

チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文*

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1 はじめに

1.1 相関関係文とは

相関関係文 (relative-correlative construction: RCC) とは、典型的には南アジア諸語にひろくみられる構文である。一般には関係節をみちびく標識を前文にもち、その標識と呼応する標識が後文にあらわれるような構文をいう。Masica [1991] には次のような定義があがっている。

“[R]elative-correlative construction, where the modifying clause, marked by a member of the “J”-set of relative pronouns, adverbs, and other words, is “represented” by a *correlative* in its role-slot in the main clause.” [Masica 1991: 410]

相関関係文はインド・アリア諸語に限定されているわけではない。

“Downing (1973)^{注1}, the most thorough treatment of corelatives we know of, notes that corelatives are limited to verb-final languages, and, in fact, are largely limited to ‘loose’ verb-final ones, namely ones which permit some NPs, especially ‘heavy’ ones to occur to the right of the verb without any special effect of foregrounding or backgrounding. For example corelatives are not attested in rigid verb-final languages such as Japanese and Turkish. Nor are they attested in rigid SVO or verb-initial languages.” [Keenan 1985: 164–165]

具体例をバングラ語でしめせば (1) のようになる^{注2}。

(1) *je mee-Ti_i okhane dāRie ache je_i lOmba.*
rel.det. girl.class.(def.sg.) there(deict.) stand-conj.ppl. be-pres.-3 anaph.-3ord. tall
‘The girl who is standing over there is tall.’ [Bagchi 1994: 16]

(1) では、前文に関係節をみちびく標識として *je* がある。そして、後文では *je* と呼応するように三人称代名詞 *je* があらわれている。

* 本稿は Huziwaru [2005] として発表したものをもとに、その後の資料を追加し、再構成した藤原 [2021] に、若干の加筆・修正をくわえたものである。

^{注1} ただしは Downing [1974] である。

^{注2} 以下、二次資料からの例文における語釈は、特にことわらないかぎり、引用元の表記にしたがう。引用例文の語釈における略号については、おおくのばあい、言語学分野での慣例から理解可能であるので、注記しない。筆者がつけた略号については、本稿末尾の記号・略号一覧を参照。

本稿では、チベット・ビルマ諸語にみられる相関関係文およびそれと類似した構文について報告する^{注3}。

1.2 先行研究

相関関係文についての通言語的な研究としては、生成文法の立場からさまざまな言語をあつかった論文集である Lipták [2009] がある。ただし、この論文集でチベット・ビルマ諸語をあつまっているのは、チベット語の Cable [2009] のみである。

チベット・ビルマ諸語を中心に相関関係文をあつかったものとしては、チャック語 (Cak: ISO 639-3 ckh) の相関関係文をあつかうなかで他のチベット・ビルマ諸語の状況を概観した Huziwara [2005] がある。また、Coupe [2018] は南アジアの文脈のなかでチベット・ビルマ諸語の相関関係文をあつまっている。Noonan [2003] はネパールのヒマラヤ諸語を比較するなかで、相関関係文の分布についても言及している。

本稿のように、中国から南アジアにかけて分布するチベット・ビルマ諸語全体を視野にいれた相関関係文の研究は、管見のかぎりでは存在しない。

1.3 調査方法と問題点

本稿では、筆者が直接に臨地調査した数言語 (チャック語、マルマ語、ウスイ語) をのぞき、文法書を中心とした二次資料の記述に依存している。具体例は 4「チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文の具体例」で提示する。

本稿であつかうチベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文は、かならずしも相関関係文として記述されているものばかりではない。二次資料のなかでは相関関係文とよばれていなくとも、形式的には相関関係文とみなしうるものをふくんでいる。

二次資料調査の方法は (2) のようにまとめられる。

- (2) a. 「相関関係文」という語句が目次や索引にあるかどうかを調査する^{注4}。
- b. 関係節や名詞修飾表現の例文を調査する。
- c. 指示詞の例文を調査する。
- d. 疑問詞の例文を調査する。

^{注3} Hale and Shrestha [2006: 225–228] ではネワール語の相関関係文が四分類されている。すなわち (1) Compared Actions or Situations、(2) Compared Amounts or Extents、(3) Progressive Correlation、(4) Identificational Correlations である。ただし、本稿では、ここまでこまかい分類はおこなわず、関係詞と相関詞が呼応しているかどうかだけを観察するにとどめる。

^{注4} 相関 (corelative) という語が目次や索引にあっても、かならずしも相関関係文であるとはかぎらない。相関比較文 (comparative-correlative construction) の記述がなされていることもある。相関比較文とは、たとえば英語で “The more you read, the less you understand” [Lipták 2009: 11] という種類の構文である。相関関係文をもつような言語では、英語などで相関比較文をもちいて表現される文が、相関関係文で表現されうる [Lipták 2009: 18]。だが、本稿では相関比較文そのものはあつかわない。

(2) にしめした調査方法についてさらに注意すべき点がある。どのような構文を相関関係文とみなすかが、論者によって異なるということである。たとえば、Sharma [2004: 229] によれば、Balti 語には相関関係文がない。

“Balti does not favour construction of correlative sentences with correlative conjunctions like ‘when ... then ...’, etc. Consequently, all syntactic constructions of other systems with these terms are transformed into complex sentences in their Balti renderings.” [Sharma 2004: 229]

Sharma が想定しているのは、インド・アーリア語からの借用語をもちいた相関関係文がない、ということであるとおもわれる。しかしながら、(3) にしめすように、インド・アーリア語からの借用形式をもちいていなくとも、相関関係文に類似した構文そのものはみつかるとは限らない。

(3) *su thulna, do phoqtuk*

‘who climbs, (he) will fall.’ [Read 1934: 18; Zemp 2018: 770^{注5}]

このように、相関関係文が「ない」とされていても、どのような種類の相関関係文が「ない」ということであるかは、論者によって異なることがある。

いまひとつの問題は、いわゆる主要部がない関係節 (headless RCC) の問題である。Atong 語における (4) の例は、Breugel [2014: 174] では関係節とされており、相関関係文とはされていない。他方、Coupe [2018: 7] は、おなじ例文を主要部がない相関関係文の例としている。

(4) *je-səkən naŋʔ=ci ganəŋ cən=ari=bo kamal=ma*
 any-QUANTITY 2SG=LOC exist offer=SIMP=IMP priest=GOAL
 ‘However much you have, just offer it to the priest.’ [Breugel 2014: 174]

Coupe [2018] は、関係節の標識としてインド・アーリア語の *je* がもいられているので、(4) を相関関係文のひとつとみなしているとおもわれる^{注6}。しかし、本稿では、主要部なしのものは考察の対象外とする。

2 チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文の種類

2.1 チベット・ビルマ諸語周辺の共通語

チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文は、一般的には、それぞれの言語がはなされる地域での共通語であるインド・アーリア語あるいは漢語やタイ語などに影響を受けたものであるとかがえられる。

^{注5} 原文では形態素分析されていない。それでも、*su* と *do* が呼応していることはわかる。鈴木博之氏によれば、*thulna* は *thul-na* ‘go-if’ であり、*phoqtuk* は *phoq-tuk* ‘fall-sensory evidential’ とのことである。

^{注6} 命令文だと相関詞が省略される傾向があるのではないかと、という指摘が Muhammad Zakaria 氏からあった (2021-10-02・日本地理言語学会第3回大会)。

そこで、インド・アーリア語、漢語、タイ語にみられる相関関係文やそれに類似した構文の特徴をまとめれば、(5) のようになる。具体例は 2.1.1 以下を参照。

- (5) a. インド・アーリア語型: 前文でインド・アーリア語の関係詞をもちい、後文で指示詞（あるいは三人称代名詞）が呼応する。
 b. 漢語型: 前文で疑問詞、後文で疑問詞が呼応する。前文で疑問詞、後文で指示詞が呼応するものもある。
 c. タイ語型: 前文で疑問詞、後文で指示詞（あるいは三人称代名詞）が呼応する。

2.1.1 Indo-Aryan

チベット・ビルマ諸語に影響をあたえているとかんがえられるインド・アーリア諸語における相関関係文の具体例は以下のとおりである。

いずれの例も、概略、前文でインド・アーリア語特有の関係詞をもちい、後文でそれと呼応する指示語や代名詞がもちいられる。

2.1.1.1 Pali

- (6) **jo** janāti **so** imam ganhātu
 REL knows COREL this let.take
 ‘he who knows let him take this.’ [Duroiselle 1997³: 153 #592; 語釈は筆者による]

2.1.1.2 Hindi

- (7) a. **jo** laRkii khaRii hai **vo** lambii hai.
 REL girl standing is DEM tall is
 b. **vo** lambii hai. **jo** laRkii khaRii hai
 DEM tall is REL girl standing is
 c. **vo** laRkii **jo** khaRii hai lambii hai.
 DEM girl REL standing is tall is
 ‘The girl who is standing is tall.’ [Sribastav 1991: 642]

