

# A Hypothesis on Differential Object Marking in Mäsqan:<sup>\*</sup>

In relation to an object's animacy/definiteness

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## 1 Introduction

In many languages, especially those without case-marking such as Hebrew, Persian, Spanish, etc., we observe a certain phenomenon, namely that some kinds of direct objects take special case-marking particles while others do not take such particles. First, I present several examples here in (1)-(3) from the languages mentioned above<sup>1</sup>.

(1) Hebrew (Aissen 2003: 453)

a. Ha-seret her'a 'et-ha-milxama.

the-movie showed ACC-the-war

"The movie showed the war."

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<sup>\*</sup> This article is based on my previous presentation at JANES (Apr. 22, 2018 @Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.). I express my gratitude for the kind advice I received there. I also would like to acknowledge and thank my interviewee for his kind cooperation. Abbreviations in this article are used as follows: 1SG = 1st person singular, 2SGM = 2nd person singular masculine, 3SGF = 3rd person singular feminine, 3SGM = 3rd person singular masculine, ACC = object marker on nouns, AUX = auxiliary verb, DEF = definite marker, OBJ = object marker on verbs, PST = past, PV = Perfective, SBJ = subject. In this article I use y for [j], ä for central open/open-mid vowel [ɛ], ĕ for [tʃ], ž for [ʒ] and š for [ʃ]. In example (5), I use i instead of ĩ as used in Ousman (2015).

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<sup>1</sup> Glosses shown in (1)-(3) and other cited examples are modified to match usage in the rest of this article.

- b. Ha-seret her'a (\*'et-) milxama.  
 the-movie showed (ACC-)war  
 "The movie showed a war."

(2) Persian (Comrie 1989: 133)

- a. Hasan ketāb-rā dīd.  
 Hassan book-ACC saw  
 "Hassan saw the book."  
 b. Hasan ketāb dīd.  
 Hassan book saw  
 "Hassan saw a book."

(3) Spanish (Haspelmath 2008: 2)

- a. El director busca a su hijo.  
 the director look for ACC his son  
 "The director is looking for his son."  
 b. El director busca el carro.  
 the director look for the car  
 "The director is looking for the car."  
 c. El director busca el perro.  
 the director look for the dog  
 "The director is looking for the dog."

In Hebrew, the object marker *-et* is attached to the object when it is definite (1a), but not when it is indefinite (1b). In Persian, if the object-marking postposition *-rā* is present, the object is interpreted as definite (2a), while without *-rā* it is indefinite (2b). In the case of Spanish, the animacy of an object determines the presence of the preposition *a*; if the object refers to a human, it takes the preposition (3a). Otherwise, *a* remains absent (3bc).

The above phenomenon is called "Differential Object Marking (DOM)" (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003, Sinnemäki 2014 etc.). Literature pertaining to DOM classifies it into

two types: one regarding DOM in the narrow sense, in which a dependent-marking type marker such as the preposition *'et* in Hebrew (1) is relevant, and the other including so-called "Differential Object Agreement (DOA)," or "Differential Object Indexation" (Iemmolo & Klumpp 2014: 272), where head-marking type markers which agree with the object in some grammatical categories, e.g. gender (thus it can be called an "Agreement marker"), are significant. An example of DOA is shown in (4), from Swahili, where the agreement marker accompanies an animate object (4a) but not an inanimate object (4b). In this article I use the term DOM in the wide sense, which includes DOA.

(4) Swahili (Morimoto 2002: 296; citing Vitale 1981: 123-4)

- a. Juma a-li-m-piga risasi tembo jana usiku.  
 Juma SBJ-PST-OBJ-hit bullet elephant yesterday night  
 "Juma shot an/the elephant last night."
- b. risasi i-li-piga mti karibu na sisi.  
 bullet SBJ-PST-hit tree near us  
 "The bullet struck the tree near us."

Differential Object Marking is observed in genetically and geographically diverse languages, including some Semitic languages like Hebrew, mentioned above, and can also be observed among Ethiopian Semitics. Differential Object Marking in Mäsqan (and other Gurage languages) has a very unique nature, in which two types of object-marking particles are relevant—both dependent-marking and head-marking types. This means that in Mäsqan, both DOM in the narrow sense and DOA are observed.

