

10/3起 每週三  
3:00-6:00

【大師課程系列 I】

哲學視野中的漢語及

Chinese Language and Script  
in Philosophical Perspectives

漢  
字

理論

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# 第一週-2018-10-03

- ✿ 本學期的課程安排 →
- ✿ 引論：哲學與語言學之間的邊際問題 →
- ✿ 語言的「工具觀」的反思 →
- ✿ **語言作為一系統** →
  - 康德的系統概念 →
  - 整體部分理論 →
- ✿ **語言「系統」的重要特性** →
  - 從索緒爾對「語言」的理解說起 →
  - ... →
- ✿ 共相問題- 作為哲學與語言學之間的一條重要紐帶 →
- ✿ 哲學中的「語言轉向」 →

# 修訂 每周課程進度

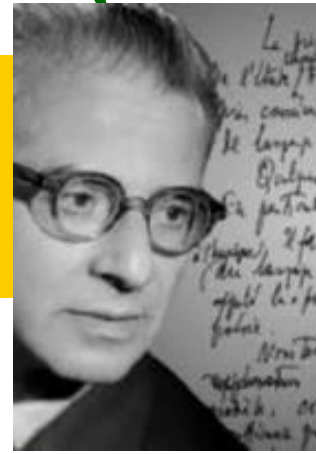
日期	週	講題 / 文本	備注
X - 03	1	引論：語言作為一系統－哲學與語言學	
X - 17	2	隸變與漢字部首之沿革 / 「漢語多功能字庫」簡介	
X - 24	3	索緒爾的語言價位理論及語言類比學說	
X - 31	4	洪堡特的語音構義說與胡樸安的四音四語說 / Humboldt – <i>Kawi-Schrift</i> excerpts	
XI - 07	5	洪堡特對漢語及漢字的理解 / Humboldts “Brief an Abel-Rémusat”	
XI - 14	6	梅露龐蒂身體理論與許慎《說文》造字原則	
XI - 21	7	胡塞爾的意義理論與漢字六書學說（上） / Jakobson’s „Parts and Wholes in Language“	
XI - 28	8	胡塞爾的意義理論與漢字六書學說（下） / Husserls <i>Logical Investigations</i> , Fourth Investigation	
XII - 05	9	當代哲學理論中的「語言轉向」 / 略論哲學語言的「操作空間」	
XII - 12	10	漢字及漢語中的抽象概念建構 / Bernhard Karlgren, <i>Schrift und Sprache der Chinesen</i> , Kapitel „Die Schrift“	
XII - 19	11	海德格的存在思維 / 本韞尼斯特與漢語中的「存在」動詞	
XII -26	12	溫習及總結	



# 重點討論人物

## Main figures discussed

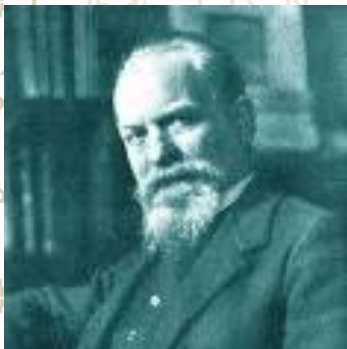
- ✦ Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835)
- ✦ Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913)
- ✦ Edmund Husserl (1859-1938)
- ✦ Nikolai Trubetzkoy (1890-1938)
- ✦ Roman Jakobson (1896-1982)
- ✦ Martin Heidegger (1896-1976)
- ✦ Émile Benveniste (1902-1976)
- ✦ Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961)
- ✦ Noam Chomsky (1928- )



Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913)



Roman Jakobson (1896-1982)



# 哲學與語言學之間的邊際問題

## Margins between Philosophy and Linguistics

☛ 哲學歷來均與許多其他學科結下不解之緣：

- 生物學 Biology, then and now
- 神學 Theology
- 數學 Mathematics
- 物理學 Physics
- 歷史學 History
- 語言學 Linguistics the new science (general linguistics) ➡ ➡

☛ 從哲學觀點可如何看待「語言」這現象

- 語言的「工具說」a Tool of expression (Instrumentalism) ? ➡
- 語言乃社會建制 a Social Institution, i.e., a means of communication
- 語言作為幻象之根源 As a Source of deception!
- 語言作為心智能力 As Intellectual competence
- 語言作為世界觀 As World-views, as means of discerning the world
- 語言乃「存在的屋宇」！“House of Being” (*Haus des Seins*)?
- \* 語言作為一「系統」 Language as a “system” ➡

# 康德的「系統」概念

## Kant's concept of system

### ☛ Kant's distinction between system and aggregate

System 系統	Aggregate 堆疊
全體「先」於部分	部分先於全體
Grow from within per intussusceptionem	Assembled from without per appositionem
Eg. 圖書館	Eg. 舊書攤

### ☛ Plato and Aristotle on Parts and Wholes →

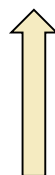
- Platon: Whole > Sum of Parts **by** what he calls Structure (συμπλοκή).
- Aristotle: Organism > Sum of Organs  
Ganze, whole (ὅλον) ≠ Summe, total (πᾶν)  
Überschuß/ surplus = telos (τέλος)

### ☛ Part-Whole logic in Husserl

- Two different kind of parts ...
- Parts as moments (Momente) ≠ parts as pieces (Stücke)

# 整體部分理論 Whole-Part Theory

- ✦ Plato: Content of the whole is greater than the sum of its parts **by** what he called “structure” (συμπλοκή)
- ✦ Aristotle: Whole (ὅλον, holon) **≠** Total (πᾶν, pan)
- ✦ Husserl: *LU*, 3rd Investigation/4th Investigation
  - Distinguished between two kinds of parts
    - Momente (Moments) 構件 → **structurally dependent parts**
    - Stücke (Pieces) 塊件 → independent parts
- ✦ Jakobson: “Parts and Wholes in Language” (1963)
  - Discourse – sentence – words – syllables – phonemes – distinctive features language → „multi-storey hierarchy of wholes and parts“
- ✦ Structure of Written Chinese (書面漢語的結構)
  - 「遣詞造句」 (formation of sentence from words) → syntax
  - 「寫字構詞」 (formation of word from characters) → morphology
  - 「**組件成字**」 (formation of character from script components) → ‘Six Ways’





# Hauptmerkmale eines Sprachsystems

1. **Sprache** ≠ **Sprechen** (la langue ≠ la parole) Die Sprache als Kompetenz kann die unendlichen Mengen von Sprechakten nicht umfassen. Ganz das Gegenteil müssen allerhand Sprechaktivitäten der Sprache als Kompetenz voraussetzen.
2. Als ein ergiebiges System besteht eine Sprache aus **Verlautbarungsgewohnheiten**, **syntaktischen Regeln**, und einem **Wortschatz** => phonology, syntax, lexicon
3. ...damit kann man „von **endlichen Mitteln** einen **unendlichen Gebrauch** machen“
4. **Sprachsysteme** müssen **einzel**n betrachtet werden, damit die strukturellen Verhältnisse der verschiedenen Elementen ersichtlich werden.
5. Gerade als **Kompetenz** bedarf die Sprache gewissermaßen einen **materiellen Träger**. Im allgemeinen handelt es sich von dem linken Gehirn (70% der Weltbevölkerung), wo sich zwei **Sprachregionen** befinden. Beschädigung dieser zwei Sprachregionen kann verschiedene Arten von **Sprachverlust** (aphasia) verursachen. (Broca-Aphasia und Wernicke-Aphasia)
6. Die Sprache hat ja ihren „**Sitz**“ im Gehirn. Man muss sich einem Prozess von **Spracherwerb** (language acquisition) unterziehen, um die Sprachfähigkeit tatsächlich in Besitz zu bekommen.
7. Spracherwerb ist zugleich ein Vorgang von **Vergemeinschaftung**. Deshalb halten fast alle Linguisten die Sprache als eine **soziale Institution**. In diesem Hinblick gilt die **Muttersprache als immer unhintergebar**. Die Aneignung von Fremdsprachen sind dagegen durch eigenen Entschluss zu bestimmen.
8. Deshalb stellt es sich heraus, dass **der letzte Träger** der Sprache nicht so sehr das Individuum sei, als vielmehr die **Gesellschaft** oder gar die **historisch-kulturelle Tradition** der sozialen Gruppen.



# 語言「系統」的重要特性

王力總結其治學經驗時說：「語言是一個系統 [這一個原則] ...讓我一生受用不盡」，因為這原則指導了他的各種語言研究。

1. 語言學嚴格而言的**對象問題**：**語言**≠ **言語** (la langue ≠ la parole) 作為一種能力而言，語言並不需要亦不可能包括無窮的言語。但相反地，言語的產生，卻必須由語言這系統玉成。→
2. 作為一個讓人賴以**溝通**的系統，語言包括的結構單元主要有一些基本**語音習慣**、一些**語法規則**、和一些**基本語彙** (phonology, syntax, lexicon)，其目的就是俾以**溝通** (→Saussure)
3. **語言系統是能產的**：其結構單元為數有限，但憑這**有限的資源**，卻可以作**無窮的應用**。→
4. 談論**語言系統**必須注意其「**獨一性**」(uniqueness)。換言之，「語言」必指**某一種語言**(如漢語或英語)，而不能泛指語言一般，否則的話，語言各結構單元(如語音、語法、語義等)之間的關係根本無從界定。→
5. 作為一種**能力** (competence, faculty) 而言，語言當要有一定的**物質載體**。一般而言，都指現代大腦科學確認了的位於**左腦**(全球75%人口)的兩個語言區域。大腦語區不同程度的損傷，會導致語言能力不同類型和程度的喪失，也即所謂的「失語症」(aphasia)。→
6. **語言必須「學習」**：語言雖謂以大腦為物質載體，但吾人必須經過一個「**習得過程**」(acquisition)，才能真正開發和擁有語言的**能力**。
7. 語言的習得必經過一個社群參與或社會同化的歷程，因此幾乎所有語言學家都認為語言是一種「**社會建制**」(social institution)。所謂**母語**就是人類於成長過程中在**無法選擇**的條件下習得的語言，而外語則為後天於可選擇的條件下習得者。→
8. 因此，語言的**最終載體**並不在個人，而在於**社會或群體** →，及與該社會有關的**歷史文化傳統**。

# Weisgerber & Ricoeur on Language and society

- ✿ Leo Weisgerber (1899-1984): Menschheitsgesetze der Sprache (**Humanistic laws of language**) **語言的人文三律**
  - Gesetz der Muttersprache (Law of mother tongue) **母語定律**/ thrownness
  - Gesetz der Sprachgemeinschaft (Law of linguistic community) **語言群體定律**
  - Gesetz der sprachbedingten Daseins (Law of the linguistic conditioning of human existence) **存活的語言條件定律** ← Menschwerdung!
- ✿ Ricoeur: “If language is a system without a 'subject', we can no longer take for granted the primacy of the subject which Western philosophy has asserted since Descartes, Kant and Fichte, and into which Husserlian phenomenology has breathed new life in the name of the intentional consciousness, of reduction and constitution. **Far from constituting the sense, the subject himself is instituted by language. Like society, man is the product of language rather than its inventor.**
- ✿ **語言與心智的同源性** Gleichursprünglichkeit, equiprimordiality
  - O/P



**linguistic Turn**

**語言的轉向**

# Linguistic Turn

## The mainstream view (Encyclopedia Britannica)

- ✦ "Its main characteristics have been the avoidance of system building and a commitment to detailed, piecemeal analyses of specific issues. Within this tradition there have been two main approaches: a formal style, deriving from **logic**; and an approach emphasizing **ordinary language**."
- ✦ "Perhaps the most distinctive feature of analytic philosophy is its emphasis upon the role that language plays in the creation and resolution of philosophical problems. These problems, it is said, arise through the misuses, oversimplifications, and unwarranted generalizations of everyday language. Wittgenstein said in this connection: 'Philosophy is a battle against the bewitchment of the intelligence by means of language.' The idea that philosophical problems are in some important sense linguistic (or conceptual) is called the 'linguistic turn'."

