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26年度第1回研究会

日時:
　　　平成26年5月10日（土曜日）午後2時30分より午後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 304室

[1]　　稗田乃（AA研所員）
　　　"Complex events and clause combining in Saamia"

[2]　　吉野宏志（筑波大学大学院生）
　　　「アッレ語におけるイベント統合のパターン」

[3]　　全員
　　　「論文集の出版について」

Complex events and clause combining in Saamia

Osamu Hieda

How does Saamia expresses complex events? A Satellite Language

Intransitive

1) Yéeruha   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST:run   LOC-house

 'He ran in/into/out of the house.'

2) Yá-kenda   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST-walk   LOC-house

 'He walked in the house (inside the house).'

 '*He walked into/out of the house.'

Clause combining

CLAUSE 1 + CLAUSE 2

Intransitive

3) Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

'He ran and entered the house.' = 'He ran into the house.'

4) Yá-kenda,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST-walk 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

'He walked and entered the house.' = 'He walked into the house.'

Cf. Applicative is not 'motion toward', but iterative.

Applicative

Yá-kend-era   mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-walk-AP LO-house

'He walked (was walking) inside the house.'

5) Ómupíra kwésiringisa, kwéengira mú-nyumba.

   ball SP:PAST:roll   SP:PAST:enter LO-house

   'The ball rolled and entered the house.' = 'The ball rolled into the house.'

6) Yá-siegéra,   yéengira mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST-limp 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

   'He limped and entered the house.' = 'He limped into the house.'

Transitive

7) Yá-sukuná   ómupííra   mu-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST-throw   ball   LOC-nyumba

 'He threw the ball into/to the house.'

  CLAUSE 1 + CLAUSE 2 (non-agentive)

8) Yá-sukuná ómupííra, kwéengira   mu-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST-throw ball SP:PAST:enter LOC-nyumba

  'He threw the ball and it entered the house.' =
'He threw the ball into the house.'

9) Yá-tacha ómupííra, kwéengira mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-kick ball   SP:PAST:enter LO-house

'He kicked the ball and it entered the house.' =
'He kicked the ball into the house.'

10) Chuhá   ámaachi   mu-chúpa.

  IMP:pour   water   LOC-bottle

 'Pour water into the bottle.'

Transitive CLAUSE 1 + CLAUSE 2 (agentive)

11) Sindiha esidomolo, w-ingise   mu-stowa.

IMP:push jerican   2SG-enter:CAUS:SUB LOC-store

  'Push the jerican and made it enter the store.' =
    'Push the jerican into the store.'

12) Yá-leta   esíkónó, yá-yingisa   mú-nyumba.

3SG-PAST:bring basket   3SG:PAST-enter:CAUS LO-house

'He brought the basket and made it enter the house.' = 'He brought the basket into the house.'

13) Yá-hwesa émbusi, yá-yingisa   mú-nyumba.

 3SG-PAST:pull goat 3SG:PAST-enter:CAUS LO-house

 'He pulled the goat and made it enter the house.'
= 'He pulled the goat into the house.'

Appositive combining is one sentence?

Ⅰ An appositive combining sentence has an intonation as one sentence.

Ⅱ Scope of Adverbs

14) yeeruuhé   ekúlo,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

3SG:YPAST:run yesterday 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

15) yeeruuhé,   yéngira   mú-nyumba ekúlo.

3SG:YPAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house yesterday

 'She ran into the house yesterday.'

   9) ≒ 10)

16) Yéeruha   mangú, yéengira   mú-nyumba.

 3SG:PAST:run quickly   3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

17) Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba mangú.

 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house   quickly

1. 'She ran into the house quickly.' 17 > 16

2. (Her mother called Sherry.) 'She ran into the house quickly.' 17 > 16

3. (Sherry walked lazily in the garden.) 'She ran into the house quickly.' 16 > 17

4. (Her mother wanted Sherry to come into the house as soon as possible.) 'She ran into the house quickly.' 16 = 17 [n15]

n15 　　　　16）は、副詞quicklyが走るを修飾している。17）は、入るを修飾している
nile, 2014/04/16

18) yéeruha ná-ye,   béengira   mú-nyumba.

