

The Interpretative Maps of Chinese Dialects
Volume Two

汉语方言解释地图(续集)

岩田礼 编

IWATA Ray

好文出版

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著

好文出版

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汉语方言解释地图(续集) (漢語方言解釈地図(続集))

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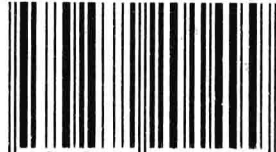
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前言

本书是2009年12月30日由白帝社出版的《汉语方言解释地图集》(以下称《第一集》)之续集。此次,本书除着重收录亲属称谓词以外,也将从词汇的体系性观点出发,收录一些与第一集所收的条目有关联的词汇。此外,也尝试做新的突破,刊载有关音韵体系和民俗的地图。

关于《第一集》的评价,承蒙《汉语方言地图集》主编曹志耘教授(北京语言大学)专文撰写书评“读岩田礼编《汉语方言解释地图》”,刊载于《方言》2010年第4期。此外,曾参与校阅《第一集》之石汝杰教授(熊本学园大学),也将于近期在《语言学论丛》(北京大学中文系)上发表对本书的评论。我们的研究成果能受到中国学者如此的关注,诚感光荣,亦觉欣慰。

然而,根据方言地图重新拟构语史,这样的“解释”工作相对于历史悠久的汉语历史语言学来说,可谓才刚定位,还有诸多问题必须面对。

第一,我们的研究本身尚未成熟。多札(A.Dauzat)曾说过,“方言地理学是一门正在发展中的学问,尚未站稳脚步(*la géographie linguistique est une science qui se fait, un être jeune aux pas encore incertains*)”(Dauzat1922, p.44)。对此我们实在深有同感。每每在绘制地图时,都有新的发现,有时甚至还必须修正先前的推论见解。例如,关于呈现“长江型”分布的词形,我们原来认为其多数起源于江淮一带。在《第一集》地图中出现的“今天”、“明天”、“冰雹”、“膀子”、“打摆子”等词形(地图3-2、7、24-2、33-2、43-1),还有本书出现的“爷”(〈叔父〉义)、“爹”(〈祖父〉义)、“麻雀”等例,都是“长江型”分布的例子(地图4、6、20)。事实上,这些词形或其用法起源于江淮一带的可能性很高。再者,在构成现代普通话的词汇中,大致可以确定有不少起源于江淮地区的。但是本书所载的“壁虎”以及其相关词汇的地图(地图25、26)告诉我们以下的事实:“壁虎”现在呈现长江型分布,但是此词形过去也在淮河以北地区广泛分布,后来被“蝎虎”所取代,就是因为“壁虎”的语音被“蝙蝠”、“蚍蜉”(〈蚂蚁〉义)等牵引(类音牵引),结果发生了同音冲突,导致“壁虎”的分布领域缩小。因此,我们即使看到某些词形集中在长江流域,也不能直接下断言,说该词形就是起源于江淮一带。

第二个问题是,在20世纪,方言地理学所带来的丰硕成果,被现代语言学界所忽视。这是因为“方言学是历史音韵学的专利”此一观念早已深植人心,加上学术界普遍没有意识到语言地理学能为理论语言学界(包括认知语言学)提供多种素材所致。

在《第一集》中,关于词源探索和词汇变化,我们强调以下两个重点:

- 1) 语言变化的不连续性
- 2) 在词汇变化中之非机械性因素(non-mechanical factors)的作用

在探索某一方言词(现标做A)的词源时,就算在历史文献中找到了可以视为其词源的某一个汉字(现标做X),词源探索也不能说就到此结束,因为我们不能保证A就是以X来表示的词的直系子孙。这是依靠语音和词义的相似性为理论基础的词源探索及比较法容易掉入的陷阱。如“天”、“雨”、“山”、“湖”、“马”等单音节词,从上古时代至今,遵循着音韵变化的规律,进行着有连续性的变化。这类词汇变化可以说是在“无菌

