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再論閩語白話音從古漢語分支的年代

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　　這篇短文的目的是想要推測閩語白話音的分支年代，我發現五個閩語的白話詞
彙見於漢代的資料，加強以前從音韻特徵出發的推論。閩語白話音最老的一層是繼
承上古漢語而來的，分支的時間根據語音和詞彙來說應該在東西漢之交。

關鍵詞：閩語、白話音、古漢語

1. 從語音演變的角度觀察

　　以前我曾經提出一個看法，認為在現代漢語的各方言之中，只有閩語的白話
音從古漢語分支的時間可能在漢代（丁邦新 1979:718，1998:3）。這跟羅杰瑞
（Norman 1979）的說法不謀而合，但是他是從詞彙立論；而我是從語音演變的
角度論證。

　　我（丁邦新 1983:14，2008:193）檢討了九條閩語的音韻特徵：1. 輕重唇不
分；2. 舌頭舌上不分；3. 齒頭正齒不分；4. 古全濁塞音多讀全清；5. 部分疑母
字讀 h-；6. 部分來母字讀 s-；7. 尤韻字分兩讀；8. 魚虞兩韻字讀音不同；9. 歌
部支韻字讀 -ia。最後提出的證據是歌部支韻少數字閩語的韻母讀 -ia，例如：
"騎、徛、寄、蟻"等，上古屬歌部，現在閩語白話音的韻母大致都讀 -ia，表
現的正是西漢和東漢之交的現象。在漢語史上，漢代以後支韻字的元音漸漸前
移，讀為高元音 i 或舌尖元音，沒有再出現讀 -ia 的情形。可見閩語白話音極
可能是在西漢末年、東漢初年從古漢語方言分支而出的。現在利用《漢語方音字
彙》的資料稍加補充，這裡只舉對應最整齊的 "騎寄" 兩字的讀音為例。以前我
也沒有提到合口讀 -ua 的字，例如： "紙、徙、倚" 等，現在再增加一個 "倚"
字：

Phonological Features of Yuan Colloquial Chinese as Seen in Rashid al-Din's *History of China* [*]

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Rashid al-Din (1247-1318)'s *History of China*, written in Persian, contains the names of the dynasties, and of kings and emperors, from prehistoric legends up to the Yuan dynasty. The phonetic transcription of these proper names is an important piece of information for us to understand the Chinese phonology of the Yuan dynasty. In order to correctly understand the phonological features of Old Mandarin the possible phonological contrasts that can be represented in the Persian script are examined. It is shown that the Persian transcriptions did not create new letters for Chinese sounds. Thus all the phonological categories of Chinese are only represented by the available Persian letters. After analyzing these transcriptions, this article shows that although many phonological distinctions of Old Mandarin are not very well represented in this material, there are enough phonological features to identify the underlying phonological system, which is unambiguously Mandarin.

Key words: Yuan Chinese, Persian transcription, Old Mandarin, phonological characteristics

1. Introduction

Rashid al-Din (1247-1318)'s *History of China* [1] written in 1304 has recently been translated into Chinese (Wang 2006). Since it contains the names of the dynasties, and of kings and emperors, from prehistoric legends up to the Yuan dynasty, the phonetic transcription of these proper names is an important piece of information for us to understand the Chinese phonology of the Yuan dynasty. Wang's Chinese translation was based on her doctoral dissertation written in Persian and published by Tehran University in 2000. The version Wang used is a handwritten copy in Persian script kept in Kitabkhana-i Khati-i Kakh-i Gulistan, the former royal library in Tehran. This

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[1] For more information about Rashid al-Din and his *History of China* please refer to Wang (2006).

A Reading of the Dialect Chapter of Zhāng Wèi's *Wènqǐí*

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The *Wènqǐjí* of the late sixteenth century Míng scholar Zhāng Wèi 張位 contains a short chapter entitled "Local Pronunciations of Various Areas". The work comprises a number of direct sound glosses on Chinese characters, with the glossing words used to indicate dialectal pronunciations of the glossed words. In the present article, we assume that Zhāng's glossing characters were to be read in the standard pronunciation of that period, i.e., in the so-called Nányīn pronunciation of the Guānhuà koine. Using the nearly contemporary romanized sound glosses of Nicholas Trigault, which are also thought to represent this type of Guānhuà pronunciation, we then attempt to determine how Zhāng Wèi believed the dialect readings of the glossed characters were pronounced.

Keywords: *Wenqiji*, Chinese dialects, historical phonology, Early Guanhua pronunciation

The *Wènqǐí* 問奇集 of Zhāng Wèi 張位 (fl. late sixteenth century) contains a short chapter entitled *Gè dì xiāngyīn* 各地鄉音 "Local Pronunciations of Various Areas". It is divided into regional sections and consists of brief formulas of the type *x* 為 *y* "*x* [becomes:] is pronounced as *y*". It is prefaced with the following brief remarks:

大約江以北入聲多作平聲。常有音無字；不能具載。江南多患齒音不清，然此亦官話中鄉音耳。若其各處土語，更未易通也。

For the most part, north of the Yangtze the entering tone has the value of the even tone. Frequently there is a sound for which there is no character, so one cannot adequately record it. South of the Yangtze there is to a great extent the problem that coronal initials are not distinguished, but this is merely due to the presence of regional pronunciations [intruding] into the Guānhuà koine. As to the regional vernaculars of the various areas, communication among them is even more difficult.