 3SG:PAST:run with-3SG 3PL:PAST:enter LO-house

 'She ran with him into the house.'

19) yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba ná-ye.

 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house   with-3SG

 'She ran into the house with him.'

   11) ≠   12)

20) */? Yéeruha ésawa cibili, yéengira   mú-nyumba.
 3SG:PAST:run hours two 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house
21) *Yéeruha, yéengira   mú-nyumba ésawa cibili.
 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house hours two
 '*She ran for two hours into the house.'   n10
22) Yéeruha ésawa cibili. Yéengira   mú-nyumba.
 3SG:PAST:run hours two 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house
'She ran for two hours and entered the house.'
23) *Yéeruha. Yéengira   mú-nyumba ésawa cibili.
 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house hours two
 '*She ran and entered the house for two hours.'

n10　「家に入る」は一瞬の出来事である。継続を表す「2時間」というような副詞と共起できない。
しかし、C1とC2のあいだにポーズがあると、「走る」と継続を表す副詞とは共起できる。日本語でも「2時間走って、家に入った」は、やはりポーズがあると考えられる。
「走って入った」とポーズのある「走って、入った」は区別しなくてはならない。
サーミア語においてもClause 1とClause　2の間にポーズがあるものと、ないものを区別しなくてはならない。
nile, 2014/04/09

24) Yéeruha, ní-yéengira mú-nyumba mángu.

3SG:PAST:run when-3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house quickly

'He ran and entered the house quickly.'

25) Yéeruha mángu, ní-yéengira mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run quickly when-3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

'He ran quickly and entered the house.'

n7　　　　　副詞の位置により修飾している動詞がことなる
　　　　　　主動詞のあとにおかれるとむしろ主動詞を修飾し、第2の動詞のあとにおかれるとその動詞を修飾することがある
　　　　　　nile, 2013/07/05

26) *Yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba múno.

 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house very much

 '*He ran into the house hard.'

27) Yéeruha múno, yéengira mú-nyumba.

 3SG:PAST:run very much 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

 'He ran hard into the house.'

Ⅲ Scope of negation

28) Si   yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   NEG 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

29) *Si yéeruha,   si yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   NEG 3SG:PAST:run NEG 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

30) Si yéeruha,   (di) si yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   NEG 3SG:PAST:run (but) NEG 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

a) She did not run but entered into the house.

b) She did not run and did not enter the house.

28) = a), b) 30) = b)

Non Appositive

31) Si yéruha,   hándí   yá-henga   e-ngíra.

NEG 3SG:PAST:run   but   3SG:PAST-cut road

  1) He did not run but crossed the road.

  2) *He ran but did not crossed the road.

  3) *He did not run and did not cross the road.

Non Appositive

32) Yéruha,   hándí   si yá-henga   e-ngíra.

 3SG:PAST:run   but   NEG 3SG:PAST-cut road

 1) He ran but did not crossed the road.'

Appositive

33) Si yéruha,   yá-henga   e-ngíra.

 NEG 3SG:PAST:run   3SG:PAST-cut road

 1) He ran but did not cross the road.

 2) *He did not ran but crossed the road.

 3) He did not run and did not cross the road.

Ni-construction

34) Si-yéruha,   ní-yá-henga   e-ngíra.

 NEG 3SG:PAST:run   when-3SG:PAST-cut road

1) *He ran but did not cross the road.

2) He did not run but crossed the road.

3) *He did not run and did not cross the road.

Ⅳ Illocutionary scope

1) Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba?

  3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

 'Did she run into the house.'

2) Hába. Si yéeruha. Yá-kenda, yéengira mú-nyumba.

 No NEG 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

 'No. She did not run. She waked into the house.'

3) ?Hába. Si yéengira mú-nyumba. Nayé yéeruha.

No NEG 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house but 3SG:PAST:run

 'No. She did not enter the house. But she ran.'

Information structure

4) Q: What did she do?

A: Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

 'She ran into the house.'

5) Q: How did she do?

A: Yéeruha,   ní-yéengira   mú-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST:run when-3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

 'She ran when entering the house.'

Presupposition (Lie test)

6) Yohána yá-bola atí yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba.

John 3SG:PAST-say that 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'John said that she ran into the house.'

