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行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫成果報告

臺灣語言學圖集99年計劃

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1999 LAT99 Final report.doc; 20001029

一、中文摘要 (關鍵詞：語言地理學，台灣閩南方言學，田野調查，電腦製地圖)

在計畫執行期間，我又多蒐集了134捲訪談錄音帶，目前總共約有1,100捲。在本次繪圖結構中，我選擇用「鵝」此字來調查閩南語 /o/ 之圓唇性的有無。從887份受訪者回應可看出，單是 *gô* 這詞彙就涵蓋超過12種可能的母音系統：[u ~ ɯ ~ ɔ ~ ɔ̃ ~ ɔ̄ : ɯ ~ ɔ̃ : ɯ ~ ɣ ~ ɣ̃ ~ ɔ̃ ~ ɔ̄ : ɔ̃ ~ ɣ̃ ~ ɣ̃̄ ~ ɔ̃̄ ~ ɔ̃̄̄]。主要結論即為漳州區域和母音圓唇性較相關，而泉州地區則缺乏圓唇性。但最明顯的特例則是淡水河流域，此區雖屬泉州音，卻有清晰的圓唇性。(客家受訪者在講閩南語時較偏好圓唇音)。

Abstract (Keywords: Linguistic geography, Taiwanese Southern Min dialectology, Fieldwork, Computer-assisted cartography)

During this grant period, I added 134 tapes to my interview collection, bringing the total now to around 1,100. As an application of the cartographic mechanism, I chose to investigate the [± round] feature of Southern Min /o/, using the 'goose' (鵝) item to illustrate the phenomenon. Among the 887 responses, it seems that for the single lexeme *gô* there are over a dozen possible vocalisms, wandering over a very broad vowel space: [u ~ ɯ ~ ɔ̃ ~ ɔ̄ : ɯ ~ ɔ̃ : ɯ ~ ɣ ~ ɣ̃ ~ ɔ̃ ~ ɔ̄ : ɔ̃ ~ ɣ̃ ~ ɣ̃̄ ~ ɔ̃̄ ~ ɔ̃̄̄]. The basic conclusion to be drawn is that roundedness tends to be associated with Zhāngzhōu territory, and lack of rounding with Quánzhōu. The most obvious anomaly is the Tamsui valley, described as Quánzhōu, but having a clear predilection for rounding. (Hakka informants, when reporting Southern Min data, prefer rounded forms.)

2. Rationale

As a student at the University of California, my interests lay in field methodology and Indo-European Studies. Sometime after coming to Taiwan in 1986, I decided to apply my training to Taiwan's unique milieu. For the past eight years, much of my spare time has been spent in developing a corpus of materials based on both folk narratives and structured questionnaires. As of this date, I have acquired around 1,100 taped interviews. Map 1, **Informant Locator**, shows a distribution of representative Southern Min and Hakka sites, as determined from the informants' background information. Specifically within the grant period for LAT99 (August 1, 1999—July 31, 2000), my students and I collected 134 interviews. So far four studies have come out of this mass of data. The first (Brewer 1998a) was a study of the semantic field of Southern Min color terminology. The second (Brewer 1998b) was a straightforward linguistic mapping of various 'thumb' words. The third (Brewer & Yeh 2000) was a description of the methodology used in processing Taiwanese texts. The fourth data extraction now attempts to determine whether geographical factors underlie the distribution of rounded vs. unrounded vocalisms in Taiwanese *gô* 'goose'; the results are presented below.

3. Methodology

Gô. Item 35: Goose (鵞 é), 887 Southern Min and 83 Hakka responses from all the major Han linguistic zones around the island. The vocalic nucleus of the lexeme *gô* wanders around an incredibly large vowel space: from rounded [u] down to [ɔ], from unrounded [ɿ] up to [ɯ], with just about every gradation in-between; to a centralized range of [ə, ɜ]; or with diphthongal [ou, əu, ɿu]. In the following list of *goose* words, the first numeral + letter code is the form number, followed by

a phonetic transcription of the allolex, then the number of informants reporting that form, with a percentage of the 887 responses in parentheses (if greater than 1%), and lastly a comment on the linguistic zones¹ attesting that form. (N.b., "Z" = Zhāngzhōu, and "Q" = Quánzhōu.)

