The *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* vol.53, no.1 (January 2025): 223–255 © 2025 by the Journal of Chinese Linguistics. ISSN 0091-3723/ Diffusion of the interrogative pronoun *Sha* '哈' from Mandarin to Wu: A view of dialect contact. (In Chinese) By Yimin Sheng. All rights reserved.

从方言接触看疑问代词"啥"从官话到吴语的扩散 盛益民

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摘要

本文是一项吴语虚词史的研究,探讨吴语疑问代词"啥"的来源。一般认为吴语的"啥"来源于"什么"类的合音,可是吴语声母存在清浊对立,需要解释为何"什"类浊声母在吴语中合音的结果是清声母的"啥"。文章首先讨论了"啥"在吴语中的地理分布样态和表意功能差异,然后构拟了其早期语音形式。在此基础上,文章主张"啥"的合音是在宋代汴洛地区完成的,而吴语中的"啥"则是宋室南渡之后,由汴洛移民带入的成分。

关键词

吴语 疑问代词"啥" 宋室南渡 方言接触

1. 引言

一部完整的汉语史包括通语史与方言史。汉语方言有其自身发展的规律,因此需要对方言史进行独立研究(吴语史、闽语史、粤语史

致谢 本文为国家社科基金重点项目"基于文献考证与历史比较的吴语语法史研究"(项目号:23AYY009)的阶段性成果。文章主体内容曾以不同的题目在"第二届吴语语法学术研讨会"(复旦大学,2017年)、"继承与创新:庆祝《方言》创刊四十周年学术研讨会"(浙江师范大学,2018年)和"第二届汉语史研究的材料、方法与学术史观国际学术研讨会"(南京大学,2020年)上报告。写作及报告过程中,承蒙游汝杰、石汝杰、刘丹青、洪波、麦耘、汪维辉、邢向东、陶寰、辛永芬、黄晓东、李云龙、黄河、宋华强、章舒娅、王佳亮、戴佳文、徐恺远、匡一龙等诸位师友的指教,贾沈朱协助绘制了方言地图,特申谢忱。文章所存问题,文责自负。

Dictionary Press.

ZTXB (Zhejiangsheng Tonglu Xianzhi Bianweihui 浙江省桐庐县志编委 会). 1992. Tonglu fangyanzhi 桐庐方言志 (Dialect records of the Tonglu dialect). Beijing: Language and Culture Press.

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DIFFUSION OF THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN SHA '啥' FROM MANDARIN TO WU: A VIEW OF DIALECT CONTACT

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the source of the interrogative pronoun sha '啥' in Wu dialects, which is a case study of Wu dialects' historical syntax. It is generally believed that sha '啥' of Wu dialects comes from the fusing of shenme '什么', but this solution has the following problems: Wu dialects have voiced initials, so sha '啥' which is voiceless initial cann't come from shenme '什么'. The article first discusses the geographical distribution and function differences of sha '啥' in Wu dialect, and then reconstructs its early phonetic form. We hypothesize that the fusing of shenme '什么' were considered in the Bianluo area of the Song Dynasty, and then sha '啥' was brought into Wu dialects via the Song southern migration.

KEYWORDS

Wu dialects Interrogative pronoun Sha Southern migration of the Song Dynasty Dialect contact