室中的变化”，因为这些词就如空气一般，在日常会话中说话者并不会意识到他们的存在，仅仅是任意性的符号。然而，与人们生活密切相关的基础词汇或多或少会产生不规则的变化。所谓“变化的不连续性”这一想法，就是主张抛开词形一定照着音韵规则进行机械性变化之固有概念。在产生非连续性变化的诸多因素中，出现频率最高的是“通俗词源”。另外一种重要的因素是说话者无意识地发出的“语音牵引”（亦说“类音牵引”，上述“壁虎”即为其例）。凡这些妨碍连续性变化的因素也都可以称作“污染因素”，但这却正反映出人类语言丰富的创造性。在词汇变化中，这些因素的应用是反复无常的，所以我们以非机械性因素称之。

方言地理学在此还有一个如同宿命般的课题必须解决。因为非机械性因素在变化中是否产生作用，只能透过观察地图，经过个别分析之后才能作出判断。但是这样的解释对读者而言，似乎显得太过随意，不够缜密。方言地理学的宗师日叶龙(J. Gilliéron)的著作之所以会被认为难以理解，就是因为他使用比喻和格言来讨论所有变化的可能性，最终达到一个最合理的结论。如此历经千回百转所得到的结果也只不过是“一个词的历史”。对读者来说，还是用一套简明的理论就能推导出古代语言面貌的比较法，让人觉得较为科学。然而，舍弃所有这些应与变化相关的因素拟构出来的结果，就一定是真理吗？方言地理学所表达的“每个词都有自己的历史”，其宗旨即在说明历史变化中每个词都有各式各样相互串连的要素。伟大的比较语言学家梅耶明确地认识到这一点，他一方面警惕着方言学不能仅埋首于各个孤立的词汇研究中，一方面又对地理学的研究意义深表认同(Meillet 1925: 60-71)。至少我们可以断言：在欧洲或日本所发现的语言变化机制在汉语或其他语言当中也会存在；在现代汉语方言中所发现的各种现象必定在历史上存在过。

曹志耘教授在上述书评中，对《第一集》的地图 30〈蚕豆〉给了简明扼要的评论。从这一评论可以看出，我们的研究和解释还有说服力不足之处，这里以本书登载的地图为例做进一步的说明，以供读者参考。

1) 我们的解释必须根据地图及语言事实为基础

离开地图的解释无非只是单纯的空想。现从简单的例子入手。请看地图 37〈自行车〉和地图 19〈睫毛〉。下列词形都出现在长江中下游地区以及江西、广东以西的南方地区，并分别形成连续性分布：

- (1) 〈自行车〉：“单车”、“线车”、“钢丝车”
- (2) 〈睫毛〉：“眼睫毛”、“眼睛毛”、“眼毛”

语言地理学认为，若有复数的词形在地理上形成连续性分布（《第一集》称作“推移性分布”），而且其语音和语义上又有关联时，这些词形很可能来自同一词源，柴田武（1968）称之为“邻接分布的原则”。“线车”和“钢丝车”在词义上有某种关联性；“眼睫”和“眼睛”既有词义上的关联性又有语音上的共性，即第二音节都为精母字(*ts)。因此，我们认为该地区曾发生过下列变化：

- (1) 线车 > 钢丝车
- (2) 眼睫毛 > 眼睛毛

这种解释也许能得到多数读者的认同。然而，地图 37 解说还认为“线车”来自“单车”，地图 19 解说则认为“眼毛”是“眼睫毛”或“眼睛毛”的第二语素脱落所致。对这些见解也会有人提出异议。譬如说，“单车”和“线车”在词义上不大相关，因此“线车”

一词的产生跟“单车”没有关系。这种见解的分歧是在语言地理学研究中是难免的，对此可能没有唯一正确的答案，但我们要进一步探讨的是：可能性更高的是哪一种见解？如仔细观察地图 37，我们就能发现“线车”在湖南及江西有隔断“单车”分布地域的趋势，也就是，两种词形形成“ABA”分布（单车—线车—单车），我们认为这有利于“单车”>“线车”的假说（参见《第一集》绪论，p.20）。

