

Papers from the Thirty-Fifth Conference
November 18-19, 2017
and from
the Tenth International Spring Forum
April 22-23, 2017
of
The English Linguistic Society of Japan

JELS 35

日本英語学会第 35 回大会（東北大学）
第 10 回国際春季フォーラム（明治学院大学）
研究発表論文集

The English Linguistic Society of Japan
2018

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日本英語学会第35回大会（東北大学）
第10回国際春季フォーラム（明治学院大学）
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[I]

**Thirty-Fifth Conference
November 18-19, 2017**

「恥知らずな X」と「恥ずかしい X」における視点の対比―“shameless”と“shameful”の意味理解―*

(Interpreting “Shameless” vs. “Shameful” in English and Japanese and the Contrastive Viewpoints)

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キーワード: -less と -ful, 対義語, 話者の視点と価値判断, 間主観性, 「恥」とは何か

1. はじめに

一般に、英語の -less と -ful は何らかの性質の多寡を述べる場合に用いる対照的な形容詞を作る接尾辞である。たとえば、colorless なら無色であり、colorful なら多色である。ある写真が白黒印刷なら “This picture is colorless.” と言える。同じ写真について (現実の逆を述べる皮肉のレトリックを除けば) “This picture is colorful.” とは言えない。同様に、ある振る舞いを “It was a careful behavior.” と描写した場合、同じ振る舞いを “It was a careless behavior.” と描写することは矛盾するのであり得ない。しかし、必ずしも「-less と -ful は、どちらか一方の形容詞で描写すれば、もう片方の形容詞の描写は当てはまらない」と単に説明できない場合がある。

2. Shame/恥に関する話者の視点と価値判断

2.1. 恥を感じる場面とその描写

ここで、「その日、共に仕事をした同僚 ABC は 3 人とも疲れきっており、帰路の電車に乗ろうとしていた。A は座りたいと思

っていたが、電車のドアが開くや否や B がホームの人たちも A も C をも押し分けて電車内へ駆け込み、一つだけ空いていた座席に座り『ああ、座れて良かった』と笑みを浮かべて言った。その後、一つだけ座席が空き、そこに C が (立っている A には見向きもせず) 車内の人たちを押し分けて座り込み『ああ、座れて良かった』と笑みを浮かべて言った」という場面を想定する。この場合、A の心的状況は以下のように描写できる。

- (1) a. The behavior of B is shameless.
b. The behavior of B is shameful.
c. The behavior of C is shameless.
d. The behavior of C is shameful.
e. It is shameless for B to behave like this.
f. It is shameful for B to behave like this.
g. It is shameless for C to behave like this.
h. It is shameful for C to behave like this.
i. *I am shameless for being behaved by B/C like this.
j. *I am shameful for being behaved by B/C like this.

A は、B と C の振る舞いについて「恥知らずな B の/ C の振る舞いだ」と思うことがありえる (1a~d)。また、「B の/ C の振る舞いは恥ずかしいことだ」と思うことがありえる (1e~h)。しかし、A が (1i) I am shameless~や (1j) I am shameful~と述べるのは不自然で、B や C の振る舞いは A に責任が無く、A が shame を感じる必要がない。B の心理は以下のように描写できる。

- (2) a. My behavior is shameless.
b. My behavior is shameful.
c. The behavior of C is shameless.
d. The behavior of C is shameful.
e. It is shameless for me to behave like this.

- f. It is shameful for me to behave like this.
- g. It is shameless for C to behave like this.
- h. It is shameful for C to behave like this.
- i. I am shameless for behaving like this.
(I am a shameless man.)
- j. I am shameful for behaving like this.
(I feel shameful.)

B は自分の振る舞いを客観視して「自分は恥知らずな (shameless な) / 恥ずかしい (shameful な) 振る舞いをしている」、「C の振る舞いは恥知らずだ/ 恥ずかしい」(2a~d)、「自分の/C の振る舞いは恥ずかしいことだ」(2e~h) と思うこともありえる。B が自虐的に (2i) と述べれば(2a) や(2e) のパラフレーズである。(2j) と述べれば B は自分の振る舞いを恥ずかしいものと認識していることになる。なお、C の心的描写は B の描写における C を B に入れ替えれば良い (紙幅の関係で割愛)。ただし、こうした描写は B や C がどのような人物であるかに依存し、もし B が厚顔無恥で自分の振る舞いを恥ずかしく思わない人物なら自らの描写に shameful は用いず、B が自らを客観視もしない人物なら自虐的に shameless を用いることもない。

2.2. 辞書における shameless と shameful

shameless と shameful、これらの定義は以下のとおりである (研究社新英和大辞典)。

(3) shameful

1. 恥ずべき、不面目な shameful conduct
2. けしからぬ、不届きな It's shameful that he behaves that way.

(4) shameless

1. 恥知らずの、破廉恥な、ずうずうしい a shameless deception [liar]

形態的対比から推し量られる意味は対照的内容であるはずの -ful と -less だが、shameful/ shameless conduct は共に日本語で「恥ずかしい行為」と表現できそうである。価値の意味は「価値評価的に良い・悪い」ということを表わす *e-pos*, *e-neg* に大別できる。本研究における *e-pos*, *e-neg* とは Horn (2005: 332-333) も用いている Cruse (1980) の *e-pos* and *e-neg* (*evaluatively positive* and *evaluatively negative*) の意味である。shameless と shameful は意味的にどちらも *e-neg* といえそうである。つまり、shameless と shameful の意味理解には、colorless vs. colorful、careless vs. careful のような明確な対照性とは異なるメカニズムが存在していることに注目すべきである。「色」や「注意」の多寡は、対象がその性質を持っているかを客観的に述べられたのに対し、「恥」の多寡は話者の視点や価値判断が決め手になる。

「恥」とは、自らの規矩や自己の独自の価値判断とのみ照らして恥と覚えることもあるが、対人関係から生じる社会的な関係性と結びついた概念で、「X を恥知らず/ 恥ずかしいと感じる」という心理は話者の視点や価値判断、間主観性に影響される。したがって、あるイベント (対象) について、「(当事者 ABC ではない) 傍観者たち」もその事態を It was a shameless behavior (of B/ C/ B and C) として描写でき、かつ、It was a shameful behavior (of B/ C/ B and C). とともに描写できる。

これは It was a colorless picture. と It was a colorful picture. が別の対象 (写真) を指すのとは対照性の性質が異なる。It was a shameless behavior. では振る舞いそのものが恥知らずで、He is shameless./He is a shameless man. は、本人が恥ずべきことを恥じておらず、見ている周囲が恥ずかしく感じる状態で、客観的に周りから見て「彼は恥知らずな男」なのである。一方、It was a shameful behavior

(of him).であれば、周囲が「恥ずかしい」と感じ、その振る舞いに「恥ずかしい」という評価を与えている。He is shameful は自分(He)が恥ずかしいと感じており、状況は異なる。[LDOCE]、[LAAD]、[OALD]、[CEDAL3]で shameless の定義にほぼ違いがない。「自分自身の悪い振る舞いを恥じていないように見えること」という点も「自分以外の他の人たちは、恥ずかしく感じるべきだと思っているにもかかわらず」という条件も共通である。たとえば CEDAL3 には以下のようにある。

- (5) a. If you describe someone as shameless, you mean that they should be ashamed of their behavior, which is unacceptable to other people ...a shameless attempt to stifle democratic debate [CEDAL3]
b. not seeming to be ashamed of your bad behavior, although other people think you should be ashamed; He's a shameless face. [LAAD]

一方、shameful も上記4つの辞書の定義にほぼ違いはなく、LDOCE には「shameful な振る舞いや行為とは、あまりにも悪いのでその人は恥ずかしく感じなくてはならないような振る舞いや行為のことである」とある。

- (6) shameful behavior or actions are so bad that someone should feel ashamed: It's shameful the way people that their pets. / a shameful family secret [LDOCE]

shameful における「誰が恥ずかしさを感じるのか」という点について、LDOCE には someone should feel ashamed、OALD では make you feel、CEDAL3 では the person ought to be とある。LAAD はこの部分が people think you should be とあり、「社会における他者の視点」が加わっている点に注目すべきで

ある。つまり、振る舞いや行為の当事者本人が恥ずかしさを感じても良いし、それを見ている周囲が恥ずかしさを感じる場合も用いられる。一方、(5b) の定義からも shameless に関する「誰が恥ずかしさを感じるのか」という点について、本人は感じていないが、周囲は恥ずかしさを感じている。

shameful と比べた shameless の違いとは「自分以外の他の人たち」という他者の視点の明確さと認識の対比という点にあることがわかる。「本人以外の他の人は、恥ずかしく感じるべきだと思う shameful な状況にもかかわらず、本人が恥ずかしさを感じていない(そして結果的に客観的に恥ずべき状況を生じさせている)」という点が shameless の特徴である。ただし、自虐的に自分をメタ的に見つめ、自分について I am a shameless man/ I am shameless so I can do what I am doing now. とは言える。I am shameful for what I am doing now. (Even though I feel shameful of myself, I do what I am doing.) と比較し、本人が恥をどれほど感じているかという恥の量の多寡の点で対照的であるとも言える。

3. 語源的背景とコロケーション

3.1. 語源的背景が示唆するもの

なお、OED で shame, shameful, shameless を調べると、shame は c.725～、shameless は a 897～、shameful は a 950～から用例があり、shameful より shameless の方が古い用例があることがわかる。

『スタンダード英語語源辞典』では名詞として「恥、恥ずかしさ」、動詞として「恥をかかせる」としている。古英語 (Old English, 8～11 世紀頃) で sc(u)eamu、古高ドイツ語 (Old High German, 8～11 世紀頃) で skama、ドイツ語 (German, ゲルマン系) で Scham、古ノルド語 (Old Norse, ゲルマン系, 7～14 世紀頃) で skōmm←ゲルマン祖語 (Proto-Germanic, 紀元前 1 千年期頃) の*推定形ま

たは語根で *skamō*、ゴート語で *skanda* 「恥辱」、ドイツ語で *Schande* 「恥」も同源、と説明されている。

『英語語源辞典』では名詞 *shame* について、以下のようにまとめられている。

1. OE 恥ずかしさ；慎み
2. OE 恥、不名誉
3. ?a1200 凌辱
4. 1.1393 (口語) ひどいこと、残念なこと
5. 1539-99 (詩) 恥ずべきこと

動詞 *shame* については以下のとおりである。

1. OE (方言) [通例否定構文で]恥じ入る
2. OE [通例 (it) *shames me* の非人称構文で] 恥ずかしく思わせる
3. ?c1200 恥辱を与える
4. c1400 (相手に) 勝る
5. 1596-97 [副詞 (句) を伴って] 恥じて退散させる。

『英語語源辞典』で寺澤は「原義は『顔を隠す(こと)』か。動詞は OE では再帰用法、非人称表現で原因・理由を表わす属格名詞を伴う構文がよく見られた。[...] *think [feel] shame to do...* 「...するのを恥とする」は Layamon (?a1200)に初出だが、最初は非人称構文 *him thinketh shame*, 15C から *he thinketh (it) shame* の形で用いられた」と説いている。

さらに、形容詞の説明がある。

shamefaced

1. 1593 つつましやかな
2. 1873 恥じている

今の形は *shamefast* の通俗語源による変形。

shamefast

OE = *shamefaced*

名詞 *shamefastness* は 1200 年ごろ初出。*shamefastness* も *shamefacedness* も、ともに *shamelessness* の代わりに誤用されることがあった。

shameful

OE-1659 つつましい

2. ?a1200 恥ずべき

†3. 1375-1760-72 恥じ入った

shamefully

1. a1325 不面目に、
2. c1375 (まれ) つつましく

shameless OE 恥知らずな

shamelessly OE 破廉恥に

†*shame-proof*

1594-95 (十分に) 恥をかいた、(もはや) 恥をかくことがない

この通時的背景から元々の「慎み」の意味との関わりがわかる。また、*shamefastness/shamefacedness* が *shamelessness* の代わりに誤用されていた背景は、恥ずかしいと感じる心理のメカニズムが間主観的であり、対人関係的・社会的環境から生じることと結びついていると考えられる。

また、『英語語義語源辞典』は *shame* の一般義を「恥ずかしい思い、恥ずかしさ」とし、その他の意味として「恥辱、不面目、不名誉、恥、[形式ばった語] (a ~、the ~) 恥 [不名誉] のもととなるもの [人]、つらよごし、恥さらし、また情けないこと、ひどいこと、つらいこと。動詞として、人に恥ずかしい思いをさせる、恥をかかせる、侮辱する」と説明している。「恥のもととなるもの」という定義は的を射ており、そのような恥ずかしい原因(対象)が存在するために、それを認識する認知主体が恥ずかしいと感じるという心理メカニズムがはたらいっているのである。これは存在物に何らかの色がついているかいないかを問うような、一般的な色覚であれば客観的に判別しやすい「色の有無 *colorful/colorless*」のような対比よりも、「恥の有無 *shameful/shameless*」の対比が複雑である理由の一つとなっている。人間の持つ五感の中に視覚があり、目で見える可視光線には、紫、藍、青、緑、黄色、橙、赤といった色があり、人間が目という感覚器を通して、光の波長を

感じ、「～色に見える」と認識し、それを「～色」と表現するという行為よりも、人間が何かの対象に対して、あるいは何かの場面において恥を感じる感覚とは、いっそう主観的で個人的・社会的な価値観が反映される認識能力であると言える。『英語語義語源辞典』では shame の語源は古英語の scamu であると書かれており、以下の用例が紹介されている。

- (7) a. I was all full of shame at my rudeness. (私は自分の不作法なふるまいに恥ずかしさでいっぱいだった)
- b. He felt no shame at having behaved in the way he had. (彼は自分のふるまいを恥ずかしいと思っていなかった)
- c. The news that he had accepted bribes brought shame on his whole family. (彼がわいろをうけとったという知らせは家族みんなの面目をつぶすはめとなった)
- d. It's a shame to treat a child so cruelly. (子供をそんなふうに虐待するなんてひどい話だ)
- e. What a shame that he didn't get the job! (彼は仕事が見つからなくて本当に気の毒だ)
- f. His cowardice shamed his parents. (彼の臆病なふるまいで彼の両親の面目は丸つぶれだった)

この中で (7e) のような用例は日本語とは平行になっていない。日本語で「恥」に気の毒という意味合いは存在していない。

『英語語義語源辞典』で小島らは以下のように日英比較をして、「日英の間では何が「恥」であるかについて違いがある。たとえば、うっかり間違えて「恥をかく」は、feel shame ではなく、feel embarrassed に相当する。英語の shame は道徳上の不名誉や屈辱（感）、苦痛（感）から来るものに限られる」としている。

3.2. コロケーションが示唆するもの

BNC (SCN) (shameless 83 件、shameful 236 件) で名詞との組み合わせに注目すると、shameful とのコロケーションは secret (6 件), secrets (4), thing (4), behavior (2), 以下 1 件、blot, catalogue, condition, death, episode, example, history, memory, peace, practice があり、後置修飾として something shameful (5), nothing shameful (3) がある。一方、shameless とのコロケーションには、wig (3 件), display (2), hussy (2), publicity (2), womaniser (2), 以下 1 件、appetite, artifice, betrayal, bitch, charade, contest, creature, cunt, deception がある。さらに、COCA (shameless 769 件、shameful 1496 件) で BNC (SCN) と照らし合わせ、以下の結果を得た。shameful は COCA と BNC (SCN) で類似傾向があるが、shameless は重なっていない。

< shameless >

shameless (9 件) / shameful (0 件) hussy
 shameless (3 件) / shameful (4 件) betrayal
 shameless (3 件) / shameful (3 件) display
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (1 件) appetites
 shameless (1 件) / shameful (1 件) charade
 shameless (1 件) / shameful (0 件) publicity
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) bitch
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) creature
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) artifice
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) contest
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) cunt
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) deception
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) womanizer
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) wig

< shameful >

shameless (4 件) / shameful (41 件) thing
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (24 件) secret
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (11 件) secrets
 shameless (3 件) / shameful (9 件) behavior
 shameless (0 件) / shameful (9 件) death

shameless (0 件) / shameful (8 件) history
shameless (0 件) / shameful (6 件) episode
shameless (0 件) / shameful (3 件) example
shameless (0 件) / shameful (3 件) practice
shameless (0 件) / shameful (3 件) condition
shameless (0 件) / shameful (1 件) memory
shameless (0 件) / shameful (1 件) peace
shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) blot
shameless (0 件) / shameful (0 件) catalogue

COCA で調べると、shameless scams (22 件), deeds (22), self-promotion (18), plug (12), hussy (9), self-promoter (8), ploy (8), employees (8), act (8), attempt (7), guys (7), pandering (6), display (6), dance (6), liar (5), acts (5), editor (5), efforts (5), showtime (4), opportunist (3), flirt (3), promoter (3), stunt (3), arrogance (3), cheat (3), exploitation (3), thief (3), publicity (3), bid (3) が上位 30 で、①中立的価値の「単なる行為」、②悪行の企み、③見せびらかし、④人、といった意味による下位分類の存在が見られる。

また、shameful thing (46), history (33), secret (28), act (26), behavior (15), truth (13), secrets (12), chapter (10), acts (10), chapters (8), thoughts (7), episode (6), affair (6), conduct (6), display (6), theatrics (5), statistic (5), slavery (5), defeat (5), legacy (5), relief (5), capitulation (4), deeds (4), betrayal (3), episodes (4), weakness (4), awareness (4), gap (4), ultimatum (3), faults (3) が上位 30 にあり、①中立的価値の「単なる行為」、②話、③見せびらかし、といった意味で分類可能である（下線は shameless と shameful の共通要素）。

3.3. 恥とは何か

たとえば、my shameful experience が「恥ずかしくて自らの顔が赤くなるような経験」を指すのに対して、my shameless experience は「周囲からは恥ずかしい人だと思われていたであろうが自分自身は恥ずかしいとも思わ

ず、厚かましくも破廉恥でがさつなことをした経験」を指すことになり、これら二つの表現は各々異なる経験を指すことがありえる。ただし、my shameful experience も my shameless experience も共に一般的に褒められる経験ではないという点が共通している。

さらに、my shameful secret という表現は自然だが、*my shameless secret という表現は不自然である。これは、そもそも「秘密」という名詞が（恥ずかしいので）隠しておくべきことであるという前提があり、shameless という語が持つ「周囲からは恥ずかしい人だと思われていたであろうが自分自身は恥ずかしいとも思わない」という意味の部分が矛盾するからだと考えられる。日本語で「彼は[恥知らずな/ 恥ずかしい] 男だ」と言うとき、その人物の性質について殆ど同じことを指しているが、英語の shameless vs. shameful はそれら 2 つが colorless vs. colorful のような対比にならないだけでなく、日本語とも単純にはパラレルにはならないようである。

4. おわりに

英語の-less と-ful は何らかの性質の多寡を述べる場合に用いる対照的な形容詞を作る接尾辞であるはずなのに、なぜ、shameful/shameless conduct は共に日本語で「恥ずかしい行為」と表現できそうなのかという着眼点から始まった研究だが、これは「恥」という概念が間主観的に感じられる社会的な性質を持つことに起因すると指摘できた。したがって、より客観的に判別しやすい「色の有無 colorful/colorless」等とは、その有無を問うている側面が異なる。shameless は恥を感じる能力が欠如しているのであり、そのことが周囲から第三者的に認識した場合に「恥ずかしく」感じられる場合があるために、shameful/shameless conduct は共に日本語で「恥ずかしい行為」と表現できる。また、shameful は「恥」という原義を持ち続けているのに対して、

shameless は口語的用例では「恥」の原義にとどまらず、「(恥ずかしく感じるほどの) 甚だしさ」という意味合いになることは興味深い。これは、(feel) shameful の意味が「(恥ずかしく感じるほどの) 慎ましさ」という価値的に望ましい方向性に向かうのに対して、shameless が「(恥ずかしく感じるほどの) 恥知らず、破廉恥、みだら→普通ではないこと、異常であること→異常なほどの、ものすごくたくさん」という価値的に望ましくない源であることが甚だしさの意味への拡張に起因していると考えられる。

2017 年、広辞苑第 7 版に「やばい」が掲載され、「不都合である、危険である」という意味以外に「のめりこみそうである」という語義が挙げられた。確かに危ないほど熱中して不都合なことが生じ得る。若者言葉では「このカレーやばい (何かがおかしい・美味しくない・美味しい)」というようにより多様な意味で用いられている「やばい」は元々 (際立ちの弱い無標状態の肯定性に対する) 有標的な否定的価値 (e-neg) という際立ちを持っているからこそ、このような「ものすごく」という甚だしさの意味に転じていくと考えられる。同様に shameless も shameless liar, shamelessly declare, shame enough to do... のように、恥ずかしくてあきれるほどの甚だしさ (そして、恥を感じるべき人物は恥を感じる能力が欠如しているために恥を感じていないという、ほとんど清々しさに近い甚だしく矛盾的な状況) を描写できる。

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英語の「非意図的」結果構文について*
(On “Unintended” Resultative Constructions
in English)

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1. はじめに

英語の結果構文は様々な角度から分類されるが、それは例えば(1)に示されるように、「意図性の有無」に基づいて分類することが可能である。

- (1) a. The blacksmith hammered the metal flat.
(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1999: 200)
b. The gardener watered the tulips flat.
(Carrier and Randall 1992: 173)

(1a)では、「鍛冶屋が金属を叩いて平らにした」という主語指示物の行為者によって意図された結果が表わされている一方で、(1b)では、「庭師がチューリップに水をやった際にそれがぺちゃんコになってしまった」という行為者の意図しない結果が表わされている。このような両者のタイプの結果構文のうち、前者の意図的な結果を表わすタイプの方が成立しやすいということが先行研究で主張されている。

2. 影山 (2005, 2007, 2009)

そのような主張が影山の一連の研究で展開されている。影山 (2005, 2007, 2009)は、(2)や(3)のような例を挙げて、英語では行為者

に意図された結果を表わす結果構文が成立することが非常に多く、意図されない結果を表わすタイプは成立し難いと主張している。

- (2) a. She scrubbed/wiped the floor shiny clean.
b. *?She swam her swimsuit to tatters.
(影山 2005: 90, 92)
(3) a. The wise dog **barked** his master **awake** to warn him of the fire.
b. *A stray dog in the distance **barked** the sleeping child **awake**.
(影山 2007: 39, 強調は発表者)

(2a)では、特定の意図した目的を含意する動詞 scrub や wipe が生起しており、結果述語がその意図した結果を具現化していることが明らかである。一方で、(2b)における動詞 swim は特定の目的を意図する動詞ではなく、結果述語も行為者の意図しない偶発的な結果を表わしている。また、(3)における bark も同様に、それ自体は特定の目的を意図しない動詞なのであるが、(3a)のように、結果述語が動詞の表わす行為の目的を表わすと解釈されるような文脈を設定すれば、より容認度の高い結果構文を成立させることになる。これらの観察などを基に、影山は、行為者の意図しない偶発的な結果を表わす結果構文に対して「表現の範囲が限られ、許容度も低い」(影山 2005:96)と形容している。しかしながら、このような観点を取ると、いくつかの重要な事実を見落としてしまうことになる。以下では、影山の分析に関して問題点を指摘していくことにしよう。

第一に、(4)の文ペアの存在が挙げられる。

- (4) a. I spent the next three months trying to talk myself out of a job.
(Monterey County Herald, 9/25, 2009)
b. I fear he will eventually **talk** himself out of a job while talking down our club.

(Daily Post, 11/9, 2010)

(4)における動詞 **talk** は、(3)の **bark** と同様、特定の意図した目的が含意されているわけではない。しかし、各文の下線部の語句の内容から容易に読み取れるように、**out of a job** という同一の結果述語との組み合わせで、(4a)のように「意図的な結果」と(4b)のように「非意図的な結果」の両者が表されている。影山の分析では、(4b)のような事例は許容度が低いことが予想されるが、実際のところ、(4b)の事例に留まらず、非意図的な文脈で使用される「**talk-out of a job**」の組み合わせは他にも多く確認される。

第二に、以下の「非意図的」結果構文はさらに影山の分析に対して疑問を呈することになる。

(5) a. When the roosters that scratch in the yard of Brastagi's best hotel **crowed me awake** that dawn a few months ago, ...

(The New York Times, 3/16, 1986)

b. A violent earthquake **shook** Los Angeles **awake** before dawn yesterday,... [COCA]

(5a)では、影山によって容認性が低い事例として提示された(3b)と同じような出来事が描写されている。すなわち、いずれの例においても動物の鳴き声によって人間が目覚めたという状況が表わされているが、そのような結果は(3b)の野良犬と(5a)の鶏の両者にとって意図したことではないという点は共通しているのである。従って、(3a)の容認性が低いことをそれが行為者の意図しない偶発的な結果を表しているという事実を求めるのは少々無理があるように思われる。また、(5b)のように、そもそも意図を持ち得ない無生物を主語に取る結果構文も成立する場合があるので、ここでもまた「非意図的な結果」を表わす結果構文を許容度の低いタイ

プとして一括りに分類することに問題があることが分かる。そこで、本稿では、英語の結果構文において「意図的な結果」を表わすタイプが成立しやすいという影山の指摘は認めつつも、だからと言って、全ての「非意図的な結果」を表わす結果構文に対して「表現の範囲が限られ、許容度も低い」という記述が当てはまるわけではないということを主張していきたいと思う。

3. Out of a job

まず、この主張を支持する事例の一つとして **out of a job** という結果述語を取る結果構文を取り上げてみることにしよう。すでに(4)で確認したように、この結果述語は「意図的な結果」と「非意図的な結果」の両者を表わすことが可能であった。この事実は、(6)に示されるように、**job** という語に少なくとも二種類の辞書定義が認められることと密接に関連している。

(6) job_1 : “work for which you receive regular payment”

job_2 : “a responsibility or duty”

[OALD⁸]

job_1 の意味に基づく結果述語 **out of a job₁** は「解雇される・職を失う」という望ましくない状況を表すので、それは「非意図的な結果」に相当すると言える。この意味の結果述語を持つ結果構文は、影山の見方からすると許容度の低い表現範囲が限られたタイプに相当することになる。しかしながら、実際は COCA コーパス上において、**out of a job₁** が様々な動詞と共起するのが観察される。

(7) [____ oneself out of a job₁] [COCA] :

talk (2), drink (2), vote (2), eat (1), argue (1),
teach (1), indict (1), tap (1), index (1),
pilot (1), regulate (1), schedule (1)

さらに、生起する動詞に類似するより特殊化した意味をもつ動詞も見られる。

- (8) a. He **drank** himself out of a job₁. [COCA]
b. a lush who **boozed** himself out of a job₁
and a home, ... (*Daily News*, 6/8, 2006)
- (9) a. ...he could **indict** himself out of a job₁
by charging Clinton. [COCA]
b. The postal workers...haven't figured out
that they are **bellyaching** themselves right
out a job₁
(*Sherbrooke Record*, 6/16, 2006)
- (10) ...the congressman who **tweeted** himself out
of a job₁...with a photo of his bulging
underpants,...

(*St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 4/9, 2013)

(8b)の *booze* (大酒を飲む)は、*drink* の下位語であるし、また、(9)における *indict* (告発する)及び *bellyache* (不平・不満を言う)は、(4b)で見た *talk* と類義語の関係にあると言えるだろう。加えて、*out of a job₁* は(10)に示されるように、比較的新しい概念を表わす動詞と共起することも「非意図的」結果構文は表現の範囲が限定されているとは言い切れないことを示唆しているように思われる。

ここで、もう一度 *job* の辞書記述(6)に戻り、*job₂* の意味を参照すると、それに基づく結果述語 *out of a job₂* は「責任や義務からの解放」という状況を表していると考えられる。

- (11) [___ oneself out of a job₂] [COCA] :
work (15), write (1), legislate (1), phase (1)

この *out of a job₂* の特徴としては、まず *work* と共起する頻度が高く、また、次例の下線部の語句で明示されているように(これは(4a)にも当てはまることであるが)、普通、「意図的な結果」を表すということである。

- (12) a. He hopes instead to have **worked** himself
out of a job₂ by then.

(*New Orleans CityBusiness*, 5/12, 2008)

- b. ...Richardson ... successfully **negotiated**
himself out of a job₂.

(*The Globe and Mail*, 8/17, 1999)

- c. I have successfully **delegated** myself out
of a job₂. (*The Mirror*, 12/12, 2002)

しかし、ここでもっと注目すべきことは、このように「意図的な結果」を表すと解釈されやすい *out of a job₂* が実は「非意図的な結果」を表す結果構文をも成立させ得るということである。

- (13) Chip, a 5-year-old border collie, has been
such a success at Red Wing Lake Golf
Course - *helping scatter away more than*
200 birds there - that he's nearly **run**
himself out of a job₂.

(*The Virginian-Pilot*, 10/24, 2007)

(13)では、下線部に示されたボーダー・コリー犬がゴルフ場で鳥を追いかけるために起用され、大きな成果が得られたため、その犬の役割がもうすぐ終わるということが述べられている。そして、この状況において、犬は単に本能的に鳥に向かって走っているものであって、自分に課せられた責任から解放されるためにそうしているわけではないということが容易に読み取れる。以上、本節では、*out of a job* という結果述語を取り上げ、「非意図的」結果構文の中には、様々な動詞が生起するという点において表現の範囲が広いと言えるものも存在することを示した。

4. 心理的变化結果構文

次に、もう一つの「非意図的」結果構文の事例として、意図を持ち得ない無生物を主語に取るタイプについて見ていく。

(14) a. She **shook** him awake.

(影山 2007: 38, 強調は発表者)

b. A violent earthquake **shook** Los Angeles
awake before dawn yesterday. (= (5b))

影山 (2007)では、動詞 *shake* には未指定ではあるが意図した目的が語彙的に含意されていると見なされており、(14a)はその目的を結果述語 *awake* が具現化した「意図的」結果構文ということになる。しかし、同じ「shake – awake」の組み合わせであっても、無生物主語を伴った(14b)は、一般に「非意図的」結果構文の許容度が低いとする影山の分析にとっては望ましくない事例である。本稿ではこのような事例を扱うためには、「shake 目的語 *awake*」パターンを全体として一種の経験者目的語型の心理動詞構文として見なす観点を導入すればよいと考える。というのも、自然に目が覚める場合とは異なり、外的な働きかけを受けて「目覚め」が引き起こされる際には、通常、同時に何らかの心理的变化(例えば、「驚き」や「恐れ」など)も伴うからである。このことは(15)のような事例の存在からも確かめられる。

(15) a. I will **startle** her awake by throwing
a handful of snaps at her car.

(*Christian Science Monitor*, 6/12, 2006)

b. To **scare** him awake in the mornings,
...this disabled woman...would... whip
open the curtains."

(*The Globe and Mail*, 3/21, 2007)

(16) a. Nina frightened Laura deliberately /
to make her go away.

b. The explosion / the noise / the storm
frightened Laura.

(Arad 1998: 2, 下線部は発表者)

一般に、経験者目的語型の心理動詞は(16)のように人間の動作主主語だけではなく無生

物主語も可能であることがよく知られているが、もちろんそれは結果述語を伴った場合でも同様である。

(17) a. A noise **startled** her awake.

(*The Globe and Mail*, 6/20, 2011)

b. Nightmares would **scare** her awake.

(*St. Petersburg Times*, 5/31, 2001)

これらのことを考慮すれば、(14)に見られるように、「shake 目的語 *awake*」パターンにおいて、動作主主語だけではなく無生物主語が現れるのは何ら特異なことではないと言える。

また、ここの関連で、Goldberg (1995:193) が提案した(18)の制約について考えてみる価値があるだろう。

(18) Animate Instigator Constraint :

"only animate instigator arguments are
acceptable as subjects in two-argument
resultative constructions."

(19) a. *The feather tickled her silly. (ibid.)

b. Richard Bean's farce "One Man, Two
Guvnors," had tickled me silly...

(*The New York Times*, 5/13, 2012)

この制約は主語と目的語を持つ結果構文は無生物主語を認めないことを述べており、それによって(19a)が容認されないことが説明される。しかし、(19b)のように、同じ動詞が心理的变化を表す意味で使用される場合に無生物主語が生じている。従って、ここからも心理的变化を表す結果構文が無生物主語を許容しやすいことが分かる。

動詞 *shake* にも同様のことが言えるが、この場合、単に無生物主語を取る結果構文が成立するというにとどまらず、その表現範囲が限定されているわけではないことにも注目されたい。

- (20) *shake*₁ : “move an object up and down or from side to side with rapid, forceful, jerky movements”
*shake*₂ : “upset the composure or confidence; shock or astonish”
 [OALD⁸]

shake の意味として少なくとも二種類の辞書的定義が存在する。*shake*₁ は物理的な働きかけを表しているが、影山 (2007) が指摘するように、それによって意図された変化結果が様々な結果述語で表現可能である。

- (21) *shake*₁ : She shook him awake. / Sharpe shook the bundle loose. / She shook herself free of his arm. / Galvone shook snow from the sheepskin. / She finally shook herself away. / I shook the rain out of my hair.
 (影山 2007: 38)

しかし、一方で、心理的な働きかけを表す *shake*₂ の方も、無生物主語を伴い「非意図的」結果構文を成立させる際に、心理的な圧力を受けた後の結果状態が様々な結果述語で表現可能である。

- (22) *shake*₂ :
 a. ...the memory of his fury could shake him awake, fill his throat with regret.
 b. A terrible roaring from the boughs above shook him *to alertness*.
 c. ...a look at that invincible door shook me *into horror* again.
 d. A new sound shook me *out of my thoughts*
 e. ...a recent Cher dress purchase shook him *out of a bout of depression*
 [COCA]

この点においても、「意図的」結果構文に負けず劣らず、「非意図的」結果構文が高い生

産性を示す場合があることが確認される。

5. 非意図性+責任性

それでは最後に、以下の文に見られる許容度の相違について見ていくことにしよう。

- (23) a. *A stray dog in the distance **barked** the sleeping child awake. (= (3b))
 b. The roosters **crowed** me awake that dawn a few months ago... (= (5a))

すでに見たように、影山の分析において、「非意図的」結果構文の許容度が低いことが(23a)の事例を用いて主張されていた。しかし、同時に(23b)のように、主語指示物の意図が関与しない、(23a)とほぼ同じような状況を表す事例が実際に観察されるのであった。これらの事実を扱うために、本稿では、Lakoff (1977) や van Oosten (1977, 1984) において提案された「責任性」という概念を拡張的に援用する。この概念は、主語として具現化するために最低限必要とされる意味特性として規定され、動詞の表わす行為の実現に主たる要因として関わるある実体の属性のことを指し示すものである(“properties of the patient bear the responsibility for the occurrence of the action of the verb.” (van Oosten 1977:461)). これによって例えば(24)に見られる中間構文の被動者主語の生起可能性について説明されてきた。

- (24) a. *The baby will wash with no trouble.
 b. These clothes will wash with no trouble.
 (van Oosten 1984: 156)

(24a)ではなく(24b)が容認されるのは、「何の支障もなく洗う」という行為の実現に向けて、その主な要因として関わるのが「入浴を恐れたり身もだえしたりする」といった赤ん坊の属性ではなく、「洗濯機洗いに対応可能」といった衣類の属性であると通常想定される

からである。そして、以下の例から、この概念が「非意図的」結果構文の容認性にも関与していることが見て取れる。

(25) a. *The hammer broke the vase into pieces.

(Goldberg 1995: 65)

b. I threw the hammer, and it broke the vase into pieces. (草山 2001: 128)

この場合には、主語指示物が動詞の表わす行為からもたらされる結果事象の実現に主たる要因として関わる性質を持つか否かに結果構文の成立が左右されていると言える。通常、ハンマーが「花瓶が粉々になる」という結果事象をもたらすには、その使用者が積極的に介入し、ハンマーを直接的に操作し続ける必要がある。従って、(25a)の許容度が低いということになる。しかし、ハンマーが飛び道具として使用された場合には、それが使用者から独立して結果事象の実現に主たる要因として関わる性質を帯びるために(25b)のような結果構文が成立するのである。

同様の説明が(26)の事例にも当てはまる。

(26) a. I can accept the alarm clock that sings me to sleep at night and **shouts** me awake in the morning,...

(San Jose Mercury News, 9/18, 2013)

b. A mockingbird **sang** me awake this morning in the pre-dawn darkness. *Much better than the alarm clock.*

(Contra Costa Times, 3/14, 2008)

(26a)において下線部に示された主語指示物の「目覚まし時計」は単にそれが使用者から独立しているだけでなく、それ自体がそもそも「目覚め」という結果事象が実現するために設計されているという点において、結果事象の実現に主たる要因として関わる性質を持つと言える。また、斜字部からその解釈が

補強されているように、(26b)でも鳥のさえずる行為が一種の目覚まし時計の機能を果たすものとして描写されている。

このように見てくると、(23)における許容度の相違は、意図性の有無ではなく、やはり主語指示物が結果事象の実現に貢献する性質を持っているかどうかという観点で説明できるように思われる。つまり、(26b)の鳥の場合と同様、(23b)の鶏は、朝という決まった時間に鳴く習性を持つことから、一種の目覚まし時計の機能を果たしており、「目覚め」という結果事象の実現に対する「責任性」を持っているのである。しかし一方で、(23a)の野良犬は昼夜問わず吠えるので、それらに目覚まし時計の機能を期待することはできず、結果事象の実現に対する「責任性」を見出し難いのである。

また、このように結果事象の実現に対する主語指示物の「責任性」を重要視する分析は、以下の「非意図的」結果構文の事例からもさらに支持することが可能である。

(27) a. Pat him on *his electronic head* and Tekno wags his tail and barks happily. ...When it gets light, he (= Tekno) sings one of three tunes and happily **barks** you awake.

(The Vancouver Province, 6/11, 2000)

b. Halifax Canoe Club in Sowerby Bridge has been attracting complaints from a nearby resident, who claims users of the club *have been shouting* him awake early in the morning and late at night.

(Brighouse Echo, 1/9, 2016)

まず、(27a)では、(23a)と同様、「bark—awake」という組み合わせで主語指示物が犬であるように見えるが、斜字体で示唆されているように、実際はアラーム機能を備えた犬型ロボットの性能を述べた事例である。従って、

結果事象の実現に対する主語指示物の「責任性」は明らかである。また、(27b)では、全体的内容として、カヌークラブの利用者が騒ぎ続けることで意図せず近隣住民を頻繁に目覚めさせていることが述べられている。ここで注目すべきは、本節においてここまで見てきた「非意図的」結果構文とは異なり、主語指示物が結果事象の実現に主たる要因として関わる性質を内在的に備えているわけではないということである。主語指示物であるカヌークラブの利用者は人間であり、それ自体に「目覚め」を引き起こす特性を持っているとは確かに考え難いのである。しかし、「目覚め」を引き起こす行為を繰り返すことによって、カヌークラブの利用者は、住民にとって目覚まし時計の機能を担うような習性を獲得していると言える。つまり、文脈によって臨時的に「責任性」が主語指示物に読み込まれているのである。この事例からも、影山の一連の研究での指摘に反して、「非意図的」結果構文であっても表現範囲を拡張させることが確認可能である。

6. 結語

本稿では、影山 (2005, 2007, 2009)の主張に異議を唱え、以下のことを示した。すなわち、英語の結果構文は、「非意図的な結果」を表わす場合であっても、1)様々な動詞や結果述語が生起することがあり、2)主語指示物に結果事象の実現に主たる要因として関わる特性・習性が認められれば、結果事象に意図を示さない無生物主語や動物主語も可能となる点において、必ずしも表現範囲が限定されているとは言えない。

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最近の名前と一般語の音韻パターンの相違について

(Different Phonological Patterns between Recent Personal Names and General Nouns)

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キーワード：音韻パターン、名前、一般語、
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1. はじめに

「キラキラネーム」という名付けへの揶揄的な表現が日本社会で騒がれるようになってから十数年が経つ。伊東 (2015) はキラキラネームを「これまでの常識とは異なる漢字の読み方をしたり、これまでの日本語にはなかった音の響きを持っていたりする難読な名前」と定義する。例えば『光宙 (ピカチュウ)』や『希空 (ノア)』などが該当し、これまで漢字に対する難読な当て字という側面が注目されてきており、音韻的側面の考察は極めて少ない。

そもそもこのような名付けの傾向が生まれたのは、日本の戸籍法に端を発すると言えよう。戸籍法では、「名」には常用平易な文字を用いなければならない、使用可能漢字は現在 2999 字しかないという制限がある。対して、その漢字をどのように読ませるかの制限はないのである。この読み方の自由から「難読な当て字」が出てきたと推察できる。

しかしながら、最近の名付けの傾向は、「漢

字に難読な当て字をする」という名付け方ではなく、最初に「音」を決めそれからその音に合う漢字をリストから選ぶ、というのが主流である (朝日新聞 2017)。全国の書店の「名付け」に関するコーナーでも、「こういう音の名前にはどういう漢字があてはまるか」という内容の書籍が最前列に陳列され販売されているという。

その傾向を鑑みると、最近の親 (もしくは子の名付けをする人) が「こういう音の名前がいい」と思う「音」になんらかのパターンが存在するのではないだろうか。またもし存在するなら、その音韻パターンは、他の一般語 (特に名詞) とは異なるパターンを形成するのではなかろうか。そして、もしこの仮説が正しいとすると、(最近の) 名前は一つの音韻語彙層を形成することになるのではないかと考えた。

まず次節では、この 12 年間に名付けられた子の名前の「音」(読み方) データより (明治安田生命 2004-2015)、子音 (C)・母音 (V) の連鎖パターンの頻度を解析し、その解析結果を一般語 (名詞) のパターンと比較し、共通点・相違点を考察する。第 3 節では第 2 節での解析の結果を最適性理論 (Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004) の枠組みで用いられる制約を用いて解釈し、その制約の遵守の仕方が異なるかどうか、すなわち制約ランキングに違いが現れるかどうかを考察する。第 4 節はまとめと今後の課題を示唆する。

2. データの整理と解析方法

2.1. 最近の名前と名詞 (一般語)

最近の名前の「音」を抽出するために、明治安田生命「名前ランキング」(2004-2015) を使用する。これは、個人保険・年金保険の契約 1134 万件の調査をもとに作成された 12 年分の「読み方ベスト 50」のデータである。名前の総数は 1266 個、読み方の総違なり語数 204 個から成る。例えば、2015 年の男児

の名前の読み方ベスト 50 の上位 5 位までは表 1 のようである。

表 1: 2015 年男の子の名前、読み方のサンプル

順位	読み方	人数	占率
1 位	ハルト	119 人	2.78%
2 位	ソウタ	83 人	1.94%
3 位	ユウト	77 人	1.80%
4 位	ハルキ	58 人	1.36%
5 位	ユイト	50 人	1.17%

このデータにおける人数を頻度として扱い、男女は区別せず結合する。

この「名前」と比較対象の一般語（名詞）は、天野・近藤 (1999) の朝日新聞 14 年分に基づく頻度データから名詞のみを抽出する。音韻表記は天野・近藤 (1999) を利用し、分析単位は、子音 (C)・母音 (V) の連鎖パターンを基本とする。分析単位の定義は表 2 の通りである。

表 2: 分析単位の定義

記号	対応する分節音
c	k, g, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, t, d, ɛ, ts, n, h, b, ɸ, v, p, m, r, w
v	a, i, u, e, o
g	j
M	N, Q, V (V: {aa, ii, uu, ee, oo, ei, ou の後部要素})
H	ai, oi, ui, au の後部要素

2.2. 解析

図 1 は、名前と一般語の CV パターンを比較したものである。まず、一般語の各 CV パターンの出現頻度と順位をプロットする (○で表す)。次に、名前において該当するパターンの標準化した頻度をプロットする (●で表す)。標準化頻度は、それぞれの延べ語数 (名前は 99,932 人、一般語は 65,609,259 件)

で割って求める。

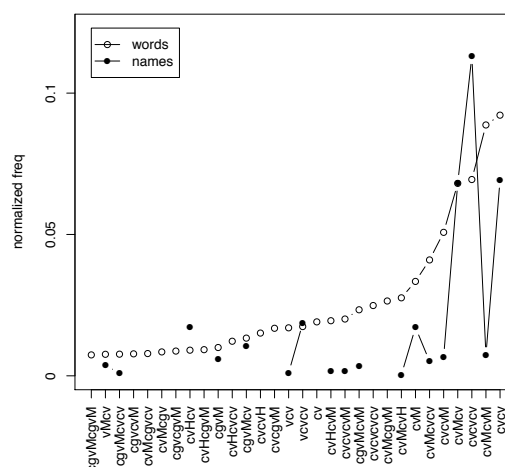


図 1: 頻度順位による一般語の cv パターン(x 軸)とその頻度(y 軸)、および、その順位において該当する名前の cv パターンの頻度

上記の比較から、一般語および名前のデータにおける CV パターンの上位 15 位までを取り出したものが表 3 である。ここから頻度順位における以下の特徴が導かれる。

(1) A. 名前と一般語に共通の特徴

1. 拗音が 9 位まで現れない
2. 最上位項目は軽音節のみからなる

B. 名前と一般語の相違点

3. 頭子音を欠く音節が名前に多い
4. 両者とも 2~4 モーラに収まるが、名前は特に 3 モーラが多い
5. 二重母音 (VH) は名前の方が若干上位から現れる

本節の解析の結果、CV パターンに関して、一般語と名前における共通点・相違点を取り出した。次節では最適性理論(OT: 1993/2004)

の制約によりこの結果を解釈する。

表 3: cv パターンの一般語データおよび名前データにおける上位 15

一般語		名前	
パターン	例	パターン	例
cvcv	カニ	cvcvcv	タケル
cvMcvm	簡単	cvcv	ソラ
cvcvcv	ころ	cvMcvm	ケンタ
cvMcvm	監視	cvv	モエ
cvcvM	カレー	vcvcv	アカネ
cvMcvcv	干拓	cvHcv	セイジ
cvM	紺	cvM	ケン
cvMcvmH	関西	cvH	カイ
cvMcgvM	環境	cgvmcvm	キョウコ
cvcvcvcv	勝ち負け	cvMcvm	ユウセイ
cgvmcvm	狂言	cvcvM	カレン
cvcvcvM	掛け算	vvH	アオイ
cvHcvM	悔恨	cgvm	シュン
cv	木	cvMcvcv	ケンスケ
vcvcv	余り	vHcv	アイコ

3. 最適性理論(OT)による音韻的考察

第2節で見たように、一般語の名詞と名前の頻度分布から導かれる共通する音節的特徴として、上位には拗音を含む音節が少ない(A1)。これを OT 的な制約で考えると、*GLIDE (拗音の禁止) 制約が優位であると言える。名前にはよく拗音が使用されるイメージがあるかもしれないが、一般語・名前両方とも、上位の項目の累計は下位の項目のそれよりも非常に大きいため、拗音が含まれる単語に出会うことは見かけよりも少なく、この制約がかなり効力を持つことがわかる。

また、最上位が軽音節のみからなること(A2)に関しては、日本語として発音可能な音節構造に関する2つの制約、NoCODA(末尾子音の禁止)と CODACOND(末尾子音は Place 節点を独自に持たない)が優位であることが今

回の解析で改めて検証された。

次に、一般語と名前で異なる点として第2節Bで挙げられた3点を考察する。B1は、名前では頭子音を欠く音節が一般語に比べて許されるということである。日本語の音節構造において、頭子音がない音節が許容されることから、頭子音を要求する ONSET (音節は頭子音を持つ) 制約は優位ではない、と考えられてきたが、今回、頻度を詳細に観察したところ、一般語では頭子音のある音節の方が好まれる、すなわち ONSET 制約が効力を持つ位置にランクされていることがわかった。それに対して名前ではこの制約がより低位に来るという違いがあり、こちらの方が従来の日本語音韻研究の主張を確認したことになった。B2 はモーラ数の制限であるが、一般語も名前も 2~4 モーラが好まれるのは共通しているため、FTBIN (フットは二項的である) と ALIGNRIGHT (フットの境界と単語の終わりを揃える) という2つの制約が効力を持つことは間違いなく、これは従来の研究でも主張されている。しかしながら、名前では 3 モーラが最も多いことを考えるとこの2つの制約が一般語よりは違反可能な低位にあることが明確になった。B3 は、名前の方が二重母音が許されることが若干多いということから、*VH (二重母音禁止) 制約は、名前においての方が一般語においてより少しだけ低いランクであると結論づけることができる。

4. まとめと今後の課題

本稿では、一般語の名詞と名前の音節構造を観察し、それぞれのグループで考えられる制約ランキングに共通点・相違点があることを論じた。制約ランキングがレキシコンの一部において体系的に異なるのであれば、いわゆる語彙層 (lexical stratum) を形成する (Ito & Mester 1995, Fukazawa 1999) とすれば、「人名」という語彙層が日本語において異な

る語彙層を形成する可能性があることが示唆された。「人名」という語彙層が形成されていると結論づけるにはさらなる検証が必要であるが、人々が「名付け」を通して音韻の観点から新たな語彙層を創り出そうとしている可能性も示唆できるのではないだろうか。

実際、キラキラネームという呼称が始まってからずいぶん経ち、対抗して古風な名前をつけたがる「シワシワネーム」という流行も取りざたされている(東洋経済オンライン2016)。どのような音がキラキラで、どのような音がシワシワなのか、意味とは独立して音韻的に設定するには、今回の音節構造の観察のみならず、音象徴的特性、外来語・擬音語との音素配列的な類似性、形態レベルでの操作の音韻への影響、音素・素性レベルでの分布特性等、まだまだ検討すべき課題は多い。

また、今回は男女の名を一括して分析したが、男性名、女性名と好まれる音が異なることは、日本語のみならず多くの言語で観察されていることもあり、その違いに関する考察も必須である。

上述したように、結論までは課題が多いものの、日本語の音韻が未来に向けてどのように変化するのかについて、このような名付けの音韻的検討が示唆しているものは大きい。

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日英語の胸部と腹部の理解をめぐって
—比喩的認知を生む身体経験、社会・文化経験の観点から—^{*}

(On the Conceptualizations of the Chest and
Abdomen in Japanese and English: From the
Perspectives of Bodily and Social-cultural
Experience as Factors Affecting Metaphorical
Cognition)

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キーワード：概念メタファー理論、身体慣用句、身体経験、社会・文化経験、日英比較

1. はじめに

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) に始まる概念メタファー理論は、比喩表現の成立基盤（動機付け）の問題を扱ってきた。Kövecses (2005) は、比喩表現の成立基盤を、身体経験 (bodily experience)、社会・文化経験 (social-cultural experience) へと大分し、これらを言語間の類似性・相違性と関連付けている。Kövecses の最も単純化されたモデルによれば、比喩表現の言語類似性は、人類が共通の身体基盤を有していることに起因し、反対に、相違性は各言語に根付いた社会・文化的な慣習・規範・想定と深く関わっている。

本稿では、胸部や腹部を指す語・形態素を含み、精神作用を表す(1)、(2)のような日英語の慣用句を、それぞれ「胸部表現」、「腹部表現」と呼ぶ。これらの表現を、成立基盤の観点から比較することで、後藤 (2015) で示した日本語の「胸」表現、「腹」表現の成立基盤に対する説明の妥当性を検証する。

- (1) a. 胸が高鳴る、胸を締め付ける
b. heartbroken / make a clean breast of something
- (2) a. 腹が立つ、腹に据えかねる
b. bellyache (about something) / make someone sick to {his / her} stomach

2. 先行研究と課題提起

先行研究において、「胸」と「腹」は日本人の精神の座であり、各々の部位には異なる精神作用が結びつくことが明らかにされている。Matsuki (1995) は、「腹」が怒りや本音を隠すための重要な部位であることを指摘し、それが日本の本音と建前の文化に強く影響を受けたものであると主張している。一方、田中 (2003) は、「胸」が共感を呼びやすい感情、複雑で微妙な感情と結びつくのに対し、「腹」は自己保存的な感情、精神の安定や不動性と結びつく傾向にあることを示した上で、こうした「腹」の特徴を摂食・消化等の腹部の身体的特徴と結びつけている。

Matsuki と田中の研究を受け、後藤 (2015) では、日本語の「胸」と「腹」の表現を成立基盤の観点から再検討している。「胸」は、(1a)のように、鼓動や閉塞感などの身体経験に基づくと考えられる表現が多く観察される。一方、(2a)のような「腹」表現では、いずれも純粋な身体経験というよりは、丹田周辺の感覚を重視する日本の伝統（齋藤 (2000)）や本音と建前の文化（Matsuki (1995)）に基づくと考えられるものが多い。このような観察から、後藤 (2015) では、「胸」表現の基盤としては身体経験を、「腹」表現の基盤としては社会・文化経験を中心に論じるべきであると主張している。

本稿の目的は、日英語の比較を通じて、後藤 (2015) の議論の妥当性を検証することである。先述の Kövecses のモデルと後藤の議論を合わせると、次のような仮説が得られる。

- i. 「胸」表現が身体経験に強く動機付けられているのであれば、英語でも類似する胸部表現が多く見つかるはずである。
- ii. 「腹」表現が日本語の社会・文化経験に強く動機付けられているのであれば、英語では類似する腹部表現が見つかりにくいはずである。

3. 方法論

今回、『新和英辞典』から、「胸」と「腹」の訳語として記載されている項目を抽出した。表1の通り、日本語の「胸」と「腹」は、bosom や belly などの外的部位を指す語に加え、heart や stomach などの内臓を指す語と対応する。これらの語を手がかりに、複数の辞書（参考文献を参照）から精神作用を表す比喩表現を抽出したところ、abdomen、tummy、bowel を除く 6 項目で該当表現が得られた。本稿では、これらを日本語の比較対象とする。

表1 調査対象語

「胸」	bosom / breast / chest	heart
「腹」	belly / (abdomen) / (tummy)	stomach / (bowel)

表現の観察にあたり、楠見・米田 (2007) で提案された枠組みを援用する。楠見・米田によれば、感情を代表とする精神の比喩表現は、「感覚・運動レベル」、「スキーマレベル」、「概念レベル」という3つの表象へと分類される。感覚・運動レベルとは、感情に伴う生理感覚・反応などの身体経験に基づく表象レベルを指し、例えば「手がわななく」などのメトニミー表現がこれに分類される。スキーマレベルとは、身体経験が抽象化を経たレベルであり、いわゆるイメージ・スキーマと呼ばれるものである。例えば、「胸の内」は、胸を容器と見なすイメージ・スキーマに支えられた表現といえる。さらにイメージ・スキーマは、感情経験の過程を辿るためのスクリ

プトによって構造化され、＜愛は戦争＞のような概念メタファー（概念レベル）が生じる。

4. 感覚・運動レベルからスキーマレベルへ

以後、日英語の胸部表現・腹部表現を上記の3レベルに沿って観察していく¹。これらのうち、身体経験との関わりが最も深いのが感覚・運動レベルの表現である（楠見・米田 (2007)）。(3)-(6)の通り、胸部や腹部の感覚・反応を指す表現は、メトニミーとして何らかの感情の意味へと転用される。(3)は痛覚、(4)は鼓動、(5)は不快感あるいは閉塞感、(6)は熱感覚に基づくと考えられる表現である。

- (3) a. 胸を痛める【悲しみ】
 - b. one's heart aches / heartache【悲しみ】
 - c. 腹が痛い【笑いを誘う感情】
 - d. bellyache (about something)【不満】
- (4) a. 胸が {高鳴る／轟く}

【興奮（期待・驚き・不安など）】

- b. heartthrob / one's heart beats fast

【興奮（期待・驚き・不安など）】
- (5) a. 胸が {苦しい／悪い}

【不快・悲しみ・不安】

- b. feel sick at heart / the pressure in one's heart

【悲しみ・不安】

- c. make someone sick to {his / her} stomach

【(心理的) 不快】
- (6) 胸が熱くなる【感動】

胸を冷やす【恐怖】

さらに、(3)-(6)の身体経験は、誇張によって何らかの事象に喩えられる場合がある。例えば、大笑いすることで感じる(3c)のような腹（腹筋）の痛みは、腹の振れとして誇張されることで、(7)のメタファー表現を生む。

- (7) 腹(の皮)が振れる【笑いを誘う感情】

(8)-(13)の通り、日英語で類似表現が多く見

つかるのは胸部である。(8)は胸部への攻撃を表す表現であり、(3)の痛覚や(4)の鼓動に由来すると考えられる。同様に、(4)の鼓動はそれが活発な運動として認識されることで、(9)のような表現の成立を動機づける。

- (8) a. 胸を打つ 【感動】
胸を{挟む／突く} 【悲しみ・驚き】
b. break one's heart / heartbroken / pierce someone's heart 【悲しみ・驚き】
(9) a. 胸が{踊る／弾む} 【期待・喜び】
胸が騒ぐ 【不安】
b. one's heart {flutters / leaps} 【期待・喜び・不安】

また、(5a)「胸が苦しい」のような閉塞感は、内からの圧迫((10))や外からの圧迫((11))に喩えられ、最終的に((12))のような破裂を招く。

- (10) 胸が{詰まる／塞がる} 【感動・不安・怒り】
(11) a. 胸が潰れる、胸拉ぐ、胸を締め付ける 【悲しみ・不安】
b. squeeze someone's chest / wring someone's heart 【悲しみ・不安】
(12) a. 胸が張り裂ける 【悲しみ】
b. heartrending / one's heart (almost) bursts 【悲しみ】

最後に、胸部に関しては、(13)のような体温変化の誇張と解釈できる表現が存在する。

- (13) a. 胸を焦がす 【不安】
b. heartburning 【妬み】

以上の通り、胸部では、日英語ともに鼓動をはじめとする多様な身体経験が比喩として用いられている。一方、腹部では、比喩に用いられる身体経験が限られており、笑いの感覚や胃の不快感が該当するに過ぎない。

5. スキーマレベルから概念レベルへ

本節では、抽象化された、より一般的な2種類のイメージ・スキーマに基づく表現を観察する。一つは、*in the heart* のような表現の根底にある、胸部や腹部を<容器>とみなすスキーマ (CONTAINER schema: Johnson (1987)) であり、もう一つは、*soft heart* のような表現の根底にある、胸部や腹部を<具象物>とみなすスキーマである (cf. ontological metaphor: Lakoff and Johnson (1980))。

5.1. <容器>としての胸部・腹部

<容器>スキーマに基づくメタファー表現では、胸部や腹部が<容器>として、精神が<内容物>として概念化される。

- (14) a. 胸に{一物／収める} 【本心の隠蔽】
b. {have / keep} something in one's {chest / heart} 【本心の隠蔽】
c. 腹に{一物／収める} 【本心の隠蔽】
(15) a. 胸が{一杯になる／膨らむ} 【感動・期待の度合いの変化】
b. fill one's heart with something / one's {bosom / heart} swells 【感動・期待の度合いの変化】
c. 腹が{煮える／膨れる} 【怒り・不満の度合いの変化】
(16) 腹(の内)を探る【他人の本心を知る】
(17) a. 胸の内を明かす、胸を割る 【本心の表出】
b. get something off one's chest / make a clean breast of something / open one's heart 【本心の表出】
c. 腹に据えかねる、腹の内を明かす、腹を割る 【怒り・本心の表出】

(14)の通り、日本語の「胸」や「腹」は本心(本音)を隠す部位として理解されており、英語では胸部がその役割を担う。胸部や腹部に収められた精神は、(15)のようにその度合

いを変化させ、(16)あるいは(17)のような形で表出に至る。このように、＜容器＞スキーマに基づくメタファーでは、＜収容＞→＜充満・膨張＞→＜探索＞／＜露呈＞という＜内容物＞が外へ出るスクリプトに基づいて、表現が構造化されている。

(18)、(19)は外から何かを受け入れるスクリプトを含意する表現である。(19)の stomach 表現は、(18b)の「腹」表現と類似しているが、どちらかといえば、消化という役割を担う胃の機能に基づく表現と考えられる。

- (18) a. 胸が狭い 【度量】
 b. 腹が {大きい／太い} 【度量】
 (19) cannot stomach something / have a strong stomach 【度量】

5.2. ＜具象物＞としての胸部・腹部

＜具象物＞スキーマに基づくメタファー表現では、主に胸部や腹部の状態や性質が言及される。この種の表現では、日本語の「腹」と英語の heart 表現がその大半を占める。なお、以下で扱う heart 表現では、日本語の「心(こころ)」表現に類似するものが多いため、相当する「心」表現を参考として併記する²。

(20)-(22)は、胸部や腹部の安定や硬さを表す表現である。日本語において、腹の安定は情動面の安定を、腹を固めることは決意を意味する。これに対し、英語における heart の硬さは、決意ではなく、慈悲・親切心を表す。

- (20) 腹が立つ、腹癒せ(居せ) 【怒り】
 (21) 腹を{括る／据える} 【覚悟・勇気】
 (22) a. harden one's heart / heart of {iron / marble / stone} / {soft / tender} heart
 (cf. 心がかたい) 【慈悲・親切心】
 b. 腹を固める 【決意】

(23)は、heart と stomach がどのような精神を象徴するのかを最も端的に示す表現である。

さらに heart に関しては、その大きさ ((24)) や熱 ((25))、色 ((26a)) が主体の人格を特徴付ける。(26b) の通り、日本語では、「腹」が性分(悪)を象徴する点にも注目されたい。

- (23) a. Have a heart.
 (cf. 心ある) 【慈悲・親切心】
 b. have the stomach for something 【意欲】
 (24) a {big / great} heart 【慈悲・親切心】
 (25) warm-hearted / cold-hearted
 (cf. 心暖かい、心が冷たい) 【慈悲・親切心】
 (26) a. black-hearted (cf. 心が濁る) 【性分(悪)】
 b. 腹汚い、腹黒い 【性分(悪)】

概念レベルの特徴をまとめよう。胸部に関しては、外的部位を指す語は＜容器＞スキーマに基づくメタファーのみで該当表現が得られ、＜具象物＞スキーマに基づくメタファーでは専ら heart 表現が観察された。一方、腹部では日本語の「腹」表現が増加し、英語にはみられない精神との対応が観察された。

6. 議論

胸部の比喻表現を表2にまとめる(表中の番号は、対応する例文番号を指す)。感覚・運動レベルでは、熱感覚・閉塞を除く全項目において日英語の類似表現が観察された。一方、概念レベルでは、＜容器＞スキーマに基づく表現で両言語の類似性が見られるが、＜具象物＞スキーマに基づく表現では、heart のみで該当表現が得られ、日本語は「心」を加味した場合に限り、類似表現が観察された。

感覚・運動レベルから概念レベルへの概念化の移行を図1のようにモデル化する。まず、メトニミー関係によって感情と結び付けられていた身体経験は、誇張を経て何らかの事象に喩えられる。こうした特定の対応関係は、反復・抽象化を経て胸部を精神の座とみなすスキーマ的理解を生む。精神の座としての胸

表 2 日英語の胸部表現

		日	英
感覚・運動 レベル	痛覚	(3a)	(3b)
	鼓動	(4a)	(4b)
	不快感 閉塞感	(5a)	(5b)
	熱感覚	(6)	
感覚・運動 レベル (誇張)	攻撃	(8a)	(8b)
	動揺	(9a)	(9b)
	閉塞	(10)	
	圧迫	(11a)	(11b)
	破裂	(12a)	(12b)
	燃焼	(13a)	(13b)
概念レベル ＜容器＞	収容	(14a)	(14b)
	充滿・膨張	(15a)	(15b)
	露呈	(7a)	(17b)
	容積	(18b)	
概念レベル ＜具象物＞	硬固	((22a))	(22a)
	所有	((23a))	(23a)
	大きさ		(24)
	熱	((25a))	(25a)
	汚濁	((26a))	(26a)

図 1 感覚・運動レベルから概念レベルへ

＜感情＞-＜感覚・運動＞ → ＜感情＞-＜事象＞

時間的・空間的隣接性 → 誇張

感覚・運動レベル

→ ＜容器＞のスキーマ →＜精神は胸の中の物質＞

＜具象物＞のスキーマ→＜精神は胸＞

→ 抽象化 →スクリプトの統合、類推

→ スキーマ・レベル → 概念レベル

部は、＜容器＞や＜具象物＞とみなされ、これら 2 つのスキーマ的理解は、それぞれ概念レベルでスクリプトとの統合、類推の認知操作を受ける。その結果、5 節で見たような規則性のあるメタファー表現が生まれる。このように、喜怒哀楽するにつけて、動悸し、痛み、苦しいといった胸部の身体経験は、そこ

が精神の座であるという日英語の共通認識を生む原動力として機能すると考えられる。

続いて腹部表現を表 3 にまとめる。胸部とは異なり、腹部は感覚・運動レベルの表現に限られている。また、概念レベルでは日本語の「腹」表現が圧倒的に多く、日英語で共通する項目が存在しない点に注目されたい。

表 3 日英語の腹部表現

		日	英
感覚・運動 レベル	痛覚	(3c)	(3d)
	不快感 閉塞感		(5c)
感覚・運動 レベル (誇張)	振れ	(7)	
概念レベル ＜容器＞	収容	(14c)	
	充滿・膨張	(15c)	
	探索	(16)	
	露呈	(17c)	
	容積	(18b)	
	消化		(19)
概念レベル ＜具象物＞	安定	(20, 21)	
	硬固	(22b)	
	所有		(23b)
	汚濁	(26b)	

問題となるのは、言語表現を見る限り、こうした日本語特有の「腹」の理解を動機づける身体経験が明らかではないという点である。そこで本稿では、後藤 (2015) で論じた 2 つの文化的説明を援用する。一つは、日本人が、身体感覚の中心（重心）を丹田周辺に置くことで、心と体の安定を図るという心身観（齋藤 (2000)）、もう一つは、本心（本音）を明かさないことを規範とする日本人にとって、体の最深部である「腹」は特別な扱いを受けるという見方である (Matsuki (1995))。これらの文化的説明は、とりわけ(14)-(17)、

(20)-(22)、(26b)の「腹」表現と強く整合する。

7. heart の理解を支える社会・文化経験

日英語の比較により、胸部表現の成立を促す身体経験の重要性が明らかになった。しかし、このことは、胸部に関する社会・文化的経験基盤の存在を否定するものではない。本節では、heart を例に、社会・文化経験の再検討の必要性を歴史的観点から示唆する。

Swan (2009) は、heart の基となった古英語・中英語の語形が、感情のみならず現代英語の mind に相当する意味（理解・記憶・思考等）を有していたことを指摘している。問題となるのは、人類に普遍的とされる身体経験のみを以ては、こうした heart の意味変化を十分に説明できないということである。

Erickson (1997) によれば、英語の heart の理解は、少なくとも古代西洋哲学や聖書にまで影響を遡る必要がある。西洋において、精神の源を身体はどこに求めるかについては、古来より胸部か頭部かで対立しており、胸部派の代表例としてはアリストテレスや聖書が挙げられる。(27)の通り、聖書では heart を精神の根源としながらも、感情ではなく、mind や意志を中心義としていたようである。

(27) In the Bible, the term 'heart' connotes the inner resources of the whole person, especially the mind and will, with somewhat less emphasis on the emotions, and seldom refers simply to the physical organ. (Erickson (1997: 26))

一方、頭部こそが精神の源であるとした人物としては、ヒポクラテスやプラトン、ガレヌスが代表例として挙げられる。このうち、ガレヌスは頭部を知性・運動・感覚の座とする一方で、心臓を体液の均衡と気質に関わる臓器とみなしていた。ガレヌスの理論は、中世の体液説に継承されているが、この中でも

heart は人を楽天的・社交的・好色の気質に導く臓器として位置付けられている。

また、Niemeier (2008) によれば、心臓を人間の情動面と関係づける見方は、近代以降更に加速した。この時代においては、理性を情動から明確に分断するデカルト的理性主義や、心臓と脳の働きに関する解剖学・生理学の発展が影響力を持ち、この期を境に、mind の意味が heart から head (brain) へ移行した。

このように、中英語期までの mind と heart の結びつきは、精神の源を胸部に求める立場との整合性が伺え、現代の感情と heart の結びつきは、精神の源を頭部に求める立場や理性主義などの近代思想との整合性が伺える。今後は、通時的な言語観察により、これらの社会・文化的背景の影響を十分に裏付けていく必要がある。

8. 結語

本稿の主張は、以下のようにまとめられる。

- i. 胸部の豊富な身体経験は、そこが精神の座であるという日英共通の理解を生む。
- ii. 腹部は身体経験が胸部ほど明確ではなく、「腹」と精神の対応に関しては、社会・文化経験に基づく説明が求められる。
- iii. 一方で、顕著な身体経験が認められる胸部と精神の結びつきに関しても、社会・文化的視点を交えた説明が必要である。

* 本稿は、筆者の日本英語学会第35回大会における口頭発表の内容に基づいている。発表に先立ち、ご助言を下さった早瀬尚子先生、大阪認知言語学研究会の皆様にご感謝申し上げます。また発表の際に司会の労を執って下さった堀田優子先生、ご指摘・ご助言を下さった先生方にも感謝申し上げます。

注

¹ 「腹」表現、「胸」表現のより詳細な記述は後藤 (2015) を、heart 表現のより詳細な記

述は Niemeier (2008) や後藤 (2017) を参照。
2 宮地 (1972) によれば、「こころ」は中国語の「心 (臓)」が取り入れられるまでは、臓器としての心臓を指して用いられていた。

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前置詞随伴に基づく前置詞らしさの規定：

文法化の漸進性に関する共時的研究*

(Measuring Prepositionalities through
Pied-piping: A Synchronic Study on the
Gradualness of Grammaticalization)

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キーワード：文法化, 動詞派生前置詞

1. はじめに

古英語・中英語と比べ、近年の英語に関する研究は、文法的な変化よりも語彙・音韻の変化に関するものが多い (Leech *et al.* 2009: 7-8)。Leech *et al.* (2009) は、文法的な変化の例として「動詞派生前置詞 (deverbal prepositions; 訳語は秋元 2014)」を挙げる。

(1) *Following the singing of the peach treaty and British recognition of American independence, Washington stunned the world when he surrendered his sword to Congress on Dec. 23 1783 and retired to his farm at Mount Vernon.* (Leech *et al.* 2009: 7)

(1) の *following* は現在分詞に見えるが、前置詞 *after* と同等であると分析される。このような前置詞への変化は文法化の例だが、語彙・音韻と比べて漸進的な性質を持つ変化であることが分析を困難にしている (*ibid.*: 8)。

本研究は、このような言語変化の漸進性を、共時コーパスのデータにより統一的観点から数量的に規定することを目的とする。具体的には、Fukaya (1997) による 11 例の *-ing* 形

前置詞の分析を援用し、その追試と妥当性の検証、補完を目指す。

2. 先行研究

2.1. 文法化と汎時性

動詞派生前置詞における文法化は、動詞的な特徴の喪失と、それに伴う前置詞的な特徴の獲得により特徴づけられる。例えば、(1) の *following* に関し、Leech *et al.* (2009: 8) は、以下の書き換えができないことを挙げる。

(2) *When he *followed* the singing of the peach treaty and British recognition of American independence, Washington stunned the world... (*ibid.*)

(2) は、(1) の *following* の意味上の主語が Washington とは解釈されない、ということを示している。このように、いわゆる主節・分詞節の意味上の主語が一致なくなる等、文法化に伴い、テンス、アスペクト、人称・数の一致といった動詞的な特徴が失われていくことを「脱範疇化 (deategorialization)」と呼ぶ (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 106-108; Hopper 1991)。文法化に伴い、前置詞の特徴が見られるようになる。Olofsson (1990) は、*following* が前置詞的な特徴を獲得したのか調査するにあたって、前置詞 *after* に置換可能であれば前置詞と等価であると分析している。また、文法化の後期には、「意味の漂白化 (semantic bleaching)」が見られる (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 94-98)。例えば、*considering* は、「前置詞の資格を獲得するにつれて (文法化が進むにつれて)、(中略)『…を考えれば→…としては』(安藤 2005: 622) と意味が変化する (3)。

(3) *Considering his age, he looks very young.*
(年齢のわりには、彼はとても若く見える) (*ibid.*)

文法化は、通時性・共時性の両側面が関わる「汎時的 (panchronic)」なプロセスである (cf. Heine *et al.* 1991: 258-261)。¹ 動詞派生前置詞の先行研究も、Kortmann and König (1992), 秋元 (2014: 179-190) 等は通時的分析である。一方、Hayashi (2015) は、Poutsma (1926) が挙げている *bating* の例文を、共時的観点から捉え直そうと試みている。

2.2. 動詞派生前置詞

動詞派生前置詞は、動詞由来の前置詞であり、*during*, *pending*, *concerning*, *considering*, *bar*, *barring* 等がある (Kortmann and König 1992)。Kortmann and König (1992: 683) は、通時的な変化を起こす要因とともに、前置詞としてそれらが示す特徴について述べる: (i) 頻度が低い、(ii) 音節数が多い、(iii) 前置詞残留 (*preposition stranding*) のような中心的な前置詞の特徴を持っていない、統語規則から外れている、(iv) 意味範囲が限られている、(v) 動詞的特徴を保存している ((i)-(v) の和訳は全て秋元 2014: 181 からの直接引用)。

動詞派生前置詞の生起ジャンルについては、British National Corpus (BNC) を用いた林 (2015, 2016) の調査によると、*considering*, *saving*, *barring*, *excluding* が、イギリスの現代英語では「書き言葉」に用いられる傾向をもつ。通時的には、書面のやり取りにおける前置詞の重要性が増した結果、初期近代英語期には新たな前置詞が形成・借用されたという (Görlach 1991: 108-110)。動詞派生前置詞では、14 世紀に *considering*, *during*, 15 世紀に *according to* がラテン語の絶対構文 (*absolute constructions*) から発達した (*ibid.*: 109)。

2.3. 文法化の観点から規定する試み

前節 (i)-(v) の特徴を踏まえ、英語母語話者の内省に基づき、動詞派生前置詞の規定を共時的に試みた研究が、林 (2014)、Hayashi (2015) である。Hayashi (2015) は、先行研

究・辞書から収集した 37 種類の動詞派生前置詞を対象に、「前置詞の中心的・典型的な成員としての文法的特徴を示すか否か (*ibid.*: 130)」という観点から分析を行った。前置詞を判別する判別テスト (分裂文、強意の副詞 *right* との共起) を援用した作例を行い、容認度調査により動詞派生前置詞の「前置詞性 (*prepositionality*)」を概算している。結果、37 例の分析対象のうち *past*, *during*, *following*, *starting* を除く大半の事例が 10 点満点中 6 未満の低い値を示すことから、Kortmann 達の「前置詞として周辺的である」という記述が支持されると結論づけている (Hayashi 2015: 141)。林 (2014) は文法化における動詞的特徴の喪失 (脱範疇化) に着目した。文法化する前の動詞が共起していた副詞との共起関係が、文法化に伴い喪失されるのではないかと、という観点から分析を行った。コーパスにおいて抽出した動詞と共起する頻度の高い副詞を、動詞派生前置詞を含む例文に挿入し、イギリス英語母語話者 1 名の内省により共起するか否か検討した。結果、分析対象 28 例のうち *facing*, *following*, *lacking*, *preceding* を除く事例は文法化に伴い副詞との共起関係が失われると結論づけた (*ibid.*)。

一方、COBUILD, Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB corpus), Brown Corpus を使用し、動詞派生前置詞の規定を試みたのが Fukaya (1997) である。Fukaya (1997) は、Sinclair (1991) が挙げる 11 の *-ing* 形の前置詞に関し、Hopper (1991) の「文法化の 5 原則」を参照し、3 つの観点から規定した: (i) 主節・分詞節の主語一致 (*subject interpretation*), (ii) 前置詞随伴・残留 (*pied-piping and stranding*), (ii) 前置詞的副詞への発達 (*development into prepositional adverbs*)。結果、(i)-(iii) のうち複数を満たす *during*, *according to*, *concerning*, *following*, *notwithstanding* の 5 例が、他の 6 例よりも文法化しており、高い前置詞的特性 (*prepositional properties*) を持つと結論づける。

2.4. 批判的検討

先行研究の問題点として、Fukaya (1997) は、分析対象が 11 例に限られるのに加え、20 年ほど前のコーパスを利用している。各種コーパスの拡充がなされた 2017 年現在のツールを用いれば、異なる結果が得られる可能性が高い (cf. Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 42-43)。また、Fukaya (1997) の挙げる (i)-(iii) は、全て「事例が観察されるか否か」という二分法による判定であり、文法化の漸進性を細かく規定していくのにそぐわないと考えられる。(i) についても、Leech *et al.* (2009) がいうように、分詞・前置詞の境界を定めるのが困難である点が問題となる。

また、林 (2014), Hayashi (2015) は限られた人数の母語話者を対象とした調査のため、偏りを持つ恐れがある (Hayashi 2015: 143)。

3. 事例研究

3.1. 前置詞随伴に基づく文法化の規定

本研究では、前置詞に特有な現象である前置詞随伴に着目する。²

典型的な前置詞は、先行詞を修飾するとき関係代名詞に前置することができる (4a)。一方、分詞 (動詞性を保ったもの) は、関係代名詞に随伴させることはできない (4b)。

(4) a. That is the office *at which* he works.

(安藤 2005: 200; 斜体部は筆者)

b. *That is the office *playing which* he works.

この観点から動詞派生前置詞を見ると、*during* は随伴の形を取ることができる (5)。

(5) There was a very awkward silence *during which* we locked eyes. (COCA)

3.2. 分析対象、データ、方法論

本研究では、Fukaya (1997) を援用し、(5)

のように随伴が見られる動詞派生前置詞を調査した。これによって、Hayashi (2015) が先行研究・辞書から収集した動詞派生前置詞 37 例 (6) の「前置詞らしさ」を規定した。³

(6) *according to, allowing for, bar, barring, bating, concerning, confronting, considering, covering, depending on, during, except, excepting, excluding, facing, failing, following, given, granted, granting, including, lacking, notwithstanding, owing to, past, pending, pertaining to, preceding, regarding, related to, respecting, save, saving, starting, succeeding, touching, wanting* (Hayashi 2015)

具体的手順は以下の通り。第一に、Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) において、[-ing which] 形の検索を行った。第二に、それらを手作業にて分類し、随伴を示す用例数を数えた (3.3 節)。第三に、COCA の各用例にタグづけられた情報から、随伴を示す動詞派生前置詞の生起ジャンルについて考察を行った (3.4 節)。以下の節において、分類基準、用例、結果の詳細を報告する。

3.3. 事例分析 1: 動詞派生前置詞の随伴

表 1 は、検索により得られた事例数 (括弧内) のうち、手作業により抽出した前置詞随伴が見られる事例数を示している。表 1 に記載がない 15 の動詞派生前置詞は、検索で事例が見られなかったものである。頻度が高い *during* (3842 例)、*according to* (373 例)、*depending on* (376 例) については、COCA のランダムサンプリング機能で 100 語を抽出し、随伴を示す用例数の割合に基づき概算した数 (※) を記した。

以下、随伴の形を取ることができる動詞派生前置詞、上位 6 例の例文 (*during* を除く) を (7) に示す ((7) (9) の出典は全て COCA)。

分類にあたっては、Hayashi (2015) の引用文献における記述に加え、『ジーニアス英和大辞典』『リーダーズ英和辞典』の定義を参考にした。⁴ *following* については「英米の語法辞典は、単に *after* ですむところに *following* を用いることに批判的で ‘*follow*’ の原義が生かされた ‘*after + as a consequence of*’ の意の場合にのみ用いることにその有用性を認めているようである」という小西 (1976: 163) の記述を分類の基準とした。(7a) の出典は、この随伴現象に関する記述を示す。

- (7) a. This phenomenon is the superfluid analog of the AC Josephson effect for superconductors, *according to which* a supercurrent will oscillate across a thin tunnel junction under an applied voltage.
(cf. 山口 2013: 601)
- b. Galaxies also contain millions of small- and medium-sized black holes, each with an event horizon *past which* light is never seen again.
- c. At the end of June 1829 the Commandant of the Academy, Colonel Percy Drummond visited Faraday, *following which* Faraday wrote to him giving his terms.
- d. The matter *concerning which* we were supposed to meet in Georgetown has been canceled indefinitely.
- e. Under the tablecloth the table must possess that furniture memory *regarding which* so many spiritists are certain.

分類においては、前置詞以外の品詞的振る舞いを示す例 (8a)、あるいは前置詞であっても関係代名詞節ではない例 (8b)、疑問代名詞との随伴が見られる例 (8c) を除外した。

- (8) a. David Duke, one of the two candidates, has quite a *lurid past* *which* he now disowns. (COCA)
- b. The decision *regarding which* to use should be based on the NICE guidance, 10 although the patient... (COCA)
- c. *To whom* should I address the letter?
(安藤 2005: 170)

分類の結果除外された例に (8) (9) がある。

- (9) a. But then she remembered: the street which housed the Breadfruit, the *bar which* claimed the duppy each night.
- b. Sometimes it reads NO DATA *GIVEN which* is the same as UNAVAILABLE and a signal you don't want to pick up.
- c. After all, commodities have been in a bear market that has lasted, *depending on which* thing you pick, from 14 to 23 years.
- d. It would include *considering which* art forms make the best friendships.

(9a) の *bar* は名詞、(9b) の *given* は *DATA* を後置修飾する形容詞的な用法である。(9c) (9d) は、一見、随伴の形と考えられるが、(8b) と同様、関係代名詞の随伴の形ではない

表1 前置詞随伴を示す動詞派生前置詞

	動詞派生前置詞	頻度		動詞派生前置詞	頻度
1	during	※3266 (3842)	11	depending on	※0 (376)
2	according to	※310 (373)	12	bar	0 (22)
3	past	26 (112)	13	considering	0 (16)
4	following	15 (40)	14	given	0 (8)
5	concerning	13 (42)	15	related to	0 (4)
6	regarding	7 (78)	16	granted	0 (2)
7	owing to	7 (7)	17	pertaining to	0 (2)
8	failing	6 (8)	18	respecting	0 (2)
9	notwithstanding	2 (4)	19-22	facing, pending, save, touching	0 (1)
10	including	1 (29)			

め、本分析から除外される。なお、(9d) の *considering* は、主節・分詞節の主語が一致しない (cf. Hopper 1991) ため前置詞化している可能性があるが、アメリカ英語を母語とする 50 代の話者によると、*for* 等の前置詞に置換することは不可能であるという。従って、(3) の *considering* とは異なり、前置詞化していないと考えられる (cf. Olofsson 1990)。

表 1 より、(6) の動詞派生前置詞のうち、随伴を示すのは 10 例のみとわかる。このうちさらに、*during*, *according to* を除く大半の動詞派生前置詞は、典型的な前置詞とは異なり前置詞随伴をしない傾向を示すといえる。

3.4. 事例分析 2: 生起ジャンル

表 2 は、表 1 の頻度 1 以上の例に関し、COCA の各例文に付与された生起ジャンルを示す。表 2 の横軸の数を合計した値は、表 1 の頻度に合致する。*during*, *according to* は、表 1 と同様、概算による数 (※) である。

表2 前置詞随伴を示す動詞派生前置詞のジャンル別生起数

	動詞派生前置詞	学術論文	雑誌	フィクション	ニュース	話し言葉	合計
1	<i>during</i>	※1144.3	※614.8	※537.9	※845.3	※153.7	※3266
2	<i>according to</i>	※264.6	※34.0	※0	※3.8	※7.6	※310
3	<i>past</i>	1	10	13	2		26
4	<i>following</i>	9	4	2			15
5	<i>concerning</i>	6	1	5		1	13
6	<i>regarding</i>	4	1	1	1		7
7	<i>owing to</i>	7					7
8	<i>failing</i>	4	1		1		6
9	<i>notwithstanding</i>	1	1				2
10	<i>including</i>					1	1

表 2 より、随伴を示す (i.e.前置詞性が高い、前置詞らしい) 動詞派生前置詞のうち *during*, *according to*, *past*, *following*, *concerning*, *regarding*, *owing to*, *failing*, *notwithstanding* は主に「書き言葉」、特に「学術論文」において使用されている。*past* は「フィクション」「雑誌」が学術論文を上回るものの、いずれにせよ「書き言葉」にて使用される傾向が強い。この結果は、イギリス英語において動詞派生前置詞は書き言葉で用いられる傾向が強いと論じた林 (2015, 2016) が、アメリカ英語においても支持されることを示す。

4. おわりに

本研究では、Fukaya (1997) を援用し、前置詞随伴により文法化の漸進性を規定していくことを試みた。本研究の貢献として、Fukaya (1997) において述べられていない動詞派生前置詞の随伴の例を指摘した点が挙げられる。3 節が示すように、前置詞随伴の関係代名詞の形をとることができる動詞派生前置詞には偏りがある。この分布は、先行研究における分裂文、強意の副詞 *right* との共起 (Hayashi 2015)、副詞共起 (林 2014) の結果とは異なるものであり、今後も前置詞らしさを測る種々のパラメーターを立て、複合的な観点から現象を分析していく必要性を示唆する。*about*, *after* 等、典型的な前置詞と振る舞いの違いを比較し、深化を図ることが可能となるだろう (cf. Hayashi 2015: 137)。

最後に、今後の課題と展望を述べる。第一に、*who(m)* との共起等、本研究で扱わなかった形を検討する必要がある。⁵ 例えば、(10) のような間接疑問文の用法 (cf. 安藤 2005: 174) がある。この用法の特徴は特定のジャンルに著しく偏っていることであり、*regarding* は表 1 の 78 例中 63 例が、*concerning* は 42 例中 21 例が、「学術論文」に生起している。

- (10) a. Needless to say, decisions will need to be made regarding which selected areas are most appropriate for the student audience.
- b. Therefore, the teacher should not get involved in the students' discussion concerning which answer is the best choice. (COCA)

第二に、先行研究における分類の基準を吟味し、さらなる検討を行う必要がある。例えば、*failing* に関し、本研究では田中 (2017: 381) の結果 (5 例) とは異なる結果 (6 例) が得られたが、分類基準等の違いを精査する必要

がある。第三に、通時性との関係である。林 (2017) は、OED (Oxford English Dictionary) のデータを分析し、*respecting* の随伴形 (11) が後期近代英語期に観察されると述べる (本研究では観察されなかった点に注意)。

(11) This is an event *respecting* which it is impossible to keep silence.

(1841; Lane Arab. Nts. I. 102)

現代英語では観察されなくとも、過去に随伴形が見られた可能性を検討する必要がある。

* 本稿は日本英語学会第 35 回大会 (2017 年 11 月 18 日、東北大学) における発表内容に加筆・修正を施したものである。発表後、清水眞先生、岩田彩志先生、松本曜先生、谷口一美先生、菊地翔太氏よりコメント頂いた (頂いた順番に記載)。発表構想を練る段階においても有意義な助言を頂いた。注 2 の議論は、八木克正先生、柏野健次先生、井口智彰先生に頂いたコメントが基となっている。菅谷友亮氏には例文 (4b) を教えて頂き、分析方針に関して助言を頂いた。英文の検討に際し、近畿大学英語村 (E-Cube) の皆様にコメント頂いた。記して御礼申し上げる。無論、本稿における誤り等は、全て筆者自身に帰せられる。本研究は科研費 (特別研究員奨励費、課題番号: 15J00373) の助成を受けている。

注

¹ 文法化における汎時性の議論は Heine *et al.* (1991) を参照。本研究は Hayashi (2015: 142) の立場に立脚し、通時的に変化してきた言語事実を、共時的観点から捉え直していく。

² 前置詞は「代名詞、名詞 (句・節) およびこれに準ずる語を目的語として、それと共に形容詞句、副詞句、時には名詞句を構成する語 (小西 1976: 3)」といわれる。ここで、他動詞も「代名詞、名詞 (句・節) を目的語とする」点に注意。この機能は他動詞・前置詞

の両者に共通する。従って、動詞・前置詞という文法化の始点・終点、いわば「文法化の両極」から、品詞的特質の連続的変化を規定していく本研究の目的には適用できない。

³ 本研究の「前置詞らしさ (prepositionality)」は、先行研究の prepositionality (Hayashi 2015), prepositional properties, preposition-ness (Fukaya 1997) に相当。また、発表後、先行研究・辞書に言及のある動詞派生前置詞を収集した林 (2014)、Hayashi (2015) の方法では、-ing 形の前置詞を網羅できない恐れがある、とご指摘頂いた。以下、紹介頂いた一つの手法を記す。清水 (2016) は、2006-2010 年に出版された学術誌から論文 100 本を選び、Charniak Reranking Parser というソフトウェアにより「他動詞+名詞」パターンを自動抽出してコロケーションリストを作成し、多分野で上位 30 語となっている動詞を分析した。結果、理工系の諸分野において *using* が前置詞となりつつあると指摘している。

⁴ カシオ計算機株式会社の電子辞書 EX-word (製品名 XD-K18000) 収録のものを使用。

⁵ 発表後、Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1041) による随伴形の分類に関し、ご教示頂いた。

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insubordination に関する一考察
—If + not [P] 構文と慣習性をめぐって—
(On Insubordination:
With Special Reference to the *If + Not* [P]
Construction and its Conventionality)

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キーワード : insubordination, if 節, If + not [P]
構文, 解釈上の主節の回復, 慣習化の段階性

1. はじめに

Evans (2007)は、「形式的には一見明白な基準で従属節のように見えるものの慣習化された主節用法」(Evans 2007:367; 堀江・パルデシ 2009:126)を insubordination と呼ぶ¹。(1)は if 節の insubordination の例である。

- (1) a. If you would like a cookie.
(Panther and Thornburg 2003:127)
b. [王子の吃音を治療する医者が発話]
Sir Blandine-Bentham: Now, if Your Royal Highness will be so kind as to open your hand, hm... (*The King's Speech*)
c. [Cinderella Man と呼ばれる男が自分の近くにやってくるのに気付いて]
Max: Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man.
(*Cinderella Man*)

本稿では、(1c)タイプの insubordination を「If + not [P] 構文」と呼ぶ。本稿は、明示的な主節が存在しないという insubordination の insubordination たる特徴に注目し、If + not [P]

構文が(i) Panther and Thornburg (2003)の主張に反して、解釈上の主節を回復できること(ii) Evans (2007)の主張する非従属節形成の4段階のうち、3番目と4番目の間に位置することを明らかにする。

2. 先行研究

2.1. If + not [P] 構文の記述的定義

はじめに、If + not [P] 構文がどのような insubordination なのかを確認する。平尾 (印刷中)は、当該構文の定義特性に少なくとも次の3点があることを主張する。

1点目は、If + not [P]、すなわち、if 節による insubordination のうち、その肯定命題[P]が not による否定を受けるという、構文の形式的特徴である。

2点目は、命題[P]が「決定していると話し手が認識する事態を述べる」という、命題の意味的特徴である。(1c)の [P: It is Cinderella Man.] は、眼前の事実的な状況を述べている。また、(2a)の [P: I take a strap to that Prissy.] は、話し手の近い将来における行動あるいは強い意志を、(2b)の [P: She is a beauty.] は、新車に対する話し手の評価を述べる。

- (2) a. [産気づいた Melly の介抱をしている Scarlett は、召使いの Prissy に医者と呼びに行くように頼んだが、なかなか帰ってこない]
Scarlett: Oh, don't worry, Melly. Mother says it always seems like the doctor will never come. (to herself) Oh, if I don't take a strap to that Prissy!
(*Gone with the Wind*, 下線筆者)
b. [友人の新車を見て]
Ted: Well, if she ain't a beauty.
(平尾 印刷中)

こうした[P]の内容は、「決定していると話し手が認識する事態」とまとめられる。

3 点目は、感情表出の機能を持つという、構文の語用論的特徴である。Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man. (= (1c))は、「おやおや、シンデレラマンじゃないか」と驚きを示す。また、Oh, if I don't take a strap to that Prissy! (= (2a))は「プリシーのやつ、むちでぶってやる！」と怒りを表出し、Well, if she ain't a beauty. (= (2b))は「素晴らしい車じゃないか」と興奮や驚きを表す。表出される感情は文脈に応じて決定され、その種類は多岐に渡る。

以上の特徴を持つ insubordination が、本稿で扱う If + not [P] 構文である。

2.2. 非従属節形成の段階と If + not [P] 構文

次に、insubordination と主節の関係に関する先行研究を概観する。Evans (2007)は、非従属節の形成には①従属関係②主節省略③慣習化された主節省略④構文化の 4 段階が連続体をなして存在すると主張する。

①は、If you would like a cookie, then I will give you one. (Panther and Thornburg 2003:136)のように、主節と従属節が明示的に表れて、「完全な」文の形をしている段階である。

②の段階では、主節が単純な省略を受ける。主節は、聞き手の推論により難なく回復される。(3)はその具体例だと言えよう。

(3) [宿主が Liz に設備の説明をする]

Landlady: You heat the water on the stove.

Liz: So if I want to bathe...?

Landlady: You put the water in the tub.

