

2021 年中央研究院重要研究成果

語言學研究所

整體研究概述:

110 年度之整體重點研究，就性質而言包括理論語言學、語言類型學、歷史語言學以及跨學科語言研究四項，以下就各項之研究內涵及其 110 年度延續性與新興研究說明如下：

理論語言學：利用台灣多元語言（漢語、漢語方言及南島語）的先天優勢，結合既有的形式語言學理論，針對理論語言學提出的各項語法參數一一加以檢驗，建立具備跨語言基礎的構詞、句法、語意及相關介面之理論研究。

語言類型學：進行跨語言之比較及當代語言比較研究，作為歷史比較研究之基礎。

歷史語言學研究：利用田野調查所得材料，探討語言結構之歷史演變。

跨學科語言研究：與資訊科學及認知神經科學結合，進行與語音工程、語言模型、語言與大腦之關係的探討。

西元年：2021

研究人員(中)：林若望、黃正德

研究人員(英)：LIN, JO-WANG, Huang, C. T. James

研究成果名稱(中)：中文不受 C-統治的量化約束

研究成果名稱(英)：Quantificational binding without surface C-command in Mandarin Chinese

簡要記述(中)：這篇文章從 Jin(1998)的觀察為起點，討論全稱量化名詞組約束代名詞的句法條件限制。根據 Jin 的觀察，全稱量化詞出現在從句的主語或賓語位置，對約束主句的代名詞有不對稱現象，然而本文舉出許多例句證明，出現在從句賓語的全稱量化詞和主語位置上的量化詞都同樣可以約束主句的代名詞。本文提出量化約束根本上是邏輯部門的現象，因此受制於邏輯部門的機制。量化約束的最低要求是，在邏輯部門，被約束的代名詞必須在量化詞的範域裡邊。這個最低要求雖然允許量化詞可以有很高的範域，但卻同時還要受範域解釋條件的限制。這兩個條件的互動解釋了為什麼有時量化詞可以有高範域，有時候卻又不行。此外，這篇文章也討論了量化詞組後向約束代名詞的一些情形，證明後向約束其實是幾個獨立的條件限制下的產物。本文是第一篇已出版的深入討論漢語代名詞不被量化詞在句法上 C-統治，但卻在語意上可被實際約束的研究成果，對中文的約束現象研究有很大的貢獻。

簡要記述(英)：This article discusses quantificational binding without surface c-command in Mandarin Chinese. Jin (1998) pointed out that Chinese quantificational NPs (Q-NPs) headed by *mei* 'every' are capable of binding out of containers such as sentential subjects, relative clauses or adverbial clauses and there is a subject-object asymmetry with respect to such binding. This asymmetry, if correct, is reminiscent of the non-coreference rule on pronominal anaphora which also displays an effect of subject-object asymmetry (cf. Huang 1982 and Teng 1985) and would call for a unifying treatment of the two phenomena. However, contrary to Jin's observation, this article shows that universal Q-NPs in object position may actually bind out of their containers just like universal Q-NP subjects, thus making it infeasible to define a common locality domain to which both quantificational binding and referential pronominal anaphora are sensitive. Instead, this article argues that quantificational binding is an LF phenomenon constrained by LF mechanisms. A minimum requirement for quantificational binding is that the pronoun bound by a given quantifier must be within the scope of that quantifier at LF. Though this minimum requirement in principle enables Q-NPs to have high scope, they are subject to other conditions such as the general Condition on Scope Interpretation, which prevents a Q-NP from taking scope over another one that c-commands it at surface structure. The interaction of the two conditions explains why in some cases Q-NPs may take

high scope and bind a pronoun that they do not c-command but not in some other cases. Backward quantificational binding, on the other hand, is a result of the interaction of several independently motivated mechanisms, including the possibility of reconstruction at LF, the Chinese-specific non-coreference rule and Chomsky's Leftness Condition.

