

潮州话中古浊去字今读分化的原因

戴黎刚

浙江工商大学人文学院, 杭州

摘要

中古浊去字今潮州话分属阳上和阳去, 这一现象得到语言学界的强烈关注。目前, 学界比较认同的观点是: 潮州话古浊去字, 今读阳去的属于早期自有的白读层, 今读阳上的属于受北方话影响产生的文读层。本文先比较潮州话文读和白读的合并过程, 再系联其他闽南话的同类层次, 然后提出一个新看法: 这些古浊去字, 潮州话今读阳去的层次(比如: “步”、“地”、“旧”、“饭”), 属于后期再受强势闽南话影响产生的; 相比之下, 潮州话今读阳上的层次(比如: “佩”、“右”、“风”、“会”) 反倒是固有的。

关键词


潮州话 浊去 分调 原因

潮州话声调演变有一个非常奇怪的现象, 就是中古的浊去字, 今潮州话既读为阳上又读为阳去, 而且两个调所占的字数几乎相等(下文有确切的统计)。这一现象引起语言学界强烈关注。Matthew Y. Chen and William S-Y. Wang (1972, 1975), 王士元 (William S-Y. Wang 2000), Egerod (1976, 1982), 丁邦新 (Ting 1979), Pulleyblank (1982), Marjorie K. M. Chan (1983) 都提出了自己的观点。

致谢 感谢匿名审稿专家的修改建议! 不妥之处, 概由本人负责!

作者声明本文发表于 *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 没有利益冲突。

戴黎刚 (Ligang Dai) [dlgang@163.com]; 浙江工商大学人文学院, 杭州, 310018, 中国 (College of Humanities, Zhejiang Gongshang University, Hangzhou, China, 310018);

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4210-5439>

CAUSES OF TONAL SPLIT OF THE DEPARTING-TONE
CHARACTERS WITH MIDDLE CHINESE VOICED OBSTRUENT
INITIALS IN CHAOZHOU DIALECTS

Ligang Dai

College of Humanities, Zhejiang Gongshang University, Hangzhou

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon that characters with Middle Chinese voiced obstruent initials are now read with Yangqu 阳去 (lower departing) and Yangshang 阳上 (lower rising) tones in Chaozhou dialects has attracted much attention from linguists. It is widely held that those characters read with Yangqu tone in Chaozhou dialects are inherent to the colloquial layer whereas those read with Yangshang belong to the literary layer, resulting from influence of northern dialects. In this study, we analyse the mergence of colloquial layer and literary layer in Chaozhou dialects. And we find out some similar layers in other Minnan dialects by comparison. So we put forward a new account: those now read with Yangqu (such as *bu* 步, *di* 地, *jiu* 旧, *fang* 饭) reflect influence of central Minnan 闽南 dialect while those now read with Yangshang (such as *pei* 佩, *you* 右, *feng* 凤, *hui* 会) are inherent.

KEYWORDS

Chaozhou dialects Departing tone Voiced initials Tonal splits
Cause