7) Sí si-túfu. Si yéeruha. Yá-kenda, yéengira mú-nyumba.

NEG NEG-true NEG 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-walk 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'That is a lie. She did not run. She walked into the house.'

8) Yohána yá-bola atí yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba.

John 3SG:PAST-say that 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'John said that she ran into the house.'

9) *Sí si-túfu. Yéeruha. Si yéengira mú-nyumba.

NEG NEG-true 3SG:PAST:run NEG 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

 'That is a lie. She ran. She did not enter the house.'

10) Yohána yá-bola atí si yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba.

John 3SG:PAST-say that NEG 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'John said that she did not run into the house.'

11) Sí si-túfu. Yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba.

NEG NEG-true 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'That is a lie. She ran into the house.'

10) Yohána yá-bola atí si yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba.

John 3SG:PAST-say that NEG 3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'John said that she did not run into the house.'

12) Sí si-túfu. Yéeruha. Nayé si yéengira mú-nyumba.

NEG NEG-true 3SG:PAST:run but NEG 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'That is a lie. She ran. But she did not enter the house.'

Semantics of appositive combining

1) Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

   'She ran and entered the house.' = 'She ran into the house.' ^{u3}

2) ndá-huba   ómusaacha, yáá-fa.

   1SG:PAST-hit man   3SG:PAST-die

   'I hit the man and he died.' = 'I hit the man to the death.'

u3　　　　　「走った」結果、「家に入った」。ある特定の時間にすでにeventが成し遂げられている。
user, 2014/04/15

(comma intonation)

3) *Yéengira   mú-nyumba, yéeruuha.

   3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house   3SG:PAST:run

   'She entered the house and ran.' [n18]

(period intonation)

4) Yéengira   mú-nyumba. Yéeruuha.

   3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house   3SG:PAST:run

   'She entered the house. She ran. (After entering the house she ran.)'

n18   Appositiveの場合Clause 1 Clause2の順序をかえることはできない
nile, 2014/04/22

Appositive

5) Yósa   engubo,   chá-laba.
3SG:PAST:wash   cloth   SP:PAST-clean
'He washed the cloth clean.'

6) *Yáá-fa,   ndá-huba ómusaacha.
 3SG*PAST-die 1SG:PAST-hit man
 'He died and I hit the man.'

Ni-construction

7) Yéeruha,   ní-yéengira   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST:run when-3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

   'She ran when entering the house.'

8) Ní-yéengira   mú-nyumba,   yéeruuha.

   when-3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house   3SG:PAST:run

   'When she entered the house, she ran.' n19

n19　　　　　　Ni-constructionの場合、Clause 1Clause 2の順序を変えても意味はほぼ同じ
nile, 2014/04/22

Summary (Appositive combining)

- Scope of Sentence adverbs extends to Clause 1 and 2 in apposition. They are naturally located in Clause 2.

- Scope of manner adverbs is limited to verbs that are modified.

- Scope of negation extends to Clause 1 and 2.

- Illocutinary scope is limited in Clause 1.

- Assertion is in Clause 1 and Clause 2 is presupposed.

- Clause 1 is Cause, Clause 2 is Result. [n20]

n20   AppositiveはClause2がClause1のイベントの結果を示すため、Clause1Clause2の順序をいれかえることができない。
       nile, 2014/04/22

Trial on 'Revising Talmy's typological classification of complex events'

Manner			Motion
CLAUSE 1			CLAUSE 2
Intransitive		Transitive	
Run	Crawl	(Non-Agentive)	Into
Walk	Limp	Throw	To
Rush	Roll	Kick	Out of
Fly	Float	(Agentive)	Towards
Follow	Flow	Push	Through
Float		Pull	Across
Jump		Bring	

Classification of events in CLAUSE 2

INTO (Appositive Clause combining)

1) RUN INTO

Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

'He ran and entered the house.' = 'He ran into the house.' n11

2) WALK INTO

Yá-kenda,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-walk 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

'He walked and entered the house.' = 'He walked into the house.'

n11　　　　　　動作者は、すでに家の中に入っている。入る過程を表現していない。入った状態にすでにある。
　　　　　　　　nile, 2014/04/13

3) RUSH INTO

yá-laalá, yéengira mu-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-rush 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

'He rushed and entered the house.' = 'He rushed into the house.'