Rounded vocalisms: See map 2.

1c [guɿ], 74 (8.34%): Tends to be Z-ish: QZ3 (53%), pure Z (34.7%), pure Q (19%).

1d [gɿ], 8: Similar on a smaller scale to the preceding; QZ3, Z3, Q3.

1e [gɔɿ], 38 (4.28%): Z-ish: QZ3 (30%), pure Z (40%), pure Q (12.5%).

1i [gɔɿ], 208 (23.45%): Z-ish: QZ3 (23%), pure Z (49.6%), pure Q (23%).

1mb [gɔɿ], 12 (1.35%): Scattered occurrences from Keelung to Kaohsiung. Five hits in Hh, H1, and H3 may indicate Hakka substratal influence on the vocalism in those zones.

1b [gɿ], 4: Indeterminate.

1h [gɔɿ], 30 (3.38%): Z-ish, QZ3 (40%), pure Z (40%), pure Q (16.7%).

Unrounded vocalisms: See map 3.

1a [guɿ], 30 (3.38%): QZ3 (63.6%), pure Q (21%): Clearly a Quánzhōu form.

1f [gɿ], 190 (21.42%): Q-ish: QZ3 (59%), pure Q (23%), pure Z (10.7%).

1g [gɿ], 18 (2.03%): Z-ish: QZ3 (50%), pure Q (11%), pure Z (33%).

1j [gɿ], 14 (1.6%): Z-ish: QZ3 (29%), pure Q (23%), pure Z (41%).

Residue:

The following forms are hapax legomena, unless otherwise indicated:

1m [ŋɔɿ], 1jɓ [gɿ], 2; 1k [gəuɿ], 6; 1ka [gɿuɿ], 1kba [gəuɿ], 1kn [ɔuɿ], 1ma [ŋgɔɿ], 2; 1mc [ɔɿ], 4; 1na [ŋɔɿ.ɑɿ], 2m [gɿɔɿ], 3a [ɿ], 8 (Mandarin); 3b [ɔɿ], 4 [ʊɿ].

¹ As defined in the LAT97 report, adapting the zones laid out by Hóng Wéirén, (洪惟仁 1990), 臺灣漢語方言分布圖

Giá: See map 4. Nearly a quarter of the Southern Min responses involved the rival *giá* form. Quite a few informants, as a matter of fact, would produce both *gô* and *giá* variants, with the former, however, usually being used in composition (e.g., in forms for ‘she-goose’, ‘gander’ or ‘gosling’).

2a [giaʌ], 206 (23.22%): Q-ish: QZ3 (17%), pure Q (61.5%), pure Z (20.3%).

2b [jaʌ], 14 (1.6%): Q-form: QZ3 (14%), pure Q (71%).

Hakka ηɔ²: See map 5. In contrast to the diversity of Southern Min forms, Hakka seems to have one common form for ‘goose’, MacIver 519b *ngô* (Hǎilù [ŋɔʌ]). See map 5.

4. Conclusion

Ever since beginning fieldwork in Taiwan, the non-distinctive nature of roundedness for Southern Min back vowels has struck me. Since the ‘goose’ item is in nearly all my questionnaire versions, I chose it as a suitable candidate for extraction, to have a look at the variations of *gô* on the island. The main results are illustrated in maps 2 and 3, from which we make some observations. For west central Taiwan, (1) roundedness tends to aggregate more inland, in the Z3 zone; (2) unroundedness tends to cluster closer to the coast, lower

Q3 and QZ3. (3) QZ3 in the southwest seems thoroughly mixed, but with the scales tipped slightly in favor of unrounded. As for northern Taiwan, (4) Keelung and Ilan (Z1) show a preference for rounded vowels. The evidence thus far would indicate a dialect differentiation, with roundedness in Zhāngzhōu and unroundedness in Quánzhōu. However, (5) the Tamsui valley, in Quánzhōu territory according to Hong’s map, shows an overwhelming predilection for roundedness. (6) Hakka informants, when reporting Southern Min data, prefer rounded forms. (7) *Giá* clusters in the Tamsui valley (Q1), more lightly in Q3, and in QZ3 is frequently mentioned as being used “up north”.

