

2016 年中央研究院重要研究成果

語言學研究所

整體研究概述：

中央研究院語言學研究所 106 年度之整體重點研究，就性質而言包括延續性研究、跨學科研究以及創新性研究三項。本所成所以來致力於語言學核心研究議題之基礎研究，同時亦因應 21 世紀以來科際整合之世界潮流，延伸既有之研究至相關之學門，從而積極鼓勵跨領域研究。與此同時，為求和世界其他研究機構並駕齊驅，亦努力開拓創新性研究，以爭取相關領域及議題之主導權。

整體而言，上述各項研究可概述如下：

1. 延續性研究：臺灣漢語口語韻律亮點所透露的即時口語產製規劃及信息配置、臺灣澤教利泰雅語音韻規律、臺灣中文對話語音之變體研究、羌語語音研究、四種臺灣南島語（卡那卡那富語、沙阿魯阿語、賽夏語、邵語與知本卑南語）之參考語法撰寫、臺灣漢語稱量詞“每”與“都”的語意研究、漢語程度副詞句法及副詞句法理論研究、臺灣原住民語言類型研究及語言復振相關議題之探討（魯凱語、邵語語言、鄒語、布農語、卑南語）。
2. 跨學科研究：橫跨腦神經科學及語言學之漢語分類詞使用探討及語意脈絡處理歷程研究。橫跨資訊工程、資訊科學及語言學之運用韻律知識建立的韻律建模。
3. 創新性研究：跨語言、跨方言、跨語體之語流韻律與音韻模組研究。中文對話語料庫自發性語音辨識系統之改進。

西元年：2016

研究人員(中)：林若望

研究人員(英)：LIN, JO-WANG

研究成果名稱(中)：“的”字結構、模態與違實推理

研究成果名稱(英)：De-construction, modality and counterfactual reasoning

簡要記述(中)：道義模態命題“應該 的”句式是個多義句式，可表達與過去事實相反，與現在事實相反以及與未來可能性相反等三種違實義，也可表達未來非違實義。此句式的關鍵是“的”的語法意義，一方面，“的”指稱一個非未來的時段，要求被其修飾的模態命題要在那個非未來時段裡成立，因此“應該 的”句可以表達過去時或現在時的道義模態。現在時的道義模態，若表事件，可得未來非違實義，若表狀態，可得與現在事實相反的違實義。過去時的道義模態則可得與過去事實相反或與未來可能性相反的違實義。違實義之產生是因為模態命題的事件真實性強度弱於直接斷言一個過去或是現在的事件，Grice 的語用原則因而推論出事件不為真。此外，“的”具有廣義的確認功能，會確認其轄域底下的斷言及含蘊為真，因此“應該 的”句的違實義無法被取消。

簡要記述(英)：The construction “yinggai de” is ambiguous having both non-counterfactual and counterfactual readings. The most important key component of this construction is the grammatical meaning of de. On one hand, de denotes a non-future interval at which the modified modal proposition is true. So “yinggai ” can be true at either a past time or the present time. When denotes an event and “yinggai ” is true at the present time, a non-counterfactual reading is yielded. When is a state and “yinggai ” is true at the speech time, a present counterfactual reading is yielded. When is an event and “yinggai ” is true at a past time, a past or future counterfactual is obtained. A counterfactual reading arises because the truth potential of a modal proposition is weaker than that of directly

asserting the truth of the positive proposition . The Gricean conversational implicature is thus derived that is not true. This implicature is further reinforced by de's function of generalized truth confirmation, thus making it non-cancellable.

主要相關著作：

林若望，2016，〈"的"字結構，模態與違實推理〉，《中國語文》，第 2 期，頁 131-151。
(CSSCI)

西元年：2016

研究人員(中)：魏培泉

研究人員(英)：WEI, PEI-CHUAN

研究成果名稱(中)：經驗體標記「過」的歷史由來

研究成果名稱(英)：The Historical Development of the Experiential Aspect “Guo”

簡要記述(中)：：現代漢語的「過」可以用來表達經驗體，經驗體「過」又可分為「過 1」與「過 2」兩種，前者為有定的經驗體，後者為無定的經驗體。本文探討經驗體「過」的歷史發展過程。為了要確定近代漢語語料中的「過」成為經驗體標記的時間，我們提出了一套檢測的判準。檢測的結論是在唐五代文獻中還沒見到「過」為真正的經驗體之例，宋代雖可以證明經驗體「過」已經成立，只是例子仍然相當有限。我們也提出了如何在歷史語料中區辨「過 1」與「過 2」的檢測方法，檢測的結論是目前能夠證明的「過 1」與「過 2」分化的時間是在明代。至於「過」的語法化機制，本文指出，「過」成為經驗體是經由與特定的一類動詞搭配而發展出來的；至於「過 2」，則是由於「過 1」與無定經驗體副詞「曾」經常搭配，沾染了「曾」的功能而形成的。

