâu, nâuh	
				or nou ^(C)	or nû, nûh	
i	孺	rú	ńźju	ńo	no	
e	孺 weak	rú	ńźju	ńo	no	[E] TB *now 'tender, soft' > PL *C-nu ² , WB nu ^C < no ^C 'young, tender' ≠ nu ^B 'be made soft' ≠ hnu ^B 'make soft, mollify', Lushai no ^R < noo? 'young, tender, soft, young of animals'

	孺 weak	ruǎn,	ńźjwǎn ^B ,	ńuan ^B ,	non?	
		nuǎn,	nuân ^B ,	nuan ^B ,	nôn?	
		nuò	nuâ ^C	nuci ^C	nôih	
j	孺	rú	ńźju ^(B)	ńo ^(B)	no, no?	
						[E] WT rno-ba, rnon-po 'sharp, acute (of taste, intellect)'
d	孺	rú	ńźju ^C	ńo ^C	noh	[T] ONW ńuo
-	糯	nuò	nuâ ^C [Jiyun]			'glutinous rice'
						[E] Tai khâu nua (Savina, khâu 'rice')

10-32 = K. 135 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	乳	rǔ	ńźju ^B	ńo ^B	no?	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ry (上); MGZY Zhŷu (上) [ry]; ONW ńuo <> [E] TB *nuw ~ *now > WT nu-ma 'breast' ≠ nu-ba 'to suck' ≠ nud-pa 'to suckle', Tsangla nu 'milk'
-	穀	nòu, gòu	nəu ^C	no ^C	nôh	

10-33 = K. 119 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	走	zǒu	tsəu ^B	tso ^B	tsô?	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsəw (上); MGZY dz ^h iw (上) [tsəw]; ONW tsou ^B <> [D] PMin *tsəu ^B

10-34 = K. 1229 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	奏	zòu	tsəu ^C	tso ^C	tsôh	
bc	湊膝	còu	ts ^h əu ^C	ts ^h o ^C	tshôh	

10-35 = K. 131, 325 MC LHan OCM

131a	取 ¹	qǔ, cǒu	ts ^h ju ^B , ts ^h əu ^B	ts ^h io ^B , ts ^h o ^B	tsho?, tshô?	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'y (上); MGZY tshŷu (上) [ts'y]; MTang ts ^h y < ts ^h uo, ONW ts ^h uo
ae	取 ² 娶	qù	ts ^h ju ^C	ts ^h io ^C	tshoh	
k	聚	jù	dzju ^{B/C}	dzio ^{B/C}	dzo?/h	OCB *dzjos
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzy (上去); MGZY tsŷu (上去) [dzy]; MTang dzy, ONW dzuo [E] ST *tso: WB cu ^C 'to collect, gather together', WT 'ts ^h ogs-pa 'to assemble, gather, meet'
i	嫩	jǔ	tsju	tsio	tso	
j	諷	zǒu !	tsju	tsio	tso	
m	擻	zǒu,	tsəu, tsjəu ^B ,	tso, tşuo ^B ,	tsro? !,	
		jù	tsju	tsio	tso	
n	擻	zǒu,	tsəu, tsjəu,	tso, tşuo,	tsro !,	
		jǔ	tsju ^C	tsio ^C	tsoh	
l	陬	zǒu	tsəu, tsju	tso, tsio	tsô, tso	
						[E] WT zur 'edge, corner, side, aside'; Lepcha sur 'angle, corner'
g	趣 hasten	qù	ts ^h ju ^C	ts ^h io ^C	tshoh < ? C-soh	
	趣 interest	qù	ts ^h ju ^C	ts ^h io ^C	—	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'y (去); MGZY tshŷu (去) [ts'y]; MTang ts ^h y, ONW ts ^h uo
o	趣 groom	cù !	ts ^h əu ^B	ts ^h o ^B	tshô?	cf. 11-19/1219d
	擻	sǒu	səu ^B	so ^B	sô?	= 10-29/1207c 藪
						[T] ONW sou
q	驟	zhòu !	dzjəu ^C	dzu ^C	dzroh	OCB *dzrjos
						= 10-36/132g 驕
p	藪 hemp st.	zǒu	tsjəu	tşuo	tsro	'hemp stalk'
	藪 gather w.	cuán	dzwǎn	dzuan	dzôn	'gather wood'

-	輒	zǎo	tzâu ^B	tsou ^B	—
325ab a	最	zuì	tswâi ^C	tsuas	tsôs OCB *tsots
[T] MTang tsuai, ONW tsuaC. Words in final *-t or *-s are occasionally included in an open syllable series, e.g., GSR 61, and 605.					
c	叢	zuì	dzwâi ^C	dzuas	dzôs
d	撮	chuài	tshwâi ^C , tshwai ^C	tshues, tshuas	tshrôs
e	撮 pinch	cuō	tshwât	tshuat	tshôt
[E] TB: LB *tswat ≠ caus. *?tswat 'to pluck' > WB chwat					
	撮 pointed	zuì	tswât [GY] tswâi ^C [JY]	tsuat tsuas	tsôt or tsôts

10-36 = K. 132 MC (t)sjəu can derive from both OC (t)sro and (t)sru.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	芻	chú	tshju	tsho	tshro
[T] ONW tshuo <> [E] AA: PMon *ksəy 'useless fiber, hay', PWa *səh 'cut grass'					
c	趨 hasten	qū	tshju	tsho	tshro
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'y (平); MGZY tshyū (平) [ts'y]					
	趨馬 groom	cōu-mǎ	tshəu ^B -	tsho ^B -	tshô? = 10-35/131g
de	雛鷓	chú	dzju	dzə	dzro
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzu (平); MGZY cu (平) [dzu]					
-	皺	zhōu	tsjəu	tshu	
f	縐	zhòu	tsjəu ^C	tshu ^C	tsruh [E] ? TB Lepcha a-sür 'wrinkle'
h	鷓	zōu	tsjəu	tshu	tsru
g	騶 groom	zōu	tsjəu	tshuo	tsro [D] Min: Xiam (lit.) tso ^{A1}
	騶 run	zòu	dzjəu ^C	dzuo ^C	dzroh OCB *dzrjos
= 10-35/131q 騶					

10-37 = K. 1097 Mand. MC LHan OCM

abm a	叟叟	sǒu	səu ^B	so ^B	sô?
n	叟	sǒu	səu ^B	so ^B	sô?
d	搜 move	sǒu	səu ^B	so ^A R!	sô 'move'
[E] TB *m-sow 'awake', Tamang ² so 'live'; WT gson-pa 'be alive, to wake, rouse, urge on'					
	搜 search	sōu	sjəu	su	sru R! OCB *srju 'search'
e-	搜擲	sōu	sjəu	su R!	sru
h	搜 hunt	sōu	sjəu	suo	sro or sru = 13-62/1098a
	搜 dog	sōu	sjəu	suo	sro
[N] Leibian səu ^B < *sô?, SW náo-sōu 搜搜 [nau-su]					
[E] AA: Palaung-Wa *sə? 'dog', PSBahn. *sə:, PVM *?a-cə?					
fg	搜 soak	sǒu	sjəu ^B	su ^B	sru?
= 13-32/1077r 漚; = 13-60/1112h 糶					
	搜 urinate	sōu	sjəu	su	sru
j	酸	sōu !	sjəu ^B	su ^B	sru?
i	瘦	shòu !	sjəu ^C	su ^C	sruh
k	嫂	sǎo	sāu ^B	sou ^B	sû?
l	嫂	xiǎo	sieu ^B	seu ^B	siû?

10-38 = K. 1230 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	裒	póu	bəu	bo	bú R!
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10-39 = K. 136 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	付	fù	pju ^C	puo ^C	poh
[T] MTang pfu < pfuo, ONW puo					
d	柁 raft	fū	pju	puo	po
	board	fù, bòu	bju ^C , bəu ^C	buo ^C , bo ^C	boh, bôh
e	跗	fū	pju	puo	po
cr	府俯	fǔ	pju ^B	puo ^B	po?
m	符	fú	bju	buo	bo
n	腐	fǔ	bju ^B	buo ^B	bo?

[E] ? TB: Lepcha por, pór 'to spoil, smell'

ij	垢	fù	bju ^C	buo ^C	boh
k	附	fù	bju ^C	buo ^C	boh

[T] MHan 高附 kau-buo^C Κάβουρα (Kabul)

	附婁	fù-lóu	bju ^C -ləu ^B	buo ^C -lo ^B	
lpq	駘駘	fù	bju ^C	buo ^C	boh
o	附 intestines	fù	bju ^C	buo ^C	boh 'belly'
[E] ST and area word: TB *(s-)pu ≠ (s-)bu 'belly, stomach'					
	胹 foot	fū	pju	puo	po
h	汙	fū	p ^h ju	p ^h uo	pho = 13-73/1233k 桴
fg	附附	fǔ	p ^h ju ^B	p ^h uo ^B	pho?

10-40 = K. 137 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	晷	fú	bju	buo	bo
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10-41 Mand. MC LHan OCM

-	冂	mòu	məu ^C	mo ^C	môh?
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11 OCM rime *-ok Wū bù 屋部

GSR 1202 - 1228
Baxter 1992: 503 ff. (§10.2.11)

See Table 10-1 for OCM rimes *-oŋ, *-ok, *-o in QYS categories. In the OC rimes *-ak, *-ek, *-ok and *-auk, syllables with MC retroflex initials, especially of the expected QYS type djak, djäk, djwok, tend to be rare in Div. III and seem to have shifted into Div. II ɖək, ɖäk, ɖək, ɖök.

11-1 = K. 1203	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 哭	kū	k ^h uk	k ^h ok	khök
[E] TB-Lushai kuuk ^H 'shriek'				
11-2 = K. 1225	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 角	jiǎo, jué	kāk	kək	krök
d 桷	jué	kāk	kək	krök
e 确	què	ɣāk	gək	grök
f 斛	hú	ɣuk	gok	gök
OCB *krok [T] ONW kāk				
11-3 = K. 1226	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 般	què	k ^h āk	k ^h ək	khrök
bc 慇	què	k ^h āk	k ^h ək	khrök
- 殼	ké	k ^h āk	k ^h ək	khrök
[D] M-Xiam lit. k ^h ok ^{D1} , col. k ^h ak ^{D1} , Y-Guǎngzh 33hək ^D				
d 穀	jué	kāk	kək	krök
h 穀	a tree gǔ	kuk	kok	kök
i 穀	husked gǔ	kuk	kok	kök
[E] AA: PVM *rko? 'husked rice', Khmu /rŋkō?/ <> TB-WB kok 'rice plant'				
j 穀	gǔ	kuk	kok	kök
k 穀	hú	ɣuk	gok	gök
l 穀	a meas. hú	ɣuk	gok	gök
m 穀	poor xué, què	ɣāk, k ^h āk	gək, k ^h ək	grök, khrök
p 穀	gòu	kəu ^C	ko ^C	kôkh 'to suckle' [GY]
q 穀	gòu	kəu ^C	ko ^C	kôkh
g 穀	kòu	k ^h əu ^C	k ^h o ^C	khôkh
[E] JP kro?55 < krok55 'to hatch'				
g 殼	xuè, hù	xāk, xuk	hək, hok	hrök
[E] PTai *rɣak ^{D2} , KS *trwak ⁷ 'vomit'				
11-4 = K. 1213	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 曲	qū	k ^h ɣwok	k ^h uok	khok
OCB *kh(r)jok [T] Sin Sukchu SR k'y (入); MGZY khÿu (入) [k'y]; ONW k ^h uok				

11 OCM *-ok 屋部 (GSR 1202-1228)

11-5 = K. 1214	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab 局踖	jú	gɣwok	guok	gok	OCB *fikh(r)jok
[T] ONW guok					
cd 搨搨	jú	kɣwok	kuok	kok	
11-6 = K. 1204	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 屋	wū	ʔuk	ʔok	ʔök	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔu (入); MGZY 'u (入) [ʔu]; ONW ʔok					
b 刷	wū	ʔuk	ʔok	ʔök	
cdef 嵬嵬嵬嵬	wò	ʔāk	ʔək	ʔrök	
h 脛	wò	ʔāk	ʔək	ʔrök	
g 渥	moisten wò	ʔāk	ʔək	ʔrök	
	soak òu	ʔəu ^C	ʔo ^C	ʔrôkh	
11-7 = K. 1217	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 鬲	xù	xɣwok	huok	hok	
11-8 = K. 1227	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 岳	yuè	ŋāk	ŋək	ŋrök	= 11-10/1215c 嶽
[T] ONW ŋāk					
11-9 = K. 1216	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 玉	yù	ŋɣwok	ŋuok	ŋok	
d 瑱	xù	xɣwok	huok	hŋok	
[T] ONW huok <> [E] WT sŋog-pa, bsŋogs 'to vex, annoy'					
11-10 = K. 1215	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 獄	yù	ŋɣwok	ŋuok	ŋok	OCB *ŋ(r)jok
cd 嶽鸞	yuè	ŋāk	ŋək	ŋrök	c = 11-9/1227a 岳
11-11 = K. 1205	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 秃	tū	t ^h uk	t ^h ok	thök	cf. 28-13/544c
11-12 = K. 1224	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 蜀	shǔ	ʒɣwok	džok	dok	
d 蠋	zhú	ʒɣwok	džok	dok	
e 燭	zhú	tšɣwok	tšok	tok	
[T] ONW tšuk <> [E] LB *duk 'burn, be blazing' ≠ *ʔduk 'kindle, set on fire' > WB tok 'blaze, flame'; WT dug-pa 'to make warm, to light'; Lushai duk ^L 'be glowing with heat'					
f 觸	chù	tš ^h ɣwok	tš ^h ok	thok	
g 觸	chù	tš ^h ɣwok	tš ^h ok	thok	
[T] ONW tš ^h uk <> [D] Min: Xiam lit. ts ^h iok ^{D1} , col. ts ^h ik ^{D1} <> [E] ST *tok WT t ^h ogs-pa 'to strike, stumble, run against', Lushai tōk ^H 'to knock (against)', Mikir tōk- 'to strike, beat'					
- 歎	chù	tš ^h ɣwok	tš ^h ok	thok	'angry', N.Pr.
h 躅	zhú	dɣwok	ɖiok	drok	
j 躅	dú	duk	dok	dök	

kl	鞴鞴	dú,	duk,	dok,	dôk,	
		shǔ,	žjwok,	džok,	dok,	
		zhú	tšjwok	tšok	tok	
m	獨	dú	duk-	dok-	dôk	
i	獨	dú	duk	dok	dôk	
		[D] 'To be alone, alone'. Acc. to FY 79/111, this was a Han period 'Southern Chǔ' dialect word for 'one', note also Fuzhou sio? ⁸ (corresponding to QYS žjwok < *dok) 'one' that may be related (Norman FY 1983.3: 208).				
n	喙	zhuó	tāk	tək	trôk	
	beak	dòu, zhòu	təu ^C , tjəu ^C	to ^C , tjo ^C	tôkh, trokh	
p	濁	zhuó	dāk	dək	drôk	OCB *drok
		[N] The GSR reading tāk is not supported by the QY (Coblin 1983: 154).				
o	黻	zhuó	tāk	tək	trôk	
q	屬	zhuó	dāk	dək	drôk	
s	屬	attached	zhǔ	tšjwok	tšok	tok
		[E] WT gtogs-pa 'to belong to, be part of' ≠ t ^h og-pa 'to gather', rdogs-pa 'to bind, fasten'				
	屬	attach	shǔ	žjwok	džok	dok [T] ONW džukok
t	屬	zhǔ	tjwok	tjok	trok	= 11-12/1224v 屬
u	屬	zhú	tjwok	tjok	trok	
v	屬	zhuó	tjwok	tjok	trok	= 11-12/1224t 屬
x	屬	zhú	djwok	djok	drok	
		[E] WT 'dug-pa 'to sit, dwell, stay, remain', WT rdog-pa 'step, kick, walk'; JP t ^h on ³¹ 'stop'				
r	擗	chuō	tš ^h āk	tš ^h ək	tshrôk	
		[E] AA: Khmer cūka /còok/ 'lift with tool...' ≠ cpūka /cbòok/ 'trident for lifting fish'				

11-13 = K. 1218 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	豕	chù	t ^h jwok	t ^h iok	throk	
-	豚	zhuó	tjuk	tjok	trok	

[E] TB: Chepang tu? 'female genitals'

cd	椽	zhuó	tāk	tək	trôk	
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[E] ? TB : WT rdug-pa 'to strike against, to stumble at'

[D] Min: Amoy col. te?^{D1}, lit. tok^{D1}, Zhangzh tø?

f	啄	zhuó	tāk, tjuk	tək, tjok	trôk, trok	
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eg	啄	zhuó	tāk	tək	trôk	
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b	啄	peck up	zhuó	tāk, tuk	tək, tok	trôk ≈ 10-18/128u 啄
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[E] LB *tok 'peck, strike with a curved instrument, hook onto', WB tok-hra 'woodpecker';

Lushai tśu^L / tśuk^L (Lorr. chu) 'to bite (as snake)', 'peck'

h-	冢塚	zhǒng	tjwoŋ ^B	tjoŋ ^B	troŋ?	
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[E] TB: WT rduŋ 'a small mound, hillock', WB toŋ 'hill, mountain' <> MY *tr²oŋ¹ 'mountain'

11-14 = K. 1202, 1220 MC LHan OCM

a	谷	valley	gǔ	kuk	kok	klôk = klok
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[E] ? Mikir arlók < *r-lók 'valley'

	谷	good	yù	jiwok	jok	lok
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	谷	title	lù	luk	lok < *lok	part of a Xiongnu title
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f	浴	yù	jiwok	jok	lok	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR y (入); MGZY yŷu (入) [jy]				
		[E] WT ldug(s)-pa, ldugs (< *nluk) 'to pour (water into vessel, on hands)' > 'cast, found'				
deg	欲慾	yù	jiwok	jok	lok	ONW iuok
h	裕	yù	jiu ^C	jo ^C	lokh	
1220a	俗	sú	zjwok	ziok	s-lok	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zy (入); MGZY zŷu (入) [zy]; ONW zuok				
		[D] M-Xiam lit. siok ^{D2} , col. sio? ^{D2}				

11-15 = K. 1208, 1228 MC LHan OCM

aef	录录	lù	luk	lok	rôk	
ghi	录录	lù	luk	lok	rôk	
klm-	录录	lù	ljwok	liok	rok	
1228a	剥	bō	pāk	pək	prôk	[D] Guangzh mek ⁷
-	录	fù	bjuk	buk	—	SW

11-16 = K. 1209 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	鹿	lù	luk	lok	rôk	
e	鹿	lù	luk	lok	rôk	
		[E] WT dkrug-pa 'stir up' ≠ 'k ^h rug-pa 'be disturbed, quarrel' ≠ sprug-pa 'to shake, stir up'				
h	麓	lù	luk	lok	rôk	
		[E] AA: PVM *m-ru:?'forest'				
fg	漉	lù	luk	lok	rôk	
-	轆 (li 轆-)	lù	liek-luk	lek-lok	—	'spinning wheel'
		[E] Tai rok ⁸ 'pulley' (?)				

11-17 = K. 1223 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	辱	rǔ, rù	ńžjwok	ńok	nok	
bcd	辱辱	rù	ńžjwok	ńok	nok	
ef	辱辱	nòu	nuok, nəu ^C	nouk, no ^C	nùk, nòkh	

[T] ONW nouk or nauk ? <> [N] The OB graph shows two hands holding an agricultural implement, a hoe. Hence a 辱 is the original graph for ef.

[E] Lushai hnu^F < hnu? (< *?) 'work finished, weeded or harvested area'

-	辱	nok	nok		
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11-18 = K. 1206 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	族	zú	dzuk	dzok	dzôk	
d	族	zú	tsuk	tsok	tsôk	
e	族	cù	ts ^h uk	ts ^h ok	tshôk	
f	族	nest	cù	ts ^h uk	ts ^h ok	tshôk
	a pipe	còu	ts ^h əu ^C	ts ^h o ^C	tshôkh	
g	族	sòu,	səu ^{B/C} ,	so ^{B/C} ,	sô?/h,	
		còu	ts ^h əu ^C	ts ^h o ^C	tshôh < k-sôh	

11-19 = K. 1219 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	足	foot	zú	tsjwok	tsiok	tsok
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsy (入), PR, LR tsu?; MGZY dzŷu (入) [tsy]; ONW tsuok				
		[E] WT č ^h og-pa 'be sufficient'				

	足 add	jù	tsju ^C	tsio ^C	tsokh	
c	呢	zú	tsjwok	tsiok	tsok	
d	促	cù	ts ^h jwok	ts ^h iok	tshok	= 11-21/1222g
	cf. 10-35/131g; 10-36/132c					
e	捉	zhuō	tʂák	tʂok	tsrôk	

11-20 = K. 1221 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a 粟	sù	sjwok	siok	sok	OCB *sjok
	[T] MHan 粟德 siok-tək Soyð or soyðik <> [D] PEMin *tshuok ^{D1} , PWMin *juok ^{D1}				
	'unhusked rice'				

11-21 = K. 1222 How MC śj- can serve as phonetic in words with MC s- is quite puzzling; perhaps some of the words in Div. I derive from OC *sl-.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	束	shù	śjwok	śok	lhok	
	[E] ? WB hluiŋ ^B 'bind into a bundle'					
i	速	sù	suk	sok	sôk	
	[T] Sin S. SR su (入); MGZY su (入) [su]; ONW sok. <> [D] M-Xiam lit. sok ^{D1} , col. sak ^{D1}					
k	鍊	sù	suk	sok	sôk	
pr	檄	sù	suk	sok	sôk	
g	諫	cù	ts ^h jwok	ts ^h iok	tshok < k-sok ?	= 11-19/1219d
q	藪	sù	suk	sok	sôk	
	[D] M-Xiam sok ^{D1} <> [E] WT 'tsho-ba, sos 'to live, revive, last; feed'					
s	嗽	sòu	səu ^C	so ^C	sôkh	
	[E] TB *su(w) > Magari su, Garo, Dimasa gu-su, WT sud-pa 'cough'					
t	漱	sòu	səu ^C , śjəu ^C	so ^C , ʂu ^C	srokh or sroh	≠ 10-37/1097f etc.
o	漱	shù, shuò	śák	śok	srôk	
	[D] Gan-Changsha so ³³ , Yue-Guangzh [ɔk ³³ , Min-Xiamen su ³² (D1)					
	[E] WB sok 'drink, smoke'					
l	駮	sǒng,	sjwoŋ ^B ,	sioŋ ^B ,	soŋʔ,	
		sǒu	səu ^B	so ^B	sôʔ	
mn	悚	sǒng	sjwoŋ ^B	sioŋ ^B ,	soŋʔ	
	[D] M-Xiam lit. sioŋ ^{B1} , su ts ^h əŋ ^{C1} = 12-22/1191j 聳					
-	踈	shū	sjwo	ʂa	—	

11-22 = K. 1210 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a 卜	bǔ	puk	pok	pôk	
	[T] ONW pok <> [E] LB *npök ^H ~ *pök ^H ~ *bök ^L 'explode, pop'				
e	扑	pū	p ^h uk	p ^h ok	phôk
f	朴	pǔ	p ^h âk	p ^h ok	phrôk
g	仆	fù, pòu	p ^h ju ^C , p ^h əu ^C , ph(u)o ^C ,	phokh,	
			p ^h jəu ^C , bək	p ^h u ^C , bək	phəkh, bək
hi	訃赴	fù	p ^h ju ^C	p ^h uo ^C	phokh

11-23 = K. 1211 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a a	bú	buk	bok	bôk	
b 僕 servant	pú	buk, buok	bok	bôk	OCB *bok
	[E] WT bu 'son, boy'				

	僕 crowd	pú	p ^h uk	p ^h ok	phôk
g	樸 shrubby	bú	puk, buk	pok, bok	pôk, bôk
	rough	pǔ	p ^h uk	p ^h ok	phôk
	to trim	pò	p ^h âk	p ^h ok	phrôk
i-	鞞	bú	puk	pok	pôk
j	撲	pū	p ^h uk	p ^h ok	phôk
	[T] MHan 撲挑 p ^h ok-deu [?] /-t ^h eu < *phôk-liâu? Puśkalāvati, Πευκελαώτις				
m	璞	pú, pò	p ^h uk, p ^h âk	p ^h ok, p ^h ok	phôk, phrôk
n	璞	pú	p ^h âk	p ^h ok	phrôk

11-24 = K. 1212 Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ae 木沐	mù	muk	mok	môk	
	木 [T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (入); MGZY mu (入) [mu]; ONW mok				
f 齶	(mài-)mù	-muk	-mok	-môk or -mrôk	OCB *-mok

12 OCM rime *-oŋ Dōng bù 東部

GSR 1172 - 1201

Baxter 1992: 505 ff. (§10.2.12)

See Table 10-1 for OCM rimes *-oŋ, *-ok, *-o in QYS categories.

12-1	= K. 1172	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	工功	gōng	kuŋ	koŋ	kōŋ = kloŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuŋ (平); MGZY gung (平) [kuŋ]; ONW koŋ				
	[E] ? Area word: TB-WB kiun ^B 'employ, order, commission' <> AA-OMon kloñ /kloŋ/ 'to work?', 'work as a cultivator'				
e	攻	gōng	kuŋ, kuoŋ	koŋ, kouŋ	kōŋ, kūŋ
g	貢	gòng	kuŋ ^C	koŋ ^C	kōŋh
lm	鳴璫	hòng	γuŋ	goŋ	gōŋ
g'	鴻	hóng	γuŋ	goŋ	gōŋ = gloŋ ?
	[N] Transcribes a pre-Han TB word for 'river' (cf. WT klun); Unger <i>Hao-ku</i> 50, 1995				
j	虹 rainbow	hóng	γuŋ	goŋ	gōŋ = gloŋ ?
	[D] PMin *ghion ^B , but Jiànyáng leŋ ^{C1} , Gan-Shànggāo has lon ^B -luŋ ^H				
	[E] PY *kluŋ ^A 'rainbow'				
i	虹 rainbow	jiàng	kãŋ ^C	koŋ ^C	krōŋh [D] Gan: Wuning dial. koŋ ^{C1}
	紅	hóng	γuŋ	goŋ	gōŋ OCB *goŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR γuŋ (平); MGZY Xung (平) [γuŋ]				
k	訇	hóng	γuŋ	goŋ	gōŋ
h	空 hollow	kōng	k ^h uŋ	k ^h oŋ	khōŋ
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'uŋ (平); MGZY khung (平) [k'uŋ]; ONW k ^h oŋ				
	[E] WT k ^h uŋ 'hole, pit, cavity; hollow'; WB k ^h oŋ ^B 'be hollow'				
z	空 exhaust	kòng	k ^h uŋ ^C	k ^h oŋ ^C	khōŋh
	空 hole	kōng	k ^h uŋ ^B	k ^h oŋ ^B	khōŋ?
	控	kōng	k ^h uŋ ^(C) ,	k ^h oŋ ^(C) ,	khōŋ, khōŋh,
			k ^h ãŋ ^C	k ^h oŋ ^C	khōŋh
a'	控 throw	kòng	k ^h uŋ ^C	k ^h oŋ ^C	khōŋh
	to beat	qiàng	k ^h ãŋ ^C	k ^h oŋ ^C	khōŋh
b'	控	qiāng	k ^h ãŋ	k ^h oŋ	khōŋh 'hollow wooden instrument'
v	江	jiāng	kãŋ	koŋ	krōŋ
	[E] AA: PMonic *krooŋ, Bahnar kroŋ, Katu karuŋ				
u	杠	gāng	kãŋ	koŋ	krōŋ
x	杠	gāng, kòng	kãŋ, k ^h uŋ ^C	koŋ, k ^h oŋ ^C	krōŋ, khōŋh
y	項	xiàng	γãŋ ^B	goŋ ^B	grōŋ?
	[T] ONW γãŋ ^B <> [D] Chéngdu ⁵³ tcin- ¹³ xan 頸 項, Yángzh ⁴² tcin- ⁵⁵ xan (col.); Amoy han ^{C2}				
	[E] TB Chepang groŋ-ko 'stretch the neck'				
s	邛	qióng	gjwoŋ	guoŋ	goŋ
	[E] WT gyoŋ 'want, need, indigence'				

12 OCM *-oŋ 東部 (GSR 1172-1201)

pc'	p 鞏	gǒng	kjwoŋ ^B	kuoŋ ^B	koŋ?
d'	恐	kǒng	k ^h joŋ ^B	k ^h uoŋ ^B	khōŋ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'juŋ (上), PR, LR k'uŋ; MGZY khūng (上) [k'juŋ]; ONW k ^h uoŋ				
	[E] WT 'goŋ(s)-pa, bkoŋ 'to despond, be in fear'				
e'	蛩	qióng	gjwoŋ	guoŋ	goŋ
f'	登	qióng,	gjwoŋ,	guoŋ,	goŋ,
		qiāng	k ^h ãŋ	k ^h oŋ	khōŋ
12-2	= K. 1174	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	孔	kǒng	k ^h uŋ ^B	k ^h oŋ ^B	khōŋ? [T] ONW k ^h oŋ
12-3	= K. 1182	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	井	gǒng	kjwoŋ ^B	kuoŋ ^B	koŋ?
c	共 join hands	gǒng	kjwoŋ ^B	kuoŋ ^B	koŋ?
	共 together	gòng	gjwoŋ ^C	guoŋ ^C	goŋh [T] ONW guoŋ
e	拱	gǒng	kjwoŋ ^B	kuoŋ ^B	koŋ?
m	拳	gǒng,	kjwoŋ ^B ,	kuoŋ ^B ,	koŋ?,
		jú	kjwok	kuok	kok
f	供	gōng	kjwoŋ ^(C)	kuoŋ ^(C)	koŋ, koŋh
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjuŋ (平), PR kuŋ; MGZY gūng (平) [kjuŋ]				
gk	犇	gōng	kjwoŋ	kuoŋ	koŋ
l	恭	gōng	kuŋ, kjwoŋ	kuoŋ	kroŋ
n	鞞	gǒng,	kjwoŋ ^B ,	kuoŋ ^B ,	koŋ?,
		qióng	gjwoŋ	guoŋ	goŋ
o	洪	hóng	γuŋ	goŋ	gōŋ
pq	鬩 q	hòng,	γuŋ ^C ,	goŋ ^C ,	
		xiàng	γãŋ ^C	goŋ ^C	grōŋh
r	烘	hōng	xuŋ	hoŋ	hōŋ
s	巷	xiàng	γãŋ ^C	goŋ ^C	grōŋh
-	港	gǎng	kãŋ ^B	koŋ ^B	krōŋ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjaŋ (上); MGZY gyang (上) [kjaŋ]				
t	鞞	jú	kjwok	kuok	kok
12-4	= K. 1184	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	邕	yōng	?jwoŋ	?uoŋ	?oŋ
	[E] WB uŋ 'pond, lake' (~ aŋ ^B 'pond, pool?'), Mru oŋ 'id.', JP ?uŋ ³³ 'fill (as a lake)'				
c	龢 harmon.	yōng	?jwoŋ	?uoŋ	?oŋ 'harmonious'
	cover	yōng	?jwoŋ ^(B/C)	?uoŋ ^(B/C)	?oŋ, ?oŋ?, ?oŋh
j	靡	yōng	?jwoŋ	?uoŋ	?oŋ
l	癰	yōng	?jwoŋ	?uoŋ	?oŋ
	[E] WB uŋ ^C 'bulge of anything' * uŋ ^B 'collection of humors (boil)'				
h	雍 harmon.	yōng	?jwoŋ	?uoŋ	?oŋ
	obstruct	yōng	?jwoŋ ^{B/C}	?uoŋ ^{B/C}	?oŋ?/h
k	擁	yōng !	?jwoŋ ^B	?uoŋ ^B	?oŋ?
i	壅 obstruct	yōng, yōng	?jwoŋ ^{A/B/C}	?uoŋ ^{B/C}	?oŋ, ?oŋ?, ?oŋh
m	養	yōng	?jwoŋ	?uoŋ	?oŋ

op	甕甕	wèng	ʔuŋ ^C	ʔoŋ ^C	ʔôŋh	= 12-13/1173g 瓮
	[T] ONW	ʔoŋ <>	[N] 甕	has additional readings	MC ʔjwoŋ ^(C)	
12-5	= K. 1183	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
1183a	凶	xiōng	xjwoŋ	huoŋ	hoŋ	
b	兇 bad	xiōng	xjwoŋ	huoŋ	hoŋ	[T] ONW huoŋ
	兇 fear	xiōng	xjwoŋ ^B	huoŋ ^B	hoŋ, hoŋʔ	
c	訥	xiōng	xjwoŋ	huoŋ	hoŋ	
def-	匈匈胸胸	xiōng	xjwoŋ	huoŋ	hoŋ	
	[T] 匈奴 LH huoŋ-na Xiōng-nú, Skt. Hūna, Hunns. 匈奴 renders foreign <i>hona</i> or <i>huna</i> ; transcriptions tend to have the last sound of a syllable anticipate the initial of the next one, but in LH there was no syllable <i>hon</i> , hence <i>huoŋ</i> (note many Chinese cannot pronounce Engl. <i>town</i> , they say [t ^h awŋ] instead).					
g	洵	xiōng	xjwoŋ ^(B)	huoŋ ^(B)	hoŋ, hoŋʔ	
1243a	酗	xù	xju ^C	huo ^C	hoh	
12-6	= K. 1175	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	東	dōng	tuj	toŋ	tôŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tuŋ (平); MGZY dung (平) [tuŋ]; ONW toŋ					
g	凍	dòng	tuj ^{A/C}	toŋ ^C	tôŋh	
	[E] Yao languages have a back vowel: blǔŋ ⁶ , bjǔŋ ⁶ , būŋ ⁶ , biŋ ⁶					
fe	棟凍	dòng	tuj ^C	toŋ ^C	tôŋh	
h	蝮蝮 (dì)-dōng		tiei ^C -tuj	tes-toŋ	-tôŋ	
12-7	= K. 1189	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	公	zhōng	tśjwoŋ	tśoŋ	toŋ	
	[N] 公 gōng is semantic and probably not phonetic, hence only the rimes agree.					
12-8	= K. 1188	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	重 heavy	zhòng	đjwoŋ ^B	đioŋ ^B	droŋʔ	
	重 double	chóng	đjwoŋ	đioŋ	droŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjuŋ (平), PR dzjuŋ; MGZY cýung (平) [dzjuŋ]; ONW duoŋ					
c	種	zhòng	tjwoŋ ^C , tuŋ ^C tioŋ ^C , toŋ ^C	troŋh, tōŋh		
b	種	zhòng	tśjwoŋ ^C	tśoŋ ^C	toŋh	
d	種 seed, hair	zhǒng	tśjwoŋ ^B	tśoŋ ^B	toŋʔ	
	[T] ONW tśuoŋ <> [E] TB: Chepang tuŋʔ- 'to plant' ≠ duŋ 'shoot, sprout', Tangsa (Barish) t'toŋ(?) <> ? AA-PVM *k-co:ŋʔ 'seed'					
efu	種 sow	zhòng	tśjwoŋ ^C	tśoŋ ^C	toŋh	
	腫踵踵	zhǒng	tśjwoŋ ^B	tśoŋ ^B	toŋʔ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tśjuŋ (上); MGZY jung (上) [tśjuŋ]					
g	鍾 a vessel	zhōng	tśjwoŋ	tśoŋ	toŋ	
kd'	種	zhòng	zwoŋ ^B	dźoŋ ^B	doŋʔ	
	[E] TB: Limbu thoŋt- 'to swell'					
j	衝	chōng	tś ^h jwoŋ	tś ^h oŋ	thoŋ	
-	剷	chōng	tś ^h jwoŋ	tś ^h oŋ	thoŋ	
l	董	dǒng	tuŋ ^B	toŋ ^B	tôŋʔ	
m	動	dòng	duŋ ^B	doŋ ^B	dôŋʔ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR duŋ (上); MGZY tung (上) [duŋ]; ONW doŋ					

n	働	tòng !	duŋ ^C	doŋ ^C	dôŋh	
o	童 boy	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
	[T] MGZY tung (平) [duŋ] <> [E] TB-KN-Khami doŋ 'boy' <> MY: Mong tuŋ ⁵⁵ 'son, male'					
	童 shaman	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	—	
	[D] PMin *doŋ ^A > Amoy col. dan ^{A2} 'sorcerer, medium' < MK: Viet. đong 'to shamanize', WrMon doŋ 'to dance'					
r	僮	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
s	瞳	tóng !	t ^h uŋ	t ^h oŋ	thôŋ	= 12-9/1176j 侗
t	種	chóng,	đjwoŋ,	đioŋ,	droŋ,	
		tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
x	鐘 bell	zhōng	tśjwoŋ	tśoŋ	toŋ	
a'	剷	chōng	tś ^h jwoŋ	tś ^h oŋ	thoŋ	
b'	懂	chōng,	tś ^h jwoŋ,	tś ^h oŋ,	thoŋ,	
		zhuàng	đǎŋ ^C	đoŋ ^C	drôŋh	
c'	罌	chōng,	tś ^h jwoŋ,	tś ^h oŋ,	thoŋ,	
		tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
e'	幢	chuáng	đǎŋ	đoŋ	drôŋ	
f'	撞	chuáng,	đǎŋ,	đoŋ,	drôŋ,	
		zhuàng	đǎŋ ^C	đoŋ ^C	drôŋh	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tśaŋ (去), PR, LR tśwaŋ; MGZY cwang (去) [dzwaŋ]					
	[E] WT rduŋ-ba, brduŋs 'to beat, hammer, pound'; WB t ^h oŋ ^B 'pound' (vb?), JP t ^h oŋ ³¹ 'kick'					
1248a	睡	tuǎn	t ^h wǎn ^B	thuan ^B	thônʔ	
12-9	= K. 1176	The phonetic tóng was prob. OCM *dôŋ (not *lôŋ), because most foreign connections have a T-like initial, tóng 'tube' is a late character; 'copper' is perh. a loan.				
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	同	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR duŋ (平); MGZY tung (平) [duŋ]; ONW do					
d	銅	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	lôŋ	
	[E] Cf. Tai-Wuming lu:ŋ ² , MK-Palaung məloŋ 'copper'					
ei	桐詞	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
g	筒	tóng, tǒng	duŋ	doŋ	lôŋ	= 12-10/1185t 筒
	Late graph [Lüshi] (*l->d-) <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR duŋ (平); MGZY tung (平) [duŋ]					
h	洞	dòng	duŋ ^C	doŋ ^C	dôŋh	
	[E] TB *dwa:ŋ 'pit, hole', Tiddim Chin wa:ŋ 'hole, make a hole', WT doŋ 'deep hole, pit'					
j	侗 stupid	tōng,	t ^h uŋ ^(C) ,	t ^h oŋ ^(C) ,	thôŋ, thôŋh	= 12-8/1188s
		tóng	duŋ	doŋ	dôŋ	
	simple	dòng	duŋ ^B	doŋ ^B	dôŋʔ	
k	恫	tōng	t ^h uŋ	t ^h oŋ	thôŋ	
12-10	= K. 1185	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	用	yòng	jiwoŋ ^C	joŋ ^C	loŋh	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR juŋ (去); MGZY yýung (去) [juŋ]; ONW iuoŋ					
	[E] WT loŋs 'the use or enjoyment of something' (e.g., wealth)					
f	戒	yǒng	jiwoŋ ^B	joŋ ^B	loŋʔ	
xa'	庸鏞	yōng	jiwoŋ	joŋ	loŋ	
y	傭 hire	yōng	jiwoŋ	joŋ	loŋ	

	傭 fair	chōng	tshjwoŋ	tshoŋ	k-lhoŋ	
z	壙	yōng	jiwoŋ	joŋ	loŋ	= 12-10A/1186a
h	甬	yōng	jiwoŋ ^B	joŋ ^B	loŋ?	
jkm	俑勇蛹	yōng	jiwoŋ ^B	joŋ ^B	loŋ?	
n	踊	yōng	jiwoŋ ^B	joŋ ^B	loŋ?	
lu	涌湧	yōng	jiwoŋ ^B	joŋ ^B	loŋ?	
	[D] M-Amoy col. yin ^B 'wave'					
r	通	tōng	thoŋ	thoŋ	lhōŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR t'uŋ (平); MGZY thung (平) [t'uŋ]; ONW thoŋ					
p	桶	tōng	thoŋ ^B	thoŋ ^B	thōŋ?	(late graph [Lüshi])
	[E] ? PTai *thuəŋ ^{C1/A1} 'bucket' <> ? TB: Chepaŋ d'hoŋ 'container'					
q	痛	tōng	thoŋ ^C	thoŋ ^C	lhōŋh	[T] ONW thoŋ
t	筒	tóng	duŋ	doŋ	lōŋ	= 12-9/1176g 筒
	[T] Sin S. SR duŋ (平); MGZY tung (平) [duŋ] <> [E] Area word: WT doŋ-po ~ ldoŋ-po < *N-loŋ 'tube', Chepaŋ thoŋ 'tube'. <> PTai *kl-: S. klōŋ ^{C1} 'tube, cylinder'; Li loŋ, IN t'luŋ					
o	誦	sòng	zjwoŋ ^C	zioŋ ^C	s-loŋh	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjuŋ (去), PR suŋ; MGZY zŷung (去) [zjuŋ]; ONW zuoŋ					
	[D] M-Xiam (lit.) sioŋ ^{C2} = 誦 <> [E] TB: WT luŋ 'exhortation, admonition, instruction'					

12-10A = K. 1186 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 壙 yōng ! jiwoŋ joŋ loŋ SW = 12-10/1185z

12-11 = K. 1187 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 容 contain róng jiwoŋ joŋ loŋ
 'countenance' = 12-13/1190d. The original phonetic was 12-13 公 (Unger, *Hao-ku* 63, 1999). [T] Sin Sukchu SR juŋ (平); MGZY yŷung (平) [juŋ]; ONW iuoŋ
 [E] TB: WT loŋ 'leisure, free time' <> Tai: S. loŋ^{B2} ~ looŋ^{B2} 'feel at ease'

bc 溶蓉 róng jiwoŋ joŋ loŋ

12-12 = K. 1192 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 ac 春椿 chōng sjwoŋ sóŋ lhoŋ
 [E] KT: S. *klooŋ 'hull rice', Kam-Sui *tyuŋ^B

d 意 chōng sjwoŋ, sóŋ, lhoŋ,
 tshjwoŋ^C, tshioŋ^C, rhoŋh,
 tshāŋ tshoŋ rhōŋ

12-13 = K. 1173, 1190 The element 公 seems to be the original graph for 瓮 wēng (Unger, *Hao-ku* 63, 1999). A wēng was a bellied vessel with a small opening, two handles and outward turned lips. The graph was also used as a phonetic in wēng 'old man, uncle', and perhaps than transferred to the similar sounding synonym gōng 'uncle'.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
1173a	公 prince	gōng	kuŋ	koŋ	klōŋ
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuŋ (平); MGZY gung (平) [kuŋ] <> [D] Min-Xiamen kaŋ ^{A1}			
		'grandfather'; 'clan head' <> [E] Tai: S. luŋ ^{A2} < *l- 'parent's elder brother, uncle' <> ? MK			
		etymon: Khmer /looŋ/ 'chief' ≠ /klooŋ/ 'dignitary higher than' /looŋ/			
	公 impartial	gōng	kuŋ	koŋ	kōŋ
		[E] TB: WT (d)guŋ 'middle'			
1190a	松	sōng	zjwoŋ	zioŋ	s-loŋ
		[T] ONW zuoŋ <> [D] Min: Xiam lit. sioŋ ^{A2} , col. tsin ^{A2}			

b	訟 litigate	sòng	zjwoŋ ^(C)	zioŋ ^(C)	s-loŋ, s-loŋh
d	頌 eulogy	sòng	zjwoŋ ^C	zioŋ ^C	s-loŋh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjuŋ (去), PR suŋ; MGZY zŷung (去) [zjuŋ]; ONW zuoŋ			
		[D] M-Xiam (lit.) sioŋ ^{C2} = 誦 <> [E] WT luŋ 'exhortation, admonition, instruction'			
f	頌 counten.	róng	jiwoŋ	joŋ	loŋ 'countenance' = 12-11/1187a
	崧	sōng	sjuoŋ	siuoŋ	suŋ < sluoŋ ? = 15-11/1012 崧
		[D] M-Xiam lit. sioŋ ^{A1} , col. sin ^{A1}			
		[E] MK *sluoŋ > PMonic *slooŋ 'be high up, high, tall', OMon s-lūŋ 'be high'			
-	鬆	sōng	suoŋ,	suoŋ,	— [D] M-Xiam lit. soŋ ^{A1} , col. saŋ ^{A1}
			tshjwoŋ	tshioŋ	
1173g	瓮翁	wèng	ʔuoŋ ^C	ʔoŋ ^C	ʔōŋh = 12-4/1184op 甕甕
		wēng	ʔuoŋ	ʔoŋ	ʔōŋ
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔuoŋ (平); MGZY 'ung (平) [ʔuoŋ]; ONW ʔoŋ			
		[E] TB-Lushai un ^L 'be old, elderly, venerable, ancient', WB u ^B 'uncle'			

12-14 = K. 1180 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 弄 lòng luŋ^C loŋ^C rôŋh

12-15 = K. 1193 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 龍 dragon lóng ljwoŋ lion roŋ OCB *C-rjoŋ
 [E] AA: Viet. rōng 'dragon', Khmer roŋ ~ rôŋ <> KT: Siam. maŋroŋ ~ mārōŋ

龍 variegat. máng mǎŋ mǎŋ mrōŋ = 12-26/1201 彪彪彪

h 龍 lóng luŋ, ljwoŋ loŋ, lion rôŋ, roŋ

ik i 龕 lóng luŋ loŋ rôŋ

l 籠 lóng luŋ^(B) loŋ^(B) rôŋ, rôŋ?

[T] ONW luoŋ <> [E] Area word: AA: OKhmer /kruŋ/ 'to cover, shelter, protect, to pen (animals)' ≠ druŋa /truŋ/ 'pen, cage, coop for birds and animals' <> WB khruŋ^C 'cage for birds' <> KT: PTai *kroŋ^{B1} 'cage', AN *kuruŋ 'cage'

m 龔 lóng luŋ loŋ rôŋ [D] Min: Jiànyáng soŋ^A

o 龔 lóng luŋ loŋ rôŋ

fg 龔隴 lóng ljwoŋ^B lion^B roŋ?

p 龔 lóng tshjwoŋ^B tshioŋ^B rhoŋ?

12-16 = K. 1194 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 茸 róng nǎzwoŋ nōŋ noŋ ≠ 鼯, 15-10/1013e 菘

12-16A 輶 rǒng nǎzwoŋ^B nōŋ^B — 'push a cart' SW 6456

12-17 = K. 1195 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 鼯 rǒng nǎzwoŋ^B nōŋ^B noŋ? ≠ 菘, 15-10/1013e 菘

12-18 = K. 1196 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 冗 rǒng nǎzwoŋ^B nōŋ^B noŋ?

12-19 = K. 1199 Most graphs have two forms, one with element a, the other with b.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	囟匆	chuāng	tshāŋ	tshōŋ	tshrōŋ
-lm	窗窻窻	chuāng	tshāŋ	tshōŋ	tshrōŋ
cdf	恩忽聰	cōng	tshuoŋ	tshoŋ	tshōŋ

h	葱 onion	cōng	ts ^h uŋ	ts ^h oŋ	tshōŋ	
	[E] TB: WT btsoŋ 'onion', Mru choŋ					
g	蔥 onion	cōng	ts ^h uŋ	ts ^h oŋ	tshōŋ	
	a wagon	chuāng	tɕ ^h ãŋ	tɕ ^h oŋ	tshrōŋ	
ijk	i 總摠	zōng	tsuŋ ^B	tsoŋ ^B	tsōŋ?	
12-20	= K. 1177	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	a	zōng	tsuŋ ^(C)	tsoŋ ^(C)	tsōŋ, tsōŋh	
bcef	悞悞悞悞	zōng	tsuŋ	tsoŋ	tsōŋ	
12-21	= K. 1178	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	叢	cóng	dzuŋ	dzoŋ	dzōŋ	
	Because of semantic overlap, 取 is not necessarily phonetic.					
12-22	= K. 1191	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	从	cóng	dzjwoŋ	dzioŋ	dzoŋ	
d	從 follow	cóng	dzjwoŋ	dzioŋ	dzoŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjuŋ (平), PR, LR dzuŋ; MGZY ts ^h juŋ (平) [dzjuŋ]; ONW dzuoŋ					
	從 follower	zòng	dzjwoŋ ^C	dzioŋ ^C	dzoŋh	
	從 longitud.	zōng	tsjwoŋ	tsioŋ	tsoŋ	
	從 leisure	cōng	ts ^h jwoŋ	ts ^h ioŋ	tshoŋ	
	從 hairdress	zōng	tsuŋ ^B	tsoŋ ^B	tsōŋ?	
h	縱 let off	zòng	tsjwoŋ ^C	tsioŋ ^C	tsoŋh	
	縱 quickly	zōng	tsuŋ ^B	tsoŋ ^B	tsōŋ? [E] WB cuiŋ ^B 'drive fast'	
i	縱	zōng, cōng	ts ^(h) jwoŋ	ts ^(h) ioŋ	tsoŋ, tshoŋ	
k	縱	zōng	tsuŋ	tsoŋ	tsōŋ	
j	聳	sōng	sjwoŋ ^B	sioŋ ^B	soŋ?, = 11-21/1222mn 竦悚	
	[D] M-Xiam lit. sioŋ ^{B1} , col. ts ^h oŋ ^{C1}				ts ^h (i)oŋ ^C tshoŋh < k-soŋh	
-	愨	sōng	sjwoŋ ^B	sioŋ ^B	soŋ? = 11-21/1222m 悚	
12-23	= K. 1179	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	送	sòng	suŋ ^C	soŋ ^C	sōŋh	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR suŋ (去); MGZY sung (去) [suŋ]; ONW soŋ					
	[D] M-Xiam lit. soŋ ^{C1} , col. soŋ ^{C1}					
12-24	= K. 1200	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	雙	shuāng	ɕãŋ	ɕoŋ	srōŋ OCB *sCr(j)oŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɕaŋ (平), PR ɕwaŋ; MGZY sh ^h ang (平) [ɕAŋ]					
	[E] TB: WT zuŋ 'a pair, single', Mru choŋ 'pair'					
12-25	= K. 1197	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	丰	fēng	p ^h jwoŋ	p ^h uoŋ	phoŋ	
e	邦	bāng	pãŋ	poŋ	prōŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR paŋ (平); MGZY bang (平) [paŋ]					
d	蚌	bàng	bãŋ ^B	boŋ ^B	brōŋ? = g'	
m	傘	fēng, fēng	bjwoŋ, p ^h jwoŋ	buoŋ, p ^h uoŋ	boŋ, phoŋ	

o	逢 meet	féng	bjwoŋ	buoŋ	boŋ [T] ONW buoŋ	
	a sound	péng	buŋ	boŋ	bōŋ	
v	撻	féng	bjwoŋ	buoŋ	boŋ	
x	縫 to sew	féng	bjwoŋ	buoŋ	boŋ	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR vuŋ (平); MGZY Hwung (平) [vuŋ]; ONW buoŋ <> [D] Min: Xiam lit. hoŋ ^{A2} , col. paŋ ^{A2}					
	縫 a seam	fèng	bjwoŋ ^C	buoŋ ^C	boŋh	
	[D] Min: Xiam lit. hoŋ ^{C2} , col. p ^h oŋ ^{C2}					
r	烽	fēng	p ^h jwoŋ	p ^h uoŋ	phoŋ	
st	蜂蠱	fēng	p ^h jwoŋ	p ^h uoŋ	phoŋ	
	[T] Sin S. SR fuŋ (平); MGZY hwung (平) [fuŋ] <> [D] Min: Xiam lit. hoŋ ^{A1} , col. 蜂 p ^h oŋ ^{A1}					
	<> [E] TB: WT buŋ-ba 'bee' (HST: 40)					
u-	鋒峰	fēng	p ^h jwoŋ	p ^h uoŋ	phoŋ	
y	蓬	péng	buŋ	boŋ	bōŋ	
-	篷 sail	péng	buŋ	—	—	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR buŋ (平); MGZY pung (平) [buŋ] 'sail' <> [D] PMin *b ^h oŋ					
i	封	fēng	pjwoŋ	puoŋ	poŋ	
	[D] Min: Xiam lit. hoŋ ^{A1} , col. paŋ ^{A1} <> [E] Area etymon: WT p ^h uŋ-po 'heap'; Lushai puŋ ^H / pun ^L 'increase, assemble' ≠ vuuŋ ^R 'a heap, a mound'					
-	犏	fēng	pjwoŋ	puoŋ	poŋ	
	[N] Hanshu 96A: humped cattle of India, zebu					
k	葑	fēng	p ^h jwoŋ	p ^h uoŋ	phoŋ	
l	紉	běng, bǎng	puŋ ^B , pãŋ ^B	poŋ ^B , poŋ ^B	pōŋ?, prōŋ?	
z	奉	fèng	bjwoŋ ^B , p ^h jwoŋ ^B	buoŋ ^B , p ^h uoŋ ^B	boŋ ^B , phoŋ ^B [D] Min: Xiam (lit.) hoŋ ^{C2}	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR fuŋ (上), LR vuŋ; MGZY Hwung (上) [vuŋ]; ONW buoŋ					
b'	捧	pěng !	p ^h jwoŋ ^B	p ^h uoŋ ^B	phoŋ ^B	
c'	捧	fèng	bjwoŋ ^C	buoŋ ^C	boŋh	
d'	捧	běng, bèng	puŋ ^B , buŋ ^B	poŋ ^B , boŋ ^B	pōŋ?, bōŋ?	
e'	捧	běng	puŋ ^B	poŋ ^B	pōŋ?	
f'	棒	běng	puŋ ^B , buŋ ^B	poŋ ^B , boŋ ^B	pōŋ?, bōŋ?	
-	棒	bàng	bãŋ ^B	boŋ ^B	brōŋ?	
	[E] Tai: S. p ^h lɔŋ ^{A2} < *b- 'club, cudgel'					
g'	棒	bàng	bãŋ ^B	boŋ ^B	brōŋ? = d	
12-26	= K. 1201	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
acde	彪彪彪彪	máng	mãŋ	mōŋ	mrōŋ a = 12-13/1193a 龍	
12-27	= K. 1181	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
adf	蒙蒙蒙	méng	muŋ	moŋ	mōŋ	
c	蒙 blind	méng	muŋ	moŋ	mōŋ = 6-23/902a 夢	
	[E] TB *muŋ > WB hmuŋ 'dull, downcast' ≠ hmuŋ ^B 'very dark'; JP muŋ ³³ 'overcast'					
b	蒙 cover	méng	muŋ	moŋ	mōŋ	
	dense	měng	muŋ ^B	moŋ ^B	mōŋ?	
e	蒙	měng	muŋ ^(B)	moŋ ^(B)	mōŋ, mōŋ?	

13 OCM rime *-u Yōu bù 幽部

GSR 1040 - 1116

Baxter 1992: 507 ff. (§10.2.13)

Table 13-1: OCM rimes *-uŋ, *-uk, *-u in QYS categories

Div.	*-uŋ R.15	*-uk R.14	*-u R.13, *-ukh R.14
I	冬 tuoŋ touŋ *tūŋ	告 kuok kouk *kûk 毒 duok douk *dûk	好 xâu ^B hou ^B *hû? 寶 pâu ^B pou ^B *pû? 道 dâu ^B dou ^B *lû? 誥 kâu ^C kou ^C *kûkh
III	宮 kjuŋ kuŋ *kuŋ 豐 p ^h juŋ p ^h uŋ *phuŋ 終 t ^s juŋ t ^s uŋ *tuŋ 中 tjuŋ tuŋ *truŋ 嵩 sjuŋ siuŋ *suŋ	菊 kjuk kuk *kuk 目 mjuk muk *muk 竹 tjuk tuk *truk 六 ljuk liuk *ruk	浮 bjəu bu *bu 覆 p ^h jəu ^C p ^h u ^C *phukh 舟 t ^s jəu t ^s u *tu 祝 t ^s jəu ^C t ^s u ^C *tukh 劉 ljəu liu *ru
II	降 kãŋ ^C kəŋ ^C *krũŋh 薏 tãŋ ^C tɔŋ ^C *trũŋh	學 ɣãk gək *grũk	包 pau pəu *prũ 爪 t ^s əu ^B t ^s əu ^B *tsrũ? 窄 kau ^C kou ^C *krũkh
IV		怒 niek neuk *niũk 筵 diek deuk *liũk	梟 kieu keu *kiũ 窈 ɣieu ^B ɣeu ^B *ɣiũ? 鳥 tieu ^B teu ^B *tiũ? 蓼 lieu leu *riũ
3/4 gr			糾 kjieu ^{B4} kiu ^B *kiu? 謬 mjieu ^{C4} miu ^C *mriuh
III ac			鏐 ljeu liu *riu
II			坳 ɣəu ɣəu *ɣriũ

All phonetic series that are suspected to include words with the OCM rime *-wə (Div. III) are found under Rime 4.

No LHan high vocalic onset need to be postulated with the high vowel *u*; however, *i* is inserted after acute initials. LHan -iu after gutturals is a survival of OC *-iu (Baxter *-iw).

Table 16-1 for comparison of OCM rimes *-auk, *-uk, *-(i)au, *-(i)u.

13-1	= K. 1040	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abc	皐皐棹	gāo	kâu	kou	kû
d	皐	háo	ɣâu	gou	gû
efg	ef 皐	hào	ɣâu ^B	gou ^B	gû?
	= 14-1/1039h 皓; 13-2/1244c 杲				
h	翱	aó	ŋâu	ŋou	ŋû

13-2	= K. 1244c	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
c	杲	gǎo	kâu ^B	kou ^B	kû?
	= 14-1/1039h 皓; = 13-1/1040g 皐				

13-3 = K. 1041 号 GSR 1041p etc. constitute a separate series, see 16-8.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
aj	巧攷	kǎo	k ^h âu ^B	k ^h ou ^B	khû?	
do	考考	kǎo	k ^h âu ^B	k ^h ou ^B	khû? R!	OCB *khu?
l	巧	qiǎo	k ^h au ^{B/C}	k ^h ou ^{B/C}	khru?, khruh	
	[T] Sin-SR k ^h jaw ^B ; MGZY k ^h jaw ^B ; ONW k ^h äu; BTD k ^h əu; MHan k ^h əu					
mn	朽朽	xiǔ	xjəu ^B	hu ^B	hu?	

13-4	= K. 1042	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	昊	hào	ɣâu ^B	gou ^B	gû?	[T] ONW ɣəu

13-5	= K. 1043	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	顛	hào	ɣâu ^B	gou ^B	gû?

13-6	= K. 1065	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	韭韭	jiǔ	kjəu ^B	ku ^B	ku?	OCB *k(r)ju?
	[D] PMin *kiu ^B : Xiamen ku ^B <> [E] TB: WT sko 'onion'					

13-7	= K. 1068	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	咎 fault	jiù	gjəu ^B	gu ^B	gu?	OCB *g(r)ju?
	PI.N.	gāo	kâu	kou	kû	
c	楷	gāo	kâu ^(B)	kou ^(B)	kû, kû?	
ef	馨囊	gāo	kâu	kou	kû < klu ?	

13-7A	= K. 1070mn	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
mn	梟滂	xiāo !	kieu	keu	kiũ
	There is nothing to suggest that 13-11/1070 休 is phonetic.				

13-8	= K. 1064	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	𠂔 > 糾 ¹ twist jiũ !		kjieu ^B 4	kiu ^B	kiu?	OCB *k(r)jiw?
	𠂔 has tone A.					
ef	蚪蚪	qiú,	gjieu 4,	giu,	giu,	
		jiũ	kjieu 4	kiu	kiu	= 4-15/1066i 鯨
ghi	叫訓	jiào	kieu ^C	keu ^C	kiũh	
	叫 [T] Sin Sukchu SR kjew (去); PR kjaw; MGZY g ^h jaw (去) [kjew]; ONW kèu; MHan kiu; BTD kèu					
d	起 elegant	jiũ !	kjieu ^B 4	kiu ^B	kiu?	a lexicographic ghost?

bc	糾 ² 紕 eleg.	jiào, jiǎo	gǐäu ^B 3, -kjäu ^B 3	gǐäu ^B , -kiäu ^B	gau?, kau?
1103a	收	shōu	śjəu	śu	hju? or nɦi? OCB *xjiw
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣiw (平); MGZY shiw (平) [ɣiw]; ONW śu			[N] SW says that 收 is phonetic, but it may have been chosen for other unknown reasons.
1139a	菽	qiáo	gjiäu 4	giau	giau
		SW says that 收 is phonetic. Although the latter is a phonological oddity in this series, qiáo fits within the range of the phonetic GSR 1064a.			
13-9	= K. 1044	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	好 good	hǎo	xâu ^B	hou ^B	hû? OCB *xũ?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR xaw (上); MGZY haw (上) [xaw]; ONW hau. See also p. 10.			
	好 love, like	hào	xâu ^C	hou ^C	hûh
		[E] TB *hu 'rear, raise, nourish'			
13-10	= K. 1244d	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
d	薺	hāo	xâu	hou	hû = 13-11/1070k 苽
		[E] TB: Chepang hu?- 'to weed'			
13-11	= K. 1070	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ag	休咻	xiū	xjəu	hu	hu See also 13-7A.
hij	猊髯	xiū	xjəu	hu	hu
k	苽	hāo	xâu	hou	hû = 13-10/1244d 薺
l	佺	xiāo	xau	hou	hrû or hû
13-12	= K. 1088	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	臭	chòu	tśhǐəu ^C	tśhǐu ^C	k-hjuh
		[D] M-Xiam lit. ts'hiu ^C , col. ts'ho ^C , Fuzh ts'au ^C			
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tś'iw (去); MGZY chiw (去) [tś'iw]; MTang tś'heu < tś'hǐu, ONW tś'hǐu			
c	嗅	xiù	xjəu ^C	hu ^C	huh
		[T] MTang hiu > heu, ONW hu <> [D] M-Xiam lit. hiu ^C 'bad smelling'			
d	糗	qiǔ	k'hǐəu ^B	k'hǐu ^B	khu?
13-13	= K. 1089	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	醜	chǒu	tśhǐəu ^B	tśhǐu ^B	k-hjǔ
13-14	= K. 1071	憂 is probably not phonetic in 16-27/1152 náo.			
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
-	慰	yōu	ʔjəu	ʔu	ʔu SW
		This may be the original graph for the next item a, hence has nothing to do with 16-27.			
a	憂	yōu	ʔjəu	ʔu	ʔu
d	優	yōu	ʔjəu	ʔu	ʔu [T] BTd Skt. u[pā...], ut[pā...]
fghi	優優優優	yōu	ʔjəu	ʔu	ʔu
		優優 [E] TB: Lushai vuur ^F 'fill (with earth), cover'			
e	優	yōu	ʔjəu ^B	ʔu ^B	ʔu?
13-15	= K. 1072	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	塵	yōu	ʔjəu	ʔu	ʔu

13-16	= K. 1115	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	么	yāo	ʔieu	ʔeu	ʔiû
b	兹	yōu	ʔjieu 4, ʔjəu	ʔiu	ʔiu
c	幽	yōu	ʔjieu 4	ʔiu	ʔiu OCB *(r)jiw(?)
		[T] ONW ʔiu <> [E] Mru iu (i.e. ʔiu) 'dark'			
f	幼	yòu	ʔjieu ^C 4	ʔiu ^C	ʔiuh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔiw (去); MGZY Yiw (去) [ʔjiw] <> [E] WT <i>yu-bo</i> 'without horns'			
g	呦	yōu	ʔjieu 4	ʔiu	ʔiu
		[E] Lushai eu ^L (i.e., ʔeu?) 'to bark or call (as sambhur deer)'			
h	黝	yǒu	ʔjieu ^B 4	ʔiu ^B	ʔiu?
i	窈	yǎo	ʔieu ^B	ʔeu ^B	ʔiû? see 16-20/1145q 窈
j	坳	āo, ào	ʔau	ʔou	ʔriû = 13-16A 凹
		> later 凹 'concave'; ≠ 13-17/1245a 窅 *ʔiû? 'eye socket'			
13-16A	凹 concave	āo, ào	ʔau	—	= 13-16/1115j 坳
13-17	= K. 1245ab	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	窅杳	yǎo	ʔieu ^B	ʔeu ^B	ʔiû? ≠ 13-16/1115c 幽
-	暗	jué!	ʔiwet	ʔuet	ʔuît < ʔiût? SW 1440
		For other instances of a *-uiC < *-iuC metathesis, see EDOC nǐ (p. 397).			
13-18	= K. 1244h	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
h	龔龔	tāo-tiè	t'hǎu-t'hiet	t'hǎ/ou-t'hiet	?
		[N] The 號 16-8 element may be semantic.			
13-19	= K. 1084, 1085		MC	LHan	OCM
afg	舟	zhōu	tśjəu	tśu	tu
		[E] MK: Khmer duk 'boat', Bahn. *duk 'boat', PVM *do:k -> Tai-S. tu:k ^{D1} 'boat'			
fg	舟	zhōu	tjəu	tu	tru
1085a	受 receive	shòu	ʔjəu ^B	dźu ^B	du?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔiw (上); MGZY zhiw (上) [ʔiw]; ONW dźu			
d	授 give	shòu	ʔjəu ^C	dźu ^C	duh ONW dźu
e	綬	shòu	ʔjəu ^B	dźu ^B	du?
13-20	= K. 1086	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	州洲	zhōu	tśjəu	tśu	tu
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tśiw (平); MGZY jiw (平) [tśiw]			
e	酬	chóu	ʔjəu	dźu	du = 13-22/1090o 酬
13-20A	= K. 1087	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	帚帚 broom	zhǒu	tśjəu ^B	tśu ^B	tu?
		The same graph writes a synonym sǎo, see 13-61.			
13-21	= K. 1091	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
[a']a	雉雉	chóu	ʔjəu	dźu	du
		[T] MTang ʔeu < dźu, ONW dźu <> [E] Lushai do ^H 'to counter contributions...'			
e	售	shòu	ʔjəu ^C	dźu ^C	duh
cd	雙雙	chōu	tśhǐəu	tśhǐu	thu WB huik 'to pant'

	13-22 = K. 1090	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abl	a 𪔐 > 疇 ¹	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	dru	'ploughed fields'
ldf	疇 ² 𪔐	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	dru	'who'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjw (平); MGZY ciw (平) [dzjw] <> [E] Kuki-Chin *tuʔ/h 'who'					
kmn	儔 儔	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	dru	WT do 'two, a pair'
q	疇	zhōu	tjəu	tu	tru	
op	疇 𪔐	chóu	zjəu	dzu	du	= 13-20/1086e 酬
g	壽	shòu	zjəu ^B	dzu ^B	du?	
a'	鑄	zhù	tʂju ^C	tso ^C	toh	= 10-19/129c 注
r	擣 beat	dǎo	tāu ^B	tou ^B	tû?	
	[D] Yue-Taishan au ⁵⁵ -m ⁵⁵ bai ⁵⁵ 擣米 <> [E] JP t ^h u ⁵⁵ , WB tui ^B 'push'					
	pain	zhòu	ɖjəu ^C	ɖu ^C	druh	
s	擣	dǎo	tāu ^{B/C}	tou ^{B/C}	tû?, tûh	= 13-26/1083n 擣
t	擣	táo	dāu	dou	dû	
u	擣 to cover	dào	dāu ^C	dou ^C	dûh	
	covering	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	dru	
xz	擣 翻	dào, tāo	dāu ^(C)	dou ^(C)	dû, dûh	
	13-23 = K. 1073	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	肘 疇	zhǒu	tjəu ^B	tu ^B	tru?	WT gru-mo 'elbow'
c	耐	zhòu	ɖjəu ^B	ɖu ^B	dru?	
d	討	tǎo	t ^h āu ^B	t ^h ou ^B	thû?	
	13-24 = K. 1074	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	整	zhōu	tjəu	tu	tru	
	13-25 = K. 1116	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	鳥	niǎo //	tieu ^B	teu ^B	tiû?	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR njew (上); MGZY d̄yaw (上) [tjew] <> [E] TB: Garo *doʔ, Karen *to 'bird'					
b	鳶	niǎo //	tieu ^{B/C}	teu ^{B/C}	tiû?, tiûh	
c	鳥	dǎo	tāu ^B	tou ^B	tû?	
	13-26 = K. 1083	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ahi	周	zhōu	tʂjəu	tʂu	tiu	
	[T] ONW tʂu <> [E] Tai: S. diw ³ 'strips of rattan or bamboo bent in a circle to which ribs of a cage are fastened'					
fhi	媾 媾 媾	zhōu, chōu	tʂjəu	tʂu	tiu	
m	網 wrap	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	driu	
	In 網 網 djəu-mjieu, OCB *drjiw-mrjiw 'be tied round' <> [T] MTang ɖeu < ɖu, ONW du					
	網 envelop	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h ou	lhû	
	graph borrowed late [Liji] for 13-27/1078g					
n	凋	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	driu	
j	凋	zhōu, zhāo	tjəu, tau	tu, tau	tru, trû	
l	稠	chóu	ɖjəu	ɖu	driu	
k	凋	chóu !	t ^h jəu	t ^h u	thriu	
o	凋	diāo	tieu	teu	tiû	
	[E] S. tok ^{D1} 'to become faded'					

prs	凋彫 凋	diāo	tieu	teu	tiû	
tu	雕 彫	diāo	tieu	teu	tiû	
v	凋	tiáo	dieu	deu	diû	
x	凋 tune	tiáo	dieu	deu	diû	OCB *diw
	[T] BTD Skt. deva					
	morning	zhōu !	tjəu ^C	tu ^C	tru(k)h	a loan for 14-9/1075a
y	凋	dǎo	tāu ^B	tou ^B	tû?	
z	凋	tì	t ^h iek	t ^h ek < t ^h euk	thiûk	
	13-27 = K. 1078	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	留	yóu	jiəu,	ju,	lu,	
		~ yǎo	jiāu ^B	jau ^B	lau?	
bcf	留 留 留	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h ou	lhû	
g	留	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h ou	lhû	= 13-26/1083m
d	留 overflow	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h ou	lhû	
	留 crowd	táo	t ^h āu, dāu	t ^h ou, dou	lhû, lû	
h	留	dào	dāu ^B	dou ^B	lû? < g-lu?	MY *nblau ^A
	[E] Borrowed by Tocharian as klu 'rice' (Mallory a. Mair 2000: 310) <> [D] PMin *tiu ^{B2} 留 (corresponds to QYS djəu ^C [JY]) may possibly be a variant (Norman, p.c.)					
l	留	dǎo, dào	dāu ^C	dou ^C	lûh	
	13-28 = K. 1046	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	支 支	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h ou	lhû ?	
	13-29 = K. 1047	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a-e	甸 甸 甸	táo	dāu	dou	lû R! (甸)	OCB *b-lu
	甸 Sin Sukchu SR daw (平); MGZY taw (平) [daw]; ONW dou					
d	陶 kiln	táo	dāu	dou	lû R!	
	gallop	dào	dāu ^C	dou ^C	lûh	
	pleased	yáo	jiāu	jau	lau	
	13-30 = K. 1079	The initial could be either OCM *li- or *j-; the default initial is here *j- (~ *li-).				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	由	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW iu					
c	油	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	= 13-32/1077q 滌
d	鼪	yòu	jiəu ^C	ju ^C	juh	[E] TB *yuʔ or *b-yəw 'rat'
b	柚 pumelo	yòu	jiəu ^C	ju ^C	juh	
	cylinder	zhú	ɖjuk	ɖuk	druk < r-liuk	
m	袖 sleeve	xiù	zjəu ^C	ziu ^C	s-juh	OCB *zjus
n	襖 sleeve	xiù	zjəu ^C	ziu ^C	s-juh	
	dress	yòu	jiəu ^C	ju ^C	juh	
	The graphs 襖 and 襖 are often substituted for each other, 襖 being the more common.					
o	襖 big, tall	yòu	jiəu ^C	ju ^C	juh < wuh ?	
	'big, tall (of grain)' <> [E] Lushai vu ^R 'be ripe and yellow (as standing rice)', 'show up / be conspicuous (as flowers)'					

e	媯	chōu, zhóu	tʰjəu, dʒəu ^C	tʰu, du ^C	rhiu or t-hliu, driuh < r-liuh	
f	抽	chōu	tʰjəu	tʰu	rhiu or t-hliu	OCB *hlrju
[T] MTang tʰeu < tʰu, ONW tʰu <> [E] TB: Chepang klu- 'pull out (hair)' ≠ glu- 'pull out (larger) weeds, cultivate crop' ≠ blu- 'remove, root out'. <> Tai: S. tʰlok ^{D1} 'id.'						
ghil	宙	zhòu	dʒəu ^C	du ^C	driuh < r-liuh	
p	軸	zhóu !	dʒuk	duk	driuk < r-liuk	
q	迪	dí	diək	dek < deuk	liúk	
-	笛	dí	diək	dek < deuk	liúk	OCB *liwk
= 14-13/1022d 籛 <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR di (入); MGZY ti (入) [di]						

13-31	= K. 1082	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	牖	yǒu	jiəu ^B	ju ^B	lu? or ju?

13-32 = K. 1077 The phonetic writes words with initials OCM ju ~ liu ~ s(l)iu.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	攸	yōu !	jiəu	ju	ju	[E] WT yul 'place'
-	洩	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	
c	悠	yōu !	jiəu	ju	ju	OCB *ljw
q	恣	yōu !	jiəu	ju	ju	OCB *ljw
= 13-30/1079c 油 *ju <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]						
k	莜	diào	diəu ^C	deu ^C	liúkh	= v
f	條 pull down	tiāo	tʰiəu	tʰeu	lhiú	
	條 a tree	tiáo	diəu	deu	liú	OCB *liw
[T] MTang diau, ONW deu						
ghjt	儵	tiáo	diəu	deu	liú	OCB *liw
v	蓀	diào	diəu ^C	deu ^C	liúkh	= k
	蓀	dí	diək	dek < deuk	liúk	
x	滌	dí	diək	dek < deuk	liúk	OCB *liwk
s	蓀	tiāo	tʰiək	tʰek	lhiúk	
e	脩	xiū	sjəu	siu	siu	OCB *sljw
[E] TB: Lushai tʰu ^F < suu? 'dried (as fish)', 'dried and rotten'						
r	涪	xiū	sjəu ^B	siu ^B	siu?	
= 13-60/1112h 糴; = 10-37/1097f 澗 *sru?						
u	篠	xiǎo	sieu ^B	seu ^B	siú?	
d	修	xiū	sjəu	siu	siu	
[T] ONW su; BTD Skt. śu						
l	儵 rapid	xiāo,	sieu,	seu,	siú,	
		shū	śjuk	śuk	hjuk	
mop	儵儵	shù	źjuk	dźuk	diuk	

MC ʒ- can occasionally derive from an OC j-like initial, see EDOC §9.3.

13-33	= K. 1080	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
afgh	旃游遊	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	OCB *ju
遊 = 13-34/1081g 迺 <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW iu						
[D] PMin *ziu <> [E] WT rgyu-ba < *r-ju 'to go, walk, move, wander, range (of men, animals, etc.)', Lepcha yū						

13-34	= K. 1081	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	苴	yóu	jiəu ^(B)	ju ^(B)	ju, ju?	
g	迺	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	= 13-33/1080 游遊
[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW iu						

13-35	= K. 1094	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	囚	qiú	zjəu	ziu	s-ju	OCB *zju
c	迺	qiú	zjəu	ziu	s-ju	≠ 13-33/1080
[D] M-Xiam, Fuzh siu ^{A2} 'to swim'						

13-36	= K. 1096	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	酉	yǒu	jiəu ^B	ju ^B	ju?	
h	廋	yóu, yǒu	jiəu ^(B)	ju ^(B)	ju, ju?	[E] KN *m-hew 'spoiled'
ij	糶	yǒu, yòu	jiəu ^{B/C}	ju ^{B/C}	ju?, juh	
r	猶	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	OCB *ju
[T] Sin Sukchu SR iw (平); MGZY yiw (平) [jiw]; ONW iu						
a'	蕪	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	
ty	猷	yóu	jiəu	ju	ju	
k	酒	jiǔ	tsjəu ^B	tsiu ^B	tsiu, tsiu?	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsiw (上); MGZY dziw (上) [tsiw]; MTang tseu < tsiu, ONW tsu						
[D] PMin *tsiu ^B > Xiam, Fuzh tsiu ^B <> [E] PTB *yu(w) 'wine'						
ln	酋	qiú	dzjəu	dziu	dziu	
o	迺	qiú, jiū	dzjəu, tsjəu	dziu, tsiu	dziu, tsiu	
pq	迺	qiū	tsʰjəu	tsʰiu	tshiu	
z	躄	zú, cù	tsʰjuk	tsʰiuk	tsiuk, tshiuk	

13-37	= K. 1246c	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
c	狢 monkey	yòu	jiəu ^C	ju ^C	juh < wuh? = 28-11/575q

13-38	= K. 1102, 1048	MC	LHan	OCM	
1102a	首 head	shǒu	śjəu ^B	śu ^B	lhu?
[T] BTD 首陀衛 śu ^B -da[i]-was Skt. śuddhavāsa <> [E] TB *lu 'head'					
	首 turn head	shǒu	śjəu ^C	śu ^C	lhuh
1048a	道 way	dào	dâu ^B	dou ^B	lú? OCB *lu?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR daw (上去); MGZY taw (上) [daw]; ONW dou <> [E] Yao klāu ^B 'road'					
	道 lead	dào	dâu ^C	dou ^C	lúh
d	導 lead	dào	dâu ^C	dou ^C	lúh

13-39	= K. 1095	The initial could be OCM *l- or *j- (< **w-?).			
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	秀	xiù	sjəu ^C	siu ^C	siuh < *swuh? OCB *sljus
[T] Sin Sukchu SR siw (去); MGZY siw (去) [siw]					
[E] ? TB: Chepang syu- 'to prosper, flourish', Lushai vuu] ^H 'be in full bloom (as flowers)'					
c	琇	xiù, yòu	sjəu ^C , jiəu ^B	siu ^C , ju ^B	siuh, ju?
d	莠	yǒu	jiəu ^B	ju ^B	ju? < *wu? ? OCB *lju?
[E] WT yur-ma 'weeds' from < *wur					
e	誘	yòu	jiəu ^B	ju ^B	lu? (?) OCB *lju?
[E] WT slu 'entice'; also PTai *-: S. lo ^{B2} 'to lure, deceive'					

13-40 = K. 1099 The OC initial could have been *nh, *lh, or *hj; *hj is the default initial.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	守 keep	shǒu	śjəu ^B	śu ^B	hju?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR śiw (上); MGZY shiw (上) [śiw]; ONW śu
	守 fief	shòu	śjəu ^C	śu ^C	hjuh OCB *stjus
c	狩 hunt	shòu	śjəu ^C	śu ^C	hju? !

