©Copyright 2026
John Carlyle

Common Southwestern Wu

A study of transition in Chinese historical phonology

John Carlyle

A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2026

Reading Committee:

Zev Handel, Chair

W. South Coblin

Wang Ping

Gian Rominger

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages & Literature

University of Washington

Abstract

Common Southwestern Wu
A study of transition in Chinese historical phonology

John Carlyle

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Zev Handel
Asian Languages & Literature

This dissertation presents a reconstruction of Common Southwestern Wu, the ancestor of the Jinqu, Lishui, and Shangshan group Wu dialects spoken in southwestern Zhejiang province and across the border in Jiangxi and Fujian provinces. Common Southwestern Wu is a second-order proto-language. It is arrived at by comparing Akitani Hiroyuki's Proto-Northwestern Chuqu to two other common systems established for the Jinqu and Lishui group dialects. This study uses the comparative method to reconstruct the common systems and discusses the difficulties that arise when the method is applied to daughters with rich histories of language contact. In addition to the reconstruction, the study presents a historical model of migration into and through Zhejiang and relates it to distinct layers of vocabulary in Common Southwestern Wu while exploring its relationship with other Wu dialect groups and Min Chinese.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

List of Signs and Abbreviations ix

Chapter 1: Introduction 1
1.1 Challenges in Comparative Chinese 2
1.1.1 The Karlgrenian Approach 3
1.1.2 Applying the Comparative Method to Chinese 4
1.1.3 Doublets and Lexical Diffusion 6
1.1.4 Challenges to the Status Quo 9
1.2 Previous Studies of Wú Historical Phonology 12
1.3 An Overview of Wú Chinese 15
1.3.1 Toward a formal classification 17
1.3.2 Criteria related to initials and tones 19
1.3.3 Criteria related to finals 20
1.3.4 Lexical and syntactic criteria 25
1.4 The Southwestern Wú Dialects 27
1.4.1 Selection Criteria 27
1.4.2 Subgrouping 32
1.4.3 Aims of the Reconstruction 35
1.5 The Dialects to be Compared—Sources and Phonological Synopsis 36
1.5.1 The Lóngyóu (Ly) dialect sound system 38
1.5.2 The Jīnhúa (Jh) dialect sound system 39
1.5.3 The Pǔjiāng (Pj) dialect sound system 40
1.5.4 The Dōngyáng (Dy) dialect sound system 42
1.5.5 The Yǒngkāng (Yk) dialect sound system 43
1.5.6 The Wǔyì (Wy) dialect sound system 45
1.5.7 The Suìchāng (Sc) dialect sound system 47

1.5.8 The Sōngyáng (Sy) dialect sound system . . . 48
1.5.9 The Lóngquán (Lq) dialect sound system . . . 49
1.5.10 The Yúnhé (Yh) dialect sound system . . . 51
1.5.11 The Pǔchéng (Pc) dialect sound system . . . 52
1.5.12 The Qìngyuán (Qy) dialect sound system . . . 54
1.5.13 The Common Shàngshān (CSS) sound system . . . 55
1.6 Conventions and Methodology . . . 61
1.6.1 Format of the Sound Correspondence Tables . . . 61
1.6.2 Format of the the Cognate Sets . . . 62
1.6.3 Methodological Considerations Regarding Lexical Replacement . . . 67

Chapter 2: Tone Classes . . . 77
2.1 Overview . . . 77
2.2 Tone Class Correspondences . . . 80
2.3 Tone *1 . . . 80
2.4 Tone *2 . . . 82
2.5 Tone *3 . . . 83
2.6 Tone *4 . . . 84
2.7 Tone *5 . . . 85
2.8 Tone *6 . . . 89
2.9 Tone *7 . . . 90
2.10 Tone *8 . . . 91

Chapter 3: Syllable Initials . . . 93
3.1 Overview . . . 93
3.1.1 Implosivization . . . 94
3.1.2 Palatalization . . . 100
3.2 Labials . . . 104
3.2.1 *ɓ- . . . 105
3.2.2 *p^h- . . . 107
3.2.3 *b- . . . 108
3.2.4 *m- . . . 109
3.2.5 *f- . . . 113

3.2.6 *v- . . . 113
3.3 Dentals . . . 114
3.3.1 *ɗ- . . . 115
3.3.2 *tʰ- . . . 116
3.3.3 *d- . . . 117
3.3.4 *n- . . . 119
3.3.5 *l- . . . 119
3.4 Alveolar Sibilants . . . 120
3.4.1 *ts- . . . 123
3.4.2 *tsʰ- . . . 124
3.4.3 *dz- . . . 125
3.4.4 *s- . . . 126
3.4.5 *z- . . . 127
3.5 Postavleolars . . . 128
3.5.1 *tš- . . . 129
3.5.2 *tšʰ- . . . 130
3.5.3 *dž- . . . 131
3.5.4 *š- . . . 132
3.5.5 *ž- . . . 133
3.5.6 *ɳ- . . . 134
3.6 Velars . . . 135
3.6.1 *k- . . . 136
3.6.2 *kʰ- . . . 137
3.6.3 *g- . . . 138
3.6.4 *x- . . . 140
3.6.5 *ŋ- . . . 141
3.7 Glottals . . . 141
3.7.1 *ʔ- . . . 141
3.7.2 *ɦ- . . . 143

Chapter 4: Syllable Finals . . . 144
4.1 Overview . . . 144
4.1.1 Common Southwestern Wú Finals (89) . . . 144

4.1.2 Common Jīnqú Finals (74) . . . 148
4.1.3 Common Lìshuǐ Finals (79) . . . 149
4.1.4 Widespread Mergers Involving Central and Back Mid-vowels . . . 150
4.2 Finals with the vowel sequence *a . . . 156
4.2.1 *-a [ɑ] > CSS *-ɑ . . . 156
4.2.2 *-ã > CSS *-ɑ̃ . . . 157
4.2.3 *-aʔ > CSS *-ɑʔ . . . 159
4.3 Finals with the vowel sequence *ia (excluding *-iaŋ) and *ya . . . 160
4.3.1 *-ia > CSS *-iə . . . 161
4.3.2 *-iã > CSS *-iə̃ . . . 162
4.3.3 *-iaʔ > CSS *-iəʔ; *-ieʔ/t_ (?) . . . 164
4.3.4 *-ya > CSS *-ua (?) . . . 165
4.3.5 *-yaʔ > CSS #-yaʔ . . . 166
4.4 Finals with the vowel sequence *ua . . . 167
4.4.1 *-ua > CSS *-uɑ . . . 167
4.4.2 *-uã > CSS *-uɑ̃ . . . 168
4.4.3 *-uaʔ > CSS *-uɑʔ . . . 169
4.5 Finals with the vowel sequences *ai & *æ . . . 170
4.5.1 *-ai > CSS *-ɑi . . . 170
4.5.2 *-æŋ > CSS *-æ̃ . . . 173
4.5.3 *-æʔ > CSS *-æʔ . . . 174
4.6 Finals with the vowel sequences *uai & *uæ . . . 176
4.6.1 *-uai > CSS *-uɑi . . . 176
4.6.2 *-uæŋ > CSS *-uæ̃ . . . 177
4.6.3 *-uæʔ > CSS *-uæʔ . . . 178
4.7 Finals with the vowel sequences *au & *iau plus *-iaŋ . . . 179
4.7.1 *-au > CSS *-ɑu . . . 179
4.7.2 *-iau > CSS *-iəu . . . 180
4.7.3 *-iaŋ > CSS *-iɑ̃ . . . 182
4.7.4 *-iauʔ > CSS *-iɑʔ . . . 183
4.8 Finals *-yaŋ and *-yauʔ . . . 184
4.8.1 *-yaŋ > CSS *-iɒ̃ . . . 184
4.8.2 *-yauʔ > CSS *-iɒʔ . . . 186

4.9 Finals with the vocalism *ɔ . . . 187
4.9.1 *-ɔ > CSS *-o; *-ua/P_ . . . 188
4.9.2 *-ɔ̃ > CSS *-õ . . . 190
4.9.3 *-ɔʔ > CSS *-ɔʔ; *-ɒʔ/K,H_ . . . 192
4.10 Finals with the vocalism *uɔ . . . 194
4.10.1 *-iɔ > CSS *-yə . . . 194
4.10.2 *-uɔ > CSS *-ua . . . 195
4.10.3 *-uɔ̃ > CSS *-uẽ, *-ɔ̃/T,S_ . . . 195
4.10.4 *-uɔʔ > CSS *-ueʔ . . . 197
4.11 Finals with the vocalism *ɔu and *-ɔŋ . . . 198
4.11.1 *-ɔu > CSS *-əu . . . 198
4.11.2 *-ɔŋ > CSS *-ɒ̃; *-iɑ̃/P_ . . . 202
4.11.3 *-ɔuʔ > CSS *-ɒʔ; *-iɑʔ/P_ . . . 204
4.12 Finals with the vocalism *iɔu and *-iɔŋ . . . 205
4.12.1 *-iɔu > CSS *-iəu . . . 206
4.12.2 *-iɔŋ > CSS *-iõ . . . 206
4.12.3 *-iɔuʔ > CSS *-iɔʔ . . . 209
4.13 Finals *-uɔŋ & *-uɔuʔ . . . 210
4.13.1 *-uɔŋ > CSS *-uã . . . 210
4.13.2 *-uɔuʔ > CSS *-uaʔ . . . 211
4.14 *-ɔi (?) > CSS *-uɑi . . . 212
4.15 Finals with the vowel sequence *ʌ . . . 213
4.15.1 *-ʌ̃ > CSS *-ʌ̃ . . . 213
4.15.2 *-ʌʔ > CSS *-ʌʔ . . . 215
4.16 Finals with the vowel sequence *ə . . . 217
4.16.1 *-ə > CSS *-ə; *-e/*Š_ . . . 217
4.16.2 *-ə̃ > CSS *-ə̃ . . . 219
4.16.3 *-əŋ > CSS *-ɨŋ; *-oŋ/P_; *-ə̃/[+strid]_; *-ẽ/*Š_ . . . 221
4.16.4 *-əʔ > CSS *-əʔ . . . 224
4.16.5 *-ək > CSS *-əʔ; *-eʔ/*Š_ . . . 224
4.17 Finals with the vowel sequence *iə . . . 226
4.17.1 *-iə > CSS *-iə . . . 226
4.17.2 *-iəŋ > CSS *-iŋ; *-yẽ/*Š_ . . . 229

4.17.3 *-iək > CSS *-iʔ; *-yeʔ/*Š_ 231
4.18 Finals with the vowel sequence *uə 234
4.18.1 *-uə > CSS *-uə 234
4.18.2 *-uə̃ > CSS *-uə̃ 236
4.18.3 *-uəŋ > CSS *-oŋ (?); *-ɨŋ/T_ 238
4.18.4 *-uəʔ > CSS #-uəʔ (?); *-yeʔ/K,H_ 240
4.18.5 *-uək > CSS *-yeʔ (?); *-ɨʔ/T,S_ 241
4.19 Finals with the vowel sequence *yə 244
4.19.1 *-yə > CSS *-yə 244
4.19.2 *-yəŋ > CSS *-yiŋ 246
4.19.3 *-yək > CSS *-yʔ 248
4.20 Finals with the vowel sequence *əi plus *-eŋ 250
4.20.1 *-əi > CSS *-əi; *-uəi/P 250
4.20.2 *-eŋ > CSS *-ə̃ 251
4.20.3 *-əiʔ > CSS *-əʔ; *-oʔ/P_; *-æʔ/*Š_ 254
4.21 Finals with the vowel sequences *iei and *ie 257
4.21.1 *-iei > CSS *-ei, (*-iə/K,H_ ?) 257
4.21.2 *-iẽ > CSS *-iə̃ 259
4.21.3 *-ieʔ > CSS *-iəʔ 261
4.22 Finals with the vowel sequence *uəi plus *-uei 262
4.22.1 *-uəi > CSS *-uəi 263
4.22.2 *-uəiʔ > CSS *-oʔ 263
4.22.3 *-uei > CSS #-uei 264
4.23 Finals with the vowel sequences *yei and *ye 265
4.23.1 *-yei > CSS *-yəi 265
4.23.2 *-yẽ > CSS *-yə̃ 266
4.23.3 *-yeʔ > CSS *-yəʔ 268
4.24 Finals with the vowel sequence *o 269
4.24.1 *-o > CSS *-o; *-iə/P_ 269
4.24.2 *-oŋ > CSS *-oŋ 271
4.24.3 *-oʔ > CSS *-oʔ 272
4.25 Finals with the vowel sequences *io, *uo 274
4.25.1 *-ioŋ > CSS *-ioŋ 274

4.25.2 *-ioʔ > CSS *-ioʔ . . . 275
4.25.3 *-uo > CSS *-ua . . . 276
4.25.4 *-uoŋ > CSS *-oŋ . . . 277
4.26 Finals with the vowel sequences *i and *ui . . . 279
4.26.1 *-i > CSS *-i; *-e/*Š_ . . . 280
4.26.2 *-iŋ > CSS *-iŋ . . . 281
4.26.3 *-iʔ > CSS *-iʔ . . . 283
4.26.4 *-ui > CSS *-oi . . . 285
4.27 Finals with the vowel sequence *y . . . 289
4.27.1 *-y > CSS *-yi . . . 289
4.27.2 *-yʔ > CSS *-yʔ . . . 291
4.28 Finals with the vowel sequences *u, *æu, and *iu plus *m̩ . . . 291
4.28.1 *-u > CSS *-u; *-eu/S_ . . . 292
4.28.2 *-æu > CSS *-iɑu . . . 294
4.28.3 *-iu > CSS *-eu; *-ieu/H_ . . . 295
4.28.4 *m̩ > CSS #m̩ . . . 299
4.29 Finals with the vowel sequence *ɨ . . . 299
4.29.1 *-ɨ > CSS *-e; *-ə/S_ . . . 300
4.29.2 *-ɨəŋ > CSS *-ẽ; -yẽ/T_ (?) . . . 304
4.29.3 *-ɨək > CSS *-eʔ; -yeʔ/P,T_ (?) . . . 306

Chapter 5: Varia and Conclusions . . . 308
5.1 Demographic and Migration History . . . 308
5.1.1 The Pre-Hàn Situation . . . 308
5.1.2 The Late Hàn and Three Kingdoms Period . . . 310
5.1.3 The Early Medieval Period . . . 312
5.1.4 The Late Medieval Period . . . 314
5.2 Southwestern Wú in Context . . . 317
5.2.1 Overview of Lexical Layers . . . 317
5.2.2 Connection to Northern Wú . . . 318
5.2.3 Connection to the Yánzhōu Dialects . . . 326
5.2.4 Connection to Northern Tàishùn and Ōujiāng Wú . . . 328
5.2.5 Connection to Mín Chinese . . . 331

5.3 Concluding Remarks 333

Bibliography 336

Appendix A: The Data 350
A.1 Guǒshè 果攝 350
A.2 Jiǎshè 假攝 357
A.3 Yùshè 遇攝 365
A.4 Xièshè 蟹攝 381
A.5 Zhǐshè 止攝 402
A.6 Xiàoshè 效攝 426
A.7 Liúshè 流攝 442
A.8 Xiánshè 咸攝 452
A.9 Shēnshè 深攝 466
A.10 Shānshè 山攝 473
A.11 Zhēnshè 臻攝 513
A.12 Dàngshè 宕攝 535
A.13 Jiāngshè 江攝 555
A.14 Zēngshè 曾攝 559
A.15 Gěngshè 梗攝 569
A.16 Tōngshè 通攝 588
A.17 Other 608

Appendix B: Cognate Sets Indexed by *Pīnyīn* 621

LIST OF SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Signs

* : Asterisk. Marks unattested forms, usually reconstructed.

× : Cross. Marks ungrammatical forms.

\# : Pound sign. Marks supplemental Common Shàngshān reconstructions that do not occur in Akitani (2003a).

/.../ : Phonemic representation.

[...] : Broad phonetic representation.

[[...]] : Narrow phonetic representation.

⟨...⟩: Written representation.

X ≍ Y: Form X alternates with variant form Y.[1]

X > Y: X changed into Y.

X ≫ Y: Constraint X dominates constraint Y.

≙: Corresponds to. Used to compare across reconstructed systems.

Distinctive features

ant: anterior

cons: consonantal

COR: coronal

dist: distributed

DOR: dorsal

fr: front

GLOT: glottal

hi: high

LAB: labial

[1] In this study, the alternations are usually members of doublet sets that differ in stylistic register. I have chosen Matisoff's (1978) allofam sign to avoid typographic collision with the usual swung dash sign, which replaces repetitions of Chinese character headers when used in examples of lexical contexts. Matisoff's concept of allofam is agnostic about the relative age and relationship of the variants it marks, which makes it appropriate for marking stylistic variation, though it should be noted that allofams are often hypothesized to be related by derivation in Tibeto-Burman linguistics. Such hypotheses are not applicable to the evidence presented here aside from a few exceptional cases that involve a process analogous to Mandarin's diminutive *érhuà* 兒化, marked variously as a nasal suffix /-n/, nasalization of the main vowel, or a changed tone.

nas: nasal

son: sonorant

strid: strident

Gloss abbreviations

adj. : adjective

adv. : adverb

clf. : classifier (a.k.a. measure word, counter)

dim. : diminutive

gz. : *gānzhī* 干支 system ordinal

n. : noun

onom. : onomatopoeia

pn. : proper name

pron. : pronoun

ptcl. : particle

v. : verb

F: free morpheme

B: bound morpheme

Languages, dialects, and sound systems

CDC: Commmon Dialectal Chinese (my modification of Norman 2006, 2012c)

CJQ: Common Jīnqú 金衢

CLS: Common Lìshuǐ 麗水

Cs: Chángshān 常山 (Cáo et al. 2000)

CSS: Common Shàngshān 上山; a.k.a. Proto–Northwestern Chǔqú 處衢

Dy: Dōngyáng 東陽

EC: Early Chinese (my modification of Norman 1994, 2012c)

Gf: Guǎngfēng 廣豐 (Akitani 2001)

Jh: Jīnhuá 金華

Js: Jiāngshān 江山 (Akitani 2001)

Kh: Kāihuà 開化

Ly: Lóngyóu 龍游

MSC: Modern Standard Chinese

Pc: Pǔchéng 浦城

Pj: Pǔjiāng 浦江

Qy: Qìngyuán 慶元

QYS: *Qièyùn* System

Sc: Suìchāng 遂昌

Sy: Sōngyáng 松陽

Wy: Wǔyì 武義

Yh: Yúnhé 雲和

Yk: Yǒngkāng 永康

Ys: Yùshān 玉山 (Cáo et al. 2000)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

When Y. R. Chao (1928) and William Ballard (1969) were working on comparative Wú 吳 phonology, no descriptions of the Shànglì 上麗 group were available.[1] Spoken in the mountainous southwestern reaches of Zhèjiāng 浙江, these dialects are highly conservative and share striking commonalities with Mín 閩 Chinese. Their study promises clearer insights into the early origins of Wú and Mín. Now that high-quality descriptions of these dialects and their neighbors are available, a phonological reconstruction of Southwestern Wú Chinese—the ancestor of the Jīnqú 金衢 and Shànglì dialects—is tractable.

Fortunately, the foundation for this work is already strong. As part of the original survey, Akitani Hiroyuki (2003b) published a series of articles outlining his findings on the conservative features of the Shànglì group and a phonological reconstruction of the ancestor of one of its subgroups—the Shàngshān 上山 group (2003a). In the years since, researchers have continued to study these dialects' history, sometimes including the Jīnqú group, but their efforts have centered on comparison with the *Qièyùn* 切韻 System (QYS), and to a lesser extent Old Chinese, rather than on the internal developments of Wú Chinese. As a result, discussion has focused on retentions at the expense of innovations.[2] Although our understanding of these dialects' con-

[1]This subgroup, named after Shàngráo 上饒 and Lìshuǐ 麗水, is better known by the name Chǔqú 處衢 from the old *Linguistic Atlas of China* (LAC) classification (Würm et al. 1987). Cáo Zhìyún's (2002) updated subgrouping of Southern Wú has superseded this classification. Not all the Chǔqú dialects belong to the Shànglì group. The urban dialects near Qúzhōu 衢州 have been reclassified as part of the more innovative Jīnqú 金衢 group.

[2]There are exceptions. For example, in Akitani's efforts to classify subgroups of Southern Wú, he is careful to distinguish innovations from retentions. However, even in these articles he uses the QYS as his central point of reference because most Chinese dialectologists are more comfortable working with it than with other common systems.

servative features has improved, this approach has made it difficult to clarify how these dialects relate to other well-studied Wú dialect groups like the Ōujiāng 甌江 dialects, Mín Chinese, and neighboring transitional groups such as the Yánzhōu 嚴州 and Huīzhōu 徽州 dialects. Framing developments with QYS categories often introduces overgeneralizations and ambiguities that direct comparison does not. This is doubly true for dialects that preserve vestiges of pre–Middle Chinese phonology.

Statements of correspondence with historical sources of Chinese pronunciation are not a substitute for reconstructing phonological history. Southwestern Wú dialects have a rich history of lexical doublets and dialect contact. I hope that a phonological reconstruction of their common ancestor may serve as a basis for further discussion of this complicated history in its own linguistic context, independent of the QYS framework.[3]

In this dissertation, I present a full phonological reconstruction of Common Southwestern Wú. In the conclusion, I compare these results with other Wú subgroups, the Yánzhōu dialects, and Mín to develop a preliminary model of linguistic history for the region.

1.1 Challenges in Comparative Chinese

Somewhat ironically, the study of Chinese historical phonology has centered on the interpretation of texts. Chinese writing is logographic, and has strong archaicizing tendencies, so it does not lend itself to direct phonetic interpretation. At the same time, China is home to a diverse collection of modern dialects and a vibrant scholarly tradition of documenting them. Why not study Chinese historical phonology by applying the comparative method to the dialects (Norman and Coblin 1995)?

The answer to this question might be inertia. China also boasts a long lexicographic and

[3] I hope, also, to help dispose of the notion that lexical layering renders the application of the comparative method to Chinese infeasible or otherwise in need of special modifications. The formation of stylistic doublets in Chinese dialects through contact has neither suspended nor irrecoverably obscured the usual processes of linguistic change. To quote Bloomfield (1925, 130), "the regularity of phonetic change is not part of the specific tradition handed on to each new speaker of a given language, but is either a universal trait of human speech or nothing at all, an error." One century later, the regularity of sound change remains one of the most foundational universals in linguistics. So long as we can establish regular sound correspondences, we should have full confidence that the comparative method applied to Chinese dialects yields valid results, free of cross-strata comparison.

philological tradition. Less phonetically ambiguous sources like the rime books (*yùnshū* 韻書) and rime tables (*yùntú* 韻圖) supply just enough information to sketch a rough phonological history of Chinese without having to undertake a rigorous comparison of dialects. This avenue of research proved attractive for two reasons. First, in the early 20th century, the generations-long project to document Chinese dialects had barely begun. There was simply too little data to work with even if one was committed to the comparative method. Second, linguistic study of the textual tradition was a more-or-less natural continuation of late imperial philology. Chinese linguistics emerged as an outgrowth of this tradition instead of as a brand-new discipline. Even now, after the enormous effort expended to collect dialect data, this textually based tradition remains the dominant way to study Chinese historical phonology.

1.1.1 The Karlgrenian Approach

The first phonetically discrete attempts to recover pre-modern Chinese pronunciation date back to the late 19th and early 20th century. The most influential of these was Bernhard Karlgren's (1919, 1954) studies of Ancient and Archaic Chinese.[4] Karlgren believed both these stages were best recovered using textual analysis rather than comparative reconstruction.

His method of textual analysis differed fundamentally from other attempts applied to phonographic writing. Because Chinese writing is phonetically ambiguous, one must supplement it with other forms of evidence to recover pronunciation. For Ancient Chinese, he eschewed direct analysis of Chinese characters altogether and chose to study their medieval readings using the rime classes (*yùn* 韻), homophone groups (*xiǎoyùn* 小韻), and *fǎnqiè* 反切 spellers of the *Qièyùn* rime book tradition as his primary source of evidence. He believed he could extract abstract units of phonology from these materials and then interpret them, *mutatis mutandis*, in the way letters are interpreted in historical alphabetic writing. To phonetically interpret these abstract units,

[4] Ancient Chinese in the Karlgrenian sense is synonymous with the QYS and is now usually called "Middle Chinese". This is a misleading term because it implies a monolithic language for the period preserved faithfully in the *Qièyùn*. I prefer to use "Medieval Chinese" instead as a general term for Six Dynasties and early Táng Chinese that can be studied with other non-*Qièyùn* data, e.g. Buddhist transcriptions, rhymed texts, *fǎnqiè* 反切 formulae in *yīnyì* 音義 commentaries.

he used three "keys"—the rime tables, Sinoxenic character pronunciations, and modern Chinese dialects.

As he conducted this interpretation, he compared a wide range of dialects available to him at the time; but this was not an application of the comparative method *sensu stricto*. When applying the comparative method, phonological units are arrived at inductively by establishing sound correspondences. Only one unit is reconstructed for each non-complementary correspondence. In Karlgren's method, the phonological units are determined by textual analysis before comparison begins. One must reconstruct different values for each unit even if the correspondences for them are identical. To accomplish this, one appeals to other evidence—typically phonetic similarities and differences implied by rhymed texts.

Karlgren observed that QYS categories closely correspond to the sound systems of mainstream modern dialects. This led him to conclude that Ancient Chinese was a koiné that spread across China, and that all modern dialects—except for Mín—directly descended from it. This conclusion, and Karlgren's method of using dialects to justify phonetic interpretations of Ancient Chinese, had serious ramifications for Chinese dialectology. Rather than compare dialects to each other and study their internal history, the dominant mode of research was to characterize dialects by how they phonetically realized the abstract categories of Ancient Chinese. In other words, focus shifted to the retention of archaic features that could be used to reconstruct a more faithful version of Ancient Chinese and away from the subsequent innovations that groups of related dialects shared.

1.1.2 Applying the Comparative Method to Chinese

Sinolinguists trained in America adopted an alternative approach. They sought to understand dialect development through internal comparison. The earliest example was Y. R. Chao (1928). As part of his survey of Wú Chinese, he created a diasystem he called "Wúyīn" 吳音 ('Wú pronunciation').[5] The purpose of the Wúyīn system was as much practical as it was theoretical. It succinctly

[5]Calling Chao's Wúyīn a "diasystem" is anachronistic—the term was coined 26 years later by Uriel Weinreich (1954)—but that is the most apt description. Chao came to the idea of abstract phonological classes that incorporate

summarized the comparative phonemic contrasts in the Wú dialects while also enabling Chao to present lists of character readings and vocabulary for many dialects simultaneously. Chao arrived at his Wúyīn by methodically eliminating distinctions of the QYS that were not reflected in the Wú dialects he surveyed and then providing correspondences for the reduced categories.[6] Though not a strict application of the comparative method, Chao's approach emphasized studying Wú dialect developments via comparison with a common system rather than direct comparison with the QYS.

Later in the 1960s and 70s, other American-educated Sinolinguists, many of whom studied with Chao, turned their attention to reconstructing dialect proto-systems with the comparative method (see generally O'Connor 1976; Tsuji 1977; McCoy 1966; Ballard 1969; Norman 1973, 1974, 1981). These attempts differed from Chao's in that, theoretically, the goal was to restore earlier stages of phonology, not organize modern realizations into diaphonemes. In practice, however, the results were basically the same.[7]

Among these, only Norman's work on Mín Chinese garnered widespread discussion—and notoriety. Norman reconstructed a six-way distinction of obstruent occlusive (stops and affricates, [−son, −cont]) initials for Proto-Mín. Critics did not accept his correspondences because they disagreed with the QYS, even though such a possibility was implied by Karlgren's "except Mín" stance. They attributed this discrepancy to a confusion of literary and colloquial character readings when establishing cognates. Norman made no such error; but these criticisms stuck and, as we shall see, continue to be raised to argue against the application of the comparative method to Chinese dialects.

---

regional and temporal differences independent of Trubetzkoy, and about three years earlier.

[6]Jerry Norman (2006) constructed Common Dialectal Chinese by following basically the same approach. For more discussion of the system, see Simmons (2006).

[7]This is not a universal feature of diasystems. Chao's Wúyīn reduced conditioned splits into single classes, but other systems set up diaphonemes to account for all the corresponding results. John Wells's (1982) lexical sets are a good example of a diasystem that purposefully incorporates splits.

1.1.3 Doublets and Lexical Diffusion

Around the same time the early dialect comparativists were working, a project to digitize Peking University's character reading collection had begun at UC Berkeley (Streeter 1972). One of its purposes was to revisit Karlgren's top-down approach with a larger dataset. The team soon discovered many apparently irregular developments that they felt could not be the product of dialect mixture.

Their exemplary case was a seemingly sporadic split of the *yáng* 陽 register of the QYS 'departing' *qù* 去 tone in Cháozhōu 潮州 Mín into tones 4 and 6. Working under the assumption that the Cháozhōu dialect must descend from the QYS, Chen and Wang (1975) attempted to find a conditioning environment for the split using QYS sound categories, but failed to identify any. Then they considered whether the contrast could have resulted from cross-dialect borrowing, but ruled out this possibility because "borrowing cannot be phonetically selective" (259). This led them to conclude that the split was the result of a sound change still in progress that was expanding word-by-word instead of uniformly across all words that carried a common phonetic environment.

Chen & Wang developed a hypothesis they called "lexical diffusion" to account for this. It was the first serious challenge to emerge as an alternative to Neogrammarian regular sound change. The particulars of the lexical diffusion hypothesis have changed over time, so we will call the original formulation "classical lexical diffusion".

In classical lexical diffusion, sound change progresses gradually word-by-word for the set of words that contain the relevant phonological environments for a change. Changes affect commoner words first, but the exact order of expansion is random. Changes work their way through the lexicon until all candidates are exhausted resulting in what *appears* to be Neogrammarian change. However, the underlying mechanism is the exact opposite. Classical lexical diffusion is lexically gradual yet phonetically abrupt. The word is the unit of change. Neogrammarian change is phonetically gradual, but lexically abrupt; that is, it applies simultaneously to all phonetically eligible words. The unit of change is the phoneme (Bloomfield 1933, 353–54). Chen and

Wang (1975) argued that if chronological profiles could be established for sound changes, they would reveal that *all* sound changes progressed word-by-word. Rather than entertain the possibility that Neogrammarian change and lexical diffusion could coexist, they pronounced the two models "incompatible" (257).[8]

Ultimately, Chen and Wang's skepticism derived from a misanalysis of lexical layering. The "tone split" they observed is actually a systematic part of the literary–colloquial stylistic doublets found in the Cháozhōu dialect and coincides with other segmental differences that recent sound changes cannot easily account for (Egerod 1976, 1982). Even though their original example does not stand up to scrutiny, lexical diffusion remains an attractive way to account for irregular developments. Linguists working with other languages soon began to document cases outside of Chinese after their paper was published.

Labov (1981) proposed a compromise between lexical diffusion and Neogrammarian change: Neogrammarian change is the dominant avenue of development, but we may appeal to a weakened version of the hypothesis—call it neo–lexical diffusion—to explain irregularities. The effects of neo–lexical diffusion are still lexically gradual and phonetically abrupt, but the process is "not sound [change] in a literal sense" (299). Instead, neo–lexical diffusion is word-by-word relearning that results in abrupt changes in phoneme class, and by extension, lexical representation.

Neo–lexical diffusion is common in Chinese. Etymological "character reading" (≈ morpheme) doublets obey restrictions of lexical incidence. Generally, the newer member of a doublet set is the citation reading of a single character and is used to form neologisms. The older forms are

[8]Chen and Wang (1975, 264) also call into question the universal applicability of the comparative method based on their stance against regular sound change. They argue that past phonological innovations accumulate in the morphophonology of fusional (inflecting) languages, thereby encouraging the seemingly regular completion of lexical diffusion, but that the same process does not apply to isolating languages. Without morphophonology, sound change effectively transforms surface representations into surface representations (265–66); nothing prevents lexical diffusion from stalling partway through the lexicon. Their position entails that the comparative method is tailored to suit Indo-European languages because it depends on typologically motivated regularity. It should be noted, however, that when they were writing the comparative method had already been successfully applied to polysynthetic languages, e.g. Algonquian (Bloomfield 1925), agglutinative languages, e.g. Austronesian (Dempwolff 1938), and isolating languages, e.g. Min Chinese (Norman 1969), Hmongic (Purnell 1970), Vietic (Barker and Barker 1970), and Tai (Sarawit 1973). If the transformation of surface representations is truly more vulnerable to irregularity/stalled diffusion, why was comparative work on these languages tractable at all?

found in basic vocabulary and are more frequently unbound morphemes. Variant forms do not usually alternate freely,[9] so the meanings of competing unbound doublets can become semantically specialized (1).

(1) CDC *biang²* 平 'flat, flatten' :: Guǎngzhōu Yuè

a. [pʰɛŋ²¹] 'cheap' ("colloquial" stratum)

b. [pʰeŋ²¹] 'flat' ("literary" stratum)

When there is no specialization, the newer form will sporadically replace the older one (2).

(2) Neo–lexical diffusion in Yuè Chinese (Zhān and Cheung 1987a, 1987b)

Lines (a) and (b) represent the regular correspondences of the two Common Yuè finals that correlate to CDC *-iang*. Line (a) is the "colloquial reading" and line (b) "literary". The boldface forms in line (c) represent the replacement of the word 'star' with the "literary" variant of the morpheme.

	CDC	*Guǎngzhōu*	*Hong Kong*	*Táishān*	*Kāipíng*	
a.	*zhiang²*	[sɛŋ²¹]	[sɛŋ²¹]	[siaŋ²²]	[siaŋ²²]	'entire [day]' 成
b.	*zhiang²*	[seŋ²¹]	[seŋ²¹]	[sen²²]	[sen²²]	'become' 成
c.	*siang¹*	[sɛŋ⁵⁵]	**[seŋ⁵⁵]**	**[ɬen³³]**	[ɬiaŋ²¹]	'star' 星

The same happens to bound forms. When their meanings become specialized, the older forms can develop into cranberry morphemes. Example (3c) presents a case of a fossil word in the Qìngyuán 慶元 dialect involving two cranberry morphemes for 'water' and 'tube' respectively. Their newer counterparts are [ɕy³³] 'water' and [kuɑ̃³³] 'clf. for tubes'. Without specialization, newer forms gradually displace the older ones. The process is no different from the word-by-word relearning of neo–lexical diffusion. In both cases, language contact drives the relearning. The more intense the contact, the more replacement accelerates.

(3) Displacement of *ʔy³ 'water' in Southwestern Wú

[9]It should be noted that lexical incidence of morpheme variants depends on dialect. For example, in Modern Standard Chinese 'elder paternal uncle (familiar)' is *bóbo* 伯伯, but in Central Plains Mandarin it is *bǎibai* 伯伯. Both have 'elder paternal uncle (learned)' as *bófù* 伯父. In theory, the lexical incidence of the variants *bǎi*~*bó* in Central Plains Mandarin is independent. However, for many bidialectal speakers both reduplicated forms of 'elder paternal uncle (familiar)' are jointly available. Which form they choose depends on social context.

	Suìchāng	*Yúnhé*	*Qìngyuán*	
a.	[**y**^{52}]	[ʃy^{53}]	[ɕy^{33}]	‘water’ 水
b.	[fəŋ^{55} ɕy^{52}]	[fəŋ^{324} ʃy^{53}]	[foŋ^{334} ɕy^{33}]	‘*fengshui*‘ 風水
c.	—	—	[**y**^{33} kuəŋ^{33}]	‘bamboo dipper’ 水管

Empirical studies of sound changes in progress have supported Labov’s compromise and invalidated classical lexical diffusion (Labov 2020). The chronological profiles demanded by Chen and Wang (1975) have been painstakingly established for many ongoing sound changes in American English. The results have vindicated the view that Neogrammarian change is the dominant mode of sound change, but simultaneously confirmed limited cases of neo–lexical diffusion. Neo–lexical diffusion offers a solution to the irregularity problem. Instances of word-by-word relearning disrupt distributions that would otherwise be regular. The comparative method does not need to be altered to account for lexical diffusion when it is applied to Chinese character readings. Information about the lexical incidence of character readings is of course valuable for establishing correspondences, but cross-stratal comparison may be avoided even when descriptions of lexical incidence are imperfect or scanty. By establishing regular correspondences, comparativists can weed out sporadic correspondences that result from cross-stratal cognates. When enough information about neighboring dialects is available, we can sometimes identify the likely donors of diffused forms.

1.1.4 Challenges to the Status Quo

As comparativists continued their work into the 1990s, they revealed a curious paradox: Though most Chinese dialects derive from a simpler phonological system than the one implied by the *Qièyùn*, they also exhibit a much greater degree of internal diversity and mutual incomprehensibility than one would expect if they directly descended from a single widespread koiné. Karlgren compared the diversification of Chinese dialects to Koiné Greek and its modern descendants. But modern Greek dialects are mutually intelligible and share more commonalities in vocabulary and syntax than Chinese dialects do (Norman and Coblin 1995, 581).

Jerry Norman and South Coblin (1995) proposed a new historical model to account for this sit-

uation. In their view, Chinese dialects are not the direct descendants of a northern koiné from the medieval period, but rather distinct regional languages that converged by absorbing northern vocabulary under the pressure of constant waves of migration into southern China.[10] They came to share a pool of literary and technical vocabulary, the pronunciation of which can largely be accounted for using a common system simpler than the QYS. But the nature of this convergence is materially different from Koiné Greek because the whole language—basic vocabulary, function words, and phonetic implementations of the common system classes—was never shared as a *lingua franca* that spanned the entirety of China. Vestiges of the earlier pre-migration forms of Chinese—phonologically speaking, words with pronunciations that do not derive from the common system—are present to varying degrees in all modern dialects, but we require a different methodology from Karlgren's to identify and study them.

The first step of Norman and Coblin's proposed research program was to "develop a detailed, finely etched picture of northern dialect history" (582). They called on us to work with "temporally and geographically reliable pre-modern dialect materials... [but] also ruthlessly exclude anything whose periodization and areal origins are suspect." The second step was to phonologically reconstruct southern dialects that lack robust phonographic attestation. Armed with knowledge of northern developments, one can seriate layers brought through waves of migrations. Thanks to their call to action, considerable progress has been made on both fronts of the program.

Scholars in China recognized the same problem with Karlgren's methodology that the American comparativists did. For example, Pān Wùyún (1995) calls attention to the effects constant streams of migration have had on southern dialect phonology and calls on scholars to study lexical layering. His proposal resembles Norman & Coblin's, but he recommends a different methodology: Layers should be seriated *before* comparison begins to ensure there is no cross-stratal confusion.

The motivation for seriation before comparison stems from a misunderstanding of the com-

[10]Of course, before the literary convergence described here, Chinese dialects diverged from a single common source. However whether this source is the same as "Old Chinese" or some later stage around Coblin's Han Horizon is still an open question.

parative method. Pān (1995, 154) states that a genetic relationship between the languages under comparison is prerequisite to applying the comparative method. This is incorrect. A successful application of the comparative method is a prerequisite for establishing genetic relationships, not the other way around. Pān's misconception led him to conclude that the comparative method does not produce valid results when applied to languages made up of vocabulary from varying origins—especially when this results in doublets. But doublets in a reconstructed language are not inherently spurious. Their presence only implies that the doublets are retentions from the ancestral stage of the languages under comparison rather than subsequent innovations.[11]

As Akitani (2003a, 3) notes, Pān also overlooks the importance of establishing regular sound correspondences. Loans and innovations in the lexicon that take place after internal diversification do not leave behind regular patterns, but sound changes do.[12] Linguists can exploit this fact to distinguish cases of sporadic changes in the lexicon from cognate sets that resulted from regular sound change. In a rigorous application of the comparative method, the method guards against cross-stratal comparison by default.[13] Akitani (2003a, 190–91) further observes that many linguists in China seem to have confused "the comparative method" (*lìshǐ bǐjiàofǎ* 歷史比較法) with what Norman & Coblin call "the Karlgrenian approach." When Pān speaks of "the comparative method" being suitable for studying how dialects correspond to the QYS system, he really means the latter.[14] As we have seen, Karlgren's comparison was not a genuine application

[11]By ancestral language, I mean specifically a proto- or common language—i.e. a common ancestor that accounts for regularly inherited material in its daughters. Nothing more, nothing less. This is conceptually distinct from the earliest attested or conceivable stage of a language which may predate contact that gave rise to regular doublets.

[12]Neologisms formed from the literary forms of doublets often exhibit regularity, but this reflects a retention of the literary forms individually from an earlier stage rather than the existence of the neologisms in the proto-language. Concretely, if we can reconstruct literary proto-forms for *fēi* 飛 'to fly' and *jī* 機 'mechanism', that does not entail the reconstruction of the word *fēijī* 飛機 'airplane'!

[13]This is, of course, an ideal. Working with incomplete data and surveys that do not adequately clarify the lexical incidence of character readings can be challenging. Some dialect groups also exhibit unusually divergent and irregular doublet patterns. This is a sign of ongoing language contact.

[14]This misconception is still pervasive in Chinese historical phonology. In a recent book, when describing Karlgren's method of reconstructing Ancient Chinese, Shen Zhongwei (2020, 4) writes, "Only the phonetic values need to be determined based on the modern dialects and ancient loans in non-Chinese languages. For this particular purpose the comparative method is applied." In the foreword to the same book, William S-Y. Wang writes, "Bernhard Karlgren [⋯] introduced the comparative method to China" (xxxi). The misconception is repeated several

of the comparative method at all.

Failing to recognize the differences between the comparative method and the Karlgrenian approach led the next generation of "stratal analysts" to repeat Karlgren's mistakes. Rather than reconstructing proto-phonemes by working out regular correspondences, they divided up character readings that disagree with the QYS categories into separate layers. Which reading was to be assigned to which layer was decided on the basis of (overwhelmingly non-phonographic) philological evidence. As Akitani and Handel (2012) have shown, this approach tends to attribute splits to contact with northern koines rather than to internal developments and preemptively dismisses retentions from pre–Medieval Chinese times. As a result, it fails as a comprehensive historical model.

The proponents of comparative method and stratal analysis probably agree more than they realize (Akitani and Handel 2012, 323–24). Both schools of thought recognize the inadequacy of Karlgren's monolithic "koiné replacement" model, are committed to studying the internal development of modern dialects, and are interested in determining the origin of words and "readings" in Chinese dialects. Disagreements have resulted from misconceptions about regular correspondence, confusion about what the results of the comparative method represent, and a prolonged reluctance to "ruthlessly exclude" traditional syncretic textual sources. I hope that my study of Wú historical phonology will further help to dispel these misconceptions and demonstrate the advantages of comparing dialects directly instead of using the *Qièyùn* framework.[15]

1.2 Previous Studies of Wú Historical Phonology

Only two full-fledged phonological common systems of Wú Chinese exist: Y.R. Chao's (1928) Wúyīn and Akitani Hiroyuki's (2003a) Proto-Northwestern Chǔqú. These are the only studies that provide lists of (re)constructed forms. Chao gives roughly 2,000 constructed character readings; Ak-

more times in the rest of the volume, but actual comparative contributions, like Norman's Proto-Mín, go completely unmentioned. Evidently, the substantive differences between Karlgren's approach and the comparative method have yet to be fully appreciated.

[15] See Coblin (2022) for more discussion on the issues involved with applying the comparative method to Chinese.

itani reconstructs around 1,400 forms. Other studies of Proto-Wú phonology are better viewed as sketches because they do not set up a significant number of proto-/common forms—most no more than 50. Discussions of sound correspondences also vary in comprehensiveness.

Chao intended for his study to be totally comprehensive, but the only southern Wú points he surveyed were Jīnhuá, Yǒngkāng, Wēnzhōu, and Qúzhōu. At the time, specialists disagreed whether the conservative dialects we now assign to the Shàngshān group were Wú. No full descriptions of them existed. Chao does not seem to have factored the sound correspondences of the southern dialects he surveyed into his Wúyīn system. That is why Simmons (1999) used it as the basis for his Common Northern Wú. Chao arrayed correspondences by QYS categories. This makes identifying the developments of individual words that do not agree with the inferred QYS > Wúyīn results difficult. However, because Chao provides a syllabary appendix and marks these cases, he clearly based his constructed readings on actual observed correspondences for each morpheme rather than mechanical derivation of character readings from the QYS. Chao's study is still the most comprehensive comparative study of Northern Wú. Simmons (1999) and Simmons et al. (2006) expand on it, but these works are best considered companions to the original instead of totally independent studies.

Akitani (2003a) is a close study of four highly conservative Shàngshān dialects. He provides full correspondences for all reconstructed forms and meticulous on notes of lexical layering and correspondence of reconstructed forms with Mín reconstructions, the Qièyùn system, and Old Chinese rime groups. At a technical level, his study is currently the most sophisticated treatment of Wú historical phonology.

Other important treatments of comparative Wú historical phonology include Ballard's (1969) Proto-Wu and Yóu Rǔjié's (2018) improvements to it. Ballard's (1969) dissertation on Proto-Wú presents fine-grained correspondences for initials, tones, and finals, but he does not demonstrate any of the correspondences with example cognates. This makes his study difficult to use, although it is often clear what he means when read alongside Chao (1928). Occasionally, Ballard mixes literary and colloquial readings of characters in single correspondences. This is especially apparent in his treatment of Div. II rimes after velar and glottal initials. Yóu (2018, 266–80)

discusses Ballard's correspondences with examples and proposes a few minor changes. The additional context greatly improves the original study.

Apart from these comparative studies, two other major studies seek to reconstruct Wú historical phonology, but their methods are unorthodox. Both work backwards from the QYS and eliminate distinctions that are not found in Wú. Chang Kun (1971) reconstructs what he calls "Proto-Wú" by setting up proto-phonemes for "only [the QYS] categories which are validated either by contrasts in Wenchow [dialect] itself or by comparison with other Wu dialects" (15). In the article, he never elaborates on what other Wú dialects he took into consideration or presents any systematic comparison of the Wēnzhōu dialect with them, so his study cannot be called a comparative reconstruction. The way he decides which QYS categories are valid is also idiosyncratic. He reconstructs bilabial codas for "Proto-Wu" because they are needed to explain the development of a small number of Wēnzhōu finals from the QYS, but instead of only restoring them in these limited environments, he restores them exactly where the QYS prescribes across the board. This methodology reaches far beyond what the Wēnzhōu data actually tells us. Qián (2016) is a study of Northern Wú dialects and a few Jīnqú dialects. He presents how QYS categories are realized in these dialects and reconstructs a handful of example characters on this basis. The portion of the study on initials provides many examples and is useful, but the comparison of finals lacks examples. This caused him to make a few mistakes like reconstructing the CDC syllables *pon (Div. I) and *pan (Div. II) as *pæ even though almost all Wú dialects keep them separate. He also overlooks several important Jīnqú final distinctions that have been lost elsewhere in Northern Wú.

Several monographs and dissertations adopt stratal analysis to study Southwestern Wú dialects. Lín (2013) gives a full stratal analysis of the finals of the dialects surveyed in Cáo et al. (2000). This choice of dialects leads to awkwardness because it includes the Lóngyóu dialect, which, as we shall see, is actually a transitional Jīnqú dialect. In the original study Lín reconstructs no proto-forms, but in Lín (2018) she attempts to do so for the QYS *Shānshè* 山攝 finals, presenting the attempt as a new hybrid methodology that brings together stratal analysis and the comparative method. It is not, however, a true application of the comparative method: she

sorts by strata before reconstructing sound values, without establishing regular correspondences. Wáng (2015) presents a general stratal analysis of the phonology of the Chǔqú dialects (in reality only the Lìshuǐ dialects) based on his own field data. He describes the eastern Lìshuǐ dialects in greater detail than previous studies, which is useful for understanding the thicker literary stratum of vocabulary present in that region. Zhèng (2013) offers an ambitious stratal analysis of the finals of all Wú dialects, though he takes up selected issues rather than describing the entire finals system. When discussing the motivation behind certain layering phenomena he occasionally posits discrete sound changes, but stops short of reconstructing a full common system. Shī (2020) is a recent and comprehensive stratal analysis of the finals of Ōujiāng and Southwestern Wú dialects, i.e. what is conventionally called Southern Wú. He makes connections between the layering phenomena found among the subgroups of Southwestern Wú but does not attempt to contextualize them into a single phonological system.

Overall, these stratal analysis studies offer useful sketches of layering phenomena in the Wú dialects, but they do not seek to model internal developments between related dialects. The paradigm is to compare each dialect in a set individually with textual sources, sorting its vocabulary into layers on the basis of attested sound changes. Every stage of this philological analysis leaves room for error in interpreting the layers. Splits are especially vulnerable to being misread as separate layers when their conditioning environments go unidentified. This is why I follow Coblin (2022) in reconstructing a common system before attempting a comprehensive seriation of lexical layers. With the common system in hand, we gain access to an account of sound change in each of the daughters that resolves all doubts about splits. We also reduce the burden of performing philological analysis in parallel on all the daughters to performing it only once, on the ancestor.

1.3 An Overview of Wú Chinese

Wú Chinese is one of the major Sinitic language families. It is spoken by approximately 59 million people in Shànghǎi, Zhèjiāng province and southern Jiāngsū province, as well as across the border

of Zhèjiāng in some neighboring regions of Ānhuī, Jīangxī, and Fújiàn provinces.[16] Wú Chinese is believed to have developed from an early divergent Chinese vernacular language, usually called "Jiāngdōng speech" (Ch. Jiāngdōngyǔ 江東語) or "Wú of the Southern Dynasties" (Ch. Náncháo Wúyǔ 南朝吳語) in the literature. Here, we will call it the Early Jiāngdōng dialect.[17] From the start of the Eastern Jìn (317–420) to the end of the Six Dynasties period (222–589), the Early Jiāngdōng dialect was in heavy contact with northern prestige varieties of Chinese. By the late medieval period, it had begun to lose ground to northern speech types entirely and retreated as a substrate in what would ultimately become modern Wú Chinese. Early Jiāngdōng cognates are best attested in the basic vocabulary of the Southwestern Wú area. This stratum of the language grows thinner and thinner the further one travels north or toward the coast.

The second edition of the *Language Atlas of China* (2012) classifies Wú dialects into the groups presented in (4). Among these, the Xuānzhōu group is not universally accepted,[18] and the Hángzhōu subgroup of the Tàihú group is often considered to be a transitional Mandarin dialect. The focus of this study is the Jīnqú and Shànglì groups of the *Language Atlas of China* classification, which we

---

[16]I base this estimate of the total number of speakers on the figures provided by the second edition of the *Language Atlas of China* (2012 p. 103), but have excluded the speaker counts for the Hángzhōu subgroup and Xuānzhōu group because the dialects belonging to these groups do not meet the linguistic criteria to be classified as Wú Chinese. See the following subsection for details.

[17]As mentioned in the opening, the Early Jiāngdōng dialect is also linked with Mín Chinese. See §5.1.2 for further discussion of the demographic and migration history behind this relationship.

[18]Coblin (2004) compared several of the Xuānzhōu dialects in his reconstruction of Common Jiāng–Huái without commenting on the possibility of Wú affiliation. Their phonology can be fully described using Common Jiāng–Huái distinctions in Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, so no phonological basis for classification as Wú exists. Though Jiǎng (2003) treats the Xuānzhōu dialects as Wú, her characterization of their historical phonology includes two mergers that are decisive criteria for Mandarin affiliation under Simmons's (1999) system of classification: CDC *-oi and *-ai have merged, generally as [-ɛ] (53). CDC *-eng and *-ang have also merged; 打 'to hit' CDC *tang³ is the only exception (56). See the following section for more on Simmons's classification of Wú and Mandarin.

follow Akitani (2014) in grouping together as a single clade, and shall call Southwestern Wú.

(4) Wú Chinese Dialect Groups

a. Tàihú 太湖

b. Tāizhōu 台州

c. Jīnqú 金衢

d. Shànglì 上麗

e. Ōujiāng 甌江

f. Xuānzhōu 宣州

1.3.1 Toward a formal classification

Before we begin our study, we need to know what to compare. In other words, what is Wú? Phonologically, Wú Chinese is best known for its three-way distinction of tenuis, aspirated, and voiced obstruent occlusives and complex vowel inventories that resulted from the phonologization of coda-conditioned frontness preceding a widespread loss of codas. While these features are handy rules of thumb for identifying Wú dialects, and informed previous classifications (Chao 1967; Zhèngzhāng 1986; Fú et al. 1986), they are not adequate criteria for classifying transitional dialects. The first feature is a retention that many unrelated dialects share. The latter is a widespread innovation of the linguistic area around the lower Yangtze watershed that encompasses Northern Wú. Neither of these features helps us identify Wú dialects at the borders of the Wú speaking area—there are neighboring Mandarin dialects that have Wú-like initials and vocalisms and Wú dialects bordering Mín-speaking regions that have lost voiced obstruents while retaining a richer set of diphthong finals.

To deal with these transitional cases, dialectologists have developed more stringent criteria to assess the presence of key Wú innovations while also monitoring for features of Mandarin and Mín. The classification of the neighboring Huīzhōu 徽州 and Yánzhōu 嚴州 dialects in southern Ānhuī is controversial. Zhèngzhāng (1986) originally treated them as a common entity called

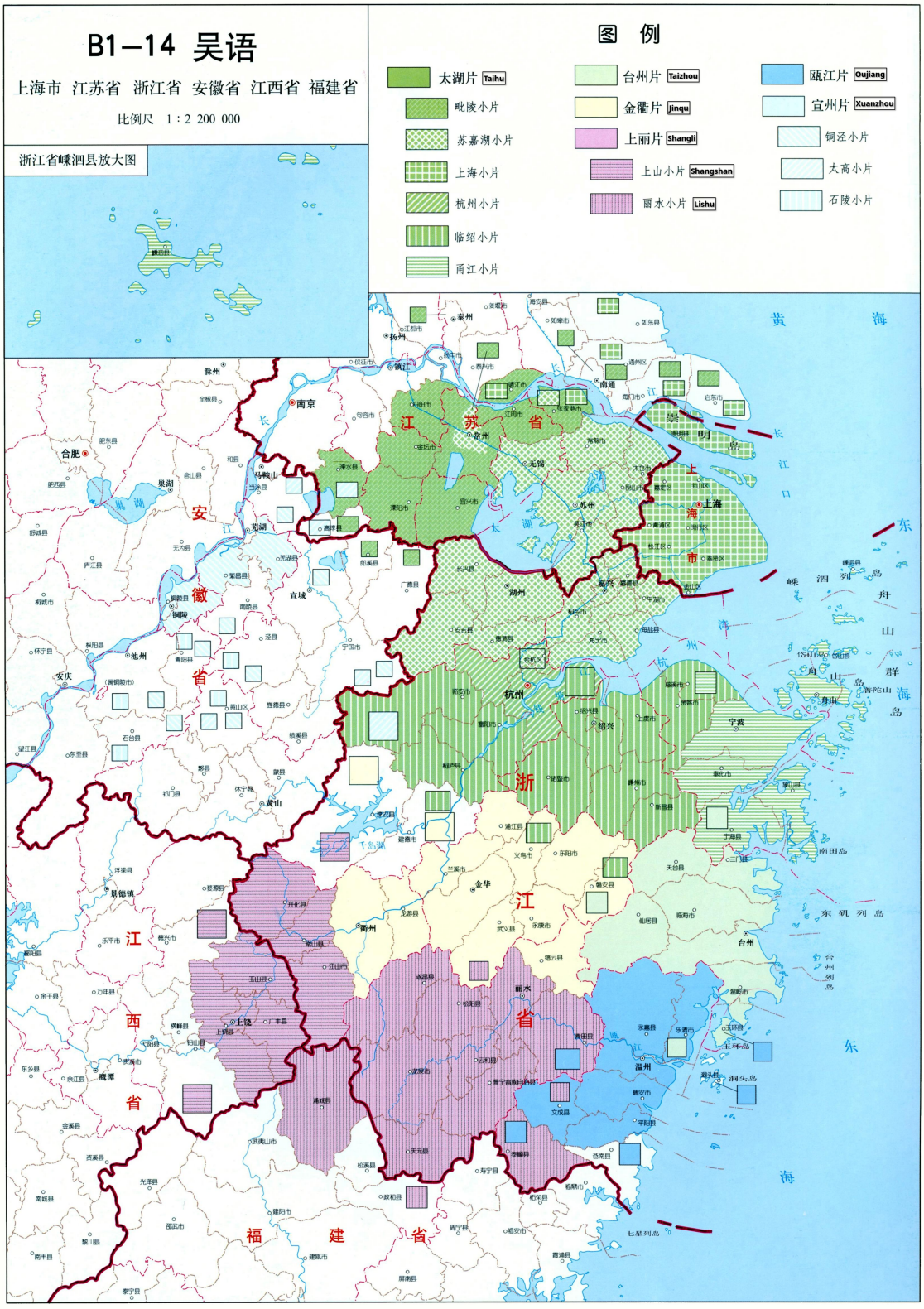


Figure 1.1: Geographic distribution of Wú Chinese following the *Language Atlas of China*, Second Edition (2012)

"Huīyǔ 徽語," but they do not appear to share any obvious common innovations (Hirata et al. 1998, 24–26). Cáo (2002, 7–8) believes that both the Huīzhōu and Yánzhōu groups should be subsumed under the Wú family, but only treats the similarities of the latter at length. Coblin (2007b) questions the taxonomic validity of the Huīzhōu group. He believes it might have formed through the convergence of several unrelated dialects. Coblin (2008) considers the Yánzhōu group, minus the Shòuchāng 壽昌 dialect, to be a valid group. He observes phonological similarities with Wú, but points out the presence of a merger of the CDC finals *-uon and *-uan, which is typical of Mandarin.[19] Simmons (2010) argues for a connection with Wú based on the development of the CDC finals *-oi, *-ai, and *-a. These finals are realized in a prototypically Wú fashion, suggesting a common innovation (5). Moreover, CDC *-oi and *-ai have not merged, as would be expected if these dialects were Mandarin-affiliated.

(5)

	*-oi	*-ai	*-a
CDC			
Common Yánzhōu	*-ɛ	*-a	*-ɑ
Common Northern Wú	-é	-a	-o
Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin	*-ai	*-ai	*-a∼*-ia

1.3.2 Criteria related to initials and tones

The initials and tones of Wú Chinese are conservative. This makes them poor diagnostics of dialect affiliation. Previous studies on Wú classification have placed emphasis on the nasal realization of CDC *nh- (≙ QYS *rìmǔ* 日母) and *mv- (≙ QYS *wēimǔ* 微母) in basic vocabulary (Yu 1996; Simmons 1999), but such criteria only diagnose non-Mandarin affiliation (Simmons et al. 2006). In Mandarin, CDC *nh- and *mv- developed into voiced fricatives and sonorants, e.g. [ʐ̥-] & [v-] or [ɻ̊-] & [ʊ-], in a process we may call oralization. Literary doublet forms in Northern Wú Chinese reflect the lexical diffusion of Mandarin oralized *nh- and *mv-, but colloquial words do not. The same is true of many other southern Chinese languages.

Likewise, the merger of CDC tone 4 with tone 6 after obstruent initials and tone 3 after sonorant initials is also a marker of Mandarin affiliation. Wú and other southern Chinese dialects

[19] Coblin now believes that the Yánzhōu dialects are Wú-affiliated following Simmons (2010) arguments (personal communication). I am very grateful to Prof. Coblin for directing me to Simmons's article.

exhibit diffused cases, but otherwise do not merge tone 4 with tone 6 or 3 according to the Mandarin pattern in basic vocabulary.

Wú-specific initial innovations are difficult to identify. Wú dialects tend to merge CDC *dz-* and *z-*, but the specifics of the merger are not yet clear. It will need to be studied on a word-by-word basis—something that remains to be done for Northern Wú (but for a preliminary treatment, see Qián 2016). For now, this test is not practical. The *tsr- zhuāng* 莊 series initials before division II rimes of the QYS also exhibits a tendency to merge with the *ts- jīng* 精 series initials, but both Yangtze Watershed Mandarin and Mín dialects also follow a similar trend. Wú dialects tend to have eight tones, so tonal innovations are also unavailable for external classification.

1.3.3 Criteria related to finals

Final vocalisms are the strongest predictors of Wú affiliation. In fact, final innovations are often more reliable in general for classifying Chinese dialect groups. Here we will use Norman's Norman (1999) *Gěng* 梗 and *Zēng* 曾 group vocalism tests and supplement them with an additional set involving the *Xiè* 蟹 group from Simmons (1999) to highlight some important Wú developments.

Among the finals of the *Dàng* 宕, *Gěng* and *Zēng* groups of the rime tables, a merger of the CDC finals *-iang and *-ing while simultaneously retaining a contrast of the finals *-ang and *-eng is the single most important phonological test for identifying Wú dialects (Yu 1996). This configuration readily distinguishes Wú from Mandarin and Mín.

(6) Finals with nasal codas of the *Dàng*, *Gěng* and *Zēng* groups

a. Common Dialectal Chinese Finals with examples (Norman 2006, 2012c)

宕開一	宕開三	曾開一	梗開二	梗開三四	曾開三
-ong	*-iong*	*-eng*	*-ang*	*-iang*	*-ing*
旁		朋	彭	餅	冰
湯	兩	藤	冷	嶺	陵
桑	箱	層	生	正	蒸
缸	薑	肯	坑	驚	應

Characters marked below where they differ from these examples.

b. Common Northern Wú[20]

-ong	*-iong*	*-eng*	*-ang*	*-iang*	*-ing*
pɦɑŋ²		pɦəŋ²	pɦaŋ²	piŋ³	piŋ¹
tʰɑŋ¹	liaŋ⁴	tɦəŋ²	laŋ⁴	liŋ⁴	liŋ²
sɑŋ¹	siaŋ¹	zəŋ²	saŋ¹	tʂəŋ¹	tʂəŋ¹
kɑŋ¹	kiaŋ¹	kʰəŋ³	kʰaŋ¹	kiŋ¹	iŋ¹

c. Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (Coblin 2010, 2015)

-ong	*-iong*	*-eng*	*-ang*	*-iang*	*-ing*
pɦaŋ²		pɦeŋ²	pɦeŋ²	piN³	piN¹
tʰaŋ¹	liaŋ³	tɦeŋ²	leŋ³	liN³	liN²
saŋ¹	siaŋ¹	tsɦeŋ²	seŋ¹	tʂeŋ¹	tʂeŋ¹
kaŋ¹	kiaŋ¹	kʻeŋ³	kʻeŋ¹	kiN¹	iN¹

d. Common Mín (Norman 2012a, 2012b)

-ong	*-iong*	*-eng*	*-ang*	*-iang*	*-ing*
məŋ² 芒		bəŋ² 硼	phaŋ²	piaŋ³	pə/in¹
thɔŋ¹	lhiɔŋ⁴	tə/in²	—	lhiaŋ⁴	—
sɔŋ¹	siɔŋ¹	tshən²	saŋ¹	tʃiaŋ¹	tʃin¹
kɔŋ¹	kiɔŋ¹	khə/in³	khaŋ¹	kiaŋ¹	in5

Notes:

- CM *lhiɔŋ⁴ 兩 ‘ounce’ contrasts with *lhɔŋ⁴ 兩 ‘two’
- CM *-ə/in marks unstable correspondences for the finals *-ən and *-in
- CM *-iaŋ does not correspond perfectly with CDC *-iang, e.g. CM *paŋ³ ‘shaft’ 柄, c.f. CDC *piang³ *id*.

Yangtze Watershed Mandarin also merges CDC *-iang and *-ing, but this always cooccurs with a merger of *-aŋ and *-eng. The Mandarin and Wú mergers of CDC *-iang and *-ing are parallel

[20]The Common Northern Wú presented here follows Simmons’ (1999) revision of Chao’s (1928) Wúyīn, but I have replaced his notation with IPA and added a few additional finals where Ballard’s (1969) northern dialect correspondences support them. Presenting the full rationale for the changes is beyond the scope of the dissertation. Here are the relevant changes:

Simmons	é	ué	ang	áng	iang	eng
Here	e	ue	ɑŋ	aŋ	iaŋ	əŋ

developments, not a common innovation.[21] In Mín Chinese, the finals corresponding to CDC *-ing and *-in merge as *-in, but Common Mín *-iang only partially corresponds to CDC *-iaŋ. CDC *-ang and *-eng are held separate. The Wú tendency for CDC *-ong and *-iong to have different vowel nuclei is noteworthy. In most Chinese dialects, these two finals rhyme. As far as I know, all Wú dialects but those of the Jīnqú subgroup keep these finals in separate rhyme categories. As Simmons (2010) illustrates, the Yánzhōu dialects exhibit a configuration that matches Wú. The Huīzhōu dialects are more conservative, but do not neatly match any existing group.

(7) Finals with nasal codas of the *Dàng*, *Gěng* and *Zēng* groups (cont.)

a. Common Huīzhōu (Coblin 2007b)

-ong	*-iong*	*-eng*	*-ang*	*-iang*	*-ing*
paŋ¹ 邦		—	—	piɑN¹ 兵	{b}in² 憑
tɑŋ¹ 當	liɑŋ⁴	nɤN² 能	lɛN⁴	diɑN⁶ 定	—
sɑŋ¹ 喪	dziɑŋ⁶ 匠	{dz}ɤN² 曾	tʂɛN¹ 爭	ʂiɑN¹ 聲	ɕiɤn² 繩
—	dʑiɑŋ² 強	xɤN² 恆	kɛN¹ 更	tɕiɑN¹ 經	—

b. Common Yánzhōu (Coblin 2008)

-ong	*-iong*	*-eng*	*-ang*	*-iang*	*-ing*
fɔN¹ 方		—	—	pin¹ 兵	—
dɔN² 唐	liɑN⁴	lən² 能	naN⁴	—	lin² 靈
tshɔN¹ 倉	tɕiɑN¹ 將	tsən² 增	saN¹	sen¹ 聲	sen² 繩
—	iɑN⁶ 樣	khən³	kaN¹ 更	—	—

Nearly all dialects of Wú Chinese exhibit monophthongization of the [-i]-ending finals of the *Xiè* group. This is accompanied by backing and raising of the vowel of CDC [-a] (the QYS *má* 麻 rime). The two developments are part of a chain shift.

(8) Vowel shift involving the *Xiè* and *Jiǎ* 假 groups in Wú

[21]This is not surprising. Throughout the history of Chinese, there has been a tendency for EC *-eng > CDC *-iang to raise. EC *-eng words often rhyme with EC *-in words in Classical verse. Compare this with sporadic cases of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *-yaŋ and *-iŋ alternating in etyma. Evidently, the tendency to raise [iæŋ~ɛŋ] to [iŋ] is prehistorically ancient. Cross-linguistically, we can compare this to dialects of American English in which /æŋ/ has raised to [eɪŋ].

condition	0	1	2	3	CNW
	a	ɒ	ɒ	ɒ	o
	ai	æ	a	a	a
	əi	əi	ai	ai	e
/ {COR,LAB}__	uəi	uəi	uai	ai	e
	uəi	uəi	uai	uai	ue

Stage 1 *-ai > *-æ monophthongizes and contrasts in backness with *-a > *-ɒ.

Stage 2 *-əi lowers to *-ai. Quality adjustments.

Stage 3 [-u-] lost after coronal and labial onsets.

CNW Further monophthongization and quality adjustments.

The raising of *-a is unique to Wú (Simmons 1999, 70–71). Some neighboring Mandarin dialects otherwise exhibit similar patterns of monophthongization due to expansion of a phonological constraint against diphthongs in the region. However, a previous merger of CDC *-oi (≙ CNW *-e*) and *-ai (≙ CNW *-a*) as [-ai] betrays their Mandarin origin.

(9) Finals of the *Xiè* and *Jiǎ* groups[22]

a. Common Dialectal Chinese Finals with examples (Norman 2006, 2012c)

蟹合一	蟹開一	蟹二	麻二
-uoi	*-oi*	*-ai*	*-a*
陪		敗	巴
對	袋	帶	他
灰	改	街	家
		乖	瓜

Characters marked below where they differ from these examples.

b. Common Northern Wú

[22]I have omitted Mín comparison here because the correspondence of Common Mín finals with these groups is complex. Mín follows a more Early Chinese–like distribution.

-uoi	*-oi*	*-ai*	*-a*
be²		pa⁵	po¹
te⁵	de⁶	ta⁵	no² 拿
hue¹	ke³	ka¹~kia¹	ko¹~kia¹
		kua⁵	kuo¹

c. Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (Coblin 2010)

-uoi	*-oi*	*-ai*	*-a*
pɦei²		pai⁵	pa¹
tuei⁵	tɦai⁶	tai⁵	tʰa¹
huei¹	kai³	kai¹~kiai¹	ka¹~kia¹
		kuai⁵	kua¹

d. Common Huīzhōu (Coblin 2007b)

-uoi	*-oi*	*-ai*	*-a*
{b}ɤ² 陪		ma⁴ 買	pɑ³ 把
tɤ⁵	dɤ⁶ 代	ta⁵	tɑ³ 打
xuɤ¹	kɤ³	ka¹	kɑ¹~tɕiɑ¹
		kua¹	kuɑ¹

e. Common Yánzhōu (Coblin 2008)

-uoi	*-oi*	*-ai*	*-a*
be²		pha⁶	pɑ¹
te⁵	dɛ⁶ 待	ta⁵	dzɑ² 茶
hue¹	kɛ³	ka¹	—
		kua¹	kuɑ¹

The Huīzhōu and Yánzhōu dialects exhibit Wú-like monophthongization, but no raising or rounding of CDC *-a. These similarities, while suggestive, are not enough to prove genetic affiliation. Yùshān 玉山, a conservative Wú dialect of the Shàngshān subgroup (Northwestern Chǔqú), shows no monophthongization or raising of CDC *-a, but has the merger of CDC *-iang and *-ing mentioned above and typical Wú lexical items.

(10) Finals of the *Xiè* and *Jiǎ* groups in the Yùshān dialect

-uoi	*-oi*	*-ai*	*-a*
bɐi²		pɑi⁵	pɑ¹
tuɐi⁵	dɐi⁶	tɑi⁵	tʰɑ¹
huɐi¹	kɐi³	kɑi¹	kɑ¹
		kuɑi¹	kuɑ¹

1.3.4 Lexical and syntactic criteria

Norman (1988, 194–207) puts Wú dialects in his transitional Central Chinese group. This is an apt classification. Even internally in Wú, there is great variation between the northern Tàihú subgroup, which has felt more Mandarin influence, and the conservative southern subgroups. Like Gàn, Wú falls somewhere between Northern Chinese (Mandarin) and the dialects of the southeast (Mín, Yuè, and Hakka). Norman illustrated this with basic lexical differences.

(11) Lexical differences among selected Chinese dialect groups

The following are generalized phonological forms:

a. 'he/she' 3SG
th: 他 *tʰa¹*; **g**: 渠、其 *gy~gi(e)²/⁴*; **i**: 伊 *i¹/²*

b. subordinate/attributive particle, SUBR
t: 的、底 *ti¹~tə⁰*; **k**: 個 *kəʔ~ko~kai⁵, e⁰*

c. verbal negative, NEG
p: 不 *pəʔ~put⁷*; **f**: 弗、否、(勿) *vəʔ~fəʔ~feu³*; **m**: 無、唔 *ŋ̍~m̩~muo²*

d. animal gender affix
p: prefixed; **s**: suffixed

e. 'stand'
c: 站 *tɕiam⁵*; **g**: 倚 *g(ə)i~g(y)ai⁴*; **l**: 立 *lip⁸*

f. 'walk'
ts: 走 *tseu³*; **h**: 行 *haŋ~giaŋ²*; **o**: *other*

g. 'run'
ts: 走 *tseu³*; **b**: 跑 *bau²*; **d**: 逃 *dou²*; **th**: 跳 *tʰiau⁵*; **o**: *other*

h. 'son'
e: 兒子 *ə⁻² tsɿ⁰*; **n**: 兒 *ɲ̩~ɲi(e)²*; **ts**: 仔、崽 *ts(i)ai³*; **k**: 囝 *kian¹*

i. 'house'
v: 房 *vaŋ²*; **u**: 屋 *uk⁷*; **ch**: 舍、戍 *tʃʰyo⁵*

gloss	North Mandarin	Central Gàn	N. Wú	S. Wú	South Mín
3SG	th	g	i	g	Coast. i, Inld. g
SUBR	t	k	k	k	k
NEG	p	p/m	**f**	**f**	m
anml. affix	p	s/p	p	s	s
‘stand’	c	g/l/c	l	g	g
‘walk’	ts	h/ts	ts	h/o	h
‘run’	b	b	b/d	th/o	ts
‘son’	e	ts	**n**	**n**	k
‘house’	v	u	u	u/ch	ch

Of these, (11c) NEG and (11h) ‘son’ are crucial to distinguishing Wú from its neighbors. No other major Chinese dialect group shares these words. Yu (1996) designates the presence of a labiodental initial in the verbal negator and a form of ‘son’ that starts with an alveolar nasal as sufficient criteria for classifying dialects as Wú. To these criteria, he also adds the form for ‘monkey’ being cognate with 猴獀 *heu²sun¹* and the form for ‘to fight’ being cognate with 相打 *siaŋ¹taŋ³*.[23]

The Huīzhōu and Yánzhōu dialects share some of these Wú words.[24] Huīzhōu NEG and ‘son’ are probably from Mandarin. Two of the Yánzhōu dialects share the Wú NEG. Both groups use the Wú-affiliated word for ‘monkey’.

(12) Wú-affiliated words (bold) in Yánzhōu and Huīzhōu Chinese

[23]A few Wú dialects have a different form for ‘monkey’. The Ōujiāng subgroup has 猴大 *heu²da⁶*, which is also shared by the Pǔjiang 浦江 dialect in the inland southwest (Cáo et al. 2016, 417).

[24]No data available for ‘to fight’.

	a. NEG 弗	b. 'son' 兒	c. 'monkey' 猴猢	
Yánzhōu				(Cáo 1996)
Chún'ān	pəʔ^{5}	ɭa^{445}tsɿ^{0}	**hɯ^{31}sã^{224}**	
Suì'ān	pə^{24}	əɯ^{33}tsɿ^{33}	**hɯ^{33}sə̃^{33}**	
Jiàndé	**fəʔ^{5}**	**n̩^{334}**	**həɯ^{33}sen^{42}**	
Shòuchāng	**uɔʔ^{3}**	**n̩^{52}**	**həɯ^{11}sen^{112}**	
Huīzhōu				(Hirata et al. 1998)
Jìxī	pɤʔ^{32}	**n̩^{44}tsɿ^{0}**, ẽ^{44}tsɿ^{0}	**xi^{44}sã^{31}**	
Túnxī	pu^{5}	ɚ^{55}tsɿ^{0}	**ɕio^{53}suːə^{11}**	
Yìxiàn	pu^{3}~paɯ^{3}	ɤɐ^{44}tsɿ^{0}	**saɯ^{44}suɑŋ^{31}**	
Wùyuán	pu^{51}	ø^{11}tsɿ^{2}	**ɕiɑ^{2}sɐin^{44}**	

1.4 The Southwestern Wú Dialects

1.4.1 Selection Criteria

As Akitani (2014) points out, conventional subgroupings of Wú, like the one found in the *Language Atlas of China*, are not based on the Neogrammarian tree model. They do not identify common innovations shared between groups to form a classification. Instead, a wide range of areal features is considered and dialects are grouped into similar-sized regions. This methodology developed out of an initial need to delegate fieldwork responsibilities among participants in large survey projects. The approach has a few drawbacks. First, phonological features are usually identified using the QYS and tend to skew the identification of conservative features; retentions are emphasized over innovations. Next, the linguistic differences between the various groups and subgroups are not uniform. Some areas that differ very little are put in different groups because the geographic area they cover is large. As a result, these types of groups do not provide solid hypotheses about common descent to test with the comparative method. The investigator must discern which features discussed in the literature are likely to be innovations versus retentions.

Fortunately, Akitani has done much of this work already. In the same paper, he identifies several important features as innovations and proposes that, at the lowest level, the Wú dialects

can be split into four groups:

(13) Akitani's (2014) four subgroups of Wú

a. Tàihú (including Tāizhōu = Northern Wú)

b. Ōujiāng

c. Wùzhōu 婺州 (≈ Jīnqú)

d. Chǔqú 處衢 (≈ Shànglì)

Among these, the Jīnqú (his Wùzhōu) and Shànglì (his Chǔqú) groups share the most unique common innovations, suggesting they form a single clade, that we shall call Southwestern Wú. He notes the other groups do not share any clear innovations. This yields two possible tree structures:

(14) Tree Models of Wú Chinese

a.
```
Wú
├── Northern
│   └── Tàihú (+ Tāizhōu)
└── Southern
    ├── Wùzhōu–Chǔqú (= Southwestern)
    │   ├── Wùzhōu
    │   └── Chǔqú
    └── Ōujiāng
```

b.
```
Wú
├── Wùzhōu–Chǔqú (= Southwestern)
│   ├── Wùzhōu
│   └── Chǔqú
└── Other
    ├── Tàihú (+ Tāizhōu)
    └── Ōujiāng
```

The tree in (14a) follows the conventional taxonomy that separates the Wú dialects into northern and southern regions (Ch. *qū* 區). But, as Cáo (2002, 1–21) points out, "Southern Wú" does not

necessarily form a valid clade that runs parallel with Northern Wú. It is a geographic collection of conservative dialects that noticeably contrast with Northern Wú because they do not share Northern Wú features. Akitani put (14b) forward as an alternative to the conventional North–South grouping, inspired by the treatment of Mín in relation to all other Chinese dialects—i.e. a group that branched off at an early date. In this model, Southwestern Wú branched off first, and the Tàihú and Ōujiāng groups diverged later. Which model is ultimately correct depends on (a) the age of the shared Southwestern Wú innovations relative to the innovations found in the Tàihú and Ōujiāng groups, and (b) whether we can identify any shared innovations between the Ōujiāng group and the other two groups.

For now, we shall set aside the issue of where Southwestern Wú fits into a tree model of Wú and focus on the unique common innovations that set it apart from the rest of Wú Chinese. Akitani proposed the following four:

(15) a. Development of QYS *tsy-* ≙ CDC *c- and CDC *k- into glottal stop in certain words:
E.g. *cie³ 煮 'to boil', *ciun¹ 肫 'gizzard', *ki¹ 萁 'fern brake', *kiau⁵ 叫 'to cry out, call'.
In other Wú dialects, the initials of these words are typically realized as [tɕ-] or [k-].

b. Development of CDC *zh- (≙ QYS *dzy-* & *zy-*) into a voiced affricate when not paired with tone 2 in certain words:
E.g. *zhi⁴ 是 'to be', *zhian⁴ 鱔 'eel', *zhiat⁸ 舌 'tongue', *zhiang⁴ 上 'move up'.
In other Wú dialects the initial is usually realized as a voiced fricative.

c. CDC *-ie (≙ QYS *-jo*) are realized the same as CDC *-a (≙ QYS *-æ*) after the QYS *shéshàng* (i.e. *tr-*) and retroflex sibilant series initials in certain words:
E.g. *cie¹ 豬 'pig', *nie⁴ 女 'girl, daughter', *je² 鋤 'hoe'.
In other Wú dialects, the finals of these words are realized with high or mid main vowels.

d. CDC *-ong develops into *-ung after labiodental initials in certain words:
E.g. *mvong² ≍ *mong² 芒 'awn (of wheat)', *mvong⁴ 網 'net'.
In other Wú dialects, no raising occurs.

Troublingly, all examples of these developments involve morphemes with stylistic variants. The literary variants of these morphemes show no sign of the unique innovations. There are possible two explanations for this state of affairs, which are mutually exclusive: First, the literary variants are later intrusions that entered the dialects after the diversification of Common

Southwestern Wú—the unique pronunciations are cognate with the forms found in the other Wú dialects. Second, the literary variants entered the language before Common Southwestern Wú branched off. The colloquial words with the unique developments were displaced by the literary variants in the other branches. For the last three developments it is difficult to decide which of these explanations is correct, but for (15a) we can be reasonably sure the glottal initial forms were not lost in the other branches of Wú. The development of the glottal stop in these forms is part of a greater regional shift in which initial tenuis stops developed into implosives.[25] It should be noted that cases of the unexpected glottal stop initials occur before high front vowels. The glottal stop initial in these words likely developed from a pre-Common Southwestern Wú implosive palatal stop *ʄ- as part of the shift before simplifying into *ʔj-. Typologically speaking, implosives develop from front to back by place of articulation (Greenberg 1970). In languages with glottalic consonants, implosive palatal stops virtually never occur without bilabial and alveolar counterparts.[26] This establishes the chronology of the change. However, crucially, we never find stylistic doublets involving implosive stops and tenuis stops. This is because, phonologically speaking, the underlying class of these initials did not change; only their realization did. The same was not true for the implosive palatal stop turned glottal stop. Literary readings were introduced via neo-lexical diffusion to repair the merger.[27]

The dialects compared in this study were selected on the basis of glottalization of CDC ini-

[25]These are usually transcribed as preglottalized stops in the surveys, i.e. [ʔb-, ʔd-]. It is unclear whether this transcription choice owes to the long-standing convention of linguists working on Asian and Pacific languages to transcribe implosives as preglottalized stops or if these sounds truly lack implosion. I will set aside this phonetic minutiae and refer to them as implosives in the remaining discussion.

[26]Greenberg (1970, 128) found that languages with implosives tend to favor articulation toward the front of the mouth. If a language has only one implosive it is typically [ɓ], less commonly [ɗ]. For languages with greater inventories of implosive consonants, the next most front place of articulation is favored, i.e. [ɓ ɗ ʄ], [ɓ ɗ ʄ ɠ], etc. Campbell (1973) raises Proto-Mayan as an exception, which has only bilabial and uvular implosives [ɓ ʔq]. Fortunately, when it comes to palatal implosives, Greenberg's generalization appears to hold true. Of the 460 languages with glottalic consonants in the Phoible database (2019), 55 have post-alveolar or palatal implosives. All of these languages also have both implosive labial and alveolar counterparts except Ongamo, an extinct Nilotic language. This appears to be a mistake in the database. In the original source, Ongamo has four implosives [ɓ ɗ ʄ ɠ] (von Vossen 1982, 193).

[27]So loans in fact can be phonetically selective if they replace forms that impede comprehension or involve a stigmatized pronunciation (pace Chen and Wang 1975). The motivation is not phonetic per se, but social.

tials *c- and *k- (hereafter "palatal glottalization") using the words listed in (15a) as the primary diagnostics. There are at least twenty words in total that underwent palatal glottalization. See §3.1.1 for further discussion and comments on possible conditioning environments for the change in pre-Common Southwestern Wú. Two dialects were selected for this study despite failing the primary diagnostic test: Dōngyáng and Pǔchéng. Dōngyáng is not problematic. Though the expected glottalized forms of the diagnostic words have been displaced, it still retains two secondary glottal stop initial words: [ʔiəʔ^{7}] 摭 'to pick up' (cf. CDC *ciak^{7}) and [ʔiʊ^{5}] 甽 'irrigation ditch' (cf. CDC *kiuon^{3}). Pǔchéng lacks any trace of glottalization of *c- and *k-, but Common Southwestern Wú initial *ɗ- (≙ CDC *t-) regularly developed into [l-]. The glottalic shift was clearly in progress in Pǔchéng. I suspect that the lack of palatal glottalization in Pǔchéng owes to heavy contact with Mandarin and Mín Chinese. The expected glottalized forms were displaced.[28]

Zhèngzhāng (1988, 1995) was the first to bring attention to palatal glottalization in Southwestern Wú and suggest that implosivization of CDC *p- and *t- were part of the same shift. But Zhèngzhāng also proposed that these sound changes arose from contact with a now-extinct Kra-Dai language. He reasoned this on three points. First, he believed that implosivization was a unique Kra-Dai phonological configuration. Second, two geographically discontiguous dialect points, Shànghǎi Mǎqiáo 馬橋 (Northern Wú) and an 1884 description of Yǒngjiā 永嘉 (Ōujiāng) also exhibit implosivization of bilabial and dental stops. Third, he noticed a similar development in Western Yuè dialects that were in contact with Zhuàng (Northern and Central Tai) languages.

Zhèngzhāng's proposal ultimately does not militate against palatal glottalization as a unique innovation of Southwestern Wú. Only the implosivization of CDC *p- and *t- is found outside Southwestern Wú, which is a change that is a prerequisite for the Southwestern Wú change, but not conclusive evidence that it had already taken place. His argument for contact is also weak in a few important ways. His point about implosives being a unique feature of Kra–Dai languages is

[28]Alternatively, Pǔchéng could be considered to have branched off early from the other Southwestern Wú dialects. This is probably not the case because, if we left Pǔchéng out of the comparison entirely, the reconstruction of Common Southwestern Wú would not be affected. In other words, the phonology of Pǔchéng can be accounted for entirely with a common system set up for all its hypothetical relatives. It probably descended from the same ancestor.

a misconception. Implosives are common across all languages. In Asia, they also occur in Vietic and Mien languages. The observation he made about Zhuàng influence on Western Yuè is well made, but it is unclear if it is an appropriate model to explain what we see in Southwestern Wú. When Zhuàng speakers shifted to early Yuè, they used a three-way distinction of implosives, plain, and voiced stops to approximate Yuè's tenuis, aspirated, and voiced stops respectively. Zhuàng plain stops probably rendered Yuè aspirated stops because the voice-onset time of the former was longer than the tenuis Yuè stops. What configuration did Zhèngzhāng's hypothetical Kra–Dai, or pre-Kra–Dai, language have? We will never know for sure, but there is good reason to doubt the presence of implosive stops at higher-level reconstructions of Kra–Dai. Their origin is likely syllable reduction that occurred when Kra–Dai broke away from (pre-)Austronesian (Norquest 2020). Ultimately, no contact scenario is needed to explain implosivization in Southwestern Wú. It could have arisen independently like how the bilabial and dental implosives of modern Vietnamese developed from early tenuis stops (Thompson 1976; Nguyễn 1996). Even if we concede the possibility of external influence, the uniqueness of palatal glottalization relative to the other branches of Wú is still left intact.

1.4.2 Subgrouping

Southwestern Wú is broken into three subgroups: the Jīnqú (or Wùzhōu) group, the Lìshuǐ group, and the Shàngshān group.[29] Current classifications put the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān groups together in a common taxon, called Shànglì or Chǔqú. In this study, we will keep the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān groups separate. These two groups are undoubtedly more similar to each other than they are to the Jīnqú group, but their shared features are mostly retentions. The Lìshuǐ group and Shàngshān only share one clear innovation, palatalization of alveolar sibilants before high front vowels, but this change is part of a greater regional trend that continues on across the Fújiàn border in Mín. It is not a unique innovation in Southwestern Wú either. Several Jīnqú dialects also

[29] For a more comprehensive discussion of the differences between these groups, see Cáo et al. (2000, 28–43) and Cáo et al. (2016, 38–92). The features discussed here only include those that are unambiguously unique innovations of each subgroup.

share it. Therefore it is not a sufficient criterion for a genetic relationship between the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān groups.

At this stage of the study, it is enough to identify unique innovations for each of the three subgroups and defer discussion of their phylogeny until after the full reconstruction has been presented. The three groups are characterized by the following innovations:

(16) Development of CSWW *-ia, *-iə, *-iei, and *-i

CSWW	CJQ	CLS	CSS	≙ CDC	Examples
ia	ia	ia	**iə**	ia (+ *some* iai)	tsia⁵ 借, nia² 泥
iə	**i**	**ie**	**iə**	ie (+ *some* i)	tšiə³ 紙, liə² 驢
iei	ie	**ie**	ei	iai	šiei⁵ 世, ɗiei¹ 低
i	**i**	i	i; e/*Š_	i	dži² 遲, li⁶ 利

(17) Development of CSWW *-ɤ̃ and *-ɔ̃ after guttural initials

CSWW	CJQ	CLS	CSS	≙ CDC	Examples
ɤ̃	ɤ̃	ə̃	ɤ̃	om	kɤ̃³ 敢, ɦɤ̃² 含
ɔ̃	ɤ̃	uə̃	ɔ̃	on	kɔ̃¹ 肝, xɔ̃⁵ 漢

The syllable finals described in (16) merged in ways that are unique to each of the three branches. In the Shàngshān group CSWW *-ia and *-iə merged, but they remain distinct elsewhere. In both the Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ groups, CSWW *-iei simplified and became *-ie, but this was a parallel innovation. In the Lìshuǐ group, this development resulted in a merger with CSWW *-iə (which may have been realized as [ie]). In the Jīnqú group, *-iə had already monophthongized and merged with *-i before this change, so CSWW *-iei and *-iə remained as distinct final classes.

It should be noted that a subsequent development of CJQ/CLS *-ie into [-i] is common in both the Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ dialects. In the Lìshuǐ dialects in particular, there is a common chain shift of [-ie] → [-i] → [-ɿ] where the last development in the chain only plays out after sibilant initials.[30] This has led to a full collapse of the CSWW *-iə ≠ *-iei ≠ *-i distinction in syllables not beginning with sibilants, and obscures the unique innovations of each branch. For this reason, we need to appeal to the developments summarized in (17). In the Jīnqú dialects, CSWW *-ɔ̃ (≙ CDC *-on)

[30] In the Lóngquán dialect, [-ɿ] also somewhat remarkably developed after the zero initial. This phonotactic configuration is very unusual in Sinitic languages.

unrounded and merged with *-ɤ̃ (≙ CDC *-om) after guttural initials. In the Lìshuǐ dialects, CSWW *-ɔ̃ broke, developed a medial *-u-, and became *-uə̃ after guttural initials.

These developments alone are enough to distinguish all three branches, even in transitional cases. To demonstrate this, we shall use the Lóngyóu dialect, which has previously been classified as a Chǔqú dialect by Fú et al. (1986) and a Jīnqú dialect by Cáo (2002).[31] The first test is not conclusive because CSWW *-iə, *-iei, and *-i have merged:

(18) Development of CSWW *-iə, *-iei, and *-i in Lóngyóu

	紙	世	遲	驢	低	利
CSWW	tšiə³	šiei⁵	dži²	liə²	ɗiei¹	li⁶
Lóngyóu	tsɿ³	sɿ⁵	dzɿ²	li²	ti¹	li⁶

The second test results in Jīnqú affiliation:

(19) Development of CSWW *-ɔ̃ and *-ɤ̃ in Lóngyóu

	肝	敢	漢	含
CSWW	kɔ̃¹	kɤ̃³	xɔ̃⁵	ɦɤ̃²
Lóngyóu	kie¹	kie³	xei⁵	xei²

In these subgrouping tests, I have only posited one unique innovation for the Shàngshān group. Although this innovation alone is sufficient to identify all the Shàngshān dialects, it should be noted that they share several other distinctive innovations that clearly set them apart from the other two branches. Notably, a medial *-i- tends to develop between CSWW bilabial initials and back round vowels, e.g. CSWW *ɓɔŋ¹ 幫 'help' > CSS *piɑ̃¹, CSWW *bo² 婆 'matron' > CSS *biə².

[31]The Jìnyún 縉雲 dialect is another transitional dialect that has been previously sorted into both the Chǔqú and Jīnqú groups. Applying our subgrouping test to it produces an interesting result: the dialect spoken in the east country tests positively for Jīnqú affiliation because it merges CSWW *-ɔ̃ and *-ɤ̃ after guttural initials, but the other dialects spoken in Jìnyún county demonstrate the Lìshuǐ pattern. The following data is cited from Wú and Lóu (2012):

	肝	漢	敢	含
East country	kɛ¹	xɛ⁵	kɛ³	ɣɛ²
Other	kuɛ¹ ≍ kɛ¹	xuɛ⁵	kɛ³	ɣɛ²

漢 [xuɛ⁵] is explicitly noted as a county seat and west country pronunciation (Wú and Lóu 2012, 416).

1.4.3 Aims of the Reconstruction

The aim of this study is to reconstruct Common Southwestern Wú (CSWW), the common ancestor of the Southwestern Wú dialects, and two additional meso-level systems, Common Jīnqú (CJQ) and Common Lìshuǐ (CLS), to complement Akitani's Proto–Northwestern Chǔqú, which we call Common Shàngshān (CSS) to clarify its relation to the other meso-level systems. I chose to reconstruct the meso-level systems so as to help identify unique innovations among each of the three branches of Southwestern Wú and to more precisely document where archaic forms of words are attested among them. In each branch, reconstructed forms that are poorly attested are flagged with *!a*. See §1.6.2 for further discussion of the notation used in cognate sets.

I have decided to use the modifier "Common" rather than "Proto–" to describe the ancestor language. This choice is intended to signal clearly that the product is the oldest common ancestor recoverable with the comparative method, not the oldest theoretical stage of Wú or pre-Wú Chinese that may have existed. The descriptors "Proto–" and Chinese *yuánshǐ* 原始, literally 'Primitive' after Bloomfield (1933, 13), sometimes mislead readers to take phonological reconstructions to be the earliest known or conceivable stage of a group of languages, *sans* lexical layering, rather than a comparatively reconstructed common ancestor. This would be like equating Latin to Proto-Romance or the Early Jiāngdōng dialect to Proto-Wú. However, this choice requires one point of clarification. I must distinguish my use of the comparative method in this study from the methodology Y.R. Chao and Jerry Norman used to construct their Wúyīn (≈ Common Northern Wú) and Common Dialectal Chinese systems. In this study, I will not reduce QYS categories, but instead infer proto-phonemes from regular sound correspondences.

This study compares the dialects of the following points to reconstruct Common Southwestern Wú and the two meso-level systems:

(20) a. Jīnqú group

(i)	**Lóngyóu** Cty. Seat 龍游縣縣城	*Ly*	(Cáo et al. 2000)
(ii)	Urban **Jīnhuá** 金華市城裏	*Jh*	(Cáo et al. 2016)
(iii)	**Pǔjiāng** Cty. Seat 浦江縣縣城	*Pj*	″
(iv)	Wēishān Town, **Dōngyáng** Cty. 東陽縣巍山鎮	*Dy*	″
(v)	Xiàngzhū Town, **Yǒngkāng** City 康市象珠鎮	*Yk*	″
(vi)	Wángzhāi Town, **Wǔyì** Cty. 武義縣王宅鎮	*Wy*	″

b. Lìshuǐ group

(i)	**Suìchāng** Cty. Seat 遂昌縣縣城	*Sc*	(Cáo et al. 2000)
(ii)	Yùyán Town, **Sōngyáng** Cty. 松陽縣玉岩鎮	*Sy*	(Chéng 2019)
(iii)	Lóngyuān Town, **Lóngquán** Cty. 龍泉縣龍淵鎮	*Lq*	(Wáng 2015)
(iv)	**Yúnhé** Cty. Seat 雲和縣縣城	*Yh*	(Cáo et al. 2000)
(v)	**Qìngyuán** Cty. Seat 慶元縣縣城	*Qy*	″
(vi)	Nánpǔ Town, **Pǔchéng** Cty. 浦城縣南浦鎮	*Pc*	(Lǐ 2001b)

c. Shàngshān group, Common Shàngshān (CSS) = Proto–NW Chǔqú (Akitani 2003a)

(i)	**Kāihuà** Cty. Seat 開化縣縣城	*Kh*	(Cáo et al. 2000)
(ii)	**Chángshān** Cty. Seat 常山縣縣城	*Cs*	″
(iii)	**Jiāngshān** Cty. Seat 江山縣縣城	*Js*	(Akitani 2001)
(iv)	**Yùshān** Cty. Seat 玉山縣縣城	*Ys*	(Cáo et al. 2000)
(v)	**Guǎngfēng** Cty. Seat 廣豐縣縣城	*Gf*	(Akitani 2001)

1.5 The Dialects to be Compared—Sources and Phonological Synopsis

In this section, we summarize the syllable initials, finals, and tones of our twelve dialects together with the inventory of Akitani's (2003a) Proto–Northwestern Chǔqú (which we shall call Common Shàngshān and abbreviate as CSS). Transcriptions are adopted directly from the original sources in most cases, but some have been modified to better reflect phonetic values that will be pertinent to the reconstruction of CSWW. Phonotactic restrictions of homorganic syllable initials are indicated with formal notations of environment preceded by a cross "×".

Tone classes follow the CDC numbering scheme. As a convention, if a particular dialect does not distinguish the *yīn* 陰 and *yáng* 陽 registers of a QYS tone class, the tone is marked using the odd number for that class even if this results in a gap in the numerical sequence of tones. For example, the Jīnhuá dialect only has one register of the QYS *shàngshēng* tone class, so it is marked

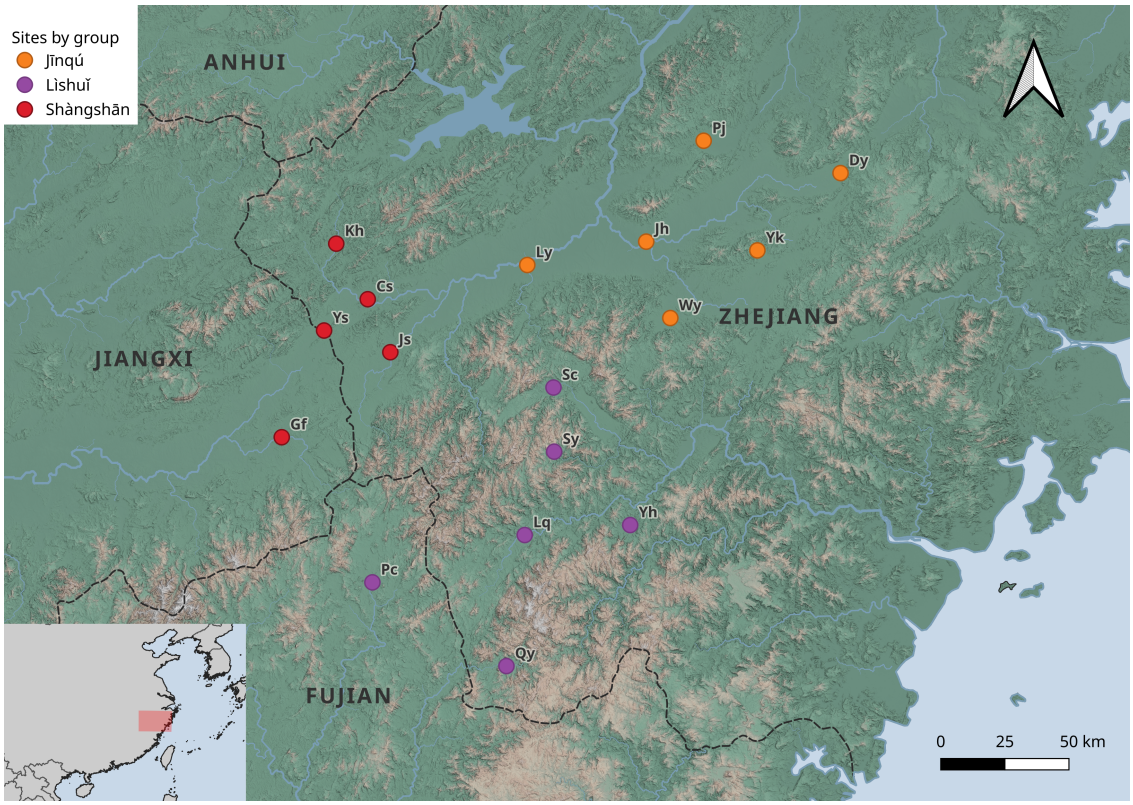


Figure 1.2: Southwestern Wú Dialect Points

with a “3”. There is no tone “4”. Where needed, tone contour values are written with Y.R. Chao’s 1–5 pitch-level system. Following Akitani Hiroyuki’s convention, contour values that result from tone sandhi or other phonological processes are written after a raised minus sign. These may be appended after tone classes, but where they cannot be unambiguously traced back to a single tone class they are written directly after the syllable, e.g. Jīnhuá [tɕia^{-33}ȵia^{-55}] ‘dirty’. Neutralized tones are written with “0”. In the synoptic tables below, only the tone values in isolation are cited. See the original sources for descriptions of sandhi.

At the beginning of each section, the source for the dialect data is provided. Where possible, the dialect site and names, genders, and birth years of the consultants are also given. If the survey mentions that a consultant was its primary reference, then a star is appended after the other information.

1.5.1 The Lóngyóu (Ly) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2000, 142–64)
Site:	浙江省龍游縣城龍游鎮[32]
	Lóngyóu tn., seat of Lóngyóu cty.
	29°02′01″N 119°10′29″E
Consultants:	Xú Qǐguāng 徐啓光 (m, 1925)★
	Zhèng Jīnyìn 鄭金印 (m, 1927)

Syllable Initials (28)

p	pʰ	b	m	f	v	×/_uV
t	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/_[+hi, +fr]
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ȵ	ɕ	ʑ	×/_[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		
Ø						

The velar initials pair with the final [-ie] but otherwise do not occur before high front vowels. In this environment they are pronounced almost as palatals, i.e. [k̟].

[33]Lóngyóu town was abolished in December 2005 and merged with Guāntán xiāng 官潭鄉 and other nearby administrative zones to create Lóngzhōu subdistrict (*jiēdaò* 街道). The coordinates given here are for the centroid of Lóngzhōu subdistrict.

Syllable Finals (37)

ɿ	i	u	y	ã	iã	uã	yã†
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ		əŋ	iŋ	uəŋ	yəŋ
ɛ	iɛ	uɛ		oŋ	ioŋ		
	ie		ye	əʔ	iəʔ	uəʔ	yəʔ
ei		uei		ɔʔ	iɔʔ	uɔʔ	
ɔ	iɔ			m			
əɯ	iəɯ			ŋ			

The final [-yã] is marginal. It only occurs in 養 [yã⁴] ‘raise, nurture’. A few words show traces of tone changes linked to *érhuà* diminutives, but the finals in these words do not differ from the underived forms.

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[434]	[21]	[45]	[213]	[52]	[231]	[5]	[23]

1.5.2 The Jīnhúa (Jh) dialect sound system

Source: Cáo et al. (2016, 95–136)
Site: 金華城裏
Urban area of Jīnhuá prefectural city, ZJ
29°06′29″N 119°38′58″E
Consultant: Sū Yùchán 蘇玉嬋 (f, 1927)

Syllable Initials (29)

p	pʰ	b	m	f	v	×/_uV
t	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/_y
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ȵ	ɕ	ʑ	×/_[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		×/_[+hi, +fr][-hi]
Ø					ɦ	

The voiced obstruent initials are realized as tenuis followed by breathy phonation, e.g. ⟦pɦ⟧, ⟦fɦ⟧, etc. Apart from [iu] (realized ⟦ɪu⟧), velar initials before finals with high front vowel nucle-

uses are marginal.

Syllable Finals (51)

ɿ	i	u	y	ɤ̃			
ɤ	ia			ã	iã	uã	yã
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ	yɑ	ɑŋ	iɑŋ	uɑŋ	yɑŋ
o				əŋ	iŋ	uəŋ	yəŋ
ɤ	ie	uɤ	yɤ	oŋ	ioŋ		
ɯ	iɛ			əʔ	iəʔ	uəʔ	yəʔ
ɛ	iɛ	uɛ	yɛ	oʔ	ioʔ		
ei		ui		əl			
ɑu	iɑu			m			
eu	iu			ŋ			

The underlined finals only occur in literary readings. Note that all the finals with nasalized vowels are of literary origin. However, nasalized vowels also occur in the finals of *érhuà* diminutive forms, to wit [ĩ, ỹ, ã, iã, uã].

Tones (7)

1	2	3	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[334]	[313]	[535]	[55]	[14]	[4]	[212]

1.5.3 The Pǔjiāng (Pj) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2016, 182–223)
Site:	浦江縣城浦陽鎮
	Pǔyáng tn., Pǔjiāng cty., ZJ
	29°27′12″N 119°54′10″E
Consultants:	Zhāng Xùliè 張序列 (m, 1945)★
	Zhāng Xiǎoyuán 張小元 (m, 1938)
	Wèi Zhīlín 魏之麟 (m, 1926)

Syllable Initials (32)

p	pʰ	b	m	f	v	×/__uV
t	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/__y
tʃ	tʃʰ	dʒ		ʃ	ʒ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ȵ	ɕ	ʑ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		×/__[+hi, +fr]
Ø						

Note that alveolar sibilants can occur before [i] but not [y]. However, the finals in which they occur before [i] are limited to just [-i] and [-iẽ].

Syllable Finals (46)

ɿ	i	u	y	ã	iã	uã	
			yi		iẽ		yẽ
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ	yɑ	ə̃			
a	ia	ua		ɛ̃		uɛ̃	
ɛ		uɛ		õ			yõ
o			yo	an	ian	uan	yan
ɤ	iɤ			ən	in	uən	yən
ə	iə	uə	yə	on			yon
ɯ			yɯ	m			
				n			

The underlined finals only occur in literary readings. [uɛ] is also mostly literary. Note that [-n] may be added freely after all the finals listed above except those that already end in [-n] to form *érhuà* diminutives. This includes finals with nasalized vowels, e.g. 鴨兒 [iɑn^{7}] ‘duck’ ≠ 燕兒 [iɑ̃n$^{5\text{-}53}$] ‘swallow (n., bird)’.

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[534]	[113]	[53]	[243]	[55]	[24]	[423]	[232]

Note that even though there are no stop codas, *rùshēng* is still an independent tone class.

1.5.4 The Dōngyáng (Dy) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2016, 223–58)
Site:	東陽市巍山鎮 Wēishān tn., Dōngyáng city, ZJ 29°19′16″N 120°25′49″E
Consultants:	Zhào Mèngyún 趙孟云 (m, 1925) Zhào Shìkuí 趙士夔 (m, 1934) Zhào Jīnchāng 趙金昌 (m, 1936) Zhào Jīnbǎo 趙金寶 (m, 1943)

Syllable Initials (28 + 1)

p	pʰ	b	m	f	v	
t	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/__iV
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ȵ	ɕ	ʑ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		×/__[+hi, +fr]
ʔ					Ø	

The labial initials occur before [-uo] but otherwise do not pair with prevocalic [u]. The alveolar sibilants occur before nuclear [i] in the final [-i]. Glottal stop is treated as an allophone of the zero initial in the original description because they are in complementary distribution. Glottal stop only occurs with *yīn* register tones, and zero only occurs with *yáng* register tones. We will treat them as separate initials here.

Syllable Finals (49)

ɿ	i	u	iʉ	an	ian	uan	iʉan
		ʮ		ən	ien	uən	iʉən
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ		om	iom		
ɛ		uɛ		ɚ			
ʌ	iʌ	uʌ			iʔ		
e		ue		ɜʔ	iəʔ	uɑʔ	
ɤ		uo				uoʔ	iʉoʔ
ʊ	iʊ			eiʔ		ueiʔ	
ei	iei	uei		ouʔ	iouʔ		
ɑu	iɑu			m	n		
əɯ	iəɯ						

The nine underlined finals only occur in literary readings. *Érhuà* diminutives are formed by deleting consonant codas, if present, and adding [-n] to finals . Diphthongs ending in [-i], [-u] and [-ɯ] are not affected by coda deletion. In addition to these rules, the following finals exhibit changes in vowel quality when in *érhuà* diminutives.

ɑ → an	iɑ → ian	uɑ → uan
ɛ → an~ɛn		
ən → ein		
ɜʔ → an	iəʔ → ian~iɛn	uɑʔ → uan

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[445]	[312]	[55]	[35]	[423]	[324]	[45]	[324]

1.5.5 The Yǒngkāng (Yk) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2016, 294–338)
Site:	浙江永康市象珠鎮明星村
	Míngxīng vlg., Xiàngzhū tn., Yǒngkāng cty-level city, ZJ
	29°03′57″N 120°05′40″E
Consultants:	Zhào Bǎoyuán 趙寶源 (m, 1929)
	Zhào Chángshēng 趙長生 (m, 1942)

Syllable Initials (28 + 4)

ʔb	pʰ	b	ʔm	m	f	v	
ʔd	tʰ	d	ʔn	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz			s	z	×/__[+hi, +fr]
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ʔɲ	ɲ	ɕ	ʑ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ʔŋ	ŋ	x		
Ø							

The nasal series are in complementary distribution. The pre-glottalized nasals occur with *yīn* register tones and the plain nasals with *yáng* register tones. I have separated them for consistency since the plain/pre-glottalized obstruents are also in complementary distribution with the voiced obstruents when accounting for tone register.

Syllable Finals (37)

ɿ	i	u	y	əi		uəi	
	ĭa†			əɯ	iəɯ		
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ	ў̆ɑ		iu		
ə	ĭə	ŭə	ў̆ə	aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	yaŋ
ɤə	iə	uə	yə	əŋ	ieiŋ	uəŋ	yeiŋ
ɒ	iɒ			ɔŋ	iɔŋ		
ai		uai		ŋ			

[-ĭa] only occurs in three morphemes. Yǒngkāng has lost glottal stop codas and the *rùshēng* tones 7 and 8, but still partially maintains a contrast using moraic length. Above, the vowels marked with the breve diacritic do not carry moraic weight. Prominence falls on the latter vowel of the diphthong. Akitani describes the component vowels of the unmarked diphthongs as occurring with about equal durations; in narrow transcription he writes [ĭə, iə] → ⟦iəː, iˑəˑ⟧. Akitani did not mark the short first elements of [-ĭa] and [-ў̆ɑ] explicitly in the main text. I have restored it here for clarity and because the contrast of [-ĭa] and [-iɑ] could be reanalyzed as a length distinction.

Tones (6)

1	2	3	4	5	6	*7	*8	
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*	
[45]	[33]	[545]	[323]	[54]	[14]	(> 3)	(> 4)	*word final*
[44]	[33]	[42]	(> 6)	(> 1)	[11]	(> 1)	(> 2)	*non-final*
	(> 6/_2,6)	(> 6/_5)						

The *rùshēng* tones, *7 and *8, have merged with the *shàngshēng* tones, 3 and 4, in word-final position. However, tones *7 and *8 are still distinct from *shàngshēng* non-finally, because in that environment they merged with the *píngshēng* tones 1 and 2.[33] In the main text, we will primarily write historical tones *7 and *8 as 3 and 4 to maintain consistency with Akitani's Yǒngkāng syllabary.

1.5.6 The Wǔyì (Wy) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2016, 339–79)
Site:	浙江省武義縣王宅鎮馬昴村
	Mǎ'mǎo vlg., Wángzhái tn., Wǔyì cty., ZJ
	28°50′08″N 119°44′17″E
Consultants:	Wáng Jūnzhēn 王軍貞 (m, 1930)★
	Wáng Défù 王德富 (m, 1932)

Syllable Initials (28 + 4)

p	pʰ	b	ʔm	m	f	v		
t	tʰ	d	ʔn	n			l	
ts	tsʰ	dz			s	z		×/__[+hi, +fr]
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ʔɳ	ɳ	ɕ	ʑ		×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ʔŋ	ŋ	x			×/__[+hi, +fr]
							Ø	
3,5,7	1,3,5,7	1	3,5,7	1	3,5,7	1	1,3,5,7	**yīn* tones
2,4		6,8		2,4,6,8	2,4	6,8	2,4,6,8	**yáng* tones

[33]Note that the modern allophonic non-final realizations presented here are my own interpretation. In the original description, the authors do not comment on whether they believe tone sandhi in Yǒngkāng is a synchronic or diachronic process. In my opinion, sandhi rules that involve changes in tone class, i.e. merger of historical tones in non-final position, should be understood as diachronic sound changes in Yǒngkāng.

Unlike most of the other dialects under comparison, the *yīn–yáng* register system of CDC does not map neatly to voiceless/pre-glottalized versus voiced obstruents in Wy. The nasal initials are also split into complementary sets of tones that do not correspond neatly to the *yīn* and *yáng* registers. In the original source, the voicing of obstruent initials was written to reflect CDC registers to aid comparison with other dialects. The two nasal initial sets were not distinguished. In the summary of initials here, I have added the tone classes that each column initial co-occurs with. However, in the rest of this study, we will otherwise follow the original description in regularizing the laryngeal settings of the obstruents to match CDC register. This is to aid cross-referencing of the original syllabary.

Note that initial [t-] normally only occurs with tone 2. It does not occur with tones 3 and 5 at all and only occurs with tone 7 once in reading pronunciation for the Mandarin attributive particle 的.

Syllable Finals (49)

ɿ	i	u	y	aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	yaŋ
a	ia	ua		en	in	uen	yin
		uɑ	yɑ	ɔŋ	iɔŋ		
ɔ†				aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ	
ɤ	ie	uo	ye			uɑʔ	yɑʔ†
ɯ†				ɔʔ	iɔʔ		
ɑo	iɑo			əʔ	iəʔ	uəʔ	yəʔ
iu	ui			ɤʔ†	ieʔ	uoʔ	yeʔ†
				ɑoʔ	iɑoʔ		
				m†	n	l†	

The finals marked with daggers occur in five or fewer morphemes each.

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[24]	[423~]	[445]	[334]	[53]	[31]	[5]	[3]

Note that tone 1 starts low and tone 2 starts high. This reflects an exchange in register. They

pair with voiced and voiceless obstruent initials respectively in the modern language. However, the aspirates still follow their original tonal distribution.

1.5.7 The Suìchāng (Sc) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2000, 165–90)
Site:	浙江省遂昌縣城妙高鎮 Miàogāo tn., seat of Suìchāng cty., ZJ 28°35′59″N 119°15′57″E
Consultants:	Xú Yuánzhāng 徐元章 (m, 1924)★ Yè Shēn 葉莘 (m, 1930)

Syllable Initials (28)

ʔb	pʰ	b	m	f	v	
ʔd	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/__[+hi, +fr]
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ɲ	ɕ	ʑ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		×/__[+hi, +fr]
Ø						

The initials [ʔb-] and [ʔd-] are weakly pre-glottalized but were transcribed broadly as [p-] and [t-] in the original source. I have restored this phonetic detail.

Syllable Finals (53)

ɿ	i	u	y	ã	iẽ	uã	yã
ɿɤ	iu			aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	yaŋ†
a		ua		əŋ	iɪŋ	uəŋ	yɪŋ
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ		ɔŋ	iɔŋ		
ɤ	ie	uɤ	yɤ		iuʔ	uʔ†	
ei		uei			iɪʔ		yɪʔ
ɐɯ	iɐɯ		yɐɯ†	aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ	yaʔ†
ɤɯ	iɯ			eʔ	ieʔ	ueʔ	yeʔ
				ɔʔ	iɔʔ	uɔʔ†	
				əɯʔ			
				n†			

The finals marked with a following dagger are marginal. Each occurs in five or fewer character readings. *Érhuà* diminutives are formed by suffixing [-ɲie²] directly to morphemes. This process does not affect syllable finals, and tone changes follow the same sandhi rules that govern the formation of other prosodic words.

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[55]	[221]	[52]	[13]	[334]	[212]	[5]	[23]

1.5.8 The Sōngyáng (Sy) dialect sound system

Source:	Chéng (2019)
Site:	浙江省松陽縣玉岩鎮
	Yùyán tn., Sōngyáng cty., ZJ
	28°22′26″N 119°16′04″E
Consultants:	Yè Yuǎnshēng 葉遠生 (m, 1958)

Syllable Initials (28 + 2)

ʔb	p	pʰ	b	m	f	v	
ʔd	t	tʰ	d	n		l	
	ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/__y
	tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ɲ	ɕ	ʑ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
	k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		×/__y
	Ø						

The alveolar sibilant and velar initial series do not normally occur before [i]. The only exceptions are 幾 ‘how many’ [ki³], 個 CLF [ki⁵], 竅 ‘cavity’ [kʰiʌ⁵], 窗 ‘window’ [tsʰioŋ¹], and 創 ‘create’ [tsʰioŋ⁵].

Syllable Finals (59)

ɿ	i	u	y	æ	iɛ̃	uɛ̃	yɛ̃		iʔ		yʔ
a		ua		ɔ̃		uɔ̃		aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ†	
ɛ				en	in	uen		ɛʔ	iɛʔ	uɛʔ†	yɛʔ
e		ue		aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ		eʔ†			
ʌ	iʌ			əŋ	iəŋ			əʔ		uəʔ	
ɔ	iɔ			oŋ	ioŋ			ɔʔ		uɔʔ	
ɤ†								oʔ	ioʔ	uoʔ†	
o†	io	uo						ɯʔ		uɯʔ†	
ɯ	iɯ	uɯ						m†			
	iu†							n†			
ei											

The finals marked with daggers occur in five or fewer character readings. [-ɤ] is in near-complementary distribution with [-ɯ].

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[55]	[52]	[213]	[22]	[24]	[13]	[5]	[23]

1.5.9 The Lóngquán (Lq) dialect sound system

Source: Wáng (2012, 2015)[34]
Site: 浙江省龍泉縣龍淵鎮
Lóngyuān tn., Lóngquán cty., ZJ
28°4′24.888′′N 119°8′2.544′′E
Consultants: Xú Lóngnián 徐龍年 (m, 1943)

---

[35]Wáng (2012) contains a curated lexicon of the Lóngquán dialect and Wáng (2015) contains a syllabary of 2516 characters. The first work puts the dialect under description in Lōngyuān town on a map in the front matter, but does not provide any details about the consultant or when the data was collected. Wáng (2015) provides no details about the Lóngquán dialect described in that work at all, but the summary of the sound system matches Wáng (2012). In the appendices of Wáng (2008, 250) a consultant is named for the Lōngyuān town dialect. I surmise that this is probably the same consultant that provided the data in the 2012 and 2015 books.

Syllable Initials (28)

ʔb	pʰ	b	m	f	v	
ʔd	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ɲ	ɕ	ʑ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		

Wáng (2012, 3) describes [ʔb-] and [ʔd-] as weakly pre-glottalized and transcribes them as [p-] and [t-] elsewhere in the book. I have decided to use the pre-glottalized transcription instead. The [ts] and [k]-series initials are marginal before high front vowels. Syllables of this type have arisen from recent sound changes.

Syllable Finals (54)

ɿ	i	u	y	aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ		ɿʔ	iʔ	uʔ	yʔ
a		ua		əŋ	iəŋ	uəŋ		aʔ	iaʔ		
o	io	uə	yə	ɛiŋ	iŋ	uɛiŋ	yŋ	ɛʔ	iɛʔ		
ɛ	iɛ	uɛ	yɛ†	ɔŋ	iɔŋ			əʔ		uəʔ	yəʔ
ɤ		ui						ɔʔ			
əu									iuʔ†		
ɑɔ	iɑɔ							ɛiʔ		uɛiʔ	
ɤɯ	iɯ	uɯ						ɔuʔ	iɔuʔ		
								əɯʔ	iɯʔ		
				ŋ				ŋʔ			

The table above follows the description found in Wáng (2015, 4). Wáng (2012) omits the final [-iəŋ] and combines [ŋʔ] with [ŋ]. [-yɛ] and [-iuʔ] are marginal. Each occurs in only one syllable.

Tones (7)

1	2	3	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[335]	[211]	[53]	[45]	[13]	[5̲4̲]	[2̲3̲]

1.5.10 The Yúnhé (Yh) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2000, 190–217)
Site:	浙江省雲和縣城雲和鎮 Yúnhé tn., seat of Yúnhé cty., ZJ[35] 28°06′41″N 119°33′43″E
Consultants:	Sūn Bǎochū 孫葆初 (m, 1935) Gāo Bǎolián 高寶璉 (f, 1930) Zhōu Wénbīn 周文斌 (m, 1928)★

Syllable Initials (28)

ʔb	pʰ	b	m	f	v	
ʔd	tʰ	d	n		l	
ts	tsʰ	dz		s	z	×/__[+hi, +fr]
tʃ	tʃʰ	dʒ	ɲ	ʃ	ʒ	×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kʰ	g	ŋ	x		×/__iC,iV; ×/__y

Cáo et al. took consultant Zhōu's pronunciation as their primary reference because his was the most conservative. He pronounced [ʔb-] and [ʔd-] as weakly pre-glottalized or prenasalized (i.e. ⟦ᵐp-⟧, ⟦ⁿt-⟧), but these initials were broadly transcribed as [p-] and [t-] in the main text of the survey. I have elected to restore this phonetic detail. The velar initials pair with the final [-i] but otherwise do not occur before high front vowels.

---

[36] Yúnhé town was abolished in September 2011 and split into four subdistricts (*jiēdaò* 街道). I do not know which of these subdistricts the consultants were natives of because they did not exist at the time of the survey. The coordinates listed here are for Fúyún 浮雲 subdistrict.

Syllable Finals (49)

ɿ	i	u	y	ã	iã	uã	
a				ɔ̃	iɔ̃		
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ		əŋ	iŋ	uəŋ	yɪŋ
o	io			oŋ	ioŋ		
ɛ	ie	uɛ	yɛ		iʔ		
ei		uei		aʔ		uaʔ	
ɑɔ	iɑɔ			ɑʔ	iɑʔ	uɑʔ	
əu	iu			oʔ	ioʔ		
				ɛʔ	ieʔ	uɛʔ	yɛʔ
				eiʔ		ueiʔ	yeiʔ
				əuʔ	iɯʔ		
				m			
				ŋ			

The underlined final [-iɑ] is only found in literary readings. Some oral finals alternate with nasal-ending finals in *érhuà* diminutives.

i → iŋ ie → iŋ iu → ioŋ o → ɔ̃

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[324]	[423]	[53]	[21]	[55]	[223]	[5]	[24]

1.5.11 The Pǔchéng (Pc) dialect sound system

Sources:	Norman (1969, 38–40, 1987)
	Lǐ (2001b, 502–14)
Site:	福建省浦城縣城南浦鎮
	Nánpǔ tn., seat of Pǔchéng cty., FJ
	27°55′24″N 118°32′00″E
Consultants:	Hú Bāngcén (m)
	Anonymous

The Pǔchéng dialect has received less documentation than the other dialects under comparison. Lǐ's study is the most complete with a full syllabary and partial lexicon. Norman (1969)

provided single pronunciations for roughly 500 Chinese characters. Here, we follow mostly Norman's (1987) analysis of the Pǔchéng dialect sound system. Where it differs from Lǐ's analysis, Lǐ's transcription is written after a slash. The subset of Lǐ's initials and finals that I have underlined are adopted instead of Norman's. In addition to these sources, I also consult the lexicon of Pǔchéng dialect compiled by Jiǎng and Jiǎng (2004, 2005). They use yet another transcription system that is not comprehensively described.

Syllable Initials (19)

p	ph / pʻ	m	f		×/__uV
t	th / tʻ	n		l	
ts	tsh / tsʻ		s		×/__[+hi, +fr]
ts / <u>tɕ</u>	tsh / <u>tɕʻ</u>		s / <u>ɕ</u>		×/__[-hi, -fr]
k	kh / kʻ	ŋ	x		
Ø					

Norman wrote aspiration with a plain ⟨h⟩ after initial consonants. I will write it with IPA raised ⟨ʰ⟩ in the main text. I have adopted Lǐ's practice of writing the alveolo-palatal sibilant initials explicitly even though they are in complementary distribution with the alveolar sibilant initials so that their transcription matches the other dialects in this study better.

Syllable Finals (33)

ï / <u>ɿ</u>	i	u	y	ɚ / —
e	ie	ue	ye	
a / ɑ	ia / iɑ	ua / uɑ	ya / yɑ	
o / ou	iu	uo		
ai / a		uai / ua		
au / ɑo	iau / iɑo			
eŋ / ẽi	ieŋ / iẽi	ueŋ / uẽi	yeŋ / yẽi	(oŋ) / <u>ŋ</u>
ãi	iãi	uãi	yãi	
aŋ / ãu	iaŋ / iãu			
oŋ / ouŋ	ioŋ / iuŋ			

Norman described his *-ï* as [ʐ̩]. I have opted for Lǐ's transcription of this final to maintain consistency with the other transcriptions in this study. The most interesting differences are the

codas, particularly [-i]. Norman (1987, 323) remarked, "In *ai* [the vowel *a*] is fronted; the second element of this diphthong is very weak, even to the point of disappearing altogether in some cases." Lǐ's anonymous consultant evidently pronounced it as a monophthong and had a phonemic contrast of front [a] and back [ɑ]. I consider this pronunciation to be innovative.

Tones (7)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*rùshēng*
[35]	[24/213]	[55/44]	[54]	[12/423]	[11/21]	[43/32]

Note that Norman's consultant pronounced the contours of tones 2 and 5 as rising instead of as fall-rises. The other pitch-level discrepancies are trivial.

1.5.12 The Qìngyuán (Qy) dialect sound system

Source:	Cáo et al. (2000, 218–51)
Site:	浙江省慶元縣城松源鎮
	Sōngyuán tn., seat of Qìngyuán cty., ZJ[36]
	27°37′26″N 119°03′53″E
Consultants:	Wú Gāozī 吳高姿 (f, 1940)★
	Yáo Tíngzhōu 姚廷周 (m, 1928)
	Yáo Tóngdé 姚同德 (m, 1934)

Syllable Initials (22)

ʔb	p	pʰ	m	f		×/_uV
ʔd	t	tʰ	n		l	
	ts	tsʰ		s		×/_[+hi, +fr]
	tɕ	tɕʰ	ȵ	ɕ		×/_[-hi, -fr]
	k	kʰ	ŋ	x		×/_[+hi, +fr]
	Ø					

[37]Sōngyuán town was restructured into Méngzhōu subdistrict 濛洲街道 in December 2010.

Syllable Finals (57 + 4)

ɿ	i	u	y		ĩ				iʔ	uʔ	yʔ†
ɑ	iɑ	uɑ	yɑ†	ã	iɛ̃	uã	yɛ̃	ɑʔ	iɑʔ	uɑʔ	yɑʔ†
o	io			õ	iõ	uõ		oʔ	ioʔ		
ɤ	ie	uɤ	ye	ɔ̃	iɔ̃			ɤʔ	ieʔ	uɤʔ	yeʔ
ai		uai		ɪŋ	ieŋ			əɯʔ	iəɯʔ	uəɯʔ†	yəɯʔ
ɒ	iɒ			əŋ	iəŋ	uəŋ	yəŋ		iɯʔ		
ɐɯ	iɯ			oŋ	ioŋ			ŋ			

Additional finals derived from N-diminutives (i.e. *érhuà* 兒化):

ɒ → ɒ̃ iɒ → iɒ̃ y → yiŋ ai → aiŋ

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*
[334]	[52]	[33]	[221]	[11]	[31]	[5]	[34]

1.5.13 The Common Shàngshān (CSS) sound system

Syllable Initials (29)

1.	p	2.	p^h	3.	b	4.	m	5.	f	6.	v
7.	t	8.	t^h	9.	d	10.	n			11.	l
12.	ts	13.	ts^h	14.	dz			15.	s	16.	z
17.	tɕ	18.	$tɕ^h$	19.	dʑ	20.	ɳ	21.	ɕ	22.	ʑ
23.	k	24.	k^h	25.	g	26.	ŋ	27.	x		
28.	ʔ									29.	ɦ

×/__[+hi, +fr]	
×/__[-fr]; ×/__æ	

The alveolar and alveolo-palatal sibilant series only contrast before the nucleus [-e-] in the finals [-ei] and [-eu].

Syllable Finals (77 – 2)

~~1. i~~ 2. i 3. u 4. yi

Continued on next page

(Continued)

5.	ɑ			6.	uɑ		
7.	ɑi			8.	uɑi	9.	yɑi
10.	ɑu	11.	iɑu				
				12.	ua		
13.	e	14.	ie†				
15.	ei			~~16.~~	~~uei~~		
17.	eu	18.	ieu				
19.	ə	20.	iə	21.	uə	22.	yə
23.	əi			24.	uəi	25.	yəi
26.	əu	27.	iəu				
28.	o			29.	uo		
30.	oi						
31.	ɨŋ	32.	iŋ			33.	yiŋ
34.	ɑ̃	35.	iɑ̃	36.	uɑ̃		
37.	ɒ̃	38.	iɒ̃				
				39.	uã		
40.	æ̃			41.	uæ̃		
42.	ẽ	43.	iẽ†	44.	uẽ	45.	yẽ
46.	ə̃	47.	iə̃	48.	uə̃	49.	yə̃
50.	ʌ̃						
51.	õ	52.	iõ				
53.	oŋ	54.	ioŋ				
55.	ɨʔ	56.	iʔ			57.	yʔ
58.	ɑʔ	59.	iɑʔ	60.	uɑʔ†		
61.	ɒʔ	62.	iɒʔ				
				63.	uaʔ†		
64.	æʔ			65.	uæʔ†		
66.	eʔ†	67.	ieʔ†	68.	ueʔ†	69.	yeʔ
70.	əʔ	71.	iəʔ			72.	yəʔ
73.	ʌʔ						

Continued on next page

(Continued)

74.	ɔʔ	75.	iɔʔ†
76.	oʔ	77.	ioʔ

Finals with a trailing dagger are marginal; they are attested in five or fewer character readings. The struck through finals each involve only two cognate sets each and are better analyzed as cases of doublets. They may be eliminated from the system entirely. In addition to these changes, final 24 *-uəi must be split into *-uəi and #-uei, and final 53 *-oŋ must be split into *-oŋ and #-m̥ to handle two sound correspondences that Akitani originally treated as irregular.

Oral Finals (1–30) Final 1 *-ɨ corresponds to doublet pronunciations involving finals 13 *-e and 19 *-ə. In (21), my revised reconstructions are marked with a preceding "#". Notice also that the correspondences for final 13 do not strongly support a front unrounded vowel in the proto-language. Unconditioned rounding of front vowels is unusual, so it is implausible that it would have occurred in both Kāihuà and Jiāngshān. This probably resulted from the simplification of a diphthong, perhaps like the Kāihuà reflex. This observation also applies to the other finals in CSS with the vocalism *e, but for now we will leave Akitani's reconstructed value as is and revisit the issue at the level of CSWW.

	CSS	Kāihuà	Chángshān	Jiāngshān	Yùshān	Guǎngfēng	
(21)	***e**	**ui**	**i**	**ø**	**e**	**e**	
	*tɕe³	tsui³~tsɿ³	tsi³	tɕø³	tse³	tse³	指 'finger'
	***ə**	**ə**	**ə**	**ə**	**ə**	**ɿə**	
	*sə³	sə³	sə³	sə³	sə³	sɿə³	死 'to die'
	#zə⁶	zə² ǃt	zə⁻³⁴	sə⁻³³	zə⁶	—	蒔 'to transplant'[37]
	#tsʰə³ ~	tsʰə³ ~	tsʰə³	tsʰə³	tsʰə³	—	齒 'tooth'
	#tɕʰe³	tsʰui³	—	—	—	tsʰe³	

Final 14 *-ie is marginal and only occurs in two CSS etyma, 剚 *pʰie¹ 'to skin' and 磨 *mie² 'to grind' (22). The latter appears to alternate with a doublet pronunciation involving final 20 *-iə.

[38]Note that without the Guǎngfēng reflex, Akitani was not able to reconstruct *-ɨ with certainty. He chose that reconstruction because 齒 and 蒔 belong to the same QYS rime series *-i* 之止志.

Furthermore, final 14's sound correspondence is very close to final 13 *-e. It might be possible to eliminate it completely from the CSS sound system, but we will retain it for now and revisit the issue when we examine its reflexes in the Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ dialects.

	CSS	Kāihuà	Chángshān	Jiāngshān	Yùshān	Guǎngfēng	
(22)	***iə**	**ie**	**ie**	**iə**	**ie**	**ie**	
	*miə^{6}	mie^{6}	mie^{6}	miə^{6}	mie^{6}	mie^{6}	磨$_{n}$ 'millstone'
	***e**	**i**	**i**	**ø**	**e**	**e**	
	*pe^{5}	pi^{5}	pi^{5}	pø^{5}	pe^{5}	pe^{5}	閉 'to shut'
	***ie**	**ɛ**	**i**	**iə**	**e**	**i**	
	*p^{h}ie^{1}	p^{h}ɛ^{1} 剖	p^{h}i^{1}	p^{h}iə^{1}	p^{h}e^{1}	p^{h}i^{1}	剝 'to skin'
	*mie^{2} ~	mɛ^{2}	mi^{2}	{miə^{2}}	me^{2}	—	磨$_{v}$ 'to grind'
	#miə^{2}	—	—	{miə^{2}}	—	mie^{2}	

Final 16 *-uei corresponds to doublet pronunciations involving finals 15 *-ei, 23 *-əi, and 24 *-uəi. Loss of -u- after coronal initials and subsequent repair by lexical diffusion has also led to doublets involving finals 23 and 24. See (23) for examples of revised reconstructions. CSS 犁 #luəi^{2} ~ #ləi^{2} 'plow' and 替 #t^{h}uəi^{5} ~ #t^{h}ei^{5} 'to replace' were the only etyma that Akitani reconstructed with final 15.

	CSS	Kāihuà	Chángshān	Jiāngshān	Yùshān	Guǎngfēng	
(23)	***ei**	**e**	**e**	**ɛ**	**ɐi**	**i**	
	*dei^{6}	de^{6}	de^{6}	dɛ^{6}	dɐi^{6}	di^{6}	遞 'to send'
	***əi**	**ɛ**	**e**	**ɛ**	**ɐi**	**ɐi**	
	*dəi	dɛ^{6}	de^{6}	dɛ^{6}	dɐi^{6}	dɐi^{6}	袋 'bag'
	***uəi**	**e**	**ue (~e)**	**uɛ (~ɛ)**	**uɐi**	**uɐi**	
	*t^{h}uəi	t^{h}e^{3}	t^{h}ue^{3}	t^{h}uɛ^{3}	t^{h}uɐi^{3}	t^{h}uɐi^{3}	腿 'leg'
	*t^{h}uəi^{1} ~	{t^{h}e^{1}}	—	—	t^{h}uɐi^{1}	t^{h}uɐi^{1}	梯 'ladder'
	#t^{h}(e,ə)i^{1}	{t^{h}e^{1}}	t^{h}e^{1}	t^{h}ɛ^{1}	—	—[38]	
	#luəi^{2} ~	le^{2}	lue^{2}	—	—	—	犁 'plow'
	#ləi^{2}	—	—	lɛ^{2}	lɐi^{2}	lɐi^{2}	
	#t^{h}uəi^{5} ~	{t^{h}e^{5}}	t^{h}ue^{5}	—	—	—	替 'to replace'
	#t^{h}ei^{5}	{t^{h}e^{5}}	—	t^{h}ɛ^{5}	t^{h}ɐi^{5}	t^{h}i^{5}	

[39]Without the Guǎngfēng form, we cannot be sure that the final is *-ei. The Kāihuà reflex is a regular outcome of

Finally, in a few instances of words which Akitani reconstructed with final 24 *-uəi, Kāihuà, Yùshān, and Guǎngfēng exhibit reflexes with higher main vowels than expected. These must be handled as a separate proto-final #-uei. This final frequently varies with final 4 *-yi in stylistic doublets which probably led Akitani to conclude that the higher reflexes were later intrusions that do not reconstruct back to CSS. However, the pattern occurs with enough frequency that we must account for it. As we will later see, it has regular reflexes in the other branches of Southwestern Wú.

	CSS	Kāihuà	Chángshān	Jiāngshān	Yùshān	Guǎngfēng	
(24)	***uəi**	**ue**	**ue**	**uɛ**	**uɐi**	**uɐi**	
	*ɦuəi^{6}	ue^{6}	ue^{6}	uɛ^{6}	uɐi^{6}	uɐi^{6}	會 ‘meeting’
	***yi**	**y**	**y**	**y**	**y**	**y**	
	*ʔy^{3}	y^{3}	y^{3}	y^{3}	y^{3}	—	永 ‘water’
	#uei	**ui**	**ue**	**uɛ**	**uei**	**ui**	
	#ɦuei^{6} ~	ui	ue	uɛ	uei	ui^{6}	位 ‘position’
	#ɦyi$^{?}$	—	y^{-0}	—	—	—	
	#k^{h}uei^{1} ~	k^{h}ui^{1}	—	k^{h}uɛ^{1}	{k^{h}uei^{1}}	k^{h}ui^{1}	虧 ‘lose out’
	*k^{h}yi^{1}	tɕ^{h}y^{1}	tɕ^{h}y^{1}	—	{k^{h}uei^{1}}	k^{h}y^{1}	
	#k^{h}uei^{3} ~	—	—	—	{k^{h}uei^{3}}	k^{h}ui^{3}	跪 ‘kneel’
	*k^{h}yi^{3}	tɕ^{h}y^{3}	tɕ^{h}y^{3}	k^{h}y^{3}	{k^{h}uei^{3}}	k^{h}y^{3}	

Akitani (Akitani 2003a, 59) originally handled the [-ui] reflexes in Guǎngfēng as the regular outcome of CSS *-yi after *ɦ-, but it is unclear why such an environment would motivate backing of the main vowel. Moreover, the environment is extremely narrow and accounts for fewer than a dozen common words. The more likely explanation is that the Guǎngfēng [-ui] reflexes replaced earlier *[-y]. Akitani used a similar strategy to account for Yùshān [-uei] after velar stops and *ɦ- (but not *ʔ-). I tentatively accept the conditioned change after velars but reject it after *ɦ- for the same reasons that I reject the Guǎngfēng correspondence.

Nasal Finals (31–54) Final 43 *-iẽ only differs from final 32 *-iŋ by its reflex in Jiāngshān. Akitani reconstructed it for just two etyma (25), both of which are problematic. The first of these, CSS 鯽

*-ei, but this reflex might also have descended from *-uəi. I’ve marked this with curly braces {…}.

魚 *tsiẽʔŋə² ‘carp’ probably resulted from assimilation of an original glottal stop coda in the first syllable to the velar nasal initial of the second syllable.[39] This change would help explain the seemingly irregular non-final tone correspondences. The second, CSS 蠅蒼～ ‘fly (n.)’ *ɕie¹ has an irregular tone correspondence in Jiāngshān. Because of this, the reflex could be interpreted as irregular and the entire set could be rejected. We will revisit this issue later because it is pertinent to a distinction between two finals in PSWW that have merged as CSS *-iŋ. 蠅 ‘fly (n.)’ is the only exception.

		CSS	Kāihuà	Chángshān	Jiāngshān	Yùshān	Guǎngfēng
(25)		***iẽ**	iŋ	**ɪŋ**	**iɛ̃**	**ɪŋ**	**eiŋ**
	鯽魚	*tsiẽʔŋə²	tɕieʔ⁷ŋe²	tsɪŋ⁻⁴²ŋə²	tɕiɛ̃⁻⁴³ŋə²	dzɪŋ⁻²²ŋə²	tseiŋ⁻⁴²ŋɤ²
	蠅蒼～	*ɕie¹	ɕiŋ¹	sɪŋ¹	ɕiɛ̃⁵ !t	sɪŋ¹	seiŋ¹
		***iŋ**	iŋ	**ɪŋ**	**iŋ**	**ɪŋ**	**eiŋ**
	星	*ɕiŋ¹	ɕiŋ¹	sɪŋ¹	ɕiŋ¹	sɪŋ¹	seiŋ¹

Glottal Finals (55–77) There are several marginal glottal finals, but this is because of the relative dearth of syllables with these finals in Wú Chinese compared to syllables with oral and nasal finals. The ones with nasal final counterparts are unproblematic. Like final 43 *-iẽ, final 67 *-ieʔ is only reconstructed for two etyma: CSS ‘to eat’ *tieʔ⁷ and 跌 ‘to stumble’ *tieʔ⁷. However, unlike final 43, the sound correspondences for final 67 clearly necessitate the reconstruction of a separate final. As such, we will accept it as is.

Tones (8)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
yīnpíng	*yángpíng*	*yīnshàng*	*yángshàng*	*yīnqù*	*yángqù*	*yīnrù*	*yángrù*

[39]Note that 鯽 is a *rùshēng* syllable in CDC, i.e. *tsik⁷.

1.6 Conventions and Methodology

1.6.1 Format of the Sound Correspondence Tables

Tables of syllable initials, finals, and tones are provided at the beginning of the discussion of each of these reconstructed elements. In these tables and the main text, hyphens are used to mark "initial-", "-medial-", and "-final". Tones and elements that occur in other positions (nucleuses, codas, etc.) are not written with hyphens in the tables. For each cell in the table, the modern reflexes are given for the common phoneme. Conditioned reflexes are separated with semicolons and the environment is written immediately afterward. In lists of conditioned reflexes, the first reflex with no environment is to be understood as occurring in the environment "elsewhere".

Phonological environments follow the typical conventions with "/" marking the start of the environment and "_" marking its slot. For brevity, "feature complexes" are used sparingly and are written on a single line with features separated by commas instead of stacked vertically, e.g. [+son, -nas] is read "non-nasal sonorant segments." Logical disjuncts are separated by commas and are written directly around the slot without curly braces. For example, */_i,e* is to be read "before the vowels *i* and *e*." It is sometimes necessary to refer to an environment in **CSWW** (or the next closest ancestor where noted). In these cases, the environment is marked with an asterisk, e.g. /*š_ is to be read "after *š in **CSWW**."

Some feature complexes occur so frequently in conditioning environments that I have chosen to abbreviate them using capital letters. These and the signs used in environments include:

- `#` : Prosodic word boundary
- `$` : Syllable boundary
- X_n: Element X occurs *n* or more times
- C: [+cons] Consonants (not including semi-vowels/glides).
- V: [-cons] Vowels and semivowels.
- P: [LAB] Labials, i.e. *p, p^h, b, m, f, v,* etc.

T: [COR, -strid, +ant] Anterior non-strident coronals, i.e. *t, t^h, d, n, l,* etc.

S: [COR, +strid, +ant] Anterior strident coronals, i.e. *ts, ts^h, dz, s, z,* etc.

Ś: [COR, +strid, -ant, +dist, +high] Alveolo-palatals, i.e. *tɕ, $tɕ^h$, dʑ, ɕ, ʑ,* etc.

Š: [COR, +strid, -ant] Postalveolar stridents generally, i.e. *tʂ, tʃ, tɕ,* etc.

K: [DOR, +high] Velars, i.e. *k, k^h, g, ŋ, x,* etc.

H: [GLOT] Glottals, i.e. *ʔ, h, ɦ.*

I: [-cons, +hi, +fr] High front vowels and semivowels, i.e. *i, y,* etc.

N: [+nas] Nasal segments, including nasalized vowels, i.e. *m, n, ŋ, ã,* etc.

1.6.2 Format of the the Cognate Sets

Two types of etyma are reconstructed in this study: (i) monosyllables that correspond to Chinese character readings in traditional lexicographic works and (ii) standalone words that may be more than one syllable or lack a fixed orthographic representation. The first type is always presented with a top line that gives: (a) a numerical ID in **bold** for the character reading, (b) its **MSC** reading(s) in *pīnyīn*, (c) the modern way to write the character in traditional characters, (d) the position of the character in the QYS as a six-character sequence enclosed in tortoiseshell brackets, (e) an English gloss of the basic sense(s) of the morpheme the character writes in Chinese dialects generally, (f) reconstructed forms for CDC and EC.[40] When the modern way to write the

[40]I make a few departures from Norman's (2012c) CDC and EC. Describing the reasoning for all of them here would start us on a needlessly long tangent, so I will only summarize them briefly instead. First, in CDC I always add a medial *-u- to shānshè 山攝 *hèkǒu* 合口 finals for clarity. Norman omits the medial after orthographic *-i-* and after coronal initials in Div. I. The omission for the latter environment probably reflects Norman's beliefs about the development of EC *-on, but the medial is supported by the comparative evidence. Next, I write the jiāngshè 江攝 finals with the vowel sequence *au uniformly; Norman only marked them with an optional *-i- medial after guttural initials. There is some thin comparative evidence for a contrast after the other initials as well. For EC, I use *θ- to mark *shūmǔ* 書母 (≙ CDC *sh-) initials that correspond to tenuis affricates in Min and *hy- to mark other cases that correspond to aspirated affricates in Min. All cases of Norman's *-kh and *-th tone/coda endings have been simplified to *-h and *-s respectively. I also use more explicit variation in EC to mark sound classes that Norman believes were confused dialectally. Finally, for both CDC and EC I adopt South Coblin's convention of using a raised "ʰ" before sonorant initials to indicate that they occur in *yīn* register tones in modern dialects. Ultimately,

character differs structurally from the head character normally found in medieval rime books, the old form is supplied in parentheses.

99 *kù* 褲（袴）〔遇合一去暮溪〕 ‘pants’ **CDC** *khu^{5} / **EC** *’khwah
CSWW *k^{h}uə^{5}
CJQ *k^{h}u^{5}: **Ly** —; **Jh** k^{h}u^{5}; **Pj** k^{h}u^{5}; **Dy** k^{h}u^{5}; **Yk** k^{h}u^{5}; **Wy** k^{h}u^{5}
CLS *k^{h}uə^{5}: **Sc** k^{h}uɤ^{5}; **Sy** k^{h}uɯ^{5}; **Lq** k^{h}uɯ^{5}; **Yh** —; **Pc** k^{h}uo^{5}; **Qy** —
CSS *k^{h}uə^{5}

The six-character QYS positions mostly follow those found in *Fāngyán diàochá zìbiǎo* 方言調查字表, but instead of taking the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 as the canonical work for these positions, I base them instead on the text of the original *Qièyùn* as reconstructed by Fujita (2017). When no original *Qièyùn* homophone group exists for the character, I indicate the next earliest attested reading among the *Guǎngyùn* and *Jíyùn* 集韻. If no reading for the character exists in the rime books, but *Fāngyán diàochá zìbiǎo* nonetheless supplies a QYS position, I mark these readings as *Zìbiǎo* 字表.

After the customary six-character QYS positions I also give Hirayama Hisao’s (2018) final types to mark subclasses of traditional Division III finals. “A” marks *chóngniǔ* 重紐 syllables that occur in row four of the rime tables. “B” marks *chóngniǔ* 重紐 syllables that occur in row three. “AB” marks syllables with coronal initials in rime categories that contain *chóngniǔ* syllables. “C” marks all other Division III syllables.[41] QYS positions are only provided as a point of reference for those familiar with Chinese historical phonology, and play no role in the reconstruction. I do not wish to make any claims about Southwestern Wú descending from *Qièyùn* Chinese or any other reconstructed form of Medieval Chinese. When QYS categories are mentioned in the main text, I also provide a romanized transcription of them using Baxter’s (1992) system.

---

these forms are only meant to help orient the reader. They do not play a direct role in the reconstruction and are better viewed as a work-in-progress than a full formal modification of Norman’s systems.

[41]Hirayama always uses “C” to mark rime categories that conditioned dentilabialization of bilabial stop consonants. This leads him to mark some rime categories that do not contain *chóngniǔ* syllables *sensu stricto* as “A/B”, e.g. 庚梗映. The 職 *-ik* rime category receives a special treatment. The labial initial syllables and *hékǒu* finals of it are treated as “B” while the other syllables are treated as “C”. The same would presumably be true of the 之 *-i* category, but it contains no *hékǒu* finals or syllables that begin in labial initials.

133 **qú* 渠（傑）〔集韻：遇合三平魚羣 C〕 ‘3rd person pron.’ **CDC** *ge² ⩙ *ge⁴ / **EC** *ga

CSWW *gə² [1] ⩙ *gə⁴ [2]
CJQ *gɤ² ⩙ *gɤ⁴
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** gəɯ² [1] ⩙ əɯ⁰ [2]; **Yk** gəɯ² [1]; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** gəɯ⁴ ⩙ gəʔ⁸; **Jh** gəʔ⁸$_{!ft}$; **Pj** ʒi⁸$_{!it}$; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** gɯ⁴ [1]
CLS *gə² ⩙ *gə⁴
a. **Sc** gɤ²; **Sy** kɯ²; **Lq** gɤɯ²; **Yh** gi²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ke⁴; **Qy** kɤ⁴ [1]
CSS *ŋə¹$_{!it}$

CSWW cognate sets are listed under the top line. These cognates do not all involve one strict cognate each, but instead all reflexes associated with the top-level etymon in question. All forms of stylistic doublets are listed. This includes stylistic allofamy in the common language. Common-forms (≈ proto-forms) are set up for all allofams in the daughters that demonstrate regular sound correspondence regardless of suspected age or stylistic register. Regular sound correspondence is itself proof of inheritance from the common language.

Each unindented line in the cognate sets represents the reflexes for each level of the reconstruction. The first of these is **CSWW** and lists no reflexes. The next three are the meso-level branches: **CJQ**, **CLS**, and **CSS**. If only one common form is set up at these levels, then the daughter reflexes are listed directly after the common form followed by a colon. If more than one common form is set up, then reflexes of the common forms are written after a linebreak on indented lines labelled alphabetically and arranged in the order of the common forms. Sometimes additional indented lines are supplied to list reflexes for which no common form can be set up. These reflexes are recorded in parentheses. Daughter reflexes are also omitted after **CSS** common forms when the reconstructions match Akitani (2003a). Supplemental **CSS** reconstructions that I have made are always marked with a leading pound sign “#” instead of an asterisk. These are always accompanied by the daughter reflexes.

For each reflex in the cognate sets, the abbreviation of the lect name and IPA form of the reflex are presented. Reflexes are separated with semicolons. Sometimes glosses and written forms are supplied after the IPA representations. These are suppressed if they do not differ from the **CSWW**

line or the next closest ancestor (e.g., a gloss that **Jh** shares with **CJQ** would not be listed again). Designations of literary (*wén* 文) and colloquial register (*bái* 白), *érhuà* 兒化 changed readings, and numerical indices of stylistic register are written after IPA forms in square brackets if the written form of the etymon does not differ from the example headline. In cases where the character differs, they are written after the character as subscripts. These reading indices follow the same rules of suppression as glosses and written forms.

176 *dài* 帶〔蟹開一去泰端〕 'bring; belt' **CDC** *tai⁵ / **EC** *'tas

CSWW *ɗai³ [1] 'belt' ⩙ *ɗai⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗa⁵: **Ly** tɑ⁵; **Jh** tɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɑ⁵; **Dy** tɑ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** lia⁵

CLS *ɗai³ [2] ⩙ *ɗai⁵ [1]

a. **Sc** ʔda³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdɑ³

b. **Sc** ʔda⁵ 'bring'; **Sy** ʔda⁵; **Lq** ʔda⁵; **Yh** ʔdɑ⁵; **Pc** lai⁵; **Qy** ʔdɑ⁵ 'bring'

CSS *tɑi³ ⩙ *tɑi⁵ 'bring'

112 *nǚ* 女〔遇合三上語娘 C〕 'woman; daughter' **CDC** *ʰnie⁴ / **EC** *ʰnrax

CSWW *na⁴ [1] 'daughter' ⩙ *ȵyə⁴ [2]

CJQ *nɒ⁴ ⩙ *ȵy⁴ [3] ⩙ *ȵi⁴ₗₐ (?) [2] 女～ 'servant girl'

a. **Ly** nuɑ⁴ 囡; **Jh** nɑ³; **Pj** nɑ⁴; **Dy** nuo⁴; **Yk** nɑ⁻¹¹ ～婿 'son-in-law'; **Wy** nuɑ⁻⁵³ ～婿 'son-in-law'

b. **Ly** ȵy⁴; **Jh** ȵy³; **Pj** ȵy⁴; **Dy** ȵiʉ⁴ [2]; **Yk** ɲy⁴ [2]; **Wy** ȵy⁴ [2]

c. **Ly** ȵi⁴ 囡～; **Jh** ȵi³ 囡～; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *na⁴ ⩙ *ȵyə⁴

a. **Sc** na⁴ₗf 囡～兒; **Sy** na⁻²¹ₗf 囡～兒; **Lq** —; **Yh** no⁻²²³ 囡～婿 'son-in-law' ⩙ nɛ⁻³²⁴ 囡; **Pc** —; **Qy** nã⁻³³ₗf 囡兒

b. **Sc** ȵyɤ⁴; **Sy** ȵy⁴; **Lq** ȵy³; **Yh** ɲy³; **Pc** ŋye⁴; **Qy** ȵye⁴

CSS *nɑ⁴ ⩙ #ȵyə⁴: **Kh** (ȵy³); **Cs** ȵye³ [1] ⩙ ȵy³ [2]; **Js** ŋyə⁴; **Ys** ȵye⁴; **Gf** ȵye⁴

The finals for this etymon in the Lìshuǐ dialects, except for the first **Yh** form, are irregular. **Sc** and **Sy** point to **CLS** *-ai whereas the second **Yh** form and **Qy** point to CLS *-ə. However, these irregularities arose from a now-lost N-diminutive suffix. Note the changed tones in these reflexes.

Sometimes we find alternating character readings in the data that do not correspond to any higher-level etymon and thus cannot be assigned to any cognate set as a regular reflex. Rather than omitting these readings, I place them after the regular reflex separated by the allofam sign "⩙". For each daughter language with multiple alternating reads separated by the allofam sign,

the first IPA form should always be considered the regular reflex. Sometimes these regular reflexes exhibit irregularities of the initial, final, or tone. These are abbreviated as "i", "f", and "t" and written as subscripts preceded by "!" after the IPA form. "*!use*" marks cases where the lexical context of a character reading is not specified. When a daughter has no regular reflex of an etymon, but instead has an intrusive loan in its place, these are written in parentheses.

In a few cases where we must reconstruct multiple readings for a character, we find reflexes in the daughter languages that cannot be unambiguously assigned to a single cognate common form. In these instances, the unresolvable reflexes are enclosed in curly braces and repeated as reflexes of all common forms to which they regularly correspond.

896 *sūn* 孫〔臻合一平魂心〕 'grandson; Sūn (pn.)' **CDC** *sun¹ / **EC** *'sun

CSWW *suə̃¹

CJQ *suə̃¹ [1] 'grandson' ⨯ *suəŋ¹ [2] 'Sūn (pn.)'

a. **Ly** suei¹; **Jh** {səŋ¹}; **Pj** sə̃¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** sɤə¹; **Wy** sɤ¹

b. **Ly** suəŋ¹ [1]; **Jh** {səŋ¹}; **Pj** —; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹

CLS *suə̃¹: **Sc** sə̃¹; **Sy** sæ̃¹; **Lq** sɤ¹; **Yh** suɛ¹; **Pc** (sueŋ¹$_{!f}$) ～子 'grandson'; **Qy** sã¹

CSS *suə̃¹

Most Southwestern Wú dialects use CSWW *suə̃ 孫 alone or with *ɲiə² 兒 as the popular word for 'grandson'. Pc uses [sueŋ¹ tɛi³] 孫子 (Jiǎng and Jiǎng 2005, 86). This word is intrusive and its first syllable cannot be compared with the other members of this set.

Finally, patchy cognate sets sometimes prevent us from reconstructing unambiguous common forms. In cases where there are multiple possible alternatives, these are written in parentheses and separated by commas. For example, in **308** 脂 **CSWW** *(tš,ts)i¹ [2], we cannot conclusively determine whether the initial was *tš- or *ts- without the **Ly** or **Jh** reflexes. In other cases, we sometimes cannot confirm the presence or absence of a reconstructed element. These are enclosed in parentheses without other alternatives. In **927** 蚊 **CSWW** *mi(ə)ŋ² [1], we cannot determine whether the final was *-iəŋ or *-iŋ without regular reflexes from **Dy** or **Qy**. When a common form is poorly attested in the daughter languages, it is marked by subscript "*!a*". When a reconstruction is otherwise questionable, it is followed by "(?)".

308 *zhī* 脂〔止開三平脂章 AB〕 'lard' **CDC** *ci¹ / **EC** *ciy (kyiy)

CSWW *tši¹ [1] 'lard' ⨯ *(tš,ts)i¹ [2]

CJQ *tsɿ¹ ～油 ⧑ *(tš,ts)i¹ 胭～ ‘rouge’
a. **Ly** tsɿ¹; **Jh** tsɿ¹; **Pj** tsɿ¹ *!use*; **Dy** tsɿ¹; **Yk** tsɿ¹; **Wy** tsɿ¹
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕi¹; **Wy** tɕi^{-53}

CLS *tɕɨ¹ ⧑ *tɕi¹
a. **Sc** tɕiu¹ ～油; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsɿ¹ 胭～ ‘rouge’; **Sy** tsɿ^{3}$_{!t}$; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** tɕi¹; **Qy** tɕi^{3}$_{!t}$

CSS *tɕe¹ ⧑ #tɕi¹
a. **Kh** tsui¹ 豬～; **Cs** tsi¹ ～油; **Js** tɕø¹ 豬～; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tsɿ¹ ～肪 ‘fat’; **Cs** tɕi¹ 胭～ ‘rouge’; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕi¹; **Gf** tɕi¹

927 *wén* 蚊〔臻合三平文微 C〕 ‘mosquito’ **CDC** *^{h}mvun² / **EC** *^{h}mun

CSWW *mi(ə)ŋ² [1] ⧑ *məŋ² [2] ～蟲

CJQ *mi(ə)ŋ² ～蟲 ⧑ *məŋ² ⧑ *vəŋ² [3]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** miŋ² [2] *!use*; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min^{-21}
b. **Ly** məŋ²; **Jh** məŋ² [1] *!use*; **Pj** mən²; **Dy** mən² [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** vəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** vən² [2]; **Yk** vəŋ² [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *mi(ə)ŋ² ～蟲 ⧑ *məŋ²
a. **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {meŋ²} [文] *!use*; **Qy** miɛ̃²$_{!f}$
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** men²; **Lq** mɛiŋ²; **Yh** məŋ²; **Pc** {meŋ²} [文] *!use*; **Qy** məŋ² ～帳 ‘mosquito net’

CSS #miŋ² [2] ～蟲 ⧑ #moŋ$^{?}$ [1]
a. **Kh** miŋ² [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** meiŋ$^{-24}$ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** moŋ^{4}$_{!t}$; **Js** moŋ$^{-33}$; **Ys** moŋ$^{-22}$; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** (vɛ̃²) [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (voŋ²) [2]; **Gf** (foŋ^{6}$_{!t}$) [2]

The [文] designation for the **Pc** form is probably an error. It does not contrast with a [白] form.

1.6.3 Methodological Considerations Regarding Lexical Replacement

Not all forms in the daughter languages have correspondents across all their siblings. This leads to “patchy” cognate sets in which we find substantial lacunae of expected reflexes among the daughters. The gaps in the data are due to the progression of lexical replacement. For Southwestern Wú, we can generalize the process in four idealized stages:

1. **An incipient stage**, in which a new word enters the language—typically as a bound form used in neologisms—but does not compete with existing words.

2. **An early stage**, in which a new word begins to compete with an existing word. In a small number of the daughters, the old word is replaced by the new word in its basic sense. The

old word may gain a specialized meaning and continue to survive, or it may be displaced entirely.

3. **A late stage**, in which an old word survives only in a minority of daughters. In the rest, it may be lost entirely or only survive as a cranberry morpheme in fossilized compounds.

4. **A complete stage**, in which an original word has dropped out of the daughters entirely.

It should be noted that lexical replacement is not synonymous with neo–lexical diffusion. Neo–lexical diffusion is a type of lexical replacement in which the old form of a word is replaced by an etymological doublet. Although neo–lexical diffusion is extremely common in Southwestern Wú dialects, it is by no means the only form of lexical replacement. When an expected reflex of a word is missing in a daughter language, it is not always a literary doublet form that has taken its place.

Consider the words used for 'black' in the Southwestern Wú dialects:

110 *wū* 烏〔遇合一平模影〕 'raven' **CDC** *u¹ / **EC** *'a
CSWW *ʔuə¹ 'black'
CJQ *ʔu¹: **Ly** u¹ 'get dark'; **Jh** u¹ 'get dark'; **Pj** u¹ ～人= 'get dark'; **Dy** ʔu¹; **Yk** u¹ 'get dark'; **Wy** u¹
CLS *uə¹: **Sc** uɤ¹; **Sy** uɯ¹; **Lq** uɯ¹; **Yh** u¹; **Pc** uo¹; **Qy** uɤ¹ [1]
CSS *ʔuə¹

1078 *hēi* 黑〔曾開一入德曉〕 'black' **CDC** *xek⁷ / **EC** *'hik
CSWW *xəiʔ⁷
CJQ *xəiʔ⁷: **Ly** xəʔ⁷; **Jh** xəʔ⁷; **Pj** xə⁷; **Dy** xeiʔ⁷; **Yk** xəi³; **Wy** xəʔ⁷
CLS *xeʔ⁷: **Sc** xeʔ⁷; **Sy** xɛʔ⁷; **Lq** xɛʔ⁷; **Yh** xɛʔ⁷|f; **Pc** xe⁷ ≍ xe¹; **Qy** xɤʔ⁷
CSS *xəʔ⁷
It should be noted that the popular word for 'black' in Southwestern Wú is *ʔuə¹ 烏. The current set probably represents a literary or bound form.

110 烏 is the autochthonous basic word for 'black' and still remains as such among the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān dialects.[42] Among the Jīnqú dialects, it has begun to be replaced by **1078** 黑, an

[42]Here, I follow South Coblin in using AUTOCHTHONOUS to refer to forms inherited from an early pre-intrusion stage of the languages under comparison, which may or may not predate the formation of their common ancestor. Its antonym is INTRUSIVE. It should be noted that proto-forms themselves can be intrusive in origin.

intrusive literary form. Dy and Wy still preserve the original semantics, but elsewhere **110** 烏 has now been restricted to the specialized meaning ‘to get dark’ in the collocation *tʰiã¹ 天～. In the Jīnqú dialects, the replacement has progressed close to its late stage. In the other branches, no replacement has occurred. It remains, at best, incipient.

Now let us consider a more complicated case involving the basic word for ‘small’. Four forms are associated with this concept in Southwestern Wú dialects:

(26) The concept SMALL in Southwestern Wú dialects[43]

	衰=	細$_1$	細$_2$	小
Ly	—	ɕiɑ⁵	—	—
Jh	—	sia⁵	—	—
Pj	—	ʃia⁵	—	—
Dy	—	—	—	sɤ³
Yk	—	—	ɕiə⁵	—
Wy	—	sia⁵	—	—
Sc	—	—	—	ɕiaɯ³
Sy	—	—	—	ɕiʌ³
Lq	—	—	ɕi⁵	—
Yh	—	—	sɿ⁵	—
Qy	—	—	ɕie⁵	—
Kh	—	ɕie³	se⁵	—
Cs	—	ɕie⁵	—	—
Js	ɕø¹	—	—	—
Ys	—	—	sʊi⁵	—
Gf	sua¹	—	—	—

The first form only occurs in Js and Gf. The second form is attested in the Jīnqú dialects and two closely-related Shàngshān dialects, Kh and Cs. The third form is found in the Lìshuǐ dialects, and externally in Yk, Kh, and Ys. The last form is an intrusive literary form with only sparse

[43]I have excluded Pc because none of the surveys document how ‘small’ is normally expressed in this dialect. This may come off as absurd to readers who are not familiar with Chinese dialectology, but this sort of omission is unfortunately extremely common in the literature. Basic vocabulary is often left undocumented in surveys because it tends to be the same across most Chinese dialects. Surveys instead focus on character readings. The more sophisticated surveys provide copious notes on the lexical context of these readings, but early studies and sketches often omit them.

attestation. For now we will set aside the first form, which is of uncertain origin,[44] and the fourth form, which is still in the early stage of replacement. 細$_1$ and 細$_2$ are competing etymological doublets. Here is the full cognate set that contains them:

229 *xì* 細〔蟹開四去霽心〕 'tiny; slender' **CDC** *siai^5 / **EC** *'seh (?)

CSWW *sia^5 [1] 'small' ⨯ *siei^5 [2] 'slender'

CJQ *sia^5 ⨯ *sie^5

a. **Ly** ɕiɑ^5; **Jh** sia^5; **Pj** ʃia^5; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕia^5

b. **Ly** ɕi^5; **Jh** sie^5; **Pj** ʃi^5; **Dy** si^5; **Yk** ɕiə^5 'small'; **Wy** ɕie^5

CLS *ɕiei^5 'small; slender': **Sc** ɕie^5 'slender'; **Sy** sɿ^5; **Lq** ɕi^5; **Yh** sɿ^5; **Pc** ɕie^5 *!use*; **Qy** ɕie^5

CSS *ɕiə^5 [2] ⨯ *sei^5 [1]

a. **Kh** ɕie$^3{}_{!t}$; **Cs** ɕie^5 [1]; **Js** ɕiə$^{-43}$ ～麥 'wheat'; **Ys** ɕie^5 ～麥 'wheat'; **Gf** ɕie^{-445} [1] ～麥 'wheat'

b. **Kh** se^5 'small'; **Cs** se^5; **Js** ɕe^5; **Ys** sɐi^5 'small'; **Gf** ɕi^5 [2]

CSWW *sia^5 is the autochthonous form of this etymon. See §4.3.1 for discussion of the layering pattern this set participates in. In Southwestern Wú, *sia^5 came to mean 'small' by semantic widening.[45] The conservative literary meaning of this etymon is 'tiny, minute' and 'slender, thin'. *siei^5 is an intrusive form that originally held the literary narrowing meaning of the etymon. In the Lìshuǐ dialects and Yk, it semantically widened, competed with the autochthonous form, and replaced it entirely. A similar process played out in Kh and Ys, but remarkably in Kh the competition between these forms is ongoing. In Ys, Js, and Gf, *sia^5 has become a cranberry morpheme in the word for 'wheat' (literally 'small barley').

This set demonstrates the effects that lexical replacement can have on our comparative data. In the Jīnqú dialects, the situation is not severe. There are lacunae in the correspondences for 細$_1$ in Dy and Yk due to replacement by 小 and 細$_2$ respectively; this gap is not sufficient reason to doubt whether a common form should be set up for CJQ. In the Lìshuǐ dialects lexical replacement is complete, so we need not set up a common form in CLS for 細$_1$ at all. CSWW *sia^5 has fortu-

[44] Perhaps it is a vestige of an archaic substratum in the Shàngshān dialects.

[45] Some other Chinese dialects have undergone the same semantic widening that Southwestern Wú has, e.g. Cantonese [sɐi^5] 'small'. Whether this is an early shared innovation or a development that diffused across southern Chinese dialects is a matter that deserves further investigation.

itously fossilized in the Shàngshān dialects where it was displaced as the basic word for ‘small’, but had this happy accident never occurred, lexical replacement would have left behind severe lacunae, as we find in the following set:

222 *ní* 泥〔蟹開四平齊泥〕 ‘mud’ **CDC** *niai² / **EC** *’niy

CSWW *ȵia² [1] ≍ *ȵiei² [2]

CJQ *ȵia²ˌa ≍ *ȵie²

a. **Ly** ȵiɑ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵie² [1] ≍ ȵi² [2]; **Pj** ȵi²; **Dy** ȵi²; **Yk** ɲiə²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ȵia²ˌa ≍ *ȵie²

a. **Sc** ȵiɑ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵi²; **Yh** ɲi²; **Pc** ŋie²; **Qy** ȵie²

CSS *ȵiə²: **Kh** ȵie²; **Cs** ȵie²; **Js** ȵiə²; **Ys** ȵie² ≍ ȵi² [2]; **Gf** ȵie² ≍ ȵi² [2]

*ȵia² is the autochthonous form of this etymon, but it has been replaced uniformly by intrusive *ȵiei² outside of the Shàngshān region except in two transitional dialects that border it, Ly and Sc. If we were working on reconstructing CJQ or CLS individually, the Ly and Sc forms would appear to be irregular. No reflexes of *ȵiei² exist in these dialects. We would make a note of the irregular correspondence, but the comparative method would not allow us to set up a common form to account for it. I have nonetheless restored it here because regularly corresponding reflexes exist in the Shàngshān dialects. This has led to a somewhat skewed, anachronistic result in which I posit *ȵia² and *ȵiei² simultaneously in CSWW despite the reflexes for the autochthonous form being geographically concentrated in the Shàngshān region and the reflexes for *ȵiei² being found elsewhere. In reality, the Shàngshān dialects probably never inherited and lost the intrusive *ȵiei² form to begin with. My choice to present it here anyway is intentional. Using the comparative method alone, we cannot reject the intrusive form in favor of the autochthonous form, because they both exhibit regular sound correspondences. We need to appeal to a different method to identify and exclude the intrusive form, perhaps a technique from dialect geography or a strain of stratal analysis. I leave this task to future investigators. My aim is to set up common forms for all the words in this study’s data that demonstrate regular sound correspondences regardless of their suspected age or origin, so that anyone who wishes to undertake this work in the future can do so free of bias.

Now consider the two instances of [ȵi²] in Ys and Gf. Akitani did not set up a CSS form to account for them. They do regularly correspond and we could set up a common form to account for them: #ȵi² or perhaps even #ȵei², which would regularly correspond to CSWW *ȵiei². I have followed Akitani in refraining from doing so because we cannot be certain that these forms actually descended from CSWW *ȵiei² > CSS #ȵei². They might instead be recent intrusions that postdate the divergence of the Shàngshān dialects from CSS. The problem is that late intrusions of this sort leave the same patchy signature that nearly complete lexical replacement does. We must establish heuristics to distinguish these two scenarios.

As a first heuristic, we may rely on attestation in other branches. We have already seen this in practice. Ly and Sc [ȵiɑ²] have unambiguously descended from the same source as CSS *ȵiə². This may be interpreted as a sign of retention from an ancestral stage. Second, we may rely on stylistic register. Basic vocabulary used in the colloquial register is more likely to have been inherited than technical vocabulary used in the literary register.[46] The Ly and Sc forms are the basic words for 'mud' in those dialects, but the [ȵi²] forms in Ys and Gf are not. Finally, we may appeal to geographic distribution. If the questionable forms are concentrated in a single region but are unattested elsewhere in the same branch, they are more likely to be post-common intrusions. Ys and Gf are located at the western edge of the Shàngshān dialect region.

Admittedly, these heuristics are somewhat subjective. Before concluding this section, let us consider the following example cases to better illustrate how I apply them. The following sets involve CDC *-om & *-on and CDC *-am & *-an respectively in the Jīnqú dialects:

---

[46]This heuristic is related to another principle of linguistic reconstruction: sound correspondences should, as far as possible, be established using basic vocabulary (Fox 1995, 66). This does not mean that technical vocabulary cannot be reconstructed, but it must follow the same sound correspondences as basic vocabulary. For more on how this principle applies to the reconstruction of Sinitic languages, see Akitani and Handel (2012).

		Ly	*Jh*	*Pj*	*Dy*	*Yk*	*Wy*	*CDC*	*concept*
(27)	a.	dei^{2}	dɤ^{2}	də̃^{2}	dɤ^{2}	dɤə^{2}	dɤ^{2}	*dom^{2}	潭 ‘tarn’
		—	dã^{2}	dan^{2}	—	—	—		
	b.	nei^{2}	nɤ^{2}	nə̃^{2}	nɤ^{2}	nɤə^{2}	nɤ^{2}	*nom^{2}	南 ‘south’
		—	nã^{2}	nan^{2}	—	—	—		
	c.	—	kɤ^{3}	kə̃^{3}	kɤ^{3}	kɤə^{3}	kɤ^{3}	*kom^{3}	感 ‘feel’
		kã^{5}$_{\text{-t}}$	kã^{3}	kan^{3}	kan^{3}	—	—		
	d.	kie^{1}	kɤ^{1}	kə̃^{1}	kɤ^{1}	kɤə^{1}	kɤ^{1}	*kon^{1}	肝 ‘liver’
		—	kã^{1}	—	—	—	—		

		Ly	*Jh*	*Pj*	*Dy*	*Yk*	*Wy*	*CDC*	*concept*
(28)	a.	{tã^{3}}	tɑ^{3}	tə̃^{3}	tʌ^{3}	ʔnɑ^{3}	nuo^{3}	*tam^{3}	膽 ‘gall’
		{tã^{3}}	tã^{3}	tan^{3}	—	—	—		
	b.	{nã^{2}}	nɑ^{2}	nə̃^{2}	nʌ^{2}	nɑ^{2}	nuo^{2}	*nan^{2}	難 ‘difficult’
		{nã^{2}}	nã^{2}	—	—	—	—		
	c.	kã^{3}	kɑ^{3}	kə̃^{3}	—	kɑ^{3}	kuo^{3}	*kam^{3}	減 ‘reduce’
		tɕie^{3}	tɕiã^{3}	tɕian^{3}	tɕi^{3}	—	—		
	d.	kã^{1}	kɑ^{1}	kə̃^{1}	kʌ^{1}	kɑ^{1}	kuo^{-53}	*kan^{1}	間 ‘interstice’
		—	tɕiã^{1}	tɕian^{1}	—	—	—		

For each subexample in (27–28), colloquial register forms are presented in the first line and literary register forms are presented in the second line. The Ly forms are tentatively repeated in both lines because they could potentially be related to either subset. Before proceeding to apply our heuristics, let us consider the data from an external perspective. Segmental CDC *-n and *-m have been lost in Wú Chinese generally. Only nasalization of the preceding vowel remains. In most Jīnqú dialects, this nasalization has also been lost. The literary register forms presented in (27) and (28) therefore resulted from contact with a dialect group that retained these nasal codas as segmental [-n]. Readers familiar with early modern Chinese historical phonology will recognize the group in question as Mandarin. In most Mandarin dialects, CDC *-a- has developed a palatal on-glide [-i-] after guttural initials, *-m and *-n have merged as [-n], and *-o- has

fronted to [-a-] before [-n].[47] However, establishing these facts fails to prove that only the colloquial forms may be traced back to CJQ. We do not know how far back CJQ dates, so we cannot prematurely reject the possibility that these Mandarin loans were already present at the time of its formation. Therefore, their origin is irrelevant.

To confirm inheritance from CJQ, we must establish sound correspondences. In (27–28), the sound correspondences for initials and tones are totally regular and, apart from the alternation of [k- ~ tɕ-], do not vary in the doublets. The tentative correspondences for the finals are presented in (29).

		CJQ	*Ly*	*Jh*	*Pj*	*Dy*	*Yk*	*Wy*	*concepts*
(29)	a.	*ɤ̃	ei; ie/k_	ɤ	ə̃	ɤ	ɤə	ɤ	潭$_1$、南$_1$、感$_1$、肝$_1$
	b.	*ã	ã	ɑ	ɑ̃	ʌ	ɑ	uo	膽$_1$、難$_1$、減$_1$、間$_1$
	c.	*an	ã (?)	ã	an	an	…	…	潭$_2$、南$_2$、感$_2$、肝$_2$、膽$_2$、難$_2$
	d.	*ian	ie	iã	ian	i	…	…	減$_2$、間$_2$

Immediately the correspondences of the last two finals (29c–d) are problematic. They lack reflexes in Yk and Wy—not just for the cognate sets presented here, but for all cognates in CJQ. The full range of reflexes for each set is also rarely represented in the data; here just in (27c) and (28c). Finally, the Ly reflexes for the correspondences in (29b–c) overlap. This means it is sometimes not possible to judge if the Ly reflex descended from the colloquial source or the literary source. Ly [-ã] only unambiguously corresponds to the other sounds in (29c) in one cognate set—感 'feel' Ly [kã$^{5}{}_{!t}$] (27c)—but the tone is irregular.

The reflexes of (29c–d) are peculiar in an additional way. The Jh nasalized finals and finals that end in [-n] in Pj and Dy only occur in two types of words: words of the literary register and *érhuà* diminutives. The latter resulted from the fusion of CSWW *ȵiə^{2} 兒, a diminutive suffix (lit. 'son,

[47]I qualified this statement as "most" because some Mandarin dialects did not share in these developments regularly. Fénhé Mandarin failed to develop [-i-] before CDC *a following *x- and retains *-m (Akitani 2017). In Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, CDC Ø > [-i-] /K,H_a is only found in literary readings, and *o did not front before [-n] (Coblin 2010).

child'), to bases it modified.[48] This seems to have led to the phonologization of nasalized vowels and [-n] in Jh, Pj, and Dy—a unique innovation that enabled them to approximate Mandarin pronunciation more closely than the other Jīnqú dialects.

These defective correspondences alone already strongly militate against reconstructing *-an and *-ian in CJQ, but our other heuristics cast even further doubt. These correspondences are based on forms that are not attested in the other branches, belong to the literary register, and have a skewed geographic distribution. On the last point, unambiguous reflexes of this correspondence are found almost exclusively in Jh and Pj. In some cases, the intrusive form is only attested in Jh. This is not an accident. Jh and Pj are located closest to Mandarin-speaking communities among the Jīnqú dialects we are comparing. Furthermore, urban Jīnhuá is a major cultural and economic hub. Mandarin speakers have lived there for generations. Together, the defective correspondences of the forms and our heuristics tell us with certainty that the intrusive forms are recent innovations. They entered the language after the formation of CJQ, so we ought not set up proto-forms for them.

Now contrast these examples with the following set:

982 *zhàng* 帳〔宕開三去漾知 C〕 'canopy, mosquito net' **CDC** *ciong^{5} / **EC** *trangh
CSWW *ɗiaŋ^{5} [1] ⩙ *tšiaŋ^{5} [2]
CJQ *ɗiaŋ$^{5}_{!a}$ ⩙ *tšiaŋ^{5}
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔniaŋ^{5}
b. **Ly** tsã^{5}; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ^{5}; **Pj** tʃyõ^{5}; **Dy** tɕiʌ^{5}; **Yk** tɕiaŋ^{5}; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗiaŋ^{5} ⩙ *tɕiaŋ$^{5}_{!a}$
a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ^{5}; **Sy** ʔdiaŋ^{5}; **Lq** ʔdiaŋ^{5}; **Yh** ʔdiã^{5}; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiã^{5}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiaŋ^{5}; **Qy** —
CSS #tiã^{5} ⩙ #tɕiã$^{5}_{!a}$
a. **Kh** tiã^{5}; **Cs** tiã^{5}; **Js** tiã^{5}; **Ys** tiã^{5}; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕiã^{5}; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕiã^{5}

CSWW *ɗiaŋ^{5} is autochthonous and *tšiaŋ^{5} is intrusive. I reconstruct both variants in all the meso-level systems, but the attestation of these forms is not even. In the Jīnqú branch, the

[48]The timing of *érhuà* coda fusions and tone changes in Wú Chinese is a complicated issue. It happened in several waves, so not all derived forms can be projected back to the earliest stage of the language (for a relevant case study, see Pān 1995).

autochthonous form only survives in Wy. In the southern branches, the intrusive form is only attested in Pc, Kh, and Gf. How do the heuristics apply to this case? The first heuristic suggests inheritance for both forms since they are found in all the branches. The second heuristic supports Wy [ʔniaŋ⁵], Pc [tɕiaŋ⁵], and Gf [tɕiaŋ⁵] since these are all the basic word ‘mosquito net’ in these dialects. Only Kh [tɕiã⁵] is purely literary. The third heuristic does not apply to the Wy and Pc forms since only one form is present, but Kh and Gf are located on opposite sides of the Shàngshān region. This distribution suggests inheritance. Our heuristics do not allow us to dismiss intrusive *tšiaŋ⁵ as a post-common borrowing.

Chapter 2

TONE CLASSES

2.1 Overview

CSWW had eight tones divided into two registers. Here, I follow the conventions of Norman's (2006) **CDC** and write the upper *yīn* 陰 register tones with odd numbers and the lower *yáng* 陽 register tones with even numbers.

(30) **CSWW** tone classes and their traditional names

	píng 平	*shǎng* 上	*qù* 去	*rù* 入
yīn 陰	1	3	5	7
yáng 陽	2	4	6	8

Most descendants retain all eight tones of **CSWW**. Generally, the *yīn* register tones are higher in pitch than their *yáng* register counterparts, but in a few cases individual tones have shifted register. Consonant initials obey strict rules of co-occurrence with tone register. Modern initials that evolved from **CSWW** voiceless obstruents and implosives only pair with the *yīn* register tones. Other voiced initials only pair with the *yáng* register tones. Sometimes we find sonorant initials that combine with *yīn* register tones in the daughter languages, but these have almost entirely developed from earlier implosives.

Phonation also plays a role in distinguishing register in the modern dialects, but the older literature usually characterizes it as a feature of initial obstruents rather than a feature of tone. Rose (2021) suggests this resulted from a focus on the process of word-initial devoicing of obstruents. In his work on Wú tones and phonation, he found that phonation types associated with register occurred freely in syllables regardless of whether their onsets were obstruents or sonorants. *Yáng* register syllables typically have laxer pre-vocalic phonation than their *yīn* register

counterparts, reflecting slack or whispery (≈ breathy) voice. In some dialects, a few of the *yīn* register tones have conversely developed tenser phonations like creaky voice.

Onset phonation has previously been used as a typological feature to classify Wú dialects. Cáo (2002, 23) breaks the phonation of voiced obstruent initials in Southern Wú dialects into three classes: 1) "voiced and lax" (*zhuóyīn zhuóliú* 濁音濁流), 2) "voiceless and lax" (*qīngyīn zhuóliú* 清音濁流), and 3) "read as voiceless [initials, i.e. not lax]" (*dú qīngyīn* 讀清音).[1] He further remarks that for the fully voiced onsets of class one, phonation is typically less lax than for class two onsets. In general, Cáo's class one onset phonation is associated with Southern Wú and his class two onset phonation is associated with Northern Wú. His characterization is generally consistent with what has been reported in phonetic studies. Cao and Maddieson (1992, 89) found that Wēnzhōu dialect speakers, taken to be representative of Southern Wú, exhibited a lesser degree of breathiness (= lax phonation) at vowel onsets after historical voiced consonants than speakers of the Chángyīnshā dialect, taken to be representative of Northern Wú.[2] Rose's (2021) data raises doubts about whether the longstanding generalizations about Northern vs. Southern onset phonation truly align well with the other linguistic features that characterize this divide.[3] The difference is probably better conceived as a diachronic trend instead. Dialects that are more prone to word-initial devoicing have developed laxer phonation in the *yáng* register to enhance

[1]I have chosen to translate *zhuó(qì)liú* 濁(氣)流, literally 'turbid [air]stream', as 'lax [phonation]' rather than 'breathy [voice]' because it is usually understood as general term for pre-vocalic phonation that is laxer than modal voice—not necessarily breathy voice *per se*. The term originates from Y.R. Chao's (1928) work on Wú Chinese long before phonation type terms were settled in English. In the English preface he writes, "[In Wu-dialects,] the ancient sonants 並 [b-], 定 [d-], 羣 [g-], 牀 [dž-], etc. remain as sonants or apparent sonants. [...] They begin with a quite voiceless sound and only finish with a voiced glide, usually quite aspirated, in the form of a voiced *h*." (Chao 1928). Later in the text, he calls this sound a "voiced airstream" *dàiyīn de qìliǔ* 帶音的氣流 which is where we get the modern term from (27).

[2]Note however, contrary to Cáo's description, they found no difference in voice onset time (VOT) of historical voiced obstruents.

[3]Even in Cao and Maddieson (1992), the North–South generalization did not hold well. When they combined the Shǎnghǎi dialect with Chángyīnshā and Níngbō dialect with Wēnzhōu, they found no significant difference in pre-vocalic breathiness, which led them to conclude that "the Shanghai and Ningbo dialects [might not be] phonologically representative of the northern and southern dialect groups to which they are usually assigned, since adding them to the totals confuses rather than sharpens the picture." Part of this is because they mistakenly assigned Níngbō to the southern group, but their Shànghǎi data also clearly exhibited the "southern" pattern. In Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996, 64–66) they describe the voiced obstruents of the Shànghǎi dialect as being pronounced with slack voice.

the contrast. Less intense lax phonation, such as slack voice, was probably the original situation.

In the full descriptions of the Southwestern Wú dialects treated here, lax phonation (*zhuóqìliú* 濁氣流) is only explicitly mentioned in the descriptions of **Jh** and **Yk**. For the rest of the dialects, initials are characterized in terms of voicing.[4] But Cáo (2002) explicitly raised many of these dialects as examples of his class one onset phonation. As such, it is relatively safe to assume that **CSWW** voiced obstruents were fully voiced (with perhaps mild word-initial devoicing) and that *yáng* register tones were associated with slack voice. I will mark the voiced obstruents explicitly with the standard IPA symbols, but instead of marking slack voice with a diacritic, it will be marked with even tone numbers to facilitate comparison with other Chinese dialects.

All Southwestern Wú dialects exhibit tone sandhi. For some, like **Pc**, tone sandhi is minimal and can be explained almost entirely in a synchronic framework. For most others, tone sandhi is complicated and defies elegant synchronic analysis. Here, I adopt the view that changed tones in sandhi now belong to separate mental representations of tone that do not necessarily agree with their historical tone classes (see Ballard 1980, 1988; Rose 2011). This is analogous to the development of historical long and short vowel pairs in English morphological alternations, e.g. /aw/~/ʌ/ in *prof*[aw]*nd* vs. *prof*[ʌ]*ndity* and /aj/~/ɪ/ in *div*[aj]*ne* vs. *div*[ɪ]*nity* (Steed 2010, 24). In both cases, modern phonological contrasts have emerged from prosodically conditioned variation. Speakers process these sounds as separate phonemes, but are nonetheless quasi-aware of the relationship between such pairs because they have become fossilized in allomorphy. But this quasi-awareness should not be confused with productivity. The processes involved are long dead, a fact that is readily confirmed by the notes found after Cáo et al.'s tone sandhi tables. The standard rules frequently do not apply to verb–object constructions and neologisms.[5]

Tone sandhi in Southwestern Wú most often affects non-final tones. In the Lìshuǐ and Shàng-

[4]Admittedly, it is difficult to know if the authors meant VOT or not by "voicing", originally *zhuóyīn sècǎi/chéngfèn* 濁音色彩/成分 'turbid sound quality/component'. This term is not always kept strictly separate from *zhuóqìliú* 濁氣流 'lax [phonation]'. Y.R. Chao's practice of using *zhuó* 濁 as a historical class and *dàiyīn* 帶音 to mean "voiced" is much clearer and ought to be revived in modern Chinese dialectology.

[5]The different rules for verb–object constructions might be dismissed as patterns conditioned by the heads of prosodic phrases, but this explanation cannot account for the exceptions found in neologisms.

shān groups, this typically involves neutralization of contour tones in non-final position. Over time, the tones of each register converged into level tones distinguished only by pitch. However, a comparison of the tone convergences among these dialects reveals that this neutralization happened in parallel as an areal trend. Exceptions to the neutralization rules before certain tone classes represent early innovations that predate convergence. For this reason we cannot project non-final neutralization uniformly back to the proto-languages. In fact, for **CSS**, the merger of non-final tones *1 and *5 is the only non-final neutralization that is shared by all the daughters. The daughters of **CLS** do not share any non-final tone class mergers. The situation in the Jīnqú dialects is more complicated. Tones changed in both non-final and word-final position. However, given that the other groups exhibit limited shared sandhi innovations, these developments all likely occurred after the Jīnqú dialects diverged from the rest of Southwestern Wú.

In the remainder of this chapter, I present the citation tone class correspondences for **CSWW**. With recent advances in understanding diachronic shifts in contour tones,[6] it should be possible to reconstruct contours for these classes. However, such an endeavor would also entail a full analysis of tone sandhi development in Southwestern Wú. Such a study would likely be a monograph-length work itself, so I leave it to future investigators.

2.2 Tone Class Correspondences

Table 2.1 presents the tone class correspondences for single-syllable morphemes in **CSWW**. Most remain unchanged in the descendants. The most prevalent innovation is the merger of the checked tones, *7 and *8, with unchecked tones conditioned by the loss of the glottal stop ending in certain finals in the Jīnqú dialects.

*2.3 Tone *1*

Tone class *1 has remained stable. As is the case with other upper-register tones, it occurs almost exclusively with tenuis, aspirated, and glottalic initials.

[6] See, for example, Yang et al. (2025).

Table 2.1: CSWW tone classes

CSWW	*1	*2	*3	*4	*5	*6	*7	*8
CJQ	*1	*2	*3	*4	*5	*6	*7	*8
Ly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Jh	1	2	3	3	5	6	5; 7/ə,o	6; 8/ə,o
Pj	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Yk	1	2	3	4	5	6	3	4
Wy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7; 5/e,ɤ	4; 8/ə,ɔ
CLS	*1	*2	*3	*4	*5	*6	*7	*8
Sc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Lq	1	2	3	3	5	6	7	8
Yh	1	2	3	4; 3/$[+son]	5	6	7	8
Pc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7
Qy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
CSS	*1	*2	*3	*4	*5	*6	*7	*8

1 *duō* 多〔果開一平歌端〕 ‘many’ **CDC** *to¹ / **EC** *’tay

CSWW *ɗəi¹ [1] ≍ *ɗo¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗo¹: **Ly** tu¹; **Jh** tuɤ¹ [1] ≍ to¹ [2]; **Pj** tɯ¹; **Dy** tʊ¹; **Yk** ʔduə¹; **Wy** luo¹

CLS *ɗəi¹ 幾～ ‘how many’ ≍ *ɗo¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** lai¹ [白]; **Qy** ʔdai¹

b. **Sc** ʔdu¹; **Sy** ʔdu¹; **Lq** ʔdəu¹; **Yh** ʔdu¹; **Pc** luo¹; **Qy** ʔdo¹ [2]

CSS *təi¹ ‘clf. for indefinite amount’ ≍ *to¹

171 *kāi* 開〔蟹開一平哈溪〕 ‘open’ **CDC** *khoi¹ / **EC** *’khuy

CSWW *kʰəi¹

CJQ *kʰəi¹: **Ly** kʰei¹; **Jh** kʰɛ¹; **Pj** kʰa¹; **Dy** kʰe¹; **Yk** kʰəi¹; **Wy** kʰa¹

CLS *kʰəi¹: **Sc** kʰei¹; **Sy** kʰɛ¹; **Lq** kʰɛ¹; **Yh** kʰei¹$_{!f}$; **Pc** kʰue¹; **Qy** kʰai¹

CSS *kʰəi¹

537 *sān* 三〔咸開一平談心〕 ‘three’ **CDC** *sam¹ / **EC** *’sum

CSWW *sã¹

CJQ *sã¹: **Ly** sã¹; **Jh** sɑ¹ [1] ≍ sã¹ [2]; **Pj** sã¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** sɑ¹; **Wy** suo¹

CLS *sã¹: **Sc** saŋ¹; **Sy** sõ¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sã¹; **Pc** sãi¹; **Qy** sã¹

CSS *sã¹

1129 *gēng* 耕〔梗開二平耕見〕 ‘till (v.)’ **CDC** *kang¹ / **EC** *kreng

CSWW *kæŋ¹

CJQ *kæŋ¹: **Ly** kɛ¹; **Jh** kɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ kəŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** kɛ̃¹ [1] ≍ kən¹ [2]; **Dy** kɛ¹; **Yk** kai¹; **Wy** ka¹

CLS *kæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** kaŋ¹; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹

CSS *kæ̃¹

640 *ān* 安〔山開一平寒影〕 ‘secure’ **CDC** *on¹ / **EC** *’an

CSWW *ʔɔ̃¹

CJQ *ʔɤ̃¹: **Ly** ei¹; **Jh** ɤ¹ [1] ≍ ã¹ [2]; **Pj** ə̃¹ [1] ≍ an¹ [2]; **Dy** ʔɤ¹; **Yk** ɤə¹; **Wy** ŋɤ¹

CLS *uə̃¹: **Sc** uə̃¹; **Sy** uɛ̃¹; **Lq** uə¹; **Yh** uɛ¹; **Pc** uãi¹; **Qy** uã¹

CSS *ʔɔ̃¹

The following cognate set exhibits a few irregular reflexes of Tone *1 with the initial *m-.

426 *māo* 貓〔效開三平宵明 B〕 ‘cat’ **CDC** *miau² ≍ *mau² / **EC** *^{h}maw ≍ *^{h}mraw

CSWW *mau²

CJQ *mau²: **Ly** mɔ^{3}$_{!t}$ [1] ≍ miɔ² [2]; **Jh** mɑu² [1] ≍ mɑu¹ [2]; **Pj** mon^{-232} [兒] ≍ miɑ²; **Dy** mɑu²; **Yk** mɒ$^{-324}$ [兒]; **Wy** maŋ¹ [兒]

CLS *mau²: **Sc** mɐɯ² 大～ ‘tiger’ ≍ miɐɯ² ～兒 ‘cat’; **Sy** mɔ¹$_{!t}$; **Lq** mɑɔ² ‘tiger’ ≍ mɑɔ⁵ ‘cat’; **Yh** mɑɔ² 大～ ‘tiger’; **Pc** mau¹; **Qy** mɒ² ‘tiger’

CSS *mɑu²

CDC *^{h}mau² is pronounced with Tone 1 in many other Chinese dialects including **MSC**. It is unclear whether the Tone 1 forms in Southwestern Wú dialects are retentions or more recent intrusions.

*2.4 Tone *2*

Tone class *2 has also remained stable. As is the case with other *yáng* register tones, it occurs only with pulmonic voiced obstruent and sonorant initials.

15 *pó* 婆〔果合一平戈並〕 ‘matron’ **CDC** *bo² / **EC** *’bay

CSWW *bo²

CJQ *bo²: **Ly** bu²; **Jh** bɤ² [1] ≍ bo² [2]; **Pj** bɯ²; **Dy** bʊ²; **Yk** buə²; **Wy** buo²

CLS *bo²: **Sc** bu²; **Sy** pu²; **Lq** bu²; **Yh** bu²; **Pc** puo²; **Qy** po²

CSS *biə²

1067 *céng* 層〔曾開一平登從〕 ‘layer’ **CDC** *dzeng² / **EC** *ʾdzing

CSWW *zeŋ²

CJQ *zeŋ²: **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** zəŋ² [1] ≍ dzəŋ² [2]; **Pj** dzən²˩˧; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** ʑieiŋ²; **Wy** zen²

CLS *zeŋ²: **Sc** zə̃²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɛ²; **Yh** zɛ²; **Pc** tseŋ²; **Qy** sã²

CSS *zə̃²

Cf. **Qt** [iŋ²]; **Jy** [zen²]

375 *máo* 毛〔效開一平豪明〕 ‘body hair, fur’ **CDC** *ʰmou² / **EC** *ʾʰmaw

CSWW *məu²

CJQ *mou²: **Ly** mɔ²; **Jh** mɑu²; **Pj** mo²; **Dy** mɑu²; **Yk** mɒ²; **Wy** muo² [1] ≍ muɑ⁻⁴⁴⁵ [2] ～竹 ‘moso bamboo’

CLS *məu²: **Sc** mɐɯ²; **Sy** mʌ²; **Lq** mɑɔ²; **Yh** mɑɔ²; **Pc** mau²; **Qy** mɒ²

CSS *məu²

629 *lán* 攔〔廣韻：山開一平寒來〕 ‘obstruct’ **CDC** *lan² / **EC** *ʾlan

CSWW *lə̃²

CJQ *lã²: **Ly** lã²; **Jh** lɑ² [1] ≍ lã² [2]; **Pj** lã²; **Dy** lʌ²; **Yk** lɑ²; **Wy** nuo²

CLS *lã²: **Sc** laŋ²; **Sy** lɔ̃²; **Lq** laŋ²; **Yh** lã²; **Pc** lãi²; **Qy** lɑ̃²

CSS *lə̃²

934 *yún* 雲〔臻合三平文云 C〕 ‘cloud’ **CDC** *yun² / **EC** *wun

CSWW *ɦyəŋ²

CJQ *ɦyəŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** yəŋ²; **Pj** yən²; **Dy** ien²; **Yk** yeiŋ²; **Wy** yin²

CLS *ɦyəŋ²: **Sc** yɪŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** yŋ²; **Yh** yɪŋ²; **Pc** yeŋ²; **Qy** yəŋ²

CSS *ɦyiŋ²

*2.5 Tone *3*

Tone class *3 remains unchanged.

665 *bǎn* 板〔山開二上濟幫〕 ‘board’ **CDC** *pan³ / **EC** *pranx

CSWW *ɓə̃³

CJQ *ɓã³: **Ly** pã³; **Jh** pɑ³ [1] ≍ pã³ [2]; **Pj** pɑ̃³; **Dy** mʌ³˩˧ [1] ≍ pʌ³ [2]; **Yk** ʔmɑ³; **Wy** ʔmuo³

CLS *ɓã³: **Sc** ʔbaŋ³; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃³; **Lq** ʔbaŋ³; **Yh** ʔbã³; **Pc** pãi³ [白]; **Qy** ʔbɑ̃³

CSS *pə̃³

149 *zhǔ* 主〔遇合三上麌章 C〕 ‘master’ **CDC** *ciu³ / **EC** *tox
CSWW *tšyə³
CJQ *tšy³: **Ly** tɕy³; **Jh** tɕy³; **Pj** tʃy³; **Dy** tsɿ³ [1] ≍ tsɥ³ [2]; **Yk** tɕy³; **Wy** tɕy³
CLS *tɕyə³: **Sc** tɕyɤ³; **Sy** tɕy³; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** tɕye³; **Qy** tɕye³
CSS *tɕyə³

686 *qiǎn* 淺〔山開三上獮清 AB〕 ‘shallow’ **CDC** *tshian³ / **EC** *tshenx
CSWW *tsʰiẽ³
CJQ *tsʰiẽ³: **Ly** tɕʰie³; **Jh** tsʰie³ [1] ≍ tsʰiã³; **Pj** tsʰiẽ³; **Dy** tsʰi³; **Yk** tɕʰiə³; **Wy** tɕʰie³
CLS *tɕʰiẽ³: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ³; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ³; **Yh** tʃʰie³; **Pc** tɕʰiãi³; **Qy** tɕʰiɛ̃³
CSS *tɕʰiə̃³

173 *hǎi* 海〔蟹開一上海曉〕 ‘ocean’ **CDC** *xoi³ / **EC** *ʾhix
CSWW *xəi³
CJQ *xəi³: **Ly** xei³; **Jh** xɛ³; **Pj** xa³; **Dy** xe³; **Yk** xəi³; **Wy** xa³
CLS *xəi³: **Sc** xei³; **Sy** xɛ³; **Lq** xɛ³; **Yh** xa³; **Pc** xue³; **Qy** xai³
CSS *xəi³

In the following cognate set, **Pc** has an irregular reflex of tone class *3 with the initial *n-. This may have been caused by a recent intrusion, because the regular destination of **CDC** tone *4 combined with sonorant and zero initials is tone class 3 in Mandarin-affiliated dialects. However, **Pj** also has an irregular initial that cannot be explained this way.

383 *nǎo* 腦〔效開一上晧泥〕 ‘brain’ **CDC** *nou⁴ / **EC** *ʾnawx
CSWW *nɔu⁴
CJQ *nou⁴: **Ly** nɔ⁴; **Jh** nɑu³; **Pj** lo⁴₍li; **Dy** nɑu⁴; **Yk** nɒ⁴; **Wy** nɤ⁴
CLS *nɔu⁴: **Sc** nɐɯ⁴; **Sy** nʌ⁴; **Lq** nɑɔ³; **Yh** nɑɔ³; **Pc** nau³; **Qy** nɒ⁴
CSS *nəu⁴

*2.6 Tone *4*

In **Jh** and **Lq**, tone class *4 has merged with tone class *3 unconditionally as an upper-register tone. As a result, voiced obstruent initials in tone class *4 words have devoiced. In **Yh**, tone class *4 has merged with tone class *3 in syllables with sonorant or zero initials.

287 *jì* 倚〔止開三上紙羣 B〕 ‘stand (v.)’ **CDC** *gi⁴ / **EC** *gayx
CSWW *gəi⁴ ‘stand’

CJQ *gəi⁴: **Ly** gei⁴; **Jh** kɛ³; **Pj** ga⁴; **Dy** ge⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** ga⁴
CLS *gəi⁴: **Sc** gei⁴; **Sy** gɛ⁴; **Lq** kɛ³; **Yh** ga⁴; **Pc** kue⁴; **Qy** kai⁴
CSS *gəi⁴

979 *xiàng* 像〔宕開三上養邪 C〕 ‘resemble; figure’ **CDC** *ziong⁴ / **EC** *zangx
CSWW *dziaŋ⁴ [1] ⩙ *ziaŋ⁴ [2]
CJQ *dziaŋ⁴ˌˡᵃ ⩙ *ziaŋ⁴
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** dziɑŋ⁶ˌˡᵗ [3]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑiaŋ⁴ 相～ ‘resemble’
b. **Ly** ʑiã⁴; **Jh** siɑŋ³ [1] ⩙ ziɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ⁴; **Dy** ʑiʌ⁴; **Yk** ʑiaŋ⁴; **Wy** ʑiaŋ⁴
CLS *dʑiaŋ⁴ ⩙ *ʑiaŋ⁴
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** dʑiaŋ⁴; **Lq** tɕiaŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** {tɕiaŋ⁴}; **Qy** tɕiã⁴ ‘resemble’
b. **Sc** ʑiaŋ⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒiã⁴; **Pc** {tɕiaŋ⁴}; **Qy** ɕiã⁴ ‘figure’
CSS *dʑiã⁴ ⩙ *ʑiã⁴

101 *wǔ* 五〔遇合一上姥疑〕 ‘five’ **CDC** *ʰngu⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰngax
CSWW *ŋuə⁴
CJQ *ŋ̍⁴: **Ly** ŋ⁴; **Jh** ŋ³ [1] ⩙ u³ [2]; **Pj** n⁴ [1] ⩙ m⁴ [2]; **Dy** n⁴; **Yk** ŋ⁴; **Wy** n⁴
CLS *ŋuə⁴: **Sc** ŋuɤ⁴; **Sy** ŋɯ⁴; **Lq** ŋəu³; **Yh** ŋ̩³; **Pc** ŋuo⁴; **Qy** ŋuɤ⁴
CSS *ŋuə⁴

1153 *lǐng* 嶺〔梗開三上靜來 AB〕 ‘ridge-line’ **CDC** *liang⁴ / **EC** —
CSWW *liŋ⁴
CJQ *liŋ⁴: **Ly** liŋ⁴; **Jh** liŋ³; **Pj** lin⁴; **Dy** lən⁴; **Yk** lieiŋ⁴; **Wy** lin⁴
CLS *liŋ⁴: **Sc** liɪŋ⁴; **Sy** len⁴; **Lq** liŋ³; **Yh** liŋ³; **Pc** leŋ⁴; **Qy** lɪŋ⁴
CSS *liŋ⁴

Sometimes we find doublets of tone class *4 words that are pronounced with tone 6. See the **Pc** reflexes of **287** 倚 **CSWW** *gəi⁴ ‘stand’ and the **Jh** reflexes of **979** 像 **CSWW** *ziaŋ⁴ [2] above. These are intrusive literary readings. In Mandarin-affiliated dialects, the regular destination of **CDC** tone class *4 is *6 in syllables with voiced obstruent initials. Intrusive readings of this sort are sporadic. We do not find systematic reflexes of the tone class *6 readings, so it is not possible to reconstruct these doublets at the level of **CSWW**.

*2.7 Tone *5*

Tone class *5 has remained stable.

378 *dào* 到〔效開一去号端〕 ‘arrive’ **CDC** *tou⁵ / **EC** *’tawh

CSWW *ɗɔu⁵

CJQ *ɗou⁵: **Ly** tɔ⁵; **Jh** tɑu⁵; **Pj** to⁵; **Dy** tɑu⁵; **Yk** ʔdɒ⁵; **Wy** lɤ⁵

CLS *ɗɔu⁵: **Sc** ʔdɐɯ⁵; **Sy** ʔdʌ⁵; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ⁵; **Yh** ʔdəu⁵; **Pc** lau⁵; **Qy** ʔdɐɯ⁵

CSS *təu⁵

131 *qù* 去〔遇合三去御溪 C〕 ‘go, leave’ **CDC** *khe⁵ / **EC** *khah

CSWW *kʰə⁵ [1] ⩙ *kʰyə⁵ [3]

CJQ *kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ *kʰy⁵ [2]

a. **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷₍f ⩙ kʰie⁵ ～年 ‘last year’; **Jh** kʰɯ⁵₍f; **Pj** tɕʰi⁵ ⩙ i⁵ [3]; **Dy** kʰəɯ⁵ ⩙ xəɯ⁵³ [3]; **Yk** kʰəɯ⁵; **Wy** kʰɯ⁵ ⩙ xɯ⁰ ⩙ kɯ⁰ [2]

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰy⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕʰiʉ⁵ [4]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kʰə⁵ ⩙ *kʰyə⁵ [2]

a. **Sc** kʰɤ³³ ⩙ kʰei⁵ ～年 ‘last year’; **Sy** kʰɤ⁵; **Lq** kʰɤɯ⁵; **Yh** kʰi⁵; **Pc** kʰe⁵; **Qy** kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ kʰã⁵ [3] ～年 ‘last year’

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰy⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰye⁵

CSS *kʰə⁵ ⩙ #kʰyə⁵ [2]

a. **Kh** kʰie⁵; **Cs** kʰə⁵ ⩙ kʰe⁻⁴⁴ [2] ～年 ‘last year’; **Js** kʰə⁵; **Ys** kʰə⁵ ⩙ kʰɐi⁻³³ [2] ～年 ‘last year’; **Gf** kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ kʰɤʔ⁷ [3] ～年 ‘last year’ ⩙ kʰeʔ⁷ [4] ～年 ‘last year’

b. **Kh** (tɕʰy⁵₍f); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kʰye⁵

The correspondences of this form are erratic in the context ～年 *ɲiã² ‘last year’. Some may have resulted from a contraction with 一 *iək giving reflexes that coincide with *kʰəi⁵ or *kʰək⁷. Others coincide with *kʰə̃⁵～*kʰɤ̃⁵, and may have resulted from rebracketing so that the initial of 年 *ɲiã² was reinterpreted as a coda.

760 *suàn* 算（筭）〔山合一去換心〕 ‘calculate’ **CDC** *son⁵ / **EC** *’sonh

CSWW *suɔ̃⁵

CJQ *suɤ̃⁵: **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ suã⁵ [2]; **Pj** sə̃⁵; **Dy** sɤ⁵; **Yk** sɤə⁵; **Wy** sɤ⁵

CLS *suə̃⁵: **Sc** suə̃⁵; **Sy** sæ̃⁵; **Lq** sɤ⁵; **Yh** suɛ⁵; **Pc** suãi⁵; **Qy** sã⁵

CSS *sɔ̃⁵

175 *ài* 愛〔蟹開一去代影〕 ‘love’ **CDC** *oi⁵ / **EC** *’us

CSWW *ʔəi⁵

CJQ *ʔei⁵: **Ly** ei⁵; **Jh** ɛ⁵; **Pj** a⁵; **Dy** ʔe⁵; **Yk** əi⁵; **Wy** a⁵

CLS *əi⁵: **Sc** ei⁵; **Sy** ɛ⁵; **Lq** ɛ⁵; **Yh** a⁵; **Pc** ue⁵; **Qy** ai⁵

CSS *ʔəi⁵

Most cognate sets involving tone class *5 are uncomplicated, but in a few etyma we find competing forms involving tone classes *3 and *5. This situation is most clearly represented in **CSS**

where we also sometimes find a difference in meaning for the competing forms (for details, see Akitani 2003a, 46).

(31) Doublets involving tone classes *3 and *5 exclusive to **CSS**

a. **14** 破 **EC** *’phayh 破; **CSS** *pʰɑi³ [1] ‘broken’ ~ *pʰɑi [2] ‘break’

b. **14** 破 **EC** *’phuyh 配; **CSS** *pʰuəi³ ‘match’ [1] ~ *pʰuəi⁵ [2] *id.*

c. **257** 塊 **EC** *’khus 塊; **CSS** *kʰyɑi³ ‘clod’ [1]; (*cf.* **CSWW** *kʰuəi⁵ *id.*)

However, it is also occasionally found in Lìshuǐ dialects:

176 *dài* 帶〔蟹開一去泰端〕 ‘bring; belt’ **CDC** *tai⁵ / **EC** *’tas
CSWW *ɗai³ [1] ‘belt’ ⩙ *ɗai⁵ [2]
CJQ *ɗa⁵: **Ly** tɑ⁵; **Jh** tɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɑ⁵; **Dy** tɑ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** lia⁵
CLS *ɗai³ [2] ⩙ *ɗai⁵ [1]
a. **Sc** ʔda³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdɑ³
b. **Sc** ʔda⁵ ‘bring’; **Sy** ʔda⁵; **Lq** ʔda⁵; **Yh** ʔdɑ⁵; **Pc** lai⁵; **Qy** ʔdɑ⁵ ‘bring’
CSS *tɑi³ ⩙ *tɑi⁵ ‘bring’

362 *fèi* 痱（痱）〔止合三去未非 C〕 ‘prickly heat’ **CDC** *fui⁵ / **EC** *pus
CSWW *ɓəi³ [1] ⩙ *fiə⁵ [2]
CJQ *fi⁵: **Ly** fi⁵; **Jh** fi⁵; **Pj** fin⁻⁵⁵ [兒]; **Dy** fi⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** fi⁵; **Wy** fi⁵
CLS *ɓəi³ ⩙ *fie⁵
a. **Sc** ʔbei³; **Sy** be⁶₍lit; **Lq** ʔbɛ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbai³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** fi⁵; **Pc** fie⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *puəi³

Although these doublets tempt speculation about earlier morphological processes linked to *qù* tone derivation, we must exercise restraint. The lack of differentiated meanings in the majority of the examples militates against such a hypothesis. It is also not the only explanation available given the evidence. The aberrant tone class *3 forms might instead be a vestige of **EC** phonology. They occur exclusively where we find the **EC** codas *-s and *-yh; never with other sonorant codas plus *-h or with *-h after vowels.[7] Perhaps **EC** *-s and *-yh merged early on as a sibilant coda

[7]There is one counterexample that at first blush seems to involve **EC** *-wh. Akitani (2003a, 46) includes **396** 燥〔效開一上晧心〕‘dry’ as an example of **CSS** tone class *3 (*sɑu³) corresponding to historical *qù* tone—and

in the ancestor of **CSWW**, differentiating itself from *-h, and gave rise to tone classes *3 and *4 instead of expected *5 and *6. There are two parallel cases of competing readings involving tone classes *4 and *6 in **CSWW** that correspond to **EC** *-s:[8]

365 *wèi* 未〔止合三去未微 C〕 ‘not yet; *wèi* 8/12 (gz.)’ **CDC** *mvui⁶ / **EC** *mus

CSWW *məi⁴ [1] ⩙ *məi⁶ [2] ⩙ *mi⁶ [3] ⩙ *vi⁶ [3]

CJQ *mi⁴ˌfa [2] ⩙ *mi⁶ [1] ⩙ *vi⁶ [4]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** mi⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** mi⁶; **Jh** mi⁶; **Pj** mi⁶; **Dy** mi⁶; **Yk** mi⁶; **Wy** mi⁶ ⩙ ʔmi⁵ [2]
c. **Ly** —; **Jh** vi⁶ [2]; **Pj** vi⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** vi⁶ [3]; **Wy** vi⁶ [3]

CLS *mi⁶: **Sc** mi⁶; **Sy** mi⁶; **Lq** mi⁶; **Yh** mi⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɪŋ⁶ˌf

CSS *muəi⁴ ⩙ *muəi⁶ ⩙ #vi⁶ [4]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** mɛ⁴; **Ys** mɐi⁴; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** mue⁶ [1]; **Js** mɛ⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** m⁻²²ˌf [1]
c. **Kh** vi⁶; **Cs** vi⁴ˌt [2]; **Js** fi⁻³³ [3]; **Ys** vi⁶ [2]; **Gf** fi⁶ [2]

The Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ reflexs lack evidence of a diphthong form. Perhaps it was reduced to a monophthong because it is a function word.

181 *ài* 艾〔蟹開一去泰疑〕 ‘mugwort; Ài (pn.)’ **CDC** *ʰngoi⁶ / **EC** *ʾʰngas

CSWW *ŋai⁴ [1] ‘mugwort’ ⩙ *ŋai⁶ [2] ⩙ *ŋəi⁶ [2]

CJQ *ŋa⁶ ⩙ *ŋəi⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ŋ̊ia⁴ [1]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** ŋɑ⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** ŋɑ⁶; **Yk** ɲiɑ⁶; **Wy** ŋ̊ia⁶
c. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɛ⁶; **Pj** ŋa²ˌt [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ŋai⁶ ⩙ *ŋəi⁶

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɑ⁴ [1]
b. **Sc** ŋa⁶; **Sy** ŋa⁶; **Lq** ua⁶ˌif; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɑ⁶ [2]
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ŋa⁶; **Pc** ŋue⁶; **Qy** —

CSS *ŋɑi⁴ ⩙ #ŋɑi⁶ ‘Ài (pn.)’

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ŋɛ⁴; **Js** ŋæ⁴; **Ys** ŋai⁴; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ŋɛ⁶; **Cs** —; **Js** ŋæ⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** ŋa⁶

In the **Ly** data, we find two irregular cases of tone class 5 with the initial *m- where the other

---

indeed in many modern dialects it is pronounced with **CDC** tone *5—but the *Qièyùn* itself assigns this character a *shàng* tone reading. This reading would go back to **EC** *ʾsawx. There is also no competing tone class *5 form in **CSS**, so I have decided to exclude it from consideration.

[8]Alternation of tones *4 and *6 occurs more frequently in **CSS** and in more environments that cannot be traced back to **EC** *-s and *-yh. E.g. **928** 問 **CSS** *mə̃⁴ [1] ‘ask’ vs. **CSS** *mə̃⁶ [2] *id.* These alternations are not shared with other Southwestern Wú dialects so their origin remains uncertain.

dialects have reflexes for tone class *6.

681 *miàn* 面〔山開三去線明 A〕 ‘face’ **CDC** *^{h}mian^{6} / **EC** *^{h}menh

CSWW *miẽ^{6}

CJQ *miẽ^{6}: **Ly** mie^{5}$_{\text{lt}}$; **Jh** mie^{6} [1] ⩙ miã^{6} [2]; **Pj** miẽ^{6} [1] ⩙ mɛ̃^{0} [2]; **Dy** mi^{6}; **Yk** miə^{6}; **Wy** mie^{6}

CLS *miẽ^{6}: **Sc** miẽ^{6}; **Sy** miɛ̃^{6}; **Lq** miɛ^{6}; **Yh** mie^{6}; **Pc** miãi^{6}; **Qy** miɛ̃^{6}

CSS *miə̃^{6}

718 *miàn* 麵〔山開四去霰明〕 ‘flour’ **CDC** *mian^{6} / **EC** *’menh

CSWW *miã^{6}

CJQ *miẽ^{6}: **Ly** mie^{5}; **Jh** mie^{6} [1] ⩙ miã^{6} [2]; **Pj** miẽ^{6}; **Dy** mi^{6}; **Yk** miə^{6}; **Wy** mie^{6}

CLS *miã^{6}: **Sc** miẽ^{6}; **Sy** miɛ̃^{6}; **Lq** miɛ^{6}; **Yh** mie^{6}; **Pc** miãi^{6}; **Qy** miə̃^{6}

CSS *miə̃^{6}

*2.8 Tone *6*

Tone class *6 remains unchanged. See remarks on doublets involving tone class *6 in the sections above on classes *4 and *5.

3 *dà* 大〔廣韻：果開一去箇定〕 ‘big’ **CDC** *da^{6} / **EC** *’dayh

CSWW *do^{6} *F*

CJQ *do^{6}: **Ly** du^{6}; **Jh** duɤ^{6} [1]; **Pj** duɯ^{6}; **Dy** dʊ^{6} [1]; **Yk** duə^{6} [1]; **Wy** duo^{6} [1]

CLS *do^{6}: **Sc** du^{6}; **Sy** du^{6}; **Lq** dəu^{6}; **Yh** du^{6}; **Pc** —; **Qy** to^{6} [1]

CSS *do^{6}

89 *lù* 路〔遇合一去暮來〕 ‘road’ **CDC** *lu^{6} / **EC** *’lah

CSWW *luə^{6}

CJQ *lu^{6}: **Ly** lu^{6}; **Jh** lu^{6}; **Pj** lu^{6}; **Dy** lu^{6}; **Yk** lu^{6}; **Wy** lu^{6}

CLS *luə^{6} ⩙ *dʑy^{4}

a. **Sc** luɤ^{6}; **Sy** luɯ^{6}; **Lq** lɤɯ^{6}; **Yh** lu^{6}; **Pc** luo^{6}; **Qy** lɤ^{6}

b. **Sc** dʑy^{4}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *luə^{6}

310 *èr* 二〔止開三去至日 AB〕 ‘two’ **CDC** *nhi^{6} / **EC** *nis

CSWW *ȵi^{6}

CJQ *ȵ^{6}: **Ly** ȵi^{6}; **Jh** ŋ^{6} [1] ⩙ əl^{6} [2]; **Pj** n^{6}; **Dy** n^{6} [l] ⩙ zi^{6} [2] ⩙ ɚ^{6} [3]; **Yk** ŋ^{6}; **Wy** n^{6}

CLS *ȵi^{6}: **Sc** ȵi^{6} [1] ⩙ ɤɯ^{6} [2]; **Sy** ȵi^{6}; **Lq** ȵi^{6}; **Yh** ɲi^{6}; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵĩ^{6}

CSS *ɲi⁶

891 *nèn* 嫩〔臻合一去慁泥〕 ‘tender’ **CDC** *nun⁶ / **EC** *’nunh

CSWW *nuə̃⁶

CJQ *nə̃⁶: **Ly** nei⁶; **Jh** nəŋ⁶; **Pj** nə̃⁶ ≍ nən⁶ [2]; **Dy** nɤ⁶; **Yk** nɤə⁶; **Wy** nɤ⁶

CLS *nuə̃⁶: **Sc** nə̃⁶; **Sy** næ̃⁶; **Lq** nɤ⁶; **Yh** nuɛ⁶; **Pc** (nueŋ⁶₍f₎); **Qy** nã⁶

CSS *nuə̃⁶

*2.9 Tone *7*

In **Jh**, tone class *7 has merged with tone 5 in all finals except those that have [ə] and [o] as their nuclei in the modern language.[9] In **Wy**, tone class *7 has merged with tone 5 in finals with the nuclei [e] and [ɤ].[10] For both **Jh** and **Wy**, glottal stop codas were lost as part of the tone mergers. Although **Pj** has retained distinct contours for tones 7 and 8, it has lost the glottal stop coda for finals in these tones.

862 *bǐ* 筆〔臻開三入質幫 B〕 ‘brush, pen’ **CDC** *pit⁷ / **EC** *put ≍ *pit

CSWW *ɓiək⁷₍a₎ (?) [1] ≍ *ɓiək⁷ [2]

CJQ *ɓiəʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** piə⁷; **Dy** piəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷

CLS *ɓiək⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** pie⁷ ≍ pi⁷; **Qy** ʔbiəɯʔ⁷

CSS #pyeʔ⁷ ≍ #piʔ⁷

a. **Kh** pʌʔ⁷; **Cs** pɛʔ⁷; **Js** pœʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** pieʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** peʔ⁷; **Gf** peʔ⁷

I have not changed the reconstruction of Akitani’s **CSS** forms, but I have altered their reading indices on the basis of **Kh**.

568 *jiē* 接〔咸開三入葉精 AB〕 ‘connect’ **CDC** *tsiap⁷ / **EC** *tsap

CSWW *tsieʔ⁷

CJQ *tsieʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsie⁵ [1] ≍ tsiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tsi⁷ [1] ≍ tʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiə³; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕieʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiəʔ⁷

---

[9]Checked finals with the nuclei [ə] and [o] mostly go back to the **CSWW** *ə and *o, but *-æʔ > -əʔ, *-uæʔ > *-uəʔ, *-auʔ > -oʔ are secondary sources. See Chapter 4 “Syllable Finals” for details.

[10]Both these nucleuses are retentions.

646 *gē* 割〔山開一入曷見〕 ‘sever’ **CDC** *kot⁷ / **EC** *’kat
CSWW *kɔʔ⁷
CJQ *kɤʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** kɤ⁵ [1] ≍ kəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kɯ⁷; **Dy** kɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kɤə³; **Wy** kɤ⁵
CLS *kuəʔ⁷: **Sc** keʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɤʔ⁷
CSS *kɒʔ⁷

1057 *jiǎo* 角〔江開二入覺見〕 ‘horn’ **CDC** *kauk⁷ / **EC** *krok
CSWW *kɔuʔ⁷
CJQ *kauʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** koʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tɕioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ko⁷ [1] ≍ tɕyo⁷ [2]; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kɒ³; **Wy** kɑoʔ⁷
CLS *kɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** kɔʔ⁷; **Sy** koʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** koʔ⁷; **Pc** kau⁷; **Qy** koʔ⁷
CSS *kɒʔ⁷

In **611** 粒 **CSWW** *lʌʔ⁸ [2], several dialects have tone class *7 with *l-, but the final correspondences are irregular.

611 *lì* 粒〔深開三入緝來 AB〕 ‘kernel (clf.)’ **CDC** *ʰlip⁸ / **EC** *ʰlup
CSWW *ləkˀ⁸ (?) [1] ≍ *lʌʔ⁸ [2]
CJQ *lɤʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** lɤ⁻¹⁴ ≍ ləʔ⁸; **Pj** lɯ⁻²⁴; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** lɤə⁴; **Wy** lɤʔ⁸
CLS *ləkˀ⁸ (?) ≍ *ləʔ⁸
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {le⁷}; **Qy** ləɯʔ⁸
b. **Sc** leʔ⁷ [1] ≍ leʔ⁸ [2]; **Sy** ləʔ⁸; **Lq** ləʔ⁸; **Yh** lɛʔ⁷; **Pc** {le⁷}; **Qy** lɤʔ⁸
CSS *lʌʔ⁸

*2.10 Tone *8*

In **Jh** and **Wy**, tone class *8 has merged with tones 6 and 4 respectively in all modern finals except for those with the nuclei [ə], [o], and [ɔ]. Glottal stop codas were lost with the tone change.

1120 *bái* 白〔梗開二入陌並〕 ‘white’ **CDC** *bak⁸ / **EC** *brak
CSWW *bæʔ⁸
CJQ *bæʔ⁸: **Ly** bəʔ⁸; **Jh** bəʔ⁸; **Pj** bɑ⁸; **Dy** bɜʔ⁸; **Yk** bai⁴; **Wy** ba⁴
CLS *bæʔ⁸: **Sc** biaʔ⁸; **Sy** baʔ⁸; **Lq** baʔ⁸; **Yh** baʔ⁸; **Pc** pai⁷; **Qy** pɑʔ⁸
CSS *bæʔ⁸

1234 *mù* 木〔通合一入屋明〕 ‘wood’ **CDC** *ʰmuk⁸ / **EC** *’ʰmok
CSWW *moʔ⁸
CJQ *moʔ⁸: **Ly** məʔ⁸; **Jh** moʔ⁸; **Pj** mɤ⁸ [1] ≍ mɯ⁸ [2]; **Dy** mouʔ⁸; **Yk** mu⁴; **Wy** məʔ⁸

CLS *muʔ⁸: **Sc** məɯʔ⁸; **Sy** məʔ⁸; **Lq** ŋʔ⁸; **Yh** məuʔ⁸; **Pc** moŋ⁷; **Qy** muʔ⁸
CSS #moʔ⁸: **Kh** məʔ⁸; **Cs** moʔ⁸; **Js** moʔ⁸; **Ys** moʔ⁸; **Gf** mɤʔ⁸

541 *là* 蠟〔咸開一入盍來〕 ‘wax’ **CDC** *ʰlap⁸ / **EC** *ʾʰlap
CSWW *laʔ⁸
CJQ *lɒʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** luɑ⁶ [1] ≍ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** luɑ⁸; **Dy** luoʔ⁸; **Yk** lɑ⁴; **Wy** luɑ⁴
CLS *laʔ⁸: **Sc** laʔ⁸; **Sy** ləʔ⁸; **Lq** ləʔ⁸; **Yh** lɑʔ⁸; **Pc** la⁷; **Qy** lɑʔ⁸
CSS *lɑʔ⁸

1175 *shí* 石〔梗開三入昔常 AB〕 ‘stone’ **CDC** *zhiak⁸ / **EC** *dak
CSWW *(dž,dz)iauʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *žiʔ⁸ [2]
CJQ *žiʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zɛ⁸; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ [1] 鵝卵～ ‘cobblestone’ ≍ zɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸
CLS *dʑiauʔ⁸ ≍ *ʑiʔ⁸
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaʔ⁸ ～斑魚 ‘grouper’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** zɿʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁸
CSS *dʑiɑʔ⁸ ≍ #ʑiʔ⁸
a. **Kh** dʑiɛʔ⁸ ～頭; **Cs** dʑiaʔ⁸ ～頭; **Js** dʑiaʔ⁸ □bᴇ³³～ ‘cobblestone’; **Ys** dʑiɐʔ⁸ □beʔ²～; **Gf** ɕiɐʔ⁸ ～頭
b. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸ 吸鐵～ ‘magnet’; **Js** ɕiᴇʔ⁸ ～頭; **Ys** zeʔ⁸ ～榴 ‘pomegranate’; **Gf** seʔ⁸

Chapter 3

SYLLABLE INITIALS

3.1 Overview

CSWW had 29 initials. The only major departures from the **CDC** initial inventory are the two implosives *ɓ- and *ɗ- and the absence of a labiodental that corresponds to *mv-. However, the lexical incidence of the **CSWW** initials does not always match **CDC**.

(32)

*ɓ	*pʰ	*b	*m	*f	*v
*ɗ	*tʰ	*d	*n		*l
*ts	*tsʰ	*dz		*s	*z
*tš	*tšʰ	*dž	*n̡	*š	*ž
*k	*kʰ	*g	*ŋ	*x	
*ʔ					*ɦ

I will refer to the *tš*-series sibilant initials in (32) generally as "postalveolars" because their exact phonetic realization is difficult to pin down. Before high front vowels they were probably pronounced as alveolo-palatals, e.g. [tɕ-], as is still the case in most of the daughters today. Elsewhere, they were likely realized as retroflex sibilants. However, due to an early and widespread merger with the alveolar *ts*-series, we can only recover this second articulation in a handful of cases.[1] As such, it is difficult to say anything definitive about their default realization. Rather than treat this series as fundamentally retroflex with a conditioned alveolo-palatal realization, I have opted to represent them with neutral, non-IPA symbols.

[1] South Coblin encountered a similar situation when he reconstructed Common Gàn (see Coblin 2015, 74). It would also be possible to reconstruct the *tš*-series of **CSWW** as retroflexes like he did for Common Gàn. At one point, this was probably the case for **Ly**. The tendency for medial *-i- to be lost and *-y- back to [-u-] after the postalveolar sibilants in **Ly** is best explained by a retracted place of articulation.

3.1.1 Implosivization

In the dialects on the east side of the Southwestern Wú region—most of the Lìshuǐ dialects and **Yk**—pre-glottalized voiced stops [ʔb] and [ʔd] correspond to **CDC** tenuis initials *p- and *t-. I use the implosive symbols *ɓ- and *ɗ- for these initials in **CSWW**. We must project this glottalic pronunciation back to **CSWW** because of two unusual developments that are found throughout Southwestern Wú dialects regardless of whether they retained initial implosives.

First, in a few words, *ɓ- and *ɗ- irregularly developed into homorganic nasal initials in dialects that otherwise have only tenuis stops. This strongly suggests that the modern tenuis reflexes are innovations. The nasal reflexes can only have developed from former glottalic consonants—not directly from tenuis stops. Rhinoglottophilia of this sort is well-attested.[2] In Southwestern Wú, the change seems to have occurred predominantly before the nucleuses *-a- and *-æ- in finals that end in nasal segments, but it did not obtain regularly. Only a few frequent words were affected. The two that begin with *ɗ- have become quasi-grammaticalized as function words.

665 *bǎn* 板〔山開二上濟幫〕 ‘board’ **CDC** *pan³ / **EC** *pranx

CSWW *ɓã³

CJQ *ɓã³: **Ly** pã³; **Jh** pɑ³ [1] ≍ pã³ [2]; **Pj** pɑ̃³; **Dy** mʌ³˩˧ [1] ≍ pʌ³ [2]; **Yk** ʔmɑ³; **Wy** ʔmuo³

CLS *ɓã³: **Sc** ʔbaŋ³; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃³; **Lq** ʔbaŋ³; **Yh** ʔbã³; **Pc** pãi³ [白]; **Qy** ʔbɑ̃³

CSS *pɑ̃³

1137 *bìng* 柄〔梗開三去映幫 B〕 ‘handle’ **CDC** *piang⁵ / **EC** *pangh ≍ *pengh

CSWW *ɓæŋ⁵ [1] ≍ *ɓiŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓæŋ⁵ ≍ *ɓiŋ⁵

a. **Ly** pɛ⁵; **Jh** mɑŋ⁵˩˧ ‘handle’; **Pj** —; **Dy** mɛ⁵˩˧; **Yk** ʔmai⁵; **Wy** ʔma⁵

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** piŋ⁵ 鋤頭～ ‘hoe shaft’; **Pj** pin⁵˩˦; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɓæŋ⁵ ≍ *ɓiŋ⁵

a. **Sc** ʔbiaŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔbaŋ⁵; **Lq** ʔbaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔbɛ⁵; **Pc** pãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbã⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** peŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *pæ̃⁵ ≍ #piŋ⁵

a. **Kh** pɛ̃⁵ ≍ pã⁵ [2]; **Cs** {pɪŋ⁵}; **Js** pã⁵; **Ys** pɒ̃⁵; **Gf** pæ̃⁵

b. **Kh** piŋ⁵ [3]; **Cs** {pɪŋ⁵}; **Js** —; **Ys** pɪŋ⁵; **Gf** —

---

[2] As an example, the implosives of Proto-Vietic becoming nasal consonants in Middle Vietnamese.

529 *dān* 擔〔咸開一平談端〕 ‘bear (on the shoulder)’ **CDC** *tam¹ / **EC** *’tam

CSWW *ɗã¹

CJQ *ɗã¹ ‘take’: **Ly** tã¹; **Jh** tɑ¹ [1] ≍ tã¹ [2]; **Pj** nɑ̃¹˩ ≍ tɑ̃¹; **Dy** nʌ¹˩ [1] ≍ tʌ¹ [2]; **Yk** ʔnɑ¹ [1]; **Wy** nuo¹

CLS *ɗã¹: **Sc** ʔdaŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdɔ̃¹; **Lq** ʔdaŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdã¹; **Pc** lãi¹; **Qy** ʔdã¹

CSS #tã¹: **Kh** tã¹; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tã¹; **Gf** tã¹

In Jīnqú dialects, this morpheme grammaticalized and became a particle that marks indirect object focusing like *bǎ* 把 in **MSC**. Perhaps the irregular initial developments in **Pj** and **Dy** are the result of phonological reduction.

1109 *dǎ* 打〔梗開二上梗端〕 ‘hit’ **CDC** *tang³ ≍ *ta³ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɗæŋ³

CJQ *ɗæŋ³: **Ly** tɛ³; **Jh** tɑŋ³ [1] ≍ tɑ³ [2]; **Pj** nɛ̃³ [1] ≍ tɑ³ [2]; **Dy** nɛ³; **Yk** ʔnai³; **Wy** ʔna³

CLS *ɗæŋ³ ≍ *ɗa³ *B*

a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ³; **Sy** naŋ³˩; **Lq** ʔdaŋ³; **Yh** nɛ³˩; **Pc** nãi³˩ [白]; **Qy** nã²˩ [1]
b. **Sc** ʔdɑ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** la³; **Qy** ʔdo³ [2]

CSS #tæ̃³: **Kh** təŋ³ [1] ≍ tã³ [2] ≍ tɔ³ [3]; **Cs** tɪŋ³; **Js** tã³; **Ys** (tai³˧); **Gf** (ta³˧)

Second, twenty words beginning in **CDC** *c-, *š-, and *k- before high front vowels have initial glottal stops in Southwestern Wú.[3] These are also the result of sporadic glottalization. Presumably there was an intermediate stage of palatal [ʃ-~ʔj-]. Such a change would be typologically unusual if *p- and *t- had not already become glottalic as well (Greenberg 1970).[4] Palatal glottal-

[3]To wit, they are:

- **CDC** *c-: 煮箸周帚咒甽肫摭種腫
- **CDC** *š-: 水守舂
- **CDC** *k-: 箕其雞叫肩筧見

There may be more that I have overlooked.

[4]Greenberg (1970, 128) found that languages with implosives tend to favor articulation toward the front of the mouth. If a language has only one implosive it is typically [ɓ], less commonly [ɗ]. For languages with greater inventories of implosive consonants, the next most front place of articulation is favored, i.e. [ɓ ɗ ʃ], [ɓ ɗ ʃ ɠ], etc. Campbell (1973) raises Proto-Mayan as an exception, which has only bilabial and uvular implosives [ɓ ʔq]. (Many thanks to Prof. Coblin for bringing this counterexample to my attention.) However, when it comes to palatal implosives, Greenberg's generalization appears to hold true. Of the 460 languages with glottalic consonants in the Phoible database (2019), 55 have post-alveolar or palatal implosives. All of these languages also have both implosive labial and alveolar counterparts except Ongamo, an extinct Nilotic language. This appears to be a mistake in the database. In the original source, Ongamo has four implosives [ɓ ɗ ʃ ɠ] (von Vossen 1982, 193).

ization appears to have arisen in only a few particular phonetic environments. With few exceptions, glottal stops in Southwestern Wú that correspond to **CDC** postalveolar initials occur only before high front medial glides that precede a back round vowel and medial *-y-.

125 *zhǔ* 煮〔遇合三上語章 C〕 ‘boil’ **CDC** *cie³ / **EC** *tax

CSWW *ʔiə³ [1] ⧑ *tšyə³ [2]

CJQ *ʔi³ ⧑ *tšy³

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** (tsɿ³˩˧); **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** i³; **Wy** i³

b. **Ly** (tɕy⁵˩˨); **Jh** tɕy³; **Pj** tʃy³; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ie³ ⧑ *tɕyə³

a. **Sc** ie³; **Sy** i³; **Lq** i³; **Yh** i³; **Pc** (tɕie³˩˧); **Qy** ie³

b. **Sc** (tɕy¹˩˨˦); **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕye³

CSS *ʔiə³ ⧑ #tɕyə³

a. **Kh** ie³; **Cs** ie³; **Js** iə³; **Ys** ie³; **Gf** ie³

b. **Kh** (tɕy³˩˨); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕye³; **Gf** tɕye³

In a stage of pre-**CSWW** this final may have included a front rounded element. Cf. Common Mín *tʃy³.

490 *zhōu* 周〔流合三平尤章 C〕 ‘cycle; Zhōu (pn.)’ **CDC** *cieu¹ / **EC** *tiw

CSWW *ʔiu¹ [1] ⧑ *tšiu¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiəu¹ ⧑ *tšieu¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** iu¹ ～歲 ‘anniversary’

b. **Ly** tsəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕiu¹; **Pj** tʃiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕiəɯ¹; **Wy** tɕiu¹

CLS *iu¹ ⧑ *tɕiu¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɯ¹ 弄～ ‘first birthday’

b. **Sc** tɕiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕiɯ¹; **Yh** tʃiu¹; **Pc** tɕiu¹; **Qy** tɕiɯ¹ ‘Zhōu (pn.)’

CSS #ʔiu¹ ⧑ #tɕeu¹

a. **Kh** iɯ¹ [1] ～年 ‘anniversary’; **Cs** iɯ⁻⁵² [1] ～年 ‘anniversary of death’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiɯ¹ ‘Zhōu (pn.)’; **Cs** tɕiɯ¹ ‘Zhōu (pn.)’; **Js** tɕiɯ¹; **Ys** tsəɯ¹; **Gf** tɕiɯ¹

910 *zhūn* 肫〔廣韻：臻合三平諄章 AB〕 ‘gizzard’ **CDC** *ciun¹ / **EC** *tun

CSWW *ʔyəŋ¹

CJQ *ʔyəŋ¹: **Ly** ioŋ¹; **Jh** yəŋ¹; **Pj** (tɕyən¹˩˧); **Dy** (tsuən¹˩˦); **Yk** —; **Wy** yin¹

CLS *yəŋ¹: **Sc** yɪŋ¹; **Sy** iəŋ¹; **Lq** iŋ¹˩˨; **Yh** yɪŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** yəŋ¹

CSS *ʔyiŋ¹

1292 *zhǒng* 腫〔通合三上腫章 C〕 ‘swollen’ **CDC** *ciung³ / **EC** *tongx

CSWW *ʔioŋ³ [1] ⧑ *tšiəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ʔioŋ³ ⩙ *tšioŋ³
a. **Ly** ioŋ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** iɔŋ³
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕioŋ³; **Pj** tɕyon³; **Dy** tsom³; **Yk** tɕiɔŋ³; **Wy** —

CLS *ioŋ³ ⩙ *tɕiɔŋ³
a. **Sc** iɔŋ³; **Sy** iəŋ³; **Lq** iəŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ioŋ³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiõ³; **Pc** tsoŋ³; **Qy** tɕiõ⁴ǃt

CSS #ʔioŋ³
a. **Kh** ioŋ³; **Cs** ioŋ³; **Js** ioŋ³; **Ys** ioŋ³; **Gf** ioŋ³
b. **Kh** tɕioŋ³ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

Furthermore, two of the words in which **CSWW** *ʔ- correspond to CDC *š- regularly have the initial *tʃ- in Common Mín. These cases of *ʔ- probably also resulted from the glottalization of pre-**CSWW** *tš-.

357 *shuǐ* 水〔止合三上旨書 AB〕 ‘water’ **CDC** *shui³ / **EC** *θuyx

CSWW *ʔy³ [1] *F* ⩙ *šy³ [2] *B*

CJQ *šyi³ *F*: **Ly** suei³; **Jh** ɕy³; **Pj** ʃy³; **Dy** sɥ³ [1] ⩙ sɥ³ [2]; **Yk** ɕy³; **Wy** ɕy³

CLS *y³ ⩙ *ɕy³
a. **Sc** y³; **Sy** —; **Lq** y³ 柭; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** y³ [2] *B* ～管 ‘bamboo dipper’
b. **Sc** ɕy³; **Sy** ɕy³ *F*; **Lq** ɕy³ [文]; **Yh** ʃy³ *F*; **Pc** ɕy³ *F*; **Qy** ɕy³ [1] *F*

CSS *ʔyi³ 柭 ⩙ #ɕyi³
a. **Kh** y³; **Cs** y³; **Js** y³; **Ys** y³; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕy³ ⩙ sui³ [3] *B*; **Js** ɕy⁻⁴³ *B* ～果 ‘fruit’ ⩙ suɛ⁻⁴³ [3] *B* ～澻 ‘water margin’; **Ys** ʑy⁻²² *B* ～茶 ‘Chinese medicine’ ⩙ suei³ [3] *B*; **Gf** ɕy³ *F*

Cf. Common Mín *tʃui³ (Norman 2012a, 13 coastal only) > Proto-Níngdé *tʃy³ (Akitani 2018, 475).

495 *shǒu* 守〔流合三上有書 C〕 ‘guard’ **CDC** *shieu³ / **EC** *θux

CSWW *ʔyə³ [1] ⩙ *šiu³ [2]

CJQ *ʔy³ ⩙ *šiəu³
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** y³; **Wy** y³
b. **Ly** səɯ³; **Jh** ɕiu³; **Pj** ʃiɤ³; **Dy** ɕiəɯ³; **Yk** ɕiəɯ³; **Wy** ɕiu³

CLS *yə³ ⩙ *ɕiu³
a. **Sc** yɤ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ye³
b. **Sc** ɕiɯ³; **Sy** ɕiɯ³; **Lq** ɕiɯ³; **Yh** ʃiu³; **Pc** ɕiu³; **Qy** ɕiɯ³

CSS *ʔyə³ ⩙ #ɕeu³: **Kh** ɕiɯ³; **Cs** ɕiɯ³; **Js** ɕiɯ³; **Ys** səɯ³; **Gf** ɕiɯ³

1294 *chōng* 舂〔通合三平鍾書 C〕 ‘pound grain’ **CDC** *shiung¹ ⩙ *chiung¹ / **EC** *θong

CSWW *ʔioŋ¹ ⩙ *šyaŋ¹

CJQ *ioŋ¹ ⩙ *šyaŋ¹
a. **Ly** ioŋ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** ɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕyaŋ¹
CLS *ioŋ¹ ⩙ *ɕiəŋ¹
a. **Sc** iəŋ¹; **Sy** iəŋ¹; **Lq** iəŋ¹; **Yh** ioŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** ioŋ¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** soŋ¹; **Qy** —
CSS *ʔioŋ¹
Cf. Common Mín *tʃuŋ¹ (Norman 2012a, 219 Coastal only) > Proto-Níngdé *tʃyŋ¹ (Akitani 2018, 609).

The glottalized velars typically only occur before unrounded high front vowels. Most of these are Division IV syllables in the *Qièyùn* system, but it is not clear if that correspondence is a coincidence or if there was something special about Division IV finals that could have conditioned glottalization. This is worth keeping in mind, nonetheless, because Southern Wú dialects are the only form of Chinese (even including Sinoxenic reading traditions) that consistently distinguishes *Qièyùn* system Division III and IV finals.[5]

231 *jī* 雞〔蟹開四平齊見〕 ‘chicken’ **CDC** *kiai¹ / **EC** *’ke
CSWW *ʔie(i)¹ [1] ⩙ *kiei¹ [2]
CJQ *kie¹: **Ly** tɕi¹; **Jh** tɕie¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** kiə¹ [1] ⩙ ki¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕie¹
CLS *ie¹ ⩙ *kie¹
a. **Sc** ie¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** i¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ie¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tsɿ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** kie¹; **Qy** tɕie¹
CSS *ʔiə¹ [2] ⩙ *ki¹ [1]

332 *jī* 箕〔止開三平之見 C〕 ‘dustpan’ **CDC** *ki¹ / **EC** *ki
CSWW *ʔi¹ [1] ⩙ *ki¹ [2]
CJQ *ʔi¹ ⩙ *ki¹
a. **Ly** i¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** i¹; **Wy** i¹
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕi¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕin^{-335} [兒] □tsɑu^{33}～ ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

[5]The distinction is most clearly retained for words with the CDC finals *-iau, *-iam, *-iap, *-ian, and *-iat after labial and coronal initials, but some words with the final *-iai also show a distinction. Beyond Southwestern Wú, some Yuè and Mín dialects have a tendency to pronounce Division II and IV with a final that is distinct from Division III, but they do not treat Division IV as a unique class of finals.

CLS *i¹ ⩙ *ki¹
a. **Sc** i¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɿ¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** i¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ki¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔi¹ 糞～ ⩙ #ki¹
a. **Kh** i¹ [2] ⩙ ie¹ [1] ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Cs** i¹ ⩙ ie¹ [2] ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Js** i¹; **Ys** i¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ki¹ ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Ys** ki¹ ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Gf** ki¹

The [ie¹] forms in Kh and Cs are of unclear origin. They may have originated from another variant which we could reconstruct as CSS #ʔiə¹.

454 *jiào* 叫〔效開四去嘯見〕 ‘cry out, call’ **CDC** *kiau⁵ / **EC** *’kiwh

CSWW *ʔiɔu⁵ [1] ⩙ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵ [2]

CJQ *ʔiou⁵ ⩙ *kiou⁵
a. **Ly** iɔ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** iɒ⁵; **Wy** ie⁵
b. **Ly** tɕiɔ⁵; **Jh** tɕiɑu⁵; **Pj** tɕi⁵; **Dy** tɕiʊ⁵; **Yk** kiɒ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *iɔu⁵ ⩙ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵
a. **Sc** iɐɯ⁵; **Sy** iʌ⁵; **Lq** iɑɔ⁵; **Yh** iɑɔ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɒ⁵
b. **Sc** tɕiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɒ⁵

CSS *ʔiəu⁵ ⩙ #kiəu⁵
a. **Kh** iəɯ⁵; **Cs** iɤɯ⁵; **Js** iɐɯ⁵; **Ys** iɐɯ¹ ⩙ iɐɯ⁵ [1]; **Gf** iɤɯ⁵
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕiɔ³₍₁f₎; **Js** —; **Ys** kiɐɯ⁵; **Gf** kiɑɔ⁵

Cf. Common Min *kiau⁵ > Proto-Níngdé *kiau⁵.

730 *jiān* 肩〔山開四平先見〕 ‘shoulder’ **CDC** *kian¹ / **EC** *’ken

CSWW *ʔiẽ¹ [1] ⩙ *kiẽ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiẽ¹ ⩙ *kiẽ¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** iə¹; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** tɕie¹; **Jh** tɕie¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕiẽ¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕie¹

CLS *ʔiẽ¹ ⩙ *kiẽ¹
a. **Sc** iẽ¹ ～胛頭; **Sy** iɛ̃¹; **Lq** ȵiŋ¹₍₁if₎; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** yɛ̃¹₍₁f₎ ～頭 ⩙ iɛ̃¹ [2] 左～ ‘left shoulder’
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃie¹; **Pc** kiãi¹; **Qy** —

CSS *kiə̃¹

Ultimately, initial implosives likely arose to enhance the contrast between tenuis and voiced stop initials. Tenuis stops were articulated with more creak than voiced stops. This is similar to the function of breathy phonation in most Northern Wú dialects.

3.1.2 Palatalization

Before investigating the correspondences of the initials, it will help to study the issue of palatalization separately. **CSWW** had a three-way contrast of alveolar sibilants, postalveolar sibilants, and velar stops that stood in contrast before high front vowels. None of the daughter languages preserve the original configuration. In most of them, either the alveolar sibilants or velars have palatalized in this environment, which has led to mergers with the postalveolar sibilants. Some transitional dialects exhibit both mergers, obscuring the original distinctions further.

The palatalizations of the alveolar sibilant and velar series are difficult to describe using rule-based diachronic changes because the mergers involved in the daughters took place at different stages during the development of the finals system. This makes expressing the conditioning environments in terms of the proto-language cumbersome. Describing developments using constraint-based phonotactics is more expedient. In the following sections, I will use "palatalizing environments" to mean environments where alveolar sibilants or velars do not stand in contrast with the postalveolars in the modern dialects.

Three common phonotactic distributions of alveolar and velar initials exist in modern Southwestern Wú dialects:

(33) a. **×Si, Ki.** Alveolar sibilants cannot occur before high front vowels, but velars can.
CSS and most of its daughters, **Pc** and other conservative Lìshǔi dialects, **Yk**.

b. **Si, ×Ki.** Velars cannot occur before high front vowels, but alveolar sibilants can.
Jh, Tāngxī 湯谿, Lánxī 蘭谿

c. **×Si, ×Ki.** Neither alveolar sibilants nor velars can occur before high front vowels.
Ly, **Wy**, **Sc**, **Sy**, **Yh**, **Qy** and other transitional dialects

We may analyze the differences between these three configurations using the following constraints:[6]

(34) a. **Ident-Cor:** Coronals in the input are coronals in the output.

b. **Ident-Dor:** Dorsals in the input are dorsals in the output.

c. **Ident[ant]:** The specification of the feature [ant] in the input segments is not changed

[6]The analysis presented here uses Optimality Theory. For an overview of this framework, see Archangeli (1999).

in the output.[7]

d. **PAL**: Consonantal segments before high front vowels must be postalveolar coronals, i.e. [COR, −ant].[8]

In **CSWW**, all three faithfulness constraints (34a–c) dominated PAL so there was no neutralization.

(35) Original configuration: Si, Ki (**CSWW**, **CJQ**)

a.

Input: tsi	IDENT-Cor	IDENT-Dor	IDENT[ant]	PAL
→ tsi				*
tɕi			*!	
ki	*!			*

b.

Input: ki	IDENT-Cor	IDENT-Dor	IDENT[ant]	PAL
tsi		*!		*
tɕi		*!		
→ ki				*

c.

Input: tɕi	IDENT-Cor	IDENT-Dor	IDENT[ant]	PAL
tsi			*!	*
→ tɕi				
ki	*!			*

In the dialects in the south and east of our area of interest, we find the configuration **×Si, Ki** which arose from a change that promoted the constraint PAL to dominate IDENT[ant], i.e. **CSWW**

[7]Only coronals are specified for [ant].

[8]These postalveolars must also be [+dis], i.e. articulated with a flat [tɕ] or domed [tʃ] tongue posture, not [−dist] with a hollowed tongue posture as in [tʂ]. Note that other faithfulness constraints, if ranked higher than PAL, would militate against the palatalization of other consonants. For example, IDENT-Lab ≫ PAL would prevent the palatalization of labials and IDENT[strident] ≫ PAL would prevent the palatalization of non-sibilant alveolars. In this analysis, I follow Kehrein (2013, 30) in treating [strid] as a unique feature of coronal affricate sibilants as "strident stops".

IDENT[ant] ≫ PAL > PAL ≫ IDENT[ant]. This change probably expanded from the south. Many Mín dialects share the **×Si, Ki** configuration.

(36) ×Si, Ki (**Yk**, **CSS**, **Pc**)

a.

Input: tsi	IDENT-Cor	IDENT-Dor	PAL	IDENT[ant]
tsi			*!	
→ tɕi				*
ki	*!		*	

b.

Input: ki	IDENT-Cor	IDENT-Dor	PAL	IDENT[ant]
tsi		*!	*	
tɕi		*!		
→ ki			*	

In **Si, ×Ki** dialects, located in the northwest of the Southwestern Wú region, PAL has instead come to dominate IDENT-Dor, i.e. **CSWW** IDENT[ant] ≫ PAL > PAL ≫ IDENT-Dor. This change probably expanded from the north under the influence of early Mandarin.

(37) Si, ×Ki (**Jh**)

a.

Input: tsi	IDENT-Cor	IDENT[ant]	PAL	IDENT-Dor
→ tsi			*	
tɕi		*!		
ki	*!		*	

b.

Input: ki	IDENT-Cor	IDENT[ant]	PAL	IDENT-Dor
tsi			*!	*
→ tɕi				*
ki			*!	

×Si, ×Ki is the most innovative situation. It resulted from both changes in PAL expanding into

a transitional region in the middle of the dialect zone.

(38) ×Si, ×Ki (**Ly**, **Wy**, **Sc**, **Sy**, **Yh**, **Qy**)

a.

Input: tsi	IDENT-Cor	PAL	IDENT-Dor	IDENT[ant]
tsi		*!		
→ tɕi				*
ki	*!	*		

b.

Input: ki	IDENT-Cor	PAL	IDENT-Dor	IDENT[ant]
tsi		*!	*	
→ tɕi			*	
ki		*!		

We cannot say with complete certainty which change in the ranking of PAL began to spread first, but the broader distribution of **×Si** in the daughters makes PAL ≫ IDENT[ant] the likelier candidate.

(39) **Stage 0**: IDENT-Dor, IDENT[ant] ≫ PAL
Stage 1: IDENT-Dor ≫ PAL ≫ IDENT[ant]
Stage 2: PAL ≫ IDENT-Dor, IDENT[ant]

In addition to the common configurations discussed above, **Pj** and **Dy** have unique phonotactics. **Pj** has a rare three-way contrast of alveolar [ts], palato-alveolar [tʃ], and alveolo-palatal sibilants [tɕ]. The alveolar sibilants only occur before front vowels in the finals [i] and [iẽ]. See §3.4 below for a diachronic explanation of this unusual distribution. The contrast of palato-alveolar and alveolar sibilants is marginal before high front round vowels. In **Dy**, there is a two-way contrast of alveolar [ts] and alveolo-palatal sibilants [tɕ], but it is only maintained before [i] as a syllable nucleus, not as a medial. If we overlook these peculiarities, then **Pj** and **Dy** can be grouped with the **Si, ×Ki** dialects since they permit alveolar sibilants before high front vowels—albeit in a restricted way—but not velars.[9]

[9]A few of our dialects also permit velars in a restricted way before high front vowels. As noted in §1.5.2, velar initials occur before [-iu] in **Jh**, but this is probably because the final is realized as lax [-ɪu] and comes from **CJQ**

Because so many Southwestern Wú dialects now exhibit both palatalization of original alveolar sibilants and velars, it is sometimes difficult or impossible to unambiguously reconstruct these initials when we lack evidence from conservative dialects. To unambiguously reconstruct velars in palatalized environments, we must rely on reflexes in **Yk**, **CSS**, and **Pc**. For alveolars in palatalized environments, we must rely primarily on **Jh**. **Ly** is also an important reference because postalveolars in **Ly** shifted to retroflexes before ultimately merging with the alveolar sibilants. High front medials were lost in this process, rendering the reflexes of original alveolars and postalveolars in original palatalizing environments distinct in **Ly**.

685 *jiàn* 箭〔山開三去線精 AB〕 ‘arrow’ **CDC** *tsian^{5} / **EC** *tsenh
CSWW *tsiẽ^{5}
CJQ *tsiẽ^{5}: **Ly** tɕie^{5}; **Jh** tsie^{5} [1] ≍ tsiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** tsɛ̃^{5}; **Dy** tsi^{5}; **Yk** tɕiə^{5}; **Wy** tɕie^{5}
CLS *tɕiẽ^{5}: **Sc** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** tɕiɛ^{5}; **Yh** tʃie^{5}; **Pc** tɕiãi^{5}; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}
CSS #tɕiə̃^{5}: **Kh** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Cs** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Js** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Ys** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Gf** tɕiẽ^{5}

692 *zhàn* 戰〔山開三去線章 AB〕 ‘battle’ **CDC** *cian^{5} / **EC** *tanh
CSWW *tšiẽ^{5}
CJQ *tšiẽ^{5}: **Ly** tsei^{5}; **Jh** tɕyɤ^{5} [1] ≍ tɕyã^{5} [2]; **Pj** tʃian$^{55}{}_{!f}$; **Dy** tsi^{5}; **Yk** tɕiə^{5}; **Wy** tɕie^{5}
CLS *tɕiẽ^{5}: **Sc** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** tɕiɛ^{5}; **Yh** tʃie^{5}; **Pc** tɕiãi^{5}; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}
CSS *tɕiə̃^{5}

708 *jiàn* 建〔山開三去願見 C〕 ‘establish’ **CDC** *kian^{5} / **EC** *konh ≍ *kanh
CSWW *kiẽ^{5}
CJQ *kiẽ^{5}: **Ly** tɕie^{5}; **Jh** tɕie^{5} [1] ≍ tɕiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** tɕiẽ^{5} [1] ≍ tɕian^{5} [2]; **Dy** tɕi^{5}; **Yk** kiə^{5}; **Wy** tɕie^{5}
CLS *kiẽ^{5}: **Sc** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** tɕiɛ^{5}; **Yh** tʃie^{5}; **Pc** kiãi^{5}; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}
CSS #kiə̃^{5}: **Kh** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Cs** tɕiẽ$^{3}{}_{!t}$; **Js** kiɛ̃^{5}; **Ys** kiẽ^{5}; **Gf** kiẽ^{5}

3.2 Labials

Table 3.1 presents correspondences for the **CSWW** labial initials. Aside from the general innovations concerning the implosive initials discussed in §3.1.1 and voiced obstruents discussed in §2.1,

*-əu > *-eu. In **Ly**, the velar stops occur before [-ie] when it originates from **CJQ** *-ɤ̃. Finally, in **Sy**, the syllable [ki] occurs in two common function words **7** 個 ‘general clf.’ [ki^{5}] and **342** 幾 ‘how many’ [ki^{3}]. Both resulted from irregular phonological reduction.

Table 3.1: Correspondences for CSWW labial initials

CSWW	*ɓ-	*pʰ-	*b-	*m-	*f-	*v-
CJQ	*ɓ-	*pʰ-	*b-	*m-; (*Ø-/_m̩)	*f-	*v-
Ly	p-	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-
Jh	p-	pʰ-	b-; p-/*4	m-	f-	v-; f-/*4
Pj	p-	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-
Dy	p-	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-; Ø-/_u
Yk	ʔb-; ʔm-/_V₀N$	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-
Wy	p-; ʔm-/*_V₀N$	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-
CLS	*ɓ-	*pʰ-	*b-	*m-	*f-	*v-
Sc	ʔb-	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-
Sy	ʔb-	pʰ-	b-; p-/2	m-	f-; pʰ-/_i	v-; f-/2; pʰ-/_i[2]
Lq	ʔb-	pʰ-	b-; ʔb-/3	m-	f-	v-; f-/3
Yh	ʔb-	pʰ-	b-	m-	f-	v-
Pc	p-	pʰ-	p-	m-	f-	f-
Qy	ʔb-	pʰ-	p-	m-	f-	f-
CSS	*p-	*pʰ-	*b-	*m-	*f-	*v-

the labial initials have remained mostly unchanged. However, we often find mixed reflexes of bilabials and labiodentals in etyma that correspond to **CDC** labiodentals. This mixture did not result from regular sound change. Instead, it reflects doublets that, in most cases, must be projected back to **CSWW**. **CSWW** contains an autochthonous stratum of vocabulary that was unaffected by dentilabialization and a later intrusive stratum of words that was brought by speakers of a variety of post-Ānshǐ Chinese.

*3.2.1 *ɓ-*

371 *bǎo* 寶〔效開一上皓幫〕 ‘treasure’ **CDC** *pou³ / **EC** *ʾpux
CSWW *ɓɔu³
CJQ *ɓau³: **Ly** pɔ³; **Jh** pɑu³; **Pj** po³; **Dy** pau³; **Yk** ʔbɒ³; **Wy** pɑo³
CLS *ɓɔu³: **Sc** ʔbɐɯ³; **Sy** ʔbʌ³; **Lq** ʔbɑɔ³ˌf; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ³; **Pc** pau³; **Qy** ʔbɒ³
CSS *pəu³

675 *biàn* 變〔山開三去線幫 B〕 ‘change’ **CDC** *pian⁵ / **EC** *ponh ⩙ *panh

CSWW *ɓiẽ⁵

CJQ *ɓiẽ⁵: **Ly** pie⁵; **Jh** pie⁵ [1] ⩙ piã⁵ [2]; **Pj** piẽ⁵; **Dy** pi⁵; **Yk** ʔbiə⁵; **Wy** ʔmie⁵

CLS *ɓiẽ⁵: **Sc** ʔbiẽ⁵; **Sy** ʔbiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔbie⁵; **Pc** piãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbiɛ̃⁵

CSS *piə̃⁵

939 *bāng* 幫〔廣韻：宕開一平唐幫〕 ‘help’ **CDC** *pong¹ / **EC** *’pang

CSWW *ɓɔŋ¹

CJQ *ɓaŋ¹: **Ly** pã¹; **Jh** pɑŋ¹; **Pj** põ¹; **Dy** pʌ¹; **Yk** ʔmaŋ¹; **Wy** maŋ¹

CLS *ɓɔŋ¹: **Sc** ʔbɔŋ¹; **Sy** ʔboŋ²; **Lq** ʔbɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʔbɔ̃¹; **Pc** paŋ¹; **Qy** ʔbɔ̃¹ [1] 作～ ‘together’ ⩙ mɔ̃¹ [2] 相～ ‘help’

CSS *piã¹ [1] ⩙ #pɔ̃¹ [2]

a. **Kh** piã¹; **Cs** piã¹; **Js** piã¹; **Ys** piã¹; **Gf** piã¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** pã¹; **Js** —; **Ys** pɔ̃¹; **Gf** pɑ̃ɔ¹

The second **Qy** form occurs in the lexicalized compound 相～[ɕiɔ̃⁻³³mɔ̃¹] ‘help’. The progressive assimilation of the initial is irregular.

Doublets involving **CSWW** *ɓ- and *f- are relatively common in the data. Retention of the older *ɓ- initial words is more prevalent in the south than in the north.

