## 地图 1-1 父系长辈亲属称谓系统
**Map 1-1 Patrilineal kinship system for elders**
## 地图 1-2 混淆型及词根的脱落
**Map 1-2 Contaminated type and stem dropping**

### 1. 条目

汉语亲属称谓的主要组成成份是前置成份和词根(有时也带词尾，兹不考虑)。前置成份主要有两种：排行数(包括"大"、"小"等)和人称代词(如"我三叔")。排行数的使用是在实际交际中极为重要的，这致使汉语的亲属称谓带有接近固有名词的功能(郭明昆 1962:371-372)。反之，词根在实际交际中所负载的信息量不如排行数那么高，所以在北方方言中"大爷"、"大娘"的"爷"和"娘"即使读轻声也不妨碍口语交际。在上古汉语中，"伯父"和"叔父"就相当于"大父"和"小父"。《颜氏家训·风操篇》云："古人皆呼伯父叔父，而今世多单呼伯叔"。可见"伯"和"叔"在六朝时期已经词根化了，换言之，原来充当词根的"父"脱落了。当时汉语方言中还没形成重音结构，没存在轻声，但"父"的脱落充分证明词根在信息传达中易于忽略。词根是亲属称谓的不可缺少的组成成份，但就表长辈亲属范畴的词根而言，它们的所指在历史上往往发生变化，归根结底是词根所负载的信息量不多的缘故。

用以表长辈亲属范畴的词根至少一半是表〈父亲〉或〈母亲〉义词的"转用"或"转移"(见地图 2 和 11)，只看个别词的地图，不容易掌握称谓词历史演变的真相。本条目根据岩田(1988、1989)所提出的理论框架将〈父〉、〈伯父〉、〈叔父〉三种亲属范畴综合起来进行考察，旨在探讨父系长辈称谓系统的演变。在下文中某一称谓系统标做"X-Y-Z"，X、Y、Z 分别代表用以表〈伯父〉、〈父〉、〈叔父〉的词根。

本地图的依据资料也包括岩田(1988、1989)所示江苏、安徽、上海 216 点的资料，多数是鲁国尧先生 1984 年至 1987 年之间亲自调查而赐予笔者的。

本地图及下列有关亲属称谓的地图一般都采录面称的形式，但有些方言资料没提及面称和背称之别，此时按原资料的记载录入信息。如面称和背称的形式不同，则采录面称的形式。

### 2. 称谓系统的主要類型

分类标准有两项：
(1) 某种亲属关系用哪一种词根来称呼？这一信息以罗马数字Ⅰ～Ⅷ标示。
(2) 不同的亲属关系是否用不同的词根来称呼？这一信息以阿拉伯数字1～4标示。

根据(1)项，父系长辈称谓系统可分为四种大类

的八种类型。在下表中，"="代表"使用"，"≠"代表"不使用"。

**表 1 父系长辈称谓系统**

| 1. 北方型　X〈伯父〉≠ "伯" |
| --- |
| Ⅰ　　X〈伯父〉= 爷 |
| Ⅱ　　X〈伯父〉= 爹 |
| Ⅲ　　X〈伯父〉= 爸 |
| **2. 江淮型　X〈伯父〉= "伯"或"伯爷"** |
| Ⅳ　　Y〈父〉或Z〈叔父〉= 爷 |
| Ⅴ　　Y〈父〉或Z〈叔父〉= 叔爷、爷叔 |
| **3. 南方型　X〈伯父〉= "伯"** |
| Ⅵ　Y〈父〉或Z〈叔父〉= 爹 ≠ 爷 |
| Ⅶ　Y〈父〉或Z〈叔父〉= 爸、伯、叔 ≠ 爹、爷 |
| **4. 原始型** |
| Ⅷ　　X〈伯父〉或Y〈父〉= 父 |

