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Appendix I: Chart of Chinese finals (Old Chinese to Middle Chinese)

Under each traditional rhyme group are listed the Middle Chinese (*Guǎngyùn*) rhymes in which Middle Chinese reflexes are found. Roman numerals indicate the ‘division’ of the rhymes according to their placement in rhyme tables. For those rhymes with *chóngniǔ* doublets, III-3 represents the third-division doublets and III-4 the fourth-division doublets. For convenience, words with acute initials are grouped with the III-3 doublets.

The development is given according to four systems of reconstruction: Li Fang-kuei (1971) in column 1, Gong Hwang-cherng (1997) in column 2, Baxter (1992) in column 3, and Pulleyblank (1977-78) in column 4. Since the development of vowels is often conditioned by the natural class of the initial, several cover symbols for initials are employed:

P: labials

T: dental stops, dental nasal, *l-, *r,- *j-, etc.

TS: dental sibilants

K: velars and laryngeals (non-labialized)

K^w: labiovelars and labiolaryngeals

These initials may be further grouped into larger natural classes according to common features. For example, **T** will stand for both **T** + **TS** (i.e. all acute initials) unless an explicit contrast with **TS** is noted.

We can arrange the classes of initials into complementary pairs along different dimensions:

Labialization: **PTK** vs. **K^w**

Rounding: **PK^w** vs. **TK**

Gravity: **PKK^w** vs. **T**

When a development holds true for all possible initials, **C** is used. Square brackets are placed around developments for which no examples are given, but which are either listed by the author or inferred from his reconstruction system.

Notes on individual transcriptions:

Li (1971). Since ***-rj-** always has the same effect on vocalic development as ***-j-**, finals are conventionally written with ***-j-** instead of ***-(r)j-** with no loss of information. (The presence of ***-r-** does of course influence the development of the acute initials.)

Gong (1997). This is not a complete reconstruction. Gong (1997) is concerned only with syllables involving grave initials (**K**, **K^w**, **P**) and ***r- > l-**. Thus the finals listed are only relevant for this limited set of initials. In this chart I have included only third-division reconstructions so that Gong's use of ***-rj-** can be compared with Baxter's. Note that Gong uses the same Middle Chinese notation as Li (a minor revision of Karlgren's Ancient Chinese), so I have not repeated it.

Baxter (1992). In general the *qù*-tone words in ***-ps**, ***-ks**, and ***-ts** develop like their *píng*- and *shǎng*-tone counterparts (e.g. ***-uts** like ***-uj**, ***-aks** like ***-a**) so I do not list them separately. However, the *Jì* 祭 group (***-ats**, ***-ets**, ***-ots**) is an exception in that it does not develop like the *Gē* 歌 group (***-ajs**, ***-ejs**, ***-ojs**), and is given separately. In some cases Baxter's *w*-neutralization after labials is not indicated in the charts below. In his Middle Chinese transcription Baxter only writes **-w-** after **P** if the entire rhyme is strictly *hékǒu* (Baxter uses *Qièyùn*, not *Guǎngyùn*, rhymes). So in some cases the developments shown here need to be adjusted, e.g. **PKrjut > -wit** should be interpreted to mean **Krjut > Kwit** and **Prjut > -it**.

Pulleyblank (1977-78, 1996). Pulleyblank has not as yet published a full description of his Old Chinese system. The contents of this column are mostly taken from charts in Baxter (1992), and may be incomplete.

OC gp.	MC rhyme	Li	Gong	Baxter	Pullbk.	
之 zhī	I. 哈 hāi	TKæg > -âi		TKî > -oj	áü	
		灰 huī	Pæg > -uâi	PK ^w î > -woj	wá:ü	
		侯 hóu	Pæg > -ǎu	P(r)o > -uw		
	II. 皆 jiē	TKræg > -âi		PTKrî > -εj	róü	
		PK ^w ræg > -wǎi		K ^w rî > -wεj		
	III. 之 zhī	TKjæg > -i	TKjæg	TK(r)jî > -i	èü	
		脂 ₃ zhī	Pjiæg > -ji K ^w jiæg > -jwi	-rjæg	Prjî > -ij K ^w rjî > -wij	wàü
		尤 yóu	PK ^w jæg > -jǎu	PK ^w jæg	PK ^w jî > -juw	wàü
	IV.					

Note: Baxter argues that ***P(r)o** words rhymed with ***i** in the dialect of the *Shījīng*, but developed into Middle Chinese with other ***-(r)o** words. See the HÓU group below.

職 zhí (之入)	I. 德 dé	PTKæk > -æk		PTKîk > -ok	ák
		K ^w æk > -wæk		K ^w îk > -wok	
	II. 麥 mài	PTKræk > -æk		PTKrîk > -εk	rák
		K ^w ræk > -wæk		K ^w rîk > -wεk	
	III. 職 zhí	TKjæk > -jæk PK ^w jiæk > -jwæk	-(r)jiæk	TK(r)jîk > -ik Prjîk > -ik K ^w rjîk > -wik	àk
屋 wū	PK ^w jæk > -juk	-(r)jæk	PK ^w jîk > -juwk	àk	
IV.					

Note: In all rhyme groups, Gong's ***-ji-** does not occur after dentals **T**. So every occurrence of ***-ji-** in the Gong's column should be replaced with ***-j-** when the initial is a dental.

蒸 zhēng	I. 登 dēng	PTKəng > -əng		PTKîng > -ong	əŋ
		K ^w əng > -wəng		K ^w îng > -wong	
	II. 耕 gēng	PTKrəng > -εng		PTKrîng > -εng	rəŋ
		K ^w rəng > -wəng		K ^w rîng > -wəng	
	III. 蒸 zhēng	TKjəng > -jəng PK ^w jiəng > -jwəng	-(r)jiəng	TK(r)jîng > -ing Prjîng > -ing K ^w rjîng > -wing	əŋ
東 dōng	PK ^w jəng > -jung	-(r)jəng	K ^w jîng > -juwng	əŋ	
IV.					

