

On 5th Century Tabghatch Sinification: A Pivotal Event in Sinitic Historical Phonology

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Abstract

In a royal edict of 493 CE, the emperor of the Northern Wei promulgated a sweeping sinification program, among which was the policy to forsake the northern language code-named *duanbeiyu* (斷北語). This language policy effectively required all Northern Wei government officials to take up the Chinese writing system and spoken language to conduct the business of governance over the majority Chinese-speaking subjects. It engaged the Turkic-speaking government officials to study Chinese and emulate pronunciations of Chinese characters, amounting to a large-scale adult second language acquisition (SLA) project. Modern scholarship on SLA revealed that adult second language acquisition seldom achieves its intended goal and ultimately it attains an interlanguage stage. Northern Wei officials, in their SLA

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project, had created the Turkic lect (TL) (突厥方音) with written Chinese as the model code (MC) (漢字本音).

Via Turkic imperatives for fortis/lenis opposition and backness/frontness opposition, Tabghatch sinification managed to make the classical 18-onset-phoneme system proliferate into a 48-onset system of the post-5th-century eras. The 18-onset-phoneme system is the model code (MC) that Tabghatch government officials tried to emulate. The 30 new onset sounds that resulted from the emulation process is the Turkic lect (TL).

As a repository of all pre-5th-century traditional *fanqie* spellings, *Guangyun* (廣韻) contains the records of the competing MC and TL manifested as incongruencies in onset *fanqie* spellings (類隔反切). The sound change induced by sinification also makes the eleven native rhyme charts (古韻十一圖) split into the forty-three charts of medieval *Yunjing* (韻鏡四十三圖), exhibiting eclectic dichotomy in MC and TL rhymes, labeled as light and heavy (輕重) respectively.

Keywords: Turkic sinification, model code, Turkic lect, *Guangyun*, *Yunjing*

1. Introduction

Most of the historical phonological documents have been regarded as records of flat two-dimensional synchronic data. Guangyun (GY) and Yunjing (YJ) as they are, reveal no information of diachronic nature. This report is to explore their diachronic contents in the superstructures of GY and YJ, adding a third dimension induced by the 5th-century Tabghatch sinification.

The year 308 CE ushered in the era of wuhu shiliu guo 五胡十六國 “five barbarians and sixteen rivaling petty states”. In 386 CE, Turkic-speaking T’o-pa or Tabghatch clan 拓跋氏 defeated the rivaling states, unified northern China, and established the Northern Wei Dynasty 北魏王朝. In a royal edict of 493 CE, the emperor of the Northern Wei promulgated a sweeping sinification program, among which was the policy to forsake the northern language code-named duan bei yu 斷北語. This language policy effectively required all Northern Wei government officials to take up Chinese writing system and spoken language to conduct the business of governance over the majority Chinese-speaking subjects. It engaged the Turkic-speaking government officials to study Chinese and emulate pronunciations of Chinese characters, amounting to a large-scale adult second language acquisition (SLA) project.

Tabghatch was deemed Turkic-speaking from two levels of consideration: (1) on the philological level, the term 拓跋 was deciphered to be transcribed from Turkic “to:g beg” meaning tu hou 土后 noted by the commentator (Lim 2000: 32-34), and (2) on Sinitic historical sound change sequences of two onsets, i.e., voiced /d-/ and nasal /n-/. Cf. Lim (2010:20-21, 117-118) for the sequence 娘日歸泥 involving /n-/ and Lim (2010:20-21, 118-119) for the sequence 澄禪邪以歸定 involving /d-/. Because Turkic phonological system is void of onsets /d-/ and /n-/, and Mongolic phonological system has both all alone history, the two onset-sound-change sequences prominent in the Sinitic historical phonology must be uniquely of Turkic origin.

Modern scholarship on SLA (Han 2004:13) revealed that adult second language acquisition seldom achieves its intended goal and ultimately it attains an interlanguage stage. The term *lect* is to describe those specific contact situations where new sounds develop in the process of emulating a model code. That is, a speaker who tries to reproduce certain model sound of a foreign language produces a *lect*. Thus, when Northern Wei officials in their SLA project must have created the Turkic lect (TL) 突厥方音 with the written Chinese as the model code 漢字本音 (MC).

2. The dichotomy of TL and MC

Effectively, a Turkic lect of the Chinese writing system is a Turkic-accented phonological system for the written Chinese. Turkic lect (TL) is an unusual dialect on at least the following accounts:

2.1 TL as the language of power authority.

TL was what the Tabghatch ruling officials would use in communicating their enterprise messages to the Han-speaking subjects. It is the language of the government authorities, representing prestigious status associated with the Turkic socio-politico-economic dominance of the time. During the Tabghatch rule in the period 396-527 CE, 85% of government officials in China, in central government and local administrative centers, were of Turkic-speaking Tabghatch (Lim 2010: 12-13; Kang 1990:588-589). From the pattern of the power distribution, Tabghatch was in near absolute control and TL would be a formidable rival to MC competing for orthodoxy in pronunciation of written Chinese.

2.2 TL as the outcome of SLA.

Studies on SLA have consistently shown that L1 learners' SLA seldom achieve goal of full attainment of L2. In fact, a fossilized interlanguage is usually the outcome of an SLA project. TL was essentially the outcome of adult Turkic attempting

to acquire the sound of Chinese writing system (L2). The sound system of TL could only be the interlanguage phonology in a Turkic SLA project.

2.3 TL as a competitor against its model code MC in the literati communities.

Given that the phonological system of TL is a fossilized interlanguage, TL is expected to retain its proportion of old Turkic-induced phonology. It so happens that, old Turkic phonology and old Chinese phonology were diametrically different. The accents of TL over 200 years eventually took hold in the society and emerged as part of the social norm as far as pronunciations of Chinese characters were concerned, demoting some pronunciations of the model code to the vernacular position, and deemed vulgar sounds, i.e., *su yin* 俗音.

To the ears of a Chinese native speaker, the sounds of Turkic lect (TL) were laden with foreign accents, and they are characterized as *zhong* 重 or “heavy” when compared to their mother tongue free of accents being characterized as *qing* 輕 or “light”. Note that the mother-tongue pronunciation is what TL tried to emulate, hence it is the model code (MC). Thus, *qing* 輕 “light” and *zhong* 重 “heavy” are the metonymical references to MC and TL respectively. They are also what *Lu Deming* 陸德明 (Lu 1983) called *huo zushu jiu yin* 或祖述舊音 and *huo zhuan chu ji yi* 或專出己意 respectively.

YJS (Yunjing system) has a total of 43 charts. Every chart has the same matrix layout. The layout appears a flat synchronic document until one probes into the reason behind the designation of *qing* 輕 or *zhong* 重 in the annotations. Lim (2010) had investigated this issue as a case of phonological restructuring of written Chinese in a detailed epistemological investigation. This report is to expose that *qing* 輕 light and *zhong* 重 are not segmental categories, instead, they are contact language markers. They were competing sound change dichotomy. In fact, there were other metonymical references to the same competing dichotomy as listed in the following table (Lim 2010: 201-202):

Table 1: Dichotomy in metonymical references of competing sounds

Han Model Code (MC)	vs	(TL) Turkic Lect	current report
lightness, burden-free 輕	vs	重 heaviness, burdensome	A, B
inherited ancestral old sound 或祖述舊音	vs	或專出己意 newly emerged innovative sound	A
legacy 古	vs	今 modern	B
south 南	vs	北 north	A, B, C
the capitol of the South 金陵	vs	洛下 the capitol of the North	C
clear 清	vs	濁 turbid	B, C
rubrics to combine 主合韻目	vs	主分韻目 rubrics to split	D

References:

A: Lu Deming, Introduction to JDSW 陸德明《經典釋文·序錄》

B: Lu Fayun, Introduction to Qieyun 陸法言〈切韻序〉

C: Yan Zhitui, Yinci Pian 顏之推〈音辭篇〉

D: Wang Renxu, Notes on rubrics, Qieyun 王仁煦〈王三切韻小注〉

The notion of MC and TL is implicit in rhyme books and explicitly prescriptive in rhyme tables. This can be surmised from a statement in the Introduction to Qieyun 切韻序. The editorial policy of Qieyun stated:

欲廣文路、自可清濁皆通。

Yu guang wen lu, zi ke qing zhuo jie tong

Wishing to widen the avenues to the literary world, we permitted ourselves, the editors of Qieyun, to be accommodating to both the clear and turbid communities.

