

2023 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以自然語言為進行科學研究之對象；研究方法涵蓋理論語言學、類型語言學、歷史語言學、神經與認知語言學及語料庫與計算語言學；研究語言遍及台灣境內與境外各語族。本所同仁長期致力於語言類型結構、語言接觸及語言演變等學術研究，並積極推動語言科技跨領域整合型研究。本所 112 年度在職研究人員共 18 名，其中包含 2 位特聘研究員、9 位研究員、5 位副研究員和 2 位助研究員。五年內本所所有三位資深同仁即將退休。為維持本所在國內外之學術競爭力，積極向院方爭取員額，亦配合本所理論與跨學科之學術發展主軸與國家政策發展，運用策略性思維積極延攬人才以改善本所人力結構老化問題。本所亦致力培育語言學相關領域學生獎補助與博士後研究，以期透過人才培育，擴充研究人力。

西元年：2023

研究人員(中)：廖偉聞

研究人員(英)：LIAO, WEI-WEN

研究成果名稱(中)：主題析取之不對稱現象: 對比分析研究

研究成果名稱(英)：Extraction Asymmetries in Topic Structure: A comparative analysis.

簡要記述(中)：本研究分析不同的主題(論元/非論元)在漢語、英語、及義大利語中所呈現的對稱現象，除了論元/非論元的不對稱性外，我們還觀察到漢語中的非論元主題需要區分為描述事件及描述情狀兩種。我們從不同的句法環境中推論出能夠解釋這些主題出現環境為什麼不同的要素，關鍵就在於主題是否涉及句法移位。除了主題不對稱性之外，我們的理論也可以用來解釋其他析取結構的不對稱性。

簡要記述(英)：We review the argument-adjunct (a)symmetry found in topic structures in English, Italian, and Mandarin Chinese regarding the behaviors of topic(s) in multiple-topic sentences, embedded clauses, and non-declarative sentences. We observe a systematic extraction asymmetry in these environments between (A) argument and circumstantial-adjunct topics and (B) manner-adjunct topics. The new findings from Mandarin Chinese derive the extraction asymmetry from the more fundamental movement-merger asymmetry.

主要相關著作：

Liao, Wei-wen Roger & Grant Hung-Ta Kao, 2023, "Extraction Asymmetries in Topic Structures: A Comparative Analysis", *JOURNAL OF EAST ASIAN LINGUISTICS*, 32(1), 63-90. (SSCI, A&HCI) (IF: 0.346; SSCI ranking: 92.8%)

西元年：2023

研究人員(中)：孫天心

研究人員(英)：SUN, JACKSON T.-S.

研究成果名稱(中)：格西霍爾語的示證範疇

研究成果名稱(英)：Evidentiality in Dgeshes Horpa

簡要記述(中)：霍爾語群分佈於川西阿壩、甘孜兩州六個縣，屬於漢藏語系羌語支嘉戎語組。

本文沿用並進一步闡釋 Tournadre & LaPolla 對示證式的修正定義，系統介紹中部霍爾語格西話謂語的示證範疇。格西話採用零標記及三種後綴構成的「四元對立」示證體系。說話者報導敘實、自知、過去親歷、現場觀察等情況時，對訊息有高度的掌握，無需添加任何示證標記；而三種示證後綴分別代表說話者掌握度較低的三類訊息，即現場查知的「新知」訊息、事後方知的「後知」訊息、以及二手轉知的「旁知」訊息。此外尚有兩種動詞成分可表達近似示證的語意，然而尚未充分語法化成為示證體系的一部分。格西話示證體系的形式與用法都有鮮明的特點，在霍爾語群中具有代表性。雖不能排除藏語示證範式的影響，但主要為自身發展形成的語法範疇。

簡要記述(英)：Spoken in six counties of Rngaba and Dkarmdzes Prefectures in western Sichuan

