

19 世紀至 20 世紀初南北官話的規範音問題 ——基於西人文獻中的新證據

**Issues on Phonological Standards of Southern and
Northern Mandarins from 19th to Early 20th Centuries**
—With Special Reference to Westerners' Recordings

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摘要

清代晚期，隨着以傳教士為主的西方人大量進入中國，由於傳教、交流以及研究的需要，他們對中國的語言進行了深入的學習和研究，留下了為數眾多的研究和記錄漢語的珍貴材料，其中很大一部分是對官話的記載。筆者收集了多部 19 世紀至 20 世紀初的西人漢語文獻，其中大多數都或是出版於澳門，或是現藏於澳門各圖書館。這些文獻為近代官話的研究提供了寶貴的資料。本文對這些材料中所記錄的南方和北方官話音系進行了深入的分析整理和比較研究，判斷各文獻的音系性質，並提出這樣一種觀點：19 世紀至 20 世紀初的官話有一種通行全國的標準音系，這種標準音既不是南京音也不是北京音，而是一種人們心目中的“規範音”概念。這種規範音受字典韻書影響，綜合了南北方的語音特點，並包含了一定的守舊語音成分。在這個全國通行的規範音概念基礎上，加上一定的方音成分，則成為為規範音的實現形式——規範音的南方和北方變體。無論偏南方還是偏北方的規範音，都共享很多重要的音系特徵，如保留入聲、聲母分尖團等。本文根據諸多西人漢語文獻材料中反映出的語言事實，對這一觀點進行檢驗從而得到證實，在此基礎上對規範音和南北官話時音進行區分，歸納總結出這個通行全國的“規範音”的音系特點，並對該“規範音”的語音系統進行構擬，還原其音系面貌。

Abstract

Many westerners, mainly missionaries had come to China in the late Qing Dynasty. For the purposes of religious preach, communication and research, they did in-depth studies on the Chinese language, and compiled a large number of valuable works, lots of which were about Mandarin Chinese. The author collected several westerners' Mandarin recordings published from 19th to early 20th centuries, mostly either published in Macao or collected by libraries in Macao. These works make precious materials to the studies on pre-modern Mandarin Chinese. In this study, the phonological systems of southern and northern Mandarins recorded in these materials are thoroughly analyzed and systematically compared, and the phonological properties of each work are identified. And it is proposed that in the 19th century, Mandarin Chinese did have a standard phonological system commonly found throughout the country, which was neither the Nanking Mandarin nor the Peking Mandarin of the day, but a concept of standard pronunciation existing in literate people's minds. This standard Mandarin got the influence from classical rhyming dictionaries, mixing both features of southern and northern Mandarins, containing some conservative phonological characters. When some dialectal elements are added to this concept of standard pronunciation, the standard mandarin realizes as its southern and northern variants. Southern and northern Mandarins shared a number of important phonological features in common. For example, they both have five tones, including the *Ru* tone, and their Jing-group and Jian-group

initials remains ts-, ts'-, s and k-, k'-, x-, without palatalizing. This perspective is demonstrated by extracting the facts recorded in these westerners' Mandarin recordings, and distinctions are made between the standard phonological system and the pronunciation of the day by certain parameters. Most importantly, in this study the phonological features of this countrywide standard Mandarin are generalized, and its sound system is reconstructed.



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