(Eat, Pray, Love, 下線筆者)

(3)の下線部は、So If I want to bathe, what should I do?などといった形に回復できる²。

③は、主節の省略が慣習化されている段階である。Evans は if 節による申し出や依頼を慣習化されたものと指摘していることから、「クッキーはいかがですか」と申し出る If you would like a cookie. (= (1a))や、「では殿

下、手を開いていただけますか」と依頼する Now, if Your Royal Highness will be so kind as to open your hand, hm... (= (1b))はこの段階の例ということになる。先の段階と比べると、回復される主節の傾向には幾分制限があるが、この段階でも主節の回復は可能である。

④では、慣習性がより高くなる。この段階では、少なくとも明示的な要素を全て保ったままでは主節の回復はできない。よって、この段階に達している表現は、それ自体で特定の意味を持つ構文として再分析される。(4a)で挙げるドイツ語の wo ('where') 節 insubordination がその例である。

(4) a. Wo Zehntausende verrecken müssen

'Where tens of thousands must die'

b. Obwohl Zehntausende verrecken müssen, machen sie sich keine Gedanken darüber

'Even though tens of thousands must die, they don't think twice about it.'

(Evans 2007:374, 下線筆者)

(4a)は(4b)のような意味を表すが、下線部が示すように、(4b)は(4a)の明示的要素を全て保持して主節を回復させたものでない。(4a)は、wo が場所ではなく譲歩の解釈になる用法として再分析される。

以上が Evans (2007)の主張する非従属節形成の 4 段階である。本稿の冒頭で示した通り、Evans は従属節の「慣習化された」主節用法を insubordination と呼ぶ。よって、慣習化の関わる③の段階以降に位置するものが insubordination とみなされる。

では、If + not [P] 構文と主節との関係はどのように捉えられてきたのだろうか。Panther and Thornburg (2003)は次のように指摘した。

(5) ...this type of *if*-clause [=the *if* + not [P] construction] has the highest degree of syntactic and pragmatic independence. That

is, they don't have plausible implicit consequent propositions...

(Panther and Thornburg 2003:140)

「当該タイプの if 節は統語的にも語用論的にも高度に自立し、暗黙の結果命題を持たない」という(5)の指摘は、「当該構文は高度に慣習化されており、省略されている主節を回復できない」と言い換えられる。よってこの主張は、If + not [P] 構文が、Evans (2007)の示す非従属節形成の4段階のうち、最も慣習化の進んだ4番目の「構文化」の段階に達していることを示唆する。果たして、これは正しい分析なのだろうか。

3. If + not [P] 構文の解釈上の主節

本節では、If + not [P] 構文に解釈上の主節を立てられるか否かを扱う。

3.1. 解釈上の主節を立てる条件

解釈上の主節を立てるということは、例えば、Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man. (= (1c))が、字義通りの「おやおや、シンデレラマンでないのなら」ではなく、「おやおや、シンデレラマンじゃないか」と、シンデレラマンに会った驚きを表出する表現として解釈されることを、insubordination に主節を補った「完全な」文から示すということである。

If + not [P] 構文に解釈上の主節を立てる条件として、次の2点が挙げられる。

1 番目の条件は、解釈上の主節を補った後の文が、話し手の感情を表出することである。主節を補った後の文も、元の If + not [P] 構文が持つ語用論的機能を何らかの形で保持している必要がある。例えば、(1c)のシンデレラマンの例に解釈上の主節を回復させるのであれば、出来上がった文は驚きの感情を示すものであるべきである。

2 番目の条件は、解釈上の主節を補った文全体で[P]の内容を示せることである。これ

は、元の insubordination が、[P]で述べられる「決定していると話し手が認識する事態」を前提に発話されていたことに依拠する。例えば、(1c)は、目の前にシンデレラマンがいる状況で発話されているのであり、主節を補った後の文の意味がこの事実関係を崩すことは避けられるべきである。

結論から述べると、If + not [P] 構文は、これらの条件を満たしながら、解釈上の主節を立てることが可能である。その際には、次の2つの先行研究で挙げられている構文・文タイプを援用できる。順に確認していこう。

3.2. Lakoff (1987)の援用

1 つ目は、Lakoff (1987)を援用するものである。彼は「否定が肯定命題を伝える」構文として次の例を挙げる。

(6) If JIM won't eat these ducks' feet, I don't know who will! ³ (Lakoff 1987:528)

(6)は「ジムがこれらのアヒルの足を食べないとしたら、一体誰が食べるっていうんだ」といったものであり、「おそらくジムがこれらのアヒルの足を食べるだろう」ということを示唆する。この場合の否定は、否定命題ではなく肯定命題を伝えるものである。

この表現方法に従って If + not [P] 構文に主節の回復を試みた結果が(7)である。

- (7) a. Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man, I don't know who is. (cf. (1c))
b. Oh, if I don't take a strap to that Prissy, I don't know who will! (cf. (2a))

(7)はそれぞれ「君がシンデレラマンだ」「私がプリシーをぶつ」といった、元の構文の肯定命題[P]の内容をほのめかす。この機能は(6)が持つものと同様である。加えて、if 節にも主節にも否定辞 not が現れるという外見も

(6)と同じである。実際に、これらの文は(6)と同じ構文を持った自然な文であると判断される。その上、If + not [P] 構文の言い換えの1つとして解釈することも可能であることが、英語母語話者への調査で明らかになった。

3.3. Akatsuka (1986)の援用

2つ目は、Akatsuka (1986)を援用するものである。彼女は、従属節も主節も偽の（あるいは、話し手が偽と信じる⁴⁾）内容を示し、文全体では真となる直説法の条件文タイプを *indicative counterfactuals* と呼ぶ。*indicative counterfactuals* は、誰かに対して強い意見の不一致を示してメッセージを伝達するものであるため、その生起には先行文脈を必要とする。(8)は実際に1979年の *The Chicago Sun Times* で報じられたものである。

(8) [ローマ法王がスイスの小さな村の電話交換手に向けて I'm the Pope. と話したことを受けて]

Operator: If you're the Pope, I'm the Empress of China! (Akatsuka 1986:334)

直訳では「あなたが法王なら、私は中国の女帝だ」となるこの発話は、電話交換手が電話相手は法王でない（＝従属節の命題が偽）と信じていること、電話交換手自身は女帝でないこと（＝主節の命題が偽）が文脈から明らかであるため、「あなたが法王であるはずがない・そんなばかな！」と、強い感情のこもったメッセージを伝達する。

先行文脈は発話として現れなくても良い。また、*indicative counterfactuals* で用いられる主節は、明らかに偽の内容を示すと分かる奇抜な内容を持つことが多く、慣用的な表現になっているものもある。(9)に例を追加する。

(9) a. [友人が巨大な箱を持ち上げようとし

ているのに気付いて]

If you can lift that box, I'm a monkey's uncle (Akatsuka 1986:349)

b. If Dave's younger than me, I'll eat my hat. (Quirk et al. 1985:1095)

ここで If + not [P] 構文に立ち返ると、この構文を構成する if 節では、話し手が決定していると認識する事態を述べる命題[P]が否定されている。そのため、if 節全体は字義通りには偽の内容を持つ。よって、*indicative counterfactuals* で用いられるような主節を当該構文の後ろに補えば、出来上がった文は *indicative counterfactuals* になるはずである。(10)はその結果である。

(10) a. Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man, I'm the Empress of China. (cf. (1c), (8))

b. Oh, if I don't take a strap to that Prissy, I'll eat my hat. (cf. (2a), (9b))

(10)はそれぞれ「間違いなく君がシンデレラマンだ」「私がプリシーをむちでぶたないはずがない」といった、元の If + not [P] 構文における肯定命題[P]の内容の確からしさを示す。

Akatsuka (1986)の例では if 節に否定辞が現れないが、(10)は *indicative counterfactuals* として自然な文だと判断される。その上、If + not [P] 構文の言い換えの一つとしても解釈できることが、英語母語話者への調査で明らかになった。

このように、Panther and Thornburg (2003)の主張に反して、少なくとも Lakoff (1987)と Akatsuka (1986)を援用する形で、If + not [P] 構文の解釈上の主節を回復させることができる。どちらの構文・文タイプを用いたとしても、主節を回復させた文は反語的な解釈を導く。この解釈によって、if 節の命題[P]が真であることが示され、3.1 節の2番目の

条件を満たすことになる。そして、この反語というレトリカルな仕組みこそが、主節回復後の文そして元の If + not [P] 構文の感情表出機能を動機付けるのであり、3.1 節の 1 番目の条件を満たすことになる。

4. insubordination としての If + not [P] 構文の位置づけ

3 節では、If + not [P] 構文に解釈上の主節を回復させられることを見てきた。本節では、3 節の結果も踏まえながら、当該構文が Evans (2007) の主張する非従属節形成の 4 段階のどこに位置付けられるかを考察する。

まず、3 節で明らかにしたように、If + not [P] 構文は、その明示的な要素を全て保ったまま、解釈上の主節を回復させることができる。よって、当該構文は最も慣習化の進んだ 4 番目の「構文化」の段階には達していない。

次に、当該構文は 3 番目の「慣習化された主節省略」の段階には達していることを示す。これは、当該構文の語用論的機能、つまり、感情表出機能が慣習的なものであるということによって証明される。

if 節の単独用法における語用論的機能の慣習性については、Panther and Thornburg (2003) が議論している。彼らは、単独で用いられる if 節が持つ語用論的な力がキャンセルできない時、その力は慣習的なものであると主張する。慣習性の度合いを測る手立てとして、次のようなテストを行っている。

(11) #If you would like a cookie...but I'm not offering you one.

(cf. (1a), Panther and Thornburg 2003:137)

(11) は、クッキーを申し出る (1a) の insubordination に、その申し出を取り消す表現を続けたものである。このテストの結果から、申し出はキャンセルすることができないと分かる。つまり、if 節 insubordination の申

し出という語用論的な力は、慣習的なものである。2.2 節で言及した通り、(1a) は 3 番目の段階にあると考えられることから、このテストの結果が当該段階に達しているか否かを調べる 1 つの手段になると言えよう。

If + not [P] 構文に対して行ったテストの結果が (12) である。

(12) a. #Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man...but I'm not surprised to see you here.

(cf. (1c))

b. #Oh, if I don't take a strap to that Prissy...but I'm not angry at Prissy.

(cf. (2a))

(12) が示すように、当該構文の表出する感情は取り消すことができない。このことから、当該構文は「慣習化された主節省略」の段階には達していると判断できる。

当該構文がこの段階に達していることは、イントネーションの観点からも説明できる。「孤独な」if 節を相互行為的な観点から分析する吉田 (2015) は、そうした if 節の音調が下降調であるという談話的特徴に言及している⁵。この特徴は、聞き手が主節を期待していないということを説明する。

聞き手にその発話の主節を期待させずともコミュニケーションが円滑に行われるのであれば、それは主節の省略が慣習化されており、その if 節 insubordination の持つ語用論的機能が慣習的に決定している、つまり、その if 節 insubordination が「慣習化された主節省略」の段階に達していると捉えられよう。

If + not [P] 構文も下降調で言い終えられることが、筆者の収集したデータから明らかになった。よってこの点からも、当該構文が 3 番目の段階には到達していると言える。

ここまでの議論で、If + not [P] 構文は、「慣習化された主節省略」以上「構文化」未満の位置にいたることが分かった。最後に、当該構

文がまさに3番目の段階にいるのか、それとも3番目と4番目の間にいるのかを考える。

まず、If + not [P] 構文の解釈上の主節やそれによって導かれる反語的(修辭的)な意味は、聞き手にも話し手にも意識に上りにくいことが指摘できる。確かに当該構文は解釈上の主節を補えるが、日常的には、当該構文が主節を省略しているとは考えず、それ自体で特殊な言い回しだと認識する傾向にある。

さらに、形が違えば意味も違うものである(Bolinger 1977を参照)。insubordination と insubordination に解釈上の主節を補った文では、多かれ少なかれ伝える意味に違いが出る。If + not [P] 構文の場合は、この違いが明確に現れる方だと言えよう。事実、感情が最も前面に出るのは、主節を補った文ではなく、当該構文である。換言すれば、当該構文は似た内容を伝える複数の表現の中でも、感情の表出に特化したものである。

最後に、If + not [P] 構文の命題[P]は、直説法を取る他のif節insubordinationが扱う命題に比べて、特徴的である⁶。Well, if you would like a cookie. (= (1a))は、聞き手がクッキーを欲しがるか分からない状況で発話される。つまり、聞き手は話し手からの申し出を受けることも断ることも可能である。Now, if Your Royal Highness will be so kind as to open your hand, hm... (= (1b))も、聞き手が手を開いてくれるか分からない状況で発話され、聞き手は話し手からの依頼を承けることも断ることもできる。では、If + not [P] 構文はどうだろうか。Well, if it ain't Cinderella Man. (= (1c))は、目の前にシンデレラマンがいる状況で発話される。[P]は話し手が決定していると認識する事態を述べるため、not [P] (この場合、目の前の人物がシンデレラマンでないという事態)が偽であることは変更できない。このように、if節で示される事態が実現されないという性質は、本稿で扱ってきた3つのif節insubordinationの中で、If +

not [P] 構文にのみ確認される。この特徴は、解釈上の主節候補の可能性を狭めることに繋がり、当該構文が、少なくともまさに3番目の段階にある(1a)や(1b)と比べて、より特殊な構文であるとみなされることを促す。

以上より、If + not [P] 構文は、Evans (2007)の提示する非従属節形成の4段階において、3番目の「慣習化された主節省略」と4番目の「構文化」の間に位置するものだと言える。この結論は、4段階が連続体をなすというEvansの主張そのものをも支持する。

5. 結語

本稿は、感情を表出するinsubordinationのIf + not [P] 構文に着目し、主節を補った後の文が反語的な解釈を導く形で、当該構文に解釈上の主節を回復させられること、さらに、当該構文はEvans (2007)の主張する非従属節形成の4段階のうち、3番目の「慣習化された主節省略」と4番目の「構文化」の間に位置することの2点を示した。

注

¹ “I will apply the term ‘insubordination’ to the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses.” (Evans 2007:367)

² (3)を統語的ユニットの共同生産(Lerner 1991を参照)の例と捉えることもできる。LandladyはLizのif節に続く主節を発話しており、2人でSo if I_[= Liz] want to bathe, you_[= Liz] put the water in the tub.という1つの統語的ユニット(文)を産出している。

³ (6)ではJimに強勢が置かれている(大文字で表記)が、強勢がなくとも、肯定的な命題を伝える効果は維持される。

⁴ Akatsuka (1986)は、「話し手が偽と信じる」場合については明示的に言及していない。しかし、(8)が、実際にはYou are the pope.という命題が真であるにも関わらず、電話交換手

はそれを偽の内容を示すとして発話している。よって、文脈や世界知識から明確に偽の内容を示すと分かる場合だけでなく、話し手が偽と信じる内容を示す場合も含まれる。

⁵ この談話的特徴に具体的に言及されているのは、課題遂行対話においてやりわりとした命令や指示をする if 節の単独用法である。こうした機能は、(1b)の依頼と非常に似ている。また、吉田自身、依頼や申し出の if 節 *insubordination* に相当する他言語の例にも言及している。よって、イントネーションによる説明は、通言語的・通語用論的機能的に展開することが可能だと、筆者は考える。

⁶ 比較対象を直説法を取るものに限定するのは、If + not [P] 構文が直接法を取ると考えられるからである。このことは、解釈上の主節を補った後の文が *indicative counterfactuals* になりうることから明らかである。

後悔の気持ちを表出する If I hadn't been such a fool! (『ランダムハウス英和大辞典 第2版』) は、一見すると当該構文の *insubordination* の例のようだが、仮定法を取るため、Panther and Thornburg (2003)が「願望を述べる if 節」と説明するものの一種であると考えの方が適切だと思われる。If + not [P] 構文との相違点の詳細な分析は、今後の課題としたい。

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引用マーカー「と」の概念構造*
(Conceptual Structure of the Quote Marker
To)

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キーワード: direct quote construction, quote
marker, conceptual structure, adjunct

1. はじめに

本論では、以下(1)に例示されている、英語と日本語の「直接引用構文 (direct quote construction: DQC)」の文法特性を考察する。

- (1) a. John said, “Perhaps you might like to ask Mary.”
b. Mary reported to her boss, “That’s my responsibility to handle.”
- (2) a. 太郎は花子に「俺がやるよ」と言った。
b. 花子は職場で「早退させてもらえませんか」と上司に頼んだ。

まず、第2節で、日本語のDQCを扱った山口(2009)の提案する分析を概観し、その問題点を指摘する。次に、山口(2009)が提案する分析では、英語では容認されないDQCを説明することができないことを議論する。第3節では、英語と日本語のDQCの相違点である引用マーカー(quote marker)「と」の有無に注目し、日本語の「と」の概念構造(conceptual structure: CS)には関数 SAYING があり、その SAYING の項(argument)として直接引用文(direct quote: DQ)を選択しているとの分析を

提案する。一方、日本語の「と」のような引用マーカーが語彙的に存在しない英語の場合、ある特定の限られた動詞群の場合のみ、その動詞のCSに関数 SAYING が付加されることにより、DQを選択することが可能となるとの主張を行う。第4節では、残された問題点を述べる。第5節は結語である。

2. 山口(2009)の分析

2.1. 事実

英語の場合、DQCにおける伝達節(reporting clause)に生じる動詞は、引用・報告という意味を有する動詞に代表される、本来、何らかの伝達を表す行為と解釈される動詞に限定されると主張されてきた(e.g., 内田(1979), Kurihara (1985), and among others)。

- (3) a. “Damn, the newspaper is late again!”
John said.
b. Mary told surprisingly, “A colleague of mine has been fired.”

一方、日本語の場合、英語のDQCに生じる伝達動詞とは異なり、何らかの伝達行為とは解釈できないと考えられる動詞が、かなり生産的に生じることが山口(2009)では指摘されている。以下の例を検討してみよう。

- (4) a. 「ただいま」と息子は階段を上ってきた。
b. 「はいどうぞ」と彼女はテーブルについた。
- (5) a. 「一人にしてくれ」と叔父は私を下がらせた。
b. 「やめてよ」と貴美子は逃げ出した。

(4a)の「階段を上がる」、(4b)の「テーブルにつく」、また(5a)の「下がらせる」、(5b)の「逃げ出す」は、何らかの伝達行為を表しているとは言い難い。にもかかわらず、いずれの例

も問題なく容認されている。

2.2. 山口(2009)の分析

本節では、山口(2009)が提案する日本語の DQC に関する分析を概観し、その問題点を指摘する。

山口(2009)は、前節で観察した(4)(5)の例が、以下(6)(7)で観察されるように、英語では容認されないことを指摘し、

- (6) a. **"I'm home!" my son came up the stairs.*
b. **"Here we are," she sat down at the table.*
- (7) a. **"Just leave me alone!" his uncle made me stand back.*
b. **"Stop it!" Kimiko walked away.*

(4)(5)の例が容認されているのは、引用マーカー（または接続助詞）と呼ばれる「と」があるためだとの示唆を行っている。しかしながら、山口はその点にはそれ以上言及せず、「時間的隣接性」という意味的概念によって日本語の DQC の説明を試みている(cf.「同一場面共存行為」藤田(2000:77))。以下の例を検討してみよう。

- (8) *「おはよう」とやがて入ってきた。
(藤田(2000: 224))

「おはよう」と言った時間と「入ってきた」時間が、「やがて」という時間を表す副詞句が示すように、隣接していないことから非文となっている、と山口(2009)は、概略、そう主張する。

しかし、その主張には問題点がないわけではない。というのも、山口が提示する「時間的隣接性」という意味的概念が十分明示的ではないという点がひとつ。つまり、どの程度時間的に隣接していなければいけないのか、あるいは、逆にどの程度隣接しなくてもいいのかという点が規定されていない。また、

(6)(7)で観察された、英語の DQC で容認されない(6)と(7)のような事実を「時間的隣接性」という意味概念では説明することができない。

3. 廣江(2012, 2014)

DQC の DQ は、伝達動詞（あるいは伝達動詞を含む伝達節の述部）に選択されている補部であると、これまでそう認識されてきたが(e.g., Branigan (2011), Branigan and Collins (1993), Collins (1997), Collins and Branigan (1997)), 廣江(2012, 2014)では、以下に提示されるような事実をもとに、DQ は付加部を構成しているとの主張を行った。

まず、以下の例を検討してみよう。

- (9) a. The man laughed "You really believe that's true?"
b. He nodded, "Yeah, yeah."
- (10) a. "Me too!" squeaked the tiny girl.
b. "And then, in 1967, we saw the start of the plumbing problem--" droned my uncle.

(9a)の laugh、(9b)の nod、また(10a)の squeak、(10b)の drone、は明らかに自動詞であり、DQ をその補部として選択することはできない。

こうした特徴は、英語だけに観察されることではない。Munro (1982)が提示する以下の例を観察してみよう。

- (11) a. "Ihoo" (*-ǎ) aachi.
woman obj say
'He says, "Woman" '
 - b. "Hilha" (*-ǎ) aachi.
dance obj say
'He says, "She's dancing"'
- (Munro (1982))

(11)の例は、米国ミシシッピ州北部にかつて

居住していたマスコギアン族の一員であるチカソー族が話していたチカソー語の例である。チカソー語には、目的語マーカ-の形態素-ăがあり、DQが後続する場合は、-ăが生じることはできないということを(11)の例は示していると、Munro (1982)は主張する。この事実、DQは伝達動詞に選択されていないことを強く示唆していると考えられる。

次に、以下の例を検討してみよう（イタリア体英文は筆者）。

(12) a. Coming back from a business trip, he found a note from his wife. “I will be back at four, but the children are in the garden.”

b. *the note that she will be back at four

(13) a. I checked the message in the answering machine. “He won’t be home until eleven.”

b. *the message that he won’t be home until eleven

(12a)におけるDQは、前文の名詞句 a note の意味内容を表している。DQは名詞句 a note から統語的に選択されたように見えるものの、(12b)で示されているように、名詞 note は補部を選択しない。同様に、(13a)においてもDQは前文の名詞句 the message に選択されているように見えるものの、(13b)で示されているように、message という名詞はそもそも補部を選択しない。さらに、以下の例も見てみよう。

(14) a. (I was confused) “What did I say? What did I expect? Going home in a taxi afterward, I pulled her over until her head rested against my chest.”
b. (She was perplexed) “Did that mean it was night time?”

(14a)(14b)いずれの例においても、省略されている伝達節は、その補部に統語的に疑問文を選択することはできないにもかかわらず、DQは(14)の例は容認されている。

またさらに、以下に観察されるように、発話様態動詞(manner-of-speaking verb)の that 節からの要素の抽出に関して、統語的な並行性がある。

(15) a. Sue said, “John murdered a strange man!”

b. Francine whispered that we should turn down the stereo.

(16) a. *Who did Sue say, “murdered a strange man?”

b. *What did Francine whisper that we should turn down the stereo?

Wh 句または要素の取り出しに関し、従来から付加詞として分析されてきた発話様態動詞の that 節と同じく(cf. Baltin (1982))、wh 抽出や他の要素の移動ができないという点で並行的な振る舞いをする。

以上の考察から、DQC の DQ は伝達動詞（あるいは伝達動詞を含む伝達部でも）に選択される補部ではなく、付加部を構成していると、廣江(2012, 2014)では、概略、そう主張した。

4. 提案

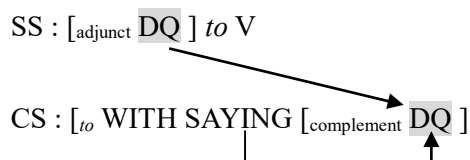
前節までの考察から、DQC の DQ は伝達動詞あるいは伝達動詞を含む述部により選択されてはいない付加部であることを議論してきた。では、DQ がどういうメカニズムで認可されているのかという疑問が生じる。本論では、統語構造ではなく、伝達動詞（あるいは伝達部）の概念構造において、関数 SAYING の項として選択されているとの主張を行う（(4a)を(17a)、(5a)を(17b)、(6a)を(18a)、(7a)を(18b)、としてそれぞれ再掲）。

以下の例を再度検討してみよう。

- (17) a. 「この馬鹿野郎！」と彼はジョンを蹴った。
 b. 「はい、できたわよ」と彼女はテールについて。
 (18) a. *"I'm home!" my son came up the stairs.
 b. *"Just leave me alone!" his uncle made me stand back.

日本語には、英語の語彙には無い、引用マーカの「と」があるため、(17)のような日本語の DQC は容認されているとの示唆が山口 (2009)で行われていたことは第 2 節 においてすでに見てきた。本論では、さらに進めて、日本語の引用マーカ「と」の概念構造に SAYING という関数があり、その関数の項 (argument)として DQ が選択されていると提案する (便宜上、詳細な構造は省略) (CS: Conceptual Structure; SS: Syntactic Structure) (Jackendoff (1990, 1997, 2005)):

(19) CS of the Japanese quote marker *to* :



(19)は、引用マーカ「と」を伴う DQC の SS と「と」の LCS との対応関係を示している。つまり、SS では DQ は付加部というステータスだが、「と」の LCS では関数 SAYING に選択される項、すなわち補部としてのステータスとなっている。この分析は、(17a)で「この馬鹿野郎と言いながら」という日本語母語話者としての直感にも合致している。

しかしながら、その SS において、「言いながら」という要素が省略されているに過ぎないのではないかと反論があるかもしれない。しかしながら、そのような反論は成立しないことがわかる。以下の例を観察してみよう。

- (20) a. 長英は海路平戸へ向かって、松原玄朴を訪ね、四十八両の返済を求めたが、この若造めと言を左右にして金を出そうとしない。
 b. 挙式は、明けて三月半ば頃、と決まった。緒方は、まだ半年以上ある、と向こうで何かやっている娘を眺めた。

(藤田 (2000: 209))

藤田も主張しているように、(20a)で、「この若造め」というのは、発言だとは解釈し難い。また、(20b)においても同様の考察が成り立つ。つまり、統語構造において「言いながら」が省略されているとは考えられない例が存在することから、概念構造を仮定した分析には妥当性があることになる。

さて、(19)を仮定すれば、(17a)(17b)における「と」を含む LCS を表示すると、以下(21)のようになる。

(21) a. CS of (17a):

[[[*to* WITH SAYING [complement DQ]]
 KICK]]]

b. CS of (17b):

[[[*to* WITH SAYING [complement DQ]] SIT
 DOWN]]]

(21a)(21b)それぞれの LCS で、関数 SAYING がその補部として DQ を選択していると仮定することで、(17a)(17b)が容認されることが説明できる。

では、英語の DQC の場合はどうであろうか。引用マーカが無い英語の場合、(22)で観察されるように、DQ を補部として選択できない伝達動詞 (あるいは伝達動詞を含む述部) と共起する DQ は容認されないことが予測されるが、その予測は必ずしも正しくない。

(22) a. I'll never do that again!" resolved the

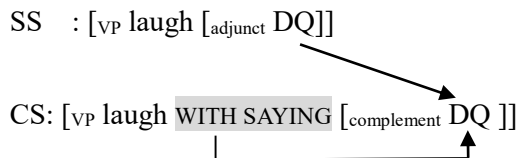
contrite boy.

- b. The man laughed “You really believe that's true?”

(22)の例のように、英語の場合、「と」のような引用マーカーが無くてもなぜ容認されるのだろうか。

英語の場合も、概念構造による解決法がこの事実を捉えるために有効であろう。英語の DQC では、(22b)を例にして、伝達動詞の概念構造を以下のように仮定する。

(23) CS of the verb *laugh* in (22b):



日本語の DQC では、関数 SAYING が引用マーカー「と」の語彙概念構造に付加されることにより、ていた。一方、英語の場合、関数 SAYING が伝達動詞の語彙概念構造に付加していると考えれば、(22)のような例を正しく捉えることができる。

5. 結語

以上、英語の DQC では容認されない例が日本語で容認されるのは、引用マーカー「と」の概念構造に関数 SAYING が付加されることにより、伝達行為とは解釈されないような伝達動詞の場合でも、SAYING の項（補部）として DQ が選択されることで容認されると議論してきた。一方、英語の DQC の場合、そのような意味範疇には収まらない伝達動詞を伴う DQC がすべて容認されないわけではなく、ある特定の限られた動詞群の場合は容認されることを観察してきた。そのような例では、「と」のような引用マーカーが無い英語では、「と」ではなく、伝達動詞そのものの概念構造に関数 SAYING が付加されている

と仮定することにより、同様のメカニズムで容認されると議論してきた。

残された問題として、英語の DQC において、なぜ特定の動詞 (e.g., blush, laugh, pout, and etc.) の場合にのみ、関数 SAYING がその概念構造に付加することが可能かということがある。

また、日本語の DQC の場合、英語の DQC とは異なり、何らかの伝達行為とは解釈し難い動詞がかなり生産的に生じうるのは引用マーカーの「と」のはたらきに依るものであった。しかし、日本語と同様に引用マーカーを語彙として持つ韓国語のような場合にも同様の主張が可能かどうか。通言語的な検証が今後の課題である (see Munro (1982: 314 ff.)).

さらに、若い世代に急速に普及していると考えられる、以下のような文法形式に DQ を埋め込む例も、本論で提案したメカニズムで捉えられるかどうかは今後の課題としたい。

- (24) a. ... and I was “Oh so this is Helen”.
b. Coming home today, he was totally, “Oh, I’m glad you’re home, let’s go sit down”.
c. I was a little bit “What the fuck?!”

(Buchstaller (2014: 18-19))

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Negative Inversion and Its Implications for the Information Structure of Nominal Phrases *

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Keywords : cartography, emphasis, information focus, negative inversion, polarity focus

1. Introduction

Within the cartographic framework proposed by Rizzi (1997), Cruschina (2011) assumes two syntactic positions for information focus (IFoc) in a sentence: emphatic IFoc in the CP domain and neutral IFoc in the TP domain. If the parallelism between the clausal and nominal domains extends to information structure, it will be hypothesized that the left periphery of the DP domain also includes a functional projection for emphatic IFoc. In this paper, I will argue that this hypothesis is supported by negative inversion in nominal expressions (Borroff (2006), Troseth (2009)).

This paper is organized as follows: introducing the typology of focus, Section 2 shows how emphatic IFoc is syntactically realized; Section 3 reviews some previous studies on the information structure of nominal expressions; Section 4 argues that emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain is substantiated from nominals with negative inversion; and, finally, Section 5 concludes by mentioning directions for future research.

2. The Typology of Focus

2. 1. Information Focus and Contrastive Focus

In the literature, it has been argued that at least two types of focus must be differentiated: IFoc and Contrastive Focus (CFoc). For example, Cruschina (2011: 14) proposes that IFoc denotes “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”; CFoc, on the other hand, represents “the assertion corresponds to denying or correcting a previous innovative assertion or presupposition that the speaker does not share” For concreteness, let us consider the following sentences:

- (1) a. (Context: What car did John buy?)
John bought [a Ferrari]_{IFoc}
(Cruschina (2011: 14))
b. [YOUR BOOK]_{CFoc} you should give
— to Paul (not mine)
(Rizzi (1997: 285), with modifications)

In (1a), the object DP realizes IFoc, serving as an answer to the question. In (1b), on the other hand, the preposed DP with CFoc functions to carry the correct piece of information, creating a contrast with the wrong piece of information expressed by the negative tag; furthermore, the rest of the propositional content is interpreted as a presupposition.

The next subsection, furthermore, introduces the dichotomy of emphatic IFoc and neutral IFoc.

2. 2. Neutral IFoc and Emphatic IFoc

Based on the observation that Sicilian, a Romance dialect, allows non-CFoc fronting, Cruschina (2011) proposes that the CP domain of a sentence includes a functional projection dedicated to emphatic IFoc. Let us consider the following question/answer pairs from Sicilian:

- (2) A. Chi scrivisti?
 what write.PAST.2SG
 ‘What did you write?’
- B. a. Scrissi **n’articulu.**
 write.PAST.1SG an article
 ‘I wrote an article.’
- b. **N’articulu** scrissi!
 an article write.PAST.1SG
 ‘I wrote an article’

(Cruschina (2011: 58), with slight modifications)

The example above suggests that either (2Ba) or (2Bb) can be used to answer the question in (2A). In (2Ba), the DP with neutral IFoc remains in the TP domain (i.e., the object position), serving as an answer to the question; in this case, the IFoc DP does not necessarily convey the speaker’s evaluative meaning (e.g., surprise, unexpectedness). In (2Bb), on the other hand, the preposed DP with emphatic IFoc obligatorily conveys two meanings: new information and emphasis, or the speaker’s evaluative meaning.

Interestingly, Cruschina (2011) observes that emphatic IFoc fronting can occur in the out-of-the-blue context (as in the answer to a *wh*-question like *what happened?*):

- (3) A: Chi successi?
 what happen.PAST.3SG
 ‘What happened?’
- B: A casa si vinni!
 the house REFL sell.PAST.3SG
 ‘He sold the house!’

(Cruschina (2011: 71), with slight modifications)

Example (3) suggests that both the preposed DP with emphatic IFoc and the rest of the sentence are compatible with new information. This property is different from that of CFoc fronting in (1b) in the sense that the latter necessarily includes the

presupposed propositional content.

On the basis of Cruschina’s (2011) observation, Honda (2017) argues that at least certain instances of negative inversion in English can be reduced to emphatic IFoc. In recent studies, negative inversion is argued to carry a polarity focus reading (i.e., narrow focus on the polarity component of the sentence) (Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal (2009); cf. Romero and Han (2004)). In addition, Honda provides an argument for the claim that negative inversion is compatible with sentence-focus, by showing that negative inversion sentences can be uttered in the out-of-the-blue context, as illustrated below:¹

- (4) A: What happened?
 B: Not a single person did I meet on the street.

Example (4) shows that negative inversion can be used as an answer to a sentence-focus *wh*-question. Thus, negative inversion (i.e., emphatic IFoc on the polarity component) shows a similar property with emphatic IFoc fronting in Sicilian.

The next subsection considers how emphatic IFoc is syntactically realized in Sicilian IFoc fronting and negative inversion in English.

2.3. Syntactic Realization of Emphatic IFoc

Modifying the split CP hypothesis proposed by Rizzi (1997) in (5a), Cruschina (2011) proposes his original split CP hypothesis in (5b).

- (5) a. Force ... Topic* ... Focus ... Topic* ...
 Fin IP ...
- b. Force ... Topic ... CFoc ... Topic ...
 IFoc ... Fin IP ...

Cruschina’s split CP hypothesis is different from

Rizzi's in that the former includes two syntactic positions for focus: CFoc and emphatic IFoc.

According to Cruschina (2011), emphatic IFoc is characterized by two semantic meanings: new information and the speaker's evaluative meaning. Cruschina argues that among these two meanings, the latter comes from pragmatics, or the interaction between the new information expressed by an emphatic IFoc element and its relation to the knowledge of the speaker/interlocutors (i.e., Relevance Theory in the sense of Sperber and Wilson (1995)). Shimada and Nagano (2016), on the other hand, propose that the speaker's evaluative meaning component has its origin in evaluative morphology, a research area which aims to examine how the speaker's evaluative meaning is encoded by means of morphemes or phrases in words and phrases (e.g., Cinque (2015)). Showing the relative order of Italian suffixes in nominals, Cinque (2015) claims that their ordering may be strictly determined in all languages; that is, the correspondingly ordered functional projections for evaluative meanings (e.g., augmentative, pejorative, diminutive, endearing) exist in words and phrases, as illustrated below:

- (6) ... Aug (-on-) ... Pej (-acci-) ... Dim (-in-) ... EndP (-ett) ...

Here, if we follow distributed morphology (e.g., Halle and Marantz (1993)), it will be the case that the evaluative functional projections in (6) exist across words, phrases, and sentences because they are formed by a syntactic operation (i.e., *merge*). Combining Cruschina's split CP hypothesis with evaluative morphology, Shimada and Nagano propose that emphatic IFoc is encoded at the (emphatic) IFoc projection selected by the Eval(uative) projection, as shown below (For simplicity, I omit the Topic and CFoc layers):

- (7) Force... ... Eval ...IFoc ... Fin IP ...

Here, they assume that an emphatic IFoc element is endowed with two unvalued features, the unvalued evaluative feature, [*u*Eval], and the unvalued IFoc feature, [*u*IFoc]; then, the two unvalued features get valued by movement of the emphatic IFoc element to Spec-IFoc. In this paper, I follow their syntactic mechanism proposed for emphatic IFoc. Thus, emphatic IFoc fronting in Sicilian and negative inversion in English are analyzed as in (8a) and (8b), respectively.

- (8) a. [EvalP [IFocP **N'articulu**_{*i*} [_{FinP} (scrissi) [_{TP} *pro* [_{vP} scrissi *t_i*]]]]] (= (2Bb))
 b. [EvalP [IFocP **Not a single person**_{*i*} [_{FinP} did [_{TP} I [_{vP} meet *t_i* on the street]]]]] (= (4B))

This section has considered how emphatic IFoc is syntactically encoded in the CP domain. The next section considers the information structure of nominals, with emphasis on focus.

3. Focus in the Nominal Domain

3.1. CFoc and IFoc in the Nominal Domain

Symmetry has been seen as one of the key guidelines in exploring the parallelism between the nominal and clausal domains from the generative perspective (e.g., grammatical functions such as subjects and objects, transformational operations like passivization). If such a parallelism extends to information structure (Aboh, Corver, Dyakonova and van Koppen (2010)), it will be hypothesized that the nominal domain also splits into discourse-related functional heads.

In the literature on the information structure of nominals, much attention has been paid to CFoc. For example, Corver and van Koppen (2009:3-4) observe that word order alternations in adjective ordering are associated with CFoc:

- (9) a. de roze Amerikaanse auto's
the pink American cars
'the pink American cars'
- b. de AMERIKAANSE roze auto's
the AmericanSTRESS pink cars
'the AMERICAN pink cars'

(9a) illustrates the neutral adjective ordering, wherein the color adjective precedes the nationality adjective. (9b), with the reversed adjective ordering, on the other hand, suggests that the preposed nationality adjective gets a CFoc interpretation.

In contrast with CFoc, IFoc is a relatively new research topic in the literature of the information structure of nominal expressions (Corver and van Koppen (2009), Aboh et al. (2010)). According to Corver and van Koppen (2009), the research of IFoc in nominal expressions needs consideration because their information structure can be defined at the sentential level (i.e., at the level of the entire sentence). For this reason, they argue that root nominals can be independent (i.e., autonomous) syntactic units with their own information structures. For example, Corver and van Koppen (2009: 14) cite the following expressions as instances of root nominals:

- (10) a. Aspects of the theory of SYNTAX
(books by Noam Chomsky)
- b. Dear friends of HOLLAND!

(10a) is well-known as a book title, and (10b) functions as a (neutral) vocative. These examples are similar in that they convey new information on the recursive (right) side.

The next subsection, furthermore, reviews Shimada and Nagano's (2016) study, which aims to provide an empirical support for the presence of emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain.

3. 2. Emphatic IFoc in the Nominal Domain

Subsection 2.3 reviewed Cruschina's (2011) two focus hypothesis. If the parallelism between the clausal and nominal domains extends to information structure, his hypothesis will imply that there is a functional projection dedicated to emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain.

- (11) a. Force ... Eval ... IFoc ... Fin IP ...
b. DP ... Eval ... IFoc ... NP ...

However, little research has been conducted to examine whether emphatic IFoc is empirically motivated in the nominal domain, with the exception of Shimada and Nagano (2016). Shimada and Nagano argue that Japanese *kantaiku* nominals lend support to the presence of emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain.

- (12) a. Kono wain-wa taka-i.
this wine-TOP expensive-COP
'This wine is expensive.'
- b. taka-i wain
expensive-COP wine
'expensive wine'
- c. Taka-i wain!
expensive-COP wine
'Expensive wine!'

(12a) is an adjectival predicate sentence, and (12b) is a nominal expression in which the adjectival predicate forms a relative clause. The Japanese *kantaiku* nominal in (12c) takes the same syntactic form as the one in (12b), but only the former serves as an emotional vocative, or a root nominal which denotes the speaker's on-the-spot reaction to a given situation. On the basis of these observations, they propose that the relative clause undergoes covert movement to Spec-IFoc in the emotional vocative in (12c).

- (13) a. [DP [EvalP [IFocP [NP [Rel *pro*_i taka-i] wain_i]]]]
 b. [DP [EvalP [IFocP [Rel *pro*_i taka-i]_j [NP t_j wain_i]]]]

Shimada and Nagano's (2016) study will be seen as an important step forward in exploring the possibility that the nominal domain includes an emphatic IFoc projection, but their argument is weak in the sense that the word order alternation is covert in (13b). The next section argues that the emphatic IFoc hypothesis is empirically supported by nominals with negative inversion.

4. Negative Inversion in the Nominal Domain

4.1. Degree Inversion and Negative Inversion

In the literature, it has been observed that certain degree modifiers (e.g., too, that, so, how, as) behave as degree operators which trigger adjective inversion in the nominal domain (e.g., Corver (1997)). Let us observe the following contrast:

- (14) a. The Seventh Seal is too serious (of a movie. (Troseth (2009: 47))
 b. * John is very good a student. (Borroff (2006: 514))

The contrast above suggests that the degree modifier *very* does not behave as a degree operator. On the basis of this observation, Borroff (2006) and Troseth (2009) point out that negation may trigger the inversion of adjectives in the nominal domain, as shown below:

- (15) a. John is not a very good student. (Borroff (2006: 514))
 b. John is not very good (of) a student. (Borroff (2006: 519))

The examples (without any degree operator)

above suggest that negation behaves as an operator which triggers the inversion of adjectives in the nominal domain. Furthermore, the preposed adjective can be followed by the preposition-like *of* (Note that a similar effect shows up in (14a).).

According to Troseth (2009: 58-60), (15b) with negative inversion differs from (15a) in that negation takes different scopes. For example, the negation in (15a) serves as a sentential negation, and allows John to be excellent, just good, or bad, as a student. In (15b), on the other hand, the negation occurs as constituent negation; hence, (15b) implies that John is not anything but a bad student.

Here, I would like to add two important observations which I made on the basis of my informant survey.² First, compared to (15a), (15b) with negative inversion carries the speaker's emphasis on the negative polarity component of the polar adjective; as a result, (15b) implies that the opposite polarity is true of John (i.e., John is a bad student.). This pattern is applied to other kinds of adjectives, too (e.g., honest ⇔ dishonest). Thus, the parallelism between negative inversion in the nominal and clausal domains provides a piece of evidence for the argument that the presence of emphatic IFoc is empirically supported by negative inversion in the nominal domain (cf. (4B)). Second, nominals with negative inversion, as well as Japanese *kantaiku* nominals, can be uttered as emotional vocatives (cf. (12c)).

- (16) Not (very) easy a task!

This observation also suggests that nominals with negative inversion realize emphatic IFoc in the left periphery of the nominal domain.

This subsection has shown that nominals with negative inversion point to the presence of emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain. The next subsection considers their derivation.

4. 2. The Derivation of Negative Inversion in the Nominal Domain

Troseth (2009) proposes an analysis of negative inversion in the nominal domain, extending the predicate inversion analysis to it. Bennis, Corver and den Dikken (1997: 90) argue that the embedded specificational clause in (17b) is derived by applying an inversion operation to the predicate of the predicative small clause in (17a).

- (17) a. I consider John (*to be*) the best candidate.
b. I consider the best candidate *(*to be*) John.

Here, the obligatory occurrence of the copula in (17b) is seen as a “linker” which serves to connect the inverted predicate to its subject (e.g., den Dikken (2006)). This derivation process is illustrated below:

- (18) [FP the best candidate_j [F' F(=be)+X_i [XP John [X' t_i t_j]]]]

In (18), *John* is generated as the subject of the small clause (SC) (indicated by XP), and *the best predicate* as the SC predicate. Then, predicate inversion is applied to the SC predicate, and (17b) is derived; in this analysis, the obligatory occurrence of the copula is a reflex of the head movement of the X head to the F head (i.e., a linker).

Bennis et al. (1998), furthermore, apply the predicate inversion analysis to nominal expressions like (*an*) *idiot of a man*.

- (19) a. idiot of a man
b. [FP idiot_j [F' F(= of)+X_i(= a) [XP man [X' t_i t_j]]]]

In this analysis, the predicative element *idiot* is

generated as the SC predicate, and *man* as the SC subject. Then, predicate inversion is applied to the SC predicate, and as a result, (19a) is derived; in this case, *of* occurs as the nominal counterpart of the copula (i.e., a linker).

Troseth (2009), furthermore, extends the predicate inversion analysis to negative inversion in the nominal domain, as illustrated below:

- (20) [DP not very good_{[vNeg]j} [D'[uNeg] (of) [FP t_j [F' F+X_i(= a) [XP student [X' t_i t_j]]]]]

In this simplified structure, the adjective with negation is generated as the SC predicate, and it undergoes predicate inversion to Spec-DP, wherein spec-head agreement is established between the SC predicate in Spec-DP and the D head; as a result, the preposition-like element *of* is optionally realized at the D head (cf. (15b)).

By slightly modifying Troseth's (2009) analysis, I propose that the inverted adjective with negation occupies Spec-IFoc, wherein the emphatic IFoc interpretation is obtained.

- (21) [DP ... [EvalP [IFocP not very good_j [IFoc' (of) [FP t_j [F' F+X_i (=a) [XP [student] [X' t_i t_j]]]]]]]]

5. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I argued that the presence of emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain is empirically supported by nominal expressions with negative inversion. I would like to leave open for future research the question of whether degree inversion in the nominal domain (cf. (14a)) empirically lends support to emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain (see also Honda (this volume)).

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NOTES

¹ Two informants (one from Canada and the other from America) reported that the negative inversion sentence can be employed as an answer to the sentence-focus *wh*-question.

² One of my informants allows for a null degree modifier in nominals with negative inversion.

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vP*

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1. Introduction

It is widely assumed that the base-generated position of an external argument (EA) is higher than VP, as illustrated in (1).

(1) [_{VP} EA [_v VP]]

However, it does not seem that there has been much detailed discussion about the base-generated position of an EA in the literature. In fact, overt evidence for the relevant base-generated position is hard to obtain, because the position ends up being unpronounced via subject raising in English. Contrary to the widely assumed structure in (1), this paper argues that the internal structure of vP is given in (2), where an EA is the complement of *v* whereas VP occupies [Spec, vP].

(2) [_{VP} VP [_v EA]]

The next section will provide three arguments in favor of the structure in (2).

2. Arguments for the Proposed Structure

The first argument comes from interaction

between scope and binding. Pica and Snyder (1995:345) provide an interesting observation given in (3) (see also Hornstein 1995:180 and Fox 2000:64 for similar observation).

(3) Someone₁ gave everyone his₁ business card.
(some > every, *every > some)

In the example above, one of the objects of the ditransitive verb involves a bound pronoun to be bound by the subject quantifier. It is crucial that the subject cannot take narrow scope in (3). If the binder is not a subject, such constraint disappears, as shown in (4).

(4) A girl gave everyone₁ his₁ picture.
(a > everyone, everyone > a)

Let us assume with Hornstein (1995) among others that the lower copy of a subject, which is left within vP via subject raising, is calculated for the narrow scope in question. It is also assumed that the landing site of QR for an object QP is vP. The relevant narrow scope reading in (3) would be wrongly expected under the standard vP-structure in (1) because the lower copy of *someone* readily c-commands its bound pronoun within VP, as shown in (5a). Under the structure in (2), on the other hand, since the lower copy of *someone* fails to c-command the bound pronoun within VP as shown in (5b), the absence of the narrow scope reading is correctly expected.

(5) a. [_{TP} Someone₁ T [_{VP} everyone [_{VP} **someone**₁ [_v [_{VP} gave ... **his**₁ ...]]]]]
 └──────────────────┐ ↑
 b. [_{TP} Someone₁ T [_{VP} everyone [_{VP} [_{VP} gave ... **his**₁ ...] [_v **someone**₁]]]]]
 ↑ ┘

The second argument is concerned with the argument status of *by*-phrases in the passive. Goodall (1997) provides several arguments for the claim that *by*-phrases in the passive behave like arguments, not like adjuncts. The extractability out of the *by*-phrase is one of them. It has been generally assumed that adjuncts do not allow anything to move out of them, contrary to argument phrases. This is confirmed by the contrast between (6b-c). The grammaticality of (6a) suggests that the *by*-phrase is an argument.

- (6) a. Who₁ were the books returned to the store by *t*₁? (Goodall (1997:137))
 b. Who₁ did you buy a picture of *t*₁ yesterday?
 c. *Which book₁ did you review this paper without reading *t*₁?

On the assumption that an EA in the passive occupies the same position as that in the active (see Watanabe (1993), Goodall (1997), Collins (2005), among others), the relevant *by*-phrase is supposed to occupy [Spec, *v*P] under the standard *v*P-structure. However, since a *by*-phrase follows a passivized predicate, [Spec, *v*P] is supposed to be on the right-hand side of VP in the passive. However, the “right specifier” has been cast doubt on theoretically and empirically. On the other hand, this right-specifier problem is circumvented under the structure in (2).

Finally, some type of *there* construction such as (7a) supports the proposed analysis. As shown in (7a), the EA follows the transitive verb phrase. Under the structure in (2), the syntactic distribution of the EA is easily captured, as shown in (7b), where the EA is base-generated as the complement of *v*.

- (7) a. There entered the room an indescribably malodorous breath of air.
 (Kayne (1979:715))
 b. There T[[*v*P entered...]] [*v* [*DP* an... air]]

3. Consequences

3.1. Labeling

The structure given in (2) gives a new solution to the so-called “XP-YP” problem concerning Chomsky’s (2013) Labeling Algorithm (LA), which is given in (8).

- (8) a. Suppose SO = {H, XP}, H a head and XP not a head. Then LA will select H as the label, and the usual procedures of interpretation at the interfaces can proceed.
 b. Suppose 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))

Chomsky (2013) suggests two ways to label the form {XP, YP}, where neither XP nor YP is a lexical item. One is (8bA). Suppose XP undergoes movement out of {XP, YP}, which makes the lower copy of XP invisible and the head of YP (i.e. Y) counts as the label of {XP, YP}. Let us call this strategy “Labeling through movement” following Takita et al. (2016). The other strategy is (8bB), where Agree determines the label of {XP, YP}. Let us take (9) as an example to see how these two strategies work.

(9) [_α John T [_β John [_ν [eat apples]]]].

Given the strategy in (8bA), the label of β is determined as ν because a copy of *John* within β becomes invisible in terms of labeling. On the other hand, the label of α is determined by (8bB) because the subject undergoes ϕ -feature agreement with T.

The proposed structure given in (2) is also the {XP, YP} form. How is the XP-YP problem resolved under (2)? This paper adopts Kato et al.'s (2014) proposal that on the assumption that V is a categorially neutral root, which has an unvalued categorial feature ([uCat]), this root is categorized by the categorial feature of ν via Agree, as illustrated in (10). That is, α in (10) (what was called “ ν P” traditionally) is labeled via the strategy in (8bB) in a similar way to labeling via ϕ -feature agreement between a subject and T.

(10) [_α [_ν IA] [_ν EA]]
 └─ Agree ─┘

As has been discussed, Labeling through movement can be dispensed with for the purpose of labeling at ν P-level. However, note that Labeling through movement plays a crucial for labeling at intermediate landing site of *wh*-movement, as well. The relevant example is given below.

(11) What do you think [_α what C [_{-Q}] John bought what]?

On the assumption that the embedded complementizer C [_{-Q}] does not trigger Agree, the label α in (11) cannot be labeled as it is because α is the {XP, YP} form. The *wh*-movement from the edge of the embedded CP makes the

intermediate copy of the *wh*-phrase invisible for labeling. The label α can be thus determined.

However, as Obata (2016) points out, German partial *wh*-movement such as (12) does not fall under this account.

(12) Was glaubt Hans [_α **mit wem**₁ C [_{-Q}] Jakob
 what think Hans with whom Jakob
 jetzt t₁ spricht]?
 is now talking (McDaniel (1989:569))

In (12), the embedded complementizer is C [_{-Q}] similarly to (11) but the *wh*-phrase can stay at the edge of the embedded CP without moving anymore. It is wrongly expected that the label α would not be determined.

The possibility pursued in this paper is to reconsider the assumption that the embedded complementizer C [_{-Q}] does not trigger Agree. If C [_{-Q}] can also trigger Agree so that the application of Agree can make a contribution to labeling, α in (11-12) can be determined via Agree similarly to TP, without recourse to movement of the *wh*-phrases. If this is on the right track, all the cases of {XP, YP} are unified under labeling via Agree.

The assumption that C [_{-Q}] can trigger Agree is independently supported by Irish A-bar movement. As shown in (13a), Irish has a complementizer for finite clauses, which is realized as *GO*. When A-bar movement takes place, the complementizer exhibits different realization, as shown in (13b). Crucially, not only the complementizer in the final landing site of the operator but also C in the intermediate landing site is realized as *aL*, as shown in (13c).

(13) a. Creidim **gu-r** inis sé bréag.
 I-believe GO-Past tell he lie.
 ‘I believe that he told a lie.’

(McCloskey (2002:185))

- b. an ghirseach a ghoid na sígaí.
the girl aL stole the fairies
'the girl that the fairies stole away.'

(McCloskey (2002:189))

- c. an t-ainm a hinnseadh dúinn a
the name aL was-told to-us aL
bhí e ar an áit
was on the place
'the name that we were told was on the
place.'

(McCloskey (2002:185))

3.2. The Subject Condition Effect

This subsection attempts to give a novel account for the Subject Condition effect such as (14).

- (14) ?*Who_i did [friends of *t*₁] see Mary?

Let me spell out the assumptions which are crucial in the following discussion. First, Transfer applies at each phase level. Second, Transfer applies to the complement of a phase head. Third, the transferred syntactic object is still accessible to syntactic computation (see Chomsky et al. (to appear) for relevant discussion). Although it is widely assumed that the transferred syntactic object is inaccessible to further syntactic computation, it has been reported in the literature that there are many dependencies across phase boundaries. One of them is given in (15), where the *wh*-phrase is licensed by the Q-morpheme in the matrix clause.

- (15) Taroo-ga Hanako-ga nani-o
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Nom what-Acc
katta to omotteiru no?
bought that think Q
'What does Taroo think Hanako bought?'

Fourth, the process of linearization takes place phase by phase (cf. Fox and Pesetsky 2005).

Under the third assumption, nothing prevents the transferred syntactic object itself from undergoing movement. On the other hand, the extraction out of the transferred syntactic object is constrained by the fourth assumption (i.e. cyclic linearization). Let us consider a given phasal complement α . Suppose that X, Y and Z are included in α (i.e. [$_{\alpha}$ XYZ]). Transfer applies to α and the linear order between X, Y and Z is determined via cyclic linearization (e.g. X precedes Y and Y precedes Z.). After the application of Transfer, if Y moves out of α across X, the linear order statement (i.e. Y precedes X.) will be obtained in the later stage of the derivation but it is incompatible with the linear order statement obtained at the previous phase (i.e. X precedes Y.). Thus, nothing can move out of the transferred syntactic object α , unless it is at the left edge of α .

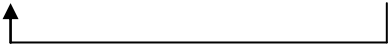

Bearing these in mind, let us consider the derivation of (14). As shown in (16a), Transfer applies to the external argument α . One might say that transferring the unvalued Case feature of α to the interfaces makes the derivation illegitimate. However, it is assumed that this is not problematic, if it ends up being valued via Agree with T. Given the third assumption above, since α itself can undergo movement, the transferred α undergoes Internal Merge (i.e. subject raising), as shown in (16b). After C is introduced, *who* cannot undergo *wh*-movement out of any occurrences of α , because they have already been transferred.

- (16) a. [[see Mary] [v [$_{\alpha}$ friends of who]]]

Transfer

- b. [[$_{\alpha}$ friends of who] T [[see Mary] [v [$_{\alpha}$ friends of who]]]]

There is another derivation we have to examine, which is given below.

- (17) a. [_{VP} [_{VP} [see Mary] [_V [_α friends of who]]]]

 b. [_{TP} [_α friends of who] T [_{VP} **who** [_{VP} [see Mary] [_V [_α friends of who]]]]]
 c. [_{CP} **who** C [_{TP} [_α friends of who] T [_{VP} **who** [_{VP} [see Mary] [_V [_α friends of who]]]]]]


As shown in (17a), *who* moves to the edge of *vP* before Transfer applies to *α*, in contrast to the derivation in (16). Then the transferred *α* undergoes subject raising in (17b). Then *C* is introduced. Although *who* cannot undergo *wh*-movement out of any occurrences of *α*, both of which have been already transferred similarly to (16), *who* at the edge of *vP* is still accessible to syntactic computation. Thus, under the analysis so far nothing prevents *who* at the edge of *vP* from moving to the edge of *CP*. In order to exclude the derivation in (17), the following constraint is proposed.

- (18) Nothing can move out of the phrase which has an unvalued Case feature.

Given the constraint in (18), the derivational step in (17a) is illegitimate in the sense that when *who* moves out of *α*, *α* has not been Case-marked, because *T* has not been introduced into the derivation yet.

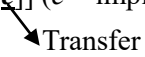
The constraint in (18) correctly captures the grammaticality of (6a). *Who* can move out of the *by*-phrase before Transfer takes place. The movement of *who* is legitimate in terms of (18) because the *by*-phrase is PP, which does not have an unvalued Case feature.

The proposed analysis makes another

prediction. It would be possible to extract out of the subject in the passive. This is because the subject in the passive is base-generated as an internal argument of a predicate within *VP*, not as the complement of *v*. That is, the relevant subject is outside of the Transfer domain at *vP*-phase. This prediction is borne out by (19), which is due to Chomsky (2008).

- (19) a. It was the CAR (not the TRUCK) of which [the {driver, picture} was found].
 b. Of which car was [the {driver, picture} awarded a prize]? (Chomsky (2008:147))

Let us consider how the examples above are derived, taking (19b) as an example. Although (19b) involves no *by*-phrase, it is assumed that an external argument syntactically exists in an implicit way in the passive as well. The implicit argument *e* undergoes Transfer because it is the complement of *v*, as shown in (20a). Then *the driver of which car* undergoes IM in (20b). After *C* is introduced into the derivation, *of which car* moves out of the subject within *TP*. Note that the extraction is possible because the relevant subject has not undergone Transfer yet.

- (20) a. [_{VP} [_{VP} awarded [the driver of which car] a prize] [_V *e*]] (*e* = implicit argument)

 b. [the driver of which car] T [_{VP} [_{VP} awarded [the driver of which car] a prize] [_V *e*]]
 c. [_{CP} of which car C [_{TP} [the driver of which car] T [_{VP} [_{VP} awarded [the driver of which car] a prize] [_V *e*]]]]]

4. Japanese

As proposed in (2), an EA is the complement of *v*. While the base-generated position of an EA

is not pronounced as a result of subject raising in English, whether Japanese has subject raising like English has been controversial. Given the absence of the EPP effect and ϕ -feature agreement in Japanese, this paper adopts the view that Japanese does not have subject raising like English, following Fukui (1986) and Kuroda (1988), among others. Under such a view, Japanese subjects can stay in-situ. However, on the assumption that a specifier of a head precedes its complement, VP is supposed to precede an external argument as a basic word order in Japanese, contrary to fact. This paper suggests that Japanese has the following ν P structure.

(21) [ν P EA [ν P VP [*pro* ν]]]

In (21), it is *pro* that occupies the complement position of ν . It is not implausible to postulate *pro* in (21) because Japanese allows null arguments. The overtly realized EA is base-generated at the edge of ν P. Given that Japanese allows multiple subjects in (22), more than one EAs can be base-generated at the ν P edge.

(22) Taroo-ga imooto-ga kasikoi.
Taroo-Nom sister-Nom clever
'Taroo's sister is clever.'

The proposed structure for Japanese in (21) paves the way to an account for the absence of the Subject Condition effect in Japanese, which is due to Saito (1985). The relevant examples are given below.

(23) a. ??/?*Dono hon-o₁ Mary-ga
which book-Acc Mary-Nom

John-ga t_1 katta koto-o
John-Nom bought fact-Acc
mondai-ni siteiru no?
problem-to making Q
'Which book is it that Mary is calling the fact that John bought it into question?'

b. ??/?*Dono hon-o₁ Mary-ga
which book-Acc Mary-Nom
John-ga t_1 katta koto-ga
John-Nom bought fact-Nom
mondai-da to omotteru no?
problem-be that think Q
'Which book is it that Mary thinks that the fact that John bought it is a problem?' (Saito (1985:272))

Saito (1985) observes that there is no significant contrast between (23a-b). Under the proposal, what undergoes Transfer at ν P is *pro*, as shown in (24). The sentential subject is outside of the transferred domain at the ν P-level, which enables *dono-hon-o* within the subject to undergo further movement to the matrix clause.

(24) [ν P[_{CP} dono hon-o₁ [_{TP} John-ga t_1 kata koto-ga]] [ν P [ν P mondai da] [*pro* ν]]]

5. Conclusion

It has been proposed in this paper that an EA is the complement of ν while VP occupies [Spec, ν P], contrary to the generally assumed structure. It has been also argued that labeling at the ν P-level can be determined via Agree in a similar way to labeling at the TP-level and that the Labeling through movement strategy can be dispensed with. This paper has also provided a novel account for the Subject Condition effect.

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単数構文と複数構文*
(The Singular and Plural Constructions)

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キーワード：反意，比喻，換喩，数の提喩

1. はじめに

英語には単複の別があり、単数形は〈単数〉を表し、複数形は〈複数〉を表すのが通例である (Quirk et al. 1985: 274)。ところが用例を広く観察してみると、単数形が〈複数〉を表すこともあれば、複数形が〈単数〉を表すこともある。ここでは、単数形が〈単数〉のみならず〈複数〉を表しうるのはどうしてか、複数形が〈複数〉のみならず〈単数〉を表しうるのはどうしてかを問い、両者に統一的な答えを与える。

2. 〈複数〉を表す単数形と〈単数〉を表す複数形

この節では、単数形でありながら〈複数〉を表す例と複数形でありながら〈単数〉を表す例を確認する (cf. Du Marsais 1730: 97-98)。

(1)と(2)の例は、単数形が〈複数〉を表す例 (単数形の複数用法) である。

- (1) a. The Italian is [= The Italians are] gay, light-hearted. (Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*)
- b. The enemy were visibly cracking. (*Collins COBUILD English Grammar*, 4th ed.)
- c. The foot [= The foot soldiers] were divided into six regiments. (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, Vol. 1)

- d. [The infantry are crossing the bridge.
(Richard Bowyer, *Dictionary of Military Terms*)
- (2) a. The guests are arriving. (cf. ?Uncle Joe is arriving.)
- b. The Queen is arriving.
(Radden and Dirven 2007: 188)

(1a)は総称文で、その主語は広い意味で複数を表し、括弧内のように書き換えられる。(1b-d)の主語は動詞が複数呼応しており、複数であることが確認できる。(2)の be arriving は「次々に到着している」という意味を表し、複数主語を要求する。したがって、Uncle Joe のような単数主語は意図された解釈のもとでは容認しにくい。一方、(2b)の単数主語 The Queen が容認されるのは、これが複数の従者を想起させるからである (Radden and Dirven 2007: 188-189)。

(3)と(4)の例は、複数形が〈単数〉を表す例 (複数形の単数用法) である。

- (3) It is written in the prophets [= the book of the Prophets]. (John 6: 45, KJV)
- (4) a. We are [= I am] not amused.
- b. Lend us [= me] a fiver.
(Quirk et al. 1985: 351)

これらの下線部の表現は括弧内に示してあるように単数として解釈される。

3. 先行研究

〈複数〉を表す単数形と〈単数〉を表す複数形をあわせて論じる研究をさかのぼると Du Marsais (1730: 97-98)の「数の提喩」という考え方に行き着く。そこでは、フランス語の例に基づき、単数形で〈複数〉を表す例や複数形で〈単数〉を表す例が一種で〈類〉、類で〈種〉を表す例や、部分で〈全体〉、全体で〈部分〉を表す例と共に一提喩として分析されている。フランス語の例がそのままドイツ語や英語の例に適用できることもあつてか、その説明は広く受け

入れられている (e.g. Gibbons 1767: 74; Blair 1787: 369-370; Wodak et al. 1998: 96-102)。

その他、単数形が〈複数〉を表す表現の認知言語学的研究に Radden and Dirven (2007: 188-189)があり、UNIPLEX FOR MULTIPLEX という換喩により(2b)を説明している。複数形が〈単数〉を表す表現には触れていないが、もしこれを扱うとすれば、逆方向の換喩 MULTIPLEX FOR UNIPLEX により説明することになるであろう。

先行研究における提喩や換喩を用いた説明は、問題となっている表現の解釈を直接的に反映するもので、そもそもどうしてそのような提喩や換喩によって捉えられる現象が存在するのかが明らかでないと言える。

4. 〈単数〉と〈複数〉—反意の観点から

以下では、反意の関係にある〈単数〉と〈複数〉が同じ言語形式に結びつく論理を明らかにする。

4.1. 反意とフレームと言語化

反意の関係にある概念は、次の道筋で同じ言語形式に結びつくと考えられる。

- (5) a. 反意の関係にある概念は、共通のフレームに基づく (cf. Cruse 1986: 197-198; Voßhagen 1999)。
b. 共通のフレームに基づく概念は、同じ言語形式に結びつきうる (cf. Anttila 1989: 89)。
c. 反意の関係にある概念は、同じ言語形式に結びつきうる。
- (6) a. All As are Bs. (7) a. All As are Bs.
b. Some Bs are Cs. b. All Bs are Cs.
c. Some As are Cs. c. All As are Cs.

(5a, b)から(5c)を導出することは、(6a, b)から(6c)を導出するのと同様である。この種の推論は、(7a, b)から(7c)を導出するのは異なり、常に真であるとは限らないが、日常的にはよく行われる推論 (everyday logic/syllogism) である (Anderson 1976: 347;

cf. Carter and Seifert 2013: 290-294)。

4.1.1. 反意の概念が共通のフレームに基づくことを示す例

(5a)の裏付けとして(8)のような言い間違いの例があげられる。

- (8) a. I really like to—hate to get up in the morning.
b. It's at the bottom—I mean—top of the stack of books.

(Fromkin 1971: 46; cf. Hotopf 1980)

言い間違いがしばしば類義語の間に見られることから、反意語の間に意味の類似が確認できる。

4.1.2. 共通のフレームに基づく概念が同じ言語形式に結びつく例

(9)の lock について西村 (2008)は、換喩に基づく多義であると分析している。

- (9) I locked {the door/the room}. (西村 2008: 83)

どちらの lock も鍵をかけるという行為に関するフレーム、すなわち、ドアの状態を変えることにより部屋の状態を変えるというフレームに基づいており、lock the door はドアの状態変化、lock the room は部屋の状態変化を焦点化する。そして西村は換喩について(10)のように述べる。

- (10) 換喩は、ある言語表現の複数の用法が、単一のフレームを喚起しつつ、そのフレーム内の互いに異なる局面ないし段階を焦点化する現象として定義することができる。 (西村 2008: 82)

そもそも「ある言語表現の複数の用法が単一のフレームを喚起」しうるのは、(5b)のためであると考えられる。

4.1.3. 反意の概念が同じ言語形式に結びつく例

(11)から(16)は、同じ言語形式に反意の概念が結びつくことを示す例である (cf. contronym, auto-antonym, enantiosemy, etc.)。

- (11) a. The moon is out [= visible] tonight.
b. The lights in the old house are always out [= invisible]. (Lederer 1989: 88)
- (12) a. She drew [= opened] the curtains and let the sunshine into the room.
b. We draw [= close] the curtains early to shut out the rainy weather.
(Chambers Universal Learners' Dictionary)
- (13) a. I could care less [= couldn't care less].
(Lederer 1989: 8)
b. Make a move and [= Don't make a move or] I'll shoot.
(Quirk et al. 1985: 832, 943)
- (14) They had only just moved in; their boxes lay on the kitchen floor, still unpacked [= not yet unpacked]. (Nunberg 2005)
- (15) He {gave/refused} her the ball. [X CAUSES Y {to/not to} RECEIVE Z] (Goldberg 1995: 75)
- (16) a. pejoration: OE *sælig* 'blessed' > silly (肯定的な意味から否定的な意味へ)
b. amelioration (melioration): Lat. *nescius* 'ignorant' > nice (否定的な意味から肯定的な意味へ)

(11a, b)では be out が「見える」と「見えない」の意味で使われており、(12a, b)では draw が「開ける」と「閉める」の意味で使われている (中右実先生のご教示による例)。(13a)では、本来「少しは気にする」という意味を表す *could care less* が「まったく気にしない」という意味で使われている。(13b)では、肯定命令の *make a move* が否定命令を表している。(14)は引越しまでの状況を描写するもので、*still unpacked* が荷解きでなく、荷造りされたままの様子・荷解きされてい

ない様子を表している。(15)は二重目的語構文が「受けとらせる」と「受けとらせない」という意味をもつことを示している。(16)は、意味変化が反意の方向に進むことを示すデータである。

以上確認してきたように、語からより大きな構文に至るまで様々な単位で、反意の概念は同じ形式に結びつく。

4.2. 単数構文と複数構文

英語では〈単数〉と〈複数〉は二項対立の反意の関係にある。両者は(17a)のように意味上区別され、(17b)のように複数接辞の有無によって形式上区別される。

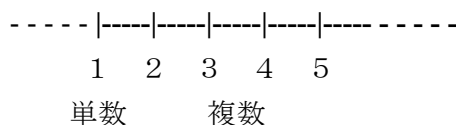
- (17) a. “one” vs. “more than one”
(cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 297)
b. morphological unmarkedness vs. morphological markedness

先に論じた(5)の「反意の関係にある概念」を「〈単数〉と〈複数〉」に置き換えると(18)が得られる。

- (18) a. 〈単数〉と〈複数〉は、共通のフレームに基づく。
b. 共通のフレームに基づく概念は、同じ言語形式に結びつきうる。
c. 〈単数〉と〈複数〉は、同じ言語形式に結びつきうる。

4.2.1. 〈単数〉と〈複数〉の共通のフレーム

〈単数〉と〈複数〉は次のような数直線フレームを共有する。(ここでは、1以上の自然数が焦点化されている。)



(cf. Lakoff and Núñez 2000: 68-71)

4.2.2. 反意の関係にある〈単数〉と〈複数〉 が同じ言語形式に結びつく例

(18c)を裏付けるのは(19)から(22)である。

- (19) a. This sheep looks small./All those sheep
are ours. (Quirk et al. 1985: 307)
b. The sheep jumped over the fence, didn't
{it/they}? (Quirk et al. 1985: 756)
- (20) This barracks is new./These barracks are
new. (Quirk et al. 1985: 309)
- (21) Ten miles of path {is a lot to repave/are
being repaved}. (Waddingham 2014: 191)
- (22) 古英語にあった二人称代名詞の単数と複数
の区別が近代英語になってからなくなり、二
人称複数代名詞が単数も表すようになった。
(cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 344-345)

(19)は単数形の sheep に〈単数〉と〈複数〉
が結びついている例、(20)と(21)は複数形の
barracks や ten miles of path に〈単数〉と〈複
数〉が結びついている例である。(22)は(16)
のように、意味変化が反意の方向、この場合、
複数から単数の方向に進んでいることを示
す例と解釈できる。

以上の議論をまとめると次のようになる。

- (23) a. 単数形の複数用法は、反意の関係にあ
る〈単数〉と〈複数〉が同じ言語形式、
この場合、単数形に結びついた単数構
文の一用法であると理解できる。
b. 複数形の単数用法は、反意の関係にあ
る〈単数〉と〈複数〉が同じ言語形式、
この場合、複数形に結びついた複数構
文の一用法であると理解できる。

5. 〈単数〉と〈複数〉—比喻と換喩の観点から
ここでは、単数構文の〈単数〉〈複数〉と
複数構文の〈複数〉〈単数〉の間の関係を比
喩と換喩の観点から論じる。

5.1. 〈単数〉〈複数〉と比喻と換喩

(24c)に示すように、〈単数〉と〈複数〉の
間の関係は〈部分〉と〈全体〉の間の関係に
なぞらえて理解される。これは、(24a)と(24b)
からの帰結である。

- (24) a. SINGULAR-PLURAL RELATION IS
UNDERSTOOD IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL-
AGGREGATE RELATION
b. INDIVIDUAL-AGGREGATE RELATION IS
UNDERSTOOD IN TERMS OF PART- WHOLE
RELATION (cf. Wodak 1998: 97, fn. 74)
c. SINGULAR-PLURAL RELATION IS
UNDERSTOOD IN TERMS OF PART-
WHOLE RELATION

(24a)には(25)のような裏付けがある。かい
つまんで言えば、数の概念は具象物の数とし
て把握されるということである。

- (25) Only at a rather advanced stage of
intellectual development does the abstract
character of the idea of number become
clear. To children, numbers always remain
connected with tangible objects such as
fingers or beads. (Courant and Robbins
1941: 1; cf. Lakoff and Núñez 2000: 54-56)

(24b)の裏付けは(26)から(28)である。

- (26) a. [E]very part is part of some whole and a
whole is whole with all its parts. (Saint
Augustine, *The Trinity*)
b. Each individual is part of many aggregates.
(Carlo D'Ippoliti, *Economics and Diversity*)
- (27) a. [W]hile each whole contains parts, it is part
of a larger whole. (Edmund A. Sherman,
Meaning in Mid-Life Transitions)
b. [E]ach aggregate contains individuals who
differ from each other. (Lemuel A. Moyé,

“Aggregation,” *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Vol. 1)

- (28) a. [E]very whole is made up of individual parts, each of which plays a crucial role in making the whole what it is. (Roland Hoksbergen, *Serving God Globally: Finding Your Place in International Development*)
- b. An aggregate is made up of a collective of individuals. (Mary A. Nies and Melanie McEwen, “Preface,” *Community/Public Health Nursing: Promoting the Health of Populations*, 6th ed., ed. by Mary A. Nies and Melanie McEwen)

〈部分〉と〈全体〉の間に成り立つ関係と並行的な関係が〈個体〉と〈集合体〉の間に成り立つ。まず、(26a)が示すように、〈部分〉と〈全体〉は be part of でつながれる。同様に、(26b)が示す通り、〈個体〉と〈集合体〉も be part of でつながれる。また、(27a)のように、〈全体〉と〈部分〉は contain でつながれるが、〈集合体〉と〈個体〉も contain でつながれる。(27b)が示す通りである。さらに、(28a, b)が示すように、〈全体〉と〈部分〉が be made up of でつながれるのと同じように、〈集合体〉と〈個体〉も be made up of でつながれる。

(24c)の裏付けは(29)である。上で確認した〈部分〉と〈全体〉の間の関係と並行的な関係が〈単数〉と〈複数〉の間に成り立つ。

- (29) a. Cannot it be said that . . . one is part of ten, the line part of the poem, the verse part of the chapter? (David Thomas, *Christian Doctrines in Islamic Theology*)
- b. [T]hree contains one three times. (*Educational Weekly*, Vol. II, No. 8)
- c. [T]hree is made up of one and one and one, or two and one, or one and two. (George Ricks, *Elementary Arithmetic and How to Teach It*)

(29a)では〈単数〉と〈複数〉が be part of でつながれ、(29b, c)では〈複数〉と〈単数〉が contain と be made up of でつながれている。

以上の議論をまとめると、〈単数〉と〈複数〉は〈個体〉と〈集合体〉に基づき、〈部分〉と〈全体〉の間の関係になぞらえて理解されると言える。そして、それぞれの概念は(30)のような対応関係にある。

- (30) 〈個体〉(INDIVIDUAL)と〈単数〉(SINGULAR)は〈部分〉(PART)に対応し、〈集合体〉(AGGREGATE)と〈複数〉(PLURAL)は〈全体〉(WHOLE)に対応する。

このうち、〈部分〉と〈全体〉については(31a, b)のような関係にあることがこれまでに指摘されている。〈個体〉〈単数〉と〈集合体〉〈複数〉の間の関係が〈部分〉と〈全体〉の間の関係になぞらえて理解されているとすると、(31a, b)に基づき(32a, b)のように言える。そうすると、単数構文の複数用法と複数構文の単数用法について(33a, b)のように説明が与えられる。

- (31) a. PART FOR WHOLE
b. WHOLE FOR PART
- (32) a. INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR FOR AGGREGATE/PLURAL
b. AGGREGATE/PLURAL FOR INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR
- (33) a. 単数構文の〈単数〉と単数構文の〈複数〉は(32a)によって関連づけられる。
b. 複数構文の〈複数〉と複数構文の〈単数〉は(32b)によって関連づけられる。

5.2. 〈単数〉〈複数〉とフレーム

ここでは、〈単数〉と〈複数〉の共通のフレームについてさらに考察を進め、(32a)と(32b)の間の関係について明らかにする。

〈単数〉〈複数〉が依拠する〈部分〉〈全体〉については、(34)の例が示すように、〈部分〉

が同時に〈全体〉である例があり、PART IS WHOLE, AND WHOLE IS PART と言える。

- (34) Full ownership comes only when you have made it [= the book] a part of yourself, and the best way to make yourself a part of it is by writing in it. (Mortimer J. Adler, “How to Mark a Book,” *The Saturday Review of Literature*)

ここでは、読者と本の間の関係に関して、一文の中で全体と部分の関係（大小関係）が入れ替わっている。部分は全体、全体は部分というわけである。

これと並行的に、〈個体〉〈単数〉が同時に〈集合体〉〈複数〉である(35)のような例がある。すなわち、INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR IS AGGREGATE/PLURAL, AND AGGREGATE/PLURAL IS INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR と言える。

- (35) a. We are one in two; two in one, both in each. (Hans Holzer, *Witches: True Encounters with Wicca, Covens, and Magick*)
b. [Y]ou see how connected we are, one in two, two in one. (Elena Ferrante, *The Story of a New Name*)

ここでは、2人で1人、1人で2人ということが述べられている。

PART IS WHOLE, AND WHOLE IS PART や INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR IS AGGREGATE/ PLURAL, AND AGGREGATE/PLURAL IS INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR を基盤として、(36)に示すような概念構造の組み替えが生じたと考えるのは自然であろう。

- (36) a. PART IS WHOLE, AND WHOLE IS PART > PART FOR WHOLE, AND WHOLE FOR PART
b. INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR IS AGGREGATE/ PLURAL, AND AGGREGATE/PLURAL IS INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR > INDIVIDUAL/

SINGULAR FOR AGGREGATE/PLURAL, AND AGGREGATE/PLURAL FOR INDIVIDUAL/ SINGULAR

以上の過程で(32a, b)は統合される。どちらも INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR FOR AGGREGATE/PLURAL, AND AGGREGATE/PLURAL FOR INDIVIDUAL/SINGULAR というフレームを共有しており、(32a)は前半部分、(32b)は後半部分を焦点化したものとして分析できる。

(36)で示したようなフレームの両義性は、(37)のような考え方によっても裏付けられるし（廣瀬幸生先生のご教示による例）、(38)のような表現の基盤であるとも言える。そして、〈個体〉と〈集合体〉の間の相互依存の関係は、(39)のような〈個人〉と〈社会〉の間の相互依存の関係に由来するものと言えよう。

- (37) It [= the acceptance of ambiguity] means that we know that good and evil are inextricably intermixed in human affairs; that they contain, and sometimes embrace, their opposites; that success may involve failure of a different kind, and failure may be a kind of triumph. (Sydney J. Harris, “Learning to Live with Ambiguity,” *Clearing the Ground*)
(38) a. Fair is foul, and foul is fair. (Shakespeare, *Macbeth* 1.1.12)
b. All for one, one for all. (Alexandre Dumas, *The Three Musketeers*)
(39) a. 個体あつての集合体、集合体あつての個体
b. 個人あつての社会、社会あつての個人
(cf. Carr 1961: 31-55; Cooley 1902: 1-13)

6. むすび

ここでは、(5a)と(5b)を(6)の everyday logic/ syllogism により組み合わせ、反意の意味が同一の言語形式に結びつくことを捉えた。そしてこの論理により、単数表現の複数用法と複数表現の単数用法を動機づけた。さらに、こ

これらの用法が共通のフレーム (INDIVIDUAL/ SINGULAR FOR AGGREGATE/PLURAL, AND AGGREGATE/PLURAL FOR INDIVIDUAL/ SINGULAR) に基づいており、それぞれ同一のフレームの異なる局面を焦点化したものであることを示した。

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Empirical Evidence to Consonant Harmony in English Reduplication *

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reduplication

1. Introduction

This study aims to find the occurrence of the Optimality Theoretic Faithfulness constraint AGREE (Pater and Werle (2003)) ranked *active* in adult grammar by conducting two types of reduplicative experiments with adult native English speakers and then searching for evidence of consonant harmony in synchronic productions. Pater (1997) defines consonant harmony as “a process by which nonadjacent consonants assimilate in place or manner” (p. 234). This is largely because, according to Fikkert et al. (2005), this active constraint is characterized as “the emergence of the unmarked” (TETU, hereafter) (McCarthy and Prince (1994)). Pater describes TETU as a scenario “in which a language generally permits a marked structure, but the unmarked counterpart emerges in a particular environment in which the constraint which forces the appearance of the marked structure (usually the Faithfulness Constraint) fails to apply” (p. 230). We address the following research question in the context of Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince (1995)) - whether long

distance consonantal assimilation, exclusively in terms of the primary Place of Articulation (PoA, hereafter) between a non-word base and reduplicative onsets, empirically occurs in English adult grammar when the reduplicants are derived from the base.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Sub-section 1.1 illustrates three types of English reduplication from the literature, followed by the investigation of directionality of reduplication in sub-section 1.2. Sub-section 1.3 introduces Correspondence Theory. Section 2 describes two tasks asking native English speakers to derive a nonsensical euphonious reduplicant from a nonce base and discusses the results of the experiments. Section 3 analyzes whether or not there is evidence for consonant harmony in each of these tasks.

1.1. Types of Reduplication

Reduplication refers to a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix/suffix provides certain phonological characteristics (Crystal (2008: 407)). We review a well-rounded classification of reduplication which is well-known in Singh (1982)’s work: “reduplication with no modification whatsoever, reduplication with phonological modification, and reduplication with morphological modifications” (p. 350). The generative process of reduplication without any modification, better known as identical reduplication, does not provide substantially fresh research impetus to the present work because this process merely involves total phonological copying of the base to the reduplicative form, as shown in *bye-bye* ([,baɪ.ˈbaɪ]), *boo-boo* ([ˈbuː.buː]), and *goody-goody* ([ˈɡuːd.i.ˌɡuːd.i]). (The diacritic mark ˈ represents the location of primary stress and the mark ˌ denotes secondary stress.)

Reduplication with phonological modification encompasses ablaut reduplication as well as rhyming reduplication. Crystal (2003) suggests that ablaut and rhyming reduplication represent the norm of reduplication in English, whereas identical reduplication is rare. As suggested by Thun (1960), ablaut reduplication frequently involves alternating the high front vowel [i] (which is a lax vowel) with the low front vowel [æ] or the low back vowel [ɒ], as in *riff-raff* ([ˈrɪf.ræf]), *chit-chat* ([ˈtʃɪt.ʃæt]), and *flip-flop* ([ˈflɪp.flɒp]). This vowel [i] is cross-linguistically considered the unmarked vowel (Minkova (2002)). A nucleus vowel with lower sonorancy proceeds a nucleus vowel with higher sonorancy. This indicates the contrasting height of the nucleus vowel in the base and reduplicant in ablauts (Minkova (2002)).

Noted by Wheatley (1866) as “a remarkable peculiarity” (p. 4) of English rhyming reduplication, a significant amount of rhyming reduplicative words starts with /h/, as in *hocus-pocus* ([ˌhʊkəs.ˈpʊkəs]), *hodge-podge* ([ˈhɒdʒ.pɒdʒ]), and *helter-skelter* ([ˌhel.tər.ˈskel.tər]). Other consonant onsets, such as /k/, /s/, /p/, and /r/, fill in the base onsets (Hladký 1998). For example, *kowtow* ([ˌkaʊ.ˈtaʊ]), *super-duper* ([ˌsuː.pə.ˈduː.pə]), *powwow* ([ˈpaʊ.waʊ]), and *ragtag* ([ˈræg.tæg]).

Infixing reduplication, which is construed as reduplication with morphological modification, does not occur as lexical items in English as abundantly as rhyming and ablaut reduplication (Crystal (2003)). For example, *bric-a-brac* [ˈbrɪk.ə.bræk], *tit-for-tat* ([ˌtɪt.fər.ˈtæt]), and *razz-ma-tazz* [ˌræz.mə.ˈtæz]. This is largely because English does not have a system of infixes (Crystal (2003: 128)). These representative examples show that infix reduplication in English involves both

morphemes and words.

1.2. Directionality of Reduplication

Up until this point, we have not considered which half of the reduplicative word is the base and which half is the reduplicant. The directionality of reduplication is important when we examine which segmental features of the base are transferred to the reduplicant. In order to consider this question, it depends on whether or not the base is a lexical item. Walker (2001) refers to lexical items as “those words that serve as dictionary entries, having an identifiable meaning and grammatical role and a relatively constant phonological shape” (p. 13).

Could a non-lexical item serve as a base from which a reduplicant is derived? Consulting *Collins Online Dictionary (COD*, hereafter) shows us that there appears to be no unified directionality of English reduplication. Some reduplicative words such as *willy-nilly* ([ˌwɪl.i.ˈnɪl.i]) are made up of a real word in the left half of the reduplicative word followed by a nonsensical word. Conversely, other reduplicative words such as *squeegee* ([ˈskwiː.dʒiː]) begin with a nonsensical word followed by a real word. Jespersen (1942) calls the left part of a reduplicative word the “kernel” (p. 4), and conventionally the kernel is the base and the right part of the reduplicative word is the reduplicant. Based on this understanding arrived at by Jespersen (1942), our study follows the view that reduplication in English involves suffixation.

A comprehensive review of the data in the corpus shows four patterns of lexicality regarding base and reduplicant.¹ In this study, we determine the lexicality of two halves of a reduplicative word by verifying the entry of the two halves of a reduplicative word in the *COD*.

As shown in (1a), some reduplicative words consist of both lexical base and reduplicant and others consist of both non-lexical base and reduplicant (e.g., (1b)). Benczes (2012) notes that the right half of *higgledy-piggledy* possesses a morsel of meaning dating back to the Old English *pig* and conversely the left half is a meaningless unit. According to the *COD*, Present-day English treats the combination of the two halves as the reduplicative word, so there is no separate entry for each half of the word in the *COD*. In current English usage, there are reduplicatives with a lexical base and non-lexical reduplicant (e.g., (1c)) as well as reduplicatives with a non-lexical base and a lexical reduplicant (e.g., (1d)).

(1) Lexicality of base and reduplicant

- a. *sing-song* ([ˈsɪŋ.sɒŋ]),
silly-billy ([ˈsɪ.lɪ.ˈbɪ.lɪ])
- b. *higgledy-piggledy* ([ˌhɪɡ.ɪd.i.ˈpɪɡ.ɪd.i]),
hoity-toity ([ˌhəʊt.i.ˈtəʊt.i])
- c. *gibber-gabber* ([ˈdʒɪb.ər.ˌdʒæb.ər]),
super-duper ([ˌsuː.pə.ˈduː.pə])
- d. *dingle-dangle* ([ˌdɪŋɡ.əl.dæŋɡ.əl]),
kowtow ([ˌkaʊ.ˈtaʊ])

This sub-section verifies a past study which claimed that the linear ordering of the base and the reduplicant cannot be semantically explained alone (Cooper and Ross (1975: 74)). Given the fixed directionality of English reduplication, with derivation from left to right, the non-lexicality of the base does not prevent the reduplicant from being derived.

1.3. Correspondence Theory

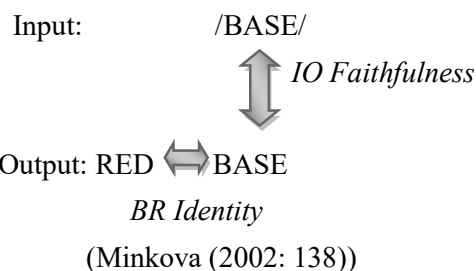
In this section, we review the basic framework of a constraint-based approach to reduplication. In Optimality Theory (OT,

hereafter) (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004), both the base and reduplicant are treated as a set of outputs (Minkova (2002)). The base has its own input, but the reduplicant does not have an input. The input for the base is determined by the *Principle of the Richness of the Base*, which removes any language-specific restriction from the underlying representation (McCarthy (1998)).

How is a reduplicant generated? In order to approach this question, the concept of Correspondence helps us see whether or not the matching of the input with the output of the base can be determined and the matching of the output of the base with parts of the reduplicant can also be traced accordingly.

The reduplicant is derived from the output form of the base, and hence technically speaking, the base and reduplicant are treated a string of outputs in OT. The following diagram suggested by Minkova (2002) sufficiently captures the general schema of Correspondence in the base-reduplicant relationship:

(2)



The faithfulness constraints check out any discrepancies between the base for input and output. For instance, segmental deletion and epenthesis are noted by dint of *IO Faithfulness*. In contrast, *BR Identity* identifies any disparity between the base form for output and the reduplicant that is derived from the base form for output.

Let us now examine a rhyming example in Correspondence Theory, in which the input base /houki/ generates the output base [hou̯.ki]. The reduplicant [kou̯.ki] is derived from the output base. This process of rhyming reduplication shows that *IO Faithfulness* is entirely respected since the output base maintains the identical segments to those in the input, whereas *BR Identity* is not partially respected because the reduplicant exhibits a rhyming onset filled in its onset position.

What determines the shape of reduplicative segments, typically rhyming onsets? Markedness constraints play a crucial role in determining the segments of these partial reduplicants, and markedness constraints also interact with faithfulness constraints. When *IO Faithfulness* constraints dominate markedness constraints in the derivation of partial reduplication, it follows that the grammatical output will satisfy the highest ranked faithfulness constraints, but this output may contain segments that offend subordinate markedness constraints. The grammatical output with the rhyming onset always contains segments that contravene *BR Identity* constraints. Accordingly, the *BR Identity* constraints are outranked by markedness constraints. This study adopts the cardinal constraint ranking to account for the derivation of a rhyming onset, which is commonly represented by [IO-Faithfulness » Markedness » BR-Identity], as suggested by McCarthy and Prince (1994) and Kager (1999).

2. Experiment and Results

This research was conducted from November 2015 to March 2016 and it had two parts: a "rhyme task" and a "free task." There were 18 native English speaker informants that participated in each task. They were all

college-educated and without any hearing or speaking disabilities. Each informant only participated in one of the two tasks. The informants were English teachers who lived in Japan, and their age ranged from late teens to fifties. The rhyme task required the informants to derive a euphonious rhyming nonsensical reduplicant from a given base as soon as possible and the free task required the informants to derive any type of euphonious nonsensical reduplicant from the base – i.e., full reduplicant (also known as identical reduplicant), rhyming reduplicant, ablaut reduplicant, or infixing reduplicant. The informants were shown a list of linguistic stimuli and were asked to listen to a pre-recorded utterance of each stimulus on a digital audio recorder (Olympus Voice Trek V-822). The informants' productions were recorded. Thirty non-word base forms were provided with legal syllable structures and phonotactic sequences. As can be seen below in (3), the stimuli are either monosyllabic, disyllabic, or trisyllabic.

(3) Linguistic stimuli

- a. keam ['ki:m], thambs ['ðæmz]
- b. thiglish ['θɪg.lɪʃ], striment ['straɪ.ment]
- c. vemony [vi.'mʌn.i:], nooity ['nu:.'ti.i:]

The rhyming onset consonant that was derived from the output for the base was classified according to its PoA. The classification of consonants in terms of PoA is illustrated in (4) below. The onset /w/ was not counted as PoA regarding the reduplicative onsets because /w/ is characterized as labial as well as dorsal (Hammond (1999)).

(4) PoA of the rhyming onsets

- a. Labial: /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, /w/

- b. Coronal: /t/, /d/, /r/, /l/, /s/, /z/, /dʒ/, /tʃ/,
/ð/, /θ/
c. Dorsal: /g/, /k/, /w/

Table 1 shows that the rhyme task produced 384 single onset reduplicants out of 527 valid responses, whereas the free task produced 237 single onset reduplicants out of 532 valid responses.

The numeral figures without the parentheses denote the number of reduplicative onsets exhibiting an identical PoA to the base onset. The figures in the parentheses indicate the number of derived reduplicants in total.

Table 1: Instances of CH in terms of PoA²

Types of assimilation	Rhyme Task	Free Task
Labial	38 (200)	21 (91)
Coronal	59 (141)	43 (120)
Dorsal	0 (43)	1 (26)
Total	97 (384)	65 (237)

Although the results showed a faithful mapping from base to reduplicant in terms of PoA, such as [vi.'mʌn.i:.bi.mʌn.i:], ['θɪŋg.lɪf.tɪŋg.lɪf], and ['gɔ:p.kɔ:p], the proportion of such mapping is rather negligible. Particularly, dorsal base onsets were rarely faithfully transferred to reduplicative onsets; 97 tokens in the rhyme task and 65 tokens in the free task conceivably stemmed from the direct effects of the active AGREE, requiring the PoA faithful reduplicative onset to be derived from the base onset. There are no cases at all of dorsal assimilation in the rhyme task and only one occurrence of dorsal assimilation in the free task: *gaupkaup* ['gɔ:p.kɔ:p]. This makes us wonder whether or not the informants had deliberately avoided the

dorsal consonant onset in deriving the rhyming reduplicant.

