

Phonologization and the Liaison Consonants in Taiwan Min and Hakka

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Phonologization: A process whereby a phonetic process becomes phonological (Hyman 1975: 171)

Chen (1970):

$V \rightarrow [+long] / \text{ ____ } [+voice]$
C

V_t/V_d

English	.61	Korean	.78
French	.87	Spanish	.86
Russian	.82	Norwegian	.82

Hyman (1975: 172-73):

‘Since there is a tendency in English to devoice final voiced obstruents (such as in the word *bad*), the vowel-length discrepancy has come to assume a phonological role, and perhaps ultimately a phonemic role.... It thus appears that English is in the process of losing its voice contrast in consonants (note the loss of the /t/-/d/ contrast in most intervocalic positions): the final voice contrast is being replaced with a length contrast, and the initial contrast is being replaced with an aspiration contrast.’

Consonant liaison in Mandarin:

好哇	hau wa
來呀	lai ya
看哪	k'an na
衝啊	ch'ong a
渴啊	k'eh a

哇，呀，哪，啊: How are they represented underlyingly?

Do they have a uniform representation, or are they represented differently?

English

an ekename → a nickname

a napron → an apron

鍾露昇 (1966: 129):

助詞「啊」表感歎，受了前面韻尾的影響而變音。

The particle 'a' changes its form because of the influence from the coda of the previous syllable.

什麼東西呀！	真有趣呀！	不錯呀！	他呀！
好苦哇！	別走哇！		
天哪！	真笨哪！		
幫忙啊！	(π Y)		
快吃啊！	(ɔ Y)	是啊！	
寫字啊！	(Z Y)		

2.6.1 後字聲母變化

後字若是○聲母之附加詞，因與前字緊密結合，元音前之緊喉作用通常消失，並且受前字-p、-t、-k影響，在元音前產生b、l、g。

thiap⁴ a² → thiap⁴ ba² 「帖囡」 (帖子)

hip⁴ a⁰ → hip⁴ ba⁰ 「煖矣」 (燜了)

siap⁴ e⁰ → siap⁴ be⁰ 「澀的」

chat⁸ a² → chat⁸ la² 「賊叻」

ut⁴ a⁰ → ut⁴ la⁰ 「熨矣」 (熨了)

tit⁸ e⁰ → tit⁸ le⁰ 「直的」

lok⁸ a² → lok⁸ ga² 「鹿叻」

ak⁴ a⁰ → ak⁴ ga⁰ 「沃矣」 (澆了)

lik⁸ e⁰ → lik⁸ ge⁰ 「綠的」

如果後字不是附加詞，只是一般的○母字，通常不產生這種變化，除非說話速度極快，使後字元音開頭的緊喉作用消失。例如「雜音」通常讀 cap⁸ im¹，熟語「十一」則可能說 cap⁸ bit⁴ (← cap⁸ it⁴)。

1. [同化]：客語的名詞常加 -e 詞尾構成複音詞，這些詞尾 -e 的聲母常被前面的韻尾所同化，而有 ve, me, ne, ŋe, pe, te, ke 等尾詞。

/e/ →	(ve)		(u)	鳥、樹、九個	tiau ve (鳥)
	(me)		(m)	三個、男人	sam me (三個)
	(ne)		(n)	星星、山	sen ne (星星)
	(ŋe)		(ŋ)	蟲、魚、五個	ts'un ŋe (蟲)
	(pe)		(p)	葉子、十個	iap pe (葉子)
	(te)		(t)	日子、一個	n _e it te (日子)
	(ke)		(k)	石子、六個	sak ke (石子)

除了指代詞的內部屈折外，最常見的是動詞詞尾〔e₁₁〕、形容詞尾〔e₅₅〕及副詞詞頭〔it₂〕的變調改變語法形式。

(→)動詞詞尾屈折：

動 + e₁₁ → 表疑問：

看 e₁₁ [k'on₅₅ ne₁₁] (看了嗎?)

