

## 2022 年中央研究院重要研究成果

### 語言學研究所

西元年：2022

研究人員(中)：吳瑞文

研究人員(英)：Rui-wen Wu

研究成果名稱(中)：論現代湘語中的仙先之別及其早期形式的擬測

研究成果名稱(英)：ON THE XIĀN/XIĀN DISTINCTION IN MODERN XIANG DIALECTS AND RECONSTRUCTION IN PROTO-XIANG

簡要記述(中)：本文以現代湘語方言為基礎利用《切韻》框架探討其中存在的山攝開口三四等—亦即仙韻與先韻—的音韻區別，並根據現代湘語的實際語音表現，擬測原始湘語中這一對韻母的早期形式(proto form)。關於現代湘語是否能夠區分仙先兩韻，學界存在正反不同的意見。本文在前人的基礎上擴大比較湘語的範圍以及同源詞數量，一方面論證現代湘語中仙先的音韻區別，一方面擬測其原始形式。本文結論認為：(1)現代湘語中確實保存仙先的區別，並在中古精系聲母及來母的環境下存在對立；(2)根據現代湘語的語音表現，仙三在原始湘語可擬為\*-ian，先四則可擬為\*-ian；(3)透過吳、閩、湘三個原始方言的比較，可以建立六朝江東方言\*-ian與\*-ian的對立。仙先有別這一音韻現象顯示在歷史發展上，江東方言與湘語之間存在密切關係。

簡要記述(英)：

Based on the framework of the Qièyùn (切韻) system, this paper explores phonological distinctions between Grade III and Grade IV of the Shān Shè (山攝) rhyme group, namely the Xiān (仙) and Xiān (先) rhyme, in Modern Xiang. Whether the Xiān (仙)/Xiān (先) distinction exists or not in modern Xiang dialects is still under debate. These different views constitute the primary research motivation of this paper. This paper concludes that: 1. The Xiān (仙)/Xiān (先) distinction is indeed preserved in Modern Xiang, and the phonological contrast occurs after the initials of the Jing (精) series of Middle Chinese. 2. According to the phonetic representation in Modern Xiang, Xiān (仙) could be reconstructed as \*-ian and Xiān (先) as \*-ian. 3. By comparing with other proto dialects, we reconstruct the contrast of \*-ian and \*-ian in the old Jiangdong dialect of the Six Dynasties, which establishes the close relationship between Xiang and Jiangdong dialect in history.

主要相關著作：

吳瑞文，2022，〈論現代湘語中的仙先之別及其早期形式的擬測〉，《JOURNAL OF CHINESE LINGUISTICS》50.3：775-804。(SSCI)(IF: 0.324; SSCI ranking: 90.2%)

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西元年：2022

研究人員(中)：張永利

研究人員(英)：Henry Yungli Chang

研究成果名稱(中)：鄒語非屬人人稱代詞的興起及其啟示

研究成果名稱(英)：On the Emergence of a Nonhuman Bound Pronoun in Tsou and Its Implication

簡要記述(中)：

本文探討鄒語第三人稱代名詞的延伸用法及其啟示。研究發現(i)第三人稱代名詞 *si* 不只可以用來表達空間和動物，也可以用來指涉時間；(ii) *si* 可以是單數，也可以是複數；(iii) 其語意延伸僅限於不可見的代名詞，可見的沒有這樣的延伸用法；(iv) *si* 出現為後綴而非依前寄生詞；(v) *si* 可以區動作格或領屬呼應，但不能驅動主格呼應。這些發現一方面深化我們對鄒語的認識，

另一方面也促進我們對鄒語語言類型的了解—就非屬人人稱代名詞用法而言，鄒語在台灣南島語言中表現非常突出，類型上接近於古代漢語或法語，不同於英語或瑞典語。

簡要記述(英)：

This paper investigates the extension of a third person human bound pronoun to cover a nonhuman function and its implications for the grammar of pronouns in the Formosan language Tsou. It is found that (i) the newly derived bound pronoun can encode not only a place or an animal but also a time; (ii) it can refer to either a singular or a plural; (iii) the semantic extension is restricted to the invisible singular set of bound pronouns; (iv) it surfaces as a suffix rather than an enclitic; (v) it triggers either ergative or possessive agreement. These findings have far-reaching implications. On the one hand, they enrich the already sophisticated system of pronouns of Tsou. On the other hand, they differentiate Tsou from other Formosan languages with bound pronouns and identify Tsou as a language like Archaic Chinese/French instead of English/Swedish.

主要相關著作：

Chang, Henry Y., 2022, "On the Emergence of a Nonhuman Bound Pronoun in Tsou and Its Implication", *International Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 9(1), 108-142.

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西元年：2022

研究人員(中)：曾淑娟、劉曉蓓

研究人員(英)：Tseng, Shu-Chuan and Hsiao-chien Liu

研究成果名稱(中)：客語對話結構分析：主題與標示

研究成果名稱(英)：Topic Development and Boundary Cues in Hakka Conversational Discourse

簡要記述(中)：對話的進行以語言理解為基礎，需要語境提供相關的訊息，才能完整呈現語意連貫的對話結構。本文嘗試解析對話的片段以及結構的組成，藉以反應參與者在自發性對話的社交互動與語言交流過程。本研究提出以主題與副題兩級的言談層次，呈現對話話題的產生與發展。從而檢查台灣客語對話是否具有特定的結構標示和表達方式，並整理標示連貫語言訊息的邊界詞彙以及此類詞彙對於構建主題發展過程以及維持話題延續的重要性。本文指出台灣客語者不論是在主題或副題層級，標示言談結構的過渡轉換都偏好名詞短語，也偏好子句結構較為完整的語句形式。

簡要記述(英)：The structure of conversational discourse is context-dependent, and the organization of discourse segments and preferences for signaling discourse boundaries may also be language-specific characteristics. Participating speakers, speaking scenarios and communication purposes instantaneously affect the conduct of social interaction and verbal exchange during a conversation. This study investigates topic-specific Hakka conversations by suggesting a top-down two-level discourse segmentation approach to examine the development and production of topics. Topic maintenance is sustained with the overt exchange of coherent information, and lexical preferences at the boundaries of related discourse segmentation can help construct the course of topic development. Form-based discourse units are used to represent the content of spoken utterances and describe the interaction of speakers in the conversations. Typical cues and expressions used for initiating topics and subtopics and their respective discourse functions in Hakka conversation are analyzed. In our Hakka conversational data, noun phrases are preferred at topic and subtopic transition boundaries and complete forms such as clausal constructions are favored, although spontaneous speech is expected to be fragmentary in terms of syntactic structure.

主要相關著作：

Tseng, Shu-Chuan and Hsiao-chien Liu\*, 2022, “Topic Development and Boundary Cues in Hakka Conversational Discourse”, *International Journal for Computational Linguistics and Chinese Language Processing*, 27(1), 27-52. (THCI)