

黃宗榮 國立臺灣大學語言學研究所

論文題目(中文)：汶水泰雅語中的 kiya 與 haniyan：其介詞用法及助動詞用法

論文題目(英文)：Kiya and Haniyan in Mayrinax Atayal: Their Adposition and Auxiliary Usages

指導教授：宋麗梅

Abstract

This thesis focuses on *kiya* and *haniyan* in Mayrinax Atayal, an ergative Formosan language (Huang 1994; Starosta 1999; Aldridge 2004), and their dual identity as lexical adpositions and progressive auxiliaries. I propose that grammaticalization links their adposition and auxiliary identities. To know more about their dual usages, I also provide syntactic analyses to related constructions—existential, predicative locative, predicative possessive, and progressive construction. In discussing their adposition use, I first argue that *kiya* and *haniyan* are not one-place existential verbs by providing counterexamples to the verbal criteria and account proposed by Huang (1995, 2000, 2002) and Zeitoun et al. (1999). As they should not be treated as verbs, I give further morphosyntactic and semantic evidence justifying *kiya* and *haniyan* as two-place lexical adpositions, following Dermirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), Svenonius (2007, 2008), and den Dikken (2010).

As adpositions, *kiya* and *haniyan* are involved in three constructions: existentials (EXTs), predicative locatives (LOCs), and predicative possessives (POSSs). According to Freeze (1992), cross-linguistically the three derive from an adpositional locative structure, with derivation conditioned by nominal semantics. In this thesis I also unify the three in Mayrinax Atayal but in a way unlike Freeze's: the proposed derivation is conditioned by morphosyntactic factors—categorical EPP, NP-DP distinction (Laka 1993), nuclear scope (Diesing 1992), casemarking (Lestrade 2008), and TP movement (Aldridge 2004). Semantic differences, in this way, fall out as an epiphenomenon.

This thesis also studies *kiya* and *haniyan* as progressive auxiliaries in Mayrinax Atayal. Evidence shows that they are lexicalized Aspect heads that take infinitive *vP* complement. Progressive clauses (PROGs) in Mayrinax Atayal also manifest functional restructuring (Cinque 2001; Wurmbbrand 2003), showing monoclausality and monoeventuality. In a bird's eye view, the adposition-progressive usages of *kiya* and *haniyan* in Mayrinax Atayal receive cross-linguistic echoes (cf. Bybee et al. 1994; Dermirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000; Higginbotham 2002; Laka 2006). I propose that in Mayrinax Atayal adpositional *kiya* and *haniyan* grammaticalize into their progressive counterparts, evinced by category change and semantic erosion, supporting Laka's (2006) grammaticalization account.