

地图 15 姨母
Map 15 Mother's sister

1. 条目

称呼〈母〉的姊妹的面称形式。面称时一般加上排行数，如“大(大)姨”、“二(大)姨”。多数方言在词根的形式上不区别〈母〉的姊和妹，但有些方言面里则区别。如广州，“姨妈”指〈母〉的姊，“阿姨”指〈母〉的妹；又如南京，“姨妈”专指〈母〉的姊，“姨娘”专指〈母〉的妹。

2. 词形的分类

用以称〈姨母〉的词根分成五种大类，包括其他类。

A. 姨：不含表〈母〉的形式

- A-1 姨、姨姨、姨儿[iəŋ]、姨子、姨呀[i ia]
- A-2 阿姨[a ji][ʔa fi]、大姨、细姨、霞姨[ha i]
- A-3 姨娅[i iaʔ]、姨□[i iε]、姨姨[i ue][i oe]

B. 娘

- B-1 大娘[tʰai niəŋ][dʰæ yō]、大大娘[da da niəŋ]、娘[niəŋ]、娘娘[nian nian][lian lian]、嗯娘[ʔn niā]
- B-2 娘娘[ni niəŋ][i nian]、大娘娘[da i niəŋ]、细姨娘[si i niəŋ]
- B-3 娘娘[nian niəŋ]、娘娘□□[niā ni mE mE]

C. 母、妈

- C-1 妈妈[i ma][fi mo]、姨姨[fi mo]、姨母[i mu]
- C-2 母姨[bu i]

D. 奶、姐、婆

- D-1 姨奶[i nai][i na]
- D-2 姨姐[i tɕia][i tsie]、细姨姐[ci i tɕia]
- D-3 姨婆婆[i po po]、大姨婆[tʰæ i pʰo]

E. 其他

- 阿伯、姨伯
- 大得[tʰɔ tɕ]
- □□[œ œ]、幼幼[iəu iəu]

3. 分布特征与解释

“姨”这一词根在上古时期已经存在，但其所指与现在有所不同。《尔雅·释亲》云：“妻之姊妹同出为姨”。可见“姨”原来是丈夫称其妻之姊妹的称谓，后世其儿女仿此以“姨”称呼〈母〉的姊妹，是“逆从儿称”(reverse-teknonymy)或“子从父称”(Feng 1937, 汉译本: 59)。

含“姨”的形式遍及全国，可见这是最古老的形式。A系“姨”是不含“妈”、“娘”等表〈母〉的形式。这类也遍及全国，但在长江流域较为少见。

“姨母”、“姨妈”、“姨娘”、“姨姐”等的后一成份原表〈母〉。后置这些成份很可能是后起的变化所致，为的是表示被称者是女性。有些方言甚至也丢

失了“姨”：

姨 > 姨母、姨娘 > 娘

不含“姨”的C系词形(即“妈(妈)”、“大妈”等)是罕见的。不含“姨”的B系词形(B-1类)，如“大娘”、“娘娘”等，出现在浙江、江西、湖南、四川、云南等省份，但出现频率不如“姨娘”(B-2类)那么高。“姨娘”分布于江苏、安徽、江西、湖南、四川、云南，呈现出“长江型”的分布，与用以称呼〈姑母〉的“姑娘”平行。“姨娘”也分布于甘肃和陕北等西北地区。

“娘娘”(B-3类)集中出现在浙江，有被“姨娘”围绕的趋势，故推测：先有“姨娘”，而“娘娘”是词序颠倒的结果。“母姨”出现在闽南地区，构词法与“娘娘”相同。这种构词法可能是从〈舅父〉称谓(“舅舅”、“母舅”)类推而来的，参见地图 17。

