### 地图 48-1 禽兽通用量词的类型

# Map 48-1 Typology of General Animal Classifiers

### 1. 条目

禽兽量词(animal classifier)指表示鸡、猪、牛、马等禽兽时使用的量词。例如普通话中表示鸡时用禽兽通用量词(animal general classifier)"只",表示猪时用专用量词(specific classifier)"口"或禽兽通用量词"头",表示牛时用禽兽通用量词"头"或表细长物的"条",表示马时用专用量词"匹"。普通话中禽兽通用量词有两种,一种是几乎用于所有禽类和小动物的"只",另一种是用于所有大型动物的"头"。"只"和"头"能用于所有禽兽的方言我们称之为"只头"型方言。本地图标示了禽兽通用量词类型的分布状况。

本地图以及下面有关禽兽量词的四幅地图均不 使用"地点过滤网"。

### 2. 词形的分类

根据现有资料,禽兽通用量词大致可归纳为以下六种类型。各类型后附括号中的条件是我们判定该方言所属类型的依据。在家禽和家畜中,鸡的体形最小,牛则为最大,因此我们把鸡和牛作为分类的标准(分类条件参见中川 2007)。

- A. "只头"型: 禽类和小动物用"只", 而大型动物用 "头"(鸡能用"只"同时牛能用"头")
- B. "只"型: 所有禽兽用"只" (牛能用"只")
- C. "头"型: 所有禽兽用"头"(鸡能用"头")
- D. "个"型: 所有禽兽用"个"(鸡和牛均能用"个")
- E. "块"型: 所有禽兽用"块"类(鸡和牛均能用"块"类) 按, 此类也包括"槐"[xuai]、"外"[uai]、"骨"[kuəʔ]等形式。
- F. "条"型: 所有禽兽用"条"(鸡和牛均能用"条")

#### 3. 分布特征与解释

用于禽兽的量词,"头"在文献中出现得最早,既用于兽类也用于禽类和虫类,可以认为是通用量词。其次是"只",其本义为"一只鸟",后来用作通用量词,既指鸟类又指兽类。最后出现用"只"表示禽类和小动物,同时用"头"表示大型动物的情况(以上根据王力 1958、刘世儒 1965)。这三种情况在共时地理平面上分别与 C型、B型和 A型对应,其中B型和 C型比 A型古老。

A"只头"型的出现频率最高,分布区域也最广泛,以北方地区为主,但也广泛分布于南方地区。这一类型的特征是两种量词"只"和"头"在用法上出现分工: "只"用于禽类和小动物; "头"用于大型动物,以致形成了量词的新体系。

B"只"型的出现频率较高,仅次于"只头"型。此类型在南方拥有较大的分布区域,且部分分布点与"只头"型相重合。C"头"型的出现频率并不高,集中

分布于福建东部及北部,也散见于浙江南部、江西东部等地区。"头"型倾向于分布在"只"型的外缘,据此我们可以推测,"头"型古于"只"型。这一推测也合乎上述文献事实。

D"个"型的出现频率也不太高,主要分布于北方地区,且部分分布点与"只头"型相重合。此外,在浙江南部、广东中部等南方地区亦有分布。众所周知,"个"在普通话中可称得上是个万能量词,既能用于禽兽,亦能用于其它。

E"块"型的分布点不多,仅占 9%的方言点,集中分布于山西中部。山西方言"块"类的适用范围和普通话的"个"相似,既能用于禽兽,亦能用于其它。

F"条"型,我们仅发现两处:福建南平和湖南沅陵。这一类型的历史来源目前还不甚清楚。

关键词:通用量词,用法的分工

#### **Summary**

General classifiers for animals in Chinese dialects can be summarized into the following six types:

- A. *zhitou* 只头 type: *zhi* 只 for fowl and small animals, and *tou* 头 for large-sized animals
- B. zhi 只 type: zhi 只 for any animal
- C. tou 头 type: tou 头 for any animal
- D.  $ge \uparrow$  type:  $ge \uparrow$  for any animal
- E. kuai 块 type: kuai 块 for any animal
- F. tiao 条 type: tiao 条 for any animal

The distributions of the types, A, B, C, would in principle reflect the process of diachronic change.