Here we understand “clear and turbid” to refers to “light *qing* 輕 and heavy *zhong* 重” or equivalently to “MC and the TL communities”. The language landscape of the 5th and 6th century China was described in terms of dichotomy of MC and TL.

According to *Lu Deming* 陸德明, quoting his Introduction to Jiangnan Shiwen 經典釋文序錄 (Lu 1983) :

南北語殊。是非信其所聞；輕重因其所習。

Nanbei yu shu. Shifei xin qi suo wen; qingzhong yin qi suo xi.

Pronunciations of a Chinese character are different from the south to the north. Whether an utterance is correct one only believes what he/she has heard in his/her community; whether a word should be pronounced with light or heavy all depend on what he/she has learned at school.

Guangyun 廣韻 uses fanqie spellings as a guide for pronunciation, as a do-it-yourself guide. The pronunciation of the spelling is predicated on the reader's education that he received; it could either be of MC or TL. Thus, GY was made to accommodate either MC or TL persuasions, by using fanqie spellings without any prejudice by specifying heaviness or lightness in the pronunciation on purpose. The notion of MC and TL is implicit in all rhyme books. Fanqie spellings are canonical which all segments of Chinese readers, MC or TL, adhere to, and rhyme books give pronunciation guidance only in fanqie. The actual pronunciation is left to the readers themselves.

On the other hand, rhyme tables give a Chinese character light/heavy annotation with the fanqie which may be looked up in rhyme books via headword given on a rhyme table. It is the repository of residues resulting from competing sounds of MC and TL. Rhyme table is an index to look up for fanqie spellings in the rhyme books. In another word, one must know the headword associated with the Chinese character of interest to find its fanqie in the rhyme book.

In a passage right after the one cited above from Lu (1983) one has:

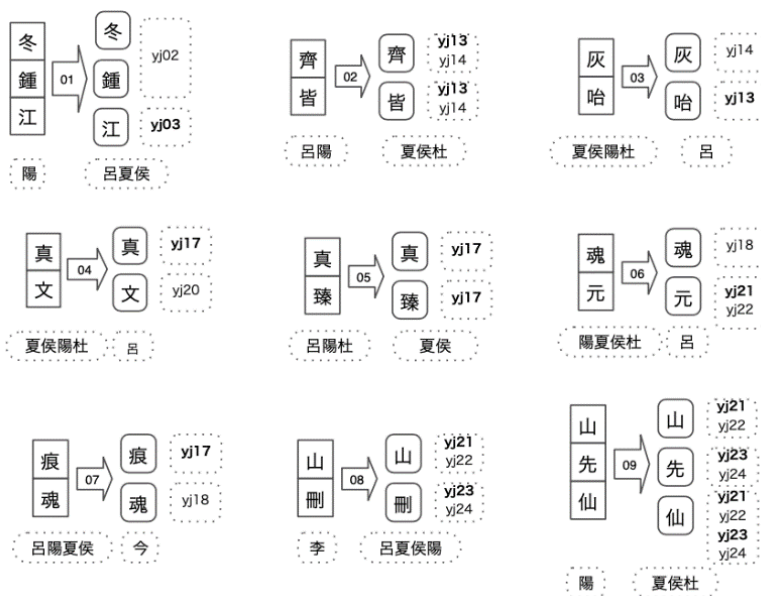
若賞知音、則須輕重有異。

ruo shang zhiyin, ze xu qingzhong you yi.

In order to reward those wishing to know the pronunciation, then annotations lightness or heaviness, i.e., MC or TL, must be provided to the fanqie spellings.

Yunjing is prescriptive. It compiled the consensus (statistically speaking) community opinion, or residues in Wang's terminology (Wang 1969), regarding the correct pronunciation by literati of both MC and TL persuasions.

The rivalry between MC and TL literati communities for orthodoxy in pronunciation of written Chinese had been an on-going process in the 5th and 6th centuries. The following annotations noted at *Wang Renxu's Qieyun* 王仁煦 (Long 1968), quoting the first nine out of a total of 69 entries (Lim 2010:380-384, Appendix C):



In the notes, one can readily observe that there were rivalries among contemporary scholars on whether certain rhyme rubrics should remain combined *zhu*

he yunmu 主合韻目 or should be splitted *zhu fen yunmu* 主分韻目. For instance, note number 08 above suggests that author *Li* 李 was advocating combining two rubrics *shan* 山 and *shan* 刪 into one, an MC persuasion, but authors *Lü* 呂, *Xiahou* 夏侯 and *Yang* 陽 were for splitting the two, a TL persuasion. Notice that the decision to split or not also implies if YJ charts 21/22 should split or combine with charts 23/24. These notes provide vivid rivalry in the competing sound changes in real time. They were also evidence of lexical diffusion resulting from competing changes.

TL was driven by Turkic phonological imperatives. It was pointed out in Lim (2010:22-40) that there were two working Turkic phonological imperatives for sound changes at the 5th-century Turkic sinification: (a) the fortis/lenis opposition harmonized with the posterior/anterior opposition, (b) Turkic extreme aversion for diphthongs.

The Turkic imperative in harmonizing the two oppositions in (a) is responsible for creating the bimodal or multimodal species of the TL onsets out of MC system. Imperative (b), the extreme aversion for diphthongs, shapes the vowel configuration in TL.

3. Guangyun as a repository of the pre-5th century legacy spellings

In commenting on the contents of GY, the Introduction to Jiyun 集韻、韻例 states:

(廣韻) 多用舊文，繁略失當。

Guangyun duo yong jiuwen, fan lue shi dang

GY mostly uses legacy fanqie spellings. Therefore, the spellings, either overanalyzed or under analyzed, are not appropriate.

凡字之翻切，舊以武代某、以亡代茫，

Fan zi zhi fanqie, jiu yi wu dai mou, yi wang dai mang

In general, regarding the fanqie spelling of a word with an onset m-, legacy spelling alliterate the word with the speller 武 sounding “w-” instead of the speller 某 sounding “m-”, or alliterate the word with the speller 亡 sounding “w-” instead of the speller 茫 sounding “m-”.

謂之類隔，今皆用本字。

wei zhi lei ge, jin jie yong ben zi

The issue is called apparent incongruencies in alliteration spelling leige 類隔. Currently, the incongruencies are all corrected by using the rightful congruent spellers.

The apparent incongruency leige 類隔 is an expression of competition among MC and TL, and they are manifested in onset categories as well as in alliteration spellings as superstructures of Guangyun. In sections 3.1 and 3.2 we will argue that Guangyun is a repository of pre-5th century legacy spellings latent with features for future competitions among MC and TL phonological elements.

3.1 Apparent incongruent onset categories 類隔聲類

In Turkic language, the sound shape of an onset phoneme is not autonomous, and it is dependent on the backness or frontness of the ensuing vowel. It must follow the rule of sound harmony, i.e., an onset must sound fortis, or strongly articulated, if the ensuing vowel is a back vowel; and it must sound lenis, or softly articulated, if the ensuing vowel is a front vowel. All the plosives are fortis (strongly executed) and fricatives, retroflexes, palatalizations, and elisions are lenis (softly executed) relatively speaking.

Even though Orkhon Turkic is known to have six onset phonemes: p, t, l, c, s, j, under the sound harmony imperative, each phoneme has an allophone, and there are effectively twelve distinctive onsets. Lim (2010:29-32) has a detailed description on

the principle of sound harmony and bifurcation of onset phonemes in Orkhon system.

It so happens that classical Chinese had an 18-phoneme onset system (Lim 2010:131-147) and table on page 138 of Lim (2010) listed the 17-plosive-onset system plus the null onset, in traditional notation the following is the set of MC onset categories:

幫(p-)	滂(ph-)	並(b-)	明(m-)
端(t-)	透(th-)	定(d-)	泥(n-)
見(k-)	溪(kh-)	群(g-)	疑(ŋ-)
精(ts-)	清(tsh-)	從(dz-)	心(s-)
烏(ø-)	來(l-)		

The classical onset system under the Turkic fortis/lenis imperative has eventually speciated into a 48 distinctive onset-category system of modern Chinese (Lim 2010: 139-147) as shown in Table 1 below; they are the set of the combined MC and TL onset categories. This Turkic-induced onset proliferation process, like the onset bifurcation in the Orkhon system, gives rise to the apparent incongruencies 類隔, literally meaning “distinctive categories”. Therefore, 類隔 is the necessary results brought about by Turkic sinification. As such, apparent incongruences 類隔 can serve as a diagnostic marker for pre-5th-century legacy spellings. If a legitimate alliteration fanqie spelling shows incongruency in alliteration, it is unequivocally tagged with the flag of a pre-5th-century legacy spelling.