2.1.1.3 Bangla/Bengali

バングラ語において相関関係文は文語でも口語でも比較的よくもちいられる。

- (8) **je** mee-Ti_i okhane dāRie ache **je**_i lOmba.
 rel.det. girl.class.(def.sg.) there(deict.) stand-conj.ppl. be-pres.-3 anaph.-3ord. tall
 ‘The girl who is standing over there is tall.’ [Bagchi 1994: 16]

2.1.1.4 Nepali

ネパール語にも相関関係文は存在する。ただし、以下の引用にあるように、あまりもちいられないようである。

“Nepali has a full inventory of relative and correlative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, with which subordinate clauses may be constructed. Such constructions, however, occur with far less frequency than in some other Indo-Aryan languages.” [Riccardi 2003: 575]

“Occasionally, the relative pronoun जो may be used to introduce a relative clause. This is, however, largely a feature of the written language, where constructions tend to be more complicated and where a large number of participles would seem inelegant or be likely to obscure the meaning.” [Matthews 1992²: 187]

上述の引用にあるように、ネパール語では相関関係文がもちいられることがあまりない。したがって、ネパール語の文法書をもて、相関関係文の具体例があらわれることは稀であるようである。(9) は、ネパール語の文法書ではなく、チベット・ビルマ系のネワール語の文法書にあがるネパール語の例である。

- (9) **jo** mānche āuncha **tyo** timro Thulobā ho
 who man come(3sPST) that your p.uncle be
 “The man that will come is your father’s elder brother.” [Genetti 1994: 185]

ネパール語において相関関係文がもちいられることは稀であるようであるけれども、ネパールでチベット・ビルマ諸語の記述にたずさわる研究者は、相関関係文の存在をよく意識している。したがって、附録 1 で例をしめすように、相関関係文の有無について明示的に記述される傾向がある。

2.1.2 Chinese

漢語における相関関係文では、次の引用にあるように、疑問詞がかさねて使用される。

“One common type of correlative is in the form of repeated interrogative-indefinites” [Chao 1968: 121]

- (10) 誰 先 来 誰 先 吃.
 shéi xiān lái shéi xiān chī
 who first come who first eat
 ‘Whoever comes first eats first.’ [Chao 1968: 121–122; 語釈は筆者により修正]

杉村 [2000⁸: 233] によれば、漢語の相関関係文には二種類ある。ひとつは「疑問詞・疑問詞」型である。もうひとつは「疑問詞・指示詞」型である。

- (11) a. 誰 要求 没有 缺点 的 朋友, 誰 就 得 不 到 朋友.
 shéi yāoqiú méiyǒu quēdiǎn de péngyou shéi jiù dé bù dào péngyou
 who want not.have defect GEN friend who EMPF get NEG PRF friend
 「欠点のない友を求める者、そのような人間は友を得られない」 [杉村 2000⁸: 233; 語
 釈は筆者による]
- b. 誰 要求 没有 缺点 的 朋友, 他 就 得 不 到 朋友.
 shéi yāoqiú méiyǒu quēdiǎn de péngyou tā jiù dé bù dào péngyou
 who want not.have defect GEN friend he EMPF get NEG PRF friend
 「欠点のない友を求める者、そのような人間は友を得られない」 [杉村 2000⁸: 233; 語
 釈は筆者による]

2.1.3 Thai

タイ語では、(12) ~ (14) にしめすような相関関係文が日常的にもちいられる^{注7}。いずれも前文で疑問詞をもちい、後文で指示語が呼応している。

- (12) mây_wâa khun ca pay **nǎy** chǎn kôo ca pay **thû_nân**.
 even.if you FUT go where I too FUT go there
 ‘Wherever you may go, I will go there too.’

- (13) mii **thâw rây** cháy **thâw nán**.
 exist how many use much that
 ‘As many as there is, [I/you] use that much.’

- (14) tham wáy **yanṅay**, kôo dây phôn **yàngán**
 do keep how then get result like.that
 ‘How [much] you do, then you get the result like that [much].’

(15) の例は、むずかしいけれども、普通にもちいられるという。

- (15) khun lûak khon **nǎy**, chǎn kôo lûak khon **nán**.
 you choose man which I too choose man that
 ‘Which man you choose, I choose that man too.’

(16) ~ (17) の例は、非常にむずかしいけれども、文脈さえあたえられれば、理解されるという。

- (16) mây_wâa khun ca khǎn k̄iaw_kâp nǎy_sǔuu lêm **nǎy** chǎn kôo ca khǎn k̄iaw_kâp
 even.if you FUT write about book CLF:book which I too FUT write about

^{注7} 本稿におけるタイ語の例は Apasara Wungpradit さんによる。ローマ字表記も彼女によるものである。

lêm nán bân.

CLF:book this too

‘On whichever book you may write, I will write about that book too.’

- (17) mây_wâa khun ca pay bân khǒŋ **khra**y chǎn kôo ca taam pay hǎa **khǎw**. /khon
 even.if you FUT go house GEN who I too FUT follow go meet him/her man
nán.
 that
 ‘Whosever house you may go, I will follow and meet [with] that man.’

2.2 チベット・ビルマ諸語

チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文およびそれに類似する構文には、大別して (18) にしめす 7 種類が確認される。なお (18) は、形式的な分類であり、意味による分類ではない。たとえば、「疑問語」とかかかれていても、意味的には不定である。

- (18) a. 前文の関係詞にインド・アリア語からの借用形式、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマの指示語。インドやネパールのチベット・ビルマ諸語にひろくみられる (4.1)。
 b. 前文の関係詞にチベット・ビルマ語の名詞化、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマ語の指示語。ラサ・チベット語にしか確認されない (4.2)。
 c. 前文の関係詞にチベット・ビルマ語の不定語、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマ語の指示語。文章語のある言語での翻訳調のみで確認される (4.3)。
 d. 前文の関係詞にチベット・ビルマ語の疑問語、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマ語の不定語。ブータンの Tshangla 語にのみ確認される (4.4)。
 e. 前文の関係詞にチベット・ビルマ語の疑問語、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマ語の指示語。チベット・ビルマ諸語のなかでもっとも広範にみられる (4.5)。
 f. 前文の関係詞にチベット・ビルマ語の疑問文、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマ語の指示語。バングラデシュ・チッタゴン丘陵のチベット・ビルマ諸語とインド・ナガランドのチベット・ビルマ諸語にしか確認されていない (4.6)。
 g. 前文の関係詞にチベット・ビルマ語の疑問語、後文の相関詞にチベット・ビルマ語の疑問語。中国語のチベット・ビルマ諸語にひろくみられる (4.7)。

(18) にしめしたように、チベット・ビルマ諸語には、(18a) のようなインド・アリア語型の相関関係文を一方の極とし、(18g) のような漢語型の相関関係文を他方の極とする類型があるとわかる。そして、両者の中間的な型が分布しているということになる。

以上を表にまとめると、次のようになる^{注8}。

^{注8} 表中の略号は以下のとおり。IA: インド・アリア語、DEM: 指示語、NLS: 名詞化、ID: 不定語、Q: 疑問語、QQ: 疑問文。

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
形式	IA-DEM	NLS-DEM	ID-DEM	Q-ID	Q-DEM	QQ-DEM	Q-Q
前文	IA 借用	名詞化	不定	疑問	疑問	疑問文	疑問
後文	指示	指示	指示	不定	指示	指示	疑問
言語数	多数	僅少	僅少	僅少	最多	少数	多数

3 まとめ

本稿では (19) にしめすことがわかった。

- (19) a. チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文でもっともよくみられるものは、前文に疑問語、後文に指示語をもつものである。この型は漢語にもみられるけれども、漢語の影響がおよんでいるとはかんがえがたいインドやネパールの諸言語にもみられる。漢語とは関係なく、各言語における独自の発展とみられる。
- b. インド・アーリア語の影響がつよい地域では、インド・アーリア語型の相関関係文がよくみられる。
- c. 漢語の影響がつよいところでは、漢語と同様に、前文に疑問語、後文にも疑問語の相関関係文がみられる。
- d. 相関関係文に（形式的な）不定語がかかわることはほとんどない。
- e. チベット・ビルマ諸語のいわゆる関係節（名詞修飾節）には、名詞化標識がかかわることがおおい [DeLancey 2011]。他方、相関関係文に名詞化標識がかかわることはほとんどない。

今後の課題としては (20) のようなものがあげられる。

- (20) a. 特に中国のチベット・ビルマ諸語の記述を調査する。
- b. 未確認の型（たとえば前文にインド・アーリア語の関係節、後文に不定語など）があるかどうか。
- c. 相関関係文に「譲歩」（どんな～でも）の解釈が生じるとすれば、どのような場合か。譲歩の意味があるようにみえるのは、単に英語などによる翻訳の問題か。