D类“奶、姐”出现在华南地区，但其出现频率不如称〈姑母〉的“奶、姐”那么高。

关键词：逆从儿称、专用词根、构词法、长江型分布

Summary

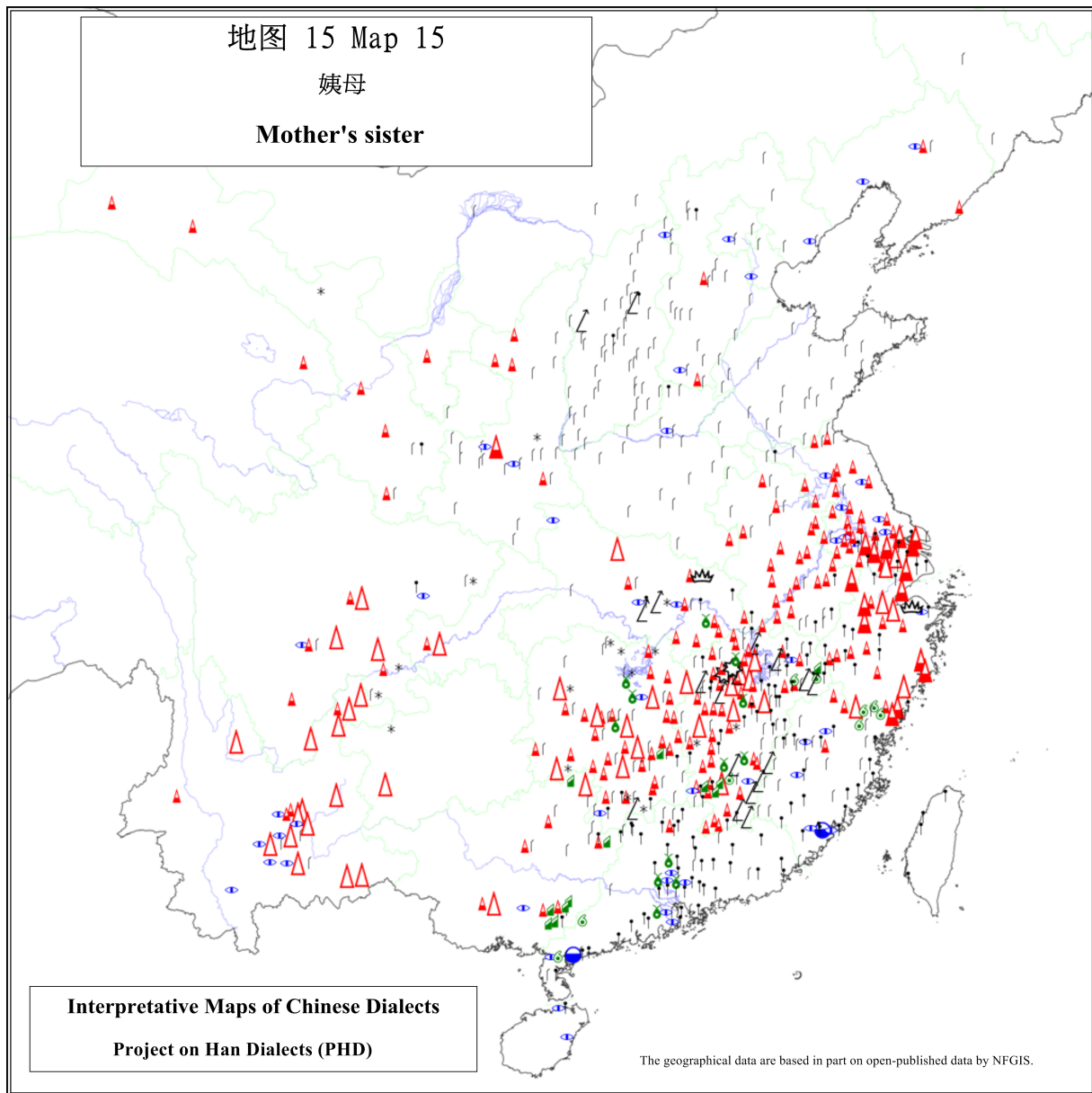
An exclusive stem *yi*姨 was formed in Old Chinese to represent ‘mother’s sister.’ This stem originally referred to ‘wife’s sister’ from the husband’s viewpoint, but later changed to refer to ‘mother’s sister,’ supposedly due to “reverse-teknonymy,” the phenomenon where children imitate the parents’ reference.

