

論文の英文要旨

論文題目 ダグール語の述部の諸相

氏 名 山田 洋平

On the features of Dagur predicates

1. Aim of the paper

This paper describes the grammar of a Mongolic language, Dagur, with a special focus on the predicate features. Dagur has been found to have typologically Altaic characteristics; that is, the subjects and objects precede the predicates, and the modifiers precede the head words. Even though the predicate reveals the syntactic features of Dagur, and is therefore seen as the foundation, this aspect has been insufficiently considered.

While Enhebatu conducted several studies on Dagur grammar, the description and analysis offered was insufficient for further contrastive studies. Therefore, this paper focuses on predicates, reconsiders the verb morphology, describes the predicate complex (which contains both verbal and nominal predicates), and classifies the predicate forms based on clausal type: main clauses and non-main clauses. This study differs from previous research focusing the parts of speech and the morphology and lays the foundation for further typological studies based on a predicate complex model which consists of an auxiliary verb construction, a mermaid construction, a negative expression, an existence expression, and a sentence final particle for dealing with typologically Altaic languages. Specifically, this paper investigated the following items.

2. Morphological features of Dagur verbs

The predicates of clauses in Dagur typically have verbs; that is, words consisting of a verbal stem and a verbal suffix; and sort the various verbal suffixes depending on the elements that follow. Verbal suffixes followed by a sentence final particle and a personal predicate particle show the features of the predicate of the main clauses. In this paper, participles, a usual verb form classification, are also employed as the predicate complex construction requires the participle functions. Productive participle suffixes in Dagur are -gu, which is glossed as a “future”, and -sen, which is glossed as a “perfect”.

3. Basic Dagur predicate construction

Here, the predicate is defined as one of the components in a clause that represents a property or a relation of arguments. As verbs govern arguments, the predicates of clauses are typically filled with verbs. Besides, nominal words also become predicates basically without the other elements, but when we need to represent a marked tense or aspect, the nominal predicate is followed by a verb *aa_* as a copula. When some nominal words follow the verb, there occurs what is known as a mermaid construction. Auxiliary verb constructions (verbs with verbs), copula constructions (existential verb *aa_* follows nominal words), mermaid constructions (adjectival words follow verbs), constructions with particles, and the combination of these are called a “predicate complex.”

Negation is expressed using predicate complexes, with the nominal predicate being negated with “*bišen*,” and the verbal predicate being negated preverbally or postverbally. The examples below are shown with the verb *oo_* (to drink) in which the preverbal negation is shown with a single line and the postverbal negation is shown with double lines.

Negation of the verbal predicate in the main clause;

indicative, non-past;

- a. ul oo-n
NEG to.drink-NPSTII “don’t drink”
- b. oo-gu uwei
to.drink NEG.EXIS “don’t drink”
- c. oo-gu udien
to.drink-FUT not.yet “haven’t drank yet”

indicative, past;

- a. oo-sen uwei
to.drink-PERF NEG.EXIS “didn’t drink”
- b. es oo-laa
NEG to.drink-PST “didn’t drink”

In the main clause, the indicatives are complicated because of the problem as to what motivates the selection of preverbal and postverbal negation. Optatives and non-main clauses, however, are only preverbally negated. Basically, the indicative non-past is negated with a preverbal, and the past is negated with a postverbal. However, when the non-past negation employs postverbal negation with a mermaid construction, which requires the participle form of the verb, the negation enables the scope to expand to the progressive aspect or provide contexts with an “explanation.”

There are three types of existence or possession in Dagur, which is expressed not only by a verbal predicate but also by a nominal predicate. The first is the existential verb aa_ with the subject being the object of existence, however it is not frequently used with an unmarked tense or aspect; the temporal existence is expressed with a progressive form of aa_. The second is the nominal word bei meaning “to exist,” the subject of which is also the object of existence. The third is an existential expression expressed with the suffix -tii, which is added to the object of existence, the subject of which is the possessor. The negation of the existential expression can be united into one expression with uwei, the subject of which can be either an object of existence or a possessor.

4. Predicate with two types of clause

The predicate is different in main clauses and non-main clauses. In the main clause, the predicate expresses a judgment or directive mood using an optative verbal form or sentence final particles (SFP). Some of elements expressing a judgement mood is a semi-SFP, which is required to follow participle verbal forms to put the verbal predicate clause into nominal attributive clauses and forms the mermaid construction. SFPs with presumptive meanings are also types of judgments, and interestingly, are put before personal predicate elements. Personal predicate elements divide the SFPs into interpropositionals and interpersonal. SFPs with a directive mood, such as interrogatives and imperative moderators, are put after the personal predicates, which in turn are put after imperative markers in Buryad, a Mongolic language, and middle Mongolian, which has a personal predicate-like element. Perhaps the personal predicates in Mongolic languages originally appeared after interpersonal particles. In Dagur, however, because the interrogative element feature of the SFPs becomes stronger from the meaning of the interpersonal modality of the interrogatives, the elements are put after the personal predicate.

Verbal suffixes without tense and directive mood construct the non-main clause, and depending on the other clauses, cannot be followed by either SFPs or personal predicates. This research sought to put the non-main clause predicate forms in order because of the differences from the main clause, using the framework of Reference and Role Grammar. Many cosubordinate clause linkages are found in Dagur, some of which can be expressed using the same subject with a reflexive suffix and some of which are expressed using a different subject with personal possessive suffixes. Participles are typically used for subordinate clauses, with some participles with case suffixes also being used in cosubordinate clauses. Coordinates in Dagur appear to be a simple series of clauses and may be expressed with no personal predicates.