簡要記述(英)：The word “guo 過” in modern Chinese can be used as an experiential aspect marker, which can be divided into “guo1” and “guo2”, denoting definite experience and indefinite experience respectively. This paper investigates the historical development of the experiential aspect marker “guo”. We propose four criteria to discriminate the examples which are experiential “guo” from which are not in the texts of the Tang and Song dynasties. The examination result in accordance with the method is that the “guo” was not a real experiential aspect marker until the Song dynasty. This paper also proposes an examination method to discriminate “guo1” from “guo2” in the Early Mandarin Chinese corpora, the result of which is that the Ming dynasty should be the initial stage of the differentiation between “guo1” and “guo2”. With regarding to the mechanisms of the grammaticalization of “guo”, this paper points out that the formation of the experiential aspect marker “guo” is by way of its constant collocation with a specific type of verbs, and that the cause of “guo1”’s turning into “guo2” is that “guo1” was constantly collocated with the adverb “ceng 曾” denoting indefinite experience and inflected with the function of “ceng”.

主要相關著作：

魏培泉，2016，〈經驗體標記「過」的歷史由來〉，《語言暨語言學》，17.2: 265-290。

西元年：2016

研究人員(中)：李佳穎、張智婷、李佳穎、周家如、傅中玲、吳欣治

研究人員(英)：LEE, CHIA-YING, Chang, C.-T., Lee, C.-Y., Chou, C.-J., Fuh, J.-L., & Wu, H.-C.

研究成果名稱(中)：N400 之預期性效果可反映失語症病人的閱讀理解缺損嚴重度

研究成果名稱(英)：Predictability effect on N400 reflects the severity of reading comprehension deficits in aphasia

簡要記述(中)：N400 上的預測力效果，指的是句子中低預測力的目標詞會比高預測力的目標詞在大腦中後區的電極位置上引發較負振幅的 N400。此效果被用來反應句子理解中，低預測力的詞彙較難被提取並與句子的脈絡進行語意整合。本研究旨在探討句子理解的可預測性在 N400 上的表現，能否反應失語症病人閱讀理解能力缺損的嚴重度。我們將失語症病人根據其在中文失語症測驗之閱讀理解的表現，分成高低能力兩組，將其表現與一般大學生以及健康長者做比較。研究結果發現大學生與健康長者皆可在 N400 上展現典型的預測力效果，惟健康長者的效果較年輕人小一些些，發生的時間也慢一點點。然而相對於健康長者，高功能的失語症病人，雖然在行為表現上已經接近一般人，其效果顯得更為侷促。而低功能失語症病人的預測力效果，則發生在頭皮前區，400-700 毫秒才能展現。此研究證實，病人在行為測驗上的嚴重程度，與 N400 的發生時間，以及在頭皮上的分佈有關。此研究的腦波指標，未來或可取代紙筆測驗，有效用於反應病人閱讀理解缺損的嚴重程度。

簡要記述(英)：詳備註

主要相關著作：

Chang, C.-T., Lee, C.-Y., Chou, C.-J., Fuh, J.-L., & Wu, H.-C.*, 2016, "Predictability effect on N400 reflects the severity of reading comprehension deficits in aphasia", *Neuropsychologia*, 181, 117-128. (SCI, SSCI) (IF: 2.989; SCI ranking: 44.1%,33.3%; SSCI ranking: 21.2%)

語言學研究所

2016 年著作目錄

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田阡子、孫天心, accepted, 〈格西霍爾語動詞的時與體〉, 《LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS》。(SSCI) (IF: 0.308; SSCI ranking: 74.2%)

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Chang, C.-T., Lee, C.-Y., Chou, C.-J., Fuh, J.-L., & Wu, H.-C.*, 2016, "Predictability effect on N400 reflects the severity of reading comprehension deficits in aphasia", *Neuropsychologia*, 181, 117-128. (SCI, SSCI) (IF: 3.197; SCI ranking: 25.5%,42.5%; SSCI ranking: 15.5%)

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吳瑞文, accepted, 〈臺灣閩南語語法概述—對比分析的觀點〉, 李英哲編, 《台灣華語語法研究報告》, 北京: 商務印書館。

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