Province, the Horpa language cluster falls under the Rgyalrongic subgroup in Sino-Tibetan. This paper conducts a first systematic study of verbal evidentiality in the Dgeshes (Gexi) variety of Central Horpa based on, and further developing, Tournadre & LaPolla's (2008) definition of evidentiality. Dgeshes distinguishes a four-term evidential system signaled by zero and three verbal suffixes. Gnomonic, egophoric, and personally perceived situations involve speaker's higher access to information and are zero-marked, whereas three evidential categories characterized by lower information access, immediate, hindsight, and secondhand, are explicitly marked by suffixes. Also discussed in this paper are two verbal elements which impart evidential-like meanings but are yet to fully integrate into the evidential paradigm. The Dgeshes evidential system displays several salient formal and functional traits typical of Horpa languages in general. While conceptual influence from Tibetan cannot be ruled out, the system appears to be an output of internal evolution rather than language contact.

主要相關著作：

田阡子、孫天心，2023，〈格西霍爾語的示證範疇〉，《Language and Linguistics》，24(3), 543-566。(SSCI, A&HCI) (IF: 0.348; SSCI ranking: 92.3%)

西元年：2023

研究人員(中)：李琦

研究人員(英)：CATHERINE, ALDRIDGE EDITH

研究成果名稱(中)：早期中古漢語中焦點及疑問代詞賓語移位的消失

研究成果名稱(英)：The loss of object focus and wh-movement in Early Middle Chinese

簡要記述(中)：本文調查西元一世紀早期中古漢語 (Early Middle Chinese, EMC) 中的賓語焦點與疑問詞移位之消失現象。前述兩種賓語前移現象，於晚期上古漢語 (Late Archaic Chinese 簡稱 LAC，約西元前 5 至前 3 世紀) 用法皆很豐富，該移位以輕動詞層邊緣為落腳點，導致其表層位置位於主語與動詞組之間。縱使疑問詞移位並未搭配焦點標記，前移的指涉性賓語必須位於屬格助詞「之」之前，筆者認為，該助詞指出移位終點位置的焦點特徵。有關早期中古漢語之賓語焦點前移的消失，本文主張驅動該變化之主因來自於屬格助詞的丟失。此助詞之消失去

除了焦點移位型態上的證據，指涉性的賓語焦點提前也因此消失。相較下，疑問詞的消失進展至一個中間階段，其中述語前的疑問代詞被重新分析，與動詞相結合。本文主張，該中間階段亦間接受到屬格助詞消失的驅動，因為其同時消除了焦點前移至輕動詞短語 (vP) 層邊緣的證據。因此，漢語母語者採取了更當地策略取向的移位，以容納他們在習得過程中所接觸之剩餘的動詞前的疑問代詞。

簡要記述(英)：This paper investigates the loss of object focus movement and wh-fronting in Early Middle Chinese (EMC) in approximately the 1st century BCE. These two types of object fronting were both productive in Late Archaic Chinese (LAC; 5th – 3rd centuries BCE), the movement targeting the edge of the vP phase, resulting in a surface position between the subject and VP. Although wh-movement did not accompany any additional marking for focus, fronted referential objects were obligatorily followed by the genitive particle *zhī*, which I propose spelled out the focus feature in the landing site. Regarding the loss of object focus fronting in EMC, I propose that the trigger for this change was the loss of the genitive particle. This had the result of removing the overt morphological evidence for focus movement, and referential object focus fronting was lost as a consequence. In contrast to this, the loss of wh-movement progressed through an intermediate stage in which preverbal interrogative pronouns were reanalyzed as being adjoined to the lexical verb. I propose that the intermediate stage was also indirectly triggered by the loss of the genitive particle, since this eliminated the evidence for focus fronting to the edge of vP. Consequently, acquirers adopted a more local type of movement in order to accommodate the residual cases of preverbal interrogative pronouns they encountered in the acquisition process.

主要相關著作：

Aldridge, Edith, 2023, “The loss of object focus and wh-movement in Early Middle Chinese”, *Journal of Historical Syntax*, 7, 1-40.