## 2 Literature Review

Mäsqan is a language spoken in the area approximately 130 kilometers south of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, around the town of Butajira in the Gurage Zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR). In this language, the direct object of verbs can be indicated by a dependent-marking particle *yä-* (Ousman 2015). In addition, as I

mention later, head-marking suffixes also operate as object markers<sup>2</sup>. Ousman (2015) presents some examples in which the prefix *yä-* is used. Here I cite these examples.

- (5) a. (ahä)            *yä-awol*                    *mäkkär-kä-<sup>w</sup>-nn*.  
          2SGM            ACC-Awol                    advise.PV-2SGM.SBJ-3SGM.OBJ  
          “You advised Awol”
- b. ali                *yä-m<sup>w</sup>an*                    *mäkkär-ä*.  
          Ali                ACC-who                    advise.PV-3SGM.  
          “Whom did Ali advise?”
- c. ali                *mät’af-i*                    *asy-ä-<sup>w</sup>-nn*.  
          Ali                book-DEF sell.PV-3SGM.SBJ-3SGM.OBJ  
          “Ali sold the book.”
- d. *iyya*              *fek’-i*                        *siyä-h<sup>w</sup>-y*.  
          1SG                goat-DEF                    buy.PV-1SG.SBJ-3SGM.OBJ  
          “I bought the goat.”
- (Ousman 2015: 90)

According to Ousman, this prefix is used when the object is (a) a proper noun, (b) a personal pronoun, (c) an interrogative pronoun meaning "who" or (d) definite and its referent is human. In examples (5), (5a) is a case in which the object is a proper noun, and (5b) contains the interrogative "who". However, considering other neighboring languages such as Chaha (Gurage), the condition proposed here seems insufficient. For example, in Chaha we can observe that a definite human object may lack an object marker such as in (6a). Moreover, in some cases indefinite or non-human objects may also take an object marker (6bc). In each of the examples shown in (6) the presence of the marker *yä-* is optional, such as that (6a) may alternatively take *yä-* and (6bc) would remain grammatical without it.

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<sup>2</sup> In Mäsqañ, head-marking object markers agree with the object's gender and number.

## (6) Chaha (Hara 2017: 47-9, fixed for this article)

a. huta zi-miss asädäd-ä-m banä.

3SGM this-man chase.PV.-3SGM-PST AUX

"He chased this man."

b. huta yä-miss dänäg-ä-m banä.

3SGM ACC-man hit.PV-3SGM-PST AUX

"He hit a man."

c. huta yä-zi-mäkina säpär-ä-m banä.

3SGM ACC-this-car break.PV-3SGM-PST AUX

"He broke this car."

Thus, we can assume that in Mäsqañ, too, DOM shows such complexity. In this article I try to propose an alternative explanation for DOM in Mäsqañ.

### 3 About Fieldwork

From December 2017 to January 2018 I carried out fieldwork in Ethiopia. The interviewee was a man in his 60s<sup>3</sup>. He was born in Butajira, Gurage Zone, SNNPR, and lived in the town until he moved to Addis Ababa in 2015. He can speak Mäsqañ, Amharic and English. At the time of this interview he lived in the capital city, Addis Ababa. During the interview I recorded our conversation, in addition to taking notes. For the recording I used pre-installed software "Sound Recorder (ver. 5.1)," on my mobile phone (KYOCERA URBANO V02). The recorded sounds were saved in WAV form.

In the interview, I asked, "How do you say ... in Mäsqañ?" in English. The phrase structure of the sentences was "He <transitive verb> <object noun>". For the <transitive verb> slot, I used 23 different verbs listed in Table 1. In the <object noun> slot I used six different types of nouns, as long as possible<sup>4</sup>: "definite human," "indefinite human," "definite non-human animate," "indefinite non-human animate," "definite inanimate,"

<sup>3</sup> He is the same person with whom Ninomiya (2011) and Ikeda (2016) worked.

<sup>4</sup> For several verbs, for example *k'äi't'ärä* "to kill", it is too difficult to make a natural sentence with an inanimate object. Thus some verbs lack several patterns as shown in (7). For proper nouns, I did not use any non-human animate nouns.

"indefinite inanimate". An object noun's animacy and definiteness are the most common properties which affect DOM in many languages (Aissen (2003), Sinnemäki (2014) etc). These groups are based on the two-dimensional animacy-definiteness hierarchy proposed in Aissen (2003: 459).

