

# The Geographical Distribution and Historical Strata of Appellation Words Referring to “FATHER” in Jin Dialects —Exploring the Causes for the Formation of Historical Strata of Dialect Words\*

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Based on geographical distribution and literature survey, the present study constructs the historical strata of the appellation words referring to “FATHER” in Jin Dialects. It holds that the patterns of the appellation words are the result of superposition of different historical periods. But their leading words directly inherit the appellation words of standard language of the Song Dynasty and are mainly monosyllabic words. Words used before the Song Dynasty as living fossils of the words only retain in some districts or localities. The different evolution route of “pa (爸)” and “tis (爹)” either in Jin dialects or in mandarin is a further proof that Jin dialects and mandarin evolves asynchronously. In addition, it maintains that the formulation of the historical strata is the interaction of the horizontal transmission of languages and systemic changes of local dialects.

*Keywords:* Jin dialects, “FATHER” words, geographical distribution, origin, horizontal transmission

## Introduction

The patterns of modern Chinese dialects are the result of multi-level accumulation. Some are superposition (HOU, 2012) resulting from competition or substitution, others are probably the results of “mixed pronunciation”. This makes the analysis of layers (HE, 2007) more difficult. However, it is very important to study the historical strata of dialects (XU, 1991).

Based on the filed work of dialects and regarding the differences of geographical distribution as the variation of evolution, we managed to find some clues of the development and evolution of some lexical terms in dialects. Meanwhile, verified by literatures, the development and evolution of vocabularies of a certain dialect can be determined. Thus doing, the history of a lexical-semantic category of the dialect is established.

First, two principle questions should be mentioned:

(1) Appellation words referring to “FATHER” include two kinds of forms: face-to-face address terms and terms of reference (LI, 1989-1994).

(2) Appellation words referring to “FATHER” in Jin dialects are mainly monosyllabic, but some are disyllabic which is taken as the overlapping forms of the roots. The present study mainly focuses on the monosyllabic ones, putting the overlapping forms under the same root. For example, “pa pa” (爸爸) is

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\* The present research is funded by the China National Philosophy and Social Science Youth Project “Research on the History of Words in Jin Dialects” (11CYY038).

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discussed under “pa” (爸), “tata” (达达) under “ta(ta)” (大(达)).

### Geographical Distribution of FATHER Words in Jin Dialects

Words referring to the concept of FATHER (to make it simpler, we use FATHER words to replace the appellation word referring to the concept of FATHER hereafter) are most frequently used in daily life and are abundant in Jin dialects.<sup>1</sup> They constitute a huge and complex but a very important category, because they not only reflect the unique folk customs, cultural concept of Jin Dialect, but also show the distinctive characteristics from that of the standard language. In addition, they also display a strong self-development history.

The data of the present study is collected from 25 localities<sup>2</sup> of seven districts in Shanxi province, Jin Dialects. FATHER words are mainly in the eight forms: “papa (爸爸), lautsə (老子), pa (爸), ta or tɑ (大/达), ta ta or tata (大大/达达), tiɛ (爹), i (爷), and ke (哥)”. The detailed information is given in Table 1.

Table 1

“FATHER” Words in Shanxi Province, Jin Dialects

Localities		Kinship words	Father
Bingzhou District (HOU, 1986)	Jinyang Sub-district	Taiyuan	爸爸pa <sup>45</sup> pa <sup>45</sup> /大大ta <sup>45</sup> ta <sup>0</sup> /老子lou <sup>11</sup> tsə <sup>70</sup>
		Pingyao	爹tie <sup>22</sup> /哥kiɛ <sup>13</sup>
		Taigu	爹tie <sup>22</sup>
		Wenshui	爹ti <sup>22</sup> /大ta <sup>22</sup> /哥kə <sup>22</sup>
		Xiaoyi	ɑta <sup>11</sup>
		Yushe	爹tie <sup>22</sup>
	Pingliao Sub-district	Yuxian County	爹tie <sup>412</sup>
		Heshun	大ta <sup>22</sup>
		Zuoquan	爷i <sup>11</sup>
Guangliang District	Guangling	爹tiə <sup>53</sup>	
Lvliang District	Fenzhou Sub-district	Linxian County	爹tia <sup>24</sup>
	Xinglan Sub-district	Xingxian County	大大ta <sup>324</sup> ta <sup>0</sup>
Yunzhong District	Datong	爸爸pa <sup>24</sup> pa/爹tie <sup>31</sup> /大大ta <sup>313</sup> ta <sup>313-24</sup>	
	Tianzhen	爹tiaɛ <sup>31</sup>	
Wutai District	Hunyuan	爹tie <sup>52</sup>	
	Xinzhou	达达ta <sup>313</sup> ta <sup>313</sup>	
	Shuoxian County	达达ta <sup>213</sup> ta <sup>31</sup>	
Fenhe district	Pingyang Sub-district	Hongtong	爸pa <sup>21</sup>
		Huozhou	爸pa <sup>13</sup> /爹tie <sup>13</sup>
	Haizhou Sub-district	Hejin	爸pa <sup>324</sup>
		Wanrong	爹tia <sup>24</sup>
		Yongji	爹tia <sup>24</sup>
Shangdang District	Qinzhou Sub-district	Xiangyuan	达达ta <sup>33</sup> ta <sup>33</sup>
	Lu an Sub-district	Changzhi County	爸爸pa <sup>44</sup> pa <sup>44</sup>
	Zezhou Sub-district	Jincheng	爸爸pa <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The dialects discussed in this paper includes Jin dialects within the Shanxi Province and dialects of Guangling districts and Fenhe districts in northeast and south of Shanxi Province respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The 25 localities are as follows: Bingzhou District, Taiyuan, Pingyao, Taigu, Xiaoyi, Wenshui, Yuxian, Heshun, Zuoquan, Yushe, Lvliang District, Linxian, Xingxian, Wutai District, Xinzhou, Hunyuan, Yunzhong District, Datong, Shuoxian, Tianzhen, Fenhe District, Hejin, Hongtong, Wanrong, Linfen, Yongji, Shangdang District, Changzhi, Jincheng, Xiangyuan, Guanglin District, Guanglin.