**地图1-1**表示各种类型的分布格局。这些类型有些也包括下文所说的"混合类型"以及由词根的脱落而成的变异。后者主要发生在称〈伯父〉的形式上，如"大伯"变成"大"，"老爹"变成"老"。发生这种变化的地点在地图1-2上表示。

以上各类型可以再按照标准(2)细分。在下表中，"="表示所用词根"相同"，"≠"代表"不相同"。

0类：　〈伯父〉≠〈父〉≠〈叔父〉
1类：　〈伯父〉≠〈父〉=〈叔父〉
2类：　〈伯父〉=〈父〉≠〈叔父〉
3类：　〈伯父〉=〈叔父〉≠〈父〉
4类：　〈伯父〉=〈叔父〉=〈父〉

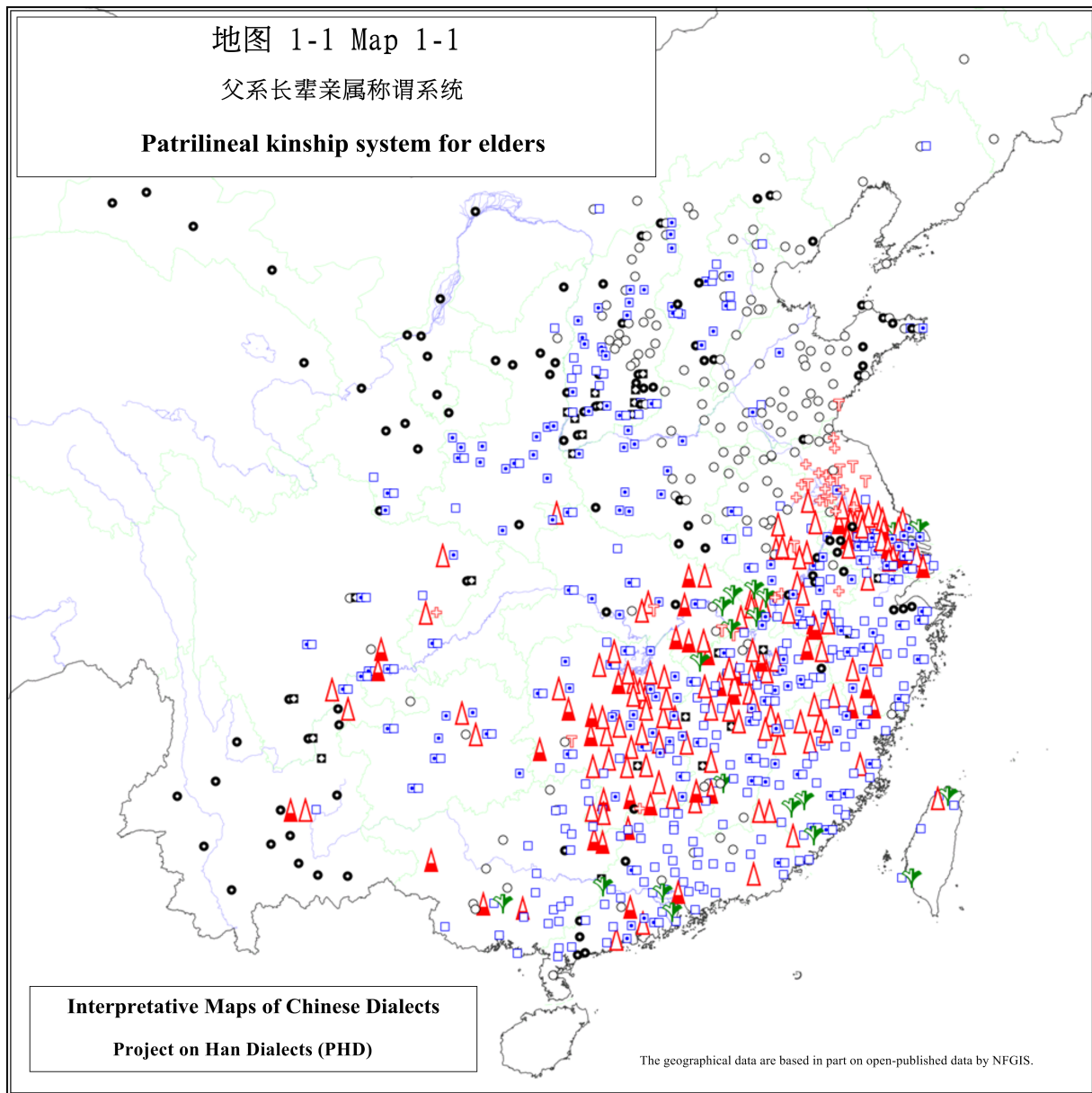譬如，苏州方言的称谓系统是"伯-爹-叔"，可以标做"Ⅵ-0"。3类和4类较为特殊，故在地图1-1上表示分布点。如江苏灌云取Ⅰ-3类"爷-[ta$^{阴平}$]-爷"，盐城取Ⅰ-4类"爷-爷-爷"，但"爷"字的读音有时按亲属范畴不同，是亲属称谓的变读现象(米青1984、岩田1989:14-15)。

