

地图 2 父亲 Map 2 Father

1. 条目

按词根的形式进行分类, 不考虑重叠与否、修饰成份的有无及种类等因素。如果某一点说“爷”, 而另一点说“阿爷”, 地图上的符号是相同的。

2. 词形的分类

A. 爷 (T类)

爷[ia][fia][ie]、爷爷[ie ie]、阿爷[a ia]、大爷[ta ie]

B. 爹 (T类)

爹[tia][tie]、爹爹[ti ti][tia tia]、答答[ta^{阴平} ta]、大大[ta^{阴平} ta]、□□[ta^{阴平} ta]、达达[ta^{阴平} ta]、阿爹[a? tia]

C. 父 (P类)

父[fu]、父啊[fu a]、阿父[a pe]、安父[am pou]

D. 爸 (P类)

- 爸[pa][pa?]、爸爸[pa pa]、阿爸[?a pa]、吾爸[ŋ pa]、老爸[lau pe]、爸啊[ba a]
- 郎爸[lɔŋ pa][louŋ ma]
- 娘爸[nyɔŋ pa][nuŋ ŋa][liũ pe]

E. 伯、叔

- 伯[pe?]、伯伯[pa? pa?][pe pe]、阿伯[a? pa?]
- 叔[ʃɔk]、叔啊[tse? a]、阿叔[a tsø?]

F. 大 *去声(非去声的归于“爹”系)

- 大[ta^{去声}]、大大[ta^{去声} ta]、大儿[tar^{去声}]、阿大[?a da]

G. 其他

- 哥[kɔ]、阿哥[a ko]
- 阿妈[A mA]、阿家[a ka]、弹弹[tæ tæ]、掰掰[pe pe]

3. 分布特征与解释

汉语方言称〈父〉的词根自古以来有两种系统, 现称作P类和T类。这与印欧语的情况相似。

P类来自“父”(黎锦熙1933), 其上古音是*bia。“爸”现在读[pa], 说明其主元音自上古以来基本没变动。“父”现在按音变规律读为[fu], 是属文言层次的形式, 但在江苏的南通地区以及安徽西南部至湖北东部的一带却用于面称〈父〉。“郎爸”分布于福建, 在文献上已出现在唐代顾况的《哀闽》诗中。

T类包括“爹”(MC: *tia)和“爷”(MC: *jia)。“爷”的声母必定来自某种浊音, 不是d-就是l-, 可能原为“爹”的语音变异, 也就是“爷”来自“爹”。

“爹”和“爷”均始见于六朝时期的文献。在地图上, “爹”的出现频率和“爸”的颇高, 其分布几乎都覆盖全国, 只是不分布于闽地区。“爹”也包括写作“大”、“答”、“达”等的[ta], 其声调为阴平或阳平。F“大”系与此类则不相同, 读去声, 我们认为来自“大伯”、“大爹”等的“大”(参见地图1解说)。

“爷”很可能起源于北方, 但做为称〈父〉的形式现在除了集中出现在山东中部及南部以外几乎都被淘汰, 而由“爹”或“爸”代替。“爷”现在主要出现

在长江下游地区以及赣、湘地区, 这是中古时期以后的传播所致。有些方言“爹”用于面称, 而“爷”用于背称。岩田(1989)和Iwata(2000)认为: “爹”为土著形式, “爷”为来自北方的外来形式。

“伯”和“叔”原表〈伯父〉和〈叔父〉, 现在有不少方言用之称〈父〉, 此乃排行制度的影响所致。

关键词: 词源、用法的分工、排行制、词根的脱落(前置成份的词根化)

Summary

The Chinese language historically has two types of stems of the lexical forms for ‘father’: P-type and T-type.

P-type: *ba*爸, *fu*父 (OC: *bia)

T-type: *die*爹 (MC: *tia), *ye*爷 (MC: *jia)

P-type is more frequently used in modern Chinese dialects and has a wider distribution. Both *ba*爸 and *fu*父 are the derivative of *bia in OC. It changed into *fu* following regular phonological change, but it also changed into *ba* as the oral language maintained its archaic main vowel [a].