Table 1 below, taken from Table 62 in Lim (2010:145-146), shows the effect of Turkic fortition/lenition imperative on the MC 18-onset-phoneme system. The 18 classical onsets mentioned above were made via lenition into 18 radial categories consisting of a configuration of net 48 items. The collection of the onset threading networks of QY (or GY) is provided in Appendix H of Lim (2010). At the currency of QY and GY, the following 48 networks of threaded-onsets, based on Tung (1952:

511-522) and Shao (1982: 24-32), are found in Table 1 to carry 48 distinctive rubrics to indicate their respective unique onset sound:

Table 1. Consolidation of Turkic fortition/lenition with traditional onset categories (Lim 2010: 145-146, Table 62):

Canonical Onsets (buniu)			Radial Categories							
			fortition		lenition (wuniu)					
					(buniu)	retroflexion	fricativization	palatalization		vocalization
1	p 幫(p)	→	p ¹ F 幫(p)	:		p ² f 非(Φ)				
2	ph 滂(ph)	→	ph ¹ F 滂(ph)	:		ph ² f 敷(Φh)				
3	b 並(b)	→	b ¹ F 並(b)	:		b ² f 奉(B)				
4	m 明(m)	→	m ¹ F 明(m)	:		m ² f 微(v)				
5	t 端(t)	→	t ¹ F 端(t)	:	t ² r 知(tʂ)	t ² f 審(θ)		t ² j 章(c)	t ² v 喻(ɿ)	
6	th 透(th)	→	th ¹ F 透(th)	:	th ² r 徹(tʂh)	th ² f 審(θ)		th ² j 昌(ch)	th ² v 喻(ɿ)	
7	d 定(d)	→	d ¹ F 定(d)	:	d ² r 澄(d)	d ² f 禪(ð)	d ² fj 邪(ɬ)	dz ² j 船(ʒ)	d ² v 喻(ɿ)	
8	n 泥(n)	→	n ¹ F 泥(n)	:	n ² r			n ² j	d ² v	

	泥(n)		泥(n)		日(r)		娘(ŋ)	喻(ɿ)
9	k 見(k)	→	k ¹ F 見(k)	:		k ² f 曉(x)	k ² fj 許(ç)	k ² j 居(c) k ² v 爲(u)
10	kh 溪(kh)	→	kh ¹ F 溪(kh)	:		kh ² f 曉(x)	kh ² fj 許(ç)	kh ² j 去(ch) 爲(u)
11	g 群(g)	→	g ¹ F 群(g)	:		g ² f 匣(ɣ)		g ² v 云(u)
12	ŋ 疑(ŋ)	→	ŋ ¹ F 疑(ŋ)	:			ŋ ² j 魚(ŋ)	ŋ ² v 云(u)
13	ts 精(ts)	→	ts ¹ F 精(ts)	:	ts ² r 莊(tʂ)			
14	tsh 清(tsh)	→	tsh ¹ 清(tsh)	:	tsh ² r 初(tʂh)			
15	dz 從(dz)	→	dz ¹ F 從(dz)	:	dz ² r 崇(dʒ)			
16	s 心(s)	→	s ¹ F 心(s)	:	s ² r 山(ʃ)			
17	ø 烏(ø)	→	ø ¹ F 烏(ø)	:			ø ² j 於(ø)	
18	l 來(l)	→	l ¹ F 來(l)	:			l ² j 力	

The genealogical flow indicated by the arrows in the table informs us that, prior to the 5th century, for instance, the following selected eight pairs of onset categories represented by the rubrics were not distinctive. Therefore, we may say that distinction among the pair of onset categories is not to be believed 聲類類隔不可信 in the pre-5th-century era.

幫：非	滂：敷	並：奉	明：微
端：知	透：徹	定：澄	泥：日

We conclude that each pair above came from their same unique phoneme, and the statement 聲類類隔不可信 in the pre-5th-century era may be extended to all 18 phonemes.

3.2 Apparent incongruent alliterations 類隔反切

All onset categories, whether MC or TL, are developed empirically through the process of alliteration threading 反切上字系聯 first implemented by Chen Li 陳澧 in his “Studies of Qieyun” qieyun kao 切韻考. For example, the onset category *v* - in GY carries a rubric *wei* 微 which is defined by the following set of alliteration threading in fanqie spellings 反切上字系聯 according to Chen:

threading network for onset category *wei* 微 “*v*-”

武，文甫。彌，武移。亡，武方。無，武夫。文，無分。眉，武悲。明，武兵。靡，文彼。望，巫放。巫，武夫。綿，武延。美，無鄙。

Prior to the 5th-century, the onsets under category 微 *v*- were pronounced *m*- belonging to *ming* onset category 明母 *m*-. The sound *v*- originated from *m*- via Turkic lenition. In the alliteration threading network above, the relics of the legacy *m*- is still evident in the shaded alliterations. They are relics of legacy spellings, as pointed

out in the Introduction to Jiyun 集韻、韻例 as mentioned above.

In historical phonology, legacy fanqie spellings are unavoidable. Sometimes, a spelling becomes anachronistic because the speller and its target spellée failed to undergo sound change with the same pace. As time goes on, it is expected that a speller and its spellée are likely to subject to independent sound changes, each moving on its separate way. If a spelling is inherited from an earlier era, it may lose its original currency due to sound change. At the time of QY, scholars realized that the onset speller and spellée of some legacy spellings were no longer identical and belonged to two different onset or rhyme categories. They carry distinctive sounds at currency of QY. This condition was characterized as apparent incongruency in spelling 類隔, a term used in the endnotes of GY. The opposite was congruent spellings 音和. Contact-induced sound change makes it inevitable to avoid apparent incongruency in legacy fanqie spellings (Lim 2010:94-95).

The following table 2 shows apparent incongruent alliteration spellings in seven onset threading networks in Guangyun defining the seven respective onset categories: 非、敷、奉、微、日、居、去。

Table 2. Seven onset categories defined by the alliteration threading networks in Guangyun

廣韻	廣韻	廣韻	廣韻	廣韻	廣韻	廣韻
非	敷	奉	微	日	居	去
方府良	匹譬吉	符防無	武文甫	而如之	居九魚	去羌舉
甫方矩	芳敷方	扶防無	彌武移	如人諸	舉居許	丘去鳩
府方矩	敷芳無	房附夫	亡武方	人如鄰	九舉有	區豈俱
必卑吉	撫芳武	平符兵	無武夫	汝人渚	俱舉朱	墟去魚
彼甫委	孚芳無	毗房脂	文無分	儒人朱	几居履	羌去羊
卑府移	披敷羈	皮符羈	眉武悲	兒汝移	紀居理	綺墟彼
畀必至	譬匹賜	防附夫	明武兵	耳而止	吉居質	起墟里
分府文	妃芳非	婢便俾	靡文彼	仍如乘	規居隨	驅豈俱
并府盈	拂敷勿	便房連	望巫放			曲丘玉
筆鄙密	丕敷悲	房戎	巫武夫			傾去營
兵甫明	峰敷容	彌房密	綿武延			窺去隨
陂彼爲		附符遇	美無鄙			卿去京
封府容		縛符鑑				詰去吉
鄙方美		浮縛謀				弃詰利
		苻防無				祛去魚
		父扶雨				豈祛豨

Note that seven onset category rubrics 非、敷、奉、微、日、居、去, also shown shaded, were themselves among the apparent incongruent onset categories as shown in Table 1 in section 3.1.

