## 摘要

本研究基于实验音系学的视角,采用田野调查、声学数据统计及音系分析相 结合的方法,分单字调、连读变调及轻声三个部分,对兖州方言的声调系统进行 了较为全面的研究。研究实际采用的发音人数据为 33 份,其中,单字调研究主 要采用了 30 位发音人的语音数据,分为老、中、轻三个年龄组,每组 10 名,男 性女性各 5 人, 共获得 1468 个读例。连读变调研究选取了单字调朗读效果较好 的 14 名发音人的数据,包含三个年龄组,男女各 7 名,共获得 668 个读例。而 轻声词组的朗读由于代际差异较大,目前只选用了6位老年发音人(男女各3名, 含新采集的3位发音人)的数据,共获得806个读例。研究发现:1)兖州方言 声调系统中四个声调的音系表达分别为LM、HL、H及ML(L),其中T1的调型、 T2 的调值及 T4 的解释方案与前人记录存在一定差异, 且 T1 及 T4 两个声调内 部出现了多个变体。借助此方案,本研究尝试对兖州方言的连读变调及轻声变调 规则进行了解释。2)在有关双凹调的问题上,从共时层面看,兖州方言目前应 只存在去声 T4 一个凹调,其具体表现接近于后凹调;前人记录中的另一个凹调 ——阴平调 T1 在性质上更接近于低升调。3) 兖州方言中各轻声后字均发生声调 中和现象,符合音系中"轻声"的特点。但在时长和元音音质这两个声学特征上, 不同声调组合中轻声后字的表现存在差异。当前字调为 T1 时,轻声后字不论在 时长还是元音音质上都未表现出明显的弱化;说明此时轻声后字不符合语音中 "轻读"的特点,具备"轻声不轻"这一特征,这一点在男性发音人的数据中尤 为明显。

关键词:实验音系学;兖州方言声调;单字调;连读变调;轻声

II

## Abstract

This thesis makes a comprehensive study on the tone system of Yanzhou Mandarin in three parts: citation tones, tone sandhi and neutral tone, which combines fieldwork with acoustic data and phonological analysis from the perspective of Laboratory Phonology. The analysis is mainly about 33 speakers' data. Among them, there are 30 speakers' data used in the study of citation tone, which were divided into three age groups (the old, the middle-aged and the young), 10 speakers in each group, half male and half female, from which 1468 tokens were obtained. In the study of tone sandhi, the data of 14 speakers who produced valid results in the previous part were selected, including three age groups (the old, the middle-aged and the young), 7 males and 7 females, from which 668 tokens were obtained. However, because of the distinct intergenerational differences in the reading of neutral tone targets, only 6 elderly speakers (3 males and 3 females, including 3 newly collected speakers) were selected, from which 806 tokens were obtained. The research shows that: 1) The four tones in the tone system of Yanzhou Mandarin are concluded as LM, HL, H and ML(L), among which the tonal type of T1, the tone digit of T2 and the explanation of T4 are somewhat different from previous records, and there are several subtypes in T1 and T4. With the help of this scheme, the study also attempts to explain the tone-sandhi rules of Yanzhou Mandarin. 2) In view of "the double concave tone", there is only one concave tone in Yanzhou Mandarin from the synchronic perspective, which is Qusheng T4 in the shape of a back concave tone. Yinping tone T1, recorded as another concave tone by previous researchers, is closer to a low rising tone in nature. 3) In Yanzhou Mandarin, the neutralization of tone does occur, which is a proof of the existence of neutral tone in phonology. But the duration and vowel quality of words in the different combinations of tone are distinct. When the tone of the front syllable is T1, there is no obvious weakening in these two characteristics of the following syllable. It shows that the acoustic characteristics of the syllable after T1 is not weak and conforms the feature of "neutral tone without weakening", which is particularly obvious in the data of male speakers.

Keywords: Laboratory Phonology; Yanzhou Mandarin; citation tone; tone sandhi; neutral tone