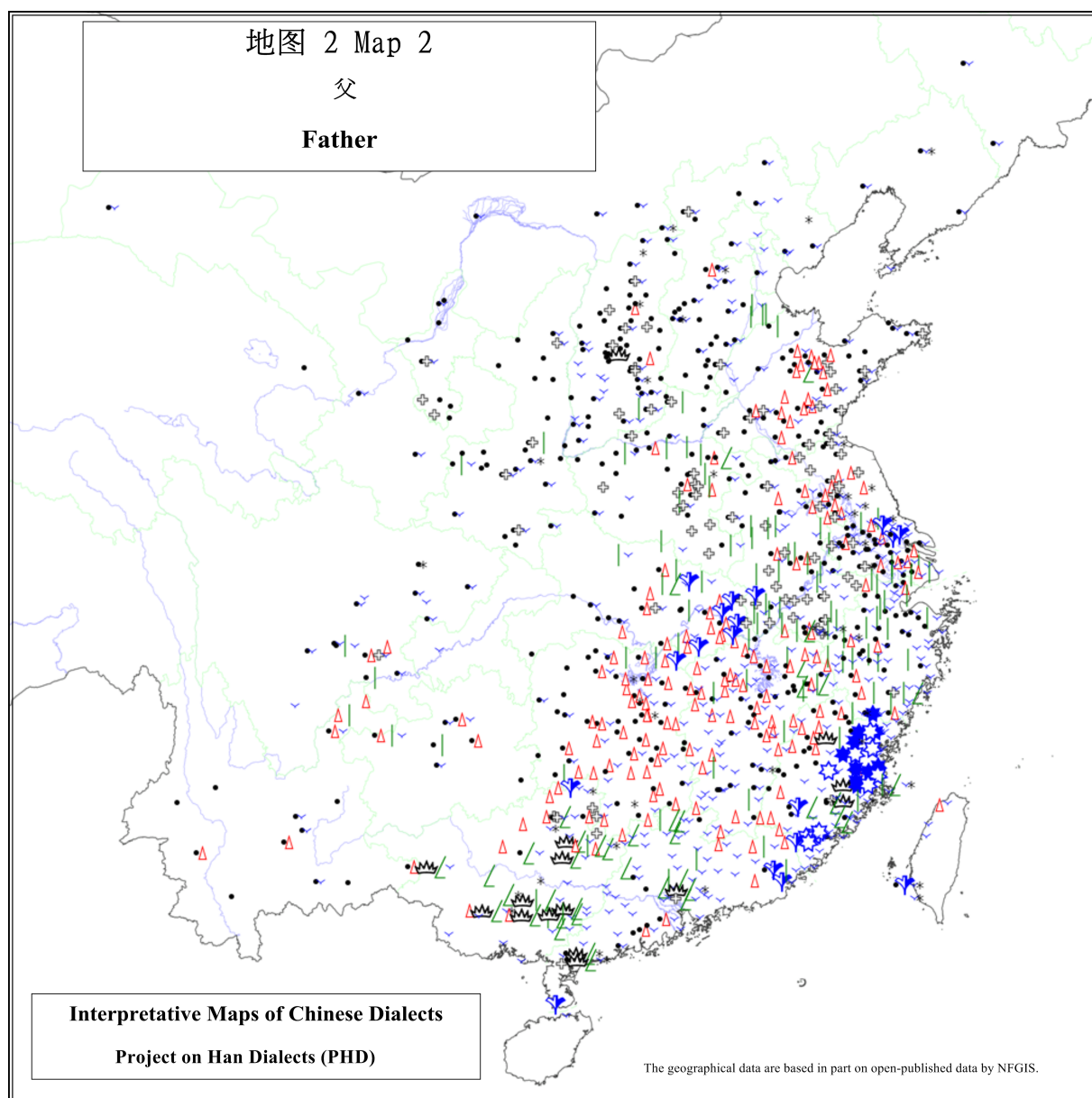
In T-type, *die*爹, seen in almost all the areas except for Min, is older than *ye*爷, which is the derivative of *die*. Note that [a] vocalism has been maintained in T-type as well, such as [tia] and [ta] for *die* and [ia] for *ye*. *Ye*爷 is considered to have originated in the North, but its usage as a term for ‘father’ disappeared in the North, except for in Shandong. In the areas along the lower Yangze, Jiangxi and Hunan, *die* and *ye* are used as the vocative and as the designative, respectively, thereby exhibiting differentiation of usage between them. We suppose that *die* may have been an aboriginal form prevalent in the lower Yangze, while *ye* was a new form introduced from the Northern area.

The stems *bo*伯 and *shu*叔 originally represented ‘father’s elder brother’ and ‘father’s younger brother’ respectively, but came to be used as the stem for ‘father’ under the influence of the *paihang* system. There is a regional difference concerning the frequency of this particular usage, as appearing on this Map.

The stem *da*大 was created as a result of stemization of a modifier after the stem of such forms as *dabo*大伯 and *dadie*大爹 were dropped.