Table 1 : List of verbs used during fieldwork

meaning	Mäsqaṅ	meaning	Mäsqaṅ
to break	säbbärä	to hit	wäkka
to break down	at'affä	to kill	k'ät't'ärä
to build	ginäbba	to love	wäddädä
to burn	anäddädä	to receive	täk'äbbärä
to buy	siyä	to repair	teggänä
to carry on one's shoulder	č'orä	to see, look at	ažžä
to chase	säddädä	to seek	šäwä
to choose	märät'ä	to sell	asiyä
to drink	säč'č'ä	to send	laxä
to drop	addägä	to take	nessa
to eat	bänna	to wash	at't'äbä
to grow	aläqä		

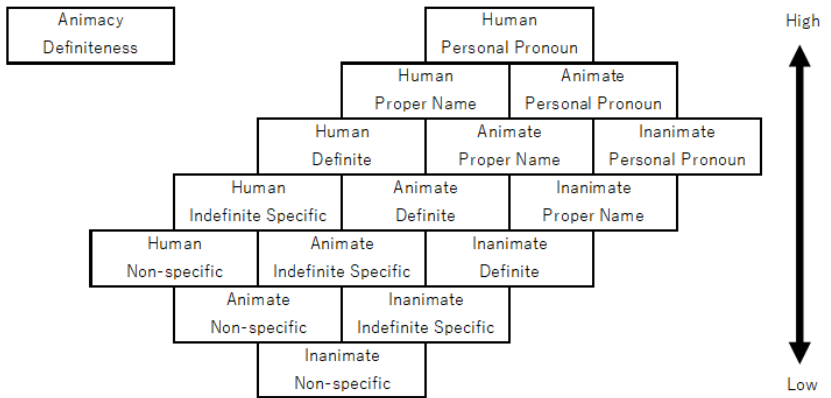


Figure 1: Two-dimensional Hierarchy of Animacy and Definiteness (based on Aissen 2003: 459)

In this fieldwork I did not acquire any data for "indefinite specified," since the status of specificity requires more contextual information while the definiteness of nouns is expressed through the suffix *-i* in Mäsqaṅ. In addition, I also collected some sentences with proper nouns as their object. For personal pronouns, there is more complexity and the situation may be different from proper nouns and others below. The total number of the English sentences is 114. Sentences of each pattern are shown in (7) in English<sup>5</sup>. Due to Mäsqaṅ verbs taking the simplest form in perfective third person singular masculine, all questions are arranged in past tense with "he" as the subject so that the informant will translate them into Mäsqaṅ using perfective forms.

- (7) a. "He hit the man." <definite human>  
 b. "He hit a man." <indefinite human>  
 c. "He hit the dog." <definite non-human animate>  
 d. "He hit a dog." <indefinite non-human animate>  
 e. "He hit the car." <definite inanimate>

<sup>5</sup> Related properties presented here are

- f. "He hit a car." <indefinite inanimate>  
 g. "He hit Ahmed." <proper name of human>  
 h. "He loved the town of Butajira." <proper name of inanimate>

#### 4 Data

Here I present some data retrieved from the interview. Four different ways of marking objects are observed in the data: with no marker (8a), with a marker *yä-* on the noun (8b), with a marker<sup>6</sup> on the verb (8c) and with markers on both the noun and the verb (8d). In this paper I shall classify and abbreviate each type of example as the following: No marker (N) (8a); (dependent-)Marking (M) (8b); Agreement (A)(8c); Marking and Agreement (MA) (8d).

- (8) a. huti      mākina säddäd-ä  
       3SGM    car      chase.PV-3SGM  
       "He chased a car." (N type)
- b. huti    yä-miss    säddäd-ä  
       3SGM ACC-man chase.PV-3SGM  
       "He chased a man." (M type)
- c. huti    mākina-i    säddäd-ä-n  
       3SGM car-DEF chase.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
       "He chased the car." (A type)
- d. huti    yä-miss-i    säddäd-ä-n  
       3SGM ACC-man-DEF chase.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
       "He chased the man." (MA type)

In some cases, object markers cannot be omitted (9a), or are not used at all (9b). Unlike Ousman (2015) has stated, however, I found some examples in which non-human objects were marked with the object marker *yä-* (10).

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<sup>6</sup> The form of this marker is determined by gender and number of the object noun: in other words, it agrees with the object nouns.



(9) a. a case in which omission of markers is not permitted

huti yä-miss-i säddäd-ä-n  
 3SGM ACC-man-DEF chase.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He chased the man."

b. a case in which usage of markers is prohibited

huti kätäma wäddäd-ä  
 3SGM town love.PV-3SGM  
 "He loved a town."