4) FLY INTO

Eyoni lyá-buruhá, lyéengira mu-kúlú.

bird SP:PAST-fly SP:PAST:enter LOC:cloud

'The bird flew and entered the cloud.' = 'The bird flew into the cloud.'

5) LIMP INTO

Yá-siegéra, yéengira mu-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-limp 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'He limped and entered the house.' = 'He limped into the house.'

6) CRAWL INTO

Yá-fula, yéengira mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-crawl 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'He crawled and entered the house.' = 'He crawled into the house.'

7) PUSH INTO

Sindiha   esidomolo,   w-ingise   mú-stowa.

IMP:push jerican 2SG-enter:CAUS:SUB LOC-store

'Push the jerican and made it enter the store.' =
'Push the jerican into the store.'

8) FLOAT INTO

Ecúpa yá-benga,   yéengira   mú-lina.

bottle SP:PAST-float SP:PAST:enter LO-hole

'The bottle floated and entered the hole (cave).' =
'The bottle floated into the cave.'

9) *CRAWL INTO (CRAWL TO UNDER)

Yá-fula,   yá-cha   áási we meéza.

3SG:PAST-crawl 3SG:PAST-come under of table

'He crawled and came under the table.'

'*He crawled into the table.'

10) JUMP INTO

Yá-tumá,   yá-kwa   mú-maachi.

3SG:PAST-jump 3SG:PAST-fall LOC-water

'He jumped and fell into water.' = 'He jumped into water.'

TO (Appositive)

10) RUN TO

Yéeruha,   yá-cha   mú-sokóni.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-come   LO-market

'He ran and came to the market.' = 'He ran to the market' [n12]

11) WALK TO

Yá-kendá,   yá-cha   hú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-walk   3SG:PAST-come LO-house

'He walked and came to the house.'

n12　　　　　動作者は、すでに目的地へ到達している。目的地への過程を表現していない。目的地に到った状態を示している。
　　　　　　　nile, 2014/04/13

12) RUSH TO

Yá-laalá,   yá-cha   hú-musaala.

3SG:PAST-rush   3SG:PAST-come   LOC-tree

'He rushed and came to the tree.' = 'He rushed to
the tree.'

13) CRAWL TO UNDER

Yá-fula,   yá-cha   áási we meéza.

3SG:PAST:crawl   3SG:PAST-come under of table

'He crawled and came under the table. = He
crawled under the table '

14) LIMP TO

Yá-siegéra,   yá-cha   éna musaala.

3SG:PAST-limp 3SG:PAST-come LOC:with tree

'He limped and came where the tree is.'

OUT OF/FROM (Appositive)

15) RUN OUT OF

Yéeruha, yá-tula mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run   3SG:PAST-come from LOC-house

'He ran and came from the house.' [n13]

16) WALK OUT OF

Yá-kendá, yá-tula mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-walk   3SG:PAST-came from LOC-house

'He walked and came from the house.'

n13 　　　　　動作者は、すでに出発点から目的地へと到っている。Clause 2の動詞は、たとえば、完了時制で使うと出身地を聞くときに使う。
nile, 2014/04/13

17) RUSH OUT OF

Yá-laalá,   yá-tula   mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST-rush 3SG:PAST-came from LOC-house

'He rushed out of the house.'

18) CRAWL OUT OF

Yá-fula,   yá-tula   áási we meéza.

3SG:PAST:crawl 3SG:PAST-came from under of table

'He crawled and came from under the table.'

19) LIMP OUT OF

Yá-siegéra, yá-tula éna musaala.

3SG:PAST-limp 3SG:PAST-come from LOC:with tree

'He limped and came from where the tree is.'

20) FLY OUT OF

Lya-buruhá, lyátula mú-nyumba yalyo.

SP:PAST-fly SP:PAST:come from LOC-house its

'It flew and came from its nest.'

TOWARD (Non Appositive)

21) RUN TOWARD

Yéeruha, náá-cha éna nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run when:3SG:PAST-come LO-with house

'He ran when coming where the house is.'

22) WALK TOWARD

Yá-kendá, náá-cha éna nyumba.