13-41 = K. 1100 The initial consonant is unknown, it probably is the same as in the possible cognate 狩 13-40c.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	獸	shòu	śjəu ^C	śu ^C	hjuh
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR śiw (去); MGZY shiw (去) [śiw]

13-42 = K. 1101 The OC initial consonant is uncertain, the default here is *hj-; the word could possibly be related to foreign ones with initial *n-.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	手	shǒu	śjəu ^B	śu ^B , S tś ^h u ^B	hju? or nhu? ? OCB *hju? ?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR śiw (上); MGZY shiw (上) [śiw]; ONW śu
					[D] PMin *tśhiu ^{B1} > Xiam tś ^h iu ^B , PWMIn *fju ^{B1}

13-43 = K. 1055

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	老	lǎo	lâu ^B	lou ^B	rû? Old Sino-Viet. reu
					[T] ONW lau <> [E] TB *raw > WT ro 'corpse'; Lep hryu 'be dry, dead' (of leaf); Lushai ro ^H 'be dry, dead'; WB ro (= rau) 'very old' ≠ rwat 'old, tough', NNaga *rəw 'old' (of person)

13-44 = K. 1056

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	牢	láo	lâu	lou	rû Viet. ràò 'enclosure'
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (上); MGZY law (上) [law]

13-45 = K. 1069

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	寥 fly high	liáo	lieu	leu	riú SW 1499
	whistling	liù,	ljəu ^C , ljeu ^C ,	liu ^C	riuh 'whistling of wind'
		liào	ljäu ^C		
b	鏐	liú	ljeu, ljəu	liu	riu
f	鏐	liú	ljəu	liu	ru, probably riu (cf. a)
j	勦	liú, lù	ljəu ^(C) ,	liu ^(C) ,	riu, riuh,
			ljuk	liuk	riuk
k	瘳	chōu,	t ^h jəu,	t ^h u,	rhiu
		liáo	lieu	leu	riú
no	寥	liáo	lieu	leu	riú
p	寥 a plant	liào	lieu ^B	leu ^B	riú?
	a plant	lù	ljuk	liuk	riuk
g	廖	liú, jiū	ljəu, kjieu 4	liu, kiu	riu, kiu
i	廖	qiú	gjieu 4	giu	giu
h	廖	jiū	kjieu 4	kiu	kiu

l	繆 twist	jiū	kjieu 4	kiu	kiu	OCB *(r)jiw
						[E] PTai *kliəu ^{A1} (?): S. kliəu ^{A1} 'to wind around, twist a string', Saek tleəu ^{C1} ; note however PTai *kiəu ^{C1} : S. kiau ^{C1} 'to wind around, twist'
	繆 bind	miù	mjieu ^C 4	miu ^C	miuh	
m	繆	miù	mjieu ^C 4	miu ^C	miuh	OCB *mrjiws
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR miw (去); MGZY miw (去) [miw]
s	膠 unite, glue	jiāo	kau ^(B)	kəu ^(B)	kriú R!	
	to crow	jiāo	kau	kəu	kriú R! OCB *kriw	
	frost	jiāo	kau	kəu or kau ? (krú or krâu ?)	[Chuci]	
						[E] PWMiao *kiau ⁷ 'ice, snow'
u	繆	lù	ljuk	liuk	ruk	[E] TB-Mru ruk 'shame'
vx	戮繆	lù	ljuk	liuk	ruk	
r	醪	láo	lâu	lou	rú	
						[E] WT ru-ma 'curdled milk', also JP ru ³¹ - 'liquor' <> PTai *xl-: S. lau ^{C1} 'liquor', KS *khlaau ³ 'rice wine'
t	繆	xiāo	xau	hou	hrú or h(i)ú	
q	繆 sharp taste	liào	ljäu ^C	liäu ^C	riauh	

13-46 = K. 1104

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	流旒	liú	ljəu	liu	ru or riu
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR liw (平); MGZY liw (平) [liw]; MTang leu < liu, ONW lu < lu. MHan 璧流離 piek-liu-liu Skt. vaidurya, Pkt. veluriya <> [D] M-Xiam, Fuzh lau ^{A2}

13-47 = K. 1114

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
aa'	卯 ¹ > 劉	liú	ljəu	liu	ru 'to butcher'
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR liw (平); MGZY liw (平) [liw]; MTang leu < liu, ONW lu < lu
					[D] Jiànyáng seu ^{A2} <> [E] TB-Tiddim gou ⁵³ / go ⁷¹ < rouh / rəʔ/h 'to kill, slaughter'
b'	憐	liǔ	ljəu ^B	liu ^B	ru?
c'	瀏	liú	ljəu ^(B)	liu ^(B)	ru, ru?
pq-	留 q 榴	liú	ljəu	liu	ru
					[T] MTang leu < liu, ONW lu < lu <> [D] M-Xiam, Fuzh lau ^{A2}
stz	st 驪	liú	ljəu	liu	ru
v	溜	liù	ljəu ^C	liu ^C	ruh [E] Tai: S. riau ^{B2} 'rapids'
y	雷	liù	ljəu ^C	liu ^C	ruh
lm	柳 m	liǔ	ljəu ^B	liu ^B	ru?
x	留	liǔ	ljəu ^B	liu ^B	ru?
-	籬	zhòu	djəu ^C	du ^C	druh
u	聊	liáo	lieu	leu	riú
a	卯 ² cyclic. s.	mǎo	mau ^B	məu ^B	mrú? OCB *mru?
g	昴	mǎo	mau ^B	məu ^B	mrú?
f	茆	mǎo, liǔ	mau ^B , ljəu ^B	məu ^B , liu ^B	mrú?, ru?
i	莠	pào,	p ^h au ^C ,	p ^h əu ^C ,	phrúh,
		jiào	kau ^C	kəu ^C	krúh or krúkh
					Jiào is a synonym (14-1/1039o) written with the graph for pào.
j	質 barter	mào	məu ^C	məu ^C	múh
	bad eyes	mòu	mjəu ^C	mu ^C	muh ≠ 13-76/1109q

13-48	= K. 1105	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	柔	róu	ńźjəu	ńu	nu [E] JP nu ³³ 'relaxed, slack'
b	揉	ròu	ńźjəu ^(C)	ńu ^C	nuh [T] ONW ńu
c	蹂	róu	ńźjəu	ńu	nu
e	輶	róu !	ńźjəu ^{B/C}	ńu ^{B/C}	nu?, nuh
d	蹂	róu	ńźjəu ^(B/C)	ńu ^(B/C)	nu, nu?, nuh
[E] Lushai *hnu? 'footprint'					
f	糶	róu, niù	ńjəu ^C	ńu ^C	nruh
[E] WT snor-ba 'mix, disturb'					
g	猻 monkey	náo	nâu	nou	nú
~ 16-27/1152b 猻 (*nâu); 13-49 夔					

13-49		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
-	夔	náo	nâu	nou	nú
~ 13-48/1105g 猻; 16-27/1152b 猻 (*nâu)					

13-50	= K. 1076	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
af	丑 ¹ > 狃	niǔ	ńjəu ^B	ńu ^B	nru? 'claw'
狃 'Finger, toe, claws' <> [E] TB-LB *s-nyuw ^{1,2} 'digit, finger' > WB lak-hñui ^B 'forefinger' <> PTai *niu ^{C2} 'finger', Shan niw 'finger, toe, fingernail, toenail'					
e	扭	niǔ	ńjəu ^B	ńu ^B	nru?
g	紐	niǔ	ńjəu ^B	ńu ^B	nru? OCB *nrju?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR niw (上); MGZY ñiw (上) [ńiw]; ONW nu					
k	扭	niǔ	ńjuk	ńuk	nruk
h	羞	xiū	sjəu	siu	snu
Qiu X. 2000, p. 224: the element 丑 was originally 又. <> [T] BTD Skt. śu					
a	丑 ² cycl.s.	chǒu	tʰjəu ^B	tʰu ^B	rhu? or nhru? OCB *hnrju?
[E] PVM *c-lu: > klu: / tlu: 'buffalo' > Viet. trâu [təw]					

13-51	= K. 1049	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	早	zǎo	tsâu ^B	tsou ^B	tsû?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsaw (上); MGZY dzaw (上) [tsaw]; ONW tsau					
b	草 grass	cǎo	tsʰâu ^B	tsʰou ^B	tshû? = 13-52/1052c 艸
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'aw (上); MGZY tshaw (上) [ts'aw]; ONW tsʰau					
	草 anxious	cǎo	tsʰâo ^B	tsʰou ^B	tshû? < *C-sû? ? = 13-60/1112e 慄

13-52	= K. 1052	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	a 艸	cǎo	tsʰâu ^B	tsʰou ^B	tshû? = 13-51/1049b 草

13-53	= K. 1050	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	棗	zǎo	tsâu ^B	tsou ^B	tsû? OCB *tsu?

13-54 = K. 1051 The element gào 告 *kluk 'report' is semantic, not phonetic; the word 造 *tshûh originally meant 'to go and offer (a sacrifice)', 'go and appear in court', which usually would involve some 告 announcement or report. Therefore, this phonetic series did not have an *sk-like initial.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	造 make	zào	dzâu ^B	dzou ^B	dzû?
	造 to go to	cào	tsʰâu ^C	tsʰou ^C	tshûh

d	慄	cào	tsʰâu ^C	tsʰou ^C	tshûh
e	窳	chòu	tsʰjəu ^C	tsʰu ^C	tshruh

13-55	= K. 1053	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	曹槽	cáo	dzâu	dzou	dzû
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (平); MGZY tsaw (平) [dzaw] <> [E] WT 'dzog- 'heap together'					
e	漕 transport	zào	dzâu ^C	dzou ^C	dzûh
	PL.N.	cáo	dzâu	dzou	dzû
fg	槽糟遭	zāo	tsâu	tsou	tsû [T] ONW tsau

13-56	= K. 1054	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	皂	zào	dzâu ^B	dzou ^B	dzû?

13-57	= K. 1092	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	秋	qiū	tsʰjəu	tsʰiu	tshiu OCB *tshjiw

[D] M-Xiam, Fuzh tsʰiu^{A1} ≠ shōu 收 *nh(i), hence < *C-nh(i)u?

bcd	楸萩驚	qiū	tsʰjəu	tsʰiu	tshiu
e	啾	jiū	tsjəu	tsiu	tsiu
f	湫	qiū, jiào	tsjəu, tsieu ^B	tsiu, tseu ^B	tsiu, tsiû?
g	擘	jiū !	dzjəu	dzi	dzi
j	擘	qiǎo, jiù	tsʰjäu ^B , dzjəu ^B	dzi ^B	dzi
i	愁	chóu	dzjəu	dzu	dzru or dzriu
h	愁	zhòu	tsjəu ^C	tsu ^C	tsruh or tsriuh

13-58	= K. 1093	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	就	jiù	dzjəu ^C	dzi ^C	dzuh R! OCB *dzjus

[T] Sin Sukchu SR dziw (去); MGZY tsiw (去) [dziw]; MTang dzeu < dziu, ONW dzu. MHan

bc	蹴 c trample	zú, cù	tsjuk, tsʰjuk	tsiuk, tsʰiuk	tsuk, tshuk
anxiously cù, zú tsjuk, dzjuk tsiuk, dziuk tsuk, dzuk					

13-59	= K. 1111	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	爪	zhǎo	tʰau ^B	tʰou ^B	tsrû? = 13-60/1112a 爪
c	抓	zhuā	tʰau ^(B/C)	tʰou ^(B/C)	tsrû, tsrû?, tsrûh
[D] M-Xiam tsua ^{A1}					

13-60	= K. 1112	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	叉	zhǎo	tʰau ^B	tʰou ^B	tsrû? = 13-59/1111a 爪
[D] M-Xiam b. liāō ^{B1} (< ?)					

d	蚤	zǎo	tsâu ^B	tsou ^B	tsû?
e	怪	sāo, cǎo	sâu ^(B) , tsʰâo ^B	sou ^(B) , tsʰou ^B	sû, sû?, tshû? < C-sû? ? = 13-51/1049b 草
f	搔	sāo	sâu	sou	sû TB-Chepang saw- 'itch'
g	騷	sāo	sâu	sou	sû

[E] MK-OKhmer /sook/ 'sorrow'

h	糶	xiǔ	sjəu	su ^B	su?
	= 13-32/1077r 滌; = 10-37/1097f 澗				
i	螿	qì	ts ^h iek	ts ^h ek < ts ^h euik	tshiûk
13-61	= K. 1087	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
gf	掃帚	sǎo	sâu ^{B/C}	sou ^{B/C}	sû?/h
	The same graphic element 帚 writes a synonym zhǒu; see 13-20A.				
13-62	= K. 1098	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	蒐 a plant	sōu	sjəu	ʃu	sru
	a hunt	sōu	sjəu	ʃu	sru or sro = 10-37/1097h
13-63	(cf. K. 647)	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
-	慘	sǎo	sjəu, sjieu	ʃu	sru 'three-year-old calf'
	[E] KD: PHlai *sr-: Baoding fu ³ , Zhong-shan tshu ³ 'three'. <> Cf. 38-29/647				
13-64	= K. 1057	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
afg	保葆葆	bǎo	pâu ^B	pou ^B	pû?
h	褒 robe	bāo	pâu	pou	pû
	salute	bào	pâu ^C	pou ^C	pûh
13-65	= K. 1058	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	報	bào	pâu ^C	pou ^C	pûh
13-66	= K. 1059	In the BI, 13-69 缶 has been added as phonetic (Qiu 2000: 232).			
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	寶	bǎo	pâu ^B	pou ^B	pû?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (上); MGZY baw, ba'o (上) [paw]; ONW pou <> [E] TB *puw 'value'				
13-67	= K. 1060	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	a 犒	bǎo	pâu ^B	pou ^B	pû?
13-68	= K. 1061	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	虺	bào	bâu ^C	bou ^C	bûh
13-69	= K. 1107	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	缶	fǒu	pjəu ^B	pu ^B	pu? R!
d	d	piáo	bjǎu 4	biau	biau
13-70	= K. 1108	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	阜	fù	bjəu ^B	bu ^B	bu? R!
	[T] MTang bvü, ONW bu OCB *b(r)ju?				
13-71	= K. 1154, 1106		MC	LHan	OCM
1154a	髟	biāo	pjieu 4,	piu,	piu,
			pjiäu 4	piau	piau
	[N] The graph 髟 also writes a synonym shān *srâm 36-24/1154. [E] PMiao *preu ^{2A} , PYao *py'ei ¹ 'hair'				

This graph 髟 seems to be the abbreviated phonetic in the following:

1106a	彪	biāo	pjieu 4	piu	piu
b	漉	biāo	bjieu 4, bjəu	biu	biu
13-72	= K. 1113	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	包 ¹ > 胞	bāo,	pau,	pəu,	prû,
		pāo	p ^h au,	p ^h əu	phrû
a	包 ² wrap	bāo	pau	pəu	prû OCB *pru
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (平); MGZY baw (平) [paw], MHan pɿu; BTD pɿu; ONW päu [E] WT 'p ^h ur- 'wrap up'				
c	苞 mat	bāo	pau	pəu	prû OCB *pru
	reed	biào	bjäu ^B 3?	biəu ^B	bau?
eg	庖炮	páo	bau	bəu	brû
h	鮑	bào	bau ^B	bəu ^B	brû?
d	鮑	bào	pau ^B	pəu ^B	prû?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR paw (上); MGZY baw (上) [paw]; ONW päu [E] TB: Lushai puar ^H 'full, satiated'				
f	匏 gourd	páo	bau	bəu	brû [E] Lushai buar ^H 'gourd'
-	跑 run	pǎo	—	—	[E] Miao plau ^{C1} 'to flee'
i	袍 robe	páo	bâu	bou	bû
	lapel	bào	bâu ^C	bou ^C	bûh
j	抱	bào	bâu ^B	bou ^B	bû?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR baw (上); MGZY paw (上) [baw] <> [D] PMin *bhâu ~ *bâu [E] WB puik 'hold in arms, hug'				
kl	袍包	fú	bjəu	bu	bu
m	鞫	pò,	p ^h âk,	p ^h ək,	phrûk,
		páo, bào	bau ^(B/C)	bəu ^(B/C)	brû, brû?, brûh
n	雹	báo	bâk	bək	brûk
13-73	= K. 1233	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	孚 > 俘	fú	p ^h ju irreg!	p ^h u	phu R! OCB *ph(r)ju
f	苜	fú	p ^h ju	p ^h u	phu
g	郭	fú	p ^h ju	p ^h u R!	phu
j	孚	fú	p ^h ju, bjəu	p ^h u	phu OCB *ph(r)ju
	= 罌 4-61/999h				
l	浮	fú	bjəu	bu	bu R! OCB *b(r)ju
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR vəw (平); MGZY Hwəw (平) [vəw]; MTang bvü, ONW bu. MHan 浮圖 bu-da Buddha <> [D] PMin *bhu ~ bu: Xiamen, Fuzhou p ^h u ^{A2} . Yao bjou ² < *nb-				
n	蜉	fú	bjəu	bu	bu [E] WT sbur 'ant'
h	浮	fú, fōu	p ^h ju, p ^h jəu,	p ^h u(o),	pho, phu,
		pēi	p ^h uâi	p ^h ə	phə
	[E] WB p ^h u ^C 'to swell' ≠ pu 'to bulge', WT 'bo-ba, 'bos 'to swell (up), rise'				
k	桴 drum stick	fú	bjəu	bu	bu
	raft	fú!	p ^h ju	p ^h uo	pho = 10-3/136h 桴
i	桴	piào,	bjäu ^B 3?,	biəu ^B ,	bau?,
		fū	p ^h ju	p ^h u	phu
o	桴	páu, póu	bau, bæu	bəu, bou	brû, bú

13-74 = K. 1062	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-ab	冒 ¹	mào	mâu ^C	mou ^C	mûh	OCB *muks
ab	冒 ² to look at	mào	mâu ^C	mou ^C	mûh	
	[D] Gan-Wuning mau ^{C1} 'to look at' <> [E] JP mu ³¹ 'to see'					
ab	冒 ³	mò	mæk	mæk	—	
	Alternate reading for 'covetous' and the name Mào-dùn 冒頓, then read Mò-dú LH mæk-tuət					
-cd	帽媚瑁	mào	mâu ^C	mou ^C	mûh	
	For an additional item of GSR 1062, see 5-37.					

13-75 = K. 1063	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	牡	mǔ, mǒu	məu ^B	mu ^B	mu? R!	OCB *m(r)ju?
	[E] OKhmer jmol [cmɔɔl] 'male of animals'. See EDOC; Intro. 8.1.1.					

13-76 = K. 1109 See Baxter 1992: 467 for these rimes.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	矛	máo	məu < mjəu	mu	mu R!	OCB *m(r)ju
c	茅	máo	mau	mou	mrû R!	OCB *mru
d	淋	mào !	mâu	mou	mû	
f	懋	mào	məu ^C	mou ^C	mûh	OCB *m(r)jus
h	救	wù	mju ^{B/C}	muo ^{B/C}	mo?, moh	
kl	葵	wù	mju ^C	muo ^C	moh	
o	葵	móu	mjəu	mu	mu	
mnp	蝥	máo	mjəu	mu	mu	
q	瞽	mào, mǒu	mák, məu ^C	mək, mo ^C	mrók(h)	
	[E] WT rmogs-pa 'eyes heavy with sleep, inert'					
r	葵	mù	muk	mok	môk	
s	葵	wù	muk	mok	môk	
j	務	wù	mju ^C	muo ^C R!	moh	OCB *m(r)jos
	[T] MTang mvu < mvuo, ONW muo 'make effort' <> [E] TB *mow > PL *mi(aw) ² 'work', WB mu 'do, perform'. <> PTai *hm-: S. mok ^{D1} 'apply oneself'					
t	霧	wù	mju ^C	muo ^C	moh	
	[D] Yue-Guangzh mou ²² , Min-Xiam bu ³³ , bə ²⁴ , Fuzh muo ⁵² <> [E] TB *mu:k 'fog'					

13-77 = K. 1110	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	牟 bellow	móu	mjəu	mu	mu	in dialects also 'to love'
bcd	恂眸麤	móu	mjəu	mu	mu	
e	侑	móu	məu < mjəu	mu	mu	

13-78 = K. 1231	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	戊	wù //	məu ^C	mu ^C R!	muh	OCB *m(r)jus
f	茂	mào, mǒu	məu ^C	mu ^C R!	muh R!	

14 OCM rime *-uk Jué bù 覺部

GSR 1016 - 1039
Baxter 1992: 518 ff. (§10.2.14)

See Table 13-1 for OCM rimes *-uŋ, *-uk, *-u in QYS categories; Table 16-1 for comparison of OCM rimes *-auk, *-uk, *-(i)au, *-(i)u, and Table 17-1 for comparison of OCM rimes *-ek, *-ak, *-auk, *-uk. No LHan high vocalic onset need be postulated with the high vowel *u*; however, *i* is inserted after acute initials.

14-1 = K. 1039	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	告	gù,	kuok,	kouk,	kûk,	
		gào	kâu ^C	kou ^C	kûkh < kluk(h)	OCB *kuks
	[T] ONW kou <> [E] Tai: S. klaau ^{B1} < *kl- 'to say, declare' ≠ lau ^{B2} 'to tell, recount'					
e	誥	gào	kâu ^C	kou ^C	kûkh < klukh	
f	郤	gù,	kuok,	kouk,	kûk, kûkh	
		gào	kâu ^C	kou ^C		
kl	梏	gù	kuok	kouk	kûk	
	梏 [E] Also Tai: S. kək < gək 'pen, enclosure', kuk ⁶ 'prison' <> LB *krok 'jail; pen'					
m	酷	kù	k ^h uok	k ^h ouk	khûk	
n	鵠 a bird	hú	ɣuok	gouk	gûk	
	target	gǔ !	kuok	kouk	kûk	'center of target'
o	窖	jiào	kau ^C	kou ^C	krûkh	= 13-47/1114i
h	皓	gǎo, hào	kâu ^B	kou ^B	kû?	
	≈ 13-1/1040g 皜; 13-2/1244c 皜					
i	皓	hào	ɣâu ^B	gou ^B	gû?	[E] Tai: S. k ^h aa ^{A1} 'white'
j	浩	hào	ɣâu ^B	gou ^B	gû?	ONW ɣau
14-2 = K. 1017	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	鞠	jú	kjuk	kuk	kuk	OCB *k(r)juk
cdegfjk	掬鞠鞠鞠鞠鞠	= a 鞠				
h	鞠	jú	kjuk	kuk	kuk	[E] TB *kuk ~ *guk 'to bend'
i	麴	qū	k ^h juk	k ^h uk	khuk	
14-3 = K. 1038	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	學	xué	ɣák	ɣək	grúk	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣjaw (入), LR ɣjaw?; MGZY (Hyaw >) Hyaw (入) [ɣjaw]; ONW ɣák					
d	覺	xiào	ɣau ^C	ɣou ^C	grúk	
f	覺 awake	jué	kák	kək	krúk	
	覺 awake intr.	jiào	kau ^C	kou ^C	krúk !	

i	攪	jiǎo	kau ^B	kou ^B	krû?
	[E] WT dkrog-pa 'to stir, scare'				
g	譽	kù	k ^h uok	k ^h ouk	khûk
h	鴛	xué, yuè	yâk, ʔâk	gouk, ʔouk	grûk, ʔrûk
14-4	= K. 1045	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	奧 interior cove	aò yù	ʔâuC ʔjuk	ʔouC ʔuk	ʔûkh ʔuk
bc	澳澳	aò, yù	ʔâuC, ʔjuk	ʔouC, ʔuk	ʔûkh, ʔuk
	澳 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔaw (去); MGZY 'aw (去) [ʔaw]; ONW ʔau. [D] Min dial.: Fuzhou o ^{Cl} -t ^h au ^{A2} , Xiamen u ^{Cl} <> [E] Viet ao 'pool, pond'				
de	煖	yù	ʔjuk	ʔuk	ʔuk
	煖 'warm' [E] WB uik (i.e. ʔuik) 'feel warm'				
14-5	= K. 1016	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	毒 poison n.	dú	duok	douk	dûk OCB *duk
	[T] ONW douk. MHan 身毒 sín-douk Hinduka <> [D] Yuè tuk ^{D2} , Kèjia t ^h uk ^{D2} , Fuzh t ^h ok ^{D2} [E] WT gdug-pa 'poison'				
	毒 to poison	dù	dâuC	douC	dûkh
	[D] Yuè tou ^{C2} , Kèjia t ^h eu ^{Cl} , Mǐn Fuzh t ^h au ^{Cl} 'to poison'				
b	毒	dú, dào	duok, dâuC	douk, douC	dûk, dûkh
-	毒	dū, dào	tuok	touk	— SW 3702
-	毒	dú	duok	douk	— SW 266
14-6	= K. 1025	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	祝 pray	zhù	tšjuk	tšuk	tuk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšy (入); MGZY jŷu (入) [tšy]				
	祝 curse	zhòu	tšjauC	tšuC	tukh OCB *tjuks
f	祝	chù, zhù	tš ^(h) juk	tš ^(h) uk	tuk, thuk
14-7	= K. 1026	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	孰	shú	žjuk	džuk	duk
	[T] ONW džuk 'Which one, who?'				
b	熟	shóu, shú	žjuk	džuk	duk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR zu (入), PR, LR zu [?] ; MGZY zhŷu (入) [zy]; ONW džuk [E] PKiranti *t ^h ok ~ t ^h uk 'ripen'				
c	塾	shú	žjuk	džuk	duk
14-8	= K. 1019	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	竹	zhú	tjuk	tuk	truk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšy (入), PR tšy [?] ; MGZY jŷu (入) [tšy]; ONW tuk [E] S. t ^h ok ^{D1L} < *pr- 'bamboo strip'				
c	筑	zhú	tjuk	tuk	truk
de	築 e	zhú	tjuk	tuk	truk
	[E] WT rdug 'to strike against'				
fg	竺	dū	tuok	tûk	OCB *tuk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tu (入); MGZY du (入) [tu]. <> [E] WT 't ^h ug-pa 'thick'				

14-9	= K. 1075	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	晝	zhòu	tjəuC	tuC	trukh or truh
	[D] PMin *təuC > Xiam, Fu'an tauC 'afternoon'. Ch. -> Tai: S. truu ^{B1} 'early morning' [E] WT gdugs 'midday'				
14-10	= K. 1024	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	粥 粥 ¹ gruel	zhōu	tšjuk	tšuk	tuk
	粥 [T] ONW tšuk <> [D] PMin *tšyk <> [E] WT t ^h ug-pa 'soup, broth'				
	粥 ² nourish	yù	jiuk	juk	luk
	= 14-11/1020a 育; 14-12/1021a 毓. Zhōu was perhaps partially selected for semantic reasons <> [E] JP lu ³¹ 'give birth'				
14-11	= K. 1020	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	育	yù	jiuk	juk	luk OCB *ljuk
	= 14-11/1024b 鬻 ² ; 14-12/1021a 毓 <> [E] JP lu ³¹ 'give birth (to a child)'				
14-12	= K. 1021	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	毓	yù	jiuk	juk	luk = 14-11/1020a 育
14-13	= K. 1022	The initials could also be OCM *dr-, *d-, *thr-.			
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	逐	zhú	djuk	duk	driuk < r-liuk
d	遂	dí	diek	dek < deuk	liûk OCB *liwk
	= 13-30/1079 笛 <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR di (入); MGZY ti (入) [di]				
e	遂	zhú, chù	t ^h juk, djuk	t ^h uk, duk	hriuk < r-lhiuk, driuk < r-liuk
	OCB hlriuk				
14-14	= K. 1023	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	賣債	yù	jiuk	juk	luk
e	覲	dí	diek	dek < deuk	liûk
fgh	讀	dú	duk	dok	lôk
ijk	讀	dú	duk	dok	lôk
lno	讀	dú	duk	dok	lôk
m	讀	dú	duk	dok	lôk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR du (入); MGZY tu (入) [du]; ONW dok				
qr	讀	dú	duk	dok	lôk
s	寶	dòu, dú	dəuC, duk	doC, dok	lôkh, lôk
uv	讀	xù	zjwok	ziok	s-lok
t	贖	shú	(d)žjwok	žok	m-lok
	[E] WT blu-ba 'to buy off, ransom' ≠ blud-pa 'release, ransom' <> PTai *lu ^{B2} 'to redeem, tribute', *dl/ru ^{B2} 'to donate, ransom' <> AA-OKhmer /lɔk/, Khmer /luk/ ~ /ruk/ 'to sell, to fine'				
14-15	= K. 1018	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	畜	xù	xjuk	huk	huk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR xy (入); MGZY hŷu (入) [xy]				
	畜	chù	t ^h juk	t ^h uk	rhuk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tš'y (入), PR tš'u [?] ; MTang t ^h uk, ONW t ^h uk [E] TB *hu 'to rear, raise, nourish'				

	畜	chù,	tʰjəu ^C ,	tʰu ^C ,	rhukh,	
		xiù	xjəu ^C	hu ^C	hukh	
cd	蓄 稽	xù, chù	xjəu ^C , tʰjəu ^C	hu ^C , tʰu ^C	hukh, rhukh	
e	愴	xù	xjuk	huk	huk	
f	漚	chù	tʰjuk	tʰuk	rhuk	
14-16	= K. 1032	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	六	liù	ljuk	liuk	ruk	OCB *C-rjuk
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR lu (入), PR, LR lu?; MGZY l̥y (入) [ly]; ONW luk. [D] PMin *lhok > NMin Jiànyáng so ^{D2} <> [E] TB *d-ruk 'six'
efh	陸 陸	lù	ljuk	liuk	ruk	
i	睦	mù	mjuk	muk	mruc	
14-17	= K. 1033	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	肉 flesh	ròu	ńjuk	ńuk	nuk	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ru (入), LR ru?; MGZY Zh̥y (入) [ry]; ONW ńuk
	肉 fleshy	rù	ńjəu ^C	ńu ^C	nukh	
-	脂	róu	ńjəu	ńu	—	
14-18	= K. 1031	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	All -ek < -euk
ag	a 菽	shū	śjuk	śuk	nhuk	OCB *stjiwk
						[E] LB *(s-)nok 'bean'
b	叔	shū	śjuk	śuk	nhuk	
p	怒	nì	niek	nek < neuk	niûk	[E] WT gñog-pa 'to desire'
fx	戚 感 鍼	qì	tsʰiek	tsʰek	tshiûk < snhiûk	
						[N] Aspirated initials in OC are secondary, one source of tsh- is snh- that, given the phonetic *nhuk, seems to be the source of MC tsʰ- here. Since the nasal disappeared early, the syllable could then be used for words with original affricates.
v	顛	cù, qì	tsjuk, tsʰiek	tsiuk, tsʰe(u)k	tsiuk, tshiûk	
tu	蹙	cù	tsjuk	tsiuk	tsiuk	OCB *Stjiwk
lm	寂 家	jì	dziek	dzek	dziûk	
e	欸	cù	tsjuk	tsiuk	tsiuk	
k	跂	dí	diek	dek	diûk	
rs	r 淑	dí	diek	dek	diûk	
j	淑	shū	źjuk	dźuk	diuk	OCB *djiwk
hi	倣 諷	chù	tʰjuk	tʰuk	thiuk	
no	督 袈	dū	tuok	touk	tûk	
q	椒	jiāo	tsjäu, tsieu	tsiau, tseu	—	OCB *tsjiw
						[D] Min *tsiau
14-19	= K. 1027	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	竈	cù	tsʰjuk	tsʰiuk	tshuk	
b	竈	zào	tsâu ^C	tsou ^C	tsûkh	
14-20	= K. 1029	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	宿 pass night	sù	sjuk	siuk	suk	'pass the night'
						[T] ONW suk <> [D] M-Xiam lit. siok ^{D1} , col. sik ^{D1}

	宿 mansion	xiù	sjəu ^C	siu ^C	sukh	ONW su
-	蓿 see 苜蓿	mù-xu 14-24				
c	縮	suō	sjuk	şuk	sruk	
						[T] ONW şuk <> [E] Khmer /cœr/ 'be straight'
d	躡	suō	sjuk	şuk	sruk	
14-21	= K. 1030	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	夙	sù	sjuk	siuk	suk	
						[D] M-Xiam (lit.) siok ^{D1} <> [E] LB *C-sok 'morning'
14-22	= K. 1028	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	肅	sù	sjuk	siuk	siuk	ONW suk
cd	鱗 鱗	sù,	sjuk,	siuk,	siuk,	
		shōu	sjəu	şu	sriu	ONW şu
e	繡	xiù	sjəu ^C	siu ^C	siuh or siukh	
fg	嘯 歎	xiào	sieu ^C	seu ^C	siûh	
h	簫 panpipe	xiāo	sieu	seu	siû	~ 16-33/1149e'
						[T] MHan siu; BTD séu; ONW séu; MTang siau > siau
ijk	蕭 瀟 蠟	xiāo	sieu	seu	siû	
14-23	= K. 1034	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	復 return	fù	bjuk	buk	buk	OCB *(r)juk
d	復 repeat	fù	bjuk	buk	buk	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR vu (入); MGZY hwu (入) [vu]; MTang bvuk, ONW buk
	復 repeat	fù	bjəu ^C	bu ^C	bukh	
g	輓	fù	bjuk	buk	buk	
h	腹	fù	pjuk	puk	puk	[E] TB *pu:k 'cavern'
i	複	fù	pjuk	puk	puk	
j	蝮	fù	pʰjuk	pʰuk	phuk	[E] TB *bu 'insect, snake'
m	覆 turn over	fù	pʰjuk	pʰuk	phuk	
						[T] MTang pfu, ONW pʰu <> [E] TB: WT 'bubs 'put on a roof' ≠ spub- 'turn over', PL *pup 'turn over, search for'
	覆 cover	fù	pʰjəu ^C	pʰu ^C	phukh	
l	復 cover	fù	pʰjəu ^C	pʰu ^C	phukh	
k	復	bì	bjək	bik	brək or bruk ?	
14-24	= K. 1036	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	目	mù	mjuk	muk	muk	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (入); MGZY wu (入) [vu]; ONW muk; BTD 目 捷 連 muk-gian ^B -lian Skt. Maudgalyāyana, Pkt. moggallāna <> [D] PMin *mok ^{D2} <> [E] TB *mik ~ *myak 'eye'
-	苜蓿 alfalfa	mù-xu	mjuk-sjuk	muk-siuk (< muk-suk)	[SJ]	
14-25	= K. 1035	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	穆	mù	mjuk	muk	muk	

15 OCM rime *-uŋ Dōng bù 冬部

GSR 1002 - 1015
Baxter 1992: 524 ff. (§10.2.15)

See Table 13-1 for OCM rimes *-uŋ, *-uk, *-u in QYS categories.

No LHan high vocalic onset need be postulated with the high vowel *u*; however, *i* is inserted after acute initials.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
15-1	= K. 1006					
a	宮	gōng	kjuŋ	kuŋ	kuŋ	
						[T] ONW kuŋ (also written gōng 公 *kloŋ in Shijing) <> [E] AA-Mon gloŋ 'citadel, palace'
fe	躬 e	gōng	kjuŋ	kuŋ	kuŋ	[E] TB *guŋ 'body'
hg	窮 g	qióng	gjuŋ	guŋ	guŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR gjuŋ (平); MGZY kyung (平) [gjuŋ]
15-2	= K. 1015					
-	降	xiáng	ɣǎŋ	gǎŋ	grúŋ	
a	降 go down	jiàng	kǎŋ ^C	kǎŋ ^C	krúŋh	[T] ONW kǎŋ
	降 submit	xiáng	ɣǎŋ	gǎŋ	grúŋ	[T] ONW ɣǎŋ
-	絳	jiàng	kǎŋ ^C	kǎŋ ^C		
d	涿	hóng,	ɣuoŋ, guŋ	go(u)ŋ,	grúŋ	and many other readings
		xiáng, jiàng	gǎŋ, kǎŋ ^C	g/kǎŋ ^C		
f	隆 eminent	lóng	ljuŋ	liuŋ	ruŋ	OCB *g-rjuŋ
						[E] Khm ruŋ 'eminent'
	隆 thunder	lóng	ljuŋ	liuŋ	ruŋ	[E] JP ruŋ ³¹ 'rumbling'
g	癘	lóng	ljuŋ	liuŋ	ruŋ	
e	戇	zhuàng,	tǎŋ ^C ,	tǎŋ ^C ,	trúŋh,	
		hòng	xuŋ ^C	hoŋ ^C	hòŋh	
15-3	= K. 1002					
a	冬	dōng	tuŋ	tuŋ	túŋ	[T] ONW tuŋ
-	疼	téng	duŋ	douŋ	dúŋ	[E] WT gduŋ-ba 'feel pain'
e	終	zhōng	tjúŋ	tjúŋ	tuŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR tjúŋ (平), PR, LR tjúŋ; MGZY jung (平) [tjúŋ]; ONW túŋ
						[E] Chepang doŋ? 'to end, cease', KN-Lai doŋ / do?ŋ 'to end'
f	蝻	zhōng	tjúŋ	tjúŋ	tuŋ < tjúŋ ?	= 15-4/1010e 蝻
						[E] WB: kjuŋ ^B 'locust'
15-4	= K. 1010					
a	眾	zhòng	tjúŋ ^C	tjúŋ ^C	tuŋh = tjúŋh ?	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR tjúŋ (去), PR, LR tjúŋ; MGZY jung (去) [tjúŋ]; ONW túŋ
e	蠖	zhōng	tjúŋ	tjúŋ	tuŋ = tjúŋ ?	= 15-3/1002f 蠖

f	涿	zhōng,	tjúŋ,	tjúŋ,	tuŋ,	
		cóng	dzu(o)ŋ	dzo(u)ŋ	dzúŋ, dzòŋ	
15-5	= K. 1011					
a	充	chōng	tshjuŋ	tshjuŋ	tuŋ	
b	統	tōng !	tshuoŋ ^C	tshuoŋ ^C	thúŋh	
15-6	= K. 1007					
a	中 middle	zhōng	tjuŋ	tuŋ	truŋ	OCB *k-ljuŋ
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjuŋ (平), PR, LR tsjuŋ; MGZY jung (平) [tsjuŋ]; MTang tuŋ, ONW tuŋ
						[E] PMiao *ntroŋ ^A
	中 hit the mid.	zhòng	tjuŋ ^C	tuŋ ^C	truŋh	
f	仲	zhòng	ɖjuŋ ^C	ɖjuŋ ^C	druŋh	
jl	衷革	zhōng	tjuŋ	tuŋ	truŋ	
k	忠	zhōng	tjuŋ	tuŋ	truŋ	[E] Tai: S. troŋ ^{A1} 'faithful, loyal'
n	忡	chōng	tshjuŋ	tshjuŋ	thruŋ	
o	盅	chōng	tshjuŋ,	tshjuŋ,	thruŋ,	
			ɖjuŋ	ɖjuŋ	druŋ	
p	冲	chōng !	ɖjuŋ	ɖjuŋ	druŋ	[E] WT tshjuŋ-ba 'young'
15-7	= K. 1009					
ca	蟲>虫	chóng	ɖjuŋ	ɖjuŋ	druŋ < r-luŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjuŋ (平), PR dzjuŋ; MGZY cjuŋ (平) [dzjuŋ]
						虫 also writes 'snake' 28-23/1009. <> [E] TB *d-yuŋ bug
e	蝮	tóng	duŋ	douŋ	lúŋ	= 15-8/1008e 蝮
f	熨	tóng	duŋ	douŋ	lúŋ	
d	融	róng	jiuŋ	juŋ	luŋ	
						[T] ONW iuŋ <> [E] TB: PL *ʔ-loŋ ¹ 'hot'
15-8	= K. 1008					
a	彤	róng	jiuŋ	juŋ	luŋ	
e	彤	tóng	duŋ	douŋ	lúŋ	= 15-7/1009e 蝮
15-9	= K. 1005					
abgh	農 b 膿	nóng	nuŋ	nouŋ	núŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR nuŋ (平); MGZY nuŋ (平) [nuŋ]; MTang nouŋ, ONW nauŋ
-	儂	nóng	nuŋ			
kl	穠 濃	nóng	ŋjwoŋ,	ŋioŋ,	nroŋ,	
			ńjwoŋ	ńioŋ	noŋ	
ij	濃 醲	nóng	ŋjwoŋ,	ŋioŋ,	nroŋ,	PTai *hn- > S. noŋ ^{A1} 'pus'
			nuŋ	noŋ	nòŋ	
						膿 [T] MTang nouŋ, ONW nauŋ <> [D] PMin *nhəŋ ^(C)
15-10	= K. 1013					
a	戎	róng	ńjúŋ	ńjuŋ	nuŋ	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR rjuŋ (平); PR ruŋ; MGZY Zhjuŋ (平) [rjuŋ]; ONW ńjuŋ
e	菝	róng	ńjúŋ	ńjuŋ	nuŋ	

15-11	= K. 1012	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	嵩	sōng	sjuŋ	siuŋ	suŋ	= 12-13/1190f 崧
15-12	= K. 1004	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	宋	sòng	suoŋ ^C	souŋ ^C	sûŋh	
15-13	= K. 1003	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	宗	zōng	tsuoŋ	tsouŋ	tsûŋ	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsuŋ (平); MGZY dzung (平) [tsuŋ]; ONW tsaun				
		[E] WT rdzoŋ(s) 'castle, fortress'				
f	綜	zōng, zòng	tsuoŋ ^C	tsouŋ ^C	tsûŋh	
g	琮	cóng	dzuoŋ	dzouŋ	dzûŋ	
h	崇	chóng	dzjuŋ	dzuŋ	dzruŋ	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzuŋ (平); MGZY cung (平) [dzuŋ]				
		[E] Khmer /croŋ/ 'to raise up', crūna /cròŋ/ 'be upright'; Riang tsəroŋ, Khasi jrōŋ 'high'				
15-14	= K. 1014	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	豐	fēng	p ^h juŋ	p ^h uŋ	phuŋ	
e	豐	fēng	p ^h juŋ	p ^h uŋ	phuŋ	The phonetic element seems to be GSR 1197
15-15	= K. 1253a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	贖	fèng	p ^h juŋ ^C	p ^h uŋ ^C	p ^h uŋh or p ^h əŋh	

GSR 1129 - 1171

Baxter 1992: 526 ff. (§10.2.16)

Table 17-1 compares OCM finals *-ek, *-ak, *-auk, *-uk.

Table 16-1: Comparison of OCM rimes *-auk, *-uk, *-(i)au, *-(i)u

Div.	*-auk R.17	*-uk R.14	*-au R.16	*-u R.13, *-ukh R.14
I	鶴 yâk gak *gâuk 樂 lâk lak *râuk		高 kâu kau *kâu 毛 mâu mau *mâu 刀 tâu tau *tâu	好 xâu ^B hou ^B *hû? 寶 pâu ^B pou ^B *pû? 道 dâu ^B dou ^B *lû? 誥 kâu ^C kou ^C *kûkh
I	雀 yuok gouk *gâuk 沃 ?uok ?ouk *?âuk 濼 luok louk *râuk	告 kuok kouk *kûk 毒 duok douk *dûk		
III	虐 njak njak *ŋauk 約 ?jak ?iak *?iauk 綽 tš ^h jak tš ^h ak *thauk 雀 tsjak tsiak *tsiauk	菊 kjuk kuk *kuk 目 mjuk muk *muk 竹 tjuk tuk *truk 六 ljuk liuk *ruk		浮 bjəu bu *bu 覆 p ^h ju ^C p ^h u ^C *phukh 舟 tšjəu tšu *tu 祝 tšjəu ^C tšu ^C *tukh 劉 ljəu liu *ru
3/3 gr			喬 gjäu ³ giäu *gau 夭 ?jäu ^{B3} ?iäu ^B *?au? 表 pjäu ^{B3} piäu ^B *pau?	
III ac			詔 tšjäu ^C tšäu ^C *tau ^h	
IV	翟 diek deuk *liâuk 櫟 liek leuk *riâuk	怒 niek neuk *niûk 邃 diek deuk *liûk	窈 ?ieu ^C ?eu ^C *?iâuh 堯 ?ieu ^B ?eu ^B *?iû? 跳 dieu deu *liâu	梟 kieu keu *kiû 窈 ?ieu ^B ?eu ^B *?iû? 鳥 tieu ^B teu ^B *tiû? 麥 lieu leu *riû
3/4			腰 ?jiäu ⁴ ?iäu *?iauh 票 p ^h jiäu ⁴ p ^h iauh *phiauh	糾 kjieu ^{B4} kiu ^B *kiu? 繆 mjeu ^{C4} miu ^C *mriuh 鏹 ljeu liu *riu
II	樂 njak njak *ŋrâuk 卓 tāk tək *trauk 駁 pāk pək *priâuk	學 yâk gək *grûk	交 kau kau *krâu 貌 mau ^C mau ^C *mrâuh 饒 nau nau *nrâu	坳 ?au ?əu *?riû 包 pau pou *prû 爪 tšau ^B tšəu ^B *tsrû? 窖 kau ^C kou ^C *krûkh

16-1	= K. 1129	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	高 high	gāo	kâu	kau	kâu	OCB *kaw
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kaw (平); MGZY gaw (平) [kaw]; ONW kau. MHan 高附 kau-buo ^C Κάβουρα (Kabul)				
	高 height	gāo	kâu ^C	kau ^C	kâuh	
deh	d 髒	gǎo	kâu ^B	kau ^B	kâu?	
		[E] Tai: S. k ^h au ^{A1} 'white, clear, pale'				

-fg	稿 fg	gǎo	kâu ^B	kau ^B	kâu?	
	[D] PMin *gɔ ^{B1} 'rice straw'					
i	膏	gāo	kâu ^(C)	kau ^(C)	kâu, kâuh	
jk	稿 k dried	kǎo	k ^h âu ^B	k ^h au ^B	khâu?	
	稿 an herb	gǎo	kâu ^B	kau ^B	kâu?	
a'	蕘 dried fish	kǎo	k ^h âu ^B	k ^h au ^B	khâu?	
l	稿	kǎo	k ^h âu ^C	k ^h au ^C	khâuh	
s	敲	qiāo	k ^h au ^(C)	k ^h au ^(C)	khrau, khrau ^h	
mn	毫豪	háo	ɣâu	gau	gâu	
yz	壕壕	háo	ɣâu	gau	gâu	
o	鎬	hào	ɣâu ^B	gau ^B	gâu?	
q	蒿	hāo	xâu	hau	hâu	
b'	嘴	hāo !	xau	hau	hâu ? = 16-9/1168b	
v	翯	hè	xâk, ɣâk	hok, ɣok	hrâu, grâu	
u	焗	hè	xuok, xâk	houk, hok	hâuk	
t	謫 shout	xiào	xau ^C	hau ^C	hrâu ^{kh} or hâuh ? = x	
x	嗝 stern	hè	xâk, xâk	hok, hok	hrâu	
	shrill	xiào	xau ^C	hau ^C	hrâu ^{kh} or hâuh ? = t	
c'	敲	hào, hè	xâu ^C , xâk	hau ^C , hok	hâuk ^h , hrâu	
16-2 = K. 1244	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	羔	gāo	kâu	kau	kâu	
b	糕	gāo, zhuó	kuok, tsjak	kouk, tsak	kâuk ~ kiau	
	[E] TB *kok 'bark, skin' > WB ə-k ^h ok; WT skog-pa ~ kog-pa 'shell, peel, rind'					
-	焯	qiāo	k ^h jiäu 4, k ^h ieu	k ^h eu	khiau	
-	焯	yáo	jiäu or jiäu	jau	jau	
-	焯糕	yǎo	jiäu ^B	jau	jau	
16-3 = K. 1138	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ace	喬 ¹ 僑 鐫	qiáo	gjäu 3	giäu	gau 'high, tall' OCB *fik(r)jaw	
a	喬 ² arrogant	jiāo, qiāo	kjäu 3, k ^h jiäu 3	kiäu, k ^h äu	kau, khau	
i	僑	jiāo	kjäu 3	kiäu	kau	
ijklm	僑敵矯譎	jiào	kjäu ^B 3	kiäu ^B	kau? [T] ONW kau	
d	嶠	jiào	gjäu ^(C) 3	giäu ^(C)	gau, gau ^h	
g	橋 bridge	qiáo	gjäu 3	giäu	gau	
	sweep	jiào	kjäu ^C 3	kiäu ^C	kauh	
	energet.	jiào	kjäu ^B 3	kiäu ^B	kau? 'energetic'	
h	趨	qiáo	gjäu 3	giäu	gau	
n	鵠	jiāo, qiáo	kjäu, gjäu 3	kiäu, giäu	kau, gau	
o	驕 high	jiāo	kjäu 3	kiäu	kau OCB *k(r)jaw	
	vigorous	qiāo	k ^h jiäu 3	k ^h äu	khau	
	a dog	xiāo	hjäu 3	hiäu	hau	
p	繡	qiāo	k ^h jiäu 3	k ^h äu	khau	
q	躡 martial	jiào	kjäu ^B 3	kiäu ^B	kau? OCB *k(r)jaw?	
	躡 sandal	jué	kjak	kiak	kauk = r	

	躡 conceit.	jué	gjak	giak	gauk	
r	躡	jué	kjak	kiak	kauk = q	
16-4 = K. 1162	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	敷敷	jiào	kieu ^B	keu ^B	kiâu? = 16-6/1166y 皎	
d	徼 seek	jiāo	kieu	keu	kiâu	
	limit	jiào	kieu ^C	keu ^C	kiâu ^h	
f	邀	yāo !	kieu	keu	kiâu	
c	邀	jiào	kieu ^C , kiek	keu ^C , kek	kiâu ^{kh} , kiâu ^{kh}	
e	邀	jiào, jī	kieu ^C , kiek	keu ^C , kek	kiâu ^{kh} , kiâu ^{kh}	
g	邀	qiào, qī	k ^h ieu ^C , k ^h iek	k ^h eu ^C , k ^h ek	khiâu ^{kh} , khiâu ^{kh}	
h	窳	qiào	k ^h ieu ^C	k ^h eu ^C	khiâu(k)h	
1258e	繳	zhuó	tsjak	tsak	kiau	
16-5 = K. 1163	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	釧	zhāo, jiāo	kieu, tsjäu	keu, tsau	kiâu, kiau = 16-15/1131r 鋤	
	[E] Tai: Lao kiau ^{B1} 'to reap, sickle', S. kiau ^{B1} 'to cut with a sickle' ≠ khiau ^{A2} < *g- 'a sickle'					
16-6 = K. 1166	Most or all words in this XS series could have had the OCM rime *-iau.					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	交	jiāo	kau	kau	krâu or kriâu	
	[T] ONW käu <> [E] TB *rjaw > WB ro ^B (= rau ^B) 'to mix, mingle', Kachin yau 'be mixed' ≠ kəjau 'to mix, intermix'. <> PYao *klaau ³ 'to pay'					
lmo	茭蛟蛟	jiāo	kau	kau	krâu	
n	郊	jiāo	kau	kau	krâu OCB *kraw	
g	咬 cry	jiāo	kau	kau	krâu	
	[E] TB: WB kro 'shout, call out', Lahu kù < *kru					
	咬 cry	yāo	?au	?au	?râu or ?au	
	[E] TB *a:w 'cry out'					
	咬 bite	yǎo	ŋau ^B	ŋau ^B	ŋrâu?	
	[D] PMin *gǎu ^B : Amoy ka ^{C2} , Jiānglè hau ⁹ <> [E] TB: Chepang ŋaawh 'to bite'					
p	骹	qiāo	k ^h au	k ^h au	khrau 'tibia, spoke of a wheel'	
	[D] Min 'foot': *k ^h au ^{A1} > Amoy k ^h a ^{A1}					
c	狡	jiào	kau ^B	kau ^B	krâu?	
	[E] TB: WB kro ~ kyo 'to fry', JP krau ³³ 'dry up, overdry' ≠ kã ³¹ -rau ³³ 'dry over a fire'					
k	絞 twist	jiào	kau ^B	kau ^B	krâu?	
	a band	xiáo	ɣau	gau	grâu	
j	狡	jiào	kau ^B	kau ^B	krâu?	
e	佼 beautiful	jiào	kau ^B	kau ^B	krâu?	
f	姣 beautiful	jiāo !	kau ^B	kau ^B	krâu?	
	immoral	xiáo	ɣau	gau	grâu	
h	狡	jiào	kau ^C	kau ^C	krâu ^h	
gruv	狡效傲効	xiào	ɣau ^C	gau ^C	grâu ^h	
i	校 foot of t.	xiào	ɣau ^(B/C)	gau ^(B/C)	grâu, grâu?, grâu ^h	
	school	xiào	ɣau ^C	gau ^C	grâu ^h ≠ 16-7/1167h	
	foot fetters	jiào	kau ^C	kau ^C	krâu ^h	
	quickly	jiào	kau ^B	kau ^B	krâu?	

xy	皎皎	jiào	kieu ^B	keu ^B	kiâu? = 16-4/1162b 皦 OCB *kew?
b'	較 bars	jué	kâk	kok	krâuk = 16-7/1167m
	compare	jiào	kau ^C	kau ^C	krâukh (or krâuh?)
z	交	yǎo	?ieu ^B	?eu ^B	?iâu?
a'	交	yào	?ieu ^C	?eu ^C	?iâuh = 16-10/1141j 突
		[E] TB Mru iu (i.e., ?iu) 'dark'			

16-7 = K. 1167 Most or all words in this XS could have had the OCM rime *-iau.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ade	爻肴殺	yáo	yau	gau	grâu
fhi	伎教教	jiào	kau ^C	kau ^C	krâuh * 16-6/1166i
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjaw (平去); MGZY (gǎw >) gyaw (平去) [kjaw]; ONW kâu			
		[D] Min *kau ^C ; Kejia *kau ^{A1} . GSR 1167fg have additional BI forms.			
m	較	jué	kâk	kok	krâuk = 16-6/1166b' 較

16-8 = K. 1041p-t 13-3/1041a kǎo 号 OCM khû? is semantic and therefore not necessarily phonetic.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
p	号	hào	yâu ^C	yau ^C [SW]	
q	號 cry out	háo	yâu	yau	fîau OCB *gaw
		[E] TB *gaw ~ *kaw 'shout'			
	號 call	hào	yâu ^C	yau ^C	fîauh OCB *gaws
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR yaw (去); MGZY Xaw (去) [yaw]; ONW yau			
r	号 noise	háo	yâu	yau	fîau
	vast	xiāo	xjäu 3	hiäu	hau
s	号	xiāo	xjäu 3	hiäu	hau
t	号	xiāo	jäu 3	wau	wau MC jäu 3 is a unique syllable

16-9 = K. 1168 16-7/1167) is not phonetic, nor is 13-31041 *khû?.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	孝	xiào	xau ^C	xau ^C	hrâuh
b	哮	xiào	xau ^(C)	xau ^(C)	hâu? = 16-1/1129b'

16-10 = K. 1141

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	夭 bend	yǎo	?jäu ^B 3	?iäu ^B	?au?
	夭 tender	yāo	?jäu 3	?iäu	?au = c OCB *?(r)jaw
		[T] ONW ?au 'delicate, slender'			
	夭 newborn	ǎo	?âu ^B	?au ^B	?âu? = k
c	夭 tender	yāo	?jäu 3	?iäu	?au = a
f	殀	yǎo	?jäu ^B 3	?iäu ^B	?au?
		[T] ONW ?au 'break off, die'			
deg	妖媯袄袄	yāo	?jäu 3	?iäu	?au [T] ONW ?au
i	突	yǎo	?ieu ^B	?eu ^B	?iâu?
j	突	yǎo, yào	?ieu ^(B/C)	?eu ^(B/C)	?iâu, ?iâu?, ?iâuh
		= 16-6/1166a' 突			
k	虞	yǎo, ǎo	?âu ^B	?au ^B	?âu? = a
l	沃	wò	?uok	?ouk	?âuuk OCB *?awk
m	鏊	wù	?uok	?ouk	?âuuk

1242a 飫 satiate yù ?jwo^C ?ia^C ?ah = 1-28/61e 於

16-11 = K. 1142

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	要 ¹ 腰 waist	yāo	?jiäu 4	?iäu	?iäu OCB *?jew
		[T] ONW ?iäu <> [E] PTai *?eu, S. sa-?eew 'waist'			
	要 ² import.	yào	?jiäu ^C 4	?iäu ^C	?iâuh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?jew (平); MGZY yaw (平) [?jew] 'must, have to, want, will'			
cd	要蓼	yāo	?jiäu 4	?iäu	?iäu

16-12 = K. 1140

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	囂 clamor	xiāo	xjäu 3	hiäu	hâu
	clamor	áo	ŋäu	ŋäu	ŋâu

16-13 = K. 1130

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	熬	áo	ŋäu	ŋäu	ŋâu
efgk	熬	áo	ŋäu	ŋäu	ŋâu
h	熬	áo	ŋäu	ŋäu	ŋâu
		[E] ST *ŋäu: TB *r-ŋaw (STC no. 270) > WT rŋod-pa, brŋos 'to parch, roast, fry'			
jmo	熬	áo	ŋäu	ŋäu	ŋâu
l	警 reckless	áo, yáo	ŋäu, ŋäu	ŋäu, ŋäu	ŋâu, ŋrau
	jest	ào	ŋäu ^C	ŋäu ^C	ŋâuh
d	傲	ào	ŋäu ^C	ŋäu ^C	ŋâuh
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋaw (去); PR aw; LR aw; MGZY ngaw (去) [ŋaw]			

16-14 = K. 1164

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
-a	堯堯	yáo	ŋieu	ŋeu	ŋiäu OCB *ŋjew
		[T] BTD ŋieu; ONW ŋieu			
b	僂 dwarf	yáo	ŋieu	ŋeu	ŋiäu
	luck	jiào	kieu ^B	keu ^B	kiâu?
lno	堯	ráo	ńjäu	ńau	ŋiau
m	堯	náo, ráo	ńjäu	ńau	ŋiau
k	繞	rào	ńjäu ^B	ńau ^B	ŋiau? OCB **ŋjew
		[T] ONW ńau; MTang ńau			
qr	繞	náo	ŋau	ŋau	nrau or nriäu
p	橈 oar	ráo	ńjäu	ńau	nau or niau
		[E] MK: Khmer thnaol 'punting pole'			
	橈 bend	náo !	ŋau ^C	ŋau ^C	nrau or nriäu
t	燒	shāo	śjäu	śau, tś ^h au	ŋhiau or nhiau? OCB **ŋhjew
		[T] BTD śau; ONW śau; Sin Sukchu SR śjew (平), PR śjew; MGZY shew (平) [śew]			
		[D] PWMIn *tśhiau, PEMIn *śiau 'roast'			
s	撓	náo, hāo	ŋau ^B !, xäu	ŋau ^B , hau	nrau?, hnrau or hrau * 16-27/1152a
h	翹	qiáo	gjiäu 4	giäu	giäu
c	澆	jiāo	kieu	keu	kiäu
d	澆	qiāo	k ^h ieu	k ^h eu	khiäu
ij	澆	qiāo, qiǎo	k ^h au, k ^h ieu ^B	k ^h au, k ^h eu ^B	khräu
e	曉	xiāo	xieu	heu	hiäu

f	曉	xiǎo	xieu ^B	heu ^B	hiâu?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR xjew (上), PR xjaw; MGZY h̄yaw (上) [xjew] [E] PYao hiu ³ 'to know'; MK-Viet. hiêu 'to know'				
g	曉	xiāo	xieu ^(B)	heu ^(B)	hiâu, hiâu?	
16-15 = K. 1131/2 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
1131a	刀 knife	dāo	tāu	tau	tāu	OCB *taw
		[T] ONW tau <> [E] ? Area word or CH loan: e.g., TB-Karen *?do 'knife', JP n ³¹ -do ³¹ 'short knife', Viet. daw 'sword', Stieng taaw. For dāo 船 'small boat', see under 10-2/125a				
	刀刁 flutter	diāo	tieu	teu	tiâu	
c	叨	dāo	tāu	tau	tāu	[T] Khot. ttāva
d	叨	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h au	t ^h āu	
1132a	到侄	dào	tāu ^C	tau ^C	tāuh	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR taw (去); MGZY daw (去) [taw]; ONW tau				
c	倒	dǎo	tāu ^{B/C}	tau ^{B/C}	tāu?, tāuh	[T] ONW tau
		[E] TB: JP du ⁵⁵ 'to pour (from a pot)', PVM *toh 'to pour' <> Tai: S. tok ^{D1} S 'to fall down'				
d	藪	dào, zhuō	tāu ^C , tāk	tau ^C , tək	tāukh, trāuk	
1131e	召 call	zhào	djäu ^C	điau ^C	drauh	OCB *drjaws
		[E] Tai: S. riak ^{A2} 'call'				
	Pl.N.	shào	zjäu ^C	dzäu ^C	dauh	
l	招	zhāo	tšjäu	tšau	tau	[T] ONW tsau
q	詔	zhào	tšjäu ^C	tšau ^C	tau ^h	
j	超	chāo	t ^h jäu	t ^h iau	thrau	OCB *thrjaw
		[T] BTD t ^h au; ONW t ^h au; MTang t ^h au				
i	惛	chāo	t ^h jäu, tš ^h jäu	t ^h iau, tš ^h au	thrau, thau	
k	輶	yáo	jiäu	jau	lau or jau	
c'	貂	diāo	tieu	teu	tiâu	
d'	苜 a pea	tiáo	dieu	deu	diâu	
	reed	diāo	tieu	teu	tiâu	
e'	鞞	táo	dâu	dau	dâu	
m	昭 bright	zhāo	tšjäu	tšau	tiau < kiau	OCB *tjaw
		[N] Acc. to SW zhāo 釗 (tšjiäu, kieu) is a loan graph for 昭, therefore the OC stem was prob. *kiau (not *tiau), note also the allofams jiào 蛟 and qiào 髒				
	昭 glorious	zhāo	tšjäu ^B	tšau ^B	tiau? < kiau?	
	昭 shrined	cháo	zjäu	dzäu	diau < giäu	
no	炤照	zhào	tšjäu ^C	tšau ^C	tiau < kiau ^h	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjew (去); MGZY jew (去) [tšew]; ONW tsau				
r	鋤 sickle	zhāo	tšjäu	tšau	kiau !	= 16-5/1163a 釗
p	沼 pool	zhǎo	tšjäu ^B	tšau ^B	tau?	OCB *tjaw?
		zhǎo	tšjäu ^C	tšau ^C	tau ^h	OCB *tjaws
s	昭	chāo	tš ^h jäu ^(B)	tš ^h au ^(B)	thau, thau?	
t	邵	shào	zjäu ^C	dzäu ^C	dauh	
z	紹	shào	zjäu ^B	dzäu ^B	dau?	
a'b'	韶馨	sháo	zjäu	dzäu	dau	
16-16 = K. 1133 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	盜	dào	dâu ^C	dau ^C	dâuh	OCB *daw(k)s

16-17 = K. 1143 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	朝 morning	zhāo	tjäu	tjäu	trau	OCB *trjaw
		[T] ONW tau <> [E] Tai: S. p ^h rau ^{A2} < *br- 'morning'				
	朝 audience	cháo	djäu	điau	drau	OCB *ftrjaw
d	潮 tide	cháo	djäu	điau	drau	
1160a	廟	miào	mjäu ^C 3	miäu ^C	mrauh	OCB *m(r)jaws
		[E] ? MY *prau ² < *br- 'house'				
16-18 = K. 1146 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	肇	zhào	djäu ^B	điau ^B	drau?	
16-19 = K. 1147 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	鼃	cháo	djäu	điau	drau	
16-20 = K. 1145 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
abc	兆挑旒	zhào	djäu ^B	điau ^B	drau? < r-lau?	OCB *drjaw?
		[E] TB: Chepang hraw?- 'forebode, potend ill fortune, be ill'				
dg	姚桃	yáo	jiäu	jau	lau	
u	桃	táo	dâu	dau	lâu	OCB *g-law
		[E] MY *glaau ^{3A} 'peach'				
v	逃	táo	dâu	dau	lâu	
xy	鞞	táo	dâu	dau	lâu	
s	洩 pour	táo !	t ^h āu	t ^h au	lhâu	
		[T] ONW t ^h au <> [E] PMiao *?leu ^A 'to pour'				
	洩 Pl.N.	dào	dâu ^B	dau ^B	lâu?	
	洩 a lake	yáo	jiäu [GY]			'name of a lake'
t	眺	táo, tiào	dâu, t ^h ieu ^C	dau, t ^h eu ^C	lâu, lhiâu ^h	
z	駝	táo, dào	dâu ^(B)	dau ^(B)	lâu(?)	
o	挑 provoke	tiāo	t ^h ieu	t ^h eu	lhiâu	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR t'jew (平), PR t'jaw; MGZY th̄yaw (平) [t'jew]. MHan 撲挑 p ^h ok-deu?/-t ^h eu < *phôk-liâu? Puškalāvati, Πευκελαώτις				
	capar	diào	dieu ^B	deu ^B	liâu?	
	restless	tāo	t ^h āu	t ^h au	lhâu	
h	銚 hoe	tiāo, qiāo	t ^h ieu, tš ^h jäu	t ^h eu, tš ^h iau	lhiâu, slhiâu	
	lance	tiáo	dieu	deu	liâu	
ik	桃桃	tiāo	t ^h ieu	t ^h eu	lhiâu	
jlm	眺覩類	tiào	t ^h ieu ^C	t ^h eu ^C	lhiâu ^h	
n	佻 usurp	tiāo, tiáo	t ^h ieu, dieu	t ^h eu, deu	lhiâu, liâu	
	go/come	tiáo	dieu ^(B)	deu ^(B)	liâu, liâu?	
r	詔	diào	dieu ^B	deu ^B	liâu?	
p	跳	tiào !	dieu	deu	liâu	
q	窈 ¹ perfor.	tiào !	dieu ^B	deu ^B	liâu?	'perforate'
	窈 ²	yǎo-tiào	?ieu ^B -dieu ^B	?eu ^B -deu ^B	?iû?-liû? ?	~窈糾 'beautiful'
	窈 ³ small	tiāo	t ^h ieu	t ^h eu	lhiâu	
16-21 = K. 1144 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
abc	厖窳窳	yáo	jiäu	jau	jau	

defhijkl-	搖搖搖搖搖搖搖	same as a 搖 yáo
g	搖	yáo jiäu jau jau
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR jew (平); MGZY yew (平) [jew]; ONW iau <> [D] Min *iau [E] TB: WT g-yo-ba 'to move, shake, change place'
m	鵲	yào jiäu ^C jau ^C jauh
n	繇	follow yáo jiäu jau jau
		OB pron. zhòu djäu ^C du ^C druh < r-luh or r-juh ? 'oracle pronouncement'; loan for yóu 13-30/1079 由
o	繇	yóu jiäu ju ju

16-22 = K. 1149e The element 小 is semantic (so SW), not phonetic; MC s- and ś- do not mix in XS.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
e	少 few	shǎo	śjäu ^B	śau ^B	hjau ? OCB *h(l)jew?
					[T] ONW śau <> [D] Min-Amoy tsio ⁵³
	少 young	shào	śjäu ^C	śau ^C	hjauh ?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjew (上), PR sjaw; MGZY shew (上) [sew]; ONW śau
-	炒	chǎo	tṣ ^h au ^B	tṣ ^h au ^B	— [D] M *tṣhau ^B

16-23 = K. 1135 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	勞 toil	láo	lâu	lau	râu
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (平); MGZY law (平) [law]
	勞 recom.	lào	lâu ^C	lau ^C	râu
-	癆	lào	lâu ^C	lau ^C	—
b	簪	liáo	lieu	leu	riâu
					= 11-24/1151p 簪 <> [T] ONW lèu

16-24 = K. 1151 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ab	窳 b	liào	ljäu ^C	liäu ^C	riauh
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljew (平上), PR ljaw; MGZY lew (上去) [lew]
e	燎	liáo, liào	ljäu ^(C) , lieu ^C	liäu ^(C) , leu ^C	riau, riauh, riâu
h-i	僚僚寮	liáo	lieu ^(B)	leu ^(B)	riâu, riâu?
g	繚	liǎo, liáo	ljäu ^B , lieu ^B	liäu ^B , leu ^B	riâu?, riâu? ≈ 16-6/1166k jiào 絞
f	療 cure	liào	ljäu ^C	liäu ^C	riaukh = 17-8/1125a 樂 ⁴
					[E] TB: Mru rok / tarok 'to cure'
o	瞭	liǎo	lieu ^(B)	leu ^(B)	riâu, riâu?
s	僚	liào, liáo	lâu ^B , lieu	lau ^B , leu	râu?, riâu
t	寮	liào, liáo	lâu, lieu	lau, leu	râu, riâu
mnqr	僚僚僚	liáo	lieu	leu	riâu
p	僚	liáo	lieu	leu	riâu
					= 11-23/1135b 簪 <> [T] ONW lèu
uv	潦 v	liǎo	lâu ^B	lau ^B	râu?

16-25 Mand. MC LHan OCM

-	了	liǎo	lieu ^B	leu ^B	
					[T] ONW lèu; MTang liau > liau; MGZY lew ^B , ZYYY ljew ⁷ , Sin-SR ljew ^B , PR ljaw; LMing General and Southern liau <> [E] Viet ròi 'finished', Lang-lo soj; Tai: S. lew ⁵

16-26 = K. 1245	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
c	料	liào	lieu ^(C)	riâu(h) or riû(h)
d	敕	liáo	lieu	riâu or riû

16-27 = K. 1152 13-14/1071 yōu 憂 looks like the phonetic that includes the drawing of a person that, however, is later interpreted as 'monkey' and hence applied to náo.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
b	擾	náo	nâu	nâu
				= 13-48/1105g 獠; 13-49 擾 (*nû)
a	擾	rǎo	ńzjäu ^B	nau? ≈ 16-14/1164s nǎo 撓

16-28 = K. 1244 Mand. MC LHan OCM

-	惱	nǎo	nâu ^B	nau ^B	nâu?
					= 16-14/1164s nǎo 撓 <> [T] ONW nau <> [E] WB nok 'dirty, foul, turbid' <> [N] Also related to 25-34/189a 媯 nuán, *nrôn 'to quarrel' [SW]
f	腦	nǎo	nâu ^B	nau ^B or nou ^B	nâu? or nû? = 16-28A
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR naw (上); MGZY naw (上) [naw]. <> [E] TB *nuk 'brain'

16-28A = K. 1244g Mand. MC LHan OCM

g	刮	nǎo	nâu ^B	nau ^B or nou ^B	nâu? or nû? = 16-28f
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16-29 = K. 1244 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ij	媯媯	náo	ṇau	ṇau	nrâu
					[N] The 女 element is semantic ('woman' = moral terpitude) and not (primarily) phonetic.

16-30 = K. 1134 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ac	臬臬	sào	sâu ^C	sau ^C	sâuh
e	臬	sāo	sâu	sau	sâu
					[T] ONW sau <> [D] Min-Amoy ts ^h o ⁵⁵ <> [E] TB *sa:w
f	鱛	sāo	sâu	sau, S ts ^h au	sâu ~ C-sâu ?
					[D] PMin *tshau 'rank, fishy' <> [E] TB *saw ~ *su 'rot, decay'
d	燥	zào	sâu ^{B/C}	sau ^{B/C}	sâu?, sâuh
m	操	grasp cǎo	ts ^h âu !	ts ^h au	tshâu ONW ts ^h au
		principle cào	ts ^h âu ^C	ts ^h au ^C	tshâuh
l	燥	cǎo	ts ^h âu ^B	ts ^h au ^B	tshâu? < C-sâu?
					also written 38-29/647e 慘
gnhi	澡澡澡澡	zǎo	tsâu ^B	tsau ^B	tsâu?
					澡 [T] MHan 護澡 yuə ^C -tsau? = waxšab <> [E] MY *nts ¹ aa ³ B/C 'to wash (bathe)'
jk	趨躁	zào	tsâu ^C	tsau ^C	tsâuh

16-31 = K. 1148 The OC rime could also be *-iau.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	焦	jiāo	tsjäu	tsau
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjew (平); PR tsjaw; MGZY dzjāw (平) [tsjew]
b	焦	jiāo	tsjäu	tsau
				[E] TB *tsyow > WT 'ts ^h od-pa ~ 'ts ^h o-ba 'cook in boiling water, bake'
	焦 torch	jué, zhuó	tsjak, tsǎk	tsiak, tsɔk tsauk, tsráuk

c	焦	underst. dwarf	jiào	tsjäu ^C	tsiau ^C	tsauh	'understand'
df	焦		qiáo	dzjäu	dziau	dzau	
eg	焦		jiào	tsjäu ^C	tsiau ^C	tsauh	
eg	焦		jiào	tsjäu	tsiau	tsau	
hj	焦		qiáo	dzjäu	dziau	dzau	
i	焦		qiáo	dzjäu	dziau	dzau	
			[D] PMin*dzhu: Xiam lit. ts ^h ai ^{A2} , col. ts ^h a ^{A2}				
k	焦	chew	jiào	dzjäu ^C	dziau ^C	dzauh	
		reduced	jiāo	tsjäu	tsiau	tsau	
		cry	jiū	tsjəu	tsiu	tsu	
lm	焦		zhuō	tsák	tsək	tsrâu	
16-32 = K. 1169	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	巢	cháo	dzau	dzau	dzrâu		
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzaw (平); MGZY caw (平) [dzaw] <> [E] MY *rau ² 'nest'					
b	剿	snatch	chāo	ts ^h au	ts ^h au	tshrâu	
		cut off	jiǎo	tsjäu ^B	tsiau ^B	tsau?	
c	勦	snatch	chāo	ts ^h au, dzau	ts ^h au, dzau	tshrâu, dzrâu	
		weary	jiǎo	tsjäu ^B	tsiau ^B	tsau?	
d	縲		sāo	sāu	sou	sāu	
e	藻		zǎo	tsāu ^B	tsau ^B	tsāu?	= 16-30/1134n
16-33 = K. 1149	In some words, the rime could be OC *-au. See also 16-22/1149e 少.						
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	小	xiǎo	sjäu ^B	siau ^B	siau?	OCB *s(l)jew?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjew (上), PR sjaw; MGZY s ^h yaw (上) [sjew]; ONW siau					
g	肖	resemble	xiào	sjäu ^C	siau ^C	siauh	
		disperse	xiāo	sjäu	siau	siau	
hjk	宵	消瘳	xiāo	sjäu	siau	siau	[T] ONW siau. OCB *s(l)jew
mno	道	銷霄	xiāo	sjäu	siau	siau	
l	綃		xiāo	sjäu, sieu	siau, seu	siau, siâu	
x	梢		xiāo	sieu	seu	siâu	
a'b'	筲		shāo	şau	şau	sriâu	
y	梢		shāo	şau	şau	sriâu	
z	稍		shào	şau ^C	şau ^C	sriâu ^h	
c'	削	scrape	xuē, xuè, xiāo	şjak, sjäu ^C	siək, siau ^C	siauk, siauk ^h	[E] LB *sök 'scrape'
		a zone	shào	şau ^C	şau ^C	sriâu ^h	
d'	掣		xiāo,	sieu,	seu,	siâu,	
			shuò, shāo	şák, şau,	şək, şau	sriâu, sriauk	
e'	筳	panpipe	xiāo	sieu	seu	siâu	~ 14-22/1028h; ✕ 17-7/1119a
	筳	a music	shuò	şák	şək	sriâu ^h	
pqr	俏	峭	qiào	ts ^h jäu ^C	ts ^h iau ^C	tshiauh < k-siauh ?	
s	悄		qiǎo	ts ^h jäu ^B	ts ^h iau ^B	tshiauh? < k-siau? ?	
t	諂		qiào !	dzjäu ^C	dziau ^C	dziauh	
u	趙	hasten	zhào	đjäu ^B	điau ^B	driau?	
	趙	pierce	diào	diêu ^B	deu ^B	diâu?	

16-34 = K. 1150	Acc. to Shuōwén, the element 夭 is not phonetic.					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	笑	xiào	sjäu ^C	siau ^C , S ts ^h iau ^C	sauh or siauh	
		[D] PMin *tshiau ^C				
16-35 = K. 1153	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	表	biǎo	pjäu ^B 3	piäu ^B	pau?	
		[T] MHan pau; BTD pau; ONW pau; MTang pau				
16-36 = K. 1154	髟 biāo — see 13-71					
16-37 = K. 1155	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	焱	biāo	pjiäu 4	piäu	piäu	
16-38 = K. 1156	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	爨	biāo	pjiäu 4, pjieu 4	piäu, piu	piäu, piu	
16-39 = K. 1157	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	熨票	flames	piāo	p ^h jiäu	p ^h iau	phiau
		dry	piào	p ^h jiäu ^C	p ^h iau ^C	phiauh
c	標		biāo	pjiäu 4	piäu	piäu
		[E] Tai: S. pleu ^{A1} < *pl- 'flame' > MK: Pearic phlaw ~ phlew 'fire'				
d	標		biāo	pjiäu 4	piäu	piäu
j	標		piào	p ^h jiäu ^B 4	p ^h iau ^B	phiau?
f	標		piāo	p ^h jiäu ^(C) 4	p ^h iau ^(C)	phiau, phiauh
-	標		piào	p ^h jiäu ^C 4	p ^h iau ^C	phiauh
g	剽	quick	piào	p ^h jiäu ^C 4	p ^h iau ^C	phiauh
		tip	piāo,	p ^h jiäu 4,	p ^h iau,	phiau,
			biǎo	pjiäu ^B 4	piäu ^B	piäu?
h	漂		piāo	p ^h jiäu 4	p ^h iau	phiau
i	漂		piāo	p ^h jiäu 4	p ^h iau	phiau
-	藻		piāo	bjiäu 4	biau	biau
		[D] Min: Fúzh p ^h iu ^{A2} , Jiàn'ōu p ^h iau ^{C1} ; Hakka p ^h iau ^{A2} , Guǎngzh p ^h iu ^{A2}				
		[E] MK: Viet bèo 'duckweed', WMon bew 'to ride low on the water'				
e	飄	wind n.	piào, biāo	bjiäu, pjiäu 4	biau, piäu	biau, piäu
		[E] TB *pyaw > WT 'p ^h yo-ba 'swim, soar, float'. <> ? PTai *pliu ^{A1} 'float in the air'				
	飄	blow	piāo	p ^h jiäu 4	p ^h iau	phiau
k	瓢		piáo	bjiäu 4	biau	biau
l	標	fall	biào	bjiäu ^B 4	biau ^B	biau?
		crush	piāo, pāo	p ^h jiäu 4,	p ^h iau,	phiau,
				p ^h ieu, p ^h au	p ^h eu, p ^h əu	phiâu, phriâu
		lay down	pāo	p ^h au	p ^h əu	phriâu
		beckon	biāo	pjiäu 4	piäu	piäu
16-40 = K. 1170	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	麋 ¹	deer	páo	bau	bau	brâu
		'kind of deer'				
ab	麋 ²	儼 run	biāo	pjäu 3	piäu	pau
		'to run' OCB *(r)jaw				
cde	灑	灑	biāo	pjäu 3	piäu	pau

fg	曠	piào	phjiäu ^B 4	phiau ^B	phiau?
16-41 = K. 1137	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
aecf	毛髮旄髦	máo	mâu	mau	mâu
	毛 [T] Sin Sukchu SR maw (平); MGZY maw (平) [maw]; ONW mau [E] TB *r-maw 'hair', Kachin nmun nmau 'beard', LB *maw? 'hair'				
g	莖 vegetable	máo	mâu	mau	mâu
	cook	mào	mâu ^C	mau ^C	mâuh
h	毫	mào	mâu ^C	mau ^C	mâuh
i	眊	mào,	mâu ^C ,	mau ^C ,	mâukh,
		mò	mâk, mâk	mək	mrâuuk
j	秣 diminish	hào	xâu ^C	hou ^C	hmâu
	senile	mào	mâu ^C	mau ^C	—
k	耗	hào	xâu ^C	hou ^C	hmâu

16-42 = K. 1171	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	兒貌	mào	mau ^C	mau ^C	mrâuuk
c	藐 small	miǎo	mjiäu ^B 4	miau ^B	miau?
	far	mò	mâk	mək	mrâuuk
d	邈	miǎo !	mâk	mək	mrâuuk

16-43 = K. 1159	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	苗	miáo	mjäu 3	miau	mau
b	廋	= 16-17/1160a			OCB *m(r)jau
c	貓	māo	mau, mjäu 3	mau	mau
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR maw (平); MGZY maw, mew (平) [maw ~ mew]				

16-44 = K. 1158	The element 少 is semantic, hence it is only partially phonetic.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
acd	眇眇鈔	miǎo	mjiäu ^B 4	miou ^B	miau?
e	渺	miǎo	mjiäu ^B 4	miou ^B	miau?
b	妙	miào	mjiäu ^C 4	miou ^C	miauh
					ONW miau

16-45 = K. 1161	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	淼	miǎo	mjiäu ^B 4	miou ^B	miau?
					= 16-44/1158e 渺

GSR 1117 - 1128
Baxter 1992: 532 ff. (§10.2.17)

See Table 16-1 for comparison of OCM rimes *-auk, *-uk, *(i)au, *(i)u. The rime is mostly *-iauk, rarely *-auk. A diphthong in a short-stopped syllable goes against the structure of the CH language; perhaps the rime was really reduced to *-ək, which in LHan had changed to -ək, occasionally to *-ouk.