所谓"混合类型"是指可以认为由两种不同类型接触而产生的类型，以加代码C标之。

**表 2 混合型**

| 1. 北方型　X〈伯父〉≠ "伯" |
| --- |
| ⅠC　X〈伯父〉= 爷/ Y〈父〉或Z〈叔父〉=伯 |
| ⅡC　X〈伯父〉= 爹/ Z〈叔父〉= 爷 |
| **2. 江淮型　X〈伯父〉= "伯"或"伯爷"** |
| ⅣC　Y〈父〉= 爹、爸/ Z〈叔父〉=爷 |
| ⅤC　Y〈父〉= 爹、爸/ Z〈叔父〉=叔爷、爷叔 |
| **3. 南方型　X〈伯父〉= "伯"** |
| ⅥC　Y〈父〉= 爹 / Z〈叔父〉= 爸 |

**地图1-2**表示"混合型"的分布地点。

地图 1-1 Map 1-1

父系长辈亲属称谓系统

**Patrilineal kinship system for elders**

**Interpretative Maps of Chinese Dialects**

**Project on Han Dialects (PHD)**

The geographical data are based in part on open-published data by NFGIS.

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**\*亲属范畴 / Kinship Categories**

**X:**伯父 / **father's elder brother**

**Y:**父 / **father**

**Z:**叔父 / **father's younger brother**

**1.北方型 /Northern type: X ≠ 伯 bo**

  ○  Ⅰ X =爷 ye (I-0, I-1, I-2)

  ◉  Ⅱ X =爹 die

  ▣  Ⅲ X =爸 ba

  ✚  I-3 X & Z =爷 ye

  ⊤  I-4 X & Y & Z =爷 ye

**2.江淮型 /Jianghuai type: X =伯 bo,伯爷 boye**

  △  Ⅳ Y or Z =爷 ye

  ▲  Ⅴ Y or Z =叔爷 shuye, 爷叔 yeshu

**3.南方型 /Southern type: X =伯 bo**

  ▣  Ⅵ Y or Z =爹 die ≠ 爷 ye

  □  Ⅶ Y or Z =爸 ba,伯 bo,叔 shu ≠ 爷 ,爹

**4.原始型 /Archaic type**

  🌿  Ⅷ X or Y =父 fu

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## 3. 分布特征与解释

### 3-1 分布特征

首先通观地图1所表现的分布格局。

**(一) "北方型"**

"北方型"的特征是〈伯父〉义的词根不使用"伯"。这一类型主要分布在淮河以北的北方方言地区。Ⅰ型(〈伯父〉=爷)的分布点多,但偏向北方东部,包括山西东部、河北、山东、河南东部、江苏、安徽两省的中北部以及东北三省。Ⅱ型(〈伯父〉=爹)的分布点不如Ⅰ型那么多,但分布地域反而比Ⅰ型还要大;除了集中分布于甘肃、宁夏、云南以外还分布于山东、河北以及长江流域的一些方言中。Ⅲ型(〈伯父〉=爸)的分布点并不多,除了集中在山西南部以外还出现在青海和云南的若干点。