幽 yōu	I.	豪 háo	Cəg ^w > -âu		Cu > -aw	áw
		侯 hóu	Pəg ^w > -ǎu		Pu > -uw	
	II.	肴 yáo	Crəg ^w > -au		Cru > -æw Criw > -æw	r'áw
	III.	尤 yóu	PTKjəg ^w > -jǎu	-jəg ^w	T(r)jiw > -juw PTK(r)ju > -juw K ^w ju > -juw	àw
		脂 ₃ zhī	K ^w jəg ^w > -jǎu		K ^w rju > -wij	
		幽 yōu	PKjəg ^w > -jiǎu	-rjəg ^w	PKK ^w (r)jiw > -jiw	àw
	IV.	蕭 xiāo	Ciəg ^w > -ieu		Ciw > -ew	j'áw

覺 jué (幽入)	I.	沃 wò	Cək ^w > -uok		Cuk > -owk	ák ^w
	II.	覺 jué	Crək ^w > -ǎk		Cruk > -æwk [Criwk > -æwk]	r'ák ^w
	III.	屋 wū	Cjak ^w > -juk	-(r)jak ^w	C(r)juk > -juwk C(r)jiwk > -juwk	àk ^w
		職 zhí	Pjiək ^w (?) > -jək		--	
	IV.	錫 xí	Ciak ^w > -iwek		Ciwk > -ek	j'ák ^w

Note: Li employes *-ji- only to explain a single exceptional character 懷 *bjæk^w (?) > bjæk.

中 (冬) zhōng	I.	冬 dōng	Cəng ^w > -uong		Cung > -owng	əŋ ^w
	II.	江 jiāng	Crəng ^w > -ǎng		Crung > -æwng	r'əŋ ^w
	III.	東 dōng	Cjəng ^w > -jung	-(r)jəng ^w	C(r)jung > -juwng	əŋ ^w
	IV.					

宵 xiāo	I.	豪 háo	Cag ^w > -âu		Caw > -aw	áw
	II.	肴 yáo	Crəg ^w > -au		Craw > -æw Crew > -æw	r'áw
	III.	宵 ₃ xiāo	Cjag ^w > -jǎu	-rjag ^w	C(r)jaw > -jew T(r)jew > -jew PKK ^w rjew > -jew	àw
		宵 ₄ xiāo	Cjiag ^w > -jiǎu	-jag ^w	PKK ^w jew > -jiew	j'àw
	IV.	蕭 xiāo	Ciag ^w > -ieu		Cew > -ew	j'áw

Note: Baxter does not reconstruct *-rjew for any words.

藥 yào (宵入)	I.	沃 wò	Cak ^w > -uok		Cawk > -owk	ák ^w
		鐸 duó	Cak ^w > -âk		Cawk > -ak	ák ^w
		屋 wū	Cak ^w > -uk		Cawk > -uwk	ák ^w
	II.	覺 jué	Crak ^w > -ǎk		Crawk > -æwk Crewk > -æwk	r'ák ^w
	III.	藥 yào	Cjak ^w > -jwak	-(r)jak ^w	C(r)jawk > -jak C(r)jewk > -jak	àk ^w
	IV.	錫 xí	Ciak ^w > -iwek		Cewk > -ek	j'ák ^w

侯 hóu	I. 侯 hóu	Cug > -ǔ		TKK ^w (r)o > -uw	áŋ
	II.				
	III. 虞 yú	Cjug > ju	-(r)jug	C(r)jo > -ju	àŋ
	尤 yóu			TSrjo > -juw	
IV.					

Note: Baxter's ***TSrjo** > **-juw** affects only some words with **TS-** initials.

屋 wū (侯入)	I. 屋 wū	Cuk > -uk		Cok > -uwk	ák ^ŋ
	II. 覺 jué	Cruk > -åk		Crok > -æwk	rák ^ŋ
	III. 燭 zhú	Cjuk > -jwok	-(r)juk	C(r)jok > -jowk	àk ^ŋ
	IV.				

東 dōng	I. 東 dōng	Cung > -ung		Cong > -uwng	án ^ŋ
	II. 江 jiāng	Crung > -ǎng		Crong > -æwng	rán ^ŋ
	III. 鍾 zhōng	Cjung > -jwong	-(r)jung	C(r)jong > -jowng	àn ^ŋ
	IV.				

魚 yú	I. 模 mú	Cag > -uo		Ca > -u	á(ü)
	II. 麻 má	PTKrag > -a K ^w rag > -wa		PTKra > -æ K ^w ra > -wæ	rá(ü)
	III. 魚 yú	TKjag > -jwo	K(r)jag	TK(r)ja > -jo	à(ü) > -iǒ
	麻 má	Tjiag > -ja		TjA > -jæ	à:(ü) > -ia
	虞 yú	PK ^w jag > -ju	P(r)jag	PK ^w (r)ja > -ju	à(ü)
	IV.				

鐸 duó (魚入)	I. 鐸 duó	PTKak > -âk K ^w ak > -wâk		PTKak > -ak K ^w ak > -wak	ák
	II. 陌 mò	PTK ^r ak > -øk K ^w rak > -wøk		PTK ^r ak > -æk K ^w rak > -wæk	rák
	III. 藥 yào	TKjak > -jak PK ^w jak > -jwak	-jak	T(r)jak > -jak PKjak > -jak K ^w jak > -jwak	Tàk > -iak PKàk > -iak
	陌 mò	Kjiak > -jèk	-rjak	PKrjak > -jæk K ^w rjak > -jwæk Trjak > -jæk	PKræk > -iajk
	昔 ₃ xí	Tjiak > -jäk Pjiak > -jäk (?)		TjAk > -jek	Tà:k > -iajk
	IV.				

陽 yáng	I. 唐 táng	TKang > -âng PK ^w ang > -wâng		PTKang > -ang K ^w ang > -wang	áj
	II. 庚 gēng	PTKrang > -əng K ^w rang > -wəng		PTKrang > -əng K ^w rang > -wəng	ráj
	III. 陽 yáng	TKjang > -jang PK ^w jang > -jwang	-jang	T(r)jang > -jang PKjang > -jang K ^w jang > -jwang	àj
	庚 gēng	Kjiang > -jəng PK ^w jiang > -jwəng	-rjang	PKrjang > -jəng K ^w rjang > -jwəng	ráj
IV.					

佳 (支) jiā	I.				
	II. 佳 jiā	PTKrig > -aĩ K ^w rig > -waĩ		PTKre > -εĩ K ^w re > -wεĩ [Crej > -εĩ]	ráj
	III. 支 ₃ zhī	PTKjig > -jě ?? > -jwě	-rjig	T(r)je > -je PKrje > -je K ^w rje > -jwe T(r)jej > -je [PKrjej > -je]	àj
	支 ₄ zhī	PKjig > -jiě K ^w jig > -jwiě	-jig	PKje > -jie K ^w je > -jwie PKjej > -jie	
IV. 齊 qí	PTKig > -iei K ^w ig > -iwei		PTKe > -ej K ^w e > -wej [Cej > -ej]	áj	

Note: Note that Baxter reconstructs a few words assigned to this group as ***-jej**, which should properly be in the traditional GĒ group below (Baxter 1992:418-420).