In this OC rime, retroflex initials do not exist in QYS Div. III (tjak < *-auk), they must have shifted into Div. II (QYS tək); therefore tək derives from OCM *trauk, not trauk.

Table 17-1: Comparison of OCM rimes *-ek, *-ak, *-auk, *-uk

Div.	*-ek R.8	*-ak R.2	*-auk R.17	*-uk R.14
I		各 kâk kak *kâk 郭 kwâk kuok *kwâk 落 lâk lak *râk 莫 mâk mak *mâk	鶴 yâk gok *gâuk 樂 lâk lak *râuk	
I			霍 yuok gouk *gâuk 沃 ?uok ?uok *?âuk 濼 luok louk *râuk	告 kuok kouk *kûk 毒 duok douk *dûk
III		卻 khjak kh'iak *khak 攪 kjwak kyak *kwak (縛 bjwak buak *bak) 著 đjak điak *drak	虐 njak njak *njauk 約 ?jak ?iak *?iauk 綽 ts'jak ts'ak *thauk 雀 tsjak tsiak *tsiauk	菊 kjuk kuk *kuk 目 mjuk muk *muk 竹 tjuk tuk *truk 六 ljuk liuk *ruk
III ac	刺 tsh'jak tsh'iek *tshek 易 jiäk jek *lek 役 jiwäk wek *wek	石 zjak dzak *dak 亦 jiäk jak *jak 射 dzjak žak *m-lak 夕 zjak ziak *s-jak		
3/4 gr	益 ?jiäk4 ?iek *?ek 辟 pjiäk4 piek *pek			
IV	擊 kiek kek *kêk 鵠 kiwek kuek *kwêk 麻 liek lek *rêk 覓 miek mek *mêk		翟 diek deuk *liâuk 櫟 liek leuk *riâuk	怒 niek neuk *niûk 邃 diek deuk *liûk
II	擗 kek kek *krêk 畫 ywek yuek *wrêk 脈 mek mek *mrêk 責 tsek tsek *tsrêk	客 kh'ek kh'ak *khrâk 宅 dek dak *drâk 百 pek pak *prâk	樂 njak njak *nrâuk 卓 tåk tøk *trauk 駁 pāk pok *priâuk	學 yâk gok *grûk
3		戟 kjek kiak *krak 碧 pjäk3 piak *prak ?		

This table shows how OC *-auk has merged in MC with reflexes of other OC rimes. It further suggests how in Div. III the rime *-auk > jak has pushed the expected MC Div. III -jak (from *-ak) final over into MC -jäk after acute initials where it merged with finals deriving from OC *-ek.

17-1 = K. 1117	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	韋 hè	γuok	gouk	gûk or gâuk	
b	鶴 hè	γâk	gak < gauk	gâuk = glauk	
c	推 què	kâk	kak	krâuk	
d	確 què	k ^h âk	k ^h ak	kh râuk	
17-2 = K. 1118	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	虐 nuè	ŋjak	ŋiak < ŋiauk	ŋauk	OCB *ŋ(r)jawk
c	瘡 nuè	ŋjak	ŋiak	ŋauk	
d	謔 xuè	xjak	hiak	hŋauk	[E] Tai: S. ŋäk-ŋäk 'shivering' * hŋäk-hŋäk 'shivering' (as from ague)
17-3 = K. 1165	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	弔 condol. diào	tiek, tieu ^C	tek, teu ^C	tiâu, tiâukh	
y.	brother shū 叔	see 14-18b			
d	盪 zhāo, diào	tšjäu	tšau	tiau	[N] In the BI, 弔 writes 叔 shū LHan śuk 'junior brother, younger uncle' (14-18); the graph 叔 originally was designed for *nhiuk 'to harvest'.
17-4 = K. 1126	The default rime in this series was prob. -iâu.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	卓 zhuō	tâk	tək	trâuk	
b	倬 zhuō	tâk	tək	trâuk	
cdf	遑遑踔 chuò	t ^h âk	t ^h ək	thrâuk	
g	綽 chuò	t ^h jak	t ^h ak	thâuk	OCB *thjawk
i	罩 zhào	tau ^C	tau ^C	trâukh	
j	淖 nào	ŋau ^C	ŋau ^C	nrâuh	
m	掉 move diào	dieu ^{B/C}	deu ^{B/C}	diâu?, diâu	
l	悼 arrange nào	ŋâk	ŋək	nrâuk	
	悼 dào	dâu ^C	dau ^C	dâukh	

17-5 = K. 1120 This phonetic writes words of the type (C-)jauk. See also 17-16/1244k.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	勺 ladle sháo	žjak	džak	diauk < gjauk	= b
	勺 to ladle zhuó	tšjak	tšak	tiauk < kiauk	= d
b	杓 sháo	žjak	džak	diauk < gjauk	
d	酌 zhuó	tšjak	tšak	tiauk < kiauk	
c	勺 ladle sháo, zhuó	tšjak, žjak	tšak, džak	tiauk, diauk, = kiauk, d/gjauk	
f	灼 zhuó	tšjak	tšak	tiauk	* h 的
g	灼 yuè	jiak	jak < jauk	jauk	
e	灼 zhuó, sháo	tšjak, žjak	tšak, žak	tiauk, diauk (or *ki-)	
hij	的 i 釣 dí	tiek	tek	tiâu	
kl	釣釣 diào	tieu ^C	teu ^C	tiâukh	

[E] Tai: S. tok^{D1} 'to angle, fish with hook and line'

m	約 bind yuē	ʔjak	ʔiak < ʔiauk	ʔiauk	
	[E] ? TB: WB yok 'wind around, as thread'				
	約 bond yào	ʔjiäu ^C 4	ʔiauc	ʔiaukh ?	
n	药 yuè, wò	ʔjak, ʔâk	ʔiak, ʔək	ʔiauk, ʔriâu	

17-6 = K. 1119 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 ac 龠 籥 yuè jiak jak < jauk jauk 'flute' OCB *ljewk
 OCM *j- is based on the assumption that yuè is related to 16-33/1149e' siâu 'flute' (= sjâu).
 For an explanation of the graph's top element, see 38-3.

fg	燠 燠 yuè	jiak	jak	jauk	
de	滄 滄 yuè	jiak	jak	jauk	
h	顛 顛 yù	jiu ^C	jo ^C	jokh	

17-7 = K. 1124 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 翟 dí diék dek < deuk liâu OCB *lewk
 c 翟 dí diék dek liâu

d	翟 tí, dí	t ^h iek, diék	t ^h ek, dek	liâu, liâu	
f	躍 tí, yuè	t ^h iek, jiak	t ^h ek, jak	liâu, liauk	
g	擢 zhuó	dâk	dək	driauk < r-liauk	
mn	m 鑼 diào	diêu ^C	deu ^C	liâu	
l	鑼 tiào	t ^h ieu ^C	t ^h eu ^C	liâu	

e	趨 tí -tì	t ^h iek-t ^h iek	t ^h ek	liâu	
ijk	曜 曜 曜 yào	jiäu ^C	jau ^C	liaukh	OCB *lja/ewk
h	濯 zhuó	dâk	dək	driauk < r-liauk	OCB *lrewk
	濯 zhào	dau ^C	dau ^C	driaukh < r-liaukh	
q	濯 zhào	dau ^C	dau ^C	driaukh < r-liaukh	

17-8 = K. 1125 The phonetic is li 'oak' *riâu, hence it writes words like *riauk, *rauk and *jauk. See EDOC Intr. 7.2.1; this Intro. 9.2.5.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ai	樂 ¹ > 櫟 lì	liek	lek < leuk	riâu 'oak'	
a	樂 ² joy lè	lâk, ŋau ^C	lak, ŋau ^C	râu, ŋrâu	OCB *g-rawk
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR law (入), LR law?; MGZY law (入) [law]; ONW lak				
	See EDOC Intro. 5.2.; 5.4.				
	樂 ³ music yuè	ŋâk	ŋək	ŋrâu	[T] ONW ŋäk
	樂 ⁴ cure liào	ljäu ^C , lâk	liäu ^C , lak	riaukh, râu ?	= 16-24/1151f
	= 16-24/1151f 療 <> [E] Mru rok / tarok 'to cure'				
j	礫 pebbles lì	liek, lâk	lek, lak	riâu	= 2-1/766u 珞
k	蹠 lì	liek, lâk	lek, lak	riâu	
d	輶 lì, lè	liek, lâk	lek, lak	riâu	
e	譟 lè	lâk	lak	râu	
g	灤 lù	luok	louk	râu (or rûk ?)	
p	藥 yào	jiak	jak	jauk	[T] ONW iak
l	燿 shuò, lì	šjak, liek	šak, lek	hjauk, riâu	
no	燿 shuò	šjak	šak	hjauk	[T] ONW šak

17-9 = K. 1123	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	弱 ruò	ńźjak	ńak < ńauk	niauk	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR rjaw (入), LR rjaw?; MGZY Zhew (入) [rew]; ONW ńak				
	[E] WT ñog-ñonj 'soft, tender, weak'				
b	弱 ruò	ńźjak	ńak	niauk	
c	弱 nì	niek	nek	niâu	
d	溺 sink nì	niek	nek	niâu	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ni (入); MGZY ni (入) [ni]				
	溺 urine niào	nieu ^C	neu ^C	niâu(k)h	= 17-10 尿
e	溺 niào	nieu ^B	neu ^B	niâu?	
17-10	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	尿 niào	nieu ^C	neu ^C	niâu(k)h	= 17-9/1123d 溺
	[E] PTai *ń- ~ n-: S. jiau ^{B2} 'to urinate', Saek puu ^{B2}				
17-11 = K. 1128	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	鑿 to bore zuò, záo	dzâk	dzak	dzâuk	
	[E] TB-WB chok 'chisel'				
	鑿 a hole zào	dzâu ^C	dzau ^C	dzâukh	
	鑿 rice zuò	tsâk	tsak	tsâuk	
b	鑿 zuò	tsâk	tsak	tsâuk	
17-12 = K. 1121	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	爵 jué	tsjak	tsiak	tsiauk	OCB *tsjewk
	= 17-13/1122a 雀 <> [T] ONW ts(i)ak				
-	嚼 jiáo	dzjak	dziak	dziauk	
	[D] PMin *dzhiak 'to eat'				
e	嚼 jué	dzjak	dziak	dziauk	
f	稽 zhuó	tşâk	tşok	tsrâuk	
gh	溺爵 jiào	tsjäu ^C	tsiauk	tsiaukh	
17-13 = K. 1122	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	雀 sparrow què	tsjak	tsiak	tsiauk	= 17-12/1121a 爵
17-14 = K. 1136	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	暴 ¹ bào	bâu ^C	bau ^C	bâukh	'violent' OCB *bawks
ab	暴 ² 曝 pù	buk	bok	bók	'expose to sun'
	[E] ? TB-Lushai p ^{hoH} 'to dry or air in sunshine'				
c	瀑 bào	bâu ^C	bau ^C	bâukh	
d	曝 bú, bó	puok, pâk	pouk, pak	pâuk	
e	曝 bó	pâk	pok	pâuk	(no *r, onomatopoeitic)
17-15 = K. 1127	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	駁駁 bó	pâk	pok	prâuk	OCB *pra/ewk
	[E] TB: WB prok 'be speckled, spotted' ≠ ə-prok 'decoration', Mikir p ^h ròk 'speckled', JP prú?, Mru preu 'of mixed color'. <> [N] 16-6/1166 could be phonetic.				

17-16 = K. 1244k	MC	LHan	OCM
k 豹 bào	pau ^C	pau ^C	prâukh
	[N] SW says that 17-5 勺 is phonetic. In GY, this element writes also words of the type *pr(i)auk, piau (always Div. IV, i.e., OC medial *i), hence 17-15 and 17-16 could have had an OC medial *i. Cognate to 17-15/1127 駁.		

18 OCM rime *-ai Gē bù 歌部 (1)

GSR 1 - 31; 349 - 360

Baxter 1992: 413 ff. (§10.1.3)

See Table 21-1 for OCM rimes *-an, *-at, *(t)s, *-ai in QYS categories. See Table 7-1 for a comparison of OC *-i, *-e and *-ai in QYS categories.

The OCM final *-ai 義 (> QYS Div. III -je) still rimes with OCM *-âi 歌 (> Div. I) in Early Han, but has merged with *-e in LHan, when 義 ɲie < *ɲai rimes with 帝 te^C < tēh.

OC *-âi (gē 歌 MC Div. I) and *-râi (jiā 加 Div. II) have become LHan -a and -a and fallen together with Rime 1 Div. II -a < *-râ (jiā 家), and with Div. III -ia < *-a (shè 舍), while MC OC *-a > MC -jwo (yú 魚) and *-â > MC -uo (tǔ 土) have already become LH -o.

However, in the eastern (Shandong) dialect of Zhèng Xuán OC -âi has survived as *-ai; today's Min dialects and 'Old South' still have this final. LHan writes this archaic -ai for mainstream -a.

A striking distributional oddity is the near absence of syllables of the type *Tai, while those of the type *(C)Lai abound (see the large phonetic series 18-7 and 18-8).

The OCM coda *-i in diphthongs behaves like a final consonant, hence a strictly phonemic transcription would write it as *-j, as in OCB (*-aj, *-əj, *-uj).

18-1 = K. 1	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM	
-d	X = 柯	kē !	kâ	ka < kai	kâi 'axe handle'
	X = 可 without kou 口 'mouth' <> [T] ONW ka 'axe handle'				
a	可	kě	k ^h â ^B	k ^h ai ^B	khâi?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR, PR, LR k'ɔ (上); MGZY kho (上) [k'ɔ]; ONW k ^h ɑ				
	[D] Yue-Guangzh 35hɔ ^{B1} ; Ke-Meix k ^h ɔ ^B . <> [N] Kōu 'mouth' is occasionally added to early pictographs, as here to the 'axe handle', to indicate that the graph is not used as originally intended but simply borrowed ('mouthed') for its sound or meaning.				
g	河	hé	ɣâ	gai	gâi
i	苛	kē	ɣâ	gai	gâi
f	何 carry	hè	ɣâ ^B	gai ^B	gâi?
	[E] WT 'gel-ba, bkal 'to load, lay on' ≠ sgal-ba 'to load a beast' ≠ k ^h al 'load, burden'				
	何 what	hé	ɣâ	gai	gâi
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣɔ (平), LR ɣɔ; MGZY Xo (平) [ɣɔ]; ONW ɣɑ				
	[D] Y-Guangzh 21hɔ ^{A2} <> [E] WT ga-na 'where', ga-ru 'whither'				
o	荷 lotus	hé	ɣâ	gai	gâi
	荷 carry	hè	ɣâ ^B	gai ^B	gâi ^B
-	𨾏 𨾏	gē	kâ	kai	kâi
-	𨾏	kē, kě	k ^h â ^(B/C)	k ^h ai	khâi [T] ONW k ^h ɑ
e	筴	gě	kâ ^B	kai ^B	kâi?, 'slender bamboo'
		gǎn	kân ^B	kan ^B	kân?
	= 24-2/140k 𨾏; 24-1/139j 𨾏				

pqr	哥歌譚	gē	kâ	kai	kâi	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kɔ (平), LR kɔ; MGZY go (平) [kɔ]; ONW ka <> [D] Yue-Guangzh kɔ ^{A1} , Ke-Meix kɔ ^{A1} , PMin *kai <> [E] ? TB: Lushai kai ^L / kai ^L < kai / kaih 'to play' (a fiddle etc.), TGTM *B ^g wai 'song', Chepang keʔ- 'sing well', JP k ^h ai ³¹ 'tell' (a story).					
m	阿	ā	ʔâ	ʔa < ʔai	ʔâi	
	[T] ONW ʔa; BTD Skt. ʔa-, e.g. 阿迦貳吒 ʔa-ka-nis-ta ^C Skt. Akanisṭa; Han ʔâ-ɲui ^C 阿魏 Tocharian B ankwaṣ 'asafoetida'; MHan 阿蠻 ʔa-man Armenia					
jk	呵訶	hē	hâ	hai	hâi	
s	奇 strange	qí	gje 3	gie < giai	gai OCB *gāj	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (平); MGZY ki (平) [gi] <> [E] ? WB k ^h ai- < kai ^B 'remarkable'					
	奇 odd	jī	kje 3	kie < kiai	kai	
t	琦	qí	gje 3	giai	gai	
v	錡 pot	jì, qí, yǐ	gje ^(B) , ɲje ^B	giai ^(B) , ɲiai ^B	gai, gai?, ɲai?	
	chisel	qí	gje 3	giai	gai	
u	騎 to ride	qí	gje 3	giai	gai	
	[T] Sui-Tang gi < ONW ge <> [D] PMin *ǵhia 'to ride'					
	騎 rider	jì	gje ^C 3	giai ^C	gai ^h	
-	倚 to stand	jì	gje ^B 3	giai ^B	—	
	[T] ONW ge ^B <> [D] PMin *ǵhia ^B ~ ǵia 'to stand'.					
a'	羈 bridle	jī	kje 3	kiai	kai = 18-3/1238a 羈 lodge	
z	畸	jī	kje 3	kiai	kai	
y	倚	jǐ	kje ^B 3	kiai ^B	kai?	
c'	踦 one-footed	qī	k ^h je	k ^h iai	khai	
	loiter	jǐ	kje ^B 3	kiai ^B	kai?	
	knock ag.	jǐ, yǐ	kje ^B 3, ɲje ^B	kiai ^B , ɲiai ^B	kai?, ɲai?	
x	寄	jì	kje ^C 3	kiai ^C	kaih	
	[E] WB khai ^C 'to bring', Lushai k ^h ai ^L 'to give a present'					
c'	踦 one foot	qī	k ^h je 3	k ^h iai	khai	
	踦 loiter	jǐ	kje ^B 3	kiai ^B	kai?	
	踦 knock ag.	yǐ	kje ^B , ɲje ^B 3	kiai ^B , ɲiai ^B	kai?, ɲai?	
d'	𨾏 slanting	qī, jī	k ^h je, kje 3	k ^h iai, kiai	khai, kai	
	[E] WB kai 'oblique, sidewise'					
e'	𨾏	qī	k ^h je 3	k ^h iai	khai	
b'	𨾏	qǐ	k ^h je ^B 3	k ^h iai ^B	khai?	
g'j'	𨾏 𨾏	yī	ʔje 3	ʔiai	ʔai	
i'l'	𨾏 𨾏	yǐ	ʔje ^B 3	ʔiai ^B	ʔai?	
f'	倚	yǐ	ʔje ^B 3	ʔiai ^B	ʔai?	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔi (上)					
h'	猗 particle	yī	ʔje 3	ʔiai	ʔai	
	luxuriant	yǐ	ʔje ^B 3	ʔiai ^B	ʔai?	
	luxuriant	ě	ʔâ ^B	ʔai ^B	ʔâi?	
n	旃	ě, yǐ	ʔâ ^B , ʔje ^B	ʔai ^B , ʔiai ^B	ʔâi?, ʔai?	
18-2 = K. 349	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM		
a	个 tally, item	gè	kâ ^C	kai ^C	kâih	
	target	gàn	kân ^B	kan ^C	kâns 'side of target'	

	18-3 = K. 1238a	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM
a	羈	bridle	jī	kje 3	kiai kai = 18-1/1a' 羈
	18-4 = K. 15	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM
acd	加伽伽	jiā	ka	ka < kai	krâi
	加 [T] BTD Skt. ka- <> [E] WT kral 'to burden, tax' <> [N] For the role of kōu, see 18-1/1a.				
-	迦	jiā	ka, kja	ka	—
	[T] BTD Skt. ka, -kya-; 阿迦貳吒 ṅa-ka-ñis-ṭa ^C Skt. Akanisṭa; 釋迦文 śak-kja-mun Skt. śākyamuni				
-	伽	qié	ga	ga	— [T] BTD 僧伽 sən-ga Skt. saṃgha
e	駕	jià	ka ^C	kai ^C	krâih
	[T] ONW kâ <> [E] WT bkral-ba 'to impose, place upon' (tax), 'appoint to'				
g	嘉	jiā	ka	kai	krâi
	[E] ? WT bkra-ba 'beautiful, blooming', bkra-šis 'happiness, prosperity, blessing' (šis 'good luck, fortune, bliss'); Lushai t ^h a ^L / t ^h at ^L < t ^h raah / t ^h rat 'be good'				
i	寄	gě	kâ ^B	kai ^B	kâi
j	賀	hè	yâ ^C	gai ^C	gâih
-	茄	qié	gjà	—	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kje (平) <> [E] PTai *k ^h ie ^{A1} > S. k ^h ia ^{A1} 'eggplant'				
	[D] Yue-Guangzh k ^h e ^{A2} , Taish k ^h ie ^{A2} ; Ke-Meix k ^h io ^{A2} ; PMin *gio.				
	18-5 = K. 2	Mand.	MC	LHan -ie < -iai	OCM
ar	我 ¹ > 義	yì	ŋje ^C 3	ŋje ^C < ŋiai ^C	ŋaih
	[N] The graph was probably created to write the name of a Shang period people Wō (or rather Yì) (often graphs for other ethnic groups include a weapon); 'sheep' was later added, as was done occasionally in ethnic names of nomadic herders, probably to distinguish the name from the conventional use of 我 for 'I'.				
rv	義議	yì	ŋje ^C 3	ŋiai ^C	ŋaih 'consider'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR i, (ŋi) (平), LR ŋi, i; MGZY ŋgi (平) [ŋi]; ONW ŋe				
	[E] TB *ŋay > KC-Lushai ŋai ^H / ŋai ^L < *ŋajs 'to think, consider', 'be necessary, have need to', 'be customary'				
u	儀	dignity	yí	ŋje 3	ŋiai ŋai = 18-6/21a 宜
	儀	come	yí	ŋje 3	ŋiai ŋai
	[E] JP ŋai ³³ 'to come, arrive', NNaga *ŋoj				
x	蟻	ant	yǐ	ŋje ^B 3	ŋiai ^B ŋai?
	[T] Sin S. SR i (上); MGZY ŋgi (上) [ŋi] <> [D] PMin *ŋhia ^B <> [E] KN-Lai hje? ^r - 'ant'				
yz	義儀	xī	xje 3	hiai	hŋai
a	我 ² 'I, we'	wǒ	ŋâ ^B	ŋai ^B	ŋâi?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋo (上), PR, LR ɔ; MGZY ngo (上) [ŋo]; ONW ŋa				
	[D] Yue-Foshan ¹³ ŋoi ^{B2} ; Ke-Meix ŋa ^B , PMin *ŋai ^B				
	[E] TB *ŋai: JP ŋai ³³ 'I', Mikir ne, Chepang ŋi ~ ni 'we', Lushai ŋei ^L 'self'				
h	俄	é	ŋâ	ŋai	ŋâi [T] ONW ŋa
	[D] Yue-Guangzh ŋo ^{A2} ; Min-Xiam go ^{A2} <> [E] WB ŋai ^C 'to lean, be inclined to one side'				
i	娥	é	ŋâ	ŋai	ŋâi
	姮娥 héng-é 'name of the moon goddess': Tai: PTai *hŋai ^{A1} 'moonlight', S. dian ^{A1} -ŋaai ^{A1} 'full moon', Po-ai *loon ^{B2} -haai ^{A1} 'moonlight' <> Cf. TB-Tamang ³ ŋia 'full moon'				
p	鵝	é	ŋâ	ŋai	ŋâi
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋo (平), PR ɔ; LR ɔ, ŋo; MGZY ngo (平) [NO]				
	[D] Yue-Guangzhōu ²¹ ŋo ^{A2} ; Ke-Meixian ŋo ^{A2} ; PMin *ŋiai, Xiamen gia ^{A2}				
klmn	峨峨莪誡	é	ŋâ	ŋai	ŋâi

q	蛾	silkworm	é	ŋâ	ŋai	ŋâi	Also loan for x 'ant'
o	餓		è	ŋâ ^C	ŋai ^C	ŋâih	
	[E] TB-Lushai ŋhei ^H 'to fast, go without (food, medicine)'						
	18-6 = K. 21	Mand.	MC	LHan -ie < -iai	OCM		
a	宜	yí	ŋje 3	ŋje < ŋiai	ŋai		= 18-5/2u 儀
h	誼	yì	ŋje ^C 3	ŋiai ^C	ŋaih		
	18-7 = K. 22	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	虐	xī	xje 3	hiai	hai		
b	戲	xì	xje ^C 3	hiai ^C	haih		
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR xi (去); MGZY hi (去) [xi] <> [E] WT 'k ^h yal-ba 'joke, jest' ≠ (r)k ^h yal-ka 'joke, jest, trick'; Lushai k ^h aal ^L / k ^h al ^L 'to play with' ≠ in ^L -k ^h eel ^L 'to gamble, play'						
-	櫛	xī	xje 3	hiai			= 稀
	[D] Min: PMin *hia 'ladle'						
	18-8 = K. 3	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
al	多 ¹ > 謔	chǐ,	t ^h je ^B ,	t ^h e ^B < t ^h ai ^B ,	k-hlai?		'to separate'
		chí	ɖje	ɖe < ɖiai	drai < r-lai		
	[T] ONW t ^h e, de. <> [E] PL *C-klay ^{1/3} 'to separate'; Chepang kləy ^h -sa 'to break (as sticks)', Lushai hlai ^R 'to flay, to skin, split (as cane)'						
	[N] The original graph shows two pieces of meat next to each other, hence probably 'to separate' (2 x 'meat' = 'many' looks like a folk etymology).						
	The phonetic *k-hlai? was used to write words with OC *L in the initial; the reading *tlai 'many' was used to write words that later MC T-like initials; the *(t)R-type initials came about partially for semantic reason, because the phonetic was writing words with the same rime and similar meanings 'separate, open, wide', etc.						
i	侈	chǐ	t ^h je ^B	t ^h ai ^B	k-hlai?		= q 移 ¹
	[T] 侈侈移 MTang t ^h i, ONW t ^h e <> [E] OBur ^m klai, WB kyai 'wide, broad' ≠ kyai ^B 'wide apart' ≠ k ^h yai ^B ~ k ^h rai ^C 'make wide apart, be diffused'						
k	哆	chǐ,	t ^h je ^B ,	t ^h ai ^B ,	k-hlai?		
		chě	t ^h ja ^B	t ^h ai ^B			
t	侈	chǐ	t ^h je ^B	t ^h ai ^B	k-hlai?		
h	侈	chǐ!	t ^h je ^B	t ^h ai ^B	tai?		
-	侈	shí, shì,	ʒje ^(B) ,	dʒai ^(B) ,	dai, dai?,		
		duò	tâ ^B	tai ^B	tâi?		
	[E] PTai *tai 'maternal grandmother'						
j	侈	chǐ	t ^h je ^B	t ^h ai ^B	rhai?		
	[E] WT 'dral-ba 'to rip up' ≠ hral-ba 'to rent'						
m	侈	chí	ɖje	ɖiai	drai < r-lai		= 18-9/4x
o	侈	zhì	ɖje ^B	ɖe ^B , ɖiai ^B	drai? < r-lai?		= 18-9/4z 弛
	[E] KS *lai ⁴ 'to fall'						
q	移 ¹	change	yí	jie	je < jai	lai	OCB *ljaj
	[T] Sui-Tang i, ONW ie <> [E] TB *laay 'change, exchange'						
	reach to	yì	jie ^C	je ^C < jai ^C	laih		
	enlarge	chǐ	t ^h je ^B	t ^h ai ^B	k-hlai?		= i 侈
qr	移 ² 逖	yí	jie	jai	lai		'migrate'
	[E] Tiddim Chin lai ^R / lai ^F 'to migrate'						

a	多 ² many	duō	tā	ta < tai	tāi < t'ai
					[T] BTD Skt. -t-, -tra <> [E] PTai *hlai ^{A1} 'many', PHLai l?ooi ¹
d	疹	duò,	tā ^C ,	tai ^C ,	tāih < t'laih, = 24-21/147o
		tuō	tā ^h	t'ai	lhāi
					[E] WT ldar-ba 'weary, tired, faint'
e	麥 to open	zhā	ta	ta < tai	trāi
					※ 2-17/795j zhé 礫 *trāk
f	f	chà	tā ^C !	t'ai ^C	thrāih
18-9 = K. 4	Mand.	MC	LHan	-ie < -iai	OCM
af1	它 ¹ f > 蛇	shé	džja	za < zai	m-lai 'snake'
					f = 施 without 方 <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR zje (平); ONW ia (~ za ?) <> [E] PMin *džiai
l	蛇 compliant	yí	jie	jai	lai
h	佗 burden	tuō	tā ^h	t'ai ^C	lhāih
	compliant	tuó	dā	dai	lāi in wēi-tuó / wēi-yí 委
--	舵 rudder	duò	dā ^B	dai ^B	lāi?
					[D] Yue-Guangzh 21t ^h A ² , Ke-Meix t ^h B ² , PMin *dāi ^B
					[E] Tai: S. t'hai ^{C2} < *d- 'sternpost'; Old Sino-Viet. (or Viet.?) lai (Pan Wuyun 1987: 29)
jk-	陀陀駝	tuó	dā	dai	lāi
-	陀	tuó	dā	dai	
					[T] BTD 首陀衛 śu ^B -da-was súddhavāsa; 和陀波利 yua-da-pa-li ^C Skt. vratapari-
m	鈞	shē	śja	śai	lhai
g	也	yě	jia ^B	jai ^B	lai?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR je (上); ONW ia
t	池	chí	ḍie	ḍiai	drai < r-lai
					[D] Sui-Tang ḍi < di, ONW de
					[E] Lushai di ^R 'lake, pond, tank, pool', or Lushai li ^H < li 'deep pool'
vx	箠馳	chí	ḍie	ḍiai	drai < r-lai 馳 = 18-8/3m
b'	地	dì	di ^C	di ^C ?	draih ? < r-laih OCB *lrjajs (?)
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR djaj (去), PR, LR di; MGZY ti (去) [di]; ONW dii; BTD Skt. dhi (Yu Min: Coblin 1993: 904)
a'	弛	shǐ	śje ^B	śai ^B	lhai?
					[E] PWMiao *klai ⁷ 'release, forgive'
y	柂 cleave	chǐ,	t ^h je ^B ,	t ^h iai ^B ,	thrai? < r-lhai?,
		zhì	dje ^B	ḍiai ^B	drai? < r-lai? [T] ONW de
	柂 poplar	yí	jie	jai	lai
d'f'i	拖拖柂	tuō	tā ^h (C), dā ^B	t'ai(C), dai ^B	lhāi(h), lāi? 'to draw'
					[D] Mand. archaic colloquialism lā 拉 'to pull'?
e'	髻	dì	see 8-12/850s		
c'	他 other	tuō	tā ^h	t'ai	lhāi
	他她 he/she	tā	—		
					[T] Sin SR t'ò (平), PR t'a; MGZY tho (平) [t'ò] <> [D] Yue-Guangzh 55t ^h A ¹ , Ke-Meix t ^h A ¹
z	墮	zhì, tuó	dje ^B	ḍiai ^B	drai? < r-lai? = 18-8/3o 墮
					[E] KS *lai ⁴ 'to fall'
nrsk'	匱地醜醜	yí	jie	jai	lai
q	訑 conceited	yí	jie	jai	lai
	cheat	tuō, tā	t ^h wā, t ^h ā	t ^h (u)ai	lhāi (lhōi ?)

i'	迤 turn aside	yí	jie	jai	lai
					[E] Lushai lei ^H 'to be on one side, be awry, leaning to one side, rock and roll (as a boat)' ※ lei ^L < leis 'to pour out, upon, water plants'
h'n'	施施	yí	jie	jai	lai
l'	施 spreadout	shī	śje	śai	lhai
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR śi (平), PR, LR śi; MGZY sh ^{hi} (平) [śi]; ONW śe
	施 give	shì	śje ^C	śai ^C	lhaih
	施 transfer	yí	jie	jai	lai
m'	施	shī	śje	śai	lhai
j'	弛	shǐ	śje ^B	śai ^B	lhai?
g'	脍 eviscerate	chǐ, yǐ	t ^h je ^B , jie ^B	t ^h iai ^B , jai ^B	t-lhai? (rhai? ?), lai?
					[T] ONW t ^h e, ie <> [N] The gloss 'eviscerate' has been proposed by a student in a seminar at the U. of WA.
-	舐 lick	shì	džje ^B	že ^B	(m-le?) [Yupian]
					= 7-18/1238e 舐 etc.
18-10 = K. 6	Mand.	MC	LHan	-a < -ai	OCM
a	羅	luó	lā	la < lai	rāi
					[T] ONW la; BTD Skt. -la-; rā-. <> [D] Yue-Guangzh 21l ^o A ² , Ke-Meix l ^o A ²
b	蘿	luó	lā	lai	rāi
-	籬	luó	lā	lai	rāi
					[T] ONW la <> [D] Yue-Guangzh 21l ^o A ² ; PMin *lhai ^{A2} ; Jiangle śai ^{D3} , Fuzhou lai ^{A2}
24a	罹	lí	lje	liai	rai = 18-11/23f 離
18-11 = K. 23	Mand.	MC	LHan	ie < -iai	OCM
abc	离魑螭	chī	t ^h je	t ^h ie < t ^h iai	rhai 'a kind of ghost'
					[E] WT 'dre < *ndre 'goblin, demon, evil spirit' ※ gre-bo / -mo 'sp. of demon'; KN *t/s-rai > Tangkhul rai ^H 'unclean spirit', Bodo ráj 'devil'
de	縲醜	lí	lje	liai	rai
f	離 a bird	lí	lje	liai	rai
	離 hang d.	lí	lje	liai	rai
					'To be drooping, hanging down' <> [T] ONW le. MHan 暨流離 piek-liu-liai Skt. vaidurya, Pkt. veluriya <> [E] ? TB: WT brgyal (< b-r(-)yal) 'to sink down (senseless), faint'
	離 leave	lí	lje	liai	rai = 18-10/24a 罹
					[T] 烏弋山離 ?a-jik-šan-lia[i] Alexandria
	離 differ from li		lje ^C	liai ^C	raih
					[T] ONW le <> [E] ST *ral: Mru ria < ral 'separated from', JP ran ³³ 'be apart, separated, divided' ※ mā ³¹ -ran ³¹ 'to place apart' ※ pā ³¹ -ran ³¹ 'be separate, sort out' ※ gā ³¹ -ran ⁵⁵ 'to divide, distribute' ※ ra ³¹ 'be parted, separated'
gh	籬籬	lí	lje	liai	rai
18-12 = K. 350	Mand.	MC	LHan	-a < -ai	OCM
a	那 pl. name	nuó, nà	nā	na < nai	nāi
					[T] ONW na; BTD 那替 na-t ^h es Skt. nadī, 那術 na-žuit Skt. nayuta
	那 that	nà	nā ^C	na ^C ?	
					[T] Sin S. SR nò (去), PR, LR na; MGZY no (去) [nò]

18-13 = K. 5	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM
a 左	zuǒ	tsâ ^B	tsa ^B < tsai ^B	tsâi?
	[D] Yue-Guangzh 35tsɔ ^{B1} , Ke-Meix tso ^B			
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tso (上), LR tso; MGZY dzo (上) [tso]; ONW tsa			
e 佐	zuǒ !	tsâ ^C	tsai ^C	tsâih
f 差	choose chāi	tshai	tshai	tshrâi
		or tshâi	or tshê	or tshrê
	差 diverge chā	tshâ	tshai	tshrâi
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tshâ (平); ONW tshâ (~ tshêi)			
	差 graduated cī	tshje	tshai	tshrai
	差 to rub cuō	tshâ	tshai	tshâi
	差 overseer shī	sje	šiai	srai
h 槎	chá, zhà	dza ^(B)	dzai ^(B)	dzrâi, dzrâi?
i 磋	cuǒ	tshâ ^B	tshai ^B	tshâi?
j 磋	polish cuō	tshâ	tshai	tshâi
	[E] AA: Khmer /cnaj/ 'to cut (gems), to polish'			
k 磋	suō, cuō	sâ, tshâ	sai, tshai	sâi, tshâi
l 磋	cuó, juē	dzâ, tsja	dzai, tsiai	dzâi, tsai
m 齧	cuó	dzâ	dzai	dzâi
	[E] TB *tsa > WT tshwa (i.e., tshâ) 'salt', Kanauri tsa; PL *(t)sa ² , WB ch ^a B			
n 嗟	jiē	tsja	tsiai	tsai ?
- 齧	cuō, chī	tshâ, dzâ		'uneven teeth'
o 齧	[Lushi ch] zì	dzje ^C	dzie ^C	dzeh = 7-25/358r 齧 [Liji]

18-14	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
- 又	chā	tshai	tshai	tshrâi (or tshrê ?)
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tshâ (平); ONW tshâ. <> [N] The MC rime seems to be an irregular development from *-râi, one should expect MC -a. Cf. 8-13f.			
- 杈	chà	tshai ^C	tshai ^C	tshrâih (or tshrêh ?)

18-15 = K. 16	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM
ad 沙鯊	shā	ša	ša < šai	srâi
	[T] Sin S. SR ša (平); ONW šâ; BTd Skt. -sâra, -šâ[na], šra- <> [D] PMin *sai			
	[E] TB *z(l)a-y < **s(l)a-y > WB sai ^B ~ səlai ^B 'sand', PL *say ² , JP dzai ³¹ - 'sand'			
e 娑	suō	sâ	sai	sâi
	[T] MHan 劫貝(娑) kiap-pas(-sa[i]) kârpâsa			
f 莎	a plant suō	swâ	suai	—
	locust shā	ša	šai	srâi

18-16 = K. 25	Mand.	MC	LHan -ie < -iai	OCM
a 皮 'hide' n.	pí	bje 3	bie < biai	bai
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (平); MGZY pue (平) [bue]; ONW be <> [D] PMin *phue ^{A2}			
	[E] Kachin p ^{hi} yi 'skin, bark'			
e 被 be covered	bèi	bje ^{B/C} 3	biai ^{B/C}	bai?, baih
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (上去), LR bi; MGZY pue (上去) [bue]; MTang bi, ONW be			
	被 cover ones. pī	p ^{hi} je 3	p ^{hi} iai	phai 'cover oneself with'
	被 cloak pì	p ^{hi} je ^C 3	p ^{hi} iai ^C	phaih
f 鞞	bì	bje ^C 3	biai ^C	baih

i 陂	river bank	bēi, bī	pje 3	piai	pai	
	陂 unjust	bì	pje ^C 3	piai ^C	paih	
h 陂		bì	pje ^(C) 3	piai ^(C)	pai, paih	
g 彼		bǐ	pje ^B 3	piai ^B	pai?	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (上); MGZY bue (上) [pue]; ONW pe					
d 疲		pí	bje 3	biai	bai	= 18-17/26a 罷
	[T] ONW be <> [E] TB *bal > Bahing bal 'tired, weary'; WB pan ^B 'tired' ≠ p ^h a ^B 'fatigued', JP ba ⁵⁵ ≠ ban ³¹ 'tired' <> Tai: S. p ^h lia ^{A2} < *b- 'weary, exhausted' ≠ p ^h ia ^{C1} < *p- 'to wear out'					
j 披	divide	pī	p ^h je 3	p ^h iai	phai	
	[E] PL *bay ¹ 'to separate'; WT dbye-ba 'parting' ≠ dbyen-pa 'difference', WT 'bye-ba 'to separate, open'					
	披 supports	bì	pje ^C 3	piai ^C	paih	
k 鉞		pī	p ^h je 3	p ^h iai	phai	
p - 頗坡		pō	p ^h wâ	p ^h ai	phâi	[T] ONW p ^h a
	[D] Yue-Guangzh p ^h ɔ ^{A1} , Taishan puɔ ^{A1} ; Ke-Meix pɔ ^{A1} . <> Tai: S. p ^h lay ² 'leaning, sloping'					
l 波		bō	pwâ	pai	pâi	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pwo (平); MGZY bwo (平) [pwo]; ONW pa; BTd Skt. pā[ri...], -pa-					
	[E] ? TB: WT dba' (-klon) 'wave'					
m 跛	lame	bō	pwâ ^{B/C}	pai ^{B/C}	pâi?, pâih	[T] ONW pa
	[D] Y-Foshan pei ^{A1} ; PMin *pai ^B <> [E] TB *pay ≠ *bay 'lame, limp, oblique' ≠ *bay 'left (side)', Lushai bai ^R < ba? 'walk lame'					
	跛 to lean	bì	pje ^C 3	piai ^C	paih	
n 簸		bō	pwâ ^{B/C}	pai ^{B/C}	pâi?, pâih	
	[D] Mand. bō, K-Meix pa: ^B , Y-Guangzh pɔ ^{C1} , K-Dongguan pɔi ^C n., vb.; PMin *puoi ^C					
	[E] TB *p ^w ay 'chaff, scatter' > PL *pway ² 'chaff' > WB phwai ^B 'husk, chaff', Lushai vai ^H 'husks of grain'					
o 破		pò	p ^h wâ ^C	p ^h ai ^C	phâih	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR p'wo (去); MGZY phwo (去) [p'wo]; ONW p ^h a <> [D] PMin *phai ^C					
	[E] WB pai ^C 'broken off' ≠ p ^h ai ^C 'break off in small pieces'; Lushai pe? < pes 'to break, be broken', JP p ^h jai ³³ 'break'					
q 婆	saunter	pó	bwâ	bai	bâi	[T] BTd Skt. -pā-
	婆 grandmo.	pó	—			
	[T] ONW ba <> [E] TB *ba ~ pa 'grandmother'					

18-17 = K. 26	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab 罷 ¹ > 羆	bear	pí	pje 3	pie < piai	pai 'a bear' n.
a 罷 ²	exhaust	pí	bje 3	biai	bai = 18-16/25d 疲
	[T] ONW be				
	罷 ² stop	bà	bai ^B	bai ^B or bei ^B	brâi? or brê?
	MC -ai usually < *rê <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR ba (去); MGZY pay (上) [baj]				
	[E] WB pri ^B < pre ^B 'be done, completed', ? JP p ^h ra ³¹ < p ^h rak ³¹ 'to complete'				

18-18 = K. 17	Mand.	MC	LHan -a < -ai	OCM	
a 麻	hemp	má	ma	ma < mai	mrâi
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ma (平); ONW mǎ				
	[D] PMin *mai ^{A2} : Xiamen muā ^{A2} , Jianyang moi ^{A2} , Jian'ou muē ^{C1} , Fuzhou muai ^{A2}				
ef 摩磨		mó	mwâ	ma < mai	mâi
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR mwo (平); MGZY mwo (平) [mwɔ]; ONW ma; BTd 楓磨 puəm-ma Skt. brahma <> [D] PMin *mai <> [E] ? TB: WB hmwa ^C 'pulverize' ≠ hmwat 'be fine, smooth', and / or to Lushai mee ^R < mee? 'be sandy and gritty'				

c	糜	mò	mwâ ^C	mai ^C	mâih
g-	糜	mí	mje 3	mie < mi <i>ai</i>	mai
	糜	[D] PMin *mue ^{A2}	'rice gruel' <>	[E] WT dmyal-ba	'to cut up into small pieces'
h	靡	not	mǐ	mje ^B 3	mi <i>ai</i> ^B
	靡	share	mí	mje 3	mie < mi <i>ai</i>
	靡	[T] Sin Sukchu SR mi (平), mjej (上), PR məj (平); MGZY mue (平上) [mue]			
j	靡	mí	mje	mi <i>ai</i>	mai
d	糜	mó	mje ^B 3 (!)	mi <i>ai</i> ^B	mai?
i	糜	huī	xjwe 3	hye < hy <i>ai</i>	hmai
442a	糜	mén	muən	mən	mên

18-19 = K. 356

	Mand.	MC	LHan	-ye < -y <i>ai</i> OCM
a	毀 demolish	huǐ	xjwe ^B 3	hye ^B < hy <i>ai</i> ^B hmai? * 19-9/11ef
b	燬 fire	huǐ	xjwe ^B 3	hy <i>ai</i> ^B hmai?
	[E] Tai: S. mai ^{C1} < *hm-			'to burn'

19 OCM rime *-oi, *-wai Gē bù 歌部 (2)

GSR 1 - 31; 349 - 360

Baxter 1992: 494 ff. (§10.2.8)

See Table 25-1 for OCM rimes *-on / *-wan, *-ot / *-wat, *-oi / *-wai in QYS categories.

After guttural initials the OC rime could be either *-oi or *-wai, but after acute initials only OC *-oi is possible (e.g., only *roi), after labials only *-ai.

In LHan, *-oi* has already broken to *uai* except in old southern dialects. The loss of final *i* in LHan and the merger in Div. III with reflexes of *-e, mentioned in Rime 18, apply here as well. As in 18, I write here conservative southern LHan forms with *i*; the ones encountered in Han literature can be easily deduced by removing the *i*. Occasionally, the literary form has been mentioned as a reminder (kua < kuai, etc.). In Div. III one could write either *-yai* or *-ye*.

The OCM coda *-i in diphthongs behaves like a final consonant, hence a strictly phonemic transcription would write it as *-j, as in OCB (*-aj, *-əj, *-uj).

19-1 = K. 7	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	戈	gē	kwâ	kuai	kwâi or kô <i>i</i>
e	划 to punt	huá	ɣwa	ɣuai	gwrâi or grô <i>i</i>
f	𠂔 thrust	huà	ɣwa ^B	ɣuai ^B	gwrâi? or grô <i>i</i> ?
19-2 = K. 351	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	果 fruit	guǒ	kwâ ^B	kuai ^B	kô <i>i</i> ? or kwâi?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwǒ (上); MGZY gwo (上) [kwǒ]; ONW kua <> [D] PMin *koi ^B				
	果 satisf.	kuǒ	k ^h wâ ^B	k ^h uai ^B	khô <i>i</i> ?
-	餠	guǒ	kwâ ^B	—	
	[D] PMin *koi ^{B1} 'rice cake', also 'dried fruit'				
d	裹	guǒ	kwâ ^B	kuai ^B	kô <i>i</i> ?
ci-	螺贏/贏	guǒ-luǒ	kwâ ^B -lwâ ^B	kuai ^B -luai ^B	kô <i>i</i> ?-rô <i>i</i> ? OCB *k(r)ôj?-(C)rôj?
	[E] TB *k(l)wa-y *g(l)wa-y > WB kwai ^B 'dammer bee', Chepang kway 'bee'				
ef	𦉳	kè	k ^h wâ ^C	k ^h uai ^C	khô <i>i</i>
l	𦉳	huà	ɣwa ^B , ɣwâi ^B , (ɣwân ^B)	ɣuai ^B , ɣuoi ^B , S goi ^C	grô <i>i</i> ?, gûi?
j	𦉳	huái !	ɣwa ^B	ɣuai ^B	grô <i>i</i> ?
k	𦉳	kuà !	ɣwa ^B	ɣuai ^B	grô <i>i</i> ?
-	𦉳	huǒ	ɣwâ ^B	ɣuai ^B R!	—
	[D] PMin *oi ^C ~ *uai ^B 'many'				
m	裸	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kôns = 25-2/158f 灌
gh	裸裸	luǒ	lwâ ^B	luai ^B / S loi ^B	rô <i>i</i> ? [T] ONW lua
n	媠	wǒ	?wâ ^B	?uai ^B	?ô <i>i</i> ?

19-3 = K. 352	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𪛗	guō	kwâ	kuai	kôî or kwâi
c	𪛗	guō	kwâ ^B	kuai ^B	kôî? = 19-2/351c
19-4 = K. 18 Some of the words could have the OC rime *-wai.					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	𪛗				'Scapula' in OB; perh. the s. w. as next: 'cut meat off bones' (> bone cleared of meat)
-a-	𪛗 ¹ 𪛗 ¹ 𪛗 ¹	guǎ	kwa ^B	kuai ^B	krôî? 'cut, bare bone'
a-	𪛗 ² 𪛗 ²	kuāi	k ^h wai (irreg.)	k ^h uai	khrôî 'wry mouth'
fg	禍 g	huò	ɣwâ ^B	ɣuai ^B	gôî?
e	過 pass by	guō	kwâ	kuai	kôî
	過 trans.	guò	kwâ ^C	kuai ^C	kôih 'transgress' [T] ONW kua
h	適	kē	k ^h wâ	k ^h uai	khôî
-	鍋	guō	kwâ	kuai	kôî
c	蝸	wō, guā,	kwa, kwai	kuai, S koi	krôî,
		luó	lwâ	loi	g-rôî
					[D] PMin *lhoi <> [E] TB *kroy > WB krwe 'shellfish, cowry', JP k ^h oi ³³ 'shellfish, shell'
b	駟	guā	kwa, kwai	kuai	krôî
d	媯	wā, guā	kwa, kwai	kuai	krôî
19-5 = K. 28 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	虧	kuī	k ^h jwe 3	k ^h yai	khwai
					1-23 is perh. also phonetic.
19-6 = K. 27 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	為 to do	wéi	jwe	wai R!	wai OCB *w(r)jaj
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR uj (𪛗); MGZY xue (𪛗) [fiue]; MTang ui, ONW ue
	為 for	wèi	jwe ^C	wai ^C	waih
f	闖	wěi	jwe ^B	wai ^B	wai?
l	搵	huī	xjwe 3	hyai	hwai
					[T] TB *way > WB wai ^B 'whirlpool, brandish'; Lushai vai ^F < *vai? 'to wave' with the hand, arm, or anything horizontally, 'brandish (a sword)' ≠ hui ^F 'to beckon' with hand
g	嬌	guī	kjwe	kyai	kwai
m	譌	é	ŋwâ	ŋuai	ŋwâi
k	偽	wèi	ŋjwe ^C	ŋyai ^C	ŋwaih
19-7 = K. 8 MC ɣwâ could derive from OCM *wâi, *gwâi or *gôî; we write *wâi.					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	禾	hé	ɣwâ	ɣuai	wâi
					[T] BT D Skt. vā. <> [D] P WMin *woi ^{A2} , SMin *g-: Zhangping gue ^{A2}
					[E] Tai: S. k ^h aa ^{A2} < *ɣ- 'straw, thatch grain'
gk	𪛗	hé	ɣwâ	ɣuai	wâi
e	和 harmo.	hé	ɣwâ	ɣuai	wâi 'harmony'
					[T] ONW ɣua; BT D Skt. vā, vra-
	和 attune	hè	ɣwâ ^C	ɣuai ^C	wâih
n	科	kē	k ^h wâ	k ^h uai	khwâi

19-8 = K. 19	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	化	huà	xwa ^C	hua ^C < huai ^C	hɲrôih (or hwâih ?)
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwa (去); MGZY hwa (去) [xwa]; ONW huâ
-	花	huā	xwa		a late graph for 1-27/44 華 (SW2699)
de	叱訛	é	ŋwâ	ŋuai	ŋôî
c	貨	huò	xwâ ^C	huai ^C	hŋôih [T] ONW hua
19-9 = K. 11 The rime could be either *-oi or *-wai. The phonetic also writes 19-16 duò 際 *lôî?. Perhaps synonyms for 'shred meat' and/or 'demolish' with similar rimes were written with the same phonetic. Alternatively, MC t ^h wâ ^B < *lhôî? 'shred meat' could have had a variant *hoi that then spawned the present group (loss of a discrete initial, with survival of aspiration as *h-, does occur elsewhere).					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
b	隋	suí,	sjwe ^C ,	syai ^C < syai ^C ,	swaih, 'shred sacr. meat'
		huì	xjwe ^C 3	hyai ^C	hwaih See also 19-16.
ef	墮隳	huī	xjwe 3	hyaihwei	'destroy' [Laozi]
					[T] BT D Skt. vai-, Pkt. ve-, e.g., 墮舍利 hyai-śah-lih Skt. Vaiśālī <> [N] Related to 18-19/356 hui 毀 *hmai? 'destroy'? See also 19-16.
g	隨	suí	zjwe	zyai	s-wai
					[T] ONW zue; Han BT D Skt. vai- <> [E] TB: LB *s-yuy 'follow'
i	灑	suǐ!	sjwe ^C	syai ^C	swaih
h	髓	suǐ	sjwe ^B	syai ^B , S ts ^h yai ^B	swai?
					[T] ONW sue <> [D] M-Xiam col. ts ^h e ^{B1} <> [E] ST *s(-)wi 'blood'
19-10 = K. 357 The element 委 is occasionally substituted for 19-19 妥.					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	委 compl.	wēi	?jwe 3	?ye < ?yai	?oi- 'compliant'
	委 fall	wěi	?jwe ^B 3	?yai ^B	?oi?
					[T] ONW ?ue <> [E] ST *yol: WT 'gyel-ba 'to fall, dangle' ≠ g-yal 'dangling' ≠ g-yol 'curtain'; WB lway 'suspend from the shoulder'
bcde	委 collect	wēi	?jwe ^{B/C} 3	?yai ^{B/C}	?oi?, ?oih
	痿痿萎透	wēi	?jwe 3	?yai	?oi
f	餵	wèi	?jwe ^C 3	?yai ^C	?oih ≠ 28-9/573 喂
					[E] TB: Lushai vul? ^L 'to keep or rear (animals), to domesticate'; Mikir wi ^H 'tend animals'
g	踈	wō	?wâ(C)	?uai(C)	?ôî(h)
19-11 = K. 9 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	臥	wò	ŋwâ ^C	ŋua ^C < ŋuai ^C	ŋôih or ŋwâih
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋo (去), PR, LR o; MGZY o (去) [o]; ONW ŋua <> [E] TB: Lushai ŋoi ^H / ŋoi? ^L < ŋois 'to be quiet, silent, stop, pause', NNaga *C-ŋuaj 'easy, gentle, quiet'
19-12 = K. 29 Mand. MC LHan OCM					
a	危	wēi, wēi	ŋjwe 3	ŋyai	ŋwai (or ŋoi ?)
					[T] ONW ŋue <> [E] TB: WB ŋwa 'large, high, project'
bcde	詭倥嵬嵬	guǐ	kjwie ^B 3	kyai ^B	kwai?
f	跪	guì,	gjwe ^B ,	gyai ^B ,	gwai?,
		kuǐ	k ^h jwe ^B 3	k ^h yai ^B	khwai?

19-13 = K. 20	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 瓦	wǎ	ŋwa ^B	ŋuai ^B , ŋɔi ^B	ŋrôî? (or ŋwâî? ?)
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋwa (上), PR, LR wa; MGZY xwa (上) [fiwa] <> [D] PMin *ŋhiai ^B				

19-14 = K. 10	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 朵	duǒ	twâ ^B	tuai ^B	tôî? 'hang on a tree' = 19-17/31L
[T] Sin Sukchu SR tɔ (上), LR tɔ, twɔ; MGZY dwo (上) [twɔ]; ONW tua ^B				
- 刹	duò	twâ ^C	tuai ^C	tôih

19-15 = K. 30	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 吹 blow	chuī	tshjwe	tshuai	k-hloi or thoi
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'uj (平); MGZY chue (平) [ts'ue]; ONW tshue				
吹 concert	chuì	tshjwe ^C	tshuai ^C	k-hloih or thoih
[D] PMin *tshue <> [E] AA: Khmer khloy n. 'flute'				
b 炊 cook	chuī	tshjwe	tshuai	k-hloi or thoi

19-16 = K. 11 The phonetic also writes syllables of a different type, see 19-9.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ae 墮	duò	dwâ ^B	dua ^B < duai ^B	lôî? 'destroy' See also 19-9.
b 隋	tuǒ	tshwâ ^B	tshuai ^B	lhôî? 'shred sacrif. meat'
[E] ? TB: Lushai hloi ^F 'cut off, slash off' (in lengthwise motion). See also 19-9.				
d 陞	duò	dwâ ^B	duai ^B	lôî? 'long and narrow'
'Long and narrow' (mountain) <> [E] TB: JP diŋ ³¹ -loi ³³ 'long and narrow' * 22-9/274				
c 橢 oval	tuǒ	tshwâ ^B	tshuai ^B	lhôî?
j 髻	duǒ, duò	twâ ^B , dwâ ^B	tuai ^B , duai ^B	tlôî?, lôî?
[E] ? TB: WB lwai 'suspend from shoulder'				
k 婿	tuǒ,	tshwâ ^B ,	tshuai ^B ,	lhôî?,
	duò	dwâ ^C	duai ^C	lôih
l 惰	duò	dwâ ^{B/C}	duai ^{B/C}	lôî?, lôih * 22-13/324a 兑 *lôts

19-17 = K. 31	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab 垂睡	chuí	zjwe	dzye < dzuai	doi (= djoi ?)
[E] TB *dzywal > WT 'jol-ba 'to hang down' * yol 'curtain'; Lushai fual ^R 'sag, hang low'				
d 睡	shuì	zjwe ^C	dzuai ^C	doih (= djoih ?)
[T] ONW dzue <> [E] TB: WT yur-ba 'to slumber' * g-yur 'sleep'				
e 葦	shuì	zjwe ^B	dzuai ^B	doi?
ij 捶篋	chuí !	tshjwe ^B	tshuai ^B	toi?
k 唾	zhuì	tjwe ^C	tyai ^C	troih
h 碰	zhuì	djwe ^C	dyai ^C	droih = drjoih or r-djoih
fg 甄錘	chuí, zhuì	djwe ^(C)	dyai ^(C)	droi, droih
[E] WT yol-go 'earthenware, crockery' <> [D] 錘 PMin *dhui				
l 埤	duǒ	twâ ^B	tuai ^B	tôî? = 19-14
m 唾	tuò	tshwâ ^C	tshuai ^C	thôih

[D] PMin *thoi^C; some dialects in the Yue area have aberrant forms: Guangzh col. tshœ^{C1} beside tshœ^{C1}, Zengcheng sœy^{C2}, Bao'an sui^{B2}, Enping tshui^{A2}; Ke-Dongguan sui^B
 [E] ST *tol > WT tsho-le (i.e., *tol-e) 'debs-pa 'to spit' ('debs-pa 'to throw'); WB tshwe^B 'spit'

19-18 = K. 14	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
b 羸 螺羸	guǒ-luǒ	kwâ ^B -lwâ ^B	kuai ^B -luai ^B ,	kôî?-rôî? See 19-2.
c 羸	léi	ljwe	lyai	roi

19-18A = K. 1236b	MC	LHan	OCM
羸	luǒ	lwâ ^B	luai ^B
			rôî?

19-19 = K. 354 The element 19-10 委 is in some graphs substituted for 妥.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 妥	tuǒ	tshwâ ^B	tshua ^B < tshuai ^B	nhôî? OCB *nhøj?
[E] ST *C-nwal: WT rnal 'rest, tranquility of mind'				
f 萎	wěi !	ŋwie ^C	ŋyai ^C	nroi
- 蒟蒻	hú-suī	γuo-swi	ga-sui	'coriander' Iranian gošniz (ca. 300 AD)
g 綬 strap	suí	swi	sui	snui OCB *snuj
[T] ONW sui				
綬 sacrif.	suī,	sjwe,	syai	snoi 'a sacrifice'
	huī	xjwie		
綬 level	tuǒ	tshwâ ^B	tshuai ^B	nhôî? 'keep level...'
d 綬	něi	nwâi ^B	nuai ^B	nûî? OCB *nuj?
e 綬	ruí	ńzwi	ńui	nui = 28-18/1237v 綬

19-20 = K. 1238jk	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 蕊	suǒ	suai ^B	snôî? SW 4791	
jk 紫蕊	ruǐ	ńzwi ^B , ńzjwe ^B	ńui ^B , ńuai ^B	
[E] AA: OMon jnor ~ jnow 'hanging banner'				

19-21 = K. 12	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 坐	sit zuò	dzwâ ^B	dzuai ^B	dzôî?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzwo (上); MGZY tswɔ (上) [dzwo]; ONW dzua [D] PMin *dzoi ^B				
坐 seat	zuò	dzwâ ^C	dzuai ^C	dzôih
b 瘞	cuó	dzwâ	dzuai	dzôî
c 挫	cuò !	tswâ ^C	tsuai ^C	tsôih
- 菱	zuò	tswâ ^C , tswâi ^C	tsuai ^C , tsuai ^C	tsôih, tsôih
d 菱	zuò	tswâ ^C , tsa ^C	tsuai ^C , tsa ^C	tsrôih
- e 莖剉	cuò	tshwâ ^C , tswâ ^C	ts(h)uai ^C	tshôih < k-sôih ?
[E] AA: PMon *ksɔy 'useless fibre, hay', PWa *sɔh 'cut grass'				
f- 脞	cuǒ	tshwâ ^B	tshuai ^B	tshôî?
g 鬚	zhuā	tswa	tswai	tsrôî

19-22 = K. 13	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab 賁瑣	suǒ	swâ ^B	suai ^B	sôî?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR swɔ (上); MGZY swɔ (上) [swɔ]				

19-23 = K. 355	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abc	衰 ¹ > 蓑 蓑 suō	swâ	sua < suai	sôï 'raincoat'	
a	衰 ²	shuāi	ṣwi	ṣui 'diminish'	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ṣuj (平), PR ṣwaj; MGZY (zhway >) shway (平) [ṣwaj]				
	衰	chuī	tṣ ^h jwe	tṣ ^h yai	tshroi < k-sroi 'reduce'
ae	衰 ³ 縗	cuī	tṣ ^h wāi	tṣ ^h uāi	tshûi < k-sûi 'mourning clothes'
d	榱	cuī	ṣwi	ṣui	'rafter'

20 OCM rime *-et, *-ets, *-es Yuè- Jì bù 月祭部 (1)

GSR 268 - 348
Baxter 1992: 389 ff. (§10.1.2)

Table 20-1: OCM rimes *-en, *-et, *-e(t)s in QYS categories

Div.	*-en R.23	*-et R.20	*-e(t)s R.20
IV	見 kien ^C ken ^C *kêns 縣 yiwen ^C yuen ^C *gwêns 猥 kiwen ^C kuen ^C *kwêns 片 phien ^C phen ^C *phêns 前 dzien dzen *dzên	鏗 khiet khêt *khêt 蔑 miet met *mêt	契 k ^h iei ^C k ^h es *khêts
3/3 gr	辨 bjän ^{B3} bian ^B *bren?	別 pjät3 piat *pret	劓 njäi ^{C3} njias *njrets
3/4 gr	遣 khjiän ^{B4} khian ^B *khen? 面 mjian ^{C4} mian ^C *mens	滅 mjät4 miat *met	瘳 kjäi ^{C4} kias *kets 熱 njäi ^{C4} njias *njrets 敝 bjäi ^{C4} bias *bets
III ac	difficult to distinguish from *-an	設 sjät sat *nhet 熱 njät nat *net difficult to distinguish from *-at	difficult to distinguish from *-a(t)s
III w	圓 jwän3 wen *wen 還 zjwän zyan *s-wen		
II	環 ywan yuan *wên		快 khwai ^C k ^h uas *khwêts
II	閒 kän ken *krên 幻 ywän ^C yuen ^C *gwrêns 辦 bän ^C ben ^C *brêns	八 pät pet *prêt	介 käi ^C kes *krêts 拜 päi ^C pes *prêts

The OC vowel in rime *-et, *-es left only traces in MC Div. IV -iet, -iei^C, and chongniu Div. 3/4 finals (which occur only after grave initials). After acute initials, reflexes of OC *-et and *-at have merged in Div. III, therefore some of the series under rime no. 21 *-at may have been OC *-et. MC -ät, -äi^C normally derive from *-rêt, *-rê(t)s, but can also derive from OC *-rât, *-râ(t)s due to a convergence tendency in the QYS.

For LHan, *chóngniǔ* Div. 3/4 items (QYS -jiät 3/4) could be written -iet or -iat; I write -iat because this is parallel to the breaking of *-ot to LHan *-uat.

20-1	= K. 279	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	切	qiè	k ^h ät	k ^h et	kh ^r êt
b	契 ¹	qì	k ^h iei ^C	k ^h es	khêts < s-kêts ? OCB khets
			[T] ONW k ^h ei <> [N] See §5.8.1 for *s-k... > *kh...		
	契 ² 闊	qiè-kuò	k ^h iet-k ^h uât	k ^h et--k ^h uat	khêt-khôt
c	挈	qiè	k ^h iet	k ^h et	khêt
f	鍈	qiè	k ^h iet	k ^h et	khêt
g	瘳	jì	kjiäi ^C 4	kias	kets
d	絜	jié	kiet, yiet	ket, get	kêt, gêt
j	潔	jié	kiet	ket	kêt
k	縻	qiè, xié	k ^h iet, yiet	k ^h et, get	khêt, gêt
			[E] ST *ke(t): WT rked-pa 'the waist, loins, middle', JP jin ³¹ -kjit ⁵⁵ 'waist', Tamang (1)ke: 'belt'		
h	喫	energet.qiè	k ^h ai ^C	k ^h as	kh ^r âs (or kh ^r ês ?)
	喫	eat qiè	k ^h iek	—	[T] MTang k ^h ik, ONW k ^h ek
e	齧	niè	ŋiet	ŋet	ŋêt
b-	契 ³ 楔 NP	xiè	sjät	siat	set = 20-11/309-禹
i	楔	xiē	siet	set	sêt
			[E] AA: Khmer sniata /sniät/ 'peg, pin, ... wedge, ...'		

20-2	= K. 327	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	介 scale	jiè	käi ^C	kes	krêts
			[E] TB-WB ə-kre ^B 'scales of a fish' <> PTai *klet ^{D1S} 'fish scales'		
	介 sudden	jiā	kät	ket	krêt
df	价疥	jiè	käi ^C	kes	krêts
e	界	jiè	käi ^C	kes	krê(t)s ~ 29-4/510b 届 *krîs
j	芥	musta. jiè	käi ^C	kes	krêts
			[E] PTai *kat: S. kaat ^{D1L} 'mustard plant'		
	芥 grass	jiè	käi ^C	kes	krêts
			[N] GSR has MC kai ^C with this meaning		
k	紛	jì	kiei ^C	kes	kêts
h	齧	xiè	yäi ^C	ges	grêts
i	忖	xiè	xäi ^C	hes	hrêts

20-3	= K. 312	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	夬 thimble	jué	kiwet	kuet	kwêt
	夬 divide	guài	kwai ^C	kuas	kwêts
			[N] For Div. II -wai ^C from *kwêts (not *kwrâts), see Introduction 5.2.3 <> [E] TB: WB kyui ^B 'be broken' ≠ k ^h yui ^B 'to break in two'		
k	快	kuài	k ^h wai ^C	k ^h uas	khwêts
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'waj (去); MGZY khway (去) [k'waj]; ONW k ^h uëi		
b	决 open	jué	kiwet	kuet	kwêt
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR kye (入); MGZY gwya (入) [kye]; ONW kuêt. LHan 句决 kuo ^C (or kio ^C) -kuet 'a kind of hat', cf. Mongol köküi (Pulleyblank 1983: 453)		
	决 quick	xuè	xiwet	huet	hwêt
c	玦	jué	kiwet	kuet	kwêt
efg	訣	jué	kiwet	kuet	kwêt

-	馱	jué-tí	kiwet-diei	kuet-dei	—
-	映	jué	kiwet [GY], yiwet [JY]	kuet, guet	kwêt, gwêt
			[E] AA: Central Sakai gawet, giwet, Khasi k ^h awoit 'beckon with hand'		
d	袂	jué	kiwet,	kuet,	kwêt,
	袂	mèi,	mjiäi ^C 4	mias	me(t)s
h	缺	quē	k ^h iwet, k ^h jwät	k ^h uet, k ^h yat	khwet
i	映	xuè	xiwet	huet	hwêt
j	抉	jué	?iwet	?uet	?wêt
20-4	= K. 280	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	軋	yà	?ät	?et	?rêt
b	札	zhá	tšät	tšet	tsrêt
20-5	= K. 1256a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	隍	niè	ŋiet	ŋet	ŋêt = 20-7/285d 脆
20-6	= K. 331	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	帛	yì	ŋjiäi ^C 4	ŋias	ŋets OCB *ŋJets
			= 20-13/330 執藝藝		
20-7	= K. 285	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	臬	niè	ŋiet [GY],	ŋet	ŋêt
			ŋjät 3		
			[E] TB: KN-Lai ŋiat 'to aim at', middle voice 'spy, watch'		
d	臬	niè	ŋiet	ŋet	ŋêt = 20-5/1256a 隍
c	闌	niè	ŋjät 3, ŋiet	ŋiat, ŋet	ŋret, ŋêt = 20-13/330h 隍
e	剝	yì	ŋjäi ^C 3	ŋias	ŋrets
20-8	= K. 290	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	設	shè	šjät	šat	nhet < *ŋhet ? OCB *h(l)jet
			[T] ONW šat <> [E] TB: Lushai ŋhet ^L / ŋhe ^L (< ŋhets) 'be firm, establish' ≠ ŋheet ^F intr. 'to settle or get firm (as earth, cooked rice)', Limbu nema < ness- 'to lie (including of geographical features, fields, etc.)'. ≠ 20-13/330l 勢		
20-9	= K. 1256	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
b	鐵	tiě	t ^h iet	t ^h et	lhêt [T] ONW t ^h et
c	鐵	tiě	t ^h iet, diet	t ^h et, det	lhêt, lêt
			The OC rime could also have been *-it <> [E] TB: WT lčags < *lhjaks 'iron'. Tai: S. lek ^{D1S} < *hl- 'iron', KS *k ^h lit [?] ; PVM *khăc 'iron'		
20-10	= K. 288	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	舌	shé	džjät	žat	m-let (or m-lat? OCB *mlät
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR zje (入); ONW žat <> [D] PMin *džiat < *m-l- <> [E] MY *nbret (< *mlet ?) < TB-Magari millet (or me-let), let, Newari meč 'tongue', JP jin ³¹ -let ³¹		

20-11 = K. 309	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 禹 insect xiè		sjät	siat	set	'some kind of insect' [SW]
禹 NP xiè		sjät	siat	set	= 20-1/279b 契 ³
		name of a Yin dynasty ancestor			
a 竊 qiè		ts ^h iet	ts ^h et	tshêt < k-sêt	
		[N] For *k-s- > *tsh-, see EDOC §5.9.1			
20-12 = K. 310	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 截 jié		dziet	dzet	dzêt	
20-13 = K. 330	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 執 sow yì		ŋjiäi ^C 4	ŋias	ŋets	
		šjái ^C	šas	nhets < hŋets	
e 藝 sow yì		ŋjiäi ^C 4	ŋias	ŋets	
f 藝 method yì		ŋjiäi ^C 4	ŋias	ŋets	= 20-6/331 帛 OCB *ŋJets
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (去); MGZY yi (去) [ji]; ONW ŋiei			
		[E] Tai: S. kra ⁴ -net ⁴ 'tactics, methods, strategy'			
i 噤 yì		ŋjiäi ^C 4	ŋias	ŋets	
g 摯 niè		ŋiet	ŋet	ŋêt	
h 檠 niè		ŋiet	ŋet	ŋêt	= 20-7/285c 闌
l 勢 force shì		šjái ^C	šas	nhets < hŋets	
		[T] ONW šei <> [E] TB *ŋeis > WT ŋes-pa 'certain, true, firm', Lushai ŋei ^L < ŋeih (< ŋes) 'really, truly, verily', Tiddim ŋei: ^F < ŋei:h < *ŋeis 'certainly, be sure'			
j 熱 rè		ńzjät	ńat	net or ŋet	OCB *ŋjet
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR rje (入); MGZY Zhya (入) [rje]; ONW ńat <> [D] PMin *niat ~ *jiat			
k 蕪 ruò		ńzjwät	ńuat	niot	
m 摯 familiar xiè		sjät	siat	snet	
n 褻 xiè		sjät	siat	snet	
		[E] TB: WT sñed 'about, near (after round sums)'			
20-14 = K. 281	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 八 bā		pät	pet	prêt	
		[T] MTang pār, ONW pät <> [D] PMin *pet, K-Meix pat <> [E] ST *priat ~ *pret: TB *b-r-yat			
20-15 = K. 292	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 別 divide bié		pjät 3	piat	pret	OCB *prjet
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR pje, bje (入); MGZY bya (入) [pje]; ONW pat			
		[E] TB: LB *brat 'split, crack' > WB prat 'be cut in two'			
別 differ. bié		bjät 3	biat	bret	'different' OCB *brjet
20-16 = K. 341	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 敝 bì		bjäi ^C 4	bias	bets or bes	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去); MGZY pi (去) [bi]; ONW bie			
		[E] TB: Lushai p ^h uai ^H < p ^h uai 'be worn, worn out, frayed', JP p ^h je ³¹ 'to ruin'. Also Lushai pai? ^L < *pais 'to throw away, discard, annul'			
defg 幣弊弊弊 bì		bjäi ^C 4	bias	bets	[T] ONW bie
h 蔽 bì		pjiäi ^C 4	pias	pets	[T] ONW piei ^C
i 驚 bì, biē		pjiäi ^C , pjiät	pias, piat	pet, pets	
jk 齷齪 biē		pjiät 4	piat	pet	

l 愍 biē		phjiät ?	phiat	phet	
m 愍 bié		biet	bet	bêt	
20-17 = K. 328	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 拜 bài		päi ^C	pes	prêts	OCB *prots
20-18 = K. 311	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
agh 蔑懷曠 miè		miet	met	mêt	[T] ONW mêt
- 曠 miè		miet	met		
f 曠 cover miè		miet, miek	met, mek	mêt, mêk	
		MC miek = 8-21/859 曠; on *-ek ~ *et, see Baxter 1992: 300; 484			
ik 穢篋 miè		miet	met	mêt	
lm - 鞞鞞襪 wà		mjwët	muat	mat	
20-19 = K. 294	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 威 xuè		xjwät 3	hyat	hmet (or hmat ?)	OCB *hmjet
		[E] ? TB *mit			
bc 滅滅 miè		mjiät 4	miat	met	OCB *mjjet
		[T] ONW miat			

21 OCM rime *-at, *-ats, *-as Yuè- Jì bù 月祭部 (2)

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Baxter 1992: 389 ff. (§10.1.2)

Table 21-1: OCM rimes *-an, *-at, *-a(t)s, *-ai in QYS categories

Div.	*-an R.24	*-at R.21	*-a(t)s R.21	*-ai R.18
I	干 kân kan *kân 彈 dân dan *dân 半 pwân ^C pan ^C *pâns	割 kât kat *kât 達 dât dat *dât 友 bwât bat *bât	害 yâi ^C gas *gâts 太 t'âi ^C t'as *t'hâs 貝 pwâi ^C pas *pâts	何 yâ gai *gâi 跋 pwâ pai ^B *pâi? 多 tâ tai *tâi
III gr	建 kjen ^C kian ^C *kans 反 pjwen ^B puân ^B *pan? 勸 k'jwen ^C k'hyan ^C *khwans 遠 jwen ^B wan ^B *wan?	獨 xjet hiat *hat 發 pjwet puat *pat 越 jwet wat *wat	艾 njei ^C nias *ņas 吠 bjwei ^C buas *bas 顛 xjwei ^C hyas *hwats	
3/3 gr	攀 kjän ^{B3} kian ^B *krian? 拚 bjän ^{C3} bian ^C *brans	架 gjät3 giat *gat	揭 k'hjäi ^{C3} k'hias *khats	騎 gje3 gai *gai 皮 bje3 bici *bai
III ac	戰 tsjän ^C tsan ^C *tans 延 jiän jan *lan	絀 sjät siat *slat	世 sjäi ^C sas *lhats 曳 jiäi ^C jas *lats	離 lje liai *rai
III ac				蛇 dzja zai *m-lai
II	姦 kan kan *krân 山 şan şan *srân		邁 mai ^C mas *mrâts 敗 pai ^C pas *prâts	加 ka kai *krâi 麻 ma mai *mrâi 沙 şa şai *srâi

Finals in *-wat/s are under rime 22 *-ot/s, rimes in *-et/s under rime 20.

After acute initials in Div. III, OC *-at and *-et have merged into MC -jät, these OC rimes are therefore difficult to untangle; they are included in this rime group. See Table 20-1.

After gutturals in Div. III occur two MC finals, Kjet and *chóngmiǔ* 3/3 Kjäi. Baxter reconstructs all MC Kjäi with OC medial *r. However, after ʔ, x and ŋ only -jet occurs, and -jät as a rare doublet. Tone C words tend to belong to Div. 3/3 (-jäi^C 3), but the closed counterpart to belong to Div. III (-jet). Therefore Div. 3/3 Kjäi(s) and Div. III Kjet are nearly in complementary distribution, both are the regular reflexes of OCM *kat (without medial *r). See Intro. 5.2.3 for more about the removal of OCB medial *r in MC Div. 3/3 syllables.