**(二) "江淮型"**

"江淮型"和"南方型"的共同点是以"伯"称〈伯父〉,而"江淮型"的特征是以"爷"或含"爷"的形式("叔爷"和"爷叔")称〈父〉或〈叔父〉。Ⅳ型和Ⅴ型的分布叠加,自江苏的长江流域延伸到湖南东部、江西中北部以及福建西北部,形成一种"长江型"分布。此外,还有不少点背称用"江淮型",而面称用其他类型,是值得注意的(Iwata2000)。

上述Ⅰ-3、Ⅰ-4两种"北方型"很可能来自"江淮型"(岩田1988: 247、252):

伯-爹[tia<sup>阴平</sup>]-爷 > 爷-[ta<sup>阴平</sup>]-爷 > 爷-爷-爷

这两类分布在江苏中部及北部,其"伯"由"爷"代替,是受到与此毗邻分布的"北方型"的影响所致。

Ⅴ型("伯爷-爷-叔爷")的形成原理就与古代的"伯父-父-叔父"相同,"伯爷"和"叔爷"的"伯"和"叔"充当前置成份。

**(三) "南方型"**

"南方型"的特点是以"伯"称〈伯父〉,但不以"爷"或含"爷"的形式称〈父〉或〈叔父〉。这一类型在长江以南的南方地区占绝对的优势。其中,Ⅵ型(以"爹"称〈父〉或〈叔父〉的)不少也分布在山西、陕西、河南西部、河北等北方地区;另外,在长江流域有与"江淮型"叠加的趋势。Ⅶ型(不使用"爹"的)主要分布在南方地区,但北方也有分布。

**(四) "原始型"**

此类型的特征在于以"父"称〈伯父〉或〈父〉,可能是存古现象。它集中出现在安徽西南部至湖北东部,如潜山、岳西、宿松、广济、浠水、英山,在这一地区"父"读[fu],多数用于称〈伯父〉。江苏的南通、如皋一带以"父"[fu]称〈父〉。"父"也出现在福建,但此"父"读重唇音,如漳平说"安父"[am pou<sup>阳去</sup>](《漳平方言研究》)。

### 3-2 解释

**1) 词根的脱落及前置成份的词根化**

词根的脱落就等于前置成份的词根化。这种变化的结果见于现代方言中。

江苏·南通 伯-爷-叔 / 江苏·如皋 大-爷-叔
甘肃·定西 爹-爹-爸 / 甘肃·敦煌 老-爹-爸

通过方言比较可以推测,如皋和敦煌原来分别以"伯"和"爹"称呼〈伯父〉,即"大伯"和"老爹"。但后来其词根都脱落,以致"大"和"老"都占有了词根的地位。从地图1-2可以看出,这种系统集中出现在长江下游地区以及甘肃北部。但请注意,方言报告写作"大"的不一定都是原为修饰成份的"大"。譬如,如皋〈伯父〉义的"大"读去声,是大小的大。但其他方言中往往出现读非去声的[ta],其中有些可能来自"爹"(*tia),参见地图2〈父亲〉。

**2) 词根的转移(转用)**

"北方型"及"江淮型"的形成在历史上相对来说都是属晚期的变化,分别是原表〈父〉义的词根转用于表〈伯父〉和〈叔父〉的结果,岩田(1988)、Iwata(2000)称之为"α型转移"和"β型转移":

α型转移:X-Y-Z → X-Y-Y
β型转移:X-Y-Z → Y-Y-Z

"β型转移"应产生在淮河-秦岭以北的北方方言中。发生转移的词根有三种:"爷"、"爹"和"爸",原来都是表〈父〉义的词根,转移之后就占用了〈伯父〉义。产生这一类转移的动因应为非语言因素,即做为一个小家庭中的家长(即〈父〉)和在宗族制度中大家庭的家长(即〈伯父〉)被示如同等存在。

