

## Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Meta Linguistics.....	7
2.1 The Chinese writing system and its Xeno-lects .....	7
2.2 The sound change capacity of the Chinese writing system .....	10
2.3 The literati-official class .....	11
2.4 The Tabghatch rule and its power-knowledge system .....	12
2.5 The Turkic identification of Tabghatch.....	19
3. The Nonlinear Homology Schema .....	22
3.1 The subjection of gu/jin yin 古今音.....	23
3.2 The dichotomy of light/heavy 輕重 and its radial category .....	25
3.3 A summary of the old Turkic phonological system.....	27
3.3.1 The old Turkic vowel system.....	27
3.3.2 The old Turkic consonant system .....	28
3.3.2.1 The Orkhon script system .....	28
3.3.2.2 The principle of sound harmony .....	29
3.3.2.3 The principle of fortis/lenis opposition .....	32
3.3.2.4 The Turkic phonological imperatives under contact.....	32
3.4 The paradigms of the nonlinear homology schema .....	33
3.4.1 The configuration of the nonlinear homology schema 合一識別爲分二.....	34
3.4.2 The proposition .....	35
3.4.3 A comparison with existing models.....	36
3.4.4 The epistemic differences, comparing the linear and nonlinear model .....	38
4. A Reinterpretation of the Historical Phonological Documents.....	40
4.1 Fanqie 反切, the alliterator-rhymer spelling system .....	41
4.1.1 The prototypicality of the homologous canonical speller sets.....	41
4.1.2 The bi-modal spellings of the post-contact era 獨金陵與洛下耳.....	43
4.2 Jingdian Shiwen (JDSW) 經典釋文.....	44
4.2.1 Markers of contact phonology 或專出己意、或祖述舊音 .....	45
4.2.2 Time stamps on the pre-contact spellings 漢魏迄今 .....	49
4.3 The Yunjing System (YJS) 韻鏡系統.....	50
4.3.1 Specifications of light/heavy 輕重 in rhyme and onset of a chart .....	50
4.3.2 The bi-modality manifested in rhyme rubrics of the YJS 支重支輕.....	53
4.3.3 Specifications of labial and non-labial 開合 .....	55
4.3.4 An interpretation of neiwai zhuan 內外轉 and rhyme doublets 重紐 .....	56
4.3.5 The YJS phonological signature.....	61

5. Manifestations of Phonological Restructuring of the Rhyme System 開合詳略.....	63
5.1 The implementation of the editorial policy of Qieyun 自可清濁皆通 .....	66
5.2 The type I rhymes 主合到底 .....	69
5.3 The type I-a rhymes 主合到底、微疵 .....	70
5.4 The type I-b rhymes 主合到底、修正 .....	76
5.5 The type II rhymes 主合中途變主分 .....	79
5.6 The type III rhymes 切韻時取捨爲主分 .....	80
5.7 The type IV rhymes 接觸後旋即主分 .....	85
5.8 The bi-modality as practiced at the time of GY 辯輕重例法 .....	86
5.9 Relevance of the Song, Ming and Qing scholarship 輕重含義的失落 .....	91
6. Manifestations of Restructuring of the Onset System 質文、部件 .....	94
6.1 Incongruent spellings 類隔反切 .....	94
6.2 Audit trails of the incongruency 遺文可見 .....	97
6.2.1 The pre-contact fanqie spellings 祖述舊音 .....	97
6.2.2 The alternate spellings of GY 廣韻又音 .....	106
6.3 The Qing scholarship and the incongruency 清儒考證類隔 .....	106
6.3.1 Twenty onsets vs. thirty-six onsets 二十紐及三十六字母 .....	108
6.3.2 Void of the Incongruency in classical sinitics 類隔不可信 .....	109
6.3.3 Void of dento-labial onsets in classical sinitics 古無輕唇音 .....	109
6.3.4 Void of lamino-retroflex in classical sinitics 古無舌上音 .....	110
6.3.5 Affricates and renegades from apico-alveolars 正齒二分 .....	112
6.3.6 Sibilants and renegades from apico-alveolar 書母歸舌 .....	115
6.3.7 Void of nasal fricative in the classical sinitics 娘日歸泥 .....	116
6.3.8 Void of voiced dental fricatives and approximants in the CS 定澄禪邪以 .....	117
6.3.9 Void of voiced velar plosives in the MS 郡匣群 .....	118
6.3.10 Elision, ultimate lenition of onsets 影云爲以 .....	121
6.3.11 The grade-1 versus grade-4 opposition 一四等對立 .....	123
6.3.12 The universal serviceability of QY, and GY 清濁皆通 .....	124
6.3.13 The principle of homorganic alternations 聲部諧聲原理 .....	124
6.4 The paradigm of onset sound change in the nonlinear homology schema .....	125
6.4.1 The principle of onset sound change of the written Chinese .....	127
6.4.2 The principles of fortition and lenition .....	130
6.5 The 18-phoneme onset system of the classical sinitics 古聲十八紐 .....	131
6.5.1 The one-column-for-one-phoneme root of the YJS 古韻鏡的類隔不可信 .....	132
6.5.2 The fricative /r/- or /z/-colony in column l2 日母歸泥 .....	134
6.5.3 The fricative /ð/- and palatal /ʒ/-colonies in column c5 禪邪歸定 .....	135
6.5.4 The approximant /J/-colony in cell <h4, 3> 喻歸見溪 .....	135
6.5.5 The approximant /r/-colony in cell <h4, 4> 喻歸定 .....	136