錫 xí (佳入)	I.				
	II. 麥 mài	PTKrik > -εk K ^w rik > -wεk		PTKrek > -εk K ^w rek > -wεk	rákj
	III. 昔 ₃ xí	Tjik > -jäk		T(r)jek > -jek	àkj
	昔 ₄ xí	PKjik > -jiäk K ^w jik > -jiwäk	-jik	PKjek > -jiek K ^w jek > -jwiek	
	陌 mò	[PKjik > -jèk] [K^wjik > -jwèk]	-rjik	PKrjek > -jæk [K ^w rjek > -jwæk]	
IV. 錫 xí	PTKik > -iek K ^w ik > -iwèk		PTKek > -ek K ^w ek > -wèk	ákj	

耕 gēng	I.				
	II. 耕 gēng	PTKring > -eng K ^w ring > -weng		PTKreng > -eng K ^w reng > -weng	rànĵ
	III. 清 ₃ qīng	Tjing > -jäng		T(r)jeng > -jeng	ànĵ
	清 ₄ qīng	PKjing > -jiäng K^wjing > -jiwäng	-jing	PKjeng > -jieng K ^w jeng > -jwieng	
	庚 gēng	PKjing > -jəng K^wjing > -jwəng	-rjing	PKrjeng > -jäng TSrjeng > -(j)əng K ^w rjeng > -jwəng	rànĵ
IV. 青 qīng	PTKing > -ieng K ^w ing > -iweng		PTKeng > -eng K ^w eng > -weng	ánĵ	

歌 gē	I. 歌 gē	TKar > -â		PTKaj > -a	ál
	戈 gē	PK ^w ar > -uâ Tuar > -uâ		K ^w aj > -wa Coj > -wa	ál
	II. 麻 má	PTKrar > -a K ^w rar > -wa Truar > -wa		PTKraj > -æ K ^w raj > -wæ Croj > -wæ	rál
	III. 支 ₃ zhī	Kjar > -jě PTjjar > -jě K ^w jar > -jwě Tjuar > -jwě	-(r)jar/l/d	PTK(r)jaj > -je K ^w (r)jaj > -jwe C(r)joj > -jwe	àl > -iǎ
	麻 má	Tjar > -ja		TjAj > -jæ	à:l > -ia
IV.					

祭 jì	I. 泰 tài	TKad > -âi PK ^w ad > -wâi Tuad > -wâi		PTKats > -aj K ^w ats > -waj Cots > -waj	átĵ
	II. 夬 guài	TKrad > -ai PK ^w rad > -wai		PTKrats > -æj K ^w rats > -wæj K ^w rets > -wæj	rátĵ
	皆 jiē	TKriad > -ăi PK ^w riad > -wăi		PTKrets > -ej Crots > -wěj	rjâtĵ
	III. 祭 ₃ jì	Tjad > -jăi PKjiad > -jăi K^wjiad > -jwăi Tjuad > -jwăi	-rjad	T(r)jats > -jej PKrjats > -jej T(r)jets > -jej PKrjets > -jej K ^w rjats > -jwej K ^w rjets > -jwej T(r)jots > -jwej PKK ^w rjots > -jwej	àtĵ
	祭 ₄ jì	[PKjiad > -jiăi] [K^wjiad > -jwiăi]	-jiad	PKjets > -jiej K ^w jets > -jwiej	jâtĵ
	廢 fèi	PKjad > -jəi K ^w jad > -jwəi	-jad	PKjats > -joj K ^w jats > -jwoj PKK ^w jots > -jwoj	àtĵ
	IV. 齊 qí	PTKiad > -iei K ^w iad > -iwei		PTKets > -ej K ^w ets > -wej	játĵ

月 yuè (祭入)	I. 曷 hé	TKat > -ât		PTKat > -at	át
	末 mò	PK ^w at > -uât Tuat > -uât		K ^w at > -wat Cot > -wat	wát
	II. 鐸 xiá	TKrat > -at PK ^w rat > -wat Truat > -wat		PTKrat > -æt K ^w rat > -wæt K ^w ret > -wæt	rát
	黠 xiá	TKriat > -ăt PK ^w riat > -wăt		PTKret > -ët Crot > -wët	rjât
	III. 薛 ₃ xuē	Tjat > jät PKjiat > -jät	-rjat	T(r)jat > -jet PKrjat > -jet T(r)jet > -jet PKrjet > -jet K ^w rjat > -jwet K ^w rjet > -jwet T(r)jot > -jwet PKK ^w rjot > -jwet	àt
	薛 ₄ xuē	[Kjiat > -jiät] [PK^wjiat > -jwiät]	-jiat	PKjet > -jiet K ^w jet > -jwiet	jät
	月 yuè	Kjat > -jët PK ^w jat > -jwët	-jat	PKjat > -jot K ^w jat > -jwot PKK ^w jot > -jwot	àt
	IV. 屑 xiè	PTKiat > -iet K ^w iat > -iwet		PTKet > -et K ^w et > -wet	ját

元 yuán	I. 寒 hán	TKan > -ân		PTKan > -an	án
	桓 huán	PK ^w an > -uân Tuan > -uân		K ^w an > -wan Con > -wan	wán
	II. 刪 shān	PTKran > -an K ^w ran > -wan		PTKran > -æn K ^w ran > -wæn K ^w ren > -wæn Cron > -wæn	rán
	山 shān	PTKrian > -ăn K ^w rian > -wăn		PTKren > -en	rján
	III. 仙 ₃ xiān	Tjan > -jăn PKjian > -jăn	-rjan	T(r)jan > -jen PKrjan > -jen T(r)jen > -jen PKrjen > -jen K ^w rjan > -jwen K ^w rjen > -jwen T(r)jon > -jwen PKK ^w rjon > -jwen	àn
	仙 ₄ xiān	PKjian > -jiăn K^wjian > -jwiăn	-jian	PKjen > -jien K ^w jen > -jwien	jàn
	元 yuán	Kjan > -jøn PK ^w jan > -jwøn	-jan	PKjan > -jon K ^w jan > -jwon PKK ^w jon > -jwon	àn
	IV. 先 xiān	TKian > -ien PK ^w ian > -iwen		PTKen > -en K ^w en > -wen	ján

微 wēi	I.	哈 hāi	Kəd > -âi		Kij > -oj	ál
		灰 huī	PK ^w əd > -uâi Təd > -uâi		PK ^w ij > -woj Cuj > -woj	wál
		戈 gē	Cər > -(u)â		Cij > -(w)a (?)	
	II.	皆 jiē	Krəd > -ăi PK ^w rəd > -wăi [Trəd > -wăi]		PTKr ^r ij > -εj K ^w r ^r ij > -wεj Cruj > -wεj	rál
	III.	脂 ₃ zhī	Tjiəd > -i PKjiəd > -ji Tjəd > -wi	-(r)jəd	T(r)jij > -ij PKr ^r ij > -ij K ^w r ^r ij > -wij T(r)juj > -wij KK ^w r ^r uj > -wij	əl
		微 wēi	Kjəd > -jěi PK ^w jəd > -jwěi	-(r)jəd	PKjij > -jij K ^w jij > -jwij KK ^w juj > -jwij	əl
		支 ₃ zhī	Cjər > -j(w)ě		Cjij > -j(w)e (?)	
	IV.	齊 qí	Tiəd > -iei		Tij > -ej	lál

Note: The bolded forms in Baxter's column are apparently irregular, developing like ***-aj** and ***-jaj** respectively. Li reconstructs the few words of this type with ***-r** instead of ***-d**.