Type A, without the stem for ‘mother,’ such as *mu*母, *ma*妈 and *niang*娘, are seen in all areas of China. Type B, which contains the element *niang*娘, exhibits the Yangtze type distribution that is parallel to Type B for Map 14 ‘father’s sister.’ However, the form *yiniang*姨娘 (B-2) is more frequent than the form *niang*娘, without the element *yi*姨. Type C, which contains *mu*母 and *ma*妈, is not frequent, in particular the forms lacking the element *yi*姨 are extremely rare.

The form with the inverted order *niangyi*娘姨 (B-3) clusters in Zhejiang Province. The form with the same structure *muyi*母姨 (C-2) also exists in Southern Min. These forms are considered to be analogies to the similar, inverted forms referring to ‘mother’s brother’: *niangjiu*娘舅 and *mujiu*母舅. (cf. Map 17) Note that *niangyi*娘姨 tends to be surrounded by *yiniang*姨娘, which actually exhibit a much higher frequency.

Keywords: reverse-teknonymy, exclusive stem, word formation, Yangtze type distribution

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



A. 姨 yi

- ┆ A-1 姨 yi, 姨姨 yiyi, 姨子 yizi
- ↑ A-2 阿姨 ayi, 大姨 dayi, 细姨 xi yi etc.
- ↗ A-3 姨娅 [i ia], 姨唉 [i uε]

B. 娘 niang

- △ B-1 大娘 daniang, 娘娘 niangniang, 嗯娘
- ▲ B-2 姨娘 yiniang
- ▲ B-3 娘姨 niangyi

C. 妈 ma

- ◑ C-1 姨妈 yima, 姨母 yimu
- ◐ C-2 母姨 muyi

D. 奶 nai, 姐 jie, 婆 po

- ◍ D-1 姨奶 yinai
- ◌ D-2 姨姐 yijie

◍ D-3 姨婆 yipo

E. 其他 / Others

- ♔ 阿伯 abo, 姨伯 yibo
- ☆ 大得 dade
- * 其他 / Others

地图 16 “娘”的所指 Map 16 Referents of the stem “niang”