"α型转移"可能产生在江淮方言中。这促使原表〈父〉义的"爷"转而用于称〈叔父〉。产生这一类转移的动因又是非语言因素,即"改称"的习俗。这种习俗还保留在安徽境内的若干方言中。譬如,太和方言〈叔父〉一般叫"～叔"(～代表任何排行数),最小的叔父叫"小叔",但有些人也叫"小[ta<sup>阴平</sup>]",[ta<sup>阴平</sup>]在这个方言中则指〈父〉(岩田1989:19)。这种改称还属临时性的,还没成为该方言中的规范。但在下举无为方言中称最小叔父时的词根与称其他叔父时的词根不同,这似乎已成为强制的语言习惯了。
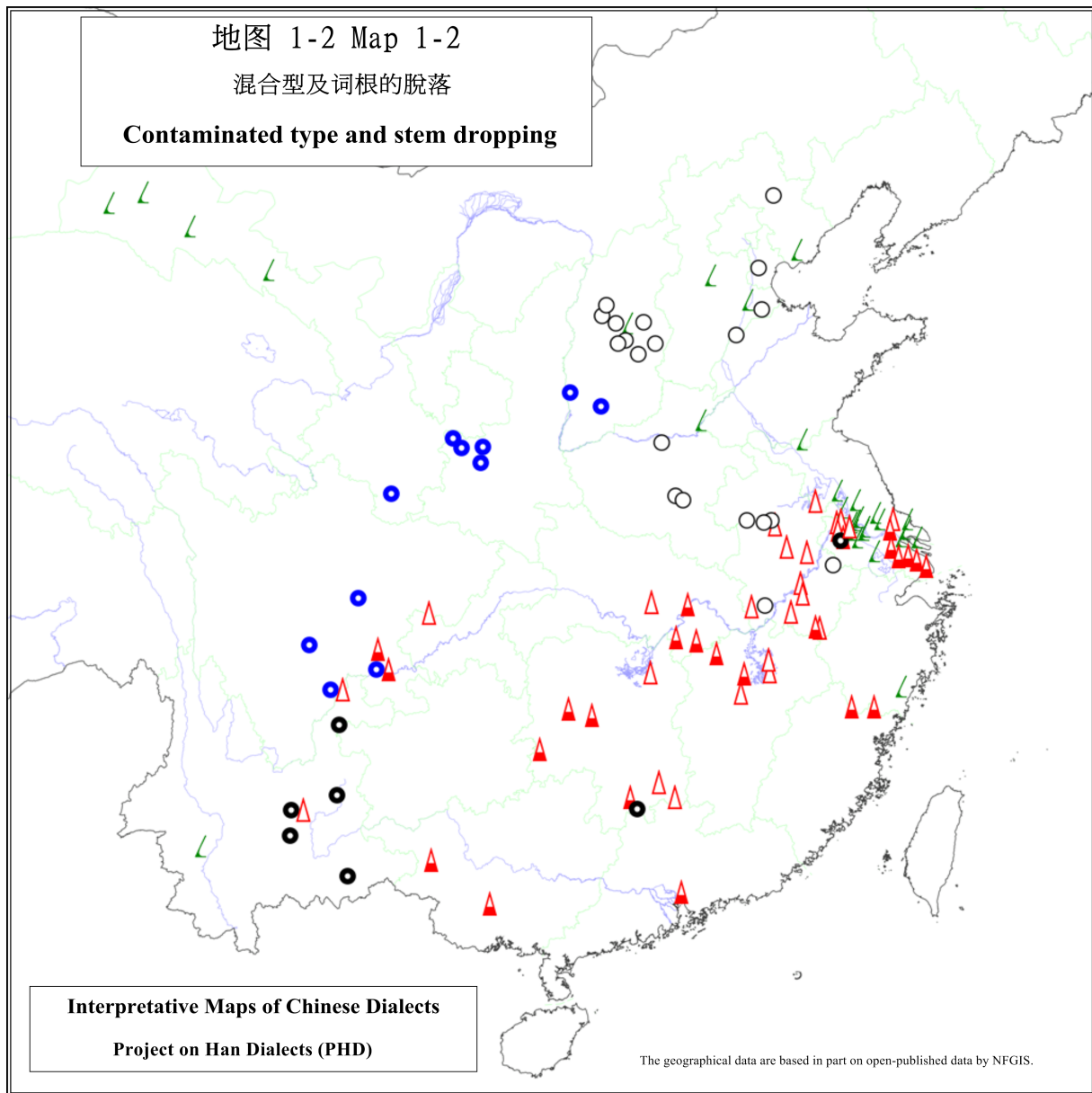
〈伯父〉 〈父〉 〈叔父〉
无为:～伯 － 阿爷 － 五叔-六叔-老爷
巢湖:～伯 － 四爷 － 五爷-六爷-老爷