Keywords: etymology, differentiation of usage, *Paihang* system, stem dropping (stemization of modifier)

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



A. 爷 ye (T-type)

△ 爷 ye, 爷爷 yeye, 阿爷 aye

B. 爹 die (T-type)

• 爹 die, 爹爹 diedie, 阿爹 adie, 达 da

C. 父 fu (P-type)

✧ 父 fu, 阿父 afu, 安父 anfu

D. 爸 ba (P-type)

▽ 爸 ba, 爸爸 baba, 阿爸 aba, η 爸 ba

★ 郎爸 langba

☆ 娘爸 niangba

E. 伯 bo, 叔 shu

| 伯 bo, 伯伯 bobo, 阿伯 abo

／ 叔 shu, 阿叔 ashu

F. 大 da (去声 /Tone III)

⊕ 大 da, 大儿 dar, 大大 dada

G. 其他 /Others

👑 哥 ge, 阿哥 age

* 其他 /Others

地图 3 伯父

Map 3 Father's elder brother

1. 条目

称呼〈父〉的哥哥时的形式。面称时一般加上排行数或“大”，如“大(大)爷”、“二(大)爷”、“三(大)爷”等，亦可使用“大爷”、“大伯”等总称形式。

2. 词形的分类

称呼〈伯父〉的形式按照词根分成五大类。

A. 伯

伯[pa][pie]、伯伯[bai bai][pæ? pæ?]、大伯[da pə?][ta pæ]、阿伯[a piak][a? pa]、亚伯[a pak]、老伯[lə pa?]

B. 爷

B-1 爷[ie][ia]、爷爷[ia ia]、大爷[tʰai ia]

B-2 伯爷[pa ie][pai ia][pə? fia][pak jie]

C. 爹

C-1 爹[tie][tia][tɛ]、爹爹[tie tie][tia tia]、大爹[ta tie][tʰai tia]、阿爹[a tɛ]、老爹[ləo tie]

C-2 [ta^{阴平}]、[ta^{阳平}]、[ta^{上声}]

大大[ta^{阴平} ta^{阳平} ta]、大达[ta^{上声} ta]

C-3 伯爹[pæ ti][ʔbɛ ʔdɛ]

D. 爸、父

D-1 爸[pa]、爸爸[pa pa]、大爸[ta pa][tʰai pa?]

用作称呼〈伯父〉的“伯”和“爸”，其语音相近，故以类似的符号标之。

D-2 父[pu^{阳上}]、阿父[a fu]

E. 大(去声)、老、姥

E-1 大大[ta ta][da da]

E-2 大老[ta lə]、伯老子[pa lau tsɿ]、老老[lau lau]、老子[lə tsɿ]、老大[lau ta]、大姥姥[ta leu leu]

F. 其他

F-2 阿叔[ʔa? so?]、大叔[duo ɕyo?]

F-3 其他：□[i]、阿□[ʔa kuo]

3. 分布特征与解释

出现频率最高的是“伯”。这一语素在上古时期充当修饰成份，即“伯父”，义即〈大〉，也就是表〈最大伯父〉的排行成份。据文献记载可知，“伯”已在六朝时期以前经历了词根化(郭明昆1962: 133-134)，现在说“大伯”、“二伯”、“三伯”等。“伯”在华北、华南都有相当大的分布领域，比其他类古老是无疑的。

长江以北地区，山西以东占多数的是“爷”。这原来是称〈父〉的词根，它用来称〈伯父〉相对来说是新兴的用法。这是在广大北方方言中曾发生过表〈父〉义的词根转用于表〈伯父〉的缘故，即“β型转移”(参见地图1解说)。

“爹”原表〈父〉，用作称〈伯父〉的多数分布

在北方地区和云南。这也是发生“β型转移”的结果。这一词根的出现频率比“爷”低得多，分布点除了甘肃和云南以外较为零散，但集中出现在山东半岛、河北东部等地区，总体来看，倾向于出现在围绕着“爷”的地区。我们据此推测，做为称〈伯父〉的形式，“爹”比“爷”还要古老，进而也推测，“爷”这一词根的产生年代相对来说属晚期，是从“爹”派生出来的。

发生“β型转移”的词根还有“爸”，集中出现在山西南部及江西北部。

方言报告中出现不少写作“大”的，其来源既有〈大小〉义的“大”又有来自“爹”的。本地图暂取的处理法：读去声的“大”认作原充当修饰充分的“大”，而读非去声的(主要是阴平和阳平)认作来自“爹”。