2) 词形分类的抽象度因条目而异

词形的分类是画地图的前提（《第一集》绪论，p.12）。〈自行车〉、〈睫毛〉两条是属于词形种类较少的条目，对这种条目谁做分类，其结果也会是大致相同的。然而，如何处理词形种类更多的条目，此乃我们最下工夫的地方。最典型的条目是〈蜘蛛〉（地图 27）、〈蜻蜓〉（地图 28）、〈蝉〉（地图 29）等昆虫的名称，词形种类上百，甚至达到几百个。但我们还是必须追求分类。譬如，称说〈蝉〉的词形可能多数来自拟声，因此各地也会平行产生类似的词形。但我们发现北方的多数词形都取“X+l-”或“X+n-”结构。这里 X 代表任何一个语素（少数也有 X 之前又前加一个修饰成份的），l 和 n 代表任何一个 l-声母或 n-声母开头的音节。如此归类也带来惊人的结果，譬如，“知了”和“秋凉（虫）”归于一个类（即地图 29-1 的 A-1 类）。看起来是很不相同的两种词形，但确实共具“X+l-”结构。这可能暗示着属这一类的词形都是同一个词源的后裔。另外，我们通过分析小动物的名称发现，声调（调类）是分类上的极为重要的信息（参见地图 27-29 解说）。

3) 一个词形必有其前身存在

说“变化的不连续性”可能容易招致误解，因为一个词形若非从上古至今都维持不变的话，就必定有其前身存在，在这种意义上，词汇变化不会是“不连续”的。

〈自行车〉之类的新生事物一般都是名称和事物一起带进来的。很难想像〈自行车〉带到江西、湖南时是无名的工具。那么，叫什么呢？我们据地理分布判断，〈自行车〉当初被称做“单车”，而其普及的过程中老百姓把它改称为“线车”。

《第一集》地图 16 是〈喜鹊〉，本书地图 20 是〈麻雀〉，作者均是木津祐子先生，但我自己曾在校内的一个小型研究会上介绍过这两幅地图。当时着重讨论了在河南为中心的中原地区的情况，即〈喜鹊〉义的词带上了“麻”字（如“麻衣鹊”）而〈麻雀〉义的词却失去了“麻”字（如“小雀”、“小虫”），为何？有一个学生发言：“‘麻衣鹊’这一说法来自〈喜鹊〉的形状及颜色，是‘穿上麻布衣服的鸟’，不是这么一回事儿吗？”没错，他的俗词源说也说出真理的一面。但是假如说我们的探讨终结于这种一次性的思考的话，语言地理学就会失去做为历史语言学的一门分科存在的理由。这里我们必须根据地图思考，要问原来使用于〈麻雀〉义的“麻”字为何“拷贝”到表〈喜鹊〉义的词形里去。“麻衣鹊”应为后起的词形，而它应有其前身。

4) “非机械性因素”的作用超越音韵规则的束缚

〈喜鹊〉义的“麻衣鹊”应来自“鸦鹊”(*a ts^hiak)或“野鹊”(*ia ts^hiak)，这种词形在中原地区带上了“麻”字就是由于它被〈麻雀〉义的“麻雀”(*ma tsiak)牵引所致。然而，这一语音牵引的另一个结果是，原读不送气声母的“雀”字变读为送气声母，以致与“鹊”字同音了。又，本书地图 25 及 26 显示“壁虎”、“蝙蝠”、“蚬蛄”等词形展开的类音牵引现象。这里我们要阐明的问题有很多，如原为平声的“蝙”和“蚬”为何变成了入声字，又如原读不送气声母的“蝙”为何变读为送气声母，等等。

通俗词源的产生往往也以语音的类似性为条件。譬如，北方有些方言把〈壁虎〉称做“蛇虎”，从分布情况可以判断，这一词形应来自“蝎虎”（见地图 25-2）。这一变化的发生是以“蝎”[ciə^{阴平}]与“蛇”[sə^{阴平}]的语音类似性为条件，但这两种语素声韵调都不合。因此说，在变化上起了关键作用的是词义，即说话者感觉“蛇”比“蝎”还切合表达〈壁虎〉的形象。上文说，“眼睫毛”变成“眼睛毛”，这一变化一定程度以“睫”和“睛”的语音类似性为条件，但推动变化的是〈眼〉义词的变化，即“眼”>“眼睛”。总之，凡是理据性低的词形都易于受到非机械性因素的作用，而这种因素的作用则超越了音韵规则的束缚。