4 附録 1・チベット・ビルマ諸語における相関関係文の具体例

4.1 インド・アーリア語からの借用とチベット・ビルマ語の指示語

4.1.1 Tripura (Kokborok): Tripura, India

“The relative clause is formed with the relative pronoun *je* borrowed from Bengali.” [Pai 1976: 100]

- (21) **je** bórók tabuk phayo **bo** bini yar.
 which man now is.coming he his friend
 ‘The man who is coming now is his friend.’ (lit. which man is coming he is his friend) [Pai 1976: 100]

4.1.2 Deuri: Assam, India

- (22) **jiba** mosi ko-ba-si **ba** ko-m
 celui homme venir-VNC-sel ce venir-PP
 ‘l’homme qui devait venir, il est arrivé’. [Jacquesson 2005: 240] ^{注9}

4.1.3 Garo (Achik): Garo Hills, India

“Garo has a relative pronoun (*je* sec. 2.212) that is clearly borrowed from Indic and which sits a bit askew with the rest of the language.” [Burling 1961: 72]

- (23) **je** -ko na’-a nik-a **u** -ko ra’-ba-bo
 whatever -OBJ you see it -OBJ bring
 ‘whatever you see, bring it.’ [Burling 1961: 72; 語釈は筆者による]

4.1.4 Rabha: Garo Hills, India

“There is just one relative pronoun (REL) in Rabha, viz. *ja* ‘which, whoi, that’, which is clearly borrowed from Indo-Aryan Assamese or Bengali”. [Joseph 2007: 336]

- (24) náj **ja**-ka aŋ **o**-ka
 you REL-ATTR I that-ATTR
 ‘I am in the way as you’. (we are in the same boat) [Joseph 2007: 337]

4.1.5 Meche: Eastern Nepal/West Bengal

- (25) **je**-che-khəu jəŋ nu-nə hə-nai, **o**-che-khəu kichi-nə ha-nai.
 any-CL-ACC 1PL see-SUB CAUS-FUT that-CL-ACC photograph-SUB can-FUT
 ‘Whatever I let you see, you can take a photo of it’. [Kiryu 2008: 74]

4.1.6 Athpare: Eastern Nepal

“Correlative clauses are rare in Athpare; they are constructed according to the Indo-Aryan

^{注9} ‘jiba’ において、‘ji’ はおそらくインド・アリア語からの借用語であり、‘ba’ は「これ」をあらわす。

model with a question word in the first clause and a demonstrative in the second.” [Ebert 1997a: 154]

- (26) tara unci handeḡ samma kristyēn-lok li-ma u-hi-ni-ga, poḡ bhane
 but they tomorrow until Christian-FOC be-INF 3pA/S-can-NEF-NML:ns because
jun yapmi-ci kristyēn lis-e, **hitna** yapmi-ci aniya samaj-ni unci cimma
 which person-ns Christian become-PT that person-ns our(pe) society-LOC their despision
 u-phutt-u-ci-ga.
 3pA/S-break-3U-ns-NML:ns
 ‘But they cannot be Christians for long, because the people who became Christians are
 despised in our society.’ [Ebert 1997a: 154]

4.1.7 Baram: Central Nepal

“[D]ue to the influence of Nepali, the contact language, relative-correlative clauses also exist in Baram... The clauses which are like relative-correlatives are Nepali calques”. [Kansakar et al. 2011: 163–164]

- (27) ḡa-e **dze** dum-o **ui** ḡi-ca.
 I-ERG what get-IRR that NPST-eat
 ‘I eat whatever I get’. [Kansakar et al. 2011: 163]

4.1.8 Western Magar: Central Nepal

- (28) **jus** bfiormi-o mi-ja cha-ma le **ho-se-ke** ḡa-e
 whichever man-GEN POSS-child sick-NOM COP D.DEM-DEF-DAT 1S-ERG
 ḡa-daḡ-a-aḡ
 1PRO-see-PST-PRO
 ‘I saw the man whose child is sick.’ = ‘Whichever man’s child is sick, I saw that one.’
 [Grunow-Hårsta 2008: 376]

4.1.9 Byansi: Uttar Pradesh, India

“[The above] cited adjective clauses are apparent interferences of Indo-Aryan by borrowing the relative pronoun jayi (on the analogy(*sic*) of ayi ‘this’, e.f.(*sic*) Hindi jo ‘which, who’). In fact the construction of adjective clauses does not appear to be an inherent tendency of Byansi.” [Trivedi 1991: 160^{注10}]

^{注10} 以下の例において、原文の語釈は印刷が不鮮明なため、よみまちがっている可能性がある。

- (29) **ayi** ati yī kathā lhe **jayi** use nyāre lukso
 this same matter is which he yesterday told
 ‘This is the same matter which he told yesterday.’ [Trivedi 1991: 50]

他方、Sharma [2001: 286] は次のようにのべる。

“Byangsi uses a single relative pronoun, /dzai/, and it is always used with the remote demonstrative pronoun /ati/ as a correlative.”

- (30) **ati** tsame **dzai** cim-dza lan ʃuŋgɛtata je-ge hriŋfa hle
 that girl RELPRO house-in work is.doing I-GEN sister is
 ‘That girl who is doing work at home is my sister.’ [Sharma 2001: 286]

4.1.10 Chaudangsi: Uttar Pradesh, India

“There are two forms for the relative clause, the native Tibeto-Burman form where a clause nominalized by /ta/ appears before the head noun [...], and Indo-Aryan-style post-head relative clause involving one of two relative pronouns, i. e. /jo/ or /jəi/ below; actually, the relative clause not only follows the head noun in this construction, but also the verb of the main clause, giving a correlative structure [...] It appears that both of these relative pronouns are borrowed from Indo-Aryan, especially from Hindi jo, though there is no human/non-human distinction in the relative pronouns of Hindi.” [Krishan 2001b: 411]

- (31) a. hidi **əti** siri hle **jo** nyarə ra-s
 this that boy is who yesterday come-PAST
 ‘He is the same boy who came yesterday.’ (KRISHAN 2001b: 412)
- b. **jəi** mi itan ra-sə **əti** ji-ge pe hle
 who person just.now come-PAST he I-AGT brother COP
 ‘The man who has come just now is my brother.’ [Krishan 2001b: 412]

4.1.11 Darma: Uttar Pradesh, India

“The pattern for relative-correlative constructions in Darma is no identical to the IA patterns... Here, we find both an autochthonous demonstrative pronoun <hadu> and the IA loan relative pronoun <jo> in the first clause (without an overt noun) followed by another autochthonous demonstrative pronoun <idu> and an overt noun in the second clause. It appears that in addition to the relative pronoun <jo>, the relative-correlative construction is also a loan, which is a calque”. [Willis Oko 2019: 411]

- (32) hadu **jo** ki-ŋe-nu ni-ni **idu** syeno buNnu ni-ni.
 3sg rel.In compl-stand.up-nr aux-3.npt dem.nonvis child tall aux-3.npt
 ‘The boy who is standing is tall.’ (Lit: ‘Which one is standing, that boy is tall.’) [Willis
 Oko 2019: 411]

なお、Darma 語については、次のような記述もある。

“The structure of the relative clause is unusual for Tibeto-Burman, as it is a correlative with the usual Tibeto-Burman prehead relative with nominalization, and a post-head relative pronoun, as in the Indo-Aryan languages, but not a full post-head relative clause.” [Krishan 2001a: 375]

- (33) amə ja-**no** siri **ənduna** hle
 mango eat-NOM boy RELPRO COP
 ‘(He) is the boy who had eaten the mango.’ [Krishan 2001a: 375]

4.1.12 Raji: Uttar Pradesh, India

“A relative clause is formed by adding [jo ~ joi] to the beginning of the dependent clause. The relative clause is a free-standing nominalized clause, giving a correlative structure [...]. Raji has borrowed the relative pronoun from Hindi, which is *jo* ‘the one’ or ‘who.’” [Krishan 2001c: 474]

- (34) a. **əi** whəi bəghol hī **jo** bəkka ja
 this same tiger COP RELPRO goat eat
 ‘This is the same tiger which ate the goat.’ [Krishan 2001c: 475]
 b. **joi** bəkka hə-tə ha **ai** lōDa rugga
 RELPRO goat kill-COMPL past that boy leave
 ‘The boy who killed the goat has left.’ [Krishan 2001c: 475]

4.2 名詞化と不定語

4.2.1 Lhasa Tibetan

- (35) pad=ma -s deb khyer -**pa de** nga -‘i yin
 Peema -ERG book bring -NOM the I -GEN be
 ‘The book which Peema brought is mine.’ [Mazaudon 1978: 402; Genetti 1992: 408 による語釈つき英語からの引用]