21-1 = K. 313	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 勾	gài	kâi ^C , kât	kas, kat	kâst, kât
i 葛	gé	kât	kat	kât
- 搗	gè	kat 2, kät 2	kat, ket	krât or krêt

[E] TB: Lepcha hrit 'to comb', LB *kret 'scrape' > WB k'hrac 'to scrape', Kachin k'hret 'rasp, grate' <> Tai: S. k'raat^{D2} < *g- 'to scrape, rake' & kraat^{D1} 'metal scraper or grater'

def 曷駝蜴	hé	yât	gat	gât
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g 褐	hè	yât	gat	gât	
h 鷓	bird A hé	yât	gat	gât	
	bird B kě	k'hât	k'hat	khât	
jz 渴 ¹ 漱	kě	k'hât	k'hat	khât	'thirst'
j 渴 ² dried	jié	gjät 3	giat	gat	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR	gje (入)			
o 楊 pole	jié	gjät 3	giat	gat	
	mus. in. qià	k'hat	k'hat	khât	'musical instrument'
p 偈 robust	jié	gjät 3, kjet	giat, kiät	gat, kat	[T] Indic gāthā, gadha = m
	go away qiè	k'hjät 3	k'hiat	khat	
qr 碣 竭	jié	gjät 3	giat	gat	
- 羯	jié	kjät 3	kiat	kat	
	[T] MTang kar, ONW kat <> [E] ? TB: Kanauri k'has 'sheep'				
m 揭	qiè	k'hjät 3, k'hjet	k'hiat	khat	
n 揭 lift	jiē, qi	k'hjäi ^C 3	k'hias	khats	'lift one's clothes'
	lift jié, jiē,	gjät, kjät 3,	giat, kiät,	gat, kat,	'lift on shoulder'
	qiè	k'hjät	k'hiat	khat	OCB *khrjats
	The graph has additional MC readings, see GSR 313n.				
s 愒 to rest	qi,	k'hjäi ^C 3,	k'hias,	khats,	= 21-6/329 愒
	qiè	k'hjät	k'hiat	khat	
	desire kài	k'hâi ^C	k'has	khâts	
t 獨	xiè, xié	xjet	hiat	hat	
u 歇	xiē	xjet	hiat	hat	
k 喝 shout	hē	xât	hat	hât	
	choke ài	?ai ^C	?as	?âts	
	[N] It seems that after *ʔ-, tone C counterparts to Div. I *ʔât appear in QYS Div. II				
l 遏	è	?ât	?at	?ât	= 1-28/270a 闕
v 喝	yē	?jet	?iat	?at	
x 謁	yè	?jet	?iat	?at	
a' 藹	ǎi	?âi ^C	?as	?âts	
y 謁	yì,	?jäi ^C 3,	?ias,	?ats,	
	ài	?ai ^C , ?ât	?as, ?at	?ât(s)	

21-2 = K. 314	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 害	hài	yâi ^C	gas	gâts	OCB *fikat(s)

[T] ONW yaC

d 割	gē	kât	kat	kât
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kə (入); MGZY go (入) [ko] <> [D] *kät			
	[E] ST and area: TB *(s-)kat 'cut', WT 'gas-pa 'to split, break'			

c 轄	jiè	kai ^C	kas	krâts	
f 轄	xiá	yat	gat	grât	= 21-3/282 轄
g 豁	huò	xwât	huat	hwât	

21-3 = K. 282	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 輦	xiá	yat	gat	grât	= 21-2/314f 轄

21-4 = K. 283	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 子	jié	kjät 3	kiat	kat	
21-5 = K. 284	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 桀	hero jié	gjät 3	giat	gat	OCB *grjat
	[E] ? TB: WT gyad 'champion, athlete'; or Lushai hrat ^F < hraat 'brave, resolute'				
	lift jiē	kjät 3	kiat	kat	
b 傑	jié	gjät 3	giat	gat	OCB *grjat
21-5A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 互	jì	kjāi ^C 3	kias	kats	
21-5B	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 罽	罽	kjāi ^C 3	kias	kats	
	[T] MHan Indic kāth; 罽賓 kias-pin Kashmir				
21-6 = K. 329	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 憩	qì	k ^h jāi ^C 3	k ^h ias	khats	= 21-1/313s 惕 OCB *khrjats
21-7 = K. 332	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 瘞	yì	?jāi ^C 3	?ias	?ats or ?as	
21-8 = K. 268	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 枿	è	ŋât	ŋat	ŋât	= 21-9/269 歹, = 24-17/252j 櫛, 21-11/289j 槩
21-9 = K. 269	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 歹	è	ŋât	ŋat	ŋât	= see 21-8/268
21-10 = K. 347	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 艾	yì	ŋjei ^C	ŋias	ŋas	
cb 艾 ¹ 刈	yì	ŋjei ^C	ŋias	ŋas	'to mow'
	[E] TB: WT rja-ba, brjas 'to mow, cut, reap', West Tib. col. rjab-pa				
c 艾 ²	artem. ài	ŋâi ^C	ŋas	ŋâs	'artemisia'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋaj (去); MGZY ŋay (去) [ŋaj]				
21-11 = K. 289	There is only one syllable of the type ŋjet in SSYP, hence ŋjät 3 probably represents OCM ŋat, not ŋrat.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 孽	xiē	sjät	siat	sŋat	
ed 孽	xuē	sjät	siat	sŋat	
f 孽	sà, xiē	sât, siet	sat, set	sât, sêt	
g 孽	niè	ŋjät 3	ŋjät	ŋat	[T] ONW ŋat
h 孽	niè	ŋjät 3	ŋjät	ŋat	
	[E] ST *ŋja(t) or *ŋje(t): WT ñes-pa 'evil, calamity, crime', Kachin nye 'punish, cause woe'				
i 孽	malt niè	ŋjät 3	ŋjät	ŋat	[T] ONW ŋat
	[E] TB: Lushai ŋaan ^H < ŋaan 'malt'				

j 槩	è,	ŋât,	ŋat,	ŋât,	
	niè	ŋjät 3	ŋjät	ŋat	
	= 21-8/268a 枿; 24-17/252j 櫛				
21-12 = K. 317	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 大	dà, dài,	dâi ^C ,	das, dah,	dâs,	OCB *lâts
	tài	t ^h âi ^C	t ^h as	t ^h as	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR daj (去), PR, LR da; MGZY tay (去) [daj]; Sui-Tang da(i) ^C , ONW daC/C				
	[D] Y-Guangzh tai ^{C2} , Taishan ai ^C ; K-Meix t ^h a ^C				
d 太	tài	t ^h âi ^C	t ^h as	t ^h as	OCB *hlâts
	= 21-13/316a 泰 <> [T] ONW t ^h aC <> [E] ? TB *tay 'big' > WT mt ^h e-bo 'thumb', Nung t ^h e				
	'big, large, great', Mikir t ^h è, ket ^h è 'id.'; WB tay 'very'; Abor-Miri ta 'large'				
fg 汰	wave dài	dâi ^C	das	dâts (< lâts ?)	
	[E] TB: WT rlabs 'wave'				
	汰 penetr.	tài	t ^h âi ^C	t ^h as	t ^h âts
	汰 pass o.	tà	t ^h ât	t ^h at	t ^h ât
hl 鈇	dài, di	diei ^C , dâi ^C	des, das	dês, dâs	
	[E] TB: WB t ^h it 'stocks for confinement'				
j 杙	dì	diei ^C	des	dês	
i 杙	shì	zjâi ^C	dzas	das or des	
21-13 = K. 316	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 泰	tài	t ^h âi ^C	t ^h as	t ^h as	= 21-12/317a 大
21-14 = K. 271	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 牽	lamb tà	t ^h ât	t ^h at	t ^h ât	
	The graph shows a sheep between the legs of a standing person.				
b 達	reach dá	dât	dat	dât	≠ 21-12/317f 汰
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR da (入); ONW dat <> [E] TB: LB *dat 'alive, to be'; Lushai ddot ^F / do ^L				
	'to pierce, stick in, sprout up'				
	達 to a.	frotà	t ^h ât	t ^h at	t ^h ât
de 撻	撻	tà	t ^h ât	t ^h at	t ^h ât
	'go to and fro'				
21-15 = K. 315	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 帶	dài	tâi ^C	tas	tâs R!	OCB *tats
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR taj (去); MGZY day (去) [taj]; ONW taC <> [E] TB *ta:y, Lushai tai ^R				
	'waist'				
- 帶	dài	tâi ^C	tas		
c 帶	dì	tiei ^C	tes	tês	
- 帶	dì	tiei ^C	tes		[T] BTD Skt. darś-, drś
d 帶	screen dī	diei ^C	des	dêts	
	hoard dié	diet	det	dêt	
e 帶	go away dī	diei ^C	des	dês	
	sheath shì	zjâi ^C	dzes	des	
b 帶	zhì	djâi ^C	des	dres	
f 帶	chì, zhǐ	t ^h jâi ^C , t ^h je ^B	t ^h as, t ^h e ^B ?	thes, te?	

21-16 = K. 336					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	筮 b	shì	zjāi ^C	dzas	dats
cd	噬噬	shì	zjāi ^C	dzas	dats
21-17 = K. 335					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	制製	zhì	tšjāi ^C	tšas	tats or kets ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tši (去); MGZY ji (去) [tši]; ONW tsei				
c	掣	chè	tšhjäi ^C , tšhjäi ^C	tšhjat, tšhias	that(s) or *e?
d	獠	zhì	kjāi ^C 3	kias	kats or krets ?
21-18 = K. 334					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	彘	zhì	djāi ^C	dias	drats < r-lats
	[E] KT: KS *?dlaai ^B 'wild pig', PHlai *lat				
21-19 = K. 287					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	折 break	zhé	tšjät	tšat	tet (or tat)
	OCB *tjats (1992: 393), *tjet (1998) <> [T] ONW tšat				
	折 bend	shé	zjät	džat	det OCB *N-tjet
	[T] ONW džat <> [E] TB *tsyat, or rather *tyat: LB *tsat ~ C-tsar 'break in two, conclude'; WT 'chad-pa, čhad 'to cut, explain'				
	折 slow	tí	diei	de	dê
h	哲	chè, tí	tšjät, tšiek	tšiat, tšek	thret, thêk
cdg	哲哲蜚	zhé	tjät	tjat	trat [T] ONW tat
ij	晰哲	zhé, zhì	tšjät, tšjāi ^C	tšat, tšas	tat, tats OCB *tjats
km	誓逝	shì	zjāi ^C	dzas	dats OCB *djats
n	晰	zhā	řat	řat	řat
21-19A 𪛗					
	jí		tšjät	tšat	tat or tet SW 490
21-20 = K. 286					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𪛗	?			
bc	撤徹	chè	djät, tšjät	tšiat	thret R! OCB *thrjet, *fithrjet
	徹 [T] ONW tšat <> [E] ? TB: WB tat 'to know, be skilled in', Tani *tas 'to listen / hear', WT tšos-pa 'to hear'				
d	澈	chè	djät	djat	dret
ef	輒躒	ché	djät	djat	dret
	[E] TB: WT rjes < rjes 'trace, track'				
21-21 = K. 338					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	洩	yì	jiāi ^C	jas	lats
b	洩 leak	xiè	sjät	siat	slat = 21-23/339h 泄
	[E] TB: Mru yat 'to leak, ooze'				
	洩 dispers.	yì	jiāi ^C	jas	lats
c	綫	xiè	sjät	siat	slat = 21-23/339 繼鞞 縹
21-22 = K. 333					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	裔	yì	jiāi ^C	jas	lats

21-23 = K. 339 The OC vowel could have been either *a or *e. The PCH final consonant was probably *-p in some of the words; 339a is only partially phonetic in 35-10/633 because of the transparent semantic connection.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	世	shì	šjāi ^C	šas	lhats < *-ps
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (去); MGZY shi (去) [ši]; ONW šei; BTD Skt. -śatru				
d	蕘	shì	šjāi ^C , (d)zja ^C	šas, (d)ža ^C	lhas, m-lah
k	蕘 toil	yì	jiāi ^C	jas	lat, lats
	[E] TB: WT las, OTib. blas 'work, toil', TGTM *gjat < *gl-				
e	拙	yì	jiāi ^C , jiät	jas, jat	lat, lats
fg	泄泄	yì	jiāi ^C	jas	lats < laps
h	泄	xiè, yì	sjät, jiāi ^C	siat, jas	slat, lats = 21-21/338b 洩
ijl	繼鞞	xiè	sjät	siat	slat
m	縹	xiè	sjät	siat	slat = 21-21/338c 縹
21-24 = K. 272					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	刺	là	lât	lat	rât
	[E] TB *(g-)ra-t ≠ *(g-)rya-t > WT dra-ba 'cut, clip, lop, prune, pare', Lepcha hra 'cut', Nung rat 'sever', WB hra ^C 'wound, slightly cut'				
-	辣	là	lât		
	[D] Min: Amoy loáh [loa ^{D2}], lit. loát 'pungent' <> [E] Tai: Saek thaat < d- 'peppers, spicy, hot', Po-ai šaat ^{D2L} < j-, 'hot, peppery', Dioi šat ¹ (< *b-lat ¹)				
e	賴	lài	lâi ^C	las	râts
	[T] Indic raś, rāṣ (Coblin 1983: 83). MHan 都賴 ta-las Talas				
fg	瀨瀨	lài	lâi ^C	las	râts
	瀨 [E] AA: Wa-Lawa-Bulang *rah 'rapids, waterfall' ≠ OKhmer rat /rot/ 'to move swiftly, run' <> PTai *hlaai ^{B1} 'rapids in a river'				
h	賴	artem. lài, là	lâi ^C , lâi	las, lat	râts 'artemisia'
	shade lài	lâi ^C	las	râts	
-	懶	lăn	lân ^B	—	[T] ONW lan ^B <> [D] PMin *dian ^B
i	獺	tă, chă	tât, tât	tât, tât	rhât

21-25 = K. 291 Some OC syllables in this series may have the vowel *e rather than *a.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	列	liè	ljät	liat	rat
bcd-	冽冽烈	liè	ljät	liat	rat R! OCB *C-rjat
-ef	颯裂	liè	ljät	liat	rat or ret ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu 裂 SR lje (入); MGZY 裂 lya (入) [lje]				
	[E] TB: WT dres-ma, dred-ma 'grass for ropes and shoes', WB krit 'a kind of grass'				
g	例	lì, liè	ljāi ^C , ljät	lias, liat	rats or rets ? OCB *C-rjets (?)
hi	例痢	lì	ljāi ^C	lias	rats
21-26 = K. 326, 340, 267					
326a	萬 ¹ > 蕘	chài	tšhāi ^C	tšas	rhâts OCB *hrjats
267cd	萬 ² > 蕘邁	mài	mai ^C	mas	mrâts OCB *mrats
267a	萬 ³	wàn	mjwen ^C	muon ^C	mâns '10000'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR vwan (去), LR vwan; MGZY (khan >) wan (去) [van]; ONW muan				

340a	厲 ¹ hedge	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	
	[E] TB: Tiddim gool ^F < *rools 'fence' > rua ^{C2} < *r- 'fence'					
a	厲 ² drag	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	OCB *C-rjats
ac	厲 ³ 勵	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	'cruel' OCB *C-rets
	~ 29-25/532a 戾 <[E] TB: WT hrad-pa 'exert oneself, push violently, stem tide'					
	[T] BTd Skt. re (Coblin 1993: 912)					
a	厲 ⁴ ford	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	
	[E] TB: WT rab(s) 'ford'; JP rap ⁵⁵ 'to ford, cross a river'					
ab	厲 ⁵ 礪	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	'grind'
d	癘	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	
	(Baxter 1992: 404) <[E] KT: PTai *tr-: S. taai ^{A1} 'to die', Saek praai ¹					
ef	螻	li	ljäi ^C	lias	rats	
	[T] MGZY li (去) [li] <[E]-> PTai *nl/r-: S. (lek-)nai ^{A2} , Po-ai lai ^{A2} 'bee's sting'					
g	糲	lài, là, li	lâi ^C , lâi ^C	lat/s, lias	rât, râts, rats	
	[E] Cf. TB: WT 'bras 'rice' ≠ 'bras-bu 'fruit', Lushai ra? ^L < *ra? or *rah (< *-s) 'fruit'					

21-27 = K. 318 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ab	奈 ¹ 奈	nài	nâi ^C	nas	nâs or nâts	
	Cf. Japanese (kara)nashi 梨. <[T] BTd Skt. [Vārā]nāsī					
a	奈 ²	nài	nâi ^C	nas	nâs	
	Starting with a few occurrences in Zuo Zhuang, *nâs replaces rú 如 *nah < *naas in the Zhanguo period in the expression 如何 rú hé (Unger <i>Hao-ku</i> 22, 1983).					

21-28 = K. 337 The MC finals are ambiguous; in some words, the OC rime could have been *-at, in others *-et.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	祭 sacrific.	jì	tsjâi ^C	tsias	tsats or tsets
	祭 a state	zhài	tšâi ^C	tšes	tsrâts or tsrêts
e	稌	jì	tsjâi ^C	tsias	tsats
	[E] WB c ^h ap 'millet'				
f	際	jì	tsjâi ^C	tsias	tsats OCB *tsjats < *tsjaps
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsjej (去), PR, LR tsi; MGZY dzi (去) [tsi] <[E] TB: WT č ^h abs 'together'; Garo tsap-tsap 'adjacent'; WB cap 'to join, unite', Kachin tšyap 'adhere'				
i	蔡 sacrific.	cài	ts ^h âi ^C	ts ^h as,	tshâts < k-sâts,
				sas, sa ^C	sâts OCB srats
	= 21-29/319a 杀. <[T] Han BTd Pkt. sâ-				
	蔡 a state	zhài	tšâi ^C	tšes	tsrets
h	瘵	zhài	tšâi ^C	tšes	tsrêts OCB *tsr(j)ets
	[E] AA: PVM *k-cet > Viet. chêt 'to die'; PMonic kcət 'to die' ≠ k-r-cet 'to kill'				
j	察	chá	tš ^h ât	tš ^h et	tshrêt R! OCB tshrjet (1992: 412)
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tš'a (入)				
g	際	chì	t ^h jäi ^C	t ^h ias	thrats

21-29 = K. 319 The MC finals are ambiguous; in some words, the OC rime could have been either *-at or *-et.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	杀	cài	ts ^h âi ^C	ts ^h as	tshâts < k-sât = 21-28/337i 蔡

de	殺 kill	shā	šât	šat R!	srât	OCB *srjet < *srjat
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ša (入); ONW šat <[E] TB *g-sat 'to kill' > WT gso-d-pa, bsad, Chepang sat-sa, WB sat, PL *C-sat, JP sat ³¹ ≠ gâ ³¹ -sat ⁵⁵ 'attack'					
	殺 reduce	shài	šâi ^C	šas	srâts	'to diminish, reduce'
-	刹	chà	tš ^h at	tš ^h at	—	
	[T] ONW tš ^h ât. BTd Skt. kṣat-; Skt. kṣetra 'place, seat, sphere of activity'					
g	撮	sà	sât	sat	sât	
f	撮	shā, shè	šât, šjât	šet, šet	srat or sret	

21-30 = K. 275 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ade	𠵽撥襪	bō	pwât	pat	pât	
b	發	bó	bwât	bat	bât	
	GSR writes the lower element as gōng 弓.					
c	發 shoot	fā	pjwət	puat	pat	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR fwa (入), PR, LR fa?; MTang pfar < pfuar, ONW puat <[D] Min: Xiam col. pu? ^{D1} , lit. huat ^{D1} <[E] Area word: TB-LB *C-pat 'vomit', WB p ^h at, JP n ³¹ -p ^h at ³¹ . <[E] AA: Mon pnoh 'bow' ≠ poh 'to shoot with a pellet-bow'					
	發 splash	bō	pwât	pat	pât	
f	廢 neglect	fèi	pjwêi ^C	puas	pats	= 21-31/276o 祓
	[E] Tai: S. bap4 'exhausted, worn out'					
	廢 great	fā	pjwət	puat	pat	

21-31 = K. 276 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	友	bá	bwât	bat	bât	
bc	跋	bá	bwât	bat	bât	
h	拔	bèi	bwâi ^C	bas	bâts	'thinned' OCB *bots R!
	= 30-18/501f pèi 沛					
	拔	bá	bwât	bat	bât	'rise'
	拔	bá	bât	bet or bat	brât ?	'pull out'
	[T] MTang bār, ONW bāt <[E] TB: Lushai pot ^L / pō ^L 'to pull, pull up, out'					
g	芟 halt	bá	bwât	bat	bât	
	芟 roots	bá	pwât	pat	pât	
	[E] JP (n ³¹ -/nin ³¹ -) pot ³¹ 'root, origin'					
f	𦏧	bá	pwât	pat	pât	
d	𦏧	bá, fá	bwât, bjwət	bat, buat	bât, bat	
e	𦏧	bá, bèi	bwât, bwâi ^C	bat, bas	bât, bâts	
o	祓	fèi	pjwêi ^C	puas	pats	= 21-30/275f 廢
i	髮	fā	pjwət	puat	pat	OCB *pjot R!
	[E] ? TB: WT p ^h ud 'hair knot, tuft of hair'					
j	j	fá	bjwət	buat	bat	
klm	𦏧	fú	pjwət	put	pət	
	= 30-18/501c 芟; = 30-17/500k 芟					
n	𦏧 wand	fú	p ^h jwət	p ^h ut	phət	
o	祓 purify	fú	p ^h jwət	p ^h ut	phət	
		fèi	pjwêi ^C	puas	pats	

21-32 Mand. MC LHan OCM

-	鉢	bō	pwât	pat < Skt. pātra	[T] ONW pat
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21-33 = K. 307	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a- 伐筏	fá	bjwet	buat	bat	≈ 21-31/276d 拔筏
	伐 [T] MTang bvar < bvuar, ONW		buat		
f 筏	lush fá	bjwet	buat	bat	
	flutter pèi, péi ! bwâi ^C		bas	bâts	= 30-18 / 501 旃
21-34 = K. 308	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 罰	fá	bjwet	buat	bat	= 21-33/307a 伐
	[T] MTang bvar < bvuar, ONW		buat		
21-35 = K. 320	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 貝	bèi	pwâi ^C	pas	pâts	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR puj (去), PR pøj, LR pøj; MGZY bay (去) [paj]; BTD Skt. pat[tra]. MHan 劫貝(娑) kiap-pas(-so[i]) Skt. kârpâsa				
	[E] ST *pop (?): TB Chepang bop 'snail', JP lâ ⁵⁵ -pop ⁵⁵ 'snail'				
- 埧	bà	pa ^C	<- Tai loan: S. paa ^{B1} < pa ^B 'meadow'		
f 敗	ruin bài	pai ^C	pas	prâts	OCB *prats
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pai, bai (去); MGZY bay, pay (去) [paj ~ baj]				
- 敗	be ru. bài	bai ^C	bas	brâts	'be ruined' OCB *fiprats
- 唄	bài	bai ^C	bas	—	[T] BTD Skt. paṭh
21-36 = K. 348	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 吠	fèi	bjwei ^C	buas	bas < *bos OCB *bjots	
	[T] ONW bei <> [E] ST *baus: KN-Lushai bau? < *baus 'to bark'				
21-37 = K. 277	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac 未秣	mò	mwât	mat	mât	
	[T] ONW mat. MHan 且末 ts ^{hia} B-mat = Calmadana				
b 沫	foam mò	mwât	mat	mât	
	finish mèi	mwâi ^C	mas	mâts	
- 茉莉	mò-li	mwât-lji ^C	—	'Jasmine or moly' < Skt. mallikā	
21-38 = K. 293	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 罨	xuè	xjwät 3	hyat	hmat	

22 OCM rime *-ot, *-wat, *-o(t)s, *-wa(t)s Yuè- Jì bù 月祭部 (3)

GSR 268 - 348

Baxter 1992: 389 ff. (§10.1.2)

See Table 25-1 for OCM rimes *-on / *-wan, *-ot / *-wat, *-oi / *-wai in QYS categories. See Table 28-1 for MC Div. 3/3 without OC medial *r; see also Intro. 5.2.3 for more about the removal of OCB medial *r in MC Div. 3/3 syllables.

After grave initials in Div. III, the QYS distinguishes the finals -jwet / -jwei^C and -jwät / -jwäi^C. Only the latter occur after acute initials, but also after grave initials in tone C (-jwäi^C), while the final *t* counterparts have the final -jwet. We assume a single LHan and OC source for both rimes. In OCB system, MC -jwät / -jwäi^C would go back to a medial *r. This distributional pattern is parallel to -at, rime 21.

22-1 = K. 302 The OC rime of some syllables is not certain.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	畢	jué	kjwet	kyat	kwat	
ef	昏舌	guō	kwât	kuat	kwât	
h	括	kuò	kwât	kuat	kwât	≈ 括 OCB *k ^w at
						[E] TB: Lushai kua? ^L < kuas 'put arm(s) around (tree, neck, waist, etc.)'
i	栝	kuò	kwât	kuat	kwât	
j	聒	kuò	kwât	kuat	kwât	
k	髻	kuò	kwât	kuat	kwât	
l	佻	huó	ɣwât, kwât	ɣuat, kuat	gwât, kwât	≈ 括
m	活	purl guō	kwât	kuat	kwât	OCB *k ^w at
						'to purl (as running water)'
	活	alive huó	ɣwât	ɣuat	gwât R!	OCB *g ^w at
						[T] BTD Skt. vat
n	刮	guā	kwat	kuat	kwrât or krôt	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwa (入); MGZY gwa (入) [kwa] <> [D] PMin *kuot
o	話	huà	ɣwai ^C	ɣuas	gwrâts or grôts	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣwa (去); MGZY Xway (去) [ɣwaj] <> [D] PMin *hua ^C
p	鰓	guō	kwât	kuat	kwât	
q	闊	far kuò	k ^h wât	k ^h uat	khwât	
						OCB *khot (Baxter 1992: 409) <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR k'wə (入); MGZY khwo (入) [k'wə]
	契闊	qiè-kuò	k ^h wât	k ^h uat	khêt-khôt	'bound together'
						See Baxter 1992: 409-410.

22-2 = K. 301 With some syllables the OC rime is not certain. The MC rime Kjwət has the tone C counterpart Kjwäi^C 3 (Kjwəi^C is extremely rare), hence these syllables had no OC medial r.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	歛 jué	kjwət	kyat	kot	
c	厥 jué	kjwət	kyat	kot	[T] ONW kuat
-	儼 jué	kjwət	kyat	kot	
d	蕨 jué	kjwət	kyat	kot	OCB *kjot
					[D] PMin *k̥iot 'bracken' <> [E] TB: WT skyas-ma, skyes-ma 'fern'
e	蠖 jué	kjwət	kyat	kot	
jk	概 k jué	gjwət	gyat	got	
fg	f 蹶 agile guì	kjwäi ^C 3	kyas	gots	OCB *g ^w rjats
	stumble jué	k/gjwət	k/gyat	kot, got	
h	闕 gate què	k ^h jwət	k ^h yat	khot	OCB *k ^w hjat
	闕 excava. jué	gjwət	gyat	got	
					[E] ST *(k)wa- 'passage through': Lushai kua ^L 'a hole, burrow, cavity' ≠ kua ^L / kuakF 'be open or clear'; WB ə-wa ^C 'opening of door, hole'
i	掘 dig out jué	gjwət	gyat	got	
					[E] ST: *r-ko-t > WT rkod-pa 'excavate, dig' ≠ rko-ba 'to dig'; JP got ³¹ 'dig'
	掘 lift guì	kjwäi ^C 3	kyas	kots	≠ kōu 掘 *kho
l	厥 guì	kjwäi ^C 3	kyas	gots	

22-3 = K. 321	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	會 unite huì	ɣwâi ^C	ɣuas	gôts	
					≠ 22-1/3021 括 *kwât <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣuj (去); MGZY Xue (去) [ɣue]; MTang guai, ONW ɣuaC; BTd Skt. vāsa, bhas. OCB *gots < *gops; OCB rime *-ops is based on etymological assumptions and is not borne out by actual rimes
def	會 calcul. kuài	kwâi ^C	kuas	kôts	'calculation'
gh	膾膾 kuài	kwâi ^C	kuas	kôts	
i	檜 guì, guō	kwâi ^C , kwât	kuas, kuat	kôt, kôts	
j	檜 guì, huì	kwâi ^C , ɣwâi ^C	kuas, ɣuas	kôts, gôts	
k	繪 huì	ɣwâi ^C	ɣuas	gôts	
l	噲 comf. kuài	k ^h wâi ^C	k ^h uas	khrôts	'comfortable'
	faded	kwâi ^C , kwât	kuas, kuat	kôt, kôts	
m	鬻 guì	kwâi ^C , ɣwât	kuas, ɣuat	kôts, gôt	
n	蒼 huì	?wâi ^C	?uas	?ôts	OCB *?ops

22-4 = K. 304	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	臼 yuē	jwət	wat	wat	
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR nye (入); MGZY xw̄ya (入) [fiye]; MTang uar, ONW uat < wat
e	扞 hú	ɣwət	ɣuat	(g)wât	
f	汨 bubble hú	ɣwət	ɣuat	gwât	
	regulate gǔ	kwət	kuət	kwât	
	flow yù	kiwet, juet	kuet, wit	kwît, wit	= 29-11/507o 滿

22-5 = K. 303, 346	MC	LHan	OCM		
ad	戔 yuè	jwət	wat	wat	
e	越 transgr. yuè	jwət	wat	wat	OCB *wjat
				[T] ONW wat; Han BTd *wat: Skt. -pati, -vatī, vata	
	越 plait huó	ɣwât	ɣuat	wât	
f	狻 xuè	xjwət	hyat	hwat	
346a	歲 suì	sjwäi ^C	syas	swats	
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR suj (去); MGZY sue (去) [sue]; ONW suei <> [D] PMin *hue ^C	
f	頰 huì	xjwəi ^C	hyas	hwats	= 25-28/171o 喙
				[T] ONW huei ^C <> [E] KT: S. nuat ^{DIL} < *hn- 'beard'	
g	颯 huì	xwâi ^C	huas	hwâts	
h	濺 huò	xwât	huat	hwât	
i	穢 huì	?jwəi ^C	?yas	?wats	
j	噦 vomit yuě	?jwət, ?jwät	?yat	?wat	
				[E] TB: LB *ut (not ?ut) 'to belch'	
	噦 tinkle huì	xwâi ^C	huas	hwâts	OCB *hwats
k	劇 guì	kjwäi ^C	kyas	kwats or kots	
22-6 = K. 305	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	粵 yuè	jwət	wat	wat	
22-7 = K. 273	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	馭 wò	?wât	?uat	?wât	
b	擊 wàn	?wân ^C	?uan ^C	?wâns	= 25-17/260m 腕
22-8 = K. 306, 322	MC	LHan	OCM		
ag	月朙 yuè	ɲjwət	ɲyat, S ɲjot	ɲwat	OCB *ɲ ^w jat
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲje (入); MGZY xw̄ya (入) [fiye]; MTang ɲuar, ONW ɲuat	
hj	別踰 yuè	ɲjwət, ɲwat	ɲyat, ɲuat	ɲwat, ɲrwât	
322a	外 wài	ɲwâi ^C	ɲuas	ɲwâts	
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɲwaj (去), PR ɲwaj, waj; LR waj; MGZY xue (去) [fiue]; ONW ɲuaC. The OB graph is identical with 卜, but here a stroke marks the outside of something symbolized by a vertical line; 'moon' was later added as phonetic.	
22-9 = K. 274	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	奪 rob duó	dwât	duat	lôt	= 22-13/324j
	奪 narrow duì	dwâi ^C	duas	lôts	≠ 19-16/11d
22-10 = K. 295	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𦉳 zhuó	tjwät	tyat	trot	
de	𦉳 chuò	tjwät	tyat	trot	
bf	綴 zhuó, zhuì	tjwät, tjwäi ^C	tyat, tyas	trot, trots	
j	鋏 point zhuā, zhuó	twat	tuat	trôt	'sharp point at end of whip'
	tallies zhuì	tjwäi ^C	tyas	trots	
c	啜 gulp zhuó	tjwät	tyat	trot	
	啜 eat chuò,	t ^s hwät,	t ^s uat,	thot,	
	shuì	zjwäi ^C	dzuas	dots	

i	歡	chuò	tshjwät	tshuat	thot	
		[D] Ke-Meix ts ^h ot ¹¹ , Min-Fuzh ts ^h uo ²⁴³ , Jian'ou ts ^h ye ³⁴ , Xiamen ts ^h e ²³² 'drink'				
g	剝	zhuó,	tjwät,	tyat,	trot,	
		duō, duó	twât	tuat	tôt	
h	掇	duō, zhuó	twât, tjwat	tuat, tyat	tôt, trot	cf. 22-14/299e
k	蝮蝮	dì-dōng	tiei ^C -tuŋ	tes-tonŋ	tês-tônŋ	
22-11 = K. 343	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	贅	zhuì	tshjwäi ^C	tshuas	tots	≠ 22-10/295b
		[E] TB: WT: gtod-pa, btod-pa 'to tether, tie up, stake' ≠ rtod-pa 'to tether, a stake or peg'				
22-12 = K. 344	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	睿叢	ruì	jiwäi ^C	juas	los or lots	
22-13 = K. 324	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	兑 open	duì	dwâi ^C , thwâi ^C	duas, thuas	lôts, lhôts	
		[E] Tai: S. lo ^t D ^{2L} < *dl- 'to slip through a hole or tunnel'				
	兑 glad	duì	dwâi ^C	duas	lôts	
l	挽 take	tuō, duó	thwât, dwât	thuat, duat	lhôt, lô	'take away'
		[T] ONW thuat, duat <> [D] M-Amoy col. te ² D ² , lit. toat ^{D2} , Jiěyáng to ² D ² 'take away forcibly'; Amoy col. thua ² D ¹ , lit. thuat ^{D1} 'escape'				
	wipe	shuì	shjwäi ^C	shuai ^C	lhots	
m	脱 peel o.	tuō, duó	thwât, dwât	thuat, duat	lhôt, lô	[T] ONW thuat, duat
	easy	tuì	thwâi ^C	thuas	lhôts	≠ 19-16/11L
d	脱	tuì, duì	dwâi ^C , thwâi ^C	duas, thuas	lôts, lhôts	
		[E] TB *g-lwat 'loose, relax'				
e	蛻	tuì,	thwâi ^C ,	thuas,	lhôts,	
		tuō,	thwâ ^C ,	thuai ^C ,	lhôih,	
		shuì,	shjwäi ^C ,	shuai ^C ,	lhots,	
		yuè	jiwät	juat	lot	
f	銳 sharp	ruì	jiwäi ^C	juas	lots	
	lance	duì	dwâi ^C	duas	lôts	
gh	幌况	shuì,	shjwäi ^C ,	shuas,	lhots,	
		cùi	tshjwäi ^C	tshyas	tshots < s-lhots	
j	斂	duó	dwât	duat	lôt	= 22-9/274
op	悦閱	yuè	jiwät	juat	lot	[T] ONW iuat
n	税	zhuó	tshjwät	tshuat	tot	
		[E] TB: WT rtod-pa 'a post'				
i	税 tax	shuì	shjwäi ^C	shuas	lhots	[T] ONW shuei
	mourn.	tuì	thwâi ^C	thuas	lhôts	
	dress	tuàn	thwân ^C !	thuan ^C	lhôn	
q	說 speak	shuō	shjwät	shuat	lhot	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR sye (入); MGZY shwÿe (入) [syē]; ONW shuat				
	說 exhort	shuì	shjwäi ^C	shuas	lhots	
		[E] shui 'rest over night': KS: *s-lwa ^B 'to rest'				

22-14 = K. 299	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ac	a 鈿	luè	ljwät	lyat	rot	
d	埒	liè	ljwät	lyat	rot	
e	埒	luō	lwät	luat	rôt	
		[E] PTai ruut ^{D2} 'to scrape off (mud from limbs), strip off (grains from stalk)'				
-	酌	lèi	lwäi ^C	luas	rôts < g-rots	
		[E] Tai: S. kruat ^{D1} 'to make a libation' ≠ S. rot ^{D2} 'to sprinkle (water), to water (plants)'				
22-15	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-	劣	liè	ljwät	lyat	rot (rjot ?)	
		[T] ONW luat <> [E] TB *ryut > JP yut ³¹ 'become worse (illness)', WB yut < rut 'inferior, mean' ≠ hrut 'put down'				
22-16 = K. 296	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	絕	jué	dzjwät	dzyat	dzot	
b	薙	jué,	tshjwät,	tsyat,	tsot,	
		zùi	tshjwäi ^C	tsyas	tsots	
cd	脆脆	cùi	tshjwäi ^C	tshyas	tshots	≠ 22-17/345c 脆
22-17 = K. 345	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	毳	cùi	tshjwäi ^C ,	tshyas,	tshots (< k-sots?),	
			tshjwäi ^C	tshyas	tshrots	
c	脆	cùi, quē	tshjwät	tshyat	tshot	≠ 22-16/296cd 脆
b	窳窳	cùi	tshjwäi ^C	tshyas	tshots	OCB *tshjots < *-ops?
	窳	chui,	tshjwäi ^C ,	tshuas,	thots (or k-hlots?),	
		chuàn	tshjwän ^C	tshuan ^C	thons	
22-18 = K. 297	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	雪	xuě	sjwät	syat	sot	
		[T] ONW suat <> [E] KT: Tai-Po'ai nwai ^{A1} < *hn- 'snow'; KS *?nu:i 'snow'				
22-19 = K. 298	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	刷	shuā	shjwät, shwat	shuat	srot	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR shwa (入); MGZY (zhwa >) shwa (入) [shwa]				
		[E] TB: Mru charüt 'comb'; Lushai hru / hruuk 'to rub (off), wipe (off)', JP brut ² 'a brush' (shuāzi) ≠ lă ⁵⁵ -rut ⁵⁵ 'a brush (shuāzi)', WT šud-pa, bšud < *rhjut 'to rub, get scratched'				

23 OCM rime *-en Yuán bù 元部 (1)

GSR 139 - 266

Baxter 1992: 370 ff. (§10.1.1)

See Table 20-1 for OCM rimes *-en, *et in QYS categories.

For LHan, *chongniu* Div. 3/4 items (QYS -jiän 3/4) could be written -ien or -ian; I write -ian because this agrees with the treatment of this final after acute initials, and it is parallel to the breaking of *-on to LHan -uan.

There are no Div. 3/4 (i.e., MC medial yod) counterparts to Div. IV types like MC kien, i.e., no syllable reconstructable as *ken (except after aspiration and labiovelar kw- that block palatalization, see 23-4, 23-17). Therefore velars appear to have palatalized (?) and completely merged with initial dentals by the time phonetic series reached their traditional composition. A velar survives only in 24-29c.

23-1 = K. 240	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 肩 shoulder	jiān	kien	ken	kên
	[T] MTang kian < kian, ONW kên			
肩 thin	xián, hén	ɣien, ɣən	gen, gən	gên (and gên ?)
bc b 獮	jiān	kien	ken	kên = 23-3/239b
e 顛	qiān	k ^h ien, k ^h an	k ^h en, k ^h an or k ^h en	khên, khên
23-2 = K. 241	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 見 ¹ see	jiàn	kien ^C	ken ^C	kêns
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjen (去); MGZY gyan (去) [kjen]; MTang kian < kian, ONW kên			
	[E] TB *m-kyen (STC no. 223) > WT mk ^h yen-pa 'to know', PTani *ken 'know', NN *C-k ^h yen			
見 covering	jiàn	kǎn ^C	ken ^C	krêns
ae 見 ² 現	xiàn	ɣien ^C	gen ^C	gêns 'appear'
	[T] MTang ɣian < ɣian, ONW ɣén			
f 覘	qiàn, xiàn	k ^h ien ^C , ɣien ^B	k ^h en ^C , gen ^B	khêns, gên?
g 覘	xiàn	ɣien ^B	gen ^B	gên?
h 莧 a plant	xiàn	ɣǎn ^C	gen ^C	grêns cf. 25-14
	smile	huàn	see 25-7	
- 硯	yàn	ŋien ^C	ŋen ^C	ŋêns OCB *ŋens
	[D] PMin *ŋhian ^C			
- 寬 hail	xiàn	sien ^C	sen ^C	sêns OCB *(k)ens
	Alternative graph of 霰 <> [T] TB: WT ser-ba 'hail', JP sin ³³			
23-3 = K. 239	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab 开豨	jiān	kien	ken	kên 豨 = 23-1/240bc
c 豨	jiǎn	kien ^B	ken ^B	kên?

d 汧	qiān	k ^h ien ^(C)	k ^h en ^(C)	khên, khêns
f 蚺	qiān	k ^h ien	k ^h en	khên
gh g 研	yán	ŋien	ŋen	ŋên OCB *ŋen
i 研	jī	kiei, kien	ke, ken	kê, kên

23-4 = K. 196	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a a	qiǎn	k ^h jiän ^B 4	k ^h ien ^B	khen?
b 遣 send	qiǎn	k ^h jiän ^B 4	k ^h ien ^B	khen?
	[T] ONW k ^h ian; Han BTD khian <> [E] TB: WT skyel-ba 'send'			
遣 s. to grave	qiǎn	k ^h jiän ^C 4	k ^h ien ^C	khens
e 繾	qiǎn	k ^h jiän ^B 4	k ^h ien ^B	khen?
f 繾	qiǎn !	k ^h jiän ^C 4	k ^h ien ^C	khens
23-5 = K. 191	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab 閒間	jiān	kǎn	ken	krên OCB *kren 'interstice'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjan (平); MGZY (gyan >) gyan (平) [kjan]; ONW kǎn			
閒間	jiàn	kǎn ^C	ken ^C	krêns 'separate'
	[E] TB: Lushai in ^L -kaar ^L 'the space, interval or distance between, difference' ≠ in ^L -kaar ^H -a? ^L 'to come between'; LB *gra ² > WB kra ^B 'have space between, be apart'			
閒	xián	ɣǎn	gen	grên OCB *fikren 'leisure'
f 蘭	jiān	kǎn	ken	krên OCB *kren
	[E] Vietnamese sen 'lotus'			
d 簡	jiǎn	kǎn ^B	ken ^B	krên?
g 簡	xiàn	ɣǎn ^B	gen ^B	grên?
h 簡	xián	ɣǎn	gen	grên
i 澗	jiàn	kan ^C	kan ^C	krâns
j 澗	xiàn	ɣan ^B	gan ^B	grân?
23-6 = K. 192	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 閑 leisure	xián	ɣǎn	gen	grên OCB *fikren
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣjan (平); MGZY (Xyan >) Xyan (平) [ɣjan]; ONW ɣǎn, n -/- 'lazy'			
	[E] Tai: PTai *gran ^{C2} 'lazy'			
閑 train	xián	ɣǎn	gen	grân OCB *gran
- 嫻 refined	xián	ɣǎn	gɛn	grên
23-7 = K. 185	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 柬	jiǎn	kǎn ^B	ken ^B	krên?
e 揀	jiǎn	kǎn ^B	ken ^B	krên?
	[E] Tai: S. klan ^{B1} 'select' (as jewels)			
- 棟	liàn	lien ^C	len ^C	rêns
	[E] Tai: S. krian ^{A1}			
hij 棟棟棟	liàn	lien ^C	len ^C	rêns 棟 [T] ONW lèn
b 諫	jiàn	kan ^C	kan ^C	krâns
f 闌 barrier	lán	lân	lan	rân
	[E] ? TB: WB ran ^B 'make a barrier on one side'			
q 欄 barrier	lán	lân	lan	rân
欄 a tree	liàn	lien ^C	len ^C	rêns
- 攔	lán	lân	lan	rân

n	蘭	lán	lân	lan	rân	OCB *g-ran
	[T] ONW lan. MHan 樓蘭 Krorayina					
-	鞞	lán	lân	lan	rân	
k	瀾	lán	lân ^(C)	lan ^(C)	rân, râns	
lm	爛爛	làn	lân ^C	lan ^C	râns	
o	瀾	lán	lân ^(B)	lan ^(B)	rân, rân?	
23-8 = K. 1250f	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
f	纒	juān	kiwen	kuen	kwên	= 23-17/228h 涓
23-9 = K. 248	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	縣 ¹ 懸	xuán	yiwen	yuen	gwên	'suspend'
	[T] MTang yüan(?), ONW yüen <> [D] PMin *guen > Fúzh keiŋ ^{A2} 'high' ≠ heŋ ^{A2} 'hanging down' <> Tai 'suspend': S. k ^h wɛn ^{A1} < *xw-					
a	縣 ²	xiàn	yiwen ^C	yuen ^C	gwêns	'district' = 23-11/256s
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR yjen (去); MGZY Xwŷan (去) [yɣen]					
23-10 = K. 227	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ac	員 ¹ > 圓	yuán	jwän 3	wan	wen	'circle'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR yen (平); MGZY xwŷan (平) [fiyen]; ONW uan					
a	員 ² a part.	yún	jwän	wun	wän	OCB *wjän
f	纒	yún	jwen	wän	wrən	
eghi	殞隕碩質	yǔn	jwen ^B 3	wän ^B	wrən? R!	OCB *wrjən(?)
d	墳	xūn !	xjwen	hyan	hwan	
j	韻	yún	jwän	wun	wän	= 34-14/460c 媛
-	韻	yùn	jwän ^C	—	—	
435a	損	sūn	swän ^B	suän ^B	swän?	[T] ONW son

23-11 = K. 829, 256h-c' The blocks GSR 256a-g and h-c' are graphically and phonologically distinct and form separate phonetic series (23-11 and 25-15). GSR 829a was probably originally intended for 'scared and alone...' because prominent eyes tend to be associated with the meaning 'fear'. Since all other words written with this graph rime in *-wen, the series is entered in this rime group.

MC ywan II occurs frequently (from OCM *wrân and *wrên), MC yiwen < *gwên is rare and tends to be a doublet of MC ywan. I suspect that MC ywan goes back to simple OCM *wên rather than *wrên (or *wrân), and that the rare MC ywän derives from OCM *gwrên.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
829ab	𦉳 ¹ = 嫗	qióng	gjiwän 4	gyeŋ	gweŋ	OCB *g ^w jeŋ
	= 32-8/830a 嫗, 9-9/843g 嫗					
256b'	猿	juàn	kiwen ^C GY	kuen ^C	kwêns	
y	圓	yuán	jwän 3	wan	wen	= 23-10/277ac 員圓
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR yen (平); MGZY xwŷan (平) [fiyen]; ONW uan					
za'	僊翹	xuān	xjiwän 4	hyan	hwen	OCB *hwjen
q	纒	huán	yiwen ^B , ywan ^C	yuen ^B , yuan ^C	gwên?, wêns	
256hk	𦉳 ² > 還 ¹	huán	ywan	yuan	wên	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywan (平); MGZY Xwan (平) [ywan]; ONW yüan					

k	還 ²	xuán	zjwän	zyan	s-wen	OCB *fiswjen
	= 23-13/236a 旋					
n	環	huán	ywan	yuan	wên	OCB *wren
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ywan (平); MGZY Xwan (平) [ywan]; ONW yüan					
r	環	huán	ywan	yuan	wên	
s	寰 r. domain	huán	ywan	yuan	wên	
	district		yiwen ^C	yuen ^C	gwêns	= 23-9/248a 縣
x	懷	huán,	ywan,	yuan,	gwên,	
	xuān	xjwän,	hyan	hwen		
		kiwen ^C GY				
uv	環	huàn	ywan ^C	yuan ^C	wên	
c'	環	yuàn	?iwen ^C	?uen ^C	?wêns	

23-12 = K. 167 GSR treats this group as part of 25-13/167 奐. Although the graphic elements and rimes are different, 167 奐 (25-13) is perhaps partially phonetic.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
g	奐	xuàn,	xiwen ^C ,	huen ^C ,	hwêns
		xiòng	xjwän ^C	hyeŋ ^C	hwenh
h	護	xuàn	xiwen ^C	huen ^C	hwêns
i	瓊	qióng	gjwän	gyeŋ	gweŋ
1256f	艘	jué	kiwet	kuet	kwêt

23-13 = K. 1248c **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
c 幻 huàn ywän^C yuen^C gwrêns or gwrîns
[T] ONW yüän. The old graph was said to be yú 予 inverted (SW 1684).

23-14 = K. 236 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
a 旋 xuán zjwän zyan s-wen = 23-11/256k 還
cde 璇璇璇 xuán zjwän zyan s-wen

23-15 = K. 243 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
a 燕 swallow yàn ?ien^C ?en^C ?êns 'a swallow (bird)'
[T] ONW ?ên <> [D] X-Changsha ien^B, W-Wenzh I^B(tone!)
[E] Tai: Saek ?een^{C2} ~ ?ɛɛn^{C2} 'swallow', S. ?ɛɛn^{B1}

	燕 rest	yàn	?ien ^C	?en ^C	?êns	= 24-12/253b 宴
	燕 Pl.N.	yān	?ien	?en	?ên	
c	曠 gullet	yàn	?ien ^C	?en ^C	?êns	~ 32-9/370h 咽
de	曠 讌	yàn	?ien ^C	?en ^C	?êns	

23-16 = K. 242 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
ac 顯鞞 xiǎn xien^B hen^B hên?
[T] MTang hian < hian, ONW hen

23-17 = K. 228 **Mand.** **MC** **LHan** **OCM**
a 員 yuān ?iwen ?uen ?wên

b	娟	yuān,	?iwen,	?uen,	?wên,
			?jiwän ^(B) 4,	?yen ^(B)	?wen, ?wen?
		juàn	gjiwän ^B 4	gyen ^B	gwen?
cd	娟娟	yuān	?jiwän 4	?yen	?wen
ef	娟娟	juàn	kjiwän ^C 4	kyen ^C	kwens
h	涓	juān	kiwen	kuen	kwên = 23-8/1250f 涓
i	涓	juàn	kiwen ^(C)	kuen ^(C)	kwên, kwêns
j	鞞	xuàn	yiwen ^B	yuen ^B	gwên?
k	鞞	xuān	xiwen ^(C)	huen ^(C)	hwên, hwêns
g	捐	juān !	jiwän 4	wen	wen

MC Div. 3/4 initial ji- is perhaps a mistake for jwän 3, hence OCM *wen?

23-18 = K. 244 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	颯	tiǎn	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B	thên?
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23-19 = K. 1250e Mand. MC LHan OCM

e	颯	niàn	nien ^C	nen ^C	nêns
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The MC alternate reading yien? has perhaps been transferred from 23-2/241g.

23-20 = K. 245 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	前	qián	dzien	dzen	dzên
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[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzien (平); MGZY tsen (平) [dzen]; ONW dzên

fg	前煎	jiān	tsjān	tsian	tsen
eij	前剪	jiǎn	tsjān ^B	tsian ^B	tsen?
h	箭 arrow	jiàn	tsjān ^C	tsian ^C	tsens [E] Toch.B tsain
k	鬚 hair tuft	jiān	tsjān ^(C)	tsian ^(C)	tsen, tsens
	鬚 cut hair	jiǎn	tsjān ^B	tsian ^B	tsen?

23-21 = K. 209 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	鮮 fresh	xiān	sjān	sian	sen or san = 23-22/211a 鱻
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjen (平); MGZY syan (平) [sjen]. LHan 鮮壘 sian-pie *Sārbi
					[E] TB *sar > WT gsar-ba 'new, fresh'; WB sa ^C 'make anew'; Lushai t ^h ar ^H 'new'
	鮮 rare	xiǎn	sjān ^B	sian ^B	sen? OCB *sjen? (Baxter 1992: 385)
					= 23-23/210a 𩚑
d	𩚑	xiǎn	sjān ^B	sian ^B , S t ^h ian ^B	sen? OCB *sjen?
					[D] PMin *tshian ^B ~ sian ^B
e	𩚑	xiān	sien	sen	sên = 24-42/206 𩚑

23-22 = K. 211 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	鱻	xiān	sjān	sian	sen or san
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= 23-21/209a 鮮 'fresh'

23-23 = K. 210 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	𩚑	xiǎn	sjān ^B	sian ^B	sen? OCB *sjen?
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= 23-21/209a 鮮 'rare'

23-24 = K. 218 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	片 partial	piàn	p ^h ien ^C	p ^h en ^C	phêns
	片 half	pàn	p ^h wän ^C	p ^h an ^C	phâns

= 24-47/181df 判泮

23-25 = K. 221 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	便 eloquent	pián	bjiän 4	bian	ben
	便 comfort	biàn	bjiän ^C 4	bian ^C	bens
					[E] Sin Sukchu SR bjen (去); MGZY pen (去) [ben]; ONW bian
b	梗	pián	bjiän ^(C) 4	bian ^(C)	ben, bens
c	鞭	biān	pjiän 4	pian	pen
745f	輓	bǐng	pjiän ^B 4?	pieŋ ^B	peŋ? 'wheel rim'

[N] The readings bǐng MC pjiän^B and bǎn MC pwän^B may reflect the dialects of different commentators (Coblin 1983: 153). Karlgren considers bǐng to belong to 3-11/ 745f.

23-26 = K. 224 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ab	鬚	mián	mjiän 4	mian	men
-	鬚	mián	mien	men	mên
cf	邊邊	biān	pian	pen	pên
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR pjen (平); MGZY byan (平) [pjen]; ONW pên
					[E] ST *pel: Lushai beel ^H 'pot, utensil, vessel'

23-27 = K. 246 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	扁 district	biǎn	pian ^B	pen ^B	pên?
					[E] TB: Lushai bial ^H < bial 'a circle'
	扁 thin	biǎn	pian ^B	pen ^B	pên?
					[E] ST *per: TB *per > Lushai peer ^L / per ^L ; NNaga pwer 'thin'
bc	徧徧	biàn	pian ^C	pen ^C	pêns
					[E] ? TB: Lushai p ^h iar ^R < p ^h iar? (< -?) 'all, completely'
-	蝙蝠	biān-fú	pian-pjuk	pen-puk	
d	編	pián	bien	ben	bên
e	編 weave	biān	pian, pjiän4	pen, pian	pên, pen × 23-28/219
					[E] TB *pyar ~ byar > WT 'byor-ba ~ 'byar-ba 'stick to, adhere to'; Bahing p ^h jer 'to sew'; Lushai p ^h iar ^H < p ^h iar 'to knit, plait'; LB *pan ² 'to braid, plait'
	編 arrange	biàn	bien ^B	ben ^B	bên?
i	獭 otter	biān	pian	pen	pên
					[T] ONW pên <> [E] WB p ^h yam 'otter'
fg	獭 an animal	piàn	p ^h jiän ^C 4	p ^h ian ^C	phens
	獭獭	biǎn	pjiän ^B 4	pian ^B	pen?
					[T] MGZY byan (上) [pjen]
hjk	偏篇翮	piān	p ^h jiän 4	p ^h ian	phen
					翮 OCB *phin. <> 篇 [T] ONW p ^h ian
l	篇	piān,	p ^h jiän 4,	p ^h ian,	phen,
		biān	pian ^(B)	pen ^(B)	pên, pên?
m	編	pián	bjiän ^(B) 4	bian ^(B)	ben, ben?

23-28 = K. 219	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 辩	biǎn	pjǎn ^B 3	pian ^B	pren?
bc 辨	biàn,	bjǎn ^B 3,	bian ^B ,	bren?,
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR bjen (上); MGZY pen (上) [ben]; ONW ban			
	bàn	bǎn ^C	ben ^C	brêns
e 辯	biàn	bjǎn ^B 3	bian ^B	bren?
f 辦	bàn	bǎn ^C	ben ^C	brêns
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ban (去); MGZY pan (去) [ban] <> [E] ST *brel: WT brel-ba 'be employed'			
- 辦	biàn	bien ^B	ben ^C	bêns
- 瓣	bàn	bǎn ^C	ben ^C	⌘ 23-27/246e
23-29 = K. 225	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
- 芾	mián	mjiǎn 4	mian	men
ab - 綿縣棉	mián	mjiǎn 4	mian	— = 23-32/223d
23-30	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
- 𠂇 roof	mián	mjiǎn 4	mian	—
23-31 = K. 223	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 面	miàn	mjiǎn ^C 4	mian ^C	mens
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR mjen (去); MGZY men (去) [men]; ONW mian <> [D] M-Xiam bi ^{C2} , Y-Guangzh min ^C , K-Meix mian ^C			
	[E] TB *s-mel > Lushai hmeel ^H 'face' ~ hmai ^R < hmai?, JP man ³³ 'face'			
bcd 倂 倂 倂	miǎn	mjiǎn ^B 4	mian ^B	men? 倂 = 23-30/225a
23-32 = K. 247	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 丐	miǎn	mien ^B	men ^B	mên?
- 麪	miǎn	mien ^C	men ^C	— SW ~ 麵 miàn
- 冢	miàn	mien ^C	men ^C	—
b 眇	miǎn	mien ^{B/C}	men ^{B/C}	mên?, mêns
- 蚂	miǎn	mjiǎn 4	mian	— SW
c 沔	miǎn	mjiǎn ^B 4	mian ^B	men?

GSR 139 - 266

Baxter 1992: 370 ff. (§10.1.1)

The rime *-wan is combined with *-on in rime 25. See Table 21-1 for OCM rimes *-an, *-at, *-ai in QYS categories. After acute initials, MC Div. III -jǎn has resulted from a merger of OC *-an and *-en, which are difficult to untangle.

See Table 34-2 for MC Div. 3/3 without OC medial *r.

24-1 = K. 139	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ae 干 杆	gān	kân	kan	kân [T] ONW kan
gkl 玕 竿 杆	gān	kân	kan	kân
i 丹 杆	dān-gān	tân-kân	tan-kan	tân-kân
cd 奸 杆	jiān !	kân	kan	kân
	Mand. jiǎn has been transferred from the syn. jiān 姦, unless MC kân is an *r-less variant.			
m 秆	gān, jiǎn	kân, kjen	kan, kian	kân, kan
	24-29c 籩 *kian(?) ~ 24-23m 籩 *tan(?) ~ 24-1m 秆 *kân, *kan 'rice gruel'			
j - 秆 稈	gǎn	kân ^B	kan ^B	kân?
	= 18-1/1e 筭; 24-2/140k 籩			
h 秆	gǎn	kân ^B	kan ^B	kân?
f 秆	gàn	kân ^C	kan ^C	kâns
no 刊 乘	kān	k ^h ân	k ^h an	khân
p 衍	kàn	k ^h ân ^C	k ^h an ^C	khâns OCB *khans
- 軒	jiān	kan, kjen, k ^h ân ^C	kan ?	— name of a foreign country
uv 軒 邗	hán	γân	gan	gân
qz 扞 閼	hàn	γân ^C	gan ^C	gâns
	[E] WT 'gal-ba 'to oppose'; WB ka 'a shield, to ward off'; Lushai in ^L -kal ^L < -kal ^L /h 'to withstand, oppose'			
tb' 汗 駢	hàn	γân ^C	gan ^C	gâns
	汗 [D] PMin *gan ^{C2} <> [E] ? TB: PKiranti *g ^h al 'sweat'			
y 鈇 cuff	hàn	γân ^C	gan ^C	gâns
	brisk	gān	kân	kan
s 旱	hàn	γân ^B	gan ^B	gân?
j' 睥	huàn	γwan ^B	guan ^B	gwrân? = 25-19 睥
h'i' 悍 捍	hàn	γân ^C	gan ^C	gâns
- 趕	gǎn	—	—	'pursue, overtake'
c'd' 犴 豨	àn	ŋân ^C	ŋan ^C	ŋâns
e' 岸	àn	ŋân ^C	ŋan ^C	ŋâns See also 24-15.
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋon (去); PR ?an; LR ?an; MGZY ngan (去) [ŋan]; ONW ŋan			
f' 罕 軒	hǎn	xân ^B	han ^B	hŋân?
g' 軒	xuān !	xjen	hian	hŋan = 24-17/252

-	𦉳	hān	xān	—	
		[E] WT hal-ba 'to pant, wheeze, snort'			
300a	訐	jié	kjət, kjät 3, kjäi ^C	kiət, kias	kat, kats
	The element 干 is also semantic.				
24-2 = K. 140	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	軌	gàn	kân ^C	kan ^C	kâns
c	乾 stem	gān	kân	kan	kân
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kōn (平), PR, LR kan; MGZY gan (平) [kan]; ONW kon. [E] ST *kar: TB *kan > WB k ^h an ^B 'dry up'; JP kan ³¹ 'solidify, dry up'; Atsi kʔan 'dry up'				
de	乾 heaven	qián	gjän 3	gian	gan
	幹幹	gàn	kân ^C	kan ^C	kâns
	幹 [T] Sin Sukchu SR kōn (去), PR, LR kan; MGZY gan (去) [kan]				
k	斲	gǎn	kân ^B	kan ^B	kân?
	= 18-1/1e 斲; 24-1/139j 程				
hij	韓韓韓	hán	yân	gan	gân
f	翰	hàn	yân ^C	gan ^C	gân ^A ! OCB *gans
m	澣	huàn	ywân ^B	guan ^B	gwân?
	= 25-19/257o 澣 'wash clothes'; ≠ 25-5/161 盥 'wash the hands'				
l	幹 axle cap	guǎn	kwân ^{B/C}	kuan ^{B/C}	kwân?, kwâns = 25-1/157j 館
	幹 turn around		ʔwât	ʔuat	—
The OC rime of these last words could be either *-wân or *-ôn, but an interchange in phonetic series between *-ân and *-wân is more likely than with *-ôn because of parallel instances *-aŋ ~ *waŋ, while there is no interchange between *-aŋ and *-oŋ.					

24-3 = K. 141	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	侃	kǎn	k ^h ân ^{B/C}	k ^h an ^{B/C}	khân?, khâns
d	讐	qiān	k ^h jän 3	k ^h ian	khan
24-4 = K. 142	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	看	kàn	k ^h ân ^C	k ^h an ^C	khâns
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'ōn (去), PR, LR k'an; MGZY khan (去) [k'an] [E] ? TB: WT mk ^h an-po 'professor, abbot'				
24-5 = K. 143	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	寒	hán	yân	gan	gân [T] ONW yan
fi	蹇蹇	jiǎn	kjēn ^B , kjän ^B 3	kian ^B	kan?
e	蹇	jiǎn	kjän ^B 3	kian ^B	kan?
d	蹇	qiān !	kjän ^B 3	kian ^B	kran? or krian?
	[E] ? TB: WT 'k ^h yer-ba 'to take, bring, carry'				
g	褻	qiān	k ^h jän 3	k ^h ian	khran
h	騫	qiān	k ^h jän 3	k ^h ian	khran or khrian
	= 24-29/197b 愆 <> [E] ? TB: WT 'k ^h yar-ba 'to err, go astray, deviate'				

24-6	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	𠄎	jiǎn	kjēn ^B , kjän ^B 3	kian ^B	kan?
	[D] PMin *kian ^B : Jian'ou kyeŋ ^{B1} , Fuzh kiaŋ ^{B1} , Xiam kiä ^{B1} [E] AA: PVM *kō:n 'son'; Mon kon 'child'				

24-7 = K. 198	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	虔	qián	gjän 3	gian	gan OCB *grjan
24-7A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	辛	qiān	k ^h jän 3	k ^h ian	khran or khrian = 24-29/197 愆
24-8 = K. 249	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	建	jiàn	kjēn ^C	kian ^C	kans
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjen (去); MGZY gen (去) [ken]				
c-	鞬鞬	jiān	kjēn	kian	kan
	鞬 [E] ? TB: WT rkyal-pa 'leather sack, bag'				
d	驂	jiān, qián	kjēn, gjän 3	kian, gian	kan, gan
f	腱 sinew	jiàn	kjēn, gjēn ^C	kian, gian ^C	kan, gans
b	捷	jiǎn, jiàn	kjēn ^B , gjēn ^B	kian ^B , gian ^B	kan?, gan?
	[T] BTD 目捷連 muk-gian ^B -lian Skt. Maudgalyāyana, Pkt. moggallāna				
g	健	jiàn	gjēn ^C	gian ^C	gans
	[E] TB: WT gar-ba 'strong', gar-bu 'solid'				
h	捷 lock	jiàn	gjēn ^B	gian ^B	gan? = 捷
	[E] ? TB: Lushai kal ^{2L} 'to wrench, plait, lock' ≠ kal ^{2L} -na ^H 'a lock'				
	捷 weary	jiǎn	kjēn ^B	kian ^B	kan?
i	鍵	jiàn	gjän ^B 3	gian ^B	gan? = 捷
24-9 = K. 184	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	姦	jiān	kan	kan	krân
24-10 = K. 144	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	嘆	hàn	xân ^{B/C}	han ^{B/C}	hân?, hâns
	[N] Acc. to GSR 144 the graph is a semantic composit of ri 'sun' and jiān 33-5/480 'calamity' (contra SW that considers jiān phonetic). Since in the early development of the script elements were also chosen for their meaning, I follow Karlgren.				
b	嘆 burn	hàn	xân ^B	han ^B	hân?
	respectful	rǎn	ńźjän ^B	ńan ^B	nan? OCB *njan?
	This is a loan application of the graph through confusion with 24-35/152.				
c	漢	hàn	xân ^C	han ^C	hâns
	[N] The old type graph (gǔwén) consisted of 水+或+大, the element that looks like a phonetic today (as in hàn 嘆) appears in the seal script (Shuowen) <> [T] BTD Skt. (ar)hant				
24-11 = K. 146	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	安	ān	ʔân	ʔan	ʔân
	[T] Sin S. SR ʔon (平); PR ʔan; LR ʔan; MGZY 'an (平) [ʔan]; ONW ʔan. MHan 安息 Arsak; 安敦 ʔan-tuan Antonius				
-	鞍	ān	ʔân	ʔan	ʔân
de	按案	àn	ʔân ^C	ʔan ^C	ʔâns
gi	鵝鵝	yàn	ʔan ^C	ʔan ^C	ʔrâns
	[E] TB: KN-Lushai ʔaar ^H 'fowl', Tiddim ʔaak ^M 'fowl' < *ʔaar				
f	晏 late	yàn	ʔân ^C , ʔan ^C	ʔan ^C , ʔan ^C	ʔâns or ʔrâns
	bright	yàn	ʔan ^C	ʔan ^C	ʔrâns
	rest	yàn	ʔien ^C , ʔan ^C	ʔen ^C , ʔan ^C	ʔêns, ʔrâns = 24-12/253b 宴
h	頰	è	ʔât	ʔat	ʔât

24-12 = K. 253	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	晏 tranquil yàn	?an ^C	?an ^C	?râns	= 24-11/146f 晏
b	宴 rest yàn	?ien ^C	?en ^C	?êns	
d	偃 yǎn	?jen ^{B/C}	?ian ^{B/C}	?an?, ?ans	
	[E] ? TB: Lushai zaal ^H < jaal 'to lie down, recline' *zal? ^L < jal? ^L /h 'lay on the back'				
gj	偃 yǎn	?jen ^B	?ian ^B	?an?	
h	鄞 yàn	?jen ^C	?ian ^C	?ans	
l	堰 yǎn	?ien ^B	?en ^B	?ên?	
m	堰 yà	?at	?at	?rât	
24-13 = K. 254	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	歆 yǎn	?jen ^B	?ian ^B	?an?	
24-14 = K. 200	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	焉 suffix yān	jän 3 !	ian	?an > an	[T] ONW ?an, -an
	焉 how yān	?jän 3	?ian	?an	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?jen, jen (平); ONW ?an				
-	焉 yān	?jän 3	?ian	?an	
b	嗎 xiān	xjän 3	hian	han	
24-15 = K. 145, 186		MC	LHan	OCM	
145a	厂 hàn	xân ^C	han ^C	hŋans	
139e'	岸 àn	ŋân ^C	ŋan ^C	ŋâns	See also 24-1.
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋon (去); PR ?an; LR ?an; MGZY nŋan (去) [ŋan]; ONW ŋan				
186a	雁 yàn	ŋan ^C	ŋan ^C	ŋrâns	
	[T] ONW ŋän <> [E] TB: WT ŋan-pa 'goose', WB ŋan ^B <> PTai *han ^{BI} < *hŋ- 'goose'				
24-16 = K. 251	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	言 speak yán	ŋjen	ŋian	ŋan	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR jen (平); MGZY ngen (平) [ŋen]; ONW ŋan; Han BTd ŋan				
	言 content yín	ŋjen	ŋjen	ŋen	
e	唁 yàn	ŋjän ^C 3	ŋian ^C	ŋans or ŋrans	
f	閻 yín	ŋjen 3	ŋin	ŋrən	
g	狺 yín	ŋjen, ŋjen 3	ŋin	ŋən	
24-17 = K. 252	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	虞 yàn	ŋjen ^C	ŋian ^C	ŋans	
d	虞 yàn, yǎn	ŋjen	ŋian	ŋan, ŋan?, ŋans	
	[E] TB: WT *dan or rather *tal > JP n ³¹ -dan ³³ 'crossbow', Tiddim t ^h al ^R < t ^h al? 'a bow'; Lushai t ^h al ^R < t ^h al? 'arrow, dart'				
e	獻 xiàn	xjen ^C	hian ^C	hŋans	OCB *hŋjans
	= 24-18/250a 憲				
h	嶽 yǎn	ŋjen ^B , ŋjän ^B 3	ŋian ^B	ŋan? 'hilltop'	
i	讞 yàn (!)	ŋjät 3	ŋiat	ŋat	
j	讞 è	ŋât	ŋat	ŋât	
	= 21-11/289j; see GSR 268				

24-18 = K. 250	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	憲 xiàn	xjen ^C	hian ^C	hŋans	OCB *hŋans
	= 24-17/252e 獻				
c	憲 xiàn	xjen ^C	hian ^C	hŋans	
24-19 = K. 199	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	彦彦 yàn	ŋjän ^C 3	ŋian ^C	ŋans or ŋrans	OCB *ŋrjans
c	顏 yán	ŋan	ŋan	ŋrân	
d	彦 yàn	ŋân ^C	ŋan ^C	ŋâns	
24-20 = K. 150	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	丹 dān	tân	tan	tân	OCB *tan
	[E] KT: KS *h-lan ^C 'red' (Edmondson/Yang)				
c	旃 zhān	tšjän	tšan	tan	[T] ONW tšan
24-21 = K. 147	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
az	單 ¹ > 蟬 chán	žjän	džan	dan	'cicada'
a	單 ² simple dān	tân	tan	tân	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tan (平); MGZY dan (平) [tan]; ONW tan; BTd Skt. tar				
y	蟬 chán	žjän	džan	dan	
a'	蟬 shàn	žjän ^B	džan ^B	dan?	
b'	禪 cede shàn	žjän ^C	džan ^C	dans	
	Zen shàn	žjän ^C	džan ^C	—	[T] BTd Skt. dhyāna
r	戰 zhàn	tšjän ^C	tšan ^C	tans	= 24-23/148s 顫
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tšjen (去); MGZY jyan (去) [tšjen]; ONW tšan; Han BTd tšan				
	[E] TB: WT 'dar-ba 'tremble, shudder, shiver with fear or cold' *sda-ma 'trembling'				
s	櫛 a tree zhǎn	tšjän ^B	tšan ^B	tan?	
	coffin shàn	žjän ^C	džan ^C	dans	
t	燁 chǎn, zhǎn	tš(h)jän ^B	tš(h)an ^B	tan?, than?	
m	暉 slow chǎn	tš ^h jän ^B	tš ^h an ^B	than?	
	暉 exhaust. tān	t ^h ân	t ^h an	thân	
uvx	暉 chǎn	tš ^h jän ^B	tš ^h an ^B	than?	
g	彈 dān	tân	tan	tân	
fhij	匣簞禪鄂 dān	tân	tan	tân	
e	彈 dǎn	tân ^B	tan ^B	tân?	
l	彈 dǎn, duò	tân ^B !, tâ ^C	tan ^B , tai ^C	tân?, tâih	
n	彈 shoot tán	dân	dan	dân	
	[T] ONW dan <> [D] PMin *dan ~ *dan ^C 'to pluck (a lute)'				
	彈 pellet dàn	dân ^C	dan ^C	dâns	
	[E] TB *m-dan or rather *tal > JP n ³¹ -dan ³³ 'crossbow', Tiddim t ^h al ^R < t ^h al? 'a bow'; Lushai t ^h al ^R < t ^h al? 'arrow, dart'				
o	憚 fear dàn	dân ^C	dan ^C	dâns	
	憚 exhausted duò	tâ ^C	tai ^C	tâih	= 18-8/3d
e'h'	驪 tuó, tán	dâ, dân	dai, dan	dâi, dân	
d'	驪 tuó, tán	dâ, dân,	dai, dan,	dâi, dân,	
		tien	ten	tên	
-	礮 dī	tiei	te	tê	

c'	解	zhī	t̥sje(C)	t̥sai(C)	tai, taih
p	獬	chān	tʰǎn	tʰɛn	thrên
-	揮	tán, chán	dān, źjan	dan, dzan	dān, dan

24-22 = K. 149 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ac	旦鵑	dàn	tân ^C	tan ^C	tâns
e	但	dàn	dân ^B	dan ^B	dân?
f	袒	tǎn !	dân ^B	dan ^B	dân?
d	坦	tǎn	tʰân ^B	tʰan ^B	thân?
g	但	dá	tât	tat	tât

= 24-23/148g

24-23 = K. 148 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ab	亶	dǎn	tân ^B	tan ^B	tân?
c	儻	tǎn	tʰân ^B	tʰan ^B	thân?
d	儻	chán	źjan	dzan	dan
e	檀 a tree	tán	dān	dan	dān
f	檀	zhān-tán	t̥sjän-dān	t̥san-dan	dān
g	檀 bare	tǎn	dân ^B	dan ^B	dân?
-	檀 single	zhǎn	tjän ^B	tjan ^B	tran?
-	檀 bare	zhàn	tjän ^C	tjan ^C	trans
-	檀	dàn	tân ^B , dân ^B	tan ^C , dan ^B	tâns, dân?
h	𦉳	zhǎn	tjän ^B , t̥sjän ^B	tjan ^B , t̥san ^B	tran?, tan?
j	鱣	zhān	tjän	tjan	tran
i	𨔵 difficult	zhān	tjän	tjan	tran
kl	旌 𦉳 𦉳	zhān	t̥sjän	t̥san	tan
m	𨔵	zhān	t̥sjän ^(B)	t̥san ^(B)	tan(?) or tian(?) < kian(?) ?
o	擅	shàn	źjan ^C	džan ^C	dans
p	擅	shàn	źjan ^B	džan ^B	dan?
qrs	擅 擅 顛	shān	śjan	śan	lhan ?

[T] BTD Skt. dana
< Indic candana

[T] ONW dan

[E] TB: WT star-ba 'tie, fasten' ≠ dar 'silk, piece of cloth, scarf'

24-29c 餠 *kian(?) ~ 24-23m 饘 *tan(?) ~ 24-1m 餠 *kân, *kan 'rice gruel'

24-24 = K. 151 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	炭	tàn	tʰân ^C	tʰan ^C	thâns
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[E] WT tʰal-ba 'dust, ashes', Lushai taal^R < taal? 'wood ashes, dust'**24-25 = K. 205 Mand. MC LHan OCM**

a	善	shàn	źjan ^B	džan ^B	dan?
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[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjen (上), LR zjen (上); MGZY zhen (上) [zen]; ONW dzan
[E] ? TB: Chepang dyanh- 'be good'

df	膳 繕	shàn	zjän ^C	džan ^C	dans
-	鄯	shàn	źjan ^C	džan ^C	dans

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjen (去); ONW dzan

[T] MHan 鄯善 džan^C-džan^B Cherchen (*Jarjan)**24-26 = K. 201 Mand. MC LHan OCM**

a	展 unfold	zhǎn	tjän ^B	tjan ^B	tren? or tran? OCB *trjen?
	展 robe	zhàn	tjän ^C	tjan ^C	trens or trans
b	輶	zhǎn	tjän ^B	tjan ^B	tren? ! (Baxter 1992: 386)
c	蹶	niǎn	ñjän ^B	ñjan ^B	nren? or nran?

[T] Han BTD tan <> [E] WT rdal-ba, brdal 'to spread, unfold, extend over', WB tan^B 'extend in a line, stretch out straight' ≠ a-tan^B 'line, row, duration, length'**24-27 = K. 202 Mand. MC LHan OCM**

a	葳	chǎn	tʰjän ^B	tʰian ^B	thran?
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24-28 = K. 204 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	廛	chán	djan	dian	dran
b	躔	chán	djan	dian	dran
c	纏	chán	djan ^(C)	dian ^(C)	dran, drans

[E] Tai: S. rian^{A2} < *rian^A 'house'; KS *hrian¹ 'house'; PHlai *r?uun¹ 'house'**24-29 = K. 197 Mand. MC LHan OCM**

a	衍	yǎn, yàn	jiän ^{B/C}	jan ^{B/C}	jan?, jans ~ 33-19/450k 演
b	愆	qiǎn	kʰjän 3	kʰian	khrian OCB khrian
c	餠	zhǎn	t̥sjän ^(B)	t̥san ^(B)	kian, kian? [Xun]

24-29c 餠 *kian(?) ~ 24-23m 饘 *tan(?) ~ 24-1m 餠 *kân, *kan 'rice gruel'

24-30 = K. 203 Mand. MC LHan OCM

abc	延 筵 緜	yán	jiän	jan	lan
ef	延 延	shān	śjän	śan	lhan
g	誕	dàn	dân ^B	dan ^B	lân?
-	涎 saliva	xián	zjän, jiän ^C	zian, jan ^C , S lan ^B	s-lan, lans, lan?
d	榭	chān	tʰjän	tʰian	rhan

[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjen (平); MGZY zen (平) [zen] <> [D] Old South *lan^B: PMin *lan^B, Meix. lan^{A2}, Yue: Zhongshan heu^B-nan^B 口涎 <> [E] ? TB: WT zlan 'moisture'**24-31 = K. 207 Mand. MC LHan OCM**

a	羨 desire	xiàn	zjän ^C , dzjän ^C	zian ^C	s-lans
	oblong	yán	jiän	jan	lan

24-32 = K. 213 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	連 carriage	liǎn	ljän ^B	lian ^B	ran? or ren? ? = 24-34/215a 輦
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	連	connect	lián	ljän	lian	ran or ren ?	= 24-33/214a 聯
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljen (平); MGZY len (平) [len]; ONW lian; Han BTD 目捷連 muk-gian ^B -lian Skt. Maudgalyāyana, Pkt. moggallāna
c	璉		liǎn	ljän ^B	lian ^B	ran? or ren? ?	
b	漣		lián	ljän	lian	ran or ren ?	
d	蓮		lián	lien ! [GY]	len	rên	OCB *g-ren
							[T] ONW lèn
-	健		lián, liàn	ljän ^{A2}	lian ^(C)	—	'young female chicken'
							[D] PMin *lhən ^{C1} : Jiěyáng nuā ^{C1} , Jiānglè suai ^{C1} ; Kejia kai ^{A1} -lon ^{C1} (kai ¹ 'chicken')

24-33 = K. 214

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	聯	lián	ljän	lian
				ran or ren ? = 24-32/213a 連
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljen (平); MGZY len (平) [len]; ONW lian
				[E] TB *ren: *m-ren 'line up, be equal': JP ren ³¹ 'place in a long, even row'; WB rañ-tu 'be equal', hrañ 'put together, side by side'; Mikir ren 'line, range, row'

24-34 = K. 215

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	輦	niǎn	ljän ^B	lian ^B
				ran? or ren? ? = 24-32/213a 連
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljen (上); MGZY len (上) [len]; ONW (l)ian

24-35 = K. 152

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	嘆歎	tān	t ^h än ^(C)	t ^h an ^(C)
				nhân, nhâns
				[N] Following GSR 152, I consider the graph 嘆 a semantic composit of kōu 'mouth' and jiān 33-5/480 'distress' (contra SW that considers nán 難 an abbreviated phonetic in 歎, and 歎 the abbreviated phonetic in 嘆), since in the early development of the script, elements were also chosen for their meaning. Thus the element jiān spawned a phonetic series *nân.

dg	難鷄 diff.	nán	nân	nan	nân	'difficult'
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR nan (平); MGZY nan (平) [nan]; ONW nan. BTD nán-dài 難待 Skt. nanda
	難 difficulty	nàn	nân ^C	nan ^C	nâns	[T] BTD Skt. nan[da]

h	難	nǎn, rǎn	nan ^B , nǎjǎn ^B	nan ^B , nán ^B	nrân?, nan?
i	難	rán	nǎjǎn	nán	nan = 24-36/217a 然
k	攤	nuó	nâ	noi	nâi
					[E] TB *na ~ *nat 'ill', WB na 'be ill, be in pain' ≠ nat 'demon, spirit' < *LB *nat
	攤 rich	nuó	nâ ^(B)	noi ^(B)	nâi, nâi?
l	攤	ní, nuó	nei, nâ	nei, noi	nêi (?), nâi
m	灘	tān	t ^h ân	t ^h an	—

'To dry up (of a river)' [SW], later 'beach'. The graph suggests an OC initial *nh-. However, tān could be compared to TB *tan > WT t^han-pa 'dry weather, heat, drought', WB t^han^C-t^han^C 'nearly dry', if we assume that the word was written with this phonetic only during the Han period (note its first attestation in SW) when OC *nh- had merged with *th-.

24-36 = K. 217

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
-	狀	rán	nǎjǎn	nán
	dog meat			nan
				[N] This is the phonetic to the following (Baxter 1992: 380; SW 4454).
ab	然燃	rán	nǎjǎn	nán
				nan
				[T] Sin Suk. SR rjen (平); MGZY Zhen (平) [ren]; ONW nán <> [D] Min: Dongan nā ^{A2} 'to take fire accidentally' ≠ Amoy nā ^{C1/C2} 'to sing or burn slightly' (Douglas), hiā ^{A2} 'to burn'

24-37 = K. 216

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	𦉳	niǎn	niǎn ^B	nian ^B
				nran?
				[E] WT mñel-ba, gñel-ba 'to tan or dress hide', ñer-ba 'to tan, dress, soften'
b	𦉳	nǎn	nan ^B	nan ^B
				nrân? [T] ONW nān < nān

24-38 = K. 212

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	扇	shàn	śjān ^C	śan ^C
				nhans
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjen (去); MGZY (zhǎn >) shǎn (去) [sjen] [T] ONW śan
b	偏	shàn	śjān ^C	śan ^C
				nhans
c	煽	shàn	śjān ^C	śan ^C
				nhans (*nh- !) ≠ 24-36/217a 然
				[E] TB: JP ja ³³ -nan ³³ 'torch' (CVST 2: 24). An allofam might possibly be → rè 熱 'hot'.