(10) a. huti yä-mäkina wäkka

3SGM ACC-car hit.PV.3SGM  
 "He hit a car."

b. huti yä- mäkina -i säddäd-ä-n  
 3SGM ACC-car-DEF chase.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He chased the car."

More interestingly, in some cases we have several options as shown in (11).

(11) a. huti mäkina-i ažž-ä

3SGM car-DEF look at.PV-3SGM

b. huti yä-mäkina-i ažž-ä

3SGM ACC-car-DEF look at.PV-3SGM

c. huti mäkina-i ažž-ä-n

3SGM car-DEF look at.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ

d. huti yä-mäkina-i ažž-ä-n

3SGM ACC-car-DEF look at.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ

"He looked at the car."

From these examples, we cannot say that the object markers follow the rule Ousman (2015) proposed. Considering only examples (9), we do not find any significant prob-

lem in his explanation. Taking other examples into consideration, however, soon reveals that this explanation is insufficient to explain all possible instances of object marking: e.g., as (10) shows, non-human objects can also take object markers, which violates the rules proposed by Ousman. In addition, his explanation for the agreement marker on the verbs is lacking, in the context of expressing object nouns in sentences. Thus, Ousman's explanation needs to be revised. In the next section I analyze the data and reconsider what controls the presence/absence of the object markers, including the agreement marker on verbs.

## 5 Analysis

As observed in (8), in Mäsqa object markers can be in some cases present and in other cases absent. Moreover, (9) and (10) indicate that there is some rule for the presence/absence of object markers. In this section I discuss what determines the presence or absence of the object markers.

In the analysis here, I focus on two properties of object nouns: animacy and definiteness. As mentioned above, Ousman (2015) stated that the dependent-marking object marker can be used when the object is human and definite. His explanation does not conform to my data, however. Compared with other Semitic and non-Semitic languages, his prediction that Animacy and Definiteness are related to this phenomenon seems not so far from the truth. For example, in Chaha Gurage the object marker on a noun is more likely to occur when the object is definite human, and this possibility lowers when it becomes indefinite or non-human animate. In cases where the object noun is indefinite and inanimate, the marker hardly appears (Hara 2017). Taking Syriac as another example, objects higher in the two-dimensional hierarchy of animacy and definiteness are more likely to take an object marker, and conversely the lower in the hierarchy an object is, the less likely it is to take one (Hara 2018b).

For each English sentence there are four possible types of Mäsqa translation, namely the types mentioned in (8). In the analysis below, I put a) zero points when that type cannot be allowed, b) one point when that type can be considered grammatical but is unnatural or interpreted as having several meanings, and c) two points when that type is

both grammatical and natural<sup>7</sup>. Then I categorize each sentence in terms of the object's animacy and definiteness as I announced in section 3, calculate the total points for each category, and examine which types are preferred, or dispreferred.

### 5.1 Presence or absence of the rule for the choice of marking types

First, let us consider if there is any difference among the four marking types. For this purpose, I calculated the data points of each type, regardless of an objects' animacy or definiteness. A type able to be used under any circumstance, for example, would have a total of 228 points (114 sentences x 2 points). The results are shown in Table 2. As mentioned above, N indicates "with no marker," M "with the marker on the noun", A "with the marker on the verb" and MA "with the markers both on the noun and on the verb".

Table 2 : Data points regardless of objects' properties

	N	M	A	MA
point	158	105	80	107
%	69.3%	46.1%	35.1%	46.9%

As Table 2 shows, in Mäsqan there is no type which can be selected in any case: all the types are restricted in some cases. This suggests that there exists some rule for the usage of the object markers.

### 5.2 Condition for the presence of a dependent-marking particle

In this section, I examine what controls the presence/absence of the object marker *yä-* on nouns. For the discussion here and below, I illustrate how each type is allowed according to the objects' animacy and definiteness in Table 3. From here on, the abbreviation PN will be used to refer to "Proper Noun." The numbers above indicate the data point / its maximum. The percentage indicates to what degree that type is allowed for each animacy-definiteness pair.

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<sup>7</sup> My informant supplied me with explanations of the degree of naturalness of the sentences, distinguishing between "grammatical and natural", "grammatical but unnatural" and "ungrammatical" constructions.