词根化了的修饰成份另外还有“老”。“老”和“大”的分布较为零散，这说明平行的变化曾发生在全国各地。

关键词：β型转移、排行制、修饰成份的词根化

Summary

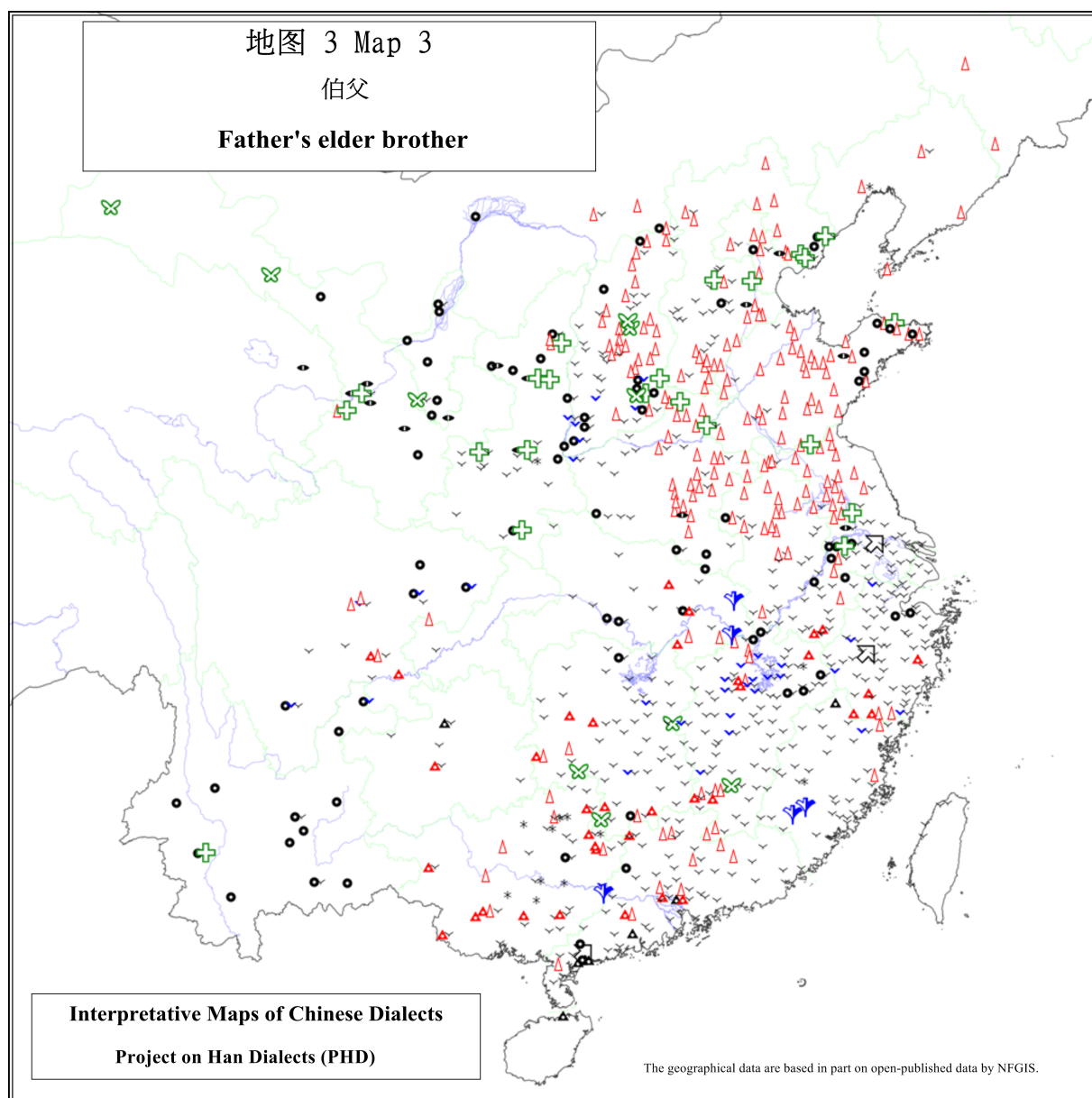
The stems for ‘father’s elder brother’ are classified into six different groups. The most frequently used stem is *bo*伯. As seen in the word formation of *bofu*伯父 in OC, it used to be the prepositional element meaning ‘elder’, and was equivalent to *da*大 in modern Chinese. It was then stemized by the Six Dynasties and came to be a stem exclusively used for ‘father’s elder brother.’

The stems *ye*爷 and *die*爹 originally referred to ‘father.’ As a result of “β-type referential shift” in the North, however, they changed to represent ‘father’s elder brother.’ *Ye*爷 is second most frequently seen after *bo*伯, and its distribution concentrates in the northern area east of Shanxi. *Die*爹 is observed less commonly than *ye*爷, and it exists in the areas surrounding *ye*爷 in the Northern areas. This suggests that *die*爹 is the older of the two forms.

*Die*爹 includes [ta], which is the sound left after **tia* dropped its medial [i]. It is often pronounced in either Tone Ia or Ib. The same syllable [ta] was created after the stem of such forms as *dabo*大伯 was dropped. In this case, though, this syllable is pronounced in in Tone III.