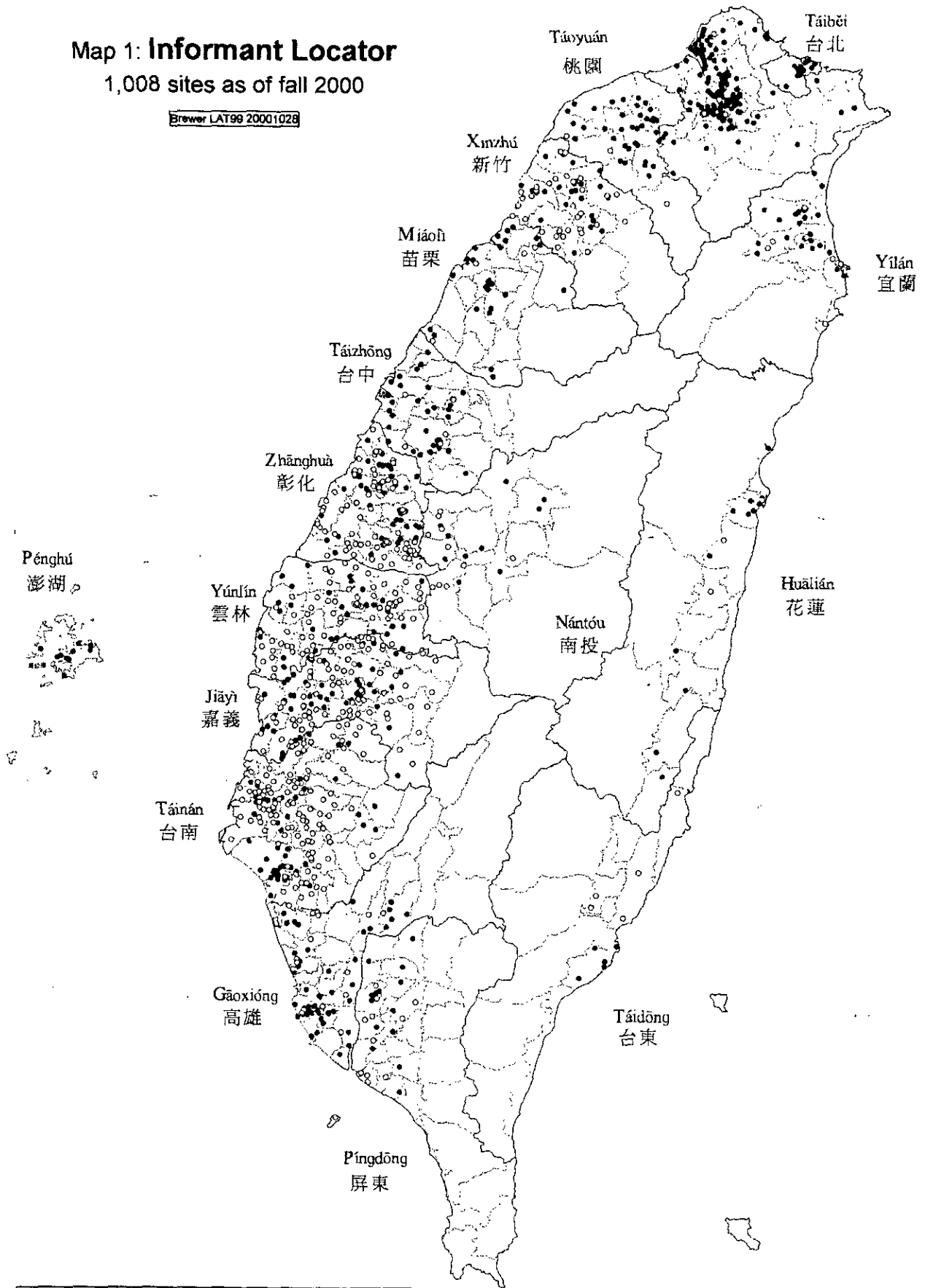
5. References

- Brewer, W.A. (1998a), “Taiwanese Chromemes,” *Yuen Ren Society Treasury of Chinese Dialect Data*, v. 3 (forthcoming).
 — (1998b), “Taiwanese Southern Min Thumb,” *Yuen Ren Society for the Promotion of Chinese Dialect Fieldwork*, Annual Meeting, Feb. 7, 1998, UW, Seattle.
 Brewer, W.A., & S.-F. Yeh (2000), “Folk Narrative in the Classroom,” *The International Conference on Foreign Language Teaching in the Age of Globalization*, Taipei.

