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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25年度第1回研究会

日時:

平成25年5月18日（土曜日）午後1時より午後7時

場所:

東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所 301室

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「アカン語のイベントの統合」
- [2] 中川裕（AA 研共同研究員、東京外国語大学）
「グイ語連結辞構文で表現されるマクロ・イベント」
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「手話諸言語の mimetic words、いわゆる classifiers について 1」

Event integration in Akan

Kyoko Koga

1. Introduction

According to Talmy (2000), there are two typological types on the basis of the characteristic pattern in which the conceptual structure of the macro-event is mapped onto syntactic structure, namely, satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages. It is suggested in some following studies there may be a third type, equipollent-framed languages (Ameka and Essegbey 2001, etc.).

In Akan (Niger-Congo, Kwa), macro-event is basically expressed by serial verb construction (although there are a few exceptions). This presentation looks at grammaticalization and word order in SVC and raises the following questions:

- Which verb in a serial verb construction is the main verb?
- Is Akan an equipollent language?

2. Serial verb constructions of Akan

Akan typically has a serial verb constructions as many West African languages. Some features of serialization is

- all the verbs in the clause have the same subject, and if the subject is a clitic pronoun it occurs only on the first verb.
- verbs are marked for the same tense/aspect (in future or progressive, only the initial verbs take the marker, and non-initial are marked with the serial marker prefix a-).

There are two types of serialization.

- SC1 (Osam 1994) / linking type (Bamgbose 1974)

This type is the representation of multi-event structures by means of multi-verbs. It is possible to put a conjunction into a SC1 sentence without affecting the meaning.

(1) Araba tɔɔ nam kyew-ee tɔn-ee
Araba buy-PAST fish fry-PAST sell-PAST
'Araba bought fish, fried it and sold it.'

(2) Araba bɔ-tɔ nam na ɔ-a-kyew
Araba FUT-buy fish and she-SM-fry
'Araba will buy fish and fry it.'

- SC2 (Osam 1994) / modifying type (Bamgbose 1974)

This type uses multi-verbs to represent single events. Some verbs in this construction no more bear its original meaning: for example, semantic content of *ma* is not ‘give’ but it is used as a marker of a beneficiary entity in (4). In (5), *dze* has a metaphorical extension of the ordinary meaning of the verb.

SC2 is relevant to event integration.

- (3) ɔ=fi-i Dodi *dware*-e *twa*-a Firaw
 3SGSC=leave-PAST Dodi swim-PAST cut-PAST Volta
 ‘S/he swam from Dodi over the Volta’

- (4) Araba *yε-ε* asɔr *ma*-a εbo
 Araba do-PAST prayer give-PAST εbo
 ‘Araba prayed for εbo.’

- (5) Kofi *dze* enyinge *yε-ε* edwuma=no
 Kofi take/hold joy do-PAST work=the
 ‘Kofi did the work with joy.’

3. Some integration patterns

- Motion

- (6) ɔ=fi-i Dodi *dware*-e *twa*-a Firaw (MANNER)
 3SGSC=leave-PAST Dodi swim cut-PAST Volta
 ‘S/he swam from Dodi over the Volta’

- (7) Kofi a-*nantsew* a-*kɔ* Mankesim (MANNER)
 Kofi PERF-walk PERF-go Mankesim
 ‘Kofi has walked to Mankesim’

- (8) Kofi *dε* sekan=no *twa*-a dua=no (INSTRUMENT)
 Kofi take knife=the cut-PAST tree=the
 ‘Kofi cut the tree with the knife.’

- (9) Kofi *dε* abotare *yε-ε* edwuma=no (MANNER)
 Kofi take patience do-PAST work=the
 ‘Kofi did the work patiently.’

• Aspect

(10) ɔ=a-ka ne=a-sem a-wie
 3SGSC=PERF-speak 3SGPC=news PERF-finish
 ‘S/he has delivered his/her speech to an end.’

(11) ɔ=a-san a-ka ε-no-ara bio
 3SGSC=PERF-repeat PERF-speak that-all again
 ‘S/he said the same thing again.’

(12) ɔmo=kasa-e kasa-e
 3PLSC=talk-PAST talk-PAST
 ‘They talked on and on.’

→ Which is the framing event?

(13) ɔmo=koɔ so kasa-e
 3PLSC=go-PAST on talk-PAST
 ‘They went on talking.’

• State change

(14) mi=hu-u kanea=no dum=no
 1SGSC=blow-PAST candle=the extinguish=INANIOC
 ‘I blew the candle out.’