Keywords: β-type referential shift, *Paihang* system, stemization of modifier

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



A. 伯 bo

- ✧ A-1 伯 (伯)bo, 大伯 dabo, 阿伯 abo, 老伯

B. 爷 ye

- △ B-1 爷 ye, 大爷 daye, 阿爷 aye
- △ B-2 伯爷 boye

C. 爹 die

- C-1 爹 (爹)die, 大爹 dadie, 阿爹 adie, 老爹
- C-2 [ta](阴平, 阳平, 上声 /Tone Ia or Ib or II)
- ▲ C-3 伯爹 bodie

D. 爸 ba, 父 fu

- ▼ D-1 爸 (爸)ba, 大爸 daba
- ▼ D-2 父 fu, 阿父 afu

E. 大 da(去声 /Tone III), 老 lao, 姥 lao

- ✚ E-1 大 (大)da

- ✚ E-2 大老 dalao, 伯老 bolao, 老老 laolao

F. 其他 / Others

- ⊞ F-1 大叔 dashu, 阿叔 ashu
- * F-2 其他 / Others

地图 4 叔父

Map 4 Father's younger brother

1. 条目

称呼〈父〉的弟弟时的形式。面称时一般加上排行数或“小”、“细”、“老”等，如“二叔”、“三叔”、“小叔”等，亦可使用“叔叔”等总称形式。

2. 词形的分类

称呼〈叔父〉的形式按照词根分成六大类。

A. 叔

叔、叔叔、阿叔

B. 爷

B-1 爷、爷爷、细爷

B-2 叔爷、爷叔

C. 爹

C-1 爹、小爹、[ka]爹

C-2 [ta] (阴平、阳平)

C-3 叔爹

D. 爸、父

D-1 爸、阿爸、爹爹

D-2 父

E. 大、老

E-1 大、大大[ta ta]

E-2 老老、老儿、小姥

E-3 [man], [man man]

E-4 细细、叔叔[tɕiao tɕiao]

F. 其他

F-1 伯、伯伯、小伯、叔伯

F-2 阿松[a son]、兄[ɕion]、育育[io? io?]、□□[ne ia]、摆摆[pai pai]、嘎嘎[ka ka] 等

3. 分布特征与解释

出现频率最高的是“叔”。这一语素在上古时期充当修饰成份，义即〈小〉，也就是表〈最小叔父〉的排行成份。据《颜氏家训》的记载可知，“叔”已在六朝时期以前经历了词根化，现在说“小叔”、“二叔”、“三叔”等。“叔”在华北、华南都有相当大的分布领域，比其他类古老是无疑的。

“爷”、“爹”、“爸”原来均是称〈父〉的词根，现在有不少地区用之称〈叔父〉，此乃发生“α型转移”所致。产生这一类转移的一个动因是非语言因素，即“改称”的习俗，参见地图1解说。江淮地区有一些方言将〈最小的叔父〉称作“老爷”。“老”的词义与“小”正好相反，这也是“改称”的一种表现形态。

用以称〈叔父〉的“爷”表现出“长江型”的分布，尤其集中分布于江淮地区。“爹”的分布较为分散。“爸”多数出现在中国的西部地区，陕西、甘肃、宁夏及四川。这种分布类型是较少见的。

原来用作称〈父〉的“爷”、“爹”和“爸”转用于称〈叔父〉，一定程度也受到排行制的影响所致。譬如，称〈父〉为“爸”，其弟也随之称作“四爸”、“小爸”等，这是从上古汉语继承下来的习俗。也有称〈叔父〉为“伯”的方言，同样是受到排行制的影响所致。

方言报告中出现不少写作“大”的，但其来源既有〈大小〉义的“大”又有来自“爹”的。本地图暂取的处理法是，读去声的“大”认作原充当修饰充分的“大”，而读非去声的(主要是阴平和阳平)认作来自“爹”。词根化了的修饰成份另外还有“老”。“老”和“大”的分布较为零散，这说明平行的变化曾发生在全国各地。湖南集中分布着[man man]、“叔叔”[tɕiao tɕiao]、“细细”等特殊说法。

关键词：α型转移、改称、排行制

Summary

The stems for ‘father’s younger brother’ are classified into six different groups. The most frequently used stem is *shu*叔. As seen in *shufu*叔父 in OC, it used to be the propositional element meaning ‘younger’, and was equivalent to *xiao*小 in modern Chinese. It was then stemized by the Six Dynasties and came to be a stem exclusively used for ‘father’s younger brother.’