5) 在谈词汇变化时也需要持有词汇体系的观点

上文引用梅耶(A. Meillet)的警言：方言学不能仅埋首于各个孤立的词汇研究中。由此来看，如有某一方言以使用词根的“爷”来称呼〈父〉，我们也不能保证这种“爷”是女英雄木兰用过的“爷”的直接后裔。因为这种“爷”也可能是原来用以称呼〈伯父〉或〈叔父〉的，而后来转用于称呼〈父〉的。在汉语方言的历史中某一亲属称谓词根转而变指另一种亲属范畴，这种变化曾经是频繁发生的。出于这种观点，本书登载了几幅类型地图，如地图 1-1（父系长辈亲属称谓系统）、地图 32-3（蜜蜂和蜂蜜）、地图 38（“房、屋”的类型）等。

2010 年 11 月，在北京语言大学举办了“首届中国地理语言学国际学术研讨会”。此会议则以由曹志耘教授主编的《汉语方言地图集》(2008 年，商务印书馆)及我们的《解释地图集》等的出版为契机而兴起的研究方言地理学的潮流为其背景，筹备工作全部由曹教授及北京语言大学诸位承担。与会者或以《汉语方言地图集》，或以中国各地的方言为主题，展开了许多以地图为基础的议论。这是在我们 1994 年刊行贺登崧神父论文集《中国の方言地理学のために》(好文出版)一书时所始料未及的光景，令人无限感慨。

继《第一集》的编纂有黄晓东先生参加，本书又加入了来自北京语言大学的王莉宁、支建刚、张勇生(现任教于江西师范大学文学院)以及来自熊本学园大学的刘艳(现任教于陕西师范大学文学院)的作品，均为这些年轻研究者在金泽大学短期或长期研修时期的研究成果。能与背负着中国方言研究之未来的青年才俊直接对话，着实是个令人兴奋的经验。

本次出版还受到诸多协助。感谢沈德思教授和石汝杰教授如前一集一样，给予帮助，再次担任了翻译、校阅、校正等繁复冗长的协助工作。另外，也要感谢金泽大学的研究生黑田谱美、陈怡君、日高知惠实，在校正和语言数据的输入方面贡献了莫大的精力。在此一并表达我由衷的谢意。

岩田 礼

2011 年 7 月 31 日

Preface

This volume is a sequel to the *Interpretative Maps of Chinese Dialects* (hereafter called *Volume One*) published by Hakuteisha on December 30, 2009. This volume not only contains many kinship terms, which *Volume One* failed to include, but also has selected lexical items related to the entries in *Volume One* in order to establish a lexical system consistent in the two volumes. The present volume also attempts to deliver maps indicating a phonological system and the folkloric customs of certain entries.

A review of *Volume One* was written by Professor Zhiyun Cao at Beijing Language and Culture University, who is the main editor of *Hanyu Fangyan Dituji (Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects)*, and published under the title “读岩田礼编《汉语方言解释地图》(A Review of *The Interpretative Maps of Chinese Dialects* edited by Ray Iwata)” in the Journal *Fangyan*, Vol. 4, 2010. Another review by Professor Rujie Shi from Kumamoto Gakuen University, who rendered us great assistance in its compilation, is scheduled to appear in the Journal *Yuyanxue Luncong* (Peking University). It is such an honor and so gratifying to know that our research is appreciated by researchers whose native tongue is Chinese.

However, our ‘interpretative’ work to reconstruct the linguistic history of the Chinese language based on dialect maps has only made its first step in the long tradition of Chinese historical linguistics, and thus presents a variety of issues.