These eight words can be classified into four types: (1) the type of “pa 爸” (including “papa 爸爸”), mainly used in Datong, Taiyuan, Changzhi County, Jincheng, Hejin, Hongtong, Linfen, etc.; (2) the type of “tiε 爹”, the most widely distributed, is mainly used in 14 localities; (3) the type of “ta or ta 大/达” (“tata or tata 达达/大大”), mainly distributes in Datong, Xinzhou, Shuozhou, Pinyao, Xiaoyi, Wenshui, Heshun, Xiangyuan, etc.; and (4) others including i 爷, ke 哥, lautə 老子. “i 爷” only distributes in Zuoquan dialect, “ke 哥” distributes in Pingyao, Wenshui, etc., and lautə (老子) in Taiyuan dialect.

The distribution of these four types in Shanxi Province can be observed more directly from the topography as in Figure 1.<sup>3</sup>

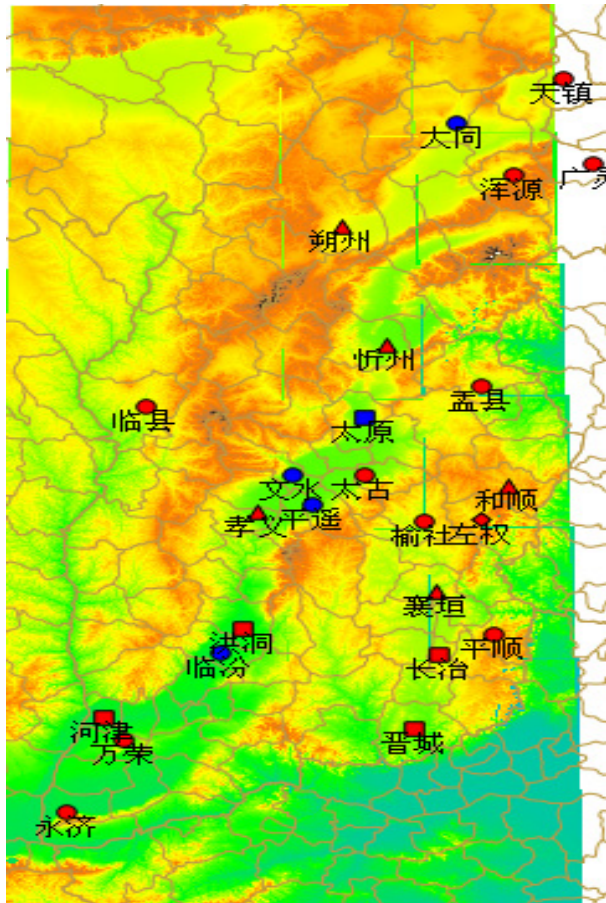


Figure 1. The geographical distribution of FATHER in Jin dialects.<sup>4</sup>

The following five conclusions can be drawn from the above figure:

(1) FATHER words in Jin dialects are mainly monosyllabic, among which the most common and uppermost word is “tiε 爹”. It mainly distributes in 14 localities and spreads all over the whole dialect districts in Shanxi Province. “ta 大” mainly distributes in Bingzhou District, while the use of “pa 爸” is mainly in

<sup>3</sup> Thanks Dr. ZHAO Xue-ling for drawing the map.

