

江西吉水方言连-介词“做(伴)” 的功能和语义演变

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摘要

江西吉水方言的“做”有普通话“和”的介词和连词功能，可引出协同对象、言谈对象、比较对象和并列对象。连-介词“做”的功能一般可以用“做伴(嘍/得)”替换。文章以“做”为代表观察“做”及双音节形式的功能后指出，“做”是“做伴”语音弱化的结果，伴随介词“做伴[ʈʂ³¹⁻⁵¹ p^hon⁵¹²⁻²⁰]”源于相伴义动词“做伴[ʈʂ³¹⁻³³ p^hon⁵¹²]”，即在突显协同对象的连谓结构中，动词前的“做伴”发展出伴随介词功能，并发展出其他功能。考察发现，连-介词“做”及双音节形式也见于吉水周边的赣方言、吴方言和徽语，汉语方言中广泛存在相伴义动词发展出连-介词功能这种现象。

关键词

吉水方言 连-介词 “做(伴)” 相伴义 语义演变

1. 引言

吉水县地处江西中部，为吉安市所辖。吉水通行赣方言，只有个别地区说客家话。本文考察的是笔者母语吉水(醴桥)赣方言，其语音形式较为简单，但有丰富的词汇变调现象，包括高降变调[512]和高升

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MULTI-FUNCTIONS OF $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-512}$ ($p^h\text{on}^{512-20}$) “做(伴)” AND ITS SEMANTIC CHANGES OF JISHUI DIALECT IN JIANGXI

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ABSTRACT

Similar with *he* or *ken* in Mandarin, $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-512}$ (做) of Jishui dialect in Jiangxi functions as comitative, animate directional and comparative preposition as well as coordinator, which can be substituted by the disyllabic functional words $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-51} p^h\text{on}^{512-20}$ (做伴), $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-51} p^h\text{o}^{20}$ (做嘍) or $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-51} te^{20}$ (做得). This paper explores the functions of $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-512}$ as well as its disyllabic and explores their semantic sources and pathway of semantic changes. It claims that the comitative $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-51} p^h\text{on}^{512-20}$ originates from verb $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-33} p^h\text{on}^{512}$ meaning *accompany*, and it is reanalyzed with tonal change in the situation where $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-33} p^h\text{on}^{512}$ acts as the first verb with a prominent animate object of a serial verb construction. Then, on the one hand, the comitative $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-51} p^h\text{on}^{512-20}$ undergoes erosion into $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-51} p^h\text{o}^{512-20}$ or even into $\text{ts}\gamma^{3-512}$, and the latter one constitutes a compound disyllabic with suffix te^0 . On the other hand, the disyllabic and monosyllabic comitatives are extended into other situations with other kinds of verb where they are reanalyzed into animate directional and comparative prepositions. Simultaneously, the comitatives are grammaticalized into coordinators, when the two participants make similar contributions to an event and hold equal status. Then it reveals that cognates of the preposition and coordinator *tsuo* (做) or its compounds spread widely around Jishui dialect in Jiangxi as well as some Wu and Hui dialects, and it is common for verbs meaning *accompany* to develop into comitatives and coordinators.

KEYWORDS

Jishui dialect Coordinator-preposition $\text{ts}\gamma^{31-512}$ ($p^h\text{on}^{512-20}$) “做(伴)”
 Accompany Semantic change