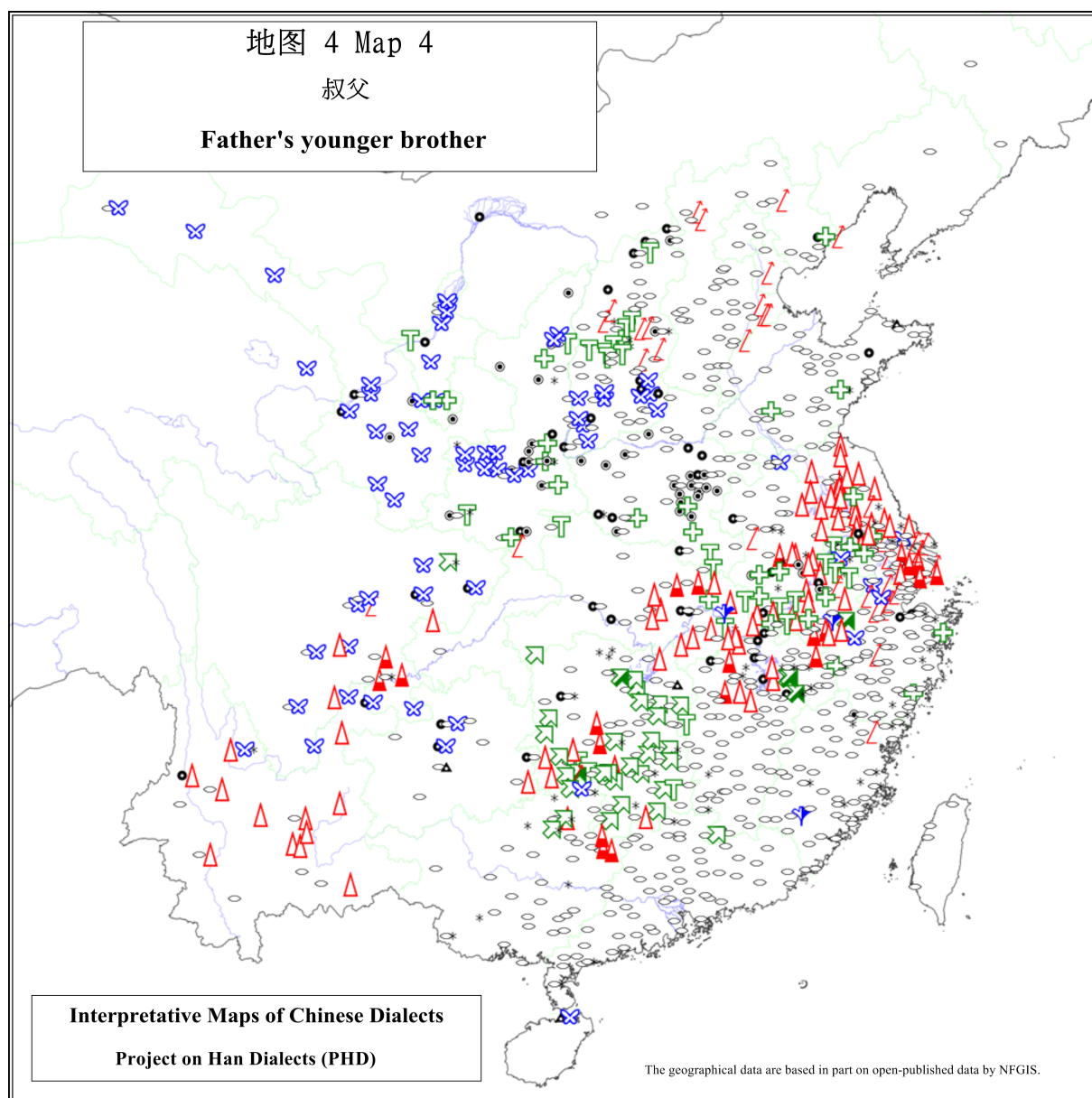
The stems *ye*爷, *die*爹 and *ba*爸 originally referred to ‘father.’ As a result of “α-type referential shift” in the areas along the Yangtze and in the Northwest, however, they changed to represent ‘father’s younger brother.’ *Ye*爷 is not as frequently observed as its reference to ‘father’s elder brother,’ and its distribution concentrates along the Yangtze, especially in Jianghuai. *Die*爹 is sparsely observed in a wide area. *Ba*爸 is distributed in Western China, such as Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia and Sichuan. There are two factors triggering “α-type referential shift”: One is “change of appellation,” and the other is the effect of the *Paihang* system.

As with the case of ‘father’s elder brother,’ the syllable [ta] was generated in two different ways: one is by dropping the stem of such forms as *dabo*大伯, and the other was derived from *die*爹.

Some unique forms such as [man man] and [tɕiao tɕiao] and [ɕi ɕi] are observed in Hunan.

Keywords: α-type referential shift, change of appellation, *Paihang* system

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



A. 叔 shu

- 叔 shu, 叔叔 shu, 阿叔 ashu

B. 爷 ye

- ▲ B-1 爷 ye, 爷爷 yeye, 细爷 xiye
- ▲ B-2 叔爷 shuye, 爷叔 yeshu

C. 爹 die

- C-1 爹 die, 小爹 xiaodie, [ka] 爹 die
- ◎ C-2 [ta] (阴平, 阳平 / Tone Ia, Ib)
- ▲ C-3 叔爹 shudie

D. 爸 ba, 父 fu

- ✈ D-1 爸 ba, 阿爸 aba, 爸爹 badie
- ▼ D-2 父 fu

E. 大 da, 老 lao

- ✚ E-1 大 da, 大大 dada

- ⌚ E-2 老老 laolao, 老儿 laor, 小姥 xiaolao

- ⌚ E-3 [man], [man man]

- ⌚ E-4 细细 xixi, 椒椒 jiaojiao

F. 其他 / Others

- ⌚ F-1 伯伯 bo, 伯伯 bobo, 小伯 xiaobo etc.

