

考生作答須知

本科共有 5 大題。可以選擇以中文或英文作答。

1. Please study the distributions of the velar stop [k] and the uvular stop [q] in the following data from Truku Seediq, as produced by younger speakers (data based on Lee 2009).

- |      |   |                       |                          |                                   |
|------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1)  | a. qujux  | 'rain'                | b. kujuh                 | 'woman'                           |
| (2)  | a. rækruk   | 'blackened ash'       | b. rəqruc                | 'Formosan bulbul'                 |
| (3)  | Impossible morphemes:      a. *məkuriq                  b. *kəhoniq |                       |                          |                                   |
|      |   |                       | <u>Basic form</u>        | <u>'be like...'</u>               |
| (4)  | 'Ribix' (a name)  | a. ribix              | b. kənribix              |                                   |
| (5)  | 'child'   | a. laq <sup>ɛ</sup> i | b. qənlaq <sup>ɛ</sup> i |                                   |
|      |   |                       | <u>Basic form</u>        | <u>'from...'</u>                  |
| (6)  | 'Bsngan village'  | a. bəsəŋan            | b. məkəbəsəŋan           |                                   |
| (7)  | 'Tkijig village'  | a. təkijiy            | b. məkətəkijiy           |                                   |
| (8)  | 'Qowgan village'  | a. qoŋan              | b. məqəqoŋan             |                                   |
| (9)  | 'the mountains'   | a. dəyijaq            | b. məqədəyijaq           |                                   |
|      |   |                       | <u>Basic form</u>        | <u>+ 'I' (1st sg. nominative)</u> |
| (10) | (negation)  | a. ini                | b. ini ku                |                                   |
| (11) | 'loose'   | a. rahuq              | b. rahuq ku              |                                   |
|      |   |                       | <u>Actor focus</u>       | <u>Imperative</u>                 |
| (12) | 'scoop up'  | a. qəmayuk            | b. qəyupi                |                                   |
| (13) | 'diminish'  | a. qəmədak            | b. qədapi                |                                   |

1.1 [5%] Are [k] and [q] distinctive phonemes in Truku Seediq? How do you know?

1.2 [5%] What are the underlying forms of the affixes for 'be like...' and 'from...' in examples (4)-(9)? What explains their surface variation?

1.3 [5%] What makes the hypothetical morphemes in (3a) and (3b) impossible in Truku Seediq?

1.4 [5%] Note that the pronoun meaning ‘I’ in examples (10)-(11) doesn’t show the variation seen in (4)-(9). There are two possible reasons for this. What are they?

1.5 [5%] Describe the pattern in examples (1)-(11) by choosing one of the descriptions in each set below:

[creates allophones / does not create allophones]

[assimilation / dissimilation]

[from left to right / from right to left]

[local / nonlocal]

[within morphemes only / across morphemes only / both within and across morphemes]

[within words only / across words only / both within and across words]

1.6 [5%] In what way do the examples in (12a) and (13a) seem to violate the pattern in (1)-(11)? Using the evidence in (12b) and (13b), propose an analysis that explains this apparent violation.

2. [10%] Draw tree structures for sentence (1), (2), and (3), and then explain why (4) is not acceptable.

(1)大雄居然在家裡打籃球。

(2)大雄在家裡居然打籃球。

(3)大雄居然往家裡打電話。

(4)\*大雄往家裡居然打電話。

3.

3.1 [5%] Identify the possible thematic roles of each of the three underlined parts in the following sentence in (1).

3.2 [5%] Compare (1) with the double object sentence *Bill gave me a book*. If someone claims that (1) is also a double object construction, in which *wo* ‘I’ is the first object and *yi shangwu* ‘one morning’ is the second object, do you agree with the claim? Give reasons for your answer.

(1)這瓶酒 喝了 我 一上午。

4. Here is a Chinese joke. A said, “這件事一發不可收拾。” B responded, “那就用兩發吧！” Based on this joke, answer the following questions.

4.1 [7%] Based on the syntactic categories and semantics of 一 and 發, explain why B’s response is appropriate (as a joke) under this context.

4.2 [7%] Draw two trees for 一發 and 兩發 to show their syntactic difference.

4.3 [16%] Focus on 一 and the word following it in the examples below and decide whether they are of the type 「一發不可收拾」 (let’s call it Type A) or of the type 「那就用兩發吧」(let’s call it Type B) 。 Please explain your classification.

- (1) 一見鐘情
- (2) 一槍斃命
- (3) 一掃而空
- (4) 一吐怨氣
- (5) 一心一意。

5. 在下列兩組句子中，第一組的名詞組可以出現在動詞的左邊或右邊，而第二組的名詞組只能出現在動詞的左邊。請回答下面兩個問題。

5.1 [10%] 試從語法學和語意學的觀點解釋例（1）和例（2）的差異。

5.2 [5%] 例（1）和例（2）中的句子哪一個可以跟持續性的時間副詞（durative adverbial）一同出現？請舉例加以說明並解釋其原因。

5.3 [5%] 例（1）和例（2）中的動詞種類有什麼不同？

- (1) a. 三個人死了。  
b. 死了三個人。
- (2) a. 三個人哭了。  
b. \*哭了三個人。