这里假定自己的父亲是老四。在无为最小的叔父叫"老爷",而其他叔父都叫"～叔"。在巢湖,改称的习俗已经习焉不察了,把所有叔父都叫"～爷"。

"α型转移"似乎也发生在以"爸"或"爹"称〈父〉的方言中,这种方言多见于山西以西的西北地区,现以"爸"或"爹"称〈叔父〉(参见地图4)。这有可能是习俗本身的传播所致。

**3) 变化的外因:不同类型的相互影响(接触)**

不同称谓系统的接触往往也产生新的系统,这不妨称作"混合型"(C型)。地图1-2表示这种类型的分布点。出现频率高的是下列四种类型。

地图 1-2 Map 1-2
混合型及词根的脱落
**Contaminated type and stem dropping**

**Interpretative Maps of Chinese Dialects**
**Project on Han Dialects (PHD)**

The geographical data are based in part on open-published data by NFGIS.

*亲属范畴 / **Kinship Categories**

**X:**伯父 / **father's elder brother**

**Y:**父 / **father**

**Z:**叔父 / **father's younger brother**

**B.**词根的脱落 **stem dropping**

╱  X =大 da(去声 /Tone III) or 老 lao

**A.**混合型 /**Contaminated types (C-Type)**

**1.**北方型 /**Northern type**

○  IC   X =爷 ye, Y or Z =伯 bo

◉  IIC  X =爹 die, Z =爷 ye

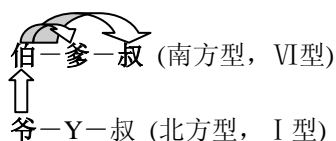**2.**江淮型  **Jianghuai type**

△  IVC X =伯 bo, Y =爹 die or 爸 ba, Z =爷 ye

▲  VC  X =伯爷 boye, Y =爹 die, Z =叔爷 shuye

**3.**南方型  **Southern type**

◉  VIC X =伯 bo, Y =爹 die([ta]), Z =爸 ba

Ⅰ C "爷－伯－叔"、"爷－爹－伯"

多数出现在北方东部(河北、山西、河南等)，因下列两种系统接触而产生。Y代表任何表〈父〉的词根。

伯－爹－叔 (南方型，Ⅵ型)

⇧

爷－Y－叔 (北方型，Ⅰ型)

假定原来存在着"南方型Ⅵ"，而它后来受到"北方型Ⅰ"的影响。这首先致使原指〈伯父〉的"伯"由"爷"代替，但"伯"并没被淘汰，而它转用于称〈父〉或〈叔父〉。这种变化可以比作"连锁音变(chain shift)" (Iwata2000:192-193)。

Ⅱ C "爹－爹－爷"

多数出现在云南。

爹－爹－叔 (北方型，Ⅱ型)

⇧

伯－爷－爷 (江淮型，Ⅳ型)

从地图1可以看出，云南占多数的是"北方型Ⅱ"，而这与沿着长江传播过来的"江淮型Ⅳ"接触，以致指〈叔父〉的"叔"由"爷"代替。

Ⅳ C "伯－爹－爷"、V C "伯爷－爹－叔爷、爷叔"

多数出现在长江流域。

伯－爷－爷 (江淮型，Ⅳ型)

伯爷－爷－叔爷 (江淮型，V型)

