

## 论清人“一声之转”的声纽审音标准

马坤

王苗

中山大学，广州

广州大学，广州

### 摘要


在近年所谓“第三次古音学大辩论”中，学界围绕《广雅疏证》“一声之转”曾有不少争论，焦点在于王念孙对音读关系的判断是否合理。王氏的同源研究模式承自戴震。戴氏《方言疏证》、段玉裁《说文解字注》等同样标记了大量“一声之转”。本文全面辑录上述三种训诂著作中的转语材料，分析当中的声纽接触类型，联系乾嘉时期的古声纽学说，对各家的审音标准进行考察。文章认为钱大昕的古声纽考证结论在当时尚未被普遍接受，段、王二氏都采纳了戴震的声转说，但又分别做了调整，即对“正转”和“变转”各有侧重。本文还讨论了戴、段、王在训诂实践中对文献证据和音韵理论的权衡，分析了转语材料中声纽接触行为与声转说之间的隔阂。本研究有助于釐清以往对“一声之转”的误解，也可以为重建传统古音学术史提供参考。

### 关键词

清代古音学 古声纽 声转说 “一声之转”

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王苗 (Miao Wang; 通讯作者) [wmbest82@163.com]; 中国广州市番禺区广州大学人文学院, 510006 (College of Humanities, Guangzhou University, Panyu, Guangzhou, 510006, China);  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9789-7672>

## AN INVESTIGATION OF INITIAL CRITERIA OF QING SCHOLARS' "YISHENG ZHI ZHUAN"

**Kun Ma**

*Sen Yat-Sen University*

**Miao Wang**

*Guangzhou University*

### ABSTRACT

In the so-called “third great debates on Old Chinese phonology” in recent years, there has been heated discussions on “yisheng zhi zhuan 一声之转 (sound shift)” mentioned in the *Guangya shuzheng*, with a particular focus on the legitimacy of Wang Niansun’s theories on Chinese historical phonology. Wang Niansun followed the paradigm set up by Dai Zhen in identifying cognate words. In Dai Zhen’s *Fangyan shuzheng* as well as Duan Yucai’s *Shuowenjiezi zhu*, there is a large number of “Zhuan-yu 转语 (transmitted words)” materials. This paper collects the “Zhuan-yu” materials from the three exegetical works above, analyzes contact types of initials, and discusses the different accounts of Old Chinese initials proposed by Dai Zhen, Duan Yucai and Wang Niansun, under the historical context between the reigns of Qianlong and Jiaqing. We find that Qian Daxin’s view of Old Chinese initials was not well received at that time. While Duan Yucai and Wang Niansun both adopted Dai Zhen’s “Sheng-zhuan theory 声转说”, they made adjustments by prioritizing either “zheng-zhuan 正转 (positive shifting)” or “bian-zhuan 变转 (alternative shifting)”. This paper also compares the different evaluations of textual evidence vis-à-vis phonological theory in the exegetical studies of Dai, Duan and Huang, and analyzes disagreements between contact behaviors of initials and Sheng-zhuan theories in their “Zhuan-yu” materials. Our study clarifies misunderstandings about “yisheng zhi zhuan” and provides insights for reconstructing the academic history of traditional Chinese phonology.

### KEYWORDS

Qing dynasty phonology    Old Chinese initials    “Sheng-zhuan” theory  
“Yisheng zhi zhuan”