

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫成果報告

六家饒平客家方言變調

Tone Sandhi in the Liujia Yaoping Hakka Dialect

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一、中文摘要

本計畫探討六家饒平客家方言變調。所有變調規則都是前變調，而且純粹由音韻制約，和構詞、句法無關。三字組可由二字組變調規則由左至右依序進行衍生出來。陽平和陽去二調單獨出現時已經混同，其差異顯現在某些二字組。但此二調在三字組又有中和的驅勢，以正面避免違反衍生調不容許再次變調的一步原則(One Step Principle)。六家饒平客家方言的變調範疇在白讀層次由詞彙管轄(lexical government)界定；在文讀層次則取決於韻律。此外，從年輕一輩的六家饒平客家方言可看出國語和海陸客家方言的影響。

關鍵字：變調、饒平客家方言

Abstract

The current research explores how tone sandhi behaves in Liujia Yaoping Hakka dialect. All sandhi rules are leftward and purely phonologically conditioned. Trisyllabic tonal combinations can be derived by applying disyllabic tone sandhi rules L-R iteratively. Tone 2 and tone 6 are neutralized when used in isolation, and the distinction in between shows in certain disyllabic tonal sequences. Yet there exists a tendency for

these two tones to be merged in trisyllabic utterances just to positively avoid any One Step Principle (Hsu, 1995) violations. In colloquial speech, the domain of Liujia Yaoping tone sandhi is defined by lexical government (Chomsky, 1986), while metricality comes into play in literary speech. In addition, speech of the younger generation manifests external influence from Mandarin and Hailu Hakka.

Keywords: Tone Sandhi, Yaoping Hakka

二、緣由與目的

The interest of this research was aroused by Lu[↑]'s (1993) thesis on Yaoping Hakka. In Lu[↑], both leftward and rightward tone sandhi rules apply in this dialect, which I thought was the best chance to test the validity of the One Step Principle. Yet the tonal system and disyllabic tone sandhi rules in Lu[↑] are drastically different from those in a pilot study made by myself. Therefore, the current research aimed to probe into tone sandhi of this dialect, and discussed other relevant topics, such as the effect of language contact on the tonal properties of this dialect, and the justification of current linguistic theories as they apply to the data.

三、結果與討論

Liuja Yaoping Hakka has five citation tones. There is no split in Tone II. Tone III is neutralized with Tone Ib, and yet their distinction occurs in some disyllabic tonal combinations. The results of the study show when tone sandhi occurs, how the rules apply in trisyllabic utterances, and what determines the domain of tone sandhi in different speech strata. Besides, external influence from neighboring dialects was found in the speech of the younger generation.

Some data about reduplication were collected in the project, and yet further study is needed to reveal how tone sandhi behaves in reduplication. Another issue concerns the destiny of this dialect. More efforts have to be made to save it from extinction. The status quo is: even people at their 40s have little confidence with their mother tongue, not to mention their offspring. The worse thing is that Hailu instead of Yaoping is taught in the local elementary school. If people do not have the linguistic awareness, that Yaoping will disappear at Liuja in the near future is foreseeable.

四、計畫成果自評

This project was executed as the original application described. The expectant goals, inclusive of displaying the picture of tone sandhi in Liuja Yaoping Hakka, examining the effect of language contact, and testing the validity of relevant linguistic theories, were reached. The results of the study are of academic value, and deserve to be published in a journal like *Fangyan*, which

encourages original work on Chinese dialects.

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