

研究発表
(11月10日(日)午前)

第一室～第六室

Labeling Algorithm に基づく主語・補語倒置の分析 (The Analysis of Preposing Around *Be* Based on Labeling Algorithm)

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1. 導入

- (1) a. Less fortunate was the girl in the back seat. (Emonds (1976: 30))
b. Found at the scene of the crime was an axe. (Rochemont and Culicover (1990: 69))
c. Joining the chorus of political figures was former Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn. (Samko (2014: 373))
- (2) a. The girl in the back seat was less fortunate.
b. An axe was found at the scene of the crime.
c. Former Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn was joining the chorus of political figures. (Samko (2014: 373))

2. 経験的事実

2.1. 主語

- (3) a. More important **are** some of the problems implicit in it.
b. More effective and certainly more interesting, however, **is** a structure recently demonstrated by the team [...] (Mikami (2009: 208))
- (4) Joining the chorus of political figures {*was / were} five former Georgia senators. (Samko (2014: 374))
- (5) a. Less fortunate was the girl in the back seat.
b. It was the girl in the back seat who was less fortunate. (Rochemont (1978: 30))
- (6) a. Standing in the doorway was John.
b. It was John that was standing in the doorway. (Rochemont (1978: 30))
- (7) a. *Less fortunate was she / her.
b. *Standing in the doorway was he / him. (Rochemont (1978: 31))

2.2. 前置要素

- (8) a. [More important]_i seems [t_i to be a visceral yearning for change], [...]
(Mikami (2009: 209))
- b. Undermining Abbey's confidence seemed to be the decline in value of Lloyds' shares.
(Samko (2014: 372))
- (9) a. It is **well known** that Columbus made his first voyage to America in 1492.
But less **well known** is his last voyage. (福地 (1985: 114))
- b. "We came here to defend the right of our parliamentarians to enter their own house" said **Guillermo Arocha**, 34, [...]. Standing next to **Arocha** was Manuel Contreras [...]
(Samko (2014: 27))
- (10) a. *[Which fact]_i do you think [most surprising of all is t_i] ? (Iwakura (1978: 327))
b. *Who_i [sitting at the table was t_i] ? (Rochemont (1978: 40))
c. *[Which books]_i did Lee say that [with great difficulty, she can carry t_i] ?
(Mikami (2009: 215))

3. 理論的枠組み

3.1. Chomsky (2013, 2015)

- (11) a. {_αH, XP} _α=H b. {XP_i, {_αt_i, YP} _α=YP c. {_αXP_(F), YP_(F)} _α=<F, F>

3.2. Epstein et al. (2016)

- (12) [C [_α DP_{[φ][uCase]_i} T_[uφ] [v^{*}P v^{*}-R t_i]]] _α=<φ, φ>

4. 分析

- be 動詞は補部に小節構造を取る。 (Mikami (2009), Samko (2014))
- フェイズ主要部 C は[uφ]と[uTop]を持って派生に導入され、それらの素性の両方が T へ素性継承される。 (cf. Kitada (2011))

4.1. PAB (形容詞句)の派生

- (13) a. Less fortunate was the girl in the back seat. (Emonds (1976: 30))
- b. [C_{[uφ][uTop]} [β AP_{[Top]_i} T_{[uφ][uTop]} [vP v [vP be [_α DP_{[φ][uCase]} t_i]]]]]]
→ _α=DP _β=<Top, Top>

4.2. PAB(分詞句)の派生

- (14) a. Found at the scene of the crime was an axe.

b. [C[_{Top}][_{Top}] [β V*P[_{Top}]i T[_{Top}][_{Top}] [vP be [α DP[φ][_{Case}] t_i]]]]

→ α = DP β = <Top, Top>

- (15) a. Joining the chorus of political figures was former Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn.

(Samko (2014: 373))

b. [AspP be [α DP[φ][_{Case}] [v*P[_{Top}] V*_[φφ] [φ, φ] DP_i [R t_i]]]]]

c. [C[_{Top}][_{Top}] [β V*P[_{Top}]i T[_{Top}][_{Top}] [AspP be [α DP[φ][_{Case}] t_i]]]]]

→ α = DP β = <Top, Top>

4.3. その他の派生の可能性

- (16) [γ AP[_{Top}]i C[_{Top}] [β DP[φ][_{Case}]i T[_{Top}] [vP V [VP be [α t_i t_j]]]]]]

→ α = <?> β = <φ, φ> γ = <Top, Top>

- (17) *{t, t}:

CI cannot assign a legitimate interpretation to a syntactic object whose two members are both copies / traces created by Internal Merge.

(cf. Narita (2014: 112))

- (18) a. *Sitting on the dock the man in the blue suit was.

b. *Beaten to death in the park Mary was.

c. *Bigger than a mountain King Kong was.

(Rochemont (1978: 32))

4.4. 帰結

- (19) a. More important **are** some of the problems implicit in it.

b. More effective and certainly more interesting, however, **is** a structure recently

demonstrated by the team [...]

(Mikami (2009: 208))

- (20) Joining the chorus of political figures {*was / were} five former Georgia senators.

(Samko (2014: 374))

- (21) a. [More important]_i seems [t_i to be a visceral yearning for change], [...]

(Mikami (2009: 209))

b. Undermining Abbey's confidence seemed to be the decline in value of Lloyds' shares.

(Samko (2014: 372))

- (22) * [Which fact]_i do you think [most surprising of all is _i] ? (Iwakura (1978: 327))
- (23) a. * I believe less fortunate to be the girl in the black seat. (informant)
- b. * I believe anchoring their prize to be pictures of former dictators. (Samko (2014: 378))
- (24) [That the president will be released] and [that he will be impeached] are equally likely at this point. (McCloskey (1991: 564))
- (25) That John won the first prize is true.
- (26) [C_{[θθ][θTop]} [β SS_{[φ] [Top]} i T_{[θθ][θTop]} [vP V [VP be [AP _i AP]]]]]] β = <φ, φ>, <Top, Top>

5. 結語

References

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Labeling Algorithm と Copy Deletion (Labeling Algorithm and Copy Deletion)

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1. Introduction

- (1) Labeling Algorithm (LA) (Chomsky (2013, 2015))
- $[\alpha H \text{XP}] \quad \alpha = H$
 - $[\alpha \text{XP} \text{YP}]$ (i) $[\text{XP} [\alpha \text{XP} \text{YP}]] \quad \alpha = \text{YP}$
(ii) $[\alpha \text{XP}_{[F]} \text{YP}_{[F]}] \quad \alpha = \langle F, F \rangle$
- $H = \text{Head}, \text{XP, YP} = \text{Phrase}, F = \text{Feature}$

2. Proposal

- (2) Labeling by Copy Deletion (instead of (1bi))
 $[\text{XP} [\alpha \text{XP} \text{YP}]] \quad \alpha = \text{YP}$
- (3) Labeling “must take place at the phase level, as part of the Transfer operation.” (Chomsky (2015: 6))
- (4) Copy Deletion applies to modify $[\alpha \text{XP} \text{YP}]$ before labeling at Transfer: NS-Copy Deletion
- (5) Narrow Syntax (NS) → Transfer (the timing of LA) → PF/LF
- $\text{XP}_1 \dots [\alpha \text{XP}_2, \text{YP}] \quad \text{XP}_1 \dots [\text{YP} \text{XP}_2, \text{YP}] \quad \text{XP}_1 \dots \text{YP}$
 - $\text{XP}_1 \dots [\alpha \text{XP}_{2[F]}, \text{YP}_{[F]}] \quad \text{XP}_1 \dots [\langle F, F \rangle \text{XP}_{2[F]}, \text{YP}_{[F]}] \quad \text{XP}_1 \dots \text{XP}_2 \text{YP}$
- (6) a. Who do you think like dogs?
b. $[\langle Q, Q \rangle \text{who}_1_{[Q]} \text{C}_{[Q]} \text{-do you T-do think} [\text{CP} \underline{\text{who}}_2 \text{C} [\langle \varphi, \varphi \rangle \underline{\text{who}}_3_{[\varphi]} \text{T}_{[\varphi]} \text{ like dogs}]]]$
 $\uparrow(5a) \quad \uparrow(5b)$
c. $\text{who}_1 \text{ do you do think who}_3 \text{ like dogs}$
- (7) Copy Deletion is also required at PF to form legitimate linear order: PF-Copy Deletion
- irreflexivity condition: if α precedes β , then it must be the case that β does not precede α .
 - asymmetry condition: if α precedes β , then it must be the case that $\alpha \neq \beta$. (Nunes (2004))
- (8) a. $\text{who}_1 \text{ do you do think who}_3 \text{ like dogs} \Rightarrow \text{PF-Copy Deletion}$
b. $\text{who}_1 \text{ do you do think who}_3 \text{ like dogs}$
- (9) NS-Copy Deletion → Transfer → PF-Copy Deletion

- (10) a. Copies deleted within NS have no phonological effect.
b. Copies undeleted within NS have phonological effect (even if they are deleted at PF).

3. Phonological Effect

3.1. To-Contraction

- (11) a. I want to/wanna meet John.
b. Who do you want to/*wanna meet John? (Ackema and Neeleman (2003: 715))
c. Who do you want to/wanna meet? (ibid.)
c. John seems to/seemsta like pickles. (Kroch (1987: 164))
- (12) Contraction requires PF-adjacency. (Jaeggli (1980))
- (13) a. A clause-taking predicate is formed by External Pair Merge of *v* with root. (Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (2016))
b. An infinitival subject receives Case within an infinitival clause. (cf. Martin (2001))
c. Lexically null elements (e.g. covert C-head and PRO) do not prevent PF-adjacency.
d. Contraction applies before PF-Copy Deletion. (cf. Ackema and Neeleman (2003))
- (14) a. I want to/wanna meet John.
b. ... [_{vP} \vdash $\sqrt{\text{want-}v}$ [_{CP} C [_{<φ, φ>} PRO_[φ] T_[φ]]-to [_{vP} PRO $\sqrt{\text{meet-}v}$ [_{<φ, φ>} $\sqrt{\text{meet}_{[φ]}}$ John_[φ]]]]]]
c. I want to meet meet John
- (15) a. Who do you want to/*wanna meet John?
b. ... [_{vP} you $\sqrt{\text{want-}v}$ [_{CP} **who** C [_{<φ, φ>} **who**_[φ] T_[φ]]-to [_{vP} **who** PRO $\sqrt{\text{meet-}v}$...]
c. who do you do want who to meet meet John
- (16) a. Who do you want to/wanna meet?
b. ... [_{vP} you $\sqrt{\text{want-}v}$ [_{CP} **who** C [_{<φ, φ>} PRO_[φ] T_[φ]]-to [_{vP} **who** PRO $\sqrt{\text{meet-}v}$...]
c. who do you do want to meet meet John
- (17) An infinitive marker *to* in a raising construction is formed by Pair-Merge of C with T (Mizuguchi (2016))
- (18) a. John seems to/seemsta like pickles.
b. [_{CP} C [_{<φ, φ>} John_[φ] T_[φ]] [_{vP} $\sqrt{\text{seem-}v}$ [_{T-C'P} **John** T-C-to [_{vP} **John** $\sqrt{\text{like-}v}$...]
c. John seem to like like pickles

3.2. Auxiliary Reduction

- (19) a. You should have/'ve hit Harry.
b. Should you have/*'ve hit Harry? (Lakoff (1970: 632, fn. 6))
- (20) A reduced auxiliary is affixed to an adjacent word. (cf. Lakoff (1970))
- (21) a. [CP C [$<\varphi, \varphi>$ you_[φ] T_[φ]-should have [_{vP} $\text{y}\varnothing\text{u}$ $\sqrt{\text{hit}}\text{-v}^*$ [$<\varphi, \varphi>$ $\sqrt{\text{hit}}\text{[φ]}$ Harry_[φ]]]]]
b. you should + have hit hit Harry \Rightarrow you should + have hit hit Harry
- (22) a. [CP C-should [$<\varphi, \varphi>$ you_[φ] T_[φ]-should have [_{vP} $\text{y}\varnothing\text{u}$ $\sqrt{\text{hit}}\text{-v}^*$ [$<\varphi, \varphi>$ $\sqrt{\text{hit}}\text{[φ]}$ Harry_[φ]]]]]
b. should you should + have hit hit Harry \Rightarrow should you **should** + have hit hit Harry

3.3. Restriction on Copy Realization

- (23) a. Koj kakvo e kupil? (Bulgarian)
who what is bought
'Who bought what?'
b. *Koj e kupil kakvo?
- (24) a. Kakvo obuslavlja kakvo? (Bulgarian)
what conditions what
'What conditions what?'
b. *Kakvo kakvo obuslavlja? (Bošković (2002: 355, 364))
- (25) Avoid sequences of homophonous *wh*-words. (Bošković (2002))
- (26) It is unclear why intermediate copies cannot be realized.
Kakvo (*kakvo) misli Ivan (% kakvo) če (kakvo) obuslavlja (kakvo)?
what what thinks Ivan what that what conditions what
'What does Ivan think conditions what?' (Bošković (2002: 373))

- (27) a. [kakvo (kakvo) misli Ivan [CP **kakvo kakvo** C-če [$<\varphi, \varphi>$ kakvo_[φ] T_[φ] [_{vP} **kakvo kakvo** $\sqrt{\text{obuslavlja}}\text{-v}$ [$<\varphi, \varphi>$ $\sqrt{\text{obuslavlja}}\text{[φ]}$ kakvo_[φ]]]]]]
b. kakvo kakvo misli Ivan če kakvo obuslavlja obuslavlja kakvo
 \Rightarrow kakvo **kakvo** misli Ivan če (kakvo) obuslavlja **obuslavlja** (kakvo)

4. Semantic Effect

- (28) A-movement/A'-movement Asymmetry regarding Reconstruction Effect
- * Which picture of John_i did he_i like best?
 - Every picture of John_i seems to him_i to be great. (Lechner (2015: 1231, 1233))
- (29) Condition C Violation under Reconstruction
- [... R-expression_i ...]; ... pronoun_i ...[... R-expression_i ...]
- (30) a. ... he_[φ] T_[φ]-did [_{VP} {which picture...} he √like-v [_{<φ, φ>} √like_[φ] [which picture_[φ] of John]]]...
b. [which picture of John_i] did he_i did like like [which picture of John_i]
- (31) a. ...to him_i [_{T-C'P} {every picture of John} T-C-to be [_{AP} {every picture of John} great]]...
b. [every picture of John_i] seems to him_i to be great
- (32) Problem for NS-Copy Deletion
Interpretation of intermediate copies (e.g. anaphor binding interpretation)
→ Licensing at Narrow Syntax? (cf. Hicks (2008))

References

- Ackema, Peter and Ad Neeleman (2003) “Context-Sensitive Spell-Out,” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21, 681-735. / Bošković, Željko (2002) “On Multiple Wh-Fronting,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 33, 351-383. / Chomsky, Noam (2013) “Problems of Projection,” *Lingua* 130, 33-49. / Chomsky, Noam (2015) “Problems of Projection: Extensions,” *Structures, Strategies and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Adriana Belletti*, ed. by Elisa Di Domenico, Cornelia Hamann, and Simona Matteini, 3-16, John Benjamins, Amsterdam. / Epstein, Samuel D., Hisatsugu Kitahara and T. Daniel Seely (2016) “Phase Cancelation by External Pair-Merge of Heads,” *The Linguistic Review* 33, 87-102. / Hicks, Glyn (2008) “Why the Binding Theory Doesn't Apply at LF,” *Syntax* 11, 255-280. / Jaeggli, Osvaldo (1980) “Remarks on To Contraction,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 11, 239-245. / Kroch, Anthony (1987) “Unbounded Dependencies and Subjacency in a Tree Adjoining Grammar,” *Mathematics of language* ed. by Alexis Manaster-Ramer, 143-172, John Benjamins, Amsterdam. / Lakoff, George (1970) “Global Rules,” *Language* 46, 627-639. / Lechner, Winfried (2015) “The Syntax-Semantics Interface,” *Syntax: An International Handbook 2nd edition*, ed. by Tibor Kiss and Artemis Alexiadou, 1198-1255, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. / Martin, Roger (2001) “Null Case and the Distribution of PRO,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 32, 141-166. / Mizuguchi, Manabu (2016) “De-Activation of φ through Pair-Merge,” *English Linguistics* 33, 108–118. / Nunes, Jairo (2004) *Linearization of Chains and Sideward Movement*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

ラベル付けの最小探査領域について
 (On the Domain of Minimal Search for Labeling)

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1. Introduction

- (1) “Suppose $SO = \{H, XP\}$, H a head and XP not a head. Then LA will select H as the label, [...]. The interesting case is $SO = \{XP, YP\}$, neither a head [...]. Here minimal search is ambiguous, locating the heads X, Y of XP, YP , respectively. There are, then, two ways in which SO can be labeled: (A) modify SO so that there is only one visible head, or (B) X and Y are identical in a relevant respect, providing the same label, which can be taken as the label of the SO .”
 (Chomsky (2013: 43))
- (2) Chomsky (2013: 43) suggests that LA is “just minimal search, presumably appropriating a third factor principle.” However, the notion of “minimal search” in this sense is not formally defined in Chomsky (2013, 2015). In particular, it is not unclear how far minimal search will locate heads that provide a label.
- (3) “LA seeks heads H within its search domain (observing the Phase Impenetrability Condition PIC – that is not searching too far).”
 (Chomsky (2015: 6))
- (4) An $XP-YP$ structure provides a label via feature sharing only if it is symmetric.
- (5)
 - a. $\{XP, YP\} = \{\{X_{[F]}, WP\}, \{Y_{[F]}, ZP\}\}$
 - b. $\{XP, YP\} = \{\{UP, \{X_{[F]}, WP\}\}, \{Y_{[F]}, ZP\}\}$
- (6) The condition in (4) is a consequence of an economy principle restricting search space for computation: given “top-down” search, LA simultaneously finds X and Y in (5a), whereas (5b) requires extra search for $X_{[F]}$ after finding $Y_{[F]}$.
- (7) $\{\{X_{[F]}, WP\}, \{Y_{[F]}, ZP\}\} \rightarrow \{\boxed{\{X_{[F]}, WP\}}, \boxed{\{Y_{[F]}, ZP\}}\} \rightarrow \{\{\boxed{X_{[F]}}, WP\}, \{\boxed{Y_{[F]}}, ZP\}\}$
- (8) $\{\{UP, \{X_{[F]}, WP\}\}, \{Y_{[F]}, ZP\}\} \rightarrow \{\{\{UP, \{X_{[F]}, WP\}\}, \{Y_{[F]}, ZP\}\} \rightarrow \{\{UP, \boxed{\{X_{[F]}, WP\}}\}, \{\boxed{Y_{[F]}}, ZP\}\}$

2. Freezing Effects

- (9)
 - a. ??Who_i do you think [pictures of t_i] t_j are on sale?
 - b. ??Who_i do you wonder [which picture of t_i] Mary bought t_j ? (Lasnik and Saito (1993: 101-102))
- (10)
 - a. $\{D, \{pictures, \{of, who\}\}\}$
 - b. $\{who, \{D, \{pictures, \{of, t_{who}\}\}\}\}$
 - c. $\{\{who, \{D, \dots\}\}, vP\}$
 - d. $\{T, \{\{who, \{D, \dots\}\}, vP\}\}$
 - e. $\{\{who, \{D, \dots\}\}, \{T, \{\{who, \{D, \dots\}\}, vP\}\}\}$
 - f. $\{C, \{\{who, \{D, \dots\}\}, \{T, \dots\}\}\}$
 - g. $\{who, \{C, \{\{t_{who}, \{D, \dots\}\}, \{T, \dots\}\}\}\}$
- (11) $\{\{who, \{D_{[\varphi]}, \dots\}\}, \{T_{[\varphi]}, \dots\}\}$

- (12) $\{\{ \text{who}, \{ \text{D}_{[\text{Q}]}, \dots \} \}, \{ \text{C}_{[\text{Q}]}, \dots \} \}$
- (13) a. *Who did Mary call [friends of *t*] up?
 b. Who did Mary call up [friends of *t*] ? (Lasnik (2001: 110))
- (14) Suppose that the shifted object moves from the base position to Spec-V, whereas the non-shifted object in remains in Comp-V (cf. Lasnik (2001), Chomsky (2008)). Then, the sentences in (13) have the following structures.
- (15) a. $\{\{ \text{who}, \{ \text{D}_{[\varnothing]}, \{ \text{pictures}, \dots \} \} \}, \{ \text{V}_{[\varnothing]}, \text{tObj} \} \}$
 b. $\{ \text{V}_{[\varnothing]}, \{ \text{who}, \{ \text{D}_{[\varnothing]}, \{ \text{pictures}, \dots \} \} \} \}$
- (16) a. Which artist do you admire [paintings by *t*]?
 b. */?Which artist do you expect [paintings by *t*] to sell the best? (Polinsky (2013: 580))
- (17) $\{\{ \text{which artist}, \{ \text{D}_{[\varnothing]}, \dots \} \}, \{ \text{V}_{[\varnothing]}, \text{TP} \} \}$
- (18) a. *Who does [that she can bake ginger cookies for *t*] give her great pleasure?
 b. ?Who does [being able to bake ginger cookies for *t*] give her great pleasure?
 c. ??Who does [(for her) to be able to bake ginger cookies for *t*] give her great pleasure?
(adapted from Kluender (2004: 118-119))

- (19) $\{\{ \text{who}, \{ \text{C}_{[\varnothing]}, \{ \text{she}, \dots \} \} \}, \{ \text{T}_{[\varnothing]}, \text{vP} \} \}$

- (20) Suppose that non-finite C is not a phase-head (Kanno (2008)). Then, *who* does not have to be extracted to Spec-C.

- (21) a. $\{\{ \text{C}_{[\varnothing]}, \{ \text{PRO}, \{ \text{being}, \{ \text{who}, \{ \text{v}, \dots \} \} \} \} \}, \{ \text{T}_{[\varnothing]}, \text{vP} \} \}$
 b. $\{\{ \text{C}_{[\varnothing]}, \{ \text{her}, \{ \text{to}, \{ \text{who}, \{ \text{v}, \dots \} \} \} \} \}, \{ \text{T}_{[\varnothing]}, \text{vP} \} \}$

3. *Wh*-Island Effects

- (22)*Which pasta, do you wonder [how, the famous Italian chef cooked *t_i* *t_j*]? (Ishii (2006: 217))
- (23) a. {how_[Q], {which pasta, {C_[Q], TP}}}
 b. {which pasta, {how_[Q], {C_[Q], TP}}}
- (24) (23a) cannot be labeled <Q, Q> owing to the condition in (4).
- (25) (23b) is labeled <Q, Q>, since {how_[Q], {C_[Q], TP}} is labeled <Q, Q> in accordance with (4), and {which pasta, {how_[Q], {C_[Q], TP}}} is also labeled <Q, Q> owing to “invisibility” of the lower copy of *what*. However, (23b) results in anomalous interpretation at CI: assuming with Chomsky (2013) and Epstein et al. (2015) that an SO labeled <Q, Q> is interpreted as a *wh*-question at the CI interface, it must interpret (23b) as an [[Operator ...] [Scope ...]] configuration. However, *which pasta* cannot serve as an operator since being an intermediate copy.
- (26) Which pasta, do you wonder [how, to cook *t_i* *t_j*]? (Ishii (2006: 219))
- (27) {how_[Q], {C_[Q], {PRO, {T, {which pasta, {v, ...}}}}}}}

4. Proper Binding Condition Effects

- (28) a. *[Which picture of t_i] do you wonder who_i John likes t_j
b. ??Who_i do you wonder [which picture of t_i] John likes t_j (Saito (1989: 187))
- (29) a. {{who, {which, ...}}, {C, ...}}
b. {who, {{ t_i who, {which, ...}}, {C, ...}}}
c. {{who, {which, ...}}, {v, {wonder, {who, {{ t_i who, {which, ...}}, {C, ...}}}}}}
d. {C, {you, {T, {{who, {which, ...}}, {v, ...}}}}}
e. {{who, {which, ...}}, {C, {you, {T, {{ t_i who, {which, ...}}, {v, ...}}}}}}}
- (30) {who_[Q], {{who, {which, ...}}, {C_[Q], ...}}}
- (31) {{who, {which_[Q], ...}}, {C_[Q], ...}}
- (32) Both (30) (i.e., the embedded CP) and (31) (i.e., the root CP) also causes labeling failure owing to the to the condition in (4). Notice that (28a) causes labeling failure twice, whereas (28b) causes it once; the accumulated labeling failures in (28a) yield severe degradation in acceptability.

5. On Multiple Specifiers

- (33) The condition in (4) rules out multiple-Spec configurations like {UP_[F], {XP_[F], {Y_[F], ZP}}}, where U and X (the heads of UP and XP) involve features to be shared with Y, thereby requiring reconsideration of construction analyzed in terms of multiple-Specs.
- (34) *Constructions that have been analyzed in terms of multiple-Specs* (cf. Vermeulen (2005))
a. Multiple Nominative Constructions in Japanese (Ura (1993, 1994) and Koizumi (1995))
b. Transitive Expletive Constructions in Germanic languages (Chomsky (1995))
c. Embedded Topicalization and Focalization in English (Koizumi (1995))
d. *Wh*-islands (Sabel (2002))
e. Multiple *Wh*-Fronting in Slavic languages (Koizumi (1995), Pesetsky (2000), Richards (2001))

5.1 Focus and Topic in the Theory of Labeling

- (35) “[I]nformational notions such as “topic” or “focus” [...] are properties of configurations and their syntactic/discursive context,” and “they should neither be represented in the lexicon, nor in the narrow syntactic derivation.” (Chomsky et al. (2019: 25))
- (36) The XP-YP structure created by topic/focus movement provides no label, since there are no features to be shared between XP and YP. Nevertheless, CI interprets structures created by focus/topic movement as a unit like [[Focus ...][Background ...]] or [[Topic ...][Comment ...]] in accordance with their configurations, and thus the derivation does not crash at CI.
- (37) a. Only with great difficulty can she carry these books t .
b. {{only, ...}, {C, ...}}
- (38) a. These books, she can carry t .
b. {{these, ...}, {C, ...}}
- (39) Of whom_i did Lee say that [only to mothers t_j] will she talk t_i ? (Maeda (2010: 237))

(40) {{ {of, whom}, {only, ...}}, {C, TP}}

(41) ??[Give *t* to Mary]_i I really don't know which book_i he did *t*

(Müller (1998: 247))

- (42) a. {who_[Q], {{who, {give, ...}}, {C_[Q], ...}}}
b. {{who, {give, ...}}, {C, ...}}

5.2 Multiple Wh-Fronting

(43) Koj kogo običa?

who whom loves

‘Who loves whom?’

(Bulgarian)

(Bošković (2002: 353-354))

(44) {who_[Q], {whom_[Q], {C_[Q], TP}}}

(45) *Wh*-movement in MWF languages is driven not by the interrogative feature but by (contrastive) focus (Bošković (2002), Lambova (2001), Stjepanović (1999)).

(46) Given this, the structure created by MWF like {who, {whom, {C, TP}}}} provides no label, but is successfully interpreted at CI thanks to the focus-driven movement.

6. Conclusion

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ラベリングと自由併合に関する問題と転写の効果とパラメーター
 (Problems of Labeling and Free-Merge, the Effect of Transfer, and its Parameter)

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0. はじめに

<ラベリング (Labeling) の問題>

主要部 X と句 YP から成る統語体 (syntactic object) のラベルは一義的に XP として確定されるが、2 つの句から成る統語体のラベルは一義的には確定されない (「XP-YP 問題」)。

<自由併合 (Free-Merge) の問題>

併合は合目的ではなく自由に適用され、移動は併合と同義である (「内的併合 (Internal Merge)」) → 移動は自由に適用される → 移動による語順変換は無制限に行える?

- (1) a. Ken read this book.
 b. *This book Ken read. ("this book" ≠ topic)
- (2) a. ケンが この本を 読んだ.
 b. この本を ケンが 読んだ.

<本発表の主張>

自由併合の問題は、移動後に形成される統語体のラベリングの可否に関わり、ラベリングの可否は移動した要素の転写 (Transfer) の可否に関わる。

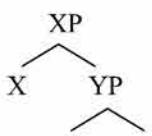
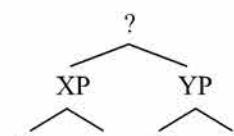
<本発表の構成>

1. ラベリングの問題と転写の効果に基づく解決案
2. 自由併合の問題と転写のパラメーター
3. 転写のパラメーターに対する経験的裏付け
4. Saito (2016, 2017) による反ラベリングに基づくアプローチに対する批判的検証
5. まとめと今後の課題

1. ラベリングの問題と転写の効果に基づく解決案 (内芝 2019)

<ラベリングとは>

統語体の主要部を決定する操作 (Chomsky 2013, 2015)。ラベルが未定の統語体はインターフェイスで適切な解釈を受けることができず、派生は破綻してしまう。

- (3) H_1 is the closest head to α iff
 - I. α contains H_1 , and
 - II. there is no H_2 such that (i) α contains H_2 , and (ii) H_2 c-commands H_1 .
 - (4) i. 
 ii. 
- (Rizzi 2015: 18)

＜これまでの先行研究における解決案＞

- ① 移動によるラベリング (Chomsky 2013, 2015)¹
- ② 素性共有によるラベリング (Chomsky 2013, 2015; Rizzi 2015, 2016)²
- ③ 転写（または書き出し（Spell-Out））によるラベリング (Narita 2012, 2014; Takita, et al. 2016)（転写／書き出し=派生から統語体を取り除く操作）³

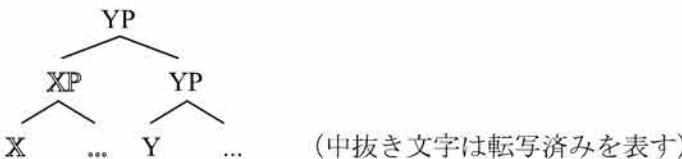
＜本発表で想定する転写とは＞

統語体をインターフェイスに写し出す操作。転写後の統語体はその後の統語操作に対して不可侵になる（「位相不可侵条件（Phase Impenetrability Condition）」）。⁴

- (5) H_1 is the closest head to α iff

- I. H_1 is accessible (i.e., it is not in any transferred domain),
- II. α contains H_1 , and
- III. there is no H_2 such that (i) H_2 is accessible, (ii) α contains H_2 , and (iii) H_2 c-commands H_1 .