805 *fǎn* 反〔山合三上阮非 C〕 ‘reverse’ **CDC** *fan³ / **EC** *ponx

CSWW *ɓã³ [1] ⩙ *fã³ [2]

CJQ *fã³: **Ly** fã³; **Jh** fɑ³ [1] ⩙ fã³ [2]; **Pj** fɑ̃³ [1] ⩙ fan³ [2]; **Dy** fʌ³; **Yk** fɑ³; **Wy** fuo³

CLS *ɓã³ ‘turn over’ ⩙ *fã³

a. **Sc** ʔbaŋ³; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃³; **Lq** ʔbaŋ³; **Yh** ʔbã³; **Pc** pãi³ [白]; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** faŋ³; **Sy** fɔ̃³; **Lq** faŋ³; **Yh** fã³; **Pc** fãi³; **Qy** fɑ̃³

CSS *pɑ̃³ ⩙ #fɑ̃³

a. **Kh** pã³; **Cs** pã³; **Js** pã⁵; **Ys** pã³; **Gf** pã³

b. **Kh** fã³; **Cs** fã³; **Js** fã⁻⁵² ～對 ‘oppose’; **Ys** fã³; **Gf** fã³

923 *fèn* 糞〔臻合三去問非 C〕 ‘filth’ **CDC** *fun⁵ / **EC** *punh

CSWW *ɓə̃⁵ [1] ⩙ *fəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓə̃⁵ ⩙ *fəŋ⁵

a. **Ly** pei⁵; **Jh** pəŋ⁻³³ 奎; **Pj** pə̃⁵; **Dy** pɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔbuə⁵; **Wy** ʔmuo⁵

b. **Ly** fəŋ⁵; **Jh** fəŋ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** fən⁵; **Yk** fəŋ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *ɓə̃⁵ ⩙ *fəŋ⁵

a. **Sc** ʔbə̃⁵; **Sy** ʔbæ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbɤ⁵; **Yh** ʔbɛ⁵; **Pc** peŋ⁵₍f; **Qy** ʔbã⁵

b. **Sc** fəŋ¹₍t; **Sy** —; **Lq** fɛiŋ⁵; **Yh** fəŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *pə̃^{5} ⩙ #fə̃^{5}
a. **Kh** pɛ̃^{5} ⩙ pã^{5} [2]; **Cs** pʌ̃^{5}; **Js** pæ̃^{5}; **Ys** pæ̃^{5}; **Gf** puɐ̃^{5}
b. **Kh** fɛ̃^{5} [3]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** fæ̃^{5}; **Gf** fuɐ̃^{5}

*3.2.2 *pʰ-*

409 *pào* 炮（礮）〔廣韻：效開二去效滂〕 ‘cannon’ **CDC** *phau^{5} / **EC** *phruh
CSWW *pʰau^{5}
CJQ *pʰau^{5}: **Ly** pʰɔ^{5}; **Jh** pʰɑu^{5}; **Pj** pʰo^{5}; **Dy** pʰɑu^{5}; **Yk** pʰɒ^{5}; **Wy** pʰɑo^{5}
CLS *pʰau^{5}: **Sc** pʰɐɯ^{5}; **Sy** pʰɔ^{5}; **Lq** pʰɑɔ^{5}; **Yh** pʰɑɔ^{5}; **Pc** pʰau^{5}; **Qy** pʰɒ^{5}
CSS *pʰɑu^{5}

716 *piàn* 片〔山開四去霰滂〕 ‘slice (clf.)’ **CDC** *phian^{5} / **EC** *’phenh
CSWW *pʰiã^{5}
CJQ *pʰiẽ^{5}: **Ly** pʰie^{5}; **Jh** pʰie^{5} [1] ⩙ pʰiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** pʰiẽ^{5}; **Dy** pʰi^{5}; **Yk** pʰiə^{5}; **Wy** pʰie^{5}
CLS *pʰiã^{5}: **Sc** pʰiẽ^{5}; **Sy** pʰiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** pʰiɛ^{5}; **Yh** pʰie^{5}; **Pc** pʰiãi^{5}; **Qy** pʰiɑ̃^{5}
CSS *pʰiə̃^{5}

Doublets involving **CSWW** *pʰ- and *f- are also present, but are more difficult to find than the other types of doublets that were motivated by dentilabialization. This likely owes to the relative dearth of *pʰ- compared to the other bilabials in **EC**. There were fewer opportunities for retention. In our data, we find only the two following examples:

1030 *fǎng* 紡〔宕合三上養敷 C〕 ‘spin thread’ **CDC** *fong^{3} / **EC** *phangx
CSWW *pʰoŋ^{3}$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *fɔŋ^{3} [2]
CJQ *faŋ^{3}: **Ly** fã^{3}; **Jh** fɑŋ^{3}; **Pj** fõ^{3}; **Dy** fʌ^{3}; **Yk** faŋ^{3}; **Wy** faŋ^{3}
CLS *fɔŋ^{3}: **Sc** fɔŋ^{3}; **Sy** foŋ^{3}; **Lq** fɔŋ^{3}; **Yh** fõ^{3}; **Pc** faŋ^{3}; **Qy** fõ^{3}
CSS *pʰoŋ^{3} [2] ⩙ *fiɑ̃^{3} [1] ⩙ #fɒ̃^{3} [3]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** pʰoŋ^{3} [1]; **Js** pʰoŋ^{3}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** fiã^{3} ～紗
c. **Kh** fã^{3}; **Cs** fã$^{-42}$ [2] ～紗; **Js** —; **Ys** fɒ̃^{3}; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ^{3} [2]

1265 *fù* 覆〔通合三入屋敷 C〕 ‘cover, hide’ **CDC** *fuk^{7} / **EC** *phuk
CSWW *pʰoʔ^{7} [1] ‘lay prone’ ⩙ *foʔ^{7} [2] ‘cover’
CJQ *pʰoʔ^{7} ⩙ *foʔ^{7}
a. **Ly** pʰɔʔ^{7}; **Jh** pʰoʔ^{7}; **Pj** pʰɯ^{7}; **Dy** pʰouʔ^{7}; **Yk** pʰuə^{3}; **Wy** pʰɔʔ^{7}
b. **Ly** vɔʔ^{8}$_{!it}$; **Jh** foʔ^{7}; **Pj** fɯ^{7}; **Dy** fouʔ^{7}; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *pʰuʔ⁷ ⩙ *fuʔ⁷
a. **Sc** pʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰɯʔ⁷; **Lq** pʰuʔ⁷; **Yh** pʰəuʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** pʰuʔ⁷
b. **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** fəuʔ⁷; **Pc** fu⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁷
CSS *pʰoʔ⁷

*3.2.3 *b-*

83 *bù* 簿〔遇合一上姥並〕 ‘ledger’ **CDC** *bu⁴ / **EC** *ʾbax
CSWW *buə⁴
CJQ *bu⁴: **Ly** bu⁴; **Jh** pu³; **Pj** bu⁴; **Dy** bu⁴; **Yk** bu⁴; **Wy** bu⁴
CLS *buə⁴: **Sc** buɤ⁴; **Sy** bɯ⁴; **Lq** ʔbɤɯ³; **Yh** bu⁴; **Pc** puo⁶₍ₜ; **Qy** pɤ⁴
CSS *buə⁴

649 *bàn* 辦〔山開二去襉並〕 ‘manage’ **CDC** *ban⁶ / **EC** *brenh
CSWW *bã⁶
CJQ *bã⁶: **Ly** bã⁶; **Jh** bɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ bã⁶ [2]; **Pj** bɑ̃⁶; **Dy** bʌ⁶; **Yk** bɑ⁶; **Wy** buo⁶
CLS *bã⁶: **Sc** baŋ⁶; **Sy** bɔ̃⁶; **Lq** baŋ⁶; **Yh** bã²₍ₜ; **Pc** pãi⁶; **Qy** pɑ̃⁶
CSS *bɑ̃⁶

1138 *píng* 平〔梗開三平庚並 B〕 ‘level’ **CDC** *biang² / **EC** *beng
CSWW *biŋ²
CJQ *biŋ²: **Ly** biŋ²; **Jh** biŋ²; **Pj** bin² [1] ⩙ vin² [2]; **Dy** bən² [1] ⩙ bien² [2]; **Yk** bieiŋ²; **Wy** bin²
CLS *biŋ²: **Sc** biɪŋ²; **Sy** pin²; **Lq** biŋ²; **Yh** biŋ²; **Pc** peŋ²; **Qy** pɪŋ²
CSS *biŋ²

Doublets involving **CSWW** *b- and *v- are limited, but in addition to these there are a few instances of **CSWW** *b- corresponding to **CDC** *v- without an intrusive *v- initial counterpart. For examples, see **475** 伏 **CSWW** *buə⁶ ‘brood’ and **1038** 縛 **CSWW** *bɔuʔ⁸ ‘tie up’.

138 *fú* 扶〔遇合三平虞奉 C〕 ‘prop up, support’ **CDC** *vu² / **EC** *ba
CSWW *bu² [1] ⩙ *vuə² [2]
CJQ *vu²: **Ly** vu²; **Jh** vu⁶₍ₜ; **Pj** vu²; **Dy** u²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *bu² ⩙ *vuə²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** pu² ‘prop up’
b. **Sc** vuɤ⁶₍ₜ; **Sy** vuɯ¹₍ₜ; **Lq** vɤɯ²; **Yh** vu²; **Pc** fuo²; **Qy** fɤ²

CSS *bu² ⩙ #vuə²
a. **Kh** bu²; **Cs** bu²; **Js** bu²; **Ys** bu²; **Gf** bu²
b. **Kh** uo²$_{!i}$; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** vuə²; **Gf** —

363 *féi* 肥〔止合三平微奉 C〕 'fat' **CDC** *vui² / **EC** *buy
CSWW *bi² [1] ⩙ *vi² [2]
CJQ *bi² ⩙ *vi²
a. **Ly** bi²; **Jh** bi²; **Pj** bi²; **Dy** bi²; **Yk** bi^{-33}; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** vi²; **Jh** vi²; **Pj** vi²; **Dy** vi²; **Yk** vi²; **Wy** vi²
CLS *bi² ⩙ *vi²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bi²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** vi²; **Sy** p^{h}i²; **Lq** vi²; **Yh** vi²; **Pc** fi²; **Qy** fi²
CSS *bi² ⩙ #vi²
a. **Kh** bi²; **Cs** bi^{-22}; **Js** bi^{-33}; **Ys** bi^{-22}; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** vi²; **Cs** vi^{-24}; **Js** fi²; **Ys** vi²; **Gf** fi²

*3.2.4 *m-*

42 *má* 麻〔假開二平麻明〕 'hemp' **CDC** *ma² / **EC** *mray
CSWW *mɔ²
CJQ *mɒ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** mɤa²; **Pj** mia²; **Dy** muo²; **Yk** mɑ²; **Wy** muɑ²
CLS *mɔ²: **Sc** mu² 苧～; **Sy** mu²; **Lq** mu²; **Yh** mo²; **Pc** ma²; **Qy** mo²
CSS #mua² [1] ⩙ #mɑ² [2]
a. **Kh** mie² 油～; **Cs** mie² 油～; **Js** mo²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** mɔ² ～子; **Cs** mɑ² ～子; **Js** —; **Ys** mɑ²; **Gf** mɑ² [1]

427 *miào* 廟〔效開三去笑明 B〕 'temple' **CDC** *miau⁶ / **EC** *mawh
CSWW *miɔu⁶
CJQ *miou⁶: **Ly** miɔ⁶; **Jh** miɑu⁶; **Pj** miɑ⁶; **Dy** mɤ⁶; **Yk** miɒ⁶; **Wy** —
CLS *miɔu⁶: **Sc** miɐɯ⁶; **Sy** miʌ⁶; **Lq** miɑɔ⁶; **Yh** miɑɔ⁶; **Pc** miau⁶; **Qy** miɒ⁶
CSS *miəu⁶

821 *wà* 襪〔山合三入月微 C〕 'socks' **CDC** *^{h}mvat⁸ / **EC** *^{h}mot
CSWW *maʔ⁸
CJQ *mɒʔ⁸: **Ly** mɔʔ⁸; **Jh** mɤa⁶ [1] ⩙ mɔʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** mia⁸; **Dy** muo⁶; **Yk** mɑ⁴; **Wy** muɑ⁴
CLS *maʔ⁸: **Sc** maʔ⁸; **Sy** muɔʔ⁸$_{!f}$; **Lq** mɔʔ⁸; **Yh** mɑʔ⁸; **Pc** ma⁷; **Qy** mɑʔ⁸
CSS *mɑʔ⁸

Doublets involving *m- and *v- are plentiful in **CJQ** and are occasionally found in **CSS**, but

are almost totally absent from **CLS**. There, only reflexes of the *m- initial words are found. The only Lìshuǐ dialect that exhibits doublets involving *m- and *v- is **Pc**. Of the cases where **CJQ** and **CSS** share doublets of *m- and *v- words, only two *v- initial cognate sets demonstrate regular correspondence of the syllable finals:

365 *wèi* 未〔止合三去未微 C〕 ‘not yet; *wèi* 8/12 (gz.)’ **CDC** *mvui⁶ / **EC** *mus

CSWW *məi⁴ [1] ⩙ *məi⁶ [2] ⩙ *mi⁶ [3] ⩙ *vi⁶ [3]

CJQ *mi⁴ǃfa [2] ⩙ *mi⁶ [1] ⩙ *vi⁶ [4]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** mi⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** mi⁶; **Jh** mi⁶; **Pj** mi⁶; **Dy** mi⁶; **Yk** mi⁶; **Wy** mi⁶ ⩙ ʔmi⁵ [2]
c. **Ly** —; **Jh** vi⁶ [2]; **Pj** vi⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** vi⁶ [3]; **Wy** vi⁶ [3]

CLS *mi⁶: **Sc** mi⁶; **Sy** mi⁶; **Lq** mi⁶; **Yh** mi⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɪŋ⁶ǃf

CSS *muəi⁴ ⩙ *muəi⁶ ⩙ #vi⁶ [4]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** mɛ⁴; **Ys** mɐi⁴; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** mue⁶ [1]; **Js** mɛ⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** m⁻²²ǀf [1]
c. **Kh** vi⁶; **Cs** vi⁴ǃt [2]; **Js** fi⁻³³ [3]; **Ys** vi⁶ [2]; **Gf** fi⁶ [2]

The Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ reflexs lack evidence of a diphthong form. Perhaps it was reduced to a monophthong because it is a function word.

809 *wàn* 萬〔山合三去願微 C〕 ‘myriad’ **CDC** *mvan⁶ / **EC** *monh

CSWW *mã⁶ [1] ⩙ *vã⁶ [2]

CJQ *mã⁶ ⩙ *vã⁶

a. **Ly** mã⁶; **Jh** mɑ⁶; **Pj** mɑ⁶; **Dy** muo⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** mɑ⁶; **Wy** muo⁶
b. **Ly** vã⁶; **Jh** vɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ vã⁶ [2]; **Pj** vã⁶; **Dy** vʌ⁶; **Yk** vɑ⁶; **Wy** vuo⁶

CLS *mã⁶

a. **Sc** maŋ⁶; **Sy** mɔ̃⁶; **Lq** maŋ⁶; **Yh** mã⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** mã⁶
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** (fãi⁶); **Qy** —

CSS *mã⁶ ⩙ *vã⁶

Given the situation in **CLS**, I believe these isolated cases of correspondence are a coincidence and probably should not be projected back to **CSWW**. However, we would be unable to reach this conclusion with the comparative method alone, so I have nonetheless reconstructed proto-forms for these two etyma. Doubts about their authenticity are ultimately a matter of post-comparison analysis. We may exclude the rest of the *v- words in these doublets from **CSWW** using comparative evidence alone. Their syllable final correspondences are irregular:

141 *wù* 霧〔遇合三去遇微 C〕 ‘fog’ **CDC** *mvu⁶ / **EC** *moh

CSWW *muə⁶

CJQ *vu⁶: **Ly** vu⁶; **Jh** vu⁶; **Pj** vu⁶; **Dy** u⁶; **Yk** vu⁶; **Wy** vu⁶

CLS *muə⁶

a. **Sc** muɤ⁶; **Sy** muɯ⁶; **Lq** mɤɯ⁶; **Yh** m̩⁶; **Pc** muo⁶ ≍ moŋ¹; **Qy** mɤ⁶
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** (fuo⁶); **Qy** —

CSS #muə⁶

a. **Kh** məŋ⁶ [1]; **Cs** muə⁶; **Js** muə⁶; **Ys** muə⁶ [1]; **Gf** muɤ⁶
b. **Kh** (u⁶₍ˈf₎) [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (vuə⁶) [2]; **Gf** —

927 *wén* 蚊〔臻合三平文微 C〕 ‘mosquito’ **CDC** *ʰmvun² / **EC** *ʰmun

CSWW *mi(ə)ŋ² [1] ≍ *məŋ² [2] ～蟲

CJQ *mi(ə)ŋ² ～蟲 ≍ *məŋ² ≍ *vəŋ² [3]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** miŋ² [2] *!use*; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min⁻²¹
b. **Ly** məŋ²; **Jh** məŋ² [1] *!use*; **Pj** mən²; **Dy** mən² [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** vəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** vən² [2]; **Yk** vəŋ² [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *mi(ə)ŋ² ～蟲 ≍ *məŋ²

a. **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {meŋ²} [文] *!use*; **Qy** miɛ̃²₍ˈf
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** men²; **Lq** mɛiŋ²; **Yh** məŋ²; **Pc** {meŋ²} [文] *!use*; **Qy** məŋ² ～帳 ‘mosquito net’

CSS #miŋ² [2] ～蟲 ≍ #moŋ˞ [1]

a. **Kh** miŋ² [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** meiŋ⁻²⁴ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** moŋ⁴₍ˈt₎; **Js** moŋ⁻³³; **Ys** moŋ⁻²²; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** (vɛ̃²) [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (voŋ²) [2]; **Gf** (foŋ⁶₍ˈt₎) [2]

The [文] designation for the **Pc** form is probably an error. It does not contrast with a [白] form.

1034 *wàng* 望〔宕合三去漾微 C〕 ‘gaze’ **CDC** *mvong⁶ / **EC** *mangh

CSWW *moŋ⁶₍ˈa₎ [1] ≍ *məŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *moŋ⁶₍ˈa₎ ‘look’ ≍ *maŋ⁶ ‘look’ ≍ *vaŋ⁶ [3]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** moŋ⁶; **Pj** —; **Dy** mʊ⁶₍ˈf₎; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** mõ⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** maŋ⁶ [1]; **Wy** maŋ⁶ [1]
c. **Ly** vã⁶; **Jh** vɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** võ⁶ 希～ ‘hope’ ≍ van⁶; **Dy** (van⁶₍ˈf₎) [2]; **Yk** vaŋ⁶ 希～ ‘hope’; **Wy** faŋ⁻⁵³ [2] 希～ ‘hope’

CLS *məŋ⁶: **Sc** məŋ⁶ ‘look’; **Sy** moŋ⁶ ‘look’; **Lq** məŋ⁶ ～上 ‘upward’; **Yh** mõ⁶; **Pc** maŋ⁶ ≍ faŋ⁶; **Qy** mõ⁶

CSS *miã⁶ [1] ≍ #miã⁴ [2] ≍ #vʊ̃⁶ [3]

a. **Kh** miã⁶; **Cs** miã⁻²¹²; **Js** miã⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** miã⁶
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** miã⁴; **Ys** miã⁴ [1]; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** (uã²₍ˈif₎) [2]; **Cs** vã⁻²² [2] ～遠鏡 ‘telescope’; **Js** fʊ̃⁶ 希～ ‘hope’; **Ys** vʊ̃⁶ [2]

希～ ‘hope’; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ⁶ [2]

CSS *vɔ̃ [3] cannot be compared with **CJQ** *vɒŋ⁶ [2]. We would expect **CSS** *viɑ̃⁶ if the two derived from a common source.

The lack of *v- initial words in **CSWW** for **CDC** *mv- has a clear historical basis. Although dentilabialization (DL) is often spoken about as if it were a single process in Chinese historical phonology, a precise discussion must distinguish two separate stages of DL. In the first stage (DL-1), only stops developed into labiodentals. In the second stage (DL-2), *m- also became a labiodental, but only in a more restricted set of environments that excludes **CDC** *-uŋ/k and *-eu.[10] Textual evidence from the Northwest suggests that DL-1 occurred at the beginning of the 7th century, but DL-2 did not follow it for about another 200 years (Coblin 1991b, 102–3, see also 1991a, 13–16).

The delayed onset of DL-2 has had a profound impact on modern Chinese dialects. In most dialects, **CDC** *f- and *v- correspond uniformly to labiodental initials [f-, v-] or sounds close to them like [hu-], but fewer have consistent “dentilabialized” reflexes of **CDC** *mv- (usually realized as [v-, u-, ʊ-] etc.). The most common situation in non-Mandarin dialects is doublets in which an [m-] initial reflex competes with a “dentilabialized” reflex. Yuè dialects, excluding Southern Pínghuà and a few related western varieties, are unique because they often lack “dentilabialized” initials for **CDC** *mv- entirely. All this tells a story about migration patterns in mid-Táng China. The earliest waves of migration after the Ānshǐ rebellion spread DL-1 so widely that reflexes of pre-DL words are now relegated to only marginal substrates of most Chinese dialects. DL-2 spread later and less broadly.

Returning to Southwestern Wú Chinese, we can summarize the situation as follows. Jīnqú dialects had the most contact with speakers of Chinese that underwent DL-2. As such, instances of **CJQ** *v- may be reconstructed in words with **CDC** *mv-. The same is true to a lesser degree for **CSS**. A few such cases of **CSS** *v- can be recovered, but most of the other cases in which Shàngshān dialects have [v-] for **CDC** *mv- are the result of loans that postdate the divergence of **CSS**. Lìshuǐ dialects, excluding **Pc**, had the least contact with DL-2 speakers, so they best preserve the original

[10] Some historical dialects exhibit uniform dentilabialization of *m-, most notably ’Phags-pa Chinese (see Coblin 2007a, 78).

situation. The literary register of **CSWW** likely reflects a form of early post-Ānshǐ Chinese—one that exhibits DL-1 but not DL-2.

*3.2.5 *f-*

This initial has remained mostly unchanged, but in **Sy** it has apparently undergone fortition to [pʰ-] before [i]. Examples of this change are limited, but no doublets involving [f-] exist so we must assume that it was regular.

266 *fèi* 肺〔蟹合三去廢敷 C〕 'lungs' **CDC** *fui⁵ / **EC** *phos
CSWW *fiei⁵
CJQ *fie⁵: **Ly** fi⁵; **Jh** fi⁵₍f; **Pj** fi⁵; **Dy** fi⁵; **Yk** fiə⁵; **Wy** fie⁵
CLS *fie⁵: **Sc** fi⁵₍f; **Sy** pʰi⁵; **Lq** fi⁵; **Yh** fi⁵; **Pc** fie⁵ ⩙ xye⁵; **Qy** fie⁵
CSS *fei⁵

473 *fù* 富〔流合三去宥非 C〕 'wealthy' **CDC** *fu⁵ / **EC** *pih
CSWW *fuə⁵
CJQ *fu⁵: **Ly** fu⁵; **Jh** fu⁵; **Pj** fu⁵; **Dy** fu⁵; **Yk** fu⁵; **Wy** fu⁵
CLS *fuə⁵: **Sc** fuɤ⁵; **Sy** fuɯ⁵; **Lq** fɤɯ⁵; **Yh** fu⁵; **Pc** fuo⁵; **Qy** fɤ⁵
CSS *fuə⁵

588 *fǎ* 法〔咸合三入乏非 C〕 'law, method' **CDC** *fap⁷ / **EC** *pop
CSWW *faʔ⁷
CJQ *fɒʔ⁷: **Ly** fɔʔ⁷; **Jh** fɤa⁵ [1] ⩙ fəʔ⁷; **Pj** fɑ⁷; **Dy** fuoʔ⁷; **Yk** fɑ³; **Wy** fuɑʔ⁷
CLS *faʔ⁷: **Sc** faʔ⁷; **Sy** fɔʔ⁷; **Lq** fɔʔ⁷; **Yh** faʔ⁷; **Pc** fa⁷; **Qy** fɑʔ⁷
CSS *fɑʔ⁷

*3.2.6 *v-*

This initial did not change either. As was the case for *f-, **Sy** exhibits fortition before [-i]. See **363** 肥 **CSWW** *vi² [2] above in §3.2.3. However, note that this example is a tone *2 word where we expect regular devoicing in **Sy**. It is unclear if fortition also applied to voiced reflexes of **CSWW** *v- in **Sy**.[11]

[11]吠 'bark' **Sy** [bi⁶] is a possible example, but this word does not occur in enough of the other dialects to establish a proto-form. The only other reflex is **Ly** [bi⁶] which suggests **CSWW** *b- rather than *v-.

474 *fú* 浮〔流合三平尤奉 C〕 ‘float’ **CDC** *vu² / **EC** *bu

CSWW *vuə²

CJQ *vu²: **Ly** vu²; **Jh** vu²; **Pj** vu²; **Dy** u²; **Yk** vu²; **Wy** vu²

CLS *vuə²: **Sc** vuɤ²; **Sy** fuɯ² ⩙ fuɯ³; **Lq** vɤɯ²; **Yh** vu²; **Pc** (fiau²$_{|f}$) [文] ⩙ pau² [白]; **Qy** fɤ²

CSS *vuə²

808 *fàn* 飯〔山合三去願奉 C〕 ‘cooked rice’ **CDC** *van⁶ / **EC** *bonh

CSWW *vã⁶

CJQ *vã⁶: **Ly** vã⁶; **Jh** vɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ vã⁶ [2]; **Pj** vã⁶; **Dy** vʌ⁶; **Yk** vɑ⁶; **Wy** vuo⁶

CLS *vã⁶: **Sc** vaŋ⁶; **Sy** võ⁶; **Lq** vaŋ⁶; **Yh** vã⁶; **Pc** fãi⁶; **Qy** fã⁶

CSS *vɑ̃⁶

3.3 Dentals

Table 3.2: Correspondences for CSWW dental initials

CSWW	*ɗ-	*tʰ-	*d-	*n-	*l-
CJQ	*ɗ-	*tʰ-	*d-	*n-	*l-
Ly	t-	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
Jh	t-	tʰ-	d-; t-/*4	n-	l-
Pj	t-	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
Dy	t-	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
Yk	ʔd-; ʔn-/_V$_0$N$	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
Wy	ʔd-; ʔn-/*_V$_0$N$	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
CLS	*ɗ-	*tʰ-	*d-	*n-	*l-
Sc	ʔd-	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
Sy	ʔd-	tʰ-	d-; t-/2	n-	l-
Lq	ʔd-	tʰ-	d-; ʔd-/3	n-	l-
Yh	ʔd-	tʰ-	d-	n-	l-
Pc	l-	tʰ-	t-	n-	l-
Qy	ʔd-	tʰ-	t-	n-	l-
CSS	*t-	*tʰ-	*d-	*n-	*l-

The **CSWW** dentals have not changed apart from innovations in laryngeal setting and mergers

of implosive *ɗ- with [l-] and [(ʔ)n-].

*3.3.1 *ɗ-*

377 *dāo* 刀〔效開一平豪端〕 ‘knife’ **CDC** *tou¹ / **EC** *’taw
CSWW *ɗɔu¹
CJQ *ɗou¹: **Ly** tɔ¹; **Jh** tɑu¹; **Pj** to¹; **Dy** tɑu¹; **Yk** ʔdɒ¹; **Wy** lɤ¹
CLS *ɗɔu¹: **Sc** ʔdɐɯ¹; **Sy** ʔdʌ¹; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʔdəu¹; **Pc** lau¹; **Qy** ʔdɐɯ¹
CSS *təu¹

576 *diàn* 店〔咸開四去椾端〕 ‘shop’ **CDC** *tiam⁵ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɗiã⁵
CJQ *ɗiã⁵: **Ly** tie⁵; **Jh** tia⁵ [1] ≍ tiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tiã⁵; **Dy** ti⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** ʔnie⁵
CLS *ɗiã⁵: **Sc** ʔdiẽ⁵; **Sy** ʔdiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔdiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔdie⁵; **Pc** liãi⁵; **Qy** ʔdiã⁵
CSS *tiã⁵

1211 *dōng* 東〔通合一平東端〕 ‘east’ **CDC** *tung¹ / **EC** *’tong
CSWW *ɗoŋ¹
CJQ *ɗoŋ¹: **Ly** toŋ¹; **Jh** toŋ¹; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** tom¹; **Yk** ʔnɔŋ¹; **Wy** nɔŋ¹
CLS *ɗoŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdəŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdəŋ¹ [1] ≍ nəŋ¹ [2] ～西 ‘thing’; **Lq** ʔdəŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdoŋ¹ [1] ≍ noŋ¹ [2] ～西 ‘thing’; **Pc** loŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdoŋ¹
CSS *toŋ¹
The **Sy** and **Yh** forms with nasal initials occur in the word ～西 ‘thing’.

CSWW has doublets involving *ɗ- and *tš-. The *ɗ- reflexes are the unshifted remnants of the *shéshàng* 舌上 initial *tr-* 知, usually interpreted as a tenuis retroflex stop in the QYS. The *shéshàng* stops became postalveolar affricates in most varieties of mainstream Chinese, but in those that preserve the unshifted values, they are usually dental stops. The doublets involving the *shéshàng* *ɗ- ~ *tš- are complex. In most cases, the finals also vary along with initials. The unshifted *ɗ- words are most readily found in the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān dialects, but sometimes they can also be found in the periphery of the Jīnqú dialects in **Ly** and **Wy**. Elsewhere, they have almost entirely been replaced by the competing *tš- forms.

788 *zhuǎn* 轉〔山合三上獮知 AB〕 ‘turn, shift’ **CDC** *ciuon³ / **EC** *tronx
CSWW *ɗyẽ³ [1] *F* ≍ *tšyẽ³ [2] *B*

CJQ *ɗyẽ³ ⩙ *tšyẽ³ *F*

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔɲye³ [1]

b. **Ly** tsuei³; **Jh** tɕyɤ³ [1] ⩙ tɕyã³ [2]; **Pj** tɕyẽ³; **Dy** tsʊ³; **Yk** tɕyə³; **Wy** tɕye³ [2]

CLS *ɗyẽ³ ⩙ *tɕyẽ³

a. **Sc** ʔdyə̃³; **Sy** ʔdyɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdyɛ̃³ [1]

b. **Sc** tɕyə̃³; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕyə³; **Yh** tʃyɛ³; **Pc** tsuãi³; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]

CSS *tyẽ³ˌlf ⩙ #tɕyə̃³

a. **Kh** tɛ̃³ [1]; **Cs** tɪŋ³ [1]; **Js** tœ̃³ [1]; **Ys** tyæ̃³ [1]; **Gf** tyẽ³ [1]

b. **Kh** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]; **Cs** tɕyÃ³ [2]; **Js** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]; **Ys** tɕyẽ³ [2]; **Gf** tɕyẽ³ [2]

982 *zhàng* 帳〔宕開三去漾知 C〕 ‘canopy, mosquito net’ **CDC** *ciong⁵ / **EC** *trangh

CSWW *ɗiaŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *tšiaŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗiaŋ⁵ˌla ⩙ *tšiaŋ⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔniaŋ⁵

b. **Ly** tsã⁵; **Jh** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Pj** tʃyõ⁵; **Dy** tɕiʌ⁵; **Yk** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiaŋ⁵ ⩙ *tɕiaŋ⁵ˌla

a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔdiaŋ⁵; **Lq** ʔdiaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔdiã⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiã⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS #tiã⁵ ⩙ #tɕiã⁵ˌla

a. **Kh** tiã⁵; **Cs** tiã⁵; **Js** tiã⁵; **Ys** tiã⁵; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiã⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕiã⁵

1131 *zhāi* 摘〔梗開二入麥知〕 ‘pick (v.)’ **CDC** *cak⁷ / **EC** *trek

CSWW *ɗiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *ɗæʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [3]

CJQ *ɗæʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** laʔ⁷

b. **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɑ⁷; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsai³; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Sc** ʔdiɪʔ⁷ ‘pinch’; **Sy** ʔdiʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiʔ⁷ ‘pinch’

b. **Sc** tsaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsəʔ⁷; **Yh** tsaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsɑʔ⁷

CSS #tiʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Kh** tieʔ⁷ ‘pinch’; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** teʔ⁷; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tsʌʔ⁷; **Cs** tsɛʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ tsaʔ⁷ [2]; **Js** tsaʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsɐʔ⁷

3.3.2 *t^h-

448 *tiào* 糶〔效開四去嘯透〕 ‘sell grain’ **CDC** *thiau⁵ / **EC** *’thewh

CSWW *tʰiau⁵

CJQ *tʰiou⁵: **Ly** tʰiɔ⁵; **Jh** tʰiɑu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tʰɤ⁵; **Yk** tʰiɒ⁵; **Wy** tʰie⁵

CLS *tʰiau⁵: **Sc** tʰiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** tʰiɔ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** tʰiau⁵; **Qy** tʰiɒ⁵
CSS *tʰiəu⁵

540 *tǎ* 塔〔咸開一入盍透〕 ‘tower’ **CDC** *thop⁷ ⩙ *thap⁷ / **EC** *’thup
CSWW *tʰaʔ⁷
CJQ *tʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʰuɑ⁷; **Dy** tʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰɑ³; **Wy** tʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *tʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tʰa⁷; **Qy** tʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tʰɑʔ⁷

CSWW *tʰ- only occurs in one doublet with *tšʰ-. This probably owes to the infrequency of *trh- in **EC**.

485 *chōu* 抽〔流合三平尤徹 C〕 ‘extract’ **CDC** *chieu¹ / **EC** *thriw
CSWW *tšʰiu¹
CJQ *tšʰiəu¹: **Ly** tsʰəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pj** tʃʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiəɯ¹ [1] ⩙ tʰəɯ¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕʰiu¹
CLS *tɕʰiu¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pc** tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹
CSS *tɕʰeu¹
The latter **Yk** form occurs in the word ～屜 [tʰəɯ¹.tʰiə⁵] ‘drawer’. It is unclear whether it is a case of unshifted *tʰ- or if it was influenced by the following syllable.

1121 *chāi, chè* 拆（坼）〔梗開二入陌徹〕 ‘tear open; fissure’ **CDC** *chak⁷ / **EC** *thrak
CSWW *tʰæʔ⁷₍ₐ [1] ‘fissure’ ⩙ *tsʰæʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰɑ⁷; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰai³; **Wy** tsʰaʔ⁷
CLS *tʰæʔ⁷₍ₐ ⩙ *tsʰæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** tʰiaʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷₍f; **Sy** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰai⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰæʔ⁷

*3.3.3 *d-*

CSWW *d- remains unchanged.

161 *dài* 袋〔蟹開一去代定〕 ‘bag’ **CDC** *doi⁶ / **EC** *’dih
CSWW *dəi⁶
CJQ *dəi⁶: **Ly** dei⁶; **Jh** dɛ⁶; **Pj** da⁶; **Dy** de⁶; **Yk** dəi⁶; **Wy** da⁶
CLS *dəi⁶: **Sc** dei⁶; **Sy** dɛ⁶; **Lq** dɛ⁶; **Yh** da⁶; **Pc** tue⁶ [白]; **Qy** tai⁶
CSS *dəi⁶

382 *dào* 道〔效開一上皓定〕 ‘way’ **CDC** *dou⁴ / **EC** *’dux

CSWW *dɔu⁴

CJQ *dou⁴: **Ly** dɔ⁴; **Jh** tɑu³ [1] ≍ dɑu⁶ [2]; **Pj** do⁴ [1] ≍ dɑ⁴ [2]; **Dy** dɑu⁴; **Yk** dɒ⁴ 味～ ‘flavor’; **Wy** dɤ⁴

CLS *dɔu⁴: **Sc** dɐɯ⁴; **Sy** dʌ⁶; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ³; **Yh** dɑɔ⁴; **Pc** tau⁶₍!t₎; **Qy** tɒ⁴

CSS *dəu⁴

722 *tián* 田〔山開四平先定〕 ‘field’ **CDC** *dian² / **EC** *’din

CSWW *diã²

CJQ *diã²: **Ly** die²; **Jh** dia² [1] ≍ diã² [2]; **Pj** diã²; **Dy** di²; **Yk** diɑ²; **Wy** die²

CLS *diã²: **Sc** diẽ²; **Sy** tiɛ̃²; **Lq** diɛ²; **Yh** die²; **Pc** tiãi²; **Qy** tiã²

CSS *diə²

It varies with *dž- in some sets involving historical *shéshàng* initials:

984 *cháng* 長〔宕開三平陽澄 C〕 ‘long’ **CDC** *jiong² / **EC** *drang

CSWW *deŋ² [1] *F* ≍ *džiaŋ² [2] *B*

CJQ *džiaŋ² *F*: **Ly** dzã²; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ²; **Pj** dʒyõ²; **Dy** dʑiʌ²; **Yk** dʑiaŋ²; **Wy** dʑiaŋ²

CLS *deŋ² ≍ *dʑiaŋ²

a. **Sc** də̃²; **Sy** tæ̃²; **Lq** dɛ²; **Yh** dɛ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã²

b. **Sc** dʑiaŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaŋ²; **Yh** dʒiã² *F*; **Pc** tɕiaŋ²; **Qy** tɕiã²

CSS *də̃² ≍ #dʑiã²

a. **Kh** dɛ̃² [2]; **Cs** dʌ̃²; **Js** dæ̃²; **Ys** dæ̃²; **Gf** dæ̃²

b. **Kh** dʑiã²; **Cs** dʑiã⁻²² ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Js** dʑiã⁻³³ ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Ys** dʑiã²; **Gf** dʑiã²

Cf. Common Min *dɔŋ²; Proto-Níngdé *tɔŋ²

985 *cháng* 腸〔宕開三平陽澄 C〕 ‘intestine’ **CDC** *jiong² / **EC** *drang

CSWW *deŋ² [1] ≍ *džiaŋ² [2]

CJQ *džiaŋ²: **Ly** dzã²; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ²; **Pj** dʒyõ²; **Dy** dʑiʌ²; **Yk** dʑiaŋ²; **Wy** dʑiaŋ²

CLS *deŋ² ≍ *dʑiaŋ²

a. **Sc** də̃²; **Sy** —; **Lq** dɛ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕiaŋ²; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiã²; **Pc** (tɕiaŋ²) ≍ tsaŋ² [白]; **Qy** tɕiã²

CSS *də̃² ≍ #dʑiã²

a. **Kh** dɛ̃²; **Cs** dʌ̃²; **Js** dæ̃²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** dʑiã²; **Cs** —; **Js** dʑiã⁻³³; **Ys** dʑiã²; **Gf** dʑiã²

1252 *chóng* 蟲〔通合三平東澄 C〕 ‘bug’ **CDC** *jiung² / **EC** *drung

CSWW *dã²₍!a₎ (?) [1] ≍ *doŋ² [2] ≍ *džioŋ² [3]

CJQ *džioŋ²: **Ly** dzoŋ²; **Jh** dʑioŋ²; **Pj** dʑyon²; **Dy** dzom²; **Yk** dʑiɔŋ²; **Wy** dzɔŋ²

CLS *doŋ² [1] ⩙ *dʑioŋ² [2]
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dəŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** toŋ²; **Qy** toŋ²
b. **Sc** dʑioŋ²; **Sy** tɕiəŋ²; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒioŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕioŋ²
CSS *dɑ̃² ⩙ #doŋ² ⩙ *dʑioŋ²
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** dɑ̃²; **Js** dɑ̃²; **Ys** dɑ̃²; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** doŋ¹ [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** dʑioŋ² [2]; **Cs** tsoŋ¹ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** dʑioŋ² [2]; **Gf** dʑioŋ²

*3.3.4 *n-*

CSWW *n- does not occur before high front vowels. It and *ŋ- are in complementary distribution with *ȵ-.

195 *nǎi* 奶〔廣韻：蟹開二上蟹娘〕 ‘breasts’ **CDC** *nai⁴ / **EC** —
CSWW *na¹ˌa (?) [1] ⩙ *nai⁴
CJQ *na⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** nɑ³; **Pj** nɑ⁴; **Dy** nɑ⁴; **Yk** niɑ⁴; **Wy** nia⁴
CLS *na¹ˌa ⩙ *nai⁴
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** nai¹ˌf; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** na⁴; **Sy** na⁴; **Lq** na³; **Yh** nɑ³; **Pc** nai³ˌt; **Qy** —
CSS *nɑ¹ ⩙ *nɑi⁴ [2]

627 *nán* 難〔山開一平寒泥〕 ‘difficult’ **CDC** *nan² / **EC** *ʾnan
CSWW *nɔ̃²
CJQ *nɑ̃²: **Ly** nɑ̃²; **Jh** nɑ² [1] ⩙ nɑ̃² [2]; **Pj** nɑ̃²; **Dy** nʌ²; **Yk** nɑ²; **Wy** nuo²
CLS *nɑ̃²: **Sc** naŋ²; **Sy** nɔ̃²; **Lq** naŋ²; **Yh** nɑ̃²; **Pc** nɑ̃i²; **Qy** nɑ̃²
CSS *nɔ̃²

*3.3.5 *l-*

113 *lǘ* 驢〔遇合三平魚來 C〕 ‘donkey’ **CDC** *lie² / **EC** *la
CSWW *liə² [1] ⩙ *lyə² [2] ⩙ *luə² [3]
CJQ *li² ⩙ *ly² ⩙ *lu² [2]
a. **Ly** li²; **Jh** li²; **Pj** li²; **Dy** li²; **Yk** —; **Wy** li²
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ly⁻³²⁴ [兒] 街狗～; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** lu²; **Jh** lu²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *lie² ⪤ *lyə² ⪤ *luə²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** lie²; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** lyɤ²; **Sy** ly²; **Lq** —; **Yh** ly² [1] 街狗～ 'small mule'; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu² [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** lɤ²
CSS *liə² ⪤ *lyə²

246 *léi* 雷〔蟹合一平灰來〕 'thunder' **CDC** *(ʰ)luoi² / **EC** *ʾʰluy
CSWW *luəi²
CJQ *ləi²: **Ly** lei²; **Jh** lɛ²; **Pj** la² ⪤ luɛ²; **Dy** le²; **Yk** ləi²; **Wy** la⁻²¹ ～公
CLS *luəi²: **Sc** lei²; **Sy** lɛ²; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** lei²; **Pc** lue²; **Qy** lai²
CSS *luəi²

1092 *lì* 力〔曾開三入職來 C〕 'strength' **CDC** *lik⁸ / **EC** *lik
CSWW *liʔ⁸
CJQ *liʔ⁸: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** lɛ⁸; **Dy** leiʔ⁸; **Yk** ləi⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸
CLS *liʔ⁸: **Sc** liɪʔ⁸; **Sy** liʔ⁸; **Lq** liʔ⁸; **Yh** liʔ⁸; **Pc** li⁷; **Qy** liʔ⁸
CSS *liʔ⁸

3.4 Alveolar Sibilants

In most of the daughter languages, the sibilants and velar obstruents have palatalized before high front vowels. **Jh** is the only dialect that still permits alveolar sibilants unconditionally in this environment. **Pj** and **Dy** only permit alveolar sibilants before [i] in certain circumstances. The **Pj** case is best explained diachronically:

(40) Environments where alveolar sibilant initials failed to palatalize in **Pj**

a. pre-**Pj** *-ĩ > [iẽ] from **CSWW** *-iẽ, *-yẽ
b. pre-**Pj** *-iʔ > [i] (tones 7 & 8) from **CSWW** *-ieʔ, *-yeʔ
c. [-in] from **CSWW** *-iŋ

The environments in (40) may be summarized as nuclear [i] in nasalized and closed syllables in "pre-**Pj**"—a stage of **Pj** presumably not too distant from the modern dialect. In **Dy**, alveolar sibilants are only permitted before modern nuclear [i].[12] They may be traced back to the following

[12]By "nuclear", I mean [i] when it is the nucleus of the syllable, i.e. syllabic. It is the antonym of what Sinolinguists usually mean by "medial".

Table 3.3: CSWW alveolar sibilant initials in non-palatalizing environments

CSWW	*ts-	*tsʰ-	*dz-	*s-	*z-
CJQ	*ts-	*tsʰ-	*dz-	*s-	*z-
Ly	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
Jh	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-; ts-/*4	s-	z-; s-/*4
Pj	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
Dy	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
Yk	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
Wy	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
CLS	*ts-	*tsʰ-	*dz-	*s-	*z-
Sc	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
Sy	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-; ts-/2	s-	z-; s-/2
Lq	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-; ts-/3	s-	z-; s-/3
Yh	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-	s-	z-
Pc	ts-	tsʰ-	ts-	s-	ts-
Qy	ts-	tsʰ-	ts-	s-	s-
CSS	*ts-	*ts-	*dz-	*s-	*z-

Table 3.4: CSWW alveolar sibilant initials in palatalizing environments

CSWW	*ts-	*tsʰ-	*dz-	*s-	*z-
CJQ	*ts-	*tsʰ-	*dz-	*s-	*z-
Ly	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
Jh	ts-	tsʰ-	dz-; (ts-/*4 ?)	s-	z-; s-/*4
Pj	ts-; tʃ-/*_IV	tsʰ-; tʃʰ-/*_IV	dz-; (dʒ/*_IV ?)	s-; ʃ-/_*IV	z-; ʒ-/_*IV
Dy	ts-; tɕ-/_IV	tsʰ-; tɕʰ-/_IV	dz-; (dʑ-/_IV ?)	s-; ɕ-/_IV	z-; ʑ-/_IV
Yk	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
Wy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
CLS	*tɕ-	*tɕʰ-	*dʑ-	*ɕ-	*ʑ-
Sc	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
Sy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/2	ɕ-	ʑ-; ɕ-/2
Lq	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/3	ɕ-	ʑ-; ɕ-/3
Yh	tʃ-	tʃʰ-	dʒ-	ʃ-	ʒ-
Pc	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	tɕ-	ɕ-	tɕ-
Qy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	tɕ-	ɕ-	ɕ-
CSS	*tɕ-	*tɕʰ-	*tɕ-	*ɕ-	*ʑ-

historical environments:

(41) Environments where alveolar sibilant initials failed to palatalize in **Dy**.

a. **CSWW** *-iẽ, *-iã

b. **CSWW** *-iei, *-iai

c. **CSWW** *-i (unchanged)

*3.4.1 *ts-*

90 *zū* 租〔遇合一平模精〕 ‘rent’ **CDC** *tsu¹ / **EC** *’tsa

CSWW *tsuə¹

CJQ *tsu¹: **Ly** tsu¹; **Jh** tsu¹; **Pj** tsu¹; **Dy** tsu¹; **Yk** tsu¹; **Wy** tsu¹

CLS *tsuə¹: **Sc** tsuɤ¹; **Sy** tsɯ¹; **Lq** tsɤɯ¹; **Yh** tsu¹; **Pc** tsuo¹; **Qy** tsɤ¹

CSS *tsuə¹

415 *zhào* 罩〔效開二去效知〕 ‘cover’ **CDC** *ciau⁵ ≍ *cau⁵ / **EC** *trawh

CSWW *tsau⁵

CJQ *tsau⁵: **Ly** tsɔ⁵; **Jh** tsɑu⁵; **Pj** (tsɑ⁵$_{!f}$); **Dy** tsɑu⁵; **Yk** tsɒ⁵; **Wy** tsɑo⁵

CLS *tsau⁵: **Sc** tsɐɯ⁵; **Sy** (tsʌ⁵$_{!f}$); **Lq** tsɑɔ⁵; **Yh** tsɑɔ⁵; **Pc** tsau⁵; **Qy** tsɒ⁵

CSS *tsɑu⁵

The **Sy** form would normally obligate us to reconstruct **CLS** *tsɔu⁵, but it cannot have descended from the same source as the other branches which reflect **CSWW** *tsau⁵. The other Lìshuǐ dialects do not distinguish *-ɔu from *-au in this environment so I have decided to treat **Sy** alone as irregular.

515 *zān* 簪〔咸開一平覃精〕 ‘hairpin’ **CDC** *tsom¹ / **EC** *’tsum

CSWW *tsɤ̃¹

CJQ *tsuɤ̃¹: **Ly** tsuei¹; **Jh** tsɤ¹; **Pj** tsə̃¹; **Dy** tsɤ¹; **Yk** tsɤə¹; **Wy** tsɤ¹

CLS *tsuə̃¹: **Sc** tsə̃¹; **Sy** tsæ̃¹; **Lq** tsɤ¹; **Yh** tsuɛ¹; **Pc** tsuãi¹; **Qy** tsã¹

CSS *tsʌ̃¹

60 *jiè* 借〔假開三去禡精 AB〕 ‘borrow; lend’ **CDC** *tsia⁵ / **EC** *tsah

CSWW *tsia⁵

CJQ *tsia⁵: **Ly** tɕiɑ⁵; **Jh** tsia⁵; **Pj** tʃia⁵; **Dy** tɕiɑ⁵; **Yk** tɕiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕia⁵

CLS *tɕia⁵: **Sc** tɕiɑ⁵; **Sy** tɕio⁵; **Lq** tɕio⁵; **Yh** tʃio⁵; **Pc** tɕie⁵; **Qy** tɕiɑ⁵

CSS *tɕiə⁵

299 *zǐ* 姊〔止開三上旨精 AB〕 ‘big sister’ **CDC** *tsɿ³ / **EC** *tsiyx

CSWW *tsi³

CJQ *tsi³: **Ly** tɕi³; **Jh** tsi³; **Pj** tʃi⁵; **Dy** tsi³; **Yk** tɕi³; **Wy** tɕi³

CLS *tɕi³: **Sc** tsɿ³; **Sy** tsɿ⁵; **Lq** tsɿ³; **Yh** tsɿ¹ǃt; **Pc** tɕi³ ⩙ tɕie³; **Qy** tɕi³

CSS *tɕi³

741 *jié* 節〔山開四入屑精〕 ‘segment (clf.)’ **CDC** *tsiat⁷ / **EC** *’tsit

CSWW *tsiaʔ⁷

CJQ *tsiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsia⁵ [1] ⩙ tsiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʃia⁷; **Dy** tɕiɑ⁰ [1] □ʌ⁴⁴⁵～ ‘now’ ⩙ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** tɕiɑ³; **Wy** tɕiaʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiaʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕiɑʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiəʔ⁷

*3.4.2 *tsʰ-*

166 *cài* 菜〔蟹開一去代清〕 ‘vegetables’ **CDC** *tshoi⁵ / **EC** *’tshih

CSWW *(tsʰ,tšʰ)i⁵ǃa [1] ⩙ *tsʰəi⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsʰəi⁵: **Ly** tsʰei⁵; **Jh** tsʰɛ⁵; **Pj** tsʰa⁵; **Dy** tsʰe⁵; **Yk** tsʰəi⁵; **Wy** tsʰa⁵

CLS *tsʰəi⁵: **Sc** tsʰei⁵; **Sy** tsʰe⁵; **Lq** tsʰɛ⁵; **Yh** tsʰa⁵; **Pc** tsʰai⁴; **Qy** tsʰai⁵

CSS *tɕʰi⁵ ⩙ *tsʰəi⁵

892 *cūn* 村〔臻合一平魂清〕 ‘village’ **CDC** *tshun¹ / **EC** *’tshun

CSWW *tsʰuə̃¹

CJQ *tsʰuə̃¹: **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tsʰəŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰə̃¹; **Dy** tsʰɤ¹; **Yk** tsʰɤə¹; **Wy** tsʰɤ¹

CLS *tsʰuə̃¹: **Sc** tsʰə̃¹; **Sy** tsʰæ̃¹; **Lq** tsʰɤ¹; **Yh** tsʰuɛ¹; **Pc** tsʰuãi¹ ⩙ tsʰueŋ¹; **Qy** tsʰã¹

CSS *tsʰuə̃¹

275 *cì* 刺〔止開三去寘清 AB〕 ‘prick; thorn’ **CDC** *tshɿ⁵ / **EC** *tsheh

CSWW *tsʰiə⁵ [1] ‘thorn’ ⩙ *tsʰɨ⁵ [2] ‘stab’

CJQ *tsʰi⁵ ⩙ *tsʰɿ⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰi⁵; **Pj** tsɿ⁵ǃi 魚～ ‘fishbone’; **Dy** tsʰi⁵; **Yk** tɕʰiə⁵ǃf; **Wy** tɕʰi⁵
b. **Ly** tsʰɿ⁵ ‘thorn; stab’; **Jh** tsʰɿ⁵; **Pj** tsʰɿ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsʰɿ⁵; **Wy** tsʰɿ⁵ ～蝑 ‘hedgehog’

CLS *tɕʰie⁵ ⩙ *tsʰɨ⁵

a. **Sc** tɕʰie⁵; **Sy** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’; **Lq** tɕʰi⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕʰie⁵ [白] *!use*; **Qy** tɕʰie⁵
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’ ⩙ tsʰɿ⁵ ‘thorn; stab’; **Pc** tsʰɿ⁴ǃt *!use*; **Qy** tsʰɿ⁵ 諷～ ‘criticize’

CSS *tɕʰiə⁵ ⩙ *tsʰə⁵

I have not changed the reconstruction of Akitani's **CSS** forms, but I have altered their indices so that they agree with the modern languages.

480 *qiū* 秋〔流合三平尤清 C〕 'autumn' **CDC** *tshieu¹ / **EC** *tshiw

CSWW *tsʰiu¹

CJQ *tsʰiəu¹: **Ly** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Jh** tsʰiu¹; **Pj** tʃʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Wy** tɕʰiu¹

CLS *tɕʰiu¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiu¹; **Pc** tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹

CSS *tsʰeu¹

*3.4.3 *dz-*

When it corresponds to CDC *dz-, *dz- is marginal and probably intrusive. The merger of CDC *dz- and *z- in Wú-affiliated Chinese dates back to at least the 6th century when Yán Zhītuī 顏之推 famously observed it in the speech of natives of Jiànkāng 建康 (see Arisaka [1936] 1957). The sporadic restoration of *dz- in our data comes from dialect mixture and fronting of CDC *j-.

542 *zhuàn* 賺〔咸開二去陷澄〕 'earn' **CDC** *jiam⁶ ⩙ *jam⁶ / **EC** *dremh

CSWW *dzɑ̃⁴

CJQ *dzɑ̃⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑ³ˌi [1] ⩙ dzuɑ̃⁶ [2]; **Pj** dzɑ̃⁴; **Dy** zʌ⁴ˌi; **Yk** dzɑ⁴; **Wy** dzuo⁴

CLS *dzɑ̃⁴: **Sc** dzaŋ⁴; **Sy** dzɔ̃⁴; **Lq** (tɕyə³ˌif); **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *dzɑ̃⁴

668 *zhàn* 棧〔山開二去諫崇〕 'shed' **CDC** *jan⁶ / **EC** *dzranh

CSWW *dzɑ̃⁶

CJQ *dzɑ̃⁶: **Ly** dzɑ̃⁶; **Jh** dzɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ dzɑ̃⁶ [2]; **Pj** (dʒian⁴ˌift); **Dy** (dzɛ²ˌft); **Yk** dzɑ⁶; **Wy** dzuo⁶

CLS *dzɑ̃⁶: **Sc** dzaŋ⁶; **Sy** dzɔ̃⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** dzɑ̃⁶; **Pc** tsãi⁵ˌt; **Qy** tsɑ̃⁶

CSS *dzɑ̃⁶

167 財 presents an interesting example of layering involving **CSWW** *z- and *dz-. The *z- initial reflexes are found in all branches of **CSWW**, but the *dz- initial reflexes are only found in the Jīnqú and Shàngshān dialects. This distribution probably resulted from late intrusions introduced by migrants who followed the tributaries of the Qiántáng river to settle in the Jīnqú basin but did not venture southeast through the mountains into the Lìshuǐ region. Nonetheless, I have reconstructed **CSWW** *dzəi² out of principle.

167 *cái* 財〔蟹開一平咍從〕 ‘wealth’ **CDC** *dzoi² / **EC** *’dzi

CSWW *zəi² [1] ⩙ *dzəi² [2]

CJQ *zəi² ⩙ *dzəi²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zɛ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** zəi²; **Wy** za²

b. **Ly** dzei²; **Jh** dzɛ²; **Pj** dza²; **Dy** dze²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *zəi²: **Sc** zei²; **Sy** sɛ²; **Lq** zɛ²; **Yh** za²; **Pc** tsai²; **Qy** sai²

CSS #zəi² ⩙ #dzəi²

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ze²; **Js** —; **Ys** zɐi²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** dzɛ²; **Cs** dze²; **Js** dzɛ²; **Ys** —; **Gf** dzɐi²

3.4.4 *s-

301 *sǐ* 死〔止開三上旨心 AB〕 ‘die’ **CDC** *sɿ³ ⩙ *si³ / **EC** *siyx

CSWW *si³

CJQ *sɿ³: **Ly** sɿ³; **Jh** sɿ³; **Pj** sɿ³; **Dy** sɿ³; **Yk** sɿ³; **Wy** sɿ³

CLS *si³: **Sc** sɿɤ³; **Sy** sɯ³; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** sɿ³; **Pc** ɕi³ ⩙ sɿ³; **Qy** sɤ³

CSS *sə³

760 *suàn* 算（筭）〔山合一去換心〕 ‘calculate’ **CDC** *son⁵ / **EC** *’sonh

CSWW *suɔ̃⁵

CJQ *suɤ̃⁵: **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ suã⁵ [2]; **Pj** sə̃⁵; **Dy** sɤ⁵; **Yk** sɤə⁵; **Wy** sɤ⁵

CLS *suə̃⁵: **Sc** suə̃⁵; **Sy** sæ̃⁵; **Lq** sɤ⁵; **Yh** suɛ⁵; **Pc** suãi⁵; **Qy** sã⁵

CSS *sɔ̃⁵

61 *xiě* 寫〔假開三上馬心 AB〕 ‘write’ **CDC** *sia³ / **EC** *sax

CSWW *sia³

CJQ *sia³: **Ly** ɕiɑ³; **Jh** sia³; **Pj** ʃia³; **Dy** ɕiɑ³; **Yk** ɕiɑ³; **Wy** ɕia³

CLS *ɕia³: **Sc** ɕiɑ³; **Sy** ɕio³; **Lq** ɕio³; **Yh** ʃio³; **Pc** ɕie³; **Qy** ɕiɑ³

CSS *ɕiə³

802 *xuě* 雪〔山合三入薛心 AB〕 ‘snow’ **CDC** *siuot⁷ / **EC** *sot

CSWW *syeʔ⁷

CJQ *syeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** sie⁵ [1] ⩙ siəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** siʔ⁷; **Dy** suɑʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ sɜʔ⁷ [1]; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** ɕieʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷ ⩙ ɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS *ɕyəʔ⁷

*3.4.5 *z-*

248 *zuì* 罪〔蟹合一上賄從〕 'crime' **CDC** *dzuoi⁴ / **EC** *'dzuyx

CSWW *zuəi⁴

CJQ *zuəi⁴: **Ly** zuei⁴; **Jh** sɛ³ [1] ≍ dzui⁶ [2]; **Pj** za⁴; **Dy** ze⁴; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** za⁴

CLS *zuəi⁴: **Sc** zei⁴; **Sy** zɛ⁴; **Lq** sɛ³; **Yh** zei⁴; **Pc** tsue⁶$_{!t}$; **Qy** sai⁴

CSS *zuəi⁴

317 *zì* 字〔止開三去志從 C〕 'Chinese character' **CDC** *dzɿ⁶ / **EC** *dzih

CSWW *zɨ⁶

CJQ *zɿ⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶; **Pj** zɿ⁶; **Dy** zɿ⁶; **Yk** zɿ⁶; **Wy** zɿ⁶

CLS *zɨ⁶: **Sc** zɿɤ⁶; **Sy** zɯ⁶; **Lq** (zɿ⁶$_{!f}$); **Yh** zɿ⁶; **Pc** tsɿ⁵$_{!ft}$; **Qy** (sɿ⁶$_{!f}$)

CSS #zə⁶: **Kh** zə⁶; **Cs** zə⁶; **Js** sə⁶; **Ys** zə⁶; **Gf** dzɿə⁶

516 *cán* 蠶〔咸開一平覃從〕 'silkworm' **CDC** *dzom² / **EC** *'dzum

CSWW *zɅ̃²

CJQ *zuɤ̃²: **Ly** zuei²; **Jh** zɤ² [1] ≍ dzã² [2]; **Pj** zã²; **Dy** zɤ²; **Yk** zɤə$^{-11}$ ～豆 'garden peas'; **Wy** zɤ²

CLS *zuə̃²: **Sc** zã²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɤ²; **Yh** zuɛ²; **Pc** tsãi²$_{!f}$; **Qy** sã²

CSS *zɅ̃²

225 *qí* 齊〔蟹開四平齊從〕 'level' **CDC** *dziai² / **EC** *'dziy

CSWW *ziei²

CJQ *zie²: **Ly** ʑi²; **Jh** zie² [1] ≍ dzi² [2]; **Pj** ʒi²; **Dy** zi²; **Yk** ʑiə²; **Wy** ʑie²

CLS *ʑie²: **Sc** ʑie²; **Sy** sɿ²; **Lq** ʑi²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** tɕie²; **Qy** ɕie²

CSS #zei² [1] ≍ #dʑi² [2]

a. **Kh** ze²; **Cs** ze²; **Js** sᴇ²; **Ys** zɐi²; **Gf** {dʑi²}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** dʑi²; **Ys** dʑi² 整～ 'organized'; **Gf** {dʑi²}

787 *xuàn* 旋〔廣韻：山合三去線邪 AB〕 'spiral; cowlick' **CDC** *ziuon⁶ / **EC** *zonh

CSWW *zyẽ⁶ 'cowlick'

CJQ *zyẽ⁶: **Ly** zuei⁶; **Jh** zie⁶ [1] ≍ dziã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ziẽ⁶; **Dy** zʊ⁶; **Yk** ʑyə⁶; **Wy** ʑie⁶ [1] ≍ ʑye⁶ [2]

CLS *ʑyẽ⁶: **Sc** ʑyə̃⁶; **Sy** ʑyɛ̃⁶; **Lq** ʑyə⁶; **Yh** ʒyɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃⁶

CSS *ʑiə̃⁶ [1] ≍ *ʑyə̃⁶ [2]

593 *xùn* 蕈〔深開三上寑從 AB〕 'mushroom' **CDC** *dzim⁴ / **EC** —

CSWW *ziəŋ⁴ [1] ≍ *zyəŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *ziəŋ⁴ [2] ⩙ *zyəŋ⁴
a. **Ly** {ʑiŋ⁴}; **Jh** {siŋ³}; **Pj** {zən⁴}; **Dy** —; **Yk** zəŋ⁴; **Wy** ʑin⁴
b. **Ly** {ʑiŋ⁴}; **Jh** {siŋ³}; **Pj** {zən⁴}; **Dy** zuən⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *ʑiəŋ⁴: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ⁴; **Sy** ʑin⁴; **Lq** ɕiŋ³; **Yh** zəŋ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiəŋ³
CSS *ʑiŋ⁴ ⩙ *ʐyiŋ⁴

3.5 Postavleolars

Table 3.5: CSWW postalveolar sibilant initials in palatalizing environments

CSWW	*tš-	*tšʰ-	*dž-	*š-	*ž-
CJQ	*tš-	*tšʰ-	*dž-	*š-	*ž-
Ly	ts-; tɕ/*_y$	tsʰ-; tɕʰ-/*_y$	dz-; dʑ-/*_y$	s-; ɕ-/*_y$	z-; ʑ-/*_y$
Jh	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/*4	ɕ-	ʑ-; ɕ-/*4
Pj	tʃ-; tɕ/_yV	tʃʰ-; tɕʰ/_yV	dʒ-; dʑ/_yV	ʃ-	ʒ-
Dy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
Yk	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
Wy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
CLS	*tɕ-	*tɕʰ-	*dʑ-	*ɕ-	*ʑ-
Sc	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-	ʑ-
Sy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/2	ɕ-	ʑ-; ɕ-/2
Lq	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/3	ɕ-	ʑ-; ɕ-/3
Yh	tʃ-	tʃʰ-	dʒ-	ʃ-	ʒ-
Pc	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	tɕ-	ɕ-	tɕ-
Qy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	tɕ-	ɕ-	ɕ-
CSS	*tɕ-	*tɕʰ-	*tɕ-	*ɕ-	*ʑ-

The postalveolar initials are most readily reconstructed before high front vowels. In other environments, evidence for reconstructing these initials is scant. The clearest cases involve the development of a [-y-] medial in **Pj**, usually in finals with the **CJQ** main vowel *ɒ. See §4.2 and §4.4 for the sound correspondences of these finals.

*3.5.1 *tš-*

46 *zhā* 渣（相）〔廣韻：假開二平麻莊〕 ‘dregs’ **CDC** *ca¹ / **EC** *tsra

CSWW *tša¹

CJQ *tšɒ¹: **Ly** tsuɑ¹; **Jh** tsuɑ¹; **Pj** tɕyɑ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsɑ¹; **Wy** tsuɑ¹

CLS *tsa¹: **Sc** tsɑ¹; **Sy** tsuo¹; **Lq** tso¹; **Yh** tso¹; **Pc** tsa¹; **Qy** tso¹

CSS *tsɑ¹

416 *zhuā* 抓〔效開二平肴莊〕 ‘grab, scratch at’ **CDC** *cau¹ / **EC** *tsraw

CSWW *tšua¹ [1] ‘grab’ ⩙ *tsau¹ [2] ‘scratch at’

CJQ *tšuɒ¹ ⩙ *tsau¹

a. **Ly** tsuɑ¹; **Jh** tɕyɑ¹ ⩙ tsuɑ¹ [2] ‘grab’; **Pj** tɕyɑ¹; **Dy** tsɑ¹ [2] ⩙ tsuɑ¹ [3] ‘grab’; **Yk** tsɑ¹; **Wy** dzuɑ⁴ [2]

b. **Ly** tsɔ¹; **Jh** tsɑu¹; **Pj** (tsɑ¹$_{!f}$) *!use*; **Dy** tsɑu¹ [1]; **Yk** tsɒ¹; **Wy** tsɑo¹ [l]

CLS *tsua¹ ⩙ *tsau¹

a. **Sc** tsɑ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** tso¹ ～壯丁 ‘concscript’; **Yh** tso¹; **Pc** tsua¹ *!use*; **Qy** tso¹ ⩙ tsɑ¹ [3] *!use*

b. **Sc** tsɐɯ¹; **Sy** tsɔ¹ *!use*; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɑɔ¹; **Pc** tsau¹ *!use*; **Qy** tsɒ¹

CSS *tsɑ¹ ⩙ #tsau¹

a. **Kh** tsɔ¹; **Cs** tsɑ¹; **Js** tsɒ¹ [2]; **Ys** tsɑ¹; **Gf** tsɑ¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tsɐɯ¹ [1]; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

149 *zhǔ* 主〔遇合三上麌章 C〕 ‘master’ **CDC** *ciu³ / **EC** *tox

CSWW *tšyə³

CJQ *tšy³: **Ly** tɕy³; **Jh** tɕy³; **Pj** tʃy³; **Dy** tsɥ³ [1] ⩙ tsɥ³ [2]; **Yk** tɕy³; **Wy** tɕy³

CLS *tɕyə³: **Sc** tɕyɤ³; **Sy** tɕy³; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** tɕye³; **Qy** tɕye³

CSS *tɕyə³

433 *zhào* 照〔效開三去笑章 AB〕 ‘shine’ **CDC** *ciau⁵ / **EC** *tawh

CSWW *tšiɔu⁵

CJQ *tšiou⁵: **Ly** tsɔ⁵; **Jh** tɕiɑu⁵; **Pj** tsɯ⁵; **Dy** tsɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕiɑu⁵ [2]; **Yk** tɕiɒ⁵; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕiɔu⁵: **Sc** tɕiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** tɕiʌ⁵; **Lq** tɕiɑɔ⁵; **Yh** tʃiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɒ⁵

CSS *tɕiəu⁵

1274 *zhōu* 粥〔通合三入屋章 C〕 ‘porridge’ **CDC** *ciuk⁷ / **EC** *ciwk (kyiwk)

CSWW *tšioʔ⁷

CJQ *tšioʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiu³; **Wy** tsɔʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiuʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɯʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiɯʔ⁷; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** tɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɕioʔ⁷

*3.5.2 *tšʰ-*

417 *chǎo* 炒〔效開二上巧初〕 ‘stir-fry’ **CDC** *chau³ / **EC** —
CSWW *tšʰau³
CJQ *tšʰau³: **Ly** tsʰɔ³; **Jh** tsʰɑu³; **Pj** tɕʰyo³; **Dy** tsʰɑu³; **Yk** tsʰɒ³; **Wy** tsʰɑo³
CLS *tsʰau³: **Sc** tsʰɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʰɔ³; **Lq** tsʰɑɔ³; **Yh** tsʰɑɔ³; **Pc** tsʰau³; **Qy** tsʰɒ³
CSS *tsʰɑu³

547 *chā* 插〔咸開二入洽初〕 ‘insert’ **CDC** *chap⁷ / **EC** *tshrap
CSWW *tšʰaʔ⁷
CJQ *tšʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyɑ⁷; **Dy** tsʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰɑ³; **Wy** tsʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰa⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰɑʔ⁷

911 *chūn* 春〔臻合三平諄昌 AB〕 ‘Spring’ **CDC** *chiun¹ / **EC** *thun
CSWW *tšʰyəŋ¹
CJQ *tšʰyəŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕʰyəŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰyən¹; **Dy** tsʰuən¹; **Yk** tɕʰyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyin¹
CLS *tɕʰyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɪŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰueŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰyəŋ¹
CSS *tɕʰyiŋ¹

1082 *chēng* 秤〔廣韻：曾開三去證昌 C〕 ‘steelyard’ **CDC** *ching⁵ / **EC** *thingh
CSWW *tšʰiŋ⁵
CJQ *tšʰiŋ⁵: **Ly** tsʰəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsʰin⁵; **Dy** tsʰən⁵; **Yk** tɕʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕʰin⁵
CLS *tɕʰiŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰin⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ⁵
CSS *tɕʰiŋ⁵

CSWW *tšʰ- varies with *š- in some stylistic doublets. The *tšʰ- reflexes are retentions of **EC** *hy-. Mín reflexes of this initial are also aspirated.

494 *shǒu* 手〔流合三上有書 C〕 ‘hand’ **CDC** *shieu³ / **EC** *hyux
CSWW *tšʰyə³ [1] ≍ *šiu³ [2]
CJQ *šiəu³: **Ly** səɯ³; **Jh** ɕiu³; **Pj** ʃiɤ³; **Dy** ɕiəɯ³; **Yk** ɕiəɯ³; **Wy** ɕiu³
CLS *tɕʰyə³ ≍ *ɕiu³
a. **Sc** tɕʰyɤ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰy³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰye³
b. **Sc** ɕiɯ³ ≍ ɕiɐɯ³; **Sy** ɕiɯ³; **Lq** ɕiɯ³; **Yh** ʃiu³; **Pc** ɕiu³; **Qy** ɕiɯ³

CSS *tɕʰyə³ ⩙ #ɕeu³
a. **Kh** tɕʰyo³; **Cs** tsʰuə³; **Js** tɕʰyə³; **Ys** tɕʰye³; **Gf** tɕʰye³
b. **Kh** ɕiɯ³; **Cs** ɕiɯ³; **Js** ɕiɯ⁻⁴⁴; **Ys** səɯ³; **Gf** ɕiɯ³

Cf. Common Min *tʃʰiu³ 'hand'

601 *shēn* 深〔深開三平侵書 AB〕 'deep' **CDC** *shim¹ / **EC** *hyum
CSWW *(tšʰ,tsʰ)(?)¹ [1] ⩙ *šiəŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *šiəŋ¹: **Ly** səŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹ [1]
CLS *tɕʰ(?)¹ ⩙ *ɕiəŋ¹
a. **Sc** tɕʰyə̃¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ¹; **Yh** tsʰəŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsʰã¹
b. **Sc** ɕiŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹
CSS #tɕʰ(?)¹ ⩙ #ɕiŋ¹
a. **Kh** tɕʰyɛ̃¹; **Cs** tɕʰyʌ̃¹; **Js** tɕʰœ̃¹; **Ys** tɕʰiɛ̃¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** sɪŋ¹; **Gf** seiŋ¹

The final correspondences for **601** 深 **CSWW** *(tšʰ,tsʰ)(?)¹ [1] are irregular in both **CSS** and **CLS.** I am not sure what to make of this set, but I also do not see any compelling reason to try to tease it apart into smaller subsets.

*3.5.3 *dž-*

45 *chá* 茶〔假開二平麻澄〕 'tea' **CDC** *ja² / **EC** *dra
CSWW *dža²
CJQ *džɒ²: **Ly** dzuɑ²; **Jh** dzuɑ² [1] ⩙ dzɑ² [2]; **Pj** dʑyɑ²; **Dy** dzuo²; **Yk** dzɑ²; **Wy** dzuɑ²
CLS *dza²: **Sc** dzɑ²; **Sy** tsuo²; **Lq** dzo²; **Yh** dzo²; **Pc** tsa²; **Qy** tso²
CSS *dzɑ²

120 *zhù* 箸〔遇合三去御澄 C〕 'chopsticks' **CDC** *jie⁶ / **EC** *drah
CSWW *džiə⁶
CJQ *džiᵊ⁶: **Ly** dzɿ⁶ [b] ⩙ dzɿ²; **Jh** dʑy⁶; **Pj** dʒi⁶; **Dy** dzi⁶; **Yk** dʑi⁶; **Wy** dʑi⁶
CLS *dʑie⁶: **Sc** dʑie⁶; **Sy** dzɿ⁶; **Lq** dʑi⁶; **Yh** dzɿ⁶; **Pc** tɕie⁶; **Qy** (tɕye⁶)
CSS *dʑiə⁶

1289 *zhòng* 重〔通合三上腫澄 C〕 'heavy' **CDC** *jiung⁴ / **EC** *drongx
CSWW *džioŋ⁴ [1] 'heavy' ⩙ *džyaŋ⁴ [2] 'stack (v.)'

CJQ *džioŋ⁴ ≍ *džyaŋ⁴
a. **Ly** dzoŋ⁴; **Jh** tɕioŋ³ [1] ≍ dʑioŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑyon⁴; **Dy** dzom⁴; **Yk** dʑiɔŋ⁴; **Wy** dzɔŋ⁴
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕyaŋ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *dʑioŋ⁴ ≍ *dʑiɔŋ⁴
a. **Sc** dʑiɔŋ⁴; **Sy** dʑiəŋ⁴ [1]; **Lq** tɕiəŋ³; **Yh** dʒioŋ⁴; **Pc** tsoŋ⁴; **Qy** tɕioŋ⁴ [1]
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiõ⁴ [2] 尊～ ‘respect’

CSS *dʑioŋ⁴ ≍ *dʑiõ⁴

*3.5.4 *š-*

199 *shài* 曬〔蟹開二去卦生〕 ‘sun-dry’ **CDC** *shai⁵ / **EC** *sreh

CSWW *ša⁵ [1] ≍ *sai⁵ [2]

CJQ *šɒ⁵ ≍ *sa⁵$_{!a}$
a. **Ly** suɑ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃyɑ⁵; **Dy** suo⁵; **Yk** sɑ⁵; **Wy** suɑ⁵
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *sa⁵ ≍ *sai⁵
a. **Sc** sɑ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** so⁵
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** sa⁵; **Lq** sa⁵; **Yh** sɑ⁵; **Pc** sai⁵; **Qy** sɑ⁵

CSS *sɑ⁵

488 *sōu* 餿〔流合三平尤生 C〕 ‘go spoiled’ **CDC** *sheu¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *sæu¹

CJQ *sæu¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** siu¹; **Pj** ʃiɤ¹; **Dy** sɑu¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕiu¹

CLS *ɕyəu¹: **Sc** ɕyɐɯ¹; **Sy** sei¹$_{!f}$; **Lq** siɯ¹; **Yh** səu¹; **Pc** ɕiau¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕiɑu¹

663 *shā* 殺〔山開二入黠生〕 ‘kill’ **CDC** *shat⁷ / **EC** *srat

CSWW *šaʔ⁷

CJQ *šɒʔ⁷: **Ly** sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** suɑ⁵ [1] ≍ səʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyɑ⁷; **Dy** suoʔ⁷; **Yk** sɑ³; **Wy** suɑʔ⁷

CLS *saʔ⁷: **Sc** saʔ⁷; **Sy** sɔʔ⁷; **Lq** sɔʔ⁷; **Yh** sɑʔ⁷; **Pc** sa⁷; **Qy** sɑʔ⁷

CSS *sɑʔ⁷

209 *shì* 世〔蟹開三去祭書 AB〕 ‘era’ **CDC** *shiai⁵ / **EC** *hyas

CSWW *šiei⁵

CJQ *šie⁵: **Ly** sɿ⁵; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ sɿ⁵ [2]; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕie⁵: **Sc** ɕie⁵; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** ɕi⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** ɕie⁵; **Qy** ɕie⁵

CSS *ɕei⁵

150 *shū* 輸〔遇合三平虞書 C〕 ‘lose’ **CDC** *shiu¹ / **EC** *hyo

CSWW *šyə¹

CJQ *šy¹: **Ly** ɕy¹; **Jh** ɕy¹; **Pj** ʃy¹; **Dy** sɥ¹ [1] ≍ sɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** ɕy¹; **Wy** ɕy¹

CLS *ɕyə¹: **Sc** ɕyɤ¹; **Sy** ɕy¹; **Lq** ɕy¹; **Yh** ʃy¹; **Pc** ɕye¹; **Qy** ɕye¹

CSS *ɕyə¹

434 *shāo* 燒〔效開三平宵書 AB〕 ‘burn’ **CDC** *shiau¹ / **EC** *hyew

CSWW *šiɔu¹

CJQ *šiou¹: **Ly** sɔ¹; **Jh** ɕiɑu¹; **Pj** sɯ¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** ɕiɒ¹; **Wy** ɕie¹

CLS *ɕiɔu¹: **Sc** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** ɕiʌ¹; **Lq** ɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** (tɕʰiau¹|i) ≍ tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** ɕiɒ¹

CSS *ɕiəu¹

3.5.5 *ž-

321 *shì* 柿〔止開三上止崇 C〕 ‘persimmon’ **CDC** *jɥ⁴ / **EC** *dzrix

CSWW *žɨ⁴

CJQ *zɥ⁴: **Ly** zɥ⁴; **Jh** sɥ³; **Pj** zɥn⁻²⁴ [兒]; **Dy** zɥ⁴; **Yk** zɥ⁴⁻¹⁴ [兒] 旺～; **Wy** zen⁶ [兒]

CLS *ʑɨ⁴: **Sc** ʑiu⁴; **Sy** zɯ⁴; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** zɥ⁴; **Pc** se⁴; **Qy** sɤ⁴

CSS *ʑe⁴

487 *chóu* 愁〔流合三平尤崇 C〕 ‘worry’ **CDC** *jeu² / **EC** *dzriw

CSWW *zæu² [1] ≍ *zu² [2]

CJQ *zæu² ≍ *zəu²

a. **Ly** {zəɯ²}; **Jh** {ziu²}; **Pj** ʒiɤ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** {zəɯ²}; **Jh** {ziu²} [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** zəɯ²; **Yk** zəɯ² ≍ səɯ²; **Wy** zɑo²

CLS *ʑyəu² ≍ *zu²

a. **Sc** ʑyɐɯ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** {ziɯ²}; **Yh** {zəu²}; **Pc** tɕiau²; **Qy** {sɐɯ²}

b. **Sc** zɤɯ²|ɾ; **Sy** sei²; **Lq** {ziɯ²}; **Yh** {zəu²}; **Pc** —; **Qy** {sɐɯ²}

CSS *ʑiɑu² ≍ *zeu²

548 *zhà* 炸（煠）〔咸開二入洽崇〕 ‘blanch’ **CDC** *jap⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *žaʔ⁸

CJQ *žɒʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** zuɑ⁶ [1] ≍ dzəʔ⁸; **Pj** ʒyɑ⁸; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** zɑ⁴; **Wy** zuɑ⁴ ≍ tsuɑʔ⁷

CLS *zaʔ⁸: **Sc** zaʔ⁸; **Sy** zɔʔ⁸ ≍ tsɔʔ⁷; **Lq** zɔʔ⁸; **Yh** zɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɑʔ⁸

CSS *zɑʔ⁸

705 *shé* 折〔廣韻：山開三入薛常 AB〕 ‘sell at loss’ **CDC** *zhiat⁸ / **EC** *dat

CSWW *žieʔ⁸

CJQ *žieʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑyəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** ziˢ; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ʑiəˢ; **Wy** ʑieˢ
CLS *ʑieʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑieʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʑiɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒieʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕieʔ⁸
CSS *ʑiəʔ⁸

913 *shùn* 順〔臻合三去稕船 AB〕 ‘follow, obey’ **CDC** *zhiun⁶ / **EC** *δunh
CSWW *žyəŋ⁶
CJQ *žyəŋ⁶: **Ly** zoŋ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑyəŋ⁶ [2]; **Jh** ʑyəŋ⁶; **Pj** ʒyən⁶; **Dy** zuən⁶ [2] ≍ zən⁶ [1]; **Yk** ʑyeiŋ⁶; **Wy** ʑyin⁶
CLS *ʑyəŋ⁶: **Sc** ʑyɪŋ⁶; **Sy** ʑiəŋ⁶; **Lq** ʑyŋ⁶; **Yh** ʒyɪŋ⁶; **Pc** sueŋ⁶; **Qy** ɕyəŋ⁶
CSS *ʑyiŋ⁶

1164 *chéng* 城〔梗開三平清常 AB〕 ‘city’ **CDC** *jiang² / **EC** *deng
CSWW *žiŋ² [1] ≍ *dži(ə)ŋ² [2]
CJQ *žiŋ² ≍ *dži(ə)ŋ²
a. **Ly** zəŋ² [1]; **Jh** ʑiŋ² [1]; **Pj** zin² [1]; **Dy** zən² [l]; **Yk** ʑieiŋ²; **Wy** ʑin²
b. **Ly** dzəŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dzin²; **Dy** dzən²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *ʑiŋ²: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ²; **Sy** ɕin²; **Lq** ʑiŋ²; **Yh** ʒiŋ²; **Pc** seŋ²; **Qy** ɕieŋ²
CSS *ʑiŋ² ≍ #dʑiŋ²
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** zɪŋ² [1]; **Js** ɕiŋ²; **Ys** zɪŋ²; **Gf** seiŋ²
b. **Kh** dʑiŋ²; **Cs** dzɪŋ²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

*3.5.6 *ȵ-*

This initial only occurs before high front vowels, putting it in complementary distribution with both *n- and *ŋ-. In a structural analysis it could be considered an allophone of either, but I have opted to follow modern descriptions and treat it as a separate phoneme.

310 *èr* 二〔止開三去至日 AB〕 ‘two’ **CDC** *nhi⁶ / **EC** *nis
CSWW *ȵi⁶
CJQ *ȵ⁶: **Ly** ȵi⁶; **Jh** ŋ⁶ [1] ≍ əl⁶ [2]; **Pj** n⁶; **Dy** n⁶ [l] ≍ zi⁶ [2] ≍ ɚ⁶ [3]; **Yk** ŋ⁶; **Wy** n⁶
CLS *ȵi⁶: **Sc** ȵi⁶ [1] ≍ ɤɯ⁶ [2]; **Sy** ȵi⁶; **Lq** ȵi⁶; **Yh** ɲi⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵĩ⁶
CSS *ȵi⁶

724 *nián* 年〔山開四平先泥〕 ‘year’ **CDC** *nian² / **EC** *’nin
CSWW *ȵiã²
CJQ *ȵiã²: **Ly** ȵie²; **Jh** ȵia² [1] ≍ ȵiã² [2]; **Pj** ȵiã² [1] ≍ ȵian² [2]; **Dy** ȵi²; **Yk** ɲiɑ²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ȵiã²: **Sc** ȵiẽ²; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃²; **Lq** ȵiɛ²; **Yh** ɲie²; **Pc** ŋiãi²; **Qy** ȵiũ² [1]

CSS *ȵiə̃²

823 *yuè* 月〔山合三入月疑C〕 'moon' **CDC** *ngiuot⁸ / **EC** *ngot

CSWW *ŋoʔ⁸ [1] 'month' ⩙ *ȵyeʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ȵyeʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ȵyɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ ȵyəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** ȵyi⁸; **Dy** ȵiʉoʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲyə⁴; **Wy** ȵye⁴

CLS *ȵyeʔ⁸: **Sc** ȵyeʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ȵyəʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲyɛʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ ɲie⁻³¹ [2]; **Pc** ŋye⁷; **Qy** ȵyeʔ⁸

CSS *ŋoʔ⁸ [2] ⩙ *ȵyəʔ⁸ [1]

3.6 Velars

Table 3.6: Correspondences for CSWW velar initials in non-palatalizing environments

CSWW	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-	*ŋ-
CJQ	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-	*ŋ-; (*Ø-/_ŋ́)
Ly	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-	ŋ-
Jh	k-	kʰ-	g-; k-/*4	x-	Ø-
Pj	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-	ŋ-
Dy	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-	ŋ-
Yk	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-	ŋ-
Wy	k-; ts-/*_ua	kʰ-; tsʰ-/*_ua	g-; dz-/*_ua	x-	ŋ-
CLS	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-	*ŋ-
Sc	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-	ŋ-
Sy	k-	kʰ-	g-; k-/2	x-; f-/*_u	ŋ-
Lq	k-	kʰ-	g-; k-/3	x-	ŋ-; Ø-/_ua
Yh	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-	ŋ-
Pc	k-	kʰ-	k-	x-	ŋ-
Qy	k-	kʰ-	k-	x-	ŋ-
CSS	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-	*ŋ-; *ɦ/_u

Table 3.7: Correspondences for CSWW velar initials in palatalizing environments

CSWW	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-
CJQ	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-
Ly	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-
Jh	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/*4	ɕ-
Pj	tɕ-; tʃ-/_I$	tɕʰ-; tʃʰ-/_I$	dʑ-; dʒ-/_I$	ʃ-
Dy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-
Yk	k-	kʰ-	g-	ɕ-
Wy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-
CLS	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-
Sc	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-
Sy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/2	ɕ-
Lq	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-; tɕ-/3	ɕ-
Yh	tʃ-	tʃʰ-	dʒ-	ʃ-
Pc	k-	kʰ-	g-	x-
Qy	tɕ-	tɕʰ-	dʑ-	ɕ-
CSS	*k-	*kʰ-	*g-	*x-

*3.6.1 *k-*

50 *jiǎ* 假〔假開二上馬見〕 ‘false’ **CDC** *ka³ / **EC** *krax

CSWW *ka³

CJQ *kɒ³: **Ly** kuɑ³; **Jh** kuɑ³ [1] ≍ tɕiɑ³ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ³; **Dy** kuo³; **Yk** kɑ³; **Wy** kuɑ³

CLS *ka³: **Sc** kɑ³; **Sy** kuo³; **Lq** ko³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** ka³; **Qy** ko³

CSS *kɑ³

259 *guà* 掛〔蟹合二去卦見〕 ‘hang’ **CDC** *kuai⁵ ≍ *kua⁵ / **EC** *’kwreh

CSWW *kua⁵

CJQ *kua⁵: **Ly** kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵; **Pj** kuɑ⁵; **Dy** kuɑ⁵; **Yk** kўɑ⁵ [2] ≍ kuəi⁵ [1] ≍ kuɑ⁵ [3]; **Wy** tsuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuɑ⁵ [2]

CLS *kua⁵: **Sc** kɑ⁵; **Sy** kuo⁵; **Lq** kuə⁵; **Yh** ko⁵ ≍ go⁶; **Pc** kua⁵; **Qy** ko⁵

CSS *kuɑ⁵

368 *guì* 貴〔止合三去未見 C〕 ‘expensive’ **CDC** *kui⁵ / **EC** *kus

CSWW *ky⁵ [1] ≍ *kuei⁵ [2]

CJQ *ky⁵ ⩙ *kuei⁵
a. **Ly** tɕy⁵; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy⁵; **Dy** tɕiʉ⁵; **Yk** ky⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵
b. **Ly** kuei⁵; **Jh** kui⁵; **Pj** kuɛ⁵; **Dy** kuei⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ky⁵ ⩙ *kuei⁵
a. **Sc** tɕy⁵; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** ky⁵; **Qy** tɕy⁵
b. **Sc** kuei⁵; **Sy** kue⁵ ‘Guì (pn.)’; **Lq** kui⁵; **Yh** kuei⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kyi⁵ ⩙ #kuei⁵
a. **Kh** tɕy⁵; **Cs** tɕy⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** ky⁵
b. **Kh** kui⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** kuᴇ⁵; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** kui⁵

1018 *jiǎo* 腳〔宕開三入藥見 C〕 ‘foot’ **CDC** *kiok⁷ / **EC** *kak

CSWW *kiauʔ⁷

CJQ *kiauʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyo⁷; **Dy** tɕiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** kiɒ³; **Wy** tɕiɑoʔ⁷

CLS *kiauʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiaʔ⁷ [文]; **Yh** tʃiɑʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɑʔ⁷

CSS *kiɑʔ⁷

*3.6.2 *kʰ-*

262 *kuài* 快〔蟹合二去夬溪〕 ‘fast’ **CDC** *khuai⁵ / **EC** *khwras

CSWW *kʰuai⁵

CJQ *kʰua⁵: **Ly** kʰuɑ⁵; **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰuɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** kʰuɑ⁵; **Dy** kʰuɑ⁵; **Yk** kʰy̆ɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰuɑ⁻⁴⁴ [2] ⩙ kʰuai⁵ [3]; **Wy** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰua⁵ [2]

CLS *kʰuai⁵: **Sc** kʰua⁵; **Sy** kʰua⁵; **Lq** kʰua⁵; **Yh** kʰuɑ⁵; **Pc** kʰuai⁵; **Qy** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰɒ⁵ [2]

CSS *kʰuɑi⁵

1125 *kè* 客〔梗開二入陌溪〕 ‘guest’ **CDC** *khak⁷ / **EC** *khrak

CSWW *kʰæʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰɑ⁷; **Dy** kʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰai³; **Wy** kʰaʔ⁷

CLS *kʰæʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiaʔ⁷ ⩙ kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰai⁷; **Qy** kʰɑʔ⁷

CSS *kʰæʔ⁷

344 *qì* 氣〔止開三去未溪 C〕 ‘breath’ **CDC** *khi⁵ / **EC** *khus ⩙ *khis

CSWW *kʰəi³ˌˡa [1] ‘smell, odor’ ⩙ *kʰɨ⁵ˌˡa [2] ⩙ *kʰi⁵ [3]

CJQ *kʰi⁵: **Ly** tɕʰi⁵; **Jh** tɕʰi⁵; **Pj** tʃʰi⁵; **Dy** tɕʰi⁵; **Yk** kʰi⁵; **Wy** tɕʰi⁵

CLS *kʰəi³ ⩙ *kʰi⁵
a. **Sc** kʰei³ □ ‘foul odor’; **Sy** kʰɛ³ ～味 ‘a smell’; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰɿ⁵; **Sy** tsʰɿ⁵ 生～ ‘angry’; **Lq** tsʰɿ³ˌˡt; **Yh** tsʰɿ⁵; **Pc** kʰi⁵; **Qy** tɕʰi⁵

CSS *kʰe⁵ ⩙ #kʰi⁵

a. **Kh** kʰui⁵; **Cs** kʰi⁵ [1] ‘angry’; **Js** kʰø⁵ [1] ～息 ‘a smell’; **Ys** kʰe⁵ ～息 ‘a smell’; **Gf** kʰe⁵ [1]

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** (tɕʰi⁰) [2] 志～ ‘ambition’; **Js** kʰi⁵ [2]; **Ys** kʰi⁵ [2] 天～ ‘weather’; **Gf** kʰi⁵ [2] 天～ ‘weather’

1309 *qū* 曲〔通合三入燭溪 C〕 ‘bend; tune (n.)’ **CDC** *khiuk⁷ / **EC** *khok

CSWW *kʰiɔuʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *kʰioʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *kʰioʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰyɯ⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiouʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰiu³; **Wy** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷

CLS *kʰiɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰioʔ⁷ ⩙ tɕʰyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰioʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰiu⁷; **Qy** tɕʰioʔ⁷

CSS *kʰiɔʔ⁷ 歌～ ‘song’ ⩙ #kʰioʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕʰiʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** {kʰyɤʔ⁷}

b. **Kh** tɕʰyoʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** kʰioʔ⁷; **Ys** kʰioʔ⁷; **Gf** {kʰyɤʔ⁷}

*3.6.3 *g-*

CSWW *g- can occur before non-high-front vowels. This is unusual in Sinitic languages. In most other dialects, **EC** *g- developed into *h- [ɦ~ɣ] in pharyngealized and retroflex syllables. Mín, however, also retains *g- in this environment.

258 *huái* 懷〔蟹合二平皆匣〕 ‘bosom; embrace, hold dear’ **CDC** *huai² / **EC** *gruy

CSWW *guai² [1] ⩙ *ɦuai² [2]

CJQ *gua² ⩙ *ɦua²

a. **Ly** guɑ²; **Jh** guɑ²; **Pj** guɑ² 圍～ ‘apron’; **Dy** guɑ² ～裏 ‘in one’s arms’; **Yk** —; **Wy** dzuɑ² ～當 ‘in one’s arms’

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** (uɛ²₍f); **Pj** (ua²₍f); **Dy** uɑ²; **Yk** ya³ ⩙ uai²; **Wy** yɑ² ⩙ ua² [3]

CLS *guai² ～裏 ‘in one’s arms’ ⩙ *ɦuai²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** guɑ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɑ²

b. **Sc** ua²; **Sy** ua²; **Lq** ua²; **Yh** —; **Pc** xuai²; **Qy** uɑ²

CSS *ɦuɑi²

472 *hòu* 厚〔流合一上厚匣〕 ‘thick’ **CDC** *heu⁴ / **EC** *ʾgox

CSWW *gu⁴

CJQ *gəu⁴: **Ly** gəɯ⁴ [1] ⩙ xəɯ⁴ [2]; **Jh** kiu³ [1] ⩙ ɦiu⁶ [2]; **Pj** gɤ⁴; **Dy** gəɯ⁴ [1] ⩙ əɯ⁴ [2]; **Yk** gəɯ⁴; **Wy** gɑo⁴

CLS *gu⁴: **Sc** gu⁴ ⩙ u⁴; **Sy** gu⁴; **Lq** ku³; **Yh** gəu⁴₍f [1] ⩙ əu³ [2]; **Pc** ku⁴ ⩙ xau⁶; **Qy** ku⁴

CSS *gu⁴

636 *hán* 寒〔山開一平寒匣〕 ‘cold’ **CDC** *hon² / **EC** *’gan

CSWW *gõ² [1] ⩙ *ɦõ² [2]

CJQ *ɦɤ̃²: **Ly** ei²; **Jh** ɤ² [1] ⩙ ɦã² [3] ⩙ ã² [3]; **Pj** ə̃² [1] ⩙ an² [2]; **Dy** ɤ²; **Yk** ɤə²; **Wy** ŋɤ²

CLS *guə̃² ⩙ *ɦuə̃²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** guə²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuã²

b. **Sc** uə̃²; **Sy** uɛ̃²; **Lq** —; **Yh** uɛ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã²

CSS #gõ² ⩙ #ɦõ²

a. **Kh** goŋ²; **Cs** gõ²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** (ã²); **Cs** ɦõ² ⩙ ɦã$^{-24}$ [3]; **Js** ɔ̃$^{-33}$; **Ys** ɦɒ̃⁴; **Gf** xuɛ̃²

638 *hàn* 汗〔山開一去翰匣〕 ‘sweat’ **CDC** *hon⁶ / **EC** *’ganh

CSWW *gõ⁶ [1] ⩙ *ɦõ⁶ [2]

CJQ *gɤ̃⁶ ⩙ *ɦɤ̃⁶

a. **Ly** gie⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ ɦã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ə̃⁶; **Dy** ɤ⁶; **Yk** ɤə⁶; **Wy** ŋɤ⁶

CLS *guə̃⁶ ⩙ *ɦuə̃⁶

a. **Sc** guə̃⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** uɛ̃⁶; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** uɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã⁶

CSS *gõ⁶ ⩙ #ɦõ⁶

a. **Kh** goŋ⁶; **Cs** gõ⁶; **Js** gõ⁶; **Ys** gɒ̃⁶; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɦõ$^{-22}$; **Js** —; **Ys** ɦɒ̃⁶; **Gf** xuɛ̃⁶

502 *jiù* 舊〔流合三去宥羣 C〕 ‘old’ **CDC** *gieu⁶ / **EC** *gwih

CSWW *giu⁶

CJQ *giəu⁶: **Ly** dʑiəɯ⁶; **Jh** dʑiu⁶; **Pj** dʑiɤ⁶; **Dy** dʑiəɯ⁶; **Yk** giəɯ⁶; **Wy** dʑiu⁶

CLS *giu⁶: **Sc** dʑiɯ⁶; **Sy** ŋei$^{6}_{\text{li}}$; **Lq** dʑiɯ⁶; **Yh** dʒiu⁶; **Pc** kiu⁶; **Qy** tɕiɯ⁶

CSS *geu⁶

880 *jìn* 近〔臻開三上隱羣 C〕 ‘near, close’ **CDC** *gin⁴ / **EC** *gunx ⩙ *ginx

CSWW *gə̃⁴ [1] ⩙ *giəŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *giəŋ⁴: **Ly** dʑiŋ⁴; **Jh** tɕiŋ³ [1] ⩙ dʑiŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑin⁴; **Dy** dʑien⁴; **Yk** gieiŋ⁴; **Wy** dʑin⁴

CLS *gə̃⁴ ⩙ *giəŋ⁴

a. **Sc** gə̃⁴; **Sy** gæ̃⁴; **Lq** kɤ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kã⁴

b. **Sc** dʑiiŋ⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiŋ⁴; **Pc** (kieŋ$^{6}_{\text{lt}}$); **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁴

CSS *gə̃⁴

930 *qún* 裙〔臻合三平文羣 C〕 ‘skirt’ **CDC** *giun² / **EC** *gun

CSWW *gəŋ$^{2}_{\text{la}}$ (?) [1] ⩙ *gyəŋ²

CJQ *gyəŋ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑyəŋ²; **Pj** dʑyən²; **Dy** dʑien²; **Yk** gyeiŋ²; **Wy** dʑyin²
CLS *gyəŋ²: **Sc** dʑyɪŋ²; **Sy** tɕiəŋ²; **Lq** dʑyŋ²; **Yh** dʒyɪŋ²; **Pc** kyeŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *gɨŋ² ⩙ *gyiŋ² [2]

*3.6.4 *x-*

76 *huā* 花〔假合二平麻曉〕 ‘flower’ **CDC** *xua¹ / **EC** —
CSWW *xua¹
CJQ *xuɒ¹: **Ly** xu¹ [1] ⩙ xuɑ¹ [2]; **Jh** xuɑ¹; **Pj** xuɑ¹; **Dy** xuɑ¹; **Yk** xuɑ¹; **Wy** xuɑ¹
CLS *xua¹: **Sc** xɑ¹; **Sy** fuo⁵; **Lq** xuə¹; **Yh** xo¹; **Pc** xua¹; **Qy** xo¹
CSS *xuɑ¹

635 *hàn* 漢〔山開一去翰曉〕 ‘Hàn (pn.)’ **CDC** *xon⁵ / **EC** *ʾhanh
CSWW *xɔ̃⁵
CJQ *xɤ̃⁵: **Ly** xei⁵; **Jh** xɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ xã⁵ [2]; **Pj** xə̃⁵ [1] ⩙ xan⁵ [2]; **Dy** xɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ xan⁵ [2]; **Yk** xɤə⁵; **Wy** xɤ⁵
CLS *xuə̃⁵: **Sc** xuə̃⁵; **Sy** fuɛ̃⁵; **Lq** xuə⁵; **Yh** xuɛ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã⁵
CSS *xɔ̃⁵

1022 *huāng* 慌〔集韻：宕合一平唐曉〕 ‘panic’ **CDC** *xuong¹ / **EC** —
CSWW *xuɔŋ¹
CJQ *xuaŋ¹: **Ly** xuã¹; **Jh** xuɑŋ¹; **Pj** xõ¹; **Dy** xʌ¹; **Yk** xuaŋ¹; **Wy** xuaŋ¹
CLS *xɔŋ¹: **Sc** xɔŋ¹; **Sy** xoŋ¹; **Lq** xɔŋ¹; **Yh** xɔ̃¹; **Pc** xaŋ¹; **Qy** xɔ̃¹
CSS *xuã¹

337 *xī* 嬉〔止開三平之曉 C〕 ‘play’ **CDC** *xi¹ / **EC** *hi
CSWW *xi¹
CJQ *xi¹: **Ly** ɕi¹; **Jh** ɕi¹; **Pj** ʃi¹; **Dy** ɕi¹; **Yk** xi¹; **Wy** ɕi¹
CLS *xi¹: **Sc** sɿ¹; **Sy** sɿ¹; **Lq** sɿ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** xi¹; **Qy** ɕi¹
CSS *xi¹

830 *xuè* 血〔山合四入屑曉〕 ‘blood’ **CDC** *xiuot⁷ / **EC** *ʾhwit
CSWW *xyeʔ⁷
CJQ *xyeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ ɕyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyi⁷ [1] ⩙ ʃyə⁷ [2]; **Dy** ɕiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** xyə³; **Wy** ɕyeʔ⁷!ft
CLS *xyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** xye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷
CSS *xyəʔ⁷

*3.6.5 *ŋ-*

In **CSS**, *ŋ- became *ɦ- before medial *-u-. The change did not occur before the final *-uə, probably because it was realized as [uə̯] with a centering off-glide. **CJQ** also did not tolerate the onset *[ŋu̯-], but the conflict was resolved by deleting *-u- instead. In **Lq**, the **CLS** syllable *ŋai seems to have regularly evolved into [ua]. Elsewhere initial *ŋ- has remained intact in **Lq**.

75 *wǎ* 瓦〔假合二上馬疑〕 ‘tile’ **CDC** *ʰngua⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰngwrayx
CSWW *ŋua⁴
CJQ *ŋɒ⁴: **Ly** ŋuɑ⁴; **Jh** uɑ³; **Pj** ŋ̊iɑ⁴; **Dy** ŋuo⁴; **Yk** ŋɑ⁴; **Wy** ŋuɑ⁴ [2] ≍ ŋuo⁴ [1]
CLS *ŋua⁴: **Sc** ŋɑ⁴; **Sy** ŋuo⁴; **Lq** ŋuə³; **Yh** ŋo³; **Pc** ŋua⁴; **Qy** ŋ̍⁴
CSS *ɦuɑ⁴

101 *wǔ* 五〔遇合一上姥疑〕 ‘five’ **CDC** *ʰngu⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰngax
CSWW *ŋuə⁴
CJQ *ŋ̍⁴: **Ly** ŋ⁴; **Jh** ŋ³ [1] ≍ u³ [2]; **Pj** n⁴ [1] ≍ m⁴ [2]; **Dy** n⁴; **Yk** ŋ⁴; **Wy** n⁴
CLS *ŋuə⁴: **Sc** ŋuɤ⁴; **Sy** ŋɯ⁴; **Lq** ŋəu³; **Yh** ŋ̍³; **Pc** ŋuo⁴; **Qy** ŋuɤ⁴
CSS *ŋuə⁴

470 *ǒu* 藕〔流合一上厚疑〕 ‘lotus root’ **CDC** *ʰngeu⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰngox
CSWW *ŋəu⁴
CJQ *ŋəu⁴: **Ly** ŋəɯ⁴; **Jh** eu³; **Pj** ŋɤ⁴; **Dy** ŋəɯ⁴; **Yk** ŋəɯ⁴; **Wy** ŋɑo⁴
CLS *ŋu⁴: **Sc** ŋɤɯ⁴꜀ᶠ; **Sy** ŋei⁴; **Lq** ŋiɯ³; **Yh** ŋəu³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɐɯ⁴
CSS *ŋeu⁴꜀ᶠ

3.7 Glottals

*3.7.1 *ʔ-*

In **Wy**, *ʔ- has become [ŋ-] in nasal-ending finals that do not involve high front vowels, i.e. in *kāikǒu* and *hékǒu*. This is another product of rhinoglottophilia in **Wy**.

59 *yǎ* 啞〔假開二上馬影〕 ‘mute’ **CDC** *a³ / **EC** *rax
CSWW *ʔɔ³
CJQ *ɒ³: **Ly** u³; **Jh** uɑ³; **Pj** iɑ³; **Dy** ʔuo³; **Yk** ɑ⁻¹¹ ～口兒; **Wy** uɑ⁻⁵³
CLS *ɔ³: **Sc** u³ [2] ≍ ɑ³ [1] ≍ iɑ³ [3]; **Sy** u³; **Lq** u³; **Yh** o⁵; **Pc** a³; **Qy** o³

Table 3.8: Correspondences for CSWW glottal initials

CSWW	*ʔ-	*ɦ-
CJQ	*ʔ-	*ɦ-
Ly	Ø-	Ø-
Jh	Ø-	Ø-
Pj	Ø-	Ø-
Dy	ʔ-	Ø-
Yk	Ø-	Ø-
Wy	Ø-; ŋ-/*_[V -hi]$_1$N	Ø-; ɲ-/*_IV$_0$N
CLS	*Ø-	*ɦ-
Sc	Ø-	Ø-
Sy	Ø-	Ø-
Lq	Ø-	Ø-
Yh	Ø-	Ø-
Pc	Ø-	x-; Ø-/_[V +hi]
Qy	Ø-	x-; Ø-/_[V +hi]
CSS	*ʔ-	*ɦ-

CSS *ʔo³ [1] ⩙ #ʔɑ³ [2]

a. **Kh** o³; **Cs** ɔ³; **Js** o^{-52} ～巴子 ‘a mute’; **Ys** o³; **Gf** o³ ～子 ‘a mute’

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɑ³ ～巴子 ‘a mute’; **Js** —; **Ys** ɑ³; **Gf** ɑ³

640 *ān* 安〔山開一平寒影〕 ‘secure’ **CDC** *on¹ / **EC** *’an

CSWW *ʔɔ̃¹

CJQ *ʔɤ̃¹: **Ly** ei¹; **Jh** ɤ¹ [1] ⩙ ã¹ [2]; **Pj** ə̃¹ [1] ⩙ an¹ [2]; **Dy** ʔɤ¹; **Yk** ɤə¹; **Wy** ŋɤ¹

CLS *uə̃¹: **Sc** uə̃¹; **Sy** uɛ̃¹; **Lq** uə¹; **Yh** uɛ¹; **Pc** uãi¹; **Qy** uã¹

CSS *ʔɔ̃¹

876 *yī* 一〔臻開三入質影 A〕 ‘one’ **CDC** *it⁷ / **EC** *it

CSWW *ʔiək⁷

CJQ *ʔiəʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁷; **Dy** ʔiəʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ ʔiʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ĭə³; **Wy** iəʔ⁷

CLS *iək⁷: **Sc** ɪʔ⁷; **Sy** iʔ⁷; **Lq** iʔ⁷; **Yh** iʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ i⁵ [2]; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** iəɯʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ iʔ⁷ [2]

CSS *ʔiʔ⁷

*3.7.2 *ɦ-*

155 *yǔ* 雨〔遇合三上麌云 C〕 ‘rain’ **CDC** *yu⁴ / **EC** *wax
CSWW *ɦyə⁴
CJQ *ɦy⁴: **Ly** y⁴; **Jh** y³; **Pj** y⁴; **Dy** iʉ⁴; **Yk** y⁴; **Wy** y⁴
CLS *ɦyə⁴: **Sc** yɤ⁴; **Sy** y⁴; **Lq** y³; **Yh** y³; **Pc** ye⁴; **Qy** ye⁴
CSS *ɦyə⁴

203 *xié* 鞋〔蟹開二平佳匣〕 ‘shoes’ **CDC** *hai² / **EC** *gre
CSWW *ɦai²
CJQ *ɦa²: **Ly** ɑ²; **Jh** ɑ² [1] ≍ ʑiɛ² [2]; **Pj** ɑ²; **Dy** ɑ²; **Yk** iɑ²; **Wy** ia²
CLS *ɦai²: **Sc** a²; **Sy** a²; **Lq** a²; **Yh** ɑ²; **Pc** xai²; **Qy** xɑ²
CSS *ɦɑi²

1167 *yíng* 贏〔梗開三平清以 A〕 ‘win’ **CDC** *yang² / **EC** *yeng
CSWW *ɦiŋ²
CJQ *ɦiŋ²: **Ly** iŋ²; **Jh** iŋ²; **Pj** (yən²꜀ᶠ); **Dy** ən² [1]; **Yk** ieiŋ² [1] ≍ yeiŋ² [2]; **Wy** n̥in²
CLS *ɦiŋ²: **Sc** iɪŋ²; **Sy** in²; **Lq** (yŋ²꜀ᶠ); **Yh** iŋ²; **Pc** ieŋ²; **Qy** ieŋ²
CSS *ɦiŋ²

Chapter 4

SYLLABLE FINALS

4.1 Overview

4.1.1 Common Southwestern Wú Finals (89)

The following syllable finals are reconstructed for Common Southwestern Wú:

a (+ æ)	ia	ua	ya	ai	uai	au	iau	ã	iã	uã
	iaŋ	yaŋ	aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ	yaʔ	iauʔ	yauʔ;	æu	æŋ
	uæŋ	æʔ	uæʔ							
ɔ (+ ʌ)	iɔ	uɔ	ɔi (?)	ɔu	iɔu	ɔ̃	uɔ̃	ɔŋ	iɔŋ	uɔŋ
	ɔʔ	uɔʔ	ɔuʔ	iɔuʔ	uɔuʔ;	ʌ̃	ʌʔ			
ə	iə	uə	yə	əi	uəi		ə̃	uə̃	əŋ	iəŋ
	uəŋ	yəŋ	əʔ	uəʔ	əiʔ	uəiʔ	ək	iək	uək	yək
(e)	iei	uei	yei	iẽ	yẽ	eŋ	ieʔ	yeʔ		
o	uo	oŋ	ioŋ	uoŋ	oʔ	ioʔ				
i	ui	iŋ	iʔ							
y	yʔ									
u	iu									
ɨ	ɨəŋ	ɨək								
m̩										

Like many Chinese dialects, the syllable canon of **CSWW** is C(G)V(X) where C is an obligatory initial consonant,[1] G is an optional medial glide, V is an obligatory main vowel, and X is an optional glide or consonant coda. Additionally, syllables may be nasalized or glottalized. Nasalized syllables are realized with a nasal main vowel and glottalized syllables are short and end in a glottal stop. Glottalized syllables can take glide codas, but nasalized syllables do not. The finals of

[1]Zero initials in the daughters correspond to the **CSWW** glottal initials *ʔ- and *ɦ-.

Wú dialects are usually divided into three types—oral (*yīn* 陰), nasal (*yáng* 陽), and checked (*rù* 入). This is because the contrast between the finals of these classes is often borne entirely by the main vowels—i.e. if dialects have segmental [-ŋ] and nasalized vowels, their distribution is complementary and predictable. In **CSWW**, they are contrastive, e.g. *ɔ̃ ≠ *ɔŋ. **CSWW** also has a contrast between syllables ending in *-k and glottalized syllables, though *-k is extremely limited in its distribution. It only occurs after *ə.

There are 11 contrastive oral vowels in total. This number is unusually high for most Chinese dialects, but falls into the upper end of what is observed in the Jīnqú group.[2] As is the case with most Wú dialects, some vowels are distributionally limited to specific phonetic environments such as closed syllables. **CSWW** has three such vowels, each of which only contrasts with the other eight vowels in a marginal capacity. The situation may be summarized as follows: *æ only occurs before *-u, *-ŋ, and *-ʔ; three finals having *æ contrast with those having *a, i.e. *-æu ≠ *-au, *-æʔ ≠ *-aʔ and *-uæʔ ≠ *-uaʔ. *ʌ only occurs as a nasalized vowel and before *-ʔ. *e only occurs before *-ŋ and *-i, and after the high front medials *-i- and *-y-; two finals containing *e contrast with those containing *ə, i.e. *-uei ≠ *-uəi and *-eŋ ≠ *-əŋ. *-uei is intrusive and only occurs in literary character readings.

When reconstructing a common system, it is tempting to regularize anomalies found in the daughter languages by extrapolating from phonological gaps. The three quasi-marginal vowel phonemes discussed above all arose from main vowel allophones conditioned by codas that were lost in **CSWW**. The situation is neat enough that one can nearly restore the lost coda contrasts and undo the phonemicization of these vowels. Ballard (1969) and Chang (1971) favor this approach and reconstruct several coda phonemes that are not attested in any Wú dialect today.[3] Ballard reconstructs the additional codas *-t, and *-n; Chang reconstructs these plus *-m and *-p. Both of them arrive at these reconstructions by comparing with other Chinese dialect groups

[2]In our data **Jh** and **Pj** both have 11 contrastive oral vowels. In **Jh**: ɿ, i, u, y, a, ɑ, o, ɤ (~ə/_ŋ,ʔ; ~e in [ie] and [eu]), ɯ, ɛ, and ɐ (only occurs in literary [iɐ]). In **Pj**: ɿ, i, u, y, ɑ, a, ɛ(~e/i,y_), o, ɤ, ə, and ɯ.

[3]I mean specifically contrastive codas that cannot be reinterpreted as allophones of a generic nasal coda conditioned by the preceding vocalisms. Several Jīnqú dialects exhibit surface [-m] and [-n] codas, but they do not contrast with each other or [-ŋ].

and restoring conservative codas where they explain Wú vowel developments.[4] I believe this approach goes too far beyond what the comparative data actually tells us, so I have deliberately declined to use it in reconstructing **CSWW**. However, there is still value in contextualizing the **CSWW** finals system in the greater history of Chinese phonology, so long as we keep this exercise explicitly separate from the comparative process. Before moving on to sound correspondences for the **CSWW** finals, I will discuss their pre-**CSWW** origins using **CDC** to help situate readers who are familiar with Chinese historical phonology.

As mentioned above, *-k is reconstructed for **CSWW** in a limited set of environments. I reconstruct it for correspondence sets in which **Qy** reflects a final with the ending [-uʔ]. When high front medials are not present, checked offglides are also found in several of the other Lìshuǐ dialects strongly suggesting original *-k. I believe this is defensible on the grounds of parallelism. **CSWW** already has a phonemic velar nasal coda, and it contrasts with phonemic nasalization of vowels. In theory, one could analogize further and attempt to recover velar codas in more finals where we find checked offglides. **CDC** *-k corresponds directly to **CSWW** glottal finals that end in the offglides *-i and *-u plus those that have the main vowels *æ or *o. These finals remain completely distinct from the **CDC** finals that ended in *-p and *-t. The situation is summarized in Table 4.1.[5]

At first blush, this appears to be an attractive solution. Restoring *-k in more environments puts *æ and *a in near complementary distribution.[6] But choosing to restore more *-k based on **CDC** obscures two important facts. First, the *-k I have set up for **CSWW** *does not* correspond to

[4]It should be noted that Chang's "Proto-Wu" is not a comparative reconstruction like Ballard's system. He arrived at it by reducing QYS system distinctions to only those that explain the contrasts found in the modern Wēnzhōu dialect and a few neighbors that he does not elaborate on in the article. The *-m and *-p codas he reconstructs are needed to explain the development of a small number of Wēnzhōu finals from the QYS, but cannot be restored in full according to their original QYS distribution on the basis of comparative evidence alone. Chang still restores them exactly where the QYS prescribes despite the evidence not supporting it. This choice makes the "proto" of his "Proto-Wu" a misnomer because the system contains distinctions that all the daughters lack.

[5]These correspondences are not perfect one-to-one statements of equivalence. Conditioned sound changes and archaic retentions in **CSWW** complicate the situation. For example, some cases of CDC *-at correspond to **CSWW** *-ɔʔ after coronals rather than *-aʔ as listed in Table 4.1. Ballard (1969) did not give sound correspondences for these cases because he did not include any Shàngshān dialects in his data.

[6]*-æu ≠ *-au becomes the only remaining contrast, but *-æu itself is a marginal final.

Table 4.1: Selected correspondences of **CDC** stop finals to **CSWW** and Ballard's (1969) Proto-Wu

CDC	**CSWW**	Proto-Wu
*uk	*oʔ	*ok
*ok	*ɔuʔ	*ɔk
*ak	*æʔ	*ak
*ek	*əiʔ	*ʌk; *ɤk/P_
*ik; *iak	*iʔ	*ik; *iek/K,H_
*uik; *iuak	*yʔ	*yɤk
*op	*ʌʔ	*ɤt
*ot/K,H_	*ɔʔ	*ot
*ap; *at	*aʔ	*at
*ep; *ut/f,v_	*ək	*ɤk
*ip; *it	*iək	*ik; *iek/K,H_; *ek/S,Š_
*iut	*yək	*yɤt

CDC *-k. Its source is *-p and *-t, most frequently after high front vowels. Second, two separate branches—Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ—allow vowel offglides before glottal stops. This is a retention and should be reflected in the common language as well. Historical *-k already vocalized and yielded these offglides in **CSWW**. **CSWW** *-k is secondary and likely arose after this change.

As Table 4.1 shows, Ballard's (1969) *-t/*-k contrast in Proto-Wu partially coincides with where I have *-ʔ/*-k in **CSWW**, but this contrast is also marshaled to account for differences in vowel backness—for example, he has *-at and *-ak where I reconstruct *-aʔ and *-æʔ. Ultimately, he reconstructed the *-t/*-k contrast on the basis of parallel vowel developments conditioned in finals he reconstructed with *-n and *-ŋ. However, this choice to reconstruct segmental *-n and *-ŋ codas was not based on Wú internal evidence:

> [The] nasal finals are divided into two classes by the structural pattern of the development of these finals in the dialects. [⋯] [One] is a class of nasal finals where [Shàoxīng 紹興] shows just nasalization and where every other dialect shows no nasal at all. [The other is a class] where most dialects show either a nasal consonant or a nasal-

> ized vowels. *A sketchy check with other Chinese dialect groups indicated that the difference originally lay roughly in an *-n/*-ŋ contrast between the first and second groups, and that solution was chosen for the reconstructed language* [emphasis supplied].
>
> (Ballard 1969, 82–83)

I agree with Ballard's division of the two classes of nasal finals, but I have chosen to reconstruct them as finals with nasal vowels opposite velar codas instead. This solution does not provide an articulatory basis for *-iẽ (≙ his *-ien) to be realized fronter than *-iəŋ (≙ his *-ieŋ), nor does it explain backness contrasts that occur in finals with the same coda like *-eŋ and *-əŋ (both *-ɤŋ for Ballard).[7] We must reconstruct different vowel qualities to account for the distinction instead, which, although structurally awkward, are more faithful to the data.

One further vowel contrast of note is *ʌ ≠ *ɔ. *ʌ is one of the few direct vestiges of bilabial codas in **CSWW**;[8] it evolved from cases of *ɔ that unrounded before bilabial codas by way of dissimilation. As with the other vowel quality contrasts discussed above, there is no systematic internal evidence to restore *-m and *-p, so we must be content reconstructing separate vowel phonemes even though *ʌ is marginal.

4.1.2 Common Jīnqú Finals (74)

The finals systems of the three meso-level reconstructions of the branches differ enough from the finals of **CSWW** that it will be helpful to list them in full. For Common Shàngshān, see §1.5.13. For Common Jīnqú, the following finals are reconstructed:

---

[7] It should be noted that it is actually the fronter of these finals that corresponds to a historical velar coda final, i.e. **CDC** *-eng. I attribute this to velar pinching, which also explains the correspondence of **CDC** *-ang to **CSWW** *-æŋ.

[8] The other is maintenance of **CDC** *-im/*-in and *-ip/*-it after the *Š- series initials reflected as *iəŋ/*iəŋ and *iək/*iək. See Akitani (2003c) for further discussion and Akitani (2011) for other vestiges of bilabial codas in the Ōujiāng group.

a (+ æ)	ia	ua	ya	au	ã	iã	uã	aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ
	yaŋ	iaʔ	yaʔ	auʔ	iauʔ	yauʔ;	æu	æŋ	uæŋ	æʔ
	uæʔ									
ɒ	uɒ	ɒʔ	uɒʔ							
ɤ	ɤ̃	uɤ̃	ɤʔ							
(ə)	əi	uəi	əu	iəu	ə̃	uə̃	əŋ	iəŋ	uəŋ	yəŋ
	əʔ	iəʔ	uəʔ	yəʔ	əiʔ	uəiʔ				
(e)	ie	uei	ye	iẽ	yẽ	eŋ	ieʔ	yeʔ		
o	ou	iou	oŋ	ioŋ	uoŋ	oʔ	ioʔ	uoʔ		
i	yi	iŋ	iʔ							
y	yʔ									
u										
ɿ	ṃ	ṇ	ṅ							

The vowel system is nearly the same as **CSWW**, but the finals of each system do not correspond neatly to each other. **CSWW** *-ai, for instance, evolves into **CJQ** *-a.

4.1.3 Common Lìshuǐ Finals (79)

Common Lìshuǐ is reconstructed with the following finals:

a (+ æ)	ia	ua	ai	uai	au	iau	ã	iã	uã	iaŋ
	aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ	iauʔ;	æŋ	uæŋ	æʔ	uæʔ		
ɔ	iɔ	uɔ	ɔu	iɔu	uõ (?)	ɔŋ	iɔŋ	yɔŋ	uɔʔ (?)	ɔuʔ
	iɔuʔ	uɔuʔ	yɔuʔ							
ə	uə	yə	əi	uəi	yəu	ə̃	uə̃	əŋ	iəŋ	uəŋ
	yəŋ	əʔ	uəʔ	ək	iək	uək	yək			
(e)	ie	uei	ye	iẽ	yẽ	eŋ	eʔ	ieʔ	ueʔ	yeʔ
o	oŋ	ioŋ	uoŋ							
i	ui	iŋ	iʔ							
y	yʔ									
u	iu	uʔ	iuʔ							
ɨ	ɨəŋ	ɨək (?)								
ṃ										

The system is much closer to **CSWW** than **CJQ** is, but this is partially an artifact of including **Pc** in the Lìshuǐ branch. Although the finals system of **Pc** is simple, it evolved in a way that preserved

CSWW contrasts lost in virtually all of the other Lìshuǐ dialects. In future studies, it may help to treat **Pc** as its own separate branch rather than continuing to group it with the other Lìshuǐ dialects, but here we will not deviate from the conventional groupings. Divergent features of **Pc**, and whether they may or may not have developed from contact with Mandarin or Mín, will be noted in the discussion of individual final sound correspondences.

4.1.4 Widespread Mergers Involving Central and Back Mid-vowels

A few mergers have taken place in the Southwestern Wú area that are not apparent from looking at the common systems alone. This is because they radiated across the Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ branches after they began to diversify. Sometimes just one site per branch maintains the pre-merger situation. We are bound by the comparative method to set up different common finals to account for these cases, but doing so obscures the leveling that has taken place and makes divisions between the branches look crisper than they really are. As a convenience to the reader, these hazy common distinctions are summarized here.

A contrast of a high-mid back unrounded vowel *ɤ and central *ə is set up for nasal and glottal finals in **CJQ**, but the correspondences for finals having these vowels overlap considerably. In the case of the nasal finals, only **Jh** preserves a contrast:[9]

CJQ	Ly	Jh	Pj	Dy	Yk	Wy
*ɤ̃	ei	ɤ	ə̃	ɤ	ɤə	ɤ
*ə̃	ei	əŋ	ə̃	ɤ	ɤə	ɤ
*əŋ	əŋ	əŋ	ən	ən	əŋ	en

The contrast in **Jh** is suspicious in two ways. First, all the dialects that surround it, including Lánxī (which is not part of this study), show no difference between *-ɤ̃ and *-ə̃. It is odd that the merger would spread *around* **Jh** but not *through* it, especially considering that urban Jīnhuá is the chief economic hub of the region and has been so for centuries. Second, words with the final *-ə̃

[9]The correspondences presented here cover only the default pattern. There are special developments after velar stops in **Ly** and labial initials in **Yk** and **Wy**. See §4.9 for a comprehensive table of correspondences for *ɤ̃ and §4.16 for *ə̃. These default correspondences also hold regardless of whether *-u- is present or absent. **CJQ** *-u- is retained across the board after guttural initials; but only sporadically after sibilants in **Ly** otherwise.

often have literary variants that take the final *-əŋ. **Jh** has [-əŋ] across the board in these sets (**887** 頓, **896** 孫). It is therefore tempting to treat the **Jh** reflexes as entirely literary.

887 *dùn* 頓〔臻合一去慁端〕 ‘arrange (v.)’ **CDC** *tun^{5} / **EC** *’tunh

CSWW *ɗuə̃^{5} [1] ≍ *ɗuəŋ^{5} [2]

CJQ *ɗə̃^{5} ≍ *ɗəŋ^{5}

a. **Ly** tei^{5}; **Jh** {təŋ^{5}}; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɤ^{5}; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {təŋ^{5}}; **Pj** tən^{-53}; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔnəŋ^{5}; **Wy** ʔnen^{5}

CLS *ɗuə̃^{5} ≍ *ɗuəŋ^{5}

a. **Sc** ʔdə̃^{5}; **Sy** ʔdæ̃^{5}; **Lq** ʔdɤ^{5}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdə̃^{5}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdəŋ^{5}; **Pc** lueŋ^{5}; **Qy** —

CSS #tuə̃^{5}: **Kh** tuə̃^{5}; **Cs** tuʌ̃^{5}; **Js** tæ̃^{5} [1] ≍ tæ̃^{3} [2]; **Ys** tuə̃^{5}; **Gf** tuẽ^{5}

896 *sūn* 孫〔臻合一平魂心〕 ‘grandson; Sūn (pn.)’ **CDC** *sun^{1} / **EC** *’sun

CSWW *suə̃^{1}

CJQ *suə̃^{1} [1] ‘grandson’ ≍ *suəŋ^{1} [2] ‘Sūn (pn.)’

a. **Ly** suei^{1}; **Jh** {səŋ^{1}}; **Pj** sə̃^{1}; **Dy** sɤ^{1}; **Yk** sɤə^{1}; **Wy** sɤ^{1}

b. **Ly** suəŋ^{1} [1]; **Jh** {səŋ^{1}}; **Pj** —; **Dy** sən^{1}; **Yk** səŋ^{1}; **Wy** sen^{1}

CLS *suə̃^{1}: **Sc** sə̃^{1}; **Sy** sæ̃^{1}; **Lq** sɤ^{1}; **Yh** suɛ^{1}; **Pc** (sueŋ^{1}$_{!f}$) ～子 ‘grandson’; **Qy** sə̃^{1}

CSS *suə̃^{1}

Most Southwestern Wú dialects use CSWW *suə̃ 孫 alone or with *ȵiə^{2} 兒 as the popular word for ‘grandson’. Pc uses [sueŋ^{1} tɕi^{3}] 孫子 (Jiǎng and Jiǎng 2005, 86). This word is intrusive and its first syllable cannot be compared with the other members of this set.

However, this strategy cannot account for cases where we do not find evidence of *-ə̃ ≍ *-əŋ doublets in the other dialects. In these sets, the **Jh** reflex must be treated as regular (**891** 嫩, **892** 村).

891 *nèn* 嫩〔臻合一去慁泥〕 ‘tender’ **CDC** *nun^{6} / **EC** *’nunh

CSWW *nuə̃^{6}

CJQ *nə̃^{6}: **Ly** nei^{6}; **Jh** nəŋ^{6}; **Pj** nə̃^{6} ≍ nən^{6} [2]; **Dy** nɤ^{6}; **Yk** nɤə^{6}; **Wy** nɤ^{6}

CLS *nuə̃^{6}: **Sc** nə̃^{6}; **Sy** næ̃^{6}; **Lq** nɤ^{6}; **Yh** nuɛ^{6}; **Pc** (nueŋ^{6}$_{!f}$); **Qy** nə̃^{6}

CSS *nuə̃^{6}

892 *cūn* 村〔臻合一平魂清〕 ‘village’ **CDC** *tshun^{1} / **EC** *’tshun

CSWW *tsʰuə̃^{1}

CJQ *tsʰuə̃^{1}: **Ly** tsʰuei^{1}; **Jh** tsʰəŋ^{1}; **Pj** tsʰə̃^{1}; **Dy** tsʰɤ^{1}; **Yk** tsʰɤə^{1}; **Wy** tsʰɤ^{1}

CLS *tsʰuə̃^{1}: **Sc** tsʰə̃^{1}; **Sy** tsʰæ̃^{1}; **Lq** tsʰɤ^{1}; **Yh** tsʰuɛ^{1}; **Pc** tsʰuãi^{1} ≍ tsʰueŋ^{1}; **Qy** tsʰə̃^{1}

CSS *tsʰuə̃¹

Note that a similar problem exists in **CLS**. In just one site, **Pc**, we often find that [-ueŋ] coincides with **CJQ** *-ə̃ opposite [-uãi] coinciding with *-ɤ̃. However, in this case I only set up one final, *-ə̃, for **CLS**. This is because **Pc** shows clear evidence of doublets involving [-uãi] ⨯ [-ueŋ] (**892** 村). **Pc** is a transitional dialect that has a long history of contact with Mandarin and Northern Mín (Lǐ 2001b, 500). Many of the cases of [-ueŋ] in **Pc** are likely intrusions that resulted from this contact rather than retentions of doublets from **CLS**.[10] I only reconstruct *-(u)əŋ for **CLS** in doublets where there is clear evidence for it in the other dialects besides **Pc**.

At the highest level, the question of how to handle the **Jh** and **Pc** reflexes ultimately does not matter for reconstructing **CSWW** because **CSS** preserves vowel contrasts that necessitate separate finals anyway. As Table 4.2 shows, **CJQ** *-ə̃ corresponds more or less directly to **CSS** *-ə̃ and *-uə̃ whereas **CJQ** *-ɤ̃ corresponds to finals with other vowels that ultimately evolved from **CSWW** *-ɑ̃, *-ɔ̃, and *-uɔ̃. However, the exact correspondences of these finals across the three branches are complicated and depend on initial classes. Every contrast that we can confirm outside of **CSS** helps resolve ambiguities that arise when the data is patchy.

One other important nearly complete merger is *-uɔ̃ > *-uɑ̃ after guttural initials, which obliterates the distinction of **QYS** Division I and II syllables. This change has concluded in the Jīnqú dialects and all the Lìshuǐ dialects except **Sc**:

CLS	Sc	Sy	Lq	Yh	Pc	Qy
*uɔ̃	uə̃	uɔ̃	uaŋ	uã	uãi	uã
*uɑ̃	uaŋ	uɔ̃	uaŋ	uã	uãi	uã

Sc is situated between the Shàngshān dialects and the remaining Lìshuǐ dialects. This retention may be an archaic transitional feature.

[10] I presume [-ueŋ] was based on a Mandarin donor pronunciation. The equivalent final for this class of words in the neighboring Guānqián 觀前 (Northern Mín) dialect is [-õ], e.g. [sõ¹] 孫 'grandson' (Akitani 2021). The CDC *-uon final class of words is also mostly pronounced with [-õ], which would not explain the distinction in Pc if the Guānqián dialect were the donor. The Pc sound system distinguishes a few other final classes in suspiciously Mandarin-esque ways. This phenomenon warrants further study.

Table 4.2: Correspondences for nasal finals having central and back mid-vowels

Initial Class	CSWW		CJQ	CLS	CSS	CDC
P	ɔ̃		ɤ̃	ə̃	uẽ	on
	ə̃		ə̃	ə̃	ə̃	un
T,S	ɔ̃	> ã	ã	ã	ɔ̃	an
	ʌ̃	> ɔ̃	uɤ̃; ɤ̃/T_	uə̃	ʌ̃	om
	uɔ̃	> ɔ̃	uɤ̃; ɤ̃/T_	uə̃	ɔ̃	$uon_{(2)}$
	uə̃		uə̃; ə̃/T_	uə̃	uə̃	un
K,H	ʌ̃		ɤ̃	ə̃	ʌ̃	om
	ɔ̃		ɤ̃	uə̃	ɔ̃	on
	ə̃		ə̃	ə̃	ə̃	en
	uɔ̃		uã	uɔ̃	uẽ	$uon_{(2)}$
	uə̃		uə̃	uə̃	uə̃	un

The *-ʌ̃ ≠ *-ɔ̃ contrast adds some additional complexity to the mergers discussed thus far at the highest level of reconstruction. First, the contrast only appears after coronal and guttural initials. After labial initials, only *-ɔ̃ is set up, its value so chosen because its **CSS** reflex, *-uẽ, contains a front vowel characteristic of dissimilatory fronting of round vowels after labials in the Shàngshān dialects. Historically, the lack of *-ʌ̃ after labial initials originates from an early Chinese phonotactic trend to avoid syllables that begin and end in bilabial consonants. The way the *-ʌ̃ ≠ *-ɔ̃ contrast manifests after the remaining initial major classes varies. After coronals, *-ʌ̃ has merged completely with *-uɔ̃ > *-ɔ̃ in the Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ branches. We must rely entirely on the Shàngshān dialects to recover the distinction in this environment. After guttural initials, the Lìshuǐ dialects preserve the unrounded/rounded contrast of the common system's finals by way of a medial *-u-. The Jīnqú dialects have lost the distinction entirely. As mentioned in the introduction, this change is one of the definitive developments that separates the Jīnqú branch from the Lìshuǐ branch.

The glottal final counterparts to the nasal finals discussed above largely developed in a parallel fashion. However, the branch-level correspondences differ slightly. In **CJQ** the contrast

between *-ɤʔ and *-əʔ is preserved clearly in the majority of the daughters. But there is an additional contrast between *-əʔ and *-uəʔ after coronals that is preserved only in **Yk**:

CJQ	Ly	Jh	Pj	Dy	Yk	Wy
*ɤʔ	əʔ	ɤ	ɯ	ɜʔ	ɤə	ɤʔ
*əʔ	əʔ	əʔ	ə	ɜʔ	ɤə	əʔ
*uəʔ/T,S_	əʔ	əʔ	ə	ɜʔ	ə; uə/l_	əʔ
*uəʔ/K,H_	uəʔ	uəʔ	uə	uɑʔ	ŭə	uoʔ

This minute difference is inherited from the contrast between *-uəʔ and *-uək respectively in **CSWW**. The other branches exhibit a more pronounced difference between these common finals:

903 *tū* 突〔臻合一入沒定〕 ‘jut out’ **CDC** *dut^{8} / **EC** *’dut

CSWW *duəʔ^{8}

CJQ *dəʔ^{8}: **Ly** dəʔ^{8}; **Jh** dəʔ^{8}; **Pj** də^{8}; **Dy** dɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** dɤə^{4}; **Wy** dəʔ^{8}

CLS *duəʔ^{8}: **Sc** deʔ^{8}; **Sy** dəʔ^{8}; **Lq** dəʔ^{8}; **Yh** duɛʔ^{8}; **Pc** tuo^{7}; **Qy** tɤʔ^{8}

CSS #duəʔ^{8}: **Kh** duʌʔ^{8}; **Cs** dʌʔ^{8}; **Js** dəʔ^{8}; **Ys** doʔ^{8}; **Gf** duɐʔ^{8}

772 *duó* 奪〔山合一入末定〕 ‘despoil’ **CDC** *duot^{8} / **EC** *’dot

CSWW *duək^{8} [1] ≍ *duɔʔ^{8} [2]

CJQ *duəʔ^{8}: **Ly** dəʔ^{8}; **Jh** dəʔ^{8}; **Pj** də^{8}; **Dy** dɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** də^{4}; **Wy** dəʔ^{8}

CLS *dək^{8} ≍ *duəʔ^{8}

a. **Sc** dəɯʔ^{8}; **Sy** deʔ^{8}; **Lq** dɛiʔ^{8}; **Yh** deiʔ^{8}; **Pc** —; **Qy** təɯʔ^{8}

b. **Sc** deʔ^{8}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tuo^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS #dɨʔ^{8} ≍ *dɔʔ^{8}

a. **Kh** dəʔ^{8}; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** daʔ^{8}; **Js** dɒʔ^{8}; **Ys** dʌʔ^{8}; **Gf** dɐʔ^{8}

773 *luō* 捋〔山合一入末來〕 ‘take by the handful, stroke’ **CDC** *luot^{8} / **EC** *’lot

CSWW *luək^{8}

CJQ *luəʔ^{8}: **Ly** ləʔ^{8}; **Jh** ləʔ^{8}; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** luə^{4}; **Wy** ləʔ^{8}

CLS *lək^{8}: **Sc** ləɯʔ^{8}; **Sy** ly^{1}$_{!ft}$; **Lq** —; **Yh** leiʔ^{7}$_{!t}$; **Pc** (luo^{7}$_{!f}$); **Qy** ləɯʔ^{8}

CSS *lɨʔ^{8}

Yk [luə^{4}] is unexpected. The medial is lost after other coronals. After gutturals, the medial is short [ŭ].

The meso-level correspondences for the **CSWW** glottal finals involving central and back mid-vowels, summarized in Table 4.3, are similar to the correspondences for their nasal counterparts,

but there are several differences in **CSS**, especially after grave initials. To wit, we find **CSWW** *-ɔʔ > **CSS** *-ɔʔ/P_ instead of expected *-ueʔ, **CSWW** *-ɔʔ > **CSS** *-ɒʔ/K_ instead of expected *-uɔʔ, and **CSWW** *-uəʔ > **CSS** *-yeʔ/K_ instead of expected #-uəʔ. The sound correspondences for *-ʌʔ after coronals are uncertain. There are too few clear examples of it in our data.

Table 4.3: Correspondences for glottal finals having central and back mid-vowels

Initial Class	CSWW		CJQ	CLS	CSS	CDC
P	ɔʔ		ɤʔ	əʔ	ɔʔ	ot
	ək		əʔ	ək	əʔ	ep; ut/F_
T,S	ɔʔ	> aʔ	ɒʔ	aʔ	ɔʔ	at
	ʌʔ	> ɔʔ	ɤʔ/T_	əʔ∼uəʔ	ʌʔ	op
	uɔʔ	> ɔʔ (?)	(?)	uəʔ	ɔʔ	uot_2
	uəʔ		əʔ	uəʔ	#uəʔ	ut
	uək		uəʔ	ək	ɨʔ	uot_1
K,H	ʌʔ		ɤʔ	əʔ (?)	ʌʔ	op
	ɔʔ		ɤʔ	uəʔ	ɒʔ	ot
	uɔʔ		uɒʔ	uɔʔ	ueʔ	uot_2
	uəʔ		uəʔ	uəʔ	yeʔ	ut
	uək		uəʔ	uək	yeʔ	uot_1

Not all nasal final syllable types have exact glottal final counterparts. This is partly because there are simply fewer words with glottal syllable finals than nasal syllable finals in Southwestern Wú. Such counterparts might theoretically exist, but they do not show up in our data and may well be phonological gaps.

*4.2 Finals with the vowel sequence *a*

CSWW	a	ã	aʔ
CJQ	ɒ	ã	ɒʔ
Ly	uɑ; u/P_	ã	ɔʔ
Jh	uɑ; ɤa/P_	ɑ	uɑ; ɤa/P_
Pj	iɑ; ia/P_; yɑ/*Š_	ɑ̃	iɑ; ia/P_; yɑ/*Š_
Dy	uo	ʌ	uoʔ
Yk	ɑ	ɑ	ɑ
Wy	uɑ	uo	uɑʔ; uɑ/4
CLS	a	ã	aʔ
Sc	ɑ	aŋ	aʔ
Sy	uo	ɔ̃	ɔʔ
Lq	o	aŋ	ɔʔ
Yh	o	ã	ɑʔ
Pc	a	ãi	a
Qy	o	ɑ̃	ɑʔ
CSS	ɑ	ɑ̃	ɑʔ

*4.2.1 *-a [a] > CSS *-a*

This final has backed and risen to [o] in many dialects, a development that is common in Northern Wú. After labial and glottal initials it is difficult to distinguish this final from **CSWW** *-ɔ. The two have merged completely in the Jīnqú dialects and in **Yh**, **Pc**, and **Qy**. For further discussion, see §4.9.1.

Examples:

2051 WIFE

CSWW *lɔu⁴.ma⁴ 老□ ‘wife’

CJQ *lou⁴.mɒ⁴ 老馬=: **Ly** lɔ⁴.məʔ⁸₍ft 老木=; **Jh** —; **Pj** lo⁴.mia²₍t; **Dy** lɑu⁴.muo⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** lɤ⁴.muɑ⁴

CLS *lɔu⁴.ma⁴ 老媽: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lɑɔ³.mo²₍t 老母; **Pc** —; **Qy** lɒ⁴.mo⁴

CSS *ləu⁴.mɑ⁴

Cf. Proto-Tai *meːᴮ ‘mother; woman’ (Pittayaporn 2009, 336). The morpheme appears to be used here as a calque of 老婆 ‘wife (literally old + matron)’. Proto-Tai *miəᴬ ‘wife’ is another possibility, but the tone correspondence does not work.

192 *bài* 稗〔蟹開二去卦並〕 ‘cockspur’ **CDC** *bai⁶ / **EC** *breh

CSWW *ba⁶

CJQ *bɒ⁶ ⩙ *ba⁶

a. **Ly** bu⁶; **Jh** bɤa⁶; **Pj** bia⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** buɑ⁶

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** bɑ⁶; **Yk** biɑ⁶; **Wy** —

CLS *ba⁶: **Sc** bɑ⁶; **Sy** bu⁶₍f; **Lq** —; **Yh** bo⁶; **Pc** pa⁶; **Qy** po⁶

CSS *bɑ⁶

45 *chá* 茶〔假開二平麻澄〕 ‘tea’ **CDC** *ja² / **EC** *dra

CSWW *dža²

CJQ *džɒ²: **Ly** dzuɑ²; **Jh** dzuɑ² [1] ⩙ dzɑ² [2]; **Pj** dʑyɑ²; **Dy** dzuo²; **Yk** dzɑ²; **Wy** dzuɑ²

CLS *dza²: **Sc** dzɑ²; **Sy** tsuo²; **Lq** dzo²; **Yh** dzo²; **Pc** tsa²; **Qy** tso²

CSS *dzɑ²

50 *jiǎ* 假〔假開二上馬見〕 ‘false’ **CDC** *ka³ / **EC** *krax

CSWW *ka³

CJQ *kɒ³: **Ly** kuɑ³; **Jh** kuɑ³ [1] ⩙ tɕiɑ³ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ³; **Dy** kuo³; **Yk** kɑ³; **Wy** kuɑ³

CLS *ka³: **Sc** kɑ³; **Sy** kuo³; **Lq** ko³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** ka³; **Qy** ko³

CSS *kɑ³

56 *xià* 夏〔假開二去禡匣〕 ‘summer’ **CDC** *ha⁴ / **EC** *grax

CSWW *ɦa⁶

CJQ *ɒ⁶: **Ly** uɑ⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ ʑiɑ⁶ [2]; **Pj** iɑ⁶; **Dy** uo⁶; **Yk** ɑ⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁶

CLS *ɦa⁶: **Sc** ɑ⁶; **Sy** uo⁶; **Lq** o⁶; **Yh** o⁶; **Pc** xa⁶; **Qy** xo⁶

CSS *ɦɑ⁶

*4.2.2 *-ã > CSS *-ã*

This final might also be reconstructed as *-an. Several Lìshuǐ dialects have reflexes of segmental [-ŋ] in the coda position. **Pc** [-ãi] probably also evolved from [-aŋ]. The [-i] ending arose from “velar pinch” rather than vocalization of a segmental coda.[11] I have nonetheless reconstructed *-ã to keep the common phonology uniform because [-n] is difficult to recover in other environments.

Examples:

[11]For more on “velar pinch,” see Baker et al. (2008).

649 *bàn* 辦〔山開二去襉並〕 ‘manage’ **CDC** *ban⁶ / **EC** *brenh

CSWW *bã⁶

CJQ *bã⁶: **Ly** bã⁶; **Jh** bɑ⁶ [1] ≍ bã⁶ [2]; **Pj** bɑ̃⁶; **Dy** bʌ⁶; **Yk** bɑ⁶; **Wy** buo⁶

CLS *bã⁶: **Sc** baŋ⁶; **Sy** bɔ̃⁶; **Lq** baŋ⁶; **Yh** bã²˩˥; **Pc** pãi⁶; **Qy** pɑ̃⁶

CSS *bɑ̃⁶

805 *fǎn* 反〔山合三上阮非C〕 ‘reverse’ **CDC** *fan³ / **EC** *ponx

CSWW *ɓã³ [1] ≍ *fã³ [2]

CJQ *fã³: **Ly** fã³; **Jh** fɑ³ [1] ≍ fã³ [2]; **Pj** fɑ̃³ [1] ≍ fan³ [2]; **Dy** fʌ³; **Yk** fɑ³; **Wy** fuo³

CLS *ɓã³ ‘turn over’ ≍ *fã³

a. **Sc** ʔbaŋ³; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃³; **Lq** ʔbaŋ³; **Yh** ʔbã³; **Pc** pãi³ [白]; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** faŋ³; **Sy** fɔ̃³; **Lq** faŋ³; **Yh** fã³; **Pc** fãi³; **Qy** fɑ̃³

CSS *pɑ̃³ ≍ #fɑ̃³

a. **Kh** pã³; **Cs** pã³; **Js** pã⁵; **Ys** pã³; **Gf** pã³

b. **Kh** fã³; **Cs** fã³; **Js** fã⁻⁵² ～對 ‘oppose’; **Ys** fã³; **Gf** fã³

534 *dàn* 淡〔廣韻：咸開一上敢定〕 ‘insipid’ **CDC** *dam⁴ / **EC** *’damx

CSWW *dã⁴

CJQ *dã⁴: **Ly** dã⁴; **Jh** tɑ³ [1] ≍ dã⁶ [2]; **Pj** dɑ̃⁴; **Dy** dʌ⁴; **Yk** dɑ⁴; **Wy** duo⁴

CLS *dã⁴: **Sc** daŋ⁴; **Sy** dɔ̃⁴; **Lq** ʔdaŋ³; **Yh** dã⁴; **Pc** tãi⁴; **Qy** tɑ̃⁴

CSS *dɑ̃⁴

654 *jiān* 間〔山開二平山見〕 ‘interstice, room’ **CDC** *kan¹ / **EC** *kren

CSWW *kã¹

CJQ *kã¹: **Ly** kã¹; **Jh** kɑ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Pj** kɑ̃¹ [1] ≍ tɕian¹ [2]; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kɑ¹; **Wy** kuo⁻⁵³

CLS *kã¹: **Sc** kaŋ¹; **Sy** kɔ̃¹; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kã¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kɑ̃¹

CSS *kɑ̃¹

546 *xián* 鹹〔咸開二平咸匣〕 ‘salty’ **CDC** *ham² / **EC** *grum

CSWW *ɦã²

CJQ *ɦã²: **Ly** ã²; **Jh** ɑ² [1] ≍ iã² [2]; **Pj** ɑ̃²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** ɑ²; **Wy** ŋuo²

CLS *ɦã²: **Sc** aŋ²; **Sy** ɔ̃²; **Lq** aŋ²; **Yh** ã²; **Pc** —; **Qy** xɑ̃²

CSS *ɦɑ̃²

*4.2.3 *-aʔ > CSS *-aʔ*

CSWW *-aʔ followed a course of development parallel to *-a in the Jīnqú dialects. Both backed and rounded. This is one of the Jīnqú branch's defining characteristics.

Examples for this final include:

588 *fǎ* 法〔咸合三入乏非 C〕 'law, method' **CDC** *fap⁷ / **EC** *pop
CSWW *faʔ⁷
CJQ *fɒʔ⁷: **Ly** fɔʔ⁷; **Jh** fɤa⁵ [1] ⩙ fəʔ⁷; **Pj** fɑ⁷; **Dy** fuoʔ⁷; **Yk** fɑ³; **Wy** fuɑʔ⁷
CLS *faʔ⁷: **Sc** faʔ⁷; **Sy** fɔʔ⁷; **Lq** fɔʔ⁷; **Yh** faʔ⁷; **Pc** fa⁷; **Qy** fɑʔ⁷
CSS *fɑʔ⁷

660 *bā* 八〔山開二入黠幫〕 'eight' **CDC** *pat⁷ / **EC** *pret
CSWW *ɓaʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓɒʔ⁷: **Ly** pɔʔ⁷; **Jh** pɤa⁵ [1] ⩙ pəʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ pɑ⁵ [3]; **Pj** pia⁷; **Dy** puoʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbɑ³; **Wy** puɑʔ⁷
CLS *ɓaʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbɑʔ⁷; **Pc** pa⁷; **Qy** ʔboʔ⁷
CSS *pɑʔ⁷

541 *là* 蠟〔咸開一入盍來〕 'wax' **CDC** *ʰlap⁸ / **EC** *ʾʰlap
CSWW *laʔ⁸
CJQ *lɒʔ⁸: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸; **Jh** luɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** luɑ⁸; **Dy** luoʔ⁸; **Yk** lɑ⁴; **Wy** luɑ⁴
CLS *laʔ⁸: **Sc** laʔ⁸; **Sy** lɔʔ⁸; **Lq** lɔʔ⁸; **Yh** lɑʔ⁸; **Pc** la⁷; **Qy** lɑʔ⁸
CSS *lɑʔ⁸

663 *shā* 殺〔山開二入黠生〕 'kill' **CDC** *shat⁷ / **EC** *srat
CSWW *šaʔ⁷
CJQ *šɒʔ⁷: **Ly** sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** suɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ səʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyɑ⁷; **Dy** suoʔ⁷; **Yk** sɑ³; **Wy** suɑʔ⁷
CLS *saʔ⁷: **Sc** saʔ⁷; **Sy** sɔʔ⁷; **Lq** sɔʔ⁷; **Yh** sɑʔ⁷; **Pc** sa⁷; **Qy** sɑʔ⁷
CSS *sɑʔ⁷

548 *zhà* 炸（煠）〔咸開二入洽崇〕 'blanch' **CDC** *jap⁸ / **EC** —
CSWW *žaʔ⁸
CJQ *žɒʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** zuɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ dzəʔ⁸; **Pj** ʒyɑ⁸; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** zɑ⁴; **Wy** zuɑ⁴ ⩙ tsuɑʔ⁷
CLS *zaʔ⁸: **Sc** zaʔ⁸; **Sy** zɔʔ⁸ ⩙ tsɔʔ⁷; **Lq** zɔʔ⁸; **Yh** zɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɑʔ⁸
CSS *zɑʔ⁸

554 *jiǎ* 甲〔咸開二入狎見〕 ‘shell’ **CDC** *kap⁷ / **EC** *krap

CSWW *kaʔ⁷

CJQ *kɒʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ⁷; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kɑ³; **Wy** kuɑʔ⁷

CLS *kaʔ⁷: **Sc** kaʔ⁷; **Sy** kaʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔʔ⁷; **Yh** kɑʔ⁷; **Pc** ka⁷; **Qy** kɑʔ⁷

CSS *kɑʔ⁷

555 *yā* 鴨〔咸開二入狎影〕 ‘duck’ **CDC** *ap⁷ / **EC** *rap

CSWW *ʔaʔ⁷

CJQ *ʔɒʔ⁷: **Ly** uɔʔ⁷; **Jh** uɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ iəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** iɑn⁻⁴²³ [兒]; **Dy** ʔuoʔ⁷; **Yk** ɑ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** uɑʔ⁷

CLS *aʔ⁷: **Sc** aʔ⁷; **Sy** ɔʔ⁷; **Lq** ɔʔ⁷; **Yh** ɑʔ⁷; **Pc** a⁷; **Qy** ɑʔ⁷

CSS *ʔɑʔ⁷

*4.3 Finals with the vowel sequence *ia (excluding *-iaŋ) and *ya*

CSWW	ia	iã	iaʔ	ya/Š_	yaʔ
CJQ	ia	iã; iẽ/P_	iaʔ; ieʔ/P_	ya	yaʔ
Ly	iɑ; ɑ/*Š_	ie	iəʔ	—	yəʔ
Jh	ia	ia; ie/H_	ia	ia	yəʔ
Pj	ia	iɑ̃	ia	iɑ	yə
Dy	iɑ	i	iə	ɑ	iʉoʔ
Yk	iɑ	iɑ; iə/H_	iɑ	ǐɑ	ǐɑ
Wy	ia	ie	ia	uɑ	yəʔ
CLS	ia	iã	iaʔ	—	yaʔ
Sc	iɑ	iẽ	ieʔ	—	yeʔ
Sy	io	iɛ̃	iɛʔ	—	yɛʔ
Lq	io	iɛ	iɛʔ	—	iaʔ
Yh	io	ie	ieʔ	—	iɑʔ
Pc	ie	iãi	ie	—	ya
Qy	iɑ	iɑ̃	iɑʔ	—	iɑʔ~yɑʔ
CSS	iə	iə̃	iaʔ	ua (?)	yaʔ

CJQ *-iã and *-iaʔ have merged with *-iẽ and *-ieʔ respectively after labial initials. See §4.21 for the relevant correspondences.

*4.3.1 *-ia > CSS *-iə*

This final has merged with **CSWW** *-iə in **CSS**. This development is one of the defining innovations of the Shàngshān dialects and sets them clearly apart from transitional **Sc**. In the other dialects, the main vowel of this final has stayed distinct from *ə.

60 *jiè* 借〔假開三去禡精 AB〕 ‘borrow; lend’ **CDC** *tsia⁵ / **EC** *tsah
CSWW *tsia⁵
CJQ *tsia⁵: **Ly** tɕiɑ⁵; **Jh** tsia⁵; **Pj** tʃia⁵; **Dy** tɕiɑ⁵; **Yk** tɕiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕia⁵
CLS *tɕia⁵: **Sc** tɕiɑ⁵; **Sy** tɕio⁵; **Lq** tɕio⁵; **Yh** tʃio⁵; **Pc** tɕie⁵; **Qy** tɕiɑ⁵
CSS *tɕiə⁵

62 *xié* 斜〔廣韻：假開三平麻邪 AB〕 ‘slanted’ **CDC** *zia² / **EC** *za
CSWW *zia²
CJQ *zia²: **Ly** ʑiɑ²; **Jh** zia²; **Pj** ʒia²; **Dy** ʑiɑ²; **Yk** ʑiɑ²; **Wy** ʑia²
CLS *ʑia²: **Sc** ʑiɑ²; **Sy** ɕio²; **Lq** ʑio²; **Yh** ʒio²; **Pc** tɕie²; **Qy** ɕiɑ²
CSS *ʑiə²

65 *zhè* 蔗〔假開三去禡章 AB〕 ‘sugarcane’ **CDC** *cia⁵ / **EC** *tah
CSWW *tšia⁵
CJQ *tšia⁵: **Ly** tsɑ⁵; **Jh** tɕia⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃia⁵; **Dy** tsɑ⁵ˌf; **Yk** tɕiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕia$ʔ^{7}$ˌt
CLS *tɕia⁵: **Sc** tɕiɑ⁵; **Sy** tɕio⁵; **Lq** tɕio⁵; **Yh** tʃio⁵; **Pc** tɕie⁵; **Qy** tɕiɑ⁵
CSS *tɕiə⁵

This final often varies with *-iei (§4.21.1). The *-ia reflexes mostly occur in the west in **CSS**, **Ly**, and **Sc**, but have eroded elsewhere. **229** 細 is an exception to this pattern that demands our attention. The *-ia reflexes are preserved in all the Jīnqú dialects but **Dy** and **Yk**. This set clearly demonstrates that the *-ia and *-iei final reflexes belong to separate cognate sets and cannot be treated as the regular outcomes of a single proto-final (e.g. *-iai).

220 *dì* 弟〔蟹開四上薺定〕 ‘little brother’ **CDC** *diai⁴ / **EC** *ʾdiyx
CSWW *dia⁴ [1] ≍ *diei⁴ [2]
CJQ *dia⁴ ≍ *die⁴
a. **Ly** diɑ⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** di⁴; **Jh** tie³ [1] ≍ di⁶ [2]; **Pj** di⁴; **Dy** di⁴; **Yk** diə⁴; **Wy** die⁴
CLS *diei⁴: **Sc** die⁴; **Sy** di⁴; **Lq** ʔdi³; **Yh** di⁴; **Pc** tie⁴ [白] ≍ tie⁶ [文]; **Qy** tie⁴

CSS *diə⁴ ⩙ #dei⁴
a. **Kh** die⁶; **Cs** die⁻²²; **Js** diə⁴; **Ys** die⁴; **Gf** die⁴
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** de²₍t [3]; **Js** tɛ⁻⁵²; **Ys** (ti⁻⁵²₍f); **Gf** di⁴

222 *ní* 泥〔蟹開四平齊泥〕 'mud' **CDC** *niai² / **EC** *'niy

CSWW *ȵia² [1] ⩙ *ȵiei² [2]

CJQ *ȵia²₍a ⩙ *ȵie²
a. **Ly** ȵiɑ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵie² [1] ⩙ ȵi² [2]; **Pj** ȵi²; **Dy** ȵi²; **Yk** ɲiə²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ȵia²₍a ⩙ *ȵie²
a. **Sc** ȵiɑ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵi²; **Yh** ɲi²; **Pc** ŋie²; **Qy** ȵie²

CSS *ȵiə²

229 *xì* 細〔蟹開四去霽心〕 'tiny; slender' **CDC** *siai⁵ / **EC** *'seh (?)

CSWW *sia⁵ [1] 'small' ⩙ *siei⁵ [2] 'slender'

CJQ *sia⁵ ⩙ *sie⁵
a. **Ly** ɕiɑ⁵; **Jh** sia⁵; **Pj** ʃia⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕia⁵
b. **Ly** ɕi⁵; **Jh** sie⁵; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵ 'small'; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕiei⁵ 'small; slender': **Sc** ɕie⁵ 'slender'; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** ɕi⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** ɕie⁵ *luse*; **Qy** ɕie⁵

CSS *ɕiə⁵ [2] ⩙ *sei⁵ [1]

Doublets of this type, *-ia ⩙ *-iei, correspond to the *kāikǒu* Div. IV QYS final *-ej* 齊薺霽 but never to its Div. III counterparts *-jej* 祭 and *-joj* 廢. Thus, the earlier *-ia forms preserve a distinction lost in **CDC** where these three finals have merged as *-iai. As mentioned in §3.1.1, the retention of **QYS** Div. IV as a unique class of finals that contrasts with both Divisions II and III is a special feature of Southwestern Wú. We find this retention after bilabial and coronal initials for the following **CDC** final classes: *-iai, *-iau, *-iam/p, and *-ian/t.[12] The distinction between Divisions III and IV has been lost after the guttural initials.

*4.3.2 *-iã > CSS *-iə̃*

This final has merged with *-iẽ (§4.21.2) in most dialects. **Qy** distinguishes it the most consistently.

[12]Note that we do not find any examples of *-ia varying with *-iei after labial initials. This is likely due to the dearth of character readings that have QYS *-ej* after labial initials. In one case, i.e. **212** 米, we find *-iei in **CSWW** for this class of syllable, but it varies with *-i instead of *-ia.

715 *biǎn* 扁〔廣韻：山開四上銑幫〕 ‘flattened’ **CDC** *pian³ / **EC** *’penx
CSWW *ɓiã³
CJQ *ɓiẽ³: **Ly** pie³; **Jh** pie³ [1] ≍ piã³ [2]; **Pj** piẽ³; **Dy** pi³; **Yk** ʔbiə³; **Wy** ʔmie³
CLS *ɓiã³: **Sc** ʔbiẽ³; **Sy** ʔbiɛ̃³; **Lq** ʔbiɛ³; **Yh** ʔbie³; **Pc** piãi³; **Qy** ʔbiã³
CSS #piə³: **Kh** piɛ̃³; **Cs** piẽ³; **Js** piɛ̃³; **Ys** piẽ³; **Gf** piẽ³

576 *diàn* 店〔咸開四去栝端〕 ‘shop’ **CDC** *tiam⁵ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɗiã⁵
CJQ *ɗiã⁵: **Ly** tie⁵; **Jh** tia⁵ [1] ≍ tiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tiã⁵; **Dy** ti⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** ʔnie⁵
CLS *ɗiã⁵: **Sc** ʔdiẽ⁵; **Sy** ʔdiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔdiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔdie⁵; **Pc** liãi⁵; **Qy** ʔdiã⁵
CSS *tiə⁵

720 *diǎn* 典〔山開四上銑端〕 ‘classic’ **CDC** *tian³ / **EC** *’tunx ≍ *’tinx
CSWW *ɗiã³
CJQ *ɗiã³: **Ly** tie³; **Jh** tia³ [1] ≍ tiã³ [2]; **Pj** tiã³; **Dy** ti³; **Yk** ʔdiɑ³; **Wy** ʔnie³
CLS *ɗiã³: **Sc** ʔdiẽ³; **Sy** ʔdiɛ̃³; **Lq** ʔdiɛ³; **Yh** ʔdie³; **Pc** liãi³; **Qy** ʔdiã³
CSS #tiə³: **Kh** tiɛ̃³; **Cs** tiẽ³; **Js** tiɛ̃¹; **Ys** tiẽ³; **Gf** tiẽ³

729 *xiān* 先〔山開四平先心〕 ‘first’ **CDC** *sian¹ / **EC** *’sun ≍ *’sin
CSWW *syẽ¹ [1] ～生 ‘doctor’ ≍ *siã¹ [2]
CJQ *syẽ¹ ≍ *siã¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** sie¹ [2]; **Pj** sɛ̃¹ꜜf; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** ɕie¹; **Jh** sia¹ [1] ≍ siã¹ [3]; **Pj** ʃiã¹; **Dy** si¹; **Yk** ɕiə¹ [1]; **Wy** ɕie¹
CLS *ɕyẽ¹ ≍ *ɕiã¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃¹
b. **Sc** ɕiẽ¹; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃¹; **Lq** ɕiɛ¹; **Yh** ʃie¹; **Pc** ɕiãi¹; **Qy** ɕiã¹
CSS *ɕiə¹

735 *yān* 煙〔山開四平先影〕 ‘smoke’ **CDC** *ian¹ / **EC** *’in
CSWW *ʔiã¹
CJQ *ʔiã¹: **Ly** ie¹; **Jh** ia¹ [1] ≍ ie¹ [1] ≍ iã¹ [2]; **Pj** iã¹; **Dy** ʔi¹; **Yk** iə¹; **Wy** ȵie¹
CLS *iã¹: **Sc** iẽ¹; **Sy** iɛ̃¹; **Lq** iɛ¹; **Yh** ie¹; **Pc** iãi¹; **Qy** iã¹
CSS *ʔiə¹

All these examples correspond to **QYS** Div. IV syllables. No doubt this represents the retention of an archaic phonological feature. It should be noted, however, that Div. IV velar initial words uniformly take the final *-iẽ in **CSWW**. *-iã does not perfectly coincide with all cases of **QYS** Div. IV.

*4.3.3 *-iaʔ > CSS *-iəʔ; *-ieʔ/t_ (?)*

For the most part, this final developed in parallel with **CSWW** *-iã. It also corresponds to **QYS** Div. IV syllables. Examples:

738 *miè* 篾〔山開四入屑明〕 'lath' **CDC** *miat⁸ / **EC** *'met

CSWW *miaʔ⁸

CJQ *mieʔ⁸: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** mie⁶ [1] ≍ miəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** mi⁸; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴

CLS *miaʔ⁸: **Sc** mieʔ⁸; **Sy** miɛʔ⁸; **Lq** miɛʔ⁸; **Yh** mieʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** miɑʔ⁸

CSS *miəʔ⁸

584 *dié* 疊〔咸開四入怗定〕 'stack, layer' **CDC** *diap⁸ / **EC** *'dep

CSWW *diaʔ⁸

CJQ *diaʔ⁸: **Ly** diəʔ⁸; **Jh** dia⁶ [1] ≍ diəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dia⁸; **Dy** diəʔ⁸; **Yk** diɑ⁴; **Wy** dia⁴

CLS *diaʔ⁸: **Sc** dieʔ⁸; **Sy** diɛʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** dieʔ⁸; **Pc** tie⁷; **Qy** tiɑʔ⁸

CSS #diəʔ⁸: **Kh** diɛʔ⁸; **Cs** diəʔ⁸; **Js** diɛʔ⁸; **Ys** diɐʔ⁸; **Gf** diɐʔ⁸

739 *tiě* 鐵〔山開四入屑透〕 'iron' **CDC** *thiat⁷ / **EC** *'thit

CSWW *tʰiaʔ⁷

CJQ *tʰiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰia⁵ [1] ≍ tʰiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʰia⁷; **Dy** tʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tiɑ³; **Wy** tʰiaʔ⁷

CLS *tʰiaʔ⁷: **Sc** tʰieʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tʰiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰieʔ⁷; **Pc** tʰie⁷; **Qy** tʰiɑʔ⁷

CSS *tʰiəʔ⁷

741 *jié* 節〔山開四入屑精〕 'segment (clf.)' **CDC** *tsiat⁷ / **EC** *'tsit

CSWW *tsiaʔ⁷

CJQ *tsiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsia⁵ [1] ≍ tsiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʃia⁷; **Dy** tɕiɑ⁰ [1] □ʌ⁴⁴⁵～ 'now' ≍ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** tɕiɑ³; **Wy** tɕiaʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiaʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕiɑʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiəʔ⁷

However, we find a few seemingly irregular developments in **CSS**. After *ɗ-, this final developed into **CSS** *-ieʔ in two cases. **CSS** *-ieʔ is marginal; it only occurs in these two words:

2012 EAT (1) 咥=

CSWW *ɗiaʔ⁷ 'eat; drink'

CJQ —

CLS *ɗiaʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔdieʔ⁷ □; **Sy** ʔdiɛʔ⁷ 咥 'eat'; **Lq** ʔdiɛʔ⁷ 咥; **Yh** —; **Pc** lie⁷ 咥; **Qy** ʔdiɑʔ⁷ □

CSS *tieʔ⁷

Descriptions often write this morpheme with the character 咥. The *Guǎngyún* lists a reading for it as QYS *det* 〔山開一入屑定〕 and glosses it as 'bite; laugh'. The semantics are compatible with this set, but the initial is not. *Guǎngyún* also lists a second reading that is compatible, i.e. QYS *tet* 〔山開一入屑端〕 , but this is a syllable in a disyllabic clan name. I am skeptical that this morpheme is represented in the written tradition at all.

582 *diē* 跌（跕）〔廣韻：咸開四入怗端〕 'stumble' **CDC** *tiap⁷ / **EC** *'tep

CSWW *ɗiaʔ⁷

CJQ *ɗiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tia⁵ [1] ≍ tiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tia⁷; **Dy** tiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔdiɑ³; **Wy** liaʔ⁷

CLS *ɗieʔ⁷ˌlf: **Sc** ʔdieʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔdiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdieʔ⁷; **Pc** tie⁷; **Qy** ʔdieʔ⁷ˌlf

CSS *tieʔ⁷

One further irregular **CSS** development is found after **CSWW** *ň-. Here we find *-iɑʔ instead of expected *-iəʔ. It is unclear if this development is regular or if the form in question is actually a loan from the surrounding dialects that has displaced the expected reflex. No other **CSWW** *ňiaʔ syllable words exist to compare with.

740 *niē* 捏〔山開四入屑泥〕 'squeeze' **CDC** *niat⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɲiaʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *næʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ɲiaʔ⁸ ≍ *næʔ⁸ˌla

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɲia⁵ ≍ ɲiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ɲia⁸; **Dy** ɲiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ȷniɑ⁴; **Wy** nia¹
b. **Ly** nəʔ⁸; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɲiaʔ⁸: **Sc** ɲiaʔ⁸; **Sy** ɲiaʔ⁸; **Lq** ɲiaʔ⁸; **Yh** ȷniɑʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋie⁷; **Qy** ɲiɑʔ⁸

CSS *ɲiɑʔ⁸ ≍ *næʔ⁸

*4.3.4 *-ya > CSS *-ua (?)*

This final is set up on an ad hoc basis for the following set:

68 *shè* 射〔假開三去禡船 AB〕 'shoot, let loose' **CDC** *zhia⁶ / **EC** *δah

CSWW *džya⁶ [1] 'wet the bed' ≍ *žia⁶

CJQ *džya⁶ ≍ *žia⁶ [2] ≍ *žɒ⁶ [3]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑia⁶ 'piss or shit (v.)'; **Pj** dʑiɑ⁶ 肚～ 'have diarrhea'; **Dy** dzɑ⁶ 'piss or shit (v.)'; **Yk** dʑǰɑ⁶ ～尿; **Wy** dzuɑ⁶ ～牀
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** zia⁶ˌli [1] ≍ ʑiɛ⁶ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑiɑ⁶; **Wy** ʑia⁶
c. **Ly** zuɑ⁶ [1] ≍ zei⁶ [2]; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʒyɑ⁶; **Dy** zɑ⁶ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑia⁶: **Sc** ʑiɑ⁶; **Sy** ʑio⁶; **Lq** ɕio⁶; **Yh** ʒio⁶; **Pc** ɕie⁶; **Qy** ɕiɑ⁶

CSS #dzua^{6} (?) ⩙ *ʑiə^{6} [2]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** dzue^{6}; **Js** —; **Ys** dʑø^{6}; **Gf** dzua^{6}
b. **Kh** ʑie^{6}; **Cs** ʑie^{6}; **Js** ɕiə^{6}; **Ys** ʑie^{6}; **Gf** ɕie^{6}

Akitani originally reconstructed CSS *-yəi for this set, but the Gf reflex does not correspond to *-yəi. CSS *-ua does not occur after coronals in Akitani's reconstruction. I have posited it here on the basis of the Gf reflex, but this decision is arbitrary.

*4.3.5 *-yaʔ > CSS #-yaʔ*

This final is marginal. It only occurs after *ɦ- and seems to be in complementary distribution with *-yeʔ. I have nonetheless reconstructed a separate final to draw attention to its special correspondence pattern.

Two examples occur in our data:

804 *yuè* 閱〔山合三入薛以 A〕 'inspect' **CDC** *yuot^{8} / **EC** *yot
CSWW *ɦyaʔ^{8}
CJQ *ɦyaʔ^{8}: **Ly** yəʔ^{8}; **Jh** yəʔ^{8}$_{!f}$; **Pj** yə^{8}; **Dy** iʉoʔ^{8}; **Yk** ɣ̆ɑ^{4}; **Wy** yəʔ^{8}
CLS *ɦyaʔ^{8}: **Sc** yeʔ^{8}; **Sy** yɛʔ^{8}; **Lq** iaʔ^{8}; **Yh** iɑʔ^{8}; **Pc** ya^{7}; **Qy** yɑʔ^{8}
CSS #ɦyɑʔ^{8}: **Kh** yɛʔ^{8}; **Cs** yʌʔ^{8}; **Js** yɛʔ^{8}; **Ys** yɐʔ^{8} [1] ⩙ vɐʔ^{8} [2]; **Gf** yɐʔ^{8}
831 *xué* 穴〔山合四入屑匣〕 'hole' **CDC** *hiuot^{8} / **EC** *ʾgwit
CSWW *ɦyaʔ^{8}
CJQ *ɦyaʔ^{8}: **Ly** —; **Jh** yɤ^{6} [1] ⩙ yəʔ^{8} [2]; **Pj** yə^{8}; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɣ̆ɑ^{4}; **Wy** yəʔ^{8}
CLS *ɦyaʔ^{8}: **Sc** yeʔ^{8}; **Sy** yɛʔ^{8}; **Lq** iaʔ^{8}; **Yh** iɑʔ^{8}; **Pc** xye^{7}$_{!f}$; **Qy** iɑʔ^{8}
CSS #ɦyaʔ^{8}: **Kh** yɛʔ^{8}; **Cs** yʌʔ^{8}; **Js** yɛʔ^{8}; **Ys** yeʔ^{8}$_{!f}$; **Gf** yɐʔ^{8}

*4.4 Finals with the vowel sequence *ua*

CSWW	ua	uã	uaʔ
CJQ	uɒ	uã	uɒʔ
Ly	u; uɑ/*Š_	uã	uəʔ (?)
Jh	uɑ; yɑ/*Š_	uɑ	uɑ
Pj	uɑ; yɑ/*Š_	uã	uɑ
Dy	uɑ; ɑ/*Š_	ʌ	uɑʔ
Yk	uɑ; ɑ/*Š_	uɑ	uɑ
Wy	uɑ	uo	uɑʔ; uɑ/4
CLS	ua	uã	uaʔ
Sc	ɑ; uɑ/$_	uaŋ	uaʔ
Sy	uo	uõ	uɔʔ
Lq	uə	uaŋ	uəʔ
Yh	o	uã	uɑʔ
Pc	ua	uãi	ua
Qy	o	uã	uɑʔ
CSS	uɑ	uã	uɑʔ

*4.4.1 *-ua > CSS *-uɑ*

This final occurs primarily with guttural initials. Its contrast with *-uɔ is marginal. See §4.10.2 for further discussion.

416 *zhuā* 抓〔效開二平肴莊〕 ‘grab, scratch at’ **CDC** *cau¹ / **EC** *tsraw

CSWW *tšua¹ [1] ‘grab’ ⩙ *tsau¹ [2] ‘scratch at’

CJQ *tšuɒ¹ ⩙ *tsau¹

a. **Ly** tsuɑ¹; **Jh** tɕyɑ¹ ⩙ tsuɑ¹ [2] ‘grab’; **Pj** tɕyɑ¹; **Dy** tsɑ¹ [2] ⩙ tsuɑ¹ [3] ‘grab’; **Yk** tsɑ¹; **Wy** dzuɑ⁴ [2]

b. **Ly** tsɔ¹; **Jh** tsɑu¹; **Pj** (tsɑ¹!f) *!use*; **Dy** tsɑu¹ [1]; **Yk** tsɒ¹; **Wy** tsɑo¹ [l]

CLS *tsua¹ ⩙ *tsau¹

a. **Sc** tsɑ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** tso¹ ～壯丁 ‘concscript’; **Yh** tso¹; **Pc** tsua¹ *!use*; **Qy** tso¹ ⩙ tsɑ¹ [3] *!use*

b. **Sc** tsɐɯ¹; **Sy** tsɔ¹ *!use*; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɑɔ¹; **Pc** tsau¹ *!use*; **Qy** tsɒ¹

CSS *tsɑ¹ ⩙ #tsau¹

a. **Kh** tsɔ¹; **Cs** tsɑ¹; **Js** tsɒ¹ [2]; **Ys** tsɑ¹; **Gf** tsɑ¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tsɐɯ¹ [1]; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

74 *guǎ* 寡〔假合二上馬見〕 ‘solitary, widowed’ **CDC** *kua³ / **EC** *kwrax

CSWW *kua³

CJQ *kuɒ³: **Ly** gu⁴$_{lit}$ [1] ～婦 ‘widow’ ≍ kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ³; **Pj** kuɑ³; **Dy** kuɑ³; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuɑ$^{-53}$ ～婦 ‘widow’

CLS *kua³: **Sc** kɑ³; **Sy** kuo³; **Lq** kuə³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** kua³; **Qy** ko³

CSS #kuɑ³: **Kh** kuɔ³; **Cs** kuɑ³; **Js** kua⁵; **Ys** kuɑ³; **Gf** kuɑ³

76 *huā* 花〔假合二平麻曉〕 ‘flower’ **CDC** *xua¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *xua¹

CJQ *xuɒ¹: **Ly** xu¹ [1] ≍ xuɑ¹ [2]; **Jh** xuɑ¹; **Pj** xuɑ¹; **Dy** xuɑ¹; **Yk** xuɑ¹; **Wy** xuɑ¹

CLS *xua¹: **Sc** xɑ¹; **Sy** fuo⁵; **Lq** xuə¹; **Yh** xo¹; **Pc** xua¹; **Qy** xo¹

CSS *xuɑ¹

261 *huà* 畫〔廣韻：蟹合二去卦匣〕 ‘draw’ **CDC** *huai⁶ ≍ *hua⁶ / **EC** *wreh

CSWW *ɦua⁶

CJQ *ɦuɒ⁶: **Ly** u⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶; **Pj** uɑ⁶; **Dy** uɑ⁶; **Yk** uɑ⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁶

CLS *ɦua⁶: **Sc** uɑ⁶; **Sy** uo⁶; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** o⁶; **Pc** xua⁶ ≍ uai⁶; **Qy** o⁶

CSS *ɦuɑ⁶

*4.4.2 *-uã > CSS *-uã*

This final only occurs with guttural initials. It corresponds directly to **CDC** *-uan.

779 *guān* 關〔山合二平刪見〕 ‘shut; relate’ **CDC** *kuan¹ / **EC** *kron

CSWW *kuoŋ¹ [1] *F* ‘shut’ ≍ *kuã¹ [2] *B*

CJQ *kuoŋ¹ ≍ *kuã¹

a. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuən¹ [l]; **Yk** kuəŋ¹; **Wy** kuen¹

b. **Ly** kuã¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹ [1] ≍ kuɑŋ¹ [2] ≍ kuã¹ [3]; **Pj** kuã¹; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kuɑ¹; **Wy** kuo¹

CLS *kuoŋ¹ ≍ *kuã¹

a. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** ken¹; **Lq** kuəŋ¹; **Yh** kəŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ¹

b. **Sc** kuaŋ¹ ～係 ‘relation’; **Sy** —; **Lq** kuaŋ¹ ～係 ‘relation’; **Yh** kuã¹ ～心 ‘care’; **Pc** kuãi¹; **Qy** kuã¹ ～鍵 ‘key’

CSS *koŋ¹ ≍ #kuã¹

a. **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** koŋ¹; **Gf** koŋ¹

b. **Kh** kuã¹; **Cs** kuã¹; **Js** kuã¹; **Ys** kuã¹; **Gf** kuã¹

781 *huán* 還〔山合二平刪匣〕 ‘return; still (adv.)’ **CDC** *huan² / **EC** *wren

CSWW *ɦuã² [1] ‘return’ ≍ *ɦã² [2] ‘still (adv.)’

CJQ *ɦuã² ⩙ *ɦã²
a. **Ly** uã²; **Jh** uɑ² [1] ⩙ uã² [2]; **Pj** uõ²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** uɑ²; **Wy** ŋuo²
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ɑ̃² [2]; **Dy** ɜʔ⁸₍ft; **Yk** ɑ² [2]; **Wy** ŋuo¹₍t
CLS *ɦuã² ⩙ *ɦã²
a. **Sc** uaŋ²; **Sy** uɔ̃²; **Lq** uaŋ²; **Yh** uã²; **Pc** —; **Qy** uõ²
b. **Sc** aŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** a²₍f; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *ɦuã²

782 *wān* 彎〔山合二平刪影〕 ‘bend, curve’ **CDC** *uan¹ / **EC** *ron
CSWW *ʔuã¹
CJQ *ʔuã¹: **Ly** uã¹; **Jh** uɑ¹ [1] ⩙ uã¹ [2]; **Pj** uõ¹; **Dy** ʔʌ¹; **Yk** uɑ¹; **Wy** ŋuo¹
CLS *uã¹: **Sc** uaŋ¹; **Sy** uɔ̃¹; **Lq** uaŋ¹; **Yh** uã¹; **Pc** uãi¹; **Qy** uõ¹
CSS *ʔuã¹

779 關 **CSWW** *kuoŋ¹ [1] *F* ‘shut’ is a vestige of the **EC** *-on rime. See §4.25.4 for further discussion.

*4.4.3 *-uaʔ > CSS *-uaʔ*

This is the glottal final counterpart to *-uã. It also only occurs with guttural initials and corresponds directly to **CDC** *-uat.

784 *guā* 刮〔山合二入鎋見〕 ‘scrape off, shave’ **CDC** *kuat⁷ / **EC** *krot
CSWW *kuək⁷₍a (?) [1] ⩙ *kuaʔ⁷
CJQ *kuəʔ⁷₍a (?) ⩙ *kuɒʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuəʔ⁷ □ ‘scrape even’
b. **Ly** kɔʔ⁷₍f; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kuəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kuɑ⁷; **Dy** kuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuɑʔ⁷
CLS *kək⁷₍a (?) ⩙ *kuaʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəɯʔ⁷
b. **Sc** kuaʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɔʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuaʔ⁷; **Pc** kua⁷; **Qy** kuɑʔ⁷ 搜～ ‘extort’
CSS *kuɑʔ⁷

777 *huá* 滑〔山合二入黠匣〕 ‘slip’ **CDC** *huat⁸ / **EC** *grut
CSWW *gu(a,æ)ʔ⁸₍a [1] ⩙ *ɦuaʔ⁸ [2]
CJQ *gu(a,æ)ʔ⁸₍a ⩙ *ɦuɒʔ⁸
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** guə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** uəʔ⁸; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ uəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** uɑʔ⁸; **Yk** ŭə⁴; **Wy** uɑ⁻⁵³

CLS *gu(a,æ)ʔ$^{8}_{!a}$ ⪤ *ɦuaʔ^{8}
a. **Sc** guaʔ^{8}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** uaʔ^{8}; **Sy** uɔʔ^{8}; **Lq** uəʔ^{8}; **Yh** uɑʔ^{8}; **Pc** xua^{7}; **Qy** uɑʔ^{8}
CSS *ɦuɑʔ^{8}

778 *wā* 挖（穵）〔廣韻：山合二入黠影〕 ‘dig’ **CDC** *uat^{7} / **EC** *rot
CSWW *ʔuaʔ^{7} [1]
CJQ *ʔuɒʔ^{7}: **Ly** uɑ$^{1}_{!ft}$; **Jh** uɑ^{5} [1] ⪤ uəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** uɑ^{7}; **Dy** ʔuɑʔ^{7}; **Yk** —; **Wy** uɑʔ^{7}
CLS *uaʔ^{7}: **Sc** uaʔ^{7}; **Sy** —; **Lq** uəʔ^{7}; **Yh** uaʔ^{7}; **Pc** ua^{1}; **Qy** o$^{1}_{!ft}$
CSS *ʔuɑʔ^{8}

784 刮 **CSWW** *kuək$^{7}_{!a}$ (?) [1] is a vestige of the **EC** *-ot rime. See §4.18.5 for further discussion.

*4.5 Finals with the vowel sequences *ai & *æ*

CSWW	ai	æŋ	æʔ
CJQ	a	æŋ	æʔ
Ly	ɑ	ɛ	əʔ
Jh	ɑ	ɑŋ	ə
Pj	ɑ	ɛ̃	ɑ
Dy	ɑ	ɛ	ɜʔ
Yk	iɑ	ai	ai
Wy	ia	a	aʔ
CLS	ai	æŋ	æʔ
Sc	a	iaŋ	aʔ; iaʔ/P_
Sy	a	aŋ	aʔ
Lq	a	aŋ	aʔ
Yh	ɑ	ɛ	aʔ
Pc	ai	ãi	ai
Qy	ɑ	ã	ɑʔ
CSS	ɑi	æ̃	æʔ

*4.5.1 *-ai > CSS *-ɑi*

This final has monophthongized to [a] in almost all dialects as part of a broad areal trend shared with Northern Wú. The diphthong value is reconstructed on the basis of **CSS** and Norman’s conservative **Pc** consultant.

207 *bài* 敗〔蟹開二去夬並〕 ‘defeat’ **CDC** *bai⁶ / **EC** *bras

CSWW *bai⁶

CJQ *ba⁶: **Ly** bɑ⁶; **Jh** bɑ⁶; **Pj** bɑ⁶; **Dy** bɑ⁶; **Yk** biɑ⁶; **Wy** bia⁶

CLS *bai⁶: **Sc** ba⁶; **Sy** ba⁶; **Lq** ba⁶; **Yh** bɑ⁶; **Pc** pai⁶; **Qy** pɑ⁶

CSS #bɑi⁶: **Kh** bɛ⁶; **Cs** bɛ⁶; **Js** bæ⁶; **Ys** bai⁶; **Gf** ba⁶

176 *dài* 帶〔蟹開一去泰端〕 ‘bring; belt’ **CDC** *tai⁵ / **EC** *’tas

CSWW *ɗai³ [1] ‘belt’ ⨯ *ɗai⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗa⁵: **Ly** tɑ⁵; **Jh** tɑ⁵ [1] ⨯ tɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɑ⁵; **Dy** tɑ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** lia⁵

CLS *ɗai³ [2] ⨯ *ɗai⁵ [1]

a. **Sc** ʔda³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdɑ³

b. **Sc** ʔda⁵ ‘bring’; **Sy** ʔda⁵; **Lq** ʔda⁵; **Yh** ʔdɑ⁵; **Pc** lai⁵; **Qy** ʔdɑ⁵ ‘bring’

CSS *tɑi³ ⨯ *tɑi⁵ ‘bring’

185 *zhāi* 齋〔蟹開二平皆莊〕 ‘ritual purification’ **CDC** *cai¹ / **EC** *tsriy

CSWW *tsai¹

CJQ *tsa¹: **Ly** tsɑ¹; **Jh** tsɑ¹; **Pj** tsɑ¹; **Dy** tsɑ¹; **Yk** tɕiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕia¹

CLS *tsai¹: **Sc** tsa¹; **Sy** tsa¹; **Lq** tsa¹; **Yh** tsɑ¹; **Pc** tsai¹; **Qy** tsɑ¹

CSS *tsɑi¹

288 *yǐ* 蟻〔止開三上紙疑 B〕 ‘ant’ **CDC** *ʰngi⁴ / **EC** *ʰngayx

CSWW *ŋai⁴

CJQ *ŋa⁴: **Ly** ŋɑ⁴; **Jh** ɑ³ [1] ⨯ uɑ³ [2] ⨯ ȵi³ [3]; **Pj** ŋɑ̃n⁻²⁴ [兒]; **Dy** ŋɑ⁴; **Yk** niɑ⁴; **Wy** nia⁴

CLS *ŋai⁴: **Sc** ŋa⁴; **Sy** ŋa⁴; **Lq** ua³ ⨯ ŋɤu³ 白～ ‘termite’; **Yh** ŋɑ³; **Pc** (i³$_{!ift}$); **Qy** ŋɑ⁴

CSS *ŋɑi⁴

203 *xié* 鞋〔蟹開二平佳匣〕 ‘shoes’ **CDC** *hai² / **EC** *gre

CSWW *ɦai²

CJQ *ɦa²: **Ly** ɑ²; **Jh** ɑ² [1] ⨯ ʑiɛ² [2]; **Pj** ɑ²; **Dy** ɑ²; **Yk** iɑ²; **Wy** ia²

CLS *ɦai²: **Sc** a²; **Sy** a²; **Lq** a²; **Yh** ɑ²; **Pc** xai²; **Qy** xɑ²

CSS *ɦɑi²

This final varies systematically with two others—*-a and *-o—in stylistic doublets. Discussion of doublets involving the latter is deferred to its respective section (§4.24.1). The following are examples of variation with *-a:

193 *mǎi* 買〔蟹開二上蟹明〕 ‘buy’ **CDC** *mai⁴ / **EC** *mrex

CSWW *ma⁴ˌˡa [1] ⩙ *mai⁴

CJQ *ma⁴: **Ly** mɑ⁴; **Jh** mɑ³; **Pj** mɑ⁴; **Dy** mɑ⁴; **Yk** miɑ⁴; **Wy** mia⁴

CLS *mai⁴: **Sc** ma⁴; **Sy** ma⁴; **Lq** ma³; **Yh** mɑ³; **Pc** mai⁴; **Qy** mɑ⁴

CSS *mɑ⁴

48 *shā* 沙〔假開二平麻生〕 ‘sand’ **CDC** *sha¹ / **EC** *sray

CSWW *sai¹ [1] ⩙ *ša¹ [2]

CJQ *sa¹ ⩙ *šɒ¹

a. **Ly** sɑ¹; **Jh** sɑ¹ ～罐 ‘clay pot’; **Pj** —; **Dy** sɑ¹; **Yk** ɕiɑ⁻⁴⁴ [1] ～箕兒 ‘small dustpan’; **Wy** ɕia¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** suɑ¹ [1]; **Pj** ʃyɑ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** sɑ¹ [2] 黃～; **Wy** —

CLS *sai¹ ⩙ *sa¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** sa¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** sai¹; **Qy** sɑ¹

b. **Sc** sɑ¹; **Sy** suo¹ [2] ～僧 ‘Shāsēng (pn.)’; **Lq** so¹; **Yh** so¹; **Pc** sa¹; **Qy** so¹ 朱～ ‘cinnabar’

CSS *sɑi¹ ⩙ *sɑ¹

199 *shài* 曬〔蟹開二去卦生〕 ‘sun-dry’ **CDC** *shai⁵ / **EC** *sreh

CSWW *ša⁵ [1] ⩙ *sai⁵ [2]

CJQ *šɒ⁵ ⩙ *saˌˡa⁵

a. **Ly** suɑ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃyɑ⁵; **Dy** suo⁵; **Yk** sɑ⁵; **Wy** suɑ⁵

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *sa⁵ ⩙ *sai⁵

a. **Sc** sɑ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** so⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** sa⁵; **Lq** sa⁵; **Yh** sɑ⁵; **Pc** sai⁵; **Qy** sɑ⁵

CSS *sɑ⁵

201 *jiě* 解〔廣韻：蟹開二上蟹見〕 ‘untie’ **CDC** *kai³ / **EC** *krex

CSWW *kaˌˡa³ [1] ‘untie’ ⩙ *kai³ [2]

CJQ *ka³: **Ly** kɑ³ ⩙ tɕiɛ³; **Jh** kɑ³ [1] ⩙ tɕiɛ³ [2]; **Pj** kɑ³ ⩙ tɕia³; **Dy** kɑ³; **Yk** kiɑ³; **Wy** tɕia³

CLS *kai³: **Sc** ka³; **Sy** ka³; **Lq** ka³; **Yh** kɑ³; **Pc** kaiˀˌˢ [文]; **Qy** kɑ³

CSS #kɑ³ ⩙ #kɑi³

a. **Kh** kɔ³; **Cs** kɑ³; **Js** kɒ³; **Ys** kɑ³; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** kɛ³ ⩙ tɕie³ [3]; **Cs** kɛ³; **Js** kæ³ ⩙ kiæ⁻⁵² [3]; **Ys** kai³; **Gf** ka³

205 *xiè* 蟹〔蟹開二上蟹匣〕 ‘crab’ **CDC** *hai⁴ / **EC** *grex

CSWW *xaˌˡa³ [1] ⩙ *xai³ [2]

CJQ *xa³: **Ly** xɑ³ [1] ⩙ ɕie³ [2]; **Jh** xɑ³; **Pj** xɑn⁵ [兒]; **Dy** xan³ [兒]; **Yk** xiɑ³;

Wy ɕia³
CLS *xai³: **Sc** xa³; **Sy** xa⁵₍ₜ; **Lq** xa³; **Yh** xɑ³; **Pc** xai³; **Qy** xɑ³
CSS *xɑ³

The words involved in these doublets have two different origins in **EC**. The first is only represented by **48** 沙. The *sai¹ form is older and retains the coda *-y from **EC**, characteristic of the Old Chinese *gē* 歌 group. In the rest of the words, the *-a forms are older and correspond directly to **EC** *-re (**QYS** *-ɛi* 佳蟹卦). This final merged with the other *xièshè* 蟹攝 *kāikǒu* Div. II finals as *-ai in **CDC**. Note that even in **CDC**, some cases of **EC** *-re irregularly developed into *-a. This likely reflects early regional confusion of **EC** *-re and *-ra (**QYS** *-æ* 麻馬禡). Southwestern Wú is exceptional in that we find additional examples of this nonstandard development that are not usually attested in other varieties of Chinese. In Common Mín, **EC** *-re usually corresponds to *-e, and is kept separate from *-ra. In **CSWW**, the two are only distinct after labial and glottal initials (see §4.9.1).

*4.5.2 *-æŋ > CSS *-ɶ̃*

The segmental *-ŋ of this final has been lost in most of the Jīnqú dialects and all of the Shàngshān dialects. I have nonetheless set up **CJQ** *æŋ on the basis of **Jh**.

Examples:

1137 *bìng* 柄〔梗開三去映幫 B〕 ‘handle’ **CDC** *piang⁵ / **EC** *pangh ≍ *pengh
CSWW *ɓæŋ⁵ [1] ≍ *ɓiŋ⁵ [2]
CJQ *ɓæŋ⁵ ≍ *ɓiŋ⁵
a. **Ly** pɛ⁵; **Jh** mɑŋ⁵₍ₗi ‘handle’; **Pj** —; **Dy** mɛ⁵₍ₗi; **Yk** ʔmai⁵; **Wy** ʔma⁵
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** piŋ⁵ 鋤頭～ ‘hoe shaft’; **Pj** pin⁵₍ₗf; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *ɓæŋ⁵ ≍ *ɓiŋ⁵
a. **Sc** ʔbianŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔbaŋ⁵; **Lq** ʔbaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔbɛ⁵; **Pc** pãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbã⁵
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** peŋ⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *pɶ̃⁵ ≍ #piŋ⁵
a. **Kh** pɛ̃⁵ ≍ pã⁵ [2]; **Cs** {pɪŋ⁵}; **Js** pã⁵; **Ys** pɒ̃⁵; **Gf** pɶ̃⁵
b. **Kh** piŋ⁵ [3]; **Cs** {pɪŋ⁵}; **Js** —; **Ys** pɪŋ⁵; **Gf** —

1109 *dǎ* 打〔梗開二上梗端〕 ‘hit’ **CDC** *tang³ ≍ *ta³ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɗæŋ³

CJQ *ɗæŋ³: **Ly** tɛ³; **Jh** tɑŋ³ [1] ≍ tɑ³ [2]; **Pj** nɛ̃³ [1] ≍ tɑ³ [2]; **Dy** nɛ³; **Yk** ʔnai³; **Wy** ʔna³

CLS *ɗæŋ³ ≍ *ɗa³ *B*

a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ³; **Sy** naŋ³˧ˈi; **Lq** ʔdaŋ³; **Yh** nɛ³˧ˈi; **Pc** nãi³˧ˈi [白]; **Qy** nã²˧ˈi [1]

b. **Sc** ʔdɑ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** la³; **Qy** ʔdo³ [2]

CSS #tæ̃³: **Kh** təŋ³ [1] ≍ tã³ [2] ≍ tɔ³ [3]; **Cs** tɪŋ³; **Js** tã³; **Ys** (tai³˧ˈf); **Gf** (ta³˧ˈf)

1111 *shēng* 生〔梗開二平庚生〕 ‘life; give birth’ **CDC** *shang¹ / **EC** *sreng

CSWW *sæŋ¹

CJQ *sæŋ¹: **Ly** sɛ¹ [1] ≍ səŋ¹ [2]; **Jh** sɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ səŋ¹ [4]; **Pj** sɛ̃¹ [1] ≍ sən¹ [2]; **Dy** sɛ¹; **Yk** sai¹ [1]; **Wy** sa¹ [1]

CLS *sæŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiaŋ¹ ≍ ɕiɪŋ¹ ‘raw’; **Sy** saŋ¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sɛ¹; **Pc** sãi¹; **Qy** sã¹

CSS *sæ̃¹

1129 *gēng* 耕〔梗開二平耕見〕 ‘till (v.)’ **CDC** *kang¹ / **EC** *kreng

CSWW *kæŋ¹

CJQ *kæŋ¹: **Ly** kɛ¹; **Jh** kɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ kəŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** kɛ̃¹ [1] ≍ kən¹ [2]; **Dy** kɛ¹; **Yk** kai¹; **Wy** ka¹

CLS *kæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** kaŋ¹; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹

CSS *kæ̃¹

1116 *yìng* 硬〔梗開二去映疑〕 ‘hard’ **CDC** *ngang⁶ / **EC** *ngrangh

CSWW *ŋuæŋ⁶˧ˈa (?) [1] ≍ *ŋæŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *ŋuæŋ⁶˧ˈa (?) ≍ *ŋæŋ⁶

a. **Ly** ŋuɛ⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** ŋɛ⁶; **Jh** ɑŋ⁶ [1] ≍ əŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ŋɛ̃⁶; **Dy** ŋɛ⁶; **Yk** ŋai⁶; **Wy** ŋa⁶

CLS *ŋæŋ⁶: **Sc** ŋ̍iaŋ⁶; **Sy** ŋaŋ⁶; **Lq** ŋaŋ⁶; **Yh** ŋɛ⁵; **Pc** ŋãi⁶; **Qy** ŋã⁶

CSS *ŋæ̃⁶

After bilabials this final sometimes varies with *-iŋ, as in **1137** 柄. This alternation is associated with **QYS** *-jæng* (三等庚梗映). Cognate forms in Mín also lack a medial, for example in Common Mín *paŋ⁵ ‘handle’.

*4.5.3 *-æʔ > CSS *-æʔ*

Examples for this final include:

1119 *bǎi* 百〔梗開二入陌幫〕 ‘hundred’ **CDC** *pak⁷ / **EC** *prak

CSWW *ɓæʔ⁷

CJQ *ɓæʔ⁷: **Ly** pəʔ⁷; **Jh** pəʔ⁷; **Pj** pɑ⁵; **Dy** pɜʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbai³; **Wy** paʔ⁷
CLS *ɓæʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbiaʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbɑʔ⁷
CSS *pæʔ⁷

1130 *mài* 麥〔梗開二入麥明〕 ‘wheat’ **CDC** *ʰmak⁸ / **EC** *ʰmrik
CSWW *mæʔ⁸
CJQ *mæʔ⁸: **Ly** məʔ⁸; **Jh** məʔ⁸; **Pj** mɑ⁸; **Dy** mɜʔ⁸; **Yk** mai⁴; **Wy** ma⁴
CLS *mæʔ⁸: **Sc** miaʔ⁸; **Sy** maʔ⁸; **Lq** maʔ⁸; **Yh** maʔ⁸; **Pc** mai⁷; **Qy** mɑʔ⁸
CSS *mæʔ⁸

1131 *zhāi* 摘〔梗開二入麥知〕 ‘pick (v.)’ **CDC** *cak⁷ / **EC** *trek
CSWW *ɗiʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *ɗæʔ⁷ [2] ≍ *tsæʔ⁷ [3]
CJQ *ɗæʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** laʔ⁷
b. **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɑ⁷; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsai³; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗiʔ⁷ ≍ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** ʔdiɪʔ⁷ ‘pinch’; **Sy** ʔdiʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiʔ⁷ ‘pinch’
b. **Sc** tsaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsəʔ⁷; **Yh** tsaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsɑʔ⁷
CSS #tiʔ⁷ ≍ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Kh** tieʔ⁷ ‘pinch’; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** teʔ⁷; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tsʌʔ⁷; **Cs** tsɛʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tsaʔ⁷ [2]; **Js** tsaʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsɐʔ⁷

1121 *chāi, chè* 拆（坼）〔梗開二入陌徹〕 ‘tear open; fissure’ **CDC** *chak⁷ / **EC** *thrak
CSWW *tʰæʔ⁷ˌa [1] ‘fissure’ ≍ *tsʰæʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰɑ⁷; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰai³; **Wy** tsʰaʔ⁷
CLS *tʰæʔ⁷ˌa ≍ *tsʰæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** tʰiaʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷ˌf; **Sy** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰai⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰæʔ⁷

1125 *kè* 客〔梗開二入陌溪〕 ‘guest’ **CDC** *khak⁷ / **EC** *khrak
CSWW *kʰæʔ⁷
CJQ *kʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰɑ⁷; **Dy** kʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰai³; **Wy** kʰaʔ⁷
CLS *kʰæʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiaʔ⁷ ≍ kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰai⁷; **Qy** kʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *kʰæʔ⁷

1135 *è* 軛〔梗開二入麥影〕 ‘yoke’ **CDC** *ak⁸ / **EC** *rek
CSWW *ʔæʔ⁷
CJQ *ʔæʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** əʔ⁷; **Pj** ɑ⁷; **Dy** ʔɜʔ⁷; **Yk** ai³; **Wy** ʔŋaʔ⁷
CLS *æʔ⁷: **Sc** aʔ⁷; **Sy** aʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** ŋaʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɑʔ⁷

CSS *ʔæʔ⁷

The form **1131** 摘 **CSWW** *ɗiʔ⁷ [1] might represent a retention of the **EC** contrast *-rek ≠ *-rak.

*4.6 Finals with the vowel sequences *uai & *uæ*

CSWW	uai	uæŋ	uæʔ
CJQ	ua	uæŋ	uæʔ
Ly	uɑ	uɛ	uəʔ
Jh	uɑ	uɑŋ	uə
Pj	uɑ	uɛ̃	uɑ
Dy	uɑ	uɛ	uɑʔ
Yk	ǔɑ	uai	uai
Wy	uɑ	ua	uaʔ
CLS	uai	uæŋ	uæʔ
Sc	ua	uaŋ	uaʔ
Sy	ua	uaŋ	(?)
Lq	ua	uaŋ	uəʔ
Yh	uɑ	uɛ	uaʔ
Pc	uai	uãi	uai
Qy	uɑ	uã	uɑʔ
CSS	uɑi	æ̃	uæʔ

*4.6.1 *-uai > CSS *-uai*

This final only occurs after guttural initials. Examples include:

256 *guài* 怪〔蟹合二去怪見〕 ‘strange’ **CDC** *kuai⁵ / **EC** *ʼkwrih

CSWW *kuai⁵

CJQ *kua⁵: **Ly** kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** kuɑ⁵; **Dy** kuɑ⁵; **Yk** kǔɑ⁵; **Wy** tsuɑ⁵

CLS *kuai⁵: **Sc** kua⁵; **Sy** kua⁵; **Lq** kua⁵; **Yh** kuɑ⁵; **Pc** kuai⁵; **Qy** kuɑ⁵

CSS *kuɑi⁵

258 *huái* 懷〔蟹合二平皆匣〕 ‘bosom; embrace, hold dear’ **CDC** *ɦuai² / **EC** *gruy

CSWW *guai² [1] ≍ *ɦuai² [2]

CJQ *gua² ≍ *ɦua²

a. **Ly** guɑ²; **Jh** guɑ²; **Pj** guɑ² 圍～ ‘apron’; **Dy** guɑ² ～裏 ‘in one’s arms’; **Yk** —; **Wy** dzuɑ² ～當 ‘in one’s arms’

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** (uɛ²₍ɟf₎); **Pj** (ua²₍ɟf₎); **Dy** uɑ²; **Yk** ya³ ≍ uai²; **Wy** yɑ² ≍ ua² [3]

CLS *guai² ～裹 'in one's arms' ⩙ *ɦuai²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** guɑ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɑ²
b. **Sc** ua²; **Sy** ua²; **Lq** ua²; **Yh** —; **Pc** xuai²; **Qy** uɑ²

CSS *ɦuɑi²

262 *kuài* 快〔蟹合二去夬溪〕 'fast' **CDC** *khuai⁵ / **EC** *khwras

CSWW *kʰuai⁵

CJQ *kʰua⁵: **Ly** kʰuɑ⁵; **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰuɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** kʰuɑ⁵; **Dy** kʰuɑ⁵; **Yk** kʰy̆ɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰuɑ⁻⁴⁴ [2] ⩙ kʰuai⁵ [3]; **Wy** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰua⁵ [2]

CLS *kʰuai⁵: **Sc** kʰua⁵; **Sy** kʰua⁵; **Lq** kʰua⁵; **Yh** kʰuɑ⁵; **Pc** kʰuai⁵; **Qy** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰɒ⁵ [2]

CSS *kʰuɑi⁵

*4.6.2 *-uæŋ > CSS *-uæ̃*

This final also only occurs after guttural initials. Examples:

1113 *gěng* 梗〔梗開二上梗見〕 'stalk' **CDC** *kang³ / **EC** *krangx

CSWW *kuæŋ³

CJQ *kuæŋ³: **Ly** kuɛ³; **Jh** kuɑŋ³; **Pj** kuɛ̃³; **Dy** kuɛ³ [1] ⩙ kɛ³ [2] 桔～ 'type of medicine'; **Yk** kuai³; **Wy** kua³

CLS *kuæŋ³: **Sc** kuaŋ³; **Sy** kuaŋ³; **Lq** kuaŋ³; **Yh** kuɛ³; **Pc** (kãi³$_{!f}$); **Qy** kuã³

CSS *kuæ̃³

1143 *jīng* 驚〔梗開三平庚見 B〕 'be alarmed, afraid' **CDC** *kiang¹ / **EC** *keng

CSWW *kuæŋ¹ [1] 'be afraid' ⩙ *kiŋ¹ [2] *B*

CJQ *kuæŋ¹ ⩙ *kiŋ¹
a. **Ly** kuɛ¹; **Jh** kuɑŋ¹ [1]; **Pj** kuɛ̃¹; **Dy** kuɛ¹ [1]; **Yk** kuai¹ [1]; **Wy** kua¹ [1]
b. **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵$_{!t}$ [2]; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** kən¹ [2]; **Yk** kieiŋ¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕin⁻⁴⁴⁵ [2]

CLS *kuæŋ¹ ⩙ *kiŋ¹
a. **Sc** kuaŋ¹; **Sy** kuaŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³$_{!t}$; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tɕiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** kieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕieŋ¹

CSS *kuæ̃¹ ⩙ #kiŋ¹ 'startle (in Jīngzhé ～蟄)'
a. **Kh** kuã¹ [1]; **Cs** kuɪŋ¹ [1]; **Js** kuã¹ [1]; **Ys** kɔ̃¹ [1]; **Gf** kuæ̃¹ [1]
b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹ [2]; **Cs** kɪŋ⁴⁴ [2]; **Js** kiŋ⁴³ [2]; **Ys** kɪŋ⁻³³ [2]; **Gf** kiŋ¹ [2]

1202 *héng* 橫〔梗合二平庚匣〕 'horizontal' **CDC** *huang² / **EC** *'gwrang

CSWW *ɦuæŋ²

CJQ *ɦuæŋ²: **Ly** uɛ²; **Jh** uɑŋ² [1] ⩙ uəŋ² [2]; **Pj** uɛ̃²; **Dy** uɛ²; **Yk** uai²; **Wy** ŋua²

CLS *ɦuæŋ²: **Sc** —; **Sy** uaŋ²; **Lq** uaŋ²; **Yh** uɛ²; **Pc** uãi²; **Qy** uã²
CSS *ɦuæ̃²

Two words that have the final *-ang in **CDC** have an unexpected medial *-u- after velar initials in **CSWW**, i.e. **1143** 驚 **CSWW** *kuæŋ¹ [1] 'be afraid' and **1116** 硬 **CSWW** *ŋuæŋ⁶˧ˀ (?) [1] (only attested in **Ly**). The **EC** final of these words is *-rang. The unexpected medial might be a vestigial reflex of **EC** *-r- after velars. **1143** 驚 **CSWW** *kuæŋ¹ [1] 'be afraid' might also share a similar origin. Old Chinese reconstructions that follow Baxter (1977) in tracing **QYS** row-three *chóngniŭ* (i.e., Hirayama class B) finals to a medial *-r- usually set up the form *kreŋ for this word. Alternatively, the unexpected medial *-u- may have arisen regularly between velar initials and *æ in an earlier stage of the language, perhaps in the following fashion: *Kæ > *Kɥæ (dissimilation) > *Kuæ (rounding). This would suggest that **CSWW** forms with velars directly preceding *æ descend from later intrusions, but this would be true no matter if these unexpected *-u- medials resulted from dissimilation or if they developed from *-r-. One Common Mín cognate also exhibits a case of unexpected *-u-: *kuaŋ³ 'stalk of grain'.[13]

*4.6.3 *-uæʔ > CSS *-uæʔ*

This final developed in parallel with *-uæŋ, but some of the daughters exhibit further reduction of the main vowel under the influence of the following glottal stop. Examples include:

2044 SPLIT 隔〔梗開二入麥見〕
CSWW *kuæʔ⁷ 'split, crack'
CJQ *kuæʔ⁷: **Ly** kuəʔ⁷ 骨=; **Jh** kuəʔ⁷ 瀎; **Pj** kuɑ⁷ 瀎; **Dy** kuɑʔ⁷ 瀎; **Yk** kuai³ 瀎; **Wy** kuaʔ⁷ 瀎
CLS *kuæʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kuaʔ⁷ 刮=; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kuæʔ⁷ □
Cáo et al. (2016) relate this word to the character 〈瀎〉 read as *kwaek* (古伯切) according to the *Guăngyùn* and glossed as 'splitting of water (into streams)' (水裂). A more likely cognate is *gé* 隔 (**QYS** *keak*) 'to separate'.

[13]Norman (2012a) did not associate this form with the character 梗. This etymology still remains somewhat controversial.

1203 *huà* 劃〔梗合二入麥匣〕 ‘carve out’ **CDC** *huak⁸ / **EC** *gwrek

CSWW *ɦuæʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦuæʔ⁸: **Ly** uəʔ⁸; **Jh** uəʔ⁸; **Pj** uɑ⁶₍ɬft; **Dy** uɑʔ⁸; **Yk** uai⁴; **Wy** ŋuaʔ⁸ [1] ‘stroke’ ⩙ uaʔ⁸ [2] 計～ ‘plan’

CLS *ɦuæʔ⁸: **Sc** uaʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** uəʔ⁸; **Yh** uaʔ⁸; **Pc** xuai⁷; **Qy** uɑʔ⁸

CSS *ɦuæʔ⁸

I believe that **2044** 隔 **CSWW** *kuæʔ⁷ ‘split, crack’ is cognate with **CDC** *kak⁷ / **EC** *krek 隔 ‘separate’ and constitutes another case of a *gěngshè* 梗攝 (**CDC** *-ak) word with unexpected *-u-.

*4.7 Finals with the vowel sequences *au & *iau plus *-iaŋ*

CSWW	au	iau	iaŋ	iauʔ
CJQ	au	iou	iaŋ	iauʔ
Ly	ɔ	iɔ	iã; ã/*Š_	iɔʔ
Jh	ɑu	iɑu	iɑŋ	iəʔ
Pj	o; yo/*Š_	i; ɯ/T,S_	yõ	yo
Dy	ɑu	iʊ; ɤ/P,T,S_	iʌ	iəʔ
Yk	ɒ	iɒ	iaŋ	iɒ
Wy	ɑo	ie	iaŋ	iɑoʔ
CLS	au	iau	iaŋ	iauʔ
Sc	ɐɯ	iɐɯ	iaŋ	iaʔ
Sy	ɔ	iɔ	iaŋ	iaʔ
Lq	ɑɔ	iɑɔ	iaŋ	iaʔ
Yh	ɑɔ	iɑɔ	iã	iɑʔ
Pc	au	iau	iaŋ	iau
Qy	ɒ	iɒ	iɑ̃	iɑʔ
CSS	ɑu	iəu	iɑ̃	iɑʔ

*4.7.1 *-au > CSS *-ɑu*

This final has remained relatively stable, but in many dialects **CSWW** *-ɔu has merged with it. See §4.11.1 for details.

407 *bāo* 包〔效開二平肴幫〕 ‘wrap’ **CDC** *pau¹ / **EC** *pru

CSWW *ɓau¹

CJQ *ɓau¹: **Ly** pɔ¹; **Jh** pɑu¹; **Pj** po¹; **Dy** pɑu¹; **Yk** ʔbɒ¹ [1] ⩙ mɒ⁻³³ [2] 黃～車兒 ‘rickshaw’; **Wy** pɑo¹

CLS *ɓau¹: **Sc** ʔbɐɯ¹; **Sy** ʔbɔ¹; **Lq** ʔbɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ¹; **Pc** pau¹; **Qy** ʔbɒ¹
CSS *pɑu¹

417 *chǎo* 炒〔效開二上巧初〕 'stir-fry' **CDC** *chau³ / **EC** —
CSWW *tšʰau³
CJQ *tšʰau³: **Ly** tsʰɔ³; **Jh** tsʰɑu³; **Pj** tɕʰyo³; **Dy** tsʰɑu³; **Yk** tsʰɒ³; **Wy** tsʰɑo³
CLS *tsʰau³: **Sc** tsʰɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʰɔ³; **Lq** tsʰɑɔ³; **Yh** tsʰɑɔ³; **Pc** tsʰau³; **Qy** tsʰɒ³
CSS *tsʰɑu³

418 *jiāo* 交〔效開二平肴見〕 'intersect, exchange' **CDC** *kau¹ / **EC** *kraw
CSWW *kau¹
CJQ *kau¹: **Ly** kɔ¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiɔ¹ [2]; **Jh** kɑu¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiɑu¹ [2]; **Pj** ko¹; **Dy** kɑu¹; **Yk** kɒ¹; **Wy** kɑo¹
CLS *kau¹: **Sc** kɐɯ¹ ～通 'traffic' ⩙ tɕiɐɯ¹ ～關 'very'; **Sy** kɔ¹; **Lq** kɑɔ¹; **Yh** kɑɔ¹; **Pc** kau¹; **Qy** kɒ¹
CSS *kɑu¹
The palatalized reflexes in the east are most often used in a recent loan from Northern Wú ～關 'very'.

*4.7.2 *-iau > CSS *-iəu*

This final has merged with **CSWW** *-iɔu (§4.12.1) in all the daughters except **Sy**. The crucial difference is [-iɔ] < *-iau vs. [-iʌ] < *-iɔu. The main vowel unrounded to [ʌ] before the final underwent monophthongization.

447 *diào* 釣〔效開四去嘯端〕 'fish (v.)' **CDC** *tiau⁵ / **EC** *'tewh
CSWW *ɗiau⁵
CJQ *ɗiou⁵: **Ly** tiɔ⁵; **Jh** tiɑu⁵; **Pj** tɯ⁵; **Dy** tɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɒ⁵; **Wy** lie⁵
CLS *ɗiau⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdiɔ⁵; **Lq** ʔdiɑɔ⁵; **Yh** ʔdiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** liau⁵; **Qy** ʔdiɒ⁵
CSS #tiəu⁵: **Kh** tiəɯ⁵; **Cs** tiɤɯ⁵; **Js** tiɐɯ⁵; **Ys** tiɐɯ⁵; **Gf** tiɤɯ⁵

449 *tiáo* 條〔效開四平蕭定〕 'strip (clf.)' **CDC** *diau² / **EC** *'diw
CSWW *diau²
CJQ *diou²: **Ly** diɔ²; **Jh** diɑu²; **Pj** dɯ² [1] ⩙ diɑ² [2]; **Dy** dɤ²; **Yk** diɒ²; **Wy** die²
CLS *diau²: **Sc** diɐɯ²; **Sy** tiɔ²; **Lq** diɑɔ²; **Yh** diɑɔ²; **Pc** tiau²; **Qy** tiɒ²
CSS *diəu²
Cf. Common Min *teu² > Proto-Níngdé *tɛu²

451 *liào* 料〔效開四去嘯來〕 ‘material’ **CDC** *liau⁶ / **EC** *’lewh
CSWW *liau⁶
CJQ *liou⁶: **Ly** liɔ⁶; **Jh** liɑu⁶; **Pj** lɯ⁶; **Dy** lɤ⁶; **Yk** liɒ⁶; **Wy** lie⁶
CLS *liau⁶: **Sc** liɐɯ⁶; **Sy** liə⁶; **Lq** liɑɔ⁶; **Yh** liɑɔ⁶; **Pc** liau⁶; **Qy** liɒ⁶
CSS *liəu⁶
Cf. Common Min *leu⁶ > Proto-Níngdé *lɛu⁶

Notably, this final corresponds to only *xiàoshè* 效攝 Div. IV (i.e. QYS *-ew* 蕭篠嘯) specifically after coronal initials.[14] Even though this is admittedly a limited set of syllables, we can nonetheless be sure the distinction in **Sy** is not a coincidence. Ōujiāng dialects also exhibit special patterns of correspondence that imply a distinction between the Div. III and IV finals of *xiàoshè* (Akitani 2011, 16). A contrast must also be reconstructed for Common Mín: *-iau (III) vs. *-eu (IV). This shared retention cannot be taken as evidence for a common origin of Wú and Mín, but with it comes one shared innovation that we must not overlook: the distinction between the Div. III and IV finals was lost after guttural initials in both languages.[15]

454 *jiào* 叫〔效開四去嘯見〕 ‘cry out, call’ **CDC** *kiau⁵ / **EC** *’kiwh
CSWW *ʔiɔu⁵ [1] ⩙ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵ [2]
CJQ *ʔiou⁵ ⩙ *kiou⁵
a. **Ly** iɔ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** iɒ⁵; **Wy** ie⁵
b. **Ly** tɕiɔ⁵; **Jh** tɕiɑu⁵; **Pj** tɕi⁵; **Dy** tɕiʊ⁵; **Yk** kiɒ⁵; **Wy** —
CLS *iɔu⁵ ⩙ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵
a. **Sc** iɐɯ⁵; **Sy** iʌ⁵; **Lq** iɑɔ⁵; **Yh** iɑɔ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɒ⁵
b. **Sc** tɕiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɒ⁵
CSS *ʔiəu⁵ ⩙ #kiəu⁵
a. **Kh** iəɯ⁵; **Cs** iɤɯ⁵; **Js** iɐɯ⁵; **Ys** iɐɯ¹ ⩙ iɐɯ⁵ [1]; **Gf** iɤɯ⁵
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕiɔ³₍₁₆₎; **Js** —; **Ys** kiɐɯ⁵; **Gf** kiɑɔ⁵
Cf. Common Min *kiau⁵ > Proto-Níngdé *kiau⁵.

[14]Although not demonstrated by this study’s data, **Sy** also distinguishes Div. III from IV after alveolar sibilants, i.e. **430** 消 **Sy** [ɕiʌ¹] ‘extinguish’; **QYS** *sjew* (III) ≠ **Sy** [ɕiɔ¹] 簫 ‘flute’; **QYS** *sew* (IV).

[15]Note there are no Div. IV *xiàoshè* character readings that begin with labial onsets in the rime books, so we cannot test for distinctions in that environment.

*4.7.3 *-iaŋ > CSS *-iã*

The value of this final has remained relatively stable. Examples:

969 *liáng* 涼〔宕開三平陽來 C〕 ‘cool, breezy’ **CDC** *liong² / **EC** *lang

CSWW *liaŋ²

CJQ *liaŋ²: **Ly** liã²; **Jh** liɑŋ²; **Pj** lyõ²; **Dy** liʌ²; **Yk** liaŋ²; **Wy** liaŋ² [1] ≍ lia¹ [2] ～帽 ‘straw hat’

CLS *liaŋ²: **Sc** liaŋ²; **Sy** liaŋ²; **Lq** liaŋ²; **Yh** liã²; **Pc** liaŋ²; **Qy** liã²

CSS *liã²

984 *cháng* 長〔宕開三平陽澄 C〕 ‘long’ **CDC** *jiong² / **EC** *drang

CSWW *deŋ² [1] *F* ≍ *džiaŋ² [2] *B*

CJQ *džiaŋ² *F*: **Ly** dzã²; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ²; **Pj** dʒyõ²; **Dy** dʑiʌ²; **Yk** dʑiaŋ²; **Wy** dʑiaŋ²

CLS *deŋ² ≍ *dʑiaŋ²

a. **Sc** də̃²; **Sy** tæ̃²; **Lq** dɛ²; **Yh** dɛ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã²

b. **Sc** dʑiaŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaŋ²; **Yh** dʒiã² *F*; **Pc** tɕiaŋ²; **Qy** tɕiã²

CSS *də̃² ≍ #dʑiã²

a. **Kh** dɛ̃² [2]; **Cs** dʌ̃²; **Js** dæ̃²; **Ys** dæ̃²; **Gf** dæ̃²

b. **Kh** dʑiã²; **Cs** dʑiã⁻²² ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Js** dʑiã⁻³³ ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Ys** dʑiã²; **Gf** dʑiã²

Cf. Common Min *dɔŋ²; Proto-Níngdé *tɔŋ²

976 *qiáng* 牆〔宕開三平陽從 C〕 ‘wall ’ **CDC** *dziong² / **EC** *dzang

CSWW *ziaŋ²

CJQ *ziaŋ²: **Ly** ʑiã² [1] ≍ dʑiã² [2]; **Jh** ziɑŋ² [1] ≍ dziɑŋ³ [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ²; **Dy** ʑiʌ²; **Yk** ʑiaŋ²; **Wy** ʑiaŋ²

CLS *ʑiaŋ²: **Sc** ʑiaŋ²; **Sy** ɕiaŋ²; **Lq** ʑiaŋ²; **Yh** ʒiã²; **Pc** tɕiaŋ²; **Qy** ɕiã²

CSS *ʑiã²

1002 *jiāng* 薑〔宕開三平陽見 C〕 ‘ginger’ **CDC** *kiong¹ / **EC** *kang

CSWW *kiaŋ¹

CJQ *kiaŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiã¹; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyõ¹; **Dy** tɕiʌ¹; **Yk** kiaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕiaŋ¹

CLS *kiaŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** tɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiã¹; **Pc** kiaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiã¹

CSS *kiã¹

1006 *yāng* 秧〔宕開三平陽影 C〕 ‘rice seedling’ **CDC** *iong¹ / **EC** *ang

CSWW *ʔeŋ¹ [1] ≍ *ʔiaŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiaŋ¹ [1]: **Ly** iã¹; **Jh** iɑŋ¹; **Pj** yõ¹; **Dy** ʔiʌ¹; **Yk** iaŋ¹; **Wy** iaŋ¹

CLS *ʔeŋ¹ ⪥ *ʔiaŋ¹
a. **Sc** ə̃¹; **Sy** æ̃¹; **Lq** ɛ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ã¹
b. **Sc** iaŋ¹ 菜～ ‘tender vegetables’; **Sy** iaŋ¹; **Lq** iaŋ¹; **Yh** iã¹; **Pc** iaŋ¹; **Qy** iã¹ 菜～ ‘tender vegetables’
CSS *ʔə̃¹ [2] ⪥ *ʔiã¹ [1]
Cf. Proto-Níngdé *ɔŋ¹

In the Shàngshān and Lìshuǐ dialects, we sometimes see variation of this final with *-eŋ. The forms with *-eŋ come from an older stratum of the language and have parallels in Mín. See §4.20.2 for further discussion.

*4.7.4 *-iauʔ > CSS *-iɑʔ*

This final has monophthongized in most of the daughters. **Wy** and **Pc** preserve the original value best. Examples include:

1011 *lüè* 略〔宕開三入藥來 C〕 ‘outline’ **CDC** *liok⁸ / **EC** *lak
CSWW *liauʔ⁸
CJQ *liauʔ⁸: **Ly** liɔʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** lyo⁸; **Dy** liəʔ⁸; **Yk** liɒ⁴; **Wy** liɑo⁴
CLS *liauʔ⁸: **Sc** liaʔ⁸; **Sy** (lyɛʔ⁸₍lf₎); **Lq** (liɛʔ⁸₍lf₎); **Yh** (lieʔ⁸₍lf₎); **Pc** liau⁷; **Qy** liɑʔ⁸
CSS *liɑʔ⁸

1014 *xiāo, xuē* 削〔宕開三入藥心 C〕 ‘whittle’ **CDC** *siok⁷ / **EC** *sawk
CSWW *siauʔ⁷
CJQ *siauʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃyo⁷; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ɕiɒ³; **Wy** ɕiɑoʔ⁷
CLS *siauʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiɑʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷
CSS *ɕiɑʔ⁷

1017 *sháo* 勺〔廣韻：宕開三入藥常 C〕 ‘spoon’ **CDC** *zhiok⁸ / **EC** *dawk
CSWW *žiauʔ⁸
CJQ *žiauʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸ ⪥ tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** zoʔ⁸₍lf₎; **Pj** ʒyo⁸; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ʑiɒ⁴; **Wy** ʑiɑo⁴
CLS *ʑiauʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑiaʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiaʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiaʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁸
CSS *ʑiɑʔ⁸

2001 BAMBOO LEAF 箬〔宕開三入藥日 C〕
CSWW *ňiauʔ⁸
CJQ *ňiauʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Pj** ȵyo⁸; **Dy** ȵian⁻⁵⁵ [兒]; **Yk** ɲiɒ⁴ [3]; **Wy** ȵiɑo⁴ [1] ⪥ iɑo⁻⁵³ [2]

CLS *ɲiauʔ⁸: **Sc** ɲiaʔ⁸; **Sy** ɲiaʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɲiɑʔ⁸
CSS *ɲiɑʔ⁸

1018 *jiǎo* 腳〔宕開三入藥見 C〕 ‘foot’ **CDC** *kiok⁷ / **EC** *kak
CSWW *kiauʔ⁷
CJQ *kiauʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyo⁷; **Dy** tɕiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** kiɒ³; **Wy** tɕiɑoʔ⁷
CLS *kiauʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiaʔ⁷ [文]; **Yh** tʃiɑʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɑʔ⁷
CSS *kiɑʔ⁷

1019 *yào* 藥〔宕開三入藥以 C〕 ‘medicine’ **CDC** *yok⁸ / **EC** *yawk
CSWW *ɦiauʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦiauʔ⁸: **Ly** iɔʔ⁸; **Jh** iəʔ⁸; **Pj** yo⁸; **Dy** iʉoʔ⁸; **Yk** iɒ⁴; **Wy** iɑo⁴
CLS *ɦiauʔ⁸: **Sc** iaʔ⁸; **Sy** iaʔ⁸; **Lq** iaʔ⁸; **Yh** iɑʔ⁸; **Pc** iau⁷; **Qy** iɑʔ⁸
CSS *ɦiɑʔ⁸

*4.8 Finals *-yaŋ and *-yauʔ*

CSWW	yaŋ	yauʔ
CJQ	yaŋ	yauʔ
Ly	yã; uã/*Š_	ɔʔ
Jh	yɑŋ	yɤʔ
Pj	yõ	yo
Dy	ʌ; uʌ/S_ (?)	iouʔ
Yk	yaŋ	uə
Wy	yaŋ	uoʔ
CLS	iɔŋ; yɔŋ/*Š_	iɔuʔ; yɔu/*Š_
Sc	iɔŋ	iɔʔ
Sy	ioŋ	ioʔ
Lq	iɔŋ	iɔuʔ
Yh	iɔ̃	ioʔ
Pc	?; aŋ/*Š_	?; au/*Š_
Qy	iɔ̃	ioʔ
CSS	iɒ̃	iɒʔ

*4.8.1 *-yaŋ > CSS *-iɒ̃*

In the Shàngshān and Lìshuǐ dialects, the main vowel of **CSWW** *-yaŋ has backed, probably under the influence of the rounded medial. This has resulted in merger with *-iɔŋ in all of the Lìshuǐ

dialects except **Pc**. As was the case with *-iaŋ, this final sometimes exhibits alternation with *-eŋ. Examples:

993 *shuāng* 霜〔宕開三平陽生 C〕 ‘frost’ **CDC** *shong¹ / **EC** *srang

CSWW *šyaŋ¹

CJQ *šyaŋ¹: **Ly** suã¹; **Jh** ɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** suʌ¹; **Yk** ɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕyaŋ¹

CLS *ɕyɔŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Sy** ɕioŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiõ¹; **Pc** saŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiõ¹

CSS *ɕiŏ¹

1008 *yǎng* 養〔宕開三上養以 C〕 ‘rear (v.)’ **CDC** *yong⁴ / **EC** *yangx

CSWW *ɦyaŋ⁴ [1] *F* ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴ [2] *B*

CJQ *ɦyaŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴ *F*

a. **Ly** yã⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** yaŋ⁴; **Wy** yan⁴₍f
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** iɑŋ³; **Pj** yõ⁴; **Dy** iʌ⁴; **Yk** iaŋ⁴; **Wy** iaŋ⁴

CLS *ɦiɔŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴

a. **Sc** iɔŋ⁴; **Sy** ioŋ⁴ ⩙ iəŋ⁴; **Lq** iɔŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** iõ⁴ [1]
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** iã³; **Pc** iaŋ³; **Qy** iã⁴ [2]

CSS *ɦiŏ⁴ ⩙ #ɦiã⁴ 培～ ‘foster’

a. **Kh** ioŋ⁶; **Cs** iõ⁴ [1]; **Js** iõ⁴ [1]; **Ys** iõ⁴ [1]; **Gf** yã⁴ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** iã³ [2]; **Js** iã⁴ [2]; **Ys** iã⁴ [2]; **Gf** iã¹ [2]

1036 *kuáng* 狂〔宕合三平陽羣 C〕 ‘crazy’ **CDC** *guong² ⩙ *giuong² / **EC** *gwang

CSWW *gyaŋ² [1] ⩙ *guɔŋ² [2]

CJQ *gyaŋ² ⩙ *guaŋ²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** gyaŋ² ‘emotionally unstable’; **Wy** dʑyaŋ²
b. **Ly** guã²; **Jh** guɑŋ²; **Pj** gõ² [1] ⩙ guan² [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** guaŋ²; **Wy** —

CLS *giɔŋ² (?) ⩙ *guɔŋ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiõ²
b. **Sc** gɔŋ² [1] ⩙ guaŋ² [2]; **Sy** oŋ²₍i; **Lq** —; **Yh** gõ²; **Pc** kaŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS *giŏ²

989 *chuāng* 瘡〔宕開三平陽初 C〕 ‘sore’ **CDC** *chong¹ / **EC** *tshrang

CSWW *tsʰ(eŋ,ə̃)¹ [1] ⩙ *tšʰyaŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *tšʰyaŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰuã¹; **Jh** tɕʰyɑŋ¹ [1] ⩙ tsʰɑŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyõ¹; **Dy** tsʰʌ¹; **Yk** tɕʰyaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyaŋ¹

CLS *tsʰ(eŋ,ə̃)¹₍a ⩙ *tɕʰyɔŋ¹

a. **Sc** tsʰə̃¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕʰioŋ¹; **Lq** (tsʰɔŋ¹₍f); **Yh** tʃʰiõ¹; **Pc** tsʰaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiõ¹

CSS *tsʰə̃¹ [2] ⩙ *tɕʰiŏ¹ [1]

When we lack **CSS** and **Pc** reflexes after guttural initials, it is not possible to distinguish this final from *-iɔŋ.

1035 *kuāng* 眶〔廣韻：宕合三平陽溪C〕 ‘eye-socket’ **CDC** *khuong¹ ≍ *khiuong¹ / **EC** *khwang

CSWW *kʰyaŋ¹ [1] ≍ *kʰuɔŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *kʰuaŋ¹ [1]: **Ly** (guã²꜀ᵢᵢₜ); **Jh** kʰuɑŋ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *kʰiɔŋ¹ ≍ *kʰɔŋ¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰiõ¹ 眼～; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiõ¹
b. **Sc** kʰuaŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰõ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kʰiõ¹

1037 *wáng* 王〔宕合三平陽云C〕 ‘king’ **CDC** *wong² ≍ *iuong² / **EC** *wang
CSWW *ɦ(ya,iɔ)ŋ² [1] ≍ *ɦuɔŋ²
CJQ *ɦuaŋ²: **Ly** uã²; **Jh** uɑŋ²; **Pj** õ²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** uaŋ²; **Wy** uaŋ²
CLS *ɦiɔŋ² ≍ *ɦɔŋ² [2]
a. **Sc** iɔŋ²; **Sy** ioŋ²; **Lq** iɔŋ²; **Yh** iõ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** iõ²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** aŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *ɦuã² [2]

*4.8.2 *-yauʔ > CSS *-iɒʔ*

The following are examples of this final:

1054 *zhuō* 桌〔廣韻：江開二入覺知〕 ‘table’ **CDC** *cauk⁷ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɗyauʔ⁷ (?) [1] ≍ *tšyauʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *ɗyauʔ⁷꜁ₐ (?) ≍ *tšyauʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** luoʔ⁷
b. **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tsuɔʔ⁷ [2]; **Jh** tɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕyoʔ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tsuəˀ [1]; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗiɔuʔ⁷ (?) ≍ *tɕyɔuʔ⁷꜁ₐ (?)
a. **Sc** ʔdiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdioʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdioʔ⁷
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsauʔ⁷; **Qy** —
CSS *tiɒʔ⁷ ≍ #tɕiɒʔ⁷
a. **Kh** tiɔʔ⁷; **Cs** tiʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** tiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕiɒʔ⁷꜁ₑ; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsuɐʔ⁷

1055 *chuō* 戳（戳）〔廣韻：江開二入覺徹〕 ‘poke’ **CDC** *chauk⁷ / **EC** *thrawk
CSWW *tšʰyauʔ⁷

CJQ *tšʰyauʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵ [1] ≭ tɕʰioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyo⁷; **Dy** tsʰouʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰuə³; **Wy** tsʰuoʔ⁷

CLS *tɕʰyɔuʔ⁷ (?): **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰioʔ⁷; **Pc** (tsʰuo⁷₍f₎); **Qy** tɕʰioʔ⁷

CSS *tɕʰiɒʔ⁷

1056 *zhuó* 鐲（鋜）〔江開二入覺崇〕 'bracelet' **CDC** *jok⁸ / **EC** *dzrok

CSWW *džyauʔ⁸

CJQ *džyauʔ⁸: **Ly** dzɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑioʔ⁸₍f₎; **Pj** dʒyo⁸; **Dy** dʑiouʔ⁸; **Yk** dzuə⁴; **Wy** dzuo⁴

CLS *dʑyɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** dʑiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑioʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒioʔ⁸; **Pc** sau⁷; **Qy** tɕioʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiɒʔ⁸

*4.9 Finals with the vocalism *ɔ*

CSWW	ɔ	ɔ̃	ɔʔ
CJQ	ɒ	ɤ̃; ã/T,S_	ɤʔ; ɒʔ/T,S_
Ly	uɑ; u/P_	ei; ie/k,g_	əʔ
Jh	uɑ; ɤa/P_	ɤ	ɤ
Pj	iɑ; ia/P_	ə̃	ɯ
Dy	uo	ɤ	ɜʔ
Yk	ɑ	ɤə; uə/P_	ɤə
Wy	uɑ	ɤ; uo/P_	ɤʔ; ɤ/4,5
CLS	ɔ	uə̃; ə̃/P_; ã/T,S_	uəʔ; əʔ/P_; aʔ/T,S_
Sc	u	uə̃	eʔ
Sy	u	uɛ̃	uɛʔ
Lq	u	uə	uəʔ
Yh	o	uɛ	uɛʔ
Pc	a	uãi; ãi/ŋ_	ua
Qy	o	uã; ã/ŋ_	uɤʔ
CSS	o; ua/P_	õ; uẽ/P_	ɔʔ; ɒʔ/K,H_

CSWW *-ɔ̃ & *-ɔʔ have fronted and merged with *-ã & *-aʔ respectively after coronal initials in **CJQ** and **CLS**. See §4.2 for the relevant sound correspondences in this environment. This conditioned fronting tempts the reconstruction of coronal codas for these finals, i.e. *-n and *-t. Fronting of back vowels between coronal consonants has clear articulatory motivations and is well-attested in Chinese dialects (Flemming 2003).[16] This very type of conditioned change is

[16]Flemming (2003) raises the example of input |u| fronting to /y/ between coronal consonants in Cantonese.

responsible for the mismatch between **CDC** *a and **QYS** Division II. Between coronal consonants, **pre-CDC** *o fronted to [a].

Note also medial *-u- is lost after labials in **CLS** for the latter two finals. See §4.15 for the full sound correspondences.

*4.9.1 *-ɔ > CSS *-o; *-ua/P_*

As mentioned in §4.2.1, this final is often confused with **CSWW** *-a. It can only be recovered after labial initials, glottal initials, and *x-. The distinct reflexes are concentrated in the Shàngshān dialects, **Sc**, **Sy**, and **Lq** which constitute a contact zone located in the southwest of our area of interest. With only one exception in these languages, **CSWW** *-ɔ merged with *-o. The outstanding case is syllables with labial initials in **Js**. **Js** has [-o] for these finals instead of expected [-iə] from **CSWW** *-o > **CSS** *-iə / P_. This suggests that in **Js**, **CSWW** *-ɔ developed into [-o] after the aforementioned vowel breaking change while in the other Shàngshān dialects it rose first. The regular pattern of correspondence is exemplified in the following sets:

42 *má* 麻〔假開二平麻明〕 'hemp' **CDC** *ma² / **EC** *mray

CSWW *mɔ²

CJQ *mɒ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** mɤa²; **Pj** mia²; **Dy** muo²; **Yk** mɑ²; **Wy** muɑ²

CLS *mɔ²: **Sc** mu² 苧～; **Sy** mu²; **Lq** mu²; **Yh** mo²; **Pc** ma²; **Qy** mo²

CSS #mua² [1] ⪤ #mɑ² [2]

a. **Kh** mie² 油～; **Cs** mie² 油～; **Js** mo²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** mɔ² ～子; **Cs** mɑ² ～子; **Js** —; **Ys** mɑ²; **Gf** mɑ² [1]

55 *xià* 下〔假開二上馬匣〕 'put/go down' **CDC** *ha⁴ / **EC** *grax

CSWW *xɔ³ 'sow (v.)' ⪤ *ɦɔ⁴ 'down'

CJQ *xɒ³ ⪤ *ɦɒ⁴

a. **Ly** xuɑ³$_{lf}$; **Jh** xuɑ³; **Pj** ʃiɑ³; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** xuo³ [1]

b. **Ly** uɑ⁴; **Jh** uɑ³ [1] ⪤ uɑ⁶ [2] ⪤ ʑiɑ⁶ [3]; **Pj** iɑ⁴; **Dy** uo⁴ [2] ⪤ uoʔ⁸ [1]; **Yk** ɑ⁴; **Wy** uɑ⁴ ⪤ uɑ⁶ [2]

This phonotactic restriction is the result of historical change. In other Yuè dialects, /u/ and /y/ contrast between coronals.

CLS *xɔ³ [1] ⩙ *ɦia⁴ [2]
a. **Sc** xu³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xo³
b. **Sc** iɑ⁴; **Sy** io⁴ [1]; **Lq** io³; **Yh** io³ [1] ⩙ io⁴ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɑ⁴ [1]
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** (xa⁶); **Qy** —
CSS *xo³ [2] ⩙ *ɦo⁴

CLS *ɦia⁴ is probably intrusive. It is not attested in the other branches, so I did not project it back to **CSWW**. It does not correspond to **CSWW** *ɦɔ⁴, which has no reflexes in the Lìshuǐ dialects.

59 *yǎ* 啞〔假開二上馬影〕 ‘mute’ **CDC** *a³ / **EC** *rax
CSWW *ʔɔ³
CJQ *ɒ³: **Ly** u³; **Jh** uɑ³; **Pj** iɑ³; **Dy** ʔuo³; **Yk** ɑ⁻¹¹ ～口兒; **Wy** uɑ⁻⁵³
CLS *ɔ³: **Sc** u³ [2] ⩙ ɑ³ [1] ⩙ iɑ³ [3]; **Sy** u³; **Lq** u³; **Yh** o⁵; **Pc** a³; **Qy** o³
CSS *ʔo³ [1] ⩙ #ʔɑ³ [2]
a. **Kh** o³; **Cs** ɔ³; **Js** o⁻⁵² ～巴子 ‘a mute’; **Ys** o³; **Gf** o³ ～子 ‘a mute’
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɑ³ ～巴子 ‘a mute’; **Js** —; **Ys** ɑ³; **Gf** ɑ³

The unique development of **CSWW** *-ɔ in the southwest has been partially effaced by the influence of the surrounding dialects. It routinely occurs in doublets with forms corresponding to **CSWW** *-a. These are probably of recent origin. I have not projected these doublets back to the earliest levels of **CLS**, but this choice sometimes leads to irregular correspondence of **CLS** *-a when the autochthonous **Sc**, **Sy**, and **Lq** forms have been completely displaced by the newer intrusive forms. In **CSS** I reconstruct doublets as a matter of principle because they are found in all the daughter languages. Examples:

40 *pá* 爬〔假開二平麻並〕 ‘crawl’ **CDC** *ba² / **EC** *bra
CSWW *bɔ²
CJQ *bɒ²: **Ly** bu²; **Jh** bɤa²; **Pj** bia²; **Dy** buo²; **Yk** bɑ²; **Wy** buɑ²
CLS *bɔ²: **Sc** bɑ²₍f; **Sy** puo²₍f; **Lq** bu²; **Yh** bo²; **Pc** pa²; **Qy** po²
CSS #bua² ⩙ #bɑ²
a. **Kh** bie²; **Cs** bie²; **Js** bo²; **Ys** bie² [1]; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** bɑ² [2]; **Gf** bɑ²

58 *yā* 椏〔廣韻：假開二平麻影〕 ‘tree crotch’ **CDC** *a¹ / **EC** *ra
CSWW *ʔɔ¹
CJQ *ʔɒ¹: **Ly** u¹; **Jh** uɑ¹; **Pj** iɑ¹; **Dy** ʔuo¹; **Yk** ɑ¹ 樹～ ‘tree branch’; **Wy** uɑ¹ 樹～ ‘tree branch’

CLS *ɔ¹: **Sc** u¹; **Sy** uo¹˩f; **Lq** —; **Yh** o¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** o¹
CSS *ʔo¹

The contrast between **CSWW** *-ɔ and *-a usually corresponds to **QYS** *-æ* 麻馬禡 (< **EC** *-ra, *-ray) and *-ɛɨ* 佳蟹卦 (< **EC** *-re) when it is etymological. In neologisms, *-a sometimes corresponds to **QYS** *-æ* 麻馬禡.

*4.9.2 *-ɔ̃ > CSS *-ɔ̃*

After guttural initials, the correspondences for this final are straightforward. The Jīnqú dialects have lost rounding of the main vowel whereas it has broken in the Lìshuǐ dialects.

746 *bàn* 半〔山合一去換幫〕 'half' **CDC** *pon⁵ / **EC** *'panh
CSWW *ɓɔ̃⁵
CJQ *ɓɤ̃⁵: **Ly** pei⁵; **Jh** pɤ⁵ [1] ≍ pɤ̃⁵ [2] ≍ pã⁵ [3]; **Pj** pə̃⁵; **Dy** pɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔbuə⁵; **Wy** ʔmuo⁵
CLS *ɓə̃⁵: **Sc** ʔbə̃⁵; **Sy** ʔbæ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbɤ⁵; **Yh** ʔbɛ⁵; **Pc** pãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbã⁵
CSS *puẽ⁵: **Kh** pɛ̃⁵; **Cs** pʌ̃⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** piẽ⁵; **Gf** —

633 *gān* 肝〔山開一平寒見〕 'liver' **CDC** *kon¹ / **EC** *'kan
CSWW *kɔ̃¹
CJQ *kɤ̃¹: **Ly** kie¹; **Jh** kɤ¹ [1] ≍ kã¹ [2]; **Pj** kə̃¹; **Dy** kɤ¹; **Yk** kɤə¹; **Wy** kɤ¹
CLS *kuə̃¹: **Sc** kuə̃¹; **Sy** kuɛ̃¹; **Lq** kuə¹; **Yh** kuɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuã¹
CSS *kɔ̃¹: **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** kõ¹; **Js** kɔ̃¹; **Ys** kʊ̃¹; **Gf** kuẽ¹

634 *àn* 岸〔山開一去翰疑〕 'coast' **CDC** *ngon⁶ / **EC** *'nganh
CSWW *ŋɔ̃⁶
CJQ *ŋɤ̃⁶: **Ly** ei⁶; **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ã⁶ [2] ≍ ɦã⁶ [3]; **Pj** ə̃⁶; **Dy** ŋɤ⁶; **Yk** ŋɤə⁶; **Wy** ŋɤ⁶
CLS *ŋuə̃⁶: **Sc** uə̃⁶; **Sy** uɛ̃⁶; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** uɛ⁶; **Pc** ŋãi⁶; **Qy** ŋã⁶
CSS #ɦɔ̃⁶: **Kh** oŋ⁶; **Cs** ɦõ⁶; **Js** ɔ̃⁶; **Ys** ŋʊ̃⁶˩i; **Gf** uẽ⁵

640 *ān* 安〔山開一平寒影〕 'secure' **CDC** *on¹ / **EC** *'an
CSWW *ʔɔ̃¹
CJQ *ʔɤ̃¹: **Ly** ei¹; **Jh** ɤ¹ [1] ≍ ã¹ [2]; **Pj** ə̃¹ [1] ≍ an¹ [2]; **Dy** ʔɤ¹; **Yk** ɤə¹; **Wy** ŋɤ¹
CLS *uə̃¹: **Sc** uə̃¹; **Sy** uɛ̃¹; **Lq** uə¹; **Yh** uɛ¹; **Pc** uãi¹; **Qy** uã¹
CSS *ʔɔ̃¹: **Kh** (ã¹˩f); **Cs** õ¹ [1] ≍ ã¹ [2]; **Js** ɔ̃¹; **Ys** ʊ̃¹; **Gf** uẽ¹

The situation is more complicated after coronal initials. In both the Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ dialects, *-ɔ̃ has merged with *-ã.

622 *dān* 單〔山開一平寒端〕 ‘single’ **CDC** *tan¹ / **EC** *’tan

CSWW *ɗɔ̃¹

CJQ *ɗã¹: **Ly** tã¹; **Jh** tɑ¹ [1] ≍ tã¹ [2]; **Pj** tã¹ [1] ≍ tan¹ [2]; **Dy** tʌ¹; **Yk** ʔnɑ¹; **Wy** nuo¹

CLS *ɗã¹: **Sc** ʔdaŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdɔ̃¹; **Lq** ʔdaŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdã¹; **Pc** lãi¹; **Qy** ʔdã¹

CSS *tɔ̃¹: **Kh** toŋ¹; **Cs** tõ¹ [1] ～數 ‘odd number’ ≍ tã¹ [2] 簡～ ‘simple’; **Js** tɔ̃¹; **Ys** tɒ̃¹; **Gf** tã¹

624 *tàn* 炭〔山開一去翰透〕 ‘charcoal’ **CDC** *than⁵ / **EC** *’thanh

CSWW *tʰɔ̃⁵

CJQ *tʰã⁵: **Ly** tʰã⁵; **Jh** tʰɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tʰã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʰã⁵; **Dy** tʰʌ⁵; **Yk** tʰɑ⁵; **Wy** tʰuo⁵

CLS *tʰã⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** tʰɔ̃⁵; **Lq** tʰaŋ⁵; **Yh** tʰã⁵; **Pc** tʰãi⁴₍ₜ; **Qy** tʰã⁵

CSS *tʰɔ̃⁵: **Kh** tʰoŋ⁵; **Cs** tʰõ⁵; **Js** tʰɔ̃⁵; **Ys** tʰɒ̃⁵; **Gf** tʰã⁵

627 *nán* 難〔山開一平寒泥〕 ‘difficult’ **CDC** *nan² / **EC** *’nan

CSWW *nɔ̃²

CJQ *nã²: **Ly** nã²; **Jh** nɑ² [1] ≍ nã² [2]; **Pj** nã²; **Dy** nʌ²; **Yk** nɑ²; **Wy** nuo²

CLS *nã²: **Sc** naŋ²; **Sy** nɔ̃²; **Lq** naŋ²; **Yh** nã²; **Pc** nãi²; **Qy** nã²

CSS *nɔ̃²: **Kh** noŋ²; **Cs** nõ²; **Js** nɔ̃²; **Ys** nɒ̃²; **Gf** nã²

I have interpreted this fronting in the **CJQ** and **CLS** as a regular conditioned change, but sporadic literary doublets in **Kh** and **Cs** dialects make this determination non-trivial. Do we take [-ã] in these dialects to be the regular correspondent to **CJQ/CLS** *-ã, or do we treat it as a later intrusion? Our answer to this question has implications for the **CSWW** final system. If we adopt the former solution, then *-ɔ̃ becomes a spurious common final that reflects cross-stratal confusion of *-uɔ̃ ≍ *-ã. This is the conclusion that Shī (2020) reached applying stratal analysis, but the comparative data does not support it well. Akitani (2003a) did not reconstruct *-ɔ̃ ≍ *-ã̃ doublets in **CSS** because the comparative evidence is limited to just **Kh** and **Cs**, and as he notes, these two dialects are more closely related to each other than to the other dialects of the Shàngshān branch. Reconstructing variants with **CSS** *-ã̃ for **622** 單 and **640** 安 above based on sporadic byforms that only occur in **Kh** and **Cs** biases the common system toward lexical innovations that only occurred in those dialects.

Furthermore, even a primarily "stratal analysis" militates against the newer **Kh** and **Cs** forms being comparable with the reflexes in the other Southwestern Wú branches. If the new **Kh** and **Cs** forms came from the same stratum that forms the basic lexicon of **CJQ** and **CLS**, then we would expect the contrast of **CDC** *-on ≠ *-an to be preserved. **640** 安 **CDC** *on¹ would not have the same main vowel as **622** 單 **CDC** *tan¹, but both have the final [-ã] in the new **Kh** and **Cs** forms. This is the expected Northern Mandarin configuration (Norman 1999), so they probably represent very recent intrusions in the Shàngshān dialects, not forms that can be meaningfully compared to the Jīnqú or Lìshuǐ dialects.

*4.9.3 *-ɔʔ > CSS *-ɔʔ; *-ɒʔ/K,H_*

This final has changed into **CSS** *-ɒʔ after guttural initials, but otherwise developed in parallel with *-ɔ̃. Examples:

769 *bō* 撥〔山合一入末幫〕 'disperse' **CDC** *pot⁷ / **EC** *'pat
CSWW *ɓɔʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓɤʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** pɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ poʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** puɯ⁷; **Dy** pɜʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbuə³; **Wy** puoʔ⁷
CLS *ɓəʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbəʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbɛʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbɤʔ⁷
CSS #pɔʔ⁷: **Kh** pʌʔ⁷; **Cs** pʌʔ⁷; **Js** pɒʔ⁷; **Ys** pʌʔ⁷; **Gf** pɐʔ⁷
Akitani originally reconstructed **CSS** *pɒʔ because of **Ys** [pʌʔ⁷], but posits that **Ys** has variable reflexes [ʌʔ~ɐʔ] for **CSS** *-ɔʔ. I reconstruct #pɔʔ⁷ on the basis of **Kh** [pʌʔ⁷], which is the expected regular outcome of **CSS** *-ɔʔ. Cf. **CSS** *pɒʔ⁷ 博 'broad' > **Kh** [pɔʔ⁷].

770 *mò* 末〔山合一入末明〕 'tip' **CDC** *mot⁸ / **EC** *'mat
CSWW *mɔʔ⁸
CJQ *mɤʔ⁸: **Ly** mɔʔ⁸; **Jh** mɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ məʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** muɯ⁸; **Dy** mɜʔ⁸; **Yk** muə⁴; **Wy** muo⁴
CLS *məʔ⁸: **Sc** meʔ⁸; **Sy** məʔ⁸; **Lq** məʔ⁸; **Yh** mɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɤʔ⁸
CSS *mɔʔ⁸: **Kh** mʌʔ⁸; **Cs** mʌʔ⁸; **Js** mɒʔ⁸ ⩙ moʔ⁸; **Ys** mɐʔ⁸; **Gf** mɐʔ⁸

646 *gē* 割〔山開一入曷見〕 'sever' **CDC** *kot⁷ / **EC** *'kat
CSWW *kɔʔ⁷
CJQ *kɤʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** kɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ kəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kuɯ⁷; **Dy** kɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kɤə³; **Wy** kɤ⁵
CLS *kuəʔ⁷: **Sc** keʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɤʔ⁷
CSS *kɒʔ⁷: **Kh** kɔʔ⁷; **Cs** kʌʔ⁷; **Js** kɒʔ⁷; **Ys** kʌʔ⁷; **Gf** kuɐʔ⁷

647 *kě* 渴〔山開一入曷溪〕 ‘thirsty’ **CDC** *khot⁷ / **EC** *’khat
CSWW *kʰɔʔ⁷
CJQ *kʰɤʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷˩˧; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *kʰuəʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰua⁷; **Qy** kʰuɤʔ⁷
CSS #kʰɒʔ⁷: **Kh** kʰɔʔ⁷; **Cs** kʰʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰʌʔ⁷; **Gf** —

After coronals, we do not find the same problematic layering in **Kh** and **Cs** that we found for this final’s nasal counterpart.

642 *dá* 達〔山開一入曷定〕 ‘reach’ **CDC** *dat⁸ / **EC** *’dat
CSWW *dɔʔ⁸
CJQ *dɒʔ⁸: **Ly** dɔʔ⁸; **Jh** duɑ⁶ [1] ≍ dəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** duɑ⁸; **Dy** duoʔ⁸; **Yk** dɑ⁴; **Wy** duɑ⁴
CLS *daʔ⁸: **Sc** daʔ⁸; **Sy** dɔʔ⁸; **Lq** dɔʔ⁸; **Yh** dɑʔ⁸; **Pc** ta⁷; **Qy** tɑʔ⁸
CSS *dɔʔ⁸: **Kh** dʌʔ⁸; **Cs** daʔ⁸; **Js** dɒʔ⁸; **Ys** dʌʔ⁸; **Gf** dɐʔ⁸

643 *là* 辣〔山開一入曷來〕 ‘spicy’ **CDC** *ʰlat⁸ / **EC** —
CSWW *lɔʔ⁸
CJQ *lɒʔ⁸: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸; **Jh** luɑ⁶ [1] ≍ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** luɑ⁸; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** lɑ⁴; **Wy** luɑ⁴
CLS *laʔ⁸: **Sc** laʔ⁸; **Sy** lɔʔ⁸; **Lq** lɔʔ⁸; **Yh** lɑʔ⁸; **Pc** la⁷; **Qy** lɑʔ⁸
CSS *lɔʔ⁸: **Kh** lʌʔ⁸; **Cs** laʔ⁸; **Js** lɒʔ⁸; **Ys** lɐʔ⁸; **Gf** lɐʔ⁸

644 *cā* 擦（攃）〔山開一入曷清〕 ‘rub; wipe’ **CDC** *tshat⁷ / **EC** —
CSWW *tsʰɔʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** (tsʰɑ⁷˩˧); **Dy** tsʰɑ³˩˧ [1] ≍ tsʰuɑ³ [2]; **Yk** tsʰɑ⁵; **Wy** tsʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰa⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰɔʔ⁷: **Kh** tsʰʌʔ⁷; **Cs** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Js** tsʰɒʔ⁷; **Ys** tsʰɐʔ⁷; **Gf** tsʰɐʔ⁷

*4.10 Finals with the vocalism *uɔ*

CSWW	iɔ	uɔ	uõ		uɔʔ
CJQ	ia	uɒ	ɤ̃; uɤ̃/S_	uã/K,H_	uɒʔ/K,H_
Ly	iɑ	u	ei; uei/S_	uã	uəʔ
Jh	ia	uɑ	ɤ	uɑ	uɑ
Pj	iɑ	uɑ	ə̃	uə̃	uɑ
Dy	—	uɑ	ɤ	ʌ	uɑʔ
Yk	iɑ	uɑ	ɤə	uɑ	uɑ
Wy	ia	uɑ	ɤ	uo	uɑʔ
CLS	iɔ	uɔ	uə̃/T,S_	uõ/K,H_	uɔʔ; uəʔ/T,S_
Sc	iu	u	ə̃	uə̃	ueʔ
Sy	iu	u	æ̃	uõ	uɔʔ
Lq	io	əu (?)	ɤ	uaŋ	uəʔ
Yh	io	o	uɛ	uã	uɑʔ
Pc	ia	ua	uãi	uãi	ua
Qy	io	o	ã	uə̃	uɑʔ
CSS	yə	ua	õ/T,S_	uẽ/K,H_	ueʔ; ɔʔ/T,S_

*4.10.1 *-iɔ > CSS *-yə*

This final is set up for the following set. Note that it is in complementary distribution with *-ia. *-iɔ only occurs after *ɦ-, *-ia occurs elsewhere.

72 *yé* 爺〔廣韻：假開三平麻以 A〕 ‘father; honorific for older men’ **CDC** *ya² / **EC** *ya

CSWW *ɦiɔ² ‘father’

CJQ *ɦia²: **Ly** iɑ²; **Jh** ia² [1] ≍ iᴇ² [2]; **Pj** iɑ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** iɑ² [2] ≍ iɑ¹ [1] ‘grandfather’; **Wy** ia²

CLS *ɦiɔ²: **Sc** iu²; **Sy** iu² ‘grandfather’; **Lq** io²; **Yh** io²; **Pc** ia² ≍ ie² [文]; **Qy** io² [1]

CSS *ɦyə² ≍ #ɦiə² ‘grandfather’

a. **Kh** yo² [1]; **Cs** ye² [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** ye² [1]; **Gf** ye² [1]

b. **Kh** ie² [2]; **Cs** ie² [2]; **Js** iə²; **Ys** ie² [2]; **Gf** ie² [2]

CSWW *ɦiɔ² is the popular way to refer to one’s father to others.

*4.10.2 *-uɔ > CSS *-ua*

This final is marginal. There is only one example that is attested in both the Shàngshān and Lìshuǐ branches. It is set up as a contrast parallel to **CSWW** *-ɔ ≠ *-a based on similar correspondence patterns.

263 *huà* 話〔蟹合二去夬匣〕 'speech' **CDC** *huai⁶ ⩙ *hua⁶ / **EC** *gros
CSWW *ɦuɔ⁶ [1] ⩙ *ɦua⁶$_{!a}$ (?) [2]
CJQ *ɦuɒ⁶: **Ly** u⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶; **Pj** uɑ⁶; **Dy** uɑ⁶; **Yk** uɑ⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁶
CLS *ɦuɔ⁶ ⩙ *ɦua⁶ [2]
a. **Sc** u⁵$_{!t}$; **Sy** u⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** o⁶; **Pc** ua⁶ ⩙ xua⁶; **Qy** o⁶
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *ɦua⁶ ⩙ #ɦuɑ⁶
a. **Kh** ye⁶ [1]; **Cs** ye⁶ [1]; **Js** yə⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** ye⁶ [1]
b. **Kh** uɔ⁶ [2]; **Cs** uɑ⁰ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** uɑ⁶; **Gf** uɑ⁶ [2]

One more example exists in Shàngshān, but it has no parallel in the Lìshuǐ dialects.

73 *guā* 瓜〔假合二平麻見〕 'gourd' **CDC** *kua¹ / **EC** *kwra
CSWW *kuɔ¹$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ⩙ *kua¹ [2]
CJQ *kuɒ¹: **Ly** ku¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹; **Pj** kuɑ¹; **Dy** kuɑ¹; **Yk** kuɑ¹; **Wy** kuɑ¹$_{!f}$
CLS *kua¹: **Sc** kɑ¹; **Sy** kuo¹; **Lq** kuə¹; **Yh** ko¹; **Pc** kua¹; **Qy** ko¹
CSS *kua¹ ⩙ #kuɑ¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕye¹ 冬～ 'winter melon'; **Js** kyə¹; **Ys** kuɑ¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** kuɔ¹; **Cs** kuɑ⁻⁴⁴ ～子 'melon seeds'; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kuɑ¹

*4.10.3 *-uɔ̃ > CSS *-uẽ, *-ɔ̃/T,S_*

This final has developed differently after coronals and gutturals. After coronals, medial *-u- was lost early on. The diphthong value in **CLS** is actually a secondary development. The relevant sound changes are summarized in (42).