Additionally, Guangyun alternate spellings 廣韻又音, another superstructure, also contain apparent incongruent alliterations. Among the total of 26194 spelling entries, 10977 belong to the Guangyun alternate spellings, a 42%. Table 3 below gives a sample of Guangyun alternate spellings 廣韻又音:

Table 3. Sample alternate spellings in Guangyun

Sample GY alternate spellings A							Sample GY alternate spellings B										
#	ch	onset	rhyme	grd	ref		#	ch	onset	rhyme	grd	ref					
0040	瞢	莫	明	中	東	三	26.3	1161	蟻	符	奉	真	真	三	105.1		
		武	微	登	登	三	201.5					部	並	田	先	四	135.7
				莫	明	鳳	送	三	343.9	1250	頒	符	奉	分	文	三	110.9
0048	芃	房	奉	戎	東	三	26.7			布	幫	還	刪	二	128.3		
		博	並	紅	東	一	32.3	1380	單	都	端	寒	寒	一	121.4		
0110	蜂	薄	並	紅	東	一	32.3			市	禪	連	仙	三	138.7		
		敷	敷	容	鍾	三	37.2			常	禪	演	獮	三	292.1		
0149	釜	許	曉	容	鍾	三	35.1			時	禪	戰	線	三	409.5		
				曲	溪	恭	鍾	三	38.6	1466	曼	母	明	官	桓	一	126.1
0160	禮	女	娘	容	鍾	三	36.5			無	微	販	願	三	398.1		
				而	日	容	鍾	三	37.5	1599	亶	張	知	連	仙	三	138.2
0236	靡	靡	明	為	支	三	42.6			多	端	旱	旱	一	283.9		
				文	微	彼	紙	三	241.6	1613	便	房	奉	連	仙	三	139.6
0254	披	敷	敷	羈	支	三	43.3			婢	並	面	線	三	412.2		
				匹	滂	靡	紙	三	246.5	1756	橈	如	日	招	宵	三	148.4
0297	罷	符	敷	羈	支	三	45.4			奴	泥	教	效	二	416.6		
				皮	並	彼	紙	三	241.7	1880	咎	古	見	勞	豪	一	155.4
				薄	並	蟹	蟹	二	270.1			其	群	九	有	三	323.7
0333	卑	府	非	移	支	三	47.2	1956	渦	古	見	禾	戈	一	162.1		
				必	幫	移	支	三	130.9			烏	影	禾	戈	一	164.3
0407	奠	以	喻	脂	脂	三	51.7	2094	芒	武	微	方	陽	三	175.1		
				杜	定	奚	齊	四	88.4			莫	明	郎	唐	一	183.1
0527	台	與	喻	之	之	三	59.3	2179	抗	胡	匣	郎	唐	一	182.9		
				土	透	來	哈	一	100.8			苦	溪	浪	宕	一	428.1
0633	余	以	喻	諸	魚	三	67.7	2292	屏	府	非	盈	清	三	192.9		
				視	禪	遮	麻	三	169.1			薄	並	經	青	四	197.9
0710	无	武	微	夫	虞	三	73.5			必	幫	郭	靜	三	318.7		
				莫	明	胡	模	一	80.8	2336	回	古	見	螢	青	四	198.4
0848	塗	同	定	都	模	一	82.6			戶	匣	頂	迴	四	319.4		
				宅	澄	加	麻	二	168.9	2453	儻	直	澄	由	尤	三	209.7
0966	藺	如	泥	低	齊	四	91.7			徒	定	到	號	一	417.3		
				人	日	兮	齊	四	92.8	2525	玷	知	知	林	侵	三	218.2
		諾	泥	何	歌	一	161.3			都	端	念	榛	四	444.6		
1022	匯	苦	溪	淮	皆	二	95.3	2763	俸	邊	幫	孔	董	一	237.2		
				胡	匣	罪	賄	二	272.9			扶	奉	用	用	三	344.9

The following instances of apparent incongruent alliteration spellings shown shaded were by pre-5th-century authors Xu Miao 徐邈 in Table 4 and Liu Zongchang 劉宗昌 in Table 5:

Table 4. Apparent incongruent alliterations by XuMiao 徐邈

Apparent Incongruent Alliterations								Apparent Incongruent Alliterations						
Examples I by Xu Miao 徐邈, ca. 370 CE								Examples II by Xu Miao 徐邈, ca. 370 CE						
Spellée			Speller		Reference		Spellée		Speller		Reference			
ch	onset		onset	rm		ch	onset	onset	rm					
中	知三	t2	t4	端四	丁仲	JDSW175.aa.11.05a	漂	滂三	ph3	ph3	滂三	敷妙	JDSW045.dd.08.02a	
窰	知三	t2	t4	端四	丁吉	JDSW132.cc.11.03a	盼	滂二	ph2	ph3	滂三	敷諫	JDSW061.dd.10.01	
琢	知二	t2	t4	端四	丁角	JDSW183.dd.08.02a	僻	滂三	ph3	ph3	滂三	敷赤	JDSW373.bb.01.04a	
銘	明四	m4	m3	明三	亡丁	JDSW216.dd.01.06	剽	滂三	ph3	ph3	滂三	敷遙	JDSW391.cc.03.05b	
靡	明三	m3	m3	明三	亡彼	JDSW030.aa.10.07c	比	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方二	JDSW116.aa.02.03	
名	明三	m3	m3	明三	亡政	JDSW046.dd.01.03a	辯	並三	b3	p2	幫二	方勉	JDSW162.bb.11.01a	
蒙	明一	m1	m3	明三	亡鉤	JDSW046.bb.05.02a	蔽	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方四	JDSW056.aa.06.03	
泄	余三	j3	j3	余三	以世	JDSW095.dd.10.03	標	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方遙	JDSW378.dd.09.06a	
覃	定一	d1	j3	余三	以冉	JDSW085.cc.04.07a	臂	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方避	JDSW188.aa.02.03a	
歸	見三	k3	g3	群三	其位	JDSW180.dd.02.03a	捶	章三	ts3	ð3	禪三	時藥	JDSW371.cc.05.05b	
建	見三	k3	g3	群三	其偃	JDSW197.dd.11.05a	埋	明二	m2	m3	明三	武乖	JDSW165.bb.03.02	
倚	影三	ø3	g3	群三	其綺	JDSW165.dd.03.02b	靡	明三	m3	m3	明三	武寄	JDSW030.aa.10.07b	
經	見四	k4	k1	見一	古定	JDSW167.dd.11.02a	盟	明二	m2	m3	明三	武耕	JDSW363.aa.05.03a	
擊	見四	k4	k1	見一	古歷	JDSW375.bb.10.02	孟	明二	m2	m3	明三	武葬	JDSW364.bb.11.04b	
滑	匣二	ɣ2	k1	見一	古沒	JDSW364.cc.08.01	緩	心三	s3	h3	曉三	況垂	JDSW180.cc.11.04b	
假	見二	k2	k1	見一	古雅	JDSW102.dd.07.01	慢	明二	m2	m3	明三	無見	JDSW389.cc.10.05a	
傀	見一	k1	h1	曉一	呼懷	JDSW03.aa.02.01a	頌	幫二	p2	p3	幫三	甫云	JDSW048.bb.05.05a	
弊	並三	b3	p3	幫三	府世	JDSW008.cc.07.09b	辯	並三	b3	p3	幫三	甫免	JDSW218.aa.11.06a	
簸	幫一	p1	p3	幫三	府佐	JDSW083.dd.06.05	俾	幫三	p3	p3	幫三	甫婢	JDSW042.aa.11.01a	
蟲	澄三	d3	d1	定一	徒冬	JDSW098.aa.11.03	拔	並二	b2	p3	幫三	甫末	JDSW385.bb.07.02a	
植	禪三	ð3	d1	定一	徒力	JDSW191.dd.10.05c	背	幫一	p1	p3	幫三	甫載	JDSW028.cc.11.03a	
抗	溪一	kh1	ɣ1	匣一	戶剛	JDSW202.dd.02.05a	敗	並二	b2	p3	幫三	甫邁	JDSW042.cc.06.06a	
倍	並一	b1	b3	並三	扶來	JDSW385.dd.06.01a	把	幫二	p2	p3	幫三	甫雅	JDSW367.cc.04.04a	
蓬	並一	b1	b3	並三	扶公	JDSW384.bb.08.02a	除	澄三	d3	d3	澄三	直慮	JDSW180.cc.04.06	
瓢	並三	b3	b3	並三	扶堯	JDSW362.aa.03.06a	綢	澄三	d3	d3	澄三	直留	JDSW169.aa.01.08a	
朋	並一	b1	b3	並三	扶恆	JDSW393.aa.01.02b	沈	書三	s3	d3	澄三	直金	JDSW044.aa.08.04	
弊	並三	b3	b3	並三	扶減	JDSW129.bb.11.01a	供	見三	k3	k3	見三	紀用	JDSW048.aa.11.04a	
被	並三	b3	b3	並三	扶義	JDSW037.aa.01.01a	干	見一	k1	ɣ1	匣一	胡旦	JDSW265.bb.04.10	
旁	並一	b1	b3	並三	扶葬	JDSW364.cc.05.05a	塊	溪一	kh1	ɣ1	匣一	胡罪	JDSW362.cc.04.10c	
標	滂三	ph3	b3	並三	扶表	JDSW257.aa.10.05a	辟	幫三	p3	ph2	滂二	芳遙	JDSW173.cc.04.07a	
便	並三	b3	b3	並三	扶面	JDSW378.bb.01.04	焱	余三	j3	ph2	滂二	芳遙	JDSW175.dd.03.05a	
扁	幫四	p4	b3	並三	扶顯	JDSW00.bb.09.05b	竅	溪四	kh4	kh1	溪一	苦弔	JDSW183.aa.02.01	
苒	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方蓋	JDSW056.aa.07.01	隳	邪四	ð4	s3	心三	雖醉	JDSW165.cc.06.04a	