Type A, enjoying the highest frequency of use and the broadest distribution, may have been created owing to the differentiation of usage between *zhi*只 and *tou*头. Types B and C are older than Type A. Type B is found to the south of Type A, and Type C, the oldest type, is located at the periphery of Type B.

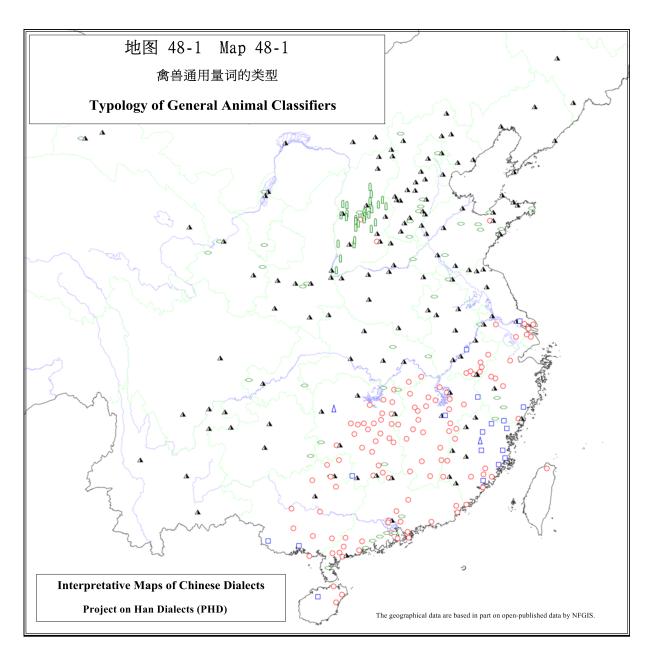
Type D is mainly distributed in the Northern dialect region, and partly in the Southern dialect region. As is generally known, in standard PTH  $ge \uparrow$  can be used not only for animals but also for other objects.

Type E is the one peculiar to Shanxi. Like ge 个 in PTH, in Shanxi dialects *kuai* 块 is used not only for all animals but also for other objects.

Type F is only found in one location each in Hu'nan and Fujian.

\* The 'point filter' is not utilized in this map as well as in the following four maps.

Keywords: general classifier, differentiation of usage (中川裕三, Yuzo Nakagawa)



- ▲ A. "只头 zhitou"型
- B. "只 zhi"型
- □ C. "头 tou"型
- D. "个ge"型
- 〗 E. "块 kuai"型
- **△** F. "条 tiao"型

## 地图 48-2 鸡的量词

## Map 48-2 Classifiers for "chicken"

#### 1. 目的

普通话的禽兽通用量词属于"只头"型(参见地图 48-1),因此表示鸡时多用禽类和小动物的通用量词"只"。本地图标示了有关鸡的量词分布情况。

### 2. 词形的分类

根据现有资料,有关鸡的量词可归纳为通用量词系(A)及其它(B)。

A. 通用量词系

A-1 只

A-2 头

A-3 个

A-4 "块"类

• 块、槐[xuai]、外[uai]、骨[kuə?]

A-5 条

B. 其他

- 家
- 粒
- 俫[lei]

### 3. 分布特征与解释

将地图 48-1 六种禽兽通用量词类型的分布情况与 48-2 鸡的量词的分布情况加以对照的话,我们会发现鸡的量词一般都是该方言的通用量词。

A-1"只"的出现频率最高,分布区域也最广泛,主要分布于北方"只头"型和南方"只"型的区域中。用于鸡的"只",出现频率较猪、牛、马等兽类的"只"还要高,且分布范围也最广泛。这可能与"只"这个量词的发展过程有关,即"只"本来只用于禽类,后来也被用于兽类(参见刘世儒 1965)。