(42) a. *-ɔ̃ > *-ã/T,S_ (**CJQ**, **CLS**)
b. *-uɔ̃ > *-ɔ̃/T,S_ (all branches) > *-uə̃ (**CLS**); *-ʊ̃ (**CJQ**)
c. *-uɔ̃ > *-uã/K,H_ (all daughters less **CSS** and **Sc**)

Examples:

752 *duǎn* 短〔山合一上緩端〕 ‘short’ **CDC** *tuon³ / **EC** *’tonx ⩙ *’toyx

CSWW *ɗui³ [1] ⩙ *ɗuõ³ [2]

CJQ *ɗɤ̃³: **Ly** tei³ [1] ⩙ tuei³ [2]; **Jh** tɤ³ [1] ⩙ tuã³ [2]; **Pj** tə̃³; **Dy** tɤ³; **Yk** ʔdɤə³; **Wy** ʔnɤ³

CLS *ɗui³ ⩙ *ɗuə̃³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔde³; **Lq** ʔdi³; **Yh** —; **Pc** lue³ [白]; **Qy** ʔdai³

b. **Sc** ʔdə̃³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔduɛ³; **Pc** luãi³; **Qy** ʔdã³

CSS #toi³ [2] ⩙ #tõ³ [3] ⩙ *toi¹$_{|t}$ [1]

a. **Kh** tui³; **Cs** ti³ [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ti³

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tõ⁻⁴⁴; **Js** —; **Ys** tõ³ [2]; **Gf** tuẽ³

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** ti¹ [2]; **Js** ti¹; **Ys** ti¹; **Gf** ti¹

760 *suàn* 算（筭）〔山合一去換心〕 ‘calculate’ **CDC** *son⁵ / **EC** *’sonh

CSWW *suõ⁵

CJQ *suɤ̃⁵: **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ suã⁵ [2]; **Pj** sə̃⁵; **Dy** sɤ⁵; **Yk** sɤə⁵; **Wy** sɤ⁵

CLS *suə̃⁵: **Sc** suə̃⁵; **Sy** sæ̃⁵; **Lq** sɤ⁵; **Yh** suɛ⁵; **Pc** suãi⁵; **Qy** sã⁵

CSS *sõ⁵

After guttural initials, the medial has been preserved. In all the daughters but **CSS** and **Sc**, *õ has fronted and unrounded to *ã after *-u- by way of dissimilation and caused a merger with **CSWW** *-uã. The following are examples:

762 *guǎn* 管〔山合一上緩見〕 ‘tube’ **CDC** *kuon³ / **EC** *’konx

CSWW *kuoŋ³ [1] ⩙ *kuõ³ [2]

CJQ *kuoŋ³ 竹～ ‘bamboo tube’ ⩙ *kuã³

a. **Ly** koŋ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuein³ [兒]; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuen³ 水竹～ ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Ly** kuã³; **Jh** kuɑ³ [1] ⩙ kuã³ [2]; **Pj** kuə̃³; **Dy** kʌ³; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuo³

CLS *kuoŋ³ ⩙ *kuõ³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ³ 水～ ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Sc** kuə̃³; **Sy** kuõ³; **Lq** kuaŋ³; **Yh** kuã³; **Pc** kuãi³; **Qy** kuə̃³

CSS *koŋ³ ⩙ #kuẽ³

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** koŋ³; **Js** koŋ³; **Ys** koŋ³; **Gf** koŋ³

b. **Kh** kuə̃³; **Cs** kuʌ̃³; **Js** kyẽ³ ⩙ kuæ³ [3]; **Ys** kuã³; **Gf** kuẽ³

768 *wǎn* 碗（盌、椀）〔山合一上緩影〕 ‘bowl’ **CDC** *uon³ / **EC** *’wonx

CSWW *ʔuõ³

CJQ *ʔuã³: **Ly** —; **Jh** uɑ³ [1] ≍ uã³ [2]; **Pj** uã³; **Dy** ʔʌ³; **Yk** uɑ³; **Wy** ʔŋuo³
CLS *uɔ̃³: **Sc** uã³; **Sy** uɔ̃³; **Lq** uaŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** uãi³; **Qy** uã³
CSS *ʔuẽ³: **Kh** uã³ꜜf; **Cs** uʌ̃³; **Js** uæ̃³ꜜf; **Ys** uã³; **Gf** uɐ̃³

This final varies with *-uəŋ after coronal initials and *-uoŋ after guttural initials, both of which likely represent retentions of **EC** *-on in pharyngealized and retroflex syllables. See §4.25.4 and §4.18.3 for further discussion.

*4.10.4 *-uəʔ > CSS *-ueʔ*

This final developed in parallel with *-uõ, but examples after coronal initials are scarce.

771 *tuō* 脫〔廣韻：山合一入末透〕 ‘take off’ **CDC** *thuot⁷ / **EC** *’thot
CSWW *tʰuək⁷ [1] ≍ *tʰuɔʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *tʰuəʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tʰə⁷; **Dy** tʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰə³; **Wy** tʰəʔ⁷
CLS *tʰək⁷ ≍ *tʰuəʔ⁷
a. **Sc** tʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tʰɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰəɯʔ⁷
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰuo⁷; **Qy** —
CSS *tʰɨʔ⁷ ≍ #tʰɔʔ⁷
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tʰeʔ⁷
b. **Kh** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Cs** tʰʌʔ⁷; **Js** tʰɒʔ⁷; **Ys** tʰʌʔ⁷; **Gf** tʰɐʔ⁷

772 *duó* 奪〔山合一入末定〕 ‘despoil’ **CDC** *duot⁸ / **EC** *’dot
CSWW *duək⁸ [1] ≍ *duɔʔ⁸ [2]
CJQ *duəʔ⁸: **Ly** dəʔ⁸; **Jh** dəʔ⁸; **Pj** də⁸; **Dy** dɜʔ⁸; **Yk** də⁴; **Wy** dəʔ⁸
CLS *dək⁸ ≍ *duəʔ⁸
a. **Sc** dəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** deʔ⁸; **Lq** dɛiʔ⁸; **Yh** deiʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** təɯʔ⁸
b. **Sc** deʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tuo⁷; **Qy** —
CSS #dɨʔ⁸ ≍ *dɔʔ⁸
a. **Kh** dəʔ⁸; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** daʔ⁸; **Js** dɒʔ⁸; **Ys** dʌʔ⁸; **Gf** dɐʔ⁸

775 *kuò* 闊〔山合一入末溪〕 ‘vast’ **CDC** *khuot⁷ / **EC** *’khot
CSWW *kʰuɔʔ⁷ ‘wide’
CJQ *kʰuɒʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kʰuəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kʰuɑ⁷; **Dy** kʰuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰuɑ³; **Wy** kʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *kʰuɔʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰueʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰuɔʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰuɑʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰua⁷; **Qy** kʰuɑʔ⁷
CSS *kʰueʔ⁷

*4.11 Finals with the vocalism *ɔu and *-ɔŋ*

CSWW	ɔu	ɔŋ	ɔuʔ
CJQ	ou; au/P_	aŋ	auʔ
Ly	ɔ	ã	ɔʔ
Jh	ɑu	ɑŋ	oʔ
Pj	o	õ	o
Dy	ɑu	ʌ; ʊ/m_ (ʔ)	uoʔ; ouʔ/P_
Yk	ɒ	aŋ	ɒ; uə/P_
Wy	ɤ; uo/m_ (ʔ); ɑo/P_	aŋ	ɑoʔ; ɑo/8; ɔʔ/P_
CLS	ɔu	ɔŋ	ɔuʔ
Sc	ɐɯ	ɔŋ	ɔʔ
Sy	ʌ	oŋ	oʔ
Lq	u; ɑɔ/T,S,[+voi]_	ɔŋ	ɔuʔ
Yh	əu; ɑɔ/P,S,[+voi]_	ɔ̃	oʔ
Pc	au	aŋ	au
Qy	ɐɯ; ɒ/P,S,[+voi]_	ɔ̃	oʔ
CSS	əu	ɒ̃; iɑ̃/P_	ɒʔ; iɑʔ/P_

*4.11.1 *-ɔu > CSS *-əu*

In many dialects, this final has begun to merge with **CSWW** *-au, likely motivated by contact with Mandarin.[17] In the Jīnqú dialects, this merger is complete everywhere except in **Wy** where the two remain separate after non-labial initials. In the south, **CSS** and **Sy** retain the distinction in all environments. To the east in **Yh** and **Qy**, the merger has progressed after labial and alveolar sibilant initials as well as after etymological voiced initials excluding those that developed into zero in **Yh**. In **Sc** and **Pc**, the merger is complete.

Aside from the special environments mentioned above for **Yh** and **Qy**, where we only find *-au-like reflexes, finals corresponding to **CSWW** *-ɔu and *-au sometimes alternate in stylistic doublets. This naturally is cause for skepticism toward the conditioned mergers I proposed above. We could alternatively treat these conditioned mergers as cases where autochthonous finals cor-

[17]Merger of **CDC** *-ou and *-au (especially after non-guttural initials) is a typical Mandarin innovation that was present even at its earliest stages, including ’Phags-pa Chinese and Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (Coblin 2007a, 2010).

responding to *-ɔu have been displaced by intrusive finals corresponding to *-au. However, the conditioning environments of the mergers are natural and repeated in both **Yh** and **Qy**, suggesting that the distribution is not random, as we would expect in the case of lexical replacement. The most awkward condition involves initial voicing, but this exact split is also attested in **Gf** (Akitani 2003a, 95; Jīn 1961). **Yh**, **Pc**, and **Qy** are all situated to the south of **Gf**. The remaining Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān dialects, where this split has not happened, are situated to its north.

372 *bào* 報〔效開一去号幫〕 ‘report’ **CDC** *pou⁵ / **EC** *ʾpuh
CSWW *ɓɔu⁵
CJQ *ɓau⁵: **Ly** pɔ⁵; **Jh** pɑu⁵; **Pj** po⁵; **Dy** pɑu⁵; **Yk** ʔbɒ⁵; **Wy** pɑo⁵
CLS *ɓɔu⁵: **Sc** ʔbɐɯ⁵; **Sy** ʔbʌ⁵; **Lq** ʔbu⁵; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ⁵; **Pc** pau⁵; **Qy** ʔbɒ⁵
CSS *pəu⁵

377 *dāo* 刀〔效開一平豪端〕 ‘knife’ **CDC** *tou¹ / **EC** *ʾtaw
CSWW *ɗɔu¹
CJQ *ɗou¹: **Ly** tɔ¹; **Jh** tɑu¹; **Pj** to¹; **Dy** tɑu¹; **Yk** ʔdɒ¹; **Wy** lɤ¹
CLS *ɗɔu¹: **Sc** ʔdɐɯ¹; **Sy** ʔdʌ¹; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʔdəu¹; **Pc** lau¹; **Qy** ʔdɐɯ¹
CSS *təu¹

385 *lǎo* 老〔效開一上晧來〕 ‘aged’ **CDC** *ʰlou⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰlux
CSWW *lɔu⁴
CJQ *lou⁴: **Ly** lɔ⁴; **Jh** lɑu³; **Pj** lo⁴; **Dy** lɑu⁴; **Yk** lɒ⁴; **Wy** lɤ³⁴⁴
CLS *lɔu⁴: **Sc** lɐɯ⁴; **Sy** lʌ⁴; **Lq** lɑɔ³; **Yh** lɑɔ³; **Pc** lau⁴; **Qy** lɒ⁴
CSS *ləu⁴

386 *zāo* 糟〔效開一平豪精〕 ‘dregs’ **CDC** *tsou¹ / **EC** *ʾtsu
CSWW *tsɔu¹
CJQ *tsou¹: **Ly** tsɔ¹; **Jh** tsɑu¹; **Pj** tso¹; **Dy** tsɑu¹; **Yk** tsɒ¹; **Wy** tsɤ¹
CLS *tsɔu¹: **Sc** tsɐɯ¹; **Sy** tsʌ¹; **Lq** tsɑɔ¹; **Yh** tsɑɔ¹; **Pc** tsau¹; **Qy** tsɒ¹
CSS *tsəu¹

398 *gāo* 高〔效開一平豪見〕 ‘high, tall’ **CDC** *kou¹ / **EC** *ʾkaw
CSWW *kɔu¹
CJQ *kou¹: **Ly** kɔ¹; **Jh** kɑu¹; **Pj** ko¹; **Dy** kɑu¹; **Yk** kɒ¹; **Wy** kɤ¹
CLS *kɔu¹: **Sc** kɐɯ¹; **Sy** kʌ¹; **Lq** ku¹; **Yh** kəu¹; **Pc** kau¹; **Qy** kɐɯ¹ [1] ≭ kɒ¹ [2] ～粱 ‘sorghum’
CSS *kəu¹

405 *hào* 號〔廣韻：效開一去号匣〕 ‘designation, number’ **CDC** *hou⁶ / **EC** *ʾgawh
CSWW *ɦɔu⁶
CJQ *ɦou⁶: **Ly** ɔ⁶; **Jh** ɑu⁶; **Pj** o⁶; **Dy** ɑu⁶; **Yk** ɒ⁻⁴⁴; **Wy** ɤ⁶
CLS *ɦɔu⁶: **Sc** ɐɯ⁶; **Sy** ʌ⁶; **Lq** ɑɔ⁶; **Yh** əu⁶; **Pc** xau⁶; **Qy** xɒ⁶
CSS *ɦəu⁶

This final alternates with **CSWW** *-uə in stylistic doublets, but only for words that come from **EC** *ʾ-u (⊆ the *yōu* 幽 group). The *-uə reflexes represent a unique development of **EC** *ʾ-u in Southwestern Wú. In most other varieties of Chinese, **EC** *ʾ-u has merged with **EC** *ʾ-aw (⊆ the *xiāo* 宵 group).[18] Mín Chinese is one of the few other dialect families that does not follow this trend. In the earliest layers of Common Mín, **EC** *ʾ-u corresponds to *-əu, but in the younger layers it and **EC** *ʾ-aw correspond to *-ɔ.

374 *bào* 抱〔效開一上皓並〕 ‘embrace’ **CDC** *bou⁴ / **EC** *ʾbux
CSWW *buə⁴ [1] ⩙ *b(ɔ,a)u⁴ [2]
CJQ *bu⁴ ⩙ *bau⁴
a. **Ly** bu⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** bu⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** bɔ⁴; **Jh** pau³ [1] ⩙ bau⁶ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** bɒ⁴; **Wy** —
CLS *buə⁴ ⩙ *b(ɔ,a)u⁴
a. **Sc** buɤ⁴; **Sy** bu⁴; **Lq** ʔbɤɯ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** puo⁴; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bɑɔ⁴; **Pc** (pau$^{6}_{!t}$) [文]; **Qy** pɒ⁴
CSS *buə⁴
Cf. Common Min *pʰɔ⁴; Proto-Níngdé *pɔ⁶. No regular reflex of the Common Min form is attested in Eastern Min. Neither of these regularly corresponds to the autochthonous **CSWW** form *buə⁴ [1] and probably represent later intrusions.

379 *tǎo* 討〔效開一上皓透〕 ‘seek out’ **CDC** *thou³ / **EC** *ʾthux
CSWW *tʰuə³ [1] ⩙ *tʰɔu³ [2]
CJQ *tʰu³ ⩙ *tʰou³
a. **Ly** tʰu³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** tʰɔ³; **Jh** tʰɑu³; **Pj** tʰo³; **Dy** tʰɑu³; **Yk** tʰɒ³; **Wy** tʰɤ³

[18]The exact date of the merger is unknown. Coblin (1993) follows Ting’s (1972) Wéi-Jìn rime groups and reconstructs a merger of these finals in his late Hàn Buddhist Transcription Dialect (c. 150). Starostin (1989, 626) believes the merger occurred later and reconstructs a distinction (*-āw vs. *-āw) based on the poetry of Ruǎn Jì (210–263) and Jī Kāng (c. 224–c. 263). This treatment agrees with Schuessler (2009) who keeps them separate as *-ɔu and *-ɑu in his Later Hàn system. The timing of the merger probably depended on region. We can only say with certainty that it was in progress between the late Eastern Hàn and Three Kingdoms periods.

CLS *tʰuə³ ⩙ *tʰɔu³

a. **Sc** tʰuɤ³; **Sy** tʰɯ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰɤ³ ‘pick, take (a wife)’
b. **Sc** tʰɐɯ³; **Sy** tʰʌ³; **Lq** tʰɑɔ³; **Yh** (tʰɑɔ³₍f₎); **Pc** tʰau³; **Qy** (tʰɒ³₍f₎) ～厭 ‘dislike’

CSS *tʰuə³ ⩙ #tʰəu³

a. **Kh** tʰuo³; **Cs** tʰuə³ ～老媽 ‘take a wife’; **Js** tʰuə³; **Ys** tʰuə¹ ～飯農 ‘beggar’; **Gf** tʰuɤ³ ‘pick’
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tʰɔ³ 檢～ ‘self-criticism’; **Js** tʰɐɯ²⁴ ～論 ‘discuss’; **Ys** tʰɐɯ³ ～論 ‘discuss’; **Gf** tʰɤɯ⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～價 ‘haggle’

Cf. Common Min *tʰɔ³ > Proto-Níngdé *tʰɔ³. Min has lost the older form.

390 *zào* 竈〔廣韻：效開一去号精〕 ‘stove’ **CDC** *tsou⁵ / **EC** *’tsuh

CSWW *tsuə⁵₍a₎ [1] ⩙ *(ts,tš)ioʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *tsɔu⁵ [3]

CJQ *(ts,tš)ioʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsou⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tsuo⁻⁴⁴⁵₍ft 鑊～老爺 ‘stove god’
b. **Ly** tsɔ⁵; **Jh** tsɑu⁵; **Pj** tso⁵; **Dy** tsɑu⁵; **Yk** tsɒ⁵; **Wy** tsɤ⁵ [1]

CLS *tsɔu⁵: **Sc** tsɐɯ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɑɔ⁵; **Yh** tsɑɔ⁵; **Pc** tsau⁵; **Qy** tsɒ⁵

CSS *tsuə⁵ ⩙ #tɕioʔ⁷ ⩙ #tsəu⁵

a. **Kh** (tsɔ⁵₍f₎) [2]; **Cs** tsuə⁵ ～公～母 ‘stove god’; **Js** tsuə⁵; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕyo⁵₍ft [1] ～□tɕyŋ⁴⁴老佛 ‘stove god’; **Cs** tsoʔ⁷ [3] ～□moʔ⁴底 ‘kitchen’; **Js** tɕioʔ⁷ ～□moʔ³底 ‘kitchen’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsɤɯ⁵ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** tsɐɯ⁵; **Gf** tsɤɯ⁵

Cf. Common Min *tsəu⁵ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃau⁵.

CSWW *tɕioʔ⁷ is set up to account for Cs [tsoʔ⁷] and Js [tɕioʔ⁷]. I take Wy [tsuo⁻⁴⁴⁵] and Kh [tɕyo⁵] as irregular developments of this proto-form. Both forms suggest underlying tone *5 instead of tone *7, but their finals do not correspond regularly. It seems that the checked finals of these syllables were lost due to sandhi and became lexicalized in their respective compounds meaning ‘god of the stove’.

CSWW *tɕioʔ⁷ would correspond to a QYS Div. III *rùshēng* syllable, but no such reading is attested in the rime books. The etymology of this form thus remains problematic.

391 *cǎo* 草〔效開一上晧清〕 ‘grass’ **CDC** *tshou³ / **EC** *’tshux

CSWW *tsʰuə³ [1] ⩙ *tsʰɔu³ [2]

CJQ *tsʰu³₍a ⩙ *tsʰou³

a. **Ly** tsʰu³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰɑu³; **Pj** tsʰo³; **Dy** tsʰɑu³; **Yk** tsʰɒ³; **Wy** tsʰɤ³

CLS *tsʰuə³₍a ⩙ *tsʰɔu³

a. **Sc** tsʰuɤ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʰʌ³; **Lq** tsʰɑɔ³; **Yh** tsʰɑɔ³; **Pc** tsʰau³; **Qy** tsʰɒ³

CSS *tsʰuə³ *F* ⩙ #tsʰəu³ *B*
a. **Kh** tsʰuo³; **Cs** tsʰuə³; **Js** tsʰuə³; **Ys** tsʰuə³; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsʰɤɯ³ ～包 'pack for damming water'; **Js** tsʰɐɯ⁴³ ～紙 'straw paper'; **Ys** tsʰɐɯ³ 甘～ 'licorice root'; **Gf** tsʰɤɯ³ *F*

Cf. Common Min *tsʰəu³ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃʰau³.

See **389** 蚤 and **394** 掃 for further examples of correspondence between **CSWW** *-uə and Common Mín *-əu. In one instance, **Qy** [-u] corresponds to **CSWW** *-ɔu. It is unclear if this is a regular conditioned development after glottal stop or if it also represents an archaic retention of **EC** *'-u. All the examples of **EC** *'-u > **CSWW** *-uə above do not involve guttural initials. The **Qy** reflex may represent a special conditioned development after guttural initials, but additional examples are scarce.[19] For the nonce, I have chosen not to separate out the **Qy** reflex as a distinct cognate.

406 *ǎo* 襖〔效開一上皓影〕 'coat' **CDC** *ou³ / **EC** *'ux
CSWW *ʔɔu³
CJQ *ʔou³: **Ly** ɔ³; **Jh** ɑu³; **Pj** o⁴ꜜ; **Dy** ʔɑu³; **Yk** ɒ³; **Wy** ɤ³
CLS *ɔu³: **Sc** ɐɯ³; **Sy** ʌ³; **Lq** u³ 棉～ 'cotton-padded jacket' ⩙ ɑɔ³; **Yh** əu³; **Pc** au³; **Qy** u³ˡf [1] ⩙ ɒ³ [2]
CSS *ʔəu³

*4.11.2 *-əŋ > CSS *-ɵ̃; *-iã/P_*

In **CSS**, this final has developed a medial *-i- after labial initials, resulting in *-iã. Sometimes this final varies with **CSS** *-ɵ̃ after labial initials. All *-ɵ̃ readings after bilabial initials are neologisms; Akitani did not reconstruct them for **CSS**. I have restored them here, but do not project them back to **CSWW** since they are not attested in the other branches.

In **CJQ**, this final has fronted to regularly fronted *-aŋ. Otherwise the original value has remained mostly unchanged. Examples:

939 *bāng* 幫〔廣韻：宕開一平唐幫〕 'help' **CDC** *pong¹ / **EC** *'pang
CSWW *ɓɔŋ¹
CJQ *ɓaŋ¹: **Ly** pã¹; **Jh** pɑŋ¹; **Pj** põ¹; **Dy** pʌ¹; **Yk** ʔmaŋ¹; **Wy** maŋ¹

[19] Cáo et al. (2000, 223) offer an additional example: **Qy** [kʰu⁻²²¹] 尻 'buttocks'.

CLS *ɓɔŋ¹: **Sc** ʔbɔŋ¹; **Sy** ʔboŋ²; **Lq** ʔbɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʔbɔ̃¹; **Pc** paŋ¹; **Qy** ʔbɔ̃¹ [1] 作～ ‘together’ ⩙ mɔ̃¹ [2] 相～ ‘help’

CSS *piã¹ [1] ⩙ #pɔ̃¹ [2]

a. **Kh** piã¹; **Cs** piã¹; **Js** piã¹; **Ys** piã¹; **Gf** piã¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** pã¹; **Js** —; **Ys** pɔ̃¹; **Gf** pɑ̃ɔ¹

The second **Qy** form occurs in the lexicalized compound 相～[ɕiɔ̃⁻³³mɔ̃¹] ‘help’. The progressive assimilation of the initial is irregular.

941 *máng* 忙〔宕開一平唐明〕 ‘busy’ **CDC** *mong² / **EC** *’mang

CSWW *mɔŋ²

CJQ *maŋ²: **Ly** mã²; **Jh** mɑŋ²; **Pj** mõ²; **Dy** mʊ²; **Yk** maŋ²; **Wy** maŋ²

CLS *mɔŋ²: **Sc** mɔŋ²; **Sy** moŋ²; **Lq** mɔŋ²; **Yh** mɔ̃²; **Pc** maŋ²; **Qy** mɔ̃²

CSS *miã²

1030 *fǎng* 紡〔宕合三上養敷 C〕 ‘spin thread’ **CDC** *fong³ / **EC** *phangx

CSWW *pʰoŋ³ˌˡa [1] ⩙ *fɔŋ³ [2]

CJQ *faŋ³: **Ly** fã³; **Jh** fɑŋ³; **Pj** fõ³; **Dy** fʌ³; **Yk** faŋ³; **Wy** faŋ³

CLS *fɔŋ³: **Sc** fɔŋ³; **Sy** foŋ³; **Lq** fɔŋ³; **Yh** fɔ̃³; **Pc** faŋ³; **Qy** fɔ̃³

CSS *pʰoŋ³ [2] ⩙ *fiã³ [1] ⩙ #fɔ̃³ [3]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** pʰoŋ³ [1]; **Js** pʰoŋ³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** fiã³ ～紗

c. **Kh** fã³; **Cs** fã⁻⁴² [2] ～紗; **Js** —; **Ys** fɔ̃³; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ³ [2]

945 *tàng* 燙（湯）〔廣韻：宕開一去宕透〕 ‘hot (of water)’ **CDC** *thong⁵ / **EC** *’thangh

CSWW *tʰɔŋ⁵

CJQ *tʰaŋ⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tʰõ⁵; **Dy** tʰʌ⁵; **Yk** tʰaŋ⁵; **Wy** tʰaŋ⁵

CLS *tʰɔŋ⁵: **Sc** tʰɔŋ⁵; **Sy** tʰoŋ⁵; **Lq** tʰɔŋ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰaŋ⁵; **Qy** tʰɔ̃⁵

CSS *tʰɔ̃⁵

950 *láng* 狼〔宕開一平唐來〕 ‘wolf’ **CDC** *long² / **EC** *’lang

CSWW *lɔŋ²

CJQ *laŋ²: **Ly** lã²; **Jh** lɑŋ²; **Pj** lõ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** laŋ²; **Wy** laŋ²

CLS *lɔŋ²: **Sc** lɔŋ²; **Sy** loŋ²; **Lq** lɔŋ²; **Yh** lɔ̃²; **Pc** laŋ²; **Qy** lɔ̃²

CSS *lɔ̃²

952 *zàng* 葬〔宕開一去宕精〕 ‘burial’ **CDC** *tsong⁵ / **EC** *’tsangh

CSWW *tsɔŋ⁵

CJQ *tsaŋ⁵: **Ly** tsã⁵; **Jh** tsɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tsõ⁵; **Dy** tsʌ⁵; **Yk** tsaŋ⁵; **Wy** tsaŋ⁵

CLS *tsɔŋ⁵: **Sc** tsɔŋ⁵; **Sy** tsoŋ⁵; **Lq** tsɔŋ⁵; **Yh** tsɔ̃⁵ [1] ⩙ tsɔ̃¹ [2]; **Pc** tsaŋ⁵; **Qy** tsɔ̃⁵

CSS *tsɔ̃⁵

2020 HIDE 囥〔集韻：宕開一去宕溪〕

CSWW *kʰɔŋ⁵ ‘hide; put (away)’

CJQ *kʰaŋ⁵: **Ly** kʰã⁵; **Jh** kʰɑŋ⁵; **Pj** kʰõ⁵; **Dy** kʰʌ⁵; **Yk** kʰaŋ⁵; **Wy** kʰaŋ⁵

CLS *kʰɔŋ⁵: **Sc** kʰɔŋ⁵; **Sy** kʰoŋ⁵; **Lq** kʰɔŋ⁵; **Yh** kʰõ⁵; **Pc** kʰaŋ⁵; **Qy** kʰõ⁵

CSS *kʰɒ̃⁵

This word has grammaticalized and become the default word for ‘to put’ in most of the daughters.

*4.11.3 *-ɔuʔ > CSS *-ɒʔ; *-iaʔ/P_*

The main vowel of this final has developed in parallel with *-ɔŋ in the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān branches. In many of the Jīnqú dialects, the main vowel has rounded due to monophthongization. **Wy** preserves the original situation best after non-labial initials. **Dy** still maintains a diphthong after labial initials. Examples include:

959 *báo, bó* 薄〔宕開一入鐸並〕 ‘thin’ **CDC** *bok⁸ / **EC** *’bak

CSWW *bɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *bauʔ⁸: **Ly** bɔʔ⁸; **Jh** boʔ⁸; **Pj** bo⁸; **Dy** bouʔ⁸; **Yk** buə⁴; **Wy** bɔʔ⁸

CLS *bɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** bɔʔ⁸; **Sy** boʔ⁸ [2]; **Lq** bɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** boʔ⁸; **Pc** pau⁷; **Qy** poʔ⁸

CSS *biɑʔ⁸

1038 *fù* 縛〔宕合三入藥奉 C〕 ‘tie up’ **CDC** *vok⁸ / **EC** *bak

CSWW *bɔuʔ⁸ ‘tie up’

CJQ *bauʔ⁸: **Ly** bɔʔ⁸; **Jh** boʔ⁸; **Pj** bo⁸; **Dy** bouʔ⁸ ‘tie’; **Yk** buə⁴; **Wy** bɔʔ⁸

CLS *bɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** bɔʔ⁸; **Sy** boʔ⁸; **Lq** bɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** boʔ⁸; **Pc** pau⁷ [白] ≍ fau⁷ [文]; **Qy** poʔ⁸

CSS *biɑʔ⁸

961 *luò* 落〔宕開一入鐸來〕 ‘fall, rain (v.)’ **CDC** *lok⁸ / **EC** *’lak

CSWW *lɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *lauʔ⁸: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** loʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** lo⁸; **Dy** luoʔ⁸ [1] ≍ lɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** lɒ⁴ [1]; **Wy** lɑo⁴ [1]

CLS *lɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** lɔʔ⁸; **Sy** loʔ⁸; **Lq** lɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** loʔ⁸; **Pc** lau⁷; **Qy** loʔ⁸

CSS *lɒʔ⁸

963 *záo* 鑿〔宕開一入鐸從〕 ‘chisel’ **CDC** *dzok⁸ / **EC** *’dzawk

CSWW *zɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *zauʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** zoʔ⁸ [1] ≍ dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** zo⁸; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** zɒ⁴⁻¹⁴ [兒]; **Wy** zɑo⁴

CLS *zɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** zɔʔ⁸; **Sy** zɔʔ⁸; **Lq** zɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** zoʔ⁸; **Pc** tsau⁷; **Qy** soʔ⁸

CSS *zɒʔ⁸

1057 *jiǎo* 角〔江開二入覺見〕 ‘horn’ **CDC** *kauk⁷ / **EC** *krok

CSWW *kɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *kauʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** koʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tɕioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ko⁷ [1] ≍ tɕyo⁷ [2]; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kɒ³; **Wy** kɑoʔ⁷

CLS *kɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** kɔʔ⁷; **Sy** koʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** koʔ⁷; **Pc** kau⁷; **Qy** koʔ⁷

CSS *kɒʔ⁷

967 *è* 惡〔宕開一入鐸影〕 ‘bad’ **CDC** *ok⁷ / **EC** *’ak

CSWW *ʔɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *ʔauʔ⁷: **Ly** uɔʔ⁷; **Jh** oʔ⁷; **Pj** o⁷; **Dy** ʔuoʔ⁷; **Yk** ɒ³; **Wy** ɑoʔ⁷

CLS *ɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** ɔʔ⁷; **Sy** oʔ⁷; **Lq** ɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** oʔ⁷; **Pc** au⁷; **Qy** oʔ⁷

CSS *ʔɒʔ⁷

*4.12 Finals with the vocalism *iɔu and *-iɔŋ*

CSWW	iɔu	iɔŋ	iɔuʔ
CJQ	iou	ioŋ	ioʔ
Ly	iɔ	ioŋ; oŋ/*Š_	iɔʔ; ɔʔ/*Š_
Jh	iɑu	ioŋ	ioʔ
Pj	i; ɯ/T,S_	yon	yɯ
Dy	iʊ; ɤ/P,T,S_	iom; om/*Š_	iouʔ; ou/*Š_
Yk	iɒ	iɔŋ	iu
Wy	ie	iɔŋ	iɔʔ
CLS	iɔu	iɔŋ	iɔuʔ
Sc	iɐɯ	iɔŋ	iɔʔ
Sy	iʌ	ioŋ	ioʔ
Lq	iɑɔ	iɔŋ	iɔuʔ
Yh	iɑɔ	iɔ̃	ioʔ
Pc	iau	ioŋ; oŋ/*Š_	iu; o/*Š_
Qy	iɒ	iɔ̃	ioʔ
CSS	iəu	iɔ̃; ioŋ/H_	iɔʔ; ioʔ/H_

*4.12.1 *-iɔu > CSS *-iəu*

This final has merged with *-iau in all the daughters except **Sy**.

423 *biǎo* 表〔廣韻：效開三上小幫 B〕 ‘chart’ **CDC** *piau³ / **EC** *pawx
CSWW *ɓiɔu³
CJQ *ɓiou³: **Ly** piɔ³; **Jh** piɑu³; **Pj** pi³ ～哥兒 ‘cousin’ ⩙ piɑ³ 填～ ‘fill a form’; **Dy** pɤ³ [1] ⩙ piɑu³ [2]; **Yk** ʔbiɒ³; **Wy** pie³
CLS *ɓiɔu³: **Sc** ʔbiɐɯ³; **Sy** ʔbiʌ³; **Lq** ʔbiɑɔ³; **Yh** ʔbiɑɔ³; **Pc** piau³; **Qy** ʔbiɒ³
CSS *piəu³

428 *jiāo* 焦〔效開三平宵精 AB〕 ‘scald’ **CDC** *tsiau¹ / **EC** *tsaw
CSWW *tsiɔu¹
CJQ *tsiou¹: **Ly** tɕiɔ¹; **Jh** tsiɑu¹; **Pj** tsɯ¹ [1] ⩙ tʃiɑ¹ [2]; **Dy** tsɤ¹; **Yk** tɕiɒ¹; **Wy** tɕie¹
CLS *tɕiɔu¹: **Sc** tɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiʌ¹; **Lq** tɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** tʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** tɕiau¹; **Qy** tɕiɒ¹
CSS *tɕiəu¹

434 *shāo* 燒〔效開三平宵書 AB〕 ‘burn’ **CDC** *shiau¹ / **EC** *hyew
CSWW *šiɔu¹
CJQ *šiou¹: **Ly** sɔ¹; **Jh** ɕiɑu¹; **Pj** sɯ¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** ɕiɒ¹; **Wy** ɕie¹
CLS *ɕiɔu¹: **Sc** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** ɕiʌ¹; **Lq** ɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** (tɕʰiau¹$_{\|i}$) ⩙ tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** ɕiɒ¹
CSS *ɕiəu¹

437 *qiáo* 橋〔效開三平宵羣 B〕 ‘bridge’ **CDC** *giau² / **EC** *gaw
CSWW *giɔu²
CJQ *giou²: **Ly** dʑiɔ²; **Jh** dʑiɑu²; **Pj** dʑi²; **Dy** dʑiʊ²; **Yk** giɒ²; **Wy** dʑie²
CLS *giɔu²: **Sc** dʑiɐɯ²; **Sy** tɕiʌ²; **Lq** dʑiɑɔ²; **Yh** dʒiɑɔ²; **Pc** kiau²; **Qy** tɕiɒ²
CSS *giəu²

444 *yào* 鷂〔效開三去笑以 A〕 ‘sparrowhawk’ **CDC** *yau⁶ / **EC** *yawh
CSWW *ɦiɔu⁶
CJQ *ɦiou⁶: **Ly** iɔ⁶; **Jh** iɑu⁶; **Pj** i⁶ [1] ⩙ i⁵ [2]; **Dy** iʊ⁶; **Yk** iɒ⁶; **Wy** ie⁶
CLS *ɦiɔu⁶: **Sc** iɐɯ⁶; **Sy** iʌ⁶; **Lq** iɑɔ⁶; **Yh** iɑɔ⁶; **Pc** iau⁶; **Qy** iɒ⁶
CSS *ɦiəu⁶

*4.12.2 *-iɔŋ > CSS *-iə̃*

CSWW *-iɔŋ coincides in **CJQ** and **Pc** with **CSWW** *-ioŋ; in the other Lìshuǐ dialects besides **Pc** it coincides with **CSWW** *-yaŋ. **CSS** distinguishes all three **CSWW** finals: *-yaŋ > *-iə̃, *-iɔŋ > *-

iõ, and *-ioŋ > *-ioŋ. However, the sound correspondences for the first two exhibit considerable overlap. As Table 4.12.2 shows, the chief difference is in **Gf** where, again, the reflexes of **CSWW** *-iɔŋ coincide with those of **CSWW** *-ioŋ.

CSS	-iʊ̃	-iõ	-ioŋ
Kh	-ioŋ; -uã/*Ś_; -yã/*K_	-ioŋ; -yã/*K_	-ioŋ
Cs	-iõ; -õ/*Ś_	-iõ	-ioŋ
Js	-iõ	-iõ	-ioŋ
Ys	-iʊ̃;	-iʊ̃	-ioŋ
Gf	-yã; -ãɔ/*T,S_	-ioŋ	-ioŋ

Instead of setting up *-iɔŋ to handle the overlap in correspondences between *-yaŋ and *-ioŋ, we could resolve the issue by reconstructing doublets involving the alternation *-yaŋ ⩙ *-ioŋ. However, this solution would leave two things unexplained. First, we never find reflexes of *-yaŋ in the Jīnqú dialects for the sets that I reconstruct as *-iɔŋ. This means that the Jīnqú branch reflexes would always obligate us to reconstruct *-ioŋ readings even when they are absent in the other branches. Second, **Js** exhibits a three-way distinction of the glottal counterparts to these finals, namely *-yauʔ > [-œʔ] ≠ *-iɔuʔ > [-iɒʔ] ≠ *-ioʔ > [-ioʔ]. This distinction cannot be explained by layering. Setting up a third final, *-iɔŋ, allows us to better account for these facts. The following are examples:

1285 *lóng* 龍〔通合三平鍾來 C〕 ‘dragon’ **CDC** *liung² / **EC** *long
CSWW *liɔŋ² [1] ⩙ *loŋ² [2]
CJQ *loŋ²: **Ly** loŋ²; **Jh** loŋ²; **Pj** lən²; **Dy** lom²; **Yk** ləŋ²; **Wy** ləŋ²
CLS *liɔŋ² ⩙ *loŋ²
a. **Sc** liɔŋ²; **Sy** lioŋ²; **Lq** liɔŋ²; **Yh** lĩɔ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** liõ²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** loŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *liõ² ⩙ #loŋ²
a. **Kh** lioŋ²; **Cs** liõ²; **Js** liõ²; **Ys** liʊ̃²; **Gf** lioŋ²
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** loŋ⁻²²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** loŋ²

1286 *cóng* 從〔通合三平鍾從 C〕 ‘from’ **CDC** *dziung² / **EC** *dzong
CSWW *ziɔŋ² [1] ⩙ *zoŋ² [2] ⩙ *dzoŋ² [3]

CJQ *zoŋ² [1] ⩙ *dzoŋ² [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zoŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** zɔŋ²; **Wy** zɔŋ²
b. **Ly** dzoŋ²; **Jh** dzoŋ²; **Pj** dzən² [1] ⩙ dzon² [2]; **Dy** dzom²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑioŋ²
a. **Sc** ʑioŋ²; **Sy** ɕioŋ²; **Lq** ʑioŋ²; **Yh** ʒiõ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiõ²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsoŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS #ʑiõ²₍ˌa₎ (?) ⩙ #dzoŋ² [2]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dʑioŋ² [2]
b. **Kh** dzoŋ²; **Cs** dzoŋ²; **Js** dzoŋ²; **Ys** zoŋ²₍ˌi₎; **Gf** dzoŋ² [1]

1290 *zhōng* 鐘〔通合三平鍾章 C〕 ‘bell’ **CDC** *ciung¹ / **EC** *tong

CSWW *tšioŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *tšioŋ¹₍ˌa₎ (?) [2] ‘clock’

CJQ *tšioŋ¹: **Ly** tsoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕioŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyon¹; **Dy** tsom¹; **Yk** tɕioŋ¹; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕioŋ¹: **Sc** tɕioŋ¹; **Sy** tɕioŋ¹; **Lq** tɕioŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiõ¹; **Pc** tsoŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiõ¹

CSS *tɕiõ¹ ‘bell (in a temple)’ ⩙ #tɕioŋ¹
a. **Kh** tɕioŋ¹; **Cs** tsõ¹ ‘bell’; **Js** tiõ¹₍ˌi₎; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕioŋ¹
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsoŋ¹; **Js** tɕioŋ¹; **Ys** tɕioŋ¹; **Gf** —

The second **CSS** form is a literary intrusion that only occurs in neologisms like ‘clock’.

1296 *gōng* 供〔通合三平鍾見 C〕 ‘provide’ **CDC** *kiung¹ / **EC** *kong

CSWW *kioŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *kioŋ¹₍ˌa₎ [2] ⩙ *koŋ¹ [3]

CJQ *kioŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tɕyon¹; **Dy** tɕiom¹; **Yk** kioŋ¹; **Wy** tɕioŋ¹
b. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kioŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]
a. **Sc** tɕioŋ⁵₍ˌt₎; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiõ¹; **Pc** kioŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiõ¹
b. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kiõ¹ ⩙ #kioŋ¹ ⩙ #koŋ¹
a. **Kh** tɕyã¹; **Cs** tɕiõ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** kiɒ̃¹; **Gf** {kioŋ¹}
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kioŋ¹; **Gf** {kioŋ¹}
c. **Kh** koŋ¹ [2]; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

As the examples make clear, **CSWW** *-ioŋ exhibits heavy admixture with *-ioŋ and *-oŋ. This is expected given *-ioŋ corresponds to **QYS** *-jowng* 鐘腫用, which in **CDC** is not differentiated from *-juwng* 東〇送三 (≙ **CSWW** *-ioŋ); both are *-iung. The medial *-i- of **CDC** has been further lost in many dialects, particularly in Mandarin. Thus stylistic variants with **CSWW** *-ioŋ and *-oŋ represent intrusions.

*4.12.3 *-iɔuʔ > CSS *-iɔʔ*

CSWW *-iɔuʔ is the glottal counterpart of *-iɔŋ and its main vowel developed in mostly the same way. However, in the Lìshuǐ dialects we sometimes find monophthongization and raising of *-iɔuʔ as part of a chain shift: *-iɔuʔ → *-ioʔ → *-iuʔ. Examples:

1306 *sú* 俗〔通合三入燭邪C〕 ‘customs’ **CDC** *ziuk⁸ / **EC** *zok

CSWW *ziɔuʔ⁸ [1] ⪤ *zoʔ⁸ [2] ⪤ *dzoʔ⁸ [3]

CJQ *zioʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ ⪤ *zoʔ⁸ ⪤ *dzoʔ⁸

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑiu⁴; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** zoʔ⁸ [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** zɔʔ⁸
c. **Ly** dzɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dzɯ⁸; **Dy** dzouʔ⁸; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiɔuʔ⁸ ⪤ *zoʔ⁸₍ˌa₎

a. **Sc** ʑiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑioʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒioʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕioʔ⁸
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsoˀ; **Qy** —

CSS #ʑiɔʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ ⪤ #zoʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ ⪤ #dzoʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ʑioʔ⁷₍ˌf₎; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** soʔ⁸; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** dzəʔ⁸; **Cs** dzoʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dzuɤʔ⁸

1307 *zhú* 燭〔通合三入燭章C〕 ‘candle’ **CDC** *ciukˀ / **EC** *tok

CSWW *tšiɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *tšioʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiu³; **Wy** tsɔʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕioʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃioʔ⁷; **Pc** tsoˀ; **Qy** tɕioʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiɔʔ⁷

1309 *qū* 曲〔通合三入燭溪C〕 ‘bend; tune (n.)’ **CDC** *khiukˀ / **EC** *khok

CSWW *kʰiɔuʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *kʰioʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *kʰioʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰyɯ⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiouʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰiu³; **Wy** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷

CLS *kʰiɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰioʔ⁷ ⪤ tɕʰyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰioʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰiuˀ; **Qy** tɕʰioʔ⁷

CSS *kʰiɔʔ⁷ 歌～ ‘song’ ⪤ #kʰioʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕʰiʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** {kʰyɤʔ⁷}
b. **Kh** tɕʰyoʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** kʰioʔ⁷; **Ys** kʰioʔ⁷; **Gf** {kʰyɤʔ⁷}

This final exhibits alternation with *-ioʔ and *-oʔ.

*4.13 Finals *-uɔŋ & *-uɔuʔ*

CSWW	uɔŋ	ɔuʔ
CJQ	uaŋ	uoʔ
Ly	uã	ɔʔ
Jh	uɑŋ	oʔ
Pj	õ	o
Dy	ʌ	uɑʔ
Yk	uaŋ	uə
Wy	uaŋ	uoʔ; uo/7
CLS	ɔŋ	ɔuʔ; uɔuʔ/x_
Sc	ɔŋ	ɔʔ
Sy	oŋ	oʔ; uəʔ/*x_
Lq	ɔŋ	ɔuʔ
Yh	ɔ̃	oʔ
Pc	aŋ	au
Qy	ɔ̃	oʔ
CSS	uã	uaʔ

*4.13.1 *-uɔŋ > CSS *-uã*

This final only occurs after guttural initials. It remains distinct in **CJQ** and **CSS**, but merged with *-ɔŋ in **CLS**. Examples include:

1020 *guāng* 光〔宕合一平唐見〕 ‘light (n.)’ **CDC** *kuong¹ / **EC** *’kwang
CSWW *kuɔŋ¹
CJQ *kuaŋ¹: **Ly** kuã¹; **Jh** kuɑŋ¹; **Pj** kõ¹ [1] ≍ kuan¹ [2]; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kuaŋ¹; **Wy** kuaŋ¹
CLS *kɔŋ¹: **Sc** kɔŋ¹ [1] ≍ kuaŋ¹ [2]; **Sy** koŋ¹; **Lq** kɔŋ¹; **Yh** kɔ̃¹; **Pc** kaŋ¹; **Qy** kɔ̃¹
CSS *kuã¹

1022 *huāng* 慌〔集韻：宕合一平唐曉〕 ‘panic’ **CDC** *xuong¹ / **EC** —
CSWW *xuɔŋ¹
CJQ *xuaŋ¹: **Ly** xuã¹; **Jh** xuɑŋ¹; **Pj** xõ¹; **Dy** xʌ¹; **Yk** xuaŋ¹; **Wy** xuaŋ¹
CLS *xɔŋ¹: **Sc** xɔŋ¹; **Sy** xoŋ¹; **Lq** xɔŋ¹; **Yh** xɔ̃¹; **Pc** xaŋ¹; **Qy** xɔ̃¹
CSS *xuã¹

1023 *huáng* 黃〔宕合一平唐匣〕 ‘yellow’ **CDC** *huong² / **EC** *’gwang
CSWW *ɦuɔŋ²
CJQ *ɦuaŋ²: **Ly** uã²; **Jh** uɑŋ²; **Pj** õ²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** uaŋ²; **Wy** uaŋ²

CLS *ɦɔŋ²: **Sc** ɔŋ²; **Sy** oŋ²; **Lq** ɔŋ²; **Yh** õ² [1] ≍ uɛ² [2] ～蟲 ‘worm’; **Pc** aŋ²; **Qy** õ² [1] ≍ uã² [2] ～昏 ‘dusk’

CSS *ɦuã²

*4.13.2 *-uɔuʔ > CSS *-uaʔ*

This final is set up for the following three sets:

1025 *guō* 郭〔宕合一入鐸見〕 ‘Guō (pn.)’ **CDC** *kuok⁷ / **EC** *’kwak

CSWW *kuɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *kuoʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** kuəʔ⁷₍f; **Pj** ko⁷; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷₍f; **Yk** kuə³; **Wy** kuoʔ⁷

CLS *kɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** kɔʔ⁷; **Sy** koʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** koʔ⁷; **Pc** kau⁷; **Qy** koʔ⁷

CSS ?

1026 *huò* 霍〔宕合一入鐸曉〕 ‘whoosh; in a flash’ **CDC** *xuok⁷ / **EC** *’hwak

CSWW *xuɔuʔ⁷ ～閃 ‘lightning’

CJQ *xuoʔ⁷: **Ly** xuɔʔ⁷ [2] ≍ xɔʔ⁷ [1]; **Jh** xoʔ⁷ *!use*; **Pj** xuɑ⁷ ≍ xo⁷; **Dy** xuɑʔ⁷ *!use*; **Yk** xuə³; **Wy** xuo⁻⁵³

CLS *xɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** xɔʔ⁷; **Sy** fuəʔ⁷ ≍ uo⁶; **Lq** xɔuʔ⁷ *!use*; **Yh** xoʔ⁷; **Pc** xau⁷ *!use*; **Qy** xoʔ⁷ *!use*

CSS *xuaʔ⁷

Sy [fuəʔ⁷] appears to be irregular, but it probably represents a retention of the original medial. Evidently the development of CSWW *xu- > Sy [f-] occurred before the loss of *-u- in the final *-uɔuʔ. *-u- is not recoverable in other environments. Curiously, we do not find a parallel development of CSWW *xuɔŋ in Sy.

1027 *huò* 鑊〔宕合一入鐸匣〕 ‘wok’ **CDC** *huok⁸ / **EC** *’gwak

CSWW *ɦuɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦuoʔ⁸: **Ly** uɔʔ⁸; **Jh** oʔ⁸; **Pj** o⁸; **Dy** uɑʔ⁸; **Yk** uə⁴; **Wy** uo⁴

CLS *ɦɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** ɔʔ⁸; **Sy** oʔ⁸; **Lq** ɔuʔ⁸ [文]; **Yh** oʔ⁸; **Pc** au⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦuaʔ⁸

Note that the **CSS** correspondences for the first set are irregular.

*4.14 *-ɔi (?) > CSS *-uai*

CSWW	ɔi (?)
CJQ	a (?)
Ly	—
Jh	—
Pj	ɑ (?)
Dy	—
Yk	—
Wy	—
CLS	ɔi (?)
Sc	a
Sy	a
Lq	a
Yh	—
Pc	—
Qy	uɑ
CSS	uɑi

This final is set up for the following two sets. The CLS sound correspondences are close to *-uai, but the Sc, Sy, and Lq reflexes are missing an expected medial *-u-.

180 *gài* 蓋〔廣韻：蟹開一去泰見〕 ‘cover’ **CDC** *koi^{5} / **EC** *’kas

CSWW *kɔi^{5} [1] ⩙ *kəi^{5}

CJQ *kəi^{5}: **Ly** kei^{5}; **Jh** kɛ^{5}; **Pj** ka^{5}; **Dy** ke^{-33}; **Yk** kəi^{5}; **Wy** ka^{5}

CLS *kɔi^{5} ⩙ *kəi^{5} [2]

a. **Sc** ka^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** ka^{5}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɑ^{5}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ka^{5}; **Pc** kue^{5}; **Qy** —

CSS *kuɑi^{5} ⩙ #kəi^{5} [2]

a. **Kh** kuɛ^{5}; **Cs** kuɛ^{5}; **Js** kuæ^{5}; **Ys** kuai^{5}; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** kɐ^{5}; **Ys** kɐi^{5}; **Gf** kɐi^{5}

182 *hài* 害〔蟹開一去泰匣〕 ‘harm’ **CDC** *hoi^{6} / **EC** *’gas

CSWW *ɦɔi^{6}$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *ɦəi^{6} [2]

CJQ *ɦa^{6} ⩙ *ɦəi^{6}

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** iɑ^{0}$_{!f}$ 厲～ ‘awesome’; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** ei^{6}; **Jh** ɛ^{6}; **Pj** a^{6}; **Dy** e^{6}; **Yk** əi^{6}; **Wy** a^{6}

CLS *ɦɔi^{6} ⩙ *ɦəi^{6}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** a^{6}; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuɑ^{6}

b. **Sc** ei^{6}; **Sy** ɛ^{6}; **Lq** ɛ^{6}; **Yh** a^{6}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦəi⁶

*4.15 Finals with the vowel sequence *ʌ*

CSWW	ɤ̃	ʌʔ
CJQ	ɤ̃; uɤ̃/S_	ɤʔ
Ly	ei; ie/k,g_; uei/S_	əʔ
Jh	ɤ	ɤ
Pj	ə̃	ɯ
Dy	ɤ	ɜʔ
Yk	ɤə	ɤə
Wy	ɤ	ɤʔ; ɤ/4,5
CLS	ə̃; uə̃/T,S_	ʌʔ
Sc	ə̃	eʔ
Sy	æ̃; uɛ̃/$_	əʔ
Lq	ɤ	əʔ
Yh	ɛ; uɛ/T,S_	ɛʔ
Pc	ãi; uãi/T,S_	a (?)
Qy	ã	ɤʔ
CSS	ɤ̃	ʌʔ

*4.15.1 *-ɤ̃ > CSS *-ɤ̃*

As mentioned in §4.1.4, *-ɤ̃ appears to have merged with *-uə̃ > *-ə̃ after coronal initials. However, we often find [-ãi] in **Pc** in these sets instead of the expected *-uãi. These reflexes reflect intrusions not attested in the rest of the Lìshuǐ dialects. I have not projected these cases back to **CLS** unless they are attested in the other daughters. **Pc** also sometimes has [-aŋ] after guttural initials in these sets. I also consider these reflexes to be intrusive.

514 *nán* 南〔咸開一平覃泥〕 ‘south’ **CDC** *nom² / **EC** *’num

CSWW *n(ɤ̃,uə̃)²

CJQ *nɤ̃²: **Ly** nei²; **Jh** nɤ² [1] ≍ nã² [2]; **Pj** nə̃² [1] ≍ nan² [2]; **Dy** nɤ²; **Yk** nɤə²; **Wy** nɤ²

CLS *nuə̃² : **Sc** nə̃²; **Sy** —; **Lq** nɤ²; **Yh** nuɛ²; **Pc** nãi²ˌˡf; **Qy** nã²

CSS (*nɑ̃²ˌˡf)

538 *gān* 甘〔咸開一平談見〕 ‘sweet’ **CDC** *kom¹ / **EC** *’kam

CSWW *kɤ̃¹

CJQ *kɤ̃¹: **Ly** kie¹; **Jh** kɤ¹ [1] ≍ kã¹ [2]; **Pj** kə̃¹; **Dy** kɤ¹; **Yk** kɤə¹; **Wy** kɤ¹
CLS *kə̃¹: **Sc** kə̃¹; **Sy** kæ̃¹; **Lq** kɤ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹
CSS *kʌ̃¹

521 *àn* 暗〔咸開一去勘影〕 ‘dark’ **CDC** *om⁵ / **EC** *’umh
CSWW *ʔʌ̃⁵
CJQ *ʔɤ̃⁵: **Ly** ei⁵; **Jh** ɤ⁵ [1] ≍ ã⁵ [2]; **Pj** ə̃⁵; **Dy** (ʔan⁵); **Yk** (ɑ⁵˩˧); **Wy** ʔŋɤ⁵
CLS *ə̃⁵: **Sc** uə̃⁵ [1] ≍ ə̃⁵ [2]; **Sy** uɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ɤ⁵; **Yh** ɛ⁵; **Pc** ãi⁵; **Qy** ã⁵
CSS *ʔʌ̃⁵

515 *zān* 簪〔咸開一平覃精〕 ‘hairpin’ **CDC** *tsom¹ / **EC** *’tsum
CSWW *tsʌ̃¹
CJQ *tsuɤ̃¹: **Ly** tsuei¹; **Jh** tsɤ¹; **Pj** tsə̃¹; **Dy** tsɤ¹; **Yk** tsɤə¹; **Wy** tsɤ¹
CLS *tsuə̃¹: **Sc** tsə̃¹; **Sy** tsæ̃¹; **Lq** tsɤ¹; **Yh** tsuɛ¹; **Pc** tsuãi¹; **Qy** tsã¹
CSS *tsʌ̃¹

516 *cán* 蠶〔咸開一平覃從〕 ‘silkworm’ **CDC** *dzom² / **EC** *’dzum
CSWW *zʌ̃²
CJQ *zuɤ̃²: **Ly** zuei²; **Jh** zɤ² [1] ≍ dzã² [2]; **Pj** zə̃²; **Dy** zɤ²; **Yk** zɤə⁻¹¹ ～豆 ‘garden peas’; **Wy** zɤ²
CLS *zuə̃²: **Sc** zə̃²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɤ²; **Yh** zuɛ²; **Pc** tsãi²˩˧; **Qy** sã²
CSS *zʌ̃²

2034 RIDGE 磡〔廣韻：咸開一去勘溪〕
CSWW *kʰʌ̃⁵ ‘ridge (between fields)’
CJQ *kʰɤ̃⁵: **Ly** kʰei⁵; **Jh** kʰɤ⁵; **Pj** kʰə̃⁵; **Dy** kʰɤ⁻⁵⁴ 田～; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰɤ⁵
CLS *kʰə̃⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰɛ⁵ 田～ ‘Tiángěng (pn.)’; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰã⁵
CSS *kʰʌ̃⁵

539 *gǎn* 敢〔咸開一上敢見〕 ‘dare’ **CDC** *kom³ / **EC** *’kamx
CSWW *kʌ̃³
CJQ *kɤ̃³: **Ly** kie³; **Jh** kɤ³ [1] ≍ kã³ [2]; **Pj** kə̃³; **Dy** kɤ³; **Yk** kɤə³; **Wy** kɤ³
CLS *kə̃³: **Sc** kə̃³; **Sy** kæ̃³; **Lq** kɤ³; **Yh** kɛ³; **Pc** kãi³ ≍ kaŋ³ [白]; **Qy** kã³
CSS *kʌ̃³

*4.15.2 *-ʌʔ > CSS *-ʌʔ*

The correspondences for this final are somewhat ad hoc, especially after coronal initials. The cognate sets are difficult to interpret because of what appears to be a mixture with **CSWW** *-ək in the Lìshuǐ dialects. Without more examples, the sound correspondences are difficult to set up with confidence.

524 *nà* 納〔咸開一入合泥〕 'take in' **CDC** *nop^{8} ≍ *nap^{8} / **EC** *'nup

CSWW *nʌʔ^{8} [1] ≍ *naʔ^{8} [2]

CJQ *nɤʔ^{8}: **Ly** nəʔ^{8}; **Jh** nəʔ^{8}$_{!f}$; **Pj** nə^{8}$_{!f}$; **Dy** nɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** nɤə^{4}; **Wy** nɤ^{4}

CLS *nuəʔ^{8} ≍ *naʔ^{8}

a. **Sc** neʔ^{8}; **Sy** —; **Lq** nəʔ^{8}; **Yh** nuɛʔ^{8} [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** nɤʔ^{8}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** naʔ^{8}; **Lq** —; **Yh** naʔ^{8} [1]; **Pc** na^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS *nɑʔ^{8}

611 *lì* 粒〔深開三入緝來 AB〕 'kernel (clf.)' **CDC** *^{h}lip^{8} / **EC** *^{h}lup

CSWW *lək^{8}$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *lʌʔ^{8} [2]

CJQ *lɤʔ^{8}: **Ly** ləʔ^{8}; **Jh** lɤ$^{-14}$ ≍ ləʔ^{8}; **Pj** luɪ$^{-24}$; **Dy** lɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** lɤə^{4}; **Wy** lɤʔ^{8}

CLS *lək^{8}$_{!a}$ (?) ≍ *ləʔ^{8}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {le^{7}}; **Qy** ləɯʔ^{8}

b. **Sc** leʔ^{7}$_{!t}$ [1] ≍ leʔ^{8} [2]; **Sy** ləʔ^{8}; **Lq** ləʔ^{8}; **Yh** lɛʔ^{7}$_{!t}$; **Pc** {le^{7}}; **Qy** lɤʔ^{8}

CSS *lʌʔ^{8}

2047 TRASH ≈ *lèsè* 垃圾 (攦撦)

CSWW *li(ək,ʔ)^{7}.sɔuʔ^{7} (?) [1] 'trash' ≍ *lʌʔ^{8}.sʌʔ^{7} [2] 'trash'

CJQ *lɤʔ^{8}.sɤʔ^{7}: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** luɪ$^{-11}$.suɯ^{7} □屑; **Dy** —; **Yk** lɤə$^{-33}$.sɤə^{3} □屑; **Wy** lɤ$^{-53}$.sɤʔ^{7} □屑

CLS *li(ək,ʔ)ʔ^{7}.sɔuʔ^{7} (?): **Sc** liɪʔ^{8}.sɔʔ^{7} □□; **Sy** ɕiʔ^{7}.səʔ^{7}$_{!f}$ 室=索=; **Lq** ləʔ^{8}.sɔuʔ^{7} □□; **Yh** loʔ^{8}.soʔ^{7} □□; **Pc** […].sau^{7} 圾; **Qy** loʔ^{8}.soʔ^{7} □□

CSS #lɒʔ^{7}.sɒʔ^{7}$_{!a}$ (?) ≍ #lʌʔ^{8}.sʌʔ^{7}$_{!a}$ (?): **Kh** —; **Cs** laʔ^{7}.sʌʔ^{7} □□; **Js** —; **Ys** lɐʔ^{8}.sɐʔ^{7} 垃□; **Gf** —

Chéng (2019, 72) transcribes the **Sy** form as [ɕiʔ^{3}səʔ^{5}] in IPA, but gives 室=索= as the written form. The regular reading for the character 索 is [soʔ^{5}], and Wáng (2012, 220) transcribes this word as [ɕiɛʔ^{3}soʔ^{5}] in the Xīpíng 西屏 village dialect of Sōngyáng county. Therefore, I suspect [ɕiʔ^{3}səʔ^{5}] might be a typographic error or error in transcription. [soʔ^{5}] is the expected regular **Sy** reflex of **CLS** *sɔuʔ^{7}.

The **Yh** and **Qy** forms in this set are taken from Wáng's lexicon. The **Pc** form comes from Lǐ Rúlóng's (2001b) syllabary. He only lists the second syllable of what is presumably this word.

Cf. Jìnyún [lɛ⁷.sɛ⁷] ‘trash’.

525 *zá* 雜〔咸開一入合從〕 ‘mixed’ **CDC** *dzop⁸ / **EC** *’dzup

CSWW *z(u)ək⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⩙ *zʌʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *zɤʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸₍ₗᵢ₎; **Jh** zɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ zəʔ⁸ [2] ⩙ dzəʔ⁸ [3]; **Pj** zə⁸₍ₗf 〜貨店 ‘general store’ ⩙ dzə⁸; **Dy** zɜʔ⁸; **Yk** zɤə⁴; **Wy** zɤ⁴

CLS *zək⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) ⩙ *zəʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** səɯʔ⁸

b. **Sc** zeʔ⁸; **Sy** zɔʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Lq** zəʔ⁸; **Yh** zɛʔ⁸; **Pc** tsa⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *zʌʔ⁸

526 *gē* 鴿〔咸開一入合見〕 ‘pigeon’ **CDC** *kop⁷ / **EC** *’kup

CSWW *kʌʔ⁷

CJQ *kɤʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** kɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ kəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kɯn⁻⁵³ [兒]; **Dy** kɤ⁰; **Yk** kɤə³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** kɤ⁵

CLS *kəʔ⁷: **Sc** keʔ⁷; **Sy** kəʔ⁷; **Lq** kəʔ⁷; **Yh** kɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kau⁷₍ₗf₎; **Qy** kɤʔ⁷

CSS *kʌʔ⁷

528 *hé* 盒〔廣韻：咸開一入合匣〕 ‘box’ **CDC** *hop⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɦʌʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦɤʔ⁸: **Ly** əʔ⁸; **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ əʔ⁸ [2] ⩙ ɦəʔ⁸ [3]; **Pj** ɯ⁸; **Dy** ɜʔ⁸; **Yk** ɤə⁴⁻¹⁴ [兒]; **Wy** ɤʔ⁸

CLS *ɦəʔ⁸: **Sc** eʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** əʔ⁸; **Yh** ɛʔ⁸; **Pc** xa⁷ ⩙ xau⁷ [白]; **Qy** xɤʔ⁸

CSS *ɦʌʔ⁸

After guttural initials we find [-au] in **Pc** in some colloquial words. These forms are probably intrusive, but they are not completely without parallel in the other Lìshuǐ dialects. Consider the alternation of *-ɔuʔ ⩙ *-ʌʔ found in **2047** ≈ *lèsè* 垃圾 (攦撦). The Lìshuǐ dialects clearly reflect common *-ɔuʔ instead of *-ʌʔ found elsewhere in the second syllable.[20] I am unsure what the origin of this reading is. **CSWW** *-ɔuʔ corresponds to **CDC** *-ok, but I know of no other Chinese dialect where cognate words for ‘trash’ end in a velar coda. *-p is etymologically expected, cf. Cantonese [la:p⁸sa:p⁹] ‘trash’.

[20]The first syllable is more problematic. **Sc** and **Sy** suggest either*-iək or *-iʔ. The initial of the first syllable is irregular in **Sy**, seemingly copied from the initial of the second syllable. In **Yh** and **Qy**, the first syllable has the same final as the second final. I have interpreted this copying as an innovation. The final of the first syllable in **Lq** is irregular. It might have resulted from prosodic weakening.

*4.16 Finals with the vowel sequence *ə*

CSWW	ə	ə̃	əŋ	əʔ	ək
CJQ	ɤ; i/T,S_; ɿ/*Š_	ə̃	əŋ; iəŋ/Š_	ɤʔ; iəʔ/Š_	əʔ; iəʔ/Š_
Ly	əɯ	ei	əŋ	əʔ	əʔ
Jh	ɤ	əŋ	ən	ɤ	əʔ
Pj	i	ə̃	ən	ɯ	ə
Dy	əɯ	ɤ	əŋ	ɜʔ	ɜʔ
Yk	əɯ	ɤə	əŋ	ɤə	ɤə; ə/P_
Wy	ɯ	ɤ	en	ɤʔ; ɤ/4,5	əʔ
CLS	ə; ie/T,S_	ə̃	əŋ; iəŋ/*Š_	əʔ	ək
Sc	ɤ; uɤ/*Š_	ə̃	əŋ	eʔ	əɯʔ
Sy	ɯ~ɤ	æ̃	en	əʔ	eʔ~ɛʔ; əʔ/P_
Lq	ɤɯ	ɤ	ɛiŋ	—	ɛiʔ
Yh	i; ɿ/*Š_	ɛ	əŋ	ɛʔ	eiʔ
Pc	e	ãi (~eŋ)	eŋ	—	e; uo/P_
Qy	ɤ	ã	əŋ	ɤʔ	əɯʔ
CSS	ə; e/*Š_	ə̃	ɨŋ; oŋ/P_; ə̃/[+strid]_; ẽ/*Š_	əʔ	əʔ/f,v_; eʔ/*Š_

*4.16.1 *-ə > CSS *-ə; *-e/*Š_*

The final occurs primarily after guttural initials. In the few cases where it occurs after coronal initials, it has merged with **CSWW** *-iə in **CJQ** and **CLS**. Examples:

115 *xú* 徐〔遇合三平魚邪 C〕 ‘slowly; Xú (pn.)’ **CDC** *zie² / **EC** *za

CSWW *zə² [1] ⪤ *zyə² [2]

CJQ *zi² ⪤ *žy²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zi²; **Pj** ʒi² ⪤ dʒi² [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʑi²

b. **Ly** ʑy²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** zɿ² [1] ⪤ zɥ² [2]; **Yk** ʑy²; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑyə²: **Sc** ʑyɤ²; **Sy** ɕy²; **Lq** ʑy²; **Yh** ʒy²; **Pc** tɕye²; **Qy** ɕye²

CSS *zə² ⪤ #zyə²

a. **Kh** zə²; **Cs** zə²; **Js** sə²; **Ys** zə²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** (ʑy²); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dʑye²

2037 SERVE 歯〔集韻：遇合三去御知 C〕

CSWW *ɗə¹ [1] ‘fill (a bowl with rice)’ ⪤ *ɗ(i)ə⁵ [2] ‘fill (a bowl with rice)’

CJQ *ɗi⁵ [1] ⩙ *tši⁵ [2] ‘fill (a bowl with rice)’
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔdi⁵; **Wy** li⁵
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsi⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗie¹ ⩙ *ɗie⁵
a. **Sc** ʔdie¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdi⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tə¹

322 *shì* 事〔止開三去志崇 C〕 ‘matter’ **CDC** *jɿ⁶ ⩙ *zhɿ⁶ / **EC** *dzrih

CSWW *žə⁶

CJQ *zɿ⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶; **Pj** zɿ⁶; **Dy** zɿ⁶; **Yk** zɿ⁶; **Wy** zɿ⁶

CLS *zə⁶: **Sc** zuɤ⁶; **Sy** zɯ⁶; **Lq** zɤɯ⁶; **Yh** zɿ⁶; **Pc** se⁶; **Qy** sɤ⁶ [2] ‘affair, matter’ ⩙ sɤ¹ [1] 物～ ‘thing’

CSS #ʑe⁶: **Kh** zui⁶ [1] ⩙ zɿ⁶ [2]; **Cs** zi⁶ [1] ⩙ zɿ⁻²⁴ [2]; **Js** ɕø⁶; **Ys** ze⁶; **Gf** se⁶

129 *jù* 鋸〔遇合三去御見 C〕 ‘saw (n.)’ **CDC** *ke⁵ / **EC** *kah

CSWW *kə⁵

CJQ *kɤ⁵
a. **Ly** kəɯ⁵; **Jh** kɤ⁵; **Pj** kə̃⁵; **Dy** kəɯ⁵; **Yk** kəɯ⁵ [1]; **Wy** kɯ⁵
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ky⁵ [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *kə⁵ [1] ⩙ *kyə⁵ [2]
a. **Sc** kɤɯ⁵ˌf; **Sy** kɯ⁵; **Lq** kɤɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** ke⁵; **Qy** kɤ⁵
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** kye⁵; **Qy** tɕye⁵

CSS *kə⁵

131 *qù* 去〔遇合三去御溪 C〕 ‘go, leave’ **CDC** *khe⁵ / **EC** *khah

CSWW *kʰə⁵ [1] ⩙ *kʰyə⁵ [3]

CJQ *kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ *kʰy⁵ [2]
a. **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷ˌf ⩙ kʰie⁵ ～年 ‘last year’; **Jh** kʰɯ⁵ˌf; **Pj** tɕʰi⁵ ⩙ i⁵ [3]; **Dy** kʰəɯ⁵ ⩙ xəɯ⁵³ [3]; **Yk** kʰəɯ⁵; **Wy** kʰɯ⁵ ⩙ xɯ⁰ ⩙ kɯ⁰ [2]
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰy⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕʰiʉ⁵ [4]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kʰə⁵ ⩙ *kʰyə⁵ [2]
a. **Sc** kʰɤ³³ ⩙ kʰei⁵ ～年 ‘last year’; **Sy** kʰɤ⁵; **Lq** kʰɤɯ⁵; **Yh** kʰi⁵; **Pc** kʰe⁵; **Qy** kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ kʰə̃⁵ [3] ～年 ‘last year’
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰy⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰye⁵

CSS *kʰə⁵ ⩙ #kʰyə⁵ [2]
a. **Kh** kʰie⁵; **Cs** kʰə⁵ ⩙ kʰe⁻⁴⁴ [2] ～年 ‘last year’; **Js** kʰə⁵; **Ys** kʰə⁵ ⩙ kʰɐi⁻³³ [2] ～年 ‘last year’; **Gf** kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ kʰɤʔ⁷ [3] ～年 ‘last year’ ⩙ kʰeʔ⁷ [4] ～年 ‘last year’
b. **Kh** (tɕʰy⁵ˌf); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kʰye⁵

The correspondences of this form are erratic in the context ～年 *ȵiã² ‘last year’. Some

may have resulted from a contraction with 一 *iək giving reflexes that coincide with *kʰəi⁵ or *kʰək⁷. Others coincide with *kʰə̃⁵∼*kʰɐ̃⁵, and may have resulted from rebracketing so that the initial of 年 *ȵiã² was reinterpreted as a coda.

134 *yú* 魚〔遇合三平魚疑 C〕 ‘fish’ **CDC** *ʰnge² / **EC** *ʰnga

CSWW *ŋə²

CJQ *ŋɤ² [1] ⩙ *ȵy²

a. **Ly** ŋəɯ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵy²; **Pj** ȵy²; **Dy** ȵiɯ²; **Yk** ɲy²; **Wy** ȵy²

CLS *ŋə²

a. **Sc** ŋɤ²; **Sy** ŋɯ²; **Lq** ŋɤɯ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** ŋe²; **Qy** ŋɤ⁵ [1]

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲy²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵye⁵ [2]

CSS *ŋə²

136 *xǔ* 許〔遇合三上語曉 C〕 ‘allow; promise; Xǔ (pn.)’ **CDC** *xe³ / **EC** *hax

CSWW *xə³ [1] ⩙ *xyə³ [2]

CJQ *xɤ³ ⩙ *xy³

a. **Ly** xəɯ³ ‘betroth’; **Jh** xɤ³ ～女兒 ‘betroth’; **Pj** —; **Dy** xɤn³ [兒] 幾～ ‘how much’; **Yk** xɤə³⁻⁵⁴ [兒] 幾～ ‘how much’; **Wy** xɤ⁻⁵³ [l] 幾～ ‘how much’

b. **Ly** ɕy³; **Jh** ɕy³; **Pj** ʃy³; **Dy** ɕiɯ³; **Yk** xy³; **Wy** ɕy³

CLS *xə³ ⩙ *xyə³

a. **Sc** xɤ³ ‘betroth’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xɤ³ ～賬 ‘pledge’

b. **Sc** (y³$_{!if}$) [1] ⩙ ɕy³ [2]; **Sy** ɕy³; **Lq** ɕy³; **Yh** ʃy³; **Pc** xye³; **Qy** ɕye⁴$_{!t}$

CSS *xə³ ‘promise’

This final corresponds directly to **CDC** *-ie (**QYS** *-jo* 魚語御). It routinely varies with **CSWW** *-yə in stylistic doublets. See §4.17.1 for further discussion.

*4.16.2 *-ə̃ > CSS *-ə̃*

This final is not well-attested and predominantly occurs after grave initials. Examples:

923 *fèn* 糞〔臻合三去問非 C〕 ‘filth’ **CDC** *fun⁵ / **EC** *punh

CSWW *ɓə̃⁵ [1] ⩙ *fəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓə̃⁵ ⩙ *fəŋ⁵

a. **Ly** pei⁵; **Jh** pəŋ⁻³³ 垄; **Pj** pə̃⁵; **Dy** pɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔbuə⁵; **Wy** ʔmuo⁵

b. **Ly** fəŋ⁵; **Jh** fəŋ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** fən⁵; **Yk** fəŋ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *ɓə̃⁵ ⩙ *fəŋ⁵
a. Sc ʔbə̃⁵; Sy ʔbæ̃⁵; Lq ʔbɤ⁵; Yh ʔbɛ⁵; Pc peŋ⁵₍f; Qy ʔbə̃⁵
b. Sc fəŋ¹₍t; Sy —; Lq fɕiŋ⁵; Yh fəŋ⁵; Pc —; Qy —

CSS *pə̃⁵ ⩙ #fə̃⁵
a. Kh pɛ̃⁵ ⩙ pə̃⁵ [2]; Cs pʌ̃⁵; Js pæ̃⁵; Ys pæ̃⁵; Gf puɛ̃⁵
b. Kh fɛ̃⁵ [3]; Cs —; Js —; Ys fæ̃⁵; Gf fuɛ̃⁵

884 *pén* 盆〔臻合一平魂並〕 ‘basin’ CDC *bun² / EC *ʾbun

CSWW *bə̃² 火～ ‘brazier’

CJQ *bə̃² ⩙ *bəŋ²
a. Ly bei²; Jh {bəŋ²}; Pj bə̃n⁻²⁴³ 盤兒; Dy —; Yk buə²; Wy —
b. Ly bəŋ²; Jh {bəŋ²} 火～ ‘brazier’; Pj bən²; Dy —; Yk —; Wy ben² 火～ ‘brazier’

CLS *bə̃²: Sc bə̃² *!use*; Sy pæ̃² 腳～ ‘foot-washing basin’; Lq bɤ² *!use*; Yh bɛ²; Pc pãi² *!use*; Qy pə̃²

CSS *bə̃²

726 *jiàn* 薦〔山開四去霰精〕 ‘straw mat; recommend’ CDC *tsian⁵ / EC *ʾtsunh ⩙ *ʾtsinh

CSWW *tsə̃⁵ [1] ‘straw mattress’ ⩙ *(ts,tš)iə̃⁵ [2] ‘straw mattress’ ⩙ *tsiẽ⁵ [3] *!use*

CJQ *tsə̃⁵₍a (?) ⩙ *(ts,tš)iə̃⁵ ⩙ *tsiẽ⁵
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy tsɤ⁵ 稻桿～
b. Ly {tɕie⁵}; Jh —; Pj —; Dy tsi⁵ 稿～; Yk tɕiɑ⁵ [1] 稿～; Wy —
c. Ly {tɕie⁵}; Jh tsie⁵ [1] ⩙ tsiə̃⁵ [2] ⩙ tɕiə̃⁵ [3]; Pj (tʃian⁵₍f); Dy —; Yk tɕiə⁵ [2]; Wy —

CLS *tsə̃⁵₍a ⩙ *tɕiə̃⁵ ⩙ *tɕiẽ⁵
a. Sc tsə̃⁵ 稿～; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
b. Sc {tɕiẽ⁵} 推～ ‘recommend’; Sy {tɕiɛ̃⁵}; Lq {tɕiɛ⁵}; Yh {tʃie⁵}; Pc {tɕiãi⁵}; Qy tɕiə̃⁵ [1]
c. Sc {tɕiẽ⁵} 推～ ‘recommend’; Sy {tɕiɛ̃⁵}; Lq {tɕiɛ⁵}; Yh {tʃie⁵}; Pc {tɕiãi⁵}; Qy tɕiɛ̃⁵ [2] ‘level (a floor)’

CSS #tsə̃⁵ ⩙ *tɕiə̃⁵ [2] ‘level (a floor)’
a. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys tsæ̃⁵ 稿～; Gf tsæ̃⁵
b. Kh tɕiɛ̃⁵ *!use*; Cs tɕiẽ⁵; Js tɕiɛ̃⁵ ‘level (v.)’; Ys tɕiẽ⁵; Gf tɕiẽ⁵ ‘level (v.)’

880 *jìn* 近〔臻開三上隱羣 C〕 ‘near, close’ CDC *gin⁴ / EC *gunx ⩙ *ginx

CSWW *gə̃⁴ [1] ⩙ *giəŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *giəŋ⁴: Ly dʑiŋ⁴; Jh tɕiŋ³ [1] ⩙ dʑiŋ⁶ [2]; Pj dʑin⁴; Dy dʑien⁴; Yk gieiŋ⁴; Wy dʑin⁴

CLS *gə̃⁴ ⩙ *giəŋ⁴
a. **Sc** gə̃⁴; **Sy** gæ̃⁴; **Lq** kɤ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kã⁴
b. **Sc** dʑiŋ⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiŋ⁴; **Pc** (kieŋ⁶₍ₗₜ₎); **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁴

CSS *gə̃⁴

2011 EARTHWORM 蠕〔山開三上阮曉 C〕

CSWW *xə̃³ (?) [1] ‘earthworm’ ⩙ *xəŋ³₍ₗfa [2] 黃～ ‘earthworm’

CJQ *xə̃³ (?) 螞～: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** xɤ⁻⁴²³; **Yk** xɤə³; **Wy** —

CLS *xə̃³ (?) ⩙ *xuəŋ³₍ₗfa
a. **Sc** xə̃³ 螻～; **Sy** fæ̃⁵₍ₗi 龍～; **Lq** —; **Yh** xuɛ³₍ₗf 黃～; **Pc** xuãi³₍ₗf 黃～; **Qy** xã³ 螻～
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** xuɛiŋ³ 黃～; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #xə̃³ 黃～ ⩙ *xɨŋ³
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** xæ̃³ 黃～; **Gf** xyẽ³₍ₗf 黃～
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** xoŋ³ 黃～; **Js** xəŋ³ 黃～; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

Several of the reflexes have an aberrant medial [-u-] or [-y-]. All of them occur in compounded forms with CSWW *ɦuoŋ² 黃 ‘yellow’. The medial was copied over by analogy to form a partially alliterative binome. The second form, CSWW *xəŋ³, might be a case of the coda also being copied.

Note that Akitani (2003a, 123) originally reconstructed the first form as CSS *xyẽ³, but the sound correspondence was ad hoc. I consider Gf [xyẽ³] to be irregular.

The *Guǎngyùn* lists a second reading of 蠕 that is peculiar to the Wú and Chǔ 楚 regions (i.e. Zhèjiāng and Jiānghuái band respectively): *xjɨnX* 〔臻開三上隱曉 C〕. This reading might fit *xə̃³ which has the same final as *gə̃⁴ ‘near’ 近 (≙ QYS *gjɨnX*).

*4.16.3 *-əŋ > CSS *-ɨŋ; *-oŋ/P_; *-ə̃/[+strid]_; *-ẽ/*Š_*

This final occurs primarily after grave initials. Note that after strident initials, it developed into *-ə̃ and *-ẽ in CSS. The latter reflex occurs after postalveolars. The following are examples after labial initials:

922 *fěn* 粉〔臻合三上吻非 C〕 ‘powder’ **CDC** *fun³ / **EC** *punx

CSWW *fəŋ³

CJQ *fəŋ³: **Ly** fəŋ³; **Jh** fəŋ³; **Pj** fən³; **Dy** fən³; **Yk** fəŋ³; **Wy** fen³

CLS *fəŋ³: **Sc** fəŋ³; **Sy** fen³; **Lq** fɛiŋ³; **Yh** fəŋ³; **Pc** feŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS *fə̃³

924 *fén* 墳〔臻合三平文奉 C〕 ‘grave’ **CDC** *vun² / **EC** *bun

CSWW *vəŋ²

CJQ *vəŋ²: **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** vəŋ²; **Pj** vən²; **Dy** vən²; **Yk** vəŋ²; **Wy** ven⁻²¹ ～頭
CLS *vəŋ²: **Sc** vəŋ²; **Sy** fen²; **Lq** vɛiŋ²; **Yh** vəŋ²; **Pc** feŋ²; **Qy** fəŋ²
CSS *və̃²

927 *wén* 蚊〔臻合三平文微 C〕 'mosquito' **CDC** *ʰmvun² / **EC** *ʰmun
CSWW *mi(ə)ŋ² [1] ⩙ *məŋ² [2] ～蟲
CJQ *mi(ə)ŋ² ～蟲 ⩙ *məŋ² ⩙ *vəŋ² [3]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** miŋ² [2] *!use*; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min⁻²¹
b. **Ly** məŋ²; **Jh** məŋ² [1] *!use*; **Pj** mən²; **Dy** mən² [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** vəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** vən² [2]; **Yk** vəŋ² [2]; **Wy** —
CLS *mi(ə)ŋ² ～蟲 ⩙ *məŋ²
a. **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {meŋ²} [文] *!use*; **Qy** miɛ̃²ˌf
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** men²; **Lq** mɛiŋ²; **Yh** məŋ²; **Pc** {meŋ²} [文] *!use*; **Qy** məŋ² ～帳 'mosquito net'
CSS #miŋ² [2] ～蟲 ⩙ #moŋʔ [1]
a. **Kh** miŋ² [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** meiŋ⁻²⁴ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** moŋ⁴ˌt; **Js** moŋ⁻³³; **Ys** moŋ⁻²²; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** (vɛ̃²) [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (voŋ²) [2]; **Gf** (foŋ⁶ˌt) [2]

The [文] designation for the **Pc** form is probably an error. It does not contrast with a [白] form.

886 *mén* 門〔臻合一平魂明〕 'door' **CDC** *mun² / **EC** *'mun
CSWW *məŋ²
CJQ *məŋ²: **Ly** məŋ²; **Jh** məŋ²; **Pj** mən²; **Dy** mən²; **Yk** məŋ²; **Wy** men²
CLS *məŋ²: **Sc** məŋ²; **Sy** men²; **Lq** mɛiŋ²; **Yh** məŋ²; **Pc** meŋ²; **Qy** məŋ²
CSS *moŋ²

Examples after guttural initials:

2007 COVER 蠶〔咸開一上感見〕
CSWW *kəŋ³ 'cover (v.); lid'
CJQ *kəŋ³ (?) to cover (v.); lid 'lid': **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kɤ³ˌf 'cover (v.)'; **Yk** kəŋ³ 'cover (v.)' ⩙ kəŋ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒] 'lid'; **Wy** —
CLS *kəŋ³ 'lid': **Sc** kəŋ³ 'cover (v.)'; **Sy** ken³; **Lq** —; **Yh** kəŋ³ ⩙ kəŋ¹ 'cover (v.)'; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəŋ³
CSS *kɨŋ³ 'lid': **Kh** koŋ³ *!use*; **Cs** koŋ³; **Js** kəŋ³; **Ys** koŋ³; **Gf** kiŋ³

518 *hán* 含〔咸開一平覃匣〕 'contain; keep in mouth' **CDC** *hom² / **EC** *'gum
CSWW *gəŋʔ (?) [1] ⩙ *ɦɤ̃² [2]
CJQ *ɦɤ̃² [1]: **Ly** xei²; **Jh** ɤ² ⩙ ɦã² [2]; **Pj** ə̃² ⩙ an² [2]; **Dy** ɤ²; **Yk** ɤə²; **Wy** (en²)

CLS *gəŋ$^{?}$ ⩙ *ɦã^{2}
a. **Sc** gəŋ^{6}; **Sy** gõ^{4}$_{!f}$; **Lq** gɛiŋ^{2}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəŋ^{2} ～水
b. **Sc** ə̃^{2}; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɤ^{2}; **Yh** ɛ^{2}; **Pc** —; **Qy** xã^{2}

CSS *gɨŋ^{4}: **Kh** goŋ^{2}$_{!t}$ ⩙ ã^{2} [2]; **Cs** goŋ^{4}; **Js** gəŋ^{4} ‘rinse one’s mouth’; **Ys** goŋ^{4}; **Gf** xiŋ^{2}$_{!it}$ ⩙ xã^{2} [2]

The tone correspondences for this word are irregular. We find reflexes that suggest both tones *2 and *4. These might reflexes ultimately reflect two separate common forms. I have marked the tone as unknown instead.

Only one example exists after a non-postalveolar coronal initial. Sadly, this word has been lost in the Jīnqú dialects:

2005 COLD

CSWW *ts^{h}əŋ^{5} ‘cold’

CJQ —

CLS *ts^{h}əŋ^{5}: **Sc** ts^{h}əŋ^{5} 凊 ‘cool’; **Sy** ts^{h}en^{5} 浸; **Lq** ts^{h}ɛiŋ^{5} 浸; **Yh** ts^{h}əŋ^{5} 凊; **Pc** —; **Qy** ts^{h}əŋ^{5} 凊 ‘cool’

CSS *ts^{h}ə̃^{5} 凊

This word has a clear Mín cognate: Common Mín *ts^{h}in^{5} 凊 ‘cold (of weather)’ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃ^{h}in^{5}; Proto-Northen Mín *ts^{h}ieŋ^{5}.
Its relationship with the written tradition is more problematic. Norman (1983, 207–8) proposed connections with QYS *tsrhɛngH* 〔梗開三去勁清〕瀇 and QYS *tshjengH* 〔梗開三去勁清〕凊, both attested as writing the (medieval) Wú word for ‘cold’. To these we might add QYS *tsrhjangH* 〔宕開三去漾初〕滄 ‘cold’, famously attested in excavated Chǔ bamboo texts. These are probably all dialectal readings of the same word. Wáng (2015) makes a connection with QYS *tshimH* 〔深開三去沁清〕浸 ‘cold’ (also written 沁). This is probably yet another reflex of the same word, this time without a geographic link. The connection is attractive for Southwestern Wú because CSWW *ts^{h}əŋ^{5} ‘cold’ is pronounced close to *tsəŋ^{5} ‘soak’ 浸, but the Mín data militates against an etymological *-m coda.

After postalveolar initials, this final has merged with *-ɨəŋ in the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān branches.

599 *shèn* 滲〔深開三去沁生 AB〕 ‘seep, permeate’ **CDC** *shem^{5} / **EC** *srumh

CSWW *šəŋ^{5} (?)

CJQ *šiəŋ^{5}: **Ly** səŋ^{5}; **Jh** ɕiŋ^{5} [1] ⩙ səŋ^{5} [2]; **Pj** sən^{5}; **Dy** sən^{5}; **Yk** səŋ^{5}; **Wy** —

CLS *sɨəŋ^{5} (?): **Sc** səŋ^{3}$_{!t}$; **Sy** ɕin^{3}$_{!t}$; **Lq** sɛiŋ^{5}; **Yh** səŋ^{5}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕẽ^{5}: **Kh** —; **Cs** sɪŋ^{5}; **Js** ɕœ̃^{5}; **Ys** sæ̃^{5}; **Gf** sæ̃^{5}

The examples presented here are mostly colloquial words. This final also occurs in literary readings and varies with *-ə̃.

833 *gēn* 根〔臻開一平痕見〕 ‘root’ **CDC** *ken¹ / **EC** *’kun
CSWW *kə̃¹ [1] ⩙ *kəŋ¹₍a [2]
CJQ *kəŋ¹₍f: **Ly** kəŋ¹; **Jh** kəŋ¹; **Pj** kən¹; **Dy** kən¹; **Yk** kəŋ¹; **Wy** ken¹
CLS *kə̃¹: **Sc** kə̃¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** kɤ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** keŋ¹₍f; **Qy** kã¹
CSS *kə̃¹

*4.16.4 *-əʔ > CSS *-əʔ*

This final is set up to account for the following two sets:

743 *xiè* 屑〔山開四入屑心〕 ‘scraps; crumbs’ **CDC** *siat⁷ / **EC** *’sit
CSWW *səʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *(s,š)iaʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *sɤʔ⁷
a. **Ly** səʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ sɔʔ⁷ [1]; **Jh** sɤ⁵; **Pj** sɯ⁷; **Dy** sɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** səʔ⁷ [2]
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** siəʔ⁷₍f [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *ɕiaʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷
CSS *səʔ⁷ ⩙ #ɕiəʔ⁷
a. **Kh** sʌʔ⁷; **Cs** sʌʔ⁷; **Js** səʔ⁷; **Ys** sɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ɕiɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —

This bound morpheme means ‘particulate waste’ and occurs in compounds for sawdust (e.g. 解～) and dandruff (e.g. 風～).
There is no etymological connection to the second syllable of **CSWW** *lʌʔ⁸.sʌʔ⁷ ‘trash’, but the syllabaries tend to write both with the same Chinese character.

2038 SHOULDER 撧〔山開三入月羣 C〕
CSWW *gəʔ⁸ ‘shoulder (a load)’
CJQ *gɤʔ⁸: **Ly** —; **Jh** gɤ⁶; **Pj** gɯ⁸; **Dy** gɜʔ⁸ ‘burden’; **Yk** —; **Wy** gɤ⁴
CLS *gəʔ⁸: **Sc** geʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** gɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** kɤʔ⁸ ‘raise (one’s head)’
CSS *gəʔ⁸: **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** gəʔ⁸; **Ys** gɐʔ⁸; **Gf** —

*4.16.5 *-ək > CSS *-əʔ; *-eʔ/*Š_*

2027 NOT 弗
CSWW *fək⁷
CJQ *fəʔ⁷: **Ly** fɔʔ⁷₍f; **Jh** fəʔ⁷; **Pj** fə⁷ ⩙ fɛ⁷ ～要 ‘do not’; **Dy** fɜʔ⁷; **Yk** fə³; **Wy** fəʔ⁷

CLS *fək⁷: **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** fəɯʔ⁷˧ᶠ; **Yh** feiʔ⁷ [1] ≍ fəuʔ⁷ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS ?: **Kh** fəʔ⁷; **Cs** foʔ⁷; **Js** foʔ⁷; **Ys** foʔ⁷; **Gf** fuɤʔ⁷

937 *fú* 佛〔臻合三入物奉 C〕 ‘Buddh(a)’ **CDC** *vut⁸ / **EC** *but
CSWW *vək⁸
CJQ *vəʔ⁸: **Ly** vəʔ⁸; **Jh** vəʔ⁸; **Pj** və⁸; **Dy** vɜʔ⁸; **Yk** və⁴; **Wy** vəʔ⁸
CLS *vək⁸: **Sc** vəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** vəʔ⁸; **Lq** vɛiʔ⁸; **Yh** veiʔ⁸; **Pc** fuo⁷; **Qy** fəɯʔ⁸
CSS *vəʔ⁸: **Kh** vʌʔ⁸; **Cs** vʌʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** vɐʔ⁸; **Gf** —

615 *sè* 澀〔深開三入緝生 AB〕 ‘astringent’ **CDC** *shep⁷ / **EC** *srip
CSWW *šək⁷
CJQ *šiəʔ⁷: **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕiəʔ⁷ [1] ≍ səʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** sə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** sə³; **Wy** səʔ⁷
CLS *sək⁷: **Sc** saʔ⁷˧ᶠ; **Sy** səʔ⁷˧ᶠ; **Lq** —; **Yh** seiʔ⁷; **Pc** se⁷; **Qy** səɯʔ⁷
CSS *ɕeʔ⁷: **Kh** sʌʔ⁷; **Cs** sɛʔ⁷; **Js** ɕœʔ⁷; **Ys** ɕiɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —

611 *lì* 粒〔深開三入緝來 AB〕 ‘kernel (clf.)’ **CDC** *ʰlip⁸ / **EC** *ʰlup
CSWW *lək⁸˧ᵃ (?) [1] ≍ *lʌʔ⁸ [2]
CJQ *lɤʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** lɤ⁻¹⁴ ≍ ləʔ⁸; **Pj** luɯ⁻²⁴; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** lɤə⁴; **Wy** lɤʔ⁸
CLS *lək⁸˧ᵃ (?) ≍ *ləʔ⁸
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {le⁷}; **Qy** ləɯʔ⁸
b. **Sc** leʔ⁷˧ᵗ [1] ≍ leʔ⁸ [2]; **Sy** ləʔ⁸; **Lq** ləʔ⁸; **Yh** lɛʔ⁷˧ᵗ; **Pc** {le⁷}; **Qy** lɤʔ⁸
CSS *lʌʔ⁸: **Kh** lʌʔ⁸; **Cs** luʌʔ⁸; **Js** lɒʔ⁸; **Ys** leʔ⁸˧ᶠ; **Gf** lɐʔ⁸

*4.17 Finals with the vowel sequence *iə*

CSWW	iə	iəŋ	iək
CJQ	i	iəŋ	iəʔ
Ly	i; ɿ/*Š_	iŋ; əŋ/*Š_	iəʔ; əʔ/*Š_
Jh	i; y/*Š_	iŋ	iəʔ
Pj	i	in; ən/S_	iə; ə/S_
Dy	i	ien; ən/*Š_	iəʔ; ɜʔ/*Š_
Yk	i	ieiŋ; əŋ/S_	ĭə; ə/P,T,S_
Wy	i	in; en/*Š_	iəʔ; əʔ/*P,T,Š_
CLS	ie	iəŋ	iək
Sc	ie	iɪŋ; yɪŋ/*Š_	iɪʔ; yeʔ/*Š_
Sy	i; ɿ/S_	in; en/l_; i/ɲ_	iʔ
Lq	i	iŋ; ɛiŋ/*Š_	iʔ
Yh	i; ɿ/S_	iŋ; əŋ/S_	iʔ; eiʔ/*Š_
Pc	ie	eŋ; ieŋ/K,$_; i/*ɲ_	ie
Qy	ie	iəŋ	iəɯ
CSS	iə	iŋ; yẽ/*Š_	iʔ; yeʔ/*Š_

In closed syllables, **Sc** sometimes exhibits a front round medial after the PSWW postalveolar series. See sets **852** 身 and **2016** below. This is probably the regular development—and it is shared with the Shàngshān dialects—but it has been overwhelmingly obscured in learnèd vocabulary, likely because of contact with the other Lìshuǐ dialects.

*4.17.1 *-iə > CSS *-iə*

The following are examples of this final:

275 *cì* 刺〔止開三去寘清 AB〕 ‘prick; thorn’ **CDC** *tshɿ⁵ / **EC** *tsheh

CSWW *tsʰiə⁵ [1] ‘thorn’ ⨯ *tsʰɨ⁵ [2] ‘stab’

CJQ *tsʰi⁵ ⨯ *tsʰɿ⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰi⁵; **Pj** tsɿ⁵|i 魚～ ‘fishbone’; **Dy** tsʰi⁵; **Yk** tɕʰiə⁵|f; **Wy** tɕʰi⁵

b. **Ly** tsʰɿ⁵ ‘thorn; stab’; **Jh** tsʰɿ⁵; **Pj** tsʰɿ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsʰɿ⁵; **Wy** tsʰɿ⁵ ～蝟 ‘hedgehog’

CLS *tɕʰie⁵ ⨯ *tsʰɨ⁵

a. **Sc** tɕʰie⁵; **Sy** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’; **Lq** tɕʰi⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕʰie⁵ [白] *!use*; **Qy** tɕʰie⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’ ⨯ tsʰɿ⁵ ‘thorn;

stab’; **Pc** $ts^h\eta^4_{!t}$ *!use*; **Qy** $ts^h\eta^5$ 諷～ ‘criticize’

CSS *$t\text{ɕ}^hiə^5$ ⪤ *$ts^hə^5$

I have not changed the reconstruction of Akitani’s **CSS** forms, but I have altered their indices so that they agree with the modern languages.

279 *zhǐ* 紙〔止開三上紙章 AB〕 ‘paper’ **CDC** *ci^3 / **EC** *tay (?)

CSWW *$tšiə^3$

CJQ *$tši^3$: **Ly** $ts\eta^3$; **Jh** $ts\eta^3_{!f}$; **Pj** $t\int i^3$; **Dy** tsi^3; **Yk** $t\text{ɕ}i^3$; **Wy** $t\text{ɕ}i^3$

CLS *$t\text{ɕ}ie^3$: **Sc** $t\text{ɕ}ie^3$; **Sy** $ts\eta^3$; **Lq** $t\text{ɕ}i^3$; **Yh** $ts\eta^3$; **Pc** $t\text{ɕ}ie^3$; **Qy** $t\text{ɕ}ie^3$

CSS *$t\text{ɕ}iə^3$

127 *shǔ* 鼠〔遇合三上語書 C〕 ‘mouse’ **CDC** *$shie^3$ / **EC** *hyax

CSWW *$tš^hiə^3$

CJQ *$tš^hi^3$: **Ly** $ts^h\eta^3$; **Jh** $t\text{ɕ}^hy^3$ [2] ⪤ $ts^h\eta^3$ [1]; **Pj** $ts\eta^3_{!if}$; **Dy** ts^hi^3; **Yk** $t\text{ɕ}^hi^3$; **Wy** $t\text{ɕ}^hi^3$

CLS *$t\text{ɕ}^hie^3$: **Sc** $t\text{ɕ}^hie^3$; **Sy** $ts^h\eta^3$; **Lq** $t\text{ɕ}^hi^3$; **Yh** $ts^h\eta^3$; **Pc** $t\text{ɕ}^hie^3$; **Qy** $t\text{ɕ}^hie^3$

CSS *$t\text{ɕ}^hiə^3$

125 *zhǔ* 煮〔遇合三上語章 C〕 ‘boil’ **CDC** *cie^3 / **EC** *tax

CSWW *$ʔiə^3$ [1] ⪤ *$tšyə^3$ [2]

CJQ *$ʔi^3$ ⪤ *$tšy^3$

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** $(ts\eta^3_{!i})$; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** i^3; **Wy** i^3

b. **Ly** $(t\text{ɕ}y^5_{!t})$; **Jh** $t\text{ɕ}y^3$; **Pj** $t\int y^3$; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ie^3 ⪤ *$t\text{ɕ}yə^3$

a. **Sc** ie^3; **Sy** i^3; **Lq** i^3; **Yh** i^3; **Pc** $(t\text{ɕ}ie^3_{!i})$; **Qy** ie^3

b. **Sc** $(t\text{ɕ}y^1_{!ft})$; **Sy** —; **Lq** $t\text{ɕ}y^3$; **Yh** $t\int y^3$; **Pc** —; **Qy** $t\text{ɕ}ye^3$

CSS *$ʔiə^3$ ⪤ #$t\text{ɕ}yə^3$

a. **Kh** ie^3; **Cs** ie^3; **Js** $iə^3$; **Ys** ie^3; **Gf** ie^3

b. **Kh** $(t\text{ɕ}y^3_{!f})$; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** $t\text{ɕ}ye^3$; **Gf** $t\text{ɕ}ye^3$

In a stage of pre-**CSWW** this final may have included a front rounded element. Cf. Common Mín *$t\int y^3$.

This final participates in two patterns of stylistic variation. In the first, it varies with **CSWW** *-yə (see §4.19.1). These cases correspond directly to **CDC** *-ie (**QYS** *-jo* 魚語御) and reflect intrusive literary readings from northern dialects where **CDC** *-ie has merged with *-y.

113 *lǘ* 驢〔遇合三平魚來 C〕 ‘donkey’ **CDC** *lie^2 / **EC** *la

CSWW *$liə^2$ [1] ⪤ *$lyə^2$ [2] ⪤ *$luə^2$ [3]

CJQ *li² ⩙ *ly² ⩙ *lu² [2]
a. **Ly** li²; **Jh** li²; **Pj** li²; **Dy** li²; **Yk** —; **Wy** li²
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ly⁻³²⁴ [兒] 街狗～; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** lu²; **Jh** lu²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *lie² ⩙ *lyə² ⩙ *luə²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** lie²; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** lyɤ²; **Sy** ly²; **Lq** —; **Yh** ly² [1] 街狗～ 'small mule'; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu² [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** lɤ²
CSS *liə² ⩙ *lyə²

In the second pattern of stylistic variation, **CSWW** *-iə varies with *-i. This variation is more problematic from a comparative perspective because the reflexes for both of these finals are the same in the Jīnqú dialects. Therefore, when we find doublet readings in the other branches, we are unable to determine which of the two sets the Jīnqú reflexes should be grouped with. As a tentative, impartial solution I have decided to group them with both and project the variation back to **CSWW**. These cases of stylistic variation correspond directly to **QYS** *-je* 支紙寘,[21] which had already merged with the other *kāikǒu* finals of *zhǐshè* (≈ **CDC** *-i) in Northwest Chinese by the early 7th century (Coblin 1991a, 39–40).[22] Thus we may conclude that forms with *-i are probably post-Ānshǐ introductions.

270 *bì* 避〔止開三去寘並 A〕 'avoid' **CDC** *pi⁵ / **EC** *peh
CSWW *biə⁶ [1] ⩙ *bi⁶ [2]
CJQ *bi⁶: **Ly** bi⁶; **Jh** bi⁶ ⩙ biəʔ⁸; **Pj** bi⁶; **Dy** bi⁶; **Yk** bi⁶; **Wy** bi⁶
CLS *bi⁶: **Sc** bi⁶; **Sy** bi⁶; **Lq** bi⁶; **Yh** bi⁶; **Pc** ($p^hi^{7}_{!it}$); **Qy** pi⁶
CSS *biə⁶

291 *yí* 移〔止開三平支以 A〕 'shift' **CDC** *yi² / **EC** *yay
CSWW *ʔiə² [1] ⩙ *ʔi² [2]

---

[21]One should note, however, that not all cases of **QYS** *-je* 支紙寘 words exhibit this pattern of stylistic variation. In fact, some words that correspond to **EC** *-ay (the *gē* 歌 group) exhibit totally different patterns, to wit *-əi ~ *-i (e.g. **285** 寄) and *-ai ~ *-i (e.g. **288** 蟻). Evidently, the oldest layers of **CSWW** predate the merger of plain **EC** *-ay and *-e in mainstream Chinese.

[22]To be more precise, the *chóngniǔ* distinction (i.e., Hirayama's classes B and C [rime table row 3] versus A [row 4]) was still maintained for these finals even after they began to collapse in the early Suí-Táng period. **QYS** *-j+j* 微 might have also stayed independent longer than other finals of *zhǐshè*, but authorities have come to differing conclusions regarding this point.

CJQ *ʔi²: **Ly** i²; **Jh** i²; **Pj** i²; **Dy** i²; **Yk** i²; **Wy** i²
CLS *ie²: **Sc** ie²; **Sy** i²; **Lq** i²; **Yh** i²; **Pc** ie²; **Qy** ie²
CSS #ʔi²: **Kh** i²; **Cs** i²; **Js** i²; **Ys** i²; **Gf** i²

275 刺 is also an example of layering involving **QYS** *-je* 支紙寘, but we find **CSWW** *-ɨ after alveolar sibilants in the intrusive forms.

*4.17.2 *-iəŋ > CSS *-iŋ; *-yẽ/*Š_*

CSWW *-iəŋ has partially merged with *-iŋ in many of the dialects. This merger is complete in **Ly**, **Jh**, **Sc**, **Sy**, and **Pc**. In the remaining dialects, we find variable developments after sibilants that hint at their original separation. The commonest of these is loss of *-i- after postalveolar sibilants, but the environment for *-i- loss expanded to include all sibilant initials in some dialects. These developments are summarized in Table 4.4. Only **Dy** and **Qy** preserve a distinction between *-iəŋ and *-iŋ after non-sibilant initials. **Qy** faithfully preserves the original situation with only allophonic variation of [ɪŋ~ieŋ].[23]

Table 4.4: **CSWW** *-iəŋ and *-iŋ in dialects where they have not completely merged

CSWW	Pj	Dy	Yk	Wy	Lq	Yh	Qy	CSS
*iəŋ/Š_	ən	ən	əŋ	en	ɛiŋ	əŋ	iəŋ	*yẽ
*iəŋ/S_	ən	ien	əŋ	in	iŋ	əŋ	iəŋ	*iŋ
*iəŋ	in	ien	ieiŋ	in	iŋ	iŋ	iəŋ	*iŋ
*iŋ	in	ən	ieiŋ	in	iŋ	iŋ	ɪŋ~ieŋ	*iŋ

The following are examples of *-iəŋ:

838 *mín* 民〔臻開三平真明 A〕 'folk' **CDC** *min² / **EC** *min
CSWW *miəŋ²
CJQ *miəŋ²: **Ly** miŋ²; **Jh** miŋ²; **Pj** min²; **Dy** mien²; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min²
CLS *miəŋ²: **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** min²; **Lq** miŋ²; **Yh** miŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** miəŋ²

[23]In **Qy** [-ieŋ] only occurs after alveolo-palatal initials and the zero initial; [-ɪŋ] elsewhere.

CSS *miŋ²

839 *lín* 鄰〔臻開三平真來 AB〕 ‘neighbor’ **CDC** *lin² / **EC** *lin

CSWW *liəŋ²

CJQ *liəŋ²: **Ly** liŋ²; **Jh** liŋ²; **Pj** lin²; **Dy** lien²; **Yk** lieiŋ²; **Wy** lin²

CLS *liəŋ²: **Sc** liɪŋ²; **Sy** len²; **Lq** liŋ²; **Yh** liŋ²; **Pc** leŋ²; **Qy** liəŋ²

CSS #liŋ²: **Kh** liŋ²; **Cs** lɪŋ²; **Js** liŋ²; **Ys** lɪŋ²; **Gf** leiŋ²

842 *qīn* 親〔臻開三平真清 AB〕 ‘kin’ **CDC** *tshin¹ / **EC** *tshin

CSWW *tsʰiəŋ¹

CJQ *tsʰiəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Jh** tsʰiŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰən¹ ⩙ tsʰin¹ ～屬 ‘relatives’; **Dy** tɕʰien¹; **Yk** tsʰəŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰin¹

CLS *tsʰiəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰin¹; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Yh** tsʰəŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰeŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiəŋ¹

CSS #tsʰiŋ¹: **Kh** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Cs** tsʰɪŋ¹; **Js** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Ys** tsʰɪŋ¹; **Gf** tsʰeiŋ¹

594 *xīn* 心〔深開三平侵心 AB〕 ‘heart’ **CDC** *sim¹ / **EC** *sim

CSWW *siəŋ¹

CJQ *siəŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiŋ¹; **Jh** siŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹ [1] ⩙ sin¹ [2]; **Dy** ɕien¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹

CLS *ɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** səŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹ [1] ⩙ ɕiɛ̃¹ [2] 燈～ ‘wick’

CSS *ɕiŋ¹

849 *zhēn* 真〔臻開三平真章 AB〕 ‘real’ **CDC** *cin¹ / **EC** *tin

CSWW *tšiəŋ¹

CJQ *tšiəŋ¹: **Ly** tsəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tsən¹; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** tsəŋ¹; **Wy** tsen¹

CLS *tɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹ₗf; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tsɛiŋ¹; **Yh** tsəŋ¹; **Pc** tseŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *tɕyẽ¹

852 *shēn* 身〔臻開三平真書 AB〕 ‘body’ **CDC** *shin¹ / **EC** *hyin

CSWW *šiəŋ¹

CJQ *šiəŋ¹: **Ly** səŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹

CLS *ɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** ɕyɪŋ¹ [2] ⩙ ɕiɪŋ¹ [1]; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** sɛiŋ¹; **Yh** səŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹

CSS *ɕyẽ¹ [1] ⩙ #ɕiŋ¹ [2]

a. **Kh** ɕyɛ̃¹; **Cs** {sɪŋ¹}; **Js** ɕœ̃¹; **Ys** ɕyæ̃¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {sɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** sɪŋ¹; **Gf** seiŋ¹

855 *rěn* 忍〔臻開三上軫日 AB〕 ‘endure’ **CDC** *nhin⁴ / **EC** *nunx ⩙ *ninx

CSWW *ɳiəŋ⁴

CJQ *ɳiəŋ⁴: **Ly** ɳiŋ⁴; **Jh** ɳiŋ⁶ [1] ⩙ ʑyəŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ɳin⁴; **Dy** ɳien⁴; **Yk** ɲieiŋ⁴ [1] ⩙ zəŋ⁴ [2]; **Wy** ɳin⁴

CLS *ɲiəŋ⁴: **Sc** ɲiɪŋ⁴; **Sy** ɲi⁴; **Lq** ɲiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** ŋi⁴; **Qy** ɲiəŋ⁴
CSS *ɲiŋ⁴

606 *qín* 琴〔深開三平侵羣 B〕 'zither' **CDC** *gim² / **EC** *gum
CSWW *giəŋ²
CJQ *giəŋ²: **Ly** dʑiŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dʑin²; **Dy** dʑien²; **Yk** gieiŋ²; **Wy** dʑin²
CLS *giəŋ²: **Sc** dʑiɪŋ²; **Sy** tɕin²; **Lq** dʑiŋ²; **Yh** dʒiŋ²; **Pc** kieŋ²; **Qy** tɕiəŋ²
CSS *giŋ²

607 *yīn* 音〔深開三平侵影 B〕 'noise' **CDC** *im¹ / **EC** *um
CSWW *ʔiəŋ¹ˌa (?) [1] ⨯ *ʔiəŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *ʔiəŋ¹: **Ly** iŋ¹; **Jh** iŋ¹; **Pj** in¹; **Dy** ʔien¹; **Yk** ieiŋ¹; **Wy** in¹
CLS *iəŋ¹: **Sc** iɪŋ¹; **Sy** in¹; **Lq** iŋ¹; **Yh** iŋ¹; **Pc** ieŋ¹; **Qy** iəŋ¹
CSS #ʔẽ¹ ⨯ *ʔiŋ¹
a. **Kh** ɛ̃¹ ～坑 'Yīnkēng (pn.)'; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** iŋ¹ 聲～ 'sound'; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** iŋ¹; **Ys** ɪŋ¹; **Gf** iŋ¹

*4.17.3 *-iək > CSS *-iʔ; *-yeʔ/*Š_*

CSWW *-iək has developed in a similar fashion to its nasal counterpart, but the set of dialects in which merger with *-iʔ is complete is slightly different—this time it is **Ly**, **Jh**, **Sc**, **Sy**, and **Yh**. The two finals have remained distinct in a broader set of conditioning environments. Table 4.5 summarizes the differences after sibilant initials. Consult the sound correspondence table in §4.26 for a full summary of the differences. **Dy**, **Pc**, and **Qy** distinguish **CSWW** *-iək and *iʔ unconditionally.

Table 4.5: **CSWW** *-iək and *-iʔ in dialects where they have not completely merged

CSWW	Pj	Dy	Yk	Wy	Lq	Pc	Qy	CSS
*iək/Š_	əʔ	ɜʔ	ə	əʔ	iʔ	ie	iəɯʔ	*yeʔ
*iək/S_	əʔ	iəʔ	ə	iəʔ	iʔ	ie	iəɯʔ	*iʔ
*iʔ/Š_	ɛ	eiʔ	ĭə	iəʔ	ɿʔ	i	iʔ	*iʔ
*iʔ/S_	ɛ	eiʔ	əi	iəʔ	ɿʔ	i	iʔ	*iʔ

Examples of this final include:

866 *mì* 蜜〔臻開三入質明 A〕 ‘honey’ **CDC** *mit⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *miək⁷

CJQ *miəʔ⁷: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** miəʔ⁸; **Pj** miə⁸; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** mə⁴; **Wy** məʔ⁸

CLS *miək⁷: **Sc** miɪʔ⁸; **Sy** miʔ⁸; **Lq** miʔ⁸; **Yh** miʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** miəɯʔ⁸

CSS *miʔ⁷

868 *qī* 七〔臻開三入質清 AB〕 ‘seven’ **CDC** *tshit⁷ / **EC** *tshit

CSWW *tsʰiək⁷ [1]

CJQ *tsʰiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰə³; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷

CLS *tɕʰiək⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰie⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiəɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɕʰiʔ⁷ ⨯ *tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]

2016 FINGER

CSWW *tšiək⁷ ～甲 ‘fingernail’

CJQ *tšiəʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷ □手～甲 ‘fingernail’; **Yk** tsə⁻⁴ □～甲 ‘fingernail’; **Wy** tsəʔ⁷ □～甲 ‘fingernail’

CLS *tɕiək⁷: **Sc** tɕyeʔ⁷ □～甲 ‘fingernail’; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷ 節～甲 ‘fingernail’; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕiʔ⁷ 指

This bound morpheme is most widely attested in the compound for ‘fingernail’, CSWW *tšiək⁷ kaʔ⁷ □甲, but it is also found in other compounds meaning ‘finger’ or the names for specific fingers, usually preceding CSWW *du² 頭 ‘head’. Akitani (2003a) took this morpheme to be cognate with CDC *ci³ 指. This etymology is plausible. The current checked final and tone may have resulted from rebracketing of the initial of the following *du² 頭, i.e. **tši³.du² 指頭 ‘finger’ > **tšit⁷.du² > CSWW *tšiək⁷.du². I have nonetheless kept it separate from the sets involving the character 指 lest this etymology prove infeasible.

872 *shí* 實〔臻開三入質船 AB〕 ‘filled’ **CDC** *zhit⁸ / **EC** *δit

CSWW *žiək⁸

CJQ *žiəʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zə⁸; **Dy** zɜʔ⁸; **Yk** zə⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸

CLS *ʑiək⁸: **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiʔ⁸; **Yh** zeiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕiəɯʔ⁸

CSS *ʑyeʔ⁸ [1] ⨯ #ʑiʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Kh** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Cs** zɛʔ⁸; **Js** ɕœʔ⁸; **Ys** ʑiʌʔ⁸; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁸; **Ys** zeʔ⁸; **Gf** seʔ⁸

873 *rì* 日〔臻開三入質日 AB〕 ‘sun, day’ **CDC** *ʰnhit⁸ / **EC** *ʰnit

CSWW *nəiʔ⁸ [1] *F* ‘sun; day’ ⨯ *ȵiək⁸ [2] *B*

CJQ *nəiʔ⁸ ‘day’ ⨯ *ȵiəʔ⁸ ‘sun’ ⨯ *žiəʔ⁸ [3]

a. **Ly** nəʔ⁸ 今～ ‘today’ ⨯ nei⁵ 一～ ‘one day’; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** neiʔ⁸ 今～ ‘today’;

Yk —; **Wy** nəʔ⁸

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵiəʔ⁸ [1]; **Pj** ȵiə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɲĭə⁴ [1] 今～ ‘today’; **Wy** —

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸ [2] ～本 ‘Japan’; **Yk** zə⁴ [2] ～本 ‘Japan’; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *neʔ⁸ ⩙ *ȵiək⁸

a. **Sc** neʔ⁸; **Sy** nɛʔ⁸ [2] ‘day’; **Lq** nɛʔ⁸; **Yh** naʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** nɤʔ⁸

b. **Sc** ȵiɪʔ⁸ ～本 ‘Japan’; **Sy** ȵiɛʔ⁸|f [1] ‘sun’; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiʔ⁸ ～本 ‘Japan’; **Pc** ŋie⁷ ‘sun; day’; **Qy** ȵiəɯʔ⁸ ～本 ‘Japan’

CSS *nəʔ⁸

874 *jí* 吉〔臻開三入質見 A〕 ‘auspicious’ **CDC** *kit⁷ / **EC** *kit

CSWW *kiək⁷

CJQ *kiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kĭə³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *kiək⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕiʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕiəɯʔ⁷

CSS #kiʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕieʔ⁷; **Js** kiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** kieʔ⁷; **Gf** kieʔ⁷

619 *jí* 急〔深開三入緝見 B〕 ‘urgent’ **CDC** *kip⁷ / **EC** *kup

CSWW *kiək⁷

CJQ *kiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kĭə³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *kiək⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕiəɯʔ⁷

CSS *kiʔ⁷

876 *yī* 一〔臻開三入質影 A〕 ‘one’ **CDC** *it⁷ / **EC** *it

CSWW *ʔiək⁷

CJQ *ʔiəʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁷; **Dy** ʔiəʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ ʔiʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ĭə³; **Wy** iəʔ⁷

CLS *iək⁷: **Sc** iɪʔ⁷; **Sy** iʔ⁷; **Lq** iʔ⁷; **Yh** iʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ i⁵ [2]; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** iəɯʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ iʔ⁷ [2]

CSS *ʔiʔ⁷

*4.18 Finals with the vowel sequence *uə*

CSWW	uə	uə̃	uəŋ	uəʔ	uək
CJQ	u; m̩/*m_; ŋ̍/*ŋ_	uə̃; ə̃/T_	uəŋ; əŋ/T,S_	uəʔ; əʔ/T,S_	uəʔ
Ly	u; m/*m_; ŋ/*ŋ_	uei; ei/T_	oŋ	uəʔ; əʔ/T,S_	uəʔ; əʔ/T,S_
Jh	u; m/*m_; ŋ/*ŋ_	uəŋ; əŋ/T,S_	uəŋ	uəʔ; əʔ/T,S_	uəʔ; əʔ/T,S_
Pj	u; m/*m_; n/*ŋ_	?; ə̃/T,S_	uən	uə; ə/T,S_	uə; ə/T,S_
Dy	u; n/*m,ŋ_	?; ɤ/T,S_	uən	uɑʔ; ɜʔ/T,S_	uɑʔ; ɜʔ/T,S_
Yk	u; ŋ/*m,ŋ_	?; ɤə/T,S_	uəŋ	ŭə; **ɤə/T,S_**	ŭə; **ə/T,S_**
Wy	u; n/*m,ŋ_	uo; ɤ/T,S	uen	uoʔ; əʔ/T,S_	əʔ
CLS	uə	uə̃	uəŋ	uəʔ	uək; ək/T,S_
Sc	uɤ	uə̃; ə̃/T_	uəŋ; əŋ/T_	ueʔ; eʔ/T,S_	əɯʔ/T,S_
Sy	ɯ; uɯ/K,H,f,v_	uɛ̃; æ̃/T,S_	uen; en/T_	uɛʔ; əʔ/T,S_	eʔ∼ɛʔ/T,S_
Lq	ɤɯ; uɯ/K,H_	uə; ɤ/T,S_	uɛiŋ; ɛiŋ/T_	uəʔ; əʔ/T,S_	uɛiʔ; ɛiʔ/T,S_
Yh	u; m/*m_	uɛ	uəŋ; əŋ/T_	uɛʔ	eiʔ/T,S_
Pc	uo	uãi (?)	ueŋ	uo	e/T,S_
Qy	ɤ; uɤ/K,H_	uã; ã/T,S_	uəŋ; əŋ/T_	uɤʔ; ɤʔ/T,S_	uəɯʔ∼əɯʔ
CSS	uə	uə̃	oŋ (?); ɨŋ/T_	yeʔ; uə/T,S_	yeʔ; ɨʔ/T,S_

Note the different correspondences for Yk for CSWW *-uəʔ and *-uək after coronal initials. See §4.1.4 for further discussion.

*4.18.1 *-uə > CSS *-uə*

Cáo et al. (2000, 35) take the diphthong reflexes of this final to be innovative. I disagree with this assessment. Monophthongization of *uə > [u] is more natural than the reverse. We would expect diphthongization in the case of mid vowels, but not high vowels (see Labov 1994, 252–54). In fact, the pre-**CSWW** value of this final was quite likely **-o. It corresponds to Common Mín *-o and **CDC** *-u (which corresponds to *-o in most reconstructions of Middle Chinese). **CSWW** simply underwent a course of development different from most other Chinese dialects. *-o broke to *-uə rather than rising to become simple *-u. The monophthongization of this final we find in the Jīnqú dialects is likely due to contact with Northern Wú and Mandarin.

80 *bù* 布〔遇合一去暮幫〕 ‘cloth’ **CDC** *pu^{5} / **EC** *’pah
CSWW *ɓuə^{5}

CJQ *ɓu⁵: **Ly** pu⁵; **Jh** pu⁵; **Pj** pu⁵; **Dy** pu⁵; **Yk** ʔbu⁵; **Wy** pu⁵
CLS *ɓuə⁵: **Sc** ʔbuɤ⁵; **Sy** ʔbɯ⁵; **Lq** ʔbɤɯ⁵; **Yh** ʔbu⁵; **Pc** puo⁵; **Qy** ʔbɤ⁵
CSS *puə⁵

411 *páo* 匏〔效開二平肴並〕 ‘calabash’ **CDC** *bau² / **EC** *bru
CSWW *buə²
CJQ *bu²: **Ly** —; **Jh** bu² 長～; **Pj** bun⁶ [兒]; **Dy** bu⁻¹¹ ～蘆; **Yk** pu⁻³²⁴ [兒]; **Wy** bu²
CLS *buə²: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** bɤɯ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** pɤ² □ ‘calabash’
CSS *buə²

138 *fú* 扶〔遇合三平虞奉C〕 ‘prop up, support’ **CDC** *vu² / **EC** *ba
CSWW *bu² [1] ⨯ *vuə² [2]
CJQ *vu²: **Ly** vu²; **Jh** vu⁶˩˨; **Pj** vu²; **Dy** u²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *bu² ⨯ *vuə²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** pu² ‘prop up’
b. **Sc** vuɤ⁶˩˨; **Sy** vuɯ¹˩˨; **Lq** vɤɯ²; **Yh** vu²; **Pc** fuo²; **Qy** fɤ²
CSS *bu² ⨯ #vuə²
a. **Kh** bu²; **Cs** bu²; **Js** bu²; **Ys** bu²; **Gf** bu²
b. **Kh** uo²˩˧; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** vuə²; **Gf** —

85 *dǔ* 賭〔遇合一上姥端〕 ‘bet’ **CDC** *tu³ / **EC** *ʾtax
CSWW *ɗuə³
CJQ *ɗu³: **Ly** tu³; **Jh** tu³; **Pj** tu³; **Dy** tu³; **Yk** ʔdu³; **Wy** lu³
CLS *ɗuə³: **Sc** ʔduɤ³; **Sy** ʔdɯ³; **Lq** ʔdɤɯ³; **Yh** ʔdu³; **Pc** luo³; **Qy** ʔdɤ³
CSS *tuə³

94 *cù* 醋〔遇合一去暮清〕 ‘vinegar’ **CDC** *tshuo⁵ / **EC** *ʾtshah
CSWW *tsʰuə⁵
CJQ *tsʰu⁵: **Ly** tsʰu⁵; **Jh** tsʰu⁵; **Pj** tsʰu⁵; **Dy** tsʰu⁵; **Yk** tsʰu⁵; **Wy** tsʰu⁵
CLS *tsʰuə⁵: **Sc** tsʰuɤ⁵; **Sy** tsʰɯ⁵; **Lq** tsʰɤɯ⁵; **Yh** tsʰu⁵; **Pc** tsʰuo⁵; **Qy** tsʰɤ⁵
CSS *tsʰuə⁵

97 *gǔ* 牯〔遇合一上姥見〕 ‘male’ **CDC** *ku³ / **EC** *ʾkax
CSWW *kuə³
CJQ *ku³: **Ly** ku³; **Jh** ku³; **Pj** ku³; **Dy** ku³; **Yk** ku³; **Wy** ku³
CLS *kuə³: **Sc** kuɤ³; **Sy** kuɯ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** ku³; **Pc** kuo³; **Qy** kuɤ³
CSS *kuə³

110 *wū* 烏〔遇合一平模影〕 ‘raven’ **CDC** *u¹ / **EC** *ʾa
CSWW *ʔuə¹ ‘black’

CJQ *ʔu¹: **Ly** u¹ ‘get dark’; **Jh** u¹ ‘get dark’; **Pj** u¹ ～人= ‘get dark’; **Dy** ʔu¹; **Yk** u¹ ‘get dark’; **Wy** u¹

CLS *uə¹: **Sc** uɤ¹; **Sy** uɯ¹; **Lq** uɯ¹; **Yh** u¹; **Pc** uo¹; **Qy** uɤ¹ [1]

CSS *ʔuə¹

*4.18.2 *-uə̃ > CSS *-uə̃*

For a discussion of problems relating to the correspondences and layering of this final, see §4.1.4.

After coronal initials the medial *-u- is lost in most dialects. Examples:

887 *dùn* 頓〔臻合一去慁端〕 ‘arrange (v.)’ **CDC** *tun⁵ / **EC** *’tunh

CSWW *ɗuə̃⁵ [1] ≍ *ɗuəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗə̃⁵ ≍ *ɗəŋ⁵

a. **Ly** tei⁵; **Jh** {təŋ⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɤ⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {təŋ⁵}; **Pj** tən⁻⁵³; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔnəŋ⁵; **Wy** ʔnen⁵

CLS *ɗuə̃⁵ ≍ *ɗuəŋ⁵

a. **Sc** ʔdə̃⁵; **Sy** ʔdæ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔdɤ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdã⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdəŋ⁵; **Pc** lueŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS #tuə̃⁵: **Kh** tuə̃⁵; **Cs** tuʌ̃⁵; **Js** tæ̃⁵ [1] ≍ tæ̃³ [2]; **Ys** tuə̃⁵; **Gf** tuɐ̃⁵

891 *nèn* 嫩〔臻合一去慁泥〕 ‘tender’ **CDC** *nun⁶ / **EC** *’nunh

CSWW *nuə̃⁶

CJQ *nə̃⁶: **Ly** nei⁶; **Jh** nəŋ⁶; **Pj** nə̃⁶ ≍ nən⁶ [2]; **Dy** nɤ⁶; **Yk** nɤə⁶; **Wy** nɤ⁶

CLS *nuə̃⁶: **Sc** nə̃⁶; **Sy** næ̃⁶; **Lq** nɤ⁶; **Yh** nuɛ⁶; **Pc** (nueŋ⁶₍f₎); **Qy** nã⁶

CSS *nuə̃⁶

892 *cūn* 村〔臻合一平魂清〕 ‘village’ **CDC** *tshun¹ / **EC** *’tshun

CSWW *tsʰuə̃¹

CJQ *tsʰuə̃¹: **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tsʰəŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰə̃¹; **Dy** tsʰɤ¹; **Yk** tsʰɤə¹; **Wy** tsʰɤ¹

CLS *tsʰuə̃¹: **Sc** tsʰə̃¹; **Sy** tsʰæ̃¹; **Lq** tsʰɤ¹; **Yh** tsʰuɛ¹; **Pc** tsʰuãi¹ ≍ tsʰueŋ¹; **Qy** tsʰã¹

CSS *tsʰuə̃¹

895 *cún* 存〔臻合一平魂從〕 ‘remain’ **CDC** *dzun² / **EC** *’dzun

CSWW *zuə̃² [1]

CJQ *z(u)ə̃² ≍ *dzəŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** dzəŋ²; **Jh** dzəŋ²; **Pj** dzən²; **Dy** dzən²; **Yk** dzəŋ²; **Wy** dzen²

CLS *zuə̃²: **Sc** zə̃²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɤ²; **Yh** zuɛ²; **Pc** (tsueŋ²₍f₎); **Qy** sã²

CSS #dzuə̃²₍i₎: **Kh** dzuə̃²; **Cs** dzuʌ̃²; **Js** dzuæ̃²; **Ys** zuə̃²₍i₎; **Gf** dzuɐ̃²

896 *sūn* 孫〔臻合一平魂心〕 ‘grandson; Sūn (pn.)’ **CDC** *sun¹ / **EC** *’sun

CSWW *suə̃¹

CJQ *suə̃¹ [1] ‘grandson’ ⨯ *suəŋ¹ [2] ‘Sūn (pn.)’

a. **Ly** suei¹; **Jh** {səŋ¹}; **Pj** sə̃¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** sɤə¹; **Wy** sɤ¹

b. **Ly** suəŋ¹ [1]; **Jh** {səŋ¹}; **Pj** —; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹

CLS *suə̃¹: **Sc** sə̃¹; **Sy** sæ̃¹; **Lq** sɤ¹; **Yh** suɛ¹; **Pc** (sueŋ¹$_{!f}$) ～子 ‘grandson’; **Qy** sã¹

CSS *suə̃¹

Most Southwestern Wú dialects use CSWW *suə̃ 孫 alone or with *ȵiə² 兒 as the popular word for ‘grandson’. Pc uses [sueŋ¹ tɛi³] 孫子 (Jiǎng and Jiǎng 2005, 86). This word is intrusive and its first syllable cannot be compared with the other members of this set.

Variation between **CSWW** *-uə̃ and *-uəŋ is well-documented after coronal initials in the literature, but it also appears after guttural initials. **CJQ** *-uəŋ does not correspond to **CLS** and **CSS** *-uə̃. Rather the literary readings from **CSWW** *-uəŋ have displaced autochthonous *-uə̃ to a greater extent in the Jīnqú dialects than elsewhere. This probably resulted from contact with dialects to the north of the Jīnqú basin including Lower Yangtze Watershed Mandarin and Northern Wú. I have nonetheless projected the literary *-uəŋ reading back to **CSWW** because they are often attested in the Lìshuǐ dialects, too.[24]

898 *kùn* 睏（困）〔臻合一去慁溪〕 ‘(exhausted >) sleepy; sleep’ **CDC** *khun⁵ / **EC** *’khunh

CSWW *kʰuoŋ⁵ (?) [1] ‘sleep’ ⨯ *kʰuə̃⁵ [2] ‘sleep’

CJQ *kʰuoŋ⁵$_{!a}$ (?) ⨯ *kʰuə̃⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** {kʰuəŋ⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kʰuəŋ⁵; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** kʰuɛ⁵$_{!f}$; **Jh** {kʰuəŋ⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰuo⁵

CLS *kʰuoŋ⁵$_{!a}$ (?) ⨯ *kʰuə̃⁵

a. **Sc** kʰəŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** kʰuɛ̃⁵; **Lq** kʰuə⁵; **Yh** kʰuɛ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰuã⁵

CSS #kʰuə̃⁵: **Kh** kʰuã⁵; **Cs** kʰuʌ̃⁵; **Js** kʰuæ⁵; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

The popular word for ‘sleep’ in Pc is [lau³] 倒, or for Norman’s consultant [nau³] (Norman 1987, 329; Lǐ 2001b, 511). Pc has a form that is etymologically related to CSWW *kʰuoŋ⁵ ⨯ *kʰuə̃⁵ ‘to sleep’, i.e. [kʰueŋ⁵] 困 ‘exhausted’, but it is literary and probably intrusive. The popular word for ‘sleep’ varies considerably in the other Southwestern Wú dialects.

[24]Specifically in the Eastern Lìshuǐ dialects, of which **Yh** is the sole representative in our data.

900 *hún* 魂〔臻合一平魂匣〕 ‘soul’ **CDC** *hun² / **EC** *’wun

CSWW *ɦuã²

CJQ *ɦuã² [1] ⩙ *ɦuəŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** uei²; **Jh** {uəŋ²}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {uəŋ²}; **Pj** uən²; **Dy** uən²; **Yk** uəŋ²; **Wy** uen²

CLS *ɦuã²: **Sc** uã²; **Sy** uɛ̃²; **Lq** uə²; **Yh** uɛ²; **Pc** (xueŋ²₍f); **Qy** uã²

CSS *ɦuã²

*4.18.3 *-uəŋ > CSS *-oŋ (?); *-ɨŋ/T_*

CSWW *-uəŋ is not purely literary. It occurs it after coronal initials in several colloquial words:

754 *duàn* 斷〔山合一上緩定〕 ‘sever, be sereved’ **CDC** *duon⁴ / **EC** *’donx

CSWW *duəŋ⁴ [1] *F* ⩙ *duõ⁴ [2] *B*

CJQ *dəŋ⁴ ⩙ *duɤ̃⁴

a. **Ly** dəŋ⁴; **Jh** təŋ³ [2]; **Pj** dən⁴; **Dy** dən⁴; **Yk** dəŋ⁴; **Wy** den⁴

b. **Ly** duei⁴; **Jh** tɤ³ [1] *F* ⩙ dɤ⁶ [1] *B* ⩙ duã⁶ [2] *B*; **Pj** —; **Dy** dɤ⁴ *F*; **Yk** dɤə⁴; **Wy** —

CLS *duəŋ⁴ ⩙ *duã⁴

a. **Sc** dəŋ⁴; **Sy** den⁴; **Lq** ʔdɛiŋ³; **Yh** dəŋ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** təŋ⁴

b. **Sc** dã⁴ *F*; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** duɛ⁴ [1]; **Pc** tuãi⁶₍t *luse*; **Qy** tã⁴

CSS *dɨŋ⁴

755 *luǎn* 卵〔山合一上緩來〕 ‘egg’ **CDC** *ʰluon⁴ / **EC** *’ʰlonx

CSWW *luəŋ⁴ [1] ‘egg’ ⩙ *luõ⁴ [2]

CJQ *ləŋ⁴ ⩙ *lɤ̃⁴

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ləŋ³ [1]; **Pj** lən⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** ləŋ⁴ ‘unhatched egg’; **Wy** len⁴

b. **Ly** lei⁴ [1] ‘testicles’ ⩙ luei⁵ [2] *B*; **Jh** (luã³₍f) [2] *B*; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɤ⁴ *B*; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *luəŋ⁴ ⩙ *luã⁴

a. **Sc** ləŋ⁴; **Sy** len⁴; **Lq** lɛiŋ³; **Yh** ləŋ³; **Pc** lueŋ⁴ [白]; **Qy** ləŋ⁴ [1]

b. **Sc** lyã⁴₍f ‘penis’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** luɛ³ ‘penis’; **Pc** luãi⁴ *B*; **Qy** lã⁴ [2] ‘penis’

CSS *lɨŋ⁴ ⩙ *lõ⁴

This is the basic word for ‘egg’ in most of the daughters, but also sometimes means ‘testicle’, especially in the Shàngshān dialects.

756 *luàn* 亂〔山合一去換來〕 ‘disarray’ **CDC** *luon⁶ / **EC** *’lonh

CSWW *luəŋ⁶ [1] ‘rashly’ ⩙ *luõ⁶ [2]

CJQ *ləŋ⁶ ⩙ *luɤ̃⁶
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ləŋ⁶ [2] ～話 ‘talk nonsense’; **Pj** lən⁶; **Dy** lən⁻³⁵ ～講 ‘talk nonsense’; **Yk** ləŋ⁻¹¹ ～□[tɕyaŋ⁴⁵] ‘be reckless’; **Wy** len⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～□kuen⁵³念 ‘talk nonsense’
b. **Ly** luei⁶; **Jh** lɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ luã⁶ [3]; **Pj** (luan⁶₍f); **Dy** lɤ⁶; **Yk** lɤə⁶; **Wy** nɤ⁶

CLS *luəŋ⁶ ⩙ *luã⁶
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ləŋ⁶
b. **Sc** lyã⁶₍f; **Sy** læ⁶; **Lq** lɤ⁶; **Yh** luɛ⁶; **Pc** luãi⁶; **Qy** lã⁶

CSS *liŋ⁶ ⩙ *lõ⁶

2046 TAKE OFF 褪

CSWW *tʰuəŋ⁵ 褪 ‘take off (clothes)’

CJQ *tʰəŋ⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰəŋ⁵; **Pj** tʰən⁵; **Dy** tʰən⁵; **Yk** tʰəŋ⁵; **Wy** tʰen⁵

CLS *tʰuəŋ⁵: **Sc** tʰəŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰəŋ⁵; **Pc** tʰueŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *tʰɨŋ⁵

In these sets, we find the alternation *-uəŋ ⩙ *-uõ. *-uəŋ is the autochthonous reflex of **EC** *’-on, likely by way of the following changes: *-on > *-un > *-uən > *-uəŋ. The development was different after grave initials. See §4.25.4 for details.

The remaining cases of *-uəŋ after guttural initials are entirely literary. They vary with *-uã in doublets. Examples:

897 *gǔn* 滾〔集韻：臻合一上混見〕 ‘roil’ **CDC** *kun³ / **EC** —

CSWW *kuã³ [1] ⩙ *kuəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *kuã³ ⩙ *kuəŋ³
a. **Ly** kuei³; **Jh** {kuəŋ³}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {kuəŋ³}; **Pj** kuən³; **Dy** kuən³; **Yk** kuəŋ³; **Wy** kuen³

CLS *kuəŋ³: **Sc** kuəŋ³; **Sy** kuen³; **Lq** kuɛiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** kueŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS *kuã³

899 *hūn* 昏〔臻合一平魂曉〕 ‘dusk’ **CDC** *xun¹ / **EC** *’hun

CSWW *xuoŋ⁵₍a (?) [1] ⩙ *xuã¹ [2]

CJQ *xuoŋ⁵₍a (?) ⩙ *xuã¹₍a (?) ⩙ *xuəŋ¹ [3]
a. **Ly** xoŋ⁵; **Jh** xuəŋ⁵ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {xuəŋ¹} [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** xuəŋ²₍t [2]; **Jh** {xuəŋ¹} [1]; **Pj** xuən¹; **Dy** xuən¹; **Yk** xuəŋ¹ ‘faint’; **Wy** xuen¹

CLS *xuã¹ [1] ⩙ *xuəŋ¹ [2]
a. **Sc** xuã¹; **Sy** fuɛ̃¹; **Lq** xuə¹; **Yh** xuɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** xuəŋ¹; **Pc** xueŋ¹; **Qy** —

CSS #xuə̃¹: **Kh** xuə̃¹; **Cs** xuʌ̃¹ [1] 黃～ ≍ xõ¹ [2] 黃～; **Js** xuæ̃¹; **Ys** xuə̃¹; **Gf** xuɐ̃¹

902 *wěn* 穩〔臻合一上混影〕 'stable (adj.)' **CDC** *un³ / **EC** *'unx

CSWW *ʔuə̃³ [1] ≍ *ʔuəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ʔuəŋ³: **Ly** uəŋ³; **Jh** uəŋ³; **Pj** uən³; **Dy** ʔuən³; **Yk** uəŋ³; **Wy** uen³

CLS *uə̃³ ≍ *uəŋ³

a. **Sc** uə̃³; **Sy** uɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** uɛ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** uã³

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** uɛiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** ueŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS #ʔuə̃³: **Kh** uə̃³; **Cs** uʌ̃³; **Js** uæ̃³; **Ys** uə̃³; **Gf** uɐ̃³

*4.18.4 *-uəʔ > CSS #-uəʔ (?); *-yeʔ/K,H_*

This final is marginal. It is set up to account for the following two sets:

903 *tū* 突〔臻合一入沒定〕 'jut out' **CDC** *dut⁸ / **EC** *'dut

CSWW *duəʔ⁸

CJQ *dəʔ⁸: **Ly** dəʔ⁸; **Jh** dəʔ⁸; **Pj** də⁸; **Dy** dɜʔ⁸; **Yk** dɤə⁴; **Wy** dəʔ⁸

CLS *duəʔ⁸: **Sc** deʔ⁸; **Sy** dəʔ⁸; **Lq** dəʔ⁸; **Yh** duɛʔ⁸; **Pc** tuo⁷; **Qy** tɤʔ⁸

CSS #duəʔ⁸: **Kh** duʌʔ⁸; **Cs** dʌʔ⁸; **Js** dəʔ⁸; **Ys** doʔ⁸; **Gf** duɐʔ⁸

905 *gǔ* 骨〔臻合一入沒見〕 'bone' **CDC** *kut⁷ / **EC** *'kut

CSWW *kuəʔ⁷

CJQ *kuəʔ⁷: **Ly** kuəʔ⁷; **Jh** kuəʔ⁷; **Pj** kuə⁷; **Dy** kuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kŭə³; **Wy** kuoʔ⁷

CLS *kuəʔ⁷: **Sc** kueʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kuo⁷; **Qy** kuɤʔ⁷

CSS *kyeʔ⁷

906 *kū* 窟〔臻合一入沒溪〕 'hole' **CDC** *khut⁷ / **EC** *'khut

CSWW *kʰuəʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *kʰoʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *kʰuəʔ⁷ ≍ *kʰoʔ⁷

a. **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷ǃf; **Jh** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰuə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰɔʔ⁷

CLS *kʰuəʔ⁷ ≍ *kʰuʔ⁷ '(butt) hole'

a. **Sc** kʰueʔ⁷ ～窿; **Sy** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰuo⁷; **Qy** kʰuɤʔ⁷

b. **Sc** kʰuʔ⁷ ～胡 'butt'; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰuʔ⁷ 腳～臀 'butt'; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kʰyeʔ⁷ 'pit' ≍ #kʰoʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷ 水～ 'puddle'; **Gf** kʰuɐʔ⁷ 'small pit'

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** kʰoʔ⁷ ～窿; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰəʔ⁷ ～窿; **Gf** kʰuɤʔ⁷

*4.18.5 *-uək > CSS *-yeʔ (?); *-ɨʔ/T,S_*

The sound correspondences for this final are difficult to interpret. At the meso-level we find **CJQ** *-uəʔ : **CLS** *-ək : **CSS** *-ɨʔ. Medial *-u- is extremely difficult to recover after coronals even in dialects that normally retain it. **CSS** reflex appears to match this trend at first blush, but the sound correspondence Akitani proposes for it:[25]

CSS	Kh	Cs	Js	Ys	Gf
*ɨʔ	əʔ	oʔ	əʔ	əʔ	eʔ; ie/k^h_

The **Cs** reflex is still rounded whereas the remaining reflexes have centralized. Comparing with the other branches, this value is likely to represent a retention of original rounding.

Examples:

771 *tuō* 脫〔廣韻：山合一入末透〕 'take off' **CDC** *thuot^7 / **EC** *'thot
CSWW *t^huək^7 [1] ⪤ *t^huɔʔ^7 [2]
CJQ *t^huəʔ^7: **Ly** t^həʔ^7; **Jh** t^həʔ^7; **Pj** t^hə^7; **Dy** t^hɜʔ^7; **Yk** t^hə^3; **Wy** t^həʔ^7
CLS *t^hək^7 ⪤ *t^huəʔ^7
a. **Sc** t^həɯʔ^7; **Sy** t^hɛʔ^7; **Lq** t^hɛiʔ^7; **Yh** t^heiʔ^7; **Pc** —; **Qy** t^həɯʔ^7
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** t^huo^7; **Qy** —
CSS *t^hɨʔ^7 ⪤ #t^hɔʔ^7
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** t^heʔ^7
b. **Kh** t^hɔʔ^7; **Cs** t^hʌʔ^7; **Js** t^hɒʔ^7; **Ys** t^hʌʔ^7; **Gf** t^hɐʔ^7

772 *duó* 奪〔山合一入末定〕 'despoil' **CDC** *duot^8 / **EC** *'dot
CSWW *duək^8 [1] ⪤ *duɔʔ^8 [2]
CJQ *duəʔ^8: **Ly** dəʔ^8; **Jh** dəʔ^8; **Pj** də^8; **Dy** dɜʔ^8; **Yk** də^4; **Wy** dəʔ^8
CLS *dək^8 ⪤ *duəʔ^8
a. **Sc** dəɯʔ^8; **Sy** deʔ^8; **Lq** dɛiʔ^8; **Yh** deiʔ^8; **Pc** —; **Qy** təɯʔ^8
b. **Sc** deʔ^8; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tuo^7; **Qy** —
CSS #dɨʔ^8 ⪤ *dɔʔ^8
a. **Kh** dəʔ^8; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** daʔ^8; **Js** dɒʔ^8; **Ys** dʌʔ^8; **Gf** dɐʔ^8

773 *luō* 捋〔山合一入末來〕 'take by the handful, stroke' **CDC** *luot^8 / **EC** *'lot
CSWW *luək^8

[25]Akitani did not include **Kh** in his proposed sound correspondence for this final. I have supplemented it for reference.

CJQ *luəʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** ləʔ⁸; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** luə⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸
CLS *ləkˀ⁸: **Sc** ləɯʔ⁸; **Sy** ly¹₍!ft₎; **Lq** —; **Yh** leiʔ⁷₍!t₎; **Pc** (luo⁷₍!f₎); **Qy** ləɯʔ⁸
CSS *lɨʔ⁸: **Kh** —; **Cs** loʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** loʔ⁸; **Gf** leʔ⁸

Yk [luə⁴] is unexpected. The medial is lost after other coronals. After gutturals, the medial is short [ŭ].

774 *cuō* 撮〔山合一入末清〕 'pick up (by pinching)' **CDC** *tshuot⁷ / **EC** *'tshot
CSWW *tsʰuəkˀ⁷ 'pick up'
CJQ *tsʰuəʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰə⁷; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰə³; **Wy** tsʰəʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰəkˀ⁷: **Sc** tsʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** tsɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰe⁷; **Qy** tsʰəɯʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰɨʔ⁷: **Kh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Cs** tsʰoʔ⁷; **Js** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Ys** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Gf** tsʰeʔ⁷

Words with this final are usually colloquial. When they have literary variants, those words end in *-uɔʔ. All the examples above correspond directly to **EC** *'-ot. They likely reflect an archaic pronunciation of **EC** *o that raised then broke before coronal codas. Essentially, **EC** *'-ut and *'-ot followed a similar chain of development, but exited the chain in two different ways. The development seems to have been:

0	1	2	3	4	CSWW
ot	ot	ut	ut	uət	uək
ut	uət	uət	uəʔ	uəʔ	uəʔ

See *-uoŋ (§4.25.4) and *-uəŋ (§4.18.3) for the separate but related development of **EC** *'o and *ro before *-n in **CSWW**. *-uək is mostly readily recoverable after coronal initials in our data, but there are a few complicated, patchy sets that suggest its presence after velar initials:

784 *guā* 刮〔山合二入鎋見〕 'scrape off, shave' **CDC** *kuat⁷ / **EC** *krot
CSWW *kuəkˀ⁷₍!a₎ (?) [1] ⪤ *kuaʔ⁷
CJQ *kuəʔ⁷₍!a₎ (?) ⪤ *kuɒʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuəʔ⁷ □ 'scrape even'
b. **Ly** kɔʔ⁷₍!f₎; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ⪤ kuəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kuɑ⁷; **Dy** kuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuɑʔ⁷
CLS *kəkˀ⁷₍!a₎ (?) ⪤ *kuaʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəɯʔ⁷
b. **Sc** kuaʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɔʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuaʔ⁷; **Pc** kua⁷; **Qy** kuɑʔ⁷ 搜～ 'extort'
CSS *kuɑʔ⁷

938 *qū* 屈〔臻合三入物溪 C〕 'bend (v.), give in' **CDC** *khiut⁷ / **EC** *khut
CSWW *kʰuəkˀ⁷ [1] 'bent' ⪤ *kʰyeʔ⁷ [2] ⪤ *kʰyəkˀ⁷ [3]

CJQ *kʰuəʔ⁷ ⩙ *kʰyəʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Ly** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰuə⁷; **Dy** kʰuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰŭə³; **Wy** kʰuoʔ⁷
b. **Ly** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰyə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕʰyəʔ⁷
CLS *kʰuək⁷ ⩙ *kʰyeʔ⁷ ⩙ *kʰyək⁷
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰuɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰuəɯʔ⁷
b. **Sc** tɕʰyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** {kʰye⁷}; **Qy** —
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** {kʰye⁷}; **Qy** tɕʰyəɯʔ⁷ [2]
CSS #kʰyeʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎ (?) ⩙ #kʰyəʔ⁷ ⩙ #kʰyʔ⁷
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** kʰœʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕʰyʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰioʔ⁷; **Gf** kʰyɤʔ⁷

822 *jué* 掘〔廣韻：山合三入月羣C〕 ‘dig’ **CDC** *giuot⁸ ⩙ *giut⁸ / **EC** *got ⩙ *gut
CSWW *guək⁸ [1] ⩙ *kʰyeʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎ [2] ⩙ *gyeʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ [3] ⩙ *gyək⁸ [4]
CJQ *guəʔ⁸ ⩙ *gyəʔ⁸ [2]
a. **Ly** guəʔ⁸; **Jh** guəʔ⁸; **Pj** —; **Dy** gɜʔ⁸; **Yk** gŭə⁴; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** dʑyəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑyəʔ⁸; **Pj** dʑyə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *guək⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) ⩙ *kʰyeʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎ (?) ⩙ *gyeʔ⁸ ⩙ *gyək⁸
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** gəɯʔ⁸
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰye⁷; **Qy** —
c. **Sc** dʑyeʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑyəʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
d. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʑyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyeɯʔ⁸ [2]
CSS #kʰyəʔ⁷: **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕʰyʌ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kʰyɤ⁷

I am unsure why the medial was lost in **Qy** in the first and last set. Note that set **784** 刮 is a **QYS** Division II word, so the **EC** origin is *-rot. This development is expected. See **779** 關 **CSWW** *kuoŋ¹ [1] *F* ‘shut’ for a parallel example involving *-ron.

*4.19 Finals with the vowel sequence *yə*

CSWW	yə	yəŋ	yək
CJQ	y; u/ɗ_	yəŋ; iəŋ/l_	yəʔ
Ly	y; i/*S_	yəŋ; iŋ/S_; oŋ/*Š_; ioŋ/H,x_	yəʔ
Jh	y; i/*S_	yəŋ; iŋ/S_	yəʔ
Pj	y; i/*S_	yən; ən/S_	yə; ə/*Š_
Dy	iʉ; ɣ~ɥ/S_	ien; uən/S_	iʉoʔ; ɜʔ~uɑʔ/*Š_
Yk	y; əi/*S_	yeiŋ	ў̆ə
Wy	y; i/*S_	yin	yəʔ
CLS	yə	yəŋ	yək
Sc	yɤ	yɪŋ; iɪŋ/l_	yɪʔ
Sy	y	iəŋ; en/l_	yʔ
Lq	y; i/ʔd_	yŋ; iŋ/l_	yʔ
Yh	y	yɪŋ; iŋ/l_	yeiʔ
Pc	ye	yeŋ; ueŋ/S_; eŋ/l_	ye
Qy	ye; ie/ʔd_	yəŋ; ã/l_	yəɯʔ
CSS	yə	yiŋ	yʔ

In the following finals, medial *-y- underwent unrounding after alveolar sibilant initials in most of the Jīnqú dialects.

*4.19.1 *-yə > CSS *-yə*

The sound correspondences for this final are similar to **CSWW** *-uə. Perhaps it was originally *-io in pre-**CSWW**.

142 *qǔ* 取〔遇合三上麌清 C〕 ‘take’ **CDC** *tshiu³ / **EC** *tshox
CSWW *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ [1] ‘seek return’ ⩙ *tšʰyə³ [2]
CJQ *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ ‘buy back’ ⩙ *tšʰy³
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕʰiu³
b. **Ly** tɕʰy³; **Jh** tɕʰy³; **Pj** tsʰu³|f; **Dy** tsʰɻ³; **Yk** tɕʰy³; **Wy** tɕʰy³ [2]
CLS *tɕʰiu³ ⩙ *tɕʰyə³
a. **Sc** tɕʰiɯ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ³
b. **Sc** tɕʰyɤ³; **Sy** tɕʰy³; **Lq** tɕʰy³; **Yh** tʃʰy³; **Pc** tɕʰye³; **Qy** tɕʰye³
CSS *tɕʰeu³ ⩙ *tɕʰyə³

148 *zhū* 珠〔遇合三平虞章 C〕 ‘pearl’ **CDC** *ciu¹ / **EC** *to
CSWW *tšyə¹

CJQ *tšy¹: **Ly** tɕy¹; **Jh** tɕy¹; **Pj** tʃy¹; **Dy** tsɿ¹ [1] ≍ tsɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** tɕy¹; **Wy** tɕy¹
CLS *tɕyə¹: **Sc** tɕyɤ¹; **Sy** tɕy¹; **Lq** tɕy¹ 珍～ ≍ y¹ 目～ 'eye'; **Yh** tʃy¹; **Pc** tɕye¹; **Qy** tɕye¹
CSS *tɕyə¹

152 *jù* 句〔遇合三去遇見 C〕 'phrase (clf.)' **CDC** *kiu⁵ / **EC** *koh
CSWW *kyə⁵
CJQ *ky⁵: **Ly** tɕy⁵; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy⁵; **Dy** tɕiu̶⁵; **Yk** ky⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵
CLS *kyə⁵: **Sc** kɤ⁵ǀf; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** kye⁵; **Qy** tɕye⁵ [2] ≍ kɤ⁵ [1]
CSS *kyə⁵
The irregular reflexes in **Sc** and **Qy** are probably due to phonological reduction. This word is most often used as a classifier—a function word.

155 *yǔ* 雨〔遇合三上麌云 C〕 'rain' **CDC** *yu⁴ / **EC** *wax
CSWW *ɦyə⁴
CJQ *ɦy⁴: **Ly** y⁴; **Jh** y³; **Pj** y⁴; **Dy** iu̶⁴; **Yk** y⁴; **Wy** y⁴
CLS *ɦyə⁴: **Sc** yɤ⁴; **Sy** y⁴; **Lq** y³; **Yh** y³; **Pc** ye⁴; **Qy** ye⁴
CSS *ɦyə⁴

This final exhibits special developments after *ɗ-. In **CJQ** it has developed into *-u in this environment. Presumably this change applied more generally to the non-sibilant alveolar obstruents but our examples only include *ɗ-.

2031 POINT 拄〔遇合三上麌知 C〕
CSWW *ɗyə³ 拄 'point at'
CJQ *ɗu³ □: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔdu³ 'bump with the elbow'; **Wy** lu³
CLS *ɗyə³ □: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdy³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdie³
CSS *tyə³ □

2032 PROP UP 柱〔集韻：遇合三去遇知 C〕
CSWW *ɗyə⁵ 柱 'prop up with, lean on'
CJQ *ɗu⁵ 拄: **Ly** tu⁵; **Jh** tu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** lu⁵
CLS *ɗyə⁵ 拄: **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdy⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdy⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdie⁵
CSS *tyə⁵

As mentioned in §4.28.3, this final varies with *-iu in stylistic doublets.

348 *suǐ* 髓〔止合三上紙心 AB〕 'marrow, medulla' **CDC** *sui³ / **EC** *soyx
CSWW *syə³ (?)

CJQ *sy³ (?): **Ly** ɕi³; **Jh** si³; **Pj** si³; **Dy** sʅ³˧˦ [1] ≍ sɥ³ [2]; **Yk** səi³˧˦; **Wy** ɕi³
CLS *syə³: **Sc** ɕie³; **Sy** sʅ³; **Lq** ɕi³; **Yh** —; **Pc** ɕye³; **Qy** ɕie³
CSS #sə³ [1] ≍ #suei³ [2]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** sə³ 腦～ ‘brains’; **Js** sə³ 腦～ ‘brains’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** sui³; **Cs** sue³ 骨～ ‘marrow’; **Js** suᴇ²; **Ys** zuei²; **Gf** sui²

*4.19.2 *-yəŋ > CSS *-yiŋ*

Examples of this final include:

840 *jīn* 津〔臻開三平真精 AB〕 ‘ford (n.)’ **CDC** *tsin¹ / **EC** *tsun ≍ *tsin
CSWW *tsyəŋ¹
CJQ *tsyəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tsiŋ⁵˧˨; **Pj** tsən⁵˧˨ 天～ ‘Tiānjīn (pn.)’; **Dy** tsuən¹; **Yk** tɕyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕyin⁻⁵³ 天～ ‘Tiānjīn (pn.)’
CLS *tɕyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃyɪŋ¹; **Pc** tsueŋ¹; **Qy** tɕyəŋ¹
CSS *tɕyiŋ¹

909 *sǔn* 筍〔臻合三上準心 AB〕 ‘bamboo shoot’ **CDC** *siun³ / **EC** *sunx
CSWW *syəŋ³ [1] ≍ *s(u)əŋ³ [2]
CJQ *syəŋ³ ≍ *s(u)əŋ³
a. **Ly** ɕiŋ³; **Jh** siŋ³; **Pj** {sən³}; **Dy** suən³; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** {sən³}; **Dy** —; **Yk** səŋ³; **Wy** sen³
CLS *syəŋ³ ≍ *s(u)əŋ³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃyɪŋ³; **Pc** {sueŋ³}; **Qy** ɕyəŋ³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** sen³; **Lq** sɛiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** {sueŋ³}; **Qy** —
CSS *ɕyiŋ³
The second line of Shàngshān forms do not correspond regularly. No form may be reconstructed to account for them. They are probably intrusive. Perhaps **CSWW** *s(u)əŋ³ is entirely intrusive and late.

911 *chūn* 春〔臻合三平諄昌 AB〕 ‘Spring’ **CDC** *chiun¹ / **EC** *thun
CSWW *tšʰyəŋ¹
CJQ *tšʰyəŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕʰyəŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰyən¹; **Dy** tsʰuən¹; **Yk** tɕʰyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyin¹
CLS *tɕʰyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɪŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰueŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰyəŋ¹
CSS *tɕʰyiŋ¹

929 *jūn* 軍〔臻合三平文見 C〕 ‘army’ **CDC** *kiun¹ / **EC** *kun
CSWW *kyəŋ¹
CJQ *kyəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕyəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕyəŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyən¹; **Dy** tɕien¹ [1] ≍ tɕiʉən¹ [2]; **Yk** kyeiŋ¹;

Wy tɕyin¹

CLS *kyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiəŋ¹; **Lq** kyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃyɪŋ¹; **Pc** kyeŋ¹; **Qy** tɕyəŋ¹

CSS *kyiŋ¹

934 *yún* 雲〔臻合三平文云 C〕 'cloud' **CDC** *yun² / **EC** *wun

CSWW *ɦyəŋ²

CJQ *ɦyəŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** yəŋ²; **Pj** yən²; **Dy** ien²; **Yk** yeiŋ²; **Wy** yin²

CLS *ɦyəŋ²: **Sc** yɪŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** yŋ²; **Yh** yɪŋ²; **Pc** yeŋ²; **Qy** yəŋ²

CSS *ɦyiŋ²

It is difficult to distinguish *-yəŋ from *-iəŋ after alveolar sibilant initials when they alternate in doublets because of unrounding in the Jīnqú dialects. In the following examples *-yəŋ seems to be a literary reading corresponding to **CDC** *-im.

593 *xùn* 蕈〔深開三上寢從 AB〕 'mushroom' **CDC** *dzim⁴ / **EC** —

CSWW *ziəŋ⁴ [1] ⪤ *zyəŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *ziəŋ⁴ [2] ⪤ *zyəŋ⁴

a. **Ly** {ʑiŋ⁴}; **Jh** {siŋ³}; **Pj** {zən⁴}; **Dy** —; **Yk** zəŋ⁴; **Wy** ʑin⁴

b. **Ly** {ʑiŋ⁴}; **Jh** {siŋ³}; **Pj** {zən⁴}; **Dy** zuən⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiəŋ⁴: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ⁴; **Sy** ʑin⁴; **Lq** ɕiŋ³; **Yh** zəŋ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiəŋ³

CSS *ʑiŋ⁴ ⪤ *ʑyiŋ⁴

In two cases, we find *-yəŋ and *-yẽ alternating in stylistic doublets. Both cases involve postalveolar initials. The *-yəŋ pronunciation in these sets is autochthonous and, like *-uəŋ, is probably a remnant of **EC** *-on.

792 *chuān* 穿〔山合三平仙昌 AB〕 'pierce, wear' **CDC** *chiuon¹ / **EC** *chon (khyon)

CSWW *tšʰyəŋ¹ [1] ⪤ *tšʰyẽ¹ [2]

CJQ *tšʰyəŋ¹ ⪤ *tšʰyẽ¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰən¹; **Yk** tɕʰyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyin¹

b. **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ¹ [1] ⪤ tɕʰyã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyẽ¹; **Dy** tsʰʊ¹; **Yk** tɕʰyə¹; **Wy** tɕʰye¹

CLS *tɕʰyəŋ¹ ⪤ *tɕʰyẽ¹

a. **Sc** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɪŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰyəŋ¹

b. **Sc** tɕʰyə̃¹; **Sy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕʰyə¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɛ¹; **Pc** tsʰuãi¹; **Qy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹

CSS *tɕʰyiŋ¹ ⪤ #tɕʰyə̃¹

a. **Kh** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Cs** tsʰuɪŋ¹; **Js** tɕʰyiŋ¹; **Ys** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Gf** tɕʰioŋ¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕʰyẽ¹; **Gf** tɕʰyẽ¹

793 *chuán* 船〔山合三平仙船 AB〕 ‘boat’ **CDC** *jiuon² / **EC** *ðon

CSWW *žyəŋ² [1] ⩙ *(ž,z)yẽ² [2]

CJQ *žyẽ²: **Ly** zuei²; **Jh** ʑyɤ² [1] ⩙ ʑyã² [2]; **Pj** ʒyẽ²; **Dy** zʊ²; **Yk** ʑyə²; **Wy** ʑye²

CLS *ʑyəŋ²$_{!a}$ (?) ⩙ *ʑyẽ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʑyŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʑyã²; **Sy** ɕyẽ²; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒyɛ²; **Pc** suãi²; **Qy** ɕyẽ²

CSS *ʑyiŋ² ⩙ #ʑyã²$_{!a}$ (?)

a. **Kh** ʑyŋ²; **Cs** zuɪŋ²; **Js** ɕyiŋ²; **Ys** ʑyɪŋ²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ɕyẽ²

*-yəŋ has almost completely merged with *-iəŋ after *l-, but note the special developments in Qy and Gf below:

590 *lín* 林〔深開三平侵來 AB〕 ‘grove’ **CDC** *lim² / **EC** *lim

CSWW *lyəŋ²

CJQ *liəŋ²: **Ly** liŋ²; **Jh** liŋ²; **Pj** lin²; **Dy** lien²; **Yk** lieiŋ²; **Wy** lin²

CLS *lyəŋ² (?): **Sc** liɪŋ²; **Sy** len²; **Lq** liŋ²; **Yh** liŋ²; **Pc** leŋ²; **Qy** lã² [1] 樹～ ‘grove’ ⩙ liəŋ² [2] ‘Lín (pn.)’

CSS *lyiŋ²: **Kh** liŋ²; **Cs** lɪŋ²; **Js** liŋ²; **Ys** lɪŋ²; **Gf** lioŋ² [1] ⩙ leiŋ² [2]

908 *lún* 輪〔臻合三平諄來 AB〕 ‘wheel, turn’ **CDC** *liun² ⩙ *lun² / **EC** *lun

CSWW *lyəŋ² [1] ⩙ *luəŋ² [2]

CJQ *li(ə)ŋ² ⩙ *ləŋ²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** liŋ²; **Pj** lin²; **Dy** —; **Yk** lieiŋ²; **Wy** lin^{-21}

b. **Ly** ləŋ²; **Jh** ləŋ²; **Pj** lən² [2]; **Dy** lən²; **Yk** ləŋ² [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *lyəŋ² (?) ⩙ *luəŋ²

a. **Sc** liɪŋ²; **Sy** {len²}; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ləŋ²; **Sy** {len²}; **Lq** (lɤ²$_{!f}$); **Yh** ləŋ²; **Pc** lueŋ²; **Qy** ləŋ²

CSS *lyiŋ²: **Kh** liŋ²; **Cs** lɪŋ²; **Js** liŋ²; **Ys** lɪŋ²; **Gf** lioŋ² [1] ⩙ leiŋ² [2]

*4.19.3 *-yək > CSS *-yʔ*

The following are examples of this final:

2045 SUCK 欶〔廣韻：臻合三入術精 AB〕

CSWW *tšyək⁷ ‘suck’

CJQ *tšyəʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕyəʔ⁷ 欶; **Pj** tɕyəʔ⁷ 欶; **Dy** tsuɑʔ⁷ 欶; **Yk** tɕy̆ə³ 欶; **Wy** tɕyəʔ⁷ 欶

CLS *tɕyək⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕyʔ⁷ 吸; **Yh** tɕyeiʔ⁷ □; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyəɯʔ⁷ □

CSS #tɕyʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕyeʔ⁷ □; **Cs** tɕyeʔ⁷ □; **Js** tɕyɛʔ⁷ □ 'kiss (babies)'; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕyɤʔ⁷ □ 'tender (redup.)'

Cáo et al. (2016) relate this word to **QYS** *tswit* (子律切) 欶 'to drink' and, according to *Yùpiān* 玉篇, 'to suck'. Both fit semantically with the Southwestern Wú forms, but the initial is incompatible. If the **CSWW** initial were *ts-, then we would expect to find it preserved in **Jh** in addition to conditioned unrounding of *-y- in most of the Jīnqú dialects. Wáng (2015) relates the **Lq** reflex to **QYS** *xip* (許及反) 吸 'to suck', but *x-* is also incompatible with **CSWW** *tš-.

This word may ultimately lack a counterpart in literary Chinese. I suspect it is a non-Chinese area word, the origin of which may not be recoverable; cf. Proto-Tai *cu:pᴰ 'to kiss' (Pittayaporn 2009, 349), Proto-Tibeto-Burman *dz(y)o:p ≍ *ts(y)o:p 'to kiss' (Matisoff 2003, 656).

918 *chū* 出〔臻合三入術昌 AB〕 'exit' **CDC** *chiut⁷ / **EC** *chut (khyut)

CSWW *tšʰyeʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *tšʰyək⁷ [2]

CJQ *tšʰyeʔ⁷ ≍ *tšʰyəʔ⁷ [1]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵; **Pj** tɕʰyə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕʰўə³; **Wy** tɕʰye⁵

b. **Ly** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕʰyeʔ⁷ ≍ *tɕʰyək⁷

a. **Sc** tɕʰyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰye⁷; **Qy** tɕʰyeʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰyəɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɕʰyəʔ⁷ ≍ *tɕʰyʔ⁷

919 *shù* 術〔臻合三入術船 AB〕 'technique' **CDC** *zhiut⁸ / **EC** *δut

CSWW *žyək⁸

CJQ *žyəʔ⁸: **Ly** ʑyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑyəʔ⁸; **Pj** dʒiə⁸₍ˌi; **Dy** dzuɑʔ⁸₍ˌi; **Yk** ʑўə⁴; **Wy** ʑyəʔ⁸

CLS *ʑyək⁸: **Sc** ʑyɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑyʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑyʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyəɯʔ⁸

CSS *ʑyʔ⁸

920 *jú* 橘〔臻合三入術見 A〕 'tangerine' **CDC** *kiut⁸ / **EC** *kwit

CSWW *kiək⁷ [1] ≍ *kyək⁷ [2]

CJQ *kyəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕyəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyə⁷; **Dy** tɕiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** kўə³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** tɕyəʔ⁷

CLS *kiək⁷₍ˌa ≍ *kyək⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃyeiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyəɯʔ⁷

CSS *kiʔ⁷ ≍ *kyʔ⁷

*4.20 Finals with the vowel sequence *əi plus *-eŋ*

CSWW	əi	eŋ	əiʔ
CJQ	əi	əŋ; eŋ/T,S_	əiʔ
Ly	ei	əŋ	əʔ
Jh	ɛ	əŋ	əʔ
Pj	a	ən	ə; ɛ/T,S_
Dy	e	əŋ	əiʔ
Yk	əi	əŋ; ieiŋ/T,Ś_	əi; ə/P_
Wy	a	en	əʔ
CLS	əi	eŋ	əiʔ
Sc	ei	ə̃; (ɪŋ/T_ ʔ)	eʔ; ɔʔ/P_
Sy	ɛ; e/P_	æ̃	ɛʔ; əʔ/T_ (ʔ)
Lq	ɛ	ɛ	ɛʔ
Yh	a; ei/P_	ɛ	aʔ
Pc	ai; e/P_; ue/K,H_	eŋ	e
Qy	ai	ã	ɤʔ
CSS	əi; uəi/P_	ə̃	əʔ; oʔ/P_; æʔ/*Š_

*4.20.1 *-əi > CSS *-əi; *-uəi/P*

Examples:

162 *lái* 來〔蟹開一平咍來〕 ‘come’ **CDC** *loi² / **EC** *’li

CSWW *li² [1] ⩙ *ləi² [2]

CJQ *ləi²: **Ly** lei² [1] ⩙ lɛ² [2]; **Jh** lɛ²; **Pj** la² [1]; **Dy** le²; **Yk** ləi²; **Wy** la² [1]

CLS *li² ⩙ *ləi²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** li²; **Lq** li²; **Yh** li²; **Pc** li²; **Qy** lie$^{3}{}_{\text{lft}}$

b. **Sc** lei²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** la²; **Pc** lai²; **Qy** lai²

CSS *li² ⩙ #ləi²

a. **Kh** li²; **Cs** li²; **Js** li²; **Ys** li²; **Gf** li²

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** lɛ$^{-0}$; **Js** lᴇ^{0}; **Ys** lɐi²; **Gf** lɐi²

163 *zāi* 災〔蟹開一平咍精〕 ‘disaster’ **CDC** *tsoi¹ / **EC** *’tsi

CSWW *tsəi¹

CJQ *tsəi¹: **Ly** tsei¹; **Jh** tsɛ¹; **Pj** tsa¹; **Dy** tse¹; **Yk** tsəi¹; **Wy** tsa¹

CLS *tsəi¹: **Sc** tsei¹; **Sy** tsɛ¹; **Lq** tsɛ¹; **Yh** tsa¹; **Pc** tsai¹; **Qy** tsɑ¹

CSS #tsəi¹: **Kh** tsɛ¹; **Cs** tsɛ¹; **Js** tsᴇ¹; **Ys** tsɐi¹; **Gf** tsɐi¹

171 *kāi* 開〔蟹開一平咍溪〕 ‘open’ **CDC** *khoi¹ / **EC** *’khuy
CSWW *kʰəi¹
CJQ *kʰəi¹: **Ly** kʰei¹; **Jh** kʰɛ¹; **Pj** kʰa¹; **Dy** kʰe¹; **Yk** kʰəi¹; **Wy** kʰa¹
CLS *kʰəi¹: **Sc** kʰei¹; **Sy** kʰɛ¹; **Lq** kʰɛ¹; **Yh** kʰei¹₍f₎; **Pc** kʰue¹; **Qy** kʰai¹
CSS *kʰəi¹

287 *jǐ* 倚〔止開三上紙羣 B〕 ‘stand (v.)’ **CDC** *gi⁴ / **EC** *gayx
CSWW *gəi⁴ ‘stand’
CJQ *gəi⁴: **Ly** gei⁴; **Jh** kɛ³; **Pj** ga⁴; **Dy** ge⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** ga⁴
CLS *gəi⁴: **Sc** gei⁴; **Sy** gɛ⁴; **Lq** kɛ³; **Yh** ga⁴; **Pc** kue⁴; **Qy** kai⁴
CSS *gəi⁴

175 *ài* 愛〔蟹開一去代影〕 ‘love’ **CDC** *oi⁵ / **EC** *’us
CSWW *ʔəi⁵
CJQ *ʔei⁵: **Ly** ei⁵; **Jh** ɛ⁵; **Pj** a⁵; **Dy** ʔe⁵; **Yk** əi⁵; **Wy** a⁵
CLS *əi⁵: **Sc** ei⁵; **Sy** ɛ⁵; **Lq** ɛ⁵; **Yh** a⁵; **Pc** ue⁵; **Qy** ai⁵
CSS *ʔəi⁵

Alternation between *-i ⨯ *-əi found in **162** 來 is also found in a few other words that took the **EC** final *’-i. For example **166** 菜.

*4.20.2 *-eŋ > CSS *-ə̃*

The correspondences for **CSWW** *-eŋ overlap with *-əŋ in the Jīnqú dialects and *-ə̃ in the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān dialects. Among the Jīnqú dialects in this study, **Yk** is the only site that distinguishes *-eŋ from *-əŋ. The distinction only manifests after coronal initials:

CJQ	Ly	Jh	Pj	Dy	Yk	Wy
*eŋ	əŋ	əŋ	ən	əŋ	ieiŋ	en
*əŋ	əŋ	əŋ	ən	əŋ	əŋ	en

Among the Lìshuǐ dialects in this study, only **Lq** and **Pc** distinguish *-eŋ from *-ə̃ and just **Pc** retains a segmental coda. I have set up a segmental coda for this final because other Eastern Lìshuǐ dialects, like Qīngtián 青田 (Qt) and Jìnyún 縉雲 (Jy), also have a segmental nasal coda for

this final.[26]

CLS	Sc	Sy	Lq	Yh	Pc	Qy	Qt	Jy
*eŋ	ə	æ̃	ɛ	ɛ	eŋ	ã	iŋ	en
*ə̃	ə̃	æ̃	ɤ	ɛ	ãi	ã	iɛ	ɛ

The following examples illustrate the usual correspondences after coronal initials:

1066 *néng* 能〔曾開一平登泥〕 'be able' **CDC** *neng² / **EC** *'ning ⩙ *'ni
CSWW *neŋ²
CJQ *neŋ²: **Ly** nəŋ²; **Jh** nəŋ²; **Pj** nən²; **Dy** nən²; **Yk** nieiŋ²; **Wy** nen²
CLS *neŋ²: **Sc** nə̃²; **Sy** næ̃²; **Lq** nɛ²; **Yh** nɛ²; **Pc** neŋ²; **Qy** nã²
CSS #nə̃²: **Kh** (nəŋ²ˌf); **Cs** (noŋ²ˌf); **Js** næ̃²; **Ys** næ̃²; **Gf** næ̃²
Cf. **Qt** [nɻiŋ²]

1067 *céng* 層〔曾開一平登從〕 'layer' **CDC** *dzeng² / **EC** *'dzing
CSWW *zeŋ²
CJQ *zeŋ²: **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** zəŋ² [1] ⩙ dzəŋ² [2]; **Pj** dzən²ˌi; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** ʑieiŋ²; **Wy** zen²
CLS *zeŋ²: **Sc** zə̃²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɛ²; **Yh** zɛ²; **Pc** tseŋ²; **Qy** sã²
CSS *zə̃²: **Kh** zɛ̃²; **Cs** zʌ̃⁴; **Js** sæ̃²; **Ys** zæ̃²; **Gf** dzæ̃²
Cf. **Qt** [iŋ²]; **Jy** [zen²]

After alveolar stop initials, the daughters of all branches exhibit traces of *-iŋ being confused with *-eŋ. I have reconstructed forms in **CSWW** to account for both sources, but the origin of these pairs might be near-merger rather than stylistic doublets.[27]

1061 *dēng* 燈〔曾開一平登端〕 'lamp' **CDC** *teng¹ / **EC** *'ting
CSWW *ɗiŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *ɗeŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *ɗeŋ¹ (?): **Ly** təŋ¹; **Jh** təŋ¹; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** tən¹; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ¹; **Wy** nen¹
CLS *ɗiŋ¹ ⩙ *ɗeŋ¹
a. **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdæ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdɛ¹; **Pc** leŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdã¹

[26]In the following examples, the Jy data is cited from Wú and Lóu (2012) and the Qt data from Wáng (2015).

[27]For more on the concept of near-merger, see (/t Labov et al. 1991). See also Wáng (2008, 223) for a comprehensive table of Lìshuǐ dialect forms for **1061** 燈 and **1063** 凳, both of which were affected by the near-merger of *-eŋ and *-iŋ.

CSS *tiŋ¹ ⩙ #tə̃¹₍ˌa₎ (?)
a. **Kh** tiŋ¹; **Cs** tɪŋ¹; **Js** tiŋ¹; **Ys** tɪŋ¹; **Gf** teiŋ¹
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tæ̃¹; **Gf** —
Cf. **Qt** [ʔdiŋ¹]; **Jy** [nen¹]

1064 *téng* 藤〔曾開一平登定〕 ‘vine’ **CDC** *deng² / **EC** *’ding
CSWW *diŋ² [1] ⩙ *deŋ² [2] ⩙ *dəŋ² (?) [3]
CJQ *diŋ² ⩙ *deŋ² (?)
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** din²; **Dy** —; **Yk** {dieiŋ²}; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** dəŋ²; **Jh** dəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** dən²; **Yk** {dieiŋ²}; **Wy** den²
CLS *deŋ² [1] ⩙ *dəŋ² [2]
a. **Sc** də̃²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dɛ²; **Pc** teŋ²; **Qy** tã²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dɛiŋ²; **Yh** dəŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *diŋ² ⩙ #də̃²₍ˌa₎ (?) ⩙ #diŋ²₍ˌa₎ (?)
a. **Kh** diŋ²; **Cs** dɪŋ²; **Js** diŋ²; **Ys** dɪŋ²; **Gf** deiŋ²
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** dæ̃²; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** dəŋ² [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
Cf. **Qt** [diŋ²]; **Jy** [den²]

Normally, **CSWW** *-eŋ corresponds to **CDC** *-eng, but we also find it alternating with **CSWW** *-iaŋ in stylistic doublets. These forms are vestiges of a substrate in which plain-syllable **EC** *-ang never developed a medial. Cognate medial-less forms are also found in Mín Chinese:

984 *cháng* 長〔宕開三平陽澄 C〕 ‘long’ **CDC** *jiong² / **EC** *drang
CSWW *deŋ² [1] *F* ⩙ *džiaŋ² [2] *B*
CJQ *džiaŋ² *F*: **Ly** dzã²; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ²; **Pj** dʒyõ²; **Dy** dʑiʌ²; **Yk** dʑiaŋ²; **Wy** dʑiaŋ²
CLS *deŋ² ⩙ *dʑiaŋ²
a. **Sc** də̃²; **Sy** tæ̃²; **Lq** dɛ²; **Yh** dɛ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã²
b. **Sc** dʑiaŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaŋ²; **Yh** dʒiã² *F*; **Pc** tɕiaŋ²; **Qy** tɕiã²
CSS *də̃² ⩙ #dʑiã²
a. **Kh** dɛ̃² [2]; **Cs** dʌ̃²; **Js** dæ̃²; **Ys** dæ̃²; **Gf** dæ̃²
b. **Kh** dʑiã²; **Cs** dʑiã⁻²² ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Js** dʑiã⁻³³ ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Ys** dʑiã²; **Gf** dʑiã²
Cf. Common Min *dɔŋ²; Proto-Níngdé *tɔŋ²

991 *chuáng* 牀〔廣韻：宕開三平陽崇 C〕 ‘bed’ **CDC** *jong² / **EC** *dzrang
CSWW *z(eŋ,ə̃)² [1] ⩙ *žyaŋ² [2]
CJQ *žyaŋ²: **Ly** zuã² [1] ⩙ zã² [2]; **Jh** ʑyɑŋ² [1] ⩙ dʑyɑŋ² [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ²; **Dy** zʌ²; **Yk** ʑyaŋ²; **Wy** ʑyaŋ²

CLS *z(eŋ,ə̃)²˩˧ (?) ⩙ *ʑyɔŋ²

a. **Sc** zə̃² □□[məŋ²¹¹]～; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʑiɔŋ²; **Sy** ɕioŋ²; **Lq** ʑiɔŋ²; **Yh** ʒiõ²; **Pc** saŋ²; **Qy** ɕiõ²

CSS *zə̃² ⩙ *ʑiõ²

Cf. Common Min *tʃʰɔŋ² 'bed (for sleeping)' ⩙ *ʃɔŋ² (?) '(steamer) bed'; Proto-Níngdé *tʃʰɔŋ² *id.* ⩙ *tʃɔŋ² *id.* The steaming device word is only attested in Coastal Min.

1006 *yāng* 秧〔宕開三平陽影 C〕 'rice seedling' **CDC** *iong¹ / **EC** *ang

CSWW *ʔeŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *ʔiaŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiaŋ¹ [1]: **Ly** iã¹; **Jh** iɑŋ¹; **Pj** yõ¹; **Dy** ʔiʌ¹; **Yk** iaŋ¹; **Wy** iaŋ¹

CLS *ʔeŋ¹ ⩙ *ʔiaŋ¹

a. **Sc** ə̃¹; **Sy** æ̃¹; **Lq** ɛ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ã¹

b. **Sc** iaŋ¹ 菜～ 'tender vegetables'; **Sy** iaŋ¹; **Lq** iaŋ¹; **Yh** iã¹; **Pc** iaŋ¹; **Qy** iɑ̃¹ 菜～ 'tender vegetables'

CSS *ʔə̃¹ [2] ⩙ *ʔiɑ̃¹ [1]

Cf. Proto-Níngdé *ɔŋ¹

It is unclear how **CSWW** *-eŋ developed after grave initials in **Yk**. In the following set, the **Yk** form might be inherited regularly from *-eŋ, but it also might be literary.

1068 *kěn* 肯〔曾開一上等溪〕 'willing' **CDC** *kheng³ ⩙ *khen³ / **EC** *'khingx

CSWW *kʰeŋ³ [1] ⩙ *kʰəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *kʰəŋ³: **Ly** kʰəŋ³; **Jh** kʰəŋ³; **Pj** kʰən³; **Dy** kʰən³; **Yk** kʰəŋ³; **Wy** kʰen³

CLS *kʰeŋ³ ⩙ *kʰəŋ³˩˧

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** kʰæ̃³; **Lq** kʰɛ³; **Yh** kʰɛ³; **Pc** {kʰeŋ³}; **Qy** kʰã³

b. **Sc** kʰəŋ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {kʰeŋ³}; **Qy** —

CSS #kʰə̃³ ⩙ #kʰiŋ³

a. **Kh** kʰɛ̃³; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰæ̃³; **Gf** kʰæ̃³

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** kʰoŋ³; **Js** kʰəŋ³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

Cf. **Qt** [kʰiŋ³]; **Jy** [tɕʰien³]

*4.20.3 *-əiʔ > CSS *-əʔ; *-oʔ/P_; *-æʔ/*Š_*

CSWW *-əiʔ is the glottal counterpart to *-eŋ and exhibits similar patterns of layering. It varies with *-iʔ after alveolar stops and with *-iauʔ in words with plain final *-ak in **EC**. The following examples are of cases where this final corresponds to **CDC** *-ek:

1071 *dé* 得〔曾開一入德端〕 ‘get; resultative ptcl.’ **CDC** *tek⁷ / **EC** *’tik

CSWW *ɗiʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *ɗəiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *ɗəiʔ⁷: **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** təʔ⁷; **Pj** (tɛ⁷) ⪤ tə⁷; **Dy** teiʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ tɜʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ʔdəi³ [1]; **Wy** ləʔ⁷

CLS *ɗiʔ⁷ ⪤ *ɗeʔ⁷

a. **Sc** ʔdiɪʔ⁷ ⪤ deʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiʔ⁰ ⪤ iʔ⁰; **Yh** ʔdiʔ⁷ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiʔ⁷ [2]

b. **Sc** ʔdeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdəʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔdɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdaʔ⁷ [1]; **Pc** le⁷; **Qy** ʔdɤʔ⁷ [1]

CSS #tiʔ⁷ ⪤ #təʔ⁷

a. **Kh** tieʔ⁷; **Cs** teʔ⁷ [2]; **Js** tiɛʔ⁷ [2]; **Ys** teʔ⁷ [2]; **Gf** teʔ⁷ [2]

b. **Kh** tʌʔ⁷ [2]; **Cs** tʌʔ⁷ [1]; **Js** təʔ⁷ [1]; **Ys** tɐʔ⁷ [1]; **Gf** tɐʔ⁷ [1]

It is unclear whether **CSWW** *ɗiʔ⁷ originated regularly from an archaic variant or if it arose as a weak grammaticalized variant of *ɗəiʔ⁷.

1075 *zéi* 賊〔曾開一入德從〕 ‘bandit’ **CDC** *dzek⁸ / **EC** *’dzik

CSWW *zəiʔ⁸

CJQ *zəiʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** zəʔ⁸ [1] ⪤ dzəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** zə⁸˩˧; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ [1] ⪤ dzɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸

CLS *zeʔ⁸: **Sc** zeʔ⁸; **Sy** zɛʔ⁸; **Lq** zɛʔ⁸; **Yh** zaʔ⁸; **Pc** tsʰe⁷˩˨; **Qy** sɤʔ⁸

CSS *zəʔ⁸

1077 *kè* 刻〔曾開一入德溪〕 ‘carve’ **CDC** *khek⁷ / **EC** *’khik

CSWW *kʰəiʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰəiʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰə⁷; **Dy** kʰeiʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ kʰɜʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** kʰəi³; **Wy** kʰəʔ⁷

CLS *kʰeʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰɛʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰe⁷; **Qy** kʰɤʔ⁷

CSS *kʰəʔ⁷

In this example, it corresponds to **EC** *-ak:

1015 *zhuó* 着（著）〔廣韻：宕開三入藥知 C〕 ‘wear’ **CDC** *ciok⁷ / **EC** *trak

CSWW *ɗəiʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *ɗiauʔ⁷ [2] ⪤ *tšiauʔ⁷ [3]

CJQ *ɗiauʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *tšiauʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** liɑoʔ⁷

b. **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tʃyo⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗeʔ⁷ ⪤ *tɕiauʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Sc** ʔdeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdɛʔ⁷ [2]; **Lq** ʔdɛʔ⁷ ⪤ ʔdɛ³; **Yh** ʔdaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** dɤʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiau⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *təʔ⁷

Cf. Qīngtián [ʔdeʔ⁷]

After postalveolar initials we find variation of this final with many others in the daughters, but the data only permits us to reconstruct a common form to account for the newer variant at the level of **CJQ**. The newer **CJQ** variants reflect *-əʔ which normally corresponds to **CSWW** *-uəʔ. Here it is intrusive. In the other branches, the intrusive forms do not demonstrate regular correspondence. They were loaned in parallel after **CLS** and **CSS** had begun to diversify.

CSS *-æʔ resulted from lowered **CSWW** *-əiʔ after postalveolar initials. This conditioning environment is confirmed by the **Wy** colloquial reading of **1097** 側, although it should be noted that we do not find a parallel reading of **1098** 色. I suspect the autochthonous reading was displaced.

1097 *cè* 側〔曾開三入職莊 C〕 ‘side’ **CDC** *cek^{7} / **EC** *tsrik

CSWW *tšəiʔ^{7}

CJQ *tšəiʔ^{7} [1] ⪤ *ts^{h}əʔ^{7} [2]

a. **Ly** tsəʔ^{7}; **Jh** tsəʔ^{7}; **Pj** tsɛ^{7}; **Dy** tseiʔ^{7}; **Yk** tsəi^{3}; **Wy** tɕiəʔ^{7} ⪤ tsəʔ^{7} [2]

b. **Ly** ts^{h}əʔ^{7}; **Jh** ts^{h}əʔ^{7}; **Pj** ts^{h}ə^{7}; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tseʔ^{7}: **Sc** tseʔ^{7}; **Sy** tsɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** tsɛʔ^{7}; **Yh** tsaʔ^{7} [1] ⪤ ts^{h}aʔ^{7} [2]; **Pc** (ts^{h}ai^{7}$_{!if}$); **Qy** (ts^{h}ɤʔ^{7}$_{!i}$)

CSS *tsæʔ^{7}

1098 *sè* 色〔曾開三入職生 C〕 ‘color’ **CDC** *shek^{7} / **EC** *srik

CSWW *šəiʔ^{7}

CJQ *šəiʔ^{7} [1] ⪤ *səʔ^{7} (?) [2]

a. **Ly** {səʔ^{7}}; **Jh** {səʔ^{7}}; **Pj** —; **Dy** seiʔ^{7}; **Yk** səi^{3}; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** {səʔ^{7}}; **Jh** {səʔ^{7}}; **Pj** sə^{7}; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** səʔ^{7}

CLS *seʔ^{7}: **Sc** (səɯʔ^{7}$_{!f}$); **Sy** sɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** (sɳʔ^{7}$_{!f}$); **Yh** saʔ^{7}; **Pc** se^{7}; **Qy** sɤʔ^{7}

CSS *sæʔ^{7}

After bilabial initials, the main vowel of this final rounded in **CSS** and neighboring **Sc**:

1069 *běi* 北〔曾開一入德幫〕 ‘north’ **CDC** *pek^{7} / **EC** *’pik

CSWW *ɓəiʔ^{7}

CJQ *ɓəiʔ^{7}: **Ly** pəʔ^{7}; **Jh** pəʔ^{7}; **Pj** pə^{7}; **Dy** peiʔ^{7}; **Yk** ʔbə^{3}; **Wy** pəʔ^{7}

CLS *ɓeʔ^{7}: **Sc** ʔbɔʔ^{7}; **Sy** ʔbɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** ʔbɛʔ^{7}; **Yh** ʔbaʔ^{7}; **Pc** pe^{7}; **Qy** ʔbɤʔ^{7}

CSS *poʔ^{7}

1070 *mò* 墨〔曾開一入德明〕 ‘ink’ **CDC** *mek^{8} / **EC** *’mik

CSWW *məiʔ^{8}

CJQ *məiʔ^{8}: **Ly** məʔ^{8}; **Jh** məʔ^{8}; **Pj** mə^{8}; **Dy** meiʔ^{8}; **Yk** mə^{4}; **Wy** məʔ^{8}

CLS *meʔ⁸: **Sc** məʔ⁸ ⩙ meʔ⁸; **Sy** mɛʔ⁸; **Lq** miʔ⁸₍f; **Yh** maʔ⁸; **Pc** me⁷; **Qy** mɤʔ⁸
CSS *moʔ⁸

*4.21 Finals with the vowel sequences *iei and *ie*

CSWW	iei	iẽ	ieʔ
CJQ	ie	iẽ	ieʔ
Ly	i	ie; ei/*Š_	iəʔ; ə/*Š_
Jh	ie; yɤ/*Š_	ie; yɤ/*Š_	ie; yɤ/*Š_
Pj	i	iẽ; ɛ/*Š_	i
Dy	i	i	iəʔ
Yk	iə	iə	iə
Wy	ie	ie	ie
CLS	ie	iẽ	ieʔ
Sc	ie	iẽ	ieʔ
Sy	i; ɿ/S_	iɛ̃	iɛʔ
Lq	i	iɛ	iɛʔ
Yh	i; ɿ/S_	ie	ieʔ
Pc	ie	iãi	ie
Qy	ie	iɛ̃	ieʔ
CSS	ei; iə/K,H_ (?)	iə̃	iəʔ

*4.21.1 *-iei > CSS *-ei, (*-iə/K,H_ ?)*

This final's sound correspondences are exemplified by the following sets.

212 *mǐ* 米〔蟹開四上薺明〕 'rice' **CDC** *ʰmiai⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰmiyx
CSWW *miei⁴ [1] ⩙ *mi⁴₍a (?) [2]
CJQ *mie⁴: **Ly** mi⁴; **Jh** mie³ [1] ⩙ mi³ [2]; **Pj** mi⁴; **Dy** mi⁴; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴
CLS *mie⁴: **Sc** mie⁴; **Sy** mi⁴; **Lq** mi³; **Yh** mi³; **Pc** meŋ⁴₍f ⩙ mi⁶; **Qy** mie⁴
CSS *mi⁴

266 *fèi* 肺〔蟹合三去廢敷 C〕 'lungs' **CDC** *fui⁵ / **EC** *phos
CSWW *fiei⁵
CJQ *fie⁵: **Ly** fi⁵; **Jh** fi⁵₍f; **Pj** fi⁵; **Dy** fi⁵; **Yk** fiə⁵; **Wy** fie⁵
CLS *fie⁵: **Sc** fi⁵₍f; **Sy** pʰi⁵; **Lq** fi⁵; **Yh** fi⁵; **Pc** fie⁵ ⩙ xye⁵; **Qy** fie⁵
CSS *fei⁵

220 *dì* 弟〔蟹開四上薺定〕 ‘little brother’ **CDC** *diai⁴ / **EC** *’diyx

CSWW *dia⁴ [1] ⪤ *diei⁴ [2]

CJQ *dia⁴ ⪤ *die⁴

a. **Ly** diɑ⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** di⁴; **Jh** tie³ [1] ⪤ di⁶ [2]; **Pj** di⁴; **Dy** di⁴; **Yk** diə⁴; **Wy** die⁴

CLS *diei⁴: **Sc** die⁴; **Sy** di⁴; **Lq** ʔdi³; **Yh** di⁴; **Pc** tie⁴ [白] ⪤ tie⁶ [文]; **Qy** tie⁴

CSS *diə⁴ ⪤ #dei⁴

a. **Kh** die⁶; **Cs** die⁻²²; **Js** diə⁴; **Ys** die⁴; **Gf** die⁴

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** de²ǃt [3]; **Js** tɛ⁻⁵²; **Ys** (ti⁻⁵²ǃf); **Gf** di⁴

225 *qí* 齊〔蟹開四平齊從〕 ‘level’ **CDC** *dziai² / **EC** *’dziy

CSWW *ziei²

CJQ *zie²: **Ly** ʑi²; **Jh** zie² [1] ⪤ dzi² [2]; **Pj** ʒi²; **Dy** zi²; **Yk** ʑiə²; **Wy** ʑie²

CLS *ʑie²: **Sc** ʑie²; **Sy** sɿ²; **Lq** ʑi²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** tɕie²; **Qy** ɕie²

CSS #zei² [1] ⪤ #dʑi² [2]

a. **Kh** ze²; **Cs** ze²; **Js** sɛ²; **Ys** zɐi²; **Gf** {dʑi²}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** dʑi²; **Ys** dʑi² 整～ ‘organized’; **Gf** {dʑi²}

209 *shì* 世〔蟹開三去祭書 AB〕 ‘era’ **CDC** *shiai⁵ / **EC** *hyas

CSWW *šiei⁵

CJQ *šie⁵: **Ly** sɿ⁵; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ⪤ sɿ⁵ [2]; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕie⁵: **Sc** ɕie⁵; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** ɕi⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** ɕie⁵; **Qy** ɕie⁵

CSS *ɕei⁵

222 *ní* 泥〔蟹開四平齊泥〕 ‘mud’ **CDC** *niai² / **EC** *’niy

CSWW *ȵia² [1] ⪤ *ȵiei² [2]

CJQ *ȵia²ǃa ⪤ *ȵie²

a. **Ly** ȵiɑ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵie² [1] ⪤ ȵi² [2]; **Pj** ȵi²; **Dy** ȵi²; **Yk** ɲiə²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ȵia²ǃa ⪤ *ȵie²

a. **Sc** ȵiɑ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵi²; **Yh** ɲi²; **Pc** ŋie²; **Qy** ȵie²

CSS *ȵiə²

After guttural initials, **CSWW** *-iei seems to have regularly developed into **CSS** *-iə.

232 *xī* 溪〔蟹開四平齊溪〕 ‘brook’ **CDC** *khiai¹ / **EC** *’khe

CSWW *kʰiei¹

CJQ *kʰie¹: **Ly** tɕʰi¹; **Jh** tɕʰie¹ [1] ⪤ tɕʰi¹ [2]; **Pj** tʃʰi¹; **Dy** tɕʰi¹; **Yk** kʰiə¹; **Wy** tɕʰie¹

CLS *kʰie¹: **Sc** tɕʰie¹; **Sy** tsʰɿ¹; **Lq** tɕʰi¹; **Yh** tsʰɿ¹; **Pc** kʰie¹; **Qy** tɕʰie¹

CSS *tɕʰiə¹

One further example might be **231** 雞, but without attestation in the Jīnqú branch it is impossible to tell if the common final was *-iei or *-iə. External comparison suggests the former (cf. **CDC** *kiai¹).

231 *jī* 雞〔蟹開四平齊見〕 ‘chicken’ **CDC** *kiai¹ / **EC** *ʾke
CSWW *ʔie(i)¹ [1] ⩙ *kiei¹ [2]
CJQ *kie¹: **Ly** tɕi¹; **Jh** tɕie¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** kiə¹ [1] ⩙ ki¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕie¹
CLS *ie¹ ⩙ *kie¹
a. **Sc** ie¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** i¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ie¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tsɿ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** kie¹; **Qy** tɕie¹
CSS *ʔiə¹ [2] ⩙ *ki¹ [1]

However, one counter example exists (**233** 契). Akitani reconstructs **CSS** *-ei for this word, but the correspondences, **Cs** i : **Js** e : **Ys** e : **Gf** i, are ad hoc. There are no other cases of *-ei in **CSS** after guttural initials. Furthermore the **Kh** reflex is the expected outcome of **CSWW** *kʰiei⁵ > **CSS** *kʰiə⁵. Without more data, the fate of **CSWW** *-iei after guttural initials in **CSS** remains unclear.

233 *qì* 契〔蟹開四去霽溪〕 ‘contract, pact’ **CDC** *khiai⁵ / **EC** *ʾkhes
CSWW *kʰiei⁵
CJQ *kʰie⁵: **Ly** tɕʰi⁵; **Jh** tɕʰie⁵; **Pj** tʃʰi⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** kʰiə⁵; **Wy** tɕʰie⁵
CLS *kʰie⁵: **Sc** tɕʰie⁵; **Sy** tsʰɿ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰie⁵; **Qy** tɕʰie⁵
CSS *kʰei⁵: **Kh** tɕʰie⁵; **Cs** kʰi⁵; **Js** kʰe⁵; **Ys** kʰe⁵; **Gf** kʰi⁵

As discussed in §4.3.1, this final varies with **CSWW** *-ia in a few doublets. It also sometimes varies with finals that correspond to **CSWW** *-i (e.g. the **CSS** reflex of **212** 米 above), but these cases are sporadic and rarely reconstruct back to **CSWW**. They represent more recent intrusions.

*4.21.2 *-iẽ > CSS *-iə̃*

The following are examples of this final:

681 *miàn* 面〔山開三去線明 A〕 ‘face’ **CDC** *ʰmian⁶ / **EC** *ʰmenh
CSWW *miẽ⁶

CJQ *miẽ⁶: **Ly** mie⁵˩ₜ; **Jh** mie⁶ [1] ≍ miã⁶ [2]; **Pj** miẽ⁶ [1] ≍ mɛ̃⁰ [2]; **Dy** mi⁶; **Yk** miə⁶; **Wy** mie⁶

CLS *miẽ⁶: **Sc** miẽ⁶; **Sy** miɛ̃⁶; **Lq** miɛ⁶; **Yh** mie⁶; **Pc** miãi⁶; **Qy** miɛ̃⁶

CSS *miə⁶

558 *lián* 簾〔咸開三平鹽來 AB〕 ‘curtain’ **CDC** *liam² / **EC** *lem

CSWW *liẽ²

CJQ *liẽ²: **Ly** lie²; **Jh** lie² [1] ≍ liã² [2]; **Pj** liẽn⁻²⁴³ [兒]; **Dy** —; **Yk** liə²; **Wy** nie²

CLS *liẽ²: **Sc** liẽ²; **Sy** liɛ̃²; **Lq** liɛ²; **Yh** lie²; **Pc** —; **Qy** liɛ̃²

CSS #liə²: **Kh** liɛ̃²; **Cs** liẽ²; **Js** liɛ̃²; **Ys** liẽ²; **Gf** liẽ²

686 *qiǎn* 淺〔山開三上獮清 AB〕 ‘shallow’ **CDC** *tshian³ / **EC** *tshenx

CSWW *tsʰiẽ³

CJQ *tsʰiẽ³: **Ly** tɕʰie³; **Jh** tsʰie³ [1] ≍ tsʰiã³; **Pj** tsʰiẽ³; **Dy** tsʰi³; **Yk** tɕʰiə³; **Wy** tɕʰie³

CLS *tɕʰiẽ³: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ³; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ³; **Yh** tʃʰie³; **Pc** tɕʰiãi³; **Qy** tɕʰiɛ̃³

CSS *tɕʰiə³

560 *rǎn* 染〔咸開三上琰日 AB〕 ‘dye’ **CDC** *(ʰ)nhiam⁴ / **EC** *(ʰ)namx

CSWW *ȵiẽ⁴

CJQ *ȵiẽ⁴: **Ly** ȵie⁴; **Jh** ȵie³ [1] ≍ ȵiã³ [2]; **Pj** ȵiẽ⁴; **Dy** ȵi⁴; **Yk** ȷiə⁴; **Wy** ȵie⁴

CLS *ȵiẽ⁴: **Sc** ȵiẽ⁴; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃⁴; **Lq** ȵiɛ³; **Yh** ȷie³; **Pc** ŋiãi⁴; **Qy** ȵiɛ̃⁴

CSS *ȵiə⁴

693 *shàn* 扇〔山開三去線書 AB〕 ‘fan’ **CDC** *shian⁵ / **EC** *hyanh (?)

CSWW *šiẽ⁵

CJQ *šiẽ⁵: **Ly** sei⁵; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ ɕyã⁵ [2] ≍ sã⁵ [3]; **Pj** sɛ̃⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕiẽ⁵: **Sc** ɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʃie⁵; **Pc** ɕiãi⁵; **Qy** ɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS *ɕiə⁵

561 *qián* 鉗〔咸開三平鹽羣 B〕 ‘pincer’ **CDC** *giam² / **EC** *gam

CSWW *giẽ²

CJQ *giẽ²: **Ly** dʑie²; **Jh** dʑie² [1] ≍ dʑiã² [2]; **Pj** dʑiẽ²; **Dy** dʑi²; **Yk** giə²; **Wy** dʑie²

CLS *giẽ²: **Sc** dʑiẽ²; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃²; **Lq** dʑiɛ²; **Yh** dʒie²; **Pc** kiãi²; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃²

CSS *giə²

564 *yán* 鹽〔咸開三平鹽以 A〕 ‘salt (n.)’ **CDC** *yam² / **EC** *yam

CSWW *ɦiẽ²

CJQ *ɦiẽ²: **Ly** ie²; **Jh** ie² [1] ≍ iã² [2]; **Pj** iẽ²; **Dy** i²; **Yk** iə²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ɦiẽ²: **Sc** iẽ²; **Sy** iɛ̃²; **Lq** iɛ²; **Yh** ie²; **Pc** iãi²; **Qy** iɛ̃²

CSS *ɦiã²

*4.21.3 *-ieʔ > CSS *-iəʔ*

CSWW *-ieʔ developed in parallel with its nasal counterpart *-iẽ. Examples:

698 *miè* 滅〔山開三入薛明 A〕 ‘extinguish’ **CDC** *miat⁸ / **EC** *met

CSWW *mieʔ⁸

CJQ *mieʔ⁸: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** mie⁶ [1] ≍ miəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** mi⁸ [1] ≍ miə⁸ [2]; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴

CLS *mieʔ⁸: **Sc** mieʔ⁸; **Sy** miɛʔ⁸; **Lq** miɛʔ⁸; **Yh** mieʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** mieʔ⁸

CSS #miəʔ⁸: **Kh** miɛʔ⁸; **Cs** miəʔ⁸; **Js** miɛʔ⁸; **Ys** miɐʔ⁸; **Gf** miɐʔ⁸

568 *jiē* 接〔咸開三入葉精 AB〕 ‘connect’ **CDC** *tsiap⁷ / **EC** *tsap

CSWW *tsieʔ⁷

CJQ *tsieʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsie⁵ [1] ≍ tsiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tsi⁷ [1] ≍ tʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiə³; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕieʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiəʔ⁷

706 *rè* 熱〔山開三入薛日 AB〕 ‘hot’ **CDC** *nhiat⁸ / **EC** *nat

CSWW *ȵieʔ⁸

CJQ *ȵieʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ȵie⁶ [1] ≍ ȵiəʔ⁸ [2] ≍ ʑyəʔ⁸ [3]; **Pj** ȵi⁸ [1] ≍ ȵiə⁸ [2]; **Dy** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiə⁴; **Wy** ȵie⁴

CLS *ȵieʔ⁸: **Sc** ȵieʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲieʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋie⁷; **Qy** ȵieʔ⁸

CSS *ȵiəʔ⁸

703 *shé* 舌〔山開三入薛船 AB〕 ‘tongue’ **CDC** *zhiat⁸ / **EC** *ðat

CSWW *džieʔ⁸

CJQ *džieʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ dʑyəʔ⁸ [2] ≍ zəʔ⁸ [3]; **Pj** dʑi⁸ ≍ dʒiə⁸; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** dʑiə⁴; **Wy** dʑie⁴

CLS *dʑieʔ⁸: **Sc** dʑieʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑiɛʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑiɛʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒieʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiəʔ⁸

713 *xiē* 歇〔山開三入月曉 C〕 ‘rest’ **CDC** *xiat⁷ / **EC** *hot ≍ *hat

CSWW *xieʔ⁷

CJQ *xieʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕie⁵ [1] ≍ ɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ɕi⁷; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** xiə³; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *xieʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** xie⁷; **Qy** ɕieʔ⁷

CSS *xiəʔ⁷

744 *jié* 結〔山開四入屑見〕 ‘tie’ **CDC** *kiat⁷ / **EC** *’kit

CSWW *kieʔ⁷

CJQ *kieʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕie⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕi⁷ ≍ tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kiə³ [1]; **Wy** tɕie⁵ [1]

CLS *kieʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS *kiəʔ⁷

The **Yk** and **Wy** doublet forms here are used in ～舌 ‘tongue-tied, stuttering’. A better etymology might be **CDC** *kit⁷ 吃 ‘to stutter’.

570 *yè* 葉〔咸開三入葉以 A〕 ‘leaf’ **CDC** *yap⁸ / **EC** *yap

CSWW *(dž,dz)ieʔ⁸$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *ɦieʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ɦieʔ⁸: **Ly** iəʔ⁸; **Jh** ie⁶ [1] ≍ iəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** i⁸; **Dy** iəʔ⁸; **Yk** iə⁴; **Wy** ie⁴

CLS *ɦieʔ⁸: **Sc** ieʔ⁸; **Sy** iɛʔ⁸; **Lq** iɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ieʔ⁸; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** ieʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiəʔ⁸ ≍ *ɦiəʔ⁸

Sometimes we find sporadic literary readings of words with this final that coincide with **CSWW** *-iək in the Jīnqú dialects. They are mostly concentrated in **Jh** and **Pj**, so I have treated them as late intrusions rather than retentions from **CJQ**.

*4.22 Finals with the vowel sequence *uəi plus *-uei*

CSWW	uəi	uəiʔ	uei
CJQ	uəi	uəiʔ	uei
Ly	uei	uəʔ	uei
Jh	uɛ; ɛ/T,S_	uəʔ	ui
Pj	ua; a/T,S_	uə	uɛ
Dy	ue; e/T,S_	ueiʔ	uei
Yk	uəi; əi/T,S_	uəi	uəi
Wy	ua; a/T,S_	uəʔ	ui
CLS	uəi	ueʔ	uei
Sc	uei; ei/T,S_	ueʔ	uei
Sy	ue; e～ɛ/T,S_	uɛʔ	ue
Lq	uɛ; ɛ/T,S_	uəʔ	ui
Yh	uei; ei/T,S_	uaʔ	uei
Pc	ue	ue	ue
Qy	uai; ai/T,S_	uɤʔ	uai
CSS	uəi	oʔ	uei

*4.22.1 *-uəi > CSS *-uəi*

The correspondences for this final are exemplified by the following sets. Note that medial *-u- is widely lost after coronal initials.

240 *duì* 對〔蟹合一去隊端〕 'pair; match, face with' **CDC** *tuoi^{5} / **EC** *'tus
CSWW *ɗuəi^{5}
CJQ *ɗuəi^{5}: **Ly** tuei^{5}; **Jh** tɛ^{5}; **Pj** ta^{5}; **Dy** te^{5}; **Yk** ʔdəi^{5}; **Wy** la^{5}
CLS *ɗuəi^{5}: **Sc** ʔdei^{5}; **Sy** ʔde^{5}; **Lq** ʔdɛ^{5}; **Yh** ʔdei^{5}; **Pc** lue^{5}; **Qy** ʔdai^{5}
CSS #tuəi^{5}: **Kh** te^{5}; **Cs** tue^{5}; **Js** tuᴇ^{5}; **Ys** tuɐi^{5}; **Gf** tuɐi^{5}

248 *zuì* 罪〔蟹合一上賄從〕 'crime' **CDC** *dzuoi^{4} / **EC** *'dzuyx
CSWW *zuəi^{4}
CJQ *zuəi^{4}: **Ly** zuei^{4}; **Jh** sɛ^{3} [1] ≍ dzui^{6} [2]; **Pj** za^{4}; **Dy** ze^{4}; **Yk** zəi^{4}; **Wy** za^{4}
CLS *zuəi^{4}: **Sc** zei^{4}; **Sy** zɛ^{4}; **Lq** sɛ^{3}; **Yh** zei^{4}; **Pc** tsue^{6}$_{!t}$; **Qy** sai^{4}
CSS *zuəi^{4}

257 *kuài* 塊（墳）〔廣韻：蟹合二去怪溪〕 'clod' **CDC** *khuoi^{5} ≍ *khuai^{5} / **EC** *'khus
CSWW *kʰyai^{3}$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *kʰuəi^{5} [2]
CJQ *kʰuəi^{5}: **Ly** kʰuei^{5}; **Jh** kʰuɛ^{5}; **Pj** kʰua^{5}; **Dy** kʰue^{5}; **Yk** kʰuəi^{5}; **Wy** kʰua^{5}
CLS *kʰuəi^{5}: **Sc** kʰuei^{5}; **Sy** kʰue^{5}; **Lq** kʰuɛ^{5}; **Yh** kʰuei^{5}; **Pc** kʰue^{5} ≍ kʰuai^{5}; **Qy** kʰuai^{5}
CSS *kʰyɑi^{3}

255 *huì* 會〔蟹合一去泰匣〕 'meeting; be able' **CDC** *huoi^{6} / **EC** *'gos
CSWW *ɦuəi^{6} 'meeting'
CJQ *ɦuəi^{6} 'meeting; can, will': **Ly** uei^{6}; **Jh** uɛ^{6} 'can, will' ≍ ui^{6} [1] 'meeting'; **Pj** ua^{6}; **Dy** ue^{6}; **Yk** uəi^{6}; **Wy** uɑ$^{-53}$ [1] 'can, will' ≍ ui^{6} 'meeting'
CLS *ɦuəi^{6}: **Sc** uei^{6}; **Sy** ue^{6}; **Lq** uɛ^{6} ≍ ui^{6} 'can, will'; **Yh** uei^{6} 'meeting; can, will'; **Pc** —; **Qy** uai^{6} 'meeting; can, will'
CSS *ɦuəi^{6}

*4.22.2 *-uəiʔ > CSS *-oʔ*

1104 *guó* 國〔曾合一入德見〕 'state' **CDC** *kuek^{7} / **EC** *'kwik
CSWW *kuəiʔ^{7}
CJQ *kuəiʔ^{7}: **Ly** kuəʔ^{7}; **Jh** kuəʔ^{7}; **Pj** kuə^{7}; **Dy** kueiʔ^{7}; **Yk** kuəi^{3}; **Wy** kuəʔ^{7}
CLS *kueʔ^{7}: **Sc** kueʔ^{7}; **Sy** kuɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** kuəʔ^{7}; **Yh** kuaʔ^{7}; **Pc** kue^{7}; **Qy** kuɤʔ^{7}
CSS *koʔ^{7}: **Kh** kuʌʔ^{7}$_{!f}$; **Cs** koʔ^{7}; **Js** koʔ^{7}; **Ys** koʔ^{7}; **Gf** kuɤʔ^{7}

*4.22.3 *-uei > CSS #-uei*

This final always occurs in the literary register and usually forms doublets with **CSWW** *-y. In the Lìshuǐ dialects other than **Lq**, it is indistinguishable from *-uəi. In the other branches, enough dialects retain a systematic distinction that we must set up two finals to account for it. Table 4.6 highlights the contrast after guttural initials:

Table 4.6: Sound correspondences for **CSWW** *-ui and *-uəi after guttural initials

CSWW	Ly	Jh	Pj	Dy	Yk	Wy	Kh	Cs	Js	Ys	Gf
*ui	uei	ui	uɛ	uei	uəi	ui	ui	ue	uɛ	uei	ui
*uəi	uei	uɛ	ua	ue	uəi	ua	ue	ue	uɛ	uɐi	uɐi

Examples after guttural initials:

350 *kuī* 虧〔止合三平支溪 B〕 ‘lose out’ **CDC** *khui¹ / **EC** *khway

CSWW *kʰy¹ [1] ⨯ *kʰuei¹ [2]

CJQ *kʰuei¹: **Ly** kʰuei¹; **Jh** kʰui¹; **Pj** kʰuɛ¹; **Dy** kʰuei¹; **Yk** kʰuəi¹; **Wy** kʰui¹

CLS *kʰy¹ ⨯ *kʰuei¹

a. **Sc** tɕʰy¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰy¹; **Qy** tɕʰy¹

b. **Sc** kʰuei¹; **Sy** kʰue¹; **Lq** kʰui¹; **Yh** kʰuei¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kʰyi¹ ⨯ #kʰuei¹

a. **Kh** tɕʰy¹; **Cs** tɕʰy¹ 吃～; **Js** —; **Ys** {kʰuei¹}; **Gf** kʰy¹

b. **Kh** kʰui¹; **Cs** kʰui¹; **Js** kʰuɛ¹; **Ys** {kʰuei¹}; **Gf** kʰui¹

368 *guì* 貴〔止合三去未見 C〕 ‘expensive’ **CDC** *kui⁵ / **EC** *kus

CSWW *ky⁵ [1] ⨯ *kuei⁵ [2]

CJQ *ky⁵ ⨯ *kuei⁵

a. **Ly** tɕy⁵; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy⁵; **Dy** tɕiʉ⁵; **Yk** ky⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵

b. **Ly** kuei⁵; **Jh** kui⁵; **Pj** kuɛ⁵; **Dy** kuei⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ky⁵ ⨯ *kuei⁵

a. **Sc** tɕy⁵; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** ky⁵; **Qy** tɕy⁵

b. **Sc** kuei⁵; **Sy** kue⁵ ‘Guì (pn.)’; **Lq** kui⁵; **Yh** kuei⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kyi⁵ ⨯ #kuei⁵

a. **Kh** tɕy⁵; **Cs** tɕy⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** ky⁵

b. **Kh** kui⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** kuɛ⁵; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** kui⁵

370 *wéi* 圍〔止合三平微云 C〕 ‘surround’ **CDC** *wi² / **EC** *wuy

CSWW *ɦy² [1] ⩙ *ɦuei² [2]

CJQ *ɦy² ⩙ *ɦuei²

a. **Ly** y²; **Jh** y²; **Pj** y²; **Dy** ʔiʉ⁻¹¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** y⁻²¹

b. **Ly** uei²; **Jh** ui²; **Pj** uɛ²; **Dy** uei²; **Yk** uəi²; **Wy** ui²

CLS *ɦy² ⩙ *ɦuei²

a. **Sc** y²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** y²; **Qy** y²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ue²; **Lq** ui²; **Yh** uei²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦyi² ⩙ #ɦuei²

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** y²; **Js** y⁻³³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ui²; **Cs** ue²; **Js** uɛ²; **Ys** uei²; **Gf** ui²

*4.23 Finals with the vowel sequences *yei and *ye*

CSWW	yei	yẽ	yeʔ
CJQ	ye	yẽ	yeʔ
Ly	uei	ye; uei/*Š_	yəʔ
Jh	ei; ɛ/S_	yɤ; ie/S_	yɤ; ie/S_
Pj	i	yẽ; iẽ/*S_; ɛ/s_	yi
Dy	ɿ	iʊ; ʊ/S_	iʉoʔ; ɜʔ~uɑʔ/S_
Yk	yə; iə/*S_	yə	yə; iə/*S_
Wy	ye; ie/*S_	ye; ie/*S_	yeʔ; ieʔ/*S_
CLS	yə	yẽ	yeʔ
Sc	yɤ	yə̃	yeʔ
Sy	y	yɛ̃	yɛʔ
Lq	y	yə	yəʔ
Yh	y	yɛ	yɛʔ
Pc	ye; ue/*Š_	yãi; uãi/S_	ye
Qy	ye	yɛ̃	yeʔ
CSS	yəi	yə̃	yəʔ

In these finals, too, **CSWW** *-y- unrounds after alveolar sibilants in most of the Jīnqú dialects.

*4.23.1 *-yei > CSS *-yəi*

This final is set up for the following sets. The exact correspondences are difficult to establish because of alternation with literary *-uei. **728** 前 is another case of a “vocalized *-n coda” in **EC**, presumably a vestige of what some scholars believe to be Old Chinese *-r.

264 *suì* 歲〔蟹合三去祭心 AB〕 ‘age’ **CDC** *siuoi⁵ / **EC** *sos

CSWW *syei⁵ [1] ⩙ *suei⁵ (?) [2]

CJQ *sye⁵ (?) ⩙ *suei⁵ (?)

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɛ⁵; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** sʅ⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

b. **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sei⁵; **Pj** suɛ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɕye⁵: **Sc** ɕyɤ⁵; **Sy** ɕy⁵; **Lq** ɕy⁵; **Yh** ʃy⁵; **Pc** ɕye⁵; **Qy** ɕye⁵

CSS #suei⁵ (?): **Kh** se⁵ [1] ⩙ sui⁵ [2] 萬～ ‘long live’; **Cs** sue⁵; **Js** (xuᴇ⁵ˌˡᵢf); **Ys** suɐi⁵; **Gf** ɕy⁵ˌˡᵢf

265 *shuì* 稅〔蟹合三去祭書 AB〕 ‘tax’ **CDC** *shiuoi⁵ / **EC** *hyos

CSWW *šyei⁵ (?)

CJQ *šye⁵: **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sei⁵ˌˡᵢf [1] ⩙ sui⁵ [2]; **Pj** suɛ⁵; **Dy** sʅ⁵; **Yk** ɕyə⁵; **Wy** ɕye⁵

CLS *ɕye⁵: **Sc** ɕyɤ⁵; **Sy** ɕy⁵; **Lq** ɕy⁵; **Yh** ʃy⁵; **Pc** sue⁵ˌˡᵢf; **Qy** ɕye⁵

CSS *ɕyəi⁵: **Kh** sue⁵; **Cs** sue⁵; **Js** suᴇ⁵; **Ys** ɕø⁵; **Gf** ɕy⁵ˌˡᵢf

728 *qián* 前〔山開四平先從〕 ‘front’ **CDC** *dzian² / **EC** *’dzen ⩙ *’dze

CSWW *(z,ž)yei¹ [1] ⩙ *ziã² [2]

CJQ *ziã²: **Ly** ʑie²; **Jh** zia² [1] ⩙ dziã² [2]; **Pj** ʒiã²; **Dy** zi²; **Yk** ʑiɑ² [1]; **Wy** ʑie²

CLS *ʑye² ⩙ *ʑiã²

a. **Sc** ʑyɤ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕye²

b. **Sc** ʑiẽ²; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃²; **Lq** ʑiɛ²; **Yh** ʒie²; **Pc** tɕiãi²; **Qy** ɕiã² [3] ⩙ ɕyɛ̃² [2]

CSS *ʑyəi² ⩙ #dʑiə̃²ˌˡᵢ [2]

a. **Kh** zue²; **Cs** zue²; **Js** ɕyᴇ² ⩙ suᴇ² [2]; **Ys** ʑø² ⩙ ʑiʌʔ⁸ [3]; **Gf** suɐi² ⩙ suɤʔ⁸ [2]

b. **Kh** dʑiɛ̃²; **Cs** dʑiẽ⁻²²; **Js** dʑiɛ̃⁻³³ [3]; **Ys** ʑiẽ²ˌˡᵢ; **Gf** dʑiẽ² [3]

*4.23.2 **-yẽ* > CSS **-yə̃*

The following are examples of this final:

786 *xuǎn* 選〔山合三上獮心 AB〕 ‘choose’ **CDC** *siuon³ / **EC** *sonx

CSWW *syẽ³

CJQ *syẽ³: **Ly** suei³; **Jh** sie³ ⩙ siã³; **Pj** sɛ³; **Dy** sʊ³; **Yk** ɕyə³; **Wy** ɕiə³

CLS *ɕyẽ³: **Sc** ɕyə̃³; **Sy** ɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃyɛ³; **Pc** suãi³; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃³

CSS #ɕyə̃³: **Kh** ɕyɛ̃³; **Cs** ɕyʌ̃³; **Js** ɕyɛ̃³; **Ys** ɕyẽ³; **Gf** ɕyẽ³

787 *xuàn* 旋〔廣韻：山合三去線邪 AB〕 ‘spiral; cowlick’ **CDC** *ziuon⁶ / **EC** *zonh

CSWW *zyẽ⁶ ‘cowlick’

CJQ *zyẽ⁶: **Ly** zuei⁶; **Jh** zie⁶ [1] ≍ dziã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ziẽ⁶; **Dy** zʊ⁶; **Yk** ʑyə⁶; **Wy** ʑie⁶ [1] ≍ ʑye⁶ [2]

CLS *ʑyẽ⁶: **Sc** ʑyə̃⁶; **Sy** ʑyɛ̃⁶; **Lq** ʑyə⁶; **Yh** ʒyɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃⁶

CSS *ʑiə̃⁶ [1] ≍ *ʑyə̃⁶ [2]

788 *zhuǎn* 轉〔山合三上獮知 AB〕 ‘turn, shift’ **CDC** *ciuon³ / **EC** *tronx

CSWW *ɗyẽ³ [1] *F* ≍ *tšyẽ³ [2] *B*

CJQ *ɗyẽ³ ≍ *tšyẽ³ *F*

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔɲye³ [1]
b. **Ly** tsuei³; **Jh** tɕyɤ³ [1] ≍ tɕyã³ [2]; **Pj** tɕyẽ³; **Dy** tsʊ³; **Yk** tɕyə³; **Wy** tɕye³ [2]

CLS *ɗyẽ³ ≍ *tɕyẽ³

a. **Sc** ʔdyə̃³; **Sy** ʔdyɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdyɛ̃³ [1]
b. **Sc** tɕyə̃³; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕyə³; **Yh** tʃyɛ³; **Pc** tsuãi³; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]

CSS *tyẽ³$_{!f}$ ≍ #tɕyə̃³

a. **Kh** tɛ̃³ [1]; **Cs** tɪŋ³ [1]; **Js** tœ̃³ [1]; **Ys** tyæ̃³ [1]; **Gf** tyẽ³ [1]
b. **Kh** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]; **Cs** tɕyÃ³ [2]; **Js** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]; **Ys** tɕyẽ³ [2]; **Gf** tɕyẽ³ [2]

794 *ruǎn* 軟〔山合三上獮日 AB〕 ‘soft’ **CDC** *nhiuon⁴ / **EC** *nonx

CSWW *ɲyẽ⁴

CJQ *ɲyẽ⁴: **Ly** ɲye⁴; **Jh** ɲyɤ³ [1] ≍ ɲyã³ [2]; **Pj** ɲyẽ⁴; **Dy** ɲiʊ⁴; **Yk** ɲyə⁴; **Wy** ɲye⁴

CLS *ɲyẽ⁴: **Sc** ɲyə̃⁴; **Sy** ɲyɛ̃⁴; **Lq** ɲyə³; **Yh** ɲyɛ³; **Pc** ŋyãi⁴; **Qy** ɲyɛ̃⁴

CSS *ɲyə̃⁴

797 *quán* 拳〔山合三平仙羣 B〕 ‘fist’ **CDC** *giuon² / **EC** *gon

CSWW *gɨəŋ²$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *gyẽ² [2]

CJQ *gyẽ²: **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** dʑyɤ² [1] ≍ dʑyã² [2]; **Pj** dʑyẽ²; **Dy** dʑiʊ²; **Yk** gyə²; **Wy** dʑye²

CLS *gyẽ²: **Sc** dʑyə̃²; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃²; **Lq** dʑyə²; **Yh** dʒyɛ²; **Pc** kyãi²; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃²

CSS *gẽ² ≍ *gyə̃²

799 *yuàn* 院〔山合三去線云 B〕 ‘a compound’ **CDC** *yuon⁶ / **EC** *wonh

CSWW *ɦyẽ⁶

CJQ *ɦyẽ⁶: **Ly** ye⁶; **Jh** yɤ⁶ [1] ≍ yã⁵ [2]; **Pj** yẽ⁶; **Dy** iʊ⁶; **Yk** yə⁶; **Wy** ɲye⁶

CLS *ɦyẽ⁶: **Sc** yə̃⁶; **Sy** yɛ̃⁶; **Lq** yə⁶; **Yh** yɛ⁶; **Pc** yãi⁶; **Qy** yɛ̃⁶

CSS *ɦyə̃⁶

We find one interesting case of variation between *-ɨəŋ and *-yẽ in the Shàngshān dialects in set **797** 拳, but without more data we cannot infer anything concrete about its origin.

*4.23.3 *-yeʔ > CSS *-yəʔ*

Examples:

802 *xuě* 雪〔山合三入薛心 AB〕 ‘snow’ **CDC** *siuot⁷ / **EC** *sot

CSWW *syeʔ⁷

CJQ *syeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** sie⁵ [1] ≍ siəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** si⁷; **Dy** suɑʔ⁷ [2] ≍ sɜʔ⁷ [1]; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** ɕieʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷ ≍ ɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS *ɕyəʔ⁷

803 *shuō* 說〔山合三入薛書 AB〕 ‘explain, speak (about)’ **CDC** *shiuot⁷ / **EC** *hyot

CSWW *šyeʔ⁷

CJQ *šyeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕyəʔ⁷ ≍ səʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕy⁵₍f [1] ≍ ɕyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyə⁷; **Dy** souʔ⁷₍f; **Yk** ɕyə³ [2] ≍ ɕiu⁻⁴⁴ [1]; **Wy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** (ʑyɛʔ⁸₍i); **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS #ɕyəʔ⁷

823 *yuè* 月〔山合三入月疑 C〕 ‘moon’ **CDC** *ngiuot⁸ / **EC** *ngot

CSWW *ŋoʔ⁸ [1] ‘month’ ≍ *ɳyeʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ɳyeʔ⁸: **Ly** ɳyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ɳyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ɳyəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** ɳyi⁸; **Dy** ɳiʉoʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲyə⁴; **Wy** ɳye⁴

CLS *ɳyeʔ⁸: **Sc** ɳyeʔ⁸; **Sy** ɳyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ɳyəʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲyɛʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ɲie⁻³¹ [2]; **Pc** ŋye⁷; **Qy** ɳyeʔ⁸

CSS *ŋoʔ⁸ [2] ≍ *ɳyəʔ⁸ [1]

829 *quē* 缺〔廣韻：山合四入屑溪〕 ‘deficient’ **CDC** *khiuot⁷ / **EC** *ʾkhwet

CSWW *kʰyeʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰyeʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕʰyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰyə³; **Wy** tɕʰye⁵

CLS *kʰyeʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰye⁷ ≍ kʰie⁷; **Qy** tɕʰyeʔ⁷

CSS #kʰyəʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕʰyʌʔ⁷; **Js** kʰyɛʔ⁷ [2]; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** kʰyɐʔ⁷ [2]

One interesting ad hoc case of variation between *-oʔ and *-yeʔ occurs in **823** 月.

*4.24 Finals with the vowel sequence *o*

CSWW	o	oŋ	oʔ
CJQ	o	oŋ	oʔ
Ly	u; m/*m_	oŋ; əŋ/P_	ɔʔ
Jh	uɤ	oŋ	oʔ
Pj	ɯ	on; əŋ/T,S_	ɤ∼ɯ
Dy	ʊ	om	ouʔ
Yk	uə	ɔŋ	u
Wy	uo	ɔŋ	ɔʔ
CLS	o	oŋ	uʔ
Sc	u	əŋ	əɯʔ
Sy	u	əŋ	əʔ
Lq	əu; u/ʔb,pʰ,b_	əŋ	uʔ; əɯʔ/T,S_; ŋʔ/*m_
Yh	u; m/*m_	oŋ; əŋ/P_	əuʔ
Pc	uo; ua/K,H_	oŋ	o
Qy	o	oŋ	uʔ
CSS	o; iə/P_	oŋ	oʔ

*4.24.1 *-o > CSS *-o; *-iə/P_*

This final corresponds to **CDC** *-o

15 *pó* 婆〔果合一平戈並〕 ‘matron’ **CDC** *bo² / **EC** *’bay
CSWW *bo²
CJQ *bo²: **Ly** bu²; **Jh** bɤ² [1] ≍ bo² [2]; **Pj** bɯ²; **Dy** bʊ²; **Yk** buə²; **Wy** buo²
CLS *bo²: **Sc** bu²; **Sy** pu²; **Lq** bu²; **Yh** bu²; **Pc** puo²; **Qy** po²
CSS *biə²

3 *dà* 大〔廣韻：果開一去箇定〕 ‘big’ **CDC** *da⁶ / **EC** *’dayh
CSWW *do⁶ *F*
CJQ *do⁶: **Ly** du⁶; **Jh** duɤ⁶ [1]; **Pj** dɯ⁶; **Dy** dʊ⁶ [1]; **Yk** duə⁶ [1]; **Wy** duo⁶ [1]
CLS *do⁶: **Sc** du⁶; **Sy** du⁶; **Lq** dəu⁶; **Yh** du⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** to⁶ [1]
CSS *do⁶

5 *cuō* 搓〔果開一平歌清〕 ‘rub’ **CDC** *tsho¹ / **EC** *’tshay
CSWW *tsʰo¹
CJQ *tsʰo¹: **Ly** tsʰu¹; **Jh** tsʰuɤ¹; **Pj** tsʰɯ¹ ≍ tsʰɑ¹; **Dy** tsʰʊ¹; **Yk** tsʰuə¹; **Wy** tsʰuo¹
CLS *tsʰo¹: **Sc** tsʰu¹; **Sy** tsʰu¹; **Lq** tsʰəu¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsʰuo¹; **Qy** tsʰo¹

CSS *ts^{h}o^{1}

6 *gē* 歌〔果開一平歌見〕 ‘song’ **CDC** *ko^{1} / **EC** *’kay

CSWW *ko^{1}

CJQ *ko^{1}: **Ly** ku^{1}; **Jh** kuɤ^{1} [1] ≍ ko^{1} [2]; **Pj** kɯ^{1}; **Dy** kʊ^{1}; **Yk** kuə^{1}; **Wy** kuo^{1} ≍ kuen^{1} [兒]

CLS *ko^{1}: **Sc** ku^{1}; **Sy** ku^{1}; **Lq** kəu^{1}; **Yh** ku^{1}; **Pc** kua^{1}; **Qy** ko^{1} [1] ≍ kuɑ^{1} [2]

CSS *ko^{1}

11 *hé* 荷〔果開一平歌匣〕 ‘shoulder (v.)’ **CDC** *ho^{2} / **EC** *’gay

CSWW *ɦo^{2}

CJQ *o^{2}: **Ly** u^{2}; **Jh** uɤ^{2} [1] ≍ ɦo^{2} [2]; **Pj** ɯ^{2}; **Dy** ʊ^{2}; **Yk** uə^{2}; **Wy** uo^{2}

CLS *ɦo^{2}: **Sc** u^{2}; **Sy** u^{2} [1]; **Lq** əu^{2}; **Yh** u^{2}; **Pc** xua^{2}; **Qy** xo^{2}

CSS #ɦo^{2}: **Kh** o^{2}; **Cs** ɦo^{2}; **Js** o^{2}; **Ys** ɦo^{2}; **Gf** xo^{2}

The primary source of **CDC** *-o is **EC** *-ay (from the Old Chinese *gē* 歌 group). In popular vocabulary, **CSWW** preserves the offglide of the **EC** diphthong in these words as *-ai. The *-o forms they vary with are newer. Examples:

2 *tuō* 拖〔果開一平歌透〕 ‘drag, pull’ **CDC** *tho^{1} / **EC** *’thay

CSWW *t^{h}ai^{1} [1] *F* ≍ *t^{h}o^{1} [2] *B*

CJQ *t^{h}a^{1} ≍ *t^{h}o^{1}

a. **Ly** t^{h}ɑ^{1}; **Jh** t^{h}ɑ^{1} [1]; **Pj** t^{h}ɑ^{1}; **Dy** t^{h}ɑ^{1} [1]; **Yk** tiɑ^{1} [1]; **Wy** t^{h}ia^{1} [1]

b. **Ly** t^{h}u^{1}; **Jh** t^{h}uɤ^{1} [2]; **Pj** t^{h}ɯ^{1}; **Dy** t^{h}ʊ^{1} [2]; **Yk** t^{h}uə^{1} [2]; **Wy** t^{h}uo^{1} [2]

CLS *t^{h}ai^{1} ≍ *t^{h}o^{1}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** t^{h}a^{1}; **Lq** —; **Yh** t^{h}ɑ^{1} [1]; **Pc** t^{h}ai^{1} [白]; **Qy** t^{h}ɑ^{1} [1]

b. **Sc** t^{h}u^{1}; **Sy** t^{h}u^{1} [2]; **Lq** t^{h}əu^{1}; **Yh** t^{h}u^{1} [2]; **Pc** t^{h}uo^{1} [文]; **Qy** t^{h}o^{1} [2]

CSS *t^{h}ɑi^{1} ≍ #t^{h}o^{1}

a. **Kh** t^{h}ɛ^{1} [1]; **Cs** t^{h}ɛ^{1} [1]; **Js** t^{h}æ^{1} [1]; **Ys** t^{h}ai^{1} [1]; **Gf** t^{h}a^{1} [1]

b. **Kh** t^{h}o^{1} [2]; **Cs** t^{h}o^{1} [2]; **Js** t^{h}o^{24} [2]; **Ys** t^{h}o^{1} [2]; **Gf** t^{h}o^{1} [2]

4 *luó* 籮〔果開一平歌來〕 ‘basket’ **CDC** *lo^{2} / **EC** *’lay

CSWW *lai^{2} [1] ≍ *lo^{2} [2]

CJQ *la^{2} ≍ *lo^{2}

a. **Ly** lɑ^{2}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɑ^{2}; **Yk** —; **Wy** lia^{-31} [1] 槽～

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** luɤ^{2}; **Pj** lɯ^{2}; **Dy** —; **Yk** luə^{2}; **Wy** luo^{2} [2]

CLS *lai^{2} ≍ *lo^{2}

a. **Sc** la^{2}; **Sy** la^{2}; **Lq** la^{2}; **Yh** lɑ^{2} [1]; **Pc** lai^{2}; **Qy** lɑ^{2} [1] ～簍 ‘large basket’

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu^{2} [2]; **Pc** luo^{2}; **Qy** lo^{2} [2] ～頭兒 ‘small basket’

CSS *lɑi² ⩙ #lo²
a. **Kh** lɛ² [1] ⩙ lɛ⁶ [2]; **Cs** lɛ²; **Js** læ²; **Ys** lai²; **Gf** la² [1]
b. **Kh** lo² [3]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** lo² [2]

7 *gè* 個〔果開一去箇見〕 'general clf.' **CDC** *ko⁵ / **EC** *'kayh

CSWW *kai⁵ [1] ⩙ *ko⁵ [2] ⩙ *kə⁵

CJQ *ka⁵ ⩙ *ko⁵ ⩙ *kə⁵
a. **Ly** kɑ⁵ [2]; **Jh** kɑ⁵ [1]; **Pj** kɑ⁵; **Dy** kɑ⁵ [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕiaʔ⁷₍ₜ
b. **Ly** ku⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kʊ⁻⁵⁴ [4]; **Yk** kuə⁵ [1]; **Wy** kuo⁵ [4]
c. **Ly** —; **Jh** kəʔ⁷; **Pj** gə⁸₍ᵢf; **Dy** ɑ⁰ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** kəʔ⁷ [2]

CLS *kəi⁵₍f ⩙ *ko⁵ ⩙ *kə⁵
a. **Sc** kei⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kɛ⁰ [1]; **Pc** —; **Qy** kai⁵ [1]
b. **Sc** ku⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** kəu⁵; **Yh** ku⁵; **Pc** kuo⁵₍f; **Qy** ko⁵ [2]
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** ki⁵; **Lq** ki⁵; **Yh** ki⁵ [1]; **Pc** ke⁵ [白]; **Qy** —

CSS *kɑi⁵ ⩙ #ko⁵ ⩙ ?
a. **Kh** kɛ⁵ [1]; **Cs** kɛ⁵ [1]; **Js** kæ⁵ [1]; **Ys** kai⁵; **Gf** ka⁻⁴⁴⁵ [2]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ko⁻⁴⁴ [4]; **Js** ko⁵ [5]; **Ys** go⁻²² [2]; **Gf** ko⁵ [3]

*4.24.2 *-oŋ > CSS *-oŋ*

The following are examples of this final:

1210 *péng* 篷〔廣韻：通合一平東並〕 'canopy' **CDC** *bung² / **EC** *'bong

CSWW *boŋ²

CJQ *boŋ²: **Ly** bəŋ²; **Jh** boŋ²; **Pj** bon²; **Dy** bom²; **Yk** bɔŋ²; **Wy** bɔŋ²

CLS *boŋ²: **Sc** bəŋ²; **Sy** pəŋ²; **Lq** bəŋ²; **Yh** bəŋ²; **Pc** poŋ²; **Qy** poŋ²

CSS *boŋ²

1247 *fēng* 風〔通合三平東非 C〕 'wind' **CDC** *fung¹ / **EC** *pum

CSWW *foŋ¹

CJQ *foŋ¹: **Ly** fəŋ¹; **Jh** foŋ¹; **Pj** fon¹; **Dy** fom¹; **Yk** fɔŋ¹; **Wy** fəŋ¹

CLS *foŋ¹: **Sc** fəŋ¹; **Sy** fəŋ¹; **Lq** fəŋ¹; **Yh** fəŋ¹; **Pc** foŋ¹; **Qy** foŋ¹

CSS *foŋ¹

1241 *dōng* 冬〔通合一平冬端〕 'winter' **CDC** *tung¹ / **EC** *'tung

CSWW *ɗã¹₍a (?) [1] ⩙ *ɗoŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗoŋ¹: **Ly** toŋ¹; **Jh** toŋ¹; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** tom¹; **Yk** ʔnɔŋ¹; **Wy** nɔŋ¹

CLS *ɗoŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdəŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdəŋ¹; **Lq** ʔdəŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdoŋ¹; **Pc** loŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdoŋ¹

CSS *tã¹ ⩙ *toŋ¹

1242 *nóng* 農〔通合一平冬泥〕 ‘farmer ’ **CDC** *nung² / **EC** *’nung

CSWW *nã²$_{la}$ (?) [1] ‘person (?)’ ≍ *noŋ² [2] ‘person; farmer’

CJQ *noŋ² ‘person’: **Ly** nəŋ²$_{lf}$ ≍ noŋ² ‘farmer’; **Jh** noŋ²; **Pj** nən² [1] ≍ lən² [2] ‘person; farmer’ ≍ lon² [2] ‘farmer’; **Dy** nom²; **Yk** nɔŋ²; **Wy** nɔŋ² [1]

CLS *noŋ² ‘person’: **Sc** nəŋ²; **Sy** nəŋ²; **Lq** nəŋ²; **Yh** noŋ²; **Pc** noŋ²; **Qy** noŋ² [1]

CSS *nã² [2] ‘person’ ≍ *noŋ² [1] ‘person’

1222 *zōng* 椶〔通合一平東精〕 ‘palm tree’ **CDC** *tsung¹ / **EC** *’tsong

CSWW *tsoŋ¹

CJQ *tsoŋ¹: **Ly** tsoŋ¹; **Jh** tsoŋ¹; **Pj** tsən¹; **Dy** tsom¹; **Yk** tɕioŋ¹; **Wy** tsɔŋ¹

CLS *tsoŋ¹: **Sc** tsəŋ¹; **Sy** tsəŋ¹; **Lq** tsəŋ¹; **Yh** tsoŋ¹; **Pc** tsoŋ¹; **Qy** —

CSS #tsoŋ¹: **Kh** tsoŋ¹; **Cs** tsoŋ¹; **Js** tsoŋ¹; **Ys** tsoŋ¹; **Gf** tsoŋ¹

1228 *gōng* 工〔通合一平東見〕 ‘work’ **CDC** *kung¹ / **EC** *’kong

CSWW *koŋ¹

CJQ *koŋ¹: **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** kom¹; **Yk** kɔŋ¹; **Wy** kɔŋ¹

CLS *koŋ¹: **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** kəŋ¹; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** koŋ¹; **Qy** koŋ¹

CSS #koŋ¹: **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** koŋ¹; **Gf** koŋ¹

2010 DUST 塕〔廣韻：通合一上董影〕

CSWW *ʔoŋ³ ‘dust’

CJQ *ʔoŋ³ ‘(fine) dust’: **Ly** oŋ³; **Jh** oŋ³; **Pj** on³ ～頭; **Dy** ʔom³; **Yk** ɔŋ³; **Wy** ɔŋ³

CLS *ʔoŋ³ 灰～: **Sc** əŋ³; **Sy** əŋ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔoŋ³ 灰～

In two cases, **1241** 冬 and **1242** 農 we find alternation with *-ã in the Shàngshān dialects. The *-ã reading coincides with **EC** *’-ung (≙ **QYS** *-owng* 冬〇送) and may represent an archaic retention of that final class distinct from **EC** *’-ong (≙ **QYS** *-uwng* 東董宋). With only two examples and attestation limited to the Shàngshān branch, it is impossible to say with certainty what the origin of these *-ã readings is.

*4.24.3 *-oʔ > CSS *-oʔ*

CSWW *-oʔ raised and became **CLS** *-uʔ; it remained unchanged in the other branches. Examples include:

1265 *fù* 覆〔通合三入屋敷C〕 ‘cover, hide’ **CDC** *fuk⁷ / **EC** *phuk

CSWW *pʰoʔ⁷ [1] ‘lay prone’ ⩙ *foʔ⁷ [2] ‘cover’

CJQ *pʰoʔ⁷ ⩙ *foʔ⁷

a. **Ly** pʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** pʰoʔ⁷; **Pj** pʰɯ⁷; **Dy** pʰouʔ⁷; **Yk** pʰuə³; **Wy** pʰɔʔ⁷

b. **Ly** vɔʔ⁸ˌit; **Jh** foʔ⁷; **Pj** fɯ⁷; **Dy** fouʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *pʰuʔ⁷ ⩙ *fuʔ⁷

a. **Sc** pʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰɯʔ⁷; **Lq** pʰuʔ⁷; **Yh** pʰəuʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** pʰuʔ⁷

b. **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** fəuʔ⁷; **Pc** fu⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁷

CSS *pʰoʔ⁷

1246 *dú* 毒〔通合一入沃定〕 ‘poison’ **CDC** *duk⁸ / **EC** *’duk

CSWW *daʔ⁸ˌa (?) [1] ⩙ *doʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *doʔ⁸: **Ly** dɔʔ⁸; **Jh** doʔ⁸; **Pj** dɯ⁸; **Dy** douʔ⁸; **Yk** du⁴; **Wy** dɔʔ⁸

CLS *duʔ⁸: **Sc** dəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** dəʔ⁸; **Lq** dəɯʔ⁸; **Yh** dəuʔ⁸; **Pc** to⁷; **Qy** tuʔ⁸

CSS #dɑʔ⁸ˌa (?) ⩙ #doʔ⁸ [2] ⩙ *boŋ⁴

a. **Kh** dəʔ⁸; **Cs** doʔ⁸; **Js** doʔ⁸; **Ys** doʔ⁸; **Gf** duɤʔ⁸

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** daʔ⁸ [2] 癤～ ‘a serious boil’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1238 *zú* 族〔通合一入屋從〕 ‘clan’ **CDC** *dzuk⁸ / **EC** *’dzok

CSWW *zoʔ⁸

CJQ *zoʔ⁸: **Ly** dzɔʔ⁸ˌi; **Jh** zoʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dzɯ⁸ˌi; **Dy** dzouʔ⁸ˌi; **Yk** ʑiu⁴; **Wy** zɔʔ⁸

CLS *zuʔ⁸: **Sc** dzəɯʔ⁸ˌi; **Sy** zəʔ⁸; **Lq** zəɯʔ⁸; **Yh** zəuʔ⁸; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** suʔ⁸

CSS *zoʔ⁸

1239 *gǔ* 穀〔通合一入屋見〕 ‘grain’ **CDC** *kuk⁷ / **EC** *’kok

CSWW *koʔ⁷

CJQ *koʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** koʔ⁷; **Pj** kɯ⁷; **Dy** kouʔ⁷; **Yk** ku³; **Wy** kɔʔ⁷

CLS *kuʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** kɯʔ⁷; **Lq** kuʔ⁷; **Yh** kəuʔ⁷; **Pc** ku⁷; **Qy** kuʔ⁷

CSS *koʔ⁷

1240 *wū* 屋〔通合一入屋影〕 ‘room; house’ **CDC** *uk⁷ / **EC** *’ok

CSWW *ʔoʔ⁷ [1]

CJQ *ʔoʔ⁷: **Ly** uɔʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ ɔʔ⁷; **Jh** oʔ⁷; **Pj** ɯ⁷; **Dy** ʔouʔ⁷; **Yk** u³; **Wy** ɔʔ⁷

CLS *uʔ⁷: **Sc** əɯʔ⁷; **Sy** oʔ⁸; **Lq** uʔ⁷; **Yh** əuʔ⁷; **Pc** u⁷; **Qy** uʔ⁷

CSS *ʔoʔ⁷

*4.25 Finals with the vowel sequences *io, *uo*

CSWW	ioŋ	ioʔ	uo	uoŋ
CJQ	ioŋ	ioʔ	o	uoŋ
Ly	ioŋ; oŋ/*Š_	iɔʔ; ɔ/*Š_	u	oŋ/K_
Jh	ioŋ	ioʔ	uɤ	oŋ~uəŋ/K_
Pj	yon	yɯ	ɯ	uən/K_; ən/P_
Dy	iom; om/*Š_	iouʔ; ouʔ/*Š_	ʊ	uən/K_; om/P_
Yk	iəŋ	iu	uə	uəŋ/K_; əŋ/P_
Wy	iɔŋ	iɔʔ; ɔʔ/T_ (?)	uo	uen/K_; en/P_
CLS	ioŋ	iuʔ	uɔ	uoŋ; oŋ/P_
Sc	iɔŋ	iuʔ	u	əŋ
Sy	iəŋ	yʔ	u	en
Lq	iəŋ	iɯʔ; əɯʔ/T_	əu	uəŋ; uɛiŋ/x_(?)
Yh	ioŋ	iɯ	o	əŋ
Pc	ioŋ; oŋ/*Š_	iu; o/*Š_	ua	ueŋ
Qy	ioŋ	iɯʔ	o	uəŋ
CSS	ioŋ	ioʔ	ua	oŋ

*4.25.1 *-ioŋ > CSS *-ioŋ*

This final has remained largely unchanged:

1251 *zhòng* 中〔通合三去送知 C〕 ‘strike true’ **CDC** *ciung^{5} / **EC** *trungh

CSWW *ɗioŋ^{5} [1] ⨯ *tšioŋ^{5} [2]

CJQ *tšioŋ^{5}: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕioŋ^{5}; **Pj** tɕyon^{5}; **Dy** tsom^{5}; **Yk** tɕiɔŋ^{5}; **Wy** tsɔŋ^{5}

CLS *ɗioŋ^{5}$_{!a}$ ⨯ *tɕioŋ^{5}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdioŋ^{5} ～意 ‘like’

b. **Sc** tɕiɔŋ^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃioŋ^{5}; **Pc** tsoŋ^{5}; **Qy** tɕioŋ^{5}

CSS *tioŋ^{5} ⨯ #tɕioŋ^{5}

a. **Kh** toŋ^{5}$_{!f}$; **Cs** —; **Js** tioŋ^{5}; **Ys** tioŋ^{5}; **Gf** tioŋ^{5}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕioŋ^{5}; **Ys** tɕioŋ^{5}; **Gf** —

1255 *zhòng* 衆〔通合三去送章 C〕 ‘masses’ **CDC** *ciung^{5} / **EC** *tungh

CSWW *tšioŋ^{5}

CJQ *tšioŋ^{5}: **Ly** tsoŋ^{5}; **Jh** tɕioŋ^{5}; **Pj** tɕyon^{5}; **Dy** tsom^{5}; **Yk** tɕiɔŋ^{5}; **Wy** tsɔŋ^{5}

CLS *tɕioŋ^{5}: **Sc** tɕiɔŋ^{5}; **Sy** tɕiəŋ^{5}; **Lq** tɕiəŋ^{5}; **Yh** tʃioŋ^{5}; **Pc** tsoŋ^{5}; **Qy** tɕioŋ^{5}

CSS #tɕioŋ^{5}: **Kh** tɕioŋ^{3}; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕioŋ^{5}; **Ys** tɕioŋ^{5}; **Gf** tɕioŋ^{5}

1260 *qióng* 窮〔通合三平東羣 C〕 ‘poor’ **CDC** *giung² / **EC** *gung

CSWW *gioŋ²

CJQ *gioŋ²: **Ly** dʑioŋ²; **Jh** dʑioŋ²; **Pj** dʑyon²; **Dy** dʑiom²; **Yk** giɔŋ²; **Wy** dʑiɔŋ²

CLS *gioŋ²: **Sc** dʑiɔŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²ˌˈi; **Lq** dʑiəŋ²; **Yh** dʒioŋ²; **Pc** kioŋ²; **Qy** tɕioŋ²

CSS *gioŋ²

1261 *xióng* 雄〔通合三平東云 C〕 ‘male’ **CDC** *(h)iung² / **EC** *wing

CSWW *ɦioŋ²

CJQ *ɦioŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** ioŋ²; **Pj** yon²; **Dy** iom²; **Yk** iɔŋ²; **Wy** iɔŋ²

CLS *ɦioŋ²: **Sc** iɔŋ² [1] ⩙ ʑiɔŋ² [2]; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** iəŋ²; **Yh** ioŋ²; **Pc** xioŋ²; **Qy** ioŋ²

CSS #ɦioŋ²: **Kh** (ʑioŋ²ˌˈi); **Cs** ioŋ⁻⁰; **Js** ioŋ²; **Ys** ioŋ²; **Gf** ioŋ²

See §4.12.2 for discussion of alternation of this final with *-iɔŋ in stylized doublets.

*4.25.2 *-ioʔ > CSS *-ioʔ*

As was the case for *-oʔ, the main vowel of this final has raised in **CLS** but remained the same elsewhere.

1270 *zhú* 竹〔通合三入屋知 C〕 ‘bamboo’ **CDC** *ciuk⁷ / **EC** *truk

CSWW *ɗaʔ⁷ˌˈa (?) [1] ⩙ *ɗioʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *tšioʔ⁷ [3]

CJQ *ɗioʔ⁷ (?) [1] ⩙ *tšioʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** lɔʔ⁷ˌˈf

b. **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiu³; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiuʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *tɕiuʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Sc** ʔdiuʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdyʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔdəɯʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdiɯʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiɯʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** tɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɑʔ⁷ ⩙ *tioʔ⁷ ⩙ #tɕioʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** taʔ⁷; **Js** taʔ⁷; **Ys** tɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tyoʔ⁷ [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tyɤʔ⁷ [1]

c. **Kh** tɕyoʔ⁷ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕioʔ⁷ [2]; **Gf** tɕyɤʔ⁷ [2]

1274 *zhōu* 粥〔通合三入屋章 C〕 ‘porridge’ **CDC** *ciuk⁷ / **EC** *ciwk (kyiwk)

CSWW *tšioʔ⁷

CJQ *tšioʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiu³; **Wy** tsɔʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiuʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɯʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiɯʔ⁷; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** tɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɕioʔ⁷

1277 *ròu* 肉〔通合三入屋日 C〕 ‘meat’ **CDC** *ʰnhiuk⁸ / **EC** *ʰnuk

CSWW *ɳɹiɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⨯ *ɳɹioʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ɳɹioʔ⁸: **Ly** ɳɹiɔʔ⁸ [1] ⨯ zɔʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** ɳɹioʔ⁸; **Pj** ɳɹyɯ⁸; **Dy** ɳɹiouʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiu⁴; **Wy** ɳɹiɔʔ⁸

CLS *ɳɹiɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ ⨯ *ɳɹioʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɳɹiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** {ŋioŋ⁷} ⨯ ŋiu⁷; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ɳɹiuʔ⁸; **Sy** ɳɹyʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiɯʔ⁸; **Pc** {ŋioŋ⁷} ⨯ ŋiu⁷; **Qy** ɳɹiɯʔ⁸

CSS *ɳɹiɔʔ⁸

1280 *xù* 畜〔通合三入屋曉 C〕 ‘rear (v.)’ **CDC** *xiuk⁷ / **EC** *huk

CSWW *xioʔ⁷

CJQ *xioʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃyɯ⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** xiu³; **Wy** ɕiɔʔ⁷

CLS *xiuʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiuʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyʔ⁷ [2]; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** xiu⁷; **Qy** ɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS #xioʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕʰyoʔ⁷; **Cs** ɕioʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** xioʔ⁷; **Gf** xyɤʔ⁷

See §4.12.3 for discussion of alternation with *-iɔuʔ. In the cognate set for **1270** 竹, we find an example of stylistic alternation between the finals *-aʔ and *-ioʔ in **CSS**. As was the case for *-ã ⨯ *-oŋ discussed in §4.24.2, this too might reflect a retention of **EC** *u ≠ *o before velar codas.

Finally, we find one case of *-(u)ək alternating with *-ioʔ. Unlike the other cases of *-(u)ək in our data, this example involves a word that had a velar coda in **CDC** and **EC**.

1279 *qū* 麴〔通合三入屋溪 C〕 ‘koji yeast’ **CDC** *khiuk⁷ / **EC** *khuk

CSWW *kʰ(u)ək⁷₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⨯ *kʰioʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *kʰioʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰyɯ⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiouʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰiu³; **Wy** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷

CLS *kʰioʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiuʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiɯʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰiɯʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰiu⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiɯʔ⁷

CSS *kʰɨʔ⁷ ⨯ #kʰioʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎

a. **Kh** kʰəʔ⁷; **Cs** kʰoʔ⁷; **Js** kʰəʔ⁷; **Ys** kʰəʔ⁷; **Gf** kʰieʔ⁷

b. **Kh** tɕʰyoʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

*4.25.3 *-uo > CSS *-ua*

The crucial difference between this final and *-o (§4.24.1) in the Lìshuǐ dialects is the **Yh** reflex, i.e. [-u] vs. [-o]. **Yh** retains a lower value.

27 *guǒ* 果〔果合一上果見〕 ‘fruit’ **CDC** *kuo³ / **EC** *ʾkoyx

CSWW *kuo³

CJQ *ko³: **Ly** ku³; **Jh** kuɤ³; **Pj** kɯ³; **Dy** kʊ³; **Yk** kuə³; **Wy** kuo³
CLS *kuɔ³: **Sc** ku³; **Sy** kʰu³˩˧; **Lq** kəu³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** kua³; **Qy** ko³
CSS #kua³ ⪥ #kuo³
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕye³ [1]; **Js** kyə³ [1]; **Ys** kuɑ³; **Gf** kye³ [1]
b. **Kh** ko³; **Cs** ko³ [2]; **Js** ko³ [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** kuɤ³ [2]

30 *guò* 過〔果合一去過見〕 'pass (v.)' **CDC** *kuo⁵ / **EC** *ʾkwayh
CSWW *kuo⁵
CJQ *ko⁵: **Ly** ku⁵; **Jh** kuɤ⁵; **Pj** kɯ⁵; **Dy** kʊ⁵; **Yk** kuə⁵ [2] ⪥ kuɑ⁵ [1]; **Wy** kuo⁵
CLS *kuɔ⁵: **Sc** ku⁵; **Sy** ku⁵; **Lq** kəu⁵; **Yh** ko⁵; **Pc** kua⁵; **Qy** ku⁴˩ft [1] ～來 ⪥ kuɤ⁵ [2]
CSS *kua⁵

32 *kē* 窠〔果合一平戈溪〕 'burrow' **CDC** *khuo¹ / **EC** *ʾkhoy
CSWW *kʰuo¹
CJQ *kʰo¹: **Ly** kʰu¹; **Jh** kʰuɤ¹; **Pj** kʰɯ¹; **Dy** kʰʊ¹; **Yk** kʰuə¹; **Wy** kʰuo¹
CLS *kʰo¹˩f: **Sc** kʰu¹; **Sy** kʰu¹; **Lq** kʰəu¹; **Yh** kʰo¹; **Pc** kʰua¹; **Qy** kʰo¹
CSS *kʰua¹

34 *huò* 貨〔果合一去過曉〕 'goods' **CDC** *huo⁶ / **EC** *ʾwayh
CSWW *xuo⁵
CJQ *xo⁵: **Ly** xu⁵; **Jh** xuɤ⁵; **Pj** xɯ⁵; **Dy** xʊ⁵; **Yk** xuə⁵; **Wy** xuo⁵
CLS *xuɔ⁵: **Sc** xu⁵; **Sy** fu⁵; **Lq** xəu⁵; **Yh** xo⁵; **Pc** xua⁵; **Qy** xo⁵
CSS *xua⁵

*4.25.4 *-uoŋ > CSS *-oŋ*

This final only occurs with grave (non-coronal) initials. It probably resulted from rounding of pre-**CSWW** *-uəŋ. **CSWW** *-uəŋ (§4.18.3), on the other hand, is entirely of late origin when it occurs with grave initials. Both finals must be reconstructed to account for the data. I have chosen the present value for *-uoŋ because its reflexes frequently merge with *-oŋ but those of *-uəŋ typically do not.

The decision to reconstruct **2042** with this final is somewhat arbitrary because it is the only syllable that demonstrates its particular correspondence pattern. I take this correspondence to be the regular outcome of *-uoŋ after labial initials, but without more examples, we cannot con-

firm this development. In this environment, *-uoŋ has merged with *-oŋ exceptionlessly in **CLS** and **CSS** so I grouped it with the other cases of *-uoŋ after guttural initials by analogy.

