

## DIALECT VARIATIONS IN CHINESE HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

*Academia Sinica and University of California, Berkeley*

Kun Chang

The basic elements of Chinese phonological history are a reconstructed common source, Proto-Chinese, and the changes which transform this reconstructed language into the historically attested dialects of Chinese. These changes originate in different places, are in effect for different durations of time, and influence different groups of words. Sets of such changes, defined in terms of time and space, characterize different dialects.

The existence of dialect variations, it must be emphasized, is not a phenomenon of recent origin. In using Chinese written records, we must pay attention to both the time and the region they represent. Although we have abundant written records of the Chinese language, we do not have complete records for all the regions of any particular period or for all the periods in any particular region. Also, at different times, different regional dialects gain prestige and serve as literary languages: during the Chou-Ch'in-Han dynasties (1122 B.C.-220 A.D.), the literary language was based on the northern dialects; during the Ch'i-Liang-Ch'en dynasties (480-587 A.D.), it was based on the southern dialects; during the T'ang-Sung-Yüan-Ming-Ch'ing dynasties (618-1911 A.D.), it was again based on the northern dialects. The Wei-Chin-Sung dynasties (220-479 A.D.) formed a transitional period during which the position of dominance was gradually shifting from the north to the south. It would therefore be a gross distortion to force into a straight derivational line the northern phonological system based on the *Shih-ching* riming patterns (c. 1,000-600 B.C.), the southern-oriented phonological system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* (601 A.D.), and the northern phonological system of the *Chung-yüan Yin-yün* (1324 A.D.).

There have no doubt always been dialect variations: the variation-free proto-language is an unrealistic, if useful, abstraction. Dialect variations are the result of parallel developments, in this case conveniently identified as northern and southern. Even among the written records of the Chou-Ch'in-Han period, there

are materials from the Ch'u and Huai-nan regions which represent the southern tradition. The crucial fact that parallel and, in part, independent developments have been maintained in the north and south throughout the history of the Chinese language must be integrated into any accurate depiction of this history.

I shall discuss here just three of the phonological changes which illustrate the early parallel developments in Chinese phonological history. (1) In one development, the *Shih-ching* \*ug : \*ag contrast has been maintained; in another, which became dominant in the Han dynasty, \*ug and \*ag merged. This merger is an almost universal feature of Han dynasty poetry; after the Han dynasty, it is no longer seen in the literature. (2) Ever since the Han dynasty, there has been in the north just one entity corresponding to *Shih-ching* \*jug and \*jag; in the south, the \*jug and \*jag categories maintained their independence. The northern influence has, however, been so strong that only a few southern dialects (e.g. Ch'ao-chou and Swatow) still preserve this distinction. (3) In the rime patterns of the *Shih-ching*, that is, in the north, there were no contrasts of rounded and unrounded nuclei before dental and labial endings. That such contrasts were preserved, in part, in the south is clear from a number of sources: the sound glosses of Hsü Miao (344-397 A.D.), the rimes of the Ch'i-Liang-Ch'en dynasties (480-589 A.D.), the rime dictionaries of Yang Hsiu-chih (508-582 A.D.), Tu T'ai-ch'ing (?-598 A.D.), Hsia-hou Kai (dates unknown), and Lu Fa-yen (c. 599 A.D.-?), the Go-on variety of Sino-Japanese, and modern dialects of Foochow and Amoy.

#### I. The Han Phenomenon of \*ug = \*ag

Most poetry of the Han dynasty shows a merging of the finals reconstructed for *Shih-ching* Chinese as \*ug and \*ag. The phonological change which brought about this merger is of undetermined nature (\*ug → \*ag? \*ag → \*ug? \*ug, \*ag → \*og?); one result was that the following words were pronounced the same:

##### *Shih-ching* \*ug

(平) 侯

(上) 厚, 后, 後

(去) 候

(平) 鈎, 溝

##### *Shih-ching* \*ag

胡, 湖, 瑚, 弧, 壺

戶, 扈, 拏, 怙, 鄠

嫗

辜, 姑, 酤

(平) 漚, 謳	烏
(平) 頭, 投	徒, 圖, 塗, 荼, 除
(去) 豆, 寶	度
(上) 斗	覩, 睹, 堵
(平) 婁, 樓, 鏤	盧

After the Han dynasty, the \*ug : \*ag contrast is once more in force. It is not conceivable that, once merged, these categories would later, and without any phonetic motivation, reconstitute themselves. The \*ug, \*ag merger was, rather, a regional phenomenon; the existence in the Han dynasty of a parallel tradition or dialect which maintained the *Shih-ching* \*ug : \*ag distinction is seen in the writings of Liu Hsiang (78–8 B.C.) and Liu Hsin (?–23 A.D.) of Huai-nan. In Liu Hsi's *Shih-ming*, an etymological dictionary completed at the end of the Han dynasty, words with *Shih-ching* \*ug are never used as sound glosses for words with *Shih-ching* \*ag, nor are those with \*ag used for words with \*ug. *Shih-ching* \*ug and \*ag are also kept apart in the poems of the Wei-Chin and subsequent dynasties (a, *Shih-ching* Chinese; b, Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao Chinese; c, Mandarin):

a	b	c
*ug → *u	*u → *əu (侯)	
*ag → *o	*o → *u (模)	

It should be noted that the phonetic identity of 頭 and 徒, 斗 and 睹 among the modern dialects of Shensi, Anhwei, Hupeh, and Hunan is probably the result of a later breaking of the vowel \*u to a diphthong, ou, əu, or ɿu, rather than a continuation of the Han \*ug/\*ag merger.

## II. The Double Developments of \*jag and \*jug

In the course of his extensive study of the riming patterns of the Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao period, Lo Ch'ang-pei had, as early as 1931, noticed a dichotomy in the development of words with *Shih-ching* \*jag and \*jug, depending on whether the poet was from the north or the south (*BIHP* 2.358–85). Lo's observations have not drawn the attention they should have; my own investigations have turned up still further evidence for this double development. In the north, words with *Shih-ching* \*jag, \*jug, and \*ag rimed with each other. In the southern poetry composed in the area now known as Kiangsu and Chekiang,

there were restrictions on the riming of \*jag and \*jug: though words with labial or labiovelar initials and \*jag frequently rimed with words with *Shih-ching* \*jug, words with other initials and \*jag did not, and words with *Shih-ching* \*ag rimed only among themselves. The development of these finals may be reconstructed as follows (a, Shih-ching Chinese; b, Han Chinese; c, Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao Chinese; d, Mandarin [north], Ch'ao-chou [south]):

North				South			
a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d
*ag	→ *og	→ *u	→ u	*ag	→ *og	→ *o	→ ou
*jag	→ *jog	→ *ju	→ ü/u	*jag <sup>1</sup>	→ *jug	→ *ju	→ u
*jug				*jag <sup>2</sup>	→ *jug	→ *ju	→ u
				*jug			

<sup>1</sup> After nonlabial and non-labiovelar initials; <sup>2</sup> after labial and labiovelar initials.

