

2023年度

大学院文学研究科博士課程後期3年の課程入学試験

(春期・一般選抜) 問題

筆記試験 言語学 専攻分野

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筆記試験 (言語学 専攻分野)

問題 I. 次の文章を読んで下の問いに答えなさい。

The term ^(a)grammaticalization has two meanings. In its first sense it focuses on ‘how grammatical forms and constructions arise, how they are used’ and what are the most probable paths for their development; its second sense concerns the synchronic perspective, as ‘a syntactic, discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use’ (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 1-2). Grammaticalization — which includes the development of grammatical items out of lexical ones — must be seen within the broad context of language change. One of the important factors which motivates language change is language contact, and especially diffusional phenomena within linguistic areas.

One of the most important problems in the analysis of grammaticalization concerns the relation between source and target, or input and output (cf. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991: 38). What are the factors which determine the source for the development of a particular grammatical category and how can these factors correlate with genetically inherited or areally diffused patterns? To what extent can the processes of language obsolescence affect grammaticalization? Here I will try to answer these questions.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, I will describe the processes of grammaticalization in serial verb constructions and in verb compounds in ^(b)Tariana, a highly endangered North Arawak language spoken by around 100 people in the linguistic area of the Vaupés, dominated by East-Tucano languages. This linguistic area is known for its rampant multilingualism due to exogamy and the ensuing one-way diffusion of structural patterns from East-Tucano into other languages (Tariana and Makú). The processes of grammaticalization of compounded verb roots in Tariana are investigated from the point of view of their origin — genetic inheritance vs. areal diffusion. Then, I show how grammaticalization can be ‘sped up’ by intensive language contact and language obsolescence. That is, in the case of intensive areal diffusion language obsolescence goes together with ‘gain’, rather than with ‘loss’, of grammatical mechanisms — cf. discussion in Dorian (forthcoming).

Second, I consider several distinct processes of the grammaticalization of serial verb constructions and of compounded verb roots which lead to the emergence of new verbal categories in Tariana. These grammaticalization processes result in the creation of a new set of aktionsart, aspect, and switch-reference clitics, on the one hand, and of auxiliary verbs and postpositions, on the other.

They differ both in their sources and in their end-products. [この後、一部省略]

Typologically Tariana is polysynthetic and predominantly head-marking, with a few elements of dependent-marking. It shares its head-marking properties with North Arawak languages, while the dependent-marking is the result of areal diffusion from East-Tucano languages (see Aikhenvald 1994). The open classes are nouns, verbs, and adjectives (which share a number of properties with nouns); adverbs are a semi-open class.

Tariana inherited a morphological distinction between active (S_A) and stative (S_O) intransitive verbs from Proto-Arawak. Active intransitive and transitive verbs obligatorily take cross-referencing prefixes to mark the A/S_A constituent (following the terminology in Dixon 1994). Stative intransitive verbs have no prefixes. The constituent order is free, with a strong tendency towards verb-final order.

(c) Tariana has two types of predicates — simple predicates and serial verb constructions. Every verbal root belongs to either A/S_A (prefixed) or S_O (prefixless) type. Simple predicates have one prefix position and up to eight suffix positions. The prefix position can be occupied by cross-referencing prefixes (which mark person, gender and number), or negative *ma-*, or relative *ka-*. Tariana has a much more complicated verb structure than neighbouring North Arawak languages (Baniwa of Içana, Warekena, Bare: Aikhenvald 1995a, b; 1998).

The order of the eight suffix positions is as follows:

1. Thematic syllable
2. Causative *-i-ta*
3. Negative *-kade*
4. Topic-advancing *-ni*, Passive *-kana*, Purposive *-hyu*, Resultative *-karu*
5. Verb-incorporated classifier
6. Benefactive *-pena*
7. Reciprocal *-kaka*
8. Relativizers and nominalizers.

Suffixes may be followed by enclitics, which have the following properties: (a) enclitics can be omitted; (b) enclitics preferentially follow the verb, but they can also go on any focussed constituent; (c) most enclitics allow variable ordering; (d) enclitics longer than one syllable carry a secondary stress.