- (6)



2. 自由併合の問題と転写のパラメーター

＜提案：転写のパラメーター＞

統語体 α に転写を適用できるのは、次のいずれかの条件を満たす場合のみである。

- (A) α が派生の終点である。
- (B) α が統語体 β と併合しており、 β の主要部が語彙的（lexical）である。
- (C) α が β と併合しており、 α と β との間で素性上の一致（Agree）が成立している。

＜仮説：主要部 Tense の機能性（functionality）（Fukui 1995; Zushi 2003, 2005）＞

英語の Tense は専ら機能的であるが、日本語の Tense は機能的且つ語彙的である。⁵

- (7) a. ケンが ナオミを 褒めさえ した/*褒めえた。
b. ケンが ナオミを 褒めも した/*褒めた。

- (8) Proper Head Movement Generalization (Baker 2003: 53):

A lexical head A cannot move to a functional head B and then to a lexical head C.

¹ 移動によるラベリングは更に「停止問題（halting problem）」を引き起こすことが Chomsky 自身により指摘されている。

² 素性共有によるラベリングは、統語体の主要部を決定するというラベリング本来の目的を果たしていない。

³ 転写／書き出しが派生から統語体を取り除く操作だとすると、既に構築された派生に変更を加えることを禁じる「改変不可条件（No Tampering Condition）」（Chomsky 2007, 2008）に抵触することが、Takita, et al. で指摘されているが、彼らはこの操作は同条件から免除されるべきであると主張している。

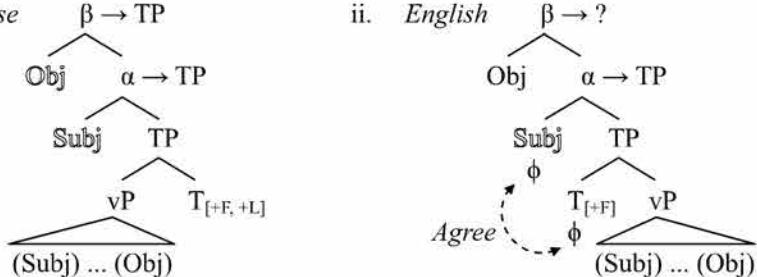
⁴ “Let us call the syntactic objects that are transferred ‘phases.’ Optimally, once a phase is transferred, it should be mapped directly to the interface and then ‘forgotten’; later operations should not have to refer back to what has already been mapped to the interface—again, a basic intuition behind cyclic operations.” (Chomsky 2005: 16)

⁵ Zushi (2005) は日本語の Tense が語彙的であると仮定することで、日本語の特徴である (i) 空主語と擬態主語の存在、(ii) 虚辞の欠如、(iii) 語順変換、(iv) 再構造化構文、そして (v) 主語条件効果の欠如が説明できると論じている。

(9) *[H₁-H₂-H₃]_W, where H₁ and H₃ are lexical, and H₂ is functional.

(10) [TP [FP [v/VP ... V₊Lexical] [F - え/も] ₊Functional] T ₊Functional; +Lexical]

(11) i. *Japanese* $\beta \rightarrow \text{TP}$ ii. *English* $\beta \rightarrow ?$



3. 転写のパラメーターに対する経験的裏付け

<予測①>

語彙範疇と併合している統語体は、その語彙範疇と一致していなくても併合されている位置で転写することができる。

- (12) a. Ken finds [sc **this book** very interesting].
b. There are [sc **some firemen** available].

<予測②>

機能範疇と併合している統語体は、その機能範疇と一致していなければ併合されている位置で転写することができない。

- (13) a. *Who thinks [? **what_i** [CP [C that] Mary bought _i]]?
b. *There seems [? **a man_i** [TP [T to] be _i in the garden]].

(Bošković 2007: 592、太字は発表者による)

<予測③>

機能範疇内での語順は固定されるが、語彙範疇内での語順は比較的の自由である。

- (14) [TopicP/FocusP/CP/(TP) ~ Functional Domain ~ [(TP)/VP/VP ~ Lexical Domain ~]]
Fixed Word Order Free Word Order

- (15) あの店について何か教えてください.

- a. [TopicP あの店は 日曜日限定で サンドイッチを 売っています].
b. *[? サンドイッチを _i [TopicP あの店は 日曜日限定で _i 売っています]].

- (16) *Hungarian*

- a. [TP Sokszor [nagyon [össze-**vesztek_i** [VP _i a fiúk egymással]]]].
many-times very.much out fell the boys each-other-with
'Many times, the boys fell out with each other a lot.'
b. Sokszor nagyon össze-**vesztek_i** _i egymással a fiúk
c. *Nagyon össze sokszor **vesztek_i** _i egymással a fiúk
d. *Össze sokszor nagyon **vesztek_i** _i egymással a fiúk

(Kiss 2008: 443、太字は原典、下線は発表者による)

(17) *Hungarian*

- a. Nem **vesztek**, sokszor **nagyon össze** (t_i) a **fiúk** **egymással**.
not fell many-times very.much out the boys each-other-with
'The boys did not fall out with each other a lot many times.'
- b. Nem **vesztek**, **össze** **egymással** **sokszor** **nagyon** a **fiúk**.
- c. Nem **vesztek**, **nagyon össze** a **fiúk** **sokszor** **egymással**.
- d. Nem **vesztek**, **össze** a **fiúk** **sokszor** **egymással** **nagyon**.
etc.

(Kiss 2008: 444、太字は原典、下線は発表者による)

4. Saito (2016, 2017) による反ラベリングに基づくアプローチに対する批判的検証

＜反ラベリング仮説＞

言語にはラベリングの操作を受け付けない素性 (λ 素性) が存在し、日本語の格素性がそれにあたる。

(18) [XP DP_{<Case>} XP]

＜問題点①＞

主要部 D と NP が併合した時点で、D にある格素性が反ラベリング因子として働いてしまうのではないか。

(19) i. [NP DP_{<Case>} NP] ii. [? NP XP]

＜修正案＞

格素性はその値が確定されると反ラベリング因子として機能する。

＜問題点②＞

機能範疇内と語彙範疇内では語順変換の制限に差があること ((14) ~ (17) を参照) をどのようにして説明するのか。

5. まとめと今後の課題

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“What does the Unavailability of Genitive Subject in Naxi Suggest?” (E)

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates syntactic properties of the Naxi language, one of the 55 officially recognized minority languages in China spoken natively by about 310,000 people, most of whom live in or around Lijiang City Yulong Naxi Autonomous County of Yunnan Province, and shows (i) that it allows N'-deletion in our definition, but (ii) that it does not allow genitive subject. It is then argued (i) that there is not a correlation between the N'-deletability and the availability of genitive subject in languages with prenominal sentential modifiers, and (ii) that the non-availability of genitive subject in the Naxi language is attributed to the fact that the relevant predicate cannot be in the adnominal form.

2. Background

- (1) a. [Doyoobi-ni tamago-ga yasui] mise-wa kono mise desu.
Saturday-on egg-Nom cheap store-Top this store be
'The store where eggs are cheap on Saturdays is this store.'
b. [Doyoobi-ni tamago-no yasui] mise-wa kono mise desu.
Saturday-on egg-Gen cheap store-Top this store be
'The store where eggs are cheap on Saturdays is this store.' (Japanese)
- (2) [Taro-no taido]-wa yoi ga, [Hanako-no taido]-wa yokunai.
Taro-Gen attitude-Top good though Hanako-Gen attitude-Top not.good
'Though Taro's attitude is good, Hanako's isn't.' (Saito, Lin and Murasugi (2008)) (Japanese)
- (3) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers
- | | ✓ Genitive Subject | * Genitive Subject |
|---------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| ✓ N'-Deletion | Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali | |
| * N'-Deletion | | Korean, Tibetan |
- (4) **The NGC Universal**
Nominative-Genitive Conversion is possible only in a language L which employs the C-T-V AGREE strategy in relativization; consequently, NGC is not observed in the languages which use overt wh-movement strategy or overt complementizer strategy in relative clause formation. (Hiraiwa (2001: 112))
- (5) a. A language allows N'-deletion. = It allows genitive subject.
b. A language disallows N'-deletion. = It disallows genitive subject.
- (6) A language α -allows N'-deletion. = It α -allows genitive subject. (where α = either \emptyset or dis)
- (7) a. Nuku-uy thayto-ga cohci ansumni ka?
who-Gen attitude-Nom good not.be Q 'Whose attitude is not good?'
b. John-uy [N⁻ thayto] imnida. c. * John-uy [N⁻ e] imnida.
John-Gen attitude be John-Gen be
'John's attitude is.' 'John's is.' (Korean)
- (8) a. [Thoyoil-eye kyelan-i ssan] sangeem-un i sangeem ita.
Saturday-on egg-Nom cheap store-Top this store be
'The store where eggs are cheap on Saturdays is this store.'
b. * [Thoyoil-eye kyelan-uy ssan] sangeem-un i sangeem ita.
Saturday-on egg-Gen cheap store-Top this store be
'The store where eggs are cheap on Saturdays is this store.' (Korean)
- (9) a. Su-yi rnam agyur bzang ngam?
who-Gen attitude good Q 'Whose attitude is good?'
b. Bkrashis-kyi [N⁻ rnam agyur] red. c. * Bkrashis-kyi [N⁻ e] red.
Bkrashis-Gen attitude be Bkrashis-Gen be
'Bkrashis's attitude is.' 'Bkrashis's is.' (Tibetan)
- (10) a. Dering Bkrashis thon pa-'i dustshod-ni phyidro-'i dustshod 8 red.
today Bkrashis arrive-Gen time-Top a.m.-Gen time 8 be
'The time when Bkrashis arrived today is 8 a.m.'
b. * Dering Bkrashis-kyi thon pa-'i dustshod-ni phyidro-'i dustshod 8 red.
today Bkrashis-Gen arrive-Gen time-Top a.m.-Gen time 8 be
'The time when Bkrashis arrived today is 8 a.m.' (Tibetan)
- (11) a. Dare-no taido-ga yoku nai desu ka?
who-Gen attitude-Nom good not be Q 'Whose attitude is not good?'
b. John-no [N⁻ taido/e] desu. John-Gen attitude be 'John's (attitude) is.' (Japanese)

- (12)a. [Doyoobi-ni tamago-ga yasui] mise-wa kono mise desu.
 Saturday-on egg-Nom cheap store-Top this store be
 'The store where eggs are cheap on Saturdays is this store.'
 b. [Doyoobi-ni tamago-no yasui] mise-wa kono mise desu.
 Saturday-on egg-Gen cheap store-Top this store be
 'The store where eggs are cheap on Saturdays is this store.' (Japanese) (=1))
- (13)a. Ken-nū obur mayu boi? b. Bayatur-un [N obur/e] mayu.
 who-Gen attitude bad Q Bagatur-Gen attitude bad
 'Whose attitude is bad?' 'Bagatur's (attitude) is bad.' (Mongolian)
- (14)a. Öcügedür Bayatur-ø / qudalduñ-abu-ysan/*-ab-čai nom-bol ene nom.
 yesterday Bagatur-Nom buy-take-Past.Adn/-take-Past.Con book-Top this book
 'The book which Bagatur bought yesterday is this book.'
 b. Öcügedür Bayatur-un / qudalduñ-abu-ysan/*-ab-čai nom-bol ene nom.
 yesterday Bagatur-Gen buy-take-Past.Adn/-take-Past.Con book-Top this book
 'The book which Bagatur bought yesterday is this book.' (Mongolian)

3. Data

- (15) Anhi Hoqjui-ø ceeqye. (16) Anhi Hoqjui-nee teiqee alcheecai-ø teiqhaiseiq.
 yesterday Hoqjui-Abs came yesterday Hoqjui-Erg book the-Abs bought
 'Hoqjui came yesterday.' 'Hoqjui bought the book yesterday.'
- (17)* Anhi Hoqjui-nee ceeqye. (18) Anhi Hoqjui-ø teiqee alcheecai-ø teiqhaiseiq.
 yesterday Hoqjui-Erg came yesterday Hoqjui-Erg book the-Abs bought
 'Hoqjui came yesterday.' 'Hoqjui bought the book yesterday.'
- (19) Anhi Hoqjui-nee svttvmei [Wefai mail chee libailseil lee zoq zeel]. (21) Hoqjui-gge teiqee
 yesterday Hoqjui-Erg thought Wefai next.week come Hoqjui-Gen book
 'Yesterday Hoqjui thought that Wefai would come next week.' 'Hoqjui's book'
- (20) Anhi Hoqjui-nee shelmei [Wefai mail chee libailseil lee zoq zeel]. (21) Hoqjui-gge teiqee
 yesterday Hoqjui-Erg said Wefai next.week come Hoqjui-Gen book
 'Yesterday Hoqjui said that Wefai would come next week.'
- (22)*yu-de tian (23) ame-no hi (24) heeqggee-gge nilwaq
 rain-De day rain-Gen day rain-Gen day
 'rainy day' (Chinese) 'rainy day' (Japanese) 'rainy day' (Naxi)
- (25) [Anhi Hoqjui-nee zzeegge]-gge piqgotee chee liu waq.
 yesterday Hoqjui-Erg ate-Gen apple this one be
 'The apple that Hoqjui ate yesterday is this apple.'
- (26) a. Aneiq-gge taildul me ga? b. Hoqjui-gge [N taildul/e].
 who-Gen attitude not good Hoqjui-Gen attitude
 'Whose attitude is not good?' 'Hoqjui's (attitude) is.'
- (27) [Anhi Hoqjui-ø/*-gge ceeqye]-gge rheeq teemeseel dee baf dai waq.
 yesterday Hoqjui-Abs/-Gen came-Gen time a.m. 8 time be
 'The time when Hoqjui came yesterday is 8 a.m.'

4. Discussion

- (5) a. A language allows N'-deletion. = It allows genitive subject.
 b. A language disallows N'-deletion. = It disallows genitive subject.
- (28)a. John-ø/*-ne yahan ponhcha. b. John-ne/*-ø kitab-ø khareedi.
 John-Abs/-Erg here arrived John-Erg/-Abs book-Abs bought
 'John arrived here.' 'John bought the book yesterday.' (Urdu)
- (29) [Kal John*-ne-ki khareedi-hui] kitab buhut dilchasp hai.
 yesterday John-Erg/-Gen bought-Perf.Adn book very interesting be.Pres
 'The book which John bought yesterday is very interesting.' (Maki and Bhutto (2013)) (Urdu)
- (15) Anhi Hoqjui-ø ceeqye.
 yesterday Hoqjui-Abs came
 'Hoqjui came yesterday.'
- (27) [Anhi Hoqjui-ø/*-gge ceeqye]-gge rheeq teemeseel dee baf dai waq.
 yesterday Hoqjui-Abs/-Gen came-Gen time a.m. 8 time be
 'The time when Hoqjui came yesterday is 8 a.m.'
- (30) Öcügedür Ulagan-ø/*-u nom-ø qudalduñ-ab-čai.
 yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Gen book-Acc buy-take-Past.Con
 'Ulagan bought a book yesterday.'

- (31) Öčügedür Ulayan-ø/-u *t* qudaldu-abu-ysan/*-ab-čai nom-bol ene nom.
 yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Gen buy-take-Past.Adn/-take-Past.Con book-Top this book
 'The book which Ulagan bought yesterday is this book.'
- (32) Bayatur-ø [öčügedür Ulayan-ø *t*] qudaldu-abu-ysan/-ab-čai
 Bagatur-Nom yesterday Ulagan-Nom buy-take-Past.Adn/-take-Past.Con
 gejü] bodu-ysan nom₁-bol ene nom.
 that think-Past.Adn book-Top this book
 'The book which Bagatur thought [that Ulagan bought *t* yesterday] is this book.'
- (33) Bayatur-ø [öčügedür Ulayan-ø *t*] qudaldu-abu-ysan/*-ab-čai
 Bagatur-Nom yesterday Ulagan-Gen buy-take-Past.Adn/-take-Past.Con
 gejü] bodu-ysan nom₁-bol ene nom.
 that think-Past.Adn book-Top this book
 'The book which Bagatur thought [that Ulagan bought *t* yesterday] is this book.'
- (34) Bayatur-ø Ulayan-ø/*-u nom-ø qudaldu-abu-ysan/-ab-čai gejü bodu-jai.
 Bagatur-Nom Ulagan-Nom/-Gen book-Acc buy-take-Past.Adn/-take-Past.Con that think-Past.Con
 'Bagatur thought [that Ulagan bought a book].'
- (35)a. Öčügedür Ulayan-ø/*-u iniy-e-jei.
 yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Gen laugh-Past.Con
 'Ulagan laughed yesterday.'
 b. Batu-ø [öčügedür Ulayan-ø/*-u iniy-e-gsen učir]-tu soči-jai.
 Batu-Nom yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Gen laugh-Past.Adn fact-at be.surprised-Past.Con
 'Batu was surprised at [the fact that Ulagan laughed yesterday].'
- (36)a. Bayatur-ø [öčügedür Ulayan-ø/*-u iniy-e-gsen gejü] kele-jei.
 Bagatur-Nom yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Gen laugh-Past.Adn that say-Past.Con
 'Bagtut said [that Ulagan laughed yesterday].'
 b. Batu-ø [Bayatur-ø [öčügedür Ulayan-ø/*-u iniy-e-gsen
 Batu-Nom Bagatur-Nom yesterday Ulagan-Nom/-Gen laugh-Past.Adn
 gejü] kele-gsen učir]-tu soči-jai.
 that say-Past.Adn fact-at be.surprised-Past.Con
 'Batu was surprised at [the fact that Bagtut said [that Ulagan laughed yesterday]].'

(37) *Conditions on Genitive Subject Licensing in Mongolian*

- a. A genitive subject must be c-commanded by a nominal element in a local domain.
 b. A genitive subject must be in a local relationship with the adnominal form of a predicate.

(3) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers

	✓ Genitive Subject	* Genitive Subject
✓ N'-Deletion	Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali	
* N'-Deletion		Korean, Tibetan

(38) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers

	✓ Genitive Subject	* Genitive Subject
✓ N'-Deletion	Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali	Naxi
* N'-Deletion		Korean, Tibetan

- (39) Pusinie Jiexi-ø ju. (40) Pusinie Jiexi-(gu) gei cipu-ø shupuji. (41) Jiexi-nie cipu
 yesterday Jiexi-Abs came yesterday Jiexi-Erg the book-Abs bought Jiexi-Gen book
 'Jiexi came yesterday.' 'Jiexi bought the book yesterday.' 'Jiexi's book'
- (42) [Gei cipu Jiexi-gu baboxi **bo**] Susu songna. (43) [Gei cipu Jiexi-gu baboxi **bo**] Susu lu.
 the book Jiexi-Erg read that Susu think the book Jiexi-Erg read that Susu said
 'Susu thinks that Jiexi read the book.' 'Susu said that Jiexi read the book.'
- (44)*[Gei cipu Jiexi-gu baboxi] Susu songna. (45)*[Gei cipu Jiexi-gu baboxi] Susu lu.
 the book Jiexi-Erg read Susu think the book Jiexi-Erg read Susu said
 'Susu thinks that Jiexi read the book.' 'Susu said that Jiexi read the book.'
- (46) [Pusinie Jiexi-ø ju] haocmai yaohutei shiqi ducu hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Abs came time if morning 8 o'clock be
 'The time when Jiexi came yesterday is 8 a.m.'
- (47) [Pusinie Jiexi-gu gei cipu shupu] yuanyin mai edi yuanyin hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Erg the book bought reason if this reason be
 'The reason why Jiexi bought the book yesterday is this reason.'

- (48)*[Pusinie Jiexi-ø ju **bo**] haoci mai yaohutei shiqi ducu hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Abs came that time if morning 8 o'clock be
 'The time when Jiexi came yesterday is 8 a.m.'
- (49)*[Pusinie Jiexi-gu gei cipu shupu **bo**] yuanyin mai edi yuanyin hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Erg the book bought that reason if this reason be
 'The reason why Jiexi bought the book yesterday is this reason.'
- (50) a. Asen-nie taidu cama hi na? b. Jiexi-nie [N taidu/e] hi.
 who-Gen attitude good.not be Q Jiexi-Gen attitude be
 'Whose attitude is not good?' 'Jiexi's (attitude) is.'
- (51) [Pusinie Jiexi-ø/*-nie ju] haoci mai yaohutei shiqi ducu hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Abs/-Gen came time if morning 8 o'clock be
 'The time when Jiexi came yesterday is 8 a.m.'
- (52) [Pusinie Jiexi-gu/*-nie shupu] cipu mai edi cipu hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Erg/-Gen bought book if this book be
 'The book which Jiexi bought yesterday is this book.'
- (53) Pusinie Jiexi-ø ju. (46) [Pusinie Jiexi-ø ju] haoci mai yaohutei shiqi ducu hi.
 yesterday Jiexi-Abs came yesterday Jiexi-Abs came time if morning 8 o'clock be
 'Jiexi came yesterday.' 'The time when Jiexi came yesterday is 8 a.m.'
- (38) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers

	✓ Genitive Subject	* Genitive Subject
✓ N'-Deletion	Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali	Naxi
* N'-Deletion		Korean, Tibetan

- (53) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers

	✓ Genitive Subject	* Genitive Subject
✓ N'-Deletion	Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali	Naxi, Tujia
* N'-Deletion		Korean, Tibetan

- (54) Ecey nu-ka talassta ni? (55)*Ecey nu-ki talassta ni? (56) nu-ki chayk
 yesterday who-Nom ran Q yesterday who-Gen ran Q who-Gen book
 'Who ran yesterday?' 'Who ran yesterday?' 'whose book'
- (57) Ecey nu-ka mantun lyoli-ka ceyil masisess ni?
 yesterday who-Nom made.Adn dish-Nom most delicious Q
 '[The food [which who cooked yesterday] is the most delicious?]
- (58) Ecey nu-ki mantun lyoli-ka ceyil masisess ni?
 yesterday who-Gen made.Adn dish-Nom most delicious Q
 '[The food [which who cooked yesterday] is the most delicious?]
- (59)a. Nu-ki thayto choi ansumni ka? b. John-i [N thayto/*e] imnita.
 who-Gen attitude good not.be Q John-Gen attitude be
 'Whose attitude is not good?' 'John's (attitude) is.'

- (53) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers

	✓ Genitive Subject	* Genitive Subject
✓ N'-Deletion	Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali	Naxi, Tujia
* N'-Deletion		Korean, Tibetan

- (60) The N'-Deletability and the Availability of Genitive Subject in Languages with Prenominal Sentential Modifiers

	✓ Genitive Subject	* Genitive Subject
✓ N'-Deletion	Japanese, Mongolian, Urdu, Bengali	Naxi, Tujia
* N'-Deletion	The Yanbian Variety of Korean	Korean, Tibetan

5. Conclusion

This paper investigated syntactic properties of the Naxi language, and showed (i) that it allows N'-deletion, but (ii) that it does not allow genitive subject. These findings suggest (i) that there is no correlation between the N'-deletability and the availability of genitive subject in languages with prenominal sentential modifiers, and (ii) that the non-availability of genitive subject in the Naxi language originates from the fact that the relevant predicate cannot be in the adnominal form. This in turn suggests the validity of Maki et al's (2016) Conditions on Genitive Subject Licensing for a variety of languages with prenominal sentential modifiers.

Reference (Selected)

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長距離素性継承を用いたラベル付けと名詞句内部からの抜き出し
(Labeling with Long Distance Feature Inheritance and Extraction out of Noun Phrases)

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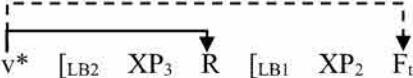
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1. 解くべき問題と提案

- (1) She will prove Bob to be guilty. (Lasnik (2001: 106))

提案

- (2) 素性継承は長距離に行うことが可能である。

- (3)  [vP Subj v* [LB2 XP3 R [LB1 XP2 Fto [vP/AP/DP/PP XP1 v/A/N/P]]]
- (4) raising/ECM の T_{to} は[u-person]を持つ。 (Chomsky (2001))
- (5) a. v^* から R への素性継承 : XP_3 と R が Agree 関係に入り、 LB_2 のラベルが $<\varphi, \varphi>$
b. v^* から F_{to} への素性継承 : XP_2 と F が Agree 関係に入り、 LB_1 のラベルが $<\text{pers}, \text{pers}>$
- (6) どちらの派生も interface で収束する(convergent)構造となる。 (cf. Epstein et al. (2017))
- (7) 抜き出しの可否は LF での名詞句の位置に依存する。 (Diesing (1992))
- (8) a. *Who₂ did John make [friends of t₂] out [t₁ to be smart]?
b. ?Who₁ did John make out [[friends of t₁] to be smart]? (Boeckx and Hornstein (2005: 36))

ECM 構文の特徴

- (9) 統語 : 名詞句の位置が随意的、 LF : 顯在的な位置に対応

2. 名詞句の統語的位置と内部からの抜き出し

2.1. VP 述部を伴う小節 (perception verb, causative verb)

- (10) 統語 : 下位の位置、 LF : 下位の位置

- (11) a. *The prisoner was seen leave. (perception) (Basilico (2003: 2))
b. *The prisoner was made leave. (causative) (Basilico (2003: 11))
- (12) We saw **dinosaurs** eat kelp. \Rightarrow EX/*GEN (Felser (1998: 367))
- (13) a. *The burglar saw [the prisoner know French]. (個体レベル)
b. The burglar saw [the prisoner escape]. (状態レベル) (Basilico (2003: 4))
- (14) a. Who_i did you let [a rumor about t_i] spread around the entire department?
b. Which planet_i did you see [a picture of t_i] appear on your computer screen? (ibid.:5))

2.2. AP/PP 述部を伴う小節 (opinion verb)

(15) 統語 : 上位の位置、LF : 上位の位置

(16) The prisoner is considered intelligent.

(Basilico (2003: 2))

(17) The guard considers prisoners intelligent.

(Basilico (2003: 4))

(18) a. The DA proved [two men guilty] during each other's trials.

b. The DA proved [no one guilty] during any of the trials. (Hong and Lasnik (2010: 279))

(19) a. ??Which student_i do you consider [a book about t_i] too boring for your class?

b. ??Who_i did you find [a photographer of t_i] rather unattractive? (Basilico (2003: 5))

2.3. 結果構文、及び、動作を表す動詞 (motion verb)

(20) 統語 : 上位の位置、LF : 下位の位置

(21) a. The seedlings were watered t flat.

b. Her Nikes have been run t threadbare. (Carrier and Randall (1992: 191))

(22) a. the loud clock ticked [every baby_i awake] [at his_i/her_i/its_i afternoon nap]

b. they laughed [every applicant_i out of the room] [at his_i/her_i job interview]

(Tomizawa (2007: 92))

(23) Who_i are they burning books about t_i to cinders? (Bruening (2018: 554))

(24) ... it is ... required that the property denoted by the predicate be a stage-level property.

(Guérion and Hoekstra (1995: 100))

(25) John was waltzed around the room by Mary.

The soldiers were marched to their tents by the general. (Biggs (2019: 15))

(26) The guard walked [every prison_i into his_i prison cell] [during his_i physical test].

(27) This dangerous-looking man is the one that you just waltzed the wife of across the room.

(Bruening (2018: 554))

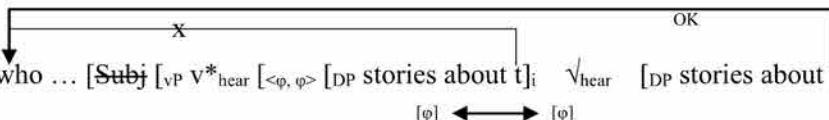
3. 名詞句からの抜き出しと<φ, φ>

(28) 名詞句が<φ, φ>のラベル付けに関与する場合、その内部からは抜き出しが不可能

(29) Who did John hear stories about t?

(Chomsky (1973: 249))

(30) [CP who ... [Subj [VP V*_{hear} [<φ, φ> [DP stories about t]_i] ✓_{hear} [DP stories about t]_i]]]]

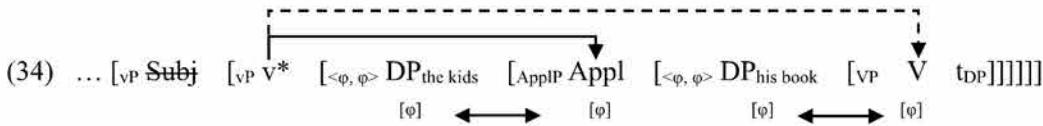


(31) *Who did we hear John's stories about t? (Chomsky (1973: 258))

(32) a. Who did Mary call up friends of t?

b. ??Who did Mary call friends of t up? (Lasnik (2001: 111))

(33) John gave the kids his book.



(35) *Who did you say Cindy sent [a friend of t] a picture?

(Runner (1998: 161))

(36) a. Who did you say Cindy sent Bobby [a picture of t]?

(Runner (1998: 161))

b. *Who did you say Cindy sent Bobby [the picture of t]?

(37) I regret (the fact) that John is ill.

(Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970: 158-159))

(38) a. ??Is that John is a millionaire a lie?

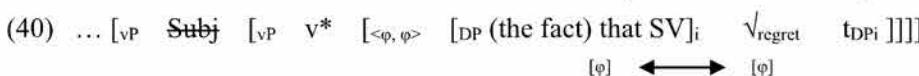
b. Is that John is a millionaire a surprise?

(Moulton (2017: 301))

(39) a. ??I consider that John is a millionaire a real lie.

b. I consider that John is a millionaire a real surprise.

(Moulton (2017: 302))



(41) a. John knows [CP why_i [Bill left t_i]] (non-factive)

b. John forgot [CP how_i [Bill fixed the car t_i]] (factive)

(Hegarty (1992: 212))

(42) Of which major_i is it important for [[the students t_i] to take a course in physics]]?

[Person, Number] [uPerson]

(Egashira (2015: 151))

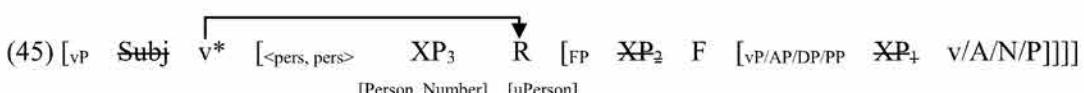
(43) Who is [<pers, pers> there T [sc [a picture of t] on the wall]]?