1. 条目

本地图表示含“娘”的词形的所指，其对象是〈母〉、〈伯母〉、〈叔母〉、〈姑母〉、〈姨母〉、〈祖母〉和〈外祖母〉。

2. 词形的分类

下面分别列出具体词形，音标从略。〈叔母〉、〈姑母〉、〈姨母〉不包括含专用词根“婶”、“姑”和“姨”的词形。

〈母〉

娘、娘娘、娘儿、娘的、娘姥、娘姝、娘老子、娘老倌、娘奶、[ŋ]娘、娘母、娘姆、娘爸、阿娘、安娘、俺娘、大娘

〈伯母〉

娘、娘娘、娘儿、娘儿娘儿、娘仃、阿姆娘、大娘、大娘娘、大娘婆、太娘、好娘、老娘、亲娘、母娘、娘姆、吾娘、后姆娘、阿娘

〈叔母〉

娘、娘娘、娘儿、娘儿娘儿、娘仃、娘辈、细娘、满娘、嫂娘、娘妈、亲娘、大娘、小娘、新娘、花娘、俺娘

〈姑母〉

娘、娘娘、娘儿、娘娘儿、唔娘、嗯娘、[ʔŋ]娘、阿娘、大娘、干娘

〈姨母〉

娘、娘娘、娘儿、娘娘儿、娘子、嗯娘、大娘、大大娘、太大娘、贺娘、小娘、阿娘

〈祖母〉

娘、娘娘、娘子、娘娘呀、娘娘啊、娘姆、祖婆娘、亲娘、家娘、丫娘、老娘、阿娘

〈外祖母〉

娘、娘娘、老娘、姥娘、朗娘、舅娘、舅厦娘、舅舍娘、外娘、外婆娘、外老娘

3. 分布特征与解释

用以称女性长辈亲属的“娘”系词形总的来看种类比“爷”系词形还要多，尤其是指〈母〉、〈伯母〉、〈叔母〉三种亲属范畴的词形。

称〈母〉的“娘”南北都有，出现频率最高。

称〈伯母〉的“娘”，出现频率仅次于〈母〉。它在北方地区集中于东部，这与称〈伯父〉的“爷”平行，是“β型转移”的结果。但是南方也有不少方言以“娘”称〈伯母〉。

称〈叔母〉的“娘”，出现频率远不如〈母〉和〈伯母〉。至少有一半出现在长江流域，这与称〈叔父〉的“爷”平行，是“α型转移”的结果。但是淮河

以北的北方地区也出现这种“娘”。

称〈姑母〉的“娘”集中于浙江及长江下游地区，与称〈叔母〉的“娘”毗邻分布着。这种“娘”也出现在西南地区和西北地区。

称〈姨母〉的“娘”出现频率最低，只见于四川、云南、湖南、江西等地区。

称〈祖母〉或〈外祖母〉的“娘”多数出现在北方的东部地区以及山西，但称〈祖母〉的“娘”也集中分布于吴语地区，表明这种“娘”从北方传至江淮地区，进而也侵入江东地区。

关键词：所指的转移

Summary

This map indicates the referent of the forms which contain the stem *niang*. We exclude the forms containing category-specific stems of *shen* 婶, *gu* 姑 and *yi* 姨, while all the other forms containing *niang* are included

Niang is used most frequently for ‘mother’ and widely seen in both the North and South. The next most frequent usage is observed for ‘wife of father’s elder brother,’ which concentrates in the Northeast. This is mainly the result of referential shift (β-type), as it is parallel with *ye* 爷, which refers to ‘father’s elder brother.’ Unlike *ye*, however, *niang* exists in the South.

At least half the cases of *niang* that represents ‘wife of father’s younger brother’ is seen along the Yangtze, which also suggests the occurrence of referential shift (α-type). Again, the distribution of *niang* is different from that of *ye*, in that the former also exists in the North.

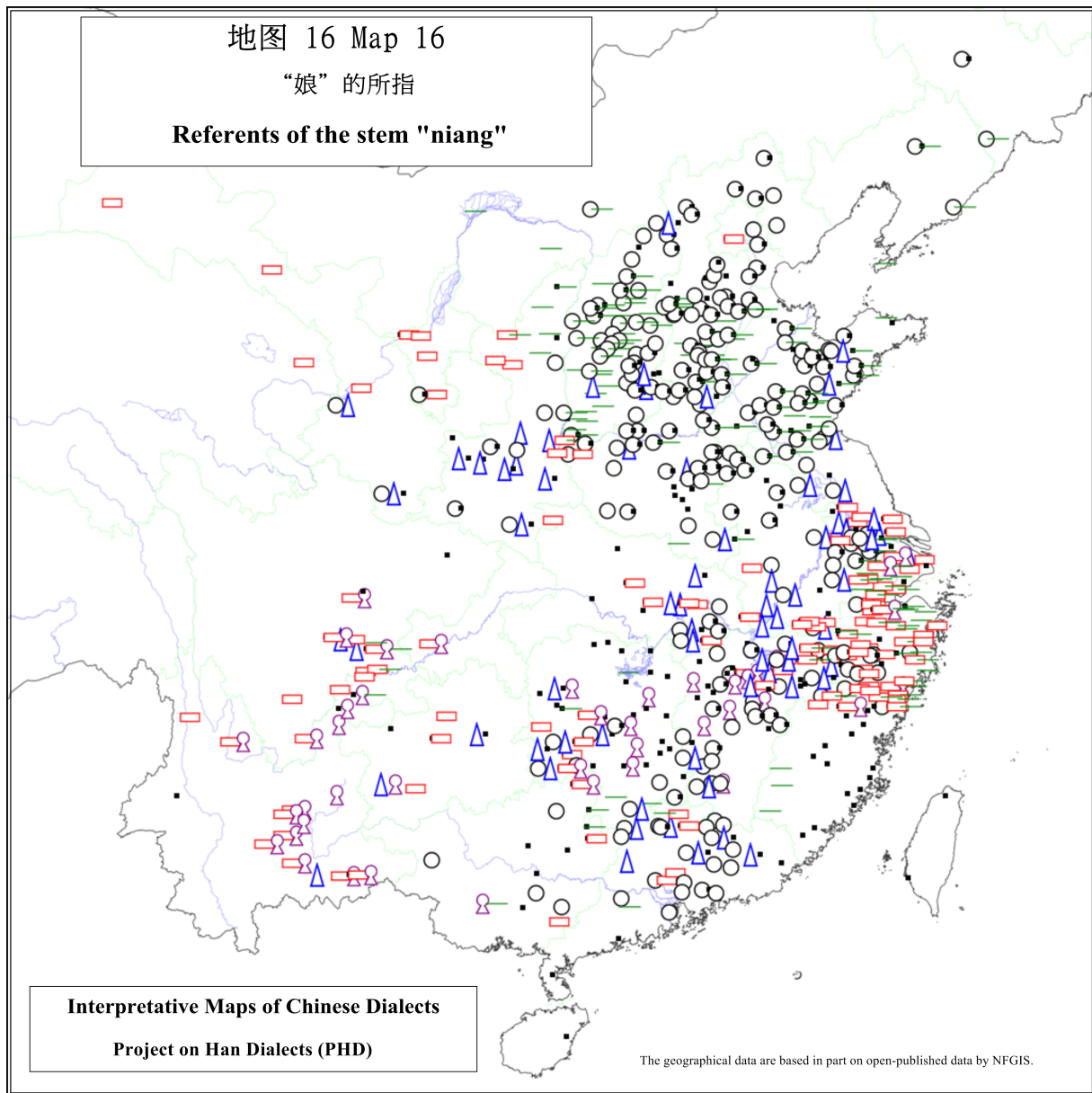
Niang used for ‘father’s sister’ is observed in clusters along the Zhejiang and the lower Yangtze. Its distribution area is adjacent to that of *niang* referring to ‘wife of father’s younger brother.’