3SG:PAST-walk when:3SG:PAST-come LO-with house

'He walked when coming where the house is.'

n14 過程を表現している。目的地へまだ到達していない。
nile, 2014/04/13

23) RUSH TOWARD

Yá-laalá, náá-cha éna nyumba.

3SG:PAST-rush when:3SG:PAST-come LO-with house

'He rushed when coming where the house is.'

24) CRAWL TOWARD

Yá-fula, náá-cha éna meéza.

3SG:PAST-crawl when:3SG:PAST-come LO-with table

'He crawled when coming where the table is.'

25) FOLLOW ___ TOWARD

  Yá-londa ómúsaachá, náá-cha   éna ngúlú.

  3SG:PAST-follow man when:3SG:PAST-come LO-with mountains

'He followed the man when coming where the mountains are.'

ACROSS (Appositive)

26) RUN ACROSS

Yéeruha, yá-henga mú-ngíra.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-cut LOC-road

'He ran and cut the road.' = 'He ran across the road.'

27) WALK ACROSS

Yá-kendá, yá-henga mú-ngíra.

3SG:PAST-walk 3SG:PAST-cut LOC-road

'He walked and cut the road.' = 'He walked across the road.'

28) RUSH ACROSS

Yá-laalá,   yá-henga   mú-ngíra.

3SG:PAST-rush   3SG:PAST-cut   LOC-road

'He rushed and cut the road.' = 'He rushed across the road.'

29) DANCE ACROSS

Yá-hina,   yá-henga   mú-ngíra.

3SG:PAST-dance   3SG:PAST-cut   LOC-road

'He danced and cut the road.' = 'He danced across the road.'

30) PUSH ACROSS

Yá-sindiha émotoka, yá-yi-hengesa engíra.

3SG:PAST-push car 3SG:PAST-OP-cut-CAUS   road

'He pushed the car and made it cut the road.' =
'He pushed the car across the road.'

THROUGH (Appositive)

31) RUN THROUGH

Yéeruha,   yá-bita   mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST:run   3SG:PAST-pass   LOC –door

'He ran and passed the door.' = 'He ran through the door.'

32) WALK THROUGH

Yá-kendá,   yá-bita   mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST:run   3SG:PAST-pass   LOC –door

'He walked and passed the door.' = 'He walked through the door.'

33) RUSH THROUGH

Yá-laalá,   yá-bita   mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST:rush   3SG:PAST-pass   LOC –door

'He rushed and passed the door.' = 'He rushed through the door.'

34) Yáhina,   yá-bita   mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST:dance 3SG:PAST-pass   LOC –door

'He danced and passed the door.' = 'He danced through the door.'

35) FOLLOW THROUGH

Yá-mu-lónda, yá-bita mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST-OP-follow 3SG:PAST-pass LOC-door

'He followed him and passed the door.' = 'He followed him through the door.'

Appositive vs. ni- Construction

1) Yéeruha, yéengira mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'He ran into the house.'

2) Yéeruha, ní-yéengira mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run when-3SG:PAST:enter LO-house

'He ran when entering the house.'

3) Yéeruha,   yá-tula   mú-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-come from LO-house

 'He ran out of the house.'

4) Yéeruha,   náátula   mú-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST:run when:3SG:PAST-come from LO-house

 'He ran when coming from the house.'

5) Yéeruha, yá-henga mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-cut LO-house

'He ran across the house.'

6) Yéeruha, ní-yá-henga mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run when-3SG:PAST-cut LO-house

'He ran when crossing the house.'

7) Yéeruha, yá-bita mú-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-pass LO-house

 'He ran through the house.'

8) Yéeruha, náá-bita mú-nyumba.

  3SG:PAST:run when:3SG:PAST-pass LO-house

 'He ran when passing the house.'

9) Yéeruha, yá-cha mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-come LO-house

'He ran and came to the house.'

'He ran to the house.'

'*He ran toward the house.'

10) Yéeruha, náá-cha mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run when:3SG:PAST-come LO-house

'He ran when coming to the house.'

'*He ran to the house.'

'He ran toward the house.'

11) Yéeruha,   yá-bita   mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST:run   3SG:PAST-pass   LOC-door

'He ran through the door.'

12) ?Yéeruha,   náá-bita   mú-lwiki.