[Person] [uPerson, uNumber]

(Stepanov (2001: 34) cf. Richards (2004))

4. 文法性の違い

(44) the gang that I consider the leaders of immoral (Carrier and Randall (1992: 207, n. 38))



(46) *Who do you expect stories about to terrify John

(Chomsky (1973: 249))

(47) Of which car did they believe the driver to have caused a scandal (Chomsky (2008: 153))

(48) einum málfræðingi líkaði/likuðu t_{Dat} þessar hugmyndir. (Speaker B: OK/ one linguist.Dat liked.3Sg/#liked.3Pl t_{Dat} these ideas.Nom Speaker C: *)

‘One linguist likes these ideas.’ (based on Sigurðsson and Holmberg (2008: 251))

5. 長距離素性継承の妥当性

(49) Relative Aptitude for Failed Agreement (RAFA)

(Preminger (2011))

⇒ [person]の認可は[number]よりも local である必要がある。

(50) a. [v* [_α DP [R [_β t]]]]

b. R raises to v* forming R with v* affixed, hence invisible,

(Chomsky (2015: 14))

(51) R is Pair-Merged with v*

(Otsuka (2017: 140))

(52) [_{vP} _{Subj} _{v*} [_{LB2} R [_{LB1} XP₂ F [_{vP/AP/DP/PP} XP₄ v/A/N/P]]]]

(53) a. R is Pair-Merge with v* (= R becomes invisible) (a la Otsuka (2017))

b. v*から F への素性継承 (R は invisible であるため)

6. まとめ

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名詞句内における値未付与素性の役割とその帰結

(The Roles of Unvalued Features in DP/QP and Their Consequences)

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1. 序

- (1) UG employs valued features as a device to efficiently demarcate phase cycles.

(Narita (2014: 48))

●本発表の主張

- (2) a. DP/QP はそれをフェイズとして特徴づける[uF]を含むが、素性継承が適用されず、DP/QP 全体が転送を受ける。
- b. 複数のコピーが生じる場合、値を付与された[uF]の数と種類によってコピーの(不)可視性が相対的に決まる。

●理論的枠組み

- (3) Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky (2015))

a. $\{_\alpha H, XP\}$ ($\alpha = H$) b. $\{XP_i, \{_\alpha t_i, YP\}\}$ ($\alpha = YP$) c. $\{\alpha XP_{[F]}, YP_{[F]}\}$ ($\alpha = <F, F>$)

- (4) a. Phases are SOs that are convergent.

(Chomsky (2000: 107))

b. [P]hases can be defined as SOs that contain no valued features.

(Narita (2014: 40))

2. 提案

●D/Q 主要部が持つ[uC(ase)]/[uQ]は素性継承されず、DP/QP 全体が転送を受ける。

- (5) a. $[DP D_{[uC][i_0]} [nP]] \longrightarrow [DP D_{[uC][i_0]} [nP]]$
- b. $[QP Q_{[uQ]} [DP D_{[uC][i_0]} [nP]]] \longrightarrow [QP Q_{[uQ]} [DP D_{[uC][i_0]} [nP]]]$

*転送は統語対象を取り除くのではなく、不可視的にする操作であると仮定する。

●値を付与された[uF]の数と種類に基づき、相対的にコピーの(不)可視性が決定される。

- (6) a. $[XP [uF_i [uF]]] [XP [uF_i [uF]]]$ [uF]を多く含むコピーが可視的
- b. $[XP [uF_i [uF]]] [XP [uF_i [uF]]]$ [uF]の種類が異なるので両方のコピーが可視的
- c. $[... [XP [uF_i [uF]]] ... [XP [uF_i [uF]]] ...]$ 構造上高いコピーが可視的

3. {XP, YP}

- (7) a. Juan ama a María. (SVO) (Spanish)
 Juan love-3.SG to María
- b. Ama Juan a María. (VSO)
 love-3.SG Juan to María
 ‘Juan loves María’ (Gallego (2010: 221))
- (8) [TP v^* + T [α DP [$v^* P$ v^* ...]]]] ($\alpha = ?$)
- (9) { α XP, YP} ($\alpha = \text{YP}$)

●(5)に基づく VSO 語順(=7b)の派生

- (10) [CP C [TP T_[v^*] [α DP_[v^*] R_[v^*] [$v^* P$ v^* ...]]]]] ($\alpha = v^* P$)

- (11) They expect John to win.

- a. [$v^* P$ v^* [β DP_[v^*] R_[v^*] [α t_i ...]]]] ($\beta = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
 b. [$v^* P$ R + v^* [β DP_[v^*] R_[v^*] [t_i ...]]]] (cf. Chomsky (2015: 10, 14))

●ECM 主語が埋め込み節に留まる証拠

- (12) a. Mary made John out to be a fool.
 b. Mary made out John to be a fool.
- (13) a. The DA made the defendants out to be guilty during each other’s trials.
 b. ?* The DA made out the defendants to be guilty during each other’s trials. (Lasnik (1999: 201))
- (14) [$v^* P$ v^* [VP V_[v^*] [α DP_i T(to) t_i win]]]] ($\alpha = ?$)
- (15) Unlike finite T, V can serve as a label on its own in English. (Abe (2016: 8))

●(5)に基づく ECM 主語が埋め込み節に留まる場合の派生

- (16) [$v^* P$ v^* [VP V_[v^*] [α DP_[v^*] T(to) t_i win]]]] ($\alpha = \text{TP}$)

4. 主語の移動に関するパラドクス

●Chomsky (2015)の that 痕跡効果に対する説明

- (17) Who do you think read the book?
 a. [CP C [α who_i T [$v^* P$ t_i read the book]]]] ($\alpha = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
 b. C [α who_i T [$v^* P$ t_i read the book]]]
 c. who do you think [α t_i T [$v^* P$ t_i read the book]]] (cf. Chomsky (2015: 10))
- (18)*Who do you think that read the book?
 a. [CP that [α who_i T [$v^* P$ t_i read the book]]]]
 b. [CP who_i that [α t_i T [$v^* P$ t_i read the book]]]] ($\alpha = ?$) (cf. Chomsky (2015: 10-11))

●主語 wh 句が CP に移動する証拠

- (19) a. Who loves everyone? ($wh > \forall; * \forall > wh$)
 b. Someone loves everyone. ($\exists > \forall; \forall > \exists$) (Mizuguchi (2015: 201))

- (20) a. * What did Sue give to whom the hell?
 b. What the hell did Sue give to whom?
 c. Who the hell bought what? (Pesetsky and Torrego (2001: 405))
- (21) a. I didn't say what John saw. (non-echo)
 b. I didn't say that / whether / if John saw what? (echo)
- (22) a. Bill didn't say that / whether / if who would arrive first? (echo)
 b. * Bill didn't say that / whether / if who would arrive first. (non-echo) (Douglas (2017: 20-21))

●(6)に基づく that 痕跡効果、主語疑問文に対する説明

(23) that 痕跡効果に対する説明

- a. $[\text{CP} \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{that} [\alpha \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} \text{T}_{[\text{teq}]} \dots]]$ ($\alpha = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
 b. $[\text{CP} \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{that} [\alpha \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} \text{T}_{[\text{teq}]} \dots]]$

$[\text{uF}]$ の値付け → コピーの(不)可視性決定 → ラベル付け(23a) → 転送(23b)
 ⇒ (6a)により派生の途中段階で wh 句のすべてのコピーが不可視的となる。

(24) 主語疑問文の派生

- a. $[\gamma \text{who} \text{C}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} [\beta \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} \text{T}_{[\text{teq}]} [\alpha \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{v}^* \dots]]]$
 b. $[\gamma \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} [\beta \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} \text{T}_{[\text{teq}]} [\alpha \text{who}_{[\text{uQ}][\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{v}^* \dots]]]$ ($\alpha = \text{v}^* \text{P}, \beta = <\varphi, \varphi>, \gamma = <\text{Q}, \text{Q}>$)

$[\text{uF}]$ の値付け → コピーの(不)可視性決定 → ラベル付け(24a) → 転送(24b)
 ⇒ (6b)により CP と TP にある wh 句のコピーは可視的となり、(6a)により $\text{v}^* \text{P}$ にあるコピーは不可視的となる。

- (25) a. I met the woman that saw John.
 b. I met the woman (that / who) you said (*that) saw John. (cf. Douglas (2017: 1-2))

⇒ 主語関係節における局所的な主語移動と長距離の主語移動の対比も正しく予測される。

5. 非適性移動

- (26) a. * John seems (that) is intelligent. (Obata and Epstein (2011: 122))
 b. * Who seems (that) will leave? (Obata and Epstein (2011: 128))

●Obata and Epstein (2011)の非適正移動違反に対する説明

- (27) a. $[\text{CP} \text{C}_{[\text{EF}]} [\text{TP} \text{T}_{[\text{teq}]} [\text{v}^* \text{P} \text{who}_{[\text{Q}]} \text{C}_{[\text{uCase}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{will leave}]]]$ (= (26b))
- b. $[\text{CP} \text{who}_{[\text{Q}]} \text{C}_{[\text{EF}]} [\text{TP} \text{who}_{[\text{uCase}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{T}_{[\text{teq}]} [\text{v}^* \text{P} \text{who}_{[\text{Q}][\text{uCase}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{will leave}]]]$
 c. $[\text{CP} \text{C}_{[\text{EF}]} [\text{TP} \text{T}_{[\text{u}\varphi]} [\text{v}^* \text{P} \text{seems} [\text{CP} \text{who}_{[\text{Q}]} \text{C}_{[\text{EF}]} [\text{TP} \dots]]]]]$ (cf. Obata and Epstein (2011: 128))

●(5)、(6)に基づく非適正移動違反に対する説明

(28) QP を含まない派生 (= (26a))

- a. $[\text{CP} \text{ John}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ C} [\text{a} \text{ John}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ T(is)}_{[\text{uF}]} \text{ }_i \text{ intelligent}]]$ ($\alpha = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
- b. $[\text{CP} \text{ John}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ C} [\text{a} \text{ John}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ T(is)}_{[\text{uF}]} \text{ }_i \text{ intelligent}]]$

$[\text{uF}]$ の値付け → コピーの(不)可視性決定 → ラベル付け(28a) → 転送(28b)

⇒ (6a)により派生の途中段階ですべての John のコピーが不可視的となる。

(29) QP を含む派生 (= (26b))

- a. $[\beta \text{ who}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ C} [\text{a} \text{ who}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ T(will)}_{[\text{uF}]} \text{ }_i \text{ leave}]]$ ($\alpha = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
- b. $[\beta \text{ who}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ C} [\text{a} \text{ who}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]} \text{ T(will)}_{[\text{uF}]} \text{ }_i \text{ leave}]]$

$[\text{uF}]$ の値付け → コピーの(不)可視性決定 → ラベル付け(29a) → 転送(29b)

⇒ (6a)により派生の途中段階で wh 句のすべてのコピーが不可視的となる。

(30) C 削除が適用される場合の派生(QP を含む) (= (26b))

- a. $\in [\text{a} [\text{QP} \text{ Q}_{[\text{uQ}]} [\text{DP} \text{ D}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]}]] \text{ i} \text{ T(will)}_{[\text{uF}]} [\text{vP} \text{ }_i \text{ leave}]]$ ($\alpha = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
- b. $[\text{CP} \text{ C} [\text{QP} \text{ Q}_{[\text{uQ}]} [\text{DP} \text{ D}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]}]] \text{ i} \text{ T} [\text{u}\varphi] \text{ seem} [\text{a} \text{ }_i \text{ T(will)}_{[\text{uF}]} [\text{vP} \text{ }_i \text{ leave}]]]$

$[\text{uF}]$ の値付け → ラベル付け → C 削除 → 転送(30a) → 主節の $[\text{uF}]$ の値付け(30b)

⇒ QP 内部の DP([i\varphi] を含む)が転送を受けるため、主節 T の[u\varphi]を満たせない。

(31) What do you think that John read?

- a. $[\gamma^* \text{ v}^* [\beta [\text{QP} \text{ Q}_{[\text{uQ}]} [\text{DP} \text{ D}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]}]] \text{ i} \text{ R}_{[\text{uF}]} [\text{a} \text{ }_i]]]$ ($\beta = <\varphi, \varphi>$)
- b. $[\gamma^* \text{ R} + \text{v}^* [\beta [\text{QP} \text{ Q}_{[\text{uQ}]} [\text{DP} \text{ D}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]}]] \text{ i} \text{ R}_{[\text{uF}]} [\text{a} \text{ }_i]]]$
- c. $[\gamma [\text{QP} \text{ Q}_{[\text{uQ}]} [\text{DP} \text{ D}_{[\text{uC}][\text{i}\varphi]}]] \text{ i} \text{ C}_{[\text{i}\varphi]} (\text{do} \text{ you think} [\text{CP} \text{ }_i \text{ that John read }_i]]]$ ($\gamma = <\text{Q}, \text{Q}>$)

⇒ DP 全体が転送されても QP は移動可能である。

6. 結語

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Featural Approach to Distinction of Copies and Repetitions*

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1. Introduction

- (1) Copies are unified phase by phase based on the value of selective features (case and Q).
- (2) Copies of a certain lexical item must be identified and distinguished from instances of identical lexical items (i.e. repetition) for legitimate interpretations.
- (3) Copies are necessary for semantic (C-I) and phonological (SM) interpretations.
 - a. Interpretation of Theta Information based on Argument Structures
 - b. Intentional Semantic Interpretation (Scope, Operator-variable, Binding, Focalization etc.)
 - c. Pronunciation of One Appropriate Copy among Copy Instances (Nunes 2004, Pesetsky 2000)
- (4) [Inclusiveness Condition] bars introduction of new elements (features) in the course of computation: indices, traces, syntactic categories or bar levels, and so on. (Chomsky 2001, 2-3)
- (5) Merge/MERGE merely creates a complex {X, Y} from a lexical item X and another item Y.
- (6) No Tampering Condition requires that neither X nor Y, including internal structures, is modified by Merge.
- (7) No Tampering Condition requires a lower instance of X remains intact, which is recognized as a copy instance, after IM is applied to X, creating {X {... {X, Y}}}. (cf. Chomsky 2019)

2. Review of Collins & Groat (2019, 2)

- (8) The criteria for the distinction between copies and repetitions
 - a. No operations other than Merge should be used to build structures.
 - b. Nothing beyond lexical items and the structures built from them by Merge should be interpreted by the interfaces.
 - c. The definition of Merge should not be made more complex than the definition in (5).
- (9) Copies must be distinguished from mere repetitions only with Merge/MERGE and other inherent properties of lexical items.

2.1 Chomsky, Gallego & Ott (2019)¹

- (10) At TRANSFER, phase-level memory only needs to know the application of IM within a phase. Only in case that IM applies, copies are created in principle.
- (11) a. {John, {T, {be, {seen, John}}}} [An application of IM of John]
 b. {John {v, {saw, John}}} [Non-application of IM]
- (12) WS = [{x, {... {x}}}, ...] (See Komachi et al (2019) & Chomsky (2019))
 - a. WS_{n-1} = [{... {x}}, ...] → Only MERGE (x, {... {x}}, WS_{n-1}): IM create WS.
 - b. WS_{n-1} = [{... {x}}, ... x ...] → MERGE (x, {... {x}}, WS_{n-1}): EM creates WS.
 - c. All of information in a sequence of workspaces is too huge to store. Also, it requires quite selective elegant algorithm as well as mysterious phase memory to discern copy instances of a single syntactic token. (see Martin & Uriagereka 2014, note 5)

2.2 Muñoz Pérez (2018)

- (13) a. A valued feature is an order pair <Att, Val>. Att is collected from the set of attributes, such as

* A portion of this talk is given at Keio Study Group. I thank the audience for fruitful discussion. Also, this talk could not come into birth without late Roger Martin. I have gained lots of benefits from his stimulating classes and discussions, and really appreciate his continuous and sincere warm supports and friendship as well as insightful comments.

The extended version of this handout is available at <https://sites.google.com/view/mlting>.

¹ Chomsky (2008) suggests that only phase-level memory suffices to identify copies, because all syntactic operations at a phase-level and a phase-level memory stores the information on the selection of each lexical item, recognizing other instances of an identical item as copies. This suggestion also faces similar problems given below.

- Number and Gender, whereas Val is drawn from the set of values.
- b. An unvalued feature is an order pair $\langle \text{Att}, \emptyset \rangle$, where \emptyset is required to be replaced with an item from the set of values.
 - c. Two constituents α and β are members of the same chain if (i) α c-commands β , (ii) β is non-distinct from α , and there is no syntactic element between α and β which β is non-distinct from, or which is non-distinct from α .
 - d. Chain members are determined representationally at interfaces or C-I/SM.
- (14) Inclusion-S
A constituent β is non-distinct from a constituent α if for every value of β there is an identical value in α .
- (15) a. Cosmo said that Cosmo was arrested t_i .
b. $\{\text{TP Cosmo}^1_{\langle \text{case,nom} \rangle} \text{T} \{\text{VP Cosmo}^2_{\langle \text{case},\emptyset \rangle} \text{ said that } \{\text{TP Cosmo}^3_{\langle \text{case,nom} \rangle} \text{ was } \{\text{VP arrested Cosmo}^4_{\langle \text{case},\emptyset \rangle} \} \} \} \}$.
- (16) a. What did you see t_i ?
b. $\{\text{CP What}^1_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \omega, Q \rangle} \text{ did } \{\text{TP you}^1 \{\text{v*P what}^2_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \emptyset, \emptyset \rangle} \dots \text{ see what}^3_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \emptyset, \emptyset \rangle} ? \} \}^{2,3}$
- (17) a. Who did you tell t_i that John met who?
b. $\{\text{CP Who}^1_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \emptyset, \emptyset \rangle} \text{ did you}^1 \{\text{v*P who}^2_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \emptyset, \emptyset \rangle} \dots \text{ tell who}^3_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \emptyset, \emptyset \rangle} \{\text{CP that John T} \{\text{v*P met who}^4_{\langle \text{case,Acc} \rangle, \langle \emptyset, \emptyset \rangle} ?$
cf. Her mother told everyone; that his; wife should get a job. (Harper 1990)

2.3 Martin & Uriagereka (2014)

- (18) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (Chomsky 2000)
In a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside of α , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.
- (19) All identical syntactic objects contained in the domain of a transferred phase head are interpreted as copies. (Martin & Uriagereka 2014. 174)
- (20) a. Students believe that students were criticized.
b. $\{\text{CP } \{\text{TP students}^4 \text{T} \{\text{v*P students}^3 \{\text{v } \{\text{VP believe } \{\text{CP that } \{\text{TP students}^2 \{\text{T} \{\text{PartP were } \{\text{VP criticized students}^1 \} \} \} \} \} \} \}$
- (21) a. Guess $\{\text{CP who students criticized } t_i\}$
b. $\{\text{CP who}^3 \{\text{TP students } \{\text{T} \{\text{v*P who}^2 \{\text{students } \{\text{v*P criticized who}^1 \} \} \} \} \}$
c. Who³ > who² / who¹: who² and who¹ are not located in the same transferred domain.
d. It is necessary to introduce some mechanism or device to recognize copies/chains in applying IM, contra (9).

3. Analysis

- (22) Copies must be identified phase by phase based on selective features. (cf. Kitahara 2000)
- (23) What is a clue indicating when chain-like objects are necessary, based on the POP System (Chomsky 2013, 2015)?
 - i. Labeling failure with $\{\sigma \text{ XP}^1, \text{YP}^1\}$, leaving σ unlabeled²
 - ii. Unification of copies is principally necessitated by interfaces to fix labeling failure.
- (24) i. Instances X_n of an identical lexical item X with an unmatched feature (case/Q, those contributing to labeling) can be unified with the topmost instance X_1 with a matched one, if X_n is located in the c-commanding domain of X_1 and there is no intervening instance X_a with a matched one between X_1 and X_n .
- ii. When X_n intervenes between X_1 and X_a , these lower instances are unified with X_a .

² Here, I use v*P instead of VP for an explanation, which Muñoz Pérez does not use, though he admits this possibility.

³ Muñoz Pérez assumes ω is an attribute that lets a syntactic object carry a left-peripheral value to be targeted by a Probe in the C-domain.

⁴ Following Chomsky (2019) and others, nominal phrases consist of a functional category and a lexical item. Also, I tentatively assume that a functional category n is the locus of case, requiring a lexical item due to its clitic property.

- iii. If feature which is unmatched lacks values and hence is uninterpretable, unification applies at Transfer. If not, this unification applies at the interfaces.
 - iv. X_n may be identified with other instances of X across phases, when an instance of X_m is located within the next phase boundary, once its valueless unmatched feature is valued.
- (25) i. Professors^a think professors^b praise professors^c.
- a. $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ professors}^{2a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v \dots \{\text{CP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{3b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \{v^* p/\gamma \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v^* \gamma \text{ V praise professors}^{5b}_{[\text{Acc}\gamma]}\}\}\}$.
 - ii. Professors are likely t_i to t_i seem t_i to t_i disappear.
 - a. Infinitive to of raising constructions = Phonological realization of $\langle T, C \rangle$, namely C adjoined to T (cf. Chomsky 2015, Epstein, Kitahara & Seely 2016, Sugimoto 2016)
 - b. $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ is likely professors}^{2a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \{to \langle T, C \rangle\} \text{ professors}^{3a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v \text{ seem professors}^{4a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \{to \langle T, C \rangle\} \text{ professors}^{5a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v \text{ disappear}\}$ - iii. * It is likely professors_i to t_i seem to t_i disappear.
 $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ It}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ is likely professors}^{1}_{[\text{case}^*]} \{to \langle T, C \rangle\} \text{ professors}^{2}_{[\text{case}^*]} v \text{ seem professors}^{3}_{[\text{case}^*]} \{to \langle T, C \rangle\} \text{ professors}^{4}_{[\text{case}^*]} v \text{ disappeared}\}$
- (26) i. What does John buy t_i ?
- a. Q-feature may be matched with an interrogative C .
 - b. $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ What}^{1b}_{[\text{Q}\beta, \text{Acc}\beta]} \{ca \text{ did}_{[\text{Q}]} \} \text{ John}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\alpha \{v^* p/\beta \text{ what}^{2b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\beta]} \text{ John}^{2a}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v^* \beta \text{ V buy what}^{3b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\beta]}\}\}$
- (27) a. Who did you t_i tell that John met who?
- b. $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Who}^{1b}_{[\text{Q}\beta, \text{Acc}\beta]} \{ca \text{ did}_{[\text{Q}]} \} \text{ you} \{v^* p/\beta \text{ who}^{2b}_{[\text{case}, \text{Acc}\beta]} \dots \text{ tell who}^{3b}_{[\text{case}, \text{Acc}\beta]}\} \{\text{CP}/\gamma \text{ that John T} \{v^* p/\beta \dots v^* \delta \text{ V met who}^{4b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\beta]}\}\}$
- (28) a. * Professors_i are likely to think t_i disappeared.
- b. * Professors are likely professors_i to think t_i disappeared.
 - c. * Professors are likely to professors_i think t_i disappeared.
 - d. * Professors are likely professors to professors to think professors disappeared.
 - e. * It is likely professors_i to think t_i disappeared.
 - f. Professors are likely to think professors disappeared.
- (29) Chomsky (2015) suppose that the embedded C is nullified, making the embedded T a phase head. He proposes this nullification of C fixes the label of X to T , enabling the instance of *professors* in TP-Spec to undergo further IM. Then, *professors* may undergo IM through an intermediate vP-Spec and an intermediate TP-Spec into the matrix TP-Spec, leaving instances of *professors*.
- (30) a. * $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ are likely professors}^{2b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ to professors}^{3b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \text{ professors}^{5b}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ disappeared}\}\}$.
- b. * $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ are likely professors}^{2b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ to professors}^{3b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \text{ professors}^{5b}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ disappeared}\}\}$.
 - c. * $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ are likely professors}^{2a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ to professors}^{3b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \text{ professors}^{5b}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ disappeared}\}\}$.
 - d. * $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ are likely professors}^{2a}_{[\text{case}^*]} \text{ to professors}^{3b}_{[\text{case}^*]} \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \text{ professors}^{5b}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ disappeared}\}\}$.
 - e. * $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ It}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ is likely professors}^{1b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \{to \langle T, C \rangle\} \text{ professors}^{2b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{3b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ disappeared}\}\}$.
 - f. $\{\text{CP}/\alpha \text{ Professors}^{1a}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_a \text{ are likely professors}^{2a}_{[\text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ to professors}^{3a}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ professors}^{4b}_{[\text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \text{ professors}^{5b}_{[\text{Case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} \text{ disappeared}\}\}$.
- (31) a. * What_i did John wonder who bought t_i ?
- i. $\{\text{Q}/\alpha \text{ What}^{1y}_{[\text{Q}\beta, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \{ca \text{ did}_{[\text{Q}]} \} \dots \text{ what}^{2y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \dots v \text{ wonder} \{\text{Q}\beta \text{ what}^{3y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \text{ who}^{1b}_{[\text{Q}\beta, \text{Nom}\beta]} C_\beta \{Q\} \text{ who}^{2b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \{v^* p/\gamma \text{ what}^{4y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \text{ who}^{2b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v^* \gamma \text{ V bought what}^{5y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]}\}\}\}$
 - b. * What did John think who bought t_i ?
 - i. $\{\text{Q}/\alpha \text{ What}^{1y}_{[\text{Q}\beta, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \{ca \text{ did}_{[\text{Q}]} \} \text{ John} \dots \text{ what}^{2y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \dots v \text{ think} \{\text{CP}/\beta \text{ what}^{3y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \text{ C} \text{ who}^{2b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Nom}\beta]} T_\beta \{v^* p/\gamma \text{ what}^{4y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]} \text{ who}^{2b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{case}^* \rightarrow \text{Nom}\beta]} v^* \gamma \text{ V bought what}^{5y}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Acc}\gamma]}\}\}\}$
 - c. Who_i did John think t_i bought *what*?
 $\{\text{Q}/\alpha \text{ Who}^{1b}_{[\text{Q}\beta, \text{Nom}\beta]} \{ca \text{ did}_{[\text{Q}]} \} \text{ John} \dots \text{ who}^{2b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Nom}\beta]} \dots v \text{ think} \{\text{TP}/\beta \text{ who}^{3b}_{[\text{Q}, \text{Nom}\beta]} T \{v^* p/\gamma$

- who^{4β}_[Q,case*→Nomβ] v*-V bought what^{1γ}_[Q,case→Accγ] } } }
- (32) a. Control Constructions (see Martin & Uriagereka 2014 for a relevant similar analysis)
b. Control verbs take clauses introduced by <C, T>, which is realized as *to*. This complex keeps unvalued φ-features, because C is still made visible by pair merge.
b. <C, T> should undergo Agree with nominals with valued φ-features, though case-valuation is Temp, because C is unable to value structural case (Chomsky 2000, 2001).⁵
- (33) a. John_i tries Δ_i to win.
i. {CP_{/α} John^{1a}_[Nomα] T_α John^{2a}_[case*→Nomα] tries {CP=β/β John^{3β}_[Tempβ,β] to<C_β, T>_[β] John^{4β}_[case*→Tempβ,φ] v win} } .
b. John_i convinced Mary_j Δ_{ij} to stay.
i. {CP_{/γ} John^{1a}_[Nomα] T_α {v*P/β John^{2a}_[case*→Nomα] v*β-V convinced Mary^{1β}_[case*→Accβ] {CP=β/γ Mary^{2γ}_[Nomβ] John^{3γ}_[Tempγ,β] to<C_β, T>_[β] Mary^{3γ}_[Accβ] v stay} } } .
- (34) Parasitic Gap (see Martin & Uriagereka 2014 for a relevant similar analysis)⁶
a. What_i did you read t_i without filing e_{i?}⁷
i. {Q/α What^{1β}_[Q,Accβ] {C_α did[Q]} you ... <{v*P/β what^{2β}_[Q,Accβ] ... v*β-V file what^{3β}_[Q,Accβ]}, {CP/γ what^{1δ}_[Q,Accδ] C_γ without ... {v*P/δ what^{2δ}_[Q,Accδ] ... v*δ-V reading what^{3δ}_[Q,Accδ]} } >}^{8,9}
b. * Who read what, before John read e_{i?}
i. {Q/α Who^{1a}_[Q,Nomα] C_α[Q] who^{2a}_[Q,Nomα] ... <{v*P/β who^{3a}_[Q,case*→Nomα] v*β-V ... what^{3β}_[Q,Accβ]}, {CP/γ what^{1δ}_[Q,Accδ] C_γ before ... {v*P/δ what^{2δ}_[Q,Accδ] ... v*δ-V ... what^{3δ}_[Q,Accδ]} } >}
c. * Who_i called you before you met e_{i?}
i. {Q/α Who^{1a}_[Q,Nomα] C_α[Q] who^{2a}_[Q,Nomα] ... <{v*P/β who^{3a}_[Q,case*→Nomα] v*β-V called you}, {CP/γ who^{1δ}_[Q,Accδ] C_γ before ... {v*P/δ who^{2δ}_[Q,Accδ] ... v*δ-V met who^{3δ}_[Q,Accδ]} } >}
d. * Articles_i are filed before John read e_{i.}
i. {CP/α Articles^{1a}_[Nomα] T_α ... <{v filed articles^{2a}_[case*→Nomα]}, {CP/β articles^{1γ}_[Accγ] C_β before ... {v*P/γ articles^{2γ}_[Accγ] ... v*γ-V read articles^{3γ}_[Accγ]} } >}

4. Conclusion

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⁵ Note that case valuation must occur because it reflects φ-agreement, regardless of whether Probe can value case.

⁶ See Kasai (2010) and Sugimoto (2019) for the relevant discussion.

⁷ The subject of *reading* within the adjunct should be co-indexed with the matrix subject *you*, which might suggest the unification of instances of an identical item is responsible for this co-indexed interpretation. I leave this issue in future.

⁸ Here, I tentatively assumes the extraction of a lexical item from a pair-merged syntactic object X is possible, when X comes first in the ordered pair in pair merge, not made unseen in narrow syntax, presumably along with Chomsky (2015). See Yushi Sugimoto (2019) for the relevant discussion.