A-3"个"的出现频率也较高,仅次于"只",除 "个"型区域外,还广泛分布于南北大部分地区。从 这种分布状况推测,鸡的"个"的分布区域有可能正 在从北方逐渐往南方扩展。

A-2"头"的出现频率并不高,多数分布于福建中部为中心的"头"型区域内。

A-4"块"类仅分布于山西"块"型的区域中及河北中部地区。

A-5"条"仅出现于"条"型方言中。

"家"、"粒"、"俫"[lei]等量词仅出现于个别方言中。这些量词的来源及适用范围目前还不甚清楚。

关键词:通用量词(用于禽类和小动物的)

#### **Summary**

When counting chickens, the general classifier in the corresponding dialect is applied in most cases.

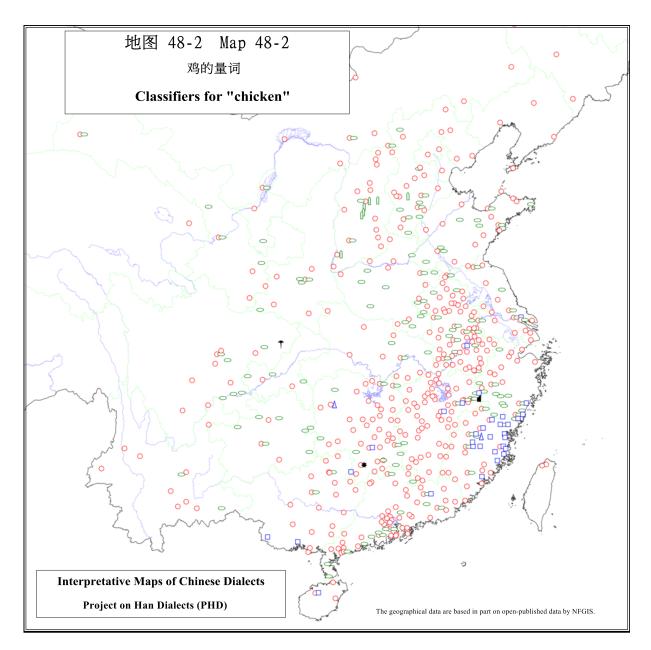
The appearance frequency of A-1 'zhi 只' is the highest, and its distribution domain is also the largest. It is mainly distributed over the domains of the zhitou 只头 type of Northern China and the zhi 只 type of Southern China.

Moreover, the  $zhi \ \ \square$  for chicken has a higher frequency and a wider distributional domain in comparison with the  $zhi \ \square$  employed for other animals such as pigs, cows, and horses. This might relate to the development process of the classifier  $zhi \ \square$ . Originally,  $zhi \ \square$  was merely used for fowl, but later it was qualified as a classifier for counting animals.

The appearance frequency of A-3 'ge  $\uparrow$ ' is comparatively high and is next to that of  $zhi \ \Box$ . It is found not only in  $ge \ \uparrow$  type dialects, but also in various dialects throughout China. From this distributional feature, it is assumed that the distribution of  $ge \ \uparrow$  for chicken is now in the process of expansion from the North to the South.

The distribution spots of A-2 'tou 头' are almost limited to the domain of the tou 头 type; A-4 'kuai 块' to the domain of the kuai 块 type; and A-5 (tiao 条) to the dialects of the tiao 条 type.

*Keywords*: general classifier (for fowls and small animals)



# A.通用量词系 / general classifiers

- A-1 只 zhi
- □ A-2头 tou
- A-3 ↑ ge
- [ A-4 "块 "kuai类(块,槐,外,骨)
- △ A-5条 tiao

# B.其他 / others

- ↑ 家 jia
- ☀ 粒 li
- ▲ 俫 [lei]

# 地图 48-3 猪的量词

## Map 48-3 Classifiers for "pig"

#### 1. 目的

普通话中"口"是猪的专用量词,表示猪时多用 "口"或大型动物的通用量词"头"。本地图标示了有 关猪的量词分布情况。

# 2. 词形的分类

根据现有资料,有关猪的量词可归纳为专用量词"口"(A)、通用量词系(B)及其它(C)。

A. 专用量词"口"

B. 通用量词系

B-1 只

B-2 头

B-3 个

B-4 "块"类

• 块、槐[xuai]、外[uai]、骨[kuə?]