# A Broader Understanding of “Linguistic Turn”

	流派	模式	所受影響
i	分析哲學 (ILP, OLP)	治療模式 (Therapeutic model)	Frege, Russell, Wittgenstein, Austin
ii	現象學 - 胡塞爾 /梅露龐蒂 Husserl/Merleau-Ponty	建構模式 (Constitutive model)	Brentano, Humboldt, /Gestalt Theory, Husserl, Heidegger
iii	後結構主義 Post-Structuralism	解構模式 (Deconstructive model)	Saussure, Nietzsche, Heidegger
iv	伽達瑪 Gadamer	詮釋及辯證模式 (Hermeneutic-dialectical model)	Plato, Hegel, Humboldt, Heidegger
v	哈伯瑪斯 Habermas	超驗實用模式 (Transcendental-pragmatic model)	Kant, Humboldt, Peirce, Husserl, Grice, Searle, Heidegger
vi	洪堡特 W. von Humboldt	育成模式 (Formative model)	Leibniz, Kant, Hegel

# A broader understanding of “Linguistic Turn”

- ☀ The notion of “Philosophy of Language” vs “Linguistic turn”
- ☀ Different models of “linguistic turn”
  - **ILP/OLP** stance (therapeutic model) →
    - Wittgenstein, J.L. Austin, Quine...
  - **Phenomenological** stance (constitutive model)
    - Husserl (intentionality)/Merleau-ponty (Body schema) → Brentano/Humboldt/Gestalt Theory
  - **Post-Structural** stance (deconstructive model) →
    - Foucault, Derrida → derived from Saussure, Nietzsche, Heidegger
  - **Habermasian** stance (transcendental-pragmatic model) →
    - Habermas and Apel → derived from Searle, Peirce, Grice, Kant, (Humboldt)
  - **Gadamerian** stance (hermeneutical-dialectical model) →
    - Gadamer → derived from Heidegger, but “urbanized” by Humboldt.
  - **Humboldtian** stance (formative model)
    - Took root in the entire German philosophical tradition, especially Leibniz, Kant → and Hegel, in a totally new key, yet exerting tremendous impact on the subsequent development of contemporary linguistics
    - Revived partially by Chomsky, Habermas, Gadamer, and the Neo-Humboldtians, and arguably even Husserl

# Linguistic Turn: OLP stance



Goethe's counter-position

“Ich denke immer, wenn ich einen Druckfehler sehe, es sei etwas neues erfunden!” (*Maximen und Reflektionen*)

- ✦ “The project thus described was pursued most zealously by J. L. Austin and the proponents of so-called ‘ordinary language’ philosophy
- ✦ . ‘Our common stock of words’, Austin wrote, ‘embodies all the distinctions men have found worth drawing ... in the lifetimes of many generations: these are surely likely to be more numerous, more sound, since they have stood up to the long test of the survival of the fittest, and more subtle ... than any that you or I are likely to think up in our arm-chairs of an afternoon - the most favoured alternative method’. But the trouble with this approach, as many have felt, is its tendency to consecrate the nuances of received (‘common-sense’) wisdom while failing to address more substantive philosophical issues. Thus it can easily give rise to an outlook of laissez-faire relativism or an inert consensus-based recommendation that philosophy should cease asking awkward questions and be content - in Wittgenstein's phrase - to ‘leave everything as it is’.“ (Christopher **Norris** - *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, entry on ‘Linguistic turn’:) [↩](#)



# Philosophical Issues related to Language

- ✦ Consciousness
- ✦ Knowledge and perception
- ✦ Meaning Constitution (Bildungskonzeption)
- ✦ Mental development
- ✦ Human relationship (communication)
- ✦ National character
- ✦ Social institution
- ✦ Tradition formation

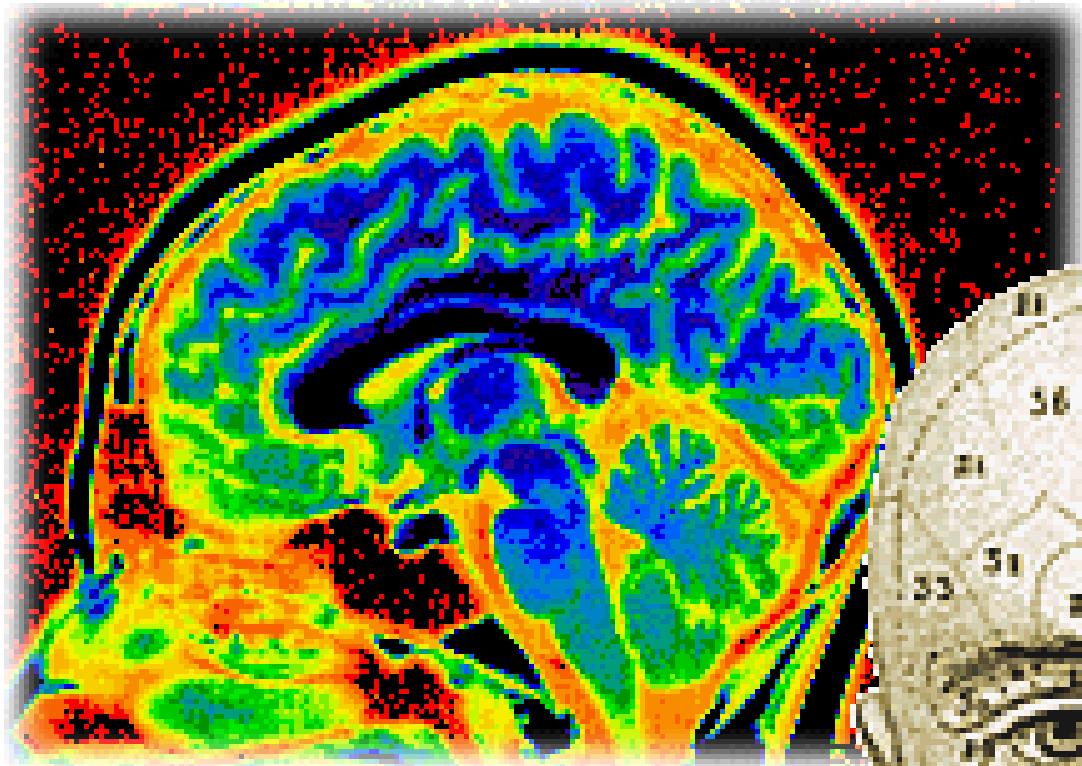




# Brain and Language

# 大腦與語言

# Language & Brain



# Homunculi according to Penfield

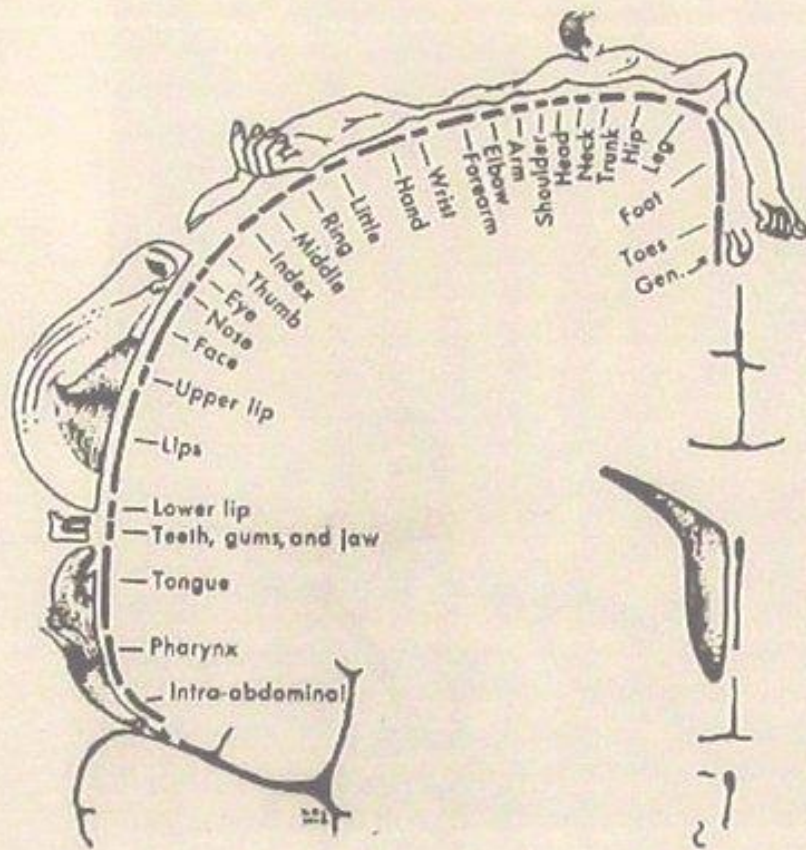


FIGURE 149  
Sensory homunculus (Penfield and Rasmussen  
1957, p. 44, Figure 17).