The northern tradition is found in the riming patterns of T'ao Chien (c. 365–427 A.D.), Yen Yen-chih (384–456 A.D.), Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433 A.D.), Hsieh Chuang (421–466 A.D.), Pao Chao (c. 412–466 A.D.), and Chiang Yen (444–505 A.D.). These poets rime indiscriminately words with the *Shih-ching* finals \*jag and \*jug. Modern representatives of this tradition, where, for instance, 居 (*Shih-ching* \*kjag) is identical with 拘 (*Shih-ching* \*kjug) are the dialects of Peking (t'ü A1), Soochow (t'ü A1), Wenchow (t'ü A1), Shuang-feng (t'ü A1, C1), Foochow (kü A1), Amoy (ku A1, khu A1), Mei-hsien (ki A1, khi A1), and Canton (kɤy A1, khɤy A1). Another example: 除 (*Shih-ching* \*djag) is identical with 厨 (*Shih-ching* \*djug) in the dialects of Peking (t'ʂhu A2), Soochow (zɥ A2), Wenchow (Z1 A2), Shuang-feng (d'ü A2), Foochow (ty A2, tuo A2), Amoy (tu A2), Mei-hsien (tshu A2), and Canton (t'ʂhü A2). All modern reflexes of *Shih-ching* \*jag and \*jug in the northern development either retain a high rounded vowel (back u or front ü, depending on the initial) or derive from it: Canton ɤy derives from u through breaking; the Soochow high front rounded apical vowel ɥ appears only after a dental sibilant initial; Wenchow ɿ and Mei-hsien i result from an unrounding.

The southern tradition, which in words with nonlabial and non-labiovelar initials maintains the *Shih-ching* \*jag : \*jug contrast, is implicit in the sound

glosses on Classical texts of Hsü Miao (344–397 A.D.), which are preserved in the *Ching-tien Shih-wen* of Lu Te-ming (c. 550–630 A.D.) (Chart 1). (An extensive, systematic study of these glosses has been made by Chien Tsung-wu [Cheng-chih University diss.; Taipei, 1970].) Though Hsü's family was from Tung-kuan Ku-mu (now Chu-ch'eng, Shantung), Hsü himself was born in Ching-k'ou (now Tan-t'u, Kiangsu).

The southern tradition is also represented in the riming patterns of Lu Chi (261–303 A.D.), Lu Yün (262–303 A.D.), and Shen Yüeh (441–513 A.D.).

The Lu brothers were from Wu-chün Hua-t'ing (now Sung-chiang, Kiangsu); Shen Yüeh was from Wu-hsing, Wu-k'ang (now Wu-k'ang, Chekiang). We know from a letter of Lu Yün's to his brother Lu Chi, as well as from Liu Hsieh's *Wen-hsin Tiao-lung*, that Chang Hua (232–300 A.D.) had criticized Lu Chi's rimes as based on a substandard dialect (楚). For the Lu brothers, words with *Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>1</sup> (i.e. words with nonlabial and nonlabiovelar initials) did not rime with words which had *Shih-ching* \*jug finals; other words with which the words of these two categories occasionally rimed suggest a \*juu (*Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>1</sup>) : \*ju (*Shih-ching* \*jug) reconstruction, in which the contrast is still one of unrounded versus rounded: words with \*juu could rime with words with *Shih-ching* \*(j)əg, which had probably changed to \*(j)ə (Chart 2: Lu Chi, nos. 18, 19b; Lu Yün, nos. 8, 10a, 17c); words with \*ju could rime with words which had *Shih-ching* \*ug and \*jəug, which had probably changed to \*əu and \*jəu (Chart 2: Lu Chi, nos. 1, 3b, 10c, 17, 19c, 19d, 21, 23c; Lu Yün, nos. 4b, 5, 6d, 11a, 13, 15b, 15c, 18b, 19c). In the Lu brothers' poetry, words with *Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>2</sup> (i.e. with labial and labiovelar initials), which rarely rime with *Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>1</sup> words, frequently rime with words which had *Shih-ching* \*jug. So, for Lu Chi, 汙 rimes with 舒, 居, and 初 (10a) and 撫 with 緒 (5b), but 夫 rimes with 繡 (8a); for Lu Yün, 宇 rimes with 祖 and 序 (18a), but 武 rimes with 府 (17a). Words with *Shih-ching* \*ag usually rime among themselves (Chart 2: Lu Chi, nos. 3a, 4, 5c, 8b, 9, 14, 19a, 20, 22, 23a, 23b; Lu Yün, nos. 2, 3, 6b, 7, 10b, 12, 14, 15a, 16, 17b, 19b); occasionally they rime with words which had *Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>1</sup> (Chart 2: Lu Yün, nos. 1, 9a, 17c, 18a).

For Shen Yüeh, there was a firm boundary between the 魚 (\*jag<sup>1</sup>) and 虞 (\*jag<sup>2</sup>, \*jug) finals. (This distinction was later codified by Lu Fa-yen in his *Ch'ieh-yün* of 601 A.D.) With just one exception, where 暮, 素 (\*ag) rime with 樹 (\*jug) (Chart 3, no. 35), words with *Shih-ching* \*ag rime only among

themselves in Shen Yüeh's work (Chart 3: nos. 7, 8b, 9, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 26, 29b, 30a, 30b, 31e, 31h, 31j, 32, 33, 37, 38a, 38c, 38d, 40).

It is in the pretry of Yü Hsin (513–581 A.D.) that we first see the emergence of the riming practice which was to become standard not only for poets of the Sui-T'ang period but for all poetry thereafter to be composed in the Classical mode. Yü Hsin's family came from Hsin-yeh (now Hsin-yeh, Honan), but Yü Hsin was born and raised in the south. In 555 A.D., he was sent by Emperor Yüan of the Liang dynasty to the Court of the Western Wei dynasty on a diplomatic mission; he was retained there and served the Courts of the Western Wei and Northern Chou dynasties until his death in the first year of the K'ai-huang reign of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty. In the poetry of Yü Hsin, words of the 魚 and 虞 categories (as later established in the *Ch'ieh-yün*) do not rime with each other; in one of Yü Hsin's poems (奉和永豐殿言志), there is a sequence of forty rime words which are exclusively members of the 魚 category. Words with *Shih-ching* \*ag (the *Ch'ieh-yün*'s 模 category) do, however, rime with words with *Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>2</sup>/\*jug (the *Ch'ieh-yün*'s 虞 category), implying a change from \*o to \*u in the *Shih-ching* \*ag final, whether as a result of northern influence or as an independent change characteristic of one subtype of southern development.