B-5 条

C. 其他

- 行
- 根
- 筒
- 尾
- · 兜[tau]
- 拉[la]
- 家
- 奇

# 3. 分布特征与解释

A 专用量词"口"的出现频率较高,但分布范围有一定的局限性。将地图 48-1 六种禽兽通用量词类型的分布情况与 48-3 猪的量词的分布情况加以对照的话,我们会发现"口"大多分布于北方的"只头"型、"个"型、"块"型区域中,而在南方猪的量词一般都是该方言的通用量词。

B-1"只"的出现频率最高,但大多分布于南方"只"型区域中。

B-3"个"的出现频率也较高,与"口"相当,除 "个"型区域外,还广泛分布于南北大部分地区。从 这种分布状况推测,猪的"个"的分布区域有可能正 在从北方逐渐往南方扩展。

B-2"头"的出现频率也不如"只"高,但其分布区域很广泛,主要分布于北方"只头"型和南方"头"型的区域中。

B-5"条"的出现频率不高,但除"条"型的方言点外,还散见于南方大部分地区。

B-4"块"类仅分布于山西"块"型的区域中及河 北中部和陕西南部地区。 "行"、"根"、"筒"、"尾"、"兜"[tau]、"拉"[la]、 "家"、"奇"等量词仅出现于个别方言中。这些量词 的来源及适用范围目前还不甚清楚。

关键词: 专用量词"口"

#### **Summary**

The classifiers for pigs can be summarized into specific classifier  $kou \square (A)$ , general classifiers (B) and others (C).

Comparing the distribution of the six types of animal general classifiers in Map 48-1 with that of pigs' classifiers in Map 48-3, we can see that in spite of the high appearance frequency of A 'kou 口', the distribution range of kou 口 is limited approximately to the zhitou 只头 type, the ge 个 type of Northern China and the kuai 块 type, and that, in most cases in Southern China, the general classifier in the corresponding dialect is applied when counting pigs.

The appearance frequency of B-1 ' $zhi \ \square$ ' is the highest. But it is limited approximately to the domain of the  $zhi \ \square$  type of Southern China.

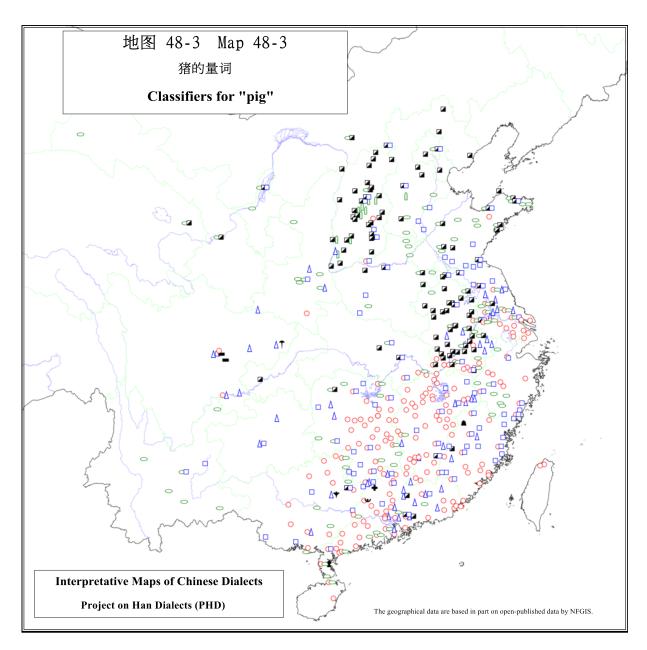
The appearance frequency of B-3 ' $ge \uparrow$ ' is comparatively high and is almost same as that of  $kou \Box$ .  $Ge \uparrow$  is found not only in  $ge \uparrow$  type dialects, but also in various dialects throughout China. From the feature of this distribution, it is assumed that the distribution of  $ge \uparrow$  for pig is now in the process of expansion from the North to the South.

