

## 地图 6 祖父

### Map 6 Paternal grandfather

## 地图 7 外祖父

### Map 7 Maternal grandfather

#### 1. 条目

〈祖父〉为父之父，〈外祖父〉为母之父。“外祖父”的构词法是“祖父”之前加上表外亲的成份“外”。现代方言基本继承这种构词法，故这两种亲属范畴多数都以同一个词根称呼，又因此其在地理空间上的分布明显有平行之处，但也有不平行之处。

地图 6 表示称〈祖父〉的面称形式。地图 7 表示称〈外祖父〉的面称形式。关于此条目，参见《汉语方言地图集》词汇卷 042、044 以及岩田(1995)。

#### 2. 词形的分类

用以称〈祖父〉和〈外祖父〉的词根主要的有三种，即“爷”“爹”和“公”。其他也有若干词形，但出现频率不高，一律归于“其他”系。

##### [地图 6] 〈祖父〉

###### A. 爷

- A-1 爷[i] [iɛ] [ia] [fia]、爷爷[iə iə]、爷儿[ie ə] [zə]
- A-2 阿爷[a iɛ] [ʔə? fiA]、老爷[lao ye]

###### B. 爹

- B-1 爹[tia] [tie] [ti] [ta]、爹爹[tɪ tɪ] [ta ta]
- B-2 阿爹[a ta] [a? tia]、老爹[lau tie]、大爹[da tia]
- B-3 公爹[kəŋ tia] [kəŋ ti] [kəŋ ta]

###### C. 公

- C-1 公[kəŋ]、公公[kəŋ kəŋ]、公公啊[kəŋ kəŋ a]、公儿[kuŋ ŋi]、公子[œyŋ tsie]、公伢[kuŋ lei]
- C-2 阿公[a kəŋ]、□公[an kəŋ]、好公[hə kəŋ]、太公[tʰai kəŋ]、郎公[laŋ kai]

###### D. 其他

- 翁[œŋ]、阿翁[a ŋ]、家翁[ka œyŋ]
- 家家[ka ka]、佳佳[ka ka]
- 朝朝[tsʰou tsʰou]、阿朝[ɔ? tʰie]
- 老老[lə lə]、老伯[lə pa?]、老的、阿老
- 大大[da da]、阿大[ʔA? da] • 阿爸[a ʔba]、阿导

##### [地图 7] 〈外祖父〉

###### A. 爷

- A-1 老爷[lau ie] [lo ie]、姥爷[lou i]、老爷呀[lə ie ia]
- A-2 外爷[uei i] [vei ia]、外爷爷[ue iə iə]、位爷[uei ie]
- A-3 舅爷、舅家爷[tɕiou tɕia ie]、舅厦爷[tɕʰiou ɕa ia]
- A-4 简爷[tɕiã iE]、讲爷[tɕiaŋ iE]
- A-5 家公爷[ka kəŋ ia]      A-6 阿爷、姐爷
- A-7 爷[ia]、爷爷[ie ie]

###### B. 爹

- B-1 舅爹[tɕiou tɕi]      B-2 家爹[ka tie]

B-3 外爹[ve tie]、外爹爹[uai tɛ tɛ]

B-4 大爹[dæ tia]、阿爹[ʔA? tɪp]、老爹[lə tie]

B-5 外公爹爹[fiə kəŋ tia tia]、家公爹爹[ka kəŋ ti ti]

###### C. 公

C-1 外公[uə kəŋ] [gua kəŋ] [ŋa kəŋ] [fiə kəŋ]

C-2 阿公[a kəŋ] [ŋa kəŋ]

C-3 舅公[dʒiəŋ kəŋ]      C-4 家公[ka kəŋ]

C-5 姐公[tse kəŋ]、姊公[tsia kəŋ]