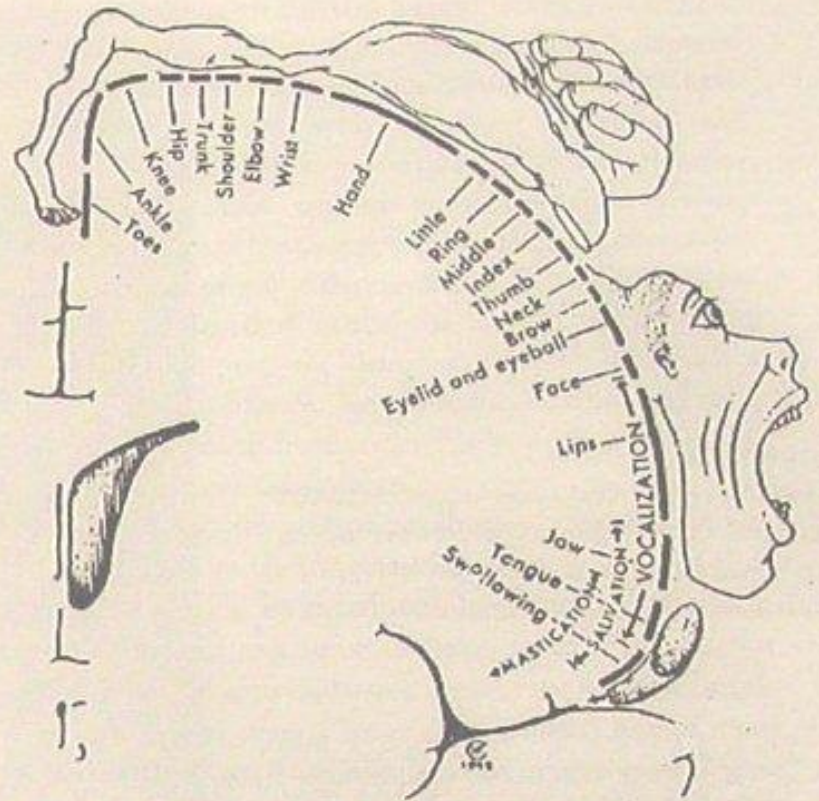
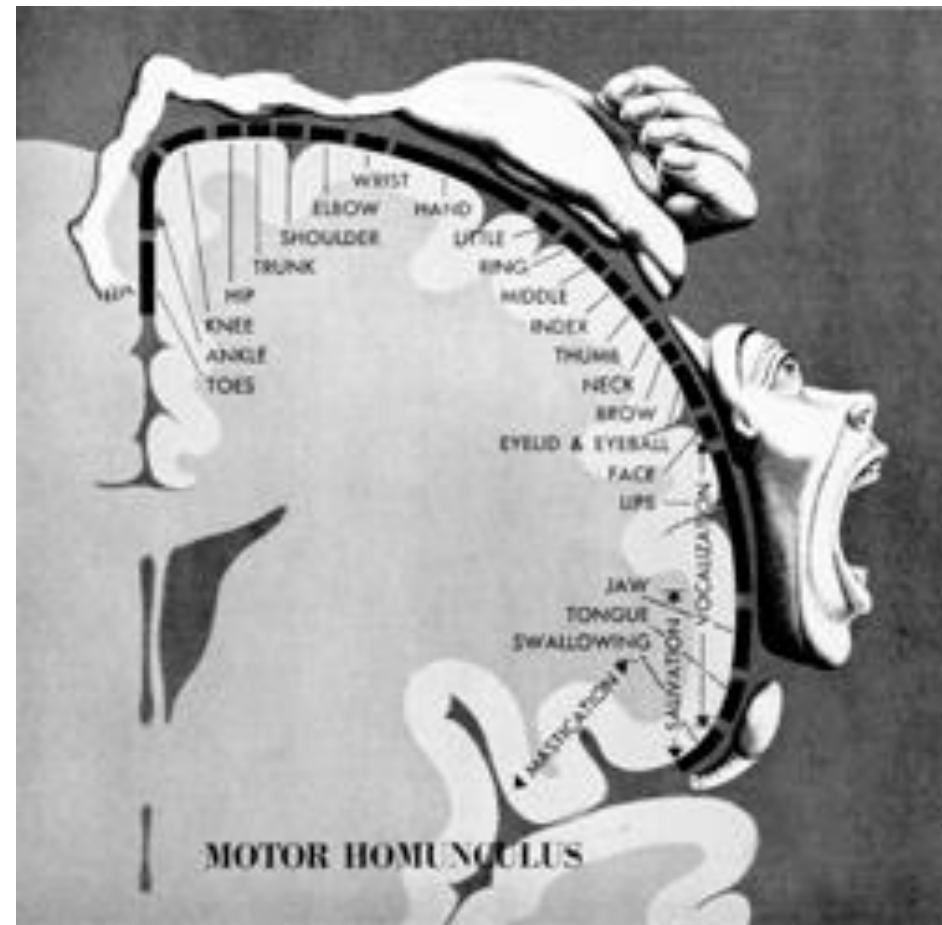
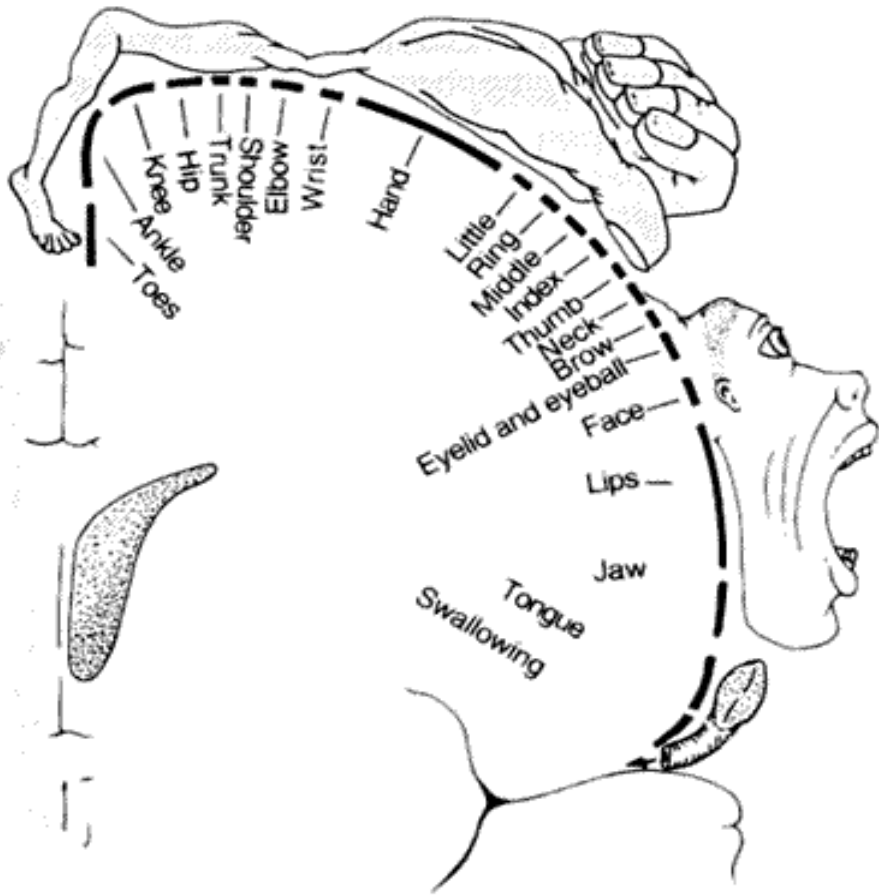


FIGURE 150  
Motor homunculus (Penfield and Rasmussen,  
1957, p. 57, Figure 22).