3. Analysis and Conclusion

The results suggest that in the rhyme task, labial assimilation is actualized by cross-linguistical markedness motivations and labials are preferred over dorsals in syllable initial position (Fikkert et al. (2005)). Following Fikkert et al. (2005), we suggest that the coronal consonants are used as the default onset for the rhyming reduplicants. To provide statistical evidence for this claim, the following hypotheses were tested with a chi-squared test. The null hypothesis was that the informants did not discriminate labial consonants from dorsal consonants in generating rhyming reduplicants, and the alternative hypothesis was that they discriminated labials from dorsals in their production. The chi-squared test gives $\chi^2(1) = 14.08$, with a significant difference between the occurrence of labials and dorsals in the rhyming task, compared with $\chi^2(1) = 2.25$ (n.s.) regarding the occurrence of labials and dorsals in the base onsets. Accordingly, the null hypothesis is rejected, and this indicates that labial assimilation in the rhyme task resulted from the efficacious combination of active AGREE and RHYME (Yip (2001)) in the adult grammar. Each of these constraints are listed in (5) below;

- (5) a. AGREE: the place of articulation of a segment must coincide with the place of articulation of the other one (Pater and Werle (2003)).
b. RHYME: the reduplicant must rhyme with the base (Yip (2001)).
c. [LABIAL: the word must start with the labial consonant (Fikkert et al. (2005)).

In this regard, TETU resulted from Consonant Harmony in terms of PoA in the non-word reduplicative generation of tokens. Otherwise, Consonant Harmony did not significantly emerge. The chi-squared test gives $\chi^2(1) = 2.31$ (n.s.), indicating that in the free task, there was no significant difference between the occurrence of labials and dorsals in reduplicative onsets. Addressing the issue of dorsal eschewal for the rhyming onset, we ascribe this phenomenon to the activity of the constraint *[DORAL];

- (6) *[DORSAL: the word must not start with the dorsal consonant (Fikkert et al. (2005)).

This study concludes that Consonant Harmony between a non-word base onset and a non-word reduplicant onset is a rare phenomenon in adult English grammar, except when exclusively rhyming reduplicants are generated. The research methodology which this study adopts, with a contrastive range of reduplicative tasks, provides fresh evidence of consonant harmony in the rhyme task. This methodology would be worth testing in other languages which are also rich in reduplication.

* The author acknowledges valuable comments from Shin-ichi Tanaka, Haruka Fukazawa, Kiyoko Yoneyama, and Kohei Nishimura.

NOTES

¹ The corpus here refers to a considerable body of 1,218 reduplicative words collected and collated from past studies, including Thun (1960), Hladký (1998), and Wheatley (1866).

² CH is the acronym for consonant harmony.

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On Two Types of *from-to* PPs in English and the Parallelism in Syntax *

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Keywords : coordination, parallel structure,
path/range PPs, English, syntax

1. Introduction

This paper argues in support of Williams' (1994) observations regarding *bivalent* PPs in English (Williams (1994: 12–15)) and his generalization that *from-to* PPs form a single constituent as in (1), unlike other pairs of PPs (e.g., *for-to*).

- (1) John played the banjo [from Alabama to Louisiana]. (Williams (1994: 12))

Furthermore, I attempt to show that there exist two syntactically different types of *from-to* PPs in English. I then claim that the construction is better captured if we consider it an instance of *parallel structures* (Goodall (1987)), such as coordination, parasitic gaps, and copula constructions (cf. Asada and Kato (2011)).

The organization of this paper is as follows. In Section 2, we observe that there are two distinct *from-to* PPs in English on the basis of several syntactic tests. Section 3 provides a syntactic analysis of “coordinated PPs,” which correspond to Williams's (1994) *bivalent functors*. In Section 4, I show a consequence of

the analysis, which is followed by a summary of the paper.

2. Two Types of *from-to* PPs and Displacement

It has been observed that *from-to* PPs form a constituent, unlike other arbitrary pairs of PPs in English (Williams (1994)). In (2), [*from-to*] is topicalized, while preposed [*to-for*] is ungrammatical. Since only one constituent can be topicalized in English, Williams concludes that [*from-to*] forms a single constituent.

- (2) a. [*From Alabama to Louisiana*] John played the banjo.
b. *[*To Mary for Bill*] I gave a book.
cf. I gave a book to Mary for Bill.
(Williams (1994: 12))

He notes that “*from-to* means more than the sum of its parts,” indicating a *path* (Jackendoff (1990)) by specifying its endpoints (Williams (1994: 13)).

I point out, however, that this is not always the case. Different syntactic tests show that there exist two types of *from-to* PPs, which I call separable PPs and coordinated PPs, exemplified respectively in (3a) and (3b).

(3) Two Types of *from-to* PPs:

a. Separable PPs:

Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *from Tokyo to Sendai*.

b. Coordinated PPs:

The range of diabetes sufferers stretches *from children to adults*.

We will also see that the latter is actually ambiguous between (3a) and (3b) in terms of its structure.

A crucial difference between the two is

whether it is possible for *from*-PP or *to*-PP to appear independently. In (4), either [*from Tokyo*] or [*to Sendai*], as well as [*from Tokyo to Sendai*], can appear as a modifier phrase. On the other hand, this is impossible in (5) or (6) unless [*from-to*] appears together as in (5a) and (6a).

(4) Separable PPs:

- a. Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *from Tokyo to Sendai*.
- b. Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *from Tokyo*.
- c. Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *to Sendai*.

(5) Coordinated PPs (*path*):

- a. John played the banjo *from Alabama to Louisiana*.
- b. *John played the banjo *from Alabama*.
- c. *John played the banjo *to Louisiana*.

(6) Coordinated PPs (*range*):

- a. The range of diabetes sufferers stretches *from children to adults*.
- b. *The range of diabetes sufferers stretches *from children*.
- c. *The range of diabetes sufferers stretches *to adults*.

Given these observations, I argue that coordinated PPs cannot be syntactically separated, while separable PPs, as the name indicates, can. In the following subsections, I show that this is indeed the case through two syntactic tests, topicalization and clefting.

2.1. Topicalization

Let us observe the data in (7) through (9). All the examples in (7) are acceptable. The grammatical contrasts between (7) and (8–9) indicate that a coordinated PP cannot undergo displacement unless the whole *from-to* PP is preposed, as in (8d) and (9d).

(7) Separable PPs:

- a. Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *from Tokyo to Sendai*.
- b. *From Tokyo*, Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *to Sendai*.
- c. *To Sendai*, Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *from Tokyo*.
- d. *From Tokyo to Sendai*, Taro {took Shinkansen/went}.

(8) Coordinated PPs (*path*):

- a. John played the banjo *from Alabama to Louisiana*.
- b. **From Alabama*, John played the banjo *to Louisiana*.
- c. **To Louisiana*, John played the banjo *from Alabama*.
- d. *From Alabama to Louisiana*, John played the banjo.

(9) Coordinated PPs (*range*):

- a. The range of diabetes sufferers stretches *from children to adults*.
- b. **From children*, the range of diabetes sufferers stretches *to adults*.
- c. **To adults*, the range of diabetes sufferers stretches *from children*.
- d. *From children to adults*, the range of diabetes sufferers stretches.

Next, we move on to another displacement test.

2.2. Clefting

The same contrast holds true with clefting. In (10), both *from*-PP and *to*-PP can be independently clefted, though the acceptability is slightly degraded in (10b) and in (10c). Indeed, even *wh*-clefts are allowed, as in (11).

(10) Separable PPs:

- a. Taro {took Shinkansen/went} *from Tokyo to Sendai*.

- b. ?It was *from Tokyo* that Taro {took Shinkansen/went} to Sendai.
- c. ?It was *to Sendai* that Taro {took Shinkansen/went} from Tokyo.
- d. It was *from Tokyo to Sendai* that Taro {took Shinkansen/went}.

(11) Where Taro went was *from Tokyo to Sendai*.

I claim that the oddness of (10b) and (10c) is due to the pragmatic factors regarding focalization in clefts (Takaomi Kato p.c.). Indeed, they become perfectly acceptable if they are immediately preceded by the corresponding *wh*-questions, as in (12).

(12) Q: {*From/To*} *where* did Taro take Shinkansen?

A1: It was *from Tokyo* that Taro took Shinkansen to Sendai. (=10b)

A2: It was *to Sendai* that Taro took Shinkansen from Tokyo. (=10c)

A sharp contrast may also be drawn between the separable and coordinated PP in the case of clefting, as shown in (13). The sentences in (13b–c) and (14b–c) remain severely ungrammatical even if they are preceded by the corresponding *wh*-questions, unlike (10b–c). As predicted, the sentence becomes grammatical only when the whole [*from-to*] is clefted, as in (13d) and (14d).

(13) Coordinated PPs (*path*):

- a. John played the banjo from Alabama to Louisiana.
- b. *It was *from Alabama* that John played the banjo to Louisiana.
- c. *It was *to Louisiana* that John played the banjo from Alabama.
- d. It was *from Alabama to Louisiana* that John

played the banjo.

(14) Coordinated PPs (*range*):

- a. The range of diabetes sufferers stretches from children to adults.
- b. *It is *from children* that the range of diabetes sufferers stretches to adults.
- c. *It is *to adults* that the range of diabetes sufferers stretches from children.
- d. It is *from children to adults* that the range of diabetes sufferers stretches.

So far, we have seen that *from-to* PPs are ambiguous between separable and coordinated. Different syntactic tests show that the latter must always appear as [*from-to*]. A word of caution is necessary here. I do not exclude the possibility that separable PPs behave as coordinated PPs. Thus, the separable PPs are ambiguous in this sense. In the next section, I propose a syntactic analysis of coordinated PPs.

3. Analysis

First, let us determine the hierarchical relation between *from*-PP and *to*-PP. Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) observe that some English prepositions are irrelevant to binding. Relevant data are presented in (15).

- (15) a. He talked [_{PP} *to* them_i] about each other_i.
- b. ?The detective worked [_{PP} *from* Mary_i] back to herself_i.

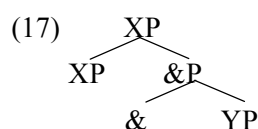
(Baltin and Postal (1996))

I assume that *to* or *from* in coordinated PPs also does not affect the binding relation in syntax. Now let us consider the relevant data in (16). There is a contrast between (16a) and (16b): The Bound Variable Reading (BVR) is available only for (16a), which indicates that *from*-PP c-commands *to*-PP, but not vice versa.¹

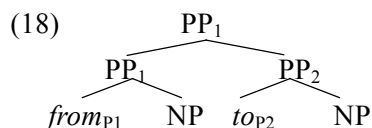
- (16) a. A line stretches from every man_i to his_i daughter. (BVR)
 b. *A line stretches from his_i daughter to every man_i. (BVR)

3.1. Coordinated PPs and Coordinate Structure

Following the insight of Williams (1994), I propose that coordinated PPs in English have a structure resembling coordination. A number of studies have been conducted in the literature on the syntactic structure of coordination since the advent of X'-theory around the early 1980s (see Progovac (2003) for an overview). Some propose that a coordinator is a syntactic head that projects its phrase (&P), in which the first conjunct resides in the specifier and the second conjunct in the complement positions (Zoerner (1995) and Johannessen (1998), among others), while others defend the multiple dominance structure (Citko (2005) and Kasai (2007) among others, which dates back to McCawley (1982) (Naoki Fukui p.c.)). I do not commit myself to a particular analysis of coordinate structure in this paper, since it does not affect the current proposal. For the sake of discussion, I adopt Munn's (1993) adjunction analysis of coordinate structure. He proposes that coordinate structure is an adjoined phrase in which the second conjunct complemented by &-head adjoins to the first conjunct in head-initial languages.² This is schematically illustrated in (17).



A possible application of this analysis to the coordinated PPs would be something like (18).³



In the rest of this Section I provide empirical evidence for the current analysis of *from-to* PPs.

3.2. Coordinated PPs and the Coordinate Structure Constraint

In Section 2, we saw that the coordinated PPs are inseparable. The relevant syntactic indivisibility naturally derives from the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) in (19).

- (19) In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.
 (adapted from Ross (1967))

It is widely known that (the second half of) the CSC is “obviated” when an element (*what* in (20b)) is extracted in Across-the-Board (ATB) fashion, as in (20).

- (20) a. *What did Mary [send *t* on Monday] and [receive the parcel on Wednesday]?
 b. What did Mary [send *t* on Monday] and [receive *t* on Wednesday]?
 (Kato (2006: 1–8))

If the coordinated *from-to* PPs have coordinate structure (or coordination-like structure) as in (18), then the current analysis predicts that they will also show this obviation effect with ATB extraction. This prediction is indeed borne out. While (21a) and (21b) are ungrammatical, ATB movement saves the structure in (21c).⁴

- (21) a. *What did John play the banjo from the east of *t* to the west of Louisiana?

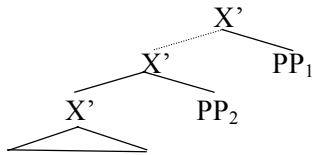
- b. *What did John play the banjo from the east of Alabama to the west of t ?
- c. (?)What did John play the banjo from the east of t to the west of t ?

That the data in (21c) are grammatical provides support for the current analysis and the coordination-like structure in (18). Before we conclude the paper, I briefly discuss an implication of the proposal.

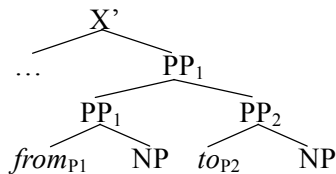
4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen that there are two types of syntactically distinct *from-to* phrases in English, separable and coordinated. They are schematically illustrated in (22).

(22) a. Separable PPs:



b. Coordinated PPs:



Different syntactic tests show that certain *from-to* PPs (*path* and *range* PPs) bear similarities to coordinate structure. The current study may contribute to the theory of parallel structure (Goodall (1987)), such as coordination, copula, and parasitic gap constructions. It has been observed that ATB-extraction obviates the CSC in the copula construction as well in (23).⁵

(23) a. Your grade in Syntax II is my grade in Phonology I.

- b. *Which class _{i} is your grade in t_i my grade in Phonology I?
- c. *Which class _{i} is your grade in Syntax II my grade in t_i ?
- d. Which class _{i} is your grade in t_i my grade in t_i ?

(Asada and Kato (2010: 1))

I have argued that certain *from-to* PPs in English also involve non-canonical coordinate structures that abide by the CSC. The findings of this study support Asada and Kato's (2010) observation that parallel structure is not limited to canonical coordination.

Appendix

In this section, I touch on a potential problem of labeling via feature-sharing (Chomsky (2013)) when it comes to coordinate structure. Although the original analysis of Munn (1993) makes recourse to adjunction, let us assume that (17), (18), and (22b) are created via set-merge (not via pair-merge, keeping to the simplest conception of Merge). Chomsky (2013: 45) emphasizes that labeling via feature-sharing must involve agreement. Since mere matching of features does not suffice, {PP₁, PP₂} and other coordinate structures may remain unlabelable. I suggest that the agreement restriction of labeling via feature-sharing should be weakened in some cases. For instance, the semantic symmetry of coordination might be a precondition for this obviation. Although Chomsky (2013: 46) briefly notes that the label of a structured coordination is the label shared by the conjuncts, the jury is still out on this issue.

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NOTES

¹ Although the sentence is degraded, *to*-PP may c-command *from*-PP when they surface as [*to-from*] in (i).

(i) a. ??A line stretches to every son_i from his mother_i. (BVR)

b. A line stretches to his_i mother from every son_i. (BVR)

² I do not discuss head-final languages in this paper. See Kobayashi (to appear) for an analysis of *kara-made* ‘from-to’ PPs in Japanese.

³ I would like to thank Takaomi Kato (p.c.) for his insightful comments regarding the structure of *from-to* PPs.

⁴ Williams (1994) also provides the following example in (i). However, there is a possibility that the data is an instance of the separable PPs since the predicate is *go*, which is identical to (3a), repeated here as in (ii).

(i) What did John go from the top of to the bottom of? (Williams (1994: 14))

(ii) Taro went from Tokyo to Sendai. (=3a)

Thus, I reexamined the ATB-effect with the data in (21) based on the coordinated PPs in (3b). I would like to thank Takeo Kurafuji (p.c.) for pointing this out to me at the 35th Conference of the English Linguistic Society of Japan.

⁵ Asada and Kato (2011) successfully unify the movement restrictions in the copula construction and coordinate structure. See Asada and Kato

(2011) for more details.

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所有構文における名詞の意味機能*
(Semantic Functions of Noun Phrases in
Possessive Constructions)

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キーワード：定性効果, 譲渡(不)可能所有,
変項名詞句, 飽和性, 指示性

1. はじめに

本論では、英語の所有構文の目的語名詞句に焦点を当てる。具体的には、西山(2003, 2009, 2013)の日本語の分析を踏まえ、英語の所有構文の定性効果について論じ、名詞句の意味機能の観点から、英語の所有構文がどのように特徴づけられるかを考える。

2. 定性効果と譲渡不可能所有

(1)において、have の目的語に定名詞句は現れることができず、定性効果が出る。

(1) John has {a/*the} sister.

従来、所有構文の定性効果は、目的語に親族関係や身体部分などの関係概念を表わす名詞が用いられる場合に生じるとされてきた。親族関係や身体部分は、他人に譲渡できないために譲渡不可能所有と呼ばれ、この概念が、所有構文の定性効果の原因とされる。(de Jong (1987), Keenan (1987), Partee (1999)等)

一方、譲渡不可能所有の対の概念となる、譲渡可能所有が表わされる場合には、その効果は出ないように思われる。

(2) John has {a/the} book.

(2)において、book は、他人に譲渡可能である。この場合、目的語は定表現でも容認される。したがって、一見すると、所有構文の定性効果は、譲渡可能な所有か否かという概念の違いによって説明できるように思われる。

しかしながら、それだけでは捉えられない例がある。(3)をみてみよう。

(3) Q. What will you give to Eliza for her birthday?

A. Eliza has {a/*the} mirror, so I won't give one to her.

(3)の対話において、(3A)の have の目的語 mirror は譲渡可能所有を表わす名詞であるが、定性効果が生じる。

それに対して、(4)のように、譲渡不可能所有を表わす名詞 sister が用いられた場合でも、定性効果が見られない場合もある。

(4) John has the sister as a dance-partner.

よって、目的語名詞の表わす所有関係が譲渡可能かどうかという区別によって、定性効果は適切に説明できないといえる。

本論では、英語の所有構文の定性効果を説明するためには、構文全体の解釈を考慮する必要があると主張する (cf. Kobukata (2009))。具体的には、「所有解釈」と「所持解釈」の二つの解釈を提案する。その上で、西山の日本語の分析と本論の主張との関連を探る。

3. 構文の解釈と定性効果

3.1. 所有解釈

(5a)において、目的語名詞句は譲渡不可能所有を表わす。修飾句 of his own が用いられていることから分かるように、(5a)はジョンが妻帯者であることを表わす。つまり、ジョ

ンの内在的な特性もしくは属性を述べる文である。ある人が妻であるかどうかは、「 α の妻」の α の値が決まらなければ分からない。**Wife** という名詞は、ジョンの妻となつてはじめて完全な名詞句として成立する。このように、主語の特性や属性を述べる場合の解釈を「所有解釈」と呼ぶことにする。

- (5) a. John has a wife (of his own). 【妻帯者】
b. wife: α の妻

注意したいのは、所有解釈は、目的語に譲渡可能所有を表わす名詞が用いられる場合にも得られる点である。

- (6) a. Eliza has a car. 【車持ち】
b. Eliza {owns/possesses} a car.

(6a)が(6b)と同義である場合、(6a)は、Elizaが「車持ち」であるという彼女の特性を表わす文と理解できる。よって、「所有解釈」とは、目的語に譲渡不可能所有に加え、譲渡可能所有を表わす名詞が用いられる場合にも得られる解釈である。

3.2. 所持解釈

次に所持解釈の場合をみてみよう。

- (7) Q. What can I use to hold these papers down?
A. Eliza has a mirror.
(A'. # Eliza {owns/possesses} a mirror.)
(Tham (2006: 142))

(7Q)への返答である(7A)には、譲渡可能所有を表わす名詞が用いられ、Eliza が実際にその鏡の法的な所有者(legal owner)だという解釈とはならない。(7A)は、Eliza が誰かに借りた鏡を所持しているという解釈が可能である。その証拠に、(7A')のように、主語に所

有者を要求する動詞、own, possess を用いて返答することはできない。また、このような差は、(8)からも確認できる。

- (8) a. Eliza has a mirror, but it doesn't belong to her.
b. #Eliza {owns/possesses} a mirror, but it doesn't belong to her.

(8a)では、「Eliza が目的語の鏡を自分の意のままに利用可能であるが、その鏡の所有者ではない」ということが表わされている。それに対して、(8b)のような、必ず主語に所有者を要求する動詞が用いられる場合には、ownership をキャンセルすることはできない。このように「主語が目的語を、自由に利用したり、活用できる状況にあるが、主語が目的語の所有者ではない」という解釈を、「所持解釈」と呼ぶことにする。所持解釈は、(8a)のような物理的なモノだけでなく、有性のヒトを目的語にとる場合にも得られる解釈である。(9)をみてみよう。

- (9) Paul: I have a brother of Jack's as secretary.
Kim: Oh, that's funny! Anne has a sister.
(Jensen and Vikner (1996: 8))

(9)において、have の目的語は、譲渡不可能所有を表わす brother, sister 等のヒトである。Paul が「僕は Jack の弟を秘書に雇っている」と発言したのに対して、Kim が「Anne の秘書は Jack の妹だ」と返答する。Kim の発言は、Anne に妹がいるという、Anne の血縁関係を述べているのではない。つまり、Anne 以外の第三者の妹が彼女の秘書だという解釈となり、秘書という関係において、Anne と一時的に関係を結んでいるだけである。よって、(10)が問題なく容認される。

- (10) Ann has a sister as her secretary, but she

doesn't have a sister of her own.

(10)の前件の文では、Ann と下線部の sister との関係は、姉妹関係ではなく、as 句で表現される秘書としての関係である。よって、後続の節で、Ann 自身に妹がいないと矛盾なく続けられる。このように、所持解釈は、主語と目的語との間に、文脈によって指定された関係が存在する場合に得られる。

以上のことから、所持解釈は、モノ、ヒトに関係なく、さらに、譲渡可能所有、不可能所有のどちらを表わす名詞が用いられても得られる解釈である。

3.3. 構文の解釈にもとづく定性効果

以上を踏まえると、所有構文の定性効果が適切に説明できる。(11), (12A)は、have の目的語にそれぞれ譲渡不可能所有、可能所有を表わす名詞が用いられ、主語の内在的な特性を表わす。たとえば、(12A)は「Eliza は鏡を既に持っているから、誕生日プレゼントに鏡をあげるのはやめておこう」と返答しており、彼女の所有物に関しての解釈しかできず、所有解釈が得られる。この文脈で目的語は定名詞句にできない。

(11) John has {a/*the} sister of his own.

(12) Q. What will you give to Eliza for her birthday?

A. Eliza has {a/*the} mirror, so I won't give one to her.

したがって、目的語に譲渡可能所有、不可能所有のどちらの名詞が用いられていても、所有解釈が得られる場合は、一様に定性効果が生じる。

一方、(13), (14)は、所持解釈が得られる文脈である。例えば、(13)の対話では、「紙を留め置いておくものとして、何かないか？」と問われる場面であり、紙を留め置いておく

適切なモノさえ見つければ十分で、誰かがそれを所有しているかどうかまでは、問題とならない。つまり、所持解釈が得られる場面となる。このような状況では、一様に定性効果がみられない。このことは、(14)の目的語が譲渡不可能所有の名詞の場合も同様である。

(13) Q. What can I use to hold these papers down?

A. Eliza has {a/ the/ John's} mirror.

(14) A. I have a brother of Jack's as secretary.

B. Oh, that's funny! Anne has {a sister/ Bill's sister}.

以上のことから、定性効果が生じるか否かは、目的語名詞が譲渡不可能な所有関係を表わすということだけでは適切に説明できず、構文自体がどのような文脈で用いられ、所有解釈・所持解釈のどちらが得られるかという視点が必要となる。

4. 日本語の所有構文の目的語名詞句の特徴

本節では、西山(2003, 2009, 2013)の日本語の分析をみていく。西山は、日本語の存在構文や所有構文を、変項名詞句という理論的概念を取り入れて詳細に分析する。まず、(15a)と(16a)とは、存在構文としては、区別すべきだとする。この二つの存在文は、場所表現を伴うがどうかで異なり、(15a)は、場所表現があるので、場所存在文と呼ぶ。ここで、(15a)の存在主体である「本」は、指示的名詞句となる。

(15) a. 机の上に本がある。 【場所存在文】

b. 存在主体「本」：指示的名詞句

一方、(16a)は、場所辞を伴わない。西山は、こうした文を、絶対存在文と呼び、場所存在文と区別する。(16a)の意味は、波線部分の名詞句の対象となる人が、ある特定の場所に

ないという意味ではない。(16a)は、(16b)のような存在文以外で言い換えることが可能であり、場所とは無関係の文といえる。西山は、絶対存在文における存在主体(波線部分)は、(15a)とは異なり、指示的名詞句ではないとする。すなわち、絶対存在文の存在主体は、(16c)のような命題関数を表わすと考え。そして、このような命題関数を表わす名詞句のことを変項名詞句と呼ぶ。

- (16) a. この問題を解くことができる人間はいない。 (西山 (2013: 254))
 b. 誰もこの問題を解くことができない。
 c. [x がこの問題を解くことができる人間である]

さらに、西山(2009, 2013)は、絶対存在文と所有構文との密接な関係も指摘している。

- (17) a. 花子(に)は、夫がある/いる。
 b. 花子の夫が存在する。
 c. ≪[x が花子の夫である]を満たす x の値が空でない≫
 (西山 (2013: 287))

絶対存在文(17b)において波線部分は変項名詞句である。(17b)は、(17c)のような意味を表わし、「花子が結婚している」という所有構文と近い意味をもつ。このことから、西山は、(17a)の所有構文における「夫」も変項名詞句の主要部だと考える。仮に所有構文の「夫」を指示的名詞句とするならば、「夫」を「太郎」等の具体的な名前で置き替えた(18)も所有構文と解釈できるはずである。しかしながら、(18a)は非文であり、(18b)は、所有構文以外の意味をもつ。したがって、所有構文における「夫」は、指示的名詞句ではなく変項名詞句とされる。

- (18) a. *花子(に)は、太郎がある。
 b. 花子(に)は、太郎がいる。
 (西山 (2013: 287))

西山は、所有構文の「A(に)は B がある/いる」における A と B の関係を、主に次の三種類に分ける(西山(2009, 2013))。その際、絶対存在文「A の B がある」における「A の B」を手掛かりにして分類する。そして、それに基づいて所有構文の意味構造を提案する。ここで注目すべきは、三種類すべてにおいて、B の名詞に変項が介在する点である。

まず、一つ目の関係が、パラメータと非飽和名詞の関係である。(19)において、波線部分の B に相当する名詞「夫」、「必読書」、「合格者」などの名詞は、非飽和名詞と呼ばれる。非飽和名詞とは、パラメータを含み、そのパラメータの値が決まらない限り、それ自体では外延を決定できないような名詞を指す。例えば、「夫」という名詞は、「 α の夫」の α の値が決まらなければ、その人が夫であることを決めることはできず、「花子の夫」となってはじめて完全な名詞となる。

①パラメータと非飽和名詞(unsaturated noun)の関係

- (19) 花子の夫/このコースの必読書/あの試験の合格者/豊臣家の敵/フランスの国王

二つ目の関係が、(20)のような「部屋」と「窓」との関係である。あるものが窓であるかどうかは、部屋とは関係なく決めることができ、その意味で「窓」は飽和された名詞である。しかし、「窓」は「部屋」を構成する一部であり、どの部屋にも属さない窓などはありえない。つまり、「その部屋」と「窓」とが譲渡不可能な関係となり、「 α の窓」という変項を含むものとして理解される。

② 基体表現と譲渡不可能名詞の関係

- (20) a. その部屋(に)は窓がない。
b. その部屋の窓が存在しない。

三つ目の関係は、(21a)の所有構文に見られる関係である。(21a)は、(21b)の絶対存在文に近い意味をもつ。(21b)の「田中先生の本」は、文脈によって様々な解釈が可能である。つまり、「田中先生の本」は、「田中先生と関係 R を有する本」と解釈することができ、「 α の本」とは、(21c)の意味をもつ。注意すべきは、ここにも変項 α が介在する点である。

③ A と B との間の語用論的關係 R

- (21) a. 田中先生(に)は本がたくさんある。
b. 田中先生の本がたくさん存在する。
c. [x が α と関係 R を有する本である]

西山は、こうした A と B の関係に基づいて、所有構文の意味構造を次のように提案する。すなわち、所有構文とは、その述語の部分に絶対存在文を内在し、その絶対存在文が主語の属性となり、全体として主語を叙述する措定文となっていると考える。

- (22) a. 太郎の妹がいる。
b. [x が太郎の妹である]を満たす x の値が存在する

- (23) 太郎は妹がいる。

例えば、(23)の所有構文の意味構造は、次のように考える。「妹」は非飽和名詞であり、パラメータとして変項 α をとる。「 α_i の妹」は[x が α_i の妹である]という命題関数を表わす変項名詞句である。(23)は、(22b)の意味を表わす絶対存在文を内在する。そして、この絶対存在文が、主語の「太郎」に対する叙述をおこなう属性を表わす(西山(2013:292))。

ここで気を付けるべき点は、非飽和名詞「妹」の変項 α が、主語の「太郎」によって束縛される関係にある点である。西山は、「妹」

のパラメータが、意味論レベルで主語によって束縛される変項と解釈すべきだとする。つまり、どんな文脈が与えられても、(23)は、(24a)のような「太郎」以外の妹がいるという解釈にもならなければ、(24b)のような「太郎」を直接妹のパラメータに入れる解釈もできない。このように、西山は、所有構文における非飽和名詞のパラメータを、主語によって束縛される束縛変項とみなす。

- (24) a. ≪太郎は[次郎の妹]が存在する≫
b. ≪太郎は[太郎の妹]が存在する≫

(西山(2013: 293))

以上を踏まえて、西山は、(25)のような所有構文「A(に)は B がいる/ある」の成立条件を提案する(西山 (2013: 297))。

- (25) a. 「B がいる/ある」の部分が絶対存在文の意味構造を有し、特に、B が変項名詞句としての条件を満たしていること。
b. A の指示対象に「B がいる/ある」で表される属性を帰すための条件(A によって束縛されている変項が B のどこかに不随していること)が満たされていること。

5. 所有構文とリスト存在文との違い

(25)のように所有構文を規定すれば、(26b)の下線部分は、所有構文とはならない。

- (26) a. 妻：わたしたちが旅行中、お祖父さんをほっといて大丈夫かしら？
b. 夫：大丈夫だよ。お祖父さんには花子がいるから。
c. ≪[x が祖父の世話役である]を満たす x の値として花子がいる≫

(26ab)の対話において、夫の発言は、(26c)

のような意味を表わす。西山は、(26b)の下線部の文を、所有構文ではなく、リスト存在文とする。

ここで注意しなければならないのが、仮に、「花子」が「お祖父さんの孫」であったとしても、(26b)の下線部の文は、「お祖父さんに花子という孫がいる」という血縁関係を表わす所有構文とはならない点である。この文において、Bに相当する「花子」は、それ単独で通常個体を指示する指示的名詞句であり、変項を含む名詞とは考えられない。そのため、(25)の成立条件にあてはまらずに、所有構文とはならない。

所有構文とリスト存在文とでは、変項がどのように介在するかが異なる。確かに、(26b)のリスト存在文にも変項は介在するが、Bの名詞「花子」は、その変項を埋める具体的な値であり、指示的名詞句である。一方、所有構文におけるBは、指示的名詞句ではなく変項名詞句であり、その変項が主語によって束縛される関係にある。つまり、所有構文とリスト存在文には、ともに変項は介在するが、Bが変項の具体的な値(指示的名詞句)なのか、変項名詞句なのかで異なる。

6. 西山(2003, 2013)の分析との関連

本節では、西山の分析を踏まえて、本論の主張との関係をみていく。まず、所有解釈とは、西山の分析における所有構文で得られる解釈に対応するといえる。つまり、所有解釈とは、「主語が目的語の変項を束縛する場合にのみ得られる解釈である」と再定義することができる。所有解釈を得る場合には、haveの目的語に(27a)の sister 等の非飽和名詞が現れる場合もあれば、(27b)の car 等の飽和名詞が現れる場合も含まれる。いずれの目的語名詞にも、主語に束縛される変項(束縛変項)が存在する。つまり、所有解釈が得られる場合の目的語名詞句は、変項名詞句といえる。Sister 等の非飽和名詞は、 α 's sister という変

項を含み、car 等の飽和名詞は、 α 's car のように変項を要求する解釈と読み替えられる。

(27) a. John has a sister (of his own).

b. Eliza has a car.

一方、所持解釈が得られる文は、西山のリスト存在文に相当すると考えられる。すなわち、所持解釈とは、「目的語名詞が飽和的に解釈される場合にのみ得られる解釈である」と言い換えることができる。所持解釈を得る場合とは、(28A)のように、目的語に飽和名詞が用いられる場合もあれば、(29)のような非飽和名詞が現れる場合も含まれる。非飽和名詞は、その性質上、変項を含む名詞である。しかし、所持解釈を得る場合は、その変項が既に埋められた解釈となる。例えば、(29B)における sister は、 α 's sister における変項 α が、先行文脈に登場する Jack という値で既に埋まっている。つまり、所有解釈の場合とは異なり、この場合の α は、同一文内の主語によって束縛される変項ではない(自由変項)。所持解釈を得る場合は、非飽和名詞が飽和的な解釈を得ているといえる。この点で、所持解釈を得た場合の目的語名詞句は、指示的名詞句となる。

(28) Q. What can I use to hold these papers down?

A. Eliza has a mirror.

(29) A. I have a brother of Jack's as secretary.

B. Oh, that's funny! Anne has a sister.

(27a)における sister と(29B)の sister は、同じ非飽和名詞である。しかしながら、その意味機能は異なる。つまり、非飽和名詞 sister のとる変項 α が、主語によって束縛されるのか、それとも既に文脈内で埋められているのかという違いがある。言い換えると、所有解釈と所持解釈とでは、その目的語名詞句の意

味機能が異なる。所有解釈における目的語は、変項名詞句であるが、所持解釈が得られる場合は、指示的名詞句である。したがって、その名詞句が変項名詞句であるか、指示的名詞句であるかは、目的語の意味だけに着目しては分からないということになる。名詞句がどのような意味機能をもつかは、その当該の文の解釈を考慮する必要があるのである。

7. おわりに

本論では、英語の所有構文について、所有解釈と所持解釈という二つの解釈を提案し、その違いから定性効果を説明することを試みた。所有解釈と所持解釈の違いは、目的語名詞句の飽和性や指示性、また主語から束縛される変項があるかどうかという点から捉えなおすことが可能である。英語の所有構文における目的語名詞句について、その表わす意味は同じでも、定性効果の面で異なる振る舞いを見せる場合がある。そのため、名詞句の意味だけで、この現象を適切に説明することはできず、名詞句がどのような意味「機能」を持つのかという点に注目する必要がある。そして、名詞句がどのような意味機能を果たすかは、当該の構文の解釈を考慮する必要があるのである。

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時制と *wh* 一致現象：極小理論による一考察

(Tense and *Wh*-agreement: A Study under the Minimalist Theory)

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キーワード： *wh* 一致, 時制, 前置詞残留, 空演算子, 格

1. はじめに

本稿では、英語の演算子とその音形の有無との関係について論じる。演算子の移動のデータを観察すると、演算子が音形を持つかどうかによって文法性に差が生じることがわかる。本稿では演算子の音形の有無と結びついた統語的素性の存在を提案し、いくつかのデータを分析する。

- (1) a. I know who I should criticize.
- b. I know a man who I should criticize.
- c. I know who to criticize
- d. *I know a man who to criticize.

(1a)は時制を持った疑問節が埋め込まれている例、(1b)は時制を持った関係節が含まれている例、(1c)は時制を持たない疑問節が埋め込まれている例、(1d)は時制を持たない関係節が含まれている例である。これらを見ると、疑問節が補文として埋め込まれている場合には時制の有無にかかわらず文法的であるが、関係節の場合には、非時制節だと非文法的になってしまうことがわかる。英語において、演算子を CP の指定部に持つ節に疑問

節と関係節があるが、前者では時制の制限がないのに対して後者では非時制節は容認され得ない。本稿では、これがなぜなのかという問いについて分析を行う。

2. 考察データ

本節では、上記の問いを議論する際に重要と考えられるデータについて整理する。

2.1. 関係節内の動詞の補部に目的語

- (2) a. I know a man who I should criticize.
- b. I know a man I should criticize.
- c. *I know a man who to criticize.
- d. I know a man to criticize.
- (3) a. This is the sight which you should see before you die.
- b. This is the sight you should see before you die.
- c. *This is the sight which to see before you die
- d. This is the sight to see before you die.

これらの文は、関係節内の動詞の補部に目的語が存在する場合である。(2a)は、関係節が時制節であり、演算子が音形を持って現れている例、(2b)は関係節が時制節で、演算子に音形がない例、(2c)は関係節が非時制節で演算子が音形を持つ例、(2d)は関係節が非時制節で演算子が音形を持たない例である。これらを見ると、関係節が時制を持つ場合は演算子に音形がある場合もない場合も文法的になるが、関係節が非時制節の場合は演算子に音形があると非文法的になり、音形がないと文法的になる。(3)も同様のデータである。

2.2. 関係節内の動詞の補部に前置詞句

- (4) a. I know a man on whom I should rely.
- b. I know a man whom I should rely on.

- c. I know a man I should rely on.
 - d. I know a man on whom to rely.
 - e. *I know a man whom to rely on.
 - f. I know a man to rely on.
- (5) a. a topic on which you should work
 b. a topic which you should work on
 c. a topic you should work on
 d. a topic on which to work
 e. *a topic which to work on
 f. a topic to work on

(Lasnik 1990: 83)

(4)と(5)は関係節内の動詞の補部に前置詞句が存在する場合である。(4a-c)は、関係節が時制節の場合である。(4a)は演算子が音形を持ち、さらに前置詞随伴により前置詞句が移動している例、(4b)は、演算子が音形を持ち、前置詞を残して単体で移動している例、(4c)は演算子が音形を持たず、前置詞を残して単体で移動している例である。一方、(4d-f)は関係節が非時制節の場合である。(4d)は演算子が音形を持ち、前置詞随伴を起こしている例、(4e)は演算子が音形を持って単体で移動している例、(4f)は演算子が音形を持たずに前置詞を残して単体で移動している例である。これらを見ると、関係節が時制節の場合は前置詞残留・随伴・音形を持たない演算子の移動のどれも可能であるが、関係節が非時制節の場合は、演算子が前置詞随伴している場合は文法的となるが、音形をもつ演算子が前置詞残留していると非文法的となってしまう。しかし、音形のない演算子が前置詞残留していたら文法的となる。(5)も同じ点を示すデータである。

ここまでのデータを踏まえると、非時制節から特定の演算子を移動させると非文法的になる、つまり、移動元が問題になっているように考えられそうだが、2.3 節及び 2.4 節のデータを見ると、移動元だけが問題というわけではないことがわかる。

2.3. 演算子が不定詞節を越えて時制節に着地

- (6) a. The area on which I try to work is macroeconomics.
 b. The area which I try to work on is macroeconomics.

(6)は *wh* 句が *try* の補部にある非時制節を越えてその上にある CP の指定部に着地した例である。(6a)は前置詞を随伴して *wh* 句が移動した例、(6b)は前置詞を残したまま *wh* 語が単体で移動した例である。ここでも前置詞を伴って *wh* 語が移動していると文法的となる。しかし、(6b)を見ると、これまでのデータでは非時制節から音形のある演算子単体が移動すると非文が生じていたが、ここでは *try* の補部の非時制節（不定詞節）から音形を持つ演算子単体が移動しているにもかかわらず文法的となっている。

2.4. 演算子が時制節を越えて不定詞節に着地

- (7) a. The man on whom to think that you rely is Tom.
 b. *The man whom to think that you rely on is Tom.

(7)の例は、*wh* 句が *think* の補部の時制節を越えてその上の非時制節の CP に着地した例である。(7a)は前置詞随伴の例、(7b)は前置詞残留の例である。この例においても、前置詞随伴を伴う場合は文法的である。しかし、(7b)が示すように、これまでのデータでは時制節からの演算子の抜き出しに制限がなかったにもかかわらず、時制節から演算子単体が移動していると非文が生じる。

3. 提案

これまでのデータを観察すると、関係節が不定詞節である場合には、音形を持ちかつ前置詞を伴わない演算子によって導かれることができない、という一般化が得られる。そして、この一般化を説明するためには、演算子の移動元や音形の有無、移動先の節の時制とを結びつけて分析する必要がある。そのための仕組みとして、 χ 素性という素性の存在を提案する。

3.1. χ 素性

χ 素性は[+wh]を持つ C、wh 語、V、P、T[+tense]に備わることができる素性であり、その中でも wh 語と C が持つ χ 素性は他の χ 素性との一致により消えなければならないと仮定する。また、ここでは χ 素性は演算子の格の具現を妨げている素性であると考え

3.2. 移動する wh 句

移動する演算子として、①音形を持つ演算子、②前置詞句、③音形のない演算子の3種類に関して、 χ 素性の観点から考える。

まず、音形を持つ演算子については、 χ 素性を持って現れるために格の具現を妨げられているものが、一致により χ 素性の消去を受けた場合に格が具現化され、音形を持つようになる

と考える。前置詞随伴が生じる際は前置詞句が移動するが、これについては、前置詞が補部に入る wh 語の[+wh]素性が素性浸透することで前置詞句全体が[+wh]を持ち、それにより随伴が生じると考える。そして、本分析では、wh 語の[+wh]素性が素性浸透する際、同じく wh 語がもつ χ 素性も素性浸透し得ると考え、それにより、前置詞句には χ 素性を持つものと持たないものの2つが存在すると考える。 χ 素性を持つ前置詞句とは、上述のとおり前置詞の補部の wh 語の持つ[+wh]素性に付随

して χ 素性も前置詞句に素性浸透したものである。 χ 素性を持たない前置詞句とは、wh 語の持つ χ 素性が素性浸透する前に前置詞との一致によって消去されたため、素性浸透が起らなかった前置詞句である

と考える。次に、音形のない演算子について議論する。音形のない演算子には2種類存在すると仮定し、1つは、 χ 素性が消去されていないため格が具現化されずに音形が現れない演算子、もう1つは、 χ 素性が消去されたため音形が現れたが、PF で表面上音が消されたものである

と考える。以下、このような χ 素性の仮説に基づき前に述べたデータを分析していく。

4. 分析

まず、(2)のデータについて考える。

(2a)では、演算子が *criticize* の補部に現れて、*criticize* と C-command 関係による一致が起きることで、動詞である *criticize* の持つ χ 素性により演算子の χ 素性が消去され、格が具現されて *who* という音形を持つようになる。関係節の C は[+wh]素性を持つので、 χ 素性を持つが、その補部の TP は時制節であるため、 χ 素性を持つ T[+tense] との C-command 関係により C の χ 素性も消去される。よって、 χ 素性が消去された CP に χ 素性が消去された演算子が移動することになる。演算子と C の持つ χ 素性は消えなければならないと仮定したが、これらが全て消去されているため文法的となる。

(2b)で *criticize* の補部に生成される演算子は、*criticize* によって χ 素性が消去され音形を持つようになったが、表面上 PF で音が消去されているものであると考える。関係節の C は上述の理由により χ 素性が消去される。よって、この文でも消去されなければいけない χ 素性が全て消去されているので、(2b)は文法的となる。

(2c)においても、演算子が *criticize* によっ

て χ 素性が消去され、音形を持つようになる。関係節のCは χ 素性を持つが、補部のTPは非時制節である。T[-tense]は χ 素性を持たないので、Cの χ 素性はT[-tense]との一致では消去されず、保持されたままとなる。こうして、消去されなければならないCの χ 素性が残ったままとなるので、(2c)は非文となる。

(2d)でcriticizeの補部に生成される演算子については、動詞からの χ 素性の一致を受けず、 χ 素性が消去されずに音形が現れないままである。また、関係節Cの χ 素性は(2c)と同じ理由で消去されずに残る。 χ 素性を持つため音形が現れていない演算子が χ 素性を持つCの指定部に移動し、CP内でのSpec-head関係により両者が一致することで双方の χ 素性が消去されると考える。演算子、Cのどちらの χ 素性も消去されているので、(2d)は文法的となる。

続いて、(4)のデータを分析する。(4a)では前置詞句が移動している。この前置詞句は、whomから[+wh]素性が素性浸透したものであるが、 χ 素性については素性浸透前に動詞relyから一致を受けて消去されていると考える。よって、この前置詞句は[+wh]素性を持つが、 χ 素性を持たない。関係節のCの χ 素性は(2a)と同じ理由で消去される。こうして、 χ 素性を持たない前置詞句が χ 素性を持たないCの指定部に移動するので、消去される必要のある χ 素性が全て消去されているため(4a)は文法的である。

(4b)の分析は(2b)と同様である。onにより χ 素性を消去された演算子が、T[+tense]との一致により χ 素性を消去されたCの指定部に移動し、消去される必要のある χ 素性が全て消去されているので文法的である。

(4c)は(2b)と同様に分析される。演算子については、onにより χ 素性を消去され、音形を得た演算子が、PFで表面上音が消去される。(4b)と同様の理由で関係節Cの χ 素性

も消去される。よって、消去されるべき χ 素性が全て消去されており文法的となる。

(4d)において移動している前置詞句については、whomの持つ[+wh]素性ととともに χ 素性も素性浸透したものであると仮定する。よって、この前置詞句は χ 素性を持つ。関係節のCも χ を持つが、(2c)と同じ理由によりCの χ は消去されずに残ったままとなる。 χ を持つ前置詞句が χ を持つCの指定部に移動し、そのCP内でのSpec-head関係による一致によって両者の χ 素性が消去されるため、(4d)は文法的である。と考える。

(4e)の分析は(2c)と同様である。 χ 素性が消去され、音形を持つようになった演算子が、 χ 素性を保持したままのCの指定部にいどうする。こうして、Cの χ 素性が消去されずに残ったままとなるので、非文が生じる。

(4f)は(2d)と同様にされる。演算子の χ 素性は基底位置では消去されないと仮定する。 χ 素性を保持した演算子が χ 素性を保持したCの指定部に移動し、Spec-headの関係で両者の χ 素性が消去され、文法的となる。

(6)では、tryの補部にあるCの持つ χ 素性は、それがC-commandするT[-tense]との一致によっては消去されないが、tryとの一致によって消去される。演算子が最終的に着地するCの χ 素性は、それがC-commandするT[+tense]との一致によって消去される。

(6a)において、移動する前置詞句は、(4a)で見たように、 χ 素性を持たない前置詞句であると仮定すると、消去される必要のある χ 素性はすべて消去されているため文法的となる。また(6b)では、移動するのは χ 素性を消去されたため音形を持つようになったwhichであるので、同じく文法的である。

(7)では、thinkが補部に取るCの χ 素性はそれがC-commandするT[+tense]との一致で消去されるが、演算子が最終的に着地するCの χ 素性は、それがC-commandするT[-tense]との一致では消去されずに残ったままとな

る。

(7a)では、移動する前置詞句が(4d)と同様に χ 素性を持つ前置詞句であると仮定する。その前置詞句が最終的に χ 素性を保持したままの C の指定部に移動するので、CP 内の Spec-head 関係による一致によって両者の χ 素性が消去されるため、(7a)は文法的となる。

(7b)では、移動するのは χ 素性を消去され音形を得た演算子の *whom* であるので、これが χ 素性を保持する C の指定部に着地しても一致が起らず、C に χ 素性が残ったままとなり、非文が生じる。

最後に、(1)に関して分析を述べる。(1b)、(1d)はそれぞれ(2a)、(2c)と同じ種類のデータであるので、前述の分析がそのまま当てはまる。

(1a)では χ 素性が動詞 *criticize* によって消去された *who* が、 χ 素性が T[+tense]との一致により消去された C の指定部に移動するので、消去される必要のある χ 素性が全て消去されているため文法的となる。

(1c)では、 χ が消去され音形を持った *who* が、(2c)と同じ理由により χ 素性が消去されていない C の指定部に移動する。その C とそれを C-command する動詞 *know* との一致によって疑問節の C の χ 素性が消去されるため、文法的となる。

5. 今後の課題

本研究では、 χ 素性の一致に、C-command 関係による一致と、Spec-head 関係による一致を用いているが、これら 2 つの関係に頼ることなく、一つの統語的關係のみによってすべてのデータを扱うことが可能かどうかという問いについては、今後の課題としたい。また、 χ 素性とは一体どのような素性であるのか、その具体的性質についてをさらに議論を深めていく必要もあり、その点についても今後の課題にせざるを得ない。

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[a/the N][the N of NP] 形式表現とラベル 付け計算法

([a/the N][the N of NP] Sequence and Labeling
Algorithm)

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キーワード : DP, 同格, 付加部, ラベル付け

1. はじめに

英語には、(1)に示すような表現形式が可能である。

(1) [a city] [the size of New York]

ここでは、便宜上、(1)の形式を含むものを二重 DN 形式と呼ぶことにする。(1)の形式は、英語の変種に関わらず広く用いられる表現形式である。本稿は、二重 DN 形式の統語的・意味的特徴を考察し、Chomsky (2013)で提案されたラベル付け計算法に基づいた派生メカニズムを提案する。また、ここでの分析は、a-形容詞が名詞句に後続する場合にも適用できることを明らかにする。

2. 二重 DN 形式の統語的・意味的特徴

大規模コーパス(Corpus of Contemporary American English (以下、COCA)、British National Corpus、Corpus of Global Web-Based English))で二重 DN 形式を検索してみると、(1)に示すように、二つ目の DN 連鎖の部分に the size を含む連鎖が多いことがわかる。しかしながら、問題の形式は the size of との組み合わせに限定されず、他の組み合わせも可

能であり、生産的である。(2)がこの事実を示している。また、アメリカ英語について Corpus of Historical American English を見てみると、the size of を含む二重 DN 形式は 1900 年に現れ、the color of を含む連鎖も 1910 年に現れている。この事実は、二重 DN 形式がほぼ同時期に用いられ始めたことを示している。

(2) a. a tree the height of a skyscraper

b. a child the age of mine

c. a cake the shape of a dog

d. a flower the color of milk

e. a paper the length of my thesis

f. a quarter the price

(3) [a city] of [the size of New York]

(3)に示すように、二重 DN 連鎖の間には、前置詞 of が介在できることから、(1)における the size of New York は、主要部 city の補部位置を占めているように思える。しかしながら、問題の形式は、常に of を伴うわけではなく、介在可能な前置詞が in の場合や前置詞を伴うと不適格と判断される場合が存在する。

(4) a. a child in the age of mine

b. a cake in the shape of a dog

c. a flower the color of milk

d. a paper the length of my thesis

次に、問題の DN 連鎖間には、別の修飾語句や挿入句が生起できる。

(5) a....the sky [above the trees] the color of a
bruise (COCA)

b....A city [of 600,000] the size of
Milwaukee (The Guardian 2016/06/28)

c....I have been visiting the world's largest
refugee camp, a city [made of mud and
sticks] the size of New Orleans called

Dadaab, in north-eastern Kenya.

(New York Times 2015/10/09)

d....and poked a hole [in the picture] the size
of the end of my thumb. (COCA)

これらの事実、二つ目の N を含む要素は補部ではなく、付加部位置を占めていることを示している。

さらに、二つ目の DN 連鎖は等位接続でき、この連鎖の前に程度表現が生起できる。

(6) a....in the case of [a couple] [the income of
the partner] and [the size of the family]
(COCA)

b....[a population] [one-tenth the size of the
U.S] (Wall Street Journal)

(6b)は、程度表現を含む表現が二つ目の DN 連鎖に先行しているという点で(7)と同じである。

(7) I have never known a patient make [quite so
rapid a recovery]. (Radford 2004: 78))

(8) [DP [DEGP [D' [D] [NP]]]]

(9) Only constituents of the same type can be
coordinated. (Radford 2004: 86))

Radford (2004:79)は、(7)で括弧に示した部分は(8)の構造を持つと仮定し、程度表現はそれ自身 Degree Phrase を形成すると考えている。これらの事実と等位接続に関わる制約(9)を考え合わせると、二つ目の DN 連鎖は、この部分のみでまとまった構造をなし、DP を形成していると言える。

他方、二重 DN 形式は、形式全体としても DP を形成していると考えられる。この表現形式は、DP が生じる位置、すなわち、動詞と前置詞の目的語位置、不定詞の意味上の主語位置、二重目的語の位置に生じることができる。(10)がこの事実を示している。

(10) a. Mr. Barton equates the two by comparing
[a city the size of Ithaca, N.Y.,] to the
continent of Europe. (COCA)

b. With [a face the color of tomato],...
(Daily Mail 2015/06/30))

c.“It's crazy for [a city the size of
Maywood], or for any city not to know
what it has,” said Lowell Goodman, ...
(Los Angeles Times 2016/10/27)

d. Harcy then poured us each [a cup of
coffee [the color of sunlight velvet, and
we drank... (Eater 2016/11/29)

二重 DN 形式が DP を形成しているのであれば、null-D を持ち複数形の名詞が生じる場合があること、形容詞が生起可能であることを予測する。この予測は、(11)(12)から正しいことがわかる。

(11) a. It described a man with [eyes the size of
clocks]. (COCA)

b. From major cities such as New York to
[cities the size of Huntsville],...(COCA)

c. Laredo has become a city of global
commerce, with [truck stops the size of
stadium parking lots].
(New York Times 2014/05/17))

(12) ...a thick-necked guy with shaggy hair and
[a bushy mustache the color of beach
sand]. (COCA)

最後に、二重 DN 形式の意味的特徴に触れる。二つ目の DP は、意味的には同格節と同様に補足的内容を表している。(13)では、二つ目の DP は someone の特徴である顔の色に関して補足的説明を加えている。

(13) Someone was staring down at her-a face
the color of ginger ale, long and straight
black hair, and large, dark, teardrop-shaped

eyes.

(COCA)

(15) The city is the size of New York.

3. 二重 DN 形式の派生

ここでは、二重 DN 形式を含む連鎖がどのようなメカニズムによって派生されているのかを考察する。二重 DN 形式表現は、Chomsky (2013)で提案されたラベル付け計算法に基づいて派生されると考えられる。

(14) The Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky (2013))

- a. When a maximal projection XP and a head Y are merged, Y becomes the label.
- b. When a maximal projection XP and another maximal projection YP are merged,
 - i. if XP moves, Y becomes the label,
 - ii. if the head of XP and that of YP have the same feature F, F becomes the label.

(14)のラベル付け計算法では、併合される2つの要素が共に語彙項目でない場合、一方が移動し、他方の主要部のみが見えるようにしなければならない。既に見たように、二重 DN 形式は、それぞれの DN 連鎖が DP を形成し、全体としても DP を形成している。ラベル付け計算法に従えば、問題の二重 DN 形式は二つの DP をなしているの、どちらかの DP が移動しなければならないことになる。二つ目の DN 連鎖である DP₂を移動させた場合、一つ目の DN 連鎖である DP₁に付加（ペア併合）させることにより、第一成分のラベルは DP となる。結果として、DP₂は付加詞の位置を占め、2節で見た統語的特徴を捉えることが可能になる。他方、DP₁が移動し、be 動詞と関連づけられる場合、DP₁は主語位置へ内的併合され、第一成分のラベルは DP₂に基づいて行われることになる。この派生過程を経て、(15)が派生されることになる。¹中島 (2016)は、DP is DP や DP に後続する同格節にここでの分析を適用している。

DP₂が移動し、付加部位置を占める派生では、次のことが予測される。(16b)から明らかのように、これまでの生成文法研究 (Hung (1982)等)では付加構造からの抜き出しは阻止されることが指摘されている。二重 DN 形式を含む要素の一部に抜き出しを適用させると、(17)に示すように、不適格な文になる。つまり、先に述べた二重 DN 形式における DP₂は、付加構造を持つ要素と同じ振る舞いを示すことがわかる。

- (16) a. He was angry [when she hid what]?
b. *What was he angry [when she hid what]? (Radford (2004: 218))
- (17) a. *The size of Tokyo, I want to live in [a city [the size of Tokyo]].
b. *What city do you want to live in [a city [the size of what city]]?

以上のように、ラベル付け計算法に基づく派生は、二重 DN 形式を含む連鎖の派生をうまく捉えることができる。しかしながら、このラベル付け計算法に基づく派生において問題となるのは、なぜ最初の段階でセット併合ではなく、ペア併合による派生が適用されないのかということである。ここでは、Rubin (2003)に従い、ペア併合が最初から適用されるのは、{XP, YP}のいずれかが機能範疇 Mod(fication)を含む場合と仮定する。Rubin (2003)によれば、形容詞句、関係詞節、副詞句などには機能範疇 Mod が存在し、その範疇が具現化されたものとして中国語では de、タガログ語では na、もしくは-ng、ルーマニア語では de が生じるとされている。(18)-(20)の例がこの事実を示している。

(18) Chinese

na yiben (zai zhuozi-shang *(de)) shu

- that one at table-top Mod book
- (19) Tagalog
bahay *(na) maganda
house Mod beautiful
- (20) Romanian
Nu-mi place covorul *(de) sub masa
not-to-me pleases rug-the Mod under
table
'I don't like the rug under the table.'
(Rubin(2003: 665))

Rubin の分析に従えば、機能範疇である Modification を有する場合に初めからペア併合が適用されることになる。ここでは、英語の DP 内には Modification が存在しないと仮定する。この仮定のもとでは、複数の DP がある派生段階で存在する場合、セット併合のみが適用され、ラベル付け計算法に基づいていずれかの DP がペア併合、ないしは内的併合されることになる。

4. さらなる分析

4.1. a-形容詞を含む連鎖

この節では、3 節で示した派生が、(21)に示す a-形容詞を含む連鎖にも適用できることを考察する。

- (21) a. the baby (now) asleep
b. the house ablaze

Markus (1998)や Nagano (2016)によると、a-形容詞における a は、通時的には、本来、on, of, in などに由来する。the house ablaze、the baby asleep であれば、それぞれ、on fire, on sleep に該当する。この対応関係は、1 節で見た二重 DP 形式を含む連鎖と同じである。a-形容詞に関しては、Nagano (2016)の分析を援用し、P head が Predication Phrase head の位置に移動して a-に変化し、全体として Predication Phrase を形成していると仮定する。

ただし、the baby asleep のような連鎖の場合、the baby は、a-形容詞を含む Predication Phrase の指定辞の位置に内包されておらず、the baby asleep は全体としては DP であると考ええる。全体として DP であると考ええる根拠を(22)の事実から得ることができる。

- (22) a. Hold the baby (now) asleep.
b. As she pictured the baby asleep in her arms,... (COCA)
c. Give a smile to the baby asleep.

(22)は、a-形容詞を含む連鎖が動詞や前置詞の目的語位置に生起できることを示している。換言すれば、DP が生起する位置を占めていることになり、a-形容詞を含む問題の連鎖は DP であることがわかる。

さらに、問題の連鎖が全体として Predication Phrase を形成していないことは、次の事実から明らかである。小節 (small clause)は、Bowers (1993)の分析によれば、Predication Phrase を形成している。この場合、(23)から明らかのように、AP に Wh-移動の適用は可能である。しかしながら、(23)とは対照的に a-形容詞に Wh-移動の適用はできないことを(24)が示している。

- (23) a. I consider Bill happy.
b. How happy do you consider Bill?
(Williams (1984:134))

- (24) a. There were people asleep in there.
b. *How asleep were there people?

この事実から a-形容詞が Predication phrase を形成し、その指定辞を DP が占めているという分析は採用できないことがわかる。(21)は、全体として DP を形成していると考えられる。ここで、a-形容詞を含む DP に(14)の派生が適用されると考えると、DP、Predication Phrase が生成された段階でラベル付け計算

法に基づき、いずれか一方が移動の適用を受けることになる。a-形容詞を含む Predication Phrase にペア併合が適用されると、the house ablaze のような DP が生成され、他方、DP が移動し be 動詞と関連づけられる場合、DP は主語位置へ内的併合され、The house is ablaze. のような文が生成されることになる。Predication Phrase をなす a-形容詞にペア併合が適用されると、この要素は付加位置を占めることになる。そこで付加位置を占めることを示唆する言語事実について確認をしておく。付加位置を占める要素は、(25)が示すように、語順を入れ替えても適格な表現となる。同様のことが a-形容詞を含む(26)でもあてはまる。この事実から、問題の a-形容詞にはペア併合が適用され、付加位置を占めていると言え、(14)の派生が支持されることになる。

- (25) a. the student with long hair in the corner
b. the student in the corner with long hair
(Radford ((1988:189))

- (26) a. the baby asleep in the crib
b. the baby in the crib now asleep

また、a-形容詞を含む DP に(14)の派生が適用されているとみなすことで、(24b)にも説明を与えることが可能になる。既に見たように、付加位置からの要素の抜き出しは阻止される。ここでの分析では、a-形容詞が付加位置を占めているので、Wh-移動の適用は阻止され、(24b)は非文になると考えられる。

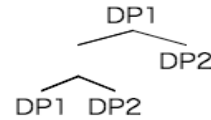
さらに、(14)の派生は(27)の事実をうまく捉えることができる。

- (27) As sure as I am that the sea is dark, Right now, seen from up here, with [[the water] [the color of jade]] and [[the sky] [ablaze]].
(COCA)

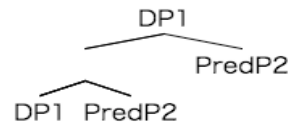
(27)の例は、二重 DP 連鎖と並行的な構造を

a-形容詞を含む DP が持ち、なおかつ同じ範疇をなすことによって等位構造が可能になっている例であるとみなすことができる。

(28)



(29)



(27)において等位接続された二つの要素である the water the color of jade と the sky ablaze は、それぞれ(28)(29)の構造を持つと考えられる。この事実と(9)を考え併せると、二重 DN 形式を形成している DP と a-形容詞を含む DP が同じ派生をたどり、同じ構造を持つために等位接続が可能になることを支持するものである。

4.2. -able 形容詞を含む連鎖

Bolinger (1967)が指摘しているように、DP に-able 形容詞が後続できる。

- (30) the seat available

この事実は、-able 形容詞を a-形容詞と同じように分析できる可能性を示唆するものである。しかしながら、(31)が示すように、(21)とは異なり、-able 形容詞は動詞や前置詞の目的語、及び主語位置に生起することは不可能である。

- (31) a.*Pat took a seat available.
b.*I looked for a seat available.
c.*A seat available was in the last row.
(Sag and Wasow (1999: 254))

また、Larson and FrancMarus^{ic} (2004)によれば、(30)のような後位用法の場合、Bolingerの観察とは異なり、二つ以上の形容詞が必要であり、尚且つ一番右側に位置する形容詞を含む要素が重い要素でなければならない。(32)がこの事実を示している。

- (32) a. *the rivers explored navigable
b. The rivers [explored][navigable in the summer] were surveyed.
(Larson and FrancMarus^{ic} (2004:271))

さらに、-able 形容詞は、a-形容詞とは対照的に、前位用法が可能であり、名詞の前位置に生じることができる。

- (33) Let us consider all available options.

(32)(33)に見られる特徴は、単独で名詞に後続する a-形容詞とは異なるものである。従って、-able 形容詞を含む DP は、a-形容詞を含む DP とは同じ分析ができないことになる。-able 形容詞を含む連鎖は、DP を形成している。このことは、(32b)に受動化が適用されていることから支持される。(31)-(33)に示した事実は、-able 形容詞は *modification phrase* を含み、最初からペア併合が適用されて付加部位置を占めることを示唆していると考えられる。² ここで注意すべきは、前節で見た中国語、タガログ語、ルーマニア語とは異なり、(31)に示すように、英語では形容詞単独の場合、ペア併合が適用されないという事実である。英語の場合、ペア併合の適用は重い要素に限定されることが考えられる。実際、英語の場合、(32b)の用例に加えて、(34)などでも同様のことが観察される。形容詞が補部をとる場合適格と判断されるが、形容詞単独の場合是不適格となる。

- (34) a. *a book yellow

- b. a book yellow with age

5. 結語

本稿では、二重 DN 形式を含む表現の統語的、意味的特徴を明らかにした。二重 DN 形式は、それぞれの連鎖が DP を形成し、全体としても DP をなしていることを明らかにした。また、二重 DN 形式の統語的派生は、ラベル付け計算法によって捉えられること、この派生によって移動の対象となる DP₂ が付加部位置を占めていることを併せて明らかにした。さらに、同様の派生メカニズムが a-形容詞を含む DP にも適用できること、a-形容詞を含む DP と -able 形容詞を含む DP とでは派生が異なることを明らかにした。

注

¹ ここで問題になるのは、二重 DN 形式の場合、DP₁ではなく、なぜ DP₂のみが移動対象となるのかという点である。Moro (2000)が分析したコピュラ文とは異なり、二重 DN 形式は二つの DP を入れ替えることはできない。したがって、DP₁と DP₂にはある種の叙述関係が常に確保されなければならないと仮定しておく。このことは、(15)からも支持されると考えられる。

² -able 形容詞が名詞句に後続せずに単独で生じている場合は、Predication Phrase を形成すると考えられ、Wh-移動の適用が可能である。

- (i) a. How available was the drinking water to the workers? (COCA)

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Corpus

British National Corpus

Corpus of Contemporary American English

Corpus of Historical American English

Global Web-Based English

On the Derivation and Status of Nominal Combinations: Analysis as Converted Nouns*

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Keywords : N-N compound, conversion, lexicon, stress shift, formal adjustment

1. Introduction

There has been substantial debate over whether nominal combinations, such as *ice cream*, constitute N-N compounds or NPs, and yet no definite answer to this question has been found.¹ A problem is that these forms exhibit behavioral non-uniformity regarding the word-phrase distinction. Some combinations behave like words, others behave like phrases, and yet others show mixed behaviors. For example, a stress pattern is very popular as a criterion distinguishing N-N compounds and NPs; main stress falls on left-hand nouns in the former case and on right-hand nouns in the latter case. However, notoriously, nominal combinations have various stress patterns. This is illustrated in Table 1, which indicates on which nouns OED and two pronunciation dictionaries mark main stress, either the left-hand or the right-hand nouns. Some combinations may have lexical left-hand stress while others may have phrasal right-hand stress. Still others may have both types or an even stress. Furthermore, interestingly, different dictionaries may mark different patterns on the same item (the abbreviations used in Table 1 are

the following: L= left-hand stress, R= right-hand stress, E= even stress; ‘~’ also denotes that the items in question have variable stress patterns).²

Table 1 Various Stress Markings in Dictionaries

Items	OED	CPD	LPD
apple pie	L~R	R	R
beef-steak	E	L~R	L
city hall	R	R	R
girlfriend	L	L	L
ice cream	E	L~R	R
master key	L~E	L	L~R
night school	L	L	L
nightwatch	L	L~R	L~R
oil well	L	L	L
peanut butter	L~R	R	L~R

Another example of the behavioral non-uniformity is given in (1).

- (1) a. * a háir-net and a mosquito one
(Giegerich (2004: 12))
b. I wanted a séwing machine, but he bought a wáshing one.
(Bauer (1998: 77))
(my stress marks)

The above nominal combinations all have lexical left-hand stress. In this sense, they can be assumed to be N-N compounds. However, the nominal combinations in (1a) and those in (1b) differ in syntactic opacity. As seen from the ungrammaticality, the former are opaque to *one* substitution. In contrast, the latter allow the right-hand noun to be substituted with the pro-form *one*. In this sense, the nominal combinations in (1b) are analyzable as NPs.

This paper aims to offer a new proposal for the derivation and status of nominal

combinations in terms of conversion. Specifically, we demonstrate that nominal combinations constitute NPs and not N-N compounds in English. Based on this demonstration, we claim that putative N-N compounds in English can be best analyzed as converted nouns; they convert from phrasal categories, i.e. NPs, into lexical ones, i.e. N⁰s.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 points out that N-N compounds are quite exceptional in English, which suggests that their existence in English is very doubtful. Based on the discussion in Section 2, Section 3 shows that putative N-N compounds can be described as converted nouns. Section 4 makes concluding remarks.

2. The Exceptionality of N-N Compounds in English: Does English Really Have N-N Compounds?

It is widely assumed that N-N compounds are very productive in English. However, this assumption has no evidentiary basis. It is pointed out in the literature such as Snyder (2001) that N-N compounds are productive in some languages but not in others. Thus, even if N-N compounds are not productive in English, it is not unreasonable. In fact, upon closer inspection of some facts about compounding in English, it is highly questionable whether English really has productive N-N compounds.

For example, the questionable productivity can be seen by examining the productivity of root compounds in English. In this paper, N-N compounds mean a subtype of root compounds. Roughly, a root compound can be defined as the type of compound that has morphologically simplex words as heads. We would like to point out that this type of compound is unproductive per se in English, which is clear from the fact

that English imposes rigid limitations on root compounds.

This is illustrated by the limited combinations of syntactic categories available to English root compounds. English does not allow any syntactic categories to freely combine to form root compounds; in English, N-N compounds might be possible but other types are impossible or unproductive. For instance, it is well known that N-V compounds are ruled out entirely in English, as in (2).

(2) * to truck-drive (cf. to drive trucks)

(Ackema and Neeleman (2004: 58))

Furthermore, the following statements show that A-N compounds have no productivity and cannot be freely coined in English:

(3) a. The type **blackbird** has probably ceased to be productive.

(Marchand (1969: 64))

b. If I want to refer to a nose that is large, I do not coin the A-N compound **large-nose* [...].

(Allen (1978: 99))

It is safe to assume that other combinations are subject to similar limitations.³

The limited combinations mean that English limits input categories to root compounding. In English, verbs and adjectives cannot be inputs to root compounding.

Now, consider the structural types of root compound. Structurally, root compounds have two types: asymmetrical and coordinated. For instance, in N-N combinations like *ice cream*, two nouns have a head-nonhead relationship because left-hand nouns (e.g. *ice*) modify right-hand ones (e.g. *cream*). In this sense, the

N-N combinations under discussion have asymmetrical structures. The other type of root compound is exemplified by Japanese compounds such as those given in (4).

- (4) (N-N) sin-rin ‘forest and grove’
 (V-V) omoi-egaku ‘to think and picture’
 (A-A) koo-tee ‘high and low’
 (Shimada (2013: 91))

The components of these compounds are coordinative. In this sense, the compounds illustrated in (4) have coordinated structures. These compounds are known as dvandvas. According to Bauer’s (2008) definition, they can occur independently, and their two components stand for one concept. As shown in (4), dvandvas are very productive in languages like Japanese, but Shimada (2013) observes that they are not attested in English.

From the observations so far, it is safe to conclude that root compounds have no productivity in English. Given this conclusion, it is unnatural that English has productive N-N compounds; we may wonder why it is only N-N compounds that English has as productive root compounds. Instead, due to the lack of productivity, a reasonable assumption is that English has no N-N compound.

Recall here from Section 1 that putative N-N compounds in English show behavioral non-uniformity. This indicates that they are not compounds in a true sense; their generation does not involve the word formation rule of compounding. Based on the behavioral non-uniformity, Spencer (2003) and Giegerich (2004) claim that they are not compounds. This point becomes clearer when the behaviors are compared with those of synthetic compounds like *watch-maker*. They are roughly defined as

headed by deverbal nouns, which establish an argument-predicate relationship with nonheads. As pointed out in the literature, such as Giegerich (2004) and Liberman and Sproat (1992), synthetic compounds behave consistently as words. For example, they show no variation in stress pattern, consistently putting main stress on their right-hand nouns, as shown in (5).

- (5) * a wáttch-maker and a cábinet one
 (Giegerich (2004: 9), my stress marks)

Furthermore, the ungrammaticality shows that synthetic compounds are consistent in syntactic opacity, disallowing the application of *one* substitution in (5). Plausibly, these consistent behaviors come from the fact that synthetic compounds are truly generated by compounding. Certainly, putative N-N compounds may have some lexicality, but it does not result from compounding.

In this connection, it is interesting that affixation is impossible for putative N-N compounds, as exemplified in (6).

- (6) * [deer-flesh]y (cf. hairy)
 (Allen (1978: 240), with slight modifications)

This impossibility demonstrates that they are NPs and not N-N compounds. Affixation is unavailable to phrases. This general fact is formulated as No Phrase Constraint, which is given in (7).

- (7) Lexical rules do not apply to syntactic phrases to form morphologically complex words.
 (Botha (1984: 137))

Thus, No Phrase Constraint tells us that putative

N-N compounds have phrasal status, because the lexical rule of affixation does not apply to them.

To sum up, since root compounds are generally unproductive in English, we can safely assume that English has no N-N compound, which belongs to the class of root compounds. The behavioral non-uniformity suggests that putative N-N compounds in English do not derive from compounding. In addition, the impossibility of affixation suggests that they originate in syntactic phrases. Given these points, we propose that they have status as converted nouns, which are based on NPs.

3. ‘N-N Compounds’: Analysis as Converted Nouns

3.1. Conversion: Reassignment of Categorial Labels in the Lexicon

We start this section by elaborating on conversion. Normally, this word formation process is defined as changing one syntactic category into another without any corresponding formal change (see Bauer (1983: 32)). We suppose here that “changing one syntactic category into another” means giving a new categorial label to the same form. For example, consider the following V-to-N conversion:

- (8) to spy: [_V spy] → a spy: [_N spy]

In (8), the verb *to spy* undergoes conversion to obtain the new categorial label of a noun. Furthermore, adopting relisting approach to conversion, which is defined as in (9), we assume that it takes place in the lexicon.

- (9) Conversion occurs when an item already listed in the lexicon is re-entered as an item of a different category.

(Lieber (1992: 159))

Based on the discussion so far, we give our definition of conversion as follows:

- (10) Conversion is a process in which a relisted item is reassigned a new categorial label in the lexicon.

If we take a closer look at observations in the literature, we can notice that putative N-N compounds in English are also reassigned new categorial labels in the lexicon. For example, according to Spencer (2003) and Giegerich (2004), the expressions under consideration are lexicalized NPs. Moreover, Liberman and Sproat (1992: 150-153) observe that NPs become lexicalized gradually, which can be schematized as follows:

- (11) [_{NP} [ice] [cream]] → [listing in the lexicon] → [_{N⁰} [ice] [cream]] [assignment of a new categorial label (N⁰)]

First, NPs like *ice cream* are listed in the lexicon if they gain unpredictable properties. In the next stage, they change their categorial label from NP to N⁰. That is, Liberman and Sproat’s observation implies that the lexicalization results in the reassignment of a new categorial label to a listed item, i.e. conversion. Thus, the present analysis tells us that putative N-N compounds in English can be analyzed as converted nouns; they are products of conversion from phrasal categories, i.e. NPs, into, i.e. lexical ones, N⁰s. The following subsection looks at motivations for our conversion analysis.

3.2. Motivations for Conversion Analysis

The first motivation is that conversion has no limitation on inputs. Following relisting approach, Nagano (2008: 85, 105) points out

that an item of any category can undergo conversion as long as it is listed in the lexicon; not only simplex words but also lexicalized phrases are open to conversion. For example, in (12), phrasal verbs, i.e. VPs, convert into N⁰s.

- (12) [_N make up] [_N let down] [_N give away]
(Ackema and Neeleman (2004: 162))

As mentioned in Section 3.1., Spencer (2003) and Giegerich (2004) analyze putative N-N compounds as lexicalized NPs. Based on this analysis, they point out that these NPs are listed in the lexicon as such. Given this listedness, we can assume that NPs are possible inputs to conversion. If so, it is reasonable that they are converted into N⁰s just as VPs can be.

Another motivation is that putative N-N compounds are parallel in behavior with converted words. In Section 1, we observed that nominal combinations are not uniform in that they do not always behave as compounds. This behavioral non-uniformity is also found in converted words. Lieber (1992: 159) and Nagano (2008: 108) state that outputs of conversion show a certain degree of non-uniformity because conversion as relisting is not a rule-governed but rather a random process, just like normal listing in the lexicon. Thus, if NPs are listed in the lexicon to be converted, the non-uniformity of putative N-N compounds follows from their listedness.

Furthermore, parallel stress patterns can be observed. As well known, nominal combinations tend to have left-hand stress. This tendency also characterizes converted nouns such as (13).

- (13) a. to tormént → a tórmént
to permít → a pérmít
b. to gèt away → a gét-away

to lét dówn → a lét-dòwn
(Plag (2003: 110))

Verb-noun pairs like (13a) mostly have two syllables and Romance origins. As verbs, they have main stress on the second syllable. On the other hand, as nouns, they shift main stress to the first syllable. In (13b), phrasal verbs are nominalized. In phrasal verbs, main stress is on the second element, i.e. particles like *away*. On the other hand, in nominalizations, main stress shifts to the first element, i.e. verbs like *to get*. These examples indicate that converted nouns are parallel with putative N-N compounds in that both types of nominal have left-hand stress. Thus, under the present analysis, the left-hand stress of putative N-N compounds can be captured as resulting from stress shift, which characterizes converted nouns.

3.3. Left-Hand Stress as Formal Adjustment

Nagano (2008) analyzes the stress shift exemplified in (13) as coming from formal adjustment on converted categories. If we adopt this analysis, the left-hand stress of putative N-N compounds can be regarded as an instance of this formal adjustment. Then, this point also motivates our conversion analysis. Regarding the formal adjustment, Nagano (2008: 157) observes that “[c]ertain relisted words need to have their forms adjusted in such a way that they can express their category unambiguously in their morphosyntactic contexts.” For example, in (13), stress shift occurs to show clearly that converted categories are nouns. In English, nouns strongly prefer fore-stress, whereas verbs like end-stress (see Jespersen (1909: 173)). Nagano points out that this preference triggers the stress shift in question; converted nouns like (13) use stress shift to adjust their forms as

required for nouns. In this connection, Liberman and Sproat (1992) make an interesting observation on lexicalized NPs. According to their observation, in the final stage of lexicalization, a listed NP “may lose some or all of its internal structure as well as becoming a lexical category (Liberman and Sproat (1992: 151))”; the NP loses its internal word boundaries to be reanalyzed as a monomorphemic word. Consequently, it “becomes subject to phonological and phonetic processes that would ordinarily only apply [within monomorphemic words] (Liberman and Sproat (1992: 153)).” Our assumption is that, in this stage, putative N-N compounds are formally adjusted to undergo stress shift. Under the present analysis, Liberman and Sproat’s observation elucidates the final stage of conversion.

Our considerations so far state that NPs, such as *ice cream*, convert into N⁰s as follows:

- (14) **step 1** ice + cream 【merger of two nouns】
 → [NP [ice] [créam]] 【derivation of NPs】
 step 2 [NP [ice] [créam]] 【listing in the lexicon】
 step 3 [N⁰ [ice] [créam]] 【conversion /reassignment of a new categorial label (N⁰)】
 step 4 [N⁰ íce créam] 【loss of internal word boundaries】
 step 5 [N⁰ íce crèam] 【formal adjustment by means of stress shift】

In Step 1, two nouns merge to form NPs. Next, these NPs are listed in the lexicon. In Step 3, they undergo conversion to be reassigned a new categorial label, i.e. N⁰. Then, the resultant converted nouns go on to Step 4, in which they lose their internal word boundaries. Finally, they

are formally adjusted to undergo stress shift. This results in their left-hand stress, which characterizes N⁰s. Thus, our conversion analysis tells us that this stress pattern, which is alleged to be specific to N-N compounds, appears as a result of the conversion from NPs into N⁰s.

4. Concluding Remarks

This paper has explored the derivation and status of nominal combinations like *ice cream*. Because of their lexical properties, e.g. left-hand stress, they may be viewed as N-N compounds. Challenging this view, we have observed that it is doubtful whether English really has N-N compounds. Based on this observation, we have proposed that putative N-N compounds in English can be best analyzed as converted nouns, which involve conversion from NPs into N⁰s.

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NOTES

¹ Note that the terminology ‘NP’ has no theoretical status. In this paper, it is used to refer to nouns extended by prenominal modifiers, which exclude determiners.

² The spellings of the items listed in Table 1 are adopted from OED.

³ Seemingly, N-A compounds like *ice cold* are productive. Nevertheless, we assume with Spencer (2003) that they are not true compounds. Observing that they are semantically restricted and sporadic, Spencer (2003) states that the great majority are idiomatic lexicalized phrases. Normally, nouns cannot modify adjectives to

form phrases. Thus, one might wonder how putative N-A compounds are generated as phrases. This is an open question. However, notice that a certain type of nominal can premodify adjectives to have an adverbial function (e.g. *ten years old*, *ten centimeters wide*). We speculate that nouns also have an adverbial function in the relevant N-A combinations. This points to the possibility that such nouns are converted into adverbs.

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Phonological Optionality in Japanese Loanwords*

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Keywords : Japanese phonology, loanwords,
phonological optionality/alternation, corpus
study

1. Introduction

This study explores phonological optionality (free alternations/variants) in loanwords in Japanese, and reports the results on a statistical survey on the authentic speech of Japanese speakers. A large number of loanwords in Japanese have two or more variants in pronunciation that do not entail semantic distinctions. For example, it is well known that the English loanword *baggu* ‘bag’ is often pronounced as *bakku* with geminate devoicing without any difference in meaning (Ito and Mester (1995, 1999), Nishimura (2003), etc.). This survey of the authentic speech of Japanese native speakers reveals that such phonological optionality occurs more widely than previous studies have found, and little attention has been given to the majority of instances of this phonological phenomenon.

2. Corpus

In this study, I collected data from the *Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese* (CSJ; National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

(2008)), which comprises 3,202 recordings of speech (around 661 hours, 7,500,000 words) by 1,417 Japanese speakers. In this corpus, the pronunciations of all words were transcribed in *katakana*, depending on the auditory perception of the recorders.¹ Phonological/phonetic variants in pronounced forms were tagged “W.”² This survey extracted every loanword noun with a “W” tag that appeared in two or more tokens in the corpus.

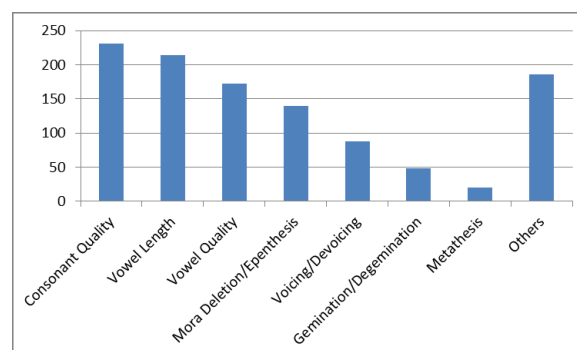
3. Results

CSJ contains 14,321 tokens of 5,427 phonologically different variants of loanword nouns.³ In this report, I classify loanword variants that appeared in two or more tokens into seven patterns depending on their observed phonological alternations.

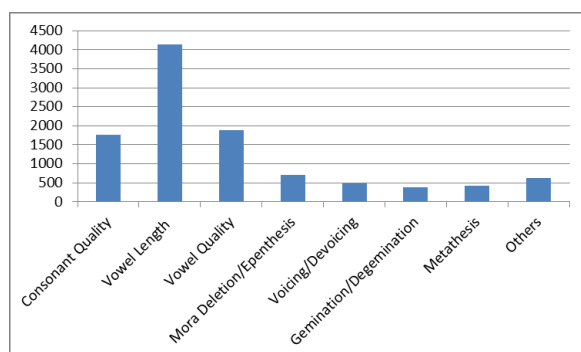
3.1. Overall Results

The graph in (1) shows the details of the 831 phonologically different loanword variants with two or more tokens in CSJ. The total number of tokens is 8685, the details of which are shown in (2):

- (1) The number of phonologically different variants showing loanword optionality by pattern



(2) The number of tokens showing loanword optionality by pattern



The results reveal that alternations in consonant quality, vowel quality, and vowel length are the major patterns of phonological/phonetic optionality in loanwords in Japanese; they take place much more frequently than other patterns in the actual speech of Japanese speakers, as shown in (2).

Note that although the corpus builders recorded these examples as pairs of the canonical pronunciation and its corrupted variant, the two variants are equally acceptable in most cases, while there could be individual preferences depending on the speaker. Therefore, unlike other Japanese word classes, deciding which is the “correct” variant in loanwords is not a simple task. For example, the English loanword *doa~doaa* ‘door’ shows an alternation in vowel length; since English does not have a distinction in vowel length apart from quality, and the *r*-sound is completely lost in both forms, there is no straightforward way to determine which variant is “correct.”

Furthermore, faithfulness to the original word is only one way to determine “correctness”; it is open to discussion whether faithfulness is a prerequisite for choosing a canonical form. In other words, the canonical-variant judgment is subjective in many cases and has little bearing on

phonological inquiry. Phonologically speaking, the important point here is that Japanese speakers ignore the differences between two (or more) phonologically different forms and regard them as one identical word.

3.2. Alternation Patterns

Let us briefly examine each of the alternation patterns with a few examples taken from the corpus.

3.2.1. Consonant Quality

In CSJ, alternations in consonant quality are observed in 231 phonologically different words (27.8% of the total) in 1766 tokens (20.3% of the total).⁴ This pattern includes consonant change, epenthesis, and deletion as shown below:

- (3) a. [horumanto~forumanto] ‘formant’
- b. [tsuu~ʈuu] ‘two’
- c. [sueedeN~suweedeN] ‘Sweden’

As shown in (1), the alternation in consonant quality is the most frequently found in number of different words, among the alternation patterns in actual speech. This pattern can be further analyzed into several sub-patterns depending on the target consonants.

3.2.2. Vowel Length

Alternations in vowel length are observed in 214 phonologically different words (25.8%) in 4130 tokens (47.6%). This pattern, which includes long vowel shortening and short vowel lengthening, is most frequent when it comes to the number of tokens appearing in the corpus. Examples are shown below:

- (4) a. [deeta~deetaa] ‘data’⁵
 b. [memorii~memori] ‘memory’
 c. [pataaN~pataN] ‘pattern’

The great majority of changes showing this pattern happen in word-final vowels as in (4ab). However, there are a few words that show this pattern word-internally as in (4c) (See Maekawa 2002 for a detailed survey with CSJ).

3.2.3. Vowel Quality

Alternations in vowel quality take place in 172 phonologically different words (20.7%) in 1874 tokens (21.6%). Consider the examples below:

- (5) a. [aidea~aidia] ‘idea’
 b. [kominitii~kominiti] ‘community’
 c. [tekusuto~tekisuto] ‘text’

This alternation pattern is often involved in the realization of an original vowel as shown in (5ab). However, some words show this pattern in the selection of inserted vowels as in (5c). Again, this pattern can be further classified into several sub-patterns depending on the quality of target vowels.

3.2.4. Mora Deletion/Epenthesis

Changes in moraic structure, which include mora deletion and epenthesis,⁶ are observed in 140 phonologically different words (16.8%) in 696 tokens (8.0%). A few examples are shown below:

- (6) a. [guraundo~gurando] ‘ground’
 b. [oraNuutaN~orauutaN] ‘orangutan’
 c. [firumu~fuirumu] ‘film’

This pattern is often found in heavy syllables as

in (6ab) and vowel insertion as in (6c).

3.2.5. Voicing/Devoicing

Alternations on voicing, which include the voicing of voiceless obstruents and the devoicing of voiced obstruents, are observed in 88 phonologically different words (10.6%) in 489 tokens (5.6%). Examples are shown below:

- (7) a. [dzakuzii~dzaguzii] ‘jacuzzi’
 b. [badomintoN~batomintoN] ‘badminton’
 c. [beddo~betto] ‘bed’

As reported in Tateishi (2001) and Nishimura (2003), devoicing is very often triggered by the co-occurrence restriction on voiced obstruents as in (7b). However, voicing also takes place in a few words, violating this restriction, as in (7a). As reported in Ito and Mester (1995, 1999) and Nishimura (2003), devoicing on geminates is also a typical example of this pattern, as in (7c).

Previous studies of intra-language phonological varieties in Japanese have mainly focused on voicing alternations of obstruents (Ito and Mester (1995, 1999), Fukazawa et al. (1998), Tateishi (2001), Nishimura (2006), Kawahara (2006), among others). This pattern, however, does not stand out in number among the patterns of loanword optionality in actual speech of Japanese speakers as shown in (1) and (2).

3.2.6. Gemination/Degemination

Segmental alternations on geminated consonants, which include gemination on a single consonant and degemination on a geminated consonant, take place in 48 phonologically different words (5.8%) in 376 tokens (4.3%).

- (8) a. [ookee~okkee] ‘OK’
 b. [webu~webbu] ‘the Web’
 c. [supagetti~supageti] ‘spaghetti’

As argued below, geminated consonants are often found in borrowed words from English, as in (8ab), even though English phonology does not allow consonant gemination and therefore original words do not have geminated consonants.

3.2.7. Metathesis

Metathesis happens in 20 phonologically different words (2.4%) in 416 tokens (4.8%). The following serves as an example:

- (9) a. [ʃimireeto~ʃumireeto] ‘simulate’
 b. [kominikeeʃoN~kominikeeʃoN]
 ‘communication’

The great majority of the metathesis involves the movement of a palatal feature as in (9ab). The complexity of the palatal segments likely causes confusion in the linear order of segments.

3.2.8. Others

The “others” category in (1) and (2) includes variations that cannot be classified into the seven patterns above, which are found in 186 phonologically different words (22.4%) in 631 tokens (7.3%). Typical examples are complex combinations of multiple alternations (e.g., *obusutoruento~obusutoranto* ‘obstruent’). Haplology (e.g., *aidentitii~aidentii* ‘identity’), accidental structural omissions (e.g., *kurasu~kura* ‘class’), and slips of the tongue caused by linguistic factors other than phonological or phonetic ones (e.g., *tsuaa~tawaa* ‘tour’) are also included in this group.

4. Discussion

This survey on loanword optionality provides several significant suggestions for the inquiry of phonological theory and its adjacent areas; among them, I would like to mention three of particular importance. The first two are implications for the inquiry of Japanese phonology, and the other is for second language education.

4.1. Ignorance of Phonemic Distinctions

Interestingly, a large number of the loanword variants ignore the phonemic distinctions of Japanese; even though Japanese speakers can phonologically distinguish variants of a loanword, they ignore the differences and regarded the pairs as an identical word in actual speech contexts as shown above.

For example, vowel length is distinctive in Yamato (Native Japanese) words, as in the minimal pair *obasaN* ‘aunt’ and *obaasaN* ‘grandmother.’ However, as shown in 3.2.2, vowel length is often neutralized in loanwords, especially in word-final position, and two variant forms are regarded as equally valid forms of one word, as in the variant pair *deetaa* and *deetaq* ‘data.’

Similarly, voicing on obstruents is distinctive in Japanese phonology, as in the minimal pair *hata* ‘flag’ and *hada* ‘skin.’ However, as argued in 3.2.5, the voicing distinction on obstruents is insignificant in many loanword variants with two or more voiced obstruents; for example, both *badomintoN* and *batomintoN* share the same meaning, “badminton,” and are equally possible in actual speech.⁷

Such optionality, with few lexical exceptions, is not possible in the Yamato class and the Sino-Japanese class, which form the great

majority of Japanese vocabulary along with the Loanword class. These facts suggest that the phonemic system of the Loanword class is different from those of the other word classes. The relationship between the identity of words and their phonological/phonetic structures varies among the Japanese word classes; this study shows that they are less strictly related in the Loanword class than in the other two classes.

4.2. Bidirectionality of Alternations

Another important finding of this survey is the fact that some alternations can take place bidirectionally independent of the markedness of phonological/phonetic structures (see Nishimura (2016b) for a theoretical account).

Again, take a voicing alternation on obstruents as an example; voiceless obstruents are cross-linguistically less marked than voiced obstruents, and devoicing of obstruents often takes place as argued in 3.2.5. Previous studies considered the markedness to be the motivating factor for the voicing alternation in loanwords in Japanese (Ito and Mester (1995, 1999), Tateishi (2001), Nishimura (2006), etc.). However, this study reveals that not only devoicing but also the voicing of obstruents is observed in actual speech, as shown in (7a).