3SG:PAST:run   when:3SG:PAST-pass   LOC-door

'He ran when passing the door.'

n3

n3　　　　　doorのような薄いものを継続的な動作を続けることは不自然
　　　　　　nile, 2013/07/05

13) Yéeruha,   yá-bita   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST-pass LO-house

‘He ran through the house.’

14) Yéeruha,   náá-bita   mú-nyumba.

   3SG:PAST:run when:3SG:PAST-pass LO-house

   n16

‘He ran when passing the house.’

n16　　　　　　1),2)と3)4)がことなるのは、Locationの形状がことなる。
「家」は、継続的な動作が可能な広がりをもつが、「ドア」は、継続的な動作が可能な広がりがない。「ドア」はあっというまに通り過ぎてしまう。通り過ぎるという結果が生じる。
nile, 2014/04/16

15) ?Yá-mu-lónda   yá-bita   mú-lwiki.

   3SG:PAST-OP-follow 3SG:PAST-pass LOC-door

   'He followed him through the door.'
   n5

16) Yá-mu-lónda   náá-bita   mú-lwiki.

   3SG:PAST-OP-follow when:3SG:PAST-pass LOC-
   door
   n4

   'He followed him when passing the door.'

n4　おなじドアからつづいて入った
nile, 2013/07/05

n5　1つの動作としては不自然
自然な解釈としては、ことなるドアから続いて入った。
nile, 2013/07/05

17) ndá-huba   ómusaacha yáá-fa.

   1SG:PAST-hit   man   3SG:PAST-die

   'I hit the man and he died.' = 'I hit the man to the death.'

18) ?ndá-huba ómusaacha náá-fa.

   1SG:PAST-hit man   when:3SG:PAST-die

   '*I hit the man to the death.'

   'I hit the man when he was dying.'

u2　　　　　話し手は、不自然と判断する。「死にかけている男をさらに打つ」という解釈なら可能。
user, 2014/04/15

Appositive combining & Tense

Today Past + Past

1) Nderúhíré,   ndéngira   mú-nyumba.

   1SG:TPAST:run   1SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

   'I ran into the house today.'

2) Yesterday Past + Past

   Ndéruhere,   ndéngira   mú-nyumba.

   1SG:YPAST:run   1SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

   'I ran into the house yesterday.'

Past + Past

3) Ndéruha,   ndéngira   mú-nyumba.

 1SG:PAST:run   1SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house

 'I ran into the house.

Appositive combiningは、Clause1が過去を表現する時制（今日過去、昨日過去、単純過去）で、Clause2はつねに単純過去時制である

文全体の時間を決定するのはClause1の時制である。Clause1が主節で、Clause2は従属節である。

Present + Subjunctive

4) Nj-íruha,   ny-ingire   mú-nyumba.

  1SG:PRES-run 1SG-enter:SUB LO-house

  'I run and I can enter the house.' = 'I run into the house.'

Immediate Fut + Subjunctive

5) Ní-njicha óhw-iruha, ny-ingire   mú-nyumba.

  1SG:PRES-go INF-run   1SG-enter:SUB LO-house

 'I am going to run and I can enter the house.
(After I am going to run, I can enter the house.)'

Near Future + Subjunctive

6) Ní-nja óhw-iruha, ny-ingire   mú-nyumba.

   1SG:PRES-run   1SG-enter:SUB LO-house

   'I come to run and I can enter the house. (After I
come to run, I can enter the house.'

Fut + Subjunctive

7) Ndiruhira, ny-ingire   mú-nyumba.

   1SG:FUT:run   1SG-enter:SUB LO-house

   'I will run and I will be able to enter the house.' = I
will run into the house.'

過去を除く時間では、Clause2は接続法を用いる

Ni-construction & Tense

Present + Pres

4) Nj-íruha,   ní-ny-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES-run when-1SG:PRES-enter LO-house

'I run when entering the house.'

5) Present + Immediate Fut

Nj-íruha,   ní-njicha óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES-run when-1SG:PRE:go INF-enter LO-house

'I run when I am going to enter the house. (After I run I am going to enter the house.)'

n8   njicha nja は現在時制の形式をしているのでOK
            nile, 2013/07/05

Present + Near Fut

6) Nj-íruha,   ní-nja óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

  1SG:PRES-run when:1SG:PRE:come INF-enter LO-house

  'I run when I come to enter the house[n17]. (After I run I come to enter the house.'