⁹ Following Martin & Uriagereka (2014), I presume a *without* adjunct phrase is adjoined to v*P or VP, because of the following examples they note (Martin & Uriagereka 185 (25-26)):

- i. This paper, John criticized t_i before reading it, and John did [v*P e] after reading it.
- ii. This paper, John criticized t_i before reading it, and John did [v*P e] to.
- iii. * This paper, John criticized t_i before reading e_i, and John did [v*P e] after reading.

They claim (iii) is ungrammatical, because an adjunct must be positioned above v*P to escape from ellipsis, and the crucial occurrence of *this paper* functioning as intermediate link¹⁰ in v*P-Spec would not command into the adjunct.

一致形態の豊かさと音韻句の関係について
(On Richness of Agreement and Phonological Phrasing)

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1. はじめに

- 統辞構造と音韻規則の適用領域 (Prosodic Hierarchy: Selkirk 1980, cf. Halliday 1967) :

- (1) ()_i Intonational Phrase
 ()_φ ()_φ Phonological Phrase
 ()_ω ()_ω ()_ω Prosodic Word
 The boy will eat the sandwich

- Phonological Phrase (音韻句) - 1980 年代の理論 :

- End-based Theory (Selkirk 1986, 1996, Truckenbrodt 1999)

- (2) ALIGN(XP, R/L; φ, R/L): The right/left edge of each syntactic XP is aligned with the right/left edge of a phonological phrase φ.

- (3) a. [CP C [IP [NP Subj] Infl_{AUX} [VP V [NP Obj]]]]
 b. (C Subj)_φ (Infl_{AUX} V Obj)_φ

- Relation-based Theory (Nespor & Vogel 1986: 168)

- (4) Phonological Phrase Formation: The domain of φ consists of a C which contains a lexical head (X) and all Cs on its nonrecursive side up to the C that contains another head outside of the maximal projection of X. [C = clitic group]

- (5) a. [CP C [IP [NP Subj] Infl_{AUX} [VP V [NP Obj]]]]
 b. (C Subj)_φ (Infl_{AUX} V)_φ (Obj)_φ (Cf. Dobashi 2003)

⇒ (i) 主語は後続する要素 (Aux, V) とは別の音韻句に属す。

(ii) 主語は補文標識 C と同じ音韻句に属す。

- Comp-trace 効果の韻律的説明 (Sato & Dobashi 2016)

- (6) Lexical Category Condition (LCC: Truckenbrodt 1999, Selkirk 1984, cf. Elfner 2012):

統辞音韻写像では語彙要素が可視的であるのに対し機能要素が非可視的である。

- (7) * (Comp)_φ

- (8) a. what do you think [CP that [IP John [VP bought t_{what}]]]
 b. (that John)_φ

- (9) a. *who do you think [CP that [IP t_{who} [VP bought the camera]]]
 b. * (that)_φ

◎ 本発表の論点：上記 (i) は正しいのか？

2. Comp-t効果の欠如

- ・*pro-drop* を許す言語では、Comp-t効果が観察されない (Perlmutter 1968, Rizzi 1982) :

- (10) Chi pensi che t_{chi} ha incontrato i linguisti? イタリア語
 Who you.think C has met the linguists
 'Who do you think (that) has met the linguists?' (Pesetsky 2017:997)

- ・(3)や(5)が正しいとすると、Sato & Dobashi (2016)の分析では説明できない。

- ・ラベル付けアルゴリズム (Chomsky 2013, 2015) の考え方を応用し、音韻句を統辞体 (syntactic object) の音韻的な解釈によって定義する (Dobashi 2017, in press)

- (11) Labeling Algorithm: H is the label in {H, XP}. (Chomsky 2013, 2015)

- (12) In {f, R},

- a. f is labelable since it is a functional element that determines category.
- b. R is unlabelable since it alone is too "weak" to serve as a label. (Chomsky 2013:47)

\Leftrightarrow LCC (6): R is visible while f is not in the syntax-phonology mapping. (Cf. Nasukawa & Backley 2015)

- (13) 統辞／音韻非対称性：統辞音韻写像では、ラベル付けできない要素が可視的であるのに対し、ラベル付ける要素は非可視的である。

- (14) 統辞体の音韻的解釈：統辞体は、その内部でラベル付けできない要素が最小探索 (minimal search) で探知される場合、音韻句として解釈される。

- (15) R and T are unlabelable in English. (Chomsky 2015)

- (16) a. ... [R-v* [δ tR [C [Subj [γ T [t_{Subj} [β R-v* [α tR Obj]]]]]]]]]
 b. ... $\lambda_{\varphi} (C \text{ Subj } \lambda_{\varphi} (T_{\text{unlabelable}} \text{ R-v* } \lambda_{\varphi} (\text{ Obj } \lambda_{\varphi})))$

- ・*pro-drop* を許す言語の Infl (T) は主語との一致形態を示す：

- (17) T is labelable in Italian.

- (18) a. ... [R-v* [δ tR [C [Subj [γ T [t_{Subj} [β R-v* [α tR Obj]]]]]]]]]
 b. ... $\lambda_{\varphi} (C \text{ Subj } T_{\text{labelable}} \text{ R-v* } \lambda_{\varphi} (\text{ Obj } \lambda_{\varphi}))$

- (19) a. Chi pensi che t_{chi} ha incontrato i linguisti? イタリア語
 Who you.think C has met the linguists
 b. (Chi pensi) φ (che t_{chi} ha incontrato) φ (i linguisti) φ

→ (19b) は (7)の違反とはならない。

→ *pro-drop* と Comp-t効果の関連を捉えることができる。Cf. Pesetsky (2017).

4. 主語と音韻句

- ・音韻／韻律的にも、主語は後続する要素と同じ音韻句に属すのか？

4.1 イタリア語

(20) *Raddoppiamento Sintattico RS* (Nespor & Vogel 1986: 170)

$C \rightarrow [+long] / [\dots [\dots V]_\omega [__ [+son, -nas] \dots]_\omega \dots]_\phi$
(where the vowel V bears the main stress of the word)

- ・Ghini (1993: 43):

(21) a. Papá mangia.	b. La cecitá può essere guarita.
daddy eat.3SG	the blindness can.3SG be cure.PP
(Papá) _φ (mangia) _φ	(La ceritá) _φ (puó essere guarita) _φ
'Daddy is eating'	'Blindness can be cured'

- ・Napoli & Nespor (1979: “•” indicates the application of RS):

(22) a. La città • cadde.

 'The city fell'

 b. L'ultimo re • morì.

 'The last king died.'

 c. La religione che pratica • perde fedeli.

 'The religion he practices is losing adherents.'

- ・Napoli & Nespor (1979: 830ff.): "..., we find that RS is possible between the last word of the subject and the first word of the predicate whenever the subject is sentence-initial—regardless of whether the subject is a single word, several words, or a complex NP."

- ・D'Alessandro & Scheer (2015: 614) : イタリア語アブルッツォ方言 (Abruzzese)

(23) a. Jè mmeje chø vve.
is better that come.3SG
'It's better that he/she comes.'

 b. ... (chø vve)_φ

- ・Frascarelli (2007) : イタリア語では、動詞に先行する主語は A バー位置に生起し話題として解釈される。

- ・Frascarelli (2000) : 話題化された要素は一般にイントネーション句を形成する。

→ (21)では主語が話題化されている。

(22)では主語が話題化されず、Spec-T に留まっている。See (18).

4.2 その他の言語

◎ チェワ語とズールー語

- ・主語-述語間のクラス一致
- ・主語省略を許す (Kanerva 1990 for Chichewa; Cheng & Downing 2009 for Zulu)
- ・Comp-*t* 効果を示さない (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987 for Chichewa, Zeller 2004 for Zulu)
- ・話題として解釈されない主語は、後続する要素と同じ音韻句に属す (Cheng & Downing 2009)

◎ 現代ヘブライ語

- ・豊かな主語-述語一致を示す
- ・主語省略を許す (Ritter 1988)
- ・Comp-*t* 効果を示さない (Borer 1984)
- ・主語は後続する要素と同じ音韻句に属す (Shaked 2007)

◎ ブラジル・ポルトガル語

- ・英語同様、主語-述語一致による形態的変化に乏しい
- ・主語省略を許さない (Fortuny 2008: 133)
- ・主語が後続する要素とは別の音韻句に属す (Sandalo & Truckenbrodt 2002)
- ・ただし、Comp-*t* 効果を示さない
- ・Barbosa et al. (2005) : ブラジル・ポルトガル語は徐々に動詞後続主語 (post-verbal subject) を失いつつある段階にある

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「形態的有標性の仮説」と「競合理論」：
日英語の「強い結果構文」を巡って
(Morphological Markedness Hypothesis and Competition Theory:
On Strong Resultatives in Japanese and English)

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1. 導入: 形態的有標性の仮説

◎形態的有標性の仮説 (三宅 (2011, 2015, 2017))

- (1) 構文的意味を表示するために、日本語は形態的に有標であることを強く志向する傾向があるが、英語は形態的に無標であっても構わない傾向が強い。 (三宅 (2017: 68))

◆三宅 (2017: 68):

構文 = 特定の文型と直接対応し、文型内の要素に還元できない意味を持つ表現

構文的意味 = 構文としての意味

英語 特定の文型と直接対応し、文型内の要素に還元できない意味を持つ構文が相当数ある。

日本語 構文的意味に相当するものを文型だけでは表せず、特定の形態が必要になる。

- (2) a. This car sells well. [中間構文]
b. この車はよく{売れる/*売る}。
- (3) a. Your home is very close to the campus. [同意要求文]
b. 君の家は大学にすいぶん{近いね/*近い}。

(三宅 (2017: 69), 一部修正あり)

◎強い結果構文 (Washio (1997))

- (4) a. John pounded the metal flat.
b. * 太郎はその金属を平らに叩いた。

(三宅 (2017: 69), 一部修正あり)

◆三宅 (2011: 187-188, 2015: 261):

英語 「対象の変化」という意味が無形で付加され、強い結果構文が認可される。

日本語 「対象の変化」という意味を担う適切な形態が存在しない。

【目的】

①日本語でも、強い結果構文は、形態的有標性の仮説による一般化に従うことを指摘し、その妥当性の高さを示す。

→「対象の変化」を表示する形態の存在により、日本語でも、強い結果構文が認可される。

日本語では強い結果構文はV-V複合語の形式を取る。

②形態的有標性の仮説による一般化に対して理論的説明を行う。

→ 競合理論: 形態的有標性を巡る日本語と英語の対立は、形態部門と統語部門の競合から生じる。

2. 「強い結果構文」再考

2.1. 強い結果構文としてのV-V複合語

♦ Washio (1997), 影山 (1996): 日本語ではV-V複合語が強い結果構文に相当するものとして用いられる。

◎Resultative V-V Compound (RVVC)

(5) 花子が金属を(平らに)叩き伸ばした。

(Hasegawa (1999: 184), 一部修正あり)

♦ Hasegawa (1999): RVVC = 強い結果構文

→ 日本語にも、強い結果構文は存在するが、その形式は複合語になる。

(6) a. John hammered {the metal for an hour/ the metal flat in an hour}.

(Wechsler (2005: 259), 一部修正あり)

b. ジョンがその金属を{一時間叩いた/一時間で叩き伸ばした}。

(7) a. Sylvester cried his eyes *(out).

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 36-37))

b. 目を{*泣く/泣きはらす}

(影山 (1996: 213))

⇒ RVVCは強い結果構文としてのステータスを持つ。

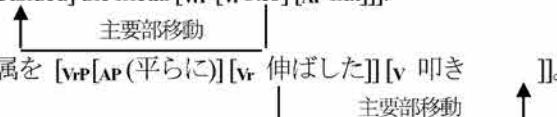
2.2. 「対象の変化」を表示する形態

● Hasegawa (1999) → 形態的有標性の仮説による再解釈

⇒ RVVCの主要部動詞 = 「変化の対象」を表示する形態

♦ Hasegawa (1999): 主要部移動 (Vr → V) が強い結果構文を認可する。

(8) a. Hanako [vp [v pounded] the metal [v_r [v_r Res] [AP flat]]].



b. 花子が [vp 金属を [v_r [AP (平らに)] [v_r 伸ばした]] [v 叩き

]]].

↑
[VrP] resultative predicate の投射; [Vr] resultative predicate が形成する投射の主要部; [Res] 非顕在的な述語

↔ 形態的有標性の仮説「対象の変化」という意味が強い結果構文を認可する。

→ Vrを占める主要部が「対象の変化」という意味を担う。

⇒ RVVCの主要部動詞 = 「対象の変化」を表示する形態

・ Vrを占める要素: 英語 非顕在的な述語 vs. 日本語 顕在的な動詞

↔ 形態的有標性の仮説「対象の変化」という意味: 英語 無形 vs. 日本語 対応する形態(有形)

【まとめ】

日本語では、「対象の変化」という意味は、RVVCの主要部動詞によって形態的表示を受ける。

⇒ 日本語でも、強い結果構文は形態的有標性の仮説による一般化に従う。

※強い結果構文における形態的表示の有無 < 形態的有標性を巡る日本語と英語の対立

→ その他の構文で観察される対立と軌を一にした現象であり、統一的な説明が可能である。

3. 記述的一般化から理論的説明へ: 競合理論的アプローチ

♦三宅 (2011: 191, 2015: 268, n. 9): 形態的有標性の仮説 = 記述的一般化

→ 理論的説明の可能性は?

- (9) a. John pounded the metal flat. (= (4a))
b. 花子が金属を(平らに)叩き伸ばした。 (= (5))

◎競合理論 (Ackema and Neeleman (2004)): 言語間の比較と形態統語間の比較を統一的に扱う理論

3.1. 競合理論

【基本的想定】

形態部門と統語部門は抽象的な形態統語構造の音韻具現を巡って競合する。→ 言語間の相違

♦Nishimaki (2018): 英語 統語優先言語 vs. 日本語 形態優先言語

- (10) 形容詞による名詞修飾構造 (名詞句 vs. A-N 複合語)
a. an old friend of mine (= a long-standing friend) (Quirk et al. (1985: 428))
b. 私の旧友
- (11) 等位構造 (*and* を用いた句表現 vs. 並列複合語 (dvandva))
a. The husband and wife cheered each other up.
b. 夫婦はお互いを励ました。

((11)= Kageyama (2009: 515))

→ 強い結果構文: 英語 動詞句 = 統語的具現形 vs. 日本語 RVVC = 形態的具現形

3.2. 競合理論に基づく説明

【競合論的可能性】 英語 無標性 < 統語的具現 vs. 日本語 有標性 < 形態的具現

♦Hasegawa (1999): 主要部移動 (Vr→V) が強い結果構文を認可する。

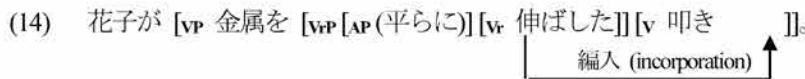
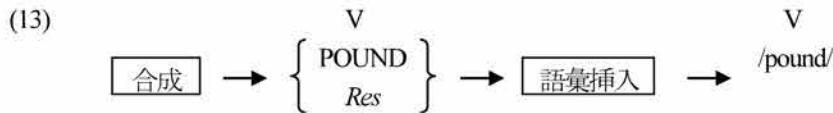
- (12) Hanako [vp [v pounded] the metal [v_{RP} [v_R Res] [AP flat]]].

↑ 合成 (conflation)

→ 動詞+Res は单一形態素の動詞 (e.g. *to pound*) として具現される。

- ・单一形態素の語は形態的な内部構造を持たない。
 - ・統語的に具現された構造は形態的な内部構造を持たない。
- 形態的な内部構造を持たないという点において、单一形態素の語も、統語的具現に適う。
 ⇒ **英語** 意味表示が無形となるのは、統語的具現に適うように、单一形態素の語が形成されるため。

- ◆Baker (2003: 86, 168): 合成 (conflation) = 語彙挿入の前に起こる主要部移動
 → 合成が適用された主要部 (音形を持たない; 抽象的な形態統語素性) は統語派生において独立性を失い、单一形態素の語として具現される。



- ◆Baker (2003: 86, 168): 編入 (incorporation) = 語彙挿入の後に起こる主要部移動
 → 編入を受ける主要部は音形を持つため、顕在的な語彙として、複合語を形成する。

- (15) a. 叩き*(伸ばす), 泣き*(はらす), 撃ち*(殺す), 絞り*(出す), 殴り*(殺す), 吹き*(消す)
 b. 洗い*(もの), 食べ*(始める), {旧*(友)/*(旧)友}, {夫*(婦)/*(夫)婦}, *(洋服)選び

- 拘束形は、必然的に、形態的具現を引き起こす; 顕在的な要素による形態的な支えが必要。
 ⇒ **日本語** 意味表示が有形となるのは、形態的具現のために、拘束形を形態的に支える顕在的な要素が必要となるから。

- (16) a. to {bow/do a bow}, to {jump/make a jump}, to {nap/take a nap}, to {walk/take a walk}
 b. 会釈する, ジャンプする, 居眠りする, 散歩する

4. 結語

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受け身「ラレ」の形態分離と繫属述語仮説*

Morphological Decomposition of Passive (*R*)are and the Trans-Predicate Hypothesis

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要旨

日本語では「述語」の「述」(Predicate) が少なくとも形態的には「語」(Word) と認識される。したがって、使役 V+(s)ase や受け身 V+(r)are のような複合述語の形態統語論をどのように扱い、さらにそれを意味論と関連づけるかは、生成文法初期から重要な課題の一つであるが、未だ統一的な見解には至っていない。

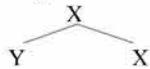
本発表では、日本語における膠着接辞の構造に着目し、新たな分析の可能性を提示したい。特に、いわゆる受け身「ラレ」を取り上げ、「新構成主義者理論」(Neo-Constructivist Theory, Clark & Clark 1979, Kay & Fillmore 1999, Borer 2003, 2005, 2017, Nakajima 2011 *et seq.*, Bruening 2013, Myler 2018) の立場から、日本語の受け身文が表す複合イベントを的確に具現させる動詞句構造の階層性について考察する。「ラレ」を句構造が内包された述語として捉え直すことで、受け身文の諸特徴が自然に導出されるばかりでなく、方言文法における接辞化の様相についても、共通日本語の視点から一定の理解が得られることを示す。

1. 新構成主義者理論 (Neo-Constructivist Theory)

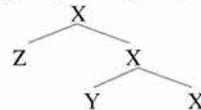
- (1) a. "... the syntactic structure gives rise to a template, or a series of templates, which, in turn, determine the interpretation of arguments." (Borer 2003: 32) → Exo-Skeletal Model
 b. "If ... PFs are available following the syntactic derivation, we expect correlations between larger constituents and single phonological words." (Borer 2017: 129)

(2) Templates of (VP) Structure

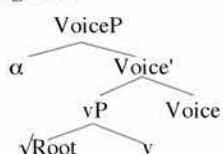
a. Weak Projection



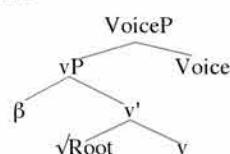
b. Strong Projection (Z: Spec of X)



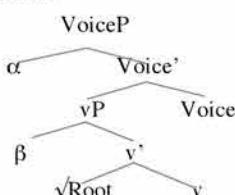
c. Unergative



d. Unaccusative



e. Transitive



2つの統語的要素が併合されたのみで指定部を持たない (2a) を Weak Projection (弱い投射) と、他方、「3番目の要素」として指定部も生成された (2b) を Strong Projection (強い投射) と、それぞれ呼ぶ。これら 2

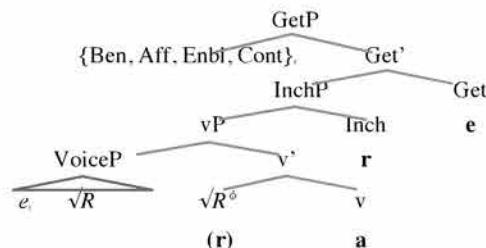
*本研究は科研費（基盤研究(C)17K02700, 19K00554）の助成を受けている。

つの template の組み合わせにより、非対格動詞、非能格動詞、他動詞が表すイベントに対応する構造 (2c-e) が派生される¹。

2. Trans-Predicate Hypothesis と受け身文の構造

- (3) 「ラレ」は、従来考えられているような单一の接辞ではなく、(r)ar と e に分解され、(7) に図示される階層構造を内包する機能辞 (r)ar と e に分離される²。
- (4) 分散形態論 (Distributed Morphology) の基本的想定 (Marantz (1997, 2001) など)
- Root Hypothesis: 語はもともと範疇未指定で、範疇未指定の語根 \sqrt{R} と v などの機能範疇主要部が統語的に併合することで決定される。
 - Single Engine Hypothesis: 語形成を含む全ての構造は統語論で形成される。
 - Late Lexical Insertion: 語彙挿入は Spell-Out 後に PF で起こる。
- (5) e: 「エル」が文法化した機能範疇 Get で、「獲得、完遂、到達」という意味論的概念と結びつき、主題役 (Experiencer, Benefactive, Potential, Controller) 付与により受け身文の主語を認可する (cf. 石田 1958, 吉田 1973, Washio 1989-1990, 鶴尾 2005)。
- (6) (r)ar: 軽動詞「アル」(影山 2004, 金水 2006) の文法化に由来し、(i) 「出現・発生」を表し、構造的には、機能範疇の連鎖 Inch(ative)-v において形式述語 (これを「繁属述語 Trans-Predicate (TrP)」と呼ぶ) を成し、その補部に Theme として VoiceP を認可する^{3,4}。

(7)



「VoiceP で表されるイベントの発生・出現 ((r)ar) の影響を、GetP 指定部の名詞句が被る (得る/e-ru/)」と読み解くことができ、受け身文が表すイベントの解釈が文構造の階層性と対応関係にある。

- (8) ラレル形述語文は、主語に立つものを場として、事柄を全体として発生・生起するものとして述べる形式である⁵。 (川村 2005: 49)
- (9) a. 太郎は浜辺で風に吹かれた。 b. 屋根が風に *吹かれた / 吹き飛ばされた。
- (10) a. 城がお堀に囲まれている。 b. 住宅地が緑に覆われている。
- (11) 建造したばかりの船に/*夕陽に/*気分に 沈まれた。

¹ イベント項は動詞化素性を持つ v が導入するものと仮定する。また、(1a)において、Y が \sqrt{R} で X が v の場合、イベントの成立に必須の項が何ら認可されないため、このまま派生が収束することはない。

² 釘貫 (1996: 302) によると、/r/ と /s/ を用いた自他交替の示唆性と、それに続くいわゆる語幹増加の過程が、平安期における受け身「ラレ」と使役「サセ」への展開を促した。本発表で提示する受け身文の分析 (7) とそのような通時的事実の関係、また共時的な自他交替の分析に対する帰結については、改めて論じたい。

³ ここでは、 $\sqrt{R^0}$ を、意味的・音韻的素性を担わないという意味で、形式語根 (Myler 2018) として扱う。

⁴ 釘貫 (1996), Labruine (2014), de Chane (2016) に見られるように、日本語の音体系において /r/ はいわば default の音素性と言える。PF 部門に於ける語彙挿入によって述語が音声具現するならば、TrP 内の Inch や $\sqrt{R^0}$ のように音素性を持たない形態統語的要素で /r/ が具現すると仮定するのは、極めて自然であると言えよう。特に、動詞語根が母音終止である場合、 $\sqrt{R^0}$ に対する /r/ の挿入によって、v 主要部の /a/ との間で生じる母音連鎖を防ぐことができる。

⁵ 出来文としての受け身文については、とりわけ尾上 (1998a; 1998b; 2003) を参照されたい。

- (12) InchP-vP を介した、VoiceP が表す下位イベントと GetP 指定部に生起する主語の間での「関連付け」により、(直接受け身、所有受け身、関節受け身における) 解釈の多様性が導かれる⁶⁷⁸。
- (13) a. Get 主語 = VoiceP 内の要素 e (直接受け身)
 b. Get 主語 \vee VoiceP 内のいかなる要素 (間接/迷惑受け身)
 c. Get 主語 \cap VoiceP 内の要素 e (所有受け身)
- (14) 「被害」を表す非情物主語の直接受け身と潜在的受影響者⁹
 a. あの絵は/が子供に引き裂かれた。 b. アメリカ大陸は/がコロンブスに発見された。
 (加賀 2015: 128-129)
- (15) a. $[\text{GetP } \text{あの絵}; \dots [\text{VoiceP } e_i; \dots$ 「あの絵は/が引き裂かれた。」
 b. $[\text{GetP } \text{所有者/作者}; \dots [\text{VoiceP } \text{あの絵}; \dots$ 「所有者/作者があの絵を引き裂かれた。」
 c. $[\text{GetP } \text{pro}_i \text{ (『あの絵』の所有者/作者)}; \dots [\text{VoiceP } \text{あの絵}; \dots$ 「あの絵は引き裂かれた。」
- (16) 使役と受け身の相互乗り入れ (畠山・本田・田中 (2019))
 a. ジョンは わざと [トラックに追突さ] れた。 (使役)
 b. ジョンは 不運にも [トラックに追突さ] れた。 (受け身)
- (17) 主語が動作主である場合には「ラレ」に対して使役の意味が選択され、主語が被動作主である場合は「ラレ」に対して受動の意味が選択される。 (畠山・本田・田中 2019: 199)

3.まとめ

- (18) 「ラレ」は、単一の形態素でなく、機能範疇の連鎖による内部構造を持つ複合述語 (TrP + GetP) である。
 (19) 「ラレ」の形態と意味の対応は (語彙的現象としてではなく) 統語的に捉えられる。

4.帰結と今後の展望

- ・「ラレ」の統一的理解
- (20) 受け身 $(r)are = [(r)ar : \text{イベントの発生・出現}] + [e : \text{イベントの結果・影響性の獲得}]$
- (21) a. 大きなケーキが 食べられた。 (受け身/可能)
 b. 「観客の皆様、通路で 立ち止まられますと、通行の妨げになります。」 (受け身/尊敬)
 c. 「手術が無事に 終えられたようです。」 (受け身/可能/尊敬)
- (22) (i) $(r)ar$ の付加により意志動詞によるイベントが無意志化された「発生・出現形式」において述べられることで、「行為の(結果)状態の(非)表出」の表現形式が成立し、同時に、(ii) e の接辞化により、結果・影響性の獲得の対象としての Get 主語が導入される。
5. $(r)ar$ の文法化：東北方言における $(r)ar$ による自発・可能・結果表現¹⁰
- ・山形方言
- (23) 禁酒しちゃのに、いづのまにが/*わざと 酒飲またきゃ。 (飲まる)
 (24) a. 電気がつく/かかる b. ホコリがつく/*かかる
 (25) a. おれさ 酒飲また^{11 12} b. おれさ この靴 履がた (酒/靴=Theme, 「さ」 = Loc/Goal)

⁶(12) の「関連付け」は、INCLUSION と EXCLUSION の対比 (Washio 1995) と基本的に同じ趣旨である。なお、Get 主語の生成における移動関係の関与にはここで立ち入らず、TrP が GetP と VoiceP を媒介して、Get 主語と下位イベント内の要素との間で何らかの照応関係が成立する(もしくは、成立しない)と仮定するに留める。

⁷影山 (2006) で論じられているような受け身文のさらに詳細な分類、「に」「よって」の区別、下位イベントの動作主の主語性の扱いなど、多くの関連する問題については、改めて論じることにする。

⁸本発表の分析は、伝統的な均一理論 (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976, Washio 1989-1990) の延長線上に位置づけられる。

⁹加賀 (2015: 137-138) は、非情物主語の(直接)受け身文における被害の解釈を、潜在的受影響者(益岡 1991)の概念を用いざと捉えようとしている。本発表の分析が正しければ、(14a, b)における非情物主語における影響性と潜在的受影響者の存在は、同等に統語的分析を与えられる。

¹⁰山形方言と福島方言からのデータは渋谷 (2006) および白岩 (2012) の観察に基づく。

¹¹(25a) に対応する他動詞文は「おれ 酒(バ) 飲んだ」となり、目的語は無助詞もしくは目的格バで標示される。一方、「*おれサ酒バ飲また」の非文法性が示すように、自発形式と目的格バは共起しない。

(26) おれ(*さ) 今日 いつべえ 酒が 飲まさる (岩手方言)

・福島方言¹³

- (27) a. 書がる、置がる、敷がる、巻かる、干さる (他動詞+ar)
b. 開がる、くっつかる、付かる、立だる、並ばる (自動詞+ar)
- (28) a. 変化事象を表す他動詞と一部の自動詞から形成され、非情物の結果状態を表す。
b. 入力となる他動詞の動作主は具現しない。
- (29) a. 山形方言 [vp Loc/Goal Theme [drink-ar]] (ar: v)
b. 福島方言 [VoiceP Agent [vp Theme [kak-v]] ar] (ar: Voice)

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¹² 「おれ(*サ) (最近) 街サンガラネ」 のように、サで標示される場所句/着点句が生起する場合、与格主語は阻止される。

¹³ 福島方言のアル形式は属性可能形式 (=中間動詞) としての用法もある。

英語の接頭辞付き関係形容詞について^a
(Prefixed Relational Adjectives in English)

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1. はじめに

- (1) 2種類の派生形容詞 (Plag (2003: 94), 長野 (2015: 3))

- a. 関係形容詞 (Relational Adjective; RA) 例 : *senatorial, polar, algebraic*
b. 性質形容詞 (Qualitative Adjective; QA) 例 : *beautiful, picturesque, nervous*

→ RA は、基体名詞の特性をどの程度継承しているかという点で QA と異なる (Nagano (2013) ほか参照) (cf. 事象名詞 vs. 結果名詞)。

- (2) RA の特性

- a. 名詞修飾用法が基本であり、叙述用法を持たない。

*this output is industrial. *this decision is senatorial.

- b. 意味解釈上、基体名詞を主要部名詞に関連付け、主要部名詞を分類する。

industrial output 'output of an industry,' linguistic difficulties 'difficulties of language'

- c. 主要部名詞のすぐ前の特定位置に生起せねばならない。

*wooden big table vs. big wooden table

- d. 程度性を持たず、very や Degree words (how, too, so, as) と共にできない。

*a very industrial output, *a very senatorial decision

(cf. 他に、比較級形成不可、繰り返し使用不可、QA との等位接続不可、名詞化不可など)

(長野 (2015: 3-4) を一部修正, cf. Levi (1978), Beard (1995), Bisetto (2010), Cetnarowska (2013), 島村 (2014))

- (3) RA の特性をめぐる問題

- a. 同一の形式で RA と QA の 2つの解釈を持つ場合がある (cf. Plag (2003: 94))

i. a grammatical genius 「文法の天才」(RA 解釈)

ii. a grammatical sentence 「文法的な文」(QA 解釈)

- b. RA であっても述語位置に生起する (↔ (2a))

i. Her infection turned out to be viral.