Among the modern Chinese dialects in which the 魚 : 虞 contrast is one of unrounded versus rounded are the dialects of Ch'ao-chou and Swatow. Sino-Korean and Sino-Annamese also make the unrounded : rounded distinction. Sino-Japanese maintains the 魚 : 虞 contrast in terms of vowel height (o : u) rather than rounding. For example:

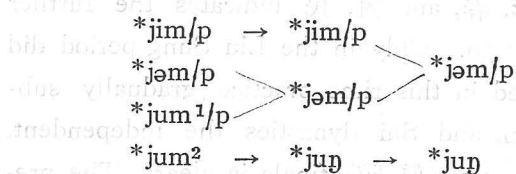
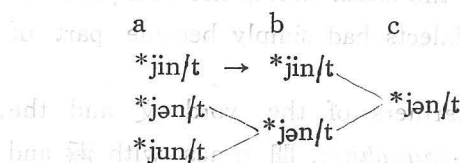
	居(魚)	拘(虞)	除(魚)	厨(虞)
Ch'ao-chou	kü	khu	tu	tu
Swatow	ku	ku	tshu	tu
Sino-Korean	kə	ku	tʰə	tʰu
Sino-Annamese	ku	ku	ɬu	ɬu
Kan-on	kio	ku	tʃo	tʃu
Go-on	ko	ko	[sic] dʒo	dʒu

The dialects of Chieh-yang, Lung-hsi, and Chin-chiang (Tung T'ung-ho, *BIHP* 30.729–1042 [1960]) also appear to have kept the 魚 : 虞 distinction. 煮 (B1; *Shih-ching* \*jag<sup>1</sup>) is, for example, tsə (Chieh-yang), tsi (Lung-hsi), tsī (Chin-chiang); 主 (B1; *Shih-ching* \*jug) is tsu in all three dialects.

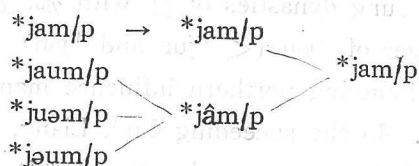
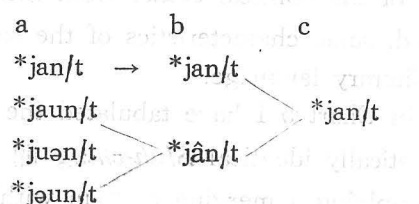


## III. Rounded and Unrounded Nuclei before Dental and Labial Endings

For Proto-Chinese, two sets of nuclei have been reconstructed, one rounded (u, uə, əu, au) and one unrounded (i, ə, a); both of these are posited as having occurred before velar, dental, and labial endings: -g, -k, -ŋ; -d, -t, -n; -b, -p, -m. (For details, see Kun Chang and Betty Shefts Chang, *The Proto-Chinese Final System and the Ch'ieh-yün*, BIHP Monograph: Series A, No. 26 [Taipei, 1972]. Among the northern dialects, this rounding contrast had been lost before dental and labial endings as early as the time of the *Shih-ching* (a, Proto-Chinese; b, *Shih-ching* Chinese; c, Han Chinese):



<sup>1</sup> After nonlabial initials.



<sup>2</sup> After labial initials.

Since written records of the Chou-Ch'in-Han period are based primarily on northern dialects, it is not here that we find the evidence which substantiates the assumption of a Proto-Chinese rounding contrast before dental and labial endings, as well as before velar. If we turn to the south, however, we find that the neutralization of the rounding contrast in such modern dialects as Foo-chow and Amoy in this environment has been only partial. From this we infer a continuity not only for the contrast but for its basic phonetic realization, from Proto-Chinese to the present. When, then, we find Hsü Miao, for example, carefully observing the final-distinctions of 謹 and 巾, 願 and 絹, and 謁 and 列 in his sound glosses on difficult passages in the Classics (Chart 4), we may reasonably reconstruct rounded vowels contrasting with unrounded for these finals in his dialect, i.e. 謹 \*-jun, 巾 \*-jən, 願 \*-jəun, 絹 \*-jan, 謁 \*-jəut, 列 \*-jat.

Economically, politically, and culturally, the region along the lower course of the Yangtze River became increasingly important during the Nan-pei-ch'ao

period (420-589 A.D.). Now speakers of southern dialects numbered among the literary figures, and we see the emergence of a distinct subgroup among the words which in *Shih-ching* and Han Chinese had \*jən/t. For the finals, of this subgroup, which makes up the *Ch'ieh-yün*'s 殷 (迄) and 文 (物) categories, categories differing from one another only in their initials (velar as opposed to labiovelar and labial) I reconstruct \*jun/t for the southern dialects, deriving from Proto-Chinese \*jun/t. That is, there was no unmotivated split of a Han Chinese \*jən/t into \*jən/t and \*jun/t; rather, along the lower course of the Yangtze River, the \*jən/t and \*jun/t distinction had been maintained all along. With the shift of the political center from the north to the south during the Nan-pei-ch'ao period, some characteristics of the southern dialects had simply become part of the literary language.

In Chart 5 I have tabulated the riming partners of the word 文 and the phonetically identical *Shih-ching* 聞. In the *Shih-ching*, 聞 rimes with 濬 and 昆, implying a merging of \*jun with \*jən. The riming in the Han, Wei, Chin, and Sung dynasties of 文 with 邠, 貧, 彬, 春, and 賓, 民 indicates the further merger of \*jən (< \*jun and \*jən) with \*jin. Only in the Liu Sung period did the lingering northern influence manifested in this rime practice gradually subside. In the succeeding Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, and Sui dynasties the independent, nonriming status of the \*jun (殷文) and \*jən (眞, 諄) finals is clear. The presence of this contrast attests to the influence of southern speakers; its regularity may be attributed to the high level of phonological sophistication common among writers of the Ch'i and Liang dynasties.

The retention of the \*jən/t : \*jun/t contrast is not an isolated instance of southern conservatism. The south also retained, for example, the \*jan/t : \*jəun/t distinction which had been obliterated by merging in the north as early as the time of the *Shih-ching*. We see the results of this retention in the poetry of the Ch'i-Liang-Ch'en-Sui period, where words with \*jəun preceded by velar, labiovelar, and labial initials, such as 言, 元, 原, 源, 軒, 園, 輶, 垣, 蕃, 翻, 煩, and 繁 were rimed with words which had an \*ə vowel; in the Chou-Ch'in-Han and Wei-Chin-Sung dynasties, they were rimed with words which had a lower vowel, \*a. Words with which 言, for example, rimed in the *Shih-ching* and in the poetry of the Han-Wei-Chin period had \*a (cf. Chart 5). Such rimes were based on northern dialects, where 言 was pronounced \*jan. The rimes with words which had as finals \*(w)ən first appeared in the poetry of the Liu-Sung



dynasty and became standard practice during the Ch'i-Liang-Ch'en-Sui period, under the influence of the southern dialects, in which 言 retained the \*jəun pronunciation.