There is no productive verb compounding (unlike East-Tucano languages). A few compounded verbs get grammaticalized as

markers of Aktionsart, aspect and sequencing enclitics. The most frequent and the functionally most unmarked order of enclitics is:

- (I) mood (imperative, frustrative, conditional);
- (II) evidentiality fused with tense (see Appendix);
- (III) Aktionsart markers;
- (IV) aspect markers;
- (V) degree (augmentative, diminutive, approximative);
- (VI) markers of clause sequencing, some of which also mark switch reference.

An example of a simple predicate with three suffixes and two enclitics is given in (1):

- (1) *Na-matfi-ka-ita-kaka-sita-pidana.*

3PL-be.bad-THEM-CAUS-RECIPROCAL-ANT-REM.P.INFR

‘They have apparently transformed each other (into something)’.

Tariana has productive verb serialization (Aikhenvald 1999c). These serial verb constructions (SVC) are known to include up to seven verbs. They are strictly contiguous (i.e. no other constituent can intervene between their components). Each component of a SVC is an independent phonological word, and they all receive the same inflection for person, number and gender of A/S_A. All the components of a SVC have the same tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality and polarity value. The order of the components may be fixed or not depending on the construction type. A SVC cannot consist of only stative verbs.

All enclitics tend to appear only once in a SVC, usually on the last component, with the exception of Aktionsart markers, referring to a SVC as a whole. The Aktionsart enclitics specify only the action of the component they occur on.

Serial verb constructions are of three types (cf. Durie 1997; Crowley 1987).

- (1) ASYMMETRICAL constructions consist of at least one verb from a closed class — a motion verb, a posture verb, a modal verb, or a verb of causation, and the other verb from an open class. An example of a directional SVC, with a motion verb, is shown in (2).

- (2) *Phe pi-nu.*

2SG:enter 2SG-come

‘Come in!’

(2) SYMMETRICAL constructions consist of several verbs from open classes. They refer to a sequence of events (often including cause-effect and goal-benefactive).

(3) AMBIENT constructions are those in which one verb is used to ‘modify’ the other. The ‘modifier’ verb is often stative (see Aikhenvald 1999c).

The three construction types differ in their argument sharing, constituent order, and, particularly, in how grammaticalization works. Symmetrical constructions undergo lexicalization and become idiomatic; the meaning of the whole can not always be recovered from the meaning of the parts — see Durie (1997). Asymmetrical and ambient SVCs tend to get grammaticalized. (以下省略)

Abbreviations used are: ANT — anterior; CAUS — causative; INFR — inferred; PL — plural; REM.P — remote past; SG — singular; THEM — thematic.

Appendix. A selection of Tariana verbal categories

Table. *Aspect enclitics in Tariana*

| | Semantics | Form | Gloss |
|------------|--|------------|--------------------|
| completion | non-completed, on-going | -daka | ‘still, yet’ |
| | completed, complete involvement of S/O | -niki | ‘completive’ |
| | completed, finished (perfective-like) | -sita | ‘perfective’ |
| | not quite completed | -mayã | ‘almost’ |
| duration | durative, prolonged | -nhi | ‘prolonged’ |
| | repetitive | -pita, -ta | ‘repeated’ |
| | short duration, little by little | -yena | ‘little by little’ |
| | habitual, prescribed | -hyuna | ‘habitual’ |
| | customary, usual | -kape | ‘customary’ |

(Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. ‘Areal typology and grammaticalization: the emergence of new verbal morphology in an obsolescent language.’ In Spike Gildea (ed.), *Reconstructing grammar: comparative linguistics and grammaticalization*, 1-37. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. より一部抜粋、改変)

問 (i) 下線部 (a) について、自分の知っている言語の具体例を一つ挙げなさい。また、その具体例について詳しく説明しなさい。

問 (ii) 下線部 (b) の Tariana 語について、本文に即して類型的特点を説明しなさい。

問 (iii) 下線部 (c) の 2 つのタイプについて、その違いを簡潔に説明しなさい。

問題 II. 自分の関心ある言語事象について概説し、それを研究する意義、目的、方法、予測される結果を具体的に述べなさい。その研究の特徴を、一般言語学および関連領域の文脈の中に位置づけながら説明しなさい。

問題 I と II の回答は、次ページ以降にまとめて記すこと。

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