- * F-2 其他 / Others

地图 5 “爷”的所指

Map 5 Referents of the stem “ye”

1. 条目

“爷、娘”做为〈父、母〉称谓的历史不早于“父”(“爸”)、“爹”和“母”(“妈”)。“爷、娘”这二词的使用在现代方言中几乎扩大到全国,但其所指按地区或地点不同。本地图表示“爷”的所指。考察条目是〈父〉、〈伯父〉、〈叔父〉和〈祖父〉。

2. 词形的分类

下面分别列出具体词形,音标从略。

〈伯父〉: 爷、爷爷、大爷、阿爷、伯爷

〈叔父〉: 爷、爷爷、爷儿、爷子、细爷、小爷、爷叔、叔爷、阿爷、俺爷

〈父〉: 爷、爷爷、爷子、爷哩、我爷、大爷

*不包括“爷姥、爷老子、爷老倌”等背称形式。

〈祖父〉: 爷、爷爷、爷呀、爷爷呀、爷儿、老爷、姥爷、大爷、阿爷、太爷、丫爷、爷公、祖公爷

3. 分布特征与解释

“爷”很可能是北方起源,原指〈父〉。这种用法现在最多见于江西、湖南及其周围地区,另外也见于北部吴语地区。但在这些地区有一些方言“爷”用于背称〈父〉,而面称时则使用“爹”。这可能暗示着在这些地区“爷”是外来形式。在淮河以北的北方地区,“爷”做为父亲称谓的用法大部分都被淘汰,但山东还有一些方言保留着。

“爷”在淮河以北的北方东部转指〈伯父〉,在长江流域转指〈叔父〉,地图 1 解说分别称作“β 型转移”和“α 型转移”。发生这种转移的动因是民俗因素。

总体来看,指〈伯父〉的“爷”和指〈叔父〉的“爷”在地理上有互补的趋势。但江苏北部和中部则集中分布“爷”兼指〈伯父〉和〈叔父〉的方言点以及兼指〈伯父〉、〈叔父〉和〈父〉的方言点。现比较江淮地区出现的三种类型。

	〈伯父〉	〈父〉	〈叔父〉
铜陵	~伯伯	[to to]	~爷爷
连云港	~(大)爷	[ta]	~爷
盐城	~(大)爷	爷	~爷

~代表任何排行数字或“大”或“小”。连云港型来自铜陵型。用于称〈叔父〉的“爷”转而也用于称〈伯父〉。产生这种变化的一个原因是北方以“爷”称〈伯父〉的方言的影响。盐城型是连云港型的进一步发展,三种亲属范畴都以“爷”称呼。这从构词法看与上古时期的“伯父-父-叔父”相同,但并非原始用法的遗留,而是这一地区方言中产生的创新。值得注意的是,在连云港型和盐城型中往往发生词根的“变读”现象(岩田 1988、1989)。譬如,连云港

的有些发音人称〈伯父〉的“爷”读轻声的[ɿ],而称〈叔父〉的“爷”则读阳平的[ɿ¹]。即使词根的形式完全一致,也能以排行数字确定被称者,反映出汉语亲属称谓的“固有名词”性质(郭明昆 1960)。

