

话题曾是条件：嘉戎语话题标记的来源与演变

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摘要

专论话题标记来源的相关研究中，尚未有文献提到话题标记可能来自条件结构。尽管学界接受 Haiman (1978) “条件就是话题”的主张，但有学者进一步陈明：“话题不是条件” (Shin 1987)。本文考察嘉戎语口语材料，论证嘉戎语话题标记 =mənənɔrə 的来源为动词条件结构 mə-na-ŋôŋs-rə [COND-PFV-COP=TOP]。笔者认为卓克基话的条件句之所以能发展成话题，主要因素有三。第一，条件动词的主要词干是不具语义的系词；第二，条件小句一如嘉戎语大多数小句，是动词置于句末；第三，条件小句与主要小句的相对位置不具对调的弹性。条件标记赋予了系词标示“已知”、“预设”信息的功能，系词条件小句在信息属性和补语与动词相对位置两方面，都与带话题标记的名词短语雷同，从“条件小句+主要小句”演变为“话题—述题”就万事俱备了。基于以上论据，加上嘉戎语和突厥语族语言的相关例证，我们可以说在这些语言中“话题曾是条件”。

关键词

话题 话题标记 条件句 来源 嘉戎语

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THE TOPICS WERE CONDITIONALS: THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF A RGYALRONG TOPIC MARKER

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ABSTRACT

Among the studies of possible sources topic markers can develop from, none has mentioned that topic markers can derive from conditionals. Haiman's (1978) statement that "conditionals are topics" is well accepted, and based on related linguistic facts it has been further stated that "topics are not conditionals" (Shin 1987). The present paper, however, argues that the rGyalrong topic marker =*mənaŋorə* has derived from the conditional verb form that has the copula *ŋôʂ* as the stem: *mə-na-ŋôʂ=rə* [COND-PFV-COP=TOP]. We suggest that three factors have made this development possible. One is that the stem of the related conditional verb form is a copula, which is semantically empty. The second factor is that the conditional clause, like most other clause types in rGyalrong, is verb-final. The other concerns the fact that in the rGyalrong dialect examined for the present study, the conditional clause always precedes the main clause. With conditional marking, the copula signals nothing but the givenness of information conveyed by its complement. Since the relative position between the conditional and main clauses is fixed, the path has been paved for [Conditional clause+Main clause] to evolve into [Topic+Comment]. Based on the evidence as observed in rGyalrong as well as Turkic languages, it could be adequate to state: "The topics were once conditionals."

KEYWORDS

Topic marker Topicalizer Conditional Source RGYALRONG