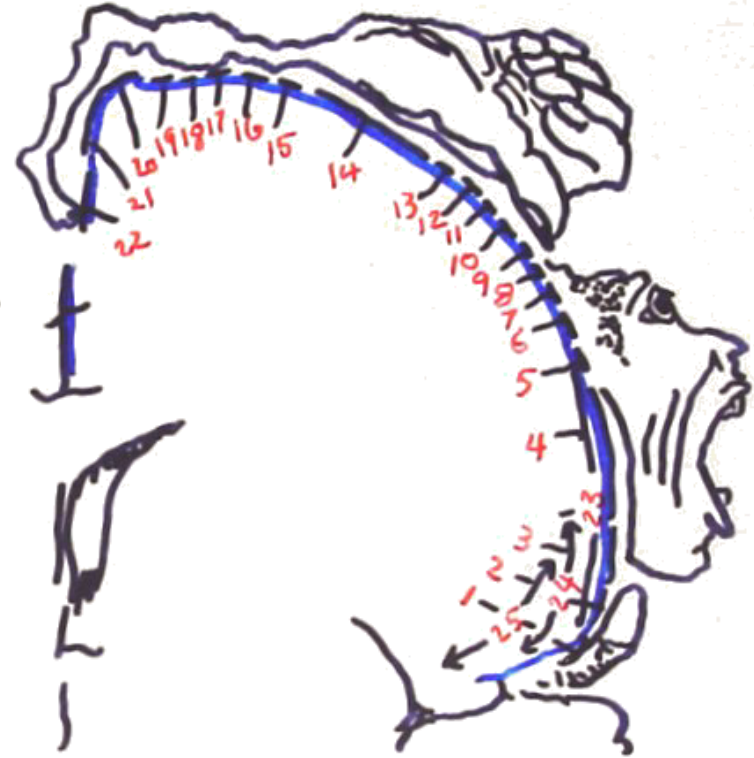
# Motoric Homunculus in details



# 人類與猿類大腦運動皮質比較

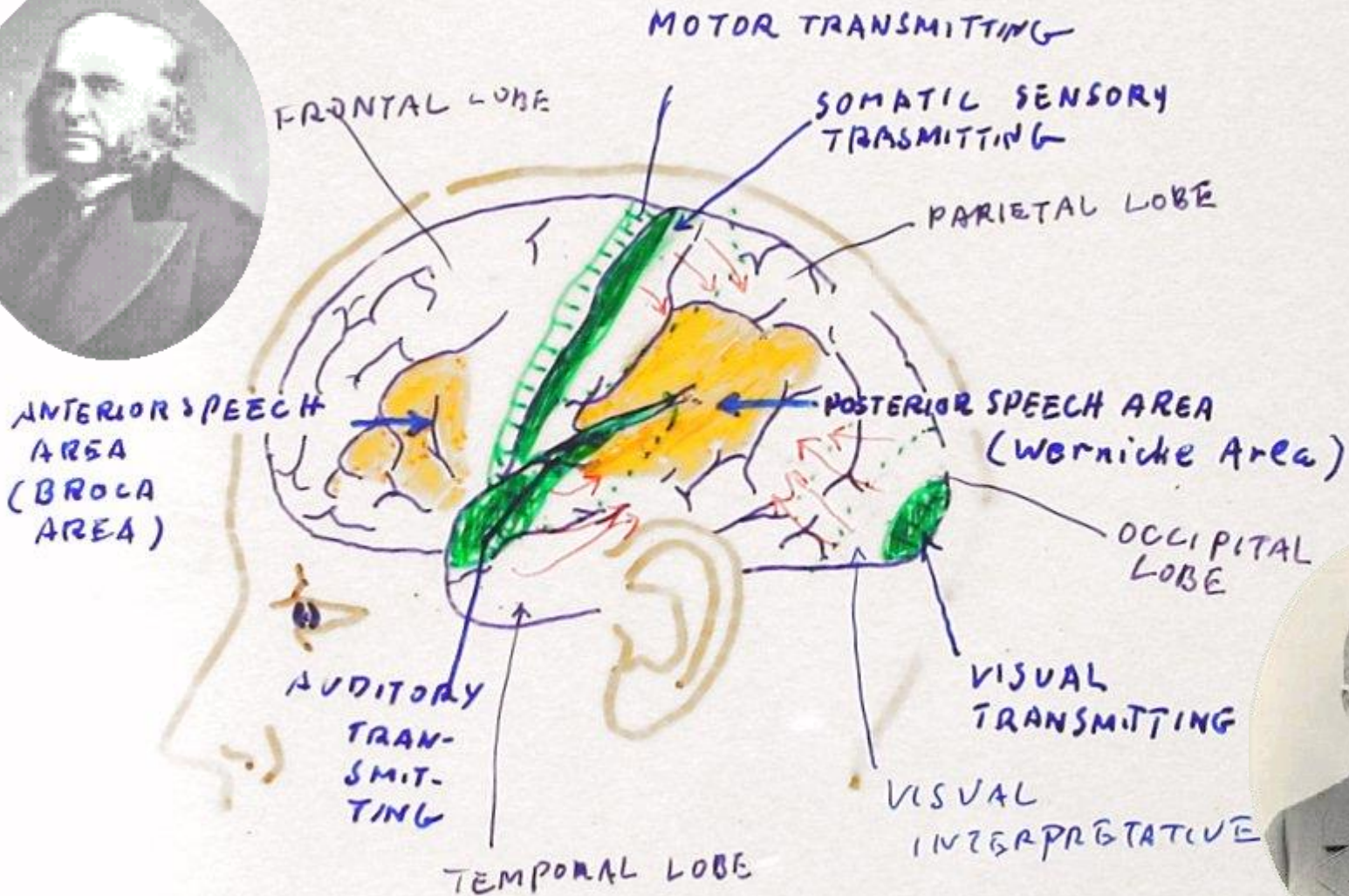


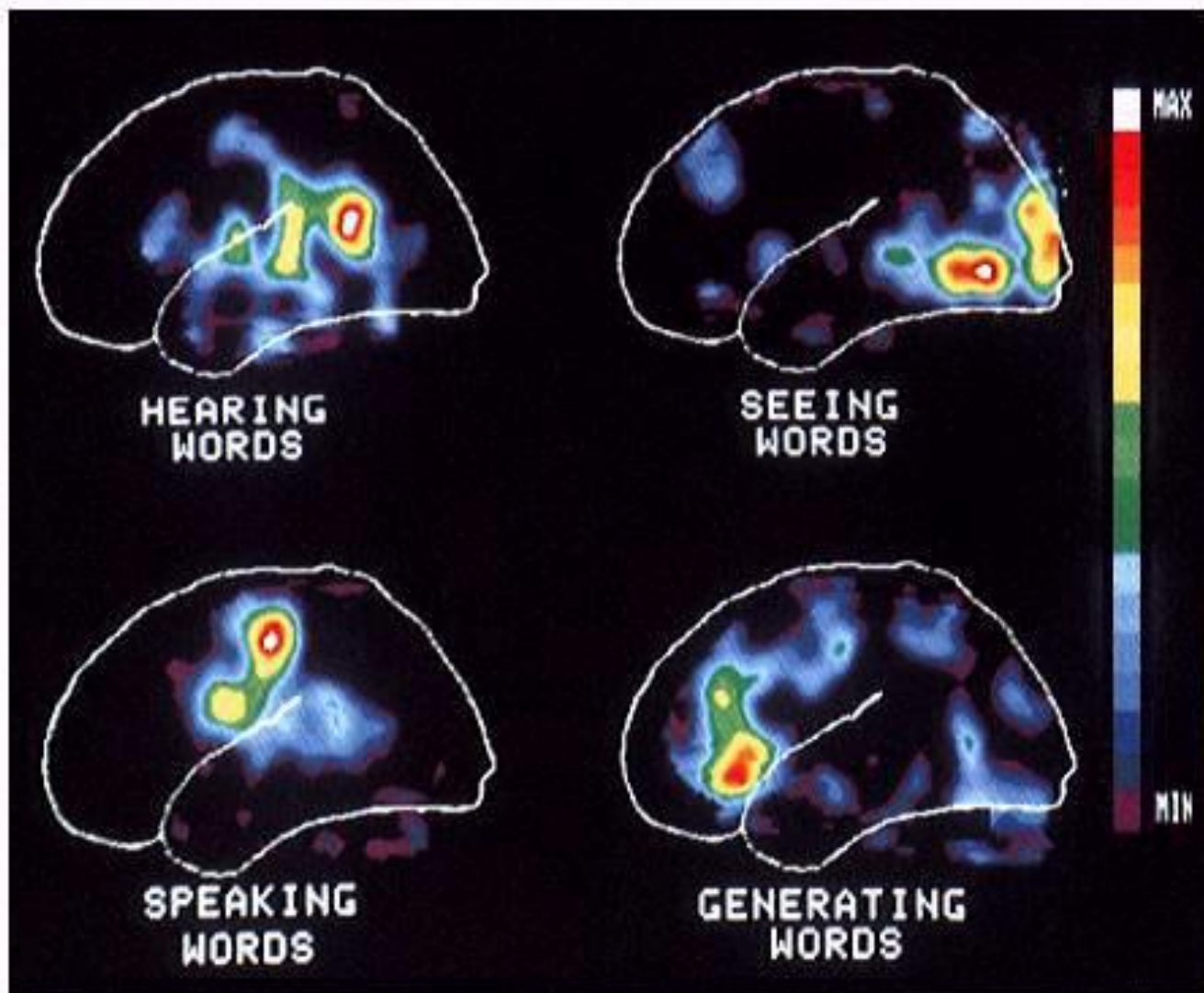
猴類運動皮質比例示意圖



人類運動皮質比例示意圖

# The Human Brain: discovery of speech areas





PET scans showing different foci of language functions  
image by Dr. Marcus Raichle (1992), Washington University adapted from Sir John C. Eccles,  
*How the Self Controls Its Brain* Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1994, p.175

# Roman Jakobson (1896-1982) 論右腦



- ✿ 「右腦處理的，主要是人類日常生活上的，和因大自然的湍動而被吾人感取的現象。」
- ✿ 「〔右腦可以說是〕從語言網絡到語言以外的實在 (extralinguistic reality) 之過渡」。

Roman Jakobson, *Brain and language : Cerebral Hemispheres and Linguistic Structure in Mutual Light..* (Columbus, Ohio : Slavica Publishers, 1980.)





# Appendices



# Cognitive Science, then and now

(George A. Miller, Psychology Dept., Princeton University)

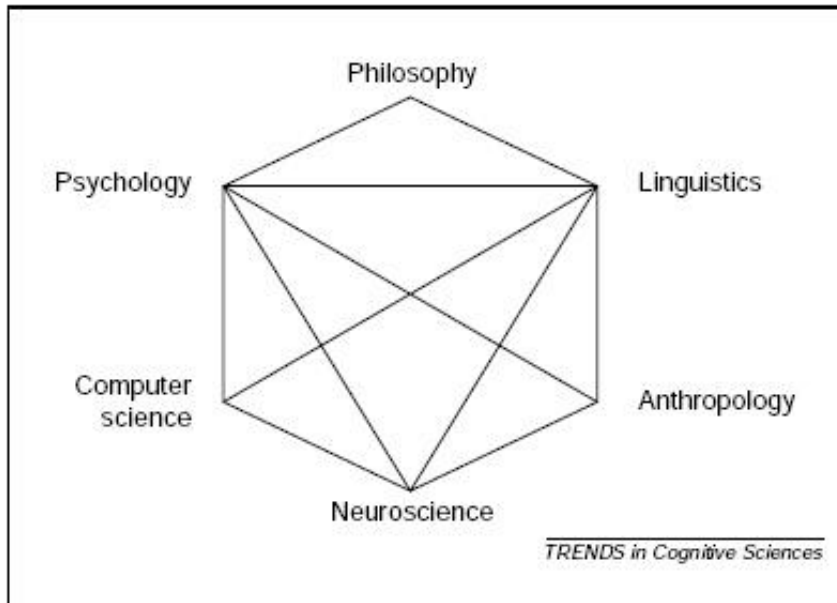


Fig. 1. Cognitive science in 1978. Each line joining two disciplines represents interdisciplinary inquiry that already existed in 1978.

[George A. Miller \(1920-2012\): "The Cognitive Revolution: A Historical Perspective", \*Trends in Cognitive Sciences\* Vol.7 No.3 March 2003](#)

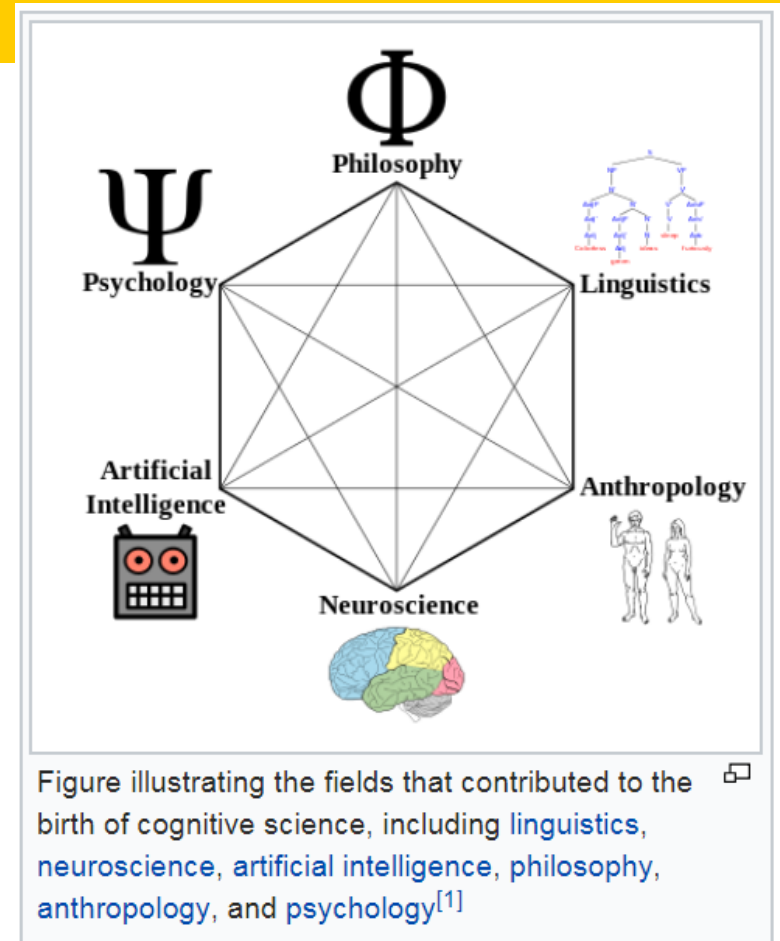


Figure illustrating the fields that contributed to the birth of cognitive science, including [linguistics](#), [neuroscience](#), [artificial intelligence](#), [philosophy](#), [anthropology](#), and [psychology](#)<sup>[1]</sup>