First, our research methodology is still in the developmental stage. We regard it with exactly the same perception as Albert Dauzat did toward linguistic geography, when he stated “la géographie linguistique est une science qui se fait, un être jeune aux pas encore incertains (linguistic geography is a science which is in the process of being made, a young existence yet to be made certain)” (Dauzat 1922, p.44). Each time a new map is created, we discover a phenomenon which often requires a revision of our previous understanding and viewpoints. For instance, we originally assumed that many of the lexical forms exhibiting the “Yangtze River Type” distribution would have originated in the Jianghuai area. The forms that belong to this category are: *jintian* 今天 ‘today,’ *mingtian* 明天 ‘tomorrow,’ *bingbao* 冰雹 ‘hail,’ *bangzi* 膀子 ‘arm,’ *dabaizi* 打摆子 ‘to have Malaria’ in *Volume One* (Maps 3-2, 7, 24-2, 33-2 and 43-1, respectively. Lexical forms are hereafter indicated in Pinyin instead of IPA for simpler representation), as well as *ye* 爷 ‘father’s younger brother,’ *die* 爹 ‘father’s father,’ *maque* 麻雀 ‘sparrow’ in this volume (Maps 4, 6 and 20, respectively). It is highly likely, in fact, that these forms or their usages did originate in Jianghuai, along with other many lexical forms that constitute modern Putonghua. On the other hand, we learned from the form for ‘gecko’ and its related forms in this volume (Maps 25, 26) that: 1) In spite of its “Yangtze River Type” distribution, the Putonghua form *bihu* 壁虎 used to be widespread to the north of Jianghuai, and 2) It was later replaced by *xiehu* 蝎虎 and its distribution eventually shrunk as a result of paronymic attraction and homonymic collision with the words for ‘bat’ and ‘ant.’ Therefore, the

distributional concentration of a certain form along the Yangtze River does not readily determine its origin in Jianghuai.

The second issue concerns the modern linguistic oblivion of significant discoveries made by 20th century linguistic geography. This is caused by the proliferation of a certain prejudice that dialectology is only a subset of historical phonology, ignoring that linguistic geography can offer many clues to general linguistics, including cognitive linguistics.

In *Volume One* we emphasized the following two points regarding etymological searches and lexical changes:

- 1) The discontinuity of changes
- 2) The effect of non-mechanical factors on lexical changes

In an etymological search of dialect form A, finding character X in an old dictionary or other historic work, where X might be judged as the etymology of A, by no means represents the end of the search. This is because there is no guarantee that form A is the direct descendant of the word represented by X. This is exactly the pitfall of traditional etymological searches and lexical comparisons that rely on the similarity of sounds and semantics. There exist in the basic lexicon a group of largely mono-syllabic forms, such as *tian* 天 ‘heaven,’ *yu* 雨 ‘rain,’ *shan* 山 ‘mountain,’ *hu* 湖 ‘lake’ and *ma* 马 ‘horse,’ that have undergone from ancient times continuous changes according to phonetic change rules. This type of change can be called a ‘change in a sterilized room,’ as these words are simply arbitrary signs that are similar to the air which the speaker is not aware of under normal circumstances. On the other hand, the basic lexicon that is more closely related to everyday life has undergone more or less irregular changes. Our claim of discontinuous changes renounces the fixated notion that lexical forms change mechanically according to the rules governing phonetic changes. The most common factor that causes discontinuous lexical changes is folk-etymology. Another important factor for such changes is the speaker’s unconscious phonetic attraction (also referred to as ‘paronymic attraction,’ see the case of ‘gecko’ introduced above). These factors may be labeled as “contamination factors” that would obstruct continuous changes, but in fact it is in these factors where we can see a reflection of the vigorous linguistic creativity of human beings. The application of these factors in lexical changes is capricious, and that is why we term them as non-mechanical.

These non-mechanical factors, however, present a fatal problem inherent in linguistic geography. We can only determine case by case whether these factors affect a certain change by observing, or interpreting, maps. Unfortunately this act of interpretation is often regarded as intentional by our readers. The works of Jules Gilliéron, the founder of linguistic geography, is considered abstruse due to his lengthy examinations of possible changes through analogies and aphorisms to derive the most logical conclusions. This considerable amount of meandering for the sake of the historical reconstruction of a single word would apparently look less scientific than the comparative linguistic method, which can take the whole of an archaic language and restructure it into a simpler system based on certain formulae. We need to ask ourselves, however, how much truth this reconstruction in fact entails, discarding all those elements that could