Similarly, such bidirectionality can be found in other alternations: vowel lengthening and shortening as shown in (4), mora deletion and epenthesis as shown in (6), and gemination and degemination as shown in (8).⁸

These facts suggest that phonological optionality in loanwords in Japanese is not triggered solely by the markedness of phonological/phonetic structures but also by other factors such as speakers' knowledge of or (un)familiarity with foreign words, morphological information (Fukazawa and

Kitahara (2005), Mutsukawa (2008)), ambiguity of underlying representations (Nishimura (2016a, b), lexical frequency (Kawahara and Sano (2013)) and so on. This statistical survey of a speech corpus reveals that these factors make the range of alternations more varied and complex than previous studies considered.

4.3. Pedagogical Contribution

I believe the findings of this survey are significant not only from a theoretical point of view but also pedagogically. A Japanese speaker's pronunciations of loanwords can greatly influence his or her pronunciation of foreign languages; the alternations discussed above may appear in their pronunciations of foreign words and cause incorrect pronunciations. Especially in the case of beginner students, their pronunciation patterns in second languages borrow heavily from the pronunciations of loanwords in Japanese.

Take a geminate alternation as an example: the difference between a single obstruent and its geminated counterpart is distinctive in Japanese phonology as in the minimal pair *kaki* 'persimmon' and *kakki* 'vigor.' However, as argued in 3.2.6, the alternation of geminates is allowed in some loanwords in Japanese without causing any semantic differences. A similar alternation pattern is often found in the pronunciation of foreign language learners. In the case of English education, many beginning students incorrectly pronounce obstruent geminates in English words (e.g., *beddo* 'bed,' *burakku* 'black'), even though English phonology does not allow consonant gemination. One of the triggering factors of such an incorrect pronunciation is Japanese speakers' insensitivity to the distinction of obstruent gemination in loanwords, which is illustrated in 3.2.6.

Similar situations can be found in the alternations in the other alternation patterns argued in 3.2. Therefore, language teachers should have knowledge of the phonological and phonetic features of loanwords in Japanese, which may cause incorrect pronunciations by their students, in order to more effectively note and correct the pronunciations.

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NOTES

¹ It should be noted that that this transcription depends on the phonological/phonetic abilities of the recorders, who are also native speakers of Japanese. Another noteworthy fact is that some phonetic structures are not recorded in the transcription because *katakana* characters are not accurate phonetic symbols.

² The corpus builders regarded these variant forms as lazy/corrupt pronunciations or speech errors. However, this view is not correct for loanwords in Japanese; as argued in 3.1, loanword variants are equally acceptable as “canonical” forms in many cases.

³ Almost all loanwords in Japanese are nouns except for a few derived cases such as *guguru* (v.) ‘search in the Web (on Google)’ and *kuriinna* (adj.) ‘clean.’

⁴ Since some alternation patterns simultaneously appear in one word, the total of the percentages in this section and the following sub-sections is greater than 100%.

⁵ This variation is the most frequent in this

investigation; it is observed in 2050 tokens, and occupies 23.6% of the total.

⁶ Alternations in vowel length, which are discussed in 3.2.2, are not included in this pattern.

⁷ This fact does not entail that voicing of obstruents is phonologically insignificant in the Loanword class. It is still distinctive, as the minimal pair *kaato* ‘cart’ and *kaado* ‘card’ shows.

⁸ The direction of alternations is, however, not easy to decide, as explained in 3.1.

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Identificational Focus within Genitive Compounds and Head Deletion *

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hypothesis

1. Introduction

English has compounds called genitive compounds, which have a non-head and an apparent genitive suffix:

- (1) a. fool's paradise, bull's-eye, cat's cradle,
lion's share, death's head
- b. woman's voice, girls' school, bird's
nest, cow's milk, mother's love

Although the genitive compounds in (1a) are semantically lexicalized, there are also semantically transparent genitive compounds as exemplified in (1b), which indicate the compounds' productivity; for example, *women's magazine* refers to a 'magazine for women' and *girls' school* refers to a 'school for girls'. Therefore, the suffix attached to the non-head of the genitive compound is not genitive, but one of semantically empty connectors called linking elements (Mukai (2008)). The meaningless characteristics of the genitive-like element are a challenge for head deletion. Saito and Murasugi (1991) claim that head deletion is allowed

through an agreement between a D head and its specifier.

- (2) a. Mary's attitude toward research is
more impressive than John's ~~attitude~~
~~toward research~~.
- b. [_{DP} John [_D [_{NP} attitude toward
research]]]

In (2a), the NP *attitude toward research* of the *John's attitude toward research* is omitted. Notice that the remnant *John's* has a possessive meaning, which is expressed by the suffix -'s. This suffix is a realization of the D in (2b). Saito and Murasugi noted that the NP deletion takes place in (2a) because the D agrees with its specifier *John*.

If a head nominal is elided through an agreement between D and its specifier, genitive compounds do not undergo this operation. However, this supposition is incorrect, as the following data indicates:

- (3) It is not a men's magazine, but a women's
~~magazine~~.

In (3), the genitive compound *women's magazine* undergoes head deletion, which requires a reconsideration of the status of the suffix. This paper examines the nature of the suffix in question by considering the head deletion mechanism. In particular, by adopting Corver and van Koppen's (2009) proposal that foci are relevant to NP deletion, it is argued that the head deletion in (3) is allowed if the remnant of the operation has a contrastive focus.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the framework for this paper and demonstrates that the DP includes discourse-related functional heads, one of which,

the Focus head, mediates the head deletion observed in DP. Section 3 examines the core hypotheses associated with Distributed Morphology (cf. Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994), Arad (2003), Embick and Marantz (2008)) that the foci are relevant to the head deletion of genitive compounds as well to the DPs. Section 4 gives two consequences of the present proposal, and section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Framework

As discussed in section 1, head deletion applies to both DPs and genitive compounds, and they are formally similar as the suffix *-s* is used to connect two nominal items, even though the suffix of the genitive compound is meaningless. These observations indicate that it is possible to explain genitive compounds from a DP structure. To pursue this line of thought, the DP structure is elucidated in cartographic terms in the following discussion.

2.1. Left Periphery in DP

The development of the verbal and inflectional domains has allowed for an elaboration of the complementizer domain, or the clausal left periphery (Rizzi (1997)).¹ The clausal left periphery consists of the scope and discourse/informational projections, with the latter including both Top(ic) and Foc(us) heads; Top and Foc are the syntactic articulation of topics and foci, respectively. The schema in (4) illustrates these discourse/informational projections. The highest projection is ForceP, which encodes the information about the speech acts, and FocP is sandwiched by two TopPs.²

(4) ForceP-TopP*-FocP-TopP*...

(Rizzi (1997: 297), with slight modifications)

In consideration of the parallel developments between the clausal domain and the nominal domain, the DP structure can be refined as shown in (5).

(5) [DP ... [D ... Top ... Foc [NumP ... [Num ... [FP ... N]]]]]

(Aboh (2004: 4))

As the schema in (5) clearly shows, the D head disintegrates into several discourse/informational projections, such as TopP and FocP.

2.2. Identificational Focus

There have been several arguments regarding focus. É. Kiss (1998), for example, classifies Foc into information focus and identificational focus, where the information focus encodes new information, and the identificational focus is defined in semantic or functional terms, as follows:

(6) The function of identificational focus: An identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds.

(É. Kiss (1998: 245))

In addition to the semantic or functional differences between the two types of focus, the identificational focus syntactically differs from the informational focus; that is, the information focus does not trigger a syntactic movement, while the identificational focus triggers a syntactic movement.

É. Kiss claims that one of the syntactic

day. In this context, the nominal element *konijn* 'rabbit' is omitted. The suffix *-e* for the remnant *zwarte* appears to be an inflectional ending for the adjective. However, it does not appear when the nominal agreement with the adjective is not deleted, as shown in (9), which implies that the suffix has a different status from a regular inflectional suffix.

- Corver and van Koppen argue that the suffix in (8) acts as a contrastive-focus marker and that the adjective with the marker carries contrastive focus.⁴ Therefore, they propose that the adjective had an [+Op] feature, which encodes contrastive focus and move it to the spec position of Foc to check the [+Op] feature of the head. In agreement with Merchant (2001), they also suggest that Foc has a [E] feature that ensures the complement of a head with the feature is deleted; therefore, the complement of Foc is deleted at PF. Since *zwart* is already extracted from the deletion site, the element that is deleted is only *konijn*. Given this explanation, the ellipsis in (8) is shown in (10).

The identificational foci trigger both syntactic movements and ellipses. In contrast to NP deletion through an agreement between D and its specifier, Corver and van Koppen (2009) argue that the same deletion operation is evident in the contrastive/identificational focus, as discussed in the following.

(10) [_{DP} [_D, een [_{FocP} zwart_i [_{+Op}] [_{Foc_[E, +Op]}, -e [_{XP} zwart_i [_X konijn]]]]]]
↑
PF-deletion
 (Corver and van Koppen (2009: 18))

- ### 3. Focus Projection for Genitive Compounds
- #### 3.1. Single Engine Hypothesis

Sections 2.1 and 2.2 demonstrated that the DP includes Foc, which breaks into information foci and identificational foci; with the identificaitonal foci triggering a syntactic movement and enabling NP deletion, as shown in section 2.3. Against this background, it appears that these same explanations can be extended to the head deletion in genitive compounds, as shown again in (11):

- (11) It is not a men's magazine, but a women's magazine.

However, given the compound status of genitive compounds, the same mechanism is not used to explain the syntactic behavior of genitive compounds. To avoid this problem, the Single Engine Hypothesis is adopted here, which is one of the core hypotheses of Distributed Morphology (cf. Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994), Arad (2003), Embick and Marantz (2008)).

- (12) Not only phrases but also words are created in syntax.

This hypothesis states that both words and phrases can be created in syntax, and implies that the same tools that are used to create a phrase can be used to create a word. In this paper, it is therefore proposed that a compound can be built using the discourse-related features for building DPs.

3.2. Relationship between Compounds and Discourse

Using discourse-related notions to explain the nature of compounds is not inconceivable; for example, Morita (1995) uses the notions of focus and topic to explain compounds:

- (13) Sally opened the shallow drawer of the writing table, took out a *book of stamps*, extracted one, affixed it to the letter she held in her hand, dropped the *stamp book* back in the drawer, and put two pence halfpenny on the desk.

(Morita (1995: 470))

In (13), Sally took a stamp from a book and put

the stamp on a letter. Therefore, in this context, the stamp is the focus of attention. The focused noun *stamps* is placed at the end of the DP, which is in line with the principle of end focus. After she puts the stamp on the letter, the focus of attention is shifted to the book itself. In other words, *stamps* become old information, while *book* becomes new information. This shift in the focus of attention and the principle of end focus leads to the construction of the compound *stamp book*.

3.3. Syntactic Status of the Non-head for Genitive Compounds

Before explaining the data in (11), it is necessary to clarify the syntactic status of the non-head of genitive compounds:

- (14) a. The potter's wheel was in his back yard.
b. John bought a second-hand potter's wheel.

(Adams (2001: 80))

In (14a), *the* modifies *potter* and *the potter* functions as an antecedent to *his*. In contrast, in (14b), both *a* and *second-hand* modify *potter's wheel* as a whole. Based on Abney's (1987) claim that specificity/referentiality is encoded in the functional head D, the contrast in (14) indicates that the non-head of a genitive compound is not a DP; therefore, from the contrasts in (14), it is assumed that the non-head of genitive compounds are NP.⁵

3.4. Analysis

Based on the arguments so far presented, the structure of *women's magazine* is represented in (15).

move to the spec position of the higher Foc. Due to this intervention, the [+Op] feature of the higher Foc is not checked, which causes crash at LF.

4.2. Reduction of a Classifying Function of the Genitive Compound to the [+Op] Feature

The second consequence of the above proposal is related to the characteristics of the genitive compound. Shimamura (2014) suggests that one characteristic of genitive compounds is the classifying function; that is, the non-head of the compound creates the subset of the head. For example, *women's magazine* implies that there are other types of magazines, such as *children's magazine* and *men's magazine*.

In this paper, it is assumed that the genitive compound contains a Foc with an [+Op] feature, and that the non-head has the same feature and moves to the spec position of Foc to check the head's features. As Corver and van Koppen (2009) claim that this feature corresponds to the identificational focus, it is concluded that the non-head of the genitive compound carries identificational focus. As É. Kiss argues, a function of this type of focus is to create "a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold (É. Kiss (1998: 245))." Therefore, the non-head of a genitive compound is able to create a subset of the set of the head.

5. Conclusions

The suffix *-s* in genitive compounds such as *women's magazine* has been regarded as a linking element because of its meaningless nature. In this paper, it is argued that although it does not carry a possessive meaning, it acts as an identificational-focus marker for the head deletion. The analysis in this paper explained the

reason why multiple non-heads are prohibited in genitive compounds by assuming that the genitive compound has Foc with an [+Op] feature. Based on Corver and van Koppen's (2009) claim that the feature is relevant to identificational focus, this paper demonstrated the possibility of reducing the classifying function of the genitive compound to the feature. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to confirm the status of the suffix as an identificational-focus marker.

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NOTES

¹ For the theoretical background and goal, see Shlonsky (2010).

² The symbol '*' denotes the fact that topical elements can be iterated.

³ The [+exhaustive] feature functions as a trigger of syntactic movement in other languages such as Hungarian. See É. Kiss (1998) for the details.

⁴ To explain the data in (8), Corver and van Koppen (2009) use the term contrastive focus, which is notionally equal to identificational focus.

⁵ Based on the Distributed Morphology framework, the NP in question might correspond to *nP*, which is composed of category-neutral elements called Roots such as $\sqrt{\text{DOG}}$, $\sqrt{\text{CAT}}$, and $\sqrt{\text{BIRD}}$, and a nominalizer represented as *n*, one of the category-assigning elements called categorizers. For details about the nature of Roots and categorizers, see Embick and Marantz

(2008).

⁶ Okubo (2017) applies the present analysis to Japanese genitive compounds such as *haha-no-hi* ‘Mother’s Day’ and *mago-no-te* ‘back scratcher’. In contrast to English genitive compounds, Japanese ones resist head deletion. For the details, see Okubo (2017).

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Just の対人関係調整機能 *
(The Interpersonal Function of *Just*)

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キーワード：とりたて表現, 限定, 反限定,
聞き手の負担軽減, 日英語対照

1. はじめに

Lee (1991) などの先行研究において、(1a) における *just* と (1b) における *just* はそれぞれ別の用法であると言われている。

- (1) a. He just lent the car.
b. I just don't like it. (Lee (1991:43))

本稿では、この(1)におけるそれぞれの *just* と日本語の「とりたて表現」を対照させながら、日本語の「反限定」専用のとりたて表現が「聞き手の負担軽減」という語用論的效果をもつのに対し、英語には「反限定」を専ら表す副詞が存在せず、代わりに相反する「限定」の副詞 *just* が同様の語用論的效果をもつということを指摘する。

2. 「限定」と「反限定」のとりたて表現

野田 (2015) は、日本語のとりたて表現を「限定」「反限定」「類似」「反類似」「極端」「反極端」という 6 つの意味に分類している。(2) に挙げるような表現が日本語の「限定」のとりたて表現として分類される。

- (2) だけ, しか, ばかり, こそ (特立)
(野田 (2015:84))

「限定」のとりたて表現は、ある事柄がとりたてた要素についてのみ当てはまり、他の要素は排除されることを表す。例えば次の(3)では、「だけ」や「しか」によってその意味が表されている。

- (3) a. 私に車を貸してくれた だけ だった。
b. 私に だけ 車を貸してくれた。／私に しか 貸してくれなかった。

(3a) では、「貸してくれた」ことを「だけ」がとりたてているため、車を貸す以外のことはしていないことが表される。また、(3b) では、「私に」を「だけ」や「しか」がとりたてているため、「私以外の誰にも貸していない」という意味になる。(3) の日本語の例と同じことを英語では(4)のように、*just* を用いて表すことができる。

- (4) a. He just lent the car. (He didn't give it.)
b. He lent the car just to me (not to anyone else).

(4a, b) のそれぞれ括弧内に示されるように、*just* が *lent* や *to me* という要素を修飾することで、その要素以外のことが排除されている。よって、英語の *just* は日本語の「限定」のとりたて表現に対応するといえる。

一方、「限定」と反対の働きをするのが(5)に挙げる「反限定」に分類されるとりたて表現である。

- (5) でも (例示), も (やわらげ), なんか (例示)
(野田 (2015:84))

「反限定」のとりたて表現は、いわゆる「ぼかし」を表す。とりたてる要素に限らず、同類のものがほかにもあることを漠然と示す働きをしている。(6) は、「なんか」が用いら

れている例である。

- (6) A: 「なにか体にいいことはないかなあ」
B: 「ヨガ なんか 始めてみたらどう？」
(日本語記述文法研究会 (2009:138))

A の発話に対して、B がヨガを始めることを提案している。このとき、「ヨガ」を「なんか」でとりたててすることで、マラソンなど他にも考えられるが、候補のひとつとして「ヨガ」を例示していることが表される。

同じような場面を表した英語の例が(7)である。

- (7) A: You're thinking about Charlie, aren't you?
B: Maybe I need something to get my mind off of him.
A: How about a movie?
(*Desperate Housewives* "Farewell Letter")

「ね、チャーリーのことばかり考えているでしょ？」と言われた B が、「彼のことを忘れるために何かしたほうがいいよね」と言う。それに対して、A が How about a movie? と言う。つまり、A は B の発話における something の候補としていろいろある中で a movie を提案しているのである。このような場面における How about a movie? を日本語に書き換えるとしたら、反限定のとりたて表現「なんか」で「映画」をとりたてた「映画なんかどう？」とするのが自然だと思われる。しかし、How about a movie? という表現には「なんか」に相当する語は出てきていない。敢えて「なんか」を言語化しようとする、(8)の下線部のように or something (like that) という表現をつけることになる。

- (8) How about a movie or something (like that)?

よって、英語において、日本語の「反限定」のとりたて表現と同じ働きをする表現は、「～か何か」という意味を表す or something (like that) であるといえる。ただ、わざわざ(8)のように言わなくても How about a movie? によって「映画 なんか どう？」という意味は表されるのである。ここから、(9)のように結論づけられる。

- (9) 英語には、「反限定」のとりたて表現として働く 1 語レベルの副詞はない。

ここまで、日本語の「限定」のとりたて表現に対応するのが英語の副詞 just である一方、日本語の「反限定」のとりたて表現に対応する英語の副詞はないという対応関係をみてきた。冒頭で言及したように、(1a)と(1b)の just は用法が異なるという。(1a)の just は「だけ」「しか」に対応し、「限定」の意味を表していることがわかるが、(1b)の just がどのような意味を表しているのだろうか。次節では(1b)のような用法の just の意味について考える。

3. just の「意味」

英語の副詞 just の意味に関する研究において、Lee (1987)から最近の先行研究まで共通して言われているのが、「just の意味はひとつに定まらない」ということである (Lee (1987, 1991), Wierzbicka (1991), Aijmer (2002), Tagliamonte (2016)など)。特に、最近の「若者」の言語使用を調査した先行研究によると、(10)のように、just の意味は依然として定まっておらず、まだなお新たな用法・機能が出てきているという。

- (10) ...at the beginning of the twenty-first century, just is still polysemous and fluid. [...] its (new) functions are still developing
(Tagliamonte (2016:163))

しかし、だからといって無尽蔵に意味が生じるわけではなく、先行研究では共通して Lee (1987)の4分類に準じた意味を *just* の基本的意味としている。以下の(11)から(14)が Lee (1987)の4分類である。なお、日本語訳は友澤 (2010)と中野 (2013)によるものである。

- (11) a. *specificatory* (特定の)
b. I just finished my coffee.
- (12) a. *restrictive* (限定的)
b. He lent the car just to me. (= (4b))
- (13) a. *emphatic* (強調的)
b. The weather is just marvelous.
- (14) a. *depreciatory* (軽視的)
b. I just don't like it. (= (1b))

この4分類のうち、(12)の限定的用法が、いわゆる「限定」のとりたて表現に対応する *just* であり、(14)の軽視的用法が(1b)における *just* である。(14b)は、例えば、「なぜそれを選ばないのか」と聞かれたときに、「まあちょっと好きじゃないんだよね」などと答えたりするときに用いられる。

限定的用法の *just* は、2節でみたように、修飾した要素以外のものを排除するという機能を有していることは明らかである。しかし、軽視的用法の *just* はどのような機能を有しているのだろうか。Aijmer (2002)は、Lee (1987)の4分類を踏まえながらも、結局は *just* の意味を規定するのではなく、(15)のような *just* の機能を定義することに意味があると論じている。

- (15) ...*just* has procedural meaning, i.e. it functions as an instruction to the hearer to interpret the utterance as the expression of an attitude. (Aijmer (2002:158))

Aijmer (2002)によると、話し手がどのような態度で発話しているのかを聞き手に知らせ

ることができるという *just* の機能によって、様々な *just* の振る舞いが説明できるという。この *just* の機能をヒントに、(1b)の *just*、つまり軽視的用法の *just* の役割を考察していく。

4. 軽視的用法の *just* がもつ機能

軽視的用法の *just* の特徴は、主に3点挙げられる。1つめの特徴が(16)である。

- (16) 軽視的用法の *just* は話者の心的態度を表す副詞である。

軽視的用法の *just* は、命題内容に影響を与えない。(17)のように *just* があってもなくても文の意味は同じである。

- (17) a. I just don't like it.
b. I don't like it.

これは、話者志向の副詞に見られる事実と同じである。

- (18) a. Amazingly, he escaped with only a scratch.
b. That he escaped with only a scratch was amazing.
(Huddleston and Pullum (2002:772))

話者志向の副詞は、命題の外にある。そのため、(18a, b)の書き換えが示すように、話者が *he escaped with only a scratch* という命題内容を *amazing* だと思っていることを表すのが *amazingly* という副詞なのである。つまり、(17)の場合も、(17a)の *just* は、命題内容に影響を与えない話者の心的態度を表す話者志向の副詞として働いていることがわかる。

また、一文内に副詞が2つ現れるとき、話者志向の副詞が外側に、主語志向の副詞が内側にくるという順になるのは全く問題ない

が、その逆になると容認されないということが指摘されている。

- (19) a. Happily, Max carefully was climbing
the walls of the garden.
b. *Carefully, Max happily was climbing
the walls of the garden.
(Jackendoff (1972:89))

(19)では、話者の心的態度を表す happily と命題内容を修飾する carefully が一文内に共起している。(19a)では、happily が外側、carefully が内側の順になっている。このとき文は問題なく容認される。一方、(19b)では、carefully が外側、happily が内側の順になっており、文は容認されない。

この事実を踏まえ、just の場合をテストしてみる。just と only は「限定」の意味のときには、同じ意味を表す。この2つを一文内に共起させたのが(20)、(21)である。

- (20) a. Just take only your shirt off.
b. #Only take just your shirt off.
(only > take off / just > shirt)
c. *Take only just your shirt off.
(cf. He has only just arrived.)
(21) a. Just only take your shirt off.
b. *Only just take your shirt off.

(20a)と(20b)の対比に見られるように、just が外側、only が内側の場合は全く問題ないが、その逆になると容認されない。ただし、(20b)では、only が take off を、just が shirt を修飾しているという読み方はできる。しかし、この場合の just は「限定的用法」の just である。また、only は動詞の後ろにも置くことができるため、(20c)のような語順も可能なはずであるが、この場合もまったく容認されない。only just という語順があり得ないわけではない。括弧内のように、just が「ちょうど」と

いう意味を表す「限定的用法」の場合には only just という連鎖は可能である。(20)の文法性から、just は話者志向の副詞として働き、only は文内要素を修飾しているといえる。

(20)は、only が your shirt を修飾している場合だが、(21)のように take off を修飾した場合にも同じことがいえる。(21a)のように just が外側、only が内側であれば文は容認されるが、その逆である(21b)は容認されない。

以上より、軽視的用法の just は話者の心的態度を表す副詞として機能しているといえる。よって、命題内容に直接関係しなくてもよいということになる。そのため、(22)のような2つめの特徴が挙げられる。

(22) 軽視的用法の just の意味は言語化されにくい。

ネイティヴチェックをすると、(23a)のように just と only が一文内に共起している文を(23b)のようにパラフレーズする。

- (23) a. Just take only your shirt off. (= (20a))
b. All you have to do is take off your shirt
and do nothing else.

(23a)では、only は「限定」の意味で解釈し、「シャツを脱ぐ以外のことはしなくてよい」と理解するという。just の意味はどこに出ているのかを問うと、言語化するのは難しいという判断である。敢えていうのであれば just によって it's not a big deal ということが伝わってはくるが、just にその意味があるわけではないという。この説明は非常に示唆的であり、軽視的用法の just の3つめの特徴につながる。

(24) 軽視的用法の just は談話標識として使われる。

例えば、ある依頼をうけたときに前向きな返事をする人を渋っている人に対して、依頼した人がするであろう発話を考えてみる。

(25) John invited Mary to David's birthday party.
Mary hesitated to accept the invitation since she didn't know David and his friends who were supposed to come to the party. Then, John said to Mary:

- a. Think about it.
- b. Just_(,) think about it.
(= Well, think about it.)

(25a)は、辞書などでは「考えてみてよ」と訳されている。同じような場面で(25b)のように言うこともできる。just の後のカンマは、表記として必要なわけではなく、発話時にポーズが置かれることを表している。このとき、just の語彙的意味はほとんどなく、括弧内にあるように、「まあ考えてみてよ」と訳されるような場合に用いられる well と同じように、ヘッジや談話標識として用いられているという (Tannen (1993))。

軽視的用法の just がもつこれら 3 つの特徴は、「限定」のとりたて表現として働く限定的用法の just にはみられないものではある。しかし、軽視的用法の just と限定的用法の just はまったく別の意味をもつそれぞれ異なった just だというわけではない。just の軽視的用法は「限定」の意味から生じているのである。例えば、中野 (2013)は、(26)における軽視的用法の just について、(27)のように説明している。

- (26) a. Could I just borrow your pen for a second?
- b. Can you lend me just one thousand yen?

(27) 軽視的意味は限定的意味の持つ排他性を内蔵している。[(26)]における軽視的(意味の)just は、「一秒／千円だけ」と、

取りたてた時間や金額を「それ以上ではない」と排他的に限定する

((26), (27): 中野 (2013:282))

また、Brown and Levinson (1987)の(28)の例と説明は、just の「意味」と「機能」を橋渡ししたものになっている。

- (28) a. I just dropped by for a minute to ask if you...
- b. [J]ust conveys both its literal meaning of “exactly”, “only”, which narrowly delimits the extent of the FTA [face-threatening act] and its conventional implicature “merely”.

(Brown and Levinson (1987:177))

(28a)は、just を限定的用法と軽視的用法の両方に解釈することができる曖昧な文である。このとき、just は字義通り「だけ」に対応し、「ただ立ち寄っただけであり、立ち寄る以外のことは何もしない」ことを表し、聞き手に対しては、それ故、大した負担をかけることがないということを語用論的に伝える機能をもつという。

(15)でみたように、Aijmer (2002)が、just には話し手がどのような態度で発話しているのかを聞き手に知らせる機能があると論じている。つまり、もともと「限定」の意味をもつ just が軽視的な用法として用いられるときには、「聞き手への負担をかけない」という話し手の発話態度を表すといえる。よって、(29)のようにまとめることができる。

- (29) 軽視的用法の just を用いて、聞き手の負担を軽減させることができる。

軽視的用法の just を用いて表される「聞き手の負担軽減」という効果は、日本語では「反限定」のとりたて表現を用いることで表せる。

5. 軽視的用法の just と「反限定」

野田 (2015)で「反限定」のとりたて表現と分類されているものは、日本語記述文法研究会 (2009)では、「ぼかしを表すとりたて助詞」として分類され、(30)のように説明されている。

- (30) a. ぼかしを表すとりたて助詞には、「も」「でも」「なんか」「など」がある。
b. ぼかしのとりたてとは、文のある要素をとりたて、同類のものがほかにあることを漠然と示すことにより、文全体の意味を和らげることである。
(日本語記述文法研究会 (2009:137))

つまり、当該のとりたて表現を用いて要素をぼかすことで、文意をやわらげる効果があるというのである。例えば、(31a)や(32a)の「反限定」のとりたて表現「でも」や「など」が用いられた文の効果はそれぞれ(31b)、(32b)のように説明される。

- (31) a. 今夜にでも電話をください。
b. 働きかけの内容が定まったものではなく選択肢の1つにすぎないという示し方をすることによって、文をやわらげる効果がある。
(日本語記述文法研究会 (2009:144))
(32) a. このブラウスなどいかがですか。
b. ほかに可能性のあることを暗示して、はっきり述べるのを避けるものである。
(日本語記述文法研究会 (2009:149))

文意をやわらげたり、はっきりと述べることを避けたりすることにより、結果として聞き手に対する押しつけなどが回避されることになる。ここから、(33)のようにまとめることができる。

- (33) 日本語では、「反限定」のとりたて表現を用いることで、聞き手の負担を軽減させる。

「聞き手の負担軽減」という効果を持つという点で、日本語の「反限定」のとりたて表現と軽視的用法の just は同じであると考えられる。この対応関係をまとめると(34)のようになる。

- (34) 「限定」のとりたて表現である just は、軽視的用法として用いられるときには、聞き手の負担を軽減させるという対人関係調節機能を有する。これは、日本語の「反限定」のとりたて表現の用法に対応するものである。

日本語には、「限定」および「反限定」専用のとりたて表現があり、「反限定」のとりたて表現によって「聞き手の負担軽減」という効果を表す。一方、英語では、「限定」のとりたて表現として働く副詞はあるが、「反限定」のとりたて表現として働く副詞はない。だからといって、日本語の「反限定」のとりたて表現によって表される「聞き手の負担軽減」という効果を表せないわけではなく、「限定」のとりたて表現である just の軽視的用法を経由して、「聞き手の負担軽減」という効果を表すのである。

このような対応づけがもつ意味合いを最後に考えてみたい。

6. おわりに : Huang (2000)の類型論的分類との関連

Huang (2000)は、文内要素の照応関係を形態・統語的に表すのか、語用論的に表すのかというその手段によって言語を pragmatic language と syntactic language に分類している。日本語は、照応関係を表す形態・統語操作はなく、語用論的に表すということから

pragmatic language に分類され、反対に、統語的に照応関係を表す英語は syntactic language に分類されている。

照応関係に関しては、Huang (2000)の提案する分類が妥当だといえるが、英語では『「限定」の just がもつ別の用法から得られる機能を語用論的に利用して対人関係を調整する』という本稿でみてきたとりたて表現の日英語対照から得られる事実に注目すると、この場合は、英語は非常に pragmatic language 的な側面をみせているといえる。これは、常に英語が syntactic language であると分類され得るのだろうかという問いを投げかけることにつながる。形態・統語的手段がない場合に、所与の概念や機能を表せないということはなく、語用論的手段をもってそれらを表す。よって、個別言語のどの現象に焦点を当てるかによって、その言語がより統語的であるか語用論的であるかがいえることになるのではないだろうか。

* 本稿は、日本英語学会第 35 回大会 (2017 年 11 月 18 日、於東北大学) における口頭発表に基づいている。貴重なご意見を頂いた方々にお礼申し上げる。また、国立国語研究所共同研究プロジェクト「対照言語学の観点から見た日本語の音声と文法 (リーダー：窪菌晴夫)」の成果の一部である。JSPS 科研費 JP16K16857 の助成を受けたものである。

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A/A-bar 区分と Improper Movement の 再考察*

(A Reconsideration of the A/A-bar Distinction
and Improper Movement)

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キーワード : A/A-bar 区分, Improper
Movement, POP+

1. 導入

1.1. A/A-bar 区分

生成文法が達成してきた主要な成果の一つに A/A-bar 区分の発見が挙げられる。人間言語には普遍的に移動現象が見られ、移動には A 移動と A-bar 移動という下位分類が存在する。A 移動は局所的に制限されるが、A-bar 移動は理論上はどれだけでも長距離で生じ得る((1))。また A 痕跡の再構築は一部欠如的であるが、A-bar 痕跡についてはそうではない。具体的に、(2a)は A-bar 移動の例であり、再構築の結果、束縛条件 C 違反が観察されるが、(2b)の A 移動の例では、そのような違反が観察されず、このことは、少なくとも A 痕跡では同格の *that* 節以下は再構築されないという点で、A 痕跡の欠如性を表している。

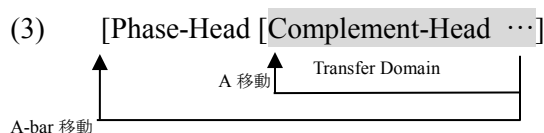
- (1) a. John was hit *t*.
b. *John seems [that it was hit *t*].
c. What [did he eat *t*]?
d. What [did you say [that Mary believed [...he ate *t*]]]?
(2) a.??/* Which argument that John_i is a genius did he_i believe *t*?

- b. Every argument that John_i is a genius seems to him_i to be flawless.
(Fox (1999: 192) (一部修正))

この現象に対し、GB 理論の時代には、 θ 位置や L-mark の想定に基づき、位置の観点から分類が試みられた。紙面の都合上詳細は割愛するが、A 位置、A-bar 位置と呼ばれる位置が規定され、それぞれの位置への移動が A 移動、A-bar 移動として分類された。

しかし、研究戦略が Minimalist Program (MP)に移ると、このような GB 理論時代の分析は、その A/A-bar の位置の想定が厳密な動機付けを欠くことから、代案が必要となった。MP 初期の時代には、Chomsky (2001)の Probe-Goal Agree 操作に基づく枠組みが提案されたが、A/A-bar 区分は曖昧なものとなる。

その後、Chomsky (2008)の Feature Inheritance に基づく Phase 主要部駆動型の枠組みの時代に至り、A/A-bar 区分の定義がひとまず固まることとなる。その枠組みのもとでは、転送領域(Transfer Domain)の内外の観点から A/A-bar 区分が定義可能になった((3))。



具体的には、A 移動とは、素性継承された Phi 素性に基づき生じる、転送領域内の移動であり、この移動が転送領域を超えないことから、Phase 不可侵条件(PIC)の観点から A 移動の局所性が説明された。一方 A-bar 移動は、Phase 主要部が持つ Edge Feature(端素性)により引き起こされる Phase Edge への移動であり、これが転送領域を超えることから、PIC に抵触せずに長距離で適用が可能とされた。

このように、A/A-bar 区分に関する議論は、Chomsky (2008)の Phase 主要部駆動型の枠組みのもとで、一旦の決着を見せた。

1.2. Improper Movement

前節で見た A/A-bar 区分に密接に関係する概念として Improper Movement が挙げられる。Improper Movement とは、概略すれば、要素が A-bar 移動を経験した後 A 移動することを禁じる制約である。具体例として、上記の (1b) の例について考えたい。この例は、前節では A 移動が転送領域内の操作であることから PIC のもとで除外されると説明されたが、もし当該 NP が一度 Phase 主要部の持つ Edge Feature により CP 指定部に引き寄せられ、その後再度 A 移動をしたとすれば、PIC には抵触しないこととなる。しかしこのような移動は、要素が A-bar 移動したのち A 移動を行うという典型的な Improper Movement であるため、独自に除外され、依然として (1b) のような例は容認されないとされた。

この Improper Movement の概念のもと、(4) の例の非文法性も説明がなされた。どちらの文の派生も、途中に A-bar 移動から A 移動という過程を含んでいるため、Improper Movement を伴う派生であり不適切となる。

(4) a. * Who seems it is likely to leave?

b. * Who seems will leave?

(Obata (2012: 55))

先行研究では、Improper Movement の一般化をどのように理論的に引き出すかに関する議論が活発になされてきた。GB 理論の枠組みに基づく May (1979) では、A-bar 移動により生じる変項と、A 移動後の NP との間の束縛原理 C 違反に基づく説明が提示され、MP 初期の枠組みに基づく Fukui (1993) では、Chain Uniformity を派生的に捉える提案のもと、連鎖の種類に基づく説明が試みられた。

しかし前節の議論と同様、MP の時代に入ると、必要最小限の想定のもと一般化を導く方法が模索され、その代表として、Obata and Epstein (2008)、Obata (2012) の提案が登場し

た。これらの研究では、Chomsky (2008) の Phase 主要部駆動型の枠組みに基づき、Feature Splitting の想定により説明が試みられた。再び紙面の都合上詳細は割愛するが、移動操作に必要な素性のみが関与するという想定のもと、A-bar 移動した要素上には Phi 素性が存在しないことが独自に理論的に導かれ、従って A-bar 移動した要素がその後 A 移動する派生は、当該の A-bar 移動後の要素に Phi 素性が存在しないことから排除された。

以上のように、Obata and Epstein (2008)、Obata (2012) の提案のもと、再び Chomsky (2008) の枠組みにおいて、Improper Movement の議論も一定の到達点に至った。

1.3. 移動のコピー理論と痕跡

生成文法では、伝統的には、移動操作の結果、移動した元位置に痕跡(trace, *t*)が残されるとされてきた。しかし MP では、痕跡の派生の途中での挿入は Inclusiveness の観点から望ましくないことから、移動の元位置には痕跡ではなく、移動要素のコピーが残されると想定された(ただし便宜上「*t*」の表記は現在も用いられている)。従って、移動の結果 NP のコピーが複数生じ、最上位のものが発音され、下位のものが痕跡として働くことになる。このコピーに基づく痕跡の定義は、標準的な想定として広く受け入れられている。

2. 理論的背景 : POP+

2.1. Free Merger

近年の MP では、MP 初期には伝統的に「併合(Merge)」と「移動(Move)」として言及されてきた操作が、それぞれ External Merge (外的併合、EM)、Internal Merge (内的併合、IM) として、単一の操作 Merge の下位分類であると分析されている。ここで、POP+ では、Chomsky (2008) の枠組みから大きく離れ、すべての Merge 操作は、素性により引き起こされるのではなく、自由適用されるという主張

がなされた。従って、従来「移動」操作とされた IM も、派生上自由に適用可能であるということになる。なお、本論文では、以下でも、説明の簡略化のために IM を「移動」として言及することがある点に留意したい。

2.2. Labeling Algorithm

前述のように、POP+の枠組みでは Merge の自由適用により派生が行われるが、その結果として完成する構造が Interface で読めるためには、最終的に適切に label がつけられる必要がある。この label 決定の過程は、MP 初期のころは暗黙の内に併合や移動操作の中に組み込まれていたが、POP+ではこれを Merge の過程から除外し、独立した Algorithm に基づき label が決定されるとして、Labeling Algorithm (LA)が提案された。

LA は最小探査に基づく操作であり、当該集合における最も近い主要部を Label として決定する。具体的に見ると、(5a)の最も外側の集合にとって最も近い主要部は、その内部にある X であり、当該集合の label は X として決定される。なお本論文では一貫して、説明の簡略化のため、「XP」と言う伝統的な表記を用いているが、MP の Bare Phrase Structure の観点からは、当該の「XP」は厳密には単に「X」となることにも留意したい。

一方で、LA 上問題となるのが、(5b)にみられる、しばしば XP-YP 状況として言及される状況である。ここでは最も外側の集合の中に、等距離に埋め込まれた主要部 X と Y が存在し、これらは等距離であることからこのままでは LA は当該集合の label を決定することができない。これに対し、(5c)のように、両主要部が共通の prominent feature を所有し、さらに両者が Agree 関係にあるときのみ、Prominent feature sharing option として、当該の素性に基づく label を決定することができる。(5c)では、両主要部が N と T で Phi 素性を有しており、さらにこれらが主語に関

する Agree 関係にあることから、当該集合が <Phi, Phi>として label を受けることができる。

- (5) a. $\{\underline{XP} \underline{X}, \{YP Y, \dots\}\}$
 b. $\{\underline{XP} \underline{X}, \dots\}, \{YP \underline{Y}, \dots\}$
 c. $\{<\Phi_i, \Phi_i> \{NP N_{[\Phi_i]}, \dots\}, \{TP T_{[\Phi_i]}, \dots\}\}$
 (prominent feature sharing option)

3. 問題提起

本節では、本論文の議論の中心となる問題点を指摘する。具体的には、Free Merger の結果、二点の問題が浮上すると主張する。

問題①：POP+の枠組みでは EM、IM の制御は理論的に不可能

既に見たように、Free Merger の想定のもとでは、Merge 操作自体は自由適用され、もしその結果最終的に完成した構造が label 付けに失敗すれば、当該派生は interface で読めない派生となり、full interpretation のもと除外されることになる。従ってこの枠組みのもとでは、基本的には構造構築の過程が問われることはなく、Free Merger の想定の中に含まれている IM に対し、A/A-bar による区分やそれに基づく制限を行うことは理論上困難となる。なお、本論文では触れていないが、POP+では Phase 段階における転送領域の shift の想定もなされており、転送領域に基づく A/A-bar 区分も定義不可能となる。従って、POP+の枠組みのもとでは Chomsky (2008)の A/A-bar 区分は空中分解し、A/A-bar の再定義が必要となる。

問題②：最終的に派生がうまくいく限り、コピーは無制限に生成可能と予測

- (6) $[<\Phi_i, \Phi_i> \underline{John} \text{ seems } [t \ t \ t \ t \ t \dots \text{ to be a genius}]]$. (無制限の痕跡の出現)

(6)では、主語 John が主節主語として<Phi, Phi>の label を決定するまでに、その中間位置で連続循環的な移動をしている。無論この

ような移動や多重の痕跡の出現は明らかに非経済的だが、Free Merger のもとでは、最終的に label 付けがうまくいく限り、派生自体は容認されると予測される。従って、(6)のような痕跡の出現を除外できるのかという第二の問題が生じる。

この第二の問題に対する一つの解決の可能性として、(6)のような派生を、Abels (2003) 等が想定しているような anti-locality により除外するというアプローチが考えられるかもしれない。具体的には、同一の投射の内部での移動を、局所的過ぎるという観点から排除する想定である。このアプローチがうまくいけば(6)の問題は解決されるが、既に見たように、Free Merger のもとでは、IM に何らかの制限をかけるということは枠組み上非常に困難である。

これに対し、本論文で採用することになる別のアプローチは、痕跡の定義を変えるというものである。即ち、(6)のような派生自体は可能性としては存在するが、このように大量に生じた痕跡については、最終的に interface では反映されないと考える可能性である。この可能性は、中間痕跡をどこかの段階で削除するという想定のもとでも導くことが可能ではあるが、痕跡の削除操作という新たな操作を必要とする点で、この選択肢は十分に経済的とはいえない。従って、このような中間位置が痕跡とみなされないような痕跡の定義が提案できれば MP として非常に好ましい。いずれにせよ重要なことは、このアプローチの可能性のもとでは、痕跡を単に IM の結果生じる NP のコピーとして定義することが不可能になるということである。

4. 提案

4.1. 問題の整理

以下では、POP+の枠組みのもと A/A-bar 区分と痕跡を再定義し、Improper Movement の説明へと議論を拡張する。まず、前節の問

題は、以下の三点に集約できる。

- ①Free Merger では、EM/IM に制限をかけられない
 - ②コピーに基づく痕跡の定義は、Free Merger では保持できない
 - ③MP では新たな装置の導入は好ましくない
- まず、①の結果、A/A-bar 区分は、移動の種類の見点からではなく痕跡の見点から定義が必要とすることになる。また、②の結果、その痕跡自体についても、新たな定義が必要となることになる。最後に、③に基づき、これらの問題解決のために新たな装置を導入することは好ましくないことから、最も理想的な解決策は、Merge、Labeling、Lexical Item の三つの見点のみから導かれるものとなる。

4.2. 提案

本論文では以下の二つの提案を行う。

- (7) A 痕跡は<Phi, Phi> label である。
- (8) A-bar 痕跡は variable として働く独立した語彙項目である。

次節において、(7)、(8)の想定のもといかにして3節での問題点が解決されるかを見る。

4.3. 分析

4.3.1. A/A-bar 区分

まず本論文では、(7)において、LA により決定される<Phi, Phi> label が、伝統的な用語での A 痕跡として働く想定する。具体的に、以下の(9)の例を見たい。

- (9) They were all hit *t*.

(9)の受動文の例は、Sportiche (1988)に代表される遊離数量詞の残置分析のもとでは、all が連続循環的 A 移動の最中に A 痕跡の位置に残置された例であるとみなされる。

ここで、本論文では、まず、Epstein, Kitahara

and Seely (2016)の Phase Cancellation の分析を拡張して援用し、弱 Phase の νP は、その内部において、 $\langle \text{Phi}, \text{Phi} \rangle$ の決定のみを許し、NP の格付与を行わないと想定する。詳細なメカニズムについては Otsuka (2017)を参照されたい。従って本論文では、(9)の派生を以下(10)のように想定する。

(10) [$\langle \text{Phi}, \text{Phi} \rangle$ They were [$\langle \text{Phi}, \text{Phi} \rangle$ all-*t* hit].

(10)では、主語 *they* が2つの $\langle \text{Phi}, \text{Phi} \rangle$ label 決定に関与している。このうち下位の $\langle \text{Phi}, \text{Phi} \rangle$ が伝統的な意味での A 痕跡であり、ここに *all* が遊離されると分析する。

またここで、Phi 素性は「性-数-人称」素性の集合であり、あくまでも NP の持つ素性の部分集合に過ぎないということに注目したい。現在主流の痕跡のコピー理論のもとでは、痕跡は最も上位の要素のコピーであることから、痕跡とその先行詞の NP の同定の過程は必要ないが、本論文ではあくまでも A 痕跡は Phi 素性の label であることから、この Phi 素性がどの NP のものであるのか同定する独自の過程が必要であると考え、この過程は C-I Interface にて行われるものと考え、以下の(11)のように想定する。

(11) A 痕跡の同定: $\langle \text{Phi}, \text{Phi} \rangle$ を最近接する上位の NP と同一指標とみなす。

(11)はあくまで暫定的なものであり、今後の研究で詳細を追及することとするが、この同定の過程自体は、まったく新しい独立した操作ではなく、例えば C-I Interface での代名詞の指標の決定の際に必要とされる過程と同質のものであると主張する。次節で詳細に見るが、この同定の過程のために、A 移動の局所性が説明されることになる。また更に、痕跡にあたるものが Phi 素性の label だけであることから、本論文冒頭で見たような、A 痕

跡の欠如性が説明されると主張する。

一方で、(8)では、A-bar 痕跡は Lexicon に存在する独立した語彙項目(variable)であると提案している。従って、派生の詳細は紙面の都合上割愛するが、まず *wh* 要素と語彙項目 variable は直接的 EM により関係を持ち、その後の派生で *wh* 要素のみが IM によって引き離されると考える。よって、A-bar 痕跡に関する場合、当該 *wh* 要素と variable は、Merge により統語的に関係構築ができていため、先ほどの A 痕跡の場合のように、C-I Interface における同定の過程は必要なく、このことから、A-bar 移動の長距離性が説明されると主張する。また、当該 *wh* 要素と variable が Merge する際に *wh* 要素の情報が variable 上に引き継がれることにより、A-bar 痕跡の完全性の説明も可能であると考え。更に、当該操作が直接的な EM を前提としていることから、*wh* 要素と variable の、つまり operator-variable の一対一の対応関係が保証され、所謂 Bijection Principle の説明が可能となる点にも注目したい。もし多重の operator もしくは variable を直接的に EM するとすれば、sideward movement や multiple dominance のような特殊な想定が必要となるが、これらは POP+の枠組みでは排除されている。

4.3.2. Improper Movement

最後に本節では Improper Movement の説明に移る。以下では、(12a)、(12b)の順にその説明を試みる。

- (12) a. * Who seems it is likely to leave?
 (= (4a) : Super-Raising)
 b. * Who seems will leave?
 (= (4b) : 多重格付与)

まず、(12a)では、主語 *who* が *it* を越えて移動している。ここで重要なのは、この文がここで望まれる解釈を持つためには、*who* が

leave の主語として解釈されねばならないということである。本論文の枠組みでは、これらの例は、C-I Interface で、(11)のもと、下位の<Phi, Phi>が誤って *it* を先行詞と認識してしまい、*leave* の項関係の解釈がうまくいかないため除外されると主張する。即ち、(13a)のように派生したとしても、C-I Interface では(13c)のようにしか読み取れないということになる。以下で詳細を見たい。

- (13) a. [_{<Phi, Phi>who} Who seems [_{<Phi, Phi>it} it is likely to [_{<Phi, Phi>who} leave]]].
(12a)の統語上での状態)
- b. [_{<Phi, Phi>} Who seems [_{<Phi, Phi>} it is likely to [_{<Phi, Phi>} leave]]].
(C-I に送られる状態)
- c. [_{<Phi, Phi>who} Who seems [_{<Phi, Phi>it} it is likely to [_{<Phi, Phi>it} leave]]].
(C-I で読み取った結果)

まず(13a)は、(12a)の統語派生であり、ここでは最上位の主語である *who* は最も下位の vP において<Phi, Phi> label を形成するが、中間の埋め込み節では<Phi, Phi> label は *it* により形成され、最上位の節では再び *who* により形成されている。しかし、この派生の結果を C-I Interface に送る際の情報は(13b)のようになる。重要なのは、前節で述べたように、<Phi, Phi>の label は「性-数-人称」の値のみの集合であり、先行詞に関する情報は抜け落ちている点である。従って(11)の提案のもと、先行詞の同定が必要となるが、(13c)にあるように、(11)のもと、C-I Interface では *it* より下位にある<Phi, Phi> label すべてを *it* と同定してしまう。結果として、(13a)のように派生をしたとしても、C-I Interface では(13c)のようにしか読み取れず、結果的に(12a)において *who* が *leave* の主語となる解釈はそもそも得られないということになる。以上の説明は、その他の Superiority の例の説明にも応用で

きる可能性がある。

一方で(12b)では、*who* が埋め込みの定型節と主節で多重に主格を受けている点が問題となる。無論、「一度格付与された NP は以降の label 決定に関われない」といった想定を行うことも可能だが、MP では更に原理的に動機づけられた説明が好ましい。以下では、Work in Progress であるが、新たな説明の可能性を提示する。まず以下のように提案する。

- (14) 提案：<Phi, Phi>の label 決定の際、Case に関する情報も label に加えられる

Chomsky (2013)では、<Phi, Phi>で label づけられている集合は、「主語的」な解釈に関係している可能性が示されており、このことを本論文では、<Phi, Phi>の label には、厳密には Phi 素性以外の共有された(場合によっては解釈に関わる)素性も含まれることを示唆すると解釈する。従って、<Phi, Phi>の Agree の際に Case の値も定まれば、<Case, Case>の label も決定され则认为る。

ここで注目したいのが、Phi 素性の値と格の値が定まれば、当該 label は代名詞と同じ情報を持つことになる点である。例として「男性-単数-三人称-主格」の素性の集合は、代名詞 *he* と同等のものである。従って、(12b)での当該の label がそのまま両 Interface に送られる場合、Inclusiveness Condition に違反しない形で、label 付けの結果、Lexicon 時点で存在しなかった代名詞が出現するという、特異な状況が導かれる。実際に、このような代名詞は特定の条件下で、何らかの規則により Resumptive Pronoun として音声的に具現化すると考えられる。Resumptive Pronoun の説明は、コピーに基づく痕跡の定義のもとでは付加的な想定を必要とする点にも注目したい。

以上を踏まえ、本論文では、(12b)の例が、近距離、より詳細には同一の転送領域内に同一指標の代名詞があることにより、束縛原理

Bのもとに除外される可能性を提示する。無論、束縛原理 B の定義について更なる考察が必要となるが、これについては今後の研究に残すこととする。

5. 結論

本論文では、まず、POP+の Free Merger のもとでの A/A-bar 区分や Improper Movement、痕跡に関する理論的問題点を指摘した。その後、Merge、Labeling、Lexical Item に基づき、新たな装置の導入を行うことなく、A/A-bar と痕跡の再定義を行い、Improper Movement についても説明の可能性を提示し、これにより生成文法 MP の Phase 理論のさらなる理論的發展に貢献した。

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注

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An Analysis of Clausal Gerunds with the Labeling Algorithm*

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Keywords: clausal gerund, coordination, ellipsis,
movement theory of control, labeling algorithm

1. Introduction

English has nominal expressions called gerunds. Gerunds are further divided into three types: Nominal gerunds (NG), possessive gerunds (PG), and clausal gerunds (CG). In the first type, an internal argument appears with a preposition *of*, and an external argument with a possessive Case, as in (1a). The second type is different from the first type in that an internal argument receives an accusative Case, as in (1b). The last type is further different from the second type because an external argument occurs with an accusative or nominative Case, as in (1c).

- | | |
|---|----|
| (1) a. the girl's reading of the sonnet | NG |
| b. the girl's reading the sonnet | PG |
| c. the girl reading the sonnet | CG |

In this paper, after overviews previous analyses concerning CGs as in (1c), I will point out their problems, and then provide an alternative analysis. Adopting the labeling algorithm (LA) proposed in Chomsky (2013, 2015), I will argue that the label of CGs is NominalP, which is determined via nominal

feature sharing. The proposed analysis will account for why CGs and their subjects receive the same Case.

In the next section, I will overview the previous analyses on CGs and point out their problems. Section 3 provides an alternative analysis based on the LA. Section 4 supports the proposed analysis in terms of coordination and ellipsis. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Previous Analyses and their Problems

Abney (1987) is well-known for the so-called “DP Hypothesis,” which provides an influential analysis of CGs. Abney proposes the following structure for *John singing the Marseillaise*.

- (2) [_{DP} -ing [_{IP} John [_{I'} I [_{VP} [_V sing]] [_{DP} the Marseillaise]]]] (Abney (1987: 141))

For Abney, CGs are DP, followed by IP. *John* is base-generated in the Spec of IP and assigned an accusative Case from I (AGR). The nominal morpheme *-ing* is the head of DP, which is lowered to V *sing*, via I, forming *singing*.

Existence of IP/TP in CGs has widely been accepted. The primary evidence comes from availability of the expletive *there* and sentential adverbs on the one hand, and independent tense interpretations on the other. First, the sentence in (3) shows that the expletive *there* is available in CGs.

- (3) I approve of [there being a literacy exam
for political candidates]
(Abney (1987: 72), brackets in original)

If the expletive occurs in the Spec of IP/TP, (3) supports the view that CGs contain IP/TP in their internal structure. Second, in (4), a

sentential adverb *probably* occurs in the CG.

- (4) John probably being a spy, Bill thought it wise to avoid him

(Reuland (1983: 108),
cited in Abney (1987: 115))

Given that such a sentential adverb adjoins to IP/TP, the existence of IP/TP is evidenced. Lastly, the example in (5) demonstrates the availability of independent tense interpretations. The tense in the CG has a future interpretation with respect to the matrix tense, as clearly shown with the adverbs *yesterday* and *tonight*.

- (5) Mary worried *yesterday* about [Paul coming dinner *tonight*].

(Pires (2006: 25),
italic and brackets in original)

Hence, the existence of IP/TP is empirically borne out.

Abney's analysis correctly explains the fact that CGs appear in argument positions, as well. As (6) shows, CGs occur in a complement position of verbs (6a) and prepositions (6b, c) on the one hand, and in a subject position (6d) on the other.

- (6) a. Mary favored [Bill taking care of her land].
b. Susan worried about [Mark being late for dinner].
c. Sylvia wants to find a new house without [Anna helping her].
d. [Sue showing up at the game] was surprise to everybody.

(Pires (2006: 20), brackets in original)

Although he does not provide a detailed analysis,

if CGs behave as DP in external distribution, it is straightforwardly explained why CGs appear in these positions.

However, Abney's analysis is problematic empirically and theoretically. Empirically, his analysis cannot explain the fact that a subject of CGs can be PRO. To see why, consider the examples in (7), where each illustrates that a subject of CGs cannot be a subject of passive and raising predicates.

- (7) a. *Paul is preferred [swimming in the morning].

- b. *John appears [liking Mary].

(Pires (2006: 27))

In order to deal with these facts, Abney has to assume that an accusative is obligatorily assigned to a subject of CGs. Then, the sentences in (7) would be excluded as receiving two Cases: one (accusative) from I (AGR) in the CGs and the other (nominative) from I (AGR) in the roots. However, this assumption is not motivated, and incorrectly predicts that the sentence (8) is ungrammatical. In (8), the subject of the CG is PRO.

- (8) John prefers swimming. (Pires (2006: 39))

If an accusative is obligatorily assigned from I (AGR) in the CG, then, the PRO in (8) receives the Case, which is undesired. In general, PRO must bear null Case rather than an accusative or nominative Case. Therefore, Abney's analysis incorrectly excludes the grammatical sentence in (8).

Furthermore, it is theoretically unclear why I (AGR) in CGs assigns an accusative. Generally, I (AGR) is assumed to assign a nominative. Abney does not provide any reason, and he just

stipulates.

To solve these problems, adopting the Movement Theory of Control (MTC, Hornstein (1999)), Pires (2006) proposes an alternative analysis of CGs, with the hypothesis in (9).

- (9) The Tense (T^0) head of a CG carries an uninterpretable Case feature that needs to be valued. (Pires (2006: 41))

To see how the hypothesis in (9) works, consider the structure of *John prefers swimming* in (10).

- (10) [_{TP2} John [_{T'} [_{VP} ~~John~~ [_{v'} prefers [_{VP} ~~prefers~~ [_{TP1} ~~John~~ [_{T'} AGR [_{VP} ~~John~~ swimming]]]]]]]]]
(cf. Pires (2006: 45))

In this structure, TP2 and TP1 correspond to the matrix clause and the CG, respectively. The subject *John* is base-generated in the Spec of vP in the CG and receives the first theta role. The Case feature of AGR, the head of TP1, is valued by the matrix *v* and an accusative Case is assigned to AGR, under the hypothesis in (9). *John* further moves to (or internally merges with) the Spec of TP1 in order to satisfy EPP in T1 (AGR). Then, it moves to the Spec of TP2 via the Spec of vP in the matrix clause, satisfying the EPP requirement. When it passes the Spec of vP in the matrix clause, it receives the second theta role.

When a CG has an overt subject, he assumes a slightly different derivation. Consider, for concreteness, the derivation of *Sue prefers John swimming*, illustrated in (11).

- (11) [_{TP2} Sue [_{T'} [_{VP} ~~Sue~~ [_{v'} prefers [_{VP} ~~prefers~~ [_{TP1} John [_{T'} AGR [_{VP} ~~John~~ swimming]]]]]]]]]
(cf. Pires (2006: 50))

In this case, the derivation up to VP proceeds similarly to (10). It differs from (10) in the way the theta role assignment to and movement of the root subject *Sue*, as well as Case assignment to CG subject *John*. *Sue* is base-generated in the Spec of the matrix vP, where it receives a theta role. It receives a Case from the matrix T, and then, moves to the Spec of TP2 to satisfy EPP. CG and its subject *John* receive an accusative from matrix *v*. *John* moves to the Spec of TP1, satisfying the EPP requirement.

Pires argues that the hypothesis in (9) accounts for the reason why CGs occur in argument positions: T in CGs has to be valued for its Case feature (and assigned a Case), so that CGs appear in complement positions of verbs and prepositions on the one hand, and subject positions on the other, as in (6).

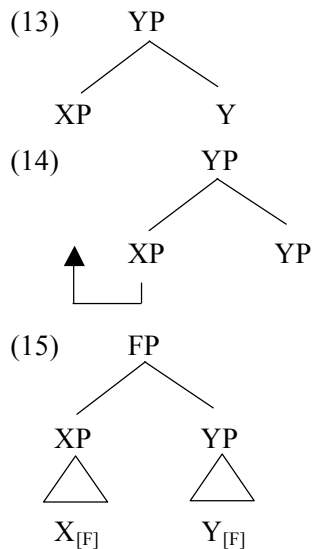
Pires' analysis partially resolves the problems with Abney's. In Pires' analysis, it is clear why an overt subject of CGs receives an accusative. After T in a CG receives an accusative, it is, in turn, assigned to the subject of the CG. This is why CGs appear in argument positions, as observed in (6). In addition, the analysis correctly accounts for (7) and (8). (7) is ungrammatical because T in the CGs is not assigned any Case. In (8), T in the CG is assigned an accusative from the matrix verb. The subject of the CG *John* moves to the Spec of the matrix TP, receiving a nominative, before the accusative is "transferred" from T in the CG. However, the idea that T itself bears a Case feature (and receives a Case) is not independently motivated, being a construction-specific stipulation. In general, T is assumed to bear phi-features rather than a Case feature. Therefore, both Abney's and Pires' analyses have some problems and should be revised.

3. An Alternative Analysis

This section presents an alternative analysis based upon the LA in Chomsky (2013, 2015), which solves the problems discussed thus far. For readers who are unfamiliar with the LA, I will overview how it works, first.

The detailed contents of the LA are given in (12). The situation in (12b) is called the XP-YP problem because we cannot determine a label automatically as in (12a).

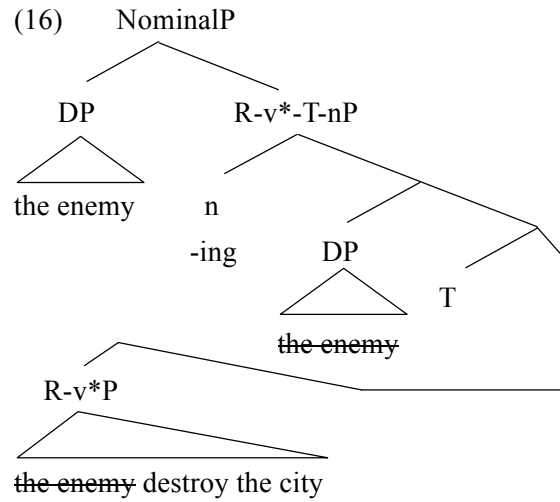
- (12) a. When a phrase XP and a word Y are merged, Y becomes the label, as in (13).
 b. When a phrase XP and another phrase YP are merged,
 i. if XP moves, Y becomes the label, as in (14).
 ii. if X(P) and Y(P) have the same feature F, F becomes the label, as in (15).



In addition, Chomsky assumes that root R in general and T in English are too weak to determine a label.

Given the LA and the assumptions above, I propose an alternative analysis for CGs. Assuming that the nominal suffix *-ing* is introduced by nominalizer n, I argue that the top-most label of a CG is NominalP because of

nominal-feature sharing. For concreteness, consider the derivation of *the enemy destroying the city*, illustrated below:



The way of labeling up to R-v*P is the same as that in Chomsky (2013, 2015). The nominalizer *-ing* is a suffix, which needs to be attached to an element. Thus, after root *destroy* internally merges with v*, which further merges with T, *-ing* is lowered to v* via T, forming *destroying*. Since T is too weak to determine a label, the label of the whole phrase at this stage is the amalgamation R-v*-T-nP. The CG subject *the enemy* is base-generated in the Spec of R-v*P, and internally merges with R-v*-T-nP via the traditional TP-Spec position. At this point, the XP-YP problem arises, which is solved only by taking the option in (12bii). Since it is the nominal feature that these two phrases have in common, the top-most label of the CG is determined as NominalP.

The present analysis correctly explains the facts discussed in the previous section. First, as we have observed in (6), CGs have to appear in argument positions. This is because both CGs themselves and their subject require a Case. Under the present analysis, a CG subject and the nominalizer *-ing* share a nominal feature. As a

result, Cases in CGs and their subject are licensed when the whole NominalP is assigned an accusative (or a nominative in the case of (6d)). Second, it has been observed in (7) that A-movement of a CG subject is barred. The ungrammaticality is explained in terms of failure of assigning a Case. In (7), the subjects, *Paul* and *John* are assigned a Case from the matrix T, but the CGs themselves do not receive any Cases, which is the reason why the sentences are ungrammatical. Lastly, in (8), an accusative is assigned only to the CG itself. Rejecting the MTC, I assume that the subject of the whole sentence, *John* is base-generated in the matrix Spec-vP. Although the nominal feature is shared between the nominal head *-ing* and PRO, an accusative is licensed only in the CG head, *-ing* by assignment of the Case to NominalP, since PRO does not have a Case feature. Therefore, an accusative is assigned only to the CG head, *-ing*.

4. Further Consequences

This section presents new data concerning coordination and ellipsis, which pose problems to Abney's (1987) and Pires' (2006) analyses but provide further support for the present approach. I begin with a discussion of coordination.

As far as I know, it has not been noticed that CGs can coordinate with other nominals. In (17), CGs and deverbal derived nominals are coordinated.

- (17) a. John preferred destroying an existing notion and creation of a new idea.
 b. John preferred destruction of an existing notion and creating a new idea.

Pires' analysis cannot explain the fact, while Abney's and my analysis can. In Pires' analysis,

the top-most projection of CGs is TP. Then, it will incorrectly be predicted that coordination with other nominal expressions is disallowed. In other words, (17) would be excluded as coordination of different categories, as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. John preferred [_{TP} destroying an existing notion] and [_{DP} creation of a new idea].
 b. John preferred [_{DP} destruction of an existing notion] and [_{TP} creating a new idea].

On the other hand, Abney takes CGs to be DP, which correctly accounts for the fact. In the present analysis, the top-most projection is NominalP, permitting coordination with other nominals.

The examples in (17) also cast doubt on the MTC, which is adopted by Pires. The derivations of (17a, b) under the MTC would be as follows:

- (19) a. John preferred [_{t_{John}} destroying an existing notion] and [creation of a new idea]
 b. John preferred [destruction of an existing notion] and [_{t_{John}} creating a new idea].

In (17), moving the subject of the CGs is tantamount to extracting an element only from one conjunct. The derivations clearly violate the the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC, Ross (1967)). Therefore, Pires' analysis is also problematic in terms of coordination, which, in contrast, provides further support for the present analysis.

Next, consider ellipsis in CGs, which has not been discussed actively. It poses problems for the two previous analyses while it supports the

present analysis. As shown below, a verb phrase in *to*-infinitival and tensed clauses in (20) and (21) can be elided (verb phrase ellipsis, VPE) when an antecedent is a CG. The corresponding non-elided sentences are also grammatical.

(20) John preferred using a computer and Mary preferred to ~~use a computer~~, too.

(21) I know of Chomsky criticizing the Viet Nam War, and I know that Obama did ~~criticize the Viet Nam War~~, too.

However, reversing the relation between an antecedent and an elided position makes the sentences ungrammatical. To wit, eliding (parts of) CGs is impossible when an antecedent is a *to*-infinitive and a tensed clause, as in (22) and (23). Since the corresponding sentences without ellipsis are grammatical, we can attribute the ungrammaticality to the ellipsis.

(22) *John preferred to use a computer and Mary preferred ~~using a computer~~, too.

(23) *I know that Chomsky criticized the Viet Nam War, and I know of Obama ~~criticizing the Viet Nam War~~, too.

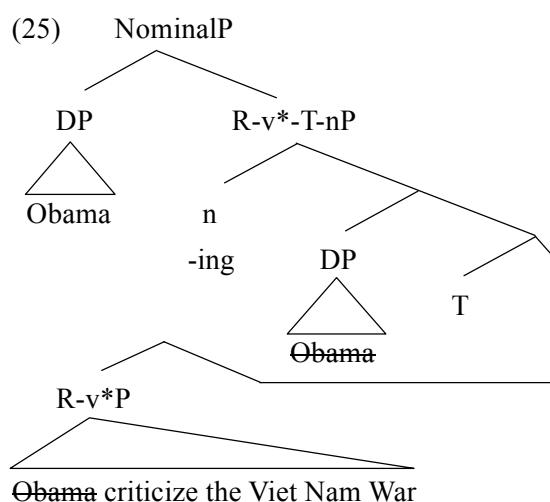
Notice that even when an antecedent is a CG, eliding (parts of) CGs is barred, as in (24). The corresponding non-elided sentence is grammatical.

(24) *I know of Chomsky criticizing the Viet Nam War, and I know of Obama ~~criticizing the Viet Nam War~~, too.

The examples in (20), (21), and (24) indicate that the ungrammaticality of (22) and (23) cannot be accounted for in terms of the syntactic/morphological identity condition. In

(20), the head of the antecedent is *using* while that of the elided element is *use*. In (21), *V criticize* is elided even though the corresponding position is *criticizing*. In these sentences, despite the morphological mismatch, ellipsis is permitted. On the other hand, in (24), the forms of the antecedent and elided heads are exactly the same, yet the sentences are ungrammatical. Therefore, we cannot attribute the ungrammaticality of (22) and (23) to the syntactic/morphological identity condition.

Then, how can we explain the (un)grammaticality of the sentences above? I will explain it in terms of the licensing condition on ellipsis proposed in Lobeck (1995), who argues that ellipsis can be applied only to the complement position of functional categories (C, T, and D). The present analysis gives (23) the following structure:



The derivation proceeds similarly to (16). The label of the whole phrase is determined as NominalP by nominal feature sharing. The crucial point is that R-v*-T-nP is not placed in a complement position of functional categories, hence violating the licensing condition on ellipsis. Therefore, (23) is ungrammatical.

Abney's analysis cannot provide a

satisfactory explanation. The structure of the elided position in (23) would be as follows:

- (26) [_{DP} -ing [_{IP} Obama [_{I'} [_I [_{VP} [_V criticize]] [_{DP} the Viet Nam War]]]]]]
(cf. Abney (1987: 141))

In this structure, after the morpheme *-ing* is lowered to V via I, we incorrectly expect VP to be deleted since it is placed in the complement position of I, which is a functional projection.

The ellipsis data go against Pires' analysis, too. His analysis would provide the elided site in (23) with the following structure:

- (27) [_{TP} Obama [_{T'} AGR [_{VP} ~~Obama~~ [_{V'} [_V criticizing]] [_{VP} [_V ~~criticize~~] [_{DP} the Viet Nam War]]]]]]

Here, the same problem arises regarding ellipsis. After *Obama* moves from Spec vP to Spec TP, deletion of vP observes the licensing condition since vP is placed in the complement position of T (AGR). Therefore, both Abney's and Pires' analyses make the incorrect predictions.

5. Conclusion

This paper has overviewed Abney's (1987) and Pires' (2006) analyses on CGs, and pointed out problems regarding Case assignment to CGs and their subject. To resolve the problem, I have proposed an alternative analysis based on the LA. Concretely, I have argued that the label of CGs is NominalP, which is determined via nominal feature sharing. In addition, I have demonstrated that the proposed analysis is supported in terms of coordination and ellipsis.

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An Argument Structure Alternation of Change-of-State Verbs under VP-Deletion*

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Keywords: argument structure alternation,
syntactic identity, *v* mismatch

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the change-of-state verbs that exhibit the following alternation:

- (1) a. The snow melted.
- b. The heat melted the snow.

(1a) shows that the verb *melt* has an intransitive variant, where the sole argument *the snow* appears in the subject position and is interpreted as an entity undergoing a change of state, conventionally called Theme. The verb *melt* also has a causative variant, as shown in (1b), where the Theme argument in (1a), *the snow*, occurs in the object position and the subject position is occupied by *the heat*, which is interpreted as an event that causes the change of state, referred to as Causer by Pesetsky (1996). In this paper, we will explore the VP structure of the two variants by looking at the behavior they show under ellipsis.

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2 we will propose a VP structure for the two variants. In section 3 we will briefly review Merchant's (2013) syntactic approach to

morphosyntactic mismatches in ellipsis. Based on his approach, we will then provide novel data of *v* mismatches in VP deletion as evidence for the structure proposed in section 2. In section 4 we will discuss two consequences that our analysis has for (i) internally caused change-of-state verbs, such as *wilt* and *ferment*, and (ii) causative-intransitive pairs, such as *raise-rise* and *kill-die*. In section 5 we will present concluding remarks.

2. A Proposal

We propose the following VP structure for the change-of-state verbs, following the constructivist view of thematic roles (Folli and Harley (2005, 2006), Harley (2011)).¹

- (2) a. [_{VP} melt the snow]
- b. [_{VP} the heat [_{v'} *v*_{cause} [_{VP} melt the snow]]]

The intransitive alternant in (1a) has the underlying structure (2a), where the lexical verb requires that its complement be interpreted as a Theme argument of the change-of-state event. The causative alternant in (1b) has the structure (2b), which embeds the VP in (2a) under the *v*_{cause} head. This functional head provides a specifier interpreted as Causer and encodes the cause relation between the causer and the change-of-state event. Thus, the alternation is derived from the presence/absence of the extra functional layer.

3. An Analysis

In this section, we adopt Merchant's (2013) theory of VP deletion and argue that our proposal is supported by some novel facts about the VP deletion of change-of-state verbs.

3.1. The Syntactic Identity Condition on VP Deletion

First, we review Merchant's (2013) approach to ellipsis. He points out that VP deletion permits voice mismatches between the antecedent and the elided verb phrase, while voice mismatches in larger ellipsis types such as sluicing are not tolerated. The contrast leads him to argue that the identity relation in ellipsis is sensitive not only to semantics but also to syntax. Then, to account for the morphosyntactic facts, he proposes that the head that encodes voice morphology is external to the verb phrase. Specifically, VP ellipsis can allow voice mismatches because it targets a structure that excludes the voice head. On the other hand, sluicing does not allow voice mismatches, because it targets a larger structure that includes the voice head.

Based on this line of reasoning, we assume that the structures in (2) are embedded under Voice and the target of VP ellipsis. A further assumption is that the syntactic identity relation in VP deletion must be satisfied between verbal heads below Voice. More specifically, the antecedent verbal structure must have the same structural relation between verbal heads as the elided verbal phrase has up to Voice.² For example, if the causative variant in (2b) is elided, then the antecedent must have the same v-V head structure.

3.2. ν Mismatches in the VP Deletion of Change-of-State Verbs

In the previous sections, we presented our main assumptions regarding the target of VP deletion and the structure on which the syntactic identity condition is imposed. On these assumptions, in this section we will show that the structure proposed in (2) is correct by

examining whether the argument structure alternation can be found between antecedent verbal phrases and elided verbal phrases.

First, consider the case where the causative variant is the antecedent and the intransitive one is elided. The intransitive variant has the structure in (3b), where VP deletion targets the boxed structure. The causative variant has the verb phrase structure in (3a), where the VP structure to be elided in (3b) is embedded under the ν_{cause} head.

- (3) a. [VoiceP Voice_[+Active] [_{VP} Causer [_{v'} ν_{cause} [_{VP} V Theme]]]]
 b. [VoiceP Voice_[+Active] [_{VP} V Theme]]

In this case, the syntactic identity condition between the elided part and the antecedent is satisfied because the antecedent has the same verbal head as the elided structure. Thus, we predict that ellipsis should be possible. This prediction is borne out by the data below, where the elided part is indicated in the angled brackets.

- (4) John believed that the sunshine would melt the big snowballs_i, but they_i didn't <melt>.

Second, consider the reverse pattern of (3), where the intransitive variant is the antecedent and the causative one is elided. Each verb phrase structure is schematized in (5).

- (5) a. [VoiceP Voice_[+Active] [_{VP} V Theme]]
 b. [VoiceP Voice_[+Active] [_{VP} Causer [_{v'} ν_{cause} [_{VP} V Theme]]]]

As the causative structure in (5b) shows, the boxed structure includes the ν_{cause} head, which is not included in the intransitive antecedent.

This means that the elided part and the antecedent are not syntactically identical in our sense. Therefore, we predict that ellipsis should be impossible. This is confirmed by the following data, where ellipsis of the causative verb phrase is not allowed.

- (6) *John believed that the big snowballs_i
would not melt, but the sunshine did
<melt them_i>.

However, one could say that the deletion in (6) is blocked due to the lack of semantic identity. The boxed structure in (5b) includes the argument interpreted as Causer in the event semantics (Parsons (1990)). But it is not included in the intransitive antecedent in (5a). In order to decide between the two reasons, consider the data in (7).

- (7) The snow melted from the heat.

As shown in (7), when change-of-state verbs are used as intransitive variants, some of them can optionally take a PP that denotes the cause of the event. This suggests that (7) has the same meaning as (1b). This is confirmed by the following data involving coordination.

- (8) a. #The snow melted from the heat but the
heat didn't melt the snow.
b. #The heat melted the snow but the snow
didn't melt from the heat.

In (8a), the intransitive sentence with the Causer PP is followed by the negation of the causative counterpart. In (8b), the causative sentence is conjoined with the negative intransitive sentence with the Causer PP. If (7) did not have the same meaning as (1b), (8) would not cause

contradiction, because the sentential negation in the second conjuncts could negate the semantic component which the first conjuncts lack. However, our informant judges that the examples in (8) result in contradictions, indicated by #. Therefore, we assume that (7) and (1b) denote the same proposition. In addition, we assume with Rákosi (2012) that the Causer PP is adjoined to VP, as depicted in (9).

- (9) [_{VoiceP} Voice_[+Active] [_{VP} [_{VP} melt the snow]
[_{PP} from the heat]]]

On these assumptions, examine the slightly modified case of (6) where the Causer PP is added to the intransitive antecedent. In this case, semantic identity should be maintained for the reason stated above. However, the antecedent and the elided part still are not syntactically identical because the former does not include the *v_{cause}* head. Therefore, we predict that ellipsis should remain impossible as in (6). This is borne out by the data in (10).

- (10) *John believed that the big snowballs_i
would melt from the sunshine_j, but it_j
didn't<melt them_i>.

Thus, we conclude that the ungrammaticality of (6) and (10) is due to a violation of the condition on the syntactic identity.

Furthermore, consider the reverse pattern. The causative antecedent has a meaning identical to the elided intransitive part with the Causer PP. In addition, both structures share the elided head, namely, the lexical V head, which satisfies the syntactic identity condition. Therefore, ellipsis is predicted to be possible. In fact, our informant judges such an example to be acceptable, as shown in (11).

- (11) John believed that the sunshine_i would melt the big snowballs_j, but they_j didn't <melt from it_i>.

Finally, compare (11) and (4), which involve the same sequence of words but differ in the presence/absence of the Causer PP in the elided parts. This difference means that the negation in (11) denies the participation of the particular cause in the event, while the negation in (4) negates the existence of the event itself. Thus, if (11) and (4) are succeeded by an additional context such as *the rain melted them*, the former should yield a consistent interpretation, while the latter should yield an inconsistent interpretation. This is confirmed by the ambiguity in (12).

- (12) John believed that the sunshine would melt the big snowballs, but they didn't.
The rain melted them.
(contradiction and non-contradiction)

Thus, although (11) and (4) appear to be the same thing, we conclude that they must have been derived from different structures.

3.3. *v* Mismatches in Sluicing

In section 3.2, we argued that VP ellipsis is permitted in the intransitive sentence when the causative acts as the antecedent, because the antecedent has the same head as the elided part. Let us then consider the case of sluicing, where the target of ellipsis is extended to TP, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. [TP T [VoiceP Voice_[+Active] [VP [VP melt the snowballs] [PP from the sunshine]]]]
b. [TP T [VoiceP Voice_[+Active] [vP the sunshine [v' v_{cause} [VP melt the snowballs]]]]]

In this case, the intransitive structure in (13a) and the causative structure in (13b) are no longer syntactically identical to each other, because the former has a T-Voice-V head structure, while the latter has a T-Voice v-V head structure. Thus, we make a further prediction that argument structure mismatches should not be tolerated between the antecedent and the elided part in sluicing even in the case where VP ellipsis is possible. This prediction is borne out by (14a), where the intransitive variant is elided.

- (14) a. *I know something melted the snowballs_i, but I don't know from what <they_i melted>.
b. *I know something melted from the sunshine_i, but I don't know what <it_i melted>.

As shown in (14b), sluicing is also impossible when the intransitive variant is the antecedent to the ellipsis of the causative variant. As we have already seen, VP ellipsis is impossible in this case (see (6) and (10)).³

4. Consequences

In this section, we will discuss two consequences that our analysis has for (i) internally caused change-of-state verbs, (ii) causative-intransitive pairs with different forms.

4.1. Internally Caused Change-of-State Verbs and VP Deletion

Change-of-state verbs are classified into two groups according to the type of causation: externally caused change-of-state verbs and internally caused ones. The former describe a change of state brought about by the existence of an external cause. The verb *melt*, analyzed in the previous sections, is one of them. In this

section, we will deal with internally caused change-of-state verbs. The changes of state described by the verbs come about as a result of internal physical characteristics of their sole argument. Such verbs are usually considered as not entering the causative alternation because an internally caused eventuality cannot be externally controlled. However, Alexiadou (2014), Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2015) observe that some of the relevant verbs can causativize using ambient conditions as the subjects of their causative variants.

- (15) a. The petunias wilted.
 b. The early summer heat wilted the petunias.

As shown in (15), our informant also allows the verb *wilt* to have the causative use as well as the intransitive use. Now, consider the following VP ellipsis data of this verb.

- (16) a. John believed that the early summer heat would wilt the petunias_i, but they_i didn't <wilt>.
 b. *John believed that the petunias_i would not wilt, but the early summer heat did <wilt them_i

According to our informant, when the causative variant is the antecedent and the intransitive one is deleted, the sentence is acceptable, as shown in (16a). In contrast, when the intransitive alternant appears in the antecedent verb phrase and the causative one is used in the elided verb phrase, the sentence is unacceptable, as shown in (16b). These facts lead us to basically the same conclusion as in the case of the verb *melt*: the causative structure of the verb *wilt* embeds the intransitive counterpart under the v_{cause} head, as

in (2). Let us further consider the data in (17).

- (17) The petunias wilted from the early summer heat.

As with the verb *melt*, the intransitive variant of the verb *wilt* can also select the Causer PP optionally. If our proposal is on the right track, we make further predictions: the causative antecedent should license the VP deletion of its intransitive variant with the Causer PP, while the intransitive antecedent with the Causer PP should not license the VP deletion of its causative variant. As in the case of the verb *melt* ((10)), these predictions are borne out by the data in (18a, b), respectively.

- (18) a. John believed that the early summer heat_i would wilt the petunias_j, but they_j didn't <wilt from it_i>.
 b. *John believed that the petunias_i would wilt from the early summer heat_j, but it_j didn't <wilt them_i>.

4.2. Causative-Intransitive Pairs with Different Forms and VP Deletion.

So far, we dealt with causative-intransitive pairs with the same morphology. In this section, we will deal with the ones with different morphology such as *raise-rise* and *kill-die*, and examine what morphological constraints are at work in ellipsis by looking at VP deletion under morphological mismatches. Consider the following examples.

- (19) a. Oil prices rose.
 b. The war raised oil prices.
 (20) a. The patient died.
 b. The virus killed the patient.

As shown in (19) and (20), *raise* and *kill* are semantically the lexical causatives of *rise* and *die*, respectively. We will assume that these causative-intransitive pairs also syntactically form pairs and are analyzed in the same way as the change-of-state verbs discussed thus far: the causative verb has a *v*P structure that includes the intransitive VP structure as a subset. If this assumption is correct, the causative antecedent should license the VP deletion of the intransitive verb, while VP deletion should not be licensed in the reverse pattern. This prediction is borne out by the examples in (21), which illustrate the VP deletion of the pair *raise-rise*.

- (21) a. John believed that the war would
raise oil prices_i, but they_i didn't <rise>.
b. *John believed that oil prices_i would
not rise, but the war did <raise them_i>.

However, the same is not true of the ellipsis of *kill-die*: the causative antecedent does not allow the intransitive VP to be deleted, as illustrated in (22a).

- (22) a. *John believed that the virus would kill
the patient_i, but he_i didn't <die>.
b. *John believed that the patient_i would
not die, but the virus did <kill him_i>.

Even when we provide the intransitive variants in (22) with Causer PPs, the acceptability does not vary, as shown in (23).⁴

- (23) a. *John believed that the virus_i would
kill the patient_j, but he_j didn't <die
from it_i>.
b. *John believed that the patient_i would
die from the virus_j, but it_j didn't <kill
him_i>.

One way to account for the facts above is to say that causative-intransitive pairs must share a common root when deletion is applied. Under this condition, the VP deletion of the *kill-die* pair is not allowed, because the pair does not have the same root. In contrast, assuming that the pair *raise-rise* has the same root but gets a different Spell Out depending on whether it combines with the *v*_{cause} head or not, the deletion facts follow.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have proposed that the causative-intransitive alternation of change-of-state verbs is a *v*_{cause} alternation, that is, the intransitive variant has a simple VP structure, and the causative one contains an extra layer of structure above VP that introduces the Causer argument, namely *v*_{cause}P. We have shown that the structures are supported by novel data concerning VP ellipsis. We have also shown that the analysis based on the structural relationship between the two variants can be extended to internally caused change-of-state verbs such as *wilt*, and that VP deletion is subject to an additional morphological condition so that the causative *kill* cannot be the antecedent to the ellipsis of the intransitive *die*.

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NOTES

¹ In this framework, thematic roles are defined by the interaction of the syntactic positions that the arguments occupy and the functional heads that introduce them. Verb alternations are captured by hypothesizing different functional heads on top of a single verbal root.

² At the ELSJ meeting, Professor Kensuke Takita pointed out that only the head of the complement of Voice would be important to establish the syntactic identity relation. It is true that such a local condition holds for VP deletion, but it might not hold for sluicing. In the sluicing case, the syntactic identity condition would only see the T head in both of the intransitive and causative variants. Thus, argument structure mismatches would always be permitted in sluicing, contrary to fact. Therefore, in this paper, we will define syntactic identity as the structural relation between verbal heads below Voice in the case of VP deletion and below C in the case of sluicing.

³ Note that (14b) can be acceptable if the elided part is recovered as *melted from the sunshine*.

⁴ The intransitive *die* can be accompanied by a Causer PP.

- (i) The patient died from the virus.

As discussed in section 3.2, we assume that (20b) and (i) are the same in meaning, which is confirmed by the data in (ii) where the juxtaposition of one variant with the negated version of the other leads to contradiction.

- (ii) a. #The virus killed the patient but the patient didn't die from the virus.
 b. #The patient died from the virus but the virus didn't kill the patient.

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Fragment Answers with Focus Particles *

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Keywords : fragments, deletion, sluicing,
cartography

1. Introduction

This paper demonstrates that fragmentary answers to wh-questions in Japanese ((1)A) are derived by the same process that derives English sluicing ((2)), that is, movement to CP-spec followed by TP-ellipsis. I also show that ellipsis is conditioned by syntax.

(1) Q: John-ga nani-o tabeta-no?

-nom what-acc ate-Q

‘What did John eat?’

A: [_{CP} Ringo-o [_{TP} ~~John-ga t tabeta~~] C⁰]

apple-acc -nom ate

‘Apples, John ate.’

(2) John ate something, but I don’t know what
[_{TP} ~~he ate~~].

2. Cartography

To establish our main thesis, I argue for a cartographic structure shown in (3).

(3) [_{KosoP} -koso [_{CP} wh [_{SaeP} -sae [...] Sae⁰] C⁰]
Koso⁰]

2.1. Focused Fragments

Consider fragmentary answers to (1)Q

accompanied by focus particles *-koso* and *-sae*, and a negative fragmentary answer.

(1) A’: *Ringo-koso.

A’’: ?Ringo-sae.

A’’’: Nani-mo.

Some focus particles cannot accompany fragmentary answers ((1)A’), while others can ((1)A’’ and (1)A’’’). The focus particle in (1A’), *-koso*, is licensed in a projection higher than the CP, while the one in (1A’’’) is licensed by a projection lower than CP. Lowering the fragment stranding the focus particle *-koso* is impossible due to a violation of proper binding condition (PBC: Fiengo (1977)) . This accounts for the impossibility of (1)A’.

(4) [_{KosoP} t_i-koso [_{CP} ringo_i ... C⁰] Koso⁰]

,

(1)A’’ also gets a straightforward explanation: raising the fragment stranding *sae* is licit, since the structure is free from a violation of PBC, as in (5).

(5) [_{CP} ringo_i [_{SaeP} t_i-sae [_{TP} ...] Sae⁰] C⁰]

The negative fragment in (1)A’’’ is well-formed, showing that negative fragments pattern with *-sae*. I suggest that C⁰ in Japanese can bear a [neg] feature, which can license the negative fragment in its specifier.

(6) [_{CP} nani-mo [_{TP} ... t ...] C⁰_[neg]]

We adopt the standard assumption that wh-phrases *in-situ* undergo movement to the CP-specifier. (1)Q has the structure shown in (7) at some abstract level.

(7) [_{CP} nani-o_i [_{TP} ... t_i ...] C⁰_[Q]]

(1)A and (7) are parallel to each other, and hence, ellipsis is possible in (1)A. The ellipsis operation here mimics that of sluicing in English: TP deletes when C⁰ attracts a phrase out of the TP. Similarly, the TP in (5) deletes under identity with the TP in (7), and hence (1)A” is basically well-formed. (6) and (7) have a structure essentially identical to each other, and hence, ellipsis is possible in (1)A”’. Thus, our account is obtained at no extra cost, since the same mechanism responsible for English sluicing accounts for fragmentary answers in Japanese.

One claim here is that ellipsis is governed by a syntactic condition. Before getting to the point, I provide supportive evidence for the cartographic structure given in (3).

2.2. WH-particles

The focus particle *-koso* cannot be suffixed to a wh-phrase, but *-sae* can.

(8) *John-ga nani-koso tabeta-no?

-nom what-foc ate-Q

‘What_{foc} did John eat?’

(9) John-ga nani-sae tabeta-no?

-nom what-foc ate-Q

‘What_{foc} did John eat?’

The reason for this contrast is that the phrase suffixed with *-koso* must be licensed in KosoP-specifier, but KosoP dominates CP ((3)). The wh-phrase therefore must lower down to the CP-specifier, resulting in a violation of PBC.

(8) [_{KosoP} t_i-koso [_{CP} nani_i [_{TP} ...t ...]]]

In contrast to this, the wh-phrase suffixed with

-sae can first move to SaeP-specifier, stranding *sae*, and move further up to CP-specifier.

(9) [_{CP} nani_i [_{SaeP} t_i-sae [_{TP} ...t ...]]]

(9) is thus free from PBC violations, unlike (8).

2.3. Linear Crossing Constraint

(3) is supported by another set of data. (10) is ungrammatical, since the sentence violates linear crossing constraint (LCC: Tanaka (1997)). Its scrambling counterpart in (11) is free from the LCC violation, and hence is grammatical. Assume (12) to be valid for the purpose here.

(10) *Dare-mo nani-o tabe-nai-no?

anyone what-acc eat-neg-Q

‘What doesn’t anybody eat?’

(11) Nani-o_i dare-mo t_i tabe-nai-no?

what-acc anyone eat-neg-Q

‘What doesn’t anybody eat?’

(12) Linear Crossing Constraint: Two A’-dependencies may not cross.

The following examples show how a *koso*-phrase and a wh-phrase interact.

(12) John-koso nani-o tabeta-no-__?

-foc what-acc ate -Q

‘What did John_{foc} eat?’

(13) *Nani-o_i John-koso t_i tabeta-no-__?

what-acc -foc ate -Q

‘What did John_{foc} eat?’

The above contrast shows that *koso*-phrases are licensed in a position higher than a wh-phrase, supporting (3). If (3) is correct, we would also

expect that *sae*-phrases cannot precede a *wh*-phrase. This expectation is fulfilled.

- (14) Dare-ga ringo-sae tabeta-__-no?
 who-nom apple-foc ate -Q
 ‘Who ate apples_{foc}?’
- (15) *Ringo-sae_i dare-ga t_i tabeta-__-no?
 apple-foc who-nom ate -Q
 ‘Who ate apples_{foc}?’

Thus, *sae*-phrases are licensed in a projection lower than CP, as assumed in (3).

Another prediction that (3) makes is that *koso*-phrases must precede *sae*-phrases. This prediction is also borne out.

- (16) John-koso ringo-sae tabeta-__-
 -foc apple-foc ate
 ‘John_{foc} ate apples_{foc}.’
- (17) *Ringo-sae_i John-koso t_i tabeta-__-
 apple-foc -foc ate
 ‘John_{foc} ate apples_{foc}.’

Thus, evidence is overwhelming for the structure given in (3). Due to space limitations, I will refrain from the discussion on how our approach extends to other focus particles, but particles like *-nante* and *-nanka* behave like *-koso* in that they are higher than CP, and particles like *-mo* (*also*) and *-datte* are lower than CP.

3. Islands

This section shows that fragmentary answers are constrained by island conditions.

3.1. Complex NP Constraint

Fragmentary answers observe island conditions when the *wh*-phrase is embedded within an island in the antecedent. (18) shows that fragmentary answers permit long-distance *wh*-questions in the antecedent.

- (18) Q: John-ga [Mary-ga nani-o tabeta-to]
 -nom -nom what-acc ate-that
 itta-no?
 said-Q
 ‘What did John say that Mary ate?’
- A: Ringo-o.
 A’: Ringo-sae.
 A’’: Nani-mo.

This opens up the possibility for an investigation for island sensitivity. The following examples show that complex NP constraint is operative in at least those cases that involve focus particles or negative polarity answers.

- (19) Q: John-ga [[nani-o tabeta]-hito-o]
 -nom what-acc ate-that
 sagasiteiru-no?
 looking-for-Q
 ‘What is John looking for a person who ate?’
- A: Ringo-o.
 A’: *Ringo-sae.
 A’’: *Nani-mo.