A riming practice which incorporated southern features had apparently become standard for poets throughout China by the end of the Nan-pei-ch'ao period. According to the fragmentary information preserved in the table of contents of Wang Jen-hsü's edition of the *Ch'ieh-yün* (706 A.D.), the rime dictionaries of Yang Hsiu-chih and Tu T'ai-ch'ing of the Northern Ch'i dynasty and Hsia-hou Kai (of the Liang dynasty?) segregated words with 殷, 文 (\*jun) finals from those with 眞, 諄, (\*jən) finals, but classified in one category words with 元 (\*jəun) and 魂, 痕 (\*ən) finals. In Lu Fa-yen's *Ch'ieh-yün* (601 A.D.), we find, one following the other, the following categories of finals: 殷 (\*jun with velar initials), 文 (\*jun with labiovelar and labial initials), 元 (\*jəun with velar, labiovelar, and labial initials), 魂 (\*wən) and 痕 (\*ən). The recognition of the 殷, 文 (\*jun) and 元 (\*jəun) categories was based on the southern dialects; their arrangement, followed by 魂 (\*wən) and 痕 (\*ən), was clearly based on linking phonetic characteristics, with 殷, 文 (\*jun) and 元 (\*jəun) sharing \*-u- and 元 (\*jəun), 魂 (\*wən), and 痕 (\*ən) sharing \*-ə-.

The rounded feature of the 殷, 迄, 文, 物 (Proto-Chinese \*jun/t) and 元, 月 (Proto-Chinese \*juən/t, \*jəun/t > \*jəun/t) finals is still preserved in the Foochow dialect as well as the Go-on variety of Sino-Japanese; the Amoy dialect has kept the high-vowel rounding of the \*jun/t category. For example (cf. Chang and Chang 1972:48 ff):

殷迄	Foochow	Amoy	Go-on	元月	Foochow	Go-on
斤	kyɿ	kun	kon	建	kioɿ	kon
筋	kyp	kun	kon	審	kioɿ	kon
勤	khyp	khun	gon	璉	kioɿ	kon
芹	khyp	khun	go	隄	kioɿ	gon
欣	hyɿ	him	kon	健	kioɿ	gon
忻	hyɿ	him	kon	鍵	kioɿ	kon
殷	yɿ	un	on	言	ɣioɿ	gon
慇	yɿ	un	on	憲	hioɿ	kon
隱	yɿ	un	on	獻	hioɿ	kon
齷	ɣyɿ	gun	gon			
圻	ɣyɿ	gun	gon			
迄	khɿk	khit	koŋʃi	歇	hiok	koŋʃi
吃?	peik	gut				

The reconstruction of \*jun/t and \*jəun/t for the *Ch'ieh-yün*'s 殷, 迄, 文, 物 and 元, 月 categories finds support in southern-dialect material. The reconstruction of the rounded finals \*jaun and \*jaut for the *Ch'ieh-yün*'s 仙<sup>b</sup> and 薛<sup>b</sup> categories is based on (1) the prior reconstruction of the vowel \*-au- before velar stop endings and (2) the phonetic elements shared by the 仙<sup>b</sup> and 薛<sup>b</sup> categories with words of the \*jəun and \*jəut categories, a sharing probably to be attributed to their common feature, rounding.

### Charts

1. Hsü Miao's Sound Glosses for Words with *Shih-ching* \*jag and \*jug. Data from Chien Tsung-wu's *Ching-tien Shih-wen Hsü Miao Yin chih Yen-chiu* (Taipei, 1970; mimeographed).
2. The *Shih-ching* Finals \*jag and \*jug in the Rimes of Lu Chi and Lu Yün. Data from Ting Pang-hsin, *Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period*. (Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publications No. 65 [Taipei; 1975].) Abbreviations: SC = *Shih-ching*. Tones are indicated by circles at the four corners of a character: lower left = A tone; upper left = B tone; upper right = C tone; lower right = D tone. Numerals after characters refer to my list of these poets' works which precedes the body of the chart; a, b, c...refer to different sections within an individual work. Reconstructions in this chart are in terms of the *Shih-ching* system; I have not yet worked out a complete reconstruction for the Lu brothers' dialect.
3. The *Shih-ching* Finals \*ag, \*jag, and \*jug in the Rimes of Shen Yüeh. Data from Yü Hai-yen's *Han-Wei-Liu-ch'ao Yün-p'u* (Peiping, 1936).
4. Hsü Miao's Sound Glosses for Words with \*jun/t and \*jən/t, \*jəun/t and \*jan/t Finals. Examples are limited to words with labial, velar, and labio-velar initials, where contrasts are still shown in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Data from Chien Tsung-wu's *Ching-tien Shih-wen Hsü Miao Yin chih Yen-chiu* (Taipei, 1970; mimeographed).
5. Riming Partners of 文 (*Shih-ching* 聞) and 言. Data from Yü Hai-yen's *Han-Wei-Liu-ch'ao Yün-p'u* (Peiping, 1936); Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Chou Tsunmo, *Han-Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao Yün-p'u Yen-pien Yen-chiu*, Vol. 1 (Han), (Peking, 1958); Lin Chiung-yang, "Wei-Chin Shih-yün K'ao", *Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Language and Literature, National Shih-Fan University* 16.1105-1302 (Taipei, 1972); Ting Pang-hsin, *Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period* (Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publications No. 65 [Taipei; 1975]); and Chu Feng-lai, *T'ao [Ch'ien] Hsieh [Ling-yün] Shih-yün yü Kwang-yün chih Pi-chiao* (Taipei, 1969).

Chart 1

平 聲 魚	上 聲 語	去 聲 御
k- 倨音居		鋸音據, 舉音據.
kh- 虛去餘反		祛丘庶反
g- 遽音渠, 琚音渠.		遽其慮反, 詎其庶反.
ŋ-		御魚舉反
ʔ-		鄔於據反
t-	宁珍呂反	著 張慮反, 都慮反, 張恕反, 丁庶反.
d- 著治居反, 宁音儲.	抒治與反	著 直慮反, 治慮反, 直據反.
ts- 且子餘反, 子胥反, 子余反.		
tsh- 且七餘反, 苴七餘反.		
dz- 沮在魚反, 在居反.	沮在呂反	
s- 胥思餘反	胥思緒反	
ts- 苴爭初反	組側呂反	
s- 釃所餘反		
dʒ-	茅食汝反	
ʃ- 紓音舒, 豫音舒.		
ɳʒ- 茹音如	茹音汝, 女音汝.	茹如庶反
j- 茶音餘	野以汝反	與音預, 音豫.

