【発表 1】

Serial verb constructions in Gã

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Comprising two or more verbs which together act as a single predicate and code a single event, serial verb constructions (SVCs) have enjoyed much attention in the literature due to their unique syntactic structure and semantic function. However, popular characterizations of SVCs have been too narrow, and as a result have disqualified structures in several languages that have similar form and function as canonical SVCs. This talk describes the syntax, semantics and ethnosyntax of SVCs in Gã (Niger-Congo, Kwa). It demonstrates how the strict definitional properties proposed by Aikhenvald (2006) and others would exclude one third of all Gã SVCs. It will be shown that some of these apparently canonical properties of SVCs are based on a flawed understanding of finiteness and the function of predication. The criteria are modified to better reflect the varied types of syntactic structures that represent SVCs.

【発表 2】

Nominalization in Amis

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This talk explores nominalization in Central Amis (Tsuchida 1988), an Austronesian language of eastern Taiwan. First, I present Amis verbs by applying Ross's (2015) notion of Mstem and Kstem, two abstract forms that make it more economical and elegant to describe various verb forms in the language. The Mstem in Amis is the Actor Focus (AF) verb used in affirmative indicative sentences, and the Kstem is required in the corresponding negative constructions. AF verbs fall into three classes, depending on the morphological alternations between the two stems. While previous studies often split *ma*verbs into AF and Patient Focus (PF) types based on argument encoding patterns, I argue that there are both semantic and morphosyntactic motivations to treat all *ma*-verbs as one coherent grammatical entity, which shares several morphological operations with *mi*verbs. Semantically, AF *mi*-verbs across root types are Extrovert, selecting as their Topic NP participants that exert certain force-dynamics beyond their personal sphere of influence. On the other hand, AF *ma*-verbs across root types are Introvert, meaning their

Topic NP denotes participants that either do not exert force-dynamics at all or only keep it within their personal sphere of influence.

Second, verb forms other than AF are identified according to the affixes or/and the Mstem/Kstem they take. In total, nine verb forms are investigated, focusing on their potential uses as nominalized expressions, which are predictable by negation patterns. AF Mstem and Patient Focus ROOT-en are strictly verbal and prohibited from nominalizations. By contrast, AF Mstem-ay, irrealis PF α -ROOT-en (where α - stands for Ca- reduplication), Patient-Locative Mstem-an, and Conveyance sa-Kstem are strictly nominal and share various nominal properties with underived nouns. Finally, irrealis α -Mstem, eventive Kstem, and Location-Locative Kstem-an are equally verbal and nominal, depending on the context. Against these results, disagreeing opinions (e.g. Liu 1999; Wu 2006; 2007) on the syntactic functions of verb forms as well as the functions of certain morphemes thereof are reexamined.

Finally, verb forms that show the substantive use are argued to be grammatical nominalizations rather than deverbal nouns (see Tsukida 2008) because they internally demonstrate properties shared with strictly verbal forms but not with underived nouns and externally behave like typical NPs, which serve as arguments, modifiers of arguments, or predicate nominals. Nevertheless, these grammatical structures may be lexicalized over time, thus creating word forms with specialized meanings and syntactic behaviors indistinguishable from those of underived nouns.

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【発表 3】

九州方言における(ノ)ナラ相当形式の分布

――時制節性からみた条件表現の体系についての一考察―― 有田節子(立命館大学)

日本語共通語の条件形式にはナラのように、時制形態素のすべてのパラダイムが出現しうる節(「完全時制節」)をとる条件形式と、基本形・タ形のいずれかの一方しか出現しないか、または、いずれの時制形態素も出現しない節(「不完全時制節」)をとるト、バ、タラのような条件形式があり、「時制節性」と分布上の特徴が対応している(有田 2007)。

方言の条件表現は、一部地域を除いては、方言特有の形式はそれほど見られず、 むしろ、共通語とも共通するバ、ト、タラ、ナラのそれぞれの分布に地域性があ ることの方が特徴的だとされている(三井 2009)。

九州方言については、佐賀県全域および長崎、熊本、鹿児島の一部地域には方言固有の「ギー」という完全時制節をとる形式がある一方で、共通語よりもナラあるいはナラ相当形式が広く分布する地域が隣接する(三井 2011、有田・江口2010、2012)。しかも、そのナラ(相当形式)が準体形式「の」(相当形式)をとる場合ととらない場合がある。本発表では、時制節性という観点から「の」相当形式の有無を分析し、条件表現の体系について論じる。

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【発表 4】

Grammatical nominalization and denominalization: With special focus on Central Alaskan Yup'ik

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Following Shibatani's (2009) seminal work on nominalization, this talk examines the characteristics of nominalization observed in Central Alaskan Yup'ik (an Eskimo-Aleut language, CAY hereafter) and it suggests that CAY's transition from verbs to nominals always takes place in one go, and therefore the predicative function observed in event nominalization is produced in the process of losing the nominal properties that the original verbs have acquired with lexical nominalization, rather than in the process of losing verbal properties, the idea of which is commonly assumed in literature focusing on nominalization. In other words, one major characteristic of CAY grammatical nominalization lies in the fact that only the verbs that have gone through lexical nominalization are allowed in the subordinate-clause formation. One implication of this research is that there should be at least two paths in the grammaticalization of grammatical nominalization: (i) one works independently from lexical nominalization, which would be exemplified by the development of the English complementizer *that*, and (ii) the other works in a correlated way together with lexical nominalization as exemplified in the path of CAY grammaticalization that I will demonstrate in the presentation.

【発表 5】

韓国語における体言化辞-sの歴史的展開と共時的分布

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Shibatani (2014a, b)の体言化理論によると、体言化には名詞基盤と動詞(・形容詞)基盤の二種類があり、その用法・機能としては名詞句用法と修飾用法の二つが認められている。これを韓国語に当てはめると、名詞基盤の体言化辞には-s,-uyが、動詞基盤には-m,-ki,-n,-lがそれぞれ対応するはずである。しかし、韓国語学では動詞基盤の-m,-ki は広く体言化辞(韓国語学では、動名詞語尾)として認められているものの、名詞基盤の-s,-uyは、そもそも体言化辞として認められてはおらず、Sai-sios(間の s)、Sais-soli(間の音)、属格、冠形格助詞などと呼ばれている。また動詞基盤の体言化辞についても、現代語の視点からの研究と、歴史的な観点をもつ研究の間に開きが見られる。上記の-m,-ki による体言化は現代語の研究でも広く認められているが、-n,-l はそうではない。つまり、-n,-l が体言化辞(動名詞語尾)として認められているのは、歴史的な展開を視野に入れた研究においてであり、主として現代語を対象にする研究では-n,-l のほとんどが修飾用法であることから、動詞の冠形形(連体形)として扱われる。本発表

では、従来の研究では体言化辞として認められることがなかった、Sais-soli(間の音)の-s に焦点を当て、歴史的な根拠から、それが名詞基盤の体言化辞であり、そこには現代語の pi-s-soli(雨の音),meli-s-mal(頭のことば:序論)に見られるような修飾用法だけでなく、格助詞と結びつく名詞句用法もあることを明らかにし、日本語の名詞基盤体言化辞「つ」・「の」との平行性を指摘する。