<sup>4</sup> Note: ○ stands for the type of “爹”; □ stands for the type of “pa”; △ stands for the type of “ta”; and ◇ stands for others. Blue stands for superposition type and red stands for single type (天镇: Tianzhen; 大同: Datong; 朔州: Shuozhou; 临县: Linxian; 广灵: Guangling; 浑源: Hunyuan; 忻州: Xinzhou; 太原: Taiyuan; 文水: Wenshui; 太古: Taigu; 孝义: Xiaoyi; 平遥: Pingyao; 洪洞: Hongtong; 临汾: Linfen; 河津: Hejin; 万荣: Wanrong; 永济: Yongji; 孟县: Yuxian; 和顺: Heshun; 榆社: Yushu; 左权: Zuoquan; 襄垣: Xiangyuan; 平顺: Pingshun; 长治: Changzhi; 晋城: Jincheng).

Fenhe District, the south of Shanxi Province. It can be concluded that in the process of competition, “*tie 爹*” has become the leading word in Jin dialects. And it is quite interesting that there is a clear boundary between the distributions of “*ta 大*” and “*pa 爸*”. “*ta 大*” mainly distributes in the middle and north of the Shanxi Province, while “*pa 爸*” mainly distributes in the south of Shanxi Province. We maintain that “*ta 大*” and “*pa 爸*” appears earlier than “*tie 爹*”. These two words are originally the dialect words and they are complementary in the geographical distribution. “*pa 爸*” mainly distributes in the south of Shanxi Province, namely Fenhe District, while “*ta 大*” distributes in the other parts of Shanxi Province and the pattern of “*ta 大*” has remained up till present. As a latecomer, “*tie 爹*”, surpassing these two words, has gradually become the leading word in Shanxi Province. However, “*ta 大*” and “*pa 爸*” has gradually narrowed down until being restricted to several localities in some dialect districts.

(2) “*tata* or *tata 大大/达达*” mainly distributes in Wutai District, Xinglan Sub-district in Lvliang District, Qinzhou Sub-district in Shangdang District, Taiyuan, Datong, etc.

(3) “*papa 爸爸*” is used in only four localities. These four localities are distant from each other in space and their surrounding areas use different appellation words instead of “*papa 爸爸*”. This is the result of the strong influence imposed by the modern koine and their special humanistic background. For instance, the Father appellation word in Taiyuan is “*papa 爸爸*”. Taiyuan, as the provincial capital of Shanxi Province, is the political and cultural center of Shanxi where transportation facilities are well-planned and the frequency of population flow is high. All of these lend the standard language the great impact to the dialect. “*Papa*” used in Changzhi and Jincheng is roughly the same case, for these two cities are located in the southeast of Shanxi Province with high frequency of communication and interaction with the outside world. As for “*papa 爸爸*” in Datong, it may be related to its location and its history. According to *Datong Xian Dilizhi* (《大同县地理志》), *The Geographic Records of Datong County*, “Datong is located to Beijing, the capital of China. The pronunciation of dialect is similar to that of Beijing”. For a long time, Datong has been an important military town and the west access to Beijing as well. The closer relationship with Beijing makes Datong Dialect being strongly influenced by koine, and “*papa 爸爸*” is a good case in example.

(4) “*i 爷*” commonly used to refer to grandfather in other dialects or modern Chinese, but in Zuoquan dialect, it is used to address father. It is the result of its own appellation word system. To be specific, grandfather in Zuoquan dialect is addressed as “*goŋ (公)*”, and the connotation of “*i 爷*” maintained. Except for all these, “*ke 哥*” in Pingyao and Wenshui dialects, may be borrowed from the minorities which had close contact with the central part of China in the Tang Dynasty. “*loutsə 老子*” in Taiyuan dialect is mainly used as self-reference (that is, fathers use *loutsə (老子)* to refer to themselves) and on the other hand, it is a slang and folk adage.

(5) In some individual localities there is multi-level “superposition”, which is the result of the compromise to the competition among appellation words in the long traces of history.

From the geographical distribution map, we can draw the conclusion that the FATHER words in Jin dialects are at the different strata, some are older while some are newer. Namely, the relative age of “*ta 大*” and “*pa 爸*” should be older than that of other appellation words while “*papa*” is the newest. However, the map cannot tell us the relative age of “*tie 爹*”, “*tata, tata 大大/达达*”, and “*ke 哥*”. In order to define their relative age, we have to appeal to the literatures.

## The Origin and Historical Strata of “FATHER” Words in Jin Dialects

### The Origin of “FATHER” Words

“[ɛta] or [taɛ]” (“大”) and “tie” (“爹”). “ta 大” is merely a homophone. Lots of research has been done by the contemporary scholars and different answers have been given. But in terms of meaning co-referenced with the sound, the word of “[ɛta] or [taɛ]大”) should be “爹” and it has been documented in *Guangy Ya* (《广雅》). “爹”《广韵》有两切，一为徒可切...《集韵》“爹，待可切，定母，歌韵，上声”。上古歌部字读为 [a].