C-6 公公[kəŋ kəŋ]、

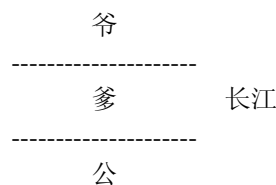
C-7 娣公[tu kəŋ]、客公[kʰa kəŋ]、好公[xə kəŋ]、

###### D. 其他

- 家[ka]、家家[ka ka]、家□[ko bei]
- 我翁[ŋ moŋ]、筒儿[tɕiar]、讲儿[tɕiar]、

#### 3. 分布特征与解释

从地图 6 〈祖父〉可以看出，“爷”、“爹”和“公”这三种词根的分布呈现出三大势力鼎立的情形。

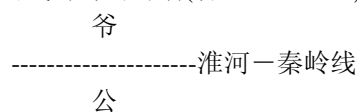


地图 7 〈外祖父〉的分布情况与此有所不同：“爹”和“爷”的分布领域明显缩小，反之“公”的分布点增多。这就意味着，称〈祖父〉和〈外祖父〉的形式多数共享同一个词根，但长江流域及江西、闽北等地区出现不少例外。现举些例子，先举共享一个词根的方言，后举词根不一致的方言：

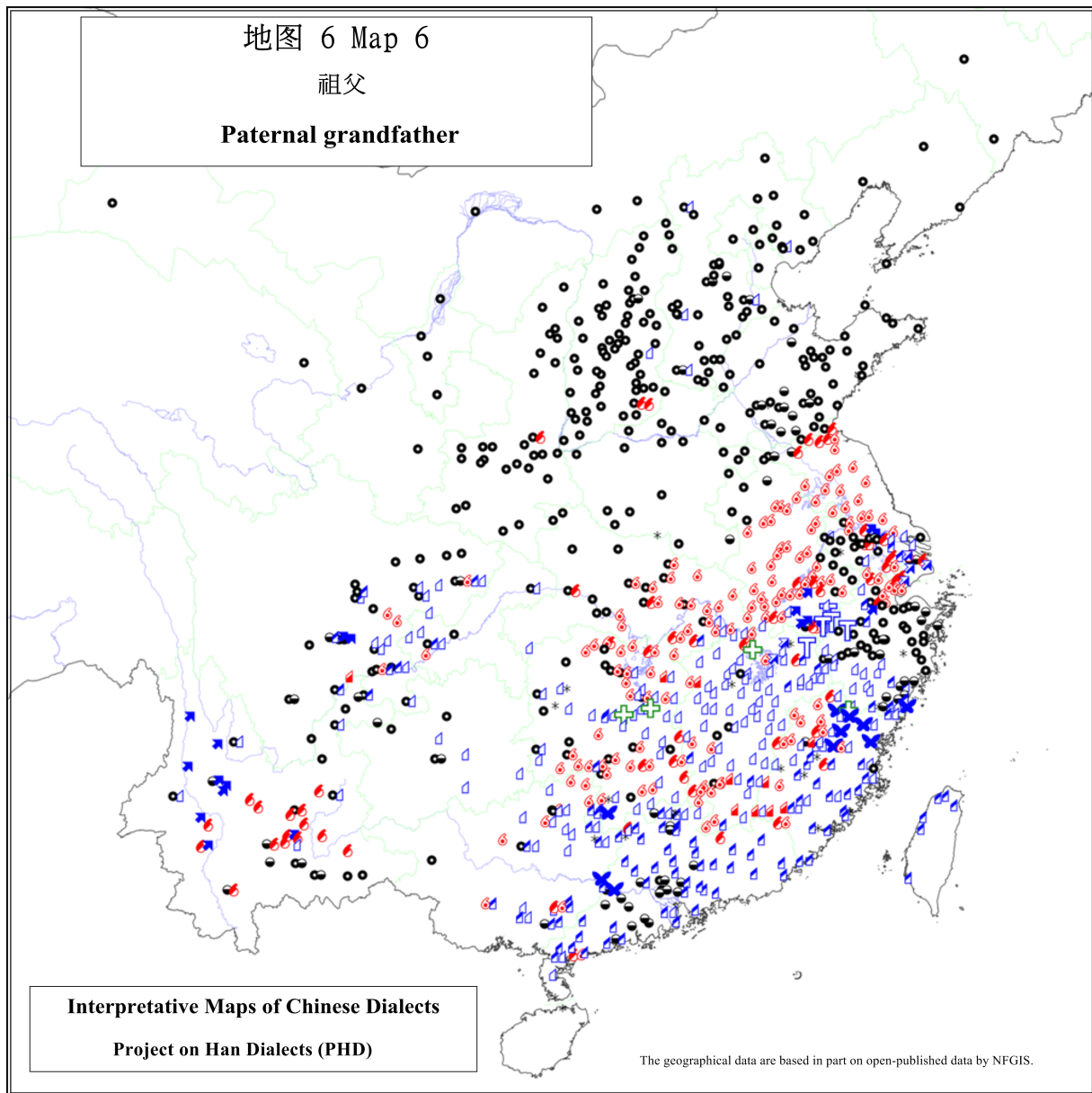
- 北京：            爷爷[ie ie] / 老爷[lau ie]
- 连云港(江苏)： 爹爹[lə tɪ] / 舅爹爹[tɕiu tɕi tɕi]
- 福州(福建)：    依公[i kuŋ] / 外公[ŋie uŋ]