Though the appearance frequency of B-2 'tou 头' is not as high as that of zhi 只, but its distribution area is the widest and it is mainly distributed over the domain of the zhitou 只头 type of North China and the tou 头 type of South China.

The appearance frequency of B-5 'tiao 条' is not high, but it is found not only in tiao 条 type dialects, but also all across the Southern China.

The distribution spots of B-4 'kuai 块' are almost limited to the domain of the kuai 块 type.

Keywords: specific classifier kou  $\square$ 



# A.专用量词系 / specific classifier

□ kou

# B.通用量词系 / general classifiers

- B-1 只 zhi
- □ B-2头 tou
- B-3 ↑ ge
- [] B-4 "块 "kuai类(块,槐,外,骨)
- △ B-5条 tiao

# C.其他 / others

- ▲ 行 hang
- 根 gen
- ▲ 筒 tong

- ♥ 尾 wei
- ♥ 兜 [tau]
- ◆ 拉[la]
- ↑ 家 jia
- ♪ 奇qi

# 地图 48-4 牛的量词 Map 48-4 Classifiers for "cow"

#### 1. 目的

普通话中表示牛时多用大型动物的通用量词 "头",但偶尔也有用"条"的情形。本地图标示了有 关牛的量词分布情况。

### 2. 词形的分类

根据现有资料,有关牛的量词可归纳为通用量词系(A)及其它(B)。

A. 通用量词系

A-1 只

A-2 头

A-3 个

A-4 "块"类

• 块、槐[xuai]、外[uai]、骨[kuə?]

A-5 条

B. 其他

- 行
- 根
- 筒
- 尾
- 犋
- •披[phi]
- 槽
- [tui]
- [lɔ]

### 3. 分布特征与解释

将地图 48-1 六种禽兽通用量词类型的分布情况与 48-4 牛的量词的分布情况加以对照的话,我们会发现牛的量词一般都是该方言的通用量词。

A-2"头"的出现频率最高,分布区域也最广泛,主要分布于北方"只头"型和南方"头"型的区域中。用于牛的"头",出现频率较其它猪、马等兽类的"头"还要高,且分布范围也最广泛。这可能与牛无专用量词,猪和马却分别有专用量词"口"和"匹"的情形有关。

A-5"条"的出现频率也很高,仅次于"头"。除"条"型的方言点外,还广泛分布于南北大部分地区。"条"的部分分布点与"只头"型方言中"头"的分布点相重合,就是说在一些方言点"头"和"条"并用。这种现象基本上出现于"只头"型方言地区。普通话偶尔有"头"和"条"并用的情形(参见吕叔湘 1980),与此类似。

A-1"只"的出现频率也较高,次于"条",大多分布于"只"型区域中。部分"只"型方言地区亦有"只"和"条"并用的情形。

A-3"个"的出现频率并不高,主要分布于"个"型区域中。

A-4"块"类仅分布于山西"块"型区域中及陕西南部地区。

"行"、"根"、"筒"、"尾"、"犋"、"披"[pʰi]、"槽"、 "[tui]"、"[lo]"等量词仅出现于个别方言中。这些量 词的来源及适用范围目前还不甚清楚。

关键词:通用量词(用于大型动物的)

#### **Summary**

When counting cows, the general classifier in the corresponding dialect is applied in most cases.

The appearance frequency of A-2 'tou 头' is the highest, and its distribution domain is also the largest. It is mainly distributed over the domains of the zhitou 只头 type and the tou 头 type.