In other words, the pronunciation of “爹” is similar to [ɛda]. The most of all, its pronunciation conforms to its meaning. After Tang and the Five Dynasties, initials in Chinese are devoiced, [ɛda] turns into [taɛ].

“爹”, having been documented in *Guang Ya* meaning “Father”. In *Guang Yun*, “爹”...has two pronunciations, one of which is thukheqie...In *Ji Yun*, the pronunciation of “爹” is tai kheqie, the initial consonant is tiŋ, and the vowel is khe, rising tone. In the archaic history, the characters in the class of kə is pronounced as [a].

“奢”, (《集韵》). 奢, 之奢切, 章母, 麻韵, 平声, 《博雅》: “父也”。《说文》: “爹、奢, 父也”。《学林·方俗声语》(宋王观国著): “又有‘奢’字, 正奢切。吴人呼父也”。《元声韵学大成》(明濮阳涑编) (明万历八年庚辰刊本), 卷四家家麻韵部记载: “爹, 平声, 當他切, 加丁典, 北人称父也”。

Translation: “奢”, a character with a similar pronunciation and the same meaning, is recorded in *Ji Yun*. 奢, 之奢qie, the vowel is ma, even tone. *BoYa* defines it as “Father”. *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* has the same definition as *BoYa*'s. *Xue Lin-Fang Su Sheng Yu* written by Wang Guanguo in Song Dynasty records roughly as follows: 奢 is used by Wu Dialects to address Father. In the Vol. VI of *Yuan Sheng Yun Xue Da Cheng* edited by PU Yang-lai in Ming Dynasty: 爹 is used by the northerner to address father.

奢 and 爹, though different in fonts, have the same pronunciation and meaning. It is reasonable to be classified as the same word.

As the literature presented above, as early as the Eastern Han Dynasty, father “父” is read as [da], spoken in 上声 (rising tone) or 平声 (even tone), written as “爹” or “奢、爹”.

《二十二史考异·南史二·王藻传》“姆妳争媚”, 钱大昕按“南史多俗语, 如呼父为爹”。(Roughly speaking, it means: *Nanshi* often uses vulgar word, and the Southerners address “fu” (FATHER) as tie is a typical example. By QIAN Da-xin).

《学林卷四》: “南史: 萧憺为荆州刺史, 人甚安之。人歌曰, 始兴王, 人之爹(原注徒可反), 赴人急, 如水火, 何时复来哺乳我。荆州方言谓父为爹”。

(The text above roughly means: Xiao Dan, the governor of Jingzhou, is very popular and respected. There are songs written to praise him. He always puts himself in others shoes. And he always provides people a timely help. People call him “爹” (FATHER). In Jingzhou dialect, “父” is read as tie “爹”). The same record is also in the *Biography of Liang Shi Xing Wang Dan* in vol. 52 *Nan Shi* (《南史》卷五十二(梁始兴王憺传)).

The above documents indicate that during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the areas including Henan, Hubei, Hunan, FATHER is read as [ɛda] and written as “爹”.

《广韵》记录“爹”有两个反切。(According to *Guangyun*, “爹” has two fanqie. One is “陟邪切”, now pronounced as [ɛtiɛ], used by the Northerners in China while the northerners uses “fu” (“北方人呼父也”). The other pronunciation took the priority in Song Dynasty and commonly used in the northern areas of the Yangtze River ever since.

In accordance with the rule of phonic development, it can be deduced that vowel-finals of “tiε (爹)” has undergone a evolution from [a] to [iε] from the Eastern Dynasty to the Song Dynasty. In Archaic ancient times, “爹” belongs to 歌 rime and its final is pronounced as [a]. In the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, the characters in 歌 rime were beginning to divide and some were combined with characters of other classes. At the beginning of differentiation, [ɑ] and [a] were distinguished. And in the era of *Qie Yun* (《切韵》), it is divided into two vowel groups, namely [ɑ] and [a] (WANG, 1998). In Song Dynasty, 麻 and 遮 were differentiated into [ia] and [a] vowel groups. In Song Dynasty, [ɛtia] (“爹”) as the standard pronunciation becomes the most influential pronunciation.

北宋末年庄绰著《鸡肋编》指出：“爹字虽见于南史梁始兴王憺，云：‘始兴王，人之爹，……’荆土方言谓父为爹，乃音徒我切。又与世人所呼之音异也”。

This text from *Jileibian* by Zhuangchuo, in Song Dynasty, explains that the pronunciation of [ɛtia] (“爹”) in the Northern and Southern Dynasties is different from that in the Song Dynasty and the pronunciation in the Northern and Southern Dynasties turned into the dialect sound in the Song Dynasty.

