

## 月<sub>2</sub>部、质部相通的历史音变解释

边田钢

浙江大学，杭州

### 摘要

月<sub>2</sub>部\*et、质部\*it原本是泾渭分明的不同韵部，后来能够跨部相通，是历史音变的结果和反映。两部相通萌芽于西汉，显著于东汉，主要集中在三、四等韵。两部入声四等韵相通，是质<sub>1</sub>、月<sub>2</sub>屑合流为中古《切韵》四等屑韵的先声；两部去声四等韵相通，是质<sub>1</sub>、月<sub>2</sub>霁合流为中古《切韵》四等霁韵的先声。两部三等韵相通主要集中在舌齿音声母，但不见于河洛雅音，可能是方音现象，中古《切韵》音系中薛韵字的质韵异读，以及祭韵字的至韵异读，可能源自该方言创新音变的影响。

### 关键词


月<sub>2</sub>部 质部 历史音变 《切韵》音系

### 1. 引言

韵部是指“韵基”（即“韵腹+韵尾”）相同的字组成的音韵单位。不同韵部之间，起码在韵腹、韵尾中的一个方面存在音位对立，因而共时音系中不同韵部之间一般界限分明。当然临时凑韵、沿用传统、启用新读、方言入韵等“通押策略”的使用，会造成零星的跨韵部相通的情形，但终究是个别现象，不会影响整体的韵部格局。如果不同韵部呈现出系统性的跨部相通现象，则应是历史音变的结果，是音变

---

**致谢** 感谢《中国语言学报》(Journal of Chinese Linguistics)匿名审稿专家对论文修改提供的宝贵修改意见，敬致谢忱。本文是国家社科基金青年项目“东汉河洛雅音的重建与历时比较研究”(22CYY029)的阶段成果。

**边田钢** (Tiangang Bian) [biantiangang@zju.edu.cn]; 中国杭州市西湖区余杭塘路 866 号成均苑 4 幢, 310058 (Building 4, Chengjunyuan, No. 866, Yuhangtang Road, Xihu District, Hangzhou, China 310058).  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7161-956X>

# HISTORICAL PHONOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF THE MUTUAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THE \*ET AND \*IT RHYME GROUPS: A STUDY ON THE PHONETIC CHANGES

Tiangang Bian

Zhejiang University, Hangzhou

## ABSTRACT

The interaction between the \*et and \*it rhyme groups, originally distinct rhyme groups, later being able to cross boundaries, is a result and reflection of historical phonetic changes. The germination of their mutual connection can be traced back to the Western Han period but became significant during the Eastern Han, primarily concentrated in the Division III and IV rhyme categories. The mutual connection of the two rhyme groups in the entering-tone (入声) of the Division IV (四等韵) signifies the merger of the \*eet>eet(月<sub>2</sub>屑) and \*iit>\*iit>eet(质屑) subgroups, resulting in the Middle Chinese Qieyun (《切韵》) Division IV 屑 rhyme. Similarly, the mutual connection of the two rhyme groups in the departing-tone (去声) of the Division IV (四等韵) indicates the merging of the \*eets>eets(月<sub>2</sub>霰) and \*iits>\*iits>eets(质霰) subgroups, forming the Middle Chinese Qieyun (《切韵》) Division IV 霰 rhyme. The mutual connection of the two rhyme groups in the Division III (三等韵) is primarily concentrated in alveolar initials, but is not observed in the Heluo Yayin (河洛雅音) system, suggesting a potential regional phonetic phenomenon. The divergent readings of 质 rhymes in the 薛 rhyme category and the unusual readings of the 至 rhymes in the 祭 rhyme category in Middle Chinese Qieyun (《切韵》) phonology may be attributed to the influence of innovative phonetic changes in this dialect.

## KEYWORDS

\*et Rhyme Group (月<sub>2</sub>部) \*it Rhyme Group (质部) Historical Phonological Changes The Qieyun (《切韵》) Phonological System