Table 3 : Data points regarding objects' properties

		N	M	A	MA
Human	PN	3/22 13.6%	11/22 50.0%	3/22 18.2%	21/22 95.5%
	Definite	3/26 <b>11.5%</b>	8/26 30.8%	13/26 50.0%	25/26 96.2%
	Indefinite	24/26 92.3%	22/26 <b>84.6%</b>	0/26 0.0%	1/26 3.8%
Non-human Animate	Definite	8/20 <b>40.0%</b>	5/20 25.0%	10/20 50.0%	18/20 90.0%
	Indefinite	20/20 100.0%	14/20 <b>70.0%</b>	0/20 0.0%	2/20 10.0%
Inanimate	PN	8/10 80.0%	7/10 70.0%	6/10 60.0%	6/10 60.0%
	Definite	42/54 <b>77.8%</b>	19/54 35.2%	43/54 79.6%	34/54 63.0%
	Indefinite	50/50 100.0%	20/50 <b>40.0%</b>	4/50 8.0%	0/50 0.0%

In order to consider when the dependent-marking type marker can be used, we have to take N, M and MA into consideration. Figure 2 is a graphic version of Table 3, restricted to N, M, and MA. In the figure below, H indicates "Human", NHA "Non-Human Animate," and I "Inanimate".

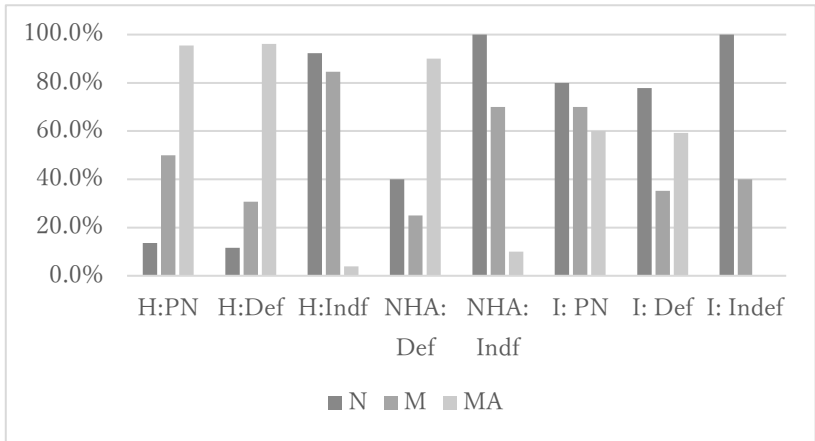


Figure 2 : The degree to which N-, M- and MA- types are allowed in each property-pair category

Here we can observe that N is allowed more in indefinite cases, and the marking vice versa. Still, however, a more detailed observation can be made. Comparing the cases in which the object is definite, when it is human, N-type is allowed at a rate of only about 10% while non-human animate definite objects in N-type marking are approved at 40% and inanimate definite objects at about 78%. Moreover, among indefinite objects, human objects can take M-type marking more easily than non-humans, and the non-human animates than the inanimates. In the case of proper nouns, the situation is parallel: human PNs usually take the marker while for inanimate PNs this is optional.

From the observations here, we can assume that both objects' animacy and definiteness are relevant to the presence/absence of the dependent-marking object marker. However, this assumption does not explain the following exceptions. Moreover, most cases in which the object can be expressed by M type also allow N type: this problem is too big in scope for this article. Typical-seeming examples of each case are shown in (12) and of seeming exceptions in (13). (13a) allows any of these four types, and in (13b) the marking can occur while the object is indefinite inanimate.

- (12) a. huti      yä-miss-i              säddäd-ä-n  
           3SGM ACC-man-DEF chase.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
           "He chased the man."  
 b. huti      (yä-)giyä      säddäd-ä  
           3SGM (ACC-)dog chase.PV-3SGM  
           "He chased a dog."  
 c. huti      mäkina ažž-ä  
           3SGM car      look at.PV-3SGM  
           "He looked at a car."

- (13) a. huti      (yä-)tihä-i              äläk<sup>(w)</sup>-ä(-n)  
           3SGM (ACC-)boy-DEF grow.PV-3SGM(-3SGM.OBJ)  
           "He grew up the boy."  
 b. huti      yä-mäkina wäkka  
           3SGM ACC-car hit.PV.3SGM  
           "He hit a car."

