

## 論現代湘語中的仙先之別及其早期形式的擬測

吳瑞文

「中央研究院」語言學研究所，臺北

### 摘要


本文以現代湘語方言為基礎，利用《切韻》框架探討其中存在的山攝開口三四等——亦即仙韻與先韻——的音韻區別，並根據現代湘語的實際語音表現，擬測原始湘語中這一對韻母的早期形式(proto form)。關於現代湘語是否能夠區分山攝仙先，學者間存在正反不同的意見。本文在前人的基礎上擴大比較湘語的範圍以及同源詞數量，一方面證明原始湘語中仙先的語音區別，一方面擬測其原始形式。本文的結論認為：1) 現代湘語中確實保存仙先的區別，並在中古精系聲母及來母的環境下存在對立；2) 根據現代湘語的語音表現，仙三在原始湘語可擬為\*-ian，先四則可擬為\*-ian；3) 透過吳、閩、湘三個原始方言的比較，可以建立六朝江東方言\*-ian 與\*-ian 的對立。這個現象顯示江東方言與湘語的密切關係。

### 關鍵詞

切韻 三四等之別 原始湘語 比較方法 歷史語言學

---

**致謝** 本文初稿曾於第 52 屆國際漢藏語會議「漢語方言史的微觀研究」工作坊(澳大利亞，悉尼，悉尼大學，2019/6/24–26)上宣讀，得與沈瑞清教授和張靜芬教授交流討論，特此致謝。同時感謝本刊不具名審查人提出的修改建議，使本文論述更臻完善。本文為科技部專題研究計畫「現代湘語與六朝江東方言的歷史關係」(MOST 108-2410-H-001-045-MY2)的部分研究成果，亦申謝悃。文中任何殘存的錯誤，責任均在作者。

**吳瑞文** (Ruiwen Wu) [ruiwen@gate.sinica.edu.tw]; 臺灣臺北市南港區研究院路二段 128 號「中央研究院」語言學研究所 11529 (Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 128, Section 2, Academia Road, Nankang, Taipei 11529, Taiwan).  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4066-4306>

- ZHOU, Zumo 周祖謨. 1966a. *Wanxiang Mingyi zhong zhi yuanben Yupian yinxi* 萬象名義中之原本玉篇音系 (The phonological system of the original *Yupian* (543) as preserved in *Wanxiang Mingyi* (9th century)). In *Wen xue ji* 問學集 (Collected scholarship), 270–404. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- . 1966b. *Qieyun de xingzhi he ta de yinxi jichu* 切韻的性質和它的音系基礎 (The nature of *Qieyun* and its phonological basis). In *Wen xue ji* 問學集 (Collected scholarship), 434–473. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

## ON THE XIĀN/XIĀN DISTINCTION IN MODERN XIANG DIALECTS AND RECONSTRUCTION IN PROTO-XIANG

Rui-wen WU

*Academia Sinica*

### ABSTRACT

Based on the framework of the *Qieyùn* (切韻) system, this paper explores phonological distinctions between Grade III and Grade IV of the Shān Shè (山攝) rhyme group, namely the Xiān (仙) and Xiān (先) rhyme, in Modern Xiang. Whether the Xiān (仙)/Xiān (先) distinction exists or not in modern Xiang dialects is still under debate. These different views constitute the primary research motivation of this paper. This paper concludes that: 1. The Xiān (仙)/Xiān (先) distinction is indeed preserved in Modern Xiang, and the phonological contrast occurs after the initials of the Jing (精) series of Middle Chinese. 2. According to the phonetic representation in Modern Xiang, Xiān (仙) could be reconstructed as \*-ian and Xiān (先) as \*-ian. 3. By comparing with other proto dialects, we reconstruct the contrast of \*-ian and \*-ian in the old Jiangdong dialect of the Six Dynasties, which establishes the close relationship between Xiang and Jiangdong dialect in history.

### KEYWORDS

*Qieyùn* Grade III/IV distinction Proto-Xiang Comparative method  
Historical linguistics