Table 5. Apparent incongruent alliterations by Liu Zongchang 劉宗昌

Apparent Incongruent Alliterations									
Examples by Liu Zongchang 劉宗昌, ca. 370 CE									
Spellée			Speller			Reference			
ch	onset		onset		rm				
中	知三	t2	t4	端四	丁仲	JDSW120.dd.11.02			
卓	知二	t2	t4	端四	丁角	JDSW153.bb.04.07			
拾	禪三	ð3	g3	群三	其輒	JDSW147.bb.08.07a			
俠	匣四	ɣ4	k1	見一	古協	JDSW143.dd.07.01a			
夾	見二	k2	k1	見一	古協	JDSW124.cc.02.02a			
介	見二	k2	k1	見一	古拜	JDSW128.aa.06.06			
團	定一	d1	ð3	禪三	市專	JDSW158.aa.11.08b			
甸	定四	d4	ð3	禪三	常證	JDSW114.cc.10.04			
弊	並三	b3	p3	幫三	府世	JDSW008.cc.07.09c			
陴	並三	b3	b2	並二	房卑	JDSW141.bb.09.04b			
拔	並二	b2	b2	並二	房末	JDSW131.bb.09.06a			
辟	幫三	p3	b2	並二	房益	JDSW144.cc.01.01			
蟻	並三	b3	b3	並三	扶忍	JDSW130.dd.11.03a			
辨	並三	b3	p2	幫二	方免	JDSW008.aa.06.01a			
賓	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方刃	JDSW124.dd.04.06a			
驚	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方利	JDSW111.cc.01.08b			
辯	並三	b3	p2	幫二	方勉	JDSW145.dd.03.04a			
賁	並三	b3	p2	幫二	方問	JDSW128.cc.07.04a			
比	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方旨	JDSW127.aa.07.03a			
祔	並三	b3	p2	幫二	方符	JDSW116.dd.01.07			
編	幫三	p3	p2	幫二	方餘	JDSW152.bb.11.02a			
扑	滂一	ph1	p2	幫二	方逼	JDSW147.bb.11.04a			
幘	明四	m4	m3	明三	武遍	JDSW155.aa.02.03b			
倚	影三	ø3	g3	群三	琴綺	JDSW036.bb.08.01a			
大	定一	d1	d3	澄三	直帶	JDSW216.bb.11.01a			
沈	書三	s3	d3	澄三	直蔭	JDSW119.aa.08.06a			
度	定一	d1	d3	澄三	直路	JDSW140.cc.07.05			
肉	日三	r3	r3	日三	而樹	JDSW114.bb.11.06a			
染	日三	r3	r3	日三	而險	JDSW008.cc.02.03			
辟	幫三	p3	ph2	滂二	芳益	JDSW009.cc.06.01			
比	幫三	p3	ph2	滂二	芳美	JDSW121.bb.05.03			

Before the 5th century, the collection of alliteration threading networks in fanqie spelling in Tables 4 and 5 were all congruent alliterations at the time of authorship. The 5th-century Turkic sound harmony of written Chinese caused a bifurcation to each onset phoneme in the system and created the dichotomy of MC and TL. After the 5th century, the collection of alliteration threading networks in fanqie spelling of GY is a repository of alliterating pairs featuring either two MC onsets, or two TL onsets, or competing MC and TL onsets. The latter is the apparent incongruent alliteration *leige* 類隔. *Leige* 類隔 is a relic of legacy spellings. In the pre-5th-century legacy spellings by Xu Miao, Liu ZongChang, there were all congruent *yinhe* 音和 with the currency of the time when authored ca. 370 CE. Therefore, one may say *leige* *bukexin* 類隔不可信 “incongruency is not to be believed” in spellings.

4. Yunjing as a repository of residues from competing MC and TL rhymes

From Guangyun, it is difficult to sort out the effects of Tabghatch sinification on the rhyme system of written Chinese. The subject, however, can be approached in the superstructure of the Yunjing system 韻鏡系統 which includes Yunjing 韻鏡 and Qiyinlue 七音略. The YJ system consists of 43 charts with annotations in *qing* 輕 versus *zhong* 重 and *kai* 開 versus *he* 合. We interpret *qing* 輕 versus *zhong* 重 to be MC versus TL in rhymes, and *kai* 開 versus *he* 合 referring to unrounded versus rounded vowels. We have found, via historical rhyming practices of the pre-5th-century eras, that there are 11 homologous groups for rhymes of written Chinese (Lim 2010:148-165) 漢字韻類同源組. Each HG (homologous group) consists of both MC and TL rhyme varieties originating from the same parentage in the pre-5th-century eras, thus, the term homologous. This HG superstructure of the Yunjing system is a repository of residues from competing MC and TL rhymes. The following Table 6 consolidates eleven homologous groups displayed in 11 tables, i.e., Tables 67-77, in Lim (2010:158-160). In Table 6, those YJ chart labeled heavy or *zhong* 重 for the first

