

## 北宋寒韵系字的锐钝分化与 元代北方方言“寒山”与“桓欢”分韵之间的关系

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### 提要

《集韵》将寒韵上声和去声舌齿音小韵转移到相应的合口桓韵的上声和去声位置，而牙喉音小韵则保持不动，形成上声和去声舌齿音字韵母与牙喉音字韵母有别的现象。《声音倡和图》将寒韵牙喉音平声字“安”放在“开”行（一等），将舌齿音平声“丹”和二等“山”放在“发”行（二等），形成寒韵平声舌齿音字韵母与牙喉音字韵母分等的现象。这是历史文献中寒韵系字韵母因声母锐钝分化的源头。所谓寒韵系字锐钝分化实质上是一等寒韵系锐音字的元音与二等字的元音合并，从而与保持一等的钝音字的元音有别的现象。在十一世纪的北方方言中，这种分化正在进行。《集韵》代表的北宋汴洛方言上声和去声字的元音完成了分化，而《声音倡和图》代表的北宋幽燕方言平声字的元音完成了分化。在《蒙古字韵》和《中原音韵》代表的元代北方方言中，虽然寒韵舒声字锐钝无别且与二等合并，但相应的入声字却表现出锐钝有别的特征：即锐音入声字的元音与二等入声字的元音合并，而钝音入声字元音未合并。这是元代北方方言曾经历过寒韵系字锐钝分化的明证。继寒韵系锐音字元音之后，寒韵舒声钝音字的元音进一步与二等元音合并，然此前入声韵尾\*-t的失落使得钝音入声字元音未参与此次合并，由此形成了“寒山”与“桓欢”分韵的

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**致谢：**本文是在美国麻州大学安默思特校区访问期间完成的，在修改过程中得到沈钟伟教授的悉心指导，同时 Journal of Chinese Linguistics 编辑部及匿名审稿专家亦对拙稿修改提出了宝贵意见，特此致谢！本文写作得到“国家社科基金重点项目”（16AYY010）、“中国博士后科学基金特别资助”（2015T80235）、“中国博士后科学基金一等资助”（2014M550150）“山西省留学回国人员科技活动择优资助项目”（2015058003）的资助。

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音韵格局。寒韵系字锐钝分化和“寒山”与“桓欢”分韵，是北方方言历史上韵尾\*-n/\*-t 前后元音\*ɔ 与前元音\*a 合并过程中的两个前后相承的阶段。由宋室南迁形成的杭州方言及契丹一汉对音材料来看，至迟在十二世纪初期汴洛方言和幽燕方言都已经形成了“寒山”与“桓欢”分韵的音韵格局。

关键词

《集韵》 《声音倡和图》 寒韵系字锐钝分化 《蒙古字韵》《中原音韵》

ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACUTE-GRAVE DIVERGENCE OF  
*han* RHYME IN NORTHERN SONG DYNASTY AND SEPARATION OF  
*hanshan* AND *huanhuan* RHYMES OF NORTHERN DIALECTS IN  
YUAN DYNASTY

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ABSTRACT

The rhyme dictionary *Jiyun* put the Shang tone and Qu tone homophony character groups with dental and sibilant initials of open Han rhyme into the corresponding position of closed Huan rhyme, but the homophony character groups with velar initials hold the line, which shows that the rhyme with dental and sibilant initials is different from the rhyme with velar initials. The rhyme table *Shengyinchanghetu* put the Ping tone character ‘dan’ with dental initial of Han rhyme at the ‘Fa’ line corresponding to the second division in the early traditional rhyme table *Yunjing*, together with the character ‘shan’ of Shan rhyme, but the Ping tone character ‘an’ with velar initial at the ‘Kai’ line corresponding to the first division, which shows that, in the Han rhyme, the rhyme with dental and sibilant initial is belonging to second division but the rhyme with velar initial is belonging to the first division. This is the headstream of acute-grave divergence of the Han rhyme in the historical documents. The so-called acute-grave divergence of the Han rhyme refers to the sound change in which the vowel of characters of the Han rhyme with acute initials diverges from the original vowel shared with their counterparts with grave initials, and merges with the vowel of the characters of the second division. This sound change is taking place in the 11th century northern dialects, and exhibits some regional variations in the paths taken.

The transition is completed first for characters of Shang tone and Qu tone in the Bian-Luo dialect of the Northern Song Dynasty, as shown in the rhyme dictionary *Jiyun*, while first for characters of Ping tone in the You-Yan dialect of the Northern Song Dynasty, as documented in the rhyme table *Shengyinchanghetu*. In *Mengguziyun* and *Zhongyuanyinyun*, despite the fact that, irrespective of their initials, characters of Ping, Shang and Qu tones of the *Han* rhyme have the same vowel as characters of the second division, characters of Ru tone of the *Han* rhyme do exhibit patterns characteristic of the acute-grave divergence. This is clear evidence that the northern dialects of the Yuan Dynasty have undergone the acute-grave divergence. In the Yuan Dynasty, the vowels of characters with grave initials are further merged with that of characters of the second division. However, the loss of the ending \*-t has excluded characters of Ru tone from the second wave of merging, resulting in the observed separation of *Hanshan* and *Huanhuan*. Therefore, the acute-grave divergence of the rhyme Han and the separation of the rhymes *Hanshan* and *Huanhuan* are two different phases of the single process in the history of northern dialects in which the low-back vowel \*ɔ is replaced by low-front vowel \*a before the endings \*-t/\*-n. The separation of *Hanshan* and *Huanhuan* rhymes has already emerged by the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, as proved by a study of Hangzhou dialect developed after the migration of the Southern Song Dynasty, and data from Sino-Khitani transcription.

#### KEYWORDS

*Jiyun* 集韵 Shengyinchanghetu 声音倡和图

Acute-grave divergence of the Han rhyme *Mengguziyun* 蒙古字韵

*Zhongyuanyinyun* 中原音韵