Examples:

2042 SNIFF

CSWW *pʰuoŋ¹ ‘smell (v.), sniff’

CJQ *pʰuoŋ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** pʰən⁵ 噴=; **Dy** pʰom¹ □; **Yk** pʰəŋ¹ 噴=; **Wy** pʰen¹ 噴=

CLS *pʰoŋ¹: **Sc** pʰəŋ¹ 噴=; **Sy** pʰəŋ¹ □; **Lq** —; **Yh** pʰəŋ¹ 噴=; **Pc** pʰoŋ¹ 芳; **Qy** pʰoŋ¹ 噴=

CSS *pʰoŋ¹

762 *guǎn* 管〔山合一上緩見〕 ‘tube’ **CDC** *kuon³ / **EC** *ʾkonx

CSWW *kuoŋ³ [1] ≍ *kuõ³ [2]

CJQ *kuoŋ³ 竹～ ‘bamboo tube’ ≍ *kuã³

a. **Ly** koŋ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuein³ [兒]; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuen³ 水竹～ ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Ly** kuã³; **Jh** kuɑ³ [1] ≍ kuã³ [2]; **Pj** kuã³; **Dy** kʌ³; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuo³

CLS *kuoŋ³ ≍ *kuõ³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ³ 水～ ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Sc** kuə̃³; **Sy** kuõ³; **Lq** kuaŋ³; **Yh** kuã³; **Pc** kuãi³; **Qy** kuã³

CSS *koŋ³ ≍ #kuẽ³

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** koŋ³; **Js** koŋ³; **Ys** koŋ³; **Gf** koŋ³

b. **Kh** kuã³; **Cs** kuʌ̃³; **Js** kyɛ̃³ ≍ kuæ³ [3]; **Ys** kuã³; **Gf** kuẽ³

763 *guàn* 灌〔山合一去換見〕 ‘pour out’ **CDC** *kuon⁵ / **EC** *ʾkonh

CSWW *kuoŋ⁵ [1] ‘force out (liquid)’ ≍ *kuõ⁵ [2]

CJQ *kuoŋ⁵ ‘abscess’ ≍ *kuã⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** koŋ⁵ ≍ kuəŋ⁵ [2] ‘abscess’; **Pj** kuən⁵ ‘pop; abscess’; **Dy** —; **Yk** kuəŋ⁵; **Wy** kuen⁵

b. **Ly** kuã⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuã⁵ [4]; **Pj** kuã⁵ ≍ kuan⁵; **Dy** kʌ⁵ ‘force out (liquid)’; **Yk** kuɑ⁵; **Wy** kuo⁵

CLS *kuoŋ⁵ ≍ *kuõ⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ⁵

b. **Sc** (kuaŋ⁵₍f₎); **Sy** kuõ⁵; **Lq** kuaŋ⁵; **Yh** kuã⁵; **Pc** kuãi⁵; **Qy** kuã⁵

CSS *koŋ⁵ [2] ≍ *kuẽ⁵ [1]

779 *guān* 關〔山合二平刪見〕 ‘shut; relate’ **CDC** *kuan¹ / **EC** *kron

CSWW *kuoŋ¹ [1] *F* ‘shut’ ≍ *kuã¹ [2] *B*

CJQ *kuoŋ¹ ⪥ *kuã¹
a. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuən¹ [l]; **Yk** kuəŋ¹; **Wy** kuen¹
b. **Ly** kuã¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹ [1] ⪥ kuɑŋ¹ [2] ⪥ kuã¹ [3]; **Pj** kuã¹; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kuɑ¹; **Wy** kuo¹

CLS *kuoŋ¹ ⪥ *kuã¹
a. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** ken¹; **Lq** kuəŋ¹; **Yh** kəŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ¹
b. **Sc** kuaŋ¹ ～係 ‘relation’; **Sy** —; **Lq** kuaŋ¹ ～係 ‘relation’; **Yh** kuã¹ ～心 ‘care’; **Pc** kuãi¹; **Qy** kuã¹ ～鍵 ‘key’

CSS *koŋ¹ ⪥ #kuã¹
a. **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** koŋ¹; **Gf** koŋ¹
b. **Kh** kuã¹; **Cs** kuã¹; **Js** kuã¹; **Ys** kuã¹; **Gf** kuã¹

Etymologically speaking, the glottal counterpart to this final is *-uək (§4.18.5). *-uoʔ is not set up for **CSWW**.

*4.26 Finals with the vowel sequences *i and *ui*

CSWW	i	iŋ	iʔ	ui
CJQ	i	iŋ	iʔ	i/T_ (?)
Ly	i; ɿ/*Š_	iŋ; eŋ/*Š_	iəʔ; əʔ/*Š_	—
Jh	i; y/*Š_	iŋ	iəʔ	—
Pj	i	in	ɛ; iə/ʔ,$_	i/T_
Dy	i	ən	eiʔ	—
Yk	i	ieiŋ	ĭə; ə/P_; əi/T,S_	—
Wy	i	in	iəʔ; ə/*P,T_	i/T_
CLS	i	iŋ	iʔ	ui
Sc	i; ɿ/S_	iɪŋ	iɪʔ	ɿ/S_
Sy	i; ɿ/S_	in; en/l_; i/ȵ_	iʔ	e/T_
Lq	i; ɿ/S,$_	iŋ	iʔ; ɿʔ/S,$_	ui; i/T,S_; ɛ/l_
Yh	i; ɿ/S_	iŋ	iʔ	ei/T_
Pc	i	eŋ; ieŋ/K,$_; i/ȵ_	i	ue
Qy	i	ɪŋ; ieŋ/Ś,$_; i/ȵ_	iʔ	uai; ai/T,S_
CSS	i; e/*Š_	iŋ	iʔ	oi

CSWW *-iŋ and *-iʔ correspond to finals with velar codas in **CDC** and contrast with *-iəŋ and *-iək, which correspond to **CDC** finals with non-velar codas. The preservation of the distinction between historical velar and non-velar codas after *i in Wú extends beyond just the Southwestern dialects; the exact separation depends on conditioned changes after various initial classes

(for further discussion, see Akitani 2003c). See *-iəŋ (§4.17.2) and *-iək (§4.17.3) for tables that summarize the differences between these finals and *-iŋ and *-iʔ in Southwestern Wú dialects.

*4.26.1 *-i > CSS *-i; *-e/*Š_*

This final underwent special developments after sibilant initials in some dialects, but mostly remained unchanged in other environments. Examples:

292 *bǐ* 比〔止開三上旨幫 A〕 ‘compare’ **CDC** *pi³ / **EC** *piyx

CSWW *ɓi³

CJQ *ɓi³: **Ly** pi³; **Jh** pi³; **Pj** pi³; **Dy** pi³; **Yk** ʔbi³; **Wy** pi³

CLS *ɓi³: **Sc** ʔbi³; **Sy** ʔbi³; **Lq** ʔbi³; **Yh** ʔbi³ [1] ≍ pʰi³ [2] ～方 ‘analogy’; **Pc** pi³; **Qy** ʔbi³

CSS *pi³

299 *zǐ* 姊〔止開三上旨精 AB〕 ‘big sister’ **CDC** *tsɿ³ / **EC** *tsiyx

CSWW *tsi³

CJQ *tsi³: **Ly** tɕi³; **Jh** tsi³; **Pj** tʃi⁵; **Dy** tsi³; **Yk** tɕi³; **Wy** tɕi³

CLS *tɕi³: **Sc** tsɿ³; **Sy** tsɿ⁵; **Lq** tsɿ³; **Yh** tsɿ¹₍₁t₎; **Pc** tɕi³ ≍ tɕie³; **Qy** tɕi³

CSS *tɕi³

304 *chí* 遲〔止開三平脂澄 AB〕 ‘delayed’ **CDC** *ji² / **EC** *driy

CSWW *dəi²₍₁a₎ [1] ‘late’ ≍ *dži² [2] ‘late’

CJQ *dži²: **Ly** dzɿ² ‘late’; **Jh** dʑy² [1] ‘late’ ≍ dzɿ² [2]; **Pj** dʒi²; **Dy** dzi²; **Yk** dʑi²; **Wy** dʑi² ‘late’

CLS *dʑi²: **Sc** dzɿ² ‘late’; **Sy** tsɿ²; **Lq** dzɿ²; **Yh** dzɿ² ‘late’; **Pc** tɕi² ‘late’; **Qy** tɕi²

CSS *dəi² [2] ≍ *dʑe² [1]

This is the vernacular word for ‘late’ in most of the daughters, i.e. the equivalent of **MSC** *wǎn* 晚. I have marked the gloss explicitly in the data to make lexical replacement apparent.

337 *xī* 嬉〔止開三平之曉 C〕 ‘play’ **CDC** *xi¹ / **EC** *hi

CSWW *xi¹

CJQ *xi¹: **Ly** ɕi¹; **Jh** ɕi¹; **Pj** ʃi¹; **Dy** ɕi¹; **Yk** xi¹; **Wy** ɕi¹

CLS *xi¹: **Sc** sɿ¹; **Sy** sɿ¹; **Lq** sɿ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** xi¹; **Qy** ɕi¹

CSS *xi¹

338 *yī* 醫〔止開三平之影 C〕 ‘doctor’ **CDC** *i¹ / **EC** *i

CSWW *ʔɨ¹₍₁a₎ [1] ≍ *ʔi¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔi¹: **Ly** i¹; **Jh** i¹; **Pj** i¹; **Dy** ʔi¹; **Yk** i¹; **Wy** i¹
CLS *i¹: **Sc** i¹; **Sy** i¹; **Lq** ɿ¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** i¹; **Qy** i¹
CSS #ʔe¹ ⪥ *ʔi¹
a. **Kh** ui¹ ～病 ‘treat illness’; **Cs** {i¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** i¹ ～院 ‘hospital’; **Cs** {i¹}; **Js** i¹; **Ys** i¹; **Gf** i¹

The CSWW syllable *ȵi became a syllabic alveolopalatal nasal in CJQ. In the other branches, it remained stabler, but note aberrant initial in Lq and Qy in set **330** 耳. The origin of these forms is unclear, but perhaps it has to do with a similar process of vowel loss in those dialects. This would mean that the Lq and Qy reflexes in set **310** 二 are learnèd intrusions.

330 *ěr* 耳〔止開三上止日 C〕 ‘ear’ **CDC** *ʰnhi⁴ / **EC** *ʰnix
CSWW *ȵi⁴ ～朵
CJQ *ȵ⁴ [1] ⪥ *ȶ⁴ [2]
a. **Ly** ȵi⁴; **Jh** ŋ³; **Pj** n⁻¹¹; **Dy** n⁴ ‘～朵’; **Yk** ŋ⁻¹¹ ‘～朵’; **Wy** n⁻⁴⁴⁵ ‘～朵’
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** əl³; **Pj** —; **Dy** ɚ⁰; **Yk** ly⁴; **Wy** ʅ⁴
CLS *ȵi⁴: **Sc** ȵi⁴ [1] ⪥ ȵiŋ⁴ [2] ⪥ n⁴ [3]; **Sy** n⁴; **Lq** mi³ǃit; **Yh** ɲi³; **Pc** ŋi⁴; **Qy** ȵĩ⁴ [1] ‘～朵’ ⪥ mɪŋ⁻²²¹ [2] ‘～朵’
CSS *ȵi⁴

310 *èr* 二〔止開三去至日 AB〕 ‘two’ **CDC** *nhi⁶ / **EC** *nis
CSWW *ȵi⁶
CJQ *ȵ⁶: **Ly** ȵi⁶; **Jh** ŋ⁶ [1] ⪥ əl⁶ [2]; **Pj** n⁶; **Dy** n⁶ [l] ⪥ zi⁶ [2] ⪥ ɚ⁶ [3]; **Yk** ŋ⁶; **Wy** n⁶
CLS *ȵi⁶: **Sc** ȵi⁶ [1] ⪥ ɤɯ⁶ [2]; **Sy** ȵi⁶; **Lq** ȵi⁶; **Yh** ɲi⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵĩ⁶
CSS *ȵi⁶

*4.26.2 *-iŋ > CSS *-iŋ*

Examples of this final include:

1139 *bìng* 病〔梗開三去映並 B〕 ‘sick’ **CDC** *biang⁶ / **EC** *bangh ⪥ *bengh
CSWW *bæŋ⁶ǃa [1] ⪥ *biŋ⁶
CJQ *biŋ⁶: **Ly** biŋ⁶; **Jh** biŋ⁶; **Pj** bin⁶; **Dy** bən⁶; **Yk** bieiŋ⁶; **Wy** bin⁶
CLS *biŋ⁶: **Sc** biɪŋ⁶; **Sy** bin⁶; **Lq** biŋ⁶; **Yh** biŋ⁶; **Pc** peŋ⁶; **Qy** pɪŋ⁶
CSS *bæ̃⁶ ⪥ #biŋ⁶ [2]
a. **Kh** bã⁶; **Cs** —; **Js** bã⁶; **Ys** bɒ̃⁶; **Gf** bæ̃⁶
b. **Kh** biŋ⁶; **Cs** bɪŋ⁶; **Js** —; **Ys** bɪŋ⁶; **Gf** beiŋ⁶

1153 *lǐng* 嶺〔梗開三上靜來 AB〕 ‘ridge-line’ **CDC** *liang⁴ / **EC** —
CSWW *liŋ⁴
CJQ *liŋ⁴: **Ly** liŋ⁴; **Jh** liŋ³; **Pj** lin⁴; **Dy** lən⁴; **Yk** lieiŋ⁴; **Wy** lin⁴
CLS *liŋ⁴: **Sc** liɪŋ⁴; **Sy** len⁴; **Lq** liŋ³; **Yh** liŋ³; **Pc** leŋ⁴; **Qy** lɪŋ⁴
CSS *liŋ⁴

1179 *dīng* 釘〔梗開四平青端〕 ‘nail (n.)’ **CDC** *tiang¹ / **EC** *’teng
CSWW *ɗiŋ¹
CJQ *ɗiŋ¹: **Ly** tiŋ¹; **Jh** tiŋ¹; **Pj** tin¹; **Dy** tən¹; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ¹; **Wy** nin¹
CLS *ɗiŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdin¹; **Lq** ʔdiŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdiŋ¹; **Pc** leŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdɪŋ¹
CSS *tiŋ¹

1155 *jǐng* 井〔梗開三上靜精 AB〕 ‘well’ **CDC** *tsiang³ / **EC** *tsengx
CSWW *tsiŋ³
CJQ *tsiŋ³: **Ly** tɕiŋ³; **Jh** tsiŋ³; **Pj** tsin³; **Dy** tsən³; **Yk** tɕieiŋ³; **Wy** tɕin³
CLS *tɕiŋ³: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³; **Sy** tɕin³; **Lq** tɕiŋ³; **Yh** tʃiŋ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕieŋ³
CSS *tɕiŋ³

1146 *yíng* 迎〔梗開三平庚疑 B〕 ‘welcome’ **CDC** *ngiang² / **EC** *ngang ⩙ *ngeng
CSWW *ȵiŋ²
CJQ *ȵiŋ²: **Ly** ȵiŋ²; **Jh** ȵiŋ²; **Pj** ȵin²; **Dy** ŋən²[1] ⩙ ȵien²[2]; **Yk** ɲieiŋ²; **Wy** ȵin²
CLS *ȵiŋ²: **Sc** ȵiɪŋ²; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵiŋ²; **Yh** ɲiŋ²; **Pc** ŋi²; **Qy** ȵĩ²
CSS #ȵiŋ²: **Kh** ȵiŋ²; **Cs** lɪŋ²ˌˈi; **Js** ȵiŋ²; **Ys** nɪŋ²; **Gf** leiŋ²ˌˈi

1082 *chēng* 秤〔廣韻：曾開三去證昌 C〕 ‘steelyard’ **CDC** *ching⁵ / **EC** *thingh
CSWW *tšʰiŋ⁵
CJQ *tšʰiŋ⁵: **Ly** tsʰəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsʰin⁵; **Dy** tsʰən⁵; **Yk** tɕʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕʰin⁵
CLS *tɕʰiŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰin⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ⁵
CSS *tɕʰiŋ⁵

1166 *qīng* 輕〔梗開三平清溪 A〕 ‘light (of weight)’ **CDC** *khiang¹ / **EC** *kheng
CSWW *kʰiŋ¹
CJQ *kʰiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰin¹; **Dy** kʰən¹; **Yk** kʰieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰin¹
CLS *kʰiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰin¹; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ¹; **Pc** kʰieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ¹
CSS *kʰiŋ¹

1086 *xìng* 興〔曾開三去證曉 C〕 ‘elated’ **CDC** *xing⁵ / **EC** *hingh
CSWW *xiŋ⁵ *F* ‘flourishing’
CJQ *xiŋ⁵ ‘bustling’: **Ly** ɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** ɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** ʃin⁵; **Dy** xən⁵; **Yk** xieiŋ⁵; **Wy** ɕin⁵

CLS *xiŋ⁵ 高～ ‘glad’: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** ɕin⁵; **Lq** ɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** ʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕieŋ⁵
CSS *xiŋ⁵

1147 *yǐng* 影〔梗開三上梗影 B〕 ‘shadow’ **CDC** *iang³ / **EC** *angx ⩙ *engx
CSWW *ʔeŋ³ [1] ⩙ *ʔiŋ³ [2]
CJQ *ʔiŋ³: **Ly** iŋ³; **Jh** iŋ³; **Pj** in³; **Dy** ʔən³; **Yk** ieiŋ³; **Wy** in³
CLS *eŋ³ ⩙ *iŋ³
a. **Sc** ə̃³; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɛ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ã³
b. **Sc** iɪŋ³; **Sy** in³; **Lq** iŋ³; **Yh** iŋ³; **Pc** ieŋ³; **Qy** ieŋ³
CSS *ʔə̃³ ⩙ #ʔiŋ³
a. **Kh** ɛ̃³; **Cs** ʌ̃³; **Js** æ̃³; **Ys** æ̃³; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** iŋ³; **Cs** ɪŋ³; **Js** —; **Ys** ɪŋ³; **Gf** iŋ³
Note that although 電～‘movie’ is a neologism and is unlikely to be as old as any of common systems presented here, the form *ʔiŋ³ is reconstructable as a literary bound word available to speakers during compound formation. For many speakers, it is now the only word for ‘shadow’.

For discussion of stylistic doublets involving this final and *æŋ, see §4.5.2. Beyond these, the doublet forms of **1147** 影 deserve special mention. As noted in §4.20.2, the final *-eŋ often corresponds to plain **EC** *-ang > **CDC** *-iong. In **CDC**, the main vowel of **1147** 影 unexpectedly fronted, yielding *iang³, but in the Common Mín form, *ɔŋ³ ‘shadow’, no such fronting occurred. Though **CSWW** *ʔeŋ³ contains a front vowel, it agrees with the Common Mín in that it suggests an origin from **EC** *-ang (and expected development into **CDC** *-iong). It also similarly lacks a medial *-i-.

*4.26.3 *-iʔ > CSS *-iʔ*

The following are examples of this final:

1192 *bì* 壁〔梗開四入錫幫〕 ‘wall’ **CDC** *piak⁷ / **EC** *’pek
CSWW *ɓiʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓiʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** pɛ⁷; **Dy** peiʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ pɔʔ⁷ [2]
CLS *ɓiʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** piʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔbiʔ⁷
CSS *piʔ⁷

1092 *lì* 力〔曾開三入職來 C〕 ‘strength’ **CDC** *lik⁸ / **EC** *lik
CSWW *liʔ⁸

CJQ *liʔ⁸: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** lɛ⁸; **Dy** leiʔ⁸; **Yk** ləi⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸
CLS *liʔ⁸: **Sc** liɪʔ⁸; **Sy** liʔ⁸; **Lq** liʔ⁸; **Yh** liʔ⁸; **Pc** li⁷; **Qy** liʔ⁸
CSS *liʔ⁸

1171 *xí* 席〔梗開三入昔邪 AB〕 ‘seat’ **CDC** *ziak⁸ / **EC** *zak
CSWW *ziʔ⁸ [2]
CJQ *ziʔ⁸: **Ly** ʑiəʔ⁸ ≍ dʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ziəʔ⁸; **Pj** zɛ⁸ [1] ≍ ʒiə⁸ [2]; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ ≍ dʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸
CLS *ziʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** zɿʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** tɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁸
CSS *ʑiʔ⁸

1174 *chǐ* 尺〔梗開三入昔昌 AB〕 ‘foot (unit)’ **CDC** *chiak⁷ / **EC** *thak
CSWW *tšʰiʔ⁷
CJQ *tšʰiʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰɛ⁷; **Dy** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰəi³ [1] ≍ tsʰəi⁻⁵⁴ [2]; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷
CLS *tɕʰiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɿʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰi⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiʔ⁷
CSS #tɕʰiʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕʰieʔ⁷; **Cs** tsʰeʔ⁷; **Js** tɕʰiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** tsʰeʔ⁷; **Gf** tsʰeʔ⁷

1176 *yì* 益〔梗開三入昔影 A〕 ‘benefit’ **CDC** *iak⁷ / **EC** *ek
CSWW *ʔiʔ⁷
CJQ *ʔiʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁸꜀ₜ; **Dy** ʔeiʔ⁷ [1] ≍ ʔiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ĭə³; **Wy** iəʔ⁷
CLS *iʔ⁷: **Sc** iɪʔ⁷; **Sy** iʔ⁷; **Lq** ɿʔ⁷; **Yh** iʔ⁷; **Pc** i⁷; **Qy** iʔ⁷
CSS *ʔiʔ⁷

In the following cognate set, we find an example of an archaic unfronted reflex of plain **EC** *-ak that matches the pattern observed for **1147** 影. However, this time a medial *-i- is present, likely due to the difference in initial. This form also has Common Mín cognates, though note the varying initials: *(s,ʃ)iɔk⁷ ‘kiss (?)’ ≍ *tsʰiɔk⁷ ‘to cherish’. The former form occurs in Coastal Mín and the latter in Inland Mín.

1170 *xī* 惜〔梗開三入昔心 AB〕 ‘cherish, take pity on’ **CDC** *siak⁷ / **EC** *sak
CSWW *šiauʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *siʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *šiauʔ⁷ 得農～ ‘lovable’ ≍ *siʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɕyəʔ⁷꜀ₜ; **Pj** —; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ɕiɒ³ ≍ ɕiɒ⁵ [2]; **Wy** ɕiɑoʔ⁷ 叮農～
b. **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷; **Pj** sɛ⁷ [1] ≍ ʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** səi³ [3]; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷
CLS *ɕiauʔ⁷ ≍ *ɕiʔ⁷
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷ [2] ‘cherish’
b. **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** sɿʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁷ [1]

CSS *ɕiɑʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *ɕiʔ⁷ [1]

One more doublet of this type exists. It also has a Common Mín cognate: *tʃiɔk⁸ ‘stone’.

1175 *shí* 石〔梗開三入昔常 AB〕 ‘stone’ **CDC** *zhiak⁸ / **EC** *dak

CSWW *(dž,dz)iauʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ *žiʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *žiʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zɛ⁸; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ [1] 鵝卵～ ‘cobblestone’ ⩙ zɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *dʑiauʔ⁸ ⩙ *ʑiʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaʔ⁸ ～斑魚 ‘grouper’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** zɿʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiɑʔ⁸ ⩙ #ʑiʔ⁸

a. **Kh** dʑiɛʔ⁸ ～頭; **Cs** dʑiaʔ⁸ ～頭; **Js** dʑiaʔ⁸ □bɛ³³～ ‘cobblestone’; **Ys** dʑiɐʔ⁸ □beʔ²～; **Gf** ɕiɐʔ⁸ ～頭

b. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸ 吸鐵～ ‘magnet’; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁸ ～頭; **Ys** zeʔ⁸ ～榴 ‘pomegranate’; **Gf** seʔ⁸

See also **2029** 摭 and **2043** 釋 for examples of words that have **CSWW** *-iauʔ corresponding to plain **EC** *-ak instead of typical *-iʔ.

*4.26.4 *-ui > CSS *-oi*

The evidence for this final is fragmentary. It only occurs in a handful of sets, all of which are listed below. Attestation in the Jīnqú branch is especially poor, but these words are unlikely to have been borrowed from Mín given their broad geographic distribution. They are vestiges of a substrate that has been almost completely effaced.

752 *duǎn* 短〔山合一上緩端〕 ‘short’ **CDC** *tuon³ / **EC** *’tonx ⩙ *’toyx

CSWW *ɗui³ [1] ⩙ *ɗuõ³ [2]

CJQ *ɗɤ̃³: **Ly** tei³ [1] ⩙ tuei³ [2]; **Jh** tɤ³ [1] ⩙ tuã³ [2]; **Pj** tə̃³; **Dy** tɤ³; **Yk** ʔdɤə³; **Wy** ʔnɤ³

CLS *ɗui³ ⩙ *ɗuə̃³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔde³; **Lq** ʔdi³; **Yh** —; **Pc** lue³ [白]; **Qy** ʔdai³

b. **Sc** ʔdə̃³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔduɛ³; **Pc** luãi³; **Qy** ʔdã³

CSS #toi³ [2] ⩙ #tõ³ [3] ⩙ *toi¹˩ [1]

a. **Kh** tui³; **Cs** ti³ [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ti³

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tõ⁻⁴⁴; **Js** —; **Ys** tõ³ [2]; **Gf** tuẽ³

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** ti¹ [2]; **Js** ti¹; **Ys** ti¹; **Gf** ti¹

758 *zuàn* 鑽〔山合一去換精〕 ‘drill (n.)’ **CDC** *tsuon⁵ / **EC** *’tsonh ⩙ *’tsoyh

CSWW *tsui⁵ [1] ⩙ *tsuõ⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsuɤ̃⁵: **Ly** tsuei⁵; **Jh** tsɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ tsuã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tsə̃⁵; **Dy** tsɤ⁵; **Yk** tsɤə⁵; **Wy** tsɤ⁵

CLS *tsui⁵$_{!a}$ ⩙ *tsuə̃⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsai⁵

b. **Sc** tsə̃⁵; **Sy** tsæ̃⁵; **Lq** tsɤ¹; **Yh** tsuɛ⁵; **Pc** tsuãi⁵; **Qy** tsã⁵

CSS *tsoi⁵ ⩙ *tsõ⁵

759 *suān* 酸〔山合一平桓心〕 ‘sour’ **CDC** *suon¹ / **EC** *’son ⩙ *’soy

CSWW *sui¹ [1] ⩙ *suõ¹ [2]

CJQ *suɤ̃¹: **Ly** suei¹; **Jh** sɤ¹ [1] ⩙ suã¹ [2]; **Pj** sə̃¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** sɤə¹; **Wy** sɤ¹

CLS *sui¹ ⩙ *suə̃¹

a. **Sc** sɿ¹ [1]; **Sy** —; **Lq** si¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sai¹

b. **Sc** suə̃¹; **Sy** sæ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** suɛ¹; **Pc** suãi¹; **Qy** —

CSS *soi¹ ⩙ *sõ¹

21 *luó* 螺〔果合一平戈來〕 ‘spiral’ **CDC** *luo² / **EC** *’ʰloy

CSWW *lu(ə)i² [1] ⩙ *lo² [2]

CJQ *lo²: **Ly** lu²; **Jh** luɤ²; **Pj** luu²; **Dy** lʊ²; **Yk** luə²; **Wy** luo²

CLS *lu(ə)i² ⩙ *lo²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** (sue²$_{!i}$); **Qy** lai² 田～ ‘river snail’

b. **Sc** lu²; **Sy** lu² [1] 田～ ‘river snail’ ⩙ luo² [2]; **Lq** ləu²; **Yh** lu²; **Pc** luo² [文]; **Qy** lo²

CSS *lo²: **Kh** lo²; **Cs** lo²; **Js** lo⁻³³; **Ys** lo²; **Gf** lo²

22 *luó* 腡〔果合一平戈來〕 ‘whorl (fingerprint)’ **CDC** *luo² / **EC** *’ʰloy

CSWW *lui² [1] ⩙ *lo² [2]

CJQ *li²$_{!a}$ ⩙ *lo²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** li²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** li²

b. **Ly** lu²; **Jh** luɤ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** lʊ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *lui² ⩙ *lo²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** le²; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** lei²; **Pc** —; **Qy** lai²

b. **Sc** lu²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu²; **Pc** luo²; **Qy** —

CSS *lo²: **Kh** lo²; **Cs** lo²; **Js** lo²; **Ys** lo²; **Gf** lo²

19 *tuò* 唾〔果合一去過透〕 ‘saliva’ **CDC** *thuo⁵ / **EC** *’thoyh

CSWW *tʰui⁵ [1] ⩙ *tʰo⁵ [2] ⩙ *tʰuə⁵ [3]

CJQ *tʰo⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰuɤ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tʰʊ⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** tʰuo⁵

CLS *tʰui⁵ ⩙ *tʰuə⁵
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰue⁵; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tʰɯ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰɤ⁵

CSS *tʰoi⁵ ⩙ #tʰo⁵ ⩙ #tʰuə⁵
a. **Kh** tʰui⁵ ⩙ tʰui³ [2]; **Cs** tʰi⁵; **Js** tʰi⁵; **Ys** tʰi⁵; **Gf** tʰi⁵
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tʰo⁵
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tʰuɤ⁵

33 *huǒ* 火〔果合一上果曉〕 ‘fire’ **CDC** *xuo³ / **EC** *ʾxoyx

CSWW *xui³ [1] ⩙ *xuo³ [2]

CJQ *xo³: **Ly** xu³; **Jh** xuɤ³; **Pj** xɯ³; **Dy** xʊ³; **Yk** xuə³; **Wy** xuo³

CLS *xui³ ⩙ *xuɔ³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** xui³; **Yh** —; **Pc** xue³ [白]; **Qy** xuai³
b. **Sc** xu³; **Sy** fu³; **Lq** —; **Yh** xo³; **Pc** xua³; **Qy** xo³

CSS *xoi³ [2] ⩙ *xua³ [1]
a. **Kh** xui³ [1]; **Cs** xui³ [1]; **Js** xuᴇ³; **Ys** xuei³ [1]; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕye³ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** xuɑ³ [2]; **Gf** xye³

28 *guǒ* 裹〔果合一上果見〕 ‘wrap’ **CDC** *kuo³ / **EC** *ʾkoyx

CSWW *kui³$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *kuo³ [2]

CJQ *ko³: **Ly** ku³; **Jh** kuɤ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** kʊ³; **Yk** kuə³; **Wy** —

CLS *kuɔ³: **Sc** ku¹$_{!t}$; **Sy** kʰu³$_{!i}$; **Lq** —; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ko³

CSS *koi³ ⩙ (*kuo³$_{!f}$)
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** kui³; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ky³
b. **Kh** (ko³); **Cs** —; **Js** (ko³); **Ys** (kuɑ³); **Gf** (kuɤ³)

CLS *-ui can only be established unambiguously after *s- in **759** 酸 because of the **Sc** and **Lq** reflex. In other words, where **Sc** and **Lq** data is missing, the final is not distinct from *-uəi.

This final corresponds directly to **EC** *-oy, but we must take note of the last few examples in which the corresponding **CDC** forms have an *-n coda (**752** 短, **758** 鑽, **759** 酸). These examples are a parallel to the well-known contact between the *gē* 歌 (**EC** *-ay and *-oy) and *yuán* 元 (**EC** *-an, *-on, and *-en) rime groups of Old Chinese known to us from textual sources.[28] Akitani's discovery of these in his study of the Chǔqú dialects is of great importance because we seldom find unattested cases of this sort of interchange in living languages. They allow us to verify that

[28]Specifically in *xiéshēng* 諧聲 series (e.g. 〈番〉 is phonophoric in both **EC** *ʾpay 播 ‘sow, broadcast’ and *phan 翻 ‘flip’), doublet character readings (e.g. **QYS** *sejX* ~ *senX* 洗 ‘wash’) and rhymed texts.

the alternation in question had a real phonological, and probably regional, basis.[29] We cannot dismiss the phenomenon as half rhymes or mere perceptual similarity.[30] But at the same time, we must also acknowledge the paucity of examples that support the alternation in Southwestern Wú. To my knowledge, it is only these three words and **728** 前 **CSWW** *(z,ž)yei¹ [1]. To characterize Southwestern Wú as having a substrate in which the Old Chinese coda *-r regularly developed into **EC** *-y instead of *-n would be a gross overgeneralization. Southwestern Wú does not have significantly more cases of **EC** *-y for orthographically expected *-n than other Chinese dialect groups; it is just that the words in which we find the interchange differ.

---

[29]Lín (1933) was the first to propose that the alternation was regional. He found that compositions from the eastern states in *Shījīng* exhibited rhyming contacts between the two groups, but works from the western states did not. Years later, Starostin ([1989] 2010, 224–26) independently reached a similar conclusion and proposed a three-way coda distinction of *-n, *-r, and *-j to account for dialect differences. In his hypothesis, *-r regularly merged with *-j in some dialects during the time of the *Shījīng*, then merged with *-n in other dialects of the late Warring States period (301–2). Baxter (1992, 294) took a different tack and suggested that *-n might have denasalized generally and developed into *-j. The disagreement is ultimately one of scope, and even if one follows Starostin in reconstructing *-r as Baxter now does (Baxter and Sagart 2014, 252), empirically determining the scope of where *-r is to be reconstructed relative to the other two codas is no trivial undertaking. On this point, Baxter and Sagart's (2014) *-r proposal differs substantially from Starostin's.

[30]This was Karlgren's (1954, 300–301) view on the matter. He reconstructed *-r for the *gē* 歌 (**EC** *-ay, *-oy) and *wēi* 微 (**EC** *-uy) groups because he believed it was phonetically close enough to *-n to facilitate occasional rhymes and *xiéshēng* contacts.

*4.27 Finals with the vowel sequence *y*

CSWW	y	yʔ
CJQ	y; yi/*Š,S_	yʔ
Ly	y; uei/*Š_; i/*S_	yəʔ
Jh	y; ɛ/S_	yəʔ
Pj	y; i/*S_	yəʔ
Dy	iʉ; ɿ~ʅ/*Š,S_	iouʔ
Yk	y; əi/S_	ўə
Wy	y; i/*S_	yəʔ
CLS	y	yʔ
Sc	y	iuʔ
Sy	y	yʔ
Lq	y	iʔ
Yh	y	yeiʔ
Pc	y	y
Qy	y	yʔ
CSS	yi	yʔ

*4.27.1 *-y > CSS *-yi*

This final underwent special developments after sibilants in the Jīnqú dialects, making it distinct from **CSWW** *-yə > **CJQ** *-y (see §4.19.1). In all these dialects, *-y unrounded after alveolar sibilant initials. The reflexes resemble those that correspond to **CSWW** *-əi > **CJQ** *-əi (see §4.20.1) in **Jh** and **Yk**, but elsewhere there are no traces of diphthongization.

347 *zuǐ* 嘴〔止合三上紙精 AB〕 ‘mouth’ **CDC** *tsui³ / **EC** —

CSWW *tsy³

CJQ *tsyi³: **Ly** tɕi³ 面～ ‘mouth’ ⩙ tsuei³ 茶壺～ ‘teapot spout’; **Jh** tsɛ³ [1] ⩙ tsui³ [2]; **Pj** tʃi³; **Dy** tsɿ³; **Yk** tsəi³; **Wy** tɕi³ [1] ⩙ tɕy³ [2]

CLS *tsy³ [1] ⩙ *tsuəi³ [2]

a. **Sc** tɕy³; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** tɕy³; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tsei³; **Sy** tse³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsai³

CSS *tɕyi³ !f

After the other initials, the original value of this final was mostly retained. Examples:

368 *guì* 貴〔止合三去未見 C〕 ‘expensive’ **CDC** *kui⁵ / **EC** *kus

CSWW *ky⁵ [1] ⨯ *kuei⁵ [2]

CJQ *ky⁵ ⨯ *kuei⁵

a. **Ly** tɕy⁵; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy⁵; **Dy** tɕiʉ⁵; **Yk** ky⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵
b. **Ly** kuei⁵; **Jh** kui⁵; **Pj** kuɛ⁵; **Dy** kuei⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ky⁵ ⨯ *kuei⁵

a. **Sc** tɕy⁵; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** ky⁵; **Qy** tɕy⁵
b. **Sc** kuei⁵; **Sy** kue⁵ ‘Guì (pn.)’; **Lq** kui⁵; **Yh** kuei⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kyi⁵ ⨯ #kuei⁵

a. **Kh** tɕy⁵; **Cs** tɕy⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** ky⁵
b. **Kh** kui⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** kuɛ⁵; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** kui⁵

370 *wéi* 圍〔止合三平微云 C〕 ‘surround’ **CDC** *wi² / **EC** *wuy

CSWW *ɦy² [1] ⨯ *ɦuei² [2]

CJQ *ɦy² ⨯ *ɦuei²

a. **Ly** y²; **Jh** y²; **Pj** y²; **Dy** ʔiʉ⁻¹¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** y⁻²¹
b. **Ly** uei²; **Jh** ui²; **Pj** uɛ²; **Dy** uei²; **Yk** uəi²; **Wy** ui²

CLS *ɦy² ⨯ *ɦuei²

a. **Sc** y²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** y²; **Qy** y²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ue²; **Lq** ui²; **Yh** uei²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦyi² ⨯ #ɦuei²

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** y²; **Js** y⁻³³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ui²; **Cs** ue²; **Js** uɛ²; **Ys** uei²; **Gf** ui²

357 *shuǐ* 水〔止合三上旨書 AB〕 ‘water’ **CDC** *shui³ / **EC** *θuyx

CSWW *ʔy³ [1] *F* ⨯ *šy³ [2] *B*

CJQ *šyi³ *F*: **Ly** suei³; **Jh** ɕy³; **Pj** ʃy³; **Dy** sʅ³ [1] ⨯ sɥ³ [2]; **Yk** ɕy³; **Wy** ɕy³

CLS *y³ ⨯ *ɕy³

a. **Sc** y³; **Sy** —; **Lq** y³ 栺; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** y³ [2] *B* ～管 ‘bamboo dipper’
b. **Sc** ɕy³; **Sy** ɕy³ *F*; **Lq** ɕy³ [文]; **Yh** ʃy³ *F*; **Pc** ɕy³ *F*; **Qy** ɕy³ [1] *F*

CSS *ʔyi³ 栺 ⨯ #ɕyi³

a. **Kh** y³; **Cs** y³; **Js** y³; **Ys** y³; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕy³ ⨯ sui³ [3] *B*; **Js** ɕy⁻⁴³ *B* ～果 ‘fruit’ ⨯ suɛ⁻⁴³ [3] *B* ～澻 ‘water margin’; **Ys** ʑy⁻²² *B* ～茶 ‘Chinese medicine’ ⨯ suei³ [3] *B*; **Gf** ɕy³ *F*

Cf. Common Mín *tʃui³ (Norman 2012a, 13 coastal only) > Proto-Níngdé *tʃy³ (Akitani 2018, 475).

This final routinely varies with **CSWW** *-uei in stylistic doublets. The *-uei forms are literary and intrusive. See §4.22.3 for further discussion.

*4.27.2 *-yʔ > CSS *-yʔ*

CSWW *-yʔ is set up for the following two sets:

1106 *yù* 域〔曾合三入職云 B〕 ‘zone’ **CDC** *wik⁸ / **EC** *wik
CSWW *ɦyʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦyʔ⁸: **Ly** yəʔ⁸; **Jh** yəʔ⁸; **Pj** yə⁸; **Dy** iouʔ⁸; **Yk** ў*ə*⁴; **Wy** yəʔ⁸
CLS *ɦyʔ⁸ [1] ⨯ *ɦyeʔ⁸ [2]
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** iʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** y⁷; **Qy** yʔ⁸
b. **Sc** yeʔ⁸; **Sy** yɛʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** yɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS #ɦyʔ⁸: **Kh** yeʔ⁸; **Cs** yeʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** ioʔ⁸; **Gf** yɤʔ⁸

1209 *yì* 役〔梗合三入昔以 A〕 ‘corvee’ **CDC** *yuak⁸ / **EC** *wek
CSWW *ɦyʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦyʔ⁸: **Ly** yəʔ⁸; **Jh** yəʔ⁸; **Pj** yə⁸; **Dy** iouʔ⁸; **Yk** ў*ə*⁴; **Wy** yəʔ⁸
CLS *ɦyʔ⁸: **Sc** iuʔ⁸; **Sy** yʔ⁸; **Lq** iʔ⁸; **Yh** yeiʔ⁸; **Pc** y⁷; **Qy** yʔ⁸
CSS *ɦyʔ⁸

This final corresponds directly to **CDC** *-uik. Both are marginal in their respective systems.

*4.28 Finals with the vowel sequences *u, *æu, and *iu plus *m̥*

CSWW	u	æu	iu	m̥
CJQ	əu	æu	iəu	m̥
Ly	əɯ	ɔ; əɯ/S_	iəɯ; əɯ/*š,l_	m
Jh	iu; eu/H_	iu; eu/H_	iu	m
Pj	ɤ	ɤ; iɤ/*S_	iɤ; ɤ/l_	m
Dy	əɯ	əɯ; ɑu/S_	iəɯ	n
Yk	əɯ	ɒ; iəɯ/*S_	iəɯ	ŋ
Wy	ɑo	ɑo; iu/*S_	iu	n
CLS	u	yəu	iu	m̥
Sc	u	yɐɯ; ɐɯ/H_	iɯ	məŋ
Sy	ei; u/*g,ɦ_	iʌ; ʌ/S_	iɯ; ei/K,l_	—
Lq	iɯ; u/*g,ɦ_	iɯ/S_	iɯ	ŋ
Yh	əu; u/*ɦ_	əu/S_	iu	m
Pc	u; iau/T_; iu/S_	iau/S_	iu	moŋ
Qy	ɐɯ; iu/T_; u/*g,ɦ	ɐɯ	iɯ	moŋ
CSS	u; eu/S_	iɑu	eu; ieu/H_	m̥

CSWW *-æu is grouped with *-u and *-iu because of its similarity in sound correspondence with these two finals.

*4.28.1 *-u > CSS *-u; *-eu/S_*

CSWW *-u regularly developed into **CJQ** *-əu in all environments. This initiated a pull chain—**CSWW** *-uə monophthongized to take the place of *-u, i.e. uə → u → əu. **CSWW** *-u also diphthongized in many of the southern dialects, but not unconditionally. Instead, breaking occurred in several stages as the sound change propagated through the region.

Sc is the most conservative site; it lacks any evidence of regular breaking. To the west in **CSS**, breaking occurred only after alveolar sibilants. The remaining dialects all exhibit breaking in a wider set of environments, but an early shared development of *-u after the T-series initials in **Pc** and **Qy** suggests that it emerged later as part of an areal trend.

In **Sy**, **Yh**, and **Qy**, breaking progressed regularly in all environments except after the voiced guttural obstruents *ɦ- and *g-. The original environment was probably only after anterior coronal initials, as is the case in **Pc**, but quickly expanded to include all initials except the gutturals. The final stage of breaking after the gutturals was conditioned by register and initial voicing. Although this sort of conditioned change is rare among Chinese dialects, it is exceedingly common in Khmer and related Austroasiatic languages. High vowels after voiceless obstruents in the upper register tend to break and become low–high diphthongs. After voiced obstruents in the lower register, they remain stable. Developments after sonorant initials are variable.[31]

Naturally, one could also treat the marginal retention of *-u in **Sy**, **Yh**, and **Qy** as residue from lexical layering. The environment "after the voiced guttural obstruents *ɦ- and *g-" encompasses only three or so common words.[32] I have not adopted this approach for two reasons. First, doublets involving broken and unchanged *-u are seldom attested outside the Shàngshān dialects and transitional **Sc**. Second, **Sy** and **Yh** have undergone a chain shift similar to the Jīnqú dialects

[31]The opposite of this pattern of breaking applies to low vowels. See Gehrmann (2022) for a thorough study of this phenomenon.

[32]To wit **472** 厚 **CSWW** *gu⁴, **471** 後 **CSWW** *ɦu⁴, and *hóu* 喉 'throat' (not part of our data, but likely **CSWW** *ɦu²).

that was initiated by *-u breaking: o → u → əu (see §4.24 for the sound correspondences of **CSWW** *-o). This reorganization of the vowel space suggests regular change, not lexical relearning.

457 *tōu* 偷〔流合一平侯透〕 ‘steal’ **CDC** *theu¹ / **EC** *’tho

CSWW *tʰu¹

CJQ *tʰəu¹: **Ly** tʰəɯ¹; **Jh** tʰiu¹; **Pj** tʰɤ¹; **Dy** tʰəɯ¹; **Yk** tʰəɯ¹; **Wy** tʰɑo¹

CLS *tʰu¹: **Sc** tʰu¹; **Sy** tʰei¹; **Lq** tʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tʰəu¹; **Pc** tʰiau¹; **Qy** tʰiɯ¹

CSS *tʰu¹

463 *zǒu* 走〔流合一上厚精〕 ‘run (> walk)’ **CDC** *tseu³ / **EC** *’tsox

CSWW *tsu³

CJQ *tsəu³: **Ly** tsəɯ³; **Jh** tsiu³; **Pj** tsɤ³; **Dy** tsəɯ³; **Yk** tsəɯ³; **Wy** tsɑo⁻⁵³

CLS *tsu³: **Sc** tsu³; **Sy** tsei³; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tsəu³; **Pc** tɕiu³; **Qy** tsɐɯ³

CSS *tseu³

472 *hòu* 厚〔流合一上厚匣〕 ‘thick’ **CDC** *heu⁴ / **EC** *’gox

CSWW *gu⁴

CJQ *gəu⁴: **Ly** gəɯ⁴ [1] ⩙ xəɯ⁴ [2]; **Jh** kiu³ [1] ⩙ ɦiu⁶ [2]; **Pj** gɤ⁴; **Dy** gəɯ⁴ [1] ⩙ əɯ⁴ [2]; **Yk** gəɯ⁴; **Wy** gɑo⁴

CLS *gu⁴: **Sc** gu⁴ ⩙ u⁴; **Sy** gu⁴; **Lq** ku³; **Yh** gəu⁴ₗf [1] ⩙ əu³ [2]; **Pc** ku⁴ ⩙ xau⁶; **Qy** ku⁴

CSS *gu⁴

465 *gōu* 鉤〔流合一平侯見〕 ‘hook’ **CDC** *keu¹ / **EC** *’ko

CSWW *ku¹

CJQ *kəu¹: **Ly** kəɯ¹; **Jh** kiu¹; **Pj** kɤ¹; **Dy** kəɯ¹; **Yk** kəɯ¹; **Wy** kɑo¹

CLS *ku¹: **Sc** ku¹ [1] ⩙ kɤɯ¹ [2]; **Sy** kei¹; **Lq** kiɯ¹; **Yh** kəu¹; **Pc** ku¹ ⩙ kau¹; **Qy** kɐɯ¹

CSS *ku¹ [1] ⩙ *keu¹ [2]

471 *hòu* 後〔流合一上厚匣〕 ‘after’ **CDC** *heu⁴ / **EC** *’gox

CSWW *ɦu⁴

CJQ *ɦəu⁶: **Ly** əɯ⁴; **Jh** eu³ [1] ⩙ ɦiu⁶ [2]; **Pj** ɤ⁴; **Dy** əɯ⁴; **Yk** əɯ⁴; **Wy** ɑo⁴

CLS *ɦu⁴: **Sc** u⁴; **Sy** u⁴; **Lq** u³; **Yh** u³; **Pc** u⁴ [白] ⩙ xau⁶; **Qy** u⁴ [1] ⩙ xɐɯ⁴ [2]

CSS *ɦu⁴

Cf. Common Min *tsiu³ ‘wine’ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃiu³

As illustrated by **465** 鉤 above, **CSS** *-u and *-eu vary with one another in stylistic doublets. I take these, and [-ɤɯ] in **Sc**, to be recent intrusions likely motivated by the regular breaking of

*-u in the surrounding regions.

*4.28.2 *-æu > CSS *-iau*

This final only occurs predominantly after the *S- initial series, but two examples after guttural initials obligate us to reconstruct a separate final.

486 *zhòu* 皺〔流合三去宥莊 C〕 ‘wrinkle’ **CDC** *ceu⁵ / **EC** *tsroh (?)

CSWW *tsæu⁵ [1] ⨯ *tsu⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsæu⁵ ⨯ *tsəu⁵

a. **Ly** {tsəɯ⁵}; **Jh** {tsiu⁵}; **Pj** tʃiɤ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** {tsəɯ⁵}; **Jh** {tsiu⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsəɯ⁵; **Yk** tsəɯ⁵; **Wy** tsɑo⁵

CLS *tsu⁵: **Sc** tsu¹; **Sy** tsei¹; **Lq** tsiɯ⁵; **Yh** tsəu⁵; **Pc** tɕiu⁵ [白]; **Qy** tsɐɯ⁵

CSS *tɕiau⁵ ⨯ *tseu⁵

487 *chóu* 愁〔流合三平尤崇 C〕 ‘worry’ **CDC** *jeu² / **EC** *dzriw

CSWW *zæu² [1] ⨯ *zu² [2]

CJQ *zæu² ⨯ *zəu²

a. **Ly** {zəɯ²}; **Jh** {ziu²}; **Pj** ʒiɤ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** {zəɯ²}; **Jh** {ziu²} [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** zəɯ²; **Yk** zəɯ² ⨯ səɯ²; **Wy** zɑo²

CLS *ʑyəu² ⨯ *zu²

a. **Sc** ʑyɐɯ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** {ziɯ²}; **Yh** {zəu²}; **Pc** tɕiau²; **Qy** {sɐɯ²}

b. **Sc** zɤɯ²ˌf; **Sy** sei²; **Lq** {ziɯ²}; **Yh** {zəu²}; **Pc** —; **Qy** {sɐɯ²}

CSS *ʑiau² ⨯ *zeu²

488 *sōu* 餿〔流合三平尤生 C〕 ‘go spoiled’ **CDC** *sheu¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *sæu¹

CJQ *sæu¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** siu¹; **Pj** ʃiɤ¹; **Dy** sɑu¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕiu¹

CLS *ɕyəu¹: **Sc** ɕyɐɯ¹; **Sy** sei¹ˌf; **Lq** siɯ¹; **Yh** səu¹; **Pc** ɕiau¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕiau¹

489 *shòu* 瘦〔流合三去宥生 C〕 ‘lean’ **CDC** *sheu⁵ / **EC** *sroh (?)

CSWW *sæu⁵

CJQ *sæu⁵: **Ly** səɯ⁵; **Jh** siu⁵; **Pj** ʃiɤ⁵; **Dy** sɑu⁵; **Yk** ɕiəɯ⁵; **Wy** ɕiu⁵

CLS *ɕyəu⁵: **Sc** ɕyɐɯ⁵; **Sy** sʌ⁵; **Lq** siɯ⁵; **Yh** səu⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɐɯ⁵

CSS *ɕiau⁵

2022 ICE

CSWW *kæu⁵ ‘ice’

CJQ —

CLS *kyəu⁵: **Sc** tɕyɐɯ⁵ □冰角～ ‘ice cube’; **Sy** tɕiʌ⁵ □; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kɐɯ⁵ □開～ ‘freeze into ice’

CSS *kiɑu⁵

The Sy form is taken from Wáng (2012).

2004 CALL

CSWW *ʔæu¹ ‘call’

CJQ *ʔæu¹: **Ly** ɔ¹ 謳; **Jh** eu¹ 謳; **Pj** —; **Dy** əɯ¹ 謳; **Yk** ɒ¹ 謳; **Wy** ɑo¹ 謳

CLS *ʔyəu¹˧ˌ₁ₐ (?): **Sc** ɐɯ¹ 謳; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔiɑu¹

This etymon is sometimes written with QYS *ʼuw* 〔流合一平侯影〕謳 ‘to chant’, but the phonological and semantic relationship is dubious.

*4.28.3 *-iu > CSS *-eu; *-ieu/H_*

The following are examples of this final:

477 *liú* 流〔流合三平尤來 C〕 ‘flow’ **CDC** *lieu² / **EC** *lu

CSWW *lu⁶˧ˌ₁ₐ [1] ⩙ *liu² [2]

CJQ *liəu²: **Ly** ləɯ²; **Jh** liu²; **Pj** lɤ² [1] ⩙ liɤ² [2]; **Dy** liəɯ²; **Yk** liəɯ²; **Wy** liu²

CLS *liu² : **Sc** liɯ²; **Sy** lei²; **Lq** liɯ²; **Yh** liu²; **Pc** liu²; **Qy** liɯ²

CSS *lu⁶ ⩙ *leu²

479 *jiǔ* 酒〔流合三上有精 C〕 ‘wine’ **CDC** *tsieu³ / **EC** *tsux

CSWW *(ts,tš)yə³˧ˌ₁ₐ [1] ⩙ *tsiu³ [2]

CJQ *tsiəu³: **Ly** tɕiəɯ³; **Jh** tsiu³; **Pj** tʃiɤ³; **Dy** tɕiəɯ³; **Yk** tɕiəɯ³; **Wy** tɕiu³

CLS *tɕiu³: **Sc** tɕiɯ³; **Sy** tɕiɯ³; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tʃiu³; **Pc** tɕiu³; **Qy** tɕiɯ³

CSS *tɕyə³ [2] ⩙ *tseu³ [1]

485 *chōu* 抽〔流合三平尤徹 C〕 ‘extract’ **CDC** *chieu¹ / **EC** *thriw

CSWW *tšʰiu¹

CJQ *tšʰiəu¹: **Ly** tsʰəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pj** tʃʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiəɯ¹ [1] ⩙ tʰəɯ¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕʰiu¹

CLS *tɕʰiu¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pc** tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹

CSS *tɕʰeu¹

The latter **Yk** form occurs in the word ～屜 [tʰəɯ¹.tʰiə⁵] ‘drawer’. It is unclear whether it is a case of unshifted *tʰ- or if it was influenced by the following syllable.

498 *jiǔ* 九〔流合三上有見 C〕 ‘nine’ **CDC** *kieu³ / **EC** *kux

CSWW *kiu³

CJQ *kiəu³: **Ly** tɕiəɯ³; **Jh** tɕiu³; **Pj** tɕiɤ³; **Dy** tɕiəɯ³; **Yk** kiəɯ³; **Wy** tɕiu³

CLS *kiu³: **Sc** tɕiɯ³; **Sy** kei³; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tʃiu³; **Pc** kiu³; **Qy** tɕiɯ³

CSS *keu³

509 *yōu* 幽〔流合三平幽影 A〕 ‘secluded’ **CDC** *ieu¹ / **EC** *iw

CSWW *ʔiu¹

CJQ *ʔiu¹: **Ly** iəɯ¹; **Jh** iu¹; **Pj** iɤ¹; **Dy** ʔiəɯ¹; **Yk** iəɯ¹; **Wy** iu¹

CLS *iu¹: **Sc** iɯ¹; **Sy** iɯ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** iu¹; **Pc** iu¹; **Qy** iɯ¹

CSS *ʔieu¹

This final often varies with *-u in doublets:

484 *zhòu* 晝〔流合三去宥知 C〕 ‘daytime’ **CDC** *cieu⁵ / **EC** *truh

CSWW *ɗu¹ [1] ⩙ *ɗiu⁵ [2] ⩙ *tšiu⁵ [3] ⩙ *tšiu¹ [4]

CJQ *tšiəu⁵ [1] ⩙ *tšiəu¹ [2]

a. **Ly** tsəɯ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕiəɯ⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** tsəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕiu¹; **Pj** tʃiɤ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗu¹ ⩙ *ɗiu⁵ ⩙ *tɕiu⁵ ⩙ *tɕiu¹

a. **Sc** ʔdu¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** {ʔdiɯ⁵}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** {ʔdiɯ⁵}
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiu⁵; **Pc** tɕiu⁵; **Qy** —
d. **Sc** tɕiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiɯ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tuʔ ⩙ *teuʔ ⩙ #tɕeu⁵

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tu⁻⁴⁴; **Js** tu⁻⁴³; **Ys** —; **Gf** {teɯ⁻⁴⁴⁵}
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** təɯ⁻³³ [1]; **Gf** {teɯ⁻⁴⁴⁵}
c. **Kh** tɕiɯ⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tsəɯ⁵ [2]; **Gf** —

497 *jiū* 鬮〔廣韻：流合三平尤見 C〕 ‘lot (n.)’ **CDC** *kieu¹ / **EC** *kwi

CSWW *ku¹ [1] ⩙ *kiu¹ [2]

CJQ *kəu¹ ⩙ *kiəu¹

a. **Ly** kəɯ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kəɯ¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕiu¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kiəɯ¹˪f; **Wy** tɕiu¹

CLS *ku¹ ⩙ *kiu¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {kei¹}; **Lq** ku¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** ku¹; **Qy** kɐɯ¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** {kei¹}; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiu¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ku¹ ⩙ *keu¹

503 *niú* 牛〔流合三平尤疑 C〕 ‘cow’ **CDC** *ngieu² / **EC** *ngwi

CSWW *ŋu²$_{!a}$ [1] ⨯ *ȵiu²

CJQ *ȵiəu²: **Ly** ȵiəɯ²; **Jh** ȵiu²; **Pj** ȵiɤ²; **Dy** ȵiəɯ²; **Yk** ȵiəɯ²; **Wy** ȵiu²

CLS *ŋu² ⨯ *ȵiu² [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** ŋei²; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɐɯ²

b. **Sc** ȵiɯ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** ȵiɯ²; **Yh** ɲiu²; **Pc** ŋioŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS *ŋeu²

Cf. Common Min *ŋu² ‘cow’ > Proto-Níngdé *ŋu²

Note that **Sy** [ŋei²] cannot be treated as a regular reflex of **CLS** *ȵiu². Cf. **476** 紐. We would expect [ȵ-] as the initial.[33]

476 *niǔ* 紐〔流合三上有娘 C〕 ‘knot, fastener’ **CDC** *^{h}nieu⁴ / **EC** *^{h}nrux

CSWW *ȵiu⁴

CJQ *ȵiəu⁴: **Ly** ȵiəɯ⁴; **Jh** ȵiu³; **Pj** ȵiɤ⁴; **Dy** ȵiəɯ⁴; **Yk** ȵiəɯ⁴; **Wy** ȵiu⁴

CLS *ȵiu⁴: **Sc** ȵiɯ⁴; **Sy** ȵi⁴$_{!f}$; **Lq** ȵiɯ³; **Yh** ɲiu³; **Pc** ŋiau⁴$_{!f}$; **Qy** ȵiɯ⁴

CSS #ŋeu⁴: **Kh** ŋɯ⁶ [1] ⨯ ȵiɯ⁶ [2]; **Cs** ȵiɯ⁴; **Js** ŋɯ⁴; **Ys** ŋəɯ⁴; **Gf** ȵiɯ¹$_{!t}$

In addition to **479** 酒 **CSWW** *(ts,tš)yə³$_{!a}$ [1], listed above, we also find the following cases of *-iu varying with *-yə:

495 *shǒu* 守〔流合三上有書 C〕 ‘guard’ **CDC** *shieu³ / **EC** *θux

CSWW *ʔyə³ [1] ⨯ *šiu³ [2]

CJQ *ʔy³ ⨯ *šiəu³

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** y³; **Wy** y³

b. **Ly** səɯ³; **Jh** ɕiu³; **Pj** ʃiɤ³; **Dy** ɕiəɯ³; **Yk** ɕiəɯ³; **Wy** ɕiu³

CLS *yə³ ⨯ *ɕiu³

a. **Sc** yɤ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ye³

b. **Sc** ɕiɯ³; **Sy** ɕiɯ³; **Lq** ɕiɯ³; **Yh** ʃiu³; **Pc** ɕiu³; **Qy** ɕiɯ³

CSS *ʔyə³ ⨯ #ɕeu³: **Kh** ɕiɯ³; **Cs** ɕiɯ³; **Js** ɕiɯ³; **Ys** səɯ³; **Gf** ɕiɯ³

494 *shǒu* 手〔流合三上有書 C〕 ‘hand’ **CDC** *shieu³ / **EC** *hyux

CSWW *tš^{h}yə³ [1] ⨯ *šiu³ [2]

CJQ *šiəu³: **Ly** səɯ³; **Jh** ɕiu³; **Pj** ʃiɤ³; **Dy** ɕiəɯ³; **Yk** ɕiəɯ³; **Wy** ɕiu³

CLS *tɕ^{h}yə³ ⨯ *ɕiu³

a. **Sc** tɕ^{h}yɤ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕ^{h}y³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕ^{h}ye³

b. **Sc** ɕiɯ³ ⨯ ɕiɐɯ³; **Sy** ɕiɯ³; **Lq** ɕiɯ³; **Yh** ʃiu³; **Pc** ɕiu³; **Qy** ɕiɯ³

[33]Although we indeed find **Sy** [ȵ-] for **476** 紐, the final is unexpected.

CSS *tɕʰyə³ ⩙ #ɕeu³
a. **Kh** tɕʰyo³; **Cs** tsʰuə³; **Js** tɕʰyə³; **Ys** tɕʰye³; **Gf** tɕʰye³
b. **Kh** ɕiɯ³; **Cs** ɕiɯ³; **Js** ɕiɯ⁻⁴⁴; **Ys** səɯ³; **Gf** ɕiɯ³

Cf. Common Min *tʃʰiu³ ‘hand’

151 *shù* 樹〔遇合三去遇常 C〕 ‘tree’ **CDC** *zhiu⁶ / **EC** *doh

CSWW *džiu⁶ [1] ⩙ *žyə⁶ [2]

CJQ *džiu⁶ˌa ⩙ *žy⁶
a. **Ly** dzəɯ⁶ ⩙ dʑiəɯ⁶ [2]; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ʒy⁶; **Pj** ʒy⁶; **Dy** zɻ⁶ [1] ⩙ zɥ⁶ [2]; **Yk** ʑy⁶; **Wy** ʑy⁶

CLS *dʑiu⁶ ⩙ *ʑyə⁶
a. **Sc** dʑiɯ⁶; **Sy** dʑiɯ⁶; **Lq** dʑiɯ⁶; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɯ⁶
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒy⁶; **Pc** ɕye⁶; **Qy** ɕye⁶

CSS *dʑeu⁶ ⩙ #ʑyə⁶
a. **Kh** dʑiɯ⁶; **Cs** dʑiɯ⁶; **Js** dʑiɯ⁶ ⩙ dzɯ⁶ [2]; **Ys** dzəɯ⁶; **Gf** dʑiɯ⁶
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ʑye⁶; **Gf** ɕye⁶

Cf. Proto-Níngdé *tʃʰiu⁵; Proto-Northern Mín *tsʰiu⁶.

142 *qǔ* 取〔遇合三上麌清 C〕 ‘take’ **CDC** *tshiu³ / **EC** *tshox

CSWW *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ [1] ‘seek return’ ⩙ *tšʰyə³ [2]

CJQ *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ ‘buy back’ ⩙ *tšʰy³
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕʰiu³
b. **Ly** tɕʰy³; **Jh** tɕʰy³; **Pj** tsʰu³ˌf; **Dy** tsʰɻ³; **Yk** tɕʰy³; **Wy** tɕʰy³ [2]

CLS *tɕʰiu³ ⩙ *tɕʰyə³
a. **Sc** tɕʰiɯ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ³
b. **Sc** tɕʰyɤ³; **Sy** tɕʰy³; **Lq** tɕʰy³; **Yh** tʃʰy³; **Pc** tɕʰye³; **Qy** tɕʰye³

CSS *tɕʰeu³ ⩙ *tɕʰyə³

These doublets can be split into two different types, one that corresponds to words with **CDC** *-y / **EC** *-o (**142** 取, **151** 樹), the other to words with **CDC** *-ieu / **EC** *-u (**494** 手, **495** 守). Judging by the layering of the initials, the **CSWW** *-iu forms are older in the first type of doublet, but the *-yə forms are older in the second type. Common Mín also exhibits confusion of these classes of words. For example, *tʃʰiu⁶ 樹 ‘tree’ has the same final as *tʃʰiu³ 手 ‘hand’. But in this case, the classes have merged completely.

*4.28.4 *ṃ > CSS #ṃ*

CSWW *ṃ is set up to account for the following set:

455 *mǔ* 母〔流合一上厚明〕 ‘mother’ **CDC** *mu⁴ / **EC** *’mix

CSWW *ṃ⁴

CJQ *ṃ⁴: **Ly** m⁴ ⩙ mu⁴ 父～ ‘parents’; **Jh** m³ [1] ⩙ mo³ [2]; **Pj** m⁴; **Dy** n⁴ [1] 舅～ ‘maternal uncle’s wife’ ⩙ mu⁴ [2]; **Yk** ŋ⁴ [1] ～母 ‘woman in labor’ ⩙ mu⁴ [2]; **Wy** n⁴ 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’

CLS *ṃ⁴: **Sc** məŋ⁴ 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’ ⩙ mu⁴ ～親 ‘mother’; **Sy** (mu⁴ˌf); **Lq** ŋ³; **Yh** ṃ³ [2] 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’; **Pc** moŋ⁴ ⩙ miau⁴; **Qy** moŋ⁴

CSS #ṃ⁴: **Kh** m³; **Cs** m⁴ [1] 舅～ ‘maternal uncle’s wife’ ⩙ m³ [2] 做新～ ‘convalesce after pregnancy’; **Js** moŋ⁴; **Ys** moŋ⁴ [1] 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’ ⩙ moŋ¹ [2] 親家～ ‘one’s own mother’; **Gf** moŋ⁴

Akitani originally took Cs [m⁴] (and Kh [m³]) to be irregular reflexes of CSS *moŋ⁴. I believe that the Js, Ys, and Gf reflexes are innovations instead. This reanalysis of the syllabic nasal also occurred in Pc and Qy.

Note that there is no CSWW syllable *mu. pre-CSWW *mu likely developed into *ṃ.

*4.29 Finals with the vowel sequence *i*

CSWW	i	iəŋ	iək
CJQ	ɿ/*Š,S_	əŋ; iəŋ/Š_	iəʔ/*S,Š_ (?)
Ly	ɿ	—	əʔ
Jh	ɿ	əŋ	iəʔ
Pj	ɿ	ən	əʔ
Dy	ɿ	—	əʔ
Yk	ɿ	əŋ	ə
Wy	ɿ	en	əʔ
CLS	i	iəŋ (?)	iəkʔ/*Š_
Sc	iu; ɣʏ/*S_; uə/*š_	yɪŋ/*Š_	yeʔ
Sy	?; ɯ/S_	in (?)	yɛʔ
Lq	?; ʏɯ/S_	ɛiŋ	ɛiʔ
Yh	i; ɿ/S_	əŋ	yeiʔ
Pc	?; e/*Š_; i/*S_	eŋ	ie
Qy	i; ʏ/*Š_; ɿ/*S_	ã	əɯʔ
CSS	e; ə/S_	ẽ; yẽ/T_ (?)	eʔ; yeʔ/P,T_ (?)

*4.29.1 *-ɨ > CSS *-e; *-ə/S_*

Before launching into a discussion of which finals **CSS** *-e corresponds to in the other branches, we must first review its sound correspondences.

CSS	**Kh**	**Cs**	**Js**	**Ys**	**Gf**
*e	ui	i	ø	e	e

Akitani (2003a, 2) did not include **Kh** in his reconstruction due to its similarity to **Cs**. This led him to choose a front unrounded value for this proto-phoneme because, excluding **Kh** and **Js**, all modern dialects pronounced this final as a front unrounded vowel. But the inclusion of **Kh** sheds light on the development of this final in **Cs**. In **Cs**, velar stops palatalized before etymological *-i but not *-e. Akitani evidently took vowel height as the conditioning environment for palatalization in **Cs** and presumed that palatalization preceded raising of *-e to [-i]. But **Kh** suggests another possibility. **Cs** may have also originally had a diphthongal value for *-e, perhaps [-ui] like in **Kh**. The [-u-] element before [i] blocked palatalization. This would imply that the proto-phoneme was originally realized with front and round articulations, which were retained in **Kh**, pre-**Cs**, and **Js**—but unrounded in **Ys** and **Gf**.[34] This interpretation makes for a more natural geographic distribution and typology of the changes involved. Sporadic rounding in discontiguous **Kh** and **Js** is implausible, and unrounding of front round vowels is more common than change in the opposite direction.

The likely round articulation of **CSS** *-e is important to bear in mind as we compare it to the other branches because nearly all the viable comparanda involve postalveolar initials. In some cases, as we shall see for *-i (§4.26.1), this rounding is secondary and is only found in **CSS**. Rounding of front vowels is a common strategy to preserve phonological retroflexion in high front contexts (for examples in other languages, see Hamann 2003, 101–2). We sometimes also find it in the Jīnqú dialects. In the Qúzhōu dialect, for example, the **CJQ** postalveolar *Š- series

[34] I think a value of #-yi (perhaps realized as [-ʉi] or [-ɵi]) for **CSS** *-e is more appropriate. This modification would require changes to Akitani's system. I am inclined to change his *-yi to simple #-y to accommodate it, but I have refrained from doing so to prevent confusion.

regularly develops into [tʃy-, tʃʰy-, dʒy-, ʃy-, ʒy-] before high front vowels. A similar change has rounded the **CJQ** finals *-i, *-ie, *-iẽ, and *-ieʔ in **Jh**.

In the remaining cases that do not involve postalveolar initials, we must assume that the **CSS** value for this final is a retention. Although we could project a front round quality back to **CSWW**, this would cause problems for the reconstruction of *y. As a compromise, I have reconstructed a high central vowel instead since that is the value we normally find in the other branches after sibilants. However, unfortunately, most of the etyma that begin in non-sibilant initials do not have clear reflexes in the other dialects so they usually cannot be methodologically reconstructed for **CSWW** despite their likely archaic origins.

The following are examples of **CSWW** *-ɨ after sibilant initials. Note how we only find **CSS** *-e after postalveolar initials.

273 *zǐ* 紫〔止開三上紙精 AB〕 ‘purple’ **CDC** *tsɿ³ / **EC** *tsex
CSWW *tsɨ³
CJQ *tsɿ³: **Ly** tsɿ³; **Jh** tsɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³; **Dy** tsɿ³; **Yk** tsɿ³; **Wy** tsɿ³
CLS *tsɨ³: **Sc** tsɿɤ³; **Sy** tsɤ³₍f; **Lq** tsɿ³₍f; **Yh** tsɿ³; **Pc** tsɿ³; **Qy** tsɿ³₍f
CSS *tsə³

301 *sǐ* 死〔止開三上旨心 AB〕 ‘die’ **CDC** *sɿ³ ⩙ *si³ / **EC** *siyx
CSWW *sɨ³
CJQ *sɿ³: **Ly** sɿ³; **Jh** sɿ³; **Pj** sɿ³; **Dy** sɿ³; **Yk** sɿ³; **Wy** sɿ³
CLS *sɨ³: **Sc** sɿɤ³; **Sy** sɯ³; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** sɿ³; **Pc** ɕi³ ⩙ sɿ³; **Qy** sɤ³
CSS *sə³

306 *shī* 師〔止開三平脂生 AB〕 ‘teacher’ **CDC** *shɿ¹ / **EC** *sriy
CSWW *šɨ¹
CJQ *sɿ¹: **Ly** sɿ¹; **Jh** sɿ¹; **Pj** sɿ¹; **Dy** sɿ¹; **Yk** sɿ¹; **Wy** sɿ¹
CLS *ɕɨ¹: **Sc** ɕiu¹ ～父 ‘master’ ⩙ sɿɤ¹ 老～ ‘teacher’; **Sy** sɯ¹; **Lq** sɤɯ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** se¹; **Qy** sɤ¹
CSS *ɕe¹

316 *zǐ* 子〔止開三上止精 C〕 ‘child; seed; dim. suffix’ **CDC** *tsɿ³ / **EC** *tsix
CSWW *tsɨ³
CJQ *tsɿ³: **Ly** tsɿ³; **Jh** tsɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³; **Dy** tsɿ³; **Yk** tsɿ³ 雞～ ‘chicken egg’; **Wy** tsɿ³
CLS *tsɨ³: **Sc** tsɿɤ³ 婊～ ‘whore’ ⩙ tsɿ⁰ 包～ ‘bun’; **Sy** tsɯ³; **Lq** tsɤɯ³; **Yh** tsɿ³;

Pc tsɿ³ ⩙ tɕi³; **Qy** tsɤ³ [1] ‘seed’ ⩙ tsɿ³ [2] ‘dim.’

CSS #tsə³: **Kh** tsə³ [1] 雞～ ‘chicken egg’ ⩙ tsɿ³ [2] ‘1/10 (gz.)’; **Cs** tsə³ [1] ⩙ tsɿ³ [2] ‘1/10 (gz.)’; **Js** tsə³ [1] ‘seed’; **Ys** tsə³ [1] ‘seed’; **Gf** tsɿə³ [1] ⩙ tɕi¹ [2] ‘dim.’

321 *shì* 柿〔止開三上止崇 C〕 ‘persimmon’ **CDC** *jɿ⁴ / **EC** *dzrix

CSWW *ǯi⁴

CJQ *zɿ⁴: **Ly** zɿ⁴; **Jh** sɿ³; **Pj** zɿn⁻²⁴ [兒]; **Dy** zɿ⁴; **Yk** zɿ⁴⁻¹⁴ [兒] 旺～; **Wy** zen⁶ [兒]

CLS *ʑi⁴: **Sc** ʑiu⁴; **Sy** zɯ⁴; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** zɿ⁴; **Pc** se⁴; **Qy** sɤ⁴

CSS *ʑe⁴

325 *chǐ* 齒〔止開三上止昌 C〕 ‘teeth’ **CDC** *chi³ / **EC** *chix (khyix)

CSWW *tšʰi³ 牙～

CJQ *tsʰɿ³: **Ly** tsʰɿ³; **Jh** tsʰɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³₍ⁱ₎; **Dy** tsɿ³₍ⁱ₎; **Yk** tsʰɿ³; **Wy** tsʰɿ³

CLS *tɕʰi³: **Sc** tɕʰiu³; **Sy** tsʰɯ³; **Lq** tsʰɤɯ³; **Yh** tsʰɿ³; **Pc** tɕʰi³; **Qy** tsʰɤ³

CSS #tɕʰe³ [1] ⩙ #tsʰə³ [2] 牙～

a. **Kh** tsʰui³; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsʰe³

b. **Kh** tsʰə³; **Cs** tsʰə³; **Js** tsʰə³; **Ys** tsʰə³; **Gf** —

327 *shí* 時〔止開三平之常 C〕 ‘time’ **CDC** *zhi² / **EC** *di

CSWW *ǯi²

CJQ *zɿ² ～節₍兒₎ ‘moment’: **Ly** zɿ² ～景; **Jh** zɿ²; **Pj** zɿ²; **Dy** zɿ²; **Yk** sɿ⁻⁴⁵ [1] ⩙ ʑi² [2] ～間; **Wy** sɿ⁻⁴⁴⁵ [1] ⩙ ʑi² [2] ～間

CLS *ʑi² [1] ⩙ *ʑi² [2] ～節 ‘moment’

a. **Sc** ʑiu² 多～ ‘long time’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɤ² 蠻夥～ ‘long time’

b. **Sc** zɿ²; **Sy** sɿ²; **Lq** zɿ²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** ɕi² ～候; **Qy** ɕi² ～間 ‘time’

CSS #ʑe² 多～ ‘long time’: **Kh** zui² [1] 日～ ‘daytime’ ⩙ zɿ² [2] ～間; **Cs** zi² [1] 幾多～ ‘how long’ ⩙ zɿ⁻²² [2] ～間; **Js** ɕø² [1] ⩙ sɯ² [2]; **Ys** ze² [1] ⩙ ʑi² [2] ～間; **Gf** se² [1] ⩙ ɕi² [2]

Note that although the Shàngshān dialects have a literary reading of this word, those forms fail to demonstrate regular correspondence. Evidently 時間 ‘time’ is a neologism.

Only two **CSS** etyma with non-sibilant initials have unambiguous comparanda in **CLS**:

303 *zhī* 胝〔止開三平脂知 AB〕 ‘callus’ **CDC** *ci¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɗi¹ [1] ⩙ *tši¹₍ₗₐ₎ [2]

CJQ *tši¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tsɿ⁻⁵³ 硬～; **Dy** tsi¹ 硬～; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗi¹: **Sc** ʔdiu¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdi¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdi¹

CSS *te¹

333 *jì* 記〔止開三去志見 C〕 ‘record, remember’ **CDC** *ki⁵ / **EC** *kih

CSWW *kɨ⁵ [1] ‘remember’ ⩙ *ki⁵ [2]

CJQ *ki⁵: **Ly** tɕi⁵; **Jh** tɕi⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕie⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃi⁵; **Dy** tɕi⁵; **Yk** ki⁵ [2] ⩙ kiə⁵ [1]; **Wy** tɕi⁵ [1]

CLS *kɨ⁵ ⩙ *ki⁵

a. **Sc** tɕiu⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ⁵}; **Pc** —; **Qy** {tɕi⁵}

b. **Sc** tsɿ⁵ ～錄 ‘record’; **Sy** tsɿ⁵; **Lq** tsɿ⁵; **Yh** {tsɿ⁵}; **Pc** ki⁵; **Qy** {tɕi⁵}

CSS #ke⁵ ⩙ #ki⁵

a. **Kh** kui⁵; **Cs** ki⁵ [2]; **Js** kø⁵; **Ys** ke⁵ ～賬 ‘keep account’; **Gf** ke⁵ ⩙ kɤʔ⁰ [2] 忘～走 ‘forgot’

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** (tɕie⁵₍f₎) [1]; **Js** ki⁵; **Ys** ki⁵; **Gf** —

The remaining etyma in our data involve heavy admixture of *-e and *-i in **CSS** and lack the distinctive [-iu] reflex in **Sc**, thus making it impossible to tell whether the reflexes we find in the other dialects are etymologically linked to autochthonous *-e or intrusive *-i. In the interest of inclusivity, I project all cases **CSS** *-e back to the **CSWW** as *-ɨ even if they are not attested in the other branches. The intent is to make these forms easily discoverable for anyone who may need to use **CSWW** forms in other comparative studies, but such readers should keep in mind the limited geographic distribution of these forms.

The following sets illustrate the aforementioned admixture:

294 *méi* 眉〔止開三平脂明 B〕 ‘eyebrow’ **CDC** *mi² / **EC** *miy

CSWW *mɨ² [1] ⩙ *mi² [2]

CJQ *mi²: **Ly** mi²; **Jh** mi²; **Pj** mi²; **Dy** mi²; **Yk** mi²; **Wy** mi²

CLS *mi²: **Sc** mi²; **Sy** mi²; **Lq** mi²; **Yh** mi¹; **Pc** meŋ²₍f₎; **Qy** mɪŋ²₍f₎

CSS *me² ⩙ #mi²

a. **Kh** {mi²}; **Cs** {mi²}; **Js** mø²; **Ys** —; **Gf** me²

b. **Kh** {mi²}; **Cs** {mi²}; **Js** —; **Ys** mi²; **Gf** mi²

I have not changed Akitani’s reconstruction of CSS *me² for this etymon, but I have reinterepreted which of the daughters correspond to it regularly.

331 *jī* 基〔止開三平之見 C〕 ‘foundation’ **CDC** *ki¹ / **EC** *ki

CSWW *kɨ¹ [1] ⩙ *ki¹ [2]

CJQ *ki¹: **Ly** tɕi¹; **Jh** tɕi¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** ki¹; **Wy** tɕi¹

CLS *ki¹: **Sc** tsɿ¹; **Sy** tsɿ¹; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** ki¹; **Qy** tɕi¹

CSS #ke¹ ⩙ #ki¹

a. **Kh** kui¹ 老屋～ ‘Lǎo Wūjī (pn.)’; **Cs** ki¹ 屋～; **Js** kø¹; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕi¹; **Cs** tɕi¹; **Js** —; **Ys** ki¹; **Gf** ki¹

I have not changed Akitani’s reconstruction for this etymon, but I disagree that [-i] is a regular reflex of **CSS** *-e in **Ys** and **Gf** after guttural initials.

A few sets do not involve doublets in **CSS**. In these cases **CSS** *-e corresponds to *-i in **CJQ** and **CLS**. Rather than treat this as regular, I analyze these cases as loss of the innovative form in **CSS** and loss of the autochthonous form elsewhere.

211 *bì* 閉〔蟹開四去霽幫〕 ‘shut’ **CDC** *piai⁵ / **EC** *’pis

CSWW *ɓi⁵ [1] ⩙ *ɓi⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓi⁵: **Ly** pi⁵; **Jh** pi⁵; **Pj** pi⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔbi⁵; **Wy** pi⁵

CLS *ɓi⁵: **Sc** ʔbi⁵; **Sy** ʔbi⁵; **Lq** ʔbi⁵; **Yh** ʔbi⁵; **Pc** (pie⁴$_{!ft}$); **Qy** ʔbi⁵

CSS *pe⁵

311 *jǐ* 麂〔止開三上旨見 B〕 ‘barking deer’ **CDC** *ki³ / **EC** —

CSWW *kɨ³ [1] ⩙ *ki³ [2]

CJQ *ki³: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕin³ [兒]; **Yk** ki³; **Wy** tɕi³

CLS *ki³: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ki³; **Qy** tɕi³

CSS *ke³

*4.29.2 *-ɨəŋ > CSS *-ẽ; -yẽ/T_ (?)*

Although **CSS** shows unique correspondences for this final, the other dialects in our data mostly show reflexes that coincide with *-iəŋ. In the Lìshuǐ branch, **Lq** sometimes has the final [-ɛiŋ] where it would be unexpected as the outcome of **CSWW** *-iəŋ. These reflexes regularly developed from **CSWW** *-ɨŋ. In the Jīnqú dialects, we have two examples of **CSWW** *-ɨəŋ developing into *-əŋ —one after *ɗ- and one after *kʰ-.

596 *zhēn* 砧（椹）〔廣韻：深開三平侵知 AB〕 ‘cutting board’ **CDC** *cim¹ / **EC** *trum (?)

CSWW *ɗɨəŋ¹ (?) [1] ⩙ *tšiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗəŋ¹ (?) ⩙ *tšiəŋ¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔnəŋ¹; **Wy** nen¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiəŋ¹ (?): **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdin¹; **Lq** ʔdɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tyẽ¹: **Kh** —; **Cs** tɪŋ⁻⁴⁴; **Js** tœ̃⁴³; **Ys** tæ̃¹ [2] ≍ tsæ̃¹ [1]; **Gf** tyẽ¹

600 *zhēn* 針〔深開三平侵章 AB〕 ‘needle’ **CDC** *cim¹ / **EC** *cim (kyim)

CSWW *tšiəŋ¹ [1] ≍ *tšiəŋ¹ (?) [2]

CJQ *tšiəŋ¹: **Ly** tsəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tsən¹; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** tsəŋ¹; **Wy** tsen¹

CLS *tɕiəŋ¹ ≍ *tɕiəŋ¹

a. **Sc** tɕyɪŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** {tsɛiŋ¹}; **Yh** —; **Pc** {tseŋ¹}; **Qy** tsã⁵ǃt

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** {tsɛiŋ¹}; **Yh** tsəŋ¹; **Pc** {tseŋ¹}; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *tɕẽ¹ ≍ #tɕiŋ¹ǃa

a. **Kh** tɕyɛ̃¹; **Cs** tsɪŋ¹; **Js** tɕœ̃¹; **Ys** tsæ̃¹; **Gf** tsæ̃¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕiŋ⁻⁵²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

877 *jīn* 斤〔臻開三平殷見 C〕 ‘catty’ **CDC** *kin¹ / **EC** *kun ≍ *kin

CSWW *kɨəŋ¹ [1] ≍ *kiəŋ¹ [2] ≍ *kiəŋ⁵ [3]

CJQ *kiəŋ¹ [1] ≍ *kiəŋ⁵ [2]

a. **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** tɕien¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕin⁵

CLS *kɨəŋ¹ǃa (?) ≍ *kiəŋ¹ ≍ *kiəŋ⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** kieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

c. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kẽ¹ ≍ #kiŋ¹

a. **Kh** kɛ̃¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kœ̃¹; **Ys** kæ̃¹; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kiŋ¹

878 *jīn* 筋〔廣韻：臻開三平殷見 C〕 ‘tendon’ **CDC** *kin¹ / **EC** *kun ≍ *kin

CSWW *kɨəŋ¹ [1] ≍ *kiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *kiəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** tɕien¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹

CLS *kɨəŋ¹ǃa (?) ≍ *kiəŋ¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tɕin¹}; **Lq** kɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** {tɕin¹}; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *kẽ¹ ≍ #kiŋ¹

a. **Kh** kɛ̃¹ [1]; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kœ̃¹ [1] 抽～ ‘cramp’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kiŋ¹; **Ys** kɪŋ¹; **Gf** kiŋ¹

605 *qìn* 撳（揿）〔集韻：深開三去沁溪 B〕 ‘press’ **CDC** *khim⁵ / **EC** *khumh

CSWW *kʰɨəŋ⁵ [1] ≍ *kʰiəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *kʰəŋ⁵ ⩙ *kʰiəŋ⁵
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** kʰəŋ⁵; **Pj** kʰən⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰen⁵
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕʰien⁵; **Yk** kʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** —
CLS —
CSS *kʰẽ⁵: **Kh** —; **Cs** kʰɪŋ⁵; **Js** kʰœ̃⁵; **Ys** kʰæ̃⁵; **Gf** —

This final corresponds to **CDC** *-im after postalveolar initials and to **QYS** rank three *chóngniŭ* (Hirayama class B) *i* and *jɨ* in the finals *-im*, *-in*, and *-jɨn* after grave initials.

*4.29.3 *-ɨək > CSS *-eʔ; -yeʔ/P,T_ (?)*

Examples of this final are scarce and hard to distinguish from *-iək in sets where the two finals alternate. I take **618** 十 to be a representative unmixed example after postalveolar initials.

616 *zhī* 汁〔深開三入緝章 AB〕 'juice' **CDC** *cip⁷ / **EC** *cip (kyip)
CSWW *tšɨək⁷ [1] ⩙ *(tš,ts)iək⁷ (?) [2]
CJQ *tšiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsə⁷; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsə³; **Wy** tsəʔ⁷
CLS *tɕɨək⁷ ⩙ *tɕiəʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎ (?)
a. **Sc** tɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** {tɕie⁷}; **Qy** tsəɯʔ⁷
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** tseiʔ⁷; **Pc** {tɕie⁷}; **Qy** —
CSS *tɕeʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕyɛʔ⁷; **Cs** tsɛʔ⁷; **Js** tɕœʔ⁷; **Ys** tsɐʔ⁷; **Gf** tsɐʔ⁷

618 *shí* 十〔深開三入緝常 AB〕 'ten' **CDC** *zhip⁸ / **EC** *jip (gyip)
CSWW *žɨək⁸
CJQ *žiəʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zə⁸ [1] ⩙ zɑ⁸ [2]; **Dy** zɜʔ⁸; **Yk** zə⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸
CLS *ʑɨək⁸: **Sc** ʑyeʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** zɛiʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** səɯʔ⁸
CSS *ʑeʔ⁸: **Kh** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Cs** zɛʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** zɐʔ⁸; **Gf** —

Though not attested in the other branches, we find one example of *-ɨək after bilabial initials in the Shàngshān branch:

862 *bǐ* 筆〔臻開三入質幫 B〕 'brush, pen' **CDC** *pit⁷ / **EC** *put ⩙ *pit
CSWW *ɓɨək⁷₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⩙ *ɓiək⁷ [2]
CJQ *ɓiəʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** piə⁷; **Dy** piəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷
CLS *ɓiək⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** pie⁷ ⩙ pi⁷; **Qy** ʔbiəɯʔ⁷

CSS #pyeʔ^{7} ⪥ #piʔ^{7}
a. **Kh** pʌʔ^{7}; **Cs** pɛʔ^{7}; **Js** pœʔ^{7}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** pieʔ^{7}; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** peʔ^{7}; **Gf** peʔ^{7}

I have not changed the reconstruction of Akitani's **CSS** forms, but I have altered their reading indices on the basis of **Kh**.

This final corresponds to **CDC** *-ip after postalveolar initials and to **QYS** rank three *chóngniŭ* (Hirayama class B) *i* and *jɨ* the finals *-ip*, *-it*, and *-jɨt* after grave initials.

Chapter 5

VARIA AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Demographic and Migration History

Modern Wú Chinese developed under the influence of four major waves of Chinese migration south of the Yangtze into Zhèjiāng 浙江 and Southern Jiāngsū 江蘇. Today it is spoken in these regions, the south of Ānhuī 安徽 province, and the northeast of Jiāngxī 江西 province. This region corresponds to the states of Wú 吳 and Yuè 越 in pre-Qín 秦 times. We will refer to it here as the Jiāngnán region. The first major wave of Chinese migration into the Jiāngnán region occurred in the late 2nd century AD and introduced a unique speech type that is believed to be closely related to modern Mín Chinese. It is present as a substrate in Wú, most visibly in the Shàngshān subgroup of Southwestern Wú that borders Fújiàn and Jiāngxī. Following this initial movement, three waves of mass migration south of the Yangtze—the Yǒngjiā 永嘉 (4th–5th centuries), Ānshǐ 安史 (8th–9th centuries), and Jìngkāng 靖康 (12th century) waves—transplanted "mainstream" Chinese into the region (Coblin 2002).[1] Of these, the Ānshǐ wave appears to have had the greatest impact on Southwestern Wú.

5.1.1 The Pre-Hàn Situation

Chinese is not thought to have been spoken widely in the Jiāngnán region before the late Warring States period. The aristocracy may have spoken Chinese, but the common people—known by the general exonym 'Hundred Yuè 百越'—spoke other languages. Norman and Mei (1976) argue they were Austroasiatic-affiliated based on a set of apparent Austroasiatic cognates they identi-

[1] I use "mainstream" to mean Chinese dialects with sound systems that agree closely with the QYS. In effect, this covers most dialects except Mín, Xiānghuà 鄉話 (i.e. Wǎxiāng 瓦鄉), and peripheral groups with strong substrate influences like Southwestern Wú.

fied in Mín Chinese to the south. Others have suggested a connection with Kra–Dai languages (Yue-Hashimoto 1976; Pān et al. 1991; Lǐ 2001a). The homelands of these language families are both distant from southwest Zhèjiāng. The Kra-Dai homeland is typically placed in the Pearl River Delta some 1,100 kilometers away (Blench 2018, 10). There is disagreement about the Austroasiatic homeland (Rau and Sidwell 2019). The closest proposal puts it in the Middle Yangtze Basin some 650 kilometers away (Sagart 2011). Most others put it somewhere in peninsular Southeast Asia—well over 1,500 kilometers away. These distances do not necessarily preclude a direct connection to either family, but we also must be open to the possibility that the non-Chinese substrate of Wú might originate from a more distant relative of these families that does not fit perfectly into the currently established comparative framework. One possibility is contact with a "pre-Austronesian" language, which would be distantly related to both modern Kra-Dai and Austronesian languages. Genetic evidence and neolithic farming patterns suggest a distant connection between southern Zhèjiāng, Fújiàn, and the culturally Austronesian population of Táiwān (Sagart 2008; Chen 2008). Few unambiguously non-Chinese substrate words survive in Wú Chinese today. Scholars have compared some of these with modern Zhuàng languages, but they have not established regular sound correspondences with Austronesian, Kra–Dai, or Austroasiatic proto-languages.

By the end of the Warring States period, cultural centers in northern Zhèjiāng, like Kuàijī 會稽 (modern Shàoxīng 紹興) were well-established, and saw modest influxes of northern migrants during periods of political turmoil. This continued into the Chǔ–Hàn 楚漢 contention when Xiàng Yǔ 項羽 made his base there. At this time, two other states were located near our area of interest, both founded by the royal family of the former state of Yuè 越: Dōng'ōu 東甌 situated by the Ōu River (i.e., Ōujiāng) near modern Wēnzhōu 溫州, and Mǐnyuè 閩越 in Northern Fújiàn. These two states existed up until the late 2nd century BC, when the Western Hàn court capitalized on quarrels between them to stage a military intervention and ultimately relocate their populations to the Jiānghuái band Gě et al. (1997, 243–44). The *Shǐjì* 史記 reports that the lands they once occupied became empty. Bielenstein (1959, 98) expresses incredulity that "Emperor Wu could have shifted the entire aboriginal population into central China." More likely,

only the Sinitic-affiliated ruling class of these states was relocated, so that they could be more easily controlled by the Hàn court. Whether they left a lasting linguistic impression on their former subjects of humbler birth is unknown.

5.1.2 The Late Hàn and Three Kingdoms Period

Fújiàn and southern Zhèjiāng remained a relative backwater for the next two hundred years. A single port city on the coast, Dōngyě 東冶, was left over from Mǐnyuè campaign, but few further administrative divisions were created. Heavy Chinese settlement only began in earnest at the end of the 2nd century AD, as a wave of some 40,000–50,000 migrants from Shāndōng 山東, northern Jiāngsū, Ānhuī, and southern Hénán 河南 poured into the Jiāngnán area (Gě et al. 1997, 280–81). As a result, the population of the Tàihú region hit a critical mass and, between 191–205 AD, began to follow the Qiántáng river upstream to settle in the Jīnqú basin in the lowlands of southwestern Zhèjiāng. The extent ranged from Jīnhuá in the northeast to Chángshān in the southwest. The western frontier of this region became a springboard for migration into the Mínběi 閩北 region in Fújiàn 福建 (Bielenstein 1959, 103–4).

Guō Pú 郭璞 (276–324) described the vernacular language of the Jiāngnán region as Jiāngdōng 江東 speech when he moved to the region after the fall of Western Jìn 晉 (266–316). Later writers of the Southern Dynasties referred to them simply as Wú. Here we will use the term "Early Jiāngdōng" to avoid confusion with modern Wú dialects. Guō Pú's comments on Yáng Xióng's 揚雄 *Fāngyán* 方言, in conjunction with anecdotes from *Shìshuō xīnyǔ* 世說新語, have allowed linguists to conclusively link the basic vocabulary of Mín Chinese and substrate words of Southwestern Wú with the Early Jiāngdōng dialect (Norman 1983; Ting 1988). Presumably, the Early Jiāngdōng dialect was introduced to southern Zhèjiāng and Fújiàn by the late Hàn migration discussed above, and is descended from the language spoken in Kuàijì in earlier times plus any impressions northern migrants may have made.

The relationship between the Early Jiāngdōng dialect and modern Wú and Mín Chinese is not a direct one of ancestor and descendants. As we shall see, several later migration waves continued to shape Wú Chinese independent of Mín. Mín itself also seems to have developed through

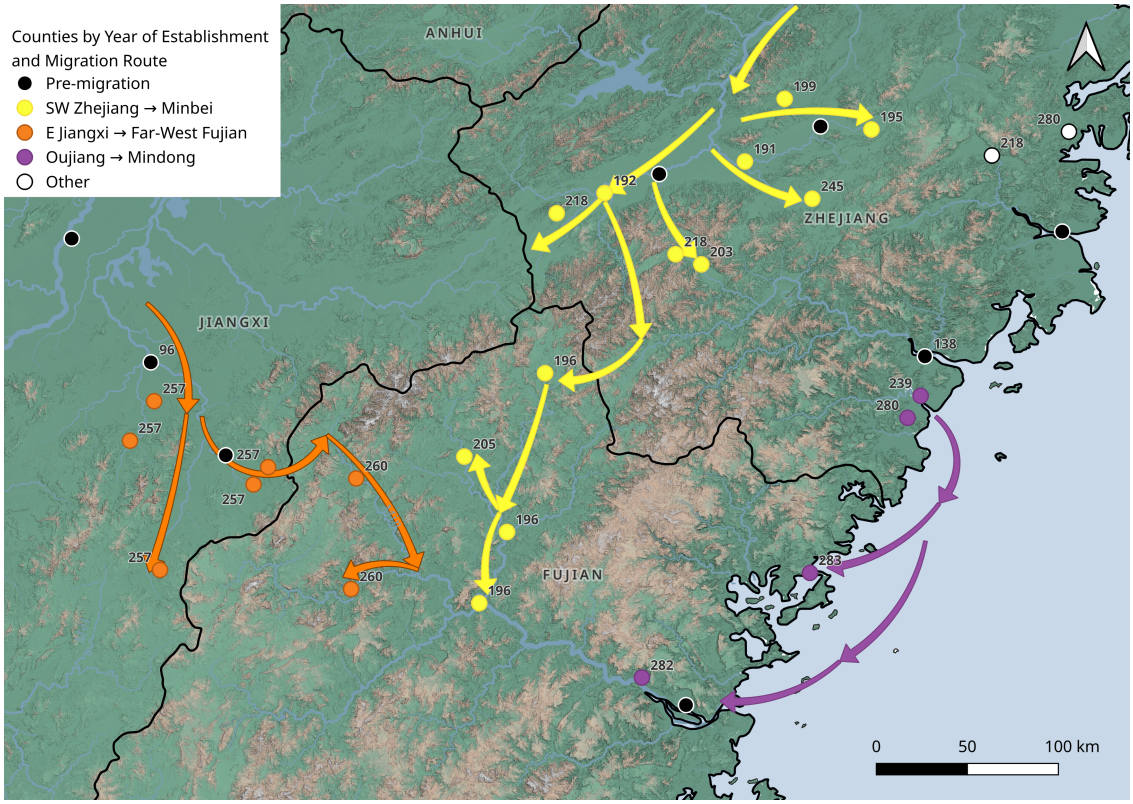


Figure 5.1: Early migrations into southern Zhèjiāng and Fújiàn following Bielenstein (1959) and Coblin (2018). Point coordinates taken from Berman (2017). Unlabeled points lack a clear date of establishment.

the convergence of at least two distinct sources.[2] Coblin (2018) attributes the phonological and lexical discrepancies between Coastal and Inland Mín Chinese to residue left over from this convergence. Only half a century after the initial wave of migration into the Mínběi region, two other streams of migration penetrated Fújiàn. One came from Eastern Jiāngxī into Shàowǔ 邵武 and Jiānglè 將樂 counties where the Far West Mín dialects are spoken today. The other came from the Wēnzhōu area and traveled by sea down the coast of Fújiàn (Bielenstein 1959, 104–5).

5.1.3 The Early Medieval Period

The fall of the Western Jìn in the aftermath of the Yǒngjiā Disorders (316 AD) triggered mass migration movements south of the Yangtze that continued for 150 years as northerners were displaced by war. The exact number that moved to the Jiāngnán region is difficult to estimate because of imperfect census keeping. Gě (2002, 464) estimates roughly half a million people participated in the migration, though as Chittick (2020, 370) observes, this number only accounts for about 4–5% of the roughly 12 million people that lived in the lands controlled by the Eastern Jìn (317-420), and most of them settled in the vicinity of the capital at Jiànkāng 建康 (modern day Nánjīng 南京). The languages that new waves of migrants brought existed in equilibrium with the Early Jiāngdōng dialect, now simply called Wú.

The newcomers may be split into two groups. The first came from central China around Hénán, while the second hailed from the eastern Jiānghuái region and southern Shāndōng. The first group included many literati and officials. They brought with them the prestigious speech of the court at Luòyáng, which was quickly adopted as the standard language of the court at Jiànkāng. Here I will follow Chittick (2020) in calling the spoken version of it "Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular."[3] The speech of the second group is described in the written histories as "Chǔ" 楚, and

[2] Shěn (2025) raises the possibility that a form of pre-Mín Chinese may have already been spoken in Fújiàn before the Hàn and Three Kingdoms period migrations, left over from the old Mǐnyuè state.

[3] Jiànkāng here refers broadly to Chittick's "Jiànkāng Empire," which roughly maps onto what other historians called the Southern Dynasties. The name is convenient, nonetheless, because Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular is closely associated with Jiànkāng itself, and as Chittick demonstrates, had less of a hold on the rest of the empire than is usually assumed.

was not well-regarded among literate circles.[4] Though newcomers did not settle extensively in southwest Zhèjiāng, the relative prestige of Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular may have helped it spread south of the course of the Southern Dynasties (420-589).

The Yǒngjiā migration waves are important to the study of the *Qièyùn*'s relationship with living dialects and textual records of the Early Jiāngdōng dialect.[5] The *Qièyùn* was a synthesis of five existing rime dictionaries in Lù Fǎyán's 陸法言 time. One of these sources, Lǚ Jìng's 呂靜 *Yùnjí* 韻集, was centuries older than the others and was probably included because of its historical importance. Of the remaining four, three were written by northerners and one by a southerner.[6] Arisaka ([1936] 1957) argues that the northern literary dialect and its southern counterpart, Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular, had not diverged to the point of mutual incomprehensibility in the 300 years since the fall of the Western Jìn. Championed by Yán Zhītuī 顏之推, Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular was more culturally prestigious, but had felt the influence of the Early Jiāngdōng dialect through prolonged contact. Both the transplanted standard and the indigenous dialect were spoken at the capital, though their use depended on social setting and native place (see Chén 1936; Arisaka [1936] 1957). Knowledge of the Jiāngdōng dialect was widespread and even appears in special *fǎnqiè* glosses used in Buddhist transcriptions of the period (Pulleyblank 1979).[7] Because of this special relationship, the reading tradition based on Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular became known as "Wú pronunciation" to northerners from the Táng period onward.[8]

---

[4]Chittick (2020, 94) takes Chǔ speech to be a single type of language/dialect group, but unlike the Early Jiāndōng dialect, it is not described well in the official histories and cannot be associated with any modern Chinese dialects. He identifies Chǔ speech with the Jiānghuái and Chén 陳 dialects of the *Fāngyán*. Both of these dialects demonstrate continuity with the Chǔ dialect of the *Fāngyán*, but are separated from speech types north of the Huái river by several isoglosses (Matsue 2013, 193–94).

[5]Some Early Jiāngdōng dialect words could be rendered directly with Chinese characters that matched their etymology, others would need to be written with phonetically adapted characters. The basis of this adaptation was presumably character readings based on Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular.

[6]North and south here being defined by the political divisions of the North and South Dynasties, which do not correspond perfectly to the regional north–south divide of modern China.

[7]See also Coblin (1990) for a study of the literary readings that accompany these materials, which likely represent a standard based on Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular.

[8]The new Táng literary pronunciation was dubbed "Qín" by contrast. The names of Sino-Japanese Go-on and Kan-on derive from an analogy with this distinction—not a direct relationship with modern Wú Chinese, Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular, or the Early Jiāngdōng dialect.

5.1.4 The Late Medieval Period

The next great migration south of the Yangtze was driven by the Ānshǐ Disorders (Ch. Ānshǐ zhī luàn 安史之亂) named for the period of instability created by the rebellions of the non-Hàn generals Ān Lùshān 安祿山 (703–757) and Shǐ Sīmíng 史思明 (703–761) in the middle of the Táng 唐 Dynasty. Around our area of interest, settlement was heaviest in the Jiānghuái area, the Tàihú region, and in northern Zhèjiāng near Hángzhōu 杭州 (Coblin 2002, 532). This influx of northerners significantly changed the population of the Tàihú region. Some 200,000 people took root in Sūzhōu making up 1/3 of its entire population (Wú 1997b, 270). The Ānshǐ migration streams also had a great impact on the Southwestern Wú region. The Jīnqú basin was both a destination itself and a corridor through which travelers passed into Fújiàn and northern Jiāngxī. Some early newcomers set roots in Qú prefecture (*zhōu* 州; not to be conflated with Qúzhōu 衢州 the modern city) shortly after the Disorders had begun, but it seems that most settled appreciably later in the late Táng and Five Dynasties period c. 900-979 AD. The most popular destinations were Qú prefecture and Wù 婺 prefecture in the basin. Fewer migrants ventured south past the Xiānxiálǐng 仙霞嶺 mountains into Chǔ 處 prefecture.[9]

The CDC system, and proto-dialects with sound systems that closely resemble it like Common Gàn, resulted from leveling that occurred during the Ānshǐ migrations (Coblin 2015, 341). The population that made up these movements originated from all over northern China, the Central Plains, and the Jiānghuái region. Previous regional differences were smoothed over so that they could converse with each other and the existing inhabitants of the places they moved to. As we have seen, the literary stratum of **CSWW** is notably close to **CDC** in many ways, but also retains some older distinctions of the QYS—which may represent vestiges of Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular. We shall explore these differences in detail in the next section.

The fall of the Northern Sòng (960–1127) court after the Jìngkāng Incident (Ch. Jìngkāng shìbiàn 靖康事變) precipitated a third wave of mass migration into the Jiāngnán region. The heaviest areas of settlement were in modern Hángzhōu 杭州, where the new court was estab-

[9]The date range and conclusion about settlements follows the tabular data provided by (Wú 1997b, 281–82).

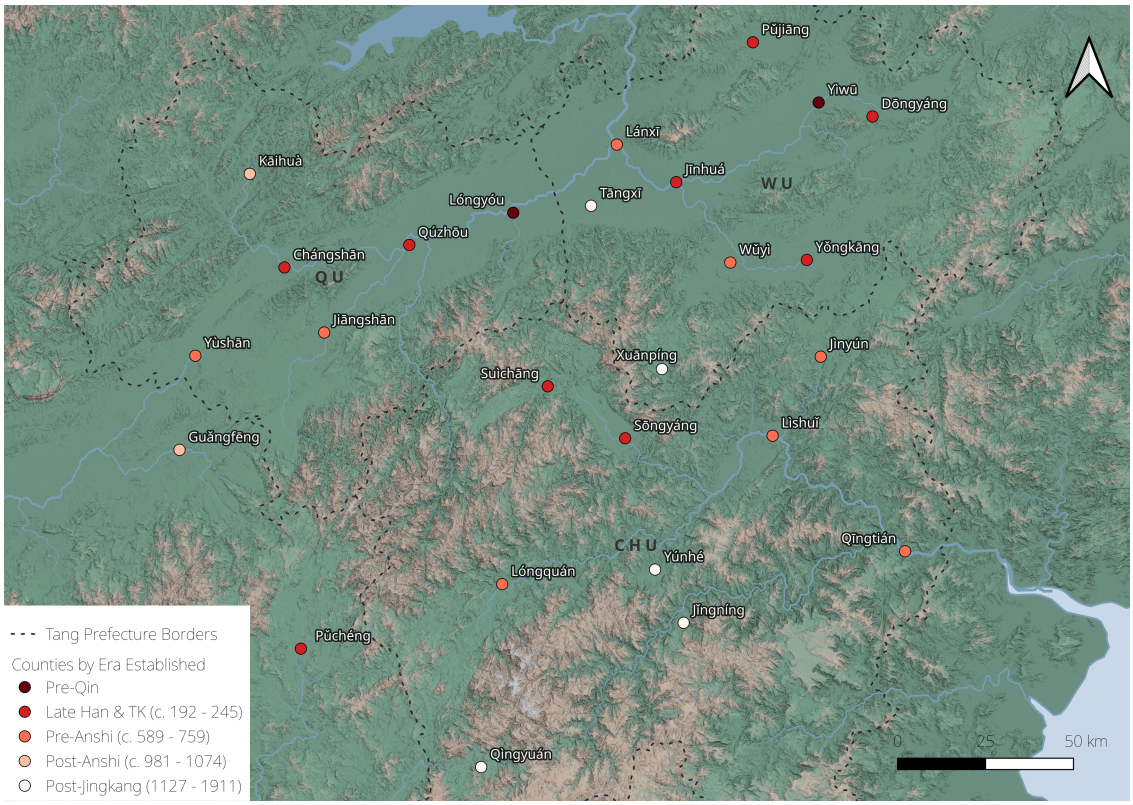


Figure 5.2: Borders of the Táng time prefectures overlayed with modern counties.

lished, and in modern Nánjīng, Zhènjiāng 鎮江, and Sūzhōu (Wú 1997a, 279–81). This wave of migration transplanted what would become Early Yangtze Watershed Mandarin to the region (Coblin 2010). Today, Yangtze Watershed Mandarin is the dominant regional language of Hángzhōu, Nánjīng, and Zhènjiāng. The areas that remained Wú-speaking were heavily influenced by this linguistic shift; the literary layers of Northern Wú dialects developed out of contact with Early Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (see Simmons 1999; Simmons et al. 2006).

The Jìngkāng migrations also affected the southern Wú-speaking area, but not uniformly. There were two established transportation routes through southern Zhèjiāng. One was by sea from Tāizhōu to Wēnzhōu on to coastal Fújiàn. The other was by land through the Jīnqú basin on to Jiāngxī (Wú 1997a, 289–90). Many of the people originally passing through the basin came to settle there permanently. As was the case with the Ānshǐ migrations, the old Wù and Qú prefectures were more affected by the migrations than the old Chǔ prefecture. In a case study of 1,391 individuals who settled in the Jiāngnán region during this time, 68 settled in the Southwestern Wú area. Of them, 36 (53%) settled in Wù prefecture, 22 (32%) settled in Qú prefecture, and just 10 (15%) settled in Chǔ prefecture.

Southern Wú dialects spoken in major urban centers have also been influenced by Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, but the exact nature of the relationship cannot be characterized as only fossilized literary doublets. Cáo et al.'s (2002; 2016) surveys describe the "literary readings" of the dialects spoken around Jīnhuá and Qúzhōu municipal prefectures as socially marked. They are used to communicate with outsiders, relate literary idioms, make reports and read texts aloud, and give formal speeches. This is language contact. Speakers of the Wú dialects of this region may not have the same command of Yangtze Watershed Mandarin that a monolingual speaker born in Hángzhōu would, but their linguistic competence in it is undeniable. The Shàngshān and Lìshuǐ dialect speakers further south demonstrate much less systematic evidence of contact, but their speech also contains sporadic loans from Yangtze Watershed Mandarin. In particular, the Shàngshān dialects form a continuum with the Jīnqú dialects spoken in the urban parts of the old Qú prefecture, so they share more literary vocabulary from the Jìngkāng stratum. The Lìshuǐ dialects, by contrast, do not share as much of this vocabulary.

5.2 Southwestern Wú in Context

5.2.1 Overview of Lexical Layers

Previous studies of lexical layering in Southwestern Wú seriate strata used primarily textual sources and reconstructed standard languages based on them. Throughout Chapters 2–4, I adopted a similar approach to discuss issues of layering relevant to the cognate sets presented for the reconstruction. Up until this point, I have been using Jerry Norman's EC and CDC—and a few literary standards such as the QYS and Old Northwestern Chinese—to characterize lexical layering externally. Here is a summary of the facts we have established thus far:

- A lack of oralized reflexes of CDC *mv- and *nh-, especially in the western Lìshuǐ dialects, militates against strong influence from the Jìngkāng migration wave.
- The ubiquitous presence of labiodental reflexes for CDC *f- & *v- and sibilant reflexes for the QYS *shéshàng* series stops (*tr-, trh-, dr*) support a thick stratum of learnèd vocabulary that can be dated to the post-Ānshǐ period.
- The pervasive merger of CDC *dz- with *z- hints at a connection with Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular (JEV) and a literary stratum inherited from the Southern Dynasties period.
- Several special developments of EC sound categories in basic vocabulary support a pre-medieval layer of vocabulary that is closely related to Min Chinese.

Synthesizing these observations with the demographic and migration history established above allows us to conclude that Common Southwestern Wú was likely spoken sometime between the 10th century and 13th century, i.e. between the last movements of the Ānshǐ migrations and the early movements of the Jìngkāng migrations. The uniformity of the constructed common language obscures linguistic divisions that were already present at this time, but we can gauge lexical differences by checking attestation of reconstructed vocabulary across the Jīnqú, Shàngshān, and Lìshuǐ branches. Post-Ānshǐ Chinese dominates the literary and technical vocabulary

of Southwestern Wú. Its basic vocabulary is inherited from an earlier language that was spoken by Chinese settlers during the Late Hàn and Three Kingdoms periods. Min Chinese also inherited some of this vocabulary. During the Southern Dynasties, this language was in contact with JEV. JEV probably also influenced the learned vocabulary of Southwestern Wú, but this influence is not always readily distinguishable from the post-Ānshǐ stratum.

This model of development provides a useful sketch of the history of Southwestern Wú and we could continue it further, but seriation by northern standards is by no means the only way to discuss lexical layering. Lexical layering can also be contextualized regionally by comparing it to neighboring languages. In the remainder of this section, we will now turn our attention to CSWW's relationships with other Wú dialect groups and Mín Chinese. This is intended only as a preliminary sketch to provide a basis for future discussion. A full systematic treatment of lexical layering in Southwestern Wú in areal perspective will likely require a monograph-length study of its own.

5.2.2 Connection to Northern Wú

To examine layering issues shared between CSWW and Northern Wú we must first establish tentative correspondences between them. Setting aside the issue of palatal glottalization, this work is mostly trivial for the initials and tones. The biggest difference between the two is that most Northern Wú dialects have lost the contrast between alveolar and postalveolar sibilants. The finals also agree well, but here we encounter a striking state of affairs. The CSWW finals system is so conservative that Y.R. Chao's (1928) Common (Northern) Wú system can be directly derived from it. This does not entail that CSWW is actually the ancestor of Northern Wú. We cannot explain the conditioned emergence of palatal glottalization using the CSWW finals system alone. Instead, what this situation tells us is that Common Northern Wú underwent more changes to the finals than CSWW did.

Table 5.1 presents a tentative list of syllable final correspondences after non-postalveolar initials between CSWW, CJQ, Chao's Common (Northern) Wú, and the conservative Tāizhōu dialect of Tiāntāi 天台 (Dài 2006). Characters prefixed with an asterisk "*" do not occur in Chao's syl-

labary. Those prefixed with a dagger "†" are absent in Dài's Tiāntāi survey or take a different final than the one listed in the table—usually because of layering. Excluding the checked finals, the Tiāntāi finals system is remarkably close to Chao's common system.

Table 5.1: Southwestern and Northern Wú Final Correspondences

CSWW	CJQ	Tiāntāi	Chao (1928)	Examples
ɨ/S_	ɿ	ɿ	y [ɿ]	子、梳$_2$
i/S_	i	〃	〃	四
iə/S_	〃	〃	〃	刺$_1$
ə/ŋ_	ɤ	ŋ̍	ng [ŋ̍]	魚
uə/ŋ_	ŋ̍	〃	〃	五
a	ɒ	o	o	茶、家
ɔ	〃	〃	〃	麻、蝦$_1$
ai	a	a	a	敗、帶$_2$、街
əi	əi	ei	é [e]	陪、來$_2$、在、開
uəi/T_	〃	〃	〃	對
ɔu	ou; au/p,p^h,b_	au	au	毛、報、到、高
au	au	〃	〃	包、炒、交
u	əu	ɤu	ou	頭、走、瘦、鉤
ã	ã	ɛ	an	板、反、膽、間
ɔ̃/T,S_	〃	〃	〃	難、傘
uɔ̃/T,S_	uɤ̃; ɤ̃/T_	uø	on	短$_2$、酸$_2$
ɔ̃/K,H_	ɤ̃	ø	〃	岸、安
ɔ̃/P_	〃	〃	ōn	半
ʌ̃	〃	〃	〃	†南、蠶、含$_2$
eŋ	eŋ	əŋ	eng [əŋ]	燈$_2$、層、肯
ɔŋ	aŋ	ɔ̃	ang [ɑŋ]	幫、房、狼、园
æŋ	æŋ	aŋ	áng [aŋ]	孟、打、生、坑
oŋ	oŋ	oŋ; ŋ̍/K,H_	ong [oŋ]	風、東、送、空
i	i	i	i	比、利、姨
iə	〃	〃	〃	避$_1$、移$_1$
iei	ie	〃	〃	米$_1$、低、西、溪
ə/K_	ɤ	ei	〃	去$_1$
ia	ia	ia	ia	借、斜

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

CSWW	CJQ	Tiāntāi	Chao (1928)	Examples
iɔu	iou	iau	iau	苗、焦、腰
iau	〃	〃	〃	條、料
iu	iəu	iɤu	iou	酒、九、油
iẽ	iẽ	iɛ	ien	面、淺、件
iã	iã; iẽ/P_	〃	〃	麵、天、煙
iŋ	iŋ	iŋ	ing [iŋ]	餅、聽、輕
iəŋ	iəŋ	〃	〃	民、新、琴
yaŋ	yaŋ	yɔ̃	iàng [iɒŋ]	*狂
iaŋ	iaŋ	iaŋ	iang [iaŋ]	涼、牆、樣
ioŋ	ioŋ	yoŋ	iong [ioŋ]	窮、雄、（*共$_2$、胸$_2$）
iɔŋ	〃	〃	〃	*共$_1$、胸$_1$ (?)
uə	u	u	u	補、土、苦
o	o	ou	ū	婆、多$_2$、歌
uo	〃	u	〃	果、火$_2$
ua	uɒ	uo	uo	花
uɔ	〃	〃	〃	瓜、話
uai	ua	ua	ua	怪、快$_2$
uəi	uəi	uei; ei/S_	ué [ue]	罪、塊$_2$
uei	uei	uei	〃	虧$_2$、灰
uã	uã	uɛ	uan	關$_2$、還
uɔ̃	uã	uø	uon	管$_2$、寬
uɔŋ	uaŋ	uɔ̃	uang [uɑŋ]	光、黃
uæŋ	uæŋ	uaŋ	uáng [uaŋ]	*梗、橫
y/S_	yi	y	ÿ [ɥ]	嘴、URINE (尿)
yə	y	〃	iu [y]	句、雨
y	〃	〃	〃	貴、圍
yẽ	yẽ	yø	iuon [yø̃]	選、犬、遠$_2$
yəŋ	yəŋ	yoŋ	iuing [yiŋ]	筍$_1$、裙$_2$、雲
oʔ	oʔ	uʔ	oq	木、毒、屋
əiʔ/P_	əiʔ/P_	øʔ	〃	北
auʔ/P_	uoʔ/P_	ɔʔ	〃	薄
ɔuʔ	auʔ	〃	ōq	落、角、學
æʔ/P_	æʔ/P_	aʔ	āq~aq (?)	白；百、伯
æʔ	æʔ	〃	āq	拆$_2$、客

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

CSWW	CJQ	Tiāntāi	Chao (1928)	Examples
aʔ	ɒʔ	æʔ	〃	八、塔、煠、甲
ɔʔ/T,S_	〃	〃	〃	達、撒$_2$
ək	əʔ	øʔ	eq	佛、澀
əiʔ	əiʔ	øʔ; eʔ/h_	〃	得、賊、色、黑
ɔʔ/P_	ɤʔ	uəʔ	〃	末
ʌʔ	〃	æʔ	〃	納、†雜$_2$、鴿
uək/T,S_	uəʔ	uøʔ	ēq	†脫$_1$、†奪$_1$、捋、撮
uɔʔ/T_	—	uəʔ	〃 (?)	脫$_2$、奪$_2$
ɔʔ/K,H_	ɤʔ	æʔ	〃	割、渴
ioʔ	ioʔ	yuʔ	ioq	麴$_2$、（曲$_2$）
iɔuʔ	〃	〃	〃	曲$_1$ (?)
iauʔ	iauʔ	iaʔ	iaq	略、削、腳
iʔ	iʔ	ɪiʔ	ieq	摘$_1$、力、翼
iək	iəʔ	〃	〃	蜜、七、一
ieʔ	ieʔ	iæʔ	iēq	滅、劫、葉$_2$
iaʔ	iaʔ; ieʔ/P_	〃	〃	篾、跌、節
uɔuʔ	uauʔ	uɔʔ	uoq	郭、*鑊
uaʔ	uaʔ	uæʔ	uaq	刮$_2$、滑$_2$
uæʔ	uæʔ	uaʔ	〃	劃
uəʔ	uəʔ	uøʔ	ueq	骨
uəiʔ	uəiʔ	uʔ	〃	國
uɔʔ	uɒʔ	uəʔ	〃	闊
yək	yəʔ	—	iueq	†屈$_2$
yeʔ	yeʔ	yəʔ	〃	絕、血
yaʔ	yaʔ	—	〃	†閱

After the CSWW postalveolars, high front glides and vowels have been uniformly lost, lowered, or backed in Chao's system. This is representative of most Tàihú Wú dialects. In the Tāizhōu dialects, the medials remain except for the final *-ia > *-o. Akitani (2014, 6) identifies this development as one of the shared innovations that define Northern Wú as a clade. Table 5.2 summarizes the syllable final correspondences after postalveolar initials.

Table 5.2: Southwestern and Northern Wú Final Correspondences after Postalveolars

CSWW	CJQ	Tiāntāi	Chao (1928)	Examples
ɨ	ɿ	ɿ	y [ɻ]	時、柿
i	i	〃	〃	遲
iə	〃	〃	〃	紙、匙
iei	ie	i	〃	世
ia	ia	o	o	蔗、車
iɔu	iou	iau	au	照、燒
iu	iəu	iɤu	ou	臭、手$_2$
iẽ	iẽ	iɛ	ōn	戰、扇
yẽ	yẽ	yø	〃	穿$_2$
iŋ	iŋ	iŋ	eng [əŋ]	蒸、聲
iəŋ	iəŋ	〃	〃	真、陳
ɨəŋ	〃	〃	〃	針
yaŋ	yaŋ	yõ	uang [uɑŋ]	撞、壯
iaŋ	iaŋ	iaŋ	áng [aŋ]	長$_2$、傷
ioŋ	ioŋ	yoŋ	ong [oŋ]	銃、重$_1$
iɔŋ	〃	〃	〃	鐘$_1$
yə	y	y	ÿ [ɥ]	輸、樹$_2$
y	〃	〃	〃	吹、水$_2$
yei	ye	〃	ué [ue]	稅
yəŋ	yəŋ	yoŋ	ueng [uəŋ]	春、順
ioʔ	ioʔ	yuʔ	oq	叔
iɔuʔ	〃	〃	〃	燭
yauʔ	yauʔ	yɔʔ	〃	鐲
iauʔ	iauʔ	iaʔ	aq~āq	着$_2$；石$_1$ (?)
iʔ	iʔ	iɪʔ	eq	直$_2$、食
iək	iəʔ	〃	〃	*侄、*實
ɨək	iəʔ	〃	〃	汁、十
ieʔ	ieʔ	iæʔ	〃	撤、折
yək	yəʔ	yʔ	ueq	術
yeʔ	yeʔ	yəʔ	〃	說

The Northern Wú finals developments are striking because they clearly echo developments in northern Chinese generally. The loss of high front glides and vowels after postalveolars is

common in southern varieties of Yangtze Watershed Mandarin:

(43) Loss of high front medials after postalveolars in Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (Coblin 2010).[10]

	CDC	CYW	PHX	CJH	LYW	Chao (1928)
順 'obey'	*zhiun⁶	**ʂyən⁶	*ɕyən⁶	*ʂuən⁵	*suen⁶	*jhueng⁶* [žuəŋ⁶]
裙 'skirt'	*giun²	**kɦyn	*tɕʻyən²	*kʻyn²	tɕʻyen²	*djiuing²* [dʑyiŋ²]

Several mergers are also shared with mainstream northern languages:

(44) a. Merger of CSWW *-ɔu & *-au (≙ CDC *-ou & *-au); shared with Mandarin generally.

b. Merger of CSWW *-iei & *-i (≙ CDC *-iai & *-i); shared with Mandarin generally.

c. Merger of CSWW *ie and *ia in nasalized and glottalized syllables (≙ QYS Divisions III & IV); shared by CDC.

d. Merger of CSWW *io and *iɔ in closed syllables (≙ QYS *-juwng/k* and *-jowng/k*); shared with CDC and CJQ.[11]

All these changes suggest dialect leveling by sound change. They are natural and could have occurred independently, but because they are so natural it is more parsimonious to interpret them as "contagious" sound changes spread in the upper Jiāngnán linguistic area. Viewed this way, the defining characteristic of Northern Wú is dialect leveling. Few other unique phonological developments stand out to help define the group independent of this contact.[12]

Now that we have dealt with phonological differences that have resulted from sound change, we can turn our attention to layering differences that resulted from lexical replacement. We may assume that the social motivation for lexical replacement is the same as the motivation for the

[10]The data presented here are for Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (CYW Coblin 2010), which is a second-order proto-language based on Proto-Huángxiào Mandarin (PHX Coblin 2005), Common Jiānghuái Mandarin (CJH Coblin 2004), and Lower Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (LYW, originally "Common Southern Jiang-Huai" Simmons et al. 2006).

[11]As noted in §4.12, it may be possible to unite the finals that I reconstruct as *-yaŋ and *-yauʔ with *-iɔŋ and *-iɔuʔ. If adopted, then the sets I have reconstructed as *-iɔŋ and *-iɔuʔ must be reanalyzed as doublets involving *-ioŋ and *-ioʔ; but most of these already involve doublets of this type. If this turns out to be the correct analysis, then the merger described here is really an issue of layers: intrusive *-ioŋ and *-ioʔ words replaced *-iɔŋ and *-iɔuʔ.

[12]This is problematic for Wú dialect classification because it casts the phonological characteristics of Northern Wú as laterally diffused developments rather than unique shared innovations. But it does explain why the area that is likely the homeland of all Wú Chinese is so homogeneous: convergence through contact.

sound changes above: dialect leveling. To begin with, all of the Jiāngdōng-related lexical layering that involves special developments from EC are virtually absent in Northern Wú. Pre-Ānshǐ features of initial consonants are also exceedingly rare: CDC labiodentals are seldom reflected as bilabial stops, as are *shéshàng* initials rarely reflected as dental stops.[13] Instead, oralization of CDC *mv- as [n-] and *nh- as [z-, ʑ-, j-], both post-Jìngkāng initial features, are common in learnèd vocabulary. CSWW *-ə and *-iə (≙ CDC *-ie) only leave vestigial traces, e.g. Common Northern Wú *ng² 魚 'fish' and *k'i⁵ 去 'go', cf. CSWW *ŋə² and *kʰə⁵. Words with these finals have overwhelmingly been replaced by words with the final *-iu [-y] (≙ CDC *-iu). In CSWW, these two finals compete in doublets as *-iə ⩙ *-yə. The intrusion of the *-yə forms may be either a trait of late post-Ānshǐ Chinese or early post-Jìngkāng Chinese. In short, pre-Ānshǐ words have been displaced to a much greater extent in Northern Wú than in CSWW. It also has a much thicker layer of post-Jìngkāng Chinese forms that are used in learnèd terms.

As Table 5.3 shows, one alternation in Southwestern Wú, CSWW *-(u)ə̃ ⩙ *-(u)əŋ (≙ CDC *-en & *-un), might have originated from contact with speakers of Northern Wú.[14]

Table 5.3: Alternation of CSWW *-(u)ə̃ ⩙ *-(u)əŋ compared with Northern Wú

	CSWW	CJQ	CLS	CSS	Chao (1928)
盆 'basin'	bə̃²	bə̃²	bə̃²	bə̃²	*pheng²*
	—	bəŋ²	—	—	—
糞 'filth'	ɓə̃⁵	ɓə̃⁵	ɓə̃⁵	pə̃⁵	—
	fəŋ⁵	fəŋ⁵	fəŋ⁵	fəŋ⁵	*feng⁵*
根 'root'	kə̃¹	—	kə̃¹	kə̃¹	*keng¹*
	—	kəŋ¹	—	—	—
村 'village'	tsʰuə̃¹	tsʰuə̃	tsʰuə̃	tsʰuə̃	*ts'ueng¹*

Continued on next page

[13]But note Common Northern Wú *dieh⁷ [tiəʔ⁷] 摘 'to pick' which is cognate with CSWW *dîʔ⁷ *id.*

[14]In Table 5.3 I use the initials proposed by Simmons (1999) for Common Northern Wú for clarity.

Continued from previous page

	CSWW	CJQ	CLS	CSS	Chao (1928)
存 ‘remain’	zuã^{2} dzuəŋ^{2}	z(u)ã^{2} dzəŋ^{2}	zuã dzuəŋ^{2}	dzuã^{2}$_{|i}$ —	— *tsɦueng^{2}*
孫 ‘grandson’	suã^{1} —	suã^{1} suəŋ^{1}	suã^{1} —	suã^{1} —	*sueng^{1}*
睏 ‘sleep’	kʰuã^{5}	kʰuã^{5}	kʰuã^{5}	kʰuã^{5}	*kʻueng^{5}*
魂 ‘soul’	ɦuã^{2} —	ɦuã^{2} ɦuəŋ^{2}	ɦuã^{2} —	ɦuã^{2} —	*ɦueng^{2}*

This alternation is most robustly attested in CJQ. In the other branches, it tends to only manifest in literary words like 存 ‘remain’. Now, we could match Common Northern Wú *-(u)eng* with CSWW *-(u)əŋ to resolve this correspondence and explain the lack of a final corresponding to *-(u)ã as the result of lexical replacement, but this hypothesis is unattractive because it would suppose that Northern Wú had all of its basic vocabulary replaced by intrusions including 村 ‘village’, 孫 ‘grandson’, 睏 ‘sleep’ above. This is implausible. The more parsimonious interpretation is that CSWW *-(u)ã corresponds to Common Northern Wú *-(u)eng and that CSWW literary *-(u)əŋ resulted from later borrowings. Instructively, the Ōujiāng dialects exhibit a similar alternation, e.g. Wēnzhōu [ky^{1}] ≍ [kaŋ^{1}] 跟 ‘heel’; cf. CDC *ken^{1} (Zhèngzhāng 2008). We can use the historical model developed above to tentatively conclude that the intrusive *-(u)əŋ (Wēnzhōu [-aŋ]) forms were introduced through contact with northerners who traveled through the Jīnqú basin and down the eastern coast of Zhèjiāng. This explains why the intrusive forms are usually absent in the basic vocabulary of the Lìshuǐ dialects.[15] This interaction also somewhat reframes the na-

[15]As discussed in §4.18.2, Pc is an exception. Intrusive [-ueŋ] forms are found frequently in Pc, but they may have been introduced through contact with Mandarin or Mín. Note also that the development of CDC *-en and *-un into Common Northern Wú *-(u)eng* also led to partial merger with CDC *-eng. This merger and the development of *-n > *-ŋ after schwa may be a shared innovation of Northern Wú that validates its status as a legitimate clade. Although some forms of southern Yangtze Watershed Mandarin also have this development, it is not shared with other forms of central plains and northern Mandarin. It might instead be a feature that resulted from contact with Northern Wú.

ture of post-Jìngkāng migrations. Southwestern Wú speakers did not only come into contact with northerners who could not speak Wú, but with Northern Wú speakers who traveled from the upper Jiāngnán area, many of whom may have been literate and also knew some Yangtze Watershed Mandarin.

5.2.3 Connection to the Yánzhōu Dialects

As Simmons (2010) has demonstrated, the Yánzhōu dialects are Wú-affiliated. The area they are spoken in is located northwest of the Jīnqú basin in the hilly, forested region around Qiāndǎo 千島 lake. Coblin (2008) reconstructs Common Yánzhōu (CYZ) as the common ancestor of the dialects of former Suì'ān 遂安 county and current Chúan'ān 淳安 and Jiàndé 建德 counties. They form a single clade characterized by the development of pre-Common Yánzhōu *ɲ- (≙ CSWW *ɲ-) into a zero initial.

First and foremost, we can say with some certainty that the Yánzhōu dialects should not be included in the Southwestern Wú group because they lack the crucial innovation of palatal glottalization.

(45) Lack of palatal glottalization in the Yánzhōu dialects

	CSWW	CYZ	Ca	Sa	Jd
煮 'boil'	*ʔiə³ ⩙ tšy³	#tɕy³	tɕya³	tɕy³	tɕy³
肫 'gizzard'	*ʔyəŋ¹	#tsyen¹	tsuen¹	kyen¹	tɕyen¹
腫 'swollen'	*ʔioŋ³ ⩙ tšioŋ³	#tsɔm³	tsɔm³	tsən³	tsɑom³
水 'water'	*ʔy³ ⩙ *šy³	*ɕye³	ɕya³ ⩙ ɕy³	ɕy³	ɕye³
雞 'chicken'	*ʔie(i)¹ ⩙ *kiei¹	*tɕiei	tɕi¹	tɕiei¹	tɕi¹
叫 'cry, call'	*ʔiɔu⁵ ⩙ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵	*tɕiɔ⁵	tɕiə¹	tɕiɑ⁴	tɕiɔ²

Granted, some of the autochthonous forms of the CSWW glottalized words were certainly replaced in the Yánzhōu dialects, like 水 'water', but it seems unlikely all of these basic words would have been replaced. The Yánzhōu area is somewhat of a linguistic residual zone, and, as we shall see, preserves other archaisms that are typically lost in other more innovative branches of Wú. The most economical solution for the nonce is to assume that the Yánzhōu dialects did not share in palatal glottalization.

The Yánzhōu dialects do, however, share one important common innovation with most of the Southwestern Wú dialects, to wit all of the Jīnqú dialects and all of the Lìshuǐ dialects except Sc. They share in the merger of CDC *-uon/t (≙ CSWW *-uɔ̃/uɔʔ) and *-uan/t (≙ CSWW *-uã/uaʔ) after guttural initials.[16] Compare the following examples with CJQ:

(46) Merger of CDC *-uon/t and *-uan/t in CSWW and CYZ

	CDC	CJQ	CYZ	Ca	Sa	Jd
官 'official'	*kuon¹	*kuã¹	*kuɑN¹	kuã¹	kuã¹	kuɛ¹
關 'shut'	*kuan¹	*kuoŋ¹ ≍ *kuã¹	*kuɑN¹	kuã¹	kuã¹	kuɛ¹
闊 'wide'	*khuot⁷	*kʰuɒʔ⁷	*khuɑʔ⁷	kʻɑʔ⁷~kʻuɑʔ⁷	kʻuɑ⁷	kʻo⁶
刮 'scrape'	*kuat⁷	*kuəʔ⁷ ≍ *kuɒʔ⁷	*kuɑʔ⁷	kuɑʔ⁷	kuɑ⁷	ko⁶

This merger must have expanded after the Yánzhōu and Southwestern Wú branches had already diversified. It now encompasses a large geographic region. But even still, the expansion of this merger is proof that the Yánzhōu dialects lie on a continuum with the rest of Southwestern Wú. We can consider them sister branches.

The Yánzhōu also share a few archaic features with Southwestern Wú. The most important of these is an apparent distinction between the QYS Division III and IV sources of CDC *-iai reflected in CSWW as *-iei and *-ia respectively. Coblin (2008) noticed a parallel phenomenon in Ca in three cognate sets in his Yánzhōu data, all three of which involve QYS Division IV words:

(47) Yánzhōu cognate sets that correspond to CSWW *-ia ≍ *-iei

	CSWW	CYZ	Ca	Sa	Jd
低 'low'	*d̠iei¹	*tiei¹ (?)	**tiɑ¹**	tei¹	ti¹
弟 'little brother'	*dia⁴ ≍ diei⁴	*diei⁴ (?)	**tʻiɑ³**	tʻei⁴	ti³
泥 'mud'	*n̠ia² ≍ n̠iei²	*iei² (?)	**iɑ²**	iei²	i²

Of the Ca forms, Coblin writes:

> [They] are irregular. An alternative would be to posit CYZ final -iɑi for such syllables. It seems possible that they represent an older layer in the CYZ lexicon. The matter remains problematic.

[16] Note that this does not affect CSWW *-uoŋ, *-uəŋ, *-uək, which are additional colloquial sources of CDC *-uon/t and originate from EC *-on/t.

Ca [-iɑ] is a reflex of CYZ *-iɑ which regularly corresponds to CSWW *-ia in other sets, e.g. **63** 謝 'thank' CSWW *zia⁶; CYZ *ɕiɑ⁶. The Ca forms in the three sets are likely inherited from the same source that gives us CSWW *-ia in the latter two sets. I believe this source yielded simple *-iɑ in CYZ rather than *-iɑi. Consider the following set:

(48) *xì* 細〔蟹開四去霽心〕 'tiny; slender' **CDC** *siai⁵ / **EC** *'seh (?)
CYZ #siɑ⁵ 'small': **Ca** ɕiɑ¹ 小$_{1}$; **Sa** ɕiɛ⁴ 小$_{大\sim}$; **Jd** ɕie² 小
Cf. **CSWW** *sia⁵ 'small' ⨯ *siei⁵ 'slender'

This set matches Coblin's sound correspondence for *-iɑ, not *-iɔ (≙ CDC *-iau) and the tone correspondence matches tone *5 instead of *3. The identification with CDC *siau³ 小 'small' in Cáo (1996) is spurious. In this example CYZ *-iɑ corresponds unambiguously to CDC *-iai and allows us to assert that the retention of the Division IV source CDC *-iai as *-ia/iɑ is a unique common feature of the Yánzhōu and Southwestern Wú groups.[17]

In summary, it is apparent that Yánzhōu dialects and Southwestern Wú are closely related. We must continue to pursue comparative studies of the Yánzhōu dialects.

5.2.4 Connection to Northern Tàishùn and Ōujiāng Wú

Turning our attention now to southeast Zhèjiāng, we can once again comment on the loss of final stop codas in Wú. Two dialect groups interest us here. The first is made up of the dialects spoken in the north of Tàishùn 泰順 county along the southeast border between Zhèjiāng and Fújiàn. In the south of the county, the people speak an Eastern Mín dialect with heavy Wú phonological features referred to as Mánjiǎng 蠻講. In the north in the villages of Jǔjiāng 莒江, Xīnshān 新山, Xīnpǔ 新浦, and Bāoyáng 包垟, they speak a divergent form of Wú that has so far defied traditional classification. Fú et al. (1986) treated it as a member of the Ōujiāng group, but Akitani (2005) points out that the dialect lacks any of the characteristic shared innovations of the Ōujiāng group (for which see Akitani 2011). Because the CSWW finals system is so conservative, we are

[17]Note, however, that this feature does not necessarily constitute a shared innovation unless we can prove that CYZ *-iɑ and CSWW *-ia developed from ancestral *-iai independent of the other branches of Wú. Usually we find [-i] or [-ie] in the other branches for such syllables, but it is unclear if these forms should be considered cognate with intrusive *-iei in CSWW or if they are autochthonous. We must leave this problem to future research.

now in a better position to revisit the affiliation of the Tàishùn dialect. The forms below were collected by Akitani from Xīnshān village. Since no comparative reconstruction of Common Ōujiāng phonology exists, we will use the Wēnzhōu dialect as described by Zhèngzhāng (2008) as a proxy for comparison. The correspondences for checked finals between the three groups are summarized in Table 5.4. Example characters marked with asterisks do not occur in Akitani (2005).

Table 5.4: Southwestern and Southeastern Wú Checked Final Correspondences

Common Wú (ʔ)	CSWW	Tàishùn	Wēnzhōu	Examples
uk	oʔ	ʌɯk	u; ʏu/T,S_	木、毒、屋
ɔk > ɔuʔ	ɔuʔ	oʔ	o	*薄、縛、落、角、學
æk > æʔ	æʔ	ɑiʔ	a	白、拆$_2$、客
aʔ	aʔ	ɑʔ	a; o/P_	八、答、殺
ek > əiʔ	əiʔ	eʔ	e; ai/P_	北、賊、*黑
ʌʔ	ʌʔ	eʔ	ø; y/k_	雜$_2$、鴿、盒
ɔʔ	ɔʔ	ueʔ/K,H_	ø; y/k_	*末、割、*渴
〃	〃	ɑʔ/T,S_	a	辣、*撒$_2$
əʔ (ʔ)	əʔ	?	?	*屑$_1$、SHOULDER *撾
ək	ək	ɑk	ai	佛、澀
iuk	ioʔ	iʌɯk	ʏu	竹$_3$、叔
iok > ioʔ	iɔuʔ	yoʔ	o	綠$_1$、燭、玉$_1$
iak > iauʔ	iauʔ	iɑʔ	a	腳、藥
ieʔ	ieʔ	iʔ	i	別、舌、熱
iaʔ	iaʔ	iɑʔ	i	貼、節、捏$_1$
ik	iʔ	ek; iek/Ś,H_	ei; ai/K,H_	力、脊、直$_2$、食、極
iək	iək	iɑk	ai; i/P_	*蜜、*一
ɨək	ɨək	iɑk	ai; i/P_	筆$_1$、十
ɨək (ʔ)	iək/S_	iɑk	ai	集
iək	iək/S,Š_	ɑk	ai	七、侄、實
uɔk > uɔuʔ	uɔuʔ	oʔ	o	郭、*鑊
uæk > uæʔ	uæʔ	?	a	*劃
uek > uəiʔ	uəiʔ	ueʔ	ai	國
uək	uək	uɑk	(ai ʔ)	屈$_1$
uək	uək/T,S_	ɑk	ai	*脫$_1$、*奪$_1$、撮

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

Common Wú (?)	CSWW	Tàishùn	Wēnzhōu	Examples
uɔʔ	uɔʔ	uɑʔ	ø; o/K,H	奪₂、闊
uaʔ	uaʔ	uɑiʔ (?)	o	刮₂、*滑₂
uəʔ	uəʔ	ueʔ; œʔ/T_	ø; y/K,H_	骨、突
iɔk > iɔuʔ	yauʔ	yoʔ	o	桌₂
yik	yʔ	iek	y	役
yək	yək	iʌɯk (?)	y	*術
yɔʔ	yeʔ; yaʔ/H_	yœʔ	y; /S_	雪、出₁、月₂

Remarkably, the Tàishùn dialect has retained [-k] in all the places we reconstruct it in CSWW and in a few additional places after original high vowels *i, *y, and *u where it has been lost in CSWW. Notice the corresponding reflex in the Wēnzhōu dialects for finals that end in [ɑk] in Tàishùn, i.e. [ai]. The [-i] offglides resulted from vocalization of original velar stop codas. Furthermore, Tàishùn and Wēnzhōu both tend to have [ɑ~a] where CSWW has *ə.[18] This is a shared innovation and suggests that the Tàishùn dialect and the Ōujiāng dialects form a common clade that we could call Southeastern Wú.

Comparison with the Tàishùn dialect and the Ōujiāng group turns up two additional finals distinctions that have been lost in CSWW. First, the Tàishùn dialect has differing reflexes of CDC *-im/p (≙ Tàishùn -iɑŋ/k) and *-in/t (≙ Tàishùn -ɑŋ/k) after both alveolar and postalveolar sibilant initials (Akitani 2005, 68). In CSWW, this contrast is only preserved after postalveolars. The Píngyáng 平南 and Cāngnán 蒼南 dialects of the Ōujiāng group preserve a contrast of CDC *-iam/p ≠ *-ian/t for QYS Division IV words; the contrast is expressed as [-ye] ≠ [-ie] (Akitani 2011, 16). This makes the relationship between the Southwestern and Southeastern Wú different from the relationship between Southwestern and Northern Wú. Southeastern Wú preserves distinctions that Southwestern Wú lost. This allows us to identify a few additional innovations that define Southwestern Wú.

[18]This trend is not exclusive to checked finals, cf. 心 'heart' CSWW *siəŋ¹; Tàishùn [ɕiɑŋ¹]; Wēnzhōu [saŋ¹].

5.2.5 Connection to Mín Chinese

Southwestern Wú's relationship with Mín Chinese is well-documented compared to the other relationships we have explored thus far. Shen (2021) summarizes a list of shared phonological features between Southwestern Wú and Mín based on the observations of Norman (1990) and Akitani (1999). They are restated in (49) using Norman's EC.

(49) Southwestern Wú and Mín shared phonological features

a. Retention of EC *-ay and *-oy
b. Retention of EC *-ak [after coronal initials in plain syllables].
c. Retention of EC *-u [distinct from *-aw in pharyngealized syllables].
d. Retention of EC *g- [in pharyngealized syllables].
e. Some cases of EC *y- correspond to affricates or fricatives.
f. Some cases EC *θ- correspond to a tenuis affricate sibilant initial.
g. Merger of EC plain *-ang and *-ong after bilabial initials.
h. Merger between EC plain *-ang and retracted *-rang in certain words.
i. Merger between EC plain *-on and *-un in certain words.

Here is how these features are expressed in CSWW, Proto-Níngdé 寧德 (PND Akitani 2018),[19] Proto-Northern Mín (PNM Sūn 2016):

(50) Wú–Mín cognates that illustrate shared phonological features

[19]Proto-Níngdé is very conservative. Akitani (2018, 712) reckons that it is only five common distinctions short of being equivalent with Proto-Eastern Mín.

	EC	CSWW	PND	PNM
破 ‘break’	’phayh	pʰai⁵	pʰua⁵	pʰuai⁵
蟻 ‘ant’	ngayx	ŋai⁴	ŋia⁶	ŋyai⁴
腡 ‘(finger) whorl’	’ʰloy	lui²	—	suei²
石 ‘stone’	dak	(dž,dz)iauʔ⁸	θiɔʔ⁸	tsio⁸
惜 ‘cherish’	sak	šiauʔ⁷	θiɔʔ⁷	—
掃 ‘sweep’	’suh	suə⁵	θau⁵	seu⁵
草 ‘grass’	’tshux	tsʰuə³	tʃʰau³	(tsʰɑu³)
厚 ‘thick’	’gox	gu⁴	kau⁶	geu⁴
汗 ‘sweat’	’ganh	gɔ̃⁶	kan⁶	guaiŋ⁶
癢 ‘itchy’	yangx	(z,ž)iɔŋ⁴	θiɔŋ⁶	dʑioŋ⁴
蠅 ‘fly (n.)’	ying	siŋ¹	θin²	—
水 ‘water’	θuyx	ʔy³	tʃy³	(sui³)
舂 ‘crush’	θong	ʔioŋ¹	tʃyŋ¹	—
放 ‘put’	pangh	ɓoŋ⁵	puŋ⁵	(pɑŋ⁵)
病 ‘sick’	bangh	bæŋ⁶	paŋ⁶	paŋ⁶
船 ‘boat’	ðon	žyəŋ²	θun²	ʑyŋ²

These features explain many of the doublet variations we see between the colloquial and literary registers of CSWW. To wit:

(51) a. *-ai ⩙ *-o and *-ui ⩙ *-o

b. *-iauʔ ⩙ *-iʔ

c. *-uə ⩙ *-ɔu

d. *g- ⩙ *ɦ-

e. *(z,ž) ⩙ *ɦ-

f. *ʔ- ⩙ *š-

g. *-oŋ ⩙ *-ɔŋ

h. *-æŋ ⩙ *-iŋ

i. *-yəŋ ⩙ *-yẽ

Several more such alternations were linked to Mín in the reconstruction chapters. A longer treatment is required to do them full justice because the work involved is effectively identifying sound correspondences at the level of Common Wú–Mín.

Systematic comparison of Southwestern Wú and Mín basic vocabulary is crucial to the further study of their common origin. Southwestern Wú sometimes preserves archaic Mín-like features of the type described above in cases where they have been displaced in Mín proper. Consider the following set:

(52) *bào* 抱〔效開一上皓並〕 'embrace' **CDC** *bou⁴ / **EC** *ʾbux
CSWW *buə⁴ ≍ *b(ɔ,a)u⁴: **PND** *pɔ⁶; **PNM** #pʰɑu⁶

CSWW preserves the autochthonous reflex of EC pharyngealized *-u, but it has been replaced in Mín by forms that appear to follow the mainstream development of this final. Furthermore, the initials reconstructed from PND and PNM do not agree. PNM points to a voiced aspirated initial. No Proto-Mín form can be established for this word. We are looking at two distinct forms inherited from separate sources as Coblin (2018) argued.

The complex history behind Proto-Mín has not been adequately appreciated in Old Chinese reconstruction. Baxter and Sagart (2014, 124) reconstruct Old Chinese *[m-p]ˤuʔ 抱 'embrace'. The tightly attached *m- prefix is based on their reconstruction of the "Proto-Mín" initial for this word, *bh-, which they can only have derived from comparison of Inland Mín reflexes in isolation. The comparison is spurious. Given the final of 抱 'embrace' in PNM, we can be fairly certain that it is of intrusive origin. If we are to include Mín evidence in the reconstruction of Old Chinese, then it must be derived from rigorous comparative studies of Mín that account for developments in all its branches and consider related comparanda in Wú. There is no shortcut for this work.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

Through this exercise we have learned that the common ancestor of the Southwestern Wú dialects was highly conservative, likely only differentiated from Common Wú by a few sound changes. The most important of these has been confirmed to be the glottalization of pre-CSWW *tš- and *k- in certain environments by way of implosivization. These environments cannot be fully recovered internally on the basis of the CSWW finals system. To recover them, we must broaden the scope of our comparison.

Southwestern Wú is transitional. It is somewhat to Mín as the southernmost Gàn dialects are to Hakka Chinese. There is an undeniable substrate of shared basic vocabulary that links the two, but the further north one travels the thinner this common layer grows until it fades away almost entirely. The "transition problem" posited by Weinreich et al. (1968) seeks to model how languages change from one observed stage to another over time. For our purposes, how did we get from Early Jiāngdōng speech, to the Wú of the Southern Dynasties, to modern Mín and Wú dialects today? The catalyst for the transition between these stages seems to have been predominantly language contact. This spurred on lexical replacement that dramatically altered the vocabulary of the Wú dialects, especially in regions where the contact was most intense, but lexical replacement was by no means the only sort of change that resulted from this contact. As we have seen in the case of Northern Wú, it also motivated regular sound changes.

So when do we expect to see regular sound change versus (neo-)lexical diffusion, i.e. lexical replacement that results in etymological doublets? I suspect that the answer lies in the "constraints problem," i.e. what changes are possible, and the "embedding problem," i.e. how changes are embedded in their structural and social contexts. Certain sound changes, like merger of *ia and *ie in closed syllables, seem to have been particularly contagious and spread widely in the Wú-speaking area. The change was possible, natural given the phonological system of the speakers who made it, and socially desirable because it accommodates other speakers who did not make the distinction. Lexical replacement was unnecessary to make the adjustment. Other sound changes like dentilabialization and shift of the *shéshàng* stop initials to affricates could not spread naturally, probably because the original conditional environments that produced them had already been destroyed—both in early Wú dialects and in the northern speech types that were introduced to the area. These changes were not possible, so the only remedy was to borrow new forms as replacements.

Stratal analysis has its merits in studying Chinese historical phonology, but it is fundamentally an external form of analysis. It has no provisions to recover internal developments in the dialects it is applied to and therefore cannot fully model the transition between historical stages of Chinese language. The comparative method is an internally focused method. It seeks to recon-

struct a uniform ancestral system by aggregating the phonemic contrasts of its daughters. It is useful not only for understanding internal developments in Chinese dialects, but also for determining which of these developments were shared among daughters. It is an indispensable tool for language classification. It is unfortunate that even to this day it is still confused with Karlgren's method of reconstructing Ancient Chinese, which tells us none of these things.

The reconstruction I have provided here is imperfect. It probably overestimates the amount of stylistic doublets that actually existed in the ancestor of the Southwestern Wú dialects. But I hope that it nonetheless proves a useful foundation for continuing comparative work on Wú and Mín Chinese. As our methods for studying phonological and lexical transition in Chinese historical linguistics improve, so too will our appreciation of the rich history of these languages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 1999. “Yě tán Wúyǔ Chǔzhōu fāngyán zhōng de Mǐnyǔ chéngfèn” 也談吳語處衢方言中的閩語成份. *Yǔyán yánjiū*, no. 1: 114–20.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2001. *Wúyǔ Jiāngshān Guǎngfēng fāngyán yánjiū* 吳語江山廣豐方言研究. Ehime daigaku sōgō seisaku kenkyū.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2003a. *Wúyǔ Chùqú fāngyán (xīběipiàn) gǔyīn gòunǐ* 吳語處衢方言（西北片）古音構擬. Kōbun Shuppan.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2003b. *Wúyǔ chùqú fāngyán yīnyùnshǐ lùnjí* 吳語處衢方言音韻史論集. “Gogo shogū hōgen gunsogo no saiken” Heisei 13-14 nendo kagaku kenkyūhi hojojin. Kiban kenkyū (C)(2) kadai bangō 13610539 kenkyū seika hōkokusho.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2003c. “Wúyǔ de shēnzhēnshè kāikǒu sānděng zì hé zēnggěngshè kāikǒu sānsìděng zì” 吳語的深臻攝開口三等字和曾梗攝開口三四等字. *Wúyǔ yánjiū: Dìèrjiè guójì Wú fāngyán xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí*, 9–14.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2005. “Zhèjīang Tàishùn xiàn Xīnshān fāngyán de yīnyùn tèdiǎn jíqí guīshǔ” 浙江泰順縣新山方言的音韻特點及其歸屬. In *Wúyǔ yánjiū: Dì sānjiè guójì Wú fāngyán xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí*, vol. 1, 1. Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2011. “Wúyǔ Ōujiāng piàn de yīnyùn tèdiǎn jíqí fēnqū” 吳語甌江片的音韻特點及其分區. *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics* 5 (1): 5–23.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2014. “Wúyǔ gèpiàn zhījiān de pǔxì guānxi” 吳語個片之間的譜系關係. Paper presented at The 14th International Symposium on Chinese Languages and Linguistics (IsCLL-14).

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2017. *Zhōngyuán Guānhuà Fénhén piàn yīnyùnshǐ yánjiū* 中原官話汾河片音韻史研究. Kobe shigai daigaku Gakujutsu jōhō ripojitori. https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/2292.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2018. *Mǐndōngqū Níngdé fāngyán yīnyùnshǐ yánjiū* 閩東區寧德方言音韻史研究. "Yǔyán jí yǔyánxué" zhuānkān xìliè 60. Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸. 2021. "Fújiàn Guānqián fāngyán tóngyīn zìhuì" 福建浦城觀前方言同音字彙. *Fāngyán*, no. 1: 100–117.

Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸, and Zev Handel 韓哲夫. 2012. "Lishi bijiaofa he cengci fenxifa" 歷史比較法和層次分析法. *Yǔyánxué lùncóng* 45: 277–335.

Archangeli, D. B. 1999. "Introducing Optimality Theory." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1): 531–52. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.28.1.531.

Arisaka Hideyo 有坂秀世. (1936) 1957. "Zuidai no Shinahōgen" 隋代の支那方言. In *Kokugo on'inshi no kenkyū*. Sanseidō. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/2482672/1/150.

Baker, Adam, Jeff Mielke, and Diana Archangeli. 2008. "More Velar than /G/: Consonant Coarticulation as a Cause of Diphthongization." In *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, edited by Charles B. Chang and Hannah J. Haynie. Cascadilla Proceedings Project. https://www.lingref.com/cpp/wccfl/26/abstract1656.html.

Ballard, William. 1969. "Phonological History of Wu." Phd Dissertation, UC Berkeley.

Ballard, William. 1980. "On some aspects of Wu tone sandhi." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 19: 83–163.

Ballard, William. 1988. *The History and Development of Tonal Systems and Tone Alternations in South China.* Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia & Africa Monograph Series ; No. 22 22. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Barker, Muriel A., and Milton E. Barker. 1970. "Proto-Vietnamuong (Annamuong) Final Consonants and Vowels." *Lingua* 24 (January): 268–85. https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841(70)90081-1.

Baxter, William H. 1977. *Old Chinese Origins of the Middle Chinese Chongniu Doublets: A Study Using Multiple Character Readings.* Cornell University.

Baxter, William H. 1992. *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs [TiLSM] 64. De Gruyter Mouton.

Baxter, William H., and Laurent Sagart. 2014. *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford University

Press.

Berman, Lex. 2017. "V6 Time Series County Points." Version 1.0. Harvard Dataverse. 690761, 544402, 2323, 525543, 525242, 544703. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/Q9VOF5.

Bielenstein, Hans. 1959. "The Chinese Colonization of Fukien until the End of the Táng." In *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*. Munksgaard.

Blench, Roger. 2018. "Tai-Kadai and Austronesian Are Related at Multiple Levels and Their Archaeological Interpretation." *Unpublished Draft*.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1925. "On the Sound-System of Central Algonquian." *Language* 1 (4): 130–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/409540.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Campbell, Lyle. 1973. "On Glottalic Consonants." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 39 (1): 44–46.

Cao, Jianfeng, and Ian Maddieson. 1992. "An Exploration of Phonation Types in Wu Dialects of Chinese." *Journal of Phonetics* 20 (1): 77–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0095-4470(19)30255-4.

Cáo Zhìyún 曹志耘. 1996. *Yánzhōu fāngyán yánjiū* 嚴州方言研究. Chūgokugo kenkyū kaihen tankan 7. Kōbun shuppan.

Cáo Zhìyún 曹志耘. 2002. *Nánbù Wúyǔ yǔyīn yánjiū* 南部吳語語音研究. Shāngwù shūguǎn.

Cáo Zhìyún 曹志耘, Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸, Huáng Xiǎodōng 黃曉東, et al. 2016. *Wúyǔ wùzhōu fāngyán yánjiū* 吳語婺州方言研究. Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn.

Cáo Zhìyún 曹志耘, Akitani Hiroyuki 秋谷裕幸, Ōta Itsuku 太田斎, and Zhào Rìxīn 趙日新. 2000. *Wúyǔ chùqú fāngyán yánjiū* 吳語處衢方言研究. Chūgokugo kenkyū kaihen tankan 12. Kōbun shuppan.

Chang, Kun. 1971. "Wenchow Historical Phonology." *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology* 32: 13–78.

Chao, Yuen-Ren. 1967. "Contrastive Aspects of the Wu Dialects." *Language* 43 (1): 92–101. https://doi.org/10.2307/411386.

Chao Yuen-Ren 趙元任. 1928. *Studies in Modern Wu-Dialects* 現代吳語的研究. Monograph 4. Tsing Hua College Research Institute. https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:

NLC416-09jh004471-40302_%E7%8F%BE%E4%BB%A3%E5%90%B3%E8%AA%9E%E7%9A%84%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6.pdf.

Chéng Cháo 程朝. 2019. "Wúyǔ Sōngyáng Yùyán fāngán yǔyīn cíhuì yánjiū" 吳語松陽玉岩方言語音詞彙研究. PhD Dissertation, Hángzhōu shīfàn dàxué.

Chen, Jonas Chung-yu. 2008. "Sea Nomads in Prehistory on the Southeast Coast of China." *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 22 (0): 51–54. https://doi.org/10.7152/bippa.v22i0.11805.

Chen, Matthew Y., and William S.-Y. Wang. 1975. "Sound Change: Actuation and Implementation." *Language* 51 (2): 255. https://doi.org/10.2307/412854.

Chén Yínkè 陳寅恪. 1936. "Dōng Jìn Nánchāo zhī Wúyǔ" 東晉南朝之吳語. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 7 (1): 1–4.

Chén Zhōngmín 陳忠敏. 2013. "Yě tán lìshǐ bǐjiàofǎ yǔ lìshǐ céngcì fēnxīfǎ" 也談歷史比較法與歷史層次分析法. *Yǔyánxué lùncóng* 47: 35–69.

Chittick, Andrew. 2020. *The Jiankang Empire in Chinese and World History*. Oxford Studies in Early Empires. Oxford University Press.

Coblin, W. South. 1990. "Notes on Sanghabhara's Mahamayuri Transcriptions." *Cahiers de Linguistique - Asie Orientale* 19 (2): 195–251. https://doi.org/10.3406/clao.1990.1329.

Coblin, W. South. 1991a. "Studies in Old Northwest Chinese." *Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series*, no. 4: i-134. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23825495.

Coblin, W. South. 1991b. "Thoughts on Dentilabialization in the Tang-Time Dialects of Shazhou." *T'oung Pao* 77 (1): 88–107. https://doi.org/10.1163/156853291X00136.

Coblin, W. South. 1993. "BTD Revisited: A Reconsideration of the Han Buddhist Transcriptional Dialect." *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica* 63 (4): 867–943. https://www.academia.edu/11345747/.

Coblin, W. South. 2002. "Migration History and Dialect Development in the Lower Yangtze Watershed." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 65 (3): 529–43. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4146032.

Coblin, W. South. 2004. "Towards a Common Jiāng-Huái Sound System." In *Studies on Sino-Tibetan*

Lanugages - Papers in Honor of Professor Hwang-Cherng Gong on His Seventieth Birthday. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series W 4. Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Coblin, W. South. 2005. *Comparative Phonology of the Huáng-Xiào Dialects*. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series A13. Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Coblin, W. South. 2007a. *A Handbook of 'Phags-Pa Chinese*. ABC Chinese Dictionary Series. University of Hawai'i Press.

Coblin, W. South. 2007b. "Comparative Phonology of the Huīzhōu Dialects." *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics* 2 (1): 47–136.

Coblin, W. South. 2008. "Comparative Phonology of the Yánzhōu Dialects." *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics* 3 (1): 79–143. https://doi.org/10.1163/2405478X-90000048.

Coblin, W. South. 2010. "The Phonology of Commmon Yangtze Watershed Mandarin." In *Studies in Honor of Jerry Norman*. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press. https://www.academia.edu/9121257/The_Phonology_of_Commmon_Yangtze_Watershed_Mandarin.

Coblin, W. South. 2015. *A Study of Comparative Gàn*. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series 58. Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Coblin, W. South. 2018. *Convergence as a Factor in the Formation of a Controversial Common Mǐn Phonological Configuration (Revised Version)*. 21: 79–122. https://www.academia.edu/38537055.

Coblin, W. South. 2022. "A Problem in the Application of the Comparative Method to the Reconstruction of Earlier Forms of Chinese." *Zhōngguó Yǔyánxué Jíkān* 15 (December): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.30184/BCL.202212_15.0001.

Dài Zhāomíng 戴昭銘. 2006. *Tiāntāi fāngyán yánjiū* 天台方言研究. Zhōnghuá shūjú.

Dempwolff, Otto. 1938. *Austronesisches wörterverzeichnis*. III. Vergleichende lautlehre des austronesischen wortschatzes. Reimer.

Egerod, Søren. 1976. "Tonal Splits in Min." *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 4 (1): 108–12.

Egerod, Søren. 1982. "How Not to Split Tones—the Chaozhou Case." *Fāngyán*, no. 3: 169–73.

Flemming, Edward. 2003. "The Relationship between Coronal Place and Vowel Backness." *Phonology* 20 (3): 335–73. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0952675704000041.

Fox, Anthony. 1995. *Linguistic Reconstruction: An Introduction to Theory and Method*. Oxford Univer-

sity Press, USA.

Fú Guótōng 傅國通, Cài Yǒngfēi 蔡勇飛, Bào Shìjié 鮑士傑, Fāng Sōngxī 方松熹, Fú Zuǒzhī 傅佐之, and Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳. 1986. "Wúyǔ de fēnqū (gǎo)" 吳語的分區（稿）. *Fāngyán*, no. 1: 1–7.

Fujita Takumi 藤田拓海. 2017. "Riku Hōgen 'Setsu-in' kenkyū" 陸法言『切韻』研究. PhD Dissertation, Nishōgakusha University.

Gehrmann, Ryan. 2022. "Desegmentalization: Towards a Common Framework for the Modeling of Tonogenesis and Registrogenesis in Mainland Southeast Asia with Case Studies from Austroasiatic." *PhD Thesis*, January 1. https://www.academia.edu/78497504/.

Gě Jiànxióng 葛劍雄. 2002. *Zhōngguó rénkǒushǐ* 中國人口史. Edited by Gě Jiànxióng 葛劍雄. Vol. 1. Fùdàn dàxué chūbǎnshè.

Gě Jiànxióng 葛劍雄, Cáo Shùjī 曹樹基, and Wú Sōngdì 吳松弟. 1997. *Zhōngguó yímǐnshǐ* 中國移民史. Vol. 2. Fújiàn rénmín chūbǎnshè.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1970. "Some Generalizations Concerning Glottalic Consonants, Especially Implosives." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 36 (2): 123–45. https://doi.org/10.1086/465105.

Hamann, Silke. 2003. *The Phonetics and Phonology of Retroflexes*. LOT 75. LOT.

Handel, Zev 韓哲夫. 2015. "Huiying Chen Zhongmin duiyu 'Lishi bijiaofa he cengci fenxifa' de huiying" 回應陳忠敏對於《歷史比較法和層次分析法》的回應. *Yuyanxue luncong* 51: 331–39.

Hirata Shōji 平田昌司, Zhào Rìxīn 趙日新, Liú Dānqīng 劉丹青, Féng Àizhēn 馮愛珍, Kizu Yūko 木津祐子, and Mizoguchi Masato 溝口正人. 1998. *Huīzhōu fāngán yānjiū* 徽州方言研究. Chūgokugo kenkyū kaihen tankan 9. Kōbun shuppan.

Hirayama Hisao 平山久雄. 2018. *Dūnhuáng "Máo Shī yīn" yīnyùn yánjiū* 敦煌《毛詩音》音韻研究. Kaihen tankan 17. Kōbun shuppan.

Jiǎng Bīngbīng 蔣冰冰. 2003. *Wúyǔ Xuānzhōu fāngyán yīnyùn yánjiū* 吳語宣州方言音韻研究. Huádōng shīfàn dàxué chūbǎnshè.

Jiǎng Chuídōng 蔣垂東, and Jiǎng Yùtíng 蔣彧婷. 2004. "Fukken shō Hosei hōgen no kihon

goi (sono ichi)" 福建浦城方言の基礎語彙（その一）. *Gengo to bunka* 16 (March): 19–45. https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1050845762955301888.

Jiǎng Chuídōng 蔣垂東, and Jiǎng Yùtíng 蔣彧婷. 2005. "Fukken shō Hosei hōgen no kihon goi (sono ni)" 福建浦城方言の基礎語彙（その二）. *Gengo to Bunka* 17 (March): 67–92. https://bunkyo.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/549.

Jīn Yǒujǐng 金有景. 1961. "Jiāngxī Guǎngfēnghuà xiàoshè zì de dúyīn" 江西廣豐話效攝字的讀音. *Zhōnguó yǔwén*, no. 10: 97.

Karlgren, Bernhard. 1919. *Etude Sur La Phonologie Chinoise*. Appelberg.

Karlgren, Bernhard. 1954. "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese." *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 26: 211–368.

Kehrein, Wolfgang. 2013. *Phonological Representation and Phonetic Phasing: Affricates and Laryngeals*. In *Phonological Representation and Phonetic Phasing*. De Gruyter. https://www.degruyter.com/view/title/21099.

Labov, William. 1981. "Resolving the Neogrammarian Controversy." *Language* 57 (2): 267–308. https://doi.org/10.2307/413692.

Labov, William. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. 1. Language in Society 20. Blackwell.

Labov, William. 2020. "The Regularity of Regular Sound Change." *Language* 96 (1): 42–59. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2020.0001.

Labov, William, Mark Karen, and Corey Miller. 1991. "Near-Mergers and the Suspension of Phonemic Contrast." *Language Variation and Change* 3 (1): 33–74. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954394500000442.

Ladefoged, Peter, and Ian Maddieson. 1996. *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Phonological Theory. Blackwell.

Lǐ Huī 李輝. 2001a. "Shànghǎi Mǎqiáohuà de Táiyǔ dǐcéng cíhuì" 上海馬橋話的台語底層詞彙. In *Qióng Tái shǎoshù mínzú xuéshù wénhuà jiāoliú yántǎohuì lùnwénjì*. Haikou.

Lín Bèishān 林貝珊. 2013. "Wúyǔ chùqú fāngyán yùnmǔ de lìshǐ céngcì" 吳語處衢方言韻母的歷史層次. Phd Dissertation. http://tdr.lib.ntu.edu.tw/jspui/handle/123456789/5871.

Lín Bèishān 林貝珊. 2018. "Wúyǔ chùqú fāngyán zhōnggǔ shānshè zìqún de lìshǐ yīnyùn xīcéng nǐcè" 吳語處衢方言中古山攝字群的歷史音韻析層擬測. *Hànxué yánjiū* 36 (3): 29–56.

Lín Yǔtáng 林語堂. 1933. “Chén Sòng Huái Chǔ gē hán duìzhǔan kǎo” 陳宋淮楚歌寒對轉考. *Guólì zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lìshǐyǔyánxué yánjiūsuǒ jíkān* wàibiān (Qìngzhù Cái Yuánpéi xiānshēng liùshíwǔ suì lùnwénjí): 425–28.

Lǐ Rúlóng 李如龍. 2001b. *Fújiàn xiànshì fāngyánzhì 12 zhǒng* 福建縣市方言志12種. Fújiàn jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: The « Organic » Approach to Linguistic Comparison*. Institute For The Study Of Human Studies [Philadelphia, Pa.]. Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibetan-Burman Linguistics 6. Institute for the study of human issues.

Matisoff, James A. 2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*. Univ of California Press.

Matsue Takashi 松江崇. 2013. “Old Chinese Dialects According to Fangyan.” *Dialectologia, Special Issue*, no. 4: 181–97.

McCoy, John. 1966. *Szeyap Data for a First Approximation of Proto-Cantonese*. Cornell University.

Nguyễn, Phú Phong. 1996. “The Nguon Language of Quang Binh, Vietnam.” *Mon-Khmer Studies* 26: 179–90.

Norman, Jerry. 1969. *The Kienyang Dialect of Fukien*. University of California, Berkeley.

Norman, Jerry. 1973. “Tonal Development in Min.” *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1 (2): 222–38.

Norman, Jerry. 1974. “The Initials of Proto-Min.” *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 27–36.

Norman, Jerry. 1981. “The Proto-Min Finals.” *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography* (Taipei), 27–73.

Norman, Jerry. 1983. “Some Ancient Chinese Dialect Words in the Min Dialects.” *Fāngyán*, no. 3: 202–11.

Norman, Jerry. 1984. “Three Min etymologies.” *Cahiers de linguistique - Asie orientale* 13 (2): 175–89. https://doi.org/10.3406/clao.1984.1155.

Norman, Jerry. 1987. “Notes on the Pǔchéng Dialect.” In *Wang Li Memorial Volumes*. Joint Publishing Company.

Norman, Jerry. 1988. *Chinese*. Cambridge Language Surveys. Cambridge University Press.

Norman, Jerry. 1990. “Jiāngshān fāngán zhōng lèisì Mǐnyǔ de chéngfèn” 江山方言中類似閩語的成份. *Fāngyán*, no. 4: 245–48.

Norman, Jerry. 1994. “Pharyngealization in Early Chinese.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (3): 397–408. https://doi.org/10.2307/605083.

Norman, Jerry. 1999. “Vocalism in Chinese Dialect Classification.” *Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series*, no. 15: 193–203. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23825680.

Norman, Jerry. 2006. “Common Dialectal Chinese.” In *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, edited by David Prager Branner, vol. 271, 271. John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.271.16nor.

Norman, Jerry. 2012a. “Common Min Finals (White Pages).” Unpublished.

Norman, Jerry. 2012b. “Common Min Initials (Yellow Pages).” Unpublished.

Norman, Jerry. 2012c. “Early Chinese and Common Dialectal Chinese.” Unpublished. W. South Coblin.

Norman, Jerry, and W. South Coblin. 1995. “A New Approach to Chinese Historical Linguistics.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (4): 576. https://doi.org/10.2307/604728.

Norman, Jerry, and Tsu-lin Mei. 1976. “The Austroasiatics in Ancient South China: Some Lexical Evidence.” *Monumenta Serica* 32 (1): 274–301. https://doi.org/10.1080/02549948.1976.11731121.

Norquest, Peter K. 2020. “A Hypothesis on the Origin of Preglottalized Sonorants in Kra-Dai.” West Coast Conference in Formal Linguistics 38, Vancouver, March 8.

O’Connor, Kevin A. 1976. “Proto-Hakka.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 11: 1–64.

Pān Wùyún 潘悟云. 1995. “‘Nān’ suǒ fǎnyìng de Wúyǔ lìshǐ céngcì” “囡”所反映的吳語歷史層次. *Yǔyánxué yánjiū*, no. 1: 146–55.

Pān Wùyún 潘悟云, Shàngfāng Zhèngzhāng, Yóu Rǔjié 游汝杰, and Lien Chinfa. 1991. “An Introduction to the Wu Dialects.” *Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series*, no. 3: 235–91. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23827040.

Pittayaporn, Pittayawat. 2009. “The Phonology of Proto-Tai.” Phd Dissertation, Cornell University.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. 1979. “Some Examples of Colloquial Pronunciations from the Southern Liang Dynasty.” In *Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift Für Herbert Franke*. Wiesbaden.

Purnell, Herbert. 1970. “Toward a Reconstruction of Proto-Miao-Yao.” Phd Dissertation, Cornell University.

Qián Nǎiróng 錢乃榮. 2016. “Gǔ Wúyǔ de gòunǐ” 古吳語的構擬. In *Qián Nǎiróng yǔyánxué lùnwénjí*. Shànghǎi dàxué chūbǎnshè.

Rau, Felix, and Paul Sidwell. 2019. *The Munda Maritime Hypothesis*. September 12. http://hdl.handle.net/10524/52454.

Rose, Phil. 2011. “Reverse-Engineering Tones and Tone Sandhi in Wenzhou Dialect: Between-Speaker Differences and Historical Development.” *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics* 5 (2): 29–48.

Rose, Phil. 2021. “Tone and Phonation Type in Wu Dialects.” Unpublished book chapter. https://philjohnrose.net/pubs/Tone_pubs/Rose%20papers_on_TONE/Rose_2021_WU_TONATION_v6.pdf.

Sagart, Laurent. 2008. “The Expansion of Setaria Farmers in East Asia.” In *” Past Human Migrations in East Asia: Matching Archaeology, Linguistics and Genetics*. https://www.academia.edu/3077307/.

Sagart, Laurent. 2011. “The Austroasiatics: East to West or West to East?” In *Dynamics of Human Diversity: The Case of Mainland Southeast Asia*, edited by N. J. Enfield. Wenner-Gren International Symposium Series. Pacific Linguistics.

Sarawit, Mary Elizabeth Sautter. 1973. “The Proto-Tai Vowel System.” Phd Dissertation, University of Michigan. http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/handle/2027.42/157285.

Schuessler, Axel. 2009. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*. University of hawaii Press.

Shen, Ruiqing. 2021. “Interaction between Min and Other Sinitic Languages: Genetic Inheritance and Areal Patterns.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Chinese Language Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-6844-8_33-1.

Shěn Ruìqīng 沈瑞清. 2023. “Gēkāisān rù wēi: Gǔ fāngyán chuàngxīn yǔ zǎoqī Wú Mǐn yǔ guānxi” 歌開三入微一古方言創新與早期吳閩語關係. *Zhōnguó yǔyánxué jíkān* 16 (1): 25–40.

https://doi.org/10.30184/BCL.202306_16(1).0003.

Shěn Ruìqīng 沈瑞清. 2025. "Rethinking the History of Min Chinese: Integrating Linguistics and Archaeological Evidence." Invited talk. Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, February 5.

Shen, Zhongwei. 2020. *A Phonological History of Chinese*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316476925.

Shī Jùn 施俊. 2020. *Nánbù Wúyǔ yùnmǔ céngcì bǐjiào yánjiū* 南部吳語韻母層次比較研究. Zhèjiāng dàxué chūbǎnshè.

Simmons, Richard VanNess. 1999. *Chinese Dialect Classification: A Comparative Approach to Harngjou, Old Jintarn, and Common Northern Wu*. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 188. John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.188.

Simmons, Richard VanNess. 2006. "Common Dialect Phonology in Practice —Y.R. Chao's Field Methodology." In *The Chinese Rime Tables: Linguistic Philosophy and Historical-Comparative Phonology*, edited by David Prager Branner. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, v. 271. J. Benjamins Pub.

Simmons, Richard VanNess. 2010. "The Affiliation of the Yánzhōu Dialects from the Perspective of Common Dialectal Chinese." In *Studies in Honor of Jerry Norman*. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press. https://www.academia.edu/9121257/.

Simmons, Richard VanNess, Shí Rǔjié 石汝杰, and Gù Qián 顧黔. 2006. *Jiānghuái guānhuà yǔ Wúyǔ biānjiè de fāngyán dìlǐxué yánjiū* 江淮官話與吳語邊界的方言地理學研究. Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Starostin, Sergej Anatoljevich. 1989. *Реконструкция древнекитайской фонологической системы*. " Наука," Глав. ред. восточной лит-ры.

Starostin, Sergej Anatoljevich. (1989) 2010. *Gǔdàihànyǔ yīnxì de gòunǐ* 古代漢語音系的構擬. Translated by Hǎiyīng Lín and Chōng Wáng. Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Steed, William. 2010. "Lishui Wu Tone and Tone Sandhi—an Acoustically-Based Description." PhD Dissertation, The Australian National University.

Steed, William, and Phil Rose. 2009. "Same Tone, Different Category: Linguistic-Tonetic Vari-

ation in the Areal Tone Acoustics of Chuqu Wu." *Interspeech 2009*, September 6, 2295–98. https://doi.org/10.21437/Interspeech.2009-650.

Streeter, Mary L. 1972. "DOC, 1971: A Chinese Dialect Dictionary on Computer." *Computers and the Humanities* 6 (5): 259–70. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02404242.

Sūn Shùn 孫順. 2016. "Yuánshǐ Mǐnběiyǔ de chóngxīn gòunǐ" 原始閩北語的重新構擬. PhD Dissertation, Peking University.

Thompson, Laurence C. 1976. "Proto-Viet-Muong Phonology." *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications*, no. 13: 1113–203. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20019198.

Ting Pang-hsin 丁邦新. 1972. "Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period: Reconstruction of the Finals as Reflected in Poetry." Phd Dissertation, University of Washington.

Ting Pang-hsin 丁邦新. 1988. "Wúyǔ zhōng de Mǐnyǔ chéngfèn" 吳語中的閩語成分. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 59 (1): 13–22.

Tsuji Nobuhisa 辻伸久. 1977. "Eight Yue Dialects in Guangxi Province, China and Reconstruction of Proto-Yue Phonology." Ph.D., Cornell University. http://search.proquest.com/docview/302806654/citation/C5F3ABF2018B478FPQ/1.

Vossen, Rainer von. 1982. *The Eastern Nilotes: Linguistic History and Reconstructions*. Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Wáng Wénshèng 王文勝. 2008. *Chǔzhōu fāngyán de dìlǐ yǔyánxué yánjiū* 處州方言的地理語言學研究. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxué chūbǎnshè.

Wáng Wénshèng 王文勝. 2012. *Wúyǔ Chǔzhōu fāngyán de dìlǐ bǐjiào* 吳語處州方言的地理比較. Zhèjiāng dàxué chūbǎnshè.

Wáng Wénshèng 王文勝. 2015. *Wúyǔ Chǔqú fāngyán de lìshǐ bǐjiào* 吳語處州方言的歷史比較. Zhōngguó shèhuìkēxué chūbǎnshè.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1954. "Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?" *Word* 10 (2–3): 388–400. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1954.11659535.

Weinreich, Uriel. (1953) 1979. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110802177.

Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov, and Marvin Herzog. 1968. "Empirical Foundations for a Theory

of Language Change." In *Directions for Historical Linguistics: A Symposium*, by W. P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel. University of Texas Press.

Wells, John C. 1982. *Accents of English*. 3. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511611759.

Würm, Stephen A., Lǐ Róng 李榮, and Theo Baumann. 1987. 中國語言地圖集 Language atlas of China. Australian Acad. of the Humanities; Longman Group (Far East).

Wú Sōngdì 吳松弟. 1997a. *Liáo Sòng Jīn Yuán shíqī* 遼宋金元時期. Vol. 4 of *Zhōngguó yímín shǐ* 中國移民史. Fújiàn rénmín chūbǎnshè.

Wú Sōngdì 吳松弟. 1997b. *Suí Táng Wǔdài shíqī* 隋唐五代時期. Vol. 3 of *Zhōngguó yímín shǐ* 中國移民史. Fújiàn rénmín chūbǎnshè.

Wú Yuè 吳越, and Lóu Xīngjuān 樓興娟. 2012. *Jìnyún fāngyán zhì* 縉雲方言志. Bǐjiào yǔyánxué cóngshū. Zhōngxī shūjú.

Yang, Cathryn, Pittayawat Pittayaporn, and James Kirby. 2025. "Recurring Patterns in Tone (Chain) Shift." *Linguistics Vanguard* 11 (1): 217. https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2024-0028.

Yóu Rǔjié 游汝杰. 2018. *Wúyǔ fāngyán xué* 吳語方言學. Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Yue-Hashimoto Anne 余靄芹. 1976. "Southern Chinese Dialects —the Tai Connection." *Ajia-Afurikago No Keisū Kenkyū* 6: 1–9.

Yu, Zhiqiang. 1996. "The Wu Dialects as a Problem in Classification." Ph.D., University of Washington. https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/304324765/abstract/3EA0724306234C1APQ/1.

Zēng Nányì 曾南逸, Shěn Ruìqīng 沈瑞清, and Lín Nuòzhōu 林諾舟. 2024. "Lùn Mǐnyǔ 'cuò' běnzì wéi 'shè'" 論閩語"厝"本字爲"舍". *Zhōngguó yǔwén*, no. 2: 207–15.

Zhān Bóhuì 詹伯慧, and Cheung Yat-shing 張日昇. 1987a. *Zhūjiāng sānjiǎozhōu fāngyán cíhuì duìzhào* 珠江三角洲方言詞匯對照. Guǎngdōng Rénmīn Chūbǎnshè.

Zhān Bóhuì 詹伯慧, and Cheung Yat-shing 張日昇. 1987b. *Zhūjiāng sānjiǎozhōu fāngyán zìyīn duìzhào* 珠江三角洲方言字音對照. Guǎngdōng rénmīn chūbǎnshè.

Zhèng Wěi 鄭偉. 2013. *Wú fāngyán bǐjiào yùnmǔ yánjiū* 吳方言比較韻母研究. Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn.

Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳. 1986. “Wǎnnán fāngyán de fēnqū (gǎo)” 皖南方言的分區（稿）. *Fāngyán*, no. 1: 8–18.

Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳. 1988. “Zhènán hé Shànghǎi fāngyán zhōng de jǐnhóu zhuósèyīn shēngmǔ ʔb, ʔd chūtàn” 浙南和上海方言中的緊喉濁塞音聲母ʔb、ʔd初探. In *Wúyǔ lùncóng*. Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳. 1995. “Zhè xīnán fāngyán de tɕ shēngmǔ tuōluò xiànxiàng” 浙西南方言的tɕ聲母脫落現象. In *Wúyǔ hé Mǐnyǔ de bǐjiào yánjiū*. Zhōngguó dōngán fāngyán bǐjiào yánjiū cóngshū 1. Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè.

Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳. 2008. *Wēnzhōu fāngyán zhì* 溫州方言志. Zhōnghuá shūjú.

Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ 中國社會科學院語言研究所. 2011. *Fāngyán diàochá zìbiǎo* 方言調查字表. 商務印書館.

2012. *Hànyǔ fāngyán juàn* 漢語方言卷. 2nd ed. Edited by Zhènghuī Xióng and Zhènxīng Zhāng. *Zhōngguó yǔyán dìtújí* 中國語言地圖集. Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn.

2019. *Phoible 2.0*. Edited by Steven Moran and Daniel McCloy. Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History. https://phoible.org/.

Appendix A

THE DATA

This appendix lists all the cognate sets used in reconstructing Common Southwestern Wú, including those not directly mentioned in the main text. All sets that can be uncontroversially associated with a Chinese character are listed in the order of the *Fāngyán diàochá zìbiǎo* 方言調查字表 in their respective *shè* 攝. The remaining sets are listed by English concepts and arranged in alphabetical order. These sets involve etyma that either cannot be related to the written tradition uncontroversially, can only be related to an obscure character that is not listed in *Fāngyán diàochá zìbiǎo*, or have been newly related to a character in this study.

A.1 Guǒshè 果攝

1 *duō* 多〔果開一平歌端〕 'many' **CDC** *to¹ / **EC** *'tay

CSWW *ɗəi¹ [1] ≍ *ɗo¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗo¹: **Ly** tu¹; **Jh** tuɤ¹ [1] ≍ to¹ [2]; **Pj** tɯ¹; **Dy** tʊ¹; **Yk** ʔduə¹; **Wy** luo¹

CLS *ɗəi¹ 幾～ 'how many' ≍ *ɗo¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** lai¹ [白]; **Qy** ʔdai¹

b. **Sc** ʔdu¹; **Sy** ʔdu¹; **Lq** ʔdəu¹; **Yh** ʔdu¹; **Pc** luo¹; **Qy** ʔdo¹ [2]

CSS *təi¹ 'clf. for indefinite amount' ≍ *to¹

2 *tuō* 拖〔果開一平歌透〕 'drag, pull' **CDC** *tho¹ / **EC** *'thay

CSWW *tʰai¹ [1] *F* ≍ *tʰo¹ [2] *B*

CJQ *tʰa¹ ≍ *tʰo¹

a. **Ly** tʰɑ¹; **Jh** tʰɑ¹ [1]; **Pj** tʰɑ¹; **Dy** tʰɑ¹ [1]; **Yk** tiɑ¹ [1]; **Wy** tʰia¹ [1]

b. **Ly** tʰu¹; **Jh** tʰuɤ¹ [2]; **Pj** tʰɯ¹; **Dy** tʰʊ¹ [2]; **Yk** tʰuə¹ [2]; **Wy** tʰuo¹ [2]

CLS *tʰai¹ ≍ *tʰo¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** tʰa¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰɑ¹ [1]; **Pc** tʰai¹ [白]; **Qy** tʰɑ¹ [1]

b. **Sc** tʰu¹; **Sy** tʰu¹ [2]; **Lq** tʰəu¹; **Yh** tʰu¹ [2]; **Pc** tʰuo¹ [文]; **Qy** tʰo¹ [2]

CSS *tʰɑi¹ ≍ #tʰo¹

a. **Kh** tʰɛ¹ [1]; **Cs** tʰɛ¹ [1]; **Js** tʰæ¹ [1]; **Ys** tʰai¹ [1]; **Gf** tʰa¹ [1]

b. **Kh** tʰo¹ [2]; **Cs** tʰo¹ [2]; **Js** tʰo²⁴ [2]; **Ys** tʰo¹ [2]; **Gf** tʰo¹ [2]

3 *dà* 大〔廣韻：果開一去箇定〕 ‘big’ **CDC** *da⁶ / **EC** *’dayh

CSWW *do⁶ *F*

CJQ *do⁶: **Ly** du⁶; **Jh** duɤ⁶ [1]; **Pj** duɯ⁶; **Dy** dʊ⁶ [1]; **Yk** duə⁶ [1]; **Wy** duo⁶ [1]

CLS *do⁶: **Sc** du⁶; **Sy** du⁶; **Lq** dəu⁶; **Yh** du⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** to⁶ [1]

CSS *do⁶

4 *luó* 籮〔果開一平歌來〕 ‘basket’ **CDC** *lo² / **EC** *’lay

CSWW *lai² [1] ⪤ *lo² [2]

CJQ *la² ⪤ *lo²

a. **Ly** lɑ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɑ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** lia⁻³¹ [1] 槽～

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** luɤ²; **Pj** lɯ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** luə²; **Wy** luo² [2]

CLS *lai² ⪤ *lo²

a. **Sc** la²; **Sy** la²; **Lq** la²; **Yh** lɑ² [1]; **Pc** lai²; **Qy** lɑ² [1] ～簍 ‘large basket’

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu² [2]; **Pc** luo²; **Qy** lo² [2] ～頭兒 ‘small basket’

CSS *lɑi² ⪤ #lo²

a. **Kh** lɛ² [1] ⪤ lɛ⁶ [2]; **Cs** lɛ²; **Js** læ²; **Ys** lai²; **Gf** la² [1]

b. **Kh** lo² [3]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** lo² [2]

5 *cuō* 搓〔果開一平歌清〕 ‘rub’ **CDC** *tsho¹ / **EC** *’tshay

CSWW *tsʰo¹

CJQ *tsʰo¹: **Ly** tsʰu¹; **Jh** tsʰuɤ¹; **Pj** tsʰuɯ¹ ⪤ tsʰɑ¹; **Dy** tsʰʊ¹; **Yk** tsʰuə¹; **Wy** tsʰuo¹

CLS *tsʰo¹: **Sc** tsʰu¹; **Sy** tsʰu¹; **Lq** tsʰəu¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsʰuo¹; **Qy** tsʰo¹

CSS *tsʰo¹

6 *gē* 歌〔果開一平歌見〕 ‘song’ **CDC** *ko¹ / **EC** *’kay

CSWW *ko¹

CJQ *ko¹: **Ly** ku¹; **Jh** kuɤ¹ [1] ⪤ ko¹ [2]; **Pj** kɯ¹; **Dy** kʊ¹; **Yk** kuə¹; **Wy** kuo¹ ⪤ kuen¹ [兒]

CLS *ko¹: **Sc** ku¹; **Sy** ku¹; **Lq** kəu¹; **Yh** ku¹; **Pc** kua¹; **Qy** ko¹ [1] ⪤ kuɑ¹ [2]

CSS *ko¹

7 *gè* 個〔果開一去箇見〕 ‘general clf.’ **CDC** *ko⁵ / **EC** *’kayh

CSWW *kai⁵ [1] ⪤ *ko⁵ [2] ⪤ *kə⁵

CJQ *ka⁵ ⪤ *ko⁵ ⪤ *kə⁵

a. **Ly** kɑ⁵ [2]; **Jh** kɑ⁵ [1]; **Pj** kɑ⁵; **Dy** kɑ⁵ [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕia?⁷$_{!t}$

b. **Ly** ku⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kʊ⁻⁵⁴ [4]; **Yk** kuə⁵ [1]; **Wy** kuo⁵ [4]

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** kə?⁷; **Pj** gə⁸$_{!if}$; **Dy** ɑ⁰ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** kə?⁷ [2]

CLS *kəi$^{5}_{!f}$ ⪤ *ko^{5} ⪤ *kə^{5}
a. **Sc** kei^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kɛ^{0} [1]; **Pc** —; **Qy** kai^{5} [1]
b. **Sc** ku^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** kəu^{5}; **Yh** ku^{5}; **Pc** kuo$^{5}_{!f}$; **Qy** ko^{5} [2]
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** ki^{5}; **Lq** ki^{5}; **Yh** ki^{5} [1]; **Pc** ke^{5} [白]; **Qy** —

CSS *kɑi^{5} ⪤ #ko^{5} ⪤ ?
a. **Kh** kɛ^{5} [1]; **Cs** kɛ^{5} [1]; **Js** kæ^{5} [1]; **Ys** kai^{5}; **Gf** ka^{-445} [2]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ko^{-44} [4]; **Js** ko^{5} [5]; **Ys** go^{-22} [2]; **Gf** ko^{5} [3]

8 *é* 鵝〔果開一平歌疑〕 ‘goose’ **CDC** *ngo^{2} / **EC** *ʾngay

CSWW *ŋo^{2}

CJQ *ŋo^{2}: **Ly** ŋu^{2}; **Jh** uɤ^{2} [1] ⪤ o^{2} [2]; **Pj** ŋɯ^{2}; **Dy** ŋʊ^{2}; **Yk** ŋuə^{2}; **Wy** ŋuo^{2}

CLS *ŋo^{2}: **Sc** ŋu^{2}; **Sy** ŋu^{2}; **Lq** ŋəu^{2}; **Yh** ŋ^{2}; **Pc** ŋua^{2}; **Qy** ŋo^{2}

CSS *ŋo^{2}

9 *wǒ* 我〔果開一上哿疑〕 ‘1st person pron.’ **CDC** *ngo^{3} / **EC** *ʾngayx

CSWW *(ŋ)ai^{4} [1] ⪤ *ŋa^{4} [2] ⪤ *ŋo^{4} [3]

CJQ *a$^{3}_{!it}$ ⪤ *ŋo^{4}
a. **Ly** ŋɑ$^{4}_{!it}$; **Jh** ɑ^{3}; **Pj** ɑ$^{3}_{!it}$; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** a$^{-33}_{!ift}$ ～農
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** o^{3} ⪤ ŋo^{3} [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** ŋʊ^{4}; **Yk** ŋuə^{4}; **Wy** —

CLS *ŋa^{4} ⪤ *ŋo^{4}
a. **Sc** ŋɑ^{4} [1]; **Sy** ŋuo^{4}; **Lq** —; **Yh** ŋo^{3}; **Pc** a$^{4}_{!i}$; **Qy** ŋo^{4}
b. **Sc** ŋu$^{1}_{!t}$ [2]; **Sy** —; **Lq** ŋəu^{3}; **Yh** —; **Pc** ŋua^{4} [文]; **Qy** —

CSS *ŋɑ^{4}

10 *è* 餓〔果開一去箇疑〕 ‘hunger’ **CDC** *ngo^{6} / **EC** *ʾngayh

CSWW *ŋai^{6} [1] ⪤ *ŋo^{6} [2]

CJQ *ŋa^{6} ⪤ *ŋo^{6}
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** ŋɑ^{6} ～農 ‘suffer from poverty’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** ŋu^{6}; **Jh** uɤ^{6} [1] ⪤ o^{6} [2]; **Pj** ŋɯ^{6}; **Dy** —; **Yk** ŋuə^{6}; **Wy** ŋuo^{6}

CLS *ŋəi$^{6}_{!f}$ ⪤ *ŋo^{6}
a. **Sc** ŋei$^{6}_{!f}$; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ŋəu^{6} [文]; **Yh** ŋ̍^{5}; **Pc** ŋua^{6}; **Qy** ŋo^{6}

CSS *ŋuɑi^{6} ⪤ *ɦuɑi^{6} [2] ⪤ *ɦo^{6} [4] ⪤ #ŋo^{6} [3]
a. **Kh** (ŋuɛ^{6}); **Cs** uɛ^{6} ⪤ ŋuɛ^{6} [2]; **Js** (ŋuæ$^{-33}$); **Ys** uai^{6}; **Gf** ua^{22}
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ŋo^{6} [2]; **Gf** ŋo^{6} [2]

11 *hé* 荷〔果開一平歌匣〕 ‘shoulder (v.)’ **CDC** *ho^{2} / **EC** *ʾgay

CSWW *ɦo^{2}

CJQ *o^{2}: **Ly** u^{2}; **Jh** uɤ^{2} [1] ⪤ ɦo^{2} [2]; **Pj** ɯ^{2}; **Dy** ʊ^{2}; **Yk** uə^{2}; **Wy** uo^{2}

CLS *ɦo^{2}: **Sc** u^{2}; **Sy** u^{2} [1]; **Lq** əu^{2}; **Yh** u^{2}; **Pc** xua^{2}; **Qy** xo^{2}

CSS #ɦo²: **Kh** o²; **Cs** ɦo²; **Js** o²; **Ys** ɦo²; **Gf** xo²

12 *bò* 簸〔果合一去過幫〕 ‘winnow’ **CDC** *po⁵ / **EC** *’payh

CSWW *ɓəi⁵ ⩙ *ɓai⁵

CJQ *ɓəi⁵ ⩙ *ɓa⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** pa⁵; **Dy** pe⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** pɑ⁵; **Jh** (pɑu⁵₍!f₎); **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔbiɑ⁵; **Wy** pia⁵

CLS *ɓuəi⁵ ⩙ *ɓai⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** pe⁵; **Qy** ʔbai⁵

b. **Sc** ʔba⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔba⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *puəi¹₍!t₎

13 *bō* 玻〔廣韻：果合一平戈滂〕 ‘glass in ～玻璃’ **CDC** *po¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɓo¹₍!f₎

CJQ *ɓo¹₍!f₎: **Ly** pu¹; **Jh** (po¹₍!f₎); **Pj** pɯ¹; **Dy** pʊ¹; **Yk** ʔbuə¹; **Wy** puo¹

CLS *ɓo¹: **Sc** ʔbu¹; **Sy** ʔbu¹; **Lq** ʔbu¹; **Yh** ʔbu¹; **Pc** puo¹; **Qy** mo⁻²²¹₍!i₎ [1] ～璃 ⩙ ʔbo¹ [2]

CSS (*po¹₍!f₎)

14 *pò* 破〔果合一去過滂〕 ‘break; broken’ **CDC** *pho⁴ / **EC** *’phayh

CSWW *pʰai³₍!a₎ [1] ⩙ *pʰai⁵ [2] ⩙ *pʰo⁵ [3]

CJQ *pʰa⁵

a. **Ly** pʰɑ⁵; **Jh** pʰɑ⁵; **Pj** pʰɑ⁵; **Dy** pʰɑ⁵ [1]; **Yk** pʰiɑ⁵; **Wy** pʰia⁵

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** pʰʊ⁵ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *pʰai⁵ ⩙ *pʰo⁵

a. **Sc** pʰa⁵ [1]; **Sy** pʰa⁵; **Lq** pʰa⁵; **Yh** pʰɑ⁵ [1]; **Pc** pʰai⁵; **Qy** pʰɑ⁵ [1]

b. **Sc** pʰu⁵ [2]; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** pʰu⁵ [2]; **Pc** pʰuo⁵; **Qy** pʰo⁵ [2]

CSS *pʰɑi³ ‘broken’ ⩙ *pʰɑi⁵ ‘break’ ⩙ (#pʰo⁵₍!f₎)

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** pʰæ³; **Ys** pʰai³ [2]; **Gf** pʰa³ [2]

b. **Kh** pʰɛ⁵; **Cs** pʰɛ⁵; **Js** pʰæ⁵; **Ys** pʰai⁵ [1]; **Gf** pʰa⁵ [1]

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (pʰo⁵) [3]; **Gf** (pʰuɤ⁵) [3]

15 *pó* 婆〔果合一平戈並〕 ‘matron’ **CDC** *bo² / **EC** *’bay

CSWW *bo²

CJQ *bo²: **Ly** bu²; **Jh** bɤ² [1] ⩙ bo² [2]; **Pj** bɯ²; **Dy** bʊ²; **Yk** buə²; **Wy** buo²

CLS *bo²: **Sc** bu²; **Sy** pu²; **Lq** bu²; **Yh** bu²; **Pc** puo²; **Qy** po²

CSS *biə²

16 *mó* 磨〔果合一平戈明〕 ‘grind’ **CDC** *mo² / **EC** *’may

CSWW *mui² ⩙ *mo²

CJQ *mo²
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk mɒ²; Wy —
b. Ly m²; Jh mɤ² [1] ≍ mo¹ [2]; Pj muɯ²; Dy mʊ²; Yk —; Wy muo²
CLS *məi² (?) ≍ *mo²
a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc mai²; Qy mai² [1]
b. Sc mu²; Sy mu² [1]; Lq məu²; Yh m̩²; Pc —; Qy mo² [2]
CSS #moi² ≍ *mie² ≍ #miə²
a. Kh mɛ²; Cs mi²; Js —; Ys me² [1]; Gf —
b. Kh —; Cs —; Js miə²; Ys mie² [2] ≍ mo² [3]; Gf mie²

17 *mò* 磨〔果合一去過明〕 'millstone' CDC *mo⁶ / EC *ʾmayh
CSWW *mo⁶
CJQ *mo⁶: Ly m⁶; Jh mɤ⁶ [1] ≍ mo⁶ [2]; Pj muɯ⁶; Dy mʊ⁶; Yk muə⁶; Wy muo⁶
CLS *mo⁶: Sc mu⁶; Sy mu⁶ [2]; Lq məu⁶; Yh m̩⁶; Pc muo⁶; Qy mo⁶
CSS *miə⁶

18 *duǒ* 躲〔字表：果合一上果端〕 'hide, avoid' CDC *tuo³ / EC *ʾtoyx
CSWW *ɗo³
CJQ *ɗo³: Ly tu³; Jh tuɤ³; Pj tuɯ³; Dy —; Yk ʔduə³; Wy —
CLS *ɗʔ³: Sc —; Sy ʔdiu¹ˌlft; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy ʔdo¹ˌlt
CSS #to³: Kh to³; Cs to³; Js to³; Ys to³; Gf to³

19 *tuò* 唾〔果合一去過透〕 'saliva' CDC *thuo⁵ / EC *ʾthoyh
CSWW *tʰui⁵ [1] ≍ *tʰo⁵ [2] ≍ *tʰuə⁵ [3]
CJQ *tʰo⁵: Ly —; Jh tʰuɤ⁵; Pj —; Dy tʰʊ⁵; Yk —; Wy tʰuo⁵
CLS *tʰui⁵ ≍ *tʰuə⁵
a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc tʰue⁵; Qy —
b. Sc —; Sy tʰɯ⁵; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy tʰɤ⁵
CSS *tʰoi⁵ ≍ #tʰo⁵ ≍ #tʰuə⁵
a. Kh tʰui⁵ ≍ tʰui³ [2]; Cs tʰi⁵; Js tʰi⁵; Ys tʰi⁵; Gf tʰi⁵
b. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf tʰo⁵
c. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf tʰuɤ⁵

20 *nuò* 糯（稬）〔廣韻：果合一去過泥〕 'glutinous rice' CDC *nuo⁶ / EC *ʾnoyh
CSWW *nuo⁶
CJQ *nuo⁶: Ly nu⁶; Jh nuɤ⁶; Pj ȵyɯ⁸ˌlt; Dy nʊ⁴ˌlt; Yk nuə⁻¹¹ ～米; Wy nuo⁶
CLS *no⁶: Sc nu⁶; Sy nu⁶; Lq nəu⁶; Yh —; Pc nuo⁶; Qy —
CSS *no⁶

21 *luó* 螺〔果合一平戈來〕 ‘spiral’ **CDC** *luo² / **EC** *ʾʰloy

CSWW *lu(ə)i² [1] ⩙ *lo² [2]

CJQ *lo²: **Ly** lu²; **Jh** luɤ²; **Pj** lɯ²; **Dy** lʊ²; **Yk** luə²; **Wy** luo²

CLS *lu(ə)i² ⩙ *lo²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** (sue²₍ⱼi₎); **Qy** lai² 田～ ‘river snail’

b. **Sc** lu²; **Sy** lu² [1] 田～ ‘river snail’ ⩙ luo² [2]; **Lq** ləu²; **Yh** lu²; **Pc** luo² [文]; **Qy** lo²

CSS *lo²

22 *luó* 腡〔果合一平戈來〕 ‘whorl (fingerprint)’ **CDC** *luo² / **EC** *ʾʰloy

CSWW *lui² [1] ⩙ *lo² [2]

CJQ *li²₍ₗa ⩙ *lo²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** li²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** li²

b. **Ly** lu²; **Jh** luɤ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** lʊ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *lui² ⩙ *lo²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** le²; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** lei²; **Pc** —; **Qy** lai²

b. **Sc** lu²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu²; **Pc** luo²; **Qy** —

CSS *lo²

23 *cuò* 銼〔果合一去過清〕 ‘crush’ **CDC** *tshuo⁵ / **EC** *ʾtshoyh

CSWW *tsʰo⁵

CJQ *tsʰo⁵: **Ly** tsʰu⁵; **Jh** tsʰuɤ⁵; **Pj** tsʰɯ⁵; **Dy** tsʰʊ⁵; **Yk** tsʰuə⁵; **Wy** tsʰuo⁵

CLS *tsʰo⁵: **Sc** tsʰu⁵; **Sy** tsʰu⁵; **Lq** tsʰəu⁵; **Yh** tsʰu⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsʰo⁵

CSS *tsʰo⁵

24 *zuò* 坐〔果合一上果從〕 ‘sit’ **CDC** *dzuo⁴ / **EC** *ʾdzoyx

CSWW *zui⁴ [1] ⩙ *zo⁴ [2]

CJQ *zo⁴: **Ly** zu⁴; **Jh** suɤ³ [1] ⩙ dzo⁶ [2]; **Pj** zɯ⁴; **Dy** zʊ⁴; **Yk** suə⁴; **Wy** zuo⁴

CLS *zui⁴ ⩙ *zo⁴

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsue⁴ [白]; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** zu⁴; **Sy** zu⁴; **Lq** səu³; **Yh** zu⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** so⁴

CSS *zoi⁴

25 *suǒ* 鎖〔果合一上果心〕 ‘lock’ **CDC** *suo³ / **EC** *ʾsoyx

CSWW *so³

CJQ *so³: **Ly** su³; **Jh** suɤ³; **Pj** sɯ³; **Dy** sʊ³; **Yk** suə³; **Wy** suo³

CLS *so³: **Sc** su³; **Sy** su³; **Lq** səu³; **Yh** su³; **Pc** suo³; **Qy** so³

CSS *so³

26 *guō* 鍋〔果合一平戈見〕 ‘wok’ **CDC** *kuo¹ / **EC** *’kway

CSWW *kuo¹

CJQ *ko¹: **Ly** ku¹; **Jh** kuɤ¹; **Pj** kɯ¹; **Dy** kʊ¹; **Yk** kuə¹; **Wy** —

CLS *kuo¹: **Sc** ku¹; **Sy** ku¹; **Lq** kəu¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** kua¹; **Qy** ko¹

CSS *kua¹

27 *guǒ* 果〔果合一上果見〕 ‘fruit’ **CDC** *kuo³ / **EC** *’koyx

CSWW *kuo³

CJQ *ko³: **Ly** ku³; **Jh** kuɤ³; **Pj** kɯ³; **Dy** kʊ³; **Yk** kuə³; **Wy** kuo³

CLS *kuɔ³: **Sc** ku³; **Sy** kʰu³$_{!i}$; **Lq** kəu³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** kua³; **Qy** ko³

CSS #kua³ ⪤ #kuo³

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕye³ [1]; **Js** kyə³ [1]; **Ys** kuɑ³; **Gf** kye³ [1]

b. **Kh** ko³; **Cs** ko³ [2]; **Js** ko³ [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** kuɤ³ [2]

28 *guǒ* 裹〔果合一上果見〕 ‘wrap’ **CDC** *kuo³ / **EC** *’koyx

CSWW *kui³$_{!a}$ [1] ⪤ *kuo³ [2]

CJQ *ko³: **Ly** ku³; **Jh** kuɤ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** kʊ³; **Yk** kuə³; **Wy** —

CLS *kuɔ³: **Sc** ku¹$_{!t}$; **Sy** kʰu³$_{!i}$; **Lq** —; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ko³

CSS *koi³ ⪤ (*kuo³$_{!f}$)

29 *guǒ* 餜〔集韻：果合一上果見〕 ‘fried flour cake’ **CDC** *kuo³ / **EC** —

CSWW *kuo³

CJQ *ko³: **Ly** —; **Jh** kuɤ³; **Pj** kɯn⁵ [兒]; **Dy** kʊ³; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuo⁻⁵³

CLS *kuɔ³: **Sc** ku³; **Sy** ku³; **Lq** kəu³; **Yh** —; **Pc** kua³; **Qy** —

CSS *kua³

30 *guò* 過〔果合一去過見〕 ‘pass (v.)’ **CDC** *kuo⁵ / **EC** *’kwayh

CSWW *kuo⁵

CJQ *ko⁵: **Ly** ku⁵; **Jh** kuɤ⁵; **Pj** kɯ⁵; **Dy** kʊ⁵; **Yk** kuə⁵ [2] ⪤ kuɑ⁵ [1]; **Wy** kuo⁵

CLS *kuɔ⁵: **Sc** ku⁵; **Sy** ku⁵; **Lq** kəu⁵; **Yh** ko⁵; **Pc** kua⁵; **Qy** ku⁴$_{!ft}$ [1] ～來 ⪤ kuɤ⁵ [2]

CSS *kua⁵

31 *kē* 科〔果合一平戈溪〕 ‘class’ **CDC** *khuo¹ / **EC** *’khoy

CSWW *kʰuo¹

CJQ *kʰo¹: **Ly** kʰu¹; **Jh** kʰuɤ¹; **Pj** kʰɯ¹; **Dy** kʰʊ¹; **Yk** kʰuə¹; **Wy** kʰuo¹

CLS *kʰuɔ¹: **Sc** kʰu¹; **Sy** kʰu¹; **Lq** kʰəu¹; **Yh** kʰo¹; **Pc** kʰua¹; **Qy** kʰo¹

CSS (*kʰuo¹$_{!f}$)

32 *kē* 窠〔果合一平戈溪〕 ‘burrow’ **CDC** *khuo¹ / **EC** *’khoy

CSWW *kʰuo¹

CJQ *kʰo¹: **Ly** kʰu¹; **Jh** kʰuɤ¹; **Pj** kʰɯ¹; **Dy** kʰʊ¹; **Yk** kʰuə¹; **Wy** kʰuo¹

CLS *kʰo¹$_{!f}$: **Sc** kʰu¹; **Sy** kʰu¹; **Lq** kʰəu¹; **Yh** kʰo¹; **Pc** kʰua¹; **Qy** kʰo¹

CSS *kʰua¹

33 *huǒ* 火〔果合一上果曉〕 ‘fire’ **CDC** *xuo³ / **EC** *’xoyx

CSWW *xui³ [1] ⪤ *xuo³ [2]

CJQ *xo³: **Ly** xu³; **Jh** xuɤ³; **Pj** xɯ³; **Dy** xʊ³; **Yk** xuə³; **Wy** xuo³

CLS *xui³ ⪤ *xuɔ³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** xui³; **Yh** —; **Pc** xue³ [白]; **Qy** xuai³

b. **Sc** xu³; **Sy** fu³; **Lq** —; **Yh** xo³; **Pc** xua³; **Qy** xo³

CSS *xoi³ [2] ⪤ *xua³ [1]

34 *huò* 貨〔果合一去過曉〕 ‘goods’ **CDC** *huo⁶ / **EC** *’wayh

CSWW *xuo⁵

CJQ *xo⁵: **Ly** xu⁵; **Jh** xuɤ⁵; **Pj** xɯ⁵; **Dy** xʊ⁵; **Yk** xuə⁵; **Wy** xuo⁵

CLS *xuɔ⁵: **Sc** xu⁵; **Sy** fu⁵; **Lq** xəu⁵; **Yh** xo⁵; **Pc** xua⁵; **Qy** xo⁵

CSS *xua⁵

35 *hé* 和〔果合一平戈匣〕 ‘harmonious’ **CDC** *huo² / **EC** *’goy

CSWW *ɦuo²

CJQ *ɦo²: **Ly** u²; **Jh** uɤ²; **Pj** ɯ²; **Dy** ʊ²; **Yk** uə²; **Wy** uo²

CLS *ɦuɔ²: **Sc** u² ⪤ uɤ²; **Sy** u²; **Lq** əu²; **Yh** o²; **Pc** ua² [白] ⪤ xua²; **Qy** o²

CSS *ɦua²

36 *huò* 禍〔果合一上果匣〕 ‘calamity’ **CDC** *huo⁴ / **EC** *’gwayx

CSWW *ɦuo⁴ [1]

CJQ *ɦo⁴: **Ly** u⁴; **Jh** uɤ³; **Pj** ɯ⁴; **Dy** ʊ⁴; **Yk** uə⁴; **Wy** uo⁴

CLS *ɦuɔ⁴: **Sc** u⁴; **Sy** u⁴; **Lq** əu³; **Yh** o³; **Pc** (xua⁶$_{!it}$); **Qy** o⁴

CSS *ɦuo⁴$_{!f}$ ⪤ *ɦuo⁶ [2]

A.2 Jiǎshè 假攝

37 *ba* 巴〔假開二平麻幫〕 ‘chin in 下～’ **CDC** *pa¹ / **EC** *pra

CSWW *ba² 下～ ‘chin’

CJQ *bɒ² ⪤ *ɓɒ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** buo^{-54} [2]; **Yk** bɑ² [2]; **Wy** buɑ² [2]

CLS *ba²: **Sc** bɑ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bo²; **Pc** —; **Qy** po² [2]

CSS *bɑ²

38 *bā* 笆〔假開二平麻幫〕 ‘fence in 籬～’ **CDC** *pa¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɓui¹ (?) [1] ⩙ *ɓa¹ [2]

CJQ *ɓɒ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔmɑ¹$_{!i}$ ～□gai⁵⁴; **Wy** —

CLS *ɓa¹: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbo¹

CSS *pyəi¹$_{!f}$ ⩙ #pɑ¹

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** pi¹ 菜園～ ‘garden fence’; **Js** pɛ¹ 竹籬～; **Ys** —; **Gf** puɐi¹ 籬～

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** pɑ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** pɑ¹; **Gf** pɑ¹

Akitani reconstructed CSS *-yəi for the first variant of this set, but perhaps #-oi is also possible. Cf. CSS 磨 #moi² and sets with CSS *-yəi and *-uəi after labials:

	CSS	Kh	Cs	Js	Ys	Gf
磨$_1$ ‘grind’	#moi²	mɛ²	mi²	—	me²	—
笆$_1$ ‘fence’	*pyəi¹	—	pi¹	pɛ¹	—	puɐi¹
杯 ‘cup’	*pyəi¹	pe¹	pi¹	pɛ¹	pɐi¹	puɐi¹
賠 ‘compensate’	*puəi¹	be²	bue²	bɛ²	bɐi²	buɐi²

The reflex for *-yəi and #-oi after labials is the same in Cs. The reflexes that potentially distinguish the two finals are in Kh and Ys, but note that they overlap with *-uəi. Perhaps Akitani’s *-yəi after labials is actually variation between #-oi ⩙ *-uəi.

39 *bǎ* 把〔假開二上馬幫〕 ‘a handful’ **CDC** *pa³ / **EC** *prax

CSWW *ɓɔ³

CJQ *ɓɒ³: **Ly** pɑ³$_{!f}$; **Jh** pɤa³; **Pj** pia³; **Dy** puo³; **Yk** ʔbɑ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒] 磨～; **Wy** puɑ⁻⁵³

CLS *ɓɔ³: **Sc** ʔbu³ ⩙ ʔbɑ³; **Sy** ʔbu⁵; **Lq** ʔbu³; **Yh** ʔbo¹$_{!t}$; **Pc** pa³; **Qy** ʔbo³

CSS *pua³ [1] ⩙ #pɑ³ [2]

a. **Kh** pie³; **Cs** pie³; **Js** po³; **Ys** pie³; **Gf** pie³

b. **Kh** pɔ³; **Cs** —; **Js** pɒ³; **Ys** pɑ³; **Gf** pɑ³

40 *pá* 爬〔假開二平麻並〕 ‘crawl’ **CDC** *ba² / **EC** *bra

CSWW *bɔ²

CJQ *bɒ²: **Ly** bu²; **Jh** bɤa²; **Pj** bia²; **Dy** buo²; **Yk** bɑ²; **Wy** buɑ²

CLS *bɔ²: **Sc** bɑ²$_{!f}$; **Sy** puo²$_{!f}$; **Lq** bu²; **Yh** bo²; **Pc** pa²; **Qy** po²

CSS #bua² ⩙ #bɑ²

a. **Kh** bie²; **Cs** bie²; **Js** bo²; **Ys** bie² [1]; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** bɑ² [2]; **Gf** bɑ²

41 *bà* 耙（杷）〔廣韻：假開二去禡並〕 ‘harrow (n.)’ **CDC** *ba⁶ / **EC** *brah

CSWW *bɔ⁶

CJQ *bɒ⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** bɤa⁶; **Pj** bia⁶; **Dy** buo⁶ ⩙ buo⁻¹¹ ～□[lɑ⁵⁴]; **Yk** bɑ⁶; **Wy** buɑ⁶

CLS *bɔ⁶: **Sc** bɑ⁶$_{!f}$; **Sy** pu²$_{!t}$; **Lq** bo²$_{!f}$; **Yh** —; **Pc** (pa²$_{!t}$); **Qy** —

CSS *bua⁶

42 *má* 麻〔假開二平麻明〕 ‘hemp’ **CDC** *ma² / **EC** *mray

CSWW *mɔ²

CJQ *mɒ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** mɤa²; **Pj** mia²; **Dy** muo²; **Yk** mɑ²; **Wy** muɑ²

CLS *mɔ²: **Sc** mu² 苧～; **Sy** mu²; **Lq** mu²; **Yh** mo²; **Pc** ma²; **Qy** mo²

CSS #mua² [1] ⩙ #mɑ² [2]

a. **Kh** mie² 油～; **Cs** mie² 油～; **Js** mo²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** mɔ² ～子; **Cs** mɑ² ～子; **Js** —; **Ys** mɑ²; **Gf** mɑ² [1]

43 *mǎ* 馬〔假開二上馬明〕 ‘horse’ **CDC** *ma⁴ / **EC** *mrax

CSWW *mɔ⁴ ⩙ *ma⁴

CJQ *mɒ⁴: **Ly** m⁴; **Jh** mɤa³; **Pj** mia⁴; **Dy** muo⁴; **Yk** mɑ⁴; **Wy** muɑ⁴

CLS *ma⁴: **Sc** mɑ⁴; **Sy** muo⁴; **Lq** mo³; **Yh** mo³; **Pc** ma⁴; **Qy** mo⁴

CSS #mua⁴ ⩙ #mɑ⁴

a. **Kh** mie⁶ [1]; **Cs** mie⁴ [1]; **Js** mo⁴; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** mɔ⁶ [2] ～上 ‘shortly’; **Cs** mɑ³$_{\text{lt}}$ [3] ‘Mǎ (pn.)’; **Js** —; **Ys** mɑ⁴ [1] *F*; **Gf** mɑ⁴ *F*

44 *mà* 罵〔假開二去禡明〕 ‘scold’ **CDC** *^{h}ma⁶ / **EC** *^{h}mrah

CSWW *mɔ⁶ [1] ⩙ *ma⁶ [2]

CJQ *mɒ⁶: **Ly** m⁶; **Jh** mɤa⁶; **Pj** mia⁶; **Dy** muo^{-54} 爭相～ ‘quarrel’; **Yk** mɑ⁶; **Wy** muɑ⁶

CLS *ma⁶: **Sc** mɑ⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** mo⁶ [文]; **Yh** mo⁶; **Pc** ma⁶; **Qy** mo⁶

CSS *mua⁶ ⩙ #mɑ⁶

a. **Kh** mie⁶; **Cs** mie⁶; **Js** mo⁶; **Ys** mie⁶; **Gf** mie⁶

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** mɑ⁶

45 *chá* 茶〔假開二平麻澄〕 ‘tea’ **CDC** *ja² / **EC** *dra

CSWW *dža²

CJQ *džɒ²: **Ly** dzuɑ²; **Jh** dzuɑ² [1] ⩙ dzɑ² [2]; **Pj** dʑyɑ²; **Dy** dzuo²; **Yk** dzɑ²; **Wy** dzuɑ²

CLS *dza²: **Sc** dzɑ²; **Sy** tsuo²; **Lq** dzo²; **Yh** dzo²; **Pc** tsa²; **Qy** tso²

CSS *dzɑ²

46 *zhā* 渣（相）〔廣韻：假開二平麻莊〕 ‘dregs’ **CDC** *ca¹ / **EC** *tsra

CSWW *tša¹

CJQ *tšɒ¹: **Ly** tsuɑ¹; **Jh** tsuɑ¹; **Pj** tɕyɑ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsɑ¹; **Wy** tsuɑ¹

CLS *tsa¹: **Sc** tsɑ¹; **Sy** tsuo¹; **Lq** tso¹; **Yh** tso¹; **Pc** tsa¹; **Qy** tso¹

CSS *tsɑ¹

47 *chá* 查〔字表：假開二平麻崇〕 ‘check’ **CDC** *ja² / **EC** —

CSWW *dža²

CJQ *džɒ²: **Ly** dzuɑ²; **Jh** dzuɑ²; **Pj** dʑyɑ² [1] ≍ dzɑ² [2]; **Dy** dzuo²; **Yk** dzɑ²; **Wy** dzuɑ²

CLS *dza²: **Sc** dzɑ²; **Sy** tsuo²; **Lq** dzo²; **Yh** dzo²; **Pc** tsa²; **Qy** tso¹꜖

CSS #dzɑ²: **Kh** dzɔ²; **Cs** dzɑ²; **Js** dzɒ²; **Ys** dzɑ²; **Gf** dzɑ²

48 *shā* 沙〔假開二平麻生〕 ‘sand’ **CDC** *sha¹ / **EC** *sray

CSWW *sai¹ [1] ≍ *ša¹ [2]

CJQ *sa¹ ≍ *šɒ¹

a. **Ly** sɑ¹; **Jh** sɑ¹ ～罐 ‘clay pot’; **Pj** —; **Dy** sɑ¹; **Yk** ɕiɑ⁻⁴⁴ [1] ～箕兒 ‘small dustpan’; **Wy** ɕia¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** suɑ¹ [1]; **Pj** ʃyɑ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** sɑ¹ [2] 黃～; **Wy** —

CLS *sai¹ ≍ *sa¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** sa¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** sai¹; **Qy** sɑ¹

b. **Sc** sɑ¹; **Sy** suo¹ [2] ～僧 ‘Shāsēng (pn.)’; **Lq** so¹; **Yh** so¹; **Pc** sa¹; **Qy** so¹ 朱～ ‘cinnabar’

CSS *sɑi¹ ≍ *sɑ¹

49 *jiā* 加〔假開二平麻見〕 ‘add’ **CDC** *ka¹ / **EC** *kray

CSWW *ka¹

CJQ *kɒ¹: **Ly** kuɑ¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiɑ¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ¹; **Dy** kuo¹; **Yk** kɑ¹; **Wy** kuɑ¹

CLS *ka¹: **Sc** kɑ¹; **Sy** kuo¹; **Lq** ko¹; **Yh** ko¹; **Pc** ka¹; **Qy** ko¹

CSS *kɑ¹

50 *jiǎ* 假〔假開二上馬見〕 ‘false’ **CDC** *ka³ / **EC** *krax

CSWW *ka³

CJQ *kɒ³: **Ly** kuɑ³; **Jh** kuɑ³ [1] ≍ tɕiɑ³ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ³; **Dy** kuo³; **Yk** kɑ³; **Wy** kuɑ³

CLS *ka³: **Sc** kɑ³; **Sy** kuo³; **Lq** ko³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** ka³; **Qy** ko³

CSS *kɑ³

51 *jià* 嫁〔假開二去禡見〕 ‘marry’ **CDC** *ka⁵ / **EC** *krah

CSWW *ʔia⁵ [1] ≍ *ka⁵ [2]

CJQ *kɒ⁵: **Ly** kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiɑ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ⁵; **Dy** kuo⁵; **Yk** kɑ⁵; **Wy** kuɑ⁵

CLS *ia⁵ ≍ *ka⁵

a. **Sc** iɑ⁵; **Sy** io⁵; **Lq** io⁵; **Yh** io⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɑ⁵ [1]

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ka⁵; **Qy** ko⁵ [2]

CSS *kɑ⁵

52 *qiā* 搭〔集韻：假開二去禡溪〕 ‘catch, grab’ **CDC** *kha⁵ / **EC** —

CSWW *kʰa⁵

CJQ *kʰɒ⁵: **Ly** kʰuɑ⁵; **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵; **Pj** tɕʰiɑ⁵; **Dy** kʰuo⁵; **Yk** kʰɑ⁵; **Wy** kʰuɑ⁵

CLS *kʰa⁵: **Sc** kʰɑ⁵; **Sy** kʰuo⁵˧˦; **Lq** kʰo⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰa¹˩˨; **Qy** kʰo⁵

CSS *kʰɑ⁵ [2] ≍ *kʰɑ¹ [1]

53 *yá* 牙〔假開二平麻疑〕 ‘canine tooth, tusk’ **CDC** *nga² / **EC** *ngra

CSWW *ŋa²

CJQ *ŋɒ²: **Ly** ŋuɑ²; **Jh** uɑ² [1] ≍ iɑ² [2]; **Pj** ȵiɑ²; **Dy** ŋuo²; **Yk** ŋɑ²; **Wy** ŋuɑ²

CLS *ŋa²: **Sc** ŋɑ²; **Sy** uo²; **Lq** ŋo²; **Yh** ŋo⁶˩˨; **Pc** ŋa²; **Qy** ŋo²

CSS *ŋɑ²

54 *xiā* 蝦〔集韻：假開二平麻曉〕 ‘shrimp’ **CDC** *xa¹ / **EC** *hra

CSWW *xɒ¹ ≍ *xa¹

CJQ *xɒ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** xuɑ¹ [1] ≍ ɕiɑ¹ [2]; **Pj** ʃiɑ¹; **Dy** xuɑ¹; **Yk** xɑ¹; **Wy** xuɑ¹

CLS *xo¹ ≍ *xa¹

a. **Sc** xu¹; **Sy** fu³˩˨; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xo⁴˩˨

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** xo¹; **Yh** xo¹; **Pc** xa¹; **Qy** —

CSS *xo¹ [1] ≍ *xɑ¹ [2]

55 *xià* 下〔假開二上馬匣〕 ‘put/go down’ **CDC** *ha⁴ / **EC** *grax

CSWW *xɔ³ ‘sow (v.)’ ≍ *ɦɔ⁴ ‘down’

CJQ *xɒ³ ≍ *ɦɒ⁴

a. **Ly** xuɑ³˩˧; **Jh** xuɑ³; **Pj** ʃiɑ³; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** xuo³ [1]

b. **Ly** uɑ⁴; **Jh** uɑ³ [1] ≍ uɑ⁶ [2] ≍ ʑiɑ⁶ [3]; **Pj** iɑ⁴; **Dy** uo⁴ [2] ≍ uoʔ⁸ [1]; **Yk** ɑ⁴; **Wy** uɑ⁴ ≍ uɑ⁶ [2]

CLS *xɔ³ [1] ≍ *ɦia⁴ [2]

a. **Sc** xu³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xo³

b. **Sc** iɑ⁴; **Sy** io⁴ [1]; **Lq** io³; **Yh** io³ [1] ≍ io⁴ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɑ⁴ [1]

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** (xa⁶); **Qy** —

CSS *xo³ [2] ≍ *ɦo⁴

CLS *ɦia⁴ is probably intrusive. It is not attested in the other branches, so I did not project it back to **CSWW**. It does not correspond to **CSWW** *ɦɔ⁴, which has no reflexes in the Lìshuǐ dialects.

56 *xià* 夏〔假開二去禡匣〕 ‘summer’ **CDC** *ha⁴ / **EC** *grax

CSWW *ɦa⁶

CJQ *ɒ⁶: **Ly** uɑ⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑiɑ⁶ [2]; **Pj** iɑ⁶; **Dy** uo⁶; **Yk** ɑ⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁶

CLS *ɦa⁶: **Sc** ɑ⁶; **Sy** uo⁶; **Lq** o⁶; **Yh** o⁶; **Pc** xa⁶; **Qy** xo⁶

CSS *ɦɑ⁶

57 *yā* 鴉〔假開二平麻影〕 ‘crow’ CDC *a¹ / EC *ra

CSWW *ʔɔ¹

CJQ *ʔɒ¹: Ly (iɔʔ⁷₍ft₎); Jh uɑ¹ [1] ⩙ iɑ¹ [2]; Pj iɑ¹; Dy ʔuo¹; Yk ɑ¹; Wy uɑ¹

CLS *ʔa¹: Sc ɑ¹; Sy uo¹; Lq o¹; Yh o¹; Pc a¹; Qy o¹

CSS *ʔo¹

58 *yā* 椏〔廣韻：假開二平麻影〕 ‘tree crotch’ CDC *a¹ / EC *ra

CSWW *ʔɔ¹

CJQ *ʔɒ¹: Ly u¹; Jh uɑ¹; Pj iɑ¹; Dy ʔuo¹; Yk ɑ¹ 樹～ ‘tree branch’; Wy uɑ¹ 樹～ ‘tree branch’

CLS *ɔ¹: Sc u¹; Sy uo¹₍f₎; Lq —; Yh o¹; Pc —; Qy o¹

CSS *ʔo¹

59 *yǎ* 啞〔假開二上馬影〕 ‘mute’ CDC *a³ / EC *rax

CSWW *ʔɔ³

CJQ *ɒ³: Ly u³; Jh uɑ³; Pj iɑ³; Dy ʔuo³; Yk ɑ⁻¹¹ ～口兒; Wy uɑ⁻⁵³

CLS *ɔ³: Sc u³ [2] ⩙ ɑ³ [1] ⩙ iɑ³ [3]; Sy u³; Lq u³; Yh o⁵; Pc a³; Qy o³

CSS *ʔo³ [1] ⩙ #ʔɑ³ [2]

a. Kh o³; Cs ɔ³; Js o⁻⁵² ～巴子 ‘a mute’; Ys o³; Gf o³ ～子 ‘a mute’

b. Kh —; Cs ɑ³ ～巴子 ‘a mute’; Js —; Ys ɑ³; Gf ɑ³

60 *jiè* 借〔假開三去禡精 AB〕 ‘borrow; lend’ CDC *tsia⁵ / EC *tsah

CSWW *tsia⁵

CJQ *tsia⁵: Ly tɕiɑ⁵; Jh tsia⁵; Pj tʃia⁵; Dy tɕiɑ⁵; Yk tɕiɑ⁵; Wy tɕia⁵

CLS *tɕia⁵: Sc tɕiɑ⁵; Sy tɕio⁵; Lq tɕio⁵; Yh tʃio⁵; Pc tɕie⁵; Qy tɕiɑ⁵

CSS *tɕiə⁵

61 *xiě* 寫〔假開三上馬心 AB〕 ‘write’ CDC *sia³ / EC *sax

CSWW *sia³

CJQ *sia³: Ly ɕiɑ³; Jh sia³; Pj ʃia³; Dy ɕiɑ³; Yk ɕiɑ³; Wy ɕia³

CLS *ɕia³: Sc ɕiɑ³; Sy ɕio³; Lq ɕio³; Yh ʃio³; Pc ɕie³; Qy ɕiɑ³

CSS *ɕiə³

62 *xié* 斜〔廣韻：假開三平麻邪 AB〕 ‘slanted’ CDC *zia² / EC *za

CSWW *zia²

CJQ *zia²: Ly ʑiɑ²; Jh zia²; Pj ʒia²; Dy ʑiɑ²; Yk ʑiɑ²; Wy ʑia²

CLS *ʑia²: Sc ʑiɑ²; Sy ɕio²; Lq ʑio²; Yh ʒio²; Pc tɕie²; Qy ɕiɑ²

CSS *ʑiə²

63 *xiè* 謝〔假開三去禡邪 AB〕 ‘thank; Xiè (pn.)’ **CDC** *zia⁶ / **EC** *zah

CSWW *zia⁶

CJQ *zia⁶: **Ly** ʑiɑ⁶; **Jh** zia⁶; **Pj** ʒia⁶; **Dy** ʑiɑ⁶; **Yk** ʑiɑ⁶; **Wy** ʑia⁶

CLS *ʑia⁶: **Sc** ʑiɑ⁶; **Sy** ʑio⁴˧˨; **Lq** ʑio⁶; **Yh** ʒio⁶; **Pc** tɕie⁶; **Qy** ɕiɑ⁶

CSS *ʑiə⁶

64 *zhē* 遮〔假開三平麻章 AB〕 ‘block’ **CDC** *cia¹ / **EC** *ta

CSWW *tšia¹

CJQ *tšia¹: **Ly** tsɑ¹; **Jh** tɕia¹ [1] ≍ tɕiɛ¹ [2]; **Pj** (tsɯ⁵˧˩); **Dy** tɕiɑ¹; **Yk** tɕiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕia¹

CLS *tɕia¹: **Sc** tɕiɑ¹; **Sy** tɕio¹; **Lq** tɕio¹; **Yh** tʃio¹; **Pc** tɕie¹; **Qy** tɕiɑ¹

CSS *tɕiə¹

65 *zhè* 蔗〔假開三去禡章 AB〕 ‘sugarcane’ **CDC** *cia⁵ / **EC** *tah

CSWW *tšia⁵

CJQ *tšia⁵: **Ly** tsɑ⁵; **Jh** tɕia⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃia⁵; **Dy** tsɑ⁵˧ꜜ; **Yk** tɕiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕia7⁵˧˨

CLS *tɕia⁵: **Sc** tɕiɑ⁵; **Sy** tɕio⁵; **Lq** tɕio⁵; **Yh** tʃio⁵; **Pc** tɕie⁵; **Qy** tɕiɑ⁵

CSS *tɕiə⁵

66 *chē* 車〔假開三平麻昌 AB〕 ‘cart, car’ **CDC** *chia¹ / **EC** *cha (khya)

CSWW *tšʰia¹

CJQ *tšʰia¹: **Ly** tsʰɑ¹; **Jh** tɕʰia¹ [1] ≍ tsʰuɑ¹ ≍ tsʰui¹ [2]; **Pj** (tɕʰyɑ¹); **Dy** tɕʰiɑ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕʰia¹

CLS *tɕʰia¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɑ¹; **Sy** tɕʰio¹; **Lq** tɕʰio¹; **Yh** tʃʰio¹; **Pc** tɕʰie¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɑ¹

CSS *tɕʰiə¹

67 *shé* 蛇〔假開三平麻船 AB〕 ‘snake’ **CDC** *zhia² / **EC** *δay

CSWW *džyei² (?) [1] ≍ *žia² [2]

CJQ *žia²: **Ly** zɑ²; **Jh** ʑia² [1] ≍ ʑiɛ² [2]; **Pj** ʒia²; **Dy** ʑiɑ²; **Yk** ʑiɑ²; **Wy** ʑia²

CLS *ʑia²: **Sc** ʑiɑ²; **Sy** ɕio²; **Lq** ʑio²; **Yh** ʒio²; **Pc** ɕie²; **Qy** ɕiɑ²

CSS *dʑyəi²

68 *shè* 射〔假開三去禡船 AB〕 ‘shoot, let loose’ **CDC** *zhia⁶ / **EC** *δah

CSWW *džya⁶ [1] ‘wet the bed’ ≍ *žia⁶

CJQ *džya⁶ ≍ *žia⁶ [2] ≍ *žɒ⁶ [3]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑia⁶ ‘piss or shit (v.)’; **Pj** dʑiɑ⁶ 肚～ ‘have diarrhea’; **Dy** dzɑ⁶ ‘piss or shit (v.)’; **Yk** dʑǐɑ⁶ ～尿; **Wy** dzuɑ⁶ ～牀

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** zia⁶˧˩ [1] ≍ ʑiɛ⁶ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑiɑ⁶; **Wy** ʑia⁶

c. **Ly** zuɑ⁶ [1] ≍ zei⁶ [2]; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʒyɑ⁶; **Dy** zɑ⁶ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑia⁶: **Sc** ʑiɑ⁶; **Sy** ʑio⁶; **Lq** ɕio⁶; **Yh** ʒio⁶; **Pc** ɕie⁶; **Qy** ɕiɑ⁶

CSS #dzua⁶ (?) ⩙ *ʑiə⁶ [2]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** dzue⁶; **Js** —; **Ys** dʑø⁶; **Gf** dzua⁶
b. **Kh** ʑie⁶; **Cs** ʑie⁶; **Js** ɕiə⁶; **Ys** ʑie⁶; **Gf** ɕie⁶

69 *shē* 賒〔假開三平麻書 AB〕 ‘trade on credit’ **CDC** *shia¹ / **EC** *hya
CSWW *šia¹
CJQ *šia¹: **Ly** ɕiɑ¹; **Jh** (ɕiɛ¹˩f); **Pj** ʃia¹; **Dy** ɕiɑ¹; **Yk** ɕiɑ¹; **Wy** ɕia¹
CLS *ɕia¹: **Sc** ɕiɑ¹; **Sy** ɕio¹; **Lq** ɕio¹; **Yh** ʃio¹; **Pc** ɕie¹; **Qy** ɕiɑ¹
CSS *ɕiə¹

70 *shě* 捨〔假開三上馬書 AB〕 ‘abandon’ **CDC** *shia³ / **EC** *hyax
CSWW *šia³
CJQ *šia³: **Ly** sɑ³; **Jh** ɕia⁵˩t [1] ⩙ ɕiɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** ʃia³; **Dy** ɕiɑ⁵˩t; **Yk** ɕiɑ³; **Wy** ɕia³
CLS *ɕia³: **Sc** ɕiɑ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɕio³; **Yh** ʃio³; **Pc** ɕie³ ⩙ ɕie⁵; **Qy** ɕiɑ³ [1] ⩙ ɕiɑ⁵
CSS *ɕiə³

71 *shè* 舍〔假開三去禡書 AB〕 ‘lodging’ **CDC** *shia⁵ / **EC** *hyah
CSWW *šia³
CJQ *šia³: **Ly** sɑ³; **Jh** ɕia⁵˩t [1] ⩙ ɕiɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** ʃia³; **Dy** ɕiɑ⁵˩t; **Yk** ɕiɑ³; **Wy** ɕia³
CLS *ɕia³: **Sc** ɕiɑ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɕio³; **Yh** ʃio³; **Pc** ɕie³ ⩙ ɕie⁵; **Qy** ɕiɑ³ [1] ⩙ ɕiɑ⁵
CSS *ɕiə³

72 *yé* 爺〔廣韻：假開三平麻以 A〕 ‘father; honorific for older men’ **CDC** *ya² / **EC** *ya
CSWW *ɦiɔ² ‘father’
CJQ *ɦia²: **Ly** iɑ²; **Jh** ia² [1] ⩙ iɛ² [2]; **Pj** iɑ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** iɑ² [2] ⩙ iɑ¹ [1] ‘grandfather’; **Wy** ia²
CLS *ɦiɔ²: **Sc** iu²; **Sy** iu² ‘grandfather’; **Lq** io²; **Yh** io²; **Pc** ia² ⩙ ie² [文]; **Qy** io² [1]
CSS *ɦyə² ⩙ #ɦiə² ‘grandfather’
a. **Kh** yo² [1]; **Cs** ye² [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** ye² [1]; **Gf** ye² [1]
b. **Kh** ie² [2]; **Cs** ie² [2]; **Js** iə²; **Ys** ie² [2]; **Gf** ie² [2]
CSWW *ɦiɔ² is the popular way to refer to one’s father to others.

73 *guā* 瓜〔假合二平麻見〕 ‘gourd’ **CDC** *kua¹ / **EC** *kwra
CSWW *kuɔ¹˩a (?) [1] ⩙ *kua¹ [2]
CJQ *kuɒ¹: **Ly** ku¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹; **Pj** kuɑ¹; **Dy** kuɑ¹; **Yk** kuɑ¹; **Wy** kuɑ¹˩f
CLS *kua¹: **Sc** kɑ¹; **Sy** kuo¹; **Lq** kuə¹; **Yh** ko¹; **Pc** kua¹; **Qy** ko¹
CSS *kua¹ ⩙ #kuɑ¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕye¹ 冬～ ‘winter melon’; **Js** kyə¹; **Ys** kuɑ¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** kuɔ¹; **Cs** kuɑ⁻⁴⁴ ～子 ‘melon seeds’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kuɑ¹

74 *guǎ* 寡〔假合二上馬見〕 ‘solitary, widowed’ **CDC** *kua³ / **EC** *kwrax

CSWW *kua³

CJQ *kuɒ³: **Ly** gu⁴|it [1] ～婦 ‘widow’ ≍ kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ³; **Pj** kuɑ³; **Dy** kuɑ³; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuɑ⁻⁵³ ～婦 ‘widow’

CLS *kua³: **Sc** kɑ³; **Sy** kuo³; **Lq** kuə³; **Yh** ko³; **Pc** kua³; **Qy** ko³

CSS #kuɑ³: **Kh** kuɔ³; **Cs** kuɑ³; **Js** kua⁵; **Ys** kuɑ³; **Gf** kuɑ³

75 *wǎ* 瓦〔假合二上馬疑〕 ‘tile’ **CDC** *ʰngua⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰngwrayx

CSWW *ŋua⁴

CJQ *ŋɒ⁴: **Ly** ŋuɑ⁴; **Jh** uɑ³; **Pj** ŋiɑ⁴; **Dy** ŋuo⁴; **Yk** ŋɑ⁴; **Wy** ŋuɑ⁴ [2] ≍ ŋuo⁴ [1]

CLS *ŋua⁴: **Sc** ŋɑ⁴; **Sy** ŋuo⁴; **Lq** ŋuə³; **Yh** ŋo³; **Pc** ŋua⁴; **Qy** ŋ̍⁴

CSS *ɦuɑ⁴

76 *huā* 花〔假合二平麻曉〕 ‘flower’ **CDC** *xua¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *xua¹

CJQ *xuɒ¹: **Ly** xu¹ [1] ≍ xuɑ¹ [2]; **Jh** xuɑ¹; **Pj** xuɑ¹; **Dy** xuɑ¹; **Yk** xuɑ¹; **Wy** xuɑ¹

CLS *xua¹: **Sc** xɑ¹; **Sy** fuo⁵; **Lq** xuə¹; **Yh** xo¹; **Pc** xua¹; **Qy** xo¹

CSS *xuɑ¹

77 *huá* 划〔廣韻：假合二平麻匣〕 ‘row’ **CDC** *hua² / **EC** —

CSWW *ɦua²

CJQ *uɒ²: **Ly** u²; **Jh** uɑ²; **Pj** uɑ²; **Dy** uɑ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** uɑ²

CLS *ɦua²: **Sc** uɑ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** uə²; **Yh** o²; **Pc** —; **Qy** o²

CSS #ɦuɑ²: **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ua²; **Ys** —; **Gf** uɑ²

A.3 Yùshè 遇攝

78 *bǔ* 補〔遇合一上姥幫〕 ‘patch, mend’ **CDC** *pu³ / **EC** *ʾpax

CSWW *ɓuə³

CJQ *ɓu³: **Ly** pu³; **Jh** pu³; **Pj** pu³; **Dy** pu³; **Yk** ʔbu³; **Wy** pu³

CLS *ɓuə³: **Sc** ʔbuɤ³; **Sy** ʔbɯ³ ≍ bu⁴; **Lq** ʔbɤɯ³; **Yh** ʔbu³; **Pc** puo³; **Qy** ʔbɤ³

CSS *puə³

79 *pǔ* 譜〔遇合一上姥幫〕 ‘register (n.)’ **CDC** *pu³ / **EC** *ʾpax

CSWW *ɓuə³ ≍ *pʰuə³

CJQ *ɓu³: **Ly** pu³; **Jh** pu³ [1] ≍ pʰu¹ [2]; **Pj** pu³; **Dy** pu³; **Yk** ʔbu³; **Wy** pu³

CLS *ɓuə³ ⪤ *pʰuə³
a. Sc ʔbuɤ³; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc puo³; Qy ʔbɤ³
b. Sc —; Sy pʰɯ³꜖; Lq pʰɤɯ³; Yh pʰu³; Pc —; Qy —
CSS *pʰuə³

80 *bù* 布〔遇合一去暮幫〕 ‘cloth’ CDC *pu⁵ / EC *ʾpah
CSWW *ɓuə⁵
CJQ *ɓu⁵: Ly pu⁵; Jh pu⁵; Pj pu⁵; Dy pu⁵; Yk ʔbu⁵; Wy pu⁵
CLS *ɓuə⁵: Sc ʔbuɤ⁵; Sy ʔbɯ⁵; Lq ʔbɤɯ⁵; Yh ʔbu⁵; Pc puo⁵; Qy ʔbɤ⁵
CSS *puə⁵

81 *pū* 鋪〔遇合一平模滂〕 ‘spread’ CDC *phu¹ / EC *ʾpha
CSWW *pʰuə¹
CJQ *pʰu¹: Ly pʰu¹; Jh pʰu¹; Pj pʰu¹; Dy pʰu¹; Yk —; Wy —
CLS *pʰuə¹: Sc pʰuɤ¹; Sy pʰɯ¹ [1]; Lq pʰɤɯ¹; Yh pʰu¹; Pc pʰuo¹; Qy pʰɤ¹
CSS #pʰuə¹: Kh pʰuo¹; Cs pʰuə¹; Js pʰuə¹; Ys pʰuə¹; Gf pʰuɤ¹

82 *pù* 鋪〔遇合一去暮滂〕 ‘shop (n.)’ CDC *phu⁵ / EC *ʾphah
CSWW *pʰuə⁵
CJQ *pʰu⁵: Ly pʰu⁵; Jh pʰu⁵; Pj pʰu⁵; Dy pʰu⁵; Yk pʰu⁵; Wy pʰu⁵
CLS *pʰuə⁵: Sc pʰuɤ⁵; Sy pʰɯ⁵ [2]; Lq pʰɤɯ⁵; Yh pʰu⁵; Pc pʰuo⁵; Qy pʰɤ⁵
CSS #pʰuə⁵: Kh pʰuo⁵; Cs —; Js —; Ys pʰuə⁵; Gf pʰuɤ⁵

83 *bù* 簿〔遇合一上姥並〕 ‘ledger’ CDC *bu⁴ / EC *ʾbax
CSWW *buə⁴
CJQ *bu⁴: Ly bu⁴; Jh pu³; Pj bu⁴; Dy bu⁴; Yk bu⁴; Wy bu⁴
CLS *buə⁴: Sc buɤ⁴; Sy bɯ⁴; Lq ʔbɤɯ³; Yh bu⁴; Pc puo⁶꜖; Qy pɤ⁴
CSS *buə⁴

84 *bù* 步〔遇合一去暮並〕 ‘step’ CDC *bu⁶ / EC *ʾbah
CSWW *buə⁶
CJQ *bu⁶: Ly bu⁶; Jh bu⁶; Pj bu⁶; Dy bu⁶; Yk bu⁶; Wy bu⁶
CLS *buə⁶: Sc buɤ⁶; Sy bɯ⁶; Lq bɤɯ⁶; Yh bu⁶; Pc puo⁶; Qy pɤ⁶
CSS #buə⁶: Kh buo⁶; Cs buə⁶; Js buə⁶; Ys buə⁶; Gf buɤ⁶

85 *dǔ* 賭〔遇合一上姥端〕 ‘bet’ CDC *tu³ / EC *ʾtax
CSWW *ɗuə³
CJQ *ɗu³: Ly tu³; Jh tu³; Pj tu³; Dy tu³; Yk ʔdu³; Wy lu³
CLS *ɗuə³: Sc ʔduɤ³; Sy ʔdɯ³; Lq ʔdɤɯ³; Yh ʔdu³; Pc luo³; Qy ʔdɤ³
CSS *tuə³

86 *tǔ* 土〔遇合一上姥透〕 ‘earth’ **CDC** *thu³ / **EC** *’thax

CSWW *tʰuə³

CJQ *tʰu³: **Ly** tʰu³; **Jh** tʰu³; **Pj** tʰu¹˩˥; **Dy** tʰu³; **Yk** tʰu³; **Wy** tʰu³

CLS *tʰuə³: **Sc** tʰuɤ³; **Sy** tʰɯ³; **Lq** tʰɤɯ³; **Yh** tʰu³; **Pc** tʰuo³; **Qy** tʰɤ³

CSS #tʰuə³: **Kh** tʰuo³; **Cs** tʰuə³; **Js** tʰuə⁻⁵² ～匪; **Ys** tʰuə¹; **Gf** tʰuɤ³

87 *tú* 塗〔遇合一平模定〕 ‘smear’ **CDC** *du² / **EC** *’da

CSWW *duə²

CJQ *du²: **Ly** —; **Jh** du²; **Pj** du²; **Dy** du²; **Yk** du²; **Wy** du²

CLS *duə²: **Sc** —; **Sy** tɯ²; **Lq** dɤɯ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *duə²

88 *lǔ* 滷〔遇合一上姥來〕 ‘brine’ **CDC** *lu⁴ / **EC** *’lax

CSWW *luə⁴

CJQ *lu⁴: **Ly** lu⁴; **Jh** lu³; **Pj** lu⁴; **Dy** lu⁴; **Yk** lu⁴; **Wy** lu⁻⁵³ ～貨 ‘salted goods’

CLS *luə⁴: **Sc** luɤ⁴; **Sy** lɯ⁴; **Lq** lɤɯ³; **Yh** lu³; **Pc** luo⁴; **Qy** lɤ⁴

CSS *luə⁴

89 *lù* 路〔遇合一去暮來〕 ‘road’ **CDC** *lu⁶ / **EC** *’lah

CSWW *luə⁶

CJQ *lu⁶: **Ly** lu⁶; **Jh** lu⁶; **Pj** lu⁶; **Dy** lu⁶; **Yk** lu⁶; **Wy** lu⁶

CLS *luə⁶ ⨯ *dʑy⁴

a. **Sc** luɤ⁶; **Sy** lɯ⁶; **Lq** lɤɯ⁶; **Yh** lu⁶; **Pc** luo⁶; **Qy** lɤ⁶

b. **Sc** dʑy⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *luə⁶

90 *zū* 租〔遇合一平模精〕 ‘rent’ **CDC** *tsu¹ / **EC** *’tsa

CSWW *tsuə¹

CJQ *tsu¹: **Ly** tsu¹; **Jh** tsu¹; **Pj** tsu¹; **Dy** tsu¹; **Yk** tsu¹; **Wy** tsu¹

CLS *tsuə¹: **Sc** tsuɤ¹; **Sy** tsɯ¹; **Lq** tsɤɯ¹; **Yh** tsu¹; **Pc** tsuo¹; **Qy** tsɤ¹

CSS *tsuə¹

91 *zǔ* 祖〔遇合一上姥精〕 ‘ancestor’ **CDC** *tsu³ / **EC** *’tsax

CSWW *tsuə³

CJQ *tsu³: **Ly** tsu³; **Jh** tsu³ [2] ⨯ tsɿ³ [1]; **Pj** tsu³; **Dy** tsu³; **Yk** tsu³; **Wy** tsu³

CLS *tsuə³: **Sc** tsuɤ³; **Sy** (tsu³˩˧); **Lq** tsɤɯ³; **Yh** tsu³; **Pc** tsuo³; **Qy** tsɤ³

CSS *tsuə³

92 *zuò* 做（作）〔廣韻：遇合一去暮精〕 ‘do, make’ **CDC** *tso⁵ / **EC** *’tsah

CSWW *tso⁵

CJQ *tso⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tsuɤ⁵; **Pj** tsɯ⁵; **Dy** tsʊ⁶˧˨; **Yk** tsuə⁵; **Wy** tsuo⁵
CLS *tso⁵: **Sc** tsu⁵; **Sy** tsu⁵; **Lq** (tso⁵˧˦); **Yh** —; **Pc** tsuo⁵ [文] ⩵ tsa⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *tso⁵

93 *cū* 粗（麁）〔遇合一平模清〕 ‘coarse’ **CDC** *tshu¹ / **EC** *ʾtsha
CSWW *tsʰuə¹
CJQ *tsʰu¹: **Ly** tsʰu¹; **Jh** tsʰu¹; **Pj** tsʰu¹; **Dy** tsʰu¹; **Yk** tsʰu¹; **Wy** tsʰu¹
CLS *tsʰuə¹: **Sc** tsʰuɤ¹; **Sy** tsʰɯ¹; **Lq** tsʰɤɯ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsʰuo¹; **Qy** tsʰɤ¹
CSS *tsʰuə¹

94 *cù* 醋〔遇合一去暮清〕 ‘vinegar’ **CDC** *tshuo⁵ / **EC** *ʾtshah
CSWW *tsʰuə⁵
CJQ *tsʰu⁵: **Ly** tsʰu⁵; **Jh** tsʰu⁵; **Pj** tsʰu⁵; **Dy** tsʰu⁵; **Yk** tsʰu⁵; **Wy** tsʰu⁵
CLS *tsʰuə⁵: **Sc** tsʰuɤ⁵; **Sy** tsʰɯ⁵; **Lq** tsʰɤɯ⁵; **Yh** tsʰu⁵; **Pc** tsʰuo⁵; **Qy** tsʰɤ⁵
CSS *tsʰuə⁵

95 *sū* 蘇〔遇合一平模心〕 ‘perilla’ **CDC** *su¹ / **EC** *ʾsa
CSWW *suə¹
CJQ *su¹: **Ly** su¹; **Jh** su¹; **Pj** su¹; **Dy** su¹; **Yk** su¹; **Wy** su¹
CLS *suə¹: **Sc** suɤ¹; **Sy** sɯ¹; **Lq** sɤɯ¹; **Yh** su¹; **Pc** suo¹; **Qy** sɤ¹
CSS #suə¹: **Kh** suo¹ [1] ⩵ su¹ [2]; **Cs** suə¹ [1] ⩵ su¹ [2]; **Js** suə¹; **Ys** suə¹; **Gf** suɤ¹

96 *gū* 箍〔廣韻：遇合一平模見〕 ‘hoop’ **CDC** *ku¹ / **EC** —
CSWW *kʰuə¹
CJQ *kʰu¹: **Ly** kʰu¹; **Jh** kʰu¹; **Pj** kʰu¹; **Dy** kʰu¹ [2] ⩵ tɕʰiəɯ¹ [1]; **Yk** kʰu¹; **Wy** kʰu¹
CLS *kʰuə¹: **Sc** kʰuɤ¹; **Sy** kʰuɯ¹; **Lq** kʰuɯ¹; **Yh** kʰu¹; **Pc** kʰuo¹; **Qy** kʰuɤ¹
CSS #kʰuə¹: **Kh** kʰuo¹; **Cs** kʰuə¹; **Js** kʰuə¹; **Ys** kʰuə¹; **Gf** kʰuɤ¹

97 *gǔ* 牯〔遇合一上姥見〕 ‘male’ **CDC** *ku³ / **EC** *ʾkax
CSWW *kuə³
CJQ *ku³: **Ly** ku³; **Jh** ku³; **Pj** ku³; **Dy** ku³; **Yk** ku³; **Wy** ku³
CLS *kuə³: **Sc** kuɤ³; **Sy** kuɯ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** ku³; **Pc** kuo³; **Qy** kuɤ³
CSS *kuə³

98 *kǔ* 苦〔遇合一上姥溪〕 ‘bitter’ **CDC** *khu³ / **EC** *ʾkhax
CSWW *kʰuə³
CJQ *kʰu³: **Ly** kʰu³; **Jh** kʰu³; **Pj** kʰu³; **Dy** kʰu³; **Yk** kʰu³; **Wy** kʰu³
CLS *kʰuə³: **Sc** kʰuɤ³; **Sy** kʰuɯ³; **Lq** kʰuɯ³; **Yh** kʰu³; **Pc** kʰuo²˧˨; **Qy** kʰuɤ³
CSS *kʰuə³

99 *kù* 褲（袴）〔遇合一去暮溪〕 ‘pants’ **CDC** *khu⁵ / **EC** *’khwah
CSWW *kʰuə⁵
CJQ *kʰu⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** kʰu⁵; **Pj** kʰu⁵; **Dy** kʰu⁵; **Yk** kʰu⁵; **Wy** kʰu⁵
CLS *kʰuə⁵: **Sc** kʰuɤ⁵; **Sy** kʰuɯ⁵; **Lq** kʰuɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰuo⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *kʰuə⁵

100 *wú* 吳〔遇合一平模疑〕 ‘Wú (pn.)’ **CDC** *ngu² / **EC** *’ngwa
CSWW *ŋuə²
CJQ *ŋ̍²: **Ly** u²ˌˡⁱᶠ; **Jh** ŋ² [1] ≍ u² [2]; **Pj** u²ˌˡⁱᶠ; **Dy** n²; **Yk** ŋu²; **Wy** n² [1] ≍ u² [2]
CLS *ŋuə²: **Sc** ŋuɤ²; **Sy** ŋɯ²; **Lq** (uɯ²ˌˡⁱᶠ); **Yh** ŋ̣²; **Pc** ŋuo²; **Qy** ŋuɤ²
CSS *ŋuə²

101 *wǔ* 五〔遇合一上姥疑〕 ‘five’ **CDC** *ʰngu⁴ / **EC** *’ʰngax
CSWW *ŋuə⁴
CJQ *ŋ̍⁴: **Ly** ŋ⁴; **Jh** ŋ³ [1] ≍ u³ [2]; **Pj** n⁴ [1] ≍ m⁴ [2]; **Dy** n⁴; **Yk** ŋ⁴; **Wy** n⁴
CLS *ŋuə⁴: **Sc** ŋuɤ⁴; **Sy** ŋɯ⁴; **Lq** ŋəu³; **Yh** ŋ̣³; **Pc** ŋuo⁴; **Qy** ŋuɤ⁴
CSS *ŋuə⁴

102 *wǔ* 午〔遇合一上姥疑〕 ‘noon’ **CDC** *ngu⁴ / **EC** *’ngax
CSWW *ŋuə⁴
CJQ *ŋ̍⁴: **Ly** ŋ⁴; **Jh** ŋ³; **Pj** n⁴ [1] ≍ m⁴ [2]; **Dy** n⁴; **Yk** ŋ⁴; **Wy** n⁴
CLS *ŋuə⁴: **Sc** ŋuɤ⁴; **Sy** ŋɯ⁴; **Lq** ŋəu³; **Yh** ŋ³; **Pc** ŋuo⁴; **Qy** ŋuɤ⁴
CSS *ŋuə⁴

103 *wù* 誤〔遇合一去暮疑〕 ‘misunderstanding’ **CDC** *ʰngu⁶ / **EC** *’ʰngwah
CSWW *ŋuə⁶
CJQ *ŋu⁶ [f]: **Ly** ŋu⁶; **Jh** u⁶; **Pj** u⁶; **Dy** ŋu⁶; **Yk** ŋu⁶; **Wy** ŋu⁶
CLS *ŋuə⁶: **Sc** —; **Sy** ŋɯ⁶; **Lq** (uɯ⁶ˌˡⁱᶠ); **Yh** ŋ⁵ˌˡᵗ; **Pc** ŋuo⁶; **Qy** ŋuɤ⁶
CSS *ŋuə⁶

104 *wù* 悟〔遇合一去暮疑〕 ‘awaken’ **CDC** *ngu⁶ / **EC** *’ngah
CSWW *ŋuə⁶
CJQ *ŋu⁶ˌˡᶠ: **Ly** ŋu⁶; **Jh** u⁶; **Pj** u⁶; **Dy** ŋu⁶; **Yk** ŋu⁶; **Wy** ŋu⁶
CLS *ŋuə⁶: **Sc** ŋu⁶; **Sy** ŋɯ⁶; **Lq** (uɯ⁶ˌˡⁱᶠ); **Yh** ŋ⁵ˌˡᵗ; **Pc** ŋuo⁶; **Qy** ŋuɤ⁶
CSS *ŋuə⁶

105 *hú* 胡〔遇合一平模匣〕 ‘Hú (pn.)’ **CDC** *hu² / **EC** *’ga
CSWW *ɦuə²
CJQ *ɦu²: **Ly** u²; **Jh** u²; **Pj** u²; **Dy** u²; **Yk** u²; **Wy** u²

CLS *ɦuə²: Sc uɤ²; Sy uɯ²; Lq uɯ²; Yh u²; Pc xuo² ⩙ u²; Qy uɤ²
CSS #ɦuə²: Kh (u²₍f₎); Cs uə² [1] ⩙ u⁻⁵² [2] ～琴; Js uə²; Ys uə²; Gf uɤ²

106 *hú* 壺〔遇合一平模匣〕 ‘jug’ CDC *hu² / EC *ʾg(w)a
CSWW *ɦuə²
CJQ *ɦu²: Ly u²; Jh u²; Pj u²; Dy u²; Yk u²; Wy u⁻³¹
CLS *ɦuə²: Sc uɤ²; Sy uɯ²; Lq uɯ²; Yh u²; Pc xuo²; Qy uɤ²
CSS *ɦuə²

107 *hù* 瓠〔廣韻：遇合一平模匣〕 ‘calabash’ CDC *hu² / EC *ʾgwa
CSWW *ɦuə²
CJQ —
CLS *ɦuə²: Sc uɤ²; Sy uɯ²; Lq uɯ²; Yh —; Pc —; Qy uɤ²
CSS *ɦuə²

108 *hú* 鬍（胡）〔遇合一平模匣〕 ‘facial hair’ CDC *hu² / EC *ʾga
CSWW *ɦuə²
CJQ *ɦu²: Ly —; Jh u²; Pj u²; Dy ʔu¹¹; Yk u⁻³³; Wy u²¹
CLS *ɦuə²: Sc uɤ²; Sy uɯ²; Lq uɯ²; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
CSS *ɦuə²

109 *hú* 糊（麴）〔遇合一平模匣〕 ‘be sticky’ CDC *hu² / EC *ʾga
CSWW *guə² [1] ⩙ *ɦuə² [2]
CJQ *ɦu²: Ly u²; Jh u²; Pj u²; Dy —; Yk u²; Wy u²
CLS *guə² ⩙ *ɦuə²
a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc kuo² [白]; Qy —
b. Sc uɤ²; Sy —; Lq uɯ²; Yh u²; Pc xuo² [文]; Qy uɤ²
CSS *guə²

110 *wū* 烏〔遇合一平模影〕 ‘raven’ CDC *u¹ / EC *ʾa
CSWW *ʔuə¹ ‘black’
CJQ *ʔu¹: Ly u¹ ‘get dark’; Jh u¹ ‘get dark’; Pj u¹ ～人= ‘get dark’; Dy ʔu¹; Yk u¹ ‘get dark’; Wy u¹
CLS *uə¹: Sc uɤ¹; Sy uɯ¹; Lq uɯ¹; Yh u¹; Pc uo¹; Qy uɤ¹ [1]
CSS *ʔuə¹

111 *wù* 惡〔遇合一去暮影〕 ‘detest’ CDC *u⁵ / EC *ʾah
CSWW *ʔuə⁵
CJQ *u⁵: Ly —; Jh u⁵; Pj u⁰; Dy ʔu⁵; Yk —; Wy u⁵
CLS *uə⁵: Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh u⁵; Pc uo⁵; Qy —

CSS #ʔuə^{5}: **Kh** (u^{6}$_{!ft}$); **Cs** (u^{-0}$_{!ft}$); **Js** —; **Ys** uə^{5}; **Gf** —

112 *nǔ* 女〔遇合三上語娘 C〕 ‘woman; daughter’ **CDC** *^{h}nie^{4} / **EC** *^{h}nrax

CSWW *na^{4} [1] ‘daughter’ ⩙ *ȵyə^{4} [2]

CJQ *nɒ^{4} ⩙ *ȵy^{4} [3] ⩙ *ȵi^{4}$_{!a}$ (?) [2] 女～ ‘servant girl’

a. **Ly** nuɑ^{4} 囡; **Jh** nɑ^{3}; **Pj** nɑ^{4}; **Dy** nuo^{4}; **Yk** nɑ$^{-11}$ ～婿 ‘son-in-law’; **Wy** nuɑ$^{-53}$ ～婿 ‘son-in-law’

b. **Ly** ȵy^{4}; **Jh** ȵy^{3}; **Pj** ȵy^{4}; **Dy** ȵiu^{4} [2]; **Yk** ɲy^{4} [2]; **Wy** ȵy^{4} [2]

c. **Ly** ȵi^{4} 囡～; **Jh** ȵi^{3} 囡～; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *na^{4} ⩙ *ȵyə^{4}

a. **Sc** na^{4}$_{!f}$ 囡～兒; **Sy** na^{-21}$_{!f}$ 囡～兒; **Lq** —; **Yh** no^{-223} 囡～婿 ‘son-in-law’ ⩙ nɛ$^{-324}$ 囡; **Pc** —; **Qy** nã$^{-33}$$_{!f}$ 囡$_{兒}$

b. **Sc** ȵyɤ^{4}; **Sy** ȵy^{4}; **Lq** ȵy^{3}; **Yh** ɲy^{3}; **Pc** ŋye^{4}; **Qy** ȵye^{4}

CSS *nɑ^{4} ⩙ #ȵyə^{4}: **Kh** (ȵy^{3}); **Cs** ȵye^{3} [1] ⩙ ȵy^{3} [2]; **Js** ŋyə^{4}; **Ys** ȵye^{4}; **Gf** ȵye^{4}

The finals for this etymon in the Lìshuǐ dialects, except for the first **Yh** form, are irregular. **Sc** and **Sy** point to **CLS** *-ai whereas the second **Yh** form and **Qy** point to CLS *-ə̃. However, these irregularities arose from a now-lost N-diminutive suffix. Note the changed tones in these reflexes.