• Realization

(15) ye=be-bu dan nyinara a-gu fam (CAUSE)
 1PLSC=FUT-break house whole SM-down-to ground
 ‘We will break the whole house down.’

→ Switch-subject SVC (structural subjects of two verbs are different)

(16) me=wɔɔ=no sekan kum=no
 1SGSC=stab-PAST=3SGOC knife kill-PAST=3SGOC
 ‘I stabbed him to death.’

• Action correlating

(17) me=ho ye.den kyen=no
 1SGPC=body be strong surpass=3SGOC
 ‘I am stronger than him.’

4. Discussion

- Which verb in serial verb construction is the main verb?

Although event integration is expressed by SVC in most cases, there are a few cases where co-event is realized by satellites like prefixes (18) or conjunction (19). In (18), *be-* is traced back to a verb *ba* ‘come’, which has now turned into an ingressive prefix. Likewise, (8), (9) may not be SVC because *de* behaves morphologically like a preposition. *de* originally comes from a verb ‘take’, but it never occurs with any tense/aspect marker nor does it occur in negative sentences (in negative, it changes into suppletive form *fa*). These are the results of a grammaticalization process going on in Akan serial verbs.

In these examples, grammaticalization took place in the initial verbs, which bears co-event, while framing event is basically realized in non-initial verbs (although there are a few cases it is realized in the initial (11, 13)). So it may be that non-initial verbs are the main verbs.

- Aspect (ingressive)?

(18) Kofi *bɛ-fa*-a sika=no
 Kofi ING-take-PAST money=the
 ‘Kofi came and took the money.’

- Action Correlating

(19) me ne no *bɔɔ* twenee=no
 1SGPRON and 3SGPRON play-PAST drum=the
 ‘I played the drum along with him.’

- Is Akan an equipollent language?

The word order in SVC seems to be fixed. As far as I have investigated, the verbs in serial verb constructions are not interchangeable. Where the interchanged construction is semantically accepted, the meanings of the sentences are not the same (21, 21’).

(20) *ɔ*=a-ka ne=asem a-wie
 3SGSC=PERF-speak 3SGPC=news PERF-finish
 ‘S/he has delivered his/her speech to an end.’

(20’) *?**ɔ*=a-wie a-ka ne=asem
 3SGSC=PERF-finish PERF-speak 3SGPC=news

(21) *ɔ*=fi-i dua so hwe-e fam
 3SGSC=come-from-PAST tree top fall-PAST ground
 ‘S/he fell down from a tree.’

(21')? ɔ=hwe-e fam fi-i dua so
 3SGSC=fall-PAST ground come-from-PAST tree top

(22) ɔ=a·yɛ adwuma foforo a·wie
 3SGSC=PERF-do work new PERF-finish
 'S/he has finished a new work.'

(22') ɔ=a·wie a·yɛ adwuma foforo
 3SGSC=PERF-finish PERF-do work new
 'S/he has finished and did something else.'

→ SC1

The position of verbs seems to be determined simply by the order of events' occurrence. For example, (20') is not understandable because finishing cannot take place before making a speech. Similarly, (21') is not understandable because coming from the top of a tree takes place before falling and not vice versa. So it may not be a matter of which verb being the main verb (on the other hand, (11), (13), (17) cannot be considered to be in the order of events' occurrence).

According to Talmy (2000: 224), in verb-framed languages, the degree of its syntactic integration into the main clause of the sentence can range over a gradient. Taking Akan as a verb-framed language, it is suggested that Akan is at the least integrated end of the gradient. Or is Akan an equipollent language? Or do those sentences represent event integration at all?

Bamgbose, A. On serial verbs and verbal status. *Journal of West African Languages*, IX, I, 1974, pp.17-48.

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グイ語連結辞構文で表現されるマクロ・イベント
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グイ語 (コエ・クワディ語族カラハリ・コエ語派南西カラハリ語群) に観察される連結辞構文は、これまでのelicitationによる語彙調査から、Talmyの「マクロ・イベント」に該当する意味的複合事象を頻繁に表現することが分かってきた。本発表は、初めてテキスト資料を用いて、そこに現れる連結辞構文を網羅的に観察し分析し、その結果を報告した。まずはじめに、完全に文法化されマクロ・イベントには関連しない連結辞構文を排除し、それらを除くすべての36事例を対象として、Talmy (2000)の提案する枠組みを使って、それぞれの事例の[framing event], [co-event], [event type], [support relation of co-event]の特定を試みた。発表では、グイ語連結辞構文を定義し、その構造を素描的に記述したあと、36事例の分析の結果を述べ、Talmyの分析手法が上記の事例を捉える上でどれほどの有効かを論じた。また、12事例において認められたマクロ・イベント解釈にかかわる問題を提起し、その問題について参加者と討議を行った。

Mimetic Words in Sign(ed) Languages

--手話諸言語の mimetic words、いわゆる classifiers について--

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0. Introduction

Deaf sign languages have so-called “classifier constructions” (Baker-Shenk et al. 1980, Emmorey 2003, Ichida 2005). The phenomena called “classifier constructions” in sign languages have been considered similar to classifier constructions in spoken languages in some ways.