Table 7. Sample pairs of competing MC and TL rhymes

01	東	01:t:l:1	東	taɔŋ		41	師	06:s:l:2	脂	shi
02	冬	02:t:l:1	冬	t(a)ɔŋ		42	衰	07:s:l:2	脂	shuai
03	通	01:th:l:1	東	thaɔŋ		43	矢	06:s:l:3	旨	shi
04	佟	02:th:l:1	鍾	th(a)ɔŋ		44	水	07:s:l:3	旨	shui
05	公	01:k:l:1	東	kaɔŋ		45	私	06:s:l:4	脂	si
06	攻	02:k:l:1	鍾	k(a)ɔŋ		46	綏	07:s:l:4	脂	sui
07	送	01:s:lll:1	送	saɔŋ		47	利	06:l:lll:3	至	li
08	宋	02:s:lll:1	宋	s(a)ɔŋ		48	類	07:l:lll:3	至	lei
09	麴	01:kh:IV:3	屋	kheɔk		49	恣	06:ts:lll:4	至	zi
10	曲	02:kh:IV:3	燭	kh(e)ɔk		50	醉	07:ts:lll:4	至	zui
11	屋	01:ɸ:IV:1	屋	əɔk		51	機	09:k:l:3	微	ji
12	沃	02:ɸ:IV:1	沃	(a)ɔk		52	歸	10:k:l:3	微	kui
13	獨	01:d:IV:1	屋	daɔk		53	既	09:k:lll:3	未	ji
14	毒	02:d:IV:1	沃	d(a)ɔk		54	貴	10:k:lll:3	未	kui
15	哭	01:kh:IV:1	屋	khaɔk		55	毅	09:g:lll:3	未	yi
16	酷	02:kh:IV:1	沃	kh(a)ɔk		56	魏	10:g:lll:3	未	wei
17	粥	01:ts:IV:3	屋	tseɔk		57	除	11:d:l:3	魚	chui
18	燭	02:ts:IV:3	燭	ts(e)ɔk		58	厨	12:d:l:3	虞	chui
19	叔	01:s:IV:3	屋	seɔk		59	書	11:s:l:3	魚	shu
20	束	02:s:IV:3	燭	s(e)ɔk		60	輸	12:s:l:3	虞	shu
21	塾	01:ɸ:IV:3	屋	ðeɔk		61	魚	11:ŋ:l:3	魚	yu
22	蜀	02:ɸ:IV:3	燭	ð(e)ɔk		62	虞	12:ŋ:l:3	虞	yu
23	六	01:l:IV:3	屋	leɔk		63	去	11:kh:l:3	魚	qu
24	錄	02:l:IV:3	燭	l(e)ɔk		64	驅	12:kh:l:3	虞	qu
25	肉	01:r:IV:3	屋	reɔk		65	臺	13:d:l:1	哈	tai
26	辱	02:r:IV:3	燭	r(e)ɔk		66	頽	14:d:l:1	灰	toe
27	肅	01:s:IV:4	屋	sioɔk		67	該	13:k:l:1	哈	kai
28	粟	02:s:IV:4	燭	s(i)ɔk		68	傀	14:k:l:1	灰	khui
29	技	04:g:ll:3	紙	ji		69	開	13:kh:l:1	哈	khai
30	跪	05:g:ll:3	紙	kui		70	恢	14:kh:l:1	灰	hui
31	紙	04:ts:ll:3	紙	zhi		71	猜	13:ts:h:l:1	哈	cai
32	捶	05:ts:ll:3	紙	chui		72	崔	14:ts:h:l:1	灰	cui
33	飢	06:k:l:3	脂	ji		73	哀	13:ɸ:l:1	哈	ai
34	龜	07:k:l:3	脂	kui		74	隈	14:ɸ:l:1	灰	uei
35	几	06:k:l:3	脂	ji		75	哈	13:x:l:1	哈	hai
36	軌	07:k:l:3	脂	kui		76	灰	14:x:l:1	灰	hui
37	緻	06:d:lll:3	至	zhi		77	來	13:l:l:1	哈	lai
38	墜	07:d:lll:3	至	zhui		78	雷	14:l:l:1	灰	lei
39	脂	06:ts:l:3	脂	zhi		79	皆	13:k:l:2	皆	jie
40	錐	07:ts:l:3	脂	zhui		80	乖	14:k:l:2	皆	kuai

81	揩	13:kh:l:2	皆	kai		121	害	15:y:ll:1	泰	hai
82	漚	14:kh:l:2	皆	hui		122	會	16:y:ll:1	泰	hui
83	諧	13:y:t:2	皆	xie		123	根	17:k:l:1	痕	ken
84	懷	14:y:t:2	皆	huai		124	昆	18:k:l:1	魂	khun
85	難	13:k:l:4	齊	ji		125	恩	17:ø:l:1	痕	en
86	圭	14:k:l:4	齊	kui		126	溫	18:ø:l:1	魂	uen
87	谿	13:kh:l:4	齊	xi		127	痕	17:y:l:1	痕	hen
88	睽	14:kh:l:4	齊	khui		128	魂	18:y:l:1	魂	huen
89	乃	13:n:ll:1	海	nai		129	真	17:ts:l:3	真	zhen
90	餽	14:n:ll:1	賄	nui		130	諄	18:ts:l:3	諄	zhuen
91	在	13:dz:ll:1	海	zai		131	神	17:dz:l:3	真	shen
92	罪	14:dz:ll:1	賄	zui		132	脣	18:dz:l:3	諄	chuen
93	海	13:x:ll:1	海	hai		133	辰	17:ð:l:3	真	chen
94	賄	14:x:ll:1	賄	hui		134	純	18:ð:l:3	諄	chuen
95	戴	13:t:ll:1	代	dai		135	吉	17:k:IV:4	質	ji
96	對	14:t:ll:1	隊	dui		136	橘	18:k:IV:4	術	ju
97	貸	13:th:ll:1	代	dai		137	悉	17:s:IV:4	質	xie
98	退	14:th:ll:1	隊	thui		138	恤	18:s:IV:4	術	xu
99	代	13:d:ll:1	代	dai		139	津	17:ts:l:4	真	jin
100	隊	14:d:ll:1	隊	dui		140	遵	18:ts:l:4	諄	zun
101	耐	13:n:ll:1	代	nai		141	親	17:tsh:l:4	真	qin
102	內	14:n:ll:1	隊	nei		142	逡	18:tsh:l:4	諄	qun
103	慨	13:kh:ll:1	代	khai		143	辛	17:s:l:4	真	xin
104	塊	14:kh:ll:1	隊	khuai		144	苟	18:s:l:4	諄	xun
105	賽	13:s:ll:1	代	sai		145	很	17:y:ll:1	很	hen
106	碎	14:s:ll:1	隊	sui		146	混	18:y:ll:1	混	huen
107	誠	13:k:ll:2	怪	jie		147	恨	17:y:ll:1	恨	hen
108	怪	14:k:ll:2	怪	kuai		148	恩	18:y:ll:1	恩	huen
109	械	13:y:ll:2	怪	xie		149	震	17:ts:ll:3	震	zhen
110	壞	14:y:ll:2	怪	huai		150	稔	18:ts:ll:3	稔	zhuen
111	制	13:ts:ll:3	祭	zhi		151	軫	17:ts:ll:3	軫	zhen
112	贅	14:ts:ll:3	祭	zhui		152	準	18:ts:ll:3	準	zhuen
113	掣	13:tsh:ll:3	祭	che		153	晉	17:ts:ll:4	震	jin
114	轟	14:tsh:ll:3	祭	chui		154	隼	18:ts:ll:4	稔	jun
115	世	13:s:ll:3	祭	shi		155	信	17:s:ll:3	震	xin
116	稅	14:s:ll:3	祭	shui		156	峻	18:s:ll:3	稔	jun
117	計	13:k:ll:4	霽	ji		157	瑟	17:s:IV:2	質	se
118	桂	14:k:ll:4	霽	kui		158	率	18:s:IV:2	術	shuai
119	蟹	15:y:ll:2	蟹	xie		159	實	17:dz:IV:3	質	shi
120	夥	16:y:ll:2	蟹	huo		160	術	18:dz:IV:3	術	shu

161	栗	17:l:IV:3	質	li		201	健	21:g:III:3	願	jian
162	律	18:l:IV:3	術	lǔ		202	圈	22:g:III:3	願	quan
163	斤	19:k:l:3	欣	jin		203	堰	21:ø:III:3	願	yan
164	君	20:k:l:3	文	jun		204	怨	22:ø:III:3	願	yuan
165	勤	19:g:l:3	欣	qin		205	線	21:s:III:4	線	xian
166	群	20:g:l:3	文	qun		206	選	22:s:III:4	線	xuan
167	殷	19:ø:l:3	欣	in		207	羨	21:δ:III:4	線	xian
168	焄	20:ø:l:3	文	uen		208	選	22:δ:III:4	線	xuan
169	欣	19:x:l:3	欣	xin		209	殺	21:s:IV:2	鎋	sha
170	熏	20:x:l:3	文	xun		210	刷	22:s:IV:2	鎋	shua
171	隱	19:ø:II:3	隱	in		211	薛	21:s:IV:4	薛	xue
172	憚	20:ø:II:3	吻	huen		212	雪	22:s:IV:4	薛	xue
173	近	19:g:III:3	焮	jin		213	竊	21:tsh:IV:4	薛	qie
174	郡	20:g:III:3	問	jun		214	驪	22:tsh:IV:4	薛	cui
175	焮	19:x:III:3	焮	xin		215	挫	21:d:IV:4	薛	ye
176	訓	20:x:III:3	問	xun		216	悅	22:d:IV:4	薛	yue
177	乞	19:kh:IV:3	迄	qi		217	單	23:t:l:1	寒	tan
178	屈	20:kh:IV:3	物	qu		218	端	24:t:l:1	桓	tuan
179	閒	21:k:l:2	山	xian		219	灘	23:th:l:1	寒	than
180	鰥	22:k:l:2	山	kuan		220	湍	24:th:l:1	桓	thuan
181	山	21:s:l:2	山	shan		221	壇	23:d:l:1	寒	than
182	栓	22:s:l:2	山	shuan		222	團	24:d:l:1	桓	thuan
183	言	21:g:l:3	元	yan		223	干	23:k:l:1	寒	kan
184	元	22:g:l:3	元	yuan		224	官	24:k:l:1	桓	kuan
185	遷	21:tsh:l:4	仙	qian		225	看	23:kh:l:1	寒	khan
186	詮	22:tsh:l:4	仙	quan		226	寬	24:kh:l:1	桓	khuan
187	錢	21:dz:l:4	仙	qian		227	珊	23:s:l:1	寒	san
188	全	22:dz:l:4	仙	quan		228	酸	24:s:l:1	桓	suan
189	仙	21:s:l:4	仙	xian		229	安	23:ø:l:1	寒	an
190	宣	22:s:l:4	仙	xuan		230	剗	24:ø:l:1	桓	uan
191	涎	21:δ:l:4	仙	xian		231	寒	23:y:l:1	寒	han
192	旋	22:δ:l:4	仙	xuan		232	桓	24:y:l:1	桓	huan
193	踐	21:dz:II:4	獮	jian		233	蘭	23:l:l:1	寒	lan
194	隼	22:dz:II:4	獮	jun		234	鑾	24:l:l:1	桓	luan
195	獮	21:s:II:4	獮	xian		235	姦	23:k:l:2	刪	jian
196	選	22:s:II:4	獮	xuan		236	關	24:k:l:2	刪	kuan
197	襴	21:k:III:2	襴	jian		237	連	23:l:l:3	仙	lian
198	鰥	22:k:III:2	襴	kuan		238	攀	24:l:l:3	仙	luan
199	莧	21:y:III:2	襴	xian		239	然	23:r:l:3	仙	ran
200	幻	22:y:III:2	襴	huan		240	壩	24:r:l:3	仙	ruan

