

中央アラスカ・ユピック語の 曖昧文理解における 語順・格表示・一致の効果

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特別ワークショップ『SO言語およびOS言語を対象とした比較心理言語学』

Today's presentation

1. Central Alaskan Yup'ik
2. Word Order, Case Marking, and Agreement
3. Word Order Change?

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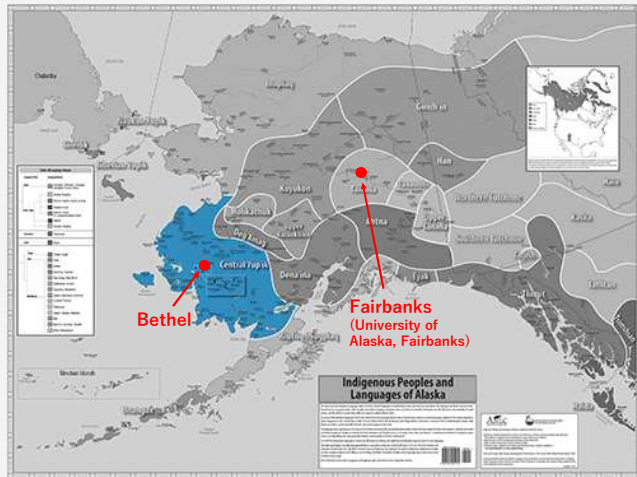
1. Central Alaskan Yup'ik

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Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Yup'ik)

- Eskimo-Aleut Language
- 10,000 Speakers (Lewis, Gary, and Charles, 2016)

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<https://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/centralalutik.php>

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Ayaprun Elitnaurvik



<https://ayaprun.lksd.org/home>



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Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks



<https://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/centralakyupik.php>



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2. Word Order, Case Marking, and Agreement

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Word Order, Case Marking, and Agreement

Properties of Yup'ik from the previous studies

- I. Free word order (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995; Miyaoka, 2012)
- II. SOV dominance (Fortescue, 1998; Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995; Miyaoka, 2012)
- III. Rich case marking and agreement system (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995; Miyaoka, 2012)

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Word Order, Case Marking, and Agreement

• Object:

- The word order cue is used to determine grammatical relations?
- If so, how is the word order cue related to the ambiguity of case marking and agreement?

• My study in 2020-2021

- 1) Interview survey (N = 1)
- 2) Acceptability rating (N = 24)

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Factors –Word Order-

Word Order: SOV/SVO/OSV/OVS

1. SO Order: SO/OS
2. Verb Position: Middle/Final

e.g. SVO → SO Order: SO, Verb Position: Middle

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Factors –Case Marking and Agreement-

Case	Agreement	SUB-OBJ	Example stimuli (SOV)		
Unamb.	Unamb.	3SG-3DU, 3SG-3PL, 3DU-3SG, 3PL-3SG	<i>Arna-m</i> woman-ERG.SG	<i>angute-t</i> man-ABS.PL	<i>tangerr-ai.</i> see-IND.3SG/3PL "The woman is seeing the men."
Unamb.	Amb.	3SG-3SG	<i>Arna-m</i> woman-ERG.SG	<i>angun-ø</i> man-ABS.PL	<i>tangerr-aa.</i> see-IND.3SG/3SG "The woman is seeing the man."
Amb.	Unamb.	3DU-3PL, 3PL-3DU	<i>Arna-t</i> woman-ERG or ABS.PL	<i>angu-k</i> man-ERG or ABS.DU	<i>tangerr-gket.</i> see-IND.3PL/3DU "The women are seeing the two men."
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Methods

• Factors

1	SO order	SO (SOV, SVO) /OS (OSV, OVS)
2	Verb Position	Middle (SVO, OVS) /Final (SOV, OSV)
3	Case Ambiguity	Unambiguous/Ambiguous
4	Agreement Ambiguity	Unambiguous/Ambiguous

• 24 native Yup'ik speakers

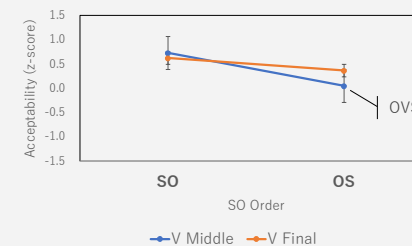
• Acceptability rating task (1-8)



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Results

Effects of word order

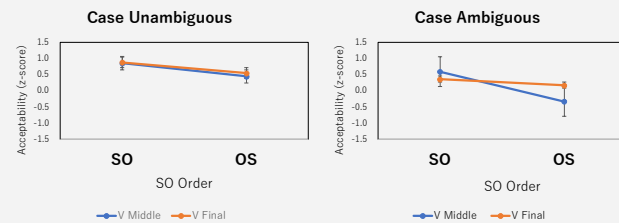


- Main effect of SO order ** ($t = -3.36, p < 0.001$)
- SO Order \times Verb Position † ($t = 1.75, p = 0.08$)

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Results

Interaction between word order and case marking

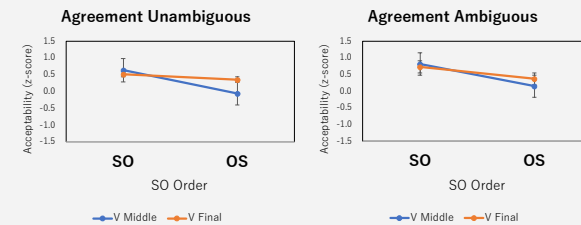


- SO order \times Verb Position \times Case Ambiguity ** ($t = 3.09$, $p = 0.002$)

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Results

Interaction between word order and agreement



- No significance

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Discussion

Judgement of grammatical relations in Yup'ik

- Yup'ik speakers depend on **word order** and **case marking**.
- They depend more on **word order** when the **case marking** cue is ambiguous.
- The **agreement** cue is not significantly used even when the case marking is ambiguous.