Niang referring to ‘mother’s sister’ has the appears least and is only distributed in some Southern areas.

Lastly, many of the cases where *niang* represents ‘paternal/maternal grandmother’ are centered in the Northeastern area, though *niang* referring to ‘paternal grandmother’ has a concentrated distribution in the Wu area, evidence of the advance of this stem from the North.

Keywords: referential shift

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



"娘"的所指 /Referents of the stem "niang"

- 母亲 /Mother
- 伯母 /Wife of father's elder brother
- △ 叔母 /Wife of father's younger brother
- ▭ 姑母 /Father's sister
- ⊖ 姨母 /Mother's sister
- 祖母 /Paternal grandmother
- 外祖母 /Maternal grandmother

地图 17 舅父 Map 17 Mother's brother

1. 条目

称呼〈母〉的兄弟的面称形式。面称时一般加上排行数，如“大(大)舅”、“二(大)舅”。多数方言在词根的形式上不区别〈母〉的兄和弟，但有些方言面里则区别。如广东中山(南朗)有两种形式：“大舅”和“舅仔”，前者表〈母〉的兄，后者表〈母〉的弟；又如江苏丹阳，“舅爹”专指〈母〉的兄，“舅舅”专指〈母〉的弟，另外还说“娘舅”，这兼指〈母〉的兄和弟。

2. 词形的分类

用以称〈姨母〉的词根分成五种大类。

A. 舅 *不含其他表〈母〉或〈父〉的形式

- 舅(单音节)
- 舅舅
- 舅儿[ciour]、舅仔[k^hiu tsai]
- 大舅、老舅、细舅[sæi k^hi]、霞舅[ha t^hiu]
- 阿舅[a k^u][a t^hieu][ʔaʔ d^hieʔ]

B. 娘舅

娘舅[n^oŋ ku][niã d^hieʔ][ni d^hiau]

C. 母舅

母舅[mu t^hieu][mo t^hieu][bo ku]

D. 舅父、舅公、舅爷、舅爹、舅伯 等

*含父系长辈称谓词根的形式

- 舅父[t^hieu fu][k^heu fu]
- 舅公[k^heu koŋ][k^hiu koŋ][t^hiu kəŋ]、舅翁[ku aŋ]
- 舅爷[t^hieu ie][d^hieu ie][k^hiu iəu]
- 舅爹[t^hieu tie][k^hieu te]
- 舅伯[t^hieu p^h][k^hiu pa]、舅爸[gəw pa]
- 舅家[go ko]、舅基[d^hieu t^hi]、舅姐[t^hieu t^hie]