Based on File:Cognitive\_science\_heptagram.svg (without education corner), originally adapted from: Miller, George A (2003). "The cognitive revolution: a historical perspective". *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences* 7. This revised adaptation more accurately reflects the image as presented by Miller. [Wikipedia entry]

## Aristotle: *On Interpretation*

(translation: E. M. Edghill. McKeon edition)

" Spoken words are the symbols of mental experience and written words are the symbols of spoken words. Just as all men have not the same *writing*<sup>1</sup>, so all men have not the same *speech sounds*<sup>2</sup>, but the *mental experiences*<sup>3</sup>, which these directly symbolize, are the same for all, as also are those *things*<sup>4</sup> of which our experiences are the images."

Causal-effective  
↑

γραφόμενα	graphomena	writing
φωνή	phonē	speech sounds
παθήματα	pathēmata	mental experiences (impressions)
πράγματα	pragmata	things

↓  
Correspondance

《尚書·卷一·孔穎達疏》：「且言者意之聲，書者言之記，是故存言以聲意，立書以記言。故易曰：書不盡言，言不盡意。是言者意之筌蹄，書言相生者也。」

The Platonic background  
"Truth lies not in words  
but in things"

- Chomsky's reply →
- Saussure's position →
- Humboldt's position →
  - Language as "organ of thinking"
  - concept of *Bildung* (育成說)

### Aristotle's implication:

- Things and mental impressions are universal
- Sounds and writings are relative to peoples
- Conventionalist view → Instrumentalist view
- Language acquisition is possible through piecemeal learning

### Related Philosophical issues:

- Relation between mind and reality (adaequatio truth?!)
- Any prelinguistic clarity of mind / thought?!
- The role of language (sound)
- The role of writing (script)

# The Habermasian stance

- ✦ The late Habermas: Theory of Communicative Action
  - Influenced by Searle’s “speech act theory”/ sociolinguistics
  - Influenced by Paul Grice’s linguistic theory, especially the “cooperative principle, and the “maxims on conversational implicature” (人際交談守則, i.e. maxims of quality, quantity, relevance, manner)
  - Should foster an “ideal speech situation” to guarantee an “uncoerced” and undistorted “public sphere”
  - Enlightenment reason, especially its trend of subjectivism, might have a lot of shortcomings, but should not be abandoned altogether.
  - Modernity as an “unfinished project” [←](#)

# Language and world-view (*Weltanschauung*)

## ☛ Kant

- 首先由康德提出 **Weltanschauung** 概念
- 類近術語: *Weltbild*, *Weltansicht* (世界圖像)

## ☛ Humboldt

- "...there resides in every language a characteristic *world-view*." (60/434)
- "... since every language contains the whole conceptual fabric and mode of presentation of a portion of mankind" (60/434)

## ☛ Gadamer: [**Welt-an-sich** vs **Welt-ansicht**]

- "It is true that the historical 'worlds' that succeed one another in the course of history are different from one another and from the world of today; but it is always, in whatever tradition we consider it, a **human**, ie. a **linguistically constituted world** that presents itself to us.[...]
- "This is of fundamental importance, for it makes the use of the expression '**world in itself**' (**Welt-an-sich**) problematical. The criterion for the continuing expansion of our own **world-picture** is not given by a 'world in itself' that lies beyond all language. Rather the infinite perfectibility of the human experience of the world means that, whatever language we use, we never achieve anything but an ever more extended aspect, a '**view**' of the world (**Welt-ansicht**). (*Wahrheit und Methode, Truth and Method*, D423/E405)
- Habermas on Gadamer: "Urbanizing the Heideggerian Province", ie. a hermeneutical opening of Heidegger to the true "other", ie. the thou. [↪](#)



H.-G.  
Gadamer  
1900-2002



# Problem of Universals

als a crucial link between Philosophy and  
Linguistics

## 共相問題

作為哲學與語言學之間的一條重要紐帶

# Problem of Universals - 共相問題 (1)

- ✿ 「共相」與「個體」兩個哲學問題是緊密地彼此依存的。
- ✿ 邏輯問題：從邏輯的觀點看，universal 本身是判斷 (judgment) 理論中「量」中的一種，即所謂「全稱」，相應於「特稱」 (particular) 與「單稱」 (singular)。但從存有上講，universals 即所謂「共相」，而 particular 和 singular 則可以合起來而稱為「個體」 (individuals)。
- ✿ 何謂「共相」？共相與我們的生活有何相干？
  - 「類」的認知 (Eg. Dr. Shepherd' s dog)
  - 概念世界、觀念世界與理念世界



# Problem of Universals - 共相問題

## -中世紀的「共相論爭」

### 共相論爭的哲學意義

共相論爭在哲學史中的地位，其實是對柏拉圖「理型說」的諸種理論困難的一次全面重估。隱然包涵了對柏氏理論作出修正的意圖。這一修正，先引出亞里斯多德的「溫和唯實論」，對柏氏超離意味的共相予以約束。而論爭發展到了奧坎的階段，共相已於概念層面得到解釋，因而，超離的共相乃成為不必要的「重覆」，按照「奧坎剃刀」(Occam's Razor)的原則，乃至將要面對可被省略的危機！

💡 Boethius (480-524 CE) 的疑問

見所著 *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge* → Aristotle's *On Categories*

- "Whether genera and species are substances or are set in the mind alone; whether they are corporeal or incorporeal substances; and whether they are separate from the things perceived by the senses or set in them."

💡 共相論爭 (Controversy over universals, *Universalienstreit*)

- 中世紀之後，大家開始追問 "What is the nature of universals?" 並就有關問題展開論爭，其中有兩大陣營：唯實論(realism)、唯名論(nominalism)。

💡 **唯實論** (realism): 顧名思義，唯實論所謂的共相，實指其為一些事物 (res)，但至於是怎樣的事物，則有兩種不同層次的立場。

- **extreme realism**: Plato 所講的理型，強調共相的「超離」(separateness) 自足性、永恆、不變易、與完美。
- **moderate realism**: Aristotle 所主張，指寓於事物的共相，強調inherence。強調共相作為現實變化的指導原則

💡 **唯名論** (nominalism): 主張共相不是事物，共相只是名目 (nomen)

- Roscellin 認為這些名目只是聲音/聲氣 vox, flatus vocis (blast of sound).
- Abelard 對 Roscellin 的理論作出修正，指出作為共相的名目，不只是一般的聲音，而是 **meaningful sound**，亦可稱為 Sermo — vox sigificativa
- Occam 指共相是 conceptus (Begriff / begreifen)。Concept 的動詞是 conceive, "-ceive" 是掌握的意思，而 "con-" 就是統涉。因此，Con-cept 或概念，就是可以一次過統攝或包含很多東西的把柄。



# Problem of Universals - 共相問題

## - philosophical implications of „conceptualism“

「掌握」者，*concipere*, *conceptus* 是也。為使與諾薩林的“極端的唯名論”相區別，後世學者都習於把阿比拉德和後來的奧坎(Occam)就共相問題的立場稱為“概念主義”(conceptualism)。對阿比拉德來說，無論我們把共相稱為 *nomen*、稱為 *sermo* 或稱為 *conceptus*，某一意義而言，其皆可說是“由人類規創” (*ex hominum institutione*) 而產生的。論者一般但見“唯名論”與經驗主義傳統之關連，卻往往忽略了阿比拉德以降這一支“概念主義”傳統對西方日後心靈哲學乃至語言學所產生的影響。就這一問題，德國波鴻大學 (Bochum) 的 Kurt Flasch 提出了十分精審的看法：「他[阿比拉德]指出人類如何於認識世界的當兒參與塑造世界的形象。他不再把人類視為一單純的容受者，人再不是只知對上帝的創造讚歎。阿比拉德開啟了人類對其世界所作出的參與的研究—就這一點而言，阿比拉德無疑是一位帶有“現代性”意味的學者。[...] 阿比拉德對人於世界詮釋的這份參與的重視，結果引發出一嶄新的語言理論 [...]」

7\* 從語言學的角度看，阿比拉德提出 *sermo* 一說，充分地把語詞中“音”和“義”兩種成素不可分割的關係重新揭示出來。從另外一角度看，*sermo* 理論顯示了，人類語言現象中語音的真正功能正在於意義的區別 (meaning discrimination)。藉著語音的意義區別功能，吾人成功地對世界中的種種經驗作出了功能性的“掌握”。」

— 以上段落節錄自關子尹：《從哲學的觀點看》，p.224.

