

THE POLYFUNCTIONAL na^7/na^2 那 IN EARLY SOUTHERN MIN AND ITS LATER DEVELOPMENTS

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with the polyfunctionality of 那 realized as na^7 or na^2 featuring a range of senses or functions such as *if*, *only*, *look like* and *how/why* in earlier Southern Min and its later developments in modern Southern Min based on a set of data reflecting three periods dating back to the sixteenth at the earliest. Special attention is focused on the patterns of syntactic distribution of na^7/na^2 那 in conjunction with its associated senses and a range of constructions it features such as conditionals, causals, and correlatives denoting simultaneous actions. A comparison of na^7/na^2 那 in earlier and modern Southern Min shows some interesting grammatical developments chiefly three trends: (i) the grammaticalization of the similitive verb *nak 若 in tandem with the proximal deictic element as a marker of the protasis in conditionals; (ii) the obsolescence of the sense of the monosyllabic na^7 ‘only’ and emergence of correlative construction na^2 X na^2 Y featuring the incremental intensification even beyond the newly emergent simultaneous actions; and (iii) the emergence of robust occurrence of na^2 那 as a how/why WH-word. The grammatical development is partially manifested in the intriguing recurrence of hyper-

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characterization of redundant marking of functional isomorphic elements and the compounding of na^7/na^2 那 and its collocates to forestall the detrimental effect of homophony and ambiguity.

KEYWORDS

Conditional Alternation Correlative Southern Min

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper explores the polyfunctionality of 那 in Southern Min from a diachronic perspective. It is mainly focused on the syntactic distribution and semantic properties of na^2/na^7 那 based on early and modern texts. It aims at unfolding the multiple form and meaning relationship as manifested in na^2/na^7 那 and pinning down in particular the intimate relationship between conditionals and disjunction among many other interlocking semantic links. At the outset I will give a brief literature review of conditionals from a cross-linguistic perspective that furnish a theoretical framework for the discussion in the body of the paper.

Conditionals are a grammatical category. A question arises as to how they emerge. Haiman (1978, 1985) claims that conditionals may owe their origin to topics. Traugott (1985) suggests five sources for conditional markers: (1) words for modality, especially epistemic modality, (2) existential copulas, (3), interrogatives, (4) topic markers or demonstratives, and (5) temporal expressions.

Haiman pioneers the notion of topic as the source of conditionals, as he notes, “conditionals like other topics are established in discourse as given facts or entities with a formal device whereby the speaker seeks the agreement of his interlocutors as to their validity” (Haiman 1978: 572). But there is also a similarity of conditionals and question. Ultimately markers of conditional protasis are a result of grammaticalization of interrogative markers, as Haiman (1978, 1985) points out. In particular, polar questions may be grammaticalized into conditional clauses (Heine et al. 1991: 25). Thus, both topicalization and interrogatives may be involved in the formation of conditionals.

Fillenbraum (1986) notes that there appears to be an intimate relationship between *unless* and *if not*. But on deeper thoughts, a more

早期闽南语 na^7/na^2 那的多功能性及其后来的演变

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摘要

本文根据文献就闽南语“那”指称「如果」、「只有」、「像似」、「怎么」等多重功能，追索十六世纪以来明清时期到现代的演变，着重于考察“那” (na^7/na^2) 的句法分布及相关条件，动因，表同时性动作的联结句式。从早期和现代闽南语 na^7/na^2 的比较可以看出引人入胜的语法演变，其中包括(i)「像似」动词「若」搭配近指指示词，语法化为条件前项目的标记，(ii) 单音节“那”「只有」的消退，闽南语句式 $na^2 X na^2 Y$ 的兴起，并从新兴的同时并行的语义，进而发展递增的并进程度义。(iii) 另外一项关联性演变是 na^2 产生反诘的「怎么」义。在语法演变过程中，功能同形成份常反复出现羡余的迭置现象。 na^7/na^2 与其他语词相搭配，一经复合化就跳脱了同音、歧义所造成的不利效应。

关键词

条件 选择 联结 闽南语