

2012 中央研究院語言學研究所
重要研究成果

研究人員（中）：吳瑞文

研究人員（英）：Wu, Rui-wen

研究成果名稱（英）：論山攝開口字在共同閩語中的演變與層次

研究成果名稱（中）：*Development and Strata Analysis of Shan She Unrounded Cognates in Proto Min*

《中國語言學集刊》第六卷第一期：177-238, 2012(62頁)

BULLETIN OF CHINESE LINGUISTICS 6.1: 177-238, 2012(62 pages)

簡要記述（英）：

Norman (1980) proposed a complete proto-Min final system for the colloquial strata of Min Languages. Based on Norman's system, I review the finals about the Shan She unrounded cognates and suggest some modification. In this paper, I increase the material of Min languages and reconstruct the proto forms of daughter languages of Min according to the comparative method strictly. I also indicate the different strata of the colloquial strata in proto Min finals. From the viewpoint of historical linguistics, proto Min finals of Shan She unrounded cognates include two strata: one is from Chin-Han period and the other Six Dynasty period. The obvious characteristic of Chin-Han Stratum of proto Min is that Shan She unrounded Grade II and IV was merged and undergone a particular sound change: metathesis. The characteristic of Six Dynasty stratum is that either Shan She unrounded Grade III or IV have a medial constituent and the vowel contrast between Grade III and IV is preserved which is the phonological characteristic of Jiang Dong dialect of Six Dynasty period.

Key words: proto Min, Shan She unrounded cognates, strata, comparative method, historical linguistics

簡要記述（中）：

Norman(1981)提出的共同閩語(Proto-Min)韻母系統對整個閩語的白話層提出全面的構擬，本文在這個基礎上對其中與山攝開口字有關的韻母進行檢討與修改。本文擴充方言材料並利用歷史語言學的比較方法，由下而上逐步建構各個閩語次方言的祖語系統進而重建共同閩語，之後進行閩語的層次分析。從比較的觀點來看，共同閩語內部還可析為兩個層次，一個是秦漢層，一個是六朝層。就秦漢層而言，山攝開口字最明顯的特徵是二、四等沒有分別，並且其複合元音*-ian/*-iat發生了換位(metathesis)這個特殊的音韻變化，在共同閩語中成為*-ain/*-ait。至於六朝層的特點則是，不論三等或四等都帶有介音，但在主要元音有區別，我們認為這是保留了中古時期的仙三先四的對立，顯示為六朝江東方言的一項音韻特徵。

