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研究課題名(和文)コーパスに基づいたアイヌ語動詞範疇についての類型論的研究

研究課題名(英文) A Corpus-based Typological Study of Ainu Verbal Categories

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研究成果の概要(和文):アイヌ語は消滅の危機にある。系統関係は不明で、いずれかの古い語族の名残であろう。アイヌ語の研究は、北東アジアの言語史、また人類の知性の多様性の理解において、重要な意義を有する。本プロジェクトでは、フィールド調査によって得られたアイヌ語の音声資料のコーパス構築を進めた。さらに、このアイヌ語資料のコーパスに基づいてアイヌ語動詞範疇に関する類型論的研究を行った。アイヌ語のヴォイス(充当、使役など)についていくつかの論文を発表し、またヴォイス標識の相互作用について研究を行ってきた。本研究はアイヌ研究を世界に広く知らしめ、人類の知的財産へのアイヌ語の言語的・文化的貢献の理解を助けるものになるだろう。

研究成果の概要(英文): Ainu, a moribund language in Northern Japan. The genetic affiliation of Ainu is un known. Its importance for the study Northeast Asia's linguistic past and for understanding the diversity of human knowledge and experience may hardly be overestimated. Within this project, I continued building up a corpus of an annotated corpus of Ainu audio materials. On its basis I have investigated Ainu verbal cate gories, namely voices, in a typological perspective. The morphosyntactic wealth of Ainu voices includes reciprocals, reflexives, antipassives, applicatives, causatives, and anticausatives, most of which I have published on within the grant period. Moreover, various voices may combine in many possible ways, which I have illustrated by my Ainu valency database (a part of the ValPal Leipzig database). The project as a whole is aimed at opening the field of Ainu studies to the world and helping people to appreciate linguistic and cultural contribution of the Ainu to human intellectual heritage.

研究分野: 言語学

科研費の分科・細目: 言語学

キーワード: アイヌ語 危機言語 ヴォイス 充当 使役 再起 逆受動 言語類型論

1. 研究開始当初の背景

My research is concerned with preserving and increasing invaluable knowledge about Ainu, a moribund language spoken only by a few native speakers in Southern Hokkaido. The genetic affiliation of Ainu is unknown and, at present, it is classified as a language-isolate, which is presumably a remnant of some very old language family. Its importance for the study Northeast Asia's linguistic past and more generally for understanding the diversity of human knowledge and experience may hardly be overestimated.

Ainu is truly on the verge of extinction but thanks to accumulated efforts of researchers in Japan, the language and oral literature have been well documented and Ainu studies will continue. As a PhD student I undertook extensive fieldwork with one of the last speakers of the Chitose dialect of Ainu, transcribed texts and wrote its outline grammar (2004). Since my first postdoc (JSPS), I have been comparing Ainu grammatical structures with those of other world's languages, i.e. engaged in a typological study of Ainu, a task which few other researchers specializing in Ainu have ever attempted.

Ainu studies are most likely to thrive when they are presented in English on a wider international scale. It is important to fully open the field of Ainu studies to the world and help people to appreciate linguistic and cultural contribution of the Ainu of Japan to human intellectual heritage.

2. 研究の目的

The purpose of the research was two-fold:

(1) to enrich and publish online an annotated corpus of Ainu audio materials with translations into English and Japanese;

(2) on the basis of this and other corpora, to study Ainu verbal categories, namely valency-changing categories, in a typological perspective; this study is of great importance because it is expected to change the cross-linguistic picture of valency-changing categories by extending the established limits of their possible variation. The project as a whole is aimed at preserving invaluable knowledge about Ainu, a moribund language of Japan.

3. 研究の方法

- (1) For the Ainu corpus building (see a Talking dictionary of Ainu), I have been using the software Transcriber and Toolbox (for audio) which enable multi-tier annotations for a text.
- (2) Ainu corpora were employed as a basis for the study of Ainu verbal categories, namely such valency-changing categories as applicatives, causatives, antipassives, reflexives, and anticausatives.
- (3) Simultaneously, Ι studied extensively typological works on valency-changing categories and good descriptions valency-changing categories in particular languages. I had a chance to get personal advice from world-famous typologists by undertaing a research trip to MPI Leipzig and inviting to Japan Prof. Emma Geniusiene (The Inst. of Linguistic Research, St. Petersburg, Russia) who is the greatest authority on the typology of reflexives.