Map 1: Informant Locator

1,008 sites as of fall 2000

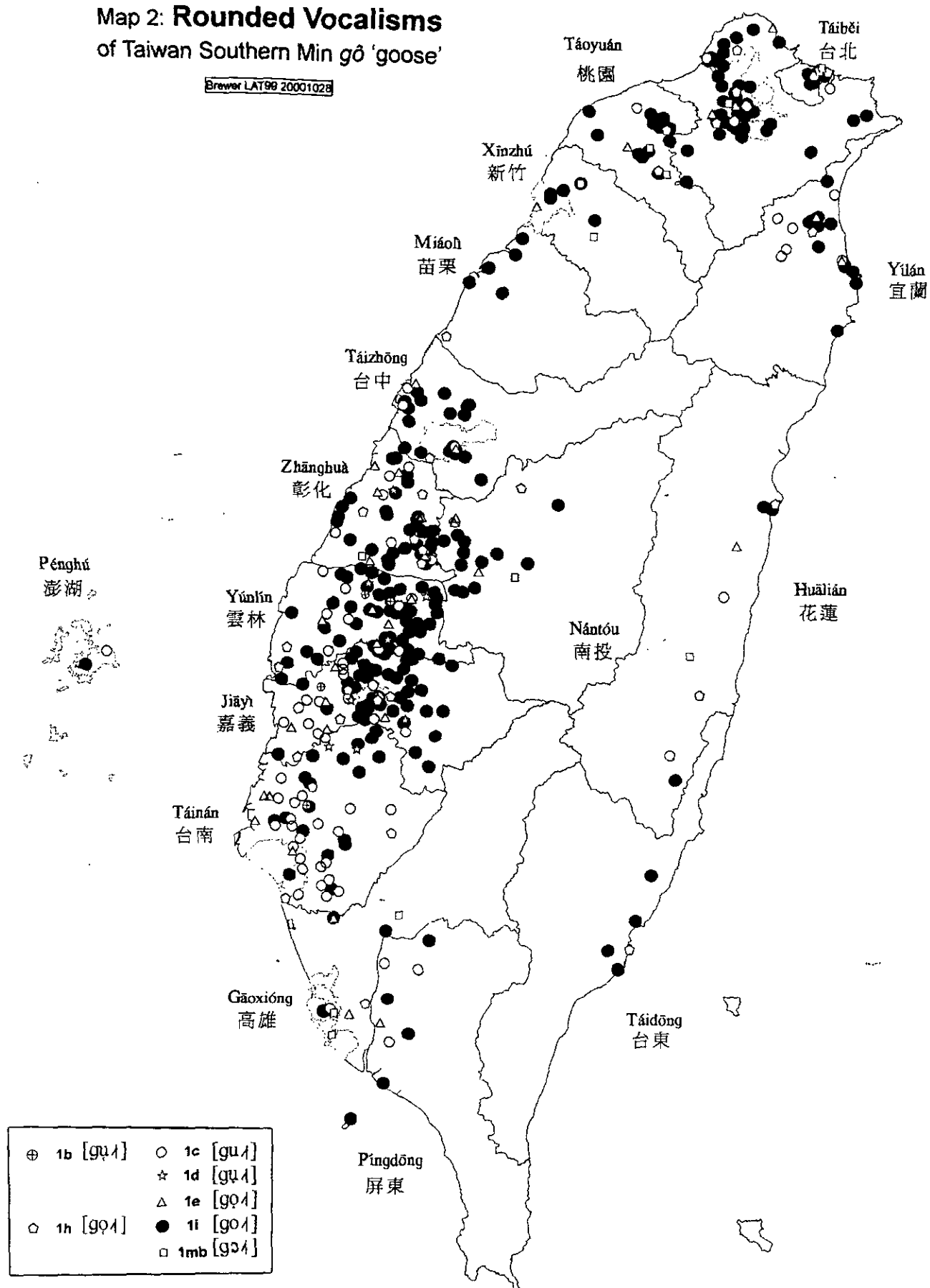
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- Supervised interviews (434)
- Unsupervised interviews (574)