“Mazaudon (1978) states that this construction is more common in Classical Tibetan materials, and that in modern spoken Tibetan it occurs only when the head noun is in absolutive

case (subject of intransitive or object of transitive) within the relative clause.” [Genetti 1992: 408]

4.2.2 Manipuri: India

- (36) ləykol=də sat-li=bə ləysiŋ ədu phəjəy
 garden=LOC bloom-PROG=NMLS flower that be.beautiful
 ‘Blooming flower in the garden, that is beautiful’. [Shougrakpam 2014: 11^{注11}]

4.3 不定語と指示語

前文に不定語、後文に指示語という型は、文語形式が発達した言語にしか確認されない。また、不定語といっても、不定の意味でもちいられる名詞である点には注意が必要である。

4.3.1 Written Tibetan

文語チベット語にみられる相関関係文はサンスクリット語からの翻訳にのみみられる^{注12}。

関係代名詞は元来のチベット語の用法にない。経典翻訳の際に梵語に対応させる表現形式として登場した。元来の表現では、下記のように不定代名詞をもちいるが、関係代名詞と指示代名詞を関連させた用法はない。[山口 1998: 86]

関係代名詞の場合と同様チベット語の元来の表現に関係副詞はない。梵語の表現にあるこの形式を翻訳文に反映させるため、不定副詞を置き、それに従う名詞句や名詞節を必ず指すように指示代名詞を用い、同じ型の副詞句に仕立てて用いたのである。[山口 1998: 142]

- (37) **ji** ltar pha ma bu byams kyang | **de** ltar bu tshas pha
 what.REL like father mother son love although that like son.and.grandson.ERG father
 ma min |
 mother is.not
 「父母がどのように子を慈しんでも、同じく孫子がそのように父母にするとは思えない」
 [山口 1998: 143–144; 語釈は筆者による]

- (38) dpe cha **ji** tsam klog pa **de** tsam shes kyi red |
 book what.REL as.much.as read NMLS that as.much.as know -link -aux.
 ‘As much as you read the book, you [will] know that much.’ [武内・高橋 2016: 43; 語釈は筆者による]

^{注11} 形態素分析と語釈、翻訳は筆者による。なお、この例は、原文では相関関係文の例とされているけれども、相関関係文とはいえないのではないかとおもわれる。

^{注12} 以下の例は白井聡子氏の教示による。

4.3.2 Nissaya Burmese: Burma

“Relative clauses receive no special treatment as a whole: each word is rendered just as it stands in the Pali.” [Okell 1965: 209]

- (39) **Akrañ** lak -phrañ' pe'' -í **thui** lak -phrañ' chui -í
 whatever hand -by give -SFP that hand -by say -SFP
 ‘I direct you by the hand with which I give to you.’ [Okell 1965: 209, 1967: 110; 語釈は筆者による]

4.3.3 Written Burmese

- (40) အကြင် သူ ၏ အိမ် ၌ တ ည၌ မျှ လည်း တည်း ဖူး အံ့၊ ထို သူ အား
 əciN θu i. eiN hnai? tə nyi. hmya. le: te: phu: aN. **tho** θu a:
 some man GEN house LOC one night almost EMPH stay EXP COND that man for
 စိတ် ဖြင့် မျှ လည်း ပြစ်မှား ခြင်း ကို မ ပြု အပ်။
 sei? phyiN. hmya. le: pyi?hma: jiN: go mə pyu. a?
 mind by almost EMPH blaspheme NOM OBJ NEG do appropriate

「誰かの家に一晩でも泊まった事があれば、その家の人にたとえ心中なりといえども冒
 流してはならない」 [大野 2000: 772^{注13} 語釈は発表者による]

4.4 疑問語と不定語

前文に疑問詞、後文に不定語があらわれる例は、今のところブータンではなされるツァンラ
 語にしか確認されていない。調査がすすめば、周辺言語に確認される可能性がある。

4.4.1 Tshangla: Bhutan

“A content question word together with the indefinite marker *thur* is the common way of
 forming an indefinite relative clause, (‘whatever ...’, ‘whoever ...’ etc.)” [Andvik 2003:
 443]

- (41) Ji-gi pura **hang** tshat-pa **thur** nan-ga bi-wa
 1S-AGT completely what need-NOM one 2S-LOC give-NOM
 ‘Whatever (you) needed I gave you.’^{注14} [Andvik 2003: 443]

^{注13} 原文にみられる誤記は加藤昌彦氏の教示により修正した。

^{注14} おなじ例文が Andvik [1999: 396] にもある。ただし、翻訳は ‘Whatever you need I will give you.’
 となっている。

4.5 疑問語と指示語

4.5.1 Japhug: Sichuan, China

“All interrogative pronouns, ..., can be used in correlative relative constructions as free-choice indefinites ‘whoever/whatever/whenever’... The pronoun can occur on its own or in apposition with an overt head noun...” [Jacques 2021: 1261]

- (42) *uʒo kuu* [*<cai> tɕ^{hi} ta-ndza*] *nuu yuu u-mdoɕ* *nuu juu-ndɔm juu-ɲu*.
 3sg erg vegetable what aor:3→3' -eat dem gen 3sg.poss-colour dem ipfv-take[III] sens-be
 ‘It takes the colour of whatever vegetable it has eaten’. [Jacques 2021: 1261]

4.5.2 Wobzi Khroskyabs: Sichuan, China

Wobzi Khroskyabs 語においては、「疑問語・不定語」のくみあわせだけでなく、「疑問語・指示語」、「疑問語・疑問語」のくみあわせも確認されている。

“Wobzi exhibits a type of correlative-like relativisation... However, such constructions are not proto-typical correlatives in that 1) it does not necessarily require a correlate (usually a resumptive pronoun, for instance the case of Hindi...) in the matrix clause, and that 2) they can be nominalised as well as bare sentences”. [Lai 2018: 245]

(43) a. Q-DEM

æɕa <jiütian xuánnǚ> ɲêtə rə-vin ætə r-u-ví=si

CONJ Goddess.of.the.Nine.Skies which IMP-do₁-2 DEM PST-INV-do₂=IFR

‘He did what the Goddess of the Nine Skies told him to (literally: What the Goddess of the Nine Skies asked him to do, he did it)’. [Lai 2018 (14b)]

b. Q-INDEF

t^hjê_i ví=spi <bàn fǎ> rǎy_i fsæmnôŋ=spi næ-dô=si

what do₁=NMLZ:P.IRR solution one think₁=NMLZ:P.IRR IPFV.PST-EXIST₂=IFR

‘He found a way (literally: He found what he should do)’. [Lai 2018 (52)]

c. Q-Q

jdəsp^hjær ɲêlɑ_i rə-vê jê ɲêlɑ_i rə-rbjæ næ-ntɕ^hêy=si

wave where NPST-go₁ 3SG where NPST-arrive₁ PST-go₂=IFR

‘He went where the wave went’. [Lai 2018 (53b)]

4.5.3 Tibetan

- (44) Khyodra-s gyag gare nyos yod na nga-s de bsad pa yin.
 you-ERG yak what buy AUX if I-ERG that kill PERF AUX
 ‘I killed whatever yak you bought’. (Lit. ‘If you bought what yak, I killed that’.) [Cable
 2009: 195^{注15}]

4.5.4 Lahu: Thailand

“Just across the frontier of separate NP-hood are nouns which clearly belong to different NP’s in the syntactic sense (e.g., a particle may intervene between them), but which are mutually dependent in that one implies the other: neither may occur without the other if a particular meaning is to be conveyed. We may label such NP’s *correlative*. In the most interesting of these constructions, an interrogative noun in one NP is followed in the next NP by a noun which answers its question, the whole sequence then bearing an indefinite (rather than interrogative) meaning.” [Matisoff 1982²: 186–187]

- (45) a. **qhòkà?** qay gâ qo, **còkà?** qay -ʔ
 where go want if over there go -IMP
 ‘Go wherever you want.’ (“If you want to go [any]where, go there!”) [Matisoff 1982²:
 414; 語釈は筆者により改変]

4.5.5 Ao Naga: Nagaland, India

“There are no relatives corresponding to English modes of thought. The relatives are interrogative in form, [...] the construction of sentences with relative clauses is very common in ordinary conversation and in formal addresses.” [Clark 1893: 13]

- (46) **Shibae** tang aru **pae** azi oda ashi
 Who just now come he so said
 ‘he who just now come said so.’ [Clark 1893: 13]

“The relative-correlative construction of Mongsen is not necessarily more effective than the gapping strategy for relativizing on a core argument of the clause. The structure may have been borrowed into the language to allow for the relativization of oblique arguments, and then became an alternative strategy for deriving relativized attributes of all clausal argu-

