## 地图 36 "膀"词族

## Map 36 Word family "BANG"

### 1. 条目

"膀"这一语素的原义是大腿 thigh,但后来转用于表三种词义:飞鸟或飞虫的 wing、人体的 shoulder 以及人体的 arm,现在在不少方言中构成一个词族 (word family)。"膀"或者充当词根,如"膀子",或者充当位于非首位的有缘成份(其作用也接近后缀),如"翅膀"。绘制本地图旨在表现"膀"的所指因地域不同的情况,但由于收入地图中的方言点因条目而不尽相同,故目前只能算是一种尝试。

#### 2. 分类

A 的三种大符号表示充当词根的"膀"的分布点,多数是"膀子",也包括"膀得"、单音节的"膀"以及"膀膀"。B 的三种小符号表示充当非首位成份的"膀"的所指,如"胳膀"(arm 义)、"手膀"(arm 或 shoulder 义)、"肩膀"、"翅膀"、"翼膀"等。

## 3. 分布特征与解释

#### 3-1 "膀子"的所指

有一些方言"膀子"的所指不只是一种,如宁夏银川方言,它既指鸟类的 wing 又指人类的 shoulder; 又如武汉方言,它既指 arm 又指 shoulder。这里也会有发生同音冲突的余地,但一般可以回避,因为多数能在语境中判断出其词义。即使也存在这种方言,但总的来说多数方言有分工的趋势。"膀子"指wing 的方言为数不多,多数都出现在黄河以北、北纬 36 度以北的地区。"膀子"指 shoulder 或 arm 的方言为数多,指 shoulder 的多分布于淮河以北地区,指 arm 的多分布于江淮地区,可以说在地理上形成互补关系。但在长江中上游地区则出现"膀子"既指 arm 又指 shoulder 的方言,如上述武汉方言。

#### 3-2 充当非首位成份的"膀"的所指

这类"膀",下文标作"-膀"。"-膀"的分布领域在三种词义中都是广大的,但有一个明确的趋势是,指 arm 的"-膀"很少出现在淮河-秦岭以北。淮河-秦岭以北地区最常见的是 shoulder 和 wing 都用"-膀",如"肩膀"/"翅膀",但 arm 则不用"-膀",而多数都说"胳膊"或"胳臂"。指 arm 的"-膀",其主要的分布领域是长江流域,但浙江和福建出现两种带状分布,是值得注意的:一种是自安徽东南部至浙江宁波的一条,另一种是自江西经过闽北以至闽东沿岸的一条。如萧山(浙江)和罗源(福建)都说"手膀子"。这种带状分布可能暗示词语传播之路的存在。

长江流域的方言也有三种词义范畴都使用"-膀"来表示的,如:

 arm
 shoulder
 wing

 昆明:
 手膀子
 肩膀
 翅膀

 星子(江西):
 胳膀
 肩膀
 翅膀

但这种整齐的体系不一定占多数,而有不少三种范畴的两种或一种才使用"-膀"的,如:

 arm
 shoulder
 wing

 南京
 膀子
 肩膀(头)
 翅膀

 永丰(江西)
 手杆
 肩珠
 翼膀

指 shoulder 和 wing 的"-膀"已经侵入了长江以南地区,只是东南沿岸地区的多数方言仍不接受。

原指大腿的"膀"转用于表 wing、shoulder 和 arm,这一变化首先发生在 wing 和 shoulder,可能 由于鸟类的翅膀与人类的肩膀在器官形态上的类似性。这一变化发生在淮河以北地区,后世也传播到 南方地区,可能并行传播,但有些方言只接受了其中的一个。"膀"转用于 arm,是与 shoulder 类推所致。按,"胳膊"的后一语素原来也指 shoulder。发生这一变化的年代应属晚期,变化的发源地很可能是江淮。

<u>关键词</u>: 词族、词汇体系、所指的转移、词语传播的路线, 江淮地区

#### **Summary**

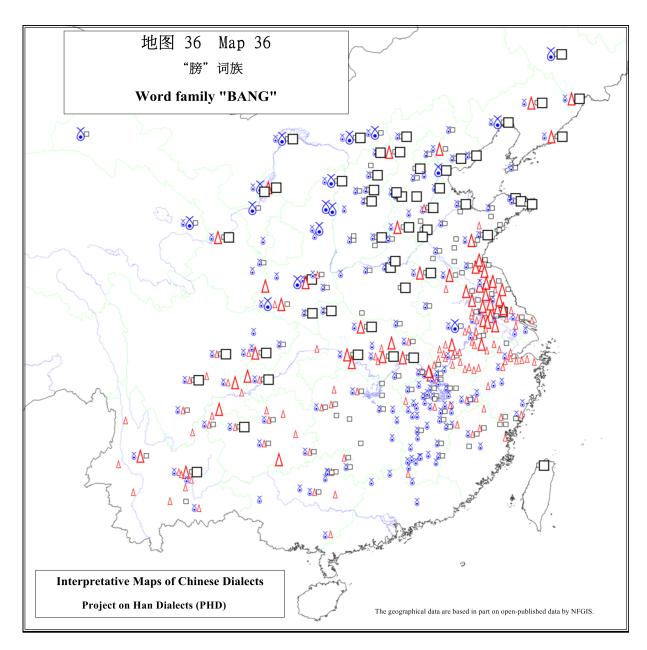
This map illustrates the referents of the morpheme *bang* 膀, which is commonly used to refer to human "shoulder" and "arm" as well as the "wing" of birds and insects.

The three large symbols in Type A indicate that the lexical form in which bang 膀 is used as the head refers to either "shoulder", "arm" or "wing". The form bangzi 膀子 which represents "wing" distributes to the north of the Yellow River. The one representing "arm" is mostly seen along the Yangtze River. The one representing "shoulder" is spread widely to the north of the Yangtze River and overlaps with the distribution of "arm" in the upstream of the Yangtze River.

The three small symbols in Type B show the lexical forms in which bang 膀 is used in non-initial positions, such as jianbang 肩膀 and chibang 翅膀 (represented here as - bang 膀). The form - bang 膀 representing "arm" is mainly distributed in the Yangtze basin, scarcely seen to the north of the Huaihe River. Its distribution in Zhejiang and Fujian would suggest its transmission route. The form - bang 膀 representing "shoulder" and "wing" is observed across the country except for the Southeast coast. The word bang 膀 originally meant "thigh", but would have semantically shifted to "wing" and "shoulder", then further shifted to "arm" later on.

*Keywords*: word family, lexical system, referential shift, route of word transmission, Jianghuai area

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



# A. "膀子"的所指/Referents of "bangzi"

↑ 胳膊 / arm

□ 肩膀 / shoulder

🏅 翅膀 / wing

## B. "-膀"(非首位的)的所指/Referents of non-initial "bang"

- △ 胳膊 / arm
- □ 肩膀 / shoulder
- ŏ 翅膀 / wing