Dialect Variations in Chinese Historical Phonology

平 聲 虞	上 聞 麌	去 聲 遇
k- 拘音俱		拘居具反, 屢紀具反, 居具反, 九具反.
kh- 區丘于反		驅起遇反
g- 句其俱反	拘其禹反	瞿音懼
ɣ- 喁音愚		
?-	嫗於甫反	軀於具反
h- 零況于反	煦況甫反, 栩況羽反, 撫況紆反, 凶武反.	
h- 等音于	芋音羽, 偶音禹.	吁往付反
th- 越敕俱反		
d- 越直俱反		
l- 婁力俱反	儂力主反	儂良付反
ts- 橄子俱反, 嫩子須反.		
tsh-		趣七喻反, 趣七喻反.
dz-		聚才樹反, 在喻反.
s- 需音須, 濡音須.		
z-		續辭屢反
s-	數所主反	
tš	斗音主	注之喻反, 之樹反, 叔之樹反.
dž-		贖音樹
j- 榆音踰, 諛以朱反.	愈音庾	裕以樹反, 愉音喻, 靦音喻.

p- 夫方無反, 簠方于反, 拊音鉄.		付音賦, 捕音賦, 音付, 𠂔方附反, 傳音賦, 搏音付.
ph- 孚音敷, 埴音孚, 蒲音敷, 鋪音孚, 音敷, 蚰音敷.	拊音府, 跗音甫, 埴音撫, 脯音甫.	覆音赴, 踏芳附反.
b-		拊音附
m- 整音毋	撫音武, 撫文甫反, 侮仁撫反.	整音務, 鶯音務.

Chart 2

陸機: 1. 吳趨行, 2. 上留田行, 3a, b. 皇太子宴玄圃宣猷堂有令賦詩, 4. 答賈謐.  
5a, b. 與弟清河雲, 6. 於承明作與弟士龍, 7. 贈尚書郎顧彥先, 8a, b. 周夫人贈  
車騎, 9. 擬迢迢牽牛星, 10a, b, c. 白雲賦, 11. 述先賦, 12. 懷土賦, 13. 思歸賦,  
14. 歎逝賦, 15. 幽人賦, 16. 應嘉賦, 17. 羽扇賦, 18. 陵霄賦, 19 a, b, c, d. 漢  
高祖功臣頌, 20. 吳大帝誄, 21. 吳大司馬陸抗誄, 22. 吳貞獻處士陸君誄, 23. a,  
b, c. 愍懷太子誄.

陸雲: 1. 征西大將軍京陵王公會射堂皇太子見命作此詩, 2. 大安二年夏四月大  
將軍出祖王羊二公於城南堂皇被命作此詩, 3. 贈顧驃騎一思文, 4 a, b. 贈顧彥先,  
5. 贈顧尚書, 6 a, b, c, d. 答平原兄, 7. 悠悠縣象, 8. 思樂芳林, 9 a, b. 有美一人,  
10 a, b. 歲暮賦, 11 a, b. 九愍涉江, 12. 九愍紆思, 13. 九愍之八, 14. 九疑仙  
頌, 15 a, b, c. 盛德頌, 16. 張二侯頌, 17 a, b, c. 吳故丞相陸公誄, 18 a, b. 晉  
故散騎常侍陸府君誄, 19 a, b, c. 晉故豫章內史夏府君誄.

陸 機		陸 雲	
sc*ag	sc*jag	sc*jag	sc*ag
k- 孤 <sup>19a, 23a</sup> ; 辜 <sup>19a, 23a</sup> ; 古 <sup>3a</sup> ; 故 <sup>14</sup> ; 固 <sup>22</sup> ; 顧 <sup>9</sup>	居 <sup>10a, 12</sup> ; 舉 <sup>5a</sup> , 10b, 11, 19b; (軌 <sup>*kɔjæg18</sup> )	舉 <sup>4a, 10a, 17c</sup> ; (晷 <sup>*kɔjæg8</sup> )	故 <sup>16</sup> ; 顧 <sup>2, 3, 14</sup> , 17b
kh-	墟 <sup>12</sup>		苦 <sup>6b, 9a</sup>
g-	渠 <sup>7</sup>		
ɖ- 瘡 <sup>14</sup>	魚 <sup>7</sup> ; 語 <sup>16</sup>	語 <sup>4a, 9a</sup> ; 禦 <sup>1</sup>	
h-	滄 <sup>5a</sup> ; (海 <sup>*hæg19b</sup> ; 悔 <sup>*hmuæg18</sup> )	滄 <sup>8, 17c</sup> ; (海 <sup>*hæg</sup> 17c)	虎 <sup>17c</sup>
h- 狐 <sup>19a</sup> ; 祐 <sup>3a, 4</sup>		(駭 <sup>*hræg10a</sup> ) (右 <sup>*hjuæg17c</sup> )	
t- 都 <sup>19a</sup>	t- 渚 <sup>6, 15</sup>		t- 覩 <sup>9a</sup>
th- 土 <sup>3a, 4</sup>	th- 處 <sup>10b</sup>	th- 處 <sup>4a, 9a, 11b</sup> , 17c	th- 土 <sup>6b, 9a, 15a</sup> , 17c
d- 圖 <sup>19a, 23a</sup> ; 塗 <sup>19a</sup> ; 度 <sup>9, 14, 23b</sup>	d- 除 <sup>2, 7</sup> ; 佇 <sup>10b, 15</sup>	d- 佇 <sup>9a, 11b</sup>	d- 度 <sup>3, 7, 10b</sup>
l- 魯 <sup>4</sup> ; 路 <sup>5c, 22</sup> ; 露 <sup>8b, 9, 14</sup>	廬 <sup>7</sup> ; 旅 <sup>18, 19b</sup>	旅 <sup>6c, 11b, 17c</sup> ; 膺 <sup>1</sup>	虜 <sup>17c</sup> ; 路 <sup>2, 10b, 12</sup> 17b, 19b; 露 <sup>10b, 12, 17b</sup>
n-			怒 <sup>15a</sup> ; (那 <sup>nra17b</sup> )
ts- 徂 <sup>19a, 23a</sup> ; 祖 <sup>4</sup>	沮 <sup>18</sup>		祖 <sup>17c, 18a</sup>
tsh-			厝 <sup>19b</sup>
dz- 祚 <sup>22</sup> ; 阼 <sup>23b</sup>			祚 <sup>14, 17b</sup>