關鍵字：共同閩語、山攝開口字、層次、比較方法、歷史語言學

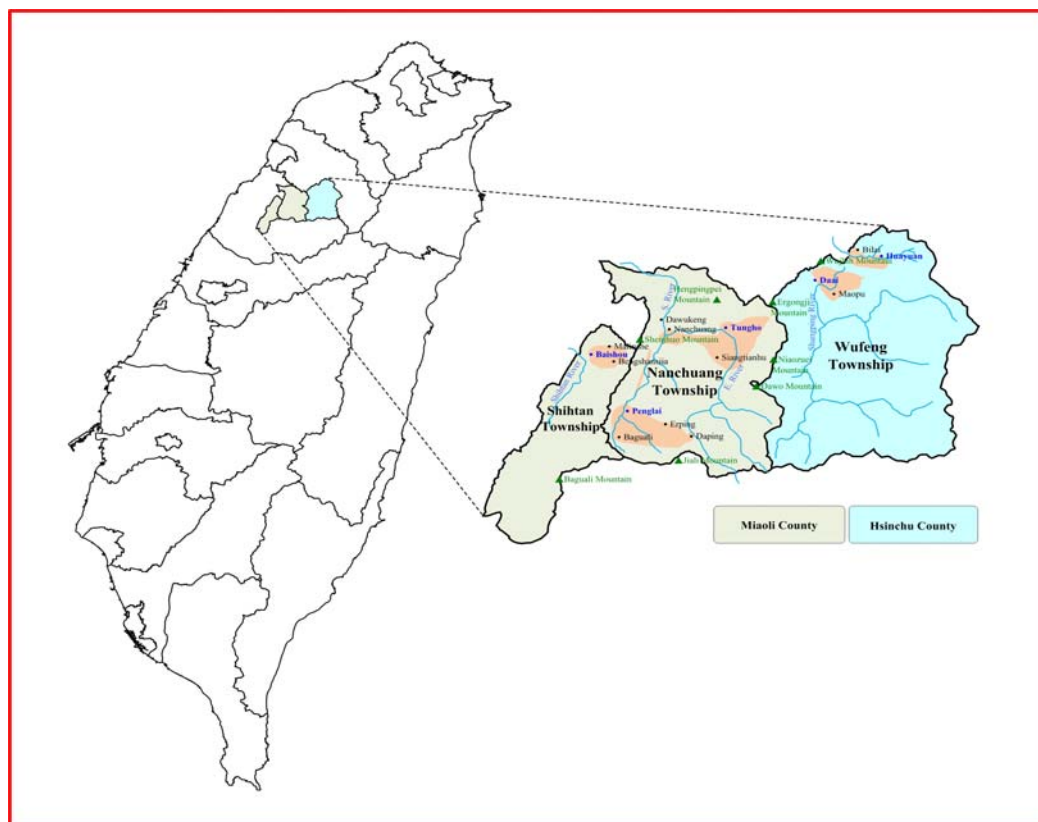
A Study of Saisiyat Morphology 賽夏語構詞研究

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作者： Elizabeth Zeitoun, Tai-hwa Chu, Lalo a Tahesh Kaybaybaw

English abstract

The present monograph provides an in-depth study of the morphology of Saisiyat (Tungbo dialect), a Formosan language spoken in north-western Taiwan in Miaoli County.

The present manuscript is over 600 pages and is divided in ten chapters. It begins with an overview of the Tungbo Saisiyat grammar (including its phonology and morphosyntax) and goes on to examine the morphological units, morphological processes, and major lexical categories of this language as a basis for the study of its nominal and verbal morphology (including valency-changing operations (causativity, reflexivity and reciprocity). It also discusses nominalization (i.e. the process that derives a noun from a verb through root modification) and composite verbs (affixed verbal and nominal roots as well as numerals). The morphological analysis is cast in terms of the morpheme-based approach.



