

中古前期汉语元音前高化链移 和引起的元音系统重组

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摘要

中古前期，汉语通语语音史上，与后高化链移相伴，发生了前高化链移。此次前高化是推链，启动较后高化略晚，也在东汉。比较前后高化链移，可以观察到对称和不对称的音变输出格局。前高化链移引起一系列元音的系统重组，表现为歌₁歌₃部、支歌₂部、脂₂脂₁部的分化、合并，其间还掺入微₁微₂部、之部的前化与合流，至中古形成麻₂佳皆麻₃支脂齐韵。《切韵》格局的佳齐韵形成于刘宋时期，皆韵形成在刘宋时期之后，支脂韵形成则不早于晋代。前高化链移形态不完整，属于局部链移。汉语元音系统构型调整发生于长元音高化开始之后，短元音长化完成之前。

关键词

音变 前高化链移 音系重组 元音系统构型 中古音系

1. 链式音移、对称性演变和中古前期汉语元音高化链移

历史语言学将语言中的连锁音变现象称为链式音移(chain shift)。这一现象广泛地存在于世界语言，于元音、辅音、声调都有涉及，方

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FRONT VOWEL CHAIN SHIFT AND THE VOWEL REPHONOLOGIZATION IN EARLY MIDDLE CHINESE

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ABSTRACT

In the history of Chinese general language, with the back vowel raised chain shift, the front vowel raised chain shift occurred in the early period of the Middle Ancient. This front raising is a push chain started slightly later than the back vowel raised chain shift which also happened in the Eastern Han Dynasty. Comparing the front and back vowel raised chain shift, the symmetrical and non-symmetric sound-change output patterns can be observed. A series of vowel rephonologization resulted from front vowel raised chain shift was characterized by the differentiation and merging of rhyme groups *Ge*₁ 歌₁ *Ge*₃ 歌₃, *Zhi* 支 *Ge*₂ 歌₂, and *Zhi*₂ 脂₂ *Zhi*₁ 脂₁, which formed *Ma-Er* 麻二, *Jia* 佳, *Jie* 皆, *Ma-San* 麻三, *Zhi* 支, *Zhi* 脂, and *Qi* 齐 rhymes in the Middle Ancient with fronting and collaboration of rhyme groups *Wei*₁ 微₁ *Wei*₂ 微₂ and *Zhi* 之. As for the patterns in *Qieyun* 切韵 rhymes, *Jia* 佳 and *Qi* 齐 were shaped in Liu Song Dynasty, while the formation of *Jie* 皆 rhyme was after the Liu Song, and the *Zhi* 支 and *Zhi* 脂 rhymes were not earlier than the Jin Dynasty. The form of front vowel raised chain shift is incomplete and belongs to localized chain shift. The structural adjustment of Chinese vowel system occurred after the start of the long vowel raising and before the completion of the short vowel lengthening.

KEYWORDS

Sound change Front vowel raised chain shift Rephonologization
Vowel system configuration Phonology of Middle Ancient Chinese