

# 变化速度与构拟评估 ——基于汉语语档历时相似度计算的考察

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## 摘要

本文采用 ASJP 模式的语档 (doculect) 距离计算方法, 以经过平衡的 60 个现代汉语方言语档为参照, 将高本汉、王力、李方桂、董同龢、周法高、郑张尚芳、潘悟云、白一平-沙加尔等八家构拟的上古音及中古音形成语档, 对这些语档进行相似度、变化速率等数据的计算分析。结果显示, 在上古、中古拟音与现代汉语方言的相似度, 上古拟音到中古拟音的变化速率, 上古到中古、中古到现代这两个时期的变化速率比等多个方面, 郑张尚芳、白一平-沙加尔的构拟在八家中是合理性和自洽性相对最高的。本文分析认为, 从语言历时变化这一外部角度, 通过有关数据计算可以为古音构拟的评价提供一定的客观参照。

## 关键词

上古音 中古音 构拟 语档相似度 变化速率

## 1. 引言

汉语的古音构拟存在很多分歧意见, 其中中古音构拟在不同学者之间已经有不少差异, 至于上古音的构拟则意见龃龉更多。上古音

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RECONSTRUCTIONS OF ANCIENT CHINESE  
REVISITED: FROM A PERSPECTIVE OF SIMILARITY  
CALCULATION ON DOCULECTS

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Abstract

Eight reconstruction systems for Old Chinese and Middle Chinese raised by Bernhard Karlgren, Wang Li, Li Fang-Kuei, Tung T'ung-ho, Chou Fa-kao, Zhengzhang Shangfang, Pan Wuyun and Baxter-Sagart are revisited in this paper. Taking 60 doculects of balanced Modern Chinese dialects as reference, similarities between Old Chinese, Middle Chinese and modern Chinese dialects are calculated with ASJP tools. Evolution rates for Old Chinese to Middle Chinese, Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese and the rates ratios are analysed. The results show that Zhengzhang Shangfang's and Baxter-Sagart's reconstructions are most reasonable and self-consistent ones among the eight systems. The author argues that, from an external perspective of diachronic change of language, analysis on similarity data and change rates may contribute to reconstruction evaluation.

Keywords

Old Chinese Middle Chinese Reconstruction Similarity of doculects  
Evolution rate