For reasons that we do not need to be concerned here, *wh*-questions in Japanese are free from complex NP constraint. (19)Q is therefore grammatical. Of particular interest to our present concern is the fact that (19)A’ and (19)A’’ are ungrammatical as an answer to (19)Q. This shows that fragmentary answers observe island conditions. (19)A’ and (19)A’’, thus, involve

extraction of the fragment phrase out of the complex NP, as schematized below.

(20) [_{CP} fragment_i { ... [_{complex NP} ... t_i ...] } C⁰]

One question that immediately arises here is why (19)A is grammatical. We will put this question off until section 4.

3.2. Weak Islands

Complex NP constraint discussed in the previous section is an instance of strong island. Fragmentary answers are also constrained by weak islands. (21) is a case of inner island condition.

(21) Q: John-ga nani-o tabe-nakatta-no?

-nom what-acc eat-neg-Q

‘What didn’t John eat?’

A: Ringo-o.

A’: *Ringo-sae.

A’’: *Nani-mo.

Long-distance wh-questions with a negation in the embedded clause is particularly interesting. They also fail to serve as an antecedent to fragmentary answers with focus particles. (22) is a negative counterpart of (18). Focused fragmentary answers are impossible.

(22) Q: John-ga [Mary-ga nani-o

-nom -nom what-acc

tabe-nakatta-to] itta-no?

eat-neg-that said-Q

‘What did John say that Mary ate?’

A: Ringo-o.

A’: *Ringo-sae.

A’’: *Nani-mo.

This is not surprising, in light of the fact that

(21) already establishes that focused fragmentary answers are subject to inner island condition. What is surprising, however, is the fact that scrambling of the wh-phrase out of the domain of the negation in the antecedent salvages ungrammaticality.

(23) Q: Nani-o_i John-ga [Mary-ga t_i

tabe-nakatta-to] itta-no?

A: Ringo-o.

A’: Ringo-sae.

A’’: Nani-mo.

An obvious account of the grammaticality of the focused fragmentary answers in (23) is that they do not violate inner island condition, since the wh-phrase occupies a position outside the domain of the negation, as schematized in (24).

(24) nani-o_i ... [_{CP} ... t_i ... neg] ... Q

We correctly expect that the examples are free from inner island condition. But, this account is based crucially upon the assumption that (23)Q cannot be the antecedent of the focused fragmentary answers in (22)A’ and A’’. This is important, since scrambling found in (23)Q is semantically vacuous: the scrambled wh-phrase takes matrix scope in (23)Q, which is also true of the wh-phrase (22)Q. The question therefore arises, if ellipsis is conditioned solely by semantics (Merchant (2001)), why (23)Q cannot serve as an antecedent in (22). In contrast, under the assumption that syntax plays a crucial role in ellipsis (Tanaka (2011)), the contrast between (22) and (23) is expected. Thus, our observation that semantically vacuous scrambling affects grammaticality supports a syntactic condition on ellipsis.

We can reach the same conclusion based on

another set of data. Wh-questions out of a wh-island gives rise to marginality (Nishigauchi (1990)), and focused fragmentary answers to such a question result in ungrammaticality.

- (25) Q: ??John-ga [Mary-ga nani-o
 -nom -nom what-acc
 tabeta-kadooka] siritai-no?
 eat -whether want-to know-Q
 ‘What did John say that Mary ate?’
 A: Ringo-o.
 A’: *Ringo-sae.
 A’’: *Nani-mo.

The wh-phrase in (25)Q gets scrambled in (26)Q. Since scrambling is free from the wh-island condition, (26)Q is grammatical (Tanaka (1999a)). What is interesting is that focused fragmentary answers also become perfectly grammatical.

- (26) Q: Nani-o_i John-ga [Mary-ga
 tabeta-kadooka] siritai-no?
 A: Ringo-o.
 A’: Ringo-sae.
 A’’: Nani-mo.

Semantically vacuous scrambling remedies the impossibility of focused fragmentary answers in (26). This supports our thesis that ellipsis is conditioned by syntax.

4. Island Repair

One pending problem is why fragmentary answers out of an island, i.e., (A)-answers in (19), (22), and (25), do not result in ungrammaticality. This contrasts with the (B)-answers, which observe island conditions even after deletion. I would like to suggest that the contrast is also found in English. One

well-known fact is that English sluicing repairs island violations. Much less-recognized is the fact that the same TP-ellipsis can result in island violations. Chung et al. (1995) observe that sprouting is subject to various island conditions, including weak island conditions ((27)). Sauerland (1996) also makes a similar observation: island violations caused by adjunct extraction cannot be remedied by deletion (the contrast between (28) and (29)). Merchant (2001) also points out (31), a case of inner island condition violation, is ungrammatical, which contrasts with (30).

- (27) *Sandy is very anxious to see which
 students will be able to solve the
 homework problem, but she won’t say
 how.
 (28) As a child, I behaved well, and my parents
 can tell you how well.
 (29) *As a child, I didn’t behave well, but I
 don’t remember how well.
 (30) A nurse was on duty, but I don’t know
 when.
 (31) *No nurse was on duty, but I don’t know
 when.

What is relevant to our present discussion is the fact that phrases with focus particles are in principle adjunct (Tanaka (1999b)), as (32) and (33) show.

- (32) John-ga kudamono-o ringo-sae tabeta.
 -nom fruit-acc apple-foc ate
 ‘John ate fruits, even apples.’
 (33) John-ga kudamono-o nani-mo tabe-nai.
 -nom fruit-acc anything eat-neg
 ‘John doesn’t eat any fruits.’

These examples show that focused phrases can

be accompanied by a Case-marked argument phrase. The focused phrases themselves must be adjuncts, and since they are adjuncts, we expect that they observe standard array of island conditions, including weak islands.

In clear contrast to the cases discussed above, so-called sluicing cancels island violations.

- (34) They are looking for someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language).

Note that without a correlate phrase in the antecedent, island violations persist (Chung et al. (1995)).

- (35) *Sandy was trying to work out which students would speak, but she refused to say who to.

This gives rise to the possibility that island insensitivity of answers like (19)A can be attributed to island repair in English sluicing. One notable explanation of island repair is LF-copying (Chung et al. (1995)). In (36), for instance, the correlate phrase in the antecedent is understood as a variable, x_i , when the antecedent TP is copied to the ellipsis site.

- (36) [_{TPantecedent} They are looking for someone who speaks x_i], but I don't know [which (Balkan language)]_i [_{TPcopy} They are looking for someone who speaks x_i] .

Since such a derivation does not involve movement, island violations cannot manifest. Similarly, the argument fragmentary answer in (19)A is free from island violations, since the wh-phrase in the antecedent is understood as a variable, which can be bound, upon LF-copying,

by the fragmentary answer.

- (37) Q: [_{TPantecedent} John-ga [[x_i tabeta]-hito-o] sagasiteiru]-no?

A: Ringo-o_i [_{TPcopy} John-ga [[x_i tabeta]-hito-o] sagasiteiru]

Thus, the contrast between argument fragments and focused phrase fragments with respect to island conditions is by no means limited to Japanese: the same contrast is found in English as well, giving support to our present approach.

5. Summary

This article has shown that fragmentary answers to wh-questions in Japanese are derived via the same process that derives English sluicing: the fragment phrase moves to the CP-specifier and the TP gets elided. Focused fragments observe island conditions, in much the same way English adjunct sluicing and sprouting do. Fragment answers that are not focused in Japanese are free from island conditions. Our explanation is that this is parallel to English sluicing, which cancels island violations.

A couple of brief remarks are in order before closing, which both have to do with alternative explanations of some of the data treated here. The first remark has to do with Watanabe (2004), who argues that negative fragmentary answers are derived through feature copying of the negative feature [neg] from the negative fragment to the negative head, which turns the negative head to positive. Watanabe's assumption is that deletion is conditioned entirely by semantics, and as such, deletion is possible in, for instance, (19)A. This account is not tenable for two reasons. For one thing, it is clear from our discussion that negative fragments behave in the same way as other

focused fragmentary answers, but the [neg]-feature copying account of Watanabe (2004) has no room for non-negative fragments. Another is that we have provided concrete evidence that semantically vacuous scrambling affects the possibility of deletion, and thus, the semantic identity condition does not suffice.

The second remark is the in-situ account of fragmentary answers proposed in a series of works by Abe (2016). Abe's explanation is that the fragment in (19)A stays in-situ, but is able to escape deletion, and hence no island violation. (19)A' is derived through movement. Such an account encounters a serious difficulty, since it is not clear which derivation applies to which case, without making extensive stipulations. Detailed exposition of these and other consequences require much more space than given here, and are left for future works.

* Parts of the materials reported here were presented in colloquia at Dokkyo University, Nanzan University, and the 35th General Meeting of the English Linguistics Society of Japan. I would like to extend my thanks to the participants to these conferences. The usual disclaimer applies.

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heart pounding タイプの分詞構文と所有者昇格*

(*Heart Pounding Type Participial Constructions and Possessor Ascension*)

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キーワード：分詞構文, 所有者移動, 主語削除, 文法違反のキャンセル

1. はじめに

様々な言語で「所有者昇格 (possessor ascension)」とよばれる現象が見られる。英語においても、(1)のような例が所有者昇格とよばれてきた (池上 (1995)等参照)。

- (1) a. John struck **Bill's** head.
b. John struck **Bill** on the head.

(1a)と(1b)は、意味的な類似性が見られ、使われている語句もほぼ同じであるため、所有者昇格とよばれてはいるが、所有者昇格が統語的な所有者移動であるということを支持する積極的な証拠はなく、実際、そのような分析もこれまで行われていない。

本稿では、英語には統語的な所有者移動を仮定しなければ説明できないような現象があることを報告する。それが(2)のような分詞構文である。

- (2) I sat up in bed, heart pounding in my chest.

(2)の下線部のような *heart pounding* タイプの分詞構文を以下、*h-p type PC* (*heart*

pounding type Participial Construction)とよぶことにする。(2)の *h-p type PC* では、*heart*の前に本来現れるはずの所有格の *my* が現れていない。本稿では、所有格の *my* は単に削除された (delete-only) のではなく、主語位置に移動した後に、その位置で削除された (move & delete) と主張する。この所有格の主語位置への移動こそが、まさしく英語における所有者移動に他ならない。

本稿ではまず第2節で *h-p type PC* の統語分析を示す。その後、第3節で本分析 (move & delete 分析) の代案となる可能性のある分析 (delete-only 分析) を取り上げ、その代案は妥当ではないことを示す。結果として、本分析が一番妥当であり、それが正しければ、英語に統語的な所有者移動が存在するという結論になる。第4節では、本稿の帰結を示す。

2. 分詞構文に起こる所有者移動

2.1. 分詞構文の構造と主語削除規則

まず、分詞構文の構造を見ていく。分詞構文の節の大きさは、(3)を根拠に IP (or TP) までは投射していると考えられている (Reuland (1983), 今井 他 (1989), Nakagawa (2011)等参照)。

(3) i. 虚辞の *there* が現れる

There being no objection, the proposal was accepted unanimously.

ii. -ing は屈折形や助動詞と共起しない

a. **Goesing out*, he...

b. **Musting leave* at 9, ...

iii. IP 付加位置に起こる文副詞が現れる

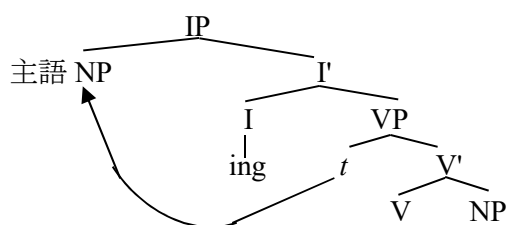
Probably acting on a tip, the soldiers removed a rug and some rags from the ground in front of the hut to reveal a panel of foam insulation.

一般に、(3i)の虚辞の *there* の挿入は IP-Spec だと仮定されている。また、(3ii)にあるよう

に、-ing は IP の主要部の I の位置にあるとされる屈折形や助動詞と共に起できないことから、それらと同じく IP の主要部の I にあるといえる。さらに、(3iii)にあるように、IP に付加すると仮定されている *probably* のような副詞が分詞構文に現れる。

以上のことから、分詞構文は IP まで投射しているといえる。よって、分詞構文の主語位置は IP-Spec と考えられるため、分詞構文は概略(4)の構造をもっていると仮定できる(本稿では VP 内主語仮説 (Fukui and Speas (1986)等参照)を仮定する)。

(4) 分詞構文の構造



しかし、IP-Spec にあるはずの分詞構文の主語 NP は、通常、(5)のように現れない。

(5) *Seeing me*, the dog wagged its tail.

(= When *the dog* saw me, *it* (= the dog) wagged its tail.)

(5)では分詞構文に主語が現れていないが、分詞構文の主語は主節の主語 (= *the dog*)と同じである。よって、分詞構文には(6)の任意の削除規則があると考えられる。¹

(6) 分詞構文の主語削除規則

主節と従属節の IP 指定部にある NP が同一のとき、従属節の IP 指定部にある NP を削除 (delete)せよ。なお、ここでいう「同一」とは「 ϕ 素性が同一」という意味である。

次節では、(4)の分詞構文の構造と(6)の分

詞構文の主語削除規則をもとに、*h-p type PC* の派生を見ていく。

2.2. *h-p type PC* の派生構造

まず、*h-p type PC* のデータの整理をすると、*h-p type PC* には以下の特徴がある。

(7) i. 主節の主語の所有格が省略されている

- a. ... he pleaded with an intense gaze, chin quivering.
- b. A freight train rumbles by, horn blaring.
- c. He wouldn't have found his son sleeping on his stomach, head turned to the left.
- d. Weary but proud, tie loose but shirt buttoned, Matsui sat before his locker...

(樋口 (2009: 195))

ii. 所有格の省略は、*h-p type PC* の主語にのみ起こる²

- a. He wouldn't have found **(his) son* sleeping on **(his) stomach*, head turned to the left.
- b. I sat up in bed, and **(my) heart* was pounding in my chest.
- c. I sat up in bed, heart pounding in **(my) chest*.

(7i)にあるように、*h-p type PC* では主節の主語の身体 (や本体) の一部 ((7ia-c)) や、主節の主語の所有物 ((7id)) が主語になっている。よって、*h-p type PC* では、主節の主語の所有格が省略されていることがわかる。次に、(7ii)にあるように、所有格が省略されるのは *h-p type PC* の主語においてのみである。(7iia)の主節にある *his* はどちらも省略できない。また、(2)の *h-p type PC* を分詞構文を用いずに書き換えた(7iib)では、*my* は省略できない。さらに、(7iic)にあるように、(2)の *h-p type PC* の PP (in my chest)にある *my* は省略できない。

このように、所有格の省略は、*h-p type PC* の主語に限られた現象であることがわかる。このことから、次の疑問が起こる。

- (8) *h-p type PC* において、主語の所有格が省略されるメカニズムとはどのようなものか？

2.1 節の分詞構文の構造を *h-p type PC* に当てはめると、(8)の疑問に答えることができる。具体的にいうと、本分析に基づく、(2)の *h-p type PC* (heart pounding in my chest)の派生構造は(9)のようになる(紙面の関係上、関連する部分のみを示す)。

- (9) (主語位置への移動=所有者昇格)
-
- φ (削除規則 (= (6)))

- (i) *my heart* は VP の指定部 (VP 内主語)
- (ii) 所有格の *my* が IP 指定部 (主語位置) に移動=所有者昇格
- (iii) 主語 *I* の削除 ((6)の主語削除規則))³
- (iv) -ing は VP 内の動詞 *pound* と融合

(9)にあるように、所有格の *my* が主語移動で IP-Spec に移動した後に、(6)の分詞構文の主語削除規則により削除されると(2)の *h-p type PC* が生成される。この派生は分詞構文の主語にのみ適用されるものであるため、*h-p type PC* の主語においてのみ所有格が省略されることが説明できる。

なお(9)において、もし移動した *my* が削除されない場合には、(10)のような非文になる。

- (10) **I heart pounding in my chest*

(10)が非文であるのは、*A-over-A* 原則に違反

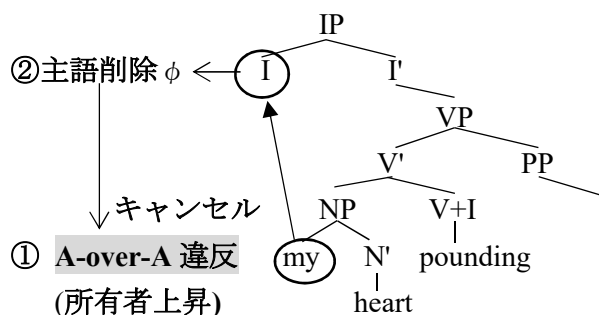
しているからである (Chomsky (1964)等参照)。つまり、(9)における *my* の主語位置への移動が *A-over-A* 原則に違反しているということである。しかし、(10)に(6)の分詞構文の主語削除規則が適用されると、(2)のように文法的になる。このことから考えられることは、派生中に起こった *A-over-A* 原則違反が、分詞構文の主語削除規則の適用によって無効になる (キャンセルされる) ということである。このように派生中に起こった移動規則の違反が削除規則によって無効になる現象は、実は他にもある。(11)を見てみよう。

- (11) a. **Irv and someone were dancing, but I don't know who [Irv and *t_who*] were dancing.*
 b. ^{OK} *Irv and someone were dancing, but I don't know who [~~Irv and *t_who*~~] were dancing.*
 (Lakoff (1970: 632-633))

(11a)は「等位構造制約」違反であり、非文であるが、等位構造制約を違反している部分が削除された(11b)は文法的になる。このように、「削除による文法違反のキャンセル」という現象は独立して存在するのである。

以上のことから、最終的な *h-p type PC* の派生構造は(12)のようになる(紙面の関係上、関連する部分のみを示す)。

- (12) *h-p type PC* の派生構造



(12)において、myの主語への移動はA-over-A原則に違反する。しかし、その後に適用される分詞構文の主語削除規則によって、その違反が無効となる。

ここで、削除された my の解釈がどのように保証、すなわち復元、されるのかという問題があるが、本分析では、my の解釈は(13)のようになる。

- (13) <deletion under identity>
 I_i sat up in bed, [IP Φ_i [VP $t_{(my)i}$ heart pounding in my chest.]]
 <chain>

まず、(6)の分詞構文の主語削除規則により、分詞構文の主語の I は主節の主語との同一性の下で削除される。削除された主語 (Φ) はもともと VP 内 から移動してきたものであり、移動元 ($t_{(my)}$)と chain で結ばれている。この chain を通して、一人称の my の解釈が保証されていると考えられる。⁴

以上のように、my は単に削除された (delete-only)のではなく、主語位置に移動した後に、その位置で削除された (move & delete)と考えられる。そして、この所有格の主語位置への移動が、まさしく英語における所有者移動に他ならない。

3. 代案との比較

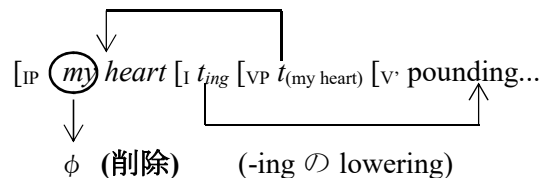
第2節の本分析に対し、概略(14)のような代案も考えられる。

- (14) 分詞構文の主語の my heart の my だけが、何らかの理由で削除された。

本節では、(14)のような削除 (delete-only)分析には決定的な不備があり、採用できないことを示す。

まず、(14)の分析においては、(2)の h-p type PC の構造は(15)のようになる (紙面の関係上、関連する部分のみを示す)。

- (15) (主語位置への移動)



(15)では、my heart が主語位置に移動する。その結果、主節の主語と異なる主語をもつ「独立分詞構文」が生成される。その後、主語位置にある my heart のうち my だけが削除される。この削除分析をとる場合、少なくとも(16)の疑問に答えなければならない。

- (16) どのような規則によって、(15)の所有格の my だけが削除されるのか？

英語では、原則として所有格は省略できないため、(15)のような削除はかなり特殊である ((7ii)参照)。したがって、(15)のような削除に対して、アドホックではない一般的な削除規則を設定することは困難といえる。当然のことながら、(15)の my の削除は(6)の分詞構文の主語削除規則では説明できない。なぜなら、(15)の IP-Spec にあるのは my heart であり、主節の I と同一ではないからである。このため(6)の削除規則を(15)に適用することもできない。

以上のことから、(15)の分析、すなわち(14)の削除 (delete-only)分析は妥当性を欠くといえる。一方、本分析をとれば h-p type PC の所有格の省略をより自然に説明することができるため、本分析の方が妥当であると結論できる。

4. 本分析の帰結

本分析が正しい限りにおいて、(17)の2つの帰結が得られる。

(17) i. 所有者昇格という統語操作が英語に存在する

→ 所有格が分詞構文の主語位置にある場合に、統語的な所有者昇格が起こり得る。

ii. 派生の途中の文法違反が削除により無効になる

→ 大局的 (global)規則ないしは後循環 (post-cyclic)規則も人間言語には存在する。

まず(17i)であるが、本分析が正しいければ、主語位置における所有者昇格は統語操作であり、分詞構文という限られた統語環境で可能であることになる。これに対して、冒頭の(1)の目的語位置における所有者昇格は統語操作ではなく、実際は意味的な類似性に過ぎない。そして、この場合は使われる動詞に制限があり、strikeなどの「接触動詞 (contact verb)」に限られる (Levin (1993)等参照)。このことから、所有者昇格は(18)のような2つのタイプに分けることができる。

(18) 「所有者昇格」の2つのタイプ

統語位置	所有者昇格	特徴
主語	統語操作	統語環境が制限
目的語	意味的類似	動詞の種類が制限

(18)の表にあるように、主語位置と目的語位置で所有者昇格のタイプが異なる。主語位置の場合は、所有者昇格は統語操作 (移動)であり、起こる環境が統語的に制限される (具体的には分詞構文でのみ可能)。⁵ 一方、目的語位置の場合は、所有者昇格は意味的な類似

であり、動詞の種類が制限される (具体的には接触動詞のみ可能)。

次に(17ii)であるが、統語的な違反はキャンセルされる場合があるということである。具体的には、統語的な違反は、後から削除規則が適用されることで文法的になる場合がある。このことは、局所的 (local)規則だけではなく、大局的規則ないしは後循環規則も人間言語には存在することを示唆している (理論言語学史における大局的な派生の位置づけに関しては畠山 (編) (2017)を参照)。

最後に、本分析の統語理論上の重要な帰結を述べる。それが(19)である。

(19) Overt Syntax には、非顕在的な A'移動だけでなく非顕在的な A 移動もある。

本分析における所有者格の主語位置 (IP-Spec) への移動は、移動した後に削除されてしまうため《目に見えない》移動 (= 非顕在的移動 (covert movement))である。しかし、ここまで議論したように、理論上は所有者格の移動が起こっていると考えられるため、本分析は「非顕在的移動が存在する」ことを示していることになる。さらに重要なことは、この非顕在的移動は LF ではなく Overt Syntax で起こっているということである。先行研究において Overt Syntax で起こっている非顕在的移動として、たとえばオペレーター移動 (tough 構文等) が報告されている。オペレーター移動は A'移動であるが、本分析の所有者格移動は主語位置、すなわち A 位置への移動 (A 移動)である。よって、本分析は Overt Syntax で起こっている非顕在的移動には、A'移動だけではなく A 移動もあることを示していることになる。Overt Syntax でオペレーター移動のような非顕在的な A'移動があるなら、理論的には非顕在的な A 移動もありえる。本分析はその「ミッシングピース」を埋めたといえる。

* 本稿の執筆にあたり、畠山雄二氏と本田謙介氏には長時間、議論を重ねて頂いた。また、日本英語学会第35回大会の発表の際には、聴衆の方々から数々の有益なコメントを頂いた。記して感謝申し上げる。なお本稿に不備があるとすれば、それは筆者の責任である。

注

¹ (6)の削除規則は任意であるため、主節の主語と従属節の分詞構文の主語が同一であっても、分詞構文の主語が削除されないことも可能である。

(i) Roddy_i tried to avoid Elaine, he_i being a confirmed bachelor.

Reuland (1983: 126)で指摘されているように、(i)の分詞構文の主語の *he* は主節の Roddy を指す (= *he* と Roddy は同一主語である)が、*he* を削除しなくても文法的である。

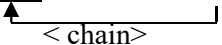
² (7ii)の例文の判断は同僚の英語母語話者(アメリカ人)による。なお、所有格の *my* を省略しない(i)のような分詞構文も使われる。

(i) I sat up in bed, my heart pounding in my chest. (cf. (2))

(i)と(2)の *h-p* type PC (heart pounding in my chest) はともに容認可能であるが、(2)の *h-p* type PC の方は形式的で書き言葉的であり、話し言葉では(i)のように *my* を入れる方が自然であるとのことである。

³ ここでは、所有格の *my* が IP-Spec に移動すると主格の *I* になると仮定している。

⁴ (13)では、chain の head (移動先)も tail (移動元)もともに音形をもたないことになるが、このような chain は「特殊」なものではない。

(i) John hoped PRO_i to be elected t_i.


PRO は null Case をもつと仮定されている (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993))ため、(i)では PRO は埋め込みの IP-Spec に A 移動する。その結果、PRO と *t* は chain を形成するが、ともに音形をもたない。つまり、(i)と本分析の(13)の chain はともに音形のない要素で構成されている。なお、(13)では chain が形成されることにより、VP 内にある名詞句の *heart* に格が転送されると考えられる (格の転送 (Case transmission) に関しては Chomsky (1986)等を参照)。

⁵ ここでは、「分詞構文でのみ所有格移動が可能」としているが、本分析が正しければ、所有格移動は以下の条件が揃えば、理論上可能であることになる。

- (i) a. 移動が起こる環境にある (= 移動の動機付け (EPP 等)がある)
- b. 削除規則がかかる (= 文法違反 (A-over-A 原則違反)のキャンセル)
- c. 解釈が保証されている (= co-index による保証)

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動詞 **end up** の歴史変化と PredP の出現* (The Historical Change of *End up* and the Rise of PredP)

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キーワード : 動詞 **end up**, **by+V-ing** vs. **V-ing**,
COHA, PredP

1. 導入

動詞 **end up** は「最終的に~の状態になる」といった「完了」の意味を持つ動詞であり、二つの興味深い統語的特徴を持つ。第一に、(1)に示されるように、さまざまな種類の要素が後続することができる。(1a-g)では PP、NP、AP、**by+V-ing**、**V-ing**、**V-en** がそれぞれ後続している。

- (1) a. ...she ends up **with neither a queen nor an heir**. (COCA, 2015, FIC)
b. ...I might end up **as a single mother**. (COCA, 2015, FIC)
c. ...he ended up **a hero**. (COCA, 1999, NEWS)
d. ...we end up **sick and poor**. (COCA, 2015, SPOK)
e. ...we will end up **by destroying the planet**. (COCA, 1993, ACAD)
f. ...I ended up **taking some long shots**. (COCA, 2015, NEWS)
g. ...she's ended up **buried in a hole** like a dead pet. (COCA, 2012, FIC)

第二に、(1e, f)の対比に示されるように、

by+V-ing と **by** が省略された単純な **V-ing** の両方の形を取ることができる。一方で、秋元 (1998)による現代英語のコーパス調査では、表 1 に示されるように、**V-ing** の方が **by+V-ing** よりも頻度において圧倒的に優勢である。¹

表 1: **by+V-ing** と **V-ing** の生起数
(cf. 秋元 (1998: 15)) (COBUILD)

by+V-ing	V-ing
3	147

単純な **V-ing** が **by+V-ing** から **by** が省略されたものであるとするならば、この頻度の差を説明することは難しいと思われる。また重要なことに二つの統語的特徴は歴史的には異なる。すなわち、もともと(1)に示した種類ほど **end up** に後続できたわけではなく、段階的にその種類を増やした。また以前は **by+V-ing** の方が単純な **V-ing** よりも頻度において優勢であった。

本稿では、歴史コーパスから得られた言語事実を示しながら、**end up** において付加詞から補部への再分析が起こり、その補部に叙述関係を認可する機能範疇 PredP が取られるようになったと提案する。この構造変化の過程でさまざまな要素が段階的に、かつ一定の仕方で現れるようになった事と付加詞としての **by+V-ing** が、述語として機能する **V-ing** にとって代わられた事が説明される。

2. コーパス調査

この節では、Corpus of Historical American English(以下、COHA)を用いたコーパス調査の結果を提示し、二つの統語的特徴は歴史的には異なることを示す。調査方法としては、1840 年代から、1990 年代までの **end up** に後続する要素のうち、(1a-f)に示す要素を含む例を抽出した。以下では、初出例と各年代と

その時代の生起数を示した表を提示する。

2.1. by+V-ing と V-ing に関する調査

by+V-ing と V-ing に関する調査結果を示す前に end up 全体での最初期の例について述べておく。最初期の例は(2)に示す with 句が後続する例である。表 2 に示されるように、with 句が後続する例は 1860 年代に出現し始め、現代英語では頻繁に現れる。

- (2) He called Eradicate all the mean names he could think of, **ending up with**: “You won’t hear the last of this for a long time, either...”
(COHA, 1866, FIC)

表 2: end up with

1840s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	1900s	10s
0	0	1	4	2	4	4	8
20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
5	13	30	41	66	97	107	189

by+V-ing に関しては、表 3 に示すように 1880 年代に出現し始めて、その数は 1950 年代まで増加する。しかし、それ以降は減少していき、1990 年代にはその数はわずか 1 例となる。

- (3) ...they’ll end up by knocking in our front doors ...
(COHA, 1880, FIC)

表 3: end up by+V-ing

1840s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	1900s	10s
0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
11	13	16	23	6	10	6	1

これに対して、表 4 に示すように、単純な V-ing は 1930 年代になって出現し始め、それ以降もその数は増加し続け、1990 年代には 594 例にまで及んでいる。

- (4) ...he ended up saying the wrong things.
(COHA, 1935, FIC)

表 4: end up V-ing

1840s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	1900s	10s
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
0	2	14	49	112	202	289	549

by+V-ing と V-ing の比較をすると、初出時期の早い by+V-ing の方が 1940 年代まで優勢であったが、1950 年代を境に V-ing にとって代わられた。その後は V-ing は増え続けるのに対して、by-ing は減少していった。したがって、1 節でみた秋元 (1998) による調査結果は歴史的には異なる。

2.2. as+NP、NP、AP に関する調査

この節では as+NP、NP、AP に関する調査結果を以下に示す。この三つの中で、(5) に示すような as+NP が最も初期の 1890 年代に出現し始める。そして表 5 に示されるように、その数は一定数まで増加する。

- (5) He’ll end up as a ‘lumber Jack,’ ...
(COHA, 1897, FIC)

表 5: end up as +NP

1840s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	1900s	10s
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
4	6	11	17	18	29	33	37

次に、(6) に示す NP が後続するような例が 1920 年代に出現し始め、その数は一定数まで増加する。

- (6) ...and Jack Holts is the sterling, stalwart hero from Kentucky who starts out het champion and ends up her lover.
(COHA, 1925, NEWS)

表 6: *end up NP*

1840s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	1900s	10s
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
1	5	2	6	10	12	22	34

最後に、(7)に示す AP が後続する例が 1930 年代に出現し始め、その数は一定数まで増加する。

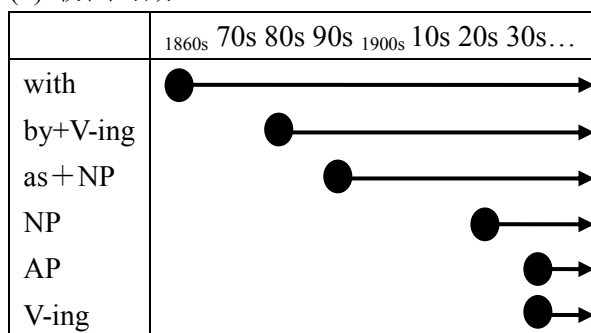
- (7) The man who attempts to be consistent in his public service may **end up consistent** indeed... (COHA, 1937, MAG)

表 7: *end up AP*

1840s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s	1900s	10s
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
0	2	3	6	6	10	20	45

2 節の調査結果をまとめると、1940 年代までは *by+V-ing* (1880s 初出)の方が *V-ing* (1930s 初出)より優勢であったと言える。また、*as+NP* (1890s 初出)、*NP* (1920s 初出)、*AP* (1930s 初出)の順に出現し始めた。それぞれの初出時期をまとめた(8)を見ると、これらの結果は密接に関連付けられることがわかる。

(8) 初出時期のまとめ



(8)に示されるように、*by+V-ing* が現れるようになった 1880 年代から *V-ing* が現れるよ

うになった 1930 年代までの間に *as+NP*、*NP*、*AP* が現れようになった。したがって、*V-ing* の出現には *as+NP*、*NP*、*AP* の出現が重要な役割を果たしたといえる。

3. 分析

この節では、2 節でのコーパス調査の結果に基づき、*end up* の構造変化を提案する。具体的には、*end up* に後続する要素が付加詞であった構造から、叙述関係 (Predication)を認可する機能範疇 *PredP* が補部として後続する構造に再分析されたと主張する。

3.1. 構造変化

(8)で示したように、*V-ing* の出現前あるいはほぼ同時期に、*as+NP*、*NP*、*AP* が現れるようになった。Tanaka and Yokogoshi (2010)では、Bowers (1993)に従い、(9)のような小節内部に現れる *as* を、叙述関係を結ぶ *PredP* 主要部の具現形であり、13 世紀の終わり頃に *PredP* が出現した証拠として小節内部における *as* の分布を挙げている。

- (9) a. We regard John **as** intelligent.
 b. I consider these boys **as** good students.
 (Tanaka and Yokogoshi (2010: 240))

これに従うと、*as+NP* の出現を *end up* における *PredP* の出現を示す証拠と考えることができる。そして *PredP* の出現を契機としてその補部に述語として機能する *V-ing* が後続できるようになったと主張する。提案される構造変化は(10)に示される。前提として *end up* が持つ意味から、*end up* は非対格動詞であると仮定する。

(10) *PredP* の出現($a > b$)

- a. [_{VP} [_{VP} *end up* [_{DP} *DP*]] [_{by+V-ing}]]
 b. [_{VP} *end up* [_{PredP} *DP* [_{Pred'} *Pred* [_{V-ing}]]]]

(10a)の PredP 出現以前の構造において、主語 DP は内項から主語位置に繰り上がり、by+V-ing が付加詞として VP に付加される。しかし、PredP の出現に伴い、end up が PredP を補部として取る(10b)の構造を持つようになる。この構造では、PredP の指定部と補部に、主語 DP と述語がそれぞれ併合され、叙述関係が認可される。

この変化の結果として、PredP の補部には、述語としての資格をもつ V-ing が現れるようになり、その出現により、付加詞である by + V-ing が衰退すると説明される。また、V-ing が優勢になるまでに、as+NP、NP、AP が出現し始めた事実は、その時期が PredP 出現の過渡期であり、述語として機能する範囲が段階的に拡大されていったと説明される。

3.2. 証拠

現代英語のコーパスとインフォーマントから(11)の例が得られた。

(11) 抜き出し

- a. ...what did he end up doing?
(COCA, 2015, SPOK)
- b. What did you end up as? (Informant)
- c. But what did I end up with?
(COCA, 2004, FIC)

(11)において、V-ing、as 句、with 句から wh 句が抜き出されている。付加詞からの抜き出しを禁止する付加詞条件を考慮すると、後続する要素は補部であるといえる。

また、end up における変化の中では比較的遅い 1940 年代以降に、(12)に示される過去分詞が後続できるようになる。

(12) end up V-en

- ...a dog I brought out to your house **ended up buried** behind your garbage?
(COHA, 1944, FIC)

by+V-ing における V-ing は前置詞に後続するため、動名詞であるといえる。単純な V-ing が by+V-ing から by が省略されて派生したものであるとするなら、どちらの V-ing も同じステータスの動名詞であるといえる。言語変化が段階的に進むという一般的な事実に従うと、動名詞から過去分詞への変化は予測し難い。しかし、提案されたように、end up が PredP を補部を取るようになったとするならば、V-ing は PredP に選択される述語である。述語として機能する要素が現在分詞であるとするなら、現在分詞から過去分詞は段階的な変化であり、予測できる変化といえる。

さらに、(13)に示す過去分詞と現在分詞が等位接続された例も得られた。

(13) 等位接続

- ...he ends up **arrested and facing** years in prison.
(COCA, 2009, SPOK)

等位接続された要素は一般に同じステータスを持つとするなら、end up に構造する V-ing は過去分詞と同じステータスを持つ現在分詞であるといえる。

3.3. PredP の出現要因とメカニズム

この節では、残された問題としてなぜ end up の補部に PredP が出現したかについて、その出現要因とメカニズムの点から考察する。

まず、PredP の出現要因としては、意味の漂白化 (semantic bleaching) であると主張する。(14)は比較的初期の end up に in 句が後続している例である。例えば、(14)を日本語にすると、(15)に示す 2 通りの解釈が可能である。

(14) ...you end up in a quarrel.

(COHA, 1877, FIC)

(15a)の下線部は付加詞のように解釈される

のに対して、(15b)の下線部は補部のように解釈される。述部に注目すると、前者は「完了」、後者は「結果状態」を意味する。

- (15) a. 口論で終わる
b. 最終的に口論になる

(14)を(15a)のように解釈しても、(15b)のように解釈しても実質的な意味は変わらないといえる。この意味の漂白化が起こったことを要因として(15)で見たような2通りの解釈が可能になった。この意味の漂白化を起因として今度は、(16)に示される再分析 (cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003))が起こったと主張する。

- (16) [_{VP} [_{VP} V ~~DP~~] PP] > [_{VP} V [_{PredP} ~~DP~~] PP]

(16)において、変化以前は、PPは付加詞であるが、変化後は補部として再分析されている。この付加詞から補部への再分析がPredP出現のメカニズムである。

ここで主張された付加詞から補部への再分析は、end up 以外の変化に対しても提案されている。

- (17) a. I think that [the earth is round]
b. I think [that the earth is round]
(cf. Roberts and Roussou (2003: 118))

Roberts and Roussou (2003)では、括弧表示で示す部分は、(17a)の付加詞から(17b)の補部に再分析されたと主張されている。Roberts and Roussou では、再分析の結果、thatが意味の漂白化を受けて指示詞から補文標識に変化した主張されているが、逆の変化も考えられる。つまり、thatの意味の漂白化を要因として、付加詞から補部への再分析が起こったという道筋である。これは、end up の変化に似た変化であるといえる。²

4. 帰結

この節では、end up がPredP 補部として取ることができるようになった結果として生じるさらなる変化をコーパス調査により示す。

3 節で触れたように、PredP は叙述関係 (Predication)を構築する機能範疇である。叙述関係は主語と述語の関係構築に関わるものであり、同じく主語と述語を含む命題 (Proposition)を形成すると考えられる。これを踏まえると、予測されるさらなる変化は、(18)に示すものである。

- (18) PredP → CP/TP

(18)に示す変化は同じ命題を表すが異なる範疇への変化、すなわち PredP から CP/TP への変化を意味する。実際に、これらの変化を示す例が現代英語のコーパスから得られた。³

- (19) *end up CP (that clause)*
...it ended up **that I slept in the front room bed...** (COCA, 2013, FIC)

(19)では、end up には that 節が後続し、文頭には虚辞が挿入されている。

CP である that 節に加えて、TP である不定詞節も後続する例も得られた。

- (20) *end up TP (infinitive)*
The girl ended up **to be David Bieber's ex-girl friend.** (COCA, 2008, SPOK)

(20)において、end up に不定詞節が後続しており、その内部から主語 DP が繰り上がっている。繰上げ構文が TP であるとする標準的な仮定に従えば、(20)は TP が後続する例であるといえる。

また、(21)に示すように、不定詞節とは異

なる TP が後続する例も得られた。

(21) *end up TP (there-construction)*

- a. ...there **ends up being a peaceful resolution** in the end?

(COCA, 2002, SPOK)

- b. ...there **end up being records payments, extensions, and releases.**

(COCA, 2006, FIC)

(21)では、V-ing が後続しており、文頭は虚辞の *there* が占めている。虚辞の *there* は通常、埋め込み節が TP である文に挿入されるので、この V-ing も *end up* に後続する TP の別の形であるといえる。(21)は別の点で、本稿での提案を支持する。(21a)では、V-ing には単数名詞が後続しており、動詞は単数の一致を示している。一方で、(21b)では、V-ing には複数名詞が後続しており、動詞は複数の一致を示している。もし V-ing が動名詞であるならば、動詞は V-ing の内部の名詞句ではなく、V-ing 自体と一致するはずであり、(21b)の複数一致は予測されない。したがって、この V-ing は少なくとも動名詞ではないといえる。さらに、一致操作は付加詞内の要素には適用されないことを考慮すると、この V-ing が付加詞ではなく、補部であるといえる。

5. 結語

本稿では、歴史コーパスの調査に基づき、*end up* の構造変化を主張した。具体的には、*end up* が現れ始めた初期の頃は後続する要素は、付加詞のみであった。しかし、意味の漂白を要因として *end up* が実質的に意味の変わらない「完了」の意味とそれが含意する「結果状態」を表すことができるようになったため、付加詞から補部への再分析が起り、PredP が出現したと主張した。結果として、*by+V-ing* が V-ing にとって代わられたことと、その過渡期として *as+NP*、*NP*、*AP*、が段階

的に現れるようになったことを説明した。最後に、PredP 出現後のさらなる変化として、CP や TP も後続できるようになった事実を示した。

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注

¹ 秋元 (1998)では、*end up* に後続するさまざまな要素の生起数を調査しているが紙面の都合上、*by+V-ing* と V-ing に限って示す。

² 大室 (2016)では、コーパスの調査結果に基づき、歴史変化の中で *spend+TIME* に後続する単純な V-ing が *in+V-ing* よりも優位になった事実と他の述語的要素も段階的にその種類を増やした事実を示している。

³ 以下に示す例の中には、COHA で観察されるものもあるが、いずれも 1950 年代以降であるため、ここでの分析に沿っている。

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コーパス

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1. はじめに

本研究では、人間の認知様式の観点からフェイズを定義するという試みを行う。具体的には、旧情報の概念と端素性(edge feature)、併合(Merge)を結びつけることで、フェイズが導きだす効果の一つである「島の制約」について説明する。この主張はその帰結としてフェイズという特定の統語領域を規定する必要はないという結論を導く。

ミニマリスト・プログラムにおいてフェイ

Chomsky (2000, 2005)は、統語範疇 CP、vP、DP がフェイズであると規定している。フェイズに基づく提案の下では、定名詞句が島となる(1)は、DP がフェイズであることにより補部 NP がスペルアウトされてしまう為、*wh* 句の抜き出しができないとされている。

- しかし、この分析には問題がある。(2)に示したように同じ DP でも *wh* 句の抜き出しが可能なものもある。同じフェイズを形成する DP からの抜き出しがなぜ可能であるのか Chomsky の定義では説明ができない。

- さらに(3)(4)で示したように、CP、vP についても同様の問題が生じる。(3a)は付加詞の島と呼ばれ *wh* 句の抜き出しができないが、(3b)で示したように同じ付加詞の CP からの抜き出しは可能となっている。また、(4)においても一般的には動詞の補部からの抜き出しは可能であるが、様態を表す動詞 *grumble* や叙実動詞 *regret* などはその補部からの抜き出しができない。

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- c. *Why_i did you [_{VP} regret that you had told the truth *t_i*]?

このように、CP、*v*P、DP がフェイズであるという主張には経験的な問題がある。¹

また、Chomsky はこれらの統語範疇がフェイズであると考えた根拠はそれらが命題を示すものであるとしている。しかし Narita (2014)はこの点について命題という哲学における概念をミニマリストの自然主義理論に持ち込むことには問題があると指摘しており、従来のフェイズの分析には経験的・理論的問題がある。²

3. 旧情報と島

2節で挙げた島の制約に対して生成文法理論では、フェイズ分析以前にも統語的観点から様々な分析が提唱されてきたことはよく知られている。しかし一方で、1970年代からすでに統語的要因のみでは島の制約を説明しきれないとの指摘もなされており、2000年代には(5)で示したように、背景、トピックといった、いわゆる旧情報が島を形成する要因であるということが主張されている。³

- (5) a. Backgrounded constructions are islands.
(Goldberg (2006))
b. Topics are islands. (Meinunger (2000))
c. Topic-islands (Erteschic-Shir (2007))

例えば、(1)(2)の定冠詞を伴う名詞句が島を形成し不定冠詞は島を形成していないという事実は、一般的に定冠詞は既知のものを指し、不定冠詞は未知のものを指すということから、旧情報が島を形成するという(5)を支持するものとして挙げられる。

また、付加詞の場合も(3a)が島を形成し(3b)が島を形成しないのは、Goldberg (2006)によればそれぞれの付加詞の示す新旧情報の違いであると述べている。新旧情報を判断

するテストの一つとして、しばしば否定のスコープが使われる。(6a)で示したように、主節に否定辞 *not* を付けた場合、否定のスコープが従属節まで及ばないのに対し、(6b)は否定のスコープが従属節内まで及ぶ。これは前者において *because* 節の内容が前提となっており、旧情報として認知されているのに対し、後者は旧情報ではないということを示している。

- (6) a. She didn't travel to Memphis because she wanted to see ELVIS. (can be used to imply that while she did travel to Memphis, it was not to see Elvis)
b. She didn't travel to Memphis in order to see Elvis. (can be used to imply that the traveling was done but not in order to meet Elvis)

また、(4)で示した動詞の種類によって島が形成されるというのも情報の差に基づくものである。(4c)の叙実動詞の補部が旧情報を表すことはよく知られているが(4b)の様態を表す動詞も、その話し方についてが文の焦点となることから補部 CP は旧情報としてして解釈される。このことは、(7)で示した否定のスコープのテストによって支持される。

- (7) a. She doesn't think that they sent the letter. (is true if she thinks they didn't send the letter (or if she didn't think anything at all)).
b. I didn't grumble that they sent the letter. (asserts that I didn't grumble; there is typically no implication about whether they sent the letter.)
(Goldberg (2006: 143-144))

以上のように、旧情報を担う要素が島であるという主張は妥当であるように思われる。

4. 提案と分析

Boeckx (2012)は、旧情報を担う要素が島を形成するという主張は、記述的には正しいものであるということを確認ながらも、Goldberg らの情報構造に基づく先行研究の多くが単に旧情報と島の関連性を述べるにとどまり、それを説明するための十分な理論構築がなされていない点が問題であると指摘している。また2節で指摘したように、統語にのみ依拠した従来のフェイズ分析では旧情報が島を形成するという言語事実を説明できない。本稿では、情報の概念を併合を促す端素性と関連付けることによって新たな代案を提示する。

4.1. The Edge Feature with [± Old Information]

Chomsky (2008)は、語彙要素 LI は端素性 (the edge feature (EF)) を担っており、それが併合を促すとしている。

- (8) For an LI to be able to enter into a computation, merging with some SO, it must have some property permitting this operation. A property of an LI is called a *feature*, so an LI has a feature that permits it to be merged. Call this the *edge feature* (EF) of the LI.
(Chomsky (2008:139))

但し Chomsky はこれまでの Merge、Move と異なり、外的併合(EM)と内的併合(IM)を区別しておらず、また EF がどのように両者を区別して選択しているのかについては明らかではない。

本稿では、Move と Merge のようなコストの違いは何らかの形で残ると仮定し、外的併合を基本的な併合操作、無標の操作としてとらえ、内的併合を「基本的操作 + α」の有標な併合操作であると考え。そして旧情報を担う言語要素の端素性は無標の端素性を担

い、無標の併合操作である外的併合を引き起こすと提案する。さらに旧情報以外の言語要素は有標の端素性を担い、有標の内的併合も引き起こすと提案する。

- (9) a. 旧情報を担う言語要素 LI の端素性は
無標 [EF] ⇒ EM
b. 旧情報以外の言語要素 LI の端素性は
有標 [EF*] ⇒ IM / EM

標記上、無標の端素性を[EF]、有標の端素性を[EF*]とする。

ここで、なぜ旧情報が無標の端素性と結びつくのかという疑問が生じるかもしれない。発想としては旧情報は概念として無標であり、新情報は概念として有標である。よって無標の概念は無標の操作と結びつき、有標の概念は有標の操作と結びつくというものである。この点については4.3節で改めて根拠を述べることにする。

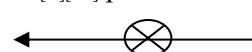
この提案に基づき(1a)の派生についてみてみよう。(10a)で示したように、Numeration で語彙項目が選ばれるが、その際定冠詞 *the* は語彙そのものの特性として旧情報を担うため、無標の端素性[EF]を持つと仮定する。⁴ 従って(10b)で示したように Narrow Syntax では *who* の内的併合を引き起こさないのである。

- (10) a. Numeration:

{ ... see [V][EF*], the [D][EF], ..., who [+wh], ... }

- b. Narrow Syntax:

... see [DP the [D][EF] picture of who [+wh]]



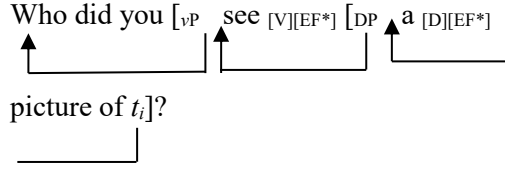
一方(1b)においては、不定冠詞は語彙そのものの特性として旧情報とならず、よって有標の[EF*]を担うため内的併合を促す。さらに動詞 *see* も旧情報には関与しないため [EF*]となり、いわゆる連続循環移動を起こ

し容認可能となる。

(11) a. Numeration:

{ ... see [V][EF*], a [D][EF*], ..., who [+wh], ... }

b. Narrow Syntax:

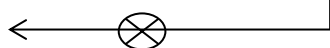


つまり島の効果は、一見したところある特定の領域が移動を阻止しているように見えていたが、本提案が正しいものであるとすると、情報に基づく端素性[EF]によって内的併合が行われるか否かによって生じる副次的な現象であるということになる。

付加詞の島についても同様の分析をする。*because* はそれ自身が語彙特性として旧情報を担うと仮定する。よって無標の端素性[EF]を担い内的併合が起こらない。一方、*in order to* は新情報を担うと仮定し、有標の端素性[EF*]を担うことによって内的併合を引き起こすと考ええる。

(12) a. ... did she leave the movie [CP

because [C][EF] they were eating who [+wh]]?



b. Who_i did she [vP t_i [v' travel [V][EF*] to

Memphis [CP t_i [C in order to[EF*] see t_i]]]]?

4.2. I-Selection

(4b)の様態動詞、(4c)の叙実動詞の島については動詞の選択素性に起因すると提案する。

伝統的な生成文法理論において語彙項目は(13)に示したように音韻、統語、意味の3つの情報から成り立っている。さらに統語に関してはその語彙項目が属する範疇素性、厳密下位範疇化素性、選択制限がある。本稿ではさらに、語彙項目には新旧情報についての

情報が記載されていると提案し、これを(13ii c)の Semantic Selection (S-Selection)に倣って(13i d)のように Information Selection (I-Selection)とする。

(13) 語彙項目 (e.g. *regret*)

[i] [rɪɡrɛt]

[ii] a. V

b. [____ CP]

c. [____ Proposition] (S-Selection)

d. [____ +OLD] (I-Selection)

[iii] to feel sorry about sth you have done
or about sth that you have not been
able to

叙実動詞 *regret* の補部は常に前提、つまり旧情報を示す。これは統語や語用の問題ではなく、叙実動詞そのものが持つ特性であり、それはすなわち I-Selection のような情報が語彙に存在すると考えるのは適切なことのように思われる。

そして、旧情報を無標の端素性と関連付ける本提案の下では、(14)で示したように Numeration において厳密下位範疇化素性に基づき CP のステイタスをもつ語彙要素、つまり範疇素性 C をもつ *that* を選択すると同様に、I-Selection に基づく端素性[EF]を選択するということになる。そうすると、Narrow Syntax では、(14b)で示したように *that* の端素性は内的併合を起こさないため、*what* の移動は阻止され、島の効果を生み出すのである。

(14) a. Numeration: { ... regret [V][EF*], ...

that [C][EF], ..., what [+wh], ... }

b. Narrow Syntax: ... [C did you regret [CP

that [C][EF] they sent what [+wh]]]]?



この I-Selection の考え方は(15)のような複合

名詞句の島にも拡張できる。

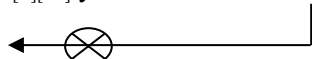
- (15) a. *What_i do you believe [_{DP} the rumor
[_{CP} that John stole *t_i*]]?
b.?* Which book_i did John hear [_{DP} a rumor
[_{CP} that you had read *t_i*]]?

(15)で示したように、複合名詞句は定冠詞も不定冠詞もとることができるが、(16)の否定のテストをすると、いずれもそのスコープは *that* の節内に及ばない。つまり、複合名詞句の補部 CP は旧情報であることが言える。

- (16) I didn't hear a rumor that you had read the book.

このことから、先に見た叙実動詞などと同様、複合名詞句を形成する名詞はその語彙特性として旧情報の語彙要素を取ることが指定されていると考えられる。よって(17)で示したように *that* の端素性は[EF]となり、内的併合を引き起こさず、島の効果を生み出す。

- (17) ... did John hear [_{DP} a_{[D][EF*]} rumor [_{CP} that_{[C][EF]} you had read which book_[+wh]]]



4.3. (Un)marked Conception

以上、具体的な提案および分析法を論じてきたが、本提案の鍵となるポイントは、旧情報を無標の概念、新情報を有標の概念であるとしているところであろう。本節ではこの点の妥当性について子供の言語習得の観点から裏付けをする。

Weisenburger (1976), Baker and Greenfield (1988)によると、子供は言語獲得の初期の段階から新旧情報の区別をつけ、それが言葉の組み立ての中で重要な役割を果たしていると論じている。具体的には、1 語文発話の段階では旧情報は省略され、新情報のみ言語要

素として発せられるという観察がなされている。また、2 語文、3 語文発話の段階では子供は言いたいことについて使える単語を4 語ないしは5 語知っていながら、その中から新旧情報に基づき2 語から3 語選んで発しているとしている。例えば(18a)では、その状況にない *ball* を発話している。これは子供にとって未知の概念であるので新情報である。反対に(18b)では *duck* はその場にあることから認識できるもの、旧情報であり、これが省略されている。一方(18c)においては、母親が先に場所を表す *in the water* を言っており旧情報となり省略されている。⁵

- (18) a. Get the ball. *Ball! Ball!* (Ball was not insight.)
b. Gimmie ducky. *Gimmie. Gimmie.* (Jill is reaching for a rubber duck.)
c. (Adult: do you want to go in the water?) I no no go. *I no wa go.* I no wa go in the water. [Jill, aged 2:5] (Weisenburger (1976:278-279))

つまり言語獲得の初期の段階で、子供は旧情報は省略し、新情報は言語化している。言葉を発するというのが経済的にコストのかかるものであるとするならば、何も言葉にしないというのが最も経済的であり、無標の状態であると仮定するのは妥当ではないかと考える。そして言語化されないものが旧情報であるということを鑑みると、旧情報が無標の概念であるというここでの提案は支持されるものであると考える。一方、新情報のように言語化されるものは人間の言語にとって何か特別の作業であり、何か特殊な位置づけを持っているものであり、マーキングされるべき有標の言語要素であるということが言えるのではないだろうか。

4.4. Consequences

最後に本提案がもたらす 2 つの理論的帰結について論じたい。一つ目は情報構造の概念を Numeration に直接反映させるという提案によって、包括性条件 (Inclusiveness Condition) を満たすことになるという点である。Chomsky (1995: 220) では、統語部門と情報構造は相互作用しているが、その関わり方は間接的で PF や LF を介したものであると考えている。しかしこの考え方は Chomsky (1995: 225) 自身が提唱している包括性条件に矛盾しているということが指摘されている (cf. Aboh (2010))。というのは、情報の概念は既に論じた英語の冠詞ばかりでなく日本語における助詞の「は」、中国語の *ba* (Aboh (2010:18)) など通言語的に言語要素として反映されている。もし、Chomsky の主張するように、PF や LF を介していると考え、情報概念と密接に関連するこれらの言語要素が Narrow Syntax あるいは PF、LF の後に与してくるということになり、包括性の観点から望ましくない。また、本稿で取り上げた *wh* 句の移動など新旧情報が Narrow Syntax に関わることを考えると、Narrow Syntax 以前にそれらが導入されていると考えなければならぬであろう。本提案の下では、情報構造の概念に関わるものが後付けではなく語彙項目として初めから Numeration に存在し派生を引き起こすと考え、包括性の観点からも妥当であると言える。

2 つ目は、情報構造を直接併合に反映させることによって固有のフェイズ領域は存在しないという結論に至った点である。これは、近年ミニマリスト・プログラムが目指している進化的妥当性を満たす可能性を包含する (Fitch, Hauser and Chomsky (2002))。つまり、存在しないものは進化のプロセスを説明する必要はないため最も望ましい結論である。さらに、その代案となる提案は情報の概念を取り入れており、少なくとも従来の言語

理論内言語と比べて前駆体を探る可能性が広がるであろう。⁶ というのは新情報＝未知のもの、旧情報＝既知のものと考えることによってその認知の仕方は人間のみに固有のものでないと言えるのではないだろうか。この点についてはその可能性を示唆するにとどめ、今後の課題としたい。

5. おわりに

本稿は「ヒトの認知様式 (既知・未知) が外的併合・内的併合を誘発する要因として働き、それが結果としてフェイズ領域を表すのであって、フェイズ領域は認知の副産物である」ということを提案し、島の効果について事例研究を行った。

しかし、本提案がすべての島の効果を説明できると主張するものではないということも併せて述べておく。島の効果は様々な要因によって生み出されるものであって本稿の提案はその一要因に過ぎないと考えている。例えば(19)の WH 島の制約は、最短距離移動などの別の第三要因に関わる理由によって島の効果を生み出していると考え。

(19) *What did you think [when Jan devoured]?

重要なことは、それぞれの要因がミニマリスト・プログラムの目指す説明的妥当性以上の理論によって説明されることであり、本稿の提案がその一つであることを期待する。

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注

¹ CP、vP、DP 以外の統語範疇がフェイズであると主張する研究も数多くある (cf. Legate (2003), Abels (2003), Richards (2007),

Bošković (2007), Müller (2011))。

² Boeckx (2009), Gallego (2010), Narita (2014), Cecchetto and Donati (2015)では、特定の領域をフェイズとして規定するのではなく、各素性や ϕ 素性が充足された統語要素が順次転送されるといった、派生の中で結果としてフェイズの効果が表れるという分析をしている。フェイズがないという点で本論の方向性と一致しているが、これらも統語的な観点から分析をしている点において3節で述べる情報に基づく島の制約について説明ができず、経験的問題が残る。

³ 旧情報を表す語については、前提、背景、話題など、研究者によって様々な用語が使われている。本稿では統一的に旧情報という用語を使う。

⁴ 語彙項目は様々な素性を持つが、説明の簡潔性のため本稿では関連する素性のみ表記する。

⁵ (18a,b)は指示的な新旧情報であり、(18c)は文脈上の旧情報である。

⁶ ALL components of FLB are shared either with other species, or other non-linguistic cognitive domains in humans, only their combination and organization are unique to humans and language.
(Fitch, Hauser and Chomsky (2002:182))

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JB-X DM-Y 構文の構成性について*
(On the Compositionality of the JB-X DM-Y
Construction)

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キーワード：JB-X DM-Y 構文，語彙意味論，
推論否定，談話機能，話題化

1. はじめに

英語には(1a)のように Just because 節が副詞節として文頭に現れ、主節に it doesn't mean...の形式をもつものと、(1b)のように Just because 節が動詞 mean の主語位置に現れる形式をもつものがある。両構文は「命題 X が成立するからといって、命題 Y が成立するわけではない」という推論否定を表し、その結果として命題 Y は誤りであるという推意が生じる。以下、(1b)をその形式から Bender and Kathol (2001)に従って JB-X DM-Y 構文と呼ぶことにする。この JB-X DM-Y 構文は、副詞節が主語のようにふるまう特異性から、これまで多くの統語的・構文的分析が与えられてきた (cf. Hirose 1991, 廣瀬 1999, Bender & Kathol 2001, Matsuyama 2001, Kanetani 2011)。

- (1) a. Just because we live in Berkeley, it
doesn't mean we're left wing radicals.
b. Just because we live in Berkeley doesn't
mean we're left wing radicals.
(Bender & Kathol 2001: 13)

本稿の主眼は、語彙意味論の立場から JB-X DM-Y 構文を考察し、構文を構成する各語の語彙特性を観察し、これらの語彙要素がどのような意味計算を経て推論否定の解釈を得るのかを明らかにすることにある。具体的には、JB-X DM-Y 構文に現れる because は推論関係を導く because であり、聞き手の推論のフレームをディスコースに導入する機能を果たしている点を談話分析の観点を交えて示し、本構文に観察される様々な経験的事実に説明を与える。また、since や although などに導かれる because 節以外の副詞節が本構文に生起しない要因をそれらの語彙と because の意味機能や談話機能の違いによって説明する。

2. 先行研究：Hirose (1991)

本稿では先行研究として Hirose (1991)を取り上げる。Hirose は、構文文法の立場から本構文を分析しており、(2a)の JB-X DM-Y 構文は(2b)の that 節主語構文と(2c)の副詞節 because が同じ意味機能を果たすことに基づいて、これら 2 つの構文が混交することで生成されると指摘している。

- (2) a. (Just) because John is rich doesn't mean
that he is happy.
b. That John is rich doesn't mean that he is
happy.
c. Just because John is rich, it doesn't mean
that he is happy (Hirose 1991: 26)

しかし、この混交分析の問題点として以下の 2 点が挙げられる。まず、Hirose (1991)は just because 節を文法的主語として扱うが、that 節主語構文との間には統語的振る舞いの違いが見られるという点である。発表者のインフォーマントによると(3b)のように that 節主語を後置した文は容認できないものの、(3a)は適格な文と判断している。つまり、主

語位置の *just because* は後置しても容認できる場合があることから、主語の *just because* には副詞節としての名残があると言える。次に、JB-X DM-Y 構文が混交によって生じたとすれば、なぜ(4)のような *that* 節主語が副詞節として振る舞う構造が選ばれなかったのか、という点についても新たに説明が必要となる。

- (3) a. It doesn't mean he's happy **just because** John is rich.
 b. *It doesn't mean he's happy **that** John is rich. (Hywel Evans. p.c. March 31, 2017)
- (4) *That the data satisfy expectations it does not mean they are correct.
 (Hilpert 2007: 30)

本稿では、JB-X DM-Y 構文の *just because* 節は主語ではなく、(1a)のような代名詞主語 *it* が音声的に脱落した結果、*just because* 節が一見主節の主語位置を占めているかのように見えると考ええる。JB-X DM-Y 構文の *just because* 節は副詞節であるとする根拠として(5)を示す。本構文は(5a)が示すように、*doesn't mean* の前にカンマイントネーションが置かれる例も多く観察できる。一方で、*that* 節主語ではこのようなカンマイントネーションは置かれない。また、(5b)のように *doesn't mean* から始まる文がコーパスに観察されることから、任意の副詞節である *because* 節が省略されたものとして分析することが可能である。

- (5) a. And just because the fish lives in the water with it, does not mean that it is going to eat it. (BNC; C96 694)
 b. Your grandmother is a frightened old lady who's had a hard life. Doesn't mean you should be scared of new things.
 (COCA; *Anna's Crossing: An Amish*

Beginnings Novel S. W. Fisher 2015)

3. 考察

3.1. 動詞 *mean* の語彙特性

本節では、JB-X DM-Y 構文を構成する各語彙項目の語彙特性を明らかにしていく。まず、動詞 *mean* の意味を英英辞書で確認すると、*result* と *likely result* の2つの意味が記載されている。このことから、*mean* には *causal* の解釈と *inferential* の2つ解釈が語彙的に指定されていると考え、それぞれを(7)のように記述する。

(6) *mean* の辞書的意味：

- a. to have something as a result or a likely result (OALD)
 b. to be a sign that something is true or will happen (LDOCE)

(7) a. [ϕ CAUSE_{causal} ψ]

b. [ϕ CAUSE_{inferential} ψ]

(cf. Sweetser 1990, 高橋・大野 2016: 67)

Mean がもつ *causal* の解釈は(8a)に、*inferential* の解釈は(8b)にそれぞれ対応する。本構文に生起する動詞 *mean* は(7b)で示す *inferential* な意味をもち、命題 ϕ および ψ について、 ϕ を根拠として結論 ψ を導き出す推論関係が成立することを表しており、JB-X DM-Y 構文においても同様の意味機能を果たしている¹。

- (8) a. That you paid the fee means you are a member. (高橋・大野 2016: 67)
 b. Increased life expectancy will mean that for every 100 workers aged 15–64 there will be 28 young and 35 elderly dependants in 2036. (BNC; CR8 903)

3.2. *Because* の語彙特性

次に *because* の語彙特性を観察する。古く

は Whately (1853)や Jespersen (1949)らが既に指摘しているように because にも causal と inferential の 2 つの解釈がある。

- (9) a. The ground is wet because_{causal} it has rained.
 b. The ground is wet, because_{inferential} it has rained.
 c. #It has rained because_{causal} the ground is wet.
 d. It has rained, because_{inferential} the ground is wet. (cf. Whately 1853, Jespersen 1949)

(9a,b)が示すように because は causal にも inferential にも解釈可能であるが、(9c,d)では inferential のみの解釈しか許されない。これは現実世界において濡れた地面が雨を降らせるような因果関係はありえないというわれわれの世界の知識による。

3.3. Just の語彙特性

Takahashi et al. (2017)で既に指摘しているように、just には 2 つの意味があり、一つは「十分さを強調する」precisely の意、もう一つは「不十分さを強調する」merely の意である。JB-X DM-Y 構文は推論否定を伝えるために、根拠の不十分さを強調する just₂ が選択されると考える。本構文に生起する just は省略可とされるが、i-because 節を推論関係の前提として導入する際に重要な役割を果たしていると考え。この点については次節で検討することとする。

- (10) just₁ : precisely (single and sufficient)
 just₂ : merely (single and insufficient)

従来、just because 節が主節に先行する構文では、(11a)が示すように肯定文は容認されないとされてきたが、筆者らのインフォーマントの中には(11a)を容認するものもいる。ただ

し、その場合 just は merely の意味ではなく precisely の意味で解釈され、本構文に生起する just の意味とは異なる。

- (11) a. ?Just because you paid your fees means you are a member.
 b. Just because you paid your fees doesn't mean you are a member.
 (高橋・大野 2016: 67)

また、(12)のように because 節を伴わなくとも、「少なさ」を表す形容詞 mere を用いて、JB-X DM-Y 構文と同じような推論否定を表している例もあり、merely の意味の just が推論否定の解釈に大きく寄与している証拠と言える。更に、(13)のように doesn't mean を修飾する副詞句として necessarily や automatically などが共起する点も興味深い。これらの副詞を伴うことで「命題 X を根拠に命題 Y を推論することは容易ではない」という意がより鮮明になることから、本構文における just は命題 X の「不十分さ」を強調する just₂ の意であると判断できる。

- (12) The mere fact that he was out after curfew doesn't mean he brought on his own death[.]
 (COCA; 'Method to fight gangs blasted' *Orange County Register*. 2015)
 (13) a. Just because I knew Mills was suspected of betraying someone does not necessarily mean that I had anything to do with his unfortunate death. (BNC; G15 1943)
 b. Nevertheless, just because a lot of objections are received does not automatically mean an application will be refused. (BNC; A3K 50)

3.4. JB-X DM-Y 構文における推論否定のメカニズム

本節では、これまで見てきた各語彙の語彙特性をもとに、JB-X DM-Y 構文がどのようなメカニズムによって推論否定の解釈になるのかを見ていく。例文(14)では、先行文脈で「トルコ人が上司で仕事がしやすかった」という旨が伝えられている。このことから、話者は聞き手・読み手が(15)のような推論を導くと予測する。

(14) It's far easier for me to work for another Turk because I can talk about pay rates and things like that more openly. But **just because** your boss is Turkish **doesn't mean** he treats you any better. (BNC; CAK 679)

(15) 背景にある推論：

Your boss treats you better (= ψ).
because_{inferential} he is Turkish (= ϕ).

次に、話者はこの推論の根拠となる命題 ϕ を話題(topic)として取り出して文頭に置くが、この時(i-)because は Chafe (1984)のいう guidepost の機能を果たしていると考ええる。つまり、話者は発話の先頭に来る(i-)because を通して聞き手の推論のフレーム(ϕ CAUSE_{inferential} ψ)をディスコースの中に導入し、背景にある推論の前提を話題化し、それに対して叙述を行っていると考ええる²。

(16) [_{TOPIC} because_{inferential} your boss is Turkish (= ϕ)], ψ
($\Rightarrow \exists[\phi$ CAUSE_{inferential} $\psi]$)

ここで話題化された命題 ϕ は代名詞 it を介して後述の主節に引き継がれてもよいが(17a)、第2節で論じたようにこの it が音声的に脱落すると JB-X DM-Y 構文となる。次に、命題 ϕ 、 ψ 間に成立する推論関係が動詞 mean によって言語表現化される。その際に、just は強意句としての意味機能から i-because の guidepost の働きと、命題 ϕ の話題化を助け

る。そして最終的に just の「不十分さ」の意味が否定辞と相まってその推論全体を否定することになるのである(17b)。以上から、一見すると because と mean は共に CAUSE_{inferential} を表す点で意味的に重複するように見えるが、それぞれが異なった談話機能を果たしていると言える。

(17) a. (Just) because_{inferential} your boss is Turkish (= ϕ), it doesn't mean he treats you any better (= ψ).
b. \neg [your boss is Turkish CAUSE_{inferential} he treats you better]

3.5. 本分析を支持する議論

本分析を支持する議論として、以下にその妥当性を検証していく。まず(18)の容認差が示すように、通常 i-because は主節に先行できない。しかし、JB-X DM-Y 構文では i-because が文頭に生起するために(19)の制約に違反する。

(18) a. *Because_{inferential} the ground is wet, it has rained.
b. Because_{causal} it has rained, the ground is wet.

(cf. Hirose 1991, Kanetani 2011: 84)

(19) i-because は主節に先行できない
(Hirose 1991: 27)

前節で既に述べたように、本構文に生起する i-because は背景となる推論関係をディスコースの中に導入するが、本稿ではこの i-because の guidepost としての談話機能が(19)の制約を無効化すると考える。この(19)に対する例外条件を(20)のように表記する。

(20) (19)の違反が許されるのは談話の背景にある聞き手側の推論を話者が話題として取り出すとき、またそのときのみであ

る

- (21) a. It has rained because_{inference} the ground is wet.
b. ??Because_{inference} the ground is wet means it has rained.
c. Just because_{inference} the ground is wet doesn't mean it has rained.

本稿の分析が正しいとすると(21b,c)の対比が説明できる。(21b)で文頭の i-because が認可されるためには(20)の条件を満たさなければならないが、聞き手側に成立している(成立する)と話者が考える推論をそのまま取り上げて(21b)のように表明しても、聞き手にとって情報的価値はなく談話的に不適格である。よって(21b)の i-because が guidepost の機能を果たすことはなく(19)に違反してしまう。また仮に(21b)の because が c-because であったとしても(9c)と同様な理由で意味的に不適格となる。一方、話者の想定する聞き手側の推論を取り出し、それが「成立しない」ことを述べる場合は、その否定が新情報となり情報的価値が生じる。そのため JB-X DM-Y 構文(21c)の i-because は(20)の条件を満たすことができ(19)の制約を免れる。したがって、i-because が動詞 mean と共起するこのような構文は、JB-X DM-Y 構文のような否定環境の中でのみ認可されると説明できる。

次に、JB-X DM-Y 構文において c-because が文頭に生起しない事実についても適切に説明できる。(22a)を前提として、(22b)のようにその推論を否定する場合、(22a)では「授業を休んだ」ことは事実として断定しているが、一方の(22b)で授業を休んだことを否定する解釈になっているため、因果関係に齟齬が生じることから不適格となる。その要因は、動詞 mean の持つ CAUSE_{inferential} の意味と c-because が導入する CAUSE_{causal} の間の不一致によるものであり、本構文に現れる

because と mean は共に CAUSE_{inferential} の解釈であるという根拠となる。一方、(23)のように動詞 mean が CAUSE_{causal} の意味をもつときに c-because 節が主語位置に現れると、上記の齟齬が解消され、文の容認度は高くなる。

- (22) a. John missed the class because_{causal} he was sick.
b. #Just because_{causal} John was sick doesn't mean he missed the class. (= It implies he didn't miss the class.)
(23) ?Just because_{causal} you paid the fee means you are a member.

更に、一見すると本構文の生起条件に違反している興味深い例についても適切に説明づけることができる。例文(24)では just because 節に肯定文が後続しているが、3.4 節で仮定した JB-X DM-Y 構文のメカニズムでは、話者が想定する聞き手側の推論が最終的に否定されればよい。このことから、主動詞 mean を直接否定しなくとも、別の独立した節 (but that's not true) でその推論全体を否定しても、(24)は適格となるのである。一方、Hirose (1991)の分析では、(24)の because は c-because になってしまい、この容認性を適切に説明できない。

- (24) You might think that just because something is natural means it's not scientific, but that's not true.
(COCA; *The robots in your kitchen* A. Broyles 2015)

4. That 節主語構文や他の副詞節との比較

本節では that 節主語構文や他の副詞節との比較分析をする。本構文の just because 節は背景となる推論のフレームをディコースに導入する機能を果たす点で特異的であり、(25)に示すような推論を導く類似構文には

同様の機能は観察されない。

- (25) a. That John is rich {doesn't mean / means}
that he is happy.
b. Since John is liked by all the students, it
{means / *doesn't mean} that he is a
good teacher.
c. Although John is rich, it {*means /
doesn't mean} that he is happy.

まず、(25a)の that 節主語構文において、that 節は命題を色をつけず無色のままで従属節にするため、(21b)で論じたような談話的不適合を生じず、肯定環境でも常に容認される。

次に、since 節を見ていく。Hirose (1991)でも指摘しているように、since には推論を導く用法(26a)があるにも関わらず、(26b)のように JB-X DM-Y 構文の because の代わりに生起することはできない。この適否には否定の作用域の違いが大きく関わっている。

- (26) a. Since the ground is wet, it must have
rained.
b. *{Just since / Since} the ground is wet
doesn't mean it has rained.
(cf. Hirose 1991: 28-29)

JB-X DM-Y 構文は導入した推論関係全体を否定するために、否定の作用域が広がる。一方で since はその語彙特性として because のような guidepost の談話機能は持たず、それが導く節と主節全体とを直接因果関係、あるいは推論関係で関係づけるため、JB-X DM-Y 構文に現れて主節の作用域に入ることとはできない。

一方、although 節は(25c)の形では否定環境に生起できる。これは Hilpert (2007: 31)が示唆している JB-X DM-Y 構文と「譲歩」構文との強い関連性とも整合する。ところが although 節は JB-X DM-Y 構文の「主語」位

置には生起できない。

- (27) *Although John is rich doesn't mean he is
happy.

2 節で論じたように、もし JB-X DM-Y 構文が it の音声的脱落により生じるのであれば、なぜ(27)は許されないのでしょうか。JB-X DM-Y 構文は前提となる推論が否定されることによって譲歩の意味を帯びるのに対して、although はその語自体に譲歩の意味をもつ。すなわち、although のみで推論を覆す意味機能を果たすことから、JB-X DM-Y で表すと although 節まで否定の作用域に入ることになり、意味的不整合が生じるため(27)の形へと拡張が進まないと考える。

5. おわりに

本稿では、JB-X DM-Y 構文を構成する各語彙の語彙特性から本構文の構成性を明らかにした。文頭に現れる i-because 節は非文法的とされてきたが、背景となる推論関係をディスコースの中に導入する場合においては適格となる点を指摘し、またその推論関係を否定して初めて情報的価値が生じることから、本構文が常に否定環境で生起する理由を明らかにした。

本稿の分析は構文の存在を否定するものではなく、構文が特異性を獲得する前提として語彙的な貢献が大きいことを示唆するものであり、従来の構文文法論で提示されてきた理論をより精緻化することが可能である³。

* 本稿は、日本英語学会第 35 回大会 (於：東北大学)において口頭発表した内容に加筆、修正したものである。発表並びに本稿執筆に際して、岩田彩志先生、金谷優先生、その他フロアの先生方から多くの有益なご意見を頂いた。ここに感謝の意を表したい。なお、

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注

¹ Levin (1991)では動詞 *mean* を推論動詞 (conjecture verbs)として取り上げており、実際、Bender & Kathol (2001)によると JB-X DM-Y 構文には *mean* の他にも *inference* や *evidence*、*justification* を表す幅広い動詞が代入されることから、当該構文における *mean* は causal な *mean* ではなく inferential な *mean* であることを裏づけている。

² 以下、Larson & Sawada (2012)にならい c-because と i-because の意味をそれぞれ CAUSE_{causal}、CAUSE_{inferential} の関数を用いて表記する。

(i) (C)ause and because are plausibly just inverses of each other, so that ϕ BECAUSE ψ iff ψ CAUSE ϕ .

(Larson & Sawada 2012: 64)

³ Hirose (1991)や廣瀬 (1999)、Bender & Kathol (2001)が正しく指摘しているように、本構文に生起する動詞は *mean* に限らず、*be* や *make* など様々な動詞が生起する。これは構文の拡張として構文文法的アプローチによって捉えることができよう。

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なぜ言語には非付値素性が存在するのか (Why Do Unvalued Features Exist at All?)

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キーワード：非付値素性，ラベル，位相，
意味の二重性

1. はじめに

本レポートは第 35 回日本英語学会で行われたワークショップ「なぜ言語には非付値素性が存在するのか (Why do unvalued features exist at all?)」の報告書である。本レポートではまず、議論の背景を導入した後、ワークショップでの提案について報告する。なおワークショップは 3 名の発表者（北原・内堀・藤田）がそれぞれ発表した、発表における提案は 3 名共同によるものである。

2. ワークショップの背景

Chomsky(1986) において完全解釈の原理 (full interpretation) が提案されて以来、言語機能が生成する統語的対象物は隣接する 2 つの interface (概念意図系・感覚運動系) に完全に解釈されるものでなければならないとされた。具体的には、派生された統語的対象物に解釈不可能な素性が含まれたまま interface に到達すると、そこでその派生は崩壊 (crash) すると考えられた(Chomsky 1995)。そのような解釈不可能素性の典型とされた

のが、時制主辞の ϕ 素性 (ϕ -features) である。名詞がもつ ϕ 素性と異なり、時制主辞がもつ ϕ 素性は意味解釈に寄与せず、概念意図系との interface においては解釈不可能である。

近年の極小主義の強いテーゼ (Strong Minimalist Thesis: SMT) は、言語理論及び言語機能そのものについて、主に次の 2 点に集約できるような、さらに強い制限を課している。1 つは言語機能は interface に対する最適解 (optimal solution) であるとする考え、もう 1 つは interface に関する非対称性、すなわち言語機能が一次的に出力するのは概念意図系であり、感覚運動系への出力は二次的であるとの考え方である。換言すれば、SMT に従うと、言語機能は概念意図系に対して出力を行う最適な生成装置 (Generative Procedure) と考えられる。SMT の下では、言語現象の説明とは interface 条件や物理法則などの一般法則による説明であり、それらに還元できない理論的概念による説明 (や言語の特質) は言語の不完全性 (imperfection) とみなされる。上述のような時制主辞の持つ ϕ 素性などの解釈不可能素性は、意味解釈を生み出さないため、interface 条件に説明を帰着させることができず、また一般法則にも還元することができない。これらのことから、解釈不可能素性は言語の不完全性とみなすことができるかもしれない。しかしながら、Chomsky (2000) はこれとは異なる考えを示した。すなわち、言語機能の生成物が本質的に項構造解釈、談話的解釈という意味の二重性をもち、移動操作は後者の解釈を生み出すために必要不可欠な操作であると指摘し、その上で、解釈不可能素性は移動操作を引き起こすための最小の装置であって、言語の不完全性ではないと論じた。

他方、Chomsky (2004) では、移動は併合 (Merge) と統合され、特段の引き金 (trigger) がなくても適用可能なものであると議論し、この考えは現在に至るまで引き継がれてい

る。移動操作になんらの理由も必要がないとすれば、Chomsky (2000) の解釈不可能素性に関する議論はもはや成立しなくなる。なぜならば、解釈不可能素性がなくても、移動操作が可能だからである。Chomsky (2007, 2015) では解釈不可能素性の存在理由を派生の循環性に求めている。Chomsky (2001) が主張するように、解釈不可能素性を、値を欠いている素性（非付値素性：unvalued features）と仮定すると、位相（phase）ごとに演算が適用されないと、解釈不可能素性と解釈可能素性が区別できなくなる。そのため非付値素性への値付与と同時に、その領域は転送（transfer）され、位相が定義される。換言すれば、非付値素性を認めると、それにより位相が定義され、生成文法が伝統的に捉えてきた派生の循環性（cyclicity）を捉えることができる。Chomsky (2007, 2015) は解釈不可能素性の存在理由を位相の定義のためと主張している。

3. 提案・分析

ワークショップにおける提案は、上述の Chomsky (2007, 2015) の主張と矛盾するものではないことを最初に指摘しておく。提案の中核は、解釈不可能素性の存在理由は位相の定義だけではなく、ラベル付けを通して、意味の二重性を保証するということである。本論は Chomsky (2013, 2015) で提案されたラベル付けアルゴリズムが正しいものと仮定し、{XP, YP} 構造は同一（identical）な素性をもたない限り、ラベル付けをすることができないという問題意識（いわゆる XP-YP 問題）を共有する。ラベル付けは、統語生成物が概念意図系で解釈されるための前提条件（prerequisite）であるため、英語の場合、従来の TP、CP の節点はそれぞれ $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$ 、 $\langle Q, Q \rangle$ のように同一の素性を持つことによって、ラベル付けがなされる。このとき、素性の同一性を担保するには、片方が値を持た

ない素性であり、もう一方から素性の値を受け取っている必要がある。偶然に同一の素性をもつ（accidental matching）だけでは、ラベル付けはできない。このため、ラベル付けにおける解釈不可能素性のもつ役割は非常に大きなものであることがわかる。つまり XP-YP 問題を解決するには、解釈不可能素性が存在していなければならない。{XP, YP} 構造は言語表現に遍在する構造であり、特に移動操作が適用された後の構造は典型的には {XP, YP} 構造である。実際に英語で $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$ 、 $\langle Q, Q \rangle$ のラベルが付与される構造は、要素が移動してつくられた構造である。前節で述べたように、移動は談話的解釈を生み出すために必要不可欠であった。談話的解釈は項構造とともに意味の二重性を構成する。このように考えると、解釈不可能素性は、位相の定義ばかりでなく、ラベル付けを通じて XP-YP 問題を解消し、意味の二重性の保証に非常に重要な役割を担っていると考えられる。

4. おわりに

ここまで、ワークショップの理論的背景と発表者の提案を簡単にまとめた。残念ながら、ページの都合上、ワークショップで行われた多くの議論（格素性の諸問題・解釈不可能の進化の問題など）を載せることはできなかったが、ワークショップではフロアの参加者と活発な議論を行った。このワークショップでは解釈不可能素性（非付値素性）がなぜ言語に存在するのかについて、ラベル付けに基づく分析からその存在理由を提示した。

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英語力の伸張と
論理的思考力の伸張について*
(On the Growths of English Ability
and Logical Thinking)

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キーワード：論理的思考力、英語教育

1. はじめに

高等学校学習指導要領（外国語編）には、2014 年より論理的思考力を伸ばすことが組み込まれているが、次に策定される指導要領には、より一層、論理的思考力の伸張が謳われる予定である。本 WS の発表者らは、一般財団法人日本生涯学習総合研究所と共に、2013 年度から全国の中・高校生を対象に、英語の語彙や文法力を測定する英語力テストと、論理的思考力テストを行い、それらの

結果をデータ化してきた。その中で、Bloom's Taxonomy で提唱される論理的思考態度の 4 項目（分析・評価・推論・表現）のうち、分析力、評価力、表現力と、英語力は相関性があることがわかっている。しかし同テストを大学生に行い、その結果を高校生のものと比較すると、論理的思考力を問う問題の中には、大学生の正答率は非常に高いのに、高校生は低く、英語力との相関性以上に、何かの伸び具合が係わることを示唆する回答パターンもいくつかあった。そこで、本 WS は 4 部構成とし、まず第 1 部では(財)日本生涯学習総合研究所と共同して、全国的に中・高校生を対象に行っている英語テストおよび論理的思考力のテストについて説明し、第 2 部では、日英語の論理構造と談話構造の違いを提示し、その後日本人の英語学習者に対して行った両言語の差異に関する理解度調査の結果を提示し、英語教育における論理的思考力の教育において何を導入すべきなのかを示した。第 3 部では、蓄積しているデータを、データの生徒一人一人の伸び具合、経年変化を分析し、第 4 部では、英語力の伸長と論理的思考力の伸張の関係について考察を行った。

2. 第 1 部 英語力および論理的思考力の評価 テスト作成の試み（吉川厚）

本発表は、英語において論理的思考力を測るテストとはどのようなものかを、学習指導要領や先行研究から分析し、設定した。それに基づいてテスト問題を作成し、具体的な例を示しながらどのような問題が良いかを検討した。そして、中高生に問題を解かせてみた結果、比較的よく解ける問題から、日本語の場合とほぼ同等に正解に至らない問題や、英語の技能が十分な学校であっても 1/3 程度しかできない問題などがみつき、設計した論理的なテストで十分能力を測定できることがわかった。

3. 第2部 日英語の談話構造の違いと、その知識を生かした英語教育の提言

3.1. 日英語の論理的表現方法と学習者の理解度 (多々良直弘、八木橋宏勇)

本発表は、日本人英語学習者の「英語力」と「論理的思考力」には、相関関係があるのかどうか調査した結果を提示しながら、英文の「適切な解釈」には「英語力」と「論理的思考力」の双方が必要であることを示した。また、言語によって好まれる談話展開（英語：出来事的全貌を鳥瞰的に見て、原因と結果の「論理」を再構成する Because 型、日本語：事態を時間順序で書き、最後に結論や主張を提示する Therefore 型）に起因する英文の理解度の低さも指摘し、論理的思考に言語が一部影響を与えている可能性を指摘した。

3.2. 英語教育と論理的思考能力 (藤原隆史)

本発表では、英語の使役動詞についての根拠説明型教授法と暗記型教授法の教育効果と論理的思考態度の関係を適正処遇交互作用の観点から考察した。論理的思考態度の高い学習者には根拠説明型教授法が、そうでない学習者には暗記型教授法が適しているという予測の元、統計的分析を行った。結果として、根拠説明型教授法は論理的思考態度の高低に関わらず有効であるが、論理的思考態度が高くない者に対しては暗記型教授法の方が効果的であり、論理的思考態度が高いと自認する者に対しては、暗記型教授法がそれ程適していない可能性が示された。

4. 第3部 英語力と論理的思考力伸張の規定因の考察 (菊池聡、花崎美紀、花崎一夫、大塚崇史)

本発表は、論理的思考力テストが、実際の論理的思考力を測定しているか確認するため、外的基準による基準関連妥当性の検証を行い、さらに論理的思考力伸張の規定因について経年分析と提案を行った。論理的思考力

テストを受験した中3~高3の342名に、認知的経験的自己理論 CEST(Pacini & Epstein 1999)にもとづく「情報スタイル尺度」(内藤・鈴木・坂元 2004)および、連言錯誤や確率推論に関する認知的熟考課題を実施した。英語テスト得点と学年を統制変数とした重回帰分析の結果、合理性情報処理スタイルにおいて、論理テスト成績と有意な関係が認められた。 $(\beta=.105^{**} R^2=.609^{**})$ これにより論理的思考力テストの妥当性が一部検証された。また、論理的思考力テストを受験した中高生256名のデータを経年比較し、論理的思考力伸張の規定因を検討した。その結果、テストは必ずしも学年進行ではないが、論理的思考力成績は、先行年度英語テストにより、有意に予測される傾向が見られた。つまり、前述結果とあわせて英語力および情報処理スタイルが、論理的思考力規定因の一つである可能性は高いということを提案した。

5. 第4部 英語力の伸張および論理的思考力の伸張の可能性と、これからの展望(吉川厚)

本発表では、第1部から第3部までの総括を行い、また、インタビューの結果から論理的英語の成績がよく英語の言語テストの結果がそうでもなかった学校が、その後成績が伸びていることも踏まえて今後縦断的研究の必要性を述べた。

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<Workshop Report>

ことばと意味の可能性: 手続き的情報と構文

(On Prospects of Language and Meaning:

Procedural Information and Construction)

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キーワード: 関連性理論, 手続き的情報, 活性化, 構文, コード化

0. はじめに

本ワークショップでは、関連性理論 (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995) の枠組みにおける、手続き的にコード化されている情報に焦点を当てた。手続き的にコード化されている情報とは、聞き手の推論の方向を導く情報であり、これまで関連性理論の枠組みに基づく研究では、手続き的情報は語がコード化している情報として想定されてきた。しかしながら、語だけでなく形式と意味のペアである構文が手続き的情報をコード化していると見なすべき事例が存在する。そこで本ワークショップでは、コード化された意味と推論による意味を区別する関連性理論と、両者を構文の意味として包括的に見なす構文文法

(Goldberg, 1995 ほか) の2つの枠組みにおける事例の比較を通し、ある表現に結びつく意味が、文全体の理解においてどのようなステータスを持つかについて検討することを目的とした。

1. (発表1) ことばがコード化する手続き的情報: 語から構文まで (盛田)

本発表では、手続き的情報が関連性理論のこれまでの研究において、どのように理論的に位置付けられてきたかを概観するとともに、語のみならず構文が手続き的情報をコード化している可能性を指摘した。

まず、Blakemore (1987) による概念的情報と手続き的情報の二分の提案以降の先行研究の外観から、依然として語が手続き的情報をコード化しているとの見方が広く受け入れられていることを指摘した。また、一方で Wharton (2003, 2009) による、活性化 (activation) の考え方や、Carston (2016) による、概念的意味を探索するためのポインターとしての役割の指摘など、手続き的情報の考え方が近年拡張していることを指摘した。

2. (発表2) 談話標識「なんか」の手続き的意味と韻律 (楊)

本発表では、韻律には自然的な側面と言語的な側面があり、自然的な韻律はさらに natural sign と natural signal に分けられると主張する Wharton & Wilson (2006)、Wharton (2012) の枠組みを用いて、日本語の談話標識「なんか」の韻律が natural signal としての手続き的意味をコード化しているという分析を提案した。この分析では、基本形で発話される談話標識の「なんか」が聞き手の認知的警戒モジュール (epistemic vigilance module) を活性化する手続き的意味を持つのに加えて、強形 (な—んか、なんかあ、な—ん'か) 及び弱形 (なんか、なか) に伴う韻律は natural signal であり、メタレベルで認知的警戒の活

性化の度合いを管理・調節する手続き的意味を持つことを主張した。

3. (発表 3) 日本語のスラングから考察した手続き的情報を含む構文について (板垣)

本研究は、日本語のスラングとして見られる(1)の表現を、構文と関連性理論の二つの視点から考察した。この例はいずれも前件に関する発話者の死亡や失敗を暗示させるために用いられる。

- (1) a. 俺、この戦争が終わったら、彼女と結婚するんだ…。
- b. 俺、このプロジェクトが終わったら休みをもらうんだ。

本研究は、(1)に付随する暗示は一般的な文脈想定だけでは捉えられず、「特定のシナリオ的フレームを喚起せよ」という手続き的情報を持つ構文として分析すべきであることを主張した。さらに、構文の定着 (Entrenchment (cf. Croft and Cruse 2004)) を踏まえることで、「の(だ)」文や条件表現の容認性の差も説明できることを示した。

4. (発表 4) 英語の重複型表現: XX 構文の手続き的情報 (時政)

英語の話し言葉における重複型表現 (例: ‘I don’t just love music (X); I love music. (XX)’ (Huang 2015:83)) について、Goldberg (1995) に基づき、一定の形式と意味がセットになった XX 構文と呼び、その解釈プロセスの視点から XX 構文の手続き的情報に焦点をあてて考察した。これまで発表者は、XX 構文の解釈には、単体 X の narrowing と、「X を含む先行発話の解釈」の狭めによるものが存在することを指摘してきたが、本発表では、この手続き的情報について、X もしくは X を含む発話の解釈の narrowing の方向性についてさらに考察し、

手続き的情報の規定を修正したものを提案した。さらに、XX 構文の X そのものが「文」である例の存在を指摘し、XX 構文が語彙レベルの分析だけでは不十分であることを主張した。

5. まとめ

発表 1、2 から、関連性理論における手続き的意味の理論的位置付けについて概観を行い、推論への制約に取って代わる Wharton による活性化の考え方が、韻律の手続き的情報の分析にも適用可能であることを示した。さらに、発表 3、4 から構文が手続き的情報を持つと見なすことが可能な事例について検討を行った。発表 3 では、手続き的情報の考え方を援用し、構文が手続き的情報を持つと見なすことで、特定のフレームの喚起を構文の意味として認定することが可能であることを指摘した。また、発表 4 から構文の意味のステータスを、発話解釈の方向を狭める手続き的情報として見なす提案がされた。

本ワークショップの 4 発表から、これまで主に語がコード化していると考えられてきた手続き情報について、韻律や、より表現と意味の結束性が強い構文にまで手続き的情報の考え方が援用可能であることを明らかにした。

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極小主義統語論における外在化
(Externalization in Minimalist Syntax)

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1. はじめに

Chomsky (1993, 1995)における原理とパラメータのアプローチから極小主義への変遷に伴い、生成文法理論の枠組みにおいて統語部門における理論的道具立ては最小限のものに限るという研究指針が打ち立てられた。それに従い、統語部門と音韻部門のインターフェイスの研究及び統語部門と意味部門のインターフェイスの研究が普遍文法を解明するために重要な役割を担うと考えられ、これまで精力的に研究が行われてきた。

本ワークショップは特に統語部門と音韻部門のインターフェイスに焦点を当て、言語の外在化のメカニズムを理解することを通して普遍文法の解明に寄与することを目的とした。具体的には、生成文法理論の極小主義統語論の枠組みにおいて、言語現象に基づいた外在化への理論的考察と、理論に基づいた外在化に纏わる言語現象の経験的考察の双方を行った。

2. (発表 1) 空項現象から見る言語の普遍性と多様性 (後藤)

本発表では、動詞の一致素性 (ϕ -particle) や名詞の格素性 (Case-particle) は、分解された状態でレキシコンに蓄えられ、それらの直接併合によって空項を導くためのラベリング (Chomsky 2015) が可能になると提案した。本分析の帰結として、空項現象そのものは幻想であり、それを導くためにしばしば想定される削除操作 (Deletion) も必要ないという可能性を示唆した。

3. (発表 2) 英語の名詞句省略と位相理論 (坂本)

本発表では、英語の名詞句省略を抜き出しの可能性の観点から経験的に考察し、その理論的帰結を探った。Baltin (2007)は、名詞句省略の位置が他の省略現象 (例えば間接疑問縮約や動詞句省略) の位置とは異なり顕在的な抜き出し (例えば *wh* 移動) を許さない事実を指摘し、名詞句省略を省略 (または表層照応) ではなく空の代用形 (または深層照応) として分析する可能性を論じている。しかし、本発表では名詞句省略位置から非顕在的な移動 (例えば量化詞繰り上げ) は許される事実を指摘し、Baltin とは異なり、当該の現象は省略として分析されるべきだと結論づけた。また、日本語や中国語の項省略が英語の名詞句省略と同じく抜き出しの可能性に関して顕在的移動と非顕在的移動の対比を示すことに着目し、両者が Bošković (2014)が提案した省略の位相理論の下で、LF コピー分析により均一に扱われるべきだと主張した。

4. (発表 3) ラベル付けに基づく転送領域の可変性に関する分析とその帰結 (瀧田)

本発表では、統語的構築物のラベル付け (Chomsky 2013, 2015)が線状化のために必要であるという仮説に基づき、ラベルの有無によって転送領域の大きさが変わりうるとい

う分析を提案した。これにより、Sato (2012)の助詞残留型削除の分析をより自然な形で捉えなおすことができると論じた。また、その帰結として日本語において長距離かき混ぜが可能であることが再び興味深い問題になることを指摘し、その解決策を検討した。

5. (発表 4) 削除に課せられる平行性条件と A/A' 移動 (中村)

本発表では、動詞句削除に見られる態や項構造等の不一致現象の分析を通して、(i)削除に課せられる平行性条件は統語上の同型性に基づき、(ii)この同型性の決定に A 移動は関与しないと主張した。本発表は、A / A' 移動の相違を示唆するとともに、平行性条件が統語的か意味的かという、近年取り上げられている問題にわずかな光明を投じるものである(Hartman (2011), Messick and Thoms (2016))。

6. まとめ

4つの発表において、空項現象、名詞句省略、助詞残留型削除、動詞句削除などの音声的に空の照応表現に焦点を当て、統語部門と音韻部門の相互作用に関して考察を行った。また、従来の研究で外在化に関して重要な理論的役割を担ってきた位相及び転送のメカニズムに加えて Chomsky (2013, 2015)によって提案されたラベル付けアルゴリズムの観点から外在化の考察を行った。発表 1 では、ラベル付けアルゴリズムと素性併合の相互作用が空項現象を説明することが論じられた。発表 2 では、英語の名詞句省略からの抜き出しの可能性が、省略と位相の相互作用を支持することが論じられた。発表 3 では、ラベルが音韻部門において重要な役割を果たすことが示唆され、助詞残留型削除への新たな分析可能性が論じられた。発表 4 では、態と項構造の動詞句削除との相互作用から、移動の種類及び削除一般に課せられる平行性条件への示唆が行われた。

発表後の質疑応答や意見交換から、省略現象のような音韻部門で具現化されない照応現象を考察することは、外在化のメカニズムを解明するために重要であることが発表者間で共有された。また、外在化に関してラベル付けや位相などの理論的道具立てと当該の照応現象を結びつけて考察する意義が確認され、Gallego (2010)や Saito (2016)など両者に橋渡しをする研究が外在化(及び普遍文法)の解明に重要な役割を担うことが改めて浮き彫りとなった。

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[II]

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More on the Emergence of Prenominal Unaccusative Past Participles in the History of English

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1. Introduction

Past participles of unaccusative verbs (henceforth, unaccusative participles) as well as those of transitive verbs (henceforth, transitive participles) can be used as prenominal modifiers in Present-day English, as exemplified below.