Dialect Variations in Chinese Historical Phonology

s- 素 <sup>o</sup> 9, 14, 20			素 <sup>o</sup> 7, 10b, 12, 14
z-	○徐7; ○緒5b, 6; ○序10b, 18.	○緒19a; ○序1, 17c, 18a, 19a	
tsr-	○阻18		
tshr-	○初10a; ○楚6, 13, 19b	○楚4a, 10a; 19a	
sr-	○疏7; ○所11	○所10a	
š-	○紓2; 舒7, 10a	○舒13; ○暑4a	
ṣž-	○如2		
ʔ-	○予5a, 6, 13, 16, 18; ○與18, 19b	○與13; ○予8, 11b, 17c; ○野6c, 17c; ○與8	(夜 <sup>o</sup> *ʔjrag 10b, 16)
p- 通 <sup>o</sup> 23a	○夫8a; ○甫17; ○斧21.		
ph-	○撫5b	○撫18b	○浦1
b- 步 <sup>o</sup> 9, 20	○扶10c; ○輔21	○扶6d; ○輔17c, 18b	步 <sup>o</sup> 2, 10b, 14, 17b
m- 墓 <sup>o</sup> 5c; 暮8b, 9, 14, 22	○武19c	武17a; ○侮11b	慕 <sup>o</sup> 2, 12, 19b; 暮 <sup>o</sup> 7, 10b, 12; 墓 <sup>o</sup> 19b; 暮 <sup>o</sup> 16
ʔω-	○汙10a		
hω-	○宇19c, 21, 23c; ○羽17, 21	○宇15c, 18a	

陸 機		陸 雲	
sc*ug	sc*jug	sc*jug	sc*ug
k- 考 <sup>23c</sup>		○俱 <sup>5</sup>	
kh-		○驅 <sup>4b, 11a</sup> ; ○區 <sup>19c</sup>	
g-		(○求* <sup>g</sup> jəug 11a)	
ŋ-		○隅 <sup>4b, 6a</sup>	
ʔ- 謳		(○憂* <sup>ʔ</sup> jəug 5, 13)	
h-		○煦 <sup>7</sup>	
h- 後 <sup>17</sup> , 后 <sup>21</sup>			○后 <sup>15c, 18b</sup>
t-	tr- 主 <sup>19c</sup>	tr- 主 <sup>15b</sup>	
d-		dr- 疇 <sup>11a</sup>	
l- 婁 <sup>10c</sup>		(○流 l <sup>j</sup> əug 5, 11a, 19c)	
s- 藪 <sup>19c</sup>	(秀 <sup>o</sup> s <sup>j</sup> əug 3b)	○須 <sup>4b, 13</sup> (○思 <sup>5</sup> ; ○私 <sup>5</sup> )	
tsh-	○趨 <sup>1</sup>		
dzr-		(○愁 dzr <sup>j</sup> əug 13)	
sr-	數 <sup>o</sup> 3b		
ʃ-	樹 <sup>o</sup> 19d	(○首* <sup>ʃ</sup> jəug 15b)	
ʒ-		(○仇* <sup>ʒ</sup> jəug 11a)	
ɲʒ-	○繡 <sup>8a</sup>		
ʔ-	裕 <sup>o</sup> 3b, 19a	○榆 <sup>4b, 6a</sup> ; (○遊* <sup>ʔ</sup> jəug 5, 13, ○猷* <sup>ʔ</sup> jəug 6d, 19c)	

p-		°府 <sup>17a</sup>	
b-	附 <sup>19a</sup> ; (°浮*bjəug 10c)	°符 <sup>19c</sup> ; (°浮*bjəug 4b)	
m-	(謀 <sup>19d</sup> *mjəug 19d)		

Chart 3

沈約: 1. 誠雅, 2. 黃帝, 3. 白帝, 4. 宗廟登歌, 5. 寅雅, 6a, b. 雍雅, 7. 賢首山, 8a, b. 期運集, 9. 惟大梁, 10. 釣竿, 11. 夜白紵, 12. 贈沈錄事江水曹二大使, 13. 贈劉南郡季連, 14. 爲臨川王九日侍太子宴, 15. 正陽堂宴勞凱旋, 16a, b. 少年新婚爲之詠, 17. 宿東園, 18. 庭雨應詔, 19. 麥李, 20. 傷胡諧之, 21. 聽蟬鳴應詔, 22. 登台望秋月, 23. 會圃臨春風, 24. 霜來悲落桐, 25. 夕行聞夜鶴, 26. 解佩去朝市, 27. 麗人賦, 28. 傷美人賦, 29a, b. 愍塗賦, 30a, b. 憫國賦, 31a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j. 郊居賦, 32. 高松賦, 33. 桐賦, 34. 天淵水鳥應詔賦, 35. 反舌賦, 36. 高士贊, 37. 釋迦文佛像銘, 38a, b, c, d. 齊明帝哀策文, 39. 尚書右僕射范雲墓誌銘, 40. 齊故安陸昭王碑.

魚 *ju	虞 *ju	模 *o
k- °裾 <sup>27</sup> ; °舉 <sup>1, 5, 6a, 14, 16a, 25, 39</sup> ; °苴 <sup>16a</sup> ; °莠 <sup>5</sup>	°駒 <sup>16b</sup> ; °拘 <sup>36</sup> ; 具 <sup>4</sup>	°孤 <sup>7</sup> ; °菰 <sup>31e</sup> ; °賈 <sup>15</sup> ; °瞽 <sup>37</sup> ; 故 <sup>17, 38c</sup> ; 顧 <sup>17, 26, 30b, 31j, 40</sup>
kh- °墟 <sup>31a</sup>	°軀 <sup>16b</sup> ; 區 <sup>19, 31f</sup> ; °軀 <sup>16b</sup> ; 31g, 36	°苦 <sup>37</sup>
g- °渠 <sup>27, 31a</sup> ; °距 <sup>31d</sup> ; °拒 <sup>29a</sup> ; 遽 <sup>28</sup>	°衢 <sup>19, 31f, 36</sup>	