主要相關著作：

C. T. James Huang & Jo-Wang Lin, 2021, "Quantificational binding without surface C-command in Mandarin Chinese", editor(s): Fuzhen Si & Luigi Rizzi, *Current Issues in Syntactic Cartography: A crosslinguistic perspective*, pp. 183-216, Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

西元年：2021

研究人員(中)：李琦

研究人員(英)：CATHERINE, ALDRIDGE EDITH

研究成果名稱(中)：南島語言中產生作格句型的演變之句法條件

研究成果名稱(英)：Syntactic conditions on accusative to ergative alignment change in Austronesian languages

簡要記述(中)：本文繼承 Aldridge (2015, 2016) 針對古南島語的句法構擬，提出古南島語是具有賓格格局 (accusative alignment) 的語言，並且提供支持賓格假設的新論證。有關許多南島語言中作格格局 (ergative alignment) 的來源，本文提出作格句型首次產生於表示移動或方位的動詞的補語小句中。這類小句屬於重建 (restructuring) 的小句，因此缺乏分配賓格的能力，所以需要獲得結構格的賓語僅能由主句中的 T 來分配主格。透過此過程，即於古南島語的子語古作格語 (Proto-Ergative Austronesian) 中產生了具有主格賓語的作格句型。

簡要記述(英)：This paper develops the proposal put forth by Aldridge (2015, 2016) that Proto-Austronesian was a language with accusative alignment and also proposes new evidence for this hypothesis. Regarding the origin of ergative alignment found in many Austronesian languages, I propose that ergative clause types first emerged in biclausal constructions embedded under motion or locative verbs. Since such biclausal constructions are contexts for restructuring, no accusative case is available for an object. This forced objects which needed structural licensing to value nominative case with T. This process yielded a new ergative clause type in a daughter of PAn, which Aldridge (2015, 2016) calls "Proto-Ergative Austronesian".

主要相關著作：

Aldridge, Edith, 2021, "Syntactic conditions on accusative to ergative alignment change in Austronesian languages", *Journal of Historical Linguistics*, 11.2, 214-247.

西元年：2021

研究人員(中)：陳思瑋

研究人員(英)：CHEN, SIHWEL, Vander Klok Jozina*, Matthewson Lisa, Rullmann Hotze

研究成果名稱(中)：論經驗貌為表存在量化之過去式

研究成果名稱(英)：The 'experiential' as an existential past

簡要記述(中)：近年來的研究對於代稱性和量化性時制、絕對和相對時制、以及完成動貌和相對過去式這些概念是否具有本質上與經驗上明確的區別一直有所爭議。本文調查兩個互為遠親關係的南島語言——爪哇語和泰雅語——中具有時間前置功能的語法標記。根據一系列的實證測試

結果，我們認為爪哇語的 tau 標記和泰雅語的 -in- 中綴為具有存在量化語意的相對性過去式。我們並論證文獻上提出過的可能分析不適用於這兩個語法標記，因為它們沒有代稱性的用法，雖然常被認為有顯著的經驗語意，但也不是完成動貌的標記。我們進一步主張同一個語言的語法系統可以同時具有代稱性和量化性的時制。本研究的檢驗方法顯示這兩個標記是存在量化時制，並且爪哇語和泰雅語都各有一個沒有語音形式的時制詞素，這兩個時制的使用選擇可從語用上的競爭來解釋。

簡要記述(英)：Recent literature has debated the nature and robustness of distinctions between pronominal tenses and existential tenses, between absolute tenses and relative tenses, and between perfect aspects and relative tenses. In this paper, we investigate anteriority markers in Javanese and Atayal, two distantly related Austronesian languages. On the basis of a range of empirical diagnostics, we propose that the markers tau in Javanese and -in- in Atayal are relative past tenses with existential semantics. We demonstrate that plausible alternative analyses are not tenable: these markers do not have pronominal tense semantics and they are not perfect aspects despite their salient ‘experiential’ interpretation. Further, we claim that a single language can possess both pronominal and existential tenses. Our diagnostics show that while tau and -in- are existential past tenses, Javanese and Atayal each also have a pronominal tense morpheme which is phonologically null and which pragmatically interacts with tau and -in-.

主要相關著作：

Chen Sihwei, Vander Klok Jozina*, Matthewson Lisa, Rullmann Hotze, 2021, “The ‘experiential’ as an existential past”, *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 39(3), 709-758. (SSCI) (IF: 1.625; SSCI ranking: 24.1%)