物 wù (微入)	I.	沒 mò	Kət > -ət PK ^w ət > -uət Tət > -uət		Kit > -ot PK ^w it > -wot Cut > -wot	át
	II.	黠 xiá	Krət > -ăt PK ^w rət > -wăt [Trət > -wăt]		PTKr ^r it > -εt K ^w r ^r it > wet Crut > -wet	rát
	III.	質 ₃ zhì	[Tjiət > -jět] PKjiət > -jět	-(r)jət	T(r)jit > -it PKr ^r jit > -it	rət
		櫛 zhì	[TSrjiət > -jet]		TSrjit > -it	
		術 ₃ shù	Tjət > -juět	-(r)jət	T(r)jut > -wit PKK ^w r ^r jut > -wit K ^w r ^r jit > -wit	wrət
		迄 qì	Kjət > -jət	-(r)jət	Kjit > -jit	èt
		物 wù	PK ^w jət > -juət	-(r)jət	PK ^w jit > -jut PKK ^w jut > -jut	wèt
	IV.	屑 xiè	TKiət > -iet K ^w iət > -iwet		Tit > -et	(j)át

文 wén	I. 痕 hén	Kən > -ən		Kin > -on	ón
	魂 hún	PK ^w ən > -uən Tən > -uən		PK ^w in > -won Cun > -won	wón
	II. 山 shān	PKrən > -ǎn K ^w rən > -wǎn [Trən > -wǎn]		PTKrin > -ɛn K ^w rɪn > wɛn Crun > -wɛn	rón
	III. 真 ₃ zhēn	Tjən > -jən PKjən > -jən	-(r)jən	T(r)jin > -in PKrjin > -in	èn
	臻 zhēn	TSrjən > -jɛn		TSrjin > -in	èn
	諄 ₃ zhūn	Tjən > -juɛn	-(r)jən	T(r)jun > -win PKK ^w rjun > -win K ^w rjin > -win	rèn
	欣 xīn	Kjən > -jən	-(r)jən	Kjin > -jin	èn
	文 wén	PK ^w jən > -juən	-(r)jən	PK ^w jin > -jun PKK ^w jun > -jun	èn
	IV. 先 xiān	Tiən > -ien		Tin > -en	(j)ón

脂 zhī	I.				
	II. 皆 jiē	PTKrid > -ǎi [K ^w rid > -wǎi]		PTKrij > -ɛj K ^w rɪj > -wɛj	rój
	III. 脂 ₃ zhī	Tjid > -i PKjid > -ji	-rjid	T(r)jij > -ij PKrjij > -ij K ^w rɪj > -wij	èj
	脂 ₄ zhī	PKjid > -i K ^w jid > -wi	-jid	PKjij > -jij K ^w jij > -jwij	èj
	IV. 齊 qí	PTKid > -iei K ^w id > -iwei		PTKij > -ej K ^w ij > -wej	áj

質 zhì (脂入)	I.				
	II. 黠 xiá	PTKrit > -ǎt K ^w rit > -wǎt		PTKrit > -ɛt K ^w rit > -wɛt	rókj
	III. 質 ₃ zhì	Tjit > -jět PKjit > -jět	-rjit	T(r)jit > -it PKrjit > -it	əkj
	質 ₄ zhì	PKjit > -jiět	-jit	PKjit > -jit	
	櫛 zhì	TSrjit > -jet		TSrjit > -it	
	術 ₃ shù	K ^w jit > juět	-rjit	K ^w rjit > -wit	wəkj
	術 ₄ shù	K ^w jit > juiět	-jit	K ^w jit > -jwit	
	IV. 屑 xiè	PTKit > -iet K ^w it > -iwet		PTKit > -et K ^w it > -wet	əkj

真 zhēn	I.				
	II. 山 shān	PTKrin > -ǎn K ^w rin > -wǎn		PTKrin > -ɛn K ^w rin > -wɛn	rʰɔŋʅ
	III. 真 ₃ zhēn	Tjin > -jěŋ PKjin > -jěŋ	-rjin	T(r)jin > -in PKrjin > -in	əŋʅ
	真 ₄ zhēn	PKjin > -jiěŋ	-jin	PKjin > -jin	
	臻 zhēn	TSrjin > -jɛn		TSrjin > -in	
	諄 ₃ zhūn	K^wjin > juěŋ	-rjin	K ^w rjin > -win	ʅəŋʅ
	諄 ₄ zhūn	K^wjin > juiěŋ	-jin	K ^w jin > -jwin	
	IV. 先 xiān	PTKin > -iɛn K ^w in > -iwen		PTKin > -en K ^w in > -wen	əŋʅ

葉 (盍) yè	I. 盍 hé	Cap > -âp		Cap > -ap	áp
	合 hé			Cop > -op	
	II. 狎 xiá	Crap > -ap		Crap > -æp	ráp
	洽 qià	Criap > -ǎp		Crep > -ɛp Crop > -ɛp	ráp
	III. 葉 ₃ yè	Tjap > -jǎp [Kjiap > -jǎp]	-rjap	T(r)jap > -jep PKrjap > -jep T(r)jep > -jep PKrjep > -jep T(r)jop > -jep	jàp
	葉 ₄ yè	[Kjiap > -jiǎp]	-jap	PKjep > -jiep	
	業 yè	Kjap > -jɛp	Krjap	Kjap > -jæp PKrjap > -jæp ? K(r)jop > -jæp	àp
	乏 fá	Pjap > -jwɛp	Prjap	Pjap > -jop P(r)jop > -jop	wàp
	IV. 帖 tiē	Ciap > -iep		Cep > -ep	jàp

Note: *Chóngniǔ* “fourth division” doublets are found only after glottal stop initial.