241	乾	23:g:l:3	仙	qian		281	翰	23:y:ll:1	翰	han
242	權	24:g:l:3	仙	quan		282	換	24:y:ll:1	換	huan
243	煙	23:ø:l:4	先	yan		283	爛	23:l:ll:1	翰	lan
244	淵	24:ø:l:4	先	yuan		284	亂	24:l:ll:1	換	luan
245	賢	23:y:l:4	先	xian		285	諫	23:k:ll:2	諫	jian
246	玄	24:y:l:4	先	xuan		286	慣	24:k:ll:2	諫	kuan
247	堅	23:k:l:4	先	jian		287	銓	23:tsh:ll:2	諫	chan
248	涓	24:k:l:4	先	juan		288	篡	24:tsh:ll:2	諫	chuan
249	攤	23:n:ll:1	旱	than		289	達	23:d:IV:1	曷	ta
250	暖	24:n:ll:1	暖	nuan		290	奪	24:d:IV:1	末	tuo
251	侃	23:kh:ll:1	旱	khan		291	葛	23:k:IV:1	曷	ge
252	款	24:kh:ll:1	暖	khuan		292	括	24:k:IV:1	末	khuo
253	旱	23:y:ll:1	旱	han		293	渴	23:kh:IV:1	曷	khe
254	緩	24:y:ll:1	暖	huan		294	闊	24:kh:IV:1	末	khuo
255	嬾	23:l:ll:1	旱	lan		295	曷	23:y:IV:1	曷	he
256	卵	24:l:ll:1	暖	luan		296	活	24:y:IV:1	末	huo
257	展	23:t:ll:3	獮	zhan		297	黠	23:y:IV:2	黠	xia
258	轉	24:t:ll:3	獮	zhuan		298	滑	24:y:IV:2	黠	hua
259	蹇	23:k:ll:3	獮	jian		299	哲	23:t:IV:3	薛	zhe
260	卷	24:k:ll:3	獮	juan		300	輟	24:t:IV:3	薛	zhui
261	件	23:g:ll:3	獮	jian		301	折	23:ts:IV:3	薛	zhe
262	圈	24:g:ll:3	獮	quan		302	拙	24:ts:IV:3	薛	zhuo
263	闌	23:tsh:ll:3	獮	chan		303	設	23:s:IV:3	薛	she
264	舛	24:tsh:ll:3	獮	chuan		304	說	24:s:IV:3	薛	shui
265	輦	23:l:ll:3	獮	nian		305	烈	23:l:IV:3	薛	lie
266	攣	24:l:ll:3	獮	luan		306	劣	24:l:IV:3	薛	lie
267	旦	23:t:ll:1	翰	tan		307	蕭	25:s:l:4	蕭	siao
268	鍛	24:t:ll:1	換	tuan		308	宵	26:s:l:4	宵	siau
269	難	23:n:ll:1	翰	nan		309	篠	25:s:ll:4	蕭	siao
270	僕	24:n:ll:1	換	nuo		310	小	26:s:ll:4	宵	siou
271	肝	23:k:ll:1	翰	kan		311	嘯	25:s:ll:4	蕭	siao
272	貫	24:k:ll:1	換	kuan		312	笑	26:s:ll:4	宵	siou
273	岸	23:g:ll:1	翰	an		313	饗	25:th:l:1	豪	thao
274	玩	24:g:ll:1	換	uan		314	偷	37:th:l:1	侯	thou
275	粲	23:tsh:ll:1	翰	can		315	陶	25:d:l:1	豪	thao
276	竄	24:tsh:ll:1	換	cuan		316	頭	37:d:l:1	侯	thou
277	散	23:s:ll:1	翰	san		317	高	25:k:l:1	豪	kao
278	筭	24:s:ll:1	換	suan		318	鉤	37:k:l:1	侯	kou
279	漢	23:x:ll:1	翰	han		319	豪	25:y:l:1	豪	hao
280	喚	24:x:ll:1	換	huan		320	侯	37:y:l:1	侯	hou

321	勞	25:l:l:1	豪	lao		361	鶯	31:ø:l:1	唐	yang
322	樓	37:l:l:1	侯	lou		362	汪	32:ø:l:1	唐	uang
323	巢	25:dz:l:2	爻	dzao		363	他	27:th:l:1	歌	tha
324	愁	37:dz:l:2	侯	dzou		364	訖	28:th:l:1	戈	thuo
325	苗	25:m:l:3	宵	meao		365	歌	27:k:l:1	歌	ke
326	謀	37:m:l:3	尤	meou		366	戈	28:k:l:1	戈	ke
327	超	25:th:l:3	宵	theo		367	阿	27:ø:l:1	歌	a
328	抽	37:th:l:3	尤	theou		368	倭	28:ø:l:1	戈	uo
329	驕	25:k:l:3	宵	keao		369	何	27:y:l:1	歌	he
330	鳩	37:k:l:3	尤	keou		370	和	28:y:l:1	戈	huo
331	喬	25:g:l:3	宵	geao		371	哿	27:k:l:1	哿	ke
332	求	37:g:l:3	尤	geou		372	果	28:k:l:1	果	kuo
333	燒	25:s:l:3	宵	seao		373	可	27:kh:l:1	哿	khe
334	收	37:s:l:3	尤	seou		374	賴	28:kh:l:1	果	khe
335	妖	25:ø:l:3	宵	eao		375	荷	27:y:l:1	哿	he
336	優	37:ø:l:3	尤	eou		376	禍	28:y:l:1	果	huo
337	囂	25:x:l:3	宵	xeao		377	箇	27:k:ll:1	箇	ke
338	休	37:x:l:3	尤	xeou		378	過	28:k:ll:1	過	kuo
339	鴟	25:j:l:3	宵	xeao		379	珂	27:kh:ll:1	箇	khe
340	尤	37:j:l:3	尤	yeou		380	課	28:kh:ll:1	過	khe
341	僚	25:l:l:3	宵	leao		381	餓	27:ng:ll:1	箇	e
342	劉	37:l:l:3	尤	leou		382	卧	28:ng:ll:1	過	uo
343	饒	25:r:l:3	宵	reao		383	佐	27:ts:ll:1	箇	zuo
344	柔	37:r:l:3	尤	reou		384	挫	28:ts:ll:1	過	cuo
345	賀	27:y:ll:1	箇	he		385	呵	27:x:ll:1	箇	he
346	和	28:y:ll:1	過	huo		386	貨	28:x:ll:1	過	huo
347	嘉	29:k:l:2	麻	jia		387	恪	31:kh:IV:1	鐸	khe
348	瓜	30:k:l:2	麻	kua		388	廓	32:kh:IV:1	鐸	khuo
349	煨	29:x:l:2	麻	xia		389	行	33:y:l:2	庚	xing
350	花	30:x:l:2	麻	hua		390	橫	34:y:l:2	庚	heng
351	遐	29:y:l:2	麻	xia		391	格	33:k:IV:2	陌	ke
352	華	30:y:l:2	麻	hua		392	號	34:k:IV:2	陌	kuo
353	賈	29:k:ll:2	馬	jia		393	經	35:k:l:4	青	jing
354	寡	30:k:ll:2	馬	kua		394	扁	36:k:l:4	青	jiong
355	雅	29:g:ll:2	馬	ia		395	麤	35:y:IV:2	麥	he
356	瓦	30:g:ll:2	馬	ua		396	獲	36:y:IV:2	麥	huo
357	嚇	29:x:ll:2	禡	xia		397	金	38:k:l:3	侵	jin
358	化	30:x:ll:2	禡	hua		398	兼	39:k:l:3	鹽	jian
359	剛	31:k:l:1	唐	kang		399	枕	38:ts:ll:3	寢	zhen
360	光	32:k:l:1	唐	kuang		400	颯	39:ts:ll:3	琰	zhan