### 5.3 Condition for the presence of head-marking particles

The following discussion concerns what restricts the presence/absence of the object marker on verbs. As I did in the previous section, here I focus on A and MA. Figure 3 is a graphic version of Table 3, restricted to N, A and MA.

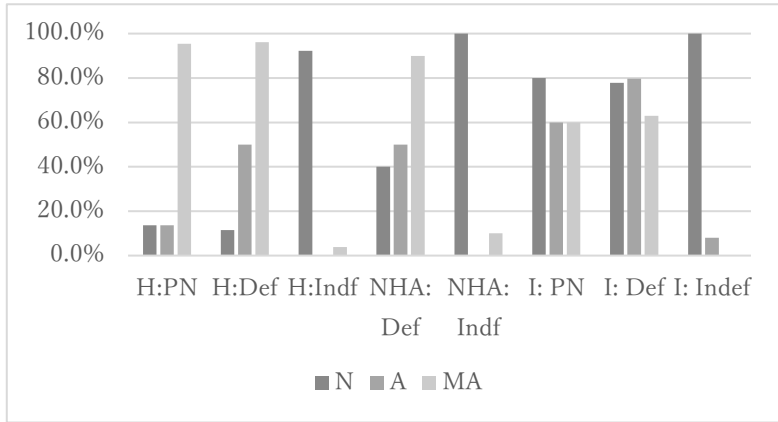


Figure 3 : The degree to which N-, A- and MA- type are allowed in each property-pair category

The most striking difference from Figure 2 is that there are some cases in which A-type cannot be allowed at all: namely H: Indf and NHA: Indf. The problem is that in I: Indf, A-type can be allowed in some cases, albeit very few. An instance of this can be observed in (14).

- (14) huti met'af tāk<sup>y</sup>äbb<sup>w</sup>är-ä-n  
 3SGM book receive.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He received a book."

The general observation, however, still corresponds with that of the previous section. Definite objects allow the marker more than indefinite ones do. This can be observed regardless of animacy. Taking animacy into consideration, the difference is exposed in another way: human definite objects rarely omit the marker on the verb, while non-human animate objects allow its absence at a rate of about 40%, and inanimate objects at a rate of approximately 80%. This can be interpreted as the following: the object's definiteness requires this agreement marker on the verb, however the need for the marker declines according to animacy. Examples of this can be observed in (15). For

human objects the agreement marker is required when the object is definite (15a), while indefinite objects do not need this marker (15b). In cases of inanimate objects, definite objects can take the agreement marker but is also possible to drop it (15c), and indefinite objects seldom allow it (15d).

- (15) a. huti      (yä-)mišt-i      wäddäd-ä-na  
 3SGM (ACC-)woman-DEF love.PV-3SGM-3SGF.OBJ  
 "He loved the woman."
- b. huti      (yä-)mišt      wäddäd-ä  
 3SGM (ACC-)woman love.PV-3SGM  
 "He loved a woman."
- c. huti      met'af-i      siy-ä(-n)  
 3SGM book-DEF buy.PV-3SGM(-3SGM.OBJ)  
 "He bought the book."
- d. huti      met'af      siy-ä  
 3SGM book      buy.PV-3SGM  
 "He bought a book."

#### 5.4 Conditions for co-occurrence of head- and dependent-marking particles

Finally, we have to consider when the two object markers co-exist in one verbal phrase. In the discussion above, we put aside MA-type. In this part I focus on this type, i.e., where the object noun is doubly marked.