談 tán	I. 談 tán	Cam > -âm		Cam > -am	ám
	覃 tán			Com > -om	
	II. 銜 xián	Cram > -am		Cram > -æm	rám
	咸 xián	Criam > -ǎm		Crem > -em Crom > -em	rám
	III. 鹽 ₃ yán	Tjam > -jäm PKjiam > -jäm	-rjam	T(r)jam > -jem PKrjam > -jem T(r)jem > -jem PKrjem > -jem T(r)jom > -jem	jäm
	鹽 ₄ yán	Kjiam > -jiäm ?	-jam	PKjem > -jiem	
	嚴 yán	Kjam > -jëm	Krjam	Kjam > -jæm PKrjam > -jæm ? K(r)jom > -jæm	àm
	凡 fán	Pjam > -jwëm	Prjam	Pjam > -jom P(r)jom > -jom	wám
IV. 添 tiān	Ciam > -iem		Cem > -em	jám	

Note: *Chóngniǔ* “fourth division” doublets are found only after glottal stop initial.

緝 qī	I. 合 hé	Cəp > -âp		Cip > -op Cup > -op	-əp
	II. 洽 qià	Crəp > ǎp		Crip > -εp Críp > -εp Crup > -εp	
	III. 緝 ₃ qī	Tjəp > -jəp Kjəp > -jəp Pjəp > -jəp	?rjəp PK(r)jəp	T(r)jip > -ip PKrjip > -ip T(r)jɨp > -ip K(r)jɨp > -ip T(r)jup > -ip K(r)jup > -ip	
	緝 ₄ qī	Kjiəp > -jiəp	?jəp	PKjip > -jip	
	葉 ₃ yè	Tjiəp > -jäp		?? > -jep	
	屋 wū			PK ^w (r)jɨp > -juwk PK ^w (r)jup > -juwk	
	IV. 帖 tiē	Ciəp > -iep		Cip > -ep	

Note: *Chóngniǔ* “fourth division” doublets are found only after glottal stop initial.

侵 qīn	I. 覃 tán	TKəm > -âṃ		Cim > -om Cum > -om	-əm
	東 dōng	Pəm > -ung			
	II. 咸 xián	Crəm > ǎṃ		Crim > -εm Crɪm > -εm Crum > -εm	
	III. 侵 ₃ qīn	Tjəm > -jəm Kjəm > -jəm Pjəm > -jəm	?rjəm PK(r)jəm	T(r)jim > -im PKrjim > -im T(r)jɪm > -im K(r)jɪm > -im T(r)jum > -im K(r)jum > -im	
	侵 ₄ qīn	Kjɪəm > -jɪəm	?jəm	PKjim > -jim	
	鹽 ₃ yán	Tjɪəm > -jɪəm		?? > -jem	
	東 dōng	PK ^w jəm > -jung		PK ^w jɪm > -juwng PK ^w jum > -juwng PK ^w rjɪm > -juwng PK ^w rjum > -juwng	
	IV. 添 tiān	Ciəm > -iem		Cim > -em	

Note: *Chóngniǔ* “fourth division” doublets are found only after glottal stop initial.

Appendix II: Chart of Chinese finals (Middle Chinese from Old Chinese)

These charts are organized by *Guǎngyùn* rhyme within the traditional *shè* groupings.

Third-division rhymes are broken up into the following categories: III (for third division rhymes without chongniu distinctions: i.e. ‘pure’ third-division rhymes, or the component of a third-division rhyme with only apical initials); III-3 (for *chóngniǔ* third-division rhymes); and III-4 (for *chóngniǔ* fourth-division rhymes).

Initials are based on the distribution in the rhyme tables:

P labials (**p-**, **ph-**, **b-**, **m-**)

T dental stops and retroflex stops (**t-**, **th-**, **d-**, **n-**, **ʈ-**, **ʈh-**, **ɖ-**, **ɳ-**)

K velars and gutturals (**k-**, **kh-**, **g-**, **ŋ-**, **ʔ-**, **x-**, **ɣ-**, including **j-**)

S dental, retroflex, and palatal affricates and fricatives (**ts-**, **tʂ-**, **tʃ-**, including **ń-**, **ji-**)

L lateral l-

Note that although **ji-** is placed in division IV in the rhyme tables, it is not part of a *chóngniǔ* distinction, and is treated in this chart as a pure third-division initial.

Pulleyblank’s forms are from Pulleyblank 1991:15-6. Note that these forms are somewhat “phoneticized”, with for example the underlying pharyngeal glide **ǎ** written as **ǎ** after most vowels, and eliminated altogether after **a**. The other forms are from the same sources as indicated for Appendix I.

1. 通 TONG

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
東 dōng	I	PTKSL	-ung	-uwng	-əwŋ	Cung Pəm		Cong
	III	PTKSL	-jung	-juwng	-uwŋ	PK ^w jəng Cjəng ^w PK ^w jəm	-(r)jəng -(r)jəng ^w	K ^w jəng C(r)jung PK ^w (r)jəm PK ^w (r)jum
冬 dōng	I	PTKSL	-uong	-owng	-awŋ	Cəng ^w		Cung
鍾 zhōng	III	PTKSL	-jwong	-jowng	-uawŋ	Cjung	-(r)jung	C(r)jong
屋 wū	I	PTKSL	-uk	-uwk	-əwk	Cək ^w Cuk		Cawk Cok
	III	PTKSL	-juk	-juwk	-uwk	PK ^w jək Cjək ^w	-(r)jək -(r)jək ^w	PK ^w jək C(r)juk C(r)jiwk PK ^w (r)jəp PK ^w (r)jup
沃 wò	I	PTKSL	-uok	-owk	-awk	Cək ^w Cək ^w		Cuk Cawk
燭 zhú	III	PTKSL	-jwok	-jowk	-uawk	Cjuk	-(r)juk	C(r)jok

2. 江 JIANG

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
江 jiāng	II	PTKS	-ǎng	-əwng	-aɪwŋ	Crəng ^w Crung		Crung Crong
覺 jué	II	PTKS	-ǎk	-əwk	-aɪwk	Crək ^w Crək ^w Cruk		Cruk [Criwk] Crawk Crewk Crok

3. 止 ZHI

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
支 zhī	III	T SL	-jě	-je	-iǎ	Tjig Tjar		T(r)je T(r)jej T(r)jaj T(r)joj
		T SL	-jwě	-jwe	-wiǎ	Tjuar		
	III-3	P K	-jě	-je	-iǎ	PKjig Kjar Pjar K ^w jar	-rjig -(r)jar	PKrje [PKrjej] PK(r)jaj K ^w rje K ^w (r)jaj PKK ^w (r)joj
		K	-jwě	-jwe	-wiǎ			
III-4	P K	-jiě	-jie	-jiǎ	PKjig	-jig	PKje PKjej K ^w je	
	K	-jwiě	-jwie	-jwiǎ	K ^w jig			
脂 zhī	III	T SL	-i	-ij	-i	Tjiəd Tjid Tjəd		T(r)jĭj T(r)juj T(r)jĭj
		T SL	-wi	-wij	-wi			
	III-3	P K	-ji	-ij	-i	Pjiəg PKjiəd PKjid K ^w jiəg K ^w jiəg ^w	-rjəg -(r)jəd -rjid	Prjĭ PKrjĭj PKrjĭj K ^w rjĭ K ^w rju K ^w rjĭj KK ^w rjuj K ^w rjĭj
K		-jwi	-wij	-wi				
III-4	P K K	-i -wi	-jĭj -jwiĭ	-jĭ -jwi	PKjid K ^w jid	-jid	PKjĭj K ^w jĭj	
之 zhī	III	TKSL	-ĭ	-i	-ĭ	TKjəg	-Kjəg	TK(r)jĭ
微 wēi	III	K P K	-jĕi -jwĕi	-jĭj -jwĭj	-ĭj -uj	Kjəd PK ^w jəd	-(r)jəd	PKjĭj K ^w jĭj KK ^w juj

