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研究会報告

「アフリカ諸語のイベントの統合のパターンに関する研究」平成24年度第3回研究会

日時:

平成25年1月27（日曜日）午前11時より午後5時

場所:

東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所マルチメディア会議室（304）

- [1] 阿部優子（AA研共同研究員、JICA）
「Some aspects of Motion Verbs in Bende – A sample from the “Frog Story”」
- [2] 稗田乃（AA 研所員）
「クマム語のアスペクトについて」
- [3] 河内一博（AA 研共同研究員、防衛大学校）
「クプサビニィ語の移動表現と構文」

Some aspects of Motion Verbs in Bende -- A sample from the “Frog Story”

阿部優子 (AA研共同研究員、JICA)

移動動詞の調査ツールのひとつである絵本“Frog story”を用いて、ベンデ語（タンザニアバントゥ、F12）のテキストを収集し、移動にかかる表現を検証した。その結果、移動動詞にかかるイベント統合の2タイプ、すなわちSatellite-framed、Verb-framedいずれの表現も見られたものの、Verb-framedパターンがより顕著な結果となった。これは一般に「バントゥ諸語はSatellite-framedパターンをとる」との認識とは異なる結果である。

一方で、本ツールで得られたテキストが「物語」ということもあり、被験者がより平易な表現を使ったとも考えられる。そのため、Verb-framedパターンが顕著であった可能性もある。というのも個別の作例では、Satellite-framedパターンも多く見られるためである。テキストの条件設定もまた、どちらのタイプをとるかに影響を与えるのではないかと、いう示唆を得た。

さらに、バントゥ諸語に特徴的である場所クラス (Locative Noun Phrase)について「Noun Phrase にも Motion が含まれるのか否か」という問題が参加者により議論され、今後、ベンデ語の移動動詞の分析にあたって重要なテーマのひとつであるとの認識を新たにした。

Aspect in Kumam

Kumam necessarily distinguishes imperfect from perfect aspect supra-segmentally in the verbal morphology. The perfect aspect is marked by a low toneme.

(1) a = tédó !cám (Imperfect)

1SG=IMPERF:cook food

‘I cook food.’

(2) a = té!dó !cám (Perfect)

1SG=PERF:cook food

‘I cooked food.’

Progressive aspect consists of the auxiliary = tyé ‘be’ and an infinitive form of verbs.

(3) a = tyé teedo cám

1SG=PERF:be cook:INF food

‘I am cooking food.’

Past tense is marked with the adverbial ɔudɔ ‘PAST’.

(4) ɔudɔ a = tédó !cám (Past imperfect)

(5) ɔudɔ a = té!dó !cám (Past perfect)

(6) ɔudɔ a = tyé teedó !cám (Past progressive)

Future tense consists of the auxiliary yaarɔ ‘to decide’ and an infinitive form of verbs.

(7) a = yá!ró teedo cám

1SG=PERF:decide cook:INF food

‘I will cook food.’

Tenses and aspects are semantically characterized by ‘non-boundness in time’. The events expressed by verbs in the imperfect aspect are not performed in a particular time. The imperfect aspect denotes that the events expressed are performed basically habitually or repeatedly. Other tenses and aspects are characterized by ‘boundness in time’. Verbs in the other tenses and aspect than the imperfect express that events are performed in a particular time. The semantic characteristics give an explanation to the following usages of verbs. So-called ‘stative’ verbs are basically inflected with the imperfect, because events described by them are not completed in a particular time.

(8) a = má!rɔ itábun

1SG=IMPERF:like books

‘I like (reading) books.’

(9) */?a = má!rɔ itábun

1SG=PERF:like books

‘The books pleased me.’

The sentence (9) is not natural for the interpretation that the speaker liked the books.’ It is only acceptable for the interpretation that the speaker finished reading the books and was pleased with them. Similarly the sentence (10) is not semantically natural because the relative clause consisting of a verb inflected with the imperfect aspect does not express that the event is performed in a particular time. The sentence (10) is only acceptable for the interpretation that the books bought by the subject in the relative clause always please the speaker.

(10) */?a = mítɔ itabu á!mé okélo wílɔ

1SG=IMPERF:want book which Okelo 3SG:IMPERF:buy

11) a = mító itabu ú!mé okélo ɔ = wilo

1SG=IMPERF:want book which Okelo 3S/P=PERF:buy

‘I like the book which Okelo bought.’