otherwise be considered as factors for a change. When we claim in linguistic geography that “each word has its own history,” we recognize that different factors affected each word in its change process. Antoine Meillet, one of the great comparative linguists, clearly understood this point. While he warned of the danger of dialectology being lost in search of individual words, he appreciated the significance of geographical research (Meillet 1925:60-71). Hence, we hereby declare the following: 1) The mechanisms of linguistic change discovered in European languages as well as in Japanese exist in other languages of the world, including Chinese, and 2) The phenomena discovered in modern Chinese dialects also existed at any other time in the history of the Chinese language.

In his review mentioned above, Professor Zhiyun Cao made some concise and to the point comments about Map 30 ‘broad bean’ in *Volume One*. From these comments we can see that our research and explanations are still unconvincing in places, so here we shall provide further explanation using maps published in this work, in order to provide reference for readers.

1) Our interpretations must be based on the reality of the maps and of the linguistic facts

Any interpretation that deviates from what is indicated on the maps is nothing but pure fantasy. Let us begin with a simple example. Please refer to Map 37 ‘bicycle’ and Map 19 ‘eyelash.’ The following lexical forms appear in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River and in Southern areas west of Jiangxi and Guangdong Provinces, and separately form continuous patterns of distribution respectively:

- (1) ‘bicycle’: *danche* 单车, *xianche* 线车, *gangsiche* 钢丝车
- (2) ‘eyelash’: *yanjiemao* 眼睫毛, *yanjingmao* 眼睛毛, *yanmao* 眼毛

Linguistic geography recognizes that if there are multiple lexical forms constituting a pattern of continuous distribution (In *Volume One* this is called ‘gradated distribution’), and furthermore, when they are either phonetically or semantically related, then these various lexical forms quite possibly originate from a common source. Takeshi Shibata 柴田武 (1969) calls this “the principle of contiguous distribution.” *Xianche* 线车 ‘wire vehicle’ and *gangsiche* 钢丝车 ‘steel vehicle’ possess a certain semantic relationship; *yanjie* 眼睫 and *yanjing* 眼睛 possess both a semantic relationship and phonetic similarity, the initial consonant of the second syllable in each case being a reflex of MC *ts. Because of this, we believe that the following changes occurred in this area:

- (1) *xianche* 线车 > *gangsiche* 钢丝车; (2) *yanjie* 眼睫 > *yanjing* 眼睛

Perhaps this type of explanation is capable of gaining the acceptance of the majority of readers. However, in Map 37 the explanation goes on to claim that *xianche* 线车 comes from *danche* 单车; and the Map 19 explanation claims that *yanmao* 眼毛 is the result of the dropping of the second syllable in either *yanjiemao* 眼睫毛, or *yanjingmao* 眼睛毛. There will be people who object to these opinions, e.g., “There is very little semantic relationship between *danche* 单车 ‘single (wheel) vehicle’ and *xianche* 线车 ‘wire vehicle’ and because of this the emergence of *xianche* 线车 is unrelated to *danche* 单车.” This kind of difference in viewpoints is difficult to

avoid in linguistic geography, and there is no single correct reply to this, but what we want to further investigate is which of these opinions has the higher likelihood of being correct? If we take a careful look at Map 37, we can see that *xianche* 线车 has a tendency to be sandwiched by *danche* 单车 in Hunan and Jiangxi, i.e. the two exhibit ABA distribution (*danche* 单车- *xianche* 线车- *danche* 单车). We believe that this adds credence to the *danche* 单车 > *xianche* 线车 hypothesis (cf. *Volume One* Introduction, p. 20).