着好 e₁₁ [tsok₂ ho₃₁ e₁₁] (穿好了嗎?)

寫完 e₁₁ [sia₃₁ van₁₁ ne₁₁] (寫完沒?)

動 + e₂₄ → 表完成：

看 e₂₄ [k'on₅₅ ne₂₄] (看過了)

著好 e₂₄ [tsok₂ ho₃₁ e₂₄] (穿好了)

寫完 e₂₄ [sia₃₁ van₁₁ ne₂₄] (寫完了)

(二)形容詞詞尾屈折：

形 + **e₅₅** → 形容詞：

好 **e₅₅** [ho₃₁ ve₅₅] (好的)

熟 **e₅₅** [suk₅ ke₅₅] (熟的)

形 + **e₁₁** → 表疑問：

好 **e₁₁** [ho₃₁ ve₁₁] (好了嗎?)

熟 **e₁₁** [suk₅ ke₁₁] (熟了嗎?)

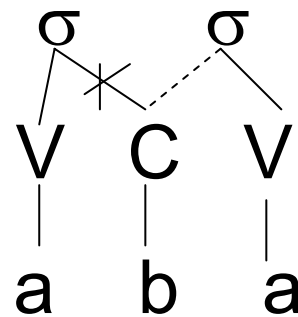
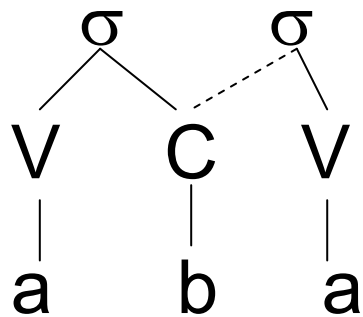
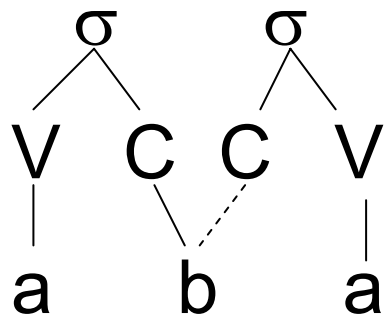
形 + **e₂₄** → 表完成：

好 **e₂₄** [ho₃₁ ve₂₄] (好了)

熟 **e₂₄** [suk₅ ke₂₄] (熟了)

Theoretical accounts of liaison consonants

(a) gemmination (b) ambisyllabicity (c) resyllabification



Wang and Kao 2004

Syllable inversion 音節調換

騎馬 [khia be] → 馬騎 [be khia]

金子 [kima] → ? [a kim]? [ma kim]?

十個 [tsabe] → ? [e tsap]? [be tsap]?

Frequencies of responses to –a in Syllable inversion Experiment

E.g. 金子 [kima]

		count	
[kima] →	[makim]	45	16.3%
[kima] →	[akim]	231	83.7%
Total		276	

Frequencies of responses to –e in Syllable inversion Experiment

E.g. 十個 [tsabe]

	count	
[tsabe] → [betsap]	16	13.9%
[tsabe] → [etsap]	99	86.1%
Total	115	

Miao-li Hakka (total tokens 62x36=2232)

Type	Onsetless	
V	237	31.9%
N	268	36.0%
Adj	266	34.5%
Total	771	34.5%

Mei-nung Hakka (total tokens 22x36=792)

Type	Onsetless	
V	82	31.1%
N	80	30.3%
Adj	81	30.7%
Total	243	30.7%

Chu-tung Hakka (total tokens 62x24=1488)

Type	Onsetless	
N	389	52.3%
Adj	437	58.7%
Total	826	55.5%

(Note: the perfect form of verb is not counted for this variety because the morpheme is [le] rather than [e] as in the other two varieties.)

Degrees of phonologization

Miao-li > Chu-tung > Minnan

34.5%

55.5%

83.7%/86.1%

Mei-nung

30.7%