- 南京(江苏)：    爷爷[ie ie] / 公公[kəŋ kəŋ]
- 西畴(云南)：    爷[i]        / 公 [kəŋ]
- 阜宁(江苏)：    爹爹[tɪ tɪ] / 外公[ue kuŋ]
- 永新(江西)：    爹爹[tia tia] / 外公[ŋæ kəŋ]

这里指出词汇变化的一种普遍倾向，即古老词形容易保存在复合词中。我们可以推测，南京、阜宁等地的“公”原来也用来称〈祖父〉，而后来由“爷”或“爹”代替。我们还进一步推测，称〈祖父〉的词根旧时的分布模式大致上就保存在地图 7 〈外祖父〉上，也就是，称〈祖父〉的“爷”和“公”曾有过在淮河—秦岭线对峙的时期(岩田 1995:207)。



最古老的应为“公”。晋南有若干方言以“外公”称呼〈外祖父〉，如长子、陵川。这也可能是古时用法的保留。



**A. 爷 ye**

- A-1 爷 ye, 爷爷 yeye
- A-2 阿爷 aye, 老爷 laoye
- ▧ A-3 爷公 yegong

**B. 爹 die**

- ⑥ B-1 爹 die, 爹爹 diedie
- ⑥ B-2 阿爹 adie, 老爹 laodie, 大爹 dadie
- ④ B-3 公爹 gongdie

**C. 公 gong**

- ▧ C-1 公 gong, 公公 gonggong, 公儿 gongr
- ▧ C-2 阿公 a'gong, 好公 haogong etc.

**D. 其他 /Others**

- ✦ 翁 weng
- ✦ 家 jia [ka]

- ⊥ 朝 chao
- ✦ 老老 laolao, 老的 laode etc.
- ✦ 大 da
- \* 其他 / Others

“爷”是从〈父〉称谓转用过来。这个词根在北方地区用来兼指〈祖父〉和〈伯父〉，是传统宗法制的的影响所致。

指称〈祖父〉的“爷”在中部及西部与“公”竞争，在地图 6〈祖父〉上已经越过长江侵入湖南、贵州、云南，但在地图 7〈外祖父〉上还大部分在停留在长江北岸。在东部，江淮主要是“爹”的领域，但自南京至浙江中部一带集中分布着“爷”。这个“爷”与北方的“爷”形成“ABA”分布，此乃过去曾有一个时期北方的“爷”侵入江淮并占领长江下游地区的见证。这也就是说，当时长江流域不存在指称〈祖父〉的“爹”。“爷”也集中于珠江三角洲一带，这可能暗示着到达长江流域的“爷”后来经过湖南传至广东。

以“爹”称呼〈祖父〉是最新兴的用法，起源于江淮地区，然后沿着长江向西传播，西部也传至云南，呈现出典型的“长江型”分布。明·陈士元《俚谚解》卷一云：“南人称父曰爷，祖父曰爹；北人称父曰爹，祖父曰爷”。“爹”一定程度也分布于湖南、江西、闽北等南方地区。以“爹”称呼〈外祖父〉的多数都分布在江苏、安徽和湖北。这种“爹”应为从〈祖父〉转用过来的，是后起的用法。

关键词：淮河—秦岭线、古词在复合词中的保留、ABA 分布、长江型分布

### Summary

In classical Chinese, ‘father’s father (paternal grandfather)’ was called *zufu* 祖父 (literally meaning ‘Ancestral father’) while ‘mother’s father (maternal grandfather)’ was called *waizufu* 外祖父, with the additionally prepositioned *wai* 外 signifying the maternal (outside) lineage. Generally, this method of word formation has not changed even in modern dialects, many of which use the common stem for the two kinship categories. We therefore discuss both categories together, comparing the two Maps 6 and 7.