^{注15} この例文自体はかなり不自然な文である。チベット語の文字転写にも、語釈にも問題がある。ただし、疑問語をもちいた相関関係文そのものは、翻訳調ながら、チベット語として理解されるものであるという [鈴木博之直談 2021-08-09]。

ments, including core arguments. I noted earlier that some speakers use it more frequently than others, particularly those who speak English fluently. All of the Mongsen speakers who used the relative-correlative construction were also bilingual speakers of Nagamese, the Assamese-based lingua franca of Nagaland”. [Coupe 2007: 235–236]

- (47) **sópá?** nə kùk-rù la **pa** tə-zəm-pà? t[hà-i-ù?
 who AGT win-IMM TOP 3SG NZP-be.senior-NR COP-IRR-DEC
 ‘Whoever wins will be more senior.’ [Coupe 2007: 234]

4.5.6 Konyak: Nagaland, India

- (48) kaʔtalannə ə'wpẽ yèŋte wúbè suyaʔpəyʔ/ imannə tə'wñí? ña? máè yèŋyənme
 people-pl-nom when water-to material mix / they that.day fish lot river-in
 omnàŋ
 catch-prs
 ‘people when mix the material to the water, that day they catch lot of fish in the water’.
 [Nagaraja 2010: 159]

4.5.7 Turung: Assam, India

“In Assamese, a correlative construction is used to express temporal linkage, and this has been calqued in Turung”. [Morey 2010: 573]

- (49) **gloiyong** purt **daiyong** singnang ngkhong thah la na dwa soh na
 when boil then bamboo.stick two with take SEQ REAL=DEF take.out SEQ
 go a ho lphoh ang dat
 TOP HESIT yonder banana.leaf at put
 ‘When it is boiled, then with two sticks it will be taken, taken out and put into a banana leaf’. [Morey 2010: 573–574^{注16}]

4.5.8 Galo: Arunachal Pradesh, India

- (50) **jadì=go** zí-ró dii **əkə=go** dó-ró
 how.much/many=IND give-IRR WOND ANAP.PL=IND eat-IRR
 ‘However much (corn) I’m given, that much I’ll eat!’ [Post 2007: 340]

^{注16} 原文では形態素分析され声調も付されているけれども、ここでは正書法のみでしめた。

4.5.9 Denjongke (Sikkimese Bhutia): Sikkim, India

“Correlative clauses consist of two clauses with a common argument marked in the first clause by a question word and in the second clause by a coreferential resumptive demonstrative. The interrogative pronoun occurs in a truly question-like construction, but the presence of the resumptive demonstrative in the following clause distinguishes correlative clauses from indirect question clauses”. [Yliniemi 2019: 475]

- (51) t'a məma k'ar jò-po óde=ra zak go?
 now earlier what EX-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed
 ‘Whatever was before, has to be preserved like that’. [Yliniemi 2019: 476]

4.5.10 Yakkha: Eastern Nepal

“As Yakkha does not have relative pronouns, it utilizes interrogative pronouns in the relative clause. The main clause contains a noun or a demonstrative”. [Schackow 2015: 423]

- (52) ka ikhiŋ nis-uks-u-ŋ, khiŋ ka-me-ŋ=na.
 1sg[erg] how.much know-prf-3.P[pst]-1sg as.much say-npst-1sg=nmlz.sg
 ‘I will say as much as I (got to) know’. [Schwackow 2015: 424]

4.5.11 Yamphu: Eastern Nepal

- (53) indo? hænjij.æ? lu.n.j.u mo.dok.no? kho.e? te.ndh.w.a.
 like_what you^d.ERG say.NP.DU.→3 that.like.EXF s/he.ERG turn.NP.→3.PLNR
 ‘He will answer in exactly the same spirit as you talk to him’. [Rutgers 1998: 95]

4.5.12 Chhathare Limbu: Eastern Nepal

- (54) khene ho-laambaa kaa-daa-yaa-i haambo-i te-gaa
 you where-LOC you-come-2sA-PRET-EMP there-EMP go-2sIMP
 ‘Go to the place from where you come’. [Tambahang 2004: (11c)]

4.5.13 Dumi: Eastern Nepal

- (55) aju-a mo lut-t-o mam mu-t-a
 1SG-ERG what tell-NPST-1SG that do-NPST-3SG
 ‘(He) does what I tell him.’ [Rai 2016: 352]

4.5.14 Koyee: Eastern Nepal

- (56) **habo** d^hila mo-ki d^hai kama bigre s^hʌʔ
 how late be.1PL.INCL that.much work damage be.NPST
 ‘The more we do late, the more we will get problem’. [Rai 2015: 276]

4.5.15 Lhomi: Eastern Nepal

Lhomi 語においては「疑問語・指示語」だけでなく「疑問文・指示語」の例も確認されている。

“Lhomi does not make any use of relative pronouns at all. The correlative construction in Lhomi typically consists of two paratactic clauses. The first is nominalized and the second one is the main clause in which the whole first clause is either a subject argument or an object argument. The correlative pronouns come in pairs”. [Vesalainen 2016: 231]

(57) a. Q-DEM

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
| 'khit-raŋ-ki | nam | khaŋʈa | ga-a | tʃhik-kin |
| 2PL-self-ERG | when | what | feel.good-COMP2 | do;VBZR-NMLZ |
| 'thek-køt-aŋ | | u-ko | tʃhit-tʃe | 'noŋ-ken |
| like.to-PROG;EXP-NMLZ | that-head | do;VBZR-SBJV | get.chance-NMLZ;CONJ | bet. |
| AUX | | | | |
| 'Whenever you would like to be doing something good, that you will have a chance to do.' [Vesalainen 2016: 231–232] | | | | |

b. QQ-DEM

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------|-------------------|-----|--------------------|-------------|-------|
| raŋ-ki | 'khim-la | mi | ɖompu | 'su | juŋ-kuk= ka | u-ko | ɖompu |
| 2SG-GEN | house-DAT | man | guest | who | come-PROG;VIS=Q | that-head | guest |
| juŋ-a | di-la | tir | go-ken | | | | bet. |
| come-NMLZ;Q | DEF-DAT | give | have.to-NMLZ;CONJ | AUX | | | |
| 'A guest whoever comes to your house, to him, who has come as a guest, you must give (food).' Or 'Whoever guest comes to your house, to that person you have to give food.' | | | | | | | |
| [Vesalainen 2016: 232] | | | | | | | |

4.5.16 Bantawa: Eastern Nepal

“The relative pronoun in Bantawa is always an interrogative pronoun... Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns come in corresponding pairs that share type and scope...” [Doornenbal 2009: 329]

- (58) **dem** wa ta-∅, **k^hum-ŋa** wadera k^har-a.
 how.much rain come-NPT that.much-EMPH flood go-PT
 ‘As much rain falls, that much it will flood’. [Doornenbal 2009: 329]

4.5.17 Wambule: Eastern Nepal

“In correlative and adverbial subordinate clauses, indefinite and interrogative words are used in the relative sense of English *who* and *whoever*, *which* and *whichever*, *how* and *however*, *when* and *whenever*, *where* and *wherever*, etc.” [Opgenort 2004: 224^{注17}]

4.5.18 Camling: Eastern Nepal

“In correlative linking the first clause, the second a demonstrative.” [Ebert 1997b: 66]

- (59) wui-sim wui-sim **demno** kholai tir-e **tyonno** kholi-di
 run-MAN run-MAN how.much dawn become-IPFV that.much jungle-hiLOC
 wang-e-ko raicha.
 enter-IPFV-NML REP
 ‘Running, running, the more it dawned, the deeper he ran up into the jungle’. [Ebert 1997b: 67]

4.5.19 Eastern Tamang: Eastern Nepal

- (60) ŋa¹ **khaĩ²** ni-pa¹, ai²-ne **oti**-n kha-u¹
 I where go-IND you-also there-also come-IMP
 ‘Wherever I go, come along’. [Nishi 1992: 11^{注18}]

4.5.20 Tamang: Eastern Nepal

“It is also possible to relativize elements in Tamang using a correlative construction. This is formed of two clauses: the first clause (the correlative clause) specifies an element (which

^{注17} 具体的な例文は確認できず。

^{注18} この例文は Mazaudon から西義郎への私信による。

can be nominal or otherwise) which is then referred back to in the main clause... It appears likely that this structure in Tamang represents a borrowed rather than an inherited feature, as it widespread in Indo-Aryan (Masica 1991: 410–5) but less common in Tibeto-Burman languages,... While Nepali (on which the correlative construction in Tamang is probably modelled) has a distinct set of relative pronouns and adverbials which are used in correlative clauses, Tamang uses the same set of forms which are used for content questions”. [Owen-Smith 2014: 358]

- (61) ²tilma ²khatle ¹la-ci ³tanke=no ²otle ¹lo
 yesterday how do-PFV now=FOC like.that dp.HORT
 ‘Do [it] how [you] did [it] yesterday’. [Owen-Smith 2014: 359]