⇧

伯－爹－叔 (南方型，Ⅵ型)

假定长江流域原来就存在着两种系统：以"爹"称〈父〉的系统和以"爷"称〈父〉的系统。这种推测的一个根据是，长江下游流域以及江西、湖南有不少方言背称使用"爷"而面称则使用"爹"。以"爷"称〈父〉的系统后来发生了"α型转移"，其结果是"伯-爷-爷"(Ⅳ型)或"伯爷-爷-叔爷"(V型)。然后它与"伯-爹-叔"接触，以致指〈父〉的"爷"由"爹"代替了。

Ⅶ C "伯－爹－爸"

出现在山西以西的西部地区。

伯－爸－叔 (南方型，Ⅶ型)

⇧
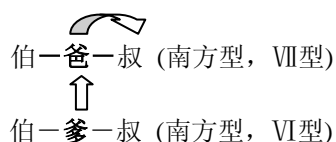
伯－爹－叔 (南方型，Ⅵ型)

4) 古称谓系统的构拟

基于以上考察，我们试图构拟出父系长辈称谓系统的历史演变过程。首先就四种大类型分别拟测出原来的面貌。这里也将〈祖父〉称谓放在考虑之中(参见地图6)。

表 3 古称谓系统的构拟

|  | 〈祖父〉 | 〈伯父〉 | 〈父〉 | 〈叔父〉 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *北方型 | 爷 | 伯 | 爷、爹、爸 | 叔 |
| *江淮型 | 爷 | 伯 | 爷 | 叔 |
| *南方型 | 公 | 伯 | 爹、爸 | 叔 |
| *原始型 | 公 | 伯 | 父 | 叔 |

"爸"(MC:*pa)是来自"父"(OC:*bia)的(黎锦熙1933)，地图2解说称之为"P类"。以这一点为前提，我们认为在现存的称谓系统中最古老的是"原始型"以及不使用"爹"的"南方型"(即Ⅶ型)。这两种类型的共同点是以"父"或"爸"称〈父〉且以"公"称〈祖父〉。

"爷"(*jia)和"爹"(*tia)很可能是同源词，地图2解说称之为"T类"。以"爹"称〈父〉的"南方型"(Ⅵ型)和"北方型"(Ⅱ型)既分布在南方地区，也分布在北方地区。故此推测，先有"爹"，从此派生了"爷"。换言之，"江淮型"(伯-爷-叔)是"北方型"的一种变异，原来产生在北方地区，而在历史上的某一时期越过淮河传播到长江流域，进而也传至南方地区。

"江淮型"的一个特点是以"爷"称〈祖父〉。这就是说，北方地区曾发生过"爷"转用于〈祖父〉的变化。从文献看，这一变化应发生于宋代以前(岩田1988:249)。

***Summary***

The major elements of kinship terms in Chinese are the stem and the prepositional element (such as the *paihang* number). Of these two elements, the prepositional element (i.e. non-head) carries more information in using such kinship terms. For example, suppose someone has an uncle who is the second eldest among all his father's male siblings. This uncle could be called *erye* 二爷, but in this case the more important element is the *paihang* number *er* 二, which identifies the referent as if it is his proper name; the stem (i.e. head) *ye* 爷 only indicates that the rererent belongs to one's senior generation. Throughout history the stems of Chinese kinship terms have frequently changed their kinship reference (referential shift), which might be because of the lesser amount of information that they carry. In this entry and in Maps 2-16 that follow, we provide maps that focus on stems. Where different stem forms are used for vocative and designative, vocative forms, i.e. the forms used by the speaker to directly address the addressee, are discussed.

Based on the methodology presented in Iwata

(1988, 1989, 2000), we looked for a possible typology of the stems representing three major categories of 'father's elder brother,' 'father' and 'father's younger brother,' and classified them accordingly. As a result, the stems existent in modern Chinese dialects are roughly classified into four types: "Northern type", "Jianghuai type", "Southern type" and "Archaic type," with each containing two or three subtypes. In the following classification, X, Y and Z indicate the three categories 'father's elder brother,' 'father' and 'father's younger brother,' respectively. The sign "=" signifies that the form on the right is used to represent the given category, whereas "≠" signifies the contrary.