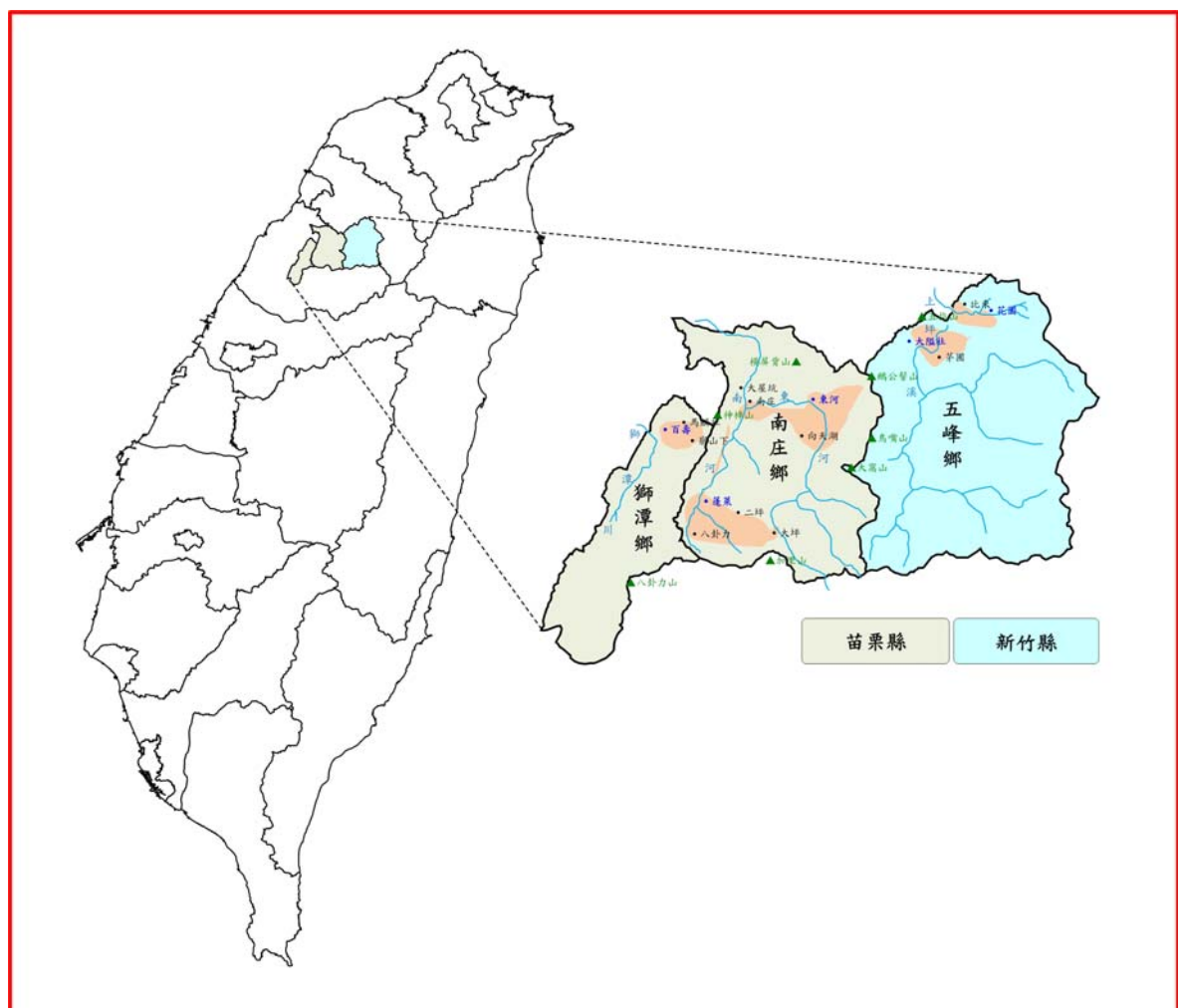
賽夏語構詞研究

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Chinese abstract

本專書深入探討賽夏語東河方言的構詞研究（以下稱東河賽夏語），東河賽夏語分布在台灣西北部苗栗縣境內。

本書總頁數超過六百頁，共分為十章。首先將概述東河賽夏語語法（包含其音韻與形態句法），繼而探究其構詞單位、構詞方式，以及該語言的主要詞類，作為探究其名詞形態與動詞形態的依據，其中包括配價變更，如使役、反身、互相結構等。此外，本書也探討名物化進程與複合動詞。名物化即透過詞根的變形，將動詞轉變為名詞的過程。而複合動詞則是由加綴的動詞根、名詞根或數詞結合而成。本書以詞素構詞法為主要的研究方法。



2012 中央研究院語言學研究所
重要研究成果

研究人員（中）：張永利

研究人員（英）：Henry Y. Chang

研究成果名稱（英）：Nominal tense in Tsou

研究成果名稱（中）：鄒語的名詞時制

簡要記述（英）：

This paper investigates an understudied topic -- nominal tense (NT) in the Formosan language Tsou. In light of the NT diagnostics proposed in Nordlinger and Sadler (2004), this paper analyzes the nominal temporal marker *nia* as an instance of Independent NT (INT), heading a DP-internal tense phrase (TP). The INT-analysis explains nicely why (i) *nia* makes a temporal distinction of past versus nonpast within a noun phrase, (ii) *nia* cannot be replaced by a verbal tense/mood auxiliary, (iii) the meaning of *nia* is rather abstract—*nia* applies widely to nouns of various kinds, including nouns denoting artifacts, location and time, (iv) *nia* is normally preceded by a case marker, (v) a verb is required to undergo nominalization upon patterning with *nia*, (vi) *nia* is compatible both with definite and indefinite noun phrases, (vii) *nia* can co-occur either with a realis auxiliary or an irrealis auxiliary. These findings may advance our understanding of Tsou nominal structure on the one hand and shed new lights on the universal nominal structure on the other (cf. Cinque 2005, 2011).

簡要記述（中）：

本文探討一個較少為人注意的主題—鄒語的名詞時制。本文採用 Nordlinger and Sadler (2004) 的名詞時制判準，將鄒語的名詞時間標記 *nia* 分析為一種獨立名詞時制標記，在名詞組內引導一個時制詞組。這樣的獨立名詞時制分析可以解釋以下諸多難解的問題：(1) *nia* 可以區分名詞的過去與非過去（例如前妻與未婚妻）；(2) *nia* 不能以動詞時制助動詞（例如 *moso*）取代；(3) *nia* 意義抽象，可適用於各式各樣名詞，包含時間與地點名詞；(4) *nia* 通常前接格位標記；(5) 動詞若與 *nia* 連用須名物化；(5) *nia* 可以搭配定只與不定指名詞；(6) 含 *nia* 的名詞組可以出現在實現式與非實現式；(7) *nia* 必須出現在習慣動貌之前而非之後。本研究一方面提升我們對鄒語語法的瞭解，另一面也增進我們名詞時制類型與理論的知識。

主要相關著作：

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
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