For ‘father’s father’, there are mainly three different stems that show the following distribution:

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| <i>ye</i> 爷   |               |
| -----         |               |
| <i>die</i> 爹  | Yangtze River |
| -----         |               |
| <i>gong</i> 公 |               |

*Ye* 爷 is seen in the North, *gong* 公 in the South, and *die* 爹 in between, displaying Yangtze type distribution. Although the distribution of the stems for ‘mother’s father’ is parallel to this, it is different in that the distribution areas for *ye* 爷 and *die* 爹 are significantly narrower. Thus, for instance, there are many

points in Jiangsu where the two categories do not share the same stem:

|            |                   |                   |
|------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|            | ‘Father’s father’ | ‘Mother’s father’ |
| Fu’ning 阜宁 | <i>die</i> 爹      | <i>gong</i> 公     |
| Nanjing 南京 | <i>ye</i> 爷       | <i>gong</i> 公     |

Considering the general tendency that compound words preserve old lexical forms, we can assume that in such dialects as these, where different stems are used for the two categories, the stem for ‘mother’s father’ is older than the other. Namely, these dialects used to use *gong* 公 for ‘father’s father’ as well, but later replaced it with *die* 爹 or *ye* 爷.

We also assume that the stems for ‘father’s father’ used to have a similar distribution as the ones for ‘mother’s father’ in Map 7, as follows:

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>ye</i> 爷              |  |
| -----Huaihe-Qinling line |  |
| <i>gong</i> 公            |  |

In our assumption, the oldest form for ‘father’s father’ was *gong* 公, which still exists in a few Northern dialects to represent ‘mother’s father.’

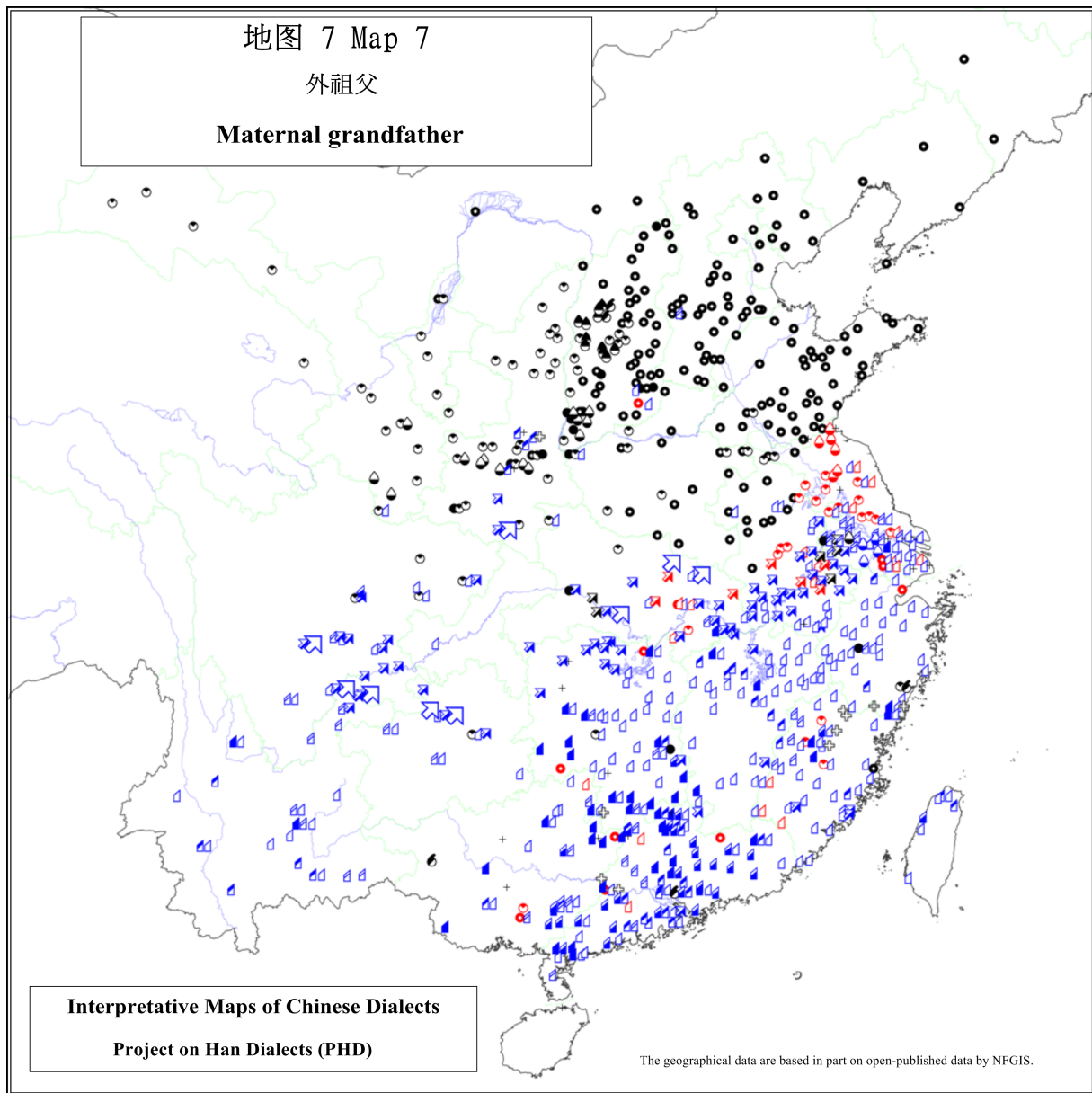
*Ye* 爷 and *die* 爹 both used to be the stems for ‘father.’ The ‘father’s father,’ who was the head of the Chinese patriarchal clan, eventually came to be referred to by the same stems as those for ‘father,’ the head of the family.