(Levi (1978: 254))

ii. 75 percent of French electricity is nuclear.

(Bauer et al. (2013: 318))

- (4) 接頭辞付き関係形容詞 (Prefixed Relational Adjective; P-RA) (Levi (1975: 323, 1978: 24))

mono-, bi-, multi- などの数を表す接頭辞が付いた RA は例外的に述語位置に生起できる。

- (5) a. * Those drawings are chromatic. (chromatic drawings)

b. Those drawings are monochromatic. (monochromatic drawings)

- (6) a. ? Those agreements are national. (national agreements)

b. Those agreements are binational. (binational agreements)

- (7) a. * The population of Hawaii is racial. (racial population of Hawaii)

b. The population of Hawaii is multiracial. (multiracial population of Hawaii)

→ それぞれの (b) は括弧内における名詞前位用法の意味を保持している。例えば *monochromatic drawings* は「単色の絵」の意味であり、(5b) も「それらの絵は単色 (の絵) だ」という意味。

- (8) 問い合わせ : RA は接頭辞を伴うとなぜ述語位置に生起できるようになるのか。

- (9) Levi (1975, 1978) は、RA が述語位置に生起できる場合について、「対比性」が関わっていると指摘しているが、P-RA に対しては異なる分析をしている。

- (10) 主張 : 対比性に基づいた分析は、本研究で扱う P-RA の述語位置生起にも適用可能である。

2. Levi (1975) による述語削除分析とその問題点

Levi の分析

- (12) “HAVE + 数詞 + 基体名詞” からの派生 (Levi (1975: 324–327))

- a. monochromatic drawings = drawings which have one colour
 - b. multiracial population = population which has several races

→ HAVE は、Levi の枠組みにおいて名詞から RA を派生する際に使われる基本述語 (“Recoverably Deletable Predicates”) の 1 つ。

問題1：述語削除分析を適用できない場合がある

- (13) a. binational agreements = two nations agree (on X)
b. trinational coverage = X covers three nations

(Levi (1975: 324))

→ HAVEによる分析では、(13a)の*agree*や(13b)の*cover*で表されるような、HAVE以外の述語の場合を説明することができない。

- (14) 数以外が関わる P-BA の存在 (Naya and Ishida (2019), Togano et al. (2019), cf. Naya (2017))

- a. The consideration of Fallacies is extralogical. (OED, s.v. *extralogical*)

b. ... a philosophy demanding that utilities shall be prosocial and brought forth ... (OED, s.v. *prosocial*)

c. This is why classic Australian fiction, which at its best is anti-colonial and (*The Guardian*)

d. The patient subsequently regained his preoperative weight, is nondiabetic, and requires

→ Levi の HAVE に数詞と具体名詞を編入するという分析で、これらの例を説明することはできない。

問題2：OA解釈との区別がつはられない。(cf. (3a))

- (15) Those drawings are monochromatic. (= (5b))
 a. 'drawings which have one colour' 「それらの絵は単色 (の絵) だ」 (= (12a))
 b. 'drawings which are drab (unvarying)' 「それらの絵は单调だ (つまらない)」

→ (15a) は、Levi の分析通り、P-RA が “HAVE + 数詞 + 基体名詞” という VP に相当するが、(15b) は HAVE からの派生だけを考えられない

3. 接頭辞のない RA の述語位置生起に関する条件

3. 接頭辞のな 3.1 N削除分析

- (16) RA が述語位置に現れているのは、実際には修飾対象である主要部名詞が削除された例である。つまり、RA は真的述語ではない。(Levi (1978), Nagano (2016, 2018), Shimada and Nagano (2018))

- (17) X \backslash_{ba} R \wedge N

→ RAの述語位置への生起は、N削除の結果である。RAは、名詞前位用法を保持している。

- (18) 75 percent of French electricity is nuclear (electricity / type / one). (Nagano (2016: 45) に基づき改変)
 述語位置に生じる PA の修飾対象は、(18) のような N の類で復元可能 (⇒ 2 節の問題 2 を解説)

・N削除分析に対する形態・統語的動機

- (19) ロシア語における 2 種類の形容詞の形 (Short Form (SF), Long Form (LF)) (Babby (2010: 58, 75))

→ SFは、限定用法を持たないため、常に述語として用いられる

- (20) a. SF: Vino bylo vkusn-o.
 wine_{NOM.N} was good_{SF,NOM.N}
 ‘Wine was good / the wine was good.’
- b. LF: Vino bylo vkusn-oe.
 wine_{NOM.N} was good_{LF,NOM.N}
 ‘This / the wine was a good wine / one.’
- 述語位置に現れた形容詞が分類機能を担う場合、名詞前位修飾の形をとる。

3.2. N削除を可能にする要因 (Levi (1975, 1978))

- (21) Levi (1978) は、RA が述語位置に生起できる環境を複数指摘している (cf. 他に Class Establishment や Definiteness など) が、これらはすべて「対比性」という観点に集約可能である。

- Explicit Contrast (Levi (1978: 260))

- (22) Her infection turned out to be
 a. viral, not bacterial.
 b. viral.
- (23) Our firm's engineers are all
 a. mechanical, not chemical.
 b. mechanical.

→ *not* のような明示的な対比を表す要素を伴う場合は、伴わない場合よりも容認度が高い。

- Implicit Contrast

- (24) a. The therapy he does is {primarily musical / ?musical}. (Levi (1978: 260))
 b. French electricity is 75 percent nuclear. (Nagano (2016: 45), cf. Bauer et al. (2013: 318))
 → *primarily* や *75%* のような修飾語による非明示的な対比が喚起される場合、容認される。

3.3. まとめ

N削除分析をとることで、QA との区別も可能となる。また、RA が述語位置に生起できる条件には「対比性」が関わっている (cf. D(iscourse)-linked *wh*-question; Nagano (2018: 194), e.g. *Which type of ~?*)。

4. 接頭辞によって喚起される対比性

- (25) P-RA が述語位置に生起できる事実も、接頭辞のない RA に対する分析と同様、「対比性」という観点からの分析が可能。この場合、接頭辞自身が対比を喚起する役割を担っている。

(26) 数を表す P-RA (= (5)-(7))

- a. Those drawings are monochromatic. 「(单色の)」 (cf. dichromatic, trichromatic, multichromatic)
 b. Those agreements are binational. 「(2国間の)」 (cf. uninational, trinational, intra/extranational)
 c. The population of Hawaii is multiracial. 「(多民族の)」 (cf. monoracial, biracial, polyracial, gracial)

→ 数を表す接頭辞は、それ自身で他の選択候補との対比を喚起することが可能。数以外の接頭辞も (26) と同様、それ自身で他の選択候補を喚起することで対比を生むことが可能。 (⇒ 2節の問題 1 を解決)

- (27) a. The consideration is extralogical. 「(論理から外れた)」 (cf. antilogical, paralogical, prelogical)
 b. Those utilities are prosocial. 「(向社会の)」 (cf. antisocial, contrasocial, nonsocial)
 c. This classic fiction is anti-colonial. 「(反植民地主義の)」 (cf. colonial, pre-colonial, post-colonial)
 d. The patient is nondiabetic. 「(非糖尿病性の)」 (cf. diabetic, prediabetic, antidiabetic)

- 他の選択候補を喚起すると考えられる接頭辞の類

- (28) Lexical prefix (cf. Nagano (2013), Plag (2003: 98–101))

- a. Numerical prefix : mono-, uni-, bi-, di-, tri-, quad-, poly-, multi-, semi-, etc.
 b. Spatio-temporal prefix : pre-, post-, ante-, extra-, intra-, inter-, sub-, etc.
 c. Contrastive prefix : pro-, anti-, contra-, counter-, etc.

- (29) Negative prefix : a-, non-, etc.

- 他の選択候補を喚起しない接頭辞の類

- (30) a. Evaluative prefix : mal-, pseudo-, super-, hyper-, supra-, etc.
 b. Negative prefix : un-, de-, dis-, in-(il-/ir-/im-), etc.

→ これらは基体に対して程度性の意味を付け加えるため不適切 (QA であれば可)。アスペクトの意味を付け加えるような接頭辞も不適切 (例 : be-, en-, re-, etc.)。

5. 接頭辞以外の語彙的要素によって喚起される対比性

(31) 接頭辞のような語彙的要素によって対比が喚起されるのであれば、接頭辞以外の語彙的要素によって形成された RA も述語位置への生起が可能である。

(32) 新古典複合語 (Neo-classical Compound) にみられる連結形 (combining form)

- a. insecticide 'killer of an insect' RA: insecticidal X-cidal 'X-killing'
- b. hydrophobia 'fear of water' RA: hydrophobic X-phobic 'X-fearing'

(cf. Scalise and Bisetto (2009: 47))

→ -cidal と -phobic は、それぞれ「何かを殺す」、「何かを恐れる」という前提ができるので、これらの連結形はそれ自身で他の選択候補との対比を喚起する (cf. 「X-製」「X-性」「X-系」など (Nagano (2016) を参照))。

(33) a. This substance is carcinogenic.

b. This substance is carcinogenic, not ulcerogenic. (「潰瘍誘発性のではなく、発癌性の」)

(34) a. These birds are herbivorous.

b. These birds are herbivorous, not carnivorous. (「肉食性のではなく、草食性の」)

(小田切・他 (2019))

→ 連結形を基体とした RA は、明示的な対比が無い場合でも問題なく容認される。各例の (a) と (b) は容認性に関して差が無い。

6. おわりに

- (35) a. 対比性という観点によって、P-RA の場合と、接頭辞の無い RA が *primarily* や 75% のような修飾語と共に起する場合について、一貫した分析を与えることが可能となる。
- b. (28) や (29) のような類の接頭辞は、それ自身で他の選択候補を喚起し、対比性を生む。
- c. Levi (1975) が試みたような数の接頭辞に固有の分析をとる必要がなくなる。

* 本研究は、JSPS 科研費 19J10598 の助成を受けています。発表者連絡先 : takashi.ishida1990@gmail.com

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10 November 2019

Hunger (v.) か be hungry (be + adj.) か — 通時の選択
(Hunger (v.) or be hungry (be + adj.) — A Diachronic Choice?)
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1. Hunger/thirst or be hungry/thirsty

- (1) Mt 25.35 [esuriui enim et dedisti (sic) mihi manducare **situi** et dedistis mihi bibere]

Li: **ic gehynegerde** I **ic wæs hincrig** forðon 7 ðu gesaldes me etta **ic wæs ðyrstig** 7 gesaldon me dringe

Ru1: forpon ðe **mec ynggrade** (sic) 7 ge saldun me etan **mec þyrste** 7 ge salden me drinanc

WSCP: **Me hingrode** 7 ge me sealdon etan. **me þyrste** 7 ge me sealdun drinanc.

WycEV: Forsothe I was **hungry**, and ȝe ȝauen to me for to ete; I **thristide**, and ȝee ȝeuen to me for to drynke;

WycLV: For **Y hungride**, and ȝe ȝauen me to ete; **Y thristide**, and ȝe ȝauen me to drynke;

AV: For I was an **hungred**, and yee gaue me meate; I was **thirstie**, and ye gaue me drinke.

- (2) Mt 25.37 [domine quando te uidimus **esurientem** et pauimus te **sitientem** et dedimus tibi potum]

Li: drihten huonne ðec we segon **hungrik** I **hyngrende** 7 we hriordadun ðec **ðyrstende** I **ðyrstig** 7 we sealdon ðe dringe (sic).

Ru1: dryhten hwonne gesagun we ðe **hyngrende** 7 we foeddan þe ȝoppþe **þyrstigne** 7 we þe drinanc saldun

WSCP: Drihten hwænne gesawe we ðe **hingrigendne** 7 we ðe feddon. **þyrstendne** 7 we ðe drinc sealdon.

WSH: Drihten hwænne geseage we þe **hingriende**. 7 we þe feddan. **þerstende** 7 we þe drenc sealde.

WycEV: Lord, whenne syȝen we thee **hungry**, and we fedde thee; **thirsty**, and we ȝeuen to thee drynke?

AV: Lord, when saw we thee an **hungred**, and fedde thee? Or **thirstie**, and gaue thee drinke?

- (3) Jn 6.35 [ego sum panis uitiae qui ueniet ad me non **esuriet** et qui credit in me non **sitiet** umquam]

Li: ic am half lifes seðe cymes to me ne **hyngreð** hine 7 seðe gelefes on mech ne **ðyrstes** æfра

Ru2: ic am half lifes seðe cymeð to me ne **hyncre** hine 7 seðe gilefeð on mec ne **ðyrsteð** æfре

WSCP: Ic eom lifes half ne **hingrað þone** þe to me cymð 7 ne **þyrst þone** næfre ðe on me gelyfð.

WSH: Ic eom lyfes half. ne **hyngreð** þe to me cymð 7 ne **þyrst þan** næfre þe on me ge-lyfð.

WycEV: I am breed of lyf, **he** that cometh to me, schal not **hungre**; **he** that bileyfeth to me, schal neuere **thirste**.

AV: I am the bread of life: hee that commeth to me, shall neuere huger: and he that beleeueth on me, shall neuere thirst.

2. Fear or be afraid

- (4) Mk 9.6 [non enim sciebat quid diceret **erant enim timore exterriti**]

Li: ne forðon wiste hwæt he gecuoeð **woeron** forðon **mið fyrhþo gefyrhþad**

Ru2: ne forðon wiste hwæt he cwað **weron** forðon **mið fyrhþo gefyrhþed**

WSCP: Soðlice he nyste hwæt he cwað. he **was afærð mid ege**; *WycEV:* Soðli he wiste not what he schulde seie; forsothe thei **weren agast by drede**.

AV: For he wist not what to say, for they were sore afraid.

- (5) Lk 8.25 [qui **timentes mirati sunt** dicentes adinuicem]

Li: ðaðe gée-ondredes awundradon I woeron Awundrad cuoedon bituih

WSCP: þa adredon hig 7 **wundredon** 7 betwux him cwaðon;

WycEV: Whiche **dredinge** wondriden, seyng to gidere,

AV: And they being affraide wondred, saying one to another,

- (6) Mt 14.5 [et uolens illum occidere **timuit** populum quia sicut prophetam eum habebant]

Li: 7 walde hine ofslae **ondreard** þ folc forðon suæ witge hine hæfdon

Ru1: 7 wolde hine ofslean 7 **dreord him** þ folc forþon swa swa witgu hine hæfdun

WSCP: 7 þa he hyne ofslean wolde hé **a-dred him** þ folc for þam þe hig hæfdon hyne for ænne witegan;

WycEV: And he willynge to slea hym, **drede** the people; for thei hadden hym as a prophete.

AV: And when he would haue put him to death, hee feared the multitude, because they counted him as a Prophet.

3. Die or be dead

- (7) Mt 22.24 [si quis **mortuus fuerit** non habens filium]

Li: gif hua **dead bið** I sie ne hæfis sunu

Ru1: gif wa **swylte** 7 ne hæfde sunu

WSCP: gif hwa **dead syg** 7 bearne næbbe

WycEV: gif eny man **be dead**, nat hauyng a sone,

WycLV: if ony man **is dead**, not hauyng a sone,

AV: If a man die, hauing no children,

- (8) Laz(C) 196

after þa feourðer ȝere he **was dead**

'after the fourth year he died'

- (9) Mt 9.24 [recedite **non est enim mortua** puella sed dormit]

Li: cerras I eft gewoendas **ne is forðon dead** ðy meiden I þ

- maiden ah slepes
- Ru1:* gewitap heonan **nis dead** þæt mægden ah hio slepeþ
- WScp:* Gāð heonun. **nys þys** mæden **dead** soðlice ac heo slæpð;
- WycEV:* Go ȝe away, for the wenche is **nat dead**, but slepith.
- WycLV:* Go ȝe a wei, for the damysel is **not dead**, but slepith.
- AV:* Giue place, for the mayd is not dead, but sleepeth.
- (10) Jn 8.21 [ego uado queritis me et in peccato uestro moriemini]
- Li:* ic geonga ȝ gie fylges mec ȝ soecas ȝ in synno fuero **deadageð l gie biðon**
- Ru2:* ic gongo ȝ ge fylgas l soccas mec ȝ in synnum iowrum ge **deodigð**
- WScp:* Ic fare ȝ ge me seceað. ȝ ge **swelatap** on eowre synne.
- WycEV:* Lo! I go, and ȝe schulen seche me, and ȝe **schulen deye** [*LV: schulen die*] in ȝoure synne;
- AV:* I goe my way, and ye shall seeke me, & shall die in your sinnes:
- (11) Mt 2.19 [**defuncto** autem herode ecce apparuit angelus domini in somnis ioseph in aegypto]
- Li:* **deadade l dead wæs** soðlice herodes heonu ædeawade engel drihtnes in soefnum iosephe in ægypt
- Ru1:* þa herodes **wæs** soþlice **dead** henu drihtnes engel æteade in slepe iosep in ægypto
- WScp:* Soðlice þa herodes **wæs forð-faren**. witodlice on swefne drihtnes engel æt-ywde iosepe on egyptum.
- WycEV:* Sothely Erode **dead** [*LV: was dead*], loo! the angel of the Lord apearide in sleep to Joseph in Egypt
- AV:* But when Herode was dead, behold, an Angel of the Lord appeareth in a dreame to Ioseph in Egypt
- (12) Beo 850a
- Deaðfæge deog.** siððan dreama leas
in fenfleoðo **feorh alegde**,
hæfene sawle; þær him hel onfeng.
'Doomed to death, he had hidden himself; then deprived of joy, in the fen-refuge, he gave up his life, his heathen soul; there hell received him.'
- (13) LS5 (InventCrossNap) 214 (= HRood 14.25)
- ic halsige ðe þurh god sylfne þu underfo minne sunae ȝ þa ȝestreon þe ic him læfe forþan ðe ic nu **degen** seal. ȝ ic for þissere untrumnesses him na leng lastan ne mæg
'I entreat thee by God himself to take charge of my son and the possessions which I leave him, because I shall now die, and on account of this sickness can no longer be a help to him' (tr. Napier)
- (14) Mt 15.4 [honora patrem tuum et matrem et qui maledixerit patri uel matri **morte moriatur**]
- Li:* wñordig faeder ðin ȝ moder ȝ seðe yfle-cuoðæs I werges ðæm feder l ðær moeder of **deaðe sie acwelled**
- Ru1:* are faeder þinum ȝ moder þin ȝ seðe waerge faeder oppe moder **deaða swæltep**
- WScp:* wurþa þinne faeder ȝ modor ȝ se þe wyrgð hys faeder ȝ modor **swelte se deaþe**
- WycEV:* Honour thi fadir and thi modir, and he that cursith fadir or modir, **dye he by deth**.
- AV:* Honour thy father and mother: And hee that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.
- (15) Mk 15.37 [Iesus autem emissa uoce magna **expirauit**]
- Li:* se hælend donne miððy gesende stefne micle of **gaste agef l asuelte**
- Ru2:* ðe hælend wutudlice sende stefne micle of **gaste agæf**
- WScp:* Se hælend þa asende his stefne ȝ **forðferde**
- WycEV:* Forsoþ Jhesus, a greet vois sent out, **deide, or sente out the breth**.
- AV:* And Iesus cryed with a loude voice, and gaue vp the ghost.
4. Glad or be glad
- (16) Jn 8.56 [abraham pater uester **exultauit** ut uideret diem meum et uidit et **gausus est**]
- Li:* abraham fæder iuer gefeade þe gesege dæge minne ȝ gesæh ȝ **gegladade l glæd uæs**
- Ru2:* abrahame feder iowrum **gi-feode** þe gisege dæg minne ȝ gisæh ȝ **gladade l glæd wæs**
- WScp:* Abraham eower fæder **geblissode** þ he gesawe minnae (*sic*) dæg ȝ he geseah ȝ **geblissode**;
- WycEV:* Abraham, ȝoure fader, **ful out ioyede**, that he schulde se my day; and he syȝ, and he **ioyede**.
- WycLV:* Abraham, ȝoure fadir, **gladide** to se my dai; and he saiȝ, and **ioyede**.
- AV:* Your father Abraham reioyced to see my day: and he saw it, & was glad.
- (17) Ps 50.10 (**DOE ge-gladian** B.1.a. with bones (as synecdoche for a person) as subject: to be glad, rejoice)
- [Auditui meo dabis gaudium et laetitiam. et **exultabunt ossa humiliatae**]
- A:* gehernisse minre þu seles gefian ȝ blisse ȝ **gefiað** ban ða geðmodedan
- D:* ȝehyrnisse minre þu selst ȝefean blisse **ȝefeoðað** ban ȝeeadmeddu
- K:* gehyrnesse minre þu sylst blisse ȝ gefean ȝ **gegladiaþ** ban eadmode
- WycEV:* To myn heering thou shalt giue ioge and gladnesse; and **ful out shul ioge** bones mekid.
- WycLV:* ȝyue thou ioie, and gladnesse to myn heryng; and boony maad meke **schulen ful out make ioye**.
- AV* (51.8): Make mee to heare ioy and gladnesse; *that the bones which thou hast broken, may reioyce.*
- (18) Ps 67.4 [**Exultent** in conspectus dei. et **delectentur** in laetitia]
- A:* **gefen** in gesihðe godes **sien gelustfullade** in blisse
- D:* hy **blissien** on gesyhðe ȝodes ȝ **ȝegladien** on blisse
- I:* **blissiað** on gesihðe godes ȝ **beoð gelustfullode** on blisse
- WycEV:* and **ful out glade** thei [*LV: make fulli ioyel*] in the sige of God; and **delite** thei in gladnesse.
- AV* (68.3): let them reioyce before God, yea let them

exceedingly reioyce
[Hebr. reioyce with gladnesse].

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The origin of the *get*-passive revisited

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Aim

To propose a possible direction in resolving a dispute over the origin of the *get*-passive, by focusing on language contacts, especially with Old Norse and a subsequent dialect mixing.

1. Previous research on the origin of the *get*-passive

a. Inchoative type

Inchoative *get* + adjectival complement (inchoative type) (cf. Gronemeyer 1999; Hundt 2001, among others), e.g. *The soup got cold*.

- Stems from a corpus study.
- A predominant construction found in historical data: involving *get* + adjective.
- Too much on syntactic features the structure as a dynamic counterpart of *be*-passive.
- *Get* is grammaticalised as a passive auxiliary.
- However, no considerations for various semantic and functional aspects.
- The duration for the grammaticalisation is misunderstood, i.e. from the 18th/19th century.

b. Causative type

Causative *get* cum reflexive construction (causative type) (cf. Givón and Yang 1994; Toyota 2008), e.g. *I got myself promoted*.

- It incorporates semantically peculiar features of the *get*-passive.

- a. The lack of the dynamic counterpart of an auxiliary after *weordan* ‘become.’
- b. The subject’s control over events and generic characteristics (facilitative).
- c. The lack of an agent phrase.
- d. The animacy of the subject.
- e. The adversative/benefactive reading.
- These features are often typologically associated with the middle voice.
- The data cannot be easily found in the historical corpus.

2. Etymology of *get*

- It was derived from Old Norse *geta* ‘obtain, reach’ in the 13th century.
- Old Norse *geta* was often used with adjectival complement, and it was in turn derived from Proto-Germanic **getan* ‘seize’ (cf. Proto-Indo-European *ghe(n)d- ‘seize’).
- OE as well as Old Dutch and Old Frisian used **getan* in a compound, e.g. OE *begietan* ‘beget’, *forgietan* ‘forget’, *undergietan* ‘understand,’ etc.
- A transitive use of *get* was common in Old Norse-influenced areas in the Northern & Eastern parts of Britain (cf. the Dane law).

3. Replication (contact-induced grammaticalisation)

- Grammaticalisation has two types, spontaneous one and contact-induced one, known as replication.
- Replication requires much less time to go through a chain of changes, e.g. only 200-300 years (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005; 2006).
- Contact with Old Norse, and subsequent contacts among dialects of English (ones influenced by Old Norse in north/east and ones without such influence) can be a clue in solving the mystery.

4. Sources for contacts

- Contacts between Southern England dialects and Scottish English in the 16th to 17th centuries.
- This was triggered when a migration of people from the north (including Scotland) to London took place after the enthronement of the Scottish King, James I of England (or James VI of Scotland).
- These were followed by the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century.

5. Legacy of northern dialects in Present-Day English

- The corpus of Older Scott shows that the use of the *get*-passive in Old Scott was rare and *get* was often used in a structure ‘S *get* DO V-ed’. The impact of Old Scott and Northern dialects may have been undervalued, but
- The result of earlier contacts is clearly visible in various parts of the English grammar today, e.g.:
 - a. verbal conjugation (third person singular present indicative *-s*),
 - b. third person plural pronouns starting *th-* (e.g. *they, their, them*),
 - c. the definite article *the*, etc.

6. Typological comparison

- One of the daughter languages of Old Norse, Norwegian, employs *få* ‘get’ as a passive auxiliary with a ditransitive construction.
- Old Norse *verða* ‘become’ acted like a passive auxiliary, and the passive with this inchoative verb might have acted as the base for replication.
- English lost its cognate *weordan* ‘become’ by Early Modern English and it is possible to conceive that *get* was replicated as a passive auxiliary.

7. Summary

- Notice that Old Scott and Northern dialects were heavily influenced by intense contact with Old Norse, and the influence of Old Norse is indirectly visible in the *get*-passive.

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混合動名詞の出現と衰退について (On the Rise and Decline of Hybrid Gerunds)

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1. はじめに

- (1) ... and that women can probably achieve the same benefit by carefully examining their own breasts once a month. (Collins #88168570)
- (2) The loud shouting of the children kept him awake. (Declerck (1991: 498))
- (3) ...that I allmost feare of the obtaining it,... (JOXINDEN-E2-P2,71.6)

●本発表の主張

- 混合動名詞は限定詞付きの名詞的動名詞の構造に、屈折接辞としての ing を適用したことにより出現した。
- 動詞的動名詞の構造が TP まで拡張したことが、混合動名詞の衰退に繋がった。

2. 中英語から近代英語におけるデータ

- (4) 中英語期における目的語を伴う動名詞 (cf. Tajima (1985: 39, 80))

	1100-1200	1200-1250	1250-1300	1300-1350	1350-1400	1400-1450	1450-1500
Type 3	23	3	19	160	595	717	562
Type 4	8	9	5	103	250	414	594
Type 5	0	0	1	23	59	253	328
Type 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	12

*Type 3 = 限定詞のない名詞的動名詞 Type 4 = 限定詞付きの名詞的動名詞

Type 5 = 動詞的動名詞

Type 6 = 混合動名詞

- (5) a. with-outē hurtingue of ani-þing (Type 3)
without hurting of anything
'without hurting of anything'

(c1280-90 *The Early South-English Legendary* 52.6/ Tajima (1985: 62))

- b. aþet te schedunge of ower blod (Type 4)
until the shedding of your blood
'until the shedding of your blood'

(?a1200 *Ancrene Wisse* 135/4-5/ Tajima (1985: 67))

- (6) Witouten asking help of sun (Type 5)
Without asking help of sun
'Without asking help of sun'

(a1325 (MS a1400) *Cursor* 5195/ Tajima (1985: 76))

- (7) in the biholdinge the feire fethers of his taile (Type 6)
in the beholding the fair feathers of his tail
'in the beholding the beautiful feathers of his tail'

(1450 *Scrope DSP* 276/31/ Tajima (1985: 80))

- (8) 近代英語期における目的語を伴う動名詞 (PPCEME/PPCMBE)

	1500-1569	1570-1639	1640-1700	1700-1769	1770-1839	1840-1914
名詞的動名詞	353 (64.8%)	307 (41.8%)	186 (18.4%)	49 (4.8%)	76 (7.4%)	74 (10.1%)
動詞的動名詞	185 (33.9%)	409 (55.6%)	755 (74.6%)	895 (88.4%)	942 (91.3%)	652 (89.2%)
混合動名詞	7 (1.3%)	19 (2.6%)	71 (7.0%)	69 (6.8%)	14 (1.4%)	5 (0.7%)

*名詞的動名詞は Type 3 と Type 4 の両方を含む。

- (9) a. ...that the effect may oftentimes be much promoted, by employing both these ways successively; (BOYLE-E3-H,9E.7)
b. Yet this Caput mortuum was so far from having lost its Electrical Faculty,... (BOYLE-E3-H,25E.82)

- (10) a. The Salts contribute very much to the abundantly supplying the Plants with what is requisite.

(1707 *Le Lorrian de Vallemont Curiosities in Husbandry and Gardening*/ OED)

- b. ...he was soe thorowlly bewichd as to owne the haveing writ it,...

(ANHATTON-E3-P1,2,152.12)

- (11) a. 混合動名詞と名詞的動名詞の類似性:
限定詞を伴う。
- b. 混合動名詞と動詞的動名詞の類似性:
1. 目的語を直接取る。
2. 副詞による修飾が可能である。
3. having+過去分詞の形式を持つ。

3. 提案

- (12) 限定詞付きの名詞的動名詞の構造
[DP D [nP [n V + ing] [PP P NP]]]
- (13) 出現~1700 年までの動詞的動名詞の構造
[v*P Subj [v* [v* V+ing] [VP t_V Obj]]]
- (14) 混合動名詞の出現に関わる 2 つの要因
a. 動詞的動名詞の増加に伴う、屈折接辞としての ing が確立されてきたこと
b. 限定詞付きの名詞的動名詞(=Type 4)が限定詞のない名詞的動名詞(=Type 3)よりも数的に優位になってきたこと

(15) 混合動名詞の出現の過程

- a. [DP D [nP [n V + ing] [PP P NP]]] ing = 派生接辞
b. [DP D [v*P Subj [v* V + ing] [VP t_V Obj]]] ing = 屈折接辞

(16) 1700 年以降の動詞的動名詞の構造

- [TP Subj [T' T [EPP] [v*P t_{Subj} [v* [v* V + ing] [VP t_V Obj]]]]]

- (17) Epicurus and his scholars of old... make this an argument of there being no God.
(1657-83 John Evelyn, *Hist. Religion*, I, 79 / (Visser 1966: 1185))
- (18) 1657-1914 までの間の虚辞を伴う動詞的動名詞の例 (cf. Visser (1966: 1185))

1657-1700	1700-1769	1770-1839	1840-1914
1	2	2	3

- (19) I ask where possibly at Compton Green there could be pictures without me knowing it.