4.5.21 Dhankute Tamang: Eastern Nepal

- (62) **k^hanaŋ** ai ni-zi **hoza-ri** ai-la ama si-bala mu-ba.
 where you go-Pt that-LOC you-GEN mother die-PERF be-NML
 ‘You went where your mother had died.’ [Poudel 2006: 166]

4.5.22 Chantyal: Eastern Nepal

“The correlative construction that concerns us here is a complex construction formed with a relative pronoun in the first clause and a demonstrative in the second: *who believes my argument, that person will be enlightened*. The Tamangic languages natively lacked this construction; it is, however, characteristic of Nepali. Chantyal has borrowed this construction from Nepali, as has Tamang; I have no evidence of this construction in any other Tamangic language”. [Noonan 2006: 15–16]

- (63) a. sə nə **jya** fiin-la-i **jya** fiin-la-i
 therefore topic what be+RC what be+RC
 ‘Therefore, whatever it is, whatever it is,’ [Noonan 1999: 543 (83)]
 b. **cu-i** fiya-m də fiistori nə
 this-also go-NPST fact history topic
 ‘this also goes, history.’ [Noonan 1999: 543 (84)]

4.5.23 Hayu: Eastern Nepal

- (64) a. **hatha** -dum lo-gaŋ kak **mitha** wol lam are
 combien -INDEF soleil brille tant faner va-ASS dit-on
 ‘Plus le soleil brille, plus elle (la plante) se fane.’ [Michailovsky 1988: 192]

- b. **su** -dum -ha dip **tei** dzã·tsem
 qui -INDEF -ERG terrasse ce il-mange(REFL)-ASS
 “Celui qui terrasse l’autre mangera (le repas).” [Michailovsky 1988: 192]
- c. **hanonj** -dum hõ·ku ɔxtom **minonj** na mi wolta nom ɔxtse
 où -INDEF avant il-le-rencontra-ASS là EMPH ce fané il-était-ASS dit-on
 “Le fané était précisément là où il l’avait rencontré auparavant.” [Michailovsky 1988: 192]

4.5.24 Thangmi: Central Nepal

- (65) cawa woi, **kuta** ukhiŋ-∅-du, **to-te** hok-eŋ-thyo.
 walk also where become.dark-sAS-NPT that-LOC be-pAS-3sCOND
 ‘While walking, they would rest [and camp] at whichever place they had got to when it became dark’. [Turin 2012: 304]

4.5.25 Classical Newari: Central Nepal

- (66) **gva**-hma strīn putr jāyarapayakara, **thva**-hma strī dhāya
 what-ANIM wife.LOC son bear(?) that-ANIM wife to.speak
 ‘a wife that bears children, she must be called a true wife’. [Jørgensen 1941: 97^{注19}]

4.5.26 Kathmandu Newari: Central Nepal

- (67) mirā -yāke ritā -yāta **chu** mā -ā **wo** du
 Mira -ASS Rita -DAT what need -STAT that have
 ‘Mira has that which Rita needs.’ [Malla 1985: 94; Genetti 1994: 186 からの引用による]

4.5.27 Newar: Central Nepal

- (68) a. Compared Actions or Situations
 wõ: **gøthe** mæti-i təl-ə **əthe** ju-nõ:jul-ə.
 that.ERG how mind-LOC put-PD like.that happen.SH-EMP-happen-PD
 ‘Just as he had intended, so it came about.’ [Hale and Shrestha 2006: 225]
- b. Compared Amounts or Extents
 bhæktæci-tə nepa: ca:hyu:-bøle: **guli** nhyai-pi-gu khø: ji-tø: nõ:
 Little.Bhæktø-DAT Nepal travel.ID-when how.much enjoyable-AGR be.ID I-DAT also

^{注19} 語釈は筆者が推測してつけたものである。動詞の形式については、正確なところは不明である。

thwə bəkhō: cwəy-a-bələ: **uli** he nhyaipul-ə.
 this story write-PC-when that.much EMP enjoy-PD
 ‘However much Little Bhəktə enjoyed his Nepal travels, I also enjoyed them just as much when I wrote this story.’ [Hale and Shrestha 2006: 225]

c. Progressive Correlation

guli guli makhapikha pi-hā: wələ, **uli uli** juju-ya
 how.many how.many spider.RDP out-DIRA come-PD that.much that.much king-GEN
 nhæ:pō: sya:-gu kwəlan-a: yaũy-a-wən-ə.
 ear ache.ID-AGR subside-NF be.light-CM-PERF-PD
 ‘The more the spiders came out the more the king’s earache subsided. He recovered.’
 [Hale and Shrestha 2006: 225–226]

d. Identificational Correlations

məcā: **chu** təkə dhal-ə wə təkə biy-a-təl-ə.
 child.ERG what up.to say-PD that up.to give-CM-PF-PD
 ‘What the child asked for, that he would be given.’ [Hale and Shrestha 2006: 226]

4.5.28 Dolakha Newari: Central Nepal

(69) **guli** thōsi nar-ai **āmli** thōsi jati
 how.much meat eat-3sPR that.much meat leftover
 ‘However much meat they eat, that much meat is leftover.’ [Genetti 1994: 184]

4.5.29 Chepang: Central Nepal

(70) **gawkhelo** hme?mut brusto muna? **?ow?kay?** wan?sa pərəna
 which dust make.grey exist.NPST that.GOAL bring ?
 ‘The one that is grey with dust, that is the one to be brought’. [Caughly 2000: 66^{注20}]

4.5.30 Eastern Magar: Central Nepal

(71) **kudik** že-le, **adik** b^hereš-le.
 how.much eat-IND.PT that.much scatter-IND.PT
 ‘one scatters that much how much one eats’. (‘It scatters as much as it eats.’) [Subba 1972: 179^{注21}]

注20 語釈は Caughly [2000] に即して筆者がつけた。

注21 語釈は Nishi [1992: 11] による。

4.5.31 Bhujel: Central Nepal

“The second way to form the relative clauses in Bhujel is to employ interrogative pronoun as there are not relative pronouns as in English and Nepali tradition.

Such type of relative clauses is not common in Bhujel. They are simply innovations under the influence of the contact language, Nepali. It is, however, to be noted that Nepali does not employ interrogative pronouns to form relative clauses.”. [D. R. Regmi 2007: 340–341]

- (72) **su**-koy myan galto mu-na **u**-kay ŋa man paray-na-ŋ
 who-GEN hair black stay-NPST he-DAT ISG liking occur-NPST-1/2
 ‘I like the woman who has black hair.’ [D. R. Regmi 2007: 340]

4.5.32 Magar Kaike: Central Nepal

“As in Newar and other Tibeto-Burman languages like Bhujel (Regmi, 2007) Kaike makes use of interrogative pronouns for making correlative relative clauses. They are simply innovations under the influence of the contact language, Nepali.

Such type of relative clause is not common in Kaike. They are simply innovations under the influence of the contact language, Nepali. It is, however, to be noted that Nepali does not employ interrogative pronouns to form relative clauses”. [A. Regmi 2013: 121]

- (73) **su**-i c^hoy lə ŋya ənə-je pas k^hě
 who-ERG read good COP he-ERG pass do.IMPFV.DJ
 ‘The man who studies well passes the exam.’ [A. Regmi 2013: 121]

4.5.33 Kanauri: Himachal Pradesh, India

- (74) **hat**-yaŋ bə-to **hədoi** bi-to
 who.ABS-also come-<3>FT ? go-<3>FT
 ‘whoever comes, he will go’. [Nishi 1992: 11^{注22}]

4.5.34 Ladakhi: Jammu Kashmir, India

- (75) **ʃpe** -čhə kə -bo rde-mo duk **te** ʃpe -čhə -bo sil.
 book -suf. which -Sp. good to be Core.Pro. book -suf. -Sp. read
 ‘Read (the book), that (lit. which book) is good’. [Koshal 1979: 128–129; 語釈は筆者により
 変更^{注23}]

^{注22} おそらく D. D. Sharma の文法書から引用している。

^{注23} なお、Sharma [2003] は Ladakhi に相関関係文はないと記述する。

4.5.35 Balti: Baltistan, Pakistan

(76) *su thulna, do phoqtuk*

‘who climbs, (he) will fall.’ [Read 1934: 18; Zemp 2018: 770^{注24}]

4.6 疑問文と指示語

本稿における相関関係文においてあらわれる疑問文とは、前文が疑問詞ではじまり、疑問文標識でおわるものである。

この型は、前文が疑問詞、後文が指示詞の亜種とかがえることもできる。筆者は当初、この型はバングラデシュ・チッタゴン丘陵の *Cak* 語と *Marma* 語にしかないとかんがえていた。のちに、おなじくチッタゴン丘陵の *Hyow* 語にも確認された。チッタゴン丘陵の共通語であるマルマ語の影響が、周辺の少数言語にもおよんでいるようにおもわれる。