E. 其他

- 嫫嫫/么么[mo mo]、母儿[məʔ]、母□[mu tə]
- 阿爷[æʔ io]

3. 分布特征与解释

“舅”这一词根在上古时期已经存在，《尔雅·释亲》云：“母之昆弟为舅”，正指〈舅父〉。

在现代方言中称〈舅父〉的词形绝大多数都带有“舅”。A系含有四种次类型：一是单音节的，南北都有，黄河流域出现得最多；二是重叠形式的“舅舅”，出现频率最高，南北都有，但在东南沿海地区并不多见；三是“舅儿”、“舅仔”等带词尾的形式，出现频率不高；四是带前缀“阿”或“大”、“老”等修饰成份的，多数出现在南方地区。北方地区大部分都是A系的领域。

B系为“娘舅”，C系为“母舅”，以前置“娘”或

“母”来显示被称者是母系长辈亲属，这也可以看做一种有缘化(理据化)。前置式构词法的形成一方面也出于回避与“舅娘”、“舅母”等称〈舅母〉的形式冲突的必要。“娘舅”在江苏南部至浙江南部形成连续性分布，也延伸到闽北。“母舅”集中于江西北部和中南部。这种颠倒式的构词法可能起源于长江下游地区。

D系在词根“舅”的后面加上父系长辈称谓词根，是与“伯父”、“叔父”等的构词法相同。这类多数出现在南方地区，包括一些长江北岸的方言。

B、C、D三系和A系形成ABA分布，这正好也证明最古老的形式是A系，而带母系或父系长辈亲属词根的是后世的创新所致。

关键词：构词法、颠倒式的构词法、ABA分布

Summary

An exclusive stem *jiu*舅 was formed in Old Chinese to represent ‘mother’s brother.’ The forms including this stem are by far the most frequently observed ones even in modern dialects all over the country.

Type A, without the stem for ‘mother’ or ‘father’, consists of four subtypes: the monosyllabic type, the reduplicated type, the “*jiu*舅+suffix” type and the “prepositioned element+*jiu*舅” type. Most forms that exist north of the Yangtze belong to this type, as well as those distributed in Guangdong and Fujian.