清·乾隆年间山西兴县人康基田在其所著的《合河方言》(1799)中提到：“……方言谓父为爹，故云。韩愈《祭女孥女文》‘阿爹阿八’”。又《资治通鉴》卷二三三：“唐德宗贞元六年：‘可汗拜且泣曰：‘儿愚幼，若幸而得立，惟仰食于阿爹，国政不敢豫也’。虏谓父为阿爹”。

(The text above is from *Hehe Dialect*, written in Qianlong era, Qing Dynasty. It tells us that “阿爹” is used to address FATHER in the Tang Dynasty. That is why there is “阿爹阿八” in *Memory of NUNV* by HAN Yu. “阿爹” used to address FATHER is also recorded in *Zizhitongjian*. It said that, after worshipping on bended knees, Khan cried and said that I am stupid, so if I were chosen as the prince, I would rely on “阿爹” (my father) and would be diligent in administration. The prisoner of war addressed FATHER as “阿爹”. Up till now, “阿爹” is still used in the dialects in the south of the Yangtze River.

**ta ta (tata) 大大(达达)** . “ta ta or tata (大大/达达)” is the overlapping form of “ta or ta (大/达)”, which occurred later than “ta otta (大、达)”. Because of lack of literatures, the exact time of its occurrence is open to question.

Based on the scrutiny of historical literature, it can be found that the overlapping word “爹爹” is often used colloquially in the Song Dynasty. For example, “爹爹” is used in KONG zhong-ping’s note: “爹爹来密州，再岁得两子”。“大婆八十五，寝膳近何似？爹爹与妳妳，无日不思尔” (孔平仲《代小子广孙寄翁翁》)。

(“爹爹” (Father) came to *Mizhou* and he got two babies in the next year”. “The elder grandma was 85 years old. How’s she going? “爹爹” (Father) missed her day and night and so did she”.)

陆游《避暑漫钞》：“太后回銮，上设龙涎沉脑屑烛。后曰：‘尔爹爹每夜常设数百枝’。上微谓宪圣曰：‘如何比得爹爹富贵’”。

(*BishuManchao* by Lu You said: When the empress-dowagers came back to her room, the emperor lit a priceless candle. The Empress-dowager said to him, that in the past, “爹爹” (your father) always lit hundreds of such candles every night. Then the emperor said to his mother, how can I compare to “爹爹” (my father)?)

Since the overlapping word “ [ɛtiε][ɛtiε] (爹爹)” has been koine and been frequently used in the Song Dynasty, isn’t it reasonable for us to deduce that “ [ɛta][ɛta] (爹爹)” or “[=ta][=ta]” is the overlapping form of “[ɛta] or [=ta] (爹)” but they were only used in some dialect districts but there were no literature record.

明代李实《蜀语》记载：“呼父曰大大”。《霓裳续谱·二月春光实可夸》中也有记录：“去年成了家，急

煞了我，看见了他，怀中抱着一娃娃，又会吃啞啞，又会叫大大，伤心煞了我，泪如麻。不知道是孩子的大大，奴家的他，将来是谁家，落在那一家？”

(*Shuyu* by LI-shi in Ming Dynasty had a record: Father was addressed as ta ta (大大). Such kind of record was also found in *Mishang Xupu*: He got married last year and it made me very angry. Now I saw him and he carried a baby in his arms. The baby was old enough to call “大大” (daddy). Seeing this, I was so sad and could not keep from crying. I was wondering who my baby’s “大大” (daddy) would be.)

*Mishang Xupu* was a collection of folk songs popular in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and it is written by WANG Ting-shao in the era of Qianlong. It mainly includes the folk songs popular in areas of Beijing and Tianjin during the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Based on the documents mentioned above and the field work of the modern dialects, it can be inferred that ta ta (大大) is mainly used in the north and the southwest of the Yangtze River.

**“pa (爸)” and “papa (爸爸)”**. “Pa (爸)” is the ancient pronunciation of “fu(父)” (FATHER), which appears very early and can be found in *Guang Ya·Shi Qin* (《广雅·释亲》). WANG Nian-sun notes that “pa (爸)” is the deviation of “fu”. *Ji Yun·Guo Yun* (《集韵·果韵》) says, both “pa (爸)” and “tiε (爹)” mean “fu”. Obviously, the word “爸” has been used even before the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Such kind of description is also found in *Leibian* by Sima Guang (司马光《类编》卷四二). It said like that, 爸, its pronounced as pi tɕiaŋie. And it is also pronounced as pukhəŋie. In Wu dialect, it means FATHER. (“爸, 必驾切, 吴人呼父曰爸。又部可切”。)

章炳麟在《新方言·释亲属》): “今通谓父为爸。古无轻唇, 鱼模转麻, 故父为爸”。轻唇读重唇和鱼部读a, 是声韵均保存古音的典型例子。

ZHANG Bing-lin also pointed out in *Interpretation of Relatives, New Dialects* that in the standard language, “fu” is pronounced as “pa”. This is because there is no “f” in the archaic Chinese and the characters in the *yu* and *mu* groups are pronounced as those in *ma* group. “爸” is the typical case of archaic pronunciation reservation. It remains at the present time.