24-39 = K. 153

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab	贊	zàn	tsân ^C	tsan ^C
	b			tsâns
c	讚	zàn	tsân ^C	tsan ^C
				tsâns
de	瓚	zàn	dzân ^B	dzan ^B
	e			dzân?
fg	鑽	zuǎn	tswân ^B	tsuan ^B
				tsôn?
hi	鑽	zuǎn	tswân	tsuan
	i			tsôn
jk	攢	cuán	dzwân	dzuan
	k			dzôn
l	攢	cuán !	dzwân ^C	dzuan ^C
				dzôns

24-40 = K. 154

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	爨	cán	dzân	dzan
				dzân
c	餐	cān	ts ^h ân	ts ^h an
				tshân
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'an (平); MGZY tshan (平) [ts'an]
b -	粲	càn	ts ^h ân ^C	ts ^h an ^C
	粲			tshâns
				[E] ? TB *dza 'to eat' > WT bzán 'food', gzan-pa 'to eat'

24-41 = K. 155 Most words may have had OC *e rather than the default Div. III *a.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	𦉳 damage	cán	dzân	dzan
				dzân
	𦉳 accumul.	qián	dzien	dzen
				dzên
c	殘	cán	dzân	dzan
				dzân
d	棧	zhàn	dzān ^{B/C} , dzǎn ^B	dzan ^{B/C} ?, dzēn ^B
				dzrân?, dzrâns or dzrên?
				[E] ? Tai: S. raan ^{C2} 'machan, booth, stall, shop'
ef	𦉳	zhǎn	tšǎn ^B	tšen ^B
				tsrên?
h	𦉳	zhǎn	tšǎn ^B , tšjǎn ^B	tšen ^B , tšian
				tsrên?
i	𦉳	chǎn	tš ^h ǎn ^B	tš ^h en ^B
				tshrên?
j	錢 hoe	jiǎn	tsjǎn ^B	tsian ^B
				tsan?
	錢 coin	qián	dzjǎn	dzian
				dzan
				[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjen (平); MGZY tsen (平) [dzen]; ONW dzian
k	淺 shallow	qiǎn	ts ^h jǎn ^B	ts ^h ian ^B
				tshen?
				[T] Han BTD tsh(i)an <> [D] PMin *tshiem ^B
	淺 flow	jiǎn	tsien	tsen
				tsên 'flow rapidly'
l	𦉳	jiàn	dzjǎn ^B	dzian ^B
				dzan?
o	𦉳	jiàn	dzjǎn ^B	dzian ^B
				dzan? OCB *dzjan?

p	錢	jiàn	dzjān ^{B/C}	dzian ^{B/C}	dzan?, dzans	
q	棧	jiàn, jiān	dzjān ^B , tsjān	dzian ^B , tsian	dzan?, tsan	
m	淺	jiàn	dzjān ^{B/C}	dzian ^{B/C}	dzan?, dzans	[T] ONW dzian
n	賤	jiàn	dzjān ^C	dzian ^C	dzans	[T] ONW dzian
s	淺綫	jiàn, jiān	tsjān ^C , tsien	tsian ^C , tsen	tsens, tsên	
r	綫	xiàn	sjān ^C	sian ^C	sans	= 25-40/237e 線

24-42 = K. 206

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	a	qiān	ts ^h jān	ts ^h ian	tshan	
c	遷	qiān	ts ^h jān	ts ^h ian	tshan < k-san or tshen < k-	
b	僊	xiān	sjān	sian	san or sen	= 24-45/193f 仙
-	躑	xiān	sien, sjān	sen, sian	sên, sen	= 23-21/209e

24-43 = K. 208

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	孱	chán	dzjān, dzǎn	dzian	dzren or dzran	
b	潺	chán	dzjān	dzian	dzran	
cd	潺 d	zhàn, zhuàn	dzǎn ^B , dzjwǎn ^C	dzan ^B , dzyan ^C	dzrân?, or dzrên?, dzrons	
e	輶	zhàn	dzǎn ^C , dzan ^B	dzan ^B	dzrân?	

24-44 = K. 156

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	散 scatter	sǎn	sân ^B	san ^B	sân?	
						[T] ONW san <> [E] TB: LB *šan 'sow, scatter seeds' > WB swan ^B 'pour upon, cast out by pouring' ≠ swan 'pour out, spill, shed'
	散	disperse	sàn	sân ^C	san ^C	sâns
						[T] MHan 澤散 dak-san ^C Alexandria
-	撒	sǎ, sǎ	sât	sat	sât	
						[E] TB: LB *šat 'pour, spill', BV-Limbu ses- 'scatter, be split'
d	霰	xiàn	sien ^C	sen ^C	sêns	OCB *s(k)ens
						Alternative graph 霰 <> [T] TB: WT ser-ba 'hail', JP sin ³³
c	漚	shān	šan ^(B) , šǎn	šan ^(B)	srân, srân?	

24-44A

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	珊瑚	s(h)ān-hú	sân-yuo	san-ga	—	
						[T] MHan: Iranian sanga 'stone'
-	刪	shān	šan	šan	—	
-	刪	sān	sân, šan	san, šan	—	

24-45 = K. 193

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	山	shān	šan, šǎn	šan, šen	srân	OCB *srjan
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR šan (平); MGZY (zhan >) shan (平) [šan]. MHan 烏弋山離 ?a-jik-šan-liai Alexandria
d	汕	shàn	šan ^C	šan ^C	srâns	OCB *s(C)r(j)ans
e	汕	shàn	šan ^(C)	šan ^(C)	srân, srâns	
f	仙	xiān	sjān	sian	san or sen	= 24-42/206 僊
-	秈	xiān	sjān	sian	san	
						[E] PTai *s- : S. saan ^{A1} 'husked rice'

24-46 = K. 194

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	產	chǎn	šan ^B	šan ^B or šen ^B	srân? or srên? (?)	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR tš'an (上); MGZY shan (上) [šan]; ONW šǎn; BTD Skt. śadya. OCB *sŋrjan? <> [E] WT srel-ba 'to bring up, rear'
-	薩	sà	sât	sat	—	
						[T] 菩薩 bo-sat Bodhisattva

24-47 = K. 181

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	半鞞絆絆	bàn	pwān ^C	pan ^C	pâns	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR pwōn (去), PR pōn, LR pōn; MGZY bon (去) [pōn]; ONW pan
e	拌	pān, pàn	p ^h wān	p ^h an	phân	
c	伴 relaxed	pàn	p ^h wān ^C	p ^h an ^C	phâns	
	comrade	bàn	bwān ^B	ban ^B	bân?	
dfgi	判泮泮類	pàn	p ^h wān ^C	p ^h an ^C	phâns	= 23-24/218a 片
k	畔	pàn	bwān ^C	ban ^C	bâns	
						[E] ST *par: WT bar 'intermediate space', NNaga p ^h ar 'divide'; JP ban 'division, part'
l	叛	pàn	bwān ^C	ban ^C	bâns	
h	胖 big, fat	pán, pàng	bwān	ban	bân	
						[E] TB *bwam > WT sbom 'thick, stout'; LB *C-pwam
	胖 meat	pàn	p ^h wān ^C	p ^h an ^C	phâns	
j	拌	pán	bwān	ban	bân	
m	祥	fán	bjwen	buan	ban	

24-48 = K. 182

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ade	般 ¹ 槃盤	pán	bwān	ban	bân	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR bwōn (平), PR, LR bōn; MGZY pōn (平) [bōn]
						[E] ? TB: Perh. cognate to WB pran 'return, repeat', Mru plan 'turn'
a	般 ² 搬	bān	pwān	pan	pân	
						[T] MGZY bon (平) [pōn]; BTD Skt. -pāna <> 搬 [T] Sin S. SR pwōn (平), PR pōn, LR pōn
ghi	磬磬磬	pán	bwān	ban	bân	

24-49 = K. 262

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ae	反返	fǎn	pjwēn ^B	puan ^B	pan?	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR fwan (上), PR fan; MGZY h(w)an (上) [fan]
f	販	fàn	pjwēn ^C	puan ^C	pans	
g	阪	fǎn, bǎn	pjwēn ^B , ban ^B	puan ^B , ban ^B	pan?, brân?	
i	飯 rice	fàn	bjwēn ^C	buan ^C	bans	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR vwan (去), PR, LR van; MGZY H(w)an (去) [van]; ONW buan
	飯 eat	fàn	bjwēn ^B	buan ^B	ban?	
						[E] AA: PMonic *poonj 'cooked rice', SBahn. pianj ~ pien
jkl	板版飯	bǎn	pan ^B	pan ^B	prân?	
						[E] ST *par: WT 'p ^h ar 'small plank'
m	扳	pān	p ^(h) an	p ^(h) an	prân, phrân	
n	販	bǎn	pan ^B , ban ^B	pan ^B , ban ^B	prân?, brân?	
						[E] WT 'p ^h ar-ba 'raised, elevated'

24-50 = K. 263

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	椹樊 ¹	fán	bjwen	buan	ban	
						[E] TB: Lepcha tuk-pól 'hedge, fence' ≠ pól 'magic circle', Lushai pal ^H 'hedge, fence'

b	樊 ² belt	pán	bwân	ban	bân	= 24-55/265b
d	攀	pān	p ^h an	p ^h an	phrân	
24-51 = K. 264 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
ab	煩躑	fán	bjwen	buan	ban	= 24-51/1951 躑
24-52 = K. 265 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
ab	a 繁 belt	pán	bwân	ban	bân	= 24-53/263b
	繁 abundant	fán	bjwen	buan	ban	= 24-51/195m 蕃
d	繫	fán	bjwen	buan	ban	
24-53 = K. 190 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
ac	班斑	bān	pan	pan	prân	
	班 [T] Sin Sukchu SR pan (平); MGZY ban (平) [pan] <> WT 'p ^h ral-ba 'to separate, part'					
24-54 = K. 195 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	采	bàn, biàn	bǎn ^C , bjǎn ^C 3	ben ^C	brêns, brens	
b	番 a turn	fān	p ^h jwên	p ^h uan	phan	
	番 [E] TB: WT p ^h ar 'interest (on money)', 'exchange', Lepcha far 'price' ≠ par 'buy'					
	番 martial	bō	puâ	pai	pâi	
de	幡	fān	p ^h jwên	p ^h uan	phan	
gs	幡	fān	pjwên	puan	pan	
h	緋	fán	p ^h /bjwên	p ^h uan, buan	phan, ban	
ijk	幡幡	fán	bjwên	buan	ban	
	[E] TB *bar ~ *par > WT 'bar-ba 'to burn, to bloom' ≠ sbar-ba ~ sbor-ba 'light, kindle'					
l	蹠	fán	bjwên	buan	ban	= 24-54/264b
	[E] TB: WT sbal 'soft muscles or parts of inner hand or paw'					
-	蹠	fán	bjwên	buan	—	SW
m	蕃	luxur. fán	bjwên	buan	ban	= 24-55/265d 繫
	[E] ? ST *pom <> PTai *b- : S. p ^h uun ^{A2} 'increase, flourishing'					
	蕃 hedge	fān	pjwên	puan	pan	
-	翻	fān	p ^h jwên	p ^h uan	phan	
	= 24-52/220 弁拏 <> [E] TB: WB p ^h ran ^C 'spread out, spread wings' ≠ pran ^C 'expanded, spread out'; JP p ^h yan ⁵⁵ 'spread the wings'					
n	潘	pān	p ^h wân	p ^h an	phân	[D] PEMin *p ^h on ^{A1}
o	蟠	pán	bwân	ban	bân	
	[E] TB *boy > WB bhwe 'curl in hair of animal'; Kachin boi 'have a cowlick'					
p	播 winnow	bò	pwâ ^C	pai ^C	pâih	
	= 18-16/25n 簸 <> [T] ONW pa					
pq	播	bò	pwâ ^C	pai ^C	pâih 'spread, sow'	
	[E] TB *b ^w âr > WT 'bor-ba 'to throw, cast', Chepang war 'sow'					
r	皤	pó	bwâ, pwâ	bai	bâi	[E] TB *pwar, *poj 'white'
24-55 = K. 220 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
abc	弁卞拏	biàn	bjǎn ^C 3	bian ^C	brans	OCB *brjons
d	拏 = 拏	biàn	bjǎn ^C 3	bian ^C	brans	
	拏 to fly	fān	p ^h jwên	p ^h uan	phan 'fly up'	= 24-51/195 翻
	拏 to dust	fèn	pjwên ^C	pun ^C	pəns	

e	狝	fān	p ^h jwên	p ^h uan	phan	
f	筭	fán, biàn	bjwên, bjǎn ^C 3	buan, bian ^C	ban	
24-56 = K. 266 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	曼 ¹	màn	mwân ^C	man ^C	mâns	[T] ONW man a Xiongnu ruler
	頭曼	tóu-mán	dəu-mwân !	do-man	—	
ad	曼 ² 蔓	wàn	mjwên ^C	muon ^C	mans	
egh	嫵慢慢	màn	man ^C	man ^C	mrâns	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR man (去); MGZY man (去) [man]					
i	漫	mán	mwân	man	mân	
ijkl	幔縵鄴漫	màn	mwân ^C	man ^C	mâns	
	漫 [T] BTD Skt. mai[tra...]					
o	謾 excessive	màn	mwân ^C	man ^C	mâns	
	謾 deceive	mán,	mwân,	man,	mân,	
		màn,	mwân ^C , man ^C ,	man ^C , man ^C ,	mâns, mrâns,	
		mián	mjän 3	mian	mran	
	謾 reckless	màn	mwân ^C	man ^C	mâns	
24-57 = K. 183 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
ad	滿	mán	mwân	man	mân	
c	滿	mǎn	mwân ^B	man ^B	mân?	
g	懣	mǎn,	mwân ^B ,	man ^B ,	mân?,	
		mèn	mwən ^{B/C}	mən ^{B/C}	mên?, mēns	
f	璊	mén	mwən	mən	mēn	
e	楛 elm	mén,	mwən,	mən,	mēn,	
		wán	mjwên	muon	man	
	楛 resin	wán,	mjwên,	muon,	man,	
		mán	mwân ^(C)	man ^(C)	mân, mâns	
24-58 = K. 222 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	免 ¹	miǎn	mjän ^B 3	mian ^B	mran?	
	[T] ONW man; Han BTD man					
ak	免 ² 統	wèn	mjwən ^C	mun ^C	məns	
bcd	俛勉冕	miǎn	mjän ^B 3	mian ^B	mran?	
g	媿	wǎn, miǎn	mjwên ^B , mjǎn ^{B3}	muon ^B , mian ^B	mân?, mran?	
hij	晚晚輓	wǎn	mjwên ^B	muon ^B	man?	
e	悛	mán, mèn	mwân, mwən ^B	man, mən ^B	mân, mên?	
f	輓	mán	mwân	man	mân	
l	浼	měi	mwâi ^B	məi ^B	mēi?	

25 OCM rime *-on, *-wan Yuán bù 元部 (3)

GSR 157 - 266

Baxter 1992: 370 ff. (§10.1.1)

The MC rimes with guttural initials can derive either from OC *-ôn or *-wân; they are difficult if not impossible to distinguish. Baxter 1992: 381-389 tries to determine the final of some words through *Shijing* rimes and loan graphs. By default, we tentatively assume *Kôn in large XS without initial *w-, but *Kwân in XS that include initial *w-. Accordingly, MC Div. III syllables of the type Kjwên seem to derive from OC *Kwan, syllables Kjwân from OC *Kon. After ʔ and ɳ occurs only -jwên. The situation is somewhat parallel to rimes in *-un / *-wân, see rime 28.

See Intro. 5.2.3 for more about the removal of OCB medial *r in MC Div. 3/3 syllables.

Table 25-1: OCM rimes *-on / *-wan, *-ot / *-wat, *-oi / *-wai in QYS categories

Div.	*-on / *-wan R.25	*-ot / *-wat R.22	*-o(t)s / *-wa(t)s R.22	*-oi / *-wai R.19
I	冠 kwân kuan *kôn 斷 twân ^C tuan ^C *tôn ^s	奪 dwât duat *lôt	會 kwâi ^C kuas *kôts 兌 dwâi ^C duas *lôts	果 kwâ ^B kuai ^B *kôî? 坐 dzwâ ^B dzuai ^B *dzôî?
I gr	官 kwân kuan *kwân	括 kwât kuat *kwât	翮 xwâi ^C huas *hwâts	禾 ywâ yuai *wâi
III gr	勸 khjwên ^C khyan ^C *khwans 遠 jwên ^B wan ^B *wan?	越 jwet wat *wat	顛 xjwei ^C hys *hwats	虧 khjwe3 kh'yai *khwai 為 jwe wai *wai
III gr	元 njwên nyan *ñon 怨 ʔjwên ^C ʔyan ^C *ʔons	月 njwet nyat *ñot or *ñwat		
III gr	—	蕨 kjwet kyat *kot	—	
3/3	卷 kjwân ^{B3} kyan ^B *kon?	—	擻 kjwâi ^{C3} kyas *kots	危 njwe3 nyai *ñoi
III ac	傳 djwân dyan *dron 沿 jiwân ⁴ juan *lon	說 sjwât suat *lhot	稅 sjwâi ^C suas *lhots	垂 zjwe dzje <dzuai *doi
II	關 kwan kuan *krôn 蠻 man man *mrôn	刮 kwat kuat *kwrât or *krôt	話 ywai ^C guas *gwrâts or *grôts	蝸 kwa kuai *krôî 髮 tşwa tşuai *tsrôî
II	緩 ywan ywan *wrân			

25 OCM *-on, *-wan 元部 (3) (GSR 157-266)

25-1 = K. 157	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 官	guān	kwân	kuan	kwân	OCB k*an?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwon (平); MGZY gon (平) [kɔn]; ONW kuan				
l 信 servant	guān, guàn	kwân, kwan ^C	kuan, kuan ^C	kôn, krôn ^s	
	≠ 25-10/188 宦 *grôn ^s 'servant' <> [E] WT k ^h ol-po 'servant, vassal'				
m 這	huàn	ywân ^C	yuan ^C	gôn ^s	
e 棺 coffin	guān put in c. guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kôn ^s	
f 涓	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kôn ^s	
	[E] ST *kol > WT 'k ^h ol-ba, k ^h ol 'to boil' ≠ skol-ba 'to cause to boil'				
k 館	guǎn !	kwân ^C !	kuan ^C	kôn ^s	OCB *kons
hi 管琯 flute	guǎn = 25-19/257r	kwân ^B	kuan ^B	kôn? !	筦 OCB *kon?
g 瘡 exhausted	guǎn	kwân ^B	kuan ^B	kwân? !	OCB *k*an?
j 鎗 axle cap	guǎn	kwân ^{B/C}	kuan ^{B/C}	kwân?/s ?	= 24-2/1401 幹
n 管	jiān	kan	kan	krân	

25-2 = K. 158	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ae 藿鶴	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kwâns	
gh 燿瓘	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kwâns	
f 灌	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kwâns	= 19-2/351m 裸
	[E] TB: Chepang k ^h ur, Boro kur 'to scrape', Mikir hòr 'to ladle out'				
i 觀 look	guān	kwân	kuan	kwân	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwon (平); MGZY gon (平) [kɔn]; ONW kuan				
觀 show	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kwâns	OCB kwans
opq 權蠶 權	quán	gjwân 3	gyan	gon	
	See comment under 25-11/226.				
s 勸	quàn	khjwên ^C	khyan ^C	khwans	
n 謹	huān, xuān	xwân, xjwên	huan, hyan	hwân, hwan	
ykl 歡 權驩	huān	xwân	huan	hwân	
	[T] MHan 驩泥 huan-nei kuhani or khvani				
m 嚙	huān !	xwân ^C	huan ^C	hwâns	
	The last three rows could also have been OCM *hôn, but *hwân is a more common syllable.				

25-3 = K. 159	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 母	guān	kwân	kuan	—	SW
a 貫 perfor.	guàn	kwân ^(C)	kuan ^(C)	kôn ^s !	OCB *kons
acde 貫 貫 貫 串	guàn	kwan ^C	kuan ^C	krôn ^s	'familiar, custom'
f 患	huàn	ywan ^C	yuan ^C	grôn ^s	

25-4 = K. 160	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 冠 cap	guān	kwân	kuan	kôn	OCB *kon
冠 vb.	guàn	kwân ^C	kuan ^C	kôn ^s	OCB *kons
	[N] Acc. to SW 3357, 25-19 yuán 元 *ñwan 'head' is "also phonetic" <> [T] ONW kuan				
	[E] TB *gwa ~ *kwa:n > WT bgo-ba, bgos 'clothes, put on clothes' ≠ gon-pa 'to put on, dress'				

25-5 = K. 161	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 盥	guàn	kwân ^{B/C}	kuan ^B , kuan ^C	kwân?, kwâns
※ 24-2/140m 澣 'wash'; ※ 25-19/257o 浣 'wash clothes'				
25-6 = K. 162	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 款	kuǎn	k ^h wân ^B	k ^h uon ^B	khwân?
b 窾	kuǎn	k ^h wân ^B	k ^h uon ^B	khwân?
[E] TB *kwar > Lushai k ^h ur ^H 'a hole, pit, cavity' ※ k ^h uar ^H id., Tangkhul Naga k ^h ur 'hole'				

25-7 = K. 165	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
165a 莧 sheep	huán	ɣwân	ɣuan	gwân cf. 23-2
241h 莧 smile	huàn	ɣwan ^B	ɣuan ^B	gwrân?
23-2/241h; ~ 25-19/257q				
165b 寬	kuān	k ^h wân	k ^h uon	khwân OCB *k ^h han

25-8 = K. 166	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 萑	huán	ɣwân	ɣuan	gwân ?
25-9 = K. 187	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 𠂔	guàn	kwan	kuan ^C	krôns OCB *krons
b 關	bar guān	kwan	kuan	krôn OCB *kron
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kwan (平), LR kwôn; MGZY gwan (平) [kwan]; ONW kuān				
[E] -> PTai *klôn ^{A1} 'rafter, latch on door'				
關	bend wān	?wan	?uan	?rôn

25-10 = K. 188	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 宦	huàn	ɣwan ^C	ɣuan ^C	grôns ※ 25-1157l 宦
[E] TB: LB *gywan ¹ > WB kywan 'slave, servant'				

25-11 = K. 226 The rime MC -jwän 3 occurs also after acute initials, therefore I tentatively consider MC Kjwän to derive from *Kon, Kjwän from *Kwan.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 卷 roll	juǎn	kjwän ^B 3	kyan ^B	kon? OCB *krjon? 'a roll'
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kyan (上); MGZY gyon (上) [kyon]				
[E] TB: Lushai hrual ^H 'roll up in the hand, twist'				
卷	bend quán	gjwän 3	gyan	gon
卷 = e 鬘	quán	gjwän 3	gyan	gwren OCB *g ^h rjen 'handsome'
e 鬘	quān,	k ^h jwän 3,	k ^h yan,	khon,
	quán	gjwän 3	gyan	gon OCB *g ^h rjen 'handsome'
bc 睽眷	juàn	kjwän ^C 3	kyan ^C	kons
d 椹 crooked	quān	k ^h jwän 3	k ^h yan	khon
ring	juàn	kjwän ^C 3	kyan ^C	kons
fgh 捲拳蜷	quán	gjwän 3	gyan	gon
拳 [E] Tai: Wu-ming klian ^{C1} 'roll, scroll', Mun gluan ^{C2} 'roll up'				
ij 倦勸	juàn	gjwän ^C 3	gyan ^C	gons
[T] Sin Sukchu SR gyen (去); MGZY kwyan (去) [gyen]				
op 豢豢	huàn	ɣwan ^C	ɣuan ^C	grôns

k 圈 pig sty	juàn	gjwen ^B , gjwän ^B 3, gjiwän ^B 4	gyan ^B , gyan ^B , gyen ^B	gwan?, gon?, gwen? (SSYP 307) (GYSX 409)
圈 turn ar.	quǎn	k ^(h) jjwen ^B	k ^(h) yan ^B	kwan?, khwan?
m 綫	quǎn	k ^h jjwen ^{B/C}	kyan ^B	khwan? R! OCB *khjon?
n 襪	quǎn	k ^h jjwen ^B , ?jjwen ^A !	kyan ^B , ?yan	khwan?, ?wan = 25-18/ 261 冤
l 券	quàn	k ^h jjwen ^C	kyan ^C	khwans

25-11A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
- 𠂔	juàn	kjwän ^C 3	kyan ^C	kons SW

25-11B	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
- 弄	juàn	kjwän ^C 3	kyan ^C	kons SW

25-12 = K. 164	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 𠂔	xuān	sjwän	syān	swan [T] BTD Skt. svāra
fjgk 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔	huán	ɣwân	ɣuan	wân 𠂔 = 25-19/257n 𠂔
𠂔 [T] ONW ɣuan; BTD Skt. (nir)vāṇa; -varṇa; -panna; 𠂔 Skt. vana; 烏𠂔 ?a-ɣuan *Awar				
l 𠂔	huán	x/ɣwân, xjwen	huan, ɣuan, hyan	hwân, wân, hwan
mn 𠂔 𠂔	yuán	jwen	wan	wan
qr 𠂔 𠂔	xuǎn	xjwen ^B	hyan ^B	hwan?
xy 𠂔 𠂔	xuān !	xjwen ^B	hyan ^B	hwan?
s 𠂔	xuǎn, xuān	xjwen ^(B)	hyan ^(B)	hwan, hwan?
[N] huǐ is a ghost reading.				
z 𠂔	xuān	xjwen	hyan	hwan
t 𠂔	xuān	sjwän	syān	swan
[E] TB: LB *swan ² > Lahu šē 'sow, broadcast', WB swan ^B 'pour upon, cast by pouring'				

25-13 = K. 167 GSR 167 includes 23-12 in this group, even though the graphs and rimes are distinct.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abc 奂 奂 奂	huàn	xwän ^C	huan ^C	hwâns 奂 OCB *hwans
f 奂	huàn	ɣwän ^C	ɣuan ^C	wâns = 25-19/257p 奂
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣwän (去); MGZY Xon (去) [ɣon]; ONW ɣuan				
d 奂	huán	ɣwân	ɣuan	wân 'encircling wall'
※ 25-12/164m 𠂔				

25-14 = K. 255	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad 爰 爰	yuán	jwen	wan	wan
l 緩	huǎn	ɣwän ^B	ɣuan ^B	wân?
j 暖 ¹	xuān	xjwen ^(B)	hyan ^(B)	hwan, hwan?
[E] ? TB: WT hol-hol 'soft, loose, light'				
ik 煖 ¹ 煖	xuān	xjwen	hyan	hwan
h 漫	yuán	jwän	wan	wen

f	瑗 ring	yuàn	jwän ^C , jwen ^C	wan ^C , wan ^C	wens, wans	
	= 25-19/257u 院; 23-11/256u 撰					
g	媛 beauty	yuàn	jwän ^C	wan ^C	wens	
	embarr.	yuán	jwen	wan	wan	
e	援 pull	yuán	jwen	wan	wan	
	succour	yuàn	jwen ^C	wan ^C	wans	
m	媛	huán	ɣwan	ɣuan	wên or gwrân	
ij	媛 ² 媛 ²	nuán	nwân ^B	nucn ^B	nôn?	[T] ONW nuan

25-15 = K. 256 GSR 829 and items starting with 256h belong to phonetic series 23-12.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abde	袁園榘輓	yuán	jwen	wan	wan 園 OCB *wjan
c	猿	yuán	jwen	wan	wan
	[E] TB *woy ~ (b)woy, JP woi ³³				
f	遠 far	yuǎn	jwen ^B	wan ^B	wan? OCB *wjan?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR yen (上); MGZY xwǎn (上) [fiyen]; ONW uan				
	遠 leave	yuàn	jwen ^C	wan ^C	wans

25-15A	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	𠄎	xuǎn	xjwen	hyan	hwan SW

25-16 = K. 163	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	丸苑	wán	ɣwân	ɣuan	wân
c	紉	huán	ɣwân	ɣuan	wân
b	疝	huàn	ɣwân ^C	ɣuan ^C	wâns
e	馱 bent	wèi	?jwe 3	?ye < ?yai	?oi- = 19-10/357a

25-17 = K. 260 Provisionally I assume OC *?on because this syllable is probably more common than *?wan.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	宛	yuǎn	?jwen ^B	?yan ^B	?on?
i	晚	wǎn	?jwen ^B	?yan ^B	?on?
d	苑 rich fol.	yuàn	?jwen ^B	?yan ^B	?on? OCB *?jon
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?yen (上); MGZY 'wǎn (上) [?yen]				
	苑 obstruct	yǔn	jwän ^B	wun ^B	wän?
	苑 pent up	yù	?jwät	?ut	?ut
	= 31-4/495 鬱 [T] ONW ?ut				
c	怨 resent	yuàn	?jwen ^C	?yan ^C	?ons OCB *?jons
	怨 enemy	yuàn	?jwen ^(C)	?yan ^(C)	?on, ?ons
ek	鴛鴦	yuān	?jwen	?yan	?on
f	簪	wān	?wân	?uan	?ôn
bgj	宛婉琬	wǎn	?jwen ^B	?yan ^B	?on? OCB *?jon?
	[T] MHan 大宛 da ^C -?yan or -?ion perhaps Great Yavana = 'Iáoves (Ferghana)				
h	窻	yuān !	?jwen ^B	?yan ^B	?on?
-	琬	yuǎn	?jwen ^B	?yan ^B	?on?
	[D] PMin *?yon ^B : Fú'án un ^{B1} , Fúzh uon ^{B1} , Xiamen η ^B , Jiányáng yen ^{B1}				

l	琬	yuǎn,	?jwen ^B ,	?yan ^B ,	?on?,	
		wǎn	?wân ^C	?uan ^C	?ôns	
mn	挽腕	wàn	?wân ^C	?uan ^C	?ôns	= 22-7/273b 擘
o	碗	wǎn	?wân ^B	?uan ^B	?ôn?	
-	碗	wǎn	?wân ^B	?uan ^B	?ôn?	
p	輓	yuǎn,	?jwen,	?yan,	?on,	
		yūn	?jwän	?un	?un	
q	苑	yuàn,	?jwen ^B ,	?yan ^B ,	?on?,	
		yù	?jwät	?ut	?ut	
r	琬	yuè,	?jwät,	?yat,	?ot,	
		yù	?jwät	?ut	?ut	

25-18 = K. 261	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	冤	yuān	?jwen	?yan	?on
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?yen (平); MGZY 'wǎn (平) [?yen]				

25-19 = K. 257 After initials ? and η the MC rime -jwän does not occur, therefore ηjwän can derive from OC *-on or *-wan. It is not clear which syllables represent OC *?on, which ηwan. The OCM origin of the many MC ɣwân could be *wân, *gwân or *gôn.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	元	yuán	ηjwen	ηyan	ηon OCB *Nkjon
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ηyen (平); MGZY xwǎn (平) [fiyen]; ONW ηuan				
	This is probably the same word as 25-20/258 *ηwan 原 'source', hence the OCM reading.				
d	莞	yuán	ηjwen	ηyan	ηwan
ef	龜	yuán	ηjwen, ηwân	ηyan	ηwan
g	頑	wán	ηwan, ηwǎn	ηuan	ηrôn = 10-11/124g *ηo
hi	剏園	wán	ηwân	ηuan	ηwân
j	恍	wàn	ηwân ^(C)	ηuan ^(C)	ηwân, ηwâns
kl	玩翫	wán !	ηwân ^C	ηuan ^C	ηwâns
m	完	wán !	ɣwân	ɣuan	gôn OCB *fikon
	Possibly phonetic in 10-4/111a 寇 *khôh				
r	筭	guǎn	kwân ^B	kuan ^B	kôn? ! = 25-1/157h 管
n	垠	huán	ɣwân	ɣuan	gwân !
	= 25-12/164f 桓 huǎn! [T] ONW ɣuan, QY also ηwân ^{B/C}				
o	浣 wash clo.	huàn	ɣwân ^B	ɣuan ^B	gwân?
	= 24-2/140m 澣 'wash'; = 25-5/161 盥 'wash the hands'				
	[E] TB: KN-Lai kho?l 'to clean (with water)'				
p	輓	huàn,	ɣwân ^C ,	ɣuan ^C ,	gwâns, ! = 25-13/167f 換
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣwon (去); MGZY Xon (去) [ɣon]; ONW ɣuan				
		wàn	ηwân ^{B/C}	ηuan ^{B/C}	ηwân?, ηwâns
q	莞 Cyperus	huán, guǎn	ɣwân, kwân	ɣuan, kuan	gwân, kwân
	smile	wǎn !	ɣwân ^B	ɣuan ^B	gwân? ~ 23-2/241h
u	院	yuàn	jwän ^C	wan ^C	wens
	= 25-14/255f 瑗; 23-12/256u 撰				
s	琬	kuǎn	k ^h wân ^B	k ^h uan ^B	khwân?
t	琬	huǎn	ɣwan ^B	ɣuan ^B	gwrân? ? = 24-1/139j' 暉

25-20 = K. 258	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac 原 > 源	yuán	ɲjwɛn	ɲyan	ɲwan 'source'
原 a plain	yuán	ɲjwɛn	ɲyan	ɲwan ! OCB *ɲ*jan
This is a later substitution for 25-21/259 遠 'high plain', q.v. <> [T] ONW ɲuan				
e 源	yuán	ɲjwɛn	ɲyan	ɲwan
g 驢	yuán	ɲjwɛn	ɲyan	ɲwan
df 愿愿	yuàn	ɲjwɛn ^C	ɲyan ^C	ɲons OCB *ɲjɔns
h- 獠獠	huán	ɣwán	ɣuan	ɣwán

25-21 = K. 259	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 遠	yuán	ɲjwɛn	ɲyan	ɲwan
This is the original graph for 25-20/258 原 'high plain' (Duan SW 5152).				

25-22 = K. 170	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 斷	duàn	twán ^{B/C} , dwán ^B	tuan ^{B/C} , duan ^B	tôn?, tóns, OCB *ton?/s dôn? OCB *fiton?

25-23 = K. 172	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 段 hammer	duàn	twán ^C	tuan ^C	tóns
torn	duàn	dwán ^C	duan ^C	dóns
cd 鍛 暇	duàn	twán ^C	tuan ^C	tóns
[E] TB *tow (STC no. 317) > WT t ^h o-ba ~ mt ^h o-ba 'hammer (large)'				

25-24 = K. 168	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad 端端	duān	twán	tuan	tôn [T] ONW tuan
[E] TB: WT rdol-ba, brtol 'to come out, break out, sprout'				
e 端	duān	twán, tsjwán ^B	tuan, tsuan ^B	tôn, ton? = 25-25/231c 剗
fg 端端	duān	twán	tuan	tôn
i 端	tuān	t ^h wán	t ^h uan	thôn
- 端 pig EY	tuān	t ^h wán ^(C)	t ^h uan ^(C)	thôn(s) ~ 25-28/171 豕
j 喘 to pant	chuǎn	ts ^h jwán ^B	ts ^h uan ^B	thon?
k 端	chuán,	zjwán,	dzuan,	don,
	chuàn,	ts ^h jwán ^C	ts ^h uan ^C	thons
lm 端端	chuán	zjwán	dzuan	don
o 端 wriggle	chuǎn	ts ^h jwán ^B	ts ^h uan ^B	thon?
anxious	zhuì	tsjwe ^C	tsuai ^C	toih
p 瑞	ruì !	zjwe ^C	dzuai ^C	doih
q 揣	chuǎn,	ts ^h jwán ^B ,	ts ^h uan ^B ,	thon?,
	chuǎi,	ts ^h jwe ^B ,	ts ^h yai ^B ,	tshroi?,
	duǒ	twá ^B	tuai ^B	tôï?
- 圖	chuí	zjwe,	dzuai,	doi,
		zjwán	dzuan	don
- 顛	zhuān	tsjwán	tsuan	ton

25-25 = K. 231	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 專 locust ?	yuán	jiwán 4	juan	lon = 25-28/171c

專 alone	zhuān	tsjwán	tsuan	ton	
[E] MK: Khmer -tola /-taaol/ 'be alone, single'					
c 剗	zhuān,	tsjwán ^B ,	tsuan ^B ,	ton?,	= 25-24/168c 剗
	tuán	dwán	duan	dôn	
d 筭	zhuān	tsjwán	tsuan	ton	
e 轉	zhuǎn	tjwán ^B	tyan ^B	tron [T] MTang ɬuan, ONW tuan	
f 傳 transmit	chuán	djwán	dyan	dron	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (平); MGZY cwyan (平) [dzyen]; MTang ɬuan, ONW duan				
傳 a record	zhuàn	djwán ^C	dyan ^C	drons	
[E] TB: Old Tib. 'druil 'to transmit, communicate'					
傳 relay post	zhuàn	tjwán ^C	tyan ^C	trons	
nopq 團 搏 搏 搏	tuán	dwán	duan	dôn	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dwon (平); MGZY ton (平) [dôn]					
j 縛	zhuàn	djwán ^B	dyan ^B	dron?	
k 膊 cut meat	shuàn,	zjwán ^B ,	dzuan ^B ,	don?,	cf. 25-31/178i
	zhuǎn	tsjwán ^B	tsuan ^B	ton?	
turning m.	chuán	zjwán	dzuan	don	
femur	chún,	zjwen,	dzuin,	dun,	
	zhǔn	tsjwen ^B	tsuin ^B	tun?	
l 鱒 a fish A	shuàn	zjwán ^B	dzuan ^B	don?	
鱒 a fish B	shuàn	tsjwán ^(B)	tsuan ^(B)	ton, ton?	
m 溲	duān,	twán,	tuan,	tôn,	
	zhuǎn	tsjwán ^B	tsuan ^B	ton?	

25-26 = K. 232	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 穿	chuān	ts ^h jwán	ts ^h uan	thon
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'yen (平); MGZY chwyan (平) [ts'yen]; ONW ts ^h uan				
[E] TB: WT rtol-ba 'to bore, pierce, perforate'				

25-27 = K. 233	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 舛	chuǎn	ts ^h jwán ^B	ts ^h uan ^B	thon?

25-28 = K. 171 The initials of some words are not certain.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 豕 pig SW	tuàn	t ^h wán ^C	thuans	— ~ 25-24/168 tuān 豕
b 椽	tuàn	t ^h wán ^C	thuans	lhôn
e 椽 rafter	chuán	djwán	dyan	dron
fg 椽篆 carved	zhuàn	djwán ^B	dyan ^B	dron? = 10-19/129e *tro?
h 豚 carved	zhuàn,	djwán ^B ,	dyan ^B ,	dron?,
	chuǎn	t ^h jwán ^B	t ^h yan ^B	thron?
i 喙 to pant	chuí	ts ^h jwái ^C	ts ^h uas	thos = 25-24/168 喘
喙 snout	huì	xjwei ^C	hyas	hwats = 22-5/346 顛
[T] ONW huei ^C <> [E] ? TB: WB hnut 'mouth, womb'				
c 蝻 locust	yuán	jiwán 4	juan	lon = 25-25/231a
d 緣 hem	yuàn	jiwán ^C 4	juan ^C	lons = 25-29/229b 沿
[T] Sin Sukchu SR, LR yen (平); MGZY ywyan (平) [jyen]				
緣 follow	yuán	jiwán 4	juan	lon = 25-29/c

25-29 = K. 229	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 凸	yuán	jiwän ^B 4	juan ^B	lon?
	[E] Tai: S. leen ^{A2} 'marsh, mire'			
b 沿	yán	jiwän 4	juan	lon ✕ 25-28/171 緣
c 鉛	qiān //	jiwän 4	juan	lon
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR jen (平); MGZY ywyan (平) [jyen] <> [D] M-Xiamen ien ³⁵			
d 竟	yǎn	jiwän ^B	juan ^B	lon?
e 船	chuán	dǎjwän	zuan	m-lon
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (平); MGZY cwyan (平) [dzyen] <> [D] PMin *džion ~ *džion			
	[E] TB *(m-)loŋ > WB loŋ ^B 'canoe, long boat'; Lushai loŋ ^L 'boat', S. Khami mlaun			
25-30 = K. 230	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 鳶	yuān	jiwän	juan	jon ?
	[E] TB: PL *(k-)dzwan ¹ 'hawk'			
25-31 = K. 178	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
af 縶 > 變	luán	lwän	luon	rôn OCB *b-ron
	[E] Tai: S. p ^h ruan ^{A2} < *br- 'neck bells (for domestic animals)'			
cdeh 縶 樂 變 縶	luán	lwän	luon	rôn 樂 OCB *b-ron
i 縶	emaciated luán	lwän	luon	rôn
	[E] TB: WB prun ^B 'worn away, exhausted, spent (as property)' ✕ p ^h run ^B 'wear away, exhaust'			
	cut meat lüán	ljwän ^B	lyan ^B	ron? cf. 25-25/231k
k 變	luán	ljwän ^{B/C}	lyan ^{B/C}	ron? OCB *b-rjon?
m 縶	liàn !	ljwän ^C	lyan ^C	rons
n 縶	luán !	ljwän	lyan	ron
o 變	biàn	pjān ^C 3	piān ^C	prons OCB *prjons
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pjen (去); MGZY byan (去) [pjen]; ONW pan			
p 縶	mán	man	man	mrôn
	[T] MHan 阿縶 ?a-man Armenia			
q 縶	lüán,	şwan ^C ,	şuan ^C	srôns
	shuàn	şjwän ^C		
	[E] TB: JP mǎ ³¹ -run ⁵⁵ 'twin'			
-- 灣	wān	?wan	?uan	?rôn
25-32 = K. 179	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 卵	luǎn	lwän ^B	luon ^B	rôn? OCB *C-ron?
	[T] ONW luan <> [D] Min: Jiànōu se ^{C2}			
	[E] TB *(s-)rwa 'nit' > WT sro-ma 'eggs of louse, nit', JP tsi?-ru 'louse eggs'			
25-33 = K. 180	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac a 亂	luàn	lwän ^C	luon ^C	rôns OCB *C-rons
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR lwon (去); MGZY lon (去) [lon]; ONW luan.			
25-34 = K. 189	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 奴	nuán	nwan ^(C)	nuan ^(C)	nrôn, nrôns ✕ 16-28/1244 惱 惱

25-35 = K. 238 The elements 奕 and 10-31/134 需 are occasionally substituted for each other.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a- 奕 輓 軟	ruǎn	ńǎjwän ^B	ńuan ^B	non?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ryen (上); MGZY Zhwyan (上) [ryen]			
	[E] TB: WB nwai 'stretch along' ✕ nwai ^C 'bend flexibly'			
cd 輓 端	ruǎn	ńǎjwän ^B	ńuan ^B	non?
ef 輓 端	ruǎn	ńǎjwän ^(B)	ńuan ^(B)	non, non?
g 便	nuàn	nwän ^C	nuon ^C	nôns
h 便	nuǎn	nwän ^{B/C}	nuon ^{B/C}	nôn?, nôns
i 便	nuǎn	nwän ^B	nuon ^B	nôn?
jk 便 搗	ruán !	ńǎjwät	ńuat	not

25-36 = K. 176	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 鼠	cuàn	ts ^h wän ^C	ts ^h uan ^C	tshôns

25-37 = K. 177	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 鼠	cuàn	ts ^h wän ^C	ts ^h uan ^C	tshôns

25-38 = K. 234	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac 全 拴	quán	dzjwän	dzyan	dzon
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (平); MGZY tswyan (平) [dzyen]			
defg 痊 筌 筌 銓	quán	ts ^h jwän	ts ^h yan	tshon
h 輕 measure	quān	ts ^h jwän	ts ^h yan	tshon
輕 a car	chuán	ǎjwän	džuan	—

25-39 = K. 235	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 雋	juàn	dzjwän ^B	dzyan ^B	dzon?
b 騰	juǎn	tsjwän ^B	tsyan ^B	tson?
	[E] TB *tsow > WT ts ^h o-ba 'fat, greasy', WB ch ^u 'be fat, obese'			
c 鑄	juān	tsjwän	tsyan	tson
	[E] TB *tsow 'thorn' > Chepang cu?, Boro su?, WT mts ^h on 'any pointed or cutting instrument'			
d 僑	jùn	tsjwen ^C	tsuin ^C	tsuns

25-40 = K. 237	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 泉	quán	dzjwän	dzyan	dzwan R! OCB *Sg*jan
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzyen (平); MGZY tswyan (平) [dzyen]			
	[E] The word rimes in *-an, not the expected *-on. TB *tso 'bubble, boil': WT 'ts ^h o-ba, 'ts ^h od-pa 'cook in boiling water'; WB tshu 'to boil, bubble'			
e 線	xiàn	sjän ^C	sian ^C	sans = 24-41/155r 綫
	線 is a late [Zhouli] loan graph for 綫, perh. due to confusion with some other graph (SW 5877) <> [D] PMin *sian ^C			

25-41 = K. 1249a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 縵	quàn	ts ^h jwän ^C	ts ^h yan ^C	tshons

Acc. to SW (5845) 原 is phonetic, meant as perhaps just the rime; or rather the phonetic seems to be 25-40/237 quán 泉.

25-42 = K. 173	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 筭	suàn	swân ^C	suan ^C	sôns
25-43 = K. 174	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 算	suàn	swân ^{B/C}	suan ^{B/C}	sôn?, sôns
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR swon (去); MGZY son (去) [sɔn]; ONW suan			
bc 筭	suǎn	swân ^B	suan ^B	sôn?
d 纂	zuǎn	tswân ^B	tsuan ^B	tsôn?
e 纂	cuàn	tʂ ^h wan ^C	tʂ ^h uan ^C	tshrôn?
25-44 = K. 175	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ab 蒜	suàn	swân ^C	suan ^C	sôns
	[E] TB: PL *swan ^{1/2} 'onion', WB Krak-swán			

26 OCM rime *-i, *-əi Zhī bù 脂部

GSR 547 - 605

Baxter 1992: 446 ff. (§10.1.8)

See Table 7-1 for a comparison of OC *-i, *-e and *-ai in QYS categories. See Table 32-1 for OC rimes *-in, *-it, *(t)s, *-i.

Table 26-1: OCM rimes *-i, *-əi, *-ui and *-ə in QYS categories

Div.	*-i R.26	*-əi R.27	*-ui R.28	*-ə R.4
I gr		開 k ^h ai k ^h əi *khəi 回 ɣwəi ɣuəi *wəi 枚 mwəi məi *məi	隈 ?wəi ?uəi *?ŋi	改 kái ^B kə ^B *kə? 恢 k ^h wəi k ^h uə *khwə 每 mwəi ^B mə ^B *mə?
I ac			堆 twəi tuəi *tūi	在 dzəi ^B dzə ^B *dzə?
IV gr	啟 k ^h ie ^B k ^h əi ^B *khí? 米 mie ^B me ^B *mí? 睽 k ^h wei k ^h uei *khwí			
IV ac	氏 tie ^B te ^B *tí?	妻 t ^h ie ^B t ^h əi *tshəi		
III gr		幾 kje ^B kie ^B *kəi? 歸 kjei ^B kui *kwəi 圍 jwei wui *wəi 飛 pjwei pui *pəi		III *-ə merged with *-u after labial and labiovelar initials
3/3	耆 gji3 gi *gri 戮 gjwi3 gwi *gwri	冀 kji ^C 3 ki ^C *krəih 美 mji ^B 3 mi ^B *mrəi?	夔 gjwi 3 gui *gui	龜 kjwi3 kui <kwə > *kwə 鄙 pji ^B 3 pi ^B <piə > *prə?
3/4	伊 ?i4 ?i *?i 比 pi ^B 4 pi ^B *pi? 癸 kwi ^B 4 kwi ^B *kwi? 維 jwi4 wi *wi			
III ac	死 si ^B si ^B *si?	(*təi merged w. *ti)	誰 zwi dzui *dui	
II	階 kái kei *krí	(*rəi merged w. *rí)	襄 ɣwǎi guei *grūi	戒 kǎi ^C ke ^C *krəh 怪 kwǎi ^C kue ^C *krwəh

The Table shows the MC mergers of OC finals (MC homophones in boxes). After acute initials, the later reflexes of OC rimes *-i and *-əi have merged so that it is difficult or impossible to untangle them. Most XS with acute initials are listed here, written with the OCM default rime *-i. Baxter has tried to identify the rimes of individual words with the *Shijing*, with the result that the traditional phonetic series at our disposal appear to mix the two OC rimes. This approach presumes that the rimes in poetry keep *-i and *-əi strictly separate. On the other hand, frequently riming words like *dì* 弟 'younger brother' rime with both *-i and *-əi, thereby calling a reliable distinction into question. But OCM follows Baxter for the most part.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
26-1 = K. 586	筭	jī	kiei	kei	kí	
26-2 = K. 587	呬	jī	kiei ^(B)	kei ^(B)	kí, kí?	
26-3 = K. 1241a	計 calculate	jì	kiei ^C	kei ^C	kíh	≈ 26-6/552o jī 稽 [T] ONW kèi; OCB *keps (1992: 546), but see Intro. 9.2.9.
26-4 = K. 588	启啟	qǐ	k ^h iei ^B	k ^h ei ^B	khí?	[T] ONW k ^h èi
	髌	qǐ,	k ^h iei ^B	k ^h ei ^B	khí?	'joint (in the body)'
		qǐng	~ k ^h ien ^B	~ k ^h en ^B	~ khên?	≈ 26-6i,o
	啓	qǐ	k ^h iei ^B	k ^h ei ^B	khí?	
26-5 = K. 1241	OCM is based on the assumption that 兮 is phonetic in 讒 and that the MC affrication in dži ^C is irregular as in the homophone shì 示 26-7/553a.					
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
d	兮	xī	ɣiei	ɣei	gí	
h	盼	xì	ɣiei ^C , ŋiei ^C	ɣei ^C , ŋei ^C	gíh, ŋíh	
-	盼	xī	xjet 3, xjət	hit	—	= 盼
1237l	讒	shì	dži ^C	ži ^C < gi ^C ?	gih	
26-6 = K. 552	旨	zhǐ	tí ^B	tí ^B < ki ^B	ki?	OCB *kijj?
	指	zhǐ	tí ^B	tí ^B < ki ^B	ki?	[T] Sin Sukchu SR t̄si (上), PR, LR t̄sɿ; MGZY ji (上) [t̄si]; ONW t̄si
	脂	zhī	tí	tí < ki	ki	OCB *kijj
	嗜	shì	ží ^C	dži ^C b < gi ^C	gih	OCB *gijjs
	鯨	qí	gji 3	gi	gri	[T] ONW dži ^C <> [E] WT dgyes-pa 'rejoice' ≈ dge-ba 'happiness, virtue'
	耆	jǐ	kji ^B 3	ki ^B	kri?	= 26-8/602 麩
	耆	qí	gji 3	gi	gri	[T] ONW gi; BTD Skt. gr-, Pkt. gi (Coblin 1982: 129) <> [E] WT bgre-ba 'to grow old'
	耆	zhǐ	tí ^B	tí ^B < ki ^B	ki?	
mn	鬢	qí	gji 3	gi	gri	
i	韻	qǐ	k ^h iei ^B	k ^h ei ^B	khí?	= o; ≈ 26-4h
o	稽	qǐ	k ^h iei ^B	k ^h ei ^B	khí?	= i; ≈ 26-4h
	稽	jī	kiei	kei	kí	'to bow down (the head) to the ground'
	稽	jī	kiei	kei	kí	≈ 26-3/1241a 計 <> [T] ONW k ^h èi
k	詣	yì	ŋiei ^C	ŋei ^C	ŋíh	
q	著	shī	sí	sí	hji	OCB xjij

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
26-7 = K. 553	示	shì	dži ^C	dži ^C < gi ^C !	gih	
	視	shì	ži ^B , ži ^C	gi ^B , gi ^C	gi? R!	= 26-14/590q [T] Sin Sukchu SR ži (去), PR ži; MGZY ci (去) [dži]; ONW dži (transcriptional material indicates that 示 had the same initial as 視)
	祁	qí	gji 3	gi	gri	OCB grjəj [E] ? TB: WB kri ^B 'great, big'
26-8 = K. 602	几机	jǐ	kji ^B 3	ki ^B	kri?	OCB *krjəj [E] TB *kriy > PL *kre ^l > WB k ^h re 'foot, leg' ≈ ə-k ^h re 'foundation, foot', WT k ^h ri 'seat, chair', Lepcha hri 'chair'
	飢	jī	kji 3	ki	kri	OCB *krjəj [T] ONW ki
	肌飢	jī	kji 3	ki	kri	
	麩	jǐ	kji ^B 3	ki ^B	kri?	= 26-6/552 麩 [E] TB *d-kiy: PL *kye 'barking deer'; WB khye, gyi ^A 'barking deer', JP t̄f̄ã ³³ -k ^h ji ³³ 'muntjac', k ^h yi ^l -ma? ^l 'a kind of muntjac', Lushai sa ^H -khi ^L < -k ^h i ^l /h 'barking deer'
26-9 = K. 599	皆階	jiē	kǎi	kei	krí	OCB *krij
	偕	xié	kǎi	kei	krí? !	OCB *krij(?)
	階	jiē	kǎi	kei	krí	OCB *krəj
	楷	kǎi	k ^h ǎi ^B	k ^h ei ^B	khí?	
	楷	jiē	kǎi	kei	krí	
	諧	xié	ɣǎi	gei	grí	[T] ONW ɣèi
	階	xié, jiē	ɣǎi, kǎi	gei, kei	grí	OCB *grəj
	楷	jiā	kǎt	ket	krât or krít	= 30-5/504a 夏 'Musical box'; MC kǎt can derive from *krât and *krít.
26-10 = K. 605	Here the main vowel is i, therefore LHan -wi in Div. 3/4 and 3/3; this contrasts with the rime 28 (e.g., 28-1/569 鬼) where i is part of the diphthong -ui (i.e., -uj).					
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	癸	guǐ	kwi ^B 4	kwi ^B	kwi?	
e	揆	kuǐ	gwi ^B 4	gwi ^B	gwi?	
g	葵	kuí	gwi 4	gwi	gwi R!	OCB *g ^w jij
f	戮	kuí	gjwi 3	gwi	gwri	
h	驥	kuí	gjwi 3	gwi	gwrəi R!	OCB *g ^w rjəj
	a horse	què	k ^h wet	k ^h uet	khwít	'kind of horse'
i	睽	kuí	k ^h wei	k ^h uei	khwí	
k	闕	què	k ^h wet	k ^h uet	khwít	

[N] Li writes syllables like a to g as MC kwi, gwi; I write kjiwi 4, gjwi 4 in order to make them parallel with rimes *-it and *-in. Li does not provide an example for kjiwi 3; he may have considered the 3/3 ~ 3/4 distinction spurious.

26-11 = K. 1241i Mand. MC LHan OCM
i 醯 xī xiwei hue(i) hwí / hwê ?

26-12 = K. 589 Mand. MC LHan OCM
ab 医毆 yì ?iei^C ?ei^C ?ih
f 翳 yì ?iei^(C) ?ei^(C) ?i, ?ih
eg 繫鷺 yī ?iei ?ei ?i

26-13 = K. 604 Mand. MC LHan OCM
ad 伊咿 yī ?i 4 ?i ?i

伊 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ?i (平); MGZY Yi (平) [?ji]; STCA ?i, ONW ?ii; BTD Skt. ī. MHan 伊
循 ?i-zuin < -s-jun (< *s-lun) Ἰσσηδόνες (Issedones)
[E] TB: Lushai ?i^L 'this, that', Chepang ?i? 'he', WB i 'this'

26-14 = K. 590 Mand. MC LHan OCM
a 底 base dǐ tiei^B tei^B tí? OCB *tj? ?
[D] PMin *tie^B <> [E] WT mt^hil, OTib. t^hild < *m-tild 'bottom, floor', Tamang ³ti: 'below'
底 a tribe dī tiei tei tí
c 底 bottom dǐ tiei^B tei^B tí?
come to zhǐ tǐ^B tǐ^B tí?
d 抵 dǐ tiei^(B/C) tei^(B/C) tí, tí?, tíh
fgi 抵抵邸 dǐ tiei^B tei^B tí?
eh 低抵 dī tiei tei tí

低 [T] Sin Sukchu SR tjei (平), PR ti; MGZY di (平) [ti]; ONW tei

j 詆 tí, dǐ diei, tiei^B dei, tei^B dǐ, tí?
no 底抵 zhǐ tǐ^B tǐ^B tí? OCB *tjij?
p 抵 zhǐ tǐ tǐ ti OCB *tjəj
s 鴟 chī tǐ^hi tǐ^hi thi OCB *thjij
qr q 眈 shì ži^{B/C} dži^{B/C} (gi?/h) = 26-7/553h 視
k 胝 zhǐ tǐ tǐ tri
l 抵 chí ði ði dri = 26-16/596c 墀
m 抵 chí ði ði dri
867h 痲 illness dǐ tiei^B tei^B tí

[N] There is some confusion with 7-6/GSR 867.

26-15 = K. 591 Mand. MC LHan OCM
a 弟 y. bro. dī diei^B dei^B dǐ? OCB *dəj? / *dij? < *duj? ?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR djei (上), PR, LR di; MGZY ti (上) [di]; ONW dēi <> [D] PMin *die^B
[E] ST *dwi: TB *doy 'younger brother' > WB t^hwe^B 'be youngest', JP šadói 'last born child'
弟 fraternal dī diei^C dei^C dǐh
d 娣 dī diei^{B/C} dei^{B/C} dǐ?, dǐh
f 悌 tì diei^C dei^C dǐh
e 第 dī diei^C dei^C dǐh
g 稊 sprout tí diei dei dǐ = 26-17/551k
i 第 a grain tí diei dei dǐ = 26-17/551k
hj 緜 鶉 tí diei dei dǐ

k 睇 dī diei^C, t^hiei dei^C, t^hei dǐh, thǐ
[E] TB: Chepang d^həy- 'concentrate, look at (esp. when aiming), be watchful, alert' ≠ d^hes-
'see clearly, sight clearly (when aiming)'
m 涕 tì t^hiei^{B/C} t^hei^B, t^hei^C thǐ?, thǐh OCB *thij?
= 26-17/551f 淚 (late graph) <> [E] TB *ti / *tui 'water' > Chepang ti? 'water', WT m^hi-ma
'a tear', Chepang ma-ti? 'river', Kanauri *ti 'water'; Dhimal hna-thi 'snot'
l 梯 tī t^hiei t^hei thǐ
[D] PMin *thəi ~ *thuəi <> [E] WB hle-ka^B 'stairs, ladder', TGTm *^Ahli, Chepang hləy?
- 剃 tì t^hiei^C — — See 8-12/850hr 剔鬚.
[T] ONW t^hei <> [D] PMin *thie^C = tī 鬚 (t^hiei^C)
n 豔 zhì djet ðit drit

26-16 = K. 595, 596 See comment under 26-33.

Mand. MC LHan OCM
595g 穉, 596e 穉 zhì ði^C ði^C drih OCB *drjəjs
595h 穉 sew BI zhì ði^C ði^C or ðis drih or drəts = 29-15/413 穉
≠ 29-17/402 穉 *drit
596d 遲, 595d 遲 chí ði ði dri 'tarry' OCB *drjəj
[T] ONW di
遲 zhì ði^C ði^C drih 'wait'
596c 墀 chí ði ði dri = 26-14/590l 坻

26-17 = K. 551 In some graphs 夷 seems to have been confused with 弟. *-i is the default final.

Mand. MC LHan OCM
ade 夷 夷姨 yí ji ji ləi 夷 OCB ljəj
夷 = 26-18/1237c 彝
gh 夷 夷 yí ji ji li
j 榎 a tree yí ji ji li OCB ljəj
f 淚 tì, yí t^hiei^{B/C}, ji t^hei^{B/C} thǐ?, thǐh ! OCB *thij?
= 26-15/591m 涕
k 蕘 sprout tí diei dei dǐ = 26-15/591g
a grain tí diei dei dǐ = 26-15/591i
mow yí ji ji li

26-18 = K. 1237c Mand. MC LHan OCM
c 彝 yí ji ji ləi OCB ljəj = 26-17/551a 夷
[T] ONW i < ji

26-18A Mand. MC LHan OCM
- 鬃 dī, yì diei^C, ji^C dei^C, ji^C lǐh, lih ?
SW: 'a long-haired animal'. The OC final could also have been lǐh, ləih, or lí(t)s, li(t)s. The
OB form of this graph is thought to write 21-29K. 319d 殺 (K. Takashima).

26-19 = K. 560 Mand. MC LHan OCM
a 矢 shǐ śi^B śi^B lhi? ! OCB *hljij? [T] ONW śi
[E] ? TB *d-liy 'bow' > Bahing li, Limbu li 'bow', Lepcha sǎ-lí, Nung t^həli, WB le^B

e	雉	zhì	ɕi ^B	ɕi ^B	dri? !
		[E] WB rac 'pheasant', WT sreg-pa 'partridge', Lushai va ^L -hrit ^L , SChin-Areng tari', Mru rik, Garo grit 'pheasant'			
m	薙	tì,	t ^h ie ^{iC} ,	t ^h ei ^C ,	lhíh,
		zhì, sì	ɕi ^B , zi ^B	ɕi ^B , zi ^B	dri? < r-li?, s-li?
ij	矧馱	more shěn	ʃjen ^B	ʃin ^B	lhín? 'how much the more'
	矧馱	gums shěn	ʃjen ^B	ʃin ^B	hín? or nhín? * 26-32/594i 晒
		[E] WT rñil ~ sñil 'gums' <> [N] The original phonetic is probably 32-20.			
k	眈	blink shùn	ʃjwen ^C	ʃuin ^C	hwins
		= 32-24/469c 瞬; 33-19/450[m] 瞋			

26-20 = K. 561 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	尸	shī	ʃi	ʃi	lhi	OCB *hljij
		[T] ONW ʃi; BTD Skt. ʃila				
ce	屍鳴	shī	ʃi	ʃi	lhi	
d	屎	excrem. shǐ	ʃi ^B	ʃi ^B	lhi? !	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʃi (上); PR ʃl <> [E] ST *kli?				
	屎	groan xī	xi 4	hi	həi !	
		[N] An OCM hi would have yielded MC ʃi.				

26-21 = K. 556 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	兕	sì	zi ^B	zi ^B	s-jəi?	OCB *zjij?
		'Wild water buffalo' (not 'rhinoceros') <> [E] ST *s-jəl: TB-Lushai sial ^H < sial 'domestic buffalo'				

26-22 = K. 562 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	履	lǔ	li ^B	li ^B	ri?	OCB *C-rjij?
		This graph transcribes Indic syllables ri, ɕi, mi, me, vi (Pulleyblank 1983: 100)				

26-23 = K. 597 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	豊	lǐ	liei ^B	lei ^B	rí?	
dh	禮體	lǐ	liei ^B	lei ^B	rí?	[T] ONW lei
e	醴	lǐ	liei ^B	lei ^B	rí?	OCB *C-rjij?
i	體	tǐ	t ^h ie ^{iB}	t ^h ei ^B	rhí?	OCB *hrij?
		[T] ONW t ^h ei <> [E] ST *sri 'to exist' > TB *sri(-t) > WT srid-pa 'existence, life, things existing, the world, a single being', WB hri ^C 'to be (in some place)'. WT gšis < *g-rhjis (?) 'person, body, natural disposition'				

26-24 = K. 519 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ab	利	lì	li ^C	li ^C	rih !	OCB *C-rjij/ts
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljej (去), PR, LR li; MGZY li (去) [li]; ONW li; Han BTD Indic -rī, -riya, -li, e.g., 墮舍利 hyai-śah-lih Skt. Vaiśālī; this shows that li was an open syllable, it did not end in -ts <> [E] TB *rit 'reap, cut' > LB *rit > WB rit 'to reap, mow, shave'; Lushai riit ^F / ri? ^L 'cut, dig or scrape with a hoe'; Mikir rē- 'be sharp'				
-	莉	li	li ^C			See 21-37.
hi	梨	lí	li	li	ri	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ljej (平), PR, LR li; MGZY li (平) [li]; ONW li				
		[D] PMin *li ~ *lai <> MY: *rai ^l				
l	藜	lí	li	li	ri	

g	犁	lí	liei, li	lei, li	rí, ri	[T]
		[T] ONW lei. 犁犁 xīn-lí LH sin-li Turk. Syr (Pulleyblank 1983: 455) <> [D] PMin *le				
		[E] KT: PTai *t ^h lai ^{A1} 'to plow', Kam k ^h aj 'plow' <> PMY *l ² ai ^{3A}				
jkm	藜	lí	liei	lei	rí	
		26-25 = K. 563 Mand. MC LHan OCM				
a	尼	near ní	ni	ni	nri	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR njej (平), PR ni; MGZY nī (平) [ni]; ONW ni; Han BTD Skt. nir-, ni				
	尼	stop nì	niei ^C	nei ^C	nīh	
b	昵	ní	ni	ni	nri	
		[E] TB *(r-)ni : JR kəwurni < *g-rni 'red', tərni 'gold', Qiang níh 'red'; WB ni 'red', Lahu ní ~ ni 'red, bare, naked'				
c	梃	nǐ	ni ^{B/C}	ni ^{B/C}	nri?, nrīh	
e	旄	nǐ	nje ^B	ne ^B	nre?	
d	泥	mud ní	niei	nei	nī	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR njej (平), PR ni; MGZY ni (平) [ni]; ONW nēi. MHan 泥泥 huan-nei kuhani or khvani <> [D] In many dialects, the word means 'earth' tū 土, e.g., K-Meix nēi ^l 'soil, earth'.				
	泥	moisten nǐ	niei ^B	nei ^B	nī?	OCB *nəj?
	泥	obstruct. nì	niei ^C	nei ^C	nīh	
f	昵	ní	njet, niei ^B	nit, nei ^B	nrī, nī?	= 29-26/404 相 黏 glue
		[N] For MC niei ^B , see Coblin 1983: 239. <> [E] Prob. MK: Khmu klɲa? 'resin', the prefix kl- derives from kəl 'tree'.				

26-26 = K. 592 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	妻	wife qī	ts ^h ie ⁱ	ts ^h ei	tshəi !	OCB *tshəj
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'jej (平), PR ts'i; MGZY tshi (平) [ts'i]; ONW ts ^h ei				
		[E] MK: Khmer *-sai: khsai /ksaj/ 'be female' * Mid. Khmer kansai /kansay/ 'wife'				
	妻	give wife qì	ts ^h ie ^{iC}	ts ^h ei ^C	tshəih	
ef	淒淒	qī	ts ^h ie ⁱ	ts ^h ei	tshī < *k-sī	OCB *tshəj
		淒 [E] ? TB-WT bsil-ba 'cool', JP gā ³¹ -tsi ³³ 'cold'. Or ? WT (b)ser, gser-bu 'a fresh cold breeze, feeling cold', WB chi ^B (< *e) 'frost, hoarfrost'				
gi	萋	qī	ts ^h ie ⁱ	ts ^h ei	tshī	OCB *tshəj
j	隄	jī	tsie ^{i(C)}	tsei ^(C)	tsī, tsīh	= 26-27/593
l	棲	xī	sie ⁱ	sei	sī	OCB *səj = 26-32/594f 栖
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjej (平), PR, LR si; Phags-pa: MGZY si (平) [si]; ONW séi				

26-27 = K. 593 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	齊	equal qí	dziei	dzei	dzī	OCB *fits(h)əj
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzjej (平), PR dzi; MGZY tsi (平) [dzi]; ONW dzēi <> [D] PMin *dze				
	齊	edge zī	tsi	tsi	tsi	
-	臍	qí	dziei	dzei	dzī	
f	臍	qí	dziei	dzei	dzī	
		[D] PMin *dzəi ~ *dzhəi <> [E] ? TB *lay, *s-tay > JP dai ³¹ , ja ³¹ -dai ³³ 'navel'				
g	齏	qí	dziei	dzei	dzī	
h	劑	cut jì	dziei ^C	dzei ^C	dzīh	
		bond jī	tsje	tsie	tse or tsai	
i	齏	jì	dziei ^C	dzei ^C	dzīh	

l	薺	jì	dziei ^B	dzei ^B	dzî?	
k	薺	jì	dziei ^(B/C)	dzei ^(B/C)	dzî, dzî?, dzîh	
j	薺	jì	dziei ^(C)	dzei ^(C)	dzîh	
OCB *dzəjs, but all rimes in Shijing 254.5 are *-i.						
m	薺	jì	dziei ^C	dzei ^C	dzîh,	OCB *dzəjs
			tsiei ^C	tsei ^C	tsîh	
t	齏	jī	tsiei	tsei	tsî	= 26-29/554j; 26-30/555k
u	齏	jī, zī	tsiei, tsi	tsei, tsi	tsî, tsi	
r	齏	jī	tsiei ^(C)	tsei ^(C)	tsî, tsîh	OCB *tsəj
s	齏	jì	tsiei ^C	tsei ^C	tsîh	
p	齏	jī	tsiei	tsei	tsî	OCB *tsəj
n	齏	jī	tsiei ^(B/C)	tsei ^(B/C)	tsî, tsî?, tsîh	
[E] TB: WT 'ts'hir-ba 'to press, press out'						
o	濟	ford jì	tsiei ^C	tsei ^C	tsîh	OCB *tsəjs
[E] MK: Mon inscr. cnis [cnø] > cnih 'a ghat, place of access to river..., landing place'						
	濟	beautiful jì	tsiei ^B	tsei ^B	tsî?	OCB *tsij?
v	齏	zī	tsi	tsi	tsi	
y	齏	zhāi	tšai	tsei	tsrî	
z	齏	chái	dzai	dzei	dzrî	
[E] Tai: S. raai ^{A2} 'set, category, list'						

26-28 = K. 554						
abc	弟姊姊	zǐ	tsi ^B	tsi ^B	tsi?	
[E] TB *dzar > JP dzan ³³ , Lushai farR-nu ^L , Tangkhul əzär-vă 'sister (man speaking)'						
d	弟	zǐ	tsi ^B	tsi ^B	tsi?	OCB *tsij?
fg	第肺	zǐ	tšj ^B	tšj ^B	tsrî?	
hi	柿柿	shì	dzi ^C	dzi ^C	dzrîh	
j	豨	jī	tsiei	tsei	tsî	See 26-28/593t.
-	沛	jǐ	tsiei ^B	tsei ^B	tsî?	

26-29 = K. 555						
acd	次次歛	cì	ts'j ^C	ts'j ^C	tshih < *s-nhis ?	OCB *tshjjs
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'j (去); MGZY tsh'hi (去) [ts'j]; ONW ts'hi						
ij	茨資	cí	dzi	dzi	dzi	OCB *dzjij
e	咨	zī	tsi	tsi	tsi	
l	諮	zī	tsi	tsi	tsi	
h	資	zī	tsi	tsi	tsi	
mn	積資	zī!	dzi	dzi	dzi	
-	積	zī	dzi	dzi	dzi	
f	恣	zì	tsi ^C	tsi ^C	tsih	
g	粢 grain	zī	tsi	tsi	tsi	
	liquor	jì	dziei ^C	dzei ^C	dzîh	
k	豨	jī	tsiei	tsei	tsî	See 26-28/593t.
-	瓷	cí	dzi	dzi		

26-30 = K. 1237m						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
m	自	zì	dzi ^C	dzi ^C	dzih	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzj (去); MGZY ts'hi (去) [dzj]; ONW dzi						
This is the original OB graph for 'nose' 29-39 > bi 鼻 29-38/521c. See Intro. 6.2.1.						
26-31 = K. 594						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
af	西栖	xī	siei	sei	sî (< snî ?)	OCB *səj = 26-26/5921 棲
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjej (平), PR, LR si; 'Phags-pa: MGZY si (平) [si]; ONW sèi						
[N] xī is sometimes thought to be phonetic in 洒 *nə 4-39/946						
g	洒 sprinkle	sǎ, shǎi	šai ^B	šei ^B	srî?	
[T] ST *sri: Lushai hri ^L / hrik ^F < hriih / hriik 'to sift, screen'						
	洒 wash	xiǎn, xǐ	siei ^B , sien ^B	sei ^B , sen ^B	sî?, sîn?	= 33-25/478j 洗
[T] ONW sèi <> [E] ST *sil: TB *(m-)sil ~ *(m-)syal > WT bsil-ba 'to wash', Lushai sil ^R , WB ts'he ^B 'to wash', Mikir iŋt'hi(?) , JP 'gə-'šin 'wash'						
i	晒	shěi	šjen ^B	šin ^B	nhin? !	* 26-19/560i 矧
26-32 = K. 595						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	犀	xī	siei	sei	sî	
Acc. to SW 3787, this graph means 'to wait' and shows a person sitting 尸 on the phonetic xī 辛 *sin; the word is a semantic extension of xī 栖 *səi 26-31/594f 'roost, keep still'. Because of its meaning, the graph 犀 was then borrowed for a synonym chí 遲 *dri 'to wait'. 犀 xī is therefore not phonetic in 遲.						
犀 (SW 3787) and the homophone xī 犀 *sî 26-33/596a 'rhinoceros' (SW 540) look nearly identical in the seal script, so that these two graphic elements are used almost indiscriminately to write the words of GSR 595 and 596, which are here combined into 26-16.						
26-33 = K. 596						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	犀	xī	siei	sei	sâi	OCB *səj
See Intro. 9.2.2 <> [T] ONW sèi <> [E] ST *səj: WT bse 'rhinoceros'						
For the remaining items written with this element in GSR 596, see 26-16.						
26-34 = K. 557						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
ab	私私	sī	si	si	si	OCB *səj
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sɿ (平); MGZY sh'hi (平) [sɿ]; ONW si						
[E] ? TB: Lushai teei ^L < teeis 'myself, thyself...'						
26-35 = K. 558						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	死	sǐ	si ^B	si ^B	si? !	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sɿ (上); MGZY sh'hi (上) [sɿ]; ONW si						
[E] TB *siy 'to die' > WT 'č'hi-ba < *nsi, ši						
26-36 = K. 559						
Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM			
a	師	shī	ši	ši	sri	OCB *srjij
[T] Sin S. SR ši (平), PR, LR šj; MGZY sh'hi (平) [šj]; BTD 師利 Skt. śrī; MHan 貳師 nis-ši Nesef						
-	獅子	shī-zǐ	ši-tsi ^B	ši-tsiə ^B		[E] Tocharian A śisäk, B šecake 'lion'
-	篩	shāi, shī	ši	ši		
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši, šaj (平), PR šj; MGZY 篩 sh'hi (平) [šj] <> [D] M-Amoy thai ^{A1}						

26-37 = K. 565	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	匕杔	bǐ pi ^B 4	pi ^B	pi?	'spoon'
The old form of this graph is distinct from 26-38/566.					
26-38 = K. 566	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
an	匕 > 妣	bǐ pi ^{B/C} 4	pi ^{B/C}	pi?, pih	OCB *pjij?
The old form of this graph is distinct from 26-37/565.					
i	妣	pìn, bǐ	bjiē ^B 4, bi ^B	bin ^B , bin?	ONW biin
l	疤	bǐ	phji ^B 3, pji ^B 3, phje ^B 3	ph ^h i ^B , p(h)ri? ?, phie ^B	phai? or phre? ?
k	庀	pǐ	ph ^h i ^B 4, phjie ^B 4	ph ^h i ^B , phie ^B	phi?, phe? [E] TB: Lushai pei ^{2L} 'to finish'
g	比 compare	bǐ	pi ^B 4	pi ^B	pi?
	比 combine	bǐ	pi ^C 4, bi ^C 4	pi ^C , bi ^C	pih, bih
	比 tiger skin	pí	bi 4	bi	bi
qr	秕 ¹ grain	bǐ	pi ^B 4	pi ^B	pi?
q	秕 ² comb	bǐ	bi ^C 4		
m	枇 spoon	bǐ	pi ^B 4	pi ^B	pi? = 26-37/565ab
p	庇	bì	pi ^C 4	pi ^C	pih
t	緙 silk	pǐ	ph ^h i ^B 4	ph ^h i ^B	phi?
	error	pī, bī	ph ^h i 4, phjie, piei	ph ^h i, phie, pei	phi, phe, pī
v	钹 braid	pí	bjie, bi ^C 4	bie, bi ^C	bih R!
z	茈 herb	pí	bi 4	bi	bi
a'	批 cover	bǐ	pi(C) 4?	pi(C)	pi, pih OCB *bjijs
d'	批 slap	pī	phiei	phie	phī
	knock ag.	piē	biet	bet	bīt
-	吡	pǐ	phjie ^B 4	phie ^B	phe?
-	屁	pì	ph ^h i ^C 4	ph ^h i ^C	phih
					[E] TB *pwe?: Limbu p ^h e-ma, Mikir kep ^h é, Naga *b-woy ³ , Chin *woy-s ⁴ , Lushai voi?
s	蚍蟻 separated	pǐ	ph ^h i ^B , bi ^B 3	ph ^h i ^B , bi ^B	bri?
u	毗 ugly	pí	bi 4	bi	bi
y	埤	pí	bi 4	bi	bi OCB *bjij
b'c'	埤	bì	bi ^C 4	bi ^C	bih
	榭	bì	biei ^B	bei ^B	bi?

e'	毘 navel	pí	bi 4	bi	bi < bli ?
					[T] BTD Skt. -mi, -pita. <> [E] KT: PKS *lwa ¹ 'navel', Mak ?daai ⁶ , PT *?bl/r-: S. sa-dh ^{A1}
f'g'	膃 g' stom.	pí	bi 4	bi	bi < bli ? 'stomach' [T] ONW béi
	膃 navel	pí	biei	bei	bí < bli ?
h'	貔	pí	bi 4	bi	bi [E] TB: WT dbyi 'lynx'
26-39 = K. 598	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	米	mǐ	miei ^B	mei ^B	mí? OCB *mij?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR mjei (上); MGZY mi (上) [mi]
					[D] PMin *mi ^{B2} 'husked rice' < ? TB *ma-y
d	眯	mǐ	miei ^B	mei ^B	mí?
e	迷	mí	miei	mei	mî OCB *mij
					[E] TB: Lushai hmai ^{2L} < hmaih 'to overlook, miss, forget' < TB *maay, WB me ^C 'forget'
					[T] ONW méi
-	謎	mí	miei ^C	mei ^C	míh [T] ONW méi
f	麋	mí	mji 3	mí	mri OCB *mrjij
					[E] ? TB: Chepaŋ mai? 'meat', Boro myi? 'deer', Liangmei ka-mí 'meat'; NNaga *me:y 'meat, flesh'
m	麋	mí	mji 3	mí	mri
hi	救侏	mǐ	mjie ^B 4	mie ^B	me? = 7-31/360a 彌
					[T] MTang mi, ONW me [i.e., QYS Div. 3]
kl	采粟粟	mí	mjie 4	mie	me = 7-20/359m 彌

27 OCM rime *-əi Wēi bù 微部 (1)

GSR 541 - 605

Baxter 1992: 446 ff. (§10.1.8)

See Table 30-1 for OCM rimes *-ən, *-ət, *-ə(t)s, *-əi in QYS categories. See Table 26-1 for a comparison of OC rimes *-i, *-əi, *-ui and *-ə.

OC rimes *-əi and *-i are distinguished in MC only after grave initials, they have merged after acute initials, they are included in Rime 26 by default. OC *-əi and *-ui have merged after labial initials, they are included in this Rime 27. The OCM coda *-i in diphthongs behaves like a final dental consonant, hence a strictly phonemic transcription would write it as *-j, as in OCB (*-aj, *-əj, *-uj).