113 *lǘ* 驢〔遇合三平魚來 C〕 ‘donkey’ **CDC** *lie^{2} / **EC** *la

CSWW *liə^{2} [1] ⩙ *lyə^{2} [2] ⩙ *luə^{2} [3]

CJQ *li^{2} ⩙ *ly^{2} ⩙ *lu^{2} [2]

a. **Ly** li^{2}; **Jh** li^{2}; **Pj** li^{2}; **Dy** li^{2}; **Yk** —; **Wy** li^{2}

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ly^{-324} [兒] 街狗～; **Wy** —

c. **Ly** lu^{2}; **Jh** lu^{2}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *lie^{2} ⩙ *lyə^{2} ⩙ *luə^{2}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** lie^{2}; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** lyɤ^{2}; **Sy** ly^{2}; **Lq** —; **Yh** ly^{2} [1] 街狗～ ‘small mule’; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lu^{2} [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** lɤ^{2}

CSS *liə^{2} ⩙ *lyə^{2}

114 *lǚ* 呂〔遇合三上語來 C〕 ‘Lǚ (pn.)’ **CDC** *lie^{4} / **EC** *lax

CSWW *liə^{4} [1] ⩙ *lyə^{4} [2]

CJQ *li^{4} ⩙ *ly^{4}

a. **Ly** li^{5}$_{!t}$; **Jh** li^{3}; **Pj** li^{4}; **Dy** li^{4}; **Yk** —; **Wy** li^{4}

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ly^{3}; **Pj** —; **Dy** iu^{4}$_{!i}$; **Yk** ly^{4}; **Wy** —

CLS *liə^{4} ⩙ *lyə^{4}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** li^{3}; **Yh** —; **Pc** lie^{4}; **Qy** li^{4}$_{!f}$

b. **Sc** lyɤ^{4}; **Sy** (ly^{4}$_{!f}$); **Lq** —; **Yh** ly^{3}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *lyə^{4}

115 *xú* 徐〔遇合三平魚邪 C〕 ‘slowly; Xú (pn.)’ **CDC** *zie² / **EC** *za

CSWW *zə² [1] ⪤ *zyə² [2]

CJQ *zi² ⪤ *žy²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zi²; **Pj** ʒi² ⪤ dʒi² [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʑi²

b. **Ly** ʑy²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** zɿ² [1] ⪤ zʮ² [2]; **Yk** ʑy²; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑyə²: **Sc** ʑyɤ²; **Sy** ɕy²; **Lq** ʑy²; **Yh** ʒy²; **Pc** tɕye²; **Qy** ɕye²

CSS *zə² ⪤ #zyə²

a. **Kh** zə²; **Cs** zə²; **Js** sə²; **Ys** zə²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** (ʑy²); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dʑye²

116 *zhū* 豬〔遇合三平魚知 C〕 ‘pig’ **CDC** *cie¹ / **EC** *tra

CSWW *ɗa¹ [1] ⪤ *ɗi(ə)¹ [2] ⪤ *tšiə¹ [3] ⪤ *tšyə¹ [4]

CJQ *ɗɒ¹ ⪤ *ɗi(ə)¹ ⪤ *tšiə¹ ⪤ *tšy¹

a. **Ly** tuɑ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsuo¹ꜜi; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** li¹

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** {tɕy¹} ⪤ tsɿ¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕi¹ [1]; **Wy** —

d. **Ly** —; **Jh** {tɕy¹}; **Pj** tʃy¹ ～八戒 ‘Zhū Bājiè (pn.)’; **Dy** tsɿ¹ [2]; **Yk** tɕy¹ [2] ～八戒 ‘Zhū Bājiè (pn.)’; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗa¹ ⪤ *ɗi(ə)¹ ⪤ *tɕiə¹ ⪤ *tɕyə¹

a. **Sc** ʔdɑ¹; **Sy** ʔduo¹; **Lq** ʔdo¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdo¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdi¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕie¹; **Qy** —

d. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕye¹ [2] ～八戒 ‘Zhū Bājiè (pn.)’

CSS *tɑ¹ ⪤ #tɕyə¹

a. **Kh** tɔ¹; **Cs** tɑ¹; **Js** tɒ¹; **Ys** tɑ¹; **Gf** tɑ¹

b. **Kh** (tɕy¹ꜜf) [2] ～八戒 ‘Zhū Bājiè (pn.)’; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕye¹ [2]

117 *zhù* 著〔遇合三去御知 C〕 ‘prominent’ **CDC** *cie⁵ / **EC** *trah

CSWW *tšyə⁵

CJQ *tšy⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy³; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕy⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵

CLS *tɕyə⁵: **Sc** tɕyɤ⁵; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕye⁵; **Qy** tɕye⁵

CSS #tɕyə⁵: **Kh** tɕy⁵ꜜf; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕye⁵; **Gf** tɕye⁵

118 *chú* 除〔遇合三平魚澄 C〕 ‘remove’ **CDC** *jie² / **EC** *dra

CSWW *də²ꜜa [1] ‘take off (clothes)’ ⪤ *džyə² [2]

CJQ *džy²: **Ly** dʑy²; **Jh** dʑy²; **Pj** dʒy²; **Dy** dzɿ²; **Yk** dʑy²; **Wy** dʑy²

CLS *dʑyə²: **Sc** dʑyɤ²; **Sy** tɕy²; **Lq** dʑy²; **Yh** dʒy²; **Pc** tɕye²; **Qy** tɕye²

CSS *də² ⪤ #dʑyə²

a. **Kh** die²; **Cs** die²; **Js** də²; **Ys** —; **Gf** dɤ²

b. **Kh** (dʑy²); **Cs** (dʑy²ꜜf); **Js** dʑyə²; **Ys** dʑye²; **Gf** dʑye²

119 *zhù* 苧〔遇合三上語澄 C〕 ‘ramie’ **CDC** *jie⁴ / **EC** *drax

CSWW *də⁴ˌa [1] ⩙ *džiə⁴ [1] ⩙ *džyə⁴ [2]

CJQ *dži⁴

a. **Ly** dzɿ²ˌt; **Jh** y⁶ˌi; **Pj** dʒi⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕi⁻⁵³ [1] ～布

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑy⁴ [2]

CLS *dʑie⁴ ⩙ *dʑyə⁴

a. **Sc** dʑie⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕi³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒy⁴; **Pc** tɕye¹ˌt; **Qy** tɕye⁴

CSS *də⁴ [2] ⩙ #dʑyə⁴

a. **Kh** die⁶; **Cs** də⁴ ⩙ die⁴ [2]; **Js** də⁴; **Ys** də⁻²²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dʑye²²

120 *zhù* 箸〔遇合三去御澄 C〕 ‘chopsticks’ **CDC** *jie⁶ / **EC** *drah

CSWW *džiə⁶

CJQ *dži⁶: **Ly** dzɿ⁶ [b] ⩙ dzɿ²; **Jh** dʑy⁶; **Pj** dʒi⁶; **Dy** dzi⁶; **Yk** dʑi⁶; **Wy** dʑi⁶

CLS *dʑie⁶: **Sc** dʑie⁶; **Sy** dzɿ⁶; **Lq** dʑi⁶; **Yh** dzɿ⁶; **Pc** tɕie⁶; **Qy** (tɕye⁶)

CSS *dʑiə⁶

121 *chū* 初〔遇合三平魚初 C〕 ‘beginning’ **CDC** *che¹ / **EC** *tshra

CSWW *tšʰɨ¹ [1] ⩙ *tšʰuə¹

CJQ *tsʰu¹: **Ly** tsʰu¹; **Jh** tsʰu¹; **Pj** tsʰu¹; **Dy** tsʰu¹; **Yk** tsʰu¹; **Wy** tsʰu¹

CLS *tɕʰɨ¹ ⩙ *tsʰuə¹ [2]

a. **Sc** tɕʰiu¹; **Sy** {tsʰɯ¹}; **Lq** {tsʰɤɯ¹}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** {tsʰɤ¹}

b. **Sc** tsʰuɤ¹; **Sy** {tsʰɯ¹}; **Lq** {tsʰɤɯ¹}; **Yh** tsʰu¹; **Pc** tsʰuo¹; **Qy** {tsʰɤ¹}

CSS #tɕʰe¹ ⩙ #tsʰyə¹ (?) [2]

a. **Kh** tsʰui¹ ～一 ‘New Year’s Day’; **Cs** tsʰi¹ ～一 ‘New Year’s Day’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** (tsʰu¹) ～中 ‘junior high’; **Cs** (tsʰu¹ˌf) ～中 ‘junior high’; **Js** (tsʰo¹ˌf); **Ys** tsʰuə¹; **Gf** tsʰo¹

122 *chú* 鋤〔遇合三平魚崇 C〕 ‘hoe’ **CDC** *je² / **EC** *dzra

CSWW *(ž,z)a² [1] ⩙ *ži² [2]

CJQ *(ž,z)ɒ² ⩙ *zɿ²

a. **Ly** zuɑ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** zuo²; **Yk** zɑ²; **Wy** zuɑ²

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** zɿ² [1] ⩙ dzu² [2]; **Pj** zɿ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *za² ⩙ *ži²

a. **Sc** zɑ²; **Sy** suo²; **Lq** zo²; **Yh** zo²; **Pc** —; **Qy** so²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** se²; **Qy** —

CSS *zɑ²

123 *shū* 梳〔遇合三平魚生 C〕 ‘comb’ **CDC** *she¹ / **EC** *sra

CSWW *(š,s)a¹ [1] ⩙ *ši¹ [2]

CJQ *(š,s)ɒ¹ ⩙ *sɿ¹ ⩙ *su¹ [3]

a. **Ly** suɑ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** suɑ¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** sɿ¹; **Yk** sɿ¹; **Wy** —

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** su¹₍ᵎf₎; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *sa¹ ⩙ *ši¹

a. **Sc** sɑ¹; **Sy** suo¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** sɤɯ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹ [1]; **Pc** se¹; **Qy** sɤ¹

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** su¹ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *sɑ¹

124 *shū* 疏〔遇合三平魚生 C〕 ‘sparse’ **CDC** *she¹ / **EC** *sra

CSWW *(š,s)a¹ [1] ⩙ *ši¹₍ᵎa₎ [2] ⩙ *šuə¹ [3]

CJQ *(š,s)ɒ¹ ⩙ *sɿ¹₍ᵎa₎ ⩙ *su¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** suo¹; **Yk** sɑ¹; **Wy** suɑ¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** sɿ⁻⁵³ 生～ ‘grow distant’

c. **Ly** su¹; **Jh** su¹; **Pj** su¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** su¹ [2] 生～ ‘grow distant’; **Wy** —

CLS *sa¹ ⩙ *ši¹₍ᵎa₎ ⩙ *suə¹

a. **Sc** sɑ¹; **Sy** suo¹; **Lq** so¹; **Yh** so¹ ⩙ so¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** so¹ [1]

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** {sɤ¹} 生～ ‘grow distant’

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** suo¹; **Qy** {sɤ¹} [2] 生～ ‘grow distant’

CSS *sɑ¹ ⩙ #ɕe¹₍ᵎa₎ ⩙ #syə¹

a. **Kh** sɔ¹; **Cs** sɑ¹ [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** si¹ 生～ ‘grow distant’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** (suə¹₍ᵎf₎); **Ys** ɕye¹; **Gf** so¹

125 *zhǔ* 煮〔遇合三上語章 C〕 ‘boil’ **CDC** *cie³ / **EC** *tax

CSWW *ʔiə³ [1] ⩙ *tšyə³ [2]

CJQ *ʔi³ ⩙ *tšy³

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** (tsɿ³₍ᵎi₎); **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** i³; **Wy** i³

b. **Ly** (tɕy⁵₍ᵎt₎); **Jh** tɕy³; **Pj** tʃy³; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ie³ ⩙ *tɕyə³

a. **Sc** ie³; **Sy** i³; **Lq** i³; **Yh** i³; **Pc** (tɕie³₍ᵎi₎); **Qy** ie³

b. **Sc** (tɕy¹₍ᵎft₎); **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕye³

CSS *ʔiə³ ⩙ #tɕyə³

a. **Kh** ie³; **Cs** ie³; **Js** iə³; **Ys** ie³; **Gf** ie³

b. **Kh** (tɕy³₍ᵎf₎); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕye³; **Gf** tɕye³

In a stage of pre-**CSWW** this final may have included a front rounded element. Cf. Common Mín *tʃy³.

126 *shū* 書〔遇合三平魚書 C〕 ‘book’ **CDC** *shie¹ / **EC** *θa

CSWW *(š,s)iə¹˩a [1] ≍ *šyə¹ [2]

CJQ *šy¹: **Ly** ɕy¹; **Jh** ɕy¹; **Pj** ʃy¹; **Dy** sɥ¹ [1] ≍ sɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** ɕy¹; **Wy** ɕy¹

CLS *ɕyə¹: **Sc** ɕyɤ¹; **Sy** ɕy¹; **Lq** ɕy¹; **Yh** ʃy¹; **Pc** ɕye¹; **Qy** ɕye¹

CSS *ɕiə¹ ≍ #ɕyə¹

a. **Kh** ɕie¹; **Cs** ɕie¹; **Js** ɕiə¹; **Ys** ɕie¹; **Gf** ɕie¹

b. **Kh** (ɕy¹˩f) [2]; **Cs** suə¹˩f [2] ≍ ɕy¹ [3]; **Js** ɕyə¹ [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** ɕye¹ [2]

127 *shǔ* 鼠〔遇合三上語書 C〕 ‘mouse’ **CDC** *shie³ / **EC** *hyax

CSWW *tšʰiə³

CJQ *tšʰi³: **Ly** tsʰɿ³; **Jh** tɕʰy³ [2] ≍ tsʰɿ³ [1]; **Pj** tsɿ³˩if; **Dy** tsʰi³; **Yk** tɕʰi³; **Wy** tɕʰi³

CLS *tɕʰie³: **Sc** tɕʰie³; **Sy** tsʰɿ³; **Lq** tɕʰi³; **Yh** tsʰɿ³; **Pc** tɕʰie³; **Qy** tɕʰie³

CSS *tɕʰiə³

128 *jū* 車〔廣韻：遇合三平魚見 C〕 ‘chariot’ **CDC** *ke¹ / **EC** *ka

CSWW *kyə¹

CJQ *ky¹: **Ly** tɕy¹; **Jh** tɕy¹; **Pj** tʃy¹; **Dy** tɕiʉ¹; **Yk** ky¹; **Wy** tɕy¹

CLS *kyə¹: **Sc** tɕyɤ¹; **Sy** tɕy¹; **Lq** tɕy¹; **Yh** tʃy¹; **Pc** kye¹; **Qy** tɕye¹

CSS #kyə¹: **Kh** tɕy¹; **Cs** tɕy¹; **Js** kyə¹; **Ys** kye¹; **Gf** kye¹

129 *jù* 鋸〔遇合三去御見 C〕 ‘saw (n.)’ **CDC** *ke⁵ / **EC** *kah

CSWW *kə⁵

CJQ *kɤ⁵

a. **Ly** kəɯ⁵; **Jh** kɤ⁵; **Pj** kə̃⁵; **Dy** kəɯ⁵; **Yk** kəɯ⁵ [1]; **Wy** kɯ⁵

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ky⁵ [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *kə⁵ [1] ≍ *kyə⁵ [2]

a. **Sc** kɤɯ⁵˩f; **Sy** kɯ⁵; **Lq** kɤɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** ke⁵; **Qy** kɤ⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** kye⁵; **Qy** tɕye⁵

CSS *kə⁵

130 *xū* 墟〔遇合三平魚溪 C〕 ‘wasteland; country fair’ **CDC** *khe¹ ≍ *xe¹ / **EC** *kha

CSWW *xə¹˩a [1] ‘country fair’ ≍ *xyə¹ [2]

CJQ *xy¹˩a: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃy¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *xyə¹: **Sc** ɕyɤ¹; **Sy** ɕy¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** xye¹; **Qy** ɕye¹

CSS *xə¹ ≍ #xyə¹˩a

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** xə¹; **Js** xə¹; **Ys** xə¹; **Gf** xɤ¹ [1]

b. **Kh** (ɕy¹˩f); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** xye¹

131 *qù* 去〔遇合三去御溪 C〕 ‘go, leave’ **CDC** *khe⁵ / **EC** *khah

CSWW *kʰə⁵ [1] ≍ *kʰyə⁵ [3]

CJQ *kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ *kʰy⁵ [2]

a. **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷₍f ⩙ kʰie⁵ ～年 ‘last year’; **Jh** kʰɯ⁵₍f; **Pj** tɕʰi⁵ ⩙ i⁵ [3]; **Dy** kʰəɯ⁵ ⩙ xəɯ⁵³ [3]; **Yk** kʰəɯ⁵; **Wy** kʰɯ⁵ ⩙ xɯ⁰ ⩙ kɯ⁰ [2]

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰy⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕʰiʉ⁵ [4]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kʰə⁵ ⩙ *kʰyə⁵ [2]

a. **Sc** kʰɤ³³ ⩙ kʰei⁵ ～年 ‘last year’; **Sy** kʰɤ⁵; **Lq** kʰɤɯ⁵; **Yh** kʰi⁵; **Pc** kʰe⁵; **Qy** kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ kʰã⁵ [3] ～年 ‘last year’

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰy⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰye⁵

CSS *kʰə⁵ ⩙ #kʰyə⁵ [2]

a. **Kh** kʰie⁵; **Cs** kʰə⁵ ⩙ kʰe⁻⁴⁴ [2] ～年 ‘last year’; **Js** kʰə⁵; **Ys** kʰə⁵ ⩙ kʰɐi⁻³³ [2] ～年 ‘last year’; **Gf** kʰɤ⁵ ⩙ kʰɤʔ⁷ [3] ～年 ‘last year’ ⩙ kʰeʔ⁷ [4] ～年 ‘last year’

b. **Kh** (tɕʰy⁵₍f); **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kʰye⁵

The correspondences of this form are erratic in the context ～年 *ȵiã² ‘last year’. Some may have resulted from a contraction with 一 *iək giving reflexes that coincide with *kʰəi⁵ or *kʰək⁷. Others coincide with *kʰə̃⁵~*kʰɤ̃⁵, and may have resulted from rebracketing so that the initial of 年 *ȵiã² was reinterpreted as a coda.

132 *qú* 渠〔遇合三平魚羣 C〕 ‘channel’ **CDC** *ge² / **EC** *ga

CSWW *gyə²

CJQ *gy²: **Ly** dʑy²; **Jh** dʑy²; **Pj** dʒy²; **Dy** dʑiʉ² [3]; **Yk** gy² [2]; **Wy** dʑy² [2]

CLS *gyə²: **Sc** dʑy²; **Sy** (dʑy⁶₍f); **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒy⁶₍t; **Pc** kye²; **Qy** tɕye² [2]

CSS #gyə²: **Kh** (dʑy²₍f) [2]; **Cs** (dʑy⁻²⁴₍f) [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** gye² [2]; **Gf** gye² [2]

133 **qú* 渠（傑）〔集韻：遇合三平魚羣 C〕 ‘3rd person pron.’ **CDC** *ge² ⩙ *ge⁴ / **EC** *ga

CSWW *gə² [1] ⩙ *gə⁴ [2]

CJQ *gɤ² ⩙ *gɤ⁴

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** gəɯ² [1] ⩙ əɯ⁰ [2]; **Yk** gəɯ² [1]; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** gəɯ⁴ ⩙ gəʔ⁸; **Jh** gəʔ⁸₍ft; **Pj** ʒi⁸₍it; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** gɯ⁴ [1]

CLS *gə² ⩙ *gə⁴

a. **Sc** gɤ²; **Sy** kɯ²; **Lq** gɤɯ²; **Yh** gi²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ke⁴; **Qy** kɤ⁴ [1]

CSS *ŋə¹₍it

134 *yú* 魚〔遇合三平魚疑 C〕 ‘fish’ **CDC** *ʰnge² / **EC** *ʰnga

CSWW *ŋə²

CJQ *ŋɤ² [1] ⩙ *ȵy²

a. **Ly** ŋəɯ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵy²; **Pj** ȵy²; **Dy** ȵiʉ²; **Yk** ȷny²; **Wy** ȵy²

CLS *ŋə²
a. **Sc** ŋɤ²; **Sy** ŋɯ²; **Lq** ŋɤɯ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** ŋe²; **Qy** ŋɤ⁵ [1]
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲy²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵye⁵ [2]
CSS *ŋə²

135 *yǔ* 語〔遇合三上語疑 C〕 ‘language’ **CDC** *nge⁴ / **EC** *ngax
CSWW *ȵyə⁴
CJQ *ȵy⁴: **Ly** ȵy⁴ [1]; **Jh** ȵy³; **Pj** ȵy⁴; **Dy** ȵiu⁶; **Yk** ɲy⁴; **Wy** ȵy⁴
CLS *ȵyə⁴: **Sc** ȵyɤ⁴; **Sy** ȵy⁴; **Lq** ȵy³; **Yh** ɲy³; **Pc** ŋye⁴; **Qy** ȵye⁴
CSS *ȵyə⁴

136 *xǔ* 許〔遇合三上語曉 C〕 ‘allow; promise; Xǔ (pn.)’ **CDC** *xe³ / **EC** *hax
CSWW *xə³ [1] ⩙ *xyə³ [2]
CJQ *xɤ³ ⩙ *xy³
a. **Ly** xəɯ³ ‘betroth’; **Jh** xɤ³ ～女兒 ‘betroth’; **Pj** —; **Dy** xɤn³ [兒] 幾～ ‘how much’; **Yk** xɤə³⁻⁵⁴ [兒] 幾～ ‘how much’; **Wy** xɤ⁻⁵³ [l] 幾～ ‘how much’
b. **Ly** ɕy³; **Jh** ɕy³; **Pj** ʃy³; **Dy** ɕiu³; **Yk** xy³; **Wy** ɕy³
CLS *xə³ ⩙ *xyə³
a. **Sc** xɤ³ ‘betroth’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xɤ³ ～賬 ‘pledge’
b. **Sc** (y³ǃif) [1] ⩙ ɕy³ [2]; **Sy** ɕy³; **Lq** ɕy³; **Yh** ʃy³; **Pc** xye³; **Qy** ɕye⁴ǃt
CSS *xə³ ‘promise’

137 *fǔ* 斧〔遇合三上麌非 C〕 ‘axe’ **CDC** *fu³ / **EC** *pax
CSWW *ɓuə³ (?) [1] ⩙ *fuə³ [2]
CJQ *fu³: **Ly** fu³; **Jh** fu³; **Pj** fu³; **Dy** fu³; **Yk** vu⁻¹¹ ～頭; **Wy** vu⁻³³ǃit ～頭
CLS *ɓo³ǃaf (?) ⩙ *fuə³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbo³
b. **Sc** fuɤ³; **Sy** fuɯ³; **Lq** fɤɯ³; **Yh** fu³; **Pc** fuo³; **Qy** —
CSS #ɓuə³ (?) ⩙ #fuə³
a. **Kh** puo³; **Cs** —; **Js** pu⁻⁴³ǃf ～頭; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** (fu³ǃf); **Js** fuə³; **Ys** vuə⁻²² ～頭; **Gf** fuɤ³

138 *fú* 扶〔遇合三平虞奉 C〕 ‘prop up, support’ **CDC** *vu² / **EC** *ba
CSWW *bu² [1] ⩙ *vuə² [2]
CJQ *vu²: **Ly** vu²; **Jh** vu⁶ǃt; **Pj** vu²; **Dy** u²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *bu² ⩙ *vuə²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** pu² ‘prop up’
b. **Sc** vuɤ⁶ǃt; **Sy** vuɯ¹ǃt; **Lq** vɤɯ²; **Yh** vu²; **Pc** fuo²; **Qy** fɤ²

CSS *bu² ⪥ #vuə²
a. Kh bu²; Cs bu²; Js bu²; Ys bu²; Gf bu²
b. Kh uo²˩˧; Cs —; Js —; Ys vuə²; Gf —

139 *wú* 無〔遇合三平虞微 C〕 '*ex.neg*' CDC *mvu² / EC *ma

CSWW *muə² [1] ⪥ *vuə² [2]

CJQ *m̩² ⪥ *vu²
a. Ly mɔ²˩˧; Jh m²; Pj m² ⪥ n² [2]; Dy n²˩˧; Yk ŋ¹; Wy —
b. Ly vu²; Jh vu² ⪥ u² [3]; Pj vu²; Dy u²; Yk —; Wy fu⁻⁴⁴⁵

CLS *muə²: Sc muɤ²; Sy muɯ²; Lq muɯ⁵˩˨; Yh m̩⁵˩˧˥; Pc muo² [白]; Qy mɤ⁵˩˨ [1]

CSS #m̩³˩˨ ⪥ #muə³: Kh m³ [1] ⪥ mo³ [2]; Cs m³ [1]; Js m³ [1] ⪥ moŋ³; Ys muə³ [1]; Gf muɤ³ [1]

140 *wǔ* 舞〔遇合三上麌微 C〕 'dance' CDC *mvu⁴ / EC *max

CSWW *muə⁴ [1] ⪥ *vu⁴ [2]

CJQ *m̩⁴ ⪥ *vu⁴
a. Ly m⁴ ～獅子 'lion dance'; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
b. Ly fu⁵˩˨; Jh vu⁶˩˨; Pj vu⁶˩˨; Dy u⁴; Yk vu⁴; Wy vu⁴

CLS *muə⁴: Sc muɤ⁴; Sy muɯ⁴; Lq mɤɯ³; Yh m̩³; Pc —; Qy mɤ⁴

CSS *muə⁴ ⪥ #vu⁴
a. Kh —; Cs muə⁴ ⪥ mɤɯ⁴ [2]; Js muə⁴; Ys muə⁴; Gf moŋ⁻²²˩˧
b. Kh (fu³˩˨); Cs vu⁴ [3]; Js fu⁴; Ys vu⁴; Gf fu⁴

141 *wù* 霧〔遇合三去遇微 C〕 'fog' CDC *mvu⁶ / EC *moh

CSWW *muə⁶

CJQ *vu⁶: Ly vu⁶; Jh vu⁶; Pj vu⁶; Dy u⁶; Yk vu⁶; Wy vu⁶

CLS *muə⁶
a. Sc muɤ⁶; Sy muɯ⁶; Lq mɤɯ⁶; Yh m̩⁶; Pc muo⁶ ⪥ moŋ¹; Qy mɤ⁶
b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc (fuo⁶); Qy —

CSS #muə⁶
a. Kh məŋ⁶ [1]; Cs muə⁶; Js muə⁶; Ys muə⁶ [1]; Gf muɤ⁶
b. Kh (u⁶˩˧) [2]; Cs —; Js —; Ys (vuə⁶) [2]; Gf —

142 *qǔ* 取〔遇合三上麌清 C〕 'take' CDC *tshiu³ / EC *tshox

CSWW *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ [1] 'seek return' ⪥ *tšʰyə³ [2]

CJQ *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ 'buy back' ⪥ *tšʰy³
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy tɕʰiu³
b. Ly tɕʰy³; Jh tɕʰy³; Pj tsʰu³˩˧; Dy tsʰɿ³; Yk tɕʰy³; Wy tɕʰy³ [2]

CLS *tɕʰiu³ ⪤ *tɕʰyə³
a. **Sc** tɕʰiɯ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ³
b. **Sc** tɕʰyɤ³; **Sy** tɕʰy³; **Lq** tɕʰy³; **Yh** tʃʰy³; **Pc** tɕʰye³; **Qy** tɕʰye³

CSS *tɕʰeu³ ⪤ *tɕʰyə³

143 *xū* 鬚〔遇合三平虞心 C〕 ‘whiskers, mustache’ **CDC** *siu¹ / **EC** *so

CSWW *(s,š)iu¹ [1] ⪤ *šyə¹ [2] ⪤ *suə¹ [3]

CJQ *su¹
a. **Ly** ɕy¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɕy¹; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** su¹; **Pj** su¹; **Dy** su¹; **Yk** su¹; **Wy** su¹

CLS *ɕiu¹ ⪤ *ɕyə¹ ⪤ *suə¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɯ¹ □[tɕʰye³³]～
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ɕy¹; **Lq** ɕy¹; **Yh** ʃy¹; **Pc** ɕye¹; **Qy** ɕye¹ [3] 軟～ ‘cilantro’ ⪤ ɕie¹ [2] 蝦兒～ ‘tendril’
c. **Sc** suɤ¹; **Sy** sɯ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕeu¹ ⪤ #ɕyə¹
a. **Kh** ɕiɯ¹; **Cs** ɕiɯ¹; **Js** ɕiɯ¹ [1]; **Ys** səɯ¹ [1]; **Gf** ɕiɯ¹ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ɕye¹; **Gf** ɕye¹ ‘tendril’
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** (sɯ¹$_{!f}$) [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

144 *chú* 廚〔遇合三平虞澄 C〕 ‘kitchen’ **CDC** *jiu² / **EC** *dro

CSWW *džyə²

CJQ *džy²: **Ly** dʑy²; **Jh** dʑy²; **Pj** dʒy²; **Dy** dzɻ²; **Yk** dʑy²; **Wy** dʑy²

CLS *dʑyə²: **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕy²; **Lq** dʑy²; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕye²; **Qy** —

CSS #dʑyə²: **Kh** dʑyo²; **Cs** dzuə⁻²⁴; **Js** dʑyə²; **Ys** dʑye²; **Gf** dʑye²

145 *chú* 櫥（廚）〔遇合三平虞澄 C〕 ‘cupboard’ **CDC** *jiu² / **EC** *dro

CSWW *džyə²

CJQ *džy²: **Ly** dʑy²; **Jh** dʑy²; **Pj** —; **Dy** dzɻ²; **Yk** tɕy⁻³²⁴ [兒] 碗疥～ ‘cupboard’; **Wy** dʑy²

CLS *dʑyə²: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕye²; **Qy** tɕye²

CSS *dʑyə²

146 *zhù* 柱〔遇合三上麌澄 C〕 ‘pillar’ **CDC** *jiu⁴ / **EC** *drox

CSWW *džyə⁴

CJQ *džy⁴: **Ly** dʑy⁴; **Jh** tɕy³; **Pj** dʒy⁴; **Dy** dzɻ⁴ [1] ⪤ dzɥ⁴ [2]; **Yk** dʑy⁴; **Wy** dʑy⁴

CLS *dʑyə⁴: **Sc** dʑyɤ⁴; **Sy** dʑy⁶$_{!t}$; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** dʒy⁶$_{!t}$; **Pc** tɕye⁴; **Qy** tɕye⁴

CSS #dzyə⁴$_{!i}$: **Kh** dʑyo⁶; **Cs** dzuə⁻²² 頭; **Js** dʑyə⁴; **Ys** dʑye⁴; **Gf** dzo⁻²² 頭

The **CSS** form may be literary. Its expected **CSWW** origin is *džuə⁴.

147 *shù* 數〔遇合三上麌生C〕 ‘number’ **CDC** *shu⁵ / **EC** *sroh

CSWW *šuə⁵

CJQ *su⁵: **Ly** su⁵; **Jh** su⁵; **Pj** su⁵; **Dy** su⁵; **Yk** su⁵; **Wy** su⁵

CLS *suə⁵: **Sc** suɤ⁵; **Sy** suɯ⁵ [2]; **Lq** sɤɯ⁵; **Yh** su⁵; **Pc** suo⁵; **Qy** sɤ⁵

CSS #syə⁵: **Kh** ɕyo⁵; **Cs** suə⁵; **Js** (suə⁵!f) 雙～ ‘even number’; **Ys** ɕye⁵ [1] ⩙ suə⁵ [2] ～學 ‘math’; **Gf** so⁵ [1]

148 *zhū* 珠〔遇合三平虞章C〕 ‘pearl’ **CDC** *ciu¹ / **EC** *to

CSWW *tšyə¹

CJQ *tšy¹: **Ly** tɕy¹; **Jh** tɕy¹; **Pj** tʃy¹; **Dy** tsɥ¹ [1] ⩙ tsɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** tɕy¹; **Wy** tɕy¹

CLS *tɕyə¹: **Sc** tɕyɤ¹; **Sy** tɕy¹; **Lq** tɕy¹ 珍～ ⩙ y¹ 目～ ‘eye’; **Yh** tʃy¹; **Pc** tɕye¹; **Qy** tɕye¹

CSS *tɕyə¹

149 *zhǔ* 主〔遇合三上麌章C〕 ‘master’ **CDC** *ciu³ / **EC** *tox

CSWW *tšyə³

CJQ *tšy³: **Ly** tɕy³; **Jh** tɕy³; **Pj** tʃy³; **Dy** tsɥ³ [1] ⩙ tsɥ³ [2]; **Yk** tɕy³; **Wy** tɕy³

CLS *tɕyə³: **Sc** tɕyɤ³; **Sy** tɕy³; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** tɕye³; **Qy** tɕye³

CSS *tɕyə³

150 *shū* 輸〔遇合三平虞書C〕 ‘lose’ **CDC** *shiu¹ / **EC** *hyo

CSWW *šyə¹

CJQ *šy¹: **Ly** ɕy¹; **Jh** ɕy¹; **Pj** ʃy¹; **Dy** sɥ¹ [1] ⩙ sɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** ɕy¹; **Wy** ɕy¹

CLS *ɕyə¹: **Sc** ɕyɤ¹; **Sy** ɕy¹; **Lq** ɕy¹; **Yh** ʃy¹; **Pc** ɕye¹; **Qy** ɕye¹

CSS *ɕyə¹

151 *shù* 樹〔遇合三去遇常C〕 ‘tree’ **CDC** *zhiu⁶ / **EC** *doh

CSWW *džiu⁶ [1] ⩙ *žyə⁶ [2]

CJQ *džiu⁶!a ⩙ *žy⁶

a. **Ly** dzəɯ⁶ ⩙ dʑiəɯ⁶ [2]; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ʑy⁶; **Pj** ʒy⁶; **Dy** zɥ⁶ [1] ⩙ zɥ⁶ [2]; **Yk** ʑy⁶; **Wy** ʑy⁶

CLS *dʑiu⁶ ⩙ *ʑyə⁶

a. **Sc** dʑiɯ⁶; **Sy** dʑiɯ⁶; **Lq** dʑiɯ⁶; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɯ⁶

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒy⁶; **Pc** ɕye⁶; **Qy** ɕye⁶

CSS *dʑeu⁶ ⩙ #ʑyə⁶

a. **Kh** dʑiɯ⁶; **Cs** dʑiɯ⁶; **Js** dʑiɯ⁶ ⩙ dzɯ⁶ [2]; **Ys** dzəɯ⁶; **Gf** dʑiɯ⁶

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ʑye⁶; **Gf** ɕye⁶

Cf. Proto-Níngdé *tʃʰiu⁵; Proto-Northern Mín *tsʰiu⁶.

152 *jù* 句〔遇合三去遇見 C〕 ‘phrase (clf.)’ **CDC** *kiu⁵ / **EC** *koh

CSWW *kyə⁵

CJQ *ky⁵: **Ly** tɕy⁵; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy⁵; **Dy** tɕiʉ⁵; **Yk** ky⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵

CLS *kyə⁵: **Sc** kɤ⁵₍!f₎; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** kye⁵; **Qy** tɕye⁵ [2] ≍ kɤ⁵ [1]

CSS *kyə⁵

The irregular reflexes in **Sc** and **Qy** are probably due to phonological reduction. This word is most often used as a classifier—a function word.

153 *qū* 區〔遇合三平虞溪 C〕 ‘district’ **CDC** *khiu¹ / **EC** *kho

CSWW *kʰyə¹

CJQ *kʰy¹: **Ly** tɕʰy¹; **Jh** tɕʰy¹; **Pj** tʃʰy¹; **Dy** tɕʰiʉ¹; **Yk** kʰy¹; **Wy** tɕʰy¹

CLS *kʰyə¹: **Sc** tɕʰyɤ¹; **Sy** tɕʰy¹; **Lq** tɕʰy¹; **Yh** tʃʰy¹; **Pc** kʰye¹; **Qy** tɕʰye¹

CSS #kʰyə¹: **Kh** (tɕʰy¹₍!f₎); **Cs** (tɕʰy³₍!f₎); **Js** kʰyə¹; **Ys** kʰye¹; **Gf** kʰye¹

154 *yú* 盂〔遇合三平虞云 C〕 ‘spittoon (in 痰～)’ **CDC** *yu² / **EC** *wa

CSWW *ɦyə²

CJQ *ɦy²: **Ly** y²; **Jh** y²; **Pj** y²; **Dy** iʉ²; **Yk** y¹₍!t₎ ‘痰～’; **Wy** y⁻³¹ ‘痰～’

CLS *ɦyə²: **Sc** —; **Sy** y¹₍!t₎; **Lq** —; **Yh** y⁶₍!t₎; **Pc** ye²; **Qy** ye²

CSS *ɦyə⁴

155 *yǔ* 雨〔遇合三上麌云 C〕 ‘rain’ **CDC** *yu⁴ / **EC** *wax

CSWW *ɦyə⁴

CJQ *ɦy⁴: **Ly** y⁴; **Jh** y³; **Pj** y⁴; **Dy** iʉ⁴; **Yk** y⁴; **Wy** y⁴

CLS *ɦyə⁴: **Sc** yɤ⁴; **Sy** y⁴; **Lq** y³; **Yh** y³; **Pc** ye⁴; **Qy** ye⁴

CSS *ɦyə⁴

156 *yù* 芋〔遇合三去遇云 C〕 ‘taro’ **CDC** *yu⁶ / **EC** *wah

CSWW *ɦu⁶₍!a₎ [1] ≍ *ɦyə⁶ [2]

CJQ *ɦy⁶: **Ly** y⁶; **Jh** y⁶; **Pj** y⁶; **Dy** iʉ⁶; **Yk** y⁶; **Wy** y⁶

CLS *ɦu⁶₍!a₎ ≍ *ɦyə⁶

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** u⁶; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** yɤ⁶; **Sy** y⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** y⁶; **Pc** ye⁶; **Qy** ye⁶

CSS *ɦu⁶₍!a₎ ≍ *ɦyə⁶

A.4 Xièshè 蟹攝

157 *dài* 戴〔蟹開一去代端〕 ‘carry on the head; Dài (pn.)’ **CDC** *toi⁵ / **EC** *’tih

CSWW *ɗai⁵ [1] ≍ *ɗəi⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗa⁵ ‘carry on the head’ ⩙ *ɗəi⁵ ‘Dài (pn.)’
a. **Ly** tɑ⁵; **Jh** tɑ⁵; **Pj** tɑ⁵; **Dy** tɑ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** lia⁵
b. **Ly** (tɛ⁵₍f₎); **Jh** tɛ⁵; **Pj** ta⁵; **Dy** te⁵; **Yk** ʔdəi⁵; **Wy** la⁵

CLS *ɗa⁵ ‘carry on the head’ ⩙ *ɗəi⁵ ‘Dài (pn.)’
a. **Sc** ʔda⁵; **Sy** ʔda⁵; **Lq** ʔda⁵; **Yh** ʔdɑ⁵; **Pc** lai⁵; **Qy** ʔdɑ⁵
b. **Sc** ʔdei⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdai⁵

CSS #tɑiʔ [2] ‘Dài (pn.)’ ⩙ *təi⁵ [1] ‘carry on the head’
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɛ³; **Js** tæ⁵; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** te⁵; **Cs** te⁵; **Js** tɐ⁵; **Ys** tɐi⁵; **Gf** tɐi⁵

158 *tāi* 胎〔蟹開一平咍透〕 ‘fetus’ **CDC** *thoi¹ / **EC** *’thi

CSWW *tʰəi¹

CJQ *tʰəi¹: **Ly** tʰei¹; **Jh** tʰɛ¹; **Pj** tʰa¹; **Dy** tʰe¹; **Yk** tʰəi¹; **Wy** tʰa¹

CLS *tʰəi¹: **Sc** tʰei¹; **Sy** tʰɛ¹; **Lq** tʰɛ¹; **Yh** tʰa¹; **Pc** tʰai¹; **Qy** tʰai¹

CSS *tʰəi¹

159 *tái* 臺〔蟹開一平咍定〕 ‘platform’ **CDC** *doi² / **EC** *’di

CSWW *dəi²

CJQ *dəi²: **Ly** dei²; **Jh** dɛ²; **Pj** da²; **Dy** de²; **Yk** dəi²; **Wy** da²

CLS *dəi²: **Sc** dei²; **Sy** tɛ²; **Lq** dɛ²; **Yh** da²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tai²

CSS *dəi²

160 *tái* 苔〔蟹開一平咍定〕 ‘moss; algae’ **CDC** *doi² / **EC** *’di

CSWW *di²₍a [1] ⩙ *dəi² [2]

CJQ *dəi²: **Ly** dei²; **Jh** dɛ²; **Pj** da²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *dəi²: **Sc** dei²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** da²; **Pc** tai²; **Qy** tai²

CSS *di²₍a ⩙ #dəi²
a. **Kh** di² [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** de²₍f [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tæ̃⁰

The only reflex of this set is **Kh** di². See Akitani (2003a, 56) for additional discussion.

161 *dài* 袋〔蟹開一去代定〕 ‘bag’ **CDC** *doi⁶ / **EC** *’dih

CSWW *dəi⁶

CJQ *dəi⁶: **Ly** dei⁶; **Jh** dɛ⁶; **Pj** da⁶; **Dy** de⁶; **Yk** dəi⁶; **Wy** da⁶

CLS *dəi⁶: **Sc** dei⁶; **Sy** dɛ⁶; **Lq** dɛ⁶; **Yh** da⁶; **Pc** tue⁶ [白]; **Qy** tai⁶

CSS *dəi⁶

162 *lái* 來〔蟹開一平咍來〕 ‘come’ **CDC** *loi² / **EC** *’li

CSWW *li² [1] ⩙ *ləi² [2]

CJQ *ləi²: **Ly** lei² [1] ⩙ lɛ² [2]; **Jh** lɛ²; **Pj** la² [1]; **Dy** le²; **Yk** ləi²; **Wy** la² [1]

CLS *li² ⩙ *ləi²
a. Sc —; Sy li²; Lq li²; Yh li²; Pc li²; Qy lie³$_{!ft}$
b. Sc lei²; Sy —; Lq —; Yh la²; Pc lai²; Qy lai²

CSS *li² ⩙ #ləi²
a. Kh li²; Cs li²; Js li²; Ys li²; Gf li²
b. Kh —; Cs lɛ⁻⁰; Js lᴇ⁰; Ys lɐi²; Gf lɐi²

163 *zāi* 災〔蟹開一平咍精〕 'disaster' CDC *tsoi¹ / EC *'tsi

CSWW *tsəi¹

CJQ *tsəi¹: Ly tsei¹; Jh tsɛ¹; Pj tsa¹; Dy tse¹; Yk tsəi¹; Wy tsa¹

CLS *tsəi¹: Sc tsei¹; Sy tsɛ¹; Lq tsɛ¹; Yh tsa¹; Pc tsai¹; Qy tsɑ¹

CSS #tsəi¹: Kh tsɛ¹; Cs tsɛ¹; Js tsᴇ¹; Ys tsɐi¹; Gf tsɐi¹

164 *zāi* 栽〔蟹開一平咍精〕 'tend to plants' CDC *tsoi¹ / EC *'tsi

CSWW *tsəi¹

CJQ *tsəi¹: Ly dzei²$_{!it}$ [1] ⩙ dzɛ² [2]; Jh tsɛ¹; Pj tsa¹; Dy tse¹; Yk tsəi¹; Wy tsa¹

CLS *tsəi¹: Sc tsei¹; Sy tsɛ¹; Lq —; Yh tsei¹; Pc tsai¹; Qy tsɑ¹$_{!f}$

CSS #tsəi¹ [2]: Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys tsɐi¹; Gf tsɐi¹

165 *zài* 載〔蟹開一去代精〕 'load' CDC *tsoi⁵ / EC *'tsih

CSWW *(ts,tš)i⁵$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *tsəi⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsəi⁵: Ly tsei⁵ ⩙ tsɛ⁵ [2]; Jh tsɛ⁵; Pj tsa⁵; Dy tse⁵; Yk tsəi⁵; Wy tsa⁵

CLS *tsəi⁵: Sc tsei⁵; Sy tsɛ⁵; Lq —; Yh tsa⁵; Pc tsai⁵; Qy tsai⁵

CSS *tɕi⁵ ⩙ *tsəi⁵

166 *cài* 菜〔蟹開一去代清〕 'vegetables' CDC *tshoi⁵ / EC *'tshih

CSWW *(tsʰ,tšʰ)i⁵$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *tsʰəi⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsʰəi⁵: Ly tsʰei⁵; Jh tsʰɛ⁵; Pj tsʰa⁵; Dy tsʰe⁵; Yk tsʰəi⁵; Wy tsʰa⁵

CLS *tsʰəi⁵: Sc tsʰei⁵; Sy tsʰe⁵; Lq tsʰɛ⁵; Yh tsʰa⁵; Pc tsʰai⁴; Qy tsʰai⁵

CSS *tɕʰi⁵ ⩙ *tsʰəi⁵

167 *cái* 財〔蟹開一平咍從〕 'wealth' CDC *dzoi² / EC *'dzi

CSWW *zəi² [1] ⩙ *dzəi² [2]

CJQ *zəi² ⩙ *dzəi²
a. Ly —; Jh zɛ²; Pj —; Dy —; Yk zəi²; Wy za²
b. Ly dzei²; Jh dzɛ²; Pj dza²; Dy dze²; Yk —; Wy —

CLS *zəi²: Sc zei²; Sy sɛ²; Lq zɛ²; Yh za²; Pc tsai²; Qy sai²

CSS #zəi² ⩙ #dzəi²
a. Kh —; Cs ze²; Js —; Ys zɐi²; Gf —
b. Kh dzɛ²; Cs dze²; Js dzᴇ²; Ys —; Gf dzɐi²

168 *zài* 在〔蟹開一上海從〕 'be at' **CDC** *dzoi⁴ / **EC** *'dzix

CSWW *zəi⁴ [1] ⩙ *dzəi⁴ [2]

CJQ *zəi⁴ ⩙ *dzəi⁴

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɛ³ ⩙ zɛ⁶ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** za⁴

b. **Ly** dzei⁴; **Jh** (dzɛ⁶꜔ₜ) [3]; **Pj** dza⁴; **Dy** dze⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *zəi⁴

a. **Sc** zei⁴ [1]; **Sy** sɛ⁴; **Lq** sɛ³; **Yh** za⁴; **Pc** tsai⁶꜔ₜ; **Qy** sɑ⁴

b. **Sc** dzei⁴ [2]; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *zəi⁴ ⩙ #dzəi⁴

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ze²꜔ₜ; **Js** —; **Ys** zɐi⁴ ⩙ zɐi⁶ [2]; **Gf** dzɐi⁴

b. **Kh** dzɛ⁶; **Cs** (dze⁶꜔ₜ); **Js** dzᴇ⁶꜔ₜ; **Ys** —; **Gf** dzɐi⁶꜔ₜ

169 *sài* 賽〔蟹開一去代心〕 'contest' **CDC** *soi⁵ / **EC** *'sih

CSWW *sai⁵ [1] ⩙ *səi⁵ [2]

CJQ *səi⁵: **Ly** sɛ⁵; **Jh** sɛ⁵; **Pj** sa⁵; **Dy** se⁵; **Yk** səi⁵; **Wy** sa⁵

CLS *sai⁵ ⩙ *səi⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** sai⁵; **Qy** sɑ⁵

b. **Sc** sei⁵; **Sy** sɛ⁵; **Lq** sɛ⁵; **Yh** sei⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *sɑi⁵

The reason for this doublet is unclear.

170 *gǎi* 改〔蟹開一上海見〕 'correct' **CDC** *koi³ / **EC** *'kix

CSWW *kəi³

CJQ *kəi³: **Ly** kei³; **Jh** kɛ³; **Pj** ka³; **Dy** ke³; **Yk** kəi³; **Wy** ka³

CLS *kəi³: **Sc** kei³; **Sy** kɛ³; **Lq** kɛ³; **Yh** ka³; **Pc** kue³; **Qy** kai³

CSS *kəi³

171 *kāi* 開〔蟹開一平咍溪〕 'open' **CDC** *khoi¹ / **EC** *'khuy

CSWW *kʰəi¹

CJQ *kʰəi¹: **Ly** kʰei¹; **Jh** kʰɛ¹; **Pj** kʰa¹; **Dy** kʰe¹; **Yk** kʰəi¹; **Wy** kʰa¹

CLS *kʰəi¹: **Sc** kʰei¹; **Sy** kʰɛ¹; **Lq** kʰɛ¹; **Yh** kʰei¹꜔ᵪ; **Pc** kʰue¹; **Qy** kʰai¹

CSS *kʰəi¹

172 *ài* 礙〔蟹開一去代疑〕 'obstruct, obstacle' **CDC** *ngoi⁶ / **EC** *'ngih

CSWW *ŋəi⁶

CJQ *ŋəi⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** ɛ⁶; **Pj** ŋa⁴꜔ₜ; **Dy** ŋe⁶; **Yk** ŋəi⁶; **Wy** ŋa⁶

CLS *ŋəi⁶: **Sc** ŋei⁶; **Sy** ŋɛ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ŋue⁶; **Qy** —

CSS *ŋəi⁶

173 *hǎi* 海〔蟹開一上海曉〕 ‘ocean’ **CDC** *xoi³ / **EC** *’hix

CSWW *xəi³

CJQ *xəi³: **Ly** xei³; **Jh** xɛ³; **Pj** xa³; **Dy** xe³; **Yk** xəi³; **Wy** xa³

CLS *xəi³: **Sc** xei³; **Sy** xɛ³; **Lq** xɛ³; **Yh** xa³; **Pc** xue³; **Qy** xai³

CSS *xəi³

174 *hài* 亥〔蟹開一上海匣〕 ‘*hài* 12/12 (gz.)’ **CDC** *hoi⁴ / **EC** *’gix

CSWW *ɦəi⁴

CJQ *ɦəi⁴: **Ly** xei⁴$_{!i}$; **Jh** ɛ³; **Pj** a⁴; **Dy** e⁴; **Yk** əi⁴; **Wy** a⁴

CLS *ɦəi⁴: **Sc** ei⁴; **Sy** ŋɛ⁴; **Lq** —; **Yh** a³; **Pc** —; **Qy** xai³$_{!t}$

CSS *ɦəi⁴

175 *ài* 愛〔蟹開一去代影〕 ‘love’ **CDC** *oi⁵ / **EC** *’us

CSWW *ʔəi⁵

CJQ *ʔei⁵: **Ly** ei⁵; **Jh** ɛ⁵; **Pj** a⁵; **Dy** ʔe⁵; **Yk** əi⁵; **Wy** a⁵

CLS *əi⁵: **Sc** ei⁵; **Sy** ɛ⁵; **Lq** ɛ⁵; **Yh** a⁵; **Pc** ue⁵; **Qy** ai⁵

CSS *ʔəi⁵

176 *dài* 帶〔蟹開一去泰端〕 ‘bring; belt’ **CDC** *tai⁵ / **EC** *’tas

CSWW *ɗai³ [1] ‘belt’ ≍ *ɗai⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗa⁵: **Ly** tɑ⁵; **Jh** tɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɑ⁵; **Dy** tɑ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** lia⁵

CLS *ɗai³ [2] ≍ *ɗai⁵ [1]

a. **Sc** ʔda³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdɑ³

b. **Sc** ʔda⁵ ‘bring’; **Sy** ʔda⁵; **Lq** ʔda⁵; **Yh** ʔdɑ⁵; **Pc** lai⁵; **Qy** ʔdɑ⁵ ‘bring’

CSS *tɑi³ ≍ *tɑi⁵ ‘bring’

177 *dài* 大〔蟹開一去泰定〕 ‘great’ **CDC** *dai⁶ / **EC** *’das

CSWW *ɗai⁶ *B*

CJQ *ɗa⁶: **Ly** dɑ⁶; **Jh** dɑ⁶ [2] ≍ dɛ⁶; **Pj** dɑ⁶; **Dy** dɑ⁶ [3]; **Yk** diɑ⁶ [2] ≍ dɑ⁶ [3]; **Wy** dia⁶ [2]

CLS *ɗai⁶: **Sc** dɑ⁶$_{!f}$; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dɑ⁶; **Pc** tai⁶; **Qy** tɑ⁶ [2]

CSS *ɗɑi⁶

178 *lài* 賴〔蟹開一去泰來〕 ‘rely on’ **CDC** *lai⁶ / **EC** *’las

CSWW *lai⁶

CJQ *la⁶: **Ly** lɑ⁶ [1] ≍ lɛ⁶ [2]; **Jh** lɑ⁶; **Pj** lɑ⁴$_{!t}$ [1] ≍ na⁴ [2]; **Dy** lɑ⁶; **Yk** liɑ⁶; **Wy** lia⁶

CLS *lai⁶: **Sc** la⁶; **Sy** la⁶; **Lq** la⁶; **Yh** lɑ⁶; **Pc** lai⁶; **Qy** lɑ⁶

CSS *lɑi⁶

179 *cài* 蔡〔蟹開一去泰清〕 ‘Cài (pn.)’ **CDC** *tshai⁵ / **EC** *’tshas ⩙ *’sayh

CSWW *tsʰai⁵

CJQ *tsʰa⁵: **Ly** (tsʰei⁵˩˧); **Jh** tsʰɑ⁵; **Pj** tsʰɑ¹˩˨; **Dy** tsʰɑ⁵; **Yk** tɕʰiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕʰia⁵

CLS *tsʰai⁵: **Sc** tsʰa⁵; **Sy** tsʰa⁵; **Lq** tsʰa⁵; **Yh** tsʰɑ⁵; **Pc** tsʰai⁴; **Qy** tsʰɑ⁵

CSS *tsʰɑi⁵

180 *gài* 蓋〔廣韻：蟹開一去泰見〕 ‘cover’ **CDC** *koi⁵ / **EC** *’kas

CSWW *kɔi⁵ [1] ⩙ *kəi⁵

CJQ *kəi⁵: **Ly** kei⁵; **Jh** kɛ⁵; **Pj** ka⁵; **Dy** ke⁻³³; **Yk** kəi⁵; **Wy** ka⁵

CLS *kɔi⁵ ⩙ *kəi⁵ [2]

a. **Sc** ka⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** ka⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɑ⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ka⁵; **Pc** kue⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *kuɑi⁵ ⩙ #kəi⁵ [2]

a. **Kh** kuɛ⁵; **Cs** kuɛ⁵; **Js** kuæ⁵; **Ys** kuai⁵; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** kɐ⁵; **Ys** kɐi⁵; **Gf** kɐi⁵

181 *ài* 艾〔蟹開一去泰疑〕 ‘mugwort; Ài (pn.)’ **CDC** *ʰŋoi⁶ / **EC** *’ʰŋas

CSWW *ŋai⁴ [1] ‘mugwort’ ⩙ *ŋai⁶ [2] ⩙ *ŋəi⁶ [2]

CJQ *ŋa⁶ ⩙ *ŋəi⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ŋ̊iɑ⁴ [1]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** ŋɑ⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** ŋɑ⁶; **Yk** ɲiɑ⁶; **Wy** ŋ̊ia⁶

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɛ⁶; **Pj** ŋa²˩˨ [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ŋai⁶ ⩙ *ŋəi⁶

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɑ⁴ [1]

b. **Sc** ŋa⁶; **Sy** ŋa⁶; **Lq** ua⁶˩˧; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɑ⁶ [2]

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ŋa⁶; **Pc** ŋue⁶; **Qy** —

CSS *ŋɑi⁴ ⩙ #ŋɑi⁶ ‘Ài (pn.)’

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ŋɛ⁴; **Js** ŋæ⁴; **Ys** ŋai⁴; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ŋɛ⁶; **Cs** —; **Js** ŋæ⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** ŋa⁶

182 *hài* 害〔蟹開一去泰匣〕 ‘harm’ **CDC** *hoi⁶ / **EC** *’gas

CSWW *ɦɔi⁶˩˦ [1] ⩙ *ɦəi⁶ [2]

CJQ *ɦa⁶ ⩙ *ɦəi⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** iɑ⁰˩˧ 厲～ ‘awesome’; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** ei⁶; **Jh** ɛ⁶; **Pj** a⁶; **Dy** e⁶; **Yk** əi⁶; **Wy** a⁶

CLS *ɦɔi⁶ ⩙ *ɦəi⁶

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** a⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuɑ⁶

b. **Sc** ei⁶; **Sy** ɛ⁶; **Lq** ɛ⁶; **Yh** a⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦəi⁶

183 *bài* 拜〔蟹開二去怪幫〕 ‘worship’ **CDC** *pai⁵ / **EC** *pras
CSWW *ɓai⁵
CJQ *ɓa⁵: **Ly** pɑ⁵; **Jh** pɑ⁵; **Pj** pɑ⁵; **Dy** pɑ⁵; **Yk** ʔbiɑ⁵; **Wy** pia⁵
CLS *ɓai⁵: **Sc** ʔba⁵; **Sy** ʔba⁵; **Lq** ʔba⁵; **Yh** ʔbɑ⁵; **Pc** pai⁵; **Qy** ʔbɑ⁵
CSS *pɑi⁵

184 *pái* 排〔蟹開二平皆並〕 ‘arrange, expel’ **CDC** *bai² / **EC** *bruy
CSWW *bai²
CJQ *ba²: **Ly** bɑ²; **Jh** bɑ²; **Pj** bɑ²; **Dy** bɑ²; **Yk** biɑ²; **Wy** bia²
CLS *bai²: **Sc** ba²; **Sy** pa²; **Lq** ba²; **Yh** bɑ²; **Pc** pai²; **Qy** pɑ²
CSS #bɑi²: **Kh** bɛ²; **Cs** bɛ²; **Js** bæ²; **Ys** bai²; **Gf** ba²

185 *zhāi* 齋〔蟹開二平皆莊〕 ‘ritual purification’ **CDC** *cai¹ / **EC** *tsriy
CSWW *tsai¹
CJQ *tsa¹: **Ly** tsɑ¹; **Jh** tsɑ¹; **Pj** tsɑ¹; **Dy** tsɑ¹; **Yk** tɕiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕia¹
CLS *tsai¹: **Sc** tsa¹; **Sy** tsa¹; **Lq** tsa¹; **Yh** tsɑ¹; **Pc** tsai¹; **Qy** tsɑ¹
CSS *tsɑi¹

186 *jiè* 芥〔廣韻：蟹開二去怪見〕 ‘Chinese mustard’ **CDC** *kai⁵ / **EC** *kras
CSWW *kai⁵
CJQ *ka⁵: **Ly** kɑ⁵ [1] ⪤ tɕiɛ⁵ [2]; **Jh** kɑ⁵; **Pj** kɑ⁵; **Dy** kɑ⁵; **Yk** kiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕiaʔ⁷$_{!t}$
CLS *kai⁵: **Sc** ka⁵; **Sy** ka⁵; **Lq** ka⁵; **Yh** kɑ⁵; **Pc** kai⁵; **Qy** kɑ⁵ [2] ⪤ ie⁵ [1]
CSS *kɑi⁵

187 *jiè* 戒〔蟹開二去怪見〕 ‘prohibit’ **CDC** *kai⁵ / **EC** *krih
CSWW *kai⁵
CJQ *ka⁵: **Ly** kɑ⁵; **Jh** kɑ⁵ [1] ⪤ tɕiɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** kɑ⁵ [1] ⪤ tɕia⁵ [2]; **Dy** kɑ⁵ [1] ⪤ tɕiei⁵ [2]; **Yk** kiɑ⁵; **Wy** tɕiaʔ⁷$_{!t}$
CLS *kai⁵: **Sc** ka⁵; **Sy** ka⁵; **Lq** ka⁵; **Yh** kɑ⁵; **Pc** kai⁵; **Qy** kɑ⁵
CSS *kɑi⁵

188 *kāi* 揩〔蟹開二平皆溪〕 ‘wipe’ **CDC** *khai¹ / **EC** *khriy
CSWW *kʰai¹
CJQ *kʰa¹: **Ly** kʰɑ¹; **Jh** kʰɑ¹; **Pj** kʰɑ¹; **Dy** kʰɑ¹; **Yk** kʰiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕʰia¹
CLS *kʰai¹: **Sc** kʰa¹; **Sy** kʰa¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰɑ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰɑ¹
CSS *kʰɑi¹

189 *bǎi* 擺〔蟹開二上蟹幫〕 ‘lay out’ **CDC** *pai³ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɓai³

CJQ *ɓa³: **Ly** pɑ³; **Jh** pɑ³; **Pj** pɑ³; **Dy** pɑ³; **Yk** ʔbiɑ³; **Wy** pia³
CLS *ɓai³: **Sc** ʔba³; **Sy** ʔba³; **Lq** ʔba³; **Yh** ʔbɑ³; **Pc** pai³; **Qy** ʔbɑ³
CSS *pɑi³

190 *pái* 牌〔蟹開二平佳並〕 ‘plaque’ **CDC** *bai² / **EC** *bre
CSWW *bai²
CJQ *ba²: **Ly** bɑ²; **Jh** bɑ²; **Pj** bɑ²; **Dy** bɑ²; **Yk** biɑ²; **Wy** bia²
CLS *bai²: **Sc** ba²; **Sy** pa²; **Lq** ba²; **Yh** bɑ²; **Pc** pai²; **Qy** pɑ²
CSS *bɑi²

191 *pái* 簰〔廣韻：蟹開二平佳並〕 ‘raft’ **CDC** *bai² / **EC** *bre
CSWW *ba²$_{!a}$ [1] ⨯ *bai² [2]
CJQ *ba²: **Ly** bɑ²; **Jh** bɑ²; **Pj** bɑ²; **Dy** bɑ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** bia²
CLS *bai²: **Sc** ba²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bɑ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** bɑ²
CSS *bɑ²

Cf. Proto-Tai *beːᴬ ‘raft’ (Pittayaporn 2009, 342).

192 *bài* 稗〔蟹開二去卦並〕 ‘cockspur’ **CDC** *bai⁶ / **EC** *breh
CSWW *ba⁶
CJQ *bɒ⁶ ⨯ *ba⁶
a. **Ly** bu⁶; **Jh** bɤa⁶; **Pj** bia⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** buɑ⁶
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** bɑ⁶; **Yk** biɑ⁶; **Wy** —
CLS *ba⁶: **Sc** bɑ⁶; **Sy** bu⁶$_{!f}$; **Lq** —; **Yh** bo⁶; **Pc** pa⁶; **Qy** po⁶
CSS *bɑ⁶

193 *mǎi* 買〔蟹開二上蟹明〕 ‘buy’ **CDC** *mai⁴ / **EC** *mrex
CSWW *ma⁴$_{!a}$ [1] ⨯ *mai⁴
CJQ *ma⁴: **Ly** mɑ⁴; **Jh** mɑ³; **Pj** mɑ⁴; **Dy** mɑ⁴; **Yk** miɑ⁴; **Wy** mia⁴
CLS *mai⁴: **Sc** ma⁴; **Sy** ma⁴; **Lq** ma³; **Yh** mɑ³; **Pc** mai⁴; **Qy** mɑ⁴
CSS *mɑ⁴

194 *mài* 賣〔蟹開二去卦明〕 ‘sell’ **CDC** *mai⁶ / **EC** *mreh
CSWW *ma⁶$_{!a}$ [1] ⨯ *mai⁶ [2]
CJQ *ma⁶: **Ly** mɑ⁶; **Jh** mɑ⁶; **Pj** mɑ⁶; **Dy** mɑ⁶; **Yk** miɑ⁶; **Wy** mia⁶
CLS *mai⁶: **Sc** ma⁶; **Sy** ma⁶; **Lq** ma⁶; **Yh** mɑ⁶; **Pc** mai⁶; **Qy** mɑ⁶
CSS #mɑ⁶ ⨯ #mɑi⁶$_{!a}$
a. **Kh** mɔ⁶; **Cs** mɑ⁴$_{!t}$; **Js** mɒ⁴$_{!t}$; **Ys** mɑ⁶; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ma⁶

In the Shàngshān dialects, the original tone *6 is preserved in Ys and possibly Kh (where

tones *4 and *6 have merged). In the other dialects this word has been conflated with CSWW *ma⁴ ‘buy’ by folk etymology.

195 *nǎi* 奶〔廣韻：蟹開二上蟹娘〕 ‘breasts’ **CDC** *nai⁴ / **EC** —

CSWW *na¹ˌˡa (?) [1] ⩙ *nai⁴

CJQ *na⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** nɑ³; **Pj** nɑ⁴; **Dy** nɑ⁴; **Yk** niɑ⁴; **Wy** nia⁴

CLS *na¹ˌˡa ⩙ *nai⁴

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** nai¹ˌˡf; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** na⁴; **Sy** na⁴; **Lq** na³; **Yh** nɑ³; **Pc** nai³ˌˡt; **Qy** —

CSS *nɑ¹ ⩙ *nɑi⁴ [2]

196 *chāi* 釵〔蟹開二平佳初〕 ‘hairpin’ **CDC** *chai¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *tsʰa¹ˌˡa [1] ⩙ *tsʰai¹ [2]

CJQ *tsʰa¹: **Ly** tsʰɑ¹; **Jh** tsʰɑ¹; **Pj** tsʰɑ¹; **Dy** tsʰɑ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕʰia¹

CLS *tsʰai¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsʰo¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tsʰa¹; **Sy** tsʰa¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsʰɑ¹; **Pc** tsʰai¹; **Qy** tsʰɑ¹

CSS *tsʰɑ¹ ⩙ *tsʰɑi¹

197 *chái* 柴〔蟹開二平佳崇〕 ‘firewood’ **CDC** *jai² / **EC** *dzre

CSWW *zai²

CJQ *za²: **Ly** zɑ²; **Jh** zɑ²; **Pj** zɑ²; **Dy** zɑ²; **Yk** ʑiɑ²; **Wy** ʑia²

CLS *zai²: **Sc** za²; **Sy** sa²; **Lq** za² [文]; **Yh** zɑ²; **Pc** sai²; **Qy** sɑ²

CSS *zɑi²

198 *shāi* 篩（簁）〔廣韻：蟹開二平佳生〕 ‘sift, strain’ **CDC** *shai¹ / **EC** *sre

CSWW *ši¹ ⩙ *sai¹

CJQ *sɿ¹ ⩙ *sa¹

a. **Ly** sɿ¹; **Jh** sɿ¹; **Pj** sɿ¹; **Dy** sɿ¹; **Yk** sɿ¹; **Wy** sɿ¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɕi¹ ⩙ *sai¹

a. **Sc** ɕiu¹; **Sy** suɯ¹; **Lq** sɤɯ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** (tɕʰi¹ˌˡif); **Qy** sɤ¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** sai¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕe¹ ⩙ #sɑi¹

a. **Kh** sui¹; **Cs** si¹; **Js** ɕø¹; **Ys** se¹; **Gf** se¹

b. **Kh** sɛ¹; **Cs** sɛ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** sai¹; **Gf** sa¹

199 *shài* 曬〔蟹開二去卦生〕 ‘sun-dry’ **CDC** *shai⁵ / **EC** *sreh

CSWW *ša⁵ [1] ⩙ *sai⁵ [2]

CJQ *šɒ^{5} ⩙ *sa$^{5}_{!a}$
a. **Ly** suɑ^{5}; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃyɑ^{5}; **Dy** suo^{5}; **Yk** sɑ^{5}; **Wy** suɑ^{5}
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑ^{5}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *sa^{5} ⩙ *sai^{5}
a. **Sc** sɑ^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** so^{5}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** sa^{5}; **Lq** sa^{5}; **Yh** sɑ^{5}; **Pc** sai^{5}; **Qy** sɑ^{5}

CSS *sɑ^{5}

200 *jiē* 街〔蟹開二平佳見〕 ‘street’ **CDC** *kai^{1} / **EC** —

CSWW *kai^{1}

CJQ *ka^{1}: **Ly** kɑ^{1}; **Jh** kɑ^{1} [1] ⩙ tɕiɛ^{1} [2]; **Pj** kɑ^{1} [1] ⩙ tɕia^{1} [2]; **Dy** kɑ^{1}; **Yk** kiɑ^{1}; **Wy** tɕia^{1}

CLS *kai^{1}: **Sc** ka^{1}; **Sy** ka^{1}; **Lq** ka^{1}; **Yh** kɑ^{1}; **Pc** kai^{1}; **Qy** kɑ^{1}

CSS *kɑi^{1}

201 *jiě* 解〔廣韻：蟹開二上蟹見〕 ‘untie’ **CDC** *kai^{3} / **EC** *krex

CSWW *ka$^{3}_{!a}$ [1] ‘untie’ ⩙ *kai^{3} [2]

CJQ *ka^{3}: **Ly** kɑ^{3} ⩙ tɕiɛ^{3}; **Jh** kɑ^{3} [1] ⩙ tɕiɛ^{3} [2]; **Pj** kɑ^{3} ⩙ tɕia^{3}; **Dy** kɑ^{3}; **Yk** kiɑ^{3}; **Wy** tɕia^{3}

CLS *kai^{3}: **Sc** ka^{3}; **Sy** ka^{3}; **Lq** ka^{3}; **Yh** kɑ^{3}; **Pc** kai$^{2}_{!t}$ [文]; **Qy** kɑ^{3}

CSS #kɑ^{3} ⩙ #kɑi^{3}
a. **Kh** kɔ^{3}; **Cs** kɑ^{3}; **Js** kɒ^{3}; **Ys** kɑ^{3}; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** kɛ^{3} ⩙ tɕie^{3} [3]; **Cs** kɛ^{3}; **Js** kæ^{3} ⩙ kiæ$^{-52}$ [3]; **Ys** kai^{3}; **Gf** ka^{3}

202 *jiè* 解〔蟹開二去卦見〕 ‘send under escort’ **CDC** *kai^{5} / **EC** *kreh

CSWW *kai^{5}

CJQ *ka^{5}: **Ly** kɑ^{5}; **Jh** kɑ^{5}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kiɑ^{5}; **Wy** tɕiaʔ$^{7}_{!ft}$

CLS *kai^{5}: **Sc** ka^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kɑ^{5}; **Pc** —; **Qy** kɑ^{5}

CSS #kɑi^{5}: **Kh** —; **Cs** kɛ^{5}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ka^{5}

203 *xié* 鞋〔蟹開二平佳匣〕 ‘shoes’ **CDC** *hai^{2} / **EC** *gre

CSWW *ɦai^{2}

CJQ *ɦa^{2}: **Ly** ɑ^{2}; **Jh** ɑ^{2} [1] ⩙ ʑiɛ^{2} [2]; **Pj** ɑ^{2}; **Dy** ɑ^{2}; **Yk** iɑ^{2}; **Wy** ia^{2}

CLS *ɦai^{2}: **Sc** a^{2}; **Sy** a^{2}; **Lq** a^{2}; **Yh** ɑ^{2}; **Pc** xai^{2}; **Qy** xɑ^{2}

CSS *ɦɑi^{2}

204 *xiè* 解〔蟹開二上蟹匣〕 ‘be able’ **CDC** *hai^{4} / **EC** *grex

CSWW *ɦai^{4} [1]

CJQ —

CLS *ɦai^{4}: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** xai^{4}; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦɑi⁴ ≍ *ɦuɑi⁴ [2]

205 *xiè* 蟹〔蟹開二上蟹匣〕 ‘crab’ CDC *hai⁴ / EC *grex

CSWW *xa³ˈa [1] ≍ *xai³ [2]

CJQ *xa³: Ly xɑ³ [1] ≍ ɕie³ [2]; Jh xɑ³; Pj xɑn⁵ [兒]; Dy xan³ [兒]; Yk xiɑ³; Wy ɕia³

CLS *xai³: Sc xa³; Sy xa⁵ˌt; Lq xa³; Yh xɑ³; Pc xai³; Qy xɑ³

CSS *xɑ³

206 *ǎi* 矮〔蟹開二上蟹影〕 ‘short’ CDC *ai³ / EC —

CSWW *ʔai³

CJQ *ʔa³: Ly ɑ³; Jh ɑ³; Pj ɑ⁵; Dy ʔɑ³; Yk iɑ³; Wy ia³

CLS *ai³: Sc a³; Sy a³; Lq a³; Yh ɑ³; Pc ai³; Qy —

CSS *ʔɑi³

207 *bài* 敗〔蟹開二去夬並〕 ‘defeat’ CDC *bai⁶ / EC *bras

CSWW *bai⁶

CJQ *ba⁶: Ly bɑ⁶; Jh bɑ⁶; Pj bɑ⁶; Dy bɑ⁶; Yk biɑ⁶; Wy bia⁶

CLS *bai⁶: Sc ba⁶; Sy ba⁶; Lq ba⁶; Yh bɑ⁶; Pc pai⁶; Qy pɑ⁶

CSS #bɑi⁶: Kh bɛ⁶; Cs bɛ⁶; Js bæ⁶; Ys bai⁶; Gf ba⁶

208 *jì* 祭〔蟹開三去祭精 AB〕 ‘offering’ CDC *tsiai⁵ / EC *tsas

CSWW *tsiei⁵

CJQ *tsie⁵: Ly tɕi⁵; Jh tsie⁵; Pj tʃi⁵; Dy tsi⁵; Yk tɕiə⁵; Wy tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕie⁵: Sc tɕie⁵; Sy tsɿ⁵; Lq tɕi⁵; Yh tsɿ⁵; Pc —; Qy tɕie⁵

CSS *tsei⁵

209 *shì* 世〔蟹開三去祭書 AB〕 ‘era’ CDC *shiai⁵ / EC *hyas

CSWW *šiei⁵

CJQ *šie⁵: Ly sɿ⁵; Jh ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ sɿ⁵ [2]; Pj ʃi⁵; Dy si⁵; Yk ɕiə⁵; Wy ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕie⁵: Sc ɕie⁵; Sy sɿ⁵; Lq ɕi⁵; Yh sɿ⁵; Pc ɕie⁵; Qy ɕie⁵

CSS *ɕei⁵

210 *yì* 藝〔蟹開三去祭疑 A〕 ‘craft’ CDC *ngiai⁶ / EC *nges

CSWW *ȵie⁶

CJQ *ȵie⁶: Ly ȵi⁶; Jh ȵi⁶; Pj ȵi⁶; Dy ȵi⁶; Yk ɲi⁶; Wy ȵi⁶

CLS *ȵie⁶: Sc ȵi⁶; Sy ȵi⁶; Lq ȵi⁶; Yh ɲi⁶; Pc ŋie⁶; Qy ȵye⁶ [1] ≍ ȵie⁶ [2]

CSS *ȵi⁶

211 *bì* 閉〔蟹開四去霽幫〕 ‘shut’ **CDC** *piai⁵ / **EC** *ʾpis

CSWW *ɓi⁵ [1] ⪤ *ɓi⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓi⁵: **Ly** pi⁵; **Jh** pi⁵; **Pj** pi⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔbi⁵; **Wy** pi⁵

CLS *ɓi⁵: **Sc** ʔbi⁵; **Sy** ʔbi⁵; **Lq** ʔbi⁵; **Yh** ʔbi⁵; **Pc** (pie⁴₍ft₎); **Qy** ʔbi⁵

CSS *pe⁵

212 *mǐ* 米〔蟹開四上薺明〕 ‘rice ’ **CDC** *ʰmiai⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰmiyx

CSWW *miei⁴ [1] ⪤ *mi⁴₍a₎ (?) [2]

CJQ *mie⁴: **Ly** mi⁴; **Jh** mie³ [1] ⪤ mi³ [2]; **Pj** mi⁴; **Dy** mi⁴; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴

CLS *mie⁴: **Sc** mie⁴; **Sy** mi⁴; **Lq** mi³; **Yh** mi³; **Pc** meŋ⁴₍f₎ ⪤ mi⁶; **Qy** mie⁴

CSS *mi⁴

213 *dī* 低〔蟹開四平齊端〕 ‘low’ **CDC** *tiai¹ / **EC** *ʾtiy

CSWW *ɗiei¹

CJQ *ɗie¹: **Ly** ti¹; **Jh** tie¹ [1] ⪤ ti¹ [2]; **Pj** ti¹; **Dy** ti¹; **Yk** ʔdiə¹; **Wy** lie¹

CLS *ɗie¹: **Sc** ʔdie¹; **Sy** ʔdi¹; **Lq** ʔdi¹; **Yh** ʔdi¹; **Pc** lie¹; **Qy** ʔdie¹

CSS #tei¹: **Kh** te¹; **Cs** te¹; **Js** (ti¹₍f₎); **Ys** (ti¹₍f₎); **Gf** ti¹

214 *dǐ* 底〔蟹開四上薺端〕 ‘bottom, base’ **CDC** *tiai³ / **EC** *ʾtiyx

CSWW *ɗia³ [1] ⪤ *ɗiei³ [2]

CJQ *ɗia³₍a₎ ⪤ *ɗie³

a. **Ly** tiɑ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tie³ [1] ⪤ ti³ [2]; **Pj** ti³; **Dy** ti³; **Yk** ʔdiə³; **Wy** lie³

CLS *ɗie³: **Sc** ʔdie³; **Sy** ʔdi³; **Lq** ʔdi³; **Yh** ʔdi³; **Pc** lie³; **Qy** ʔdie³

CSS *tiə³ ⪤ *tei³

215 *tī* 梯〔蟹開四平齊透〕 ‘ladder’ **CDC** *thiai¹ / **EC** *ʾthuy ⪤ *ʾthiy

CSWW *tʰuəi¹ [1] ⪤ *tʰiei¹ [2]

CJQ *tʰəi¹: **Ly** tʰei¹₍f₎; **Jh** tʰɛ¹ ⪤ tʰi¹ [2]; **Pj** (tʰi¹); **Dy** tʰe¹; **Yk** tʰəi¹; **Wy** tʰa¹

CLS *tʰuəi¹ ⪤ *tʰiei¹

a. **Sc** tʰei¹; **Sy** tʰɛ¹ ⪤ tʰi¹ [2]; **Lq** tʰɛ¹; **Yh** tʰei¹; **Pc** tʰue¹; **Qy** tʰai¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰi¹; **Pc** tʰie¹; **Qy** —

CSS *tʰuəi¹ ⪤ #tʰei¹

a. **Kh** {tʰe¹}; **Cs** —; **Js** {tʰᴇ¹}; **Ys** tʰuɐi¹; **Gf** tʰuɐi¹

b. **Kh** {tʰe¹}; **Cs** tʰe¹; **Js** {tʰᴇ¹}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

216 *tì* 替〔蟹開四去霽透〕 **CDC** *thiai⁵ / **EC** *ʾthus ⪤ *ʾthis

CSWW *tʰuəi⁵ [1] ⪤ *tʰia⁵₍a₎ (?) [2] ⪤ *tʰiei⁵ [3]

CJQ *tʰuəi⁵ ⩙ *tʰ(ia,ai)⁵₍ˌa₎ ⩙ *tʰie⁵
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk tʰəi⁵; Wy —
b. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy tʰia⁵ [1]
c. Ly tʰi⁵; Jh tʰie⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰi⁵ [2]; Pj tʰi³₍ˌt₎; Dy —; Yk tʰiə⁵ [2]; Wy tʰie⁵ [2] 代～ ‘replace’

CLS *tʰie⁵: Sc tʰie⁵; Sy tʰi⁵; Lq tʰi⁵; Yh tʰi⁵; Pc tʰie⁵; Qy tʰie⁵

CSS #tʰuəi⁵ ⩙ #tʰei⁵
a. Kh {tʰe⁵}; Cs tʰue⁵; Js {tʰɛ⁵}; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh {tʰe⁵}; Cs tʰe⁵ [2] ⩙ tʰi³ [3] 代～ ‘replace’; Js {tʰɛ⁵} [1] ⩙ tʰi⁵ [2]; Ys tʰɐi⁵; Gf tʰi⁵

217 *tì* 剃〔蟹開四去霽透〕 ‘shave’ CDC *thiai⁵ / EC *’thiyh

CSWW *tʰia¹ [1] ⩙ *tʰiei¹ [2]

CJQ *tʰia¹₍ˌa₎ ⩙ *tʰie¹
a. Ly tʰiɑ⁵; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
b. Ly —; Jh tʰie⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰi⁵ [2]; Pj tʰi⁵; Dy —; Yk tʰiə⁵; Wy tʰie⁵

CLS *tʰie¹: Sc tʰie⁵; Sy tʰi⁵; Lq tʰi⁵; Yh tʰi⁵; Pc tʰie⁵; Qy tʰie⁴₍ˌt₎

CSS *tʰiə¹

218 *tì* 屜〔蟹開四去霽透〕 ‘drawer’ CDC *thiai⁵ / EC *’thiyh

CSWW *diei⁶₍ˌa₎ [1] ⩙ *tʰiei⁶ [2]

CJQ *tʰie⁶: Ly —; Jh tʰie⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰi⁵ [2]; Pj tʰi⁵; Dy tʰi⁵; Yk tʰiə⁵; Wy tʰie⁵

CLS *tʰie⁶: Sc tʰei⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰi¹ [2]; Sy tʰi⁵; Lq tʰi⁵; Yh —; Pc tʰie⁵; Qy —

CSS *dei⁶ ⩙ #tʰei⁶
a. Kh —; Cs de⁻⁰ [2] 抽～; Js dɛ⁶ 抽～; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh tʰe⁵; Cs tʰe⁰ [1] 抽～; Js —; Ys —; Gf —

219 *tí* 啼〔蟹開四平齊定〕 ‘cry out’ CDC *diai² / EC *’de

CSWW *dia²₍ˌa₎ (?) [1] ⩙ *diei² [2]

CJQ *die²: Ly di²; Jh die² [1] ⩙ di² [2]; Pj di²; Dy di²; Yk diə²; Wy die²

CLS *die²: Sc die²; Sy ti²; Lq —; Yh di²; Pc tie²; Qy tie²

CSS *diə²

220 *dì* 弟〔蟹開四上薺定〕 ‘little brother’ CDC *diai⁴ / EC *’diyx

CSWW *dia⁴ [1] ⩙ *diei⁴ [2]

CJQ *dia⁴ ⩙ *die⁴
a. Ly diɑ⁴; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
b. Ly di⁴; Jh tie³ [1] ⩙ di⁶ [2]; Pj di⁴; Dy di⁴; Yk diə⁴; Wy die⁴

CLS *diei⁴: Sc die⁴; Sy di⁴; Lq ʔdi³; Yh di⁴; Pc tie⁴ [白] ⩙ tie⁶ [文]; Qy tie⁴

CSS *diə⁴ ⩙ #dei⁴
a. Kh die⁶; Cs die⁻²²; Js diə⁴; Ys die⁴; Gf die⁴
b. Kh —; Cs de²₍ₜ [3]; Js tɛ⁻⁵²; Ys (ti⁻⁵²₍f); Gf di⁴

221 *dì* 遞〔廣韻：蟹開四去霽定〕 ‘send over’ CDC *diai⁶ / EC *’deh
CSWW *diei⁶
CJQ *die⁶: Ly di⁶; Jh die⁶ [1] ⩙ di⁶ [2]; Pj di⁶; Dy di⁶; Yk diə⁶; Wy die⁶
CLS *die⁶: Sc die⁶; Sy di⁶; Lq di⁶; Yh di⁶; Pc —; Qy (ti⁶₍f)
CSS *dei⁶

222 *ní* 泥〔蟹開四平齊泥〕 ‘mud’ CDC *niai² / EC *’niy
CSWW *ȵia² [1] ⩙ *ȵiei² [2]
CJQ *ȵia²₍a ⩙ *ȵie²
a. Ly ȵiɑ²; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
b. Ly —; Jh ȵie² [1] ⩙ ȵi² [2]; Pj ȵi²; Dy ȵi²; Yk ɲiə²; Wy ȵie²
CLS *ȵia²₍a ⩙ *ȵie²
a. Sc ȵiɑ²; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
b. Sc —; Sy ȵi²; Lq ȵi²; Yh ɲi²; Pc ŋie²; Qy ȵie²
CSS *ȵiə²

223 *lí* 犁〔蟹開四平齊來〕 ‘plow’ CDC *liai² / EC *’liy
CSWW *luəi²₍a [1] ⩙ *liei² [2]
CJQ *lie²: Ly li²; Jh lie² [1] ⩙ li² [2]; Pj li²; Dy li²; Yk liə²; Wy lie²
CLS *lie²: Sc lie²; Sy li²; Lq li²; Yh li²; Pc lie² ⩙ li²; Qy lie²
CSS #luəi² ⩙ #lei²
a. Kh {le²}; Cs lue²; Js {lɛ²}; Ys —; Gf lɐi²₍f
b. Kh {le²}; Cs —; Js {lɛ²}; Ys lɐi²; Gf —

224 *jì* 濟〔蟹開四去霽精〕 ‘cross (a river)’ CDC *tsiai⁵ / EC *’tsis
CSWW *tsia⁵ [1] ～手 ‘left hand’ ⩙ *tsiei⁵ [2]
CJQ *tsia⁽¹,⁵⁾ ⩙ *tsie⁵
a. Ly —; Jh tsia⁻³³ □; Pj tʃia⁻³³ □; Dy —; Yk —; Wy tɕia⁻⁴⁴⁵ □
b. Ly tɕi⁵; Jh tsi⁵; Pj tʃi⁵; Dy tsi⁻³³ ～手 ‘left hand’; Yk tɕiə⁻⁴⁴ ～手 ‘left hand’; Wy tɕie⁵
CLS *tɕia⁽¹,³,⁵⁾₍a ⩙ *tɕie⁵ ～手 ‘left hand’
a. Sc tɕiɑ⁻³³ 借; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
b. Sc —; Sy tsɿ⁻³³; Lq —; Yh tsɿ⁻⁴⁴; Pc tɕie⁵ *luse*; Qy tɕie⁵ □
CSS #tɕiə⁽³,⁵⁾₍a ⩙ #tɕi⁵₍f [2]
a. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf tɕiə⁻⁵² □
b. Kh tɕi⁵; Cs tɕi⁰ 救～ ‘relieve’; Js —; Ys tɕi⁵; Gf tɕi⁵

225 *qí* 齊〔蟹開四平齊從〕 ‘level’ **CDC** *dziai² / **EC** *’dziy

CSWW *ziei²

CJQ *zie²: **Ly** ʑi²; **Jh** zie² [1] ≍ dzi² [2]; **Pj** ʒi²; **Dy** zi²; **Yk** ʑiə²; **Wy** ʑie²

CLS *ʑie²: **Sc** ʑie²; **Sy** sɿ²; **Lq** ʑi²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** tɕie²; **Qy** ɕie²

CSS #zei² [1] ≍ #dʑi² [2]

a. **Kh** ze²; **Cs** ze²; **Js** sɛ²; **Ys** zɐi²; **Gf** {dʑi²}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** dʑi²; **Ys** dʑi² 整～ ‘organized’; **Gf** {dʑi²}

226 *qí* 臍〔蟹開四平齊從〕 ‘navel’ **CDC** *dziai² / **EC** *’dziy

CSWW *zɨ² [1] ≍ *ziei²$_{!a}$ [2]

CJQ *zie²: **Ly** ʑi²; **Jh** zie²; **Pj** dʒin⁴$_{!i}$ [兒] 肚～; **Dy** zi²; **Yk** ʑiə²; **Wy** ʑie²

CLS *zɨ² ≍ *zie²$_{!a}$ (?)

a. **Sc** zɣʏ²; **Sy** suɯ² 腹～兒; **Lq** zʏɯ²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** tɕi²$_{!f}$; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕie²

CSS *zə²

227 *xī* 西〔蟹開四平齊心〕 ‘west’ **CDC** *siai¹ / **EC** *’suy ≍ *’siy ≍ *’sun

CSWW *siei¹

CJQ *sie¹: **Ly** ɕi¹; **Jh** sie¹; **Pj** ʃi¹; **Dy** si¹; **Yk** ɕiə¹; **Wy** ɕie¹

CLS *sie¹: **Sc** ɕie¹; **Sy** sɿ¹; **Lq** ɕi¹; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** ɕie¹; **Qy** ɕie¹

CSS #sei¹ [2] ≍ *ɕi¹ [1]

a. **Kh** se¹; **Cs** se¹ [1] ≍ se⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** sɐi¹ [1] 底～ ‘what’ ≍ sɐi⁵ [2]; **Gf** {ɕi¹}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕi^{-45} [2]; **Js** ɕi¹; **Ys** ɕi¹ [3]; **Gf** {ɕi¹}

228 *xǐ, xiǎn* 洗〔蟹開四上薺心〕 ‘wash’ **CDC** *siai³ / **EC** *’suyx ≍ *’siyx ≍ *’sunx

CSWW *siei³

CJQ *sie³: **Ly** ɕi³; **Jh** sie³; **Pj** ʃi³; **Dy** si³; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** ɕie³

CLS *sie³: **Sc** ɕie³; **Sy** sɿ³; **Lq** ɕi³; **Yh** sɿ³; **Pc** ɕie³; **Qy** ɕie³

CSS *ɕi³$_{!f}$

229 *xì* 細〔蟹開四去霽心〕 ‘tiny; slender’ **CDC** *siai⁵ / **EC** *’seh (?)

CSWW *sia⁵ [1] ‘small’ ≍ *siei⁵ [2] ‘slender’

CJQ *sia⁵ ≍ *sie⁵

a. **Ly** ɕiɑ⁵; **Jh** sia⁵; **Pj** ʃia⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕia⁵

b. **Ly** ɕi⁵; **Jh** sie⁵; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵ ‘small’; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕiei⁵ ‘small; slender’: **Sc** ɕie⁵ ‘slender’; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** ɕi⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** ɕie⁵ *!use*; **Qy** ɕie⁵

CSS *ɕiə⁵ [2] ≍ *sei⁵ [1]

230 *xù* 婿（壻）〔蟹開四去霽心〕 ‘son-in-law’ **CDC** *siai⁵ / **EC** *’seh (?)

CSWW *siei⁵

CJQ *sie⁵: **Ly** ɕi⁵; **Jh** sie⁵; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *sie⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** ɕi⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** ɕie⁵; **Qy** (ɕye$^{-221}_{!f}$)

CSS *sei⁵

231 *jī* 雞〔蟹開四平齊見〕 ‘chicken’ **CDC** *kiai¹ / **EC** *’ke

CSWW *ʔie(i)¹ [1] ⪥ *kiei¹ [2]

CJQ *kie¹: **Ly** tɕi¹; **Jh** tɕie¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** kiə¹ [1] ⪥ ki¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕie¹

CLS *ie¹ ⪥ *kie¹

a. **Sc** ie¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** i¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ie¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tsɿ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** kie¹; **Qy** tɕie¹

CSS *ʔiə¹ [2] ⪥ *ki¹ [1]

232 *xī* 溪〔蟹開四平齊溪〕 ‘brook’ **CDC** *khiai¹ / **EC** *’khe

CSWW *kʰiei¹

CJQ *kʰie¹: **Ly** tɕʰi¹; **Jh** tɕʰie¹ [1] ⪥ tɕʰi¹ [2]; **Pj** tʃʰi¹; **Dy** tɕʰi¹; **Yk** kʰiə¹; **Wy** tɕʰie¹

CLS *kʰie¹: **Sc** tɕʰie¹; **Sy** tsʰɿ¹; **Lq** tɕʰi¹; **Yh** tsʰɿ¹; **Pc** kʰie¹; **Qy** tɕʰie¹

CSS *tɕʰiə¹

233 *qì* 契〔蟹開四去霽溪〕 ‘contract, pact’ **CDC** *khiai⁵ / **EC** *’khes

CSWW *kʰiei⁵

CJQ *kʰie⁵: **Ly** tɕʰi⁵; **Jh** tɕʰie⁵; **Pj** tʃʰi⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** kʰiə⁵; **Wy** tɕʰie⁵

CLS *kʰie⁵: **Sc** tɕʰie⁵; **Sy** tsʰɿ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰie⁵; **Qy** tɕʰie⁵

CSS *kʰei⁵

234 *bēi* 杯〔蟹合一平灰幫〕 ‘cup’ **CDC** *poi¹ / **EC** *’pi

CSWW *ɓui¹ (?) [1] ⪥ *ɓəi¹ [2]

CJQ *ɓəi¹: **Ly** pei¹; **Jh** pɛ¹; **Pj** pa¹; **Dy** pe¹; **Yk** ʔbəi¹; **Wy** pa¹

CLS *ɓəi¹: **Sc** ʔbei¹; **Sy** ʔbe¹; **Lq** ʔbɛ¹; **Yh** ʔbei¹; **Pc** pe¹; **Qy** ʔbai¹

CSS *pyəi¹

For my interpretation of CSS *-yəi after labials, see note in the set for *bā* 笆〔假開二平麻幫〕.

235 *pèi* 配〔蟹合一去隊滂〕 ‘match; counterpart’ **CDC** *phoi⁵ / **EC** *’phuyh

CSWW *pʰəi¹ [2]

CJQ *pʰəi⁵: **Ly** pʰei⁵; **Jh** pʰɛ⁵; **Pj** pʰa⁵; **Dy** pʰe⁵; **Yk** pʰəi⁵; **Wy** pʰa⁵

CLS *pʰəi⁵ ⪥ *zə̃²: **Sc** pʰei⁵; **Sy** pʰe⁵; **Lq** pʰɛ⁵; **Yh** pʰei⁵; **Pc** pʰe⁵; **Qy** pʰai⁵

CSS *pʰuəi⁵ ⪥ *pʰuəi³ [1]

236 *péi* 賠（陪）〔蟹合一平灰並〕 ‘compensate’ **CDC** *boi² / **EC** *’bi
CSWW *bəi²
CJQ *bəi²: **Ly** bei²; **Jh** bɛ²; **Pj** ba²; **Dy** be²; **Yk** bəi²; **Wy** ba²
CLS *bəi²: **Sc** bei²; **Sy** pe²; **Lq** bɛ²; **Yh** bei²; **Pc** pe²; **Qy** pai²
CSS *buəi²

237 *méi* 煤〔蟹合一平灰明〕 ‘coal’ **CDC** *moi² / **EC** *’mi
CSWW *məi²
CJQ *məi²: **Ly** mei²; **Jh** mɛ²; **Pj** ma²; **Dy** me²; **Yk** məi²; **Wy** ma²
CLS *məi²: **Sc** mei²; **Sy** me²; **Lq** mi²; **Yh** mei²; **Pc** me²; **Qy** mai²
CSS *muəi²

238 *mèi* 妹〔蟹合一去隊明〕 ‘little sister’ **CDC** *ʰmoi⁶ / **EC** *’ʰmus
CSWW *məi⁶
CJQ *məi⁶: **Ly** mei⁶; **Jh** mɛ⁶; **Pj** ma⁶; **Dy** me⁶; **Yk** məi⁶; **Wy** ma⁶
CLS *məi⁶: **Sc** mei⁶; **Sy** mɛ⁶; **Lq** mi⁶; **Yh** ma⁶; **Pc** me⁶ ≍ me¹; **Qy** mai⁶
CSS *muəi⁶

239 *duī* 堆〔蟹合一平灰端〕 ‘heap’ **CDC** *tuoi¹ / **EC** *’tuy
CSWW *ɗuəi¹
CJQ *ɗuəi¹: **Ly** tuei¹; **Jh** tɛ¹; **Pj** ta¹; **Dy** te¹; **Yk** ʔdəi¹; **Wy** la¹
CLS *ɗuəi¹: **Sc** ʔdei¹; **Sy** ʔde¹; **Lq** ʔdɛ¹; **Yh** ʔdei¹; **Pc** lue¹; **Qy** ʔdai¹
CSS #tuəi¹: **Kh** te¹; **Cs** tue¹; **Js** tuᴇ¹; **Ys** tuɐi¹; **Gf** tuɐi¹

240 *duì* 對〔蟹合一去隊端〕 ‘pair; match, face with’ **CDC** *tuoi⁵ / **EC** *’tus
CSWW *ɗuəi⁵
CJQ *ɗuəi⁵: **Ly** tuei⁵; **Jh** tɛ⁵; **Pj** ta⁵; **Dy** te⁵; **Yk** ʔdəi⁵; **Wy** la⁵
CLS *ɗuəi⁵: **Sc** ʔdei⁵; **Sy** ʔde⁵; **Lq** ʔdɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔdei⁵; **Pc** lue⁵; **Qy** ʔdai⁵
CSS #tuəi⁵: **Kh** te⁵; **Cs** tue⁵; **Js** tuᴇ⁵; **Ys** tuɐi⁵; **Gf** tuɐi⁵

241 *duì* 碓〔蟹合一去隊端〕 ‘(water-powered) trip-hammer’ **CDC** *tuoi⁵ / **EC** *’tuyh
CSWW *ɗuəi⁵
CJQ *ɗəi⁵: **Ly** tei⁵; **Jh** tɛ⁵; **Pj** ta⁵; **Dy** te⁵; **Yk** ʔdəi⁵; **Wy** la⁵
CLS *ɗuəi⁵: **Sc** ʔdei⁵; **Sy** ʔde⁵; **Lq** ʔdɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔdei⁵; **Pc** lue⁵; **Qy** ʔdai⁵
CSS *tuəi⁵

242 *tuī* 推〔廣韻：蟹合一平灰透〕 ‘push, extrapolate’ **CDC** *thuoi¹ / **EC** *’thuy
CSWW *tʰuəi¹
CJQ *tʰuəi¹: **Ly** tʰuei¹; **Jh** tʰɛ¹; **Pj** tʰa¹ ≍ tʰuɛ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** tʰəi¹; **Wy** tʰa¹

CLS *tʰuəi¹: **Sc** tʰei¹; **Sy** tʰɛ¹; **Lq** tʰɛ¹; **Yh** tʰei¹; **Pc** tʰue¹; **Qy** tʰai¹
CSS *tʰuəi¹

243 *tuǐ* 腿〔蟹合一上賄透〕 ‘leg’ **CDC** *thuoi³ / **EC** —
CSWW *tʰuəi³
CJQ *tʰəi³: **Ly** tʰei³; **Jh** tʰɛ³; **Pj** tʰa³; **Dy** tʰe³; **Yk** tʰəi³; **Wy** tʰa³
CLS *tʰuəi³: **Sc** tʰei³; **Sy** tʰɛ³; **Lq** tʰɛ³; **Yh** tʰei³; **Pc** tʰue³; **Qy** tʰai³
CSS *tʰuəi³

244 *tuì* 退〔蟹合一去隊透〕 ‘retreat’ **CDC** *thuoi⁵ / **EC** *’thus
CSWW *tʰuəi⁵
CJQ *tʰəi⁵: **Ly** tʰei⁵˩˧; **Jh** tʰɛ⁵; **Pj** tʰa⁵; **Dy** tʰe⁵ [1] ≍ tʰe³ [2]; **Yk** tʰəi⁵; **Wy** tʰa⁵
CLS *tʰuəi⁵: **Sc** tʰei⁵; **Sy** tʰɛ⁵; **Lq** tʰɛ⁵; **Yh** tʰei⁵; **Pc** tʰue⁵; **Qy** tʰai⁵
CSS #tʰuəi⁵: **Kh** tʰe⁵; **Cs** tʰue⁵ [1] ≍ tʰui³ [2]; **Js** tʰuᴇ⁵; **Ys** tʰuɐi⁵; **Gf** tʰuɐi⁵

245 *duì* 隊〔蟹合一去隊定〕 ‘team’ **CDC** *duoi⁶ / **EC** *’dus
CSWW *duəi⁶
CJQ *duəi⁶˩˧: **Ly** duei⁶; **Jh** dɛ⁶; **Pj** (duɛ⁶˩˧); **Dy** de⁶; **Yk** dəi⁶; **Wy** da⁶
CLS *duəi⁶: **Sc** dei⁶; **Sy** dɛ⁶; **Lq** dɛ⁶; **Yh** dei⁶; **Pc** tue⁶; **Qy** tai⁶
CSS *duəi⁶

246 *léi* 雷〔蟹合一平灰來〕 ‘thunder’ **CDC** *(ʰ)luoi² / **EC** *’ʰluy
CSWW *luəi²
CJQ *ləi²: **Ly** lei²; **Jh** lɛ²; **Pj** la² ≍ luɛ²; **Dy** le²; **Yk** ləi²; **Wy** la⁻²¹ ～公
CLS *luəi²: **Sc** lei²; **Sy** lɛ²; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** lei²; **Pc** lue²; **Qy** lai²
CSS *luəi²

247 *cuī* 催〔蟹合一平灰清〕 ‘compel; Cuī (pn.)’ **CDC** *tshuoi¹ / **EC** *’tshuy
CSWW *tsʰuəi¹
CJQ *tsʰuəi¹: **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tsʰɛ¹; **Pj** tsʰa¹; **Dy** tsʰe¹; **Yk** tsʰəi¹; **Wy** tsʰa¹
CLS *tsʰuəi¹: **Sc** tsʰei¹; **Sy** (tɕʰy¹˩˧); **Lq** tsʰɛ¹; **Yh** tsʰei¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsʰai¹
CSS *tsʰuəi¹

248 *zuì* 罪〔蟹合一上賄從〕 ‘crime’ **CDC** *dzuoi⁴ / **EC** *’dzuyx
CSWW *zuəi⁴
CJQ *zuəi⁴: **Ly** zuei⁴; **Jh** sɛ³ [1] ≍ dzui⁶ [2]; **Pj** za⁴; **Dy** ze⁴; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** za⁴
CLS *zuəi⁴: **Sc** zei⁴; **Sy** zɛ⁴; **Lq** sɛ³; **Yh** zei⁴; **Pc** tsue⁶˩˨; **Qy** sai⁴
CSS *zuəi⁴

249 *suì* 碎〔蟹合一去隊心〕 ‘shatter’ **CDC** *suoi^{5} / **EC** *’sus

CSWW *suəi^{3}

CJQ *suəi^{3}: **Ly** suei^{3}; **Jh** sɛ^{3}; **Pj** sa$^{1}_{!t}$; **Dy** se^{3}; **Yk** səi$^{1}_{!t}$; **Wy** sa^{3} [1] ≍ sa^{5} [2]

CLS *suəi^{3}: **Sc** sei^{3}; **Sy** se^{3}; **Lq** sɛ$^{5}_{!t}$; **Yh** sei$^{5}_{!t}$; **Pc** ts^{h}ue$^{5}_{!tf}$; **Qy** sai^{3}

CSS *suəi^{3}

250 *huī* 灰〔蟹合一平灰曉〕 ‘ash, dust’ **CDC** *xuoi^{1} / **EC** *’hwi

CSWW *xuei^{1}

CJQ *xuei^{1}: **Ly** xuei^{1}; **Jh** xui^{1}; **Pj** xua^{1}; **Dy** xue^{1}; **Yk** xuəi^{1}; **Wy** xui^{1}

CLS *xuei^{1}: **Sc** xuei^{1}; **Sy** fue^{1}; **Lq** xui^{1}; **Yh** xuei^{1}; **Pc** xue^{1}; **Qy** xuai^{1}

CSS #xuei^{1}: **Kh** xue^{1}; **Cs** xue^{1} [1] ≍ xui^{1} [2]; **Js** xuɐ^{1}; **Ys** xuɐi^{1}; **Gf** xui^{1}

251 *huǐ* 悔〔廣韻：蟹合一上賄曉〕 ‘regret’ **CDC** *xuoi^{3} / **EC** *’hwix

CSWW *xuei^{5}

CJQ *xuei^{5}: **Ly** xuei^{5}; **Jh** xui^{5}; **Pj** xua^{5}; **Dy** xue^{5}; **Yk** xuəi^{5}; **Wy** xui^{5}

CLS *xuei^{5}: **Sc** xuei^{5}; **Sy** xue^{5}; **Lq** xui$^{3}_{!t}$; **Yh** xuei^{5}; **Pc** xue^{5}; **Qy** xuai^{5}

CSS #xuei^{5}: **Kh** xui$^{5}_{!f}$; **Cs** xue^{5} [1] ≍ xui^{0} [2]; **Js** xuɐ^{5}; **Ys** xuɐi^{5}; **Gf** xui$^{5}_{!f}$

252 *huí* 回〔蟹合一平灰匣〕 ‘return’ **CDC** *ɦuoi^{2} / **EC** *’wuy

CSWW *ɦuəi^{2}

CJQ *ɦuei$^{2}_{!f}$: **Ly** uei^{2}; **Jh** ui^{2}; **Pj** ua^{2}; **Dy** ue^{2}; **Yk** uəi^{2}; **Wy** ui^{2}

CLS *ɦuəi^{2}: **Sc** uei^{2}; **Sy** ue^{2}; **Lq** uɛ^{2}; **Yh** uei^{2}; **Pc** xue^{2}; **Qy** uai^{2}

CSS #ɦuəi^{2}: **Kh** ue^{2}; **Cs** ue^{2}; **Js** uɛ^{2}; **Ys** uɐi^{2}; **Gf** uɐi^{2}

253 *kuài* 會〔廣韻：蟹合一去泰見〕 ‘accounting’ **CDC** *kuoi^{5} ≍ *kuai^{5} / **EC** *’kos

CSWW *kuei^{5} ～計 ‘accounting’

CJQ *kuei^{5}: **Ly** —; **Jh** kui^{5}; **Pj** kua$^{3}_{!ft}$; **Dy** kuei^{5}; **Yk** —; **Wy** kui^{5}

CLS *kuei^{5}: **Sc** kuei^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** kui^{5}; **Yh** kuei^{5}; **Pc** kue^{5}; **Qy** kuai^{5}

CSS #kuei^{5}

254 *wài* 外〔蟹合一去泰疑〕 ‘outside’ **CDC** *nguai^{6} / **EC** *’ngwas

CSWW *ŋuai^{6} [1]

CJQ *ŋa^{6} ≍ *ŋuəi^{6} (?) [2]

a. **Ly** ŋɑ^{6}; **Jh** ɑ^{6}; **Pj** ŋɑ̃^{4}; **Dy** ŋɑ^{6}; **Yk** ɲiɑ^{6}; **Wy** ɳia^{6}

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** uɛ^{6}; **Pj** ŋa^{6}; **Dy** ŋe^{6}; **Yk** —; **Wy** ua^{6}

CLS *ŋuai^{6} (?): **Sc** ua^{6}; **Sy** ŋa^{6}; **Lq** a^{6} ≍ ua^{6}; **Yh** uɑ^{6}; **Pc** uai^{6}; **Qy** uɑ^{6}

CSS *ŋuɑi^{6} ≍ *ɦuɑi^{6} [2]

255 *huì* 會〔蟹合一去泰匣〕 ‘meeting; be able’ **CDC** *huoi^{6} / **EC** *’gos

CSWW *ɦuəi^{6} ‘meeting’

CJQ *ɦuəi⁶ ‘meeting; can, will’: **Ly** uei⁶; **Jh** uɛ⁶ ‘can, will’ ≍ ui⁶ [1] ‘meeting’; **Pj** ua⁶; **Dy** ue⁶; **Yk** uəi⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁻⁵³ [1] ‘can, will’ ≍ ui⁶ ‘meeting’

CLS *ɦuəi⁶: **Sc** uei⁶; **Sy** ue⁶; **Lq** uɛ⁶ ≍ ui⁶ ‘can, will’; **Yh** uei⁶ ‘meeting; can, will’; **Pc** —; **Qy** uai⁶ ‘meeting; can, will’

CSS *ɦuəi⁶

256 *guài* 怪〔蟹合二去怪見〕 ‘strange’ **CDC** *kuai⁵ / **EC** *’kwrih

CSWW *kuai⁵

CJQ *kua⁵: **Ly** kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** kuɑ⁵; **Dy** kuɑ⁵; **Yk** kɣ̆ɑ⁵; **Wy** tsuɑ⁵

CLS *kuai⁵: **Sc** kua⁵; **Sy** kua⁵; **Lq** kua⁵; **Yh** kuɑ⁵; **Pc** kuai⁵; **Qy** kuɑ⁵

CSS *kuɑi⁵

257 *kuài* 塊（墳）〔廣韻：蟹合二去怪溪〕 ‘clod’ **CDC** *khuoi⁵ ≍ *khuai⁵ / **EC** *’khus

CSWW *kʰyai³ˌa (?) [1] ≍ *kʰuəi⁵ [2]

CJQ *kʰuəi⁵: **Ly** kʰuei⁵; **Jh** kʰuɛ⁵; **Pj** kʰua⁵; **Dy** kʰue⁵; **Yk** kʰuəi⁵; **Wy** kʰua⁵

CLS *kʰuəi⁵: **Sc** kʰuei⁵; **Sy** kʰue⁵; **Lq** kʰuɛ⁵; **Yh** kʰuei⁵; **Pc** kʰue⁵ ≍ kʰuai⁵; **Qy** kʰuai⁵

CSS *kʰyɑi³

258 *huái* 懷〔蟹合二平皆匣〕 ‘bosom; embrace, hold dear’ **CDC** *huai² / **EC** *gruy

CSWW *guai² [1] ≍ *ɦuai² [2]

CJQ *gua² ≍ *ɦua²

a. **Ly** guɑ²; **Jh** guɑ²; **Pj** guɑ² 圍～ ‘apron’; **Dy** guɑ² ～裏 ‘in one’s arms’; **Yk** —; **Wy** dzuɑ² ～當 ‘in one’s arms’

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** (uɛ²ˌf); **Pj** (ua²ˌf); **Dy** uɑ²; **Yk** ya³ ≍ uai²; **Wy** yɑ² ≍ ua² [3]

CLS *guai² ～裏 ‘in one’s arms’ ≍ *ɦuai²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** guɑ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɑ²

b. **Sc** ua²; **Sy** ua²; **Lq** ua²; **Yh** —; **Pc** xuai²; **Qy** uɑ²

CSS *ɦuɑi²

259 *guà* 掛〔蟹合二去卦見〕 ‘hang’ **CDC** *kuai⁵ ≍ *kua⁵ / **EC** *’kwreh

CSWW *kua⁵

CJQ *kua⁵: **Ly** kuɑ⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵; **Pj** kuɑ⁵; **Dy** kuɑ⁵; **Yk** kɣ̆ɑ⁵ [2] ≍ kuəi⁵ [1] ≍ kuɑ⁵ [3]; **Wy** tsuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuɑ⁵ [2]

CLS *kua⁵: **Sc** kɑ⁵; **Sy** kuo⁵; **Lq** kuə⁵; **Yh** ko⁵ ≍ go⁶; **Pc** kua⁵; **Qy** ko⁵

CSS *kuɑ⁵

260 *wāi* 歪（㕎）〔蟹合二平佳曉〕 ‘crooked’ **CDC** *uai¹ / **EC** *|wray

CSWW *ʔyei¹ˌa (?) [1] ≍ *ʔuai¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔua¹: **Ly** (uɛ¹ˌf); **Jh** uɑ¹ [1] ≍ uɛ¹ [2]; **Pj** ua¹; **Dy** (ʔuɛ¹ˌf); **Yk** (ʔŋuai¹ˌif) [1] ≍ uai¹ [2]; **Wy** ua¹

CLS *uai¹: **Sc** ua¹; **Sy** ua¹; **Lq** ua¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** uai¹; **Qy** uɑ¹

CSS *ʔyəi¹ ⪥ #ʔuɑi¹

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** i¹; **Js** ø¹; **Ys** ø¹; **Gf** ui¹

b. **Kh** uɛ¹; **Cs** uɛ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ua¹

261 *huà* 畫〔廣韻：蟹合二去卦匣〕 ‘draw’ **CDC** *huai⁶ ⪥ *hua⁶ / **EC** *wreh

CSWW *ɦua⁶

CJQ *ɦuɒ⁶: **Ly** u⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶; **Pj** uɑ⁶; **Dy** uɑ⁶; **Yk** uɑ⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁶

CLS *ɦua⁶: **Sc** uɑ⁶; **Sy** uo⁶; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** o⁶; **Pc** xua⁶ ⪥ uai⁶; **Qy** o⁶

CSS *ɦuɑ⁶

262 *kuài* 快〔蟹合二去夬溪〕 ‘fast’ **CDC** *khuai⁵ / **EC** *khwras

CSWW *kʰuai⁵

CJQ *kʰua⁵: **Ly** kʰuɑ⁵; **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⪥ kʰuɛ⁵ [2]; **Pj** kʰuɑ⁵; **Dy** kʰuɑ⁵; **Yk** kʰy̆ɑ⁵ [1] ⪥ kʰuɑ⁻⁴⁴ [2] ⪥ kʰuai⁵ [3]; **Wy** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⪥ kʰua⁵ [2]

CLS *kʰuai⁵: **Sc** kʰua⁵; **Sy** kʰua⁵; **Lq** kʰua⁵; **Yh** kʰuɑ⁵; **Pc** kʰuai⁵; **Qy** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⪥ kʰɒ⁵ [2]

CSS *kʰuɑi⁵

263 *huà* 話〔蟹合二去夬匣〕 ‘speech’ **CDC** *huai⁶ ⪥ *hua⁶ / **EC** *gros

CSWW *ɦuɔ⁶ [1] ⪥ *ɦua⁶ˌ₁ₐ (?) [2]

CJQ *ɦuɒ⁶: **Ly** u⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶; **Pj** uɑ⁶; **Dy** uɑ⁶; **Yk** uɑ⁶; **Wy** uɑ⁶

CLS *ɦuɔ⁶ ⪥ *ɦua⁶ [2]

a. **Sc** u⁵ˌₜ; **Sy** u⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** o⁶; **Pc** ua⁶ ⪥ xua⁶; **Qy** o⁶

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦua⁶ ⪥ #ɦuɑ⁶

a. **Kh** ye⁶ [1]; **Cs** ye⁶ [1]; **Js** yə⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** ye⁶ [1]

b. **Kh** uɔ⁶ [2]; **Cs** uɑ⁰ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** uɑ⁶; **Gf** uɑ⁶ [2]

264 *suì* 歲〔蟹合三去祭心 AB〕 ‘age’ **CDC** *siuoi⁵ / **EC** *sos

CSWW *syei⁵ [1] ⪥ *suei⁵ (?) [2]

CJQ *sye⁵ (?) ⪥ *suei⁵ (?)

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɛ⁵; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** sɿ⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

b. **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sei⁵; **Pj** suɛ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɕye⁵: **Sc** ɕyɤ⁵; **Sy** ɕy⁵; **Lq** ɕy⁵; **Yh** ʃy⁵; **Pc** ɕye⁵; **Qy** ɕye⁵

CSS #suei⁵ (?): **Kh** se⁵ [1] ⪥ sui⁵ [2] 萬～ ‘long live’; **Cs** sue⁵; **Js** (xuɛ⁵ˌᵢf); **Ys** suɐi⁵; **Gf** ɕy⁵ˌᵢf

265 *shuì* 稅〔蟹合三去祭書 AB〕 ‘tax’ **CDC** *shiuoi⁵ / **EC** *hyos

CSWW *šyei⁵ (?)

CJQ *šye^{5}: **Ly** suei^{5}; **Jh** sei^{5}$_{!f}$ [1] ≍ sui^{5} [2]; **Pj** suɛ^{5}; **Dy** sɿ^{5}; **Yk** ɕyə^{5}; **Wy** ɕye^{5}
CLS *ɕye^{5}: **Sc** ɕyɤ^{5}; **Sy** ɕy^{5}; **Lq** ɕy^{5}; **Yh** ʃy^{5}; **Pc** sue^{5}$_{!f}$; **Qy** ɕye^{5}
CSS *ɕyəi^{5}

266 *fèi* 肺〔蟹合三去廢敷 C〕 'lungs' **CDC** *fui^{5} / **EC** *phos
CSWW *fiei^{5}
CJQ *fie^{5}: **Ly** fi^{5}; **Jh** fi^{5}$_{!f}$; **Pj** fi^{5}; **Dy** fi^{5}; **Yk** fiə^{5}; **Wy** fie^{5}
CLS *fie^{5}: **Sc** fi^{5}$_{!f}$; **Sy** p^{h}i^{5}; **Lq** fi^{5}; **Yh** fi^{5}; **Pc** fie^{5} ≍ xye^{5}; **Qy** fie^{5}
CSS *fei^{5}

267 *guì* 桂〔蟹合四去霽見〕 'cinnamon, cassia bark' **CDC** *kui^{5} / **EC** *'kweh
CSWW *kyei^{5} (?) [1] ≍ *kui^{5} [2]
CJQ *kuei^{5}: **Ly** kuei^{5}; **Jh** kui^{5}; **Pj** kuɛ^{5}; **Dy** kuei^{5}; **Yk** kuəi^{5}; **Wy** kui^{5}
CLS *kye^{5} ≍ *kuei^{5}
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕy^{5}; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃy^{5}; **Pc** kye^{5}; **Qy** tɕye^{5}
b. **Sc** kuei^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** kui^{5}; **Yh** kuei^{5}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kyi^{5} ≍ #kuei^{5}
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ky^{5}
b. **Kh** kui^{5}; **Cs** kui^{5}; **Js** kuᴇ^{5}; **Ys** kuei^{5}; **Gf** kui^{5}

A.5 Zhǐshè 止攝

268 *pí* 皮〔止開三平支並 B〕 'skin, hide' **CDC** *bi^{2} / **EC** *bay
CSWW *bəi^{2}$_{!a}$ [1] ≍ *bi^{2} [2]
CJQ *bi^{2}: **Ly** bi^{2}; **Jh** bi^{2}; **Pj** bi^{2} [1] ≍ vi^{2} [2]; **Dy** bi^{2}; **Yk** bi^{2} [1]; **Wy** bi^{2}
CLS *bi^{2}: **Sc** bi^{2}; **Sy** (p^{h}i^{2}$_{!i}$); **Lq** bi^{2}; **Yh** bi^{2}; **Pc** pi^{2}; **Qy** pi^{2}
CSS #buəi^{2} ≍ #bi^{2}
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** bᴇ^{2}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** bi^{2}; **Cs** bi^{2}; **Js** bi^{2}; **Ys** bi^{2}; **Gf** bi^{2}

Akitani took Cs [i] : Js [ᴇ] : Ys [i] : Gf [i] to a regular sound correspondence for CSS *-ei after bilabials. Here I have reinterpretted it as an alternation of *-uəi ≍ *-i. Cf. CSWW *bəi^{2} 賠 'compensate' and *ɓi^{3} 比 'compare':

	CSS	Kh	Cs	Js	Ys	Gf
皮$_{1}$	#buəi^{2}	—	—	bᴇ^{2}	—	—
皮$_{2}$	#bi^{2}	bi^{2}	bi^{2}	bi^{2}	bi^{2}	bi^{2}
比 'compare'	*pi^{3}	pi^{3}	pi^{3}	pi^{3}	pi^{3}	pi^{3}
賠 'compensate'	*puəi^{1}	be^{2}	bue^{2}	bᴇ^{2}	bʊi^{2}	buʊi^{2}

This alternation is found in grave initial words thay developed from the plain EC finals *-

ay (the *gē* 歌 group) and *-uy (the *wēi* group). See Shěn (2023) for further discussion and comparison with Mín.

269 *bèi* 被〔止開三上紙並 B〕 ‘quilt; passive ptcl.’ **CDC** *bi⁴ / **EC** *bayx

CSWW *bəi⁴ [1] ‘quilt’ ⩙ *bi⁴ [2] ‘quilt’

CJQ *bi⁴: **Ly** bi⁴; **Jh** pi³; **Pj** bi⁴; **Dy** bi⁴; **Yk** bi⁴; **Wy** bi⁴

CLS *bəi⁴ ⩙ *bi⁴

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** pe⁴; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** bi⁴; **Sy** bi⁴; **Lq** ʔbi³; **Yh** bi⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** pi⁴

CSS #buəi⁴ ⩙ #bi⁴

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** bᴇ⁴; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** bi⁶; **Cs** bi⁴; **Js** —; **Ys** bi⁴; **Gf** bi⁴

270 *bì* 避〔止開三去寘並 A〕 ‘avoid’ **CDC** *pi⁵ / **EC** *peh

CSWW *biə⁶ [1] ⩙ *bi⁶ [2]

CJQ *bi⁶: **Ly** bi⁶; **Jh** bi⁶ ⩙ biəʔ⁸; **Pj** bi⁶; **Dy** bi⁶; **Yk** bi⁶; **Wy** bi⁶

CLS *bi⁶: **Sc** bi⁶; **Sy** bi⁶; **Lq** bi⁶; **Yh** bi⁶; **Pc** (pʰi⁷$_{!it}$); **Qy** pi⁶

CSS *biə⁶

271 *lí* 離〔止開三平支來 AB〕 ‘part from’ **CDC** *li² / **EC** *lay

CSWW *li²

CJQ *li²: **Ly** li²; **Jh** li²; **Pj** li²; **Dy** li²; **Yk** li²; **Wy** li²

CLS *li²: **Sc** li²; **Sy** li² ⩙ li⁴; **Lq** li²; **Yh** li²; **Pc** —; **Qy** li²

CSS #li²

272 *lì* 離〔止開三去寘來 AB〕 ‘part from’ **CDC** *li⁶ / **EC** *layh

CSWW *liə⁶$_{!a}$

CJQ —

CLS —

CSS *liə⁶

273 *zǐ* 紫〔止開三上紙精 AB〕 ‘purple’ **CDC** *tsɿ³ / **EC** *tsex

CSWW *tsɨ³

CJQ *tsɿ³: **Ly** tsɿ³; **Jh** tsɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³; **Dy** tsɿ³; **Yk** tsɿ³; **Wy** tsɿ³

CLS *tsɨ³: **Sc** tsɿɤ³; **Sy** tsɤ³$_{!f}$; **Lq** tsɿ³$_{!f}$; **Yh** tsɿ³; **Pc** tsɿ³; **Qy** tsɿ³$_{!f}$

CSS *tsə³

274 *cí* 雌〔止開三平支清 AB〕 ‘female’ **CDC** *tshɿ¹ ⩙ *dzɿ² / **EC** *tshe ⩙ *dze

CSWW *tshɨ¹

CJQ *tsʰɿ¹: **Ly** tsʰɿ¹; **Jh** tsʰɿ¹; **Pj** tsɿ¹; **Dy** tsʰɿ¹; **Yk** tsʰɿ¹; **Wy** tsʰɿ¹

CLS *tsʰɨ¹: **Sc** tsʰɿɤ¹; **Sy** tsʰɤ²˩t; **Lq** (tsʰɿ¹˩f); **Yh** tsʰɿ¹; **Pc** tsʰɿ¹; **Qy** tsʰɿ¹

CSS *tsʰə¹

275 *cì* 刺〔止開三去寘清 AB〕 ‘prick; thorn’ **CDC** *tshɿ⁵ / **EC** *tsheh

CSWW *tsʰiə⁵ [1] ‘thorn’ ⨯ *tsʰɨ⁵ [2] ‘stab’

CJQ *tsʰi⁵ ⨯ *tsʰɿ⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰi⁵; **Pj** tsɿ⁵˩i 魚～ ‘fishbone’; **Dy** tsʰi⁵; **Yk** tɕʰiə⁵˩f; **Wy** tɕʰi⁵

b. **Ly** tsʰɿ⁵ ‘thorn; stab’; **Jh** tsʰɿ⁵; **Pj** tsʰɿ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsʰɿ⁵; **Wy** tsʰɿ⁵ ～蝟 ‘hedgehog’

CLS *tɕʰie⁵ ⨯ *tsʰɨ⁵

a. **Sc** tɕʰie⁵; **Sy** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’; **Lq** tɕʰi⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕʰie⁵ [白] *!use*; **Qy** tɕʰie⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsʰɿ⁵} ‘thorn; stab’ ⨯ tsʰɿ⁵ ‘thorn; stab’; **Pc** tsʰɿ⁴˩t *!use*; **Qy** tsʰɿ⁵ 諷～ ‘criticize’

CSS *tɕʰiə⁵ ⨯ *tsʰə⁵

I have not changed the reconstruction of Akitani’s **CSS** forms, but I have altered their indices so that they agree with the modern languages.

276 *xǐ* 徙〔止開三上紙心 AB〕 ‘move residence’ **CDC** *sɿ³ / **EC** *sayx

CSWW *(s,š)yei³˩a (?) [1] ‘move’ ⨯ *siə³ [2]

CJQ *si³: **Ly** ɕi³; **Jh** si³; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɕie³: **Sc** —; **Sy** sɿ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** ɕie³; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕyəi³

277 *zhī* 知〔止開三平支知 AB〕 ‘know’ **CDC** *ci¹ / **EC** *tre

CSWW *tšiə¹˩a (?) [1] ⨯ *tši¹ [2] ⨯ *tsɨ¹ [3]

CJQ *tši¹ [1] ⨯ *tsɿ¹ [2]

a. **Ly** {tsɿ¹}; **Jh** —; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tsi¹; **Yk** tɕi¹; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** {tsɿ¹}; **Jh** tsɿ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tsɿ⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～識 ‘knowledge’

CLS *tɕie¹ ⨯ *tɕi¹ ⨯ *tsɨ¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tsɿ¹}; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕie¹ *!use*

b. **Sc** tsɿ¹ ～識 ‘knowledge’; **Sy** {tsɿ¹}; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** tɕi¹; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷˩f ‘know’

c. **Sc** tsɿɤ¹ ～得 ‘know’ ⨯ tɕiɪʔ⁷ ～得 ‘know’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #tɕe¹ [1] ～了 ‘cicada’ ⨯ *tsə¹ [2]

a. **Kh** tsui¹ [1] ～了 ‘cicada’; **Cs** tsi⁻⁴⁵ [2] ～了 ‘cicada’; **Js** tɕø⁻⁵² [2] ～了 ‘cicada’; **Ys** tse¹ [1] 蚊蟲～ ‘cicada’; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** (tsɿ¹); **Cs** tsə¹ [1] ～得 ‘know’ ⨯ tsɿ⁻⁴⁴ [3] ～識 ‘knowledge’; **Js** tsə⁴³ [1] ～得 ‘know’ ⨯ tɕi⁴³ [3] ～識 ‘knowledge’; **Ys** (tɕi¹) ～青 ‘educated youth’; **Gf** tsɿə⁻⁴⁴⁵

[1] 弗～死 ‘oblivious to one’s death (swear)’ ⩙ tɕi¹ [2]

If CSS #tɕe¹ ‘cicada’ belongs in this set at all, it is by folk etymology.

CJQ *tši¹ could correspond to either CSWW *tšiə¹ or *tši¹ due to regular merger of these finals.

278 *chí* 池〔止開三平支澄 AB〕 ‘pool’ **CDC** *ji² / **EC** *dre

CSWW *(dž,dz)iə²ˌˡa (?) [1] ⩙ *dži² [2]

CJQ *dži²: **Ly** dzɿ²; **Jh** dzɿ²ˌˡf; **Pj** dʑi²; **Dy** dzi²; **Yk** dʑi²; **Wy** dʑi²

CLS *dʑi²: **Sc** dzɿ²; **Sy** tsɿ²; **Lq** —; **Yh** dzɿ²; **Pc** tɕi²; **Qy** tɕi²

CSS #dʑiə²ˌˡa ⩙ #dʑe²

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** dziə⁻³³ ～茶 ‘Chí Chá (pn.)’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** dzui² [1] ～淮 ‘Chí Huái (pn.)’ ⩙ dzɿ² [2]; **Cs** (dʑi²ˌˡf); **Js** —; **Ys** (dʑi²ˌˡf); **Gf** (dʑi²ˌˡf)

279 *zhǐ* 紙〔止開三上紙章 AB〕 ‘paper’ **CDC** *ci³ / **EC** *tay (?)

CSWW *tšiə³

CJQ *tši³: **Ly** tsɿ³; **Jh** tsɿ³ˌˡf; **Pj** tʃi³; **Dy** tsi³; **Yk** tɕi³; **Wy** tɕi³

CLS *tɕie³: **Sc** tɕie³; **Sy** tsɿ³; **Lq** tɕi³; **Yh** tsɿ³; **Pc** tɕie³; **Qy** tɕie³

CSS *tɕiə³

280 *shì* 舐〔止開三上紙船 AB〕 ‘lick’ **CDC** *zhi⁴ / **EC** *δex

CSWW *(dž,dz)iə⁴

CJQ —

CLS *dʑie⁴: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕie⁴

CSS *dʑiə⁴

281 *chí* 匙〔止開三平支常 AB〕 ‘spoon’ **CDC** *ji² ⩙ *zhi² / **EC** *de

CSWW *žiə²

CJQ *ži²: **Ly** zɿ²; **Jh** zɿ²; **Pj** zɿ²ˌˡf; **Dy** zi²; **Yk** ʑi²; **Wy** ʑi²

CLS *ʑie²: **Sc** dʑie²ˌˡi; **Sy** tsɿ²ˌˡi; **Lq** ʑi²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** ɕie²; **Qy** ɕie²

CSS *ʑiə²

282 *shì* 是〔止開三上紙常 AB〕 ‘be’ **CDC** *zhi⁴ / **EC** *dex

CSWW *dzi⁴ [1] ⩙ *žiə⁴ [2] ⩙ *ži⁴ [3]

CJQ *dzi⁴ (?) ⩙ *ži⁴ [2]

a. **Ly** dzəʔ⁸ˌˡft; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** dzi⁴ ⩙ di⁴ [2] ⩙ li⁴ [3]; **Yk** dʑi⁴ ⩙ liə⁵ [2] ⩙ ʔniə⁵ [3]; **Wy** dʑi⁴

b. **Ly** zɿ⁴; **Jh** sɿ³ˌˡf; **Pj** ʒi⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑi⁴ [4]; **Wy** —

CLS *dʑi⁴₍ˌa₎ ⩙ *ʑie⁴ ⩙ *ʑi⁴

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dzɿ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** {sɿ⁴}; **Lq** —; **Yh** {zɿ⁴}; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕie⁴

c. **Sc** zɿ⁴ [2] ⩙ ʑiiʔ⁸ [1]; **Sy** {sɿ⁴}; **Lq** sɿ³; **Yh** {zɿ⁴} [2]; **Pc** ɕi⁴; **Qy** ɕi⁴ [1]

CSS *dʑi⁴

The affricate initial form is autochthonous. Note that only this form can be reliably set up for CSS. The final in CSS obligates us to reconstruct the initial as *dz- despite a postalveolar initial being expected. Note also that EC *-e has in this case merged with *-i. The distinction between these two sources (CSWW *-iə ≠ *-i) might be literary—perhaps of post-Yǒngjiā (Jiànkāng Elite Vernacular) origin. The merger of plain syllable EC *-e and *-i is also found in Mín; cf. Common Mín *ʃi⁶ 'to be' > Proto-Níngdé *θi⁶.

CJQ *ži⁴ could have evolved from either CSWW *žiə⁴ or *ži⁴.

283 *chǐ* 豉〔止開三去實常 AB〕 'fermented soy' **CDC** *zhi⁶ / **EC** *jeh (gyeh)

CSWW *žiə⁶

CJQ *ži⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶; **Pj** zɿ⁻²⁴³ 豆～ 'fermented soybeans'; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑi⁶; **Wy** ʑi⁶

CLS *ʑie⁶: **Sc** ʑie⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** zɿ⁶; **Pc** ɕie⁶; **Qy** ɕie⁶

CSS *ʑiə²₍ˌt₎ 豆～ 'fermented soybeans'

284 *ér* 兒〔止開三平支日 AB〕 'son' **CDC** *nhi² / **EC** *nhe (ngye)

CSWW *ȵiə² 'son'

CJQ *ȵ² [1] ⩙ *ȵ̩² [2]

a. **Ly** ȵi²; **Jh** ŋ²; **Pj** n²; **Dy** n²; **Yk** ŋ²; **Wy** n²

b. **Ly** əɯ²; **Jh** əl²; **Pj** —; **Dy** ɚ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** ⌊⁻²¹ ～童 'children'

CLS *ȵie²: **Sc** ȵie²; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵi²; **Yh** ɲi¹₍ˌt₎; **Pc** (e²₍ˌif₎); **Qy** ȵie⁵₍ˌt₎ [1] ⩙ ȵĩ¹ [2]

CSS *ȵi³₍ˌft

285 *jì* 寄〔止開三去實見 B〕 'lodge, mail' **CDC** *ki⁵ / **EC** *kayh

CSWW *kəi⁵₍ˌa₎ [1] ⩙ *ki⁵ [2]

CJQ *ki⁵: **Ly** tɕi⁵; **Jh** tɕi⁵; **Pj** tʃi⁵; **Dy** tɕi⁵; **Yk** ki⁵; **Wy** tɕi⁵

CLS *ki⁵: **Sc** tsɿ⁵; **Sy** tsɿ⁵; **Lq** tsɿ⁵; **Yh** tsɿ⁵; **Pc** ki⁵; **Qy** tɕi⁵

CSS *kəi⁵ ⩙ #ki⁵₍ˌa₎

a. **Kh** ke⁵; **Cs** ke⁵; **Js** kɛ⁵; **Ys** kɐi⁵ [1]; **Gf** kɐi⁵ [1] ⩙ ke⁵ [2]

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ki⁵ [2]; **Gf** —

286 *qí* 騎〔止開三平支羣 B〕 'ride' **CDC** *gi² / **EC** *gay

CSWW *gyai²₍ˌa₎ (?) [1] ⩙ *gi² [2]

CJQ *gi²: **Ly** dʑi²; **Jh** dʑi²; **Pj** dʒi²; **Dy** dʑi²; **Yk** gi²; **Wy** dʑi²

CLS *gi²: **Sc** dzɿ²; **Sy** tsɿ²; **Lq** ʑɿ²; **Yh** dzɿ²; **Pc** ki²; **Qy** tɕi²

CSS *gyɑi² ⩙ #gi²
a. Kh guɛ²; Cs guɛ²; Js gø²; Ys gy²$_{!f}$ ～馬 ‘ride a horse’; Gf —
b. Kh dʑi²; Cs —; Js —; Ys gi²; Gf gi²

287 *jì* 倚〔止開三上紙羣 B〕 ‘stand (v.)’ CDC *gi⁴ / EC *gayx

CSWW *gəi⁴ ‘stand’

CJQ *gəi⁴: Ly gei⁴; Jh kɛ³; Pj gɑ⁴; Dy ge⁴; Yk —; Wy gɑ⁴

CLS *gəi⁴: Sc gei⁴; Sy gɛ⁴; Lq kɛ³; Yh gɑ⁴; Pc kue⁴; Qy kai⁴

CSS *gəi⁴

288 *yǐ* 蟻〔止開三上紙疑 B〕 ‘ant’ CDC *^{h}ngi⁴ / EC *^{h}ngayx

CSWW *ŋai⁴

CJQ *ŋɑ⁴: Ly ŋɑ⁴; Jh ɑ³ [1] ⩙ uɑ³ [2] ⩙ ɲi³ [3]; Pj ŋãn^{-24} [兒]; Dy ŋɑ⁴; Yk niɑ⁴; Wy nia⁴

CLS *ŋai⁴: Sc ŋa⁴; Sy ŋa⁴; Lq ua³ ⩙ ŋɤɯ³ 白～ ‘termite’; Yh ŋɑ³; Pc (i³$_{!ift}$); Qy ŋɑ⁴

CSS *ŋɑi⁴

289 *xì* 戲〔止開三去寘曉 B〕 ‘play, game’ CDC *xi⁵ / EC *hayh

CSWW *xɨ⁵$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ⩙ *xi⁵ [2]

CJQ *xi⁵: Ly ɕi⁵; Jh ɕi⁵; Pj ʃi⁵; Dy ɕi⁵; Yk xi⁵; Wy ɕi⁵

CLS *xi⁵: Sc sɿ⁵; Sy sɿ⁵; Lq sɿ⁵; Yh sɿ⁵; Pc xi⁵; Qy ɕi⁵

CSS #xe⁵$_{!a}$ (?) ⩙ *xi⁵
a. Kh xui⁵; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh —; Cs ɕi⁵; Js xi⁵; Ys xi⁵; Gf xi⁵

290 *yǐ* 椅（倚）〔止開三上紙影 B〕 ‘chair’ CDC *i³ / EC —

CSWW *ʔy³ [1] ⩙ *ʔi³ [2]

CJQ *ʔy³ ⩙ *ʔi³
a. Ly —; Jh y³ [1]; Pj ʒy⁴$_{!it}$; Dy iʉ⁴$_{!t}$; Yk y³; Wy y³
b. Ly i³; Jh i³; Pj i¹$_{!t}$; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —

CLS *y³ ⩙ *i³
a. Sc y³ [1]; Sy y³; Lq y³; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
b. Sc i³; Sy —; Lq —; Yh i³; Pc (ie³); Qy i³

CSS *ʔyi³ ⩙ #ʔi³
a. Kh ui³; Cs y³; Js y³; Ys y³ [1]; Gf —
b. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys i³; Gf i³

291 *yí* 移〔止開三平支以 A〕 ‘shift’ CDC *yi² / EC *yay

CSWW *ʔiə² [1] ⩙ *ʔi² [2]

CJQ *ʔi²: **Ly** i²; **Jh** i²; **Pj** i²; **Dy** i²; **Yk** i²; **Wy** i²

CLS *ie²: **Sc** ie²; **Sy** i²; **Lq** i²; **Yh** i²; **Pc** ie²; **Qy** ie²

CSS #ʔi²: **Kh** i²; **Cs** i²; **Js** i²; **Ys** i²; **Gf** i²

292 *bǐ* 比〔止開三上旨幫 A〕 ‘compare’ **CDC** *pi³ / **EC** *piyx

CSWW *ɓi³

CJQ *ɓi³: **Ly** pi³; **Jh** pi³; **Pj** pi³; **Dy** pi³; **Yk** ʔbi³; **Wy** pi³

CLS *ɓi³: **Sc** ʔbi³; **Sy** ʔbi³; **Lq** ʔbi³; **Yh** ʔbi³ [1] ≍ pʰi³ [2] ～方 ‘analogy’; **Pc** pi³; **Qy** ʔbi³

CSS *pi³

293 *bí* 鼻〔止開三去至並 A〕 ‘nose’ **CDC** *bi⁶ / **EC** *bis ≍ *bit

CSWW *bəʔ⁸ (?) [1] ≍ *boʔ⁸ (?) [2] ≍ *biək⁸ [3]

CJQ *biəʔ⁸: **Ly** biəʔ⁸; **Jh** biəʔ⁸; **Pj** biə⁸; **Dy** biəʔ⁸; **Yk** bə⁴; **Wy** bəʔ⁸

CLS *bəʔ⁸ ≍ *boʔ⁸ (?) ≍ *biək⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** bəʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** beiʔ⁸$_{!f}$ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** pɤʔ⁸

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bəuʔ⁸ [3]; **Pc** —; **Qy** puʔ⁸

c. **Sc** biɪʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** biʔ⁸; **Yh** biʔ⁸ [1]; **Pc** (pi⁶$_{!ft}$); **Qy** piəɯʔ⁸

CSS #bəʔ⁸ ≍ #boʔ⁸ (?) ≍ #biʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** bʌʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** boʔ⁸; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** bieʔ⁸ [2] ≍ bi⁶ [1] ‘mucus’; **Cs** beʔ⁸ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** beʔ⁸; **Gf** beʔ⁸

The alternation between CSWW *bəʔ⁸ and *boʔ⁸ in this final is probably not due to lexical layering. The development of *-əʔ appears to be unstable after labial initials. See the Yh and Qy reflexes for an example of synchronic variation. It is unclear how the different Yh forms are used. Cáo et al. (2016, 323) give [bəuʔ²⁴ dəu⁴²³] for ‘nose’, but the other forms are unmentioned. In Qy, ‘nose’ is [pɤʔ³⁴～puʔ³⁴ tiɯ⁵²].

294 *méi* 眉〔止開三平脂明 B〕 ‘eyebrow’ **CDC** *mi² / **EC** *miy

CSWW *mɨ² [1] ≍ *mi² [2]

CJQ *mi²: **Ly** mi²; **Jh** mi²; **Pj** mi²; **Dy** mi²; **Yk** mi²; **Wy** mi²

CLS *mi²: **Sc** mi²; **Sy** mi²; **Lq** mi²; **Yh** mi¹; **Pc** meŋ²$_{!f}$; **Qy** mɪŋ²$_{!f}$

CSS *me² ≍ #mi²

a. **Kh** {mi²}; **Cs** {mi²}; **Js** mø²; **Ys** —; **Gf** me²

b. **Kh** {mi²}; **Cs** {mi²}; **Js** —; **Ys** mi²; **Gf** mi²

I have not changed Akitani’s reconstruction of CSS *me² for this etymon, but I have reinterepreted which of the daughters correspond to it regularly.

295 *dì* 地〔止開三去至定 AB〕 ‘earth’ **CDC** *di⁶ / **EC** *dayh (?)

CSWW *di⁶ ≍ *dia⁶

CJQ *di⁶
a. Ly di⁶ ～主 ‘landowner’; Jh di⁶; Pj di⁶; Dy di⁶; Yk di⁶; Wy di⁶
b. Ly diɑ⁶; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
CLS *di⁶ ⩙ ?
a. Sc di⁶; Sy di⁶; Lq —; Yh di⁶; Pc ti⁶; Qy ti⁶
b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq di⁶; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
CSS ? ⩙ *diə⁶

296 *nì* 膩〔止開三去至娘 AB〕 ‘greasy’ CDC *ni⁶ / EC *nris
CSWW *ŋə⁶ [1] ⩙ *ȵiə⁶ [2]
CJQ *ȵi⁶: Ly ȵi⁶; Jh ȵi⁶; Pj ȵi³ˌt 油～; Dy —; Yk ɲi⁶; Wy —
CLS *ŋə⁶ˌa ⩙ *ȵie⁶
a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc ne⁶ˌi; Qy —
b. Sc ȵi⁶ˌf; Sy ȵi⁶; Lq ȵi⁶; Yh ɲi⁶; Pc —; Qy —
CSS *ŋə⁶

297 *lí* 梨〔止開三平脂來 AB〕 ‘pear’ CDC *li² / EC *liy
CSWW *li²
CJQ *li²: Ly li²; Jh li²; Pj li²; Dy li²; Yk li⁻³²⁴ [兒]; Wy li²
CLS *li²: Sc li²; Sy li²; Lq li²; Yh li²; Pc li²; Qy li²
CSS #li²: Kh li²; Cs li²; Js li²; Ys li²; Gf li²

298 *lì* 利〔止開三去至來 AB〕 ‘be sharp; profit’ CDC *li⁶ / EC *lis
CSWW *li⁶
CJQ *li⁶: Ly li⁶; Jh li⁶ [1] ⩙ lie⁶ [2] ～市 ‘good business’; Pj li⁶; Dy li⁶; Yk li⁶; Wy li⁶
CLS *li⁶: Sc li⁶; Sy li⁶; Lq li⁶; Yh li⁶; Pc li⁶; Qy li⁶
CSS *li⁶

299 *zǐ* 姊〔止開三上旨精 AB〕 ‘big sister’ CDC *tsɿ³ / EC *tsiyx
CSWW *tsi³
CJQ *tsi³: Ly tɕi³; Jh tsi³; Pj tʃi⁵; Dy tsi³; Yk tɕi³; Wy tɕi³
CLS *tɕi³: Sc tsɿ³; Sy tsɿ⁵; Lq tsɿ³; Yh tsɿ¹ˌt; Pc tɕi³ ⩙ tɕie³; Qy tɕi³
CSS *tɕi³

300 *cí* 糍（餈）〔止開三平脂從 AB〕 ‘rice cake’ CDC *dzɿ² / EC *dziy
CSWW *zɨ²
CJQ *zɿ²: Ly zɿ⁰ 麻～; Jh zɿ²; Pj zɿ²; Dy zɿ²; Yk zɿ²; Wy zɿ²
CLS *zɨ²: Sc zɿɤ²; Sy sɯ²; Lq —; Yh zɿ²; Pc —; Qy sɤ²
CSS *zə²

301 *sǐ* 死〔止開三上旨心 AB〕 ‘die’ **CDC** *sɿ³ ⩙ *si³ / **EC** *siyx

CSWW *sɨ³

CJQ *sɿ³: **Ly** sɿ³; **Jh** sɿ³; **Pj** sɿ³; **Dy** sɿ³; **Yk** sɿ³; **Wy** sɿ³

CLS *sɨ³: **Sc** sɿɤ³; **Sy** sɯ³; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** sɿ³; **Pc** ɕi³ ⩙ sɿ³; **Qy** sɤ³

CSS *sə³

302 *sì* 四〔止開三去至心 AB〕 ‘four’ **CDC** *sɿ⁵ / **EC** *sis

CSWW *si⁵

CJQ *si⁵: **Ly** ɕi⁵; **Jh** si⁵ [1] ⩙ sɿ⁵ [2]; **Pj** ʃi⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕi⁵; **Wy** ɕi⁵

CLS *si⁵: **Sc** sɿ⁵; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** sɿ⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** sɿ⁵ǃf; **Qy** ɕi⁵

CSS *ɕi⁵

303 *zhī* 胝〔止開三平脂知 AB〕 ‘callus’ **CDC** *ci¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɗɨ¹ [1] ⩙ *tši¹ǃa [2]

CJQ *tši¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tsɿ⁻⁵³ 硬～; **Dy** tsi¹ 硬～; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗɨ¹: **Sc** ʔdiu¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdi¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdi¹

CSS *te¹

304 *chí* 遲〔止開三平脂澄 AB〕 ‘delayed’ **CDC** *ji² / **EC** *driy

CSWW *dəi²ǃa [1] ‘late’ ⩙ *dži² [2] ‘late’

CJQ *dži²: **Ly** dzɿ² ‘late’; **Jh** dʑy² [1] ‘late’ ⩙ dzɿ² [2]; **Pj** dʒi²; **Dy** dzi²; **Yk** dʑi²; **Wy** dʑi² ‘late’

CLS *dʑi²: **Sc** dzɿ² ‘late’; **Sy** tsɿ²; **Lq** dzɿ²; **Yh** dzɿ² ‘late’; **Pc** tɕi² ‘late’; **Qy** tɕi²

CSS *dəi² [2] ⩙ *dʑe² [1]

This is the vernacular word for ‘late’ in most of the daughters, i.e. the equivalent of **MSC** *wǎn* 晚. I have marked the gloss explicitly in the data to make lexical replacement apparent.

305 *zhì* 雉〔止開三上旨澄 AB〕 ‘pheasant’ **CDC** *ji⁴ / **EC** *driyx

CSWW *di⁴ [1] ～雞 ⩙ *dži⁴ [2] ～雞

CJQ *di⁴ ⩙ *dži⁴

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** di⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕy³ [1] *!use* ⩙ tsɿ³ [2]; **Pj** dʒi⁻¹¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsɿ³ǃit; **Wy** dʑi⁻³³

CLS *dʑi?: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɿ¹ǃt; **Pc** tɕi⁶ǃt; **Qy** —

CSS *dʑe?

306 *shī* 師〔止開三平脂生 AB〕 ‘teacher’ **CDC** *shɿ¹ / **EC** *sriy

CSWW *šɨ¹

CJQ *sɿ¹: **Ly** sɿ¹; **Jh** sɿ¹; **Pj** sɿ¹; **Dy** sɿ¹; **Yk** sɿ¹; **Wy** sɿ¹

CLS *ɕɨ¹: **Sc** ɕiu¹ ～父 ‘master’ ⩙ sɿɤ¹ 老～ ‘teacher’; **Sy** sɯ¹; **Lq** sɤɯ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹;

Pc se¹; **Qy** sɤ¹

CSS *ɕe¹

307 *shī* 蓍〔廣韻：止開三平脂生 AB〕 ‘spiral in 〜蓍’ **CDC** *shɿ¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *ši¹

CJQ *sɿ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** sɿ¹; **Pj** sɿ¹; **Dy** sɿ⁻⁵⁴ 螺〜; **Yk** sɿ¹; **Wy** sɿ¹

CLS *ɕi¹: **Sc** ɕiu¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɤ⁵ǃt 螺〜

CSS *ɕe¹

308 *zhī* 脂〔止開三平脂章 AB〕 ‘lard’ **CDC** *ci¹ / **EC** *ciy (kyiy)

CSWW *tši¹ [1] ‘lard’ ⨯ *(tš,ts)i¹ [2]

CJQ *tsɿ¹ 〜油 ⨯ *(tš,ts)i¹ 胭〜 ‘rouge’

a. **Ly** tsɿ¹; **Jh** tsɿ¹; **Pj** tsɿ¹ *!use*; **Dy** tsɿ¹; **Yk** tsɿ¹; **Wy** tsɿ¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕi¹; **Wy** tɕi⁻⁵³

CLS *tɕi¹ ⨯ *tɕi¹

a. **Sc** tɕiu¹ 〜油; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tsɿ¹ 胭〜 ‘rouge’; **Sy** tsɿ³ǃt; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** {tsɿ¹}; **Pc** tɕi¹; **Qy** tɕi³ǃt

CSS *tɕe¹ ⨯ #tɕi¹

a. **Kh** tsui¹ 豬〜; **Cs** tsi¹ 〜油; **Js** tɕø¹ 豬〜; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tsɿ¹ 〜肪 ‘fat’; **Cs** tɕi¹ 胭〜 ‘rouge’; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕi¹; **Gf** tɕi¹

309 *zhǐ* 指〔止開三上旨章 AB〕 ‘finger; point’ **CDC** *ci³ / **EC** *ciyx (kyiyx)

CSWW *tši³ [1] ⨯ *tši³ [2]

CJQ *tsɿ³ ⨯ *tši³

a. **Ly** {tsɿ³}; **Jh** tsɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³; **Dy** tsɿ³ 戒〜 ‘ring’; **Yk** tsɿ³ 中央〜 ‘middle finger’; **Wy** tsɿ³ 戒〜 ‘ring’

b. **Ly** {tsɿ³}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕi³ 食〜 ‘index finger’; **Wy** tɕi⁻⁵³ 〜示 ‘instructions’

CLS *tɕi³ ⨯ *tɕi³

a. **Sc** tɕiu³ 六〜 ‘six fingers’; **Sy** tsɿ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ³}; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsɤ³ 手〜 ‘finger’

b. **Sc** tsɿ³ 〜揮 ‘direct’; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɿ³; **Yh** {tsɿ³}; **Pc** tɕi³; **Qy** tɕi³

CSS *tɕe³

310 *èr* 二〔止開三去至日 AB〕 ‘two’ **CDC** *nhi⁶ / **EC** *nis

CSWW *ȵi⁶

CJQ *ȵ⁶: **Ly** ȵi⁶; **Jh** ŋ⁶ [1] ⨯ əl⁶ [2]; **Pj** n⁶; **Dy** n⁶ [l] ⨯ zi⁶ [2] ⨯ ɚ⁶ [3]; **Yk** ŋ⁶; **Wy** n⁶

CLS *ȵi⁶: **Sc** ȵi⁶ [1] ⨯ ɤɯ⁶ [2]; **Sy** ȵi⁶; **Lq** ȵi⁶; **Yh** ɲi⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵĩ⁶

CSS *ȵi⁶

311 *jǐ* 麂〔止開三上旨見 B〕 ‘barking deer’ **CDC** *ki³ / **EC** —

CSWW *kɨ³ [1] ≍ *ki³ [2]

CJQ *ki³: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕin³ [兒]; **Yk** ki³; **Wy** tɕi³

CLS *ki³: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ki³; **Qy** tɕi³

CSS *ke³

312 *qì* 器〔止開三去至溪 B〕 ‘vessel, ware’ **CDC** *khi⁵ / **EC** *khis ≍ *khus

CSWW *kʰi⁵

CJQ *kʰi⁵: **Ly** tɕʰi⁵; **Jh** tɕʰi⁵; **Pj** tʃʰi⁵; **Dy** tɕʰi⁵; **Yk** kʰi⁵; **Wy** tɕʰi⁵

CLS *kʰi⁵: **Sc** tsʰɿ⁵; **Sy** tsʰɿ⁵; **Lq** tsʰɿ⁵; **Yh** tsʰɿ⁵; **Pc** kʰi⁵; **Qy** tɕʰi⁵

CSS *kʰi⁵

313 *yí* 姨〔止開三平脂以 A〕 ‘maternal aunt’ **CDC** *yui² / **EC** *yiy

CSWW *ɦi²

CJQ *ɦi²: **Ly** i²; **Jh** i² [1]; **Pj** i²; **Dy** i²; **Yk** i²; **Wy** i¹꜖t

CLS *i²: **Sc** i⁴꜖t; **Sy** i⁵꜖t; **Lq** ɿ³꜖t; **Yh** i²; **Pc** i²; **Qy** i⁴꜖t

CSS *ɦi²

314 *lǐ* 李〔止開三上止來 C〕 ‘plum’ **CDC** *li⁴ / **EC** *lix

CSWW *li⁴

CJQ *li⁴: **Ly** li⁶ [1] ≍ li⁴ [a] ≍ liəʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** li³; **Pj** li⁴; **Dy** li⁴; **Yk** li⁴ [1] ≍ liə⁴ [2] 行～ ‘luggage’; **Wy** li⁴ [1] ≍ lie⁴ [2] 行～ ‘luggage’

CLS *li⁴: **Sc** li⁴; **Sy** li⁴; **Lq** li³; **Yh** li³; **Pc** li⁴; **Qy** li⁴

CSS #li⁴: **Kh** li³; **Cs** li⁴; **Js** li⁴; **Ys** li⁴; **Gf** li⁴

315 *lǐ* 裏〔止開三上止來 C〕 ‘inside’ **CDC** *li⁴ / **EC** *lix

CSWW *liə⁴ [1] ≍ *li⁴ [2]

CJQ *li⁴: **Ly** li⁴; **Jh** li³ ≍ li³; **Pj** li⁴; **Dy** li⁴ [1] ≍ li⁶ [2]; **Yk** li⁴ [1]; **Wy** li⁴

CLS *lie⁴ ≍ *li⁴

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {li⁴}; **Lq** {li³}; **Yh** {li³}; **Pc** —; **Qy** lie⁴ [3] ～去 ‘enter’ ≍ lɤ³ [2] 山～ ‘in the mountains’

b. **Sc** lei⁰꜖f ‘suffix in place words’; **Sy** {li⁴}; **Lq** {li³}; **Yh** {li³}; **Pc** li³꜖f; **Qy** li⁴ [1] ‘suffix in place words’

CSS *liə⁴

The CJQ form could have developed from either CSWW *liə⁴ or *li⁴.

316 *zǐ* 子〔止開三上止精 C〕 ‘child; seed; dim. suffix’ **CDC** *tsɿ³ / **EC** *tsix

CSWW *tsɨ³

CJQ *tsɿ³: **Ly** tsɿ³; **Jh** tsɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³; **Dy** tsɿ³; **Yk** tsɿ³ 雞～ ‘chicken egg’; **Wy** tsɿ³

CLS *tsɨ³: **Sc** tsɿɤ³ 婊～ ‘whore’ ≍ tsɿ⁰ 包～ ‘bun’; **Sy** tsɯ³; **Lq** tsɤɯ³; **Yh** tsɿ³; **Pc** tsɿ³ ≍ tɕi³; **Qy** tsɤ³ [1] ‘seed’ ≍ tsɿ³ [2] ‘dim.’

CSS #tsə³: **Kh** tsə³ [1] 雞～ ‘chicken egg’ ≍ tsɿ³ [2] ‘1/10 (gz.)’; **Cs** tsə³ [1] ≍ tsɿ³ [2] ‘1/10 (gz.)’; **Js** tsə³ [1] ‘seed’; **Ys** tsə³ [1] ‘seed’; **Gf** tsɿə³ [1] ≍ tɕi¹ [2] ‘dim.’

317 *zì* 字〔止開三去志從 C〕 ‘Chinese character’ **CDC** *dzɿ⁶ / **EC** *dzih

CSWW *zɨ⁶

CJQ *zɿ⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶; **Pj** zɿ⁶; **Dy** zɿ⁶; **Yk** zɿ⁶; **Wy** zɿ⁶

CLS *zɨ⁶: **Sc** zɿɤ⁶; **Sy** zɯ⁶; **Lq** (zɿ⁶₍lf₎); **Yh** zɿ⁶; **Pc** tsɿ⁵₍lft₎; **Qy** (sɿ⁶₍lf₎)

CSS #zə⁶: **Kh** zə⁶; **Cs** zə⁶; **Js** sə⁶; **Ys** zə⁶; **Gf** dzɿə⁶

318 *sī* 絲〔止開三平之心 C〕 ‘thread’ **CDC** *sɿ¹ / **EC** *si

CSWW *sɨ¹

CJQ *sɿ¹: **Ly** sɿ¹; **Jh** sɿ¹; **Pj** sɿ¹; **Dy** sɿ¹; **Yk** sɿ¹; **Wy** sɿ¹

CLS *sɨ¹: **Sc** sɿɤ¹; **Sy** sɯ¹; **Lq** sɿ¹; **Yh** sɿ¹; **Pc** sɿ¹₍lf₎; **Qy** sɿ¹₍lf

CSS *sə¹

319 *cí* 祠〔止開三平之邪 C〕 ‘shrine’ **CDC** *dzɿ² ≍ *zɿ² / **EC** *zi

CSWW *zɨ²

CJQ *zɿ²: **Ly** zɿ⁻²¹³; **Jh** zɿ²; **Pj** zɿ²; **Dy** zɿ²; **Yk** zɿ²; **Wy** zɿ²

CLS *zɨ²: **Sc** zɿɤ²; **Sy** sɯ²; **Lq** zɿ²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** tsɿ²₍lf₎; **Qy** sɿ²₍lf

CSS #zə²: **Kh** zə²; **Cs** zə²; **Js** sə⁻³³; **Ys** zə²; **Gf** dzɿə²

320 *sì* 飼〔廣韻：止開三去志邪 C〕 ‘feed’ **CDC** *zɿ⁶ / **EC** *zih

CSWW *zɨ⁶

CJQ *zɿ⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶; **Pj** zɿ⁶; **Dy** zɿ⁶; **Yk** zɿ⁶; **Wy** zɿ⁶

CLS *zɨ⁶: **Sc** zɿɤ⁶ ≍ zɿ⁶; **Sy** zɯ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** zɿ⁶; **Pc** tsɿ⁵₍lft₎; **Qy** sɿ⁶₍lf

CSS *zə⁶

321 *shì* 柿〔止開三上止崇 C〕 ‘persimmon’ **CDC** *jɿ⁴ / **EC** *dzrix

CSWW *žɨ⁴

CJQ *zɿ⁴: **Ly** zɿ⁴; **Jh** sɿ³; **Pj** zɿn⁻²⁴ [兒]; **Dy** zɿ⁴; **Yk** zɿ⁴⁻¹⁴ [兒] 旺～; **Wy** zen⁶ [兒]

CLS *ʑɨ⁴: **Sc** ʑiu⁴; **Sy** zɯ⁴; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** zɿ⁴; **Pc** se⁴; **Qy** sɤ⁴

CSS *ʑe⁴

322 *shì* 事〔止開三去志崇 C〕 ‘matter’ **CDC** *jɿ⁶ ≍ *zhɿ⁶ / **EC** *dzrih

CSWW *žə⁶

CJQ *zɿ⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶; **Pj** zɿ⁶; **Dy** zɿ⁶; **Yk** zɿ⁶; **Wy** zɿ⁶

CLS *zə⁶: **Sc** zuɤ⁶; **Sy** zɯ⁶; **Lq** zɤɯ⁶; **Yh** zɿ⁶; **Pc** se⁶; **Qy** sɤ⁶ [2] ‘affair, matter’ ≍ sɤ¹ [1] 物～ ‘thing’

CSS #ʑe⁶: **Kh** zui⁶ [1] ≍ zɿ⁶ [2]; **Cs** zi⁶ [1] ≍ zɿ⁻²⁴ [2]; **Js** ɕø⁶; **Ys** ze⁶; **Gf** se⁶

323 *shǐ* 使〔止開三上止生 C〕 ‘cause’ **CDC** *shɿ³ / **EC** *srix

CSWW *šə³

CJQ *sɿ³: **Ly** sɿ⁵; **Jh** sɿ³; **Pj** sɿ³; **Dy** sɿ³; **Yk** sɿ³; **Wy** sɿ³

CLS *sə³: **Sc** suɤ³; **Sy** sɯ³; **Lq** sɤɯ³; **Yh** sɿ³; **Pc** se³; **Qy** sɤ³

CSS *ɕe³

324 *zhì* 痣〔廣韻：止開三去志章 C〕 ‘mole’ **CDC** *ci⁵ / **EC** *cih (kyih)

CSWW *tši⁵ [1] ≍ *tši⁵ [2]

CJQ *tši⁵ [2] ≍ *tsɿ⁵ [1]

a. **Ly** {tsɿ⁵}; **Jh** —; **Pj** tʃi³ˌˈt; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕi⁵

b. **Ly** {tsɿ⁵}; **Jh** tsɿ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsɿ⁵; **Yk** tsɿ⁵; **Wy** tsen⁵ [兒]

CLS *tɕi⁵ [2] ≍ *(tɕ,ts)ɨ⁵ [1]

a. **Sc** tsɿ⁵; **Sy** tsɿ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ⁵}; **Pc** tɕi⁵; **Qy** tɕi⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɤɯ⁵; **Yh** {tsɿ⁵}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #tɕe⁵: **Kh** tsui⁵; **Cs** tsi⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** tse⁵; **Gf** tɕi⁵ˌˈf

325 *chǐ* 齒〔止開三上止昌 C〕 ‘teeth’ **CDC** *chi³ / **EC** *chix (khyix)

CSWW *tšʰɨ³ 牙～

CJQ *tsʰɿ³: **Ly** tsʰɿ³; **Jh** tsʰɿ³; **Pj** tsɿ³ˌˈi; **Dy** tsɿ³ˌˈi; **Yk** tsʰɿ³; **Wy** tsʰɿ³

CLS *tɕʰɨ³: **Sc** tɕʰiu³; **Sy** tsʰɯ³; **Lq** tsʰɤɯ³; **Yh** tsʰɿ³; **Pc** tɕʰi³; **Qy** tsʰɤ³

CSS #tɕʰe³ [1] ≍ #tsʰə³ [2] 牙～

a. **Kh** tsʰui³; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsʰe³

b. **Kh** tsʰə³; **Cs** tsʰə³; **Js** tsʰə³; **Ys** tsʰə³; **Gf** —

326 *shì* 試〔止開三去志書 C〕 ‘attempt’ **CDC** *shi⁵ / **EC** *hyih

CSWW *tšʰɨ⁵ˌˈa (?) [1] ≍ *ši⁵ [2] ≍ *ši⁵ [3] 考～ ‘test’

CJQ *tsʰɿ⁵ (?) ≍ *sɿ⁵ ≍ *ši⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰɿ⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** sɿ⁵; **Jh** sɿ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** sɿ⁵; **Yk** sɿ⁵ [1]; **Wy** sɿ⁵ [1]

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃi⁵ *!use*; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɕi⁵ [2]; **Wy** ɕi⁵ [2]

CLS *tɕʰɨ⁵ (?) ≍ *ɕɨ⁵ ≍ *ɕi⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕʰi⁵; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ɕiu⁵; **Sy** sɯ⁵; **Lq** sɤɯ⁵; **Yh** sɿ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɤ⁵ [1]

c. **Sc** sɿ⁵; **Sy** sɿ⁵; **Lq** sɿ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕi⁵ [2] ≍ sɿ⁵ [3] 考～ ‘test’

CSS *ɕe⁵ [1] ≍ #ɕi⁵ [2] 考～ ‘test’

a. **Kh** sui⁵; **Cs** si⁵; **Js** sɯ⁵ˌˈif; **Ys** se⁵; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** (sɿ⁵ˌˈf); **Cs** ɕi³; **Js** ɕi⁵ *!use*; **Ys** ɕi⁵; **Gf** ɕi⁵ *!use*

CSWW *ši⁵ is a literary intrusion found in the neologism 考～‘test’. Note that CSS #ɕi⁵ did

not develop from this form. It was a parallel intrusion and does not demonstrate regular correspondence. CSWW *ši⁵ was set up to account for the regular correspondence between CJQ *ši⁵ and CLS *ɕi⁵, but it is probably an artifact of the method rather than a genuine retention.

327 *shí* 時〔止開三平之常 C〕 ‘time’ **CDC** *zhi² / **EC** *di

CSWW *žɨ²

CJQ *zɿ² ～節(兒) ‘moment’: **Ly** zɿ² ～景; **Jh** zɿ²; **Pj** zɿ²; **Dy** zɿ²; **Yk** sɿ⁻⁴⁵ [1] ⩙ ʑi² [2] ～間; **Wy** sɿ⁻⁴⁴⁵ [1] ⩙ ʑi² [2] ～間

CLS *ʑɨ² [1] ⩙ *ʑi² [2] ～節 ‘moment’

a. **Sc** ʑiu² 多～ ‘long time’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɤ² 蠻夥～ ‘long time’

b. **Sc** zɿ²; **Sy** sɿ²; **Lq** zɿ²; **Yh** zɿ²; **Pc** ɕi² ～候; **Qy** ɕi² ～間 ‘time’

CSS #ʑe² 多～ ‘long time’: **Kh** zui² [1] 日～ ‘daytime’ ⩙ zɿ² [2] ～間; **Cs** zi² [1] 幾多～ ‘how long’ ⩙ zɿ⁻²² [2] ～間; **Js** ɕø² [1] ⩙ sɯ² [2]; **Ys** ze² [1] ⩙ ʑi² [2] ～間; **Gf** se² [1] ⩙ ɕi² [2]

Note that although the Shàngshān dialects have a literary reading of this word, those forms fail to demonstrate regular correspondence. Evidently 時間 ‘time’ is a neologism.

328 *shì* 市〔止開三上止常 C〕 ‘market’ **CDC** *zhi⁴ / **EC** *dix

CSWW *žɨ⁴

CJQ *zɿ⁴: **Ly** zɿ⁴; **Jh** sɿ³ [1] 利～ ‘good business’ ⩙ zɿ⁶ [2]; **Pj** zɿ⁴; **Dy** zɿ⁴; **Yk** zɿ⁴; **Wy** zɿ⁴

CLS *ʑɨ⁴: **Sc** ʑiu⁴ 利～ ‘good business’ ⩙ zɿɤ⁴ 城～ ‘city’; **Sy** zɯ⁴; **Lq** sɿ³; **Yh** zɿ⁴; **Pc** ɕi⁶; **Qy** (ɕi³)

CSS #ʑe⁴: **Kh** zui⁶ [1] ⩙ zɿ⁶ [2] 城～ ‘city’; **Cs** zi⁴ [1] ⩙ zɿ⁴ [2] 城～ ‘city’; **Js** (sɯ⁴ǃf) *ǃuse*; **Ys** ze⁴ [1] ⩙ ʑi⁴ [2] 城～ ‘city’; **Gf** ɕi⁴ǃf

329 *shì* 侍〔止開三去志常 C〕 ‘attend upon’ **CDC** *zhi⁶ / **EC** *dih

CSWW *žɨ⁶

CJQ *zɿ⁶: **Ly** zɿ⁶; **Jh** zɿ⁶ [2] ⩙ ʑy⁶ [1] 陪～; **Pj** zɿ⁶; **Dy** zɿ⁶; **Yk** zɿ⁶; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑɨ⁶: **Sc** ʑiu⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** zɿ²ǃt; **Pc** ɕi⁶; **Qy** —

CSS *ʑe⁶

Jh [ʑy⁶] might suggest a second variant form—CSWW *ži⁶ > *ži⁶—but the other Jīnqú dialects do not have corresponding forms to support it.

330 *ěr* 耳〔止開三上止日 C〕 ‘ear’ **CDC** *ʰnhi⁴ / **EC** *ʰnix

CSWW *ȵi⁴ ～朵

CJQ *ɲ̊⁴ [1] ⩙ *l̥⁴ [2]
a. **Ly** ɲ̊i⁴; **Jh** ŋ³; **Pj** n⁻¹¹; **Dy** n⁴ ‘～朵’; **Yk** ŋ⁻¹¹ ‘～朵’; **Wy** n⁻⁴⁴⁵ ‘～朵’
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** əl³; **Pj** —; **Dy** ɚ⁰; **Yk** ly⁴; **Wy** l̥⁴

CLS *ɲ̊i⁴: **Sc** ɲ̊i⁴ [1] ⩙ ɲ̊iɪŋ⁴ [2] ⩙ n⁴ [3]; **Sy** n⁴; **Lq** mi³ˌlit; **Yh** ɲi³; **Pc** ŋi⁴; **Qy** ɲ̊ĩ⁴ [1] ‘～朵’ ⩙ mɪŋ⁻²²¹ [2] ‘～朵’

CSS *ɲ̊i⁴

331 *jī* 基〔止開三平之見 C〕 ‘foundation’ **CDC** *ki¹ / **EC** *ki

CSWW *ki¹ [1] ⩙ *ki¹ [2]

CJQ *ki¹: **Ly** tɕi¹; **Jh** tɕi¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** ki¹; **Wy** tɕi¹

CLS *ki¹: **Sc** tsɿ¹; **Sy** tsɿ¹; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** ki¹; **Qy** tɕi¹

CSS #ke¹ ⩙ #ki¹
a. **Kh** kui¹ 老屋～ ‘Lǎo Wūjī (pn.)’; **Cs** ki¹ 屋～; **Js** kø¹; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕi¹; **Cs** tɕi¹; **Js** —; **Ys** ki¹; **Gf** ki¹

I have not changed Akitani’s reconstruction for this etymon, but I disagree that [-i] is a regular reflex of **CSS** *-e in **Ys** and **Gf** after guttural initials.

332 *jī* 箕〔止開三平之見 C〕 ‘dustpan’ **CDC** *ki¹ / **EC** *ki

CSWW *ʔi¹ [1] ⩙ *ki¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔi¹ ⩙ *ki¹
a. **Ly** i¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** i¹; **Wy** i¹
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕi¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕin⁻³³⁵ [兒] □tsɑu³³～ ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *i¹ ⩙ *ki¹
a. **Sc** i¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɿ¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** i¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ki¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔi¹ 糞～ ⩙ #ki¹
a. **Kh** i¹ [2] ⩙ ie¹ [1] ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Cs** i¹ ⩙ ie¹ [2] ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Js** i¹; **Ys** i¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ki¹ ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Ys** ki¹ ‘loop (of a fingerprint)’; **Gf** ki¹

The [ie¹] forms in Kh and Cs are of unclear origin. They may have originated from another variant which we could reconstruct as CSS #ʔiə¹.

333 *jì* 記〔止開三去志見 C〕 ‘record, remember’ **CDC** *ki⁵ / **EC** *kih

CSWW *ki⁵ [1] ‘remember’ ⩙ *ki⁵ [2]

CJQ *ki⁵: **Ly** tɕi⁵; **Jh** tɕi⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕie⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃi⁵; **Dy** tɕi⁵; **Yk** ki⁵ [2] ⩙ kiə⁵ [1]; **Wy** tɕi⁵ [1]

CLS *kɨ^{5} ⩙ *ki^{5}
a. **Sc** tɕiu^{5}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsɿ^{5}}; **Pc** —; **Qy** {tɕi^{5}}
b. **Sc** tsɿ^{5} ～錄 ‘record’; **Sy** tsɿ^{5}; **Lq** tsɿ^{5}; **Yh** {tsɿ^{5}}; **Pc** ki^{5}; **Qy** {tɕi^{5}}

CSS #ke^{5} ⩙ #ki^{5}
a. **Kh** kui^{5}; **Cs** ki^{5} [2]; **Js** kø^{5}; **Ys** ke^{5} ～賬 ‘keep account’; **Gf** ke^{5} ⩙ kɤʔ^{0} [2] 忘～走 ‘forgot’
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** (tɕie^{5}$_{!f}$) [1]; **Js** ki^{5}; **Ys** ki^{5}; **Gf** —

334 *qǐ* 起〔止開三上止溪 C〕 ‘get up’ **CDC** *khi^{3} / **EC** *khix

CSWW *k^{h}i^{3}

CJQ *k^{h}i^{3}: **Ly** tɕ^{h}i^{3}; **Jh** tɕ^{h}i^{3}; **Pj** tʃ^{h}i^{3}; **Dy** tɕ^{h}i^{3} [1] ⩙ tɕ^{h}iəʔ^{7} [2]; **Yk** k^{h}i^{3}; **Wy** tɕ^{h}i^{3} [1] ⩙ tɕi^{0}

CLS *k^{h}i^{3}: **Sc** ts^{h}ɿ^{3}; **Sy** ts^{h}ɿ^{3}; **Lq** ts^{h}ɿ^{3}; **Yh** ts^{h}ɿ^{3}; **Pc** k^{h}i^{3}; **Qy** tɕ^{h}i^{3} [1] ⩙ tɕ^{h}ie^{3} [2]

CSS *k^{h}i^{3}

The secondary forms listed in this set are used as resultative complements. They have undergone phonological weakening and do not exhibit regular correspondence.

335 *qí* 棋〔止開三平之羣 C〕 ‘≈ chess (e.g. *wéiqí* 圍棋)’ **CDC** *gi^{2} / **EC** *gi

CSWW *gi^{2}

CJQ *gi^{2}: **Ly** dʑi^{2}; **Jh** dʑi^{2}; **Pj** dʒi^{2}; **Dy** dʑi^{2}; **Yk** gi^{2}; **Wy** dʑi^{2}

CLS *gi^{2}: **Sc** dzɿ^{2}; **Sy** tsɿ^{2}; **Lq** dzɿ^{2}; **Yh** dzɿ^{2}; **Pc** ki^{2}; **Qy** tɕi^{2}

CSS *gi^{2}

336 *qí* 旗〔止開三平之羣 C〕 ‘flag’ **CDC** *gi^{2} / **EC** *gi

CSWW *gɨ^{2} [1] ⩙ *gi^{2} [2]

CJQ *gi^{2}: **Ly** dʑi^{2}; **Jh** dʑi^{2}; **Pj** dʒi^{2}; **Dy** dʑi^{2}; **Yk** gi^{2}; **Wy** dʑi^{2}

CLS *gi^{2}: **Sc** dzɿ^{2}; **Sy** tsɿ^{2}; **Lq** dzɿ^{2}; **Yh** dzɿ^{2}; **Pc** ki^{2}; **Qy** tɕi^{2}

CSS *ge^{2} ⩙ #gi^{2} [1]
a. **Kh** gui^{2}; **Cs** gi^{2}; **Js** gø^{2}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** gi^{2}; **Gf** gi^{2}

337 *xī* 嬉〔止開三平之曉 C〕 ‘play’ **CDC** *xi^{1} / **EC** *hi

CSWW *xi^{1}

CJQ *xi^{1}: **Ly** ɕi^{1}; **Jh** ɕi^{1}; **Pj** ʃi^{1}; **Dy** ɕi^{1}; **Yk** xi^{1}; **Wy** ɕi^{1}

CLS *xi^{1}: **Sc** sɿ^{1}; **Sy** sɿ^{1}; **Lq** sɿ^{1}; **Yh** sɿ^{1}; **Pc** xi^{1}; **Qy** ɕi^{1}

CSS *xi^{1}

338 *yī* 醫〔止開三平之影 C〕 ‘doctor’ **CDC** *ʔi^{1} / **EC** *i

CSWW *ʔi^{1}$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *ʔi^{1} [2]

CJQ *ʔi^{1}: **Ly** i^{1}; **Jh** i^{1}; **Pj** i^{1}; **Dy** ʔi^{1}; **Yk** i^{1}; **Wy** i^{1}

CLS *i¹: **Sc** i¹; **Sy** i¹; **Lq** ɿ¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** i¹; **Qy** i¹

CSS #ʔe¹ ⩙ *ʔi¹

a. **Kh** ui¹ ～病 ‘treat illness’; **Cs** {i¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** i¹ ～院 ‘hospital’; **Cs** {i¹}; **Js** i¹; **Ys** i¹; **Gf** i¹

339 *yì* 意〔止開三去志影 C〕 ‘intent’ **CDC** *i⁵ / **EC** *ih

CSWW *ʔi⁵$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *ʔi⁵ [2]

CJQ *ʔi⁵: **Ly** i⁵; **Jh** i⁵; **Pj** i⁵; **Dy** ʔi⁵; **Yk** i⁵; **Wy** i⁵

CLS *i⁵: **Sc** i⁵; **Sy** i⁵; **Lq** ɿ⁵; **Yh** i⁵; **Pc** i⁵; **Qy** i⁵

CSS *ʔe⁵ ⩙ #ʔi⁵

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ø⁵ 做生～ ‘do business’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** i⁵; **Cs** i⁵; **Js** i⁵; **Ys** i⁵; **Gf** i⁵

340 *jī* 機〔止開三平微見 C〕 ‘mechanism, key point’ **CDC** *ki¹ / **EC** *kuy ⩙ *kiy

CSWW *ki¹

CJQ *ki¹: **Ly** tɕi¹; **Jh** tɕi¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** ki¹; **Wy** tɕi¹

CLS *ki¹: **Sc** tsɿ¹; **Sy** tsɿ¹; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** ki¹; **Qy** tɕi¹

CSS *ki¹

341 *jī* 饑〔止開三平微見 C〕 ‘hunger, famine’ **CDC** *ki¹ / **EC** *kuy ⩙ *kiy

CSWW *kəi¹ [1] 腹～ ‘hungry’ ⩙ *ki¹ [2]

CJQ *ki¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕi¹; **Pj** tʃi¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** ki¹ ⩙ ki¹; **Wy** tɕi¹

CLS *kəi¹ ⩙ *ki¹

a. **Sc** kei¹; **Sy** kɛ¹; **Lq** kɛ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** kue¹; **Qy** kai¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tsɿ¹ ～荒 ‘famine’; **Lq** tsɿ¹; **Yh** tsɿ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕi¹ ～荒 ‘famine’

CSS *kəi¹ ⩙ #ki¹

a. **Kh** ke¹; **Cs** ke¹ 腹～; **Js** kɐ¹; **Ys** kɐi¹; **Gf** kɐi¹

b. **Kh** tɕi¹; **Cs** tɕi⁻⁴⁴ ～荒 ‘famine’; **Js** ki⁻⁴⁴ ～荒 ‘famine’; **Ys** ki¹ ～荒 ‘famine’; **Gf** ki¹ ～荒 ‘famine’

342 *jǐ* 幾〔止開三上尾見 C〕 ‘how many’ **CDC** *ki³ / **EC** *kuyx ⩙ *kiyx

CSWW *kəi³ [1] ⩙ *ki³ [2]

CJQ *kəi³ ⩙ *ki³

a. **Ly** kei³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ka³

b. **Ly** tɕi³; **Jh** tɕi³; **Pj** tʃi³; **Dy** tɕi³; **Yk** ki³; **Wy** —

CLS *kəi³ ⩙ *ki³

a. **Sc** kei³; **Sy** ki³$_{!f}$; **Lq** kɛ³; **Yh** ki³; **Pc** —; **Qy** kai³

b. **Sc** tsɿ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɿ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kəi³ ⩙ #ki³ˈa
a. **Kh** ke³; **Cs** ke³; **Js** —; **Ys** kɐi³; **Gf** kɐi³
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ki³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

343 *jǐ* 蟻〔止開三上尾見 C〕 ‘nit, louse egg’ **CDC** *ki³ / **EC** *kuyx ⩙ *kiyx
CSWW *kəi³ [1] ⩙ *kɨ³ˈa [2] ⩙ *ki³ [3]
CJQ *kəi³ ⩙ *ki³
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kəi³ 蟲～; **Wy** ka³ 蟲～
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕi³; **Pj** tʃi³; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *kəi³ ⩙ *ki³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kai³
b. **Sc** tsɿɤ³ˈf; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɿ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kəi³ ⩙ *ke³ˈa ⩙ #ki³ˈa
a. **Kh** ke³; **Cs** ke³; **Js** —; **Ys** kɐi³; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ke³ [1] 蟲～
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ki³; **Ys** —; **Gf** ki³ [2] 蟲～

344 *qì* 氣〔止開三去未溪 C〕 ‘breath’ **CDC** *khi⁵ / **EC** *khus ⩙ *khis
CSWW *kʰəi³ˈa [1] ‘smell, odor’ ⩙ *kʰɨ⁵ˈa [2] ⩙ *kʰi⁵ [3]
CJQ *kʰi⁵: **Ly** tɕʰi⁵; **Jh** tɕʰi⁵; **Pj** tʃʰi⁵; **Dy** tɕʰi⁵; **Yk** kʰi⁵; **Wy** tɕʰi⁵
CLS *kʰəi³ ⩙ *kʰi⁵
a. **Sc** kʰei³ □ ‘foul odor’; **Sy** kʰɛ³ ～味 ‘a smell’; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰɿ⁵; **Sy** tsʰɿ⁵ 生～ ‘angry’; **Lq** tsʰɿ³ˈt; **Yh** tsʰɿ⁵; **Pc** kʰi⁵; **Qy** tɕʰi⁵
CSS *kʰe⁵ ⩙ #kʰi⁵
a. **Kh** kʰui⁵; **Cs** kʰi⁵ [1] ‘angry’; **Js** kʰø⁵ [1] ～息 ‘a smell’; **Ys** kʰe⁵ ～息 ‘a smell’; **Gf** kʰe⁵ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** (tɕʰi⁰) [2] 志～ ‘ambition’; **Js** kʰi⁵ [2]; **Ys** kʰi⁵ [2] 天～ ‘weather’; **Gf** kʰi⁵ [2] 天～ ‘weather’

345 *yī* 衣〔止開三平微影 C〕 ‘clothes’ **CDC** *i¹ / **EC** *uy ⩙ *iy
CSWW *ʔəi¹ˈa [1] ⩙ *ʔi¹ [2]
CJQ *ʔi¹: **Ly** i¹ 大～ ‘coat’ ⩙ i³ ～裳 ‘clothes’; **Jh** i¹ [1] ⩙ i⁵ [2] 花生～ ‘peanut shells’; **Pj** i¹; **Dy** ʔi¹; **Yk** i¹; **Wy** i¹
CLS *i¹: **Sc** i¹; **Sy** i¹; **Lq** ɿ¹ ⩙ i¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** i¹; **Qy** i¹
CSS *ʔəi¹ ⩙ #ʔi¹
a. **Kh** e¹; **Cs** e¹ 青～ ‘moss’; **Js** ɛ¹ ‘placenta’; **Ys** ɐi¹ ～裳 ‘clothes’; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** i¹ ～裳 ‘clothes’; **Js** i¹; **Ys** i¹ 穿～ ‘dress up’; **Gf** i¹

346 *yī* 依〔止開三平微影 C〕 ‘depend on’ **CDC** *i¹ / **EC** *uy ⩙ *iy
CSWW *ʔi¹

CJQ *ʔi¹: **Ly** i¹; **Jh** i¹; **Pj** i¹; **Dy** ʔi¹; **Yk** i¹; **Wy** i¹

CLS *i¹: **Sc** i¹; **Sy** i¹; **Lq** ɿ¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** i¹; **Qy** i¹

CSS #ʔi¹: **Kh** i¹; **Cs** i¹; **Js** i¹; **Ys** i¹; **Gf** i¹

347 *zuǐ* 嘴〔止合三上紙精 AB〕 ‘mouth’ **CDC** *tsui³ / **EC** —

CSWW *tsy³

CJQ *tsyi³: **Ly** tɕi³ 面～ ‘mouth’ ⪤ tsuei³ 茶壺～ ‘teapot spout’; **Jh** tsɛ³ [1] ⪤ tsui³ [2]; **Pj** tʃi³; **Dy** tsɿ³; **Yk** tsəi³; **Wy** tɕi³ [1] ⪤ tɕy³ [2]

CLS *tsy³ [1] ⪤ *tsuəi³ [2]

a. **Sc** tɕy³; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** tʃy³; **Pc** tɕy³; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tsei³; **Sy** tse³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsai³

CSS *tɕyi³ˌlf

348 *suǐ* 髓〔止合三上紙心 AB〕 ‘marrow, medulla’ **CDC** *sui³ / **EC** *soyx

CSWW *syə³ (?)

CJQ *sy³ (?): **Ly** ɕi³; **Jh** si³; **Pj** si³; **Dy** sɿ³ˌlf [1] ⪤ sɥ³ [2]; **Yk** səi³ˌlf; **Wy** ɕi³

CLS *syə³: **Sc** ɕie³; **Sy** sɿ³; **Lq** ɕi³; **Yh** —; **Pc** ɕye³; **Qy** ɕie³

CSS #sə³ [1] ⪤ #suei³ [2]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** sə³ 腦～ ‘brains’; **Js** sə³ 腦～ ‘brains’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** sui³; **Cs** sue³ 骨～ ‘marrow’; **Js** suᴇ²; **Ys** zuei²; **Gf** sui²

349 *chuī* 吹〔止合三平支昌 AB〕 ‘blow’ **CDC** *chui¹ / **EC** *thoy

CSWW *tšʰy¹

CJQ *tšʰyi¹: **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tɕʰy¹ [1] ⪤ tsʰui¹ [2]; **Pj** tʃʰy¹ [1] ⪤ tsʰuɛ¹ [2]; **Dy** tsʰɿ¹ [1] ⪤ tsʰɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** tɕʰy¹ [1] ⪤ tsʰəi¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕʰy¹

CLS *tɕʰy¹: **Sc** tɕʰy¹; **Sy** tɕʰy¹; **Lq** tɕʰy¹; **Yh** tʃʰy¹; **Pc** tɕʰy¹; **Qy** tɕʰy¹

CSS *tɕʰyi¹

350 *kuī* 虧〔止合三平支溪 B〕 ‘lose out’ **CDC** *khui¹ / **EC** *khway

CSWW *kʰy¹ [1] ⪤ *kʰuei¹ [2]

CJQ *kʰuei¹: **Ly** kʰuei¹; **Jh** kʰui¹; **Pj** kʰuɛ¹; **Dy** kʰuei¹; **Yk** kʰuəi¹; **Wy** kʰui¹

CLS *kʰy¹ ⪤ *kʰuei¹

a. **Sc** tɕʰy¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰy¹; **Qy** tɕʰy¹

b. **Sc** kʰuei¹; **Sy** kʰue¹; **Lq** kʰui¹; **Yh** kʰuei¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kʰyi¹ ⪤ #kʰuei¹

a. **Kh** tɕʰy¹; **Cs** tɕʰy¹ 吃～; **Js** —; **Ys** {kʰuei¹}; **Gf** kʰy¹

b. **Kh** kʰui¹; **Cs** kʰui¹; **Js** kʰuᴇ¹; **Ys** {kʰuei¹}; **Gf** kʰui¹

351 *guì* 跪〔廣韻：止合三上紙羣 B〕 ‘kneel’ **CDC** *gui⁴ / **EC** *goyx

CSWW *kʰy³ˌla [1] ⪤ *gy⁴ [2]

CJQ *gy⁴
a. **Ly** tɕʰy³ [1]; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** (guei⁶₍tf₎) [2]; **Jh** tɕy³ [1]; **Pj** dʒy⁴ [1] ≍ guɛ⁴ [2]; **Dy** dʑiu⁴; **Yk** gy⁴; **Wy** dʑy⁴

CLS *gy⁴: **Sc** —; **Sy** dʑy⁴ [1] ≍ gue⁴ [2]; **Lq** tɕy³; **Yh** dʒy⁴; **Pc** ky⁶₍t₎; **Qy** tɕy⁴

CSS *kʰyi³

352 *zuì* 醉〔止合三去至精 AB〕 ‘be drunk’ **CDC** *tsui⁵ / **EC** *tsus

CSWW *tsy⁵ (?)

CJQ *tsyi⁵: **Ly** tsuei⁵₍f₎; **Jh** tsɛ⁵ [1] ≍ tsei⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃi⁵; **Dy** tsɿ⁵ [1] ≍ tsɥ⁵ [2]; **Yk** tsəi⁵; **Wy** tɕi⁵

CLS *tɕy⁵: **Sc** tɕy⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵ [1] ≍ tsei⁵ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕy⁵

CSS *tɕyəi⁵₍f₎ (?)

353 *zhuī* 追〔止合三平脂知 AB〕 ‘pursue’ **CDC** *cui¹ / **EC** *truy

CSWW *tšy¹ [1] ≍ *tsuei¹ [2]

CJQ *tšyi¹ ≍ *tsuei¹
a. **Ly** {tsuei¹}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕy¹
b. **Ly** {tsuei¹}; **Jh** tsei¹; **Pj** tsuɛ¹; **Dy** tsei¹; **Yk** tsəi¹; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕy¹: **Sc** tɕy¹; **Sy** tɕy¹; **Lq** tɕy¹; **Yh** tʃy¹; **Pc** tɕy¹; **Qy** tɕy¹

CSS #tɕy¹ ≍ #tsuei¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕy¹; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tsui¹; **Cs** tsui¹; **Js** tsuᴇ¹; **Ys** tsuei¹; **Gf** tsui¹

354 *chuí* 錘〔廣韻：止合三平脂澄 AB〕 ‘hammer’ **CDC** *jui² / **EC** *druy

CSWW *džy² [2]

CJQ *džyi²: **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** dʑy² [1] ≍ dzui² [2]; **Pj** dʒy²; **Dy** dzɿ²; **Yk** dʑy² ≍ tɕy⁻³²⁴ [兒]; **Wy** dʑy²

CLS *dʑy²: **Sc** dʑy²; **Sy** tɕy²; **Lq** dʑy²; **Yh** dʒy²; **Pc** tɕy²; **Qy** tɕy²

CSS *dʑyɑi² [1] ≍ *džyai² [1]

355 *chuí* 槌〔止合三平脂澄 AB〕 ‘mallet’ **CDC** *jui² / **EC** —

CSWW *džyai²₍a₎ (?) [1] ≍ *džyi² [2]

CJQ *džyi²: **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** dʑy² [1] ≍ dzui² [2]; **Pj** dʒy²; **Dy** dzɿ⁻⁵⁴ □mom¹¹～ ‘laundry club’; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑy²

CLS *dʑy²: **Sc** dʑy²; **Sy** tɕy²; **Lq** dʑy²; **Yh** dʒy²; **Pc** tɕy²; **Qy** tɕy²

CSS #dʑyɑi²: **Kh** dzuɛ²; **Cs** dzɛ²; **Js** dzæ²; **Ys** dʑø²; **Gf** dzua²

356 *zhuì* 墜〔止合三去至澄 AB〕 ‘fall’ **CDC** *jui⁶ / **EC** *drus

CSWW *džy⁶

CJQ *džyi⁶: **Ly** dzuei⁶; **Jh** dʑy⁶ [1] ⩙ dzui⁶ [2]; **Pj** (duɛ⁶₍if₎); **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑyin⁶ [兒]

CLS *dʑy⁶: **Sc** (zei⁶₍if₎); **Sy** dʑy⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒy⁶; **Pc** (lue⁶₍if₎); **Qy** tɕy⁶

CSS *dʑyi⁶

357 *shuǐ* 水〔止合三上旨書 AB〕 ‘water’ **CDC** *shui³ / **EC** *θuyx

CSWW *ʔy³ [1] *F* ⩙ *šy³ [2] *B*

CJQ *šyi³ *F*: **Ly** suei³; **Jh** ɕy³; **Pj** ʃy³; **Dy** sɥ³ [1] ⩙ sɥ³ [2]; **Yk** ɕy³; **Wy** ɕy³

CLS *y³ ⩙ *ɕy³

a. **Sc** y³; **Sy** —; **Lq** y³ 秋; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** y³ [2] *B* ～管 ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Sc** ɕy³; **Sy** ɕy³ *F*; **Lq** ɕy³ [文]; **Yh** ʃy³ *F*; **Pc** ɕy³ *F*; **Qy** ɕy³ [1] *F*

CSS *ʔyi³ 秋 ⩙ #ɕyi³

a. **Kh** y³; **Cs** y³; **Js** y³; **Ys** y³; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕy³ ⩙ sui³ [3] *B*; **Js** ɕy⁻⁴³ *B* ～果 ‘fruit’ ⩙ suɛ⁻⁴³ [3] *B* ～澻 ‘water margin’; **Ys** ʑy⁻²² *B* ～茶 ‘Chinese medicine’ ⩙ suei³ [3] *B*; **Gf** ɕy³ *F*

Cf. Common Mín *tʃui³ (Norman 2012a, 13 coastal only) > Proto-Níngdé *tʃy³ (Akitani 2018, 475).

358 *guī* 龜〔止合三平脂見 B〕 ‘tortoise’ **CDC** *kui¹ / **EC** *kwi

CSWW *k(ʔ)¹

CJQ *ky¹: **Ly** (kuei¹₍if₎); **Jh** tɕy¹ [1] ⩙ kui¹ [2]; **Pj** tʃy¹; **Dy** tɕiəɯ⁻⁵⁴₍if 烏～; **Yk** ky¹; **Wy** tɕy¹

CLS *ky¹: **Sc** tɕy¹; **Sy** tɕy¹; **Lq** tɕy¹; **Yh** tʃy¹ [1] ⩙ kuei⁵ [2]; **Pc** ky¹; **Qy** tɕy¹

CSS *kyəi¹

The CSS reflex for this set is irregular. It is unclear what form(s) should be set up with CSWW. Note also the irregular Dy form.

359 *guì* 櫃〔止合三去至羣 B〕 ‘cabinet’ **CDC** *gui⁶ / **EC** *gus

CSWW *gy⁶ [1] ⩙ *gyai⁶₍a (ʔ) [1]

CJQ *gy⁶: **Ly** dʑy⁶; **Jh** dʑy⁶ [1] ⩙ gui⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʒy⁶ [1] ⩙ guɛ⁶ [2]; **Dy** dʑiʉ⁶ [1] ⩙ guei⁶ [2]; **Yk** gy⁶; **Wy** dʑy⁶

CLS *gy⁶

a. **Sc** dʑy⁶ ⩙ dʑiɯ⁶; **Sy** dʑy⁶; **Lq** dʑy⁶; **Yh** dʒy⁶; **Pc** ky⁶; **Qy** tɕy⁶

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** mi²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *gyi⁶ ⩙ *gyɑi⁶ [2]

Note the irregular second Sc form. It is unclear if this is related to CSS *gyɑi⁶.

360 *wèi* 位〔止合三去至云 B〕 ‘position’ **CDC** *wi⁶ / **EC** *us

CSWW *ɦy⁶ [1] ⩙ *ɦuei⁶ [2]

CJQ *ɦy⁶ ⩙ *ɦuei⁶
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** y⁶ [1]
b. **Ly** uei⁶; **Jh** ui⁶; **Pj** uɛ⁶; **Dy** uei⁶; **Yk** uəi⁶; **Wy** ui⁶ [2]

CLS *ɦy⁶ ⩙ *ɦuei⁶
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** y⁶; **Yh** y⁶ [1]; **Pc** y⁶; **Qy** y⁶
b. **Sc** uei⁶; **Sy** ue⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** uei⁶ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦyi⁶ ⩙ #ɦuei⁶
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** y⁻⁰ [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ui⁶; **Cs** ue⁶ [2]; **Js** uᴇ⁶; **Ys** uei⁶; **Gf** ui⁶

361 *fēi* 飛〔止合三平微非 C〕 ‘fly’ **CDC** *fui¹ / **EC** *puy

CSWW *ɓəi¹ꜜa [1] ⩙ *fi¹ [2]

CJQ *fi¹: **Ly** fi¹; **Jh** fi¹; **Pj** fi¹; **Dy** fi¹; **Yk** fi¹; **Wy** fi¹

CLS *ɓəi¹ꜜa ⩙ *fi¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbai¹
b. **Sc** fi¹; **Sy** pʰi¹ꜜi; **Lq** fi¹; **Yh** fi¹; **Pc** fi¹; **Qy** fi¹

CSS *fi¹

362 *fèi* 痱（痱）〔止合三去未非 C〕 ‘prickly heat’ **CDC** *fui⁵ / **EC** *pus

CSWW *ɓəi³ [1] ⩙ *fiə⁵ [2]

CJQ *fi⁵: **Ly** fi⁵; **Jh** fi⁵; **Pj** fin⁻⁵⁵ [兒]; **Dy** fi⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** fi⁵; **Wy** fi⁵

CLS *ɓəi³ ⩙ *fie⁵
a. **Sc** ʔbei³; **Sy** be⁶ꜜit; **Lq** ʔbɛ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbai³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** fi⁵; **Pc** fie⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *puəi³

363 *féi* 肥〔止合三平微奉 C〕 ‘fat’ **CDC** *vui² / **EC** *buy

CSWW *bi² [1] ⩙ *vi² [2]

CJQ *bi² ⩙ *vi²
a. **Ly** bi²; **Jh** bi²; **Pj** bi²; **Dy** bi²; **Yk** bi⁻³³; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** vi²; **Jh** vi²; **Pj** vi²; **Dy** vi²; **Yk** vi²; **Wy** vi²

CLS *bi² ⩙ *vi²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bi²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** vi²; **Sy** pʰi²; **Lq** vi²; **Yh** vi²; **Pc** fi²; **Qy** fi²

CSS *bi² ⩙ #vi²
a. **Kh** bi²; **Cs** bi⁻²²; **Js** bi⁻³³; **Ys** bi⁻²²; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** vi²; **Cs** vi⁻²⁴; **Js** fi²; **Ys** vi²; **Gf** fi²

364 *wěi* 尾〔止合三上尾微 C〕 ‘tail’ **CDC** *mvui⁴ / **EC** *muyx

CSWW *məi⁴ [1] ⩙ *mi⁴ [1]

CJQ *m̩⁴˧˩ 〜巴: **Ly** mi⁴˧˩ [1] ⩙ mie⁴ [2]; **Jh** ŋ³ [1] ⩙ vi⁶ [2]; **Pj** m⁻¹¹ ⩙ mi⁻¹¹; **Dy** m⁻³⁵ 〜巴兒; **Yk** ŋ⁻¹¹ [1]; **Wy** m⁻⁵³ [1] ⩙ fen⁻⁴⁴⁵ [2] 三〜魚 ‘goldfish’

CLS *məi⁴ ⩙ *mi⁴ [2] 〜巴

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** me⁴; **Qy** mai⁴ [2] 溪〜 ‘downstream’

b. **Sc** mi⁴; **Sy** mi⁴; **Lq** mi³; **Yh** mi³; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɪŋ⁴ [1] 〜□ɗiɯ³³

CSS #muəi⁴ ⩙ #mi⁴ [2]

a. **Kh** me⁶; **Cs** —; **Js** mɛ⁴; **Ys** —; **Gf** me⁴˧˩ ⩙ muɐi⁴ [2] 月〜 ‘end of the month’ ⩙ fi²² [3]

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** mi⁻²² [1] 〜□tiɯ⁴⁵ ⩙ mi³ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** mi⁴; **Gf** —

Akitani originally reconstructed CSS *mei⁴ for this set. I have reinterpretted this as an alternation of #muəi⁴ ⩙ #mi⁴. In the typical compound ‘tail’ (〜巴), we normally find cognates of CSWW *mi⁴. This form might etymologically be a reduction of CSWW *məi⁴. Note that in CJQ it is further reduced to *m̩⁴. Used as suffix, we find “full” reflexes of CSWW *məi⁴ in Gf and Qy.

365 *wèi* 未〔止合三去未微 C〕 ‘not yet; *wèi* 8/12 (gz.)’ **CDC** *mvui⁶ / **EC** *mus

CSWW *məi⁴ [1] ⩙ *məi⁶ [2] ⩙ *mi⁶ [3] ⩙ *vi⁶ [3]

CJQ *mi⁴˧˩fa [2] ⩙ *mi⁶ [1] ⩙ *vi⁶ [4]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** mi⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** mi⁶; **Jh** mi⁶; **Pj** mi⁶; **Dy** mi⁶; **Yk** mi⁶; **Wy** mi⁶ ⩙ ʔmi⁵ [2]

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** vi⁶ [2]; **Pj** vi⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** vi⁶ [3]; **Wy** vi⁶ [3]

CLS *mi⁶: **Sc** mi⁶; **Sy** mi⁶; **Lq** mi⁶; **Yh** mi⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɪŋ⁶˧˩

CSS *muəi⁴ ⩙ *muəi⁶ ⩙ #vi⁶ [4]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** mɛ⁴; **Ys** mɐi⁴; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** mue⁶ [1]; **Js** mɛ⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** m⁻²²˧˩ [1]

c. **Kh** vi⁶; **Cs** vi⁴˧˥ [2]; **Js** fi⁻³³ [3]; **Ys** vi⁶ [2]; **Gf** fi⁶ [2]

The Jīnqú and Lìshuǐ reflexs lack evidence of a diphthong form. Perhaps it was reduced to a monophthong because it is a function word.

366 *guī* 歸〔止合三平微見 C〕 ‘return’ **CDC** *kui¹ / **EC** *kuy

CSWW *kuəi¹ [1] ⩙ *ky¹ [2] ⩙ *kuei¹ [3]

CJQ *ky¹ [1] ⩙ *kuei¹ [2]

a. **Ly** tɕy¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** tʃy¹; **Dy** tɕiɯ¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** kuei¹; **Jh** kui¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuei¹ 當〜 ‘angelica’; **Yk** kuəi¹; **Wy** kui¹

CLS *ky¹ [1] ⩙ *kuei¹ [2]

a. **Sc** tɕy¹ 當〜 ‘angelica’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ky¹; **Qy** tɕy¹

b. **Sc** kuei¹; **Sy** kue¹; **Lq** kui¹; **Yh** kuei¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kuəi¹ ⩙ #kuei¹ [2]

a. **Kh** kue¹; **Cs** kue¹; **Js** kuɛ¹; **Ys** kuɐi¹; **Gf** {kui¹}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** kui¹ 當〜 ‘angelica’; **Js** —; **Ys** kuei¹ 當〜 ‘angelica’; **Gf** {kui¹}

367 *guǐ* 鬼〔止合三上尾見C〕 ‘demon’ **CDC** *kui³ / **EC** *kuyx

CSWW *kuəi³ [1] ⩙ *ky³ [2]

CJQ *kuəi³ ⩙ *ky³ ⩙ *kuei³ [3]

a. **Ly** kuei³; **Jh** kuɛ³ 癲～兒 ‘lunatic’; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kuəi³; **Wy** kuen⁵ [兒] 細伢～ ‘child’

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕy³ ～王 ‘boy’; **Pj** tʃy³ [1]; **Dy** tɕiʉ³ [1]; **Yk** ky³⁻⁵⁴ [兒1]; **Wy** —

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** kui³; **Pj** kuɛ³ [2]; **Dy** kuei³ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** kui³

CLS *kuəi³ ⩙ *ky³ˌ!a

a. **Sc** kuei³; **Sy** kue³; **Lq** kuɛ³; **Yh** kuei³; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuai³

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ky³; **Qy** —

CSS *kuəi³

368 *guì* 貴〔止合三去未見C〕 ‘expensive’ **CDC** *kui⁵ / **EC** *kus

CSWW *ky⁵ [1] ⩙ *kuei⁵ [2]

CJQ *ky⁵ ⩙ *kuei⁵

a. **Ly** tɕy⁵; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** tʃy⁵; **Dy** tɕiʉ⁵; **Yk** ky⁵; **Wy** tɕy⁵

b. **Ly** kuei⁵; **Jh** kui⁵; **Pj** kuɛ⁵; **Dy** kuei⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ky⁵ ⩙ *kuei⁵

a. **Sc** tɕy⁵; **Sy** tɕy⁵; **Lq** tɕy⁵; **Yh** tʃy⁵; **Pc** ky⁵; **Qy** tɕy⁵

b. **Sc** kuei⁵; **Sy** kue⁵ ‘Guì (pn.)’; **Lq** kui⁵; **Yh** kuei⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kyi⁵ ⩙ #kuei⁵

a. **Kh** tɕy⁵; **Cs** tɕy⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** ky⁵

b. **Kh** kui⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** kuɛ⁵; **Ys** {kuei⁵}; **Gf** kui⁵

369 *wèi* 畏〔止合三去未影C〕 ‘dreadful’ **CDC** *ui⁵ / **EC** *uyh

CSWW *ʔyˌ!a [1] ⩙ *ʔuei⁵ [1]

CJQ *ʔuei⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** ui⁵; **Pj** uɛ³; **Dy** ʔue⁵; **Yk** uəi⁵; **Wy** ui⁵

CLS *ʔy⁵ ⩙ *ʔuei⁵ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** y⁵; **Qy** y⁵ [2]

b. **Sc** ueiˌ!t; **Sy** ue¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** ueiˌ!t; **Pc** —; **Qy** uai⁵ [1]

CSS #ʔuei⁵

370 *wéi* 圍〔止合三平微云C〕 ‘surround’ **CDC** *wi² / **EC** *wuy

CSWW *ɦy² [1] ⩙ *ɦuei² [2]

CJQ *ɦy² ⩙ *ɦuei²

a. **Ly** y²; **Jh** y²; **Pj** y²; **Dy** ʔiʉ⁻¹¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** y⁻²¹

b. **Ly** uei²; **Jh** ui²; **Pj** uɛ²; **Dy** uei²; **Yk** uəi²; **Wy** ui²

CLS *ɦy² ⩙ *ɦuei²

a. **Sc** y²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** y²; **Qy** y²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ue²; **Lq** ui²; **Yh** uei²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦyi² ⩙ #ɦuei²
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** y²; **Js** y⁻³³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ui²; **Cs** ue²; **Js** uɛ²; **Ys** uei²; **Gf** ui²

A.6 Xiàoshè 效攝

371 *bǎo* 寶〔效開一上皓幫〕 ‘treasure’ **CDC** *pou³ / **EC** *ʾpux
CSWW *ɓɔu³
CJQ *ɓau³: **Ly** pɔ³; **Jh** pɑu³; **Pj** po³; **Dy** pau³; **Yk** ʔbɒ³; **Wy** pɑo³
CLS *ɓɔu³: **Sc** ʔbɐɯ³; **Sy** ʔbʌ³; **Lq** ʔbɑɔ³₍₁₎; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ³; **Pc** pau³; **Qy** ʔbɒ³
CSS *pəu³

372 *bào* 報〔效開一去号幫〕 ‘report’ **CDC** *pou⁵ / **EC** *ʾpuh
CSWW *ɓɔu⁵
CJQ *ɓau⁵: **Ly** pɔ⁵; **Jh** pɑu⁵; **Pj** po⁵; **Dy** pau⁵; **Yk** ʔbɒ⁵; **Wy** pɑo⁵
CLS *ɓɔu⁵: **Sc** ʔbɐɯ⁵; **Sy** ʔbʌ⁵; **Lq** ʔbu⁵; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ⁵; **Pc** pau⁵; **Qy** ʔbɒ⁵
CSS *pəu⁵

373 *páo* 袍〔效開一平豪並〕 ‘robe’ **CDC** *bou² / **EC** *ʾbu
CSWW *bɔu²
CJQ *bau²: **Ly** bɔ²; **Jh** bɑu²; **Pj** bo²; **Dy** bau²; **Yk** bɒ²; **Wy** bɑo²
CLS *bɔu²: **Sc** bɐɯ²; **Sy** pʌ²; **Lq** bɑɔ²; **Yh** bɑɔ²; **Pc** pau²; **Qy** pɒ²
CSS *bəu²

374 *bào* 抱〔效開一上皓並〕 ‘embrace’ **CDC** *bou⁴ / **EC** *ʾbux
CSWW *buə⁴ [1] ⩙ *b(ɔ,a)u⁴ [2]
CJQ *bu⁴ ⩙ *bau⁴
a. **Ly** bu⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** bu⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** bɔ⁴; **Jh** pɑu³ [1] ⩙ bɑu⁶ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** bɒ⁴; **Wy** —
CLS *buə⁴ ⩙ *b(ɔ,a)u⁴
a. **Sc** buɤ⁴; **Sy** buɯ⁴; **Lq** ʔbɤɯ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** puo⁴; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bɑɔ⁴; **Pc** (pau⁶₍₁₎) [文]; **Qy** pɒ⁴
CSS *buə⁴
Cf. Common Min *pʰɔ⁴; Proto-Níngdé *pɔ⁶. No regular reflex of the Common Min form is attested in Eastern Min. Neither of these regularly corresponds to the autochthonous **CSWW** form *buə⁴ [1] and probably represent later intrusions.

375 *máo* 毛〔效開一平豪明〕 ‘body hair, fur’ **CDC** *ʰmou² / **EC** *ʾʰmaw
CSWW *mɔu²
CJQ *mou²: **Ly** mɔ²; **Jh** mɑu²; **Pj** mo²; **Dy** mau²; **Yk** mɒ²; **Wy** muo² [1] ⩙

muɑ$^{-445}$ [2] ～竹 ‘moso bamboo’

CLS *mɔu^{2}: **Sc** mɐɯ^{2}; **Sy** mʌ^{2}; **Lq** mɑɔ^{2}; **Yh** mɑɔ^{2}; **Pc** mau^{2}; **Qy** mɒ^{2}

CSS *məu^{2}

376 *mào* 帽〔效開一去号明〕 ‘hat’ **CDC** *mou^{6} / **EC** *’muh

CSWW *mɔu^{6}

CJQ *mou^{6}: **Ly** mɔ^{6}; **Jh** mɑu^{6} [1]; **Pj** mo^{6}; **Dy** mɑu^{6}; **Yk** mɒ^{6}; **Wy** muo^{6}

CLS *mɔu^{6}: **Sc** mɐɯ^{6}; **Sy** mʌ^{6}; **Lq** ŋ^{6} ⪤ mɑɔ^{6}; **Yh** mɑɔ^{6}; **Pc** mau^{6}; **Qy** mɒ^{6}

CSS *məu^{6}

377 *dāo* 刀〔效開一平豪端〕 ‘knife’ **CDC** *tou^{1} / **EC** *’taw

CSWW *ɗɔu^{1}

CJQ *ɗou^{1}: **Ly** tɔ^{1}; **Jh** tɑu^{1}; **Pj** to^{1}; **Dy** tɑu^{1}; **Yk** ʔdɒ^{1}; **Wy** lɤ^{1}

CLS *ɗɔu^{1}: **Sc** ʔdɐɯ^{1}; **Sy** ʔdʌ^{1}; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ^{1}; **Yh** ʔdəu^{1}; **Pc** lau^{1}; **Qy** ʔdɐɯ^{1}

CSS *təu^{1}

378 *dào* 到〔效開一去号端〕 ‘arrive’ **CDC** *tou^{5} / **EC** *’tawh

CSWW *ɗɔu^{5}

CJQ *ɗou^{5}: **Ly** tɔ^{5}; **Jh** tɑu^{5}; **Pj** to^{5}; **Dy** tɑu^{5}; **Yk** ʔdɒ^{5}; **Wy** lɤ^{5}

CLS *ɗɔu^{5}: **Sc** ʔdɐɯ^{5}; **Sy** ʔdʌ^{5}; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ^{5}; **Yh** ʔdəu^{5}; **Pc** lau^{5}; **Qy** ʔdɐɯ^{5}

CSS *təu^{5}

379 *tǎo* 討〔效開一上晧透〕 ‘seek out’ **CDC** *thou^{3} / **EC** *’thux

CSWW *tʰuə^{3} [1] ⪤ *tʰɔu^{3} [2]

CJQ *tʰu^{3} ⪤ *tʰou^{3}

a. **Ly** tʰu^{3}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** tʰɔ^{3}; **Jh** tʰɑu^{3}; **Pj** tʰo^{3}; **Dy** tʰɑu^{3}; **Yk** tʰɒ^{3}; **Wy** tʰɤ^{3}

CLS *tʰuə^{3} ⪤ *tʰɔu^{3}

a. **Sc** tʰuɤ^{3}; **Sy** tʰɯ^{3}; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰɤ^{3} ‘pick, take (a wife)’

b. **Sc** tʰɐɯ^{3}; **Sy** tʰʌ^{3}; **Lq** tʰɑɔ^{3}; **Yh** (tʰɑɔ$^{3}{}_{!f}$); **Pc** tʰau^{3}; **Qy** (tʰɒ$^{3}{}_{!f}$) ～厭 ‘dislike’

CSS *tʰuə^{3} ⪤ #tʰəu^{3}

a. **Kh** tʰuo^{3}; **Cs** tʰuə^{3} ～老媽 ‘take a wife’; **Js** tʰuə^{3}; **Ys** tʰuə^{1} ～飯農 ‘beggar’; **Gf** tʰuɤ^{3} ‘pick’

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tʰɔ^{3} 檢～ ‘self-criticism’; **Js** tʰɐɯ^{24} ～論 ‘discuss’; **Ys** tʰɐɯ^{3} ～論 ‘discuss’; **Gf** tʰɤɯ$^{-445}$ ～價 ‘haggle’

Cf. Common Min *tʰɔ^{3} > Proto-Níngdé *tʰɔ^{3}. Min has lost the older form.

380 *tào* 套〔集韻：效開一去号透〕 ‘casing ’ **CDC** *thou^{5} / **EC** *’thuh

CSWW *tʰɔu^{5}

CJQ *tʰou⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰɑu⁵; **Pj** tʰo⁵; **Dy** tʰɑu⁵; **Yk** tʰɒ⁵; **Wy** tʰɤ⁵
CLS *tʰəu⁵: **Sc** tʰɐɯ⁵; **Sy** tʰʌ⁵; **Lq** tʰɑɔ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰau⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *tʰəu⁵

381 *táo* 桃〔廣韻：效開一平豪定〕 ‘peach’ **CDC** *dou² / **EC** *ʾdaw
CSWW *dɔu²
CJQ *dou²: **Ly** dɔ²; **Jh** dɑu²; **Pj** do²; **Dy** dɑu²; **Yk** dɒ²; **Wy** dɤ² ⪤ den⁴ [兒]
CLS *dɔu²: **Sc** dɐɯ²; **Sy** tʌ²; **Lq** dɑɔ²; **Yh** dɑɔ²; **Pc** tau²; **Qy** tɒ²
CSS *dəu²

382 *dào* 道〔效開一上晧定〕 ‘way’ **CDC** *dou⁴ / **EC** *ʾdux
CSWW *dɔu⁴
CJQ *dou⁴: **Ly** dɔ⁴; **Jh** tɑu³ [1] ⪤ dɑu⁶ [2]; **Pj** do⁴ [1] ⪤ dɑ⁴ [2]; **Dy** dɑu⁴; **Yk** dɒ⁴ 味～ ‘flavor’; **Wy** dɤ⁴
CLS *dɔu⁴: **Sc** dɐɯ⁴; **Sy** dʌ⁶; **Lq** ʔdɑɔ³; **Yh** dɑɔ⁴; **Pc** tau⁶₍ₜ; **Qy** tɒ⁴
CSS *dəu⁴

383 *nǎo* 腦〔效開一上晧泥〕 ‘brain’ **CDC** *nou⁴ / **EC** *ʾnawx
CSWW *nɔu⁴
CJQ *nou⁴: **Ly** nɔ⁴; **Jh** nɑu³; **Pj** lo⁴₍ₗᵢ; **Dy** nɑu⁴; **Yk** nɒ⁴; **Wy** nɤ⁴
CLS *nɔu⁴: **Sc** nɐɯ⁴; **Sy** nʌ⁴; **Lq** nɑɔ³; **Yh** nɑɔ³; **Pc** nau³; **Qy** nɒ⁴
CSS *nəu⁴

384 *láo* 牢〔效開一平豪來〕 ‘firm; pen, jail’ **CDC** *lou² / **EC** *ʾlu
CSWW *lɔu² ‘firm’
CJQ *lou²: **Ly** lɔ²; **Jh** lɑu²; **Pj** lo²; **Dy** lɑu²; **Yk** lɒ²; **Wy** lɤ²
CLS *lɔu²: **Sc** lɐɯ²; **Sy** lʌ²; **Lq** lɑɔ²; **Yh** lɑɔ²; **Pc** lau²; **Qy** lɒ²
CSS #ləu²: **Kh** ləɯ²; **Cs** lɤɯ²; **Js** lɐɯ²; **Ys** lɐɯ²; **Gf** lɑɔ²

385 *lǎo* 老〔效開一上晧來〕 ‘aged’ **CDC** *ʰlou⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰlux
CSWW *lɔu⁴
CJQ *lou⁴: **Ly** lɔ⁴; **Jh** lɑu³; **Pj** lo⁴; **Dy** lɑu⁴; **Yk** lɒ⁴; **Wy** lɤ³⁴⁴
CLS *lɔu⁴: **Sc** lɐɯ⁴; **Sy** lʌ⁴; **Lq** lɑɔ³; **Yh** lɑɔ³; **Pc** lau⁴; **Qy** lɒ⁴
CSS *ləu⁴

386 *zāo* 糟〔效開一平豪精〕 ‘dregs’ **CDC** *tsou¹ / **EC** *ʾtsu
CSWW *tsɔu¹
CJQ *tsou¹: **Ly** tsɔ¹; **Jh** tsɑu¹; **Pj** tso¹; **Dy** tsɑu¹; **Yk** tsɒ¹; **Wy** tsɤ¹
CLS *tsɔu¹: **Sc** tsɐɯ¹; **Sy** tsʌ¹; **Lq** tsɑɔ¹; **Yh** tsɑɔ¹; **Pc** tsau¹; **Qy** tsɒ¹

CSS *tsəu¹

387 *zǎo* 早〔效開一上晧精〕 ‘early’ **CDC** *tsou³ / **EC** *’tsux

CSWW *(ts,tš)iɔu³ˌa [1] ⩙ *tsɔu³ [2]

CJQ *tsou³: **Ly** tsɔ³; **Jh** tsɑu³; **Pj** tso³; **Dy** tsɑu³; **Yk** tsɒ³; **Wy** tsɤ³

CLS *tsɔu³: **Sc** tsɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʌ³; **Lq** tsɑɔ³; **Yh** tsɑɔ³; **Pc** tsau³; **Qy** tsɒ³

CSS *tɕiəu³ [2] ⩙ *tsəu³ [1]

CSWW *(ts,tš)iɔu³ has an unexpected final. Its origin is unclear. This word also has an unexpected final in Mín. Cf. Proto-Níngdé *tʃa³ ‘early’; Proto-Northern Mín *dzɑu³ ‘early’. In Mín, these finals usually correspond to QYS Div. II syllables.

388 *zǎo* 棗〔效開一上晧精〕 ‘jujube’ **CDC** *tsou³ / **EC** *’tsux

CSWW *tsɔu³

CJQ *tsou³: **Ly** tsɔ³; **Jh** tsɑu³; **Pj** tson⁵ [兒]; **Dy** tsɑu³; **Yk** tsɒ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** tsen⁵ [兒]

CLS *tsɔu³: **Sc** tsɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʌ³; **Lq** tsɑɔ³; **Yh** tsɑɔ³; **Pc** tsau³; **Qy** tsɒ³

CSS *tsəu³

389 *zǎo* 蚤〔效開一上晧精〕 ‘flea’ **CDC** *tsou³ / **EC** *’tsux

CSWW *tsuə³ [1] ⩙ *tsɔu³ [2]

CJQ *tsu³ˌa ⩙ *tsou³

a. **Ly** tsu³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsɑu³; **Pj** tson⁵ [兒]; **Dy** tsɑu³; **Yk** tsɒ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** tsen⁵ [兒]

CLS *tsɔu³: **Sc** tsɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʌ³; **Lq** tsɑɔ³; **Yh** tsɑɔ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsɒ³

CSS *tsuə³ ⩙ #tsəu³ˌa

a. **Kh** tsuo³; **Cs** tsuə³; **Js** tsuə³; **Ys** tsuə³; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsɤɯ³

390 *zào* 竈〔廣韻：效開一去号精〕 ‘stove’ **CDC** *tsou⁵ / **EC** *’tsuh

CSWW *tsuə⁵ˌa [1] ⩙ *(ts,tš)ioʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *tsɔu⁵ [3]

CJQ *(ts,tš)ioʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsou⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tsuo⁻⁴⁴⁵ˌlft 鑊～老爺 ‘stove god’

b. **Ly** tsɔ⁵; **Jh** tsɑu⁵; **Pj** tso⁵; **Dy** tsɑu⁵; **Yk** tsɒ⁵; **Wy** tsɤ⁵ [1]

CLS *tsɔu⁵: **Sc** tsɐɯ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɑɔ⁵; **Yh** tsɑɔ⁵; **Pc** tsau⁵; **Qy** tsɒ⁵

CSS *tsuə⁵ ⩙ #tɕioʔ⁷ ⩙ #tsəu⁵

a. **Kh** (tsɔ⁵ˌf) [2]; **Cs** tsuə⁵ ～公～母 ‘stove god’; **Js** tsuə⁵; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕyo⁵ˌlft [1] ～□tɕyŋ⁴⁴老佛 ‘stove god’; **Cs** tso?⁷ [3] ～□mo?⁴底 ‘kitchen’; **Js** tɕio?⁷ ～□mo?³底 ‘kitchen’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsɤɯ⁵ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** tsɐɯ⁵; **Gf** tsɤɯ⁵

Cf. Common Min *tsəu⁵ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃau⁵.

CSWW *tɕio?⁷ is set up to account for Cs [tso?⁷] and Js [tɕio?⁷]. I take Wy [tsuo⁻⁴⁴⁵] and Kh [tɕyo⁵] as irregular developments of this proto-form. Both forms suggest underlying tone *5 instead of tone *7, but their finals do not correspond regularly. It seems that the checked finals of these syllables were lost due to sandhi and became lexicalized in their respective compounds meaning 'god of the stove'.
CSWW *tɕio?⁷ would correspond to a QYS Div. III *rùshēng* syllable, but no such reading is attested in the rime books. The etymology of this form thus remains problematic.

391 *cǎo* 草〔效開一上晧清〕 'grass' **CDC** *tshou³ / **EC** *'tshux

CSWW *tsʰuə³ [1] ⩙ *tsʰɔu³ [2]

CJQ *tsʰu³ˌa ⩙ *tsʰou³

a. **Ly** tsʰu³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰɑu³; **Pj** tsʰo³; **Dy** tsʰau³; **Yk** tsʰɒ³; **Wy** tsʰɤ³

CLS *tsʰuə³ˌa ⩙ *tsʰɔu³

a. **Sc** tsʰuɤ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʰʌ³; **Lq** tsʰɑɔ³; **Yh** tsʰɑɔ³; **Pc** tsʰau³; **Qy** tsʰɒ³

CSS *tsʰuə³ *F* ⩙ #tsʰəu³ *B*

a. **Kh** tsʰuo³; **Cs** tsʰuə³; **Js** tsʰuə³; **Ys** tsʰuə³; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsʰɤɯ³ ～包 'pack for damming water'; **Js** tsʰɐɯ⁴³ ～紙 'straw paper'; **Ys** tsʰɐɯ³ 甘～ 'licorice root'; **Gf** tsʰɤɯ³ *F*

Cf. Common Min *tsʰəu³ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃʰau³.

392 *cáo* 槽〔效開一平豪從〕 'trough' **CDC** *dzou² / **EC** *'dzu

CSWW *zɔu²

CJQ *zou²: **Ly** zɔ²; **Jh** zɑu² [1] ⩙ dzɑu² [2]; **Pj** zo²; **Dy** zau²; **Yk** zɒ²; **Wy** zɤ²

CLS *zɔu²: **Sc** zɐɯ²; **Sy** sʌ²; **Lq** zɑɔ²; **Yh** zɑɔ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɒ²

CSS *zəu²

393 *zào* 造〔效開一上晧從〕 'create' **CDC** *dzou⁴ / **EC** *'dzux

CSWW *zɔu⁴

CJQ *zou⁴: **Ly** zɔ⁴; **Jh** sɑu³ [1] ⩙ dzɑu⁶ [2]; **Pj** zo⁴ [1] ⩙ dzɑ⁴ [2]; **Dy** zau⁴; **Yk** zɒ⁴; **Wy** zɤ⁴

CLS *zɔu⁴: **Sc** zɐɯ⁴; **Sy** zʌ⁴; **Lq** sɑɔ³; **Yh** zɑɔ⁴; **Pc** tsau⁶ˌt ⩙ tsʰau⁶ [文]; **Qy** sɒ⁶ˌt

CSS #zəu⁴: **Kh** dzəɯ⁶; **Cs** dzɤɯ⁴ [1] ⩙ dzɔ⁴ [2]; **Js** dzɐɯ⁶; **Ys** dzɐɯ⁶; **Gf** dzɑɔ⁶

394 *sǎo* 掃〔效開一上晧心〕 'sweep' **CDC** *sou³ / **EC** *'sux

CSWW *suə³ˌa [1] ⩙ *sɔu³ [2]

CJQ *su³ˌa ⩙ *sou³

a. **Ly** su³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑu³; **Pj** so³; **Dy** sau³; **Yk** sɒ³; **Wy** sɤ³

CLS *sɔu³: **Sc** sɐɯ³ [2]; **Sy** —; **Lq** saɔ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS —

395 *sǎo* 嫂〔效開一上晧心〕 ‘older brother’s wife’ **CDC** *sou³ / **EC** *ʾsux
CSWW *sɔu³ [2]
CJQ *sou³: **Ly** sɔ³; **Jh** sɑu³; **Pj** so³; **Dy** sɑu³; **Yk** sɒ³; **Wy** sɤ³
CLS *sɔu³: **Sc** sɐɯ³; **Sy** sʌ³; **Lq** saɔ³; **Yh** saɔ³; **Pc** sau³; **Qy** —
CSS —

396 *zào* 燥〔效開一上晧心〕 ‘dry’ **CDC** *sou³ / **EC** *ʾsawx
CSWW *sɔu³ ‘dry’
CJQ *sou³: **Ly** sɔ⁵; **Jh** sɑu⁵; **Pj** so⁵; **Dy** sɑu⁵; **Yk** sɒ⁵; **Wy** sɤ⁵
CLS *sɔu³: **Sc** sɐɯ⁵; **Sy** sʌ⁵ 口～ ‘thirsty’; **Lq** saɔ⁵; **Yh** saɔ⁵; **Pc** tsau⁵ǀi; **Qy** —
CSS *səu³

397 *sào* 掃〔廣韻：效開一去号心〕 ‘broom’ **CDC** *sou⁵ / **EC** *ʾsuh
CSWW *suə⁵ [1] ⩙ *sɔu⁵ [2]
CJQ *sou⁵
a. **Ly** su⁵ [2]; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** sɔ⁵ [1]; **Jh** sɑu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** sɑu⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *suə⁵ ⩙ *sɔu⁵
a. **Sc** suɤ⁵; **Sy** sɯ⁴ǀt ～地; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** sʌ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** saɔ⁵ǀ¹³⁸⁴; **Pc** sau⁵; **Qy** sɒ⁵
CSS *suə¹ǀt
The irregular tone *1 in CSS is probably the result of sandhi. None of the Shàngshān dialects distinguish tones *1 and *5 in non-final position.

398 *gāo* 高〔效開一平豪見〕 ‘high, tall’ **CDC** *kou¹ / **EC** *ʾkaw
CSWW *kɔu¹
CJQ *kou¹: **Ly** kɔ¹; **Jh** kɑu¹; **Pj** ko¹; **Dy** kɑu¹; **Yk** kɒ¹; **Wy** kɤ¹
CLS *kɔu¹: **Sc** kɐɯ¹; **Sy** kʌ¹; **Lq** ku¹; **Yh** kəu¹; **Pc** kau¹; **Qy** kɐɯ¹ [1] ⩙ kɒ¹ [2] ～粱 ‘sorghum’
CSS *kəu¹

399 *gǎo* 稿〔效開一上晧見〕 ‘straw, draft’ **CDC** *kou³ / **EC** *ʾkawx
CSWW *kɔu³
CJQ *kou³: **Ly** —; **Jh** kɑu²; **Pj** ko³; **Dy** kɑu³; **Yk** kɒ³; **Wy** kɤ³
CLS *kɔu³: **Sc** kɐɯ³; **Sy** kʌ³; **Lq** kɑɔ³ǀf; **Yh** —; **Pc** kau⁴ǀt; **Qy** —
CSS *kəu³

400 *gào* 告〔效開一去号見〕 ‘tell’ **CDC** *kou⁵ / **EC** *’kuh

CSWW *kɔu⁵

CJQ *kou⁵: **Ly** kɔ⁵; **Jh** kɑu⁵; **Pj** ko⁵; **Dy** kɑu⁵; **Yk** kɒ⁵; **Wy** kɤ⁵

CLS *kɔu⁵: **Sc** kɐɯ⁵; **Sy** kʌ⁵; **Lq** kɑɔ⁵₍!f₎; **Yh** kəu⁵; **Pc** kau⁵; **Qy** kɐɯ⁵ [1] ⩙ kɒ⁵ [2] 廣～ ‘advertisement’

CSS *kəu⁵

401 *kào* 靠〔效開一去号溪〕 ‘lean on’ **CDC** *khou⁵ / **EC** *’khuh

CSWW *kʰɔu⁵

CJQ *kʰou⁵: **Ly** kʰɔ⁵; **Jh** kʰɑu⁵; **Pj** kʰo⁵; **Dy** kʰɑu⁵; **Yk** kʰɒ⁵; **Wy** kʰɤ⁵

CLS *kʰɔu⁵: **Sc** kʰɐɯ⁵; **Sy** kʰʌ⁵; **Lq** (kʰɑɔ⁵₍!f₎); **Yh** kʰəu⁵; **Pc** kʰau⁵; **Qy** (kʰɒ⁵₍!f₎)

CSS *kʰəu⁵

402 *áo* 熬〔效開一平豪疑〕 ‘simmer’ **CDC** *ngou² / **EC** *’ngaw

CSWW *ŋɔu²

CJQ *ŋou²: **Ly** ŋɔ²; **Jh** ɑu²; **Pj** ŋo² [1] ⩙ ŋɑ⁶ [2]; **Dy** ŋau²; **Yk** ŋɒ²; **Wy** ŋɤ²

CLS *ŋɔu²: **Sc** ŋɐɯ²; **Sy** ŋʌ²; **Lq** (ŋɑɔ²₍!f₎); **Yh** əu¹ ～粥 ‘make gruel’ ⩙ ŋɑɔ² ～油 ‘render fat’; **Pc** ŋau²; **Qy** (ŋɒ²₍!f₎)

CSS *ŋəu²

403 *hǎo* 好〔效開一上晧曉〕 ‘good’ **CDC** *xou³ / **EC** *’hux

CSWW *xɔu³

CJQ *xou³: **Ly** xɔ³; **Jh** xɑu³; **Pj** xo³; **Dy** xɑu³; **Yk** xɒ³; **Wy** xɤ³

CLS *xɔu³: **Sc** xɐɯ³; **Sy** xei³₍!f₎; **Lq** (xɑɔ³₍!f₎); **Yh** xəu³; **Pc** xau³; **Qy** xɐɯ³ [1] ⩙ xɒ³ [2]

CSS *xəu³

404 *hào* 好〔廣韻：效開一去号曉〕 ‘be fond of’ **CDC** *hou⁵ / **EC** *’huh

CSWW *xɔu⁵

CJQ *xou⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** xɑu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** xɑu⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *xɔu⁵: **Sc** xɐɯ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** xəu⁵; **Pc** xau⁵; **Qy** (xɒ⁵₍!f₎)

CSS #xəu⁵: **Kh** xəɯ⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** xɐɯ⁵; **Gf** xɤɯ³

405 *hào* 號〔廣韻：效開一去号匣〕 ‘designation, number’ **CDC** *hou⁶ / **EC** *’gawh

CSWW *ɦɔu⁶

CJQ *ɦou⁶: **Ly** ɔ⁶; **Jh** ɑu⁶; **Pj** o⁶; **Dy** ɑu⁶; **Yk** ɒ⁻⁴⁴; **Wy** ɤ⁶

CLS *ɦɔu⁶: **Sc** ɐɯ⁶; **Sy** ʌ⁶; **Lq** ɑɔ⁶; **Yh** əu⁶; **Pc** xau⁶; **Qy** xɒ⁶

CSS *ɦəu⁶

406 *ǎo* 襖〔效開一上晧影〕 ‘coat’ **CDC** *ou³ / **EC** *ʾux

CSWW *ʔɔu³

CJQ *ʔou³: **Ly** ɔ³; **Jh** ɑu³; **Pj** o⁴ₗₜ; **Dy** ʔɑu³; **Yk** ɒ³; **Wy** ɤ³

CLS *ɔu³: **Sc** ɐɯ³; **Sy** ʌ³; **Lq** u³ 棉～‘cotton-padded jacket’ ⩙ ɑɔ³; **Yh** əu³; **Pc** au³; **Qy** u³ₗf [1] ⩙ ɒ³ [2]

CSS *ʔəu³

407 *bāo* 包〔效開二平肴幫〕 ‘wrap’ **CDC** *pau¹ / **EC** *pru

CSWW *ɓau¹

CJQ *ɓau¹: **Ly** pɔ¹; **Jh** pɑu¹; **Pj** po¹; **Dy** pɑu¹; **Yk** ʔbɒ¹ [1] ⩙ mɒ⁻³³ [2] 黃～車兒 ‘rickshaw’; **Wy** pɑo¹

CLS *ɓau¹: **Sc** ʔbɐɯ¹; **Sy** ʔbɔ¹; **Lq** ʔbɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ¹; **Pc** pau¹; **Qy** ʔbɒ¹

CSS *pɑu¹

408 *bǎo* 飽〔效開二上巧幫〕 ‘satiated’ **CDC** *pau³ / **EC** *prux

CSWW *ɓ(u,o)³ₗa [1] ⩙ *ɓau³ [2]

CJQ *ɓau³: **Ly** pɔ³; **Jh** pɑu³; **Pj** po³; **Dy** pɑu³; **Yk** ʔbɒ³; **Wy** pɑo³

CLS *ɓ(u,o)³ₗa ⩙ *ɓau³

a. **Sc** ʔbu³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔbɔ³; **Lq** ʔbɑɔ³; **Yh** ʔbɑɔ³; **Pc** pau³; **Qy** ʔbɒ³

CSS *pɑu³

409 *pào* 炮（礮）〔廣韻：效開二去效滂〕 ‘cannon’ **CDC** *phau⁵ / **EC** *phruh

CSWW *pʰau⁵

CJQ *pʰau⁵: **Ly** pʰɔ⁵; **Jh** pʰɑu⁵; **Pj** pʰo⁵; **Dy** pʰɑu⁵; **Yk** pʰɒ⁵; **Wy** pʰɑo⁵

CLS *pʰau⁵: **Sc** pʰɐɯ⁵; **Sy** pʰɔ⁵; **Lq** pʰɑɔ⁵; **Yh** pʰɑɔ⁵; **Pc** pʰau⁵; **Qy** pʰɒ⁵

CSS *pʰɑu⁵

410 *páo* 炮〔效開二平肴並〕 ‘slow roast’ **CDC** *bau² / **EC** —

CSWW *buə²

CJQ —

CLS *buə²: **Sc** buɤ² □ ‘roast’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *buə²

411 *páo* 匏〔效開二平肴並〕 ‘calabash’ **CDC** *bau² / **EC** *bru

CSWW *buə²

CJQ *bu²: **Ly** —; **Jh** bu² 長～; **Pj** bun⁶ [兒]; **Dy** bu⁻¹¹ ～蘆; **Yk** pu⁻³²⁴ [兒]; **Wy** bu²

CLS *buə²: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** bɤɯ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** pɤ² □ ‘calabash’

CSS *buə²

412 *bào* 鉋〔廣韻：效開二去效並〕 ‘plane’ **CDC** *bau⁶ / **EC** —
CSWW *bau²
CJQ —
CLS *bau²₍ₗₐ: **Sc** bɐɯ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *bɑu²

413 *mǎo* 卯〔效開二上巧明〕 ‘/mǎo/ 4/12 (gz.)’ **CDC** *mau⁴ / **EC** *mrux
CSWW *mau⁴
CJQ *mau⁴: **Ly** mɔ⁴ [1] ≍ mɔ⁵ [2]; **Jh** mɑu³; **Pj** mo⁴; **Dy** mɑu⁴; **Yk** mɒ⁴; **Wy** mɑo⁴
CLS *mau⁴: **Sc** mɐɯ⁴; **Sy** mɔ⁴; **Lq** —; **Yh** mɑɔ³; **Pc** mau⁴; **Qy** —
CSS *mɑu⁴

414 *mào* 貌〔效開二去效明〕 ‘appearance’ **CDC** *mau⁶ / **EC** *mrewh
CSWW *mau⁶
CJQ *mau⁶: **Ly** mɔ⁶; **Jh** mɑu⁶; **Pj** mo⁶; **Dy** mɑu⁶; **Yk** mɒ⁶; **Wy** mɑo⁶
CLS *mau⁶: **Sc** mɐɯ⁶; **Sy** mɔ⁶; **Lq** mɑɔ⁶; **Yh** mɑɔ⁶; **Pc** mau⁶; **Qy** mɒ⁶
CSS #mau⁶: **Kh** məɯ⁶; **Cs** mɤɯ⁶₍ₗf; **Js** mɐɯ⁶; **Ys** mɐɯ⁶; **Gf** mɑɔ⁶

415 *zhào* 罩〔效開二去效知〕 ‘cover’ **CDC** *ciau⁵ ≍ *cau⁵ / **EC** *trawh
CSWW *tsau⁵
CJQ *tsau⁵: **Ly** tsɔ⁵; **Jh** tsɑu⁵; **Pj** (tsɑ⁵₍ₗf); **Dy** tsɑu⁵; **Yk** tsɒ⁵; **Wy** tsɑo⁵
CLS *tsau⁵: **Sc** tsɐɯ⁵; **Sy** (tsʌ⁵₍ₗf); **Lq** tsɑɔ⁵; **Yh** tsɑɔ⁵; **Pc** tsau⁵; **Qy** tsɒ⁵
CSS *tsɑu⁵

The **Sy** form would normally obligate us to reconstruct **CLS** *tsɔu⁵, but it cannot have descended from the same source as the other branches which reflect **CSWW** *tsau⁵. The other Lìshuǐ dialects do not distinguish *-ɔu from *-au in this environment so I have decided to treat **Sy** alone as irregular.

416 *zhuā* 抓〔效開二平肴莊〕 ‘grab, scratch at’ **CDC** *cau¹ / **EC** *tsraw
CSWW *tšua¹ [1] ‘grab’ ≍ *tsau¹ [2] ‘scratch at’
CJQ *tšuɒ¹ ≍ *tsau¹
a. **Ly** tsuɑ¹; **Jh** tɕyɑ¹ ≍ tsuɑ¹ [2] ‘grab’; **Pj** tɕyɑ¹; **Dy** tsɑ¹ [2] ≍ tsuɑ¹ [3] ‘grab’; **Yk** tsɑ¹; **Wy** dzuɑ⁴ [2]
b. **Ly** tsɔ¹; **Jh** tsɑu¹; **Pj** (tsɑ¹₍ₗf) *!use*; **Dy** tsɑu¹ [1]; **Yk** tsɒ¹; **Wy** tsɑo¹ [l]
CLS *tsua¹ ≍ *tsau¹
a. **Sc** tsɑ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** tso¹ ～壯丁 ‘concscript’; **Yh** tso¹; **Pc** tsua¹ *!use*; **Qy** tso¹ ≍ tsɑ¹ [3] *!use*
b. **Sc** tsɐɯ¹; **Sy** tsɔ¹ *!use*; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɑɔ¹; **Pc** tsau¹ *!use*; **Qy** tsɒ¹

CSS *tsɑ¹ ⩙ #tsau¹
a. **Kh** tsɔ¹; **Cs** tsɑ¹; **Js** tsɒ¹ [2]; **Ys** tsɑ¹; **Gf** tsɑ¹
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tsɐɯ¹ [1]; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

417 *chǎo* 炒〔效開二上巧初〕 ‘stir-fry’ **CDC** *chau³ / **EC** —

CSWW *tšʰau³

CJQ *tšʰau³: **Ly** tsʰɔ³; **Jh** tsʰɑu³; **Pj** tɕʰyo³; **Dy** tsʰɑu³; **Yk** tsʰɒ³; **Wy** tsʰɑo³

CLS *tsʰau³: **Sc** tsʰɐɯ³; **Sy** tsʰɔ³; **Lq** tsʰɑɔ³; **Yh** tsʰɑɔ³; **Pc** tsʰau³; **Qy** tsʰɒ³

CSS *tsʰɑu³

418 *jiāo* 交〔效開二平肴見〕 ‘intersect, exchange’ **CDC** *kau¹ / **EC** *kraw

CSWW *kau¹

CJQ *kau¹: **Ly** kɔ¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiɔ¹ [2]; **Jh** kɑu¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiɑu¹ [2]; **Pj** ko¹; **Dy** kɑu¹; **Yk** kɒ¹; **Wy** kɑo¹

CLS *kau¹: **Sc** kɐɯ¹ ～通 ‘traffic’ ⩙ tɕiɐɯ¹ ～關 ‘very’; **Sy** kɔ¹; **Lq** kɑɔ¹; **Yh** kɑɔ¹; **Pc** kau¹; **Qy** kɒ¹

CSS *kɑu¹

The palatalized reflexes in the east are most often used in a recent loan from Northern Wú ～關 ‘very’.

419 *jiāo* 茭〔效開二平肴見〕 ‘wild rice (*Z. latifolia*)’ **CDC** *kau¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *kau¹

CJQ *kau¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** kɑu¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** kɑu⁻³³ ～筍; **Yk** kɒ⁻⁴⁴ ～筍; **Wy** kɑo⁻⁵³ ～筍

CLS *kau¹$_{!a}$: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kau¹; **Qy** —

CSS *kɑu?

420 *jiào* 窖〔效開二去效見〕 ‘cellar’ **CDC** *kau⁵ / **EC** *kruh

CSWW *kau⁵

CJQ *kau⁵: **Ly** kɔ⁵; **Jh** kɑu⁵; **Pj** (tɕiɑ¹$_{!lift}$); **Dy** —; **Yk** kɒ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *kau⁵ (?): **Sc** kɐɯ⁵; **Sy** (kʌ⁵$_{!f}$); **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kau⁵; **Qy** kɒ⁵

CSS *kɑu⁵

The **Sy** form would normally obligate us to reconstruct **CLS** *kɔu⁵, but it cannot have descended from the same source as the other branches which reflect **CSWW** *kau⁵. The other Lìshuǐ dialects do not distinguish *-ɔu from *-au in this environment so I have decided to treat **Sy** alone as irregular.

421 *qiāo* 敲〔效開二平肴溪〕 ‘knock’ **CDC** *khau¹ / **EC** *khraw

CSWW *kʰau¹

CJQ *kʰau¹: **Ly** kʰɔ¹; **Jh** kʰɑu¹ [1] ⩙ tɕʰiɑu¹ [2]; **Pj** kʰo¹; **Dy** kʰɑu¹; **Yk** kʰɒ¹; **Wy** kʰɑo¹

CLS *kʰau¹: **Sc** kʰɐɯ¹; **Sy** kʰɔ¹; **Lq** kʰɑɔ¹; **Yh** kʰɑɔ¹; **Pc** kʰau¹; **Qy** kʰɒ¹

CSS #kʰɑu¹: **Kh** kʰəɯ¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰiəɯ¹ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰɐɯ¹; **Gf** (kʰɤɯ³꜊)

422 *xiào* 孝〔效開二去效曉〕 ‘filial’ **CDC** *xau⁵ / **EC** *hruh

CSWW *xau⁵

CJQ *xau⁵: **Ly** xɔ⁵ ≍ ɕiɔ⁵; **Jh** xɑu⁵ [1] ≍ ɕiɑu⁵ [2]; **Pj** xo⁵ [1] ≍ ʃyo⁵ [2]; **Dy** xɑu⁵; **Yk** xɒ⁵; **Wy** xɑo⁵

CLS *xau⁵: **Sc** xɐɯ⁵; **Sy** xɔ⁵; **Lq** xɑɔ⁵; **Yh** xɑɔ⁵; **Pc** xau⁵; **Qy** xɒ⁵

CSS *xɑu⁵

423 *biǎo* 表〔廣韻：效開三上小幫 B〕 ‘chart’ **CDC** *piau³ / **EC** *pawx

CSWW *ɓiɔu³

CJQ *ɓiou³: **Ly** piɔ³; **Jh** piɑu³; **Pj** pi³ ～哥兒 ‘cousin’ ≍ piɑ³ 填～ ‘fill a form’; **Dy** pɤ³ [1] ≍ piɑu³ [2]; **Yk** ʔbiɒ³; **Wy** pie³

CLS *ɓiɔu³: **Sc** ʔbiɐɯ³; **Sy** ʔbiʌ³; **Lq** ʔbiɑɔ³; **Yh** ʔbiɑɔ³; **Pc** piau³; **Qy** ʔbiɒ³

CSS *piəu³

424 *piào* 票〔字表：效開三去笑滂 A〕 ‘ticket’ **CDC** *piau⁵ / **EC** —

CSWW *pʰiɔu⁵

CJQ *pʰiou⁵: **Ly** pʰiɔ³; **Jh** pʰiɑu⁵; **Pj** pʰi⁵; **Dy** pʰɤ⁵; **Yk** pʰiɒ⁵; **Wy** pʰie⁵

CLS *pʰiɔu⁵: **Sc** pʰiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** biʌ⁵꜊; **Lq** pʰiɑɔ⁵; **Yh** pʰiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** pʰiau⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *pʰiəu³

425 *miáo* 苗〔效開三平宵明 B〕 ‘sprout’ **CDC** *miau² / **EC** *maw

CSWW *miɔu²

CJQ *miou²: **Ly** miɔ²; **Jh** miɑu²; **Pj** miɑ²; **Dy** mɤ²; **Yk** miɒ²; **Wy** mie²

CLS *miɔu²: **Sc** miɐɯ²; **Sy** miʌ²; **Lq** miɑɔ²; **Yh** miɑɔ²; **Pc** miau²; **Qy** miɒ²

CSS #miəu²: **Kh** miəɯ²; **Cs** miɤɯ²; **Js** miɐɯ²; **Ys** miɐɯ²; **Gf** miɑɔ²

426 *māo* 貓〔效開三平宵明 B〕 ‘cat’ **CDC** *miau² ≍ *mau² / **EC** *ʰmaw ≍ *ʰmraw

CSWW *mau²

CJQ *mau²: **Ly** mɔ³꜊ [1] ≍ miɔ² [2]; **Jh** mɑu² [1] ≍ mɑu¹ [2]; **Pj** mon⁻²³² [兒] ≍ miɑ²; **Dy** mɑu²; **Yk** mɒ⁻³²⁴ [兒]; **Wy** maŋ¹ [兒]

CLS *mau²: **Sc** mɐɯ² 大～ ‘tiger’ ≍ miɐɯ² ～兒 ‘cat’; **Sy** mɔ¹꜊; **Lq** mɑɔ² ‘tiger’ ≍ mɑɔ⁵ ‘cat’; **Yh** mɑɔ² 大～ ‘tiger’; **Pc** mau¹; **Qy** mɒ² ‘tiger’

CSS *mɑu²

CDC *ʰmau² is pronounced with Tone 1 in many other Chinese dialects including **MSC**. It is unclear whether the Tone 1 forms in Southwestern Wú dialects are retentions or more recent intrusions.