“papa 爸爸” is the overlapping form of “pa 爸”. It is used widely in Qing Dynasty according to the existing literatures. But it is sound to make the inference that “爸爸” occurred much earlier than Qing Dynasty in colloquial speeches. For instance:

《儿女英雄传》第十四回: “姑娘说: ‘这公婆自然就同父母一样, 你见谁提起爸爸、奶奶来也害羞来着?’”。

The girl says, parents-in-law are the same as one’s own parents. Who could be shy to mention his or her own “爸爸” (father) and “奶奶” (mother).

《官场现形记》第二回: “他爷爷, 他爸爸, 忙了一天, 到得晚上, 这一夜更不曾睡觉, 替他弄这样, 弄那样, 忙了个六神不安”。

His grandpa and his “爸爸” (father) had such a busy daytime. Doing this and that, they could not have a rest even in the night.

**i (爷)**. “i (爷)” is a folk word for “父” in *Yupian Category Fu* (《玉篇·父部》“以遮切。俗为父爺字”。). This can be proved by literatures such as *Yufu Poetry*: Many recruiting books, and every book has “爷” (father)’s name (《乐府诗集·木兰诗》: “军书十二卷, 卷卷有爷名”。)

Father and Mother is represented by “爷娘” in Bei Dynasty folklores. (北朝乐府民歌《木兰辞》: “旦辞爷娘去, 暮宿黄河边”。)

“爷” is also written as “耶” in *Guwenyuan*. ZHANG Qiao notes that “耶” is the variation of “爷”, the

colloquial address of “父” (father). That “爷” means “父” can also be found in *Hehe Dialects* by KANG Ji-tian.

《古文苑》卷九作“耶”。章樵注：耶，今作爺。俗呼父为爺。《合河方言》(康基田, 1799)中记载：“古木兰诗‘军书三十卷，卷卷有爷名’，中又云，‘不闻爷娘唤女声’。俗称父曰爷，母曰娘，祖父爷爷，祖母曰娘娘，亦准於古”。

In *Zizhitongjian*, we can also find the usage of “爷” meaning FATHER: Lishi gets a higher status and great power from the emperor, so people in the royal court are all afraid of him. The prince calls him elder brother, dukes and ministers call him elder brother as well. People like husband of the princess call him “爷”.

《资治通鉴·唐纪三十二》：“力士承恩岁久，中外畏之，太子亦呼之为兄，诸王公呼之为兄，驸马辈直谓之爷”。

So we can see, “爷” should be a colloquial word in the Northern Dynasty while in the Southern Dynasty the same concept is represented by disyllabic word “阿爷”. For example, in *Houjingzhuan, Liangshu*, “阿爷” is used to address father.

《梁书·侯景传》：“侯景僭位，王伟劝立七庙，并请名讳，景曰：‘前世吾不复记，唯阿爷名标’”。

When Hou Jing usurp the throne, Wang Wei advise him to establish the ancestral temple and name it. Jing says, I cannot remember the name of predecessors, but I only know that “阿爷” (my father)’s name is Biao.

“i 爷” meaning “fu” is also noted in *Yunlueyitong* by Lan Tingxiu in Ming Dynasty. (明正统七年兰廷秀编纂的《韵略易通》中也有记录：“爺，父也”。)

**kə (哥)**. “kə (哥)” is probably borrowed from the Altai. It was first used by the royal family (HU, 1980; HUANG, 1999; ZHANG, 1998) in the early and middle Tang Dynasty, then was popular in the folk and at last become the most frequently used word. Based on a large corpus of phonic data from minority languages, HUANG Shu-xian constructed that the pronunciation of “kə (哥)” is inherited form Altai *aqa*. GU Yan-wu maintains that people in Tang Dynasty called their father as “kə (哥)”. JIANG Li-hong also points out that “kə (哥)” is used to call father in *Bian Wen* (《变文》), the document of *Dunhuang Bianwen Ziyi Tongshi* (《敦煌变文字义通释》). There are some other cases. For example:

《旧唐书·王琚传》：“玄宗泣曰：四哥仁孝”。四哥指其父皇睿宗。

Xuanzong cried and said: the fourth “哥” is kind and filial. Here the fourth “哥” refers to his father Ruizong.