27-1 = K. 541	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 開	kāi	kʰəi	kʰəi	khəi	= 27-2/548f 闔
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'aj (平); MGZY khay (平) [k'aj]; ONW kʰa <> [E] MY: Yao khai' (< *kh-) 'to open' tr. ≠ gai' (< *ŋkh-) 'to open' intr.: 'be happy, to blossom' <> Tai: S. kʰai ^{A1} 'to open'					
27-2 = K. 548	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 豈 happy	kǎi	kʰəi ^B	kʰəi ^B	khəi?	
how	qǐ	kʰjei ^B	kʰji ^B	khəi?	
bcd 凱愷塏	kǎi	kʰəi ^B	kʰəi ^B	khəi?	
f 闔	kǎi	kʰəi ^(B)	kʰəi ^(B)	khəi, khəi?	= 27-1/541a 闔
e 鎧	kǎi	kʰəi ^{B/C}	kʰəi ^{B/C}	khəi?, khəih	
g 趨	hái	ɣəi	gəi	gəi	
j 覬	jì	kji ^C 3	ki ^C	krəih	= 27-3/603 冀
i 螳	yǐ	ŋjei ^B	ŋji ^B	ŋəi?	TB: KN-Lai hŋe?r-tee 'ant'
27-3 = K. 603	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac 冀驥	jì	kji ^C 3	ki ^C	krəih	= 27-2/548j 覬
27-4 = K. 547	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 幾 few	jǐ	kjei ^B	kii ^B	kəi?	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjei (上), PR, LR ki; MGZY gi (上) [ki]; ONW ki					
[E] -> PTai *kii ^C 'several, how many' > S. kii ^{B1} , Saek kii ³					
幾 small	jǐ	kjei	kii	kəi	
幾 hem	qí	gjei	gii	gəi	
cde 機璣磯	jǐ	kjei	kii	kəi	
f 機	jǐ	kjei	kii	kəi	
a drink	jì	kjei ^C	kii ^C	kəih	
g 機	jǐ	kjei ^B	kii ^B	kəi?	

h 蟻 louse	jǐ	kjei ^B	kii ^B	kəi?	[E] ? TB-KN *m-kei 'to bite'
leech	qí	gjei	gii	—	
[D] PMin *ghi > Fúzh ma ^{A2} -kʰi ^{A2} , Xiamen ɣə ^{A2} -kʰi ^{A2} ; Yue Guǎngzh kʰei ^{A2} -na ^B					
ij 譏讖	jǐ	kjei	kii	kəi	
k 饑	jǐ	kjei	kii	kəi	
[E] TB: WT bkres 'be hungry', JP kyet ³¹ 'hungry', Chepang kray- vb. 'hunger', Mru krai					
l 畿	jǐ !	gjei	gii	gəi	

27-5 = K. 550	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 衣 clothes	yī	ʔjei	ʔii	ʔəi	OCB *ʔjəj
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔi (平); MGZY ʔi (平) [ʔi]; ONW ʔi					
衣 wear	yì	ʔjei ^C	ʔii ^C	ʔəih	OCB *ʔjəjs
f 依 lean on	yī	ʔjei	ʔii	ʔəi	
metaphor	yǐ	ʔjei ^B	ʔii ^B	ʔəi?	
g 宸	yǐ	ʔjei ^B	ʔii ^B	ʔəi?	
j 儼	yǐ	ʔjei ^B	ʔii ^B	ʔəi?	
h 哀	āi	ʔəi	ʔəi	ʔəi	OCB *ʔəj

27-6 = K. 549	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ag 希晞	xī	xjei	hii	həi	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR xi (平); MGZY hi (平) [xi]					
bcd 悾晞歛	xī	xjei	hii	həi	OCB *xjəj
ef 豨豨	xī, xǐ	xjei ^(B)	hii ^(B)	həi, həi?	
1237k 絺 fine cloth	chī	tʰi	tʰi	thrəi	? ≠ 27-7/1237i 蒹

27-7 = K. 1237i	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
i 蒹 embroid. zhǐ	zhǐ	tʰi ^B	tʰi ^B	tri? (or trəi? ?)	
? ≠ 27-6/1237k 絺; ≠ 26-16/595h 絳; ≠ 29-15/413 綴					

27-8 = K. 579	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad 非扉	fēi	pjwei	pui	pəi	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR fi (平), LR fi; MGZY h(w)i (平) [fi]; ONW pui					
g 誹	fēi	pjwei ^(C)	pui ^(C)	pəi, pəih	
[E] ? TB: WT pʰyar-kʰa 'blame, affront, insult'					
e 斐	fēi	pjwei ^B	pui ^B	pəi?	
cf 匪筐	fēi	pjwei ^B	pui ^B	pəi?	
hi 悱斐	fēi	pʰjwei ^B	pʰui ^B	phəi?	
j 霏	fēi	pʰjwei	pʰui	phəi	OCB *phjəj
k 駢 run	fēi	pʰjwei	pʰui	phəi	
horse	fēi	pjwei	pui	pəi	
l 菲 a plant	fēi	pʰjwei ^B	pʰui ^B	phəi?	
fragrant	fēi	pʰjwei	pʰui	phəi	
sandal	fèi	bjwei ^C	bui ^C	bəih	
mno 荆扉扉	fèi	bjwei ^C	bui ^C	bəih	
p 翡	fēi !	bjwei ^C	bui ^C	bəih	
q 腓	fēi	bjwei	bui	bəi	OCB *bjəj

r	蜚	fèi,	bjwei ^C ,	bui ^C ,	bəih,	
		fěi	pjwei ^B	pui ^B	pəi?	
s	隄	fěi	bjwei ^{B/C}	bui ^{B/C}	bəi?, bəih	
u	悲	bēi	pji 3	pi	prəi	OCB *prjəj
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (平); PR pəj; MGZY bue (平) [pue]				
t	俳	pái	bwâi	bai	bəi	
vx	俳排	pái	băi	bei	brəi	
27-9 = K. 580						
a	飛	fēi	pjwei	pui	pəi	OCB *pjəj
		[T] Area word: TB *pur ~ *pir > WT 'p ^h ur-ba 'to fly'				
27-10 = K. 581						
a	妃 wife	fēi	p ^h jwəi	p ^h ui	phəi	
	match	pèi	p ^h wâi ^C	p ^h uəi ^C	phəih or phəs	
		[N] Pèi 'match' is transferred from a partial syn. pèi 配 30-12/514				
27-11 = K. 582						
a	肥	féi,	bjwei,	bui,	bəi,	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (平), LR vi; MGZY H(w)i (平) [vi]; ONW bui				
		[D] PMin *byi. <> ? Tai *bii ^A 'fat' (CH loan?)				
27-12 = K. 353						
a	火	huǒ	xuâ ^B	huai ^B	hməi? R!	OCB hməj?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR xwə (上); MGZY hwo (上) [xwə]; ONW huo <> [D] PMin *hoi ^B				
		[E] TB *mey > WT me, OTib. smye; Chepang hme?; LB *?mey ² [Matisoff], WB mi ^B , Lushai mei ^R < mei?. See Intro. 4.1.				
27-13 = K. 546						
ab	枚玫	méi	mwâi	məi	məi	OCB *məj
		枚 [T] MK: OKhmer mək [mæk] 'branch, bow, limb, twig'				
27-14 = K. 567						
		See Intro. 5.2.3 and Rime 28 for the Div. 3/3 OC u for OCB medial *r.				
a	眉 eyebrow	méi	mji 3	mi	mui	OCB *mrjəj [T] ONW mi
	眉 vigorous	měi	mjwei ^B	mui?	məi?	OCB *mjəj?
		= 27-15/585a 疊				
gf-	湄媚郿	méi	mji 3	mi	mui	OCB *mrjəj
d	媚	mèi	mji ^C 3	mi ^C	muih	
27-15 = K. 585						
a	疊 vigorous	wěi	mjwei ^B	mui ^B	məi?	= 27-14/567a 眉
		See Intro. 5.2.3 and Rime 28 for the Div. 3/3 OC u for OCB medial *r.				
	疊 a gorge	mén	muən	mən	mən	OCB *mən
27-16 = K. 568						
a	美	měi	mji ^B 3	mi ^B	mui?	OCB *mrjəj?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR muj (上), PR, LR məj; MGZY mue (上) [mue]; ONW mi				
		[E] TB *moy > Lushai moi ^H , Kachin moi				

27-17 = K. 583						
a	尾	wěi	mjwei ^B	mui ^B	məi?	OCB *mjəj?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (上); MGZY wi (上) [vi]; ONW mui ^B <> [D] PMin *mye ^B				
		[E] TB *r-may 'tail' > PL *?mri ² , WB mri ^B ; KN-Aimol rəmai; Lushai mei ^R < mei?				
cd	媿媿	wěi	mjwei ^B	mui ^B	məi?	
e	媿	huǐ	xjwei ^B	hui ^B	hməi?	
27-18 = K. 584						
a	散	wēi	mjwei !	mui	məi	
dfg	薇薇	wēi	mjwei	mui	məi	OCB *mjəj
		微 [T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); MGZY wi (平) [vi]; ONW mui				
g	嫩	měi	mji ^B 3	mi ^B	mui?	= 27-16 美
		See Intro. 5.2.3 and Rime 28 for the Div. 3/3 OC u for OCB medial *r.				
h	徽 rope	huī	xjwei	hui	hməi	
		[E] Tai: S. mai ^{A1} < *hm- 'thead, silk'				
	徽 signal	huī	xjwei	hui	hməi	
		[E] TB: WB hmwe ^C 'whirl about, twirl', Lushai hmui ^R < hmui? 'spinning wheel'				
27-19 = K. 572						
a	虺 snake	huǐ	xjwei ^B	hui ^B	(hməi?)	= 27-20/1009 虫
	thunder	huǐ	xjwei ^B	hui ^B	hwəi?	OCB *huj
	exhausted	huī	xwâi, xwăi	huəi, huei	hrúi	
		The graph was probably borrowed later for 虫 'snake' and replaced it.				
27-20 = K. 1009						
a	虺 snake	huǐ	xjwei ^B	hui ^B	hməi?	= 27-19/572 虺
		[E] TB *m/b-ru:l > WT sbrul < s-mrul?, LB *m-r-wiy ^l , KN *m-ruul, Lushai ruul ^H < ruul				

28 OCM rime *-ui, *-wəi Wēi bù 微部 (2)

GSR 541 - 605

Baxter 1992: 446 ff. (§10.1.8)

See Table 26-1 for OC rimes *-i, *-əi, *-ui and *-ə in QYS categories. See Table 31-1 for a comparison of OCM *-ut, *-wət, *-wit, *-ui, *-u(t)s, *-wəi, *-wə(t)s, *-wi(t)s. See Intro. 5.2.3 for more about the removal of OCB medial *r in MC Div. 3/3 syllables.

The OCM coda *-i in diphthongs behaves like a final dental consonant, hence a strictly phonemic transcription would write it as *-j, as in OCB (*-aj, *-əj, *-uj).

Table 28-1: OCM rimes *-un / -wən, *-ut and *-ui / -wəi

MC	*-un / *-wən R.34	*-ut R.31	*-ui, *-u(t)s / *-wəi R.28, 31
III gr	君 kjwən kun *kwən 雲 jwən wun *wən	—	歸 kjwei kui *kwəi 貴 kjwei ^C kus *kwəs 謂 jwei ^C wus *wəs
III gr	—	屈 khjwət k ^h ut *khut	—
3/3 gr	菌 gjwen ^{B3} guin ^B *gun?	—	夔 gjwi ³ gui *gui 匱 gjwi ^{C3} guis *gus
III ac	春 tshjwen tshuin *thun 允 jiwən ^B juin ^B *jun?	出 tshjwet tshuit *k-hlut	誰 zwi dzui *dui

Note to Table: (1) Acc. to Gāo Yòu, the reading of *jùn* 菌 gjwen^B was similar to *lún* 綸 ljuen (see Coblin 1983: 232). This can confirm either Baxter's medial *r hypothesis (*jùn* < *grun?); or it could mean that the final of *jùn* was similar to *lún* (MC -juen, not -juən). All else being equal, the second interpretation is less complex (i.e., adds no phoneme in OC) and is therefore preferable for OCM for the time being. Incidentally, this comment by Gāo Yòu illustrates the frequent ambiguities of such glosses and their doubtful value for a firm basis for reconstruction.

(2) *Wèi* 位 jwi 3 derives from OCB *(w)rəps as Baxter explains the MC *chóngniū* Div. 3/3 by loss of an OC medial *r. However, if, according to my interpretation (see main text), *gui* 匱 MC gjwi^C 3, LH *guis* derives from OCM *gus, then *wèi* 位 MC jwi 3 should derive from LH *wis* < *wuis*, < OCM *wus. Similarly, as *kuí* 夔 gjwi 3 derives from LH *gui*, < OCM *gui, so *wéi* 帷 jwi 3 should derive from LH *wi* < *wui*, < OCM *wui, in contrast to *wéi* 惟 MC jwi 4 < OCM *wi; and *wéi* 違 jwei, LH *wui* < OCM *wəi.

In some syllables with initial velars and the assumed OC rimes -ui, -ut/s, -un, Div. 3/3 abounds, it is almost exclusive. According to Baxter, these had all medial *r. Thus he has seven syllables of the type *kruts, but only one *kuts. This is rather odd. As Div. 3/3 also can derive from OC vowels (-je 3/3 < *ai, jau 3/3 < *au), I suggest that this is the case in these rimes as well:

Div. III		Div. 3/3	
MC jwən	< OCM *wən	—	
MC kjwən	< OCM *kwən	MC kjwen 3	< OCM *kun
MC kjwei ^C	< OCM *kwə(t)s	MC kjwi ^C 3	< OCM *ku(t)s
MC kjwei	< OCM *kwəi	MC kjwi 3	< OCM *kui

Thus MC *kjwen* 3 behaves in a way that is parallel to MC *kjwən* < *kon (Rime 25). Also, the syllables *wən tend to occur with MC final -juən (< *wən), not with MC -jwen 3 (< *un). In a short-stopped syllable with final *t, and in syllables with initial ?-, there is no III ~ 3/3 contrast, only Div. III. Therefore I assume OC *-ut rather than *-wət:

	MC kjwət	< OCM *kut
cf.	MC tshjwet	< OCM *tut
	MC ?jwət	< OCM *?ut
	MC ?jwən	< OCM *?un
	MC ?jwei	< OCM *?ui

28-1 = K. 569 See Intro. 5.2.3 and comment above for the Div. 3/3 OCM *u* for OCB medial *r.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	鬼 guǐ	kjwei ^B	kui ^B	kwəi?	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (上); MGZY gue (上) [kue]; ONW kui <> [D] PMin *kyi ^B				
g	塊 kuì, kuài	k ^h wəi ^C , k ^h wəi ^C	k ^h uəi ^C , k ^h uei ^C	khwəih, khrwəih	~ 31-3/510a
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'waj, k'uj (去), LR k'waj; MGZY khue (去) [k'ue]				
de	傀瑰 guī	kwāi	kuəi	kūi	= 28-6/600e 壞
f	魁 kuí	k ^h wəi	k ^h uəi	khūi	
h	塊 huì	ɣwəi ^B	ɣuəi ^B	gūi?	
q	塊 guī, huì	kjwi ^(C) 3, ɣwəi ^C	kui ^(C) , ɣuəi ^C	kui, kuih, gūih	
i	槐 huái	ɣwəi, ɣwǎi	ɣuəi, ɣuei	grūi	
ln	愧媿 kuì	kjwi ^C 3	kui ^C	kuih	
r	餽 kuì	gjwi ^C 3	gui ^C	guih [Meng]	= 31-2/540l 饋 [Shu]
j	鬼 wěi	ŋwəi ^(B)	ŋuəi ^(B)	ŋūi	OCB *ŋuj
k	魏 wèi	ŋjwei ^(C)	ŋui ^(C)	ŋwəi, ŋwəih or ŋwəs	
	[T] MHan ?ā-ŋui ^C < ?āi-ŋwəis (?) 阿魏 Tocharian B ankwaṣ 'asafoetida'				
s	巍 wéi, wēi	ŋjwei	ŋui	ŋwəi	
-	羣 wéi	ŋjwi 3	ŋui	—	≠ 28-3/1237s 羣
	'Buffalo' [Erya] <> [E] ? TB: *lwaay 'buffalo', JP ʔu ³³ -loi ³³ , ʔa ³³ -loi ³³ (ʔa ³³ 'bovine')				

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
28-2 = K. 570	歸 guī	kjwei	kui	kwəi	OCB *k ^w jəj (1992: 459ff)
a	[T] ONW kui. Guī generally rimes with *-wəi in Shijing.				
g	歸 kuī	k ^h jwi ^(B) 3	k ^h ui ^(B)	khui, khui?	

28-3 = K. 1237s See Intro. 5.2.3 and the comment above on the Div. 3/3 OCM u for OCB *-r-						
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
s	夔 夔	kuí kuí	gɟwi 3 gɟwi 3	ɟui ɟui	ɟui	
[E] Area word: PTai *ɣwai ^A 'buffalo'; Sui kwi ^{A2} < *ɟwi ^A 'buffalo'						
* 28-1/569 壘						
28-4 = K. 542						
abcd	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
	回迴迴	huí	ɣwəi	wəi	OCB *wəj [T] ONW ɣuəi	
ef	洄蛔	huí	ɣwəi	wəi		
28-5 = K. 571, 342						
ag	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
	韋圍	wéi	jwei	wui	wəi OCB *wəj	
[T] BTD Skt. ve- (Coblin 1993: 907) <> [E] TB: Lushai veel ^F 'go around, surround'; Siyin vil 'watch' <> AA. MK *wəi ^l : Khmer viala /wəiə/ 'to turn, move around'						
d	違	wéi	jwei	wui	wəi OCB *wəj	
[T] ONW ui; BTD Indic ve-						
ho	幃闈	wéi	jwei	wui	wəi	
fj	偉瑋瑋	wěi	jwei ^B	wui ^B	wəi?	
q	韡	wěi	jwei ^B	wui ^B	wəi? OCB *wəj?	
[E] TB *hwa-t > WT 'od						
n	葦	wěi	jwei ^B	wui ^B	wəi? OCB *wəj?	
m	緯 bind	wěi	jwei ^B	wui ^B	wəi?	
	weave	wěi	jwei ^C	wui ^C	wəih	
l	禕	yī	ʔje 3	ʔiai	ʔai	
r	禕	huī	xjwei	hui	hwəi	
s	諱	huì	xjwei ^C	hui ^C	hwəih	
[E] TB: Lushai ui ^H < ʔui 'to regret, dissuade, forbid' <> MK: Khmer veh /wəh/ 'to quit, leave, avoid, shun...'						
342a	衛	wèi	jwəi ^C	was	wes OCB *wrjats	
The element 韋 is partially semantic. <> [T] ONW uei; BTD Skt. -vas(ti), -vas[ti], -vāsa, -paś(yin), vatāra						
f	奮	wèi	jwəi ^C	was	wes	
g	簗	wèi	ɣwəi ^C	ɣwas	wəs	
28-6 = K. 600						
a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
	襄	huái	ɣwǎi	ɣuei	grūi	
d	壞	huài,	ɣwǎi ^C ,	ɣuei ^C ,	grūih, OCB *fkrjʉs [T] ONW ɣuəi	
	guài,	kwǎi ^C ,	kuei ^C ,	krūih,	OCB *krjʉs	
	huài	ɣwǎi ^B	ɣuəi ^B	gúí?		
c	懷	huái	ɣwǎi	ɣuei	grūi OCB *gruj	
e	瓌	guī	kwǎi	kuəi	kūi = 28-1/569de 傀瓌	
28-7 = K. 1240h						
h	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
	乖	guāi	kwǎi	kuəi	krūi	

28-8 = K. 1239a					
a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
	卉	huì	xjwei ^{B/C}	hui ^{B/C}	hwəi?, hwəih?
The OC initial could also be *hm-					
28-9 = K. 573					
a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
	畏	wèi	ʔjwei ^C	ʔui ^C	ʔuih OCB *ʔuj(s) [T] ONW ʔui
--	喂餵	wèi	ʔjwei ^C	ʔui ^C	ʔuih * 19-10/357f 饑
d	岷	wěi	ʔjwei ^B ,	ʔui ^B ,	ʔui?
			ʔwǎi ^B	ʔuəi ^B	ʔúí?
efh	猥隈隈	wěi	ʔwǎi	ʔuəi	ʔúí
g	猥	wěi	ʔwǎi ^B	ʔuəi ^B	ʔúí?
28-10 = K. 574					
a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
	威	wēi	ʔjwei	ʔui	ʔui OCB **ʔuj [T] ONW ʔui
d	威	wēi	ʔwǎi	ʔuei	ʔrūi
28-11 = K. 575					
aef	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
	佳 ¹ > 雛鷓	zhuī	tświ	tśui	tui
[E] ST *twil (?): WT mč ^h il-ba 'a little bird'. See Intro. 9.2.6.					
gh-	雛鷓	zhuī	tświ	tśui	tui
u	誰	shuí, shéi	ʒwi	dʒui	dui
rs	椎顛	chuí	ɖwi	ɖui	druí
y	稚	zhì	ɖi ^C	ɖi ^C	drih
z	堆	duī	twǎi	tuəi	túí = 28-12/543a 台
[E] PTai *ʔdl/roi ^A : S. ddoi ^{A1} 'mountain', Saek rooy ^{A1}					
-	碓	duì	twǎi ^C	tuəi ^C	túih [E] PY *tui 'pestle'
a'i'	推蕘	tuī, chuī	t ^h wǎi, t ^h wi	t ^h uəi, t ^h ui	thūi, thui OCB *thuj
b'	隄	duì	ɖwǎi ^B	ɖuəi ^B	dúí? OCB *duj?
an	佳 ² 惟	wéi	jiwi 4	wi	wi OCB *wjij
See Intro. 9.2.6. [T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (平); MGZY ywi (平) [yi]; ONW iui; Han BTD Skt vi					
[E] TB *wəy > LB *wəy 'to be'					
o	維	wéi	jiwi 4	wi	wi [T] BTD Skt. vi, pi
i	唯 only	wéi	jiwi 4	wi	wi OCB *wjij
	yes	wěi	jiwi ^B	wi ^B	wi?
	out and in	cuǐ	t ^h wǎi ^B	t ^h ui ^B	tshui? = e'
g'	鷓	wěi (yǎo)	jiwi ^B 4	wi ^B	wi?
v	雖	suī	swi	sui	swi
h'	雙	wèi	jiwi ^C 4	wi ^C	wih
[E] AA: PAA *ruwaj > PVM *m-rəj 'a fly', PMon *ruuy 'housefly', Khmer /ruj/ 'a fly' * /roj/ 'dart here and there...'					
q	蝱 monkey	wèi, wěi, lěi, yòu	jiwi ^C 4, ljwi ^B , jiəu ^C	wi ^C , lui ^B , ju ^C	wih < r-wih? OCB *lūjs rui?, juh < wuh = 13-37/1246c
m	帷	wéi	jwi 3	wi	wri or wui?
601a	淮	huái	ɣwǎi	ɣuei	wí
d	匯	huì	ɣwǎi ^B	ɣuəi ^B	gwí?
1237u	睢雥雥	huī	xjiwi 4	hui	hwi
575e'	雥	cuǐ	t ^h wǎi ^B	t ^h ui ^B	tshui? = i

d'l'	崔推	cuī	dzwəi	dzuəi	dzūi	OCB *dzuj (< *Sduj?)
j'	催	cuī	ts ^h wəi	ts ^h uəi	tshūi	OCB *ts ^h uj (< *Sthuj?)
k'	淮	cuī	ts ^h wəi ^B	ts ^h uəi ^B	tshūi?	

28-12 = K. 543	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	台	duī	twəi	tuəi	tūi = 28-11/575z 堆
d	追 pursue	zhuī	twi	tui	trui
					[E] ? TB-Lushai č ^h ui ^H < chui 'to track, follow a trail', Chepang dyul- 'follow a trail...'
	追 carve	duī	twəi	tuəi	tūi
-	槌	chuí	ɖwi	ɖui	drui 'pestle' [SW]
hi	髓	zhuì	ɖjwe ^C	ɖuci ^C	droih

28-13 = K. 544	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
abc	隳隳頹	tuí	dwəi	duəi	dūi
					31-2/540 may be partially phonetic. Cf. 11-11/1205a

28-14 = K. 576	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	水	shuǐ	świ ^B	śui ^B , S tśui ^B	lhui? ? OCB h[l]uj? ?
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɕuj, ɕi (上), PR ɕi, LR ɕuj; MGZY shue (上) [ɕue]; ONW śui
					[D] PMin *tśui ^B <> [E] TB *lwi(y) > Lushai lui ^L < luih, Tiddim luui ^F < luuih 'stream, river'

28-15 = K. 577	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	磊	lěi, léi	ljwi ^B , lwəi	lui ^B , luəi	rui?, rûi
d	壘	lěi	ljwi ^B	lui ^B	rui?
eg	藥藟	lěi	ljwi ^B	lui ^B	rui?
					[E] TB *(s-)rwey 'cane, creeper', Lushai hrui ^R 'a creeper, cane, rope, cord, string'; OKuki *hrui (Kom) 'rope', WB rui ^B 'kind of creeper, tree', Mru rui 'rope'
hik	譚譚壘	lěi	ljwi ^B	lui ^B	rui?
-	礫	lěi	lwəi ^B	luəi ^B	rûi? = 28-16/545a 磊
j	備	lěi	lwəi ^(B)	luəi ^(B)	rûi, rûi?
l	礮	léi	lwəi	luəi	rûi
no	雷	léi	lwəi	luəi	rûi OCB *C-ruj
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR lo (平); MGZY lwo (平) [lwo] <> [D] Mand. Jinan luei ³² ; Y-Guangzhou løy ²¹ ; K-Meix lui ¹¹ , PMin *lh(u)əi: Jiànōu so ^{C1}
p	儻	lěi !	lwəi ^C , ljwi	luəi ^C , lui	rûih, rui
					[E] TB-Lushai rōi ^L < *rōis 'be weak, worn out, fade, diminish'
sf	縲縲	léi	ljwi	lui	rui
					縲 [E] MTang lui, ONW lue
r	累 bind	léi	ljwi	lui	rui
	accumul.	lěi	ljwe ^B	lyai ^B	roi?
	implicate	lěi	ljwe ^C	lyai ^C	roih
	naked	luǒ	lwə ^B	luəi ^B	rōi?
q-	藟藟	luó	lwā	luai	rōi
t	驟	luó	lwā	luai	rōi
-	螺	luó	lwā	luai / S loi	rōi [D] PMin *lhoi

28-16 = K. 545	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	磊	lěi	lwəi ^B	luəi ^B	rûi? = 28-15/577- 礫
28-17 = K. 578	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	未	lěi, lèi	ljwi ^B , lwəi ^C	lui ^B , luəi ^C	rui?, rûih
b	誅	lěi	ljwi ^B	lui ^B	rui?
28-18 = K. 1237v	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
v	蕤	ruí	ńzwi	ńui	nui = 19-19/354e 綏
28-19 = K. 1237x	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
x	久	suī	swi	sui	snui = 19-19/354g
28-20 = K. 513	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	罪辜	zuì	dzwəi ^B	dzuəi ^B	dzūi?

[N] fēi 非 is not phonetic, see Intro. 9.2.3 <> [T] ONW dzuci <> [E] ? TB: Lushai sua^R 'bad, wicked, evil, wrong, to misbehave, sin' ≠ sua^H 'to rape'

29 OCM rime *-it, *-its, *-is Zhì bù 質部

GSR 393 - 415

Baxter 1992: 434 ff. (§10.1.6)

Shijing rimes *(-)wit and *-ut tended to mix (Baxter 1992: 444ff). By Han time both had become > *-uit. The Div. 3/3 items could also have been OCM *gət instead of *grit.

See Table 33-1 for a comparison of OC rimes *-in, *-ən, *-it, *-ət. See Table 32-1 for OC rimes *-in, *-it, *(t)s, *-i in QYS categories.

29-1 = K. 393 With one exception MC gjet 3 syllables are doublets of Div. 3/4.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	吉	jí	kjiet 4	kit	kit
		[T] ONW kiit <> [E] WT skyid-pa 'happy'			
ij	詰詰	jié !	k ^h jiet 4	k ^h it	khít
n	拮	jí	kjiet 4,	kit,	kit,
		jié	kiet	ket	kít
k	倍 ¹	jí	gjiet 4,	git	git
		jí	gjet 3		
l	媾	jí	gjet 3	git	grit
-	狷	jí	kjiet 4,	kit	kit
		jí	gjet 3		
-	趙	jí, jié	k ^(h) jiet 4	k ^(h) it	k ^(h) it
	涪	jí	kjiet 4	kit	kit
-	結	jí	gjiet 4,	git	git
			gjet 3		
-	咭	jié	gjiet 4	git	git
ryz	頡頏	xié	ɣiet	get	gít
p	結	jié	kiet	ket	kít
		[T] MTang kiar < kiar, ONW kət <> [E] TB *kik > WT 'k ^h yig-pa, bkyigs 'to bind', JP gyit ³¹ 'to tie, bind'; Kuki *d-k ^h ik			
o	桔	jié	kiet	ket	kít
q	拮	jié	kiet	ket	kít
		jiá	kāt	ket	krít
t	髻 hair knot	jì	kiei ^C	kes	kíts
	a god	jié	kiet	ket	kít
x	劫	jié	k ^h ät	k ^h et	khrit
u	拮	jié	kāt	ket	krít
v	黠	xiá	ɣät	get	grít

= 29-2/278a 鞞

29 OCM *-it, *(i)t)s 質部 (GSR 393-415)

29-2 = K. 278	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 鞞	jiē	kāt	ket	krít	= 29-1/393u 鞞
29-3 = K. 535	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 棄	qì	k ^h i ^C 4	k ^h is	khis or khits	
29-4 = K. 510b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
b 屈	jiè	kāi ^C	kes	krís R!	OCB *krets
		~ 20-2/327e 界 *kréts. Unambiguous Shijing rimes indicate *-its. 31-3/510a 屈 is thought to be phonetic.			
29-5 = K. 538	For the LHan medial w (rather than u), see comment under 26-10/605.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 季	jì	kwi ^C 4	kuis	kwis	OCB *k ^w jits
	[D] PMin	*kie ^C ~ *kyi ^C			
e 悽	jì	gwi ^C 4	guis	gwis	
29-6 = K. 409	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 穴	xué	ɣiwet	ɣuet	wít	OCB *wit
c 沅	xuè	xiwet	huet	hwít	
d 馱	yù	jiwet	wit	wit 'awry'	= 29-11/507b 馱
29-7 = K. 410	GSR 930 (5-7) may have 血 as phonetic.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 血	xuè	xiwet	huet	hwít	OCB *hwit
	[T] ONW	huét <> [D] PMin	*huet: Xiam hui? ^{D1} ; K-Meix šiaet ^B ; Y-Guangzh hyt ^{C1} ; G-Nanchang cyot, K-Ruijin ciot		
	[E] ST	*s-wi? ~ *swi?: TB *s-hywəy or *s(-)wi? > Kanauri šui, PL *swiy ² , WB swe ^B ; Chepang way? ~ huy 'blood', Magari hyu < hwi			
d 洫	xù	—	huit	hwit	OCB *hwjit
	'water channel' > 'moat', perh. 洫 滿 *wit 'to flow'; same graph used for the syn. 5-7/930a				
e 恤 care abt.	xù	sjwet	suit	swit	OCB *swjit
f 卹 care abt.	xù	sjwet	suit	swit	
卹 rub	xù	suət	suət	sût	
	[E] TB:	LB *sut 'wipe, sweep' > WB sut 'wipe', Lahu ši? < *sit			
29-8 = K. 533	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-e 虺 > 虺	huì	ɣiwei ^C	ɣues	wís	
afg 惠蕙諛	huì	ɣiwei ^C	ɣues	wís R!	OCB *wets
h 穗	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-wis	OCB *fswjits (?)
	= 29-9/526k 穗. Rimes *-uts in Shi 65.2, -its in 212.3 <> [E] TB: Lushai vui ^L /vui? ^L < vuis 'to ear (as grain, grass), come into ear', Kuki-Chin *vui				
i 總	suì	sjwäi ^C	sues	swes	
29-9 = K. 526	The rime could be either *-jus or *-wis. 526k was certainly *s-wis, whereas 526fg can only have been *-us. Although this looks like a pure *-s series, the finals could in some or all items have been *-ts.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a a	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-wis	

d	遂	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-wis ~ s-jus	OCB *zjuts
		Rimes in Shi 60.1, 2 -its; 194.4 -uts <> [T] ONW zue <> [E] LB *s-yuy; Kamarupan *s-yuy ~ *m-yuy 'to follow', Kuki-Naga *jwi 'follow' > Lushai zui ^F , Siyin jui				
k	穉	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-wis !	OCB *zjuts
		= 29-8/533h 穗 — No rime in Shi 245.4. <> [E] TB: Lushai vui ^L /vui ^L < vuis 'to ear (as grain, grass), come into ear', Kuki-Chin *vui				
h	穉	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-jus	OCB *zjuts
ijln	燧燧燧燧	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-jus	
o	邃	suì	swi ^C	suis	swis	
m	隧	suì	zwi ^C	zuis	s-jus	OCB *zjuts
	Rimes -uts in Shi 132.3					
f	隊 troops	duì	duài ^C	duəs	dûs	
	fall down	zhuì	ḍwi ^C	ḍus	drus	
g	墜 fall	zhuì	ḍwi ^C	ḍus	drus	
	[E] AA: Khmer OKhmer ruḥ /ruh/ 'to fall, drop' ≠ jruḥ /cruh/ 'to fall, drop, come off...'; PVM *ruh 'to fall'					
29-10 = K. 527	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab-	彗 簞 簞	suì	zwi ^C , zjwäi ^C	zuis, zyas	s-wis, s-wes	'broom'
c	噍	huì	xiwei ^C	hues	hwîs R!	OCB *hwets
de	慧 譏	huì	yiwei ^C	yues	wîs	

29-11 = K. 507 None of these graphs rime in Shijing.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	喬	yù	jiwet	wit	wit
b	遙 awry	yù	jiwet	wit	wit
	回遙 huí - yù	yüài - jiwet	yüài - wit	wüi - wit	
ef	驕 鷗	yù	jiwet	wit	wit
ij	僑 矯	jú	gjwet 3,4	guit	gwit
h	緇	jú, yù	kjiwet, jiwet	kuit, wit	kwit, wit or kjut, jut
	Relatively late word [Liji] <> [E] TB: WT: rgyud < *r-jut 'string, cord'				
g	橘	jú	kjiwet 4	kuit	kwit
	[T] ONW kuit <> [E] MK-Khmer kwic 'tangerine'				
k	鬪	guā	kwät	kuet	kwrit
lmn	譎 矯 鏞	jué	kiwet	kuet	kwit
o	滴	jué, yù	kiwet, jiwet	kuet, wit	kwit ~ wit
	[E] ? Old Sino-Viet. lut				
p	瞞	huì,	xjiwi ^C 4,	huis,	hwits,
		xuè	xiwet	huet	hwit

29-12 = K. 394

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	一	yī	?jiet 4	?it	?it
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?i (入); MGZY Yi (入) [?ji]; MTang ?ir, ONW ?iit				
	[E] TB *?it: Chepang yat 'one', Kanauri ?it 'one', WB ac				

29-13 = K. 395	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	壹	yī	?jiet 4	?it	?it
b	噎	yē	?iet	?et	?it
cdh	懿 懿 懿	yì	?i ^C	?is	?its
ijk	噎 噎 噎	yì	?iei ^C	?es	?its
29-14 = K. 1241j	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
j	替	tì	t ^h iei ^C	t ^h es	thîts ot thîh
	[T] BTd 那替 na-t ^h es Skt. nadī, 優波替 ?u-pa-t ^h es Skt. upatiṣya				
29-15 = K. 413	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	See <i>EDOC</i> Indro. §8.1.5
a	至	zhì	t ^s i ^C	t ^s is	tits
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^s i (去), PR, LR t ^s i; MGZY ji (去) [t ^s i]; ONW t ^s i				
	[E] TB: WT m ^č hi-ba, m ^č his 'come, go, exist', WB ce ^C 'to complete'				
d	致	zhì	t ^s i ^C	t ^s is	trits
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^s i (去), PR, LR t ^s i; MGZY ji (去) [t ^s i]; ONW ti				
-	緻	zhì	ḍi ^C	ḍis	(drits)
	= 26-16/595h <> [T] ONW di <> [E] ST *C-rwi: Lushai t ^h ui ^H 'to sew', JP ri ³¹ 'thread'				
-	蛭	zhì	t ^s jet, tjet,	tet ? t ^s it ?	tit...
	[E] TB *m-liit 'water leech', KN *m-hliit > Lushai hliit < *hl-< *C-lit				
e	輕	zhì	t ^s i ^C	t ^s is	trits
	[T] ONW ti <> [E] TB *s-liy > KN *rit > Lushai rit ^L / ri ^L < rit / rih 'be heavy'; TB *s-lay 'heavy' > WT l ^č i-ba < *lhji, l ^č i-ba < *lji; Kanauri li-ko 'heavy', Lepcha lí, lím, PL *C-li ² > WB le ^B , JP li ³³				
f	挫	zhì	tjet	t ^s it	trit
g	銚	zhì	tjet	t ^s it	trit
	[E] ? TB: WT gri 'knife', WB kre ^B 'copper', JP mā ³¹ -gri ³³ 'brass', Lushai hrei ^L < hreih 'axe, hatchet'				
h	窒	stop up	zhì	tjet, tiet	t ^s it, tet
	[T] ONW tit <> WT 'dig-pa 'to stop up'				
	threshold	dié	diet	det	d ^h it
i-	桎 郅	zhì	t ^s jet	t ^s it	tit
o	姪	zhí	diet, ḍjet	det, ḍie	d ^h it, drit or l ^h it, r-lit
	[T] ONW det <> TB *b-lay 'nephew, grandchild', OBurm. mliy, WT mre ^B 'grandchild'				
-	膾	zhì	tjet, tiet		
	[Yupian, 6th cent. AD] (the reading may simply be the one of the phonetic)				
	[E] ST *tey: TB *tey ^B , PKaren *?te ^B				
n	埵	dié	diet	det	d ^h it or l ^h it
	[E] TB: KN *m-hliṅ, Sabeu pa-lait 'ant'				
m	啗	dié	diet	det	d ^h it or l ^h it
qr	經 臺	dié	diet	det	d ^h it or l ^h it
j	室	shì	śjet	śit	lhit
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR śi (入); MGZY shi (入) [śi]; ONW śit				
	[E] ST *k-li(s) > WT g ^č i 'ground, foundation, cause; residence, abode' ≠ g ^č is 'native place', yul-g ^č is 'house, estate, property'; Lepcha lí 'house'; WB mre 'earth, ground', Nung məli 'ground, mountain', Dulong məli 'place'				

29-16 = K. 415	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 寔 stem	dì	tei ^C	tes	tīts	
寔 to slip	zhì	ti ^C	tijs	trits	~ 30-10/493c 蹟
d 愾 angry	zhì	tí ^C , t ^h i ^C	tísis, t ^h is	tits, thrits	~ 30-10/493d 愾
e 噫	tì !	tei ^C	tes	tīts	
29-17 = K. 402	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 失	shī	śjet	śit	lhit	[T] ONW śit
b 佚	yì	jiet	jit	lit	= 29-19/396a 逸
[T] ONW it <> [E] Note Tai: S. let ^{D2} -loot ^{D2} 'escape artfully or adroitly'					
cd 佚軼	yì, dié	jiet, diet	jit, det	lit, līt	
i 飈	dié	diet	det	līt	OCB *lit ≠ 29-16/415a
j 跌	dié	diet	det	līt	
[T] ONW dēt <> [E] TB *ble or *blai 'to slip', Mikir -iŋlit < *m-lit 'be slippery'; WT 'byid-pa 'to slip' < *mlit?					
k 迭	dié	diet	det	līt	
[T] MTang diar < diar, ONW dēt					
- 迭	zhì	djet GY	dit FY	— (drit)	≠ 29-15/413 綴
fg 秩	zhì	djet	dit	drit < r-lit	OCB *lrjit
e 扶	chì	t ^h jet	t ^h it	rhit < r-lhit ?	
l 跌	dié, chì	diet, t ^h jet	det, t ^h it	līt, rhit < r-lhit ?	
29-18 = K. 398	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 實 fruit	shí	dźjet	žit (džit ?)	m-lit	OCB *Ljit
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ši (入); MGZY ci (入) [dži]; ONW žit <> [E] TB: Lepcha lí, lí-m 'be ripe', lí, a-lí 'seed'; Mikir lík 'pick, pluck'					
實 real	shí				~ 7-14/866s 寔
29-19 = K. 396	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 逸	yì	jiet	jit	lit	
= 29-17/402b 佚 <> [T] ONW it					
29-20 = K. 1257ab		MC	LHan	OCM	
ab 溢	yì	jiet	jit	lit	≠ 29-17/402c 佚
[E] Lepcha lyit / lít 'to overflow'. The graph 益 849a *?ek has been chosen in part for its meaning.					
29-21 = K. 397	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 佻	yì	jiet	jit	lit	
1256d 屑 reckless	yì	jiet	jit	lit	= 29-17/402c
屑 pure	xiè	sjet	sit	slit	
29-22 = K. 1257c	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
c 吹	yì	jiet	jit	jit or lit	
29-23 = K. 403	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 栗	lì	ljet	lit	rit	OCB *C-rjit
[T] ONW lit <> [E] KS-Ten lik ³¹ 'chestnut'					

d 慄	lì	ljet	lit	rit	
[E] TB: WT žed-pa < *rjet < *ret 'to fear, be afraid', bred-pa < *b-ret 'be frightened'					
e 璫	lì	ljet	lit	rit	
29-24 = K. 1241n	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
n 璫	lì	liei ^C , liet	les, let	rīts, rīt	
The OC form could also have been *rēt(s); = 29-25 緌					
29-25 = K. 532	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 戾 evil	lì, liè	liei ^C , liet	les, let	rīts, rīt	
come to lì liei ^C les rīts R! OCB *C-rets					
Unambiguous Shijing rimes are with *-it, *-i (see Baxter 1992).					
b 悞	lì	liei ^C	les	rīts	
c 淚	lèi	ljwi ^C	lus	ruts = rjuts ?	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR luj (去); MGZY lue (去) [lue]					
- 緌	lì	liei ^C	les	rīts	[SW] = 29-24 璫
29-26 = K. 404	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 日	rì	ńzjet	ńit	nit	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (入); MGZY Zhi (入) [ri]; ONW ńit.					
[E] TB *nyiy > OTib. gñi, WT ñi-ma 'sun', ñin (-mo) 'day'					
eg- 昶 g 昶	nì	ńjet	ńit	nrit	
= 26-24/563f 昶; ≠ 33-20/456i 昶 <> [T] ONW nit					
f 駟	rì	ńzjet	ńit	nit	
hj 呈涅	niè	niet	net	nīt	
[T] MTang niar < niar, ONW nēt					
[E] TB: WB ə-nañ ~ ə-nac < *nik., WT sñigs-pa 'impure sediment'					
29-27 = K. 414	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 銓	rì	ńzjet	ńit	nit	
29-28 = K. 564	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
agi 二貳槓	èr	ńzi ^C	ńis	nis	
二 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (去), PR, LR rj; MGZY Zhi (去) [ri]; ONW ńi					
貳 [T] Han BTD 阿迦貳吒 ?a-ka-ńis-ṭa ^C Skt. akaniṣṭa. MHan 貳師 ńis-ṣi Neseṭ					
[E] TB *g-ńis > WT gñis					
j 膩	nì	ńi ^C	ńis	nris	
838a 佞	nìng	ńieŋ	ńeŋ ^C	nêŋh < nêŋs	
29-29 = K. 494	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 疾	jí	dzjet	dzit	dzit	= 29-29/923c 璽 'detest'
[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzi (入); MGZY tsi (入) [dzi]; ONW dzit.					
[E] ? TB: Chepang jik- 'be sick, injured, hurt'					
d 疾	jí	dzjet	dzit	dzit	
e 嫉	jí	dzjet, dzi ^C	dzit, dzi ^C	dzit, dzits	

29-30 = K. 399, 923 The graph is also phonetic in 5-26/923.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
399a 卽	jí (?)	tsjet	tsit	tsit R!
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsi (入); MGZY dzi (入) [tsi] <> [E] MK: Khmer jita /cit/, OKhmer jit /jit/ 'to be near to, to the point of, be close'			
e 節 knots	jié	tsiet	tset	tsít
	節 [T] Sin Sukchu SR tsje (入); MGZY dzýa (入) [tsje]; MTang tsiar < tsiar, ONW tsét [E] ST *tsik: TB *tsik: WT *ts'igs 'joint, knot, knee'; LB *ʔdzik > WB cʰac 'a joint'			
	crest-like jié	tsiet,	tset,	tsít,
		dziet	dzet	dzít
dg- 椰櫛櫛	zhì	tsjet	tsit	tsrit
923c 壘 detest	jí	dzjet	dzit	dzit
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzi (入); MGZY tsi (入) [dzi]; ONW dzit. [E] TB: WT tsʰig-pa 'anger, indignation'.			
	壘 masonry jí	tsjet	tsit	tsit
	'Masonry' <> [E] WT rtsig-pa 'a wall, masonry'			
	壘 coaled jí	tsjet	tsit	tsit
	'Coaled part' <> [E] WT tsʰig-pa 'to burn'			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-31 = K. 400				
a 七	qī	tsʰjet	tsʰit	tshit < snhit ?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsʰi (入); MGZY tshi (入) [tsʰi]; ONW tsʰit <> [D] PMin *tshit [E] TB *snis > Himalayan lgs. *snis; Jiarong kěsněs; LB *snit; JP sǎ ³¹ -nit ³¹ ; Trung snit			
f 切 to cut	qiè	tsʰiet	tsʰet	tshít
	close to qiè			
	qiè	tsʰiet	tsʰet	tshít
	[T] MTang tsʰiar < tsʰiar, ONW tsʰet			
e 叱	chì	tsʰjet	tsʰit	thit

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-32 = K. 401				
ab 漆	qī	tsʰjet	tsʰit	tshit
	[E] TB *tsiy > WT tsʰi-ba 'tough, sticky matter'; LB *dziy ² 'sap, juice' > WB ce ^B 'sticky, adhesive'			
c 膝 knee	xī	sjet	sit	sit
	[T] MTang sir, ONW sit			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-33 = K. 1257				
e 悉	xī	sjet	sit	sit
	[T] MTang sir, ONW sit <> [E] TB *syey 'know' > WT šes-pa, Vayu ses; Lushai thei ^L / thei ^{2L} (<*sei/s) 'can, be able', PL*si ²			
f 蟋蟀	xī-shuò	sjet-sjuət	šit-šuit	srit-srut
	OCM *it (not *-ət) because xī in xī-shuò must have been -it to contrast with -ut			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-34 = K. 518				
ae 四駟	sì	si ^C	sis	sis or slis
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR sɿ (去); MGZY sʰi (去) [sɿ]; Sui-Tang si ^C , sit [?] , ONW si ^C			
	[E] ? TB *b-ləy 'four' > WT bži < *bli			
fg 泗	sì	si ^C	sis	sis

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-35 = K. 506				
a 虱	shī	sjet	šit	srit < srik
	[D] PMin *šət <> [E] TB *s-rik > WT šig < *hrijik 'louse', Bunan šrig, Chepang srøyk 'head louse', Lushai hrik ^L			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-36 = K. 411				
a 瑟	sè	sjet	šit	srit
	OCB *sprjit			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-37 = K. 412				
a 閉	bì	piei ^C , piet	pes, pet	pît(s)
	[T] ONW pèi			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-38 = K. 408				
ad 匹疋	pǐ	pʰjiet 4	pʰit	phit
	OCB *phjit			
- 鳴	pǐ	pʰjiet 4	pʰit	phit
	[E] Area word: Tai: S. and Tai lgs in general pet ^{D1} 'duck'; MK: Viet. vit, NBahn. pêt [?] ; TB: Lolo-Zaiwa et al. pjet ⁵⁵ 'duck', Geman Deng kroi ³⁵ -pit ⁵⁵			

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
29-39 = K. 521				
a 昇	bì	pi ^C 4	pis	pis
	OCB *pjits			
	[T] Sui-Tang pi, ONW pii <> [D] Y-Guǎngzh pei ^{B1} , Zhōngsh pi ^{B1} , Táish i ^{B1} < *pi ^B , Téngxian ʔbi ^{B1} (MC pi ^B) <> [E] ST *pi(s): TB *pəy: Lepcha byi ≠ byi-n 'to give'; LB: WB pe ^B ≠ pʰit 'invite, offer to give'			

		MC	LHan	OCM
c 鼻 nose	bí	bjiet 4	bit	bit
	[T] Tang period: col. Shāzhōu *bir, *bit. See Intro. 6.2.1.			
鼻 nose	bì	bi ^C 4	bis	bits
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR bi (去); MGZY pi (去) [bi]			
	[D] Min *bhi ^C : Jian'ou pʰi ^{C2} , Fuzh pʰei ^C , Xiam pʰi ^{C2} ; Kejia: Meix pʰi ^{C1}			
d 滌 float	pì	pʰiei ^C , pʰjái ^C	pʰes, pʰias	phîts, phêts
	滌 in crowds pì			
		pʰiei ^C	pʰes	phîts
	OCB *phits			

		MC	LHan	OCM
29-40 = K. (1237m)				
- 自 nose	bì	bi ^C 4	bis	bits
	This is the original OB graph for 'nose' > 鼻 29-38/521c; the reading <i>bì</i> survives in the next graph for 'first-born'. This graph also writes a different word <i>zi</i> 自 26-31/1237m 'self'. See Intro. 6.2.1.			
- 自 > 顛	bì	bi ^C 4	bis	bits
	'the first-born' [SW 109]			

29-41 = K. 405 Most graphs ending in -it are in Div. 3/4, but all tone C counterparts fall into chóngniǔ Div. 3/3 so that these may include original OC rimes in *-its (rather than only *-rits). In fact, except for words in 29-39/521 above, all MC -i^C 3/4 words in tone C derive from OC open syllables *-ih (Rime 26), and all MC -i^C 3/3 derive from OC closed syllables *-ts (see SSYP).

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 必	bì	pjiet 4	pit	pit
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (入); MGZY bi (入) [pi]			
c 秘	bì	pjiet 4	pit	pit
	OCB *pjit			
def 秘秘	bì	bjiet 4	bit	bit
gh 苾	bì	bjiet 4, biet	bit, bet	bit, bît
	OCB *bjit			

j	秘	bì	pj(i)et 3,4 pji ^C 3	pit !, pis	prít !, prits	= 29-43/406a 弼
[T] ? TB: Chepang pit- 'grip (as with pincers), hold between knees or under the arm'						
i	視	bié	biet, miet	bet, met	bît, mît	
k	毖	bì	pji ^C 3	pis	pits	OCB *prjits
l	泌	bì	bjiet 4, pji ^C 3	bit, pis	bit, pits !	OCB *bjit
m	祕	mì !	pji ^C 3	pis	pits	
n	闕	bì	pji ^C 3	pis	pits	
[T] TB-PL *pi ² 'to close', Mru pit 'shut, close'						
o	宓	mì	mjet 3	mît	mrít	
p	密	silence	mì	mjet 3	mrít	[E] Tai: Saek mit 'quiet'
	密	near	mì	mjet 3	mrít	OCB *mrjit
[T] ONW mit. MHan 都密 tâ-mit (*tâ-mrit) Tarmita, Termes						
r	蜜	mì	mji ^C 4	mit	mit	
[T] MTang mir < mîr, ONW miit; BTD Skt. -mitā <> [D] PMin *mit						
s	益	mì	mji ^C 4	mit	mit	OCB *Npjit
t	謐	mì	mji ^C 4	mit	mit	

29-42 = K. 407 Mand. MC LHan OCM
ade 畢畢數 bì pjiet 4 pit pit
[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (入); MGZY bi (入) [pi]; MTang pir < pîr, ONW piit 'finish'
[E] TB: Lushai pei² < peih < *-s 'to complete'; WT dpyis p^hyin-pa 'to come to the last'

ijkl	彈筆繹蹕	bì	pjiet 4	pit	pit	
m	鞞	bì	pjiet 4	pit	pit	

[E] TB: PTib *pis-mo; Nung p^haŋ-p^hit 'knee'

29-43 = K. 1257g Mand. MC LHan OCM
g 鶩 bì pjiet 4 pit pit

29-44 = K. 406 Mand. MC LHan OCM
a 弼 bì pjiet 3 pit prít = 29-40/405j 秘
e 弼 bì bjiet 3 bit brit

GSR 486 - 540
Baxter 1992: 437 ff. (§10.1.7)

Table 30-1: OCM rimes *-ən, *-ət, *-ə(t)s, *-əi in QYS categories

Div.	*-ən R.33	*-ət R.30	*-ə(t)s R.30	*-əi R. 27
I gr	根 kən kən *kân 本 pwən ^B pən ^B *pân?	勃 bwət bət *bət	愛 ?âi ^C ?əs *?às 配 p ^h wâi ^C p ^h əs *p ^h às	開 k ^h âi k ^h ai *k ^h âi 回 γwâi γuəi *wâi 枚 mwâi mēi *mâi
IV ac	典 tien ^B ten ^B *tân?			妻 ts ^h iei ts ^h ei *tshâi
III gr	近 gjən ^B giən ^B *gən? 分 pjwən pun *pən	乞 k ^h jət k ^h iət *khət 物 mjwət mut *mət	氣 k ^h jei ^C k ^h əs *khəs 謂 jwei ^C wus *wəs	幾 kjei ^B kii ^B *kai? 歸 kjwei kui *kwai 圍 jwei wui *wui 飛 pjwei pui *pui
III ac	刃 n ^h jen ^C n ^h en ^C *nəns	質 ts ^h jət ts ^h it *tət		
3/3	巾 kjen ³ kin *krən 貧 bjən ³ bin *brən	乙 ?jet ³ ?it *?rət ?	器 k ^h ji ^C 3 k ^h is *khrəs	冀 kji ^C 3 ki ^C *krəih 美 mji ^B 3 mi ^B *mrəi?

See Table 33-1 for a comparison of OC rimes *-in, *-ən, *-it, *-ət.

30-1 = K. 517 Some or all OC finals *-s could have been *-ts.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	气氣 ¹ air qì	k ^h jei ^C	k ^h əs	khəs	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'jei (去), PR k'i; MGZY khi (去) [k'i]; ONW k ^h i ^C					
ce	氣 ² 餽 gift xì	xjei ^C	hiəs	həs	
d	愾 angry kài	k ^h âi ^C	k ^h əs	khàs	
[T] ONW k ^h ai ^C <> [E] AA: Kharia k ^h is 'anger', Sora kissa 'move with great effort', Khm k ^h es 'strive after' <> TB-JR khəs 'anger'					
	愾 sigh kài,	k ^h âi ^C ,	k ^h əs,	khàs,	= 30-2/515m
		xjei ^C	hiəs	həs	
f	乞 pray qǐ	k ^h jət	k ^h iət	khət	[T] ONW khít
g	吃 stutter jī, jí	kjət	kiət	kət	
	吃 to eat chī	—	—	—	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'i (入), LR t ^h i [?] ; MGZY khi (入) [k'i]					
h	訖 qì	kjət	kiət	kət	[T] ONW kit
jk	汜迄 qì !	xjət	hiət	hət or h ^h ət ?	
i	挖 xì	xjət	hiət	hət or h ^h ət ?	
mn	仵圪 yì, xì	ŋjət, xjət	ŋiət, hiət	ŋət, h ^h ət	
o	訖 hé, xié	γwət, γiet	guət, get	gūt, gīt	
p	刳 jī	kjei	kii	kai	

30-2 = K. 515 Some or all OC finals *-s could have been *-ts.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ac	旡既 jì	kjei ^C	kiəs	kəs
[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjei (去), PR, LR ki; MGZY gi (去) [ki]; ONW ki				
g	飩 vegetat. jì	kjei ^C	kiəs	kəs
	to come jì	gji ^C 3	giəs	gəs
o	暨 jì	gji ^C 3	giəs	grəts
= 泊 30-4/1237a <> [T] MGZY ki (去) [gi]				
jkl	j 概溉 gài	kâi ^C	kəs	kəs
mn	嘅慨 kài	kʰâi ^C	kʰəs	khəs
h	壁 xì,	xjei ^C , xji ^C ,	hiəs,	həs
	jì	gji ^C		
i	概 xì,	xjei ^C ,	hiəs,	həs,
	gài	kâi ^C	kəs	kəs
30-3 = K. 536				
a	器 qì	kʰji ^C 3	kʰiəs	khɾəs or khɾəts
30-4 = K. 1237a				
a	泊 pour out jì	kji ^C , gji ^C 3	kiəs, giəs	krəts, grəts
	泊 together jì	gji ^C 3	giəs	grəts
-	埗 jì	gji ^C 3	giəs	grəts ?
-	郎 xī	γiei	gei	—
30-5 = K. 504				
a	戛 jiá	kāt	ket	krət or krīt
30-6 = K. 508 Some or all OC finals in *-s could have been *-ts.				
a	愛 ài	ʔâi ^C	ʔəs	ʔəs
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔaj (去); MGZY ʔay (去) [ʔaj]; ONW ʔai ^C				
[D] PMin *ʔuəi ^C <> [E] TB-PKaren *ʔai				
bc	曖曖 ài	ʔâi ^C	ʔəs	ʔəs
d	優 indist. ài	ʔâi ^C ,	ʔəs,	ʔəs,
		ʔjei ^B	ʔii ^B	ʔəʔ
	to pant ài	ʔâi ^C	ʔəs	ʔəs
30-7 = K. 505				
a	乙 yǐ	ʔjet 3	ʔit	ʔrət ?
30-8 = K. 537				
a	劓 yì	ŋji ^C 3	ŋiəs	ŋrəts
30-9 = K. 516				
ac	豕彘 yì	ŋjei ^C	ŋiəs or ŋiɪh	ŋəs or ŋəih (< *ŋəls) ?
[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (去); MGZY ŋgi (去) [ŋi] <> [E] TB: Lushai (sa ^L -)ŋhàl ^L < ŋhalh < ŋhals				
'wild pig' ≠ ŋhal ^R < ŋhal? 'ill-behaved, unruly, over-bold'; Paang. maŋàl ~ raŋàl 'wild boar'				
d	彘 yì	ŋjei ^C	ŋiəs or ŋiɪh	ŋəs or ŋəih

30-10 = K. 493				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	質 solid zhì	tšjet	tšit	tət
	hostage zhì	tšic	tšis	təts
b	鑛 zhì	tšjet	tšit	tət
c	蹟 zhì	tšic	tšis	trəts
[E] TB: WT 'dred-pa 'to slip, slide, glide'; Kanauri *bret				
d	憤 zhì	tšic, tšic	tšis, tšis	təts, thrəts
30-11 = K. 509 Some or all OC finals could have been -ts.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	隶 come to dài, lì	dâi ^C , ic	dəs, jis	ləs
c	逮 come to dài, dì, lì	dâi ^C , ic	dəs, jis	ləs
	peaceful dì	diei ^C	des	lis
e	隄 dài	tʰâi ^C	tʰəs	lhəs
f	棣 cherry dì	diei ^C	des	lis
	perfect dì, dài	diei ^C , dâi ^C	des, dəs	lis, ləs
g	肄 yì	ic	jis	lis
h	肆 sì	si ^C	sis	sis < slis
[T] Sin Sukchu SR sɿ (去); MGZY sʰi (去) [sɿ]; Sui-Tang si ^C , sit?, ONW si ^C . OCB sljəps				
n	薜 sì	si ^C	sis	sis < slis ?
m	繇 sì	si ^C	sis	sis < slis ?
op	肄 sì, yì	si ^C , ji ^C	sis, jis	slis, lis
1241m	隸 lì	liei ^C	les	rís or lís
30-12 = K. 514				
a	配 pèi	pʰwâi ^C	pʰəs	pʰəs or pʰəih = 27-10
30-13 = K. 491				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	孛 bó, bèi	bwət, bwâi ^C	bət, bəs	bət, bəts
b	勃 bó	bwət	bət	bət
'Powdery' [E] ST *put: WB pʰut 'dust', Lushai pʰut ^L 'flowery, powdery'				
'Sudden' [E] TB: Lushai pʰuut ^H 'suddenly'				
-	脖 bó	bwət	bət	—
c	滂 pó	bwət	bət	bət
[E] ? TB: WT 'bu-ba, 'bus 'to open, unfold (flower)', 'be lighted, kindled'				
d	悖 discord bó, bèi	bwət, bwâi ^C	bət, bəs	bət, bəts
	abundant pó	bwət	bət	bət
e	諄 pó	bwət,	bət,	bət,
		bwâi ^C	bəs	bəts
f	縉 fú	pjwət	put	pət
30-14 = K. 500				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	弗 not fú	pjwət	put	pət
[T] MTang pfur, ONW put; BTD Skt. putra				
	弗 gust fú	pjwət	put	pət
[E] TB: WT 'bud-pa, bus 'to blow' intr.				

de	箒	fú	pjwət	put	pət	
fij	剃	fú	p ^h jwət	p ^h ut	phət	
h	拂	fú	p ^h jwət	p ^h ut	phət	
			[E] PYao *p ^h wot 'sweep, clear away'			
k	蒺	fú	p ^h jwət	p ^h ut	phət	
	蒺	fú	pjwət	put	pət	OCB *pjut
q	沸	fú	pjwət	put	pət	
			[T] ONW put <> [E] TB *brup ~ *prup 'to gush forth': WT 'brup-pa 'gush, spout forth', JP 'p ^h rup ³¹ 'to squirt' (as water from mouth).			
	沸	fèi	pjwei ^C	pus	pəts	
			[D] *p ^h yi ^C . <> [E] MY *npwei ^{1C} . TB: JP prut ³¹ 'to boil'			
l	佛	fú	bjwət	but	bət	
	佛	fó	bjwət	but	--	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR vu (入); MGZY hwu (入) [vu]; BTD Skr. buddha			
mn	沸	fú	bjwət	but	bət	
o	佛	fú, fèi	bjwət, bjwei ^C	but, bus	bət, bəts	
p	艷	bó, fú	bwət, p ^h jwət	bət, p ^h ut	bət, phət	
rs	沸	fèi	p ^h jwei ^C	p ^h us	phəts	
	費	fèi	pjwei ^C	pus	pəts	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR fi (去); LR fi; MGZY h(w)i (去) [fi]			
-	癍	fèi	pjwei ^C	pus	pəts	
			[T] ONW pui ^C <> [E] WT 'bos 'boil, bump, tumor' ≠ 'bo-ba, bos 'to swell, rise, sprout'. <> Tai: S. p ^h ot ^{D1} 'prickly heat'.			

30-15		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	ㄨ	fú	p ^h jwət	p ^h ut	--	SW5660

30-16 = K. 501		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	市	fú	pjwət	put	pət	
c	蒺	fú	pjwət	put	pət < put	OCB *pjut
			= 21-31/2761 韍 <> [E] TB *put > WT pus-mo 'knee', PTib *pus-mo, *puks-mo; Nung ur-p ^h ut 'elbow'; JP p ^h ut ³¹ 'to kneel', lă ³¹ -p ^h ut ³¹ 'knee'			
	蒺	fèi,	pjwei ^C ,	pus,	pəts,	
		bèi	pwâi ^C	pas	pâts	
d	蒺	pèi !	bwâi ^C	bas	bâts	
e	怖	pèi	p ^h wâi ^C	p ^h as	phâts	
f	沛	pèi	p ^h wâi ^C	p ^h as	phâts	
	沛	bèi	pwâi ^C	pas	pâts	= 21-31/276h 拔
	沛	bèi	pwâi ^C	pas	pâts	
g	肺	fèi	p ^h jwei ^C	p ^h uas	phats	
			[T] ONW p ^h ei > p ^h uei <> [E] AA-PVM *p-so:s > p-ho:c > po:c / p ^h o:c 'lungs', Tai: S. poot ^{D1L} < *piot 'lung' ≠ S. p ^h oot ^{D1} 'breathe, inhale'			
	肺	pèi	p ^h wâi ^C ,	p ^h as,	phâts,	
			bwâi ^C	bas	bâts	

30-17 = K. 530		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	臄	fèi	p ^h jwei ^B , p ^h wət	p ^h ui ^B , p ^h ət	phəi?, phət < phui?, phût	
			The element chū 出 'come out' is partially semantic. Cf. 31-16/496t			

30-18 = K. 492		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	没	mò	mwət	mət	mət	
b	没	mò	mwət	mət	mət, prob. mūt R	OCB *mut
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR mu (入); MGZY mu (入) [mu]; ONW mot <> [E] Tai: S. mut ^{D2} 'to dive'			
	没	mò	mwət	mət	mət	
			[E] TB: WT mod-pa, mos-pa 'be pleased, wish', smon-pa 'to wish, desire'			
	没	méi	< wú yǒu 無有			
c	没	mò	mwət	mət	mət	= 30-20/503k
d	没	mò	mwət	mət	mət	

30-19 = K. 503 In the OB the graph for this word 'don't' is different from 30-20.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	勿	wù	mjwət	mut	mət	

30-20 = K. 503		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ah	勿 > 物	wù	mjwət	mut	mət, probably mut	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR vu (入), PR, LR vu?; MGZY wu (入) [vu]; MTang mvur, ONW mut [E] TB *mruw: WT 'bru < *Nbru 'grain, seed'; WB myui ^B 'seed, seed grain' ≠ ə-myui ^B 'race, lineage, kind, class, sort'			
j	芴	wù	mjwət	mut	mət	
	芴	hū	xwət	huət	hmət	
k	芴	mò	mwət	mət	mət	= 30-18/492c
-	芴	wú	mjwət, xwət	mut, hət	mət, hmət	
-	芴	mèi	mwât, mai ^C	mat, mas	mât, mrâts < môt	
l	忽	careless hū	xwət	huət	hmət	OCB *hmut
			The Shijing rimes are ambiguous <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR xu (入); MGZY hu (入) [xu]			
p	惚	hū	xwət	huət	hmət	
m	笏	hù, hū	xwət	huət	hmət	'writing tablet'
no	吻	wěn	mjwən ^B	mun ^B	mən?	
qr	吻	wěn,	mjwən ^B ,	mun ^B ,	mən? or mun?,	
		mǐn	mjiēn ^B 4	min ^B	min?	

30-21 = K. 531 Some or all OC finals could have been -ts.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	未	wèi	mjwei ^C	mus	məs	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR vi (去); MGZY wi (去) [vi]; ONW mui ^C [D] Wu-Wēnz, Guǎngzh mei ^C , Fuzh mui ^C , Xiam be ^C			
g	味	wèi	mjwei ^C	mus	məs	
k	妹	mèi	mwâi ^C	məs	məs	OCB *məts
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR muj (去), PR, LR məj; MGZY mue (去) [mue] [D] PMin *mhyai ^C (or *mhye ^C)			
n	昧	mèi	mwâi ^C	məs	məs	
			[T] ONW mai; BT D Skt. -mādhi			
i	寐	mèi	mi ^C 4	mis	mis	OCB *mjits
			[T] MTang mi, ONW mii [E] TB *r-mwi > WT rmi-ba 'to dream', WB mwe ^C 'to sleep', Magar mis-ke			

h	魅	mèi	mji ^C 3	mīs	mrəs or mris	= 30-22/522a
p	沫	mèi	mwai ^C	məs	mâs	
q	鞞 leather	mèi	mwai ^C	məs	mâs	
	music	mài	mwai ^C	mes	mrês	
30-22 = K. 522	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	彪	mèi	mji ^C 3	mīs	mrəs or mris	= 30-21/531h 魅

31 OCM rime *-ut, *uts, *-us Wù bù 物部 (2)

GSR 486 - 540
Baxter 1992: 437 ff. (§10.1.7)

See Table 28-1 for OCM rimes *-un / -wən, *-ut and *-ui / -wài. See Intro. 5.2.3 about the removal of OCB medial *r in MC Div. 3/3 syllables.

Table 31-1: OCM rimes *-ut, *-wət, *-wit, *-ui, *-u(t)s, *-wài, *-wə(t)s, *-wi(t)s

Div.	*-ut R.31	*-wət, *-wit R.31, 29	*-ui, *-u(t)s R.28, 31	*-wài, *-wə(t)s, *-wi(t)s R.28, 29
I	骨 kwət kuət *kût 突 t ^h wət t ^h uət *thût	汨 kwət kuət *kwət	偃 ?wài ?uài *?ûi 堆 twài tuài *tûi 對 twài ^C tuəs *tûts	塊 k ^h wài ^C k ^h uài ^C *khwâih
III gr	屈 k ^h juət k ^h ut *khut			歸 kjwei kui *kwai 貴 kjwei ^C kus *kwəs 謂 jwei ^C wus *wəs
3/3	—		夔 gjwi ³ gui *gui 賈 gjwi ³ guis *gus	
III ac	出 t ^{sh} juət t ^{sh} uit *k-hlut		誰 zwi dzui *dui	
II	滑 ɣwət guet *grût	鬲 kwət kuət *kwřt	裊 ɣwài guai *grûi 蒯 k ^h wài ^C k ^h ues *khrû(t)s	
IV gr		穴 ɣiwet ɣuet *wřt 血 xiwet huet *hwřt		睽 k ^h wei k ^h uei *khwř 惠 ɣiwei ^C ɣues *wřs
3/4 w		橘 kjiwet ⁴ kuit *kwřt 喬 jiwet wit *wřt 恤 sjwet suit *swřt		葵 kwi ^{B4} kwi ^B *kwř? 季 kwi ^{C4} kuis *kwřs 維 jiw ⁴ wi *wi 穗 zwi ^C zuis *s-wřs

Shijing rimes *(-)wřt and *-ut tended to mingle (Baxter 1992: 444ff); by LHan *-ut became > *-uit, it seems that this process had already started in Western Zhou times. This is parallel to *-in, *-un.

31-1 = K. 486	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	骨	gǔ	kwət	kuət	kût
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ku (入); MGZY gu (入) [ku]; ONW kot <> [D] PMin *kot			
b	鶻	gǔ, hú,	kwət, ɣwət,	kuət, guət,	kût, gût
		huá	ɣwăt	ɣuet	grût
		MC kwət is probably just the reading of the phonetic gǔ.			
c	搨 dig	hú	ɣwət	ɣuət	gût
	搨 force	kù	k ^h wət	k ^h uət	khût

d	猾	huá	ɣwăt	ɣuet	grût	
e	滑	slipp. huá	ɣwăt	ɣuet	grût	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣwa (入); MGZY Xwa (入) [ɣwa]			
			[E] TB: JP gum ³¹ -rut ³¹ < gu-mrut 'slippery'			
	滑	disturb gū	kwət	kuət	kût	[T] BTd Skt. kûta
31-2	= K. 540	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ai	𦉳 > 𦉳 ¹	(guì >) kuì	gjwi ^C 3	guis	gus	'basket'
j	簣	basket kuì	gjwi ^C 3, k ^h wăi ^C	guis, k ^h ues	gus, khrûs	
g	匱	kuì	gjwi ^C 3	guis	gus	OCB *grjuts R!
			≠ 4-7/986. [T] MHan 央匱 ʔiŋ-guis Tocharian B ankwaş 'asafoetida'			
hi	櫃	kuì	gjwi ^C 3	guis	gus	
k	𦉳	guì	gjwi ^C 3	guis	gus	
l	饋	kuì	gjwi ^C 3	guis	gus	~ 28-1/569r 餽
b	貴	guì	kjwei ^C	kus	kwəs	OCB *kjuts
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR kuj (去); MGZY gue (去) [kue]; ONW kui. MHan 貴霜 Kuşāna			
			[D] PMin *kyi ^C < [E] WT *gus-po 'costly, expensive' ≠ gus-pa 'respect' ≠ dkon 'valuable'			
c	憤	kuì	kwăi ^C	kuəs	kûs or kwəs	
d	潰	kuì	ɣwăi ^C	ɣuəs	(g)wəs R!	OCB guts
e	績	kuì	ɣwăi ^C	ɣuəs	gûs or (g)wəs	
m	遺	reject yí	jiwi 4	wi	wi	
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR i (平); MGZY ywi (平) [yi]; BTd Skt. vi- (Coblin 1993: 907)			
	遺	present yì	jiwi ^C 4	wi ^C	wih	
q	墮	wéi, wěi	jiwi ^(B) 4	wi ^(B)	wi, wi?	
f	饋	huì	hwăi ^C	huəs	hwəs [Li]	= 4-9/988b 頽
o	債	huài, tuí	xwăi ^C	huəs	hrûs	
p	贖	kuì !	ŋwăi ^C	ŋuəs	ŋrûs	
	贖	贖頽 tuí				See 28-13/544.
31-3	= K. 510a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𠂔	kuài	k ^h wăi ^C	k ^h uəs	khwəs	~ 28-1/569g
			This graph is said to be phonetic in 29-4/510b 𠂔. Possibly LH k ^h uəi ^C , *khûih			
31-4	= K. 534	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	𦉳	kuài	k ^h wăi ^C	k ^h ues	khrû(t)s	
31-5	= K. 523	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	胃	wèi	jwei ^C	wus	wəs	
d	謂	wèi	jwei ^C	wus	wəs	OCB *wjəts
			[T] ONW ui; BTd wuC: Skt. puṣa			
c	媿	wèi	jwei ^C	wus	wəs	
f	蝟	porcu. wèi	jwei ^C	wus	wəs	'porcupine' = 31-6/524
g	喟	kuì, kuài	k ^h jiwi ^C , k ^h wăi ^C	k ^h uis, k ^h ues	khus, khrûs	
-	涓	wèi	jwei ^C	wus	wəs	OCB *wjəts

31-6	= K. 524	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	彙	huì	jwei ^C	wus	wəs	= 31-5/523f
31-7	= K. 539	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	位	wèi	jwi ^C 3	wis	wus or wrəts	OCB *(w)rjəps
			[T] Sin Sukchu SR uj (去); MGZY xue (去) [ɦue]; ONW ui; Han BTd wiC			
			See Intro. 9.2.4 and 5.2.3.			
31-8	= K. 495	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	鬱	yù	ʔjwət	ʔut	ʔut	
			= 25-17/260d 苑 < [T] ONW ʔut			
31-9	= K. 525	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	a 尉	wèi	ʔjwei ^C	ʔus	ʔuts	
c	熨	wèi,	ʔjwei ^C	ʔus,	ʔuts,	
		yù	ʔjwət	ʔut	ʔut	
de	慰	wèi	ʔjwei ^C	ʔus	ʔuts	
			慰 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔuj (去); MGZY 'ue (去) [ʔue]			
f	蔚	artem. wèi	ʔjwei ^C , ʔjwət	ʔus, ʔut	ʔut, ʔuts	
g	製	wèi	ʔjwei ^C	ʔus	ʔuts	
31-10	= K. 487	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	兀	wù	ŋwət	ŋuət	ŋût	
bde	兀	wù	ŋwət	ŋuət	ŋût	
f	軌	yuè, wù	ŋjwət, ŋwət	ŋyat, ŋuət	ŋot, ŋût	
31-11	= K. 488	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𠂔	tū	t ^h wət	t ^h uət	thût	
31-12	= K. 489	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	突	tū	t ^h wət, dwət	t ^h uət, duət	thût, dût	
			[T] ONW dot < [E] TB *tu, *du > PL *m-du ² , WB tu ^B dig; Lushai t ^h ut ^H 'suddenly'			
31-13	凸	tū, tú	dwət, diet			'protrude. convex', a later graph for 31-8/489a 突
31-14	= K. 511	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	對	duì	twăi ^C	tuəs	tûts	
			≠ 37-6/676a. < [T] Sin Sukchu SR tuj (去); MGZY due (去) [tue]; ONW tuai			
			[E] Tai: S. top ⁴ 'to reply, answer'			
h	對	duì, zhui	twăi ^C , twi ^C	tuəs, tuis	tûts, truts	
i	對	duì	ɖwi ^C	ɖuis	ɖruts	
31-15	= K. 512	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	退	tuì	t ^h wăi ^C	t ^h uəs	thûs	OCB *hnuts < *hnups
-	腿	tuǐ	t ^h wăi ^B			'Thigh', also 'lower leg' [Tang: Han Yu; GY]
31-16	= K. 496	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	出	come chū	t ^h jwət	t ^h uit	k-hlut	'come out'

[T] Sin Sukchu SR tš'y (入); MGZY ch̄y (入) [tš'y]; MTang tš^hur < tš^huir, ONW tš^huit
 [D] PMin *tš^huit > Xiam tš^hut^{D1} <> [E] TB: JP lot³¹-lam³³ 'outlet', Trung kl5t 'come out';
 KC-Chinbok hlōt 'come out'

	出	bring	chui	tš ^h wi ^C	tš ^h uis	k-hluts	'bring out'
							'nephew' [E] TB *tu ~ *du 'nephew'
f	黜	chù	t ^h juwet	t ^h uit	thrut	< k-hrut	
							[D] M-Xiam lit. tut ^{D1} , col. lut ^{D1}
-	肫	kū	k ^h wət	k ^h uət	khût		
							[E] ? WT rkub 'buttocks', WB lañ-kup. Cf. 30-17/530a
o	滯	gū	kwət, ɣwət	kuət, guət	kût, gût		
k	屈	bend	qū	k ^h juwet	k ^h ut	khut	
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'y (入); MGZY kh̄y (入) [k'y]
	屈	Pl.N.	qū	kjuwet	kut	kut	
	屈	short	jué	gjuwet	gut	gut	
pq	堀窟	kū	k ^h wət	k ^h uət	khût		
							[E] Tai: S. k ^h ut ^{D1S} , Saek k ^h ut ⁶ < *k ^h uut 'to dig'
r	倔	jué	gjuwet	gut	gut		
-	崛	jué	gjuwet	gut	—		[T] BTD Skt. kūṭa
sn	掘鋤	jué, jú	gjuwet, gjuwet	gut, guat	gut, got		
							[D] PMin *guit
lm	誑誑	qū	k ^h juwet	k ^h ut	khut		
g	絀	chù	tjuwet	tuit	trut		
h	咄	duō	twət	tuət	tût		
i	拙	zhuō	tšjuwet	tšuat	tot		
j	茁	zhuā, zhuó	tšwät, tšjuwet	tšuet, tšuat	tsrût, tsrot		

31-17 = K. 497 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ac	朮稊	shú	džjuwet	žuit	m-lut		
							[T] ONW žuit. BTD 稊代 Skt. śuddha <> [D] PEMin *tsut ^{D2} , PWMIn tshut ^{D2} (PMin *t ^h hut?) 'glutinous (rice)' <> [E] MY *nblut 'glutinous, sticky', AN pulut 'sticky substance'
deg	術述鋤	shù	džjuwet	žuit	m-lut		
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR zy (入); MGZY c̄y (入) [dzy]; ONW žuit. BTD 術闍 žuit-ža Skt. vidhya, Pali vijja; 那術 na-žuit Skt. nayuta; 兜術陀 to-žuit-da Skt. tuṣita
i	誑	xù	sjwet	suit	slut		
h	恍	chù	t ^h juwet	t ^h uit	rhut or t-hlut ?		