- (1) a. elapsed time, a fallen leaf, a risen Christ
b. a recently given talk, hard-fought battles, my broken heart
(Bresnan (1982: 22, 30))

In Early English, however, while transitive participles had been available as prenominal modifiers since Old English (OE), unaccusative participles were not until Early Modern English (EModE). This diachronic asymmetry between the two types of participle was reported in Chigchi (2016b), in which I attempted to explain how unaccusative participles became available as prenominal modifiers in the history of English. This paper aims to refine my previous analysis. The organization of the paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses the characterization of

unaccusative verbs with respect to their formation of prenominal participles. Section 3 overviews my investigation in Chigchi (2016b) of the historical status of prenominal unaccusative participles. Section 4 presents a refined analysis of their emergence in EModE. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Characterization of Unaccusative Verbs

Let us begin by asking what kinds of verb count as unaccusative verbs. This paper follows Levin and Rappaport (1995), who claim that unaccusativity is syntactically represented but semantically determined. As shown in Table 1, which briefly summarizes their discussion of the semantic properties of unaccusative verbs, whether a given verb counts as an unaccusative verb depends largely on the (non)agentivity involved in the eventuality described by the verb, regardless of the value of causality.

Table 1. Semantic properties of unaccusative verbs

Types	Members	Causality	Agentivity
Appearance:	<i>appear, arise, emerge, ...</i>	neither	nonagentive
Disappearance:	<i>disappear, vanish, ...</i>	neither	nonagentive
Inherently directed motion:	<i>arrive, come, fall, ...</i>	neither	nonagentive
Existence:	<i>exist, live, remain, ...</i>	neither	(non)agentive
Simple position:	<i>hang, lay, stand, ...</i>	neither	(non)agentive
Entity-specific change of state:	<i>bloom, blossom, flower, ...</i>	internally caused	nonagentive
Change of state:	<i>bake, break, close, ...</i>	externally caused	nonagentive
Undirected motion:	<i>bounce, move, roll, ...</i>	externally caused	nonagentive

(Chigchi (2016b: 11, based on Levin and Rappaport (1995)))

Note that not all types of unaccusative verb can derive a past participle as a prenominal modifier. In particular, participles of unaccusative verbs that describe the existence of an entity fail to premodify a noun (cf. **an existed solution* (Levin (1993: 250))). In Table 1, verbs of existence in row 4, as well as simple position verbs in row 5, which also describe the existence of an entity at a particular location, belong to such types of verb.

As is well-known, externally caused verbs including change-of-state (COS) verbs in row 7 and verbs of undirected motion in row 8 all participate in causative alternation. Prenominal participles of such verbs, therefore, give rise to ambiguity as regards whether the modified noun is associated with the surface subject or with the object (e.g. *a melted cheese*: ‘The cheese melted.’ vs. ‘I melted the cheese.’). Only in the former reading is the verb unaccusative; the latter reading is associated with the transitive variant. So, in order to eliminate this sort of ambiguity, this paper does not investigate such verbs as target verbs that could derive unaccusative participles.

Moreover, participles of entity-specific COS verbs in row 6 are also ambiguous. For example, the word *blossom* has both a verb-based participle as in *a newly blossomed rose* and a noun-based one as in *the white-blossomed magnolias*.¹ Because a noun-based participle has no unaccusative base and cannot be morphologically distinguished from a verb-based one, entity-specific COS verbs are excluded from the discussion in this section.

Thus, unambiguous cases of unaccusative participle are restricted to those derived from the remaining three types of verb in rows 1-3, namely, verbs of appearance, verbs of disappearance and verbs of inherently directed

motion, which share a common characteristic: they are nonagentive, on the one hand, and neither internally nor externally caused, on the other hand. It is such unambiguous unaccusative participles that are the target participles in the investigation in this section. In the remainder of this paper, the label “unaccusative” is used to refer to only these three types of verb and “unaccusative participle” is used to refer to the participle derived from them.

3. Historical Data

Visser (1963-73: 1227) reports that prenominal participles of intransitive verbs are not numerous in OE, providing six examples: *asprungen, drunken, geblowen, gefaren, gefeallen, forsineged*.² Visser (1963-73: 1228-1231) also provides a number of Middle English (ME) examples: *fained, fordrunken, forsworn, knowen, mislived, rotten, shrunken, sunken, thriven, travelled, waxen, withered*. At first glance, they look like unaccusative participles. A closer look, however, reveals that they do not qualify as unaccusative participles, as examined in detail in Chigchi (2016b, 2017). Turning to the data of prenominal intransitive participles in Modern English (ModE) provided by Visser (1963-73), we find that 38 out of the 49 participles qualify as unaccusative participles: *advanced* (1855), *arrived* (1896), *ascended* (1861), *capsized* (1882), *collapsed* (1610), *come over* (1534), *deceased* (1586), *departed* (1599), *elapsed* (1644), *entered* (1606), *escaped* (1933), *expired* (1647), *failed* (1655), *forgone* (1656), *gone* (1598), *happened* (1610), *lain* (c1522), *perched* (1883), *pretended* (1727), *progressed* (1850), *prospered* (1661), *recurred* (1898), *relapsed* (1570), *retired* (c1648-50), *returned* (1908), *revolved* (1593), *risen* (1821), *scampered* (1906), *shotten* (1532-3), *strayed*

(1529), *tipped* (1660), *toppled* (1871), *tottered* (1570), *transfused* (1652), *transmigrated* (1682), *transpired* (1652), *transuded* (1827), *vanished* (1593).

Based on YCOE, PPCME2, PPCME and PPCMBE, I investigated the distribution of prenominal transitive and intransitive participles in the history of English by checking their first occurrence. The result is summarized in Tables 2 and 3. While transitive participles have been attested since OE, examples of prenominal intransitive participles began to be found in EModE and all of them are unaccusative participles.

Table 2. Distribution of first occurrences of transitive participles ³

Period	OE	M1	M2	M3	M4
Token	1561	172	88	406	403
Type	274	96	15	75	39

E1	E2	E3	L1	L2	L3
224	373	405	347	441	412
78	114	141	111	120	112

Table 3. Distribution of first occurrences of intransitive participles

Period	OE	M1	M2	M3	M4
Token	0	0	0	0	0
Type	0	0	0	0	0

E1	E2	E3	L1	L2	L3
0	7	13	5	18	8
0	5	1	1	4	0

Notably, this result is consistent with the result of the examination of Visser's (1963-73) data, thereby confirming the emergence of unaccusative participles in EModE.

In Chigchi (2016b), I also investigated the distribution of unaccusative participles by utilizing the quotation search function of *OED*. The methodology adopted here is to list out the

years in which the first occurrences of unaccusative verbs and their prenominal participles were attested. Table 4 summarizes the result of this investigation; the list of unaccusative verbs is based on that of verbs of appearance, verbs of disappearance and inherently directed motion given in Levin and Rappaport (1995: 281-282).

Table 4. First occurrences of unaccusative verbs and their prenominal participles ^{4, 5}

	Year of base verb	Year of participle
[advance]	1509	[1795]
[arrive]	1297	[1896]
[ascend]	1382	[1861]
burst	1297	1812
come	c825	1562
down	1499	1818
[depart]	c1290	[1599]
disappear	1530	1857
emanate	1756	1874
[enter]	c1300	1796
[expire]	1455	[1647]
fall	c890	1776
flee	c825	1621
flow	a1000	1626
[go]	c825	[1598]
lapse	1641	1667
[recur]	1468	[1897]
[return]	a1366	1600
[rise]	c1200	[1821]
spread	a1300	c1511
surge	1511	1635
tumble	a1300	1649
appear	1375	
arise	c1000	
awake	c1000	
awaken	c885	
coexist	1677	
derive	1662	
descend	a1325	
die	c1135	
emerge	1667	
ensue	c1500	
erupt	1657	
escape	1292	
eventuate	1789	
exit	1607	
exude	1574	
gush	a1400	
happen	c1375	

<i>issue</i>	c1330	
<i>leave</i>	a1225	
<i>materialize</i>	1880	
<i>occur</i>	1538	
<i>perish</i>	c1250	
<i>plop</i>	1821	
<i>plunge</i>	c1380	
<i>recede</i>	1480	
<i>result</i>	1432	
<i>stem</i>	1577	
<i>stream</i>	a1225	
<i>supervene</i>	1647	
<i>transpire</i>	1597	
<i>vanish</i>	1303	
<i>wax</i>	c897	

It is shown in the table that 22 out of the 54 verbs have prenominal participles. It is important to note that none of these participles was attested until the 16th century, which coincides with the conclusion reached in the preceding discussion that while transitive participles have existed throughout the history of English, unaccusative participles were not attested until EModE.

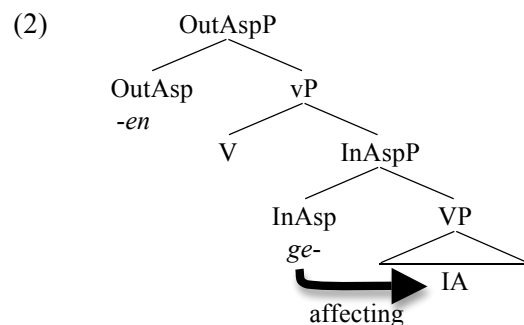
4. Analysis

Chigchi (2016b) argues that the emergence of unaccusative participles was due to a change in the licensing condition on the formation of prenominal participles from ‘the base verb must be a transitive verb (in ME)’ to ‘the base verb must be a theme assigner (in EModE)’. His analysis, however, fails to explain why a few intransitive participles were attested in ME. I follow Chigchi (2016b), on the one hand, in claiming that the availability of unaccusative participles as prenominal modifiers is ascribed to the fact that a large number of ergative verbs increasingly emerged throughout ME and EModE. On the other hand, however, I will argue here that the licensing condition changed, at some point in ME, from ‘the base verb must be an affectedness assigner’ - call it

Affectedness Condition (AC) to ‘the base verb must bear an internal argument’ - call it Internal Argument Condition (IAC).

Assuming that aspectual prefixes expressed the total affectedness on the object of a transitive verb (Elenbaas (2007: 117ff.)) and that it is such affectedness that licensed prenominal participles, it is reasonable to argue that it is because the affectedness came to be expressed by transitive verbs after the loss of aspectual prefixes in ME that unaccusative verbs were unable to derive participles as prenominal modifiers. As discussed in detail in Chigchi (2017: §4.2), only participles of verbs bearing an ability of affecting their argument - call them ‘affectedness verbs’ - could function as prenominal modifiers in OE and ME. According to Tenny (1987: 79), a verb is an affectedness verb iff it describes an event that can be delimited by the direct argument of the verb. What is important here is that unaccusative verbs are not included in the affectedness verb class provided by Tenny’s (1987: 106) because they cannot be delimited by their internal argument (Tenny’s direct argument).⁶

This is a lexical constraint on the formation of prenominal participles. Here is the relevant structure appealing to affectedness.⁷



In (2), the prefix affects the internal argument and so renders it available to be modified by the participle under AC. Aspectual

prefixes were lost in ME, however. After their loss, only participles of affectedness verbs inherently encoding a COS meaning were still able to premodify nouns in accordance with AC. In contrast, participles of non-affectedness verbs such as unergative intransitive verbs like *work* and accusative verbs like *arrive* were unable to do so.

Noteworthy here is the fact that ergative verbs are mostly fall under affectedness verbs with a COS meaning. This leads us to assume that participles of ergative verbs were able to function as prenominal modifiers in ME as they were. When aspectual prefixes were lost, ergative verbs still had a COS meaning inherently, so that their internal argument could still be affected. In what follows, let us consider how the emergence of ergative verbs throughout ME and EModE led to the emergence of prenominal unaccusative participles.

We first focus ourselves on the argument structure of ergative verbs. One characteristic of ergative verbs deserves special attention here: They have both causative transitive and unaccusative intransitive variants. Crucially, the structure of the intransitive variant is the same as that of unaccusative verbs, following the standard assumption that the surface subject of unaccusative verbs originates as the internal argument. Assuming that the affectedness came to be expressed by transitive verbs after the loss of aspectual prefixes in ME, ergative verbs under their causative transitive variants would easily derive participles as prenominal modifiers, assigning affectedness to the modified noun interpreted as their internal argument. Given that ergative verbs have both causative transitive and unaccusative intransitive variants, each of them can occur with the modified noun interpreted as their internal argument, much as in the case of

unaccusative verbs. It then follows that when ergativity was established with a given verb, its participle as a prenominal modifier would be ambiguous in interpretation between the two different formations, one based on the causative transitive variant and another based on the unaccusative intransitive variant. As long as the formation based on the unaccusative intransitive variant came to be a possible interpretation, which could be due to the increasing emergence of ergative verbs, it would become possible for unaccusative participles to appear in prenominal position, in accordance with IAC.⁸

5. Conclusion

This paper has discussed how unaccusative participles emerged in EModE. Based on the data obtained from Visser (1963-73), the corpora and *OED*, it was shown that unaccusative participles were not available as prenominal modifiers until EModE and this is because unaccusative verbs do not assign affectedness to their internal arguments. It was argued that after the loss of aspectual prefixes in ME, only participles based on COS verbs, which are mostly ergative verbs, were able to be used as prenominal modifiers and that the increasing emergence of ergative verbs throughout ME and EModE triggered that of unaccusative participles as prenominal modifiers since they have the same argument structure as unaccusative verbs.

NOTES

¹ Participles as in *the white-blossomed magnolias* are noun-based because the participle is often combined with an element that can only modify the base noun, unlike those as in *a newly blossomed rose*, in which it is clear that the participle itself is modified by the adverb. Visser (1963-73: 1224) also notes that such participles

in ME and ModE are ambiguous between noun-based and verb-based.

² *Drunken* is included in the list of OE participles provided by Visser (1963-73: 1227). The examples containing this participle he provides, however, are all from ME and ModE (1963-73: 1228).

³ The periodization of the history of English in the corpora is as follows: O1 (-850), O2 (850-950), O3 (950-1050), O4 (1050- 1150), M1 (1150-1250), M2 (1250-1350), M3 (1350-1420), M4 (1420-1500), E1 (1500-1569), E2 (1570-1639), E3 (1640-1710), L1 (1700-1770), L2 (1770-1840), L3 (1840-1900). In Tables 4.4 and 4.5, O1 and O2, O3 and O4, M1 and M2, and M3 and M4 are combined as EOE, LOE, EME, and LME, respectively. The term ‘Early English’ in this thesis is used as a cover term for OE (to 1150), ME (from 1150 to 1500) and EModE (from 1500 to 1710).

⁴ The verbs/participles that also appear in Visser’s (1963-73) data are enclosed in square brackets.

⁵ That some of the verbs in Table 4 were not attested with their prenominal participles does not necessarily mean that they cannot participate in the formation of unaccusative participles, as shown in the following examples from other sources than *OED*.

(i) a. *the recently emerged forces of the Left*
(COCA [ACAD: 1999])

b. *an escaped convict* (Bresnan (1995: 12))

⁶ Recall that unaccusative verbs we are concerned with in this paper include: 1) verbs of appearance such as *appear*, *arise*, *emerge*, ..., 2) verbs of disappearance such as *disappear*, *vanish*, ... and 3) verbs of inherently directed motion such as *arrive*, *come*, *fall*, ... (cf. Table 1). The internal argument of these types of

unaccusative verb generally does not delimit the event described by them.

⁷ Consistent with this is Gelderen’s argument that the aspectual prefix, which she argues occupies the inner aspect head, licenses a theme argument.

⁸ See Chigchi (2016b, 2017) for detailed discussion of the emergence of ergative verbs throughout ME and EModE.

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Japanese Postverbal Elements: Movement vs. No Movement

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Keywords : right dislocation, bi-clausal
construction, (pseudo-)clefts, Case-
marker, empty nominal elements

1. Introduction

This article investigates the syntax of Japanese right dislocation constructions (RDCs) in terms of preverbal empty elements (which are represented with [e]) and Case marking of postverbal elements, as in (1).

- (1) Kodomo-ga [e] yonda-yo, sono
child-Nom read-Prt that
hon (-o) (da-yo).
book-ACC Cop-Prt
'A child read it, (is) that book.'

Although Japanese is a strictly head-final language, the DP *sono hon-o* [that book-Acc] in (1) can occur postverbally in colloquial speech. This right-dislocated DP seems to semantically link to the preverbal empty element [e] as the English glosses indicate. Furthermore, the accusative Case-marking of the postposed DP also appears to be associated with the locus of the preverbal empty element, the object position, though the Case marking seems to be optional. What is also relevant to this paper is that even though it is not

previously observed, a copula can exist after the postposed DP in (1)

This paper argues for a bi-clausal analysis of the RDC in (1). Yet, apart from previous analyses that adopt a structure consisting of two identical clauses, it proposes that the second clause is a cleft construction and explains the possibility of copula insertion. The proposed analysis argues that the seeming optionality of Case marking of a right-dislocated element results from properties of cleft constructions.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 reviews two types of major analyses and presents some problems in these analyses. Section 3 proposes a new bi-clausal analysis of Japanese RDCs. It is argued that the second clause is a cleft or a pseudo-cleft and that the seemingly optional Case-marking results from the two distinct cleft constructions, together with a supporting argument. Section 4 summarizes the discussion.

2. The Problem for the Previous Analyses

In the linguistic literature of RDCs, two issues are intertwined in the analyses of RDCs: one is whether the structure is mono-clausal or bi-clausal; and the other is whether the right-dislocated element is derived from movement or not. After reviewing previous mono- and bi-clausal analyses of Japanese RDCs, I adopt a bi-clausal analysis in light of copula insertion to the right periphery in 2.1. In 2.2, I focus on the identification of the preverbal null element in existing bi-clausal analyses, and I make a slight modification. In 2.3, I discuss the seeming optionality of Case marking of postverbal elements, and present problems in extant bi-clausal analyses.

2.1 Mono- vs. Bi-clauses Analyses for RDCs

Mono-clausal analyses of Japanese RDCs

can be divided into (rightward or leftward) movement analyses and base-generation analyses, shown in (2).

(2) Mono-clausal approach

- a. Rightward movement analyses
[Sub t_i v] Obj_i
- b. Left movement analyses
 - i. Obj_i [Sub t_i Verb] and,
 - ii. [Sub t_i Verb]_j [t_j Obj_i]
- c. Base-generation analyses
 - i. [Sub [e]_i v] DP_i or
 - ii. [XP Sub *pro*_i v] [DP_i t_{XP}]

In movement analyses, the postposed DP undergoes rightward movement in (2a) (Simon (1989), Murayama (1999)), and leftward movement in (2b) (Kurogi (2007)). In these analyses, the preverbal empty element is a trace of the moved DP. On the other hand, in base-generation analyses as shown in (2c), the postposed element does not undergo movement (Kamada (2009), and Takita (2014)). The preverbal empty element is assumed as an underspecified null element linked to the postposed element in (2ci) (Kamada (2009)). Alternatively, it is taken as the covert pronoun *pro* that is coreferential with the base-generated topic DP in (2cii) (Takita (2014)).

In contrast, extant bi-clausal approaches propose two identical clauses put together. Under identity requirements, the second clause except preposed elements may be deleted at PF, illustrated in (3).

(3) Bi-clausal approaches

- a. [_{S1} Sub *pro*_i v] [_{S2} Obj_i [~~Sub t_i v~~]]
- b. [_{S1} Sub [e] v] [_{S2} Obj_i [~~Sub t_i v~~]]

The schema consists of two clauses, S₁ and S₂.

In the latter clause, the preposed element (i.e. the object) remains as postverbal element while the remaining is deleted. The preverbal empty element is taken as *pro* in (3a) (Kuno (1978), Abe (1999), Tanaka (2001), a.o.) or an ellipsis of an argument DP in (3b) (Takita (2011)).

Between mono-clausal approaches and bi-clausal approaches, I adopt a bi-clausal structure for Japanese RDCs, grounded on the fact that two verbs (a verb and a copula) can appear as observed in (1). Moreover, the same DP can appear both preverbally and postverbally simultaneously in (4) (Tanaka (2001) and Takita (2011)).

- (4) Taro-wa sono hon-o yonda-yo,
Taro-Top that book-ACC read-Prt
sono hon(-o).
that book-Acc
'Taro read that book, that book.'

The two occurrences of the same DP in (4), *sono hon-o* [that book-Acc] cannot be explained in a mono-clausal analysis since "resumption" is not possible in Japanese (Takita (2011:382), but Abe (1999)). In contrast, a bi-clausal structure can involve a distinct Case-assigner and the same DP in S₁ and S₂ respectively. Thus, I adopt a bi-clausal analysis in this paper. (I propose a new bi-clausal structure in section 3.)

In the following subsection, I will examine properties of the preverbal empty element in a bi-clausal analysis, and attempt to identify the status of the null element.

2.2. The Preverbal Empty Elements

After reviewing previous analyses, I identify the preverbal null elements in (1) and (7). Built on the interpretation of them, I argue for both the covert pronominal analysis and argument ellipsis, and I examine a well-known fact

concerning the (im)possibility of postposing *wh*-words in Japanese RDCs (Kuno (1978)).

Basically following Kuno (1978), Tanaka (2001:553) argues that the covert pronoun *pro* cannot be used for new information in (5).

(5) A: 1968-nen-ni umaremasita-ka.
year-in were.born-Q

‘Were you born in 1968?’

B: * Hai *pro* umaremasita.
yes was.born

‘Yes, I was born.’

(Tanaka (2001: 553))

C: * Hai, *pro* umaremasita-yo,
yes was.born-Prt
1968-nen-ni.

year-in

‘Yes, I was born then, 1968.’

(Tanaka (2001: 554))

According to Tanaka, given the context (5A) the speaker’s birth year *1968-nen-ni* [1968-year-in] in (5B) is new information and thus it cannot be replaced with the covert pronoun *pro*. Likewise, the postposed element in (5C) is also new information and thus cannot be corefer with *pro* in the preverbal domain. The implicit assumption behind this is that the birth year in question is only known by Speaker B (and Speaker C) and the year cannot be referred with a pronoun in (5B) and (5C), in favor of a *pro* analysis. However, the year *1968* is introduced in the previous sentence and thus it can be anaphorically referred with an overt pronoun or a demonstrative in (6A, B).

(6) A: Hai. {Sore/Sono tosi}-wa watasi-ga
yes that/that year-Top I-Nom
umareta-tosi desu.
was.born-year is

‘Yes. That/That year is when I was born.’

B: Hai. {Sore/Sono tosi}-wa watasi-ga
yes that/that year-Top I-Nom
umareta-tosi desu, 1968-nen (desu).
was.born-year is 1968-year Cop
‘Yes. That/that year is when I was born,
(it is) 1968.’

Under the same context (5A), *sore* ‘that’ and *sono tosi* ‘that year’ are used anaphorically in (6A, B). Moreover, in (6B), the year *1968* may appear postverbally along with the copula. This indicates that Tanaka’s analysis of the preverbal null element tied with informational structure seems to be questionable.

Takita (2011) argues that the preverbal empty category may be argument ellipsis in some cases, grounded on the observation that an overt pronoun cannot be coreferential with the right-dislocated Negative Polarity Item (NPI) with the suffix *-sika* and the quantifier in (7, b).¹

(7) a. Taroo-ga { *sore-o/[e] }_i
Taroo-Nom it-Acc
yommanakatta-yo, LGB-sika_i.
read.NEG-PRT LGB-SIKA
‘(lit.) Taroo read {it/e}_i, only LGB_i’

b. Taroo-ga { *sore-o/[e] }_i
Taroo-Nom it-Acc
yonda-yo, nanika-o_i.
read-PRT something-Acc
‘(lit.) Taroo read { *it/[e] }_i, something_i.’

(Takita (2011: 383))

According to Takita (2011), *sore* ‘it’ cannot refer to the postposed element in (7), and thus the empty category should not be *pro*. Following Saito (2007), Takita argues that the empty element is argument ellipsis since

pronouns including the covert pronoun *pro* cannot be used for a sloppy reading.

Although I do not object to both *pro*-based analyses and ellipsis analyses of preverbal null elements in Japanese RDCs, what needs to be clear is that antecedents of preverbal null elements should be introduced in the previous contexts, independently of postverbal element. That is, the interpretation of an empty category should be anaphoric, as in the example (8).

- (8) a. Hanako-wa zibun-no teian-ga
Hanako-Top self-Gen proposal-Nom
saiyoosareteru-to] omotteru.
accepted-that think.
'Hanako thinks that her proposal is
accepted.' (Adopted from Saito (2007))
- b. Taro-mo [[e] saiyoosareteru to]
Taro-also accepted-that
omotteru.
thinks
'Taro also thinks that her/his proposal is
accepted.' (Adopted from Saito (2007))
- c. Ken-mo [zibun-no iken-ga
Ken-also self-Gen opinion-Nom
saiyoosareteru to] omotteru.
accepted-that think
'Ken thinks that his opinion is good.'

Given the context (8a), the null embedded subject in (8b) can be construed as either *Hanako's proposal* (strict reading) or *Taro's proposal* (sloppy reading). However, it cannot be interpreted as *Ken's opinion* or *Taro's opinion*, the information that is later introduced in (8c) after the utterance of (8b). This contrast indicates that possible antecedents of the null element should be introduced to the previous contexts, rather than follow the null element. Likewise, antecedents of empty categories in

(1) and (7) should appear in the previous contexts, irrespective of postverbal elements. In a context where the speaker asks whether the hearer read the book, the sentence (1) can be uttered with or without the postposed element. I assume that the empty object is *pro* since it is coreferential with the book talked about previously. In contrast, the sentence (7) may be uttered when the speaker asks whether the hearer read many books. Again, regardless of whether the postposed element exists or not, I take the null object as argument ellipsis in (7), due to a sloppy interpretation of the null object.

Once the identification of the empty category in RDCs is clear in light of anaphoricity, let us examine a well-known mystery concerning the (im)possibility of postposing *wh*-words to the right periphery in (9) (Tanaka 2001).

- (9) a. John-wa [e] katta-no, nani-o.
John-wa bought-Q what-Acc
* 'What did John buy?'
'Did John buy (something), what?'
- b. E? John-wa *(nani-o_i)
Huh? John-Nom what-Acc
katta-no, (nani -o_i).
bought-Q what-Acc
'Huh? What did John buy? What?'

As the English glosses indicate, the empty object in (9a) cannot be construed as a *wh*-word. Yet an indefinite reading is possible. Based on this distinction, I suggest that the empty category is argument ellipsis. Furthermore, a *wh*-word is not omissible for an interrogative interpretation in (9b). Importantly, this is independent of the presence or absence of the postposed *wh*-word. Thus, the (im)possibility of postposing of a *wh*-word is irrelevant to the empty category in the preverbal domain.

Based on the identification of the preverbal null element, I argued that the empty element is *pro* if it has a strict reading, while it is argument ellipsis when it has a sloppy reading. Crucially both readings are independent of postverbal elements, contra previous bi-clausal analyses (Tanaka (2001)).

In the following section, I will examine right-dislocated elements in term of Case marking and its optionality.

2.3. The Seemingly Optional Case marking

Case marking of right-dislocated DPs seems to be optional as observed in (1). What would “assign” a Case to postverbal DPs? In Tanaka’s (2001) and Takita’s (2011) analysis (see (3)), the same verbs in the second clauses as the ones in the first clauses are Case-assigners of postverbal elements in identical bi-clausal analyses though they are deleted at PF.

However, a copula (along with the second occurrence of the verb) can also occur after the postposed DP in (1), repeated as (10).

- (10) Kodomo-ga [e] yonda-yo, sono
 child-Nom read-Prt that
 hon (-o) (da-yo/yonda-yo).
 book-ACC Cop-Prt/read-Prt
 ‘(lit.) A child read, that book (is/read).’

The copula can be inserted to the right periphery, regardless of whether the postposed DP is Case-marked or not. The grammaticality of copula insertion is mysterious in an identical bi-clausal structure since the second clause may involve the copula, a verb that is different from the verb in the first clause. What is also important here is that the postposed DP is possibly Case-marked even when a copula is inserted. This is also problematic to an

identical bi-clausal structure because a copula should not be a Case-assigner.

In the following section, I will propose a new bi-clausal structure for Japanese RDCs that allows copula insertion along with Case marking and its optionality.

3. Proposal

While I adopt a bi-clausal structure for Japanese RDCs, apart from previous identical bi-clausal analyses in (3), I argue that the second clause is not necessarily identical to the first clause. Rather the second clause is derived from the first clause. More specifically, I propose that the second clause contains the first clause as a presuppositional subject in a cleft construction, and I argue that the seemingly optional Case-marking of right-dislocated DPs are not optional in 3.1. I offer supporting evidence in 3.2.

3.1 New Analysis of a Bi-clausal Structure

Adopting cleft analyses discussed by Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012) and Harada (2016), I propose that postposed elements in Japanese RDCs are part of a cleft or a pseudo-cleft. Consider the schemas in (11) and (12).

- (11) Cleft construction
 a. [_{VP} DP-*o*_i [_{t_i} v]]
 b. [_{FocP} DP-*o*_i [_{TP} ... _{t_i} v]]
 c. [_{TopP} [_{TP} _{t_i} v]]-*no* [_{FocP} DP-*o*_i _{t_j}] Cop]
 (12) Pseudo-cleft construction
 [_{TopP} [_{TP} ...]-*no* DP Cop]

The schemas in (11) exhibit the derivation of a cleft. The object DP in (11a) is “assigned” a Case by the little *v* and marked with the accusative Case-marker *-o*. This object further undergoes movement to Spec, FocP in (11b). In (11c), TP

moves to Spec TopP. On the other hand, the schema in (12) represents the structure of a pseudo-cleft. The DP cannot be Case-marked since it is part of the predicate and does not move to a position to be Case-marked, while the sentential subject TP is raised to Spec, TopP.

Given the schemas in (11) and (12) as the second clause of RDCs, S_1 is the presupposition subject of S_2 . In order to derive Japanese RDCs, both the presuppositional subject and the copula can be deleted in S_2 shown in (13) and (14).

- (13) [S_1 ...] [S_2 (~~{cleft} *no-wa*~~) DP-Case (~~Cop~~)]
 (14) [S_1 ...] [S_2 (~~{pseud-cleft} *no-wa*~~) DP (~~Cop~~)]

In (13), S_2 is a cleft and is deleted except the Case-marked DP as a clefted constituent. In contrast, the DP in (14) as a nominal predicate in a pseudo-cleft remains while the rest in S_2 is deleted. Thus, the seeming optionality of Case marking of a postposed DP is superficial.

In the following subsection, by employing the two structures for the second clauses of Japanese RDCs, I will offer a supporting argument.

3.2 Supporting Argument

Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012: 145) observe that there exists a difference between clefts and pseudo-clefts in light of the availability of multiple foci in (15).

- (15) a. cleft
 [Naoya-ga [e]_i [e]_j ageta-no]-wa
 Naoya-Nom gave-C-Top
 [Mari-ni]_i [ringo-o mit-tu]_j da.
 Mari-Dat apple-Acc 3-Cl Cop
 ‘It was three apples to Mari that
 Naoya gave.’
 b. Pseudo-cleft
 * [Naoya-ga [e]_i [e]_j ageta no]-wa

Naoya-Nom gave-C-Top
 [Mari-Ø]_i [ringo-Ø mit-tu]_j da.
 Mari apple 3-Cl Cop
 ‘It was three apples to Mari that
 Naoya gave.’

The cleft in (15a) allows multiple foci, whereas the pseudo-cleft in (15b) is incompatible with multiple foci. Given this difference between clefts and pseudo-clefts, the current analysis predicts a correlation between the presence/absence of Case marking and the availability of multiple RDCs in Japanese: right-dislocation of multiple Case-marked elements is predicted to be grammatical whereas that of multiple elements that retain Case marking is predicted to be ungrammatical. This predication is borne out in (16).

- (16) a. Naoya-ga [e]_i [e]_j ageta yo
 Naoya-Nom gave-Prt
 [Mari-ni]_i [ringo-o mit-tu]_j.
 Mari-Dat apple-Acc 3-Cl
 ‘Naoya gave, to Mari, three apples.’
 b. * [Naoya-ga [e]_i [e]_j ageta yo, [Mari-Ø]_i
 Naoya-Nom gave-Prt Mari
 [ringo-Ø mit-tu]_j.
 apple 3-Cl
 ‘Naoya gave, to Mari, three apples.’

The multiple Case-marked elements are right-dislocated in (16a). In contrast, postposing of the multiple non-Case-marked DPs is impossible in (16b). In the proposed analysis, the Case-marked multiple elements are cleft constituents in (16a) as in (15a), whereas the non-Case-marked elements are part of a predicate in the pseudo-cleft in (16b) as in (15b).

4. Conclusion

I examined Japanese RDCs in terms of the identification of preverbal empty elements and the seeming optionality of Case marking of postposed elements. Once I analyzed the preverbal empty element in light of its anaphoric use (rather than a cataphoric use in previous analyses), I identified it as *pro* or argument ellipsis relying on the interpretation. As for the seeming optionality of Case marking on postverbal elements, I argued against an optionality perspective, due to the possible insertion of the copula to the right of postverbal elements. Whereas I adopted a bi-clausal structure, apart from previous analyses that maintain identical clauses in parallel, I proposed that the second clause is a cleft or a pseudo-cleft. If a RDC involves a cleft in the second clause, the postposed element is Case-marked even when the presuppositional subject and the copula are deleted at PF. On the other hand, in a RDC with a pseudo-cleft, the postposed element cannot be Case-marked since it is part of the predicate. The proposed analysis receives support from the parallelism between RDCs and (pseudo-)clefts in light of multiple postposed elements with or without Case marking.

NOTES

¹ Although Takita (2011) does not observe, the pronoun is grammatical once it is attached by -*sika* in (i).

- (i) Taroo-ga sore-sika_i yommanakatta-yo,
Taroo-Nom it-SIKA read.NEG-Prt
(LGB-sika/sore-sika)_i.
LGB-SIKA/it-SIKA
'(lit.) Taroo read it_i, only (LGB/it)_i.'

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A Relabeling Analysis of English Possessives

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Keywords: English, possessives, labeling, free Merge

1. Introduction

English possessive DPs have been widely studied; e.g., see Bernstein and Tortora (2005), Barker (1998), and references therein. Genitive possessive pronoun constructions in English are partially irregular, as exemplified in (1). Note that *of*-insertion is regular but there is variation in the deployment of the double genitive. For example, (1a) *the friend of mine* is perfect but (1b) *the friend of your* is ill-formed. (1b) *the friend of yours* is fine but the parallel (1a) *the friend of mine's* is ill-formed. Therefore, the question arises of why one must say *mine* and not *my's* or *mine's*, etc.

- (1) a. my friend/the friend of mine/*the friend of mine's
b. your friend/*the friend of your/the friend of yours
c. his friend/the friend of his/*the friend of his'(s)
d. her friend/*the friend of her/the friend of hers
e. their friend/*the friend of their/the friend of theirs

In (1a) *the friend of mine*, there is a

possession-type relation between *my* and *friend*. Grammatically, *friend* is the underlying object of *my*. Compare also (2a-b) (cf. Barker 1998). In (2a), *John* owns the picture that hangs in the gallery, which shows that there is a possession relation between *John* and *picture*. In (2b), the picture depicts *John*.

- (2) a. a picture of John's hangs in the gallery
b. a picture of John hangs in the gallery

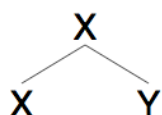
Thus, the question arises of why the object *friend* in *the friend of mine* does not appear in the underlying object position.

We propose a syntactic account of (1) in the recent Minimalist framework of Chomsky (2013, 2015), extending Cecchetto and Donati's (C&D) (2015) relabeling proposal for relative clauses. We show how target possessive constructions can be computed. In C&D, the term "relabeling" specifically refers to internal Merge of a noun to relabel a clause as a nominal, e.g. as in the free relative interpretation of "*what you bought*" in "*I like what you bought*", cf. "*I wonder what you bought*". (Chomsky's Merge framework permits either α or β to contribute the label of $\{\alpha, \beta\}$ when two syntactic objects (SOs) α and β Merge.) We propose that an "of-NP" structure (e.g., *of mine*) is the target of relabeling in the relevant possessive pronoun examples in (1).

2. Background

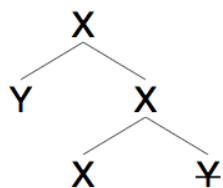
In Chomsky (2004, 2005, 2013, 2015), Merge is "free" in the sense that movement is not, and cannot be, feature-driven. Therefore, External Merge (EM), as in (3a), and Internal Merge (IM), as in (3b), are both available as possible options at all stages of a derivation (cf. Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (2016), Richards (2009)).

(3) a.



EM of X and Y

b.



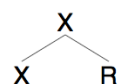
IM of Y with X

We also follow Chomsky's (2013, 2015) views about the Labeling algorithm. SOs must be labeled at the Conceptual-Intensional (CI) interface. Suppose we set-Merge a head X and a phrase YP. Assuming X is strong enough, a head X labels {X,YP}, where the brackets {} indicate set-Merge. Suppose instead X is weak, then, apart from one specific situation described below, {X,YP} will remain unlabeled (and crash the derivation at the CI interface). When two phrases XP and YP set-Merge to form {XP,YP}, neither phrase is more prominent unless one is moved (in which case the remaining phrase labels). If neither phrase moves, but XP and YP share prominent features (such as Φ -features or a Q-feature), the label is the paired shared feature, e.g. $\langle\Phi,\Phi\rangle$.

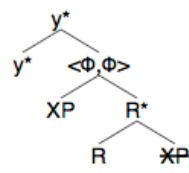
We also follow Chomsky's (2013, 2015) basic assumptions about strengthening and feature inheritance. Given Merge between an undifferentiated root R and a categorizer (for example, a nominal or verbal categorizer), the categorizer labels, as in (4a), assuming that X is a categorizer. In (4b), when some phase head y^* is Merged, it transmits its unvalued Φ -features to the root R. Agreement between R and the object XP values Φ on R. As a result, $\langle\Phi,\Phi\rangle$ labels the object-shift configuration {XP,{R,~~XP~~}}, as R and XP have identical Φ -features. (Note: strike-through is used to indicate where internal Merge, i.e. movement, has taken place.) In addition, R is strengthened, and can label the

(initially-unlabeled) structure {R, XP}. Finally, in (4c), we stipulate that n^* (a nominal phase head) may strengthen R, independently of the Φ -feature sharing/root strengthening configuration of (4b).

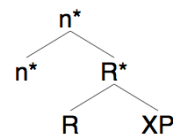
(4) a.



b.

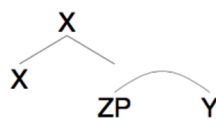


c.

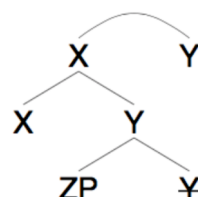


Pair-Merge (PM) is the asymmetric counterpart of set-Merge. Given PM of Y with X, we can think of Y as being on a separate plane, and thus not visible to regular syntactic operations such as selection, agreement, or labeling. In (5a), assume that Y is externally PM'ed with ZP. (Note: we use an arc to diagrammatically differentiate PM from set-Merge.) In this case, Y is not visible to head X (although ZP is). In (5b), Y is internally pair-Merged with the larger projection labeled by X. Y also will not be visible. If Merge is free, then these types of Merge should also be free.

(5) a.



b.

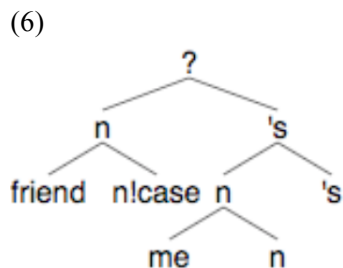


3. Analysis

At first glance, Free Merge engenders a combinatorial nightmare, since, at each Merge step, we permit all varieties of unconstrained Merge. According to Chomsky (2005), there are three factors that influence (and constrain) the

faculty of language: viz. (1) genetic endowment, (2) experience, and (3) the so-called “third factor”. Fundamental to language are mechanisms such as Merge, feature-checking, and Labeling. These are considered part of the genetic endowment component. The third factor includes general principles not necessarily specific to the language faculty. We assume that efficient computation is a third factor. We hypothesize that principles of efficient computation, including the ability to limit internal Merge repetitions, can successfully restrict Merge so that the combinatorial problem becomes manageable and tractable.

Consider (6), a candidate structure for *my friend* consisting of nominal *friend* and *my* (= *me* + ‘s). (6) is possible under Free Merge, but it is ruled out because it cannot be Labeled. (6) involves set-Merge of two phrases: nP *friend* and the possessive *my*; however, the resulting phrase cannot be labeled due to the lack of shared prominent features.

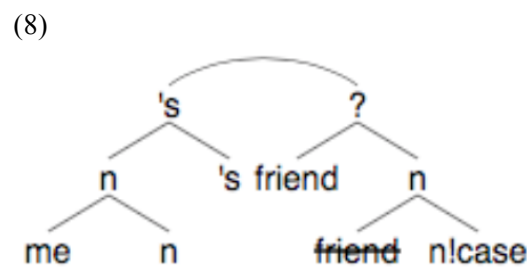


We assume a theory of roots and categorizers (such as *n*) with mutual constraints that restrict Free Merge. For instance, we assume that all roots must be categorized, i.e. be locally c-commanded by a categorizer.¹ Similarly, we assume all categorizers must locally categorize some root once only. Consider (7a), if root *R* is PM’ed to α (the brackets $\langle \rangle$ indicate pair-Merge), then *R* will no longer be visible to syntactic operations. Even if α is a categorizer, *R*

cannot be categorized, and thus the derivation must crash. We will assume that any categorizer that undergoes internal Merge cannot categorize a second time. For example, in (7b), the (lower copy of) categorizer e_4 may categorize *R*₃ but the higher copy *c*₁ cannot categorize *R*₂, and thus this type of construction is ruled out. In addition, any SO β containing an unvalued feature *uF*, indicated as $\beta_{[uF]}$, cannot be PM’ed to another SO, as β (and therefore *uF*) will not be visible and *uF* cannot be valued. The configuration (7c) must lead to a crash as $\beta_{[uF]}$ is PM’ed to α .

- (7) a. $\ast\langle R, \alpha \rangle$
 b. $\ast\{c_1, \{R_2, \{e_4, R_3\}\}\}$
 c. $\ast\langle \beta_{[uF]}, \alpha \rangle$

SOs may be ruled out for multiple reasons. Consider (8) below, where $\{\{me, n\}, 's\}$ is PM’ed to $\{friend, \{friend, n\}\}$. The latter SO is ruled out because the higher copy of the root *friend* is uncategorized. Furthermore, unvalued Case on *n*, indicated by *n!case*, will also crash the derivation. Finally, since roots are weak, the higher copy of the head *friend* cannot label $\{friend, \{friend, n\}\}$, indicated here as ?.



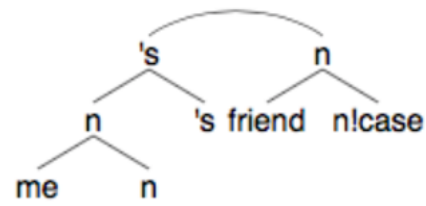
The constraints discussed above are all part of the genetic endowment. We now turn our attention to the so-called “third factor” principles. We posit that Internal Merge repetitions are vacuous and not permitted under general principles of computational efficiency.

This restriction prevents the unconstrained formation of an infinite number of related structures with multiple repeated copies of the form $\{\beta, \dots, \{\beta, \{\beta, \alpha\}\}\}$. Interface levels may also impose well-formedness conditions. Labeling is an example of an interface condition necessary for interpretation of SOs. We also assume that the interface may block incorrectly-presented SOs of the form in (9), assuming noun phrases must be nPs with the option of a PM'ed dP to count as being well-formed, but not dPs (or nPs) with PM'ed dPs (or nPs), respectively. Basically, the interface expects a $\langle \text{nP}, \text{dP} \rangle$ structure.

(9) $\ast \langle \text{nP}, \text{nP} \rangle, \ast \langle \text{dP}, \text{dP} \rangle$

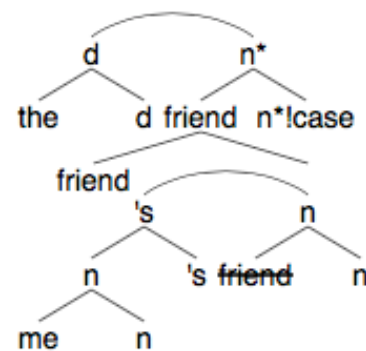
We find that the structure of *my friend* then is as shown in (10), as generated by a Free Merge model with the restrictions described above. The root *friend* is set-Merged with *n*, where !case indicates an unvalued Case feature present on *n*. The root *me* is initially set-Merged with the categorizer *n* in a separate workspace. Then the possessive *'s* is set-Merged to nominal *me*. Let us assume *'s* is a *d* that values inherent Case on *n*. Finally, the SO corresponding to *my* is PM'ed with the nominal *friend*: note that the resulting structure is of the form $\langle \text{dP}, \text{nP} \rangle$ and thus acceptable to the CI interface. (Unvalued case on *n*!case will be valued later in normal circumstances when the *nP* undergoes an Agree relation with a Case-assigning element.²) Since the *dP* is PM'ed with the *nP*, the resulting structure is an *nP*. The idea that a noun phrase is an *nP* (and not a *dP*) accords with Chomsky (2005) and Oishi (2005).

(10)



Next, consider the phrase *the friend of mine*. The resulting SO is shown in (11). The initial SO is identical to *my friend* in (10). Under Free Merge, the root *friend* may raise out of *my friend*. Since *friend* is a root, it cannot label. Moreover, *friend* must be categorized. We merge *n** that categorizes and strengthens *friend* so that it can label. Raising the root *friend* extends the C&D notion of relabeling. *n** may be treated as a phase head (in parallel fashion to *v**): *n** transmits the property of being able to assign Case down to a root. (Similarly, *v** transmits its accusative Case assigning properties to a root). Therefore, in (11), the root *friend* values !case of *my friend*, resulting in inherent Case assignment. Finally, the *d* *the* is PM'ed with this structure forming a SO acceptable to the CI interface.³

(11)



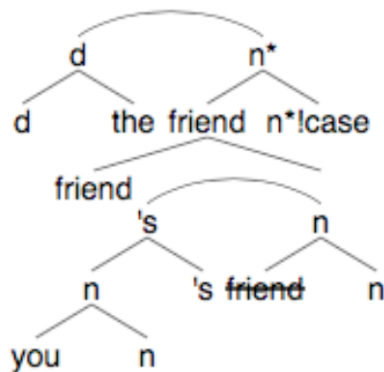
Let us now consider the Spell-Out of (11) as *the friend of mine*. We assume inherent Case on *n* may be realized as *of*, a Case realization account (Chomsky 1986), as shown in (12a).

The output of *me* + 's followed by a raised root must be pronounced as *mine*, as shown in (12b). Crucially, it must not result in *mine*'s.

- (12) a. $n_{[\text{inherentCase}]} = \text{of } n$
 b. *me* 's ~~friend~~ $n = \text{mine}$

Compare this with the structure for (2b) *the friend of yours*. The structure in (13) is identical to that in (11). However, the Spell-Out rule in (14) must produce *yours* and not *your*.

(13)



- (14) *you* 's ~~friend~~ $n = \text{yours}$

A reviewer points out that, under the proposed account, (15a) should be possible given the paraphrase in (15b). However, this appears to be ill-formed.

- (15) a. #*Mary's friend of yours*
 b. *the friend of Mary('s) and yours*
 c. $\langle \{ \{ \text{Mary}, n \}, 's \}, \{ n, \{ \text{friend}, \langle \{ \text{you}, n \}, 's \}, \{ \text{friend}, n \} \rangle \} \rangle$

(15a) is derivable in narrow syntax as (15c) but presumably ruled out by a semantic constraint (after Transfer to the Conceptual-Intensional interface). The nominal *friend* is a function $\text{friend}(X)$, i.e. $\text{friend}(X)$ identifies an individual

given an individual X . However, in (15a) X is associated with two different values: viz. *Mary* and *you*. At Transfer, the nominal *friend* picks out exactly one instance of $\text{friend}(X)$. Since there is only one instance of X , X cannot be simultaneously satisfied by two different individuals.

4. Conclusion

We have explained how a Free Merge model can be used to derive appropriate structures for a variety of possessives in English. The Free Merge framework does away with Edge feature stipulations at the possible cost of overgeneration and combinatorial explosion. The question for future work is whether this kind of under-constrained linguistic theory can integrate with third factor considerations to result in a more parsimonious and yet less stipulative model.

NOTES

¹ In this paper, we employ the term “locally c-command” (familiar to most syntacticians) as shorthand for the configurations $\{k, R\}$ and $\{k, \{R, \dots\}\}$, where head k locally categorizes root R .

² For example, in *my friend is lazy*, $n!case$ will be valued as nominative by tense.

³ In (11), the head n^* has unvalued Case, indicated by $n^*!case$. We assume valuation will occur at a higher level, as in the example of note 2.

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**On the Emergence of Utterance-Initial
Discourse-Pragmatic Marker:
ni-shite-mo ‘even if, by the way’ in
Present-Day Japanese***

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Keywords : anaphor, concession, constructional
change, discourse-pragmatic marker

1. Introduction

This study reports on the recent use of the utterance/clause-initial complex connective *ni-shite-mo* ‘even if/though, by the way’ in Modern Japanese. In present-day Japanese, the connective *ni-shite-mo*, i.e., a combination of “*ni* (dative particle) + *shite* (the conjunctive form of the verb *suru* ‘do’) + *mo* (focus particle)” is usually attached to a noun or a finite clause and functions as a clause-final connective of concession, meaning ‘even if’ or ‘even though’, as in (1).¹

- (1) *Makeru-ni-shite-mo saizen-o tsukuse.*
lose-*ni-shite-mo* best-ACC do
‘Even if (you may) lose (the game), do
(your) best.’ (*Dejitaru Daijisen*)

However, the connective is sometimes used utterance/clause-initially, serving as a discourse-pragmatic marker (DPM) of concession, as in (2). The speaker in (2) is in her friend’s room, listening to her friend who is boasting that he has everything he needs there.

- (2) “*Ni-shite-mo reizōko-made iru-no?*”
ni-shite-mo refrigerator-to need-NMLZ
‘Even (so), (do you really) need a
refrigerator?’ (2003, BCCWJ OB6X_00153)

This study will describe the results of a detailed survey of the uses of *ni-shite-mo*, mainly in the past hundred years, analysing several corpora, as mentioned in Section 3, and then discuss the developmental pathway of the connective to a DPM in light of constructionalization and constructional change (Traugott and Trousdale 2013; Traugott 2014; Traugott 2016).

2. Background

Some recent work in historical pragmatics on the development of DPMs has been concerned with the initial position (left periphery, LP) and final positions (right periphery, RP) of the discourse unit (Beeching and Detges eds. 2014; Higashiizumi, Onodera and Sohn eds. 2016; Onodera ed. 2017; Shinzato 2017). In the history of Japanese, LP DPMs, such as *dakedo* ‘but’, *demo* ‘but’, and *datte* ‘because’, tend to be recruited from linguistic items at the RP (Onodera 2014). As shown in Section 3, the LP DPM *ni-shite-mo*, as in (2), appears to be developing from the RP connective, as in (1).

Another tendency is the loss of the anaphor that precedes the connective, i.e., the development of LP DPMs from “anaphoric”, as in (3), to “anaphorless”, such as in (2) (Matsumoto 1988).²

- (3) *Sore-ni-shite-mo, nanka sugoi*
AN-ni-shite-mo somewhat very
kingaku-ni-naru-to-omou.
amount.of.money-to-become-QUOT-think

‘Even so, (I) think (it) will be somewhat very expensive.’ (2001, *Meidai* data017)

Building on preceding studies, I will explore the development of LP anaphoric and anaphorless DPM uses of *ni-shite-mo*.

3. A Corpus Study of *ni-shite-mo*

Because the anaphorless DPM *ni-shite-mo* is mainly used in conversation and colloquial texts,³ examples are collected from conversation transcripts from around 2000 as well as from conversations within novels written around 1900 and around 2000. The frequency of the LP idiomatic expressions *izure/docchi-ni-shite-mo* ‘either way’ is relatively high in all of the corpora, so I counted them as a separate type.

Table 1 provides an overview of the uses of *ni-shite-mo* in conversations within novels and in conversation transcripts.⁴

Table 1. Relative frequency of the uses of *ni-shite-mo*

		Con. within novels		Con.
		1895–1925	1978–2014	
RP connective	n	29	12	46
	%	47%	19%	58%
<i>izure/docchi-ni-shite-mo</i>	n	11	9	15
	%	18%	14%	19%
LP anaphoric DPM	n	22	36	14
	%	35%	56%	18%
LP anaphorless DPM	n	0	7	4
	%	0%	11%	5%
Total	n	62	64	79
Corpus		[1]	[2]	[3] [4]

While the phrase *ni-shite-mo* occurs as an

anaphoric DPM by the late nineteenth century, as evidenced in Table 1, its use as an anaphorless DPM is attested only in the present-day corpora. The earliest example is found in (4). Here it is used as a slight challenge to the previous speaker.

- (4) “*Ryokō? Omae-o hitori-de oite-ka? ... trip you-ACC alone-by leave-Q Nasakenai hogosha-da-na*” ... “*Nasakenaku-shameful parent-COP-FP shameful-nai-yo. Watashi-mo sansei-shita-no-ya-not-FP I-too agree-did-NMLZ-COP-kara*” “***Ni-shite-mo...***”
because ***ni-shite-mo***
“‘A trip? (Is she having a trip,) leaving you alone? ... (What a) shameful parent (she is).’ ... ‘Not shameful. Because I too agreed (to her trip).’” “Even (so)...” (1992, BCCWJ LBgn_00013)

We can postulate a discourse-functional or semantic/pragmatic change for anaphoric/anaphorless *ni-shite-mo*. For example, the LP anaphoric connective functions as a topic-shift marker in (5). Just before the speaker says (5), she and her mother were talking about a famous rice cake.

- (5) ***Sore-ni-shite-mo***, *denwa konai-nā*.
AN-*ni-shite-mo* telephone come.not-FP
‘By the way, (I’ve) not received a call.’
(2001, *Meidai* data042)

In many cases, however, the discourse-functional change is not as clear as in (5). In (6), the LP anaphorless connective does not appear to express the prototypical meaning of concession. Before the speaker uttered (6), she explained that she had had a hard time

finding her friend who lost contact with her after they left the pub, describing that she telephoned many of her acquaintances around midnight.

(6) *Ni-shite-mo-nē*, ... *dareka-sā*, ... *detekuru-ni-shite-mo*-FP someone-FP answer-*n-da-yo-nē*, *shōganai-kara-sā*.
NMLZ-COP-FP-FP no.choice-because-FP
'Even (so)/Anyway, ... someone ... answered (my call) because (they had) no choice.'
(2002, *Meidai* data040)

The anaphorless connective in (6) may be interpreted as marking an off-topic comment, which could be regarded as a certain kind of topic shift.

Table 2 gives a trial classification of the discourse or semantic/pragmatic functions that the LP anaphoric/anaphorless *ni-shite-mo* is assumed to serve. I suggest that not all of them necessarily function as concession DPMs.

Table 2. Functions of *ni-shite-mo*

			Con. within novels		Con.
			1895 –1925	1978 –2014	
anaphoric	concession	n	12	11	11
		%	55%	26%	61%
	non-	n	10	25	3
	concession	%	45%	58%	17%
anaphorless	concession	n	0	4	3
		%	0%	9%	17%
	non-	n	0	3	1
	concession	%	0%	7%	6%
Total		n	22	43	18
Corpus			[1]	[2]	[3] [4]

Some instances of anaphoric DPMs that cannot

be regarded as expressing concession are found as early as 1895 in the corpora.

(7) ... *asu-wa hayaku tatō-zo*.
tomorrow-TOP early depart.will-FP
Sore-ni-shite-mo tanzan-wa zehitomo
AN-ni-shite-mo coal.mine-TOP definitely
teniire-tai-mono-da.
acquire-want- NMLZ-COP
'... (We) will depart early tomorrow. By the way, (I) definitely want to acquire the coal mine' (1895, *Taiyo* P084B01)

The corpus survey in this section, although limited, confirms that the LP anaphorless *ni-shite-mo* has been developing recently and that some LP anaphoric/anaphorless DPMs involve discourse-functional or semantic/pragmatic change. With regard to the structural change, we can hypothesize that its pathway is from the RP complex connective,⁵ as in (1), to the LP anaphoric DPM, as in (3), (5) and (7), and to the LP anaphorless DPM, as in (2), (4) and (6). In other words, the structural change of *ni-shite-mo* from the RP connective to the LP DPM is consistent with the tendency that Japanese LP DPMs have, and with the loss of the anaphor that some of Japanese LP DPMs tend to undergo, as mentioned in Section 2.

As for the discourse-functional change, the trend is from concession to topic shift. The development of topic-shift DPMs from concessive ones has also been identified, for example, for *dakedo* 'but' and *demo* 'but' (Onodera 2004) in Japanese, and in *having said that* (Ohashi 2017). Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000) discuss discourse patterns in which concession is used in conversation. The development of a topic-shift function from concession calls for further investigation.

4. A Constructionalization Perspective

In this section, I examine the development of the anaphoric/anaphorless DPM *ni-shite-mo* and its discourse-functional or semantic/pragmatic change from the perspective of constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale (hereafter, T&T) 2013; Traugott 2014; Traugott 2016). In constructional approaches to language change, a “construction” is defined as a “form–meaning pairing” (T&T 2013:1). On the basis of T&T’s (2013:8) representation of constructions (8), I tentatively represent the constructions of the RP complex connective and the LP anaphoric/anaphorless DPMs as in (9)–(11) in this paper.

- (8) $[[F] \leftrightarrow [M]]$
 (9) $[[CL\text{-}ni\text{-}shite\text{-}mo] \leftrightarrow [\text{concession}]]$
 (10) a. $[[AN\text{-}ni\text{-}shite\text{-}mo] \leftrightarrow [\text{concession}]]$
 b. $[[AN\text{-}ni\text{-}shite\text{-}mo] \leftrightarrow [\text{topic shift}]]$
 (11) a. $[[\quad ni\text{-}shite\text{-}mo] \leftrightarrow [\text{concession}]]$
 b. $[[\quad ni\text{-}shite\text{-}mo] \leftrightarrow [\text{topic shift}]]$

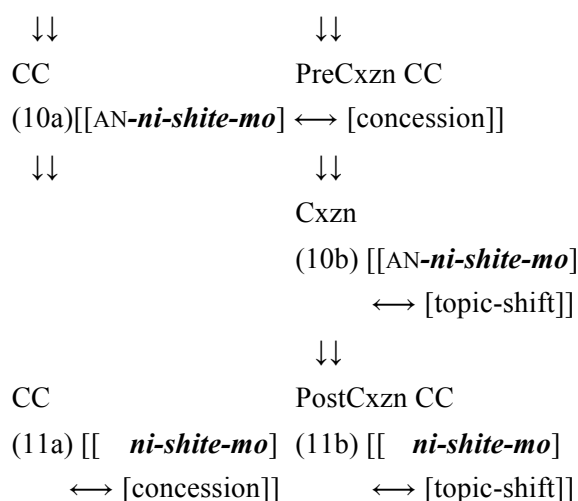
T&T (2013:1) further define “constructional change” and “constructionalization” as follows:

- (12) a. Constructional changes: changes that affect features of an existing construction
- b. Constructionalization: the creation of form_{new}–meaning_{new} pairing

Given that the hypothesized change from (9) to (10b) involves a *form_{new}–meaning_{new}* pairing, it is regarded as a case of constructionalization. The putative changes from (9) to (10a), from (10a) to (10b), from (10a) to (11a) and from (10b) to (11b) are all counted as constructional changes.

Based on T&T (2013:27–29), the case for constructionalization and the succession of constructional changes involved in (9)–(11) can be shown in Figure 1.⁶

Figure 1. Constructionalization and
constructional changes involved in *ni-shite-mo*
(9) [[CL-*ni-shite-mo*] \longleftrightarrow [concession]]



In terms of a network of relations among constructions (T&T 2013:17; Traugott 2016:V), concession and topic-shift DPMs, including the *ni-shite-mo* construction, can be summarized as in Figure 2.

Figure 2. A network for concession and topic shift DPMs in present-day Japanese

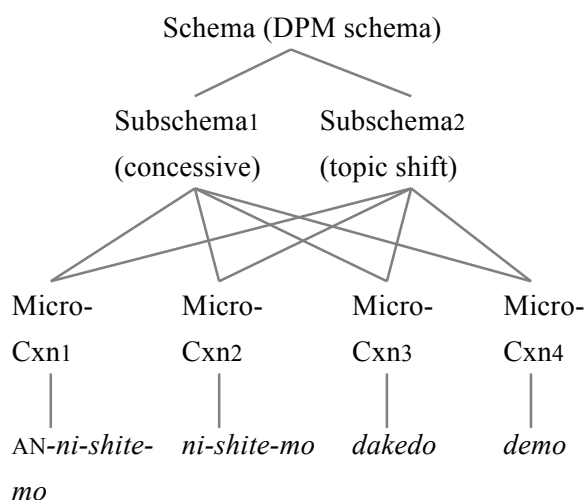


Figure 2 represents how some concessive DPMs are also used as topic-shift DPMs in present-day Japanese. Micro-Cxn2 *ni-shite-mo* was presumably added to the network by around 1990, as evidenced by (4). Given instances such as (6), the nodes between Micro-Cxn2 and Subschema2 (topic shift) were hypothetically linked by around 2000.

Figure 2 is also meant to show that the emergence of anaphorless connectives appears to involve analogies based on structural and functional similarity to the existing forms.

5. Conclusion

In this study, I have examined the recent uses of the complex connective *ni-shite-mo*. I suggest that the structural pathway is from the RP connective via the LP anaphoric DPM to the LP anaphorless DPM, and the discourse-functional change is from concession to topic shift. The constructional changes that appear to be repeated in Japanese deserve further study.

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NOTES

¹ Abbreviations: ACC=accusative, AN=anaphor, CC=constructional change, CL=clause, COP=copula, Cxn=construction, Cxzn=constructionalization, DPM=discourse-pragmatic marker, F=form,

FP=final particle, LP=left periphery, M=meaning, NMLZ=nominalizer, Q=question particle, QUOT=quotative, RP=right periphery, TOP=topic.

Symbol: ↓↓=feeding relationship

² Some detailed studies which point out the loss of the anaphor include Yajima (2011) and Higashiizumi (2015) for *dakara* ‘because/so’, Miyauchi (2014) for *ke(re)do(mo)* ‘but’, and Odani (2015) for *nanode* ‘because/so’.

³ For further discussion of data in historical pragmatics studies, see Kytö (2010) for example. A total of 27 examples of the LP anaphorless DPM use of *ni-shite-mo* is found in the whole BCCWJ: 8 examples in conversations within novels, 12 in blogs and 7 in other colloquial texts.

⁴ The details of the data taken from the corpora in this study are as follows. [1] Conversations within novels which are clearly indicated by quotation marks in *Kōgo* (colloquial style) texts taken from the *Taiyō* magazine issued in 1895–1925, *Taiyo* Corpus. [2] Conversations within novels which are distinctively marked by quotation marks in the sub-corpora *Shuppan_Shoseki_core*, *Shuppan_Zasshi_core* and *Tokutei-mokuteki_Besutoserā_Bungaku_non-core*, published in 1976–2008, in BCCWJ. [3] Conversation transcripts in GNK (1997), audio-recorded in 1993, 19 speakers, ca. 9 hours; in GNK (2002), audio-recorded in 1999–2000, 21 speakers, ca. 12 hours; in GNK (2016), audio-recorded in 2011–2014, 31 speakers, ca. 17 hours. [4] *Meidai* Conversation Corpus, audio-recorded in 2001–2002.

⁵ The phrase *ni-shite-mo* used as a concessive connective is attested as early as the thirteenth century (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*).

⁶ Higashiizumi (2017a, 2017b) examines a similar succession of constructional changes

involved in the RP complex connective *da-to-shite-mo* (COP + dative particle/the infinitive form of the older copula *tari* + the conjunctive form of the verb ‘do’ + focus particle) ‘even if/though’ and the RP complex connective *ni-mo-kakawara-zu* (dative particle + focus particle + the irrealis form of the verb ‘relate’ + negative) ‘even though, however’. The repeatedly attested structural changes from RP connectives via anaphoric to anaphorless DPMs can be represented in the following way:

[[CL-connective] ↔ [M]]

↓↓

[[AN-connective] ↔ [M]]

↓↓

[[connective] ↔ [M]]

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The Left Periphery of DP and Information Focus: A Case Study of Double Genitives in English *

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Keywords : cartography, demonstratives, double genitives, emphasis, information focus

1. Introduction

Rizzi (1997) hypothesizes in the cartographic framework that the traditional CP domain splits into discourse-related functional projections: Force, Topic, Focus, and Finite. According to his original split CP hypothesis, there is only one focus projection in the CP domain. However, observing non-contrastive focus fronting phenomena in Romance languages (e.g., Sicilian), Cruschina (2011) posits two syntactic positions for information focus (IFoc) in a sentence: emphatic IFoc in the CP domain and neutral IFoc in the TP domain. If the parallelism between the clausal domain and the nominal domain is concerned with information structure, it will be expected that the nominal domain also includes a functional projection for emphatic IFoc. This paper aims to lend support to this hypothesis by observing the rhetorical use of demonstrative double genitives (e.g., *That nose of his!*).

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 introduces the typology of focus and considers how emphatic IFoc is syntactically licensed; Section 3 reviews previous studies on the

information structure of nominals; Section 4 argues that emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain is substantiated from the rhetorical use of demonstrative double genitives; and, finally, Section 5 draws conclusions.

2. Focus Typology

2.1. Information Focus and Contrastive Focus

According to Cruschina (2011), the notion of focus is divided into two types: IFoc and Contrastive Focus (CFoc). Cruschina (2011), on the one hand, defines IFoc as the assertive part of the sentence which must be interpreted as the most informative in the sense that it presents relevant new information to the universe of discourse; the assertive part of CFoc, on the other hand, corresponds to denying or correcting a previous assertion/presupposition that the speaker does not share. For concreteness, let us consider the following sentences:

- (1) a. (Context: What car did John buy?)
John bought [a Ferrari]_{IFoc}
(Cruschina (2011: 14))
b. [YOUR BOOK]_{CFoc} you should give
___ to Paul (not mine)
(Rizzi (1997: 285), with modifications)

In (1a), on the one hand, the DP in brackets carries new IFoc and functions to provide an answer to the question; in this case, no contrastive meaning is involved. In (1b), on the other hand, the preposed DP in brackets is interpreted as CFoc; here, the preposed DP serves to correct the wrong piece of information expressed by the negative tag *not mine*, and the rest of the sentence is presupposed. As a result, the preposed CFoc element obligatorily creates a contrast.

The next subsection shows the dichotomy of emphatic IFoc and neutral IFoc.

2.2. Neutral IFoc and Emphatic IFoc

Observing that Romance languages (e.g., Sicilian) exhibit non-CFoc fronting, Cruschina (2011) proposes that the left periphery of a sentence contains an independent functional projection dedicated to emphatic IFoc. Let us consider the following example from Sicilian:

- (2) A. Chi scrivisti?
 what write.PAST.2SG
 ‘What did you write?’
 B. a. Scrissi **n’articulu**.
 write.PAST.1SG an article
 ‘I wrote an article.’
 b. **N’articulu** scrissi!
 an article write.PAST.1SG
 ‘I wrote an article’
 (Cruschina (2011: 58), with slight modifications)

The question/answer pairs above show that the question in (2A) can be answered either by (2Ba) or (2Bb). In (2Ba), the IFoc DP occupies the object position in the TP domain and functions as an answer to the question; in this case, the DP carries a neutral IFoc interpretation in the sense that it does not necessarily convey the speaker’s evaluative meaning such as surprise. In (2Bb), the preposed DP serves as IFoc, but it also obligatorily conveys a sense of emphasis, or the speaker’s evaluative meaning.

Furthermore, Cruschina (2011) points out that emphatic IFoc fronting in Sicilian is compatible with the out-of-the-blue (sentence-focus) context, which is exemplified by the answer to a *wh*-question like *what happened?*:

- (3) A: Chi successi?
 what happen.PAST.3SG
 ‘What happened?’

- B: A casa si vinni!
 the house REFL sell.PAST.3SG
 ‘He sold the house!’

(Cruschina (2011: 71), with slight modifications)

The acceptability of (3B) with emphatic IFoc fronting shows that both the preposed DP and the rest of the sentence are compatible with sentence-focus (i.e. new information). This pattern differs from CFoc fronting in (1b) because in the latter case, the propositional content, except the preposed CFoc, is presupposed.

The next subsection considers how emphatic IFoc is syntactically licensed.

2.3. The Syntactic Mechanism for Emphatic IFoc

In order to capture the difference between CFoc and IFoc, Cruschina (2011) proposes his original split CP hypothesis in (4b), which departs from Rizzi’s (1997) original one in (4a).

- (4) a. Force ... Topic* ... Focus ... Topic* ...
 Fin IP ...
 b. Force ... Topic ... CFoc ... Topic ...
 IFoc ... Fin IP ...

Cruschina’s split CP hypothesis differs from Rizzi’s in that the former assumes two syntactic positions for focus: CFoc and emphatic IFoc.

Cruschina (2011) argues that the defining properties of emphatic IFoc are the following two: new information and the speaker’s evaluative meaning. According to Cruschina, among these two meanings, the latter originates from pragmatics (Relevance Theory), or the interaction between the new information expressed by an emphatic IFoc element and its relation to the knowledge of the speaker/interlocutors (Sperber and Wilson (1995)). By contrast, Shimada and Nagano (2016) propose that the speaker’s evalua-

tive meaning component concerns the research area of evaluative morphology whose aim is to explore how the speaker's evaluative meanings are expressed by means of morphemes or phrases in words and phrases. Observing the ordering of Italian suffixes, Cinque (2015) argues that their ordering is strictly fixed. His argument points to the existence of the correspondingly ordered functional projections for evaluative meanings (e.g. augmentative, pejorative, diminutive, endearing) in words and phrases, as shown below:

- (5) ... Aug (-on-) ... Pej (-acci-) ... Dim (-in-) ... EndP (-ett) ...

If the evaluative hierarchy in (5) is combined with distributed morphology (Halle and Marantz (1993)), one will hypothesize that the evaluative functional projections in (5) exist across words, phrases, and sentences because they are formed by the same syntactic operation: *merge*. Following this reasoning, Shimada and Nagano propose that emphatic IFoc is syntactically encoded at the (emphatic) IFoc projection selected by the Eval(uative) projection, as shown below:

- (6) ... Eval ...IFoc ... Fin TP ...

They make two assumptions: first, an emphatic IFoc element has two unvalued features, the unvalued evaluative feature, [*uEval*], and the unvalued IFoc feature, [*uIFoc*]; second, these two unvalued features are valued by moving the emphatic IFoc element to Spec-IFoc. In this paper, I adopt their syntactic mechanism for emphatic IFoc. Thus, emphatic IFoc fronting in Sicilian is analyzed as in (7).

- (7) ... [EvalP [IFocP N'articulu_{*i*} [_{FinP} (*scriissi*) [_{TP} *pro* [_{vP} *scriissi* *t_i*]]]]] (= (2Bb))

This subsection has seen the properties of emphatic IFoc and the syntactic mechanism for licensing an emphatic IFoc reading.

3. Focusing on the Nominal Domain

Within the generative framework, it is a traditional argument that the clausal domain and the nominal domain show symmetry in (at least) two aspects: grammatical functions such as subjects and objects, and transformational operations like passivization. If such a symmetrical relationship applies to information structure (Aboh, Corver, Dyakonova and van Koppen (2010)), it will be expected that the nominal domain also includes discourse-related functional projections. To begin, the next subsection reviews such an approach.

3.1. CFoc and IFoc in the Nominal Domain

Among the discourse-related properties, CFoc has been often analyzed in relation to the information structure of nominals. For example, Corver and van Koppen (2009:3-4) argues that adjectives in Dutch are rigidly ordered in the nominal domain and word order alternations lead to a contrastive reading.

- (8) a. de roze Amerikaanse auto's
the pink American cars
'the pink American cars'
b. de AMERIKAANSE roze auto's
the American^{STRESS} pink cars
'the AMERICAN pink cars'

(8a) illustrates the neutral adjective ordering; in this case, the color adjective precedes the nationality adjective. (8b) with the reversed adjective ordering shows that the preposed nationality adjective carries a contrastive focus reading (see Aboh et al. (2010) and references cited therein for other instances of CFoc in the nominal domain).

Unlike CFoc, IFoc has not been explored in the literature of the information structure of nominal expressions (Corver and van Koppen (2009), Aboh et al. (2010)). In this connection, Corver and van Koppen (2009) argue that IFoc in nominals must be discussed with careful consideration because their information structure is overridden by that of sentences. Thus, they indicate that root nominals convey their own information structure, without being affected by other factors. Corver and van Koppen (2009: 14) cite the following examples as root nominals:

- (9) a. Aspects of the theory of SYNTAX
 (books by Noam Chomsky)
 b. Dear friends of HOLLAND!

(9a) is a book title, and (9b) is a (neutral) vocative expression. These root nominals carry new information on the recursive (right) side.

The next subsection reviews Shimada and Nagano (2016) because they attempt to empirically support the presence of emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain.

3.2. Emphatic IFoc in the Nominal Domain

In Subsection 2.3, we have reviewed Cruschina's (2011) split CP hypothesis. If the parallelism between the clausal and nominal domains extends to information structure, his hypothesis will indicate that the nominal domain also includes a functional projection for emphatic IFoc, as shown below:¹

- (10) a. ... Force ... Eval ... IFoc ... Fin IP ...
 b. ... DP ... Eval ... IFoc ... NP ...

Although there is less research which tries to empirically motivate the hypothesis in (10b), Shimada and Nagano (2016) argue that emphatic

IFoc in the nominal domain is substantiated from Japanese *kantaiku* nominals.

- (11) a. Kono wain-wa taka-i.
 this wine-TOP expensive-COP
 'This wine is expensive.'
 b. taka-i wain
 expensive-COP wine
 'expensive wine'
 c. Taka-i wain!
 expensive-COP wine
 'Expensive wine!'

The declarative sentence in (11a) involves the adjectival predicate, and the nominal phrase in (11b) consists of the head noun and the relative clause formed by the adjectival predicate. The Japanese *kantaiku* nominal in (11c) shares a syntactic form with the nominal phrase in (11b); however, the Japanese *kantaiku* nominal in (11c) differs from the nominal phrase in (11b) in that the former is used as an emotional vocative, or a root nominal which expresses the speaker's on-the-spot reaction to a given situation. These observations lead Shimada and Nagano to propose that Japanese *kantaiku* nominals are derived by covertly moving the relative clause to Spec-IFoc, as illustrated below:

- (12) a. [DP [EvalP [IFocP [NP [Rel *pro*_i taka-i] wain_i]]]]
 b. [DP [EvalP [IFocP [Rel *pro*_i taka-i]_j [NP *t*_j wain_i]]]]

Shimada and Nagano's (2016) study is of theoretical importance in exploring the hypothesis in (10b). However, they cannot provide evidence enough to show the word order alternation effect in Japanese *kantaiku* nominals. Thus, further research will be necessary to empirically support

emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain. The next section argues that the emphatic IFoc hypothesis is supported by demonstrative double genitives

4. Double Genitives and Emphatic IFoc

Previous studies have argued that double genitive nominals are divided into two types: indefinite double genitives and demonstrative double genitives (e.g. Abel (2006); cf. Barker (1998)).

- (13) a. a book of John's
b. that book of John's
cf. John's book

In this section, I will demonstrate that emphatic IFoc fronting is empirically supported by the latter type, demonstrative double genitives (see Section 4.2). Before proceeding further, the next subsection reviews the basic properties of indefinite double genitives and their derivation.

4. 1. Indefinite Double Genitives

Kayne (1993) observes that double genitives show the so-called definiteness effect. For example, they do not co-occur with the definite article, as shown in the following contrast:

- (14) a. * the sister of John's (Kayne (1993: 4))
b. a sister of John's

Furthermore, Kayne (1993: 4) points out that the double genitive in (14b) is indefinite because it occurs in the post-copular position of the existential-*there* sentence (e.g., There is (exists) a sister of John's. (Kayne (1993: 4))).

In order to explain the definiteness effect, Kayne (1993) first assumes that the clausal domain and the nominal domain share the same syntactic structure which includes TP (AGR) (see Takano (1989) for a similar proposal).

- (15) [DP [TP [T' 's [QP/NP]]]]

The apostrophe *s* in this structure is seen as the singular number marker which corresponds to the morpheme *-s* found on verbs. On the basis of the DP structure in (15), Kayne proposes that double genitives are derived by moving the possessum part generated as a (indefinite) QP to Spec-DP, as shown in (16a); as a result, the double genitive is derived as an indefinite nominal. In (16a), the preposition-like element *of* is inserted at the D head in order to case-mark the possessor *John*.

- (16) a. [DP [QP/NP a sister]_i [D' of [TP John
[T' 's t_i]]]]
b. [DP John_i [TP t_i [T' 's [QP/NP sister]]]]

Although he does not mention how definite possessive nouns are derived, I assume that movement of the possessor to Spec-DP derives a definite possessive nominal.

In this paper, I follow Kayne's (1993) syntactic analysis of indefinite double genitives.

4. 2. Demonstrative Double Genitives as Emotional Vocatives

Narita (1986) and Barker (1998) observe that demonstrative double genitives behave as rhetorical expressions. Let us consider the following examples:

- (17) a. His nose.
b. That NOSE of his!
(Barker (1998: 713))
c. [A] sister of John's (= (14b))

Among these three types of nominals, only the demonstrative double genitive in (17b) serves as a rhetorical expression, or an emotional vocative (cf. (11c)). In what follows, I will explain the

basic properties of demonstrative double genitives in detail.

First, as Barker (1998) observes, the possessum part must receive focal stress; thus, it is impossible to give prominence to the possessor noun. This property is illustrated in the following contrast:

- (18) a. that NOSE of his
 b. * that mother of THE TALL MAN'S
 (Barker (1998: 714, bold mine))

Furthermore, Abel (2006) argues that the focus effect on the possessum part does not necessarily create a contrast and is compatible with providing a piece of new information.

Second, demonstrative double genitives, in general, express the speaker's evaluative meaning. According to Barker (1998: 714), "[b]asically, there must be something unusual or noteworthy about the referent of the collocation, or at least some aspects of the situation that provokes an emotional response in the speaker." In this connection, Keizer (2005) points out that the presence of a demonstrative is crucial for expressing the speaker's evaluative meaning in demonstrative double genitives. Keizer divides the syntactic/semantic roles of demonstratives into the following two: indicating [\pm proximity] and intensifying the evaluative judgment given by the speaker. According to Keizer (2005: 305), the latter syntactic/semantic role is "to strengthen the force of the speaker's judgment — a function the demonstrative *that* can also have in regular NPs with evaluative adjectives (*that idiotic boy*; *that idiotic principal*)." Furthermore, she argues that the demonstrative *that* can have this intensifying function in demonstrative double genitives and implies some kind of negative judgement even if they lack an overt adjective (cf. (18a)).

To sum up, the emotional vocative use of a demonstrative double genitive is characterized by the following two properties: the non-contrastive focus effect on the possessum part and the occurrence of a demonstrative whose function is to strengthen the speaker's evaluative meaning. It is reasonable to conclude that these properties point to emphatic IFoc in demonstrative double genitives. The next subsection proposes the derivation of demonstrative double genitives.

4.3. The Derivation of Demonstrative Double Genitives

Adopting and modifying Kayne's (1993) analysis of indefinite double genitives, I propose that demonstrative double genitives are also derived by fronting the possessum part to Spec-IFoc, as shown below:²

- (19) [DP ... [EvalP [IFocP [AP that *Adj* nose]_i [FinP of [TP his *t_i*]]]]]

In this structure, the possessum is generated as an AP with an empty adjective (corresponding to, say, *big* or *ugly*), and the demonstrative with the intensifying function is assumed to occur within the adjectival projection and modify the covert adjective (indicated by *Adj*). Then, the possessum undergoes focus fronting to Spec-IFoc; as a result, the emphatic IFoc interpretation is obtained.

The analysis proposed in (19) is reminiscent of the covert movement analysis of Japanese *kantaiku* nominals proposed by Shimada and Nagano (2016) (see (12a, b)).

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper argued that demonstrative double genitives lend support to the hypothesis that the functional projection for emphatic IFoc exists in the left periphery of nominal expressions. Due to

limited space, I would like to leave open the question of whether emphatic IFoc in the nominal domain is substantiated from other nominal expressions (e.g., *that idiot of a doctor*).

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NOTES

¹ For simplicity, I omit the Topic and CFoc projections between the Force/DP projection and the IFoc projection here.

² The alternative possibility is to assume that the demonstrative occurs at the D head and triggers the inversion of the AP. Due to limited space, I will not discuss which analysis is on the right track.

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Contrastive Topics and the Dual Character of Imperatives*

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permission, to-do lists

1. Introduction

The dual character of imperatives, *command* (or *directive*) and *permission* (or *concession*), as exemplified in (1), has been a long lasting puzzle (e.g. Kaufmann 2012, Portner 2007, among many others).

- (1) a. Clean up your room! [command]
b. OK, go out and play (if you want to).
[permission]

In this paper, I attempt to make a contribution to the understanding of the semantic/pragmatic relation between the character of imperatives and so-called *contrastive topics* (CTs) in Japanese. I propose that (i) in (canonical) imperatives, CTs operate at the level of the necessity modal (, not at the level of imperative/directive speech act) and (ii) the semantic effect of permission imperatives with CTs is blocked by pragmatics.

2. Basics and the Puzzle

2.1. Japanese Contrastive Topics

The current analysis incorporates the common assumption that the particle ‘-*wa*’ can

mark CTs (Kuno 1973). For example, the second sentence in (2) conveys that there is one or more alternatives that is ‘unlike’ or to be ‘contrasted’ with Ken (e.g. Hanako, Taro, ...) as *non-at-issue* (NAI) meaning.¹

- (2) A: Who passed the exam?
B: KEN-*wa* ukat-ta.
K-CT pass-PAST
‘(At least) Ken passed.’
NAI: there are some alternatives that is contrasted with Ken (, and the speaker does not know who else come).

2.2. Contrastive Topics in Imperatives

While most of all discussions of CTs have focused on declarative sentences, Japanese CTs can abundantly be found with imperatives (cf. Tomioka 2009). Interestingly, when CT-*wa* occurs in imperatives, we can obtain a permission interpretation as NAI meaning, as shown in (3).

- (3) [out of the blue context:]
Shukudai-*wa* yar-e.
homework-CT do-IMP
‘Do your homework.’
NAI: there are some alternatives that is contrasted with homework (e.g., cleaning the room, practicing the piano, ...), and it is not necessary for the addressee to do them.

More intriguing fact is that when CT-*wa* occurs in permission contexts, no such NAI meaning is conveyed, as shown in (4):

- (4) [Taro asks “Can I eat some of these cakes?”, and Mary replies:]
Maronkeeki-*wa* tabe-ro.
chestnut.cake-CT eat-IMP

‘(OK,) Eat the chestnut cake.’

NAI: there are some alternatives that is contrasted with the chestnut cake (e.g., short cakes, chocolate cakes, ...), and #it is not necessary for the addressee to eat them.

In (4), ‘not-necessary-NAI’ is not conveyed; that is, ‘eating the cakes other than the chestnut cake’ is still prohibited by the speaker.

The central question in this paper is as follows. How does NAI meaning in imperatives with CTs come about? Specifically, (i) why do command imperatives with CTs convey permission meaning as NAI? And (ii) how can we provide an account for the fact that permission imperatives with CTs do not convey such a NAI meaning? These accounts have not been typically presented in a formal linguistic theory since almost all studies of CTs in Japanese have exclusively focused on declaratives.

3. The Semantics and Pragmatics of CTs

3.1. The Interpretation of CT-*wa*

I adopt the brief interpretation in (5) proposed by Oshima (forthcoming) as the current analysis of sentences with CT-*wa*. I consider CT-*wa* to be a focus particle, the same category as *mo* ‘too’, *sae* ‘even’, and *dake* ‘only’, following previous works on Japanese linguistics (e.g. Teramura 1991).

(5) at-issue (AI): $\llbracket p \rrbracket$

non-at-issue (NAI): there are some q such that $q \in \text{Alt}(\llbracket p \rrbracket)$, $q \neq \llbracket p \rrbracket$, and $\neg q$ is compatible with the speaker’s current beliefs.

where q is a proposition and alt is a set of focus alternatives.

(6) Example: Interpretation of (2)

AI: $\llbracket p \rrbracket = \text{passed}(\text{exam}, \mathbf{K})$

NAI: there are $q_1: \text{passed}(\text{exam}, \mathbf{H})$ and $q_2: \text{passed}(\text{exam}, \mathbf{T})$ such that $q_1, q_2 \in \text{Alt}(\llbracket p \rrbracket)$, $q_1, q_2 \neq \llbracket p \rrbracket$, and $\neg q_1$ and $\neg q_2$ are compatible with the speaker’s current beliefs.

How about the cases in imperatives? For the command imperative in (3), we can obtain the following interpretation:

(7) Interpretation of (3) (to be revised)

AI: $\llbracket \text{imp}(p) \rrbracket = \text{imp}[\text{do}(\text{hw}, \text{ad})]$

NAI: there are some proposition $q_1: \text{do}(\text{cleaning}, \text{ad})$, $q_2: \text{do}(\text{practicing}, \text{ad})$ such that $q_1, q_2 \in \text{Alt}(\llbracket p \rrbracket)$, $q_1, q_2 \neq \llbracket p \rrbracket$, and $\neg q_1$ and $\neg q_2$ are compatible with the speaker’s current beliefs.

Unfortunately, this fails to get the permission meaning that the addressee is *not required* to do the things other than doing his homework (Note that the imperative operator ‘*imp*’ in (7) is not assumed to be a part of a proposition). Although one may think that CT-*wa* operates at the level of imperative speech act (Tomioka 2009), and thus imperatives with CT-*wa* would convey $\neg \text{imp}(q)$ (i.e.: *not required to do q*) as NAI, this idea may also be problematic, as I will illustrate in the next section.

3.2. Embedded Imperatives with CTs

Hara (2006) notes that an embedded CT creates an ambiguity with respect to *whose* point of view the NAI meaning created by -*wa* is related to. This holds for the case of embedded imperatives with CTs as well, as shown in (8):²

(8) Taroⁱ-ga Hanako-ni [kareⁱ-no ronbun-*wa*

T-GEN H-to his paper-CT
yom-e] to shijishi-ta.

read-IMP C give.an.instruction-PAST
'Taro ordered Hanako to read his paper.'

NAI:

- (a) **Taro** believes that there are some alternatives that is contrasted with Taro's paper, and it is not necessary for Hanako to read them.
- (b) **The speaker** believes that there are some alternatives that is contrasted with Taro's paper, and #it is not necessary for Hanako to read them.

The interpretation of (8) is ambiguous between Taro's *local* NAI and the speaker's *global* NAI: unlike (8a), (8b) does not create the NAI that the speaker believes that it is not necessary for the addressee (= Hanako) to read a paper other than Taro's paper.