さらに、インド・ナガランド州の *Patscho Khamniungan* 語、アッサム州の *Karbi* 語にも確認された。調査がすすめば、東北インドの言語を中心に、よりおおくの言語で確認される可能性がある。

4.6.1 Patscho Khamniungan: Nagaland, India

“A more common response of the replicating language is to recruit its interrogative pronouns to serve as relative pronouns if it does not borrow these along with the RCC structure. Such a pattern is found in the Patsho dialect of Khamniungan, a Konyak language of extreme eastern Nagaland”. [Coupe 2018: 8]

(77) *nɔŋ³³ni⁵⁵ fau⁵⁵ khiu¹¹uŋ¹¹ khɔ³³ tʃə¹¹-mie³³ju³¹-a³³ thi-ɛ tə¹¹ ju-n¹¹*
 this.one who hair Q 1sg:poss-wife-? be-irr thus say-pst
 “‘The one whose hair this is will be my wife’, [he] said.’ [Coupe 2018: 9]

“Ld. [Ladakhi のこと] does not favour construction of correlative sentences with correlative conjunctions like ‘when ... then’ etc. There all statements of other linguistic systems falling in this category are transformed into complex sentences in which the verb of ‘when’ clause is expressed with conjunctive participle and that of the ‘then’ clause with indicative mood of the tense concerned.” [Sharma 2003: 149]

^{注24} 原文では形態素分析されていない。それでも、*su* と *do* が呼応していることはわかる。鈴木博之氏によれば、*thulna* は *thul-na* ‘go-if’ であり、*phoqtuk* は *phoq-tuk* ‘fall-sensory evidential’ とのことである。

なお、Sharma [2004] によれば、*Balti* 語には相関関係文がない。

“Balti does not favour construction of correlative sentences with correlative conjunctions like ‘when ... then ...’, etc. Consequently, all syntactic constructions of other systems with these terms are transformed into complex sentences in their *Balti* renderings.” [Sharma 2004: 229]

4.6.2 Karbi: Assam, India

“The co-relative construction ... is based on corresponding interrogative pronouns or adverbs and demonstrative/diestic pronouns and adverbs across two nominalized clauses. In this construction, the interrogative pronouns or adverbs are marked with the question particle =*ma* in order to function as indefinite or universal relative pronouns ‘*whoever*’, ‘*whatever*’, etc.” [Konnerth 2020: 391]

- (78) a. là ke-dàm-bōm ahūt Pātkái-College **konát=mà** ke-dō là=tā
 this NMLZ-go-CONT during PN where=Q NMLZ-stay this=ADD
 nang=pa-klàng-lò
 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-RL
 ‘While we were going, they also showed us where Patkai College is (lit., where Patkai College is, that they also showed us).’ [Konnerth 2020: 160]
- b. lasì lasō a-honjèng **komāt=ma** ke-teròì-ùn **labàng=ke**
 therefore this POSS-thread who=Q NMLZ-walk.cautiously-be.able this=TOP
 a-hōk-lò
 POSS-truth-RL
 ‘Therefore, whoever can walk over thsi thread, that one is true.’ [Konnerth 2020: 160]

4.6.3 Hyow: Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

“Relative-correlative clauses are found in abundance in Hyow. This type of relative clauses is not native to Tibeto-Burman languages. The TB languages that have relative-correlative clauses borrowed such clauses from Indo-Aryan languages, which is due to the effect of language contact, more specifically due to the spread of Buddhism. The teachings of Buddha is written in Pali, an Indo-Aryan language. As a result, a lot of borrowings from Pali can be found in languages spoken in Southeast Asia as well as in Burmese (see Mathias 2015). Since the history of contact between the Hyow and the Marma, people who speak a dialect of Arakanese, is very long, the borrowing of Pali relative-correlative structure via Marma is quite understandable”. [Zakaria 2017: 734]

- (79) **ítíá** báng kêy kú-hlú-éy=**êṃ** èy khó=â kú-pú-hô
 when even 1SG 1A-want.II-MID=CONT.Q ANAPH.DEM time=LOC 1A-borrow.II-PM
 ‘I borrow at the time whenever I want’. [Zakaria 2017: 740]

4.6.4 Cak: Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

- (80a) のような疑問文が、(80b) にしめすように、相関関係文の前文となる。

- (80) a. **ʔáyu** laŋ =ga =yá?
 who go =NMLS =CQ
 ‘Who will go?’
 b. **ʔáyu** laŋ =ga =yá, **ʔáma** mí =he?
 who go =NMLS =CQ 3sg. be.good =CSM
 ‘Whoever_i will go, s/he_i is good.’

4.6.5 Marma: Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

- (81) **ja**=ma khwí hŋ=re=lé, **yáŋ**=ma krɔŋ=lé hŋ=re.
 what=LOC dog exist=RLS=CQ that=LOC cat=too exist=RLS
 ‘In the place, where dog is available, cat is available too’.

4.7 疑問語と疑問語

林 [2004: 166–167] によれば、疑問語と疑問語による相関関係文は、漢語からの借用形式である。そして、ロロ・ビルマ諸語についていえば、すくなくとも Jino 語、Achang 語、Bisu 語に確認される。筆者の調査では、ロロ・ビルマ諸語のなかでもさらに Lisu 語と Zaiwa 語に確認されるほか、チアン諸語のうち Ersu 語と Wadu Pumi 語にも確認される。

4.7.1 Ersu: Sichuan, China

- (82) **se** tə-wo ya-nts^{hə}, **se**
 whoever one-CL:generic, non-sticklike APFX-quick whoever
 tə-wo mimi la=gə
 one-CL:generic, non-sticklike meat come=PROS
 ‘Anyone who is quick will ge the meat.’ Lit.: Whoever quick, whoever meat will come.
 [Zhang 2013: 254]

4.7.2 Jino: Yunnan, China

- (83) **khɔ³³su⁵⁵** m³³=lɔ⁴⁴ **khɔ³³su⁵⁵** pi⁵⁵.
 誰 要る=も 誰 与える
 「ほしい人にあげなさい。」 (=誰がほしいのなら、誰に与えよ) [林 2009: 93]

4.7.3 Achang: Yunnan, China

- (84) **pi³¹si⁵⁵** pɔ⁵⁵, **pi³¹si⁵⁵** tɕɔ³⁵.
 what exist what eat
 ‘What_i is here, eat that_i.’ [戴・崔 1985: 77; 語釈は筆者により改変]

4.7.4 Bisu: Yunnan, China

- (85) zaj^{33} $a^{55}maj^{55}$ lin^{31} no^{33} $a^{55}maj^{55}$ be^{33}
 he what learn (part.) what understand
 ‘He is good at whatever he learns’. [Xu 2001: 103; 徐 1998: 100]

4.7.5 Lisu: Yunnan, China

- (86) $yá$ $páchìwā$ $yíphwì$ $ālīmā$ $jūa,$ $ālīmā$ $tā$ $jǎ.$
 they plain=at price whichever=item have=nom whichever=item eat=nom
 ‘As for them [the Thai], whatever brings a price down on the plain, (I’ll) plant it to earn a living’. [Roop 1970: 184]

4.7.6 Wadu Pumi: Yunnan, China

“Interrogative pronouns can be used as a pair in a correlative construction (Keenan 1985) with the structure interrogative-X=(gə), interrogative-X and an indefinite sense.” [Daudey 2014: 136]

- (87) nij mij $pù=gə$ $é=lá$ mij $pú=ʃu$
 2SG what do-DEF 1SG=also what do=VOL:SG
 ‘Whatever you do, I will do as well.’ [Daudey 2014: 137^{注25}]

4.7.7 Zaiwa: Yunnan, China

- (88) ke^5-me^{55} $zang^{35}$ r^{11} ke^5-me^{55} yo^{11}
 Q-LOC strike also Q-LOC itch3
 ‘It itched wherever it touched their skin’. [Lustig 2010: 310]

4.8 インド・アリア語からの借用形式と本来語の形式とが併存

インド・アリア語からの借用語をもちいる形式と、本来語をもちいた形式が併存する言語もある。併存するばあいには、現在のところ、疑問語と指示語のくみあわせのみが確認されている。

4.8.1 Usui Tripura: Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

以下、藤原 [2008: 109–110] を引用する。

ウスイ語においては、疑問語を相関関係節の標識としてもちいる形式 (89a) と、バングラ語

^{注25} 同一言語内で方言関係にある Prinmi 語には相関関係文が確認されていない [Ding 2014]。

からの借用語である *jè*^{注26} をもちいる形式 (89b) とがある。

(89) a. ro =wo **təmà** tòŋ -mì, abo kəhà.