31-18 = K. 502 Acc. to SW 1271 yī — *?it is phonetic.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	聿	yù	jiwet	juit	lut		
c	律	lǜ	ljwet	luit	rut		
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR ly (入); MGZY l̄y (入) [ly]; ONW luit; BTD 拘律陀 kio-luit-da Skt. kolita; 阿難律 ?a-nan-luit Skt. aniruddha
d	筆	bǐ	pjet 3	pit	prut	OCB *prjut	
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR pi (入); MGZY bue (入) [pue]; ONW pit

31-19 = K. 529 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	類	lèi	ljwi ^C	luis	rus		
							[T] ONW lui; BTD Skt. -rodh- (?). MHan 蒲類 ba-luis Bars (*barus) <> [E] TB: WT rus 'clan, lineage' (also 'bone'), Tamang ³ ruì 'clan', WB rui ^B 'lineage' (also 'bone')

b	類	lèi	lwai ^C	luəs	rūs		
	31-20 = K. 490 Mand. MC LHan OCM						
a	卒	soldier	zú	tswət	tsuət	tsût	OCB *Stut
							[T] MTang tsur < tsuir, ONW tsuit
	卒	finish	zú	tsjuwet	tsuit	tsut	OCB *Stjut
	卒	brusq.	cù	tš ^h wət	tš ^h uət	tšhût	
b	粹	zú	dzwət	dzuət	dzût		
c	萃	zú	dzjuwet,	dzuit,	dzut,		
			tsjuwet	tsuit	tsut		
h	醉	zùi	tswi ^C	tsuis	tsuts		[T] ONW tsui
def	悴	cuì	tš ^h wai ^C	tš ^h uəs	tšhûts		
g	粹	cuì	tš ^h wai ^C	tš ^h uəs	tšhûts		
i	翠	cuì	tš ^h wi ^C	tš ^h uis	tshuts		
jkl	悴	cuì !	dzwi ^C	dzuis	dzuts		
m	萃	cuì	dzwi ^C	dzuis	dzuts	OCB *dzjuts < *dzjups ?	
o	粹	sui	swi ^C	suis	suts		
p	粹	cuì !	swi ^C	suis	suts		
n	碎	sui	swai ^C	suəs	sûts		
q	碎	sui	swi ^C , suai ^C ,	suis, suəs,	suts,		
			dzjuwet	dzuit	dzut		

31-21 = K. 528 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a-	崇	sui	swi ^C	suis	suts or sus		
	31-22 = K. 1257hm		MC	LHan	OCM		
h[n]	戕	xū	sjwet	suit	sut or swit		
m	戕	xù	xjuwet 3	huìt	hwit 'reckless'		

31-23 = K. 498 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	率	follow	shuài	sjwet, šwi ^C	šuit, šuis	srut(s)	
							= 31-19/499a 帥 <> [T] ONW šuit
a-	率	率	lù	ljwet	luit	rut	'leather band'
							[E] TB: WT rgyud < *r-jut 'string, cord'
h	率	lù	ljwet	luit	rut		[T] ONW luit-
e	達	shuài	sjwet	šuit	srut		
g	蟋蟀	xī-shuài	-sjwət	šit-šuit	srüt-srut		

31-24 = K. 499 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	帥	lead	shuài	sjwet, šwi ^C	šuit, šuis	srut, sruts	= 31-18/498a 率
							[T] ONW šuit
	帥	leader	shuài	šwi ^C	šuis	sruts	
							[T] Sin Sukchu SR šuj (去), PR, LR šwaj?; MGZY (zhway >) shway (去) [šwaj]

32 OCM rime *-in Zhēn bù 真部

GSR 361 - 392

Baxter 1992: 422 ff. (§10.1.4)

Table 32-1: OCM rimes *-in, *-it, *(t)s, *-i in QYS categories

Div.	*-in R.32	*-it R.29	*-i(t)s R.29	*-i R.26
IV	賢 yien gen *gîn 天 thien t'hen *thîn	結 kiet ket *kît 跌 diet det *lît	滌 p'hei ^C p'hes *phîts	敗 k'hei ^B k'hei ^B *khî? 米 mie ^B mei ^B *mî? 氏 tie ^B tei ^B *tî?
IV w	犬 k'hiwen ^B k'huen ^B *khwîn? 滋 yiwēn ^B yuen ^B *wîn?	穴 yiwet yuet *wît 血 xiwet huet *hwît		睽 k'hiwei k'huei *khwî
3/4	緊 kjien ^B 4 kin ^B *kin? 民 mjien 4 min *min	吉 kjiet 4 kit *kit 必 pjiet 4 pit *pit	棄 k'hi ^C 4 k'his *khis 界 pi ^C 4 pis *pis	伊 ?i4 ?i *?i 比 pi ^B 4 pi ^B *pi?
3/4 w	鈞 kjiwēn4 kuin *kwîn 匀 jiwēn win *wîn 恂 sjwēn suin *swîn	橘 kjiwet4 kuit *kwit 喬 jiwet wit *wit 恤 sjwet suit *swit	季 kwi ^C 4 kuis *kwis 穉 zwi ^C zuis *s-wis	癸 kwi ^B 4 kwi ^B *kwi?
III ac	真 tšjen tšîn *tîn 人 nšjen nin *nin	室 šjet šit *lhit	至 tšic tšis *tits	死 si ^B si ^B *si? 維 jiwi4 wi *wi
3/3 gr	慇 mjen ^B 3 mîn ^B *mrin?	密 mjet 3 mit *mrît		耆 gjj3 gi *gri 戮 gjwi3 gwi *gwri
II	矜 kwān kuen *kwrîn	積 kât ket *krît 劓 kwât kuet *kwrît	屈 kăi ^C kes *krîs	階 kăi kei *krî

Rimes in OCM *-in, *-ən, *-un are kept distinct in *Shijing*, but they interrime in *Chuci* where we find *xiān* 先 *sîn or *sên riming with *mén* 門 *mân and *yún* 雲 *wən, *tiān* 天 *tîn with *wén* 聞 *wən, *pī* 匹 *phit with *hū* 忽 *hmât.

See Table 33-1 for a comparison of OCM rimes *-in, *-ən, *-it, *-ət; Table 31-1 for OCM *-ut, *-wət, *-wit, *-uj, *-u(t)s, *-wəi, *-wə(t)s, *-wi(t)s; Table 34-1 for OCM rimes *-un, *-wən, *-win, *-ut, *-wət, *-wit.

32-1 = K. 368, 377	MC	LHan	OCM
377a 臣 chén	žjen	džin < gin	gin OCB *gjin
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR džin (平); MGZY žhin (平) [žin]; ONW džin		
g 抵 zhèn	tšjen ^C	tšin ^C < kin ^C	kins
368a 馭 qin, qiān	k'hjien ^C 4, k'hǎn	k'hin ^C , k'hen	khins, khrîn
h 腎 shèn	žjen ^B	džin ^B < gin ^B	gin?
d 擊 qiān	k'hien, k'hǎn	k'hen, k'hen	khîn, khrîn

c	堅 jiān	kien	ken	kîn
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjen (平); MGZY gyan (平) [kjen]; ONW kên. LH 堅昆 jiān-kūn LH ken-kuən < kîn-kūn Qyrqyz < qyrqy (Pulleyblank 1983: 455)			
-	賢 qīn	k'hien ^B		
e	賢 wise xián	yien	gen	gîn
	nave xiàn	yien ^C	gen ^C	gîns
g	緊 jǐn	kjien ^B 4	kin ^B	kin?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kin (上); MGZY gyin (上) [kjin]; ONW kiin. MC unpalatalized initial k- is irregular <> [E] ? TB: Lushai k'ir? ^L < *k'irh 'to tie / bind', NNaga *C-k'hyin 'to tie'			
1252a	鏗 kēng	k'hēŋ	k'hēŋ	khreŋ

32-2 = K. 1250ab MC LHan OCM
ab 蘭 蘭 jiǎn kien^B ken^B kîn? or kên?

32-3 = K. 369 Mand. MC LHan OCM
a 矜 shaft qín gjen 3 gin grin ~ 33-5/480 矜 *grən
矜 pity jīn kjəŋ gin grin R! OCB *kjin
矜 widow. guān kwān kuen kwrîn OCB *k'rin
~ 鰥 kwrān 34-4/481a. This graph consistently rimes with *-in in *Shijing*.

32-4 = K. 479 MC k(h)iwen can only derive from *kwîn or *kwên; OC *kwən would result in MC kwən; OC *kwān, *kiwən or *kiun do not exist.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 犬 quǎn		k'hiwen ^B	k'huen ^B	khwîn?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'yen (上); MGZY khwyan (上) [k'yEn] <> [E] ST *kwi?: TB *kwi?			
e 吠 quǎn		kiwen ^B	kuen ^B	kwîn? = 34-6/422b 吠

32-5 = K. 366 Throughout this series, the OC forms could be either *gwîn or *wîn.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 玄 xuán		yiwēn	yuen	gwîn
c 法 xuàn		yiwēn ^B	yuen ^B	gwîn?
e 鉉 xuàn		yiwēn ^B	yuen ^B	gwîn?
d 眩 xuàn		yiwēn ^(C)	yuen ^(C)	gwîn, gwîns
hj 炫 銜 xuàn		yien ^C	gen ^C	gîns
fgm 弦 絃 絃 xián		yien	gen	gîn [T] ONW yèn
i 虵 xián		yien	gen	gîn
k 牽 qiān		k'hien	k'hen	khîn
	[D] Xiang-Shuangfeng k'ir ⁵⁵ , Ke-Meix k'hian ⁵⁵ , Yue-Guangzh hin ⁵³ , Min-Xiamen k'han ⁵⁵			
l 鮫 gǔn		kwən ^B	kuən ^B	kwên? = 34-1/417i; 34-3/419a

32-6 = K. 1250g MC LHan OCM
g 贊 xuàn yiwēn^{B/C} yuen^{B/C} (g)wîn?/s or (g)wên?/s

32-7 = K. 391 OB distinguish between 391 and 392.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
391a 匀 yún		jiwēn 4	win	win

392j	响	yún, xún	jiwen 4, zjwen, sjwen	win, zuin, suin	win, s-win, swin	
391fg	响甸	xuán	yiwen	yuen	wín	
1252b	甸	hōng	xweŋ	hueŋ	hwrêŋ	
Acc. to SW 1047, 甸 is phonetic; it also has an alternate 'reading like' xuán 玄 *(g)wín.						
-	鯁	qióng	gjwäng	gyeŋ	gweŋ	
391e	鈞	jūn	kjiwen 4	kuin	kwin	
[E] TB: WB k ^h yin 'weigh, a balance'						
d	均	jūn	kjiwen 4	kuin	kwin	
c	均	jūn	kjiwen 4	kuin	kwin	OCB *k ^w jin
j	筠	yún	jwen 3	win	win	
h	h	—				

32-8 = K. 392 OB distinguish between 32-7/391 and 32-8/392.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
392a	甸	xún	zjwen	zuin	s-win	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR zyn (平); MGZY z ^h yn (平) [zyn]						
ef	徇徇 all	xùn	zjwen ^C	zuin ^C	s-wins	[E] ? ST *wir
	cause	xún	zjwen ^(C)	zuin ^(C)	s-win, s-wins	
gh	徇徇	xùn	zjwen ^C	zuin ^C	s-wins	
l	洵 far	xuán	xiwen	huen	hwín	OCB *hwin
	洵 drip	xún	sjwen	suin	swin	
[E] ST *(r)we: Mikir arwè ~ ruwè < r-we ^L 'rain'						
k	恂 sincere	xún	sjwen	suin	swin	
	恂 fear	xún	sjwen ^C	suin ^C	swins	
[N] Xùn may be partially phonetic / semantic in 830 qióng 懼 *gweŋ ('fear') below						
m	胸 scared	xuàn,	xiwen ^C ,	huen ^C ,	hwíns,	
		shùn	sjwen ^C	suin ^C	hwins	
	胸 delud.	xún	sjwen	suin	swin	
nst	筍筍	sǔn	sjwen ^B	suin ^B	swin?	
830a	惇	qióng	gjwäng	gyeŋ	gweŋ	
= 23-11/256b 孌, 9-9/843g 葵 <> [N] xūn 恂 *swin may be partially phonetic / semantic ('fear'); *-win and *-weŋ do occasionally mix in phonetic series						
392u	檐	sǔn	sjwen	suin	swin	
The reading chūn (t ^h jwen), LH t ^h uin, OCM thrun belongs to a synonym 34-17-1.						
o	荀	xún	sjwen	suin	swin	
p	詢	xún	sjwen	suin	swin	OCB swjin
q	逋	xùn,	sjwen ^C ,	suin ^C ,	swins,	
		xún	zjwen	zuin	s-win	
r	絢	xuàn,	xiwen ^C ,	huen ^C ,	hwíns,	
		xún	sjwen	suin	swin	

32-9 = K. 370 Mand. MC LHan OCM

ade	因茵網	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?in (平); MGZY Yin (平) [?jin]; ONW ?iin						
fg	姻駟	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	OCB *?jin

i	烟	yān	?ien	?en	?in	= 32-10/483h 煙
h	咽 gullet	yān	?ien	?en	?in	
	swallow	yàn	?ien ^C	?en ^C	?ins	~ 23-15/243c 嚥
	drum	yīn, yuān	?jien, ?iwen	?in, ?wen	?in, ?wín	
j	恩	ēn	?ən	?ən	?ən	

32-10 = K. 483 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	堊	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	
cde	墜堊湮	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	
fg	闔裡	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	
--	譚歎	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	
h	煙	yān	?ien	?en	?in	= 32-9/370i 烟

32-11 = K. 1251f MC LHan OCM

f	印	yìn	?jien ^C 4	?in ^C	?ins	
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32-12 = K. 367 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	淵	yuān	?iwen	?uen	?wín	
d	嫵	yīn	?jien 4	?in	?in	= 32-9/370f 烟

32-13 = K. 1251a MC LHan OCM

a	囂	yín	ŋjen 3	ŋin	ŋrin or ŋrən	
32-11/377a 臣 may be phonetic						

32-14 = K. 1251b MC LHan OCM

-bc	欸愁 c	yìn	ŋjen ^C 3	ŋin ^C	ŋrins or ŋrəns	
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32-15 = K. 361 The phonetic seems to be dīng 丁 *têŋ 9-11/833a.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	天	tiān	t ^h ien	t ^h en	t ^h in	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^h ien (平); MGZY then (平) [t ^h en]; MTang t ^h ian < t ^h ian, ONW t ^h en; BTD Old Iranian hin- (Coblin 1994: 156). <> [D] Yue-Guangzhou ⁵³ t ^h in ^{A1} 'sky', Taishan ³³ hen ^{A1} . PMin *thien. Xiamen t ^h i ^{A1} . Some Han period dialects have xiān 顯 xen ^B , others tǎn 坦 t ^h an ^B for 'heaven' (Coblin <i>ibid.</i>). <> [E] TB: Kachin puŋdiŋ 'zenith, top'; Zemi (Naga) tiŋ 'sky'						
d	吞	tūn	t ^h ən, t ^h ien	t ^h ən	t ^h ən or lhən ?	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^h un (平), PR t ^h ən; MGZY t ^h in (平) [t ^h ən]						
[E] KT: PT *kl-: S. klāin ^{A1} 'to swallow'						

32-16 = K. 375 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	真	zhēn	t ^h jen	t ^h in	tin	
[T] Sin Sukchu SR t ^h in (平); MGZY jin (平) [t ^h in] <> [E] WT bden-pa 'true'						
b	稹	zhēn, zhěn,	t ^h jen ^(B) ,	t ^h in ^(B) ,	tin, tin?,	(Lu Deming's reading)
		diàn	dien ^C	den ^C	díns	(Zheng Zhong's reading)
[N] On the different readings, see Coblin 1983: 153						
c	績	zhēn, zhěn	t ^h jen ^(B)	t ^h in ^(B)	tin, tin?	
de	鬣黠	zhěn	t ^h jen ^B	t ^h in ^B	tin?	= 33-15/453a 參
g	膜	chēn	t ^h jen	t ^h in	thin	
h	磧	zhēn, tián	t ^h jen, dien	t ^h in, den	tin, dín	

i	慎	shèn	zjen ^C	džin ^C	dins	= 32-17/376a 昏
f	鎮	precio. zhèn, zhěn	tjen ^(B)	ṭin ^(B)	trin, trin?	
	鎮	press zhèn	tjen ^C	ṭin ^C	trins	
ijkl	偵蹟痕	diān	tien	ten	tfn	
m	顛	full tián	dien	den	dfn	
	顛	top diān	tien	ten	tfn	≈ 9-11/833e
		[N] MTang tian < tian, ONW tèn <> [E] Miao gliŋ 'to fall'				
n	巔	top diān	tien	ten	tfn	
p	瑱	pend. zhèn	tjen ^C	ṭin ^C	trins	'jade pendant'
	瑱	tiàn	t ^h ien ^C	t ^h en ^C	thfns	
	瑱	jade zhèn	tjen ^C	ṭin ^C	trins	
o	顛	diān	tien	ten	tfn	
uv	填嶼	bl. tián	dien	den	dfn	'block, fill up'
u	填	exhaust diān	dien ^B	den ^B	dfn?	
	填	old chén	djen	ḍin	drin	
	填	subdue zhèn, tián	tjen ^C , dien	ṭin ^C , den	trins, dfn	
qrs	噴闐	tián	dien	den	dfn	
		[T] MHan 于闐 wa-den Hvatāna (Khotan)				
t	寘	diàn	dien ^C	den ^C	dfn	
x	真	zhì	t ^s je ^C	t ^s es	tes	
	于真	Yú-tián	-dien	wa-den	—	[T] Hwatāna (Khotan)
32-17 = K. 376	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	昏	shèn	zjen ^C	džin ^C	dins	= 32-16/375i 慎
32-18 = K. 373	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ad	陳	d arran.chén	djen	ḍin	drin R!	OCB *drjin [T] ONW din
	陳	array zhèn	djen ^C	ḍin ^C	drins	
f	陣	array zhèn	djen ^C	ḍin ^C	drins	
g	璽	chén	djen	ḍin	drin	
32-19 = K. 362	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ade	田佃	tián	dien	den	lfn	'field, hunt'
		[T] MTang dian < dian, ONW dèn <> [D] Y-Guangzh t ^h in ^{A2} 'wet field'				
		[E] TB: Bumthang Zha ^l leŋ, Lep. lyaŋ 'field, land'; Cuona Monpa ^{l3} leŋ; NNaga *lji:ŋ 'grow(th)', JP mǎ ³¹ -liŋ ³³ 'forest'				
	cultivate	diàn	dien ^C	den ^C	lfn	
g	甸	domain diàn	dien ^C	den ^C	lfn	
	甸 = 乘	shèng (zjəŋ ^C), d ^z jəŋ ^C	zjəŋ ^C	—	m-ləŋh	'carriage'
32-20 = K. 371	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	引	yǐn	jien ^B	jin ^B	lin?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR in (上); MGZY yin (上) [jin]; ONW in				
c	蚓	yǐn	jien ^B	jin ^B	lin?	
		[D] Min *un ^B = 蚓 33-19/450j				
b	鞞	yìn	jien ^C	jin ^C	lfn	
d	紉	zhèn	djen ^B	ḍin ^B	drin? < r-lin?	= 32-21/372 紉

-	矧	shěn	śjen ^B	śin ^B	hin? < nhin?	= 26-19/560i
		[N] The graph is late				
32-21 = K. 372	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	紉	zhèn	djen ^B	ḍin ^B	drin? < r-lin?	
		= 32-20/371d 紉 — 7-16/1238b 紉 *dre? is perhaps phonetic				
32-22 = K. 385	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
afg	申伸呻	shēn	śjen	śin	lhin	
h	紳	shēn	śjen	śin	lhin	
j	神	shén	džjen	zin	m-lin	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjn (平); MGZY cin (平) [dzjn]				
l	輦	yìn	jien ^C	jin ^C	lfn	
m	電	diàn	dien ^C	den ^C	lfn	
		[E] PYao *(?)liŋ 'lightning'; < TB-Chepang plin ^h -?o 'lightning'				
32-23 = K. 386	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	身	shēn	śjen	śin	lhin	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR śin (平); MGZY shin (平) [śin]; ONW śin. MHan 身毒 śin-douk Hinduka				
d	轉	tián	dien	den	lfn	
32-24 = K. 469	The MC rime is ambiguous, it could derive from OCM *-win or *-un.					
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	舜舜	shùn	śjwen ^C	śuin ^C	hwins (or hjuns?)	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR śyn (去); MGZY shūn (去) [śyn]				
c	瞬	shùn	śjwen ^C	śuin ^C	hwins	
		= 33-19/450 瞬; 26-19/560k 瞬				
32-25 = K. 12511	The MC rime is ambiguous, it could derive from OCM *-win or *-un.					
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
l	尹	yǐn	jiwen ^B	win ^B or juin ^B	win? or j/lun?	
		[T] MTang iun < iuin, ONW iuin				
32-26 = K. 387	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	舜舜	lín	ljen ^(C)	lin ^(C)	rin, rins	
cd	鄰鄰	lín	ljen	lin	rin	
gij	鄰鄰	lín	ljen	lin	rin	
k	鱗	lín	ljen	lin	rin	
		[E] Kam-Sui *krin ⁵ 'scales'				
efh	鄰鄰	lín	ljen ^C	lin ^C	rins	
l	憐	lián	lien	len	rfn	
		[T] ONW lèn <> [E] ST *rin: WT 'drin 'kindness, favor, grace'; WB rañ ^B - 'love'				
32-27 = K. 1251ij		MC	LHan	OCM		
ij	蘭蘭	lìn	ljen ^C	lin ^C	—	
32-28 = K. 388, 364, 365		MC	LHan	OCM		
388a	人	rén	ńzjen	nin	nin	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR rin (平); MGZY Zhin (平) [rin]; ONW řin				

f	仁	rén	nín	nín	nín	
364a	年	nián	nien	nen	nín	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR njen (平); MGZY nen (平) [nen]; MTang nian < nian, ONW nèn [E] TB *s-niŋ 'year'				
365a	千	qiān	ts ^h ien	ts ^h en	tshîn	*s-nhin OCB *snin
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'jen (平); MGZY tshyan (平) [ts'jen]				
ef	阡芊	qiān	ts ^h ien	ts ^h en	tshîn	
32-29 = K. 378	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
afg	晉摺縉	jìn	tsjen ^C	tsin ^C	tsins	
h	戩	jǐn,	tsjen ^B ,	tsin ^B	tsin?	= 32-32/381a 盡
		jiǎn	tsjān ^B			
32-30 = K. 379	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	進	jìn	tsjen ^C	tsin ^C	tsins	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR tsin (去); MGZY dzin (去) [tsin]				
32-31 = K. 380	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ae	秦榛	qín	dzjen	dzin	dzin	[T] ONW dzin
fg	榛漆	zhēn	tsjen	tsin	tsrin	OCB *tsrjin
hi	臻蓁	zhēn	tsjen	tsin	tsrin	
32-32 = K. 381	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	盡	jìn	dzjen ^B ,	dzin ^B ,	dzin?,	
			tsjen ^B	tsin ^B	tsin?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzin (上去); MGZY tsin (上) [dzin]; ONW dzin				
c	燼	jìn	dzjen ^C	dzin ^C	dzins	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zin (去); MGZY zin (平) [zin] <> [E] TB: WT zin-pa 'be finished, be at an end', Lushai seen ^H / seen ^L 'use up, consume, completely'				
def	蓋燼 f	jìn	dzjen ^C	dzin ^C	dzins	
g	津	jīn	tsjen	tsin	tsin	
32-33 = K. 382	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	辛	xīn	sjen	sin	sin	[E] TB *m-sin 'liver'
k	新	xīn	sjen	sin	sin	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR sin (平); MGZY sin (平) [sin]; ONW sin < *siŋ ?				
n	薪	xīn	sjen	sin	sin	
		[T] 薪犁 xīn-lí LH sin-li Syr (Pulleyblank 1983: 455) <> [E] TB *siŋ > WT šin 'tree, wood'				
oq	親親	qīn	ts ^h jen	ts ^h in	tshin	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'in (平); MGZY tshin (平) [ts'in]; ONW ts ^h in				
h	莘	shēn	sjen	šin	srin	
		~ 32-37/484 牲; 33-25/478n 詵				
g	峯	shēn	sjen	šin	srin	
i	柔	zhēn	tsjen	tsin	tsrin	OCB *tsrjin
		= 32-31/380f 榛				
s	櫬	chèn	ts ^h jen ^C	ts ^h in ^C	tshrins	

32-34 = K. 12411	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
--	凶顛	xìn	sjen ^C	sin ^C	sins or sɛns ? 'head'
12411	細	xì	siei ^C	sei ^C	sih ?
		[N] 凶 was originally phonetic acc. to GY (GYSX: 664) <> [T] ONW səi ^C [E] TB *ziy > West Tib. zi 'very small'; Limbu ci 'little, few'; WB se ^B 'small, fine'			
32-35 = K. 383	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	孔	xìn	sjen ^C	sin ^C	sins
b	迅	xùn	sjen ^C , sjwen ^C	sin ^C , suin ^C	swins
cd	訊莧	xùn	sjen ^C	sin ^C	sins
32-36 = K. 384	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	信 stay	xìn	sjen ^C	sin ^C	sins
	信 true	xìn	sjen ^C	sin ^C	sins
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR sin (去); MGZY sin (去) [sin]; ONW sin			
	信 extend	shēn	sjen	šin	lhin
		= 32-32/385a 申伸呻			
32-37 = K. 484	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	牲	shēn	sjen	šin	srin
		~ 32-33/382h 莘; 33-25/478n 詵			
32-38 = K. 389	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	賓	bīn	pjen 4	pin	pin
		[T] MGZY bin (平) [pin]; Sin Sukchu SR pin (平); ONW *piin; BT D Skt. -bhijñ-; MHan 闕賓 kias-pin Kashmir <> [E] TB: WT sbyin-pa 'to give, bestow; gift', Lepcha byí, byí-n 'to give'			
j	濱	bīn	pjen 4	pin	pin
ghi	濱濱濱	bīn	pjen ^C 4	pin ^C	pins
k	鬢	bīn	pjen ^C 4	pin ^C	pins
l	濱	bīn !	p ^h jen 4	p ^h in	phin
mo	濱濱 !	pín	bjien 4	bin	bin
qr	膾膾	bīn	bjien ^B 4	bin ^B	bin?
		[E] TB: WT byin-pa 'calf of the leg', Lushai p ^h ei ^L 'foot, leg, lower leg'			
p	蟻	pín, pián	bjien 4, bien	bin, ben	bin, bīn
32-39 = K. 390	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	頻	pín	bjien 4	bin	bin
		[E] ? TB: Lepcha bí 'edge, border'; WT p ^h yi 'outside, behind, after' ≠ p ^h yin 'outside, later' <> ? AN: PMal.-Pol. *te(m)biŋ 'bank, shore'			
-cd	瀕瀕瀕	pín	bjien 4	bin	bin
32-40 = K. 457	According to Baxter, MC mjen 3 derives from an OC medial *r syllable. But a simpler explanation may be OCM *mun, see Intro. 5.2.3 and rime 28.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	GYSX: 524ff
a	民	mín	mjen 4	min	min
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR min (平); MGZY min (平) [min]; MTang min < min, ONW miin [E] ST *mi : TB *r-mi(y) > WT mi 'man, human being', Rgyarung tormi (i.e., tər-mi)			
c	泯	mín	mjen ^(B) 4	min ^(B)	min, min?

e	眼 sleep	mián	mien	men	mín	~ 9-30/841b 瞑
						[T] MTang mian < mian, ONW mèn < [E] TB *myel > Chepang mel- 'close, shut eyes', Bahing mjel 'sleepy', WB myañ ^B 'be sleepy, sleep'; JP mjen ³¹ -mjen ³¹ 'to sleep soundly'
f	眼 befool	miǎn	mien ^B	men ^B	mín?	
	殒	miǎn,	mien ^B ,	men ^B ,	mín?	
		mén,	mwən,	muən,	mân,	
		hūn	xwən	huən	hmân	
d	珉	mín	mjen 3	mín < muin	mun	
jk	昏昏	hūn	xwən	huən	hmân	
						[T] ONW hon < [E] TB: WT mun-pa 'dark' ≠ dmun-pa 'darkened' ≠ rmun-po 'dull, heavy, stupid'; WB hmun ^A 'dim, dusky, blurred'
mno	婚昏 o	hūn	xwən	huən	hmân	
pq-	昏闇昏	hūn	xwən	huən	hmân	
x	緡 cord	mín	mjen 3	mín	mun	OCB *mrjun
	緡 cumul.	mǎn	mjen ^B 3	mín ^B	mun?	
rs	瘖 s	mín,	mjen 3,	mín,	mun,	
		hūn	xwən	huən	hmân = hmûn	
tuv	摺 uv	mín	mjen 3	mín	mun	≠ 32-35/441e 捫
g	敗	mǎn	mjen ^B 3	mín ^B	mun?	
						[N] Karlgren writes MC mjwen 3 because of the fānqiè speller 隕 (with w).
y	瞽 violent	mǎn	mjen ^B 3	mín ^B	mun?	
	瞽 sorry	mín,	mjen ^(B) 3,	mín ^(B) ,	mun, mun?	
		hūn	xwən	huən	hmân = hmûn	
z	愍	mǎn	mjen ^B 3	mín ^B	mun?	OCB *mrjen (1992: 433)
						= 32-35/441 憫

33 OCM rime *-ən Wén bù 文部 (1)

GSR 416 - 485

Baxter 1992: 425 ff. (§10.1.5)

Table 33-1: OCM rimes *-in, *-ən, *-it, *-ət

Div.	*-in R.32	*-ən R.33	*-it R.29	*-ət R.30
I gr		根 kən kən *kən 本 puən ^B pən ^B *pən?		勃 buət bət *bət
IV gr	賢 yien gen *gîn		結 kiet ket *kît	
IV ac	天 t ^h ien t ^h en *thîn	典 tien ^B ten ^B *tên?	跌 diet det *lît	
III gr		近 gjən ^B giən ^B *gən? 分 pjuən pun *pən		乞 k ^h jət k ^h ət *khət 物 mjuət mut *mət
III ac	真 tsjen tsin *tin 人 n ^h jen nin *nin	刃 n ^h jen ^C nin ^C *nəns	室 sjet sit *lhit	質 tsjet tsit *tət
3/4	緊 kjen ^B 4 kin ^B *kin? 民 mjien 4 min *min		吉 kjiet 4 kit *kit 必 pjiet 4 pit *pit	
3/3	愍 mjen ^B 3 mîn ^B *mrin?	巾 kjen ³ kin *krən 貧 bjen ³ bin *brən	密 mjiet 3 mit *mrit	乙 ?jet3 ?it *?rət ?

See Table 30-1 for OCM rimes *-ən, *-ət, *-ə(t)s, *-əi in QYS categories.

After labial initials ST / PCH -un and -ən had merged at the latest by Han times and sorted themselves out according to QYS divisions: Div. I > -ən (mén 門 LHan mən), Div. III > -un (wén 聞 LHan mun). Baxter (1992: 431) tried to identify the vowel of some words with the help of *Shijing* rimes. The OC rimes *-in and *-ən have merged in MC after acute initials and in Div. II. The OC rime is therefore often difficult or impossible to determine.

There is no distinction between QYS kjen and kjen 3 type syllables in dialects, not even in Min (both PMin *kyn or *kun); nor do Han and Wei-Jin rimes make a distinction. However, QYS syllables of the type kjen (LHan kin) are used in Han Buddhist transcriptions, while QYS type kjen syllables are completely absent. Therefore these two syllable types have also been distinct in LHan, and I suggest to write LH kin for QYS kjen 3, and LH kiən for QYS kjen.

OC finals as in 人 n^hjen LHan nin *nin and 刃 n^hjen^C LHan nin^C *nəns have merged in MC after acute initials, but Min dialects keep the finals separate (-in vs. -in) and confirm the OC categories.

After palatal and retroflex initials, one could write either LH -in or -ən (MC sjen < LH şin or şən; MC n^hjen < LH nin or nən, etc.).

33-1 = K. 416	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	良	gèn	kən ^C	kəns
b	根	gēn	kən	kən
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kən (平); MGZY g ^h in (平) [kən]; ONW kən			
	[E] AA: PVM *kəl 'tree (trunk)', PMon *t[ɿ]gəl 'stump (of tree, etc.)', Khmer gəl 'tree trunk'			
-	齧	kěn	k ^h ən ^B	khən?
	[E] ? TB: Lushai k ^h el ^F 'eat the outside of a thing, gnaw off'			
cm-	狼壘懇	kěn	k ^h ən ^B	khən?
g	痕	hén	ɣən	gən
de	很很	hěn	ɣən ^B	gən?
i	限	xiàn	ɣän ^B	grən?
f	恨	hèn	ɣən ^C	gəns
h	垠	yín	ŋjən	ŋən
k	銀	yín	ŋjen 3	ŋrən
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋin (平), PR, LR in; MGZY ngin (平) [ŋin]; ONW ŋin			
	[E] WT dŋul 'silver', WB ŋwe, PL *C-ŋwe ¹			
l	眼 eye	yǎn	ŋän ^B	ŋrən?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋjan (上), PR jan, LR jen; MGZY yan (上) [jan]; ONW ŋän			
	眼 knob	ěn	ŋən ^B	ŋən?

33-2 = K. 443	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
ad	斤 ¹ > 斨	axe jīn	kjən	kiən
	[T] ONW kin <> [E] ? TB: PLB *gyan ² 'pick-axe'			
a	斤 ² perspic.	jīn	kjən ^C	kiən ^C
e	斨	jīn	kjən ^C	kəns
f	芹	qín	gjen	gən
g	近	jìn	gjen ^B	gən?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR gin (上去); MGZY kin (上去) [gin]; ONW gin			
hjk	近	jìn	gjen ^C	gəns
	[E] PVM *t-kip 'near'			
i	昕忻訢	xīn	xjen	hiən
x	焮	xīn !	xjen ^C	hiən ^C
y	掀	xiān	xjen	hiən
m	頎 tall	qí	gjei	gəi
	extreme	kěn	k ^h ən ^B	khən?
l	圻 fief	qí	gjei	gəi
	border	yín	ŋjən	ŋən
no	旰祈	qí	gjei	gəi
pt	旰斨	qí	gjei	gəi
-	沂	yí	ŋjei	ŋjən !
	[N] Name of a river (Luò and Zhōu 1958: 199)			

33-3 = K. 445	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	筋	jīn	kjən	kiən
	[T] ONW kin <> [E] PTai *ɣien ^{A1} ~ ^{A2} 'tendon, sinew'			

33-4 = K. 444	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	蚕	jīn	kjən ^B	kiən ^B

33-5 = K. 480 The phonetic element was also used to write tàn 嘆 (24-35/152) and hàn 嘆 (24-10/144) because of its meaning, not necessarily because of its sound.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
aecj	a 堇 ¹ 艱 j	jiān	kǎn	kən
	'Distress' <> [T] ONW kǎn			
e	堇 ² clay	qín	gjen 3	gin
-	稔	qín	gjen 3	gin
mp	瑾瑾	jǐn !	gjen ^C 3	gin ^C
noqr	瑾瑾覲鐘	jìn	gjen ^C 3	gin ^C
--	廛廛	jìn	gjen ^C 3	gin ^C
vxyz	瑾勤勸勵	qín	gjen	gin
t	堇 violet	jǐn	kjən ^B	kiən ^B
	aconite	jìn	kjən ^C	kiən ^C
u	謹	jǐn	kjən ^B	kiən ^B
-	蠶	qǐn	k ^h ien ^C 4 !	khin ^C

33-6 = K. 482	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	巾	jīn	kjen 3	kin

33-7 = K. 446	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	𦉳	xìn	xjen ^C , xjen 3	hin ^C

33-8 = K. 447	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	𦉳	xìn	xjen ^C , xjen 3	hin ^C

33-9 = K. 448	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	殷 great	yīn	?jen	?iən
	殷 thunder	yīn	?jen ^B	?iən ^B
	殷 red	yān	?än	?en
e	愍	yīn	?jen	?iən

33-10 = K. 449	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
-	雪	yìn	?jen ^C	?iən ^C
-	愍	yīn	?jen ^B	?iən ^B
-	滯	yīn		
a	隱 conceal	yīn	?jen ^B	?iən ^B
	隱 lean on	yīn	?jen ^C [GY]	?iən ^C
b	𦉳	yīn	?jen ^B	?iən ^B

33-11 = K. 476	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	典 norm	diǎn	tien ^B	ten ^B
	[T] MTang tian < tian, ONW tén			
	典 solid	tiǎn	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B
d	腆	tiǎn	t ^h ien ^B	t ^h en ^B

33-12 = K. 429	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
abc	尻 b 臀	tún	dwən	duən

[E] TB *tun

d	殿 rear 殿 palace	diàn diàn	tien ^C dien ^C	ten ^C den ^C	təns —	
33-13 = K. 455	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	辰	chén	zjen	džin	dən ?	[T] ONW džin
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR zjin (平), LR dzin; MGZY zhin (平) [zjin]; ONW džin
k	宸	chén	zjen	džin	dən	
hi	晨 i	chén	zjen, džjen	(d)žin	(m-)dən	
lm	辰蜃	shèn	zjen ^B	džin ^B	dən?	
nqrs	娠娠娠震	zhèn	tšjen ^C	tšin ^C	təns	
q	娠	zhèn	tšjen ^C	tšin ^C	təns	
						The reading MC šjen has been borrowed from shēn 身 32-23/386.
p	振 shake	zhèn	tšjen ^C	tšin ^C	təns	
						[E] Perh. TB: Chepang dhər- 'to shake, vibrate...'
	振 numer.	zhēn	tšjen	tšin	tən	OCB *tjən
						= 33-14/1251h 甄
-	振	zhēn	tšjen	tšin	tən	
t	甄	chēn, chī	tʰjen ^B , tʰi	tʰin ^B , tʰi	thrən?, thrəi	
uv	脣滑	chún	džjwen	žuin	m-dun	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR zyn (平), CPR dzyn; MGZY cȳun (平) [dzyn]
33-14 = K. 1251h	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
h-	甄甄	zhēn	tšjen ^A !	tšin	tən	= 33-13/455p 振
33-15 = K. 453	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	珍	zhēn	tšjen ^B	tšin ^B	tən?	
						= 32-16/375de 鬘黠 *tin?
c	珍	zhēn	tšjen ^B	tšin ^B	tən?	
d	珍 path	zhēn	tšjen ^(B)	tšin ^B	tən?	OCB *tjən?
	offer	zhèn	tšjen ^C	tšin ^C	təns	
e	珍 twist	zhēn, zhǎn	tšjen ^B , tšjan ^B	tšin ^B , tən ^B	tən?, tren? or tran?	
	twisted	shàn, zhàn	žjān ^B , džjān ^B	džan ^B , džan ^B	dən?, dran? (or *-e-)	
fg	珍軫	zhēn	tšjen ^B	tšin ^B	tən?	
i	珍	zhēn	tjen	tjn	trən	
l	診	zhèn, zhěn	djen ^C , tšjen ^B	džin ^C , tšin ^B	drəns, tən?	
j	疹	chèn	tʰjen ^C	tʰin ^C	thrəns	= 33-16/452a 狹
k	疹	tiǎn	dien ^B	den ^B	dən?	OCB *dən?
1241s	疹	lì	liei ^C	lei ^C	rəts	
453m	鬘鬘	tāo-tiè	tʰāu-tʰiet	? tʰa/ou-tʰet	?	
n	診	diàn,	dien ^B ,	den ^B ,	dən?,	
		niǎn	nien ^B , njān ^B	nen ^B , nən ^B	nən?, nren? or nran? ?	
33-16 = K. 452	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	痰	chèn	tʰjen ^C	tʰin ^C	thrəns	= 33-15/453j 疹
33-17 = K. 374	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	塵	chén	djen	džin	drən	OCB *drjən (1992: 433)
						[T] ONW din <> [E] TB: WT rdul 'dust'

33-18 = K. 451	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	胤醜	yìn	jien ^C	jin ^C	ləns
33-19 = K. 450	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	寅	yín, yí	jien, ji	jin, ji	jən, jəi
h	夤	yín	jien	jin	jən?
j	夤	yǐn	jien ^B	jin ^B	jən?
					[D] Min *un ^B = 32-20/371c 蚘
k	演	yǎn	jiän ^B	jan ^B ?	jan?
					= 24-29/197a 衍 [T] ONW ian
-	瞋	shùn	šjwen ^C	šuin ^C	—
					= 32-24/469c 瞬
33-20 = K. 456	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	刃刃	rèn	ńzjen ^C	ńin ^C	nəns
defg	刃刃刃刃	rèn	ńzjen ^C	ńin ^C	nəns
h	紉	rèn, nín	njen, ńzjen	ńin, ńin	nrən, nən
i	紉 glue	nì	njet	ńit	nrət
					* 29-26/404 紉, 呢 *nrít
c	忍	rěn	ńzjen ^B	ńin ^B	nən?
					[T] ONW ńin <> [D] PMin *niun ^B ~ nin ^B <> [E] TB: WT gñan-pa 'to be able, (not) be able'
-	忍	niǎn, rěn	ńzjen ^B	ńin ^B	nən?
j	認	rèn	ńzjen ^C	ńin ^C	nəns
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR rin (去); MGZY Zhin (去) [rin] <> [D] PMin *nin ^C
					[E] TB: JP non ⁵⁵ 'to think, consider', WT gñan-pa 'to listen'
33-21	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	嫩	nèn, nùn	nwən ^C		[T] ONW don (!)
33-22 = K. 432	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	存	cún	dzwən	dzən !	dzən
					OCB *dzən
					[T] ONW dzon. Acc. to SW, cái 才 *dzə is phonetic.
b	荐 grass	jiàn, zùn	dzien ^C , dzwən ^C	dzen ^C	dzəns
	荐 repeat	jiàn	dzien	dzen ^C	dzəns
cd	荐荐	jiàn	dzien ^C	dzen ^C	dzəns
33-23 = K. 477	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	薦 grass	jiàn	tsien ^C	tsen ^C	tsəns
					[D] PMin *tsan ^C 'straw mattress'
	薦 repeat	jiàn	dzien ^C	dzen ^C	dzəns
33-24 = K. 454	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	齷	chèn	tšhjen ^{B/C}	tšhjin ^{B/C}	tshrən?, tshrəns
					GSR has the wrong MC initial category (Coblin 1983: 240).
33-25 = K. 478	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	先 before	xiān	sien	sen	sən
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjen (平); MGZY sȳan (平) [sjen]; MTang sian < sian, ONW sən
					[E] TB: WT bsel(-ba) 'safeguard, guide' (as escorting a convoy); Chepang *syal?- 'to lead, go, do first, open way'

f	先 lead	xiàn	sien ^C	sen ^C	səns	OCB *səns
	秣	xiǎn	sien ^B	sen ^B	sən?	
		[E] TB: WT zil 'brightness, splendor'				
gh	跣	xiǎn	sien ^B	sen ^B	sən?	
i	洗	xiǎn, xǐ	sien ^B , siei ^B	sen ^B , sei ^B	sən?, səi?	
j	洗	xiǎn, xǐ	sien ^B , siei ^B	sen ^B , sei ^B	sən?, səi?	
		[E] WT bsil 'wash'; = 26-32/594g 洒				
kl	洗	shēn	sjen	šin	srən	
n	洗	shēn	sjen	šin	srən	
		~ 32-33/382 幸; 32-37/484 牲				
o	駢	shēn !	sjen	šin	srən	
33-26 = K. 439						
a	畚	bēn	pwən ^B	pən ^B	pən?	
33-27 = K. 440						
a	本	bēn	pwən ^B	pən ^B	pən?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR pun (上); PR pən; LR pən; MGZY bun (上) [pun]; ONW pon, -> Tai-Wu-ming plən ^{C1} 'volume'				
		[E] TB *bul ~ *pul > Lushai bu ^R < *buul? 'beginning, base, stump', NNaga pul 'tree', Garo bol 'root, stump'; JP p ^h un ⁵⁵ 'tree, wood', ? WT sbun ~ spun 'stalk of a plant'				
33-28 = K. 438						
ad	奔	bēn	pwən	pən	pən	OCB pun
		[T] BTd Skt. pal-. <> [E] TB *ploŋ: JP p ^h roŋ ³³ 'flee, run away', Mikir arploŋ < *r-ploŋ 'run' & iŋploŋ < *m-ploŋ 'run, gallop', Lahu pho 'flee', ? WB hroŋ 'flee'				
e	鱗	fēn	pjwən	pun	pən	
f	轟	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
33-29 = K. 437						
a	賁 brave	bēn	pwən	pən	pən	
		[E] TB: Lushai p ^h uur ^R < p ^h uur? 'eager'				
	great	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
	ornate	bì	pje ^C	piəi ^C	paih	
ef	噴	pēn	p ^h ən ^(C)	p ^h ən ^(C)	phən, phəns	
		[E] TB-Lushai p ^h u? ^L 'to blow out of the mouth (water, smoke), squirt'; WT p ^h u-ba, spun-pa 'puff of breath'				
g	獮	bèn	bwən ^B	bən ^B	bən?	
i		See 33-28/438e.				
j	饋	fēn	pjwən	pun	pən	
h	債	fèn	pjwən ^C	pun ^C	pəns	
o	潰	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
		[E] TB: Lepcha bun-rí 'an edging, frame, border'				
p	贖	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	= 33-30/471 粉
qr	贛	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
m	墳 tumulus	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
		[T] MTang bvun, ONW bun				
	墳 swell up	fèn	bjwən ^B	bun ^B	bən?	

n	憤	fèn	bjwən ^B	bun ^B	bən?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR vun (上), PR vən; MGZY H(w)un (上) [vun]				
s	贛	fén	bjwən ^(B)	bun ^(B)	bən, bən?	
t	贛	fén, fēn	bjwən, p ^h jwən	bun, p ^h un	bən, phən	
33-30 = K. 471						
a	分	fēn	pjwən	pun	pən	
		[T] Sin S. SR fun (平), PR fən; MGZY H(w)un (平) [fun ?]; ONW pun, BTd Skt. piŋ[da], puŋ [da], pūrṇa				
	分	fèn	bjwən ^C	bun ^C	bəns	
		[T] ONW bun <> [E] ST *pun: JP p ^h un ⁵⁵ 'part' (unit of weight) & p ^h un ³³ 'part' (monetary unit), Lushai buŋ ^H / bun ^L 'to cut, break or divide into two or more pieces for'; WB puŋ ^B 'divide' & ə-puŋ ^B 'division, part'				
ef	翁粉	fēn	pjwən	pun	pən	
d	粉	fén	pjwən ^B	pun ^B	pən?	
		[E] ? ST *pul: TB-PKiranti p ^h ùl 'flour', WB p ^h un 'dust' <> PVM *bu:l? 'dust'				
h	紛	fēn	p ^h jwən	p ^h un	phən	
jn	雰氛	fēn	p ^h jwən	p ^h un	phən	OCB *phjən 'mist, vapors'
i	芬	fēn	p ^h jwən	p ^h un	phən	OCB *phjən
g	忿	fèn	p ^h jwən ^{B/C}	p ^h un ^{B/C}	phən?/s	
		[E] Area etymon: Lushai ti ^L -puun ^H 'to increase (as water, wound)' <> OKhmer vva(n)i, Khmer būna /puun/ 'to amass, accumulate, to heap, stack, pile'				
m	粉	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
n	氛	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
r	棼 hemp	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
	disorder	fēn	p ^h jwən	p ^h un	phən	
k	棼	fèn	bjwən ^B	bun ^B	bən?	
l	扮	fèn	bjwən ^(B)	bun ^(B)	bən, bən?	
o	粉	fèn	bjwən ^C	bun ^C	bəns	
		[E] ? TB: Lushai pɔɔl ^H 'straw'				
s	盆	pén	bwən	bən	bən	
p	頒	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	
	頒	bān	pan	pan	prān	
q	份	bān	pan	pan	prān	= 33-34/474c
u	份	bīn	pjen 3	pīn	prən	
v	貧	pín	bjen 3	bin	brən	OCB *brjən
		[T] ONW bin <> [E] TB: WT dbul 'poor'				
-	邠	bīn	pjen 3	pīn	prən	= 33-31 邠 ?
x	盼	pàn	p ^h ān ^C	p ^h en ^C	phrīns	
		OCB *phrins R! (Baxter 1992: 433) 'black and white in contrast'				
33-31						
-	邠	bīn	pjen 3	pīn	prən	= 33-30/471 邠
33-32 = K. 472						
a	糞	fèn	pjwən ^C	pun ^C	pəns	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR vun (去), PR, LR vən; MGZY H(w)un (去) [vun ?] <> [D] PMin *piun ^C				
		[E] WT brun 'dung', Mru prūn 'manure, filth'				

33-33 = K. 473	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 奮	fèn	pjwən ^C	pun ^C	pəns	
33-34 = K. 474	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 焚	fén	bjwən	bun	bən	OCB bjun
	[E] TB *ploŋ > Kachin proŋ ³³ 'to be burnt (as a house)', Mikir p ^h loŋ 'burn the dead, cremation'; Lhota 'ruŋ 'burn', Mishmi lâuŋ				
c 彬	bīn	pjen 3	pin	prən	= 33-30/471u
33-35 = K. 441	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	GYSX: 420
a 門	mén	mwən	mən	mên	OCB mən
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR mun (平); PR, LR mən; MGZY mun (平) [mun]; ONW mon < mən; BTD Skt. maṇa, maṇā. MHan 桑門 saŋ-mən śramaṇa <> [E] TB *mu:r > WT mur 'gills'; Limbu mura 'mouth, beak'				
e 捫	mén	mwən	mən	mên	≈ 32-40/457t 捫
d 悶	unconsc. mén	mwən	mən	mên	
悶	sad mèn	mwən ^C	mən ^C	mêns	
f 聞	hear wén	mjwən	mun	mən	OCB mjun R!
	[T] Sin S. SR vun (平), PR vən; MGZY wun (平) [vun]; MTang mvun < mun, ONW mun				
g 問	fame wèn	mjwən ^C	mun ^C	məns	
	wèn	mjwən ^C	mun ^C	məns	
	[T] MHan 疏問 sa-mun ^C (*sra-məns) Skt. śramaṇa				
	[E] TB *m-nəm: WT mnam-pa 'to smell of'; WB nam 'stink' ≈ nam ^{B/C} 'smell', JP mā ³¹ -nam ⁵⁵ 'to hear, smell' <> MY *nhoM ^B 'to hear, smell'				
i 聞	mín, mìn	mjen 3! [GY]	mín	mrən	
33-36 = K. 475	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	GYSX: 525; 527
a 文	wén	mjwən	mun	mən	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR vun (平), PR, LR vən; MGZY wun (平) [vun]; MTang mvun, ONW mun; BTD 釋迦文 śak-k(j)a-mun Skt. śākyamuni; mañ[juśrī], man-				
kl 蚊	wén	mjwən	mun	mən	
	[D] PMin *mhun				
h 汶	wèn	mjwən ^{B/C}	mun ^{B/C}	mən?, məns	
j 紊	wěn	mjwən ^C !	mun ^C	məns	
i 汶	a river wèn	mjwən ^C	mun ^C	məns	
	dirty mén	mwən [JY]	mən	mên	
qs 閔	mín	mjen ^B 3	mín ^B	mrən?	OCB *mrjen(?)
	(p. 434, tone A!)				
mno 恣	mín	mjen 3	mín	mrən (or mun?)	恣 = 6-24/1252d
t 吝	lín	ljen ^C	lín ^C	rəns	

34 OCM rime *-un, *-wən Wén bù 文部 (2)

GSR 416 - 485
Baxter 1992: 425 ff. (§10.1.5)

See Table 28-1 for OCM rimes *-un / -wən, *-ut and *-ui / -wəi in QYS categories. See Intro. 5.2.3 about the removal of OCB medial *r in some MC Div. 3/3 syllables.

Table 34-1: OCM rimes *-un, *-wən, *-win, *-ut, *-wət, *-wit

Div.	*-un R.34	*-wən, *-win R.34, 32	*-ut R.31	*-wət, *-wit R.31, 29
I	困 k ^h wən ^C k ^h uən ^C *khûns 敦 twən tuən *tûn	壺 k ^h wən ^B k ^h uən ^B *khwân?	骨 kwət kuət *kút 突 t ^h wət t ^h uət *thút	汨 kwət kuət *kwăt
III gr		君 kjwən kun *kwən 雲 jwən wun *wən	—	
III gr			屈 k ^h jwət k ^h ut *k ^h ut	
3/3	菌 gjwen ^{B3} guin ^B *gun?	—	—	
III ac	春 t ^h jwen t ^h uin *thun 允 jiwən ^B juin ^B *jun?		出 t ^h jwet t ^h uit *k-hlut	
II		鰓 kwän kuen *kwrân	滑 ɣwät guet *grüt	剛 kwät kuət *kwrît
IV gr		犬 k ^h iwən ^B k ^h uen ^B *khwîn? 滋 ɣiwən ^B ɣuen ^B *wîn?		穴 ɣiwet yuet *wît 血 xiwet huet *hwît
3/4 w		鈞 kjiwən ⁴ kuin *kwin 勻 jiwən win *win 恂 sjwen suin *swin		橘 kjiwet ⁴ kuit *kwit 番 jiwet wit *wit 恤 sjwet suit *swit

困 *khrun rimes with 輪 *run, 漚 *m-dun, 淪 *run, 鶻 *dun, 殮 *sûn (Shi 112,3)

鬮 *kun rimes with 春 *thun (Shi 23.1)

34-1 = K. 417	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 昆	elder bro kün !	kwən	kuən	kûn	OCB *kun
	[T] ONW kon. MHan 鄙昆 gé-kün LH kek-kuən < krêk-kûn, and 堅昆 jiān-kün LH ken-kuən < kên-kûn Qyrqyz < qyrqyř (Pulleyblank 1983: 455)				
c-d 崑崙	kün !	kwən	kuən	kûn	
hij 銀鯤	gūn	kwən	kuən	kûn	
efg 碇	gūn	kwən ^B	kuən ^B	kûn?	

k	混 chaos a tribe	hùn gūn	ɣwən ^B kwən	ɣuən ^B kuən	gûn? ! kûn	= 34-13/458b 渾
l	焜	hùn, kūn	ɣwən ^B , kwən	ɣuən ^B , kuən	gûn?, kûn	
34-2 = K. 418	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
abe	a 袞袞	gǔn	kwən ^B	kuən ^B	kûn?	
34-3 = K. 419	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	鯨	gǔn	kwən ^B !	kuən ^B	kwên?	= 32-5/366l
34-4 = K. 481	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	鰈	guān	kwǎn	kuen	kwrân	OCB *k ^w rən ~ 矜 *kwrîn 32-3/369a
c	瘵	guān	kwǎn	kuen	kwrân	
34-5 = K. 421	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	坤	kūn	k ^h wən	k ^h uən	khwên	= 34-6/422a 𤄎
34-6 = K. 422	OCM *-wən because it explains *kwîn better than *-un would.					
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	𤄎	kūn	k ^h wən	k ^h uən	khwên	= 34-5/421a 坤
bc	𤄎	quǎn	kiwen ^B	kuen ^B	kwîn?	= 32-4/479e 𤄎
d	訓	xùn	xjwən ^C	hun ^C	hwəns	OCB *xjuns
34-7 = K. 423	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	髡	kūn	k ^h wən	k ^h uən	khûn	
34-8 = K. 424	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	壺	kūn	k ^h wən ^B	k ^h uən ^B	khwên?	OCB *k ^w hən?
34-9 = K. 420	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a-	困 𤄎	kùn	k ^h wən ^C	k ^h uən ^C	khûns	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'un (去); MGZY khun (去) [k'un]; ONW k ^h on					
cde	悃 𤄎	kǔn	k ^h wən ^B	k ^h uən ^B	khûn?	
f	𤄎	kūn	k ^h wən ^B	k ^h uən ^B	khûn?	= 34-11/485h 𤄎
34-10 = K. 425	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
acd	𤄎 恩 溷	hùn	ɣwən ^C	ɣuən ^C	gûns	
34-11 = K. 485	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	𤄎 granary	qūn	k ^h jwen 3	k ^h uïn	khun	OCB *khrjun
d	𤄎 deer	jūn	kjwen 3	kuïn	kun	OCB *krjun
	= 34-12/459i					
e	𤄎 deer	jūn	kjwen 3	kuïn	kun	
	𤄎 bind	qūn	k ^h jwen ^B 3	k ^h uïn ^B	khun?	
b	𤄎 bamboo	jùn	gjwen ^B 3	guïn ^B	gun?	
	Cassia	qūn	k ^h jwen 3	k ^h uïn	khun	
c	𤄎	jūn !	gjwen ^B 3	guïn ^B	gun?	

fg	擻 𤄎	jùn	kjwən ^C	kun ^C	kwəns	
h	𤄎	kūn	k ^h wən ^B	k ^h uən ^B	khûn?	= 34-9/420f 𤄎
	[N] GSR writes this type syllable MC kjwën, but phonemically this final is the same as -juët after acute initials (see below); therefore I write kjwen.					

34-12 = K. 459	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	君	jūn	kjwən	kun	kwən	OCB kjun
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kyn (平); MGZY gūn (平) [kyn]; ONW kun					
g	郡	jùn	gjwən ^C	gun ^C	gwəns	
	[E] TB: WT k ^h ul 'district, province'					
-d	群 羣	qún	gjwən	gun	gwən	OCB gjun
	[T] Sin Sukchu 裙 SR gyn (平); MGZY 裙 kyun (平) [gyn]; 群 ONW gun, BTd gun					
	[E] ? TB *m-kul '20' ~ *kun 'all' > WT kun					
f	裙 麈 頽	qún	gjwən	gun	gwən	
i		jūn	kjwen 3	kuïn	kun	= 34-11/485d
j		qún,	k ^h jwen 3,	k ^h uïn,	khun,	
		yūn	?jwen 3	?uïn	?run !	
l	窘 焜	jiǒng	gjwen ^B 3	guïn ^B	gun?	OCB *grjun?
h	焜	xūn	xjwən	hun	hwən	
	= 461 熏 燻 薰 ONW hun					
-	涸 vomit	tūn	t ^h wən	t ^h uən	—	SW
	[N] The initial MC t ^h - has perhaps resulted through paronomastic attraction from familiar words for 'spit' and the like, like tuò 唾 and tǔ 吐; a similar case is 4-61/999tu. Mundane possibilities must be ruled out before one assumes unusual initial clusters for late OC.					

34-13 = K. 458	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	軍	jūn	kjwən	kun	kwən	[T] ONW kun
cde	暈 運 𤄎	yùn	jwən ^C	wun ^C	wəns	
	運 [T] Sin Sukchu SR yn (去); MGZY xwin (去) [fiwin]; ONW un					
fg	鞞 鞞	yùn,	jwən ^C ,	wun ^C ,	wəns,	
		xuàn	xjwen ^C	hyan ^C	hwəns	
-	緗	yùn	jwən ^C	wun ^C	wəns	OCB *wjən
b	渾 run. wat.	hún	ɣwən	ɣuən	gûn	
	渾 confused	hùn	ɣwən ^B	ɣuən ^B	gûn? !	= 混
h	董	hūn !	xjwən	hun	hwən	
ij	揮 暉	huī	xjwei	hui	hwəi	
lmn	輝 輝 輦	huī	xjwei	hui	hwəi	
k	輝 flame	huī	xjwei	hui	hwəi	OCB *hwəj
	brightness	yùn	jwən ^C	wun ^C	wəns	

34-14 = K. 460	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	云	yún	jwən	wun	wən	OCB *wjən
b	雲	yún	jwən	wun	wən	OCB *wjən
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR yn (平); MGZY xwin (平) [fiwin]; ONW un; BTd Skt. -hula					
	[D] PMin *hiun, W-Wenzh fiyoŋ ^{A2} , Guangzh wan ^{A2}					
c	耘	yún	jwən	wun	wən	= 23-10/277j
e	耘	yún	jwən	wun	wən	OCB *wjən
	[E] TB: WT yur-ma 'the act of weeding'					

d	耘	yŭn	jwən ^B	wun ^B	wən?	
f	芸 a plant	yún	jwən	wun	wən	[T] BTD Skt. -vajñ-
	芸 rich	yún	jwən ^(C)	wun ^(C)	wən, wəns	
g	魂	hún	ɣwən	ɣuən	wən	

34-15 = K. 461	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	熏燻	xūn	xjwən	hun	hwən OCB *xjun
	[T] ONW hun				
efg	薰勳獯	xūn	xjwən	hun	hwən OCB *xjun
hi	薰燻	xūn	xjwən	hun	hwən = 34-12/459h 焜
j	燻	xūn !	xjwən	hyən	hwan

34-16 = K. 426	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
acd	盪盪輻	wēn	ʔwən	ʔuən	ʔún
	盪 [T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔun (平); MGZY ʔun (平) [ʔun]; ONW ʔon <> [E] ST *ur: TB-Lushai uur ^H 'to smoke, to heat, distill; to warm'				
h	盪 a plant	wēn	ʔwən	ʔuən	ʔún
	accumul.	yùn	ʔjwən ^{B/C}	ʔun ^{B/C}	ʔunʔ, ʔuns
i	盪 accumul.	yùn	ʔjwən ^{B/C}	ʔun ^{B/C}	ʔunʔ, ʔuns [T] ONW ʔun
f	盪 floss	yùn	ʔjwən ^{B/C}	ʔun ^{B/C}	ʔunʔ, ʔuns
	influence	yūn	ʔjwən	ʔun	ʔun
	brown	wēn	ʔwən	ʔuən	ʔún
e	盪	yùn	ʔjwən ^C	ʔun ^C	ʔuns OCB ʔjuns
g	輻	yùn	ʔjwən ^B	ʔun ^B	ʔunʔ
1244e	輻	ǎo	ʔâu ^B	ʔôu ^B ?	ʔû ?
	[N] The OC vowel *u, LH -ou, is suggested by the phonetic, but it could also be *âu				

34-17 = K. 427	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
af	屯 ¹ > 屯	tún	dwən	duən	dún
	'To come out, emerge' (seedling) [SW, Fayan]				
	屯 ² hill	tún	dwən	duən	dún
	屯 ³ difficult	zhūn	tjwen	tuin	trun
deg	沌沌轉	tún	dwən	duən	dún
h	沌 chaos	dùn	dwən ^B	duən ^B	dún?
	confused	tún, dùn	dwən, dwən ^B	duən ^(B)	dún(?)
i	鈍	dùn	dwən ^C	duən ^C	dúns [T] ONW don
	WT rtul-po 'dull, blunt'				
j	頓	dùn	twən ^C	tuən ^C	túns
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tun (去); MGZY dun (去) [tun]; ONW ton <> [E] PVM *dol ^A 'hill'				
	頓	dú	twət	tuət	
	Alternate reading in the name Mào-dùn 冒頓, then read Mò-dú LH mək-tuət				
n	純 envelop	tún	dwən ^(B)	duən ^(B)	dún, dún?
	[E] TB: WT t ^h ul-pa 'to roll or wind up'; Nung rədul 'roll, wrap, enwrap'				
	純 silken	chún	ʒjwen	dzuin	dun
	純 border	zhūn	tʃjwen ^{B/C}	tʃuin ^{B/C}	tunʔ, tuns
l	沌	chūn	t ^h jwen	t ^h uin	thrun = 椿 ?

k	窳	zhūn, tún	tjwen, dwən	tuin, duən	trun, dún
	'Thick (as darkness in a grave)' [Zuo] (also zhūn / LHan tun or tuin)				
m	肫 slice	zhūn	tʃjwen, ʒjwen	tʃuin, dzuin	tun, dun
	肫 sincere	zhūn	tʃjwen	tʃuin	tun
	[E] TB: Chepang dunh- 'be dense, closely spaced'; TB *tow 'thick' (STC no. 319) > PL *tu ^l , WB tu ^C 'thickness' ≠ thu 'thick, dense'				

34-18 = K. 464	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
af	淳醇	chún	ʒjwen	dzuin	dun
e	淳 flow	chún	ʒjwen	dzuin	dun
	moisten	zhūn	tʃjwen	tʃuin	tun
	measure	zhūn	tʃjwen ^B	tʃuin ^B	tun?
gh	鎛鏹 bell	chún	ʒjwen	dzuin	dun
	cap	duì	dwai ^{B/C}	duai ^{B/C}	dúìʔ, dúih OCB dujs, dun
j	鶉 quail	chún	ʒjwen	dzuin	dun
	eagle	tuán	dwân	duən	dôn
l	淳	zhūn	tʃjwen	tʃuin	tun
r	焯 bright	tūn	t ^h wən	t ^h uən	thūn
		tūn, tuī	t ^h wən, t ^h wai	t ^h uən, t ^h uai	thūn, thūi
t	淳	tūn, tún	t ^h wən, dwən	t ^h uən, duən	thūn, dūn
o	淳	dūn	twən	tuən	tūn
s	嗽	tūn	t ^h wən	t ^h uən	thūn
	WT t ^h on-pa, t ^h on 'to come out, go out', WB pə-t ^h on ^B 'come out (e.g., the sun)'				
n	淳	dūn, zhūn	twən, tʃjwen	tuən, tʃuin	tūn, tun
p	敦 thick	dūn	twən	tuən	tūn
	[T] ONW ton. MHan 敦 ʔan- Antonius; 敦煌 -ɣuaŋ Sogd. *ōruwan, Θρόαννα (Dunhuang)				
	chaos	dùn	dwən ^B	duən ^B	dún?
	numer.	tuán	dwân	duən	dôn
	vessel	duì	twai ^C	tuai ^C	túih
	carve	duī	twai	tuai	túi
uv	敦讞	duì	dwai ^C	duai ^C	dúih
m	淳	rún	ńjwen	ńuin	nun

34-19 = K. 463 Originally, the phonetic was 屯 34-17/427 (Qiu X. 2000: 20).

Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	春蓄	chūn	tʃjwen	tʃuin	thun OCB thjun
	[T] MTang tʃhūn, ONW tʃhuin <> [D] PMin *tʃhuin				
cd	意蠢	chūn	tʃjwen ^B	tʃuin ^B	thun?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR tʃ'yn (上); MGZY (蠢) ch'yun (上) [tʃ'yn]; ONW tʃhuin				
e	椿	chūn	t ^h jwen	t ^h uin	thrun = 34-17/427e 椿 ?
f	鬻	shùn	ʃjwen ^C	ʃuin ^C	lhuns

34-20 = K. 462	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	川	chuān	tʃhjwän	tʃhuan	k-hlun ! OCB *KHju/on
	(rime *-un) <> [E] Area word: TB *klu:ŋ > WT kluj 'river'; Kachin kruj 'valley, dale', OBurm. k ^h loŋ, WB k ^h yuiŋ ^B 'stream'				

c	順	shùn	dźjwen ^C	zuin ^C	m-luns	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zyn (去); MGZY cȳun (去) [dzyn]; ONW zuin				
e	巡	xún	zjwen	zuin	s-lun	≠ 34-21/465f 循
f	馴	xùn !	zjwen	zuin	s-lun	
		[E] TB: WT 'chun-pa 'be tamed, subdued' ≠ 'jun-pa, bčun, gžun 'subdue, punish, soften'				
d	紉	xún, chún	zjwen, dźjwen	zuin, zuin	s-lun, m-lun	
b	馴	chūn	tʰjwen	tʰuin	thrun	
34-21 = K. 465						
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	盾	dùn, shǔn	dwən ^B , dźjwen ^B	duən ^B , zuin ^B	lún?, m-lun?	
b	楯	shǔn	dźjwen ^B	zuin ^B	m-lun?	
e	盾	dùn	dwən ^{B/C}	duən ^{B/C}	lún?, lúns	= 34-22/428d 遯
f	循	xún	zjwen	zuin	s-lun	≠ 34-20/462e 巡
		[T] MHan 伊循 ?i-zuin < -s-jun (< *s-lun) Ἰσσηδόνες (Issedones)				
c	搯	shǔn, shùn,	dźjwen ^{B/C} ,	zuin ^{B/C} ,	m-lun?, m-luns,	
		xún	zjwen	zuin	s-lun	
d	輶	chūn	tʰjwen	tʰuin	thrun	
g	脂 fat	dú	dwət	duət	lút	
34-22 = K. 428						
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	豚 pig	tún	dwən	duən	lún	
	drag feet	dùn	dwən ^{B/C}	duən ^{B/C}	lún?, lúns	
d	遯	dùn	dwən ^{B/C}	duən ^{B/C}	lún?, lúns	= 34-21/465e 遁
34-23 = K. 468						
		MC initial ji- and ts- in a phonetic series indicate OC *j- rather than *l-.				
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	允	yǔn	jiwen ^B	juin ^B	jun?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR yn (上); MGZY yŷun (上) [jyn]				
dgh	d 狃 h	yǔn	jiwen ^B	juin ^B	jun?	
jk	銳 k	yǔn	jiwen ^B	juin ^B	jun?	
n	沈	yǎn	jiwän ^B	jyan ^B	jon?	
m	吮	shǔn	dźjwen ^B	zuin ^B	m-ljun?	
		[D] PMin *ǰzion ^B <> [E] ST *mlyu-n: TB *m-lyun > Kanauri *myun 'to swallow'				
t	俊	jùn	tsjwen ^C	tsuin ^C	tsjuns	
u	竣	jùn,	tsjwen ^C ,	tsuin ^C ,	tsuns,	
		zùn	tswən ^C	tsuən ^C	tsûns	
vxy	駿駿駿	jùn	tsjwen ^C	tsuin ^C	tsjuns	
p	夔	qūn	tsʰjwen	tsʰuin	tshjun	
q	竣	jùn !	tsʰjwen	tsʰuin	tshjun	
s	夔	qūn,	tsʰjwen,	tsʰuin,	tshjun,	
		jùn	tsjwen ^C	tsuin ^C	tsjuns	
		[E] TB *yu(w) ~ yun > Lushai sa ^L -zu ^F 'rat', sa ^L -zu ^L -pui ^R 'hare' = 'big rat'; JP yu ⁵⁵ ~ yun ³³ 'rat, mouse', WB yun 'rabbit'. <> [N] The graphs in this series could be reconciled if we assume OCM *tshjun with 允 *jun as phonetic.				
r	逡 draw back	qūn	tsʰjwen	tsʰuin	tshjun	
	逡 rapid	xùn	sjwen ^C	suin ^C	sjuns	

za'	峻浚	jùn !	sjwen ^C	suin ^C	sjuns	浚 = 34-32/466a 濬
b'	浚	cún	dzwən	dzuən	dzûn	
d'	浚	suān	swān	suən	sôn	
e'	酸	suān	swān	suən	sôn, swān ?	
		[E] TB *sur ~ *swar 'sour' > Kan. sur-k, Lushai tʰuur ^R < tʰuur?, Mikir tʰor 'sour'				
c'	俊	quān	tsʰjwän	tsʰyan	tshon	
f'	浚	zùi, zùn	tswäi ^C	tsuäi ^C	tsûih	
g'h'	g' 浚	zuī	tswäi	tsuäi	tsûi	
34-24 = K. 470						
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	侖	lún	ljwen	luin	run	
cdf	倫淪輪	lún	ljwen	luin	run	OCB rjun
		倫 [T] Sin Sukchu SR lun (平去); MGZY lun (平去) [lun]; ONW lon				
e	綸 cord	lún	ljwen	luin	run	
	綸 cord	guān	kwan	kuan	krûn	OCB krun
b	論	lùn	ljwen, lwən ^(C)	luin, luən ^(C)	run, rûn, rûns	
		[E] TB: Lushai rōn ^H 'to ask advice, consult' ≠ rōn ^L < rōnh (< rōns) 'to suggest, advise'				
g	倫	lún, lǔn	ljwen, lwən ^B	luin, luən ^B	run, rûn?	
hij	崙 i 掄	lún	lwən	luən	rûn	
34-25 = K. 1251op						
		門 *mən 'door' is not necessarily phonetic, it simply may have been intended to suggest the notion 'in between something' (cf. jiàn 間).				
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
op	閏潤	rùn	ńzjwen ^C	ńuin ^C	nuns	
34-26 = K. 430						
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
aim	尊樽樽	zūn	tswən	tsuən	tsûn	
		尊 [T] Sin Sukchu SR tsun (平); MGZY dzun (平) [tsun]; ONW tson				
		[E] TB: WT btsun-pa 'noble, honorable'				
jkl	傳樽樽	zǔn	tswən ^B	tsuən ^B	tsûn?	
		樽 [E] TB: WT tsʰul 'way of acting, conduct, right way, orderly'				
n	蹲 squat	dūn //	dzwən	dzuən	dzûn	
	蹲 posture	qūn	tsʰjwen	tsʰuin	tshun	
o	蹲	zùn	dzwən ^C	dzuən ^C	dzûns	
p	鱒	zūn	dzwən ^{B/C}	dzuən ^{B/C}	dzûn?, dzûns	
q	遵	zūn	tsjwen	tsuin	tsun	
34-27 = K. 431						
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	寸	cùn	tsʰwən ^C	tsʰuən ^C	tshûns	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts'un (去); MGZY tshun (去) [ts'un]; ONW tsʰon				
cd	剀付	cǔn	tsʰwən ^B	tsʰuən ^B	tshûn?	
34-28 = K. 434						
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	孫蓀	sūn	swən	suən	sûn	
		[T] ONW son <> [E] ? TB *śu(w)				
ef	遜遜	sùn, xùn	swən ^C	suən ^C	sûns	= 34-30/433a 巽

34-29 = K. 436	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 飧	sūn	swən	suən	sūn	
34-30 = K. 433	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	= 34-28/434e 遜
a 巽	sùn, xùn	swən ^C	suən ^C	sūns	
b 筭	sùn	sjwən ^B	suin ^B	sun?	
cd c 僕	zūn	tsjwen	tsuin	tsun	
e 蹊	xuǎn	sjwän ^C	syän ^C	sons	
f 選 select	xuǎn	sjwän ^B	syän ^B	son?	
選 promote	xuàn	sjwän ^C	syän ^C	sons	
選 count	suǎn, xuǎn	swän ^B , sjwän ^B	suän ^B , syän ^B	sôn?, son?	OCB sjon?
g 撰	zhuàn	dzjwän ^B	dzuan ^B	dzron?	
h 饌	zhuàn	dzjwän ^C	dzuan ^C	dzrons	
i 饌	zhuàn, quān	dzjwän ^{B/C} , ts ^h jwän	dzuan ^{B/C} , ts ^h yan	dzron?(/s ?), tshon	
34-31 = K. 467	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 隼 ¹ falcon	sūn	sjwən ^B	suin ^B	snun? ?	
c 隼	rǒng	ńzjwen ^B	ńuin ^B	nun?	
a 隼 ² quail	chún	zjwen	dzuin	dun	
d 準	zhǔn	tjwən ^B	tjuin ^B	tun?	
Loan for 34-18/464j 鶉 'quail'; a graph may write similar sounding items with similar meaning, thus 鶉 also writes tuán 'eagle'					
34-32 = K. 466	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	= 34-23/468a' 濞
ab a 濞	xùn	sjwən ^C	suin ^C	sjuns	
c 濞	xún, xuán	zjwen	zuin	s-jun ?	

35 OCM rime *-ap, *-ep Hé bù 盍部

GSR 628 - 642
Baxter 1992: 543 ff. (§10.3.2)

Table 35-1: OCM rimes *-am, *-ap, *-em, *-ep in QYS categories

Div.	*-am	*-ap	*-em	*-ep
I	甘 kām kam *kām 藍 lâm lam *rām	盍 yâp gap *gâp		
IV			兼 kiem kem kêm 濂 liem lem *rêm 拈 niem nem *nêm	頰 kiep kep *kêp 牒 diep dep *lêp
III gr	嚴 njem njam *ŋam 凡 bjwem buom *bam	𦓐 khjep kh'iap *khap 法 pjwep puap *pap		
III ac		涉 zjap dzap *dap 業 jiäp jap *lap	估 t ^h jäm t ^h am *threm	
3/3	窆 pjäm ^C 3 piam ^C *prams 柑 gjäm 3 giam *gam !			
II	監 kam kam *krām	甲 kap kap *krâp		
II			𦓐 khäm ^B kh'em ^B *khrêm?	狹 yâp gep *grêp 𦓐 t ^h äp t ^h ep *tshrêp

The relationship between MC and OC finals in *-p is parallel to finals in -m, see the table. After acute initials MC -jâp can derive from OCM *-ap and *-ep; MC -iep can reflect OCM *-îp and *-êp. OCM *-âp can reflect PCH, ST and foreign *-ap or *-op; OCM *-ap (MC -jâp) can reflect PCH, ST and foreign *-ap, *-ep, and *-op.

35-1 = K. 642 For qù 去 *khah and the graphs GSR 642a-g, see 1-8; for fǎ 法, see 35-21.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
g	𦓐	qū, qiè	khjep	kh'iap	khap
hi	劫劫	jié	kjep	kiap	kap
					[T] BTD Skt. kalpa. MHan 劫貝(婆) kiap-pas(-sa) kârpāsa
j	𦓐	qiè	khjep	kh'iap	khap
no	盍盍	hé	yâp	gap	gâp
p	嗑 shut	hé	yâp	gap	gâp
	laugh	xiā	xap	hap	hâp (probably not *hrâp)

qr	蓋蓋	thatch hé	γâp	gap	gâp	
	conceal	gài	kâi ^C	kas	kâts < kâps	OCB *kats < **kaps
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kai (去); MGZY gay (去) [kaj]				
		[E] WT 'gebs-pa, bkab... 'to cover', JP mǎ ³¹ -kap ³¹ 'lid'				
s	闔	shut hé	γâp	gap	gâp	OCB *fikap
t	榼	gē	k ^h âp	k ^h ap	khâp	
u	渣	kè, kē	k ^h âp, k ^h əp	k ^h ap, k ^h əp	khâp, khəp	
v	磕	kē,	k ^h âp,	k ^h ap,	khâp,	
		kài	k ^h âi ^C , k ^h ât	k ^h as, k ^h at	khâts, khât	
x	饑	yè	jâp 3	wap	wap	
		[D] PMin *jiap (or *jiat ?) 'to eat'				
35-2	= K. 629	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	甲	jiǎ	kap	kap	krâp	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR kja (入); MGZY gya (入) [kja]; ONW kâp <> [D] PMin *kap ~ kap				
		[E] WT k ^h rab 'shield, fish scales'				
efg	匣柙狎	xiá	γap	gap	grâp	
-	呷	xiá	xap	hap	hrâp (or hâp ?)	
		[E] WT hab 'mouthful', WB hap 'bite at', Lushai hap ^H 'bite, snap'				
h	押	yā	?ap	?ap	?râp	
35-3	= K. 630	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	夾 sides	jiā	kǎp	kep	krêp	OCB *krep; ONW kâp
	夾 handle	jié	kiep	kep	kêp	'sword handle'
d	郊	jiá	kǎp	kep	krêp	
e	狹	xiá	γâp	gep	grêp	OCB *fikrep
		[T] ONW γâp <> [D] PMin *hâp <> [E] MY *nGep, PTai *g-: S. k ^h εp ^{D2} <> TB-JP lǎ ⁵⁵ -kap ⁵⁵ 'tweezers'				
f	挾	jié, jiā	kiep, kap	kep, kap	kêp, krêp	
ghi	莢頰鉞	jiá	kiep	kep	kêp	
jno	匣愜篋	qiè	k ^h iep	k ^h ep	khêp	= 36-7/627d 慊
k	俠	xiá	γiep	gep	gêp	
l	挾 hold	xié	γiep	gep	gêp	= 35-4/639b 協
	挾 hold	jiē	tsiep	tsep	tsêp	'hold, all around'
		MC tsiep may belong to a synonym 'hold'				
m	浹 all around	jiá	tsiep	tsep	tsêp	
-	痠	qiè	k ^h iep	k ^h ep	khêp	
-	癢	yì	?iep	?ep	?êp	
35-4	= K. 639	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	荔	xié	γiep	gep	gêp	
bc	協叶	xié	γiep	gep	gêp	= 35-3/630l 挾
		For 叶, see also 37-3/686.				
d	協 break	xié	xjəp	hiap	hap	
1254a	擻 break	lā	lâp	ləp	râp	
		The reading lā MC lâp has been transferred from a syn. lā 拉 'break' (GSR 1254a).				
639e	脅	xié	xjəp	hiap	hap (from hrap ?)	
		[T] ONW hap <> [E] JP gǎ ³¹ -rep ³¹ 'rib', Kanauri *hrip, Chepang rip, WT rtsib < rhjip				

f	嗜	xié	xjəp	hiap	hap	
35-5	= K. 640	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	業	yè	ŋjəp	ŋiap	ŋap	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ŋje (入); ONW ŋap				
35-6	= K. 634	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	涉	shè	ʒjâp	džap	dap	[T] ONW džap
35-7	= K. 628	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a-	身榻	tà	t ^h âp	t ^h ap	thâp	
-	榻	tà	tâp	tap	—	
b	蹋	tà	dâp	dap	dâp	
35-8		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	耷	dā	tâp	tap	—	
		[E] Tai *tu:p 'hanging ears (of dog)'				
35-9	= K. 632	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	軋	zhé	tjâp	ɬap	trep	
b	輒 side	zhé	tjâp	ɬap	trep	'side of carriage box'
	paralysed	dié	tiép	tep	têp	
c	跣	niè	ŋjâp	ŋap	nrep	
35-10	= K. 633	The phonetic is actually 21-23/339 世 *lhats < lhaps.				
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ade	葉葉鏢	yè	jiâp	jap	lap or lep	
		[T] ONW iap <> [E] TB *lap 'leaf'				
h	蝶 in 胡蝶	hú-dié	γuo-diép	gɔ-dep	gâ-lêp	
		[E] TB:Lepcha ha-kljóp, WT p ^h je-ma-leb < *pem-a-lep				
g	牒	dié	diep	dep	lêp	
		= 35-11/1255a 疊; ~ 37-12/690g 褶 <> [T] ONW dép				
		[E] TB *lyap > WT ldeb 'leaf, sheet', JP gǎ ³¹ -lep ³¹ 'flat', Lushai dep ^F 'flat'				
fijk	喋喋喋喋	dié	diep	dep	lêp	
-	喋血	dié (xuè)	diep	dep	— (blood) flowing [Shiji]	
l	撲	yè	jiâp, siep	jap, sep	lep, slêp	
mn	僕 n	yè, xiè	jiâp, xjâp 3	jap, hiap	lap, hap	
o	鞞	shè	ʒjâp	ʒap	llep	
p	屨	xiè	siep	sep	slêp	
35-11	= K. 1255a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	疊 b	dié	diep	dep	lêp	
		= 35-10/633g 牒; ~ 37-12/690g 褶 <> [T] ONW dép				
35-12	= K. 637	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ai	𪗇𪗇	liè	ljâp	liap	rap	
cdg	𪗇𪗇	liè	ljâp	liap	rap	

f	躐	liè	ljäp	liap	rap	
		[E] TB *rap > KN-Lushai rap ^L / raʔ ^L 'to tread (upon), trample upon'				
e	獵	liè	ljäp	liap	rap	
		[E] TB *lip / *lep 'turtle'				
j	臘	là	lâp	lap	râp	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR la (入); ONW lap				
-	蠟	là	lâp	—	—	
		[E] TB: Maru rap 'lac insect', Nung k'ə-rap 'wax' <> Viet. sáp 'wax'				

35-13 = K. 638 The OCM vowel in some or all of these words could also be *e.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	聶 ¹	niè	njâp	ṇap	nrap	
-	鑷	niè	njâp	ṇap	nrap	[T] ONW nap
		[E] ST *s-njap ~ *r-njap: WT rñab-rñab-pa 'to seize or snatch together'				
b	躡	niè	njâp	ṇap	nrap	
c	聶	rè	ńjâp	ṇap	nap	
d	懾 ¹	shè	śjâp	śap	nhap	
		[E] MK: Khmer sɲap				
e	攝	shè	śjâp	śap	nhap	OCB *hnjep
		[T] ONW śap				
a	聶 ²	zhé	tśjâp	tśap	tap	
d	懾 ²	shè	tśjâp	tśap	tap	

≠ 37-12/690h 懾; 37-8/685h 懾. <> The words MC tśjâp are first attested in the Liji; they are therefore late applications of this phonetic

35-14 = K. 1255e	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
e	荅	niè	njep	nep	nêp or nîp 'exhausted'

35-15 = K. 635	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	妾接	qiè	ts ^h jâp	ts ^h iap	tshap
ef	接接	jiē	tsjâp	tsiap	tsap
		[T] ONW tsiap			
g	娶	shà	şap	şap	srâp

35-16 = K. 636	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	a捷	jié	dzjâp	dziap	dzap
		[E] MK: Khmer, OKhmer cā'pa /cap/ 'to grasp..., seize, catch'			
c	寔	jié, zǎn	dzjâp, tsâm ^B	dziap	dzap
d	睫	jié	tsjâp	tsiap	tsap

35-17 = K. 631	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	聶插	chā	tş ^h âp	tş ^h ep	tshrêp
		= 扱 1254b			
c	敵	shà	şâp, şjâp	şep, şap	srêp, srep
		[E] Tai: S. çap ⁴ 'to smear over, paint'			

35-18 = K. 1254b	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
b	扱	chā	tş ^h âp	tş ^h ep	tshrêp
		= 35-17/631a 聶			

The element 扱 'reach' is perh. partially semantic. See also 37-2/681.