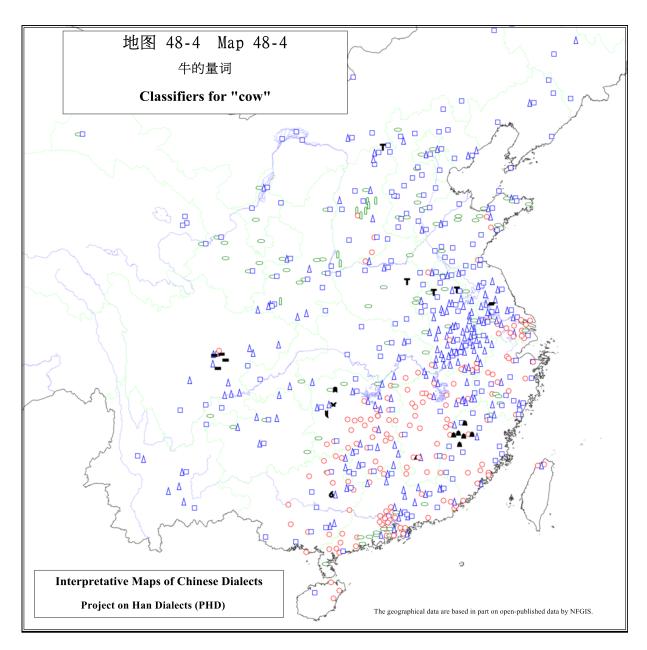
A-5 'tiao 条', the appearance frequency of which is next to that of tou 头, is found not only in tiao 条 type dialects, but also in various dialects throughout China. It is also used together with tou 头 in some zhitou 只头 type dialects.

The distribution spots of A-1 'zhi  $\square$ ' are almost limited to the domain of the zhi  $\square$  type. It is also used together with tiao  $\circledast$  in some zhi  $\square$  type dialects.

The appearance frequency of A-3 ' $ge \uparrow$ ' is not so high, it is mainly distributed in the domain of  $ge \uparrow$  type dialects.

The distribution spots of A-4 'kuai 块' are almost limited to the domain of the kuai 块 type.

Keywords: general classifier (for large-sized animals)



# A.通用量词系 / general classifiers

- A-1 只 zhi
- □ A-2头 tou
- A-3 ↑ ge
- [ A-4 "块 "kuai类(块,槐,外,骨)
- △ A-5条 tiao

# B.其他 / others

- ▲ 行 hang
- 根 gen
- ▲ 筒 tong
- 6 尾 wei
- ▼ 犋 ju
- **-** 披 [pʰi]

- ▲ 槽 cao
- 🗙 [tui]
- [la]

# 地图 48-5 马的量词

## Map 48-5 Classifiers for "horse"

#### 1. 目的

普通话中"匹"是马的专用量词,表示马时多用 "匹"。本地图标示了有关马的量词分布格局。

### 2. 词形的分类

根据现有资料,有关马的量词可归纳为专用量词"匹"(A)、通用量词系(B)及其它(C)。

A. 专用量词"匹"

B. 通用量词系

B-1 只

B-2 头

B-3 个

B-4 "块"类

• 块[uai]

B-5 条

C. 其他

• 行

- 兜[tau]
- 拉[la]

### 3. 分布特征与解释

A 专用量词"匹"的出现频率最高,不管在北方或南方,均分布得较为广泛。

将地图 48-1 六种禽兽通用量词类型的分布情况与 48-5 马的量词的分布情况加以对照的话,我们会发现"匹"大多分布于北方的"只头"型、"个"型、"块"型区域中,但南方的"只"型、"头"型、"条"型区域中也有用"匹"的分布。

B-1"只"的出现频率较高,仅次于"匹",但多数分布于南方"只"型区域中。

B-2"头"的出现频率并不高,大多分布于南方 "头"型区域中。从体形来看,马与猪、牛等家畜一 样属于大型动物,但"只头"型区域中很少用大型动 物的通用量词"头",而一般用专用量词"匹"。