[課堂補充]關於語言中「音」和「義」的關係問題，可循近世語言學中 phonetics 至 phonology (phonemics) 之發展考慮

# Sidenote: Phonetics vs Phonology

## 🔦 Two kinds of study of speech sounds:

– Phonetics → Natural scientific (physical-physiological)

語音學



– Phonology → Social scientific (psychological-intellectual-social)

音韻學

- System by system
- Concept of phoneme
- Meaning discrimination through phonological oppositions

## 🔦 The Prager conception of a “phonological system”:

- “We call phonological system of a language [...] the repertory of oppositions which in a given language can be associated with a differentiation of meaning (repertory of phonological oppositions). Terms of phonological oppositions that are not susceptible to being dissociated into smaller sub-oppositions are called phonemes” (Trubetzkoy/Jakobson)



Roman Jakobson (1896-1982)

# Problem of Universals - 共相問題

## - Medieval resolutions/compromises



- ✿ 中世紀時 Avicenna, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas 等學者總結了共相論爭，提出「共相三分說」，讓各種立場「平分秋色」：
  - **Universale ante rem** 先於存在的共相  
→ (e.g. Plato) 形而上學、存有論
  - **Universale in re** 寓於存在的共相  
→ (e.g. Aristotle) 自然哲學
  - **Universale post rem** 後於存在的共相  
→ 知識論、符號學、語言哲學
- ✿ 除上述三種「共相」外，尚有另一意義的共相要考慮。
  - **Universal by analogy (*per analogiam*)**
    - Problem of analogy as a theoretical complication of the third type of universals as listed above → **See next slide**

# The Kantian Heritage of Humboldt

- ✦ Während Leibniz den Weg des deutschen Idealismus im weitesten Sinne angebahnt hat, gilt Kant als derjenige große Philosoph, der Humboldt entscheidend beeinflusst hat, sowohl im Hinblick auf Methodik und Terminologie, als auch auf die philosophische Grundposition, weil Humboldt dem Kritizismus Kants im Grunde genommen treu geblieben ist. Wie Rudolf Haym und auch Cassirer prägnant ausgedrückt haben, sind der „**Buchstabe und der Geist Kants**“ in Humboldts Arbeiten überall zu spüren.[1]
- ✦ Kulturphilosophisch gesehen hat Humboldt nach Kant den Humanitätsgedanken am stärksten vertreten. Der große Beitrag Humboldts über Kant hinaus liegt allein darin, dass Humboldt einen neuen Schwerpunkt für den idealistischen und humanistischen Gedanken gefunden hat, nämlich, im Problem der Sprache. **So meinte auch Cassirer**, dass „**kraft der Vermittlung der Sprache, ein völlig neuer Weg und Zugang zu den Geisteswissenschaften überhaupt**“ gefunden wurde.[2]  
Hylomorphism  $\Rightarrow \Leftarrow$

[1] Rudolf Haym, Humboldt-Biographie, zitiert von Ernst Cassirer, „Die kantischen Elemente in Wilhelm von Humboldts Sprachphilosophie“, *Festschrift für Paul Hensel*, hrsg. v. Julius Binder (Greiz i. V. 1923), S. 105-127, besonders S. 109.

[2] Cassirer, *ibid*, S. 108

# Kant's Relation to his predecessors:

## (1) Rationalism & Empiricism

- ✿ 在第一批判或其他的稿件中，康德一再提出了以下的三分：
  - 把 Dogmatismus 比喻為人類理性踏入嬰孩時期(childhood)
  - 把 Skeptizismus 比喻為踏入青年時期(adolescence)
  - 把 Kritizismus 比喻為為踏入成年期(adulthood)
- ✿ Dogmatismus 指的是大陸「理性主義」(rationalism)
- Skeptizismus 指的是英國「經驗主義」(empiricism)
- Kritizismus 指的是康德自己的「批判哲學」(criticism)
- ✿ 康德對 rationalism 與 empiricism 分別的批評
  - “In a word, Leibniz *intellectualised* appearances, just as Locke, according to his system of *noogony* (if I may be allowed the use of such expressions), *sensualised* all concepts of the understanding, *i.e.* interpreted them as nothing more than empirical or abstracted concepts of reflection.” (A271 B327)
- ✿ 康德雖然批評 rationalism 與 empiricism ，但從二者身上是否仍獲得了某些教益？

**Kant's general distinction** between “**sensualists**” and “**intellectualists**”

Eg. Epicurus vs Plato

See Chapter on “History of Pure Reason”

(A853-4 B881-2 )

# Kant's Relation to his predecessors:

## (2) Plato & Aristotle

- ✦ Kant and Plato?
  - Parable of the “light dove” (A5 B8-9 )
  - “It would be my own fault, if out of that which I ought to reckon as appearance, I made mere illusion. (B69 )
- ✦ Kant and Aristotle?
  - Hylomorphism (ὑλη hyle, μορφη morphe)
  - Doctrine of categories
- ✦ Between Idealism and Realism

# Kant's concept of Experience (Erfahrung) (1)

- ✚ Different conceptions of “Experience” in the Hist. Of phil.
  - Aristotle (ἐμπειρία)
  - Hume
  - Kant
  - Hegel
- ✚ Critique of Pure Reason: [1st paragraphs](#):
- ✚ 康德「經驗」概念的最主要特性：
  - 具備「結合性」(Verbindung, Combination)
  - “Combination is representation of the synthetic unity of the manifold.” (B131)
  - “By synthesis,... I understand the act of putting different representations together, and of grasping what is manifold in them in one act of knowledge.” (B103)
- ✚ **Empirical reality Vs transcendental ideality**  
( **empirical realism VS transcendental idealism** )

## e) Main tenets of Kant's problem of knowledge (2)

- ✿ 感性 (sinnlichkeit, sensibility) 與悟性 (Verstand, understanding) 乃人類知識的兩個不可替代的根源
- ✿ 知識一方面有賴外界的刺激，但另一方面亦需要人的心智參與組織 (即運作形式Form)
- ✿ 這些運作形式同時涉及感性直覺與理解兩個層面：
  - 前者涉及時空形式 (forms of space and time) ，
  - 後者涉及理解的「範疇」 (categories)
- ✿ Aristotle 的形質合一說 (hylomorphism)
- ✿ 「孤立分析，統一運行」
  - “Thoughts without content are empty,
  - intuitions without concepts are blind.”



# Articulation (‘分節’)

- Articulation 在英美傳統只被解作「發音」(phonation, Verlautbarung)
- 但歐陸傳統對 articulation 有更為深刻的理解 (Saussure, Humboldt)

✿ Artikulierter Laut — hörbarer Laut = Artikulation  
(Körper)

✿ Articulated sound — audible sound = Articulation

↓  
Form

↓  
Matter (sound matter)

↓

✿ Humboldt: Artikulationsvermögen (441) Artikulationssinn

✿ “Articulation rests upon the power of mind over the vocal organs, to compel them to deal with sound in accordance with the form of its own working.” (66/441)



✦ For Kant:

Form: → “form of intuition + form of thought”

✦ Humboldt:

Form of Language → Sound-form + Inner linguistic form

- ✿ 《華嚴經·卷23》：「...言語中顯示，一切佛自在，正覺超語言，假以語言說。」
- ✿ 《大乘起信論》：「心真如者—即是一法界大總相法門體，所謂心性不生不滅；一切諸法唯依妄念而有差別，若離心念則無一切境界之相，是故一切法從本已來，離言說相，離名字相，離心緣相，畢竟平等，無有變異，不可破壞，唯是一心，故名真如。以一切言說，假名無實，但隨妄念不可得故。言真如者，亦無有相，謂言說之極，因言遣言。此真如體，無有可遣，以一切法悉皆真故。亦無可立，以一切法皆同如故，當知一切法不可說不可念故，名為真如。」
- ✿ 諸經共法 (瓔珞經、維摩經、仁王經、摩訶止觀)：「言語道斷，心行處滅」。
- ✿ 假名，以言遣言，隨立隨破
- ✿ 「然此經意。前後相成。共顯深旨。若辯優劣。或三重四重。言三重者。一諸菩薩以無二遣二。則是以言顯法。似有不二可說。便是對二明不二。非絕待也。二文殊以言遣言。明無不二可說。令亡言會旨。三維摩詰以無言顯理。謂本自無言。不須更遣。故為三也。而言四者。文殊師利以言印彼。又明言即無言。非要離耳。若欲合者。然後三段反覆相成。但為一義。」(大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (卷9) T36, p0068b)
- ✿ 《維摩詰經·入不二法門品》：「乃至無有文字語言，是真入不二法門。」「言亡慮絕」

# Heidegger's view of Language

✿ “Der Mensch gebärdet sich, als sei er Bildner und Meister der Sprache, während doch sie die Herrin des Menschen bleibt. Wenn dieses Herrschaftsverhältnis sich umkehrt, dann verfällt der Mensch auf seltsame Machenschaften. Die Sprache wird zum Mittel des Ausdrucks.“ (VA GA-07, 193) 「人類自以為是語言的締造者和專家，但其實語言從來都是人類的主人。當這一主從關係一旦逆轉，人乃墮入一奇特的機括之中。語言乃成為表達的工具」(VA GA-07, 193)

✿ 此中所謂「語言乃成為表達的工具」驟看似尋常的語言工具論，但只要設想「主從」已然「逆轉」，則語言早不是人類之工具，而乃「存在」得以表達（也即「本然」）之工具明矣！這一論旨，看以下一引文便更清楚不過：「因此，語言不啻是存在的屋宇 (Haus des Seins)，和是人類的樊籬 (Behausung des Menschen)。正因為語言乃人性之樊籬的緣故，歷史上的人群與眾人乃無法於其語言中得到安頓，因而對人類而言，語言之機括 (Machenschaft) 乃成為人類之牢籠 (Gehäuse)。」(HB GA 09, 361) 從海德格的角度看，人類與其在自由地使用語用語言，不如說是不自覺地不斷在承受著語言的「暴力」，他這一種語言觀同時說明了何以他對作為人類語言運用之致極的形而上學採取如此負面的態度，而必須於「開新」之中予以超越！ ←

✿ 海德格這一種對「語言」的不信任，其實一定程度地轉嫁了給後起的「解構」傳統，所不同者，是解構傳統把只知語言的「機括」歸罪於主體性、建制、啟蒙理性，和社會權力等可針對的「系統對象」，而非歸罪於海德格那虛無縹緲得多的同一性的「存在」。

# The Post-Modern stance

## 🔍 French version of “linguistic turn”

- Highly critical towards the trend of subjectivity and of enlightenment reason”
- Influenced by
  - Saussurean linguistics: language is a system of interrelations and differences “without positive terms”
  - Ricoeur said of Lévi-Strauss’ structuralism as “Kantianism without the subject”
  - Nietzsche’s relativization of truth.
  - Heidegger: Language as “machination” (*Machenschaft*) ➔
- Distrust of philosophy as well as of language

# “Hylomorphism” in Kant and in Humboldt

## 🔦 For Kant:

- Matter → manifolds
  - Form [of knowledge]:
    - form of intuition
    - form of thought
- yielding human experience

## 🔦 Humboldt:

- Matter → sound + sense-impressions ...
  - Form of Language →
    - Sound-form
    - Inner linguistic form
- yielding human language as articulated speech/thought