《玄宗诸子传》：“惟三哥辨其罪人”。棣王李琰称其父玄宗为三哥。

Only the third “哥” can tell who the criminal is. Here Diwang LI Yan called his father Xuanzong as Third “哥”.

That “kə (哥)” is used to address father remained till Yuan Dynasty. For example,

元杂剧《墙上马头》第三折：“接不着你哥哥，正撞见你爷爷。魄散魂消，肠慌腹热，手脚獐狂去不迭” (HUANG, 1999)。

It is really horrified when I did not see your “哥哥” but came across your grandpa.

### Historical Strata of “FATHER” Words in Jin Dialects

Based on the above analysis, historical strata of “FATHER” words in Jin dialects could be generalized as follows: These two words “[=ta] (爹) or [ɛta] (爹), [ɛta] (爹)” and “pa (爸)” came into being as early as in the Eastern Han Dynasty. “i (爷)” is a colloquial word in the Northern Dynasties. On the other hand, the pronunciation of “爹” as [ɛtia] is the standard pronunciation of the capital of Song Dynasty, and first widely used in the northern part of China and gradually spread all over the country. “Ke (哥)” borrowed from the



Altaic is prevailing in Tang dynasty. As for “papa (爸爸)”, though used in a rather early era but not recorded in the written literatures until the Qing Dynasty, it is widely used under the influence of the modern standard language.

Literature reference combined with the geographical distribution clearly shows that “FATHER” words are the result of superposition of appellation words in different times. But leading words are predominantly monosyllabic and are the inheritance from the standard language in Song Dynasty. Others are just living fossils of the words used in other dynasties. The different evolution route of “pa (爸)” and “tie 爹” either in Jin dialects or in mandarin is a further proof that Jin dialects and mandarin evolves asynchronously.

### Horizontal Transmission and the Formation of Historical Strata of JIN Dialect Words

Then, how did the historical strata of FATHER words in Jin dialects take such a shape? And what motivate the changes of the dialects?

#### Horizontal Transmission

Language is the most important communication tool for human beings. So we cannot talk about the changes of language without the people who use it and their activities in time and space (SHEN, 2007). The formation of Chinese dialects is a result of activities of the Han Nationality in different geographical areas (space) during different historical periods (time). That is, the formation of Chinese dialects is the result of “horizontal transmission” (SHEN, 2013).

What is horizontal “transmission”? According to SHEN Zhong-wei, when Chinese (H) spoken in region I is transmitted to region II, it interacts with the local language F (non-Chinese), language transformation that is the Chinese dialect (H) is produced. The non-Chinese may remain in region II or it may die out due to the transformation. Therefore, the external factors are the main reason for Chinese differentiation (SHEN, 2013), which is a horizontal mode as in Figure 2.<sup>5</sup>

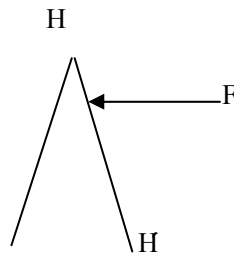



Figure 2. The pattern of language horizontal transmission.<sup>6</sup>

Here we hold that F should include both Chinese and non-Chinese, which is a modification to Mr. Shen’s hypothesis and can make it more comprehensive.

Mr. Shen’s horizontal mode is mainly used to explain the formation of dialects. To us, it can also be used to explain the formation of historical strata of dialect words.

<sup>5</sup> Thanks Dr. Zhao Xueling for drawing the map.

<sup>6</sup> Note: H, F, and H stands for Chinese, non-Chinese, and Chinese (dialect) after transformation respectively.  stands for the influence of the non-Chinese and the position in the figure stands for that the non-Chinese is the reason of differentiation of the language.

### The Horizontal Transfer of Language and the Formation of Historical Strata of Jin Dialect Words

**Influence of regional or national standard language on Jin dialect words.** According to historical documents, the records of “FATHER” words in Jin dialects can be traced back to as early as the Eastern Han Dynasty, when there were mainly two words, “[=ta] or [ɛta] (大)” and “pa (爸)”. As documented in *Guangya·Shiqin* (《广雅·释亲》), these two words are two dialect words used in different districts. “pa (爸)” is the Shaan dialect word while “[=ta] or [ɛta] (大)” is mainly used in the northern part of the Yangtze River and the Huaihe River. We can see that, from the very beginning of its spreading, they were used in different spaces and thus appearing as the different dialects. And even though the dialect was taken a shape, the regional or national standard language constantly exerts forces on it.

As we all know, the Yellow River area is the cradle of Chinese and the capitals of most dynasties are located in the north of the Yangtze River and the Huaihe River. China’s “Standard language” is both established and developed in the northern part of China. The dialect of the capitals has a very close relationship to the nation’s language standard. And in the long trace of the history, capitals are mainly located in the following areas, from the Guanzhong area (Xianyang, Chang’an) moving eastward to the Central Plains (Luoyang and Kaifeng) and northward to Youyan area (Dadu and Beijing). With the capitals’ changes, the standard language, which is based on the basic dialects, changes too.

