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中華現代學術名著叢書

現代吳語的研究

趙元任 著



創于1897

商務印書館

The Commercial Press





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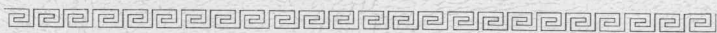


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出版說明

百年前，張之洞嘗勸學曰：“世運之明晦，人才之盛衰，其表在政，其裏在學。”是時，國勢頹危，列強環伺，傳統頻遭質疑，西學新知亟亟而入。一時間，中西學並立，文史哲分家，經濟、政治、社會等新學科勃興，令國人亂花迷眼。然而，淆亂之中，自有元氣淋漓之象。中華現代學術之轉型正是完成於這一混沌時期，於切磋琢磨、交鋒碰撞中不斷前行，涌現了一大批學術名家與經典之作。而學術與思想之新變，亦帶動了社會各領域的全面轉型，為中華復興奠定了堅實基礎。

時至今日，中華現代學術已走過百餘年，其間百家林立、論辯蜂起，沉浮消長瞬息萬變，情勢之複雜自不待言。溫故而知新，述往事而思來者。“中華現代學術名著叢書”之編纂，其意正在於此，冀辨章學術，考鏡源流，收納各學科學派名家名作，以展現中華傳統文化之新變，探求中華現代學術之根基。

“中華現代學術名著叢書”收錄上自晚清下至二十世紀八十年代末中國大陸及港澳臺地區、海外華人學者的原創學術名著（包括外文著作），以人文社會科學為主體兼及其他，涵蓋文學、歷史、哲學、政治、經濟、法律和社會學等眾多學科。

出版“中華現代學術名著叢書”，爲本館一大夙願。自一八九七年始創起，本館以“昌明教育，開啓民智”爲己任，有幸首刊了中華現代學術史上諸多開山之著、扛鼎之作；於中華現代學術之建立與變遷而言，既爲參與者，也是見證者。作爲對前人出版成績與文化理念的承續，本館傾力謀劃，經學界通人擘畫，并得國家出版基金支持，終以此叢書呈現於讀者面前。唯望無論多少年，皆能傲立於書架，并希冀其能與“漢譯世界學術名著叢書”共相輝映。如此宏願，難免汲深綆短之憂，誠盼專家學者和廣大讀者共襄助之。

商務印書館編輯部

二〇一〇年十二月

凡 例

一、“中華現代學術名著叢書”收錄晚清以迄二十世紀八十年代末，為中華學人所著，成就斐然、澤被學林之學術著作。入選著作以名著為主，酌量選錄名篇合集。

二、入選著作內容、編次一仍其舊，唯各書卷首冠以作者照片、手迹等。卷末附作者學術年表和題解文章，誠邀專家學者撰寫而成，意在介紹作者學術成就，著作成書背景、學術價值及版本流變等情況。

三、入選著作率以原刊或作者修訂、校閱本為底本，參校他本，正其訛誤。前人引書，時有省略更改，倘不失原意，則不以原書文字改動引文；如確需校改，則出腳注說明版本依據，以“編者注”或“校者注”形式說明。

四、作者自有其文字風格，各時代均有其語言習慣，故不按現行用法、寫法及表現手法改動原文；原書專名（人名、地名、術語）及譯名與今不統一者，亦不作改動。如確係作者筆誤、排印舛誤、數據計算與外文拼寫錯誤等，則予徑改。

五、原書為直（橫）排繁體者，除個別特殊情況，均改作橫排簡體。其中原書無標點或僅有簡單斷句者，一律改為新式標

點,專名號從略。

六、除特殊情况外,原書篇後注移作脚注,雙行夾注改爲單行夾注。文獻著錄則從其原貌,稍加統一。

七、原書因年代久遠而字迹模糊或紙頁殘缺者,據所缺字數用“□”表示;字數難以確定者,則用“(下缺)”表示。

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序

研究中國語音最詳細又最多的，大概要首推瑞典的中國音韻家高本漢(Bernhard Karlgren)。他的成績都發表在1915—1926陸續出來的*Études sur la phonologie chinoise*^①。不過一個全國的方言調查不是個把人一年工夫或一個人年把工夫可以做得完的。高本漢的所得的材料可以够使他考定隋、唐時代的古音的大概，但是假如要做中國的方言志，那還得要許多人許多年有系統的調查跟研究才做得好。這種事業的重要，無論是本身的重要，或是在國學上地位的重要，或是應用於教育上的重要，也已經有過好些人談過的了，可是空談了許多時候怎末也沒有結果。這大半是因為有幾種必需的條件還不能實現。第一，要有永久性的組織跟經費能一致的辦這種事情，這是無消說的。第二，要有有相當訓練的工作者。但這是一種很專門的訓練，不是幾個月速成科可以練出來的。假如隨便到各處走走聽聽記記，那所得的東西的價值一定等於零，或小於零，因為多錯誤的記載還不如沒有記載。第三，要國內太平，不然最值得調查的區域往往不能去調查。可是要慢慢的等，等到哪一天才可以有大隊的語言學人馬，

① Archives d'Études Orientales, Vol. 15, Stockholm, 1915—1926.