In modern times the *Wènqǐí* material was first introduced to the scholarly world in 1933 by Luó Chángpéi (see Luó 1963), but Luó did not discuss or analyze it. Forty-

Tone 9 of the Jianyang Dialect [*]

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Tone 9 of the Jianyang dialect, for long a controversial topic, is studied across various subdialects of Jianyang in comparison with the *Gospel of Matthew*, *Kien-yang Colloquial* of 1900, the earliest extant material for this dialect. Its distribution and relationship with initial consonants are carefully examined and its nature and functions described and clarified, leading to the conclusion that it is a morphologically conditioned *bianyin* that pertains to colloquial words and serves to convey the core meaning of "familiarity" and its derived meaning, reaffirming our assumption made in 1976.

From a broad perspective, *bianyin* is in essence a kind of *erhua* 兒化, or more precisely, the last stage witnessed in the metamorphosis of a morphological device that occurs in colloquial speech with varied functions. It occurs infrequently with the Min dialects, but it seems to be an areal feature with dialects spoken to the west of Jianyang along the western border of Fujian and eastern Jiangxi, including some She 畬 dialects in this region.

Key words: Jianyang dialect, early Jianyang material, Tone 9, lenition of initials, *bianyin*, areal feature

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East Asian Ethnolinguistic Phylogeography

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A polyphyletic understanding of Asian linguistic diversity was first propagated in 1823. Since 1901, various scholars have proposed larger linguistic phyla uniting two or more recognised Asian language families. The most recent proposal in this tradition, Starosta's 2001 East Asian phylum, comprising the Trans-Himalayan, Hmong-Mien, Austroasiatic, Austronesian and Kradai language families, is reassessed in light of linguistic and non-linguistic evidence. Ethnolinguistically informed inferences based on Asian Y chromosomal phylogeography lead to a reconstruction of various episodes of ethnolinguistic prehistory which lie beyond the linguistic event horizon, i.e. at a time depth empirically inaccessible to historical linguistics. The Father Tongue correlation in population genetics, the evidence for refugia during the Last Glacial Maximum and the hypothesis of language families having arisen as the result of demographic bottlenecks in prehistory are shown to be crucial to an understanding of the ethnogenesis of East Asian linguistic phyla. The prehistory of several neighbouring Asian language families is discussed, and the Centripetal Migration model is opposed to the Farming Language Dispersal theory.

1. East Asian and the linguistic event horizon

The East Asian linguistic hypothesis was proposed by Stanley Starosta in Périgueux in 2001, a year before he died of congestive heart failure in Hawai'i. Starosta conceived East Asian as an ancient linguistic phylum encompassing Kradai, Austronesian, Tibeto-Burman, Hmong-Mien and Austroasiatic. Starosta was not the first to conceive of an East Asian superfamily. Once a polyphyletic view of numerous distinct Asian language families had been propounded by Julius von Klaproth (1823), scholars began to advance proposals that might link some of these linguistic phyla

The Rime System of Proto-Tai

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In this paper, I propose a new system of Proto-Tai (PT) rimes. The system features six simple vowels and three diphthongs, with length contrast. Li's PT has nine simple vowels, forty-three dipthongs, and seven triphthongs. A velarized feature is reconstructed for several correspondences that show diphthongs in the Northern Tai (NT) branch but simple vowels in the Southern Tai (ST) branch, as well as for the difference between the NT higher vowel reflexes and ST lower vowel reflexes. A labialized feature occurs in some rimes and causes certain unrounded vowels to become rounded. Eleven endings are reconstructed, including PT *-l and *-c, which are not recognized in Li's system.

Key words: Proto-Tai, reconstruction, vowels and rimes, velarization, labialization

1. Introduction

In this paper, I propose a new system of Proto-Tai (PT) rimes. Some issues relating to Li (1977)'s system are discussed in the relevant sections. My proposed system has six vowels, three diphthongs, and eleven endings. Before turning to the main issues of vowel reconstruction, I will first present the system of PT endings (Table 1).

Table 1: PT endings

-p	-t	-c	-k
-m	-n		-ŋ
-w	-l	-j	-ɯ

The reconstruction of PT endings, except *-l and *-c, is normally straightforward. Li did not reconstruct *-l nor *-c, for which the main evidence is based on Saek (a Northern Tai dialect spoken in a few villages on the Thai/Lao border). I have discussed the reconstruction of these two PT endings elsewhere (Ostapirat 2009). In