

Y. R. CHAO'S *FĀNGYĪN DIÀOCHÁ BIǎOGÉ* AND ITS ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF CHINESE DIALECT RESEARCH METHODOLOGY


Richard VanNess Simmons

The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

ABSTRACT

The present study compares and contrasts the phonologies of the Y. R. Chao's *Fāngyīn diàochá biǎogé* 方音調查表格 and Jerry Norman's Common Dialectal Chinese *Hànyǔ fāngyán tōngyīn* 漢語方言通音, also with reference to the *Fāngyán diàochá zìbiǎo* 方言調查字表, for what they reveal about their compilers' approaches to Chinese dialect phonology and its applicability in dialect fieldwork and related research. We find that both were designed as tools to help shed light on the diachronic relationships between dialects. A significant feature that separates the two is how they treat the issue of dentilabialized initials (聲母的齒唇化) and the *zhīxì* 知系, or *zhī, zhuāng, zhāng* 知莊章, set of initials. The *Biǎogé* can be seen to represent a *Qièyùn* stage of development *prior to* the dentilabialization that spread widely through the mainstream dialects but that did not affect the Mǐn dialects, while keeping the *zhī, zhuāng, zhāng* initial sets separate. In contrast, *Tōngyīn* (CDC) is a reconstruction that includes dentilabialization as an established feature of the stage of Chinese it represents while also

Acknowledgments A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the International Symposium on Y.R. Chao's Scholarly Thought in Linguistics 趙元任語言學學術思想國際研討會 held at Nankai University 南開大學, Tianjin 天津, China, August 21–23, 2023. The author is grateful for the comments and suggestions of the colleagues in attendance. The author also thanks the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable and insightful comments and suggestions as well as Man Shan Hui for her assistance with formatting.

Richard VanNess Simmons [rvanness@hku.hk]; Rm 821, Run Run Shaw Tower, Centennial Campus, HKU, Pokfulam, Hong Kong SAR;  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1552-403X>

趙元任的《方音調查表格》及其在漢語方言研究歷史上所扮演的角色

Richard VanNess Simmons

香港大學

摘要

在完成其具有里程碑意義的《現代吳語的研究》兩年之後，趙元任於1930年出版了《方音調查表格》。該表格的完成，無疑源自實地調查的寶貴經驗，因而有意付梓，供全國各地方言調查使用。例如，在湖北進行田野調查時——其成果正是趙元任與丁聲樹、楊時逢、吳宗濟、董同龢一同編纂的《湖北方言調查報告》——趙元任和助手們便一定使用了這一表格。可以說，該表格歷來都是漢語方言調查不可或缺的基礎工具，即《方言調查字表》的範本和靈感來源。“表格”和“字表”均採用了《切韻》（成書於601年）的語音系統，因此被認為代表了中古音系。近年來，趙元任先生的學生羅杰瑞(Jerry Norman)在去世之前提出了一個與現代漢語方言的《切韻》來源說不同的新概念。他認為，漢語方言歷史上存在兩個主要的發展階段：一個是早期漢語(Early Chinese)階段，該階段在中古漢語之前，包含閩方言的祖先語言；另一個則是其後的一個階段，即漢語方言通音(Common Dialectal Chinese/CDC)，該階段代表那些僅見於除閩語以外其他主流漢語方言的語音變化。本研究對“表格”和“通音”的語音系統進行了比較，力求揭示兩位學者對漢語方言音系的各自理解，並探討兩大系統在領域內的適用性。我們發現，兩者都深受歷史因素的影響，且都假定了祖先語言形式，以揭示方言間的歷時關係。其中，區分二者的一個重要特徵是如何處理聲母的齒唇化。可以看到，“表格”呈現的是齒唇化之前的語音階段，齒唇化在主流漢語方言中廣泛存在，但在閩方言中卻沒有發生。相較之下，齒唇化在“通音”所代表的漢語階段中，卻是一個重要的特徵。因此，這一特徵便成為了由漢至宋，漢語方言在演變過程中發生的一系列分水嶺式變化的例證。而正是這些變化，塑造了今天我們所看到的漢語方言形態及其多樣性，而它們也反映在羅杰瑞的“早期漢語”和“漢語方言通音”的差異中。

關鍵詞

趙元任 齒唇化 切韻 方言調查字表 漢語方言同音