

2018 年中央研究院重要研究成果

語言學研究所

整體研究概述：

107 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：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、臺灣澤敖利泰雅語音韻規律、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）。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。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：2018

研究人員(中)：李佳穎

研究人員(英)：LEE, CHIA-YING

研究成果名稱(中)：華語聲調之失匹配反應在 12 至 24 月齡嬰兒的發展

研究成果名稱(英)：The Development of Mismatch Responses to Mandarin Lexical Tone in 12- to 24-Month-Old Infants

簡要記述(中)：本研究旨在探討華語聲調改變引發的失匹配反應在 12、18 和 24 個月大嬰兒的發展。實驗採用多重異刺激典範，以華語三聲為標準音、聲學特徵和標準音差異較大的一聲為大差異音、二聲則微小差異音，檢驗聲調改變程度對失匹配反應的影響。研究結果顯示：一聲/三聲的改變(大差異)在三個年齡組都引發失匹配負波。二聲/三聲的改變在 12 和 18 個月齡組引發正向的失匹配反應，但在 24 個月齡沒有引發失匹配反應。失匹配負波和正向失匹配反應在同年齡組共現，這樣的特徵表示聲調大、小差異的區辨可能依賴不同機制。嬰兒早在六個月大就對一聲/三聲的改變出現如同大人般的失匹配負波特徵，表示這時期嬰兒已能夠自動化區辨一聲/三聲。然而，二聲/三聲的改變直到 24 個月大仍未出現失匹配負波，顯示在兩歲前聲調的語音表徵尚未完全成熟。以上發現支持失匹配負波與正向的失匹配反應可作為語音知覺成熟度的神經生理指標。

簡要記述(英)：This study explores the development of mismatch responses (MMRs) to Mandarin lexical tone changes in infants at 12, 18, and 24 months of age using the multi-deviant oddball paradigm with the low dipping Tone 3 (T3) as the standard, the high level Tone 1 (T1) as the large, and the high rising Tone 2 (T2) as the small deviant. The results show that the large acoustic change between T1/T3 elicited mismatch negativity (MMN) in all three age groups. The small acoustic change between T2/T3 elicited a positive mismatch response (P-MMR) at 12 and 18 months of age, but no MMR was found to the T2/T3 change at 24 months. The coexistence of MMN and P-MMR in the same age group implies that different mechanisms were used for discriminating large and small deviants. Infants were able to detect the T1/T3 change automatically and showed adult-like MMN as early as 6 months of age. However, the detection of the T2/T3 change remains effortful in infants under 24 months of age. These findings support the notion that MMN and P-MMR may be used to index the maturation of speech perception.

西元年：2018

研究人員(中)：鄧芳青

研究人員(英)：TENG, FANG-CHING

研究成果名稱(中)：原始卑南語動貌及語氣系統的重建

研究成果名稱(英)：A reconstruction of the Proto-Puyuma aspectual and modal systems

簡要記述(中)：本文比較當代卑南語南王及知本兩方言的動貌及語氣系統，依此作為重建原始卑南語系統的基礎，並解釋從原始卑南語的系統如何演變成當代各方言不同的系統。在現代的卑南語方言中，主事者語態(actor voice)及受事者語態(undergoer voice)關於動貌及語氣的區別並不總是對稱的；在兩種方言中，主事者語態(actor voice)的動貌及語氣皆呈現以實現/未實現(realis vs. irrealis)為主要區別。在南王方言，受事者語態呈現相同的二分法(實現 vs. 未實現)，但在知本方言的受事者語態句中，最重要的區別卻是完成/未完成(perfective vs. imperfective)。根據這些事實，我主張原始卑南語的時貌語氣系統是以動貌為首，其主要區分在於完成/未完成。

簡要記述(英)：In this talk, I will compare the aspectual and modal systems in two dialects of Puyuma, Nanwang and Katripul, and as a basis for the reconstruction of the proto system. In modern Puyuma dialects, there is an asymmetry between ACTOR VOICE and UNDERGOER VOICE in terms of the aspectual/modal value that they may be used to denote. In both dialects, AV clauses show a REALIS vs. IRREALIS distinction. In Nanwang, UV clauses display the same dichotomy (REALIS vs. IRREALIS), but in Katripul the distinction is between PERFECTIVE vs. IMPERFECTIVE. Based on these facts, I argue that Proto Puyuma was an aspect prominent language, i.e. the major distinction in its aspectual/modal system was between PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE, and there were modal affixes for marking intention and possibility. It is suggested that in the course of time, the modal markers faded out, and then the IMPERFECTIVE AV verbs were reinterpreted as PROGRESSIVE and IRREALIS respectively. In Nanwang, an analogical change has taken place and the pressure for paradigmatic leveling pushed the UV IMPERFECTIVE forms to shift to PROGRESSIVE too. In Katripul, where the modal affixes are kept, the system displays an AV/UV asymmetry; AV shows a REALIS/IRREALIS opposition, and UV PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE. With regard to the modal system that is reconstructed for Proto Puyuma, there is external evidence from Thao to support the proposal.

主要相關著作：

Stacy Fang-ching Teng, 2018, "A reconstruction of the Proto-Puyuma aspectual and modal systems", *OCEANIC LINGUISTICS*, 57(2):303-334. (A&HCI)

西元年：2018

研究人員(中)：廖偉聞

研究人員(英)：LIAO, WEI-WEN

研究成果名稱(中)：從漢語的數量詞組談微言主義中的對應理論

研究成果名稱(英)：Bare numeral phrases in Mandarin and the minimalist mapping hypothesis

簡要記述(中)：漢語的數量詞組出現在動前位置時，通常會跟「有」字一起出現。「有」字標記讓數量詞組獲得指涉實體的解讀，帶有個體存在的預設。另一方面，在許多句法環境下，「有」字不會出現，這時候數量詞獲得指涉數量的解讀，也不會有個體存在的預設。本文主要的發現是除了「有」字之外，上述兩種解讀跟低位模態詞與中間時貌詞的分布是有相關性的。我們認為這種相關性可以利用句法的呼應理論來分析。具體而言，數量詞會投射出一個隱性的定詞(D)，此隱性定詞帶有未標記的量化特徵。因為未標記的關係，所以需要「有」字、低位模態詞、或中間

時貌詞來作為標記者。我們認為此透過呼應理論的分析能修改傳統的對應理論，修改後的理論不但能完全符合微言主義的精神，並且能找出對應理論中量化運符的根本來源。

簡要記述(英)：We pursue an agreement-based analysis of the bare numeral phrases in Chinese. Bare numeral phrases in Chinese often occur with the you marker in the preverbal position. With the marker, a bare numeral phrase obtains an individual-denoting reading, which has an existential meaning. In contrast, several syntactic environments do not need the you marker, and the bare numeral phrase obtains the quantity-denoting reading. In addition to the existential you marker, we observe that the distributions of the two readings are correlated to the lower (root) modals (Mod) and the middle aspects (Asp). We argue that the correlation can be analyzed through syntactic feature agreement. That is, the bare numeral phrase carries an unvalued quantificational feature in the null D, and its unvalued feature is valued by the corresponding existential you marker, Asp, and/or Mod heads through (multiple) agreement. We argue that the proposed feature agreement mechanism can improve upon the (Extended) Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992; Tsai 1999, 2001) under the Minimalist Program.

主要相關著作：

Liao, Wei-wen Roger, 2018, “Bare numeral phrases in Mandarin and the minimalist mapping hypothesis”, *International Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 5(1), 32-57. (ERIH Plus)

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107 年著作目錄

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