35-19 = K. 1255c	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
c	變	xiè	siep	sep	sêp or sîp 'harmonious; march'

35-20 = K. 641	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	乏	fá	bjwep	buop	bap
		[T] MTang bvup, ONW buap < bap > [E] WT 'bab-pa (< *nbab), babs 'fall down' ≠ 'bebs-pa (< *nbebs), p ^h ab 'to throw down' = 汜			
b	泛	fàn	p ^h jwem ^C	p ^h uom ^C	phams
		= 36-27/626c 汜; 36-26/625f 汎 <> [E] WT 'byam-pa < *nbjam 'to flow over, be diffused'			
d	貶	biǎn	pjäm ^B 3, pjem ^B	piam ^B	pram?
		[E] TB: OTib. 'p ^h am-ba, p ^h am 'to be diminished'			
c	窆	biǎn,	pjäm ^C 3,	piam ^C ,	prams
		bèng	pəŋ ^C	pəŋ ^C	pəms

35-21 = K. 642	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
lk	灑法	fǎ	pjwep	puop	pap
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR fa (入); ONW pap > puap. 法 is a later simplification, hence qù 去 *khah is not phonetic.			

36 OCM rime *-am, *-em 談部

GSR 606 - 627

Baxter 1992: 537 ff. (§10.3.1)

See Table 35-1 for OCM rimes *-am, *-ap, *-em, *-ep in QYS categories.

Words in MC -jäm after acute initials (sjäm, tsjäm, etc.) can derive from OCM *-am and *-em; MC -iem can reflect OCM *-äm and *-êm.

OCM *-äm can correspond to PCH, ST and foreign *-am or *-om; OCM *-am (MC -jäm) can reflect PCH, ST and foreign *-am, *-em, and *-om.

36-1 = K. 606	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
acd 甘 泔	gān	kām	kām	kām
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kam (平), PR kan; MGZY gam (平) [kam]; ONW kam [E] TB *klum 'sweet', OCM *kām < *klam (prob. < **kluam < **klom)			
g 酣	hān	γām	gam	gām
hi 柑 鉗	qián	gjām 3	giām	gam [D] PMin *ghiam 'pincers'
jl 柑 箝	qián	gjām 3	giām	gam
k 紺	gàn	kām ^C	kām ^C	kâms < klâms
	[E] PTai *klâm ^{B1} 'dark red, purple, dark, black' <> AN *kelam 'dark'			
36-2 = K. 607	36-1 was originally not part of the graph and therefore not phonetic.			
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 敢	gǎn	kām ^B	kām ^B	kām?
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kam (上), PR kan; MGZY gam (上) [kam]; ONW kam [E] ST *k-wam: TB *hwam 'dare'			
d 闕	Pl.N. kàn	kâm ^C	kâm ^C	khâms
闕	roar xiǎn, hǎn	xām ^B , xām ^B , xām ^B	ham ^B	hâm?, hrâm? or hrêm?
	[E] Area word: MK-PMonic *grœm > Nyah Kur 'to growl (of tiger or dog)' <> TB-Lai hraam 'to growl, groan'			
e 闕	kàn	kâm ^C	kâm ^C	khâms
f 嚴	kǎn, tǎn,	kâm ^B , tâm ^B ,	kâm ^B , tâm ^B ,	khâm?, thâm? ? (or rhâm? ?),
	yín	ŋjəm	ŋim	ŋəm
h 嚴	yán	ŋjəm	ŋiam	ŋam OCB *ng(r)jam
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR jem (平), PR, LR jen; MGZY ngem (平) [ŋem]; ONW ŋam			
l 巖	yán	ŋam	ŋam	ŋrâm ~ 36-6/613fg 險 巖
	[T] ONW ŋäm <> [E] TB: WT rŋams-pa 'height'			
k 儼	yǎn	ŋjəm ^B	ŋiam ^B	ŋam? OCB *ng(r)jom? (?)
m 儼	xiǎn	xjäm ^B	hiäm ^B	ham? (or hŋam?)

36-3 = K. 608	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 銜	xián	γam	gam	grâm
	38-3/652a 金 is probably partially phonetic			
36-4 = K. 624	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 欠	qiàn	k ^h jəm ^C	k ^h iam ^C	khams
	[T] Sin S. SR k'jem (去), PR, LR k'jen; MGZY khem (去) [k'em] <> [E] TB *kam 'to yawn'			
c 芟	jiàn, qiàn	gjäm ^B 3 !, gjəm ^C	giām ^C	gams
d 坎	kǎn	k ^h äm ^B	k ^h əm ^B	khâm? = 38-5/672e 培
- 砍	kǎn	k ^h äm ^B	'to chop' (wood, a tree)	
	[D] PMin *kham ^B 'chop' <> [E] ST *käm: TB-Chepang k ^h amh- 'fell tree'			
36-5 = K. 609	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 監 ¹ see	jiān	kam ^(C)	kam	krâm
ac 監 ² 鑑 m.	jiàn	kam ^C	kam ^C	krâms 'mirror'
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kjam (去), PR (kjan), LR kjen; MGZY (gγam >) gyam (去) [kjam]			
	鑑 basin	hàn	γam ^C	gam ^C grâms
d 鑑	jiān	kam	kam	krâm
e-f 檻 壁 藥	hǎn !	γam ^B	gam ^B	grâm?
g 檻	jiàn, hàn	γam ^B , γâm ^B	gam ^B , gam ^B	grâm?, gâm?
	[E] TB: WB k ^h ram 'fence, enclosure' ≠ ə-ram 'fence forming an enclosure'			
k 藍	lán	lâm	lam	râm OCB *g-ram
	[T] ONW lam <> [D] PMin *lam <> [E] Area word: AN *tayum 'indigo'; PTai *gram ^{A2} 'indigo' <> WT rams 'indigo', WT ram(-pa) 'quick grass', Mru charam 'indigo'			
-- 籃 籃	lán	lâm	lam	râm 籃 OCB *g-ram
	[D] Min *lam: Jiànōu san ^{C1} 'basket'			
l 覽	lǎn	lâm ^B	lam ^B	râm?
	[T] TB: JP mǎ ³¹ -ram ⁵⁵ 'to observe, view'			
oi 攬 擊	lǎn	lâm ^B	lam ^B	râm?
	[D] Gan-Nanchang lǎn ²¹³ , Ke-Meix nam ³¹ 擲 (tone B), Yue-Guangzh lam ²³ (tone B), Min-Xiamen lam ⁵¹ (B) <> [E] Area: TB-Lushai hrœm ^R < hrœm? 'grip, grasp' <> Tai: S. rœm ^{A2} < *rœm ^A 'to collect, gather together' <> AA: OKhmer rāma /rīəm/ 'to gather'			
h 濫	làn	lâm ^C	lam ^C	râms
j 濫	overflow làn	lâm ^C	lam ^C	râms
	join lǎn	lâm ^B	lam ^B	râm?
	tub hàn	γâm ^C	gam ^C	gâms
m 鹽	hǎn	xâm ^B	ham ^B	hâm?
n 鹽	salt yán	jiām	jam	jam < r-jam
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR jem (平), PR, LR jen; MGZY yem (平) [jem]; ONW iam. BTD Skt. yama, -sām[-bi] <> [D] PMin *ziem 'a white encrustation formed from saltwater or brine'			
	[E] TB: WT rgyam-ts ^h wa < *r-jam 'a kind of salt', WB yam ^B 'saltpeter'			
	鹽 to salt (yàn)	jiām ^(C)	jam ^C	jams [D] PMin *ziem ^{C2}
36-6 = K. 613	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a 僉	qiān	tshjäm	ts ^h iam	tsham < k-sam
	[N] Three XS point to a very early cluster *k-s... > *tsh... and *s-k... > *kh...: 36-6/613; 20-1/279; 20-11/309; see EDOC §5.9.1; see §5.8.1 for *s-k... > *kh...			

bc	儉	qiān, xiān	ts ^h jäm ^(B) , sjäm	ts ^h iam ^(B) , siam	tsham(?) < k-sam(?), sam
i	劍	jiàn	kjem ^C	kiam ^C	kams [T] ONW kam
d	檢	jiǎn	kjäm ^B , kjem ^B	kiam ^B	kam?
e	儉	jiǎn	gjäm ^B	giam ^B	gam?
-	臉	liǎn	lǎm ^B [GY], kjäm ^B	kiam ^B	kram?
fg	險	xiǎn	xjäm ^B 3, xjem ^B	hiam ^B , hiam ^B	hɲram? ~ 36-2/6071 巖
h	驗	yàn	ɲjäm ^C	ɲiam ^C	ɲrams
k	儉	lián	ljäm ^(B/C)	liam ^(B/C)	ram, ram?, rams
l	斂	liǎn	ljäm ^{B/C}	liam ^{B/C}	ram?, rams
	斂	liàn	ljäm ^C	liam ^C	rams
m	蔽	liǎn	ljäm ^(B)	liam ^(B)	ram, ram?
					[E] TB: Lushai kaam ^H 'to decrease (as water, wages, etc.)' ≠ kiam ^R 'to lessen, to reduce'
					[E] Tai: S. keem ^{Cl} 'cheek'. TB: WT 'gram-pa 'cheek', 'gram-rus 'cheekbone, jawbone'
36-7 = K. 627	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	兼	jiān	kiem ^(C)	kem ^(C)	kêm, kêms
b	兼	jiān	kiem	kem	kêm
d	慊	qiǎn	k ^h iem ^B	k ^h em ^B	khêm?
	慊	qiè	k ^h iep	k ^h ep	khêp = 35-3/630n 愜
c	慊	qiǎn	k ^h iem ^B , yiem ^B	k ^h em ^B , gem ^B	khêm?, gêm?
e	歉	qiàn	k ^h iem ^B , k ^h äm ^{B/C}	k ^h em ^B , k ^h em ^{B/C}	khêm?, khrêm?, khrêms
f	謙	qiān	k ^h iem	k ^h em	khêm
j	嫌	xián	yiem	gem	gêm
k	謙	xián	yiem ^B	gem ^B	gêm?
g	謙	lián	liem	lem	rêm
i	嫌	lián	liem, ljäm	lem, liam	rêm, rem
l	廉	lián	ljäm	liam	rem
mn	礫	lián	ljäm	liam	rem
					[N] GSR nián is a ghost reading (Coblin 1983: 151).
					[T] ONW liam <> [E] Tai: S. liam ^{B1} (WSiam hli:am)
36-8 = K. 614	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	奄	yǎn	?jäm ^B 3	?iam ^B	?am?
-	奄	ǎn	?äm ^B	?əm ^B	?əm? [T] ONW ?am
-	奄	ān	?äm, ?äp	?əm, ?əp	?əm, ?əp
b	掩	yǎn	?jäm ^B 3, ?jem ^B	?iam ^B	?am?
c	淹	yān	?jäm 3	?iam	?am
e	淹	yǎn, ǎn	?jäm ^B 3, ?äm ^B	?iam ^B , ?əm ^B	?am?, ?əm?

d	闞	yān, yǎn	?jäm ^(B) 3, ?jem ^B	?iam ^(B)	?am?
-	掩	yè	?jep	?iap	?ap
-	掩	yǎn	?äm ^B	?əm ^B	?rəm? = 38-4/671k
					[E] TB: WT yab-pa ~ g-yab-pa (< *g-?jap) 'to lock, cover over', yab-yab-pa 'hide, conceal'
36-9 = K. 615	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	弁	yǎn	?jäm ^B 3, kəm ^B	?iam ^B	?am? = 弁; 36-8 奄
b	揜	yǎn	?jäm ^B 3	?iam ^B	?am?
c	滄	yǎn	?jäm ^B , ?jem ^B	?iam ^B	?am?
d	黥	yǎn	?äm ^B	?əm ^B	?əm?
					[T] ONW ?am
36-10 = K. 616	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ad	厭	yàn	?jiäm ^(C) 4	?iam ^(C)	?em, ?ems
c	厭	yàn	?jiäm ^C 4	?iam ^C	?ems
	content	yān	?jiäm 4	?iam	?em
	cover	yǎn	?äm ^B	?əm ^B	?rêm?
	press	yè	?jöp 4	?iap	?ep
e	厭	yān	?jiäm 4	?iam	?em
g	壓	yǎn, yè	?jiäm ^B 4, ?jöp 4	?iam ^B , ?iap	?em?, ?ep
-f	壓	yǎn	?jiäm ^B 4	?iam ^B	?em?
h	壓	yā	?ap	?ap	?rāp
					[T] Sin Sukchu SR ?ja (入) <> [D] M-Xiam col. a? ^{D1} , a? ^{D2} , lit. ap ^{D1}
36-11 = K. 619	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	詹	zhān	tšjäm	tšam	tam [E] TB *C-lam
c	瞻	zhān	tšjäm	tšam	tam OCB *tjam
d	瞻	chān	tš ^h jäm	tš ^h am	tham
	coat	chàn	tš ^h jäm ^C	tš ^h am ^C	thams
e	瞻	chān	tš ^h jäm	tš ^h am	tham
f	瞻	shàn	žjäm ^C	džam ^C	dams
mn	瞻	dàn	däm ^{B/C}	dəm ^{B/C}	dām?, dāms (or dlām?/s ?)
l	瞻	dǎn	tām ^B	tām ^B	tām? < tlam?
					[T] ONW tšam <> [E] AA: PNBahn. *klām 'liver', PVM *lō:m, Katuic *luam; on the other hand, there is the form PPal. *kəntō:m 'liver'
hi	詹	dān	tām	tam	tām < tlam
k	擔	dān	tām	tam	tām < tlam
					[T] ONW tam <> [D] PMin *tam 'to carry'
	擔	dàn	tām ^C	tām ^C	tāms
					[D] PMin tam ^C 'a load' <> [E] Area word: Khmu? klam 'carry on the shoulder', PWA *kləm <> Kam-Tai: PT *t ^h r-: S. haam ^{A1} 'two or more people carry' <> WB t ^h am ^B 'to carry on the shoulder', JP t ^h am ⁵⁵ 'carry'
	擔	shàn	žjäm	džam	dām
g	擔	yán	jiäm	jam	lam

36-12 = K. 618	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 占	zhān	tšjäm	tšam	tem	OCB *tjem
	[T] ONW tšam. BTD Skt. cam- ~ 瞻 36-11/619c				
cd 沾霑	zhān	tjäm	tam	trem	
	[T] MTang tam, ONW tam <> [E] AA: Khmer /tram/ 'to soak, steep'				
f 估	chān	tʰjäm	tʰam	threm	
g 覘	chān	tʰjäm(C)	tʰam(C)	threm, threms	
h 怙	discord. zhān !	tʰjäm	tʰam	them	
	submit tiē	tʰiep	tʰep	thêp	
j 疴	diàn,	tiem ^C ,	tem ^C ,	têms,	
	shān	šjäm(C)	šam(C)	lhem, lhems	
k 玷	diàn	tiem ^C	tem ^C	têms	
lm 玷刮	diàn	tiem ^{B/C}	tem ^{B/C}	têm?, têts	
n 點	diǎn	tiem ^B	tem ^B	têm?	
e 沾	yán	jiäm	jam	lem	
- 黏	shān	šjäm ^B	šam ^B	lhêm?	= 36-14/617i 覘
i 苦	zhān !	šjäm(C)	šam(C)	lhêm, them	
pq 咕帖	tiē	tʰiep	tʰep	— (*nhêp) 'to taste'	
	咕 [Yupian: Guliang] <> [E] WT sñab-pa 'to taste, savor'				
- 貼	tiē	tʰiep	—	'To stick to, glue to' [GY]	
o 拈	niān !	niem	nem	nêm	
- 黏	nián	ñjäm	ñem ?	—	
36-13 = K. 1247a	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab a 豔	yàn	jiäm ^C	jam ^C	jams < r-jams	
	[E] Tai: S. riam ^{B2} 'beautiful'				
36-14 = K. 617	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 炎 ¹ blaze	yán	jiäm 4 [JY]	jam	lam	
	[T] ONW iam <> [E] ST and area word: TB *(s-)lyam > Tamang me-lahm 'flame' (me 'fire'), Lepcha lim 'to flame up' ≠ ä-lim 'flame'; JP lam ³¹ 'to flash'				
炎 ² brilliant	tán	dām	dam	lâm	
炎 ³ blaze	yán	jäm 3 [GY]	wam	wam	
	[N] Early MC wiam (Pulleyblank) <> [E] TB: Lushai vaam ^L / vam ^F 'red-hot glowing' <> Tai: S. weem ^{A2} in woom ^{A2} -weem ^{A2} 'brilliant, glowing (of fire)' <> Sino-Vietn. viêm				
c 燄	yàn	jiäm ^B , jiäm ^C	jam ^B	lam? or jam? ? = 剌	
def 剌 揆 琰	yǎn	jiäm ^B	jam ^B	lam? or jam? ? = 燄	
	[E] ST *r-jam 'sharp' = 38-16/646a 𦉳				
k 煖	tán	dām	dam	lâm	
l 談	tán	dām	dam	lâm	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR dam (平), PR dan; MGZY tam (平) [dam]				
o 淡	dàn	dām ^{B/C}	dam ^{B/C}	lâm?, lâms	
	[D] Yue-Guāngzh tʰa:m ^B 'insipid'				
p 燄	tán, yán	dām, jiäm	dam, jam	lâm, lam	
m 倓	tán, dàn	dām ^(C)	dam ^(C)	lâm, lâms	
n 啖	dàn	dām ^B	dam ^B	lâm?	
	~ 38-5/672k 啖; 38-16/646f 𦉳				
j 莢	tǎn	tʰām ^B	tʰam ^B	lhâm?	

i-	覘黏	shān	šjäm ^B	šam ^B	lham?	= 36-15 𦉳
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjem (上); MGZY shem (上去) [sem]; ONW šam					
g	襍	chān	tʰjäm	tʰam	k-hlam	
h	𦉳	xián	zjäm	ziam	s-lam	
	= 36-16/646d 𦉳; 38-5/672o 𦉳 <> [E] TB: WT slam-pa 'to parch'					
-	黏燒	tiǎn	tʰiem ^{B/C}	tʰem ^{B/C}	lhêm?, lhêms	

36-15	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 閃	shǎn	šjäm ^B	šam ^B	lham?	= 36-14/617i 覘
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR sjem (上); MGZY shem (上去) [sem]; ONW šam				

36-16 = K. 621 'Tongue' 舌 in this group is more semantic ('pointed, lick, sweet') than phonetic.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 銛	xiān	sjäm	siam	sem	
	[E] TB *syam > WB sam, Rgyarung šom 'iron', Nung šam 'iron, sword'				
- 甜	tián	diem	dem	lêm	OCB *līm sweet
	[E] TB *lim 'sweet'				
b 恬	tián	diem	dem	lêm	
	[E] TB: Lepcha glyám 'be calm, to calm', Lushai thleem ^R 'to comfort, pacify'				

36-17 = K. 1247c	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
c 舐	tiǎn	tʰiem ^{B/C}	tʰem ^{B/C}	lhêm?, lhêms	
- 舔	tiǎn	tʰiem ^B	tʰem ^B	lhêm?	OCB *hlīm? lick
	[D] Yue: Guāngzh li:m ^{B1} (< *lim?) 'lick'				
	[E] TB *(s-)lyam 'tongue', Kanauri lem 'lick'. <> KS: Mulam *ljam ⁵ 'lick'				
- 添	tiān	tʰiem	tʰem	—	
	[D] PMin *diem ^B 'full' <> PTai *tl- > S. tem ^{A1} 'full'				

36-18 = K. 622	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab a 冉	rǎn	ńjäm ^B	ńam ^B	nam?	
e 𦉳 to chew	rán	ńjäm	ńam	nam	
f 𦉳	rǎn,	ńjäm ^B ,	ńam ^B ,	nem?,	
	niǎn	niem ^B	nem ^B	nêm?	
h 𦉳	rán	ńjäm	ńam	nam	
jk 𦉳	rán	ńjäm ^(C)	ńam ^(C)	nam, nams	
l 𦉳	nán	nām	nəm	nêm	
mn 𦉳	dān!, nán	tʰām, nām	tʰam, nam	nhām, nām	

36-19 = K. 623	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 染	rǎn	ńjäm ^{B/C}	ńam ^{B/C}	nam?, nams	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR rjem (上去); MGZY 'em [> rem] (上去) [rem]; ONW nám				
	[E] Tai: PTai *ńuom ^{C2} 'to dye'; Old Sino-Viet. nhuom				

36-20	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 尖	jiān	tsjäm	tsiam	tsam or tsem	= 36-21/620 鐵

36-21 = K. 620 The OC rime could be either *-am or *-em.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
af-	戣 鐵	jiān	tsjäm	tsiam	tsam
g	鐵	jiān	tsjäm	tsiam	tsam
= 36-22/611f 漸; 38-11/658l 湛					
e	鐵 ¹ prick	jiān	tsjäm	tsiam	tsam
	鐵 ² fine	xiān	sjäm	siam	sam
cd	鐵	xiān	sjäm	siam	sam
h	擻	xiān, shān	šäm	šem	srēm

36-22 = K. 611

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	斬	zhǎn	tsǎm ^B	tsēm ^B	tsrām?
c	慙	cán	dzām	dzom	dzâm
de	暫 暫	zhàn !	dzām ^C	dzom ^C	dzâms
g	塹	qiàn	ts ^h jäm ^C	ts ^h iam ^C	tshams
f	漸 moisten	jiān	tsjäm	tsiam	tsam
= 36-21/620g 澱; 38-11/658l 湛					
	漸 gradual	jiàn	dzjäm ^B	dziam ^B	dzam?
[E] AA: Khmer jām /coəm/ 'wet, soaked, permeated, steeped'					
	漸 craggy	chán	dzam	dzam	dzrām
h	斬	jiàn	dzjäm ^B	dziam ^B	dzam?
[E] TB: WT sdom-pa, bsdams 'to bind, tie up'					
b	擻	shān, shàn	šam	šam	srām
= 36-25/610a 芟					
[E] TB: Kuki-N. *(s-)rjam 'sharp'					

36-23 = K. 612 Almost all graphs have MC double readings with /a/ and /ǎ/, the OC vowel could therefore have been *a or *e, possibly also *ə. We write *a by default, supported by one *Shijing* rime. It is not clear if 4-46 belongs to this series.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	𦉳	chán	džǎm, džam	džem, džam	dzrām
b	𦉳	chán	džǎm	džem	dzrām
e	𦉳	chán, zhàn	džam ^(C)	džam ^(C)	dzrām, dzrâms
d	𦉳	chán	džǎm, džam ^(C)	džem, džam ^(C)	dzrām, džam ^(C)
OCB *dzjom					
c	𦉳 uneven	chán, zhàn	džam, džǎm ^B	džam, džem ^B	dzrām
	𦉳 mixed	chàn, zhàn	ts ^h am ^C , džǎm ^C	ts ^h am ^C , džem ^C	tshrâms

36-24 = K. 1154

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-a--	三 髻 衫 衫	shān	šam	šam	srām
[T] Sin Sukchu 衫 SR šam (平), PR šan; MGZY 衫 sham (平) [šam]					
[E] TB *(C-)sam 'beard' <> [N] The graph 髻 also writes a synonym biāo 13-71/1154					

36-25 = K. 610

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	芟	shān	šam	šam	srām
= 36-22/611b 擻					

36-26 = K. 625 風 and 楓 rime in *-əm and *-im in Han poetry (Luo and Zhou p. 215).

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	凡	fán	bjwem	buəm	bam
[T] Sin Sukchu SR vam (平) PR van; MGZY Hwam (平) [vam]; MTang bvum < buam, ONW bam. <> [E] TB: Lushai pum ^H 'whole, all, everywhere'; WB pum 'form, model, pattern'					
d	帆	fān	bjwem	buəm	bam
e	帆	fàn	bjwem ^B	buəm ^B	bam?
= 36-27/626b					
-	梵	fàn	bjwem ^C	buəm	—
[T] BTD Skt. brahmā					
f	汎	fàn	p ^h bjwem ^C , bjuj	p ^h uəm ^C , buəm	phams, bəm
= 35-20/641b 泛; 36-27/626c 汎					
g	芄	péng, féng	buŋ, bjuŋ	buəm	bəm, bəm
[E] ST *pum					
j	鳳	fèng	bjuj ^C	buəm ^C	bəms
OCB *p(r)jə/um					
[D] Min: Xiam (lit.) hoŋ ^{C2}					
hi	風 ¹ 觀	wind fēng	pjuŋ	puəm	pəm
OCB *p(r)jə/um					
風 [T] Sin Sukchu SR fuŋ (平); MGZY hwung (平) [fuŋ]; MTang pfuŋ, ONW puŋ					
楓 [T] BTD Skt. brahm(ā)					
	風 ²	criticize fèng	pjuŋ ^C	puəm ^C	pəms
n	楓	fēng	pjuŋ	puəm	pəm
[T] BTD 楓摩 puəm-mo Skt. brahma					
o	諷	fēng !	pjuŋ ^C	puəm ^C	pəms
OCB *p(r)jə/um					
p	風	féng, fēng	bjuj	buəm	bəm
OCB *b(r)jə/um					
-	嵐	lán	lām	ləm	—
SW 388					
-	嵐	lán	lām	ləm	—
ONW lam					
<- Indic <i>vairambha</i> , <i>veramba</i> . The element 風 has been chosen for its meaning; it does not prove a medial liquid in this phonetic series.					

36-27 = K. 626

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	犯	fàn	bjwem ^B	buəm ^B	bam?
b	犯	fàn	bjwem ^B	buəm ^B	bam?
= 36-26/625c					
d	範	fàn	bjwem ^B	buəm ^B	bam?
e	范	fàn	bjwem ^B	buəm ^B	bam?
c	汎 overflow	fàn	p ^h bjwem ^C	p ^h uəm ^C	phams or phjams ?
= 35-20/641b 泛					
	汎 disperse	fàn	bjwem ^C	buəm ^C	bams

36-28

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
-	芟	mǎn, miǎn	mjwem ^B , miem ^B	muəm ^B	—

37 OCM rime *-əp, *-ip Qī bù 緝部

GSR 675 - 696

Baxter 1992: 555 ff. (§10.3.4)

See Table 38-1 for OCM rimes *-əp and *-əm, *-im, etc. in QYS categories.

MC -jəp after guttural initials (kjəp type syllables) are here transcribed with the LHan vowel i (kip), this syllable type has probably developed from OCM kəp to kiəp > kip > later kip.

MC -jəp can derive from OCM *-əp or *-ip; when a preceding velar consonant is palatalized to MC tsj- etc., the rime was *-ip, when not, the rime was *-əp. After acute initials, MC -jəp can go back to either OCM *-əp (when in contact with MC -əp), or to *-ip (when in contact with MC -iep). When there is no revealing xiasheng or rime association, the final remains ambiguous. MC -iep IV can derive from OCM *-ip or *-êp (rime 35), depending on the phonetic series. MC -əp /jəp can correspond to foreign *-əp, *-ip, and *-up. This final is parallel to no. 38 *-əm, see the table there.

37-1 = K. 675, 687

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a-e	合盒迨	hé	ɣəp	gəp	gəp	OCB *gop
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣa (入); PR, LR ɣoʔ; MGZY Xo (入) [ɣo]; ONW ɣap				
		[E] MK *kup: Khmer gwpa /kúuəp/ 'to join, bring together, unite', ga'pa /kup/ 'to join, unite, meet with, visit often', Mon inscr. sakuip /səkəp/ 'lid'				
hi	蛤閣	gé	kəp	kəp	kəp	
j	鞞	jiá, gé	kəp, kǎp	kəp, kəp	kəp, krəp	
mn	洽恰	qià	ɣəp	gəp	grəp	
p	給	jǐ, gěi	kjəp	kip	kəp	
l	鞞	jiá	kǎp	kəp	krəp	
k	踏	jiá, jiē,	kǎp, kjəp,	kəp, kiəp,	krəp, kap,	
		jié	gjəp	giəp	gap	
o	恰	jié	kjəp	kiəp,	kap	
687a	拾 pick	shí	ʒjəp	gip	gip	
		= 37-3/686a + [E] PTai *kjəp				
	alternate	jié	gjəp	giəp	gap	
675qrs	翕囑歛	xī	xjəp	həp	həp	
tu	滄闕	xī	xjəp	həp	həp	
-	欲	hē	xəp	həp	həp	= 21-1/313k 喝

37-2 = K. 681	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM
a	及	jí	gjəp	gəp
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR gi (入); MGZY ki (入) [gi]; ONW gip		
		[E] WB k ^h ap 'arrive at', JP k ^h ap ⁵¹ 'to carry, reach'		
di	役級	jí	kjəp	kəp

h	汲	jī	kjəp	kip	kəp
		[E] TB *ka:p: LB *C-kap, WB k ^h ap 'dig up, draw water'			
g	急	jí	kjəp	kip	kəp
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ki (入); MGZY gi (入) [ki]; ONW kip			
mo	极笈	jí	gjəp 3	giəp	gap or grap
kl	圾岌	jí	ŋjəp	ŋip	ŋəp
j	吸	xī	xjəp	həp	həp or hŋəp [D] Min: Xiam khip ^{D1}
1254b	扱	(xī)	xjəp		'to collect', see also 35-18/1254b.

37-3 = K. 686	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ae	十什	shí	ʒjəp	dʒip < gip	gip = 37-1/687a 拾
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʒi (入); MGZY zhi (入) [zi]; ONW dʒip <> [D] PMin *dʒep			
		[E] TB *gip > WB kyip, Mikir kep < kip <> PMiao *geu ^D			
f	汁	zhī	tʂjəp	tʂip < kip	kip
		[T] ONW tʂip <> [D] PMin *tʂep			
-	叶	xié	ɣiep	gep	gip
		Old graph for xié 35-4/639c			

37-4 = K. 682	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	燁	yè	jəp 3, jiəp	wəp, jəp	wəp, ləp
		[E] WT lhab-lhab-pa 'to flutter to and fro, to glimmer, glisten' <> KT: Siam. leep ^{D2L} ~ ma-leep 'to flash (as lightning)'; PHlai tʂip ⁷ 'lightning' <> Tai: S. weep ^{D2} -wəp ^{D2} 'glittering, flashing'			

37-5 = K. 683	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	邑	yì	ʔjəp	ʔip	ʔəp	OCB *ʔ(r)jup
gfh	挹悒悒	yì	ʔjəp	ʔip	ʔəp	
i	呬	yì	ʔjəp, ʔəp	ʔip, ʔəp	ʔəp, ʔəp	

37-6 = K. 676 The element 37-1 合 is probably semantic ('fit, agree').

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	答	dá	təp	təp < túp	≠ 31-9/511a 對
-	搭	dā	təp	təp	
		[T] 答 Sin Sukchu SR ta (入); ONW tap			
		[E] 搭 WB tap 'put in, fix' // WT t ^h ab-pa 'to fight, quarrel'			
b	荅 bean	dá	təp	təp	OCB *k-lup
		[E] MY *dəp 'bean'			
c	塔	tà	t ^h əp, t ^h əp	t ^h əp, t ^h əp	thəp, thəp
--	塔塔	tǎ	t ^h əp	t ^h əp	— 'pagoda'

37-7 = K. 684	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	罽	zhí	tjəp	trəp	= 37-8/685f 繫

37-8 = K. 685 The OC vowel could be *i or *ə.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	執	zhí	tʂjəp	tʂip	təp [T] ONW tʂip
kmn	摯贄鷲	zhì	tʂi ^C	tʂih	təts < təps
		[E] ? TB: WT č ^h ab 'power, authority'			

f	繫	zhí	tjəp	tjip	trəp	
						= 37-7/684a 繫 [T] ONW tip
g	蟄	zhé !	djəp	djip	drəp	
h	熱	zhí, zhé	tʂjəp, tʂjəp,	tʂip, tʂap,	tip, tep,	
			njep	nep	níp	
j	驚	zhì	tj ^C	tj ^s	trəts < trəps	
o	墊	diàn	tiem ^C	tem ^C	tíms	
i	執	jí	tsjəp	tsip	tsəp	
37-9 = K. 677	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	沓踏	dá	dəp	dəp	ləp	
						= 37-10/678e 趺 [T] ONW dəp
37-10 = K. 678	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ae	眾趺	dá	dəp	dəp	ləp	= 37-9/677a 沓
f	噀	tà	t ^h əp	t ^h əp	lhəp	
37-11 = K. 689	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	襲	xí	zjəp	zip	s-ləp	= 37-12/690a 習
37-12 = K. 690	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
abcd	習習習習	xí	zjəp	zip	s-ləp	= 37-11/689a 襲
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR zi (入); MGZY zi (入) [zi]; ONW zip
						[E] WT slob-pa, slabs 'to learn, teach' ≠ slob 'exercise, practice'
g	褶	dié	diep	dep	lêp (or líp ?)	
						= 35-10/633g 牒; 35-11/1255a 疊 <> [E] WT ldab-pa < *nlap 'to do again, repeat', ldeb-pa 'to bend round, double down' ≠ ltab-pa, bltab < *nlap 'to fold'
-	摺	zhé	tʂjəp	tʂap	tep	[T] ONW tʂap
h	懼 to fear	zhé	tʂjəp	tʂap	tep	
f	熠	yì	jiəp, jəp	jəp, wəp	wəp	= 37-4/682a
37-13 = K. 692	Aspiration and *l in the initial are the common denominators.					
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	濕 to flap	shī, chī	ʂjəp, tʂ ^h jəp	ʂip, tʂ ^h ip	lhəp, tshrəp < k-srəp	
	濕 dry	qì	k ^h jəp	k ^h ip	khəp	
b	隰 wet	xí	zjəp	zip	s-ləp	
37-14 = K. 693	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	溼 wet	shī	ʂjəp	ʂip	lhəp	[T] ONW ʂip
37-15 = K. 694, 520		MC	LHan	OCM		
aef	立笠粒	lì	ljəp	lip	rəp	OCB *g-rjəp
						[T] 立 Sin Sukchu SR li (入); MGZY li (入) [li]; ONW lip <> [E] TB *g-ryap 'to stand' <>
						[D] 笠 Min: Jiànyōu se ^{C2} <> Tai: Wuming klop ^{D1S} < *kl- 'bamboo hat'
g	笠	lì, jí	ljəp, gjəp	lip, gip	rəp, grəp	
hi	泣滴	qì	k ^h jəp	k ^h ip	khəp	
						[T] 泣 ONW k ^h ip <> [E] TB *krap 'to weep'
j	戛	là	ləp	ləp	rəp	
l	拉 break	lā	ləp	ləp	rəp	cf. 35-4/639d 協

520	泣泣泣	lì	lj ^{iC}	lis	rəts < rəps ?	
37-16 = K. 695	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	入	rù	ńjəp	ńip	nəp < nup	OCB njup
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR ri (入), PR, LR ry?; MGZY Zhi (入) [ri]; ONW ńip
						[E] TB *nup > WT nub-pa 'to fall, sink, set'
e	內 inside	nèi	nwâi ^C	nuəs	nûts < nûps	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR nuj (去), LR nuj; MGZY nue (去) [nuɛ]; ONW nuoi
						This graph already had a final dental in OC, hence it could be used for items with OC *-t.
	內 bring in	nà	nəp	nəp	nəp < nûp	
hi	納納	nà	nəp	nəp	nəp < nûp	
						[T] Sin Sukchu SR na (入); ONW nap
j	訥	nè	nwət	nuət	nût	
kl	訥商	nè	nwət,	nuət,	nût,	
			ńjwät,	ńuat,	not,	
			ńjwät, ńwat	ńuat, ńuat	nrot	
n	柄	ruì	ńjwäi ^C	ńuas	nots	
						[E] AA: Khmer tnota /tnaot/ 'impaling pole, skewer, spit' < tɔta /daot/ 'to impale, run into...'
op	訥訥	ruì	ńjwäi ^C	ńuas	nots	
q	芮	ruì	ńjwäi ^C	ńuas	nots	
rs	炳炳	ruì	ńjwäi ^C ,	ńuas, ńuat	not, nots	
			ńjwät			
37-17 = K. 696	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	幸	niè	ńjəp	ńap ?	nrep	
						[E] MK: OKhmer ńyāp /ɲap/ 'to tremble, fear'
37-18 = K. 679	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	市匝	zā	tsəp	tsəp	tsəp	
37-19 = K. 688	The vowel could also be *i.					
		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	聿	qī, jī	ts ^(h) jəp	ts ^(h) ip	tsəp, tshəp	
b	緝 hem	qī	ts ^h jəp	ts ^h ip	tshəp	
	babble	qī, jī	ts ^(h) jəp	ts ^(h) ip	tsəp, tshəp	
c	葺	qì	ts ^h jəp	ts ^h ip	tshəp (< s-ʔip ?)	
						[E] WT skyibs (< *s-ʔips ?) 'a shelter from above (from rain, etc.)'
d	輯 collect	jí	dzjəp	dzip	dzəp	OCB *dzjup [T] ONW dzip
	gather up	zhí	tsjəp	tsip	tsrəp	
ef	戢戢	jí	tsjəp	tsip	tsrəp	
						[E] ? AA: PMonic *cap, Nyah Kur '(bird) to settle on, perch', Mon *cəp 'to adhere to, cleave to'; OKhmer /ʃap/ 'touch, join, meet, cling, adhere'
g	揖 cluster	jí, zhí	tsjəp, tsjəp	tsip, tsip	tsəp, tsrəp	
	salute	yī	ʔjəp	ʔip	ʔəp	
hi	楫楫	jí	tsjəp	tsiap	tsap	[E] JP ʃap < tʂap 'oar'

37-20 = K. 691	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 集	jí	dzjəp	dzip	dzəp	OCB *dzjup
	[T] ONW dzip <> [E] AA: Khmer cwpa /cùəp/ ~ jwpa /cúəp/ 'to join', intr. 'to meet, come together'				
d- 雜襪 mixed	zá	dzəp	dzəp	dzəp	[T] ONW dzəp
37-21 = K. 680	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a 颯	sà	səp	səp	səp	
37-22	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
- 澀	sè	sjəp	ʃip	srəp	[T] ONW ʃip

38 OCM rime *-əm, *-im Qīn bù 侵部

GSR 643 - 674

Baxter 1992: 548 ff. (§10.3.3)

MC -jəm after guttural initials (kjəm type syllables) is here transcribed with the LHan vowel i (kim); this syllable type has probably developed from OCM kəm to kiəm > kim > later kim.

MC -iem can derive from OCM *-îm (when associated with MC -jəm), or from *-êim (when associated with MC -jäm), but MC -âim can only derive from OCM *-âm.

After acute initials, MC -jəm can go back to either OCM *-əm (when in contact with MC -âim), or to *-im (when in contact with MC -iem). When there is no revealing *xiasheng* or rime contact, the final remains ambiguous.

Table 38-1: OCM rimes *-əm, *-əp, *-im, *-ip in QYS finals

Div.	*-əm	*-əp	*-im	*-ip
I	含 yâm gəm *gəm 南 nâm nəm *nəm 菡 dâm ^B dəm ^B *lâm?	合 yâp gəp *gəp 答 tâp təp *təp		
IV			念 niem ^C nem ^C *nîms	叶 yiep gep *gîp 褶 diep dep *lîp
III lab	風 pjɯŋ puəm *pəm 熊 juŋ wəm *wəm			
3/3	稟 pjəm ^B pim ^B *prəm?			
III	今 kjəm kim *kəm 禁 kjəm ^C kim ^C *krəms	及 gjəp gip *gəp	箴 tsjəm tsim < kim *kim	十 zjəp džip < gip *gip
III ac	心 sjəm sim *səm 林 ljəm lim *rəm 任 n̄zjəm nim *nəm	執 tsjəp tsip *təp 立 ljəp lip *rəp 入 n̄zjəp nip *nəp	merged with *-əm	merged with *-əp
II	咸 yām gem *grəm	洽 yăp gəp *grəp		

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
38-1	棗	hàn	ɣəm ^B	gəm ^B	gəm?
	'God of the West' [OB: Sōrui 481; SW 3037], in Shūjīng (Yáo diǎn) erroneously written 夷				
38-2 = K. 643	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	a 函 cont.	hán	ɣəm	gəm	'contain'
	= 38-3/6511' 含 [T] ONW ɣəm				
	函 Pl.N.	xián	ɣǎm	gəm	grəm
g	涵	hán	ɣəm	gəm	gəm
h	菡	hàn	ɣəm ^B	gəm ^B	gəm?
38-3 = K. 651, 652	I suspect that the graph 今 was originally invented for hàn 頷 ¹				
	*gəm? 'jaw', see Indro. 9.2.7.				
	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
651an'	今 ¹ > 頷 ¹	hàn	ɣəm ^B	gəm?	'jaw'
	See Intro. 9.2.7. <> [E] TB *gam: Lepcha kam 'jaw' <> PMK *tga(a)m 'jaw'				
n'	頷 ²	ǎn	ŋəm ^B	ŋəm?	'nod the head'
	= 38-3/652j 頷				
l'	含	hán	ɣəm	gəm	'hold in mouth'
	= 38-2/643a 函. BTd Skt. -gama, -gāmin				
	含	hàn	ɣəm ^C	gəm ^C	'put in mouth'
	= 38-4/671p 憾 <> [T] ONW ɣəm <> [E] TB *gam > WT 'gam 'put into the mouth'				
m'	哈	hán	ɣəm	gəm	gəm
a	今 ² now	jīn	kjəm	kim	kəm OCB *k(r)jəm
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kim (平), PR, LR kin; MGZY gim (平) [kim]; ONW kim. BTd 基耶今波羅				
	kiə-ja-kim-pa-la Skt. keśakambala <> [E] PTai *ɣəm ^{A2} 'gold' ≠ S. ka:m ^{B1} 'bright, striking'				
i	垠	qīn, yīn	k ^h jəm ^B , ŋjəm ^B	k ^h im ^B , ŋim ^B	khəm?, ŋəm?
	[T] ? NTai dial. *k ^h - or *k-: Po-ai kam ^{C1} < *k- 'cave', KS *ka:m ¹ 'cave'				
t	岑 bank	qīn, qín,	t ^h jəm,	t ^h im,	tshəm, *38-3/652f 嶽
		yīn	ŋjəm ^B	ŋim ^B	ŋəm? [E] TB *r-ka:l]m 'bank of river'
	岑 hill	cén !	dzjəm	dzim	dzrəm
	Jīn is only partially phonetic [rime] <> [T] BTd Skt. sum				
f	紵	jìn	gjəm ^C	gim ^C	gəms
g	衿 lapel	jīn	kjəm	kim	kəm = 38-18/6551
	string	jìn	gjəm ^C	gim ^C	gəms
h	衾	qīn	k ^h jəm	k ^h im	khəm
v	衾	kān	k ^h əm	k ^h əm	khəm = 38-11/658q 戔
r	黔	qín, qián	gjəm, gjəm 3	gim, giam	gəm, gram ?
jn	禽擒	qín	gjəm	gim	gəm [T] ONW gim
opq	琴	qín	gjəm	gim	gəm
s	吟	yín	ŋjəm	ŋim	ŋəm
u	吟	chēn	t ^h jəm ^B	t ^h im ^B	thrəm = 38-11/658g 蹏
	OC is uncertain; it could also be OCM rhəm or k-hrəm.				
652	(GSR 651 continues below)				
ad	金衿	jīn	kjəm	kim	kəm
	According to SW, 今 *kəm is phonetic <> [T] Sin Sukchu SR kim (平), PR, LR kin; MGZY gim (平) [kim]; ONW kim				
e	錦	jīn	kjəm ^B	kim ^B	kəm?

fk	欽嶽	qīn	k ^h jəm	k ^h im	khəm	= 38-3/651t 岑
l	厥	xīn	xjəm	him	həm	
g	唸 shut	jìn	gjəm ^B	gim ^B	gəm?	
	precipit.	yín, qīn	ŋjəm, k ^h jəm	ŋim, k ^h im	ŋəm, khəm	
j	鎮	ǎn, hàn	ŋəm ^B	ŋəm ^B	ŋəm?	= 38-3/651n' 鎮
h	趁	yīn	ŋjəm ^B	ŋim ^B	ŋəm?	
651						
xa'	𪛗 黔	yīn	?jəm	?im	?əm	
y	陰 ¹	yīn	?jəm	?im	?əm	OCB *(r)jum
	[T] ONW ?im					
yb'c'	陰 ² 蔭	yìn	?jəm ^C	?im ^C	?əms	
d'	𪛗	yǎn	?jiəm ^B 4	?iam ^B	?em?	[E] MY *?i:m ^A 'bitter'
h'	𪛗	ān	?əm	?əm	?əm	
i'	𪛗	yīn	?jəm ^B	?im ^B	?əm?	= 38-8/654a 飲
k'	𪛗	ǎn	ŋəm ^B	ŋəm ^B	ŋəm?	
38-4 = K. 671	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ae	咸 誠	xián	ɣəm	gem	grəm [T] ONW kām	
f	鹹	xián	ɣəm	gem	grəm	
	[D] Min: Xiam kiam ^{A2} / ham ^{A2} 'salted, salty' <> [E] TB *r-gyum > Kiranti *rum 'salt'; Kachin dzum ³¹ 'salt' ≠ fum ³³ 'be salted'					
g	減	jiǎn, xiàn	kām ^B , ɣəm ^B	kem ^B	krəm?	[T] ONW kām
i	減	jiǎn	kām	kem	krəm	
k	黠	jiǎn,	kām	kem	krəm	
		yǎn	?əm ^B	?em ^B	?rəm?	
l	感	gǎn	kām ^B	kəm ^B	kəm?	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR kam (上), PR kan; MGZY gam (上) [kam]; ONW kam					
p	憾	hàn	ɣəm ^C	gəm ^C	gəms	
	= 38-3/651l' 含 <> [T] ONW ɣəm					
m	顛	kǎn	k ^h əm ^B ,	k ^h əm ^B ,	khəm?,	
			xəm ^C	həm ^C	həms	
no	箴鍼	zhēn	tjəm	tjim < kim	kim	
	[T] ONW tjim <> [D] PMin *tjim ~ *tsem					
	[E] OC -> Viet. kim 'needle', -> Tai: Saek kim ^A					
38-5 = K. 672	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
acd	𪛗 陷 鎔	xiàn	ɣəm ^C	gem ^C	grəms	
	[T] Sin Sukchu SR ɣjam (平), PR ɣjan, LR ɣjen; MGZY Hyam (平) [ɣjam]; ONW ɣəm					
	[E] ST *grəm: WB gyam ^B < gram ^B 'a trap'					
g	滔	hàn	ɣəm ^B	gəm ^B	gəm?	
ef	培 飲	kǎn	k ^h əm ^B	k ^h əm ^B	khəm?	= 36-4/624d 坎
i	窟	tàn (!)	dəm ^B	dəm ^B	ləm?	
j	菖	dàn	dəm ^B	dəm ^B	ləm?	
k	啗	dàn	dəm ^{B/C}	dəm ^{B/C}	ləm?, ləms	
mn	閻 壩	yán	jiəm	jam, wam ?	lam	
	[T] MHan Vim(a)					
o	爛 bright	yàn	jiəm ^C	jam ^C	— (a late word)	

	爛	boil	xián	zjäm	ziam	s-lam	
		= see 36-14/617 燻					
	爛	sacr.	xín	zjəm	zim	s-ləm	
		= 38-17/662a 尋; 38-28/660k 尋 <> [T] ONW zim					
lp	諂		chǎn	tʰjäm ^B	tʰəm ^B	rham? or k-hram? ?	
38-6	= K. 674	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	熊		xióng	juŋ	wim < wəm	wəm	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR yjuŋ (平); MGZY Hŷung (平) [yjuŋ]; ONW yuəm?? > yuŋ (?) > huŋ, BTD Skt. -hm- <> [D] Min: Amoy him ^{A2} , Fú'ān hem ^{A2} , Yōng'ān ham ^{A2} 'bear' <> [E] TB *d-wam					
38-7	= K. 653	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ac	音		yīn	ʔjəm	ʔim	ʔəm	
		音 OCB *ʔ(r)jəm; 音 OCB *ʔjim					
d	暗	dumb	yīn, ān	ʔjəm, ʔəm	ʔim, ʔəm	ʔəm, ʔəm	
	暗	pent up	yīn	ʔjəm ^C	ʔim ^C	ʔəms	
		[E] ST *ʔum: TB *um 'hold in the mouth'					
ef	瘖	(厂+音)	yīn	ʔjəm	ʔim	ʔəm	
h	暗		àn	ʔəm ^C	ʔəm ^C	ʔəms	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ʔam (去); PR ʔan; MGZY 'am (去) [ʔam], ONW ʔam ^C					
i	闇		àn	ʔəm ^{B/C}	ʔəm ^{B/C}	ʔəm?, ʔəms	
-	黯		àn	ʔəm ^B	ʔəm ^B	ʔəm?	[T] ONW ʔam
j	歆		xīn	xjəm	him	həm	
38-8	= K. 654	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	飲	drink	yīn	ʔjəm ^B	ʔim ^B	ʔəm?	= 38-3/651i' 飲
		[D] PMin *əm ^{B1} 'rice water'					
	飲	give dr.	yīn	ʔjəm ^C	ʔim ^C	ʔəms	OCB *ʔ(r)jum(?)s
38-9	= K. 644	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	儵		àn	ŋəm ^C !	ŋəm ^C	ŋəms	
38-10	= K. 673	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	晷		yán	ŋəm, ŋəm	ŋəm, ŋim	ŋrəm, ŋəm	
-	晷		yán	ŋəm	ŋəm	ŋrəm	
38-10A	倂		yín	ŋəm	ŋim	—	SW 3659
38-11	= K. 658	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	甚		shèn	ʒjəm ^{B/C}	dʒim ^{B/C}	dəm?, dəms	OCB *Gjum?
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zim (上去), LR zim (上); MGZY zhim (上) [zim]; ONW dʒim					
		[E] ? ST: TB *tyam ~ *dyam 'full', KN-Tiddim dim 'be full'					
bc	熨		chén	ʒjəm	dʒim	dəm	
e	熨		zhèn	tjəm ^C	tʃim ^C	trəms	
i	熨		shèn	dʒjəm ^B , ʒjem ^B	(d)ʒim ^B	dəm?	
h	斟		zhēn	tʃjəm	tʃim	təm	[T] ONW tʃim
f	斟		zhēn	tjəm	tʃim	trəm	

l	湛	deep	zhàn	ɖəm ^B	ɖəm ^B	drəm?	'deep, soak'
		[E] PYao *rjem 'to water, soak'					
		sunk in	dān	təm	təm	təm	
		soak	jiān	tsjəm	tsiam	tsem or tsam	
n	黠		tǎn	tʰəm ^B , dəm ^B	tʰəm ^B , dəm ^B	thəm?, dəm?	
		[E] MK-Khmer ɬəm /-dəm/ 'be dark', ɬəm /-təm/ 'be ripe, dark'					
g	蹠		chěn	tʰjəm ^B	tʰim ^B	thrəm	= 38-3/651u 蹠
		OC is uncertain; it could also be OCM rhəm or k-hrəm.					
o	糝		sǎn	səm ^B	səm ^B	səm?	
		= 38-29/647f 糝 [T] ONW sam					
j	堪		dān	təm	təm	—	
p	堪		kān	kʰəm	kʰəm	khəm	OCB *khum
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR k'am (平), PR k'an; MGZY kham (平) [k'am] <> [D] Xiam kʰam ^{A1}					
		[E] ST *kəm: WB kʰam ^A 'receive, endure' ≠ ə-kʰam ^B 'suitable appendage', JP kʰam ^{B1} 'endure'					
r	嵯		kān,	kʰəm,	kʰəm,	khəm,	
			qiān,	kʰəm,	kʰəm,	krəm,	
			án	ŋəm	ŋəm	ŋəm	
q	戡		kān	kʰəm	kʰəm	khəm	
		[D] Xiam kʰam ^{A1} 'to suppress (a rebellion)' <> [E] ST *kum: Lushai kʰum ^F 'upon, on top of, inside, against, over...', vb. 'to put on, wear' ≠ kʰum ^F vb. 'to surpass, excel, beat, over, beyond'; WT 'gum-pa, bkum 'to kill' ≠ 'gum-pa, gum, *ngums 'to die'					
-	勘		kān, kàn	kʰəm ^C	kʰəm ^C	khəms	[D] Amoy kʰam ^C
-	勘		kàn	kʰəm ^C	kʰəm ^C	khəms	[D] Amoy kʰam ^{C1}
-	歎		kǎn	kʰəm ^B	kʰəm ^B	khəm?	
		[E] WT skom 'thirst', skom-pa 'to thirst', skam-po 'dry', skem-pa, bskams... 'to make dry'					
-	歎		kǎn	həm ^B	həm ^B	həm?	
		[E] TB: WT ham-pa 'avarice, covetousness, greed'					
38-12	= K. 659	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	闕		chèn	tʰjəm ^C	tʰim ^C	thrəm or rhəm	
		The OC rime could be *-əm or *-im.					
38-13	= K. 665	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	審		shěn	ʃjəm ^B	ʃim ^B	lhəm?	
b	瀋		chěn	tʃjəm ^B	tʃim ^B	k-hləm?	= 38-14/656b 沈
38-14	= K. 656	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	允		yín	jiəm	jim	ləm	
b	沈	sink	chén	ɖjəm	ɖim	drəm < r-ləm	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dʒim (平), PR, LR dʒin; MGZY chim (平) [dʒim]; ONW dim					
		sacrif.	chén,	zhèndjəm ^(C)	ɖim ^(C)	drəm, drəms < r-ləm, r-ləms	
		juice	chěn	tʃjəm ^B	tʃim ^B	k-hləm?	= 38-13/665b 瀋
		a state	shěn	ʃjəm ^B	ʃim ^B	lhəm?	
ef	醜		zhèn	ɖjəm ^C	ɖim ^C	drəms < r-ləms	
		[E] AA-Khmer raləm /rloəm/ 'be soaked, drenched, drowned'					
h	枕		chén, shén	ʒjəm	dʒim	dəm	
g	枕		zhěn	tʃjəm ^{B/C}	tʃim ^B < kim ^B	kim?	OCB *Kjum?
		[T] ONW tʃim <> [E] ST *kum ~ *kim: TB *Nkum > JP kʰum ⁵⁵ 'headrest, pillow'					

l	耽	dān	tām	təm	təm < tləm
		= 38-11/658l 湛 [T] ONW tām			
i	扰	dǎn	tām ^B	təm ^B	təm?
		[E] Tai: PTai *t-: S. tam ^{A1} 'to pound', esp. in a mortar			
j	耽	dān	tām ^(B)	təm ^(B)	təm, təm?
k	扰	dǎn	tām ^B	təm ^B	təm?
n	黠	dǎn	tām ^B	təm ^B	təm?
o	醯	tǎn	t ^h ām ^B	t ^h əm ^B	thəm?
m	髡	dàn	dām ^B	dəm ^B	dəm?

38-15 = K. 657 The OC rime in this series could be *-əm and / or *-im.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab-	至淫霽	yín	jiəm	jim	ləm
	淫 [T] Sin Sukchu SR im (平), PR, LR in; MGZY yim (平) [jim]				

38-16 = K. 646 Mand. MC LHan OCM

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	覃 spread	tán	dām	dəm	ləm	
	覃 sharp	yǎn	jiām ^B	jam ^B	lēm?	= see 36-14 剡琰
j	簞	diàn	diem ^B	dem ^B	lēm? or līm?	OCB *līm?
l	驪	diàn	diem ^B	dem ^B	lēm?	
b	潭	tán	dām	dəm	ləm	
		[E] KS *t ^h lam! (but many KS lgs. have initial d) < AN, cf. Malay kolam 'pond, well, pool'				
c	譚	tán	dām	dəm	ləm	
		[E] TB: WT gtam < *g-lham 'talk, discourse', Mikir -lám 'word, speech, language', Lushai lam ^R < lam? 'say, pronounce, ask for'				
d	燂	xián,	zjām,	ziam	s-lem?	= see 36-14 燂 燂
		qián, tán	dzjām, dām			
e	鐔	tán,	dām,	dəm,	ləm,	
		yín, xín	jiəm, zjəm	jim, zim	ləm, s-ləm	
fg	潭禪	dàn	dām ^B	dəm ^B	ləm?	
h	擅	tān	t ^h ām	t ^h əm	lhəm	
i	鯁	yín, xún!	jiəm, zjəm	jim, zim	ləm, s-ləm	

38-17 = K. 662 Mand. MC LHan OCM

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	尋 warm	xín	zjəm	zim	s-ləm	
		= 38-5/672o 燂; 38-28/660k 燂. [T] ONW zim <> [E] TB *ium ^A 'warm'				
	尋 meas.	xún	zjəm	zim	s-ləm	'a measure'
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR zim (平), PR, LR zin; MGZY zim (平) [zim]; ONW zim				
		[E] TB: Lush hlām ^H < hlām 'measure with arms extended', WT 'dom 'fathom'				

38-18 = K. 655 Mand. MC LHan OCM

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	林	lín	ljəm	lim	rəm	OCB *C-rjəm
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR lim (平), PR, LR lin; MGZY lim (平) [lim]; ONW lim <> [D] PMin *lam				
		[E] TB-NNaga *C-ram 'forest, jungle', Lushai ram ^H 'forest, jungle, country, land'				
efh	霖霖琳	lín	ljəm	lim	rəm	
		淋 [T] Sin Sukchu SR lim (平), PR, LR lin; MGZY lim (平) [lim]				
		[D] Min: Amoy lam ^{A2} 'long rain'				
-	唌	lán	lām			[D] Min: Amoy lit. lam ^{A2} 'to drink'

ij	婪憐	lán	lām	ləm	rəm	
--	郴絨	chēn	t ^h jəm	t ^h im	rhəm	SW 5823
k	禁	jìn	kjəm ^C	kim ^C	krəm	[T] ONW kim
		[E] TB *krim > WT k ^h rim 'rule, right, law' ≠ k ^h rim 'fear, terror, awe'. MC kjəm ^C can also derive from OCM *kəms or *krims (not *kims).				
l	襟	jīn	kjəm	kim	krəm	
m	噤	jìn	gjəm ^{B/C}	gim ^{B/C}	gəm?, gəms	≠ 38-3/6511'

38-19 = K. 668 The OC rime in this series could be *-əm and / or *-im.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
ab	稟 b rat.	lǐn	ljəm ^B	lim ^B	rəm?	'rations'
	稟 receive	bǐng	pjəm ^B	pim ^B	prəm?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR pin (上); MGZY bim (上) [pim]				
		[E] WT 'brim-pa 'to distribute, hand out, deal out'				
c	廩	lǐn	ljəm ^B	lim ^B	rəm?	
d	懔	lǐn	ljəm ^B	lim ^B	rəm?	

38-20 = K. 669 The OC rime in this series could be *-əm and / or *-im.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	品	pǐn	p ^h jəm ^B	p ^h im ^B	phrəm?	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR p'in (上); MGZY phim (上) [p'im]. MHan 臨兒 lim-ñe Skt. Lumbini				
		[E] ? TB: WT rim-pa 'series, succession, order, method'				
e	臨	lín	ljəm	lim	rəm	OCB *b-rjum
	臨	lìn	ljəm ^C	lim ^C	rəms	
		[E] TB: Lushai rim ^R < rim? 'to court, inspect / make enquiries about (a girl)', WT rim-(')gro 'honor, homage, offerings'				

38-21 = K. 645 Contra SW, 今 *kəm is not a phonetic, see Introd.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	貪	tān	t ^h ām	t ^h əm	rhəm	≠ 38-18/655j 憐
		See Intro. 9.2.7. [T] Sin Sukchu SR t'am (平), PR t'an; MGZY tham (平) [t'am]; ONW t ^h am				
b	噴	tǎn	t ^h ām ^B	t ^h əm ^B	rhəm?	

38-22 = K. 649 Mand. MC LHan OCM

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	男	nán	nām	nəm	nəm
		[E] Area word: TB-PKiranti *nam 'man'; PTai *hn-: S. num ^{B1} 'young man, young'; etc.			

38-23 = K. 650 Mand. MC LHan OCM

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
-	羊	rěnn	ńjəm ^B	ńim ^B	nəm?	SW (931)
a	南	nán	nām	nəm	nəm	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR nam (平); PR, LR nan; MGZY nam (平) [nam]; ONW nam. The graph, a drawing of some kind of building (?), was perhaps intended for an obsolete AA-OC word for 'house': cf. Laven ^h nəm 'house'.				
-	捕	nǎn	nām ^B	nəm ^B	nəm?	

38-24 = K. 670 Contra SW 4661, 今 *kəm is not a phonetic, see Introd. 9.2.7.

	Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM		
a	念	niàn	niem ^C	nem ^C	nims	OCB *nims
		See Intro. 9.2.7. [T] Sin Sukchu SR njem (去); MGZY nem (去) [nem]; ONW nēm				

		[E] WT n̄am(s) 'soul, mind, thought' ≠ s̄iam-pa 'to think, mind'
de	稔脛	rěn n̄zjəm ^B n̄im ^B nim?
		[E] AA: PMonic *cnaam 'year', Mon hnam, Khmer cnam, PVM *c-n-əm 'year'
fg	滄諗	shěn sjəm ^B sim ^B nhim? 諗 OCB *hnjim?
-	捻	niē niep nep n̄p
		[E] LB: *nip ~ ʔnip ~ ʔnjit 'to squeeze, press'
h	斂	niè niep nep n̄p
		[E] TB: WT s̄nobs = s̄noms-pa, bs̄noms 'make equal with ground, destroy'

38-25 = K. 667 The OC rime in this series could be *-əm and/or *-im.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
a	壬	rén	n̄zjəm	n̄im	nəm	
f	任 carry	rén	n̄zjəm	n̄im	nəm	
	burden	rèn	n̄zjəm ^C	n̄im ^C	nəms	
ik	妊姪	rèn	n̄zjəm ^C	n̄im ^C	nəms	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR rim (去), PR, LR rin; MGZY Zhim (去) [rim]				
		[E] WT snom-pa, bs̄nams 'to take, seize, hold, put on'				
l	紕	rèn !, nín	n̄zjəm, n̄jəm	n̄im, n̄im	nəm, nrəm	
		[E] AN anem, IN ānam 'plait'				
m	緝	rèn	n̄zjəm ^C	n̄im ^C	nəms	
no	衽衽	rèn	n̄zjəm ^{B/C}	n̄im ^{B/C}	nəm?, nəms	
p	飪	rèn	n̄zjəm ^B	n̄im ^B	nəm?	= 38-24/670e 脛
q	恁	rèn	n̄zjəm ^B	n̄im ^B	nəm?	
r	荏	rèn, rěn	n̄zjəm ^B	n̄im ^B	nəm?	
		[E] WB n̄iam 'leguminous plant'				
t	賃	lin !	n̄zjəm ^C	n̄im ^C	nəms	

38-26 = K. 666 The initial consonant in this series is very uncertain; it could be n or l or something more complex.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ab	窳窳	shēn	sjəm ^A	sim, ts ^h im	nhəm	'deep'
c	深 deep	shēn	sjəm ^A	sim, ts ^h im	nhəm	OCB *hljəm
		[T] ONW sim; BTD sim Skt. s̄ima <> [D] PMin *tshim, CYue *sim				
	depth	shèn	sjəm ^C	sim ^C	nhəms	
e	琛	chēn	t ^h jəm	t ^h im	nhrəm	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts ^h 'im (平), PR, LR ts ^h 'in; MGZY chim (平) [ts ^h 'im]				
		[E] Tai: S. ta-nim 'jewel'				
f	探	tān	t ^h əm	t ^h əm	nhəm	

38-27 = K. 661 The OC rime in this series could be *-əm and/or *-im.

		Mand.	MC	LHan	OCM	
ac	侵	qīn	ts ^h jəm	ts ^h im	tshəm < k-səm	
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts ^h 'im (平), PR, LR ts ^h 'in; MGZY tshim (平) [ts ^h 'im]; ONW ts ^h im				
e	綾	qīn	ts ^h jəm	ts ^h im	tshəm	OCB *tshjəm
		[E] ? TB: JP ā ³¹ -tsam ³¹ 'string', WT 'ts ^h em-pa 'to sew'				
	also	jīn,	tsjəm,	tsim,	tsəm,	
		xiān	sjəm	siam	sem or sam	

f	寢	qīn	ts ^h jəm ^B	ts ^h im ^B	tshəm? < k-səm? / k-sim?
		OCB *tshjim <> [E] TB: WT gzim-pa 'fall asleep, sleep'			
k	𦏧	qīn,	ts ^h jəm ^B ,	ts ^h im ^B ,	tshəm?,
		qiān	ts ^(h) jäm	ts ^(h) iam	ts ^(h) em or ts ^(h) am
l	𦏧	qīn, chēn	ts ^h jəm,	ts ^h im,	tshəm,
			ts ^h jəm	ts ^h im	tshrəm OCB *tsrjim
n	侵	jīn	tsjəm ^(C)	tsim ^(C)	tsəm, tsəms
mo	浸浸	jīn	tsjəm ^C	tsim ^C	tsəms OCB *tsjims
		[E] TB: WB cim 'steep, soak' <> Tai: čim ³ 'to dip into, immerse'			

38-28 = K. 660 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	𦏧	jīn	tsjəm	tsim	tsəm
ce	𦏧	cān	ts ^h əm ^B	ts ^h əm ^B	tshəm?
f	𦏧 in mou.	cān	ts ^h əm ^B	ts ^h əm ^B	tshəm? < s ^h əm? ? ONW ts ^h am
o	𦏧 suck	zá	tsâp	tsəp	tsəp
		[E] TB *dzɔ:p 'suck, milk'			
g	簪	pin zān, zhēn	tsâm, tsjəm	tsəm, tsim	tsrəm
		[E] Area word: AN-PCham *jurum, IN dayum 'needle'; AA-PNBahn. jarum, PSBahn. jorum, Sre jurum			
	簪 quick	zhēn	tsjəm	tsim	tsrəm
h	𦏧	pin zān	tsâm	tsəm	tsəm = g 簪
j	𦏧	zèn	tsjəm ^C	tsim ^C	tsrəms
i	𦏧	cán	dzâm	dzəm	dzəm
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR dzam (平), PR dzan; MGZY tsam (平) [dzam]			
l	𦏧	jiàn	tsiem ^C	tsem ^C	tsəms
m	𦏧	jiān	tsjäm	tsiam	tsem
n	𦏧 wade	qián	dzjäm	dziam	dzem
	𦏧 to hide	jiàn	dzjäm ^(C)	dziam ^(C)	dzem, dzems
k	𦏧	xín	zjəm, dzjäm	zim, dziam	s-ləm, dzem
		= see 38-5/672o 尋爛 [T] ONW zim			

38-29 = K. 647 Mand. MC LHan OCM

a	參 three	cān	ts ^h əm	ts ^h əm	tshəm < *k-səm
		[T] Sin Sukchu SR ts ^h 'am (平), PR ts ^h 'an; MGZY tsham (平) [ts ^h 'am]			
		[E] TB *g-sum > WT gsum 'three', PL *C-sum ² , WB sum ^B ; Garo git ^h am, Digaro kəsaŋ			
	參 stars	shēn	sjəm	sim	srəm OCB *srjum
	參 uneven	cēn	ts ^h jəm	ts ^h im	ts ^h rəm
c	驂	cān	ts ^h əm	ts ^h əm	tshəm < *k-səm OCB *srum
e	慘	cān	ts ^h əm ^B	ts ^h əm ^B	tshəm?
		loan for 16-30/1134l 慄 cǎo			
f	糝	sǎn	səm ^B	səm ^B	səm? = 38-11/658o 糝
		[T] ONW sam <> [E] ? TB: WT rtsam-pa < *r-tsam or *r-sam ? 'roast flour'			
g	糝	shēn,	sjəm,	sim,	srəm,
		chēn	ts ^h jəm	ts ^h im	tshrəm < k-srəm
h	摻 grasp	shǎn	šəm ^B	šəm ^B	srəm?
	tender	shǎn	šəm	šəm	srəm

38-30 = K. 648 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 三 three sān sām sam, səm sēm OCB *sum
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR sam (平), PR san; MGZY sam (平) [sam]; ONW sam; BTD Skt sam[ādhi]
 [E] TB *sum
 三 thrice sən sām^C sam^C, səm^C sēms

38-31 = K. 663 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 心 xīn sjəm sim səm R! OCB *sjəm
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR sim (平), PR, LR sin; MGZY sim (平) [sim]; ONW sim
 [E] TB *sam: Bahing sam 'breath, life'; Limbu sam 'soul', WT sem(s) 'soul, spirit, mind'
 沁 qìn ts^hjəm^C ts^him^C tshəms < k-səms

38-32 = K. 664 Mand. MC LHan OCM
 a 森 sēn sjəm şim srəm
 [T] Sin Sukchu SR şəm (平); MGZY sh^him (平) [şəm]; ONW şim, BTS şim
 [N] 38-18/655a 林 lín may be partially phonetic

GSR=	GSC	43	1-23	88	1-62	132	10-36	177	25-37
		44	1-27	89	1-45	133	10-30	178	25-31
		45	1-38	90	1-62	134	10-31	179	25-32
1	18-1	46	1-57	91	1-63	135	10-32	180	25-33
2	18-5	47	1-47		1-6	136	10-39	181	24-47
3	18-8	48	1-48	92	1-49	137	10-40	182	24-48
4	18-9	49	1-1	93	1-50	138	4-64	183	24-57
5	18-13	50	1-2	94	1-56	139	24-1	184	24-9
6	18-10	51	1-3	95	1-19	140	24-2	185	23-7
7	19-1	52	1-4	96	2-7	141	24-3	186	24-15
8	19-7	53	1-6	97	1-23	142	24-4	187	25-9
9	19-11	54	1-7	98	1-24	143	24-5	188	25-10
10	19-14	55	1-17	99	1-25	144	24-10	189	25-34
11a	19-16	56	1-5			145	24-15	190	24-53
11b	19-9	57	1-18	100	1-26	146	24-11	191	23-5
12	19-21	58	1-29	101	1-66	147	24-21	192	23-6
13	19-22	59	1-35	102	1-67	148	24-23	193	24-45
14	19-18	60	1-30	103	1-69	149	24-22	194	24-46
15	18-4	61	1-28	104	1-71	150	24-20	195	24-54
16	18-15	62	1-36	105	1-72	151	24-24	196	23-4
17	18-18	63	1-46	106	1-70	152	24-35	197	24-29
18	19-4	64	1-37	107	4-64	153	24-39	198	24-7
19	19-8	65	1-58	108	10-1	154	24-40	199	24-19
20	19-13	66	1-59	109	10-2	155	24-41	200	24-14
21	18-6	67	1-31	110	10-3	156	24-44	201	24-26
22	18-7	68	1-61	111	10-4	157	25-1	202	24-27
23	18-11	69	1-51	112	10-5	158	25-2	203	24-30
24	18-14	70	1-52	113	10-6	159	25-3	204	24-28
25	18-16	71	1-53	114	10-7	160	25-4	205	24-25
26	18-17	72	1-64	115	10-8	161	25-5	206	24-42
27	19-6	73	1-65	116	10-13	162	25-6	207	24-31
28	19-5	74	1-10	117	10-12	163	25-16	208	24-43
29	19-12	75	1-45	118	10-16	164	25-12	209	23-21
30	19-15	76	1-54	119	10-33	165	25-7	210	23-23
31	19-17	77	1-55	120	10-27	166	25-8	211	23-22
32	1-11	78	1-18	121	10-9	167	23-12	212	24-38
33	1-12	79	1-31	122	10-10		25-13	213	24-32
34	1-13	80	1-33	123	10-29	168	25-24	214	24-33
35	1-14	81	1-32	124	10-11	169	10-16	215	24-34
36	1-15	82	1-42	125	10-23	170	25-22	216	24-37
37	1-34	83	1-43	126	10-24	171	25-28	217	24-36
38	1-16	83 _n	1-44	127	10-22	172	25-23	218	23-24
39	1-68	84	1-39	128	10-18	173	25-42	219	23-28
40	1-73	85	1-18	129	10-19	174	25-43	220	24-55
41	1-21	86	1-41	130	10-21	175	25-44	221	23-25
42	1-22	87	1-60	131	10-35	176	25-36		

222	24-58	270	1-28	319	21-29	368	32-1	417	34-1
223	23-31	271	21-14	320	21-35	369	32-3	418	34-2
224	23-26	272	21-24	321	22-3	370	32-9	419	34-3
225	23-29	273	22-7	322	22-8	371	32-20	420	34-9
226	25-11	274	22-9	323	10-21	372	32-21	421	34-5
227	23-10	275	21-30	324	22-13	373	32-18	422	34-6
228	23-17	276	21-31	325	10-35	374	33-17	423	34-7
229	25-29	277	21-37	326	21-26	375	32-16	424	34-8
230	25-30	278	29-2	327	20-2	376	32-17	425	34-10
231	25-25	279	20-1	328	20-17	377	32-1	426	34-16
232	25-26	280	20-4	329	21-6	378	32-29	427	34-17
233	25-27	281	20-14	330	20-13	379	32-30	428	34-22
234	25-38	282	21-3	331	20-6	380	32-31	429	33-12
235	25-39	283	21-4	332	21-7	381	32-32	430	34-26
236	23-14	284	21-5	333	21-22	382	32-33	431	34-27
237	25-40	285	20-7	334	21-18	383	32-35	432	33-22
238	25-35	286	21-20	335	21-17	384	32-36	433	34-30
239	23-3	287	21-19	336	21-16	385	32-22	434	34-28
240	23-1	288	20-10	337	21-28	386	32-23	435	23-9
241	23-2	289	21-11	338	21-21	387	32-26	436	34-29
242	23-16	290	20-8	339	21-23	388	32-28	437	33-29
243	23-15	291	21-25	340	21-26	389	32-38	438	33-28
244	23-18	292	20-15	341	20-16	390	32-39	439	33-26
245	23-20	293	21-38	342	28-5	391	32-7	440	33-27
246	23-27	294	20-19	343	22-11	392	32-8	441	33-35
247	23-32	295	22-10	344	22-12	393	29-1	442	18-18
248	23-9	296	22-16	345	22-17	394	29-12	443	33-2
249	24-8	297	22-18	346	22-5	395	29-13	444	33-4
250	24-18	298	22-19	347	21-10	396	29-19	445	33-3
251	24-16	299	22-14	348	21-36	397	29-21	446	33-7
252	24-17	300	24-1	349	18-2	398	29-18	447	33-8
253	24-12	301	22-2	350	18-12	399	29-30	448	33-9
254	24-13	302	22-1	351	19-2	400	29-31	449	33-10
255	25-14	303	22-5	352	19-3	401	29-32	450	33-19
256a	25-15	304	22-4	353	27-12	402	29-17	451	33-18
256h	23-11	305	22-6	354	19-19	403	29-23	452	33-16
257	25-19	306	22-8	355	19-23	404	29-26	453	33-15
258	25-20	307	21-33	356	18-19	405	29-41	454	33-24
259	25-21	308	21-34	357	19-10	406	29-44	455	33-13
260	25-17	309	20-11	358	7-25	407	29-42	456	33-20
261	25-18	310	20-12	359	7-20	408	29-38	457	32-40
262	24-49	311	20-18	360	7-31	409	29-6	458	34-13
263	24-50	312	20-3	361	32-15	410	29-7	459	34-12
264	24-51	313	21-1	362	32-19	411	29-36	460	34-14
265	24-52	314	21-2	363	9-13	412	29-37	461	34-15
266	24-56	315	21-15	364	32-28	413	29-15	462	34-20
267	21-26	316	21-13	365	32-28	414	29-27	463	34-19
268	21-8	317	21-12	366	32-5	415	29-16	464	34-18
269	21-9	318	21-27	367	32-12	416	33-1	465	34-21

466	34-32	513	28-20	562	26-22	609	36-5	655	38-18
467	34-31	514	30-12	563	26-25	610	36-25	656	38-14
468	34-23	515	30-2	564	29-28	611	36-22	657	38-15
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