Tenses and aspects in first clause should coincide with those in second clause in coordinate construction. When the first clause consists of a verb in the imperfect aspect, a verb in the second clause should be in the imperfect aspect. When a verb in the first clause is inflected with another tense or aspect than imperfect, a verb should be in another tense or aspect than imperfect in the second clause.

(12) ε = nékó gwen di a = cá!mó = !gí

3SG=IMPERF:kill chickens and 1SG=IMPERF:eat=3PL

‘He kills chickens and I eat them.’

(13) *ε = nékó gwen do a = cá!mó = !gí

3SG=IMPERF:kill chickens but 1SG=PERF:kill=3PL

‘*He kills chickens but I ate them.’

Tenses and aspects in Kumam are characterized semantically by ‘boundness in time’.

(B-2) associative motion

移動の付帯状況は多くの言語で従属節で表すが、クプサビニ語の場合、移動とは無関係な動作も主動詞で表し、接尾辞で経路を表すという動詞付随要素枠付言語のパターンを取ることができる。e.g. (4b), (4c), (5b), (5c), (6b), (6c)

- (4) (a) kʉ-pɛ́l/(b) kʉ-pɛ́l-ɔ-n/(c) kʉ-pɛ́l-aa-t cɛ́mtáy táárit.
DIST.PAST.3-burn/DIST.PAST.3-burn-along-hither/ Cemtay candle
DIST.PAST.3-burn-along-thither
(a): ‘Cemtay lit the candle.’
(b)/(c): ‘Cemtay lit the candle as she moved (b) toward the deictic center/(c) in a direction other than the deictic center.’
- (5) (a) kʉ-nɛ́ɛ́r/(b) kʉ-nɛ́ɛ́r-nɔɔ-n/(c) kʉ-nɛ́ɛ́r-naa-t.
DIST.PAST.3-get.angry/DIST.PAST.3-get.angry-along-hither/
DIST.PAST.3-get.angry-along-thither
(a): ‘S/he got angry.’
(b)/(c): ‘S/he got angry repeatedly (or was angry) as s/he moved (b) toward the deictic center/(c) in a direction other than the deictic center.’
- (6) (a) kʉ-kas/(b) kʉ-kas-tóó-n/(c) kʉ-kas-áá-t lakám.
DIST.PAST.3-look/DIST.PAST.3-look-along-hither/ mountain
DIST.PAST.3-look-along-thither
(a): ‘S/he looked at the mountain.’
(b)/(c): ‘S/he looked at the mountain as s/he moved (b) toward the deictic center/(c) in a direction other than the deictic center.’

(C) Croft et al.: 動詞枠付言語と動詞付随要素枠付言語等の特徴は、構文が示すという主張クプサビニ語の場合、一つの構文が一つの言語類型に結びついているとは限らない。“V1 (finite) – V2 (participle)”という構文で、V1: co-event, V2: path という動詞付随要素枠付言語のパターン (e.g. (7), (8)) と V1: path, V2: co-event という動詞枠付言語のパターン (e.g. (9), (10)) の両方が可能である。

- (7) kɛ́ɛ́-ran-aa-t nɛ́ɛ́to kʉ-rɛ́kt-o.
TODAY.PAST.3-jump-along-thither 3SG PTCP.3-descend-to.goal
‘S/he jumped along down that way.’
(lit. ‘S/he jumped along thither, descending.’)
- (8) kɛ́ɛ́-ran-aa-t nɛ́ɛ́to kʉ-rɛ́kt-aa-t.
TODAY.PAST.3-jump-along-thither 3SG PTCP.3-descend-along-thither
‘S/he jumped along down that way.’
(lit. ‘S/he jumped along thither, descending along thither.’)
- (9) kʉ-rɛ́kt-o nɛ́ɛ́to kʉ-ran-aa-t.
TODAY.PAST.3-descend-to.goal 3SG PTCP.3-jump-along-thither
‘S/he jumped along down that way.’
(lit. ‘S/he descended, jumping along thither.’)
- (10) kʉ-rɛ́kt-aa-t nɛ́ɛ́to kʉ-ran-aa-t.
TODAY.PAST.3-descend-along-thither 3SG PTCP.3-jump-along-thither
‘S/he jumped along down that way.’
(lit. ‘S/he descended along thither, jumping along thither.’)