*Present + Fut

7) *Nj-íruha,   ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

  1SG:PRES-run when:1SG:FUT:enter LO-house

  '*I run when I will enter the house.'

n17   ninja は、現在時制であるのでClause1が現在時制であることと照応している。
nile, 2014/04/16

Today Past + T Past

8) Nderúhíré, ní-ndengíríré mú-nyumba.

 1SG:TPAST:run when-1SG:TPAST:enter LOC-house

'I ran today when I entered the house.'

Today Past + Present

9) Nderúhíré, ní-ny-ingira mú-nyumba.

 1SG:TPAST:run when-1SG:PRES-enter LOC-house

'I ran today when I enter the house today. (After I ran today, I enter the house.'

Today Past + Immediate Fut

10) Nderúhíré, ní-njicha óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

  1SG:TPAST:run when-1SG:PRE:go INF-enter LOC-house

  'After I ran today, I am going to enter the house.'

Today Past + Near Fut

11) Nderúhíré,   ní-nja óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

  1SG:TPAST:run when-1SG:PRES:come INF-enter LOC-house

  'After I ran today, I come to enter the house.'

*Today Past + Fut

12) *Nderúhíré, ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:TPAST:run   when-1SG:FUT:enter LOC-house

'After I ran today, I will enter the house.'

Yesterday Past + Yesterday PAST

13) Ndéruhere,   ní-ndéngirere   mú-nyumba.

 1SG:YPAST:run   when-1SG:YPAST:enter LOC-house

 'I ran yesterday while entering the house.'

Yesterday Past + Today Past

14) Ndéruhere,   ní-ndengíríré   mú-nyumba.

1SG:YPAST:run   when-1SG:TPAST:enter LOC-house

'After I ran yesterday, I entered the house today.'

Yesterday Past + Present

15) Ndéruhere,   ní-ny-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:YPAST:run   when-1SG:PRES:enter LOC-house

 'After I ran yesterday, I enter the house.'

Yesterday Past + Immediate Fut

16) Ndéruhere,   ní-njicha óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:YPAST:run   when-1SG:PRES:go INF-enter LOC-house

 'After I ran yesterday, I am going to enter the house.'

Yesterday Past + Near Fut

17) Ndéruhere, ní-nja óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:YPAST:run when-1SG:PRES:come INF-enter LOC-house

 'After I ran yesterday, I come to enter the house.'

*Yesterday Past + Fut

18) *Ndéruhere, ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:YPAST:run   when-1SG:FUT:enter LOC-house

'After I ran yesterday, I will enter the house.'

Past + Past

19) Ndéruha,   ní-ndéngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:PAST:run   LOC-house

 'I ran when entering the house.'

Past + Yesterday Past

20) Ndéruha,   ní-ndéngirere   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:YPAST:run   LOC-house

'After I ran, I entered the house yesterday.'

Past + Today Past

21) Ndéruha,   ní-ndengíréré   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:TPAST:run   LOC-house

'After I ran, I entered the house today.'

Past + Present

22) Ndéruha,   ní-ny-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:PRES:run   LOC-house

'After I ran, I enter the house.'

Past + Immediate Fut

23) Ndéruha, ní-njicha óhwingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:PRES:go INF-run LOC-house

'After I ran, I am going to enter the house.'

Past + Near Fut

24) Ndéruha,   ní-nja óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:PRES:come INF-run   LOC-house

 'After I ran, I come to enter the house.'

*Past + Fut

25) *Ndéruha, ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PAST:run when-1SG:FUT:run   LOC-house

 'After I ran, I will enter the house.'

Immediate Fut + Immediate Fut

26) Njicha óhw-irúhá, ní-njicha óhw-ingira mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES:go INF-run when-1SG:PRES:go INF-enter LOC-house

 'I am going to run while entering the house.'

Immediate Fut + Near Fut

27) Njicha óhw-irúhá, ní-nja óhw-ingira mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES:go INF-run when-1SG:PRES:come INF-enter LOC-house

 'After I am going to run, I come to enter the house.'