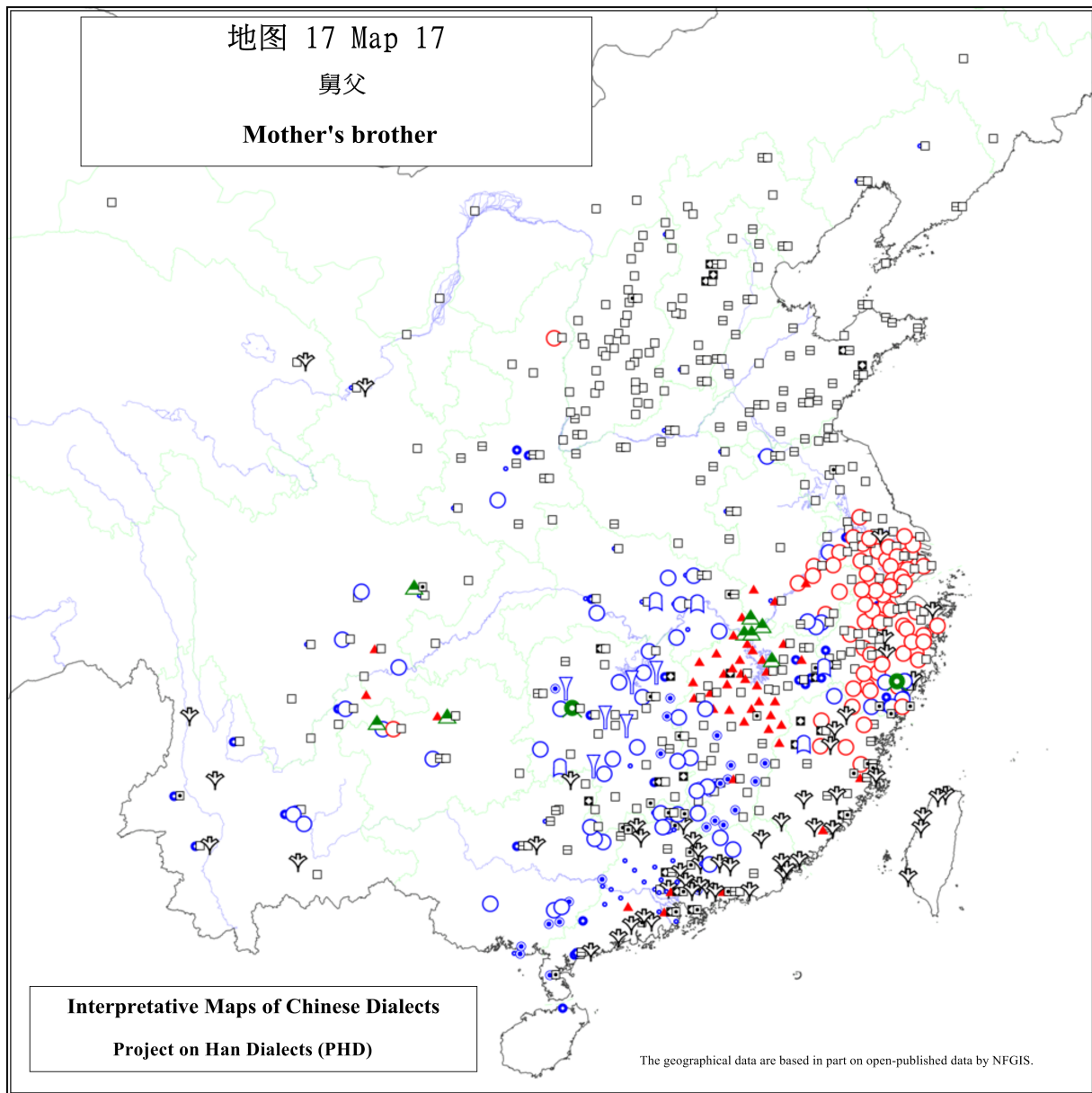
The forms that belong to Types B and C are *niang-jiu*娘舅 and *mu-jiu*母舅, respectively, with *niang*娘 and *mu*母 both referring to ‘mother.’ This inverted structure is assumed to occur partly due to the emphasis on the mother’s lineage, but also due to the homonymic collision with the forms for ‘wife of mother’s brother’ such as *jiuniang*舅娘 and *jiumu*舅母.

Type D includes the forms *jiugong*舅公 and *jiuye*舅爷 that take the stem referring to ‘father.’ It was formed in the same way as *bofu*伯父 and *shufu*叔父.

Types B, C and D mainly distribute south of the Yangtze, sandwiched by Type A in the North and the South. This exemplifies the philological evidence that Type A, the monosyllabic type in particular, is older than the other types, which adds the stem representing a parent.

Keywords: word formation, inverted type word formation, ABA distribution

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



A. 舅 jiu

- ☐ 舅 jiu (单音节 / monosyllabic)
- 舅舅 jiujiu
- ▣ 舅儿 jiur, 舅仔 jiuzai
- ▤ 大舅 dajiu, 老舅 laojiu, 细舅 xiji etc.
- ♣ 阿舅 ajiu

B. 娘舅 niangjiu

- 娘舅 niangjiu

C. 母舅 mujiu

- ▲ 母舅 mujiu

D. 舅父 jiufu, 舅公 jiugong, 舅爹 jiudie etc.

- 舅父 jiufu
- 舅公 jiugong, 舅翁 jiuweng
- 舅爷 jiuye

- 舅爹 jiudie

- ♢ 舅伯 jiubo, 舅爸 jiuba

- ♣ 舅家 jiuja, 舅基 jiuji, 舅姐 jiujie

E. 其他 / Others

- ▲ 嬷嬷 momo、 母儿 mur

- 阿爷 aye