

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
NORTHERN WU AND MIN DIALECTS FROM  
THE PERSPECTIVE OF COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

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ABSTRACT

Norman (1979) proposes there are three strata dated from the Qin-Han, Southern dynasties and Late Tang period in the modern Min dialects respectively. Ting (1988, 1995) and Mei (1994, 2001) argue that the three strata also exist in the Wu dialects. Most of the previous studies focus on the comparison between the Southern Wu (SW) and Min and neglect the materials of Northern Wu (NW). Through comparative studies, strata analyses and referring to Chinese historical phonology, we assume that some phonological traits in NW, SW and Min all come from *Qieyun* or the *Jiangdong* dialect in the Southern dynasty. This paper also points out that although Wu dialects in southern Zhèjiāng are more similar to Min than Northern Wu, such places in NW as Dānyáng, Chángshú and “Chóngqǐhǎi” near *Jinling* geographically regarded as the center of the *Jiangdong* dialect, probably retain some early phonological traits in the Southern dynasties, which is also similar to modern SW and Min.

SUBJECT KEYWORDS

Northern Wu   Phonological trait   The relationship between Wu and Min   Chinese historical phonology   The *Jiangdong* dialect

# 从比较音韵论北部吴语与闽语的历史联系

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## 提要

罗杰瑞 (Norman 1979) 最早提出闽语有秦汉、南朝、晚唐三个时间层次。丁邦新 (1988, 1995)、梅祖麟 (1994、2001) 等学者都曾撰文具体论证过现代吴语同样具有这三个层次。以往的研究大都只注意浙南吴语与闽语之间的音韵比较, 对北部吴语的材料关注甚少。本文结合汉语音韵史, 运用比较方法和层次分析法, 提出北部吴语中的若干音韵特征也能反映南朝《切韵》的保守层次, 其中多数可认为来自南朝的江东方言; 由此, 可以建立北部吴语、南部吴语、闽语三者之间的历史联系。文章还想说明, 虽然南部吴语和北部相比, 前者跟闽语具有更多的相似性, 但作为南朝吴语的核心地带、南朝金陵的近畿, 今丹阳、常熟、崇启海 (崇明、启东、海门) 一线的吴语, 也可能和南部吴语、闽语一样保留了若干江东方言的音韵特征; 北部吴语在吴闽比较中应具有一定的地位。

## 主题词

北部吴语 音韵特征 吴闽关系 汉语音韵史 江东方言

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