6.5.6	The fricative /x-/ and palatal /ç-/ colonies in column h2 曉母歸見溪.....	136
6.5.7	The fricative /ɣ-/ colony in cell <h3, 1> 匣母歸郡.....	136
6.5.8	The approximant /ɥ-/ colony in cell <h3, 3> 云母歸郡疑.....	137
6.5.9	The apico-alveolar colonies of row 3 of cc 章昌書船歸舌.....	137
6.5.10	The pristine Han onset system 古韻鏡十八縱行.....	138
6.6	The 48-phoneme onset system of the modern sinitics 今聲四十八紐.....	139
6.6.1	The schema of the onset sound change 質識別爲質文.....	139
6.6.2	The traditional view on the schema 紐其唇齒喉舌牙部件.....	140
7.	Validation of the Proposition.....	148
7.1	Evidence from historical rhyming practices.....	148
7.1.1	Source information 詩經漢魏晉詩韻譜.....	148
7.1.2	Minimal rhyming pair as the unit of study 疊韻小紐.....	149
7.1.3	The database of historical rhyming pairs 十八萬古疊韻小紐.....	151
7.1.4	Categorization of the non-Rusheng rhyme pairs 紐其疊韻小紐（陰陽）.....	151
	HG.01: The 冬 group, charts 1, 2, 3.....	158
	HG.02: The 支 group, charts 4, 5, 13, 14, 15, 16.....	158
	HG.03: The 脂 group, charts 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.....	158
	HG.04: The 魚 group, charts 11, 12, 27, 28, 29, 30.....	159
	HG.05: The 真 group, charts 17, 18, 19, 20.....	159
	HG.06: The 元 group, charts 21, 22, 23, 24.....	159
	HG.07: The 蕭 group, charts 25, 26, 37.....	159
	HG.08: The 陽 group, charts 31, 32.....	159
	HG.09: The 耕 group, charts 33, 34, 35, 36.....	159
	HG.10: The 侵 group, charts 38, 39, 40, 41.....	160
	HG.11: The 蒸 group, charts 42, 43.....	160
7.1.5	Categorization of the Rusheng rhyme pairs 紐其疊韻小紐（入聲）.....	160
	AG.01: The 屋侯 affinity rhyme group, charts 1, 37.....	165
	AG.02: The 質脂 affinity group, charts 6, 7, 17, 18, 20.....	165
	AG.03: The 月灰 affinity group, charts 13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24.....	165
	AG.04: The 藥魚 affinity rhyme group, charts 11, 12, 31.....	165
	AG.05: The 昔支 affinity rhyme group, charts 4, 33, 34, 35.....	165
7.1.6	A reconstruction of the rhyme system 古韻十一圖.....	165
7.1.6.1	The *AU nucleus vowel complex.....	166
7.1.6.2	The *OE nucleus vowel complex.....	167
7.1.6.3	The *UOE nucleus vowel complex.....	169
7.1.6.4	The *EU nucleus vowel complex.....	171
7.1.6.5	The *EA nucleus vowel complex.....	172
7.2	Evidence from historical alliterating practices.....	174