1. Synonymy (or many names for “classifier constructions”)

The term “classifier constructions” seems to be the term generally used among sign language linguists nowadays.

JSL¹ teachers and Japanese sign language linguists use the term Shîeru(CL)-Kôbun².

Wallin (1994) called them “polysynthetic signs.”

Slobin et al. (2001) called them “polycomponential signs.”

Liddell (2003) called them “classifier predicates.”

And “I” call them “mimetic words” now. (Mimetic signs³ is perhaps better.) I hope we will see how appropriate each of the terms above is.

¹ Abbreviations (except for the ones used in BTS notation) used in this paper are as follows: ASL (American Sign Language), BTS (Berkeley Transcription System), JSL (Japanese Sign Language), NGT (Nederlandse Gebarentaal, also SLN), SLN (Sign Language of the Netherlands), STS (Svenska Teckenspråket, Swedish Sign Language), TTM (Tenin’ny Tanana Malagasy, Malagasy Sign Language).

² I do not use the Japanese term Shîeru(CL)-Kôbun because it is similar to calling negative construction Enûjî(NEG)-Kôbun from the generally used abbreviation of the grammatical category in the glosses.

³ A sign is a signed word. A mimetic sign or a polycomponential sign can be more than just a simple word. It can be regarded as a complex made of several componential “words.”

2. How to write the “signifiants 能記” of sign languages

	Non-Unicode characters	Phonetic or phonemic	For which sign languages?	For what purpose
Stokoe system ⁴	Yes	Phonemic	For ASL	Academic transcription
SignWriting ⁵	Yes	Phonemic	For general use	Pragmatic writing system
HamNoSys ⁶	Yes	Phonetic	For general use	Academic transcription
ASLphabet ⁷	Yes	Phonemic and very underspecified	For ASL	For elementary education of English for deaf children
BTS ⁸	No (only ASCII characters)	Componential (Phonemic???, not componential for non-componential signs)	For ASL and NGT (but aiming at the uses in other sign languages too)	Academic transcription, especially suitable for mimetic signs

2. Taking a look at BTS

We will take a look at Slobin et al.’s (2001) section 3 “Polycomponential Signs”:

In the fullest possible elaboration, a polycomponential construction includes:

1. a gloss, indicated in lower case letters enclosed in parentheses to avoid counting it as a lexical item

⁴ Cf. Stokoe (1965).

⁵ Cf. SignWriting.org (not dated).

⁶ Hamburg Notation System. Cf. Universität Hamburg (not dated).

⁷ Cf. ASLphabet.com (not dated). The notating characters used in ASLphabet used to be called “graphemes” by Sam Supalla.

⁸ Cf. Slobin et al. (2001).

2. paths of movement in the form -pth'X (also -src, -gol, and -rel)
3. property markers (figures and grounds) in the form -pm'X
4. locations in the form -loc'X
5. posture in the form -pst'X
6. movement patterns in the form -mvt'X
7. non-manual elements in the form -^mod'X (also -^opr, -^aff, and -^dis)
8. aspect in the form -asp'X

Only the gloss and one property marker are obligatory. Locations, movement patterns, and paths of movement may be absent or may have several entries. There can only be one aspect entry.

<中略 詳細は Slobin et al. 2001 を参照されたい>

2.11. Examples of polycomponential signs

The following are examples of polycomponential verbs, with possible translations in parentheses (Slobin et al. 2001). (Note that this analysis reveals derivational relationships between verbs of location and verbs of movement.)