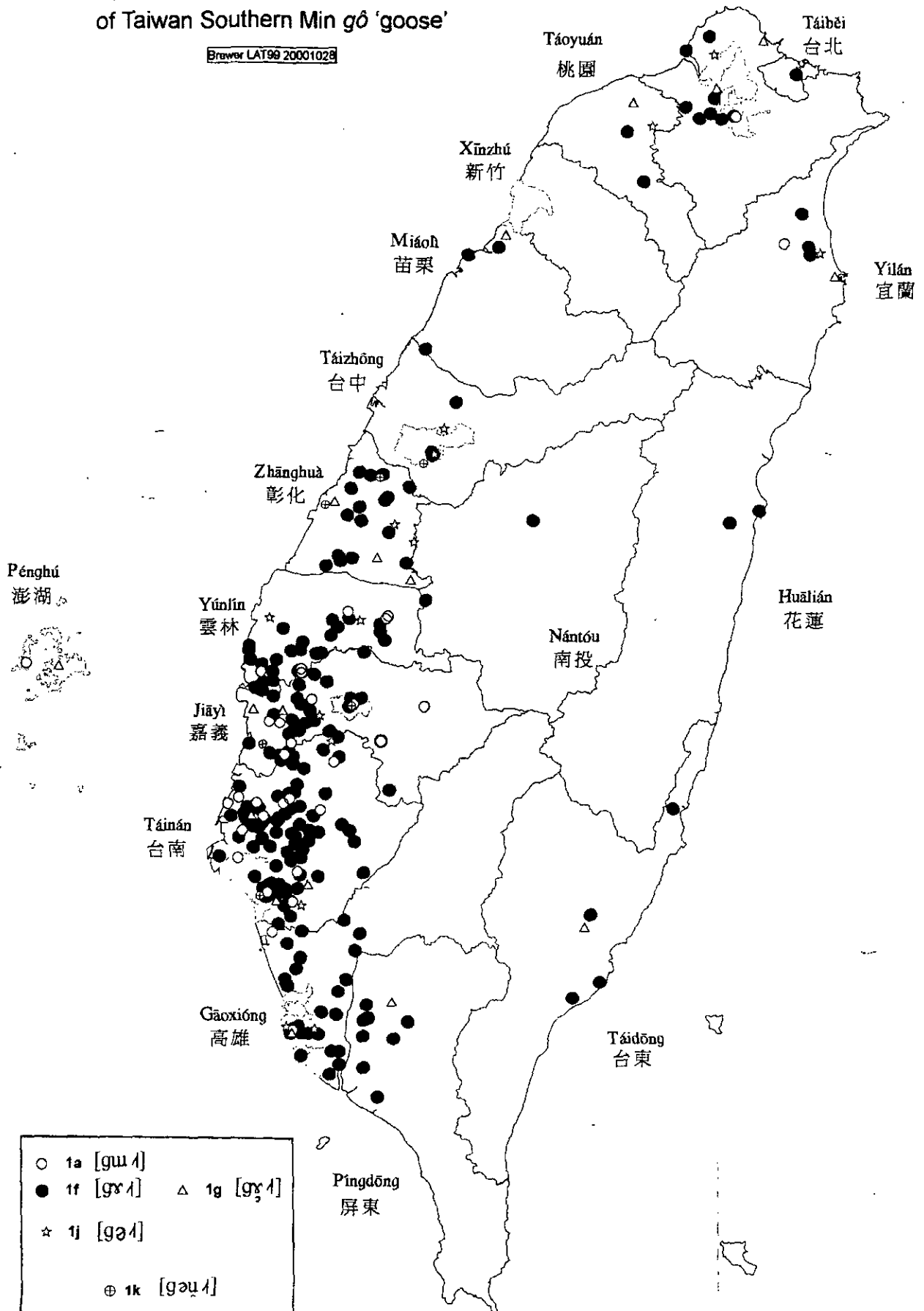
Map 2: Rounded Vocalisms of Taiwan Southern Min gō 'goose'