Generally speaking, there are two periods when the standard language exerts an influence on dialects in different localities. One is from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Northern Song Dynasty; the other is from Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties to the modern times.

At the first period, China’s political and cultural center is in the Central Plains (Luoyang and Kaifeng). The dialects used in the Central Plains played the role of the official language and had a strong influence on dialects in different localities, both passively and actively. On the one hand, the ruling class advocates and forced the people to use the standard dialect, and on the other hand, the common people have to communicate with each other daily and officially. As a koine, “[ɛtia] (爹)” spreads from the Central Plains to other districts where dialects are their mother tongue. In other words, the koine and the dialectal word coexist in different historical strata.

With the movement of the capital from the Central Plains to Youyan area in the north, the standard language took change again, into Beijing dialect ever since Yuan to Ming and Qing Dynasties. “papa (爸爸)” used in Beijing dialect penetrated into other dialects. Widely and frequently used in Qing Dynasty, “papa (爸爸)” became the latest historical stratum.

FATHER words in Jin dialects are also affected by the changes of the standard language. Different changes of the standard language make a different historical stratum. “[ɛtia] (爹)” from the Central Plains dialects distributing in most Jin dialects (with the exception of Wutai Distric) becomes the leading word, while “papa (爸爸)”, the official dialect in Beijing, is used only in some individual localities. This might be resulted from the relative distances caused by changes of capitals, the political status of Shanxi, and its own geographical environment.

**Influence of minority languages on the dialect words in Jin.** According to the horizontal transmission, the external factors F include the clashes between Chinese and non-Chinese, such as the national history, immigration history, and population history (SHEN, 2013). According to the history of Chinese with ethnic groups, in the Tang Dynasty the interaction between the Han nationality and the ethnic minorities in the north is

quite frequent (YANG & MA, 1990). The most striking evidence is that the government of Tang Dynasty establishes the most complete authority with the largest jurisdiction in all the minority groups in the Northwest in the ancient history of China. Under such circumstances, Chinese kept a close contact with the Altai and “ke (哥)” as a pioneer came into Chinese in the north and becomes a part of the system of FATHER words and still kept in Pingyao and Wenshui. Of course, the pronunciation of “ke (哥)” changes to conform to the local phonetic system and became a new historical stratum.

### The Influence of the Language System on the Historical Changes of the Dialect Words

Although the influence imposed by the external factors on the differentiations of language and on formation of the historical strata in dialects is very important, the influence of the systematic changes of the language itself cannot be neglected.

(1) The diversity of the pronunciation of “tiε (爹)” in Jin dialects. In the era of *Qie Yun* (《切韵》), there are two kinds of pronunciation of “爹”, [tɑ] and [ɛtia]. [ɛtia]. When transformed to Jin dialects, its pronunciation changed to adapt to the constraints of phonetic system of the local dialects. From Table 1, we can see the main difference of “爹” lies in vowels, which is like a continuous chain from low vowels to high ones: [iA]/[ia] < [iæ] < [iε] < [iE]/[iə] < [ie] < [i]. It is believed that the variation in different space reflects changes taking place along the times axis.

It is true that the standard language exerts influence on dialect, and it is obviously a kind of horizontal transmission. But the phonetic system of the local dialect plays a key role in the actual pronunciation of the oncoming words.

(2) “i (爷)” remaining to address “father”. “i (爷)” is used to address father in the north of the Yangtze River and the Huaihe River in the Northern Dynasties and still keeps the same in Zuoquan dialect. Then, why does the standard language in the horizontal transmission exert no influence on Zuoquan dialect? A reasonable answer should resort to the system of language. Kinsfolk words is a system in itself, in which they affect and restrict each other. In Mandarin, the connotation of “i (爷)” once was FATHER and later it was transferred to refer to grandfather. However, in Zuoquan dialect, FATHER is still “i (爷)” and grandfather as “goŋ (公)”. That is to say, the internal system of language plays an important role in the development of the language.

### Conclusion

As aforementioned analysis that the geographical distribution and evolution of appellation words referring to “father” in Jin dialects, it can be concluded that the patterns of modern Chinese dialects are the result of superposition of different historical periods. But their leading words inherit the appellation words of standard language of the Song Dynasty and are mainly monosyllabic words. Besides, words used before the Song Dynasty, as living fossils of the words, retain only in some districts or localities. The different evolution route of “pa (爸)” and “tiε (爹)” either in Jin dialects or in mandarin is a further proof that Jin dialects and mandarin evolves asynchronously. In addition, the formulation of the historical strata is the interaction of the horizontal transmission of languages and systemic changes of local dialects.

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