401	立	38:l:IV:3	緝	li
402	獵	39:l:IV:3	葉	lie
403	航	31:ɣ:l:1	唐	hang
404	黃	32:ɣ:l:1	唐	huang
405	羌	31:kh:l:3	陽	qiang
406	匡	32:kh:l:3	陽	khuang
407	強	31:g:l:3	陽	qiang
408	狂	32:g:l:3	陽	khuang
409	羊	31:k:l:3	陽	yang
410	王	32:k:l:3	陽	uang
411	沆	31:ɣ:ll:1	蕩	hang
412	晃	32:ɣ:ll:1	蕩	huang
413	鞅	31:Ø:ll:3	養	yang
414	枉	32:Ø:ll:3	養	uang
415	響	31:x:ll:3	養	xiang
416	恍	32:x:ll:3	養	huang
417	抗	31:kh:lll:1	宕	khang
418	曠	32:kh:lll:1	宕	khuang
419	盎	31:Ø:lll:3	漾	ang
420	汪	32:Ø:lll:3	漾	uang
421	強	31:g:lll:3	漾	qiang
422	誑	32:g:lll:3	漾	khuang
423	向	31:x:lll:3	漾	xiang
424	況	32:x:lll:3	漾	khuang
425	各	31:k:IV:1	鐸	ke
426	郭	32:k:IV:1	鐸	kuo
427	莖	35:ɣ:l:2	耕	heng
428	宏	36:ɣ:l:2	耕	hong
429	輕	33:kh:l:4	庚	jing
430	傾	34:kh:l:4	庚	qing
431	頸	33:g:l:4	庚	jing
432	瓊	34:g:l:4	庚	qiong
433	格	33:k:IV:2	陌	ge
434	號	34:k:IV:2	陌	guo
435	隔	35:k:IV:4	麥	ge
436	蠓	36:k:IV:4	麥	guo
437	覈	35:ɣ:IV:2	青	he
438	獲	36:ɣ:IV:2	青	huo

5. Conclusions

This report describes the effects of the historical event, i.e., the 5th-century Tabghatch sinification, on the development of the Sinitic phonological system. Via Turkic imperatives for fortis/lenis opposition and backness/frontness opposition, Tabghatch sinification managed to make the classical 18-onset-phoneme system to proliferate into a 48-onset system of the post 5th-century eras. The 18-onset-phoneme system is the model code (MC) that Tabghatch government officials tried to emulate. The 30 new onset sounds resulted from the emulation process is the Turkic lect (TL). The essential results after the Turkic participation are: grade-1 and grade-4 vowels are associated with the 18 MC onsets, and grade-2 and grade-3 vowels with the 30 TL onsets. MC onsets are all plosives all strongly executed with except the null and TL onsets are all relatively, softly executed.

In the pre-5th-century legacy spellings, the alliterations may come in three different pairings: MC with MC, TL with TL, or MC with TL. The latter would manifest to be incongruent alliterations to the ears of the post 5th-century audiences, thus, the term incongruent alliteration *leige* 類隔. Obviously, legacy spellings were congruent alliterations when authored in the pre-5th-century eras and the congruency are recognized as *yinhe* 音和. Thus, we may say that incongruent alliteration is not to be believed *leige bu kexin* 類隔不可信. Incongruent alliteration *leige* 類隔 is, therefore, a marker for pre 5th-century legacy spellings.

Guangyun's onset system is defined by alliteration threading networks which contains incongruent alliterations *leige* 類隔, therefore, it is a repository of pre-5th-century legacy spellings.

The subject of rhyme system is studied in the superstructure of the Yunjing system 韻鏡系統 which includes Yunjing 韻鏡 and Qiyinlue 七音略. The YJ system consists of 43 charts with annotations in *qing* 輕 versus *zhong* 重 and *kai* 開 versus *he* 合. We interpret *qing* 輕 versus *zhong* 重 to be MC versus TL in rhymes, and *kai*

開 versus he 合 referring to unrounded versus rounded vowels. We have found, via historical rhyming practices of the pre-5th-century eras, that there are 11 homologous groups for rhymes of written Chinese. Each HG consists of both MC and TL rhyme varieties originating from the same parentage in the pre-5th-century eras, thus, this HG superstructure of the Yunjung system is a repository of residues from competing MC and TL rhymes. Two hundred and nineteen pairs, or four hundred and thirty-eight entries, of competing MC and TL rhymes show that most of the TL rhymes are monophthongs and most of the MC rhymes are diphthongs confirming Turkic imperative (b) extreme aversion to diphthongs.

Readers may notice that this report has no literature review of previous works on the subject by other authorities. Among the traditional scholarship, there is no lack of scholars who recognizes the presence of MC and TL dichotomy as Chen (1972) so thoroughly documented. We may cite two from Chen. Qian Daxin 錢大昕 did recognize that (1) there were no soft labial onsets in the old days 古無輕唇音, and (2) incongruent alliterations are not to be believed 舌音類隔之說不可信, and Huang Kan 黃侃 was aware of the differentiation between legacy and modern sounds in alliteration, guben sheng 古本聲 and jin bian sheng 今變聲. But they did not identify the cause of the dichotomy. We have also tried to engage post-1972 scholarships and failed to find any works in the mainstream scholarship, such as Shao (邵 1982), Baxter (1992), Chen (陳 1972, 1999), and Shen (沈 2020), acknowledging the presence of the 5th-century Turkic sinification and its role in Sinitic historical phonology. This work is essentially an attempt to add a note and complement the mainstream scholarship.

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拓跋氏漢化及切韻

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摘 要

拓跋氏於西元四九五年詔示斷北語、接受並運用漢字漢語為統治漢人的溝通工具。此漢化政策促成一個大規模的強使突厥語人學習漢語的局面、從事第二語言習得 (second language acquisition 或簡稱 SLA)。此項 SLA 把「突厥方音」引進漢字語音系統。

這 SLA 事件、事實上是研究聲韻學的盲點。揭開此盲點、我們可以合理的解釋切韻系統的一些二元對立共存的現象、例如古今、南北、輕重、專出己意及祖述舊音等等、乃突厥語人從事 SLA 必然產生的中介音系的體現。藉此、韻鏡的雙重性格：共時性和歷時性，得明確的突顯。清儒的古音部和次第相連的韻鏡圖號有密切的關係。

我們發現古本聲類有十八、因拓跋氏的參與而衍生成今變聲的四十八類。也因為拓跋氏的參與、吾人可認定韻鏡的四十三圖實可溯源自古韻鏡十一圖。

廣韻忠實地保存著第五世紀前的反切舊文。因此、廣韻呈現許多上字反切類隔的現象。類隔是反應舊文反切的事實。

韻鏡系統（包括韻鏡及七音略）的“輕重”標記，忠實地記錄著、突厥官員習得漢語時的中介語音。韻鏡系統中標“輕”的韻圖、羅列漢字古本韻。而標“重”者、則展示帶著突厥方音的韻類。

關鍵詞：拓跋氏漢化；漢語本音；突厥方音；古本聲韻；今變聲韻

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