4. 研究成果

In this project, I have been concerned identifying properties of Ainu that are unusual or otherwise of note from the standpoint of linguistic typology. I have focused in particular on the study of valency-changing alternations or 'voices' in a broad sense. Ainu is a true paradise of **voice**; its morphosyntactic wealth includes reciprocals,

- reflexives, antipassives, applicatives, causatives, and anticausatives, most of which I have published on in A-ranked journals from Japan, Germany, and Russia, as well as in the important areal journals, and also in edited volumes with the leading publishing houses of my field (incl. Mouton, Routledge and Benjamins). Henceforth, I will describe my most important publications produced within the grant period.
- (1) In my SL journal article on **applicatives** (2010a), I have pointed to such typologically unusual properties of Ainu applicatives as their ability to add the roles of Theme and Content, the ability of the so-called unaccusative intransitives to host applicative prefixes, the possibility of double applicatives, the absence of non-applicative paraphrases for some applicatives, and the possibility of applicative object incorporation. An anonymous reviewer characterized my work as "a valuable contribution not only to the documentation of the relevant phenomena in Ainu, but also to the study of applicative phenomena more generally." Whereas most typological studies of applicatives (e.g. Peterson 2007) present them as an alternative way of introducing (peripheral) arguments, I have shown that Ainu applicatives often appear to be the only way.
- (2) I have also investigated the possible origins of **impersonal constructions** (2011; edited volume) in Ainu from the perspective of grammaticalization theory, which has come to centre stage as a sub-field in historical linguistics. I have argued that impersonal (and impersonal passive) constructions in Ainu can be regarded as intermediate stages in the cross-linguistically frequent grammaticalization pathway IMPERSONAL >IMPERSONAL PASSIVE > PASSIVE.

- Contrary to some earlier proposals, I have shown that none of the constructions can be regarded as personal passive because reanalysis of the object to subject is incomplete, thus a construction qualifies as an impersonal rather than personal passive.
- (3) Moreover, almost each voice alternation is coded by more than one marker, and the various voices may combine in many possible ways. To solve this problem, I have compiled an Ainu valency database (2013) as part of the Valency Patterns Leipzig (ValPal) typological database (88 verb forms, 12 alternations, 336 glossed examples). Based on the established coding frames and accessibility to certain valency alternations from the database, I attempted to distinguish valency classes in Ainu (Bugaeva, forthc.). In the study of verb-categorization in Ainu, applicatives and antipassives have proved to play a central role. It appears that in Ainu, they are disallowed at the extreme end of the transitivity hierarchy, that is with Effective Action verbs allowing only causative and anticausative alternations, and are most likely to apply in the 'middle section' of the hierarchy.
- (4) The international linguistic community has begun to recognize the broader significance of the Ainu, and the many rare or unique features that its grammar exhibits. As a result, I have been invited to contribute the chapter on Ainu for the major reference volume *The languages of Japan and Korea* (2012), which is part of Routledge/Curzon's prestigious series on language families. This contribution presents a state-of-art review of research on Ainu that I hope will attract new students and researchers to the field of Ainu studies.

- (5) I have also used some funds from this project (and some from elsewhere) to support language documentation and revitalization activities by developing the first online *Talking Dictionary of Ainu* (2010). This is by far the largest available source of colloquial Ainu. This effort has been highlighted in the Japanese press as adding "momentum to the studies and research of the Ainu language in Japan and overseas." (Hokkaido Shinbun newspaper, 2010-30-7).
- (6) In the last year of the grant, my research also included investigating the development of nominalization and insubordination in Ainu dialects, the typology of relative and noun complement clauses (with John Whitman), complex predicates (with Hiroshi Nakagawa) and the problems of polysynthesis (see list below), most of which is still a work in progress.

I hope to be able to continue my work in Japan in order to be able to fully open up to the world the impressive research on Ainu by Japanese scholars and also to bring in a new perspective on the Ainu language due to my different linguistic and academic background.

5. 主な発表論文等

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