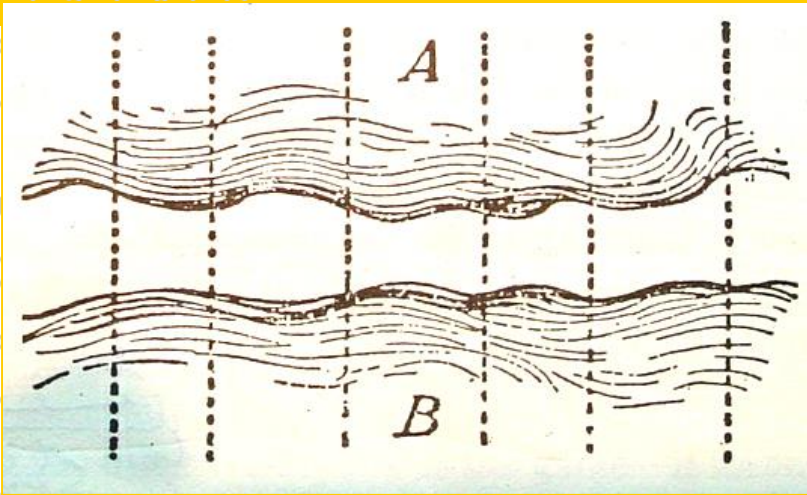


# 采姆斯基一語錄

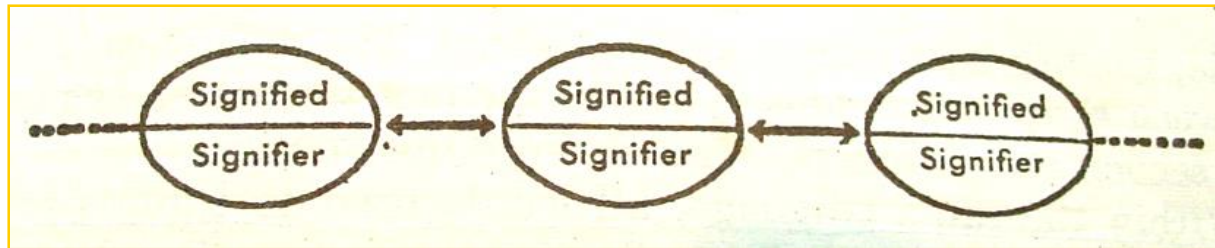
## Quotations from Chomsky (1)

- ✦ 「生成語法」 “**Erzeugung**” (17) -> generative grammar. “Spracherzeugung” (20)
- ✦ 以有限資源，作無限使用...“ [die Sprache] muss daher von endlichen Mitteln einen unendlichen Gebrauch machen.” (17) “The fact that every language ‘makes infinite use of finite means’ (W. von Humboldt) has long been understood”. (LM 127)
- ✦ “The generative grammar **internalized** by someone who has acquired a language defines what in Saussurean terms we may call *langue*.” (10)
  - Concept of “Internalization” 語言能力之「**內化**」 (CIL 11, 112; LM 119, 170)
- ✦ “For Humboldt, as for many others before and since, a **word** does not stand directly for a **thing**, but rather for a **concept**. There can, accordingly, be a multiplicity of expressions for the same objects, each representing a way in which this object has been conceived through workings of the process of ‘Spracherzeugung ...’” (CIL 20)
- ✦ “Consequently, a language should not be regarded merely, or primarily, as a means of communication..., and the **instrumental** use of language ... is **derivative** and **subsidiary**.” (CIL 21)
- ✦ Schopenhauer: (PP-II-620) “...Polyglottism, neben seinen vielen mittelbaren Nutzen, auch ein direktes **Bildungsmittel** des Geistes ist.”

# Saussure → Aristotle



- “Without language, thought is a vague, uncharted nebula. There are no pre-existing ideas, and nothing is distinct before the appearance of language” (CGL 112)
- “Instead of pre-existing ideas then, we find in all foregoing examples *values* emanating from the system.” (CGL 117)





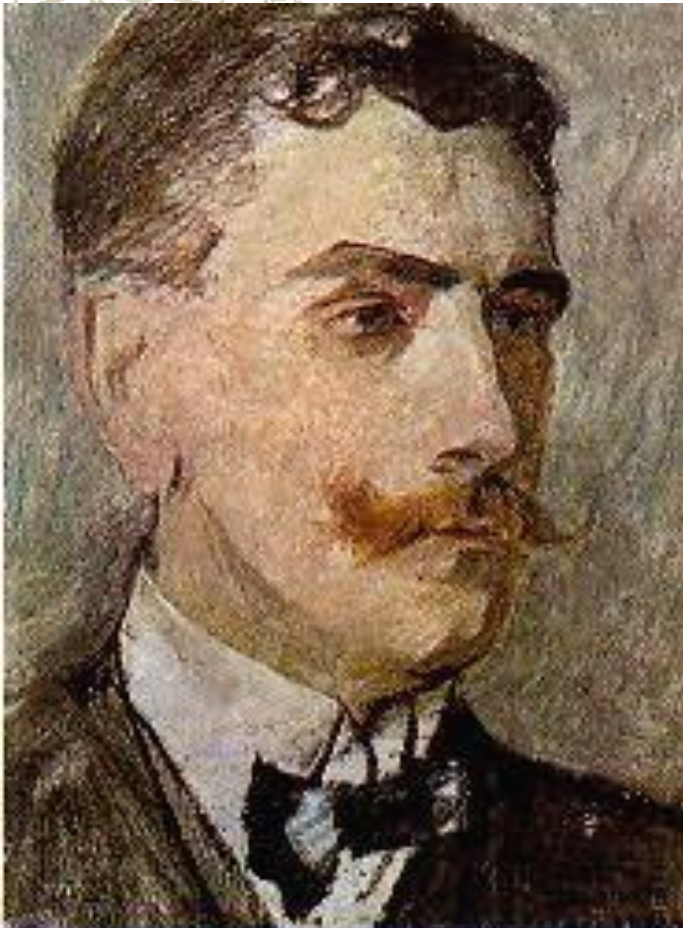
# 李維-史托論語言系統

## Levi-Strauss on language system

- ✦ "Language does not enter into a world of accomplished objective perceptions merely to give purely external and arbitrary signs or 'names' to individual given objects which are clearly delimited from one another; but it is itself a mediator in the formation of object. It is in one sense the supreme denominator"
- ✦ (Levi-Strauss, "Le Langage et la Construction du Monde des Objets" in *Psychologie du Langage*)

# 廣東話的古雅

- ✪ 蘇軾：「寧可食無肉，不可居無竹，無肉令人瘦，無竹令人俗，人瘦尚可肥，士俗不可醫」的【食】字和【肥】字，正是廣東話。日常例子如～食餸、食嘢、好好食、肥仔、肥佬、肥騰騰。普通話唔係用「食」，係用「吃」，唔係用「肥」，係用「胖」。
- ✪ 李白：「人生得意需盡歡，莫使金樽空對月」的【樽】字，正是廣東話。日常例子如～買一樽豉油返屋企、飲番樽啤酒先、呢個玻璃樽入面係乜嘢來咖？普通話唔係用「樽」，係用「瓶」，一瓶、瓶子。
- ✪ 詩經：「行行重行行，與君生別離」的【行】字，正是廣東話。行行重行行的意思是；行下，停下，再行下，又再停下，非常之依依不捨……廣東話日常例子如～行路、行街睇戲、行出去、行花市、行咗幾遠呀？普通話係用「走」或「逛」，走路、逛街。
- ✪ 杜甫：「朱門酒肉臭，路有凍死骨」的【凍死】，正是廣東話。廣東話日常例子如～好凍、凍冰冰。普通話唔係用「凍」係用「冷」。
- ✪ 李白：「舉頭望明月，低頭思故鄉」的【望】字，正是廣東話。廣東話日常例子如～望住前面、唔好四圍望、望乜嘢？普通話唔係用「望」係用「看」。
- ✪ 杜甫：「肯與鄰翁相對飲，隔籬呼取盡餘杯」的【隔籬】，正是廣東話。廣東話日常例子如～我就住喺你隔籬、隔籬鄰舍、搬過隔籬屋。普通話唔係用「隔籬」係用「隔壁」或「鄰居」。
- ✪ 李煜的「問君能有幾多愁？恰似一江春水向東流」的【幾多】，正是廣東話。廣東話日常例子如～幾多錢？幾多個？普通話唔係用「幾多」係用「多少」。



**Ferdinand de Saussure's**  
*Course in General*  
*Linguistics*

# ● Émile Benveniste on Saussure:

(“Saussure after half of a century”, *Problems of General Linguistics*)

## ✦ Saussure eulogy:

- “Saussure was first and always a man of fundamentals”
- “...Considering that activity, human speech, in which **so many factors** are brought together—**biological**, **physical** and **psychic**, **individual** and **social**, **historical**, **aesthetic**, and **pragmatic**—he asked himself, where does language properly belong?”

## ✦ Two basic questions of Saussure:

- What are the basic data on which linguistics is to be grounded and how can we grasp them?
- What is the nature of the notions of human speech and by what mode of relationship are they articulated?
- Early work: *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européens* (1879)

# F. de Saussure:

## Object of Linguistics 語言學的對象

### 🔦 Le Langage

– La langue

– La parole



(語言現象) Phenomenon of language or speech

語言系統 Language system

言語 Speaking

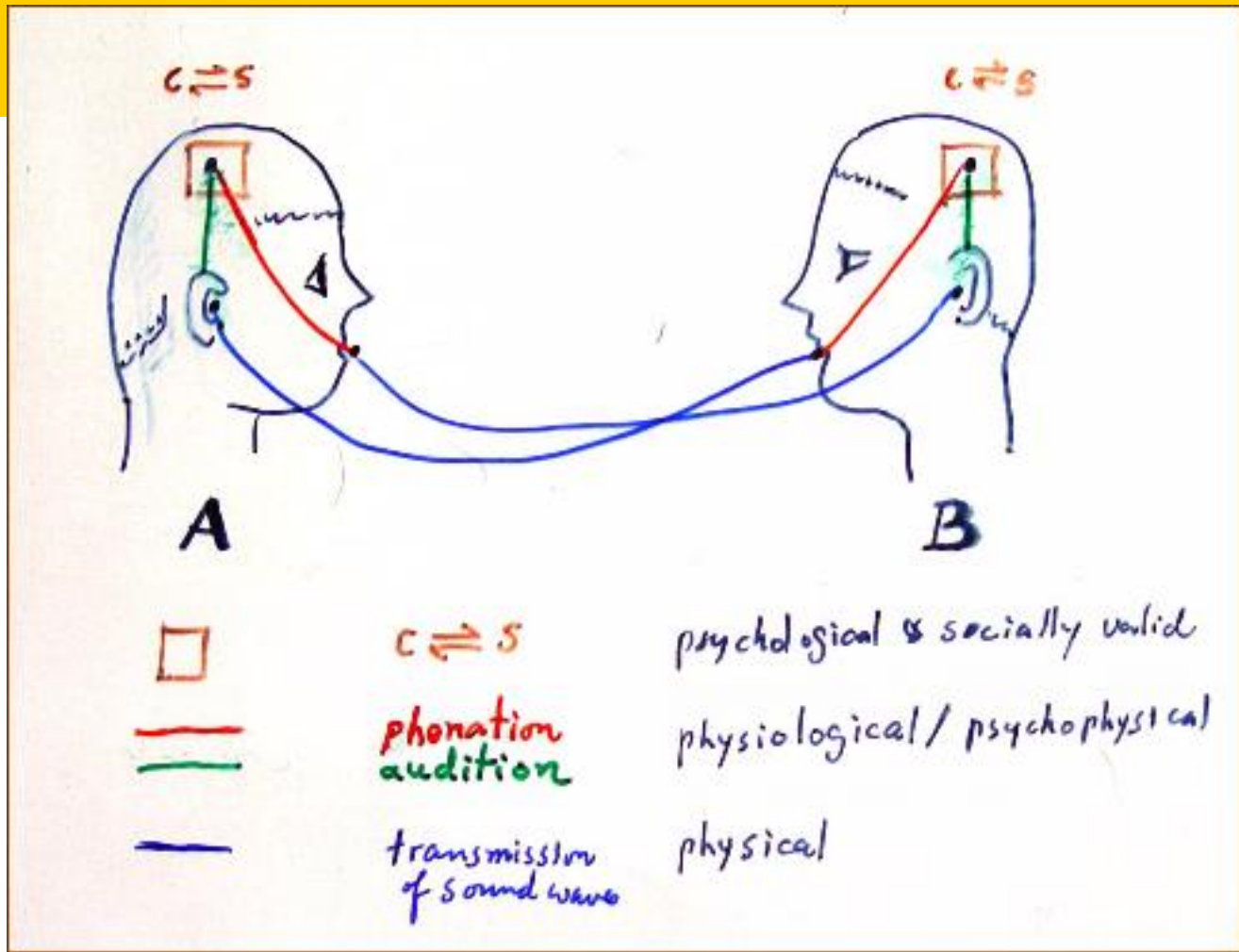
### 🔦 Starting from the sound “nu” as a linguistic phenomenon