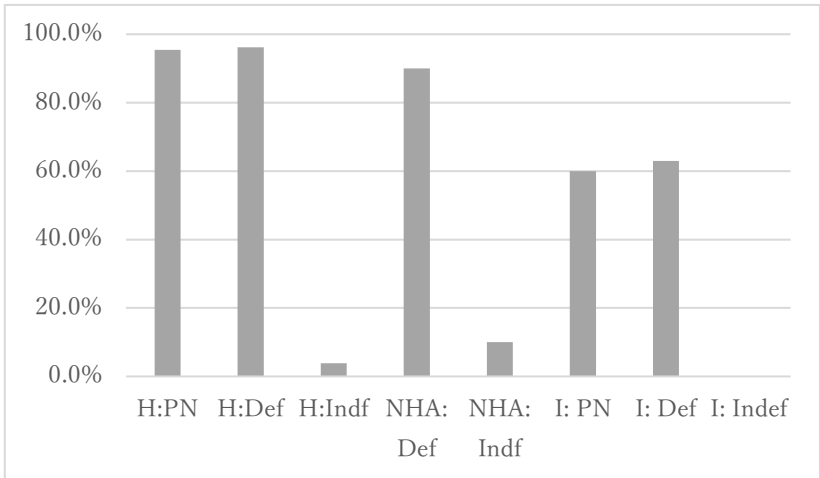


Figure 4 : The degree to which MA-type is allowed in each property-pair category

We notice here that this type of marking is hardly tolerated when the object is indefinite. Thus, it is almost necessary when using this type for the object to be definite. In some cases, however, such as (16), an indefinite object with MA-type is allowed. We do not have enough data to judge whether they are motivated by other factors or simply exceptions. Considering animacy, those with higher animacy (i.e. near to human) are more likely to be doubly marked. Examples of each animacy-definiteness pattern are shown in (17) except those in (16).

(16) a. huti yä-tihä č'o:r-ä-n

3SGM ACC-boy carry on the shoulder.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ

"He carried a boy on his shoulder/head."(though quite unnatural)

b. huti yä-giyä ažž-ä-n

3SGM ACC-dog look at.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ

"He looked at a dog."(also other types are possible)

- (17) a. huti (yä-)šämsiya wäddäd-ä-na  
 3SGM (ACC-)Shamsiya love.PV-3SGM-3SGF.OBJ  
 "He loved Shamsiya (personal name)."
- b. huti yä-miss-i wäkk<sup>w</sup>a-n  
 3SGM ACC-man-DEF hit.PV.3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He hit the man."
- c. huti yä-giyä-i wäkk<sup>w</sup>a-n  
 3SGM ACC-dog-DEF hit.PV.3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He hit the dog."
- d. huti (yä-)butajira kätäma wäddäd-ä-n  
 3SGM (ACC-)Butajira town love.PV-3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He loved Butajira town (geographical name)."
- e. huti yä-mäkina-i wäkk<sup>w</sup>a-n  
 3SGM ACC-car-DEF hit.PV.3SGM-3SGM.OBJ  
 "He hit the car."

## 6 Conclusion

In this article I examined factors influencing Differential Object Marking in Mäsqaṅ Guraḡe. Through the discussion I noted that 1) the object's animacy and definiteness are relevant to this phenomenon; 2) the higher the object is in the hierarchy of animacy and definiteness, the more likely it is to take markings; 3) the conditions of presence/absence of the two markers seem to be different; 4) these properties are still not sufficient to explain what controls DOM in Mäsqaṅ. The remarks above, however, need more consideration. For example, we were not able to discuss which type of object marker, dependent-marking or head-marking, is more significant in Mäsqaṅ. As examples (17) above suggest, head-marking agreement markers are in wider use than dependent-marking. In addition, the discussion above is based on very restricted data, which do not include any contextual information. In this article we focused on objects' definiteness. Considering example (18) from Turkish, however, it is not possible to ignore objects' specificity, which we could not discuss in this paper due to lack of data. Thus, this article must function only as a hypothesis.

(18) Turkish (Enç 1991: 4-5)

a. Ali bir piyano-yu kiralamak istiyor.

Ali one piano-ACC to.rent wants

"Ali wants to rent a certain piano."

b. Ali bir piyano kiralamak istiyor.

Ali one piano to.rent wants

"Ali wants to rent a (non-specific) piano."

For a comprehensive description of DOM in this language, we need more data including enough sentences for each animacy-definiteness pair. Additionally, such a study would benefit from using long passages or story-telling materials as data, as they contain more information about definiteness or specificity.

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# マスカン語の Differential Object Marking に 関する一仮説

## 目的語の有生性・定性との関わり

原 将吾

本稿では、2017 年度にエチオピア連邦民主共和国で行ったフィールドワークの成果を元に、マスカン語の Differential Object Marking を記述するための仮説を提案した。その仮説とは、1) この現象には目的語となる名詞句の有生性と定性が関与する 2) 目的語が有生性と定性の階層で上位にあるほど、目的語標示は現れやすくなる 3) 二つの目的語標識（主要部標示タイプ/従属部標示タイプ）の出現条件は異なっているようである 4) 有生性・定性ではマスカン語のこの現象を説明するには不十分である、というものであった。今後の研究では、今回十分に収集出来なかった有生性・定性の組み合わせのデータを集めるとともに、長めの文章や語りのような、文脈に関する情報を十分に含んだ資料を集めることも必要である。

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