- (5) (sit_on)-pm'PL_VL⁹-pm'TL-loc'PL_VL_TOP-pst'STR¹⁰ = 'sit on a horse'
- (6) (mount)-pm'PL_VL-pm'TL-gol'PL_VL_TOP-pst'STR = 'get on a horse'
- (7) (ride_mounted)-pm'PL_VL-pm'TL-loc'PL_VL_TOP-pst'STR-mvt'LEX(ride) = 'ride a horse'
- (8) (dismount)-pm'PL_VL-pm'TL¹¹-loc'PL_VL_TOP-pst'STR-src'PL_VL = 'get off of a horse'
- (9) (mount_seated)-pm'CN¹²-pm'TBL¹³-gol'CN-pst'SIT¹⁴ = 'get into a car'
- (10) (ride_seated)-pm'CN-pm'TBL-loc'CN_TOP-pst'SIT-mvt'LEX(ride) = 'ride in a car'
- (11) (jump)-pm'PL_G¹⁵-pm'TL-pst'ERC¹⁶-mvt'LEX(jump) = 'jump up and down'

⁹ The notation pm'PL_VL means "Plane showing vertical length (fingertips forward)" (Slobin et al. 2001:11).

¹⁰ The notation pst'STR means "straddling."

¹¹ The notation pm'TL means "Two-Legged animate being" (Slobin et al. 2001:12).

¹² The notation pm'CN means "Container" (Slobin et al. 2001:9).

¹³ The notation pm'TBL means "Two Bent Legs (e.g. small animal, seated person, chair)" (Slobin et al. 2001:12).

¹⁴ The notation pst'SIT means the posture "sitting."

¹⁵ The notation pm'PL_G means "Generic plane (horizontal, palm up)" (Slobin et al. 2001:10).

- (12) (jump)-pm'PL_G-pm'TL-pst'ERC-src'PL_G = 'jump off of a horizontal plane' (13)
 (jump)-pm'PL_G-pm'TL-loc'PL_G_TOP-pst'ERC-src'PL_G-gol'PL_G = 'jump
 from one point to another on a horizontal plane'
- (14) (get_on)-pm'PL_H¹⁷-pm'TBL-gol'PL_H_TOP-pos'USL = 'cat gets on high, side,
 left table'
- (15) (give)-pm'LEX(give)-src'3-gol'1 = 'give from her to me'
- (16) (give)-pm'CYL-src'3-gol'1 = 'give cylindrical obj from her to me'

2.12. Verb agreement

Verb agreement is indicated by the same conventions as used for transcribing directionality in verbs of motion (i.e., by use of src/goal and numeric indications, as in the examples of 'give', above) (Slobin et al. 2001). For example, you show me': (show)-pm'LEX(SHOW-src'2-gol'1.

2.13. Added examples

- (17) (get_on)-pm'TL-pst'ERC-gol'UFL-ptH'A-pst'LIE = 'a boy gets on your upper bed and lies down' (STS, Wallin 1994, Minoura 1999)
- (18) TA_NAKA(kanji) (hit_head)-pm'PL_H
 -pm'B_FOREHEAD-loc'CON(index_finger) = 'Tanaka hits her/his forehead with the 'kamoi'' (JSL, Harumi Kimura p.c., Minoura 1999)
- (19) (turn)-pm'LEX(1)-pm'VEH-gol'F-gol'L 'a car turns left going around a person' (ASL, Stokoe 1965)
- (20) (get_on)-pm'SPHERE¹⁸-src'3R-ptH'ABR (get_on)-pm'SPHERE-src'3L-ptH'ABL
- (21) (get_on)-pm'SPHERE-src'3RB-ptH'AFR (get_on)-pm'SPHERE-src'3LB-ptH'AFL = 'four people got on a taxi brousse' (TTM, Eva Raobelina, p.c.)
- (22) (walk)-pm'LEX(1)-gol'FL-mvt'BOUNCE = 'a person is walking along slowly' (ASL, Liddell 2003)
- (23) MOTHER APPLE¹⁹ (give)-pm'SPHERE-src'3-gol'1
 (give)-~pm'SPHERE-src'1-src'2 = 'My mother sent me apples. I give you some apples.' (JSL,

¹⁶ The notation pst'ERC means the posture "erect."

¹⁷ The notation pm'PL_H means "Horizontal plane (palm down)" (Slobin et al. 2001:10).

¹⁸ Here the pm'SPHERE does not mean a ball but a person.

¹⁹ The lexical sign APPLE includes pm'SPHERE.

Ichirô Miyamoto, p.c.)

(24) PERSON (give_money)-pm'OO²⁰-src'3-gol'2 EXIST ^ \ ? = 'Is there a person who give you money?' (TTM, Eva Raobelina, p.c.)

(25) PNT_1 WORLD TRAVEL DISLIKE, (airplane_crash)-pm'AIRPLANE-pt'h'D = 'I do not like traveling abroad because airplanes crash' (JSL, Yôko Kazumi, p.c.)

Appendices

Slobin et al. (2001), pp. 8-18

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²⁰ The notation pm'OO is a handle property marker for money.

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