427 *miào* 廟〔效開三去笑明 B〕 ‘temple’ **CDC** *miau⁶ / **EC** *mawh

CSWW *miɔu⁶

CJQ *miou⁶: **Ly** miɔ⁶; **Jh** miɑu⁶; **Pj** miɑ⁶; **Dy** mɤ⁶; **Yk** miɒ⁶; **Wy** —

CLS *miɔu⁶: **Sc** miɐɯ⁶; **Sy** miʌ⁶; **Lq** miɑɔ⁶; **Yh** miɑɔ⁶; **Pc** miau⁶; **Qy** miɒ⁶

CSS *miəu⁶

428 *jiāo* 焦〔效開三平宵精 AB〕 ‘scald’ **CDC** *tsiau¹ / **EC** *tsaw

CSWW *tsiɔu¹

CJQ *tsiou¹: **Ly** tɕiɔ¹; **Jh** tsiɑu¹; **Pj** tsɯ¹ [1] ≍ tʃiɑ¹ [2]; **Dy** tsɤ¹; **Yk** tɕiɒ¹; **Wy** tɕie¹

CLS *tɕiɔu¹: **Sc** tɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiʌ¹; **Lq** tɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** tʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** tɕiau¹; **Qy** tɕiɒ¹

CSS *tɕiəu¹

429 *qiáo* 樵〔效開三平宵從 AB〕 ‘firewood’ **CDC** *dziau² / **EC** *dzaw

CSWW *(z,ž)iɔu²

CJQ —: **Ly** —; **Jh** (dziɑu²ǃi); **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiɔu²: **Sc** ʑiɐɯ²; **Sy** tɕiʌ¹ǃit; **Lq** ʑiɑɔ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɒ²

CSS *ʑiəu²

430 *xiāo* 消〔效開三平宵心 AB〕 ‘vanish, extinguish’ **CDC** *siau¹ / **EC** *sew

CSWW *siɔu¹

CJQ *siou¹: **Ly** ɕiɔ¹; **Jh** siɑu¹; **Pj** sɯ¹ [1] ≍ ʃiɑ¹ [2]; **Dy** sɤ¹ [1] ≍ ɕiɑu¹ [2]; **Yk** ɕiɒ¹; **Wy** ɕie¹

CLS *ɕiɔu¹: **Sc** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** ɕiʌ¹; **Lq** ɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** ɕiau¹; **Qy** ɕiɒ¹

CSS #ɕiəu¹: **Kh** ɕiəɯ¹; **Cs** ɕiɤɯ¹ [1] 撤～ ‘revoke’ ≍ ɕiɔ¹ [2] ～滅 ‘extinguish’; **Js** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Ys** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Gf** ɕiɤɯ¹

431 *xiào* 笑〔效開三去笑心 AB〕 ‘laugh’ **CDC** *siau⁵ / **EC** *sawh

CSWW *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iɔu⁵ [1] ≍ *siɔu⁵ [2]

CJQ *(tsʰ,dʑʰ)iou⁵ǃa ≍ *siou⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰɤ⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** ɕiɔ⁵; **Jh** siɑu⁵; **Pj** sɯ⁵ [1]; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɕiɒ⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *tɕʰiɔu⁵ ≍ *siɔu⁵

a. **Sc** tɕʰiɐɯ⁵ ‘laugh’; **Sy** tɕʰiʌ⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiɑɔ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiɒ⁵

b. **Sc** ɕiɐɯ⁵ 玩～ ‘a joke’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɒ⁵ 見～ ‘be ridiculed’

CSS *tɕʰiəu⁵

432 *zhào* 趙〔效開三上小澄 AB〕 ‘Zhào (pn.)’ **CDC** *jiau⁴ / **EC** *drewx

CSWW *džiɔu⁴

CJQ *džiou⁴: **Ly** dzɔ⁴; **Jh** dʑiɑu⁶ǃt; **Pj** dzɯ⁴; **Dy** dzɤ⁴ [1] ≍ dʑiɑu⁴ [2]; **Yk** dʑiɒ⁴;

Wy dʑie⁴

CLS *dʑiɔu⁴: Sc dʑiɐɯ⁴; Sy dʑiʌ⁴; Lq tɕiɑɔ³; Yh dʒiɑɔ⁴; Pc tɕiau⁶₍ₗₜ₎; Qy tɕiɒ⁴

CSS #dʑiəu⁴: Kh dʑiəɯ⁶; Cs dʑiɔ²₍ₗf₎; Js dʑiɐɯ⁴; Ys dʑiɐɯ⁴; Gf dʑiɑɔ⁴

433 *zhào* 照〔效開三去笑章 AB〕 ‘shine’ CDC *ciau⁵ / EC *tawh

CSWW *tšiɔu⁵

CJQ *tšiou⁵: Ly tsɔ⁵; Jh tɕiɑu⁵; Pj tsɯ⁵; Dy tsɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiɑu⁵ [2]; Yk tɕiɒ⁵; Wy tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕiɔu⁵: Sc tɕiɐɯ⁵; Sy tɕiʌ⁵; Lq tɕiɑɔ⁵; Yh tʃiɑɔ⁵; Pc —; Qy tɕiɒ⁵

CSS *tɕiəu⁵

434 *shāo* 燒〔效開三平宵書 AB〕 ‘burn’ CDC *shiau¹ / EC *hyew

CSWW *šiɔu¹

CJQ *šiou¹: Ly sɔ¹; Jh ɕiɑu¹; Pj sɯ¹; Dy sɤ¹; Yk ɕiɒ¹; Wy ɕie¹

CLS *ɕiɔu¹: Sc ɕiɐɯ¹; Sy ɕiʌ¹; Lq ɕiɑɔ¹; Yh ʃiɑɔ¹; Pc (tɕʰiau¹₍ₗi₎) ≍ tɕʰiu¹; Qy ɕiɒ¹

CSS *ɕiəu¹

435 *shǎo* 少〔效開三上小書 AB〕 ‘few’ CDC *shiau³ / EC *θewx

CSWW *(tš,ts)iɔu³₍ₗa₎ (?) [1] ≍ *šiɔu³ [2]

CJQ *šiou³: Ly sɔ³; Jh ɕiɑu³; Pj sɯ³; Dy sɤ³; Yk ɕiɒ³; Wy ɕie³

CLS *tɕiɔu³₍ₗa₎ (?) ≍ *ɕiɔu³

a. Sc tɕiɐɯ³ [1]; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —

b. Sc ɕiɐɯ³ [2]; Sy ɕiʌ³; Lq ɕiɑɔ³; Yh ʃiɑɔ³; Pc ɕiau³; Qy ɕiɒ³

CSS #ɕiəu³: Kh ɕiɔ³ ≍ ɕiəɯ³; Cs ɕiɤɯ³; Js ɕiɐɯ³; Ys ɕiɐɯ³; Gf ɕiɤɯ³

436 *shào* 少〔效開三去笑書 AB〕 ‘youth’ CDC *shiau⁵ / EC *θewh

CSWW *šiɔu⁵

CJQ —: Ly sɔ⁵; Jh ɕiɑu⁵; Pj (ʃiɑ⁵₍ₗf₎); Dy —; Yk —; Wy —

CLS *šiou⁵ ≍ *ɕiɔu⁵: Sc —; Sy —; Lq ɕiɑɔ⁵; Yh ʃiɑɔ⁵; Pc —; Qy ɕiɒ⁵

CSS —

437 *qiáo* 橋〔效開三平宵羣 B〕 ‘bridge’ CDC *giau² / EC *gaw

CSWW *giɔu²

CJQ *giou²: Ly dʑiɔ²; Jh dʑiɑu²; Pj dʑi²; Dy dʑiʊ²; Yk giɒ²; Wy dʑie²

CLS *giɔu²: Sc dʑiɐɯ²; Sy tɕiʌ²; Lq dʑiɑɔ²; Yh dʒiɑɔ²; Pc kiau²; Qy tɕiɒ²

CSS *giəu²

438 *jiào* 轎〔廣韻：效開三去笑羣 B〕 ‘palanquin’ CDC *giau⁶ / EC *gawh

CSWW *giɔu²

CJQ *giou⁶: Ly dʑiɔ⁶; Jh dʑiɑu⁶; Pj dʑi⁶ [1] ≍ dʑiɑ⁶ [2]; Dy dʑiʊ⁶; Yk giɒ⁶; Wy dʑie⁶

CLS *giɔu²: Sc dʑiɐɯ⁶; Sy dʑiʌ⁶ ≍ tɕiʌ¹; Lq dʑiɑɔ⁶; Yh dʒiɑɔ⁶; Pc —; Qy tɕiɒ⁶

CSS *giəu⁶

439 *qiáo* 翹〔效開三平宵羣 A〕 ‘be flared up’ **CDC** *giau² / **EC** *gew
CSWW *kʰiɔu⁵
CJQ *kʰiou⁵: **Ly** tɕʰiɔ⁵; **Jh** tɕʰiɑu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kʰiɒ⁵; **Wy** —
CLS *kʰiɔu⁵ˌₗₐ: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰiau⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *kʰiəu⁵

440 *yāo* 妖〔效開三平宵影 B〕 ‘bewitching’ **CDC** *iau¹ / **EC** *aw
CSWW *ʔiɔu¹
CJQ *ʔiou¹: **Ly** iɔ¹; **Jh** iɑu¹; **Pj** iɑ¹ˌₗf; **Dy** ʔiʊ¹; **Yk** iɒ¹; **Wy** ie¹
CLS *iɔu¹: **Sc** iɐɯ¹; **Sy** iʌ¹; **Lq** iɑɔ¹; **Yh** iɑɔ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɒ¹
CSS #ʔiəu¹: **Kh** iəɯ¹; **Cs** iɤɯ¹; **Js** iɐɯ¹; **Ys** iɐɯ¹; **Gf** iɤɯ¹

441 *yāo* 腰〔效開三平宵影 A〕 ‘waist’ **CDC** *iau¹ / **EC** *ew
CSWW *ʔiɔu¹
CJQ *ʔiou¹: **Ly** iɔ¹; **Jh** iɑu¹; **Pj** i¹; **Dy** ʔiʊ¹; **Yk** iɒ¹; **Wy** ie¹
CLS *iɔu¹: **Sc** iɐɯ¹; **Sy** iʌ¹; **Lq** iɑɔ¹; **Yh** iɑɔ¹; **Pc** iau¹; **Qy** iɒ¹
CSS *ʔiəu¹

442 *yáo* 搖〔效開三平宵以 A〕 ‘shake’ **CDC** *yau² / **EC** *yaw
CSWW *ɦiɔu²
CJQ *ɦiou²: **Ly** iɔ²; **Jh** iɑu²; **Pj** i²; **Dy** iʊ²; **Yk** iɒ²; **Wy** (iɑo²ˌₗf)
CLS *ɦiɔu²: **Sc** iɐɯ²; **Sy** iʌ²; **Lq** iɑɔ²; **Yh** iɑɔ²; **Pc** iau²; **Qy** iɒ²
CSS *ɦiəu²

443 *yáo* 窯〔效開三平宵以 A〕 ‘kiln’ **CDC** *yau² / **EC** *yaw
CSWW *ɦiɔu²
CJQ *ɦiou²: **Ly** iɔ²; **Jh** iɑu²; **Pj** i²; **Dy** iʊ²; **Yk** iɒ²; **Wy** ie²
CLS *ɦiɔu²: **Sc** iɐɯ²; **Sy** iʌ²; **Lq** iɑɔ²; **Yh** iɑɔ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɒ²
CSS *ɦiəu²

444 *yào* 鷂〔效開三去笑以 A〕 ‘sparrowhawk’ **CDC** *yau⁶ / **EC** *yawh
CSWW *ɦiɔu⁶
CJQ *ɦiou⁶: **Ly** iɔ⁶; **Jh** iɑu⁶; **Pj** i⁶ [1] ≍ i⁵ [2]; **Dy** iʊ⁶; **Yk** iɒ⁶; **Wy** ie⁶
CLS *ɦiɔu⁶: **Sc** iɐɯ⁶; **Sy** iʌ⁶; **Lq** iɑɔ⁶; **Yh** iɑɔ⁶; **Pc** iau⁶; **Qy** iɒ⁶
CSS *ɦiəu⁶

445 *diāo* 雕〔效開四平蕭端〕 ‘sculpt’ **CDC** *tiau¹ / **EC** *’tiw
CSWW *ɗiau¹

CJQ *ɗiou¹: **Ly** tiɔ¹; **Jh** tiɑu¹; **Pj** tɯ¹ [1] ≍ tiɑ¹ [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔdiɒ¹; **Wy** lie¹
CLS *ɗiau¹: **Sc** ʔdiɐɯ¹; **Sy** ʔdiɔ¹; **Lq** ʔdiɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʔdiɑɔ¹; **Pc** liau¹; **Qy** ʔdiɒ¹
CSS *tiəu¹

446 *niǎo* 鳥〔效開四上篠端〕 'bird' **CDC** *tiau³ / **EC** *'tiwx
CSWW *ɗiau³ [1] ≍ *ɳi(ɔ,a)u³ [2]
CJQ *ɗiou³ ≍ *ɳiou³
a. **Ly** tiɔ³; **Jh** tiɑu⁵; **Pj** tɯn⁻⁵⁵ [兒]; **Dy** tɤ³; **Yk** ʔdiɒ³ ～窠兒 'bird's nest'; **Wy** lin⁵ [兒]
b. **Ly** ɳiɔ³ǃt; **Jh** ɳiɑu⁵ǃt; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɲiɒ⁴; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗiau³ ≍ *ɳi(ɔ,a)u³
a. **Sc** ʔdiɐɯ³; **Sy** ʔdiɔ³; **Lq** ʔdiɑɔ³; **Yh** ʔdiɑɔ³; **Pc** liau³; **Qy** ʔdiɞ̃⁻³³ [兒]
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiɑɔ³; **Pc** ŋiau⁴; **Qy** ɳiɒ⁴
CSS *tiəu³ ≍ #ɳiəu³
a. **Kh** tiəɯ³; **Cs** tiɤɯ³; **Js** tiɐɯ³; **Ys** tiɐɯ³; **Gf** tiɤɯ³
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** (ɳiɔ³ǀf); **Js** —; **Ys** ɳiɐɯ⁴; **Gf** ɳiɑɔ⁴

447 *diào* 釣〔效開四去嘯端〕 'fish (v.)' **CDC** *tiau⁵ / **EC** *'tewh
CSWW *ɗiau⁵
CJQ *ɗiou⁵: **Ly** tiɔ⁵; **Jh** tiɑu⁵; **Pj** tɯ⁵; **Dy** tɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɒ⁵; **Wy** lie⁵
CLS *ɗiau⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdiɔ⁵; **Lq** ʔdiɑɔ⁵; **Yh** ʔdiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** liau⁵; **Qy** ʔdiɒ⁵
CSS #tiəu⁵: **Kh** tiəɯ⁵; **Cs** tiɤɯ⁵; **Js** tiɐɯ⁵; **Ys** tiɐɯ⁵; **Gf** tiɤɯ⁵

448 *tiào* 糶〔效開四去嘯透〕 'sell grain' **CDC** *thiau⁵ / **EC** *'thewh
CSWW *tʰiau⁵
CJQ *tʰiou⁵: **Ly** tʰiɔ⁵; **Jh** tʰiɑu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tʰɤ⁵; **Yk** tʰiɒ⁵; **Wy** tʰie⁵
CLS *tʰiau⁵: **Sc** tʰiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** tʰiɔ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰiɑɔ⁵; **Pc** tʰiau⁵; **Qy** tʰiɒ⁵
CSS *tʰiəu⁵

449 *tiáo* 條〔效開四平蕭定〕 'strip (clf.)' **CDC** *diau² / **EC** *'diw
CSWW *diau²
CJQ *diou²: **Ly** diɔ²; **Jh** diɑu²; **Pj** dɯ² [1] ≍ diɑ² [2]; **Dy** dɤ²; **Yk** diɒ²; **Wy** die²
CLS *diau²: **Sc** diɐɯ²; **Sy** tiɔ²; **Lq** diɑɔ²; **Yh** diɑɔ²; **Pc** tiau²; **Qy** tiɒ²
CSS *diəu²
Cf. Common Min *teu² > Proto-Níngdé *tɛu²

450 *niào* 尿〔效開四去嘯泥〕 'urine' **CDC** *niau⁶ / **EC** *'newh
CSWW *ɳi(ɔ,a)u⁶ *B*
CJQ *ɳiou⁶: **Ly** ɳiɔ⁶ ～素 'urea'; **Jh** ɳiɑu⁶ ～素 'urea'; **Pj** ɳiɑ⁶ [2] *luse*; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɲi(ɔ,a)u⁶: **Sc** ɲiɐɯ⁶ ～素 ‘urea’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiɑɔ³ ～素 ‘urea’; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #ɲiəu⁶: **Kh** ɲiɔ⁶ [2] *luse*; **Cs** ɲiɔ⁻²² ～素 ‘urea’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

451 *liào* 料〔效開四去嘯來〕 ‘material’ **CDC** *liau⁶ / **EC** *’lewh

CSWW *liau⁶

CJQ *liou⁶: **Ly** liɔ⁶; **Jh** liɑu⁶; **Pj** lɯ⁶; **Dy** lɤ⁶; **Yk** liɒ⁶; **Wy** lie⁶

CLS *liau⁶: **Sc** liɐɯ⁶; **Sy** liɔ⁶; **Lq** liɑɔ⁶; **Yh** liɑɔ⁶; **Pc** liau⁶; **Qy** liɒ⁶

CSS *liəu⁶

Cf. Common Min *leu⁶ > Proto-Níngdé *lɛu⁶

452 *xiāo* 蕭〔效開四平蕭心〕 ‘Xiāo (pn.)’ **CDC** *siau¹ / **EC** *’siw

CSWW *si(a,ɔ)u¹

CJQ *siou¹: **Ly** ɕiɔ¹; **Jh** siɑu¹; **Pj** sɯ¹ [1] ≍ ʃiɑ¹ [2]; **Dy** sɤ¹ [1] ～山 ‘Xiāoshān (pn.)’ ≍ ɕiɑu¹ [2]; **Yk** ɕiɒ¹; **Wy** ɕie¹

CLS *ɕi(a,ɔ)u¹: **Sc** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** ʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** ɕiau¹; **Qy** ɕiɒ¹

CSS #ɕiəu¹: **Kh** ɕiəɯ¹; **Cs** ɕiɤɯ¹ [1] ～山 ‘Xiāoshān (pn.)’ ≍ ɕiɔ¹ [2] ‘Xiāo (pn.)’; **Js** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Ys** ɕiɐɯ¹; **Gf** ɕiɤɯ¹

453 *jiāo* 澆〔廣韻：效開四平蕭見〕 ‘sprinkle, pour over’ **CDC** *kiau¹ / **EC** *’kew

CSWW *kiɔu¹

CJQ *kiou¹: **Ly** tɕiɔ¹; **Jh** tɕiɑu¹; **Pj** tɕi¹; **Dy** tɕiʊ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiɑu¹ [2]; **Yk** kiɒ¹; **Wy** tɕie¹

CLS *kiɔu¹: **Sc** tɕiɐɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiʌ¹; **Lq** tɕiɑɔ¹; **Yh** tʃiɑɔ¹; **Pc** kiau¹; **Qy** tɕiɒ¹

CSS *kiəu¹

454 *jiào* 叫〔效開四去嘯見〕 ‘cry out, call’ **CDC** *kiau⁵ / **EC** *’kiwh

CSWW *ʔiɔu⁵ [1] ≍ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵ [2]

CJQ *ʔiou⁵ ≍ *kiou⁵

a. **Ly** iɔ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** iɒ⁵; **Wy** ie⁵

b. **Ly** tɕiɔ⁵; **Jh** tɕiɑu⁵; **Pj** tɕi⁵; **Dy** tɕiʊ⁵; **Yk** kiɒ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *iɔu⁵ ≍ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵

a. **Sc** iɐɯ⁵; **Sy** iʌ⁵; **Lq** iɑɔ⁵; **Yh** iɑɔ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɒ⁵

b. **Sc** tɕiɐɯ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɒ⁵

CSS *ʔiəu⁵ ≍ #kiəu⁵

a. **Kh** iəɯ⁵; **Cs** iɤɯ⁵; **Js** iɐɯ⁵; **Ys** iɐɯ¹ ≍ iɐɯ⁵ [1]; **Gf** iɤɯ⁵

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕiɔ$^{3}_{\text{lf}}$; **Js** —; **Ys** kiɐɯ⁵; **Gf** kiɑɔ⁵

Cf. Common Min *kiau⁵ > Proto-Níngdé *kiau⁵.

A.7 Liúshè 流攝

455 *mǔ* 母〔流合一上厚明〕 ‘mother’ **CDC** *mu⁴ / **EC** *’mix

CSWW *m̩⁴

CJQ *m̩⁴: **Ly** m⁴ ≍ mu⁴ 父～ ‘parents’; **Jh** m³ [1] ≍ mo³ [2]; **Pj** m⁴; **Dy** n⁴ [1] 舅～ ‘maternal uncle’s wife’ ≍ mu⁴ [2]; **Yk** ŋ⁴ [1] ～母 ‘woman in labor’ ≍ mu⁴ [2]; **Wy** n⁴ 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’

CLS *m̩⁴: **Sc** məŋ⁴ 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’ ≍ mu⁴ ～親 ‘mother’; **Sy** (mu⁴₍f₎); **Lq** ŋ³; **Yh** m̩³ [2] 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’; **Pc** moŋ⁴ ≍ miau⁴; **Qy** moŋ⁴

CSS #m̩⁴: **Kh** m³; **Cs** m⁴ [1] 舅～ ‘maternal uncle’s wife’ ≍ m³ [2] 做新～ ‘convalesce after pregnancy’; **Js** moŋ⁴; **Ys** moŋ⁴ [1] 丈～ ‘mother-in-law’ ≍ moŋ¹ [2] 親家～ ‘one’s own mother’; **Gf** moŋ⁴

456 *dǒu* 斗〔流合一上厚端〕 ‘≈ decaliter (clf.)’ **CDC** *teu³ / **EC** *’tox

CSWW *ɗu³

CJQ *ɗəu³: **Ly** təɯ³; **Jh** tiu³; **Pj** tɤ³; **Dy** təɯ³; **Yk** ʔdəɯ³; **Wy** lao⁻⁵³

CLS *ɗu³: **Sc** ʔdu³; **Sy** ʔdei³; **Lq** ʔdiɯ³; **Yh** ʔdəu³; **Pc** liau³; **Qy** ʔdiɯ³

CSS *tu³

457 *tōu* 偷〔流合一平侯透〕 ‘steal’ **CDC** *theu¹ / **EC** *’tho

CSWW *tʰu¹

CJQ *tʰəu¹: **Ly** tʰəɯ¹; **Jh** tʰiu¹; **Pj** tʰɤ¹; **Dy** tʰəɯ¹; **Yk** tʰəɯ¹; **Wy** tʰao¹

CLS *tʰu¹: **Sc** tʰu¹; **Sy** tʰei¹; **Lq** tʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tʰəu¹; **Pc** tʰiau¹; **Qy** tʰiɯ¹

CSS *tʰu¹

458 *tǒu* 敨〔廣韻：流合一上厚透〕 ‘unwind’ **CDC** *theu³ / **EC** —

CSWW *tʰu³

CJQ *tʰəu³: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰiu³; **Pj** tʰɤ³; **Dy** tʰəɯ³; **Yk** tʰəɯ³; **Wy** tʰao³

CLS *tʰu³: **Sc** tʰu³; **Sy** tʰei³; **Lq** tʰiɯ³; **Yh** tʰəu³; **Pc** tʰiau³; **Qy** tʰiɯ³

CSS #tʰu³: **Kh** tʰu³; **Cs** tʰu³; **Js** tʰu³; **Ys** —; **Gf** tʰeɯ³

459 *tóu* 頭〔流合一平侯定〕 ‘head’ **CDC** *deu² / **EC** *’do

CSWW *du²

CJQ *dəu²: **Ly** dəɯ²; **Jh** diu² [1]; **Pj** dɤ² [1] ≍ lɤ² [2]; **Dy** dəɯ²; **Yk** dəɯ²; **Wy** dao²

CLS *du²: **Sc** du²; **Sy** tei²; **Lq** diɯ²; **Yh** dəu²; **Pc** tiau²; **Qy** tiɯ²

CSS *du²

460 *dòu* 豆〔流合一去候定〕 ‘bean’ **CDC** *deu⁶ / **EC** *’doh

CSWW *du⁶

CJQ *dəu⁶: **Ly** dəɯ⁶; **Jh** diu⁶; **Pj** dɤ⁶ ≍ da⁶; **Dy** dəɯ⁶ [1] ≍ da⁻¹¹ [2]; **Yk** dəɯ⁶;

Wy dɑo⁶

CLS *du⁶: **Sc** du⁶; **Sy** dei⁶; **Lq** diɯ⁶; **Yh** dəu⁶; **Pc** tiau⁶; **Qy** tiɯ⁶

CSS *du⁶

461 *lóu* 樓〔流合一平侯來〕 ‘stairs, floor, tower’ **CDC** *leu² / **EC** *ʾlo

CSWW *lu²

CJQ *ləu²: **Ly** ləɯ²; **Jh** liu²; **Pj** lɤ²; **Dy** ləɯ²; **Yk** ləɯ⁴₍ʟ₎; **Wy** lɑo²

CLS *lu²: **Sc** lu²; **Sy** lei²; **Lq** liɯ²; **Yh** ləu²; **Pc** liau²; **Qy** liɯ²

CSS *leu²₍f₎

462 *lòu* 漏〔流合一去候來〕 ‘leak’ **CDC** *leu⁶ / **EC** *ʾloh

CSWW *lu⁶

CJQ *ləu⁶: **Ly** ləɯ⁶; **Jh** liu⁶; **Pj** lɤ⁶; **Dy** ləɯ⁶; **Yk** ləɯ⁶; **Wy** lɑo⁶

CLS *lu⁶: **Sc** lu⁶; **Sy** lei⁶; **Lq** liɯ⁶; **Yh** ləu⁶; **Pc** liau⁶; **Qy** liɯ⁶

CSS *lu⁶

463 *zǒu* 走〔流合一上厚精〕 ‘run (> walk)’ **CDC** *tseu³ / **EC** *ʾtsox

CSWW *tsu³

CJQ *tsəu³: **Ly** tsəɯ³; **Jh** tsiu³; **Pj** tsɤ³; **Dy** tsəɯ³; **Yk** tsəɯ³; **Wy** tsɑo⁻⁵³

CLS *tsu³: **Sc** tsu³; **Sy** tsei³; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tsəu³; **Pc** tɕiu³; **Qy** tsɐɯ³

CSS *tseu³

464 *còu* 湊〔流合一去候清〕 ‘pool (v.)’ **CDC** *tsheu⁵ / **EC** *ʾtshoh

CSWW *tsʰu⁵

CJQ *tsʰəu⁵: **Ly** tsʰəɯ⁵; **Jh** tsʰiu⁵; **Pj** tsʰɤ⁵; **Dy** tsʰəɯ⁵; **Yk** tsʰəɯ⁵; **Wy** tsʰɑo⁵

CLS *tsʰu⁵: **Sc** tsʰu⁵; **Sy** tsʰei⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ⁵; **Yh** tsʰəu⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsʰɐɯ⁵

CSS *tsʰeu⁵

465 *gōu* 鉤〔流合一平侯見〕 ‘hook’ **CDC** *keu¹ / **EC** *ʾko

CSWW *ku¹

CJQ *kəu¹: **Ly** kəɯ¹; **Jh** kiu¹; **Pj** kɤ¹; **Dy** kəɯ¹; **Yk** kəɯ¹; **Wy** kɑo¹

CLS *ku¹: **Sc** ku¹ [1] ≍ kɤɯ¹ [2]; **Sy** kei¹; **Lq** kiɯ¹; **Yh** kəu¹; **Pc** ku¹ ≍ kau¹; **Qy** kɐɯ¹

CSS *ku¹ [1] ≍ *keu¹ [2]

466 *gǒu* 狗〔流合一上厚見〕 ‘dog’ **CDC** *keu³ / **EC** *ʾkox

CSWW *ku³

CJQ *kəu³: **Ly** kəɯ³; **Jh** kiu³; **Pj** kɤ³; **Dy** kəɯ³; **Yk** kəɯ³; **Wy** kɑo³

CLS *ku³: **Sc** (kɤɯ³₍f₎); **Sy** kei³; **Lq** kiɯ³ [文]; **Yh** kəu³; **Pc** ku³; **Qy** kɐɯ³

CSS *ku³

467 *gòu* 够（彀）〔流合一去候見〕 ‘enough’ **CDC** *keu⁵ / **EC** *ʾkoh

CSWW *ku⁵

CJQ *kəu⁵: **Ly** kəɯ⁵; **Jh** kiu⁵; **Pj** kɤ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** kəɯ⁵; **Wy** kɑo⁵

CLS *ku⁵: **Sc** ku⁵; **Sy** kei⁵; **Lq** kiɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kɐɯ⁵

CSS *keu⁵ˌf

468 *kǒu* 口〔流合一上厚溪〕 ‘mouth’ **CDC** *kheu³ / **EC** *ʾkhox

CSWW *kʰu³

CJQ *kʰəu³: **Ly** kʰəɯ³; **Jh** kʰiu³; **Pj** kʰɤ³; **Dy** kʰəɯ³; **Yk** kʰəɯ³ ～嘴; **Wy** kʰɑo³

CLS *kʰu³

a. **Sc** kʰu³; **Sy** kʰei³; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰəu³ [1] ⩙ kʰu³ [2] ～嘴; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰɐɯ³

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰiɯ³ *B*; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #kʰu³ [1] ⩙ #kʰeu³ [2]

a. **Kh** kʰu³; **Cs** kʰu³ 胃～ ‘appetite’; **Js** kʰu³ 峽～ ‘Xiákǒu (pn.)’; **Ys** kʰu³ 峽～ ‘Xiákǒu (pn.)’; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕʰiɯ¹ ‘clf. for woks’ ⩙ kʰəɯ³ [3] *B*; **Js** kʰɯ³ *!use*; **Ys** kʰəɯ³ *B*; **Gf** kʰiɯ³

469 *kòu* 扣〔廣韻：流合一去候溪〕 ‘button; smash, discount’ **CDC** *kheu⁵ / **EC** *ʾkhoh

CSWW *kʰu⁵

CJQ *kʰəu⁵: **Ly** kʰəɯ⁵; **Jh** kʰiu⁵; **Pj** kʰɤ⁵; **Dy** kʰəɯ⁵; **Yk** kʰəɯ⁵; **Wy** kʰɑo⁵

CLS *kʰu⁵: **Sc** kʰu⁵; **Sy** kʰei⁵; **Lq** kʰiɯ⁵; **Yh** kʰəu⁵; **Pc** kʰau⁵ˌf; **Qy** kʰɐɯ⁵

CSS *kʰeu⁵ˌf

470 *ǒu* 藕〔流合一上厚疑〕 ‘lotus root’ **CDC** *ʰngeu⁴ / **EC** *ʾʰngox

CSWW *ŋəu⁴

CJQ *ŋəu⁴: **Ly** ŋəɯ⁴; **Jh** eu³; **Pj** ŋɤ⁴; **Dy** ŋəɯ⁴; **Yk** ŋəɯ⁴; **Wy** ŋɑo⁴

CLS *ŋu⁴: **Sc** ŋɤɯ⁴ˌf; **Sy** ŋei⁴; **Lq** ŋiɯ³; **Yh** ŋəu³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋɐɯ⁴

CSS *ŋeu⁴ˌf

471 *hòu* 後〔流合一上厚匣〕 ‘after’ **CDC** *heu⁴ / **EC** *ʾgox

CSWW *ɦu⁴

CJQ *ɦəu⁶: **Ly** əɯ⁴; **Jh** eu³ [1] ⩙ ɦiu⁶ [2]; **Pj** ɤ⁴; **Dy** əɯ⁴; **Yk** əɯ⁴; **Wy** ɑo⁴

CLS *ɦu⁴: **Sc** u⁴; **Sy** u⁴; **Lq** u³; **Yh** u³; **Pc** u⁴ [白] ⩙ xau⁶; **Qy** u⁴ [1] ⩙ xɐɯ⁴ [2]

CSS *ɦu⁴

Cf. Common Min *tsiu³ ‘wine’ > Proto-Níngdé *tʃiu³

472 *hòu* 厚〔流合一上厚匣〕 ‘thick’ **CDC** *heu⁴ / **EC** *ʾgox

CSWW *gu⁴

CJQ *gəu⁴: **Ly** gəɯ⁴ [1] ≍ xəɯ⁴ [2]; **Jh** kiu³ [1] ≍ ɦiu⁶ [2]; **Pj** gɤ⁴; **Dy** gəɯ⁴ [1] ≍ əɯ⁴ [2]; **Yk** gəɯ⁴; **Wy** gɑo⁴

CLS *gu⁴: **Sc** gu⁴ ≍ u⁴; **Sy** gu⁴; **Lq** ku³; **Yh** gəu⁴˩f [1] ≍ əu³ [2]; **Pc** ku⁴ ≍ xau⁶; **Qy** ku⁴

CSS *gu⁴

473 *fù* 富〔流合三去宥非C〕 ‘wealthy’ **CDC** *fu⁵ / **EC** *pih

CSWW *fuə⁵

CJQ *fu⁵: **Ly** fu⁵; **Jh** fu⁵; **Pj** fu⁵; **Dy** fu⁵; **Yk** fu⁵; **Wy** fu⁵

CLS *fuə⁵: **Sc** fuɤ⁵; **Sy** fuɯ⁵; **Lq** fɤɯ⁵; **Yh** fu⁵; **Pc** fuo⁵; **Qy** fɤ⁵

CSS *fuə⁵

474 *fú* 浮〔流合三平尤奉C〕 ‘float’ **CDC** *vu² / **EC** *bu

CSWW *vuə²

CJQ *vu²: **Ly** vu²; **Jh** vu²; **Pj** vu²; **Dy** u²; **Yk** vu²; **Wy** vu²

CLS *vuə²: **Sc** vuɤ²; **Sy** fuɯ² ≍ fuɯ³; **Lq** vɤɯ²; **Yh** vu²; **Pc** (fiau²˩f) [文] ≍ pau² [白]; **Qy** fɤ²

CSS *vuə²

475 *fù* 伏〔廣韻：流合三去宥奉C〕 ‘brood’ **CDC** *vu⁶ / **EC** *bih

CSWW *buə⁶ ‘brood’

CJQ *bu⁶: **Ly** bu⁶; **Jh** bu⁶; **Pj** bu⁶; **Dy** bu⁶; **Yk** bu⁶; **Wy** bu⁶

CLS *buə⁶: **Sc** buɤ⁶; **Sy** bɯ⁶; **Lq** bɤɯ⁶; **Yh** bu⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** pɤ⁶

CSS *buə⁶

476 *niǔ* 紐〔流合三上有娘C〕 ‘knot, fastener’ **CDC** *ʰnieu⁴ / **EC** *ʰnrux

CSWW *ȵiu⁴

CJQ *ȵiəu⁴: **Ly** ȵiəɯ⁴; **Jh** ȵiu³; **Pj** ȵiɤ⁴; **Dy** ȵiəɯ⁴; **Yk** ȵiəɯ⁴; **Wy** ȵiu⁴

CLS *ȵiu⁴: **Sc** ȵiɯ⁴; **Sy** ȵi⁴˩f; **Lq** ȵiɯ³; **Yh** ȵiu³; **Pc** ŋiau⁴˩f; **Qy** ȵiɯ⁴

CSS #ŋeu⁴: **Kh** ŋɯ⁶ [1] ≍ ȵiɯ⁶ [2]; **Cs** ȵiɯ⁴; **Js** ŋɯ⁴; **Ys** ŋəɯ⁴; **Gf** ȵiɯ¹˩t

477 *liú* 流〔流合三平尤來C〕 ‘flow’ **CDC** *lieu² / **EC** *lu

CSWW *lu⁶˩a [1] ≍ *liu² [2]

CJQ *liəu²: **Ly** ləɯ²; **Jh** liu²; **Pj** lɤ² [1] ≍ liɤ² [2]; **Dy** liəɯ²; **Yk** liəɯ²; **Wy** liu²

CLS *liu² : **Sc** liɯ²; **Sy** lei²; **Lq** liɯ²; **Yh** liu²; **Pc** liu²; **Qy** liɯ²

CSS *lu⁶ ≍ *leu²

478 *liú* 留〔流合三平尤來 C〕 ‘remain’ **CDC** *lieu² / **EC** *ʰlu

CSWW *liu²

CJQ *liəu²: **Ly** ləɯ²; **Jh** liu²; **Pj** lɤ²; **Dy** liəɯ²; **Yk** liəɯ²; **Wy** liu²

CLS *liu²: **Sc** liɯ²; **Sy** lei²; **Lq** liɯ²; **Yh** liu²; **Pc** liu²; **Qy** liɯ²

CSS *leu²

479 *jiǔ* 酒〔流合三上有精 C〕 ‘wine’ **CDC** *tsieu³ / **EC** *tsux

CSWW *(ts,tš)yə³$_{|a}$ [1] ⩙ *tsiu³ [2]

CJQ *tsiəu³: **Ly** tɕiəɯ³; **Jh** tsiu³; **Pj** tʃiɤ³; **Dy** tɕiəɯ³; **Yk** tɕiəɯ³; **Wy** tɕiu³

CLS *tɕiu³: **Sc** tɕiɯ³; **Sy** tɕiɯ³; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tʃiu³; **Pc** tɕiu³; **Qy** tɕiɯ³

CSS *tɕyə³ [2] ⩙ *tseu³ [1]

480 *qiū* 秋〔流合三平尤清 C〕 ‘autumn’ **CDC** *tshieu¹ / **EC** *tshiw

CSWW *tsʰiu¹

CJQ *tsʰiəu¹: **Ly** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Jh** tsʰiu¹; **Pj** tʃʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Wy** tɕʰiu¹

CLS *tɕʰiu¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiu¹; **Pc** tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹

CSS *tsʰeu¹

481 *qiū* 鰍〔流合三平尤清 C〕 ‘loach’ **CDC** *tshieu¹ / **EC** *tshiw

CSWW *tsʰiu¹

CJQ *tsʰiəu¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰiu¹; **Pj** tʃʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ$^{-54}$ 魚～; **Yk** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Wy** tɕʰiu¹

CLS *tɕʰiu¹: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰiu¹; **Pc** tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹

CSS *tsʰeu¹

482 *xiū* 修〔流合三平尤心 C〕 ‘repair’ **CDC** *sieu¹ / **EC** *siw

CSWW *siu¹

CJQ *siəu¹: **Ly** ɕiəɯ¹; **Jh** siu¹; **Pj** ʃiɤ¹; **Dy** ɕiəɯ¹; **Yk** ɕiəɯ¹; **Wy** ɕiu¹

CLS *ɕiu¹: **Sc** ɕiɯ¹; **Sy** ɕiɯ¹; **Lq** ɕiɯ¹; **Yh** ʃiu¹; **Pc** ɕiu¹; **Qy** ɕiɯ¹

CSS #seu¹: **Kh** ɕiɯ¹; **Cs** ɕiɯ¹; **Js** ɕiɯ¹; **Ys** səɯ¹; **Gf** seɯ¹

483 *xiù* 銹〔廣韻：流合三去宥心 C〕 ‘rust’ **CDC** *sieu⁵ / **EC** —

CSWW *siu⁵

CJQ *siəu⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɕiəɯ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *ɕiu⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** ɕiɯ⁵; **Lq** ɕiɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *seu⁵

484 *zhòu* 晝〔流合三去宥知 C〕 ‘daytime’ **CDC** *cieu⁵ / **EC** *truh

CSWW *ɗu¹ [1] ⩙ *ɗiu⁵ [2] ⩙ *tšiu⁵ [3] ⩙ *tšiu¹ [4]

CJQ *tšiəu⁵ [1] ⩙ *tšiəu¹ [2]
a. **Ly** tsəɯ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕiəɯ⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** tsəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕiu¹; **Pj** tʃiɤ¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗu¹ ⩙ *ɗiu⁵ ⩙ *tɕiu⁵ ⩙ *tɕiu¹
a. **Sc** ʔdu¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** {ʔdiɯ⁵}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiɯ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** {ʔdiɯ⁵}
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiu⁵; **Pc** tɕiu⁵; **Qy** —
d. **Sc** tɕiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiɯ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tuʔ ⩙ *teuʔ ⩙ #tɕeu⁵
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tu⁻⁴⁴; **Js** tu⁻⁴³; **Ys** —; **Gf** {teɯ⁻⁴⁴⁵}
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** təɯ⁻³³ [1]; **Gf** {teɯ⁻⁴⁴⁵}
c. **Kh** tɕiɯ⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tsəɯ⁵ [2]; **Gf** —

485 *chōu* 抽〔流合三平尤徹 C〕 ‘extract’ **CDC** *chieu¹ / **EC** *thriw

CSWW *tšʰiu¹

CJQ *tšʰiəu¹: **Ly** tsʰəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pj** tʃʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕʰiəɯ¹ [1] ⩙ tʰəɯ¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕʰiu¹

CLS *tɕʰiu¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pc** tɕʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹

CSS *tɕʰeu¹

The latter **Yk** form occurs in the word ～屜 [tʰəɯ¹.tʰiə⁵] ‘drawer’. It is unclear whether it is a case of unshifted *tʰ- or if it was influenced by the following syllable.

486 *zhòu* 皺〔流合三去宥莊 C〕 ‘wrinkle’ **CDC** *ceu⁵ / **EC** *tsroh (?)

CSWW *tsæu⁵ [1] ⩙ *tsu⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsæu⁵ ⩙ *tsəu⁵
a. **Ly** {tsəɯ⁵}; **Jh** {tsiu⁵}; **Pj** tʃiɤ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** {tsəɯ⁵}; **Jh** {tsiu⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsəɯ⁵; **Yk** tsəɯ⁵; **Wy** tsɑo⁵

CLS *tsu⁵: **Sc** tsu¹; **Sy** tsei¹; **Lq** tsiɯ⁵; **Yh** tsəu⁵; **Pc** tɕiu⁵ [白]; **Qy** tsɐɯ⁵

CSS *tɕiɑu⁵ ⩙ *tseu⁵

487 *chóu* 愁〔流合三平尤崇 C〕 ‘worry’ **CDC** *jeu² / **EC** *dzriw

CSWW *zæu² [1] ⩙ *zu² [2]

CJQ *zæu² ⩙ *zəu²
a. **Ly** {zəɯ²}; **Jh** {ziu²}; **Pj** ʒiɤ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** {zəɯ²}; **Jh** {ziu²} [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** zəɯ²; **Yk** zəɯ² ⩙ səɯ²; **Wy** zɑo²

CLS *ʑyəu² ⩙ *zu²
a. **Sc** ʑyɐɯ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** {ziɯ²}; **Yh** {zəu²}; **Pc** tɕiau²; **Qy** {sɐɯ²}
b. **Sc** zɤɯ²ᵢf; **Sy** sei²; **Lq** {ziɯ²}; **Yh** {zəu²}; **Pc** —; **Qy** {sɐɯ²}

CSS *ʑiɑu² ⩙ *zeu²

488 *sōu* 餿〔流合三平尤生 C〕 ‘go spoiled’ **CDC** *sheu¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *sæu¹

CJQ *sæu¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** siu¹; **Pj** ʃiɤ¹; **Dy** sɑu¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕiu¹

CLS *ɕyəu¹: **Sc** ɕyɐɯ¹; **Sy** sei¹˩˧; **Lq** siɯ¹; **Yh** səu¹; **Pc** ɕiau¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕiɑu¹

489 *shòu* 瘦〔流合三去宥生 C〕 ‘lean’ **CDC** *sheu⁵ / **EC** *sroh (?)

CSWW *sæu⁵

CJQ *sæu⁵: **Ly** səɯ⁵; **Jh** siu⁵; **Pj** ʃiɤ⁵; **Dy** sɑu⁵; **Yk** ɕiəɯ⁵; **Wy** ɕiu⁵

CLS *ɕyəu⁵: **Sc** ɕyɐɯ⁵; **Sy** sʌ⁵; **Lq** siɯ⁵; **Yh** səu⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɐɯ⁵

CSS *ɕiɑu⁵

490 *zhōu* 周〔流合三平尤章 C〕 ‘cycle; Zhōu (pn.)’ **CDC** *cieu¹ / **EC** *tiw

CSWW *ʔiu¹ [1] ⩙ *tšiu¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiəu¹ ⩙ *tšieu¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** iu¹ ～歲 ‘anniversary’

b. **Ly** tsəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕiu¹; **Pj** tʃiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕiəɯ¹; **Yk** tɕiəɯ¹; **Wy** tɕiu¹

CLS *iu¹ ⩙ *tɕiu¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɯ¹ 弄～ ‘first birthday’

b. **Sc** tɕiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕiɯ¹; **Lq** tɕiɯ¹; **Yh** tʃiu¹; **Pc** tɕiu¹; **Qy** tɕiɯ¹ ‘Zhōu (pn.)’

CSS #ʔiu¹ ⩙ #tɕeu¹

a. **Kh** iɯ¹ [1] ～年 ‘anniversary’; **Cs** iɯ⁻⁵² [1] ～年 ‘anniversary of death’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiɯ¹ ‘Zhōu (pn.)’; **Cs** tɕiɯ¹ ‘Zhōu (pn.)’; **Js** tɕiɯ¹; **Ys** tsəɯ¹; **Gf** tɕiɯ¹

491 *zhǒu* 帚〔流合三上有章 C〕 ‘broom’ **CDC** *cieu³ / **EC** *tux

CSWW *ʔyə³ [1] ⩙ *tšiu³ [2]

CJQ *tšieu³

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕyin⁵˩ˀ [兒]

b. **Ly** tsəɯ³; **Jh** tɕiu³; **Pj** tʃiɤ³; **Dy** tɕiəɯ³; **Yk** tɕiəɯ³ 掃～; **Wy** tɕiu³

CLS *ʔyə³ ⩙ *tɕiu³

a. **Sc** yɤ³ 筏～; **Sy** y³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tɕiɯ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tʃiu³; **Pc** tɕiu³; **Qy** tɕiɯ³

CSS *ʔyə³ [2] ⩙ *tɕeu³ [1]

492 *zhòu* 咒〔流合三去宥章 C〕 ‘curse’ **CDC** *cieu⁵ / **EC** *tuh

CSWW *ʔyə⁵˩ˀ [1] ⩙ *tšiu⁵ [2]

CJQ *tšiəu⁵: **Ly** tsəɯ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕiəɯ⁵ [2]; **Jh** tɕiu⁵; **Pj** tʃiɤ⁵; **Dy** tɕiəɯ⁵; **Yk** tɕiəɯ⁵; **Wy** tɕiu⁵

CLS *tɕiu⁵: **Sc** tɕiɯ⁵; **Sy** tɕiɯ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiu⁵; **Pc** tɕiu⁵; **Qy** tɕiɯ⁵

CSS #ʔyə$^{5}_{!a}$ ⪤ #tɕeu^{5}
a. Kh yo^{5}; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh —; Cs tɕiɯ^{5}; Js tɕiɯ^{5}; Ys tsəɯ^{5}; Gf tɕiɯ^{5}

493 *chòu* 臭〔流合三去宥昌 C〕 ‘stinky’ CDC *chieu^{5} / EC *chiwh (khyiwh)
CSWW *tsʰɔu^{5} [1] ⪤ *tšʰiu^{5} [2]
CJQ *tšʰiəu^{5}: Ly tsʰəɯ^{5}; Jh tɕʰiu^{5}; Pj tʃʰiɤ^{5}; Dy tɕʰiəɯ^{5}; Yk tɕʰiəɯ^{5}; Wy tɕʰiu^{5}
CLS *tsʰɔu^{5} ⪤ *tɕʰiu^{5}
a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy tsʰɐɯ^{5}
b. Sc tɕʰiɯ^{5}; Sy tɕʰiɯ^{5}; Lq tɕʰiɯ^{5}; Yh tʃʰiu^{5}; Pc —; Qy —
CSS *tsʰəu^{5} ⪤ #tɕʰeu^{5}
a. Kh —; Cs tsʰɤɯ^{5}; Js tsʰɐɯ^{5}; Ys tsʰɐɯ^{5}; Gf —
b. Kh tɕʰiɯ^{5}; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf tɕʰiɯ^{5}

494 *shǒu* 手〔流合三上有書 C〕 ‘hand’ CDC *shieu^{3} / EC *hyux
CSWW *tšʰyə^{3} [1] ⪤ *šiu^{3} [2]
CJQ *šiəu^{3}: Ly səɯ^{3}; Jh ɕiu^{3}; Pj ʃiɤ^{3}; Dy ɕiəɯ^{3}; Yk ɕiəɯ^{3}; Wy ɕiu^{3}
CLS *tɕʰyə^{3} ⪤ *ɕiu^{3}
a. Sc tɕʰyɤ^{3}; Sy —; Lq tɕʰy^{3}; Yh —; Pc —; Qy tɕʰye^{3}
b. Sc ɕiɯ^{3} ⪤ ɕiɐɯ^{3}; Sy ɕiɯ^{3}; Lq ɕiɯ^{3}; Yh ʃiu^{3}; Pc ɕiu^{3}; Qy ɕiɯ^{3}
CSS *tɕʰyə^{3} ⪤ #ɕeu^{3}
a. Kh tɕʰyo^{3}; Cs tsʰuə^{3}; Js tɕʰyə^{3}; Ys tɕʰye^{3}; Gf tɕʰye^{3}
b. Kh ɕiɯ^{3}; Cs ɕiɯ^{3}; Js ɕiɯ$^{-44}$; Ys səɯ^{3}; Gf ɕiɯ^{3}
Cf. Common Min *tʃʰiu^{3} ‘hand’

495 *shǒu* 守〔流合三上有書 C〕 ‘guard’ CDC *shieu^{3} / EC *θux
CSWW *ʔyə^{3} [1] ⪤ *šiu^{3} [2]
CJQ *ʔy^{3} ⪤ *šiəu^{3}
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk y^{3}; Wy y^{3}
b. Ly səɯ^{3}; Jh ɕiu^{3}; Pj ʃiɤ^{3}; Dy ɕiəɯ^{3}; Yk ɕiəɯ^{3}; Wy ɕiu^{3}
CLS *yə^{3} ⪤ *ɕiu^{3}
a. Sc yɤ^{3}; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy ye^{3}
b. Sc ɕiɯ^{3}; Sy ɕiɯ^{3}; Lq ɕiɯ^{3}; Yh ʃiu^{3}; Pc ɕiu^{3}; Qy ɕiɯ^{3}
CSS *ʔyə^{3} ⪤ #ɕeu^{3}: Kh ɕiɯ^{3}; Cs ɕiɯ^{3}; Js ɕiɯ^{3}; Ys səɯ^{3}; Gf ɕiɯ^{3}

496 *shòu* 受〔流合三上有常 C〕 ‘receive’ CDC *zhieu^{4} / EC *dux
CSWW *žiu^{4}
CJQ *žiəu^{4}: Ly zəɯ^{4}; Jh ʑiu$^{6}_{!t}$; Pj ʒiɤ^{4}; Dy ʑiəɯ^{4}; Yk ʑiəɯ^{4}; Wy ʑiu^{4}
CLS *ʑiu^{4}: Sc ʑiɯ^{4}; Sy ʑiɯ^{4}; Lq ɕiɯ^{3}; Yh ʒiu^{4}; Pc ɕiu$^{6}_{!t}$; Qy tɕiɯ^{4}
CSS #ʑeu^{4}: Kh ʑiɯ^{6}; Cs iɯ$^{4}_{!i}$; Js ɕiɯ^{4}; Ys zəɯ^{4}; Gf ɕiɯ$^{6}_{!t}$

497 *jiū* 鬮〔廣韻：流合三平尤見 C〕 ‘lot (n.)’ **CDC** *kieu¹ / **EC** *kwi

CSWW *ku¹ [1] ⩙ *kiu¹ [2]

CJQ *kəu¹ ⩙ *kiəu¹

a. **Ly** kəɯ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kəɯ¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕiu¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kiəɯ¹˩f; **Wy** tɕiu¹

CLS *ku¹ ⩙ *kiu¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {kei¹}; **Lq** ku¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** ku¹; **Qy** kɐɯ¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** {kei¹}; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiu¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ku¹ ⩙ *keu¹

498 *jiǔ* 九〔流合三上有見 C〕 ‘nine’ **CDC** *kieu³ / **EC** *kux

CSWW *kiu³

CJQ *kiəu³: **Ly** tɕiəɯ³; **Jh** tɕiu³; **Pj** tɕiɤ³; **Dy** tɕiəɯ³; **Yk** kiəɯ³; **Wy** tɕiu³

CLS *kiu³: **Sc** tɕiɯ³; **Sy** kei³; **Lq** tɕiɯ³; **Yh** tʃiu³; **Pc** kiu³; **Qy** tɕiɯ³

CSS *keu³

499 *qiū* 丘〔流合三平尤溪 C〕 ‘hill’ **CDC** *khieu¹ / **EC** *khwi

CSWW *kʰ(ɔ)u¹ [1] ⩙ *kʰiu¹

CJQ *kʰiəu¹: **Ly** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Jh** tɕʰiu¹; **Pj** tɕʰiɤ¹; **Dy** tɕʰiəɯ¹; **Yk** kʰiəɯ¹; **Wy** tɕʰiu⁻⁵³

CLS *kʰ(ɔ)u¹ ⩙ *kʰiu¹ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰɐɯ¹

b. **Sc** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɯ¹˩f; **Lq** tɕʰiɯ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiu¹; **Pc** kʰiu¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɯ¹

CSS *kʰeu¹

This word is used as a clf. for fields in Southwestern Wú, probably originally used for rice paddy fields on hills. The **Sy** reflex has an irregular final and is literary and intrusive. **Sy** uses the clf. 畝 [mu³] to count fields generally. **Qy** also has a reflex of this word with an irregular final [-ɐɯ]. I have put it into a separate cognate set, but alternatively one could explain this irregular development with an appeal to phonological reduction. The irregular reflex is only used as a clf.

Cf. Common Min *kʰu¹ > Proto-Níngdé *kʰu¹ ‘clf. for fields’

500 *qiú* 球〔流合三平尤羣 C〕 ‘ball’ **CDC** *gieu² / **EC** *gu

CSWW *giu²

CJQ *giəu²: **Ly** dʑiəɯ²; **Jh** dʑiu²; **Pj** dʑiɤ²; **Dy** dʑiəɯ²; **Yk** giəɯ²; **Wy** dʑiu²

CLS *giu²: **Sc** dʑiɯ²; **Sy** kei²; **Lq** dʑiɯ²; **Yh** dʒiu²; **Pc** kiu²; **Qy** tɕiɯ²

CSS *geu²

501 *jiù* 舅〔流合三上有羣 C〕 ‘maternal uncle’ **CDC** *gieu⁴ / **EC** *gux

CSWW *giu⁴

CJQ *giəu⁶: **Ly** dʑiəɯ⁴; **Jh** tɕiu³ [1] ⩙ dʑiu⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑiɤ⁴; **Dy** dʑiəɯ⁴; **Yk** giəɯ⁴;

Wy dʑiu⁴

CLS *giu⁴: Sc dʑiɯ⁴; Sy gei⁴; Lq tɕiɯ³; Yh dʒiu⁴; Pc kiu⁴; Qy tɕiɯ⁴

CSS #geu⁴: Kh dʑiɯ⁶; Cs dʑiɯ⁴; Js gɯ⁻³³ [1]; Ys gəɯ⁴ [1]; Gf giɯ⁴ [1]

502 *jiù* 舊〔流合三去宥羣 C〕 'old' CDC *gieu⁶ / EC *gwih

CSWW *giu⁶

CJQ *giəu⁶: Ly dʑiəɯ⁶; Jh dʑiu⁶; Pj dʑiɤ⁶; Dy dʑiəɯ⁶; Yk giəɯ⁶; Wy dʑiu⁶

CLS *giu⁶: Sc dʑiɯ⁶; Sy ŋei⁶˧ⁱ; Lq dʑiɯ⁶; Yh dʒiu⁶; Pc kiu⁶; Qy tɕiɯ⁶

CSS *geu⁶

503 *niú* 牛〔流合三平尤疑 C〕 'cow' CDC *ngieu² / EC *ngwi

CSWW *ŋu²˧ᵃ [1] ⩙ *ȵiu²

CJQ *ȵiəu²: Ly ȵiəɯ²; Jh ȵiu²; Pj ȵiɤ²; Dy ȵiəɯ²; Yk ȵiəɯ²; Wy ȵiu²

CLS *ŋu² ⩙ *ȵiu² [2]

a. Sc —; Sy ŋei²; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy ŋɐɯ²

b. Sc ȵiɯ²; Sy —; Lq ȵiɯ²; Yh ɲiu²; Pc ŋioŋ²; Qy —

CSS *ŋeu²

Cf. Common Min *ŋu² 'cow' > Proto-Níngdé *ŋu²

504 *xiū* 休〔流合三平尤曉 C〕 'rest' CDC *xieu¹ / EC *hu

CSWW *xiu¹

CJQ *xiəu¹: Ly ɕiəɯ¹; Jh ɕiu¹; Pj ʃiɤ¹; Dy ɕiəɯ¹; Yk xiəɯ¹; Wy ɕiu¹

CLS *xiu¹: Sc ɕiɯ¹; Sy ɕiɯ¹; Lq xiɯ¹; Yh ʃiu¹; Pc xiu¹; Qy ɕiɯ¹

CSS #xieu¹: Kh ɕiɯ¹; Cs ɕiɯ¹; Js xiɐɯ¹; Ys xiəɯ¹; Gf xiɯ¹

505 *yǒu* 有〔流合三上有云 C〕 'have, exist' CDC *yeu⁴ / EC *wix

CSWW *ɦuə⁴˧ᵃ [1] ⩙ *ɦiu⁴ [2]

CJQ *ɦiəu⁴: Ly iəɯ⁴; Jh iu³; Pj iɤ⁴; Dy iəɯ⁴; Yk iəɯ⁴; Wy iu⁴

CLS *ɦuə⁴ ⩙ *ɦiu⁴

a. Sc uɔʔ⁸˧ᵗ; Sy uɯ⁴ ⩙ uɯʔ⁸; Lq iɯ³; Yh —; Pc —; Qy uɤ⁴

b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh iu³; Pc iu³; Qy iɯ⁴

CSS *ɦieu⁴

CSWW *ɦuə⁴ is set up to account for Qy [uɤ⁴] and Sy [uɯ⁴]. Sc [uɔʔ⁸] and Sy [uɯʔ⁸] are irregular "clipped" reflexes of this form.

506 *yòu* 右〔流合三去宥云 C〕 'righthand' CDC *yeu⁶ / EC *wih

CSWW *ɦiu⁶

CJQ *ɦiəu⁶: Ly iəɯ⁴˧ᵗ; Jh iu⁶; Pj iɤ⁶; Dy —; Yk iəɯ⁶; Wy iu⁶

CLS *ɦiu⁶: Sc iɯ⁶; Sy iɯ⁶; Lq iɯ⁶; Yh iu⁶; Pc iu⁶; Qy iɯ⁶

CSS *ɦieu⁶

507 *yóu* 油〔流合三平尤以 C〕 ‘oil’ **CDC** *yeu² / **EC** *yu

CSWW *ɦiu²

CJQ *ɦiəu²: **Ly** iəɯ²; **Jh** iu²; **Pj** iɤ²; **Dy** iəɯ²; **Yk** iəɯ²; **Wy** iu²

CLS *ɦiu²: **Sc** iɯ²; **Sy** iɯ²; **Lq** iɯ²; **Yh** iu²; **Pc** iu²; **Qy** iɯ²

CSS *ɦieu²

508 *yǒu* 酉〔流合三上有以 C〕 ‘/yǒu/ 10/12 (gz.)’ **CDC** *yeu⁴ / **EC** *yux

CSWW *ɦiu⁴

CJQ *ɦiəu⁴: **Ly** iəɯ⁴; **Jh** iu³; **Pj** iɤ⁴; **Dy** iəɯ⁴; **Yk** iəɯ⁴; **Wy** iu⁴

CLS *ɦiu⁴: **Sc** iɯ⁴; **Sy** iɯ⁴; **Lq** —; **Yh** iu³; **Pc** iu³; **Qy** iɯ⁴

CSS #ɦieu⁴

509 *yōu* 幽〔流合三平幽影 A〕 ‘secluded’ **CDC** *ieu¹ / **EC** *iw

CSWW *ʔiu¹

CJQ *ʔiu¹: **Ly** iəɯ¹; **Jh** iu¹; **Pj** iɤ¹; **Dy** ʔiəɯ¹; **Yk** iəɯ¹; **Wy** iu¹

CLS *iu¹: **Sc** iɯ¹; **Sy** iɯ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** iu¹; **Pc** iu¹; **Qy** iɯ¹

CSS *ʔieu¹

A.8 Xiánshè 咸攝

510 *tān* 貪〔咸開一平覃透〕 ‘greedy’ **CDC** *thom¹ / **EC** *’thum

CSWW *tʰ(ɤ̃,uɔ̃)¹ [1] ⩙ *tʰã¹₍ˌa₎ [2]

CJQ *tʰuɤ̃¹₍ˌf₎ ⩙ *tʰã¹₍ˌa₎

a. **Ly** tʰuei¹; **Jh** tʰɤ¹ ⩙ tʰã¹ [3]; **Pj** tʰə̃¹ ⩙ tʰuan¹ [2]; **Dy** tʰɤ¹; **Yk** tʰɤə¹; **Wy** tʰɤ¹

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰɑ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tʰuə̃¹: **Sc** tʰə̃¹; **Sy** tʰæ̃¹; **Lq** tʰɤ¹; **Yh** tʰuɛ¹; **Pc** tʰãi¹₍ˌf₎; **Qy** tʰã¹

CSS #tʰã¹: **Kh** tʰã¹; **Cs** tʰã¹; **Js** tʰã¹; **Ys** tʰã¹; **Gf** tʰã¹

511 **tān* 探〔咸開一平覃透〕 ‘reach for, probe’ **CDC** *thom¹ / **EC** *’thum

CSWW *tʰ(ɤ̃,uɔ̃)¹

CJQ *tʰ(u)ɤ̃¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tʰə̃¹ [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tʰ(u)ə̃¹: **Sc** —; **Sy** dæ̃¹₍ˌi₎; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰã¹

CSS —

512 *tàn* 探（撢）〔咸開一去勘透〕 ‘reach for, probe’ **CDC** *thom⁵ / **EC** *’thumh

CSWW *tʰɤ̃⁵

CJQ *tʰɤ̃⁵: **Ly** tʰei⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰuei⁵ [2]; **Jh** tʰɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʰə̃⁵ [1]; **Dy** tʰɤ⁵;

Yk $t^{h}ɤə^{5}$; Wy $t^{h}ɤ^{5}$

CLS *$t^{h}uə̃^{5}$: Sc $t^{h}ə̃^{5}$; Sy —; Lq $t^{h}ɤ^{5}$; Yh $t^{h}uɛ^{5}$; Pc $t^{h}ãi^{4}{}_{!ft}$; Qy —

CSS #$t^{h}ɑ̃^{5}$ ⩙ *$t^{h}Ʌ̃^{5}$ 'glimpse'

a. Kh $t^{h}ã^{5}$; Cs $t^{h}ã^{-45}$ [2] ～子 'spy'; Js —; Ys $t^{h}ã^{5}$ [2]; Gf $t^{h}ã^{5}$ [2]

b. Kh —; Cs $t^{h}uɅ̃^{5}$ [1]; Js $t^{h}õ^{5}$; Ys $t^{h}æ̃^{3}$ [1]; Gf $t^{h}æ̃^{5}$ [1]

513 *tán* 潭〔咸開一平覃定〕 'tarn' CDC *dom² / EC *'dum

CSWW *dɅ̃²

CJQ *dɤ̃²: Ly dei² 官～ 'Guāntán (pn.)'; Jh dɤ² [1] ⩙ dã² [2]; Pj də̃² [1] ⩙ t^{h}an² [2]; Dy dɤ²; Yk dɤə²; Wy dɤ²

CLS *duə̃²: Sc də̃²; Sy tæ̃²; Lq dɤ²; Yh duɛ²; Pc tãi²$_{!f}$; Qy tã²

CSS *dɅ̃²

514 *nán* 南〔咸開一平覃泥〕 'south' CDC *nom² / EC *'num

CSWW *n(Ʌ̃,uə̃)²

CJQ *nɤ̃²: Ly nei²; Jh nɤ² [1] ⩙ nã² [2]; Pj nə̃² [1] ⩙ nan² [2]; Dy nɤ²; Yk nɤə²; Wy nɤ²

CLS *nuə̃² : Sc nə̃²; Sy —; Lq nɤ²; Yh nuɛ²; Pc nãi²$_{!f}$; Qy nã²

CSS (*nɑ̃²$_{!f}$)

515 *zān* 簪〔咸開一平覃精〕 'hairpin' CDC *tsom¹ / EC *'tsum

CSWW *tsɅ̃¹

CJQ *tsuɤ̃¹: Ly tsuei¹; Jh tsɤ¹; Pj tsə̃¹; Dy tsɤ¹; Yk tsɤə¹; Wy tsɤ¹

CLS *tsuə̃¹: Sc tsə̃¹; Sy tsæ̃¹; Lq tsɤ¹; Yh tsuɛ¹; Pc tsuãi¹; Qy tsã¹

CSS *tsɅ̃¹

516 *cán* 蠶〔咸開一平覃從〕 'silkworm' CDC *dzom² / EC *'dzum

CSWW *zɅ̃²

CJQ *zuɤ̃²: Ly zuei²; Jh zɤ² [1] ⩙ dzã² [2]; Pj zə̃²; Dy zɤ²; Yk zɤə$^{-11}$ ～豆 'garden peas'; Wy zɤ²

CLS *zuə̃²: Sc zə̃²; Sy sæ̃²; Lq zɤ²; Yh zuɛ²; Pc tsãi²$_{!f}$; Qy sã²

CSS *zɅ̃²

517 *gǎn* 感〔咸開一上感見〕 'feel' CDC *kom³ / EC *'kumx

CSWW *kɅ̃³

CJQ *kɤ̃³: Ly (kã⁵$_{!ft}$); Jh kɤ³ [1] ⩙ kã³ [2]; Pj kə̃³ [1] ⩙ kan³ [2]; Dy kɤ³ [1] ⩙ kan³ [2]; Yk kɤə³; Wy kɤ³

CLS *kə̃³: Sc kə̃³; Sy kæ̃³; Lq kɤ³; Yh kɛ³; Pc kãi³; Qy kã³

CSS #kɅ̃³: Kh (kã³$_{!f}$); Cs (kã³$_{!f}$); Js kõ$^{-43}$ ～覺 'feel'; Ys kæ̃³; Gf kæ̃³

518 *hán* 含〔咸開一平覃匣〕 ‘contain; keep in mouth’ **CDC** *hom² / **EC** *’gum

CSWW *gəŋ˞ (?) [1] ⪥ *ɦɤ̃² [2]

CJQ *ɦɤ̃² [1]: **Ly** xei²; **Jh** ɤ² ⪥ ɦã² [2]; **Pj** ə̃² ⪥ an² [2]; **Dy** ɤ²; **Yk** ɤə²; **Wy** (en²)

CLS *gəŋ˞ ⪥ *ɦə̃²

a. **Sc** gəŋ⁶; **Sy** gõ⁴˧ˏ; **Lq** gɛiŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəŋ² ～水

b. **Sc** ə̃²; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɤ²; **Yh** ɛ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** xã²

CSS *gɨŋ⁴

The tone correspondences for this word are irregular. We find reflexes that suggest both tones *2 and *4. These might reflexes ultimately reflect two separate common forms. I have marked the tone as unknown instead.

519 *ān* 庵〔咸開一平覃影〕 ‘hermitage’ **CDC** *om¹ / **EC** *’um

CSWW *ʔɤ̃¹

CJQ *ʔɤ̃¹: **Ly** ei¹; **Jh** ɤ¹ [1] ⪥ ã¹ [2]; **Pj** ə̃¹; **Dy** ʔɤ¹; **Yk** ɤə¹; **Wy** ʔŋɤ⁵

CLS *ə̃¹: **Sc** ə̃¹; **Sy** iɛ̃¹; **Lq** ɤ¹; **Yh** ɛ¹; **Pc** aŋ¹˧ˏ; **Qy** ã¹

CSS *ʔɤ̃¹

520 *ǎn* 揞〔咸開一上感影〕 ‘cover (the ears)’ **CDC** *om³ / **EC** —

CSWW *ʔəŋ³

CJQ —

CLS *ʔəŋ³: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** əŋ³

CSS *ʔɨŋ³

521 *àn* 暗〔咸開一去勘影〕 ‘dark’ **CDC** *om⁵ / **EC** *’umh

CSWW *ʔɤ̃⁵

CJQ *ʔɤ̃⁵: **Ly** ei⁵; **Jh** ɤ⁵ [1] ⪥ ã⁵ [2]; **Pj** ə̃⁵; **Dy** (ʔan⁵); **Yk** (ɑ⁵˧ˏ); **Wy** ʔŋɤ⁵

CLS *ə̃⁵: **Sc** uə̃⁵ [1] ⪥ ə̃⁵ [2]; **Sy** uɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ɤ⁵; **Yh** ɛ⁵; **Pc** ãi⁵; **Qy** ã⁵

CSS *ʔɤ̃⁵

522 *dá* 答〔咸開一入合端〕 ‘answer’ **CDC** *top⁷ ⪥ *tap⁷ / **EC** *’tup

CSWW *ɗ(ʌ,uɔ)ʔ⁷ [1] ⪥ *ɗaʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *ɗɤʔ⁷ ⪥ *ɗɒʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɤ⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɯ⁷; **Dy** tɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** lɤ⁵

b. **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** tuɑ⁵ [1] ⪥ təʔ⁷ [3]; **Pj** tuɑ⁷ ⪥ tə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔdɤə³; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗuəʔ⁷ ⪥ *ɗaʔ⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔduɛʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʔdaʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdɔʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** la⁷; **Qy** ʔdɑʔ⁷

CSS *tɑʔ⁷

523 *tà* 踏〔咸開一入合透〕 ‘step on’ **CDC** *thop^{7} ≍ *thap^{7} / **EC** *’thup

CSWW *daʔ^{8}

CJQ *dɒʔ^{8}: **Ly** dəʔ^{8}; **Jh** duɑ^{6} [1] ≍ dəʔ^{8} [2]; **Pj** duɑ$^{-33}$ [3] 腳～車 ‘bicycle’ ≍ ɑ$^{-33}$ [1] 腳～車 ‘bicycle’ ≍ dɑ$^{-33}$ [2] 腳～車 ‘bicycle’; **Dy** duoʔ^{8}; **Yk** dɑ^{4}; **Wy** duɑ^{6}

CLS *daʔ^{8}: **Sc** daʔ^{8}; **Sy** dəʔ^{8}; **Lq** dəʔ^{8}; **Yh** dɑʔ^{8}; **Pc** ta^{7}; **Qy** tɑʔ^{8}

CSS *dɑʔ^{8}

524 *nà* 納〔咸開一入合泥〕 ‘take in’ **CDC** *nop^{8} ≍ *nap^{8} / **EC** *’nup

CSWW *nʌʔ^{8} [1] ≍ *naʔ^{8} [2]

CJQ *nɤʔ^{8}: **Ly** nəʔ^{8}; **Jh** nəʔ^{8}$_{!f}$; **Pj** nə^{8}$_{!f}$; **Dy** nɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** nɤə^{4}; **Wy** nɤ^{4}

CLS *nuəʔ^{8} ≍ *naʔ^{8}

a. **Sc** neʔ^{8}; **Sy** —; **Lq** nəʔ^{8}; **Yh** nuɛʔ^{8} [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** nɤʔ^{8}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** naʔ^{8}; **Lq** —; **Yh** naʔ^{8} [1]; **Pc** na^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS *nɑʔ^{8}

525 *zá* 雜〔咸開一入合從〕 ‘mixed’ **CDC** *dzop^{8} / **EC** *’dzup

CSWW *z(u)ək^{8}$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *zʌʔ^{8} [2]

CJQ *zɤʔ^{8}: **Ly** dzəʔ^{8}$_{!i}$; **Jh** zɤ^{6} [1] ≍ zəʔ^{8} [2] ≍ dzəʔ^{8} [3]; **Pj** zə^{8}$_{!f}$ ～貨店 ‘general store’ ≍ dzə^{8}; **Dy** zɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** zɤə^{4}; **Wy** zɤ^{4}

CLS *zək^{8}$_{!a}$ (?) ≍ *zəʔ^{8}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** səɯʔ^{8}

b. **Sc** zeʔ^{8}; **Sy** zɔʔ^{8}$_{!f}$; **Lq** zəʔ^{8}; **Yh** zɛʔ^{8}; **Pc** tsa^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS *zʌʔ^{8}

526 *gē* 鴿〔咸開一入合見〕 ‘pigeon’ **CDC** *kop^{7} / **EC** *’kup

CSWW *kʌʔ^{7}

CJQ *kɤʔ^{7}: **Ly** kəʔ^{7}; **Jh** kɤ^{5} [1] ≍ kəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** kɯn^{-53} [兒]; **Dy** kɤ^{0}; **Yk** kɤə$^{3-54}$ [兒]; **Wy** kɤ^{5}

CLS *kəʔ^{7}: **Sc** keʔ^{7}; **Sy** kəʔ^{7}; **Lq** kəʔ^{7}; **Yh** kɛʔ^{7}; **Pc** kau^{7}$_{!f}$; **Qy** kɤʔ^{7}

CSS *kʌʔ^{7}

527 *hē* 喝（欱）〔咸開一入合曉〕 ‘slurp, drink’ **CDC** *xop^{7} / **EC** *’hup

CSWW *xaʔ^{7} ‘slurp’

CJQ *xɒʔ^{7}: **Ly** xɔʔ^{7} *!use*; **Jh** (xəʔ^{7}$_{!f}$) *!use*; **Pj** (xə^{7}$_{!f}$) *!use*; **Dy** xuɑʔ^{7}; **Yk** xɑ^{3}; **Wy** xuɑʔ^{7}

CLS *xaʔ^{7} *!use*: **Sc** xaʔ^{7}; **Sy** —; **Lq** xɔʔ^{7}; **Yh** xɑʔ^{7}; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *xɑʔ^{7}

528 *hé* 盒〔廣韻：咸開一入合匣〕 ‘box’ **CDC** *hop^{8} / **EC** —

CSWW *ɦʌʔ^{8}

CJQ *ɦɤʔ^{8}: **Ly** əʔ^{8}; **Jh** ɤ^{6} [1] ≍ əʔ^{8} [2] ≍ ɦəʔ^{8} [3]; **Pj** ɯ^{8}; **Dy** ɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** ɤə$^{4-14}$ [兒];

Wy ɤʔ⁸

CLS *ɦəʔ⁸: **Sc** eʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** əʔ⁸; **Yh** ɛʔ⁸; **Pc** xa⁷ ≍ xau⁷ [白]; **Qy** xɤʔ⁸

CSS *ɦʌʔ⁸

529 *dān* 擔〔咸開一平談端〕 ‘bear (on the shoulder)’ **CDC** *tam¹ / **EC** *’tam

CSWW *ɗã¹

CJQ *ɗã¹ ‘take’: **Ly** tã¹; **Jh** tɑ¹ [1] ≍ tã¹ [2]; **Pj** nã¹$_{!i}$ ≍ tã¹; **Dy** nʌ¹$_{!i}$ [1] ≍ tʌ¹ [2]; **Yk** ʔnɑ¹ [1]; **Wy** nuo¹

CLS *ɗã¹: **Sc** ʔdaŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdɔ̃¹; **Lq** ʔdaŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdã¹; **Pc** lãi¹; **Qy** ʔdã¹

CSS #tã¹: **Kh** tã¹; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tã¹; **Gf** tã¹

In Jīnqú dialects, this morpheme grammaticalized and became a particle that marks indirect object focusing like *bǎ* 把 in **MSC**. Perhaps the irregular initial developments in **Pj** and **Dy** are the result of phonological reduction.

530 *dǎn* 膽〔咸開一上敢端〕 ‘gall’ **CDC** *tam³ / **EC** *’tamx

CSWW *ɗã³

CJQ *ɗã³: **Ly** tã³; **Jh** tɑ³ [1] ≍ tã³ [2]; **Pj** tã³ [1] ≍ tan³ [2]; **Dy** tʌ³; **Yk** ʔnɑ³; **Wy** ʔnuo³

CLS *ɗã³: **Sc** ʔdaŋ³; **Sy** ʔdɔ̃³; **Lq** ʔdaŋ³; **Yh** ʔdã³; **Pc** lãi³; **Qy** ʔdã³

CSS *tã³

531 *dàn* 擔〔咸開一去闞端〕 ‘burden’ **CDC** *tam⁵ / **EC** *’tamh

CSWW *ɗã⁵

CJQ *ɗã⁵: **Ly** tã⁵; **Jh** tɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tã⁵ [2]; **Pj** (tã⁵); **Dy** tʌ⁵; **Yk** ʔnɑ⁵ ≍ ʔnɑ⁵ [2]; **Wy** ʔnuo⁵

CLS *ɗã⁵: **Sc** ʔdaŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔdɔ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔdaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔdã⁵; **Pc** lãi⁵; **Qy** ʔdã⁵

CSS *tã³

532 *tán* 談〔咸開一平談定〕 ‘chat’ **CDC** *dam² / **EC** *’dam

CSWW *dã²

CJQ *dã²: **Ly** dã²; **Jh** dɑ² [1] ≍ dã² [2]; **Pj** dã²; **Dy** dʌ²; **Yk** dɑ²; **Wy** duo²

CLS *dã²: **Sc** daŋ²; **Sy** tɔ̃²; **Lq** daŋ²; **Yh** dã¹$_{!t}$; **Pc** tãi²; **Qy** tã²

CSS *dã²

533 *tán* 痰〔咸開一平談定〕 ‘phlegm’ **CDC** *dam² / **EC** *’dam

CSWW *dã²

CJQ *dã²: **Ly** dã²; **Jh** dɑ² [1] ≍ dã² [2]; **Pj** dã²; **Dy** dʌ²; **Yk** dɑ²; **Wy** duo²

CLS *dã²: **Sc** —; **Sy** tɔ̃²; **Lq** daŋ²; **Yh** dã¹$_{!t}$; **Pc** tãi²; **Qy** tã²

CSS *dã²

534 *dàn* 淡〔廣韻：咸開一上敢定〕 ‘insipid’ **CDC** *dam⁴ / **EC** *’damx
CSWW *dã⁴
CJQ *dã⁴: **Ly** dã⁴; **Jh** tɑ³ [1] ≍ dã⁶ [2]; **Pj** dã⁴; **Dy** dʌ⁴; **Yk** dɑ⁴; **Wy** duo⁴
CLS *dã⁴: **Sc** daŋ⁴; **Sy** dõ⁴; **Lq** ʔdaŋ³; **Yh** dã⁴; **Pc** tãi⁴; **Qy** tã⁴
CSS *dã⁴

535 *lán* 籃〔咸開一平談來〕 ‘basket’ **CDC** *ʰlam² / **EC** *’ʰlam
CSWW *lã²
CJQ *lã²: **Ly** lã²; **Jh** lɑ² [1] ≍ lã² [2]; **Pj** lãn⁸ [兒]; **Dy** lɑ²; **Yk** lɑ²; **Wy** nuo²
CLS *lã²: **Sc** laŋ²; **Sy** lõ²; **Lq** laŋ²; **Yh** lã²; **Pc** lãi²; **Qy** lã²
CSS *lã²

536 *zàn* 鏨〔廣韻：咸開一去闞從〕 ‘engrave’ **CDC** *dzam⁶ / **EC** *’dzamh
CSWW *zʌ̃⁴
CJQ *z(u)ɤ̃⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** sɤ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** zɤn⁻²⁵ [兒]; **Yk** zɤə⁴; **Wy** zɤ⁴
CLS *z(u)ə̃⁴: **Sc** zə̃⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsãi⁴; **Qy** —
CSS *zʌ̃⁴

537 *sān* 三〔咸開一平談心〕 ‘three’ **CDC** *sam¹ / **EC** *’sum
CSWW *sã¹
CJQ *sã¹: **Ly** sã¹; **Jh** sɑ¹ [1] ≍ sã¹ [2]; **Pj** sã¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** sɑ¹; **Wy** suo¹
CLS *sã¹: **Sc** saŋ¹; **Sy** sõ¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sã¹; **Pc** sãi¹; **Qy** sã¹
CSS *sã¹

538 *gān* 甘〔咸開一平談見〕 ‘sweet’ **CDC** *kom¹ / **EC** *’kam
CSWW *kʌ̃¹
CJQ *kɤ̃¹: **Ly** kie¹; **Jh** kɤ¹ [1] ≍ kã¹ [2]; **Pj** kə̃¹; **Dy** kɤ¹; **Yk** kɤə¹; **Wy** kɤ¹
CLS *kə̃¹: **Sc** kə̃¹; **Sy** kæ̃¹; **Lq** kɤ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹
CSS *kʌ̃¹

539 *gǎn* 敢〔咸開一上敢見〕 ‘dare’ **CDC** *kom³ / **EC** *’kamx
CSWW *kʌ̃³
CJQ *kɤ̃³: **Ly** kie³; **Jh** kɤ³ [1] ≍ kã³ [2]; **Pj** kə̃³; **Dy** kɤ³; **Yk** kɤə³; **Wy** kɤ³
CLS *kə̃³: **Sc** kə̃³; **Sy** kæ̃³; **Lq** kɤ³; **Yh** kɛ³; **Pc** kãi³ ≍ kaŋ³ [白]; **Qy** kã³
CSS *kʌ̃³

540 *tǎ* 塔〔咸開一入盍透〕 ‘tower’ **CDC** *thop⁷ ≍ *thap⁷ / **EC** *’thup
CSWW *tʰaʔ⁷
CJQ *tʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʰuɑ⁷; **Dy** tʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰɑ³; **Wy** tʰuɑʔ⁷

CLS *tʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tʰa⁷; **Qy** tʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tʰɑʔ⁷

541 *là* 蠟〔咸開一入盍來〕 ‘wax’ **CDC** *ʰlap⁸ / **EC** *ʾʰlap
CSWW *laʔ⁸
CJQ *lɒʔ⁸: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸; **Jh** luɑ⁶ [1] ≍ lɔʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** luɑ⁸; **Dy** luoʔ⁸; **Yk** lɑ⁴; **Wy** luɑ⁴
CLS *laʔ⁸: **Sc** laʔ⁸; **Sy** lɔʔ⁸; **Lq** lɔʔ⁸; **Yh** lɑʔ⁸; **Pc** la⁷; **Qy** lɑʔ⁸
CSS *lɑʔ⁸

542 *zhuàn* 賺〔咸開二去陷澄〕 ‘earn’ **CDC** *jiam⁶ ≍ *jam⁶ / **EC** *dremh
CSWW *dzã⁴
CJQ *dzã⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** sɑ³ˌi [1] ≍ dzuã⁶ [2]; **Pj** dzã⁴; **Dy** zʌ⁴ˌi; **Yk** dzɑ⁴; **Wy** dzuo⁴
CLS *dzã⁴: **Sc** dzaŋ⁴; **Sy** dzɔ̃⁴; **Lq** (tɕyə³ˌif); **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *dzã⁴

543 *zhàn* 蘸〔咸開二去陷莊〕 ‘dip’ **CDC** *cam⁵ / **EC** *tsramh
CSWW *ɗã⁵ˌa [1] ≍ *tsã⁵ [2]
CJQ *tsã⁵: **Ly** tsã⁵; **Jh** tsɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tsã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tsã⁵; **Dy** tsʌ⁵; **Yk** tsɑ⁵; **Wy** tsuo⁵
CLS *ɗã⁵ˌa ≍ *tsã⁵
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdã⁵ [1]
b. **Sc** tsaŋ⁵; **Sy** tsɔ̃⁵; **Lq** tsaŋ⁵; **Yh** tsã⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsã⁵
CSS #tã⁵ˌa ≍ #tsã⁵
a. **Kh** tã⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tsã⁵; **Cs** tsã⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** tsã⁵; **Gf** —

544 *shān* 杉〔廣韻：咸開二平咸生〕 ‘cedar’ **CDC** *sham¹ / **EC** —
CSWW *sã¹
CJQ *sã¹: **Ly** sã¹; **Jh** sɑ¹ [1] ≍ sã¹ [2]; **Pj** sã¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** sɑ¹; **Wy** suo¹
CLS *sã¹: **Sc** saŋ¹; **Sy** sɔ̃¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sã¹; **Pc** sãi¹; **Qy** sã¹
CSS *sã¹

545 *jiǎn* 減〔咸開二上豏見〕 ‘reduce’ **CDC** *kam³ / **EC** *krumx
CSWW *kã³
CJQ *kã³: **Ly** kã³ ‘take out (food from a bowl)’ ≍ tɕie³; **Jh** kɑ³ [1] ≍ tɕiã³ [2]; **Pj** kã³ [1] ≍ tɕian³ [2]; **Dy** (tɕi³); **Yk** kɑ³; **Wy** kuo³
CLS *kã³: **Sc** kaŋ³; **Sy** kɔ̃³; **Lq** kaŋ³; **Yh** kã³; **Pc** kãi³; **Qy** kã³
CSS *kã³

546 *xián* 鹹〔咸開二平咸匣〕 ‘salty’ **CDC** *ham² / **EC** *grum
CSWW *ɦã²

CJQ *ɦã²: **Ly** ã²; **Jh** ɑ² [1] ≍ iã² [2]; **Pj** ɑ̃²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** ɑ²; **Wy** ŋuo²
CLS *ɦã²: **Sc** aŋ²; **Sy** ɔ̃²; **Lq** aŋ²; **Yh** ã²; **Pc** —; **Qy** xɑ̃²
CSS *ɦɑ̃²

547 *chā* 插〔咸開二入洽初〕 ‘insert’ **CDC** *chap⁷ / **EC** *tshrap
CSWW *tšʰaʔ⁷
CJQ *tšʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyɑ⁷; **Dy** tsʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰɑ³; **Wy** tsʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰa⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰɑʔ⁷

548 *zhà* 炸（煠）〔咸開二入洽崇〕 ‘blanch’ **CDC** *jap⁸ / **EC** —
CSWW *žaʔ⁸
CJQ *žɒʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** zuɑ⁶ [1] ≍ dzəʔ⁸; **Pj** ʒyɑ⁸; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** zɑ⁴; **Wy** zuɑ⁴ ≍ tsuɑʔ⁷
CLS *zaʔ⁸: **Sc** zaʔ⁸; **Sy** zɔʔ⁸ ≍ tsɔʔ⁷; **Lq** zɔʔ⁸; **Yh** zɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɑʔ⁸
CSS *zɑʔ⁸

549 *qià* 掐〔咸開二入洽溪〕 ‘pinch (with fingernails)’ **CDC** *khap⁷ / **EC** *khrap
CSWW *kʰʌʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *kʰaʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *kʰɤʔ⁷ (?) ≍ *kʰɒʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰə³; **Wy** kʰəʔ⁷
b. **Ly** (tɕʰiɔʔ⁷$_{!if}$); **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕʰiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *kʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** (tɕʰiaʔ⁷$_{!if}$); **Lq** kʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *kʰʌʔ⁷

550 *xiá* 狹〔咸開二入洽匣〕 ‘narrow’ **CDC** *hap⁸ / **EC** *grap
CSWW *ɦaʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦɒʔ⁸: **Ly** uɔʔ⁸ [1] ≍ uəʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑiəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** iɑ⁸ ≍ ʒiɑ⁻¹¹; **Dy** uoʔ⁸ ≍ dʑiəʔ⁸ ≍ iəʔ⁸; **Yk** ɑ⁴; **Wy** uɑ⁴
CLS *ɦaʔ⁸: **Sc** aʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɑʔ⁸; **Pc** xa⁷; **Qy** xɑʔ⁸
CSS *ɦɑʔ⁸

551 *shān* 衫〔咸開二平銜生〕 ‘shirt’ **CDC** *sham¹ / **EC** —
CSWW *sã¹
CJQ *sã¹: **Ly** sã¹ [1] ≍ ɕiã¹ [2]; **Jh** sɑ¹ [1] ≍ sã¹ [2]; **Pj** sɑ̃¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** sɑ¹; **Wy** suo¹
CLS *sã¹: **Sc** saŋ¹; **Sy** sɔ̃¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sã¹; **Pc** sãi¹; **Qy** sɑ̃¹
CSS *sɑ̃¹

552 *jiān* 監〔咸開二平銜見〕 ‘oversee’ **CDC** *kam¹ / **EC** *kram

CSWW *kã¹

CJQ *kã¹: **Ly** (tɕie¹₍!if₎); **Jh** kɑ¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Pj** kã¹ [1] ⩙ tɕian¹ [2]; **Dy** kʌ¹ [2] ⩙ tɕi¹ [1]; **Yk** kɑ⁻⁴⁴ ～督 ‘director’; **Wy** —

CLS *kã¹: **Sc** kaŋ¹; **Sy** kɔ̃¹ [1]; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹

CSS #kɑ̃¹: **Kh** kã¹ [1] ⩙ tɕiɛ̃¹ [2]; **Cs** (tɕiɛ̃⁻⁴⁴₍!if₎); **Js** (kiã⁻⁴³₍!f₎); **Ys** kã⁻³³ ～督 ‘director’; **Gf** —

553 *jiàn* 監〔咸開二去鑑見〕 ‘inspectorate’ **CDC** *kam⁵ / **EC** *kramh

CSWW *kã⁵

CJQ *kã⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** kɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kɑ⁵; **Wy** kuoʔ⁷₍!tf

CLS *kã⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** kɔ̃⁵ [2]; **Lq** —; **Yh** kã⁵; **Pc** kãi⁵; **Qy** kã⁵

CSS *kɑ̃⁵ ⩙ *kã⁵

554 *jiǎ* 甲〔咸開二入狎見〕 ‘shell’ **CDC** *kap⁷ / **EC** *krap

CSWW *kaʔ⁷

CJQ *kɒʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ⁷; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kɑ³; **Wy** kuɑʔ⁷

CLS *kaʔ⁷: **Sc** kaʔ⁷; **Sy** kaʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔʔ⁷; **Yh** kɑʔ⁷; **Pc** ka⁷; **Qy** kɑʔ⁷

CSS *kɑʔ⁷

555 *yā* 鴨〔咸開二入狎影〕 ‘duck’ **CDC** *ap⁷ / **EC** *rap

CSWW *ʔaʔ⁷

CJQ *ʔɒʔ⁷: **Ly** uɔʔ⁷; **Jh** uɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ iəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** iɑn⁻⁴²³ [兒]; **Dy** ʔuoʔ⁷; **Yk** ɑ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** uɑʔ⁷

CLS *aʔ⁷: **Sc** aʔ⁷; **Sy** ɔʔ⁷; **Lq** ɔʔ⁷; **Yh** ɑʔ⁷; **Pc** a⁷; **Qy** ɑʔ⁷

CSS *ʔɑʔ⁷

556 *yā* 押〔廣韻：咸開二入狎影〕 ‘pawn, mortgage’ **CDC** *ap⁷ / **EC** *rap

CSWW *ʔaʔ⁷

CJQ *ʔɒʔ⁷: **Ly** (iɔʔ⁷) [2]; **Jh** uɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ əʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ iəʔ⁷ [3]; **Pj** iɑ⁷ [2] ⩙ ɑ⁷ [1]; **Dy** (ʔɜʔ⁷₍!f₎); **Yk** ɑ³; **Wy** uɑʔ⁷

CLS *ʔaʔ⁷: **Sc** aʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɔʔ⁷; **Yh** ɑʔ⁷; **Pc** a⁷; **Qy** ɑʔ⁷

CSS *ʔɑʔ⁷

557 *yā* 壓〔咸開二入狎影〕 ‘compress’ **CDC** *ap⁷ / **EC** *rap

CSWW *ʔʌʔ⁷ (?) [1] ⩙ *ʔaʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *ʔɤʔ⁷ (?)

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** (əʔ⁷₍!f₎); **Pj** —; **Dy** ʔɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** (iɔʔ⁷₍!f₎); **Jh** (iəʔ⁷₍!f₎) [2]; **Pj** (ɑ⁷₍!f₎); **Dy** —; **Yk** (ai³₍!f₎); **Wy** (aʔ⁷₍!f₎)

CLS *ʔaʔ⁷: **Sc** aʔ⁷; **Sy** ɔʔ⁷; **Lq** ɔʔ⁷; **Yh** ɑʔ⁷; **Pc** a⁷; **Qy** ɑʔ⁷

CSS *ʔʌʔ⁷ ⪥ #ʔɑʔ⁷₍ₗa

a. **Kh** ʌʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** ɒʔ⁷; **Ys** ɐʔ⁷; **Gf** ɐʔ⁷

b. **Kh** (iɛʔ⁷₍ₗf); **Cs** aʔ⁷; **Js** (iaʔ⁷₍ₗf); **Ys** —; **Gf** —

558 *lián* 簾〔咸開三平鹽來 AB〕 ‘curtain’ **CDC** *liam² / **EC** *lem

CSWW *liẽ²

CJQ *liẽ²: **Ly** lie²; **Jh** lie² [1] ⪥ liã² [2]; **Pj** liẽn⁻²⁴³ [兒]; **Dy** —; **Yk** liə²; **Wy** nie²

CLS *liẽ²: **Sc** liẽ²; **Sy** liɛ̃²; **Lq** liɛ²; **Yh** lie²; **Pc** —; **Qy** liɛ̃²

CSS #liə²: **Kh** liɛ̃²; **Cs** liẽ²; **Js** liɛ̃²; **Ys** liẽ²; **Gf** liẽ²

559 *jiān* 尖〔咸開三平鹽精 AB〕 ‘point’ **CDC** *tsiam¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *tsiẽ¹

CJQ *tsiẽ¹: **Ly** tɕie¹; **Jh** tsie¹ [1] ⪥ tsiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tsiẽ¹ ⪥ tʃian¹ [2]; **Dy** tsi¹; **Yk** tɕiə¹; **Wy** tɕie¹

CLS *tɕiẽ¹: **Sc** tɕiẽ¹; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕiɛ¹; **Yh** tʃie¹; **Pc** tɕiãi¹; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃¹

CSS *tɕiə¹

560 *rǎn* 染〔咸開三上琰日 AB〕 ‘dye’ **CDC** *(ʰ)nhiam⁴ / **EC** *(ʰ)namx

CSWW *ȵiẽ⁴

CJQ *ȵiẽ⁴: **Ly** ȵie⁴; **Jh** ȵie³ [1] ⪥ ȵiã³ [2]; **Pj** ȵiẽ⁴; **Dy** ȵi⁴; **Yk** ɲiə⁴; **Wy** ȵie⁴

CLS *ȵiẽ⁴: **Sc** ȵiẽ⁴; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃⁴; **Lq** ȵiɛ³; **Yh** ɲie³; **Pc** ŋiãi⁴; **Qy** ȵiɛ̃⁴

CSS *ȵiə⁴

561 *qián* 鉗〔咸開三平鹽羣 B〕 ‘pincer’ **CDC** *giam² / **EC** *gam

CSWW *giẽ²

CJQ *giẽ²: **Ly** dʑie²; **Jh** dʑie² [1] ⪥ dʑiã² [2]; **Pj** dʑiẽ²; **Dy** dʑi²; **Yk** giə²; **Wy** dʑie²

CLS *giẽ²: **Sc** dʑiẽ²; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃²; **Lq** dʑiɛ²; **Yh** dʒie²; **Pc** kiãi²; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃²

CSS *giə²

562 *yàn* 驗〔咸開三去豔疑 B〕 ‘examine’ **CDC** *ngiam⁶ / **EC** *ngamh

CSWW *ȵiẽ⁶

CJQ *ȵiẽ⁶: **Ly** ȵie⁶; **Jh** ȵie⁶ [1] ⪥ ȵiã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ȵiẽ⁶; **Dy** ȵi⁻³⁵; **Yk** ɲiə⁶; **Wy** ȵie⁶

CLS *ȵiẽ⁶: **Sc** ȵiẽ⁶; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃⁶; **Lq** ȵiɛ⁶; **Yh** ɲie⁶; **Pc** ŋiãi⁶; **Qy** ȵiɛ̃⁶

CSS *ȵiə⁶

563 *yàn* 厭〔咸開三去豔影 A〕 ‘displeased’ **CDC** *iam⁵ / **EC** *emh

CSWW *ʔiẽ⁵

CJQ *ʔiẽ⁵: **Ly** ie⁵; **Jh** ie⁵ [1] ⪥ iã⁵ [2]; **Pj** iẽ⁵; **Dy** ʔi⁵; **Yk** iə⁵; **Wy** ʔȵie⁵

CLS *iẽ⁵: **Sc** iẽ⁵; **Sy** iɛ̃¹₍ₗt ⪥ iɛ̃⁵; **Lq** iɛ⁵; **Yh** ie⁵; **Pc** iãi⁵; **Qy** iɛ̃⁵

CSS #ʔiə̃⁵: **Kh** iɛ̃⁵; **Cs** iɛ̃⁵; **Js** iɛ̃⁵; **Ys** iɛ̃⁵; **Gf** iɛ̃⁵

564 *yán* 鹽〔咸開三平鹽以 A〕 ‘salt (n.)’ **CDC** *yam² / **EC** *yam

CSWW *ɦiɛ̃²

CJQ *ɦiɛ̃²: **Ly** ie²; **Jh** ie² [1] ≍ iã² [2]; **Pj** iɛ̃²; **Dy** i²; **Yk** iə²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ɦiɛ̃²: **Sc** iɛ̃²; **Sy** iɛ̃²; **Lq** iɛ²; **Yh** ie²; **Pc** iãi²; **Qy** iɛ̃²

CSS *ɦiə̃²

565 *yàn* 鹽〔廣韻：咸開三去豔以 A〕 ‘salt (v.)’ **CDC** *yam⁶ / **EC** *yamh

CSWW *ɦiɛ̃⁶

CJQ *ɦiɛ̃⁶: **Ly** ie⁶; **Jh** ie⁶ [1] ≍ iã⁶ [2]; **Pj** iɛ̃⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** iə⁶; **Wy** ȵie⁶

CLS *ɦiɛ̃⁶: **Sc** iɛ̃⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** iɛ⁶; **Yh** ie⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɛ̃⁶

CSS #ɦiə̃⁶: **Kh** —; **Cs** iɛ̃⁵ˌˈt; **Js** iɛ̃⁶; **Ys** iɛ̃⁶; **Gf** —

566 *niè* 聶〔咸開三入葉娘 AB〕 ‘Niè (pn.)’ **CDC** *niap⁸ / **EC** *nrap

CSWW *ȵieʔ⁸

CJQ *ȵieʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ȵiəʔ⁸ˌˈf; **Pj** ȵiə⁸; **Dy** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiə⁴; **Wy** ȵie⁴

CLS *ȵieʔ⁸: **Sc** ȵieʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲieʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋie⁷; **Qy** ȵieʔ⁸

CSS #ȵiəʔ⁸: **Kh** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Cs** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Js** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Ys** ȵiɐʔ⁸; **Gf** ȵiɐʔ⁸

567 *liè* 獵〔咸開三入葉來 AB〕 ‘hunt’ **CDC** *liap⁸ / **EC** *lap

CSWW *lieʔ⁸

CJQ *liəʔ⁸ˌˈf: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** liə⁸; **Dy** liəʔ⁸; **Yk** lə⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸

CLS *lieʔ⁸: **Sc** lieʔ⁸; **Sy** liɛʔ⁸; **Lq** liɛʔ⁸; **Yh** lieʔ⁸; **Pc** lie⁷; **Qy** lieʔ⁸

CSS #liəʔ⁸: **Kh** liɛʔ⁸; **Cs** liəʔ⁸; **Js** liɛʔ⁸; **Ys** liɐʔ⁸; **Gf** liɐʔ⁸

568 *jiē* 接〔咸開三入葉精 AB〕 ‘connect’ **CDC** *tsiap⁷ / **EC** *tsap

CSWW *tsieʔ⁷

CJQ *tsieʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsie⁵ [1] ≍ tsiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tsi⁷ [1] ≍ tʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiə³; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕieʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiəʔ⁷

569 *shè* 涉〔咸開三入葉常 AB〕 ‘ford’ **CDC** *zhiap⁸ / **EC** *dap

CSWW *(ž,z)ieʔ⁸

CJQ *(ž,z)ieʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *džieʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ dʑie⁶ [2] ≍ zəʔ⁸ [3]; **Pj** dʒiə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** dʑiə⁴; **Wy** dʑie⁴

CLS *ʑieʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑieʔ⁸; **Sy** ɕiɛʔ⁷ˌˈit; **Lq** ʑiɛʔ⁸ ≍ u⁵; **Yh** ʒieʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕieʔ⁸

CSS #ʑiəʔ⁸: **Kh** ʑiɛʔ⁸; **Cs** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁸; **Ys** ʑiɐʔ⁸; **Gf** ɕiɐʔ⁸

570 *yè* 葉〔咸開三入葉以 A〕 'leaf' **CDC** *yap⁸ / **EC** *yap

CSWW *(dž,dz)ieʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ≍ *ɦieʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ɦieʔ⁸: **Ly** iəʔ⁸; **Jh** ie⁶ [1] ≍ iəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** i⁸; **Dy** iəʔ⁸; **Yk** iə⁴; **Wy** ie⁴

CLS *ɦieʔ⁸: **Sc** ieʔ⁸; **Sy** iɛʔ⁸; **Lq** iɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ieʔ⁸; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** ieʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiəʔ⁸ ≍ *ɦiəʔ⁸

571 *jiàn* 劍〔咸開三去釅見 C〕 'sword' **CDC** *kiam⁵ / **EC** *kamh

CSWW *kiẽ⁵

CJQ *kiẽ⁵: **Ly** tɕie⁵; **Jh** tɕie⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɕiẽ⁵; **Dy** tɕi⁵; **Yk** kiə⁵; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *kiẽ⁵: **Sc** tɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** tʃie⁵; **Pc** kiãi⁵; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS *kiə̃⁵

572 *qiàn* 欠〔咸開三去釅溪 C〕 'lack' **CDC** *khiam⁵ / **EC** *khamh

CSWW *kʰiẽ⁵

CJQ *kʰiẽ⁵: **Ly** tɕʰie⁵; **Jh** tɕʰie⁵ [1] ≍ tɕʰiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰiẽ⁵; **Dy** tɕʰi⁵; **Yk** kʰiə⁵; **Wy** tɕʰie⁵

CLS *kʰiẽ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰie⁵; **Pc** kʰiãi⁵; **Qy** tɕʰiɛ̃⁵

CSS *kʰiə̃⁵

573 *yán* 嚴〔咸開三平嚴疑 C〕 'severe' **CDC** *ngiam² / **EC** *ngam

CSWW *ȵiẽ²

CJQ *ȵiẽ²: **Ly** ȵie²; **Jh** ȵie² [1] ≍ ȵiã² [2]; **Pj** ȵiẽ²; **Dy** ȵi²; **Yk** ɲiə²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ȵiẽ²: **Sc** ȵiẽ²; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃²; **Lq** ȵiɛ²; **Yh** ɲie²; **Pc** ŋiãi²; **Qy** ȵiɛ̃²

CSS #ȵiə̃²: **Kh** ȵiɛ̃²; **Cs** ȵiẽ²; **Js** ȵiɛ̃²; **Ys** ȵiẽ²; **Gf** ȵiẽ²

574 *jié* 劫〔咸開三入業見 C〕 'plunder' **CDC** *kiap⁷ / **EC** *kap

CSWW *kieʔ⁷

CJQ *kieʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕyəʔ⁷₍ₗf₎ [1] ≍ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕi⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kiə³; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *kieʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS #kiəʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Js** kiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** kiɐʔ⁷; **Gf** kiɐʔ⁷

575 *yè* 業〔咸開三入業疑 C〕 'undertaking' **CDC** *ngiap⁸ / **EC** *ngap

CSWW *ȵieʔ⁸

CJQ *ȵieʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ȵie⁶ [1] ≍ ȵiəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** ȵiə⁸; **Dy** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiə⁴; **Wy** ȵie⁴

CLS *ȵieʔ⁸: **Sc** ȵieʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲieʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋie⁷; **Qy** ȵieʔ⁸

CSS *ȵiəʔ⁸

576 *diàn* 店〔咸開四去栝端〕 ‘shop’ **CDC** *tiam⁵ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɗiã⁵
CJQ *ɗiã⁵: **Ly** tie⁵; **Jh** tia⁵ [1] ≍ tiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tiã⁵; **Dy** ti⁵; **Yk** ʔdiɑ⁵; **Wy** ʔnie⁵
CLS *ɗiã⁵: **Sc** ʔdiẽ⁵; **Sy** ʔdiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔdiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔdie⁵; **Pc** liãi⁵; **Qy** ʔdiã⁵
CSS *tiə⁵

577 *tiān* 添〔咸開四平添透〕 ‘add to’ **CDC** *thiam¹ / **EC** *’thim
CSWW *tʰiã⁵
CJQ *tʰiã⁵: **Ly** tʰie¹; **Jh** tʰia¹ [1] ≍ tʰiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tʰiã¹; **Dy** tʰi¹; **Yk** tiɑ¹; **Wy** tʰie¹
CLS *tʰiã⁵: **Sc** tʰiẽ¹; **Sy** tʰiɛ̃¹; **Lq** tʰiɛ¹; **Yh** tʰie¹; **Pc** tʰiãi¹; **Qy** tʰiã¹
CSS *tʰiə¹

578 *tían* 甜〔咸開四平添定〕 ‘sweet’ **CDC** *diam² / **EC** *’dem
CSWW *diã²
CJQ *diã²: **Ly** die²; **Jh** dia² [1] ≍ diã² [2]; **Pj** diã²; **Dy** di²; **Yk** diɑ²; **Wy** die²
CLS *diã²: **Sc** diẽ²; **Sy** tiɛ̃²; **Lq** diɛ²; **Yh** die²; **Pc** tiãi²; **Qy** tiã²
CSS *diə²

579 *diàn* 簟〔咸開四上忝定〕 ‘bamboo mat (for drying)’ **CDC** *diam⁴ / **EC** *’dimx
CSWW *diã⁴
CJQ *diã⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** tia³ 地～; **Pj** diã⁻²⁴³ 皮～; **Dy** di⁴; **Yk** diɑ⁴; **Wy** die⁴
CLS *diã⁴: **Sc** diẽ⁴; **Sy** diɛ̃⁴; **Lq** ʔdiɛ³; **Yh** die⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** tiã⁴
CSS *diə⁴

580 *niàn* 念〔咸開四去栝泥〕 ‘recall’ **CDC** *niam⁶ / **EC** *’nimh
CSWW *ȵiã⁶
CJQ *ȵiã⁶: **Ly** ȵie⁶; **Jh** ȵia⁶ [1] ≍ ȵiã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ȵiã⁶; **Dy** ȵi⁶; **Yk** ȷniɑ⁶; **Wy** ȵie⁶
CLS *ȵiã⁶: **Sc** ȵiẽ⁶; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃⁶; **Lq** ȵiɛ⁶; **Yh** ȷnie⁶; **Pc** ŋiãi⁶; **Qy** ȵiã⁶
CSS *ȵiə⁶

581 *jiān* 兼〔咸開四平添見〕 ‘concurrent’ **CDC** *kiam¹ / **EC** *’kem
CSWW *kiẽ¹
CJQ *kiẽ¹: **Ly** tɕie¹; **Jh** tɕie¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕiẽ¹; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** kiə¹; **Wy** tɕie¹
CLS *kiẽ¹: **Sc** tɕiẽ⁵ǃt; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃie¹; **Pc** kiãi¹; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃¹
CSS #kiə¹: **Kh** tɕiɛ̃¹; **Cs** tɕiẽ¹; **Js** kiɛ̃¹; **Ys** kiẽ¹; **Gf** kiẽ¹

582 *diē* 跌（跕）〔廣韻：咸開四入怗端〕 ‘stumble’ **CDC** *tiap⁷ / **EC** *’tep
CSWW *ɗiaʔ⁷
CJQ *ɗiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tia⁵ [1] ≍ tiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tia⁷; **Dy** tiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔdiɑ³; **Wy** liaʔ⁷

CLS *ɗieʔ$^{7}_{!f}$: **Sc** ʔdieʔ^{7}; **Sy** ʔdiɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** ʔdiɛʔ^{7}; **Yh** ʔdieʔ^{7}; **Pc** tie^{7}; **Qy** ʔdieʔ$^{7}_{!f}$

CSS *tieʔ^{7}

583 *tiē* 貼〔咸開四入怗透〕 ‘stick to’ **CDC** *thiap^{7} / **EC** *’thip

CSWW *tʰiaʔ^{7}

CJQ *tʰiaʔ^{7}: **Ly** tʰiəʔ^{7}; **Jh** tʰia^{5} [1] ≍ tʰiəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** tʰia^{7}; **Dy** tʰiəʔ^{7}; **Yk** tiɑ^{3}; **Wy** tʰiaʔ^{7}

CLS *tʰiaʔ^{7}: **Sc** tʰieʔ^{7}; **Sy** tʰiɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** tʰiɛʔ^{7}; **Yh** tʰieʔ^{7}; **Pc** tʰie^{7}; **Qy** tʰiɑʔ^{7}

CSS #tʰiəʔ^{7}: **Kh** tʰiɛʔ^{7}; **Cs** tʰiəʔ^{7}; **Js** tʰiɪʔ^{7}; **Ys** tʰiɐʔ^{7}; **Gf** tʰiɐʔ^{7}

584 *dié* 疊〔咸開四入怗定〕 ‘stack, layer’ **CDC** *diap^{8} / **EC** *’dep

CSWW *diaʔ^{8}

CJQ *diaʔ^{8}: **Ly** diəʔ^{8}; **Jh** dia^{6} [1] ≍ diəʔ^{8} [2]; **Pj** dia^{8}; **Dy** diəʔ^{8}; **Yk** diɑ^{4}; **Wy** dia^{4}

CLS *diaʔ^{8}: **Sc** dieʔ^{8}; **Sy** diɛʔ^{8}; **Lq** —; **Yh** dieʔ^{8}; **Pc** tie^{7}; **Qy** tiɑʔ^{8}

CSS #diəʔ^{8}: **Kh** diɛʔ^{8}; **Cs** diəʔ^{8}; **Js** diɪʔ^{8}; **Ys** diɐʔ^{8}; **Gf** diɐʔ^{8}

585 *dié* 碟（疊）〔咸開四入怗定〕 ‘dish’ **CDC** *diap^{8} / **EC** *’dep

CSWW *diaʔ^{8}

CJQ *diaʔ^{8}: **Ly** —; **Jh** dia^{6} [1] ≍ diəʔ^{8} [2]; **Pj** dian^{-334} [兒] 醬油～ ‘soy sauce dish’; **Dy** diəʔ^{8}; **Yk** diɑ^{4}; **Wy** dia^{4}

CLS *diaʔ^{8}: **Sc** dieʔ^{8}; **Sy** diɛʔ^{8}; **Lq** diɛʔ^{8}; **Yh** —; **Pc** tie^{7}; **Qy** tiɑʔ^{7}

CSS *diəʔ^{8}

586 *jiā* 挾〔集韻：咸開四入怗見〕 ‘clamp, hold between’ **CDC** *kiap^{7} ≍ *kap^{7} / **EC** —

CSWW —

CJQ *kiaʔ^{7}: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕia^{5} [1] ≍ tɕiəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** tɕiɑ^{7}; **Dy** tɕiəʔ^{7}; **Yk** kiɑ^{3}; **Wy** tɕiaʔ^{7}

CLS *ʔieʔ$^{7}_{!a}$ [1] ≍ *kaʔ^{7} [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ieʔ^{7}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kɔʔ^{7}; **Yh** kɑʔ$^{7}_{!f}$; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS —

No form can be reconstructed from CSWW.

587 *xié* 挾〔集韻：咸開四入怗匣〕 ‘clamp, hold between’ **CDC** *hiap^{8} / **EC** —

CSWW *gaʔ^{8} (?) [1] ≍ *giaʔ^{8} [2]

CJQ *gɒʔ^{8}: **Ly** gɔʔ^{8}; **Jh** —; **Pj** dʑiɑ^{8} ‘hold’; **Dy** guoʔ^{8} ‘hold’; **Yk** gɑ^{4} ‘hold’; **Wy** guɑ^{4} ‘clamp (under arm)’

CLS *gaʔ^{8} ≍ *giaʔ$^{8}_{!a}$

a. **Sc** gaʔ^{8} 夾 ‘clamp (under arm)’; **Sy** (əʔ$^{8}_{!i}$); **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** dʑieʔ^{8}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiɑʔ^{8} ‘hold’; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *geʔ$^{8}_{!f}$ ⩙ *giəʔ^{8}

CSS *geʔ^{8} is either irregular of from an additional source that does not have reflexes elsewhere.

588 *fǎ* 法〔咸合三入乏非 C〕 ‘law, method’ **CDC** *fap^{7} / **EC** *pop

CSWW *faʔ^{7}

CJQ *fɒʔ^{7}: **Ly** fɔʔ^{7}; **Jh** fɤa^{5} [1] ⩙ fəʔ^{7}; **Pj** fɑ^{7}; **Dy** fuoʔ^{7}; **Yk** fɑ^{3}; **Wy** fuɑʔ^{7}

CLS *faʔ^{7}: **Sc** faʔ^{7}; **Sy** fɔʔ^{7}; **Lq** fɔʔ^{7}; **Yh** fɑʔ^{7}; **Pc** fa^{7}; **Qy** fɑʔ^{7}

CSS *fɑʔ^{7}

A.9 Shēnshè 深攝

589 *pǐn* 品〔深開三上寢滂 B〕 ‘quality’ **CDC** *phim^{3} ⩙ *phin^{3} / **EC** *phimx

CSWW *p^{h}iəŋ^{3}

CJQ *p^{h}iəŋ^{3}: **Ly** p^{h}iŋ^{3}; **Jh** p^{h}iŋ^{3}; **Pj** p^{h}in^{3}; **Dy** p^{h}ien^{3}; **Yk** p^{h}ieiŋ^{3}; **Wy** p^{h}in^{3}

CLS *p^{h}iəŋ^{3}: **Sc** p^{h}iɪŋ^{3}; **Sy** p^{h}in^{3}; **Lq** p^{h}iŋ^{3}; **Yh** p^{h}iŋ^{3}; **Pc** p^{h}eŋ^{3}; **Qy** p^{h}iəŋ^{3}

CSS #p^{h}iŋ^{3}: **Kh** p^{h}iŋ^{3}; **Cs** p^{h}ɪŋ^{3} [2] ⩙ p^{h}i^{-42} [1]; **Js** p^{h}i$^{-52}_{!f}$; **Ys** p^{h}ɪŋ^{3}; **Gf** p^{h}eiŋ^{3}

590 *lín* 林〔深開三平侵來 AB〕 ‘grove’ **CDC** *lim^{2} / **EC** *lim

CSWW *lyəŋ^{2}

CJQ *liəŋ^{2}: **Ly** liŋ^{2}; **Jh** liŋ^{2}; **Pj** lin^{2}; **Dy** lien^{2}; **Yk** lieiŋ^{2}; **Wy** lin^{2}

CLS *lyəŋ^{2} (?): **Sc** liɪŋ^{2}; **Sy** len^{2}; **Lq** liŋ^{2}; **Yh** liŋ^{2}; **Pc** leŋ^{2}; **Qy** lã^{2} [1] 樹～ ‘grove’ ⩙ liəŋ^{2} [2] ‘Lín (pn.)’

CSS *lyiŋ^{2}

591 *jiān* 纖〔集韻：深開三平侵精 AB〕 ‘wedge’ **CDC** *tsiam^{1} ⩙ *tsim^{1} / **EC** —

CSWW *tšiəŋ^{1} (?) [2] ⩙ *(ts,tš)iẽ^{1} [2]

CJQ *tšiəŋ^{1} (?): **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tsən^{1} 鋤頭～～ ‘wedge of a hoe’; **Dy** tsən^{1}; **Yk** tsəŋ^{1} 鋤頭～ ‘wedge of a hoe’; **Wy** tsen^{1}

CLS *tɕiẽ$^{1}_{!a}$: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃^{1}

CSS *tɕẽ^{1} [1] ⩙ *tɕiã^{1}

*tsəŋ could also potentially set up to account for the CJQ reflexes since this word is not attested in Jh, but the final *-ẽ in CSS never co-occurs with etymological anterior alveolar sibilants. This presents some problems for the etymology of this word since we expect it to correspond to CDC *tsim^{1}.

592 *jìn* 浸〔深開三去沁精 AB〕 ‘soak’ **CDC** *tsim^{5} / **EC** *tsimh

CSWW *tsəŋ^{5} [1] ⩙ *tsiəŋ^{5} [2]

CJQ *tsəŋ⁵ ⩙ *tsiəŋ⁵
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsəŋ⁵ [2]; **Pj** {tsən⁵}; **Dy** —; **Yk** {tsəŋ⁵}; **Wy** tsen⁵
b. **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** tsiŋ⁵ [1]; **Pj** {tsən⁵}; **Dy** tɕien⁵; **Yk** {tsəŋ⁵}; **Wy** —

CLS *tsəŋ⁵ ⩙ *tɕiəŋ⁵
a. **Sc** tsəŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {tsəŋ⁵}; **Pc** {tseŋ⁵}; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** tɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** {tsəŋ⁵}; **Pc** {tseŋ⁵}; **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁵

CSS *tɕiŋ⁵

593 *xùn* 蕈〔深開三上寢從 AB〕 ‘mushroom’ **CDC** *dzim⁴ / **EC** —

CSWW *ziəŋ⁴ [1] ⩙ *zyəŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *ziəŋ⁴ [2] ⩙ *zyəŋ⁴
a. **Ly** {ʑiŋ⁴}; **Jh** {siŋ³}; **Pj** {zən⁴}; **Dy** —; **Yk** zəŋ⁴; **Wy** ʑin⁴
b. **Ly** {ʑiŋ⁴}; **Jh** {siŋ³}; **Pj** {zən⁴}; **Dy** zuən⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiəŋ⁴: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ⁴; **Sy** ʑin⁴; **Lq** ɕiŋ³; **Yh** zəŋ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiəŋ³

CSS *ʑiŋ⁴ ⩙ *ʑyiŋ⁴

594 *xīn* 心〔深開三平侵心 AB〕 ‘heart’ **CDC** *sim¹ / **EC** *sim

CSWW *siəŋ¹

CJQ *siəŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiŋ¹; **Jh** siŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹ [1] ⩙ sin¹ [2]; **Dy** ɕien¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹

CLS *ɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** səŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹ [1] ⩙ ɕiɛ̃¹ [2] 燈～ ‘wick’

CSS *ɕiŋ¹

595 *xún* 尋〔深開三平侵邪 AB〕 ‘seek’ **CDC** *zim² / **EC** *zim

CSWW *ziəŋ² [1] ⩙ *zuəŋ² (?) [2]

CJQ *ziəŋ² ⩙ *z(u)əŋ²
a. **Ly** ʑiŋ² ⩙ dʑiŋ² [2]; **Jh** ziŋ² [2]; **Pj** {zən²}; **Dy** —; **Yk** {zəŋ²}; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** zəŋ² [1] ⩙ dzəŋ² [3]; **Pj** {zən²}; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** {zəŋ²}; **Wy** zen²

CLS *ʑiəŋ² ⩙ *zuəŋ² (?)
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** ɕin²; **Lq** (ʑyŋ²ₗf) [文]; **Yh** {zəŋ²}; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiəŋ²
b. **Sc** zəŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** {zəŋ²}; **Pc** tsueŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS *ʑiŋ²

596 *zhēn* 砧（椹）〔廣韻：深開三平侵知 AB〕 ‘cutting board’ **CDC** *cim¹ / **EC** *trum (?)

CSWW *ɗiəŋ¹ (?) [1] ⩙ *tšiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗəŋ¹ (?) ⩙ *tšiəŋ¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔnəŋ¹; **Wy** nen¹
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiəŋ¹ (?): **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdin¹; **Lq** ʔdɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tyẽ¹

597 *chén* 沉〔深開三平侵澄 AB〕 ‘sink (v.)’ CDC *jim² / EC *drum

CSWW *diəŋ²ˌˡa [1] ⪤ *d(ɨ,i)(ə)ŋ⁶ˌˡa [2] ⪤ *džiəŋ² [3]

CJQ *džiəŋ²: Ly dzəŋ²; Jh dʑiŋ²; Pj dzən²; Dy dzən²; Yk dzəŋ²; Wy dzen²

CLS *diəŋ²ˌˡa ⪤ *d(ɨ,i)(ə)ŋ⁶ˌˡa ⪤ *dʑɨəŋ²

a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq dɛiŋ²; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
b. Sc —; Sy din⁶; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
c. Sc —; Sy ɕin²ˌˡi; Lq —; Yh dzəŋ²; Pc tseŋ²; Qy tsã² [1] ‘sink’ ⪤ tsəŋ² [2] ～痛 ‘suppress pain’

CSS #diŋ² ⪤ #d(ẽ,iŋ)⁶ˌˡa ⪤ #dʑẽ²

a. Kh diŋ²; Cs —; Js diŋ² ‘sediment’; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh —; Cs dɪŋ⁶; Js —; Ys —; Gf —
c. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys dzæ̃² [1]; Gf —

598 *shēn* 蓡〔深開三平侵生 AB〕 ‘ginseng’ CDC *shem¹ / EC —

CSWW *səŋ¹ (?)

CJQ *səŋ¹: Ly —; Jh səŋ¹; Pj sən¹; Dy sən¹ [1] ⪤ ɕien¹ [2]; Yk səŋ¹; Wy sen¹

CLS *səŋ¹: Sc —; Sy sen¹; Lq sɛiŋ¹; Yh səŋ¹; Pc —; Qy —

CSS *ɕẽ¹ˌˡif

599 *shèn* 滲〔深開三去沁生 AB〕 ‘seep, permeate’ CDC *shem⁵ / EC *srumh

CSWW *šəŋ⁵ (?)

CJQ *šiəŋ⁵: Ly səŋ⁵; Jh ɕiŋ⁵ [1] ⪤ səŋ⁵ [2]; Pj sən⁵; Dy sən⁵; Yk səŋ⁵; Wy —

CLS *siəŋ⁵ (?): Sc səŋ³ˌˡt; Sy ɕin³ˌˡt; Lq sɛiŋ⁵; Yh səŋ⁵; Pc —; Qy —

CSS *ɕẽ⁵

600 *zhēn* 針〔深開三平侵章 AB〕 ‘needle’ CDC *cim¹ / EC *cim (kyim)

CSWW *tšiəŋ¹ [1] ⪤ *tšiəŋ¹ (?) [2]

CJQ *tšiəŋ¹: Ly tsəŋ¹; Jh tɕiŋ¹; Pj tsən¹; Dy tsən¹; Yk tsəŋ¹; Wy tsen¹

CLS *tɕiəŋ¹ ⪤ *tɕiəŋ¹

a. Sc tɕyɪŋ¹; Sy —; Lq {tsɛiŋ¹}; Yh —; Pc {tseŋ¹}; Qy tsã⁵ˌˡt
b. Sc —; Sy tɕin¹; Lq {tsɛiŋ¹}; Yh tsəŋ¹; Pc {tseŋ¹}; Qy tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *tɕẽ¹ ⪤ #tɕiŋ¹ˌˡa

a. Kh tɕyɛ̃¹; Cs tsɪŋ¹; Js tɕœ̃¹; Ys tsæ̃¹; Gf tsæ̃¹
b. Kh —; Cs —; Js tɕiŋ⁻⁵²; Ys —; Gf —

601 *shēn* 深〔深開三平侵書 AB〕 ‘deep’ CDC *shim¹ / EC *hyum

CSWW *(tšʰ,tsʰ)(?)¹ [1] ⪤ *šiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *šiəŋ¹: Ly səŋ¹; Jh ɕiŋ¹; Pj sən¹; Dy sən¹; Yk səŋ¹; Wy sen¹ [1]

CLS *tɕʰ(ʔ)¹ ⩙ *ɕiəŋ¹
a. Sc tɕʰyə̃¹; Sy tɕʰiɛ̃¹; Lq tɕʰiɛ¹; Yh tsʰəŋ¹; Pc —; Qy tsʰã¹
b. Sc ɕiɪŋ¹; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc seŋ¹; Qy ɕiəŋ¹

CSS #tɕʰ(ʔ)¹ ⩙ #ɕiŋ¹
a. Kh tɕʰyɛ̃¹; Cs tɕʰyʌ̃¹; Js tɕʰœ̃¹; Ys tɕʰiɛ̃¹; Gf —
b. Kh —; Cs —; Js —; Ys sɪŋ¹; Gf seiŋ¹

602 *shěn* 沈〔深開三上寝書 AB〕 ‘Shěn (pn.)’ CDC *shim³; / EC *θumx

CSWW *šiəŋ³ ⩙ *šiəŋ³

CJQ *šiəŋ³: Ly səŋ³; Jh ɕiŋ³; Pj sən³; Dy sən³; Yk səŋ³; Wy sen³

CLS *ɕiəŋ³: Sc ɕiɪŋ³; Sy ɕin³; Lq sɛiŋ³; Yh səŋ³; Pc —; Qy səŋ³$_{!f}$

CSS *ɕẽ³

603 *jīn* 今〔深開三平侵見 B〕 ‘now’ CDC *kim¹ / EC *kum

CSWW *kəiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *kã¹ [2] ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ [3]

CJQ *kəiʔ⁷$_{!a}$ ⩙ *kã¹$_{!a}$ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy kəʔ⁷ [2] ～日 ‘today’
b. Ly kã¹$_{!f}$ ～日 ‘today’; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
c. Ly tɕiŋ¹; Jh tɕiŋ¹; Pj tɕin¹; Dy tɕien¹; Yk kieiŋ¹; Wy tɕin¹ [1]

CLS *keʔ⁷$_{!a}$ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kəi¹ [2]
a. Sc keʔ⁷ ～日 ‘today’; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy tɕiəʔ⁻³⁴$_{!f}$ ～日 ‘today’
b. Sc tɕiɪŋ¹; Sy tɕin¹; Lq tɕiŋ¹; Yh tʃiŋ¹; Pc kieŋ¹; Qy tɕiəŋ¹ [2]
c. Sc kei¹ ～年 ‘this year’; Sy —; Lq kɛ¹; Yh kɛ¹$_{!f}$ ～日 ‘today’; Pc —; Qy kai¹ [1] ～年 ‘this year’

CSS *kəʔ⁷ [2] ～日 ‘today’ ⩙ *kɑʔ [1] ～年 ‘this year’ ⩙ #kiŋ¹
a. Kh —; Cs kʌʔ⁷ [4]; Js kəʔ⁷; Ys kɐʔ⁷; Gf kɤʔ⁷
b. Kh kã¹; Cs kã⁻⁴⁴ ⩙ kɑ⁻⁴⁴ [2]; Js kɒ²⁴; Ys gɑ⁻²²; Gf kɑ⁴² [3]
c. Kh tɕiŋ¹ [2]; Cs kɪŋ¹; Js —; Ys kɪŋ¹; Gf kiŋ¹ [1]

The two popular forms of 今 ‘now’ copied their rimes from the next syllable in the compounds CSWW *kəiʔ⁷.nəiʔ⁸ ～日 ‘today’ and *kã¹.n̥iã² ～年 ‘this year’. CLS *kəi¹ is an irregular form that resulted from CSWW *kəiʔ⁷ being reanalyzed as unchecked. CSWW *kiəŋ¹ is intrusive.

604 *jīn* 金〔深開三平侵見 B〕 ‘gold’ CDC *kim¹ / EC *kum

CSWW *kɨəŋ¹$_{!a}$ [1] ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹: Ly tɕiŋ¹; Jh tɕiŋ¹; Pj tɕin¹; Dy tɕien¹; Yk kieiŋ¹; Wy tɕin¹

CLS *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹: Sc tɕiɪŋ¹; Sy tɕin¹; Lq tɕiŋ¹; Yh tʃiŋ¹; Pc kieŋ¹; Qy tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *kẽ¹ ⩙ #kiŋ¹
a. Kh kɛ̃¹; Cs kɪŋ¹; Js kœ̃¹; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh tɕiŋ¹ [2]; Cs —; Js —; Ys kɪŋ¹; Gf kiŋ¹

605 *qìn* 撳（揿）〔集韻：深開三去沁溪 B〕 ‘press’ **CDC** *khim⁵ / **EC** *khumh

CSWW *kʰiəŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *kʰiəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *kʰəŋ⁵ ⩙ *kʰiəŋ⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** kʰəŋ⁵; **Pj** kʰən⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰen⁵

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕʰien⁵; **Yk** kʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS —

CSS *kʰẽ⁵

606 *qín* 琴〔深開三平侵羣 B〕 ‘zither’ **CDC** *gim² / **EC** *gum

CSWW *giəŋ²

CJQ *giəŋ²: **Ly** dʑiŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dʑin²; **Dy** dʑien²; **Yk** gieiŋ²; **Wy** dʑin²

CLS *giəŋ²: **Sc** dʑiɪŋ²; **Sy** tɕin²; **Lq** dʑiŋ²; **Yh** dʒiŋ²; **Pc** kieŋ²; **Qy** tɕiəŋ²

CSS *giŋ²

607 *yīn* 音〔深開三平侵影 B〕 ‘noise’ **CDC** *im¹ / **EC** *um

CSWW *ʔiəŋ¹ˌa (?) [1] ⩙ *ʔiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiəŋ¹: **Ly** iŋ¹; **Jh** iŋ¹; **Pj** in¹; **Dy** ʔien¹; **Yk** ieiŋ¹; **Wy** in¹

CLS *iəŋ¹: **Sc** iɪŋ¹; **Sy** in¹; **Lq** iŋ¹; **Yh** iŋ¹; **Pc** ieŋ¹; **Qy** iəŋ¹

CSS #ʔẽ¹ ⩙ *ʔiŋ¹

a. **Kh** ɛ̃¹ ～坑 ‘Yīnkēng (pn.)’; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** iŋ¹ 聲～ ‘sound’; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** iŋ¹; **Ys** ɪŋ¹; **Gf** iŋ¹

608 *yīn* 陰〔深開三平侵影 B〕 ‘shade’ **CDC** *im¹ / **EC** *um

CSWW *ʔiəŋ¹ˌa [1] ⩙ *ʔiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiəŋ¹: **Ly** iŋ¹; **Jh** iŋ¹; **Pj** in¹; **Dy** ʔien¹; **Yk** ieiŋ¹; **Wy** in¹

CLS *iəŋ¹: **Sc** iɪŋ¹; **Sy** in¹; **Lq** iŋ¹; **Yh** iŋ¹; **Pc** ieŋ¹; **Qy** iəŋ¹

CSS *ʔẽ¹ ‘shady’ ⩙ #ʔiŋ¹

a. **Kh** ɛ̃¹; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** œ̃¹ ‘shaded place’; **Ys** æ̃⁻³³ ～底 ‘shaded place’; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** iŋ¹; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** iŋ¹; **Ys** ɪŋ¹; **Gf** iŋ¹

609 *yǐn* 飲〔深開三上寢影 B〕 ‘drink’ **CDC** *im³ / **EC** *umx

CSWW *ʔiəŋ³ˌa [1] ⩙ *ʔiŋ³

CJQ *ʔiŋ³: **Ly** iŋ³; **Jh** iŋ³; **Pj** in³; **Dy** ʔien³; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *iŋ³: **Sc** iɪŋ³; **Sy** in³; **Lq** —; **Yh** iŋ³; **Pc** ieŋ³; **Qy** iəŋ⁴ˌlt

CSS *ʔẽ³ ⩙ #ʔiŋ³

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** œ̃³ 菜～ ‘vegetable soup’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** iŋ³; **Cs** {ɪŋ¹}; **Js** iŋ¹ [2]; **Ys** ɪŋ³; **Gf** iŋ⁻²⁴ ～料 ‘beverage’

610 *lì* 笠〔深開三入緝來 AB〕 ‘conical hat’ **CDC** *ʰlip⁸ / **EC** *ʰlup

CSWW *liək⁸

CJQ *liəʔ⁸: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *liək⁸: **Sc** liɪʔ⁸; **Sy** liʔ⁸; **Lq** liʔ⁸; **Yh** liʔ⁸; **Pc** (le⁷₍lf₎); **Qy** liəɯʔ⁸

CSS *liʔ⁸

611 *lì* 粒〔深開三入緝來 AB〕 ‘kernel (clf.)’ **CDC** *ʰlip⁸ / **EC** *ʰlup

CSWW *ləkˀ⁸₍la₎ (?) [1] ⪤ *lʌʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *lɤʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** lɤ⁻¹⁴ ⪤ ləʔ⁸; **Pj** lɯ⁻²⁴; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** lɤə⁴; **Wy** lɤʔ⁸

CLS *ləkˀ⁸₍la₎ (?) ⪤ *ləʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {le⁷}; **Qy** ləɯʔ⁸

b. **Sc** leʔ⁷₍lt₎ [1] ⪤ leʔ⁸ [2]; **Sy** ləʔ⁸; **Lq** ləʔ⁸; **Yh** lɛʔ⁷₍lt₎; **Pc** {le⁷}; **Qy** lɤʔ⁸

CSS *lʌʔ⁸

612 *jí* 集〔深開三入緝從 AB〕 ‘collect’ **CDC** *dzip⁸ / **EC** *dzup

CSWW *ziəkˀ⁸ ‘tidy up’ ⪤ *dziəkˀ⁸

CJQ *ziəʔ⁸ ⪤ *dziəʔ⁸

a. **Ly** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ziəʔ⁸ [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** zə⁴ 摭～; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸

b. **Ly** dʑiəʔ⁸ ～合 ‘gather’; **Jh** dziəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dʒiəˀ⁸; **Dy** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiəkˀ⁸ *!use* ⪤ *dʑiəkˀ⁸₍la₎

a. **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒyeiʔ⁸₍lf₎ [1]; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕiəɯʔ⁸

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiʔ⁸ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ʑiʔ⁸ ⪤ #dʑiʔ⁸₍la₎

a. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** zeʔ⁸ [1] 摭～; **Gf** dzeʔ⁸

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** dzeʔ⁸ [2] ～中 ‘concentrate’; **Gf** —

Yh [ʒyeiʔ⁸] is irregular. The etymology of the form may have been mistaken in survey. CDC *zhip⁸ 拾 ‘to pick up’ is also [ʒyeiʔ⁸] in Yh.

In the Jīnqú and Shàngshān dialects this word is the basic word for ‘to tidy up’. Two other forms are of interest here: Wy [zɤ²] □ ‘to tidy up’ and Yh [zɿ² tsʰɿ⁰ li⁰] □起來 ‘to pick up’. They are probably etymologically related to this set despite exhibiting irregular sound correspondences.

613 *xí* 習〔深開三入緝邪 AB〕 ‘practice’ **CDC** *zip⁸ / **EC** *zip

CSWW *ziəkˀ⁸ [1]

CJQ *ziəʔ⁸: **Ly** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ziəʔ⁸ [1] ⪤ dziəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dʒiəˀ⁸₍li₎ [1] ⪤ dʒiaˀ⁸ [2]; **Dy** (dʑiəʔ⁸₍lif₎); **Yk** zə⁴; **Wy** ʑyəʔ⁸₍lf

CLS *ʑiəkˀ⁸: **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒyeiʔ⁸₍lf; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕiəɯʔ⁸

CSS #ʑiʔ⁸: **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁸; **Ys** zeʔ⁸; **Gf** dzeʔ⁸

614 *zhé* 蟄〔深開三入緝澄 AB〕 ‘sting (of jellyfish)’ **CDC** *jip⁸ / **EC** *drip (?)

CSWW *džiəkˀ⁸

CJQ *džiəʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** (ʒiəˀ⁸₍li₎) 驚～ ‘Jīngzhé’; **Dy** dzɜʔ⁸; **Yk** dzə⁴;

Wy dʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *dʑiʔ⁸₍ˌf₎: **Sc** dʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** tɕi⁷; **Qy** (tɕi⁵₍ˌtf₎) 驚～ ‘Jīngzhé’

CSS *dʑiʔ⁸

615 *sè* 澀〔深開三入緝生 AB〕 ‘astringent’ **CDC** *shep⁷ / **EC** *srip

CSWW *šək⁷

CJQ *šiəʔ⁷: **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕiəʔ⁷ [1] ⨯ səʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** sə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** sə³; **Wy** səʔ⁷

CLS *sək⁷: **Sc** saʔ⁷₍ˌf₎; **Sy** səʔ⁷₍ˌf₎; **Lq** —; **Yh** seiʔ⁷; **Pc** se⁷; **Qy** səɯʔ⁷

CSS *ɕeʔ⁷

616 *zhī* 汁〔深開三入緝章 AB〕 ‘juice’ **CDC** *cip⁷ / **EC** *cip (kyip)

CSWW *tšiək⁷ [1] ⨯ *(tš,ts)iək⁷ (?) [2]

CJQ *tšiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsə⁷; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsə³; **Wy** tsəʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiək⁷ ⨯ *tɕiəʔ⁷₍ˌa₎ (?)

a. **Sc** tɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** {tɕie⁷}; **Qy** tsəɯʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** tseiʔ⁷; **Pc** {tɕie⁷}; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕeʔ⁷

617 *shī* 濕〔深開三入緝書 AB〕 ‘wet’ **CDC** *ship⁷ / **EC** *hyip

CSWW *(tšʰ,tsʰ)iək⁷₍ˌa₎ [1] ‘wet’ ⨯ *šək⁷ [2]

CJQ *šiək⁷ *!use*: **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** sə³; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕʰiək⁷₍ˌa₎ ⨯ *sək⁷ *!use*

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕʰie⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiəɯʔ⁷

b. **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** sɛiʔ⁷ ‘wet’; **Yh** seiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** səɯʔ⁷

CSS #ɕeʔ⁷ (?) ‘wet’: **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** sɐʔ⁷; **Gf** sɐʔ⁷ ⨯ ɕiɐʔ⁷

The popular word for ‘wet’ is CSWW *dɑ̃² 潭ᵌ, but this was displaced by CSWW *tšʰiauʔ⁷ 釋 ‘soak; dissolve’ in the Jīnqú dialects and some of the Lìshuǐ dialects that border the Jīnqú-speaking area. The latter form is listed under WET in the appendix since the etymology is tentative.

A few dialects use the forms in the current set as their vernacular word for ‘wet’, but for the rest it is a learnèd bound form.

618 *shí* 十〔深開三入緝常 AB〕 ‘ten’ **CDC** *zhip⁸ / **EC** *jip (gyip)

CSWW *žiək⁸

CJQ *žiəʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zə⁸ [1] ⨯ zɑ⁸ [2]; **Dy** zɜʔ⁸; **Yk** zə⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸

CLS *ʑiək⁸: **Sc** ʑyeʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** zɛiʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** səɯʔ⁸

CSS *ʑeʔ⁸

619 *jí* 急〔深開三入緝見 B〕 ‘urgent’ **CDC** *kip⁷ / **EC** *kup

CSWW *kiək⁷

CJQ *kiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kĭə³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *kiək⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕiəɯʔ⁷

CSS *kiʔ⁷

620 *xī* 吸〔深開三入緝曉 B〕 ‘inhale’ **CDC** *xip⁷ / **EC** *hup

CSWW *xiək⁷

CJQ *xiəʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃiə⁷; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** xĭə³; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *xiək⁷: **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** xie⁷; **Qy** ɕiəɯʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ tɕiəɯʔ⁷ [1]

CSS *xiʔ⁷

621 *yī* 揖〔深開三入緝影 A〕 ‘yī salute’ **CDC** *ip⁷ / **EC** *ip

CSWW *ʔiək⁷

CJQ *ʔiəʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁷; **Dy** ʔiəʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** iəʔ⁷

CLS *iək⁷: **Sc** iɪʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** iʔ⁷; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** iəɯʔ⁷

CSS #ʔiʔ⁷: **Kh** ieʔ⁷; **Cs** ieʔ⁷; **Js** iɛʔ⁸; **Ys** ieʔ⁷; **Gf** ieʔ⁷

A.10 Shānshè 山攝

622 *dān* 單〔山開一平寒端〕 ‘single’ **CDC** *tan¹ / **EC** *’tan

CSWW *ɗɔ̃¹

CJQ *ɗã¹: **Ly** tã¹; **Jh** tɑ¹ [1] ⩙ tã¹ [2]; **Pj** tã¹ [1] ⩙ tan¹ [2]; **Dy** tʌ¹; **Yk** ʔnɑ¹; **Wy** nuo¹

CLS *ɗã¹: **Sc** ʔdaŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdɔ̃¹; **Lq** ʔdaŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdã¹; **Pc** lãi¹; **Qy** ʔdã¹

CSS *tɔ̃¹

623 *tān* 灘〔山開一平寒透〕 ‘beach’ **CDC** *than¹ / **EC** *’than

CSWW *tʰɔ̃¹

CJQ *tʰã¹: **Ly** tʰã¹; **Jh** tʰɑ¹ [1] ⩙ tʰã¹ [2]; **Pj** tʰã¹; **Dy** tʰʌ¹; **Yk** tʰɑ¹; **Wy** tʰuo¹

CLS *tʰã¹: **Sc** tʰaŋ¹; **Sy** tʰɔ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰã¹; **Pc** tʰãi¹; **Qy** tʰã¹

CSS *tʰɔ̃¹

624 *tàn* 炭〔山開一去翰透〕 ‘charcoal’ **CDC** *than⁵ / **EC** *’thanh

CSWW *tʰɔ̃⁵

CJQ *tʰã⁵: **Ly** tʰã⁵; **Jh** tʰɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ tʰã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʰã⁵; **Dy** tʰʌ⁵; **Yk** tʰɑ⁵; **Wy** tʰuo⁵

CLS *tʰã⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** tʰɔ̃⁵; **Lq** tʰaŋ⁵; **Yh** tʰã⁵; **Pc** tʰãi⁴꜀ₜ; **Qy** tʰã⁵

CSS *tʰɔ̃⁵

625 *tán* 彈〔山開一平寒定〕 ‘flick’ **CDC** *dan² / **EC** *’dan

CSWW *dɔ̃²

CJQ *dã²: **Ly** dã²; **Jh** dɑ² [1] ≍ dã² [2]; **Pj** dã²; **Dy** dʌ²; **Yk** dɑ²; **Wy** duo²

CLS *dã²: **Sc** daŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** daŋ²; **Yh** dã¹$_{!t}$; **Pc** tãi²; **Qy** tã²

CSS *dɔ̃²

626 *dàn* 彈〔山開一去翰定〕 ‘pellet, bullet’ **CDC** *dan⁶ / **EC** *’danh

CSWW *dɔ̃⁶

CJQ *dã⁶: **Ly** dã⁶; **Jh** dɑ⁶ [1] ≍ dã⁶ [2]; **Pj** dã⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** dɑ⁶; **Wy** duo⁶

CLS *dã⁶: **Sc** daŋ⁶; **Sy** dɔ̃⁶; **Lq** daŋ⁶; **Yh** dã⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã⁶

CSS #dɔ̃⁶: **Kh** (dã⁶$_{!f}$); **Cs** dɔ̃⁶ [1] ≍ dã⁴; **Js** dɔ̃⁶ [2] ≍ dã²; **Ys** dɒ̃⁶; **Gf** —

627 *nán* 難〔山開一平寒泥〕 ‘difficult’ **CDC** *nan² / **EC** *’nan

CSWW *nɔ̃²

CJQ *nã²: **Ly** nã²; **Jh** nɑ² [1] ≍ nã² [2]; **Pj** nã²; **Dy** nʌ²; **Yk** nɑ²; **Wy** nuo²

CLS *nã²: **Sc** naŋ²; **Sy** nɔ̃²; **Lq** naŋ²; **Yh** nã²; **Pc** nãi²; **Qy** nã²

CSS *nɔ̃²

628 *nàn* 難〔山開一去翰泥〕 ‘trouble’ **CDC** *nan⁶ / **EC** *’nanh

CSWW *nɔ̃⁶

CJQ *nã⁶: **Ly** nã⁶; **Jh** nɑ⁶ [1] ≍ nã⁶ [2]; **Pj** nã⁶; **Dy** nʌ⁶; **Yk** nɑ⁶; **Wy** nuo⁶

CLS *nã⁶: **Sc** naŋ⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** naŋ⁶; **Yh** nã⁶; **Pc** nãi⁶; **Qy** nã⁶

CSS #nɔ̃⁶: **Kh** noŋ⁶; **Cs** nõ⁶; **Js** nɔ̃⁶; **Ys** nɒ̃⁶; **Gf** nã⁶

629 *lán* 攔〔廣韻：山開一平寒來〕 ‘obstruct’ **CDC** *lan² / **EC** *’lan

CSWW *lɔ̃²

CJQ *lã²: **Ly** lã²; **Jh** lɑ² [1] ≍ lã² [2]; **Pj** lã²; **Dy** lʌ²; **Yk** lɑ²; **Wy** nuo²

CLS *lã²: **Sc** laŋ²; **Sy** lɔ̃²; **Lq** laŋ²; **Yh** lã²; **Pc** lãi²; **Qy** lã²

CSS *lɔ̃²

630 *lǎn* 懶〔山開一上旱來〕 ‘lazy’ **CDC** *lan⁴ / **EC** *’lanx

CSWW *(dž,dz)iẽ⁴$_{!a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *lã⁴ [2]

CJQ *lã⁴: **Ly** lã⁴; **Jh** lɑ³ [1] ≍ lã³ [2]; **Pj** lã⁴; **Dy** lʌ⁴; **Yk** lɑ⁴; **Wy** nuo⁴

CLS *lã⁴: **Sc** la⁶; **Sy** lɔ̃⁴; **Lq** laŋ³; **Yh** lã³; **Pc** lãi⁴; **Qy** lã⁴

CSS *dʑiə̃⁴ ≍ *lã⁴

631 *làn* 爛〔山開一去翰來〕 ‘rot’ **CDC** *lan⁶ / **EC** *’lanh

CSWW *lɔ̃⁶

CJQ *lã⁶: **Ly** lã⁶; **Jh** lɑ⁶ [1] ≍ lã⁶ [2]; **Pj** lã⁶; **Dy** lʌ⁶; **Yk** lɑ⁶; **Wy** nuo⁶

CLS *lã⁶: **Sc** laŋ⁶; **Sy** lõ⁶; **Lq** laŋ⁶; **Yh** lã⁶; **Pc** lãi⁶; **Qy** lɑ̃⁶
CSS *lõ⁶

632 *sǎn* 傘〔廣韻：山開一上旱心〕 ‘umbrella’ **CDC** *san³ / **EC** *’sanx
CSWW *sõ³
CJQ *sã³: **Ly** sã³; **Jh** sɑ³ [1] ≍ sã³ [2]; **Pj** sɑ̃⁵; **Dy** sʌ⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** sɑ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** suo³
CLS *sã³: **Sc** saŋ³; **Sy** sõ³; **Lq** saŋ³; **Yh** sã³; **Pc** sãi³; **Qy** sɑ̃³
CSS *sõ³

633 *gān* 肝〔山開一平寒見〕 ‘liver’ **CDC** *kon¹ / **EC** *’kan
CSWW *kõ¹
CJQ *kɤ̃¹: **Ly** kie¹; **Jh** kɤ¹ [1] ≍ kã¹ [2]; **Pj** kə̃¹; **Dy** kɤ¹; **Yk** kɤə¹; **Wy** kɤ¹
CLS *kuə̃¹: **Sc** kuə̃¹; **Sy** kuɛ̃¹; **Lq** kuə¹; **Yh** kuɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuã¹
CSS *kõ¹

634 *àn* 岸〔山開一去翰疑〕 ‘coast’ **CDC** *ngon⁶ / **EC** *’nganh
CSWW *ŋõ⁶
CJQ *ŋɤ̃⁶: **Ly** ei⁶; **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ã⁶ [2] ≍ ɦã⁶ [3]; **Pj** ə̃⁶; **Dy** ŋɤ⁶; **Yk** ŋɤə⁶; **Wy** ŋɤ⁶
CLS *ŋuə̃⁶: **Sc** uə̃⁶; **Sy** uɛ̃⁶; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** uɛ⁶; **Pc** ŋãi⁶; **Qy** ŋɑ̃⁶
CSS #ɦõ⁶: **Kh** oŋ⁶; **Cs** ɦõ⁶; **Js** ɔ̃⁶; **Ys** ŋʊ̃⁶$_{\text{li}}$; **Gf** uɛ̃⁵

635 *hàn* 漢〔山開一去翰曉〕 ‘Hàn (pn.)’ **CDC** *xon⁵ / **EC** *’hanh
CSWW *xõ⁵
CJQ *xɤ̃⁵: **Ly** xei⁵; **Jh** xɤ⁵ [1] ≍ xã⁵ [2]; **Pj** xə̃⁵ [1] ≍ xan⁵ [2]; **Dy** xɤ⁵ [1] ≍ xan⁵ [2]; **Yk** xɤə⁵; **Wy** xɤ⁵
CLS *xuə̃⁵: **Sc** xuə̃⁵; **Sy** fuɛ̃⁵; **Lq** xuə⁵; **Yh** xuɛ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã⁵
CSS *xõ⁵

636 *hán* 寒〔山開一平寒匣〕 ‘cold’ **CDC** *hon² / **EC** *’gan
CSWW *gõ² [1] ≍ *ɦõ² [2]
CJQ *ɦɤ̃²: **Ly** ei²; **Jh** ɤ² [1] ≍ ɦã² [3] ≍ ã² [3]; **Pj** ə̃² [1] ≍ an² [2]; **Dy** ɤ²; **Yk** ɤə²; **Wy** ŋɤ²
CLS *guə̃² ≍ *ɦuə̃²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** guə²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuã²
b. **Sc** uə̃²; **Sy** uɛ̃²; **Lq** —; **Yh** uɛ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã²
CSS #gõ² ≍ #ɦõ²
a. **Kh** goŋ²; **Cs** gõ²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** (ã²); **Cs** ɦõ² ≍ ɦã⁻²⁴ [3]; **Js** ɔ̃⁻³³; **Ys** ɦʊ̃⁴; **Gf** xuɛ̃²

637 *hàn* 旱〔山開一上旱匣〕 ‘drought’ **CDC** *hon⁴ / **EC** *ʾganx

CSWW *ɦɔ̃⁴

CJQ *ɦɤ̃⁴: **Ly** (xã⁶₍itf₎); **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ɦã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ə̃⁴; **Dy** ɤ⁴; **Yk** ɤə⁴; **Wy** ŋɤ⁶₍t

CLS *ɦuə̃⁴: **Sc** uə̃⁴; **Sy** uɛ̃³; **Lq** uə³; **Yh** uɛ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã⁴

CSS *ɦɔ̃⁴

638 *hàn* 汗〔山開一去翰匣〕 ‘sweat’ **CDC** *hon⁶ / **EC** *ʾganh

CSWW *gɔ̃⁶ [1] ≍ *ɦɔ̃⁶ [2]

CJQ *gɤ̃⁶ ≍ *ɦɤ̃⁶

a. **Ly** gie⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ɦã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ə̃⁶; **Dy** ɤ⁶; **Yk** ɤə⁶; **Wy** ŋɤ⁶

CLS *guə̃⁶ ≍ *ɦuə̃⁶

a. **Sc** guə̃⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** uɛ̃⁶; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** uɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã⁶

CSS *gɔ̃⁶ ≍ #ɦɔ̃⁶

a. **Kh** goŋ⁶; **Cs** gɔ̃⁶; **Js** gɔ̃⁶; **Ys** gɒ̃⁶; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɦɔ̃⁻²²; **Js** —; **Ys** ɦɒ̃⁶; **Gf** xuɛ̃⁶

639 *hàn* 焊（釬）〔山開一去翰匣〕 ‘smelt together, solder’ **CDC** *hon⁶ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɦɔ̃⁶

CJQ *ɦɤ̃⁶: **Ly** ei⁶; **Jh** ɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ɦã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ə̃⁶; **Dy** ɤ⁶; **Yk** ɤə⁶; **Wy** ŋɤ⁶

CLS *ɦuə̃⁶: **Sc** uə̃⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** uə⁶; **Yh** uɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦɔ̃⁶

640 *ān* 安〔山開一平寒影〕 ‘secure’ **CDC** *on¹ / **EC** *ʾan

CSWW *ʔɔ̃¹

CJQ *ʔɤ̃¹: **Ly** ei¹; **Jh** ɤ¹ [1] ≍ ã¹ [2]; **Pj** ə̃¹ [1] ≍ an¹ [2]; **Dy** ʔɤ¹; **Yk** ɤə¹; **Wy** ŋɤ¹

CLS *uə̃¹: **Sc** uə̃¹; **Sy** uɛ̃¹; **Lq** uə¹; **Yh** uɛ¹; **Pc** uãi¹; **Qy** uã¹

CSS *ʔɔ̃¹

641 *tǎ* 獺〔山開一入曷透〕 ‘otter’ **CDC** *that⁷ / **EC** *ʾthat

CSWW *tʰɔʔ⁷

CJQ *tʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʰuɑ⁷; **Dy** tʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰɑ³; **Wy** tʰuɑʔ⁷

CLS *tʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** (tsʰa⁷₍i) [白]; **Qy** tʰɑʔ⁷

CSS *tʰɔʔ⁷

642 *dá* 達〔山開一入曷定〕 ‘reach’ **CDC** *dat⁸ / **EC** *ʾdat

CSWW *dɔʔ⁸

CJQ *dɒʔ⁸: **Ly** dɔʔ⁸; **Jh** duɑ⁶ [1] ≍ dəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** duɑ⁸; **Dy** duoʔ⁸; **Yk** dɑ⁴; **Wy** duɑ⁴

CLS *daʔ⁸: **Sc** daʔ⁸; **Sy** dɔʔ⁸; **Lq** dɔʔ⁸; **Yh** dɑʔ⁸; **Pc** ta⁷; **Qy** tɑʔ⁸
CSS *dɔʔ⁸

643 *là* 辣〔山開一入曷來〕 ‘spicy’ **CDC** *ʰlat⁸ / **EC** —
CSWW *lɔʔ⁸
CJQ *lɒʔ⁸: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸; **Jh** luɑ⁶ [1] ≍ lɔʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** luɑ⁸; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** lɑ⁴; **Wy** luɑ⁴
CLS *laʔ⁸: **Sc** laʔ⁸; **Sy** lɔʔ⁸; **Lq** lɔʔ⁸; **Yh** lɑʔ⁸; **Pc** la⁷; **Qy** lɑʔ⁸
CSS *lɔʔ⁸

644 *cā* 擦（擦）〔山開一入曷清〕 ‘rub; wipe’ **CDC** *tshat⁷ / **EC** —
CSWW *tsʰɔʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** (tsʰɑ⁷₍ᵎf₎); **Dy** tsʰɑ³₍ᵎf₎ [1] ≍ tsʰuɑ³ [2]; **Yk** tsʰɑ⁵; **Wy** tsʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰa⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS *tsʰɔʔ⁷

645 *sǎ* 撒（糝）〔廣韻：山開一入曷心〕 ‘scatter’ **CDC** *sat⁷ / **EC** *’sat
CSWW *ts(ɔ,a)ʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *sɔʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *tsɒʔ⁷ ≍ *sɒʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsuɑ⁵; **Pj** tsɑ¹; **Dy** tsuoʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** suɑ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** sɑ³; **Wy** suɑʔ⁷
CLS *tsaʔ⁷₍ᵎa ≍ *saʔ⁷
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɑʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** saʔ⁷; **Sy** sɔʔ⁸₍ᵎt; **Lq** sɔʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** sa⁷; **Qy** sɑʔ⁷
CSS *sɔʔ⁷

646 *gē* 割〔山開一入曷見〕 ‘sever’ **CDC** *kot⁷ / **EC** *’kat
CSWW *kɔʔ⁷
CJQ *kɤʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** kɤ⁵ [1] ≍ kəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kɯ⁷; **Dy** kɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kɤə³; **Wy** kɤ⁵
CLS *kuəʔ⁷: **Sc** keʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuɤʔ⁷
CSS *kɒʔ⁷

647 *kě* 渴〔山開一入曷溪〕 ‘thirsty’ **CDC** *khot⁷ / **EC** *’khat
CSWW *kʰɔʔ⁷
CJQ *kʰɤʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷₍ᵎf; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *kʰuəʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰua⁷; **Qy** kʰuɤʔ⁷
CSS #kʰɒʔ⁷: **Kh** kʰɔʔ⁷; **Cs** kʰʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰʌʔ⁷; **Gf** —

648 *bàn* 扮〔廣韻：山開二去襉幫〕 ‘dress up’ **CDC** *pan⁵ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɓã⁵

CJQ *ɓã⁵: **Ly** pã⁵; **Jh** pɑ⁵ [1] ≍ pã⁵ [2]; **Pj** pã⁵; **Dy** pʌ⁵; **Yk** ʔmɑ⁵; **Wy** ʔmuo⁵
CLS *ɓã⁵: **Sc** ʔbaŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔbã⁵; **Pc** pãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbã⁵
CSS #pã⁵: **Kh** pã⁵; **Cs** pã⁵; **Js** pã⁵; **Ys** pã⁵; **Gf** pã⁵

649 *bàn* 辦〔山開二去襉並〕 'manage' **CDC** *ban⁶ / **EC** *brenh
CSWW *bã⁶
CJQ *bã⁶: **Ly** bã⁶; **Jh** bɑ⁶ [1] ≍ bã⁶ [2]; **Pj** bã⁶; **Dy** bʌ⁶; **Yk** bɑ⁶; **Wy** buo⁶
CLS *bã⁶: **Sc** baŋ⁶; **Sy** bɔ̃⁶; **Lq** baŋ⁶; **Yh** bã²ˌₜ; **Pc** pãi⁶; **Qy** pã⁶
CSS *bã⁶

650 *zhǎn* 盞〔廣韻：山開二上產莊〕 'clf. for lamps' **CDC** *can³ / **EC** *tsranx
CSWW *tsã³
CJQ *tsã³: **Ly** tsã³; **Jh** tsɑ³ [1] ≍ tsã⁻⁵⁵ [2]; **Pj** tsã⁻⁵⁵; **Dy** tsʌ³; **Yk** tsɑ³; **Wy** tsuo⁻⁵³
CLS *tsã³: **Sc** tsaŋ³; **Sy** tsɔ̃⁵ˌₜ; **Lq** tsaŋ³; **Yh** tsã³; **Pc** tsãi³; **Qy** tsã³
CSS *tsã³

651 *chǎn* 鏟〔山開二上產初〕 'scraper, spade, spatula' **CDC** *chan³ / **EC** *tshranx
CSWW *tsʰã³
CJQ *tsʰã³
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰuɑ³ [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰoun³ [兒]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** tsʰã³; **Jh** tsʰɑ³ [2] ≍ tsʰã³ [3]; **Pj** tsʰã⁻⁵⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsʰɑ³; **Wy** tsʰuo³
CLS *tsʰã³: **Sc** tsʰaŋ³; **Sy** tsʰɔ̃³; **Lq** tsʰaŋ³; **Yh** tsʰã³; **Pc** tsʰãi³; **Qy** tsʰã³
CSS *tsʰã³

652 *shān* 山〔山開二平山生〕 'mountain' **CDC** *shan¹ / **EC** *sran
CSWW *sã¹
CJQ *sã¹: **Ly** sã¹; **Jh** sɑ¹ [1] ≍ sã¹ [2]; **Pj** sã¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** sɑ¹; **Wy** suo¹
CLS *sã¹: **Sc** saŋ¹; **Sy** sɔ̃¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sã¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** sã¹
CSS *sã¹

653 *chǎn* 產〔山開二上產生〕 'birth, produce' **CDC** *chan³ ≍ *shan³ / **EC** *sranx
CSWW *šã³ [1] ～母 'woman in labor' ≍ *tsʰã³ [2]
CJQ *šɒ³ ≍ *tsʰã³
a. **Ly** sã³ˌf; **Jh** suɑ³; **Pj** ʃyɑ³; **Dy** suoʔ⁷ˌft; **Yk** sɑ³; **Wy** suo³ [l]
b. **Ly** tsʰã³; **Jh** tsʰɑ³ ≍ tsʰã³ [3]; **Pj** tsʰã³; **Dy** tsʰʌ³; **Yk** tsʰɑ³; **Wy** tsʰuo³
CLS *sã³ˌa ≍ *tsʰã³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sã³ *!use*
b. **Sc** tsʰaŋ³; **Sy** tsʰɔ̃³; **Lq** tsʰaŋ³; **Yh** tsʰã³; **Pc** tsʰãi³; **Qy** —

CSS #sɑ̃³ ⪥ #tsʰɑ̃³

a. **Kh** sɑ̃³; **Cs** —; **Js** sɑ̃⁴³; **Ys** —; **Gf** sɑ̃³ *!use*

b. **Kh** tsʰɑ̃³; **Cs** tsʰɑ̃³; **Js** tsʰɑ̃¹₍!t; **Ys** tsʰɑ̃³; **Gf** —

In all the Jīnqú dialects except Ly, nasalization of the main vowel has been lost before the following syllabic nasal in the CSWW word *šɑ̃³ m̩⁴ 產母 'woman in labor'. This development happened early enough that it allows us to reconstruct a postalveolar initial for this form. Usually, postalveolar initials are not reconstructable before CSWW *ɑ̃ because there is no sign of front rounding in Pj. We only find that development before oral vowels.

654 *jiān* 間〔山開二平山見〕 'interstice, room' **CDC** *kan¹ / **EC** *kren

CSWW *kɑ̃¹

CJQ *kɑ̃¹: **Ly** kɑ̃¹; **Jh** kɑ¹ [1] ⪥ tɕiɑ̃¹ [2]; **Pj** kɑ̃¹ [1] ⪥ tɕian¹ [2]; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kɑ¹; **Wy** kuo⁻⁵³

CLS *kɑ̃¹: **Sc** kaŋ¹; **Sy** kɔ̃¹; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kɑ̃¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kɑ̃¹

CSS *kɑ̃¹

655 *jiǎn* 揀〔山開二上產見〕 'pick up' **CDC** *kan³ / **EC** *krenx

CSWW *kɑ̃³ 'choose'

CJQ *kɑ̃³₍ₐ *!use*: **Ly** (tɕie³₍ᵢf); **Jh** kɑ³ [1] ⪥ tɕiɑ̃³ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kɑ̃³: **Sc** kaŋ³; **Sy** kɔ̃³; **Lq** kaŋ³; **Yh** kɑ̃³; **Pc** kãi³ *!use*; **Qy** kɑ̃³

CSS *kɑ̃³

656 *jiàn* 間〔山開二去襉見〕 'make a gap' **CDC** *kan⁵ / **EC** *krenh

CSWW *kɑ̃⁵

CJQ *kɑ̃⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kʌ⁵; **Yk** kɑ⁵; **Wy** kuo⁵

CLS *kɑ̃⁵: **Sc** kaŋ⁵; **Sy** kɔ̃⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** kɑ̃⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #kɑ̃⁵: **Kh** —; **Cs** kɑ̃⁵ [1]; **Js** kɑ̃⁵; **Ys** kɑ̃⁵ [2]; **Gf** —

657 *yǎn* 眼〔山開二上產疑〕 'eye' **CDC** *ʰngan⁴ / **EC** *ʰngrunx

CSWW *ŋɑ̃⁴

CJQ *ŋɑ̃⁴: **Ly** ŋɑ̃⁴; **Jh** ɑ³ [1] ⪥ iɑ̃³ [2]; **Pj** ŋɑ̃⁴ [1] ⪥ ian⁴ [2]; **Dy** ŋɑ⁴; **Yk** ŋɑ⁴; **Wy** ŋuo⁴

CLS *ŋɑ̃⁴: **Sc** ŋaŋ⁴; **Sy** ŋɔ̃⁴ [1] ⪥ ŋaŋ⁴ [2]; **Lq** ŋaŋ³ [文]; **Yh** ŋɑ̃³ [2] ⪥ ŋɛ³ [1]; **Pc** ŋãi⁴; **Qy** ŋɑ̃⁴

CSS #ŋɑ̃⁴: **Kh** ŋɑ̃⁶ [1] ⪥ iɛ̃³ [2]; **Cs** ŋɑ̃⁻²² [1] ⪥ iɛ̃³ [2]; **Js** ŋɑ̃⁴; **Ys** ŋɑ̃⁴; **Gf** ŋɑ̃⁴

658 *xiàn* 限〔山開二上產匣〕 'limit' **CDC** *han⁴ / **EC** *grunx

CSWW *ɦɑ̃⁴

CJQ *ɦɑ̃⁴: **Ly** (ie⁶₍ft) [1] ⪥ ʑie⁶ [2]; **Jh** ɑ⁶₍!t [1] ⪥ iɑ̃⁶ [2]; **Pj** ɑ̃⁴ [1] ⪥ ian⁴ [2]; **Dy** ʌ⁴; **Yk** ɑ⁴; **Wy** ŋuo⁴

CLS *ɦã⁴: **Sc** aŋ⁴; **Sy** ɔ̃⁴; **Lq** aŋ³; **Yh** ã³; **Pc** —; **Qy** xã⁴
CSS *ɦã⁶₍ₗₜ₎

659 *xiàn* 莧〔山開二去襉匣〕 ‘amaranth’ **CDC** *han⁶ / **EC** *grenh
CSWW *xã⁷
CJQ *xã⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** xɑ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** xʌ⁻³³ ～菜; **Yk** xɑ⁻⁴⁴ ～菜; **Wy** xuo⁵
CLS *xã³: **Sc** xaŋ³₍ₗₜ₎; **Sy** —; **Lq** (ɕiɛ⁵₍ₗf₎); **Yh** (ʃie⁵₍ₗf₎); **Pc** —; **Qy** (ɕiã⁵₍ₗf₎)
CSS *xã⁷ ～菜

660 *bā* 八〔山開二入黠幫〕 ‘eight’ **CDC** *pat⁷ / **EC** *pret
CSWW *ɓaʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓɒʔ⁷: **Ly** pɔʔ⁷; **Jh** pɤa⁵ [1] ≍ pəʔ⁷ [2] ≍ pɑ⁵ [3]; **Pj** pia⁷; **Dy** puoʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbɑ³; **Wy** puɑʔ⁷
CLS *ɓaʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbɑʔ⁷; **Pc** pa⁷; **Qy** ʔboʔ⁷
CSS *pɑʔ⁷

661 *bá* 拔〔山開二入黠並〕 ‘pull out’ **CDC** *bat⁸ / **EC** *brat
CSWW *baʔ⁸
CJQ *bɒʔ⁸: **Ly** bɔʔ⁸; **Jh** bɤa⁶ [1]; **Pj** bia⁸; **Dy** buoʔ⁸; **Yk** bɑ⁴; **Wy** buɑ⁴
CLS *baʔ⁸: **Sc** baʔ⁸; **Sy** bɔʔ⁸; **Lq** baʔ⁸; **Yh** bɑʔ⁸; **Pc** pa⁷; **Qy** pɑʔ⁸
CSS *bɑʔ⁸

662 *chá* 察〔山開二入黠初〕 ‘observe’ **CDC** *chat⁷ / **EC** *tshrat
CSWW *tsʰaʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰɒʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tsʰɑ⁷; **Dy** tsʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰɑ³; **Wy** tsʰuɑʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰaʔ⁷: **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰɑʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰa⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷
CSS #tsʰɑʔ⁷: **Kh** tsʰʌʔ⁷; **Cs** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Js** tsʰɒʔ⁷; **Ys** tsʰɐʔ⁷; **Gf** tsʰɐʔ⁷

663 *shā* 殺〔山開二入黠生〕 ‘kill’ **CDC** *shat⁷ / **EC** *srat
CSWW *šaʔ⁷
CJQ *šɒʔ⁷: **Ly** sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** suɑ⁵ [1] ≍ səʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyɑ⁷; **Dy** suoʔ⁷; **Yk** sɑ³; **Wy** suɑʔ⁷
CLS *saʔ⁷: **Sc** saʔ⁷; **Sy** sɔʔ⁷; **Lq** sɔʔ⁷; **Yh** sɑʔ⁷; **Pc** sa⁷; **Qy** sɑʔ⁷
CSS *sɑʔ⁷

664 *bān* 班〔山開二平刪幫〕 ‘class, shift’ **CDC** *pan¹ / **EC** *pran
CSWW *ɓã¹
CJQ *ɓã¹: **Ly** pã¹; **Jh** pɑ¹ [1] ≍ pã¹ [2]; **Pj** pã¹; **Dy** pʌ¹; **Yk** ʔmɑ¹; **Wy** muo¹
CLS *ɓã¹: **Sc** ʔbaŋ¹; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃¹; **Lq** ʔbaŋ¹; **Yh** ʔbã¹; **Pc** pãi¹; **Qy** mã¹₍ₗi₎ ≍ ʔbã¹
CSS *pã¹

665 *bǎn* 板〔山開二上濟幫〕 ‘board’ **CDC** *pan³ / **EC** *pranx

CSWW *ɓã³

CJQ *ɓã³: **Ly** pã³; **Jh** pɑ³ [1] ≍ pã³ [2]; **Pj** pã³; **Dy** mʌ³˧˩ [1] ≍ pʌ³ [2]; **Yk** ʔmɑ³; **Wy** ʔmuo³

CLS *ɓã³: **Sc** ʔbaŋ³; **Sy** ʔbɔ̃³; **Lq** ʔbaŋ³; **Yh** ʔbã³; **Pc** pãi³ [白]; **Qy** ʔbã³

CSS *pã³

666 *pán* 爿（牉）〔集韻：山開二平刪並〕 ‘split’ **CDC** *ban² / **EC** *bran

CSWW *bã²

CJQ *bã²: **Ly** —; **Jh** bɑ²; **Pj** bã²; **Dy** bʌ²; **Yk** bɑ²; **Wy** buo²

CLS *bã²: **Sc** baŋ²; **Sy** pɔ̃²; **Lq** baŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** pʰãi²; **Qy** —

CSS *bã²

667 *màn* 慢〔山開二去諫明〕 ‘slow’ **CDC** *man⁶ / **EC** *mranh

CSWW *mã⁶

CJQ *mã⁶: **Ly** mã⁶; **Jh** mɑ⁶ [1] ≍ mã⁶ [2]; **Pj** mɑ⁴˧˨ [1] ≍ mã⁶ [2]; **Dy** mʌ⁶; **Yk** mɑ⁶; **Wy** muo⁶

CLS *mã⁶: **Sc** maŋ⁶; **Sy** mɔ̃⁶; **Lq** maŋ⁶; **Yh** mã⁶; **Pc** mãi⁶; **Qy** mã⁶

CSS *mã⁶

668 *zhàn* 棧〔山開二去諫崇〕 ‘shed’ **CDC** *jan⁶ / **EC** *dzranh

CSWW *dzã⁶

CJQ *dzã⁶: **Ly** dzã⁶; **Jh** dzɑ⁶ [1] ≍ dzã⁶ [2]; **Pj** (dʒian⁴˧˩ˀ); **Dy** (dzɛ²˧ˀ); **Yk** dzɑ⁶; **Wy** dzuo⁶

CLS *dzã⁶: **Sc** dzaŋ⁶; **Sy** dzɔ̃⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** dzã⁶; **Pc** tsãi⁵˧˨; **Qy** tsã⁶

CSS *dzã⁶

669 *jiān* 奸（奸）〔集韻：山開二平刪見〕 ‘sly’ **CDC** *kan / **EC** *kran

CSWW *kã¹

CJQ *kã¹: **Ly** (tɕie¹); **Jh** kɑ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Pj** kã¹; **Dy** (tɕi¹); **Yk** kɑ¹; **Wy** kuo¹

CLS *kã¹: **Sc** kaŋ¹; **Sy** kɔ̃¹; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kã¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹

CSS #kã¹: **Kh** (tɕiẽ¹˧ˀ); **Cs** (tɕiẽ¹˧ˀ); **Js** (kiã¹˧ˀ); **Ys** kã¹; **Gf** kã¹

670 *yán* 顏〔山開二平刪疑〕 ‘color’ **CDC** *ʰngan² / **EC** *ʰngran

CSWW *ŋã²

CJQ *ŋã²: **Ly** ŋã²; **Jh** ɑ² [1] ≍ iã² [2]; **Pj** ŋã² ≍ ian²; **Dy** ŋɑ²; **Yk** ŋɑ²; **Wy** ŋuɑ²

CLS *ŋã²: **Sc** ŋaŋ²; **Sy** ŋɔ̃²; **Lq** ŋaŋ²; **Yh** ŋã²; **Pc** ŋãi²; **Qy** ŋã²

CSS *ŋã²

671 *yàn* 雁〔廣韻：山開二去諫疑〕 ‘goose’ **CDC** *ngan⁶ / **EC** *ngran

CSWW *ŋã⁶

CJQ *ŋã⁶: **Ly** (ie⁶); **Jh** (iã⁶); **Pj** ŋã⁶; **Dy** ŋɑ⁻³⁵ ‘～鵝兒’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ŋã⁶: **Sc** ŋaŋ⁴; **Sy** (iɛ̃²₍ift₎); **Lq** ŋaŋ⁶; **Yh** ŋã⁶; **Pc** ŋãi⁶; **Qy** —

CSS #ŋɑ̃⁶: **Kh** ŋã⁶; **Cs** —; **Js** ŋã⁻³³ ‘～鵝’; **Ys** ŋã⁶; **Gf** ŋa⁶

672 *yàn* 晏〔山開二去諫影〕 ‘late’ **CDC** *an⁵ / **EC** *ranh

CSWW *ʔɔ̃⁵

CJQ *ʔɤ̃⁵: **Ly** ei⁵; **Jh** (iã⁵₍f₎); **Pj** (ã⁵₍f₎); **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʔuə̃⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** uãi⁵; **Qy** uã⁵

CSS *ʔɔ̃⁵

673 *zhá* 鍘（鍘）〔廣韻：山開二入鎋崇〕 ‘scythe; mow, cut down’ **CDC** *jat⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *(ž,z)aʔ⁸

CJQ *(ž,z)ɒʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *zaʔ⁸: **Sc** zaʔ⁸; **Sy** sɔʔ⁷; **Lq** zɔʔ⁸; **Yh** zɑʔ⁸; **Pc** tsa⁷; **Qy** sɑʔ⁸

CSS *zɑʔ⁸

674 *xiā* 瞎〔山開二入鎋曉〕 ‘blind’ **CDC** *xat⁷ / **EC** *hrat

CSWW *xaʔ⁷

CJQ *xɒʔ⁷: **Ly** xuɔʔ⁷; **Jh** xuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ xəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃiɑ⁷; **Dy** xɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *xaʔ⁷: **Sc** xaʔ⁷; **Sy** xɔʔ⁷; **Lq** (xuəʔ⁷₍f₎); **Yh** xɑʔ⁷; **Pc** xa⁷; **Qy** (xuɑʔ⁷₍f₎)

CSS #xɑʔ⁷: **Kh** xɔʔ⁷; **Cs** xʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** xɐʔ⁷; **Gf** xɐʔ⁷

675 *biàn* 變〔山開三去線幫 B〕 ‘change’ **CDC** *pian⁵ / **EC** *ponh ≍ *panh

CSWW *ɓiɛ̃⁵

CJQ *ɓiɛ̃⁵: **Ly** pie⁵; **Jh** pie⁵ [1] ≍ piã⁵ [2]; **Pj** piɛ̃⁵; **Dy** pi⁵; **Yk** ʔbiə⁵; **Wy** ʔmie⁵

CLS *ɓiɛ̃⁵: **Sc** ʔbiɛ̃⁵; **Sy** ʔbiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʔbie⁵; **Pc** piãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbiɛ̃⁵

CSS *piə̃⁵

676 *biān* 編〔山開三平仙幫 A〕 ‘bind, compile’ **CDC** *pian¹ / **EC** *pen ≍ *’pen

CSWW *ɓiɛ̃¹

CJQ *ɓiɛ̃¹: **Ly** pie¹; **Jh** pie¹ [1] ≍ piã¹ [2]; **Pj** piɛ̃¹; **Dy** pi¹; **Yk** ʔbiə¹; **Wy** mie¹

CLS *ɓiɛ̃¹: **Sc** ʔbiɛ̃¹; **Sy** ʔbiɛ̃¹; **Lq** ʔbiɛ¹; **Yh** ʔbie¹ ≍ ʔbie¹; **Pc** piãi¹; **Qy** ʔbiɛ̃¹

CSS *piə̃¹ ‘braid (n.)’

677 *piān* 篇〔山開三平仙滂 A〕 ‘chapter (clf.)’ **CDC** *phian¹ / **EC** *phen

CSWW *pʰiɛ̃¹

CJQ *pʰiɛ̃¹: **Ly** pʰie¹; **Jh** pʰie¹ [1] ≍ pʰiã¹ [2]; **Pj** pʰiɛ̃⁻⁵⁵; **Dy** pʰi¹; **Yk** pʰiə¹; **Wy** pʰie⁻⁵³

CLS *pʰiẽ¹: **Sc** pʰiẽ¹; **Sy** pʰiɛ̃¹; **Lq** pʰiɛ¹; **Yh** pʰie¹; **Pc** pʰiãi¹; **Qy** pʰiɛ̃¹
CSS #pʰiə̃¹: **Kh** pʰiɛ̃¹; **Cs** pʰiẽ¹; **Js** pʰiɛ̃¹; **Ys** pʰiẽ¹; **Gf** pʰiẽ¹

678 *pián* 便〔山開三平仙並 A〕 'be of good value, cheap ～宜' **CDC** *bian² / **EC** *ben
CSWW *biẽ² ～宜 'cheap'
CJQ *biẽ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** bie²[1]≍bi²[2]≍biã²[3]; **Pj** biẽ⁻²⁴; **Dy** bi²; **Yk** —; **Wy** bie⁻²¹
CLS *biẽ²: **Sc** biẽ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** biɛ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** piãi²; **Qy** piɛ̃²
CSS #biə̃²: **Kh** biɛ̃²; **Cs** biẽ⁻²⁴; **Js** biɛ̃⁻³³; **Ys** biẽ⁻²²; **Gf** biẽ⁻²⁴

679 *biàn* 便〔廣韻：山開三去線並 A〕 'convenient' **CDC** *bian⁶ / **EC** *benh
CSWW *biẽ⁶
CJQ *biẽ⁶: **Ly** bie⁶; **Jh** bie⁶[1]≍biã⁶[2]; **Pj** biẽ⁶; **Dy** bi⁶; **Yk** biə⁶; **Wy** bie⁶
CLS *biẽ⁶: **Sc** biẽ⁶; **Sy** biɛ̃⁶; **Lq** biɛ⁶; **Yh** bie⁶; **Pc** piãi⁶; **Qy** piɛ̃⁶[2]≍ʔbiɛ̃⁶[3]
CSS #biə̃⁶: **Kh** biɛ̃⁶; **Cs** biẽ⁶; **Js** biɛ̃⁶; **Ys** biẽ⁶; **Gf** biẽ⁶

680 *mián* 棉〔山開三平仙明 A〕 'cotton' **CDC** *mian² / **EC** *men
CSWW *miẽ²
CJQ *miẽ²: **Ly** mie²; **Jh** mie²[1]≍miã²[2]; **Pj** miẽ²; **Dy** mi²; **Yk** miə²; **Wy** mie²
CLS *miẽ²: **Sc** miẽ²; **Sy** miɛ̃²; **Lq** miɛ²; **Yh** mie²; **Pc** miãi²; **Qy** miɛ̃²
CSS *miə̃²

681 *miàn* 面〔山開三去線明 A〕 'face' **CDC** *ʰmian⁶ / **EC** *ʰmenh
CSWW *miẽ⁶
CJQ *miẽ⁶: **Ly** mie$^{5}_{|t}$; **Jh** mie⁶[1]≍miã⁶[2]; **Pj** miẽ⁶[1]≍mɛ̃⁰[2]; **Dy** mi⁶; **Yk** miə⁶; **Wy** mie⁶
CLS *miẽ⁶: **Sc** miẽ⁶; **Sy** miɛ̃⁶; **Lq** miɛ⁶; **Yh** mie⁶; **Pc** miãi⁶; **Qy** miɛ̃⁶
CSS *miə̃⁶

682 *lián* 連〔山開三平仙來 AB〕 'connect' **CDC** *lian² / **EC** *len
CSWW *liẽ²
CJQ *liẽ²: **Ly** lie²; **Jh** lie²[1]≍liã²[2]; **Pj** liẽ²[1]≍n̥iẽ²[2]; **Dy** li²; **Yk** liə²; **Wy** nie²
CLS *liẽ²: **Sc** liẽ²; **Sy** liɛ̃²; **Lq** liɛ²; **Yh** lie²; **Pc** liãi²; **Qy** liɛ̃²
CSS #liə̃²: **Kh** liɛ̃²; **Cs** liẽ²; **Js** liɛ̃²; **Ys** liẽ²; **Gf** liẽ²[1]≍iẽ²[2]

683 *jiān* 煎〔山開三平仙精 AB〕 'dry-fry' **CDC** *tsian¹ / **EC** *tsen
CSWW *tsiẽ¹
CJQ *tsiẽ¹: **Ly** tɕie¹; **Jh** tsie¹[1]≍tsiã¹[2]; **Pj** tsiẽ¹; **Dy** tsi¹; **Yk** tɕiə¹; **Wy** tɕie¹
CLS *tɕiẽ¹: **Sc** tɕiẽ¹; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕiɛ¹; **Yh** tʃie¹; **Pc** tɕiãi¹; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃¹
CSS #tɕiə̃¹: **Kh** tɕiɛ̃¹; **Cs** tɕiẽ¹; **Js** tɕiɛ̃¹; **Ys** tɕiẽ¹; **Gf** tɕiẽ¹

684 *jiǎn* 剪〔山開三上獮精 AB〕 ‘trim, shear’ **CDC** *tsian³ / **EC** *tsenx

CSWW *tsiã³

CJQ *tsiã³: **Ly** tɕie³; **Jh** tsia³ [1] ≍ tsiã³ [2]; **Pj** tʃiã³; **Dy** tsi³; **Yk** tɕiɑ³; **Wy** tɕie³

CLS *tɕiã³: **Sc** tɕiẽ³; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕiɛ³; **Yh** tʃie³; **Pc** tɕiãi³; **Qy** tɕiã³

CSS *tɕiə̃³

This is one of the only words for which *-iã does not correspond to QYS Div. IV. The rime books are probably in error. The distinction of Div. III and IV after sibilant initials is one of the cases of disputed pronunciations mentioned in the preface of the *Qièyùn*.

685 *jiàn* 箭〔山開三去線精 AB〕 ‘arrow’ **CDC** *tsian⁵ / **EC** *tsenh

CSWW *tsiẽ⁵

CJQ *tsiẽ⁵: **Ly** tɕie⁵; **Jh** tsie⁵ [1] ≍ tsiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tsɛ̃⁵; **Dy** tsi⁵; **Yk** tɕiə⁵; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕiẽ⁵: **Sc** tɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** tʃie⁵; **Pc** tɕiãi⁵; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS #tɕiə̃⁵: **Kh** tɕiɛ̃⁵; **Cs** tɕiẽ⁵; **Js** tɕiɛ̃⁵; **Ys** tɕiẽ⁵; **Gf** tɕiẽ⁵

686 *qiǎn* 淺〔山開三上獮清 AB〕 ‘shallow’ **CDC** *tshian³ / **EC** *tshenx

CSWW *tsʰiẽ³

CJQ *tsʰiẽ³: **Ly** tɕʰie³; **Jh** tsʰie³ [1] ≍ tsʰiã³; **Pj** tsʰiẽ³; **Dy** tsʰi³; **Yk** tɕʰiə³; **Wy** tɕʰie³

CLS *tɕʰiẽ³: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ³; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ³; **Yh** tʃʰie³; **Pc** tɕʰiãi³; **Qy** tɕʰiɛ̃³

CSS *tɕʰiə̃³

687 *jiàn* 賤〔山開三去線從 AB〕 ‘cheap, lowly’ **CDC** *dzian⁶ / **EC** *dzanh

CSWW *ziẽ⁶

CJQ *ziẽ⁶: **Ly** ʑie⁶ [1] ≍ dʑie⁶ [2]; **Jh** zie⁶ [1] ≍ dziã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ziẽ⁶; **Dy** zi⁶; **Yk** ʑiə⁶; **Wy** ʑie⁶

CLS *ʑiẽ⁶: **Sc** ʑiẽ⁶; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃⁵₍ₗₜ₎; **Lq** ʑiɛ⁶; **Yh** ʒie⁶; **Pc** tɕiãi⁶; **Qy** ɕiɛ̃⁶

CSS *ʑiə̃⁶

688 *xiān* 鮮〔山開三平仙心 AB〕 ‘fresh’ **CDC** *sian¹ / **EC** *san ≍ *say

CSWW *(s,š)yẽ¹₍ₗₐ₎ [1] ≍ *siẽ¹ [2]

CJQ *siẽ¹: **Ly** ɕie¹ [1] ≍ ɕye¹ [2]; **Jh** sie¹ [1] ≍ siã¹ [2]; **Pj** siẽ¹; **Dy** si¹; **Yk** ɕiə¹; **Wy** ɕie¹

CLS *ɕiẽ¹: **Sc** ɕiẽ¹; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃¹; **Lq** ɕiɛ¹; **Yh** ʃie¹; **Pc** ɕiãi¹; **Qy** ɕiɛ̃¹₍ₗₜ₎

CSS #ɕyə̃¹ ≍ #ɕiə̃¹

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ɕyẽ¹; **Gf** ɕyẽ¹

b. **Kh** ɕiɛ̃¹; **Cs** ɕiẽ¹; **Js** ɕiɛ̃¹; **Ys** ɕiẽ¹; **Gf** ɕiẽ¹

689 *xuǎn* 癬〔山開三上獮心 AB〕 ‘ringworm’ **CDC** *sian³ / **EC** *sanx

CSWW *šyẽ³ [1] ≍ *(s,š)iẽ³ [2]

CJQ *šyẽ³ ≍ *(s,š)iẽ³
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɕyɤ³ ≍ ɕyã³ [2]; **Pj** sɛ̃³; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** {ɕie³}
b. **Ly** ɕie³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** si³; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** {ɕie³}

CLS *ɕyẽ³ ≍ *ɕiẽ³
a. **Sc** ɕyã³; **Sy** ɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** suãi³; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃie³; **Pc** ɕiãi³; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕiã³

690 *xiàn* 線〔山開三去線心 AB〕 ‘line’ **CDC** *sian⁵ / **EC** *sanh

CSWW *siẽ⁵

CJQ *siẽ⁵: **Ly** ɕie⁵; **Jh** sie⁵ [1] ≍ siã⁵ [2]; **Pj** sɛ̃⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵ [1] ≍ ɕiɑ⁻⁴⁴ [2] ∼ 襪 ‘cotton socks’; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕiẽ⁵: **Sc** ɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʃie⁵; **Pc** ɕiãi⁵; **Qy** ɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS *ɕiã⁵

691 *chán* 纏〔山開三平仙澄 AB〕 ‘entwine’ **CDC** *jian² / **EC** *dran (?)

CSWW *džyẽ² 盤∼ ‘travel fare’

CJQ *džyẽ²: **Ly** dzuei² *!use*; **Jh** dʑyɤ⁶₍!t₎ *!use* ≍ dʑyã⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑyɛ̃²; **Dy** dzʊ²; **Yk** dʑyə²; **Wy** dʑye⁻³¹

CLS *dʑyẽ² [1] ≍ *dʑiẽ² [2]
a. **Sc** ʑyã²₍!i₎ [2] *!use*; **Sy** dʑyɛ̃⁶₍!t₎ *!use*; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsuãi² *!use*; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃²
b. **Sc** dʑiẽ² [1]; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiɛ²; **Yh** dʒie²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁶₍!t₎

CSS *dʑyã²

692 *zhàn* 戰〔山開三去線章 AB〕 ‘battle’ **CDC** *cian⁵ / **EC** *tanh

CSWW *tšiẽ⁵

CJQ *tšiẽ⁵: **Ly** tsei⁵; **Jh** tɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕyã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃian⁵⁵₍!f₎; **Dy** tsi⁵; **Yk** tɕiə⁵; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕiẽ⁵: **Sc** tɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** tʃie⁵; **Pc** tɕiãi⁵; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS *tɕiã⁵

693 *shàn* 扇〔山開三去線書 AB〕 ‘fan’ **CDC** *shian⁵ / **EC** *hyanh (?)

CSWW *šiẽ⁵

CJQ *šiẽ⁵: **Ly** sei⁵; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ ɕyã⁵ [2] ≍ sã⁵ [3]; **Pj** sɛ̃⁵; **Dy** si⁵; **Yk** ɕiə⁵; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕiẽ⁵: **Sc** ɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** ɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** ʃie⁵; **Pc** ɕiãi⁵; **Qy** ɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS *ɕiã⁵

694 *jiàn* 件〔山開三上獮羣 B〕 ‘article (clf.)’ **CDC** *gian⁴ / **EC** *gonx ≍ *ganx

CSWW *giẽ⁴

CJQ *giẽ⁴: **Ly** dʑie⁴ [1] ≍ dʑie⁶ [2]; **Jh** dʑie⁶ [1] ≍ dʑiã⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑiẽ⁻²⁴ [1] ≍ dʑyẽ⁻²⁴ [2]; **Dy** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** giə⁴; **Wy** dʑie⁴

CLS *giẽ⁴: **Sc** dʑiẽ⁴; **Sy** (dʑiɛ̃⁶); **Lq** (dʑiɛ⁶˧ᶠ); **Yh** dʒie⁴; **Pc** kiãi⁶; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁴
CSS *giə⁴

695 *yán* 延〔山開三平仙以 A〕 ‘extend’ **CDC** *yan² / **EC** *yan
CSWW *ɦiẽ²
CJQ *ɦiẽ²: **Ly** ie²; **Jh** ie² [1] ≍ iã² [2]; **Pj** (ian²); **Dy** i²; **Yk** iə²; **Wy** ȵie²
CLS *ɦiẽ²: **Sc** iẽ²; **Sy** (iɛ̃⁶˩ᵗ); **Lq** iɛ²; **Yh** ie²; **Pc** iãi²; **Qy** iɛ̃²
CSS #ɦiə²: **Kh** iɛ̃²; **Cs** (iẽ⁴˩ᵗ); **Js** iɛ̃²; **Ys** iẽ²; **Gf** iẽ⁴˩ᵗ

696 *biē* 鱉〔山開三入薛幫 A〕 ‘turtle’ **CDC** *piat⁷ / **EC** *pet
CSWW *ɓieʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓieʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** pie⁵ [1] ≍ piəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** piʔ⁷; **Dy** piəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbiə³; **Wy** pieʔ⁷
CLS *ɓieʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbieʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbieʔ⁷; **Pc** pie⁷; **Qy** ʔbieʔ⁷
CSS *piəʔ⁷

697 *bié* 別〔山開三入薛並 B〕 ‘distinct’ **CDC** *biat⁸ / **EC** *bet
CSWW *bieʔ⁸
CJQ *bieʔ⁸: **Ly** biəʔ⁸; **Jh** bie⁶ [1] ≍ biəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** biə⁸; **Dy** bi⁻¹¹ [1] ≍ biəʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** bə⁴ [1] ≍ biə⁴ [2]; **Wy** bəʔ⁸˧ᶠ [1] ≍ bie⁴ [2]
CLS *bieʔ⁸: **Sc** bieʔ⁸; **Sy** (ʔbiɛʔ⁷˧ⁱ); **Lq** biɛʔ⁸; **Yh** bieʔ⁸; **Pc** pie⁷; **Qy** pieʔ⁸ [1]
CSS *biəʔ⁸

698 *miè* 滅〔山開三入薛明 A〕 ‘extinguish’ **CDC** *miat⁸ / **EC** *met
CSWW *mieʔ⁸
CJQ *mieʔ⁸: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** mie⁶ [1] ≍ miəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** mi⁸ [1] ≍ miə⁸ [2]; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴
CLS *mieʔ⁸: **Sc** mieʔ⁸; **Sy** miɛʔ⁸; **Lq** miɛʔ⁸; **Yh** mieʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** mieʔ⁸
CSS #miəʔ⁸: **Kh** miɛʔ⁸; **Cs** miəʔ⁸; **Js** miɛʔ⁸; **Ys** miɐʔ⁸; **Gf** miɐʔ⁸

699 *xuē* 薛〔山開三入薛心 AB〕 ‘Xuē (pn.)’ **CDC** *siat⁷ / **EC** *sat
CSWW *siaʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *(s,ɕ)yeʔ⁷˧ᵃ [2]
CJQ *sieʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷˧ᶠ [2] ≍ ɕyəʔ⁷ [1]; **Pj** si⁷ ≍ ʃiə⁷; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** ɕie⁵
CLS *siaʔ⁷ ≍ *ɕyeʔ⁷˧ᵃ
a. **Sc** ɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** —
CSS *ɕiəʔ⁷ ≍ *ɕyəʔ⁷

700 *chè* 撤〔廣韻：山開三入薛徹 AB〕 ‘remove’ **CDC** *chiat⁷ / **EC** *thret
CSWW *tšʰieʔ⁷

CJQ *tšʰie?⁷: **Ly** tsʰə?⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyə?⁷˧ˀf [1] ≍ tsʰə?⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʃʰiə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiə?⁷; **Yk** tɕʰiə³; **Wy** tɕʰie⁵

CLS *tɕʰie?⁷: **Sc** tɕʰie?⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ?⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ?⁷; **Yh** tʃʰie?⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰie?⁷

CSS #tɕʰiə?⁷: **Kh** tɕʰiɛ?⁷; **Cs** tɕʰiə?⁷; **Js** tɕʰiᴇ?⁷; **Ys** tɕʰiɐ?⁷; **Gf** (dʑiɐ?⁸˧ˌit)

701 *zhé* 折〔山開三入薛章 AB〕 'discount' **CDC** *ciat⁷ / **EC** *tat

CSWW *tšie?⁷

CJQ *tšie?⁷: **Ly** tsə?⁷; **Jh** tɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕyə?⁷ [2] ≍ tsə?⁷ [3]; **Pj** tɕyi⁷˧ˌif; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕiə³; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕie?⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕiɛ?⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛ?⁷; **Yh** tʃie?⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕie?⁷

CSS #tɕiə?⁷: **Kh** tɕiɛ?⁷; **Cs** tɕiə?⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕiɐ?⁷; **Gf** —

702 *zhè* 浙〔山開三入薛章 AB〕 'Zhè (pn.)' **CDC** *ciat⁷ / **EC** —

CSWW *tšie?⁷

CJQ *tšie?⁷: **Ly** tsə?⁷; **Jh** tɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕyə?⁷ [2] ≍ tsə?⁷ [3]; **Pj** tʃiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiə?⁷; **Yk** tɕiə⁻⁴⁴; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *tɕie?⁷: **Sc** tɕie?⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛ?⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛ?⁷; **Yh** tʃie?⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕie?⁷

CSS #tɕiə?⁷: **Kh** tɕiɛ?⁷; **Cs** tɕiə?⁷; **Js** tɕiᴇ?⁷; **Ys** tɕiɐ?⁷; **Gf** tɕiɐ?⁷

703 *shé* 舌〔山開三入薛船 AB〕 'tongue' **CDC** *zhiat⁸ / **EC** *δat

CSWW *džie?⁸

CJQ *džie?⁸: **Ly** dzə?⁸; **Jh** dʑyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ dʑyə?⁸ [2] ≍ zə?⁸ [3]; **Pj** dʑi⁸ ≍ dʒiə⁸; **Dy** ʑiə?⁸; **Yk** dʑiə⁴; **Wy** dʑie⁴

CLS *dʑie?⁸: **Sc** dʑie?⁸; **Sy** dʑiɛ?⁸; **Lq** dʑiɛ?⁸; **Yh** dʒie?⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕie?⁸

CSS *dʑiə?⁸

704 *shè* 設〔山開三入薛書 AB〕 'set up' **CDC** *shiat⁷ / **EC** *hyet

CSWW *šie?⁷

CJQ *šie?⁷: **Ly** sə?⁷; **Jh** ɕyə?⁷˧ˀf [1] ≍ sə?⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyə⁷˧ˀf; **Dy** ɕiə?⁷; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** ɕie⁵

CLS *ɕie?⁷: **Sc** ɕie?⁷; **Sy** ɕiɛ?⁷; **Lq** ɕiɛ?⁷; **Yh** ʃie?⁷; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕie?⁷

CSS *ɕiə?⁷

705 *shé* 折〔廣韻：山開三入薛常 AB〕 'sell at loss' **CDC** *zhiat⁸ / **EC** *dat

CSWW *žie?⁸

CJQ *žie?⁸: **Ly** zə?⁸; **Jh** ʑyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑyə?⁸ [2]; **Pj** zi⁸; **Dy** ʑiə?⁸; **Yk** ʑiə⁴; **Wy** ʑie⁴

CLS *ʑie?⁸: **Sc** ʑie?⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʑiɛ?⁸; **Yh** ʒie?⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕie?⁸

CSS *ʑiə?⁸

706 *rè* 熱〔山開三入薛日 AB〕 'hot' **CDC** *nhiat⁸ / **EC** *nat

CSWW *ȵie?⁸

CJQ *ȵie^{8}: **Ly** ȵiə^{8}; **Jh** ȵie^{6} [1] ⪤ ȵiə^{8} [2] ⪤ ʑyə^{8} [3]; **Pj** ȵi^{8} [1] ⪤ ȵiə^{8} [2]; **Dy** ȵiə^{8}; **Yk** ȷiə^{4}; **Wy** ȵie^{4}

CLS *ȵie^{8}: **Sc** ȵie^{8}; **Sy** ȵiɛ^{8}; **Lq** ȵiɛ^{8}; **Yh** ȷie^{8}; **Pc** ŋie^{7}; **Qy** ȵie^{8}

CSS *ȵiə^{8}

707 *jié* 傑〔山開三入薛羣 B〕 ‘outstanding’ **CDC** *giat^{8} / **EC** *gat

CSWW *gie^{8}

CJQ *gie^{8}: **Ly** dʑiə^{8}; **Jh** (dʑiə^{8}$_{!f}$); **Pj** (dʑiə^{8}$_{!f}$); **Dy** dʑiə^{8}; **Yk** giə^{4}; **Wy** dʑie^{4}

CLS *gie^{8}: **Sc** dʑie^{8}; **Sy** dʑiɛ^{8}; **Lq** dʑiɛ^{8}; **Yh** dʒie^{8}; **Pc** kie^{7}; **Qy** tɕie^{8}

CSS *giə^{8}

708 *jiàn* 建〔山開三去願見 C〕 ‘establish’ **CDC** *kian^{5} / **EC** *konh ⪤ *kanh

CSWW *kiẽ^{5}

CJQ *kiẽ^{5}: **Ly** tɕie^{5}; **Jh** tɕie^{5} [1] ⪤ tɕiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** tɕiẽ^{5} [1] ⪤ tɕian^{5} [2]; **Dy** tɕi^{5}; **Yk** kiə^{5}; **Wy** tɕie^{5}

CLS *kiẽ^{5}: **Sc** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** tɕiɛ^{5}; **Yh** tʃie^{5}; **Pc** kiãi^{5}; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃^{5}

CSS #kiã^{5}: **Kh** tɕiẽ^{5}; **Cs** tɕiẽ^{3}$_{!t}$; **Js** kiɛ̃^{5}; **Ys** kiẽ^{5}; **Gf** kiẽ^{5}

709 *jiàn* 健〔山開三去願羣 C〕 ‘healthy’ **CDC** *gian^{6} / **EC** *gonh ⪤ *ganh

CSWW *giẽ^{6}

CJQ *giẽ^{6}: **Ly** dʑie^{6} ‘energetic’ ⪤ tɕie^{5}; **Jh** dʑie^{6} [1] ⪤ dʑiã^{6} [2]; **Pj** dʑiẽ^{6} ‘stable (of old people’s bodies)’ ⪤ tɕian^{5}; **Dy** dʑi^{6}; **Yk** giə^{6}; **Wy** dʑie^{6}

CLS *giẽ^{6}: **Sc** dʑiẽ^{6}; **Sy** (dʑiɛ̃^{4}); **Lq** dʑiɛ^{6}; **Yh** dʒie^{6}; **Pc** kiãi^{6}; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃^{6}

CSS *giə^{6}

710 *yán* 言〔山開三平元疑 C〕 ‘words’ **CDC** *ngian^{2} / **EC** *ngon ⪤ *ngan

CSWW *ȵiẽ^{2}

CJQ *ȵiẽ^{2}: **Ly** ie^{2}$_{!i}$; **Jh** ȵie^{2} [1] ⪤ ȵiã^{2} [2]; **Pj** (ȵian^{2}); **Dy** ȵi^{2} ⪤ ȵien^{2}; **Yk** ȷiə^{2}; **Wy** ȵie^{2}

CLS *ȵiẽ^{2}: **Sc** ȵiẽ^{2}; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃^{2}; **Lq** ȵiɛ^{2}; **Yh** ȷie^{2}; **Pc** ŋiãi^{2}; **Qy** ȵiɛ̃^{2}

CSS #ȵiã^{2}: **Kh** ȵiẽ^{2}; **Cs** ȵiẽ^{2}; **Js** ȵiɛ̃^{2}; **Ys** ȵiẽ^{2}; **Gf** ȵiẽ^{2}

711 *xiān* 掀〔山開三平元曉 C〕 ‘lift up’ **CDC** *xian^{1} / **EC** —

CSWW *x(ə̃,eŋ)^{1}$_{!a}$ [1] ⪤ *xiẽ^{1} [2]

CJQ *xiẽ^{1}: **Ly** ɕie^{1}; **Jh** ɕie^{5}$_{!t}$ [1] ⪤ ɕiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** ʃin^{5}$_{!ft}$; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɕie^{1}

CLS *x(ə̃,eŋ)^{1}$_{!a}$ ⪤ *xiẽ^{1}

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xã^{1}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃^{1}; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃie^{1}; **Pc** xiãi^{1}; **Qy** —

CSS *xə̃^{1}$_{!a}$ ⩙ #xiə̃^{1}
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** xʌ̃^{1}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ɕiɛ̃^{1}; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** xiẽ^{1}; **Gf** xiẽ^{1}

712 *xiàn* 獻〔山開三去願曉 C〕 ‘contribute’ **CDC** *xian^{5} / **EC** *honh ⩙ *hanh

CSWW *xiẽ^{5}

CJQ *xiẽ^{5}: **Ly** ɕie^{5}; **Jh** ɕie^{5} ⩙ ɕiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** ʃiẽ^{3} [1] ⩙ ʃian^{3} [2]; **Dy** ɕi^{5}; **Yk** xiə^{5}; **Wy** ɕie^{5}

CLS *xiẽ^{5}: **Sc** ɕiẽ^{3}$_{!t}$; **Sy** ɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** ɕiɛ^{5}; **Yh** ʃie^{5}; **Pc** xiãi^{5}; **Qy** ɕiẽ^{5}

CSS #xiə̃^{5}: **Kh** ɕiɛ̃^{5}; **Cs** ɕiẽ^{3}; **Js** xiɛ̃^{5}; **Ys** xiẽ^{3}; **Gf** xiẽ^{5}

713 *xiē* 歇〔山開三入月曉 C〕 ‘rest’ **CDC** *xiat^{7} / **EC** *hot ⩙ *hat

CSWW *xieʔ^{7}

CJQ *xieʔ^{7}: **Ly** ɕiəʔ^{7}; **Jh** ɕie^{5} [1] ⩙ ɕiəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** ɕi^{7}; **Dy** ɕiəʔ^{7}; **Yk** xiə^{3}; **Wy** ɕie^{5}

CLS *xieʔ^{7}: **Sc** ɕieʔ^{7}; **Sy** ɕiɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** ɕiɛʔ^{7}; **Yh** ʃieʔ^{7}; **Pc** xie^{7}; **Qy** ɕieʔ^{7}

CSS *xiəʔ^{7}

714 *biān* 邊〔山開四平先幫〕 ‘side’ **CDC** *pian^{1} / **EC** *’pen

CSWW *ɓiẽ^{1}

CJQ *ɓiẽ^{1}: **Ly** pie^{1}; **Jh** pie^{1} [1] ⩙ piã^{1} [2]; **Pj** piẽ^{1}; **Dy** pin^{335} [兒] ⩙ pien^{1}; **Yk** ʔbiə^{1}; **Wy** mie^{1} ⩙ min^{1} [兒]

CLS *ɓiẽ^{1}: **Sc** ʔbiẽ^{1}; **Sy** ʔbiɛ̃^{5}$_{!t}$; **Lq** ʔbiɛ^{1}; **Yh** ʔbie^{1}; **Pc** piãi^{1}; **Qy** ʔbiɛ̃^{1}

CSS #piə̃^{1}: **Kh** piɛ̃^{1}; **Cs** piẽ^{1}; **Js** piɛ̃^{1}; **Ys** piẽ^{1}; **Gf** piẽ^{1}

715 *biǎn* 扁〔廣韻：山開四上銑幫〕 ‘flattened’ **CDC** *pian^{3} / **EC** *’penx

CSWW *ɓiã^{3}

CJQ *ɓiẽ^{3}: **Ly** pie^{3}; **Jh** pie^{3} [1] ⩙ piã^{3} [2]; **Pj** piẽ^{3}; **Dy** pi^{3}; **Yk** ʔbiə^{3}; **Wy** ʔmie^{3}

CLS *ɓiã^{3}: **Sc** ʔbiẽ^{3}; **Sy** ʔbiɛ̃^{3}; **Lq** ʔbiɛ^{3}; **Yh** ʔbie^{3}; **Pc** piãi^{3}; **Qy** ʔbiã^{3}

CSS #piə̃^{3}: **Kh** piɛ̃^{3}; **Cs** piẽ^{3}; **Js** piɛ̃^{3}; **Ys** piẽ^{3}; **Gf** piẽ^{3}

716 *piàn* 片〔山開四去霰滂〕 ‘slice (clf.)’ **CDC** *phian^{5} / **EC** *’phenh

CSWW *pʰiã^{5}

CJQ *pʰiẽ^{5}: **Ly** pʰie^{5}; **Jh** pʰie^{5} [1] ⩙ pʰiã^{5} [2]; **Pj** pʰiẽ^{5}; **Dy** pʰi^{5}; **Yk** pʰiə^{5}; **Wy** pʰie^{5}

CLS *pʰiã^{5}: **Sc** pʰiẽ^{5}; **Sy** pʰiɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** pʰiɛ^{5}; **Yh** pʰie^{5}; **Pc** pʰiãi^{5}; **Qy** pʰiã^{5}

CSS *pʰiə̃^{5}

717 *biàn* 辮〔山開四上銑並〕 ‘braid’ **CDC** *bian^{4} / **EC** *’benx

CSWW *biẽ^{4}

CJQ *biẽ^{4}: **Ly** bie^{4}; **Jh** pie^{3} [1] ⩙ biã^{6} [2]; **Pj** biẽn^{6}$_{!t}$ [兒]; **Dy** biɛn^{-335} [兒]; **Yk** biə$^{4\text{-}14}$ [兒]; **Wy** bie^{6}$_{!t}$

CLS *biẽ⁴: **Sc** biẽ⁴; **Sy** biɛ̃⁴; **Lq** ʔbiɛ³; **Yh** bie⁶₍!t₎; **Pc** piãi⁴; **Qy** piã⁴
CSS *biə⁴

718 *miàn* 麵〔山開四去霰明〕 ‘flour’ **CDC** *mian⁶ / **EC** *’menh
CSWW *miã⁶
CJQ *miẽ⁶: **Ly** mie⁵; **Jh** mie⁶ [1] ≍ miã⁶ [2]; **Pj** miẽ⁶; **Dy** mi⁶; **Yk** miə⁶; **Wy** mie⁶
CLS *miã⁶: **Sc** miẽ⁶; **Sy** miɛ̃⁶; **Lq** miɛ⁶; **Yh** mie⁶; **Pc** miãi⁶; **Qy** miã⁶
CSS *miə⁶

719 *diān* 癲（瘨）〔山開四平先端〕 ‘crazy’ **CDC** *tian¹ / **EC** *’tin
CSWW *ɗiã¹
CJQ *ɗiã¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** tia¹ [1] ≍ tiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tiã¹; **Dy** ti⁻³³ ～農 ‘lunatic’; **Yk** ʔdiɑ¹; **Wy** nie¹
CLS *ɗiã¹: **Sc** ʔdiẽ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdie¹; **Pc** liãi¹; **Qy** ʔdiã¹
CSS *tiə¹

720 *diǎn* 典〔山開四上銑端〕 ‘classic’ **CDC** *tian³ / **EC** *’tunx ≍ *’tinx
CSWW *ɗiã³
CJQ *ɗiã³: **Ly** tie³; **Jh** tia³ [1] ≍ tiã³ [2]; **Pj** tiã³; **Dy** ti³; **Yk** ʔdiɑ³; **Wy** ʔnie³
CLS *ɗiã³: **Sc** ʔdiẽ³; **Sy** ʔdiɛ̃³; **Lq** ʔdiɛ³; **Yh** ʔdie³; **Pc** liãi³; **Qy** ʔdiã³
CSS #tiə³: **Kh** tiɛ̃³; **Cs** tiẽ³; **Js** tiɛ̃¹; **Ys** tiẽ³; **Gf** tiẽ³

721 *tiān* 天〔山開四平先透〕 ‘sky’ **CDC** *thian¹ / **EC** *’thin
CSWW *tʰiã¹
CJQ *tʰiã¹: **Ly** tʰie¹; **Jh** tʰia¹ [1] ≍ tʰiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tʰiã¹; **Dy** tʰi¹; **Yk** tiɑ¹; **Wy** tʰie¹
CLS *tʰiã¹: **Sc** tʰiẽ¹; **Sy** tʰiɛ̃¹; **Lq** tʰiɛ¹; **Yh** tʰie¹; **Pc** tʰiãi¹; **Qy** tʰiã¹
CSS *tʰiə¹

722 *tián* 田〔山開四平先定〕 ‘field’ **CDC** *dian² / **EC** *’din
CSWW *diã²
CJQ *diã²: **Ly** die²; **Jh** dia² [1] ≍ diã² [2]; **Pj** diã²; **Dy** di²; **Yk** diɑ²; **Wy** die²
CLS *diã²: **Sc** diẽ²; **Sy** tiɛ̃²; **Lq** diɛ²; **Yh** die²; **Pc** tiãi²; **Qy** tiã²
CSS *diə²

723 *diàn* 殿〔山開四去霰定〕 ‘hall’ **CDC** *dian⁶ / **EC** *’dunh ≍ *’dinh
CSWW *diã⁶
CJQ *diã⁶: **Ly** die⁶; **Jh** dia⁶ [1] ≍ diã⁶ [2]; **Pj** diã⁶; **Dy** di⁶; **Yk** diɑ⁶; **Wy** die⁶
CLS *diã⁶: **Sc** diẽ⁶; **Sy** diɛ̃⁶; **Lq** (diaŋ⁶₍!f₎); **Yh** die⁶; **Pc** tiãi⁶; **Qy** tiã⁶
CSS #diə⁶: **Kh** diɛ̃⁶; **Cs** diẽ⁶; **Js** diɛ̃⁶; **Ys** diẽ⁶; **Gf** diẽ⁶

724 *nián* 年〔山開四平先泥〕 ‘year’ **CDC** *nian² / **EC** *’nin

CSWW *ȵiã²

CJQ *ȵiã²: **Ly** ȵie²; **Jh** ȵia² [1] ≍ ȵiã² [2]; **Pj** ȵiã² [1] ≍ ȵian² [2]; **Dy** ȵi²; **Yk** ɲiɑ²; **Wy** ȵie²

CLS *ȵiã²: **Sc** ȵiẽ²; **Sy** ȵiɛ̃²; **Lq** ȵiɛ²; **Yh** ɲie²; **Pc** ŋiãi²; **Qy** ȵiã² [1]

CSS *ȵiə²

725 *lián* 蓮〔山開四平先來〕 ‘lotus’ **CDC** *lian² / **EC** *’len

CSWW *liã²

CJQ *liã²: **Ly** lie²; **Jh** lia² [1] ≍ liã² [2]; **Pj** liã²; **Dy** li² [1] ≍ lien⁻¹¹ [2]; **Yk** liɑ² [2] ≍ lieiŋ² [1]; **Wy** nie²

CLS *liã²: **Sc** liẽ²; **Sy** liɛ̃²; **Lq** liɛ²; **Yh** lie²; **Pc** liãi²; **Qy** liã² [1] ≍ liɛ̃² [2]

CSS *liə²

726 *jiàn* 薦〔山開四去霰精〕 ‘straw mat; recommend’ **CDC** *tsian⁵ / **EC** *’tsunh ≍ *’tsinh

CSWW *tsə̃⁵ [1] ‘straw mattress’ ≍ *(ts,tš)iã⁵ [2] ‘straw mattress’ ≍ *tsiẽ⁵ [3] *!use*

CJQ *tsə̃⁵ˌˌa (?) ≍ *(ts,tš)iã⁵ ≍ *tsiẽ⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tsɤ⁵ 稻桿～
b. **Ly** {tɕie⁵}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsi⁵ 稿～; **Yk** tɕiɑ⁵ [1] 稿～; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** {tɕie⁵}; **Jh** tsie⁵ [1] ≍ tsiã⁵ [2] ≍ tɕiã⁵ [3]; **Pj** (tʃian⁵ˌˌf); **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕiə⁵ [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *tsə̃⁵ˌˌa ≍ *tɕiã⁵ ≍ *tɕiẽ⁵

a. **Sc** tsə̃⁵ 稿～; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** {tɕiẽ⁵} 推～ ‘recommend’; **Sy** {tɕiɛ̃⁵}; **Lq** {tɕiɛ⁵}; **Yh** {tʃie⁵}; **Pc** {tɕiãi⁵}; **Qy** tɕiã⁵ [1]
c. **Sc** {tɕiẽ⁵} 推～ ‘recommend’; **Sy** {tɕiɛ̃⁵}; **Lq** {tɕiɛ⁵}; **Yh** {tʃie⁵}; **Pc** {tɕiãi⁵}; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁵ [2] ‘level (a floor)’

CSS #tsə̃⁵ ≍ *tɕiə⁵ [2] ‘level (a floor)’

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tsæ⁵ 稿～; **Gf** tsæ⁵
b. **Kh** tɕiɛ̃⁵ *!use*; **Cs** tɕiẽ⁵; **Js** tɕiɛ̃⁵ ‘level (v.)’; **Ys** tɕiẽ⁵; **Gf** tɕiẽ⁵ ‘level (v.)’

727 *qiān* 千〔山開四平先清〕 ‘thousand’ **CDC** *tshian¹ / **EC** *’tshin

CSWW *tsʰiã¹

CJQ *tsʰiã¹: **Ly** tɕʰie¹; **Jh** tsʰia⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tʃʰiã¹; **Dy** tsʰi¹; **Yk** tɕʰiɑ¹; **Wy** tɕʰie⁵ˌˌt

CLS *tɕʰiã¹: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ¹; **Yh** tʃʰie¹; **Pc** tɕʰiãi¹; **Qy** tɕʰiã¹ [1]

CSS *tɕʰiə¹

728 *qián* 前〔山開四平先從〕 ‘front’ CDC *dzian² / EC *’dzen ≍ *’dze

CSWW *(z,ž)yei¹ [1] ≍ *ziã² [2]

CJQ *ziã²: Ly ʑie²; Jh zia² [1] ≍ dziã² [2]; Pj ʒiã²; Dy zi²; Yk ʑiɑ² [1]; Wy ʑie²

CLS *ʑye² ≍ *ʑiã²

a. Sc ʑyɤ²; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy ɕye²

b. Sc ʑiẽ²; Sy ɕiẽ²; Lq ʑiɛ²; Yh ʒie²; Pc tɕiãi²; Qy ɕiã² [3] ≍ ɕyɛ̃² [2]

CSS *ʑyəi² ≍ #dʑiə̃²ǀi [2]

a. Kh zue²; Cs zue²; Js ɕyᴇ² ≍ suᴇ² [2]; Ys ʑø² ≍ ʑiʌʔ⁸ [3]; Gf suɐi² ≍ suɤʔ⁸ [2]

b. Kh dʑiẽ²; Cs dʑiẽ⁻²²; Js dʑiɛ̃⁻³³ [3]; Ys ʑiẽ²ǀi; Gf dʑiẽ² [3]

729 *xiān* 先〔山開四平先心〕 ‘first’ CDC *sian¹ / EC *’sun ≍ *’sin

CSWW *syẽ¹ [1] ～生 ‘doctor’ ≍ *siã¹ [2]

CJQ *syẽ¹ ≍ *siã¹

a. Ly —; Jh sie¹ [2]; Pj sɛ̃¹ǀf; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —

b. Ly ɕie¹; Jh sia¹ [1] ≍ siã¹ [3]; Pj ʃiã¹; Dy si¹; Yk ɕiə¹ [1]; Wy ɕie¹

CLS *ɕyẽ¹ ≍ *ɕiã¹

a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy ɕyɛ̃¹

b. Sc ɕiẽ¹; Sy ɕiɛ̃¹; Lq ɕiɛ¹; Yh ʃie¹; Pc ɕiãi¹; Qy ɕiã¹

CSS *ɕiə̃¹

730 *jiān* 肩〔山開四平先見〕 ‘shoulder’ CDC *kian¹ / EC *’ken

CSWW *ʔiẽ¹ [1] ≍ *kiẽ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiẽ¹ ≍ *kiẽ¹

a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk iə¹; Wy —

b. Ly tɕie¹; Jh tɕie¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; Pj tɕiẽ¹; Dy tɕi¹; Yk —; Wy tɕie¹

CLS *ʔiẽ¹ ≍ *kiẽ¹

a. Sc iẽ¹ ～胛頭; Sy iɛ̃¹; Lq ȵiŋ¹ǀif; Yh —; Pc —; Qy yɛ̃¹ǀf ～頭 ≍ iɛ̃¹ [2] 左～ ‘left shoulder’

b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh tʃie¹; Pc kiãi¹; Qy —

CSS *kiə̃¹

731 *jiǎn* 筧〔山開四上銑見〕 ‘pipe’ CDC *kian³ / EC *’kenx

CSWW *kiẽ³ [2]

CJQ *kiẽ³: Ly tɕie³; Jh tsie³; Pj tɕi⁻⁵³ǀf 水～; Dy tɕi³; Yk kiə³; Wy tɕie³

CLS *kiẽ³ǀa

a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh tʃie³; Pc —; Qy —

b. Sc iẽ³ǀf; Sy yɛ̃⁵ 水～; Lq yə⁵; Yh —; Pc —; Qy yɛ̃³

CSS *kiə̃³

732 *jiàn* 見〔山開四去霰見〕 ‘see’ **CDC** *kian⁵ / **EC** *’kenh

CSWW *ʔiẽ⁵₍₁a₎ [1] ≍ *kiẽ¹ [2]

CJQ *kiẽ¹: **Ly** tɕie⁵; **Jh** tɕie⁵ [1] ≍ tɕiã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɕiẽ⁵; **Dy** tɕi⁵; **Yk** kiə⁵; **Wy** tɕie⁵

CLS *kiẽ¹: **Sc** tɕiẽ⁵; **Sy** tɕiɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕiɛ⁵; **Yh** tʃie⁵; **Pc** kiãi⁵; **Qy** tɕiɛ̃⁵

CSS *ʔiə̃⁵ ≍ #kiə̃¹

733 *qiān* 牽〔山開四平先溪〕 ‘pull along’ **CDC** *khian¹ / **EC** *’khin

CSWW *kʰiẽ¹

CJQ *kʰiẽ¹: **Ly** tɕʰie¹; **Jh** tɕʰie¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰiã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰiẽ¹; **Dy** tɕʰi¹; **Yk** kʰiə¹; **Wy** tɕʰie¹

CLS *kʰiẽ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ¹; **Yh** tʃʰie¹; **Pc** kʰiãi¹; **Qy** tɕʰiɛ̃¹

CSS #kʰiə̃¹: **Kh** tɕʰiɛ̃¹; **Cs** tɕʰiẽ¹; **Js** kʰiɛ̃¹; **Ys** kʰiẽ¹; **Gf** kʰiẽ¹

734 *xián* 弦〔山開四平先匣〕 ‘cord’ **CDC** *hian² / **EC** *’gin

CSWW *ɦiã²

CJQ *ɦiã²: **Ly** ie²; **Jh** ie² [1] ≍ ʑiã² [3] ≍ iã² [5]; **Pj** iã²; **Dy** i²; **Yk** iə²; **Wy** n̥ie²

CLS *ɦiã²: **Sc** iẽ²; **Sy** iɛ̃²; **Lq** iɛ²; **Yh** ie²; **Pc** xiãi² ≍ xyãi²; **Qy** iã²

CSS #ɦiə̃²: **Kh** (ʑyɛ̃²); **Cs** iẽ²; **Js** iɛ̃²; **Ys** iẽ²; **Gf** iẽ²

735 *yān* 煙〔山開四平先影〕 ‘smoke’ **CDC** *ian¹ / **EC** *’in

CSWW *ʔiã¹

CJQ *ʔiã¹: **Ly** ie¹; **Jh** ia¹ [1] ≍ ie¹ [1] ≍ iã¹ [2]; **Pj** iã¹; **Dy** ʔi¹; **Yk** iə¹; **Wy** n̥ie¹

CLS *iã¹: **Sc** iẽ¹; **Sy** iɛ̃¹; **Lq** iɛ¹; **Yh** ie¹; **Pc** iãi¹; **Qy** iã¹

CSS *ʔiə̃¹

736 *yàn* 燕〔山開四去霰影〕 ‘swallow (n.)’ **CDC** *ian¹ / **EC** *’en

CSWW *ʔiã⁵

CJQ *ʔiã⁵: **Ly** ie⁵ ～子; **Jh** iã³ [兒] ≍ iã⁵; **Pj** iɑ̃n⁻⁵³ [兒] ≍ ian⁵; **Dy** ʔi⁵ ～窩 ‘swallow’s nest’; **Yk** iə⁵ 子～; **Wy** ʔn̥in⁵ [兒] 子～

CLS *iã⁵: **Sc** iẽ⁵ ～兒; **Sy** iɛ̃¹₍ɬt₎; **Lq** iɛ⁵; **Yh** ie⁵; **Pc** iãi⁵; **Qy** iã⁵ ～窩 ‘swallow’s nest’

CSS #ʔiə̃⁵: **Kh** iɛ̃⁵ [2] ≍ ie⁵ [1] ～兒; **Cs** iẽ⁻⁴⁴ ～鳥; **Js** iɛ̃⁵ ～鳥; **Ys** iẽ⁵ ～兒; **Gf** iẽ⁵ ～子

737 *piě* 撇〔山開四入屑滂〕 ‘cast aside; left-falling stroke’ **CDC** *phiat⁷ / **EC** *’phet

CSWW *pʰieʔ⁷

CJQ *pʰieʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** pʰie⁵ [1] ≍ pʰiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** pʰi⁻⁵⁵ 一～; **Dy** pʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** pʰiə⁻⁵⁴ 一～; **Wy** pʰie⁵

CLS *pʰieʔ⁷: **Sc** pʰieʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** pʰiɛ⁵₍ɬft₎; **Yh** —; **Pc** pʰie⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *pʰiəʔ⁷

738 *miè* 篾〔山開四入屑明〕 ‘lath’ **CDC** *miat⁸ / **EC** *’met

CSWW *miaʔ⁸

CJQ *mieʔ⁸: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** mie⁶ [1] ≍ miəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** mi⁸; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴

CLS *miaʔ⁸: **Sc** mieʔ⁸; **Sy** miɛʔ⁸; **Lq** miɛʔ⁸; **Yh** mieʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** miɑʔ⁸

CSS *miəʔ⁸

739 *tiě* 鐵〔山開四入屑透〕 ‘iron’ **CDC** *thiat⁷ / **EC** *’thit

CSWW *tʰiaʔ⁷

CJQ *tʰiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰia⁵ [1] ≍ tʰiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʰia⁷; **Dy** tʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tiɑ³; **Wy** tʰiaʔ⁷

CLS *tʰiaʔ⁷: **Sc** tʰieʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tʰiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰieʔ⁷; **Pc** tʰie⁷; **Qy** tʰiɑʔ⁷

CSS *tʰiəʔ⁷

740 *niē* 捏〔山開四入屑泥〕 ‘squeeze’ **CDC** *niat⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *ȵiaʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *næʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ȵiaʔ⁸ ≍ *næʔ⁸$_{!a}$

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵia⁵ ≍ ȵiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ȵia⁸; **Dy** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ȷniɑ⁴; **Wy** nia¹

b. **Ly** nəʔ⁸; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ȵiaʔ⁸: **Sc** ȵiaʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵiaʔ⁸; **Lq** ȵiaʔ⁸; **Yh** ȷniɑʔ⁸; **Pc** ȷie⁷; **Qy** ȵiɑʔ⁸

CSS *ȵiɑʔ⁸ ≍ *næʔ⁸

741 *jié* 節〔山開四入屑精〕 ‘segment (clf.)’ **CDC** *tsiat⁷ / **EC** *’tsit

CSWW *tsiaʔ⁷

CJQ *tsiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsia⁵ [1] ≍ tsiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʃia⁷; **Dy** tɕiɑ⁰ [1] □$^{\wedge 445}$～ ‘now’ ≍ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** tɕiɑ³; **Wy** tɕiaʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiaʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiaʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** tɕiɑʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiəʔ⁷

742 *qiè* 切〔山開四入屑清〕 ‘cut’ **CDC** *tshiat⁷ / **EC** *’tshut ≍ *’tshit

CSWW *tsʰiaʔ⁷

CJQ *tsʰiaʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰia⁵ [1] ≍ tsʰiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tʃʰia⁷ ≍ tʃʰiə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕʰiɑ³; **Wy** tɕʰiaʔ⁷

CLS *tɕʰiaʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiaʔ⁷$_{!f}$; **Yh** tʃʰiɑʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tʃʰieʔ⁷ [2]; **Pc** tɕʰie⁷ ≍ tsʰuo⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiɑʔ⁷

CSS *tɕʰiəʔ⁷

743 *xiè* 屑〔山開四入屑心〕 ‘scraps; crumbs’ **CDC** *siat⁷ / **EC** *’sit

CSWW *səʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *(s,š)iaʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *sɤʔ⁷
a. **Ly** səʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ səʔ⁷ [1]; **Jh** sɤ⁵; **Pj** sɯ⁷; **Dy** sɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** səʔ⁷ [2]
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** siəʔ⁷₍f [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɕiaʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷

CSS *səʔ⁷ ⩙ #ɕiəʔ⁷
a. **Kh** sʌʔ⁷; **Cs** sʌʔ⁷; **Js** səʔ⁷; **Ys** sɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ɕiɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —

This bound morpheme means ‘particulate waste’ and occurs in compounds for sawdust (e.g. 解～) and dandruff (e.g. 風～).
There is no etymological connection to the second syllable of **CSWW** *lʌʔ⁸.sʌʔ⁷ ‘trash’, but the syllabaries tend to write both with the same Chinese character.

744 *jié* 結〔山開四入屑見〕 ‘tie’ **CDC** *kiat⁷ / **EC** *’kit

CSWW *kieʔ⁷

CJQ *kieʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕie⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕi⁷ ⩙ tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kiə³ [1]; **Wy** tɕie⁵ [1]

CLS *kieʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS *kiəʔ⁷

The **Yk** and **Wy** doublet forms here are used in ～舌 ‘tongue-tied, stuttering’. A better etymology might be **CDC** *kit⁷ 吃 ‘to stutter’.

745 *bān* 搬（般）〔廣韻：山合一平桓幫〕 ‘move’ **CDC** *pon¹ / **EC** *’pan

CSWW *bɔ̃² (?) [1] ⩙ *ɓɔ̃¹ [2]

CJQ *bɤ̃² ⩙ *ɓɤ̃¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** bɤ² ⩙ bɤ̃² [2] ⩙ bɑ̃² [3]; **Pj** bɑ̃²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** buo²
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** pɑ̃¹; **Dy** pɤ¹; **Yk** ʔbuə¹; **Wy** —

CLS *bə̃² ⩙ *ɓə̃¹
a. **Sc** bə̃²; **Sy** pæ̃²; **Lq** bɤ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** pã²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔbɛ¹; **Pc** pãi¹; **Qy** ʔbã¹

CSS #buə̃²₍f ⩙ #pue¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** bʌ̃²; **Js** bæ̃²; **Ys** bæ̃²; **Gf** buẽ²
b. **Kh** pɛ̃¹; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** puẽ¹

746 *bàn* 半〔山合一去換幫〕 ‘half’ **CDC** *pon⁵ / **EC** *’panh

CSWW *ɓɔ̃⁵

CJQ *ɓɤ̃⁵: **Ly** pei⁵; **Jh** pɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ pɤ̃⁵ [2] ⩙ pɑ̃⁵ [3]; **Pj** pɑ̃⁵; **Dy** pɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔbuə⁵; **Wy** ʔmuo⁵

CLS *ɓə̃⁵: **Sc** ʔbə̃⁵; **Sy** ʔbæ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbɤ⁵; **Yh** ʔbɛ⁵; **Pc** pãi⁵; **Qy** ʔbã⁵

CSS *puẽ⁵

747 *pán* 盤〔山合一平桓並〕 ‘plate’ **CDC** *bon² / **EC** *’ban

CSWW *bɔ̃²

CJQ *bɤ̃²: **Ly** bei²; **Jh** bɤ² [1] ≍ bɤã² [2] ≍ bã² [3]; **Pj** bə̃²; **Dy** bɤ²; **Yk** buə²; **Wy** buo²

CLS *bə̃²: **Sc** bə̃²; **Sy** pæ̃²; **Lq** bɤ²; **Yh** bɛ²; **Pc** pãi²; **Qy** pə̃²$_{!f}$

CSS *buẽ²

748 *bàn* 伴〔山合一上緩並〕 ‘partner’ **CDC** *bon⁴ / **EC** *’banx

CSWW *bɔ̃⁴

CJQ *bɤ̃⁴: **Ly** bei⁴; **Jh** pɤ³ [1] ≍ bɤã⁶ [2] ≍ bã⁶ [3]; **Pj** bə̃⁴; **Dy** bɤ⁴; **Yk** buə⁴; **Wy** buo⁴

CLS *bə̃⁴: **Sc** bə̃⁴; **Sy** bæ̃⁴; **Lq** ʔbɤ³; **Yh** bɛ⁴; **Pc** pãi⁶; **Qy** pə̃⁴

CSS *buẽ⁴

749 *mán* 瞞（謾）〔山合一平桓明〕 ‘decieve’ **CDC** *mon² / **EC** *’mon

CSWW *mɔ̃²

CJQ *mɤ̃²: **Ly** mei²; **Jh** mɤ² [1] ≍ mɤã² [2]; **Pj** muɯ²; **Dy** mɤ²; **Yk** muə²; **Wy** —

CLS *mə̃²: **Sc** mə̃²; **Sy** mæ̃²; **Lq** mɤ²; **Yh** mɛ²; **Pc** mãi²; **Qy** mə̃²

CSS *muẽ²

750 *mǎn* 滿〔山合一上緩明〕 ‘full’ **CDC** *^{h}mon⁴ / **EC** *’^{h}monx

CSWW *mɔ̃⁴

CJQ *mɤ̃⁴: **Ly** mei⁴; **Jh** mɤ³ [1] ≍ mɤã³ [2] ≍ mã³ [3]; **Pj** mə̃⁴; **Dy** mɤ⁴; **Yk** muə⁴; **Wy** muo⁴

CLS *mə̃⁴: **Sc** mə̃⁴; **Sy** mæ̃⁴; **Lq** mɤ³; **Yh** mɛ³; **Pc** mãi⁴; **Qy** mə̃⁴

CSS *muẽ⁴

751 *duān* 端〔山合一平桓端〕 ‘edge’ **CDC** *tuon¹ / **EC** *’ton

CSWW *ɗuɔ̃¹

CJQ *ɗɤ̃¹: **Ly** tei¹ [1] ≍ tuei¹ [2]; **Jh** tɤ¹ [1] ≍ tuə̃¹ [2]; **Pj** tə̃¹; **Dy** tɤ¹; **Yk** ʔdɤə¹; **Wy** nɤ¹

CLS *ɗuə̃¹: **Sc** ʔdə̃¹; **Sy** ʔdæ̃¹; **Lq** (ʔdaŋ¹$_{!f}$); **Yh** ʔduɛ¹; **Pc** luãi¹; **Qy** ʔdə̃¹

CSS *tɔ̃¹

752 *duǎn* 短〔山合一上緩端〕 ‘short’ **CDC** *tuon³ / **EC** *’tonx ≍ *’toyx

CSWW *ɗui³ [1] ≍ *ɗuɔ̃³ [2]

CJQ *ɗɤ̃³: **Ly** tei³ [1] ≍ tuei³ [2]; **Jh** tɤ³ [1] ≍ tuə̃³ [2]; **Pj** tə̃³; **Dy** tɤ³; **Yk** ʔdɤə³; **Wy** ʔnɤ³

CLS *ɗui³ ⪤ *ɗuə̃³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔde³; **Lq** ʔdi³; **Yh** —; **Pc** lue³ [白]; **Qy** ʔdai³
b. **Sc** ʔdə̃³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔduɛ³; **Pc** luãi³; **Qy** ʔdã³

CSS #toi³ [2] ⪤ #tõ³ [3] ⪤ *toi¹₍ᵗ [1]
a. **Kh** tui³; **Cs** ti³ [1]; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ti³
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tõ⁻⁴⁴; **Js** —; **Ys** tõ³ [2]; **Gf** tuẽ³
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** ti¹ [2]; **Js** ti¹; **Ys** ti¹; **Gf** ti¹

753 *duàn* 斷〔山合一去換端〕 ‘decide’ **CDC** *tuon⁵ / **EC** *’tonh

CSWW *ɗuə̃⁵

CJQ *ɗɤ̃⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tə̃⁵ *F*; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗuə̃⁵: **Sc** ʔdə̃⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdɤ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** luãi⁵; **Qy** —

CSS #tõ⁵: **Kh** —; **Cs** tõ⁵; **Js** —; **Ys** tõ⁵; **Gf** —

754 *duàn* 斷〔山合一上緩定〕 ‘sever, be sereved’ **CDC** *duon⁴ / **EC** *’donx

CSWW *duəŋ⁴ [1] *F* ⪤ *duə̃⁴ [2] *B*

CJQ *dəŋ⁴ ⪤ *duɤ̃⁴
a. **Ly** dəŋ⁴; **Jh** təŋ³ [2]; **Pj** dən⁴; **Dy** dən⁴; **Yk** dəŋ⁴; **Wy** den⁴
b. **Ly** duei⁴; **Jh** tɤ³ [1] *F* ⪤ dɤ⁶ [1] *B* ⪤ duə̃⁶ [2] *B*; **Pj** —; **Dy** dɤ⁴ *F*; **Yk** dɤə⁴; **Wy** —

CLS *duəŋ⁴ ⪤ *duə̃⁴
a. **Sc** dəŋ⁴; **Sy** den⁴; **Lq** ʔdɛiŋ³; **Yh** dəŋ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** təŋ⁴
b. **Sc** də̃⁴ *F*; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** duɛ⁴ [1]; **Pc** tuãi⁶₍ᵗ *luse*; **Qy** tə̃⁴

CSS *diŋ⁴

755 *luǎn* 卵〔山合一上緩來〕 ‘egg’ **CDC** *ʰluon⁴ / **EC** *’ʰlonx

CSWW *luəŋ⁴ [1] ‘egg’ ⪤ *luə̃⁴ [2]

CJQ *ləŋ⁴ ⪤ *lɤ̃⁴
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ləŋ³ [1]; **Pj** lən⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** ləŋ⁴ ‘unhatched egg’; **Wy** len⁴
b. **Ly** lei⁴ [1] ‘testicles’ ⪤ luei⁵ [2] *B*; **Jh** (luə̃³₍ᶠ) [2] *B*; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɤ⁴ *B*; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *luəŋ⁴ ⪤ *luə̃⁴
a. **Sc** ləŋ⁴; **Sy** len⁴; **Lq** lɛiŋ³; **Yh** ləŋ³; **Pc** lueŋ⁴ [白]; **Qy** ləŋ⁴ [1]
b. **Sc** lyə̃⁴₍ᶠ ‘penis’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** luɛ³ ‘penis’; **Pc** luãi⁴ *B*; **Qy** lə̃⁴ [2] ‘penis’

CSS *liŋ⁴ ⪤ *lõ⁴

This is the basic word for ‘egg’ in most of the daughters, but also sometimes means ‘testicle’, especially in the Shàngshān dialects.

756 *luàn* 亂〔山合一去換來〕 ‘disarray’ **CDC** *luon⁶ / **EC** *’lonh

CSWW *luəŋ⁶ [1] ‘rashly’ ⩙ *luõ⁶ [2]

CJQ *ləŋ⁶ ⩙ *luɤ̃⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ləŋ⁶ [2] ～話 ‘talk nonsense’; **Pj** lən⁶; **Dy** lən⁻³⁵ ～講 ‘talk nonsense’; **Yk** ləŋ⁻¹¹ ～□[tɕyaŋ⁴⁵] ‘be reckless’; **Wy** len⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～□kuen⁵³念 ‘talk nonsense’

b. **Ly** luei⁶; **Jh** lɤ⁶ [1] ⩙ luã⁶ [3]; **Pj** (luan⁶ˌf); **Dy** lɤ⁶; **Yk** lɤə⁶; **Wy** nɤ⁶

CLS *luəŋ⁶ ⩙ *luə̃⁶

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ləŋ⁶

b. **Sc** lyə̃⁶ˌf; **Sy** læ̃⁶; **Lq** lɤ⁶; **Yh** luɛ⁶; **Pc** luãi⁶; **Qy** lã⁶

CSS *liŋ⁶ ⩙ *lõ⁶

757 *zuān* 鑽〔山合一平桓精〕 ‘drill (v.)’ **CDC** *tsuon¹ / **EC** *’tson ⩙ *’tsoy

CSWW *tsuõ¹ [1]

CJQ *tsuɤ̃¹: **Ly** tsuei¹; **Jh** tsɤ¹ [1] ⩙ tsuã¹ [2]; **Pj** tsə̃¹; **Dy** tsɤ¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** tsɤ¹

CLS *tsuə̃¹: **Sc** tsə̃⁵ˌt; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɤ⁵; **Yh** tsuɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS —

758 *zuàn* 鑽〔山合一去換精〕 ‘drill (n.)’ **CDC** *tsuon⁵ / **EC** *’tsonh ⩙ *’tsoyh

CSWW *tsui⁵ [1] ⩙ *tsuõ⁵ [2]

CJQ *tsuɤ̃⁵: **Ly** tsuei⁵; **Jh** tsɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ tsuã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tsə̃⁵; **Dy** tsɤ⁵; **Yk** tsɤə⁵; **Wy** tsɤ⁵

CLS *tsui⁵ˌa ⩙ *tsuə̃⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsai⁵

b. **Sc** tsə̃⁵; **Sy** tsæ̃⁵; **Lq** tsɤ¹; **Yh** tsuɛ⁵; **Pc** tsuãi⁵; **Qy** tsã⁵

CSS *tsoi⁵ ⩙ *tsõ⁵

759 *suān* 酸〔山合一平桓心〕 ‘sour’ **CDC** *suon¹ / **EC** *’son ⩙ *’soy

CSWW *sui¹ [1] ⩙ *suõ¹ [2]

CJQ *suɤ̃¹: **Ly** suei¹; **Jh** sɤ¹ [1] ⩙ suã¹ [2]; **Pj** sə̃¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** sɤə¹; **Wy** sɤ¹

CLS *sui¹ ⩙ *suə̃¹

a. **Sc** sɿ¹ [1]; **Sy** —; **Lq** si¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sai¹

b. **Sc** suə̃¹; **Sy** sæ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** suɛ¹; **Pc** suãi¹; **Qy** —

CSS *soi¹ ⩙ *sõ¹

760 *suàn* 算（筭）〔山合一去換心〕 ‘calculate’ **CDC** *son⁵ / **EC** *’sonh

CSWW *suõ⁵

CJQ *suɤ̃⁵: **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** sɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ suã⁵ [2]; **Pj** sə̃⁵; **Dy** sɤ⁵; **Yk** sɤə⁵; **Wy** sɤ⁵

CLS *suə̃⁵: **Sc** suə̃⁵; **Sy** sæ̃⁵; **Lq** sɤ⁵; **Yh** suɛ⁵; **Pc** suãi⁵; **Qy** sã⁵

CSS *sõ⁵

761 *guān* 官〔山合一平桓見〕 ‘offical’ **CDC** *kuon¹ / **EC** *’kon

CSWW *kuɔ̃¹

CJQ *kuẽ¹: **Ly** kuã¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹ [1] ≍ kuã¹ [2]; **Pj** kuã¹; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kuɑ¹; **Wy** kuo¹

CLS *kuã¹: **Sc** kuə̃¹; **Sy** kuõ¹; **Lq** kuaŋ¹; **Yh** kuã¹; **Pc** kuãi¹; **Qy** kuᾶ¹

CSS *kuɔ̃¹

762 *guǎn* 管〔山合一上緩見〕 ‘tube’ **CDC** *kuon³ / **EC** *’konx

CSWW *kuoŋ³ [1] ≍ *kuɔ̃³ [2]

CJQ *kuoŋ³ 竹～ ‘bamboo tube’ ≍ *kuã³

a. **Ly** koŋ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuein³ [兒]; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuen³ 水竹～ ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Ly** kuã³; **Jh** kuɑ³ [1] ≍ kuã³ [2]; **Pj** kuã³; **Dy** kʌ³; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuo³

CLS *kuoŋ³ ≍ *kuɔ̃³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuaŋ³ 水～ ‘bamboo dipper’

b. **Sc** kuə̃³; **Sy** kuõ³; **Lq** kuaŋ³; **Yh** kuã³; **Pc** kuãi³; **Qy** kuᾶ³

CSS *koŋ³ ≍ #kuẽ³

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** koŋ³; **Js** koŋ³; **Ys** koŋ³; **Gf** koŋ³

b. **Kh** kuᾶ³; **Cs** kuʌ̃³; **Js** kyɛ̃³ ≍ kuæ̃³ [3]; **Ys** kuã³; **Gf** kuɛ̃³

763 *guàn* 灌〔山合一去換見〕 ‘pour out’ **CDC** *kuon⁵ / **EC** *’konh

CSWW *kuoŋ⁵ [1] ‘force out (liquid)’ ≍ *kuɔ̃⁵ [2]

CJQ *kuoŋ⁵ ‘abscess’ ≍ *kuã⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** koŋ⁵ ≍ kuəŋ⁵ [2] ‘abscess’; **Pj** kuən⁵ ‘pop; abscess’; **Dy** —; **Yk** kuəŋ⁵; **Wy** kuen⁵

b. **Ly** kuã⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuã⁵ [4]; **Pj** kuᾶ⁵ ≍ kuan⁵; **Dy** kʌ⁵ ‘force out (liquid)’; **Yk** kuɑ⁵; **Wy** kuo⁵

CLS *kuoŋ⁵ ≍ *kuɔ̃⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ⁵

b. **Sc** (kuaŋ⁵ǃf); **Sy** kuõ⁵; **Lq** kuaŋ⁵; **Yh** kuã⁵; **Pc** kuãi⁵; **Qy** kuᾶ⁵

CSS *koŋ⁵ [2] ≍ *kuẽ⁵ [1]

764 *guàn* 罐（鑵）〔山合一去換見〕 ‘jug; can’ **CDC** *kuon⁵ / **EC** *’konh

CSWW *kuɔ̃⁵

CJQ *kuã⁵: **Ly** kuã⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuã⁵ [2]; **Pj** kuᾶ⁵; **Dy** kʌn³ [兒]; **Yk** kuɑ⁵; **Wy** kuo⁵

CLS *kuã⁵ǃf: **Sc** kuaŋ⁵ǃf; **Sy** kuõ⁵; **Lq** kuaŋ⁵; **Yh** kuã⁵; **Pc** kuãi⁵; **Qy** kuᾶ⁵

CSS *kuẽ⁵

765 *kuān* 寬〔山合一平桓溪〕 ‘broad’ **CDC** *khuon¹ / **EC** *’khwan

CSWW *kʰuɔ̃¹

CJQ *kʰuã¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** kʰuɑ¹ [1] ≍ kʰuã¹ [2]; **Pj** kʰuã¹; **Dy** kʰʌ¹; **Yk** kʰuɑ¹; **Wy** kʰuo¹
CLS *kʰuɔ̃¹: **Sc** —; **Sy** kʰuɔ̃¹; **Lq** kʰuaŋ¹; **Yh** kʰuã¹; **Pc** kʰuãi¹; **Qy** —
CSS *kʰuẽ¹

766 *huān* 歡〔山合一平桓曉〕 ‘joy’ **CDC** *xuon¹ / **EC** *ʾhwan
CSWW *xuɔ̃¹
CJQ *xuã¹: **Ly** xuɛ¹; **Jh** xuɑ¹ [1] ≍ xuã¹; **Pj** xuã¹; **Dy** xʌ¹; **Yk** xuɑ¹; **Wy** xuo¹
CLS *xuɔ̃¹: **Sc** xuə̃¹; **Sy** xuɔ̃¹; **Lq** xuaŋ¹; **Yh** xuã¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã¹
CSS *xuẽ¹

767 *huàn* 換〔山合一去換匣〕 ‘exchange’ **CDC** *huon⁶ / **EC** *ʾgwanh
CSWW *ɦuə̃⁶$_{|a}$ (?) [1] ≍ *ɦuã⁶ [2]
CJQ *ɦuã⁶: **Ly** uã⁶; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [1] ≍ uã⁶ [2]; **Pj** uã⁶; **Dy** ʌ⁶; **Yk** uɑ⁶; **Wy** ŋuo⁶
CLS *ɦuã⁶: **Sc** uaŋ⁶; **Sy** uɔ̃⁶; **Lq** uaŋ⁶; **Yh** uã⁶; **Pc** uãi⁶; **Qy** uã⁶
CSS #ɦuə̃⁶ ≍ #ɦuã⁶
a. **Kh** uã⁶; **Cs** —; **Js** uæ̃⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** uɐ̃⁶
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** uã⁶; **Js** —; **Ys** uã⁶; **Gf** —

768 *wǎn* 碗（盌、椀）〔山合一上緩影〕 ‘bowl’ **CDC** *uon³ / **EC** *ʾwonx
CSWW *ʔuɔ̃³
CJQ *ʔuã³: **Ly** —; **Jh** uɑ³ [1] ≍ uã³ [2]; **Pj** uã³; **Dy** ʔʌ³; **Yk** uɑ³; **Wy** ʔŋuo³
CLS *uɔ̃³: **Sc** uə̃³; **Sy** uɔ̃³; **Lq** uaŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** uãi³; **Qy** uã³
CSS *ʔuẽ³

769 *bō* 撥〔山合一入末幫〕 ‘disperse’ **CDC** *pot⁷ / **EC** *ʾpat
CSWW *ɓɔʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓɤʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** pɤ⁵ [1] ≍ poʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** puɯ⁷; **Dy** pɜʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbuə³; **Wy** puoʔ⁷
CLS *ɓəʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbəʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbɛʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbɤʔ⁷
CSS #pɔʔ⁷: **Kh** pʌʔ⁷; **Cs** pʌʔ⁷; **Js** pɒʔ⁷; **Ys** pʌʔ⁷; **Gf** pɐʔ⁷
Akitani originally reconstructed **CSS** *pɒʔ because of **Ys** [pʌʔ⁷], but posits that **Ys** has variable reflexes [ʌʔ~ɐʔ] for **CSS** *-ɔʔ. I reconstruct #pɔʔ⁷ on the basis of **Kh** [pʌʔ⁷], which is the expected regular outcome of **CSS** *-ɔʔ. Cf. **CSS** *pɒʔ⁷ 博 ‘broad’ > **Kh** [pɔʔ⁷].

770 *mò* 末〔山合一入末明〕 ‘tip’ **CDC** *mot⁸ / **EC** *ʾmat
CSWW *mɔʔ⁸
CJQ *mɤʔ⁸: **Ly** mɔʔ⁸; **Jh** mɤ⁶ [1] ≍ məʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** muɯ⁸; **Dy** mɜʔ⁸; **Yk** muə⁴; **Wy** muo⁴
CLS *məʔ⁸: **Sc** meʔ⁸; **Sy** məʔ⁸; **Lq** məʔ⁸; **Yh** mɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɤʔ⁸
CSS *mɔʔ⁸

771 *tuō* 脫〔廣韻：山合一入末透〕 ‘take off’ **CDC** *thuot⁷ / **EC** *’thot

CSWW *tʰuək⁷ [1] ⩙ *tʰuɔʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *tʰuəʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tʰə⁷; **Dy** tʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰə³; **Wy** tʰəʔ⁷

CLS *tʰək⁷ ⩙ *tʰuəʔ⁷

a. **Sc** tʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tʰɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰəɯʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰuo⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *tʰɨʔ⁷ ⩙ #tʰɔʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tʰeʔ⁷

b. **Kh** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Cs** tʰʌʔ⁷; **Js** tʰɒʔ⁷; **Ys** tʰʌʔ⁷; **Gf** tʰɐʔ⁷

772 *duó* 奪〔山合一入末定〕 ‘despoil’ **CDC** *duot⁸ / **EC** *’dot

CSWW *duək⁸ [1] ⩙ *duɔʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *duəʔ⁸: **Ly** dəʔ⁸; **Jh** dəʔ⁸; **Pj** də⁸; **Dy** dɜʔ⁸; **Yk** də⁴; **Wy** dəʔ⁸

CLS *dək⁸ ⩙ *duəʔ⁸

a. **Sc** dəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** deʔ⁸; **Lq** dɛiʔ⁸; **Yh** deiʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** təɯʔ⁸

b. **Sc** deʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tuo⁷; **Qy** —

CSS #dɨʔ⁸ ⩙ *dɔʔ⁸

a. **Kh** dəʔ⁸; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** daʔ⁸; **Js** dɒʔ⁸; **Ys** dʌʔ⁸; **Gf** dɐʔ⁸

773 *luō* 捋〔山合一入末來〕 ‘take by the handful, stroke’ **CDC** *luot⁸ / **EC** *’lot

CSWW *luək⁸

CJQ *luəʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** ləʔ⁸; **Pj** —; **Dy** lɜʔ⁸; **Yk** luə⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸

CLS *lək⁸: **Sc** ləɯʔ⁸; **Sy** ly¹$_{!ft}$; **Lq** —; **Yh** leiʔ⁷$_{!t}$; **Pc** (luo⁷$_{!f}$); **Qy** ləɯʔ⁸

CSS *lɨʔ⁸

Yk [luə⁴] is unexpected. The medial is lost after other coronals. After gutturals, the medial is short [ŭ].

774 *cuō* 撮〔山合一入末清〕 ‘pick up (by pinching)’ **CDC** *tshuot⁷ / **EC** *’tshot

CSWW *tsʰuək⁷ ‘pick up’

CJQ *tsʰuəʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰə⁷; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰə³; **Wy** tsʰəʔ⁷

CLS *tsʰək⁷: **Sc** tsʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** tsɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰe⁷; **Qy** tsʰəɯʔ⁷

CSS *tsʰɨʔ⁷

775 *kuò* 闊〔山合一入末溪〕 ‘vast’ **CDC** *khuot⁷ / **EC** *’khot

CSWW *kʰuɔʔ⁷ ‘wide’

CJQ *kʰuɒʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰuɑ⁵ [1] ⩙ kʰuəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kʰuɑ⁷; **Dy** kʰuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰuɑ³; **Wy** kʰuɑʔ⁷

CLS *kʰuɔʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰueʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰuɔʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰuɑʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰua⁷; **Qy** kʰuɑʔ⁷

CSS *kʰueʔ⁷

776 *huó* 活〔山合一入末匣〕 ‘alive’ **CDC** *huot⁸ / **EC** *’got

CSWW *ɦuaʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦuɒʔ⁸: **Ly** uəʔ⁸ [2] ≍ uɔʔ⁸ [1]; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [2] ≍ uəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** uɑ⁸; **Dy** uɑʔ⁸ [2] ≍ uoʔ⁸ [1]; **Yk** uɑ⁴; **Wy** uɑ⁴

CLS *ɦuaʔ⁸: **Sc** uaʔ⁸; **Sy** uɔʔ⁸; **Lq** uəʔ⁸; **Yh** uɑʔ⁸; **Pc** xua⁷; **Qy** uɑʔ⁸

CSS *ɦuɑʔ⁸

777 *huá* 滑〔山合二入黠匣〕 ‘slip’ **CDC** *huat⁸ / **EC** *grut

CSWW *gu(a,æ)ʔ⁸₍a [1] ≍ *ɦuaʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *gu(a,æ)ʔ⁸₍a ≍ *ɦuɒʔ⁸

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** guə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** uəʔ⁸; **Jh** uɑ⁶ [1] ≍ uəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** uɑʔ⁸; **Yk** ŭə⁴; **Wy** uɑ⁻⁵³

CLS *gu(a,æ)ʔ⁸₍a ≍ *ɦuaʔ⁸

a. **Sc** guaʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** uaʔ⁸; **Sy** uɔʔ⁸; **Lq** uəʔ⁸; **Yh** uɑʔ⁸; **Pc** xua⁷; **Qy** uɑʔ⁸

CSS *ɦuɑʔ⁸

778 *wā* 挖（空）〔廣韻：山合二入黠影〕 ‘dig’ **CDC** *uat⁷ / **EC** *rot

CSWW *ʔuaʔ⁷ [1]

CJQ *ʔuɒʔ⁷: **Ly** uɑ¹₍ft; **Jh** uɑ⁵ [1] ≍ uəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** uɑ⁷; **Dy** ʔuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** uɑʔ⁷

CLS *uaʔ⁷: **Sc** uaʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** uəʔ⁷; **Yh** uaʔ⁷; **Pc** ua¹; **Qy** o¹₍ft

CSS *ʔuɑʔ⁸

779 *guān* 關〔山合二平刪見〕 ‘shut; relate’ **CDC** *kuan¹ / **EC** *kron

CSWW *kuoŋ¹ [1] *F* ‘shut’ ≍ *kuã¹ [2] *B*

CJQ *kuoŋ¹ ≍ *kuã¹

a. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kuən¹ [l]; **Yk** kuəŋ¹; **Wy** kuen¹
b. **Ly** kuã¹; **Jh** kuɑ¹ [1] ≍ kuɑŋ¹ [2] ≍ kuã¹ [3]; **Pj** kuã¹; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kuɑ¹; **Wy** kuo¹

CLS *kuoŋ¹ ≍ *kuã¹

a. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** ken¹; **Lq** kuəŋ¹; **Yh** kəŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kuəŋ¹
b. **Sc** kuaŋ¹ ～係 ‘relation’; **Sy** —; **Lq** kuaŋ¹ ～係 ‘relation’; **Yh** kuã¹ ～心 ‘care’; **Pc** kuãi¹; **Qy** kuã¹ ～鍵 ‘key’

CSS *koŋ¹ ≍ #kuã¹

a. **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** koŋ¹; **Gf** koŋ¹
b. **Kh** kuã¹; **Cs** kuã¹; **Js** kuã¹; **Ys** kuã¹; **Gf** kuã¹

780 *guàn* 慣〔山合二去諫見〕 ‘custom; be accustomed to’ **CDC** *kuan⁵ / **EC** *kronh

CSWW *kuã⁵

CJQ *kuã⁵: **Ly** kuã⁵; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuã⁵ [2]; **Pj** kuã⁵; **Dy** (kuan³˧ˀ); **Yk** kuɑ⁵; **Wy** kuo⁵

CLS *kuã⁵: **Sc** kuaŋ⁵; **Sy** kuɔ̃⁵; **Lq** kuaŋ⁵; **Yh** kuã⁵; **Pc** kuãi⁵; **Qy** kuã⁵

CSS *kuã⁵

781 *huán* 還〔山合二平刪匣〕 'return; still (adv.)' **CDC** *huan² / **EC** *wren

CSWW *ɦuã² [1] 'return' ≍ *ɦã² [2] 'still (adv.)'

