地图 45 走

Map 45 To walk

1. 目的

通过解释〈走〉to walk 义动词的方言地图来分析各种词形的地理分布及词义的转移。

2. 词形分类

可以分成三大类:"走"、"行"和"跑"。其他词形都归入最后一类。

A. 走(包括"地走"和"步走")

[tsou]、[t¢iu]、[tsau]、[tseu]、[tçiau]、[tsə] 等

B. 11

[haŋ]、[xaŋ]、[aŋ]、[fia]、[fiaŋ]、[yoŋ]、[kiaŋ] 等 C. 跑

- 跑: [pʰao]、[pʰo]、[bo]、[pæ] 等
- ·波: [pwu]、[pwu] ("跑"的变异)
- D. 其他(下面举些有代表性的语音形式)
 - · 逃: [diɔ]
 - 杠: [kã](包括"杠路")
 - 开舔[khai thien]、开赵[khai tsau]
 - 去[kʰw]、车[tsʰε]、荡[taŋ]、蝇[εŋ]、赵[ts̞ɔ]

3. 分布特征与解释

"走"的分布领域最广大,在地图上的出现频率是 68.5%,主要分布于北方、赣、吴语地区,还散布在其他地区。

"行"的出现频率是 25.4%, 分布在福建、广东、 江西、广西、湖南等地区。

从共时角度来看,"走"与"行"呈现南北对立型分布。"行"在古代表示走路的概念,至今在南方方言里还保存其字本义。"走"本来表示 run 的概念,晚唐代以后增加新的意义 walk (蒋绍愚 2005: 267-291),代替"行"遍及东南地区以外的领域。在湖南、江西、广东东部"走"与"行"混淆一起,并且在这一带的许多地点"走"这个词形都有 run 与walk 两个意义。由此可以推测这一带是"走"与"行"的交界地区,"走"词义正处于转移阶段。

"跑"有 21 个地点,主要分布于江苏南部,还散布于浙江、云南、广西、山西。"跑"字起源比较晚,《说文解字》上没有记载。《广韵》: "跑,足跑地也",这里指"兽的前蹄刨地",后来"跑"字指马跑。王力(1980:747-748)指出,到了明代以后在北方产生了〈人跑〉的意义,"走"表示 walk,"跑"表示了 run,参见地图 46"跑"的说明。北方的"走—跑"势力扩大到南方的"行—走"地域时,在以江苏南部为主的地区很难接受"走"以 walk 义使用,因为在这一带"走"本来是 run 的意思。因此为了避免同音冲突,"跑"代替"走"承担 walk 义,形成了"跑—走"地区。

北方的势力更增大以后,"跑"在"跑-走"地区也以 run 义开始使用,变成了"跑-跑"地区。目前在扬州、杭州等 10 地点"跑"保存 run、walk 两个意义,可以 推测,这是"跑-跑"时代的痕迹。在其他 11 个地点 "跑"已经失去了 run 义,为了回避同音冲突,run 的词义范畴由别的动词来表示,比如"奔"、"逃"等。

"波"[psu]只在常州,其周围是"跑"的分布领域, 所以"波"很可能来源于"跑"。

"逃"[dio]分布在安徽东南部及浙江。据《说文解字》: "逃,雀行也",段玉裁注: "今人概用跳字"。就是说,"逃"跟"跑"的意义转移一样,本来表示动物的移动,而后来变成表示人的动作了。

"杠"[kã]分布在安徽。其词源不明,"杠"的周围都是"行"的分布领域,由此可推测"杠"可能来自"行"。

关键词: 南北对立、词义的转移

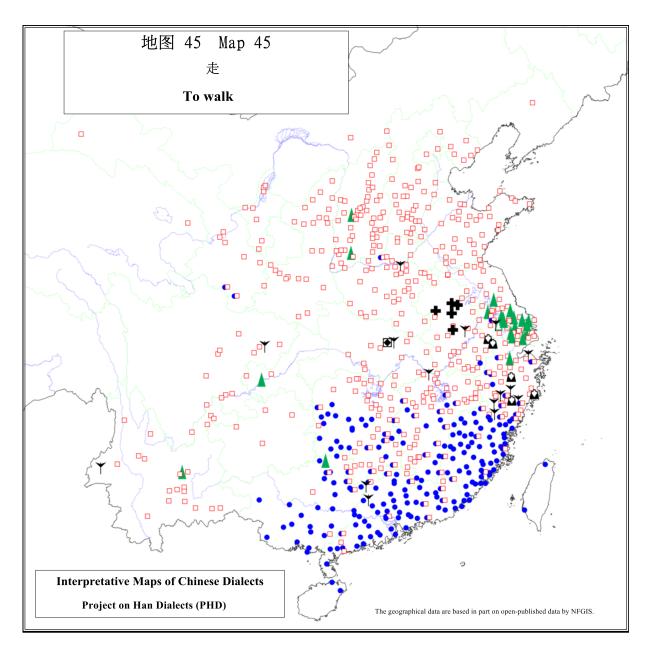
Summary

The lexical forms for "to walk" are classified into three major types. It can be seen that xing 行 and zou 走 are broadly distributed in North-South opposition. Zou 走 covers the whole Northern area and is also distributed in some of the Southern area as in Jiangxi and Zhejiang, on the other hand, xing 行 concentrates in Southern coastal area (Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi) as well as in some of Jiangxi and Hu'nan. Historically xing 行 had been commonly employed from ancient time. But later, zou 走, which originally meant "to run", began to be used as the meaning of "to walk" and extended its territory over the country.

The form pao 跑, as the verb meaning "to walk", is concentrated in the south of Jiangsu and sporadically emerges in some other areas as well. In the *Guangyun* rhyming dictionary (AD 1008), pao 跑 is explained that animals dig with hooves, and this original meaning changed into 'horses run'. Later the meaning of pao 跑 was transferred from action of animals to action of human 'men run', and this form extended its territory to the south of China. But in the south of Jiangsu and some area, pao 跑 was assumed to be used in spite of zou 走 as the meaning "to walk" in order to avoid the homonymic collision between two zou 走; one meant "to walk" and was newly brought from the North, while the other had been used from early time as the meaning "to run".

Keywords: North-South opposition, semantic shift

(三木夏华, Natsuka Miki)



A.走 zou

□ tsou, t¢iu, tsau, tseu, t¢iau, tsə etc.

B.行 xing

haŋ, xaŋ, aŋ,ĥa,ĥiaŋ,γɒŋ, kiaŋ etc.

C.跑 pao

▲ 蹈

跑: phao, pho, bo, pæ etc.

放: pxu, p∧m etc.

D.其他 / Others

益 越:[diɔ],[diao] etc.

♣ 杠: [kã] [kaŋ] etc.(包括 "杠路")

 $lacksymbol{\mathbb{A}}$ 开 + X: 开舔 [k^h ai t^h iɛn], 开赵 [k^h ai tṣau]

▼ 其他 /Othres: 去 qu, 车 che etc.