Abstract

Tonal Development is a major topic in Chinese historical phonology. In “A Quantitative Study of Tonal Development from Middle Chinese to Modern Peking Mandarin” (1998) written by Dr. Chen Chung Yu, a stratification of three tiers of tonal changes has surfaced: (1) Ru-sheng (入声) transitions; (2) the three sets of interflows between Qu (去), Shang (上) and Yang-Ping (阳平) (following the Ru-transitions); (3) Qu, Shang and Yang-Ping moving towards Yin-Ping (阴平). In Peking Mandarin high-frequency colloquial forms have a tendency to change towards Yin-Ping (Chen 1988, 1994).

Developments of the second and third tiers of tonal changes mentioned about are examined in six Mandarin dialects in this study. The six dialects are Ji-Nan (济南), Xi-An (西安), Tai-Yuan (太原), Wu-Han (武汉), Cheng-Du (成都) and Yang-Zhou (扬州). Among them, Tai-Yuan dialect has been classified as a Mandarin dialect or a Jin dialect (晋语). Furthermore, the study on Tai-Yuan has only one Ping-Sheng (平声).

This study shows that the tonal development in the six Mandarin dialects studied share some common features with the Peking dialect: (1) The interflow between Shang and Qu is the most voluminous among the three sets of interflows; the interflow between Yang-Ping and Shang is the smallest. (2) The number of changes from Qu towards Shang and Yang-Ping is larger than changes in the opposite direction. (3) The flow into Yin-Ping is by far larger than the flow away from Yin-Ping. In other words,
there have been large numbers of changes from Qu, Shang, Yang-Ping towards Yin-Ping.

In all the six dialects, Qu-Sheng has been the main sources of Yin-Ping before Middle Chinese. That is, the combined statistics show that among the Middle Chinese two-reading characters (which obviously had their split before Middle Chinese) that later preserve only the Yin-Ping reading, 79.2% had the other reading in Qu. As for changes taking place after Middle Chinese, 42.7% came from Yang-Ping.
六个官话方言里中古舒声字声调发展分歧的情况

摘要

声调演变在汉语历史音韵学及方言学上都是一个主要题目。根据陈重瑜老师《计量分析北京音系声调历史演变》（1998）所得出的结论，自中古音至今的声调变化有三个分明的层次：（1）入声舒化；（2）去、上与阳平之间的三组对流（入声初步舒化后往往又再进一步移向他声）；（3）去、上、阳平变向阴平的趋势（基本上是单向的变化）。

本文着重探讨六个官话（济南、西安、太原、武汉、成都及扬州）声调演变的两个方面：（一）去、上、阳平之间三组对流的情况；（二）去、上、阳平变向阴平的趋势。由于太原话平声不分阴阳，太原话的研究只限于去、上对流一项。此外，太原话有官话及晋语的两种不同分类，此处暂视为官话。

本文统计研究显示，这六个官话里的声调变化与北京话里的变化有几个共同点：（一）在三组对流中，去、上对流数量最大，上、阳平对流数量最少；（二）舒声字的声调演变由去变向上、阳平的统计数字明显大于上、阳平变向去的。（三）去、上、阳平有变向阴平的趋势。

阳平与上对流的相对数量则几个方言之间有所不同，除了扬州话以外，其他四个方言都是阳平变向上的数量较大。另一方面，阴平化中古之前去声来源数量最大，上声次之，浊平最小。即，在中古音里就已分化为二读的字里，去声的比例远远高于上与（阳）平。中古之后最大来源则是阳平。