

苗瑶语中的茶与语言生态

汪锋

北京大学中国语言学研究/语言学实验室/中文系

王辅世(1994)《苗语古音构拟》中为原始苗语重构了**ji*^B ‘茶’, Ratliff(2010)构拟的原始苗语为**gji*^B, 原始瑶语为**ja*^A。在前人比较重构的基础上, 本研究搜集了更多语言点的材料, 试图通过更广泛的历史比较, 并结合方言地理的分布, 提出原始苗语和原始瑶语的重构都得不到严格的普遍对应的支持, 因此, 时间层次要晚于原始苗语或原始瑶语。具体而言, 在原始苗语分化出来之后, 由于苗语区生活中油茶的重要性, 大多数苗语方言共享了**gji*^B ‘油茶’>‘茶’的演变, 而另外一些苗语中的茶还没有独立出来, 仍在用‘药’‘树叶’来泛指。在原始瑶语独立出来之后, 瑶语支则直接借用了汉语的“茶”, 这可以通过离析声韵对应的层次来得到证明。可见, 坚持严格的语音对应作为比较的基础, 并通过历史层次分析, 可以探讨茶在苗瑶语中的发展。我们将茶的演化放到“柴米油盐醋”的日常生活聚类中做进一步的考察, 发现词汇的竞争消长与其背后的生态及文化紧密相关。

关键词: 茶, 油茶, 苗瑶语, 严格语音对应, 历史层次, 日常生活聚类

Tea in Hmong-Mien Languages and the Language Ecology

The Proto form of tea was reconstructed as **ji*^B of Proto-Hmong in Wang (1994), while as **gji*^B of Proto-Hmong and **ja*^A of Proto-Mien in Ratliff (2010). In this paper, more material of different Hmong-Mien languages has been accumulated. In connection with geographical distribution, extensive comparison across these languages does not support the reconstruction of tea either to the Proto-Hmong or Proto-Mien on the basis of pervasive sound correspondence. Thus, the emergence of tea should be later than the time depth of either of the two proto-languages. In details, most Hmong languages share an innovation of **gji*^B ‘camellia oleifera’>‘tea’, while in a few Hmong languages, tea is still called medicine or tree leaf. The Mien branch borrowed Chinese tea, which can be exemplified with the stratification of different historical layers. It is suggested that the development of tea in Hmong-Mien languages could be clarified in combine with rigorous sound correspondences and historical stratification. Furthermore, tea is put in the word series of the daily life, so called ‘firewood, rice, oil, salt, and vinegar’, it is found that the evolution of vocabulary in Hmong-Mien languages is associated with the social-ecological environments of Hmong-Mien people.

Keywords: tea, camellia oleifera, Hmong-Mien language, rigorous sound correspondence, historical layer, the word series of the daily life