The change of *ye* 爷 into the stem for ‘father’s father’ precedes *die* 爹, occurring in the Northern area north of the Huai River. It later spread to the South and, after reaching the lower Yangtze area, advanced to Zhejiang and the middle Yangtze area.

According to the literature, *die* 爹 changed to become the stem for ‘father’s father’ after the Jin/Yuan Dynasties. This change originated in the Jianghuai area. Map 6 indicates that *ye* 爷 is distributed in the city of Nanjing and its surrounding area, as well as in Zhejiang, forming an ABA distribution with its counterpart in the North and sandwiching *die* 爹. This suggests that *ye* 爷 used to exist in the Jianghuai area. Currently *die* 爹 reaches as far west as Yunnan and exhibits a typical Yangtze type distribution. It was later adopted as the form for ‘mother’s father’ in some areas of Jianghuai.

Keywords: Yangtze type distribution, retention of older forms in compounds, Huaihe-Qinling line, ABA distribution

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



**A. 爷 ye**

- A-1 老爷 laoye, 姥爷 laoye, 外老爷 wailaoye
- A-2 外爷 waiye
- ◐ A-3 舅爷 jiuye, 舅家爷 jiujiaye, 舅厦爷
- ◑ A-4 筒爷 jianye, 讲爷 jiangye
- ✂ A-5 家公爷 jiagongye
- ♂ A-6 阿爷 aye, 姐爷 jieye etc.
- A-7 爷 ye, 爷爷 yeye

**B. 爹 die**

- ◐ B-1 舅爹 jiudie
- ✂ B-2 家爹 jiadie
- ◑ B-3 外爹 waidie, 婆爹 podie
- B-4 大爹 dadie, 阿爹 adie etc.
- ◑ B-5 外公爹 waigongdie, 家公爹 jiagongdie

**C. 公 gong**

- ◑ C-1 外公 waigong
- ◑ C-2 阿公 a'gong
- ◑ C-3 舅公 jiugong
- ✂ C-4 家公 jiagong
- ◑ C-5 姐公 jiegong, 姊公 zigong
- ◑ C-6 公 gong, 公公 gonggong, 公儿 gongr
- ◑ C-7 娣公 duogong, 大公 dagong etc.

**D. 其他 / Others**

- ◑ 家家 jiajia, 大家 dajia
- ⊕ 翁 weng
- + 其他 / Others