

再议早期粤语中文献中的变调现象

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张洪年(2000)、姚玉敏(2010)都考察了 *Cantonese Made Easy* (CME 1883、1888、1907、1924) 中的变调现象, 通过比较 CME 的不同版本, 发现了高平变调与高升变调随着时间而增长, 其中高平变调增长尤为显著, 据此提出了相应的假说: 1) 高平变调的扩散要更早完成。2) 高平变调主要来源于阴平调, 高升变调来源复杂, 所以高平变调所需的扩散时间更长。

本文经过对 CME 的标注体例与调类体系的重新分析, 认为 CME 存在两种声调系统, 1883 与 1888 本中采用十调类、一变调的系统; 1907 及以后的版本采用九调类、两变调的系统, 高平变调的迅速增长是系统差异所导致的。同时, 文献中的调值描述, 指出了高升变调具有不稳定的调值与特殊的时长, 而高平变调拥有稳定的调值, 时长也无差异。所以 CME 的早期版本将高平变调归为调类, 在后续版本中才将其重新离析为变调。

参考王洪君(1999)的理论, 我们认为这说明了两类变调分别来源于不同的时间层次, 现代广州话与南海粤语(陈卫强、王媛媛 2022)的材料都支持这一观点。我们认为 1) 高平变调的产生要早于高升变调。2) 高平变调可以附加在所有声调后。3) 高升变调的产生后, 除来源于阴平调的高平变调外, 高平变调大多被高升变调所取代, 仅有零星保留, 是早期高平变调的残迹。

关键词: 早期粤语, 高平变调, 高升变调, 声调演变

Revisiting the Phenomenon of Tone Change in Early Cantonese Literature

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Zhang (2000) and Yiu (2010) examined the phenomenon of tone change in *Cantonese Made Easy* (CME 1883/1888/1907/1924). By comparing different editions of CME, they found that the High-Level Changed Tone and the High-Rising Changed Tone increased over time, with the growth of the High-Level Changed Tone being particularly significant. Based on this, they proposed the following hypotheses 1) The spread of the High-Level Changed Tone should be completed earlier. 2) The High-Level Changed Tone mainly originated from the yinping tone, while the High-Rising Changed Tone had a complex origin, so the spread of the High-Level Changed Tone took longer.

This paper re-analyzes the annotation system and tone system of CME and believes that there are two tone systems in CME. The 1883 and 1888 editions used a system of ten primary tones and one changed tone, while the 1907 and later editions adopted a system of nine primary tones and two changed tones. The rapid growth of the High-Level Changed Tone was caused by differences in the systems. At the same time, the description of tone values in

the literature indicates that the High-Rising Changed Tone has an unstable tone value and a special duration, while the High-Level Changed Tone has a stable tone value and no difference in duration. Therefore, the early editions of CME classified the High-Level Changed Tone as a primary tone, and it was only reclassified as a changed tone in subsequent editions.

According to Wang's (1999) theory, we believe that this shows that the two types of changed tones originate from different time levels. Materials from modern Guangzhou dialect and Nanhai Cantonese (Chen and Wang Y2022) support this view. We believe that 1) The emergence of the High-Level Changed Tone was earlier than that of the High-Rising Changed Tone. 2) The High-Level Changed Tone can be appended to all tones. 3) After the emergence of the High-Rising Changed Tone, except for the High-Level Changed Tone derived from yinping, most of the High-Level tones were replaced by High-Rising tones, with only a few remaining as remnants of early High-Level tones.

Keywords: early Cantonese, high-level changed tone, high-rising changed tone, tone development