(1872 W. Besant & J. Rice, *Ready Money Mortiboy* i, 289/ Visser (1966: 1184))

(20) 1477-1914 年までの間の対格主語を伴う動詞的動名詞の例

1477-1500	1500-1569	1570-1639	1640-1700	1700-1769	1770-1839	1840-1914
3	1	2	0	1	1	14

(cf. Visser (1966: 1184))

(21) 動詞的動名詞: 節構造を持たない。 (=TP を含まない) (1700年以前)

節構造を持つ。 (=TP を含む) (1700 年以降)

混合動名詞: 節構造を持たない。 (=TP を含まない) (1914年まで)

4. 結語

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英語史における *How come* 構文の起源と発達について
 (On the Origin and Development of *How Come* Constructions in the History of English)

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1. 導入

- (1) a. Why did John leave?
 b. How come John left? (Collins (1991: 32))
- (2) a. Why did John say Mary left?
 b. How come John said Mary left? (Collins (1991: 33))
- (3) a. [INTP *how come* (postmodifier) [INT *o*] ...]
 b. [INTP *how* (postmodifier) [INT *come*] ...] (Radford (2018: 253))
- (4) a. *How come the hell* that doesn't happen in real life?
 (itshardbeingmesometimes.blogspot.com / Radford (2018: 252))
 b. *How come on earth* he has the power to beat the top players?
 (dragonsoulgame.com / Radford (2018: 252))
- (5) a. *How the heck come* I don't get my fair share?
 (readersupportednews.com / Radford (2018: 253))
 b. *How on earth come* you are using fahrenheit?
 (volcanocafe.wordpress.com / Radford (2018: 253))

2. 歴史的事実

- (6) How come + [Subj V...] (Finite)
 - a. he *drap he* head one side, he did, *en he ax how come* Brer Rabbit got all *de* luck on *he* own side.
 (COHA,1881,FIC,NightsWithUncle / Claridge (2012: 184))
 - b. If he *don't gittin'* better, **how come** he's every day a little more *kvieter*
 (COHA,1884,FIC,DrSevier / Claridge (2012: 184))
- (7) How come (Bare)
 - a. "How come, Peter?" demanded Jimmy Day.
 (COHA,1922,FIC,JudithGodlessValley)
 - b. Nobody know how come!
 (COHA,1934,FIC,Play:PottersField)

- (8) How come + [Subj (PP / to V / CP)] (V2)
- a. And how comes he? (COHA,1833,FIC,Camillus)
 - b. How came it in the water? (COHA,1870,MAG,Atlantic)
 - c. “How come you to have it to sell?” (COHA,1852,FIC,HillsShatemuc)
 - d. How comes it that those ruins have not, in part, accumulated? (COHA,1836,NF,StPierresStudies)

表：1810年代から2000年代における *how come*、*how came*、*how comes/th* の分布

	<i>How come</i>				<i>How came</i>				<i>How comes/th</i>			
	Finite	Bare	V2	others	Finite	Bare	V2	others	Finite	Bare	V2	others
1810	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	3	0
1820	0	0	1	2	0	0	69	1	0	0	10	1
1830	0	0	3	1	0	0	75	0	0	0	36	3
1840	0	0	6	1	0	0	126	1	0	0	15	2
1850	0	0	3	1	0	0	98	1	0	0	18	2
1860	0	0	3	0	0	0	99	0	0	0	19	1
1870	0	0	7	0	0	0	97	0	0	0	18	0
1880	9	3	14	0	0	0	79	1	0	0	25	0
1890	0	0	2	0	0	0	62	0	0	0	24	0
1900	2	2	9	2	0	0	56	1	0	0	10	0
1910	3	1	4	1	0	0	24	0	0	0	9	0
1920	17	19	19	1	0	0	24	0	1	0	14	1
1930	46	24	20	5	0	0	15	1	0	0	4	0
1940	102	39	17	3	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0
1950	117	33	17	6	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0
1960	140	44	17	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
1970	240	82	20	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0
1980	218	46	13	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
1990	251	44	18	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
2000	203	38	15	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0

- (9) a. “I declare! I thought Hunchie was out of his head. *How comes* [you are named after that horse], girl?” (COHA,1922,FIC,BettyGordonAtMountain)
- b. “Josiah, it often wonders me *how comes* [a fellow that travels around as much as you do still hangs on to the old horse and buggy].” (COHA,1942,FIC,ComeBackWayneCounty)

- (10) How + postmodifier + come + [Subj V...] (Finite)
How the hell come you didn't know that! (COHA,1969,FIC,Mov:WildBunchThe)

- (11) How + postmodifier + come (Bare)
 “Pray tell, how the hell come?” (COHA, 1974, FIC, OneTimeISawMorning)
- (12) How + postmodifier + come + [Subj (PP / to do)] (V2)
 a. “How in the world came you by this?” (COHA, 1857, FIC, BrotherClerks)
 b. Why, how on earth came you to know anything of it?
 (COHA, 1847, FIC, MadmenAll)

3. 分析

3.1. 理論的枠組み

- (13) Late Merge Principle (LMP)
 Merge as late as possible. (Gelderen (2011: 14))
- (14) a. [I am going [to marry Bill]]
 b. [I [am going to] marry Bill] (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 3))

3.2. *How come* 構文の起源と発達

- (15) a. And how comes he? (= (8a))
 b. [CP how [V+T+C comes] [TP he t_{V+T} [VP t_V] t_{how}]]
- (16) a. “How in the world came you by this?” (= (12a))
 b. Why, how on earth came you to know anything of it? (= (12b))
- (17) LMP
 a. [CP how [V+T+C come/came/comes] [TP Subj t_{V+T} [VP t_V...]] t_{how}]] (~2000s)
 → b. [CP how [c come] [TP Subj T [VP V...]]] (1880s ~)
- (18) How the hell come you didn't know that! (= (10))
- (19) a. *How the heck come* I don't get my fair share? (= (5a))
 b. *How on earth come* you are using fahrenheit? (= (5b))
- (20) Rebracketing
 a. [CP how [c come] [TP Subj T [VP V...]]] (1880s ~)
 → b. [CP [how come] [c ø] [TP Subj T [VP V...]]] (2000s ~)

- (21) a. *How come the hell* that doesn't happen in real life? (= (4a))
 b. *How come on earth* he has the power to beat the top players? (= (4b))

3.3. 帰結

- (22) A: Max has invited someone.
 B: Really? Who (*has)? (Merchant (2001: 63))
- (23) a. [CP how [V+T+C come/came/comes] [TP Subj t_{V+T} [VP $t_{V\dots}$] t_{how}]] (= (17a))
 b. [CP how C ~~[TP Subj T [VP come\dots]] t_{how}~~]]
- (24) a. [CP how [C come] ~~[TP Subj T [VP V\dots]]~~]
 b. [CP [how come] [C \emptyset] ~~[TP Subj T [VP V\dots]]~~]

4. 結論

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言語における leakage 現象
(The Leakage Phenomenon in Language)

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1. 本発表の目的

本発表の目的は、一般に誤用とされる言語表現の中には、【leakage 現象】という観点から捉えることにより、その出現を説明することができるものがあることを示すことである。具体的には、“I don't {think/believe/know that} $\neg p$.” という英語表現と、「～（ら）れることができる」（重複した可能表現）という日本語表現を取り扱う。

2. Leakage 現象

- (1) Jack suspects Jill may be pregnant.
 - a. Jack inclines to the proposition “Jill may be pregnant.”
 - b. Jack inclines to the proposition “Jill is pregnant.” (Langacker (2004: 564))
- (2) Impressionistically, we can describe this as a kind of “leakage”, where the inclination coded by *suspect* seeps into the subordinate clause and manifests itself as the modal *may*. (ibid.)
- (3) 主節述語によってコード化されている【認識・意識】が従属節に浸透し、その【認識・意識】が従属節において、（語彙の形で）言語化される現象

3. “I don't {think/believe/know that} $\neg p$.”

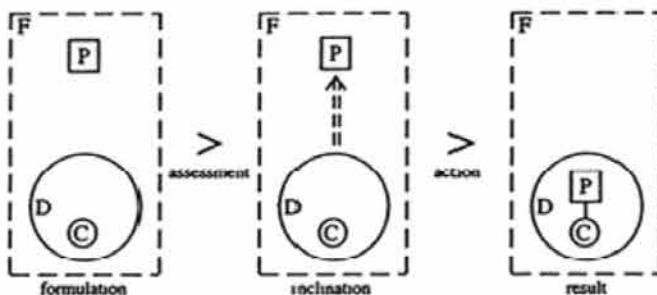
- 3.1 二種類の“I don't {think/believe/know that} $\neg p$.”
- (4) PERRY: ... But, obviously, the kid did not know between right and wrong...
ELЛИCOTT: I think the one thing I would disagree on is that I don't think this kid didn't know the difference between right and wrong. He didn't know the difference between wrong and very wrong. (CNN TALKBACK LIVE, 2002/08/09)
- (5) NOVAK: Congressman Ackerman, there's been a lot of reports that Senator Kerry is not doing well and a shakeup in his staff is needed. Do you believe a shakeup in his staff is necessary?
ACKERMAN: I don't believe he's not doing well. (CNN CROSSFIRE, 2004/08/31)
- (6) REPORTER: I'm staying here. My point is that if you interrupt during an interview while it's going on because you don't like the question.
ARMY PAO: I didn't know the- and I'm trying to tell you is, I don't know that I don't like the question. (ABC NIGHTLINE, 1990/10/10)
- (7) O'BRIEN: Cheri, Cheri, would you - Cheri, quick question for you. Should the troops come out in Korea, the U.S. troops?
JACOBUS: I don't know. I don't think I'm not qualified to answer that, probably not at this point. (CNN TALKBACK LIVE, 2002/12/27)
- (8) BROWN: ...if you ask for my personal judgment, a two-way contest between George Bush and Bill Clinton. I think Bill Clinton is going to win that contest. That doesn't mean I don't believe Ross Perot isn't going to be a factor. I think he is a major factor. I take him seriously. (ABC BRINKLEY, 1992/06/07)

(9) LASHONDA: I have a question for that lady right there. How does she know her daughter don't know about sex?

WOMAN: I just don't think she -- I mean, I don't know that she doesn't know. I don't think she knows about it, you know. I mean, I don't think she knows anything about it.

(INDEPENDENT STATION GERALD, 1994/07/21)

3.2 認知言語学的考察



C=conceptualizer (actor) P=proposition (target) D=epistemic dominion (C's conception of reality)

Figure 1: Epistemic Control Cycle (Langacker 2004: 542)

(10) ... an inclination stage, where the subject inclines toward a positive or negative judgment without yet being able to definitely resolve the matter. (Langacker (2002: 200))

(11) Sunnicht (2001) argues persuasively that negative raising is only found with the inclination stage, where the matter is still at issue. (Langacker (2002: 201))

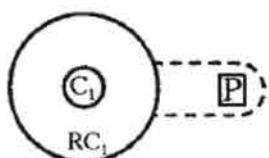


Figure 2: Inclination (Langacker (2009: 315))

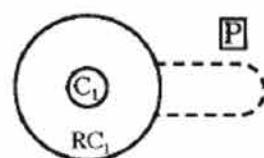


Figure 3: Disinclination (Langacker (2009:315))

(12) Inclination: *believe, think, suppose, imagine, suspect, figure, reckon, expect*

Disinclination: *doubt, don't {believe/think/suppose/imagine/...}* (Langacker (2009: 316))

(13) (21) a. *I don't {believe / think / suppose /...} she can trust him.*

b. *I {believe / think / suppose /...} she can't trust him.*

...To account for the rough equivalence of (21)a–b, all we need say is that the negation in (21)a affects the polarity of the inclination, changing it from (positive) inclination (capture) to disinclination (avoidance). That is, it affects the direction of C1's mental projection of RC1, the result being that it does not reach P (the case of inclination) but instead reaches its alternative (~P). On that interpretation (21)a is “logically” equivalent to (21)b, which specifies a positive inclination toward ~P. The expressions represent alternate ways of construing (i.e. conceiving and portraying) the same situation. (Langacker (2009: 317))

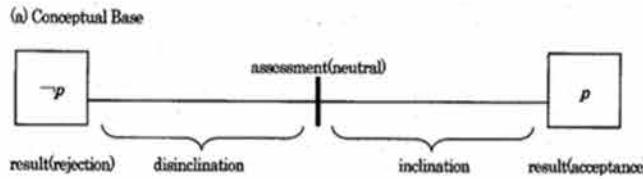


Figure 4: Propositional Attitude and Psychological Distance (Mori (2009: 118))

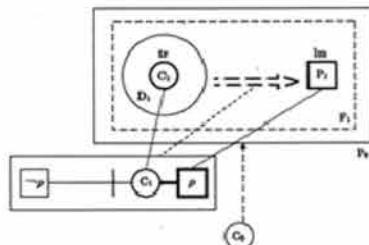


Figure 5: C1's Inclination toward p
(Mori (2009: 119))

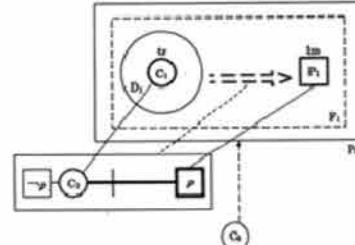


Figure 6: C1's Disinclination toward p
(Mori (2009: 119))

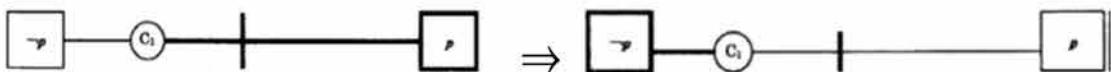


Figure 7: Profile Shift on Psychological Distance Scale (Mori (2009: 120))

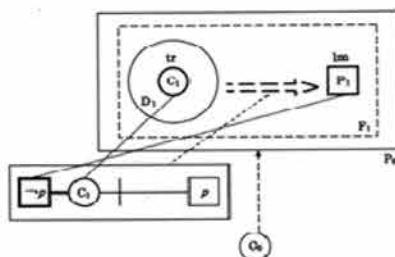


Figure 8: C1's Inclination toward ~p [via p. s.]
(Mori (2009: 120))

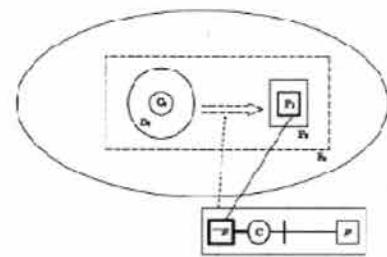


Figure 9: Co's Inclination toward ~p [e. m.]
(Mori (2009: 132))

(14) I don't {think/believe/know that} [p]

(原義) [p]に対する disinclination 【main clause】 (Figure 6)

(拡張義) [~p]への inclination 【epistemic marker】 (Figure 9)

(15) (7)-(9)の実線下線部における従属節 not は、I don't {think/believe/know that}に付与されている『~p (否定命題)への inclination』が喚起する「否定命題 [~p]に対する心的態度の表明」の意識が従属節に浸透した(seep into)ことによって生じたものである。したがって、実質的な意味ではなく、虚辞として扱わなければならない。 (Mori (2009: 136)の英文の日本語訳に加筆)

(16) Beijing called for emergency talks with North Korea, the United States, Japan, South Korea and Russia, participants in the six-party nuclear talks, which have been suspended indefinitely. “The United States and a host of others, *I don't think*, are not interested in stabilizing the

region through a series of P.R. activities," said Robert Gibbs. (New York Times, 2010/11/30)

4. 「～(ら) れることができる」

- (17) 可能表現の重複を昨今よく見聞きします。最も多いのは「(ら) れることができる」です。可能の意の「れる／られる」+「できる」は誤りですから、「未然形+(ら) れる」か「終止形+ことができる」のどちらかにしましょう。【×感じられることができる ○感じられる ○感じることができる】同様に、可能動詞に可能の意の「れる／られる」や「ことができる」をつけてもいけません。【×読められる ×読めることができる】(『Hatena Blog 許容される日本語』2012/08/19)
- (18) これまでの検索ツールでは得られることができなかつた、さまざまな資料や情報と出会うきっかけとして是非 KWEST をご活用ください。 (関西学院大学図書館)
- (19) 東北大以外の入場者が 80%を越えた今回の企画展においては、学外者からの期待を肌で感じることができ、貴重な経験を得られることができました。(東北大附属図書館報 2005 Vo.30, No.3)
- (20) このシンプルモデルは、(後略)。さらに、大規模計算の条件設定の目安となり、より正確な結果を得られるすることができます。 (名古屋大学理学部 地球惑星科学科 地球惑星物理講座のご案内)
- (21) その結果、腫瘍摘出度を高めることができ、それによって長期の腫瘍制御も良好な結果を得られることがあります。 (大阪市立大学 プレスリリース)
- (22) 「ことができる」によってコード化されている【可能】の意識が名詞化辞「こと」によって名詞節に変換された文内に浸透して、その意識が、『可能』を表す助動詞「(ら) れる」として言語化した。
- (23) 「《文型 b》[人・生き物] [に/が/は] 文 ことができる」 (小泉 保 他(編)(1989: 342))
- (24) 「Vすることができる」の「Vする」が他動詞一例えば、「得る」一の場合、対象格表示の助詞は「ヲ」でなければ非文となる(稀に、「ガ」が生起する実例も見られるが、「得ることができ」がこのまとまりで一つの述語として認識され、他動詞「得る」に付随する「他動性」の意識が希薄になった場合に限られる)。
- (25) 「得られることができ...」の対象格表示:「ヲ格」 - 24 例 (83%) 「ガ格」 - 5 例 (17%)

5. まとめ

本発表では、I don't {think/believe/know that} →p. という英語表現と、「～(ら) れることができる」という日本語表現を取り上げて、これらの表現が leakage (現象) の結果として生じている可能性が高いことを論じた。また、前者の場合には、Langacker(2004)の論考から定義される leakage 現象の規定をそのまま適用できるのに対して、後者の場合には、拡大適用の必要があることを指摘した。

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N-free X と *N-less X* の構文形態論に基づく分析
(An Analysis of *N-free X* and *N-less X* Based on Construction Morphology)

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1. はじめに

- 英語の接尾辞-free と-less の特徴：名詞(N)を基体に取り、主に「Nがない」という欠如の意味を表す。特に *N-free* における基体Nは「望ましくないもの」とみなされる。
 - a. acid-free, care-free, duty-free, frost-free, nuclear-free, smoke-free, etc. (西川 (2006: 247))
 - b. **fat-free** yoghurt / **lead-free** petrol / **hassle-free** banking (Cruse (2011: 355))
- (2) N-less:
 - a. careless, childless, endless, fatherless, harmless, moonless, etc. (西川 (2006: 257))
 - b. pointless / useless / valueless / a **tailless** breed / a **fearless** campaigner (Cruse (2011: 355))
- 本発表の目的：共起語を含めた *N-free X* と *N-less X* の具体的な表現を通して、なぜ *N-free* と *N-less* の意味の違いが生じるのかを調査する。

2. 先行研究

- Bauer et al. (2013) : *N-free* の表現が示す「Nの欠如」を望ましいものとみなすという点で、*N-free* と *N-less* は異なることを示唆している。
- (3) a. *saltless*: the absence of salt is a negative or neutral quality.
b. *salt-free*: the absence of salt is something desirable. (Bauer et al. (2013: 368))

→ Bauer et al. (2013) はこのような形で説明しているが、なぜ(3)のような観察になるのかをより詳しく調査する必要がある。

⇒ 共起語との関係性や、共起語を含めた個々の用例に基づいて形成されるスキーマから説明できるのではないか？

3. 考察

3.1. *N-free* と *N-less* のコロケーション分析

- コーパスを用いた共起語の比較を通して *N-free* と *N-less* の意味の違いを検証する。

<分析方法>

- ・内田 (2014) が提示する「COCA を用いた類義語の検証方法（例：*accomplish* と *attain* の違いを目的語のコロケーションから説明する）」を採用する。
- ・*N-free* と *N-less* の「直後にくる名詞」を比較する。検索した名詞の共起語 X を見出し語 (lemmas) ごとにまとめ、共通するコロケーションがあるかどうかを確かめる。

→ 内田 (2014) に基づき、「2つの派生語 (*N-free*, *N-less*) が特定の共起語 X を共有しないほど、それらの派生語は意味が異なる可能性が高い」と想定する。

- *N-free / N-less* における基体 N とその共起語 X の意味的関係、X の位置にくる名詞の特徴を考察する。

表 1. コーパスに基づく *N-free* と *N-less* の共起語比較

派生語	共起語 X (頻度) (COCAに基づく)	X の特徴
smoke-free	[LAW](60)/ [ENVIRONMENT](41)/ [POLICY](16)/ [WORKPLACE](16)/ [LEGISLATION](11)/ [ZONE](9)/ [ORDINANCE](5)/ [HOSPITAL](4)...	法律[政策], 場所
smokeless	[TOBACCO](157)/ [POWDER](34)/ [PRODUCT](16)/ [CIGARETTE](10)/ [FIRE](5)/ [ASHTRAY](2)/ [FLAME](2)/ [GUNPOWDER](2)...	タバコ, 火薬, 加熱調理器具
child-free	[LIFESTYLE](2)/ [MORNING](2)/ [TIME](1)/ [SITE](1)/ [NIGHT](1)...	生活, 期間
childless	[COUPLE](94)/ [WOMAN](69)/ [MARRIAGE](17)/ [MAN](12)/ [WORKER](11)...	結婚, 人
ice-free	[CORRIDOR](11)/ [LAND](8)/ [WATER](6)/ [AREA](5)/ [SEASON](3)/ [PORT](3)...	場所, 期間
iceless	[RUM](1)/ [ICE](1) ※[ICE]は ice cube trays を指す。	酒, 製氷皿
hands-free	[DEVICE](28)/ [PHONE](23)/ [HEADSET](11)/ [OPERATION](8)/ [CALL](6)...	装置, 電話
handless	[BODY](3)/ [CORPSE](2)/ [ARM](1)/ [SEGWAY](1)/ [HUG](1)...	死体, 脱
派生語	共起語 X (頻度) (NOWに基づく)	X の特徴
milk-free	[DIET](7)/ [VERSION](2)/ [FOOD](2)/ [YOGURT](1)/ [FORMULA](1)...	食事, 食品
milkless	[TEA](2)/ [MOTHER](1)/ [DAIRY](1)/ [CUP](1)/ [BREAST](1)	母親, 胸
cloud-free	[IMAGERY](7)/ [MOSAIC](4)/ [PICTURE](3)/ [MAP](3)/ [VIEWING](2)...	画像, 写真
cloudless	[MORNING](24)/ [WINTER](8)/ [AZURE](8) ... ※[AZURE]は azure sky を指す。	空, 期間
harm-free	[CARE](2)/ [TRANSITION](1)/ [INTERVENTION](1)/ [STRATEGY](1)/ [BOOZE](1)...	介護, 戰略
harmless	[FUN](821)/ [SUBSTANCE](330)/ [PRANK](227)/ [JOKE](117)/ [VIRUS](81)...	いたずら, 物質
派生語	共起語 X (頻度) (iWebに基づく)	X の特徴
acid-free	[PAPER](534)/ [TISSUE](214)/ [BOX](86)/ [MATERIAL](61)/ [BOARD](41)...	紙, 物質
acidless	[ORANGE](4)/ [TALLOW](2)/ [PRIMER](1)	果物, 油脂
toll-free	[NUMBER](7173)/ [PHONE](1331)/ [HOTLINE](672)/ [CALL](461)...	電話関連
toll-less	[HIKING](1)/ [ROAD](1)/ [ROUTE](1) ... ※[HIKING]は hiking trail を指す。	道路, ルート

smoke-free X / smokeless X

- (4) a. Many community health organizations are eager to participate in efforts to achieve **smoke-free workplaces**. (COCA) [Smoke-free workplaces implies that people cannot smoke in workplaces.]
b. ... at least 171 local housing authorities in 25 states have adopted **smoke-free policies** for some or all of their housing, ... (COCA) [Smoke-free policies implies that people cannot smoke in a housing that has said some policy]
- (5) a. Despite the widely publicized decline in cigarette smoking, sales of **smokeless tobacco** are booming. (COCA) [smokeless tobacco = tobacco that is used by means other than smoking, such as chewing tobacco and snuff]
b. ... black powder was replaced by a **smokeless powder** called cordite. (COCA) [smokeless powder = gunpowder that does not involve much smoke]
c. **smokeless** [FUEL](102)/ [COAL](40)/ [STOVE](30)/ [FLAME](14)
cf. **smoke-free** [FUEL](2)/ [COAL](none)/ [STOVE](6)/ [FLAME](none) (NOW)

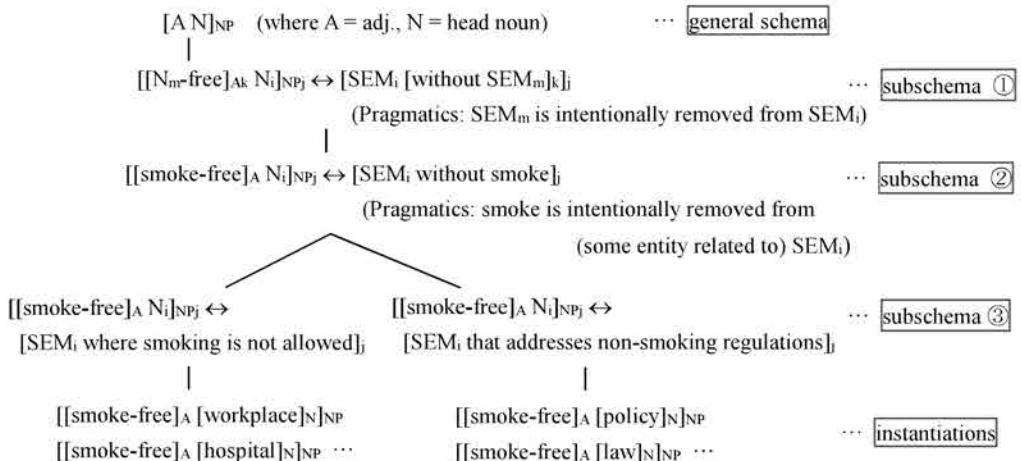
〈基体 N と共起語 X の意味的関連性〉

- (6) a. *N-less X* における事物 X は本来、基体 N が表す事物そのものを産出する、または「X には N がつきものだ」という状況を作り出すことが可能である。
 b. 基体 N が事物 X から意図的に除去されているという解釈は、文脈上 *N-free X* の方が強く関連している。

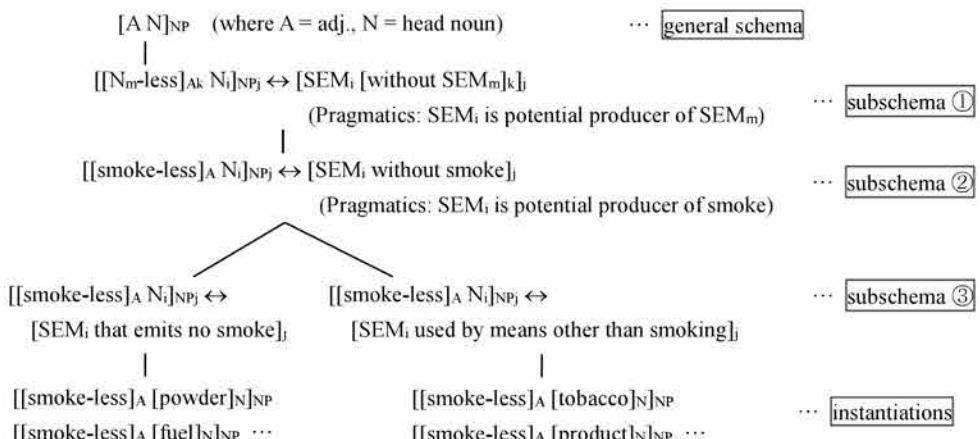
3.2. *N-free X* と *N-less X* の意味規定

- Booij (2010) の構文形態論 (Construction Morphology) に基づき、*smoke-free X* / *smokeless X* のような表現を「構文」とみなし、具体的な表現を一般化することで、語用論的意味を含む *[N-free X]* / *[N-less X]* の中間的なスキーマがボトムアップ的に形成されると考える。

(7) *N-free X* の構文スキーマ



(8) *N-less X* の構文スキーマ



- 具体的な表現 (e.g. *smoke-free policy*, *smokeless tobacco*) が持つ慣用性と、それらの表現に見られる一般性が捉えられる。中間的なスキーマの存在によって、新規表現の产出も可能となる。
- N-free / N-less* の意味の違いは、単にこれらの形容詞だけで判断できるものではない。*N-free X / N-less X* のレベルで分析することで、表 2 に見られる容認性の違いを説明できる。

表 2. 「*N-free X / *N-less X*」, 「**N-free X / N-less X*」の例

派生語	共起語 X (頻度) (COCA に基づく)	X の特徴
alcohol-free	[TONER](6)/ [MOUTHWASH](4)/ [CAMPUS](2)/ [CONCERT](2)/ [EVENT](2)...	液体製品, 場所
nuclear-free	[ZONE](29)/ [WORLD](15)/ [STATUS](3)/ [POLICY](1)/ [FUTURE](1)...	地域, 世界
fatherless	[CHILD](30)/ [HOME](27)/ [FAMILY](20)/ [HOUSEHOLD](9)/ [SON](5)...	子, 家庭
worthless	[STOCK](25)/ [PAPER](16)/ [MAN](13)/ [CURRENCY](8)/ [DEGREE](2)...	貨幣, 人, 学位
cf. *alcoholless toner/ campus *nuclearless zone/ world *father-free child/ home *worth-free stock/ man		

3.3. *salt-free* と *saltless* の意味記述再考

- なぜ *salt-free* と *saltless* が(3)のような意味を持つのか?