2) Degree of abstractness in classifying lexical forms varies by entry

The classification of lexical forms is a prerequisite for drawing maps (cf. *Volume One* Introduction, p. 12). ‘Bicycle’ and ‘eyelash’ are types of lexical entries that have fewer lexical variations, so whoever might carry out classification of this type of entry would obtain roughly the same results as anyone else. However, how to go about processing entries with greater numbers of lexical forms is where we most make an effort. The most prototypical entries are those for the bug names such as Map 27 ‘spider,’ Map 28 ‘dragonfly’ and Map 29 ‘cicada,’ for which the quantity of lexical forms can number in the hundreds. However, our task must be to pursue classification. For example, most of the lexical forms for ‘cicada’ are onomatopoeic in their origin. Therefore each locality would have independently generated similar lexical forms. However, we found that in the North, most lexical forms took either an “X+l-” or “X+n-” structure. Here X represents any morpheme (in a minority of cases, a modifying element precedes the X), with l- and n- representing any syllable taking either an l- or n- initial. Classifying these lexical forms in this way brings a surprising result, i.e. *zhiliao* 知了 (an onomatopoeic form) and *qiuliang* 秋凉 (meaning ‘autumn cool’) both belong to the same category (cf. Group A-1 in Map 29-1). They appear to be very different lexical forms, but they do possess a common “X+l-” structure. This perhaps hints at the fact that lexical forms of this type are all reflexes of a single proto-form. Additionally, analyzing the names for small animals, we find that tonal category is an extremely important piece of information in the classification process (cf. Maps 27-29 commentaries).

3) Every lexical form has a proto-form

The expression ‘discontinuous change’ may be misleading, in that any lexical form is considered to have a proto-form and its lexical change would therefore be ‘continuous,’ unless it has never changed from its original form since ancient times.

Newer objects such as ‘bicycle’ are phenomena in which both the name and the object itself have been introduced together. It is very difficult to imagine that when bicycles were first introduced in Jiangxi or Hunan bicycles did not have a name. In that case, what would they have been called? Based on geographical distribution we judge that name to have been *danche* 单车, and in the process of the popularization of bicycles, people changed its name to *xianche* 线车 and *gangsiche* 钢丝车.

Both Map 16, ‘magpie,’ in *Volume One* and Map 20, ‘sparrow,’ in the present volume are the work of Professor Yuko Kizu, though I once introduced both maps myself at a small seminar at my university. At that time I focused on discussing the situation in the Central Plain, with Henan

as its focus, noting that the words referring to ‘magpie’ included the syllable *ma* 麻, e.g. *mayique* 麻衣鹊, while the word referring to ‘sparrow,’ namely *maque* 麻雀, had lost the *ma* syllable, e.g. *xiaoque* 小雀, *xiaochong* 小虫. How could that have happened? A student voiced the following, “The term *mayique* 麻衣鹊 comes from the appearance of magpie; it is a bird that is wearing ‘sackcloth clothing’ (*mayi* 麻衣). Isn’t this all that happened to this word?” There is nothing at all wrong with this explanation. His folkloric etymology tells one side of the truth. However, if our exploration were to end with this type of ad hoc pondering, geographical linguistics would lose any existing rationale to serve as a subcategory of historical linguistics. Here we must reflect on the basis of a map and ask why the *ma* 麻 morpheme originally used for ‘sparrow’ could be ‘copied’ into lexical forms meaning ‘magpie.’ The term *mayique* 麻衣鹊 ought to be a later lexical form, so it ought to have a predecessor.

4) The effect of “non-mechanical factors” transcends the shackles of phonological rules

The lexical form *mayique* 麻衣鹊 for ‘magpie’ should come from either “鸦鹊”(*a ts^hiak) or “野鹊”(*ia ts^hiak). The reason for this lexical form acquiring the syllable *ma* 麻 in the Central Plain is due to the phonetic attraction it received from the form “麻雀”(*ma tsiak), meaning ‘sparrow.’ Furthermore, another result of this phonetic attraction is that the originally unaspirated syllable 雀 (*tsiak) of ‘sparrow’ came to be pronounced with an aspirated initial consonant (*ts^hiak), resulting in it becoming homophonous with the 鹊 (*ts^hiak) of ‘magpie.’ Additionally, Maps 25 and 26, for ‘gecko,’ ‘bat’ and ‘ant,’ display the progression of the phenomenon of paronymic attraction. Here there are many problems we wish to clarify, e.g. Why did the syllables *bian* 蝙 of ‘bat’ and *pi* 蚋 of ‘ant,’ both originally pronounced in Tone I (Ping tone) come to be pronounced instead in Tone IV (Entering tone), and How did the *bian* 蝙 of ‘bat,’ originally pronounced with an unaspirated initial consonant, come to be pronounced with an aspirated initial consonant instead, etc.?

