

LENITION IN TAIWANESE SOUTHERN MIN AT THE SYNTAX-PHONOLOGY INTERFACE


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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the phonetics and phonology of lenition in Taiwanese Southern Min, focusing on intervocalic voicing as a crucial manifestation. To systematically explore the phonetic realizations of intervocalic voicing, recognized widely as a typical instantiation of lenition, an electroglottography (EGG) study was conducted. This study manipulated (i) morphosyntactic junctures (word-internal, phrase-internal, and cross-phrasal), (ii) places of articulation (labial, coronal, and dorsal), and (iii) speaking rates (slow and fast) to derive insights into the phenomenon in question. Our findings reveal a robust lexical-functional asymmetry: Intervocalic voicing predominantly occurs in functional elements while being systematically suppressed in lexical words. In comparison, other factors, such as junctures and speaking rates, have a relatively insignificant influence on intervocalic voicing, which contradicts the previous impressionistic results that indicated otherwise. The disparity between lexical and functional elements is attributable to the less stringent faithfulness requirements on functional elements. To elaborate, within a

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台湾闽南语的弱化现象及其与句法-音系介面的互动

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摘要

本文使用电子声门仪(Electroglottograph)记录并分析台湾闽南语的弱化现象。主要观察标的为一般公认为典型弱化现象之一的元音间浊化。本研究操弄以下变项：(甲)形态句法边界，(乙)构音部位与(丙)语速来观察浊化现象。与先前文献报导不同、实验结果显示上述三个变项基本上都不是促发元音间浊化的原因。反而是虚词与实词的对立才是促使元音间浊化的主因。亦即：虚词一般都会促发元音间浊化，但在相似的环境里的实词原则上并不会如此。这种虚实对立可由优选论里对虚词的信实性(Faithfulness)要求较低来解释。而究其动因，很有可能还是因为重音的缘故。本文认为由于虚词不能独立构成韵律词，因此无法承载重音。非重音音节的虚词会导致邻近音段构音重叠程度显著加大，进而引发元音间浊化、乃至其他类似的弱化现象的发生。也正因如此，可承载重音的实词并不会发生弱化。

关键词

弱化 元音间浊化 电子声门仪 句法与音系介面 台湾闽南语