7.2.1 Sources of onset data 經典釋文舊文.....	174
7.2.2 Nature of the historical onset data.....	175
7.2.3 The homorganic and heterorganic phonetic compounds .....	175
7.2.4 Homorganic alternations and sound change 認清噪音 .....	176
7.2.5 The database of onset spelling pairs 三千三舊文雙聲小紐.....	177
7.2.6 Categorization on onset spelling pairs 古聲十八紐.....	177
7.3 The onset system of the CS and the radial categories of the MS.....	186
8. Conclusions.....	190
9. A Summary Sketch in Chinese 漢字古今音論：中文素描.....	195
9.1 前言 .....	195
9.2 漢字系統的開放性 .....	197
9.3 拓跋氏的統治形態 .....	197
9.4 拓跋是操突厥語的鮮卑人 .....	198
9.5 古今與輕重的詮釋 .....	200
9.6 韻鏡系統的輕重 .....	201
9.7 陸德明描述切韻時代的語音 .....	201
9.8 反切的性格 .....	202
9.9 《切韻》的編輯制作目的.....	204
9.10 《切韻》清濁皆通的執行 .....	204
9.10.1 老年成熟「一目表古今」的第一韻類：主合到底.....	206
9.10.2 老年成熟「一目表古今」的第一甲韻類：主合到底，有微疵.....	207
9.10.3 老年成熟「一目表古今」的第一乙韻類：主合到底，有修正.....	207
9.10.4 中年成熟的第二韻類：主合中途變主分 .....	208
9.10.5 青年成熟的第三韻類：切韻時取捨為主分 .....	209
9.10.6 幼年成熟「多目晦古今」的第四韻類：接觸後旋即主分.....	211
9.11 韻書韻圖的古今音自我完整性 .....	212
9.12 合一識別為分二的音系重整 .....	213
9.12.1 「合一識別為分二」是突厥音系的需求 .....	214
9.12.2 「合一識別為分二」是容許非線性音變 .....	215
9.13 韻部的合一識別為分二 .....	215
9.13.1 學術研究成果.....	216
9.13.2 古詩疊韻小紐十八萬.....	217
9.13.3 古詩用韻的分析.....	219
9.13.4 韻圖的拓樸結構與韻部音系的重整。古韻十一圖.....	221
9.14 聲部的合一識別為分二 .....	221
9.14.1 學術研究成果.....	222
9.14.1.1 <i>Q-1</i> 二十紐和三十六字母.....	222
9.14.1.2 <i>Q-2</i> 類隔不可信 .....	223

9.14.1.3	<i>Q-3</i> 古無輕唇音 .....	223
9.14.1.4	<i>Q-4</i> 古無舌上音 .....	224
9.14.1.5	<i>Q-5</i> 正齒二分，章昌船乃二度音變 .....	225
9.14.1.6	<i>Q-6</i> 書母歸舌 .....	227
9.14.1.7	<i>Q-7</i> 娘日歸泥 .....	228
9.14.1.8	<i>Q-8</i> 定澄禪邪以 .....	228
9.14.1.9	<i>Q-9</i> 匣群歸郡、見曉歸溪 .....	229
9.14.1.10	<i>Q-10</i> 影云爲以：零聲和有機無摩擦延續音 .....	230
9.14.1.11	<i>Q-11</i> 一四等對立 .....	230
9.14.1.12	<i>Q-12</i> 清濁皆通：韻圖韻書的古今音自我完整性 .....	231
9.14.1.13	<i>Q-13</i> 聲部諧聲原理 .....	231
9.14.2	研究成果總結與突厥語音系需求 .....	232
9.14.3	切韻聲類和接觸以前的反切之分析 .....	233
9.14.4	舊文反切三千三 .....	236
9.14.5	韻圖的拓樸結構與聲部音系的重整。古聲十八紐 .....	237
9.15	結語 .....	238
Glossary and Subject Section Index .....		241
A. English entries with Chinese translations .....		241
B. Cross-reference of entries, Chinese-English .....		271
Bibliography .....		277
A. English and French Sources .....		277
B. Chinese and Japanese Sources .....		280
Appendix A. Historical Canonical Onset Speller Sets .....		285
Appendix B. Historical Canonical Rhyme Speller Sets .....		341
Appendix C. Rhyme Speciation Diagrams Based on Footnotes of WS .....		380
Appendix D. Cross-chart Frequencies for Non-Rusheng a comparison of the WJ, HN and SJ eras .....		385
Appendix E. Cross-chart Frequencies for Rusheng a comparison of the WJ, HN and SJ eras .....		393
Appendix F. Selected Spellings from Various Dialect Points (Karlgren 1940) .....		399
Appendix G. Headwords for Grades 2, 3 & 4 of Affricates/Sibilants from YJ, WS, and GY .....		423
Appendix H. Onset-Threaded Networks of QY & GY .....		440