The origination of folkloric etymology is often conditioned by phonetic similarity, e.g. ‘gecko’ in some Northern dialects is called *shehu* 蛇虎 ‘snake tiger,’ which from its distribution we can conclude that it came from *xiehu* 蝎虎 ‘scorpion tiger’ (c.f. Map 25-2). The occurrence of this change was conditioned by the phonetic similarity of 蝎[ɕiə] and 蛇[ɕə], both pronounced in Tone I, the former in Tone Ia, the latter in Tone Ib. However, in the case of these two morphemes, neither their respective initial consonants, nor their syllable finals or tones completely match one another. Because of this, we can say that the most crucial factor in the above change was semantic, i.e. with the speaker feeling that *she* 蛇 ‘snake’ is more suitable than *xie* 蝎 ‘scorpion’ to express the image of a gecko. As noted above, *yanjiemao* 眼睫毛 changed into *yanjingmao* 眼睛毛. In the process of this change the phonetic similarity between *jie* 睫 and *jing* 睛 must have been a factor, but the driving factor for this was the historical change of the form meaning ‘eye,’ from monosyllabic *yan* 眼 to bisyllabic *yanjing* 眼睛. In short, all lexical forms that possess a low degree of motivation can be easily affected by non-mechanical factors, and the effect of such factors can transcend the shackles of phonological rules.

5) When discussing lexical changes one must preserve the concept of a lexical system

The discussion above quotes the warning of Meillet that dialectology cannot bury its head in the study of individual words. Following this point of view, if a certain dialect uses the lexical stem *ye* 爷 as a term of address for ‘father,’ we cannot guarantee that this use of *ye* is a direct descendent of its use by the legendary Chinese heroine Mulan. This is because this type of *ye* could possibly have also been used as a term of address for ‘father’s older brother’ or ‘father’s younger brother’ and subsequently changed into a term of address for ‘father.’ In the history of Chinese dialects, the referential shift of a particular kinship term coming to refer to a different kinship category has frequently taken place. Proceeding from this point of view, the present work includes several typological maps, e.g. Map 1-1 (Patrilineal kinship system for elders), Map 32-3 (Honeybee and honey), Map 38 (Typology of ‘House’ and ‘Room’).

In November 2010, the 1st International Symposium on Chinese Geo-Linguistics was held at Beijing Language and Culture University (BLCU). This symposium was made possible through the great effort of Professor Cao and other people at BLCU, as well as the rising interest in linguistic geography research, inspired by the publications of the *Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects* and our Interpretative Maps. Many of the research presentations given there discussed findings from maps concerning either the above-mentioned *Linguistic Atlas* or other dialects in various areas in China. Who would have imagined such a conference in 1994, when we published a Japanese translation of W. A. Grootaers’ *La Géographie Linguistique en Chine* (translation by Ray Iwata and Masako Hashizume)? The progress made over these years is remarkable.

Following in the footsteps of Xiaodong Huang, who assisted us in the creation of *Volume One*, three young researchers at BLCU, Lining Wang, Jiangang Zhi, Yongsheng Zhang (currently a teacher at Jiangxi Normal University), as well as Yan Liu from Kumamoto Gakuen University (currently a teacher at Shaanxi Normal University), contributed their articles to this volume as a product of their short- or long-term training at Kanazawa University. We are convinced that these talented individuals will lead the future of Chinese dialectology, and it was very exciting for us to be able to have direct ‘dialogues’ with them.

Just like *Volume One*, we relied on many people’s support for the publication of this volume. Professor Robert Sanders and Professor Rujie Shi kindly undertook the lengthy process of translating the texts and proofreading and correcting them. Graduate students at Kanazawa University, Fumi Kuroda, Yichun Chen, and Chiemi Hidaka, made great contributions to manuscript correction and language data input. We would like to express our gratitude to all the people concerned.

July 31, 2011

Ray Iwata

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