CJQ *ɦuã² ≍ *ɦã²

a. **Ly** uã²; **Jh** uɑ² [1] ≍ uã² [2]; **Pj** uã²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** uɑ²; **Wy** ŋuo²

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ã² [2]; **Dy** ɜʔ⁸˧ˀ; **Yk** ɑ² [2]; **Wy** ŋuo¹˨

CLS *ɦuã² ≍ *ɦã²

a. **Sc** uaŋ²; **Sy** uɔ̃²; **Lq** uaŋ²; **Yh** uã²; **Pc** —; **Qy** uã²

b. **Sc** aŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** a²˧ˀ; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦuã²

782 *wān* 彎〔山合二平刪影〕 'bend, curve' **CDC** *uan¹ / **EC** *ron

CSWW *ʔuã¹

CJQ *ʔuã¹: **Ly** uã¹; **Jh** uɑ¹ [1] ≍ uã¹ [2]; **Pj** uã¹; **Dy** ʔʌ¹; **Yk** uɑ¹; **Wy** ŋuo¹

CLS *uã¹: **Sc** uaŋ¹; **Sy** uɔ̃¹; **Lq** uaŋ¹; **Yh** uã¹; **Pc** uãi¹; **Qy** uã¹

CSS *ʔuã¹

783 *shuā* 刷〔廣韻：山合二入鎋生〕 'scrub' **CDC** *shuat⁷ / **EC** *srot

CSWW *šyeʔ⁷

CJQ *šyeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ ɕyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyə⁷; **Dy** suɑʔ⁷ [2] ≍ sɜʔ⁷ [1]; **Yk** (ɕǐɑ³˧ˀ); **Wy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷ [2] ≍ suɛʔ⁷ [1]; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS *ɕyeʔ⁷

784 *guā* 刮〔山合二入鎋見〕 'scrape off, shave' **CDC** *kuat⁷ / **EC** *krot

CSWW *kuəkˀ⁷˧ˀ (?) [1] ≍ *kuaʔ⁷

CJQ *kuəʔ⁷˧ˀ (?) ≍ *kuɒʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kuəʔ⁷ □ 'scrape even'

b. **Ly** kɔʔ⁷˧ˀ; **Jh** kuɑ⁵ [1] ≍ kuəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kuɑ⁷; **Dy** kuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kuɑ³; **Wy** kuɑʔ⁷

CLS *kəkˀ⁷˧ˀ (?) ≍ *kuaʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəɯʔ⁷

b. **Sc** kuaʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɔʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuaʔ⁷; **Pc** kua⁷; **Qy** kuɑʔ⁷ 搜～ 'extort'

CSS *kuɑʔ⁷

785 *quán* 泉〔山合三平仙從 AB〕 ‘wellspring’ **CDC** *dziuon² / **EC** *dzan

CSWW *zyẽ² [1] ⋌ *(dz,dž)yẽ² [2]

CJQ *zyẽ² ⋌ *(dz,dž)yẽ²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zie² ⋌ dziã² [2]; **Pj** ziẽ² ⋌ ʒian² [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑyə²; **Wy** ʑie²

b. **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** dzʊ²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑyẽ²

a. **Sc** ʑyə̃²; **Sy** ɕyɛ̃²; **Lq** ʑyə²; **Yh** ʒyɛ²; **Pc** tsuãi²; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃²

b. **Sc** (dʑyə̃²$_{!ft}$) □ ‘clf. for groups’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #ʑyə̃² ⋌ #dʑyə̃²

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ɕiɛ̃$^{-33}_{!f}$ ～水; **Ys** ʑyẽ²; **Gf** {dʑyẽ²}

b. **Kh** dʑyɛ̃²; **Cs** dʑyʌ̃²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** {dʑyẽ²}

786 *xuǎn* 選〔山合三上獮心 AB〕 ‘choose’ **CDC** *siuon³ / **EC** *sonx

CSWW *syẽ³

CJQ *syẽ³: **Ly** suei³; **Jh** sie³ ⋌ siã³; **Pj** sɛ³; **Dy** sʊ³; **Yk** ɕyə³; **Wy** ɕiə³

CLS *ɕyẽ³: **Sc** ɕyə̃³; **Sy** ɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃyɛ³; **Pc** suãi³; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃³

CSS #ɕyə̃³: **Kh** ɕyɛ̃³; **Cs** ɕyʌ̃³; **Js** ɕyɛ̃³; **Ys** ɕyẽ³; **Gf** ɕyẽ³

787 *xuàn* 旋〔廣韻：山合三去線邪 AB〕 ‘spiral; cowlick’ **CDC** *ziuon⁶ / **EC** *zonh

CSWW *zyẽ⁶ ‘cowlick’

CJQ *zyẽ⁶: **Ly** zuei⁶; **Jh** zie⁶ [1] ⋌ dziã⁶ [2]; **Pj** ziẽ⁶; **Dy** zʊ⁶; **Yk** ʑyə⁶; **Wy** ʑie⁶ [1] ⋌ ʑye⁶ [2]

CLS *ʑyẽ⁶: **Sc** ʑyə̃⁶; **Sy** ʑyɛ̃⁶; **Lq** ʑyə⁶; **Yh** ʒyɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃⁶

CSS *ʑiə̃⁶ [1] ⋌ *ʑyə̃⁶ [2]

788 *zhuǎn* 轉〔山合三上獮知 AB〕 ‘turn, shift’ **CDC** *ciuon³ / **EC** *tronx

CSWW *ɗyẽ³ [1] *F* ⋌ *tšyẽ³ [2] *B*

CJQ *ɗyẽ³ ⋌ *tšyẽ³ *F*

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔɲye³ [1]

b. **Ly** tsuei³; **Jh** tɕyɤ³ [1] ⋌ tɕyã³ [2]; **Pj** tɕyẽ³; **Dy** tsʊ³; **Yk** tɕyə³; **Wy** tɕye³ [2]

CLS *ɗyẽ³ ⋌ *tɕyẽ³

a. **Sc** ʔdyə̃³; **Sy** ʔdyɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdyɛ̃³ [1]

b. **Sc** tɕyə̃³; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕyə³; **Yh** tʃyɛ³; **Pc** tsuãi³; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]

CSS *tyẽ³$_{!f}$ ⋌ #tɕyə̃³

a. **Kh** tɛ̃³ [1]; **Cs** tɪŋ³ [1]; **Js** tœ̃³ [1]; **Ys** tyæ̃³ [1]; **Gf** tyẽ³ [1]

b. **Kh** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]; **Cs** tɕyʌ̃³ [2]; **Js** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]; **Ys** tɕyẽ³ [2]; **Gf** tɕyẽ³ [2]

789 *chuán* 椽〔山合三平仙澄 AB〕 ‘rafter’ **CDC** *jiuon² / **EC** *dron

CSWW *dʑyẽ²

CJQ *dʑyẽ²: **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** dʑyɤ² [1] ≍ dʑyã² [2]; **Pj** dʑyẽ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** dʑyə²; **Wy** dʑye² [1] ≍ dʑie² [2]

CLS *dʑyẽ²: **Sc** dʑyə̃²; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃²; **Lq** dʑyə²; **Yh** dʒyɛ²; **Pc** tsuãi⁴; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃²

CSS *dʑyə̃²

790 *zhuān* 磚（甎）〔山合三平仙章 AB〕 ‘brick’ **CDC** *ciuon¹ / **EC** *ton

CSWW *tšyẽ¹ [1]

CJQ *tšyẽ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕyɤ¹ [1] ≍ tɕyã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕyẽ¹; **Dy** tsʊ¹; **Yk** tɕyə¹; **Wy** tɕye¹

CLS *tɕyẽ¹: **Sc** tɕyə̃¹; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕyə¹; **Yh** tʃyɛ¹; **Pc** tsuãi¹; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃¹

CSS *tɕyə̃¹

791 *chuān* 川〔山合三平仙昌 AB〕 ‘stream (n.)’ **CDC** *chiuon¹ / **EC** *chon (khyon)

CSWW *tšʰyẽ¹

CJQ *tšʰyẽ¹: **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰyã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyẽ¹; **Dy** tsʰʊ¹; **Yk** tɕʰyə¹; **Wy** tɕʰye¹

CLS *tɕʰyẽ¹: **Sc** tɕʰyə̃¹; **Sy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕʰyə¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɛ¹; **Pc** tsʰuãi¹; **Qy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹

CSS *tɕʰyə̃¹

792 *chuān* 穿〔山合三平仙昌 AB〕 ‘pierce, wear’ **CDC** *chiuon¹ / **EC** *chon (khyon)

CSWW *tšʰyəŋ¹ [1] ≍ *tšʰyẽ¹ [2]

CJQ *tšʰyəŋ¹ ≍ *tšʰyẽ¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰən¹; **Yk** tɕʰyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyin¹

b. **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰyã¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyẽ¹; **Dy** tsʰʊ¹; **Yk** tɕʰyə¹; **Wy** tɕʰye¹

CLS *tɕʰyəŋ¹ ≍ *tɕʰyẽ¹

a. **Sc** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɪŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰyəŋ¹

b. **Sc** tɕʰyə̃¹; **Sy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹; **Lq** tɕʰyə¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɛ¹; **Pc** tsʰuãi¹; **Qy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹

CSS *tɕʰyiŋ¹ ≍ #tɕʰyə̃¹

a. **Kh** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Cs** tsʰuɪŋ¹; **Js** tɕʰyiŋ¹; **Ys** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Gf** tɕʰioŋ¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕʰyɛ̃¹; **Gf** tɕʰyɛ̃¹

793 *chuán* 船〔山合三平仙船 AB〕 ‘boat’ **CDC** *jiuon² / **EC** *ðon

CSWW *žyəŋ² [1] ≍ *(ž,z)yẽ² [2]

CJQ *žyẽ²: **Ly** zuei²; **Jh** ʑyɤ² [1] ≍ ʑyã² [2]; **Pj** ʒyẽ²; **Dy** zʊ²; **Yk** ʑyə²; **Wy** ʑye²

CLS *ʑyəŋ²$_{!a}$ (?) ≍ *ʑyẽ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʑyŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʑyə̃²; **Sy** ɕyɛ̃²; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒyɛ²; **Pc** suãi²; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃²

CSS *ʑyiŋ² ≍ #ʑyə̃²$_{!a}$ (?)

a. **Kh** ʑyŋ²; **Cs** zuɪŋ²; **Js** ɕyiŋ²; **Ys** ʑyɪŋ²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** ɕyɛ̃²

794 *ruǎn* 軟〔山合三上獮日 AB〕 ‘soft’ **CDC** *nhiuon⁴ / **EC** *nonx

CSWW *ȵyẽ⁴

CJQ *ȵyẽ⁴: **Ly** ȵye⁴; **Jh** ȵyɤ³ [1] ≍ ȵyã³ [2]; **Pj** ȵyẽ⁴; **Dy** ȵiʊ⁴; **Yk** ɲyə⁴; **Wy** ȵye⁴

CLS *ȵyẽ⁴: **Sc** ȵyə̃⁴; **Sy** ȵyɛ̃⁴; **Lq** ȵyə³; **Yh** ɲyɛ³; **Pc** ŋyãi⁴; **Qy** ȵyɛ̃⁴

CSS *ȵyə̃⁴

795 *juǎn* 捲〔廣韻：山合三上獮見 B〕 ‘roll up’ **CDC** *kiuon³ / **EC** *konx

CSWW *k(ɨ)əŋ³ˌˡa (?) [1] ≍ *kyəŋ³ [2] ≍ *kyẽ³ [3]

CJQ *kəŋ³ˌˡa (?) ≍ *kyəŋ³ ≍ *kyẽ³

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kən³ˌˡf; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kyeiŋ³; **Wy** tɕyin³

c. **Ly** tsuei³; **Jh** tɕyɤ³ [1] ≍ tɕyã³ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕiʊ⁵ˌˡt; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕye⁵ˌˡt

CLS *k(ɨ)əŋ³ˌˡa (?) ≍ *kyəŋ³ ≍ *kyẽ³

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəŋ³ˌˡf

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕyŋ³; **Yh** tʃyɪŋ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

c. **Sc** tɕyə̃³; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕyə³; **Yh** tʃyɛ³ [1]; **Pc** kyãi³; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]

CSS #kyiŋ³ˌˡa [1] ≍ *kyə̃³ [2]

a. **Kh** tɕyŋ³; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕyɛ̃³; **Cs** tɕyɤ̃³; **Js** kyɛ̃³; **Ys** kyẽ³; **Gf** kyẽ³

796 *juàn* 卷〔山合三去線見 B〕 ‘scroll, volume’ **CDC** *kiuon⁵ / **EC** *konh

CSWW *kyẽ³ [3]

CJQ *kyẽ³: **Ly** tsuei³; **Jh** tɕyɤ³ [1] ≍ tɕyã³ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕiʊ⁵ˌˡt; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕye⁵ˌˡt

CLS *kyẽ³: **Sc** tɕyə̃³; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕyə³; **Yh** tʃyɛ³ [1]; **Pc** kyãi³; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃³ [2]

CSS *kyə̃³ [2]

797 *quán* 拳〔山合三平仙羣 B〕 ‘fist’ **CDC** *giuon² / **EC** *gon

CSWW *gɨəŋ²ˌˡa (?) [1] ≍ *gyẽ² [2]

CJQ *gyẽ²: **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** dʑyɤ² [1] ≍ dʑyã² [2]; **Pj** dʑyẽ²; **Dy** dʑiʊ²; **Yk** gyə²; **Wy** dʑye²

CLS *gyẽ²: **Sc** dʑyə̃²; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃²; **Lq** dʑyə²; **Yh** dʒyɛ²; **Pc** kyãi²; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃²

CSS *gẽ² ≍ *gyə̃²

798 *quán* 權〔山合三平仙羣 B〕 ‘authority’ **CDC** *giuon² / **EC** *gwan

CSWW *gyẽ²

CJQ *gyẽ²: **Ly** dzuei²; **Jh** dʑyɤ² [1] ≍ dʑyã² [2]; **Pj** dʑyẽ²; **Dy** dʑiʊ²; **Yk** gyə²; **Wy** dʑye²

CLS *gyẽ²: **Sc** dʑyə̃²; **Sy** tɕyɛ̃²; **Lq** dʑyə²; **Yh** dʒyɛ²; **Pc** kyãi²; **Qy** tɕyɛ̃²

CSS *gyə̃²

799 *yuàn* 院〔山合三去線云 B〕 ‘a compound’ **CDC** *yuon⁶ / **EC** *wonh

CSWW *ɦyẽ⁶

CJQ *ɦyẽ⁶: **Ly** ye⁶; **Jh** yɤ⁶ [1] ≍ yã⁵ [2]; **Pj** yẽ⁶; **Dy** iʊ⁶; **Yk** yə⁶; **Wy** ɲye⁶

CLS *ɦyẽ⁶: **Sc** yə̃⁶; **Sy** yɛ̃⁶; **Lq** yə⁶; **Yh** yɛ⁶; **Pc** yãi⁶; **Qy** yɛ̃⁶

CSS *ɦyə̃⁶

800 *qiān* 鉛〔山合三平仙以 A〕 ‘lead (n.)’ **CDC** *yuon² / **EC** *yon

CSWW *ɦi(ẽ,ã)² [1] ≍ *kʰã¹ [2]

CJQ *ɦi(ẽ,ã)²ˌa ≍ *kʰã¹

a. **Ly** ie²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** kʰã¹ ≍ tɕʰie¹; **Jh** kʰɑ¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰiã¹ [2]; **Pj** kʰɑ̃¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰian¹ [2]; **Dy** kʰʌ¹; **Yk** kʰɑ¹; **Wy** kʰa¹

CLS *ɦi(ẽ,ã)² ≍ *kʰã¹

a. **Sc** iẽ⁶; **Sy** iɛ̃²; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** iãi²; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** kʰaŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰaŋ¹ ≍ tɕʰiɛ¹; **Yh** kʰã¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰɑ̃¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰiɛ̃¹ [2]

CSS #ɦiə̃² ≍ *kʰã¹

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** iẽ² [2] ~山 ‘Yánshān (pn.)’; **Gf** iẽ²

b. **Kh** kʰã¹ [1] ≍ tɕʰiɛ̃¹ [2]; **Cs** kʰã¹; **Js** kʰã⁴⁵ [1] ≍ kʰiɛ̃¹ [2]; **Ys** kʰã¹ [1]; **Gf** —

801 *jué* 絕〔山合三入薛從 AB〕 ‘sever’ **CDC** *dziuot⁸ / **EC** *dzot

CSWW *zyeʔ⁸

CJQ *zyeʔ⁸: **Ly** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ziəʔ⁸ˌlf [1] ≍ dziəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dʒia⁸ˌlif ≍ dʒiə⁸; **Dy** dzuɑʔ⁸ˌli [2] ≍ dzɜʔ⁸ [1]; **Yk** ʑiə⁴; **Wy** ʑie⁴

CLS *zyeʔ⁸: **Sc** —; **Sy** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑyəʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁸

CSS *ʑyəʔ⁸

802 *xuě* 雪〔山合三入薛心 AB〕 ‘snow’ **CDC** *siuot⁷ / **EC** *sot

CSWW *syeʔ⁷

CJQ *syeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** sie⁵ [1] ≍ siəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** si⁷; **Dy** suɑʔ⁷ [2] ≍ sɜʔ⁷ [1]; **Yk** ɕiə³; **Wy** ɕieʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷ ≍ ɕieʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS *ɕyəʔ⁷

803 *shuō* 說〔山合三入薛書 AB〕 ‘explain, speak (about)’ **CDC** *shiuot⁷ / **EC** *hyot

CSWW *šyeʔ⁷

CJQ *šyeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕyəʔ⁷ ≍ sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕy⁵ˌlf [1] ≍ ɕyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyə⁷; **Dy** souʔ⁷ˌlf; **Yk** ɕyə³ [2] ≍ ɕiu⁻⁴⁴ [1]; **Wy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** (ʑyɛʔ⁸ˌli); **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS #ɕyəʔ⁷

804 *yuè* 閱〔山合三入薛以 A〕 ‘inspect’ CDC *yuot⁸ / EC *yot

CSWW *ɦyaʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦyaʔ⁸: Ly yəʔ⁸; Jh yəʔ⁸₍₁f₎; Pj yə⁸; Dy iʉoʔ⁸; Yk ɣ̆ɑ⁴; Wy yəʔ⁸

CLS *ɦyaʔ⁸: Sc yeʔ⁸; Sy yɛʔ⁸; Lq iaʔ⁸; Yh iɑʔ⁸; Pc ya⁷; Qy yɑʔ⁸

CSS #ɦyɑʔ⁸: Kh yɛʔ⁸; Cs yʌʔ⁸; Js yɛʔ⁸; Ys yɐʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ vɐʔ⁸ [2]; Gf yɐʔ⁸

805 *fǎn* 反〔山合三上阮非 C〕 ‘reverse’ CDC *fan³ / EC *ponx

CSWW *ɓã³ [1] ⩙ *fã³ [2]

CJQ *fã³: Ly fã³; Jh fɑ³ [1] ⩙ fã³ [2]; Pj fã³ [1] ⩙ fan³ [2]; Dy fʌ³; Yk fɑ³; Wy fuo³

CLS *ɓã³ ‘turn over’ ⩙ *fã³

a. Sc ʔbaŋ³; Sy ʔbɔ̃³; Lq ʔbaŋ³; Yh ʔbã³; Pc pãi³ [白]; Qy —

b. Sc faŋ³; Sy fɔ̃³; Lq faŋ³; Yh fã³; Pc fãi³; Qy fã³

CSS *pã³ ⩙ #fã³

a. Kh pã³; Cs pã³; Js pã⁵; Ys pã³; Gf pã³

b. Kh fã³; Cs fã³; Js fã⁻⁵² ～對 ‘oppose’; Ys fã³; Gf fã³

806 *fān* 翻〔山合三平元敷 C〕 ‘flip, translate’ CDC *fan¹ / EC *phon

CSWW *pʰ(ʔ)¹₍₁a₎ [1] ‘flip over (of a chicken to food)’ ⩙ *fã¹ [2]

CJQ *fã¹: Ly fã¹; Jh fɑ¹ [1] ⩙ fã¹ [2]; Pj fã¹; Dy fʌ¹; Yk fɑ¹; Wy fuo¹

CLS *pʰ(ʔ)¹₍₁a₎ ⩙ *fã¹

a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy pʰã¹

b. Sc faŋ¹; Sy fɔ̃¹; Lq faŋ¹; Yh fã¹; Pc fãi¹; Qy fã¹

CSS #fã¹: Kh fã¹; Cs fã⁴⁴; Js fã¹; Ys fã¹; Gf fã¹

807 *fán* 煩〔山合三平元奉 C〕 ‘troublesome’ CDC *van² / EC *bon

CSWW *vã²

CJQ *vã²: Ly vã²; Jh vɑ² [1] ⩙ vã² [2]; Pj vã²; Dy vʌ²; Yk vɑ²; Wy vuo²

CLS *vã²: Sc vaŋ²; Sy fɔ̃²; Lq vaŋ²; Yh vã²; Pc fãi²; Qy fã²

CSS *vã²

808 *fàn* 飯〔山合三去願奉 C〕 ‘cooked rice’ CDC *van⁶ / EC *bonh

CSWW *vã⁶

CJQ *vã⁶: Ly vã⁶; Jh vɑ⁶ [1] ⩙ vã⁶ [2]; Pj vã⁶; Dy vʌ⁶; Yk vɑ⁶; Wy vuo⁶

CLS *vã⁶: Sc vaŋ⁶; Sy vɔ̃⁶; Lq vaŋ⁶; Yh vã⁶; Pc fãi⁶; Qy fã⁶

CSS *vã⁶

809 *wàn* 萬〔山合三去願微 C〕 ‘myriad’ CDC *mvan⁶ / EC *monh

CSWW *mã⁶ [1] ⩙ *vã⁶ [2]

CJQ *mã⁶ ≍ *vã⁶
a. **Ly** mã⁶; **Jh** mɑ⁶; **Pj** mɑ⁶; **Dy** muo⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** mɑ⁶; **Wy** muo⁶
b. **Ly** vã⁶; **Jh** vɑ⁶ [1] ≍ vã⁶ [2]; **Pj** vã⁶; **Dy** vʌ⁶; **Yk** vɑ⁶; **Wy** vuo⁶

CLS *mã⁶
a. **Sc** maŋ⁶; **Sy** mɔ̃⁶; **Lq** maŋ⁶; **Yh** mã⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** mã⁶
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** (fãi⁶); **Qy** —

CSS *mã⁶ ≍ *vã⁶

810 *quàn* 勸〔山合三去願溪 C〕 ‘exhort’ **CDC** *khiuon⁵ / **EC** *khonh

CSWW *kʰyẽ⁵

CJQ *kʰyẽ⁵: **Ly** tsʰuei⁵; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕʰyã⁵ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyẽ⁵; **Dy** tɕʰiʊ⁵; **Yk** kʰyə⁵; **Wy** tɕʰye⁵

CLS *kʰyẽ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰyɔ̃⁵ [1]; **Sy** tɕʰyɛ̃⁵; **Lq** tɕʰyə⁵; **Yh** tʃʰyɛ⁵; **Pc** kʰyãi⁵; **Qy** tɕʰyɛ̃⁵

CSS *kʰyɔ̃⁵

811 *yuán* 元〔山合三平元疑 C〕 ‘primary’ **CDC** *ngiuon² / **EC** *ngon

CSWW *ŋ̍yẽ²

CJQ *ŋ̍yẽ²: **Ly** ye²₍i; **Jh** yɤ²₍i [1] ≍ yã² [2]; **Pj** yẽ²₍i [1] ≍ yan² [2]; **Dy** ŋ̍iʊ²; **Yk** ɲyə²; **Wy** ŋ̍ye²

CLS *ŋ̍yẽ²: **Sc** ŋ̍yɔ̃²; **Sy** ŋ̍yɛ̃²; **Lq** ŋ̍yə²; **Yh** ɲyɛ²; **Pc** ŋyãi²; **Qy** ŋ̍yɛ̃²

CSS *ŋ̍yɔ̃²

812 *yuán* 源〔山合三平元疑 C〕 ‘source’ **CDC** *ngiuon² / **EC** *ngon

CSWW *ŋ̍yẽ²

CJQ *ŋ̍yẽ²: **Ly** ŋ̍ye²; **Jh** ŋ̍yɤ² [1] ≍ ŋ̍yã² [2]; **Pj** ŋ̍iẽ² [1] ≍ yẽ² [2]; **Dy** ŋ̍iʊ²; **Yk** ɲyə²; **Wy** ŋ̍ye²

CLS *ŋ̍yẽ²: **Sc** ŋ̍yɔ̃²; **Sy** ŋ̍yɛ̃²; **Lq** ŋ̍yə²; **Yh** ɲyɛ²; **Pc** ŋyãi²; **Qy** ŋ̍yɛ̃²

CSS #ŋ̍yɔ̃²

813 *yuàn* 願〔山合三去願疑 C〕 ‘wish for’ **CDC** *ngiuon⁶ / **EC** *ngonh

CSWW *ŋ̍yẽ⁶

CJQ *ŋ̍yẽ⁶: **Ly** ŋ̍ye⁶; **Jh** ŋ̍yɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ŋ̍yã⁶ [2]; **Pj** yẽ⁶; **Dy** ŋ̍iʊ⁶; **Yk** ɲyə⁶; **Wy** ŋ̍ye⁶

CLS *ŋ̍yẽ⁶: **Sc** —; **Sy** ŋ̍yɛ̃⁶; **Lq** ŋ̍yə⁶; **Yh** ɲyɛ⁶; **Pc** ŋyãi⁶; **Qy** ŋ̍yɛ̃⁶

CSS *ŋ̍yɔ̃⁶

814 *xuàn* 楦〔廣韻：山合三去願曉 C〕 ‘shoe last; stuff (v.)’ **CDC** *xiuon⁵ / **EC** *hwonh

CSWW *xyẽ⁵

CJQ *xyẽ⁵: **Ly** suei⁵; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1]; **Pj** ʃyẽ⁵; **Dy** ɕiʊ⁵; **Yk** xyə⁵; **Wy** ɕye⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～頭

CLS *xyẽ⁵: **Sc** ɕyɔ̃⁵; **Sy** ɕyɛ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃyɛ⁵; **Pc** xyãi⁵; **Qy** ɕyɛ̃⁵

CSS *xyɔ̃⁵

815 *yuàn* 怨〔山合三去願影 C〕 ‘resentment’ **CDC** *iuon^{5} / **EC** *onh

CSWW *ʔyẽ^{5}

CJQ *ʔyẽ^{5}: **Ly** ye^{5}; **Jh** yɤ^{5} [1] ≍ yã^{53} [2]; **Pj** yẽ^{5}; **Dy** ʔiʊ^{5}; **Yk** yə^{5}; **Wy** ʔɲye^{5}

CLS *ʔyẽ^{5}: **Sc** yã^{5}; **Sy** yɛ̃^{5}; **Lq** yə^{5}; **Yh** yɛ^{5}; **Pc** yãi^{5}; **Qy** yɛ̃^{5}

CSS *ʔyã^{5}

816 *yuán* 園〔山合三平元云 C〕 ‘garden’ **CDC** *yuon^{2} / **EC** *won

CSWW *(x,k^{h})uoŋ^{1} (?) [1] 菜～ ‘garden’ ≍ *ɦyẽ^{2} [2] ‘park (n.)’

CJQ *ɦyẽ^{2}: **Ly** ye^{2}; **Jh** yɤ^{2} [1] ≍ yã^{2} [2]; **Pj** yẽ^{2}; **Dy** iʊ^{2}; **Yk** yə^{2}; **Wy** ɲye^{2}

CLS *xuoŋ^{5}$_{!t}$ ≍ *ɦyẽ^{2}

a. **Sc** xəŋ^{5}; **Sy** fen^{5}$_{!t}$; **Lq** uɛiŋ^{5}$_{!i}$; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuəŋ^{5}$_{!it}$

b. **Sc** yã^{2}; **Sy** yɛ̃^{2}; **Lq** yə^{2}; **Yh** yɛ^{2}; **Pc** yãi^{2}; **Qy** yɛ̃^{2}

CSS *k^{h}oŋ^{1} ≍ #ɦyã^{2}

a. **Kh** xoŋ^{1}; **Cs** xoŋ^{1}; **Js** —; **Ys** k^{h}oŋ^{1}$_{!i}$; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** yɛ̃^{2}; **Cs** yʌ̃$^{-0}$; **Js** —; **Ys** yẽ^{2}; **Gf** —

817 *yuǎn* 遠〔山合三上阮云 C〕 ‘far’ **CDC** *yuon^{4} / **EC** *wonx

CSWW *xuoŋ^{3} [1] *F* ≍ *ɦyẽ^{4} [2]

CJQ *ɦyẽ^{4} *F*: **Ly** ye^{4}; **Jh** yɤ^{3} [1] ≍ yã^{3} [2]; **Pj** yẽ^{4}; **Dy** iʊ^{4}; **Yk** yə^{4}; **Wy** ɲye^{4}

CLS *xuoŋ^{3} ≍ *ɦyẽ^{4} *B*

a. **Sc** xəŋ^{3}; **Sy** —; **Lq** xuɛiŋ^{3}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuəŋ^{3}

b. **Sc** yã^{4}; **Sy** yɛ̃^{4}; **Lq** yə^{3} 永～ ‘forever’; **Yh** yɛ^{3}; **Pc** yãi^{4}; **Qy** yɛ̃^{4} 永～ ‘forever’

CSS *xoŋ^{3} ≍ #ɦyã^{4} *B*

a. **Kh** xoŋ^{3}; **Cs** xoŋ^{3}; **Js** xoŋ^{3}; **Ys** xoŋ^{3}; **Gf** xoŋ^{3}

b. **Kh** yɛ̃^{3}; **Cs** yʌ̃$^{-52}$ 望～鏡 ‘telescope’; **Js** yɛ̃^{4}; **Ys** yẽ^{3} 望～鏡 ‘telescope’; **Gf** yẽ^{1} 永～ ‘forever’

818 *fà* 髮〔山合三入月非 C〕 ‘head hair’ **CDC** *fat^{7} / **EC** *pot

CSWW *fək^{7} [1] ≍ *faʔ^{7} [2]

CJQ *fɒʔ^{7}: **Ly** fɔʔ^{7}; **Jh** fɤa^{5} [1] ≍ fəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** fɑ^{7}; **Dy** fuoʔ^{7}; **Yk** fɑ^{3}; **Wy** —

CLS *fək^{7} ≍ *faʔ^{7}

a. **Sc** fəɯʔ^{7} 頭～; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** fəɯʔ^{7} 頭～

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** fɔʔ^{7} [文]; **Yh** fɑʔ^{7}; **Pc** fa^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS *fɑʔ^{7}

819 *fā* 發〔山合三入月非 C〕 ‘emit’ **CDC** *fat^{7} / **EC** *pot

CSWW *faʔ^{7}

CJQ *fɒʔ^{7}: **Ly** fɔʔ^{7}; **Jh** fɤa^{5} [1] ≍ fəʔ^{7} [2]; **Pj** fɑ^{7}; **Dy** fuoʔ^{7}; **Yk** fɑ^{3}; **Wy** fuɑʔ^{7}

CLS *faʔ^{7}: **Sc** faʔ^{7}; **Sy** fɔʔ^{7}; **Lq** fɔʔ^{7}; **Yh** fɑʔ^{7}; **Pc** fa^{7}; **Qy** fɑʔ^{7}

CSS #fɑʔ⁷: **Kh** fʌʔ⁷; **Cs** faʔ⁷; **Js** faʔ⁷; **Ys** fɐʔ⁷; **Gf** fɐʔ⁷

820 *fá* 罰〔山合三入月奉 C〕 ‘punish’ **CDC** *vat⁸ / **EC** *bot

CSWW *vaʔ⁸

CJQ *vɒʔ⁸: **Ly** vɔʔ⁸; **Jh** vɤa⁶ [1] ≍ vəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** vɑ⁸; **Dy** vuoʔ⁸; **Yk** vɑ⁴; **Wy** vuɑ⁴

CLS *vaʔ⁸: **Sc** vaʔ⁸; **Sy** vuɔʔ⁸; **Lq** vɔʔ⁸; **Yh** vɑʔ⁸; **Pc** fa⁷; **Qy** fɑʔ⁸

CSS *vɑʔ⁸

821 *wà* 襪〔山合三入月微 C〕 ‘socks’ **CDC** *ʰmvat⁸ / **EC** *ʰmot

CSWW *maʔ⁸

CJQ *mɒʔ⁸: **Ly** mɔʔ⁸; **Jh** mɤa⁶ [1] ≍ məʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** mia⁸; **Dy** muo⁶; **Yk** mɑ⁴; **Wy** muɑ⁴

CLS *maʔ⁸: **Sc** maʔ⁸; **Sy** muɔʔ⁸₍ᵎf; **Lq** mɔʔ⁸; **Yh** mɑʔ⁸; **Pc** ma⁷; **Qy** mɑʔ⁸

CSS *mɑʔ⁸

822 *jué* 掘〔廣韻：山合三入月羣 C〕 ‘dig’ **CDC** *giuot⁸ ≍ *giut⁸ / **EC** *got ≍ *gut

CSWW *guək⁸ [1] ≍ *kʰyeʔ⁷₍ᵎa [2] ≍ *gyeʔ⁸₍ᵎa [3] ≍ *gyək⁸ [4]

CJQ *guəʔ⁸ ≍ *gyəʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Ly** guəʔ⁸; **Jh** guəʔ⁸; **Pj** —; **Dy** gɜʔ⁸; **Yk** gŭə⁴; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** dʑyəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑyəʔ⁸; **Pj** dʑyə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *guək⁸₍ᵎa (?) ≍ *kʰyeʔ⁷₍ᵎa (?) ≍ *gyeʔ⁸ ≍ *gyək⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** gəɯʔ⁸

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰye⁷; **Qy** —

c. **Sc** dʑyeʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑyəʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

d. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʑyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyeɯʔ⁸ [2]

CSS #kʰyəʔ⁷: **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕʰyʌ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kʰyɤ⁷

823 *yuè* 月〔山合三入月疑 C〕 ‘moon’ **CDC** *ngiuot⁸ / **EC** *ngot

CSWW *ŋoʔ⁸ [1] ‘month’ ≍ *ɲyeʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ɲyeʔ⁸: **Ly** ɲyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ɲyɤ⁶ [1] ≍ ɲyəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** ɲyi⁸; **Dy** ɲiʉoʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲyə⁴; **Wy** ɲye⁴

CLS *ɲyeʔ⁸: **Sc** ɲyeʔ⁸; **Sy** ɲyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ɲyəʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲyɛʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ɲie⁻³¹ [2]; **Pc** ŋye⁷; **Qy** ɲyeʔ⁸

CSS *ŋoʔ⁸ [2] ≍ *ɲyəʔ⁸ [1]

824 *quǎn* 犬〔山合四上銑溪〕 ‘dog’ **CDC** *khiuon³ / **EC** *ʾkhwenx

CSWW *kʰyẽ³

CJQ *kʰyẽ³: **Ly** tsʰuei⁵₍ᵎt; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵₍ᵎt [1] ≍ tɕʰyã⁵ [2]; **Pj** (tɕʰyan³); **Dy** tɕʰiʊ³ [1] ≍ tɕʰiʉan³ [2]; **Yk** kʰyə³; **Wy** tɕʰye³

CLS *kʰyẽ³: **Sc** tɕʰiẽ³ *F*; **Sy** tɕʰiɛ̃³; **Lq** tɕʰiɛ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰyãi³; **Qy** tɕʰiɛ̃³

CSS #kʰyə̃³: **Kh** tɕʰyɛ̃³; **Cs** tɕʰyÃ³; **Js** kʰyɛ̃¹; **Ys** kʰyẽ³; **Gf** kʰyẽ³

825 *xuán* 玄〔山合四平先匣〕 ‘abstruse’ **CDC** *hiuon² / **EC** *ʾgwin

CSWW *ɦyẽ²

CJQ *ɦyẽ²: **Ly** ie²˧˩; **Jh** yɤ² [1] ≍ yã² [2]; **Pj** yẽ² ～孫兒 ‘great grandson’; **Dy** iʊ²; **Yk** yə²; **Wy** ɲye²

CLS *ɦyẽ²: **Sc** yə̃²; **Sy** yɛ̃²; **Lq** yə²; **Yh** yɛ²; **Pc** xyãi²; **Qy** yɛ̃²

CSS #ɦyə̃²

826 *xiàn* 縣〔山合四去霰匣〕 ‘county’ **CDC** *hiuon⁶ / **EC** *ʾgwenh

CSWW *ɦyẽ⁶

CJQ *ɦyẽ⁶: **Ly** ye⁶ [1] ≍ ʑie⁶ [2]; **Jh** yɤ⁶ [1] ≍ yã⁵ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** iʊ⁶; **Yk** yə⁶; **Wy** ɲye⁶

CLS *ɦyẽ⁶: **Sc** yə̃⁶; **Sy** yɛ̃⁶; **Lq** yə⁶; **Yh** yɛ⁶; **Pc** yãi⁶; **Qy** yɛ̃⁶

CSS *ɦyə̃⁶

827 *yuān* 淵〔山合四平先影〕 ‘abyss’ **CDC** *iuon¹ / **EC** *ʾ|wen

CSWW *ʔyẽ¹

CJQ *ʔyẽ¹: **Ly** ye¹; **Jh** (yã¹); **Pj** yẽ²˧˥ [1] ≍ yan² [2]; **Dy** ʔiʊ¹; **Yk** yə¹; **Wy** ɲye¹

CLS *yẽ¹: **Sc** yə̃¹; **Sy** yɛ̃¹; **Lq** yə¹; **Yh** yɛ¹; **Pc** yãi¹; **Qy** yɛ̃¹

CSS #ʔyə̃¹: **Kh** yɛ̃¹; **Cs** yʌ̃¹; **Js** yɛ̃¹; **Ys** yẽ¹; **Gf** yẽ¹

828 *jué* 決〔山合四入屑見〕 ‘decide’ **CDC** *kiuot⁷ / **EC** *ʾkwet

CSWW *kyeʔ⁷

CJQ *kyeʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕyə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** kyə³; **Wy** tɕye⁵

CLS *kyeʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kye⁷; **Qy** tɕyeʔ⁷

CSS *kyəʔ⁷

829 *quē* 缺〔廣韻：山合四入屑溪〕 ‘deficient’ **CDC** *khiuot⁷ / **EC** *ʾkhwet

CSWW *kʰyeʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰyeʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ tɕʰyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰyə³; **Wy** tɕʰye⁵

CLS *kʰyeʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰye⁷ ≍ kʰie⁷; **Qy** tɕʰyeʔ⁷

CSS #kʰyəʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕʰyʌʔ⁷; **Js** kʰyɛʔ⁷ [2]; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** kʰyɐʔ⁷ [2]

830 *xuè* 血〔山合四入屑曉〕 ‘blood’ **CDC** *xiuot⁷ / **EC** *ʾhwit

CSWW *xyeʔ⁷

CJQ *xyeʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕyɤ⁵ [1] ≍ ɕyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ʃyi⁷ [1] ≍ ʃyə⁷ [2]; **Dy** ɕiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** xyə³; **Wy** ɕyeʔ⁷˧˩ft

CLS *xyeʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕyeʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕyəʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** xye⁷; **Qy** ɕyeʔ⁷

CSS *xyəʔ⁷

831 *xué* 穴〔山合四入屑匣〕 ‘hole’ CDC *hiuot⁸ / EC *’gwit

CSWW *ɦyaʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦyaʔ⁸: Ly —; Jh yɤ⁶ [1] ≍ yəʔ⁸ [2]; Pj yə⁸; Dy —; Yk ɣ̌ɑ⁴; Wy yəʔ⁸

CLS *ɦyaʔ⁸: Sc yeʔ⁸; Sy yɛʔ⁸; Lq iaʔ⁸; Yh iɑʔ⁸; Pc xye⁷₍f₎; Qy iɑʔ⁸

CSS #ɦyaʔ⁸: Kh yɛʔ⁸; Cs yʌʔ⁸; Js yɛʔ⁸; Ys yeʔ⁸₍f₎; Gf yɐʔ⁸

A.11 Zhēnshè 臻攝

832 *tūn* 吞〔臻開一平痕透〕 ‘swallow (v.)’ CDC *thuen¹ ≍ *then¹ / EC *’tun

CSWW *tʰuə̃¹ [1] ≍ *tʰuəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *tʰə̃¹ ≍ *tʰəŋ¹

a. Ly tʰei¹; Jh {tʰəŋ¹}; Pj tʰə̃¹; Dy tʰɤ¹; Yk tʰɤə¹; Wy tʰɤ¹

b. Ly —; Jh {tʰəŋ¹}; Pj —; Dy —; Yk tʰəŋ⁻⁴⁴ [2]; Wy tʰen⁻⁴⁴⁵ [2]

CLS *tʰuə̃¹ ≍ *tʰuəŋ¹₍a₎

a. Sc tʰə̃¹; Sy tʰæ̃¹; Lq tʰɤ¹; Yh tʰuɛ¹; Pc —; Qy tʰã¹

b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc tʰueŋ¹; Qy —

CSS #tʰuə̃¹ ≍ *tʰɨŋ¹

a. Kh tʰuɑ̃¹ [2]; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf —

b. Kh —; Cs tʰoŋ¹; Js tʰəŋ¹; Ys —; Gf tʰeiŋ¹ [1]

c. Kh tʰɛ̃¹ [2]; Cs —; Js —; Ys tʰæ̃¹; Gf tʰæ̃¹ [2]

833 *gēn* 根〔臻開一平痕見〕 ‘root’ CDC *ken¹ / EC *’kun

CSWW *kə̃¹ [1] ≍ *kəŋ¹₍a₎ [2]

CJQ *kəŋ¹₍f₎: Ly kəŋ¹; Jh kəŋ¹; Pj kən¹; Dy kən¹; Yk kəŋ¹; Wy ken¹

CLS *kə̃¹: Sc kə̃¹; Sy —; Lq kɤ¹; Yh kɛ¹; Pc keŋ¹₍f₎; Qy kã¹

CSS *kə̃¹

834 *hèn* 恨〔臻開一去恨匣〕 ‘hate’ CDC *hen⁶ / EC *’gunh

CSWW *ɦə̃⁶

CJQ *ɦəŋ⁶₍f₎: Ly əŋ⁶; Jh əŋ⁶; Pj ən⁶; Dy ən⁶; Yk əŋ⁶; Wy en⁶

CLS *ɦə̃⁶: Sc —; Sy æ̃⁶; Lq ɤ⁶; Yh ɛ⁶; Pc xeŋ⁶; Qy xã⁶

CSS *ɦə̃⁶

835 *ēn* 恩〔臻開一平痕影〕 ‘gratitude’ CDC *en¹ / EC *’un

CSWW *ʔə̃¹

CJQ *ʔəŋ¹₍f₎: Ly əŋ¹; Jh əŋ¹; Pj ən¹; Dy ʔən¹; Yk əŋ¹; Wy en¹

CLS *ʔə̃¹: Sc ə̃¹; Sy uɛ̃¹₍f₎; Lq ɤ¹; Yh ɛ¹; Pc eŋ¹₍f₎; Qy ã¹

CSS #ʔɛ̃¹

a. **Kh** ɛ̃¹; **Cs** (oŋ¹₍₁f₎); **Js** æ̃¹; **Ys** æ̃¹; **Gf** æ̃¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ɕiŋ² [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** (iŋ²₍₁i₎) [2]

CSWW *ȵiəŋ² is a bound form, used in words like *zhàngrén* 丈人 'father-in-law (of a man)'. CSWW *noŋ² 農 is the popular free word for 'person'.

Strictly speaking, CSWW *žiəŋ² should probably be eliminated from the reconstruction because of the irregular Shàngshān reflexes and the poor attestation in the Lìshuǐ branch. It is a learned term used in neologisms like *rénmín* 人民 'the people'.

836 *bìn* 殯〔廣韻：臻開三去震幫 A〕 'encoffin' **CDC** *pin⁵ / **EC** *pinh

CSWW *ɓiəŋ⁵

CJQ *ɓiəŋ⁵: **Ly** piŋ⁵; **Jh** piŋ⁵; **Pj** pin⁵; **Dy** pien¹₍₁t₎; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔmin⁵

CLS *ɓiəŋ⁵: **Sc** ʔbiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔbin¹₍₁t₎; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔbiŋ¹₍₁t₎; **Pc** peŋ⁵; **Qy** ʔbiəŋ¹₍₁t

CSS *piŋ⁵

837 *pín* 貧〔臻開三平真並 B〕 'poor' **CDC** *bin² / **EC** *bun

CSWW *biəŋ²

CJQ *biəŋ²: **Ly** biŋ²; **Jh** biŋ²; **Pj** bin²; **Dy** bien²; **Yk** bieiŋ²; **Wy** bin²

CLS *biəŋ²: **Sc** biɪŋ²; **Sy** pin²; **Lq** biŋ²; **Yh** biŋ²; **Pc** peŋ²; **Qy** piəŋ²

CSS #biŋ²: **Kh** biŋ²; **Cs** bɪŋ²; **Js** biŋ²; **Ys** bɪŋ²; **Gf** beiŋ²

838 *mín* 民〔臻開三平真明 A〕 'folk' **CDC** *min² / **EC** *min

CSWW *miəŋ²

CJQ *miəŋ²: **Ly** miŋ²; **Jh** miŋ²; **Pj** min²; **Dy** mien²; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min²

CLS *miəŋ²: **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** min²; **Lq** miŋ²; **Yh** miŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** miəŋ²

CSS *miŋ²

839 *lín* 鄰〔臻開三平真來 AB〕 'neighbor' **CDC** *lin² / **EC** *lin

CSWW *liəŋ²

CJQ *liəŋ²: **Ly** liŋ²; **Jh** liŋ²; **Pj** lin²; **Dy** lien²; **Yk** lieiŋ²; **Wy** lin²

CLS *liəŋ²: **Sc** liɪŋ²; **Sy** len²; **Lq** liŋ²; **Yh** liŋ²; **Pc** leŋ²; **Qy** liəŋ²

CSS #liŋ²: **Kh** liŋ²; **Cs** lɪŋ²; **Js** liŋ²; **Ys** lɪŋ²; **Gf** leiŋ²

840 *jīn* 津〔臻開三平真精 AB〕 'ford (n.)' **CDC** *tsin¹ / **EC** *tsun ⩙ *tsin

CSWW *tsyəŋ¹

CJQ *tsyəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tsiŋ⁵₍₁t₎; **Pj** tsən⁵₍₁t₎ 天～ 'Tiānjīn (pn.)'; **Dy** tsuən¹; **Yk** tɕyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕyin⁻⁵³ 天～ 'Tiānjīn (pn.)'

CLS *tɕyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃyɪŋ¹; **Pc** tsueŋ¹; **Qy** tɕyəŋ¹

CSS *tɕyiŋ¹

841 *jìn* 進〔臻開三去震精 AB〕 ‘advance’ **CDC** *tsin⁵ / **EC** *tsunh ⩙ *tsinh

CSWW *tsiŋ⁵

CJQ *tsiəŋ⁵: **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** tsiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsin⁵ˌf; **Dy** tɕien⁵; **Yk** tsəŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕin⁵

CLS *tɕiəŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** tɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** tsəŋ⁵; **Pc** tseŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁵

CSS #tɕiŋ⁵: **Kh** tɕiŋ³; **Cs** tsɪŋ³; **Js** tɕiŋ⁵; **Ys** tsɪŋ⁵; **Gf** tseiŋ⁵

842 *qīn* 親〔臻開三平真清 AB〕 ‘kin’ **CDC** *tshin¹ / **EC** *tshin

CSWW *tsʰiəŋ¹

CJQ *tsʰiəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Jh** tsʰiŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰən¹ ⩙ tsʰin¹ ～屬 ‘relatives’; **Dy** tɕʰien¹; **Yk** tsʰəŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰin¹

CLS *tsʰiəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰin¹; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Yh** tsʰəŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰeŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiəŋ¹

CSS #tsʰiŋ¹: **Kh** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Cs** tsʰɪŋ¹; **Js** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Ys** tsʰɪŋ¹; **Gf** tsʰeiŋ¹

843 *qín* 秦〔臻開三平真從 AB〕 ‘Qín (pn.)’ **CDC** *dzin² / **EC** *dzin

CSWW *dzyəŋ² [1] ⩙ *ziəŋ² [2]

CJQ *dzyəŋ²

a. **Ly** dʑiŋ²; **Jh** dziŋ²; **Pj** dzən²; **Dy** zuən²ˌi; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** zəŋ²; **Wy** ʑin²

CLS *dʑyəŋ²ˌa ⩙ *ziəŋ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsueŋ²; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** dʑiɪŋ²ˌi; **Sy** dʑin⁶ˌi; **Lq** ʑiŋ²; **Yh** zəŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiəŋ²

CSS *dʑyiŋ²

844 *xīn* 新〔臻開三平真心 AB〕 ‘new’ **CDC** *sin¹ / **EC** *sin

CSWW *siəŋ¹

CJQ *siəŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiŋ¹; **Jh** siŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹; **Dy** ɕien¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹

CLS *ɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** səŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹ [1]

CSS *ɕiŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *sə̃⁵ [2]

845 *zhèn* 鎮〔臻開三去震知 AB〕 ‘town; suppress’ **CDC** *cin⁵ / **EC** *trinh

CSWW *ɗiəŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *tšiəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *tšiəŋ⁵: **Ly** tsəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsən⁵; **Dy** tsən⁵; **Yk** tsəŋ⁵; **Wy** tsen⁵

CLS *ɗiəŋ⁵ ⩙ *tɕiəŋ⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiŋ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiəŋ⁵

b. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsəŋ⁵; **Pc** tseŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕiŋ⁵ˌf

846 *chén* 陳〔臻開三平真澄 AB〕 ‘arrang; stale; Chén (pn.)’ **CDC** *jin² / **EC** *drin

CSWW *džiəŋ²

CJQ *džiəŋ²: **Ly** dzəŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dzən²; **Dy** dzən²; **Yk** dzəŋ²; **Wy** dzen²

CLS *dʑiəŋ²: **Sc** dʑyə̃²₍f 〜穀 ‘stale grain’ ≍ dʑiɪŋ² 〜列 ‘array’; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dzəŋ²; **Pc** tseŋ²; **Qy** tɕiəŋ²

CSS #dʑẽ² [1] ≍ #dʑiŋ² [2]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** {dzɪŋ²}; **Js** dʑœ̃² 〜飯 ‘leftover rice’; **Ys** dʑyæ̃²; **Gf** dʑyẽ² ‘stale (of food)’

b. **Kh** dʑiŋ²; **Cs** {dzɪŋ²}; **Js** dʑiŋ²; **Ys** —; **Gf** dzeiŋ²

847 *chén* 塵〔臻開三平真澄 AB〕 ‘dust’ **CDC** *jin² / **EC** *drun

CSWW *də̃² [1] ≍ *džiəŋ² [2]

CJQ *džiəŋ²: **Ly** dzəŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dzən²; **Dy** dzən²; **Yk** dzəŋ²; **Wy** dzen²

CLS *də̃² ≍ *dʑiəŋ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dɤ²² 打〜 ‘dust sweeping (custom)’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã² □mõ²²¹〜 ‘wok soot’

b. **Sc** dʑiɪŋ²₍f; **Sy** tɕin²; **Lq** dzɛiŋ²; **Yh** dzəŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiəŋ² 墱〜 ‘dust’

CSS #də̃² ≍ #dʑẽ² [2] ≍ #dʑiŋ² [3]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** doŋ⁻⁰₍f 掃墱〜 ‘dust sweeping (custom)’; **Js** dæ̃²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** dʑyẽ² [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** dʑiŋ² [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** dzɪŋ²; **Gf** dzeiŋ²

The irregular final of Cs [doŋ⁻⁰] was probably copied from the preceding syllable, CSWW *boŋ² 墱 ‘dust’.

848 *zhèn* 陣〔臻開三去震澄 AB〕 ‘formation, line (of battle)’ **CDC** *jin⁶ / **EC** *drinh

CSWW *džiəŋ⁶

CJQ *džiəŋ⁶: **Ly** dzəŋ⁶; **Jh** dʑiŋ⁶; **Pj** dzən⁶; **Dy** dzən⁶; **Yk** dzəŋ⁶; **Wy** dzen⁶

CLS *dʑiəŋ⁶: **Sc** dʑyɪŋ⁶; **Sy** tɕiəŋ³₍t; **Lq** dzɛiŋ⁶; **Yh** dzəŋ⁶; **Pc** tseŋ⁶; **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁶

CSS *dʑyẽ⁶

849 *zhēn* 真〔臻開三平真章 AB〕 ‘real’ **CDC** *cin¹ / **EC** *tin

CSWW *tšiəŋ¹

CJQ *tšiəŋ¹: **Ly** tsəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tsən¹; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** tsəŋ¹; **Wy** tsen¹

CLS *tɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹₍f; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tsɛiŋ¹; **Yh** tsəŋ¹; **Pc** tseŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *tɕyẽ¹

850 *zhèn* 震〔臻開三去震章 AB〕 ‘quake’ **CDC** *cin⁵ / **EC** *tunh ≍ *tinh

CSWW *tšiəŋ⁵

CJQ *tšiəŋ⁵: **Ly** tsəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsən⁵; **Dy** tsən⁵; **Yk** tsəŋ⁵; **Wy** tsen⁵

CLS *tɕiəŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³₍ft; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** tɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** tsəŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁵

CSS *tɕyẽ⁵ [1] ≍ #tɕiŋ⁵ [2]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** {tsɪŋ⁵}; **Js** tɕœ̃⁵ ‘shiver’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Cs** {tsɪŋ⁵}; **Js** tɕiŋ¹; **Ys** tsɪŋ⁵; **Gf** tseiŋ⁵

851 *shén* 神〔臻開三平真船 AB〕 ‘spirit’ **CDC** *jin² / **EC** *δin

CSWW *žiəŋ²

CJQ *žiəŋ²: **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** ʑiŋ²; **Pj** zən²; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** zəŋ²; **Wy** zen²

CLS *ʑiəŋ²: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ²₍f₎; **Sy** ɕin²; **Lq** ʑiŋ²; **Yh** zəŋ²; **Pc** seŋ²; **Qy** ɕiəŋ²

CSS #ʑyẽ² [1] ⩙ #ʑiŋ² [2]

a. **Kh** ʑiŋ² [2]; **Cs** {zɪŋ²}; **Js** —; **Ys** zɪŋ²; **Gf** seiŋ²

b. **Kh** ʑyɛ̃² [1] ～仙 ‘immortal’; **Cs** {zɪŋ²}; **Js** ɕœ̃²; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

852 *shēn* 身〔臻開三平真書 AB〕 ‘body’ **CDC** *shin¹ / **EC** *hyin

CSWW *šiəŋ¹

CJQ *šiəŋ¹: **Ly** səŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹

CLS *ɕiəŋ¹: **Sc** ɕyɪŋ¹ [2] ⩙ ɕiɪŋ¹ [1]; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** sɛiŋ¹; **Yh** səŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹

CSS *ɕyẽ¹ [1] ⩙ #ɕiŋ¹ [2]

a. **Kh** ɕyɛ̃¹; **Cs** {sɪŋ¹}; **Js** ɕœ̃¹; **Ys** ɕyæ̃¹; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {sɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** sɪŋ¹; **Gf** seiŋ¹

853 *shēn* 伸〔臻開三平真書 AB〕 ‘extend’ **CDC** *shin¹ / **EC** *hyin

CSWW *(tšʰ,tsʰ)iẽ¹ (?) [1] ⩙ *šiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *(tšʰ,tsʰ)iẽ¹ ⩙ *šiəŋ¹

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰi¹; **Yk** tɕʰiə¹; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** səŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** sən¹; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹

CLS *tɕʰyẽ¹₍fa₎ ⩙ *ɕiəŋ¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰyɛ̃¹₍f₎ ～長 ‘stretch (ones’s body)’

b. **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** səŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiəŋ¹ ～手 ‘stretch out one’s hand’

CSS #tɕʰiə̃¹ ⩙ #ɕiŋ¹₍f₎

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕʰiɛ̃¹; **Ys** kʰiẽ¹₍i₎; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ɕiŋ¹; **Cs** sɪŋ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** sɪŋ¹; **Gf** seiŋ¹

854 *rén* 人〔臻開三平真日 AB〕 ‘person’ **CDC** *nhin² / **EC** *nin

CSWW *ȵiəŋ² [1] *B* ⩙ *žiəŋ² (?) [2] *B*

CJQ *ȵiəŋ² ⩙ *žiəŋ²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ȵiŋ²; **Pj** ȵin²; **Dy** ȵien²; **Yk** ȵieiŋ²; **Wy** ȵin² ⩙ ȵiəʔ⁸ [1]

b. **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** ʑiŋ²; **Pj** (zin²₍f₎); **Dy** ʑien²; **Yk** zəŋ²; **Wy** ʑin²

CLS *ȵiəŋ² ⩙ *ʑi(ə)ŋ²₍a₎

a. **Sc** ȵiɪŋ²₍f₎; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵiŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵiəŋ²

b. **Sc** ʑyɪŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ȵiŋ² ⩙ #ʑiŋ²₍f₎

a. **Kh** ȵiŋ²; **Cs** nɪŋ²; **Js** —; **Ys** nɪŋ²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ʑiŋ²; **Cs** zɪŋ⁻²⁴; **Js** —; **Ys** zɪŋ²; **Gf** —

855 *rěn* 忍〔臻開三上軫日 AB〕 ‘endure’ **CDC** *nhin⁴ / **EC** *nunx ≍ *ninx

CSWW *ȵiəŋ⁴

CJQ *ȵiəŋ⁴: **Ly** ȵiŋ⁴; **Jh** ȵiŋ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑyəŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ȵin⁴; **Dy** ȵien⁴; **Yk** ɲieiŋ⁴ [1] ≍ zəŋ⁴ [2]; **Wy** ȵin⁴

CLS *ȵiəŋ⁴: **Sc** ȵiɪŋ⁴; **Sy** ȵi⁴; **Lq** ȵiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** ŋi⁴; **Qy** ȵiəŋ⁴

CSS *ȵiŋ⁴

856 *rèn* 認〔臻開三去震日 AB〕 ‘recognize’ **CDC** *nhin⁶ / **EC** *nunh ≍ *ninh

CSWW *ȵiəŋ⁶

CJQ *ȵiŋ⁶ˌlf: **Ly** ȵiŋ⁶ [1] ≍ zəŋ⁶ [2]; **Jh** ȵiŋ⁶ [1] ≍ ʑyəŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ȵin⁶; **Dy** ŋən⁶; **Yk** ɲieiŋ⁶ [1] ≍ zəŋ⁶ [2]; **Wy** ȵin⁶

CLS *ȵiəŋ⁶: **Sc** ȵiɪŋ⁶; **Sy** ȵi⁶; **Lq** ȵiŋ⁶; **Yh** ɲiŋ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** ȵiəŋ⁶

CSS *ȵiŋ⁵

857 *jīn* 巾〔臻開三平真見 B〕 ‘headwrap’ **CDC** *kin¹ / **EC** *kun ≍ *kin

CSWW *kɨəŋ¹ [1] ≍ *kiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *kiəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** tɕien¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹

CLS *kɨəŋ¹ˌla ≍ *kiəŋ¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** kieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

CSS #kẽ¹ ≍ *kiŋ¹

a. **Kh** kɛ̃¹ 毛～ ‘towel’; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kiŋ¹; **Ys** kɪŋ¹; **Gf** kiŋ¹

858 *jǐn* 緊〔臻開三上軫見 A〕 ‘tight’ **CDC** *kin³ / **EC** *kinx

CSWW *kiəŋ³

CJQ *kiəŋ³: **Ly** tɕiŋ³; **Jh** tɕiŋ³; **Pj** tɕin³; **Dy** tɕien³; **Yk** kieiŋ³; **Wy** tɕin³

CLS *kiəŋ³: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³; **Sy** tɕin³; **Lq** tɕiŋ³; **Yh** tʃiŋ³; **Pc** kieŋ³; **Qy** tɕiəŋ³

CSS *kiŋ³

859 *yín* 銀〔臻開三平真疑 B〕 ‘silver’ **CDC** *ngin² / **EC** *ngun ≍ *ngin

CSWW *ȵiəŋ² [2]

CJQ *ȵiəŋ²: **Ly** ȵiŋ²; **Jh** ȵiŋ²; **Pj** ȵin²; **Dy** ȵien²; **Yk** ɲieiŋ²; **Wy** ȵin²

CLS *ȵiəŋ²: **Sc** ȵiɪŋ²; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵiŋ²; **Yh** ɲiŋ²; **Pc** ŋi²; **Qy** ȵiəŋ²

CSS #ȵiŋ² ≍ *ŋẽ² [1] ≍ *ŋiəŋ² [1]

a. **Kh** ȵiŋ²; **Cs** {ŋɪŋ²}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** neiŋ²

b. **Kh** ŋɛ̃²; **Cs** {ŋɪŋ²}; **Js** ŋœ̃²; **Ys** ŋæ̃²; **Gf** —

860 *yìn* 印〔臻開三去震影 A〕 ‘stamp, print’ **CDC** *in⁵ / **EC** *inh

CSWW *ʔiəŋ⁵

CJQ *ʔiəŋ⁵: **Ly** iŋ⁵; **Jh** iŋ⁵; **Pj** in⁵; **Dy** ʔien⁵; **Yk** ieiŋ⁵; **Wy** in⁵
CLS *iəŋ⁵: **Sc** iɪŋ⁵; **Sy** in⁵; **Lq** iŋ⁵; **Yh** iŋ⁵; **Pc** ieŋ⁵; **Qy** iəŋ⁵
CSS *ʔiŋ⁵

861 *yǐn* 引〔臻開三上軫以 A〕 ‘induce’ **CDC** *in⁴ / **EC** *yinx
CSWW *ɦiəŋ⁴
CJQ *ɦiəŋ⁴: **Ly** iŋ³˩˨; **Jh** iŋ³; **Pj** in⁴; **Dy** ien⁴; **Yk** ieiŋ⁴; **Wy** in⁴
CLS *ɦiəŋ⁴: **Sc** iɪŋ⁴; **Sy** in³˩˨; **Lq** iŋ³; **Yh** iŋ³; **Pc** ieŋ⁴; **Qy** iəŋ⁴ [1] ≍ iəŋ³ [2]
CSS #ɦiŋ⁴: **Kh** iŋ³˩˨; **Cs** ɦɪŋ⁴; **Js** iŋ⁴; **Ys** ɦɪŋ⁴; **Gf** iŋ⁴

862 *bǐ* 筆〔臻開三入質幫 B〕 ‘brush, pen’ **CDC** *pit⁷ / **EC** *put ≍ *pit
CSWW *ɓiək⁷˩ₐ (?) [1] ≍ *ɓiək⁷ [2]
CJQ *ɓiəʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** piə⁷; **Dy** piəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷
CLS *ɓiək⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** pie⁷ ≍ piʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔbiəɯʔ⁷
CSS #pyeʔ⁷ ≍ #piʔ⁷
a. **Kh** pʌʔ⁷; **Cs** pɛʔ⁷; **Js** pœʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** pieʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** peʔ⁷; **Gf** peʔ⁷

I have not changed the reconstruction of Akitani’s **CSS** forms, but I have altered their reading indices on the basis of **Kh**.

863 *bì* 必〔臻開三入質幫 A〕 ‘necessarily’ **CDC** *pit⁷ ≍ *pi⁵ / **EC** *pit ≍ *pis
CSWW *ɓiək⁷
CJQ *ɓiəʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** piə⁷; **Dy** piəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbiə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷
CLS *ɓiək⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** pie⁷; **Qy** ʔbiəɯʔ⁷
CSS *piʔ⁷

864 *pǐ* 匹〔臻開三入質滂 A〕 ‘clf. for animals, cloth’ **CDC** *phit⁷ / **EC** *phit
CSWW *pʰiʔ⁷
CJQ *pʰiʔ⁷: **Ly** pʰie⁵˩ₓ ≍ pʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** pʰie⁵˩ₓ; **Pj** pʰi⁻⁵³ ⼀～; **Dy** pʰeiʔ⁷; **Yk** pʰəi⁵; **Wy** —
CLS *pʰiʔ⁷: **Sc** pʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰiɛʔ⁷; **Lq** pʰiʔ⁷; **Yh** pʰiʔ⁷; **Pc** pʰi⁷; **Qy** —
CSS #pʰiʔ⁷: **Kh** pʰieʔ⁷; **Cs** pʰiəʔ⁷; **Js** pʰiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** pʰeʔ⁷; **Gf** pʰeʔ⁷

865 *mì* 密〔臻開三入質明 B〕 ‘dense’ **CDC** *mit⁸ / **EC** *mit
CSWW *mæʔ⁸˩ₐ (?) [1] ≍ *miək⁸ [2]
CJQ *miəʔ⁸: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** miəʔ⁸; **Pj** miə⁸; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** mə⁴ [2]; **Wy** məʔ⁸
CLS *miək⁸: **Sc** miɪʔ⁸; **Sy** miʔ⁸; **Lq** miʔ⁸; **Yh** miʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** miəɯʔ⁸ [2] ≍ miʔ⁸ [1]

CSS #mæʔ⁸ (?) ⪤ #miʔ⁸ [2]
a. **Kh** mieʔ⁸; **Cs** meʔ⁸ [2]; **Js** miɛʔ⁸ [2]; **Ys** meʔ⁸ [2]; **Gf** meʔ⁸
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** mɛʔ⁸ [1]; **Js** maʔ⁸ [1]; **Ys** mɐʔ⁸₍!f; **Gf** —

866 *mì* 蜜〔臻開三入質明 A〕 ‘honey’ **CDC** *mit⁸ / **EC** —
CSWW *miək⁷
CJQ *miəʔ⁷: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** miəʔ⁸; **Pj** miə⁸; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** mə⁴; **Wy** məʔ⁸
CLS *miək⁷: **Sc** miɪʔ⁸; **Sy** miʔ⁸; **Lq** miʔ⁸; **Yh** miʔ⁸; **Pc** mie⁷; **Qy** miəɯʔ⁸
CSS *miʔ⁷

867 *lì* 栗〔臻開三入質來 AB〕 ‘chestnut’ **CDC** *lit⁷ / **EC** *lit
CSWW *lək⁸ (?) [1] ⪤ *liək⁸ [2]
CJQ *liəʔ⁸: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** liə⁸; **Dy** liəʔ⁸; **Yk** lə⁴-¹⁴ [兒]; **Wy** ləʔ⁸
CLS *lək⁸ ⪤ *liək⁸
a. **Sc** ləɯʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** le⁷; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** liʔ⁸; **Lq** liʔ⁸; **Yh** liʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** liəɯʔ⁸
CSS *loʔ⁸₍!f ⪤ #liʔ⁸₍!a
a. **Kh** ləʔ⁸; **Cs** loʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** lɤʔ⁸
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** leʔ⁸; **Gf** —
The expected CSS reflex of CSWW *lək⁸ is *lɨʔ⁸. The sound correspondences of CSWW *-ɨʔ and *-oʔ overlap considerably.

868 *qī* 七〔臻開三入質清 AB〕 ‘seven’ **CDC** *tshit⁷ / **EC** *tshit
CSWW *tsʰiək⁷ [1]
CJQ *tsʰiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰə³; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷
CLS *tɕʰiək⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰie⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiəɯʔ⁷
CSS *tɕʰiʔ⁷ ⪤ *tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]

869 *qī* 漆〔臻開三入質清 AB〕 ‘lacquer’ **CDC** *tshit⁷ / **EC** *tshit
CSWW *tsʰiək⁷
CJQ *tsʰiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷ [2] ⪤ tsʰeiʔ⁷ [1]; **Yk** tsʰə³; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷
CLS *tɕʰiək⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰie⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiəɯʔ⁷
CSS *tɕʰiʔ⁷

870 *zhí* 侄（姪）〔廣韻：臻開三入質澄 AB〕 ‘nibling’ **CDC** *jit⁸ / **EC** *drit
CSWW *džiək⁸
CJQ *džiəʔ⁸: **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** dzə⁸; **Dy** dzɜʔ⁸; **Yk** dzə⁴; **Wy** dʑiəʔ⁸₍!if
CLS *dʑiək⁸: **Sc** dʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑiʔ⁸; **Yh** dzeiʔ²; **Pc** tɕie⁷; **Qy** —
CSS *dʑyeʔ⁸

871 *shī* 蝨〔臻開三入櫛生 AB〕 ‘louse’ **CDC** *shet⁷ / **EC** *srit

CSWW *šəiʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎ [1] ⩙ *šiək⁷ (?)

CJQ *səʔ⁷₍ₗᵢf₎: **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** səʔ⁷₍ₗᵢf₎; **Pj** sə⁷; **Dy** sɜʔ⁷; **Yk** sə³; **Wy** səʔ⁷

CLS *səiʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎ ⩙ *ɕiək⁷ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sɤʔ⁷

b. **Sc** ɕiuʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** siʔ⁷; **Yh** seiʔ⁷; **Pc** se⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *sæʔ⁷

The expected Jh reflex is [ɕiəʔ⁷], which would lead us to reconstruct CJQ *šiəʔ⁷. Jh [səʔ⁷] might be a reflex of CSWW *šəiʔ or intrusive. Alternatively, one could treat this whole set as irregular instead of attempting to split it into variant common forms.

872 *shí* 實〔臻開三入質船 AB〕 ‘filled’ **CDC** *zhit⁸ / **EC** *δit

CSWW *žiək⁸

CJQ *žiəʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zə⁸; **Dy** zɜʔ⁸; **Yk** zə⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸

CLS *ʑiək⁸: **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiʔ⁸; **Yh** zeiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕie⁷; **Qy** ɕiəɯʔ⁸

CSS *ʑyeʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ #ʑiʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Kh** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Cs** zɛʔ⁸; **Js** ɕœʔ⁸; **Ys** ʑiʌʔ⁸; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁸; **Ys** zeʔ⁸; **Gf** seʔ⁸

873 *rì* 日〔臻開三入質日 AB〕 ‘sun, day’ **CDC** *ʰnhit⁸ / **EC** *ʰnit

CSWW *nəiʔ⁸ [1] *F* ‘sun; day’ ⩙ *ɲʑiək⁸ [2] *B*

CJQ *nəiʔ⁸ ‘day’ ⩙ *ɲʑiəʔ⁸ ‘sun’ ⩙ *žiəʔ⁸ [3]

a. **Ly** nəʔ⁸ 今～ ‘today’ ⩙ nei⁵ 一～ ‘one day’; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** neiʔ⁸ 今～ ‘today’; **Yk** —; **Wy** nəʔ⁸

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɲʑiəʔ⁸ [1]; **Pj** ɲʑiə⁸; **Dy** —; **Yk** ɲĭə⁴ [1] 今～ ‘today’; **Wy** —

c. **Ly** —; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸ [2] ～本 ‘Japan’; **Yk** zə⁴ [2] ～本 ‘Japan’; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *neʔ⁸ ⩙ *ɲʑiək⁸

a. **Sc** neʔ⁸; **Sy** nɛʔ⁸ [2] ‘day’; **Lq** nɛʔ⁸; **Yh** naʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** nɤʔ⁸

b. **Sc** ɲʑiɪʔ⁸ ～本 ‘Japan’; **Sy** ɲʑiɛʔ⁸₍ₗf₎ [1] ‘sun’; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiʔ⁸ ～本 ‘Japan’; **Pc** ŋie⁷ ‘sun; day’; **Qy** ɲʑiəɯʔ⁸ ～本 ‘Japan’

CSS *nəʔ⁸

874 *jí* 吉〔臻開三入質見 A〕 ‘auspicious’ **CDC** *kit⁷ / **EC** *kit

CSWW *kiək⁷

CJQ *kiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kĭə³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *kiək⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕiʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕiəɯʔ⁷

CSS #kiʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕieʔ⁷; **Js** kiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** kieʔ⁷; **Gf** kieʔ⁷

875 *yǐ* 乙〔臻開三入質影 B〕 ‘/yǐ/ 2/10 (gz.)’ **CDC** *it⁷ / **EC** *ut ⩙ *it

CSWW *ʔiək⁷

CJQ *ʔiəʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁷; **Dy** ʔiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ĭə³; **Wy** iəʔ⁷

CLS *ʔiək⁷: **Sc** iɪʔ⁷; **Sy** iʔ⁷; **Lq** iʔ⁷; **Yh** iʔ⁷; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** iəɯʔ⁷

CSS *ʔiʔ⁷

876 *yī* 一〔臻開三入質影 A〕 ‘one’ **CDC** *it⁷ / **EC** *it

CSWW *ʔiək⁷

CJQ *ʔiəʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁷; **Dy** ʔiəʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ ʔiʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ĭə³; **Wy** iəʔ⁷

CLS *iək⁷: **Sc** iɪʔ⁷; **Sy** iʔ⁷; **Lq** iʔ⁷; **Yh** iʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ i⁵ [2]; **Pc** ie⁷; **Qy** iəɯʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ iʔ⁷ [2]

CSS *ʔiʔ⁷

877 *jīn* 斤〔臻開三平殷見 C〕 ‘catty’ **CDC** *kin¹ / **EC** *kun ⩙ *kin

CSWW *kɨəŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ [2] ⩙ *kiəŋ⁵ [3]

CJQ *kiəŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *kiəŋ⁵ [2]

a. **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** tɕien¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕin⁵

CLS *kɨəŋ¹ˈa (?) ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** kieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

c. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kẽ¹ ⩙ #kiŋ¹

a. **Kh** kɛ̃¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kœ̃¹; **Ys** kæ̃¹; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** kiŋ¹

878 *jīn* 筋〔廣韻：臻開三平殷見 C〕 ‘tendon’ **CDC** *kin¹ / **EC** *kun ⩙ *kin

CSWW *kɨəŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *kiəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** tɕien¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹

CLS *kɨəŋ¹ˈa (?) ⩙ *kiəŋ¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tɕin¹}; **Lq** kɛiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** {tɕin¹}; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiəŋ¹

CSS *kẽ¹ ⩙ #kiŋ¹

a. **Kh** kɛ̃¹ [1]; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kœ̃¹ [1] 抽～ ‘cramp’; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** {kɪŋ¹}; **Js** kiŋ¹; **Ys** kɪŋ¹; **Gf** kiŋ¹

879 *qín* 勤〔臻開三平殷羣 C〕 ‘diligent’ **CDC** *gin² / **EC** *gun ⩙ *gin

CSWW *gɨəŋ² [1] ⩙ *giəŋ² [2]

CJQ *giəŋ²: **Ly** dʑiŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dʑin²; **Dy** dʑien²; **Yk** gieiŋ²; **Wy** dʑin²

CLS *giəŋ²: **Sc** dʑiɪŋ²; **Sy** tɕin²; **Lq** dʑiŋ²; **Yh** dʒiŋ²; **Pc** kieŋ²; **Qy** tɕiəŋ²

CSS *gẽ² ⩙ #giŋ²
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** {gɪŋ²}; **Js** gœ̃⁻³³ ～力; **Ys** gæ̃²; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** dʑiŋ²; **Cs** {gɪŋ²}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** giŋ²

880 *jìn* 近〔臻開三上隱羣 C〕 ‘near, close’ **CDC** *gin⁴ / **EC** *gunx ⩙ *ginx

CSWW *gə̃⁴ [1] ⩙ *giəŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *giəŋ⁴: **Ly** dʑiŋ⁴; **Jh** tɕiŋ³ [1] ⩙ dʑiŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑin⁴; **Dy** dʑien⁴; **Yk** gieiŋ⁴; **Wy** dʑin⁴

CLS *gə̃⁴ ⩙ *giəŋ⁴
a. **Sc** gə̃⁴; **Sy** gæ̃⁴; **Lq** kɤ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kã⁴
b. **Sc** dʑiɪŋ⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiŋ⁴; **Pc** (kieŋ⁶₍ɬ₎); **Qy** tɕiəŋ⁴

CSS *gə̃⁴

881 *xīn* 欣〔臻開三平殷曉 C〕 ‘rejoice’ **CDC** *xin¹ / **EC** *hun ⩙ *hin

CSWW *xiəŋ¹

CJQ *xiəŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** ʃin⁵; **Dy** ɕien¹; **Yk** xieiŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹

CLS *xiəŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃiŋ¹; **Pc** xieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiəŋ¹₍l₎

CSS #xiŋ¹: **Kh** ɕiŋ¹; **Cs** —; **Js** xiŋ¹; **Ys** xɪŋ¹; **Gf** xiŋ¹

882 *yǐn* 隱〔臻開三上隱影 C〕 ‘obscure’ **CDC** *in³ / **EC** *unx ⩙ *inx

CSWW *ʔ(ə̃,eŋ)³₍a₎ [1] ‘subtle’ ⩙ *ʔiəŋ³

CJQ *iəŋ³: **Ly** iŋ⁵; **Jh** iŋ³; **Pj** in³; **Dy** ʔien³; **Yk** ieiŋ³; **Wy** in³

CLS *ʔiəŋ³: **Sc** iɪŋ³; **Sy** in³; **Lq** —; **Yh** iŋ³; **Pc** ieŋ⁴₍t₎ ⩙ ueŋ³; **Qy** iəŋ³

CSS *ʔə̃³₍a₎ ⩙ #ʔiŋ³ [2]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ʌ̃³; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** iŋ³; **Cs** —; **Js** iŋ⁻²⁴ ～瞞; **Ys** ɪŋ³; **Gf** iŋ⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～瞞

883 *běn* 本〔臻合一上混幫〕 ‘root, base’ **CDC** *pun³ / **EC** *’punx

CSWW *ɓə̃³ [1] ⩙ *ɓəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ɓəŋ³: **Ly** pəŋ³; **Jh** pəŋ³; **Pj** pən³; **Dy** pən³; **Yk** ʔməŋ³ 日～‘Japan’; **Wy** ʔmen³ 日～ ‘Japan’

CLS *ɓə̃³ ⩙ *ɓəŋ³₍a₎
a. **Sc** ʔbə̃³; **Sy** ʔbæ̃³; **Lq** ʔbɤ³; **Yh** ʔbɛ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbã³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** peŋ³ ‘clf. for books’; **Qy** —

CSS #pə̃³ ⩙ #poŋ³
a. **Kh** pɛ̃³; **Cs** pʌ̃³; **Js** pæ̃³; **Ys** pæ̃³; **Gf** puɐ̃³ [2] 日～ ‘Japan’
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** poŋ³ 日～ ‘Japan’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** poŋ³ ‘clf. for books’

884 *pén* 盆〔臻合一平魂並〕 ‘basin’ **CDC** *bun² / **EC** *’bun

CSWW *bə̃² 火～ ‘brazier’

CJQ *bə̃² ⩙ *bəŋ²
a. Ly bei²; Jh {bəŋ²}; Pj bə̃n⁻²⁴³ 盤兒; Dy —; Yk buə²; Wy —
b. Ly bəŋ²; Jh {bəŋ²} 火～ ‘brazier’; Pj bən²; Dy —; Yk —; Wy ben² 火～ ‘brazier’

CLS *bə̃²: Sc bə̃² !use; Sy pæ̃² 腳～ ‘foot-washing basin’; Lq bɤ² !use; Yh bɛ²; Pc pãi² !use; Qy pã²

CSS *bə̃²

885 *bèn* 笨〔臻合一上混並〕 ‘stupid’ CDC *bun⁴ / EC *’bunx

CSWW *bəŋ⁴ [1] ⩙ *bə̃⁶₍!a₎ [2] ⩙ *boŋ⁶ [3]

CJQ *bəŋ⁴₍!a₎ ⩙ *bəŋ⁶ [2]
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy bən⁴; Yk —; Wy —
b. Ly bəŋ⁶; Jh bəŋ⁶; Pj bən⁶; Dy —; Yk bəŋ⁶; Wy ben⁶

CLS *bə̃⁶₍!a₎ [1] ⩙ *bəŋ⁶ [2]
a. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy pã⁶₍!f
b. Sc bəŋ⁶; Sy ben⁶; Lq bɛiŋ⁶; Yh bəŋ⁶; Pc peŋ⁶; Qy —

CSS *boŋ⁴₍!a₎ ⩙ *boŋ⁶ [2]

886 *mén* 門〔臻合一平魂明〕 ‘door’ CDC *mun² / EC *’mun

CSWW *məŋ²

CJQ *məŋ²: Ly məŋ²; Jh məŋ²; Pj mən²; Dy mən²; Yk məŋ²; Wy men²

CLS *məŋ²: Sc məŋ²; Sy men²; Lq mɛiŋ²; Yh məŋ²; Pc meŋ²; Qy məŋ²

CSS *moŋ²

887 *dùn* 頓〔臻合一去慁端〕 ‘arrange (v.)’ CDC *tun⁵ / EC *’tunh

CSWW *ɗuə̃⁵ [1] ⩙ *ɗuəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗə̃⁵ ⩙ *ɗəŋ⁵
a. Ly tei⁵; Jh {təŋ⁵}; Pj —; Dy tɤ⁵; Yk —; Wy —
b. Ly —; Jh {təŋ⁵}; Pj tən⁻⁵³; Dy —; Yk ʔnəŋ⁵; Wy ʔnen⁵

CLS *ɗuə̃⁵ ⩙ *ɗuəŋ⁵
a. Sc ʔdə̃⁵; Sy ʔdæ̃⁵; Lq ʔdɤ⁵; Yh —; Pc —; Qy ʔdã⁵
b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh ʔdəŋ⁵; Pc lueŋ⁵; Qy —

CSS #tuə̃⁵: Kh tuə̃⁵; Cs tuʌ̃⁵; Js tæ̃⁵ [1] ⩙ tæ̃³ [2]; Ys tuə̃⁵; Gf tuɐ̃⁵

888 *tún* 臀〔臻合一平魂定〕 ‘rump’ CDC *dun² / EC *’dun

CSWW *duə̃²

CJQ *də̃²₍!a₎: Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk dɤə²; Wy —

CLS *duə̃² [1] ⩙ *d(u)əŋ²₍!a₎ [2]
a. Sc də̃²; Sy tæ̃²; Lq dɤ²; Yh —; Pc —; Qy tã²
b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh dəŋ²; Pc —; Qy —

CSS *duã²

889 *dùn* 鈍〔臻合一去慁定〕 ‘blunt’ **CDC** *dun⁶ / **EC** —

CSWW *duã⁶ [1] ⩙ *duəŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *dã⁶ ⩙ *dəŋ⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** {dəŋ⁶}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** dɤə⁶; **Wy** dɤ⁶

b. **Ly** dəŋ⁶; **Jh** {dəŋ⁶}; **Pj** dən⁶; **Dy** dən⁶; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *duã⁶ ⩙ *duəŋ⁶

a. **Sc** dã⁶; **Sy** dæ̃⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** duɛ⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã⁶

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dɛiŋ⁶; **Yh** —; **Pc** tueŋ⁶; **Qy** —

CSS *duã⁶

890 *dùn* 遁〔臻合一去慁定〕 ‘flee’ **CDC** *dun⁶ / **EC** *’dunh

CSWW *duã⁶

CJQ *dəŋ⁶ˌf: **Ly** dəŋ⁶; **Jh** dəŋ⁶; **Pj** dən⁶; **Dy** dən⁶; **Yk** dəŋ⁶; **Wy** den⁶

CLS *duã⁶: **Sc** dã⁶; **Sy** dæ̃⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** duɛ⁶; **Pc** (tueŋ⁶ˌf); **Qy** tã⁶

CSS #duã⁶: **Kh** duã⁶; **Cs** duʌ̃⁶; **Js** dæ̃⁶; **Ys** duã⁶; **Gf** duẽ⁶

891 *nèn* 嫩〔臻合一去慁泥〕 ‘tender’ **CDC** *nun⁶ / **EC** *’nunh

CSWW *nuã⁶

CJQ *nã⁶: **Ly** nei⁶; **Jh** nəŋ⁶; **Pj** nã⁶ ⩙ nən⁶ [2]; **Dy** nɤ⁶; **Yk** nɤə⁶; **Wy** nɤ⁶

CLS *nuã⁶: **Sc** nã⁶; **Sy** næ̃⁶; **Lq** nɤ⁶; **Yh** nuɛ⁶; **Pc** (nueŋ⁶ˌf); **Qy** nã⁶

CSS *nuã⁶

892 *cūn* 村〔臻合一平魂清〕 ‘village’ **CDC** *tshun¹ / **EC** *’tshun

CSWW *tsʰuã¹

CJQ *tsʰuã¹: **Ly** tsʰuei¹; **Jh** tsʰəŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰə̃¹; **Dy** tsʰɤ¹; **Yk** tsʰɤə¹; **Wy** tsʰɤ¹

CLS *tsʰuã¹: **Sc** tsʰə̃¹; **Sy** tsʰæ̃¹; **Lq** tsʰɤ¹; **Yh** tsʰuɛ¹; **Pc** tsʰuãi¹ ⩙ tsʰueŋ¹; **Qy** tsʰã¹

CSS *tsʰuã¹

893 *cǔn* 忖〔臻合一上混清〕 ‘think’ **CDC** *tshun³ / **EC** *’tshunx

CSWW *tsʰuã³

CJQ *tsʰuã³: **Ly** tsʰuei⁵; **Jh** tsʰəŋ³; **Pj** tsʰə̃³; **Dy** tsʰɤ³; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tsʰuã³: **Sc** tsʰə̃³; **Sy** tsʰæ̃³; **Lq** tsʰɤ³; **Yh** tsʰuɛ³; **Pc** (tsʰueŋ³ˌf); **Qy** tsʰã³

CSS *tsʰuã³

This is the popular word for ‘think’ in most Southwestern Wú dialects, but in Pc [ɕiaŋ³] 想 has displaced it (Jiǎng and Jiǎng 2005, 89). Pc [tsʰueŋ³] is intrusive and literary.

894 *cùn* 寸〔臻合一去慁清〕 ‘inch’ **CDC** *tshun⁵ / **EC** *’tshunh

CSWW *tsʰuã⁵

CJQ *tsʰuã⁵: **Ly** tsʰuei⁵; **Jh** tsʰəŋ⁵; **Pj** tsʰã⁵; **Dy** tsʰɤ⁵; **Yk** tsʰɤə⁵; **Wy** tsʰɤ⁵

CLS *tsʰuã⁵: **Sc** tsʰã⁵; **Sy** tsʰæ⁵; **Lq** tsʰɤ⁵; **Yh** tsʰuɛ⁵; **Pc** (tsʰueŋ⁵₍ˌf₎); **Qy** tsʰã⁵

CSS *tsʰuã⁵

895 *cún* 存〔臻合一平魂從〕 ‘remain’ **CDC** *dzun² / **EC** *’dzun

CSWW *zuã² [1]

CJQ *z(u)ã² ⨯ *dzəŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** dzəŋ²; **Jh** dzəŋ²; **Pj** dzən²; **Dy** dzən²; **Yk** dzəŋ²; **Wy** dzen²

CLS *zuã²: **Sc** zã²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɤ²; **Yh** zuɛ²; **Pc** (tsueŋ²₍ˌf₎); **Qy** sã²

CSS #dzuã²₍ˌi₎: **Kh** dzuã²; **Cs** dzuʌ̃²; **Js** dzuæ̃²; **Ys** zuã²₍ˌi₎; **Gf** dzuɐ̃²

896 *sūn* 孫〔臻合一平魂心〕 ‘grandson; Sūn (pn.)’ **CDC** *sun¹ / **EC** *’sun

CSWW *suã¹

CJQ *suã¹ [1] ‘grandson’ ⨯ *suəŋ¹ [2] ‘Sūn (pn.)’

a. **Ly** suei¹; **Jh** {səŋ¹}; **Pj** sã¹; **Dy** sɤ¹; **Yk** sɤə¹; **Wy** sɤ¹

b. **Ly** suəŋ¹ [1]; **Jh** {səŋ¹}; **Pj** —; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** səŋ¹; **Wy** sen¹

CLS *suã¹: **Sc** sã¹; **Sy** sæ̃¹; **Lq** sɤ¹; **Yh** suɛ¹; **Pc** (sueŋ¹₍ˌf₎) ～子 ‘grandson’; **Qy** sã¹

CSS *suã¹

Most Southwestern Wú dialects use CSWW *suã 孫 alone or with *ɲiə² 兒 as the popular word for ‘grandson’. Pc uses [sueŋ¹ tɐi³] 孫子 (Jiǎng and Jiǎng 2005, 86). This word is intrusive and its first syllable cannot be compared with the other members of this set.

897 *gǔn* 滾〔集韻：臻合一上混見〕 ‘roil’ **CDC** *kun³ / **EC** —

CSWW *kuã³ [1] ⨯ *kuəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *kuã³ ⨯ *kuəŋ³

a. **Ly** kuei³; **Jh** {kuəŋ³}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {kuəŋ³}; **Pj** kuən³; **Dy** kuən³; **Yk** kuəŋ³; **Wy** kuen³

CLS *kuəŋ³: **Sc** kuəŋ³; **Sy** kuen³; **Lq** kuɛiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** kueŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS *kuã³

898 *kùn* 睏（困）〔臻合一去慁溪〕 ‘(exhausted >) sleepy; sleep’ **CDC** *khun⁵ / **EC** *’khunh

CSWW *kʰuoŋ⁵ (?) [1] ‘sleep’ ⨯ *kʰuã⁵ [2] ‘sleep’

CJQ *kʰuoŋ⁵₍ˌa₎ (?) ⨯ *kʰuã⁵

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** {kʰuəŋ⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kʰuəŋ⁵; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** kʰuɛ⁵₍ˌf₎; **Jh** {kʰuəŋ⁵}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰuo⁵

CLS *kʰuoŋ⁵₍ˌa₎ (?) ⨯ *kʰuã⁵

a. **Sc** kʰəŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** kʰuɛ̃⁵; **Lq** kʰuə⁵; **Yh** kʰuɛ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰuã⁵

CSS #kʰuã⁵: **Kh** kʰuã⁵; **Cs** kʰuʌ̃⁵; **Js** kʰuæ̃⁵; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

The popular word for ‘sleep’ in Pc is [lau³] 倒, or for Norman’s consultant [nau³] (Norman 1987, 329; Lǐ 2001b, 511). Pc has a form that is etymologically related to CSWW *kʰuoŋ⁵ ⩙ *kʰuã⁵ ‘to sleep’, i.e. [kʰueŋ⁵] 困 ‘exhausted’, but it is literary and probably intrusive. The popular word for ‘sleep’ varies considerably in the other Southwestern Wú dialects.

899 *hūn* 昏〔臻合一平魂曉〕 ‘dusk’ **CDC** *xun¹ / **EC** *’hun

CSWW *xuoŋ⁵ˌ!a (?) [1] ⩙ *xuã¹ [2]

CJQ *xuoŋ⁵ˌ!a (?) ⩙ *xuã¹ˌ!a (?) ⩙ *xuəŋ¹ [3]

a. **Ly** xoŋ⁵; **Jh** xuəŋ⁵ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {xuəŋ¹} [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

c. **Ly** xuəŋ²ˌ!t [2]; **Jh** {xuəŋ¹} [1]; **Pj** xuən¹; **Dy** xuən¹; **Yk** xuəŋ¹ ‘faint’; **Wy** xuen¹

CLS *xuã¹ [1] ⩙ *xuəŋ¹ [2]

a. **Sc** xuã¹; **Sy** fuɛ̃¹; **Lq** xuə¹; **Yh** xuɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** xuã¹

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** xuəŋ¹; **Pc** xueŋ¹; **Qy** —

CSS #xuã¹: **Kh** xuã¹; **Cs** xuʌ̃¹ [1] 黃～ ⩙ xõ¹ [2] 黃～; **Js** xuæ̃¹; **Ys** xuã¹; **Gf** xuɛ̃¹

900 *hún* 魂〔臻合一平魂匣〕 ‘soul’ **CDC** *hun² / **EC** *’wun

CSWW *ɦuã²

CJQ *ɦuã² [1] ⩙ *ɦuəŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** uei²; **Jh** {uəŋ²}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {uəŋ²}; **Pj** uən²; **Dy** uən²; **Yk** uəŋ²; **Wy** uen²

CLS *ɦuã²: **Sc** uã²; **Sy** uɛ̃²; **Lq** uə²; **Yh** uɛ²; **Pc** (xueŋ²ˌ!f); **Qy** uã²

CSS *ɦuã²

901 *wēn* 溫〔臻合一平魂影〕 ‘warm’ **CDC** *un¹ / **EC** *’un

CSWW *ʔuã¹ [1] ⩙ *ʔuoŋ¹ (?) [2]

CJQ *ʔuoŋ¹ (?): **Ly** oŋ¹ˌ!f [1] ⩙ uəŋ¹ [2]; **Jh** uəŋ¹; **Pj** uən¹; **Dy** ʔuən¹; **Yk** uəŋ¹; **Wy** uen¹

CLS *uã¹: **Sc** uã¹; **Sy** uɛ̃²; **Lq** uə¹; **Yh** uɛ¹; **Pc** ueŋ¹; **Qy** uã¹

CSS #ʔuã¹: **Kh** uã¹; **Cs** uʌ̃¹; **Js** uæ̃¹; **Ys** uã¹; **Gf** uɛ̃¹

902 *wěn* 穩〔臻合一上混影〕 ‘stable (adj.)’ **CDC** *un³ / **EC** *’unx

CSWW *ʔuã³ [1] ⩙ *ʔuəŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ʔuəŋ³: **Ly** uəŋ³; **Jh** uəŋ³; **Pj** uən³; **Dy** ʔuən³; **Yk** uəŋ³; **Wy** uen³

CLS *uã³ ⩙ *uəŋ³

a. **Sc** uã³; **Sy** uɛ̃³; **Lq** —; **Yh** uɛ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** uã³

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** uɛiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** ueŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS #ʔuã³: **Kh** uã³; **Cs** uʌ̃³; **Js** uæ̃³; **Ys** uã³; **Gf** uɛ̃³

903 *tū* 突〔臻合一入沒定〕 ‘jut out’ **CDC** *dut^{8} / **EC** *’dut

CSWW *duəʔ^{8}

CJQ *dəʔ^{8}: **Ly** dəʔ^{8}; **Jh** dəʔ^{8}; **Pj** də^{8}; **Dy** dɜʔ^{8}; **Yk** dɤə^{4}; **Wy** dəʔ^{8}

CLS *duəʔ^{8}: **Sc** deʔ^{8}; **Sy** dəʔ^{8}; **Lq** dəʔ^{8}; **Yh** duɛʔ^{8}; **Pc** tuo^{7}; **Qy** tɤʔ^{8}

CSS #duəʔ^{8}: **Kh** duʌʔ^{8}; **Cs** dʌʔ^{8}; **Js** dəʔ^{8}; **Ys** doʔ^{8}; **Gf** duɐʔ^{8}

904 *zú* 卒〔臻合一入沒精〕 ‘footman; pawn’ **CDC** *tsut^{7} / **EC** *’tsut

CSWW *tsuək^{7} [1] ⪤ *tsuəʔ$^{7}{}_{!a}$ [2] ⪤ *dzuəʔ^{8} [3] ⪤ *tsoʔ^{7} [4]

CJQ *ts(u)əʔ^{7} ⪤ *dzuəʔ^{8} [2]

a. **Ly** tsəʔ^{7}; **Jh** —; **Pj** tsən^{-423} [兒]; **Dy** tsɜʔ^{7}; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** dzə$^{4\text{-}14}{}_{!f}$ [兒]; **Wy** dzəʔ^{8}

CLS *tsək^{7} ⪤ *tsuəʔ$^{7}{}_{!a}$ ⪤ *tsoʔ$^{7}{}_{!a}$ [3]

a. **Sc** tsəɯʔ^{7}; **Sy** tseʔ^{7}; **Lq** tsɛiʔ^{7}; **Yh** tseiʔ^{7}; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsəɯʔ^{7}

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsuo^{7}; **Qy** —

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tso^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS #tsuəʔ$^{7}{}_{!a}$ [1] ⪤ #dzuəʔ$^{7}{}_{!a}$ [2] ⪤ *tsoʔ^{7} [3]

a. **Kh** tsuʌʔ^{7}; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dzuɐʔ^{8}

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsoʔ^{7}; **Js** tsoʔ^{7}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

The reflexes of this set are extremely difficult to reconcile. I have resolved it by reconstructing four variants, but apart from the first one, they are only sparsely attested in each branch. The correspondences for these variants were determined based on other exemplary sets. One could alternatively throw out all the sparsely attested variants since they may have entered the dialects after divergence from the common stage. I have listed them all here in the interest of being as methodologically transparent as possible, not because I strongly feel they all coexisted in **CSWW**.

It is not clear if **CJQ** *ts(u)əʔ^{7} corresponds to **CSWW** *tsuək^{7} or *tsuəʔ^{7} because it lacks the decisive **Yk** reflex.

905 *gǔ* 骨〔臻合一入沒見〕 ‘bone’ **CDC** *kut^{7} / **EC** *’kut

CSWW *kuəʔ^{7}

CJQ *kuəʔ^{7}: **Ly** kuəʔ^{7}; **Jh** kuəʔ^{7}; **Pj** kuə^{7}; **Dy** kuɑʔ^{7}; **Yk** kŭə^{3}; **Wy** kuoʔ^{7}

CLS *kuəʔ^{7}: **Sc** kueʔ^{7}; **Sy** kuɛʔ^{7}; **Lq** kuəʔ^{7}; **Yh** kuɛʔ^{7}; **Pc** kuo^{7}; **Qy** kuɤʔ^{7}

CSS *kyeʔ^{7}

906 *kū* 窟〔臻合一入沒溪〕 ‘hole’ **CDC** *khut^{7} / **EC** *’khut

CSWW *kʰuəʔ^{7} [1] ⪤ *kʰoʔ^{7} [2]

CJQ *kʰuəʔ^{7} ⪤ *kʰoʔ^{7}

a. **Ly** kʰəʔ$^{7}{}_{!f}$; **Jh** kʰuəʔ^{7}; **Pj** kʰuə^{7}; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰɔʔ^{7}

CLS *kʰuəʔ⁷ ⩙ *kʰuʔ⁷ ‘(butt) hole’
a. **Sc** kʰueʔ⁷ ～窿; **Sy** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰuɛʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰuo⁷; **Qy** kʰuɤʔ⁷
b. **Sc** kʰuʔ⁷ ～胡 ‘butt’; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰuʔ⁷ 腛～臀 ‘butt’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kʰyeʔ⁷ ‘pit’ ⩙ #kʰoʔ⁷
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷ 水～ ‘puddle’; **Gf** kʰuɐʔ⁷ ‘small pit’
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** kʰoʔ⁷ ～窿; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰəʔ⁷ ～窿; **Gf** kʰuɤʔ⁷

907 *hú* 核（柵）〔廣韻：臻合一入沒匣〕 ‘pit of fruit’ **CDC** *hut⁸ / **EC** *’gut

CSWW *(ɦ,ŋ)uəʔ⁸ (?)

CJQ *ɦuəʔ⁸: **Ly** uəʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ əʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** uəʔ⁸; **Pj** uə⁸; **Dy** ʔuɑʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ uoʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** ŭə⁴; **Wy** uəʔ⁸

CLS *ŋuəʔ⁸: **Sc** ŋeʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** ŋuəʔ⁸; **Yh** ŋuɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS —

908 *lún* 輪〔臻合三平諄來 AB〕 ‘wheel, turn’ **CDC** *liun² ⩙ *lun² / **EC** *lun

CSWW *lyəŋ² [1] ⩙ *luəŋ² [2]

CJQ *li(ə)ŋ² ⩙ *ləŋ²
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** liŋ²; **Pj** lin²; **Dy** —; **Yk** lieiŋ²; **Wy** lin⁻²¹
b. **Ly** ləŋ²; **Jh** ləŋ²; **Pj** lən² [2]; **Dy** lən²; **Yk** ləŋ² [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *lyəŋ² (?) ⩙ *luəŋ²
a. **Sc** liɪŋ²; **Sy** {len²}; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** ləŋ²; **Sy** {len²}; **Lq** (lɤ²$_{\text{lf}}$); **Yh** ləŋ²; **Pc** lueŋ²; **Qy** ləŋ²

CSS *lyiŋ²

909 *sǔn* 筍〔臻合三上準心 AB〕 ‘bamboo shoot’ **CDC** *siun³ / **EC** *sunx

CSWW *syəŋ³ [1] ⩙ *s(u)əŋ³ [2]

CJQ *syəŋ³ ⩙ *s(u)əŋ³
a. **Ly** ɕiŋ³; **Jh** siŋ³; **Pj** {sən³}; **Dy** suən³; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** {sən³}; **Dy** —; **Yk** səŋ³; **Wy** sen³

CLS *syəŋ³ ⩙ *s(u)əŋ³
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʃyɪŋ³; **Pc** {sueŋ³}; **Qy** ɕyəŋ³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** sen³; **Lq** sɛiŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** {sueŋ³}; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕyiŋ³

The second line of Shàngshān forms do not correspond regularly. No form may be reconstructed to account for them. They are probably intrusive. Perhaps **CSWW** *s(u)əŋ³ is entirely intrusive and late.

910 *zhūn* 肫〔廣韻：臻合三平諄章 AB〕 ‘gizzard’ **CDC** *ciun¹ / **EC** *tun

CSWW *ʔyəŋ¹

CJQ *ʔyəŋ¹: **Ly** ioŋ¹; **Jh** yəŋ¹; **Pj** (tɕyən¹$_{\text{li}}$); **Dy** (tsuən¹$_{\text{lif}}$); **Yk** —; **Wy** yin¹

CLS *yəŋ¹: **Sc** yɪŋ¹; **Sy** iəŋ¹; **Lq** iŋ¹ˌɾ; **Yh** yɪŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** yəŋ¹

CSS *ʔyiŋ¹

911 *chūn* 春〔臻合三平諄昌 AB〕 ‘Spring’ **CDC** *chiun¹ / **EC** *thun

CSWW *tšʰyəŋ¹

CJQ *tšʰyəŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕʰyəŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰyən¹; **Dy** tsʰuən¹; **Yk** tɕʰyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyin¹

CLS *tɕʰyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕʰyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰyɪŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰueŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰyəŋ¹

CSS *tɕʰyiŋ¹

912 *chún* 脣〔臻合三平諄船 AB〕 ‘lips’ **CDC** *jiun² / **EC** *δun

CSWW *žiəŋ²ˌa (?) [1] ⪤ *žyəŋ² [2]

CJQ *žiəŋ²ˌa (?) ⪤ *žyəŋ²

a. **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ʑyəŋ²; **Pj** ʒyən²; **Dy** zuən²; **Yk** ʑyeiŋ²; **Wy** ʑyin⁻²¹

CLS *ʑyəŋ²: **Sc** ʑyɪŋ² [2] ⪤ ʑiɪŋ² [1]; **Sy** ɕiəŋ²; **Lq** ʑyŋ²; **Yh** ʒyɪŋ²; **Pc** sueŋ²; **Qy** ɕyəŋ²

CSS #ʑẽ² ⪤ #ʑyiŋ²

a. **Kh** zɛ̃²; **Cs** zɪŋ²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ɕyiŋ²; **Ys** ʑyɪŋ²; **Gf** ɕioŋ²

913 *shùn* 順〔臻合三去稕船 AB〕 ‘follow, obey’ **CDC** *zhiun⁶ / **EC** *δunh

CSWW *žyəŋ⁶

CJQ *žyəŋ⁶: **Ly** zoŋ⁶ [1] ⪤ ʑyəŋ⁶ [2]; **Jh** ʑyəŋ⁶; **Pj** ʒyən⁶; **Dy** zuən⁶ [2] ⪤ zən⁶ [1]; **Yk** ʑyeiŋ⁶; **Wy** ʑyin⁶

CLS *ʑyəŋ⁶: **Sc** ʑyɪŋ⁶; **Sy** ʑiəŋ⁶; **Lq** ʑyŋ⁶; **Yh** ʒyɪŋ⁶; **Pc** sueŋ⁶; **Qy** ɕyəŋ⁶

CSS *ʑyiŋ⁶

914 *jūn* 均〔臻合三平諄見 A〕 ‘even ’ **CDC** *kiun¹ / **EC** *kwin

CSWW *kyəŋ¹

CJQ *kyəŋ¹: **Ly** tɕyəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕyəŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyən¹; **Dy** tɕien¹; **Yk** kyeiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕyin¹

CLS *kyəŋ¹: **Sc** tɕyɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕyŋ¹; **Yh** tʃyɪŋ¹; **Pc** kyeŋ¹; **Qy** tɕyəŋ¹

CSS #kyiŋ¹: **Kh** tɕyŋ¹; **Cs** tsuɪŋ¹; **Js** kyiŋ¹; **Ys** kyɪŋ¹; **Gf** kioŋ¹

915 *yún* 勻〔臻合三平諄以 A〕 ‘uniform’ **CDC** *yun² / **EC** *win

CSWW *ɦyəŋ²

CJQ *ɦyəŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ² [1]; **Jh** yəŋ²; **Pj** yən²; **Dy** ien²; **Yk** yeiŋ²; **Wy** yin²

CLS *ɦyəŋ²: **Sc** yɪŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** yŋ²; **Yh** yɪŋ²; **Pc** yeŋ²; **Qy** yəŋ²

CSS #ɦyiŋ²: **Kh** yŋ²; **Cs** uɪŋ²; **Js** yiŋ²; **Ys** yɪŋ²; **Gf** ioŋ²

916 *lǜ* 律〔臻合三入術來 AB〕 ‘regulation’ **CDC** *liut⁸ / **EC** *lut

CSWW *liək⁸

CJQ *liəʔ⁸: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** liə⁸; **Dy** liəʔ⁸; **Yk** lə⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸

CLS *liʔ⁸₍f: **Sc** liɪʔ⁸; **Sy** liʔ⁸; **Lq** liʔ⁸; **Yh** liʔ⁸; **Pc** lie⁶₍t; **Qy** liʔ⁸

CSS *liʔ⁸

917 *zhú* 朮〔臻合三入術澄 AB〕 ‘hill-thistle’ **CDC** *jiut⁸ / **EC** —

CSWW *džyək⁸ 白～

CJQ *džyəʔ⁸: **Ly** ʤyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʤyəʔ⁸; **Pj** ʤiə⁸; **Dy** dzuɑʔ⁸ [2] ≍ dzɜʔ⁸ [1]; **Yk** ʤy̆ə⁴; **Wy** ʤyəʔ⁸

CLS *dʑyək⁸: **Sc** dʑyɪʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʤyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyəɯʔ⁸

CSS *ʑyʔ⁸₍i

918 *chū* 出〔臻合三入術昌 AB〕 ‘exit’ **CDC** *chiut⁷ / **EC** *chut (khyut)

CSWW *tšʰyeʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *tšʰyək⁷ [2]

CJQ *tšʰyeʔ⁷ ≍ *tšʰyəʔ⁷ [1]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵; **Pj** tɕʰyə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕʰy̆ə³; **Wy** tɕʰye⁵

b. **Ly** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕʰyeʔ⁷ ≍ *tɕʰyək⁷

a. **Sc** tɕʰyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰye⁷; **Qy** tɕʰyeʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰyəɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɕʰyəʔ⁷ ≍ *tɕʰyʔ⁷

919 *shù* 術〔臻合三入術船 AB〕 ‘technique’ **CDC** *zhiut⁸ / **EC** *δut

CSWW *žyək⁸

CJQ *žyəʔ⁸: **Ly** ʑyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑyəʔ⁸; **Pj** ʤiə⁸₍i; **Dy** dzuɑʔ⁸₍i; **Yk** ʑy̆ə⁴; **Wy** ʑyəʔ⁸

CLS *ʑyək⁸: **Sc** ʑyɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑyʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑyʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒyeiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕye⁷; **Qy** ɕyəɯʔ⁸

CSS *ʑyʔ⁸

920 *jú* 橘〔臻合三入術見 A〕 ‘tangerine’ **CDC** *kiut⁸ / **EC** *kwit

CSWW *kiək⁷ [1] ≍ *kyək⁷ [2]

CJQ *kyəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕyəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyə⁷; **Dy** tɕiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** kỳə³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** tɕyəʔ⁷

CLS *kiək⁷₍a ≍ *kyək⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃyeiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyəɯʔ⁷

CSS *kiʔ⁷ ≍ *kyʔ⁷

921 *fēn* 分〔臻合三平文非 C〕 ‘divide’ **CDC** *fun¹ / **EC** *pun

CSWW *fəŋ¹

CJQ *fəŋ¹: **Ly** fəŋ¹; **Jh** fəŋ¹; **Pj** fən¹; **Dy** fən¹; **Yk** fəŋ¹; **Wy** fen¹

CLS *fəŋ¹: **Sc** fəŋ¹; **Sy** fen⁵; **Lq** fɛiŋ¹; **Yh** fəŋ¹; **Pc** feŋ¹; **Qy** fəŋ²˩˨

CSS *fə̃¹

922 *fěn* 粉〔臻合三上吻非 C〕 ‘powder’ **CDC** *fun³ / **EC** *punx

CSWW *fəŋ³

CJQ *fəŋ³: **Ly** fəŋ³; **Jh** fəŋ³; **Pj** fən³; **Dy** fən³; **Yk** fəŋ³; **Wy** fen³

CLS *fəŋ³: **Sc** fəŋ³; **Sy** fen³; **Lq** fɛiŋ³; **Yh** fəŋ³; **Pc** feŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS *fə̃³

923 *fèn* 糞〔臻合三去問非 C〕 ‘filth’ **CDC** *fun⁵ / **EC** *punh

CSWW *ɓə̃⁵ [1] ⩙ *fəŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓə̃⁵ ⩙ *fəŋ⁵

a. **Ly** pei⁵; **Jh** pəŋ⁻³³ 垒; **Pj** pə̃⁵; **Dy** pɤ⁵; **Yk** ʔbuə⁵; **Wy** ʔmuo⁵

b. **Ly** fəŋ⁵; **Jh** fəŋ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** fən⁵; **Yk** fəŋ⁵; **Wy** —

CLS *ɓə̃⁵ ⩙ *fəŋ⁵

a. **Sc** ʔbə̃⁵; **Sy** ʔbæ̃⁵; **Lq** ʔbɤ⁵; **Yh** ʔbɛ⁵; **Pc** peŋ⁵˩˧; **Qy** ʔbə̃⁵

b. **Sc** fəŋ¹˩˨; **Sy** —; **Lq** fɛiŋ⁵; **Yh** fəŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *pə̃⁵ ⩙ #fə̃⁵

a. **Kh** pɛ̃⁵ ⩙ pə̃⁵ [2]; **Cs** pʌ̃⁵; **Js** pæ̃⁵; **Ys** pæ̃⁵; **Gf** puɛ̃⁵

b. **Kh** fɛ̃⁵ [3]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** fæ̃⁵; **Gf** fuɛ̃⁵

924 *fén* 墳〔臻合三平文奉 C〕 ‘grave’ **CDC** *vun² / **EC** *bun

CSWW *vəŋ²

CJQ *vəŋ²: **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** vəŋ²; **Pj** vən²; **Dy** vən²; **Yk** vəŋ²; **Wy** ven⁻²¹ ～頭

CLS *vəŋ²: **Sc** vəŋ²; **Sy** fen²; **Lq** vɛiŋ²; **Yh** vəŋ²; **Pc** feŋ²; **Qy** fəŋ²

CSS *və̃²

925 *fèn* 份（分）〔臻合三去問奉 C〕 ‘portion (clf.)’ **CDC** *vun⁶ / **EC** *bunh

CSWW *vəŋ⁶

CJQ *vəŋ⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** vəŋ⁶; **Pj** vən⁶; **Dy** vən⁶; **Yk** vəŋ⁶; **Wy** ven⁶

CLS *vəŋ⁶: **Sc** vəŋ⁶; **Sy** (fen³); **Lq** vɛiŋ⁶; **Yh** vəŋ⁶; **Pc** feŋ⁵˩˨; **Qy** fəŋ⁶

CSS #və̃⁶: **Kh** vɛ̃⁶; **Cs** vʌ̃⁶; **Js** fæ̃⁶; **Ys** væ̃⁶; **Gf** fuɛ̃⁶

926 *wén* 文〔臻合三平文微 C〕 ‘pattern, literature’ **CDC** *mvun² / **EC** *mun

CSWW —

CJQ *vəŋ²: **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** vəŋ²; **Pj** vən²; **Dy** vən²; **Yk** vəŋ²; **Wy** ven²

CLS *məŋ²

a. **Sc** məŋ²; **Sy** men²; **Lq** mɛiŋ²; **Yh** məŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** məŋ²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** feŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS —

No CSWW from can be reconstructed for this set.

927 *wén* 蚊〔臻合三平文微 C〕 ‘mosquito’ **CDC** *^{h}mvun^{2} / **EC** *^{h}mun

CSWW *mi(ə)ŋ^{2} [1] ⪤ *məŋ^{2} [2] ～蟲

CJQ *mi(ə)ŋ^{2} ～蟲 ⪤ *məŋ^{2} ⪤ *vəŋ^{2} [3]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** miŋ^{2} [2] *!use*; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** mieiŋ^{2}; **Wy** min^{-21}
b. **Ly** məŋ^{2}; **Jh** məŋ^{2} [1] *!use*; **Pj** mən^{2}; **Dy** mən^{2} [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** vəŋ^{2}; **Jh** vəŋ^{2}; **Pj** —; **Dy** vən^{2} [2]; **Yk** vəŋ^{2} [2]; **Wy** —

CLS *mi(ə)ŋ^{2} ～蟲 ⪤ *məŋ^{2}

a. **Sc** miɪŋ^{2}; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {meŋ^{2}} [文] *!use*; **Qy** miɛ̃$^{2}{}_{!f}$
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** men^{2}; **Lq** mɛiŋ^{2}; **Yh** məŋ^{2}; **Pc** {meŋ^{2}} [文] *!use*; **Qy** məŋ^{2} ～帳 ‘mosquito net’

CSS #miŋ^{2} [2] ～蟲 ⪤ #moŋ$^{?}$ [1]

a. **Kh** miŋ^{2} [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** meiŋ$^{-24}$ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** moŋ$^{4}{}_{!t}$; **Js** moŋ$^{-33}$; **Ys** moŋ$^{-22}$; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** (vɛ̃^{2}) [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (voŋ^{2}) [2]; **Gf** (foŋ$^{6}{}_{!t}$) [2]

The [文] designation for the **Pc** form is probably an error. It does not contrast with a [白] form.

928 *wèn* 問〔臻合三去問微 C〕 ‘ask’ **CDC** *^{h}mvun^{6} / **EC** *^{h}munh

CSWW *mə̃^{6} [1] ⪤ *m(u)əŋ^{6} [2]

CJQ *mə̃^{6} ⪤ *məŋ^{6} ⪤ *vəŋ^{6} [3]

a. **Ly** mei^{6}; **Jh** {məŋ^{6}}; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** muə^{6}; **Wy** muo^{6}
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** {məŋ^{6}} [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** mən^{6} [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
c. **Ly** vəŋ^{6} [2]; **Jh** vəŋ^{6} [2]; **Pj** vən^{6}; **Dy** vən^{6} [2]; **Yk** vəŋ^{6} [2]; **Wy** ven^{-33} [2]

CLS *məŋ^{6}

a. **Sc** məŋ^{6}; **Sy** men^{6}; **Lq** mɛiŋ^{6}; **Yh** məŋ^{6}; **Pc** meŋ^{6} [白]; **Qy** məŋ^{6}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** (feŋ^{6}) [文]; **Qy** —

CSS *mə̃^{6} [2] ⪤ *mə̃^{4} [1]

929 *jūn* 軍〔臻合三平文見 C〕 ‘army’ **CDC** *kiun^{1} / **EC** *kun

CSWW *kyəŋ^{1}

CJQ *kyəŋ^{1}: **Ly** tɕyəŋ^{1}; **Jh** tɕyəŋ^{1}; **Pj** tɕyən^{1}; **Dy** tɕien^{1} [1] ⪤ tɕiʉən^{1} [2]; **Yk** kyeiŋ^{1}; **Wy** tɕyin^{1}

CLS *kyəŋ^{1}: **Sc** tɕyɪŋ^{1}; **Sy** tɕiəŋ^{1}; **Lq** kyŋ^{1}; **Yh** tʃyɪŋ^{1}; **Pc** kyeŋ^{1}; **Qy** tɕyəŋ^{1}

CSS *kyiŋ^{1}

930 *qún* 裙〔臻合三平文羣 C〕 ‘skirt’ **CDC** *giun^{2} / **EC** *gun

CSWW *gəŋ$^{2}{}_{!a}$ (?) [1] ⪤ *gyəŋ^{2}

CJQ *gyəŋ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑyəŋ²; **Pj** dʑyən²; **Dy** dʑien²; **Yk** gyeiŋ²; **Wy** dʑyin²
CLS *gyəŋ²: **Sc** dʑyɪŋ²; **Sy** tɕiəŋ²; **Lq** dʑyŋ²; **Yh** dʒyɪŋ²; **Pc** kyeŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *gɨŋ² ⪤ *gyiŋ² [2]

931 *xūn* 熏〔臻合三平文曉C〕 'smoke (v.)' **CDC** *xiun¹ / **EC** *hun
CSWW *kʰəŋ⁵ˌa [1] ～蚊蟲 'smoke out mosquitos' ⪤ *xyəŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *xyəŋ¹: **Ly** ɕioŋ⁵ˌt [1] ⪤ ɕyəŋ⁵ [2]; **Jh** ɕyəŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyən¹; **Dy** ɕien¹; **Yk** xyeiŋ¹; **Wy** ɕyin¹
CLS *xyəŋ¹¹: **Sc** ɕyɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕiəŋ¹; **Lq** ɕyŋ¹; **Yh** ʃyɪŋ¹; **Pc** xyeŋ¹; **Qy** ɕyəŋ¹ [1] ⪤ ɕioŋ¹ [2]
CSS *kʰɨŋ⁵ ⪤ #xyiŋ¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** kʰoŋ⁵; **Js** kʰəŋ⁵; **Ys** kʰoŋ⁵; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** ɕyŋ¹; **Cs** suɪŋ¹; **Js** xyiŋ¹; **Ys** xioŋ¹ ⪤ xyɪŋ¹ [3]; **Gf** xioŋ¹

932 *xūn* 葷〔臻合三平文曉C〕 'allium' **CDC** *xiun¹ / **EC** *hun
CSWW *xuə̃¹
CJQ *xuəŋ¹ˌf: **Ly** xoŋ¹ˌf; **Jh** xuəŋ¹; **Pj** xuən¹; **Dy** xuən¹; **Yk** xuəŋ¹; **Wy** xuen¹
CLS *xuə̃¹: **Sc** xuə̃¹; **Sy** fæ̃¹; **Lq** xuə¹; **Yh** xuɛ¹; **Pc** (xueŋ¹ˌf); **Qy** xuã¹
CSS *xuə̃¹

933 *xùn* 訓〔臻合三去問曉C〕 'train (v.)' **CDC** *xiun⁵ / **EC** *hunh
CSWW *xyəŋ⁵
CJQ *xyəŋ⁵: **Ly** ɕioŋ⁵ [1] ⪤ ɕyəŋ⁵ [2]; **Jh** ɕyəŋ⁵; **Pj** ʃyən⁵; **Dy** ɕien⁵; **Yk** xyeiŋ⁵; **Wy** ɕyin⁵
CLS *xyəŋ⁵: **Sc** ɕyɪŋ⁵; **Sy** ɕiəŋ⁵; **Lq** ɕyŋ⁵; **Yh** ʃyɪŋ⁵; **Pc** xyeŋ⁵; **Qy** ɕyəŋ⁵
CSS #xyiŋ⁵: **Kh** ɕyŋ³; **Cs** suɪŋ³; **Js** xyiŋ⁵; **Ys** xyɪŋ⁵; **Gf** xioŋ⁵

934 *yún* 雲〔臻合三平文云C〕 'cloud' **CDC** *yun² / **EC** *wun
CSWW *ɦyəŋ²
CJQ *ɦyəŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** yəŋ²; **Pj** yən²; **Dy** ien²; **Yk** yeiŋ²; **Wy** yin²
CLS *ɦyəŋ²: **Sc** yɪŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** yŋ²; **Yh** yɪŋ²; **Pc** yeŋ²; **Qy** yəŋ²
CSS *ɦyiŋ²

935 *yùn* 運〔臻合三去問云C〕 'transport' **CDC** *yun⁶ / **EC** *wunh
CSWW *ɦyəŋ⁶
CJQ *ɦyəŋ⁶: **Ly** ioŋ⁶ [1] ⪤ yəŋ⁶ [2]; **Jh** yəŋ⁶; **Pj** yən⁶; **Dy** ien⁶; **Yk** yeiŋ⁶; **Wy** yin⁶
CLS *ɦyəŋ⁶: **Sc** yɪŋ⁶; **Sy** iəŋ⁶; **Lq** yŋ⁶; **Yh** yɪŋ⁶; **Pc** yeŋ⁶; **Qy** yəŋ⁶
CSS #ɦyiŋ⁶: **Kh** yŋ⁶; **Cs** uɪŋ⁶; **Js** yiŋ⁶; **Ys** yɪŋ⁶; **Gf** ioŋ⁶

936 *yūn* 暈〔臻合三去問云 C〕 ‘faint’ **CDC** *yun⁶ / **EC** *wunh

CSWW *ɦyəŋ⁶

CJQ *ɦyəŋ⁶: **Ly** yəŋ⁶; **Jh** yəŋ⁶; **Pj** yən⁶; **Dy** ien⁶; **Yk** —; **Wy** yin⁶

CLS *ɦyəŋ⁶: **Sc** yɪŋ⁶; **Sy** iəŋ¹; **Lq** yŋ⁶; **Yh** yɪŋ⁶; **Pc** yeŋ¹$_{!t}$ [文] ≍ xueŋ¹; **Qy** yəŋ⁶

CSS *ɦyiŋ⁶

937 *fú* 佛〔臻合三入物奉 C〕 ‘Buddh(a)’ **CDC** *vut⁸ / **EC** *but

CSWW *vək⁸

CJQ *vəʔ⁸: **Ly** vəʔ⁸; **Jh** vəʔ⁸; **Pj** və⁸; **Dy** vɜʔ⁸; **Yk** və⁴; **Wy** vəʔ⁸

CLS *vək⁸: **Sc** vəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** vəʔ⁸; **Lq** vɛiʔ⁸; **Yh** veiʔ⁸; **Pc** fuo⁷; **Qy** fəɯʔ⁸

CSS *vəʔ⁸

938 *qū* 屈〔臻合三入物溪 C〕 ‘bend (v.), give in’ **CDC** *khiut⁷ / **EC** *khut

CSWW *kʰuək⁷ [1] ‘bent’ ≍ *kʰyeʔ⁷ [2] ≍ *kʰyək⁷ [3]

CJQ *kʰuəʔ⁷ ≍ *kʰyəʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Ly** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰuəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰuə⁷; **Dy** kʰuɑʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰŭə³; **Wy** kʰuoʔ⁷

b. **Ly** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰyə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiʉoʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕʰyəʔ⁷

CLS *kʰuək⁷ ≍ *kʰyeʔ⁷ ≍ *kʰyək⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰuɛiʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰuəɯʔ⁷

b. **Sc** tɕʰyeʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰyɛʔ⁷; **Pc** {kʰye⁷}; **Qy** —

c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰyəʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** {kʰye⁷}; **Qy** tɕʰyəɯʔ⁷ [2]

CSS #kʰyeʔ⁷$_{!a}$ (?) ≍ #kʰyəʔ⁷ ≍ #kʰyʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** kʰœʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕʰyɛʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕʰyʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰioʔ⁷; **Gf** kʰyɤʔ⁷

A.12 Dàngshè 宕攝

939 *bāng* 幫〔廣韻：宕開一平唐幫〕 ‘help’ **CDC** *pong¹ / **EC** *’pang

CSWW *ɓɔŋ¹

CJQ *ɓaŋ¹: **Ly** pã¹; **Jh** pɑŋ¹; **Pj** põ¹; **Dy** pʌ¹; **Yk** ʔmaŋ¹; **Wy** maŋ¹

CLS *ɓɔŋ¹: **Sc** ʔbɔŋ¹; **Sy** ʔboŋ²; **Lq** ʔbɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʔbɔ̃¹; **Pc** paŋ¹; **Qy** ʔbɔ̃¹ [1] 作～ ‘together’ ≍ mɔ̃¹ [2] 相～ ‘help’

CSS *piã¹ [1] ≍ #pɒ̃¹ [2]

a. **Kh** piã¹; **Cs** piã¹; **Js** piã¹; **Ys** piã¹; **Gf** piã¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** pã¹; **Js** —; **Ys** pɒ̃¹; **Gf** pɑ̃ɔ¹

The second **Qy** form occurs in the lexicalized compound 相～[ɕiɔ̃$^{-33}$mɔ̃¹] ‘help’. The progressive assimilation of the initial is irregular.

940 *bǎng* 榜〔宕開一上蕩幫〕 ‘placard’ **CDC** *pong³ / **EC** *’pangx

CSWW *ɓɔŋ³

CJQ *ɓaŋ³: **Ly** pã³; **Jh** pɑŋ³; **Pj** põ³; **Dy** pʌ³; **Yk** ʔmaŋ³; **Wy** ʔmaŋ³

CLS *ɓɔŋ³: **Sc** ʔbɔŋ³; **Sy** ʔboŋ¹˧˨; **Lq** ʔbɔŋ³; **Yh** ʔbɔ̃³; **Pc** paŋ³; **Qy** ʔbɔ̃³

CSS #piã³ [1] ⩙ #põ³ [2]

a. **Kh** piã³; **Cs** piã³; **Js** piã³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** pã³; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** põ³; **Gf** pɑ̃ɔ³

941 *máng* 忙〔宕開一平唐明〕 ‘busy’ **CDC** *mong² / **EC** *’mang

CSWW *mɔŋ²

CJQ *maŋ²: **Ly** mã²; **Jh** mɑŋ²; **Pj** mõ²; **Dy** mʊ²; **Yk** maŋ²; **Wy** maŋ²

CLS *mɔŋ²: **Sc** mɔŋ²; **Sy** moŋ²; **Lq** mɔŋ²; **Yh** mɔ̃²; **Pc** maŋ²; **Qy** mɔ̃²

CSS *miã²

942 *dāng* 當〔宕開一平唐端〕 ‘face; at (time of)’ **CDC** *tong¹ / **EC** *’tang

CSWW *ɗɔŋ¹

CJQ *ɗaŋ¹: **Ly** tã¹; **Jh** tɑŋ¹; **Pj** tõ¹; **Dy** tʌ¹; **Yk** ʔnaŋ¹; **Wy** naŋ¹ [1]

CLS *ɗɔŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdɔŋ⁵˧˨; **Sy** ʔdoŋ¹ [1]; **Lq** ʔdɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdɔ̃¹; **Pc** laŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdɔ̃¹

CSS #tõ¹: **Kh** toŋ¹; **Cs** tã¹; **Js** tã¹; **Ys** tã¹ [1]; **Gf** tɑ̃ɔ¹

943 *dǎng* 黨〔宕開一上蕩端〕 ‘faction’ **CDC** *tong³ / **EC** *’tangx

CSWW *ɗɔŋ³

CJQ *ɗaŋ³: **Ly** tã³; **Jh** tɑŋ³; **Pj** tõ³; **Dy** tʌ³; **Yk** ʔnaŋ³; **Wy** ʔnaŋ³

CLS *ɗɔŋ³: **Sc** ʔdɔŋ³; **Sy** ʔdoŋ³; **Lq** ʔdɔŋ³; **Yh** ʔdɔ̃³; **Pc** laŋ³; **Qy** ʔdɔ̃³

CSS #tõ³: **Kh** tã³; **Cs** tã³; **Js** tã¹; **Ys** tã³; **Gf** tɑ̃ɔ³

944 *dàng* 當〔廣韻：宕開一去宕端〕 ‘pawn (v.)’ **CDC** *tong⁵ / **EC** *’tangh

CSWW *ɗɔŋ⁵

CJQ *ɗaŋ⁵: **Ly** tã⁵; **Jh** tɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tõ⁵; **Dy** tʌ⁵; **Yk** ʔnaŋ⁵; **Wy** ʔnaŋ⁵

CLS *ɗɔŋ⁵: **Sc** ʔdɔŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔdoŋ⁵ [2]; **Lq** ʔdɔŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔdɔ̃⁵; **Pc** laŋ⁵; **Qy** ʔdɔ̃⁵

CSS #tõ⁵: **Kh** toŋ⁵; **Cs** tã⁵; **Js** tã⁵; **Ys** tã⁵; **Gf** tɑ̃ɔ⁵

945 *tàng* 燙（湯）〔廣韻：宕開一去宕透〕 ‘hot (of water)’ **CDC** *thong⁵ / **EC** *’thangh

CSWW *tʰɔŋ⁵

CJQ *tʰaŋ⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tʰõ⁵; **Dy** tʰʌ⁵; **Yk** tʰaŋ⁵; **Wy** tʰaŋ⁵

CLS *tʰɔŋ⁵: **Sc** tʰɔŋ⁵; **Sy** tʰoŋ⁵; **Lq** tʰɔŋ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰaŋ⁵; **Qy** tʰɔ̃⁵

CSS *tʰõ⁵

946 *táng* 糖〔宕開一平唐定〕 ‘sugar’ **CDC** *dong² / **EC** *’dang

CSWW *ɗɔŋ²

CJQ *daŋ²: **Ly** dã²; **Jh** daŋ²; **Pj** dõ²; **Dy** dʌ²; **Yk** daŋ²; **Wy** daŋ²

CLS *dɔŋ²: **Sc** dɔŋ²; **Sy** toŋ²; **Lq** dɔŋ²; **Yh** dõ²; **Pc** taŋ²; **Qy** tõ²

CSS *dɒ̃²

947 *dàng* 蕩〔宕開一上蕩定〕 'swing, go astray' **CDC** *dong⁴ / **EC** *'dangx

CSWW *dɔŋ⁴ [1] 'stroll about' ⨯ *dɔŋ⁶ [2] 'stroll about'

CJQ *daŋ⁴ ⨯ *daŋ⁶ [2] 'stroll about'

a. **Ly** dã⁴ 放～ 'dissolute'; **Jh** —; **Pj** dõ⁴; **Dy** {dʌ⁻³⁵} ～街兒; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** dã⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** {dʌ⁻³⁵} ～街兒; **Yk** daŋ⁶; **Wy** daŋ⁶

CLS *dɔŋ⁶ 'stroll about': **Sc** dɔŋ⁶; **Sy** doŋ⁶ 趧; **Lq** —; **Yh** dõ⁶; **Pc** taŋ⁶ *!use*; **Qy** tõ⁶ *!use*

CSS *dɒ̃⁴

Chéng (2019, 91) writes this word with the character 趧. This character is attested with a *qùshēng* reading in *Jíyùn*, i.e. *dangH* 〔宕開一去宕定〕 in the context 趧～and is glossed 逸遊 'to roam'. No doubt this character reading is etymologically linked with the present set, but I suspect that this word is ultimately cognate with the CDC *dong⁴ 蕩 'to swing, go astray' anyway. Note that in Southwestern Wú dialects we find *shàngshēng* (tone 4) and *qùshēng* (tone 6) reflexes of it. As such, I have placed it under the 蕩 character header for discoverability rather than write it with an obscure character that is only attested in dictionaries.

948 *dàng* 盪〔宕開一上蕩定〕 'rinse' **CDC** *dong⁴ / **EC** *'dangx

CSWW *dɔŋ⁴

CJQ *daŋ⁴: **Ly** dã⁴; **Jh** taŋ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** daŋ⁴ 'gargle'; **Wy** —

CLS *dɔŋ⁴ [1] ⨯ *dɔŋ⁶ [2]

a. **Sc** dɔŋ⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tõ⁴ ～嘴 'gargle'

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** doŋ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** dõ⁶; **Pc** taŋ⁶; **Qy** —

CSS *dɒ̃⁴

949 *láng* 郎〔宕開一平唐來〕 'gentleman' **CDC** *ʰlong² / **EC** *'ʰlang

CSWW *lɔŋ²

CJQ *laŋ²: **Ly** lã²; **Jh** laŋ²; **Pj** lõ²; **Dy** lʌ²; **Yk** laŋ²; **Wy** laŋ²

CLS *lɔŋ²: **Sc** lɔŋ²; **Sy** loŋ²; **Lq** lɔŋ²; **Yh** lõ²; **Pc** laŋ²; **Qy** lõ²

CSS #lɒ̃²: **Kh** loŋ² [1] ～中 'doctor' ⨯ lã² [2] ～酒 'Lángjiǔ (pn.)'; **Cs** lã²; **Js** lã²; **Ys** lã²₍ꜜf₎; **Gf** lɑ̃ɔ²

950 *láng* 狼〔宕開一平唐來〕 'wolf' **CDC** *long² / **EC** *'lang

CSWW *lɔŋ²

CJQ *laŋ²: **Ly** lã²; **Jh** laŋ²; **Pj** lõ²; **Dy** —; **Yk** laŋ²; **Wy** laŋ²

CLS *lɔŋ²: **Sc** lɔŋ²; **Sy** loŋ²; **Lq** lɔŋ²; **Yh** lõ²; **Pc** laŋ²; **Qy** lõ²

CSS *lɒ̃²

951 *làng* 浪〔宕開一去宕來〕 ‘wave’ **CDC** *long⁶ / **EC** *’langh

CSWW *lɔŋ⁶

CJQ *laŋ⁶: **Ly** lã⁶; **Jh** lɑŋ⁶; **Pj** lõ⁶; **Dy** lʌ⁶; **Yk** laŋ⁶; **Wy** laŋ⁶

CLS *lɔŋ⁶: **Sc** lɔŋ⁶; **Sy** loŋ⁶; **Lq** lɔŋ⁶; **Yh** lɔ̃⁶; **Pc** laŋ⁶; **Qy** lɔ̃⁶

CSS #lɒ̃⁶: **Kh** loŋ⁶ [1] ≍ lã⁶ [2]; **Cs** lã²₍ₜ; **Js** lã⁶; **Ys** lã⁶₍f; **Gf** lɑ̃ɔ⁶

952 *zàng* 葬〔宕開一去宕精〕 ‘burial’ **CDC** *tsong⁵ / **EC** *’tsangh

CSWW *tsɔŋ⁵

CJQ *tsaŋ⁵: **Ly** tsã⁵; **Jh** tsɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tsõ⁵; **Dy** tsʌ⁵; **Yk** tsaŋ⁵; **Wy** tsaŋ⁵

CLS *tsɔŋ⁵: **Sc** tsɔŋ⁵; **Sy** tsoŋ⁵; **Lq** tsɔŋ⁵; **Yh** tsɔ̃⁵ [1] ≍ tsɔ̃¹ [2]; **Pc** tsaŋ⁵; **Qy** tsɔ̃⁵

CSS *tsɒ̃⁵

953 *cāng* 倉〔宕開一平唐清〕 ‘storehouse’ **CDC** *tshong¹ / **EC** *’tshang

CSWW *tsʰɔŋ¹

CJQ *tsʰaŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰã¹; **Jh** tsʰɑŋ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰʌ¹; **Yk** tsʰaŋ¹; **Wy** tsʰaŋ¹

CLS *tsʰɔŋ¹: **Sc** tsʰɔŋ¹; **Sy** tsʰoŋ¹; **Lq** tsʰɔŋ¹; **Yh** tsʰɔ̃¹; **Pc** tsʰaŋ¹; **Qy** tsʰɔ̃¹

CSS *tsʰɒ̃¹

954 *sāng* 桑〔宕開一平唐心〕 ‘mulberry’ **CDC** *song¹ / **EC** *’sang

CSWW *sɔŋ¹

CJQ *saŋ¹: **Ly** sã¹; **Jh** sɑŋ¹; **Pj** sõ¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** saŋ¹; **Wy** saŋ¹

CLS *sɔŋ¹: **Sc** sɔŋ¹; **Sy** soŋ¹; **Lq** sɔŋ¹; **Yh** sɔ̃¹; **Pc** saŋ¹; **Qy** sɔ̃¹

CSS *sɒ̃¹

955 *gāng* 缸（甌）〔宕開一平唐見〕 ‘jar’ **CDC** *kong¹ / **EC** *’kang

CSWW *kɔŋ¹

CJQ *kaŋ¹: **Ly** kã¹; **Jh** kɑŋ¹; **Pj** kõ¹; **Dy** kʌ¹ [1] ≍ kan¹ [2]; **Yk** kaŋ¹; **Wy** kaŋ¹

CLS *kɔŋ¹: **Sc** kɔŋ¹; **Sy** koŋ¹; **Lq** kɔŋ¹; **Yh** kɔ̃¹; **Pc** kaŋ¹; **Qy** kɔ̃¹

CSS *kɒ̃¹

956 *kāng* 糠〔宕開一平唐溪〕 ‘husk’ **CDC** *khong¹ / **EC** *’khang

CSWW *kʰɔŋ¹

CJQ *kʰaŋ¹: **Ly** kʰã¹; **Jh** kʰɑŋ¹; **Pj** kʰõ¹; **Dy** kʰʌ¹; **Yk** kʰaŋ¹; **Wy** kʰaŋ¹

CLS *kʰɔŋ¹: **Sc** kʰɔŋ¹; **Sy** kʰoŋ¹; **Lq** kʰɔŋ¹; **Yh** kʰɔ̃¹; **Pc** kʰaŋ¹; **Qy** kʰɔ̃¹

CSS *kʰɒ̃¹

957 *háng* 行〔宕開一平唐匣〕 ‘row (n.)’ **CDC** *hong² / **EC** *’gang

CSWW *ɦɔŋ²

CJQ *ɦaŋ²: **Ly** ã²; **Jh** ɑŋ²; **Pj** õ²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** aŋ²; **Wy** aŋ²
CLS *ɦɔŋ²: **Sc** ɔŋ²; **Sy** oŋ² [2]; **Lq** ɔŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xõ²
CSS #ɦʊ̃²: **Kh** —; **Cs** ɦõ²; **Js** ɔ̃²; **Ys** ɦʊ̃²; **Gf** xãɔ²

958 *bó* 博〔宕開一入鐸幫〕 ‘broad’ **CDC** *pok⁷ / **EC** *’pak
CSWW *ɓɔuʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓauʔ⁷: **Ly** pɔʔ⁷; **Jh** poʔ⁷; **Pj** bo⁸$_{lit}$; **Dy** pouʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbuə³; **Wy** pɔʔ⁷
CLS *ɓɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔboʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔboʔ⁷; **Pc** pau⁷; **Qy** ʔboʔ⁷
CSS *pɒʔ⁷

959 *báo, bó* 薄〔宕開一入鐸並〕 ‘thin’ **CDC** *bok⁸ / **EC** *’bak
CSWW *bɔuʔ⁸
CJQ *bauʔ⁸: **Ly** bɔʔ⁸; **Jh** boʔ⁸; **Pj** bo⁸; **Dy** bouʔ⁸; **Yk** buə⁴; **Wy** bɔʔ⁸
CLS *bɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** bɔʔ⁸; **Sy** boʔ⁸ [2]; **Lq** bɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** boʔ⁸; **Pc** pau⁷; **Qy** poʔ⁸
CSS *biɑʔ⁸

960 *tuō* 托（拓）〔廣韻：宕開一入鐸透〕 ‘entrust’ **CDC** *thok⁷ / **EC** *’thak
CSWW *tʰɔuʔ⁷
CJQ *tʰauʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰoʔ⁷ [1]; **Pj** tʰo⁷; **Dy** tʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰɒ³; **Wy** tʰɑoʔ⁷
CLS *tʰɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** tʰoʔ⁷; **Lq** tʰɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰau⁷; **Qy** tʰoʔ⁷
CSS *tʰɒʔ⁷

961 *luò* 落〔宕開一入鐸來〕 ‘fall, rain (v.)’ **CDC** *lok⁸ / **EC** *’lak
CSWW *lɔuʔ⁸
CJQ *lauʔ⁸: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** loʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ləʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** lo⁸; **Dy** luoʔ⁸ [1] ≍ lɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** lɒ⁴ [1]; **Wy** lɑo⁴ [1]
CLS *lɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** lɔʔ⁸; **Sy** loʔ⁸; **Lq** lɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** loʔ⁸; **Pc** lau⁷; **Qy** loʔ⁸
CSS *lɒʔ⁸

962 *zuò* 作〔宕開一入鐸精〕 ‘compose, arrange’ **CDC** *tsok⁷ / **EC** *’tsak
CSWW *tsɔuʔ⁷
CJQ *tsauʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tsoʔ⁷; **Pj** tso⁷; **Dy** tsuoʔ⁷; **Yk** tsɒ³; **Wy** tsɑoʔ⁷
CLS *tsɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** tsɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tsoʔ⁷; **Lq** tsɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tsoʔ⁷; **Pc** tsau⁷; **Qy** tsoʔ⁷
CSS *tsɒʔ⁷

963 *záo* 鑿〔宕開一入鐸從〕 ‘chisel’ **CDC** *dzok⁸ / **EC** *’dzawk
CSWW *zɔuʔ⁸
CJQ *zauʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** zoʔ⁸ [1] ≍ dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** zo⁸; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** zɒ⁴⁻¹⁴ [兒]; **Wy** zɑo⁴
CLS *zɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** zɔʔ⁸; **Sy** zɔʔ⁸; **Lq** zɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** zoʔ⁸; **Pc** tsau⁷; **Qy** soʔ⁸

CSS *zɒʔ⁸

964 *zuó* 昨〔宕開一入鐸從〕 ‘yesterday’ **CDC** *dzok⁸ / **EC** *’dzak

CSWW *zɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *zæ(ŋ)⁸ (?): **Ly** (dzɔʔ⁸₍i₎); **Jh** sɑ³₍f₎ [1] ≍ dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** zo⁸; **Dy** zuoʔ⁸; **Yk** (dzɑ⁴₍if₎); **Wy** sa⁻⁵³₍f₎ [1] ～日 ‘yesterday’ ≍ suo⁻⁵³ [2]

CLS *zɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** zɔʔ⁸; **Sy** soʔ⁷; **Lq** zaŋ²₍ft; **Yh** zoʔ⁸; **Pc** tsa⁶₍f; **Qy** sã²₍ft

CSS #zæʔ⁸: **Kh** ʑiɔʔ⁸₍if ≍ dzɔʔ⁸; **Cs** zɛʔ⁸; **Js** saʔ⁸; **Ys** zʌʔ⁸ [1] ≍ dzʌʔ⁸ [2]; **Gf** seʔ⁸₍f [1] ≍ dzuɐʔ⁸ [2]

The irregular Lq and Qy forms resulted from copying the rhyme of the following syllable in the compound CLS *zɔuʔ⁸.mæŋ⁶ ～暝 ‘yesterday’. The Pc form probably arose in a similar process given the copied final tone 6.

There is also evidence of the rime of CSWW *mæŋ⁶ 暝 ‘night’ being copied in the Jīnqú dialects despite most of them now using CJQ *nəiʔ⁸ ≍ *ȵiəʔ⁸ 日 ‘day’ as the second element in ‘yesterday’ (but note that Ly uses a reduced form of *mæŋ⁶ 暝). The Jh and Wy forms seem to have come from an earlier syllable *zæŋ⁷ that lost its coda through rebracketing. Yk has reanalyzed this syllable as [ʑiaŋ¹¹] 上 by folk etymology.

Copying also occurred in the Shàngshān dialects. The main vowel of CSS *mæ̃⁶ 暝 ‘night’ was copied to the preceding syllable, but this seems to have happened after the diversification of the daughters because Kh and Gf have aberrant reflexes.

965 *suǒ* 索〔宕開一入鐸心〕 ‘rope’ **CDC** *sok⁷ / **EC** *’sak

CSWW *sɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *sauʔ⁷: **Ly** sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** soʔ⁷; **Pj** so⁷; **Dy** suoʔ⁷; **Yk** sɒ³; **Wy** sɑoʔ⁷

CLS *sɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** sɔʔ⁷; **Sy** soʔ⁷; **Lq** sɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** soʔ⁷; **Pc** sau⁷; **Qy** soʔ⁷

CSS *sɒʔ⁷

966 *gè* 各〔宕開一入鐸見〕 ‘each’ **CDC** *kok⁷ / **EC** *’kak

CSWW *kɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *kauʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** koʔ⁷; **Pj** ko⁷; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kɒ³; **Wy** kɑoʔ⁷

CLS *kɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** kɔʔ⁷; **Sy** koʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** koʔ⁷; **Pc** kau⁷; **Qy** koʔ⁷

CSS *kɒʔ⁷

967 *è* 惡〔宕開一入鐸影〕 ‘bad’ **CDC** *ok⁷ / **EC** *’ak

CSWW *ʔɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *ʔauʔ⁷: **Ly** uɔʔ⁷; **Jh** oʔ⁷; **Pj** o⁷; **Dy** ʔuoʔ⁷; **Yk** ɒ³; **Wy** ɑoʔ⁷

CLS *ɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** ɔʔ⁷; **Sy** oʔ⁷; **Lq** ɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** oʔ⁷; **Pc** au⁷; **Qy** oʔ⁷

CSS *ʔɒʔ⁷

968 *niáng* 娘〔廣韻：宕開三平陽娘 C〕 ‘mother; paternal aunt’ **CDC** *niong² / **EC** —

CSWW *ȵiaŋ² ‘mother’

CJQ *ȵiaŋ²: **Ly** ȵiã²; **Jh** ȵiɑŋ²; **Pj** ȵyõ²; **Dy** ȵiʌ²; **Yk** ɲiaŋ² [1]; **Wy** ȵiaŋ²

CLS ? ⪤ *ȵiaŋ² ⪤ ?: **Sc** ȵiaŋ²; **Sy** ȵiaŋ²; **Lq** ȵiaŋ²; **Yh** ɲiã²; **Pc** ŋiaŋ²; **Qy** ȵiã¹˩˨ [1] ⪤ ȵiã² [2]

CSS ? ⪤ *ȵiã² ⪤ ?

969 *liáng* 涼〔宕開三平陽來 C〕 ‘cool, breezy’ **CDC** *liong² / **EC** *lang

CSWW *liaŋ²

CJQ *liaŋ²: **Ly** liã²; **Jh** liɑŋ²; **Pj** lyõ²; **Dy** liʌ²; **Yk** liaŋ²; **Wy** liaŋ² [1] ⪤ lia¹ [2] ～帽 ‘straw hat’

CLS *liaŋ²: **Sc** liaŋ²; **Sy** liaŋ²; **Lq** liaŋ²; **Yh** liã²; **Pc** liaŋ²; **Qy** liã²

CSS *liã²

970 *liáng* 量〔宕開三平陽來 C〕 ‘weigh’ **CDC** *liong² / **EC** *lang

CSWW *leŋ² [1] ⪤ *liaŋ² [2]

CJQ *liaŋ²: **Ly** liã²; **Jh** liɑŋ²; **Pj** lyõ²; **Dy** liʌ²; **Yk** liaŋ²; **Wy** liaŋ²

CLS *leŋ² ⪤ *liaŋ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** læ̃²; **Lq** lɛ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** lã²

b. **Sc** liaŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** liaŋ²; **Yh** liã²; **Pc** liaŋ²; **Qy** liã²

CSS *lə̃²

971 *liǎng* 兩〔宕開三上養來 C〕 ‘two, pair; tael’ **CDC** *ʰliong⁴ / **EC** *ʰlangx

CSWW *leŋ⁴ [1] ‘two’ ⪤ *liaŋ⁴ [2] ‘tael’ ⪤ *liaŋ⁶ ‘tael’

CJQ *liaŋ⁴ ‘two’ ⪤ *liaŋ⁶

a. **Ly** liã⁴; **Jh** liɑŋ³; **Pj** lyõ⁴; **Dy** liʌ⁴; **Yk** liaŋ⁴ [1] ⪤ laŋ⁻⁴⁴ [2] 幾～歲 ‘how old’; **Wy** liaŋ⁴

b. **Ly** liã⁶; **Jh** liɑŋ³; **Pj** lyõ⁻²⁴; **Dy** liʌ⁻³²⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** liaŋ⁻³¹

CLS *leŋ⁴ (?) ⪤ *liaŋ⁴ ⪤ *liaŋ⁶

a. **Sc** lə̃⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** laŋ³˨˧; **Yh** la³˨˧; **Pc** —; **Qy** lã⁴

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** liaŋ⁶; **Lq** liaŋ³; **Yh** liã³; **Pc** liaŋ⁴ *luse*; **Qy** liã⁴

c. **Sc** liaŋ⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *lə̃⁴ [2] ⪤ *liã⁴

972 *liàng* 量〔廣韻：宕開三去漾來 C〕 ‘quantity’ **CDC** *liong⁶ / **EC** *langh

CSWW *liaŋ⁶

CJQ *liaŋ⁶: **Ly** liã⁶; **Jh** liɑŋ⁶; **Pj** lyõ⁶; **Dy** liʌ⁻⁵⁴ 質～ ‘quality’; **Yk** liaŋ⁶; **Wy** liaŋ⁶

CLS *liaŋ⁶: **Sc** liaŋ⁶; **Sy** liaŋ⁶ [2]; **Lq** liaŋ⁶; **Yh** liã⁶; **Pc** liaŋ⁶; **Qy** liã⁶

CSS #liã⁶: **Kh** liã⁶; **Cs** liã⁶; **Js** liã⁶; **Ys** liã⁶; **Gf** liã⁶

973 *jiāng* 漿〔宕開三平陽精 C〕 ‘paste’ **CDC** *tsiong¹ / **EC** *tsang

CSWW *tsiaŋ¹

CJQ *tsiaŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiã¹; **Jh** tsiɑŋ¹; **Pj** tʃyõ¹; **Dy** tɕiʌ¹; **Yk** tɕiaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕiaŋ¹

CLS *tɕiaŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** tɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiã⁵; **Pc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiã¹

CSS *tɕiã¹

974 *jiàng* 醬〔宕開三去漾精 C〕 ‘sauce’ **CDC** *tsiong⁵ / **EC** *tsangh

CSWW *tsiaŋ⁵

CJQ *tsiaŋ⁵: **Ly** tɕiã⁵; **Jh** tsiɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tʃyõ⁵; **Dy** tɕiʌ⁵; **Yk** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕiaŋ⁵

CLS *tɕiaŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Lq** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃiã⁵; **Pc** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕiã⁵

CSS *tɕiã⁵

975 *qiǎng* 搶〔廣韻：宕開三上養清 C〕 ‘wrest’ **CDC** *tshiong³ / **EC** *tshangx

CSWW *tsʰiaŋ³

CJQ *tsʰiaŋ³: **Ly** tɕʰiã³; **Jh** tsʰiɑŋ³; **Pj** tʃʰyõ³; **Dy** tɕʰiʌ³; **Yk** tɕʰiaŋ³; **Wy** tɕʰiaŋ³

CLS *tɕʰiaŋ³: **Sc** tɕʰiaŋ³; **Sy** tɕʰiaŋ³; **Lq** tɕʰiaŋ³; **Yh** tʃʰiã³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiɑ̃³

CSS #tɕʰiɑ̃³: **Kh** tɕʰiã³; **Cs** tɕʰiã³; **Js** tɕʰiã³; **Ys** tɕʰiã³; **Gf** tɕʰiã³

976 *qiáng* 牆〔宕開三平陽從 C〕 ‘wall ’ **CDC** *dziong² / **EC** *dzang

CSWW *ziaŋ²

CJQ *ziaŋ²: **Ly** ʑiã² [1] ≍ dʑiã² [2]; **Jh** ziɑŋ² [1] ≍ dziɑŋ³ [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ²; **Dy** ʑiʌ²; **Yk** ʑiaŋ²; **Wy** ʑiaŋ²

CLS *ʑiaŋ²: **Sc** ʑiaŋ²; **Sy** ɕiaŋ²; **Lq** ʑiaŋ²; **Yh** ʒiã²; **Pc** tɕiaŋ²; **Qy** ɕiɑ̃²

CSS *ʑiɑ̃²

977 *jiàng* 匠〔宕開三去漾從 C〕 ‘craftsman’ **CDC** *dziong⁶ / **EC** *dzangh

CSWW *ziaŋ⁶

CJQ *ziaŋ⁶: **Ly** ʑiã⁶; **Jh** ziɑŋ⁶ [1] ≍ dziɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ⁶; **Dy** ʑiʌ⁶; **Yk** ʑiaŋ⁶; **Wy** ʑiaŋ⁶

CLS *ʑiaŋ⁶: **Sc** ʑiaŋ⁶; **Sy** ʑiaŋ⁴ˌt; **Lq** ʑiaŋ⁶ˌt; **Yh** ʒiã⁶; **Pc** tɕiaŋ⁶; **Qy** ɕiɑ̃⁶

CSS #ʑiɑ̃⁶: **Kh** ʑiã⁶ [1] ≍ dʑiã⁶ [2]; **Cs** ʑiã⁻²¹²; **Js** ɕiã⁶; **Ys** ʑiã⁶; **Gf** ɕiã⁵ˌt 石～ ‘earth-works man’

978 *xiāng* 箱〔宕開三平陽心 C〕 ‘box’ **CDC** *siong¹ / **EC** *sang

CSWW *siaŋ¹

CJQ *siaŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiã¹; **Jh** siɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** ɕiʌ¹; **Yk** ɕiaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕiaŋ¹

CLS *ɕiaŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** ɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiã²; **Pc** ɕiaŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiɑ̃¹

CSS *ɕiɑ̃¹

979 *xiàng* 像〔宕開三上養邪 C〕 ‘resemble; figure’ **CDC** *ziong⁴ / **EC** *zangx

CSWW *dziaŋ⁴ [1] ≍ *ziaŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *dziaŋ⁴₍ˌa₎ ⩙ *ziaŋ⁴
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** dziɑŋ⁶₍ˌt₎ [3]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑiaŋ⁴ 相～ ‘resemble’
b. **Ly** ʑiã⁴; **Jh** siɑŋ³ [1] ⩙ ziɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ⁴; **Dy** ʑiʌ⁴; **Yk** ʑiaŋ⁴; **Wy** ʑiaŋ⁴
CLS *dʑiaŋ⁴ ⩙ *ʑiaŋ⁴
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** dʑiaŋ⁴; **Lq** tɕiaŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** {tɕiaŋ⁴}; **Qy** tɕiã⁴ ‘resemble’
b. **Sc** ʑiaŋ⁴; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒiã⁴; **Pc** {tɕiaŋ⁴}; **Qy** ɕiã⁴ ‘figure’
CSS *dʑiã⁴ ⩙ *ʑiã⁴

980 *zhāng* 張〔宕開三平陽知 C〕 ‘clf. for sheets; Zhāng (pn.)’ **CDC** *ciong¹ / **EC** *trang
CSWW *ɗiaŋ¹ [1] ‘clf. for sheets’ ⩙ *tšiaŋ¹ [2] ‘Zhāng (pn.)’
CJQ *tšiaŋ¹: **Ly** tsã¹; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ¹; **Pj** tʃyõ¹; **Dy** tɕiʌ¹; **Yk** tɕiaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕiaŋ¹
CLS *ɗiaŋ¹ ⩙ *tɕiaŋ¹
a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdiaŋ⁵₍ˌt₎; **Lq** ʔdiaŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdiã¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiã¹
b. **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Qy** —
CSS *tiã¹ ⩙ *tɕiã¹

981 *zhǎng* 長〔廣韻：宕開三上養知 C〕 ‘headman, elder’ **CDC** *ciong³ / **EC** *trangx
CSWW *ɗiaŋ³₍ˌa₎ [1] ⩙ *tšiaŋ³ [2]
CJQ *tšiaŋ³: **Ly** tsã³; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ³; **Pj** tʃyõ³; **Dy** tɕiʌ³; **Yk** tɕiaŋ³; **Wy** tɕiaŋ³
CLS *tɕiaŋ³: **Sc** tɕiaŋ³; **Sy** tɕiaŋ²₍ˌt₎; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiã³; **Pc** tɕiaŋ³; **Qy** tɕiã³ [2]
CSS *tiã³ ⩙ #tɕiã³
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tiã³; **Js** tiã³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕiã³; **Cs** tɕiã³; **Js** tɕiã³; **Ys** tɕiã³; **Gf** tɕiã³

982 *zhàng* 帳〔宕開三去漾知 C〕 ‘canopy, mosquito net’ **CDC** *ciong⁵ / **EC** *trangh
CSWW *ɗiaŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *tšiaŋ⁵ [2]
CJQ *ɗiaŋ⁵₍ˌa₎ ⩙ *tšiaŋ⁵
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔniaŋ⁵
b. **Ly** tsã⁵; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tʃyõ⁵; **Dy** tɕiʌ⁵; **Yk** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗiaŋ⁵ ⩙ *tɕiaŋ⁵₍ˌa₎
a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔdiaŋ⁵; **Lq** ʔdiaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔdiã⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiã⁵
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiaŋ⁵; **Qy** —
CSS #tiã⁵ ⩙ #tɕiã⁵₍ˌa₎
a. **Kh** tiã⁵; **Cs** tiã⁵; **Js** tiã⁵; **Ys** tiã⁵; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tɕiã⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕiã⁵

983 *zhàng* 賬（帳）〔宕開三去漾知 C〕 ‘account (n.)’ **CDC** *ciong⁵ / **EC** *trangh
CSWW *ɗiaŋ⁵

CJQ *ɗiaŋ$^{5}{}_{la}$ [1] ⩙ *tšiaŋ^{5} [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʔniaŋ^{5}
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ^{5}; **Pj** tʃyõ^{5}; **Dy** tɕiʌ^{5}; **Yk** tɕiaŋ^{5} ‘debt’; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗiaŋ^{5}: **Sc** ʔdiaŋ^{5}; **Sy** ʔdiaŋ^{5}; **Lq** ʔdiaŋ^{5}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *tiã^{5}

984 *cháng* 長〔宕開三平陽澄 C〕 ‘long’ **CDC** *jiong^{2} / **EC** *drang
CSWW *deŋ^{2} [1] *F* ⩙ *džiaŋ^{2} [2] *B*
CJQ *džiaŋ^{2} *F*: **Ly** dzã^{2}; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ^{2}; **Pj** dʒyõ^{2}; **Dy** dʑiʌ^{2}; **Yk** dʑiaŋ^{2}; **Wy** dʑiaŋ^{2}
CLS *deŋ^{2} ⩙ *dʑiaŋ^{2}
a. **Sc** də̃^{2}; **Sy** tæ̃^{2}; **Lq** dɛ^{2}; **Yh** dɛ^{2}; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã^{2}
b. **Sc** dʑiaŋ^{2}; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaŋ^{2}; **Yh** dʒiã^{2} *F*; **Pc** tɕiaŋ^{2}; **Qy** tɕiã^{2}
CSS *də̃^{2} ⩙ #dʑiã^{2}
a. **Kh** dɛ̃^{2} [2]; **Cs** dʌ̃^{2}; **Js** dæ̃^{2}; **Ys** dæ̃^{2}; **Gf** dæ̃^{2}
b. **Kh** dʑiã^{2}; **Cs** dʑiã$^{-22}$ ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Js** dʑiã$^{-33}$ ～江 ‘Yangtze’; **Ys** dʑiã^{2}; **Gf** dʑiã^{2}
Cf. Common Min *dɔŋ^{2}; Proto-Níngdé *tɔŋ^{2}

985 *cháng* 腸〔宕開三平陽澄 C〕 ‘intestine’ **CDC** *jiong^{2} / **EC** *drang
CSWW *deŋ^{2} [1] ⩙ *džiaŋ^{2} [2]
CJQ *džiaŋ^{2}: **Ly** dzã^{2}; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ^{2}; **Pj** dʒyõ^{2}; **Dy** dʑiʌ^{2}; **Yk** dʑiaŋ^{2}; **Wy** dʑiaŋ^{2}
CLS *deŋ^{2} ⩙ *dʑiaŋ^{2}
a. **Sc** də̃^{2}; **Sy** —; **Lq** dɛ^{2}; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tã^{2}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕiaŋ^{2}; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒiã^{2}; **Pc** (tɕiaŋ^{2}) ⩙ tsaŋ^{2} [白]; **Qy** tɕiã^{2}
CSS *də̃^{2} ⩙ #dʑiã^{2}
a. **Kh** dɛ̃^{2}; **Cs** dʌ̃^{2}; **Js** dæ̃^{2}; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** dʑiã^{2}; **Cs** —; **Js** dʑiã$^{-33}$; **Ys** dʑiã^{2}; **Gf** dʑiã^{2}

986 *zhàng* 丈〔宕開三上養澄 C〕 ‘staff, 3.3 meters; grown man ～夫’ **CDC** *jiong^{4} / **EC** *drangx

CSWW *d(eŋ,ə̃)^{4} [1] ‘3.3 meters’ ⩙ *džiaŋ^{4} [2] *B*
CJQ *džiaŋ^{4} [1] ⩙ *džiaŋ^{6} [2]
a. **Ly** dzã^{4}; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ^{3}; **Pj** dʒyõ$^{-11}$ ～人 ‘father-in-law (of a man)’; **Dy** dʑiʌ^{4}; **Yk** dʑiaŋ$^{4\text{-}14}$ [兒]; **Wy** tɕiaŋ$^{-53}$ ～人 ‘father-in-law (of a man)’
b. **Ly** dzã^{6}; **Jh** dʑiɑŋ^{6}; **Pj** dʒyõ$^{-24}$ 一～ ‘3.3 meters’; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑiaŋ$^{-31}$ 一～ ‘3.3 meters’
CLS *dʑiaŋ^{4}: **Sc** dʑiaŋ^{4}; **Sy** dʑiaŋ^{4}; **Lq** tɕiaŋ^{3}; **Yh** dʒiã^{4}; **Pc** tɕiaŋ^{3} ⩙ tɕiaŋ^{6}; **Qy** tɕiã^{4}
CSS *də̃^{4} [2] ⩙ *dʑiã^{4} [1] ～人 ‘father-in-law (of a man)’

987 *zhuāng* 裝〔宕開三平陽莊 C〕 ‘pack up’ **CDC** *cong¹ / **EC** *tsrang

CSWW *ɗ(eŋ,ə̃)¹ [1] ⩙ *tšyaŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *tšyaŋ¹: **Ly** tsuã¹; **Jh** tɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyõ¹ ⩙ tsõ¹; **Dy** tsʌ¹; **Yk** tɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕyaŋ¹

CLS *tɕyɔŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *tsɔŋ¹ [2]

a. **Sc** tɕiɔŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiɔŋ¹ [2]; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {tsaŋ¹}; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɔŋ¹ˌlif; **Yh** tsə̃¹; **Pc** {tsaŋ¹}; **Qy** tsə̃¹ˌlif

CSS *tə̃¹ [2] ⩙ *tɕiɒ̃¹ [1]

988 *zhuàng* 壯〔宕開三去漾莊 C〕 ‘robust’ **CDC** *cong⁵ / **EC** *tsrangh

CSWW *tšyaŋ⁵ ‘fat, chubby ’

CJQ *tšyaŋ⁵: **Ly** tsuã⁵; **Jh** tɕyɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕyõ⁵; **Dy** tsʌ⁵; **Yk** tɕyaŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕyaŋ⁵

CLS *tɕyɔŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕiɔŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕiɔŋ⁵; **Lq** tɕiɔŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃiə̃⁵ [1] ⩙ tsə̃⁵ [2]; **Pc** tsaŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕiə̃⁵

CSS *tɕiɒ̃⁵

989 *chuāng* 瘡〔宕開三平陽初 C〕 ‘sore’ **CDC** *chong¹ / **EC** *tshrang

CSWW *tsʰ(eŋ,ə̃)¹ [1] ⩙ *tšʰyaŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *tšʰyaŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰuã¹; **Jh** tɕʰyɑŋ¹ [1] ⩙ tsʰɑŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyõ¹; **Dy** tsʰʌ¹; **Yk** tɕʰyaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰyaŋ¹

CLS *tsʰ(eŋ,ə̃)¹ˌla ⩙ *tɕʰyɔŋ¹

a. **Sc** tsʰə̃¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕʰioŋ¹; **Lq** (tsʰɔŋ¹ˌlf); **Yh** tʃʰiə̃¹; **Pc** tsʰaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiə̃¹

CSS *tsʰə̃¹ [2] ⩙ *tɕʰiɒ̃¹ [1]

990 *chuǎng* 闖（搶）〔宕開三上養初 C〕 ‘dash, rush into’ **CDC** *chong³ / **EC** —

CSWW *tšʰyaŋ³

CJQ *tšʰyaŋ³: **Ly** tsʰuã³; **Jh** tɕʰyɑŋ³; **Pj** tɕʰyõ³; **Dy** tsʰʌ¹ˌlt; **Yk** tɕʰyaŋ³; **Wy** tɕʰyaŋ³

CLS *tɕʰyɔŋ³: **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕʰioŋ³; **Lq** tɕʰiɔŋ³; **Yh** tʃʰiə̃³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiə̃³

CSS *tɕʰiɒ̃³

991 *chuáng* 牀〔廣韻：宕開三平陽崇 C〕 ‘bed’ **CDC** *jong² / **EC** *dzrang

CSWW *z(eŋ,ə̃)² [1] ⩙ *žyaŋ² [2]

CJQ *žyaŋ²: **Ly** zuã² [1] ⩙ zã² [2]; **Jh** ʑyɑŋ² [1] ⩙ dʑyɑŋ² [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ²; **Dy** zʌ²; **Yk** ʑyaŋ²; **Wy** ʑyaŋ²

CLS *z(eŋ,ə̃)²ˌla (?) ⩙ *ʑyɔŋ²

a. **Sc** zə̃² □□[məŋ²¹¹]～; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʑiɔŋ²; **Sy** ɕioŋ²; **Lq** ʑiɔŋ²; **Yh** ʒiə̃²; **Pc** saŋ²; **Qy** ɕiə̃²

CSS *zə̃² ⩙ *ʑiɒ̃²

Cf. Common Min *tʃʰɔŋ² ‘bed (for sleeping)’ ⩙ *ʃɔŋ² (?) ‘(steamer) bed’; Proto-Níngdé

*tʃʰɔŋ² *id.* ⩙ *tʃɔŋ² *id.* The steaming device word is only attested in Coastal Min.

992 *zhuàng* 狀〔宕開三去漾崇 C〕 ‘form’ **CDC** *jong⁶ / **EC** *dzrangh

CSWW *žyaŋ⁶

CJQ *žyaŋ⁶: **Ly** zuã⁶ [1] ⩙ dzuã⁶ [2]; **Jh** ʑyɑŋ⁶ [1] ⩙ dʑyɑŋ⁶ [3]; **Pj** ʒyõ⁶; **Dy** zʌ⁶ [1]; **Yk** ʑyaŋ⁶; **Wy** ʑyaŋ⁶ [1]

CLS *ʑyɔŋ⁶: **Sc** ʑiɔŋ⁶; **Sy** ʑioŋ⁶; **Lq** ʑiɔŋ⁶; **Yh** ʒiõ⁶; **Pc** tsaŋ⁶; **Qy** ɕiõ⁶

CSS *ʑiõ⁶

993 *shuāng* 霜〔宕開三平陽生 C〕 ‘frost’ **CDC** *shong¹ / **EC** *srang

CSWW *šyaŋ¹

CJQ *šyaŋ¹: **Ly** suã¹; **Jh** ɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** suʌ¹; **Yk** ɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕyaŋ¹

CLS *ɕyɔŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Sy** ɕioŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiõ¹; **Pc** saŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiõ¹

CSS *ɕiõ¹

994 *zhāng* 樟〔宕開三平陽章 C〕 ‘camphor tree’ **CDC** *ciong¹ / **EC** *tang

CSWW *tšiaŋ¹

CJQ *tšiaŋ¹: **Ly** tsã¹; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ¹; **Pj** tʃyõ¹; **Dy** tɕiʌ¹; **Yk** tɕiaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕiaŋ¹

CLS *tɕiaŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** tɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiã¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiã¹

CSS *tɕiã¹

995 *zhǎng* 掌〔宕開三上養章 C〕 ‘palm of the hand’ **CDC** *ciong³ / **EC** *tangx

CSWW *tšiaŋ³

CJQ *tšiaŋ³: **Ly** tsã³; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ³; **Pj** tʃyõ³; **Dy** tɕiʌ³; **Yk** tɕiaŋ³; **Wy** tɕiaŋ³

CLS *tɕiaŋ³: **Sc** tɕiaŋ³; **Sy** tɕiaŋ³; **Lq** tɕiaŋ³; **Yh** tʃiã³; **Pc** tɕiaŋ³; **Qy** tɕiã³

CSS #tɕiã³: **Kh** tɕiã³; **Cs** tɕiã³; **Js** tɕiã³; **Ys** tɕiã³; **Gf** tɕiã³

996 *chàng* 唱〔宕開三去漾昌 C〕 ‘sing’ **CDC** *chiong⁵ / **EC** *changh (khyangh)

CSWW *tšʰiaŋ⁵

CJQ *tšʰiaŋ⁵: **Ly** tsʰã⁵; **Jh** tɕʰiɑŋ⁵; **Pj** tʃʰyõ⁵; **Dy** tɕʰiʌ⁵; **Yk** tɕʰiaŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕʰiaŋ⁵

CLS *tɕʰiaŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰiaŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰiaŋ⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiaŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰiã⁵; **Pc** tɕʰiaŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕʰiã⁵

CSS *tɕʰiã⁵

997 *shāng* 傷〔宕開三平陽書 C〕 ‘injure; injury’ **CDC** *shiong¹ / **EC** *hyang

CSWW *šiaŋ¹

CJQ *šiaŋ¹: **Ly** sã¹; **Jh** ɕiɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** ɕiʌ¹; **Yk** ɕiaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕiaŋ¹

CLS *ɕiaŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** ɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiã¹; **Pc** ɕiaŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiã¹

CSS *ɕiã¹

998 *cháng* 嘗〔宕開三平陽常 C〕 ‘taste (v.)’ **CDC** *jiong² / **EC** *dang

CSWW *žiaŋ²

CJQ *žiaŋ²: **Ly** zã²; **Jh** ʑiɑŋ²; **Pj** ʒyõ²; **Dy** ʑiʌ²; **Yk** ʑiaŋ²; **Wy** ʑiaŋ²

CLS *ʑiaŋ²: **Sc** ʑiaŋ²; **Sy** ɕiaŋ²; **Lq** ʑiaŋ²; **Yh** ʒiã²; **Pc** ɕiaŋ²; **Qy** ɕiã²

CSS #ʑiã²: **Kh** ʑiã²; **Cs** ʑiã²; **Js** ɕiã²; **Ys** ʑiã²; **Gf** ɕiã²

999 *shàng* 上〔宕開三上養常 C〕 ‘ascend’ **CDC** *zhiong⁴ / **EC** *dangx

CSWW *džiaŋ⁴ [1] ⪤ *džiaŋ⁶ [1] ⪤ *žiaŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *džiaŋ⁴ ⪤ *džiaŋ⁶₍ₗa₎ ⪤ *žiaŋ⁴

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** dʑiʌ⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑiaŋ⁴
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** dʑiʌ⁴₍ₗt₎ ～頂 ‘top’; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕiaŋ⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～頂面 ‘top’
c. **Ly** zã⁴; **Jh** ɕiɑŋ³ [1] ⪤ ʑiɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ʒyõ⁴; **Dy** ʑiʌ⁻³⁵; **Yk** ʑiaŋ⁴; **Wy** ʑiaŋ⁻³³

CLS *dʑiaŋ⁴ ⪤ *dʑiaŋ⁶ ⪤ *ʑiaŋ⁴₍ₗa₎

a. **Sc** dʑiaŋ⁴; **Sy** dʑiaŋ⁴; **Lq** tɕiaŋ³; **Yh** dʒiã⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiã⁴
b. **Sc** dʑiaŋ⁴₍ₗt₎; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaŋ⁶₍ₗi₎; **Yh** dʒiã⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiã⁶
c. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʒiã⁴; **Pc** ɕiaŋ⁴; **Qy** —

CSS *dʑiã⁴ ⪤ #dʑiã?

a. **Kh** dʑiã⁶; **Cs** dʑiã⁴; **Js** dʑiã⁴; **Ys** dʑiã⁴; **Gf** dʑiã⁴
b. **Kh** dʑiã⁶ ～橫頭 ‘seat of honor’; **Cs** dʑiã⁻²² [2] ～面 ‘top’ ⪤ iã⁻²² [2]; **Js** dʑiã⁴₍ₗt₎; **Ys** dʑiã⁴₍ₗt₎; **Gf** dʑiã⁻²² ～底 ‘top’

1000 *shàng* 上〔宕開三去漾常 C〕 ‘above’ **CDC** *zhiong⁶ / **EC** *dangh

CSWW *žiaŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *žiaŋ⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** ʑiɑŋ⁶; **Pj** ʒyõ⁴₍ₗt₎; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑiaŋ⁶; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiaŋ⁶: **Sc** ʑiaŋ⁴₍ₗt₎; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʑiaŋ⁶; **Yh** ʒiã⁶; **Pc** ɕiaŋ⁶; **Qy** ɕiã⁶ 淤～ ‘Yūshàng (pn.)’

CSS #ʑiã⁶: **Kh** ʑiã⁶ ‘Shànghǎi (pn.)’; **Cs** —; **Js** ɕiã⁻³³ ‘Shàngráo (pn.)’; **Ys** ʑiã⁻²²; **Gf** ɕiã⁶ 以～ ‘above, upwards of’

1001 *ràng* 讓〔宕開三去漾日 C〕 ‘yield, let’ **CDC** *nhiong⁶ / **EC** *nangh

CSWW *ȵiaŋ⁶

CJQ *ňiaŋ⁶: **Ly** ȵiã⁶; **Jh** ȵiɑŋ⁶ [1] ⪤ ʑiɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** ȵiʌ⁶; **Yk** (ʑiaŋ⁶₍ₗi₎); **Wy** ȵiaŋ⁶

CLS *ȵiaŋ⁶: **Sc** ȵiɔŋ⁶; **Sy** ȵiaŋ⁶; **Lq** ȵiaŋ⁶; **Yh** ɲiã⁶; **Pc** ŋiaŋ⁶ ⪤ iaŋ⁶ [白]; **Qy** ȵiã⁶

CSS *ȵiã⁶

1002 *jiāng* 薑〔宕開三平陽見 C〕 ‘ginger’ **CDC** *kiong¹ / **EC** *kang

CSWW *kiaŋ¹

CJQ *kiaŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiã¹; **Jh** tɕiɑŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyõ¹; **Dy** tɕiʌ¹; **Yk** kiaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕiaŋ¹

CLS *kiaŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** tɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiã¹; **Pc** kiaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiã¹

CSS *kiã¹

1003 *xiāng* 鄉〔宕開三平陽曉 C〕 ‘countryside’ **CDC** *xiong¹ / **EC** *hang

CSWW *xiaŋ¹

CJQ *xiaŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiã¹; **Jh** ɕiɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** ɕiʌ¹; **Yk** xiaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕiaŋ¹

CLS *xiaŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** ɕiaŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiaŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiã²; **Pc** xiaŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiɑ̃¹

CSS *xiã¹

1004 *xiǎng* 響〔宕開三上養曉 C〕 ‘echo’ **CDC** *xiong³ / **EC** *hangx

CSWW *xiaŋ³

CJQ *xiaŋ³: **Ly** —; **Jh** ɕiɑŋ³; **Pj** ʃyõ³; **Dy** ɕiʌ³; **Yk** xiaŋ³; **Wy** ɕiaŋ³

CLS *xiaŋ³: **Sc** ɕiaŋ³; **Sy** ɕiaŋ³; **Lq** ɕiaŋ³; **Yh** ʃiã³; **Pc** xiaŋ³; **Qy** —

CSS *xiã³

1005 *xiàng* 向〔宕開三去漾曉 C〕 ‘turn toward’ **CDC** *xiong⁵ / **EC** *hangh

CSWW *xiaŋ⁵

CJQ *xiaŋ⁵: **Ly** ɕiã⁵; **Jh** ɕiɑŋ⁵; **Pj** ʃyõ⁵ [1] ≍ ʃyõ³ [2]; **Dy** ɕiʌ⁵; **Yk** xiaŋ⁵; **Wy** ɕiaŋ⁵

CLS *xiaŋ⁵: **Sc** ɕiaŋ⁵; **Sy** ɕiaŋ⁵; **Lq** ɕiaŋ⁵; **Yh** ʃiã⁵; **Pc** xiaŋ⁵; **Qy** ɕiɑ̃⁵

CSS #xiã⁵: **Kh** ɕiã⁵; **Cs** ɕiã³₍ₜ; **Js** xiã⁵; **Ys** xiã⁵; **Gf** xiã⁵

1006 *yāng* 秧〔宕開三平陽影 C〕 ‘rice seedling’ **CDC** *iong¹ / **EC** *ang

CSWW *ʔeŋ¹ [1] ≍ *ʔiaŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ʔiaŋ¹ [1]: **Ly** iã¹; **Jh** iɑŋ¹; **Pj** yõ¹; **Dy** ʔiʌ¹; **Yk** iaŋ¹; **Wy** iaŋ¹

CLS *ʔeŋ¹ ≍ *ʔiaŋ¹

a. **Sc** ə̃¹; **Sy** æ̃¹; **Lq** ɛ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ã¹

b. **Sc** iaŋ¹ 菜～ ‘tender vegetables’; **Sy** iaŋ¹; **Lq** iaŋ¹; **Yh** iã¹; **Pc** iaŋ¹; **Qy** iɑ̃¹ 菜～ ‘tender vegetables’

CSS *ʔə̃¹ [2] ≍ *ʔiɑ̃¹ [1]

Cf. Proto-Níngdé *ɔŋ¹

1007 *yáng* 烊（煬）〔宕開三平陽以 C〕 ‘melt, smelt’ **CDC** *yong² / **EC** *yang

CSWW *ɦiaŋ² ‘melt’

CJQ *ɦiaŋ²: **Ly** iã²; **Jh** iɑŋ²; **Pj** yõ²; **Dy** iʌ²; **Yk** iaŋ²; **Wy** iaŋ²

CLS *ɦiaŋ²: **Sc** iaŋ²; **Sy** iaŋ²; **Lq** iaŋ²; **Yh** iã²; **Pc** iaŋ²; **Qy** iɑ̃²

CSS *ɦiɑ̃²

1008 *yǎng* 養〔宕開三上養以 C〕 ‘rear (v.)’ **CDC** *yong⁴ / **EC** *yangx

CSWW *ɦyaŋ⁴ [1] *F* ≍ *ɦiaŋ⁴ [2] *B*

CJQ *ɦyaŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴ *F*
a. **Ly** yã⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** yaŋ⁴; **Wy** yan⁴₍ˌf₎
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** iɑŋ³; **Pj** yõ⁴; **Dy** iʌ⁴; **Yk** iaŋ⁴; **Wy** iaŋ⁴

CLS *ɦiɔŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴
a. **Sc** iɔŋ⁴; **Sy** ioŋ⁴ ⩙ iəŋ⁴; **Lq** iɔŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** iõ⁴ [1]
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** iã³; **Pc** iaŋ³; **Qy** iã⁴ [2]

CSS *ɦiŏ⁴ ⩙ #ɦiã⁴ 培～ ‘foster’
a. **Kh** ioŋ⁶; **Cs** iõ⁴ [1]; **Js** iõ⁴ [1]; **Ys** iŏ⁴ [1]; **Gf** yã⁴ [1]
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** iã³ [2]; **Js** iã⁴ [2]; **Ys** iã⁴ [2]; **Gf** iã¹ [2]

1009 *yǎng* 癢〔宕開三上養以 C〕 ‘itchy’ **CDC** *yong⁴ / **EC** *yangx

CSWW *(ž,z)(ya,iɔ)ŋ⁴ [1] ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *ɦiaŋ⁴: **Ly** iã⁴; **Jh** iɑŋ³; **Pj** yõ⁴; **Dy** iʌ⁴; **Yk** iaŋ⁴; **Wy** iaŋ⁴

CLS *ʑ(y,i)ɔŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦiaŋ⁴
a. **Sc** ʑiɔŋ⁴; **Sy** ʑioŋ⁴; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiõ⁴
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** iã³; **Pc** iaŋ⁴; **Qy** iã⁴

CSS *ʑiŏ⁴ [2] ⩙ *ɦiã⁴ [1]

1010 *yàng* 樣〔廣韻：宕開三去漾以 C〕 ‘appearance’ **CDC** *yong⁶ / **EC** *yangh

CSWW *ɦiaŋ⁶

CJQ *ɦiaŋ⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** iɑŋ⁶ [1]; **Pj** yõ⁶; **Dy** iʌ⁶ [1]; **Yk** iaŋ⁶; **Wy** iaŋ⁶

CLS *ɦiaŋ⁶: **Sc** iaŋ⁶; **Sy** iaŋ⁶; **Lq** iaŋ⁶; **Yh** iã⁶; **Pc** iaŋ⁶; **Qy** iã⁶

CSS *ɦiã⁶

1011 *lüè* 略〔宕開三入藥來 C〕 ‘outline’ **CDC** *liok⁸ / **EC** *lak

CSWW *liauʔ⁸

CJQ *liauʔ⁸: **Ly** liɔʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** lyo⁸; **Dy** liəʔ⁸; **Yk** liɒ⁴; **Wy** liɑo⁴

CLS *liauʔ⁸: **Sc** liaʔ⁸; **Sy** (lyɛʔ⁸₍ˌf₎); **Lq** (liɛʔ⁸₍ˌf₎); **Yh** (lieʔ⁸₍ˌf₎); **Pc** liau⁷; **Qy** liɑʔ⁸

CSS *liɑʔ⁸

1012 *què* 雀〔宕開三入藥精 C〕 ‘sparrow’ **CDC** *tsiok⁷ / **EC** *tsawk

CSWW *tsiauʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *tšiʔ⁷ [2] 麻～ ‘sparrow’ ⩙ *tsʰiauʔ⁷ [3]

CJQ *tsiauʔ⁷ ⩙ *tšiʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsʰiauʔ⁷
a. **Ly** tɕiɔʔ⁷ ‘penis’; **Jh** tsiəʔ⁷ ‘penis’; **Pj** tʃyo⁷ ‘penis’; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** —; **Pj** tʃiɤn⁷ [兒]; **Dy** tsein⁻⁵⁵ [兒]; **Yk** tsəi³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷
c. **Ly** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰiəʔ⁷ 麻～ ‘sparrow’; **Pj** tʃʰyo³ 孔～ ‘peacock’; **Dy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕʰiɒ³; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕiauʔ⁷ ⩙ *tɕiʔ⁷ ⩙ *tɕʰiauʔ⁷
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiau⁷; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷ [1]; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷ ～～兒; **Lq** tsʅʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷ *!use*; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
c. **Sc** tɕʰiaʔ⁷ [2]; **Sy** tɕʰiaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰiaʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiɑʔ⁷
CSS *tɕiɑʔ⁷ 麻～ ‘sparrow’

CSWW *tšiʔ⁷ [2] is an unexpected correspondent of CDC *tsiok⁷ 雀 ‘sparrow’. It seems to have been a euphemistic pronunciation used to avoid regular CSWW *tsiauʔ⁷ [1], which became the popular word for ‘penis’ in some dialects (see Ly and Jh). The irregular aspirated initial in Modern Standard Chinese *què* (cf. literary CSWW *tsʰiauʔ⁷ [3]) likely also originated as a way to avoid this taboo.

1013 *jiáo, jué* 嚼〔宕開三入藥從 C〕 ‘chew’ **CDC** *dziok⁸ / **EC** *dzawk
CSWW *ziauʔ⁸
CJQ *ziauʔ⁸: **Ly** ʑiɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dziəʔ⁸|i [2] ⩙ ziɑu⁶ [1]; **Pj** ʒyo⁸; **Dy** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** ʑiɒ⁴; **Wy** —
CLS *ziauʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑiaʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiaʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiaʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁸
CSS *ʑiɑʔ⁸

1014 *xiāo, xuē* 削〔宕開三入藥心 C〕 ‘whittle’ **CDC** *siok⁷ / **EC** *sawk
CSWW *siauʔ⁷
CJQ *siauʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃyo⁷; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ɕiɒ³; **Wy** ɕiɑoʔ⁷
CLS *siauʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiaʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiɑʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷
CSS *ɕiɑʔ⁷

1015 *zhuó* 着（著）〔廣韻：宕開三入藥知 C〕 ‘wear’ **CDC** *ciok⁷ / **EC** *trak
CSWW *ɗəiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *ɗiauʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *tšiauʔ⁷ [3]
CJQ *ɗiauʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *tšiauʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** liɑoʔ⁷
b. **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tʃyo⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *ɗeʔ⁷ ⩙ *tɕiauʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** ʔdeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdɛʔ⁷ [2]; **Lq** ʔdɛʔ⁷ ⩙ ʔdɛ³; **Yh** ʔdaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** dɤʔ⁷
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tɕiau⁷; **Qy** —
CSS *təʔ⁷

Cf. Qīngtián [ʔdeʔ⁷]

1016 *zhuó* 着（著）〔廣韻：宕開三入藥澄 C〕 ‘attach, catch on’ **CDC** *jiok⁸ / **EC** *drak
CSWW *džiauʔ⁸
CJQ *džiauʔ⁸: **Ly** dzɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** ʒyo⁸|i; **Dy** dʑiʉoʔ⁸; **Yk** dʑiɒ⁴; **Wy** dʑiɑo⁴

CLS *d(eʔ,əʔ)⁸ ⩙ *dʑiauʔ⁸
a. Sc deʔ⁸; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy —
b. Sc dʑiaʔ⁸; Sy dʑiaʔ⁸ [1]; Lq dʑiɔuʔ⁸₍f; Yh dʒiɑʔ⁸; Pc —; Qy tɕiɑʔ⁸
CSS *dəʔ⁸

1017 *sháo* 勺〔廣韻：宕開三入藥常 C〕 ‘spoon’ CDC *zhiok⁸ / EC *dawk
CSWW *žiauʔ⁸
CJQ *žiauʔ⁸: Ly zɔʔ⁸ ⩙ tsɔʔ⁷; Jh zoʔ⁸₍f; Pj ʒyo⁸; Dy ʑiəʔ⁸; Yk ʑiɒ⁴; Wy ʑiɑo⁴
CLS *ʑiauʔ⁸: Sc ʑiaʔ⁸; Sy ʑiaʔ⁸; Lq ʑiaʔ⁸; Yh ʒiɑʔ⁸; Pc —; Qy ɕiɑʔ⁸
CSS *ʑiɑʔ⁸

1018 *jiǎo* 腳〔宕開三入藥見 C〕 ‘foot’ CDC *kiok⁷ / EC *kak
CSWW *kiauʔ⁷
CJQ *kiauʔ⁷: Ly tɕiɔʔ⁷; Jh tɕiəʔ⁷; Pj tɕyo⁷; Dy tɕiʉoʔ⁷; Yk kiɒ³; Wy tɕiɑoʔ⁷
CLS *kiauʔ⁷: Sc tɕiaʔ⁷; Sy tɕiaʔ⁷; Lq tɕiaʔ⁷ [文]; Yh tʃiɑʔ⁷; Pc —; Qy tɕiɑʔ⁷
CSS *kiɑʔ⁷

1019 *yào* 藥〔宕開三入藥以 C〕 ‘medicine’ CDC *yok⁸ / EC *yawk
CSWW *ɦiauʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦiauʔ⁸: Ly iɔʔ⁸; Jh iəʔ⁸; Pj yo⁸; Dy iʉoʔ⁸; Yk iɒ⁴; Wy iɑo⁴
CLS *ɦiauʔ⁸: Sc iaʔ⁸; Sy iaʔ⁸; Lq iaʔ⁸; Yh iɑʔ⁸; Pc iau⁷; Qy iɑʔ⁸
CSS *ɦiɑʔ⁸

1020 *guāng* 光〔宕合一平唐見〕 ‘light (n.)’ CDC *kuong¹ / EC *’kwang
CSWW *kuɔŋ¹
CJQ *kuaŋ¹: Ly kuã¹; Jh kuɑŋ¹; Pj kõ¹ [1] ⩙ kuan¹ [2]; Dy kʌ¹; Yk kuaŋ¹; Wy kuaŋ¹
CLS *kɔŋ¹: Sc kɔŋ¹ [1] ⩙ kuaŋ¹ [2]; Sy koŋ¹; Lq kɔŋ¹; Yh kɔ̃¹; Pc kaŋ¹; Qy kɔ̃¹
CSS *kuã¹

1021 *huāng* 荒〔宕合一平唐曉〕 ‘barren’ CDC *xuong¹ / EC *’hwang
CSWW *xuɔŋ¹
CJQ *xuaŋ¹: Ly xuã¹; Jh xuɑŋ¹; Pj xõ¹; Dy xʌ¹; Yk xuaŋ¹; Wy xuaŋ¹
CLS *xɔŋ¹: Sc xɔŋ¹; Sy xoŋ¹; Lq xɔŋ¹; Yh xɔ̃¹; Pc xaŋ¹; Qy xɔ̃¹
CSS *xuã¹

1022 *huāng* 慌〔集韻：宕合一平唐曉〕 ‘panic’ CDC *xuong¹ / EC —
CSWW *xuɔŋ¹
CJQ *xuaŋ¹: Ly xuã¹; Jh xuɑŋ¹; Pj xõ¹; Dy xʌ¹; Yk xuaŋ¹; Wy xuaŋ¹
CLS *xɔŋ¹: Sc xɔŋ¹; Sy xoŋ¹; Lq xɔŋ¹; Yh xɔ̃¹; Pc xaŋ¹; Qy xɔ̃¹
CSS *xuã¹

1023 *huáng* 黃〔宕合一平唐匣〕 ‘yellow’ **CDC** *huong^{2} / **EC** *’gwang

CSWW *ɦuɔŋ^{2}

CJQ *ɦuaŋ^{2}: **Ly** uã^{2}; **Jh** uɑŋ^{2}; **Pj** õ^{2}; **Dy** ʌ^{2}; **Yk** uaŋ^{2}; **Wy** uaŋ^{2}

CLS *ɦɔŋ^{2}: **Sc** ɔŋ^{2}; **Sy** oŋ^{2}; **Lq** ɔŋ^{2}; **Yh** õ^{2} [1] ⩙ uɛ^{2} [2] ～蠕 ‘worm’; **Pc** aŋ^{2}; **Qy** õ^{2} [1] ⩙ uã^{2} [2] ～昏 ‘dusk’

CSS *ɦuã^{2}

1024 *wāng* 汪〔宕合一平唐影〕 ‘Wāng (pn.)’ **CDC** *uong^{1} / **EC** *’|wang

CSWW *ʔuɔŋ^{1}

CJQ *ʔuaŋ^{1}: **Ly** uã^{1}; **Jh** uɑŋ^{1}; **Pj** õ^{3}$_{!t}$; **Dy** ʔuan^{1}$_{!f}$; **Yk** uaŋ^{1}; **Wy** —

CLS *ɔŋ^{1}: **Sc** ɔŋ^{1}; **Sy** oŋ^{1}; **Lq** —; **Yh** õ^{1}; **Pc** aŋ^{1}; **Qy** õ^{1}

CSS *ʔuã^{1}

1025 *guō* 郭〔宕合一入鐸見〕 ‘Guō (pn.)’ **CDC** *kuok^{7} / **EC** *’kwak

CSWW *kuɔuʔ^{7}

CJQ *kuoʔ^{7}: **Ly** kɔʔ^{7}; **Jh** kuəʔ^{7}$_{!f}$; **Pj** ko^{7}; **Dy** kuoʔ^{7}$_{!f}$; **Yk** kuə^{3}; **Wy** kuoʔ^{7}

CLS *kɔuʔ^{7}: **Sc** kɔʔ^{7}; **Sy** koʔ^{7}; **Lq** kɔuʔ^{7}; **Yh** koʔ^{7}; **Pc** kau^{7}; **Qy** koʔ^{7}

CSS ?

1026 *huò* 霍〔宕合一入鐸曉〕 ‘whoosh; in a flash’ **CDC** *xuok^{7} / **EC** *’hwak

CSWW *xuɔuʔ^{7} ～閃 ‘lightning’

CJQ *xuoʔ^{7}: **Ly** xuɔʔ^{7} [2] ⩙ xɔʔ^{7} [1]; **Jh** xoʔ^{7} *!use*; **Pj** xuɑ^{7} ⩙ xo^{7}; **Dy** xuɑʔ^{7} *!use*; **Yk** xuə^{3}; **Wy** xuo^{-53}

CLS *xɔuʔ^{7}: **Sc** xɔʔ^{7}; **Sy** fuəʔ^{7} ⩙ uo^{6}; **Lq** xɔuʔ^{7} *!use*; **Yh** xoʔ^{7}; **Pc** xau^{7} *!use*; **Qy** xoʔ^{7} *!use*

CSS *xuaʔ^{7}

Sy [fuəʔ^{7}] appears to be irregular, but it probably represents a retention of the original medial. Evidently the development of CSWW *xu- > Sy [f-] occurred before the loss of *-u- in the final *-uɔuʔ. *-u- is not recoverable in other environments. Curiously, we do not find a parallel development of CSWW *xuɔŋ in Sy.

1027 *huò* 鑊〔宕合一入鐸匣〕 ‘wok’ **CDC** *huok^{8} / **EC** *’gwak

CSWW *ɦuɔuʔ^{8}

CJQ *ɦuoʔ^{8}: **Ly** uɔʔ^{8}; **Jh** oʔ^{8}; **Pj** o^{8}; **Dy** uɑʔ^{8}; **Yk** uə^{4}; **Wy** uo^{4}

CLS *ɦɔuʔ^{8}: **Sc** ɔʔ^{8}; **Sy** oʔ^{8}; **Lq** ɔuʔ^{8} [文]; **Yh** oʔ^{8}; **Pc** au^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS *ɦuaʔ^{8}

1028 *fāng* 方〔宕合三平陽非 C〕 ‘direction’ **CDC** *fong^{1} / **EC** *pang

CSWW *fɔŋ^{1}

CJQ *faŋ¹: **Ly** fã¹; **Jh** fɑŋ¹; **Pj** fõ¹; **Dy** fʌ¹; **Yk** faŋ¹; **Wy** faŋ¹

CLS *fɔŋ¹: **Sc** fɔŋ¹; **Sy** foŋ¹; **Lq** fɔŋ¹; **Yh** fɔ̃¹; **Pc** faŋ¹; **Qy** fɔ̃¹

CSS #fiã¹ [1] ⪤ #fɒ̃¹ [2]

a. **Kh** fiã¹; **Cs** fiã¹; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** fiã¹

b. **Kh** fã¹; **Cs** fã¹; **Js** fɔ̃¹; **Ys** fɒ̃¹; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ¹

1029 *fàng* 放〔宕合三去漾非 C〕 ‘release’ **CDC** *fong⁵ / **EC** *pangh

CSWW *ɓoŋ⁵ [1] ⪤ *fɔŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *faŋ⁵: **Ly** fã⁵; **Jh** fɑŋ⁵; **Pj** fõ⁵ ⪤ fan⁰; **Dy** fʌ⁵; **Yk** faŋ⁵; **Wy** faŋ⁵

CLS *ɓoŋ⁵ꜜa ⪤ *fɔŋ⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔboŋ⁵ ～屁 ‘fart’

b. **Sc** fɔŋ⁵; **Sy** foŋ⁵; **Lq** fɔŋ⁵; **Yh** fɔ̃⁵; **Pc** faŋ⁵; **Qy** fɔ̃⁵ [2]

CSS *poŋ⁵ [2] ⪤ *fiã⁵ꜜa [1] ⪤ #fɒ̃⁵ [2]

a. **Kh** pəŋ⁵ [1]; **Cs** poŋ⁵ [1]; **Js** poŋ⁵ [1]; **Ys** poŋ⁵ [1]; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** fiã⁵

c. **Kh** fã⁵; **Cs** fã³; **Js** fɔ̃⁵; **Ys** fɒ̃⁵; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ⁵

1030 *fǎng* 紡〔宕合三上養敷 C〕 ‘spin thread’ **CDC** *fong³ / **EC** *phangx

CSWW *pʰoŋ³ꜜa [1] ⪤ *fɔŋ³ [2]

CJQ *faŋ³: **Ly** fã³; **Jh** fɑŋ³; **Pj** fõ³; **Dy** fʌ³; **Yk** faŋ³; **Wy** faŋ³

CLS *fɔŋ³: **Sc** fɔŋ³; **Sy** foŋ³; **Lq** fɔŋ³; **Yh** fɔ̃³; **Pc** faŋ³; **Qy** fɔ̃³

CSS *pʰoŋ³ [2] ⪤ *fiã³ [1] ⪤ #fɒ̃³ [3]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** pʰoŋ³ [1]; **Js** pʰoŋ³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** fiã³ ～紗

c. **Kh** fã³; **Cs** fã⁻⁴² [2] ～紗; **Js** —; **Ys** fɒ̃³; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ³ [2]

1031 *fáng* 房〔宕合三平陽奉 C〕 ‘room’ **CDC** *vong² / **EC** *bang

CSWW *vɔŋ²

CJQ *vaŋ²: **Ly** vã²; **Jh** vɑŋ²; **Pj** võ²; **Dy** vʌ²; **Yk** vaŋ²; **Wy** vaŋ²

CLS *vɔŋ²: **Sc** vɔŋ²; **Sy** foŋ²; **Lq** vɔŋ²; **Yh** vɔ̃²; **Pc** faŋ²; **Qy** fɔ̃²

CSS #viã²ꜜa [1] ⪤ #vɒ²ꜜa [2]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** viã² 大～ ‘first son’s family’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** vã²; **Cs** vã⁻²² ～間 ‘room’ ⪤ uã² [3] 跳～ ‘suicide by jumping’; **Js** fɔ̃²; **Ys** vɒ̃²; **Gf** fɑ̃ɔ²

1032 *fáng* 防〔宕合三平陽奉 C〕 ‘defend’ **CDC** *vong² / **EC** *bang

CSWW *b(ɔŋ,ã)²ꜜa [1] ⪤ *vɔŋ²

CJQ *b(aŋ,ã)²ꜜa ⪤ *vaŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** bʌ² ～備 ‘guard against’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** vã²; **Jh** vɑŋ²; **Pj** võ² [1] ⪤ van² [2]; **Dy** vʌ²; **Yk** vaŋ²; **Wy** vaŋ²

CLS *vɔŋ²: **Sc** vɔŋ²; **Sy** foŋ²; **Lq** vɔŋ²; **Yh** vɔ̃²; **Pc** faŋ²; **Qy** fɔ̃²

CSS *viã²

1033 *wǎng* 網〔宕合三上養微 C〕 ‘net’ **CDC** *ʰmvong⁴ / **EC** *ʰmangx

CSWW *moŋ⁴ [1] ⋋ *məŋ⁴ [2]

CJQ *moŋ⁴ˌˡa ⋋ *maŋ⁴

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** mom⁴ 魚～ ‘fishing net’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** mã⁴; **Jh** mɑŋ³; **Pj** mõ⁴; **Dy** —; **Yk** maŋ⁴; **Wy** maŋ⁴

CLS *məŋ⁴: **Sc** məŋ⁴; **Sy** moŋ⁴; **Lq** məŋ³; **Yh** mɔ̃³; **Pc** maŋ⁴ [白] ⋋ faŋ⁴ [文]; **Qy** miã⁴ˌˡf [1] 魚～ ‘fishing net’ ⋋ mɔ̃⁴ [2] 蜘蛛～ ‘spiderweb’

CSS *moŋ⁴ ⋋ #miã⁴

a. **Kh** məŋ⁶; **Cs** moŋ⁴; **Js** moŋ⁴; **Ys** moŋ⁴ 撒～ ‘cast a net’; **Gf** moŋ⁴ 撒～ ‘cast a net’
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** (mɒ̃⁴ˌˡf) 蟢絲～ ‘spiderweb’; **Gf** miã⁴ 蟢絲～ ‘spider-web’ ⋋ mãɔ⁴ [3]

The irregular medial in Qy [miã⁴] is interesting, but this correspondence unfortunately does not occur again.

1034 *wàng* 望〔宕合三去漾微 C〕 ‘gaze’ **CDC** *mvong⁶ / **EC** *mangh

CSWW *moŋ⁶ˌˡa [1] ⋋ *məŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *moŋ⁶ˌˡa ‘look’ ⋋ *maŋ⁶ ‘look’ ⋋ *vaŋ⁶ [3]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** moŋ⁶; **Pj** —; **Dy** mʊ⁶ˌˡf; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** mõ⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** maŋ⁶ [1]; **Wy** maŋ⁶ [1]
c. **Ly** vã⁶; **Jh** vɑŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** võ⁶ 希～ ‘hope’ ⋋ van⁶; **Dy** (van⁶ˌˡf) [2]; **Yk** vaŋ⁶ 希～ ‘hope’; **Wy** faŋ⁻⁵³ [2] 希～ ‘hope’

CLS *məŋ⁶: **Sc** məŋ⁶ ‘look’; **Sy** moŋ⁶ ‘look’; **Lq** məŋ⁶ ～上 ‘upward’; **Yh** mɔ̃⁶; **Pc** maŋ⁶ ⋋ faŋ⁶; **Qy** mɔ̃⁶

CSS *miã⁶ [1] ⋋ #miã⁴ [2] ⋋ #vɒ̃⁶ [3]

a. **Kh** miã⁶; **Cs** miã⁻²¹²; **Js** miã⁶; **Ys** —; **Gf** miã⁶
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** miã⁴; **Ys** miã⁴ [1]; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** (uã²ˌˡif) [2]; **Cs** vã⁻²² [2] ～遠鏡 ‘telescope’; **Js** fɔ̃⁶ 希～ ‘hope’; **Ys** vɒ̃⁶ [2] 希～ ‘hope’; **Gf** fãɔ⁶ [2]

CSS *vɒ̃ [3] cannot be compared with **CJQ** *vɒŋ⁶ [2]. We would expect **CSS** *viã⁶ if the two derived from a common source.

1035 *kuāng* 眶〔廣韻：宕合三平陽溪 C〕 ‘eye-socket’ **CDC** *khuong¹ ⋋ *khiuong¹ / **EC** *khwang

CSWW *kʰyaŋ¹ [1] ⋋ *kʰuɔŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *kʰuaŋ¹ [1]: **Ly** (guã²ˌˡit); **Jh** kʰuɑŋ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kʰiɔŋ¹ ⩙ *kʰɔŋ¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃʰiõ¹ 眼～; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiõ¹
b. **Sc** kʰuaŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰõ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kʰiõ¹

1036 *kuáng* 狂〔宕合三平陽羣 C〕 'crazy' **CDC** *guong² ⩙ *giuong² / **EC** *gwang
CSWW *gyaŋ² [1] ⩙ *guɔŋ² [2]
CJQ *gyaŋ² ⩙ *guaŋ²
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** gyaŋ² 'emotionally unstable'; **Wy** dzyaŋ²
b. **Ly** guã²; **Jh** guɑŋ²; **Pj** gõ² [1] ⩙ guan² [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** guaŋ²; **Wy** —
CLS *giɔŋ² (?) ⩙ *guɔŋ²
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiõ²
b. **Sc** gɔŋ² [1] ⩙ guaŋ² [2]; **Sy** oŋ²˩i; **Lq** —; **Yh** gõ²; **Pc** kaŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *giõ²

1037 *wáng* 王〔宕合三平陽云 C〕 'king' **CDC** *wong² ⩙ *iuong² / **EC** *wang
CSWW *ɦ(ya,iɔ)ŋ² [1] ⩙ *ɦuɔŋ²
CJQ *ɦuaŋ²: **Ly** uã²; **Jh** uɑŋ²; **Pj** õ²; **Dy** ʌ²; **Yk** uaŋ²; **Wy** uaŋ²
CLS *ɦiɔŋ² ⩙ *ɦɔŋ² [2]
a. **Sc** iɔŋ²; **Sy** ioŋ²; **Lq** iɔŋ²; **Yh** iõ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** iõ²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** aŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *ɦuã² [2]

1038 *fù* 縛〔宕合三入藥奉 C〕 'tie up' **CDC** *vok⁸ / **EC** *bak
CSWW *bɔuʔ⁸ 'tie up'
CJQ *bauʔ⁸: **Ly** bɔʔ⁸; **Jh** boʔ⁸; **Pj** bo⁸; **Dy** bouʔ⁸ 'tie'; **Yk** buə⁴; **Wy** bɔʔ⁸
CLS *bɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** bɔʔ⁸; **Sy** boʔ⁸; **Lq** bɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** boʔ⁸; **Pc** pau⁷ [白] ⩙ fau⁷ [文]; **Qy** poʔ⁸
CSS *biɑʔ⁸

A.13 Jiāngshè 江攝

1039 *bǎng* 綁〔字表：江開二上講幫〕 'tether' **CDC** *pong³ (?) / **EC** —
CSWW *ɓɔŋ³
CJQ *ɓaŋ³: **Ly** pã³; **Jh** pɑŋ³; **Pj** põ³; **Dy** pʌ³; **Yk** ʔmaŋ³; **Wy** ʔmaŋ³
CLS *ɓɔŋ³: **Sc** ʔbɔŋ³; **Sy** ʔboŋ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔbõ³; **Pc** paŋ³; **Qy** ʔbõ³
CSS #piã³: **Kh** piã³ [1] ⩙ pã³ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** piã³; **Ys** (pɒ̃³˩ɾ); **Gf** piã³

1040 *bàng* 棒〔江開二上講並〕 'club' **CDC** *baung⁶ / **EC** —
CSWW *bɔŋ⁴

CJQ *baŋ⁴: **Ly** bã⁴; **Jh** paŋ³ [1] ≍ baŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** bõ⁴ [1] ≍ ban⁴ [2]; **Dy** bʌ⁴; **Yk** baŋ⁴; **Wy** baŋ⁴

CLS *bɔŋ⁴: **Sc** bɔŋ⁴; **Sy** boŋ⁴; **Lq** ʔbɔŋ³; **Yh** bõ⁴; **Pc** —; **Qy** põ⁴

CSS *biɑ̃⁴₍ˌa [1] ≍ #bɒ̃⁴ [2] ～冰 ‘popsicle’: **Kh** —; **Cs** bã⁻²²; **Js** bõ⁴ *!use*; **Ys** bɒ̃⁻²²; **Gf** bɑ̃ɔ²²

1041 *zhuāng* 椿〔江開二平江知〕 ‘stake’ **CDC** *caung¹ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɗiɔŋ¹ [1]

CJQ *tšyaŋ¹₍ˌi [2]: **Ly** tsuã¹; **Jh** tɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyõ¹; **Dy** tsʌ¹; **Yk** tɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiɔŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdiɔŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdioŋ¹; **Lq** ʔdiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdiõ¹; **Pc** (tsaŋ¹₍ˌi); **Qy** ʔdiõ¹

CSS *tiɒ̃¹

1042 *zhuàng* 撞〔廣韻：江開二去絳澄〕 ‘collide’ **CDC** *jaung⁶ / **EC** *drongh

CSWW *dž(ya,iɔ)ŋ⁴₍ˌa [1] ≍ *džyaŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *džyaŋ⁶: **Ly** dzuã⁶; **Jh** dʑyɑŋ⁶; **Pj** dʑyõ⁶; **Dy** dzʌ⁶; **Yk** dʑyaŋ⁶; **Wy** dʑyaŋ⁶

CLS *dʑyɔŋ⁶: **Sc** dʑiɔŋ⁶; **Sy** dʑioŋ⁶; **Lq** dʑiɔŋ⁶; **Yh** dʒiõ⁶; **Pc** tsaŋ⁶; **Qy** tɕiõ⁶

CSS *dʑiɒ̃⁴ ≍ *dʑiɒ̃⁶

1043 *chuāng* 窗〔江開二平江初〕 ‘window’ **CDC** *chaung¹ / **EC** *tshrong

CSWW *tšʰyaŋ¹

CJQ *tšʰyaŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰuã¹; **Jh** tɕʰyɑŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰyan³₍ˌft; **Dy** —; **Yk** tɕʰyaŋ¹; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕʰyɔŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɔŋ¹; **Sy** tsʰioŋ¹; **Lq** tɕʰiɔŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiõ¹; **Pc** tsʰaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiõ¹

CSS *tɕʰiɒ̃¹

1044 *shuāng* 雙〔江開二平江生〕 ‘double’ **CDC** *shaung¹ / **EC** *srong

CSWW *šyaŋ¹

CJQ *šyaŋ¹: **Ly** suã¹; **Jh** ɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** suʌ¹; **Yk** ɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕyaŋ¹

CLS *ɕyɔŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Sy** ɕioŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiõ¹; **Pc** saŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiõ¹

CSS *ɕiɒ̃¹

1045 *jiāng* 江〔江開二平江見〕 ‘the Yangtze; Jiāng (pn.)’ **CDC** *kaung¹ / **EC** *krong

CSWW *kɔŋ¹

CJQ *kaŋ¹: **Ly** kã¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Jh** kɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiɑŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** kõ¹ [1] ≍ tɕian¹ [2]; **Dy** kʌ⁴⁴⁵³; **Yk** kaŋ¹; **Wy** kaŋ¹

CLS *kɔŋ¹: **Sc** kɔŋ¹; **Sy** koŋ¹; **Lq** kɔŋ¹; **Yh** kɔ̃¹; **Pc** kaŋ¹; **Qy** kõ¹

CSS #kɒ̃¹: **Kh** koŋ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Cs** kõ¹ [1] ≍ tɕiã¹ [2]; **Js** kɔ̃¹ [1] ≍ kiã¹ [2]; **Ys** kɒ̃¹; **Gf** kɑ̃ɔ¹

1046 *jiāng* 豇〔廣韻：江開二平江見〕 ‘black-eyed pea’ **CDC** *kaung¹ / **EC** *krong

CSWW *kɔŋ¹

CJQ *kaŋ¹: **Ly** kã¹; **Jh** kɑŋ¹; **Pj** kõ¹; **Dy** kʌ¹; **Yk** kaŋ¹; **Wy** kaŋ¹

CLS *kɔŋ¹: **Sc** kɔŋ¹; **Sy** koŋ¹; **Lq** (kaŋ¹ˌˡf); **Yh** kõ¹; **Pc** (kãi¹ˌˡf); **Qy** kõ⁵ˌˡt

CSS *kɒ̃¹

1047 *jiǎng* 講〔江開二上講見〕 ‘explain; speak’ **CDC** *kaung³ / **EC** *krongx

CSWW *kɔŋ³ ‘speak’

CJQ *kaŋ³: **Ly** kã³; **Jh** kɑŋ³ [1] ⩙ tɕiɑŋ³ [2]; **Pj** kõ³; **Dy** kʌ³; **Yk** kaŋ³; **Wy** kaŋ³

CLS *kɔŋ³: **Sc** kɔŋ³; **Sy** koŋ³; **Lq** kɔŋ³; **Yh** kõ³; **Pc** kaŋ³; **Qy** kõ³

CSS #kɔŋ³: **Kh** koŋ³ [1] ⩙ tɕiã³ [2]; **Cs** kõ³ [1] ⩙ tɕiã⁻⁴² [2]; **Js** (kiã³ˌˡf); **Ys** kɒ̃³; **Gf** kãɔ³

1048 *jiàng* 降〔江開二去絳見〕 ‘descend’ **CDC** *kaung⁵ / **EC** *krongh

CSWW *kɔŋ⁵

CJQ *kaŋ⁵: **Ly** kã⁵; **Jh** kɑŋ⁵ ～神 ‘shaman’ ⩙ tɕiɑŋ⁵; **Pj** (tɕian³); **Dy** kʌ⁵; **Yk** kaŋ⁵ ～□tɔŋ³²⁴ ‘perform a shaman’s dance’; **Wy** kaŋ⁵ ～神 ‘shaman’

CLS *kɔŋ⁵: **Sc** kɔŋ⁵; **Sy** koŋ⁵; **Lq** kɔŋ⁵; **Yh** kõ⁵; **Pc** kaŋ⁵; **Qy** kõ⁵

CSS #kɒ̃⁵: **Kh** koŋ⁵ [1] 下～ ⩙ tɕiã⁵ [2]; **Cs** kõ⁻⁴⁴ [1] ～□doŋ³⁴¹ ‘perform a shaman’s dance’ ⩙ tɕiã³ [2]; **Js** kõ⁵ [1] ～□doŋ³¹³ ‘perform a shaman’s dance’; **Ys** kɒ̃⁵ ～落; **Gf** kãɔ⁵ ～落

1049 *jiàng* 虹〔江開二去絳見〕 ‘rainbow’ **CDC** *kaung⁵ / **EC** *krongh

CSWW *kɔŋ⁵ˌˡa

CJQ —

CLS *kɔŋ⁵ˌˡa (?): **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kaŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *kɒ̃⁵

1050 *qiāng* 腔〔江開二平江溪〕 ‘accent’ **CDC** *khaung¹ / **EC** *khrong

CSWW *kʰiaŋ¹

CJQ *kʰiaŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiã¹; **Jh** tɕʰiɑŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰyõ¹ [1] ⩙ tɕʰian¹ [2]; **Dy** tɕʰiʌ¹ [1] ⩙ tɕʰian¹ [2]; **Yk** kʰiaŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰiaŋ¹

CLS *kʰiaŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiaŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰiaŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiã¹; **Pc** kʰiaŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰiã¹

CSS *kʰiã¹

1051 *xiáng* 降〔江開二平江匣〕 ‘surrender’ **CDC** *haung² / **EC** *grong

CSWW *ɦɔŋ²

CJQ *ɦaŋ²: **Ly** (dʑiã²ˌˡif); **Jh** ɑŋ² [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** (iʌ²ˌˡf); **Yk** aŋ²; **Wy** aŋ²

CLS *ɦɔŋ²: **Sc** ɔŋ⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɔŋ²; **Yh** ɔ̃²; **Pc** (xiaŋ²ˌˡf); **Qy** xõ²

CSS #ɦɒ̃²: **Kh** (ʑiã²ˌˡif); **Cs** (tɕiã³ˌˡift); **Js** ɔ̃²; **Ys** ɦɒ̃²; **Gf** xãɔ²

1052 *bō* 剝〔江開二入覺幫〕 ‘peel (v.)’ **CDC** *pauk⁷ / **EC** *prok

CSWW *ɓɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *ɓauʔ⁷: **Ly** pɔʔ⁷; **Jh** poʔ⁷; **Pj** po⁷; **Dy** pouʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbuə³; **Wy** pɔʔ⁷

CLS *ɓɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔboʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbuʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔboʔ⁷; **Pc** pau⁷; **Qy** ʔboʔ⁷

CSS *piɑʔ⁷

1053 *báo* 雹〔江開二入覺並〕 ‘hail’ **CDC** *bauk⁸ / **EC** *bruk

CSWW *bɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *bauʔ⁸: **Ly** bɔ⁶; **Jh** boʔ⁸; **Pj** bo⁸; **Dy** bouʔ⁸; **Yk** buə⁴; **Wy** buo⁴

CLS *bɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** bɔʔ⁸; **Sy** bəʔ⁸₍ˌf₎; **Lq** bɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** boʔ⁸; **Pc** pau⁷; **Qy** poʔ⁸

CSS *biɑʔ⁸

1054 *zhuō* 桌〔廣韻：江開二入覺知〕 ‘table’ **CDC** *cauk⁷ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɗyauʔ⁷ (?) [1] ⩙ *tšyauʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *ɗyauʔ⁷₍ˌa₎ (?) ⩙ *tšyauʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** luoʔ⁷

b. **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ tsuɔʔ⁷ [2]; **Jh** tɕyɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕyo⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tsuə³ [1]; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiɔuʔ⁷ (?) ⩙ *tɕyɔuʔ⁷₍ˌa₎ (?)

a. **Sc** ʔdiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdioʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdioʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsau⁷; **Qy** —

CSS *tiɒʔ⁷ ⩙ #tɕiɒʔ⁷

a. **Kh** tiɔʔ⁷; **Cs** tiʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** tiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tɕiɔʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕiɒʔ⁷₍ˌf₎; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsuɐʔ⁷

1055 *chuō* 戳（戳）〔廣韻：江開二入覺徹〕 ‘poke’ **CDC** *chauk⁷ / **EC** *thrawk

CSWW *tšʰyauʔ⁷

CJQ *tšʰyauʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰyɤ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕʰioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tɕʰyo⁷; **Dy** tsʰouʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰuə³; **Wy** tsʰuoʔ⁷

CLS *tɕʰyɔuʔ⁷ (?): **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰioʔ⁷; **Pc** (tsʰuo⁷₍ˌf₎); **Qy** tɕʰioʔ⁷

CSS *tɕʰiɒʔ⁷

1056 *zhuó* 鐲（鋜）〔江開二入覺崇〕 ‘bracelet’ **CDC** *jok⁸ / **EC** *dzrok

CSWW *džyauʔ⁸

CJQ *džyauʔ⁸: **Ly** dzɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑioʔ⁸₍ˌf₎; **Pj** dʒyo⁸; **Dy** dʑiouʔ⁸; **Yk** dzuə⁴; **Wy** dzuo⁴

CLS *dʑyɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** dʑiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑioʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒioʔ⁸; **Pc** sau⁷; **Qy** tɕioʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiɒʔ⁸

1057 *jiǎo* 角〔江開二入覺見〕 ‘horn’ **CDC** *kauk⁷ / **EC** *krok

CSWW *kɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *kauʔ⁷: **Ly** kɔʔ⁷; **Jh** koʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tɕioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** ko⁷ [1] ≍ tɕyo⁷ [2]; **Dy** kuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kɒ³; **Wy** kɑoʔ⁷

CLS *kɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** kɔʔ⁷; **Sy** koʔ⁷; **Lq** kɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** koʔ⁷; **Pc** kau⁷; **Qy** koʔ⁷

CSS *kɒʔ⁷

1058 *ké, qiǎo, què* 殼〔江開二入覺溪〕 ‘shell’ **CDC** *khauk⁷ / **EC** *khrok

CSWW *kʰɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰauʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** kʰoʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tɕʰioʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** kʰo⁷; **Dy** kʰuoʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰɒ³; **Wy** kʰɑoʔ⁷

CLS *kʰɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰɔʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰɔʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰau⁷; **Qy** kʰuʔ⁷ˌf

CSS *kʰɒʔ⁷

1059 *xué* 學〔江開二入覺匣〕 ‘study’ **CDC** *hauk⁸ / **EC** *gruk

CSWW *ɦɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦauʔ⁸: **Ly** uɔʔ⁸ [1] ≍ ʑiɔʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** oʔ⁸ [1] ≍ iəʔ⁸ [2] ≍ ʑyəʔ⁸ [3]; **Pj** o⁸ [1] ≍ yo⁸ [2]; **Dy** uoʔ⁸; **Yk** ɒ⁴; **Wy** ɑo⁴

CLS *ɦɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** ɔʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɔʔ⁸; **Yh** oʔ⁸; **Pc** xau⁷; **Qy** xoʔ⁸

CSS *ɦɒʔ⁸

A.14 Zēngshè 曾攝

1060 *péng* 朋〔曾開一平登並〕 ‘friend’ **CDC** *beng² / **EC** *ʾbing

CSWW —

CJQ *beŋ²: **Ly** bəŋ²; **Jh** bəŋ² [1] ≍ boŋ² [2]; **Pj** bən²; **Dy** bən²; **Yk** bieiŋ²; **Wy** ben²

CLS *bæŋ²: **Sc** bɔŋ²ˌf; **Sy** pæ̃²; **Lq** bɛ²; **Yh** bɛ²; **Pc** pãi²; **Qy** pã²

CSS *boŋ²

No CSWW form can be set up for this set.

1061 *dēng* 燈〔曾開一平登端〕 ‘lamp’ **CDC** *teng¹ / **EC** *ʾting

CSWW *ɗiŋ¹ [1] ≍ *ɗeŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗeŋ¹ (?): **Ly** təŋ¹; **Jh** təŋ¹; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** tən¹; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ¹; **Wy** nen¹

CLS *ɗiŋ¹ ≍ *ɗeŋ¹

a. **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdæ̃¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdɛ¹; **Pc** leŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdã¹

CSS *tiŋ¹ ≍ #tə̃¹ˌa (?)

a. **Kh** tiŋ¹; **Cs** tɪŋ¹; **Js** tiŋ¹; **Ys** tɪŋ¹; **Gf** teiŋ¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tæ̃¹; **Gf** —

Cf. **Qt** [ʔdiŋ¹]; **Jy** [nen¹]

1062 *děng* 等〔曾開一上等端〕 ‘level; wait’ **CDC** *teng³ / **EC** *’tingx

CSWW *ɗiŋ³ˌˡa [1] ⪤ *ɗeŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ɗeŋ³: **Ly** təŋ³; **Jh** təŋ³; **Pj** tən³; **Dy** tən³; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ³; **Wy** ʔnen³

CLS *ɗeŋ³: **Sc** ʔdə̃³; **Sy** ʔdæ̃³; **Lq** ʔdɛ³; **Yh** ʔdɛ³; **Pc** leŋ³; **Qy** ʔdã³

CSS #tiŋ³ˌˡa ⪤ *tə̃³

a. **Kh** tiŋ³ ⪤ təŋ³ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɅ̃³ ⪤ toŋ³; **Js** tæ̃³; **Ys** tæ̃³; **Gf** tæ̃³

1063 *dèng* 凳〔廣韻：曾開一去嶝端〕 ‘stool’ **CDC** *teng⁵ / **EC** *’tingh

CSWW *ɗiŋ⁵ [1] ⪤ *ɗeŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɗeŋ⁵: **Ly** təŋ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** tən⁵; **Dy** tən⁵; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ⁵; **Wy** ʔnen⁵

CLS *ɗiŋ⁵ ⪤ *ɗeŋ⁵

a. **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiŋ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** {leŋ⁵}; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdæ̃⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdɛ⁵; **Pc** {leŋ⁵}; **Qy** ʔdã⁵

CSS *tiŋ⁵

1064 *téng* 藤〔曾開一平登定〕 ‘vine’ **CDC** *deng² / **EC** *’ding

CSWW *diŋ² [1] ⪤ *deŋ² [2] ⪤ *dəŋ² (?) [3]

CJQ *diŋ² ⪤ *deŋ² (?)

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** din²; **Dy** —; **Yk** {dieiŋ²}; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** dəŋ²; **Jh** dəŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** dən²; **Yk** {dieiŋ²}; **Wy** den²

CLS *deŋ² [1] ⪤ *dəŋ² [2]

a. **Sc** də̃²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dɛ²; **Pc** teŋ²; **Qy** tã²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dɛiŋ²; **Yh** dəŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *diŋ² ⪤ #də̃²ˌˡa (?) ⪤ #dɨŋ²ˌˡa (?)

a. **Kh** diŋ²; **Cs** dɪŋ²; **Js** diŋ²; **Ys** dɪŋ²; **Gf** deiŋ²

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** dæ̃²; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** dəŋ² [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

Cf. **Qt** [diŋ²]; **Jy** [den²]

1065 *dèng* 鄧〔曾開一去嶝定〕 ‘Dèng (pn.)’ **CDC** *deng⁶ / **EC** *’dingh

CSWW *deŋ⁶ [1] ⪤ *d(u)əŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *dəŋ⁶: **Ly** dəŋ⁶; **Jh** dəŋ⁶; **Pj** dən²ˌˡt; **Dy** dən⁶; **Yk** dəŋ⁶; **Wy** den⁶

CLS *deŋ⁶: **Sc** də̃⁴; **Sy** dæ̃⁶; **Lq** dɛ⁶; **Yh** dɛ⁶; **Pc** teŋ⁶; **Qy** tã⁶

CSS #də̃⁶ ⪤ #dɨŋ⁶

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** dæ̃²; **Ys** dæ̃⁶; **Gf** dæ̃⁶

b. **Kh** dəŋ⁶ˌˡf; **Cs** doŋ²ˌˡf; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1066 *néng* 能〔曾開一平登泥〕 ‘be able’ **CDC** *neng² / **EC** *’ning ⪤ *’ni

CSWW *neŋ²

CJQ *neŋ²: **Ly** nəŋ²; **Jh** nəŋ²; **Pj** nən²; **Dy** nən²; **Yk** nieiŋ²; **Wy** nen²
CLS *neŋ²: **Sc** nã²; **Sy** næ̃²; **Lq** nɛ²; **Yh** nɛ²; **Pc** neŋ²; **Qy** nã²
CSS #nã²: **Kh** (nəŋ²₍!f₎); **Cs** (noŋ²₍!f₎); **Js** næ̃²; **Ys** næ̃²; **Gf** næ̃²
Cf. **Qt** [ɲiŋ²]

1067 *céng* 層〔曾開一平登從〕 ‘layer’ **CDC** *dzeng² / **EC** *’dzing
CSWW *zeŋ²
CJQ *zeŋ²: **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** zəŋ² [1] ≍ dzəŋ² [2]; **Pj** dzən²₍!i₎; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** ʑieiŋ²; **Wy** zen²
CLS *zeŋ²: **Sc** zã²; **Sy** sæ̃²; **Lq** zɛ²; **Yh** zɛ²; **Pc** tseŋ²; **Qy** sã²
CSS *zã²
Cf. **Qt** [iŋ²]; **Jy** [zen²]

1068 *kěn* 肯〔曾開一上等溪〕 ‘willing’ **CDC** *kheng³ ≍ *khen³ / **EC** *’khingx
CSWW *kʰeŋ³ [1] ≍ *kʰəŋ³ [2]
CJQ *kʰəŋ³: **Ly** kʰəŋ³; **Jh** kʰəŋ³; **Pj** kʰən³; **Dy** kʰən³; **Yk** kʰəŋ³; **Wy** kʰen³
CLS *kʰeŋ³ ≍ *kʰəŋ³₍!a₎
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** kʰæ̃³; **Lq** kʰɛ³; **Yh** kʰɛ³; **Pc** {kʰeŋ³}; **Qy** kʰã³
b. **Sc** kʰəŋ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {kʰeŋ³}; **Qy** —
CSS #kʰə̃³ ≍ #kʰɨŋ³
a. **Kh** kʰɛ̃³; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰæ̃³; **Gf** kʰæ̃³
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** kʰoŋ³; **Js** kʰəŋ³; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
Cf. **Qt** [kʰiŋ³]; **Jy** [tɕʰien³]

1069 *běi* 北〔曾開一入德幫〕 ‘north’ **CDC** *pek⁷ / **EC** *’pik
CSWW *ɓəiʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓəiʔ⁷: **Ly** pəʔ⁷; **Jh** pəʔ⁷; **Pj** pə⁷; **Dy** peiʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷
CLS *ɓeʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbɔʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Pc** pe⁷; **Qy** ʔbɤʔ⁷
CSS *poʔ⁷

1070 *mò* 墨〔曾開一入德明〕 ‘ink’ **CDC** *mek⁸ / **EC** *’mik
CSWW *məiʔ⁸
CJQ *məiʔ⁸: **Ly** məʔ⁸; **Jh** məʔ⁸; **Pj** mə⁸; **Dy** meiʔ⁸; **Yk** mə⁴; **Wy** məʔ⁸
CLS *meʔ⁸: **Sc** məʔ⁸ ≍ meʔ⁸; **Sy** mɛʔ⁸; **Lq** miʔ⁸₍!f₎; **Yh** maʔ⁸; **Pc** me⁷; **Qy** mɤʔ⁸
CSS *moʔ⁸

1071 *dé* 得〔曾開一入德端〕 ‘get; resultative ptcl.’ **CDC** *tek⁷ / **EC** *’tik
CSWW *ɗiʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *ɗəiʔ⁷ [2]
CJQ *ɗəiʔ⁷: **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** təʔ⁷; **Pj** (tɛ⁷) ≍ tə⁷; **Dy** teiʔ⁷ [1] ≍ tɜʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ʔdəi³ [1];

Wy ləʔ⁷

CLS *ɗiʔ⁷ ⩙ *ɗeʔ⁷

a. **Sc** ʔdiɪʔ⁷ ⩙ deʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiʔ⁰ ⩙ iʔ⁰; **Yh** ʔdiʔ⁷ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiʔ⁷ [2]

b. **Sc** ʔdeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdəʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔdɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdaʔ⁷ [1]; **Pc** leʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔdɤʔ⁷ [1]

CSS #tiʔ⁷ ⩙ #təʔ⁷

a. **Kh** tieʔ⁷; **Cs** teʔ⁷ [2]; **Js** tiɛʔ⁷ [2]; **Ys** teʔ⁷ [2]; **Gf** teʔ⁷ [2]

b. **Kh** tʌʔ⁷ [2]; **Cs** tʌʔ⁷ [1]; **Js** təʔ⁷ [1]; **Ys** tɐʔ⁷ [1]; **Gf** tɐʔ⁷ [1]

It is unclear whether **CSWW** *ɗîʔ⁷ originated regularly from an archaic variant or if it arose as a weak grammaticalized variant of *ɗəiʔ⁷.

1072 *dé* 德〔曾開一入德端〕 ‘internal power’ **CDC** *tek⁷ / **EC** *’tik

CSWW *ɗəiʔ⁷

CJQ *ɗəiʔ⁷: **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** təʔ⁷; **Pj** —; **Dy** teiʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔdəi³; **Wy** ləʔ⁷

CLS *ɗeʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔdeʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdɛʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔdɛʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdaʔ⁷; **Pc** leʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔdɤʔ⁷

CSS *təʔ⁷

1073 *tè* 忒〔曾開一入德透〕 ‘be set apart; especially (cf. tè ×特)’ **CDC** *thek⁷ / **EC** *’thik

CSWW *tʰɔʔ⁷ [1] ‘too’ ⩙ *tʰəiʔ⁷ [2] ‘too’

CJQ *tʰəiʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰəʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ tʰiəʔ⁷ [1]; **Jh** tʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tʰəˀ⁷; **Dy** tʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tʰəi³; **Wy** tʰəʔ⁷

CLS *tʰaʔ⁷ ⩙ *tʰeʔ⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** tʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tʰɤʔ⁷

CSS *tʰɔʔ⁷ ⩙ #tʰəʔ⁷

a. **Kh** tʰɔʔ⁷; **Cs** {tʰʌʔ⁷}; **Js** tʰɒʔ⁷; **Ys** {tʰɐʔ⁷}; **Gf** {tʰɐʔ⁷}

b. **Kh** tʰʌʔ⁷; **Cs** {tʰʌʔ⁷}; **Js** —; **Ys** {tʰɐʔ⁷}; **Gf** {tʰɐʔ⁷}

1074 *tè* 特〔曾開一入德定〕 ‘singular, singularly’ **CDC** *dek⁸ / **EC** *’dik

CSWW *dəiʔ⁸

CJQ *dəiʔ⁸: **Ly** dəʔ⁸; **Jh** dəʔ⁸; **Pj** dəˀ⁸ˌfˌ; **Dy** deiʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ dɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** dəi⁴; **Wy** dəʔ⁸

CLS *deʔ⁸: **Sc** deʔ⁸; **Sy** dəʔ⁸; **Lq** dɛʔ⁸; **Yh** daʔ⁸; **Pc** teʔ⁷; **Qy** tɤʔ⁸

CSS #dəʔ⁸: **Kh** dʌʔ⁸; **Cs** dʌʔ⁸; **Js** dəʔ⁸; **Ys** dɐʔ⁸; **Gf** dɐʔ⁸

1075 *zéi* 賊〔曾開一入德從〕 ‘bandit’ **CDC** *dzek⁸ / **EC** *’dzik

CSWW *zəiʔ⁸

CJQ *zəiʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** zəʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ dzəʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** zəˀ⁸ˌfˌ; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ dzɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸

CLS *zeʔ⁸: **Sc** zeʔ⁸; **Sy** zɛʔ⁸; **Lq** zɛʔ⁸; **Yh** zaʔ⁸; **Pc** tsʰeˀ⁷ˌiˌ; **Qy** sɤʔ⁸

CSS *zəʔ⁸

1076 *sè* 塞〔曾開一入德心〕 ‘plug (v.); plug (n.)’ **CDC** *sek⁷ / **EC** *’sik

CSWW *tsʰəiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *səiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *tsʰəiʔ⁷ ⩙ *səiʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsəi³⁻⁵⁴₍ₗᵢ [兒]; **Wy** tsʰəʔ⁷

b. **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** səʔ⁷; **Pj** sɛ⁷ [1] ⩙ sa⁷ [2]; **Dy** seiʔ⁷; **Yk** səi³; **Wy** —

CLS *tsʰeʔ⁷ ⩙ *seʔ⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tʰɛʔ⁷₍ₗᵢ; **Yh** tsʰeiʔ⁷₍ₗf; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** seʔ⁷; **Sy** sɛʔ⁷; **Lq** sɛʔ⁷; **Yh** saʔ⁷; **Pc** se⁷; **Qy** sɤʔ⁷

CSS #səʔ⁷: **Kh** sʌʔ⁷; **Cs** sɛʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ saʔ⁷ [2]; **Js** (saʔ⁷₍ₗf); **Ys** sɐʔ⁷; **Gf** sɐʔ⁷

1077 *kè* 刻〔曾開一入德溪〕 ‘carve’ **CDC** *khek⁷ / **EC** *’khik

CSWW *kʰəiʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰəiʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰə⁷; **Dy** kʰeiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ kʰɜʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** kʰəi³; **Wy** kʰəʔ⁷

CLS *kʰeʔ⁷: **Sc** kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰɛʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰe⁷; **Qy** kʰɤʔ⁷

CSS *kʰəʔ⁷

1078 *hēi* 黑〔曾開一入德曉〕 ‘black’ **CDC** *xek⁷ / **EC** *’hik

CSWW *xəiʔ⁷

CJQ *xəiʔ⁷: **Ly** xəʔ⁷; **Jh** xəʔ⁷; **Pj** xə⁷; **Dy** xeiʔ⁷; **Yk** xəi³; **Wy** xəʔ⁷

CLS *xeʔ⁷: **Sc** xeʔ⁷; **Sy** xɛʔ⁷; **Lq** xɛʔ⁷; **Yh** xɛʔ⁷₍ₗf; **Pc** xe⁷ ⩙ xe¹; **Qy** xɤʔ⁷

CSS *xəʔ⁷

It should be noted that the popular word for ‘black’ in Southwestern Wú is *ʔuə¹ 烏. The current set probably represents a literary or bound form.

1079 *bīng* 冰〔曾開三平蒸幫 B〕 ‘ice’ **CDC** *ping¹ / **EC** *ping

CSWW *ɓæŋ¹₍ₗa (?) [1] ⩙ *ɓiŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ɓiŋ¹: **Ly** piŋ¹; **Jh** piŋ¹; **Pj** pin¹; **Dy** pən¹ [1] ⩙ pien¹ [2]; **Yk** ʔmieiŋ¹; **Wy** min¹

CLS *ɓiŋ¹: **Sc** ʔbiŋ¹; **Sy** ʔbin¹; **Lq** ʔbiŋ¹; **Yh** ʔbiŋ¹; **Pc** peŋ¹; **Qy** ʔbɪŋ¹

CSS *pæ̃¹ ⩙ *piŋ¹

1080 *zèng* 甑〔曾開三去證精 C〕 ‘steamer’ **CDC** *tsing⁵ / **EC** *tsingh

CSWW *ts(æ,e)ŋ⁵₍ₗa (?) [1] ⩙ *tšiŋ⁵

CJQ *tšiŋ⁵: **Ly** tsəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsin¹₍ₗt; **Dy** tsən⁵; **Yk** tɕieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕin⁵

CLS *ts(æ,e)ŋ⁵₍ₗa (?) ⩙ *tɕiŋ⁵ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsã⁵

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** tseŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕiŋ⁵

1081 *zhēng* 蒸〔曾開三平蒸章 C〕 ‘steam (v.)’ **CDC** *cing¹ / **EC** *ting

CSWW *ts(æ,e)ŋ¹˺ₐ (?) [1] ⩙ *tšiŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *tšiŋ¹: **Ly** tsəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tsin¹; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** tɕieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹

CLS *ts(æ,e)ŋ¹˺ₐ (?) ⩙ *tɕiŋ¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tsɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tɕiiŋ¹; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tɕiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** tseŋ¹; **Qy** tɕieŋ¹

CSS *tɕiŋ¹

1082 *chēng* 秤〔廣韻：曾開三去證昌 C〕 ‘steelyard’ **CDC** *ching⁵ / **EC** *thingh

CSWW *tšʰiŋ⁵

CJQ *tšʰiŋ⁵: **Ly** tsʰəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsʰin⁵; **Dy** tsʰən⁵; **Yk** tɕʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕʰin⁵

CLS *tɕʰiŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰiiŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰin⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ⁵

CSS *tɕʰiŋ⁵

1083 *chéng* 塍〔曾開三平蒸船 C〕 ‘field-dyke’ **CDC** *jing² / **EC** *ðing

CSWW *žiŋ²

CJQ *žiŋ²: **Ly** zəŋ²; **Jh** ʑiŋ²; **Pj** zin²; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** —; **Wy** ʑin²

CLS *ʑiŋ²: **Sc** ʑiiŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʑiŋ²; **Yh** ʒiŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕieŋ²

CSS #ʑiŋ²: **Kh** ʑiŋ²; **Cs** zuiŋ²; **Js** ɕiŋ²; **Ys** sɪŋ⁻⁵² 田～; **Gf** seiŋ²

1084 *shēng* 升〔曾開三平蒸書 C〕 ‘liter’ **CDC** *shing¹ / **EC** *θing

CSWW *šiŋ¹

CJQ *šiŋ¹: **Ly** səŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** sin¹; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** ɕieiŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin⁻⁵³ 一～

CLS *ɕiŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiiŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕieŋ¹

CSS #ɕiŋ¹: **Kh** ɕiŋ¹; **Cs** sɪŋ¹; **Js** ɕiŋ¹; **Ys** sɪŋ¹; **Gf** seiŋ¹

1085 *xīng* 興〔曾開三平蒸曉 C〕 ‘rise’ **CDC** *xing¹ / **EC** *hing

CSWW *xiŋ¹

CJQ *xiŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** ʃin¹; **Dy** xən¹; **Yk** xieiŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹

CLS *xiŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiiŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiŋ¹; **Pc** xieŋ¹; **Qy** ɕieŋ¹

CSS #xiŋ¹

1086 *xìng* 興〔曾開三去證曉 C〕 ‘elated’ **CDC** *xing⁵ / **EC** *hingh

CSWW *xiŋ⁵ *F* ‘flourishing’

CJQ *xiŋ⁵ ‘bustling’: **Ly** ɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** ɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** ʃin⁵; **Dy** xən⁵; **Yk** xieiŋ⁵; **Wy** ɕin⁵

CLS *xiŋ⁵ 高～ ‘glad’: **Sc** ɕiiŋ⁵; **Sy** ɕin⁵; **Lq** ɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** ʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕieŋ⁵

CSS *xiŋ⁵

1087 *yīng* 應〔曾開三平蒸影 C〕 ‘should’ **CDC** *ing¹ / **EC** *ing

CSWW *ʔiŋ¹

CJQ *ʔiŋ¹: **Ly** iŋ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** in¹; **Dy** ʔən¹ [l]; **Yk** ieiŋ¹; **Wy** —
CLS *iŋ¹: **Sc** iɪŋ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** iŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS #ʔiŋ¹: **Kh** iŋ¹; **Cs** ɪŋ¹; **Js** iŋ⁻⁴⁴ ～該 ‘should’; **Ys** ɪŋ¹; **Gf** —

1088 *yīng* 鷹〔曾開三平蒸影 C〕 ‘eagle’ **CDC** *ing¹ / **EC** *ing
CSWW *ʔiŋ¹
CJQ *ʔiŋ¹: **Ly** iŋ¹; **Jh** iŋ¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʔən¹; **Yk** ieiŋ¹; **Wy** in¹
CLS *iŋ¹: **Sc** iɪŋ¹; **Sy** in¹; **Lq** iŋ¹; **Yh** iŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** ieŋ¹
CSS #ʔiŋ¹: **Kh** iŋ¹; **Cs** ɪŋ¹; **Js** iŋ¹; **Ys** ɪŋ¹; **Gf** iŋ¹

1089 *yìng* 應〔曾開三去證影 C〕 ‘agree to’ **CDC** *ing⁵ / **EC** *ingh
CSWW *ʔiŋ⁵
CJQ *ʔiŋ⁵: **Ly** iŋ⁵; **Jh** iŋ⁵; **Pj** in⁵; **Dy** ʔən¹ˌt ⩙ ʔien⁵ [2]; **Yk** ieiŋ⁵; **Wy** in⁵
CLS *iŋ⁵: **Sc** iɪŋ⁵; **Sy** in⁵; **Lq** iŋ⁵; **Yh** iŋ⁵; **Pc** ieŋ⁵; **Qy** ieŋ⁵
CSS #ʔiŋ⁵: **Kh** iŋ⁵; **Cs** ɪŋ⁵; **Js** iŋ⁵; **Ys** ɪŋ⁵; **Gf** iŋ⁵

1090 *yíng* 蠅〔曾開三平蒸以 C〕 ‘fly (n.)’ **CDC** *ing² / **EC** *ying
CSWW *(s,š)iŋ¹ [1]
CJQ *xiŋ¹ˌli ⩙ *ɦiəŋ² (?) [2]
a. **Ly** ɕiŋ¹ [2]; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃin⁻³³⁴ 蒼～; **Dy** xən¹ [1]; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** iŋ¹ˌlt [1]; **Jh** n̥iŋ²ˌli [1] ⩙ iŋ² [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʔien¹ˌlit; **Yk** ɲieiŋ²ˌli; **Wy** n̥in⁻⁵³ 蒼～
CLS *ɕiŋ⁵ˌlt ⩙ *ɦi(ə)ŋ² (?) [2]
a. **Sc** ɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** ɕin⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** seŋ²ˌlt; **Qy** ɕieŋ⁵
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** (yŋ²ˌlf); **Yh** iŋ²; **Pc** ieŋ²; **Qy** —
CSS *ɕiẽ¹ˌlf
The irregular initial in CJQ *xiŋ¹ might be due to assimilation. This syllable occurs in a compound with CJQ *tsʰaŋ¹ 蒼 ‘glaucous’. The second variants in CJQ and CLS exhibit a number of irregularities that suggest these forms might have entered the dialects after the breakup of the common stages. I have not projected them back to CSWW.

1091 *bī* 逼〔曾開三入職幫 B〕 ‘force’ **CDC** *pik⁷ / **EC** *pik
CSWW *ɓiʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓiʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** pɛ⁷; **Dy** peiʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷
CLS *ɓiʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** piʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔbiʔ⁷
CSS #piʔ⁷: **Kh** pieʔ⁷; **Cs** peʔ⁷; **Js** piɛʔ⁷; **Ys** peʔ⁷; **Gf** peʔ⁷

1092 *lì* 力〔曾開三入職來 C〕 ‘strength’ **CDC** *lik⁸ / **EC** *lik
CSWW *liʔ⁸
CJQ *liʔ⁸: **Ly** liəʔ⁸; **Jh** liəʔ⁸; **Pj** lɛ⁸; **Dy** leiʔ⁸; **Yk** ləi⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸

CLS *liʔ⁸: **Sc** liɪʔ⁸; **Sy** liʔ⁸; **Lq** liʔ⁸; **Yh** liʔ⁸; **Pc** li⁷; **Qy** liʔ⁸

CSS *liʔ⁸

1093 *jì* 鯽〔廣韻：曾開三入職精 C〕 ‘golden carp’ **CDC** *tsik⁷ / **EC** *tsik

CSWW *tsiŋ[ʔ] [1] ～魚 ⋌ *tsiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *tsiŋ[ʔ] ⋌ *tsiʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsən³ ～魚兒; **Yk** tsəŋ⁻¹¹₍f ～魚兒; **Wy** tɕin⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～□ȵie⁴⁴⁵

b. **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɛ⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** tsɳʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** tse⁷₍f [白]; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiẽ[ʔ]₍f ⋌ #tɕiʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsɪŋ⁻⁴²; **Js** tɕiɛ̃⁴³; **Ys** dzɪŋ⁻²²; **Gf** tseiŋ⁻⁴²

b. **Kh** tɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** tseʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tseʔ⁷

The variation in this set was caused by rebracketing of the velar nasal initial of CSWW *ŋə² 魚 ‘fish’ in compound. It was not caused by lexical layering.

1094 *xī* 息〔曾開三入職心 C〕 ‘exhale’ **CDC** *sik⁷ / **EC** *sik

CSWW *siʔ⁷

CJQ *siʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷; **Pj** sɛ⁷ [1] ⋌ ʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷₍f; **Yk** səi³; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *ɕiʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁷

CSS #ɕiʔ⁷: **Kh** ɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** seʔ⁷; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** seʔ⁷; **Gf** seʔ⁷

1095 *zhí* 直〔曾開三入職澄 C〕 ‘straight’ **CDC** *jik⁸ / **EC** *drik

CSWW *d(iʔ,iək)⁸₍a [1] ⋌ *džiʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *džiʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** dzɛ⁸; **Dy** dzeiʔ⁸; **Yk** dzəi⁴; **Wy** dʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *dʑiʔ⁸: **Sc** —; **Sy** dʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** dzɳʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** tɕi⁷; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁸

CSS *diʔ⁸ ⋌ *dʑiʔ⁸

1096 *zhí* 值（直）〔曾開三入職澄 C〕 ‘be worth’ **CDC** *jik⁸ / **EC** *drik

CSWW *dzæʔ⁸₍a (?) [1] ⋌ *džiʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *džiʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** dzɛ⁸; **Dy** dzeiʔ⁸; **Yk** dzəi⁴; **Wy** dʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *dʑiʔ⁸: **Sc** dʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** dzɳʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁸

CSS #dzæʔ⁸ ⋌ #dʑiʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** dzɛʔ⁸; **Js** dzaʔ⁸; **Ys** dzʌʔ⁸; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** dʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** dzeʔ⁸; **Gf** dzeʔ⁸

1097 *cè* 側〔曾開三入職莊 C〕 ‘side’ **CDC** *cek⁷ / **EC** *tsrik

CSWW *tšəiʔ⁷

CJQ *tšəiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɛ⁷; **Dy** tseiʔ⁷; **Yk** tsəi³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷ ⩙ tsəʔ⁷ [2]
b. **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *tseʔ⁷: **Sc** tseʔ⁷; **Sy** tsɛʔ⁷; **Lq** tsɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tsaʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ tsʰaʔ⁷ [2]; **Pc** (tsʰai⁷ˌ!f); **Qy** (tsʰɤʔ⁷ˌi)

CSS *tsæʔ⁷

1098 *sè* 色〔曾開三入職生 C〕 ‘color’ **CDC** *shek⁷ / **EC** *srik

CSWW *šəiʔ⁷

CJQ *šəiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *səʔ⁷ (?) [2]
a. **Ly** {səʔ⁷}; **Jh** {səʔ⁷}; **Pj** —; **Dy** seiʔ⁷; **Yk** səi³; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** {səʔ⁷}; **Jh** {səʔ⁷}; **Pj** sə⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** səʔ⁷

CLS *seʔ⁷: **Sc** (səɯʔ⁷ˌ!f); **Sy** sɛʔ⁷; **Lq** (sɿʔ⁷ˌ!f); **Yh** saʔ⁷; **Pc** se⁷; **Qy** sɤʔ⁷

CSS *sæʔ⁷

1099 *shí* 食〔曾開三入職船 C〕 ‘eat; food’ **CDC** *zhik⁸ / **EC** *δik

CSWW *žiʔ⁸ ⩙ *ɦi(e,a)ʔ⁸

CJQ *žiʔ⁸ ⩙ *ɦi(e,a)ʔ⁸ˌ!a
a. **Ly** zəʔ⁸ *B*; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸ *!use*; **Pj** zɛ⁸ ‘eat’; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ ‘eat’; **Yk** zəi⁴ ‘eat’; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸ ‘eat’
b. **Ly** iəʔ⁸ 食 ‘eat’; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** zɿʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁸

CSS #ʑiʔ⁸ ⩙ #ɦiəʔ⁸ˌ!a
a. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸ [2] *B*; **Cs** zeʔ⁸; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁸; **Ys** zeʔ⁸; **Gf** seʔ⁸
b. **Kh** iɛʔ⁸ 食₁ ‘eat’; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

The surveys write this morpheme as 食 (CDC *zhik⁸), but the sound correspondences are incompatible with this etymology. Its etymology is obscure.
Excluding Ly and Jh, this form is the popular word for ‘to eat’ in the Jīnqú dialects. It is a learnèd term elsewhere. See also EAT (1) 咥= CSWW *ɗiaʔ⁷, which is the dominant popular word for ‘to eat’ in the other dialects.

1100 *shí* 識〔曾開三入職書 C〕 ‘knowledge’ **CDC** *shik⁷ / **EC** *θik

CSWW *tšiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *šiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *tšiʔ⁷ ⩙ *šiʔ⁷
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tsɛ⁷ ‘recognize’; **Dy** tseiʔ⁷; **Yk** tsəi³ ‘recognize’; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷ ～着 ‘know’
b. **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃiə⁷ˌ!f; **Dy** —; **Yk** səi³; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷ ⩙ səʔ⁷ [3]

CLS *tɕiʔ⁷ ⩙ *ɕiʔ⁷
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɿʔ⁷ ～字 ‘be able to read’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷
b. **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** sɿʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #ɕiʔ⁷: **Kh** ɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** seʔ⁷; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** seʔ⁷; **Gf** seʔ⁷

1101 *shì* 式〔曾開三入職書 C〕 ‘model’ **CDC** *shik⁷ / **EC** *hyik

CSWW *šiʔ⁷

CJQ *šiʔ⁷: **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** sɛ⁷ [1] ≍ ʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** səi³; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *ɕiʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** sɻʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁷

CSS *ɕiʔ⁷

1102 *jí* 極〔曾開三入職羣 C〕 ‘extreme’ **CDC** *gik⁸ / **EC** *gik

CSWW *giʔ⁸

CJQ *giəʔ⁸: **Ly** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** dʑiə⁸; **Dy** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** gĭə⁴; **Wy** dʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *giʔ⁸: **Sc** dʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** dzɻʔ⁸ ≍ dʑiʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** kie⁷₍ˌf; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁸

CSS *giʔ⁸

1103 *yì* 翼〔曾開三入職以 C〕 ‘wing’ **CDC** *ik⁸ / **EC** *yik ≍ *yip

CSWW *(s,š)i(e,a)ʔ⁷₍ₐ [1] 魚～ ‘gills’ ≍ *ɦieʔ⁸ [2] ～膀 ≍ *ɦiʔ⁸ [3]

CJQ *ɦieʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *ɦiʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Ly** {iəʔ⁸}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** iə⁴; **Wy** ie⁻⁵³

b. **Ly** {iəʔ⁸}; **Jh** iəʔ⁸; **Pj** yə⁸₍ˌf; **Dy** ʔəɯ⁻³⁵₍ˌft [1] ～□kuᵒ ≍ iəʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** —; **Wy** iəʔ⁸ ‘fin’

CLS *ɦiʔ⁸: **Sc** iɪʔ⁸; **Sy** iʔ⁸; **Lq** ɿʔ⁸; **Yh** iʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** iʔ⁷

CSS *ɕiəʔ⁷ ≍ #ɦiəʔ⁸ ≍ *ɦiʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Js** ɕiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** ɕiɐʔ⁷; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** {yɛʔ⁸₍ˌf}; **Ys** iɐʔ⁸; **Gf** i⁻²²₍ˌf [1]

c. **Kh** ieʔ⁸ ～膀; **Cs** ieʔ⁸ [2] ～膀; **Js** {yɛʔ⁸₍ˌf} [2] ～膀; **Ys** ieʔ⁸ 老鼠□beʔ²～ ‘bat’; **Gf** ieʔ⁸ [2] 魚～ ‘fin’

1104 *guó* 國〔曾合一入德見〕 ‘state’ **CDC** *kuek⁷ / **EC** *ʾkwik

CSWW *kuəiʔ⁷

CJQ *kuəiʔ⁷: **Ly** kuəʔ⁷; **Jh** kuəʔ⁷; **Pj** kuə⁷; **Dy** kueiʔ⁷; **Yk** kuəi³; **Wy** kuəʔ⁷

CLS *kueʔ⁷: **Sc** kueʔ⁷; **Sy** kuɛʔ⁷; **Lq** kuəʔ⁷; **Yh** kuaʔ⁷; **Pc** kue⁷; **Qy** kuɤʔ⁷

CSS *koʔ⁷

1105 *huò* 或〔曾合一入德匣〕 ‘or’ **CDC** *huek⁸ / **EC** *ʾgwik

CSWW *ɦuəiʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦuəiʔ⁸: **Ly** uəʔ⁸; **Jh** uəʔ⁸; **Pj** uə⁸; **Dy** ueiʔ⁸ ≍ uɑʔ⁸; **Yk** uəi⁴; **Wy** uəʔ⁸

CLS *ɦueʔ⁸: **Sc** (uɔʔ⁸₍ˌf); **Sy** (uɔʔ⁸₍ˌf); **Lq** uəʔ⁸; **Yh** uaʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** (uəɯʔ⁸₍ˌf)

CSS #ɦoʔ⁸: **Kh** uʌʔ⁸₍ˌf; **Cs** ɦoʔ⁸; **Js** oʔ⁸; **Ys** ɦoʔ⁸; **Gf** (uɐʔ⁸₍ˌf)

1106 *yù* 域〔曾合三入職云 B〕 ‘zone’ **CDC** *wik⁸ / **EC** *wik

CSWW *ɦyʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦyʔ⁸: **Ly** yəʔ⁸; **Jh** yəʔ⁸; **Pj** yə⁸; **Dy** iouʔ⁸; **Yk** ÿə⁴; **Wy** yəʔ⁸

CLS *ɦyʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *ɦyeʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** iʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** y⁷; **Qy** yʔ⁸

b. **Sc** yeʔ⁸; **Sy** yɛʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** yɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #ɦyʔ⁸: **Kh** yeʔ⁸; **Cs** yeʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** ioʔ⁸; **Gf** yɤʔ⁸

A.15 Gěngshè 梗攝

1107 *péng* 彭〔梗開二平庚並〕 ‘Péng (pn.)’ **CDC** *bang² / **EC** *brang

CSWW *bæŋ²

CJQ *bæŋ²: **Ly** bɛ²; **Jh** bɑŋ² [1] ≍ bəŋ² [2]; **Pj** bən²₍ᵢf₎; **Dy** bɛ²; **Yk** bai²; **Wy** ba²

CLS *bæŋ²: **Sc** biaŋ²; **Sy** baŋ⁶; **Lq** (bəŋ²); **Yh** bɛ²; **Pc** pãi²; **Qy** pã²

CSS #bæ̃²: **Kh** buɑ̃²₍ᵢf₎ [2] ≍ bəŋ² [1]; **Cs** (boŋ²₍ᵢf₎); **Js** bã²; **Ys** bɒ̃²; **Gf** bæ̃²

1108 *měng* 猛〔梗開二上梗明〕 ‘fierce’ **CDC** *mang⁴ / **EC** *mrangx

CSWW *mæ̃ŋ⁴

CJQ *mæŋ⁴: **Ly** mã⁴₍ᵢf₎ ‘very’ ≍ məŋ⁵; **Jh** mɑŋ³ [1] ≍ məŋ³ [2]; **Pj** mɛ̃⁴; **Dy** mɛ⁻⁵⁵ 熱～ ‘very hot’; **Yk** mai⁴; **Wy** ma⁴

CLS *mæŋ⁴: **Sc** miaŋ⁴; **Sy** maŋ⁴; **Lq** məŋ³; **Yh** mɛ³; **Pc** mãi⁴; **Qy** mã⁴

CSS #mæ̃⁴: **Kh** (məŋ³₍ᵢf₎); **Cs** (moŋ³₍ᵢf₎); **Js** mã²; **Ys** mɒ̃⁴; **Gf** mæ̃⁻⁴⁴⁵ 兇～

1109 *dǎ* 打〔梗開二上梗端〕 ‘hit’ **CDC** *tang³ ≍ *ta³ / **EC** —

CSWW *ɗæŋ³

CJQ *ɗæŋ³: **Ly** tɛ³; **Jh** tɑŋ³ [1] ≍ tɑ³ [2]; **Pj** nɛ̃³ [1] ≍ tɑ³ [2]; **Dy** nɛ³; **Yk** ʔnai³; **Wy** ʔna³

CLS *ɗæŋ³ ≍ *ɗa³ *B*

a. **Sc** ʔdiaŋ³; **Sy** naŋ³₍ᵢi₎; **Lq** ʔdaŋ³; **Yh** nɛ³₍ᵢi₎; **Pc** nãi³₍ᵢi₎ [白]; **Qy** nã²₍ᵢi₎ [1]

b. **Sc** ʔdɑ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** la³; **Qy** ʔdo³ [2]

CSS #tæ̃³: **Kh** təŋ³ [1] ≍ tã³ [2] ≍ tɔ³ [3]; **Cs** tɪŋ³; **Js** tã³; **Ys** (tai³₍ᵢf₎); **Gf** (ta³₍ᵢf₎)

1110 *chēng* 撐〔梗開二平庚徹〕 ‘prop open’ **CDC** *chiang¹ ≍ *chang¹ / **EC** *thrang

CSWW *tsʰæŋ¹ [1]

CJQ *tsʰæŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰɛ¹; **Jh** tsʰɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ tsʰəŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** tsʰɛ̃¹; **Dy** tsʰɛ¹; **Yk** tsʰai¹; **Wy** tsʰa¹

CLS *tsʰæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiaŋ¹; **Sy** tsʰaŋ¹; **Lq** tsʰaŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsʰãi¹; **Qy** tsʰã⁵

CSS *tsʰæ̃⁵

1111 *shēng* 生〔梗開二平庚生〕 ‘life; give birth’ **CDC** *shang¹ / **EC** *sreng

CSWW *sæŋ¹

CJQ *sæŋ¹: **Ly** sɛ¹ [1] ≍ səŋ¹ [2]; **Jh** sɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ səŋ¹ [4]; **Pj** sɛ̃¹ [1] ≍ sən¹ [2]; **Dy** sɛ¹; **Yk** sai¹ [1]; **Wy** sa¹ [1]

CLS *sæŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiaŋ¹ ≍ ɕiɪŋ¹ ‘raw’; **Sy** saŋ¹; **Lq** saŋ¹; **Yh** sɛ¹; **Pc** sãi¹; **Qy** sã¹

CSS *sæ̃¹

1112 *gēng* 更〔梗開二平庚見〕 ‘night-watch’ **CDC** *kang¹ / **EC** *krang

CSWW *kæŋ¹

CJQ *kæŋ¹: **Ly** kɛ¹; **Jh** kɑŋ¹; **Pj** kɛ̃¹; **Dy** kɛ¹ ≍ kən¹; **Yk** kai¹; **Wy** ka¹

CLS *kæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹ [2] ≍ kəŋ¹ ≍ kaŋ¹ [1]; **Sy** kaŋ¹ [2]; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** kã¹

CSS *kæ̃¹

1113 *gěng* 梗〔梗開二上梗見〕 ‘stalk’ **CDC** *kang³ / **EC** *krangx

CSWW *kuæŋ³

CJQ *kuæŋ³: **Ly** kuɛ³; **Jh** kuɑŋ³; **Pj** kuɛ̃³; **Dy** kuɛ³ [1] ≍ kɛ³ [2] 桔～ ‘type of medicine’; **Yk** kuai³; **Wy** kua³

CLS *kuæŋ³: **Sc** kuaŋ³; **Sy** kuaŋ³; **Lq** kuaŋ³; **Yh** kuɛ³; **Pc** (kãi$^{3}_{lf}$); **Qy** kuã³

CSS *kuæ̃³

1114 *gèng* 更〔梗開二去映見〕 ‘more’ **CDC** *kang⁵ / **EC** *krangh

CSWW *kæŋ⁵

CJQ *kæŋ⁵ [1] ≍ *kəŋ⁵ [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** kɑŋ⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kai⁵; **Wy** ka⁵

b. **Ly** kəŋ⁵; **Jh** kəŋ⁵; **Pj** kən⁵; **Dy** kən⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *kæŋ⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** (kɔ̃⁵) [1]; **Lq** kaŋ⁵; **Yh** ka⁵ [1] ≍ kɛ⁵ [2]; **Pc** (keŋ⁵); **Qy** kã⁵

CSS #kæ̃⁵: **Kh** kɛ̃⁵; **Cs** kɪŋ⁵ [1] ≍ koŋ⁵ [2]; **Js** kã⁵; **Ys** kæ̃⁵; **Gf** kæ̃⁵

1115 *kēng* 坑〔梗開二平庚溪〕 ‘ditch (n.)’ **CDC** *khang¹ / **EC** *khrang

CSWW *kʰæŋ¹

CJQ *kʰæŋ¹: **Ly** kʰɛ¹; **Jh** kʰɑŋ¹ [1] ≍ kʰəŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** kʰɛ̃¹; **Dy** kʰɛ¹; **Yk** kʰai¹; **Wy** kʰa¹

CLS *kʰæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiaŋ¹; **Sy** kʰaŋ¹; **Lq** kʰaŋ¹; **Yh** kʰɛ¹; **Pc** kʰãi¹; **Qy** kʰã¹

CSS *kʰæ̃¹

1116 *yìng* 硬〔梗開二去映疑〕 ‘hard’ **CDC** *ngang⁶ / **EC** *ngrangh

CSWW *ŋuæŋ$^{6}_{la}$ (?) [1] ≍ *ŋæŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *ŋuæŋ⁶˧ₐ (?) ⩤ *ŋæŋ⁶
a. **Ly** ŋuɛ⁶; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** ŋɛ⁶; **Jh** ɑŋ⁶ [1] ⩤ əŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** ŋɛ̃⁶; **Dy** ŋɛ⁶; **Yk** ŋai⁶; **Wy** ŋa⁶

CLS *ŋæŋ⁶: **Sc** ɲiaŋ⁶; **Sy** ŋaŋ⁶; **Lq** ŋaŋ⁶; **Yh** ŋɛ⁵; **Pc** ŋãi⁶; **Qy** ŋã⁶

CSS *ŋæ̃⁶

1117 *xíng* 行〔梗開二平庚匣〕 ‘walk’ **CDC** *hang² / **EC** *grang

CSWW *gæŋ²˧ₐ [1] ‘walk’ ⩤ *ɦæŋ² [2]

CJQ *gæŋ²˧ₐ ⩤ *ɦæŋ²
a. **Ly** gɛ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** (ʑiŋ²); **Jh** ɑŋ² [1] ⩤ iŋ² [2] ⩤ ʑiŋ² [3]; **Pj** ɛ̃² ⩤ in²; **Dy** ɛ²; **Yk** ai² [1]; **Wy** ŋa⁻²¹

CLS *ɦæŋ²: **Sc** aŋ²; **Sy** aŋ¹; **Lq** aŋ²; **Yh** ɛ² ⩤ ʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** xã²

CSS #ɦæ̃²: **Kh** ã²; **Cs** ɦɪŋ²; **Js** iŋ²; **Ys** ɦɒ̃²; **Gf** xæ̃²

1118 *héng* 桁〔廣韻：梗開二平庚匣〕 ‘purlin’ **CDC** *hang² / **EC** *grang

CSWW *ɦæŋ²

CJQ *ɦæŋ²: **Ly** —; **Jh** ɑŋ²; **Pj** ɛ̃²; **Dy** ɛ²; **Yk** ai²; **Wy** ŋa⁻²¹ ～條

CLS *ɦæŋ² [a]: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** xã²

CSS *ɦæ̃²

1119 *bǎi* 百〔梗開二入陌幫〕 ‘hundred’ **CDC** *pak⁷ / **EC** *prak

CSWW *ɓæʔ⁷

CJQ *ɓæʔ⁷: **Ly** pəʔ⁷; **Jh** pəʔ⁷; **Pj** pɑ⁵; **Dy** pɜʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbai³; **Wy** paʔ⁷

CLS *ɓæʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbiaʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbɑʔ⁷

CSS *pæʔ⁷

1120 *bái* 白〔梗開二入陌並〕 ‘white’ **CDC** *bak⁸ / **EC** *brak

CSWW *bæʔ⁸

CJQ *bæʔ⁸: **Ly** bəʔ⁸; **Jh** bəʔ⁸; **Pj** bɑ⁸; **Dy** bɜʔ⁸; **Yk** bai⁴; **Wy** ba⁴

CLS *bæʔ⁸: **Sc** biaʔ⁸; **Sy** baʔ⁸; **Lq** baʔ⁸; **Yh** baʔ⁸; **Pc** pai⁷; **Qy** pɑʔ⁸

CSS *bæʔ⁸

1121 *chāi, chè* 拆（坼）〔梗開二入陌徹〕 ‘tear open; fissure’ **CDC** *chak⁷ / **EC** *thrak

CSWW *tʰæʔ⁷˧ₐ [1] ‘fissure’ ⩤ *tsʰæʔ⁷

CJQ *tsʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰɑ⁷; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰai³; **Wy** tsʰaʔ⁷

CLS *tʰæʔ⁷˧ₐ ⩤ *tsʰæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** tʰiaʔ⁷; **Sy** tʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tsʰaʔ⁷˧f; **Sy** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** tsʰai⁷; **Qy** tsʰɑʔ⁷

CSS *tsʰæʔ⁷

1122 *zé, zhái* 擇〔梗開二入陌澄〕 ‘choose’ **CDC** *jak⁸ / **EC** *drak

CSWW *dɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ [1] ⩙ *dzæʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *dzæʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dzəʔ⁸; **Pj** dzɑ⁸; **Dy** dzɜʔ⁸; **Yk** dzai⁴; **Wy** dza⁴

CLS *dɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ ⩙ *dzæʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** doʔ⁸ [2]; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** dzeʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Sy** dzaʔ⁸ [1]; **Lq** dzaʔ⁸; **Yh** dzaʔ⁸; **Pc** tsai⁷; **Qy** tsɑʔ⁸

CSS *dɒʔ⁸ ⩙ #dzæʔ⁸

a. **Kh** dɔʔ⁸; **Cs** —; **Js** daʔ⁸; **Ys** dʌʔ⁸; **Gf** duɐʔ⁸

b. **Kh** dzʌʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Cs** dzʌʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Js** dzaʔ⁸; **Ys** dzʌʔ⁸; **Gf** dzɐʔ⁸

1123 *zhái* 宅〔梗開二入陌澄〕 ‘residence’ **CDC** *jak⁸ / **EC** *drak

CSWW *dæʔ⁸ [1] ～眷 ‘woman’ ⩙ *dzæʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *dzæʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸; **Jh** dzəʔ⁸; **Pj** zɑ⁸₍ₗi₎; **Dy** dzɜʔ⁸; **Yk** dzai⁴; **Wy** dza⁴ [1] ⩙ tsaʔ⁷ [2]

CLS *dæʔ⁸ ⩙ *dzæʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** daʔ⁸ ～眷 ‘woman’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɑʔ⁸ ～眷 ‘woman’

b. **Sc** dzeʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Sy** tsaʔ⁷; **Lq** dzaʔ⁸; **Yh** dzaʔ⁸; **Pc** tsai⁷; **Qy** tsɑʔ⁸

CSS #dzæʔ⁸: **Kh** dzʌʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Cs** dzʌʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Js** dzaʔ⁸; **Ys** dzʌʔ⁸; **Gf** dzɐʔ⁸

1124 *gé* 格〔梗開二入陌見〕 ‘frame’ **CDC** *kak⁷ / **EC** *krak

CSWW *kæʔ⁷

CJQ *kæʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** kəʔ⁷; **Pj** kɑ⁷; **Dy** kɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kai³; **Wy** kaʔ⁷

CLS *kæʔ⁷: **Sc** kaʔ⁷₍ₗf₎; **Sy** kaʔ⁷; **Lq** kaʔ⁷; **Yh** kaʔ⁷; **Pc** kai⁷; **Qy** kɑʔ⁷

CSS #kæʔ⁷: **Kh** kʌʔ⁷₍ₗf₎; **Cs** kʌʔ⁷₍ₗf₎; **Js** kaʔ⁷; **Ys** kʌʔ⁷; **Gf** kɐʔ⁷

1125 *kè* 客〔梗開二入陌溪〕 ‘guest’ **CDC** *khak⁷ / **EC** *khrak

CSWW *kʰæʔ⁷

CJQ *kʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** kʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** kʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** kʰɑ⁷; **Dy** kʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰai³; **Wy** kʰaʔ⁷

CLS *kʰæʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiaʔ⁷ ⩙ kʰeʔ⁷; **Sy** kʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** kʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** kʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰai⁷; **Qy** kʰɑʔ⁷

CSS *kʰæʔ⁷

1126 *é* 額〔梗開二入陌疑〕 ‘forehead’ **CDC** *ʰngak⁸ / **EC** *ʰngrak

CSWW *ŋæʔ⁸

CJQ *ŋæʔ⁸: **Ly** ŋəʔ⁸; **Jh** əʔ⁸; **Pj** ŋɑ⁸ [1] ⩙ ŋə⁸ [2]; **Dy** ŋɑ⁻³⁵; **Yk** ŋai⁴; **Wy** ŋa⁴

CLS *ŋæʔ⁸: **Sc** ŋeʔ⁸₍ₗf₎; **Sy** ŋaŋ⁶₍ₗft₎; **Lq** ŋaʔ⁸; **Yh** ŋaʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋai³; **Qy** ŋɑʔ⁸

CSS *ŋæʔ⁸

1127 *péng* 棚〔梗開二平耕並〕 ‘shelf’ **CDC** *bang² / **EC** *bring

CSWW *bæŋ² [1] ⩙ *boŋ² [2]

CJQ *bæŋ² ⩙ *boŋ²
a. **Ly** bɛ²; **Jh** bɑŋ²; **Pj** bɛ̃²; **Dy** bɛ²; **Yk** bai²; **Wy** ba²
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** boŋ²; **Pj** bon²; **Dy** bom²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *bæŋ² ⩙ *boŋ²
a. **Sc** biaŋ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** bɛ²; **Pc** pãi²; **Qy** pã²
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** pəŋ²; **Lq** ʔbəŋ²; **Yh** bəŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #bæ̃² ⩙ *boŋ²
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** bõ² ‘竹～’; **Gf** bæ̃² 竹～底 ‘Zhúpéngdǐ (pn.)’
b. **Kh** boŋ²; **Cs** boŋ²; **Js** boŋ²; **Ys** boŋ²; **Gf** —

This character has three readings in the *Qièyùn*: *bæng* 〔梗二開平庚並〕, *bɛng* 〔梗二開平耕並〕, and *bong* 〔曾一開平登並〕. These are doublets and there are no differences in meaning.