Immediate Fut + Fut

28) Njicha óhw-irúhá, ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES:go INF-run when-1SG:FUT:enter LOC-house

'After I am going to run, I will enter the house.'

Near Fut + Near Fut

29) Nja óhw-irúhá,   ní-nja óhw-ingira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES:come INF-run when-1SG:PRES:come INF-enter LOC-house

 'I come to run while entering the house.'

Near Fut + Fut

30) Nja óhw-irúhá,   ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:PRES:come INF-run when-1SG:FUT:enter LOC-house

'After I come to run, I will enter the house.'

Fut + Fut

31) Ndirirúhá,   ní-ndiríngira   mú-nyumba.

1SG:FUT:run   when-1SG:FUT:enter LOC-house

'I will run when entering the house.'

Ni-construction

32) Ní-yéengira mú-nyumba, yéeruha.

when-3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house 3SG:PAST:run

'When entering the house he ran.'

33) Yéeruha, ní-yéengira mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:ran when-3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

'He ran when entering the house.'

Clause 1とClause 2の順序をかえてもほぼ意味は同じ [n21]

n21   Clause1Clause2のlinkageのシグナルが存在する。Appositive combiningがClause1の時制が文全体の時間をコントロールするのに対して、ni-constructionでは、Clause1Clause2の時制のコントロールは意味的な制約をまもっていれば、独立している。これからわかるようにAppositiveは、Subordinationの性格をはっきりもっているが、ni-constructionは、はっきりしていない。
Clause1Clause2の順序をかえられることとも関係している。
nile, 2014/04/22

34) Yéengira   mú-nyumba, yéeruha.

3SG:PAST:enter   LOC-house   3SG:PAST:run

'He entered the house, and ran (After he entered the house, he ran.)'

35) Yéeruha,   yéengira   mú-nyumba.

3SG:PAST:run 3SG:PAST:enter LOC-house

'He ran and entered the house (After he ran, he entered the house.)'

Appositive Combiningは意味が変わる

まとめ

1）Saamiaは、Satellite－framed

2）Saamiaは、イベント統合をAppositive clause　combiningを用いて表現する

（例えば、subordinate clauses　in　apposition を構成する動詞を、比ゆ的に前置詞とみなしてみ ることも可能である。'run INTO'）

3）Subordinate　clauses　in　Appositionは、意 味的にConsequenceを表現する

4）ただし、SaamiaのAppositive　clause　com biningは、英語のConsequence (Result)とは、Mai n　clausesの位置がことなる。どちらかといえば、 Motion　purpossiveとMain　clausesの位置が 一致する

- Clauses in appositiveが１つのComplex event を表現することを証明する必要がある

証拠１　Main sentenceにおかれた否定辞のスコープがappositive clausesに拡張している

証拠２　Main sentencesにAssertionがあるが、Appositive clausesはPresupposeされている

証拠３　Eventsを修飾する副詞はclauses in appositionに置かれる

研究会報告

<center>アッレ語におけるイベント統合のパターン</center>

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本発表ではアッレ語（東クシ語群）におけるイベント統合の表現パターンを概観し、アッレ語がシダーマ語（Kawachi 2012）のような「逸脱を見せる動詞枠付け言語」であることを論じた。そして連続形（consecutive verb）を用いた構文がイベント統合の表現パターンとして認められるかを考察した。

アッレ語は副動詞（converb）を持たないクシ語で、他のクシ系言語が副動詞を使用する場面で連続形を用いていると考えられる。同じく東クシ語群に属するシダーマ語では副動詞を用いた構文がイベント統合の表現パターンとして認められている。しかしアッレ語の連続形を用いた構文は個々の独立したイベントの重複しない連続を表すことから、イベント統合の表現パターンではないという結論に至った。ただし、xol-「繰り返す」を主動詞とする連続形構文は例外的にイベント統合の表現パターン（temporal contouring の repetition）として認められる可能性がある。その場合でも、枠付けイベント（「繰り返す」）が主動詞によって表されるため、アッレ語が動詞枠付け言語であることとの整合性が見られる。

論文集の出版について
全員

　「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 3 回研究会（平成 25 年 10 月 26 日に開催）で出版について決まった事柄を再確認し、個別の問題について話し合った。