称〈祖父〉的“爷”多数都出现在北方地区,但也集中分布于吴语地区和珠江三角洲地区。

关键词: 所指的转移、亲属称谓的固有名词性质、亲属称谓的变读

Summary

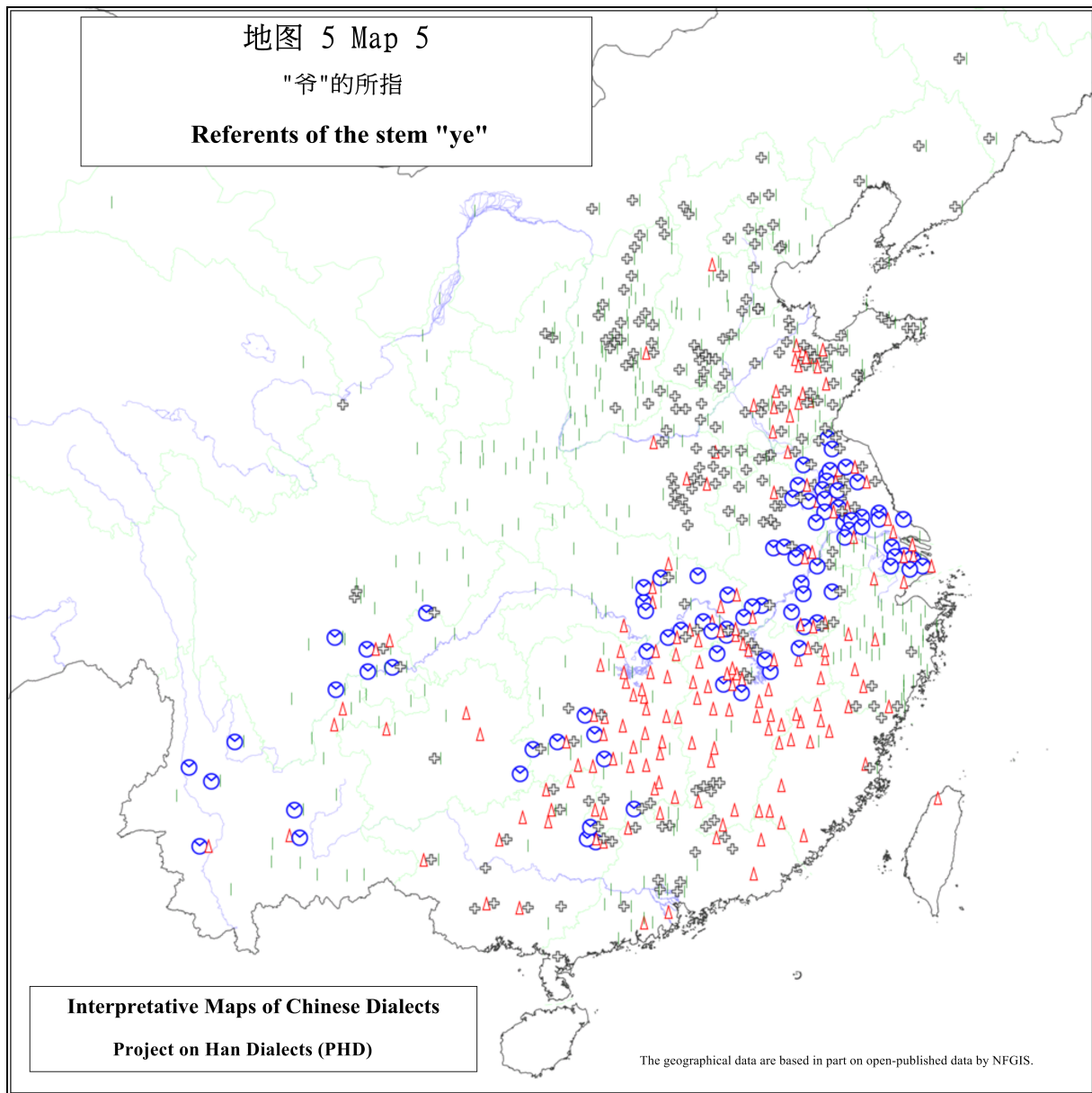
Ye 爷 and *niang* 娘 are relatively new forms compared to other stems referring to ‘father’ and ‘mother’ respectively. They first appear in the literature during the Six Dynasties. This map depicts the distribution of various referents of *ye* 爷: ‘father’, ‘father’s elder brother’, ‘father’s younger brother’ and ‘father’s father.’

The distribution of *ye* 爷 referring to ‘father’ is mainly seen in the South, and this usage disappeared in the North, except for a certain area in Shandong.

The distributions of *ye* 爷 referring to ‘father’s elder brother’ and ‘father’s younger brother’ are found in the Northeast and along the Yangtze, respectively, as a result of folkloric “β-type referential shift” and “α-type referential shift” factors (cf. Map 1 Summary). The areas where these two types of shift occurred tend to be complementary, but overlaps in mid-northern Jiangsu. The dialects there originally had the Jianghuai type, which used *bo* 伯 for ‘father’s elder brother’ and *ye* 爷 for ‘father’s younger brother.’ *Ye* 爷 was first adopted for ‘father’s elder brother’ and then further adopted to refer to ‘father.’ This successive change is considered to be under the influence of the Northern dialects that used *ye* 爷 for ‘father’s elder brother.’ Even when the identical stem was used for the father and all of his brothers, in actual usage there was no confusion as to its referent, owing to the *Paihang* numbers proposed to the stem, such as *daye* 大爷, *erye* 二爷 and *sanye* 三爷. Chinese kinship terms have the properties of proper nouns due to this *Paihang* system. Also in some dialects, variation is observed in the phonetic form of *ye* 爷 depending on which particular kinship term it is used in.

Keywords: referential shift, proper name characteristics of kinship terms, differentiation of phonetic forms of kinship stems

(岩田礼, Ray Iwata)



词根 "爷" 的所指 / Referents of the stem "ye"

- ⛶ 伯父 / father's elder brother
- ⊙ 叔父 / father's younger brother
- △ 父亲 / father
- ┆ 祖父 / paternal grandfather