1128 *zhēng* 爭〔梗開二平耕莊〕 ‘struggle, vie for’ **CDC** *cang¹ / **EC** *tsreng

CSWW *tsæŋ¹

CJQ *tsæŋ¹: **Ly** tsɛ¹ [1] ⩙ tsəŋ¹ [2]; **Jh** tsɑŋ¹ [1] ⩙ tsəŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** tsɛ̃¹ [1] ⩙ tsən¹ [2]; **Dy** tsɛ¹; **Yk** tsai¹; **Wy** tsa¹

CLS *tsæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** tsaŋ¹; **Lq** tsaŋ¹; **Yh** tsɛ¹; **Pc** tsãi¹; **Qy** tsã¹

CSS *tsæ̃¹

1129 *gēng* 耕〔梗開二平耕見〕 ‘till (v.)’ **CDC** *kang¹ / **EC** *kreng

CSWW *kæŋ¹

CJQ *kæŋ¹: **Ly** kɛ¹; **Jh** kɑŋ¹ [1] ⩙ kəŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** kɛ̃¹ [1] ⩙ kən¹ [2]; **Dy** kɛ¹; **Yk** kai¹; **Wy** ka¹

CLS *kæŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiaŋ¹; **Sy** kaŋ¹; **Lq** kaŋ¹; **Yh** kɛ¹; **Pc** kãi¹; **Qy** kã¹

CSS *kæ̃¹

1130 *mài* 麥〔梗開二入麥明〕 ‘wheat’ **CDC** *ʰmak⁸ / **EC** *ʰmrik

CSWW *mæʔ⁸

CJQ *mæʔ⁸: **Ly** məʔ⁸; **Jh** məʔ⁸; **Pj** mɑ⁸; **Dy** mɜʔ⁸; **Yk** mai⁴; **Wy** ma⁴

CLS *mæʔ⁸: **Sc** miaʔ⁸; **Sy** maʔ⁸; **Lq** maʔ⁸; **Yh** maʔ⁸; **Pc** mai⁷; **Qy** mɑʔ⁸

CSS *mæʔ⁸

1131 *zhāi* 摘〔梗開二入麥知〕 ‘pick (v.)’ **CDC** *cak⁷ / **EC** *trek

CSWW *ɗiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *ɗæʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [3]

CJQ *ɗæʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Ly** təʔ⁷; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** laʔ⁷
b. **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɑ⁷; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsai³; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Sc** ʔdiɪʔ⁷ ‘pinch’; **Sy** ʔdiʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiʔ⁷ ‘pinch’
b. **Sc** tsaʔ⁷; **Sy** tsaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsəʔ⁷; **Yh** tsaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsɑʔ⁷

CSS #tiʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ [2]
a. **Kh** tieʔ⁷ ‘pinch’; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** teʔ⁷; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tsʌʔ⁷; **Cs** tsɛʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ tsaʔ⁷ [2]; **Js** tsaʔ⁷; **Ys** —; **Gf** tsɐʔ⁷

1132 *zé* 責〔梗開二入麥莊〕 ‘reproach’ **CDC** *cak⁷ / **EC** *tsrik
CSWW *tsæʔ⁷
CJQ *tsæʔ⁷: **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsə⁷; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷; **Yk** tsai³; **Wy** tsaʔ⁷
CLS *tsæʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** tsaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsaʔ⁷; **Yh** tsaʔ⁷; **Pc** tsai⁷; **Qy** tsɑʔ⁷
CSS #tsæʔ⁷: **Kh** —; **Cs** (tsʌʔ⁷₍lf₎); **Js** tsaʔ⁷; **Ys** tsʌʔ⁷; **Gf** tsɐʔ⁷

1133 *cè* 册〔廣韻：梗開二入麥初〕 ‘booklet, bound text’ **CDC** *chak⁷ / **EC** *tshrek
CSWW *tsʰæʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰaʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰɑ⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** tsʰai⁵; **Wy** tsʰaʔ⁷
CLS *tsʰæʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰaʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsʰai⁷; **Qy** —
CSS *tsʰæʔ⁷

1134 *gé* 隔〔梗開二入麥見〕 ‘separate’ **CDC** *kak⁷ / **EC** *krek
CSWW *kæʔ⁷
CJQ *kæʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** kəʔ⁷; **Pj** kɑ⁷ [1] ⩙ kə⁷ [2]; **Dy** kɜʔ⁷; **Yk** kai³; **Wy** kaʔ⁷
CLS *kæʔ⁷: **Sc** kaʔ⁷₍lf₎; **Sy** kaʔ⁷; **Lq** kaʔ⁷; **Yh** kaʔ⁷; **Pc** kai⁷; **Qy** kɑʔ⁷
CSS *kæʔ⁷

1135 *è* 軛〔梗開二入麥影〕 ‘yoke’ **CDC** *ak⁸ / **EC** *rek
CSWW *ʔæʔ⁷
CJQ *ʔæʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** əʔ⁷; **Pj** ɑ⁷; **Dy** ʔɜʔ⁷; **Yk** ai³; **Wy** ʔŋaʔ⁷
CLS *æʔ⁷: **Sc** aʔ⁷; **Sy** aʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** ŋaʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɑʔ⁷
CSS *ʔæʔ⁷

1136 *bīng* 兵〔梗開三平庚幫 B〕 ‘soldier’ **CDC** *piang¹ / **EC** *pang ⩙ *peng
CSWW *ɓiŋ¹
CJQ *ɓiŋ¹: **Ly** piŋ¹; **Jh** piŋ¹; **Pj** pin¹; **Dy** pən¹; **Yk** ʔmieiŋ¹; **Wy** min¹
CLS *ɓiŋ¹: **Sc** ʔbiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ʔbin¹; **Lq** ʔbiŋ¹; **Yh** ʔbiŋ¹; **Pc** peŋ¹; **Qy** ʔbɪŋ¹
CSS #piŋ¹: **Kh** piŋ¹; **Cs** pɪŋ¹; **Js** piŋ¹; **Ys** pɪŋ¹; **Gf** peiŋ¹

1137 *bìng* 柄〔梗開三去映幫 B〕 ‘handle’ **CDC** *piang⁵ / **EC** *pangh ⩙ *pengh
CSWW *ɓæŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *ɓiŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *ɓæŋ⁵ ⩙ *ɓiŋ⁵
a. Ly pɛ⁵; Jh maŋ⁵˧ˡi ‘handle’; Pj —; Dy mɛ⁵˧ˡi; Yk ʔmai⁵; Wy ʔma⁵
b. Ly —; Jh piŋ⁵ 鋤頭～ ‘hoe shaft’; Pj pin⁵˧ˡf; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —

CLS *ɓæŋ⁵ ⩙ *ɓiŋ⁵
a. Sc ʔbiaŋ⁵; Sy ʔbaŋ⁵; Lq ʔbaŋ⁵; Yh ʔbɛ⁵; Pc pãi⁵; Qy ʔbã⁵
b. Sc —; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc peŋ⁵; Qy —

CSS *pæ̃⁵ ⩙ #piŋ⁵
a. Kh pɛ̃⁵ ⩙ pã⁵ [2]; Cs {pɪŋ⁵}; Js pã⁵; Ys pɒ̃⁵; Gf pæ̃⁵
b. Kh piŋ⁵ [3]; Cs {pɪŋ⁵}; Js —; Ys pɪŋ⁵; Gf —

1138 *píng* 平〔梗開三平庚並 B〕 ‘level’ CDC *biang² / EC *beng

CSWW *biŋ²

CJQ *biŋ²: Ly biŋ²; Jh biŋ²; Pj bin² [1] ⩙ vin² [2]; Dy bən² [1] ⩙ bien² [2]; Yk bieiŋ²; Wy bin²

CLS *biŋ²: Sc biɪŋ²; Sy pin²; Lq biŋ²; Yh biŋ²; Pc peŋ²; Qy pɪŋ²

CSS *biŋ²

1139 *bìng* 病〔梗開三去映並 B〕 ‘sick’ CDC *biang⁶ / EC *bangh ⩙ *bengh

CSWW *bæŋ⁶˧ˡa [1] ⩙ *biŋ⁶

CJQ *biŋ⁶: Ly biŋ⁶; Jh biŋ⁶; Pj bin⁶; Dy bən⁶; Yk bieiŋ⁶; Wy bin⁶

CLS *biŋ⁶: Sc biɪŋ⁶; Sy bin⁶; Lq biŋ⁶; Yh biŋ⁶; Pc peŋ⁶; Qy pɪŋ⁶

CSS *bæ̃⁶ ⩙ #biŋ⁶ [2]
a. Kh bã⁶; Cs —; Js bã⁶; Ys bɒ̃⁶; Gf bæ̃⁶
b. Kh biŋ⁶; Cs bɪŋ⁶; Js —; Ys bɪŋ⁶; Gf beiŋ⁶

1140 *míng* 明〔梗開三平庚明 B〕 ‘be bright’ CDC *miang² / EC *mang ⩙ *meng

CSWW *mã² [1] ⩙ *miŋ² [2]

CJQ *mã² ⩙ *miŋ²
a. Ly mã²; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy muo²
b. Ly miŋ²; Jh miŋ²; Pj mən² [1] ⩙ min² [2]; Dy mən²; Yk mieiŋ²; Wy min²

CLS *mã² ⩙ *miŋ²
a. Sc maŋ²; Sy —; Lq maŋ²; Yh mã¹ ⩙ məŋ²; Pc —; Qy mɑ̃² ⩙ mã² [2]
b. Sc miɪŋ²; Sy min²; Lq miŋ²; Yh miŋ²; Pc meŋ²; Qy mɪŋ² [3]

CSS *mɑ² ⩙ #miŋ²

1141 *mìng* 命〔梗開三去映明 B〕 ‘order; life’ CDC *miang⁶ / EC *mengh

CSWW *miŋ⁶

CJQ *miŋ⁶: Ly miŋ⁶; Jh miŋ⁶; Pj min⁶; Dy mən⁶; Yk mieiŋ⁶; Wy min⁶

CLS *miŋ⁶: Sc miɪŋ⁶; Sy min⁶; Lq miŋ⁶; Yh miŋ⁶; Pc meŋ⁶; Qy mɪŋ⁶

CSS *miŋ⁶

1142 *jīng* 京〔梗開三平庚見 B〕 ‘capital’ **CDC** *kiang¹ / **EC** *kang ⩙ *keng

CSWW *kiŋ¹

CJQ *kiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** kən¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹

CLS *kiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tɕiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** kieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕieŋ¹

CSS *kiŋ¹

1143 *jīng* 驚〔梗開三平庚見 B〕 ‘be alarmed, afraid’ **CDC** *kiang¹ / **EC** *keng

CSWW *kuæŋ¹ [1] ‘be afraid’ ⩙ *kiŋ¹ [2] *B*

CJQ *kuæŋ¹ ⩙ *kiŋ¹

a. **Ly** kuɛ¹; **Jh** kuɑŋ¹ [1]; **Pj** kuɛ̃¹; **Dy** kuɛ¹ [1]; **Yk** kuai¹ [1]; **Wy** kua¹ [1]
b. **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵ǃt [2]; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** kən¹ [2]; **Yk** kieiŋ¹ [2]; **Wy** tɕin⁻⁴⁴⁵ [2]

CLS *kuæŋ¹ ⩙ *kiŋ¹

a. **Sc** kuaŋ¹; **Sy** kuaŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
b. **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³ǃt; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tɕiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** kieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕieŋ¹

CSS *kuæ̃¹ ⩙ #kiŋ¹ ‘startle (in Jīngzhé ～蟄)’

a. **Kh** kuã¹ [1]; **Cs** kuɪŋ¹ [1]; **Js** kuã¹ [1]; **Ys** kɔ̃¹ [1]; **Gf** kuæ̃¹ [1]
b. **Kh** tɕiŋ¹ [2]; **Cs** kɪŋ⁴⁴ [2]; **Js** kiŋ⁴³ [2]; **Ys** kɪŋ⁻³³ [2]; **Gf** kiŋ¹ [2]

1144 *jìng* 鏡〔梗開三去映見 B〕 ‘mirror’ **CDC** *kiang⁵ / **EC** *kangh ⩙ *kengh

CSWW *kiŋ⁵

CJQ *kiŋ⁵: **Ly** tɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕin⁵; **Dy** kən⁵; **Yk** kieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕin⁵

CLS *kiŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕin⁵; **Lq** tɕiŋ⁵ [文]; **Yh** tʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** kieŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕieŋ⁵

CSS *kiŋ⁵

1145 *qìng* 慶〔梗開三去映溪 B〕 ‘celebrate’ **CDC** *khiang⁵ / **EC** *khangh ⩙ *khengh

CSWW *kʰiŋ⁵

CJQ *kʰiŋ⁵: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕʰin⁵; **Dy** kʰən⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕʰien⁵ [2]; **Yk** kʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕʰin⁵

CLS *kʰiŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰin⁵; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ¹; **Pc** kʰieŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ⁵

CSS *kʰiŋ⁵

1146 *yíng* 迎〔梗開三平庚疑 B〕 ‘welcome’ **CDC** *ngiang² / **EC** *ngang ⩙ *ngeng

CSWW *ȵiŋ²

CJQ *ȵiŋ²: **Ly** ȵiŋ²; **Jh** ȵiŋ²; **Pj** ȵin²; **Dy** ŋən² [1] ⩙ ȵien² [2]; **Yk** ɲieiŋ²; **Wy** ȵin²

CLS *ȵiŋ²: **Sc** ȵiɪŋ²; **Sy** ȵi²; **Lq** ȵiŋ²; **Yh** ɲiŋ²; **Pc** ŋi²; **Qy** ȵĩ²

CSS #ȵiŋ²: **Kh** ȵiŋ²; **Cs** lɪŋ²ǃi; **Js** ȵiŋ²; **Ys** nɪŋ²; **Gf** leiŋ²ǃi

1147 *yǐng* 影〔梗開三上梗影 B〕 ‘shadow’ **CDC** *iang³ / **EC** *angx ⩙ *engx

CSWW *ʔeŋ³ [1] ⩙ *ʔiŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ʔiŋ³: **Ly** iŋ³; **Jh** iŋ³; **Pj** in³; **Dy** ʔən³; **Yk** ieiŋ³; **Wy** in³

CLS *eŋ³ ⪤ *iŋ³

a. **Sc** ə̃³; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɛ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ã³

b. **Sc** iɪŋ³; **Sy** in³; **Lq** iŋ³; **Yh** iŋ³; **Pc** ieŋ³; **Qy** ieŋ³

CSS *ʔə̃³ ⪤ #ʔiŋ³

a. **Kh** ɛ̃³; **Cs** ʌ̃³; **Js** æ̃³; **Ys** æ̃³; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** iŋ³; **Cs** ɪŋ³; **Js** —; **Ys** ɪŋ³; **Gf** iŋ³

Note that although 電～'movie' is a neologism and is unlikely to be as old as any of common systems presented here, the form *ʔiŋ³ is reconstructable as a literary bound word available to speakers during compound formation. For many speakers, it is now the only word for 'shadow'.

1148 *bì* 碧〔廣韻：梗開三入陌幫 B〕 'turquoise' **CDC** *piak⁷ / **EC** *pak ⪤ *pek

CSWW *ɓiʔ⁷

CJQ *ɓiəʔ⁷₍f: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** piə⁷; **Dy** piəʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷

CLS *ɓiʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** pi⁷; **Qy** ʔbiʔ⁷

CSS #piʔ⁷: **Kh** pieʔ⁷; **Cs** peʔ⁷; **Js** piɛʔ⁷; **Ys** peʔ⁷; **Gf** peʔ⁷

1149 *jù* 劇〔梗開三入陌羣 B〕 'drama' **CDC** *giak⁸ / **EC** *gak ⪤ *gek

CSWW *giʔ⁸ [1] ⪤ *kiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *giəʔ⁸₍f ⪤ *kiʔ⁷₍a

a. **Ly** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** dʑiə⁸; **Dy** dʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** gĭə⁴; **Wy** dʑiəʔ⁸

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *giʔ⁸ ⪤ *kiʔ⁷₍a

a. **Sc** dʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑyʔ⁸₍f [2] ⪤ dʑy⁶ [1]; **Lq** dzɿʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** {kie⁷}; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** {kie⁷}; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷

CSS #giʔ⁸₍a ⪤ #kiʔ⁷

a. **Kh** dʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** dʑieʔ⁸; **Js** giɛʔ⁸; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** kiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** kieʔ⁷; **Gf** kieʔ⁷

1150 *nì* 逆〔梗開三入陌疑 B〕 'go against' **CDC** *ngiak⁸ / **EC** *ngak ⪤ *ngek

CSWW *ȵiʔ⁸

CJQ *ȵiʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ȵiəʔ⁸; **Pj** ȵiə⁸; **Dy** ŋeiʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiə⁴; **Wy** ȵiəʔ⁸

CLS *ȵiʔ⁸: **Sc** ȵiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ȵiɛʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲieʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋe⁷; **Qy** ȵiʔ⁸

CSS *ȵiʔ⁸

1151 *bǐng* 餅〔梗開三上靜幫 A〕 'cake' **CDC** *piang³ / **EC** *pengx

CSWW *ɓiŋ³

CJQ *ɓiŋ³: **Ly** piŋ³; **Jh** piŋ³; **Pj** pin³; **Dy** pən³; **Yk** ʔmieiŋ³; **Wy** ʔmin⁵ [兒]

CLS *ɓiŋ³: **Sc** ʔbiɪŋ³; **Sy** ʔbin³; **Lq** ʔbiŋ³; **Yh** ʔbiŋ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔbɪŋ³

CSS *piŋ³

1152 *míng* 名〔梗開三平清明 A〕 ‘name’ **CDC** *miang² / **EC** *meng

CSWW *miŋ²

CJQ *miŋ²: **Ly** miŋ²; **Jh** miŋ²; **Pj** min²; **Dy** mən²; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min²

CLS *miŋ²: **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** min²; **Lq** miŋ²; **Yh** miŋ²; **Pc** meŋ²; **Qy** mɪŋ²

CSS *miŋ²

1153 *lǐng* 嶺〔梗開三上靜來 AB〕 ‘ridge-line’ **CDC** *liang⁴ / **EC** —

CSWW *liŋ⁴

CJQ *liŋ⁴: **Ly** liŋ⁴; **Jh** liŋ³; **Pj** lin⁴; **Dy** lən⁴; **Yk** lieiŋ⁴; **Wy** lin⁴

CLS *liŋ⁴: **Sc** liɪŋ⁴; **Sy** len⁴; **Lq** liŋ³; **Yh** liŋ³; **Pc** leŋ⁴; **Qy** lɪŋ⁴

CSS *liŋ⁴

1154 *jīng* 睛〔廣韻：梗開三平清精 AB〕 ‘eye in 眼～’ **CDC** *tsiang¹ / **EC** *tseng

CSWW *tsiŋ¹

CJQ *tsiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tsiŋ¹; **Pj** tsin¹; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** tɕieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹

CLS *tɕiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** tɕiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕiŋ¹

1155 *jǐng* 井〔梗開三上靜精 AB〕 ‘well’ **CDC** *tsiang³ / **EC** *tsengx

CSWW *tsiŋ³

CJQ *tsiŋ³: **Ly** tɕiŋ³; **Jh** tsiŋ³; **Pj** tsin³; **Dy** tsən³; **Yk** tɕieiŋ³; **Wy** tɕin³

CLS *tɕiŋ³: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³; **Sy** tɕin³; **Lq** tɕiŋ³; **Yh** tʃiŋ³; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕieŋ³

CSS *tɕiŋ³

1156 *qīng* 清〔梗開三平清清 AB〕 ‘clear’ **CDC** *tshiang¹ / **EC** *tsheng

CSWW *tsʰiŋ¹

CJQ *tsʰiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Jh** tsʰiŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰin¹; **Dy** tsʰən¹; **Yk** tɕʰieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰin¹

CLS *tɕʰiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰin¹; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰeŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ¹

CSS *tɕʰiŋ¹

1157 *qǐng* 請〔梗開三上靜清 AB〕 ‘please’ **CDC** *tshiang³ / **EC** *tshengx

CSWW *tsʰiŋ³

CJQ *tsʰiŋ³: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ³; **Jh** tsʰiŋ³; **Pj** tsʰin³; **Dy** tsʰən³; **Yk** tɕʰieiŋ³; **Wy** tɕʰin³

CLS *tɕʰiŋ³: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ³; **Sy** tɕʰin³; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ³; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ³; **Pc** tsʰeŋ³; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ³

CSS #tɕʰiŋ³: **Kh** tɕʰiŋ³; **Cs** tsʰɪŋ³; **Js** tɕʰiŋ³; **Ys** tsʰɪŋ³; **Gf** tsʰeiŋ³

1158 *qíng* 晴〔梗開三平清從 AB〕 ‘sunny’ **CDC** *dziang² / **EC** *dzeng

CSWW *ziŋ² [1]

CJQ *ziŋ²: **Ly** ʑiŋ² [1] ≍ dʑiŋ² [2]; **Jh** ziŋ² [1] ≍ dziŋ² [2]; **Pj** zin²; **Dy** zən²; **Yk** ʑieiŋ²; **Wy** ʑin²

CLS *ʑiŋ²: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ²; **Sy** ɕin²; **Lq** ʑiŋ²; **Yh** ʒiŋ²; **Pc** tseŋ² ≍ tseŋ¹; **Qy** ɕieŋ²

CSS *ʑiŋ²

1159 *xìng* 姓〔梗開三去勁心 AB〕 'family name' **CDC** *siang⁵ / **EC** *sengh

CSWW *siŋ⁵

CJQ *siŋ⁵: **Ly** ɕiŋ⁵; **Jh** siŋ⁵; **Pj** sin⁵; **Dy** sən⁵; **Yk** ɕieiŋ⁵; **Wy** ɕin⁵

CLS *ɕiŋ⁵: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** ɕin⁵; **Lq** ɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** ʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** seŋ⁵; **Qy** ɕieŋ⁵

CSS #ɕiŋ⁵: **Kh** ɕiŋ⁵; **Cs** sɪŋ⁵; **Js** ɕiŋ⁵; **Ys** sɪŋ⁵; **Gf** seiŋ⁵

1160 *zhèng* 鄭〔梗開三去勁澄 AB〕 'Zhèng (pn.)' **CDC** *jiang⁶ / **EC** *drengh

CSWW *džiŋ⁶

CJQ *džiŋ⁶: **Ly** dzəŋ⁶ [1] ≍ dzəŋ² [2]; **Jh** dʑiŋ⁶; **Pj** dzin⁶; **Dy** dzən⁴; **Yk** dʑieiŋ⁶; **Wy** dʑin⁶

CLS *dʑiŋ⁶: **Sc** dʑiɪŋ⁶; **Sy** dʑin⁶; **Lq** dʑiŋ⁶; **Yh** dʒiŋ⁶; **Pc** tseŋ⁶; **Qy** tɕieŋ⁶

CSS *dʑiŋ⁶

1161 *zhēng* 正〔梗開三平清章 AB〕 '1st month' **CDC** *ciang¹ / **EC** *teng

CSWW *tšiŋ¹ ～月

CJQ *tšiŋ¹: **Ly** tsəŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tsin¹; **Dy** tsən¹; **Yk** tɕieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin⁻⁴⁴⁵

CLS *tɕiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕin¹ [1]; **Lq** tɕiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** tseŋ¹; **Qy** tɕieŋ¹

CSS #tɕiŋ¹: **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** tsɪŋ⁻⁴⁵; **Js** tɕiŋ⁻⁴³; **Ys** tsɪŋ⁻³³; **Gf** tseiŋ¹

1162 *zhèng* 正〔梗開三去勁章 AB〕 'proper; straight' **CDC** *ciang⁵ / **EC** *tengh

CSWW *tšiŋ⁵

CJQ *tšiŋ⁵: **Ly** tsəŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Pj** tsin⁵; **Dy** tsən⁵; **Yk** tɕieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tɕin⁵

CLS *tɕiŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕin⁵ [2]; **Lq** tɕiŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃiŋ⁵; **Pc** tseŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕieŋ⁵

CSS #tɕiŋ⁵: **Kh** tɕiŋ⁵; **Cs** tsɪŋ⁵ [1] ≍ tsɪŋ³ [2]; **Js** tɕiŋ⁵; **Ys** tsɪŋ⁵; **Gf** tseiŋ⁵

1163 *shēng* 聲〔梗開三平清書 AB〕 'sound' **CDC** *shiang¹ / **EC** *hyeng

CSWW *šiŋ¹

CJQ *šiŋ¹: **Ly** səŋ¹; **Jh** ɕiŋ¹; **Pj** sin¹; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** ɕieiŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹

CLS *ɕiŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕieŋ¹

CSS *ɕiŋ¹

1164 *chéng* 城〔梗開三平清常 AB〕 'city' **CDC** *jiang² / **EC** *deng

CSWW *žiŋ² [1] ≍ *dži(ə)ŋ² [2]

CJQ *žiŋ² ⩙ *dži(ə)ŋ²
a. **Ly** zəŋ² [1]; **Jh** ʑiŋ² [1]; **Pj** zin² [1]; **Dy** zən² [l]; **Yk** ʑieiŋ²; **Wy** ʑin²
b. **Ly** dzəŋ²; **Jh** dʑiŋ²; **Pj** dzin²; **Dy** dzən²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiŋ²: **Sc** ʑiɪŋ²; **Sy** ɕin²; **Lq** ʑiŋ²; **Yh** ʒiŋ²; **Pc** seŋ²; **Qy** ɕieŋ²

CSS *ʑiŋ² ⩙ #dʑiŋ²
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** zɪŋ² [1]; **Js** ɕiŋ²; **Ys** zɪŋ²; **Gf** seiŋ²
b. **Kh** dʑiŋ²; **Cs** dzɪŋ²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1165 *jǐng* 頸〔梗開三上靜見 A〕 ‘neck’ **CDC** *kiang³ / **EC** *kengx

CSWW *kiŋ³

CJQ *kiŋ³: **Ly** tɕiŋ³; **Jh** tɕiŋ³; **Pj** tɕin³; **Dy** kən⁻⁴²³; **Yk** kieiŋ³; **Wy** tɕin³

CLS *kiŋ³: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ³; **Sy** tɕin³; **Lq** pʰiʔ⁷ ⩙ tɕiŋ³; **Yh** tʃiŋ³; **Pc** kieŋ³; **Qy** tɕieŋ³

CSS *kiŋ³

1166 *qīng* 輕〔梗開三平清溪 A〕 ‘light (of weight)’ **CDC** *khiang¹ / **EC** *kheng

CSWW *kʰiŋ¹

CJQ *kʰiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕʰin¹; **Dy** kʰən¹; **Yk** kʰieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰin¹

CLS *kʰiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰin¹; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ¹; **Pc** kʰieŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ¹

CSS *kʰiŋ¹

1167 *yíng* 贏〔梗開三平清以 A〕 ‘win’ **CDC** *yang² / **EC** *yeng

CSWW *ɦiŋ²

CJQ *ɦiŋ²: **Ly** iŋ²; **Jh** iŋ²; **Pj** (yən²ꜜf); **Dy** ən² [1]; **Yk** ieiŋ² [1] ⩙ yeiŋ² [2]; **Wy** ɲin²

CLS *ɦiŋ²: **Sc** iɪŋ²; **Sy** in²; **Lq** (yŋ²ꜜf); **Yh** iŋ²; **Pc** ieŋ²; **Qy** ieŋ²

CSS *ɦiŋ²

1168 *pì* 僻〔梗開三入昔滂 A〕 ‘remote’ **CDC** *phiak⁷ / **EC** *phek

CSWW *pʰiʔ⁷

CJQ *pʰiʔ⁷: **Ly** pʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** pʰiəʔ⁷ [2] ⩙ pʰie⁵ [1]; **Pj** pʰiə⁷ꜜf; **Dy** pʰeiʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ pʰiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** pʰiə³; **Wy** —

CLS *pʰiʔ⁷: **Sc** pʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** pʰiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** pʰiʔ⁷

CSS #pʰiʔ⁷: **Kh** pʰieʔ⁷; **Cs** pʰiəʔ⁷; **Js** pʰiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** pʰeʔ⁷; **Gf** pʰeʔ⁷

1169 *jǐ* 脊〔梗開三入昔精 AB〕 ‘spine’ **CDC** *tsiak⁷ / **EC** *tsek

CSWW *tsiʔ⁷

CJQ *tsiʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tsiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tʃiɤ¹; **Dy** tsəɯ⁵ꜜft [1] ⩙ tɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** tsəi³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tsɿ⁵ꜜft; **Lq** tsɿʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** tse⁷ꜜf [白]; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷

CSS #tɕiʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** tseʔ⁷; **Js** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** tseʔ⁷; **Gf** tseʔ⁷

1170 *xī* 惜〔梗開三入昔心 AB〕 ‘cherish, take pity on’ **CDC** *siak⁷ / **EC** *sak

CSWW *šiauʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *siʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *šiauʔ⁷ 得農～ ‘lovable’ ⪤ *siʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɕyəʔ⁷₍f₎; **Pj** —; **Dy** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** ɕiɒ³ ⪤ ɕiɒ⁵ [2]; **Wy** ɕiɑoʔ⁷ 叮農～

b. **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷; **Pj** sɛ⁷ [1] ⪤ ʃiə⁷ [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** səi³ [3]; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷

CLS *ɕiauʔ⁷ ⪤ *ɕiʔ⁷

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiɑʔ⁷ [2] ‘cherish’

b. **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** sɿʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁷ [1]

CSS *ɕiɑʔ⁷ [2] ⪤ *ɕiʔ⁷ [1]

1171 *xí* 席〔梗開三入昔邪 AB〕 ‘seat’ **CDC** *ziak⁸ / **EC** *zak

CSWW *ziʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ziʔ⁸: **Ly** ʑiəʔ⁸ ⪤ dʑiəʔ⁸; **Jh** ziəʔ⁸; **Pj** zɛ⁸ [1] ⪤ ʒiə⁸ [2]; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ ⪤ dʑiəʔ⁸; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *ziʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** zɿʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** tɕi⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁸

CSS *ʑiʔ⁸

1172 *zhī* 隻〔梗開三入昔章 AB〕 ‘general clf.’ **CDC** *ciak⁷ / **EC** *tak

CSWW *tšiʔ⁷

CJQ *tšiʔ⁷: **Ly** tsəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɛ⁻⁵⁵ ⼀～; **Dy** tseiʔ⁷; **Yk** tsəi⁻⁵⁴ ⼀～; **Wy** tsaʔ⁷₍f₎

CLS *tɕiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsɿʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷ ⪤ tseiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕi⁷; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiʔ⁷

1173 *chì* 赤〔梗開三入昔昌 AB〕 ‘red, bareskin’ **CDC** *chiak⁷ / **EC** *chak (khyak)

CSWW *tsʰæʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *tšʰiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *tsʰæʔ⁷ ⪤ *tšʰiʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** tsʰəʔ⁷ [2]; **Pj** tsʰɑ⁷ ～腳 ‘barefoot’; **Dy** tsʰɜʔ⁷ ～腳 ‘barefoot’; **Yk** —; **Wy** tsʰaʔ⁷ ～腳 ‘barefoot’

b. **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰiəʔ⁷ [1]; **Pj** tʃʰiə⁷; **Dy** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰəi³; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷

CLS *tɕʰiʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɿʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰi⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiʔ⁷

CSS *tsʰæʔ⁷ ⪤ *tɕʰiʔ⁷

1174 *chǐ* 尺〔梗開三入昔昌 AB〕 ‘foot (unit)’ **CDC** *chiak⁷ / **EC** *thak

CSWW *tšʰiʔ⁷

CJQ *tšʰiʔ⁷: **Ly** tsʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tsʰɛ⁷; **Dy** tsʰeiʔ⁷; **Yk** tsʰəi³ [1] ⪤ tsʰəi⁻⁵⁴ [2]; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷

CLS *tɕʰiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɿʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰiʔ⁷; **Pc** tɕʰi⁷; **Qy** tɕʰiʔ⁷

CSS #tɕʰiʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕʰieʔ⁷; **Cs** tsʰeʔ⁷; **Js** tɕʰiᴇʔ⁷; **Ys** tsʰeʔ⁷; **Gf** tsʰeʔ⁷

1175 *shí* 石〔梗開三入昔常 AB〕 ‘stone’ **CDC** *zhiak⁸ / **EC** *dak

CSWW *(dž,dz)iauʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *žiʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *žiʔ⁸: **Ly** zəʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑiəʔ⁸; **Pj** zɛ⁸; **Dy** zeiʔ⁸ [1] 鵝卵～ ‘cobblestone’ ≍ zɜʔ⁸ [2]; **Yk** zəi⁴; **Wy** ʑiəʔ⁸

CLS *dʑiauʔ⁸ ≍ *ʑiʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiaʔ⁸ ～斑魚 ‘grouper’; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ʑiɪʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑiʔ⁸; **Lq** zɳʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiʔ⁸; **Pc** ɕiʔ⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiɑʔ⁸ ≍ #ʑiʔ⁸

a. **Kh** dʑiɛʔ⁸ ～頭; **Cs** dʑiaʔ⁸ ～頭; **Js** dʑiaʔ⁸ □bᴇ³³～ ‘cobblestone’; **Ys** dʑiɐʔ⁸ □beʔ²～; **Gf** ɕiɐʔ⁸ ～頭

b. **Kh** ʑieʔ⁸; **Cs** zeʔ⁸ 吸鐵～ ‘magnet’; **Js** ɕiᴇʔ⁸ ～頭; **Ys** zeʔ⁸ ～榴 ‘pomegranate’; **Gf** seʔ⁸

1176 *yì* 益〔梗開三入昔影 A〕 ‘benefit’ **CDC** *iak⁷ / **EC** *ek

CSWW *ʔiʔ⁷

CJQ *ʔiʔ⁷: **Ly** iəʔ⁷; **Jh** iəʔ⁷; **Pj** iə⁸˩ₜ; **Dy** ʔeiʔ⁷ [1] ≍ ʔiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** ĭə³; **Wy** iəʔ⁷

CLS *iʔ⁷: **Sc** iɪʔ⁷; **Sy** iʔ⁷; **Lq** ɳʔ⁷; **Yh** iʔ⁷; **Pc** i⁷; **Qy** iʔ⁷

CSS *ʔiʔ⁷

1177 *píng* 瓶〔梗開四平青並〕 ‘bottle’ **CDC** *biang² / **EC** *’beng

CSWW *biŋ²

CJQ *biŋ²: **Ly** biŋ²; **Jh** biŋ²; **Pj** bin²; **Dy** bən²; **Yk** bieiŋ²; **Wy** bin²

CLS *biŋ²: **Sc** biɪŋ²; **Sy** pin²; **Lq** biŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** peŋ²; **Qy** pɪŋ²

CSS #biŋ²: **Kh** biŋ²; **Cs** bɪŋ²; **Js** biŋ²; **Ys** bɪŋ²; **Gf** beiŋ²

1178 *míng* 銘〔梗開四平青明〕 ‘engrave’ **CDC** *miang⁶ / **EC** *’meng

CSWW *miŋ²

CJQ *miəŋ²˩ᵢf: **Ly** miŋ²; **Jh** miŋ²; **Pj** min²; **Dy** mien²; **Yk** mieiŋ²; **Wy** min²

CLS *miŋ²: **Sc** miɪŋ²; **Sy** min²; **Lq** —; **Yh** miŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɪŋ²

CSS #miŋ²: **Kh** miŋ²; **Cs** mɪŋ²; **Js** —; **Ys** mɪŋ²; **Gf** meiŋ¹

1179 *dīng* 釘〔梗開四平青端〕 ‘nail (n.)’ **CDC** *tiang¹ / **EC** *’teng

CSWW *ɗiŋ¹

CJQ *ɗiŋ¹: **Ly** tiŋ¹; **Jh** tiŋ¹; **Pj** tin¹; **Dy** tən¹; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ¹; **Wy** nin¹

CLS *ɗiŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdin¹; **Lq** ʔdiŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdiŋ¹; **Pc** leŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdɪŋ¹

CSS *tiŋ¹

1180 *dǐng* 頂〔梗開四上迥端〕 ‘top’ **CDC** *tiang³ / **EC** *’tengx

CSWW *ɗiŋ³

CJQ *ɗiŋ³: **Ly** tiŋ³; **Jh** tiŋ³; **Pj** tin³; **Dy** tən³; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ³; **Wy** ʔnin³

CLS *ɗiŋ³: **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ³; **Sy** ʔdin³; **Lq** ʔdiŋ³; **Yh** ʔdiŋ³; **Pc** leŋ³; **Qy** ʔdɪŋ³
CSS *tiŋ³

1181 *dìng* 釘〔梗開四去徑端〕 'nail (v.)' **CDC** *tiang⁵ / **EC** *'tengh
CSWW *ɗiŋ⁵
CJQ *ɗiŋ⁵: **Ly** tiŋ⁵; **Jh** tiŋ⁵; **Pj** tin⁵; **Dy** tən⁵; **Yk** ʔnieiŋ⁵; **Wy** ʔnin⁵
CLS *ɗiŋ⁵: **Sc** ʔdiɪŋ¹ˌt; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdiŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔdiŋ⁵; **Pc** leŋ⁵; **Qy** ʔdɪŋ⁵
CSS #tiŋ⁵: **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɪŋ⁵; **Gf** teiŋ⁵

1182 *tīng* 聽〔梗開四平青透〕 'listen' **CDC** *thiang¹ / **EC** *'theng
CSWW *tʰiŋ¹
CJQ —
CLS *tʰiŋ¹: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tʰiŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰeŋ¹; **Qy** tʰɪŋ¹
CSS *tʰiŋ¹

1183 *tìng* 聽〔梗開四去徑透〕 'listen' **CDC** *thiang⁵ / **EC** *'thengh
CSWW *tʰiŋ⁵
CJQ *tʰiŋ⁵: **Ly** tʰiŋ⁵; **Jh** tʰiŋ⁵; **Pj** tʰin⁵; **Dy** tʰən⁵; **Yk** tʰieiŋ⁵; **Wy** tʰin⁵
CLS *tʰiŋ⁵: **Sc** tʰiɪŋ⁵; **Sy** tʰin⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰiŋ⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS #tʰiŋ⁵: **Kh** tʰiŋ⁵; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tʰɪŋ⁵; **Gf** —

1184 *tíng* 亭〔梗開四平青定〕 'watchpost, pavilion' **CDC** *diang² / **EC** *'deng
CSWW *diŋ²
CJQ *diŋ²: **Ly** diŋ²; **Jh** diŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** dən²; **Yk** dieiŋ²; **Wy** din²
CLS *diŋ²ˌt: **Sc** diɪŋ²; **Sy** (tʰin²); **Lq** diŋ²; **Yh** diŋ²; **Pc** teŋ²; **Qy** tɪŋ²
CSS *diŋ⁴ˌt

1185 *tíng* 停〔梗開四平青定〕 'stop' **CDC** *diang² / **EC** *'deng
CSWW *diŋ²
CJQ *diŋ²: **Ly** diŋ²; **Jh** diŋ²; **Pj** din²; **Dy** dən²; **Yk** dieiŋ²; **Wy** din²
CLS *diŋ²: **Sc** diɪŋ²; **Sy** tin²; **Lq** diŋ²; **Yh** diŋ²; **Pc** teŋ²; **Qy** tɪŋ²
CSS *diŋ²

1186 *dìng* 定〔梗開四去徑定〕 'settle' **CDC** *diang⁶ / **EC** *'dengh
CSWW *diŋ⁶
CJQ *diŋ⁶: **Ly** diŋ⁶; **Jh** diŋ⁶; **Pj** din⁶; **Dy** dən⁶; **Yk** dieiŋ⁶; **Wy** din⁶
CLS *diŋ⁶: **Sc** diɪŋ⁶; **Sy** din⁶; **Lq** diŋ⁶; **Yh** diŋ⁶; **Pc** teŋ⁶; **Qy** tɪŋ⁶
CSS #diŋ⁶: **Kh** diŋ⁶; **Cs** dɪŋ⁶; **Js** diŋ⁶; **Ys** dɪŋ⁶; **Gf** deiŋ⁶

1187 *líng* 靈〔梗開四平青來〕 ‘numinous’ **CDC** *liang² / **EC** *’leng
CSWW *liŋ²
CJQ *liŋ²: **Ly** liŋ²; **Jh** liŋ²; **Pj** lin²; **Dy** lən²; **Yk** lieiŋ²; **Wy** lin²
CLS *liŋ²: **Sc** liɪŋ²; **Sy** len²; **Lq** liŋ²; **Yh** liŋ²; **Pc** leŋ²; **Qy** lɪŋ²
CSS *liŋ²

1188 *qīng* 青〔梗開四平青清〕 ‘green’ **CDC** *tshiang¹ / **EC** *’tsheng
CSWW *tsʰiŋ¹
CJQ *tsʰiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Jh** tsʰiŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰin¹; **Dy** tsʰən¹; **Yk** tɕʰieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕʰin¹
CLS *tɕʰiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕʰiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕʰin¹; **Lq** tɕʰiŋ¹; **Yh** tʃʰiŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰeŋ¹; **Qy** tɕʰieŋ¹
CSS *tɕʰiŋ¹

1189 *xīng* 星〔梗開四平青心〕 ‘star’ **CDC** *siang¹ / **EC** *’seng
CSWW *siŋ¹
CJQ *siŋ¹: **Ly** ɕiŋ¹; **Jh** siŋ¹; **Pj** sin¹ ⩙ sin³; **Dy** sən¹; **Yk** ɕieiŋ¹; **Wy** ɕin¹
CLS *ɕiŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** ɕin¹; **Lq** ɕiŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiŋ¹; **Pc** seŋ¹; **Qy** ɕieŋ¹
CSS *ɕiŋ¹

1190 *xǐng* 醒〔梗開四上迥心〕 ‘wake up’ **CDC** *siang³ / **EC** *’sengx
CSWW *siŋ³
CJQ *siŋ³: **Ly** ɕiŋ³; **Jh** siŋ³; **Pj** sin³; **Dy** sən³; **Yk** ɕieiŋ³; **Wy** ɕin³
CLS *ɕiŋ³: **Sc** ɕiɪŋ³; **Sy** ɕin³; **Lq** ɕiŋ³; **Yh** ʃiŋ³; **Pc** seŋ³; **Qy** ɕieŋ³
CSS *ɕiŋ³

1191 *jīng* 經〔梗開四平青見〕 ‘pass through’ **CDC** *kiang¹ / **EC** *’keng
CSWW *kiŋ¹
CJQ *kiŋ¹: **Ly** tɕiŋ¹; **Jh** tɕiŋ¹; **Pj** tɕin¹; **Dy** kən¹; **Yk** kieiŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin¹
CLS *kiŋ¹: **Sc** tɕiɪŋ¹; **Sy** tɕin¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕieŋ¹
CSS #kiŋ¹: **Kh** tɕiŋ¹; **Cs** kɪŋ¹; **Js** kiŋ¹; **Ys** kɪŋ¹; **Gf** kiŋ¹

1192 *bì* 壁〔梗開四入錫幫〕 ‘wall’ **CDC** *piak⁷ / **EC** *’pek
CSWW *ɓiʔ⁷
CJQ *ɓiʔ⁷: **Ly** piəʔ⁷; **Jh** piəʔ⁷; **Pj** pɛ⁷; **Dy** peiʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔbə³; **Wy** pəʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ pɔʔ⁷ [2]
CLS *ɓiʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔbiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔbiʔ⁷; **Pc** piʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔbiʔ⁷
CSS *piʔ⁷

1193 *dī* 滴〔梗開四入錫端〕 ‘droplet’ **CDC** *tiak⁷ / **EC** *’tek
CSWW *ɗiaʔ⁷ (?) [1] ⩙ *ɗiʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *ɗiaʔ⁷ ⩵ *ɗiʔ⁷
a. Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk ʔdiɑ³; Wy lia⁵₍f
b. Ly tiəʔ⁷; Jh tiəʔ⁷; Pj —; Dy —; Yk —; Wy —
CLS *ɗiʔ⁷: Sc ʔdiɪʔ⁷; Sy ʔdiʔ⁷; Lq ʔdiʔ⁷; Yh ʔdiʔ⁷; Pc liʔ⁷; Qy ʔdiʔ⁷
CSS #ɗ(?)⁷ (?) ⩵ *tiʔ⁷
a. Kh —; Cs —; Js taʔ⁷₍f; Ys —; Gf —
b. Kh tieʔ⁷; Cs teʔ⁷; Js —; Ys teʔ⁷; Gf teʔ⁷

1194 *tī* 踢〔廣韻：梗開四入錫透〕 ‘kick’ CDC *thiak⁷ / EC *’thek
CSWW *tʰiʔ⁷
CJQ *tʰiʔ⁷: Ly tʰiəʔ⁷; Jh tʰiəʔ⁷; Pj tʰɛ⁷; Dy tʰeiʔ⁷; Yk tʰəi³; Wy tʰəʔ⁷
CLS *tʰiʔ⁷: Sc tʰiɪʔ⁷; Sy tʰiʔ⁷; Lq tʰiʔ⁷; Yh tʰiʔ⁷; Pc tʰe⁷ ⩵ tʰi⁷ [文]; Qy tʰiʔ⁷
CSS *tʰiʔ⁷

1195 *dí* 敵〔梗開四入錫定〕 ‘opponent’ CDC *diak⁸ / EC *’dek
CSWW *diʔ⁸
CJQ *diəʔ⁸₍f: Ly diəʔ⁸; Jh diəʔ⁸; Pj diə⁸; Dy diəʔ⁸; Yk dəi⁴; Wy dəʔ⁸
CLS *diʔ⁸: Sc diɪʔ⁸; Sy diʔ⁸; Lq diʔ⁸; Yh diʔ⁸; Pc tiʔ⁷; Qy tiʔ⁸
CSS #diʔ⁸: Kh dieʔ⁸; Cs deʔ⁸; Js diᴇʔ⁸; Ys deʔ⁸; Gf deʔ⁸

1196 *dí* 糴〔梗開四入錫定〕 ‘buy grain’ CDC *diak⁸ / EC *’dewk
CSWW *diʔ⁸
CJQ *diʔ⁸: Ly diəʔ⁸; Jh diəʔ⁸; Pj dɛ⁸; Dy deiʔ⁸; Yk dəi⁴; Wy dəʔ⁸
CLS *diʔ⁸: Sc diɪʔ⁸; Sy diʔ⁸; Lq —; Yh diʔ⁸; Pc —; Qy tiʔ⁸
CSS *diʔ⁸

1197 *lì* 曆〔廣韻：梗開四入錫來〕 ‘calendar’ CDC *liak⁸ / EC *’lek
CSWW *liʔ⁸
CJQ *liʔ⁸: Ly —; Jh liəʔ⁸; Pj liə⁸₍f; Dy leiʔ⁸; Yk —; Wy ləʔ⁸
CLS *liʔ⁸: Sc liɪʔ⁸; Sy liʔ⁸; Lq liʔ⁸; Yh liʔ⁸; Pc liʔ⁷; Qy liʔ⁸
CSS *liʔ⁸

1198 *qī* 戚〔梗開四入錫清〕 ‘relatives’ CDC *tshiak⁷ / EC *’tshiwk
CSWW *tsʰiʔ⁷
CJQ *tsʰiʔ⁷: Ly tɕʰiəʔ⁷; Jh tsʰiəʔ⁷; Pj tsʰɛ⁷; Dy (tɕʰiəʔ⁷₍f); Yk tsʰəi³; Wy tɕʰiəʔ⁷
CLS *tɕʰiʔ⁷: Sc tɕʰiɪʔ⁷; Sy —; Lq tsʰɿʔ⁷; Yh tʃʰiʔ⁷; Pc tɕʰi⁷; Qy tɕʰiʔ⁷
CSS #tɕʰiʔ⁷: Kh tɕʰieʔ⁷; Cs tsʰeʔ⁷; Js tɕʰiᴇʔ⁷; Ys tsʰeʔ⁷; Gf tsʰeʔ⁷

1199 *xī* 錫〔梗開四入錫心〕 ‘tin’ CDC *siak⁷ / EC *’sek
CSWW *siʔ⁷

CJQ *siʔ⁷: **Ly** ɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** siəʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃiə⁷; **Dy** seiʔ⁷ [1] ～箔 ⩙ ɕiəʔ⁷ [2]; **Yk** səi³; **Wy** ɕiəʔ⁷
CLS *ɕiʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** sɿʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** ɕi⁷ ⩙ se⁷; **Qy** ɕiʔ⁷
CSS *ɕiʔ⁷

1200 *jī* 擊〔梗開四入錫見〕 'attack' **CDC** *kiak⁷ / **EC** *'kek
CSWW *kiʔ⁷
CJQ *kiəʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕiə⁷; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kĭə³; **Wy** tɕiəʔ⁷
CLS *kiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiɪʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷; **Lq** tsɿʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiʔ⁷; **Pc** kie⁷; **Qy** tɕiʔ⁷
CSS #kiʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕieʔ⁷; **Cs** tɕieʔ⁷; **Js** kiɛʔ⁷; **Ys** kieʔ⁷; **Gf** kieʔ⁷

1201 *chī* 吃（喫）〔廣韻：梗開四入錫溪〕 'eat' **CDC** *khiak⁷ ⩙ *chiak⁷ / **EC** *'khek
CSWW *kʰiʔ⁷
CJQ *kʰiʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰiə⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰĭə³; **Wy** tɕʰiəʔ⁷
CLS *kʰiʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰieʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰiʔ⁷; **Lq** tsʰɿʔ⁷ [文]; **Yh** tʃʰiʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕʰiʔ⁷
CSS *kʰiʔ⁷

This is the popular word for 'to eat/drink' in Jh, Cs, and Yh. These instances are probably learnèd intrusions in the colloquial language.

1202 *héng* 橫〔梗合二平庚匣〕 'horizontal' **CDC** *huang² / **EC** *'gwrang
CSWW *ɦuæŋ²
CJQ *ɦuæŋ²: **Ly** uɛ²; **Jh** uɑŋ² [1] ⩙ uəŋ² [2]; **Pj** uɛ̃²; **Dy** uɛ²; **Yk** uai²; **Wy** ŋua²
CLS *ɦuæŋ²: **Sc** —; **Sy** uaŋ²; **Lq** uaŋ²; **Yh** uɛ²; **Pc** uãi²; **Qy** uã²
CSS *ɦuæ̃²

1203 *huà* 劃〔梗合二入麥匣〕 'carve out' **CDC** *huak⁸ / **EC** *gwrek
CSWW *ɦuæʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦuæʔ⁸: **Ly** uəʔ⁸; **Jh** uəʔ⁸; **Pj** uɑ⁶₍₁ft₎; **Dy** uɑʔ⁸; **Yk** uai⁴; **Wy** ŋuaʔ⁸ [1] 'stroke' ⩙ uaʔ⁸ [2] 計～ 'plan'
CLS *ɦuæʔ⁸: **Sc** uaʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** uəʔ⁸; **Yh** uaʔ⁸; **Pc** xuai⁷; **Qy** uɑʔ⁸
CSS *ɦuæʔ⁸

1204 *xiōng* 兄〔梗合三平庚曉 B〕 'older brother' **CDC** *xiuang¹ ⩙ *xiang¹ / **EC** *hwang
CSWW *xæŋ¹₍ₗa₎ [1] ⩙ *xioŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *xioŋ¹: **Ly** ɕioŋ¹; **Jh** ɕioŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyon¹; **Dy** ɕiom¹; **Yk** xiɔŋ¹ ⩙ xyeiŋ¹; **Wy** —
CLS *xioŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Sy** ɕioŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʃioŋ¹; **Pc** xioŋ¹; **Qy** ɕioŋ¹
CSS *xæ̃¹ ⩙ #xioŋ¹
a. **Kh** xəŋ¹; **Cs** xɪŋ¹; **Js** xã⁻⁴⁴; **Ys** xɒ̃¹; **Gf** xæ̃¹
b. **Kh** ɕioŋ¹; **Cs** ɕioŋ⁻⁴² ～字 'the character xiōng'; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1205 *róng* 榮〔梗合三平庚云 B〕 ‘honor’ **CDC** *yuang² ⩙ *iang² / **EC** *weng

CSWW *ɦioŋ²

CJQ *ɦioŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** ioŋ²; **Pj** yon²; **Dy** iom²; **Yk** iəŋ²; **Wy** iɔŋ⁻⁵³

CLS *ɦioŋ²: **Sc** iɔŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** iəŋ²; **Yh** ioŋ²; **Pc** ioŋ¹; **Qy** ioŋ²

CSS #ɦioŋ²: **Kh** ioŋ²; **Cs** ioŋ²; **Js** ioŋ²; **Ys** ioŋ²; **Gf** ioŋ²

1206 *yǒng* 永〔梗合三上梗云 B〕 ‘forever’ **CDC** *yuang⁴ ⩙ *wong⁴ / **EC** *wangx ⩙ *wengx

CSWW *ɦyəŋ⁴ [1] ⩙ *ɦioŋ⁴ˌla [2]

CJQ *ɦyəŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦioŋ⁴ˌla

a. **Ly** {ioŋ³ˌlt}; **Jh** yəŋ³; **Pj** yən⁴; **Dy** ien⁴; **Yk** yeiŋ⁴; **Wy** yin⁴

b. **Ly** {ioŋ³ˌlt}; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʔiom³ˌlt; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɦyəŋ⁴ ⩙ *ɦioŋ⁴ˌla

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {iəŋ⁴}; **Lq** yŋ³; **Yh** yɪŋ³; **Pc** yeŋ⁴; **Qy** yəŋ⁴

b. **Sc** iɔŋ⁴; **Sy** {iəŋ⁴}; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #ɦyiŋ⁴ ⩙ #ʔioŋ³ˌlita

a. **Kh** yŋ³; **Cs** uɪŋ³; **Js** —; **Ys** yɪŋ³; **Gf** {ioŋ¹ˌlt}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** ioŋ⁻³³ ～遠 ‘forever’; **Ys** —; **Gf** {ioŋ¹ˌlt}

1207 *qióng* 瓊〔梗合三平清羣 A〕 ‘rhodonite’ **CDC** *giuang² / **EC** *gweng

CSWW *gyəŋ² ⩙ *gioŋ² [2]

CJQ *gyəŋ² [1] ⩙ *gioŋ²ˌla [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑyəŋ²; **Pj** dʑyən²; **Dy** —; **Yk** gyeiŋ²; **Wy** dʑyin²

b. **Ly** dʑioŋ²; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *gyəŋ² ⩙ *gioŋ² [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** {tɕiəŋ²}; **Lq** dʑyŋ²; **Yh** dʒyɪŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyəŋ¹

b. **Sc** dʑioŋ²; **Sy** {tɕiəŋ²}; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kioŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS #gyiŋ²: **Kh** dʑyŋ²; **Cs** dzuɪŋ²; **Js** gyiŋ²; **Ys** gyɪŋ²; **Gf** gioŋ²

1208 *yíng* 營〔梗合三平清以 A〕 ‘camp’ **CDC** *yuang² / **EC** *weng

CSWW *ɦiŋ² [1] ⩙ *ɦyəŋ² [2] ⩙ *ɦioŋ² [3]

CJQ *ɦiŋ² ⩙ *ɦyəŋ²ˌla

a. **Ly** iŋ²; **Jh** iŋ²; **Pj** in²; **Dy** ən²; **Yk** —; **Wy** in²

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** yeiŋ²; **Wy** —

CLS *ɦiŋ² ⩙ *ɦioŋ² [2]

a. **Sc** iɪŋ²; **Sy** in²; **Lq** iŋ²; **Yh** iŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** ioŋ¹; **Qy** ioŋ²

CSS #ɦiŋ² ⩙ #ɦyiŋ² ⩙ #ɦioŋ²
a. **Kh** iŋ²; **Cs** ɦɪŋ²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** yiŋ²; **Ys** —; **Gf** {ioŋ²}
c. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ioŋ²; **Gf** {ioŋ²}

1209 *yì* 役〔梗合三入昔以 A〕 ‘corvee’ **CDC** *yuak⁸ / **EC** *wek
CSWW *ɦyʔ⁸
CJQ *ɦyʔ⁸: **Ly** yəʔ⁸; **Jh** yəʔ⁸; **Pj** yə⁸; **Dy** iouʔ⁸; **Yk** ỳə⁴; **Wy** yəʔ⁸
CLS *ɦyʔ⁸: **Sc** iuʔ⁸; **Sy** yʔ⁸; **Lq** iʔ⁸; **Yh** yeiʔ⁸; **Pc** y⁷; **Qy** yʔ⁸
CSS *ɦyʔ⁸

A.16 Tōngshè 通攝

1210 *péng* 篷〔廣韻：通合一平東並〕 ‘canopy’ **CDC** *bung² / **EC** *ʾbong
CSWW *boŋ²
CJQ *boŋ²: **Ly** bəŋ²; **Jh** boŋ²; **Pj** bon²; **Dy** bom²; **Yk** bɔŋ²; **Wy** bɔŋ²
CLS *boŋ²: **Sc** bəŋ²; **Sy** pəŋ²; **Lq** bəŋ²; **Yh** bəŋ²; **Pc** poŋ²; **Qy** poŋ²
CSS *boŋ²

1211 *dōng* 東〔通合一平東端〕 ‘east’ **CDC** *tung¹ / **EC** *ʾtong
CSWW *ɗoŋ¹
CJQ *ɗoŋ¹: **Ly** toŋ¹; **Jh** toŋ¹; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** tom¹; **Yk** ʔnɔŋ¹; **Wy** nɔŋ¹
CLS *ɗoŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdəŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdəŋ¹ [1] ⩙ nəŋ¹ [2] ～西 ‘thing’; **Lq** ʔdəŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdoŋ¹ [1] ⩙ noŋ¹ [2] ～西 ‘thing’; **Pc** loŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdoŋ¹
CSS *toŋ¹
The **Sy** and **Yh** forms with nasal initials occur in the word ～西 ‘thing’.

1212 *dǒng* 懂〔廣韻：通合一上董端〕 ‘understand’ **CDC** *tung³ / **EC** —
CSWW *ɗoŋ³
CJQ *ɗoŋ³: **Ly** —; **Jh** toŋ³; **Pj** tən³; **Dy** tom³; **Yk** ʔnɔŋ³; **Wy** ʔnɔŋ³
CLS *ɗoŋ³: **Sc** ʔdəŋ³; **Sy** (ʔdiəŋ³$_{lf}$); **Lq** ʔdəŋ³; **Yh** ʔdoŋ³; **Pc** loŋ³; **Qy** ʔdoŋ³
CSS #toŋ³: **Kh** təŋ³; **Cs** toŋ³; **Js** —; **Ys** toŋ³; **Gf** —

1213 *dòng* 凍〔通合一去送端〕 ‘freeze; be frozen’ **CDC** *tung⁵ / **EC** *ʾtongh
CSWW *ɗoŋ⁵
CJQ *ɗoŋ⁵: **Ly** toŋ⁵; **Jh** toŋ⁵; **Pj** tən⁵; **Dy** tom⁵; **Yk** ʔnɔŋ⁵; **Wy** ʔnɔŋ⁵
CLS *ɗoŋ⁵: **Sc** ʔdəŋ⁵; **Sy** ʔdəŋ⁵; **Lq** ʔdəŋ⁵; **Yh** ʔdoŋ⁵; **Pc** loŋ⁵; **Qy** ʔdoŋ⁵
CSS *toŋ⁵

1214 *tōng* 通〔通合一平東透〕 ‘through’ **CDC** *thung¹ / **EC** *’thong
CSWW *tʰoŋ¹
CJQ *tʰoŋ¹: **Ly** tʰoŋ¹; **Jh** tʰoŋ¹; **Pj** tʰən¹; **Dy** tʰom¹; **Yk** tʰɔŋ¹; **Wy** tʰɔŋ¹
CLS *tʰoŋ¹: **Sc** tʰəŋ¹; **Sy** tʰəŋ¹; **Lq** tʰəŋ¹; **Yh** tʰoŋ¹; **Pc** tʰoŋ¹; **Qy** tʰoŋ¹
CSS #tʰoŋ¹: **Kh** tʰəŋ¹; **Cs** tʰoŋ¹; **Js** tʰoŋ¹; **Ys** tʰoŋ¹; **Gf** tʰoŋ¹

1215 *tǒng* 桶〔通合一上董透〕 ‘bucket’ **CDC** *thung³ / **EC** *’thongx
CSWW *doŋ⁴
CJQ *doŋ⁴: **Ly** doŋ⁴; **Jh** toŋ³; **Pj** dən⁴; **Dy** dom⁴; **Yk** dɔŋ⁴; **Wy** dɔŋ⁴
CLS *doŋ⁴: **Sc** dəŋ⁴; **Sy** dəŋ⁴; **Lq** ʔdəŋ³; **Yh** doŋ⁴; **Pc** toŋ⁴ ≍ tʰoŋ³; **Qy** toŋ⁴
CSS *doŋ⁴

1216 *tòng* 痛〔通合一去送透〕 ‘painful’ **CDC** *thung⁵ / **EC** *’thongh
CSWW *tʰoŋ⁵
CJQ *tʰoŋ⁵: **Ly** tʰoŋ⁵; **Jh** tʰoŋ⁵; **Pj** tʰən⁵; **Dy** tʰom⁵; **Yk** tʰɔŋ⁵; **Wy** tʰɔŋ⁵
CLS *tʰoŋ⁵: **Sc** tʰəŋ⁵; **Sy** tʰəŋ⁵; **Lq** tʰəŋ⁵; **Yh** tʰoŋ⁵; **Pc** tʰoŋ⁵; **Qy** tʰoŋ⁵
CSS *tʰoŋ⁵

1217 *tóng* 銅〔通合一平東定〕 ‘bronze’ **CDC** *dung² / **EC** *’dong
CSWW *doŋ²
CJQ *doŋ²: **Ly** doŋ²; **Jh** doŋ²; **Pj** dən²; **Dy** dom²; **Yk** dɔŋ²; **Wy** dɔŋ²
CLS *doŋ²: **Sc** dəŋ²; **Sy** təŋ²; **Lq** dəŋ²; **Yh** doŋ²; **Pc** toŋ²; **Qy** toŋ²
CSS *doŋ²

1218 *dòng* 動〔通合一上董定〕 ‘move’ **CDC** *dung⁴ / **EC** *’dongx
CSWW *doŋ⁴
CJQ *doŋ⁴: **Ly** doŋ⁴; **Jh** toŋ³ [1] ≍ doŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** dən⁴; **Dy** dom⁴; **Yk** dɔŋ⁴; **Wy** dɔŋ⁴
CLS *doŋ⁴: **Sc** dəŋ⁴; **Sy** dəŋ⁴; **Lq** ʔdəŋ³; **Yh** doŋ⁴; **Pc** (toŋ$^{6}_{!t}$); **Qy** toŋ⁴
CSS *doŋ⁴

1219 *dòng* 洞〔通合一去送定〕 ‘hole’ **CDC** *dung⁶ / **EC** *’dongh
CSWW *doŋ⁶
CJQ *doŋ⁶: **Ly** doŋ⁶; **Jh** doŋ⁶; **Pj** dən⁶; **Dy** dom⁶; **Yk** dɔŋ⁶; **Wy** dɔŋ⁶
CLS *doŋ⁶: **Sc** dəŋ⁶; **Sy** dəŋ⁶; **Lq** dəŋ⁶; **Yh** doŋ⁶; **Pc** toŋ⁶; **Qy** toŋ⁶
CSS #doŋ⁶: **Kh** doŋ⁶; **Cs** doŋ⁶; **Js** doŋ⁶; **Ys** doŋ⁶; **Gf** doŋ⁶

1220 *lóng* 籠〔通合一平東來〕 ‘cage’ **CDC** *lung² / **EC** *’long
CSWW *loŋ²
CJQ *loŋ²: **Ly** loŋ²; **Jh** loŋ² [1]; **Pj** lən²; **Dy** lom²; **Yk** lɔŋ²; **Wy** lɔŋ²

CLS *loŋ²: **Sc** ləŋ²; **Sy** ləŋ²; **Lq** ləŋ²; **Yh** loŋ²; **Pc** loŋ²; **Qy** loŋ²
CSS *loŋ²

1221 *lóng* 聾〔通合一平東來〕 ‘deaf’ **CDC** *ʰlung² / **EC** *’ʰlong
CSWW *loŋ²
CJQ *loŋ²: **Ly** loŋ²; **Jh** loŋ²; **Pj** lən²; **Dy** lom²; **Yk** ləŋ²; **Wy** ləŋ²
CLS *loŋ²: **Sc** ləŋ²; **Sy** ləŋ²; **Lq** ləŋ²; **Yh** loŋ²; **Pc** loŋ²; **Qy** loŋ²
CSS *loŋ²

1222 *zōng* 椶〔通合一平東精〕 ‘palm tree’ **CDC** *tsung¹ / **EC** *’tsong
CSWW *tsoŋ¹
CJQ *tsoŋ¹: **Ly** tsoŋ¹; **Jh** tsoŋ¹; **Pj** tsən¹; **Dy** tsom¹; **Yk** tɕiəŋ¹; **Wy** tsəŋ¹
CLS *tsoŋ¹: **Sc** tsəŋ¹; **Sy** tsəŋ¹; **Lq** tsəŋ¹; **Yh** tsoŋ¹; **Pc** tsoŋ¹; **Qy** —
CSS #tsoŋ¹: **Kh** tsoŋ¹; **Cs** tsoŋ¹; **Js** tsoŋ¹; **Ys** tsoŋ¹; **Gf** tsoŋ¹

1223 *zòng* 糉〔通合一去送精〕 ‘zongzi’ **CDC** *tsung⁵ / **EC** —
CSWW *tsoŋ⁵
CJQ *tsoŋ⁵: **Ly** tsoŋ⁵; **Jh** tsoŋ⁵; **Pj** tsən⁵; **Dy** tsom⁵; **Yk** tɕiəŋ⁵; **Wy** tsəŋ⁵
CLS *tsoŋ⁵: **Sc** tsəŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** tsəŋ⁵; **Yh** tsoŋ⁵; **Pc** tsoŋ⁵; **Qy** tsoŋ⁵
CSS *tsoŋ⁵

1224 *cōng* 囪〔廣韻：通合一平東清〕 ‘chimney’ **CDC** *tshung¹ / **EC** *’tshong
CSWW *tsʰoŋ¹
CJQ *tsʰoŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰoŋ¹; **Jh** tsʰoŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰən¹; **Dy** tsʰom¹; **Yk** (tɕʰiəŋ¹ǃif); **Wy** tsʰɔŋ¹
CLS *tsʰoŋ¹: **Sc** tsʰəŋ¹; **Sy** (tɕʰiəŋ¹ǃif); **Lq** tsʰəŋ¹; **Yh** tsʰoŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰoŋ¹; **Qy** tsʰoŋ¹
CSS *tsʰoŋ¹

1225 *cōng* 蔥（葱）〔廣韻：通合一平東清〕 ‘green onion’ **CDC** *tshung¹ / **EC** *’tshong
CSWW *tsʰoŋ¹
CJQ *tsʰoŋ¹: **Ly** tsʰoŋ¹; **Jh** tsʰoŋ¹; **Pj** tsʰən¹; **Dy** tsʰom¹; **Yk** (tɕʰiəŋ¹ǃif); **Wy** tsʰɔŋ¹
CLS *tsʰoŋ¹: **Sc** tsʰəŋ¹; **Sy** tsʰəŋ¹; **Lq** tsʰəŋ¹; **Yh** tsʰoŋ¹; **Pc** tsʰoŋ¹; **Qy** tsʰoŋ¹
CSS *tsʰoŋ¹

1226 *sòng* 送〔通合一去送心〕 ‘send’ **CDC** *sung⁵ / **EC** *’songh
CSWW *soŋ⁵
CJQ *soŋ⁵: **Ly** soŋ⁵; **Jh** soŋ⁵; **Pj** sən⁵; **Dy** som⁵; **Yk** səŋ⁵; **Wy** səŋ⁵
CLS *soŋ⁵: **Sc** səŋ⁵; **Sy** səŋ⁵; **Lq** səŋ⁵; **Yh** soŋ⁵; **Pc** soŋ⁵; **Qy** soŋ⁵
CSS *soŋ⁵

1227 *gōng* 蚣〔通合一平東見〕 ‘centipede in 蜈～’ **CDC** *kung¹ / **EC** *’kong
CSWW *koŋ¹
CJQ *koŋ¹: **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** kom¹; **Yk** kɔŋ¹; **Wy** kɔŋ⁻⁵³ □mɔŋ²¹～
CLS *koŋ¹: **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** kəŋ¹; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** koŋ¹
CSS *koŋ¹

1228 *gōng* 工〔通合一平東見〕 ‘work’ **CDC** *kung¹ / **EC** *’kong
CSWW *koŋ¹
CJQ *koŋ¹: **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** kom¹; **Yk** kɔŋ¹; **Wy** kɔŋ¹
CLS *koŋ¹: **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** kəŋ¹; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** koŋ¹; **Qy** koŋ¹
CSS #koŋ¹: **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** koŋ¹; **Gf** koŋ¹

1229 *kōng* 空〔通合一平東溪〕 ‘empty’ **CDC** *khung¹ / **EC** *’khong
CSWW *kʰoŋ¹
CJQ *kʰoŋ¹: **Ly** kʰoŋ¹; **Jh** kʰoŋ¹; **Pj** kʰon¹; **Dy** kʰom¹; **Yk** kʰɔŋ¹; **Wy** kʰɔŋ¹
CLS *kʰoŋ¹: **Sc** kʰəŋ¹; **Sy** kʰəŋ¹; **Lq** kʰəŋ¹; **Yh** kʰoŋ¹ [1]; **Pc** kʰoŋ¹; **Qy** kʰoŋ¹
CSS #kʰoŋ¹

1230 *kòng* 空〔廣韻：通合一去送溪〕 ‘free time’ **CDC** *khung⁵ / **EC** *’khongh
CSWW *kʰoŋ⁵
CJQ *kʰoŋ⁵: **Ly** kʰoŋ⁵; **Jh** kʰoŋ⁵; **Pj** kʰon⁵; **Dy** kʰom⁵; **Yk** kʰɔŋ⁵; **Wy** kʰɔŋ⁵
CLS *kʰoŋ⁵: **Sc** kʰəŋ¹ǃt; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰəŋ⁵; **Yh** kʰoŋ⁵ [2]; **Pc** kʰoŋ⁵; **Qy** kʰoŋ⁵
CSS *kʰoŋ⁵

1231 *hóng* 紅〔通合一平東匣〕 ‘red’ **CDC** *hung² / **EC** *’gong
CSWW *ɦoŋ²
CJQ *ɦoŋ²: **Ly** oŋ²; **Jh** oŋ² [1] ≍ ɦoŋ² [2]; **Pj** on²; **Dy** om²; **Yk** ɔŋ²; **Wy** ɔŋ²
CLS *ɦoŋ²: **Sc** əŋ²; **Sy** əŋ²; **Lq** ŋ²; **Yh** oŋ²; **Pc** ŋ² ≍ xoŋ² [文]; **Qy** ŋ̣²
CSS *ɦoŋ²

1232 *hóng* 虹〔通合一平東匣〕 ‘rainbow’ **CDC** *hung² / **EC** *’gong
CSWW *ɦoŋ⁵
CJQ *ɦoŋ⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** oŋ² [1] ≍ ɦoŋ² [2]; **Pj** on²; **Dy** om²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *ɦoŋ⁵: **Sc** əŋ²; **Sy** əŋ²; **Lq** —; **Yh** oŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋ̣²
CSS —

1233 *wèng* 甕〔通合一去送影〕 ‘urn’ **CDC** *ung⁵ / **EC** *’ongh
CSWW *ʔoŋ⁵
CJQ *ʔoŋ⁵: **Ly** oŋ⁵; **Jh** oŋ⁵; **Pj** on⁵; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ɔŋ⁵

CLS *oŋ⁵: **Sc** əŋ¹₍ɬ; **Sy** əŋ¹₍ɬ; **Lq** —; **Yh** oŋ⁵; **Pc** ŋ⁵; **Qy** —
CSS *ʔoŋ⁵

1234 *mù* 木〔通合一入屋明〕 ‘wood’ **CDC** *ʰmuk⁸ / **EC** *ʾʰmok
CSWW *moʔ⁸
CJQ *moʔ⁸: **Ly** məʔ⁸; **Jh** moʔ⁸; **Pj** mɤ⁸ [1] ≍ mɯ⁸ [2]; **Dy** mouʔ⁸; **Yk** mu⁴; **Wy** məʔ⁸
CLS *muʔ⁸: **Sc** məɯʔ⁸; **Sy** məʔ⁸; **Lq** ŋʔ⁸; **Yh** məuʔ⁸; **Pc** moŋ⁷; **Qy** muʔ⁸
CSS #moʔ⁸: **Kh** məʔ⁸; **Cs** moʔ⁸; **Js** moʔ⁸; **Ys** moʔ⁸; **Gf** mɤʔ⁸

1235 *tū* 禿〔通合一入屋透〕 ‘bald’ **CDC** *thuk⁷ / **EC** *ʾthok
CSWW *tʰoʔ⁷
CJQ *tʰoʔ⁷: **Ly** tʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** tʰoʔ⁷; **Pj** tʰɤ³ [1] ≍ tʰə⁷ [2]; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tʰəʔ⁷
CLS *tʰuʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** tʰoʔ⁷; **Lq** tʰuʔ⁷₍f; **Yh** —; **Pc** tʰu⁷; **Qy** tʰuʔ⁷
CSS #tʰoʔ⁷: **Kh** tʰəʔ⁷; **Cs** tʰoʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** tʰoʔ⁷; **Gf** tʰuɤʔ⁷

1236 *dú* 讀〔通合一入屋定〕 ‘read’ **CDC** *duk⁸ / **EC** *ʾdok
CSWW *doʔ⁸
CJQ *doʔ⁸: **Ly** dəʔ⁸; **Jh** doʔ⁸; **Pj** dɯ⁸; **Dy** douʔ⁸; **Yk** du⁴; **Wy** dəʔ⁸
CLS *duʔ⁸: **Sc** dəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** dəʔ⁸; **Lq** dəɯʔ⁸; **Yh** dəuʔ⁸; **Pc** to⁷; **Qy** tuʔ⁸
CSS *doʔ⁸

1237 *lù* 鹿〔通合一入屋來〕 ‘deer’ **CDC** *luk⁸ / **EC** *ʾlok
CSWW *loʔ⁸
CJQ *loʔ⁸: **Ly** ləʔ⁸; **Jh** loʔ⁸; **Pj** lɯ⁸; **Dy** louʔ⁸; **Yk** lu⁴; **Wy** ləʔ⁸
CLS *luʔ⁸: **Sc** ləɯʔ⁸; **Sy** ləʔ⁸; **Lq** ləɯʔ⁸; **Yh** ləuʔ⁸; **Pc** lo⁷; **Qy** luʔ⁸
CSS *loʔ⁸

1238 *zú* 族〔通合一入屋從〕 ‘clan’ **CDC** *dzuk⁸ / **EC** *ʾdzok
CSWW *zoʔ⁸
CJQ *zoʔ⁸: **Ly** dzəʔ⁸₍j; **Jh** zoʔ⁸ [1] ≍ dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dzɯ⁸₍j; **Dy** dzouʔ⁸₍j; **Yk** ʑiu⁴; **Wy** zəʔ⁸
CLS *zuʔ⁸: **Sc** dzəɯʔ⁸₍j; **Sy** zəʔ⁸; **Lq** zəɯʔ⁸; **Yh** zəuʔ⁸; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** suʔ⁸
CSS *zoʔ⁸

1239 *gǔ* 穀〔通合一入屋見〕 ‘grain’ **CDC** *kuk⁷ / **EC** *ʾkok
CSWW *koʔ⁷
CJQ *koʔ⁷: **Ly** kəʔ⁷; **Jh** koʔ⁷; **Pj** kɯ⁷; **Dy** kouʔ⁷; **Yk** ku³; **Wy** kəʔ⁷
CLS *kuʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** kɯʔ⁷; **Lq** kuʔ⁷; **Yh** kəuʔ⁷; **Pc** ku⁷; **Qy** kuʔ⁷
CSS *koʔ⁷

1240 *wū* 屋〔通合一入屋影〕 ‘room; house’ **CDC** *uk⁷ / **EC** *’ok

CSWW *ʔoʔ⁷ [1]

CJQ *ʔoʔ⁷: **Ly** uɔʔ⁷ [1] ⩙ ɔʔ⁷; **Jh** oʔ⁷; **Pj** ɯ⁷; **Dy** ʔouʔ⁷; **Yk** u³; **Wy** ɔʔ⁷

CLS *uʔ⁷: **Sc** əɯʔ⁷; **Sy** oʔ⁸; **Lq** uʔ⁷; **Yh** əuʔ⁷; **Pc** u⁷; **Qy** uʔ⁷

CSS *ʔoʔ⁷

1241 *dōng* 冬〔通合一平冬端〕 ‘winter’ **CDC** *tung¹ / **EC** *’tung

CSWW *ɗã¹ˈa (?) [1] ⩙ *ɗoŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *ɗoŋ¹: **Ly** toŋ¹; **Jh** toŋ¹; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** tom¹; **Yk** ʔnəŋ¹; **Wy** nəŋ¹

CLS *ɗoŋ¹: **Sc** ʔdəŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdəŋ¹; **Lq** ʔdəŋ¹; **Yh** ʔdoŋ¹; **Pc** loŋ¹; **Qy** ʔdoŋ¹

CSS *tã¹ ⩙ *toŋ¹

1242 *nóng* 農〔通合一平冬泥〕 ‘farmer ’ **CDC** *nung² / **EC** *’nung

CSWW *nã²ˈa (?) [1] ‘person (?)’ ⩙ *noŋ² [2] ‘person; farmer’

CJQ *noŋ² ‘person’: **Ly** nəŋ²ˈf ⩙ noŋ² ‘farmer’; **Jh** noŋ²; **Pj** nən² [1] ⩙ lən² [2] ‘person; farmer’ ⩙ lon² [2] ‘farmer’; **Dy** nom²; **Yk** nəŋ²; **Wy** nəŋ² [1]

CLS *noŋ² ‘person’: **Sc** nəŋ²; **Sy** nəŋ²; **Lq** nəŋ²; **Yh** noŋ²; **Pc** noŋ²; **Qy** noŋ² [1]

CSS *nã² [2] ‘person’ ⩙ *noŋ² [1] ‘person’

1243 *nóng* 膿〔通合一平冬泥〕 ‘pus’ **CDC** *nung² / **EC** *’nung

CSWW *noŋ² [1] ⩙ *noŋ⁶ˈa [2]

CJQ *noŋ² ⩙ *noŋ⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** nom²; **Yk** nəŋ²; **Wy** nəŋ²

b. **Ly** noŋ⁶; **Jh** noŋ⁶; **Pj** lən⁶; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** nəŋ⁶

CLS *noŋ² ⩙ *noŋ⁶ˈa

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** nəŋ²; **Lq** nəŋ²; **Yh** noŋ²; **Pc** noŋ²; **Qy** noŋ²

b. **Sc** nəŋ⁶ [1] ⩙ ləŋ⁶ [2]; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *noŋ²

1244 *sòng* 宋〔通合一去宋心〕 ‘Sòng (pn.)’ **CDC** *sung⁵ / **EC** *’sungh

CSWW *soŋ⁵

CJQ *soŋ⁵: **Ly** soŋ⁵; **Jh** soŋ⁵; **Pj** sən⁵; **Dy** som⁵; **Yk** səŋ⁵; **Wy** səŋ⁵

CLS *soŋ⁵: **Sc** səŋ⁵; **Sy** səŋ⁵; **Lq** səŋ⁵; **Yh** soŋ⁵; **Pc** soŋ⁵; **Qy** soŋ⁵

CSS #soŋ⁵: **Kh** soŋ⁵; **Cs** soŋ³ˈt; **Js** —; **Ys** soŋ⁵; **Gf** —

1245 *dū* 督〔廣韻：通合一入沃端〕 ‘oversee’ **CDC** *tuk⁷ / **EC** *’tuk

CSWW *ɗoʔ⁷

CJQ *ɗoʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** toʔ⁷; **Pj** tɯ³; **Dy** touʔ⁷; **Yk** ʔdu³; **Wy** ləʔ⁷

CLS *ɗuʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔdəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔdyʔ⁷; **Lq** ʔdəɯʔ⁷; **Yh** ʔdiɯʔ⁷₍f; **Pc** lo⁷ ≍ to⁷; **Qy** ʔduʔ⁷

CSS #toʔ⁷: **Kh** təʔ⁷; **Cs** toʔ⁷; **Js** toʔ⁷; **Ys** toʔ⁷; **Gf** tuɤʔ⁷

1246 *dú* 毒〔通合一入沃定〕 ‘poison’ **CDC** *duk⁸ / **EC** *’duk

CSWW *daʔ⁸₍a (?) [1] ≍ *doʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *doʔ⁸: **Ly** dɔʔ⁸; **Jh** doʔ⁸; **Pj** duɯ⁸; **Dy** douʔ⁸; **Yk** du⁴; **Wy** dɔʔ⁸

CLS *duʔ⁸: **Sc** dəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** dəʔ⁸; **Lq** dəɯʔ⁸; **Yh** dəuʔ⁸; **Pc** to⁷; **Qy** tuʔ⁸

CSS #dɑʔ⁸₍a (?) ≍ #doʔ⁸ [2] ≍ *boŋ⁴

a. **Kh** dəʔ⁸; **Cs** doʔ⁸; **Js** doʔ⁸; **Ys** doʔ⁸; **Gf** duɤʔ⁸

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** daʔ⁸ [2] 癤～ ‘a serious boil’; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1247 *fēng* 風〔通合三平東非 C〕 ‘wind’ **CDC** *fung¹ / **EC** *pum

CSWW *foŋ¹

CJQ *foŋ¹: **Ly** fəŋ¹; **Jh** foŋ¹; **Pj** fon¹; **Dy** fom¹; **Yk** fɔŋ¹; **Wy** fɔŋ¹

CLS *foŋ¹: **Sc** fəŋ¹; **Sy** fəŋ¹; **Lq** fəŋ¹; **Yh** fəŋ¹; **Pc** foŋ¹; **Qy** foŋ¹

CSS *foŋ¹

1248 *féng* 馮〔通合三平東奉 C〕 ‘Féng (pn.)’ **CDC** *vung² / **EC** *bing

CSWW *boŋ² [1] ≍ *voŋ² [2]

CJQ *boŋ² ≍ *voŋ²

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** bom²; **Yk** bɔŋ²; **Wy** bɔŋ²

b. **Ly** vəŋ²; **Jh** voŋ²; **Pj** von²; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *boŋ² ≍ *voŋ²

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** bəŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** poŋ²

b. **Sc** vəŋ²; **Sy** vəŋ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** vəŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #voŋ²: **Kh** voŋ²; **Cs** voŋ²; **Js** foŋ²; **Ys** (ɦoŋ²₍i); **Gf** foŋ²

1249 *mèng* 夢〔通合三去送明 C〕 ‘dream’ **CDC** *mung⁶ / **EC** *mingh

CSWW *mɔŋ⁶₍a (?) [1] ≍ *moŋ⁶ [2]

CJQ *m(aŋ,auʔ)⁶ ≍ *moŋ⁶

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** maŋ⁶₍f [2] 眠～ ‘dream (v.)’; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** mɒ⁻³³ [2] 講～眠話 ‘sleep talk’; **Wy** mɑo⁻²¹ [2] ～眠 ‘dream (v.)’

b. **Ly** məŋ⁶; **Jh** moŋ⁶ [1]; **Pj** mon⁶; **Dy** mom⁶; **Yk** mɔŋ⁶ [1]; **Wy** mɔŋ⁶ [1]

CLS *moŋ⁶: **Sc** məŋ⁶; **Sy** məŋ⁶; **Lq** ŋ⁶; **Yh** məŋ⁶; **Pc** moŋ⁶; **Qy** moŋ⁵

CSS *moŋ⁶

For the first form, it seems that Yk and Wy shared in an innovation in which CSWW *-ɔŋ became *-ɔuʔ before the following syllable 眠 ‘sleep’, which began with *m-. This appears to be due to rebracketing or dissimilation. In Jh, CSWW *-ɔŋ developed regularly.

1250 *zhōng* 中〔通合三平東知 C〕 ‘middle’ **CDC** *ciung¹ / **EC** *trung

CSWW *ɗoŋ¹ [1] ⪤ *ɗioŋ¹˩a [2] ⪤ *tšioŋ¹ [3]

CJQ *ɗoŋ¹˩a ⪤ *tšioŋ¹ [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** nɔŋ⁻⁴⁴⁵ ～央指 ‘midde finger’

b. **Ly** tsoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕioŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyon¹; **Dy** tsom¹; **Yk** tɕioŋ¹; **Wy** tɕin⁻⁵³˩f 當～ ⪤ tsɔŋ¹ [3]

CLS *ɗoŋ¹ ⪤ *ɗioŋ¹ ⪤ *tɕioŋ¹

a. **Sc** ʔdəŋ¹; **Sy** ʔdəŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdɪŋ⁻³³˩f [3] ～央

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdioŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiõ⁻³³ ～央

c. **Sc** tɕioŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiəŋ¹ [2]; **Lq** tɕiəŋ¹; **Yh** tʃioŋ¹; **Pc** tsoŋ¹; **Qy** tɕioŋ¹ [1]

CSS *toŋˀ ⪤ #tiõ¹˩a (?) ⪤ #tɕioŋ¹

a. **Kh** toŋ¹ ～央 ‘middle’; **Cs** toŋ⁻⁴⁴ ～秋 ‘Mid-autumn’ ⪤ tsoŋ¹ [2]; **Js** toŋ⁻⁴⁴ ～秋 ‘Mid-autumn’; **Ys** toŋ⁻³³ ～秋 ‘Mid-autumn’; **Gf** toŋ⁻⁴⁴⁵

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tiõ¹ [3] ⪤ tõ⁻⁴³ [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** tɕioŋ¹ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕioŋ¹ [4]; **Ys** tɕioŋ¹ [2]; **Gf** tɕioŋ¹ [2]

1251 *zhòng* 中〔通合三去送知 C〕 ‘strike true’ **CDC** *ciung⁵ / **EC** *trungh

CSWW *ɗioŋ⁵ [1] ⪤ *tšioŋ⁵ [2]

CJQ *tšioŋ⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕioŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕyon⁵; **Dy** tsom⁵; **Yk** tɕioŋ⁵; **Wy** tsɔŋ⁵

CLS *ɗioŋ⁵˩a ⪤ *tɕioŋ⁵

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdioŋ⁵ ～意 ‘like’

b. **Sc** tɕioŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃioŋ⁵; **Pc** tsoŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕioŋ⁵

CSS *tioŋ⁵ ⪤ #tɕioŋ⁵

a. **Kh** toŋ⁵˩f; **Cs** —; **Js** tioŋ⁵; **Ys** tioŋ⁵; **Gf** tioŋ⁵

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕioŋ⁵; **Ys** tɕioŋ⁵; **Gf** —

1252 *chóng* 蟲〔通合三平東澄 C〕 ‘bug’ **CDC** *jiung² / **EC** *drung

CSWW *dã²˩a (?) [1] ⪤ *doŋ² [2] ⪤ *džioŋ² [3]

CJQ *džioŋ²: **Ly** dzoŋ²; **Jh** dʑioŋ²; **Pj** dʑyon²; **Dy** dzom²; **Yk** dʑioŋ²; **Wy** dzɔŋ²

CLS *doŋ² [1] ⪤ *dʑioŋ² [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** dəŋ²; **Yh** —; **Pc** toŋ²; **Qy** toŋ²

b. **Sc** dʑioŋ²; **Sy** tɕiəŋ²; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒioŋ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕioŋ²

CSS *dã² ⪤ #doŋ² ⪤ *dʑioŋ²

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** dã²; **Js** dã²; **Ys** dã²; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** doŋ¹ [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

c. **Kh** dʑioŋ² [2]; **Cs** tsoŋ¹ [2]; **Js** —; **Ys** dʑioŋ² [2]; **Gf** dʑioŋ²

1253 *zhòng* 仲〔通合三去送澄 C〕 ‘second most senior’ **CDC** *jiung⁶ / **EC** *drungh

CSWW *džioŋ⁶

CJQ *džioŋ⁶ [1] ⩙ *džioŋ⁴ [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** dʑioŋ⁶; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** dʑioŋ⁶; **Wy** dzɔŋ⁶
b. **Ly** dzoŋ⁴; **Jh** —; **Pj** dʑyon⁴; **Dy** dzom⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *dʑioŋ⁶: **Sc** dʑioŋ⁶; **Sy** dʑiəŋ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** dʒioŋ⁶; **Pc** tsoŋ⁶; **Qy** tɕioŋ⁶
CSS *dʑioŋ⁶

1254 *zhōng* 終〔通合三平東章 C〕 ‘finish’ **CDC** *ciung¹ / **EC** *tung
CSWW *tšioŋ¹
CJQ *tšioŋ¹: **Ly** tsoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕioŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyon¹; **Dy** tsom¹; **Yk** tɕioŋ¹; **Wy** tsɔŋ¹
CLS *tɕioŋ¹: **Sc** tɕioŋ¹; **Sy** tɕiəŋ¹; **Lq** tɕiəŋ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsoŋ¹; **Qy** tɕioŋ¹
CSS *tɕioŋ¹

1255 *zhòng* 衆〔通合三去送章 C〕 ‘masses’ **CDC** *ciung⁵ / **EC** *tungh
CSWW *tšioŋ⁵
CJQ *tšioŋ⁵: **Ly** tsoŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕioŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕyon⁵; **Dy** tsom⁵; **Yk** tɕioŋ⁵; **Wy** tsɔŋ⁵
CLS *tɕioŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕioŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕiəŋ⁵; **Lq** tɕiəŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃioŋ⁵; **Pc** tsoŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕioŋ⁵
CSS #tɕioŋ⁵: **Kh** tɕioŋ³; **Cs** —; **Js** tɕioŋ⁵; **Ys** tɕioŋ⁵; **Gf** tɕioŋ⁵

1256 *chòng* 銃〔廣韻：通合三去送昌 C〕 ‘gun’ **CDC** *chiung⁵ / **EC** *thungh
CSWW *tšʰioŋ⁵
CJQ *tšʰioŋ⁵: **Ly** tsʰoŋ⁵; **Jh** tɕʰioŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕʰyon⁵; **Dy** tsʰom⁵; **Yk** tɕʰioŋ⁵; **Wy** tsʰɔŋ⁵
CLS *tɕʰioŋ⁵: **Sc** tɕʰioŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕʰiəŋ¹ˌ!t; **Lq** tɕʰiəŋ⁵; **Yh** tʃʰioŋ⁵; **Pc** tsʰoŋ⁵; **Qy** tɕʰioŋ⁵
CSS #tɕʰioŋ⁵: **Kh** tsʰoŋ⁵ [2] ⩙ tʰoŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ tɕʰioŋ⁵ [3]; **Cs** tsʰoŋ⁵ [2] ⩙ tʰoŋ³ [1]; **Js** tɕʰioŋ⁵; **Ys** (tɕʰiɒ̃⁵ˌ!f); **Gf** tɕʰioŋ⁵

1257 *róng* 絨〔廣韻：通合三平東日 C〕 ‘fine hair’ **CDC** *nhiung² / **EC** *nung
CSWW *ɦioŋ²
CJQ *ɦioŋ²: **Ly** (ʑioŋ²ˌ!i); **Jh** ioŋ²; **Pj** yon²; **Dy** ȵiom²ˌ!i; **Yk** ioŋ²; **Wy** (zɔŋ²ˌ!i)
CLS *ɦioŋ²: **Sc** ʑioŋ²ˌ!i; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** iəŋ²; **Yh** ioŋ²; **Pc** ioŋ¹; **Qy** ioŋ²
CSS *ɦioŋ²

1258 *gōng* 弓〔通合三平東見 C〕 ‘bow’ **CDC** *kiung¹ / **EC** *kwing
CSWW *kioŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *kioŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕiom⁻⁵⁴ 彈～ ‘cotton-fluffing bow’; **Yk** kiɔŋ¹; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** kom¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** kɔŋ¹
CLS *kioŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃioŋ¹; **Pc** kioŋ¹; **Qy** tɕioŋ¹
b. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** kəŋ¹; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #kioŋ¹ ⩙ #koŋ¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kioŋ¹; **Gf** kioŋ¹
b. **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** kəŋ¹; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1259 *gōng* 宮〔通合三平東見C〕 ‘palace’ **CDC** *kiung¹ / **EC** *kung
CSWW *kioŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *kioŋ¹ˈa ⩙ *koŋ¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kiɔŋ¹; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** kom¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** kɔŋ¹
CLS *kioŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃioŋ¹; **Pc** kioŋ¹; **Qy** tɕioŋ¹
b. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** kəŋ¹; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kioŋ¹ ⩙ #koŋ¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kioŋ¹; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1260 *qióng* 窮〔通合三平東羣C〕 ‘poor’ **CDC** *giung² / **EC** *gung
CSWW *gioŋ²
CJQ *gioŋ²: **Ly** dʑioŋ²; **Jh** dʑioŋ²; **Pj** dʑyon²; **Dy** dʑiom²; **Yk** giɔŋ²; **Wy** dʑiɔŋ²
CLS *gioŋ²: **Sc** dʑiɔŋ²; **Sy** iəŋ²ˌi; **Lq** dʑiəŋ²; **Yh** dʒioŋ²; **Pc** kioŋ²; **Qy** tɕioŋ²
CSS *gioŋ²

1261 *xióng* 雄〔通合三平東云C〕 ‘male’ **CDC** *(h)iung² / **EC** *wing
CSWW *ɦioŋ²
CJQ *ɦioŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** ioŋ²; **Pj** yon²; **Dy** iom²; **Yk** iɔŋ²; **Wy** iɔŋ²
CLS *ɦioŋ²: **Sc** iɔŋ² [1] ⩙ ʑiɔŋ² [2]; **Sy** iəŋ²; **Lq** iəŋ²; **Yh** ioŋ²; **Pc** xioŋ²; **Qy** ioŋ²
CSS #ɦioŋ²: **Kh** (ʑioŋ²ˌi); **Cs** ioŋ⁻⁰; **Js** ioŋ²; **Ys** ioŋ²; **Gf** ioŋ²

1262 *fú* 福〔通合三入屋非C〕 ‘blessing’ **CDC** *fuk⁷ / **EC** *pik
CSWW *foʔ⁷
CJQ *foʔ⁷: **Ly** fɔʔ⁷; **Jh** foʔ⁷; **Pj** fɯ⁷; **Dy** fouʔ⁷; **Yk** fu³; **Wy** fɔʔ⁷
CLS *fuʔ⁷: **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** fuɯʔ⁷; **Lq** fuʔ⁷; **Yh** fəuʔ⁷; **Pc** fu⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁷
CSS *foʔ⁷

1263 *fú* 幅〔通合三入屋非C〕 ‘width; clf. for cloth’ **CDC** *fuk⁷ / **EC** *pik
CSWW *foʔ⁷
CJQ *foʔ⁷: **Ly** fɔʔ⁷; **Jh** foʔ⁷ ⩙ voʔ⁸; **Pj** fɯ⁷; **Dy** fouʔ⁷; **Yk** fu⁻⁵⁴; **Wy** —
CLS *fuʔ⁷: **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** fuɯʔ⁷; **Lq** fuʔ⁷; **Yh** fəuʔ⁷; **Pc** fu⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁷
CSS *foʔ⁷

1264 *fù* 腹〔通合三入屋非C〕 ‘belly, abdomen’ **CDC** *fuk⁷ / **EC** *puk

CSWW *ɓoʔ⁷ [1] ‘belly’ ⩙ *foʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *foʔ⁷: **Ly** (vɔʔ⁸); **Jh** foʔ⁷ ⩙ voʔ⁸; **Pj** fɯ⁷; **Dy** fouʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɓuʔ⁷ ⩙ *fuʔ⁷

a. **Sc** ʔbəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** ʔboʔ⁷ [2] ～桶; **Lq** ʔbuʔ⁷; **Yh** —; **Pc** puʔ⁷; **Qy** ʔbuʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** fuɯ¹ [1]; **Lq** —; **Yh** fəuʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ɓoʔ⁷ ⩙ #foʔ⁷!a

a. **Kh** pəʔ⁷; **Cs** poʔ⁷; **Js** poʔ⁷; **Ys** poʔ⁷; **Gf** puɤʔ⁷

b. **Kh** fəʔ⁷; **Cs** foʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

This is the popular word for belly in the Lìshuǐ and Shàngshān dialects. It is a retention from CSWW.

1265 *fù* 覆〔通合三入屋敷C〕 ‘cover, hide’ **CDC** *fuk⁷ / **EC** *phuk

CSWW *pʰoʔ⁷ [1] ‘lay prone’ ⩙ *foʔ⁷ [2] ‘cover’

CJQ *pʰoʔ⁷ ⩙ *foʔ⁷

a. **Ly** pʰɔʔ⁷; **Jh** pʰoʔ⁷; **Pj** pʰɯ⁷; **Dy** pʰouʔ⁷; **Yk** pʰuə³; **Wy** pʰɔʔ⁷

b. **Ly** vɔʔ⁸!it; **Jh** foʔ⁷; **Pj** fɯ⁷; **Dy** fouʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *pʰuʔ⁷ ⩙ *fuʔ⁷

a. **Sc** pʰəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰɯʔ⁷; **Lq** pʰuʔ⁷; **Yh** pʰəuʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** pʰuʔ⁷

b. **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** fəuʔ⁷; **Pc** fuʔ⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁷

CSS *pʰoʔ⁷

1266 *fú* 服〔通合三入屋奉C〕 ‘submit’ **CDC** *vuk⁸ / **EC** *bik

CSWW *voʔ⁸

CJQ *voʔ⁸: **Ly** vɔʔ⁸; **Jh** voʔ⁸; **Pj** vɯ⁸; **Dy** vouʔ⁸; **Yk** vu⁴; **Wy** vɔʔ⁸

CLS *vuʔ⁸: **Sc** vəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** vuɯʔ⁸ [2]; **Lq** vuʔ⁸; **Yh** vəuʔ⁸; **Pc** fuʔ⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁸

CSS #voʔ⁸: **Kh** vəʔ⁸; **Cs** vaʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ voʔ⁸ [2]; **Js** foʔ⁸; **Ys** vɐʔ⁸ [1] ⩙ voʔ⁸ [2]; **Gf** fuɤʔ⁸

1267 *fú* 伏〔通合三入屋奉C〕 ‘lie prone’ **CDC** *vuk⁸ / **EC** *bik

CSWW *voʔ⁸

CJQ *voʔ⁸: **Ly** vɔʔ⁸; **Jh** voʔ⁸; **Pj** vɯ⁸; **Dy** vouʔ⁸; **Yk** vu⁴; **Wy** vɔʔ⁸

CLS *vuʔ⁸: **Sc** vəɯʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** vəuʔ⁸; **Pc** fuʔ⁷; **Qy** fuʔ⁸

CSS *voʔ⁸

1268 *mù* 目〔通合三入屋明C〕 ‘eye’ **CDC** *ʰmuk⁸ / **EC** *ʰmuk

CSWW *m(ʔ)⁸!a [1] ⩙ *moʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *moʔ⁸: **Ly** mɔʔ⁸; **Jh** moʔ⁸; **Pj** mɯ⁸; **Dy** mouʔ⁸; **Yk** mu⁴; **Wy** mɔʔ⁸

CLS *m(ʔ)$^{8}_{!a}$ ⪤ *muʔ^{8}
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** mɤʔ^{8}
b. **Sc** məɯʔ^{8}; **Sy** məʔ^{8}; **Lq** məuʔ^{8}; **Yh** məuʔ^{8}; **Pc** moŋ^{7}; **Qy** muʔ^{8} ⪤ mo^{2} [3]

CSS #m(ʔ)$^{8}_{!a}$ [2] ⪤ *moʔ^{8} [1]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** maʔ^{8}; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** məʔ^{8}; **Cs** moʔ^{8}; **Js** moʔ^{8}; **Ys** moʔ^{8}; **Gf** mɤʔ^{8}

1269 *liù* 六〔通合三入屋來 C〕 ‘six’ **CDC** *^{h}liuk^{8} / **EC** *^{h}luk

CSWW *laʔ$^{8}_{!a}$ [1] ⪤ *lioʔ$^{8}_{!a}$ (ʔ) [2] ⪤ *loʔ^{8} [3]

CJQ *loʔ^{8}: **Ly** ləʔ^{8}; **Jh** loʔ^{8}; **Pj** luɯ^{8}; **Dy** louʔ^{8}; **Yk** lu^{4}; **Wy** ləʔ^{8}

CLS *liuʔ$^{8}_{!a}$ ⪤ *lioʔ^{8} [2] ⪤ *luʔ^{8} [2]
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** liɯʔ^{8}
b. **Sc** ləɯʔ^{8}; **Sy** ləʔ^{8}; **Lq** ləɯʔ^{8}; **Yh** ləuʔ^{8}; **Pc** lo^{7}; **Qy** —

CSS *lɑʔ^{8} [2] ⪤ *loʔ^{8}

1270 *zhú* 竹〔通合三入屋知 C〕 ‘bamboo’ **CDC** *ciuk^{7} / **EC** *truk

CSWW *ɗaʔ$^{7}_{!a}$ (ʔ) [1] ⪤ *ɗioʔ^{7} [2] ⪤ *tšioʔ^{7} [3]

CJQ *ɗioʔ^{7} (ʔ) [1] ⪤ *tšioʔ^{7} [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ləʔ$^{7}_{!f}$
b. **Ly** tsəʔ^{7}; **Jh** tɕioʔ^{7}; **Pj** tɕyɯ^{7}; **Dy** tsouʔ^{7}; **Yk** tɕiu^{3}; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗiuʔ^{7} [1] ⪤ *tɕiuʔ^{7} [2]
a. **Sc** ʔdiuʔ^{7}; **Sy** ʔdyʔ^{7}; **Lq** ʔdəɯʔ^{7}; **Yh** ʔdiɯʔ^{7}; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdiɯʔ^{7}
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tso^{7}; **Qy** tɕiɯʔ^{7}

CSS *tɑʔ^{7} ⪤ *tioʔ^{7} ⪤ #tɕioʔ^{7}
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** taʔ^{7}; **Js** taʔ^{7}; **Ys** tɐʔ^{7}; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** tyoʔ^{7} [1]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** tyɤʔ^{7} [1]
c. **Kh** tɕyoʔ^{7} [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕioʔ^{7} [2]; **Gf** tɕyɤʔ^{7} [2]

1271 *chù* 畜〔廣韻：通合三入屋徹 C〕 ‘livestock’ **CDC** *chiuk^{7} / **EC** *thruk

CSWW *tš^{h}ioʔ^{7} [1]

CJQ *tš^{h}ioʔ^{7}: **Ly** ts^{h}ɔʔ^{7}; **Jh** tɕ^{h}ioʔ^{7}; **Pj** tɕ^{h}yɯ^{7} [1]; **Dy** ts^{h}ouʔ^{7}; **Yk** —; **Wy** ts^{h}ɔʔ^{7}

CLS *tɕ^{h}iuʔ^{7}: **Sc** tɕ^{h}iuʔ^{7}; **Sy** tɕ^{h}yɛʔ^{7} [1]; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃ^{h}iɯʔ^{7}; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕ^{h}iɯʔ^{7}

CSS #tɕ^{h}ioʔ^{7}: **Kh** tɕ^{h}yoʔ^{7}; **Cs** tɕ^{h}ioʔ^{7}; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕ^{h}ioʔ^{7}; **Gf** tɕ^{h}yɤʔ^{7}

1272 *zhóu* 軸〔通合三入屋澄 C〕 ‘axle’ **CDC** *jiuk^{8} / **EC** *driwk

CSWW *džioʔ^{8}

CJQ *džioʔ^{8}: **Ly** dzɔʔ^{8}; **Jh** dʑioʔ^{8}; **Pj** dʑyɯ^{8}; **Dy** dʑiouʔ^{8}; **Yk** dzuə^{4}; **Wy** dzɔʔ^{8}

CLS *dʑioʔ^{8}: **Sc** dʑiuʔ^{8}; **Sy** —; **Lq** dʑiɯʔ^{8}; **Yh** dʒiɯʔ^{8}; **Pc** tso^{7}; **Qy** tɕiɯʔ^{8}

CSS *dʑioʔ^{8}

1273 *suō* 縮〔通合三入屋生 C〕 ‘shrink’ **CDC** *shuk⁷ / **EC** *sruk

CSWW *šyauʔ⁷ [1] ⪤ *soʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *šyauʔ⁷ ⪤ *soʔ⁷

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** ʃyo⁷; **Dy** —; **Yk** suə³; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** səʔ⁷; **Jh** soʔ⁷; **Pj** —; **Dy** souʔ⁷; **Yk** —; **Wy** səʔ⁷

CLS *ɕyɔuʔ⁷ ⪤ *suʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎

a. **Sc** ɕiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕioʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃioʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕioʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** soˀ; **Qy** —

CSS *ɕiɒʔ⁷ ⪤ #soʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** sʌʔ⁷; **Js** ɕœʔ⁷; **Ys** ɕiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** suɐʔ⁷

b. **Kh** səʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** soʔ⁷; **Gf** —

1274 *zhōu* 粥〔通合三入屋章 C〕 ‘porridge’ **CDC** *ciuk⁷ / **EC** *ciwk (kyiwk)

CSWW *tšioʔ⁷

CJQ *tšioʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiu³; **Wy** tsɔʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiuʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɯʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃiɯʔ⁷; **Pc** tsoˀ; **Qy** tɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS *tɕioʔ⁷

1275 *shū* 叔〔通合三入屋書 C〕 ‘uncle’ **CDC** *shiuk⁷ / **EC** *θiwk

CSWW *šioʔ⁷

CJQ *šioʔ⁷: **Ly** sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** ɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** ʃyɯ⁷; **Dy** souʔ⁷; **Yk** ɕiu³; **Wy** sɔʔ⁷

CLS *ɕiuʔ⁷: **Sc** ɕiuʔ⁷; **Sy** ɕyʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiɯʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃiɯʔ⁷; **Pc** soˀ; **Qy** ɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS *ɕioʔ⁷

1276 *shú, shóu* 熟〔通合三入屋常 C〕 ‘ripe’ **CDC** *zhiuk⁸ / **EC** *duk

CSWW *(dž,dʑ)iɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⪤ *žioʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *žioʔ⁸: **Ly** zɔʔ⁸; **Jh** ʑioʔ⁸; **Pj** ʒyɯ⁸; **Dy** zouʔ⁸; **Yk** ʑiu⁴; **Wy** zɔʔ⁸

CLS *ʑiuʔ⁸: **Sc** ʑiuʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑyɛʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiɯʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒiɯʔ⁸; **Pc** soˀ; **Qy** ɕiɯʔ⁸

CSS *dʑiɔʔ⁸ ⪤ #ʑioʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** dzʌʔ⁸; **Js** dʑiɒʔ⁸; **Ys** dʑiʌʔ⁸; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** ʑyoʔ⁸; **Cs** zoʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** ʑioʔ⁷; **Gf** ɕyɤʔ⁸

1277 *ròu* 肉〔通合三入屋日 C〕 ‘meat’ **CDC** *ʰnhiuk⁸ / **EC** *ʰnuk

CSWW *ȵiɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⪤ *ȵioʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ȵioʔ⁸: **Ly** ȵiɔʔ⁸ [1] ⪤ zɔʔ⁸ [2]; **Jh** ȵioʔ⁸; **Pj** ȵyɯ⁸; **Dy** ȵiouʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiu⁴; **Wy** ȵiɔʔ⁸

CLS *ȵiɔuʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎ ⪤ *ȵioʔ⁸

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ȵiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** —; **Pc** {ŋioŋ⁷} ⪤ ŋiu⁷; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** ȵiuʔ⁸; **Sy** ȵyʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiɯʔ⁸; **Pc** {ŋioŋ⁷} ⪤ ŋiu⁷; **Qy** ȵiɯʔ⁸

CSS *ɴiɔʔ⁸

1278 *jū* 鞠〔通合三入屋見C〕 ‘bow in ～躬’ **CDC** *kiuk⁷ / **EC** *kuk

CSWW *kioʔ⁷

CJQ *kioʔ⁷: Ly —; Jh —; Pj —; Dy —; Yk kiu³; Wy tɕiɔʔ⁷

CLS *kiuʔ⁷: Sc tɕiuʔ⁷; Sy —; Lq —; Yh —; Pc —; Qy tɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS *kioʔ⁷

1279 *qū* 麴〔通合三入屋溪C〕 ‘koji yeast’ **CDC** *khiuk⁷ / **EC** *khuk

CSWW *kʰ(u)ək⁷₍ₗₐ₎ (?) [1] ⩙ *kʰioʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *kʰioʔ⁷: Ly tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; Jh tɕʰioʔ⁷; Pj tɕʰyɯ⁷; Dy tɕʰiouʔ⁷; Yk kʰiu³; Wy tɕʰiɔʔ⁷

CLS *kʰioʔ⁷: Sc tɕʰiuʔ⁷; Sy tɕʰyʔ⁷; Lq tɕʰiɯʔ⁷; Yh tʃʰiɯʔ⁷; Pc kʰiu⁷; Qy tɕʰiɯʔ⁷

CSS *kʰɨʔ⁷ ⩙ #kʰioʔ⁷₍ₗₐ₎

a. Kh kʰəʔ⁷; Cs kʰoʔ⁷; Js kʰəʔ⁷; Ys kʰəʔ⁷; Gf kʰieʔ⁷

b. Kh tɕʰyoʔ⁷; Cs —; Js —; Ys —; Gf —

1280 *xù* 畜〔通合三入屋曉C〕 ‘rear (v.)’ **CDC** *xiuk⁷ / **EC** *huk

CSWW *xioʔ⁷

CJQ *xioʔ⁷: Ly ɕiɔʔ⁷; Jh ɕioʔ⁷; Pj ʃyɯ⁷; Dy —; Yk xiu³; Wy ɕiɔʔ⁷

CLS *xiuʔ⁷: Sc ɕiuʔ⁷; Sy ɕyʔ⁷ [2]; Lq —; Yh —; Pc xiu⁷; Qy ɕiɯʔ⁷

CSS #xioʔ⁷: Kh tɕʰyoʔ⁷; Cs ɕioʔ⁷; Js —; Ys xioʔ⁷; Gf xyɤʔ⁷

1281 *fēng* 蜂〔通合三平鍾敷C〕 ‘wasp’ **CDC** *fung¹ / **EC** *phong

CSWW *foŋ¹

CJQ *foŋ¹: Ly fəŋ¹; Jh foŋ¹; Pj fon¹; Dy fom¹; Yk fɔŋ¹; Wy fɔŋ¹

CLS *foŋ¹: Sc fəŋ¹; Sy fəŋ¹; Lq fəŋ¹; Yh fəŋ¹; Pc foŋ¹; Qy foŋ¹

CSS *foŋ¹

1282 *féng* 縫〔通合三平鍾奉C〕 ‘stitch (v.)’ **CDC** *vung² / **EC** *bong

CSWW *voŋ²

CJQ *voŋ²: Ly vəŋ²; Jh voŋ²; Pj von²; Dy vom²; Yk vɔŋ²; Wy vɔŋ²

CLS *voŋ²: Sc vəŋ²; Sy fəŋ² [1]; Lq vəŋ²; Yh vəŋ²; Pc foŋ²; Qy foŋ²

CSS #voŋ²: Kh vəŋ²; Cs vã⁻⁰; Js fɔ̃²; Ys fɔ̃⁻⁵²; Gf foŋ²

1283 *fèng* 縫〔通合三去用奉C〕 ‘seam’ **CDC** *vung⁶ / **EC** *bongh

CSWW *voŋ⁶

CJQ *voŋ⁶: Ly vəŋ⁶; Jh voŋ⁶; Pj von⁶; Dy vom⁶; Yk vɔŋ⁶; Wy vɔŋ⁶

CLS *voŋ⁶: Sc vəŋ⁶; Sy vəŋ⁶ [2]; Lq vəŋ⁶; Yh vəŋ⁶; Pc foŋ⁶; Qy foŋ⁶

CSS #voŋ⁶: Kh vəŋ⁶; Cs —; Js fɔ̃⁶; Ys —; Gf foŋ⁶

1284 *nóng* 濃〔通合三平鍾娘 C〕 ‘viscous’ **CDC** *niung² / **EC** *nrong ⩙ *nong (?)

CSWW *ȵioŋ²

CJQ *ȵioŋ²₍ˌa₎ [1] ⩙ *ɦioŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** ȵiom²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** ioŋ²₍ˌi₎ [1] ⩙ noŋ² [2]; **Jh** (noŋ²₍ˌif₎); **Pj** yon²₍ˌi₎; **Dy** —; **Yk** ioŋ²₍ˌi₎; **Wy** ioŋ²₍ˌi₎

CLS *ȵioŋ²: **Sc** ȵioŋ² [1]; **Sy** ȵioŋ²; **Lq** ȵioŋ²; **Yh** ɲiõ² [1] ⩙ noŋ² [2]; **Pc** ŋioŋ²; **Qy** ȵiõ²

CSS *ȵiõ²

1285 *lóng* 龍〔通合三平鍾來 C〕 ‘dragon’ **CDC** *liung² / **EC** *long

CSWW *lioŋ² [1] ⩙ *loŋ² [2]

CJQ *loŋ²: **Ly** loŋ²; **Jh** loŋ²; **Pj** lən²; **Dy** lom²; **Yk** ləŋ²; **Wy** ləŋ²

CLS *lioŋ² ⩙ *loŋ²

a. **Sc** lioŋ²; **Sy** lioŋ²; **Lq** lioŋ²; **Yh** lĩo²; **Pc** —; **Qy** liõ²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** loŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS *liõ² ⩙ #loŋ²

a. **Kh** lioŋ²; **Cs** liõ²; **Js** liõ²; **Ys** liõ²; **Gf** lioŋ²

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** loŋ⁻²²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** loŋ²

1286 *cóng* 從〔通合三平鍾從 C〕 ‘from’ **CDC** *dziung² / **EC** *dzong

CSWW *ziɔŋ² [1] ⩙ *zoŋ² [2] ⩙ *dzoŋ² [3]

CJQ *zoŋ² [1] ⩙ *dzoŋ² [2]

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** zoŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** zɔŋ²; **Wy** zɔŋ²

b. **Ly** dzoŋ²; **Jh** dzoŋ²; **Pj** dzən² [1] ⩙ dzon² [2]; **Dy** dzom²; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑioŋ²

a. **Sc** ʑioŋ²; **Sy** ɕioŋ²; **Lq** ʑioŋ²; **Yh** ʒiõ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiõ²

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tsoŋ²; **Qy** —

CSS #ʑiõ²₍ˌa₎ (?) ⩙ #dzoŋ² [2]

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dʑioŋ² [2]

b. **Kh** dzoŋ²; **Cs** dzoŋ²; **Js** dzoŋ²; **Ys** zoŋ²₍ˌi₎; **Gf** dzoŋ² [1]

1287 *sōng* 松〔通合三平鍾邪 C〕 ‘pine tree, rosin’ **CDC** *ziung² / **EC** *zong

CSWW *ziɔŋ² [1] ‘pine tree’ ⩙ *soŋ¹ [2] ‘rosin’

CJQ *zoŋ² ⩙ *soŋ¹

a. **Ly** zoŋ²; **Jh** zoŋ¹ [1]; **Pj** zən²; **Dy** zom² [l]; **Yk** —; **Wy** zɔŋ⁻²¹ [1]

b. **Ly** soŋ¹; **Jh** soŋ¹ [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** som⁻³³ [2]; **Yk** zɔŋ⁻¹¹; **Wy** sɔŋ¹ [2]

CLS *ziɔŋ² ⩙ *soŋ¹

a. **Sc** zã²; **Sy** —; **Lq** zɛ²; **Yh** ʒĩo²; **Pc** tsoŋ² [白] ⩙ soŋ²; **Qy** sã² [1]

b. **Sc** səŋ¹; **Sy** səŋ¹; **Lq** səŋ¹; **Yh** soŋ¹; **Pc** soŋ¹; **Qy** —

CSS *zõ? ⩙ #soŋ¹

1288 *chóng* 重〔通合三平鍾澄 C〕 ‘repeated’ **CDC** *jiung² / **EC** *drong

CSWW *džioŋ²

CJQ *džioŋ²: **Ly** dzoŋ²; **Jh** dʑioŋ²; **Pj** dʑyon²; **Dy** dzom⁻¹¹; **Yk** dʑioŋ²; **Wy** dzɔŋ²

CLS *dʑioŋ²: **Sc** dʑioŋ²; **Sy** tɕioŋ¹₍ₗₜ₎; **Lq** (dʑiəŋ²₍ₗf₎); **Yh** dʒiõ²; **Pc** tsoŋ²; **Qy** tɕiõ²

CSS *dʑiŏ²

1289 *zhòng* 重〔通合三上腫澄 C〕 ‘heavy’ **CDC** *jiung⁴ / **EC** *drongx

CSWW *džioŋ⁴ [1] ‘heavy’ ⩙ *džyaŋ⁴ [2] ‘stack (v.)’

CJQ *džioŋ⁴ ⩙ *džyaŋ⁴

a. **Ly** dzoŋ⁴; **Jh** tɕioŋ³ [1] ⩙ dʑioŋ⁶ [2]; **Pj** dʑyon⁴; **Dy** dzom⁴; **Yk** dʑioŋ⁴; **Wy** dzɔŋ⁴

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕyaŋ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *dʑioŋ⁴ ⩙ *dʑioŋ⁴

a. **Sc** dʑioŋ⁴; **Sy** dʑiəŋ⁴ [1]; **Lq** tɕiəŋ³; **Yh** dʒioŋ⁴; **Pc** tsoŋ⁴; **Qy** tɕioŋ⁴ [1]

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiõ⁴ [2] 尊～ ‘respect’

CSS *dʑioŋ⁴ ⩙ *dʑiŏ⁴

1290 *zhōng* 鐘〔通合三平鍾章 C〕 ‘bell’ **CDC** *ciung¹ / **EC** *tong

CSWW *tšioŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *tšioŋ¹₍ₗa₎ (?) [2] ‘clock’

CJQ *tšioŋ¹: **Ly** tsoŋ¹; **Jh** tɕioŋ¹; **Pj** tɕyon¹; **Dy** tsom¹; **Yk** tɕioŋ¹; **Wy** —

CLS *tɕioŋ¹: **Sc** tɕioŋ¹; **Sy** tɕioŋ¹; **Lq** tɕioŋ¹; **Yh** tʃiõ¹; **Pc** tsoŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiõ¹

CSS *tɕiõ¹ ‘bell (in a temple)’ ⩙ #tɕioŋ¹

a. **Kh** tɕioŋ¹; **Cs** tsõ¹ ‘bell’; **Js** tiõ¹₍ₗi₎; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕioŋ¹

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** tsoŋ¹; **Js** tɕioŋ¹; **Ys** tɕioŋ¹; **Gf** —

The second **CSS** form is a literary intrusion that only occurs in neologisms like ‘clock’.

1291 *zhǒng* 種〔通合三上腫章 C〕 ‘seed, type’ **CDC** *ciung³ / **EC** *tongx

CSWW *ʔioŋ³ [1] ‘seed’ ⩙ *tšioŋ³ [2] ‘type’

CJQ *ioŋ³ ⩙ *tšioŋ³

a. **Ly** ioŋ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** ioŋ³

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕioŋ³ [1] ⩙ tsoŋ³ [2]; **Pj** tɕyon³; **Dy** tsom³; **Yk** tɕioŋ³; **Wy** —

CLS *ioŋ³ ⩙ *tɕioŋ³

a. **Sc** ioŋ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** iəŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ioŋ³ [1]

b. **Sc** tɕioŋ³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiõ³; **Pc** tsoŋ³; **Qy** tɕiõ³ [2]

CSS #ʔioŋ³ ⩙ #tɕioŋ³₍ₗf₎

a. **Kh** ioŋ³; **Cs** ioŋ³; **Js** ioŋ³; **Ys** ioŋ³; **Gf** ioŋ³

b. **Kh** tɕioŋ³; **Cs** tsoŋ³; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕioŋ³; **Gf** tɕioŋ³

1292 *zhǒng* 腫〔通合三上腫章 C〕 ‘swollen’ **CDC** *ciung³ / **EC** *tongx

CSWW *ʔioŋ³ [1] ⩙ *tšioŋ³ [2]

CJQ *ʔioŋ³ ⩙ *tšioŋ³
a. **Ly** ioŋ³; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** iəŋ³
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕioŋ³; **Pj** tɕyon³; **Dy** tsom³; **Yk** tɕiɔŋ³; **Wy** —

CLS *ioŋ³ ⩙ *tɕiɔŋ³
a. **Sc** iɔŋ³; **Sy** iəŋ³; **Lq** iəŋ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ioŋ³
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiõ³; **Pc** tsoŋ³; **Qy** tɕiõ$^{4}_{!t}$

CSS #ʔioŋ³
a. **Kh** ioŋ³; **Cs** ioŋ³; **Js** ioŋ³; **Ys** ioŋ³; **Gf** ioŋ³
b. **Kh** tɕioŋ³ [2]; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1293 *zhòng* 種〔通合三去用章 C〕 ‘plant (v.)’ **CDC** *ciung⁵ / **EC** *tongh

CSWW *ʔioŋ⁵ [1] ⩙ *tšioŋ⁵ [2] ‘Máng~ 芒～’

CJQ *ioŋ⁵ ⩙ *tšioŋ⁵
a. **Ly** ioŋ⁵; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** iɔŋ⁵
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕioŋ⁵; **Pj** tɕyon⁵; **Dy** tsom⁵; **Yk** tɕiɔŋ⁵; **Wy** tsɔŋ⁵

CLS *ioŋ⁵ ⩙ *tɕiɔŋ⁵
a. **Sc** iɔŋ⁵; **Sy** iəŋ⁵; **Lq** iəŋ⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ioŋ⁵
b. **Sc** tɕiɔŋ⁵; **Sy** tɕioŋ⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiõ⁵; **Pc** tsoŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔioŋ⁵ ⩙ *tɕioŋ⁵

1294 *chōng* 舂〔通合三平鍾書 C〕 ‘pound grain’ **CDC** *shiung¹ ⩙ *chiung¹ / **EC** *θong

CSWW *ʔioŋ¹ ⩙ *šyaŋ¹

CJQ *ioŋ¹ ⩙ *šyaŋ¹
a. **Ly** ioŋ¹; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** ɕyɑŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyõ¹; **Dy** sʌ¹; **Yk** ɕyaŋ¹; **Wy** ɕyaŋ¹

CLS *ioŋ¹ ⩙ *ɕiɔŋ¹
a. **Sc** iɔŋ¹; **Sy** iəŋ¹; **Lq** iəŋ¹; **Yh** ioŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** ioŋ¹
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** soŋ¹; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔioŋ¹

Cf. Common Mín *tʃuŋ¹ (Norman 2012a, 219 Coastal only) > Proto-Níngdé *tʃyŋ¹ (Akitani 2018, 609).

1295 *gōng* 恭〔通合三平鍾見 C〕 ‘revere’ **CDC** *kiung¹ / **EC** *kong

CSWW *kiɔŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]

CJQ *koŋ¹
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** kiɔŋ¹; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** kom¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** kɔŋ¹

CLS *kiɔŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹
a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** kioŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiõ¹
b. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** koŋ¹

CSS #kiõ¹ ⩙ #koŋ¹
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kioŋ¹₍₁f₎; **Gf** kioŋ¹
b. **Kh** koŋ¹; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1296 *gōng* 供〔通合三平鍾見 C〕 ‘provide’ **CDC** *kiung¹ / **EC** *kong
CSWW *kiɔŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *kioŋ¹₍₁a₎ [2] ⩙ *koŋ¹ [3]
CJQ *kioŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]
a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tɕyon¹; **Dy** tɕiom¹; **Yk** kiɔŋ¹; **Wy** tɕiɔŋ¹
b. **Ly** koŋ¹; **Jh** koŋ¹; **Pj** kon¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *kiɔŋ¹ ⩙ *koŋ¹ [2]
a. **Sc** tɕiɔŋ⁵₍₁t₎; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiõ¹; **Pc** kioŋ¹; **Qy** tɕiõ¹
b. **Sc** kəŋ¹; **Sy** kəŋ¹; **Lq** —; **Yh** koŋ¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS *kiõ¹ ⩙ #kioŋ¹ ⩙ #koŋ¹
a. **Kh** tɕyã¹; **Cs** tɕiõ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** kiɒ̃¹; **Gf** {kioŋ¹}
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** kioŋ¹; **Gf** {kioŋ¹}
c. **Kh** koŋ¹ [2]; **Cs** koŋ¹; **Js** koŋ¹; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1297 *gòng* 供〔通合三去用見 C〕 ‘offer up’ **CDC** *kiung⁵ / **EC** *kongh
CSWW *koŋ⁵
CJQ *koŋ⁵: **Ly** koŋ⁵; **Jh** koŋ⁵; **Pj** kon⁵; **Dy** kom⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —
CLS *koŋ⁵
CSS #koŋ⁵: **Kh** koŋ⁵; **Cs** koŋ⁵ [2]; **Js** kiõ¹ [1] ⩙ koŋ⁴³ [2]; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1298 *gòng* 共〔通合三去用羣 C〕 ‘together’ **CDC** *giung⁶ / **EC** *gongh
CSWW *giɔŋ⁶ [1] ‘same’ ⩙ *gioŋ⁶ [2] ⩙ *goŋ⁶ [3]
CJQ *giɔŋ⁶ ⩙ *goŋ⁶ [2]
a. **Ly** dzoŋ⁶; **Jh** dʑioŋ⁶; **Pj** dʑyon⁶; **Dy** dʑiom⁶; **Yk** giɔŋ⁶; **Wy** dʑiɔŋ³⁴
b. **Ly** goŋ⁴; **Jh** goŋ⁶; **Pj** gon⁶; **Dy** gom⁶; **Yk** —; **Wy** gɔŋ⁶
CLS *giɔŋ⁶ ⩙ *goŋ⁶ [2]
a. **Sc** dʑiɔŋ⁶; **Sy** dʑioŋ⁴; **Lq** dʑiɔŋ⁶; **Yh** dʒiõ⁶; **Pc** kioŋ⁶; **Qy** tɕiõ⁶
b. **Sc** gəŋ⁶; **Sy** gəŋ⁴; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —
CSS #gioŋ⁶ [1] ⩙ #goŋ⁶ [2]
a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** gioŋ⁶; **Ys** gioŋ⁶; **Gf** gioŋ⁶
b. **Kh** goŋ⁶; **Cs** goŋ⁻²²; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

1299 *xiōng* 胸〔通合三平鍾曉 C〕 ‘chest’ **CDC** *xiung¹ / **EC** *hong
CSWW *xiɔŋ¹ [1] ⩙ *xioŋ¹ [2]
CJQ *xioŋ¹: **Ly** ɕioŋ¹; **Jh** ɕioŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyon¹; **Dy** ɕiom¹; **Yk** xiɔŋ¹; **Wy** ɕiɔŋ¹
CLS *xiɔŋ¹: **Sc** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Sy** ɕioŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiõ¹; **Pc** xioŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiõ¹
CSS #xioŋ¹: **Kh** ɕioŋ¹; **Cs** ɕioŋ¹; **Js** xioŋ¹; **Ys** xioŋ¹; **Gf** xioŋ¹

1300 *xiōng* 凶〔通合三平鍾曉 C〕 ‘mortiferous’ **CDC** *xiung¹ / **EC** *hong

CSWW *xiɔŋ¹ [1] ⪥ *xioŋ¹₍ˌa [2]

CJQ *xioŋ¹: **Ly** ɕioŋ¹; **Jh** ɕioŋ¹; **Pj** ʃyon¹; **Dy** ɕiom¹; **Yk** xiɔŋ¹; **Wy** ɕiɔŋ¹

CLS *xiɔŋ¹: **Sc** —; **Sy** ɕioŋ¹; **Lq** ɕiɔŋ¹; **Yh** ʃiõ¹; **Pc** xioŋ¹; **Qy** ɕiõ¹

CSS *xiõ¹ ⪥ #xioŋ¹

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ɕiõ¹; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** {xioŋ¹}

b. **Kh** ɕioŋ¹; **Cs** ɕioŋ¹; **Js** xioŋ¹; **Ys** xioŋ¹; **Gf** {xioŋ¹}

1301 *róng* 容〔通合三平鍾以 C〕 ‘contain’ **CDC** *yung² / **EC** *yong

CSWW *ɦioŋ²

CJQ *ɦioŋ²: **Ly** ioŋ²; **Jh** ioŋ²; **Pj** yon²; **Dy** iom²; **Yk** iɔŋ²; **Wy** iɔŋ²

CLS *ɦioŋ²: **Sc** iɔŋ²; **Sy** ioŋ²; **Lq** iɔŋ²; **Yh** ioŋ²; **Pc** ioŋ¹; **Qy** iõ²

CSS #ɦioŋ²: **Kh** ioŋ²; **Cs** ioŋ²; **Js** ioŋ²; **Ys** ioŋ²; **Gf** ioŋ⁻²⁴ ～易 ‘easy’

1302 *yòng* 用〔通合三去用以 C〕 ‘use’ **CDC** *yung⁶ / **EC** *yongh

CSWW *ɦioŋ⁶

CJQ *ɦioŋ⁶: **Ly** ioŋ⁶; **Jh** ioŋ⁶; **Pj** yon⁶; **Dy** iom⁶; **Yk** iɔŋ⁶; **Wy** iɔŋ⁶

CLS *ɦiɔŋ⁶: **Sc** iɔŋ⁶; **Sy** ioŋ⁶; **Lq** iɔŋ⁶; **Yh** iõ⁶; **Pc** ioŋ⁶; **Qy** iõ⁶

CSS *ɦioŋ⁶

1303 *lǜ* 綠〔通合三入燭來 C〕 ‘green’ **CDC** *liuk⁸ / **EC** *lok

CSWW *liɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *loʔ⁸₍ˌf: **Ly** lɔʔ⁸; **Jh** loʔ⁸; **Pj** lɯ⁸; **Dy** louʔ⁸; **Yk** lu⁴; **Wy** lɔʔ⁸

CLS *liɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** liɔʔ⁸; **Sy** lioʔ⁸; **Lq** liɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** lioʔ⁸; **Pc** (loʔ⁷₍ˌf); **Qy** lioʔ⁸

CSS *liɒʔ⁸

1304 *zú* 足〔通合三入燭精 C〕 ‘sufficient; foot’ **CDC** *tsiuk⁷ / **EC** *tsok

CSWW *(ts,tš)iɔuʔ⁷ [1] ⪥ *tsoʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *tsoʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tsoʔ⁷; **Pj** tsɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tsu³; **Wy** tsɔʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiɔuʔ⁷ ⪥ *tsuʔ⁷₍ˌa

a. **Sc** tɕiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕioʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃioʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕioʔ⁷

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** —

CSS #tɕioʔ⁷₍ˌfa ⪥ #tsoʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** tɕioʔ⁷; **Gf** —

b. **Kh** tsəʔ⁷; **Cs** tsoʔ⁷; **Js** tsoʔ⁷; **Ys** tsoʔ⁷; **Gf** tsuɤʔ⁷

1305 *sù* 粟〔通合三入燭心 C〕 ‘millet’ **CDC** *siuk⁷ / **EC** *sok

CSWW *siɔuʔ⁷ (?) [1] ⪥ *soʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *soʔ⁷: **Ly** sɔʔ⁷; **Jh** soʔ⁷; **Pj** sɯ⁷; **Dy** souʔ⁷; **Yk** su³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** sɔʔ⁷

CLS *siɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** ɕioʔ⁷; **Lq** ɕiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** ʃioʔ⁷; **Pc** so⁷; **Qy** ɕioʔ⁷ [1] ≍ sɤʔ⁷ [2]

CSS *sɒʔ⁷

1306 *sú* 俗〔通合三入燭邪 C〕 ‘customs’ **CDC** *ziuk⁸ / **EC** *zok

CSWW *ziɔuʔ⁸ [1] ≍ *zoʔ⁸ [2] ≍ *dzoʔ⁸ [3]

CJQ *zioʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ ≍ *zoʔ⁸ ≍ *dzoʔ⁸

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʑiu⁴; **Wy** —
b. **Ly** —; **Jh** zoʔ⁸ [1]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** zɔʔ⁸
c. **Ly** dzɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dzoʔ⁸ [2]; **Pj** dzɯ⁸; **Dy** dzouʔ⁸; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʑiɔuʔ⁸ ≍ *zoʔ⁸₍ˌa₎

a. **Sc** ʑiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** ʑioʔ⁸; **Lq** ʑiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** ʒioʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕioʔ⁸
b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** —

CSS #ʑiɔʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ ≍ #zoʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ ≍ #dzoʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** ʑioʔ⁷₍ˌf₎; **Gf** —
b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** soʔ⁸; **Ys** —; **Gf** —
c. **Kh** dzəʔ⁸; **Cs** dzoʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** dzuɤʔ⁸

1307 *zhú* 燭〔通合三入燭章 C〕 ‘candle’ **CDC** *ciuk⁷ / **EC** *tok

CSWW *tšiɔuʔ⁷

CJQ *tšioʔ⁷: **Ly** tsɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕyɯ⁷; **Dy** tsouʔ⁷; **Yk** tɕiu³; **Wy** tsɔʔ⁷

CLS *tɕiɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕioʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃioʔ⁷; **Pc** tso⁷; **Qy** tɕioʔ⁷

CSS *tɕiɔʔ⁷

1308 *rù* 褥〔通合三入燭日 C〕 ‘bed-mat’ **CDC** *nhiuk⁸ / **EC** *nok

CSWW *ɲiɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *ɲioʔ⁸: **Ly** ɲiɔʔ⁸; **Jh** ɲioʔ⁸; **Pj** ɲyɯ⁸; **Dy** ɲiouʔ⁸; **Yk** (ʑiu⁴₍ˌi₎); **Wy** (zɔʔ⁸₍ˌif₎)

CLS *ɲiɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** ɲiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** (lu⁴₍ˌi₎); **Lq** ɲiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲioʔ⁸; **Pc** iu⁷₍ˌi₎; **Qy** ɲioʔ⁸

CSS #ɲiɔʔ⁸₍ˌa₎ (?) [1] ≍ *ʑioʔ⁸ [2]

a. **Kh** ɲyoʔ⁸; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** yɤʔ⁸₍ˌi₎
b. **Kh** ʑyoʔ⁸; **Cs** zoʔ⁸; **Js** ɕioʔ⁸; **Ys** ʑioʔ⁷; **Gf** —

1309 *qū* 曲〔通合三入燭溪 C〕 ‘bend; tune (n.)’ **CDC** *khiuk⁷ / **EC** *khok

CSWW *kʰiɔuʔ⁷ [1] ≍ *kʰioʔ⁷ [2]

CJQ *kʰioʔ⁷: **Ly** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕʰioʔ⁷; **Pj** tɕʰyɯ⁷; **Dy** tɕʰiouʔ⁷; **Yk** kʰiu³; **Wy** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷

CLS *kʰiɔuʔ⁷: **Sc** tɕʰiɔʔ⁷; **Sy** tɕʰioʔ⁷ ≍ tɕʰyʔ⁷; **Lq** tɕʰiɔuʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃʰioʔ⁷; **Pc** kʰiu⁷; **Qy** tɕʰioʔ⁷

CSS *kʰiɔʔ⁷ 歌～ ‘song’ ≍ #kʰioʔ⁷

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** tɕʰiʌʔ⁷; **Js** —; **Ys** kʰiʌʔ⁷; **Gf** {kʰyɤʔ⁷}
b. **Kh** tɕʰyoʔ⁷; **Cs** —; **Js** kʰioʔ⁷; **Ys** kʰioʔ⁷; **Gf** {kʰyɤʔ⁷}

1310 *jú* 局〔通合三入燭羣 C〕 ‘bureau’ **CDC** *giuk⁸ / **EC** *gok

CSWW *giɔuʔ⁸ [1] ⨯ *gioʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *gioʔ⁸: **Ly** dʑiɔʔ⁸; **Jh** dʑioʔ⁸; **Pj** dʑyɯ⁸; **Dy** dʑiouʔ⁸; **Yk** giu⁴; **Wy** dʑiɔʔ⁸

CLS *giɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** dʑiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** dʑioʔ⁸; **Lq** dʑiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** dʒioʔ⁸; **Pc** kiu⁷; **Qy** tɕioʔ⁸

CSS #giɔʔ⁸ ⨯ #gioʔ⁸

a. **Kh** dʑyɔʔ⁸; **Cs** dʑiʌʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** {gyɤʔ⁸}

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** gioʔ⁸; **Ys** gioʔ⁸; **Gf** {gyɤʔ⁸}

1311 *yù* 玉〔通合三入燭疑 C〕 ‘jade’ **CDC** *ngiuk⁸ / **EC** *ngok

CSWW *ŋiɔuʔ⁸ [1] ⨯ *ŋioʔ⁸ [2]

CJQ *ŋioʔ⁸: **Ly** ŋiɔʔ⁸; **Jh** ŋioʔ⁸; **Pj** ŋyɯ⁸; **Dy** ŋiouʔ⁸; **Yk** ɲiu⁴; **Wy** ŋiɔʔ⁸

CLS *ŋiɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** ŋiɔʔ⁸; **Sy** ŋioʔ⁸; **Lq** ŋiɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** ɲioʔ⁸; **Pc** ŋioŋ⁷₍f₎ ⨯ ŋiu⁷; **Qy** ŋioʔ⁸

CSS #ŋiɔʔ⁸ ⨯ #ŋioʔ⁸

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** ŋiʌʔ⁸; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** {ŋyɤʔ⁸}

b. **Kh** ŋyoʔ⁸; **Cs** —; **Js** ŋioʔ⁸; **Ys** ŋioʔ⁸; **Gf** {ŋyɤʔ⁸}

1312 *yù* 浴〔通合三入燭以 C〕 ‘bathe’ **CDC** *yuk⁸ / **EC** *yok

CSWW *ɦiɔuʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦioʔ⁸: **Ly** iɔʔ⁸; **Jh** ioʔ⁸; **Pj** yɯ⁸; **Dy** iouʔ⁸; **Yk** iu⁴; **Wy** iɔʔ⁸

CLS *ɦiɔuʔ⁸: **Sc** iuʔ⁸₍f₎; **Sy** ioʔ⁸; **Lq** iɔuʔ⁸; **Yh** ioʔ⁸; **Pc** iu⁷; **Qy** ioʔ⁸

CSS *ɦioʔ⁸

A.17 Other

2000 AIR DRY 晾〔集韻：宕開一去宕來〕

CSWW *lɔŋ⁶ ‘air dry’

CJQ *laŋ⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** lɑŋ⁶; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** laŋ⁶

CLS *lɔŋ⁶: **Sc** lɔŋ⁶ 晾; **Sy** loŋ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *lɒ̃⁶

2001 BAMBOO LEAF 箬〔宕開三入藥日 C〕

CSWW *ňiauʔ⁸

CJQ *ňiauʔ⁸: **Ly** ŋyəʔ⁸; **Jh** ŋiəʔ⁸; **Pj** ŋyo⁸; **Dy** ŋian⁻⁵⁵ [兒]; **Yk** ɲiɒ⁴ [ʒ]; **Wy** ŋiɑo⁴ [1] ⨯ iɑo⁻⁵³ [2]

CLS *ŋiauʔ⁸: **Sc** ŋiaʔ⁸; **Sy** ŋiaʔ⁸; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɲiɑʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋiɑʔ⁸

CSS *ŋiɑʔ⁸

2002 BITE

CSWW *ŋɔʔ⁸ ‘bite’

CJQ *ŋɤʔ⁸: **Ly** —; **Jh** ɤ⁴ 噛; **Pj** ŋɯ⁸ 噛; **Dy** ŋɜʔ⁸ 噛; **Yk** ŋɤə⁴ 噛; **Wy** ŋɤ⁴ 噛

CLS *ŋuəʔ⁸: **Sc** ŋeʔ⁸ □; **Sy** ŋɔʔ⁸|f 噛; **Lq** ŋuəʔ⁸ 噛; **Yh** ŋuɛʔ⁸ □; **Pc** —; **Qy** ŋuɤʔ⁸ □

CSS #ŋɒʔ⁸|a (?): **Kh** —; **Cs** ŋʌʔ⁸ □; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

2003 BRUSH 筅〔廣韻：山開四上銑心〕

CSWW *tsʰæŋ³|a (?) [1] 'cleaning brush' ⨯ *ʔyẽ³ [1] ⨯ *(s,š)yẽ³|a [2] 'cleaning brush' ⨯ *ɕiã³ [3] 'cleaning brush'

CJQ —

CLS *yẽ³ ⨯ *ɕyẽ³ ⨯ *(s,š)iã³

a. **Sc** ɕyə̃³; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** suãi³; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɕiɛ³; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ɕiã³

CSS *tsʰæ̃³ ⨯ *ɕiə̃³ [2]

2004 CALL

CSWW *ʔæu¹ 'call'

CJQ *ʔæu¹: **Ly** ɔ¹ 謳; **Jh** eu¹ 謳; **Pj** —; **Dy** əɯ¹ 謳; **Yk** ɒ¹ 謳; **Wy** ɑo¹ 謳

CLS *ʔyəu¹|a (?): **Sc** ɐɯ¹ 謳; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔiɑu¹

This etymon is sometimes written with QYS *ʾuw* 〔流合一平侯影〕謳 'to chant', but the phonological and semantic relationship is dubious.

2005 COLD

CSWW *tsʰəŋ⁵ 'cold'

CJQ —

CLS *tsʰəŋ⁵: **Sc** tsʰəŋ⁵ 凊 'cool'; **Sy** tsʰen⁵ 浸; **Lq** tsʰɛiŋ⁵ 浸; **Yh** tsʰəŋ⁵ 凊; **Pc** —; **Qy** tsʰəŋ⁵ 凊 'cool'

CSS *tsʰə̃⁵ 凊

This word has a clear Mín cognate: Common Mín *tsʰin⁵ 凊 'cold (of weather)' > Proto-Níngdé *tʃʰin⁵; Proto-Northen Mín *tsʰieŋ⁵.

Its relationship with the written tradition is more problematic. Norman (1983, 207–8) proposed connections with QYS *tsrhɛngH* 〔梗開三去勁清〕瀞 and QYS *tshjengH* 〔梗開三去勁清〕凊, both attested as writing the (medieval) Wú word for 'cold'. To these we might add QYS *tsrhjangH* 〔宕開三去漾初〕滄 'cold', famously attested in excavated Chǔ bamboo texts. These are probably all dialectal readings of the same word. Wáng (2015) makes a connection with QYS *tshimH* 〔深開三去沁清〕浸 'cold' (also written 沁). This is probably yet another reflex of the same word, this time without a geographic link. The connection is attractive for Southwestern Wú because CSWW *tsʰəŋ⁵ 'cold' is pronounced close to *tsəŋ⁵ 'soak' 浸, but the Mín data militates against an etymological *-m coda.

2006 COOP 栖〔蟹開四去霽心〕

CSWW *səi⁵ 雞～ ‘chicken coop’

CJQ *səi⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** sɛ⁵; **Pj** sa⁵; **Dy** se⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** səi⁵; **Wy** sa⁵

CLS *səi⁵$_{!a}$: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** sai⁵

CSS *səi⁵

2007 COVER 蠶〔咸開一上感見〕

CSWW *kəŋ³ ‘cover (v.); lid’

CJQ *kəŋ³ (?) to cover (v.); lid ‘lid’: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** kɤ³$_{lf}$ ‘cover (v.)’; **Yk** kəŋ³ ‘cover (v.)’ ⩙ kəŋ³⁻⁵⁴ [兒] ‘lid’; **Wy** —

CLS *kəŋ³ ‘lid’: **Sc** kəŋ³ ‘cover (v.)’; **Sy** ken³; **Lq** —; **Yh** kəŋ³ ⩙ kəŋ¹ ‘cover (v.)’; **Pc** —; **Qy** kəŋ³

CSS *kɨŋ³ ‘lid’

2008 CROUCH

CSWW *ʔɨu⁵$_{!a}$ (?) 蓋 ‘squat’ ⩙ *ʔ(i,ɨ)u¹$_{!a}$ (?) ‘crouch down; hide’ ⩙ *kiu¹ ‘squat’

CJQ *ʔiəu¹ ⩙ *kiəu¹$_{!a}$

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** iu¹ ‘squat’; **Pj** iɤ¹ ‘hide’; **Dy** iəɯ¹ ‘hide’; **Yk** iəɯ¹ ‘hide’; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕiu¹ ‘hide’

CLS *ʔiu⁵$_{!a}$ (?) ⩙ *kiu¹

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** iu⁵ □; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** tɕiɯ¹; **Sy** kei¹ 踞; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʃiu¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕiɯ¹ ⩙ tɕiɯ³

CSS *ʔeu⁵

It is unclear if the three (potential) allofams in this set are actually all cognates. CSWW *ʔɨu⁵ and CSWW *kiu¹ probably descended from separate etyma, cf. Proto-Northern Min *ʔiu⁵ □ ‘to brood’ and Common Mín *kiu¹ 匄 ‘to shrink’ (Coastal only) respectively. Norman (1983, 206) relates the Northern Mín forms to QYS *ʾjuwH* 〔流開三去宥影 C〕 蓋, which Guō Pú mentions is a Jiāngdōng word ‘to brood’ in his commentary on the *Fāngyán*.

The middle form, CSWW *ʔ(i,ɨ)u¹ is more problematic. It could potentially be a case of dorsal implosion and thereby related to *kiu¹, but that analysis leaves the lack of implosion in the Lìshuǐ dialects and Wy unexplained. The conditioning environment is also different from the other cases of velar implosion. Relating it to *ʔɨu⁵ involves a tone mismatch. Perhaps it is ultimately a conflation of the other two etyma.

The final of CSWW *ʔɨu⁵ is ad hoc, set up to account for the CSS contrast of *ʔieu ≠ *ʔeu. This contrast is not found in the other dialects.

2009 DUCKWEED 薸〔廣韻：效開三平宵並 A〕

CSWW *biɔu²

CJQ *biou²: **Ly** biɔ²; **Jh** biɑu²; **Pj** bin⁻²³² [兒]; **Dy** bɤ² ～兒; **Yk** —; **Wy** bin⁴ [兒]

CLS *biɔu²: **Sc** biɐɯ²; **Sy** —; **Lq** biɑɔ²; **Yh** biɑɔ²; **Pc** —; **Qy** piɒ²

CSS *biəu²

2010 DUST 塕〔廣韻：通合一上董影〕

CSWW *ʔoŋ³ ‘dust’

CJQ *ʔoŋ³ ‘(fine) dust’: **Ly** oŋ³; **Jh** oŋ³; **Pj** on³ ～頭; **Dy** ʔom³; **Yk** əŋ³; **Wy** əŋ³

CLS *ʔoŋ³ 灰～: **Sc** əŋ³; **Sy** əŋ³; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔoŋ³ 灰～

2011 EARTHWORM 蟪〔山開三上阮曉 C〕

CSWW *xə̃³ (?) [1] ‘earthworm’ ⩙ *xəŋ³ˌfa [2] 黃～ ‘earthworm’

CJQ *xə̃³ (?) 螞～: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** xɤ⁻⁴²³; **Yk** xɤə³; **Wy** —

CLS *xə̃³ (?) ⩙ *xuəŋ³ˌfa

a. **Sc** xə̃³ 螻～; **Sy** fæ̃⁵ˌi 龍～; **Lq** —; **Yh** xuɛ³ˌf 黃～; **Pc** xuãi³ˌf 黃～; **Qy** xã³ 螻～

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** xuɛiŋ³ 黃～; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #xə̃³ 黃～ ⩙ *xɨŋ³

a. **Kh** —; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** xæ̃³ 黃～; **Gf** xyẽ³ˌf 黃～

b. **Kh** —; **Cs** xoŋ³ 黃～; **Js** xəŋ³ 黃～; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

Several of the reflexes have an aberrant medial [-u-] or [-y-]. All of them occur in compounded forms with CSWW *ɦuɔŋ² 黃 ‘yellow’. The medial was copied over by analogy to form a partially alliterative binome. The second form, CSWW *xəŋ³, might be a case of the coda also being copied.

Note that Akitani (2003a, 123) originally reconstructed the first form as CSS *xyẽ³, but the sound correspondence was ad hoc. I consider Gf [xyẽ³] to be irregular.

The *Guǎngyùn* lists a second reading of 蟪 that is peculiar to the Wú and Chǔ 楚 regions (i.e. Zhèjiāng and Jiānghuái band respectively): *xjɨnX* 〔臻開三上隱曉 C〕. This reading might fit *xə̃³ which has the same final as *gə̃⁴ ‘near’ 近 (≒ QYS *gjɨnX*).

2012 EAT (1) 咥=

CSWW *ɗiaʔ⁷ ‘eat; drink’

CJQ —

CLS *ɗiaʔ⁷: **Sc** ʔdieʔ⁷ □; **Sy** ʔdiɛʔ⁷ 咥 ‘eat’; **Lq** ʔdiɛʔ⁷ 咥; **Yh** —; **Pc** lie⁷ 咥; **Qy** ʔdiɑʔ⁷ □

CSS *tieʔ⁷

Descriptions often write this morpheme with the character 咥. The *Guǎngyún* lists a reading for it as QYS *det* 〔山開一入屑定〕 and glosses it as ‘bite; laugh’. The semantics are compatible with this set, but the initial is not. *Guǎngyún* also lists a second reading that is compatible, i.e. QYS *tet* 〔山開一入屑端〕，but this is a syllable in a disyllabic clan name. I am skeptical that this morpheme is represented in the written tradition at all.

2013 EAT (2)

CSWW *ɦi(e,a)ʔ⁸

CJQ *ɦi(e,a)ʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎: **Ly** iəʔ⁸ 食 'eat'; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS —

CSS #ɦiəʔ⁸₍ₗₐ₎: **Kh** iɛʔ⁸ 食₁ 'eat'; **Cs** —; **Js** —; **Ys** —; **Gf** —

The surveys write this morpheme as 食 (CDC *zhik⁸), but the sound correspondences are incompatible with this etymology. Its etymology is obscure.

2014 FERN BRAKE (1) 萁〔止開三平之見 C〕

CSWW *ʔi¹ 萁～ 'fern brake'

CJQ *ʔi¹ ⨯ *(k,tš)i¹ 萁～ 'fern brake'

a. **Ly** i¹; **Jh** i¹; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** i¹ 萁～殼兒; **Wy** i¹ 萁～□uo⁵³

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tʃi¹ 萁～□pʰo⁴²³; **Dy** tɕi¹; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ʔi¹: **Sc** i¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** ɿ¹; **Yh** i¹; **Pc** —; **Qy** i¹

CSS *ʔi¹

2015 FERN BRAKE (2) 萁〔廣韻：宕開一平唐來〕

CSWW *lɔŋ² ～其 'fern brake'

CJQ *laŋ²: **Ly** lã⁻²¹ □; **Jh** lɑŋ²; **Pj** —; **Dy** lʌ⁻¹¹ ～其殼; **Yk** laŋ⁻³³ ～其殼兒; **Wy** laŋ²

CLS *lɔŋ²: **Sc** lɔŋ⁻²¹² □; **Sy** —; **Lq** lɔŋ²; **Yh** lɔ̃² □; **Pc** —; **Qy** lɔ̃² □

CSS *lɒ̃ʔ

2016 FINGER

CSWW *tšiək⁷ ～甲 'fingernail'

CJQ *tšiəʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsɜʔ⁷ □手～甲 'fingernail'; **Yk** tsə⁻⁴ □～甲 'fingernail'; **Wy** tsəʔ⁷ □～甲 'fingernail'

CLS *tɕiək⁷: **Sc** tɕyeʔ⁷ □～甲 'fingernail'; **Sy** tɕiʔ⁷ 節～甲 'fingernail'; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕiʔ⁷ 指

This bound morpheme is most widely attested in the compound for 'fingernail', CSWW *tšiək⁷ kaʔ⁷ □甲, but it is also found in other compounds meaning 'finger' or the names for specific fingers, usually preceding CSWW *du² 頭 'head'. Akitani (2003a) took this morpheme to be cognate with CDC *ci³ 指. This etymology is plausible. The current checked final and tone may have resulted from rebracketing of the initial of the following *du² 頭, i.e. **tši³.du² 指頭 'finger' > **tšit⁷.du² > CSWW *tšiək⁷.du². I have nonetheless kept it separate from the sets involving the character 指 lest this etymology prove infeasible.

2017 GELD 騬〔廣韻：臻合一平魂端〕

CSWW *ɗuə̃¹ 'geld'

CJQ *ɗəŋ¹₍ˌaf ‘geld (a bull)’: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tən¹; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗuə̃¹₍ˌa: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdã¹

CSS *tuə̃¹

2018 GRANDMA

CSWW *ma¹.ma² □□ ‘paternal grandmother’

CJQ *mɒ¹.mɒ² 媽媽: **Ly** əʔ⁷.mɑ⁻⁵²₍ˌf 阿媽; **Jh** mɑ⁻³³.mɑ⁻⁵⁵₍ˌf; **Pj** mɑ⁻²⁴.mɑ²₍ˌf; **Dy** ɜʔ⁷.muo⁻³²⁴ 阿媽; **Yk** ɑ⁷.mɑ¹ 阿媽; **Wy** muɑ⁻³³.muɑ⁻³¹

CLS *ma¹.ma² 媽媽: **Sc** mɑ¹.mɑ²⁻²¹²; **Sy** lʌ⁴.muo⁵₍ˌt 老嫲; **Lq** —; **Yh** mo¹ 媽; **Pc** —; **Qy** mo¹⁻²²¹.mo¹

CSS #mɑ¹.mɑ² 媽媽: **Kh** mɔ⁻⁴².mɔ⁰; **Cs** mɑ² 媽; **Js** mɒ⁻⁵² 媽; **Ys** mɑ² 媽; **Gf** mɑ⁻⁵² 媽

2019 HEEL 脰〔集韻：梗開二平耕莊〕

CSWW *ɗæŋ¹ ‘heel’

CJQ *ɗæŋ¹ ‘ankle’ ⨯ *tsæŋ¹ ‘knot, bump’

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** nɑŋ¹₍ˌi [1] ‘ankle bone’ ⨯ nɑŋ² [2]; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔnai¹ 手～頭 ‘elbow’; **Wy** —

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** tsɛ̃¹ 樹～疤 ‘knot of a tree’; **Dy** tsɛ⁻³³ ～頭 ‘knot of a tree’; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS —

CSS *tæ̃¹

2020 HIDE 囥〔集韻：宕開一去宕溪〕

CSWW *kʰɔŋ⁵ ‘hide; put (away)’

CJQ *kʰaŋ⁵: **Ly** kʰã⁵; **Jh** kʰɑŋ⁵; **Pj** kʰõ⁵; **Dy** kʰʌ⁵; **Yk** kʰaŋ⁵; **Wy** kʰaŋ⁵

CLS *kʰɔŋ⁵: **Sc** kʰɔŋ⁵; **Sy** kʰoŋ⁵; **Lq** kʰɔŋ⁵; **Yh** kʰɔ̃⁵; **Pc** kʰaŋ⁵; **Qy** kʰɔ̃⁵

CSS *kʰɒ̃⁵

This word has grammaticalized and become the default word for ‘to put’ in most of the daughters.

2021 HOUSE 戍/舍

CSWW *tɕ̌ʰyə⁵ ‘house’

CJQ *tɕ̌ʰy⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsʰɿ⁵ 戍; **Yk** —; **Wy** tɕʰy⁵ 戍₁

CLS *tɕʰyə⁵: **Sc** tɕʰyɤ⁵ 戍; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕʰy⁵ 處; **Yh** tʃʰy⁵ 戍; **Pc** tɕʰye⁵; **Qy** tɕʰye⁵ 戍

CSS *tɕʰyəˀ 戍

This word has a clear Mín congate: Common Mín *tɕ̌ʰuo⁵ 戍 > Proto–Níngdé *tʃʰuɔ⁵；Proto-Northern Mín *tsʰio⁵. Norman (1984) associated this word with QYS *syoH* 〔遇合三去遇書

C〕戍, but more recently Zēng et al. (2024) have proposed a connection with QYS *syaeH* 〔假開三去禡書 AB〕舍. In isolation, the CSWW form seems to agree with Norman's etymology better, but this may be due to a dearth of popular stratum words that correspond to CDC *-ia / EC *-a.

2022 ICE

CSWW *kæu⁵ 'ice'

CJQ —

CLS *kyəu⁵: **Sc** tɕyɐɯ⁵ □冰角～ 'ice cube'; **Sy** tɕiʌ⁵ □; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** kɐɯ⁵ □開～ 'freeze into ice'

CSS *kiɑu⁵

The Sy form is taken from Wáng (2012).

2023 LAUNDRY POLE 筅〔廣韻：宕開一去宕匣〕

CSWW *ɦɔŋ⁶ 竹～ 'bamboo laundry pole'

CJQ *ɦaŋ⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** ɑŋ⁶ ～竿; **Pj** õ⁻⁵⁵; **Dy** ʌ⁻⁵⁴; **Yk** aŋ⁶; **Wy** aŋ⁶

CLS *ɦɔŋ⁶: **Sc** ɔŋ⁶; **Sy** oŋ⁶; **Lq** —; **Yh** ɔ̃⁶; **Pc** —; **Qy** xɔ̃⁶

CSS *ɦɒ̃⁶

2024 LEG 骹〔廣韻：效開二平肴溪〕

CSWW *kʰau¹ 'leg; foot'

CJQ —

CLS *kʰau¹: **Sc** kʰɐɯ¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** kʰɑɔ¹; **Yh** —; **Pc** kʰau¹; **Qy** kʰɒ¹

CSS *kʰɑu¹

2025 MEASURE 腰〔山開三去願影 C〕

CSWW *ʔiẽ⁵ 'measure length'

CJQ *ʔiẽ⁵ 'roughly measure': **Ly** —; **Jh** ie⁵ 'measure length'; **Pj** —; **Dy** ʔi³₁ₜ; **Yk** iə⁵; **Wy** ʔɲie⁵

CLS *ʔiẽ⁵ 'measure': **Sc** iẽ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ie⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɛ̃⁵ 'roughly measure'

CSS *ʔiə̃⁵

2026 NIGHT 暝〔梗開四去徑明〕

CSWW *mæŋ⁶

CJQ —

CLS *mæŋ⁶: **Sc** miaŋ⁶; **Sy** maŋ⁶; **Lq** maŋ⁶; **Yh** mɛ⁶; **Pc** mãi²; **Qy** mã⁶

CSS *mæ̃⁶

2027 NOT 弗

CSWW *fək⁷

CJQ *fəʔ⁷: **Ly** fəʔ⁷₍f; **Jh** fəʔ⁷; **Pj** fə⁷ ⩤ fɛ⁷ ～要 'do not'; **Dy** fɜʔ⁷; **Yk** fə³; **Wy** fəʔ⁷

CLS *fək⁷: **Sc** fəɯʔ⁷; **Sy** —; **Lq** fəɯʔ⁷₍f; **Yh** feiʔ⁷ [1] ⩤ fəuʔ⁷ [2]; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS ?

2028 PASTE 糊

CSWW *guə⁶ 麵～ 'paste (n.)'

CJQ *ɦu⁶₍f 'paste (n.)': **Ly** —; **Jh** u⁶; **Pj** u⁶; **Dy** u⁶; **Yk** u⁶; **Wy** u⁶

CLS *guə⁶: **Sc** guɤ⁶; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS #guə⁶: **Kh** guo⁶ [2]; **Cs** guə⁶ [2]; **Js** guə⁶ [2]; **Ys** guə⁶ [2]; **Gf** —

2029 PICK UP 摭〔梗開三入昔章 AB〕

CSWW *ʔiauʔ⁷ 'pick up'

CJQ *ʔiauʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** iəʔ⁷ □ 'give'; **Pj** yo⁷ □ 'pick up, tidy up' ⩤ tɕyo⁷ □收～ 'tidy up'; **Dy** ʔiəʔ⁷ □～束 'tidy up'; **Yk** iɒ⁷ □～集 'tidy up'; **Wy** —

CLS *ʔiauʔ⁷: **Sc** iaʔ⁷ □ 'put away'; **Sy** iaʔ⁷ 'take'; **Lq** —; **Yh** iɑʔ⁷ □ 'take'; **Pc** —; **Qy** iɑʔ⁷ □ 'grab, pick up'

CSS *ʔiɑʔ⁷

2030 PISS 尿=

CSWW *s(ʔ)¹

CJQ *syi¹: **Ly** ɕi¹; **Jh** sɛ¹; **Pj** ʃi¹ [1]; **Dy** sɿ¹ [1] ⩤ sɥ¹ [2]; **Yk** ɕi¹; **Wy** ɕi¹

CLS *s(ʔ)¹: **Sc** ɕy¹; **Sy** sɿ¹; **Lq** ɕy¹; **Yh** ʃy¹; **Pc** ɕye¹ [白]; **Qy** ɕy¹

CSS #s(ʔ)¹: **Kh** ɕyo¹ [1]; **Cs** ɕy¹; **Js** —; **Ys** ɕye¹; **Gf** —

The final of this word is irregular in CLS and CSS. Perhaps it was originally an onomatopoeia or mimicry word.

2031 POINT 拄〔遇合三上麌知 C〕

CSWW *ɗyə³ 拄 'point at'

CJQ *ɗu³ □: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔdu³ 'bump with the elbow'; **Wy** lu³

CLS *ɗyə³ □: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdy³; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdie³

CSS *tyə³ □

2032 PROP UP 柱〔集韻：遇合三去遇知 C〕

CSWW *ɗyə⁵ 柱 'prop up with, lean on'

CJQ *ɗu⁵ 拄: **Ly** tu⁵; **Jh** tu⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** lu⁵

CLS *ɗyə⁵ 拄: **Sc** —; **Sy** ʔdy⁵; **Lq** —; **Yh** ʔdy⁵; **Pc** —; **Qy** ʔdie⁵

CSS *tyə⁵

2033 PULL APART 版〔廣韻：梗開二入陌滂〕

CSWW *pʰæʔ⁷ ‘pull apart’

CJQ *pʰæʔ⁷: **Ly** pʰəʔ⁷; **Jh** pʰəʔ⁷; **Pj** pʰɑ⁷; **Dy** pʰɜʔ⁷; **Yk** pʰai³; **Wy** pʰaʔ⁷

CLS *pʰæʔ⁷: **Sc** pʰiaʔ⁷; **Sy** pʰaʔ⁷; **Lq** pʰɔʔ⁷|f ‘tear (v.)’; **Yh** pʰaʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *pʰæʔ⁷

2034 RIDGE 磡〔廣韻：咸開一去勘溪〕

CSWW *kʰɤ̃⁵ ‘ridge (between fields)’

CJQ *kʰɤ̃⁵: **Ly** kʰei⁵; **Jh** kʰɤ⁵; **Pj** kʰə̃⁵; **Dy** kʰɤ⁻⁵⁴ 田～; **Yk** —; **Wy** kʰɤ⁵

CLS *kʰə̃⁵: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kʰɛ⁵ 田～ ‘Tiángěng (pn.)’; **Pc** —; **Qy** kʰã⁵

CSS *kʰɤ̃⁵

2035 SCALE 鱗〔廣韻：咸開三上琰影 A〕

CSWW *ʔiẽ³ ‘(fish) scale’

CJQ *ʔiẽ³: **Ly** ie³; **Jh** ie³ ‘(fish) scale; scab’; **Pj** iẽ³ ‘scab’; **Dy** ʔin³ [兒] ‘(river snail’s) head scale; scab’; **Yk** iə³ ‘scab’; **Wy** ʔn̩ie³

CLS *iẽ³: **Sc** iẽ³; **Sy** iɛʔ⁸|t; **Lq** —; **Yh** ie³; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *ʔiə̃³

2036 SEMEN 屪

CSWW *zoŋ²

CJQ *zoŋ²: **Ly** zoŋ²; **Jh** zoŋ² [1] ⨯ zoŋ⁶ [2] ‘incompetent’; **Pj** zən² ‘semen; incompetent’; **Dy** zom²; **Yk** zɔŋ² ‘semen; incompetent’; **Wy** zɔŋ² ‘incompetent’

CLS *zoŋ²: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** soŋ² ‘stupid’

CSS *zoŋ²

2037 SERVE 齒〔集韻：遇合三去御知 C〕

CSWW *ɗə¹ [1] ‘fill (a bowl with rice)’ ⨯ *ɗ(i)ə⁵ [2] ‘fill (a bowl with rice)’

CJQ *ɗi⁵ [1] ⨯ *tši⁵ [2] ‘fill (a bowl with rice)’

a. **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** ʔdi⁵; **Wy** li⁵

b. **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕy⁵; **Pj** —; **Dy** tsi⁵; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *ɗie¹ ⨯ *ɗie⁵

a. **Sc** ʔdie¹; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** ʔdi⁵; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tə¹

2038 SHOULDER 擐〔山開三入月羣 C〕

CSWW *gəʔ⁸ ‘shoulder (a load)’

CJQ *gɤʔ⁸: **Ly** —; **Jh** gɤ⁶; **Pj** gɯ⁸; **Dy** gɜʔ⁸ ‘burden’; **Yk** —; **Wy** gɤ⁴

CLS *gəʔ⁸: **Sc** geʔ⁸; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** gɛʔ⁸; **Pc** —; **Qy** kɤʔ⁸ ‘raise (one’s head)’

CSS *gəʔ⁸

2039 SHOVE 攪〔集韻：通合三上腫心 C〕

CSWW *soŋ³ ‘shove’

CJQ *soŋ³: **Ly** soŋ³ ‘push’; **Jh** soŋ³; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** sɔŋ³; **Wy** —

CLS *soŋ³: **Sc** səŋ³ 搡; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** soŋ³ 搡 ‘push’; **Qy** —

CSS *soŋ³

2040 SICKLE 鐮〔廣韻：山開四入屑見〕

CSWW *ʔieʔ⁷₍ˌa₎ [1] ‘sickle’ ⨯ *kæʔ⁷₍ˌa₎ [2] ‘sickle’ ⨯ *kieʔ⁷ [3] ‘sickle’

CJQ *kieʔ⁷ [2]: **Ly** tɕiəʔ⁷; **Jh** tɕie⁵ 鈐～; **Pj** tɕi⁷ 鈐～; **Dy** tɕiəʔ⁷ 鈐～; **Yk** kiə³⁻⁵⁴ [兒]; **Wy** tɕie⁻⁵³ 鈐～

CLS *ieʔ⁷₍ˌa₎ ⨯ *kieʔ⁷ [2]

a. **Sc** —; **Sy** iɛʔ⁷; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

b. **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕiɛʔ⁷; **Yh** tʃieʔ⁷ 犁～; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕieʔ⁷

CSS *kæʔ⁷ [1] ⨯ *kiəʔ⁷ [2]

2041 SLOW

CSWW *gai⁴ ‘slow’

CJQ *ga⁴: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** gɑ⁴; **Dy** gɑ⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** dʑia⁴

CLS *gai⁴₍ˌa₎ ‘lethargic’: **Sc** ga⁴ 懈; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *gɑi⁶₍ˌt₎ 蹙 ‘lethargic’

It might not be possible to relate this etymon to the Chinese literary tradition. None of the previous proposals fit phonologically. Instead, cf. Proto-Tai *gɔːjᴮ ‘gradually, slowly’ (Pittayaporn 2009, 361).

2042 SNIFF

CSWW *pʰuoŋ¹ ‘smell (v.), sniff’

CJQ *pʰuoŋ¹: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** pʰən⁵ 噴=; **Dy** pʰom¹ □; **Yk** pʰəŋ¹ 噴=; **Wy** pʰen¹ 噴=

CLS *pʰoŋ¹: **Sc** pʰəŋ¹ 噴=; **Sy** pʰəŋ¹ □; **Lq** —; **Yh** pʰəŋ¹ 噴=; **Pc** pʰoŋ¹ 芳; **Qy** pʰoŋ¹ 噴=

CSS *pʰoŋ¹

2043 SOAK 釋〔梗開三入昔書 AB〕

CSWW *tšʰiauʔ⁷ ‘soaked; dissolving’

CJQ *tšʰiauʔ⁷ ‘wet’: **Ly** tsʰɔʔ⁷ □; **Jh** tɕʰiəʔ⁷ □; **Pj** —; **Dy** tɕʰiʉoʔ⁷ □; **Yk** tɕʰiɒ³ □; **Wy** tɕʰiɑoʔ⁷ □

CLS *tɕʰiauʔ⁷ ‘wet’: **Sc** tɕʰiaʔ⁷ □; **Sy** tɕʰiaʔ⁷ 濕; **Lq** —; **Yh** —; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *tɕʰiɑʔ⁷ □ ‘mushy, boiled until falling apart’

I associate this etymon with EC *hyak 釋 ‘to dissolve; clear away’. It is attested as having both the senses ‘to soak (in a marinade)’ (*Lǐ Jì* 28.54) and ‘to soak/wash (rice)’ (*Shī* 245.7). The latter sense is also attested in the *Shuōwén* under the character header 釋, glossed ‘to soak rice’ 漬米也.

In the Jīnqú dialects and some neighboring Lìshuǐ dialects the meaning of this etymon has shifted to ‘wet’. The Shàngshān dialects preserve a sense closer to the original meaning.

2044 SPLIT 隔〔梗開二入麥見〕

CSWW *kuæʔ⁷ ‘split, crack’

CJQ *kuæʔ⁷: **Ly** kuəʔ⁷ 骨=; **Jh** kuəʔ⁷ 瀎; **Pj** kuɑ⁷ 瀎; **Dy** kuɑʔ⁷ 瀎; **Yk** kuai³ 瀎; **Wy** kuaʔ⁷ 瀎

CLS *kuæʔ⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** kuaʔ⁷ 刮=; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *kuæʔ⁷ □

Cáo et al. (2016) relate this word to the character 〈瀎〉 read as *kwaek* (古伯切) according to the *Guǎngyùn* and glossed as ‘splitting of water (into streams)’ (水裂). A more likely cognate is *gé* 隔 (**QYS** *keak*) ‘to separate’.

2045 SUCK 欶〔廣韻：臻合三入術精 AB〕

CSWW *tšyək⁷ ‘suck’

CJQ *tšyəʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** tɕyəʔ⁷ 欶; **Pj** tɕyəʔ⁷ 欶; **Dy** tsuɑʔ⁷ 欶; **Yk** tɕўə³ 欶; **Wy** tɕyəʔ⁷ 欶

CLS *tɕyək⁷: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** tɕyʔ⁷ 吸; **Yh** tɕyeiʔ⁷ □; **Pc** —; **Qy** tɕyəɯʔ⁷ □

CSS #tɕyʔ⁷: **Kh** tɕyeʔ⁷ □; **Cs** tɕyeʔ⁷ □; **Js** tɕyɛʔ⁷ □ ‘kiss (babies)’; **Ys** —; **Gf** tɕyɤʔ⁷ □ ‘tender (redup.)’

Cáo et al. (2016) relate this word to **QYS** *tswit* (子律切) 欶 ‘to drink’ and, according to *Yùpiān* 玉篇, ‘to suck’. Both fit semantically with the Southwestern Wú forms, but the initial is incompatible. If the **CSWW** initial were *ts-, then we would expect to find it preserved in **Jh** in addition to conditioned unrounding of *-y- in most of the Jīnqú dialects. Wáng (2015) relates the **Lq** reflex to **QYS** *xip* (許及反) 吸 ‘to suck’, but *x*- is also incompatible with **CSWW** *tš-.

This word may ultimately lack a counterpart in literary Chinese. I suspect it is a non-Chinese area word, the origin of which may not be recoverable; cf. Proto-Tai *cu:pᴰ ‘to kiss’ (Pittayaporn 2009, 349), Proto-Tibeto-Burman *dz(y)o:p ⩙ *ts(y)o:p ‘to kiss’ (Matisoff 2003, 656).

2046 TAKE OFF 褪

CSWW *tʰuəŋ⁵ 褪 ‘take off (clothes)’

CJQ *tʰəŋ⁵: **Ly** —; **Jh** tʰəŋ⁵; **Pj** tʰən⁵; **Dy** tʰən⁵; **Yk** tʰəŋ⁵; **Wy** tʰen⁵

CLS *tʰuəŋ⁵: **Sc** tʰəŋ⁵; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** tʰəŋ⁵; **Pc** tʰueŋ⁵; **Qy** —

CSS *tʰiŋ⁵

2047 TRASH ≈ *lèsè* 垃圾 (攦撮)

CSWW *li(ək,ʔ)⁷.sɔuʔ⁷ (?) [1] ‘trash’ ⪤ *lʌʔ⁸.sʌʔ⁷ [2] ‘trash’

CJQ *lɤʔ⁸.sɤʔ⁷: **Ly** —; **Jh** —; **Pj** luɯ⁻¹¹.suɯ⁷ □屑; **Dy** —; **Yk** lɤə⁻³³.sɤə³ □屑; **Wy** lɤ⁻⁵³.sɤʔ⁷ □屑

CLS *li(ək,ʔ)ʔ⁷.sɔuʔ⁷ (?): **Sc** liɪʔ⁸.sɔʔ⁷ □□; **Sy** ɕiʔ⁷.səʔ⁷₍f 室=索=; **Lq** ləʔ⁸.sɔuʔ⁷ □□; **Yh** loʔ⁸.soʔ⁷ □□; **Pc** […].sau⁷ 圾; **Qy** loʔ⁸.soʔ⁷ □□

CSS #lɒʔ⁷.sɒʔ⁷₍a (?) ⪤ #lʌʔ⁸.sʌʔ⁷₍a (?): **Kh** —; **Cs** laʔ⁷.sʌʔ⁷ □□; **Js** —; **Ys** lɐʔ⁸.sɐʔ⁷ 垃□; **Gf** —

Chéng (2019, 72) transcribes the **Sy** form as [ɕiʔ³səʔ⁵] in IPA, but gives 室=索= as the written form. The regular reading for the character 索 is [soʔ⁵], and Wáng (2012, 220) transcribes this word as [ɕiɛʔ³soʔ⁵] in the Xīpíng 西屏 village dialect of Sōngyáng county. Therefore, I suspect [ɕiʔ³səʔ⁵] might be a typographic error or error in transcription. [soʔ⁵] is the expected regular **Sy** reflex of **CLS** *sɔuʔ⁷.

The **Yh** and **Qy** forms in this set are taken from Wáng’s lexicon. The **Pc** form comes from Lǐ Rúlóng’s (2001b) syllabary. He only lists the second syllable of what is presumably this word.

Cf. Jìnyún [lɛ⁷.sɛ⁷] ‘trash’.

2048 TUMBLE 跐〔集韻：蟹合一去隊來〕

CSWW *luəi⁶ ‘roll, tumble’

CJQ *ləi⁶: **Ly** —; **Jh** lɛ⁶ ‘lie down’; **Pj** la⁶ ‘roll; lie down’; **Dy** le⁶ ‘roll, tumble; lie down’; **Yk** ləi⁶ ‘roll; lie down’; **Wy** la⁶ ‘roll’

CLS *luəi⁶: **Sc** lei⁶ ‘roll’; **Sy** —; **Lq** li⁶₍f ‘fall’; **Yh** lei⁶ ‘fall’; **Pc** —; **Qy** lai⁶ ‘roll’

CSS *luəi⁶

2049 TWIST 撱〔山開三入薛明 A〕

CSWW *miaʔ⁸ ‘twist (with fingers)’

CJQ *mieʔ⁸: **Ly** miəʔ⁸; **Jh** mie⁶ [2] ⪤ mie⁵ [1] ⪤ mie³ [3]; **Pj** mi⁸; **Dy** miəʔ⁸; **Yk** miə⁴; **Wy** mie⁴

CLS *miaʔ⁸: **Sc** —; **Sy** mi¹₍tf; **Lq** mi¹₍tf; **Yh** mieʔ⁷; **Pc** —; **Qy** miɑʔ⁸

CSS *miəʔ⁸

2050 WET 潭=

CSWW *dɐ̃² ‘wet’

CJQ —

CLS *dəʔ²₍a: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** duɛ² 潭=; **Pc** —; **Qy** —

CSS *dɐ̃²

This word is also attested in Mín: Common Mín *təm² ‘wet’ (Coastal Mín only). It is almost

certainly a non-Chinese substrate word, cf. Proto-Tai *dom^{A} ‘wet’ (Pittayaporn 2009, 345); Vietnamese *đẫm* [ɗɤ̃m^{C2}] ‘soaked’ (Norman and Mei 1976, 298). Note that the tone correspondence agrees with the Proto-Tai form but not with the Vietnamese form.

2051 WIFE

CSWW *lɔu⁴.ma⁴ 老□ ‘wife’

CJQ *lou⁴.mɒ⁴ 老馬=: **Ly** lɔ⁴.mɔʔ⁸₍ft 老木=; **Jh** —; **Pj** lo⁴.mia²₍t; **Dy** lɑu⁴.muo⁴; **Yk** —; **Wy** lɤ⁴.muɑ⁴

CLS *lɔu⁴.ma⁴ 老媽: **Sc** —; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** lɑɔ³.mo²₍t 老母; **Pc** —; **Qy** lɒ⁴.mo⁴

CSS *ləu⁴.mɑ⁴

Cf. Proto-Tai *me:^{B} ‘mother; woman’ (Pittayaporn 2009, 336). The morpheme appears to be used here as a calque of 老婆 ‘wife (literally old + matron)’. Proto-Tai *miə^{A} ‘wife’ is another possibility, but the tone correspondence does not work.

2052 YAM 藷〔廣韻：遇合三平魚常 C〕

CSWW *džiə² 薯～ ‘Chinese yam’

CJQ *ži²₍ia: **Ly** zɿ⁰₍i; **Jh** —; **Pj** —; **Dy** —; **Yk** —; **Wy** —

CLS *dʑie²: **Sc** dʑie²; **Sy** —; **Lq** —; **Yh** dzɿ² [1] ≍ ʒy² [2]; **Pc** ɕie²₍i; **Qy** tɕie²

CSS *dʑiə²

2053 YOU 爾/汝

CSWW *ȵiə⁴ ‘you’

CJQ *ȵ⁴: **Ly** ŋ⁴.nəŋ⁰ 爾農₁ ≍ ŋ⁴ 爾₂ ≍ ȵi⁴ 你₃; **Jh** noŋ³₍if 儂; **Pj** n⁴ 爾; **Dy** n⁴ 爾; **Yk** ŋ⁴ 爾; **Wy** nɔ⁴₍if 農

CLS *ȵie⁴: **Sc** ȵie⁴ 你₁ ≍ ȵie⁴.nəŋ² 你農₂; **Sy** ȵi⁴ 你; **Lq** ȵi⁴ 你; **Yh** ɲi⁴ 你; **Pc** noŋ⁴₍if 汝; **Qy** ȵie⁴ 你

CSS *ȵi⁴ 你

The surveys relate this etymon to the following QYS character readings: *nyeX* 〔止開三上紙日 AB〕爾, *nyiX* 〔止開三上止娘 AB〕你, and *nyoX* 〔遇合三上語日 AB〕汝. Only 爾 and 汝 are compatible with CSWW *ȵiə⁴.

Some dialects have the word for ‘person’, CSWW *noŋ² 農, after the form. In Jh and Pc it has been contracted with the first syllable so that only the tone difference remains. Note also that the Ly form has irregularly become a syllabic nasal before this optional second morpheme. The regular form, [ȵi⁴], is used in isolation.

Appendix B

COGNATE SETS INDEXED BY *PĪNYĪN*

Ǎ

ǎi 矮 *ʔai³ 391
ài 礙 *ŋəi⁶ 384
ài 愛 *ʔəi⁵ 86, 251, 385
ài 艾 *ŋai⁴ ≍ *ŋai⁶ ≍ *ŋəi⁶ ... 88, 386
ān 庵 *ʔɑ̃¹ 454
ān 安 *ʔɔ̃¹ 82, 142, 190, 476
ǎn 揞 *ʔəŋ³ 454
àn 暗 *ʔɑ̃⁵ 214, 454
àn 岸 *ŋɔ̃⁶ 190, 475
áo 熬 *ŋɔu² 432
ǎo 襖 *ʔɔu³ 202, 433

B

bā 笆 *ɓui¹ ≍ *ɓa¹ 358
bā 八 *ɓaʔ⁷ 159, 480
bá 拔 *baʔ⁸ 480
bǎ 把 *ɓɔ³ 358
bà 耙 *bɔ⁶ 358
ba 巴 *ba² 357
bái 白 *bæʔ⁸ 91, 571
bǎi 百 *ɓæʔ⁷ 174, 571
bǎi 擺 *ɓai³ 387
bài 拜 *ɓai⁵ 387
bài 稗 *ba⁶ 157, 388
bài 敗 *bai⁶ 171, 391
bān 班 *ɓã¹ 480
bān 搬 *bɔ̃² ≍ *ɓɔ̃¹ 495
bǎn 板 *ɓã³ 83, 94, 481
bàn 扮 *ɓã⁵ 477
bàn 辦 *bã⁶ 108, 158, 478
bàn 半 *ɓɔ̃⁵ 190, 495
bàn 伴 *bɔ̃⁴ 496
bāng 幫 *ɓɔŋ¹ 106, 202, 535
bǎng 綁 *ɓɔŋ³ 555
bǎng 榜 *ɓɔŋ³ 536
bàng 棒 *bɔŋ⁴ 555
bāo 包 *ɓau¹ 179, 433
báo 雹 *bɔuʔ⁸ 558
báo 薄 *bɔuʔ⁸ 204, 539
bǎo 寶 *ɓɔu³ 105, 426
bǎo 飽 *ɓ(u,o)³ ≍ *ɓau³ 433
bào 報 *ɓɔu⁵ 199, 426
bào 抱 *buə⁴ ≍ *b(ɔ,a)u⁴ 200, 426
bào 鉋 *bau² 434
bēi 杯 *ɓui¹ ≍ *ɓəi¹ 396
běi 北 *ɓəiʔ⁷ 256, 561
bèi 被 *bəi⁴ ≍ *bi⁴ 403
běn 本 *ɓə̃³ ≍ *ɓəŋ³ 523
bèn 笨 *bəŋ⁴ ≍ *bə̃⁶ ≍ *boŋ⁶ 524
bī 逼 *ɓiʔ⁷ 565
bí 鼻 *bəʔ⁸ ≍ *boʔ⁸ ≍ *biək⁸ 408
bǐ 比 *ɓi³ 280, 408
bǐ 筆 *ɓiək⁷ ≍ *ɓiək⁷ 90, 306, 519
bì 碧 *ɓiʔ⁷ 577
bì 壁 *ɓiʔ⁷ 283, 584
bì 閉 *ɓɨ⁵ ≍ *ɓi⁵ 304, 392
bì 避 *biə⁶ ≍ *bi⁶ 228, 403
bì 必 *ɓiək⁷ 519
biān 編 *ɓiẽ¹ 482
biān 邊 *ɓiẽ¹ 489

biǎn 扁 *ɓiã³ 163, 489
biàn 變 *ɓiẽ⁵ 106, 482
biàn 便 *biẽ⁶ 483
biàn 辮 *biẽ⁴ 489
biǎo 表 *ɓiɔu³ 206, 436
biē 鱉 *ɓieʔ⁷ 486
bié 別 *bieʔ⁸ 486
bìn 殯 *ɓiəŋ⁵ 514
bīng 冰 *ɓæŋ¹ ⩙ *ɓiŋ¹ 563
bīng 兵 *ɓiŋ¹ 574
bǐng 餅 *ɓiŋ³ 577
bìng 柄 *ɓæŋ⁵ ⩙ *ɓiŋ⁵ 94, 173, 574
bìng 病 *bæŋ⁶ ⩙ *biŋ⁶ 281, 575
bō 剝 *ɓɔuʔ⁷ 558
bō 玻 *ɓo¹ 353
bō 撥 *ɓɔʔ⁷ 192, 500
bó 博 *ɓɔuʔ⁷ 539
bó 薄 See *báo* 204, 539
bò 簸 *ɓəi⁵ ⩙ *ɓai⁵ 353
bǔ 補 *ɓuə³ 365
bù 布 *ɓuə⁵ 234, 366
bù 簿 *buə⁴ 108, 366
bù 步 *buə⁶ 366

C

cā 擦 *tsʰɔʔ⁷ 193, 477
cái 財 *zəi² ⩙ *dzəi² 126, 383
cài 菜 *(tsʰ,tšʰ)i⁵ ⩙ *tsʰəi⁵ ... 124, 383
cài 蔡 *tsʰai⁵ 386
cán 蠶 *zɐ̃² 127, 214, 453
cāng 倉 *tsʰɔŋ¹ 538
cáo 槽 *zɔu² 430
cǎo 草 *tsʰuə³ ⩙ *tsʰɔu³ 201, 430
cè 側 *tšəiʔ⁷ 256, 566
cè 册 *tsʰæʔ⁷ 574
céng 層 *zeŋ² 83, 252, 561
chā 插 *tšʰaʔ⁷ 130, 459
chá 茶 *dža² 131, 157, 359
chá 查 *dža² 360
chá 察 *tsʰaʔ⁷ 480
chāi 拆 *tʰæʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsʰæʔ⁷ .. 117, 175, 571
chāi 釵 *tsʰa¹ ⩙ *tsʰai¹ 389
chái 柴 *zai² 389
chán 纏 *džyẽ² 485
chǎn 鏟 *tsʰã³ 478
chǎn 產 *šã³ ⩙ *tsʰã³ 478
cháng 長 *deŋ² ⩙ *džiaŋ² .. 118, 182, 253, 544
cháng 腸 *deŋ² ⩙ *džiaŋ² 118, 544
cháng 嘗 *žiaŋ² 547
chàng 唱 *tšʰiaŋ⁵ 546
chǎo 炒 *tšʰau³ 130, 180, 435
chē 車 *tšʰia¹ 363
chè 拆 See *chāi* 117, 175, 571
chè 撤 *tšʰieʔ⁷ 486
chén 沉 *diəŋ² ⩙ *d(ɨ,i)(ə)ŋ⁶ ⩙ *džiəŋ² 468
chén 陳 *džiəŋ² 515
chén 塵 *dã² ⩙ *džiəŋ² 516
chēng 秤 *tšʰiŋ⁵ 130, 282, 564
chēng 撐 *tsʰæŋ¹ 569
chéng 塍 *žiŋ² 564
chéng 城 *žiŋ² ⩙ *dži(ə)ŋ² 134, 579
chī 吃 *kʰiʔ⁷ 586
chí 池 *(dž,dz)iə² ⩙ *dži² 405
chí 匙 *žiə² 405
chí 遲 *dəi² ⩙ *dži² 280, 410
chǐ 尺 *tšʰiʔ⁷ 284, 581
chǐ 豉 *žiə⁶ 406
chǐ 齒 *tšʰɨ³ 302, 414
chì 赤 *tsʰæʔ⁷ ⩙ *tšʰiʔ⁷ 581
chōng 舂 *ʔioŋ¹ ⩙ *šyaŋ¹ 97, 604
chóng 蟲 *dã² ⩙ *doŋ² ⩙ *džioŋ² 118, 595
chóng 重 *džiəŋ² 603
chòng 銃 *tšʰioŋ⁵ 596
chōu 抽 *tšʰiu¹ 117, 295, 447
chóu 愁 *zæu² ⩙ *zu² 133, 294, 447
chòu 臭 *tsʰɔu⁵ ⩙ *tšʰiu⁵ 449
chū 初 *tšʰɨ¹ ⩙ *tšʰuə¹ 373
chū 出 *tšʰyeʔ⁷ ⩙ *tšʰyək⁷ 249, 531
chú 除 *də² ⩙ *džyə² 372

chú 鋤 *(ž,z)a² ⪥ *ži² 373
chú 廚 *džyə² 379
chú 櫥 *džyə² 379
chù 畜 *tšʰioʔ⁷ 599
chuān 川 *tšʰyẽ¹ 505
chuān 穿 *tšʰyəŋ¹ ⪥ *tšʰyẽ¹ 247, 505
chuán 椽 *dʑyẽ² 504
chuán 船 *žyəŋ² ⪥ *(ž,z)yẽ² 248, 505
chuāng 窗 *tšʰyaŋ¹ 556
chuāng 瘡 *tsʰ(eŋ,ə̃)¹ ⪥ *tšʰyaŋ¹ . 185, 545
chuáng 牀 *z(eŋ,ə̃)² ⪥ *žyaŋ² 253, 545
chuǎng 闖 *tšʰyaŋ³ 545
chuī 吹 *tšʰy¹ 420
chuí 錘 *džy² 421
chuí 槌 *džyai² ⪥ *džyi² 421
chūn 春 *tšʰyəŋ¹ 130, 246, 530
chún 脣 *žiəŋ² ⪥ *žyəŋ² 530
chuō 戳 *tšʰyauʔ⁷ 186, 558
cí 雌 *tshɨ¹ 403
cí 糍 *zɨ² 409
cí 祠 *zɨ² 413
cì 刺 *tsʰiə⁵ ⪥ *tsʰɨ⁵ ... 124, 226, 404
cōng 囪 *tsʰoŋ¹ 590
cōng 蔥 *tsʰoŋ¹ 590
cóng 從 *ziɔŋ² ⪥ *zoŋ² ⪥ *dzoŋ² .. 207, 602
còu 湊 *tsʰu⁵ 443
cū 粗 *tsʰuə¹ 368
cù 醋 *tsʰuə⁵ 235, 368
cuī 催 *tsʰuəi¹ 398
cūn 村 *tsʰuã¹ 124, 151, 236, 525
cún 存 *zuã² 236, 526
cǔn 忖 *tsʰuã³ 525
cùn 寸 *tsʰuã⁵ 525
cuō 搓 *tsʰo¹ 269, 351
cuō 撮 *tsʰuək⁷ 242, 501
cuò 銼 *tsʰo⁵ 355

D

dá 答 *ɗ(ʌ,uɔ)ʔ⁷ ⪥ *ɗaʔ⁷ 454
dá 達 *dɔʔ⁸ 193, 476
dǎ 打 *ɗæŋ³ 95, 173, 569
dà 大 *do⁶ 89, 269, 351
dài 戴 *ɗai⁵ ⪥ *ɗəi⁵ 381
dài 袋 *dəi⁶ 117, 382
dài 帶 *ɗai³ ⪥ *ɗai⁵ ... 65, 87, 171, 385
dài 大 *dai⁶ 385
dān 擔 *ɗã¹ 95, 456
dān 單 *ɗõ¹ 191, 473
dǎn 膽 *ɗã³ 456
dàn 擔 *ɗã⁵ 456
dàn 淡 *dã⁴ 158, 457
dàn 彈 *dõ⁶ 474
dāng 當 *ɗɔŋ¹ 536
dǎng 黨 *ɗɔŋ³ 536
dàng 當 *ɗɔŋ⁵ 536
dàng 蕩 *dɔŋ⁴ ⪥ *dɔŋ⁶ 537
dàng 盪 *dɔŋ⁴ 537
dāo 刀 *ɗou¹ 115, 199, 427
dào 到 *ɗou⁵ 86, 427
dào 道 *dou⁴ 118, 428
dé 得 *ɗiʔ⁷ ⪥ *ɗəiʔ⁷ 255, 561
dé 德 *ɗəiʔ⁷ 562
dēng 燈 *ɗiŋ¹ ⪥ *ɗeŋ¹ 252, 559
děng 等 *ɗiŋ³ ⪥ *ɗeŋ³ 560
dèng 凳 *ɗiŋ⁵ ⪥ *ɗeŋ⁵ 560
dèng 鄧 *deŋ⁶ ⪥ *d(u)əŋ⁶ 560
dī 滴 *ɗiaʔ⁷ ⪥ *ɗiʔ⁷ 584
dī 低 *ɗiei¹ 392
dí 敵 *diʔ⁸ 585
dí 糴 *diʔ⁸ 585
dǐ 底 *ɗia³ ⪥ *ɗiei³ 392
dì 弟 *dia⁴ ⪥ *diei⁴ 161, 258, 393
dì 遞 *diei⁶ 394
dì 地 *di⁶ ⪥ *dia⁶ 408
diān 癲 *ɗiã¹ 490
diǎn 典 *ɗiã³ 163, 490
diàn 店 *ɗiã⁵ 115, 163, 464

diàn 簟 *diã⁴ 464
diàn 殿 *diã⁶ 490
diāo 雕 *ɗiau¹ 439
diào 釣 *ɗiau⁵ 180, 440
diē 跌 *ɗiaʔ⁷ 165, 464
dié 疊 *diaʔ⁸ 164, 465
dié 碟 *diaʔ⁸ 465
dīng 釘 *ɗiŋ¹ 282, 582
dǐng 頂 *ɗiŋ³ 582
dìng 釘 *ɗiŋ⁵ 583
dìng 定 *diŋ⁶ 583
dōng 東 *ɗoŋ¹ 115, 588
dōng 冬 *ɗã¹ ⪥ *ɗoŋ¹ 271, 593
dǒng 懂 *ɗoŋ³ 588
dòng 凍 *ɗoŋ⁵ 588
dòng 動 *doŋ⁴ 589
dòng 洞 *doŋ⁶ 589
dǒu 斗 *ɗu³ 442
dòu 豆 *du⁶ 442
dū 督 *ɗoʔ⁷ 593
dú 讀 *doʔ⁸ 592
dú 毒 *daʔ⁸ ⪥ *doʔ⁸ 273, 594
dǔ 賭 *ɗuə³ 235, 366
duān 端 *ɗuõ¹ 496
duǎn 短 *ɗui³ ⪥ *ɗuõ³ 196, 285, 496
duàn 斷 *ɗuõ⁵ 497
duàn 斷 *duəŋ⁴ ⪥ *duõ⁴ 238, 497
duī 堆 *ɗuəi¹ 397
duì 對 *ɗuəi⁵ 263, 397
duì 碓 *ɗuəi⁵ 397
duì 隊 *duəi⁶ 398
dùn 頓 *ɗuə̃⁵ ⪥ *ɗuəŋ⁵ ... 151, 236, 524
dùn 鈍 *duə̃⁶ ⪥ *duəŋ⁶ 525
dùn 遁 *duə̃⁶ 525
duō 多 *ɗai¹ ⪥ *ɗo¹ 81, 350
duó 奪 *duək⁸ ⪥ *duoʔ⁸ .. 154, 197, 241, 501
duǒ 躲 *ɗo³ 354

É

é 額 *ŋæʔ⁸ 572
é 鵝 *ŋo² 352
è 餓 *ŋai⁶ ⪥ *ŋo⁶ 352
è 軛 *ʔæʔ⁷ 175, 574
è 惡 *ʔouʔ⁷ 205, 540
ēn 恩 *ʔə̃¹ 513
ér 兒 *ɳiə² 406
ěr 耳 *ɳi⁴ 281, 415
èr 二 *ɳi⁶ 89, 134, 281, 411

F

fā 發 *faʔ⁷ 510
fá 罰 *vaʔ⁸ 511
fǎ 法 *faʔ⁷ 113, 159, 466
fà 髮 *fək⁷ ⪥ *faʔ⁷ 510
fān 翻 *pʰ(ʔ)¹ ⪥ *fã¹ 508
fán 煩 *vã² 508
fǎn 反 *ɓã³ ⪥ *fã³ 106, 158, 508
fàn 飯 *vã⁶ 114, 508
fāng 方 *fɔŋ¹ 552
fáng 房 *vɔŋ² 553
fáng 防 *b(ɔŋ,ã)² ⪥ *vɔŋ² 553
fǎng 紡 *pʰoŋ³ ⪥ *fɔŋ³ ... 107, 203, 553
fàng 放 *ɓoŋ⁵ ⪥ *fɔŋ⁵ 553
fēi 飛 *ɓəi¹ ⪥ *fi¹ 423
féi 肥 *bi² ⪥ *vi² 109, 423
fèi 肺 *fiei⁵ 113, 257, 402
fèi 痱 *ɓəi³ ⪥ *fiə⁵ 87, 423
fēn 分 *fəŋ¹ 531
fén 墳 *vəŋ² 221, 532
fěn 粉 *fəŋ³ 221, 532
fèn 糞 *ɓə̃⁵ ⪥ *fəŋ⁵ 106, 219, 532
fèn 份 *vəŋ⁶ 532
fēng 風 *foŋ¹ 271, 594
fēng 蜂 *foŋ¹ 601
féng 馮 *boŋ² ⪥ *voŋ² 594
féng 縫 *voŋ² 601

fèng 縫 *voŋ⁶ 601
fú 福 *foʔ⁷ 597
fú 幅 *foʔ⁷ 597
fú 服 *voʔ⁸ 598
fú 伏 *voʔ⁸ 598
fú 扶 *bu² ⪥ *vuə² 108, 235, 377
fú 浮 *vuə² 114, 445
fú 佛 *vək⁸ 225, 535
fǔ 斧 *ɓuə³ ⪥ *fuə³ 377
fù 縛 *bɔuʔ⁸ 204, 555
fù 腹 *ɓoʔ⁷ ⪥ *foʔ⁷ 598
fù 覆 *pʰoʔ⁷ ⪥ *foʔ⁷ 107, 273, 598
fù 富 *fuə⁵ 113, 445
fù 伏 *buə⁶ 445

G

gǎi 改 *kəi³ 384
gài 蓋 *kɔi⁵ ⪥ *kəi⁵ 212, 386
gān 甘 *kɐ̃¹ 213, 457
gān 肝 *kɔ̃¹ 190, 475
gǎn 感 *kɐ̃³ 453
gǎn 敢 *kɐ̃³ 214, 457
gāng 缸 *kɔŋ¹ 538
gāo 高 *kɔu¹ 199, 431
gǎo 稿 *kɔu³ 431
gào 告 *kɔu⁵ 432
gē 鴿 *kʌʔ⁷ 216, 455
gē 歌 *ko¹ 270, 351
gē 割 *kɔʔ⁷ 91, 192, 477
gé 格 *kæʔ⁷ 572
gé 隔 *kæʔ⁷ 574
gè 個 *kai⁵ ⪥ *ko⁵ ⪥ *kə⁵ 271, 351
gè 各 *kɔuʔ⁷ 540
gēn 根 *kə̃¹ ⪥ *kəŋ¹ 224, 513
gēng 更 *kæŋ¹ 570
gēng 耕 *kæŋ¹ 82, 174, 573
gěng 梗 *kuæŋ³ 177, 570
gèng 更 *kæŋ⁵ 570
gōng 蚣 *koŋ¹ 591
gōng 工 *koŋ¹ 272, 591
gōng 弓 *kioŋ¹ ⪥ *koŋ¹ 596
gōng 宮 *kioŋ¹ ⪥ *koŋ¹ 597
gōng 恭 *kiɔŋ¹ ⪥ *koŋ¹ 604
gōng 供 *kiɔŋ¹ ⪥ *kioŋ¹ ⪥ *koŋ¹ .. 208, 605
gòng 供 *koŋ⁵ 605
gòng 共 *giɔŋ⁶ ⪥ *gioŋ⁶ ⪥ *goŋ⁶ ... 605
gōu 鉤 *ku¹ 293, 443
gǒu 狗 *ku³ 443
gòu 够 *ku⁵ 444
gū 箍 *kʰuə¹ 368
gǔ 穀 *koʔ⁷ 273, 592
gǔ 骨 *kuəʔ⁷ 240, 528
gǔ 牯 *kuə³ 235, 368
guā 瓜 *kuɔ¹ ⪥ *kua¹ 195, 364
guā 刮 *kuək⁷ ⪥ *kuaʔ⁷ .. 169, 242, 503
guǎ 寡 *kua³ 168, 365
guà 掛 *kua⁵ 136, 400
guài 怪 *kuai⁵ 176, 400
guān 官 *kuɔ̃¹ 499
guān 關 *kuoŋ¹ ⪥ *kuã¹ .. 168, 278, 502
guǎn 管 *kuoŋ³ ⪥ *kuɔ̃³ ... 196, 278, 499
guàn 灌 *kuoŋ⁵ ⪥ *kuɔ̃⁵ 278, 499
guàn 罐 *kuɔ̃⁵ 499
guàn 慣 *kuã⁵ 502
guāng 光 *kuɔŋ¹ 210, 551
guī 龜 *k(?)¹ 422
guī 歸 *kuəi¹ ⪥ *ky¹ ⪥ *kuei¹ 424
guǐ 鬼 *kuəi³ ⪥ *ky³ 425
guì 桂 *kyei⁵ ⪥ *kui⁵ 402
guì 跪 *kʰy³ ⪥ *gy⁴ 420
guì 櫃 *gy⁶ ⪥ *gyai⁶ 422
guì 貴 *ky⁵ ⪥ *kuei⁵ 136, 264, 290, 425
gǔn 滾 *kuɔ̃³ ⪥ *kuəŋ³ 239, 526
guō 郭 *kuɔuʔ⁷ 211, 552
guō 鍋 *kuo¹ 356
guó 國 *kuəiʔ⁷ 263, 568
guǒ 果 *kuo³ 276, 356
guǒ 裹 *kui³ ⪥ *kuo³ 287, 356
guǒ 餜 *kuo³ 356

guò 過 *kuo⁵ 277, 356

H

hǎi 海 *xəi³ 84, 385
hài 亥 *ɦəi⁴ 385
hài 害 *ɦɔi⁶ ⪥ *ɦəi⁶ 212, 386
hán 含 *gəŋ⁷ ⪥ *ɦɐ̃² 222, 454
hán 寒 *gõ² ⪥ *ɦõ² 139, 475
hàn 漢 *xõ⁵ 140, 475
hàn 旱 *ɦõ⁴ 476
hàn 汗 *gõ⁶ ⪥ *ɦõ⁶ 139, 476
hàn 焊 *ɦõ⁶ 476
háng 行 *ɦɔŋ² 538
hǎo 好 *xɔu³ 432
hào 好 *xɔu⁵ 432
hào 號 *ɦɔu⁶ 200, 432
hē 喝 *xaʔ⁷ 455
hé 荷 *ɦo² 270, 352
hé 和 *ɦuo² 357
hé 盒 *ɦʌʔ⁸ 216, 455
hēi 黑 *xəiʔ⁷ 68, 563
hèn 恨 *ɦə̃⁶ 513
héng 桁 *ɦæŋ² 571
héng 橫 *ɦuæŋ² 177, 586
hóng 紅 *ɦoŋ² 591
hóng 虹 *ɦoŋ⁵ 591
hòu 後 *ɦu⁴ 293, 444
hòu 厚 *gu⁴ 138, 293, 445
hú 胡 *ɦuə² 369
hú 壺 *ɦuə² 370
hú 鬍 *ɦuə² 370
hú 糊 *guə² ⪥ *ɦuə² 370
***hú** 核 *(ɦ,ŋ)uəʔ⁸ 529
hù 瓠 *ɦuə² 370
huā 花 *xua¹ 140, 168, 365
huá 划 *ɦua² 365
huá 滑 *gu(a,æ)ʔ⁸ ⪥ *ɦuaʔ⁸ .. 169, 502
huà 劃 *ɦuæʔ⁸ 179, 586
huà 畫 *ɦua⁶ 168, 401
huà 話 *ɦuɔ⁶ ⪥ *ɦua⁶ 195, 401
huái 懷 *guai² ⪥ *ɦuai² ... 138, 176, 400
huān 歡 *xuõ¹ 500
huán 還 *ɦuã² ⪥ *ɦã² 168, 503
huàn 換 *ɦuə̃⁶ ⪥ *ɦuã⁶ 500
huāng 荒 *xuɔŋ¹ 551
huāng 慌 *xuɔŋ¹ 140, 210, 551
huáng 黃 *ɦuɔŋ² 210, 552
huī 灰 *xuei¹ 399
huí 回 *ɦuəi² 399
huǐ 悔 *xuei⁵ 399
huì 會 *ɦuəi⁶ 263, 399
hūn 昏 *xuoŋ⁵ ⪥ *xuə̃¹ 239, 527
hún 魂 *ɦuə̃² 238, 527
huó 活 *ɦuaʔ⁸ 502
huǒ 火 *xui³ ⪥ *xuo³ 287, 357
huò 霍 *xuɔuʔ⁷ 211, 552
huò 鑊 *ɦuɔuʔ⁸ 211, 552
huò 或 *ɦuəiʔ⁸ 568
huò 貨 *xuo⁵ 277, 357
huò 禍 *ɦuo⁴ 357

J

jī 擊 *kiʔ⁷ 586
jī 雞 *ʔie(i)¹ ⪥ *kiei¹ ... 98, 259, 396
jī 基 *kɨ¹ ⪥ *ki¹ 303, 416
jī 箕 *ʔi¹ ⪥ *ki¹ 98, 416
jī 機 *ki¹ 418
jī 饑 *kəi¹ ⪥ *ki¹ 418
jí 極 *giʔ⁸ 568
jí 集 *ziək⁸ ⪥ *dziək⁸ 471
jí 急 *kiək⁷ 233, 473
jí 吉 *kiək⁷ 233, 521
jǐ 脊 *tsiʔ⁷ 580
jǐ 麂 *kɨ³ ⪥ *ki³ 304, 412
jǐ 幾 *kəi³ ⪥ *ki³ 418
jǐ 蟣 *kəi³ ⪥ *kɨ³ ⪥ *ki³ 419
jì 鯽 *tsiŋ⁷ ⪥ *tsiʔ⁷ 566
jì 祭 *tsiei⁵ 391

jì 濟 *tsia⁵ ⩙ *tsiei⁵ 394
jì 寄 *kəi⁵ ⩙ *ki⁵ 406
jì 倚 *gəi⁴ 84, 251, 407
jì 記 *kɨ⁵ ⩙ *ki⁵ 303, 416
jiā 加 *ka¹ 360
jiā 挾 465
jiǎ 假 *ka³ 136, 157, 360
jiǎ 甲 *kaʔ⁷ 160, 460
jià 嫁 *ʔia⁵ ⩙ *ka⁵ 360
jiān 監 *kã¹ 460
jiān 尖 *tsiẽ¹ 461
jiān 兼 *kiẽ¹ 464
jiān 櫼 *tšiəŋ¹ ⩙ *(ts,tš)iẽ¹ 466
jiān 間 *kã¹ 158, 479
jiān 奸 *kã¹ 481
jiān 煎 *tsiẽ¹ 483
jiān 肩 *ʔiẽ¹ ⩙ *kiẽ¹ 99, 492
jiǎn 減 *kã³ 458
jiǎn 揀 *kã³ 479
jiǎn 剪 *tsiã³ 484
jiǎn 筧 *kiẽ³ 492
jiàn 監 *kã⁵ 460
jiàn 劍 *kiẽ⁵ 463
jiàn 間 *kã⁵ 479
jiàn 箭 *tsiẽ⁵ 104, 484
jiàn 賤 *ziẽ⁶ 484
jiàn 件 *giẽ⁴ 485
jiàn 建 *kiẽ⁵ 104, 488
jiàn 健 *giẽ⁶ 488
jiàn 薦 *tsə̃⁵ ⩙ *(ts,tš)iã⁵ ⩙ *tsiẽ⁵ . 220, 491
jiàn 見 *ʔiẽ⁵ ⩙ *kiẽ¹ 493
jiāng 薑 *kiaŋ¹ 182, 547
jiāng 江 *kɔŋ¹ 556
jiāng 豇 *kɔŋ¹ 556
jiāng 漿 *tsiaŋ¹ 542
jiǎng 講 *kɔŋ³ 557
jiàng 降 *kɔŋ⁵ 557
jiàng 虹 *kɔŋ⁵ 557
jiàng 醬 *tsiaŋ⁵ 542
jiàng 匠 *ziaŋ⁶ 542
jiāo 交 *kau¹ 180, 435
jiāo 茭 *kau¹ 435
jiāo 焦 *tsiɔu¹ 206, 437
jiāo 澆 *kiɔu¹ 441
jiáo 嚼 *ziauʔ⁸ 550
jiǎo 腳 *kiauʔ⁷ 137, 184, 551
jiǎo 角 *kɔuʔ⁷ 91, 205, 558
jiào 窖 *kau⁵ 435
jiào 轎 *giɔu² 438
jiào 叫 *ʔiɔu⁵ ⩙ *ki(ɔ,a)u⁵ . 99, 181, 441
jiē 街 *kai¹ 390
jiē 接 *tsieʔ⁷ 90, 261, 462
jié 劫 *kieʔ⁷ 463
jié 傑 *gieʔ⁸ 488
jié 節 *tsiaʔ⁷ 124, 164, 494
jié 結 *kieʔ⁷ 262, 495
jiě 解 *ka³ ⩙ *kai³ 172, 390
jiè 芥 *kai⁵ 387
jiè 戒 *kai⁵ 387
jiè 解 *kai⁵ 390
jiè 借 *tsia⁵ 123, 161, 362
jīn 今 *kəiʔ⁷ ⩙ *kã¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ 469
jīn 金 *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ 469
jīn 津 *tsyəŋ¹ 246, 514
jīn 巾 *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ 518
jīn 斤 *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ⁵ .. 305, 522
jīn 筋 *kiəŋ¹ ⩙ *kiəŋ¹ 305, 522
jǐn 緊 *kiəŋ³ 518
jìn 浸 *tsəŋ⁵ ⩙ *tsiəŋ⁵ 466
jìn 進 *tsiŋ⁵ 515
jìn 近 *gə̃⁴ ⩙ *giəŋ⁴ 139, 220, 523
jīng 京 *kiŋ¹ 576
jīng 驚 *kuæŋ¹ ⩙ *kiŋ¹ 177, 576
jīng 睛 *tsiŋ¹ 578
jīng 經 *kiŋ¹ 584
jǐng 井 *tsiŋ³ 282, 578
jǐng 頸 *kiŋ³ 580
jìng 鏡 *kiŋ⁵ 576
jiū 鬮 *ku¹ ⩙ *kiu¹ 296, 450
jiǔ 酒 *(ts,tš)yə³ ⩙ *tsiu³ 295, 446

jiǔ 九 *kiu³ 296, 450
jiù 舅 *giu⁴ 450
jiù 舊 *giu⁶ 139, 451
jū 鞠 *kioʔ⁷ 601
jū 車 *kyə¹ 375
jú 局 *gioʊʔ⁸ ⩙ *gioʔ⁸ 608
jú 橘 *kiək⁷ ⩙ *kyək⁷ 249, 531
jù 劇 *giʔ⁸ ⩙ *kiʔ⁷ 577
jù 鋸 *kə⁵ 218, 375
jù 句 *kyə⁵ 245, 381
juǎn 捲 *k(i)əŋ³ ⩙ *kyəŋ³ ⩙ *kyẽ³ . 506
juàn 卷 *kyẽ³ 506
jué 嚼 See *jiáo* 550
jué 絕 *zyeʔ⁸ 507
jué 掘 *guək⁸ ⩙ *kʰyeʔ⁷ ⩙ *gyeʔ⁸ ⩙ *gyək⁸ 243, 511
jué 決 *kyeʔ⁷ 512
jūn 均 *kyəŋ¹ 530
jūn 軍 *kyəŋ¹ 246, 533

K

kāi 開 *kʰəi¹ 81, 251, 384
kāi 揩 *kʰai¹ 387
kāng 糠 *kʰɔŋ¹ 538
kào 靠 *kʰɔu⁵ 432
kē 科 *kʰuo¹ 356
kē 窠 *kʰuo¹ 277, 357
ké 殼 *kʰɔuʔ⁷ 559
kě 渴 *kʰɔʔ⁷ 193, 477
kè 刻 *kʰəiʔ⁷ 255, 563
kè 客 *kʰæʔ⁷ 137, 175, 572
kěn 肯 *kʰeŋ³ ⩙ *kʰəŋ³ 254, 561
kēng 坑 *kʰæŋ¹ 570
kōng 空 *kʰoŋ¹ 591
kòng 空 *kʰoŋ⁵ 591
kǒu 口 *kʰu³ 444
kòu 扣 *kʰu⁵ 444
kū 窟 *kʰuaʔ⁷ ⩙ *kʰoʔ⁷ 240, 528
kǔ 苦 *kʰuə³ 368
kù 褲 *kʰuə⁵ 63, 369
kuài 會 *kuei⁵ 399
kuài 塊 *kʰyai³ ⩙ *kʰuəi⁵ 263, 400
kuài 快 *kʰuai⁵ 137, 177, 401
kuān 寬 *kʰuõ¹ 499
kuāng 眶 *kʰyaŋ¹ ⩙ *kʰuɔŋ¹ 186, 554
kuáng 狂 *gyaŋ² ⩙ *guɔŋ² 185, 555
kuī 虧 *kʰy¹ ⩙ *kʰuei¹ 264, 420
kùn 睏 *kʰuoŋ⁵ ⩙ *kʰuə̃⁵ 237, 526
kuò 闊 *kʰuɔʔ⁷ 197, 501

L

là 蠟 *laʔ⁸ 92, 159, 458
là 辣 *ləʔ⁸ 193, 477
lái 來 *li² ⩙ *ləi² 250, 382
lài 賴 *lai⁶ 385
lán 籃 *lã² 457
lán 攔 *lõ² 83, 474
lǎn 懶 *(dž,dz)iẽ⁴ ⩙ *lã⁴ 474
làn 爛 *lõ⁶ 474
láng 郎 *ləŋ² 537
láng 狼 *ləŋ² 203, 537
làng 浪 *ləŋ⁶ 538
láo 牢 *ləu² 428
lǎo 老 *ləu⁴ 199, 428
léi 雷 *luəi² 120, 398
lí 犁 *luəi² ⩙ *liei² 394
lí 離 *li² 403
lí 梨 *li² 409
lǐ 李 *li⁴ 412
lǐ 裏 *liə⁴ ⩙ *li⁴ 412
lì 力 *liʔ⁸ 120, 283, 565
lì 曆 *liʔ⁸ 585
lì 離 *liə⁶ 403
lì 利 *li⁶ 409
lì 笠 *liək⁸ 470
lì 粒 *lək⁸ ⩙ *lʌʔ⁸ .. 91, 215, 225, 471
lì 栗 *lək⁸ ⩙ *liək⁸ 520
lián 簾 *liẽ² 260, 461

lián 連 *liẽ² 483
lián 蓮 *liã² 491
liáng 涼 *liaŋ² 182, 541
liáng 量 *leŋ² ≍ *liaŋ² 541
liǎng 兩 *leŋ⁴ ≍ *liaŋ⁴ ≍ *liaŋ⁶ 541
liàng 量 *liaŋ⁶ 541
liào 料 *liau⁶ 181, 441
liè 獵 *lieʔ⁸ 462
lín 林 *lyəŋ² 248, 466
lín 鄰 *liəŋ² 230, 514
líng 靈 *liŋ² 584
lǐng 嶺 *liŋ⁴ 85, 282, 578
liú 流 *lu⁶ ≍ *liu² 295, 445
liú 留 *liu² 446
liù 六 *laʔ⁸ ≍ *lioʔ⁸ ≍ *loʔ⁸ 599
lóng 籠 *loŋ² 589
lóng 聾 *loŋ² 590
lóng 龍 *liəŋ² ≍ *loŋ² 207, 602
lóu 樓 *lu² 443
lòu 漏 *lu⁶ 443
lǔ 滷 *luə⁴ 367
lù 鹿 *loʔ⁸ 592
lù 路 *luə⁶ 89, 367
luǎn 卵 *luəŋ⁴ ≍ *luõ⁴ 238, 497
luàn 亂 *luəŋ⁶ ≍ *luõ⁶ 238, 498
lǘ 驢 *liə² ≍ *lyə² ≍ *luə² .. 119, 227, 371
lǚ 呂 *liə⁴ ≍ *lyə⁴ 371
lǜ 綠 *liouʔ⁸ 606
lǜ 律 *liək⁸ 531
lüè 略 *liauʔ⁸ 183, 549
lún 輪 *lyəŋ² ≍ *luəŋ² 248, 529
luō 捋 *luək⁸ 154, 241, 501
luó 螺 *lu(ə)i² ≍ *lo² 286, 355
luó 腡 *lui² ≍ *lo² 286, 355
luó 籮 *lai² ≍ *lo² 270, 351
luò 落 *lɔuʔ⁸ 204, 539

M

má 麻 *mɔ² 109, 188, 359
mǎ 馬 *mɔ⁴ ≍ *ma⁴ 359
mà 罵 *mɔ⁶ ≍ *ma⁶ 359
mǎi 買 *ma⁴ ≍ *mai⁴ 172, 388
mài 麥 *mæʔ⁸ 175, 573
mài 賣 *ma⁶ ≍ *mai⁶ 388
mán 瞞 *mõ² 496
mǎn 滿 *mõ⁴ 496
màn 慢 *mã⁶ 481
máng 忙 *məŋ² 203, 536
māo 貓 *mau² 82, 436
máo 毛 *mɔu² 83, 426
mǎo 卯 *mau⁴ 434
mào 帽 *mɔu⁶ 427
mào 貌 *mau⁶ 434
méi 煤 *məi² 397
méi 眉 *mi² ≍ *mi² 303, 408
mèi 妹 *məi⁶ 397
mén 門 *məŋ² 222, 524
měng 猛 *mæŋ⁴ 569
mèng 夢 *məŋ⁶ ≍ *moŋ⁶ 594
mǐ 米 *miei⁴ ≍ *mi⁴ 257, 392
mì 密 *mæʔ⁸ ≍ *miək⁸ 519
mì 蜜 *miək⁷ 232, 520
mián 棉 *miẽ² 483
miàn 面 *miẽ⁶ 89, 259, 483
miàn 麵 *miã⁶ 89, 490
miáo 苗 *miɔu² 436
miào 廟 *miɔu⁶ 109, 437
miè 滅 *mieʔ⁸ 261, 486
miè 篾 *miaʔ⁸ 164, 494
mín 民 *miəŋ² 229, 514
míng 明 *mã² ≍ *miŋ² 575
míng 名 *miŋ² 578
míng 銘 *miŋ² 582
mìng 命 *miŋ⁶ 575
mó 磨 *mui² ≍ *mo² 353
mò 墨 *məiʔ⁸ 256, 561
mò 磨 *mo⁶ 354

mò 末 *mɔʔ⁸ 192, 500
mǔ 母 *m̩⁴ 299, 442
mù 木 *moʔ⁸ 91, 592
mù 目 *m(ʔ)⁸ ⩙ *moʔ⁸ 598

N

nà 納 *nʌʔ⁸ ⩙ *naʔ⁸ 215, 455
nǎi 奶 *na¹ ⩙ *nai⁴ 119, 389
nán 南 *n(ɶ̃,uɔ̃)² 213, 453
nán 難 *nɔ̃² 119, 191, 474
nàn 難 *nɔ̃⁶ 474
nǎo 腦 *nɔu⁴ 84, 428
nèn 嫩 *nuə̃⁶ 90, 151, 236, 525
néng 能 *neŋ² 252, 560
ní 泥 *n̡ia² ⩙ *n̡iei² . 71, 162, 258, 394
nì 逆 *n̡iʔ⁸ 577
nì 膩 *ŋə⁶ ⩙ *n̡iə⁶ 409
nián 年 *n̡iã² 134, 491
niàn 念 *n̡iã⁶ 464
niáng 娘 *n̡iaŋ² 541
niǎo 鳥 *ɗiau³ ⩙ *n̡i(ɔ,a)u³ 440
niào 尿 *n̡i(ɔ,a)u⁶ 440
niē 捏 *n̡iaʔ⁸ ⩙ *næʔ⁸ 165, 494
niè 聶 *n̡ieʔ⁸ 462
niú 牛 *ŋu² ⩙ *n̡iu² 297, 451
niǔ 紐 *n̡iu⁴ 297, 445
nóng 農 *nã² ⩙ *noŋ² 272, 593
nóng 膿 *noŋ² ⩙ *noŋ⁶ 593
nóng 濃 *n̡iɔŋ² 602
nǚ 女 *na⁴ ⩙ *n̡yə⁴ 65, 371
nuò 糯 *nuo⁶ 354

Ǒ

ǒu 藕 *ŋəu⁴ 141, 444

P

pá 爬 *bɔ² 189, 358
pái 排 *bai² 387
pái 牌 *bai² 388
pái 簰 *ba² ⩙ *bai² 388
pán 片 *bã² 481
pán 盤 *bɔ̃² 496
páo 袍 *bɔu² 426
páo 炮 *buə² 433
páo 匏 *buə² 235, 433
pào 炮 *pʰau⁵ 107, 433
péi 賠 *bəi² 397
pèi 配 *pʰəi¹ 396
pén 盆 *bə̃² 220, 523
péng 朋 559
péng 彭 *bæŋ² 569
péng 棚 *bæŋ² ⩙ *boŋ² 572
péng 篷 *boŋ² 271, 588
pí 皮 *bəi² ⩙ *bi² 402
pǐ 匹 *pʰiʔ⁷ 519
pì 僻 *pʰiʔ⁷ 580
piān 篇 *pʰiẽ¹ 482
pián 便 *biẽ² 483
piàn 片 *pʰiã⁵ 107, 489
piào 票 *pʰiɔu⁵ 436
piě 撇 *pʰieʔ⁷ 493
pín 貧 *biəŋ² 514
pǐn 品 *pʰiəŋ³ 466
píng 平 *biŋ² 108, 575
píng 瓶 *biŋ² 582
pó 婆 *bo² 82, 269, 353
pò 破 *pʰai³ ⩙ *pʰai⁵ ⩙ *pʰo⁵ 353
pū 鋪 *pʰuə¹ 366
pǔ 譜 *ɓuə³ ⩙ *pʰuə³ 365
pù 鋪 *pʰuə⁵ 366

Q

qī 戚 *tsʰiʔ⁷ 585

qī 七 *tsʰiəkˀ 232, 520
qī 漆 *tsʰiəkˀ 520
qí 齊 *ziei² 127, 258, 395
qí 臍 *zɨ² ⪤ *ziei² 395
qí 騎 *gyai² ⪤ *gi² 406
qí 棋 *gi² 417
qí 旗 *gɨ² ⪤ *gi² 417
qǐ 起 *kʰi³ 417
qì 契 *kʰiei⁵ 259, 396
qì 器 *kʰi⁵ 412
qì 氣 *kʰəi³ ⪤ *kʰɨ⁵ ⪤ *kʰi⁵ ..137, 419
qiā 掐 *kʰa⁵ 361
qià 掐 *kʰʌˀ⁷ ⪤ *kʰaˀ⁷ 459
qiān 千 *tsʰiã¹ 491
qiān 牽 *kʰiẽ¹ 493
qiān 鉛 *ɦi(ẽ,ã)² ⪤ *kʰã¹ 507
qián 鉗 *giẽ² 260, 461
qián 前 *(z,ž)yei¹ ⪤ *ziã² 266, 492
qiǎn 淺 *tsʰiẽ³ 84, 260, 484
qiàn 欠 *kʰiẽ⁵ 463
qiāng 腔 *kʰiaŋ¹ 557
qiáng 牆 *ziaŋ² 182, 542
qiǎng 搶 *tsʰiaŋ³ 542
qiāo 敲 *kʰau¹ 435
qiáo 樵 *(z,ž)iɔu² 437
qiáo 橋 *giɔu² 206, 438
qiáo 翹 *kʰiɔu⁵ 439
qiǎo 殼 See *ké* 559
qiè 切 *tsʰiaˀ⁷ 494
qīn 親 *tsʰiəŋ¹ 230, 515
qín 琴 *giəŋ² 231, 470
qín 秦 *dzyəŋ² ⪤ *ziəŋ² 515
qín 勤 *gɨəŋ² ⪤ *giəŋ² 522
qìn 撳 *kʰɨəŋ⁵ ⪤ *kʰiəŋ⁵ 305, 470
qīng 清 *tsʰiŋ¹ 578
qīng 輕 *kʰiŋ¹ 282, 580
qīng 青 *tsʰiŋ¹ 584
qíng 晴 *ziŋ² 578
qǐng 請 *tsʰiŋ³ 578
qìng 慶 *kʰiŋ⁵ 576
qióng 瓊 *gyəŋ² ⪤ *gioŋ² 587
qióng 窮 *gioŋ² 275, 597
qiū 秋 *tsʰiu¹ 125, 446
qiū 鰍 *tsʰiu¹ 446
qiū 丘 *kʰ(ɔ)u¹ ⪤ *kʰiu¹ 450
qiú 球 *giu² 450
qū 麴 *kʰ(u)əkˀ⁷ ⪤ *kʰioˀ⁷ ... 276, 601
qū 曲 *kʰiɔuˀ⁷ ⪤ *kʰioˀ⁷ 138, 209, 607
qū 區 *kʰyə¹ 381
qū 屈 *kʰuəkˀ⁷ ⪤ *kʰyeˀ⁷ ⪤ *kʰyəkˀ⁷ 242, 535
qú 渠 *gyə² 376
***qú** 渠 *gə² ⪤ *gə⁴ 64, 376
qǔ 取 *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iu³ ⪤ *tšʰyə³ . 244, 298, 378
qù 去 *kʰə⁵ ⪤ *kʰyə⁵ 86, 218, 375
quán 泉 *zyẽ² ⪤ *(dz,dž)yẽ² 504
quán 拳 *gɨəŋ² ⪤ *gyẽ² 267, 506
quán 權 *gyẽ² 506
quǎn 犬 *kʰyẽ³ 511
quàn 勸 *kʰyẽ⁵ 509
quē 缺 *kʰyeˀ⁷ 268, 512
què 雀 *tsiauˀ⁷ ⪤ *tšiˀ⁷ ⪤ *tsʰiauˀ⁷ 549
què 殼 See *ké* 559
qún 裙 *gəŋ² ⪤ *gyəŋ² 139, 533

R

rǎn 染 *ȵiẽ⁴ 260, 461
ràng 讓 *ȵiaŋ⁶ 547
rè 熱 *ȵieˀ⁸ 261, 487
rén 人 *ȵiəŋ² ⪤ *žiəŋ² 517
rěn 忍 *ȵiəŋ⁴ 230, 518
rèn 認 *ȵiəŋ⁶ 518
rì 日 *nəiˀ⁸ ⪤ *ȵiəkˀ⁸ 232, 521
róng 榮 *ɦioŋ² 587
róng 絨 *ɦioŋ² 596
róng 容 *ɦiɔŋ² 606
ròu 肉 *ȵiɔuˀ⁸ ⪤ *ȵioˀ⁸ 276, 600
rù 褥 *ȵiɔuˀ⁸ 607
ruǎn 軟 *ȵyẽ⁴ 267, 506

S

sǎ 撒 *ts(ɔ,a)ʔ⁷ ≍ *sɔʔ⁷ 477
sài 賽 *sai⁵ ≍ *səi⁵ 384
sān 三 *sã¹ 81, 457
sǎn 傘 *sɔ̃³ 475
sāng 桑 *sɔŋ¹ 538
sǎo 掃 *suə³ ≍ *sɔu³ 430
sǎo 嫂 *sɔu³ 431
sào 掃 *suə⁵ ≍ *sɔu⁵ 431
sè 塞 *tsʰəiʔ⁷ ≍ *səiʔ⁷ 563
sè 色 *šəiʔ⁷ 256, 567
sè 澀 *šək⁷ 225, 472
shā 沙 *sai¹ ≍ *ša¹ 172, 360
shā 殺 *šaʔ⁷ 132, 159, 480
shāi 篩 *ši¹ ≍ *sai¹ 389
shài 曬 *ša⁵ ≍ *sai⁵ 132, 172, 389
shān 杉 *sã¹ 458
shān 衫 *sã¹ 459
shān 山 *sã¹ 478
shàn 扇 *šiẽ⁵ 260, 485
shāng 傷 *šiaŋ¹ 546
shàng 上 *žiaŋ⁶ 547
shàng 上 *džiaŋ⁴ ≍ *džiaŋ⁶ ≍ *žiaŋ⁴ .547
shāo 燒 *šiɔu¹ 133, 206, 438
sháo 勺 *žiauʔ⁸ 183, 551
shǎo 少 *(tš,ts)iɔu³ ≍ *šiɔu³ 438
shào 少 *šiɔu⁵ 438
shē 賒 *šia¹ 364
shé 蛇 *džyei² ≍ *žia² 363
shé 舌 *džieʔ⁸ 261, 487
shé 折 *žieʔ⁸ 133, 487
shě 捨 *šia³ 364
shè 涉 *(ž,z)ieʔ⁸ 462
shè 射 *džya⁶ ≍ *žia⁶ 165, 363
shè 設 *šieʔ⁷ 487
shè 舍 *šia³ 364
shēn 蓌 *səŋ¹ 468
shēn 深 *(tšʰ,tsʰ)(ʔ)¹ ≍ *šiəŋ¹ .. 131, 468
shēn 身 *šiəŋ¹ 230, 517
shēn 伸 *(tšʰ,tsʰ)iẽ¹ ≍ *šiəŋ¹ 517
shén 神 *žiəŋ² 517
shěn 沈 *šiəŋ³ ≍ *šiəŋ³ 469
shèn 滲 *šəŋ⁵ 223, 468
shēng 升 *šiŋ¹ 564
shēng 生 *sæŋ¹ 174, 570
shēng 聲 *šiŋ¹ 579
shī 師 *ši¹ 301, 410
shī 蝨 *ši¹ 411
shī 濕 *(tšʰ,tsʰ)iək⁷ ≍ *šək⁷ 472
shī 蝨 *šəiʔ⁷ ≍ *šiək⁷ 521
shí 食 *žiʔ⁸ ≍ *ɦi(e,a)ʔ⁸ 567
shí 識 *tši?⁷ ≍ *šiʔ⁷ 567
shí 石 *(dž,dz)iauʔ⁸ ≍ *žiʔ⁸ ... 92, 285, 582
shí 時 *ži² 302, 415
shí 十 *žiək⁸ 306, 472
shí 實 *žiək⁸ 232, 521
shǐ 使 *šə³ 414
shì 式 *šiʔ⁷ 568
shì 世 *šiei⁵ 132, 258, 391
shì 舐 *(dž,dz)iə⁴ 405
shì 是 *dzi⁴ ≍ *žiə⁴ ≍ *ži⁴ 405
shì 柿 *ži⁴ 133, 302, 413
shì 事 *žə⁶ 218, 413
shì 試 *tšʰi⁵ ≍ *ši⁵ ≍ *ši⁵ 414
shì 市 *ži⁴ 415
shì 侍 *ži⁶ 415
shóu 熟 See *shú* 600
shǒu 手 *tšʰyə³ ≍ *šiu³ ... 130, 297, 449
shǒu 守 *ʔyə³ ≍ *šiu³ 97, 297, 449
shòu 瘦 *sæu⁵ 294, 448
shòu 受 *žiu⁴ 449
shū 梳 *(š,s)a¹ ≍ *ši¹ 374
shū 疏 *(š,s)a¹ ≍ *ši¹ ≍ *šuə¹ 374
shū 書 *(š,s)iə¹ ≍ *šyə¹ 375
shū 叔 *šioʔ⁷ 600
shū 輸 *šyə¹ 133, 380
shú 熟 *(dž,dʑ)iɔuʔ⁸ ≍ *žioʔ⁸ 600
shǔ 鼠 *tšʰiə³ 227, 375

shù 數 *šuə⁵ 380
shù 樹 *džiu⁶ ≍ *žyə⁶ 298, 380
shù 術 *žyək⁸ 249, 531
shuā 刷 *šyeʔ⁷ 503
shuāng 雙 *šyaŋ¹ 556
shuāng 霜 *šyaŋ¹ 185, 546
shuǐ 水 *ʔy³ ≍ *šy³ 97, 290, 422
shuì 稅 *šyei⁵ 266, 401
shùn 順 *žyəŋ⁶ 134, 530
shuō 說 *šyeʔ⁷ 268, 507
sī 絲 *sɨ¹ 413
sǐ 死 *sɨ³ 126, 301, 410
sì 四 *si⁵ 410
sì 飼 *zɨ⁶ 413
sōng 松 *ziɔŋ² ≍ *soŋ¹ 602
sòng 送 *soŋ⁵ 590
sòng 宋 *soŋ⁵ 593
sōu 餿 *sæu¹ 132, 294, 448
sū 蘇 *suə¹ 368
sú 俗 *ziɔuʔ⁸ ≍ *zoʔ⁸ ≍ *dzoʔ⁸ .. 209, 607
sù 粟 *siɔuʔ⁷ ≍ *soʔ⁷ 606
suān 酸 *sui¹ ≍ *suõ¹ 286, 498
suàn 算 *suõ⁵ 86, 126, 196, 498
suǐ 髓 *syə³ 245, 420
suì 碎 *suəi³ 399
suì 歲 *syei⁵ ≍ *suei⁵ 266, 401
sūn 孫 *suə¹ 66, 151, 237, 526
sǔn 筍 *syəŋ³ ≍ *s(u)əŋ³ 246, 529
suō 縮 *šyauʔ⁷ ≍ *soʔ⁷ 600
suǒ 鎖 *so³ 355
suǒ 索 *sɔuʔ⁷ 540

T

tǎ 塔 *tʰaʔ⁷ 117, 457
tǎ 獺 *tʰɔʔ⁷ 476
tà 踏 *daʔ⁸ 455
tāi 胎 *tʰəi¹ 382
tái 臺 *dəi² 382
tái 苔 *di² ≍ *dəi² 382
tān 貪 *tʰ(ɶ̃,uõ)¹ ≍ *tʰã¹ 452
tān 灘 *tʰõ¹ 473
***tān** 探 *tʰ(ɶ̃,uõ)¹ 452
tán 潭 *dɶ̃² 453
tán 談 *dã² 456
tán 痰 *dã² 456
tán 彈 *dõ² 474
tàn 探 *tʰɶ̃⁵ 452
tàn 炭 *tʰõ¹ 191, 473
táng 糖 *dɔŋ² 536
tàng 燙 *tʰɔŋ⁵ 203, 536
táo 桃 *dɔu² 428
tǎo 討 *tʰuə³ ≍ *tʰɔu³ 200, 427
tào 套 *tʰɔu⁵ 427
tè 忒 *tʰɔʔ⁷ ≍ *tʰəiʔ⁷ 562
tè 特 *dəiʔ⁸ 562
téng 藤 *diŋ² ≍ *deŋ² ≍ *dəŋ² 253, 560
tī 踢 *tʰiʔ⁷ 585
tī 梯 *tʰuəi¹ ≍ *tʰiei¹ 392
tí 啼 *dia² ≍ *diei² 393
tì 替 *tʰuəi⁵ ≍ *tʰia⁵ ≍ *tʰiei⁵ ... 392
tì 剃 *tʰia¹ ≍ *tʰiei¹ 393
tì 屜 *diei⁶ ≍ *tʰiei⁶ 393
tiān 添 *tʰiã⁵ 464
tiān 天 *tʰiã¹ 490
tían 甜 *diã² 464
tián 田 *diã² 118, 490
tiáo 條 *diau² 180, 440
tiào 糶 *tʰiau⁵ 116, 440
tiē 貼 *tʰiaʔ⁷ 465
tiě 鐵 *tʰiaʔ⁷ 164, 494
tīng 聽 *tʰiŋ¹ 583
tíng 亭 *diŋ² 583
tíng 停 *diŋ² 583
tìng 聽 *tʰiŋ⁵ 583
tōng 通 *tʰoŋ¹ 589
tóng 銅 *doŋ² 589
tǒng 桶 *doŋ⁴ 589
tòng 痛 *tʰoŋ⁵ 589
tōu 偷 *tʰu¹ 293, 442

tóu 頭 *du² 442
tǒu 敨 *tʰu³ 442
tū 禿 *tʰoʔ⁷ 592
tū 突 *duəʔ⁸ 154, 240, 528
tú 塗 *duə² 367
tǔ 土 *tʰuə³ 367
tuī 推 *tʰuəi¹ 397
tuǐ 腿 *tʰuəi³ 398
tuì 退 *tʰuəi⁵ 398
tūn 吞 *tʰuã¹ ⩙ *tʰuəŋ¹ 513
tún 臀 *duã² 524
tuō 拖 *tʰai¹ ⩙ *tʰo¹ 270, 350
tuō 脫 *tʰuək⁷ ⩙ *tʰuoʔ⁷ . 197, 241, 501
tuō 托 *tʰɔuʔ⁷ 539
tuò 唾 *tʰui⁵ ⩙ *tʰo⁵ ⩙ *tʰuə⁵ 286, 354

W

wā 挖 *ʔuaʔ⁷ 170, 502
wǎ 瓦 *ŋua⁴ 141, 365
wà 襪 *maʔ⁸ 109, 511
wāi 歪 *ʔyei¹ ⩙ *ʔuai¹ 400
wài 外 *ŋuai⁶ 399
wān 彎 *ʔuã¹ 169, 503
wǎn 碗 *ʔuɔ̃³ 196, 500
wàn 萬 *mã⁶ ⩙ *vã⁶ 110, 508
wāng 汪 *ʔuəŋ¹ 552
wáng 王 *ɦ(ya,iə)ŋ² ⩙ *ɦuəŋ² .. 186, 555
wǎng 網 *moŋ⁴ ⩙ *məŋ⁴ 554
wàng 望 *moŋ⁶ ⩙ *məŋ⁶ 111, 554
wéi 圍 *ɦy² ⩙ *ɦuei² 265, 290, 425
wěi 尾 *məi⁴ ⩙ *mi⁴ 423
wèi 位 *ɦy⁶ ⩙ *ɦuei⁶ 422
wèi 未 *məi⁴ ⩙ *məi⁶ ⩙ *mi⁶ ⩙ *vi⁶ 88, 110, 424
wèi 畏 *ʔy⁵ ⩙ *ʔuei⁵ 425
wēn 溫 *ʔuã¹ ⩙ *ʔuoŋ¹ 527
wén 文 532
wén 蚊 *mi(ə)ŋ² ⩙ *məŋ² .. 67, 111, 222, 533
wěn 穩 *ʔuɔ̃³ ⩙ *ʔuəŋ³ 240, 527
wèn 問 *mã⁶ ⩙ *m(u)əŋ⁶ 533
wèng 甕 *ʔoŋ⁵ 591
wǒ 我 *(ŋ)ai⁴ ⩙ *ŋa⁴ ⩙ *ŋo⁴ 352
wū 烏 *ʔuə¹ 68, 235, 370
wū 屋 *ʔoʔ⁷ 273, 593
wú 吳 *ŋuə² 369
wú 無 *muə² ⩙ *vuə² 378
wǔ 五 *ŋuə⁴ 85, 141, 369
wǔ 午 *ŋuə⁴ 369
wǔ 舞 *muə⁴ ⩙ *vu⁴ 378
wù 誤 *ŋuə⁶ 369
wù 悟 *ŋuə⁶ 369
wù 惡 *ʔuə⁵ 370
wù 霧 *muə⁶ 111, 378

X

xī 息 *siʔ⁷ 566
xī 惜 *šiauʔ⁷ ⩙ *siʔ⁷ 284, 581
xī 錫 *siʔ⁷ 585
xī 西 *siei¹ 395
xī 溪 *kʰiei¹ 258, 396
xī 嬉 *xi¹ 140, 280, 417
xī 吸 *xiək⁷ 473
xí 席 *ziʔ⁸ 284, 581
xí 習 *ziək⁸ 471
xǐ 洗 *siei³ 395
xǐ 徙 *(s,š)yei³ ⩙ *siə³ 404
xì 細 *sia⁵ ⩙ *siei⁵ 70, 162, 395
xì 戲 *xɨ⁵ ⩙ *xi⁵ 407
xiā 蝦 *xɒ¹ ⩙ *xa¹ 361
xiā 瞎 *xaʔ⁷ 482
xiá 狹 *ɦaʔ⁸ 459
xià 下 *xɔ³ ⩙ *ɦɔ⁴ 188, 361
xià 夏 *ɦa⁶ 157, 361
xiān 鮮 *(s,š)yẽ¹ ⩙ *siẽ¹ 484
xiān 掀 *x(ã,eŋ)¹ ⩙ *xiẽ¹ 488
xiān 先 *syẽ¹ ⩙ *siã¹ 163, 492
xián 鹹 *ɦã² 158, 458

xián 弦 *ɦiã² 493
xiǎn 洗 See *xǐ* 395
xiàn 限 *ɦã⁴ 479
xiàn 莧 *xã⁷ 480
xiàn 線 *siẽ⁵ 485
xiàn 獻 *xiẽ⁵ 489
xiàn 縣 *ɦyẽ⁶ 512
xiāng 鄉 *xiaŋ¹ 548
xiāng 箱 *siaŋ¹ 542
xiáng 降 *ɦɔŋ² 557
xiǎng 響 *xiaŋ³ 548
xiàng 向 *xiaŋ⁵ 548
xiàng 像 *dziaŋ⁴ ⪤ *ziaŋ⁴ 85, 542
xiāo 削 *siauʔ⁷ 183, 550
xiāo 消 *siɔu¹ 437
xiāo 蕭 *si(a,ɔ)u¹ 441
xiào 孝 *xau⁵ 436
xiào 笑 *(tsʰ,tšʰ)iɔu⁵ ⪤ *siɔu⁵ 437
xiē 歇 *xieʔ⁷ 261, 489
xié 鞋 *ɦai² 143, 171, 390
xié 挾 *gaʔ⁸ ⪤ *giaʔ⁸ 465
xié 斜 *zia² 161, 362
xiě 寫 *sia³ 126, 362
xiè 解 *ɦai⁴ 390
xiè 蟹 *xa³ ⪤ *xai³ 172, 391
xiè 謝 *zia⁶ 363
xiè 屑 *səʔ⁷ ⪤ *(s,š)iaʔ⁷ 224, 494
xīn 心 *siəŋ¹ 230, 467
xīn 新 *siəŋ¹ 515
xīn 欣 *xiəŋ¹ 523
xīng 興 *xiŋ¹ 564
xīng 星 *siŋ¹ 584
xíng 行 *gæŋ² ⪤ *ɦæŋ² 571
xǐng 醒 *siŋ³ 584
xìng 興 *xiŋ⁵ 282, 564
xìng 姓 *siŋ⁵ 579
xiōng 兄 *xæŋ¹ ⪤ *xioŋ¹ 586
xiōng 胸 *xiɔŋ¹ ⪤ *xioŋ¹ 605
xiōng 凶 *xiɔŋ¹ ⪤ *xioŋ¹ 606
xióng 雄 *ɦioŋ² 275, 597
xiū 修 *siu¹ 446
xiū 休 *xiu¹ 451
xiù 銹 *siu⁵ 446
xū 墟 *xə¹ ⪤ *xyə¹ 375
xū 鬚 *(s,š)iu¹ ⪤ *šyə¹ ⪤ *suə¹ ... 379
xú 徐 *zə² ⪤ *zyə² 217, 372
xǔ 許 *xə³ ⪤ *xyə³ 219, 377
xù 畜 *xioʔ⁷ 276, 601
xù 婿 *siei⁵ 396
xuán 玄 *ɦyẽ² 512
xuǎn 癬 *šyẽ³ ⪤ *(s,š)iẽ³ 484
xuǎn 選 *syẽ³ 266, 504
xuàn 旋 *zyẽ⁶ 127, 266, 504
xuàn 楦 *xyẽ⁵ 509
xuē 削 See *xiāo* 183, 550
xuē 薛 *siaʔ⁷ ⪤ *(s,ɕ)yeʔ⁷ 486
xué 學 *ɦɔuʔ⁸ 559
xué 穴 *ɦyaʔ⁸ 166, 513
xuě 雪 *syeʔ⁷ 126, 268, 507
xuè 血 *xyeʔ⁷ 140, 512
xūn 熏 *kʰəŋ⁵ ⪤ *xyəŋ¹ 534
xūn 葷 *xuə̃¹ 534
xún 尋 *ziəŋ² ⪤ *zuəŋ² 467
xùn 蕈 *ziəŋ⁴ ⪤ *zyəŋ⁴ ... 127, 247, 467
xùn 訓 *xyəŋ⁵ 534

Y

yā 鴨 *ʔaʔ⁷ 160, 460
yā 押 *ʔaʔ⁷ 460
yā 壓 *ʔʌʔ⁷ ⪤ *ʔaʔ⁷ 460
yā 鴉 *ʔɔ¹ 362
yā 椏 *ʔɔ¹ 189, 362
yá 牙 *ŋa² 361
yǎ 啞 *ʔɔ³ 141, 189, 362
yān 煙 *ʔiã¹ 163, 493
yán 鹽 *ɦiẽ² 260, 462
yán 嚴 *ȵiẽ² 463
yán 顏 *ŋã² 481
yán 延 *ɦiẽ² 486
yán 言 *ȵiẽ² 488

yǎn 眼 *ŋã⁴ 479
yàn 驗 *ȵiẽ⁶ 461
yàn 厭 *ʔiẽ⁵ 461
yàn 鹽 *ɦiẽ⁶ 462
yàn 雁 *ŋã⁶ 482
yàn 晏 *ʔɔ̃⁵ 482
yàn 燕 *ʔiã⁵ 493
yāng 秧 *ʔeŋ¹ ⨯ *ʔiaŋ¹ 182, 254, 548
yáng 烊 *ɦiaŋ² 548
yǎng 養 *ɦyaŋ⁴ ⨯ *ɦiaŋ⁴ 185, 548
yǎng 癢 *(ž,z)(ya,iɔ)ŋ⁴ ⨯ *ɦiaŋ⁴ 549
yàng 樣 *ɦiaŋ⁶ 549
yāo 妖 *ʔiɔu¹ 439
yāo 腰 *ʔiɔu¹ 439
yáo 搖 *ɦiɔu² 439
yáo 窯 *ɦiɔu² 439
yào 藥 *ɦiauʔ⁸ 184, 551
yào 鷂 *ɦiɔu⁶ 206, 439
yé 爺 *ɦiɔ² 194, 364
yè 葉 *(dž,dz)ieʔ⁸ ⨯ *ɦieʔ⁸ .. 262, 463
yè 業 *ȵieʔ⁸ 463
yī 醫 *ʔi¹ ⨯ *ʔi¹ 280, 417
yī 衣 *ʔəi¹ ⨯ *ʔi¹ 419
yī 依 *ʔi¹ 419
yī 揖 *ʔiəkˀ 473
yī 一 *ʔiəkˀ 142, 233, 522
yí 移 *ʔiə² ⨯ *ʔi² 228, 407
yí 姨 *ɦi² 412
yǐ 蟻 *ŋai⁴ 171, 407
yǐ 椅 *ʔy³ ⨯ *ʔi³ 407
yǐ 乙 *ʔiəkˀ 522
yì 翼 *(s,š)i(e,a)ʔ⁷ ⨯ *ɦieʔ⁸ ⨯ *ɦiʔ⁸ 568
yì 益 *ʔiʔ⁷ 284, 582
yì 役 *ɦyʔ⁸ 291, 588
yì 藝 *ȵie⁶ 391
yì 意 *ʔi⁵ ⨯ *ʔi⁵ 418
yīn 音 *ʔiəŋ¹ ⨯ *ʔiəŋ¹ 231, 470
yīn 陰 *ʔiəŋ¹ ⨯ *ʔiəŋ¹ 470
yín 銀 *ȵiəŋ² 518
yǐn 飲 *ʔiəŋ³ ⨯ *ʔiŋ³ 470
yǐn 引 *ɦiəŋ⁴ 519
yǐn 隱 *ʔ(ə̃,eŋ)³ ⨯ *ʔiəŋ³ 523
yìn 印 *ʔiəŋ⁵ 518
yīng 應 *ʔiŋ¹ 564
yīng 鷹 *ʔiŋ¹ 565
yíng 蠅 *(s,š)iŋ¹ 565
yíng 迎 *ȵiŋ² 282, 576
yíng 贏 *ɦiŋ² 143, 580
yíng 營 *ɦiŋ² ⨯ *ɦyəŋ² ⨯ *ɦioŋ² ...587
yǐng 影 *ʔeŋ³ ⨯ *ʔiŋ³ 283, 576
yìng 應 *ʔiŋ⁵ 565
yìng 硬 *ŋuæŋ⁶ ⨯ *ŋæŋ⁶ 174, 570
yǒng 永 *ɦyəŋ⁴ ⨯ *ɦioŋ⁴ 587
yòng 用 *ɦioŋ⁶ 606
yōu 幽 *ʔiu¹ 296, 452
yóu 油 *ɦiu² 452
yǒu 有 *ɦuə⁴ ⨯ *ɦiu⁴ 451
yǒu 酉 *ɦiu⁴ 452
yòu 右 *ɦiu⁶ 451
yú 魚 *ŋə² 219, 376
yú 盂 *ɦyə² 381
yǔ 語 *ȵyə⁴ 377
yǔ 雨 *ɦyə⁴ 143, 245, 381
yù 域 *ɦyʔ⁸ 291, 569
yù 玉 *ȵiɔuʔ⁸ ⨯ *ȵioʔ⁸ 608
yù 浴 *ɦiɔuʔ⁸ 608
yù 芋 *ɦu⁶ ⨯ *ɦyə⁶ 381
yuān 淵 *ʔyẽ¹ 512
yuán 元 *ȵyẽ² 509
yuán 源 *ȵyẽ² 509
yuán 園 *(x,kʰ)uoŋ¹ ⨯ *ɦyẽ² 510
yuǎn 遠 *xuoŋ³ ⨯ *ɦyẽ⁴ 510
yuàn 院 *ɦyẽ⁶ 267, 507
yuàn 願 *ȵyẽ⁶ 509
yuàn 怨 *ʔyẽ⁵ 510
yuè 閱 *ɦyaʔ⁸ 166, 508
yuè 月 *ŋoʔ⁸ ⨯ *ȵyeʔ⁸ ... 135, 268, 511
yūn 暈 *ɦyəŋ⁶ 535
yún 勻 *ɦyəŋ² 530
yún 雲 *ɦyəŋ² 83, 247, 534
yùn 運 *ɦyəŋ⁶ 534

Z

zá 雜 *z(u)ək⁸ ⩙ *zʌʔ⁸ 216, 455
zāi 災 *tsəi¹ 250, 383
zāi 栽 *tsəi¹ 383
zài 載 *(ts,tš)i⁵ ⩙ *tsəi⁵ 383
zài 在 *zəi⁴ ⩙ *dzəi⁴ 384
zān 簪 *tsɤ̃¹ 123, 214, 453
zàn 鏨 *zɤ̃⁴ 457
zàng 葬 *tsɔŋ⁵ 203, 538
zāo 糟 *tsɔu¹ 199, 428
záo 鑿 *zɔuʔ⁸ 204, 539
zǎo 早 *(ts,tš)iɔu³ ⩙ *tsɔu³ 429
zǎo 棗 *tsɔu³ 429
zǎo 蚤 *tsuə³ ⩙ *tsɔu³ 429
zào 竈 *tsuə⁵ ⩙ *(ts,tš)ioʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsɔu⁵ 201, 429
zào 造 *zɔu⁴ 430
zào 燥 *sɔu³ 431
zé 擇 *dɔuʔ⁸ ⩙ *dzæʔ⁸ 572
zé 責 *tsæʔ⁷ 574
zéi 賊 *zəiʔ⁸ 255, 562
zèng 甑 *ts(æ,e)ŋ⁵ ⩙ *tšiŋ⁵ 563
zhā 渣 *tša¹ 129, 359
zhá 鍘 *(ž,z)aʔ⁸ 482
zhà 炸 *žaʔ⁸ 133, 159, 459
zhāi 摘 *ɗiʔ⁷ ⩙ *ɗæʔ⁷ ⩙ *tsæʔ⁷ 116, 175, 573
zhāi 齋 *tsai¹ 171, 387
zhái 擇 See *zé* 572
zhái 宅 *dæʔ⁸ ⩙ *dzæʔ⁸ 572
zhǎn 盞 *tsã³ 478
zhàn 蘸 *ɗã⁵ ⩙ *tsã⁵ 458
zhàn 棧 *dzã⁶ 125, 481
zhàn 戰 *tšiẽ⁵ 104, 485
zhāng 張 *ɗiaŋ¹ ⩙ *tšiaŋ¹ 543
zhāng 樟 *tšiaŋ¹ 546
zhǎng 長 *ɗiaŋ³ ⩙ *tšiaŋ³ 543
zhǎng 掌 *tšiaŋ³ 546
zhàng 帳 *ɗiaŋ⁵ ⩙ *tšiaŋ⁵ ... 75, 116, 543
zhàng 賬 *ɗiaŋ⁵ 543
zhàng 丈 *d(eŋ,ə̃)⁴ ⩙ *džiaŋ⁴ 544
zhào 罩 *tsau⁵ 123, 434
zhào 趙 *džiɔu⁴ 437
zhào 照 *tšiɔu⁵ 129, 438
zhē 遮 *tšia¹ 363
zhé 蟄 *džiək⁸ 471
zhé 折 *tšieʔ⁷ 487
zhè 蔗 *tšia⁵ 161, 363
zhè 浙 *tšieʔ⁷ 487
zhēn 砧 *ɗiəŋ¹ ⩙ *tšiəŋ¹ 304, 467
zhēn 針 *tšiəŋ¹ ⩙ *tšiəŋ¹ 305, 468
zhēn 真 *tšiəŋ¹ 230, 516
zhèn 鎮 *ɗiəŋ⁵ ⩙ *tšiəŋ⁵ 515
zhèn 陣 *džiəŋ⁶ 516
zhèn 震 *tšiəŋ⁵ 516
zhēng 蒸 *ts(æ,e)ŋ¹ ⩙ *tšiŋ¹ 564
zhēng 爭 *tsæŋ¹ 573
zhēng 正 *tšiŋ¹ 579
zhèng 鄭 *džiŋ⁶ 579
zhèng 正 *tšiŋ⁵ 579
zhī 隻 *tšiʔ⁷ 581
zhī 知 *tšiə¹ ⩙ *tši¹ ⩙ *tsɨ¹ 404
zhī 胝 *ɗɨ¹ ⩙ *tši¹ 302, 410
zhī 脂 *tši¹ ⩙ *(tš,ts)i¹ 66, 411
zhī 汁 *tšiək⁷ ⩙ *(tš,ts)iək⁷ .. 306, 472
zhí 直 *d(iʔ,iək)⁸ ⩙ *dziʔ⁸ 566
zhí 值 *dzæʔ⁸ ⩙ *dziʔ⁸ 566
zhí 侄 *džiək⁸ 520
zhǐ 紙 *tšiə³ 227, 405
zhǐ 指 *tši³ ⩙ *tši³ 411
zhì 雉 *di⁴ ⩙ *dzi⁴ 410
zhì 痣 *tši⁵ ⩙ *tši⁵ 414
zhōng 中 *ɗoŋ¹ ⩙ *ɗiɔŋ¹ ⩙ *tšioŋ¹ .. 595
zhōng 終 *tšioŋ¹ 596
zhōng 鐘 *tšiɔŋ¹ ⩙ *tšioŋ¹ 208, 603
zhǒng 種 *ʔioŋ³ ⩙ *tšiɔŋ³ 603
zhǒng 腫 *ʔioŋ³ ⩙ *tšiɔŋ³ 96, 603
zhòng 中 *ɗioŋ⁵ ⩙ *tšioŋ⁵ 274, 595
zhòng 仲 *džioŋ⁶ 595

zhòng 衆 *tšioŋ⁵ 274, 596
zhòng 重 *džioŋ⁴ ≍ *džyaŋ⁴ 131, 603
zhòng 種 *ʔioŋ⁵ ≍ *tšioŋ⁵ 604
zhōu 粥 *tšioʔ⁷ 129, 275, 600
zhōu 周 *ʔiu¹ ≍ *tšiu¹ 96, 448
zhóu 軸 *džioʔ⁸ 599
zhǒu 帚 *ʔyə³ ≍ *tšiu³ 448
zhòu 晝 *ɗu¹ ≍ *ɗiu⁵ ≍ *tšiu⁵ ≍ *tšiu¹ 296, 446
zhòu 皺 *tsæu⁵ ≍ *tsu⁵ 294, 447
zhòu 咒 *ʔyə⁵ ≍ *tšiu⁵ 448
zhū 豬 *ɗa¹ ≍ *ɗi(ə)¹ ≍ *tšiə¹ ≍ *tšyə¹ 372
zhū 珠 *tšyə¹ 244, 380
zhú 竹 *ɗaʔ⁷ ≍ *ɗioʔ⁷ ≍ *tšioʔ⁷ ... 275, 599
zhú 燭 *tšiouʔ⁷ 209, 607
zhú 朮 *džyəkˀ⁸ 531
zhǔ 煮 *ʔiə³ ≍ *tšyə³ 96, 227, 374
zhǔ 主 *tšyə³ 84, 129, 380
zhù 著 *tšyə⁵ 372
zhù 苧 *də⁴ ≍ *džiə⁴ ≍ *džyə⁴ 373
zhù 箸 *džiə⁶ 131, 373
zhù 柱 *džyə⁴ 379
zhuā 抓 *tšua¹ ≍ *tsau¹ ... 129, 167, 434
zhuān 磚 *tšyẽ¹ 505
zhuǎn 轉 *ɗyẽ³ ≍ *tšyẽ³ 115, 267, 504
zhuàn 賺 *dzã⁴ 125, 458
zhuāng 樁 *ɗiɔŋ¹ 556
zhuāng 裝 *ɗ(eŋ,ã)¹ ≍ *tšyaŋ¹ 545
zhuàng 撞 *dž(ya,iɔ)ŋ⁴ ≍ *džyaŋ⁶ 556
zhuàng 壯 *tšyaŋ⁵ 545
zhuàng 狀 *žyaŋ⁶ 546
zhuī 追 *tšy¹ ≍ *tsuei¹ 421
zhuì 墜 *džy⁶ 421
zhūn 肫 *ʔyəŋ¹ 96, 529
zhuō 桌 *ɗyauʔ⁷ ≍ *tšyauʔ⁷ ... 186, 558
zhuó 着 *ɗəiʔ⁷ ≍ *ɗiauʔ⁷ ≍ *tšiauʔ⁷ 255, 550
zhuó 着 *džiauʔ⁸ 550
zhuó 鐲 *džyauʔ⁸ 187, 558
zǐ 紫 *tsɨ³ 301, 403
zǐ 姊 *tsi³ 124, 280, 409
zǐ 子 *tsɨ³ 301, 412
zì 字 *zɨ⁶ 127, 413
zōng 椶 *tsoŋ¹ 272, 590
zòng 糉 *tsoŋ⁵ 590
zǒu 走 *tsu³ 293, 443
zū 租 *tsuə¹ 123, 367
zú 族 *zoʔ⁸ 273, 592
zú 足 *(ts,tš)iɔuʔ⁷ ≍ *tsoʔ⁷ 606
zú 卒 *tsuəkˀ⁷ ≍ *tsuəʔ⁷ ≍ *dzuəʔ⁸ ≍ *tsoʔ⁷ 528
zǔ 祖 *tsuə³ 367
zuān 鑽 *tsuɔ̃¹ 498
zuàn 鑽 *tsui⁵ ≍ *tsuɔ̃⁵ 286, 498
zuǐ 嘴 *tsy³ 289, 420
zuì 罪 *zuəi⁴ 127, 263, 398
zuì 醉 *tsy⁵ 421
zuó 昨 *zɔuʔ⁸ 540
zuò 坐 *zui⁴ ≍ *zo⁴ 355
zuò 做 *tso⁵ 367
zuò 作 *tsɔuʔ⁷ 539