ここ =LOC COL:何 ある -NF それ 良い

ここにあるもの、それは良い

b. **jè** ro =wo tòŋ =mo =ma, abo kəhà.

COL.REL ここ =LOC ある =NMLZ.NF =DEF それ 良い

ここにあるもの、それは良い

▷ =mo (NMLZ.NF) は必須要素であるけれども、=ma (DEF) は任意の要素。

jè による相関関係節は、主節も主要部名詞もともなわず、全体がひとつの名詞句としてもちいられることのほうが、むしろおおい。

4.8.2 Garo (Mandi): Modhupur, Bangladesh

“A special relative pronoun, usually *je*, is used in one clause, and a second “correlative” pronoun, usually a demonstratives, is used in the succeeding clause [...] The odd thing about the relative-correlative construction is that it appears to have been borrowed from Bengali. At least *je*, the most often-used relative pronoun, must be a borrowing [...] it is not obvious why it should have been borrowed, not only into Mandi, but more widely into other dialects of Garo.” [Burling 2004: 333–334]

(90) a. **je** man-de cha*-a-ming, **u**-a man-de-in ring-a-ming.

whatever person eat-Neut-Pst that person-Frg drink-Neut-Pst

‘Whatever person ate, that person drank.’ (BURLING 2004: 335)

b. **Ba**-ko ang-a am*-a, **u**-ko bi-a ra*-ba-in-a.

whatever-Acc I-Nomn want-Neut that-Acc he bring-Prog-Neut

‘Whatever I want, that he is bringing.’ [Burling 2004: 335]

4.8.3 Kham: Western Nepal

“Corelative structures are common in the Indic languages of the larger linguistic area, and at least one corelative in Kham appears to be a borrowing from Nepali.” [Watters 2002: 165]

(91) a. **jo** nə-pəĩ-zya, **ho** zə ŋa-yā

whatever 2S-want-CONT, that EMP 1S-give.2S

‘Whatever you desire, that I will give you.’ [Watters 2002: 166]

^{注26} *jè* は、バングラ語における相関関係文の従属節をあらわす標識である *je* からの借用と推定される。ただし、なぜウスイ語で鼻母音であるかは不明である。

- b. **kitao** ya-le-o, **hitao** zə u-li-rə-kə
 however 3P-be-NML, like.that EMP DUM-be-3P-OPT
 ‘However they were (in whatever state), let them remain like that.’ [Watters 2002: 166]
- c. **kha:** nə-zyu-rih-zya, **ha:h** zə gəh-zyu-yo
 how.much 2S-eat-PROS-CONT, that.much EMP HOR-eat-IMP
 ‘However much you want to eat, eat that much.’ [Watters 2002: 166]

4.8.4 Dhimal: Southeastern Nepal

“There are essentially three types of relative clause constructions in Dhimal that distinguish non-specific and specific referents, i.e. an inherited construction with the nominalising morpheme <ka>, an Indo-Ayran influenced construction employing an indefinite and a definite pronoun, and a construction with an interrogative and definite pronoun that may represent an intermediate stage between the previous two constructions. All three types are common”. [King 2009: 277–278]

- (92) a. ma-ko **jai** dharma pa-khe **wa-ko** karma ca-li goi-khe.
 NEG-COP REL.what virtue do-IMP 3sg-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMP
 ‘No, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate’. [King 2009: 280]
- b. **hesa** dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi **injko** bhai-pa dheu.
 how tue-MID-NOM AUX-PIMP-P that be.like-do tie
 ‘Tether him just like he had been tethered’. [King 2009: 279]

5 附録 2・相関関係文についての記述がないチベット・ビルマ諸語

5.1 相関関係文が「ない」と記述されているもの

- Balti: “Balti does not favour construction of correlative sentences with correlative conjunctions like ‘when ... then ...’, etc. Consequently, all syntactic constructions of other systems with these terms are transformed into complex sentences in their Balti renderings.” [Sharma 2004: 229] ^{注27}
- Gahri: “In Gahri there are neither relative pronouns to serve as connectives in relative clause, nor does it prefer relative clause constructions.” [Sharma 1989a: 259]
- Kanashi: “In this type of complex sentences, the relative clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. [...] But more often this type of complex sentences are transformed into simple sentences...” [Sharma 1992: 399]

^{注27} Balti 語については、(3) でしめたように、相関関係文とみなせる例がある。

- Manange: “Presently, I have found no evidence of co-relativisation or of non-restrictive relatives in Manange.” [Hildebrandt 2004: 116]
- Purki: “Purki does not favour construction of correlative sentences as we find in I.E. speeches. There all compound sentences connected with ‘when ... then’ are transformed into complex sentences joined together with conjunctive participles, e.g. a statement like ‘when the work was finished then food was eaten’ will be expressed as ‘having finished the work, food was eaten’.” [Sharma 2004: 128]

このほか、筆者の調査範囲では、ビルマのカドゥー語やガナン語にも相関関係文は確認されない。

5.2 相関関係文についての記述がみられないもの

筆者が二次資料を調査したかぎりでは、相関関係文あるいはそれに類似する構文がみられなかった言語は以下のとおりである^{注28}。

- Amdo Tibetan: 海老原 [2019]
- Anong: Sun & Liu [2009]
- Apatani: Abraham [1985]
- Bai (Minjia): Wiersma [1990]
- Bawm: Reichle [1981]
- Bjokapakha: Grollmann [2020]
- Bumthang: van Driem [2015]
- Bunan: Widmer [2017]
- Classical Limbu: Angdembe [2019]
- Colloquial Burmese: Okell [1969]
- Daai Chin: So-Hartmann [2008]
- Duhumbi: Bodt [2020]
- Dumi: van Driem [1993]
- Dura: Schorer [2016]
- Dzonkha: van Driem [1998]
- Eastern Kayah Li: Solnit [1997]
- Geba Karen: Naw Hsar Shee [2008]
- Guìqióng: Jiāng [2015]
- rGyalrong (Jiǎomùzú; Kyom-kyo): Prins [2017]
- Hmar: Dutta Baruah & Bapui [1996]^{注29}
- Jero: Ongenort [2005]
- Kayah Monu: Wai Lin Aung [2013]
- Khezha: Kapfo [2005]
- Kiranti-Bayung: Rapacha [2008]
- Kulung: Tolsma [2006]
- Kurtöp: Hyslop [2017]
- Lalo: Björverud [1998]
- Lhasa Tibetan: Denwood [1999]
- Limbu: van Driem [1997]
- Mao Naga: Giridhar [1994]
- Meithei: Chelliah [1997]
- Mikir: Grüßner [1978]

^{注28} 筆者は以前このリストの中に Bhujel 語の例として Regmi [2007]、Karbi 語の例として Konnerth [2014] をいれていた。しかし、後に両者においても相関関係文についての記述があることに気がついた。このように、筆者がみおとしているだけで、実際には相関関係文がある言語もふくまれている可能性は十分にある。

^{注29} Dutta Baruah & Bapui [1996: 144–145] には相関関係文のようにみえる例もあがる。しかし、語釈がかならずしも一貫しているようにはみえない。そこで、相関関係文の例とはかんがえなかった。

- Mishmi: Sastry [1984]
- Mising: Prasad [1991]
- Mosuo (Yongning Na; Naxi): Lidz [2010]
- Nuosu: Gerner [2013]
- Purki: Rangan [1979]
- Pwo Karen: 加藤 [2004]
- Qiang: LaPolla and Huang [2003]
- Rongpo: Sharma [2001a^{注30}]
- Sema: Sreedhar [1980]
- Sherpa: Kelly [2004]
- Sunwar: Borchers [2008]
- Tangam: Post [2017]
- Tangkhul Naga: Arokianathan [1987]
- Tarao: Singh [2002]
- Tiddim Chin: Henderson [1965]
- Tujia: Brassett & Brassett & Lu [2006]
- Yao'an Lolo: Merrifield [2010]
- Yohlmo: Hari [2010]

記号・略号一覧

以下の略号は筆者によるものである。二次資料からの引用にあるものはふくまれていない。

- CC: correlative construction
- CLF: classifier
- COND: conditional
- CSM: change of state marker
- COREL: correlative marker
- DEF: definite
- EMPF: emphatic
- ERG: ergative
- EXP: experience
- FUT: future
- GEN: genitive
- IMP: imperative
- LOC: locative
- NEG: negative
- NMLS: nominaliser
- OBJ: object marker
- PRF: perfect
- PURP: purposive
- REL: relative marker
- RLS: realis
- SFP: sentence final particle

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^{注30} インド・アーリア語起源の関係節が使用される例が Sharma [2001a: 209–210] にみられる。ただし、これが相関関係文であるようにはおもわれない。

(i) **dhe** kyēTi **gho** Dya:ra ka:m ləɕɕ
 that girl who house work doing
 ‘that girl who is working in the house’ [Sharma 2001a: 209]

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