1. Northern Type     X ≠ *bo* 伯
   Ⅰ    X = *ye*爷
   Ⅱ    X = *die*爹
   Ⅲ    X = *ba*爸
2. Jianghuai Type     X = *bo*伯, *boye*伯爷
   Ⅳ    Y or Z = *ye* 爷
   Ⅴ    Y or Z = *shuye*叔爷, *yeshu*爷叔
3. Southern Type     X=*bo*伯
   Ⅵ    Y or Z = *die*爹 ≠ *ye*爷
   Ⅶ    Y or Z = *ba*爸, *bo*伯, *shu*叔≠ *die*爹, *ye*爷
4. Arcahic Type
   Ⅷ    X or Y = *fu*父

Map 1-1 displays the distribution of the above eight subtypes.

The Northern type is mostly distributed north of the Yangtze and in Yunnan. This type is characterized as showing a shift of the stem referent from 'father' to 'father's elder brother.' We term this shift as an "β type referential shift." Three stems, *ye*爷, *die*爹 and *ba*爸, were involved in this type of shift, and each is termed as Type I, Type II, and Type III. It is assumed that extralingual factors were involved in these shifts: In the traditional patriarchal clan system, the 'father,' who was the head of the nuclear family unit, could have assumed an equal status with the 'father's elder brother,' who was the head of the larger family clan.

Type II, where the 'father's elder brother' is called *die*爹, is seen in the areas surrounding Type I, where it is called *ye*爷. This suggests that Type II chronologically preceded Type I in the North. Type III, where the 'father's elder brother' is called *ba*爸, can be considered as a newer usage.

The 'father's elder brother' is called *bo*伯 in the Jianghuai and Southern Types. Of these two types, the Jianghuai Type is observed along the Yangtze and includes Subtypes IV and V, where either the 'father' or

the 'father's younger brother' is called *ye*爷, *boye*伯爷 or *shuye*叔爷. Though the stem *ye*爷 originally referred to 'father,' the referent shifted to 'father's younger brother' in the dialects along the Yangtze, presumably due to the customary language use termed "change of appellation." We term this shift as an "α type referential shift." The mechanism of "change of appellation" is as follows: The youngest among the father's younger brothers, being the youngest child of the father's father, was the recipient of protection. For this reason people tried to protect this youngest child from various forms of evil by replacing the original stem *shu*叔 for 'father's younger brother' with *ye*爷, which referred to 'father.'

The Southern Type is commonly distributed in areas south of the Yangtze, but it is also widespread in the North, particularly west of Shanxi. This type is characterized by its lack of use of *ye*爷. The stem for 'father' is *die*爹 for Subtype VI, and either *ba*爸, *bo* 伯 or *shu*叔 for Subtype VII.

In the Archaic Type, either the 'father's elder brother' or the 'father' is called *fu*父. This type is seen in peripheral areas of the middle and lower Yangtze.

Map 1-2 exhibits additional information concerning Map 1-1.

First, the kinship terms in the above typology are assumed to have created some contaminated systems after repeatedly coming into contact with one another in many areas. We refer to such contaminated systems as the C-type system. This is particularly frequent along the Yangtze, and among its various subtypes Type IVC (*bo*伯–*die*爹–*ye*爷), which is most frequently observed, was created by the contact of Subtype IV, where the 'father's younger brother' is called *ye*, and Subtype VI, where the 'father' is called *die*.

Map 1-2 also indicates the localities where the 'father's elder brother' is called *da*大 or *lao*老. It is noted that in the adjacent localities it is called *bo*伯 or *die*爹, and this would suggest that *da*大 and *lao*老 originate from the prepositional non-head elements of *dabo*大伯 and *laodie*老爹, and these elements change into new stems with the original stems *bo*伯 and *die* 爹 being dropped.

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)