4. 遇 YU

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
模 mú	I	PTKSL	-uo	-u	-o	Cag		Ca
魚 yú	III	TKSL	-jwo	-jo	-iǎ	TKjag	K(r)jag	TK(r)ja
虞 yú	III	PTKSL	-ju	-ju	-uǎ	Cjug PK ^w jag	-(r)jug P(r)jag	C(r)jo PK ^w (r)ja

5. 蟹 XIE

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
哈 hāi	I	PTKSL	-âi	-oj	-əj	TKəg		TKi
灰 huī	I	PTKSL	-uâi	-woj	-wəj	Pəg PTK ^w əd		PK ^w i PK ^w ij Cuj
泰 tài (qu)	I	PTKSL TKSL	-âi -wâi	-aj -waj	-aj -waj	TKad PK ^w ad Tuad		PTKats K ^w ats Cots
皆 jiē	II	PTKS P K	-ăi -wăi	-ej -wəj	-əij -wəij	TKrəg TKriad Krəd PTKrid PK ^w rəg PK ^w riad PK ^w rəd [Trəd] [K ^w rid]		PTKri PTKrets PTKrij PTKrij K ^w ri Crots K ^w rij Cruj K ^w rij
佳 jiā	II	PTKS K	-ai -wai	-ɛi -wɛi	-aij -waij	PTKrij K ^w rig		PTKre [Crej] K ^w re
夬 guāi (qu)	II	TKS PTKS	-ai -wai	-æj -wæj	-aij(s) -waij(s)	TKrad PK ^w rad		PTKrats K ^w rats K ^w rets
祭 jì (qu)	III	T SL	-jâi	-jej	-iaj	Tjad		T(r)jats T(r)jets T(r)jots
		T S	-jwâi	-jwej	-wiaj	Tjuad		
	III-3	K K	-jâi -jwâi	-jej -jwej	-iaj -wiaj	PKjiad K ^w jiad	-rjad	PKrjats PKrjets K ^w rjats K ^w rjets PKK ^w rjots
III-4	P K K	-jiâi -jwiâi	-jiej -jwiej	-jiaj -wjiaj	[PKjiad] [K ^w jiad]	-jiad	PKjets K ^w jets	
廢 fèi (qu)	III	P K P K	-jɛi -jwɛi	-joj -jwoj	-iaj -uaj	PKjad K ^w jad	-jad	PKjats K ^w jats PKK ^w jots
齊 qí	IV	PTKSL K	-iei -iwei	-ej -wej	-ɛj -wɛj	PTKig PTKiad Tiəd PTKid K ^w ig K ^w iad K ^w id		PTKe [Cej] PTKets Tij PTKij K ^w e K ^w ets K ^w ij

6. 臻 ZHEN

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
痕 hén	I	TKSL	-ən	-on	-ən	Kən	-ən	Kɪn
魂 hún	I	PTKSL	-uən	-won	-wən	PTK ^w ən		PK ^w ɪn Cun
臻 zhēn	III	Sr	-jən	-in	-in	TSrjən TSrjin		TSrjɪn TSrjin
真 zhēn 諄 zhūn	III	T SL	-jěn	-in	-in	Tjən Tjin Tjən		T(r)jɪn T(r)jin T(r)jun
		T SL	-juěn	-win	-win			
	III-3	P K K	-jěn -juěn	-in -win	-in -win	PKjən PKjin K ^w jɪn	-(r)jən -rjin	PKrjɪn PKrjin K ^w rjɪn PKK ^w rjun K ^w rjin
III-4	P K K	-jiěn -juiěn	-jin -jwin	-jin -jwin	PKjin K ^w jɪn	-jin	PKjin K ^w jɪn	
欣 xīn	III	K	-jən	-jin	-in	Kjən	-(r)jən	Kjɪn
文 wén	III	P K	-juən	-jun	-un	PK ^w jən	-(r)jən	PK ^w jɪn PKK ^w jun
沒 mò	I	K PTKSL	-ət -uət	-ot -wot	-ət -wət	Kət PTK ^w ət		Kɪt PK ^w ɪt Cut
櫛 zhì	III	Sr	-jət	-it	-it	[TSrjət] TSrjit		TSrjɪt TSrjit
質 zhì 術 ³ shù	III	T SL	-jět	-it	-it	[Tjət] Tjit Tjət		T(r)jɪt T(r)jit T(r)jut
		T SL	-juět	-wit	-wit			
	III-3	P K K	-jět -juět	-it -wit	-it -wit	PKjət PKjit K^wjɪt	-(r)jət -rjit	PKrjɪt PKrjit K ^w rjɪt PKK ^w rjut K ^w rjit
III-4	P K K	-jiět -juiět	-jit -jwit	-jit -jwit	PKjit K^wjɪt	-jit	PKjit K ^w jɪt	
迄 qì	III	K	-jət	-jit	-it	Kjət	-(r)jət	Kjɪt
物 wù	III	P K	-juət	-jut	-ut	PK ^w jət	-(r)jət	PK ^w jɪt PKK ^w jut