(Emura, in press)

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3. Word Order Change?

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Previous Studies

SOV dominance

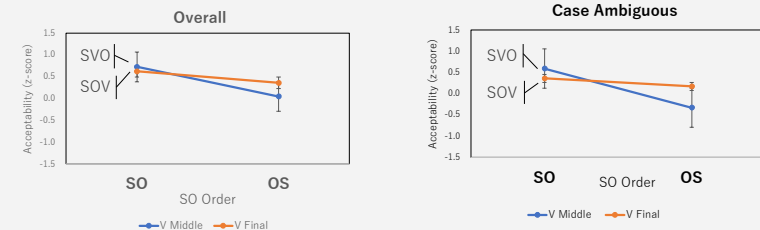
- SOV is the most frequently used (Fortescue, 1983).
- ... *the basic SOV order is* ... (Mithun, 1999: 203)
- ... *the language does show a measurable preference for APS (or SOV) as the unmarked order.* (Miyaoka, 2012: 181)

	(S)(O)V	(S)V(O)	(O)VS	OSV	VX
<i>Alaskan Yup'ik texts</i>					
Tutaga'urlium (Tennant & Bitar, 1981: 2-3; ca. 1975)	28	7	4	0	1
Ungungssilikuk (Tennant & Bitar, 1981: 48-53; ca. 1975)	71	2	1	1	9
Quillun piciaq Yupit (Alean, 1976)	24	17	5	1	5

Fortescue (1983)

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The Current Study



- $SOV = SVO$ ($t = -1.60, p = 0.380$)
- $SOV < SVO^{\dagger}$ ($t = -2.30, p = 0.096$)

SOV dominance → SOV/SVO dominance

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Word Order Change?

General word order change (Gell-Mann & Ruhlen, 2011)

SOV > SOV/SVO > SVO

Why SOV order shifts to SVO order?

Psychological factors:

- **Noisy channel hypothesis** (Gibson et al., 2013)
- **Role-conflict hypothesis** (Hall et al., 2013)

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Word Order Change?

Noisy channel hypothesis

- Actor-Patient-Action (SOV) is ambiguous in a noisy communication situation.
- OSV should be avoided. OVS is OK.

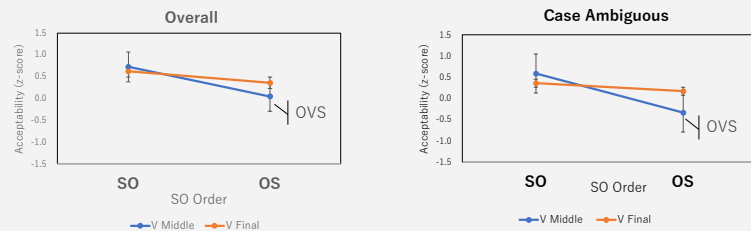
SOV Mary John kicks
SVO Mary kicks John

Role-conflict hypothesis

- Patient-Action (OV) is role-conflict in a reversible condition.
- OVS should be avoided. OSV is OK.

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Word Order Change?



In Yup'ik, OVS was significantly less acceptable.

→ **compatible with the role-conflict model**

→ **The motivation of word order shift is OV avoidance ?**

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Word Order Change?

The effect of English

- *One need only consider the influence English has exerted there in recent years...* (Fortescue, 1993: 282)
- Almost all the Yup'ik speakers speak English, the rigid SVO language.
- The use of Yup'ik in the classroom was prohibited in 1880 – 1960 (Miyooka, 1980) .

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Summary

• Judgment of grammatical relations in Yup'ik

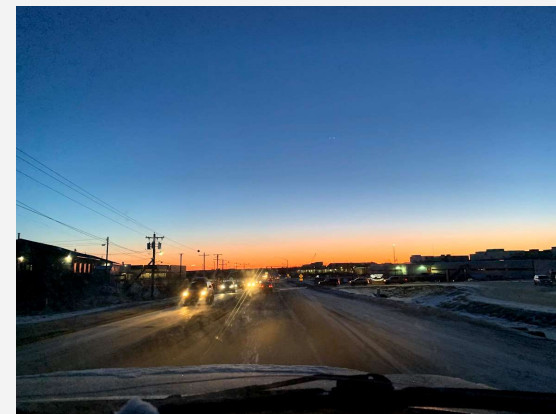
- The word order cue is used even in a free word order language.
- The weight of the word order cue is affected by the ambiguity of the case marking cue.

• Word order change in Yup'ik

- The acceptability data of Yup'ik shows a shift from SOV dominance to SOV/SVO dominance.
- The shift might be motivated by avoidance of OV order or contact with English.

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Quyana chakneq "Thank you so much"



Sunset From Bethel

Photo by Rei Emura

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