Dialect Variations in Chinese Historical Phonology

ʈ- 語 <sup>5</sup> , 6a, 12, 16a, 31c; °鑾 <sup>34</sup> ; 御 <sup>6b</sup>	○隅 <sup>8a</sup> , 16b, 31f; ○虞 <sup>31g</sup> ; ○娛 <sup>10</sup> , 31f; 遇 <sup>21</sup>	○吳 <sup>7</sup> , 13; ○吾 <sup>13</sup> ; 忤 <sup>20</sup>
?- 飲 <sup>6b</sup>	○紆 <sup>10</sup> ; ○迂 <sup>36</sup>	○烏 <sup>7</sup> , 38a
h- 虛 <sup>31a</sup> ; °許 <sup>11</sup>	煦 <sup>4</sup>	呼 <sup>30b</sup> ; 護 <sup>32</sup>
h-	°字 <sup>2</sup> , 31i	○胡 <sup>7</sup> , 30a; ○湖 <sup>13</sup> , 31e; °祐 <sup>15</sup> ; °戶 <sup>15</sup> , 31h; °互 <sup>17</sup> ; ?°下 <sup>31h</sup>
	t- 株 <sup>31f</sup>	t- 都 <sup>7</sup> , 9, 13, 31e; °堵 <sup>31h</sup> ; °覩 <sup>31h</sup> , 37.
		th- 吐 <sup>37</sup> ; 兔 <sup>17</sup>
d- 儲 <sup>31a</sup> ; °佇 <sup>14</sup> , 31d	d- 躡 <sup>19</sup> ; 住 <sup>21</sup>	d- 徒 <sup>7</sup> ; 塗 <sup>7</sup> , 9; 圖 <sup>9</sup> , 38a; °杜 <sup>15</sup> , 31h; 度 <sup>8b</sup> , 17, 20, 22, 30b, 38d
l- 廬 <sup>31a</sup> ; °侶 <sup>14</sup> , 25; °旅 <sup>1</sup> ;	°縷 <sup>31i</sup>	路 <sup>17</sup> , 29b, 31j, 32, 38c, 38d; 露 <sup>17</sup> , 20, 22, 24, 33
n- 女 <sup>11</sup>		
ts-		○徂 <sup>30a</sup>
tsh-	○趨 <sup>16b</sup> ; 趣 <sup>18</sup>	
dz-		祚 <sup>40</sup>
s- 醋 <sup>5</sup> , 31d; °糈 <sup>31d</sup>		○蘇 <sup>38a</sup> ; 素 <sup>17</sup> , 20, 22, 24, 32, 35; 訴 <sup>31j</sup> , 38c
z- 叙 <sup>12</sup> ; °序 <sup>5</sup> , 16a, 39, °緒 <sup>29a</sup>		
ts- 阻 <sup>12</sup> , 29a; °俎 <sup>1</sup> , 3, 6a		
tsh- 初 <sup>31a</sup> ; °楚 <sup>14</sup> , 16a, 25, 29a, 31c, 31d		

sr- 〇疏31a; 〇所5, 31c		
tʃ- 〇渚25, 29a, 31c, 31d, 34	〇朱8a, 16b, 19, 31f; 〇珠16b, 31g; 〇主2, 31i, 38b; 注〇4, 18	
tʃh- 〇處12; 處〇28		
ʃ- 〇書31a; 〇舒31b; 〇黍1; 〇紆11; 〇暑16a; 庶〇6b; 恕〇6b	樹〇4, 21, 23, 35	
ʒ- 〇墅16a	〇豎31i	
j- 〇余31a, 31b; 〇餘31a; 〇予11 〇與1, 3, 5, 6a; 〇嶼25, 29; 豫〇6b	〇逾19; 〇愉36	
	p- 〇夫16b, 36; 〇膚16b; 〇附31f; 賦〇18	〇逋7; 布〇30b, 40 ; ? 〇傳15
	ph- 〇敷16b	〇浦31h
	b- 〇符8a; 〇鳧10, 16b, 31g	〇酺7; 〇蒲31e; 步〇17, 22, 31j, 40
	m- 〇無36; 〇武31i, 38b; 〇臚31i; 務〇4; 霧〇18, 23	〇謨38a; 暮〇8b, 17, 32, 33, 35, 38d; 慕〇22, 26, 29b, 38d

Chart 4

*jun/t	*jən/t
k- 莖 <sup>音</sup> , 登 <sup>音</sup> , 芹 <sup>音</sup> , 莖 <sup>音</sup> 蘆	kω- 鈞 <sup>屬</sup>
kh- 詘 <sup>音</sup> , 掘 <sup>音</sup>	
g- 近 <sup>音</sup> , gω- 屈 <sup>其</sup> 述	gω- 菌 <sup>其</sup> 蘊
	ɣ- 慾 <sup>五</sup> 巾
?- 殷 <sup>於</sup> 辰, ?ω- 蘊 <sup>憂</sup> 羣, 緼 <sup>於</sup> 績, 蘊 <sup>於</sup> 績, 慍 <sup>音</sup> 鬱	?- 裡 <sup>音</sup> 烟
hω- 葦 <sup>許</sup> 云	
hω- 芸 <sup>音</sup> 蓮	hω- 員 <sup>于</sup> 資, 隕 <sup>于</sup> 資
p- 頒 <sup>甫</sup> 云, 分 <sup>音</sup> 蘭, 賁 <sup>音</sup> 審, 撲 <sup>音</sup> 審	p- 邠 <sup>甫</sup> 巾, 贍 <sup>方</sup> 忍, 賓 <sup>音</sup> 殯
b- 焚 <sup>扶</sup> 云, 氛 <sup>扶</sup> 云, 汾 <sup>扶</sup> 云, 賁 <sup>扶</sup> 云, 頒 <sup>音</sup> 賁, 賁 <sup>音</sup> 賁, 分 <sup>扶</sup> 蘭,	贍 <sup>扶</sup> 人, 贍 <sup>音</sup> 贍, 贍 <sup>扶</sup> 忍, 北 <sup>扶</sup> 忍 盡, 扁 <sup>扶</sup> 忍
弗 <sup>扶</sup> 符 勿 弗	
m- 案 <sup>音</sup> 受, 勿 <sup>亡</sup> 粉, 文 <sup>音</sup> 蘭, 迕 <sup>音</sup> 蘭, 聞 <sup>音</sup> 蘭	泯 <sup>音</sup> 良, 啓 <sup>亡</sup> 巾, 泯 <sup>武</sup> 軫 亡 軫, 膺 <sup>武</sup> 軫