7. 山 SHAN

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
寒 hán 桓 huán	I	TKSL PTKSL	-ân -uân	-an -wan	-an -wan	TKan PK ^w an Tuan		PTKan K ^w an Con
刪 shān	II	KS PTKS	-an -wan	-æn -wæn	-aïn -waïn	PTKran K ^w ran Tuan		PTKran K ^w ran K ^w ren Cron
山 shān	II	PTKS TKS	-ǎn -wǎn	-ɛn -wɛn	-əïn -wəïn	PTKrian PKrən PTKrin K ^w rian K ^w rən [Trən] K ^w rin		PTKren PTKrïn PTKrin K ^w rïn Crun K ^w rin
仙 xiān	III	T SL	-jǎn	-jen	-ian	Tjan		T(r)jan T(r)jen T(r)jon
		T SL	-jwǎn	-jwen	-wian	Tjuan		
	III-3	P K K	-jǎn -jwǎn	-jen -jwen	-ian -wian	PKjian K^wjian	-rjan	PKrjan PKrjen K ^w rjan K ^w rjen PKK ^w rjon
III-4	P K K	-jiǎn -jwiǎn	-jien -jwien	-jian -jwian	PKjian K^wjian	-jian	PKjen K ^w jen	
元 yuán	III	K P K	-jɛn -jwɛn	-jon -jwon	-ian -uan	Kjan PK ^w jan	-jan	PKjan K ^w jan PKK ^w jon
先 xiān	IV	PTKSL	-ien	-en	-ɛn	TKian Tiən PTKin		PTKen Tiñ PTKin
		K	-iwen	-wen	-wɛn	PK ^w ian K ^w in		K ^w en K ^w in
曷 hé 末 mò	I	TKSL PTKSL	-ât -uât	-at -wat	-at -wat	TKat PK ^w at Tuat		PTKat K ^w at Cot
鐸 xiá	II	PTKS TKS	-at -wat	-æt -wæt	-ait -wait	TKrat PK ^w rat Truat		PTKrat K ^w rat K ^w ret

黠 xiá	II	TKS PTKS	-ăt -wăt	-ɛt -wɛt	-əit -wəit	TKriat Krət PTKrit PK ^w riat PK ^w rət [Trət] K ^w rit		PTKret PTKrit PTKrit Crot K ^w rit Crut K ^w rit
薛 xuē	III	T SL	-jăt -jwăt	-jet -jwet	-iat -wiat	Tjat [Tjuat]		T(r)jat T(r)jet T(r)jot
	III-3	P K K	-jăt -jwăt	-jet -jwet	-iat -wiat	PKjiat [K^wjiat]	-rjat	PKrjat PKrjet K ^w rjat K ^w rjet PKK ^w rjot
	III-4	P K K	-jiăt -jwiăt	-jiet -jwiet	-jiat -jwiat	[Kjiat] [PK^wjiat]	-jiat	PKjet K ^w jet
月 yuè	III	K P K	-jət -jwət	-jot -jwot	-iat -uat	Kjat PK ^w jat	-jat	PKjat K ^w jat PKK ^w jot
屑 xiè	IV	PTKSL K	-iet -iwet	-et -wet	-ɛt -wɛt	PTKiat TKiət PTKit K ^w iat K ^w iət K ^w it		PTKet Tit PTKit K ^w et K ^w it

8. 效 XIAO

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
豪 háo	I	PTKSL	-âu	-aw	-aw	Cəg^w Cag ^w		Cu Caw
肴 yáo	II	PTKS	-au	-æw	-aiw	Crəg ^w Crag ^w		Cru Criw Craw Crew
宵 xiāo	III	TSL	-jäu	-jew	-iaw	Tjag ^w		T(r)jaw T(r)jew
	III-3	PK	-jäu	-jew	-iaw	PKK ^w jag ^w	-rjag ^w	PKK ^w (r)jaw PKK ^w rjew
	III-4	PK	-jiäu	-jiew	-jiaw	Cjiag ^w	-jag ^w	PKK ^w jew
蕭 xiāo	IV	PTKSL	-ieu	-ew	-ɛw	Ciəg ^w Ciag ^w		Ciw Cew

9. 果 GUO

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
歌 gē 戈 gē	I	TKSL PTKSL	-â -uâ	-a -wa	-a -wa	TKar PK ^w ar Tuar Cər		PTKaj K ^w aj Coj Cij (?)
	III	K	-juâ	-ja -jwa	-ia -ua			

10. 假 JIA

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
麻 má	II	PTKS TKS	-a -wa	-æ -wæ	-ai -wai	PTKrag PTKrar K ^w rag K ^w rar Truar		PTKra PTKraj K ^w ra K ^w raj Croj
	III	T SL	-ja	-jæ	-ia	Tjiag Tjar		TjA TjAj

11. 宕 DANG

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
唐 táng	I	PTKSL K	-âng -wâng	-ang -wang	-aŋ -waŋ	TKang PK ^w ang		PTKang K ^w ang
	III	PTKSL K	-jang -jwang	-jang -jwang	-iaŋ -uaŋ	TKjang PK ^w jang	-jang	T(r)jang PKjang K ^w jang
鐸 duó	I	PTKSL K	-âk -wâk	-ak -wak	-ak -wak	PTKak Cak ^w K ^w ak		PTKak Cawk K ^w ak
	III	PTKSL K	-jak -jwak	-jak -jwak	-iak -uak	TKjak Cjak ^w PK ^w jak	-jak -(r)jak ^w	T(r)jak PKjak C(r)jawk C(r)jewk K ^w jak

12. 梗 GENG

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
耕 gēng	II	PTKS	-eng	-eng	-əiŋ	PTKrəŋ PTKring		PTKriŋ PTKreŋ
		K	-weng	-weng	-wəiŋ	K ^w rəŋ K ^w ring		K ^w riŋ K ^w reŋ
庚 gēng	II	PTKS	-əŋg	-æŋg	-a:iŋ	PTKraŋg		PTKraŋg TSrjəŋg
		K	-wəŋg	-wæŋg	-wa:iŋ	K ^w raŋg		K ^w raŋg
	III-3	P K	-jəŋg	-jæŋg	-ia:iŋ	Kjiang PKjŋg PK ^w jiang K^wjŋg	-rjaŋg -rjiŋg	PKrjaŋg PKrjəŋg K ^w rjaŋg K ^w rjəŋg
清 qīng	III	SL	-jäŋg	-jəŋg	-ia:iŋ	Tjiŋg		T(r)jəŋg
		S	-jwäŋg	-jwəŋg				
青 qīng	IV	P K	-jäŋg	-jiəŋg	-jia:iŋ	PKjŋg K^wjŋg	-jiŋg	PKjəŋg K ^w jəŋg
		K	-jwäŋg	-jwiəŋg	-jwia:iŋ			
麥 mài	II	PTKS	-ək	-ək	-əiɰk	PTKrək PTKrik		PTKriɰk PTKrek
		KS	-wək	-wək	-wəiɰk	K ^w rək K ^w rik		K ^w riɰk K ^w rek
陌 mò	II	PTKS	-ək	-æk	-a:iɰk	PTKraɰk		PTKraɰk TSrjək
		K	-wək	-wæk	-wa:iɰk	K ^w raɰk		K ^w raɰk
	III-3	P K	-jək	-jæk	-ia:iɰk	Kjiak [PKjɰk] PK ^w jiak [K^wjɰk]	-rjaɰk -rjiɰk	PKrjaɰk PKrjək K ^w rjaɰk [K ^w rjək]
昔 xí	III	S	-jäk	-jek	-ia:iɰk	Tjiɰk Tjiak		T(r)jək TjAk
		S	-jwäk	-jwek				
	III-4	P K	-jäk	-jieɰk	-jia:iɰk	PKjɰk K ^w jɰk	-jiɰk	PKjək K ^w jək
錫 xí	IV	PTKSL	-iek	-ek	-eɰk	PTKiɰk K ^w iɰk		PTKeɰk K ^w eɰk
		K	-iwek	-wek	-weɰk	Ciək ^w Ciak ^w		Ciɰk Cewk