B-3"个"的出现频率也不高,主要分布于"个"型地区中。

B-5"条"的出现频率也并不高,除"条"型的方言 点外,还分布于自浙江中部至广东中部一带。

B-4"块"类,我们仅发现两处。山西"块"型区域中有一处,另一处则在陕西南部地区。

另外, C"行"、"兜"[tau]、"拉"[la]等量词仅出现于个别方言中。这些量词的来源及适用范围目前还不甚清楚。

关键词: 专用量词"匹"

#### **Summary**

The classifiers for horses can be summarized into the specific classifier  $pi \not\sqsubseteq (A)$ , general classifiers (B) and others (C).

The appearance frequency of A 'pi 匹' is the highest and it is widely distributed in Chinese dialects, both in northern and southern parts of the country.

Comparing the distribution of the six types of animal general classifiers in Map 48-1 with that of horse classifiers in Map 48-5, we can see that though pi 匹 is widely distributed over the domain of the zhitou 只头 type, the ge 个 type and the kuai 块 type, it can also be found in domain of the zhi 只 type, the tou 头 type and the tiao 条 type.

The distribution spots of B-1 ' $zhi \not\square$ ' are mostly limited to the domain of the  $zhi \not\square$  type of South China.

The distribution spots of B-2 'tou 头' are limited approximately to the domain of the tou 头 type of South China.

Horses belongs to a category of large-sized animals like pigs and cows, but it is rare in the domain of the zhitou只头 type for the general classifier tou头 that is used for large-sized animals to also be used for horses. Rather, it is common that the specific classifier pi匹 is used in this type instead.

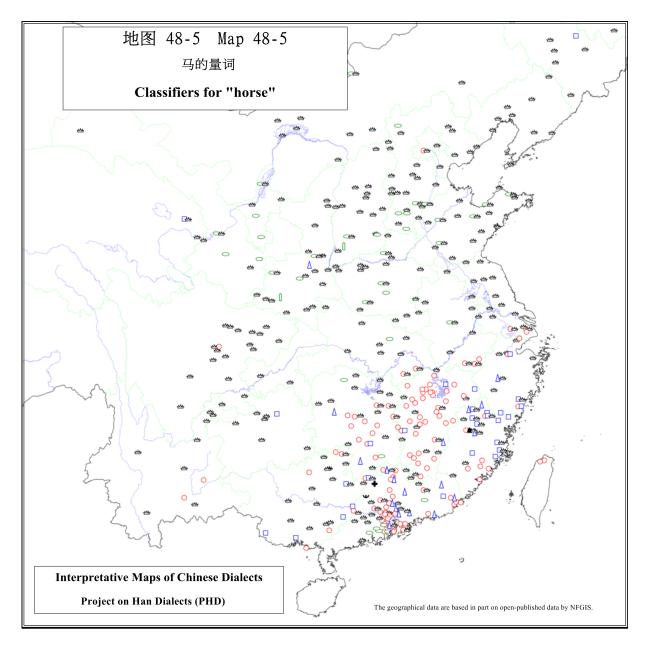
B-3 ' $ge \uparrow$ ' is mainly distributed over the domain of the  $ge \uparrow$  type.

The appearance frequency B-5 'tiao 条' is not high, but it is found not only in dialects of the tiao 条 type but also in some other dialects in South China.

The distribution spots of B-4 'kuai 块' are only found in two places; one in the domain of the kuai 块 type and the other one in neighboring areas.

Keywords: specific classifier pi 

□



# A.专用量词系 / specific classifier

<u>w</u> ℤ pi

# B.通用量词系 / general classifiers

- B-1 只 zhi
- □ B-2头 tou
- B-3 ↑ ge
- ① B-4 "块 "kuai类(块)
- ▲ B-5条 tiao

# C.其他 / others

- ▲ 行 hang
- ・ 兜 [tau]
- 並 [la]