– The “**oral**” vs. the “**audible**” ie. “**vocal**” vs. “**acoustical**”

– The “**physiological**” vs. the “**psychological**”

– The “**individual**” vs. the “**social**” (“individual act” as “only the embryo of speech” (13)

– The “**system**” vs. “**evolution**”, ie. “**existing institution**” vs. “**product of the past**”  Benveniste on Saussure



- ⚡ Audition more important than phonation
- ⚡ Vocal organs are as external as the Morse Code

# Language (langue) as the true object of Linguistics

- ✿ “...from the very outset we must put both feet on the ground of language and use language as the norm of all other manifestations of speech.” (CGL-9)
- ✿ “...language is a **convension**, and the nature of the sign that is agreed upon does not matter. The question of the vocal apparatus obviously takes a secondary place in the problem of speech.” (CGL-10)
- ✿ “To give language first place in the study of speech, we can advance a final argument: the faculty of articulating words—whether it is natural or not—is exercised only with the help of the instrument created by **collectivity** and provided for its use...” (CGL-11)

# Language (*langue*) as the true object of Linguistics

- ✪ Language (la Langue)
  - = Speech (le langage) minus the non-psychological  
minus the executive (la parole) or the individual
- ✪ “Language is speech less speaking. It is the whole set of linguistic habits which allow an individual to understand and to be understood.” (CGL 77)
  - La langue = Le langage – La parole
- ✪ If we could embrace the sum of word-images stored in the minds of all individuals, we could identify the **social bond** that constitutes language. It is a **storehouse** filled by the members of a given community through their active use of speaking, a grammatical system that has a potential existence in each brain, or, more specifically, in the brains of a group of individuals. For language is not complete in any speaker; it exists perfectly only within a **collectivity**.” (CGL 13-14)



# Saussure -articulation

- ✦ -- “language is a convention...” -- “One definition of *articulated speech* might confirm that conclusion. In Latin, *articulus* means a member, part, or subdivision of a sequence; applied to speech, *articulation* designates either the sub-division of a spoken chain into syllables or the subdivision of the chain of meanings into significant units; *gegliederte Sprache* is used in the second sense in German. Using the second definition, we can say that what is natural to mankind is not oral speech but the faculty of constructing a language, I.e. a system of distinct signs corresponding to distinct ideas.” (CGL-10)
- ✦ “Language might be called the domain of *articulations*, using the word as it was defined earlier (p.10). Each linguistic term is a member, an *articulus* in which an idea is fixed in a sound and a sound becomes the sign of an idea.” (CGL- 113)

# The linguistic sign

- ✦ Sign, signified, signifier
- ✦ The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound image.
- ✦ Signified (concept)  $\Leftrightarrow$  Signifier (sound image)
- ✦ Reciting a speech without sound!
- ✦ “The linguistic sign is then a two-sided psychological entity that can be represented by the drawing





# IPA, International Phonetic Alphabet 國際音標 (1897-2005...)

## the international phonetic alphabet (2005)

consonants (pulmonic)	LABIAL		CORONAL					DORSAL			LARYNGEAL	
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Nasal	m	ɱ	n			ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ			
Plosive	p b		t d			ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g	q ɢ	ʔ ʕ		
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ	
Approximant		ʋ	ɹ			ɻ	j	ɰ				
Tap, flap		ⱱ	ɾ			ɽ						
Trill	ʙ		r							ʀ	ʜ ʕ̠	
Lateral fricative			ɬ ɮ			ɮ̠ ɬ̠	ɬ̺ ɮ̺		ɮ̺̤			
Lateral approximant			l			ɭ	ɭ̺	L				
Lateral flap			ɭ			ɮ̟						

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a modally voiced consonant, except for murmured ɦ. Shaded areas denote articulations judged to be impossible. Light grey letters are unofficial extensions of the IPA.

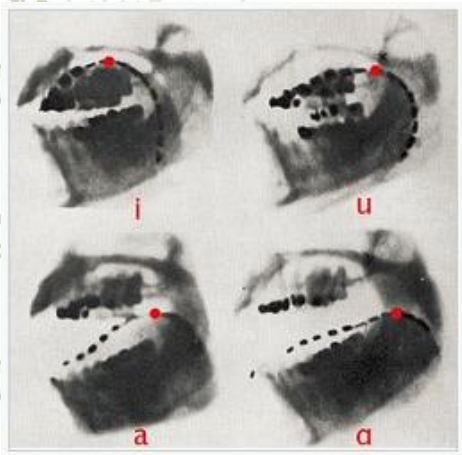
### consonants (non-pulmonic)

clicks	implosives	ejectives
◌ ɸ Bilabial fricated	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ examples:
◌ ɬ Laminar alveolar fricated ("dental")	ɗ Dental or alveolar	ɸʼ Bilabial
◌ ɮ Apical (post)alveolar abrupt ("retroflex")	ɖ Retroflex	ʈʼ Dental or alveolar
◌ ɮ̠ Laminar postalveolar abrupt ("palatal")	ɟ Palatal	ɟʼ Velar
◌ ɮ̠ Lateral alveolar fricated ("lateral")	ɠ Velar	ɬʼ Lateral affricate
◌ ɰ Velar (back released)	ɡ Uvular	ʂʼ Alveolar fricative

### consonants (co-articulated)

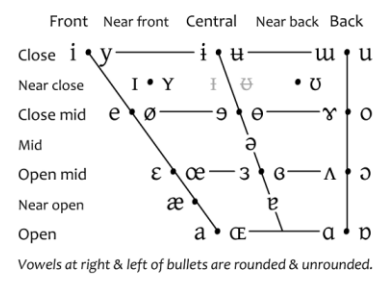
- ɱ Voiceless labialized velar approximant //morphophonemic//
- ɰ Voiced labialized velar approximant /phonemic/
- ɯ Voiced labialized palatal approximant [phonetic]
- ħ Simultaneous x and ʁ (existence disputed) <orthographic>
- ɬʼ Affricates and double articulations may be joined by a tie bar
- ɡb

### brackets



X-ray photos show the sounds

### vowels



### suprasegmentals

- ˈ Primary stress
- ˌ Extra stress
- ˑ Secondary stress [ˑfoonaˈtʃən]
- eː Long
- eˑ Half-long
- eˑ Short
- ˑ Extra-short
- ˑ Syllable break
- ˑ Linking (no break)
- ˑ intonation
  - ˑ Minor (foot) break
  - ˑ Major (intonation) break
  - ˑ Global rise
  - ˑ Global fall

### (tone)

- level tones:
  - é | Top
  - é | High
  - ē | Mid
  - è | Low
  - è | Bottom
- contour tones (e.g.):
  - ě | Rising
  - ē | Falling
  - ē | High rising
  - ē | Low rising
  - ē | High falling
  - ē | Low falling
  - ˑ | Peaking
  - ˑ | Dipping

### diacritics

Diacritics may be moved to fit a letter, as ɸ or ɟ. Other letters may be used as diacritics of phonetic detail: ɸ (fricative release), ɸʰ (breathy voice), ɸ̣ (glottalized), ɸ̣̣ (epenthetic schwa), ɸ̣̣̣ (off-glide), ɸ̣̣̣̣ (compressed).

SYLLABICITY & RELEASES	PHONATION	PRIMARY ARTICULATION	SECONDARY ARTICULATION				
ɸ̣	Syllabic	ɸ̣ ɸ̣	Dental	ɸ̣ˠ ɸ̣ˠ	Labialized	ɸ̣ˠ̣ ɸ̣ˠ̣	More rounded
ɸ̣̣	Non-syllabic	ɸ̣̣ ɸ̣̣	Apical	ɸ̣̣ˠ ɸ̣̣ˠ	Palatalized	ɸ̣̣ˠ̣ ɸ̣̣ˠ̣	Less rounded
ɸ̣̣̣	(Pre)aspirated	ɸ̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣	Laminar	ɸ̣̣̣ˠ ɸ̣̣̣ˠ	Velarized	ɸ̣̣̣ˠ̣ ɸ̣̣̣ˠ̣	Nasalized
ɸ̣̣̣̣	Nasal release	ɸ̣̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣	Advanced	ɸ̣̣̣̣ˠ ɸ̣̣̣̣ˠ	Pharyngealized	ɸ̣̣̣̣ˠ̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣ˠ̣	Rhoticity
ɸ̣̣̣̣̣	Lateral release	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣	Retracted	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣ˠ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣ˠ	Velarized or pharyngealized	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣ˠ̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣ˠ̣	Advanced tongue root
ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣	No audible release	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣	Centralized	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣	Mid-centralized	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣	Retracted tongue root
ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣	Lowered (β is a bilabial approximant)	ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ ɸ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣	Raised (ɹ is a voiced alveolar non-sibilant fricative, ɹ is a fricative trill)				