13. 曾 ZENG

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
登 dēng	I	PTKSL K	-əng -wəng	-ong -wong	-əŋ -wəŋ	PTKəng K ^w əng		PTKɨng K ^w ɨng
蒸 zhēng	III	PTKSL --	-jəng	-ing -wing	-iŋ	TKjəng PK ^w jiəng	-(r)jiəng	TK(r)jɨng Prjɨng K ^w rjɨng
德 dé	I	PTKSL K	-ək -wək	-ok -wok	-ək -wək	PTKək K ^w ək		PTKɨk K ^w ɨk
職 zhí	III	PTKSL K	-jək -jwək	-ik -wik	-ik -jik	TKjək Pjiək ^w (?) PK ^w jiək	-(r)jiək	TK(r)jɨk Prjɨk K ^w rɨk

14. 流 LIU

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
侯 hóu	I	PTKSL	-əu	-uw	-əw	Pəg Pəg^w Cug		P(r)o Pu TKK ^w (r)o
尤 yóu	III	T SL	-jəu	-juw	-uw	Tjəg ^w		T(r)jiw T(r)ju TSrjo
	III-3	P K	-jəu	-juw	-uw	PK ^w jəg PKjəg ^w K ^w jəg ^w	-jəg -jəg ^w	PK ^w jɨ PK(r)ju K ^w ju
幽 yōu	III	T SL	??	-iw				
	III-4	P K	-jiəu	-jiw	-jiw	PKjiəg ^w	-rjəg ^w	PKK ^w (r)jiw

15. 咸 XIAN

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
談 tán	I	PTKSL	-âm	-am	-am	Cam		Cam
覃 tán	I	PTKSL	-âm	-om	-əm	TKəm		Com Cim Cum
銜 xián	II	PTKS	-am	-æm	-aïm	Cram		Cram
咸 xián	II	PTKS	-ǎm	-em	-əim	Criam Crəm		Crem Crom Crim Crim Crum
鹽 yán	III	T SL	-jäm	-jem	-iam	Tjam Tjiəm		T(r)jam T(r)jem T(r)jom ??
	III-3	P K	-jäm	-jem	-iam	PKjiam	-rjam	PKrjam PKrjem
	III-4	K	-jiäm	-jiem	-jiam	Kjiam ?	-jam	PKjem
嚴 yán	III	P K	-jøm	-jæm	-iam	Kjam	Krjam	Kjam PKrjam ? K(r)jom
凡 fán	III	P K	-jwøm	-jom	-uam	Pjam	Prjam	Pjam P(r)jom
添 tiān	IV	PTKSL	-iem	-em	-em	Ciam Ciəm		Cem Cim

盍 hé	I	PTKSL	-âp	-ap	-ap	Cap		Cap
合 hé	I	PTKSL	-âp	-op	-əp	Cəp		Cop Cɨp Cup
狎 xiá	II	PTKS	-ap	-æp	-aɨp	Crap		Crap
洽 qià	II	PTKS	-ǎp	-ɛp	-əɨp	Criap Crəp		Crep Crop Crip Crɨp Crup
葉 yè	III	T SL	-jâp	-jep	-iap	Tjap Tjiəp		T(r)jap T(r)jep T(r)jop ??
	III-3	P K	-jâp	-jep	-iap	[Kjiap]	-rjap	PKrjap PKrjep
	III-4	K	-jiäp	-jiep	-jiap	[Kjiap]	-jap	PKjep
業 yè	III	P K	-jəp	-jæp	-iap	Kjap	Krjap	Kjap PKrjap ? K(r)jop
乏 fá	III	P K	-jwəp	-jop	-uap	Pjap	Prjap	Pjap P(r)jop
帖 tiē	IV	PTKSL	-iep	-ep	-ɛp	Ciap Ciəp		Cep Cip

16. 深 SHEN

Rh.	Div.	Inits.	Li	Baxter	Pulleybk	Li	Gong	Baxter
侵 qīn	III	T SL	-jəm	-im	-im	Tjəm		T(r)jim T(r)jɨm T(r)jum
	III-3	P K	-jəm	-im	-im	Kjəm Pjəm	ʔrjəm PK(r)jəm	PKrjim K(r)jɨm K(r)jum
	III-4	K	-jiəm	-jim	-jim	Kjiəm	ʔjəm	PKjim
緝 qī	III	T SL	-jəp	-ip	-ip	Tjəp		T(r)jip T(r)jɨp T(r)jup
	III-3	P K	-jəp	-ip	-ip	Kjəp Pjiəp	ʔrjəp PK(r)jəp	PKrjip K(r)jɨp K(r)jup
	III-4	K	-jiəp	-jip	-jip	Kjiəp	ʔjəp	PKjip

Appendix III: Data Sources

The following chart lists the data sources for the most commonly cited languages in this study (excluding Chinese, Burmese, and Tibetan). The leftmost column contains the shorthand form used in the text to refer to the languages.

“Abbreviation”	Language	Source
Cuona	Cuona (Mama dialect)	Sūn et al. 1991
Darang	Darang Deng	Sūn et al. 1991
DB-PL	Proto-Loloish	Bradley 1978
Dulong dl	Dulong (Dulonghe dialect)	Sūn et al. 1991
Dulong nj	Dulong (Nujiang dialect)	Sūn 1982, LaPolla 1987
Dulong	Dulong (Dulonghe and Nujiang) [identical forms]	Sūn 1982 and Sūn et al. 1992
Geman	Geman Deng	Sūn et al. 1991
ILH-PL	Proto-Loloish	Hansson 1989
Motuo	Cangluo (Motuo dialect)	Sūn et al. 1991
PK	Proto-Karen	Jones 1961
PLB	Proto-Lolo-Burmese	Matisoff 1972, 1978
PNN	Proto-Northern Naga	French 1983
PP	Proto-Karen (Pho)	Jones 1961
PPS	Proto-Karen (Pho-Sgaw)	Jones 1961
PS	Proto-Karen (Sgaw)	Jones 1961
PTP	Proto-Karen (Taungthu-Pho)	Jones 1961
TGTM	Proto-Tamangic	Mazaudon 1994

The data sources for languages not listed here are indicated in the text.