The view that CTs operate at the level of speech acts (e.g. Tomioka 2009) cannot to predict the contrast in (8) without modifications. Since there is some evidence that sentences with elements related to speech acts (e.g. discourse particles, special sentence-final intonations) cannot be indirectly embedded (cf. Noguchi 2016), based on this, it is difficult for the speech-acts-view to explain why we can get the local contrastive meaning from an embedded imperative with CT as in (8a), where *true* speech acts are not represented.³ My proposal in this paper illustrated in the next section overcomes the current issues.

4. Deriving the Permission Meaning of Contrastive Imperatives

4.1. Proposal: Exhaustifying Necessity

In this section, I will lay out my proposal which is based on a very simple idea. First of all,

let me spell out the assumptions needed for my proposal:

- (9) a. Imperatives semantically encode a necessity modal ' \Box ' clause internally (cf. Kaufmann 2012, Medeiros 2013, Ihara & Noguchi forthcoming).
- b. Imperative speech act itself is represented independently of imperative morphology as an update operator 'IMP'.

In (9b), I use the term 'update' in the sense of the dynamic semantics account of imperatives (Portner 2004,2007). Briefly, Portner proposes that the function of imperatives is to add tasks (or properties) to the set called *To-Do Lists* (TDL). I simply assume that IMP serves this context update function.⁴

Based on these assumptions, I represent the LF of imperatives with CTs in (10). The crucial point of the proposal is that CTs obligatorily operate at the level of the necessity modal, hence they cannot operate under the modal.

$$(10) \text{ [IMP [wa [Exh [} \Box \text{ [} p \text{ : [...[X]}^F \text{...]}]]]]] }$$

$$(11) \text{ Exh(Alt}_{\langle \text{st}, \text{t} \rangle \text{)}}(p_{\text{st}})(w) = p(w) \wedge \forall q \in \text{NW}(p, \text{Alt}): \neg q(w)$$

where $\text{NW}(p, \text{Alt})$ is a set of alternatives that are not weaker than p .

The exhaustive operator 'Exh' in (11) associated with CT-*wa* (Fox 2007, among others) identifies a proposition p as the most informative out of a given alternative set. Although Fox and others do not discuss the exhaustivity associated with contrastive focus, its potential to be extended to contrastive focus is obvious (Tomioka 2009). Whether the exhaustive operator is the right operator for contrastive topics or not, the presence of some operator is clearly needed.

4.2. Analysis

Let me illustrate how the current proposal works. The command imperative in (3) gets the following interpretation:

(12) Interpretation of (3)

AI: $\llbracket \text{IMP}(p) \rrbracket = \text{IMP}[\Box do(hw, ad)]$

NAI: there are some proposition q_1 : $\Box do(cleaning, ad)$, $q_2: \Box do(practicing, ad)$ s.t. $q_1, q_2 \in \text{Alt}(\llbracket \Box p \rrbracket)$, $q_1, q_2 \neq \llbracket \Box p \rrbracket$, and $\neg q_1: \neg \Box do(cleaning, ad)$ & $\neg q_2: \neg \Box do(practicing, ad)$ are compatible with the speaker's current beliefs.

(12) correctly represents our intuition. When a command imperative with CT ($= \text{IMP}[wa(\Box p)]$) is uttered, the alternatives $\{\Box \phi_1, \Box \phi_2, \dots, \Box \phi_n\}$ are evaluated by the exhaustive operator, and non-weaker alternatives are negated, thus deriving $\{\neg \Box \phi_1, \neg \Box \phi_2, \dots, \neg \Box \phi_n\} = \{\neg \Diamond \phi_1, \neg \Diamond \phi_2, \dots, \neg \Diamond \phi_n\}$, which are compatible with the speaker's current beliefs.

The present analysis straightforwardly captures the two readings of embedded imperatives with CTs. The ambiguity depends on whether CTs operate at the level of the embedded sentence with necessity modal or not:

(13) Reading in (8a)

AI: $\llbracket \Box p \rrbracket = \Box read(paper_{\text{Taro}}, H)$

NAI: there are some proposition q_1 : $\Box read(paper_{\text{Ken}}, H)$, $q_2: \Box read(paper_{\text{Ryo}}, H)$ s.t. $q_1, q_2 \in \text{Alt}(\llbracket \Box p \rrbracket)$, $q_1, q_2 \neq \llbracket \Box p \rrbracket$, and $\neg q_1: \neg \Box read(paper_{\text{Ken}}, H)$ & $\neg q_2: \neg \Box read(paper_{\text{Ryo}}, H)$ are compatible with the Taro's beliefs.

(14) Reading in (8b)

AI: $\llbracket S \rrbracket = \text{order}[T, \Box read(paper_{\text{Taro}}, H), H]$

NAI: there are some proposition q_1 : $\text{order}[T, \Box read(paper_{\text{Ken}}, H), H]$, q_2 : $\text{order}[T, \Box read(paper_{\text{Ryo}}, H), H]$ s.t. $q_1, q_2 \in \text{Alt}(\llbracket S \rrbracket)$, $q_1, q_2 \neq \llbracket S \rrbracket$, and $\neg q_1: \neg \text{order}[T, \Box read(paper_{\text{Ken}}, H), H]$ & $\neg q_2: \neg \text{order}[T, \Box read(paper_{\text{Ryo}}, H), H]$ are compatible with the speaker's current beliefs.

5. Permission Imperatives with CTs

5.1. Semantics and Pragmatics of Permissions

As I have pointed out, another sticky issue on contrastive imperatives is how we should provide an account for the fact that imperatives with CTs in permission contexts do not convey the NAI meaning (See the contrast between (3) vs. (4)). Before moving on to show my proposal, I introduce more assumptions about permission imperatives. In addition to (9) above, I further assume the following, according to Portner (2010):

- (15) a. There is *no* semantic difference between command and permission imperatives.
- b. Differences in function among imperatives depends on the pragmatic grounds (contexts) upon which the imperative is issued.

Portner suggests that permission imperatives arise when an imperative adds a task whose content is inconsistent with the addressee's TDL, as exemplified in (16):

(16) A: Do I turn left here?

B: Sure, turn (left).

In (16), if something like 'continue straight ahead' is on the addressee(=A)'s TDL, the speaker(=B)'s imperatives will yield permission,

not a command. Thus, there is no semantic difference between command and permission imperatives: the only difference is pragmatics.

5.2. A Pragmatic Resolution

Following the assumption that command and permission imperatives are both related to the same operator, namely the necessity operator, it is expected that we should get non-necessary NAI from permission imperatives with CTs as well as command imperatives, contrary to the fact. This puzzle can be solved by focusing on the semantic/pragmatic property of CT-*wa*: I argue that the NAI meaning of CT-*wa* in permission imperatives is *pragmatically blocked* by presuppositions.

First, let me illustrate how the puzzle looks like. The addressee's TDLs *before* and *after* the imperative in (4) are given in (17) and (18), respectively (Suppose that the addressee in (4) chooses to eat the chestnut cake after the speaker's permission):

$$(17) \text{TDL}_{\text{addr}(c)} = \{\neg \text{eat}(\text{cake}_{\text{chestnut}}, ad), \\ \neg \text{eat}(\text{cake}_{\text{short}}, ad), \\ \neg \text{eat}(\text{cake}_{\text{chocolate}}, ad)\}$$

$$(18) \text{TDL}_{\text{addr}(c')} = \{\text{eat}(\text{cake}_{\text{chestnut}}, ad), \\ \neg \text{eat}(\text{cake}_{\text{short}}, ad), \\ \neg \text{eat}(\text{cake}_{\text{chocolate}}, ad)\}$$

The illustration above shows that the imperative in (4) adds the content (= 'the addressee eats chestnut cake') which is inconsistent with the addressee's TDL. Due to this, the previous content, namely 'not to eat the chestnut cake,' is no longer required, which leads to the situation where 'eating the chestnut cake' is permitted. In the current example, the expected inference

generated by the imperative with CT-*wa* is something like 'it is possible for the addressee not to eat the chocolate cake and the short cake,' based on the present assumption. Why is the meaning not conveyed? The answer is as follows. I argue that (i) the NAI meaning conveyed by CT-*wa* is generally weak so that it cannot overcome (or cancel) presuppositions, and that (ii) since the content of the inference are inconsistent with the presupposition, namely the addressee's TDL like (17), they are pragmatically blocked.

Consider the case of CT-*wa* in declaratives. When (part of) a NAI meaning is inconsistent with contents of discourse components (e.g. common ground, TDL), it will be blocked and thus not be conveyed, as shown in (19):

(19) [A and B are watching pictures of some animals: lions, goats, cats, and rats. A believes that lions are the strongest animal in the world. As for goats, A thinks that they are strong, but not so as lions.]

A: Look at these pictures! Don't you think goats look so strong?

B: Hmm. So which animal do you think is strong in this picture, of course including goats?

A: raion-*wa* tsuyoi yo.

lions-CT strong SFP

'Lions are strong (at least).'

NAI: (i) cats are not strong, (ii) rats are not strong, and goats are not strong are compatible with A's current beliefs.

In (19), the NAI meaning semantically generated by CT-*wa*, namely 'goats are not strong', is blocked by the established common knowledge that A believes that goats are strong. This phenomenon can be explainable by assuming

that the NAI meaning of CT-*wa* cannot overcome presupposition. Of course, we should see more data on CT-*wa* to reveal what the pragmatic property CT-*wa* has by comparing with the general pragmatic meanings such as presuppositions or conventional implicatures (Grice 1975, among many others), although the task will be left to future work due to limitations of space.

What I want to argue is that the parallel explanation holds for the situation in imperatives. In (4), as the illustrations in (17) and (18) show, since the expected inference that ‘it is possible for the addressee not to eat the chocolate cake and the short cake’ is inconsistent with the given content in the addressee’s TDL, it is blocked due to the weakness of the NAI meaning of CT-*wa* (It is worth noting that the contrastive meaning that ‘there are some alternatives that is contrasted with the chestnut cake (= the chocolate cake and the short cake)’ is conveyed because it does not cause any contradiction).

6. Conclusion: Summary and Implications

In this paper, I have argued that the permission meaning of contrastive imperatives is generated by exhaustification of the necessity operator, and it could be blocked by pragmatics if (part of) its meaning is inconsistent with the content of discourse components. The analysis is theoretically important because the view that the denotation of imperatives is simply ‘*p*’ (e.g. Portner 2004, 2007) cannot explain the puzzle in this paper without modifications. Moreover, the current proposal supports the view that imperatives *do* contain an operator which is interpreted like necessity modals (e.g. Kaufmann 2012).

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NOTES

¹ I argue that the contrastive meaning triggered by CTs is really a non-at-issue meaning since there is an evidence that it is not part of ‘*what is said* (at-issue meaning)’. For example, the contrastive meaning cannot be challenged; if we utter “*Iya, chigau-yo.*” ‘No, that’s not true!’ after (2), the negative response can only target the at-issue part of the sentence. To determine which non-at-issue meaning the meaning of CTs should belong to, presupposition or conventional implicature (Grice 1975, among others), is beyond the scope of this paper.

² Note that in (8), *kare* ‘he’ refers to Taro, which suggests that the embedded imperative in (8) is really a true (indirect) quotation.

³ The crucial problem of the theory based on speech act is that it does not make clear what the *speech act* is. Since it has been accepted that sentential force operator like imperative or interrogative, which can be indirectly be embedded (cf. Saito & Haraguchi 2012), are syntactically determined by ForceP rather than Speech-ActP (e.g. Noguchi 2016), it may be possible to assume that contrastive topics operate at the level of sentential force (syntactically, ForceP) as an alternative explanation of the speech act based theory.

⁴ Although I spell out the current analysis on the assumption that IMP is part of the denotation of imperatives, this assumption is not essential to my account. Thus, we can also assume that the denotation of imperatives is not ‘IMP($\Box p$)’, but rather simply ‘ $\Box p$ ’. The important point here is

that canonical imperatives in Japanese semantically encode an element related to necessity.

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Resolving Prefixation into Compounding and Inflection *

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Keywords : prefix, preposition, lexical category, functional category, Alternative Realization

1. Introduction: Prefixation in Morphology

Prefixation is generally grouped together with suffixation, and both are considered to constitute derivational morphology. In contrast to this general view, Emonds (2005) offers a new, different view on prefixation, as follows: prefixation (in English) is the process that phonologically realizes syntactic (or grammatical) features at the post-syntactic level. Interestingly, Emonds (2005) regards prefixation as the same process that implements inflectional morphology. Under this view, prefixation is not a part of word-formation; rather, it is an inflection-like process. His analysis is theoretically significant in that it provides a new perspective on prefixation and further, morphology in general. This paper applies Emonds' (2005) analysis to prepositional prefixes such as *up-*, *over-*, *under-*, *on-*, and *out-*, which have not been examined in detail, and explores its consequences for the nature of prefixes and prefixation.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces Emonds (2005) analysis of prefixation. Based on Nagano's (2013a, 2013b) study, where prefixes are classified into functional and lexical prefixes, Section 3 shows that Emonds' (2005)

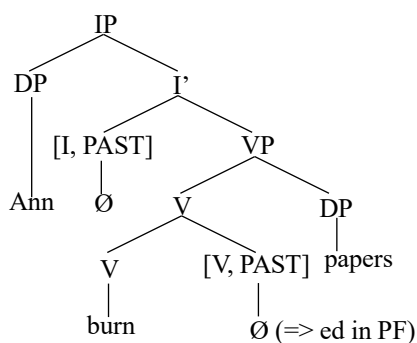
analysis can be applied to functional prefixes; lexical prefixes undergo compounding, as argued in Nagano (2013a). Section 4 focuses on prepositional prefixes and shows that many of them behave as lexical prefixes but *out-* can be analyzed as a functional prefix when it has a 'surpass' interpretation. Section 5 discusses what syntactic features are related to *out-* 'surpass' and provides evidence for the proposed analysis. Section 6 offers concluding remarks.

2. Emonds (2005): Prefixation as an Inflection-like Process

This section introduces Emonds' (2005) analysis of prefixation. The analysis adopts the theoretical framework proposed in Emonds (2000). Emonds (2000) assumes that Universal Grammar (UG) matches syntactic features with each syntactic category, calling such a category a "canonical position." Syntactic features are interpreted at LF only in their canonical position. For example, tense features like [PAST] are matched with the category I (or T). However, syntactic features are not necessarily phonologically realized on their canonical positions; they can be alternatively realized by functional morphemes. In this case, the functional morphemes do not contribute to LF because they are merely phonological realizations. Thus, they are inserted after Spell-Out. This realization pattern is called "Alternative Realization" (AR) (Emonds (2000: 125)).

Importantly, AR involves the realization of inflectional suffixes. Let us take the tense marker for [PAST] as an example. As already noted, the feature [PAST] is canonically associated with the syntactic category I. However, it is not phonologically realized in this position in the case of declarative clauses in English; instead, the feature is alternatively realized by *-ed* under V after Spell-Out (or in PF), as shown in (1).

- (1) Ann burned papers.



(Emonds (2000: 128))

Emonds (2005) argues that in addition to inflection, prefixation is also an example of AR of syntactic features. This means that the canonical position of the features relevant to prefixation is different from the syntactic position where they are realized. Emonds (2005) assumes that the canonical position is the post-verbal position based on the fact that *re-* and post-verbal particles are in complementary distribution, as in (2).

- (2) a. John shipped (off) his prizes.
b. John reshipped (*off) his prizes.

(Emonds (2005: 259))

Emonds (2005) assigns prefixes like *re-* the same grammatical status as post-verbal particles (i.e., grammatical P); they differ from each other in that prefixes are phonologically realized in pre-verbal position by AR. In the case of *re-*, syntactic features like [AGAIN] occur in the post verbal position and they are realized in the form of *re-*. Emonds (2005) applies this analysis to *mis-*. If *mis-* is also realized by AR, it should be fully characterized by syntactic features. Given the semantic parallelism between *mis-* and *badly* (e.g., *to misbehave* and *to behave badly*), Emonds (2005: 260) assumes that *mis-* alternatively realizes the feature set [MANNER, EVAL(UATIVE), NEG(ATIVE)], which is canonically associated

with post-verbal position.

Emonds (2005) suggests that other prefixes can be analyzed along these lines. However, he does not give a detailed discussion. The next section considers whether the analysis can be applied to prefixes in general.

3. AR and the Classification of Prefixes

When we apply Emonds' (2005) analysis to prefixes in general, we need to consider whether they are lexical categories (lexemes) or functional categories. This is because for prefixes to be realized by AR, they need to be characterized only by syntactic features. Close observation reveals that not all prefixes have a functional status. Nagano (2013a, 2013b) points out that many English prefixes can be best classified as lexemes; that is, prefixes can be classified as follows:

- (3) a. Lexical Prefixes
(i) Evaluative Prefixes
mal-, pseudo-, super-, etc.
(ii) Spatio-Temporal Prefixes
circum-, inter-, pre-, etc.
(iii) Quantitative Prefixes
bi-, multi-, semi-, etc.
b. Functional Prefixes
(iv) Negative Prefixes
de-, non-, un-, etc.
(v) Aspectual Prefixes
be-, en-, re-, etc.

(see Nagano (2013b: 121))

Lexical and functional prefixes behave differently. Whereas lexical prefixes behave in the same way as lexemes, functional prefixes behave as functional categories. One of the differences between lexemes and functional categories is that only complex words composed of lexemes can be deleted via coordination reduction (CR) (e.g.,

book-__ and newspaper stands / book-binders and __-sellers (Kenesei (2007: 274)) vs. *John walk*(ed) and danced.* (Nishiyama (2016: 84))). Complex words with lexical prefixes allow CR, as in (4) (see Nagano (2013a)), but those with functional prefixes do not, as in (5).

- (4) a. super-__ and supra-national
b. anti-federalist and __-nationalist (opinions)
(Kenesei (2007: 274))
- (5) a.*I do not know if he should be dis- or encouraged. (Scalise (1984: 75))
b.*Mary un- and re-tied her laces.
(Sadler and Arnold (1994: 208))

Given the classification in (3), Emonds' (2005) analysis of prefixation can be applied only to functional prefixes.¹ Meanwhile, lexical prefixes undergo compounding because they have the same status as lexemes. If so, prefixation is not homogeneous; prefixation processes can be resolved into a compounding process and AR, as schematized in (6).

- (6) Prefixation — Compounding
(Lexical Prefixes)
— AR
(Functional Prefixes)

Let us call this analysis the "Resolving Analysis." If this analysis is correct, all prefixes will participate in either compounding or AR. Toward the completion of Resolving Analysis, the rest of this paper focuses on prepositional prefixes like *up-*, *over-*, *under-*, *on-*, and *out-*, which are neither explicitly examined in Emonds (2005) nor Nagano (2013a, 2013b).

4. The Resolving Analysis and the Classifica-

tion of Prepositional Prefixes

Since prepositional prefixes are formally identical with prepositions, one may think that Emonds' (2005) analysis can be straightforwardly applied to prepositional prefixes; that is, they are also word-internal Ps like *re-* and *mis-*, which alternatively realize certain syntactic features in post-verbal position. However, many prepositional prefixes allow CR. For example:

- (7) a. ?The 2016 results are being updated and loaded to the events page.^{2,3}
b. I now know how much I overate and drank in my previous life!⁴
c. ... the under and fore-part of the cheek
(OED, s.v. *orbital*)
d. ... information gathered by on and off-board sensors (OED, s.v. *off-board*)

Thus, these prepositional prefixes have lexemic status. Accordingly, they are involved in compounding.

We also find *out-* is a peculiar prefix in that it behaves as both a lexical prefix and a functional prefix under CR. Let us first observe how *out-* behaves as a lexeme:

- (8) a. ... the out and in-door labour ...
(OED, s.v. *labour*, n)
b. ... the out and in-board work ...
(OED, s.v. *outboard*)

In these examples, where the prefix has spatial meanings, the prefixed words allow CR. However, *outrun* in (9a) resists undergoing CR, as observed in (9b).

- (9) a. Mary outran and outswam Bill.
b.*Mary out-ran and -swam Bill.
(Sadler and Arnold (1994: 208))

In these examples, *out-* has ‘surpass’ meanings; that is, *to outrun and outswim Bill* means ‘to run and swim faster or farther than Bill’ (or *to surpass Bill in running and swimming*). Given the examples in (9), we can regard *out-* with ‘surpass’ meanings as a functional prefix.

Applying the Resolving Analysis, we can say the *out-* in (8) with lexemic status is involved in compounding and the *out-* in (9) used as a functional prefix is realized by AR. The question that arises is which syntactic features functional *out-* realizes. The next section addresses this question.

5. *Out-* as a Functional Prefix

5.1. The Feature Set of Functional *out-*

If *out-* with the meaning of ‘surpass’ is a functional prefix, it should be fully characterized by syntactic features as in the case of *re-* and *mis-*. When we consider the feature composition realized by *out-*, it is helpful to examine the meanings of the verbs containing *out-*. *OALD* defines *out-* appearing in verbs to mean ‘greater, better, longer, etc.’ That is, *out-* adds the meaning of surpassing or superiority to the base verbs. For example, the verb *outrun* means ‘to run faster or farther than sb/sth’ (*OALD*, s.v. *outrun*). In this way, the verb is related to superiority in the speed or distance of running. The observation of these examples suggests that the meanings of functional *out-* can be reduced to ‘better.’ In fact, the phrase *swim better than plankton* in (10a) can be paraphrased as *outswim plankton* without major semantic change, as in (10b).

- (10) a. ... animals that aren’t fish but can still swim better than plankton⁵
 b. ... animals that aren’t fish but can still outswim plankton

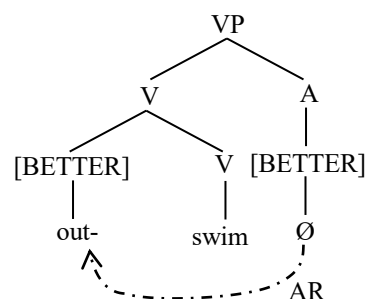
Thus, it is reasonable to consider that the phrase

to out-V X corresponds to *to V better than X*. This correspondence indicates that *out-* ‘surpass’ shares the feature composition with *better (than)*. If so, we can identify the feature composition of *out-* by examining that of *better*. Emonds (2005: 260) considers that *good/better* and *bad/worse* can be characterized by a basic syntactic feature EVAL. Recall from Section 2 that *mis-*, which can be paraphrased as *badly*, is defined based on this feature as follows: [MANNER, EVAL, NEG]. Given that *better* is in an antonymic relationship with *badly*, the feature [NEG] needs to be replaced with [POS(ITIVE)]. In addition, since *better* (and *out-*) contains comparative meanings, it should contain comparative features related to comparative like [COMPAR(ATIVE)].⁶ Accordingly, we can assume that *better* contains (at least) the following features:

- (11) [MANNER, EVAL, POS, COMPAR]

Based on the above discussion, we can analyze *out-* ‘surpass’ as follows: first, the features in (11) occurs in post-verbal position. Second, these features are phonologically realized through AR in the form of *out-*. This analysis is shown in (12), where the feature set in (11) is represented as [BETTER] for explanatory purposes.

- (12) *outswim*



This analysis is supported by the evidence provided in the following subsection.

5.2. The Evidence for the Functional Status of *out-* ‘surpass’

So far, we have considered that (i) *out-* with ‘surpass’ meanings is a functional prefix realized by AR, and (ii) it alternatively realizes the features [MANNER, EVAL, POS, COMPAR] in the post-verbal position. This section provides evidence for (i) and (ii).

Let us first consider the functional status of *out-*. If *out-* ‘surpass’ is phonologically realized after Spell-Out, the verbs attached to the prefix do not undergo pre-Spell-Out processes. One such process is zero-nominalization (or V-to-N conversion). This process is generally considered to be a part of derivational morphology, which is assumed to occur prior to Spell-Out.⁷ Thus, we can predict that the verbs with *out-* ‘surpass’ are not turned into nouns.

This prediction is correct. For example, the verbs *outrun* and *outswim*, which have a ‘surpass’ interpretation, do not have nominal counterparts. The nominal forms *outrun* and *outswim* do exist, but they lack the relevant interpretations; for example, the noun *out-run* means ‘[t]he act or fact of running out; spec. the outward run of a sheep-dog’ (*OED*, s.v. *out-run*, n).

In addition, the ambiguous *out-* verbs that have both spatial and ‘surpass’ interpretations more clearly show that *out-* ‘surpass’ does not undergo zero-nominalization. For example, the verb *out-throw* has the two interpretation that are shown in (13).

- (13) a. To throw or thrust out or outwards; to cast out or expel.
b. To surpass in throwing; to throw further than.

(*OED*, s.v. *out-throw*, v)

However, the noun *out-throw* has only a spatial

meaning as in (14); it does not mean ‘the act of throwing further than someone.’

- (14) That which is thrown out; an ejection or emission; output or production. / That which is thrown out; an ejection or emission; output or production.

(*OED*, s.v. *out-throw*, n.)

The same patterns can be observed in the verbs *outride* and *outshoot*, as shown in (15) and (16).

- (15) a. *outride*_V
(i) To ride out
(ii) To outdo in riding, to ride better, faster or further than; to leave behind or outstrip by riding.’

(*OED*, s.v. *outride*, v.)

- b. *outride*_N
The act of riding out, a ride out; an excursion.; ...

(*OED*, s.v. *outride*, n.)

- (16) a. *outshoot*_V
(i) ‘To shoot outwards, project.’
(ii) ‘To surpass in shooting; to shoot further or better than.’

(*OED*, s.v. *outshoot*, v.)

- b. *outshoot*_N
Something that shoots out or projects; a projection or extension. / The action or an act of shooting or thrusting outwards.

(*OED*, s.v. *outshoot*, n.)

The fact that *out-* verbs with a ‘surpass’ interpretation cannot be used as nouns supports our claim that *out-* is a functional prefix realized after Spell-Out through AR.

Let us turn to the features that the functional *out-* realizes. In Section 5.1, we argued that functional *out-* alternatively realizes the features [MANNER, EVAL, POS, COMPAR], which can

also be realized in the canonical position by *better*. If so, *out-* and *better* are incompatible with each other.⁸ This prediction is also correct, as observed in (17).

- (17) John always { outruns / outswims } Mary (*better).

The incompatibility supports the assumption that *out-* alternatively realizes the features that are shared by *better*.

To sum up, *out-* ‘surpass’ can be analyzed as a prefix realized by AR. Therefore, prepositional prefixes also undergo either compounding or AR, supporting the Resolving Analysis in (6).

6. Concluding Remarks

This paper has extended Emonds’ (2005) analysis of prefixation to prefixes that he had not examined, especially prepositional prefixes. In Emonds’ (2005) analysis, prefixes are considered as functional items that alternatively realize syntactic features. This analysis can be refined based on Nagano’s (2013a, 2013b) studies, where prefixes are classified as lexical or functional. Given that AR can be applied only to functional items, Emonds’ (2005) analysis can be extended to functional prefixes (i.e., negative prefixes such as *de-*, *non-*, and *un-*, and aspectual prefixes such as *be-*, *en-*, and *re-*). The remaining prefixes (i.e., lexical prefixes) are lexemes and thus, they undergo compounding. Focusing on prepositional prefixes, which are not explicitly analyzed in Emonds (2005) and Nagano (2013a, 2013b), we showed that many of them are classified as lexical prefixes but *out-* with the meaning of ‘surpass’ is a functional prefix. We argued that functional *out-* alternatively realizes the features [MANNER, EVAL, POS, COMPAR].

The discussion presented in this paper leads

us to resolve prefixation into compounding and AR (see (6)). This analysis provides new insight into the nature of prefixation. If prefixation is either compounding or AR as represented in (6), it has no role in derivational morphology. This means that prefixation lacks the category-changing function.⁹ As a result, this function can be attributed only to derivational morphology; more precisely, to suffixation. This is a desirable consequence in that we can clarify the division of labor in morphology; suffixation exclusively bears the category-changing (or category-determining) function. Therefore, our claim that prefixation can be resolved into compounding and AR has a significant consequence for not only the exploration of prefixation but also for that of morphology as a whole.

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NOTES

¹ The prefix *mis-* is not included in (3b)-(iv) but Plag (2003: 99) regards it as a close relative of negative prefixes.

² <http://firstrespondergames.com/>

³ Our informants point out that this sentence is not as good as the other examples, but it is still acceptable. This may be because *update* and *upload* are not conventionally paired with each other. (Compare them with the impeccable combination of *overate* and *overdrank* in (7b)).

⁴ <http://www.sterlingclinics.co.uk/ian-lost-6st-in-23-weeks/>

⁵ Cited from Susan Milius (2007) ‘What’s going on down there?’ *Science News* 171.7, 107-109.

⁶ See Emonds (2000: 127) for the features related to comparative and superlative inflections.

⁷ Naya (2016) analyzes V-to-N conversion (in English) within Emonds’ (2000) framework and argues that it is not a derivational process. However, the process is still assumed to occur prior to Spell-Out.

⁸ We can observe similar complementary distribution in inflectional morphemes. For example, the suffix *-ed*, which alternatively realizes the [PAST] feature in I, blocks the occurrence of *did*, as shown in (i).

(i) * Ann did burned the papers.

(Emonds (2000: 136), with modifications)

⁹ Some may argue against this view because of certain prefixes like *en-* and *anti-*. These prefixes appear to verbalize nouns (e.g., *to encage birds*) and to adjectivize nouns (e.g., *anti-war movement* (Plag (2003: 99))). However, these prefixes do not need to be analyzed as category-changing prefixes. See Nagano (2011) and Naya (2017) for a detailed discussion.

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The *Because* X Construction: Not Constructionalized Yet? *

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Keywords : *because* X construction,
constructionalization, constructional changes,
semantic/pragmatic distinction

1. Introduction

This paper investigates an innovative use of *because*, as exemplified in (1), from the perspective of constructionalization proposed by Traugott and Trousdale (2013).

- (1) I cannot go out with you today because homework.

The word *because* is canonically followed by a finite clause (e.g., *because I have a lot of homework*) or an *of* phrase (e.g. *because of my homework*).¹ In (1), however, *because* is directly followed by the word *homework*. This new usage of *because* (henceforth, the *because* X construction) was selected as the American Dialect Society's Word of the Year for 2013, which suggests that this usage is gradually being accepted among English speakers. Kanetani (2015, 2016) investigates its properties within the framework of construction grammar.

The present paper considers whether or not the *because* X construction is constructionalized, i.e., whether it has been established as a grammatical construction. This paper is

organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the notions of constructionalization (henceforth, cxzn) and constructional changes (henceforth, CCs). Section 3 investigates formal characteristics of the *because* X construction. Section 4 turns to the functional properties and points out that the construction is a pragmatically, but not semantically, distinguished from an existing construction. Section 5 discusses how we should treat the semantic information and pragmatic information within the construction. Section 6 answers the research question, and section 7 concludes the discussion.

2. Constructionalization and Constructional Changes

This section outlines the notions of cxzn and CCs, proposed by Traugott and Trousdale (2013), along which subsequent sections investigate the target construction.

Traugott and Trousdale define cxzn as “the creation of form_{new}-meaning_{new} (combinations of) signs” (p. 22) and distinguished it from “a change affecting one internal dimension of a construction” (p. 26), or a CC. The term *sign* as used in the above definition corresponds to a *construction*, or a conventionalized pairing of form and meaning as illustrated in (2), which is generally used as a unit of grammatical representation in the construction grammar literature.

- (2) <Form-Meaning>_{construction}

Crucially, cxzn is preceded by CCs that Traugott and Trousdale call “pre-cxzn CCs” and is also followed by another stage of CCs called “post-cxzn CCs”. Thus, a series of changes that constructions may undergo is summarized

as follows, where the arrows ↓↓ indicate the feeding relationship:

(3) pre-cxzn CC

↓↓

cxzn

↓↓

post-cxzn CC

(Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 28))

The stage of “pre-cxzn CC” involves pragmatic expansion, its semanticization, and/or form-meaning mismatches; after being constructionalized, a construction may undergo its collocational expansion, and/or morpho-phonological reduction, as “post-cxzn CCs” (Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 27f.)).

In the following sections, I will observe formal and functional characteristics of the *because* X construction and examine the construction based on the notions outlined in this section.

3. Formal Characteristics

This section observes the formal characteristics of the *because* X construction. One could see the characteristic form (e.g. *because homework*) as a product of the reduction of a full clause, just like reduced clauses introduced by other adverbial subordinators, exemplified in (4):

(4) When in difficulty, consult the manual.

(Quirk et al. (1985: 1079))

The implied subject and verb that follows it in (4) are definite, and hence are recoverable. That is, what is to be supplied here is undoubtedly the combination of the second person subject pronoun and the copula in present

tense, *you are*.

If the word *homework* in (1) were a reduced clause, the omitted words in this “clause” should also be recoverable. Unlike (4), however, they are not “uniquely recoverable” in the sense of Quirk et al. (1972). That is, when we attempt to recover a *because*-clause from the phrase *because homework* in (1), we cannot say that “there is no doubt about what words are to be supplied” (Quirk et al. (1972: 536)). It is also vertically impossible to determine what grammatical function the word bears, whether it serves as the subject, object, or another element of a clausal counterpart: The speaker could have a lot of homework or the speaker’s homework could be too hard to finish.

As Schnoebelen (2014) and Bohmann (2016) report, interjections, as well as nouns and adjectives, appear relatively frequently in the X-slot, as in (5):

(5) Admittedly, not in the UK yet because
aargh! (Twitter)

Not only is it much more difficult to recover a *because*-clause from the combination of “*because* + interjection” in (5), but also a “recovered clause” does not necessarily contain the lexical item *aargh*. From these, we cannot regard the X-element as a reduced clause.

Another formal characteristic of this construction is that words of various categories, from nouns and adjectives to interjections, may follow *because*. Thus, *because* as used in this construction should be distinguished from the subordinate conjunction *because* and the complex preposition *because of*. Notice that this fact makes it difficult for one to tell the grammatical category of *because*. If *because* were analyzed as a preposition, it would restrict

the X-element to a noun (cf. McCulloch (2014)); if analyzed as a subordinate conjunction, a word — unless a reduced clause — could not follow it. In the present article, I do not attempt to identify the grammatical category of the word *because* used in this construction. Rather, I take the whole string “*because* + word” as the formal specification of the partly filled construction.

In short, the *because* X construction is a formally new construction; its form is not predictable from the constructions that have already existed.

4. Functional Characteristics

Let us turn to the meaning pole of the construction. As argued by Kanetani (2015), the construction can express a content causal relation, but not epistemic and speech-act causal relations in Sweetser’s (1990) terms. Sweetser argues that *because* functions in the content, epistemic and speech-act domains (when it introduces a finite complement clause). Consider the following examples:

- (6) a. John came back because he loved her.
- b. It has rained, because the ground is wet.
- c. What should we do, because we’re in Paris.

In (6a), the *because*-clause is used to provide a real-world cause of John’s coming back. The *because*-clause in (6b) provides a premise from which to draw the conclusion that it must have rained. The one in (6c) is understood as providing a motivation for performing the speech act of question.

Applying this trichotomy to the *because* X construction, Kanetani (2015) observes that the *because* X construction can express a content

causal relation, as in (7a), but not epistemic or speech-act causal relations, as in (7b, c):

- (7) a. John came back because love.
 - b. * It has rained, because ground.
 - c. ??What do you wanna do, because Paris?
- (adapted from Kanetani (2015: 66))

Following Kanetani’s (2008) framework, I assume that the epistemic and speech-act causal relations make a class in that the *because*-clause and main clause independently perform their own speech acts. In this respect, I draw a line between the content causal relation, on the one hand, and the epistemic/speech-act causal relations, on the other. Kanetani (2008) generalizes the construction with the former meaning as the causal *because*-clause construction and that with the latter as the reasoning *because*-clause construction. Based on the grammaticality contrast in (7a-c), Kanetani (2015) views the *because* X construction as a proper subpart of the causal *because*-clause construction. Thus, the *because* X construction is not semantically new, as it cannot be semantically distinguished from the causal *because*-clause construction.

In this relation, Goldberg (1995: 67) puts it, “if two constructions are syntactically distinct and semantically synonymous then they must not be pragmatically synonymous.” The *because* X construction is indeed pragmatically distinct from the corresponding causal *because*-clause construction (Kanetani (2016)). Consider the Gricean Maxim of Quantity in (8):

- (8) a. Make your contribution as informative as is required.
- b. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

(Grice (1975: 45))

Compared with the causal *because*-clause construction (e.g., *because I have a lot of homework*), the corresponding *because* X construction (e.g. *because homework*) is not informative enough. As pointed out in section 3, the word *homework* allows one to elaborate more than one clause (e.g., *I have a lot of homework, my homework is too hard to finish, etc.*). This suggests that the speaker does not make an enough contribution so as to make the utterance as informative as is required, violating the first part of the Maxim of Quantity, (8a). Therefore, to the extent that the hearer has to recover the message from the word s/he hears, the *because* X construction is a speaker-oriented construction.

One may argue that a *because of* phrase, which consists of the complex preposition *because of* and a noun phrase that follows it, as in (9), is also speaker-oriented (cf. note 1):

- (9) I cannot go out with you today because of my homework.

As with (1), one may evoke various propositions that serve as the cause of the speaker not being able to go out with the hearer. However, a careful examination will reveal a crucial difference between (1) and (9). When *because of* is used, it is a noun phrase, and not a bare noun, that follows it. McCulloch (2012) observes that a noun slotted in X of the *because* X construction is restricted to a bare noun, that is, a noun with no determiner or adjective, as in (10a).^{2, 3} She (2014) also observes that a sentence sounds odd with a pronoun like *you*, as shown in (10b).

- (10) a. * I can't come out tonight because
essay_[sic.]/my essay/an essay/this essay.

(McCulloch (2012))

- b.?? I can't go to the party because you.

(McCulloch (2014))

Determinations of nouns are defined in relation with the interlocutors. For example, Quirk et al. (1985: 253) say, “*when used in discourse*, noun phrases refer to the linguistic or situational context. The kind of reference a particular noun phrase has depends on its determinative element, i.e. the item which ‘determines’ it” (*italics are mine*). Thus, in communication, the speaker needs to let the hearer know whether the essay in question is known to the hearer or not, and if it is, which one the speaker refers to. In other words, such a determination is not necessary when the speaker has no intention of communication. Likewise, only relative to the others can a personal pronoun be defined and used. The speaker refers to him- or herself as *I*, and the hearer as *you*; the referents change as the roles change in discourse (cf. Benvenist (1971), Hirose (2000)).

From these facts, Kanetani (2016) argues that the *because* X construction specifies its X-element as a word serving as a “private expression”, while the construction as a whole may function as a “public expression”. The notions of private expression and public expression are introduced by Hirose (2000). The former is “an act of linguistic expression with no intention of communication” (Hirose 2000: 1625) while the latter is “an act of linguistic expression with the intention of communication” (*ibid.*). Due to the lack of the speaker’s intention of communication, private expressions correspond to “the non-communicative, thought-expressing,

function of language” (ibid.: 1624). With these notions, Kanetani (2016: 71) illustrates the structure of the interpersonal relation of the *because* X construction as follows:

(11) [_{pub} *because* <_{priv} X>]⁴

In (11), private expression is represented in angle brackets with the subscript “Priv” <_{Priv}...> while public expression is represented in square brackets with the subscript “Pub” [_{Pub} ...].

In sum, the *because* X construction cannot be semantically distinguished from the causal construction with a *because*-clause and a *because of* phrase. On the other hand, they are pragmatically distinguished in that the *because* X construction embeds in it the speaker’s private expression to be transmitted to the hearer.

5. Pragmatic Information in Construction

From the observations in the previous section, the question arises of how we should treat its meaning pole. Can we treat the meaning that is pragmatically new but semantically not as “meaning_{new}”?

Cappelle (2017) points out that since “[certain] pragmatic information is conventionalized and therefore has to be learned and stored” (p. 143), “semantics and pragmatics should be treated as distinct levels of functional information” (p. 115) in such a way that they “can live peacefully side by side in a construction” (p. 145). If we see the *because* X construction as a tripartite structural unit, its formal, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics may be represented as follows:

(12) <form_{new}-semantics_{not-new}-pragmatics_{new}>

Given this representation, it is difficult to

immediately judge whether the meaning is “new” or not. That is, based merely on this representation, we cannot conclude that the *because* X construction has been constructionalized.

6. *Because* X Undergoing Pre-cxzn CCs

Traugott and Trousdale (2013) argue that it is not until a new combination of a form and meaning “[has] been shared in population of speakers” (p. 92) that cxzn occurs.

Recall the grammaticality judgements given in (7). The judgments are based on the survey that I conducted in January 2014 shortly after the American Dialect Society announced their selection of the World of the Year for 2013.⁵ In that survey, I consulted 24 native speakers of English and asked them to evaluate the sentences on a scale of 0 (unacceptable) to 3 (acceptable). Seven native speakers out of those surveyed accept the usage with different degrees of acceptability. Based on the average scores of the seven respondents who accept the usage, I put the different symbols in front of these sentences to indicate their acceptability (Kanetani (2015)). The average score that each sentence received is as follows: (7a) 1.71/3.00; (7b) 0.00/3.00; (7c) 0.57/3.00. While the survey was originally designed to see what causal domains the construction is used in, the result also tells us a rough acceptance rate of the construction. That is, only about 30% (7/24) of those surveyed accept the usage, which indicates that the *because* X construction is still in the phase of pre-cxzn CCs (see (3)).⁶

7. Conclusion

So far, I have observed the new usage of *because* from the perspective of cxzn. According to Traugott and Trousdale (2013),

cxzn requires the target expression (i) to be a new form paired with a new meaning and (ii) to be shared in population of speakers. Assuming, with Cappelle (2017), that the *because* X construction is a tripartite structural unit, I argued that its semantic and pragmatic specifications should be represented separately. Even though the construction is pragmatically distinguished from the causal *because*-clause construction, they cannot be distinguished semantically (cf. Kanetani (2015)). Thus, it is not clear whether the new form “*because* X” is paired with a truly new meaning. Furthermore, based on the survey I conducted in 2014, I claimed that the construction is not shared across the speech community of English. Therefore, I conclude that the *because* X construction has not been constructionalized yet but is undergoing pre-cxzn CCs. It still remains to be seen whether the *because* X construction will keep changing to finally be constructionalized.

* This paper is a revised version of a paper presented at the ELSJ 10th International Spring Forum held at Meiji Gakuin University on April 23, 2017. For insightful comments, I am grateful to the audience. Any remaining errors and shortcomings are mine alone.

NOTES

¹ This description of the *because of* phrase may be misleading. The phrase does not consist of *because* and the *of* phrase that follows it. Rather, we should treat *because of* as a complex preposition which is followed by the noun phrase (see Matsuyama (2001); cf. also Williams (1981)).

² She must have misplaced the asterisk “*” in (10a). It is clear from her explanation that she intends to rule in *because* essay.

³ Bohmann (2016: 161) notes that (even) if this

restriction existed at the time when McCulloch wrote her blog post in 2012, “it seems to have weakened considerably, which might well be the case with a rapidly diffusing innovation”. I also assume that McCulloch’s (2012) intuition accounts for the prototypical constructs and that the construction has extended from the prototype to the extent that this restriction no longer applies (e.g. *like when ball season over. senior year just hurts cause all the work & stuff you gotta do* (Bohmann (2016: 161))).

⁴ This generalization holds for words of other categories that follow *because*. For details, see Kanetani (2016).

⁵ The announcement entitled “‘Because’ is the 2013 Word of the Year” was made on January 3, 2014.

<<https://www.american-dialect.org/because-is-the-2013-word-of-the-year>>

⁶ The present conclusion might suggest that sentences like (1) should be better treated as constructs rather than generalized to a construction. However, I will consistently use the term “construction” to avoid confusion about the referent.

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Eliminating the Discourse-Based Parameter

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Keywords : syntax, Japanese, topic, null operator

1. Introduction

This paper aims to reduce the Zero-topic Parameter (Huang (1984)) to the cross-linguistic differences of Lexicon. Following Tsao's (1977) distinction between *discourse-prominent* and *sentence-prominent* languages, Huang proposes the Zero-topic Parameter in (1). A typical datum of linguistic antecedentless null arguments is (2).

(1) Zero-topic Parameter:

Topic-prominent languages have zero-topics that license null arguments without linguistic antecedents.

(2) Context: Students heard footsteps from outside just before the class.

- a. Japanese: b. English:
[e] kita. *[e] came.
'[e] came.' (=The teacher came.)

(adapted from Abe (2009))

(1) is just a descriptive generalization, not an explanation of the phenomenon. I claim that such a "parameter" should be abolished under the Minimalist Thesis, because the source of linguistic variation is limited to Lexicon and Linearization (Fukui (1988), Chomsky (1995)).

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. In sections 2 and 3, I claim that the zero-topic

operator is universally available, but that its function is restricted by the presence of ϕ -features on probing heads. In section 4, I propose a formal, but not functional, analysis of the cross-linguistic distribution of *pro* in three types of languages: English (ϕ -defective), Spanish (ϕ -rich), and Japanese (ϕ -less). Section 5 is an overall summary of the paper.

2. Zero-topics are Substantial

In Japanese, gaps without linguistic antecedents are licensed in (3) and (4), unlike in English. Abe (2009) claims that a base-generated null variable ($=[e]$) is bound by, and gains its reference from, Op, which is identified with the prominent referent in the discourse.

(3) Context: Students heard footsteps from outside just before the class.

- a. [e] kita. b. [Op_{topic_i} [[e_i] came]]
'[e] came.' |_____↑
(The teacher_i came.)

(adapted from Abe (2009))

(4) Context: A vase falls. No one wants to pick it up.

- a. Japanese:
Dare-mo [e] hirow-ana-i-ne.
wh-mo pick.up-Neg-Pres-Prt
'No one seems to pick [e] up.'
b. English: *Nobody picks [e] up.

Note that the relevant gap cannot be elliptic, since it lacks an overt antecedent (Hankamer and Sag (1976)). Japanese abounds in such gaps, and it even allows them to appear multiply, as in (5).

(5) Context: A child saw a kitten eating fish.

- [e_i] [e_j] tabe-ta-ne!
eat-Past-Prt
'[e_i] ate [e_j]!.' (= A kitten ate fish!)

Some may wonder how this is possible if these gaps are bound by null topic operators, since only a single topic can be licensed in one sentence in Japanese (Fukui (1986)). (6) is ungrammatical, unless *koneko-wa* or *sakana-wa* is interpreted as a contrastive focus.

- (6) *Koneko-wa sakana-wa tabe-ta-ne!
 kitten-Top fish-To eat-Past-Prt
 Lit. ‘As for the kitten, as for the fish, he/she ate it.’

The same contrasts are observed in other sentences in (7) and (8) below. These data may be problematic if [e] is a zero-topic, since there can be up to one topic in one sentence.

- (7) Context: A clown turned a heavy disk in a circus.

- a. [e_i] [e_j] mawasi-ta-ne/yo
 turn-Past-Prt
 ‘The clown turned the heavy disk.’
 b. *Piero-wa enban-wa mawasi-ta
 clown-Top disk-Top turn-Past
 Lit. ‘As for the clown, as for the huge disk, he/she turned it.’

- (8) Context: Your partner burnt bread.

- a. [e_i] [e_j] kogasi-chat-ta-ne.
 burn-Asp-Past-Prt
 ‘You burnt the bread.’
 b. *Anata-wa pan-wa kogasi-chat-ta-ne
 you-Top bread-Top burn-Asp-Past-Prt
 Lit. ‘As for you, as for the bread, you burnt it.’

I claim that multiple occurrences of topic-bound gaps would not be a problem, despite the ungrammaticality of the overt ones. On that note, Takeda (1999) observes that multiple NPs can be topicalized when they are

coordinated, as in (9). Note that the gaps do not form a single constituent.

- (9) [_{TOP} sono isu_i-to hon_j]-wa [Mary-ga [*pro*
 that chair-& book-Top M.-Nom
 [e_i] kosikake-te] [e_j] yondei-ta]-kadooka
 sit-TE read-Past-whether
 John-ga siri-tagat-ta.
 J.-Nom know-want-Past
 Lit. ‘[That chair_i and that book], John wanted to know whether Mary was reading it_i, sitting on it_j.’ (Takeda (1999: 170))

Given Takeda’s observation, I assume that multiple topics are licensed as long as they form a single constituent in the topic position. In (7) and (8), null-topics (Ø) are coordinated and merged somewhere high enough in the CP-layer, as illustrated by (10) in a similar manner to (9).

- (10) a. [_{TOP} Ø_i & Ø_j] [e_i] [e_j] mawasi-ta-ne/yo
 turn-Past-Prt
 ‘The clown_i turned the heavy disk_j.’ (=7)
 b. [_{TOP} Ø_i & Ø_j] [e_i] [e_j] kogasi-chat-ta-ne/yo
 burn-Asp-Past-Prt
 ‘You_i burnt the bread_j.’ (=8)

Leaving aside why the sentences in (10) become unacceptable when Ø is overtly pronounced, we have seen in this section that the zero-topic itself is a real phenomenon. In the next section, I further demonstrate that such a zero-topic null operator is universally available in UG.

3. Zero-topic in Spanish

To the best of my knowledge, little has been said about zero-topics in ϕ -rich languages. However, with careful observation, such gaps are found in Spanish. The relevant data is (11).

(11) Context: Students heard footsteps from outside just before the class.

[e] viene.

come.3sg

‘(The teacher) comes.’ (Maia Duguine p.c.)

Crucially, the zero-topic can appear only in the subject position in Spanish, unlike in Japanese. Thus, the distribution of the discourse-bound null argument is identical to that of *pro* in Spanish (12).

(12) a. José sabe [que el/[e]
 J. know that he
 ha sido visto por Maria].
 has been seen by M.
 ‘José knows that he has been seen by Maria.’

b. José sabe [que Maria lo/*[e]
 J. know that M. him
 ha visto].
 has seen
 ‘José knows that Maria has seen him.’

(Huang (1984:533))

Given that the distribution is identical, I assume that the discourse-bound gaps in Japanese and Spanish are actually *pro*. Every language has the Zero-topic in its Lexicon, but its availability depends on whether the language can make use of *pro*. If this is on the right track, then we no longer need the Zero-topic Parameter in (1) as an independent principle in UG.

pro in Spanish and Japanese are basically the same, except for the question of whether it has ϕ -features or not. Iatridou and Embick (1997) show that in Spanish and other Romance languages, it is impossible for *pro* to refer to clauses. This sharply contrasts with *pro* in Japanese (Kasai (2014)), which naturally

follows from Iatridou and Embick’s assumption that clausal complements lack ϕ -features, whereas *pro* in Romance has ϕ -features.¹

4. The Tripartite Distinction and T’s Strength

We turn to the distribution of *pro*, which has been extensively discussed since Huang’s (1984) influential work. His generalization has received much attention. A number of studies have been conducted to account for the cross-linguistic distribution of *pro* (see Zushi (2003) for an overview). Many of them, however, fall short of providing a formal explanation (e.g., Takaomi Kato p.c.). They are essentially functional in that they assume a language allows *pro* as long as the content of it is recoverable, or communication does not fail. If such an argument is to be justified, it is not obvious why *pro* is not allowed in English, French, or German, with overt ϕ -morphology appearing on T (e.g., the third person singular *-s* in English).² Below, I propose a formal account of the distribution of *pro* as well as discourse-bound gaps, following the recent claim of Chomsky (2015) on T’s strength.

4.1. Obviation of Activation Condition³

Chomsky (2000) claims that ϕ -agreement requires unvalued Case features on the goal. DPs must have [uCase] (be active) in order to enter Agree with the probing heads. This is called the Activation Condition (AC), summarized in (20).

(13) [U]ninterpretable features render the goal active, able to implement an operation: to select a phrase for Merge (pied-piping) or to delete the probe. The operations Agree and Move require a goal that is both local and active. (Chomsky (2000: 123))

In Chomsky’s (2000, 2008) system, [uCase] is

an uninterpretable feature that renders the goal active, and is valued as a reflex of ϕ -agreement.

I propose that AC is obviated when the probe is Strong in the sense of Chomsky's (2015) recent claim. If T is strong as in Spanish, then its $[u\phi]$ is capable of entering Agree with the goal without any $[uCase]$. On the other hand, if T is too weak to serve as a label (English), it requires its goal to bear some unvalued features to fill in the Spec position, so that the Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky (2013)) correctly labels $\{DP, T\}$ as $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$ via feature sharing, as in (14).

- (14) ... T is too "weak" to serve as a label. With overt subject, the SPEC-TP construction is labeled $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$ by the agreeing features.
(Chomsky (2015: 9))

The insight behind AC is that uninterpretable features trigger Agree operations (Gallego (2009: 167)), which is still captured under the current proposal as the probe has $[u\phi]$. Although Chomsky's claim on T's strength concerns labeling, its extension to probing is not unnatural, since Labeling Algorithm and probing are both instances of the same Minimal Search. To sum up, we can restate AC as a constraint on Weak heads that enter Agree with the goal in (15).

- (15) AC (revised): The goal must have $[uF]$ in order to Agree with Weak heads.

In English, $[u\phi]$ on T fails to Agree with its goal, since *pro* universally lacks $[uCase]$; we will turn back soon to this in the next section. Weak T in English is constrained by (15), thus $[u\phi]$ is left unvalued, which crashes at the interfaces. The same applies to V in both English and Spanish, since it is Weak (Chomsky (2015)). Thus, *pro* is not licensed in the object position.

Since T is strong in Spanish, Agree is possible between the probe T and its goal *pro*, due to the obviated AC in (15), though *pro* does not have $[uCase]$. In Japanese, no such problem arises, since there is no ϕ -agreement in the first place. In the current proposal, *pro* in ϕ -less languages are freely available, as long as Merge is free (Chomsky (2004)). The distribution of *pro* in three types of languages is summarized in (16).

- (16) a. Japanese:

Subject	No ϕ on T	^{ok} <i>pro</i>
	No ϕ -Agree: No AC (14)	
Object	No ϕ on V	^{ok} <i>pro</i>
	No ϕ -Agree: No AC (14)	

- b. English:

Subject	Weak T	* <i>pro</i>
	AC (14) prohibits <i>pro</i>	
Object	Weak V	* <i>pro</i>
	AC (14) prohibits <i>pro</i>	

- c. Spanish:

Subject	Strong T	^{ok} <i>pro</i>
	Strong Probe: No AC (14)	
Object	Weak V	* <i>pro</i>
	AC (14) prohibits <i>pro</i>	

4.2. *pro* is Caseless

In this section, I defend proposal (14) with conceptual and empirical evidence that *pro* universally lacks $[uCase]$. It is true that *pro* appears in the Case position, [Spec, TP], where other nominals receive their Case (value). However, this is not problematic to my argument for the following two reasons. First, the Case-filter *per se* states that it is defined on the NP with phonetic content; thus, *pro* or PRO is not constrained straightforwardly (Chomsky (1981: 49)). Second, in the current minimalist program, Case is also considered as a feature that is to be licensed. As long as there is $[uCase]$ on a nominal, it must be valued and deleted before Transfer. If not, then such a valuation does not occur in the first place. Therefore, it naturally follows that if there is no $[uCase]$, then

there is no need for the valuation to occur.

Let us turn to the empirical evidence. Here, I focus on the data from European Portuguese. It is observed by Roberge (1990) that there is no restriction on the content of [e] in the subject position in infinitivals, as in (17).

- (17) a. Acreditam [_{FIN} que [pro] têm
 think.3pl that have.3pl
 gastado esse dinheiro para nada]
 spend.Past this money for nothing
 ‘They think [that they have spent this
 money for nothing].’
- b. Acreditam [_{INF}[e] terem
 think.3pl to.have.3pl
 gastado esse dinheiro para nada]
 spend.Past this money for nothing
 ‘They think [[e] to have spent this money
 for nothing].’ (Roberge (1990: 46))

If [e] is not a controlled PRO, but *pro*, then there should be no restriction on its content. Indeed, this prediction is borne out in (18a), where the matrix and embedded subjects are distinct. This is so because no PRO enters ϕ -agreement with T in Romance languages. Moreover, the infinitival T shows ϕ -inflectional morphemes depending on ϕ -features of its subject *pro*, which lends credence to the current analysis (18b).

- (18) a. Afirmam [pro terem
 affirm.3sg (they) to.have.3pl
 lheroubado este livro]
 you stolen be book
 Lit. ‘He affirms [they to have stolen this
 book from him].’
- b. Ele diz [pro sejam pobres]
 he say.3SG (we) to.be.1pl poor
 Lit. ‘He says [we to be poor].’
 (Roberge (1990))

The empty category here cannot be PRO. Nor can it be derived via ellipsis, since there is no antecedent that licenses it. Given these observations, I conclude that they are *pro*. I take it as crucial evidence for my argument that *pro* lacks [uCase] to be valued in Narrow Syntax.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that we no longer need the Zero-topic Parameter (1) as an independent principle in UG: the Zero-topic operator is universal, but its availability is restricted by the distribution of *pro*. Plus, I proposed a formal account of the distribution of *pro* in three types of languages: English (ϕ -defective), Spanish (ϕ -rich), and Japanese (ϕ -less). This paper supports the Lexical/Functional Parametrization Hypothesis (Borer (1984), Fukui (1986), (1988) and Chomsky (1995) and others).

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NOTES

¹ Montalbetti (1984) has observed that null argument in Spanish/Japanese can obtain Bound Variable Readings (BVR), unlike overt pronouns. Thus, one can say that a null argument is ambiguous between empty pronominal *pro* and a variable in Japanese. In this connection, Montalbetti’s (1984: 94) Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC) is in (i).

(i) Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC): Overt pronouns cannot link to formal variables iff

the alternation overt/empty obtains.

Although it is descriptively correct, at least in some languages, it is not obvious why OPC is the way it is. A crucial observation is that overt pronouns can be linked to bound variables when they appear in a non-subject position, where the alternation of overt and empty pronouns is impossible (Spanish).

- (ii) a. Nadie_i cree [que *él_i/*pro*_i es inteligente]
nobody believe that he is intelligent
'Nobody_i believes that he_i is intelligent.'
[For no x, x a person, x believes that x is intelligent.]

- b. Muchos estudiantes_i quieren
many students want
que María se case con ellos_i/**pro*_i
that M. self marry with them
'Many students_i want Mary to marry them_i.'
[For many x, x a student, x wants Mary to marry x.]

(adapted from Montalbetti (1984: 83-87))

Many scholars have questioned whether OPC is or is not syntactic in nature. Camacho (2013) notes that overt pronouns in Spanish can be linked to bound variables when they are focalized, as in (iii). Given that OPC is obviated in such a way, it is natural to assume that it is rather extra-syntactic in nature.

- (iii) Todo atleta cree que ÉL vaa ganar la
every athlete thinks that he is going to
competición, (no otro atleta).
win.the.competition(, not another athlete).
'Every athlete_i thinks that HE_i is going to
win the competition (not another athlete).'

(Camacho (2013))

The situation is similar in Japanese. Although Hoji (1998) states that *kare* 'he' cannot be construed as a bound variable, he also admits that in some sentences, BVR becomes possible. The judgments on such examples, according to Hoji, vary a great deal among each speaker, which indicates that OPC in Japanese may be rather pragmatic in nature.

- (iv) ?Dono-gakusei_i-ga kare_i-no
which-person-Nom he-Acc
sensei-o but-ta no?
teacher-Acc hit-Past Q
'Which student_i hit his_i teacher?'
(Hoji (1991))

² See Jaeggli and Safir (1989) regarding this point.

³ To the best of my knowledge, Chomsky himself does not call it Activation Condition. This term was coined and has been used by Bošković (2007) among others.

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The Passivization of the Gesture Expression Construction and the Formulation of Subjects in Terms of Aboutness*

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Keywords : Gesture Expression Construction,
Passivization, Aboutness, Referentiality,
Pragmatically Licensed Construction

1. Introduction

Grammatical relations such as subjects and objects are essential for implementing linguistic study, and many attempts to clarify their nature have been made from various perspectives. Rizzi (2006) proposes a new formulation of subjects in terms of the following two notions:

- (1) a. Subject: +aboutness, -D-linking
 - b. Topic: +aboutness, +D-linking
- (Rizzi (2006: 122))

This formulation requires subjects to bear an aboutness feature, as is the case with topical elements.

In this paper, to investigate the empirical validity of Rizzi's formulation, I examine the Gesture Expression Construction (henceforth, GEC), which is exemplified by (2):

- (2) a. She smiled her thanks.
 - b. She nodded approval.
- (Kogusuri (2011: 149))

- (3) a. Syntactic Structure:

$$[{}_S NP_i [{}_{VP} V \quad ([\text{bound pro.}]_i \text{'s}) NP_j \quad]]$$

↑
structural Case
- b. Meaning:
 'X_i express (X_i's) [emotion/attitude]_j by V-ing.'

In this construction, as is schematized in (3), the verb expresses the gesture that the referent of the subject makes, and the postverbal NP (as we call the expression nominal) describes the expression that is conveyed by the gesture. Furthermore, the GEC usually takes an unergative verb as its main predicate (cf. Levin (1993)). Given the so-called Burzio's (1986) generalization that all and only the verbs that can assign a θ -role to the subject (= external argument) can assign accusative Case to an object, it is strongly suggested that the expression nominal in the postverbal position, though not subcategorized by the verb, receives structural Case from the verb.¹

Taking into consideration these basic properties of the GEC, it can easily be predicted that the expression nominal is allowed to be passivized. Passivization is often characterized as a syntactic operation to be applied in order to circumvent the violation of the so-called Case Filter unless a nominal element is properly assigned any structural Case. However, it has widely been accepted that the expression nominal fails to be passivized, as is shown in (4):

- (4) a. * A cheerful welcome was beamed by Sandra. (Levin (1993: 98))
- b. * Grateful thanks were smiled by Rilla. (Massam (1990: 108))

Massam (1990) attributes the unpassivizability of the GEC to the presence of a bound pronoun

in the expression nominal. She argues that the expression nominal contains a bound pronoun, irrespective of whether the pronoun is expressed overtly or covertly. No element containing the bound pronoun is allowed to be passivized, as the ungrammaticality of (5) shows:

- (5) *His_i role was played by John_i.
(Zubizarreta (1985: 256))

Contrary to the general consensus, Kogusuri (2011) points out that there are some cases in which the expression nominal can be judged eligible for passivization. The crucial data are given in (6):

- (6) a. ... as the time [of fitting out] neared when the last line is cast off, the goodbye are waved, the screw makes the water boil under the stern, and the passage to Alaska is under way.
b. “You got a smoke?” the young black man asks the older white man who is pulling hard on a cigarette. “This is all I got.” “How about a drag?” Without hesitation it’s handed over. Thanks are nodded.
(Kogusuri (2011: 163): with slight modifications)

As indicated by italicized and underlined letters, it is found in these examples that the passivized version of the GEC is actually used in context.

A reasonable question arises here: Why does the GEC show such a contradictory behavior with respect to its passivization? In this paper, I attempt to give a principled explanation for this puzzle in terms of Rizzi’s (2006) formulation of subjects. More specifically, I analyze the passivized GEC as a case of the pragmatically

licensed construction (cf. Osawa (2009)), and argue that (i) the expression nominal originally fails to be passivized due to its inherent non-referential property, but (ii) the nominal can be considered eligible for passivization once its referentiality is enhanced by contextual information.

2. Mikami’s (2013) Analysis of the Prepositional Subject Construction

In this section, I briefly introduce Mikami’s (2013) analysis of the Prepositional Subject Construction (PSC), which previously attempts to capture the apparently marked nature of the construction under Rizzi’s (2006) formulation of subjects.

It has generally been agreed that subjects are nominal elements, as Chomsky (1965) defines them as NPs that are immediately dominated by an S. However, some non-nominal elements can indeed serve as subjects. In the sentences in (7a) and (7b), for example, it is the sentence-initial PP that is viewed as the subject of a sentence, but not the postverbal NP:²

- (7) a. Under the table is a comfortable place.
b. During the vacation may be convenient.
c. ? In capital letters will have the best effect.
d. * Because of illness is convenient for not attending the meeting.

(Mikami (2013: 132))

According to Bresnan (1994), there is a semantic restriction imposed on the PSC: The PPs that express PLACE and TIME can be used as subjects, as shown in (7a) and (7b); while the PP expressing MEANS and REASON cannot, as in (7c) and (7d). Furthermore, Nishihara (2005) observes that even MEANS PPs can be fully

accepted as subjects once they are embedded into some proper context. The following dialogue is provided by Nishihara (2005), and the MEANS PP *in capital letters*, which is judged marginally acceptable in (7c), is included in the answer sentence:

- (8) Should I do it in lower case or in capital letters?

I think *in capital letters will have the best effect.*

(Nishihara (2005: 240-241): with slight modifications)

In this case, the acceptability of the MEANS PP subject is significantly ameliorated, compared with (7c), in which the PSC is used and interpreted without any context. This improvement in acceptability suggests that MEANS PP subjects are licensed by discourse.

The observations above raise the following questions: Why are PLACE and TIME PPs judged appropriate for subjects (without any help of contextual information)? How are MEANS PPs licensed as subjects when they are given some contextual information? In Mikami (2013), I provided a unified analysis for these puzzles under Rizzi's (2006) formulation of subjects. As repeated here in (9), his formulation defines subjects as elements that bear an aboutness feature:

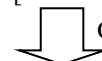
- (9) a. Subject: +aboutness, -D-linking
b. Topic: +aboutness, +D-linking (= (1))

Sornicola (2006) argues that the function of the aboutness is typically conveyed by referential elements. It follows from this view that referentiality, rather than nouniness, is crucial for determining the subjecthood of an element;

that it is in principle possible for even non-nominal elements to be interpreted as subjects, as long as they bear referential properties. Iwasaki (2009) observes a significant contrast in referentiality between PPs: PLACE and TIME PPs are considered referential, whereas MEANS and REASON PPs are non-referential.³ Focusing on this contrast in referentiality, I argued that PLACE and TIME PPs can function as subjects due to their inherent referential properties; MEANS and REASON PPs are not licensed as such because of their lack of inherent referentiality. Furthermore, to explain the improvement in acceptability of examples like (8), I assumed the override operation of the constraint violation by contextual information. According to Osawa (2009), even though intrasentential information renders a construction unacceptable, contextual information can override the constraint violation and license the construction pragmatically. Following Osawa's idea, I proposed the licensing mechanism of the MEANS PP subject as follows:

- (10) a. ? In capital letters will have ... (= (7c))

[-referential]



Once Embedded into Context ...

- b. Should I do it in lower case or in capital letters?

I think in capital letters will have ...

[+Topic]



(= (8))

[+aboutness (= +referential), +D-linking]

As stated above, MEANS PPs are inherently non-referential, which fails to satisfy the essential condition for subjects. However, once they are previously mentioned in discourse, like in (8), the PPs are identified as topical elements. Note here that Rizzi's formulation also requires

topical elements to bear an aboutness feature, as is the case with subjects. This means that topical elements are necessarily judged referential enough to serve as subjects. That is, the MEANS PP subject is viewed as a pragmatically licensed construction in that MEANS PPs cannot satisfy the referential condition for subjects until their referentiality is supplemented by contextual factors.

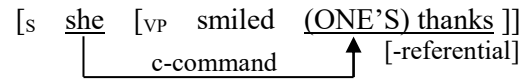
In this section, I reviewed Mikami's (2013) analysis of the PSC and illustrated that Rizzi's (2006) formulation of subjects, coupled with the override operation of the constraint violation by contextual information, succeeds in explaining the apparently idiosyncratic properties of the construction in terms of the general property of subjects.

3. Proposal

In this paper, extending Mikami's (2013) analysis of the PSC, I attempt to capture the (apparent) contradiction with respect to the passivizability of the GEC under Rizzi's (2006) formulation of subjects.

Let me begin by considering the structure of the GEC. As stated in the introduction, the expression nominal receives structural Case from the verb; it also contains a bound pronoun, even though the pronoun is not expressed overtly (cf. Massam (1990)). According to Reinhart (1983), a bound pronoun must be c-commanded by its antecedent. Given these properties of the expression nominal, it is suggested that the nominal is located in the complement position of VP (i.e. the object position) and the nominal does not gain referentiality until its referent is identified through the establishment of the binding relation with the antecedent:⁴

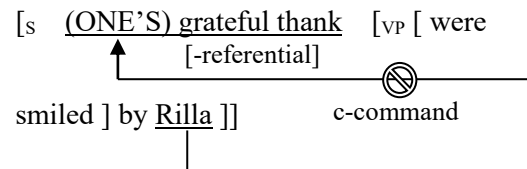
(11) She smiled her thanks. (= (2a))



In this structure, the bound pronoun contained in the expression nominal is c-commanded by the subject; consequently, the nominal properly gain referentiality. However, once passivization is applied to the GEC, the expression nominal fails to enhance its referentiality through the binding relation:

(12)*Grateful thanks were smiled by Rilla.

(= (4b))



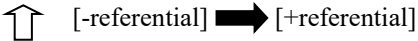
(12) illustrates the structure of the passivized GEC, in which the expression nominal in the subject position is prohibited from being c-commanded by its antecedent contained in the *by*-phrase. This configuration leaves the nominal non-referential, which results in the unsatisfaction of the referential condition for subjects.

Let me turn to the acceptable cases of the passivized GEC. The relevant example is repeated here as (13):

(13) ... as the time [of fitting out] neared when the last line is cast off, the goodbye are waved, the screw makes the water boil under the stern, and the passage to Alaska is under way. (= (6a))

As Kogusuri (2011) points out, this sentence describes a typical scene when a ship sets sail for Alaska. What should be noted here is that the referent of the expression nominal can easily be

judged from context, although no information about the relevant agent is explicitly mentioned. Therefore, in the structure of the passivized GEC, the expression nominal fails to gain its referentiality from within a sentence, as already shown in (12). However, once the passivized GEC is embedded into some proper context (more precisely, if the referent of the expression nominal is identified by discourse information), the nominal enhances its referentiality pragmatically and it can serve as the subject of the passivized sentence:

- (14) [s (ONE'S) goodbye [vp [are waved]]

discourse information

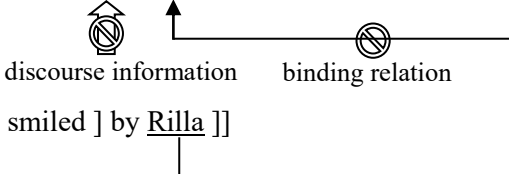
That is, the passivized GEC is analyzed as a pragmatically licensed construction. This analysis succeeds in viewing the contradictory passivizability of the GEC observed between (4) and (6) as merely an apparent phenomenon and giving a principled explanation for the apparent contradiction in terms of the general property of subjects.

4. Applicability of Pragmatic Repair Strategy

So far, I have identified the passivized GEC as a pragmatically licensed construction (cf. Osawa (2009)) and proven that the passivization of the expression nominal is licensed only when the referentiality of the nominal is enhanced through the pragmatic repair strategy (more precisely, the identification of the referent by discourse information). Here, a reasonable question arises with respect to the applicability of the pragmatic repair strategy: Why is the type of repair strategy not applied in unacceptable cases like (12)? In this section, I consider the question in order to verify the validity of my

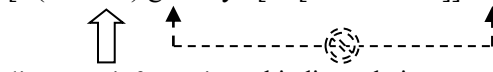
analysis.

In the analysis of the passivization of the GEC, Kogusuri (2011) makes an important generalization: No element encoding the agent of the event must occur in the passivized GEC. Following Kogusuri's insight, I propose the applicability condition of the pragmatic repair strategy as follows: The illegitimate syntactic structure must be deleted in order for the pragmatic repair strategy to be properly applied. Given this condition, when the element encoding the agent participant is realized as a *by*-phrase, an inappropriate syntactic chain for binding is created between the expression nominal and its antecedent:

- (15) [s (ONE'S) grateful thank [vp [were

discourse information binding relation
smiled] by Rilla]]

The structure in (15) above schematizes the unacceptable sentence in (12). In this structure, the presence of the inappropriate syntactic chain for binding blocks the application of the pragmatic repair strategy; consequently, the nominal fails to enhance its referentiality in the discourse.

In contrast, when considering acceptable cases like (6), we can easily find that there exists no inappropriate syntactic chain. The following represents the structure of the acceptable sentence in (6a):

- (16) [s (ONE'S) goodbye [vp [are waved]]

discourse information binding relation

In this structure, nothing prevents the expression

nominal from enhancing its referentiality through the pragmatic repair strategy. As just described, what is crucial for the application of the pragmatic repair strategy is that the inappropriate syntactic structure has been deleted.⁵

5. Conclusion Remarks

In this paper, I gave the principled explanation for the apparent contradictory behaviors of the GEC with respect to its passivization, and verified the empirical validity of Rizzi's (2006) formulation of subjects. More specifically, I viewed the passivized GEC as a pragmatically licensed construction (cf. Osawa (2009)), and argued that the expression nominal is inherently non-referential, which fails to satisfy the referential condition for subjects by itself, but it can function as the subject of the passivized GEC once its referentiality is pragmatically supplemented by contextual factors.

* This is a revised version of the paper presented at the ELSJ 10th International Spring Forum, which was held at Meiji Gakuin University on April 22, 2017. I am deeply thankful for invaluable comments and suggestions from the audience. Needless to say, any remaining errors and shortcomings are my own. This work is supported in part by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 15K16749.

NOTES

¹ The expression nominal is sensitive to the Case Adjacency Condition, as the ungrammaticality of (ia) shows:

- (i) a. * She nodded gracefully her approval.
 - b. * Paul opened quickly the door.
- (Kogusuri (2011: 154))

This phenomenon is viewed as a condition imposed on the Case assignment (cf. Stowell (1981)), and the constraint is also observed in the case of direct objects, as shown in (ib). Thus, the ungrammaticality of (ia) strongly suggests that the expression nominal receives structural Case from the verb, as is the case in direct objects in active transitive sentences.

² The subjecthood of the sentence-initial PP in the PSC is evidenced by the following typical diagnostic tests for subjecthood:

- (i) a. Is [under the bed] a good place to hide?
- b. [Under the bed] and [in the fireplace] {*is not/are not} the best (combination of) places to leave your toys.
- (Mikami (2013: 132))
- (ii) a. * Was [under the table] a cat?
- b. [Down through the hills] and [into the forest] {flows/*flow} the little brook.
- (Mikami (2013: 132))

The PP is inverted with the auxiliary verb (including the copula *be*) in question formation, as in (ia); and it triggers number/person agreement with a finite verb, as in (ib). These properties contrast with the inverted PP in the Locative Inversion Construction, as shown in (ii): The PP is not allowed to be inverted with the auxiliary, nor does it agree in number and person with the verb.

³ See Endo (2007), Iwasaki (2009) and Mikami (2013) for the details of the inherent referentiality of PLACE and TIME PPs.

⁴ The expression nominal is sensitive to the coreferential condition: The possessive NP contained in the nominal must refer back to the subject, as is shown in the following examples:

- (i) a. Mary smiled {her/*his/?*John's} thanks.
 b. John nodded {his/*her/?*Mary's} agreement. (Ross (1970: 266))

This fact empirically supports the view that the referent of the expression nominal is determined by the subject through the establishment of the binding relation between them.

⁵ This kind of constraint can also be observed in other cases of repair strategies, although I cannot go into the matter for lack of space in this paper (see Merchant (2001) for the detailed discussion of the island constraint on movement and its repair strategy). Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the pragmatic repair strategy proposed in this paper follows the general property of repair strategies.

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Pragmatic Constraint on *There Speak* Construction and its Peculiarities^{*}

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Keywords : deictic *There* constructions,
speak, pragmatics, irony

1. Introduction

This paper proposes pragmatic constraints on the acceptability of a *there* construction with the verb, *speak* (henceforth *There speak* construction), which has been generally considered to be unacceptable.

- (1) A: I can't decide which clothes to buy.
Should I just get everything?
B: There speaks a rich person!

Several other pragmatic functions are also examined, such as a speaker's implied negative attitude toward addressees. In particular, by focusing on the role of the subjects and contexts, this paper hopes to illuminate the use of this overlooked construction.

2. Deictic *There* Constructions

This section briefly surveys previous studies on deictic *there* constructions to demonstrate that *There speak* construction is a member of deictic *there* constructions even though this construction violates the

well-known restriction on the verbs that can be used in deictic *there* constructions.

2.1. Basic Facts of Deictic *There* Constructions

Deictic *there* constructions have been recognized as scene-based constructions as the construction is most often employed to express something that is happening at the time of the conversation, as exemplified in (2).

- (2) He pointed toward the river and shouted, "Look! There's a capsized boat."

(Breivik (1990: 118))

As the adverb *there* has a lexical meaning dissimilar to the expletive *there*, this construction identifies a location that is relative to the speakers and indicates an existence or motion that is encoded in the subjects. The present tense is generally selected as this construction describes something happening at the time of speaking. Phonologically, this deictic *there* bears stress.

To sum up, deictic *there* constructions are intended to make the hearer aware of a location expressed by the adverb *there* to indicate the existence or motion of an entity in that location.

2.2. Restriction on Verbs Used in the Deictic *There* Constructions

As discussed in Lakoff (1987) and Breivik (1990), only verbs of location and motion are allowed, as in the following examples.

- (3) a. There is Harry with our lunch!
 b. There goes our last hope!
 c. There stands Mary!
- (4) a. *There play two boys.
 b. *There ate a couple.
 c. *There laughs a lady.

All examples in (3) are acceptable as the verbs *be* and *go* lexically express the existence or motion. However, the examples in (4) are all unacceptable as the verbs do not describe the subjects' existence or motion.

However, there are some apparent counterexamples to this generalization, as in the following examples.

- (5) a. "Many go in the hope of making fortunes," I said, "but are they all successful?" "There speaks the practical woman. No, Miss Leigh, they are not all successful; but there is something named Hope which....
 (*Mistress of Mellyn*)¹
- b. "I'm not a baby." Ginny tossed her blue-black hair, chin going up, a small replica of Colby. "You don't need to hide anything from me. I'm not stupid either, Paul Chevez. Working with any horse can be dangerous if you don't know what you're doing. Colby does," She added staunchly. "No one does it better." "There speaks the unprejudiced voice," Colby laughed softly, running Ginny's hair tenderly.
 (*Dark Secret*)

These sentences all employ the verb *speak*, which is not a location or motion predicate;

however, in some circumstances, a *there* construction with *speak* is acceptable. Therefore, there must be another motivation to account for the acceptability of this unique construction; however, this has not been previously examined in any depth.

Section 3 details the discourse conditions for the acceptability of this construction.

2.3. *There Speak* Construction as a Deictic *There* Construction

This subsection discusses the status of *There speak* construction as a deictic *there* construction based on three pieces of evidence: stress, present tense, and embeddedness.

First, phonologically speaking, the *there* in *There speak* construction takes the sentence stress, as exemplified in (6).

- (6) a. THERE goes Mary.
 b. THERE speaks the practical woman.
 c. ??There speaks the practical WOMAN.

Second, the past tense is generally unacceptable.

- (7) A: I don't have time for romance.
 B: *There spoke the workaholic.

Third, *There speak* construction cannot be embedded in the same way as other deictic *there* constructions, as exemplified in (8).

- (8) a. *If there's Mary, I will be surprised.
 b. *Because there speaks a rich person,

I don't want to go shopping with you.

An examination of these three types of evidence reveals that *There speak* construction could be categorized as a deictic *there* construction.

3. Constraints on *There Speak* Construction and its Characteristics

This section details pragmatic constraints on *There speak* construction. In the following, other related functions are also proposed that are not observed in normal deictic *there* constructions.

3.1. The Pragmatic Constraint on *There Speak* Construction

This study proposes a pragmatic constraint for *There speak* construction in (9).

(9) Pragmatic Constraint on *There Speak* Construction

There speak construction requires the preceding utterance to be something that the subject is likely to say.

To test this proposal, observe the following examples that are acceptable because of the adequate preceding statements:

- (10)a. He gave her a sideways look. "Cold," he said succinctly. "Damp." Her mouth twitched. "You're no romantic," she chided. "I haven't the time for romance," he said shortly. "There speaks a workaholic," she observed with faint disapproval. "Banking isn't

everything. You should make time for dreams." [BNC]

- b. Have you ever heard, Mr. Visconti said, that beer is much more intoxicating drunk through a straw? Surely that is a legend. There speaks a Protestant, Mr. Visconti said, Any Catholic knows that a legend which is believed has the same value and effect as the truth.

(Travels with My Aunt)

The *There speak* construction is employed in (10a) as a reply to a statement that he does not have time for romance, which is considered a typical remark workaholics are likely to say. Next, (10b) requires a little explanation. Protestants tend to believe only what is written in the Bible and regard other things as mere legends, while Catholics place value on not only the Bible but also on legends. This difference in beliefs suggests that the *There speak* construction in (10b) is a comment to a Protestant who does not value legends. Therefore, it is proposed that *There speak* construction requires a preceding remark the subject may typically say.

This pragmatic constraint is also verified in (11), which does not have an adequate contextual preceding remark. (11) is a conversation in which two colleagues are talking about a co-worker well-known for being a workaholic.

(11) A : Do you know where Yuhei is? I want to talk with him about tomorrow's plan.

B : I saw him two minutes ago. Oh, he is over there. *There speaks a

workaholic.

While there is a preceding remark associated with the subject of the *There speak* construction and the referent of the subject is really speaking, as the remark cannot be associated with a statement the subject might mention, this example is unacceptable. Also, consider (12):

(12)A: I haven't the time for romance.

B: *There speaks a tall man.

This example is unacceptable because there is no remark in the context that evokes the subject *a tall man*, even though the hearer is really a tall man.

It can be concluded from these examples that *There speak* construction requires a preceding utterance that the subject may typically say.²

3.2. Further Characteristics

There are other constraints and functions related to the pragmatic constraint discussed in 3.1. This section, therefore, proposes that there is a constraint on the subject, a characterizing function, and a negative implication, each of which are discussed in the following.

3.2.1. A Constraint on the Subject

This section discusses a constraint on the subject in *There speak* construction, which is highly connected with the pragmatic constraint on *There speak* construction in (9). First consider (13):

(13) Attributive Subject Constraint

The subjects should be attributive and

specific to the extent that they are sufficiently evoked within the context.

How this generalization works is exemplified in the following.

(14)A: I don't want to do anything all afternoon.

B: a. *There speaks a man/John.

b. There speaks a lazy man.

c. There speaks a man without a care in the world.

It is natural that we do not want to do anything all afternoon when we are very sleepy or tired, but this is very vague information when characterizing "a man." Therefore, general nouns such as *a man* are inappropriate subjects as *There speak* construction requires additional information, such as *a lazy man* or *a man without a care in the world*.

Most examples in the corpora include specific attributive information in the subject, as exemplified in (15). For simplicity, the context is not presented here.

(15)a. There speaks the proud lioness!

(*Double fire*)

b. There speaks the True Briton.

[COCA]

c. There speaks the natural mother.

[BNC]

(16) There speaks someone who has never been without.

(*Lovers and Ladies*)

These sentences contain adjectives or a relative clause to specify the attributes of the subjects.

Proper nouns such as *John* in (14a) cannot be used as they are not attributive; however, they can be used as long as the proper noun implies a certain attribute, such as *Trump* or *Hitler*. For example, in the example below, the proper name *Trump* is used as an attribute for someone who is ignorant and domestically oriented.

- (17)A: Let's make America great again.
 B: a. There speaks Trump.
 b. There speaks a red-blooded American.

However, (17Bb) is still more natural than (17Ba) because (17Bb) directly describes the feature of the person introduced in the context.

To summarize, the subjects are generally attributive nouns with rich meanings that are sufficiently evoked through the context.

3.2.2. Characterizing Function

As *There speak* construction generally follows an attributive statement about the subject, the function of *There speak* construction is to characterize and evaluate the hearer with respect to some specific attribute of the subject.

In the following, normal deictic *there* construction is compared with *There speak* construction.

- (18) There was no timing, but a parent would start one of the faster children down the course followed by a slower one, telling the fledgling, "There goes the rabbit -- see if you can catch him!" They'd chase each other down those dim

courses the fastest way they could.

[COCA]

- (19) Anand turned from me in disgust and asked Sitaram for his opinion. Sitaram stared at the painting quizzically and said, "She must have given all her clothes for washing." "There speaks the garment manufacturer," I put in.
 (*Rusty Goes to London*)

Obviously, these two examples convey different information: the normal deictic *there* construction only describes the motion of *the rabbit*, while *There speak* construction not only describes the action of the hearer (speaking action), but also describes the characteristics of the hearer with respect to one typical attribute of the subject, as can be seen in the following examples.

- (20)A: You have to do your homework as soon as you go home.
 B: a. There speaks a strict teacher.
 b. *There speaks a strict teacher slowly.
 c. *There murmurs a strict teacher.

These examples demonstrate that manner adverbs and manner of speaking verbs cannot be used in *There speak* construction. That is, the information about how the teacher is speaking is not important in this construction. Further, topics and references to addressees followed by *about* and *to* phrases cannot be explicitly stated, as shown in (21). In addition, the verb *talk* is not suitable as this communication verb implies the hearer as well as the speaker.

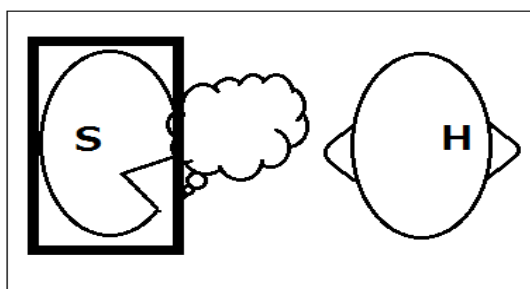
(21)A: You must not eat a lot at midnight.

B: a. *There speaks a strict doctor about health.

b. *There speaks a strict doctor to me.

c. *There talks a strict doctor.

These examples indicate that *There speak* construction only focuses on “who said” the statement, not the manner of the action, as illustrated in Figure 1.



(Figure 1. The Profile of *There Speak* Construction)

Interestingly, it is possible to use (20Ba) with a friend even though they sound slightly less acceptable than for a teacher; that is, *There speak* construction can provide a provisional role for the addressee.

A further characteristic of *There speak* construction is while it is generally referring to the addressees, the construction uses the third person singular as the subject; that is, *There speak* construction is used as if the hearers were a third person. Therefore, this construction introduces the subjects into the context similar to other *there* constructions.

To sum up, the function of *There speak* construction is to characterize the hearer based on some attribute of the subject.

3.2.3. Negative implications

This paper has proposed that *There speak* construction evaluates or characterizes the hearer. Here, it is demonstrated that *There speak* construction is usually ironic or derogatory, as in the following examples.³

(22)a. “That’s beyond foolish! You’re only saying that to hurt me, to make me feel horrible. No man wants a woman who isn’t all that is proper. It’s all a matter of heirs. I heard my father saying that to a neighbor.” “There speaks eighteen-year-old wisdom and eavesdropping.” “Will you annul me?”
(*The Sherbrooke Bride: Bride Series*)

b. “And I’ve decided to get myself a car.” “What!” He puts down his glass so suddenly the drink spills over. “You said you were going to buy you a computer.” “That too.” “Jill, you’re crazy. Squandering your money this way. It’s going to vanish in no time.” “There speaks the accountant’s son!” “No, I’m serious.” (*Moving on*)

As observed in the above examples, *There speak* construction can convey a derogatory observation, as the speaker of *There speak* construction in (22a) is commenting somewhat negatively about the childishness of the addressee. This negative attitude is confirmed by the response by the addressee, “That’s beyond foolish.” That is, the speaker employs the *There speak* construction to condescendingly dismiss the addressee’s

remarks. Similarly, in (22b), the remark following the speaker's *There speak* construction, indicates that the hearer believes that they are being teased.

To encapsulate, in most cases, the use of *There speak* construction implies a negative characterization of the hearer.

4. Conclusion

This present paper has proposed some pragmatic and discourse constraints on *There speak* construction. Even though *speak* is disallowed in deictic *there* constructions, it can be used when there are adequate preceding utterances that encourage the speaker to make an attributive comment about the hearer/subject that the subject/hearer may be likely to say about themselves. This construction also often carries a derogatory or negative meaning.

* I would like to thank Brenes Ivan Martin, Naoko Hayase and Tetsuya Kogusuri for their valuable comments and discussion. Also, I am deeply grateful to the audience at the meeting for their helpful comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all errors are my own.

NOTES

¹ All underlining has been added by the author.

² *There speak* construction is parallel in meaning with one type of *There go* construction, as is exemplified in (i).

(i) A: I do not have time for romance.

B: There goes a workaholic!

However, *There go* construction can be used without any preceding remarks. Consider that the next example can be uttered when you see someone fell down.

(ii) There goes a clumsy person!

Therefore, *There speak* construction is more limited than this type of *There go* construction.

³ Examples such as (15a) are like statements of admiration, but even these expressions are used ironically in their contexts.

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DATA SOURCES

- British National Corpus* (BNC)
- Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA)
- Google Books Corpora*

How Do Relational Adjectives Change into Qualitative Adjectives? *

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Keywords : affixes, derivational morphology, denominal adjectives, RESEMBLE, REPRESENT

1. Introduction

The main function of derivational morphology is to produce new lexemes by changing the word class of the base. There are cross-linguistically attested common semantic classes associated with specific word-class changes. For example, V-to-N derivation often produces event nouns, result nouns, or agentive nouns. N-to-V derivation produces verbs of change of location or state, among others. This paper concerns N-to-A derivation and its two major semantic classes, qualitative adjectives that express “resemble BASE N” and those expressing “represent BASE N.”

Nagano and Shimada (2016) observe that Japanese morphologically distinguishes resemblance and representation in denominal qualitative adjectivalization. Compare *otoko-ppoi* ‘man-like’ with *otoko-rashii* ‘manly’:

- (1) a. *otoko-ppoi onna*
man-Affix woman
b. ??*otoko-ppoi otoko*
man-Affix man
(2) a. *otoko-rashii otoko*
man-Affix man

- b. *masani otoko-rashii otoko*
truly man-Affix man

The expression in (1a) denotes a woman who resembles a man, while (2a) denotes a man among men, or a man who represents the class called man. As indicated in (2a, b), derived adjectives by *-rashii* can modify the same noun as its base noun and can be emphasized by the adverb *masani* “truly.” In contrast, the noun modified by a *-ppoi* adjective should be distinct from its base noun, as in (1b). According to Nagano and Shimada (2016), *-ppoi* derives QAs (qualitative adjectives) of resemblance, while *-rashii* derives QAs of representation. In Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002: Ch.13) classification, resemblance belongs to non-scalar term comparison, such as *This festival is rather similar to Munich’s Oktoberfest* (ibid.: 1141), while representation is similar to set comparison, superlatives in particular, in that it picks out the optimal member of a class.

This paper aims to examine how the two types of QAs are derived in English. The answer is not so straightforward as in the case of Japanese because N-to-A derivation in English and many other European languages produce not only QAs but also relational adjectives (RAs) (Beard (1995), Fradin (2007, 2008, 2016), Fábregas (2007, 2014), Bisetto (2010), Rainer (2013), Shimamura (2014), among others). RAs and QAs are distinct adjectival classes (or subclasses within a major part of speech). QAs are prototypical scalar adjectives that can constitute a predicate. They allow degree morphology and nominalization. In contrast, RAs are attributive-only denominal adjectives that occur adjacent to the head noun and cannot be modified by *truly* or *very*.

Below, I will argue that English QAs of

resemblance are derived from N by dedicated suffixes, as in the case of Japanese, but it is not the case with representation. Rather, English QAs of representation are derived from RAs of class membership. Because RAs are denominal themselves, this analysis means that such QAs are derived in two steps: N > RA > QA.

2. RESEMBLE QAs in English

Researchers agree that QAs of the RESEMBLE type are produced by suffixes such as *-ish*, *-esque*, and *-like*. The following italicized adjectives are more commonly called “similatives” because they can also be paraphrased by *similar to*. I use *resemble* to capture the contrast with the other type.

(3) John is {very/quite/too/a bit} *childish* for a full professor. (Fábregas (2014: 284))

(4) a. *Barbie-ish* dolls

b. *Barbieesque* teller dolls

c. *Barbie-like* dolls

(Bauer et al. (2013: 311))

These derivatives are naturally translated into Japanese by *-ppoi*. Because the suffixes in (3, 4) are strongly tied to the interpretation of resemblance, I regard them as instances of “heavy” or “semi-lexical” suffixes, inherently endowed with adjectival category and the LCS of the stative predicate *resemble*.¹ To adopt Naya’s (2016) term, this type of QA is derived in one step, as shown in (5).

(5) One-step adjectivalization

N → QA

3. REPRESENT QAs in English

In contrast, it is hard to find a clear description about the REPRESENT type of QA in

the literature. Only Dixon (2014: 237) observes that a *manly behavior* is said of a man, but a *mannish behavior* is said of a woman. In addition, *man-like* is used of an alien who looks like a man without actually being one. In light of the data in (1, 2), Dixon’s observation suggests that the suffix *-ly* is related to representation rather than resemblance.