- (9) 共通するコロケーションの存在 : **salt-free** [bread](3) / **saltless** [bread](2) (COCA)
- (10) a. Americans don't have a taste for **saltless bread**, let alone the patience for the long, long chew of old Tuscan bread. (COCA)
- b. For those on salt-restricted diets, use **salt-free bread**. (COCA)

- 基体 salt と共起語 bread の意味的関係 : 「本来パンには塩分がつきもの」
- saltless bread* : 「パンは塩分の旨味を引き出すという本来の能力を発揮せず、単に塩分が欠如している状態」 → 否定的または中立的に捉えられる。
- salt-free bread* : 「塩分調整の必要な人にとって塩分は望ましくないもの。パンから意図的に塩分が除去されている状態」 → パンに塩分が入っていないのは望ましいと捉えられる。

→ 共起語との関係性、中間的なスキーマ (subschema ①) の観点から説明できる。

→ *salt-free/saltless bread* の容認度は、話し手の捉え方の違いにもかかわる。

4. 結論

- N-free X / N-less X* の考察を通して基体 N と共起語 X の意味的関連性を指摘し、[*N-free X*] / [*N-less X*] の中間的なスキーマによって *N-free / N-less* の違いを捉えられることを示した。

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コーパス : Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) / Corpus of News on the Web (NOW) / The 14 Billion Word iWeb Corpus **辞書** : *Cambridge Dictionary* / *Collins English Dictionary* / 英辞郎 on the WEB / *Oxford English Dictionary*

情報焦点移動と強調—形容詞の前置を伴う Preposing around Be を事例として—
(Information Focus Fronting and Emphasis: A Case Study of Preposing around Be with Adjective Preposing)

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1. はじめに

(1) 研究概要

- a. 生成文法理論のカートグラフィー (Cartography) の枠組みの下, Cruschina (2011) は, ロマンス語における非対比的焦点移動の観察を踏まえ, CP 領域に対比焦点 (Contrastive Focus) と強調的情報焦点 (Emphatic Information Focus) を入力する統語位置を 2 つ仮定する。
- b. Trotzke and Quaglia (2016) は, ドイツ語の不変化詞前置現象の観察に基づき, 強調的情報焦点移動の「強調」的意味に, 語彙的極度性 (Morzycki (2012)) が関与すると議論している。
- c. 本発表では, Trotzke and Quaglia (2016) の主張が, 英語の形容詞の前置を伴う Preposing around Be によって, さらに経験的に支持されると論じる。

2. 先行研究概観：焦点移動の類型と強調的情報焦点移動における強調の性質を巡って

2.1. Cruschina (2011) : 対比焦点移動と強調的情報焦点移動

- (2) a. 情報焦点 (Information Focus: IFoc): "... the assertive part of the sentence, that is the focus of the sentence, must be interpreted as innovative and the most informative, in the sense that it contributes new and relevant information to the universe of discourse ..." (Cruschina (2011:14))
- b. 対比焦点 (Contrastive Focus: CFoc): "... the assertion corresponds to denying or correcting a previous innovative assertion or presupposition that the speaker does not share ..." (Cruschina (2011:14))
- (3) a. (Context: What car did John buy?)
John bought [a Ferrari]_{IFoc} (Cruschina (2011:14))
- b. [YOUR BOOK]_{CFoc} you should give t to Paul (not mine) (Rizzi (1997:285), 修正有)

— 対比焦点を伴う文 (3b) は, *wh* 疑問文の回答として機能しない (Rizzi (1997))。

(4) シチリア語における強調的情報焦点 (Emphatic IFoc: E-IFoc)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| A. Chi scrivisti? | [Sicilian: SVO] |
| what write.PAST.2SG | |
| ‘What did you write?’ | |
| B. a. Scrissi n’articulu. | b. N’articulu scrissi! |
| write.PAST.1SG an article | an article write.PAST.1SG |
| ‘I wrote an article.’ | ‘I wrote an article.’ (Cruschina (2011:58), 修正有) |

— 強調的情報焦点を伴う文 (4Bb) は, *wh* 疑問文の回答として機能し, 意外性や驚きを伴う。

(5) 強調的情報焦点の特性 (Cruschina (2011); Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina (2016))

- ① 文焦点文脈で発話可能 (例: “Guess what?” や “What happened?” への回答)
- ② 話し手の強調 (例: 意外性, 驚き)

- (6) a. ... Force ... Topic* ... Focus ... Topic* ... Fin TP ... (Rizzi (1997:297), 修正有)
- b. ... Force ... Topic ... CFoc ... Topic ... E-IFoc ... Fin TP... (Cruschina (2011:105), 修正有)

- (7) a. ... [E-IFocP N'ARTICULU_i [E-IFoc' scrissi_i [FinP [IP pro [r t_j [P t_j [VP ... t_j ...]]]]]]] (= (4Bb))
IFoc *Assertion*
b. ... [CFocP N'ARTICULU_i [CFoc' Ø ... [FinP [IP pro scrissi t_j]]]] (no na littra)
CFoc *Presupposition* Antecedent

(8) 強調的情報焦点における「強調」の性質

- a. Cruschina (2011): 関連性理論 (Sperber and Wilson (1995))
b. Shimada et al. (2015), Shimada and Nagano (2016): Evaluative Morphology (Cinque (2015))
c. Trotzke and Quaglia (2016): 語彙の極度性 (Lexical Extremeness) (Morzycki (2012))

2.2. Trotzke and Quaglia (2016) : 強調的情報焦点における強調と語彙的極度性

(9) ドイツ語の不変化詞前置 (V2) 現象と対比解釈 (e.g. Wrumbrand (2000))

- a. Auf hat er die Tür gemacht (und nicht zu).
PART(open) has he the door made and not PART(closed)
‘He opened (not closed) the door.’ (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:111))
- b. * Auf hat Peter mit dem Trinken gehört.
PART(up) has Peter with the drinking heard
‘Peter stopped drinking.’ (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:111))
- (10) a. (auf, zu)-machen ‘to open/to shut’ (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:115))
b. (auf, #zu)-hören ‘to stop/to listen’ (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:115))

— 「先行研究の要点」「動詞+不変化詞」が、対比集合を形成する際、不変化詞前置現象が成立する。

(11) 強調的情報焦点移動タイプの不変化詞前置現象 (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:119)) (cf. (5) ①)
Stell Dir vor! ('Guess what!'):

- a. RAUS hat Costa Rica die Engländer geschmissen!
PART(out) has C. R. the English.PL thrown
‘The team of Costa Rica kicked out the English team.’
- b. ? RAUS hat die Band ihr neues Album gebracht!
PART(out) has the band their new album brought
‘The band published their new album.’

- (12) a. *rausschmeißen* ‘kick out’: (raus, #rein)-schmeißen [-contrast]
b. *rausbringen* ‘publish’: (raus, #rein)-bringen [-contrast]
(Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:120), 修正有)

— 「Trotzke and Quaglia の観察 1」 非対比的不変化詞が移動する際、強調的情報焦点解釈が生じる。

- (13) Speed is a scale that exists in the world. A speedometer is a scale through which we look at and talk about this scale. Such a scale, one through which we view another scale, is what might be called a ‘perspective scale.’ In these terms, E[xtreme]A[djective]s signal having exceeded the perspective scale.
(Morzycki (2012:583))

— 自然言語には、語彙的極度性 (感情表出性 (expressivity)) が語彙意味の一部として内在されている述語表現が存在する (cf. Implicit superlatives (Cruse (1986:Sec. 9.6))).

- (14) a. Your shoes are downright ('OK gigantic, ?? big) !!! (Morzycki (2011:568), 修正有)
 b. very (?? gigantic / big) (Morzycki (2011:570))
- (15) a. 極度性形容詞の例： gigantic, huge, gorgeous, monstrous, crazy, etc.
 b. 極度性副詞の例： simply, just, positively, absolutely, downright, etc.
- (16) a. Costa Rica hat die Engländer regelrecht rausgeschmissen.
 C. R. has the English.PL downright PART(out).thrown
 'The team of Costa Rica downright kicked out the English team.' (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:121))
 b. ?? Die Band hat ihr neues Album regelrecht rausgebracht.
 the band has their new album downright PART(out).brought
 'The band downright published their new album.' (Trotzke and Quaglia (2016:121))

— Trotzke and Quaglia の観察 2 語彙的極度性を担う不変化詞が移動する際、強調的情報焦点移動を伴う文が自然に成立するパターンが存在する。

3. 英語の形容詞の前置を伴う Preposing around Be 再考

3.1. Cruschina (2011)・Trotzke and Quaglia (2016) に基づく予測

- (17) a. 文法操作のレベルでは、強調的情報焦点移動はどの言語でも可能である。
 b. 語彙的極度性を担う述部に、強調的情報焦点移動が適用される。

— 研究課題 ロマンス語やドイツ語を中心に進められてきた強調的情報焦点移動のアプローチを英語に拡張することで、新たな経験的・理論的貢献が得られるのではないか (cf. Honda (2018)) ?

3.2. 考察対象：英語の形容詞の前置を伴う Preposing around Be

- (18) a. Most embarrassing of all was losing my keys. (Emonds (1976:35))
 b. Losing my keys was most embarrassing of all.

— 前置した形容詞にコピュラが後続する文法形式を持ち、一種の強調を担う ("Comparative Substitution" (Emonds (1976)); Hooper and Thompson (1973))。

3.3. インフォーマント調査に基づく証拠の提示

- (19) 語彙的極度性と形容詞前置操作の相関性 (cf. (11a, b), (16a, b))
 a. That Akita dog was *absolutely/just* {^{OK}humongous / ?? big}.
 b. {Humongous / ?? Big} was that Akita dog.

(20) Wh 疑問文への回答機能 (cf. (4))

- A: How was that Akita dog? B: a. That Akita dog was [humongous].
 b. [Humongous] was that Akita dog.

(21) 文焦点の文脈における回答機能 (cf. (5) ①)

- [Context] My cousin led me to his nice garden. I found an Akita dog sleeping in the garden, Pochi.
 Guess what?
 a. Pochi was humongous.
 b. Humongous was Pochi.

— 同様のパターンは、他のミニマルペア (e.g., gorgeous vs. pretty, crazy vs. sane) にも当てはまる。

(22) 程度演算子と極度性

- a. That Akita dog was *absolutely* so big.
- b. So big was that Akita dog.

— 程度演算子 (Corver (1997); cf. Castroviejo-Miró (2011)) を付加すれば、語彙的極度性を持たない形容詞も極度性を伴って前置可能となり、語彙的極度性を持つ形容詞の前置パターンと同様の振る舞いを示す。

(23) 先行研究のデータ再考 (Comparative Substitution (Emonds (1976:35)))

- a. More important has been the establishment of legal services.
- b. Just as surprising was his love for clothes.
- c. Most embarrassing of all was losing my keys.
- d. No less corrupt was the ward boss.
- e. Equally difficult would be a solution to Russell's paradox.

— 先行研究 (e.g., Emonds (1976), Gary (1976), 福地 (1985)) で挙げられている形容詞前置現象の多くは、意外性や驚きを示す上で、より文脈情報を必要とするパターンに該当する (cf. (11b))。

3.4. 派生

(24) 前置形容詞の主語性: 助動詞縮約 (Auxiliary Contraction)

(?) Huge'll [= Huge will] be that Akita dog.

cf. ... and in 5, 10, or 15 seconds ... , out'll come your answer. (www.brigada.org/today/bt950825.html)

— 前置した形容詞は、強調的情報焦点と主語性の二面性を示す (cf. 不変化詞前置現象 (Cappelle (2002)))。

(25) a. Pochi was humongous.

b. [_{vP} be [_{SC} [_{DP} Pochi] [_{Adj} humongous]]]

c. ... [_{E-IFocP} [_{Adj} humongous]; [_{E-IFoc} was [_{Fin} [_{IP} _t; [_P (was) [_{SC} [_{DP} Pochi] _t;]]]]]]]]

— 小節内の形容詞述部が (cf. Stowell (1981)), [Spec, IP] を経由し, [Spec, E-IFocP] へ移動する (cf. (6b))。

(26) Thematic Resistance Principle

Only [-V] categories may be θ -marked.

(Koopman (1984:111))

4. 結論

(27) 強調的情報焦点移動と語彙的極度性の相関関係は、ドイツ語の不変化詞前置現象のみならず、英語の形容詞の前置を伴う Preposing around BE においても観察される。

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束縛と作用域の再構築効果のずれ
(Gap between Reconstruction Effects for Binding and Scope)

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1. 序

- ・移動した数量詞句の作用域解釈

- (1) a. Someone from NY_i is very likely t_i to win the lottery. $\exists > \text{likely}$, $\text{likely} > \exists$ (Fox (2000: 145))
 b. How many people should I talk to? $\text{many} > \text{should}$, $\text{should} > \text{many}$ (Cresti (1995: 83))
- ・束縛条件 C 再構築効果、付加詞の Late Merger (Lebeaux (1988))
- (2) a. *Which argument that John_i is a genius did he_i believe?
 b. Which argument that John_i made did he_i believe? (Fox (1999: 164))
- (2)' a. [which argument that John is a genius] he believe [which argument that John is a genius] $\rightarrow * \text{he} = \text{John}$
 b. [which argument that John made] did he believe [which argument] $\rightarrow \sqrt{\text{he}} = \text{John}$

2. 問題

2.1 作用域再構築のメカニズム

- ・統語的再構築(May (1985), Cinque (1990), Chomsky (1993)) : QNP の作用域=LF における C 統御領域

- (3) a. NS: ... [someone from NY] ... [... likely ... [... [someone from NY]]]

↑ _____ ↓

- b. LF: ... [someone from NY] λx [... likely ... [... x / the x from NY]] $\text{some} > \text{likely}$
 c. LF: ... [someone from NY] ... [... likely ... [... [someone from NY] λx ...]] $\text{likely} > \text{some}$

- ・意味的再構築(Cresti (1995), Rullmann (1995)) : 移動の痕跡の意味タイプによって作用域が決まる。

- (4) a. ... [how many people] ... [... should ... [... [how many people] ...]]

↑ _____ ↓

- b. LF: ... for what n: [n-many people]_{<et, p>} $\lambda x_{<e>}$ [... should ... [... x ...]]_{<e, p>} $\text{many} > \text{should}$
 c. LF: ... for what n: [n-many people]_{<et, p>} $\lambda Q_{<et, p>}$ [... should ... [... Q ...]]_{<et, p>}
 \rightsquigarrow 意味表示 for what n: should(I talk to n-many people) $\text{should} > \text{many}$

2.2 作用域と束縛条件 C の再構築効果の関係

問い合わせ: 移動体の作用域再構築は束縛条件 C の再構築効果とどのように関係するか?

- (5) 予測 $[\text{DP} \dots \text{R 表現} \dots] \dots \text{pro} \dots \text{Op} \dots e_i \dots$ (pronoun は e_i を c 統御する)

	LF	pro と R 表現の同一指示
統語的再構築	... pro ... Op ... $[\text{DP} \dots \text{R 表現} \dots] \dots$	×
意味的再構築	$[\text{DP} \dots \text{R 表現} \dots] \lambda Q \dots \text{pro} \dots \text{Op} \dots Q \dots$	○

- ・相反する判断…

- ・Romero (1998), Fox (1999, 2000) : 作用域再構築は束縛条件 C 再構築効果を引き起こす。

- (6) How many pictures that John_i took in Sarajevo does he_i want the editor many > want, *want > many to publish in the Sunday Special? (Romero (1998: 96))

- ・Sharvit (1998), Lechner (2013) : 作用域再構築は束縛条件 C 再構築効果を引き起こさない。

- (7) How many [students who hate Anton_i] does he_i hope will buy him, a beer? many > hope, hope > many
 ただし $\sqrt{de \ re}$, *de dicto (Lechner (2013: 175))

→ 内包的述語の使用は移動体の指示的透明性の追加的考察を要求し、判断が複雑化する。

本発表の目的

- ・移動体の指示的透明性の要因を除去した上で作用域再構築と束縛条件 C 効果の関係を調べる。
- (8)の配列のもと、QNP2 > QNP1 解釈において pronoun と R 表現の同一指示は可能か否か。
- (8) [QNP1...R 表現...] ... pronoun ... QNP2 ... t_i ...
- ・義務的な作用域再構築で知られる長距離搔き混ぜ(Tada (1993))などを用いて判断を簡素化。
- ・左枝抜き出し、第一等位項抜き出しも作用域再構築が義務的であるという事実の指摘と説明。

3. データ

3.1 長距離搔き混ぜ

- (9) a. 誰もに_i誰かが t_i 嫉妬している $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$
b. 誰もに_i誰かが[花子が t_i 嫉妬していると]思っている $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
- (10) a. *彼_iが[花子が太郎_iと話した学生に嫉妬していると]思っている
b. [太郎_iと話した学生に]k_i 彼_iが[花子が t_k 嫉妬していると]思っている
- (11) a. 彼_iが誰かから[花子が 太郎_iが話した誰もに 嫉妬していると]聞いた $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
b. [太郎_iと話した誰もに]k_i 彼_iが誰かから[花子が t_k 嫉妬していると]聞いた $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

3.2 左枝抜き出し(Takahashi and Funakoshi (2013), Shiobara (2016))

- (12) 田中先生の_i、多分これが t_i 最後の著書になるだろう (Yatabe (1996: 304))
 $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
- (13) a. 1人の学生が全ての論文の問題を指摘した。
b. 全ての論文の_i、1人の学生が t_i 問題を指摘した $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
- (14) a. *彼_iは太郎_iが書いた論文の問題に気づいた
b. [太郎_iが書いた論文の]k_i 彼_iは t_k 問題に気づいた
- (15) a. 彼女_iが1人の学生に、花子_iが書いた全ての論文の問題を説明した
b. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文の]k_i 彼女_iが1人の学生に t_k 問題を説明した $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
 $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

3.3 第一等位項の抜き出し

- (16) 京大と_i、彼女は t_i 東大に憧れている (Oda (2017: 343-344))
 $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
- (17) a. 1人の学生が全ての論文と LGB を批判した
b. 全ての論文と_i、1人の学生が t_i LGB を批判した $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
- (18) a. *彼女_iは太郎が花子_iに薦めた論文と LGB を読んだ
b. [太郎が花子_iに薦めた論文と]k_i 彼女_iは t_k LGB を読んだ
- (19) a. 彼女_iは1人の学生に、花子_iが書いた全ての論文と LGB を紹介した
b. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文と]k_i 彼女_iは1人の学生に t_k LGB を紹介した $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$
 $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

(3.4 短距離搔き混ぜ)

- (20) a. 誰もが誰かを愛している
b. 誰かを_i誰もが t_i 愛している $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
 $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
- (21) a. *彼_iが花子に太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を 渡した
b. [太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を]k_i 彼_iが花子に t_k 渡した $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
- (22) a. 彼_iが誰もに太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を 1本(ずつ)渡した
b. [太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を 1本(ずつ)]k_i 彼_iが誰もに t_k 渡した $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
 $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$

まとめ：

左枝抜き出し、第一等位項抜き出し、長距離搔き混ぜは作用域再構築を受ける。しかし、束縛条件 C に関しては反再構築効果を示す。

短距離搔き混ぜは(随意的な)作用域再構築を受ける場合にも、束縛条件 C の反再構築効果を示す。

4. 分析

- (11) b. [太郎_iと話した誰もに]_k、彼_iが誰かから[花子が_k嫉妬していると]聞いた $\exists > \forall, (* \forall > \exists)$
 (15) b. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文の]_k、彼女_iが1人の学生に_k問題を説明した $\exists > \forall, (* \forall > \exists)$
 (19) b. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文と]_k、彼女_iは1人の学生に_kLGBを紹介した $\exists > \forall, (* \forall > \exists)$
 (22) b. [太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を1本]_k、彼_iが誰もに_k渡した $\forall > \exists, (\exists > \forall)$

4.1 意味的再構築

- 以下のLFにおいて代名詞は先行詞のR表現をC統御しないため、条件Cに違反しない。
- (11) b'. [太郎_iと話した誰もに]_{<et,p>} $\lambda Q_{<et,p>} [$ 彼_iが誰かから[花子が_k嫉妬していると]聞いた]<sub>>et,p>
 (15) b'. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文の]_{<et,p>} $\lambda Q_{<et,p>} [$ 彼女_iが1人の学生に_kQ問題を説明した]<sub>>et,p>
 (19) b'. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文と]_{<et,p>} $\lambda Q_{<et,p>} [$ 彼女_iは1人の学生に_kQ LGBを紹介した]<sub>>et,p>
 (22) b'. [太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を1本]_{<et,p>} $\lambda Q_{<et,p>} [$ 彼_iが誰もに_kQ渡した]_{>et,p>}</sub></sub></sub>

4.2 統語的再構築

- 以下のLFにおいて代名詞は先行詞のR表現をC統御するため、条件Cに違反する。
- (11) b''. 一彼_iが誰かから[花子が[太郎_iと話した誰もに]嫉妬していると]聞いた
 (15) b''. 一彼女_iが1人の学生に[花子_iが書いた全ての論文の]問題を説明した
 (19) b''. 一彼女_iは1人の学生に[花子_iが書いた全ての論文と]LGBを紹介した
 (22) b''. 一彼_iが誰もに[太郎_iの理解を超えた論文を1本]渡した

以上より、3節のデータは意味的再構築の分析を支持する。

※潜在的反論：実は(15b)等において再構築は起きていない。

(15b)で移動が跨ぐ不定名詞句は特定的(最も広い作用域)に解釈されなければならない。
 ゆえにその不定名詞句は移動体の数量詞に依存することはない。

- (15) b. 花子が書いた全ての論文の、彼女が1人の学生に問題を説明した。

- 派生 i. 彼女が1人の学生に全ての論文の問題を説明した
 ii. [全ての論文の]彼女が1人の学生に[全ての論文の]問題を説明した
 iii. [花子が書いた全ての論文の]彼女が1人の学生に[全ての論文の]問題を説明した
 iv. LF [1人の学生 x に][花子が書いた全ての論文 y の]彼女が x に y の問題を説明した

反論への反論

・左枝抜き出しが跨ぐ不定名詞句は特定的でない場合もある。

- (23) [花子_iが書いた全ての論文の]_k、彼女_iが3人の学生に_k問題を説明したがった

したがる>3> \forall

- 派生 i. [TP 彼女が T [VP wanted [TP PRO [VP 3人の学生に 全ての論文の問題を 説明する]]]]]
 ii. [全ての論文の_k [TP 彼女が_j T [VP wanted [TP PRO_j [VP 3人の学生に_k 問題を 説明する]]]]]
 iii. [花子_iが書いた全ての論文の_k [TP 彼女が_j wanted [TP PRO_j [VP 3人の学生に_k 問...]]]]]

・(23)では移動体の補部節への再構築が必須。

→統語的再構築(iv)では事実に反して条件C違反を誘発するが、意味的再構築(v)ならば誘発しない。

- iv. [一 [TP 彼女が_j wanted [TP PRO_j [VP 3人の学生に[花子_jが書いた全ての論文の]問題...]]]]]
 v. [花子_jが書いた全ての論文の $\lambda Q_{<et,p>} [$ TP 彼女が_j wanted [TP PRO_j [VP 3人の学生に Q 問...]]]]]

5. 作用域再構築の義務性の説明

可能性1：統一的分析

- (24) 移動要素はそれが項として機能する領域外に着地すると作用域再構築を必要とする。

長距離抜き混ぜ 移動体は主節ではなく埋め込み節の項である。

左枝抜き出し 左枝NP2はVではなく、NIの項である。

第一等位項抜き出し Reinhart and Reuland (1993) : [VP V [X and Y]]において、統語的にはVの項は [X and Y]であり、XとY自体はVの項でない。

可能性2：個別的分析

①長距離挿き混ぜ (Miyagawa (2006))

- (25) 挿き混ぜは Scope Economy に従う限り、痕跡をタイプ<e>の個体変項 x とできる。
然もなくば、痕跡をタイプ<et,▷の一般化量化子変項をとせよ
- (26) a. One girl knows that every boy bought a present for Mary. one>every, *every>one
b. One girl knows what every boy bought for Mary. one>every, every>one (Fox (2000: 64))
- (27) a. 誰もに;誰かがジョンが t_i キスしたと思っている 誰か>誰も, *誰も>誰か
b. 誰もに;誰かが 2人の子どもが t_i キスしたと思っている 誰か>誰も, OK/?/誰も>誰か
(Miyagawa (2006: 615))

②左枝抜き出し

- (28) 名詞句は作用域の島を形成する(Larson (1985), May (1985))
- (29) Two politicians spy on [QNP₂ someone from [QNP₁ every city]].
a. 2 > every > some b. every > some > 2 c. *every > 2 > some
- (30) [QNP₂ [QNP₁ 全ての党の]候補者 1人]を 2人の役人が t_i スパイした
a. 2 > every > some b. every > some > 2 c. *every > 2 > some

③第一等位項の抜き出し

- (31) 等位構造はその部分構造それが適格でなければならない(Fox (2000: 50))
- (32) a. *Who do you think Mary likes t_i and Bill hates Sue?
~~> <[who,... t_i ...], [who,...Sue...]> : 第二の部分構造で空虚な束縛

- b. Who do you think Mary likes t_i and Bill hates t_i ?
~~> <[who,... t_i ...], [who,... t_i ...]> : 空虚な束縛の回避

- (33) Who_i did John take a picture of t_i and draw a sketch of his_i? car?
~~> <[who,... t_i ...], [who,...his...]> : 空虚な束縛の回避

・(31)を満足する限りにおいて、第一等位項が移動先で作用域を取ることができる。

- (34) a. 3つの教室と、1人の学生が t_i 職員室を掃除した 1>3, *3>1
b. 3つの教室と、1人の学生が t_i その準備室を掃除した 1>3, ?3>1
- (34) a'. <[3つの教室,... t_i ...], [3つの教室,...職員室...]> : 第二の部分構造で空虚な束縛
b'. <[3つの教室,... t_i ...], [3つの教室,...その準備室...]> : 空虚な束縛の回避

4. 結論

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構文イディオム化とその後の展開

(Constructional Idiomatization and Its Subsequent Expansions)

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1. はじめに

1. 構文イディオム化とその後の展開について論じる。2. One's Way 構文 (Omuro (2003))、3. 半動名詞構文 (大室 (1988, 2015, 2016))、4. 共通点抽出、文法における拡張のメカニズム、5. 結論。

2. 構文イディオム化とその後の展開 : One's Way 構文

(1) kick the bucket

(2) VP→V NP

(3) a. He went out and **made** his way to the Savoy. (Agatha Christie, *The Mirror Crack'd From Side to Side*)

b. Clutching his basket tight, he **jumped** his way across the shallows from log to log. (CD)

c. In the capital rusty vehicles **belch** their way around the pot-holed streets. (CD) (i) lexicon? (ii) learnability

2.1. One's Way 構文の基本タイプと派生タイプ

(4) 意味の重層性: イディオム論では例えば 'thread one's way through the crowd' 「人ごみの中を縫うようにして進む」は 'make one's way through' 「~の中を進む」の変異形 (variation)である、という風に説かれる。しかし意味論的に考えると、これは原型と考えられる *make* に他の動詞が取って代わるという過程を経ているのではなく、イディオムとしての 'make one's way' に更に *thread* が重なっていると考えるべきであろう。(国広 (1967: 121)) (i) fusion (ii) unification

2.1.1. *make* タイプ

(5) I made [NP her way [PP to the top]]. (i) conservative, step by step (ii) simple composition

(6) I made [NP my way [PP to the top]]. (i) Huddleston (1984: 37): pragmatic implication

(7) I made [NP my way] [PP to the top]. (i) obstacle: Ishizaki (2001) (ii) CD 1 位 (大室 (2018: 85-88))

2.1.2. *jump* タイプ

(8) Miss Marple jumped into the room.

(9) [PATH TO [PLACE IN [THING ROOM]]]

(10) 夜行列車は東海道を京都から静岡に進んだ。(影山・由本 (1997: 133)) (i) Levin and Rappaport H. (1995)

(11) Miss Marple jumped her way into the room. (i) constructional idiomatization (ii) CD 高 (大室 (2018: 90))

2.1.3. *belch* タイプ

(12) John belched his way out of the restaurant. (i) delimiter (Tenny (1987)) (ii) CD 1 回 (大室 (2018: 90))

2.2. One's Way 構文の意識使用: Kirchner (1951), 大室 (2000)

- (13) a. My sister Houdini'd her way out of the locked closet. (Clark and Clark (1979: 784))
 b. She Lincoln Tunneled her way to New York[Vogue]. (Clark and Clark (1979: 777))
 c. to Bonny and Clyde one's way through the West. (Clark and Clark (1979: 783))
- (14) For a while, it was the '80s all over again, with Washington officials dourly warning that Japan should not try to “export its way” out of hard times. (滝沢 (1998: 159))
- (15) 動詞が5つ等位接続されている例：Once a year, the leaders, the politicians who have kicked, clawed, fought, cajoled and persuaded their way to the top, meet officials. (CD)
- (16) 動詞が頭韻 (alliteration)を踏んでいる例：Their final duet from Pique Dame went down so well that they turned themselves into shepherdesses for the encore, mopping and mowing their way through the opera's little Mozartian pastorale, and then repeating it all over again. (CD)
- (17) 動詞が脚韻 (rhyme)を踏んでいる例：An impressive cast including Susan Sarandon and Meat Loaf vamp and camp their way through The Time Warp and other such OTT delights, whilst Tim Curry invites you up to see what's on the slab. (CD)
- (18) 専門術語の例：McWhinney, after going nine-under at 14, dropped a shot at the par- three 15th and parred his way home. (CD)
- (19) 擬声語の例：If you boo hooed your way through the film The Bodyguard there's more to come. (CD)
- 2.3. 2節のまとめ：(i) 多層的 (ii) 阿部 (2009) (iii) HD: Israel (1996), Ishizaki (2001), Fanego (2018)
3. 構文化とその後の展開：半動名詞構文
- (20) a. Masao was spending his vacation working at the Matsumoto factory in Tokyo.
 (Sidney Sheldon, *The Chase*) (i) Sweet (1981), 原沢 (1957) : half-gerund
 b. He was two weeks learning to use his flippers. (MEG IV: 172)
 c. He won't have a hard time getting in. (Web)
 d. One had difficulty buying 'pornographic' literature. (Gerold Frank, *The Boston Strangler*)
 e. I found him very busy putting his books in order. (James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*)
- (21) a. Masao was spending his vacation in working at the Matsumoto factory in Tokyo.
 b. He was two weeks in learning to use his flippers. (MEG IV: 172)
 c. He won't have a hard time in getting in.
 d. One had difficulty in buying 'pornographic' literature.
 e. I found him very busy in putting his books in order.
- (22) (After *to employ*, *to spend*, *to waste*, and verbs of a similar import, and also after the adjective *busy* and its synonyms, the preposition *in* is sometimes dispensed with. This changes the status of the ing-form, converting it into a present participle in the grammatical function of predicative adnominal adjunct. After *to spend* and *to*

waste the omission of *in* is met with only when these words are accompanied by an adjunct denoting a length of time. (Poutsma (1928: 903)) (i) 大室 (1988, 2015, 2016)

(23) a. G_i^E Basic Structure: [s He [vp was spending [np his vacation] [pp in working at the factory]]].

b. G_i^E Model Structure: [s He [vp came [vp running]]].

c. G_{i+1}^E Derived Structure: [s He [vp was spending [np his vacation] [vp working at the factory]]].