大規模的來測量全中國的方言地理呢？所以還是先比較小規模的在一個比較安靜的區域裡做一點比較簡略的研究，至少也可以做一個後來研究的格式。

這次調查能在這末短的時期內得這末許多材料，一大半是賴各地學商等界的熱心幫助；一方面幫找可以發音的人，一方面關於本地語言的特別有趣的而表格中沒有問到的地方，也多有所指教，這是作者非常感激的。除已經專函致謝外，現在再對各地招待者跟發音者特別鳴謝。

INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH

The present monograph is a preliminary report on the data obtained from a trip to the region of the Wu-dialects. So far as the discussions are concerned with questions of Chinese phonology, it is presumed that any reader who is seriously interested in it will have the necessary knowledge to read this in the Chinese. For these and for Chinese readers whose usage of modern linguistic terms may differ from mine, a glossary of terms is provided at the end of this introduction for reference. This introduction is written primarily for those who do not know Chinese, but who may be interested in the contents of this work as a field of general phonetics.

The Wu-dialects are a group of dialects extending over the South-eastern part of the province of Jiangsu(Kiangsu) and the North-eastern greater half of the province of Jehjiang (Chekiang); the south-western part of Jehjiang may belong to this group too, but it has not been studied.

The scope of study was to cover all the main features of each dialect studied, including the phonological classification of

initials, finals and tones, the exact values of these classes, intonations of short phrases, vocabulary of the most common words and of peculiar words, and the grammatical particles.

The equipment used consisted of forms, or type-lists for each phase of the study which was printed before hand in the form of tables and pamphlets. The only other thing used was a sliding pitch-pipe for approximate matching of the intonations. All the consonant and vowel values were judged by ear.

The real content of this monograph are all given in the six tables as follows:

Table I “第一表”:Initials.

Table II “第二表”:Finals in the first three ancient tones.

Table III “第三表”:Finals in *ruhsheng*, or the 4th ancient tone.

Table IV “第四表”:Tone graphs and formulæ.

Table V “第五表”:Vocabulary of common words.

Table VI “第六表”:Grammatical particles.

All the rest is only talk, which it is presumed will help the reader read the tables.

In Tables I — II, the first two rows, and in Table III, the first three rows give a sort of abstract phonological classification. In the notation of these rows, which is always given between single inverted commas, every character has always the same spelling no matter how it is pronounced. For instance, the character 班 belongs to the initial ‘b’ and the final ‘an’, and is

therefore spelt 'ban', altho in actual pronunciation, it may be [pæ], or [be], or any sound whatever. This enables one to say that such and such a sound has such and such a pronunciation in such and such a place, which would be meaningless unless the 'sound' is taken not as a sound, but as a class. This idea is somewhat like that of *phoneme*, as used by Daniel Jones^①, but still more radical than the phoneme, as the bringing in of different times and places makes it more inclusive and more complicated.

In the third row are given the names of the ancient initials and finals. These are cut up and scattered over different parts of each table, when it is found convenient to do so in order to conform to the main tendency of the modern Wu-dialects as to the coalescence or sub-division of sound-classes.

The fourth row, which is sometimes subdivided into two parts, states the conditions under which the ancient initial or final is pronounced in the way indicated by the present column. For instance, when ancient velar initials are followed by front vowels ('g₂, k₂, gh₂, gn₁', Table I - 2), as indicated by the condition '今齊撮', they will be found to become palatal sounds in most of the dialects studied. In Table II, the factor which influences the final most is the *place* of articulation of the initials. This is

① For a definition of a phoneme, see Daniel Jones, *The Pronunciation of Russian*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 49-50.

stated in terms of ‘b 系, d 系, g 系, h 系, j 系, tz 系’, which stands for the labial, dental (plosive, nasal and lateral) velar, glottal, alveolar or palatal, and dental (affricative and fricative) series, respectively. The character 文 in small print stands for the literary pronunciation and 白 for the colloquial pronunciation. The former is usually nearer to Mandarin and the latter usually nearer to the ancient pronunciation. Such cases of double reading are more numerous in the Wu-dialects than in most other dialects.

The fifth row gives characters of each class as illustrations; these are taken from the longer list of about 2700 characters used in the typelists.

The sixth row gives the pronunciation of the initials or the finals as they were pronounced in the North of China in the Swei or early Tang dynasty, or about 600 A. D. The values given follow the reconstruction of Bernhard Karlgren^①, except that it is here translated into the International Phonetic Alphabet (to be referred to as “IPA” from now on).

The seventh row gives the pronunciation of Gwoyue, or Mandarin, which is taken to be approximately the same as the pronunciation of Peking.

① The most accessible form is in his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923, and his “Dictionary of Dialects” Stockholm 1926, being the fourth volume of his *Études sur la Phonologie Chinoise*.