In most cases, however, the REPRESENT class goes unnoticed because it is formally identical to RAs in English. First, witness the instances of *friendly* as QAs of representation:

(6) a. He exemplifies what it means to be an excellent scholar, a supervisor, and a truly *friendly* person.

b. They stressed the important of truly *friendly* service in their restaurant.

(Google Scholar)

The adjectives in (6a, b) function as predicates, as in: *the {person/service} is very friendly*.

However, *friendly* can also be used relationally. The following instances are attributive-only and receive a non-scalar interpretation:

(7) a. a *friendly* match between Japan and China

b. old *friendly* enemies

c. Several airplanes were brought down by *friendly* fire.

d. a *friendly* nation vs. an enemy nation

(Oxford Dictionary of English)

The same RA-QA polyfunctionality is exhibited by several other suffixes, including *-al*, *-an*, *-ic(al)*, etc. For instance, *grammatical* in (8) is an RA, but the same form in (9) is a QA because the prefix *un-* selects a QA base.

- (8) She is a *grammatical* genius.
(Plag (2003: 94))
- (9) Peter's utterance is *ungrammatical*.
(Clark (2004: 378))

The presence of the relational usage clearly distinguishes the two types of QAs. That is, QAs of resemblance do not have a relational counterpart, while QAs of representation have one. Based on this empirical generalization, I propose that REPRESENT QAs are derived from RAs in the following two-step manner:

- (10) Two-step adjectivalization
N → RA → QA

At this point, it is useful to compare N-to-A derivation with V-to-N derivation (Ito and Sugioka (2002), Alexiadou and Grimshaw (2008), Naya (2016)). One of the important theoretical issues about deverbal nominalization is the Event-Result polyfunctionality. Not a few derived nouns can be used both as an event noun and as a result noun, as in:

- (11) a. The *examination* of the patients took a long time.
b. The *examination* was difficult.
(Ito and Sugioka (2002: 70))

How are the two instances of *examination* related? In one dominant approach, they are related via a two-step derivation in the form of base verb > event noun > result noun.

My point is that the two-step derivation is not peculiar to denominal adjectives. Certain deverbal nouns are also derived in two steps. More importantly, the discussion on V-to-N derivation suggests that when the output

category consists of different subclasses, the one with a stronger connection to the input category functions as a stepping stone to derive the other subclass with a weaker connection. That is, it is event nouns that turn into result nouns, not the other way around, because event nouns are more verb-like, inheriting the verbal property of the base verb.

RAs are similar to event nouns in base inheritance. Levi (1978), Fábregas (2007), and Cetnarowska (2013) show that RAs are nominal adjectives. Thus, unlike QAs, they cannot be nominalized. Semantically, they correspond to structural or semantic cases. In English, instances based on Romance suffixes exhibit the argument-saturating property, as in:²

- (12) Ital-y > Ital-ian, an *Italian* invasion
(Fábregas (2014: 279))

Adopting my own analysis in Nagano (2013), I assume that RA suffixes such as *-al* and *-an* are “light” suffixes, devoid of lexical category and LCS. Whereas suffixes such as *-ish* and *-like* are lexemic, producing compound-like derivatives in combination with the base lexeme, the function of *-al*, *-an*, and such are purely transpositional, i.e. shifting the word-class of the base lexeme.

In sum, my analyses in (5) and (10) mean that denominal QAs are not monolithic in their derivation. One type is derived directly from nouns by a heavy affix, but another type is derived not from nouns but from noun-like adjectives.

4. How Do RAs Change into REPRESENT QAs?

The remaining issue is the driving force of the second step in (10), that is, how RAs give

rise to the usage of representation. We cannot make it a specification on RA suffixes because they are light affixes. Also, I do not agree with some researchers who take it as semantic coercion (Bauer et al. (2013: 318)). Contrary to their suggestion, the RA-to-QA shift is not constraint-free. The following RAs cannot be turned into QAs (“>” stands for the shift):

- (13) a. an *Italian* invasion = (12)
 > *The invasion is Italian
 b. a *grammatical* genius = (8)
 > *a very grammatical genius
 c. a *grammatical* error
 > *the error is very grammatical
 d. a *biological* journal
 > *the journal is very biological
 ((13d) from Beard (1995: 189))

In contrast, the following RAs can be turned into QAs:

- (14) a. *maternal* love
 > truly maternal love
 b. a *Japanese* tradition
 > a truly Japanese tradition
 > This tradition is very Japanese
 c. *revolutionary* songs
 > His songs are truly revolutionary

Moreover, it is important to notice that one and the same RA can be turned into a QA in some cases, but cannot in other cases. Witness the following pair. The shift of *grammatical* is very difficult in (15a), but it is possible in (15b).

- (15) a. a *grammatical* error = (13c)
 > *the error is very *grammatical*
 b. a *grammatical* construction
 > The construction is very *grammatical*

The same is true of the following pair:

- (16) a. *biological* journal = (13d)
 > *the journal is very biological
 b. *biological* response
 > the response is very biological
 (Based on Beard (1995: 189))

In my view, the possibility of the shift depends on the type of syntactico-semantic relation holding between an RA and its head noun. In Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002: Ch.5) terminology, internal dependents within an NP can be either complements or modifiers. Thus, the italicized dependents in (17a) are complements to the head noun, while those in (17b) are modifiers to the head noun.

- (17) PRE-HEAD POST-HEAD
 a. a [*linguistic* student] a [report *on the crash*]
 b. a [*first-year* student] a [report *in the paper*]
 (Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 439))

RAs are one type of pre-head internal dependents, as indicated by *linguistic* in (17a). The fact that they function either as complements or as modifiers is confirmed by the one-substitution test. It is well known that the test distinguishes the two functions of post-head internal dependents: e.g., *That student with short hair and this one with long hair sit together* vs. ?**That student of chemistry and this one of physics sit together* (Harley (2009: 134)). Compare (18) with (19):

- (18) a. I don’t want a *British* nanny: I want a *French* one.
 b. Is he a *rural* policeman or an *urban* one?

- (19) a. ?Do you mean the *presidential* murder
or the *papal* one?
b. *Is he a *theatrical* critic or a *musical*
one?
(18a) from Huddleston and Pullum
(2002: 441), (18b) and (19a, b) from
Giegerich (2015: 36))

The different possibility of *one*-substitution strongly suggests that the RAs in (18) are modifiers to the head, while those in (19) are complements to the head.

Returning to (13-16), I suggest that the RA-to-QA shift is difficult in NPs in which the RA is a pre-head complement. Thus, consider the expressions in (13), again. In (13a), *Italian* functions as the subject or direct-object complement to the deverbal noun *invasion*. In (13b-d), the base noun of the RA saturates a certain implicit argument selected by the non-deverbal head: (13b) “a genius in/at grammar,” (13c) “an error in grammar,” and (13d) “a journal about biology.” Similar relations between the RA and the head noun can be found in the expressions in (19).

In contrast, (14), (15b), and (16b) indicate that the RA-to-QA shift is possible in NPs in which the RA is as a pre-head modifier. Just like the RAs in (18a, b), the RAs in (14) and (15, 16b) are not selected by the head noun. Rather, they function as classificatory modifiers (Shimamura (2014: 77-83)). Generally, a legitimate RA + N input to the second step in (10) embodies “N1 that BELONGS TO N2” (N1: the head noun, N2: the base noun). For example, (14a) *maternal love* can be analyzed as “love that belongs to mother,” while (14b) *Japanese tradition* can be analyzed as “tradition that belongs to Japan.” In (14c), *revolutionary songs* are “songs that are a part of a revolution.”

It seems safe to say that the second step in (10) is conditioned by the classificatory modifier use of RA. There is no space to develop this conclusion in syntactic terms. Semantically, class membership is closely linked to class representation via the working of everyday inference known as psychological essentialism (Lakoff (1987)). Put very briefly, psychological essentialism captures the fact that if X belongs to the class Y, we tend to think that X has the essence of the class Y. For instance, we tend to think that every dog has the essence of its species. Also, we tend to think that if someone is a mother, she should have motherhood. Such an inference underlies the ambiguity of the following Japanese construction:

- (20) Hahaoya-wa kodomo-no tameni gisei-ni
mother-Top child-Gen for sacrifice-Dat
naru **mono da**
become {(i) person be/(ii) supposed to}

In one reading, the sentence means “a mother **is a person who** sacrifices herself for her child.” In another reading, it means “a mother **is supposed to** sacrifice herself for her child.” This ambiguity is very similar to our case: class membership interpreted as class representation.

Finally, a comment is in order on (16). Beard (1995: 189) observes that *biological* in (16a) cannot be shifted to a QA. However, in our understanding, the QA use is difficult as long as *biology*, its base noun, is taken as a life system, similarly to the base N of (16b). When it is taken as an academic field, however, the syntactico-semantic relationship between the adjective and the noun changes; one can talk of a journal that belongs to biology as an academic field. In that case, the QA reading is also possible in (16a).

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have focused on the two types of qualitative denominal adjectives in English and argued that QAs of resemblance are derived in one step, while QAs of representation are derived in two steps. The latter adjectives are produced not directly from nouns; rather, they are produced from RAs that establish a BELONG TO relation between the head N and the base N.

Returning to the beginning of this paper, one might hastily conclude that the two-step derivation is irrelevant to Japanese. As shown in Nagano (2016), Japanese does not have the class of RA, yet the same modificational function is performed by attributive genitives. Thus, the English NP in (14b) can be translated as follows:

- (21) nihon-no dentō
 Japan-Gen tradition
 “Japanese tradition”

Attributive genitives allow conversion into adjectives when they are formally expanded with a classifier (see Nagano (2016: Sec.4)):

- (22) a. nihon- $\{gata/fū/ryū\}$ -no dentō
 Japan-Classifier-Gen tradition
 b. nihon- $\{gata/fū/ryū\}$ -na dentō
 Japan-Classifier-Adj.Infl tradition

This observation suggests that in Japanese the two-step derivation is used, though marginally, side by side with suffixes such as *-rashii*, which are dedicated to the one-step derivation of REPRESENT QAs.

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NOTES

¹ The suffix *-ish* occurs not only on nominal bases but also on qualitative adjectival bases, as in *goodish* and *dullish*. Following Bauer et al. (2013: 313), I regard the “approximating A” sense of such derivatives as inferentially related to the LCS of *resemble*.

² The following contrast (Baker (2003: 126)) suggests that an RA inherits the referential index of an N in a defective form:

- (i) a. *Albania* _{$\{j, k\}$} ’s destruction of itself _{$\{j\}$}
 b. *The *Albanian* destruction of itself _{$\{j\}$}

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Oblique-Referential Descriptions and Third-Person Pronouns in English *

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Keywords : oblique-referential reading of
referential terms, non-anaphoric third-person
pronouns, dialogue, evidentiality

1. Introduction

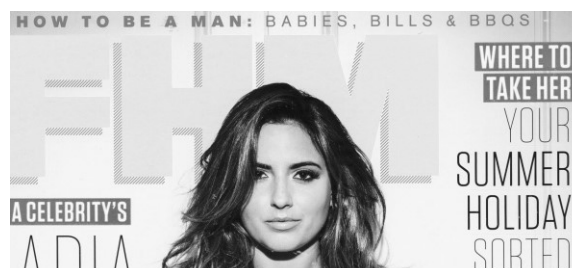
This article discusses three types of contexts where referential terms can be used in what Recanati (1993) calls an “oblique-referential” way to show that the referential opacity involved in oblique-referential terms is understood in terms of reference that takes place outside of the current speaker’s dialogue domain.

This article builds on Miki’s (1996:640) following statement: “What descriptions (i.e. referential terms) count as opaque ... depends crucially on what is assumed to be shared as mutual knowledge. Likewise, what descriptions are regarded as transparent depends crucially on whether the descriptions are made from the perspective of the ongoing interchange.” We focus on referential terms linked with their referents outside of the ongoing interchange. They occur characteristically in a specific type of mock dialogue employed in mass media.

I focus on antecedentless, or non-anaphoric third-person pronouns of the kind illustrated in (1). All these examples are taken from magazine article titles addressed to the readers, which make a good context for the pronouns in

question. In (1a), it is clear to the reader that *her* in the upper-right title *WHERE TO TAKE HER* is used to refer to his sweetheart. Similar remarks apply to *he* in (1b) and *him* in (1c):

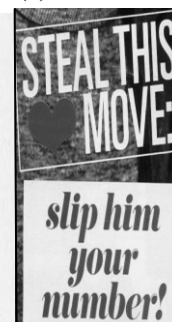
(1) (a)



(b)



(c)



(a) *FHM*, Apr. '15, front cover. / (b) *Shape*, Feb. '13, p.2. / (c) *Seventeen*, Sep. '13, p.141.

Obviously, these non-anaphoric pronouns stand for the reader’s intimate partner of the opposite sex. They are shown to be oblique-referential terms, because they represent people to whom the reader, but not the author, can refer.

The imperative title in (1c) makes the most typical context for the non-anaphoric pronouns. They occur in contexts where they are paired with *you*, which may be involved as the understood subject of imperative sentences, as in (1c) or may be an implicit topic, as in (1a-b).

The pronouns presuppose conventional couples of adult man and adult woman, and their choice is indexical to the target readership of the magazine in question; by presumption, in men’s magazines, female pronouns stand for the wife or girlfriend of each male reader, and in

women's magazines, male pronouns stand for the husband or boyfriend of each female reader.

This article is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews Recanati's (1993) paired notions of "oblique-attributive" and "oblique-referential" readings of referential terms, and their relevance to attributive vocatives in the sense of Clark and Carlson (1982). Section 3 takes up the non-anaphoric third-person pronouns that are interpreted with attributive vocatives in media dialogue. Section 4 reconsiders Kuno's (1972) direct discourse analysis in light of the third-person pronouns used as the substitutes of *I* and *you*. Section 5 offers theoretical implications for evidentiality and concluding remarks.

2. Paired Notions of "Oblique-Attributive" and "Oblique-Referential" of Recanati (1993)

We first review at least four different readings of a definite description which Recanati (1993:390) says examples like (2) can have:

- (2) John believes that the winner will go to Hong Kong.
- (a) attributive use: the speaker says that the winner, whoever she is, is such that she will go to Hong Kong.
 - (b) referential use: the speaker says of the person whom he takes to be the winner, viz. Mary, that John thinks she will go to Hong Kong.
 - (c) oblique-attributive use: the believer (i.e. John) is said to believe this: the winner, whoever she is, will go to Hong Kong.
 - (d) oblique-referential use: the believer (i.e. John) is held to believe of someone in particular, thought of as the winner, that she will go to Hong Kong.

Recanati argues that besides the attributive and referential readings in (2a-b), which are given by

the speaker of this sentence, *the winner* in the complement allows oblique-attributive and oblique-referential readings given by the person referred to by the matrix subject: in the former, as in (2c), the matrix subject doesn't know who the winner is, and believes that whoever it is, he or she will go to Hong Kong. In the latter, as in (2d), the matrix subject, but not the speaker, knows who the winner is, and uses *the winner* to refer to that person; oblique-referential terms like *the winner* in (2d) are those whose referents are transparent to the matrix subject, but are opaque to the speaker. They carry reference for which the speaker relies on someone else.

The oblique-referential reading also comes from complex attributive vocatives that are cases of what Clark and Carlson (1982) call "addressing by attribution," as in (3):

- (3) Schwartz, to history students: Any of you who needs a syllabus, raise your hand.

In (3), the speaker doesn't know who are the addressees of his imperative at the time of his utterance, so *any of you who needs a syllabus* is opaque to him. As a matter of self-awareness, however, it is transparent to each of those history students who needs a syllabus. As Clark and Carlson note, speakers who use attributive vocatives like this do not call the addressees directly, but instead, describe the attributes that the addressees in their minds are expected to have. They call such purported reference "addressing by attribution," which, as I am going to argue in what follows, is responsible for introducing other oblique-referential terms, too.

In addition to complex vocatives like the one in (3), single occurrences of *you* can bring about the oblique-referential reading, too. Recanati (1993:306-307) cites a similar example to the

article titles from Nunberg (1991), in (4):

- (4) When we see a sign at the side of the road that says YOU ARE ENTERING BEDFORD FALLS, ... we take the token of *you* as equivalent to a description of the form ‘*whoever is reading this under certain presumptive conditions.*’ ... the character of *you* in this case is not simply “reader of this token”; it picks out only such readers as sight the token *under appropriate circumstances*, - that is, people with normal vision who approach the sign from the road. The pronoun does not refer to ... someone on a distant mountain who glimpses the sign from a telescope.

This is tantamount to saying that the speaker can use *you* outside of the ongoing interchange as an attributive vocative to create his addressee as a specific type of person who is responsible for a situation he is describing with it. This is the case not only with *you* in the road sign, but also with *you* featured in magazine article titles.

My claim is that the dialogue-based contexts featuring the attributive *you* can introduce secondary oblique-referential terms such as the non-anaphoric third-person pronouns. Since the attributive *you* stands for a specific type of person, the third-person pronouns paired with it are taken to stand for a specific type of people, too. Like the attributive *you*, the pronouns are interpreted as expressing a certain amount of descriptive content, which is spelled out as “readers’ intimate partners of the opposite sex.”

3. Non-Anaphoric Third-Person Pronouns in Media Dialogue

The oblique-referential use also applies to the non-anaphoric pronouns paired with the

attributive *you*, with which the author purports to talk to readers to identify each of them as the main character of the article, as in (5-7):

(5)

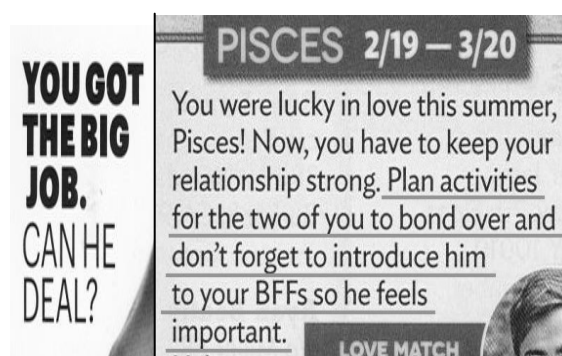
A gift for him?

Sometimes, a smitten groom will surprise his bride with a small token of love either the night before or the morning of the wedding. Similarly, it is not unknown for the bride to do the same for her groom. As simple as a card telling him how much you’re looking forward to seeing him at the altar, to a bottle of his

Wedding Essentials, Ontario ed., ’15, p.77.

(6)

(7)



Marie Claire, Nov. ’14, front cover. / *Tiger Beat*, Sep. ’13, p.99.

In (5), *his* in the first sentence is anaphoric to *a smitten groom*, but *him* in the third sentence is not; it independently stands for the reader’s groom. This is due to the fact that it is part of the author’s mock dialogue to the reader, which makes a separate domain from the preceding text. The same is true of *him* in the elliptical title of (5) and *he* in the interrogative title in (6).

Non-anaphoric pronouns standing for the reader’s intimate partner typically occur in media dialogue whose topics include personal relations such as love, marriage and gifts, i.e., topics with which the author can talk with each reader about his or her intimate partner. Their non-anaphoric nature is evidenced by (7), where

the referent of *him* in *don't forget to introduce him to your BFFs* is to be found deictically rather than anaphorically as the person with whom each reader is paired in *the two of you*.

Since authors and readers are physically distant and have no acquaintance in mass media communication, the *you* in media dialogue has much less to share with the speaker, or author, than the attributive vocative in (3), and provides a stronger example of addressing by attribution.

The attributive *you* differs from the deictic *you* in that the latter occurs in face-to-face dialogue only to address addressees without describing them, but the former occurs outside of face-to-face dialogue, expresses a specific set of attributes that the speaker expects the addressee to have, and sets up mock dialogue directed towards each of the people with whom the speaker purports to communicate, although he cannot identify them in person.

A look at Talbot (1992) is instructive in clarifying who is referred to as *you* in these magazine article titles. Talbot (1992:175-176) argues that the attributive *you* used in magazine articles stand for “the reader constructed,” i.e. an imaginary addressee constructed in the mass media as having “a specific set of interests, attitudes, likes and dislikes” on the basis of market research. Thus, the attributive *you* in titles limits the number of readers qualified as regular consumers of the relevant magazine.

Since (5-7) come from women's magazines, the seriously interested female reader takes the *you* as transparently referring to herself, who is described as “whoever you are, you are expected to have a set of attributes as a typical reader of the magazine such as age, sex, social status, income level and so on which together make an adult woman interested in marriage or career.”

Here I add another attribute to the imaginary

addressee called by the attributive *you*; his or her utterance-type in dialogue. The titles featuring the non-anaphoric third-person pronouns paired with the attributive *you* represent the kind of utterances that their target readers are expected to produce in face-to-face dialogue with their intimate partners of the opposite sex. Readers are constructed to say as titles say to them.

This allows us to see that titles of this kind make sense as utterance-types that the author offers in advance in indirect discourse from which the readers constructed will produce their own utterances in direct discourse, by replacing the second person with a first-person, and the third-person with a second-person, respectively. This explains why the third person pronouns expressed are specifically used to stand for the reader's intimate partner of the opposite sex.

4. Kuno's (1972) Direct Discourse Analysis and the Substitutes of *I* and *You*

Kuno (1972:162-163) argues that logophoric third-person pronouns like the one in the complement of (8a) are substitutes of the first-person pronoun used by the person referred to by the matrix subject. His basic idea is that self-reference is cross-linguistically consistently performed with a pronoun rather than a name, and in English, the self-referential pronoun *I* has to be substituted by another pronoun when it is embedded in non-first person contexts.

- (8) a. John_i expects that he_i will be elected.
- b. That he_i will be elected is expected by John_i.
- c.*That John_i will be elected is expected by him_i.

Kuno proposed to derive (8a) from the first-person direct discourse, *John expects, "I*

will be elected.” This direct discourse makes it clear that (8b), a passivized form of (8a), is acceptable, since the pronoun in the complement is ready to be replaced with the *I* for John’s self-reference, but (8b) is not; it wrongly implies that John uses his name to refer to himself.

However, Kuno’s direct discourse analysis cannot be sustained in its original form, because, as Kuno (1972: 163) himself admits, *expect* does not actually take a direct discourse complement. Rather, it should be reconsidered as a convention for reproducing direct discourse utterances of the original speaker from the indirect discourse expressed (cf. Vandelanotte (2004)).

Thus seen, just as a third-person pronoun in the complement of saying verbs is substituted by the original speaker or thinker’s *I*, a third-person pronoun in the current author’s mock dialogue with an imaginary addressee is substituted by *you* used by the imaginary addressee in his or her next dialogue with their own partners.

As a piece of evidence for this account, the non-anaphoric pronoun is typically paraphrased, not into a definite noun phrase, but into a deictic phrase with *your* from the author’s perspective. The following example is based on (6):

- (9) You got the big job. Can {he/your guy/??the guy} deal?

In using the third-person pronouns paired with the attributive *you*, the author can only purport to refer to the person who he believes is the one to whom the reader refers. From the author’s perspective, the male pronoun in (9) appears to have a certain amount of descriptive content and may be equivalent to *your guy*, *your man*, *your sweetheart* or *your husband*, but no exact paraphrase is available for him because it is up to the reader, and more importantly, they are

substitutes for the deictic *you* in the reader’s next direct discourse. Since *you* is an only pronoun for addressing in English, the terms to replace *you* outside of the ongoing interchange have to be pronouns in another person, too.

The titles featuring oblique-referential terms are in the auauthor’s preparatory utterance and help to model the reader’s next utterance in direct discourse with the convention for reference assignment in (10):

- (10) Make the given oblique-referential terms referential in your face-to-face dialogue about the topic specified to the reader constructed.

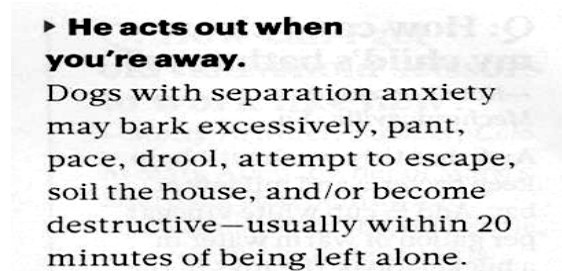
With (10), the qualified readers can take the titles directed to them as the author’s precursors to their next utterances. The simplest and surest way to make the attributive *you* referential is to replace it with the reader’s *I*, and accordingly, replace the non-anaphoric third-person pronoun with *you* deictically referring to their partners in their dialogue on the given topic.

For example, (6) is a precursor to the next utterance of the magazine reader, i.e., “I got the big job. Can you deal?” The pronouns are opaque to the author, but are oblique-referential to each reader of the relevant media dialogue. Since the topics given by the titles are related to personal relations with intimate partners, the readers are expected to make the oblique-referential third-person pronoun referential to partners with whom they have face-to-face dialogue about those topics. Thus, they stand for the people with whom the reader constructed will most frequently talk with the deictic *you* about the topics covered by the magazines, i.e. their intimate partners of the opposite sex.

However, the non-anaphoric pronouns are

not always interpreted in this way. In (11), the male pronoun in the title is used to stand for the pet dog that the reader is supposed to have:

(11)



Martha Stewart Living, Sep. '15, p.114.

(12)



Cosmopolitan, Singapore, Apr. '14, p.75.

Of course, the pronoun does not mean that every pet dog that the target reader has is male. It is just chosen because this magazine specializes in housework and is targeted to adult women. This also means that the relations between readers and their pet dogs are modeled after the intimate dialogue between partners of opposite sexes.

As in (12) above, the first-person pronoun, too, can be used attributively in titles like *you*, and introduce the non-anaphoric pronouns. With (10), the seriously interested reader replaces the first-person pronouns expressed in (12) as those in her own utterance and takes them as referring to herself, and accordingly, the third-person pronouns as referring to the person with whom she is most likely to talk about the given topic. In other words, from her perspective, they refer to the person whom she addresses as *you*.

Like the attributive *you*, the non-anaphoric

pronouns and the attributive *I* choose the reader as the deictic center because she is the only person who can assign reference to these terms.

It might be argued that the non-anaphoric pronouns have implicit antecedents introduced with understood phrases like *As for your husband*, or *Speaking about your sweetheart*, and that, like coreferential pronouns, they are used to refer back to the topic individuals. But this is ad hoc and wrong in three respects.

First, it is unclear as to what such topic-introducing phrases offer. Their postulation begs the question of who the pronouns are taken to refer to. It is also unclear where and how to place these topic-introducing phrases.

Second, coreferential pronouns are generally paraphrased into definite noun phrases, but, as we have seen, the non-anaphoric pronouns are not. Moreover, to paraphrase a pronoun into a noun phrase, the speaker has to know the head noun in advance, but he is not sure about the exact descriptive content of the pronouns.

Third, equating the non-anaphoric with the anaphoric or coreferential misses an important difference between the two. Cornish (1999:146) notes that in all cases of anaphoric pronouns, “the referent is located and accessed in the mind of speaker and addressee.” By contrast, the non-anaphoric pronouns are supposed to have referents that may be in the mind of the qualified addressee of a media dialogue, but not in the author’s mind. For these reasons, they cannot be reduced to coreferential pronouns.

5. Theoretical Implications and Concluding Remarks

The pronouns with the reader’s partner reading differ from definite descriptions in the *believe-complement* as to the structure in which they are used, but share a common contextual

setting, as is captured by the following principle:

- (13) The oblique-referential reading is assigned to referential terms whose reference is exercised by other people than the one who uses them in the ongoing interchange.

This implies that referential opacity belongs in theory to evidentiality (cf. Aikhenvald (2006)), for it comes from the speaker who uses another person as the information source of referential terms and lets that person rather than himself engage in reference assignment of those terms.

The evidentiality in oblique-referential terms is future-oriented in that, unlike hearsay markers that express what the speaker has heard from others, oblique-referential terms like the non-anaphoric pronouns are used on his presumption that there will be some people who become the source of referential information for those terms.

Addressing by attribution is a dialogue-based way to express future-oriented evidentiality by address terms and other terms paired with them, allowing the speaker to use the terms without knowing the validity of the reference he makes.

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Possessional Adjectives as Transposed NPs*

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Keywords : possessional adjective, transposition, category-shifting, syntactic context, inflectional

1. Possessional Adjectives: Phrase-Based Derivatives

In English, the suffix *-ed* derives adjectives like those given in (1).

- (1) bare-legged, black-haired, two-legged
(Marchand (1969: 266-267))

Henceforth, following Beard's (1995) terminology, we refer to these derived adjectives as possessional adjectives. They are problematic for morphological theory because they are based on phrases in violation of No Phrase Constraint:

- (2) Lexical rules do not apply to syntactic phrases to form morphologically complex words. (Botha (1984: 137))

The effect of this constraint is exemplified in the ungrammaticality of (3).

- (3) * bad grammarian 'one who studies bad grammar' (Spencer (1988: 677))

This ungrammaticality comes from suffixation applying to the NP *bad grammar*. Turning to possessional adjectives, many linguists have

pointed out that *-ed* can be attached to certain phrases. Their phrase-basedness is shown in their semantics. For example, *blue-eyed* is normally assumed to have the semantics in (4a).

- (4) a. blue-eyed 'having a blue eye/blue eyes'
a'. [_{A0} [_{NP} blue-eye]ed]
(Plag (2003: 153), with slight modifications)
b. [keen-édge]d, [low-héel]ed
(Shimamura (2007: 376), my stress markers)

This interpretation entails the analysis in (4a'): embedded A-N sequences are interpreted as the object NPs of possessional verbs. Their phrase-basedness can also be found in their phrasal stress patterns. As shown in (4b), Shimamura (2007) points out that their main stress is on right-hand nouns.

The aim of this paper is to explore the following two questions:

- (5) a. How can the phrase-basedness of possessional adjectives be explained?
b. Why do possessional adjectives not follow No Phrase Constraint?

To answer these questions, we analyze possessional adjectives as transpositional derivatives in the sense of Marchand (1966, 1969). Our claim is that possessional adjectives are adjectivizations of NPs, which retain their properties after category-shifting.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 differentiates two types of derivation to determine which process derives possessional adjectives; the type of derivation that yields possessional adjectives is transpositional derivation. The other is semantic derivation.

Section 3 gives a transpositional analysis of possessional adjectives and shows that they are products of transpositional derivation. Section 4 examines the locus and status of transpositional derivation in grammar. Section 5 makes concluding remarks.

2. Transpositional and Semantic Derivation

Marchand (1966, 1969) distinguishes two types of derivation: transpositional and semantic derivation. The crucial distinction lies in whether derivation results in pure category-shifting or in semantic addition. Transpositional derivation is a process of pure category-shifting. In other words, this process leaves bases intact except for their categorial labels. On the other hand, semantic derivation adds semantic content to bases. Examples of these two types are given in (6).

- (6) a. X is a novel writer.
b. X is a writer.

(Marchand (1966: 138))

Both examples involve derivation of agentive nominals by *-er*. Let us see how Marchand explains the difference between these two nominals. *Novel writer* in (6a) is the nominalized form of the underlying sentence *someone writes a novel*. The point is that this nominalization merely transforms the subject-predicate relationship from a sentence to an N^0 ; the nominalized form has no other relationship than this grammatical one. On the other hand, *writer* in (6b) denotes a habitual agent that performs literature writing. Thus, it contains additional semantic content, i.e. habituality and literature.

3. Transpositional Analysis

Relying on the notion of transposition, we propose that possessional adjectives derive from the transposition of NPs to A^0 s. Thus, we assume that the possessional adjective *blue-eyed* has *blue eye* as an underlying NP, which is transposed into an A^0 . Due to the transposed status, possessional adjectives inherit certain properties from their underlying NPs. Thus, they exhibit phrasal semantics and stress patterns (see (4)), even if their categorial label is A^0 . This answers the question given in (5a); possessional adjectives have, as it were, the categorial label of A^0 but the content of NP.

Now, we would like to point out independent motivations for the present analysis. Beyond the phenomena exemplified in (4), other phenomena can be nicely captured by analyzing possessional adjectives as transpositional derivatives. Our transpositional analysis is independently motivated in at least two regards.

3.1. Peculiar Properties

First, possessional adjectives exhibit not only the behaviors given in (4) but also other peculiar properties. We can readily explain these properties by assuming that they are inherited from underlying NPs:

- (7) the bigger-sized people
(Jespersen (1942: 431))
(8) He was [as kind a hearted] man as ever
breathed. (Jespersen (1942: 430))

The example given in (7) shows that possessional adjectives can contain comparatives (or superlatives). From (8), we also see that possessional adjectives can be syntactically divided by items like articles. These properties are peculiar because they are not found in normal derivatives:

- (9) a. *kinderness (cf. kindness)
(Siebert (1999: 101))
b. *washslowlyable (cf. washable)
(Roeper and Siegel (1978: 202))

In (9a), the comparative *kinder* undergoes *-ness* suffixation. In (9b), the VP *to wash slowly* is an input to *-able* suffixation. Either suffixation is ruled out.

On the other hand, comparatives can occur within NPs, as shown in (10).

- (10) [...] no one has a kinder heart [...].
(Harriet Wilson, *Our Nig*, my underline)

Also, the following examples show that syntactic division is possible for NPs:

- (11) [...] she had as kind a heart and as good a
soul as any among the hosts in Heaven.
(Dean Koontz, *From the Corner of His Eye*, my underlines)

Thus, the examples given in (10) and (11) strongly suggest that the relevant properties originate in underlying NPs.

3.2. Parallelism with Gerundive Synthetic Compounds

Another motivation is that possessional adjectives are parallel with another type of transpositional derivative, which is exemplified by *book-reading*, *cattle-breeding*, *cotton-picking*, and *essay-writing* (Marchand (1969: 76)). These so-called synthetic compounds involve the gerundive suffix *-ing*. Thus, we refer to these compounds as gerundive synthetic compounds. Marchand points out that they transpose VPs into N⁰s. For example, *book-reading* is a transposition of the VP *to read books*. The

parallelism naturally follows if we assume that possessional adjectives and gerundive synthetic compounds constitute a natural class as transpositional derivatives.

Let us take a closer look at the parallelism. For instance, both types are parallel in retaining the same idiomatic readings as their underlying categories. This is illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. If you **blow the whistle** on someone, or on something secret or illegal, you tell another person, especially a person in authority, what is happening.
- b. **Whistle-blowing** is the act of telling authorities or the public that the organization you are working for is doing something immoral or illegal.
- (COBUILD, (a); s.v. *whistle*, (b); s.v. *whistle-blowing*, original bold types)

(12a) defines the VP idiom *to blow the whistle*, whereas (12b) is the definition of its nominalization *whistle-blowing*. Observe that this compound has the same idiomatic reading as the VP idiom in (12a). The same is true of the NP idiom *hardhead* and its adjectivization *hard-headed*, defined in (13a) and (13b), respectively.

- (13) a. hardhead ‘a person who is stubborn
and uncompromising’
b. hard-headed ‘stubborn,
uncompromising, intractable’
(OED, (a); s.v. *hardhead*, (b); s.v. *hard-headed*)

They share the idiomatic reading of something like *stubborn* (also see Beard (1995: 345)). These retained idiomatic readings are natural consequences of transposition, because this

process has no semantic effect.

Another parallelism is that both types of transpositional derivative depend on their underlying categories in licensing their co-occurring items; the underlying categories are responsible for the possibility of non-selected dependents like modifiers. The contrast between (14a) and (14b) shows that infinitival clauses can occur with gerundive synthetic compounds but not with non-deverbal nouns like *trip*.

- (14) a. city-destroying to prove a point
(Roeper (1987: 294))
b. * the trip in order to prove a point
(Ito and Sugioka (2002: 77))

(14a) exemplifies the phenomenon known as event control. It is widely held that event control is licensed by verbal argument structures. Plausibly, in (14a), the argument structure comes from the underlying VP. Let us look at (15) to consider how possessional adjectives allow modifiers.

- (15) a. It's got very sharp edges.
(Tom Koppel, *Lost World: Rewriting Prehistory*
—*How New Science Is Tracing*)
a'. It's got a (* very) single edge.
b. Silk-screen printed images are not
always very sharp-edged [...].
(Doig Simmonds, *Charts & Graphs*)
b.' This is a (* very) single-edged tool.

These examples indicate that possessional adjectives pattern with their underlying NPs in licensing of degree adverbs like *very*. Specifically, the possibility of these adverbs depends on whether the underlying NPs contain gradable adjectives. In (15a), the NP *sharp edges* licenses *very* because it contains the

gradable adjective *sharp*, which *very* modifies. In contrast, in (15a'), this adverb is not licensed because there is nothing it can modify in the NP *single edge*; *single* is a non-gradable adjective. The contrast along the same line is observed between (15b) and (15b'). In (15b), *sharp-edged* is compatible with *very* because the gradable *sharp* appears within the underlying NP. The impossibility of *very* in (15b') comes from the non-gradable *single* within the underlying NP. Note here that in (15b) *very* does not modify the whole possessional adjective, because *-ed* forms non-gradable adjectives. This is shown by (16).

- (16) Most current robots are (* very) wheeled.

In this example, the possessional adjective *wheeled* disallows *very*.

The parallelisms observed so far are reasonable if possessional adjectives and gerundive synthetic compounds share the transposed status.

To sum up, this section has demonstrated that our transpositional analysis can provide a unified treatment of two separate issues. One is the source of the peculiarity of possessional adjectives. The other is the cross-constructional issue of how to properly describe the parallelism between two different constructions: possessional adjectives and gerundive synthetic compounds. Under the present analysis, the phenomena observed in this section are all given a unified account as reflecting properties of the underlying categories.

4. Locus and Status of Transpositional Derivation in Grammar

Our remaining issue is why transpositional derivatives retain properties of their underlying categories after category-shifting. A possible

answer to this fundamental question is that transposition takes place at the final stage of syntactic derivation. Regarding possessional adjectives, this assumption entails two things. One is that they count as NPs at any stage of syntactic derivation. The other is that the transpositional suffix *-ed* appears at the final stage to shift NPs to A⁰s only when given syntactic contexts require adjectives: transposition is triggered by syntactic contexts. In this sense, interestingly, transposition is like a certain type of inflection, such as inflections marking subject-verb agreement. In fact, since the application of these two types of process depends on syntactic contexts, both put no lexical limitation on inputs. For example, agreement inflection must occur on any VP when it merges with a subject. Its occurrence is independent of the lexical semantics of the relevant VP. Likewise, any VP and any NP can be inputs to gerundive synthetic compounds (see Marchand (1969: 18-19)) and to possessional adjectives (see Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 179)), respectively.¹ Note also that the distinctive feature of inflection is that it entirely inherits properties from its inputs. The present analysis means that transpositional suffixes like *-ing* and *-ed* are pure category-changers with the same status as inflectional suffixes. *-Ing* and *-ed* function to change one category to another as required by given syntactic contexts. This is their only and primary function. Based on these points, we naturally conclude that transposition is inflectional rather than derivational (see Fabb (1984: 190)).²

This conclusion answers our second question in (5b): why do possessional adjectives not follow No Phrase Constraint, repeated in (17)?

(17) Lexical rules do not apply to syntactic

phrases to form morphologically complex words. (= (2))

This definition means that the constraint is sensitive to word formation. If transposition is inflectional, we can assume that it is not a process of word formation but a process that changes word forms. It is widely held that inflection is a process changing word forms as required by given syntactic contexts. Under the present analysis, we can suppose that possessional adjectivization is a subtype of processes that change word forms as required by given syntactic contexts. Thus, possessional adjectives are insensitive to No Phrase Constraint.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper has shown that possessional adjectives can be best analyzed as transpositional derivatives. Transpositional derivation is defined as a process of pure category-shifting without semantic effect. Our transpositional analysis is motivated by its ability to treat two separate issues in a unified fashion. First, it can capture the peculiarities of possessional adjectives as coming from their underlying NPs. Second, under our analysis, the parallelism between possessional adjectives and gerundive synthetic compounds follows because they form a natural class as transpositional derivatives. We can reduce the observed phenomena to the fact that transpositional derivatives inherit properties from their underlying categories. This property inheritance is possible because transposition takes place at the final stage of syntactic derivation. This process is triggered only when it is required by given syntactic contexts. In this sense, transpositional derivation is inflectional rather

than derivational. As pure category-changers, transpositional suffixes like *-ing* and *-ed* have the status of inflectional suffixes.

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NOTES

¹ Given the following examples, one might wonder whether any NP is a possible input to possessional adjectivization:

- (i) a. * a legged spider
(Quirk et al. (1985: 1329))
- b. * a haired man
(Mano and Kageyama (2009: 71))

In our view, these examples are unacceptable rather than ungrammatical; their impossibility is explainable in terms of a particular semantic function of possessional adjectives. We follow Yukio Hirose (personal communication) and Masaharu Shimada (personal communication) in assuming that possessional adjectives function as direct modifiers. Typical examples of them are a set of denominal adjectives known as relational adjectives (e.g. *presidential candidates*). Characteristically, direct modifiers classify the referents of nouns. In this sense, they have a classifying function (see Shimamura (2014)). The examples given in (i) are unacceptable because *legged* and *haired* give us no information to further classify the relevant spider and man, respectively; every spider has legs and every man has hair. On the other hand,

the following examples are possible:

- (ii) a. a long-legged spider
- b. a bearded man
(Quirk et al. (1985: 1329))

In these examples, *long-legged* and *bearded* give us enough information to classify the relevant spider and man, respectively; it is not the case that every spider has long legs and every man grows a beard.

It is well known that possessional adjectives express the notion of ‘inalienable possession.’ For example, let us observe the contrast in *a {bearded/*carred} man* (Quirk et al. (1985: 1329)); a beard is inalienable, which is not true of a car. Under the present analysis, we assume that this notion naturally follows from the classifying function. Inalienably possessed properties are permanent attributes. Thus, they give us enough information to classify something.

The truth is as follows. Any NP may serve as an input to possessional adjectivization, but if its output, i.e. a possessional adjective, does not classify the referents of nouns, it is unacceptable. The point is that the acceptability depends on its relationship with the modified nouns and not on the input NP itself.

² Nagano (2013) observes that relational adjectives (see note 1) are products of transposition from PPs into A⁰s. Based on this observation, this author points out that relational adjectivization is inflectional rather than derivational.

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**Specific Features of INTELLIGENCE
Metaphors in Terms of EATING Concepts in
Japanese and English ***

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Keywords : metaphor, embodiment of intelligence,
concepts of eating, Japanese and English

1. Introduction

This paper examines the Japanese and English metaphors which represent human intellectual activities in terms of concepts of our eating behavior. The purpose here is to give an account of distinguishing features of the metaphor system in the two languages to cultivate a better understanding of the embodiment of human intelligence.

On this issue, Matsui (2010) examines a variety of metaphors relating to the concept of ‘understanding’ in Japanese and English from the viewpoint of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Here, Matsui claims that the metaphors in the two languages have many traits in common. To be sure, we can often find common ideas in the two languages when comparing the “conceptual domain” used for understanding metaphors. However, as suggested in Taniguchi (2003) and Nabeshima (2004), what is remarkable for intelligence metaphors in terms of EATING concepts is that they form structures which represent the process of intellectual activities (see also Ogami 2016). With this in mind, this paper

will examine how the two languages utilize the ideas of EATING in INTELLIGENCE metaphors in detail.

In the following section, I will examine actual conditions of the Japanese and English metaphors in question and will reveal the metaphor systems in the two languages. After that, I would like to give an account of specific features of the metaphor systems in the two languages in section 3. Finally, in section 4, I will finish with a brief conclusion.

2. The EATING-INTELLIGENCE Metaphor Systems in Japanese and English

2.1. The Metaphor System in English

In this section, we will examine EATING-INTELLIGENCE metaphor systems in Japanese and English. Firstly, in 2.1, I will present the system in English referring to previous studies in Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In the theory, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another and it has been claimed that concepts of IDEAS are partly embodied by concepts of FOOD (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).¹ The conceptual correspondence between IDEAS and FOOD is well known as the conceptual metaphor “IDEAS ARE FOOD”.

Regarding this metaphor, Kövecses (2010) shows its ‘submappings’ as below:

- (a) THINKING IS COOKING
- (b) ACCEPTING IS SWALLOWING
- (c) CONSIDERING IS CHEWING
- (d) UNDERSTANDING IS DIGESTING
- (e) MENTAL WELL-BEING IS
PHYSICAL NOURISHMENT
(Kövecses (2010: 83))

At this point, we should notice that several kinds

of metaphors are mixed in this list. To clear up the problem, I reconsidered the list, roughly classifying these into three distinctive types:

TYPE A: COOKING → EXAMINATION

TYPE B: SWALLOWING → EMOTION

TYPE C: EATING PROCESS →
INTELLECTUAL PROCESS

Although my classification is a provisional one, the point here is to appropriately divide the metaphor systems to clarify what concepts of FOOD and EATING correspond to what concepts of IDEAS and THOUGHTS.

Firstly, in TYPE A metaphor system, the process or result of examination or consideration to get some conclusion or judgement is represented in terms of COOKING. In other words, this metaphor is about “examination” or “consideration”. The examples of this are shown in (1):

- (1) a. Let me stew over that for a while.
b. Let's let that idea simmer on the back burner.
(Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 46-47))
c. It boils down to a question of priorities.
(LONGMAN Dictionary of Contemporary English Fifth edition)

Since cooking is not a process of eating, I distinguish this type of metaphors from the EATING-INTELLIGENCE metaphor system.

Secondly, metaphors in terms of SWALLOWING are put into TYPE B, which is shown in (2):

- (2) a. I just can't swallow that claim.
(Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 46))
b. I found his story a bit hard to swallow.

- c. She swallowed her anger and turned to face him.
d. I swallowed my pride and phoned him.
(LONGMAN Dictionary of Contemporary English Fifth edition)

In examples (2a) and (2b), ‘swallow’ is used to represent “to accept” or “to believe” something. In example (2c) and (2d), the word shows “suppression” or “covering up” of feelings. In this way, this type of metaphors is considered to be about “emotion” or “feeling”, not about “intelligence”. Although “swallowing” is a process of eating, we can thus distinguish this type of metaphors from intelligence metaphor systems.

Thirdly, I classify the metaphors which represent the process of our intellectual activities in terms of the EATING PROCESS into TYPE C, which I call EATING-INTELLIGENCE metaphor system here. This system consists of three different metaphors as shown in (3), (4) and (5), respectively.² First, consider example (3).

- (3) a. Clinton likes nothing better than to chew over a problem endlessly.
b. She has been chewing on this thought for several months.

In the examples above, the idea of “thinking” or “considering” is represented in terms of CHEWING. Second, sentences in example (4) exemplify the metaphor in terms of DIGESTION.

- (4) a. For a moment she sat, digesting the words, looking thoughtful.
b. They won't truly be able to digest this complex idea until they're about 10 years old.
c. A rural and traditional society, with over

90% of its population illiterate and unaware of modern world, could not digest this European idea in its original form.

From these expressions, it may be pointed out that the concept of DIGESTION covers several phases of activities: “thinking”, “understanding” and “acquiring”. Third, let us consider example (5), which are in terms of ABSORPTION.

- (5) a. Periodic breaks help you process and absorb new information, increasing your efficiency, says McKee.
 b. she absorbed knowledge and emonstrated almost immediately an ability to utilize this new understanding.

In these sentences, the concept of ABSORPTION represents “learning” or “acquiring” something.

As shown here, CHEWING, DIGESTION and ABSORPTION are used to metaphorically represent the process of intellectual activities in English. I integrate these three sub metaphors within a single metaphor system because a series of intellectual activities are systematically represented by expressions of the eating process.

From the examination so far, we can now describe the correspondence of concepts of INTELLECTUAL PROCESS and EATING PROCESS in English as shown in Figure 1.

EATING PROCESS		INTELLECTUAL PROCESS
CHEWING	→	THINKING/CONSIDERING
DIGESTION	→	THINKING UNDERSTANDING ACQUIRING
ABSORPTION	→	ACQUIRING/LEARNING

Figure 1. EATING-INTELLIGENCE
correspondence in English

In this way, the ideas of CHEWING, DIGESTION, and ABSORPTION systematically compose intelligence metaphor system in English.

2.2. The Metaphor System in Japanese

Having clarified the metaphor system in English, we can now proceed to the case in Japanese.³ Firstly, in 2.2, let us consider the examples in (6). The concept of “thinking” or “considering” is represented here in terms of *SOSYAKU*, which almost corresponds to “chewing” in English.

- (6) a. *Atsumeta tisiki o sosyaku si, jibun-nari ni honsitu o minukou to suru koto ga taisetu da to omoimasu.*

‘I think it’s important to try to penetrate to the essence of things in one’s own way by analyzing gathered knowledge.’

- b. *Yokuyoku rijityou no iu koto o sosyaku site miru to, gen’in ga wakarimasita.*

‘Giving consideration to the chief director’s words, I found out what the cause was.’

In (6a) and (6b), ‘*sosyaku*’ stands for “thinking about” or “considering” the meaning of something or someone’s intention. In this way, the concept of “*sosyaku*” is used in Japanese to represent our intellectual activity the same way as in English.

Secondly, the sentences in (7) metaphorically represents “understanding” in terms of *ENGE*, “*nomikomu*” in verbal form, which corresponds to swallowing in English.

- (7) a. *Tetuo wa Akino no situmon no imi ga nomikomezu, kubi o kasigeta.*

‘Being pointless of Akino’s question,

Tetsuo tilted his head in confusion.'

- b. *Osieta koto o sugu nomikomi jissen dekiru*
'Being quick to understand what was taught and put it into practice'

Here, "*nomikomu*" means "to understand" or "to make sense of" something. As I mentioned before, the concept of swallowing represents "emotion" or "feeling" in English. Although Japanese metaphors concerning *ENGE* can be used in this way, they also represent intellectual meaning as shown in these examples.

Thirdly, metaphors which represents "understanding" and "acquiring" in terms of *SYOUKA*, which corresponds to "digestion" in English, are shown in example (8).

- (8) a. *Soko de mananda koto o syouka si, ketuniku ni kaeru koto ga mottomo juuyoudesu.*

'The important thing is to understand what has been learned there and to acquire it.'

- b. *Eta tisiki o jibun nari ni syouka si, sono tisiki o tie ni kaenakereba naranai.*

'We must understand given knowledge in our own way and acquire wisdom from it.'

In (8a) and (8b), "*syouka*" means that we understand something and become proficient in that. In this way, concept of *SYOUKA* is used in intelligence metaphors in Japanese and we can point out similarity in English and Japanese on this point.

Lastly, in example (9), you will see metaphors which represents "learning" or "acquiring" in terms of *KYUUSYUU*, which corresponds to "absorption" in English.

- (9) a. *Kono kenkyuusitu de ooku no tisiki to gijutu o kyuushuu si, syourai kenkyuusyosha tosite hitori-dachi dekiru you ni syoujin simasu.*

'I will devote myself to acquiring plenty of knowledge and mastering essential skills to become independent as a researcher.'

- b. *Mazu wa ajiwau tame no dokusyo to, kangae-kata o kyuusyuu suru tame no dokusyo wa mattaku betu-mono da to kangae you.*

'For a start, you should realize that there is a big difference between appreciative reading and reading to acquire a way of thinking.'

In these examples, "*kyuusyuu*" represents "to learn" or "to acquire" things completely. The word focuses on the phase of mastering something as same in "absorption" in English. From this, it is pointed out that the concept of *SYOUKA* is available in intelligence metaphors in Japanese.

In addition to the above-mentioned cases, it should also be recognized that concepts regarding the results of each eating process are used to express "the state of understanding" in Japanese. First, let us see "*kamikudakeru*" in example (10). This term literary means that food has been crunched into pieces as a result of chewing it. In Japanese, the word also expresses the state that we have simplified some ideas as shown in (10).

- (10) *Zenbu ansyou dekiru you ni natta koro ni wa daibu naiyou ga kamikudakete iru to omou node, sono dankai de hon'yaku site miyou.*

'I might have considerably understood the content when I am able to memorize it, so I will try to translate it in that stage'

(http://kamokka.blogspot.jp/2009/10/blog-post_24.html)

Second, "*hara ni otiru*" in example (11) means that food falls into stomach as a result of

swallowing it in literal use. Although the phrase is sometimes used to represent “to be convinced” or “to be persuaded” as same as in English, it can also stand for the state that something is well-understood as in (11).

- (11) *Kitinto zen-mon no kaihou ga hara ni otite ireba, juku de sai-tesuto o yatta toki, manten ga toreru hazu desu.*

‘If students have completely understood how to solve the problem, they should be able to get full marks when retested in cram schools.’

(<http://ameblo.jp/s-juku/entry-11875092633.html>)

Third, “*konareru*” in example (12) represents the state that food has been well-digested in stomach. This is also used to express the state that we have mastered something as shown in (12).

- (12) *Tisiki ga konarete kuru ni ture, kyouka sidou ni jisin ga moteru youni nari, sarani wa kamoku kaihatu no hinto nimo narimasita.*

‘As I assimilate the knowledge I became confident in my teaching, and it also gave me hints for course development.’

(<https://www.jikkkyo.co.jp/contents/download/5892137646>)

Lastly, “*mi ni tuku*” in example (13) means something nourish our body. This phrase is used to express the state that we completely acquired some ideas or ways of thinking as a result of full understanding of them.

- (13) *Hanpuku gakusyuu de, naiyou ga sikkari mi ni tuita koto ga jisin ni natte iru no da to omoimasu.*

‘I have gained confidence by having

mastered the contents of my study through repeated practice.’

(<https://waostudy.jp/interview/interview04.php?idx=a>)

In this expression, it might be implied that we can freely utilize what has learned as our skills or abilities.

In this way, in addition to each process of eating, ideas regarding the phases derived from chewing, swallowing, digestion and absorption seem to closely be employed in the Japanese intelligence metaphor system.⁴ From the observation here, we can describe the correspondence of the INTELLECTUAL PROCESS and the EATING PROCESS in Japanese as shown in Figure 2.

EATING PROCESS		INTELLECTUAL PROCESS
<i>SOSYAKU</i>	→	THINKING/CONSIDERING
(<i>KAMIKUDAKERU</i>)	→	SIMPLIFIED
<i>ENGE</i>	→	UNDERSTANDING
(<i>HARA NI OTIRU</i>)	→	WELL-UNDERSTOOD
<i>SYOUKA</i>	→	UNDERSTANDING
(<i>KONARERU</i>)	→	MASTERED
<i>KYUUSYUU</i>	→	ACQUIRING
(<i>MI NI TUKU</i>)	→	COMPLETELY ACQUIRED

Figure 2. EATING-INTELLIGENCE
correspondence in Japanese

3. Specific Features of the Metaphor Systems in Japanese and English

In the previous section, we have examined correspondence between intellectual activities and eating activities in Japanese and English. Now I would like to discuss the features of

EATING-INTELLIGENCE metaphor systems in the two languages comparing the linkages between INTELLECTUAL concepts and EATING concepts in the two languages from the Figure 1 and 2.

As shown in section 2.1 and 2.2, the elements in EATING concept used for the INTELLIGENCE metaphor system is different in Japanese and English. In English, the elements which is used to embody INTELLECTUAL PROCESS are CHEWING, DIGESTION and ABSORPTION. In short, the metaphor system in English can be characterized in focusing on phases of “decomposition” or “disintegration” toward the absorption of the essence. We can also point out that DIGESTION covers a wide range of intellectual meaning in English.

In Japanese, on the other hand, the “chain” of each element in our EATING PROCESS is mapped altogether onto the INTELLECTUAL PROCESS. Due to this property, the extent and degrees of understanding can be depicted in great detail in Japanese. Thus, we can characterize the metaphor system in Japanese to utilize each element of our eating behavior in embodying the process of intellectual activity. This might reflect the importance of “*hara*,” the bowels and other internal organs, in Japanese culture.

4. Conclusion

It is certain that the same conceptual domain is often shared in embodying some concepts in Japanese and English. However, the elements utilized within a conceptual domain are different from language to language even when we use the same conceptual domain to embody certain concept and we can find different aspects in “common metaphors.”⁵ To put it briefly, the EATING-INTELLIGENCE metaphor system in English focuses on the phases of “decomposition”

in eating process, while the metaphor system in Japanese makes use of the “chain structure” of our eating behavior.

What then makes the difference between the metaphors in the two languages? To answer this question, it is necessary to broaden our outlook on other kinds of intelligence metaphors, such as in terms of VISION or MANIPULATION. For the future, I would like to examine the problem of “segregation” and “the division of roles” of several kinds of intelligence metaphors in several languages. Further research on metaphors based on precise description would clarify the manners of the embodiment of our mental activities in different languages.

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NOTES

¹ In this article, the terms shown in capital letters indicate specific concepts. For example, “FOOD” is used to represent “the concepts relating to food,” not some food which is in existence in front of us.

² The quotations in examples (3), (4), and (5) are from Corpus of Contemporary American English (<http://corpus.edu/coca/>).

³ The quotations in examples (6), (7), (8), and (9) are collected using NINJAL-LWP for TWC.

⁴ Opinions vary as to whether expressions taken

up here are acceptable or not. For example, Yo Matsumoto claims that “*konareru*” and “*mi ni tuku*” are not used to talk about our intellectual activities or states. Kazuki Iwahashi supports Matsumoto’s opinion. On the other hand, Yusuke Minami offered a comment that the expressions seem to be natural as metaphors for our intellectual states. I simply insist that “*konareru*” or “*minituku*” can be regarded as examples of INTELLIGENCE metaphors because we can find actual examples of them as shown in this paper.

⁵ Ogami (2017) simply examines metaphors in Dutch language and points out that the Dutch EATING-INTELLIGENCE metaphors show a different feature from those in Japanese and English. An interesting point here is that the metaphorical embodiment of certain concepts differs even in the two languages originate in the same language family such as Dutch and English. From this, I suggest that it might be important to reveal the variations of metaphor systems in different languages not only at the level of correspondence of conceptual domains, but at the sentence level. Deignan and Cameron (2014) and MacArthur, Krennmeyr and Littlemore (2015) are important relating to this problem.

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How the Recipient Recognizes the Quasi-internal Monologue in Dialogues: Cross-linguistic Study in Japanese and English

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Keywords: quasi-internal monologue, task
discourse, recipient recognition, adjacency pairs

1. Introduction

English is a language that does not have a monologic factor (Ikegami 2007). In comparison, Moriya (2008) stated that Japanese is a language that contains a monologic factor during interactions. It is true for Japanese that, during daily life, one is likely to hear a family member talking to himself/herself when others are present: “*ame mou yan-da-kana* (“wonder if the rain has stopped”).” The monologue above is a statement that the speaker uttered that is considered to be his/her full internal monologue. On the other hand, if a speaker only utters “*yan-da-kana* (“wonder if (the rain) has stopped”),” it is considered to be a statement that is a mixture of dialogue that is spoken to the recipient and internal monologue that is unexpectedly revealed. In both situations, for both full and partial internal monologues, the speaker's internal monologue reveals one's inner feelings and is not necessarily directed to a recipient. The line that lies between discourse and internal monologue is defined as “*quasi-internal monologue* (Noda 2006).” When

a recipient hears a speaker's quasi-internal monologue, s/he has a choice as to whether s/he responds to the utterance or simply pretends that nothing was heard. Therefore, this study attempts to show how a recipient responds to a quasi-internal monologue in interactional discourse and what the differences are between quasi-internal monologues in Japanese and American English corpus data.

2. Previous Studies

When a speaker utters a quasi-internal monologue, the explicit features meet one or more of the linguistic features: the intonation falls (Moriyama 1997), the volume becomes softer or the voice is murmured (Mimaki 2013) or the speed of utterance becomes slow (Mimaki 2013). For non-linguistic features, the speaker inclines her/his head and/or pulls her/his eyes away from a particular object (Mimaki 2013). In a previous study, Mimaki (2013) mentions that a speaker unconsciously tries to establish a sense of trust with a recipient by partially or fully speaking their inner thoughts without imposing on the other. Regarding a speaker's inner thoughts, Noda (2006) mentions that when the final particle, *-kana*, is used with a falling intonation, the speaker is most likely talking to oneself and revealing one's innermost feelings. Moreover, Izuhara (2002) states that speakers read recipient's reactions through his or her facial expression, attitude and laughter, and then the speaker adjusts his or her comments accordingly. In this sense, monologues influence speakers' minds and bodies by stimulating the speaker's actions. Since English does not possess a monologic factor in its language (Ikegami 2007), there are no previous studies on quasi-internal monologue and English social interactions. Therefore, it is worthwhile studying

what kinds of quasi-internal monologues appear in English interactions.

3. Data

3.1. Quasi-internal Monologues from Discourse Data

One of the explicit features of internal monologue is that the volume becomes softened or the voice murmured (Mimaki 2013). In this study, to show the clear differences between discourse and quasi-internal monologue, the data was run through scientific computer software called PRAAT. This phonetically computed analyzer, PRAAT, creates an acoustic intonation pitch that investigates aspects of speech sounds, such as the amplitude of a waveform. There are two waveforms that are a mixture of interactional utterances for Japanese and American English: a framed box on the left and on the right (Figures 1 and 2):

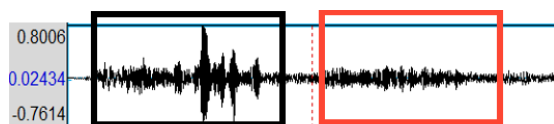


Figure 1: Japanese quasi-internal monologue



Figure 2: English quasi-internal monologue

For both Figures 1 and 2, the left framed box utterances for both languages show mountain-like waveforms indicating interactional utterances. The right framed box utterances show flat waveforms indicating internal monologue. Due to the low voice volume of quasi-internal monologues, PRAAT failed to obtain pitch contours.

3.2. Data and Methodology

The data for this study used video corpus data in Japanese and American English. The videos were recorded and transcribed into the respective languages in order to investigate cross-linguistic comparative studies in Japan.¹ All video data were recorded and transcribed in respective languages. The subjects for the video corpus were all female teachers and students. Each pair, eleven teacher-student pairs and eleven student-student pairs, were asked to arrange 15 picture cards to make a coherent story, or task-solve (from here on, called “a task”). They were told that there were no “correct” stories and no time constraints. In Figure 3 some picture cards are shown for reference.



Figure 3: Picture cards

In this paper, two kinds of quasi-internal monologues are discussed:

1. interrogative form, or questions to others
2. internal conflicts within the mind or uncertainty

4. Results and Data Analysis

The number of quasi-internal monologues for each language was calculated (Figure 4). As a result, the accumulated total number of Japanese speakers that uttered a quasi-internal monologue was approximately 1.5 times higher than American English speakers. Interestingly, Japanese teachers tended to produce quasi-internal monologues 3 times more than

English teachers. As for teacher-student pairs, English students tended to produce quasi-internal monologues 3 times more than Japanese students. The results are shown in a bar graph (Figure 4) below:

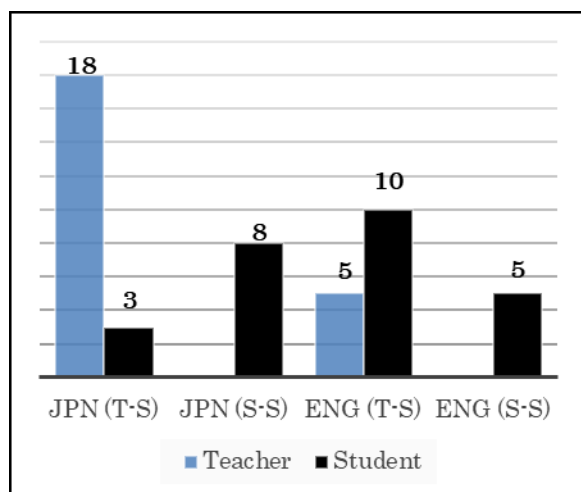


Figure 4: Number of quasi-internal monologues

The results suggest that for both languages there are two forms of quasi-internal monologues uttered: interrogative forms and internal conflicts. Therefore, for the first part of the data analysis, quasi-internal monologue in the form of interrogative forms, or questions to others, are discussed, followed by internal conflicts or uncertainty within the self.

4.1. Interrogative Quasi-internal Monologue

Interrogative utterances are utterances that, when sharing the conversational sphere with others, might express instinctive thoughts in the form of a question to retrieve specific answers from the others. There are various kinds of questions such as yes-no questions, open questions and *wh*- questions.

The first excerpt is extracted from an interaction between two Japanese students: Student 1, S1, and Student 2, S2. In their dialogue, the students are about to finish their

task. The speaker is searching for a response from the recipient by asking for confirmation of whether the sequence of picture cards is alright:

(1) [J-06: 184-188]

→1 S2: *a, de, kore-de ii?* “aa, and, is this good?”

2 S1: *de, kore-ga, koc-chi-de*

“and, this goes here.”

→3 S2: *de, ii-no-ka-na*² ↓³

“and (I wonder if) this is good ↓”

4 S1: *kon-na kanji?* “like this?”

5 S2: *un* “yes.”

In line 1, S2 utters “*a, de, kore-de ii?*” (“aa, and, is this good?”) However, recipient, S1, does not respond to S2. Since the speaker did not receive a reply, she expresses her inner feeling of anxiety, not having confidence in the card arrangements, by using a quasi-internal monologue shown in line 3, “*de, ii-no-ka-na* ↓ (“and (I wonder if) this is good ↓.”).” According to Noda (2006), who examined the final particle *-kana*↓, when *-kana*↓ is used with a falling intonation, a speaker is most likely talking to themselves and revealing their inner feelings of wondering in the form of quasi-internal monologue. In addition, Noda (2006) stated that saying *-kana* with falling intonation sounds suggests that the speaker is not pursuing other’s replies since falling intonation is used in a declarative utterance. In other words, when the final particle *-kana* is used, the speaker’s utterance leaves space for the recipient to construct the speaker’s meaning. For both the speaker and the recipient, a quasi-internal monologue is a monologic utterance that is spoken without the goal of pursuing the other’s response. Whether the supposed recipient (S1) heard the quasi-internal monologue or not, S2 incorporated the meaning

of the previous utterance by saying “*kon-na kanji?* (“like this?”).”

In the English data, the below excerpt is a partial quasi-internal monologue between a teacher-student pair. The student (S) utters the following interrogative form:

(2) [E-17: 085-087]

→1 S: Well, maybe he just jumps.

I mean, but how would he do that?

2 T: Superthing! {laugh}⁴ Whatever he is.

3 S: {laugh} Yeah.

The participants know that the character jumps over the cliff, but they could not determine how the character jumps to the other side. S expresses this by uttering, in line 1, “Well, maybe he just jumps.” Continuously, the same speaker tries to think of a logical way that the character jumps, in a monologic tone, ending the sentence with, “I mean, but how would he do that.” For any English sentence beginning with a *wh*- question, such as *what*, *when*, *where*, *how* or *why*, intonations must decline towards to the end of the utterance. As for this excerpt, no matter whether the utterance is a quasi-internal monologue or not, the recipient (T) responds back by saying “Super (natural) thing.” Replying to a previous utterance, for English speakers, follows the parameters of an adjacency pair; any utterance receives a recipient response.

4.2. Internal Conflicts or Uncertainty

When doing a task, numerous thoughts are racing through participants’ minds such as questions, wonders, doubts and ideas. When a participant must choose one answer over the other, one’s uncertainty must be resolved in a logical way.

The following interaction took place in a

teacher-student pair where the speaker’s uncertainty was produced in the form of a quasi-internal monologue:

(3) [J-17: 351-356]

→1 S: *mit-tsu-ka-futatsu-ka* ↓

“whether there are 3 or 2 (islands).”

2 T: *sou-sou* “yup-yup”

3 S: *futatsu-t-te kan-ga-e-ta hou ga ii-n-desu-ka-ne*, “is it better to think two (islands)?”

4 T: *futatsu-[⁵no-ga* “two (islands) is”

5 S: [*tobe-te*=⁶ “jumped and”

6 T: =*un* “yeah”

In line 1, the student, S, is trying to figure out how many islands that the character in the picture cards attempts to jump: “*mit-tsu-ka-futatsu-ka* ↓ (“whether there are 3 or 2 (islands).”)”

According to Mimaki (2013), people in two different social hierarchies, like in this pair, a teacher and a student, tend to use polite forms of final particles with one another. However, when it comes to internal monologue, people tend to dismiss the polite form of *-kashira* and it becomes *-ka*.

Once the quasi-internal monologue was uttered, the recipient teacher, T, replied using “*sou-sou* (“yup-yup”),” seen in line 2, as if she were answering the question.

There are two points to be made for excerpt (3). First, the speaker of the quasi-internal monologue is not looking for the recipient’s reply. Even though T replies using “*sou-sou* (“yup-yup”),” the speaker continuously speaks her own way of thinking, the possibility that there may be two islands, in line 3: “*futatsu-t-te kan-ga-e-ta hou ga ii-n-desu-ka-ne* (“is it better to think two (islands)?”).” Second, since the

quasi-internal monologue sounds monologic, the recipient should not feel any pressure to respond to the previous utterance. Therefore, a quasi-internal monologue serves to share the speaker's inner thought without imposing on others.

Now, moving onto an English excerpt showing the speaker's uncertainty. This excerpt takes place in an interaction between two students:

(4) [E-08: 095-097]

→1 S2: Wait, that doesn't make sense.

2 S1: I don't, like... this⁷ is making sense...

but, I don't understand what this is,
necessarily.

3 S2: I know.

In line 1, S2 says that a sequence of picture cards "doesn't make sense." In English conversation, any utterance leads to another utterance, an adjacency pair, and this

conversation is not an exception. In this case, the speaker receives a response from the recipient, "this is making sense...", as seen in line 2. S1's response, "this is making sense..." is uttered with each word providing emphasis, clarity, and specificity. The recipient does not simply show her disagreement. She adds more information to develop the conversation thus leading to another dialog. In this sense, no matter what utterances are part of a quasi-internal monologue, recipients must respond back creating an adjacency pair.

5. Discussion

Before discussing the findings, whether a quasi-internal monologue induces a recipient's response is examined in terms of rising and falling intonations. The excerpts used for this analysis are extracted from the previously documented excerpt (1). Table 1 illustrates a comparison between an interrogative utterance and quasi-internal monologue from Japanese data:

Table 1: Comparison between an interrogative utterance and quasi-internal monologue in Japanese

Confirmation		Invitation
(a) <i>ii?</i> “(Is this) okay?”	Interrogative	(c) <i>iku?</i> “(Are you) going?”
(b) <i>iino-kana</i> ↓ “Wonder if (this is) okay.”	Quasi-internal monologue	(d) <i>ikuno-kana</i> ↓ “Wonder if (you are) going.”

Instance (a) shows a rising intonation when asking “*ii?*” or, in English, “(Is this) okay?.” Instance (b) shows a falling intonation. Instance (b) adds the final particle *-kana* to “*ii?*,” becoming “*iino-kana*↓” or, in English, “Wonder if (this is) okay.” When a speaker produces instance (a), a recipient is expected to respond to the speaker with at least a *yes* or *no*. However, instance (b) does not seem to impose the

recipient to respond since the fallen intonation sounds less offensive. That means a quasi-internal monologue works to leave space for a recipient to think or try to construct the speaker's meaning.

To help make the above explanation clearer, instance (c) and (d) were artificially prepared. Instance (c) is asking someone whether s/he is going by saying “*iku?* (“(Are you) going?”).”

Instance (d), “*ikuno-kana*↓ (“Wonder if (you are) going.”),” shows the speaker wondering if a third person, who was not present at the moment the utterance was produced, is going. Again, the final particle *-kana*↓ does not possess characteristics of enforcing the recipient’s response due to the falling intonation is recognized as the declarative utterance; thus, the utterance does not have any influence over the recipient. For this reason, intonation in Japanese utterance plays an important role for quasi-internal monologue, whether the speaker’s utterance is directed to a recipient or simply unconsciously reveals the speaker’s internal thoughts.

To summarize, an interrogative question is clearly directed to a recipient to receive his or her response. However, for Japanese, the interrogative question form in a quasi-internal monologue shows the speaker is not pursuing a response, leaving space for the recipient to determine the speaker’s meaning. The interrogative question form in a quasi-internal monologue in English exists to receive a response from the recipient to create an adjacency pair. For uncertainty or internal conflict forms, both Japanese and American English speakers utter quasi-internal monologues as if they were questioning and struggling to find an answer within themselves. However, there is a major difference between the two languages regarding recipients’ replies. Japanese recipients both respond and do not respond to quasi-internal monologues, whereas American English recipients always reply to quasi-internal monologues as if they were hearing and understanding the meaning of the utterance. Internal conflict means that an utterance that a speaker produces to negotiate the certain goal that s/he has within oneself. For

speakers in both languages, a quasi-internal monologue, as internal conflict, receives a recipient response but, for Japanese speakers, the recipients reply either in a monologic way or with a response token of “*un* (“yeah”).” For American English, the quasi-internal monologue, again, receives a substantial response, in the form of an adjacency pair, from the recipient.

6. Conclusion

To conclude this study, since quasi-internal monologues sound monologic for both languages, the utterances become equivocal and do not sound like they are specifically directed to the recipient; when the speaker’s utterances sound monologic, it is plausible that the recipient does not feel the speaker’s utterances are imposing on or are interrogative of her/him. The monologue leaves space for the recipient to construct the meaning of the speaker’s utterance without directly mentioning what the speaker mentioned. In Japanese interactions, quasi-internal monologues reveal a speaker’s inner thoughts without imposing or interrogating the recipient. This is why, in Japanese quasi-internal monologues, the data shows that the recipient sometimes do not respond to the speaker. With the presence of others, Japanese quasi-internal monologues serve to share a speaker’s inner thoughts with a recipient without imposing on others. On the other hand, in American English interactions, the participants’ roles can be clearly defined as speaker and recipient. This means that, for American English speakers, every single quasi-internal monologue obtains recipients’ responses. In other words, quasi-internal monologues work as a form of utterance and response, as an adjacency pair.

NOTES

¹ The Mister O Corpus was collected under a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research No.15320054, directed by Sachiko Ide, and No. 23320090, directed by Yoko Fujii.

² Bold underlined indicates the length of quasi-internal monologue.

³ Declining pointing arrow, ↓, indicates the speaker's intonation shifting to an especially low tone.

⁴ {laugh} indicates laughter.

⁵ [indicates overlap of speech.

⁶ = indicates speech latching.

⁷ A small triangle pointing to the right, or ▶, above the words 'this', 'is', 'making', and 'sense', in excerpt (4), indicate the stress accents where the speaker spoke emphatically.

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Expressions of Directive Speech Acts Revisited*

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argument structure

1. Introduction

Directive speech acts (hereafter, DSAs) are universal. In everyday communication, we often need to get someone to do something. In so doing we state our communicative intention either directly or less directly. Every language has a rich repertoire of directive expressions of various syntactic forms.¹

Traditionally, one of the main foci in research on DSAs has been placed on the issue of “indirectness” or “politeness,” as illustrated in examples like those in (1) and (2) below:

- (1) Close the door. <imperative>
(2) Can you close the door? <Indirect directive>

That is, (2) is explained as an indirect, hence “more polite,” form of directive than the imperative in (1), which is a “direct directive.”

In this paper, I look at DSAs from a somewhat different perspective – from the perspective of verbs and their distributions plus their usage. Why am I concerned with verbs? It is partly because verbs can make a real difference with respect to the appropriateness or politeness of a chosen directive expression and

partly because different directive constructions have different sets of preferred verbs and their usage (Takahashi 2017).

2. Previous Research and Main Aims

In the field of directive speech acts, researchers have discussed the problem of inferencing supposedly involved in interpretation (Searle 1975; Sperber and Wilson 1986), the conventional (e.g. “Can you close the window?”) vs. non-conventional directives (e.g. “It’s hot in here.”) (Searle 1975), preferences for the way directives are expressed (Curl and Drew 2006), the influence of culture (such as politeness) on performance of directives (Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1987; Sifianou 1993; Givón 1993), and cross-cultural comparisons of request strategies (Fukushima 1996; Wierzbicka 2003; Flöck 2016; Aikhenvald 2010; and Aikhenvald and Dixon 2017).

To the best of my knowledge, however, the issue of how verbs and their usage might differ across different directive expressions has escaped serious attention. As an illustration, consider Givón’s (1993: 265) often-cited scale of “manipulative strength”:

- <stronger manipulative strength>
(3) a. Get up!
b. Get up, will you?
c. Would you please get up?
d. Would you mind getting up?
e. Do you think you could get up?
f. Would you mind if I asked you to get up?
<weaker manipulative strength>



At first glance, Givón’s scale appears quite straightforward and illuminating -- but not without a major problem. That is, Givón does

not care about verbs at all, just like numerous other previous authors including Leech (1983: 107-108). Without considering what verb appears in what directive construction, this scale simply assumes that the imperative is inherently more strongly manipulative while other “indirect” forms are inherently “weaker” directives. Is this assumption correct?

Consider the following italicized use of imperative in (4) below:

- (4) [In a presentation] ... There will be time at the end for questions. But please feel free to interrupt us at any time. Now, *let me introduce my colleague Alyce Lyons.*

In a discourse context like this, the indirect version *Can you/Would you let me introduce my colleague Alyce Lyons?* does not increase the degree of politeness but is simply inappropriate. Here the imperative is clearly a more appropriate and even a more polite strategy than any “indirect” expression.

This paper discusses the grammar of directive speech acts with special focus on verbs and their argument structures. By the term *grammar*, I do not mean a *possible* grammar but a *probable* grammar of directive constructions instead.² In other words, the present paper attempts usage-based, as opposed to formal syntax-based, explanations of directives in English – in line with the spirit of Cognitive and Functional Linguistics. For this reason, the present paper takes frequency seriously and starts out its inquiry from the observations of statistical preferences in six subtypes of indirect directive constructions as well as the imperative.

3. Three Main Findings on Expressions of Indirect Directives

In my previous work on English imperatives (Takahashi 2012), I came up with a set of findings and analyses that include the following:

- (i) Four most frequent verbs in English imperatives are *tell*, *let*, *look* and *come*, followed by such verbs as *get*, *take*, *be*, *go*, *give*, *do*, *forget*, *listen* and *wait*.
- (ii) Some verbs exhibit a preferred argument pattern, “VERB plus *me/us*” (e.g. *Tell me about school* or *Let me put it this way*.)
- (iii) Imperatives are approximately fifteen times more frequent than all the variants of indirect directive expressions, despite common belief to the contrary.
- (iv) The imperative can be best analyzed as forming a category involving the scalar notion of force exertion.
- (v) The imperative may readily act discourse-organizationally (e.g. *let’s see* and *tell me*) or interjectionally (e.g. *come on* and *look*).

These findings naturally led to the following related questions. Do these findings represent the characteristics of the imperative alone? Or, are they common features shared by all the directive constructions? More specifically, what verbs are common with indirect directives? Are common verbs identical to those with imperatives? How are verbs used in indirect directives? Can the “VERB plus *me/us*” argument pattern be found in indirect directives as well? And are indirect directives capable of acting discourse-organizationally the way imperative verbs are?

This paper has the following two aims: (i) to clarify what verbs are preferred in directive constructions as well as how verbs are preferred to be used; and (ii) to clarify both commonalities and differences in preferred verbs and their argument patterns among individual directive constructions.

3.1. Distributions of Verbs and Their Usage in Imperatives and Indirect Directives

In Takahashi (2015 as well as 2017), I compared the imperative with six frequent subtypes of indirect directives (i.e. *can you*, *could you*, *will you*, *would you* plus *I want you to* and *why don't you* constructions) with respect of verbs and their usage. In so doing, I employed two different kinds of data -- those from fictional stories, which provide full context) and those from COCA, which offers far larger data.

Table 1 illustrates the rankings of common verbs in imperatives as used in fictional stories and six subtypes of indirect directives as used in fiction as well as in COCA.

Table 1. Common verbs in imperatives vs. six indirect directive constructions

Imperatives in fiction	ID Cxs in fiction	potential IDCxs (COCA) ³
<1774tkns>	<768tkns>	<10682tkns>
(1) tell 106	(1) tell 68	(1) tell 918
(2) let 105	(2) come 39	(2) be 431
(3) look 98	(3) go 34	(3) give 395
(4) come 78	(4) get 31	(4) do 374
(5) get 74	(5) be 27	(5) come 308
(6) take 64	(6) do 25	(6) go 281
(7) be 60	(7) take 24	(7) get 267

(From Tables 1, 2 and 3 in Takahashi (2017: chap.4.4))

If we look at the left column, we find that *tell* and *let* are two most frequent verbs in imperatives. If we move to the middle and right columns, we can see that *tell* remains to be the most frequent verb in six standard indirect directive constructions. It is interesting to note that unlike *tell*, *let* is far less frequent in indirect

directives, although this is one of the most frequent verbs in imperatives.

Next, look at Table 2 below, which illustrates the rankings of frequent verbs in six indirect directives under investigation.

Table 2. Common verbs in six potential IDCxs (COCA)

<i>can you</i>	<i>could you</i>	<i>will you</i>
<4521tkns>	<758tkns>	<949tkns>
(1) tell 645	(1) tell 87	(1) be 137
(2) give 246	(2) give 48	(2) come 73
(3) do 194	(3) explain 44	(3) do 67
(4) explain 152	(4) have 30	(4) help 44
(5) help 152	(5) do 27	(5) marry 39
(6) get 134	(6) be 22	(5) tell 39
(7) say 109	(7) get/talk 20	(7) go 32
<i>would you</i>	<i>I want you to</i>	<i>why don't you</i>
<2392tkns>	<1070tkns>	<992tkns>
(1) like 648*	(1) take 62	(1) go 128
(2) be 172	(2) be 61	(2) come 109
(3) have 105	(3) listen 51	(3) tell 70
(4) mind 101*	(4) go 43	(4) get 56
(5) care 78*	(5) meet 42	(5) take 51
(6) do 62	(6) tell 41	(6) ask 42
(7) consider 44	(7) look 35	(7) give 36

(From Table 3 in Takahashi (2017: chap.4.4))

Tables 1 and 2 combine to show the following points. First, *tell* is the single most frequent verb in both imperatives and these six indirect directives, though no verb accounts for more than 10% of the data. Next, while such basic verbs as *come*, *go*, *get*, *be*, *do*, *take* and *give* are common in imperatives and indirect directives alike, two common verbs *let* and *look* in imperatives become far less frequent in indirect directive constructions. Third, *give* is more frequent with *can/could you* than any other

indirect directive and *tell* most frequent with *can/could you*, whereas *go* is consistently more frequent with *I want you to* as well as *why don't you* constructions.

In summary, we have obtained the following observations:

- (i) Directive constructions have a set of preferred verbs, centering around the speech verb *tell*.⁴
- (ii) Some verbs are common in both imperatives and indirect directives (e.g. *tell, be, give, do, come, go, get* and *take*), while others are common only in imperatives (e.g. *let, look, listen* and *forget*).
- (iii) There are also verbs that occur frequently only in a few constructions: *help* with *can/will you*; and *explain* with *can/could you*.

What do these findings imply? In terms of frequency, such standard textbook sentences as *Close the door* and *Can you pass me the salt* are far from the best exemplars of the imperative and the *can you* request sentence, respectively, precisely because these verbs are infrequent in these constructions. Instead, sentences like *Tell me a little bit more* as well as *Let me put it this way* and those like *Can you tell me what it is?* as well as *Can you give us two days?* far better represent these directive constructions. All these observations and/or implications are of vital importance for an exploration of usage-based (or probable) grammar of directive constructions.

3.2. “VERB plus 1st Person Pronoun” Argument Structure

As I mentioned earlier in this section, the combinations *tell me, let me* and *give me* are quite frequent when these verbs occur in imperatives. Is this argument feature specific to the imperative alone or a more general feature of

all directive constructions? According to my recent survey, this argument feature can be found in many (but not all) directive constructions in English.

Table 3 illustrates how often the verbs *tell* and *give* actually combine with a first-person pronoun object in six different indirect directive constructions.

Table 3. “VERB plus 1st person pronoun” argument structure in IDCxs

Verb	IDCx: tkns	Frequency of “V+me/us”
tell	<i>can you</i> 645	588=91.2% (me254; us334)
	<i>could you</i> 87	76=87.4% (me 41; us35)
	<i>will you</i> 39	26=66.7% (me 19; us7)
	<i>would you</i> 36	22=61.1% (me7; us15)
	<i>I want you to</i> 41	32=78.0% (me32; us0)
	<i>why don't you</i> 70	51=72.9% (me28; us23)
give	<i>can you</i> 246	224=91.1% (me92; us132)
	<i>could you</i> 48	41=85.4% (me17; us24)
	<i>will you</i> 24	13=54.2% (me10; us3)
	<i>would you</i> 2	2=100% (me2)
	<i>I want you to</i> 24	12=50% (me8; us4)
	<i>why don't you</i> 36	10=27.8% (me5; us 5)

(From Table 5 in Takahashi (2017: chap. 4.5))

Probably the most notable here is the combination “*can you + tell me/us*,” which accounts for more than 90% (588/645) of the data. Similarly, the combination ‘*can you + give me/us*’ also accounts for more than 90% (224/246) of the data. In such a case, the “V + 1st person pronoun” combination appears to be a general argument feature of most directive constructions. It is important to note, however, that how often *tell* and *give* occur with a first person pronoun varies among individual directive constructions. Consider *will/would you tell*, which does not as often combine with a first person pronoun (66.7% and 66.1%,

respectively) -- not to mention ‘why don’t you give me/us,’ which accounts for only 10% of the ‘why don’t you + give’ sequence.

Next, specific verbs that take this argument alignment also vary among individual directive constructions, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. “VERB plus 1st person pronoun” argument structure in IDCxs

Verb	IDCx: tkns	Frequency of “V+ me/us”
excuse	<i>will you</i> 6	6=100% (me3; us3)
forgive	<i>will you</i> 7	7=100% (me7)
help	<i>can you</i> 152	100=65.8% (me83; us17)
	<i>could you</i> 19	14=73.7% (me 8; us6)
	<i>will you</i> 44	41=93.2% (me 36; us5)
	<i>would you</i> 7	5=71.4% (me 4; us1)
<i>I want you to</i> 12		7=58.3% (me7)
<i>why don’t you</i> 7		2=28.6% (us2)
marry	<i>will you</i> 39	39=100% (me39)

(From Table 5 in Takahashi (2017: chap. 4.5))

We learn from this table that when the verb *excuse* immediately follows *will you*, it almost always occurs in the form “Will you excuse me/us?”. Analogously, when the verb *help* combines with *can you*, it occurs as “Can you help me/us?” in the majority of data (100/152=65.8%).

Tables 3 and 4 combine to show that *tell me/us* and *give me/us* are both very frequent argument structure patterns in both imperatives and most indirect directives. These tables also reveal that *excuse me/us* is a very frequent combination with *will you* as well as the imperative and so is *forgive me* with *will/would you* as well as the imperative. Moreover, *let me*, *believe me*, and *trust me* are frequent combinations strictly in imperatives, whereas *help me* is a very frequent combination with *can/could you* and *will/would you* and so is

marry me with *will/would you* constructions.

Table 5 below summarizes these findings.

Table 5. “VERB plus 1st person pronoun” argument structures in imperatives and IDCxs

Verb	Imperative	IDCxs
tell me/us	✓	✓
give me/us	✓	✓
let me	✓	--
excuse me/us	✓	✓ <i>will you</i>
forgive me	✓	✓ <i>will you</i>
believe me	✓	--
trust me	✓	--
help me/us	--	✓ <i>can/could you</i> <i>will/would you</i>
marry me	--	✓ <i>will you</i>
		(✓: frequent -- : not frequent)

(Based on Table 6 in Takahashi (2017: chap.4.6))

3.3. Discourse Organizational Roles of Directive Expressions

It is sometimes assumed that the imperative is the most prototypical directive (Givón 1993; Aikhenvald 2010). In actuality imperatives abound in less directive or even non-directive uses, as shown in examples (5) to (7) below:

- (5) *Tell me*, why are you behind the times?
(COCA 2012 FIC Analog)
- (6) – so I want you to hear this, Jerome, because, *believe me*, you would be the first individual to appreciate. (COCA 2009 FIC The Antiotch Review)
- (7) *Look*, Shake and Bake was watching the argument. (*Final Appeal*, p. 15)

Note that the imperative sequence “tell me” in (5) above is used discourse-organizationally, serving as a preface to a question that

immediately follows. The utterance “*believe me*” in (6) also plays a discourse-organizational role but in a difference sense; it allows the speaker to make a plea for winning the addressee’s trust. In (7), the imperative verb *look* serves as an attention getter.

Let us examine whether indirect directives are capable of acting as discourse-organizers rather than genuine directives? To make the long story short, the answer is yes. We do find examples with the verb *tell* like those in (8) and (9) below:

- (8) All right, Jim, thanks for calling. *Can you tell us*: what about the logistics of making this happen?
(COCA 2010 SPOK NPR_TalkNation)
- (9) Well, *why don’t you tell us*, Gutfeld, what a mensch is? (COCA 2011 SPOK Fox_OReilly)

Yet, these examples in (8) and (9) are somewhat less frequent and considerably more directive in discourse function than their imperative counterpart as in (7) above.

The high frequency of the “VERB plus 1st person pronoun” structure is motivated in no small part by the conception of speaker’s benefit, which is a crucial feature of request and many other directive acts (For fuller discussion, see Takahashi 2012 and 2017).

4. Conclusion

Indirect directives are sometimes described as merely more refined and polite directive forms than the imperative. The analyses made here tell a somewhat different story and the facts are far more interesting and complex. Directive constructions as a whole have a set of preferred verbs as distinct from those in non-directive

constructions as far as English is concerned, although preferred verbs can vary among individual directive constructions. It is also shown that the preference for the “VERB plus *me/us*” argument structure is pervasive in many (though not all) indirect directive constructions, although specific verbs that realize this argument pattern can also vary among different constructions.

Unlike the imperative, it is found, indirect directives are in general strictly restricted in their capacity to play a less directive or non-directive role -- a finding that compels us to conclude that indirect directives are more genuine directives than the imperative, contrary to common belief. Crosslinguistic research on verb distributions together with their argument structures and usage in directive constructions is expected to introduce a new insight into analyses of speech acts and argument structures as well as Construction Grammar studies.⁵

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NOTES

¹ This paper used some of the data and analyses presented in Takahashi (2015 and 2017).

² For an insightful discussion on the division between possible vs. probable grammar, see Haspelmath (2004).

³ I used the word “potential” on the ground that tokens from corpora do not provide full context, so one cannot judge the distinction between directive vs. non-directive usage with complete accuracy. The fact remains, however, that the

great majority of the data with dynamic verbs are to be interpreted as directive.

⁴ Let me note that *tell* is not among the most frequent lexical verbs in English (cf. Biber et al., 1999: 373).

⁵ According to Takahashi (2017: 149-150), *matsu* 'wait' is consistently a highly frequent verb with both Japanese imperative and request forms.

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【JELS 原稿（和文原稿）の作成上の注意】

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本文・注・文献を含めて A4 用紙に 7 枚以内（ワークショップ・リポートは 2 枚以内）とする。原稿は、2 段組とし、各段 40 行とすること。

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④ 論文題名は太字にする。

⑤ 謝辞を書く場合は、アスタリスクを付け、注の上に書く。

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- ② 発表時のタイトルからの変更は一切認めないが、日本語による口頭発表でも **Conference Handbook** に記した英文題名を使用すれば、英文原稿を提出できる。なお、**Spring Forum** での発表の場合は、英文原稿のみ受け付ける。
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(2017年9月12日改定)

*JELS*日本語執筆の場合の注および参考文献の書式について（補足資料）

JELS を日本語で執筆する場合の注と和文参考文献の例を以下に示します。外国語で書かれた参考文献については、*JELS* を英語で執筆する場合と同様、*English Linguistics* の参考文献の書式（2007 年度会員名簿巻末掲載）を参照して下さい。

注

1. 河上誓作（私信：XX 年 YY 月 ZZ 日）によると、以下の例は.....
2. Oba (1997)にも指摘されているとおり、.....
3. 杉本（1998:34）では、以下のような類例が紹介されている。
(i) I long for
(ii) I manage to
4. Takami (1996:51)には、以下のような.....

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和書の場合

福岡言語学研究会 (編) (1993) 『言語学からの眺望』 (福岡言語学研究会 20 周年記念論文集) 九州大学出版
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論文集の場合

吉村あき子 (1996) 『否定極性現象』 博士論文, 大阪大学.

博士論文の場合

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論文集収録論文の場合

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雑誌論文の場合

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雑誌掲載が決定しているが未公刊の論文の場合

塚本聡 (2013) 「大名力『言語研究のための正規表現によるコーパス検索』」 書評, 『英文学研究』 第 90 巻,
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書評の場合 1

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書評の場合 2 (洋書の書評を和文で執筆)

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川瀬義清 (1998) 「認知的観点から見た進行形の意味」 *KLS(Kansai Linguistic Society)* 18, 155-165.

学会等のプロシーディングスの場合

Freud, Sigmund (1905) *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, Moffat Ward, New York. (フロイ
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翻訳の場合

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- b. Do not include page numbers.
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