*jeun/t	*jan/t
k- 〇拳 <sup>已</sup> 衰, 〇蹇 <sup>紀</sup> 僂, 〇撓 <sup>紀</sup> 僂, 揭 <sup>居</sup> 謁, (桀 <sup>居</sup> 謁, 揭 <sup>音</sup> 榮) kω- 〇捲 <sup>紀</sup> 阮, 〇卷 <sup>紀</sup> 阮, 厥 <sup>音</sup> 厥	kω- 〇卷 <sup>紀</sup> 免, 卷 <sup>久</sup> 戀, 懷 <sup>音</sup> 絹
kh- 揭 <sup>起</sup> 謁, 揭 <sup>起</sup> 謁, khω- 券 <sup>音</sup> 勸	kh- 〇撓 <sup>起</sup> 虔, 詰 <sup>起</sup> 列, khω- 〇拳 <sup>羌</sup> 權
g- 〇蹇 <sup>其</sup> 僂, 〇建 <sup>其</sup> 僂, 〇撓 <sup>其</sup> 僂, 〇蹇 <sup>其</sup> 僂, 〇鍵 <sup>其</sup> 僂, 揭 <sup>其</sup> 謁, gω- 〇圈 <sup>其</sup> 阮, 厥 <sup>其</sup> 月, 厥 <sup>其</sup> 月	gω- 〇鶴 <sup>音</sup> 權
ɖ- 〇獻 <sup>音</sup> 言, 孽 <sup>五</sup> 謁, ɖω- 別 <sup>音</sup> 育, 机 <sup>音</sup> 育	ɖ- 〇獻 <sup>音</sup> 參, 宕 <sup>音</sup> 音, 孽 <sup>五</sup> 列, 讞 <sup>魚</sup> 列
ʔ- 〇匿 <sup>音</sup> 一返, 〇馱 <sup>於</sup> 建, 遏 <sup>音</sup> 謁, ʔω- 〇苑 <sup>於</sup> 阮, 〇苑 <sup>於</sup> 阮, 婉 <sup>紆</sup> 願	ʔ- 〇焉 <sup>於</sup> 虔, 遏 <sup>謁</sup> 絕
h- 〇掀 <sup>許</sup> 言, hω- 〇暄 <sup>香</sup> 亮, 〇緬 <sup>音</sup> 言, 〇煖 <sup>許</sup> 況煩, 〇煖 <sup>況</sup> 晚	
hω- 援 <sup>于</sup> 願, 媛 <sup>于</sup> 萬, 遠 <sup>于</sup> 萬	
p- 〇番 <sup>甫</sup> 言, 〇藩 <sup>甫</sup> 言	p- 〇辨 <sup>方</sup> 免, 〇辯 <sup>甫</sup> 免, 〇諱 <sup>甫</sup> 淺, 別 <sup>彼</sup> 列
	ph- 〇論 <sup>敷</sup> 連, 獮 <sup>敷</sup> 面
b- 〇輻 <sup>扶</sup> 衰, 〇輻 <sup>扶</sup> 衰, 〇播 <sup>音</sup> 煩, 伐 <sup>音</sup> 伐	b- 〇辨 <sup>扶</sup> 免, 〇辯 <sup>扶</sup> 勉, 便 <sup>扶</sup> 面絹, 卞 <sup>扶</sup> 變, 弁 <sup>扶</sup> 變, 敝 <sup>扶</sup> 滅, 伏 <sup>扶</sup> 哲列, 弊 <sup>扶</sup> 滅
m- 婉 <sup>音</sup> 萬, 免 <sup>音</sup> 萬, 曼 <sup>音</sup> 萬	m- 〇湏 <sup>面</sup> 音

Chart 5 文, 聞

詩經	焚熏	昆遜	潯川			
漢	聞分紛雰忿墳斤 君軍勤羣垠殷縕 欣沂勳云雲紘運 員	門奔根髡 昆坤昏魂 屯臀尊存 孫論崙	邪菌尊遵 倫循川馴 醇純震晨 允	艱先	堅牽咽 淵賢玄 絃鉉天 千年憐	賓民因均鈞珍 陳塵鄰鱗親秦 臻臻辛新信詢 眞臣身神人仁
魏	聞分紛雰玢斤君 軍勤羣垠溫雲紘		貧旻倫循 春醇純辰		淵年	賓濱民淚因均 珍陳塵鄰津親 新旬詢眞申身 神人仁
晉	聞分芬紛紛墳君 勤羣垠殷氲溫 欣熏勳薰雲	門屯	彬巾倫川 春焯淳震 振辰		年	賓民因均珍塵 麟鄰津親新薪 眞臣身神人仁
宋	聞紋分芬紛紛氛 墳漬君軍勤羣股 縕氲薰嚙雲		鶉倫春辰			賓民均珍陳塵 親眞身神人
(北魏北齊北周附) 齊梁陳隋	聞分芬紛紛焚氛 紛焚墳漬君軍勤 羣裙垠殷氲溫 縕薰嚙勳云雲紘		巾倫輪春 辰			津

## 文, 聞 Exceptions

漢	元(班固) 言(堂谿典) 原(堂谿典) 藩(蔡邕)	安(杜篤) 冠(張紘)	山(史游, 班 固, 劉倉, 馬融) 閒(堂谿典)	然(史游) 泉(揚雄)	庭(班固, 堂 谿典) 命(班固) 驚(堂谿典) 正(堂谿典) 生(堂谿典) 清(堂谿典) 寧(堂谿典)	淫(班固) 深(班固) 漿(班固)
魏		觀(丁眞)				風(楊戲) 林(楊戲)
晉	言(陸機) 璠(陸機) 源(陸機)			詮(陸機) 宣(陸機)		

詩經	幡樊焉諼園垣	干寬安檀餐	澗菅關閑山	連漣遷泉旃然	
漢	原焉怨	盤謾干官實 觀安寒桓殫 爻殘	姦閒患山	愆乾虔連攀傳遷全 宣旃然延	燭煙賢眩 天千
魏	翻藩繁原源元 焉軒園垣	蟠盤漫干竿 肝觀寬歡安 寒完丸端歎 難蘭餐酸	攀蠻間艱顏 閒閑還環患 山	翩篇偏眠絲娟愆僇 虔權連傳遷全痊筌 泉鮮宜旋旃川然延 筵衍憊	邊煙賢玄 弦懸顛巔 天田鈿年 旃前西憐
晉	翻藩幡蕃璠繁 煩樊原源元焉 軒園垣	半盤干冠官 棺寬安歡寒 韓翰桓紉蘭 瀾鸞鸞難丹 端歎湍殫餐 殘	班攀姦奸間 艱關顏閒閑 還患山	翩篇偏絲捐悃娟愆 襄僇乾虔權纏連傳 遷全筌痊泉仙鮮宣 暄旋圓旃川船然延 緣	堅牽牽妍 煙淵賢玄 弦田年前 先
宋	蕃藩播繁蘩煩 樊源元怨軒園 猿轅垣	奔門根髡毘 恩溫昏魂敦 豚論尊蹲存	間艱山	翩篇偏便絲捐僇乾 權沿鄺漣傳掾遷泉 鮮宜暄誼旋川然延 筵緣	堅牽煙淵 賢弦懸顛 天年煎前 先西
(北魏北齊北周附) 齊梁陳隋	翻蕃藩璠幡蟠 繁蘩煩樊源沅 冤軒喧萱垣園 猿轅 騫?	奔門根毘鵬 鯢焜恩溫昏 悒渾魂敦吞 屯論尊樽罇 村存孫蓀			

## 言 Exceptions

漢: 文 (揚雄)
魏: 焚 (曹植), 勤 (楊泉), 論 (曹植), 存 (曹丕), 簞 (阮籍)
晉: 文 (鄭豐), 勤 (鄭豐), 存 (鄭豐)
宋: 聞 (釋慧琳), 垠 (顏延之)
齊梁陳隋 (北魏, 北齊, 北周附): 山 (陶弘景), 川 (庾信), 船 (庾信), 年 (庾信)