(i) *play a role*: 桑名 (2018) (ii) predicative adnominal adjunct = quasi-predicative

(24) a. They parted good friends. (NP)

(Fukuchi (1976))

b. They ran naked in the parks and on the beaches. (AP)

c. He came home very much depressed. (past participle)

d. They sat talking about their plan. (present participle)

e. He slept in his boots. (PP)

(Nichols (1978: 124)), Ishii (1983)

(25) a. *Two long-haired groupies spent an hour *real nuisances* at the concert. (NP)

b. Daedalus is designing a novel house extension, a variable-pressure bedroom, which may purchase an extra few years of life for its proud owners by slowing the metabolic rate of that third of their lifetime which they spend *asleep*. (AP) (BNC)

c. For thousands of children who spend their days *locked up in the shanty towns* while their parents work, the streets offer freedom and escape from domestic violence as well as a springboard to prostitution or petty crime. (past participle) (BNC)

d. Masao was spending his vacation *working at the Matsumoto factory*. (present participle)

e. She and Henry spent their spare time *in country clothes*. (PP) (Thomas Kieman, Jane Fonda)

(26) (i) 大室 (2016), Arai (1997)

	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
spendTIMEinV-ing		4	2	9	7	4	8	10	2	7
spendTIME: V-ing				1		2	4	11	7	11

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000-9
spendTIMEinV-ing	4	9	2	2	5	1	0	1	0	0
spendTIME: V-ing	14	31	40	55	51	68	75	74	120	127

(大室 (2016: 68))

(i) 1880, 1890: 半動名詞 11例, 7例 vs. in 付き動名詞 10例, 2例 逆転。明治維新の少し後。

(ii) 初半動名詞 1845 vs. 初過去分詞 1940 年代, 15/691 (iii) (ii) 初形容詞句 1940 年代, 16/691

4. 共通点の抽出と文法における拡張のメカニズム

- (i) Syntactico-Semantic Discrepancy (Kajita (1977))
- (ii) Syntactic Reanalysis
- (iii) Constructional Idiomatization /Constructionalization and Their Subsequent Expansions
- (iv) Conservative, step by step

5. 結論：ある言語のある文法段階から次の文法段階に移行する際の言語法則を述べることができる一般言語理論が必要である (Kajita (1977, 1997), Chiba et.al (2003), 河野 (2012), Nakazawa (2018), 大室 (2018) 等参照)。

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子どもの前置詞句単独発話 一談話的文脈と前置詞ごとの相違の観点から一

(Children's Utterances Consisting of an Independent Prepositional Phrase: From the Perspective of Discourse Context and the Differences between Prepositions)

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1. はじめに

本研究では、子どもが前置詞句を単独で使う発話 (e.g. "Like me!", "On the box."、以下「前置詞句単独発話」) に焦点を当て、それらの生起頻度や使用場面を探る。月齢および前置詞によってその生起頻度が異なることを、コーパスデータをもとに定量的に示す。さらに、それらが会話におけるどのような場面で生起するかを観察し、特に産出初期は親の先行発話に依存した形で産出が起こること、主要部の前置詞によっても先行発話との関係が異なることを示す。

2. 背景および先行研究

2.1. 前置詞研究の概観

認知言語学の枠組みでは前置詞研究が盛んに行われ (e.g. Brugman 1981; Lakoff 1987; Tyler & Evans 2003)、その多義構造が分析されてきた。しかし、これらの研究は作例に基づき、單文単位の分析が行われる傾向にあった。前置詞の習得過程についても様々な研究が行われ、前置詞や用法ごとの習得順序が明らかにされた (e.g. Slobin 1973; Tomasello 1987) ほか、Hallan (2001) や Rice (2003) は前置詞・副詞辞の習得が 1 語単位で起こるのではなく頻繁に共起する語とのまとまり (e.g. all over X) の中で記憶・産出されることを示し、生起文脈に根ざした形でその習得が起こる側面があることを指摘した。しかし、これらの研究が焦点を当てていたのも発話内での語と語の共起関係であり、1 発話を超えた単位で生起文脈の特性を捉えた研究はあまり見られない (cf. 堀内 2018)。

2.2. 接続詞の習得研究

前置詞以外の習得研究にも目を向けると、用法基盤アプローチでの研究 (e.g. Tomasello 2003) が進みつつある。その 1 つである Diessel (2004) は、コーパス調査によって接続詞の習得過程を分析し、次のことを示した。第一に、早期に習得される接続詞 because, and, so, but は最初から複数の節を接続する用法で生起するのではなく、単独の従属節・等位節のみから構成された発話 (節単独発話) から使われ始め、月齢が進むと 2 つ以上の節を接続する用法で使われるようになる。第二に、節単独発話での生起頻度は、接続詞によって異なる。例えば when 節, if 節, while 節などは初期から主節を伴って産出される傾向にある。第三に、節単独発話が生起する際の先行発話との関係も、接続詞によって異なる。例えば、because 節単独発話は理由を問う疑問文の後に生起しやすいが so 節単独発話は子ども自身の発話の後に生起しやすいことが指摘されている。

前置詞を主要部とする構造は句であり、従属節や等位節とは異なる文法的単位ではあるものの、前置詞も 2 者 (前置詞の意味上の主語 *trajector* (TR) と目的語 *landmark* (LM)) をつないでそれらの関係性を表す機能語であり、接続詞の場合と類似した習得過程が見られる可能性がある。Diessel (2004) を踏まえ、本研究では子どもによる前置詞句単独発話の使用に着目し、特に以下の点を検証する。

- (i) 月齢に応じた生起頻度の変化
- (ii) 主要部となる前置詞ごとの、句単独発話での生起頻度の相違
- (iii) 先行発話との関係性

3. 研究方法

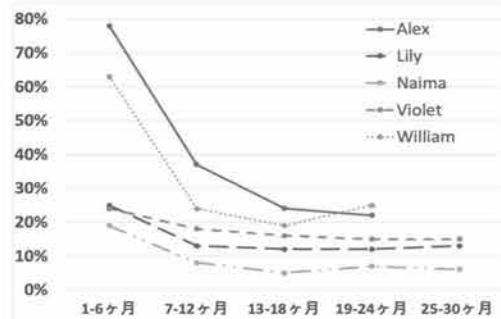
本研究では CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000) を通して利用可能なアメリカ英語の親子会話コーパスである Providence Corpus (Demuth et al. 2006) を用いた。6名の子どもの家庭内会話を、1~4歳の期間、約0.5~1ヶ月おきに採録したコーパスである。この中から、映像データがある5名の子どものデータを対象とし、prepタグを使って前置詞を含む発話を検索した。ここからタグ付けの誤りと思われる事例を排除したところ、前置詞を含む発話が9,939例見られた。この中から前置詞句単独発話の該当事例1,285例を抽出し、分析対象とした。なお、補部名詞句を伴わない副詞辞 (e.g. come on, fall down) の用法は advタグが付与されているため今回の対象には含まれない。

4. 観察結果

4.1. 月齢に応じた変化

子どもの月齢ごとに前置詞句単独発話の生起率を調査した結果が表1である。5名それぞれの前置詞の初出時期(平均1歳6ヶ月)から6ヶ月単位でその生起率を集計した。グラフの横軸は初出からの経過月数である。子どもによるbecause、and、so、butで始まる節は全体の約8割が節単独発話での産出であったとされ (Diessel 2004)、これに比べると、前置詞句単独発話の生起率の平均値は低い。しかし、月齢ごとの変化の観点で見ると、どの子どもも前置詞の産出開始初期が最も句単独発話の生起頻度が高く、月齢が進むとその割合が低下していくことがわかった。

表1：月齢ごとの生起率の変化



4.2. 前置詞ごとの相違

表2は、コーパス内で子どもによる産出頻度が上位の前置詞10語¹を対象に、前置詞句単独発話での生起率を調査した結果である。

表2：前置詞句単独発話での生起頻度

		前置詞の全事例数	句単独発話	
			頻度	割合
1	in	2,329	278	12%
2	to	1,417	51	4%
3	on	1,500	163	11%
4	of	983	31	3%
5	for	964	121	13%
6	with	853	97	11%
7	at	689	70	10%
8	like	582	215	37%
9	about	282	17	6%
10	from	196	25	13%

ここからわかるとおり、likeは前置詞句単独発話での生起率が突出して高く、for、from、in、on、with、atの生起率がそれに続く。

(1) MOT: Toad has the list.

CHI: Like me!

MOT: That's right. That's right, you were making a list, just like toad, of all the things that he does in a day! (Lily 2;7)

¹ up や over は語としての生起頻度は高いが副詞

辞としての使用が主のためここに含まれない。

- (2) MOT: Where's he sitting?
CHI: On a branch. (Lily 2;4)
- (3) CHI: No, like a little airplane.
MOT: Okay.
CHI: In the sky. (William 3;2)

一方、to、of、aboutを主要部とした前置詞句単独発話の生起率は非常に低い。用例を見るとこれらの語は前置詞句より大きな単位から成る定型句 (e.g. a lot of X, How about X?) や特定の動詞との結びつき (e.g. go to X) の中で用いられているために、前置詞句単位で独立して生起する事例が非常に少なかった。

4.3. 先行発話との関係性

子どもが高頻度で用いる前置詞上位10語に関し、それらを主要部とする前置詞句単独発話と先行発話との関係を見た。前置詞が焦点化する2者関係(TR/LM)のうち、TRを含む先行発話が親の発話か子ども自身の発話か、またはTRが言語化されていない(前置詞句が独立して生起している)事例かを調査した。例えば(1)(2)は親の先行発話、(3)は子ども自身の先行発話につなげた産出としてコーディングし、先行発話の話者の分布を見た²。その結果、全体として前置詞句単独発話は子ども自身の発話よりも親の発話につなげて産出される傾向にあること(表3)、月齢が低いときほど親の発話につなげた産出の割合が高いこと(表4)がわかつた(表4の横軸は初出からの経過月数)。

さらに、会話における生起環境をより詳細に観察すると、前置詞ごとに句単独発話として生起する際の連鎖のパターンに相違が見られた。前置詞句単独発話での生起頻度が高いin、on、for、with、likeを対象に、親の先行発話との関係性を見たところ、inやonは質問(典型的にはwhere疑問文)への応答として生起するパターン (e.g. (2)) が最も多い。そのほか、先行発話

表3: 前置詞句単独発話の先行発話の話者

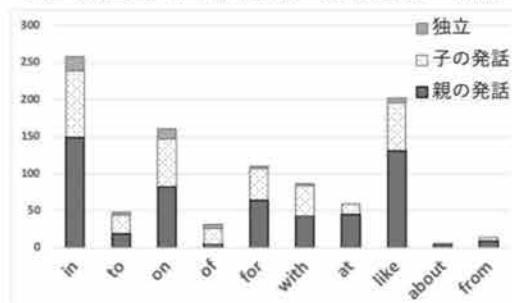
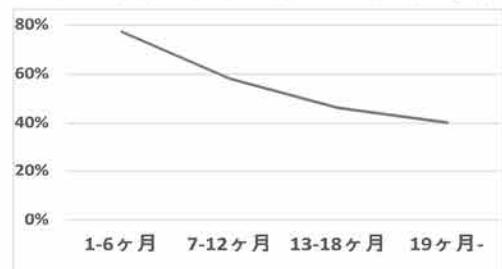


表4: 先行発話の話者が親である割合の変化



の前置詞句部分を繰り返して応答を行う事例も見られた。

- (4) MOT: No no oh no it's not in there I'm sorry
it's in this one.
CHI: In this one. (Alex 3;2)

一方、for、with、likeは、親が産出した平叙文に子どもが情報を付加する事例が最も多く見られた。統語的にも、先行発話に繋がるco-construction (Ono & Thompson 1995) に似た構造で親の発話を拡張する事例が多い。

- (5) MOT: Oh a crown how nice.
CHI: For Belle. (Lily 2;2)
- (6) MOT: You did drink juice there.
CHI: With a straw. (Naima 1;9)
- (7) MOT: That's the baby Nemo look how cute.
MOT: And he started his first day of school
in the movie, didn't he Nemo?
MOT: Yes he did.

² 歌や本の音読等、会話以外での産出事例は先行

発話の話者に関する調査対象から除いた。

- CHI: Like me. (Lily 2;7)
- (8) MOT: Okay, let's dance.
CHI: Like this? (William 2;4)
- (9) MOT: You gotta slide it down.
CHI: Like this? (Violet 2;1)

前置詞句単独発話の *like* の補部は約 65% が *me* や *this* 等の直示表現で、親の発話に “*like me*” を付加して第三者に関する話を自分に引き寄せる例 (e.g. (1)(7)) や、動作を行いながら “*like this*” と言って親の注意を引きつつ応答する例 (e.g. (8)(9)) が繰り返し観察された。各前置詞が生起する会話のパターンの偏りから、前置詞には発話内の共起関係だけでなく、発話連鎖の型と結びついた形で習得される側面があることがうかがえる。

5. 考察とまとめ

前置詞句単独発話は前置詞の産出が始まる初期に起こりやすく、多くが親の先行発話と関連づけられた形で生起する。前置詞句単独発話は、親の先行発話に依拠した構造をとることで子どもでも負荷が少なく産出できる形式であると同時に、相互行為上の機能と結びつく単位であることで、前置詞の初期の産出時に使われやすい型の 1 つになっているのではないかと考えられる。

一方で、前置詞の中には動詞との結びつきが強い語や前置詞句よりも大きな定型句の中で用いられる語もあり、必ずしも [前置詞+NP] の単位からその産出が始まるわけではない。前置詞ごとに、子どもが使用するときに用いられやすい単位 (前置詞句の単位で独立しやすいかどうか) や生起しやすい連鎖のパターンがあり、同じ「前置詞」という品詞でも、語によって異なる構造的単位に依存して習得されていることがうかがえる。その単位は語自体の生起頻度や空間義/抽象義といった意味区分から必ずしも直接的に予測可能なものではなく、相互行為

の場における使われ方に依拠して記憶され、認識していくものではないかと思われる。

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文脈における 2 種類の道具主語構文: 焦点と集合に含まれる要員に着目して
(Two Types of Instrument Subject Constructions in Context:
With Special Reference to Focus and Members in a Set)

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1. はじめに

- (1) a. The key opened the door.
b. John opened the door with the key.

(Fillmore (1968: 25)、以下下線は発表者)

→ (1a)は、通常、人が現れる主語位置に道具が現れる有標的な表現であり、その容認性
に関して議論がなされてきた。

・意味的観点：動作主性

- (2) a. The dishwasher cleaned the dishes.
b. *The hammer pounded the metal flat.

(Schlesinger (1989: 193))
(Goldberg (1995: 193))

→ 道具主語は、述部で示される事象を引き起こす扱い手と解釈される場合に容認され
る。

・語用論的観点：対比性

- (3) The key opened the lock.
→ 道具主語に対比の解釈がなければ容認されない。

(DeLancey (1991: 348))

- (4) Mack (2010)

道具主語構文に課される語用論的条件として、文脈で活性化される *open proposition*
を提案する。

- (5) 本発表の主張：道具主語構文は、文脈によって 2 種類存在する。

- a. 道具の特徴を伝達する。
b. 責任回避あるいは謙遜を表す。

2. 語用論的分析

・What happened?の解答可能性

- (6) Mother : What happened today?
Babysitter : Henry broke the crystal vase with a baseball bat!
(7) Mother : What happened today?
Babysitter : *The baseball bat broke the crystal vase!

(Mack (2010: 244))

(8) Mack (2010)の主張 :

道具主語構文が容認されるには、話者と聞き手が共有する情報として変項 X を含む open proposition が、文脈で活性化されていなければならない。

(9) a. The key opened the lock.

b. X opened the lock.

→ (9b)は open proposition を指し、変項 X は焦点位置を指す(cf. Prince (1986))。

・焦点の定義

(10) The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition

(Lambrecht (1994: 213))

→ Mack (2010)は、presupposition を open proposition に修正する。

(11) a. Presuppositions are complete propositions and thus can be true or false, believed or disbelieved.

b. Open propositions are incomplete semantic objects, lacking truth values and inappropriate as objects of belief.

(Mack (2010: 65))

(12) A: Who came to the lecture?

(Mack (2010: 66))

B: NOBODY came.

(Mack (2010: 66))

(13) a. Someone came to the lecture. (≠ Nobody came.)

b. X came to the lecture.

→ (12A)からは、(13a)と(13b)が喚起する可能性があるが、(12B)の返答ができるのは、(13a)ではなく、(13b)が喚起されているため。

・文法形式によって保証される焦点

(14) a. *This bullet killed Joyce Alexander.

(Mack (2010: 246))

b. The revolver which the police took from the appellant was loaded, with the exception of one chamber from which a shot had been discharged, and it was this bullet that killed Joyce Alexander.

(Mack (2010: 247))

→ (14b)の分裂文は、open proposition として *X killed Joyce Alexander* を活性化し、*this bullet* が焦点要素として変項 X を埋める。

3. 提案

3.1. 2 種類の集合

(15) Mack (2010)を援用した場合、変項 X を埋める要員は、文脈で想定される集合から選択され、集合には代替要員が存在する。

- ・集合の要員に着目

(16) a. X opened the door.

b. X = the key ← {the key / A / B / C / ...}

→ 焦点要素となる要員は、どのような代替要員の中から選択されるかは変わる。

(17)道具主語を考えた時に、通常は人が現れるはずの主語位置に道具が現れていることを考えると、集合には人を含む場合と含まない場合が存在する。

(18) a. X pounded the metal flat.

b. X = the hammer ← { the hammer / this hammer / that hammer / ...}

c. X = the hammer ← { the hammer / that hammer / Mary / John / ...}

→ (18b)と(18c)の集合に基づくと、道具主語構文の伝達機能は異なり、それぞれの場合に容認される。

3.2.2 種類の伝達機能

(19) a. 道具や手段との対比 (cf. (18b)) → 特徴づけ道具主語構文

b. 人との対比 (cf. (18c)) → 身代わり道具主語構文

(20) 語用論的伝達機能

a. 特徴づけ道具主語構文

文脈で想定される他の道具や手段を含む集合から、道具が選択される場合、特徴づけ道具主語構文は、聞き手にその道具がどのような特徴を持つのかを伝達するために使用される。

b. 身代わり道具主語構文

文脈で想定される人を含む集合から、道具が選択される場合、身代わり道具主語構文は、話者がイベントを引き起こした責任を回避する、あるいは自らの謙遜を表すために使用される。

3.3. 具体例

3.3.1. 特徴づけ道具主語構文

- ・道具の特徴を伝達する

(21) GUIDE : This display shows how the metal coins were made in medieval Europe.

VISITOR : There are all kinds of coins.

GUIDE : Look at the tool next to the metal coins. The hammer pounded the metal flat.

3.3.2. 身代わり道具主語構文

- ・責任回避

(22) BOB : Why is the metal flat?

KELLY: No idea.

BOB : I'll ask you again. Why is the metal flat? Did you pound it that way?

KELLY: No, it wasn't me! The hammer pounded the metal flat.

・謙遜

(23) GRANDMOTHER : Good boy! I'm so proud of you.

GRANDCHILD : No, it wasn't me. This cloth cleaned the dishes.

4. 分類基準

4.1. 制限的関係節へのパラフレーズ可能性

(24) 制限的関係節は、同類の要員を持つ集合を想定して、その中から 1 つを限定する機能を持つ。

(25) The hammer pounded the metal flat.

(cf. (21), (22))

(26) This is the hammer that pounded the metal flat.

a. 特徴づけ道具主語構文 (✓)

b. 身代わり道具主語構文 (✗)

4.2. 対応する日本語表現

(27) a. 特徴づけ道具主語構文の場合 (cf. (21))

そのハンマーは、その金属を叩いて平らにしたものだ。[「コピュラ文」に相当]

b. 身代わり道具主語構文の場合 (cf. (22), (23))

そのハンマーが、その金属を叩いて平らにしたんだ。[「のだ文」に相当]

5. おわりに

(28) a. 道具主語構文は、文脈によって 2 種類存在し、それぞれ異なる伝達機能を持つ。

b. 2 種類の構文は、日本語表現の「コピュラ文」、「のだ文」に相当することが観察される。

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Speaking of 構文の成立過程に関する考察：構文化の観点から
(A Study of the Development of the Speaking-of Construction
from the Perspective of Constructionalization)

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1. はじめに

- 近年、談話標識に関する研究が盛んになり、その成立過程を「構文化」(Traugott and Trousdale (2013)) の観点から捉え直そうという試みが進められている。本研究では、事例研究の一つとして、(1) に示すような、話題転換の際に使用される speaking of 句を取り上げ、その談話標識としての成立過程を構文化の観点から考察する (引用中の下線は全て筆者による)。

(1) Speaker A: I saw daddy kissing Santa Claus.

Speaker B: Speaking of Santa, what did he bring you for Xmas?

(Rodman (1974: 450))

- 同表現の of の直後には NP だけではなく which/whom/that なども生起する場合がある。このような speaking of 句を便宜的に speaking of X (以後 SoX と略記) と総称する。
- 近年、SoX は話題転換の場面に使用される談話標識として、様々な観点から考察が進められている (佐々木 (1993); 倉田 (2013); Bai (2015); 山内 (2015); 横山 (2016); 早瀬 (2017) 等々)。一部の先行研究では、speaking of which が話題転換を合図するチャンクとして構文化を遂げているという分析が提案されている。しかし、speaking of which の構文化分析には、いくつかの課題が残されている (山内 (2019b) 参照)。
- 本研究では、従来の分析とは異なり、構文化は SoX の段階に起きていると分析する。具体的には、同表現は、話題転換に伴う関係性の格率への違反を緩和する機能を担う談話標識として構文化を遂げていると主張する。
- 本研究の構成は、以下の通りである。第二節では、Traugott and Trousdale (2013) による構文化と構文変化の定義を確認する。第三節では、speaking of の分詞構文から SoX が発生する経緯を概観する。第四節では、SoX の構文化分析を提示し、その妥当性を検討する。第五節では、全体のまとめを述べる。

2. 構文化と構文変化 : Traugott and Trousdale (2013)

- Traugott and Trousdale (2013) によれば、各構文が形成される過程は、構文化 (constructionalization) と構文変化 (constructional change) に分かれる。それぞれ (2) と (3) のように定義される。
 - (2) Constructionalization is the creation of form_{new}-meaning_{new} (combinations of) signs. It forms new type nodes, which have new syntax or morphology and new coded meaning, in the linguistic network of a population of speakers. [...] (Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 22))
 - (3) A constructional change is a change affecting one internal dimension of a construction. It does not involve the creation of a new node. (ibid.: 26)

- 構文化とは、既存の構文ネットワーク上に組み込まれていない、新しい形式と新しい意味のペアリングが創造されることである。
- 構文変化とは、意味的・統語的・形態的な側面のみに起きた小規模な変化である。構文変化は、構文の前後に発生する。構文化の前に発生する変化は「前構文変化」と呼ばれ、その後に発生する変化は「後構文変化」と呼ばれる。
- 構文化の枠組みは、従来の文法化の枠組みとは異なり、作用域の縮小が条件とされていなかったため、作用域の拡大を特徴とする談話標識の成立過程に関する分析に有効である（小野寺（2018）参照）。

3. 分詞構文から Speaking of 構文へ

- 本研究で扱う SoX は speaking of の分詞構文に由来すると考えられる。
- 次の (4) の下線部は、1915 年に使用された、speaking of の分詞構文としての事例である。

- (4) [...] A delay in reaching a decision had thus been caused, and the President desired me to make a careful study of the plan proposed and give him my conclusions.

Speaking of the general question of doing government work by contract, I expressed the view if the contractor is competent and is receiving a return which insures him a profit, the contract method, as a rule, is easier for the administrative officer, [...] (Corpus of Historical American English; George W. Goethals (1915, Mar.) "The Building of the Panama Canal," *Scribner's Magazine*, pp. 265-282) (Bai (2015) 参照)

- 下線部が使用された文全体は「契約により行政業務を執り行うことの一般的な問題に関して述べる際に、私は・・・という考え方を述べた」と解釈される。
- speaking of の分詞構文としての事例は、話題転換の際に使用される SoX とは別に、近年においても使用される（(5) 参照）。

- (5) [...] SEC Commissioner Greg Sankey declined to discuss specific developments, saying he had spent the opening weekend either at games or traveling to them and, hadn't seen much TV coverage. But speaking generally of the trend toward acceptance of sports gambling, he referenced an opinion column published in November in *The New York Times* where NBA commissioner Adam Silver called for betting on professional sports to be legalized. (Corpus of Contemporary American English; George Schroeder (2015, Sep. 9) "ESPN's shifting line on college football betting information," <https://www.usatoday.com>)

- 下線部を含めた文全体は「スポーツ賭博の容認に向けた傾向についてより一般的に述べる際に、彼は・・・というニューヨーク・タイムズ紙に掲載された意見欄に言及した」と解釈される。
- 以上のように、近年の speaking of 句には、話題転換を合図する談話標識としての用法（(1) 参照）も存在すれば、分詞構文としての用法も存在する。SoX は、speaking of の分詞構文から分岐的に独立したと考えられる。

- (6) speaking of の分詞構文 ((4) 参照) > a. speaking of の分詞構文 ((5) 参照)
b. speaking of 構文 ((1) 参照)

4. Speaking of X の構文化分析

- (7) 本研究の主張: SoX は、(8b) に示すようなチャンクを形成しており、その構文的意味として (9) における独自の談話的機能を担う談話標識として、構文化を遂げている。
- (8) a. [vp [v speaking] [pp of X]] ((4) (5) 参照)
b. [AdvP speaking of X] ((1) 参照)
- (9) 話題転換に伴う「関係性の格率」(Grice (1975)) への違反を緩和する。

[A] 既出語句以外の語句の取り立て

- (10) ELAINE: [...] and eating spaghetti at two in the morning. JERRY: Hey, speaking of tomato sauce, you want to come with me and George to Mario's Pizza? (*Seinfeld*)
- (11) EMMA: You're pretty handy for a writer. Where'd you learn how to do all this? AUGUST: Wood shop. Eighth grade. MARY: Oh, speaking of school, have to get going. (*Once Upon A Time*) (山内 (2015: 188))
- (12) DONNA: Well, I believe that if you want someone to know how you feel, it's better to use the direct approach like this. Don't go to Africa, dill hole. (DONNA HITS ERIC'S UPPER ARM) ERIC: So, Hyde, speaking of annoying women who hit, have you heard anything from Jackie? HYDE: Nope. (*That '70s Show*)

[B] 名詞句以外の範疇の取り立て

- (13) CASTLE: It was pretty cool, the way you filled in the story there. I think I must be rubbing off on you. That sounded dirtier than I meant it. ESPOGITO: Yo Beckett, dispatch just got a call out of Connecticut. New Haven PD have two women involved in an altercation. CASTLE: (TO BECKETT) Speaking of dirty... (*Castle*)
- (14) LISSA: Can I play her? VALERIE: Only if we end up doing porn star runaway or eating disorder. SADIE: Speaking of slutty, how did Jenna get out of this? (*Awkward*)

[C] 生起位置の緩和

- (15) A: I've been craving Chinese food, like dim sum and soup dumplings.
B: I enjoy a mushy pork, speaking of Chinese. (Rodman (1974: 465, fn. 5); 一部修正)
- (16) But, she made somewhat of an appearance on this weekend's iheartradio awards—which we guess are like some hip, 2005-version of something called the HeartRadio awards—at least, in pre-recorded form. She was there to introduce her new video for her song Delicate, which, speaking of 2005, sadly isn't a cover of Damien Rice's weepy song of the same name. (<https://fashionmagazine.com>)

[D] 独立表現での生起

- (17) HOLMES: Like mice running a maze of his own design. (HOLMES NOTICED DRUMMOND ENTERING) Oh, speaking of vermin. WATSON: What is it with you and that woman? (*Elementary*)

- (18) **MARTHA**: An actor learns to make sacrifices for his craft. Besides, we'll all have plenty of time to sleep when we're dead. (CELL-PHONE-RINGING) **CASTLE**: Oh, speaking of dead. (ANSWERING-THE-PHONE) Castle. (*Castle*)

[E] of の目的語の脱落

- (19) **MOZZIE**: Providing we find a way to start selling off the art without alerting the feds. **NEAL**: Yeah, speaking of, Peter and Diana are up to something. **MOZZIE**: Feds? Up to something? Quelle surprise. (*White Collar*)
(山内 (2015: 196))
- (20) **JOE**: She's got feelings for you, Barry. She may not know how to deal with those feelings right now, But I know her. They're there. Always have been. You know that, too. **BARRY**: Speaking of, Iris just sent me a 911 text. (*The Flash*)

[F] Which speaking of... の発生

- (21) 2. **The 1990-1991 Flash Television Series** [...] and actor Mark Hamill plays the part of the Trickster, a role he later reprised in the Justice League animated series. Which, speaking of...
3. **Justice League and Justice League Unlimited** There's seriously a lot we love about the entirety of the DCAU—it brought the world Batman: The Animated Series and for that we shall ever be grateful [...] (Kevin Mahadeo (2013, Aug. 1) “5.2 Reasons We’re Flash Fans.” <https://www dccomics.com>)
(山内 (2019a: 140-141))
- (22) [speaking [of X]] > [speaking of X] > a. [speaking of which/whom/that/ø]
b. [which speaking of ø]

5. おわりに

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