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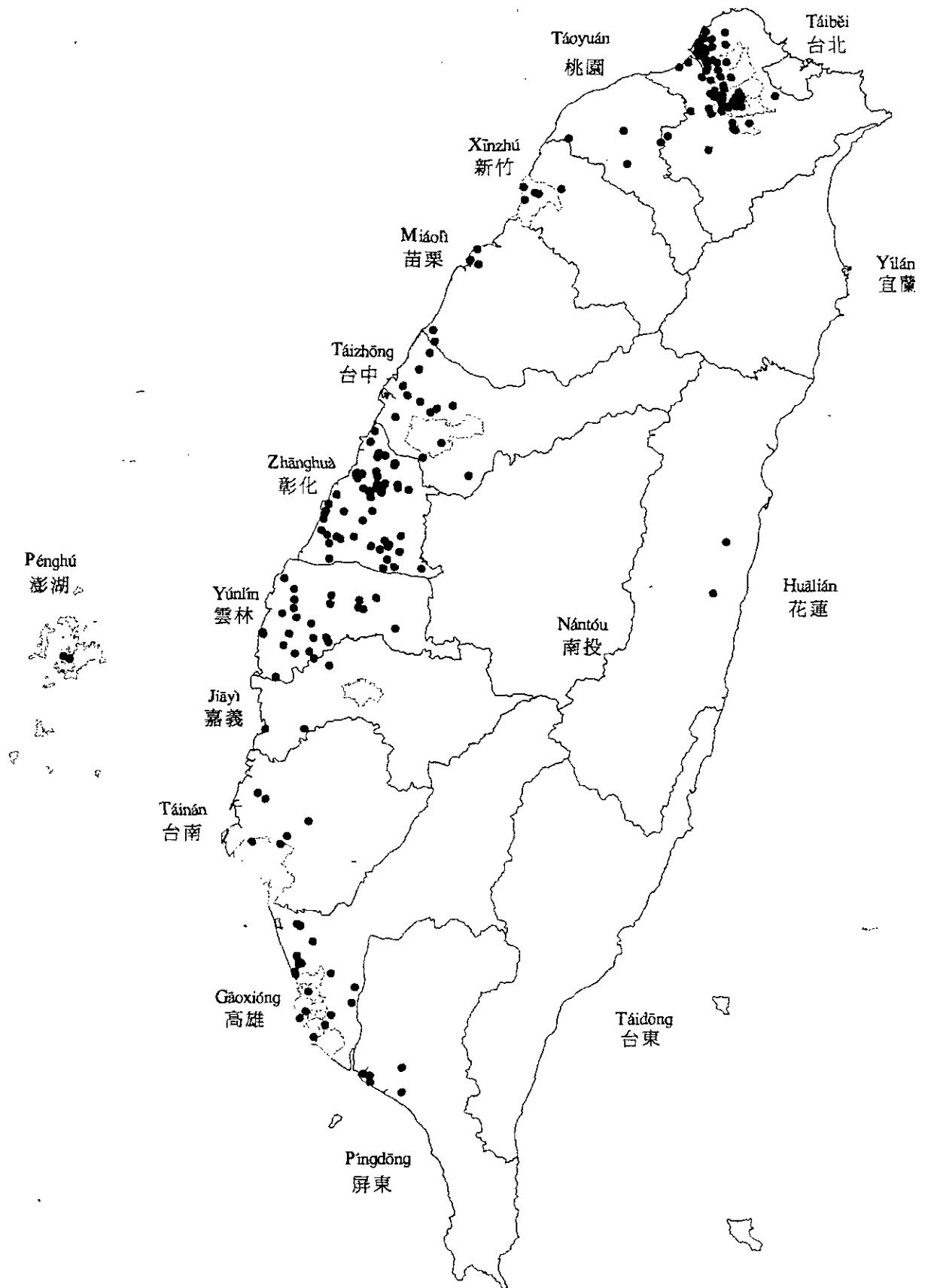
Map 3: **Unrounded Vocalisms**
of Taiwan Southern Min *gô* 'goose'

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Map 4: Taiwan Southern Min **Giá** 'goose'

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Map 5: Taiwan Hakka $\eta\zeta^2$ 'goose'

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