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2003 年度 KUIS-CLS 言語学コロキウム・レクチャー報告

神田外語大学言語科学研究センター (KUIS-CLS) 主催の言語学コロキウム (6 回) および、レクチャー (1 回) が以下のような日程、内容で開催されました。

第 1 回 コロキウム

講演者：星 宏人 氏 (University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)
&SOAS, University of London)

演 題：Domain Merger and Scrambling

日 時：5 月 3 1 日 (土) 14:00~17:00

場 所：神田外語大学 3 号館 304 教室

要 旨

In this paper, we aim to uncover the significant similarities between “flexible” phrase structure building and the “free” word order phenomenon in Japanese. To attain this aim, we first review the proposals in (1a-b), based upon which we argued that phrase structure building is “flexible,” and that Hale and Keyser’s (1993) and Chomsky’s (1995) configurational θ -theory is too rigid to capture the flexibility.

- (1) a. A predicate can assign θ -roles to its arguments from anywhere at any point of the computation, as far as it is within the projection of a lexical category.
- b. Functional categories such as T in Japanese do not block -marking.

(Hoshi 2001, 2002a-c, cf. Saito and Hoshi 1994/2000, 1998)

We then claim that (1b) is derivable from Kuroda’s (1986/88) proposal in (2) (cf. Fukui 1986/95, Inoue 2002, among others).

- (2) “Agreement” is not forced in Japanese. (Kuroda 1986/88)

Namely, we suggest that because of (2), T in Japanese is “flexible” in that it does not force feature checking with an element within its projection; hence, Japanese T does not have to make use of its domain only for its own feature checking. Consequently, T in Japanese can host a predicate so that the predicate can carry out θ -role assignment within the domain of T, as (1b) implies.

In the latter half of this paper, we show that the natural

interpretation of (2) suggested above can provide a new insight into the nature of the “free” word order phenomenon in Japanese. In particular, we demonstrate that it significantly improves Kuroda’s (1986/88) proposal that the free word order phenomenon in Japanese is due to the flexibility of T. That is, we propose that given the deduction of (1b) by (2), Kuroda’s analysis of “scrambling” yields a way to uniformly account for two apparently different types of free word order phenomena in Japanese in a principled manner (cf. Mahajan 1989, Tada 1990, Saito 1992, 2003, Boskovic and Takahashi 1998, among others). The proposed uniform account for “scrambling” based on (2) and (1a-b), we believe, is theoretically desirable, because it captures the underlying similarities between “flexible” phrase structure building and the “free” word order phenomenon within TP in Japanese. The proposed analysis of “scrambling” is empirically desirable as well, because it can explain a wider range of data than any of the previous analyses. In the course of the discussion, we attempt to shed some light on the nature of θ -marking, phrase structure building, and agreement/feature checking, as in Hoshi (2001, 2002a-c).

第2回 コロキアム

講演者：宮川 繁 氏 (マサチューセッツ工科大学言語哲学科教授)

演 題：Argument Structure and Ditransitive Verbs in Japanese

日 時：6月28日(土) 16:00-18:00

場 所：神田外語大学 2号館 204 教室

要 旨

Ditransitive verbs such as *send* and *give* appear in two distinct structures in English, the double object and the *to*-dative constructions. It is well known that the two differ semantically and syntactically. In some recent works, it is suggested that the semantic differences observed by Bresnan, Oehrle and others, and the structural properties noted by Barss and Lasnik, Larson, and others, can both be captured by postulating an extra head for the DOC (e.g., Marantz 1993, Harley 1995, Pytkkanen 2002). This head, which corresponds to the applicative head in Bantu languages, takes the goal as its specifier, and relates it to the VP that contains the verb and the theme (Marantz 1993), or directly to the theme

(Pylkkanen 2002). The applicative head contributes the meaning distinct to the DOC and it gives rise to the hierarchical structure noted by Barss and Lasnik. This applicative head is missing in the *to*-dative, so that this construction has an argument structure distinct from the DOC. In this paper, I will look at the corresponding construction(s) in Japanese. Unlike English, Japanese appears only to have one structure, in which the goal is marked with the dative and the theme with the accusative case marking. The goal-theme order is assumed to be the basic order (Hoji 1985, Takano 1998, Yatsushiro 1998, in press). The only variation is that the theme can occur before the goal, but this is viewed simply as an instance of optional scrambling. On the surface, then, Japanese appears to not take advantage of the two argument structures available in English to ditransitive verbs. I will present both already-reported (Kitagawa 1994; Miyagawa 1995, 1997; Watanabe 1996) and new evidence to show that the difference between English and Japanese is only apparent. With close scrutiny, we find that the two argument structures corresponding to the DOC and the *to*-dative in English exist in Japanese. I will also show that the Japanese data helps to decide among the different “applicative” approaches to the ditransitive constructions. Time permitting, I will also take up similar constructions in Spanish (Cuervo, in press) and Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1999, in press).

This paper is a joint work with Takae Tsujioka.

第3回 コロキアム

講演者：北川 善久 氏 (Indiana University)

演 題：Prosody, Processing and Pragmatics in Grammaticality
Judgment

日 時：7月8日 (水) 16:00~19:00

場 所：神田外語大学 2号館 202教室

要 旨：

As the title suggests, I would examine how prosody, processing and pragmatics may interact with one another and influence our grammaticality judgment in syntactic research.

In particular, I will pay most attention to *wh*-scope interpretation in Japanese, and attempt to clarify how variations among speakers arise and why one scope interpretation is preferred over another in certain constructions, thereby emphasizing how

important it is in syntactic research to take these factors into consideration.

(The research to be presented has been developed in collaboration with Janet Dean Fodor at CUNY Graduate Center and Masanori Deguchi at Indiana University.)

第4回 コロキアム

講演者：Andrew Nevins 氏 (マサチューセッツ工科大学大学院)

演題：Movement without Agreement, Case, Inverse Case, or
Otherwise

日時：10月1日(水) 18:30~21:00

場所：神田外語大学 3号館 103教室

要旨

A question that pervades the minimalist framework is why DPs move from their theta position to the specifier of a higher functional head. Given the availability of covert movement, and, more recently Agree (as proposed in Chomsky's recent papers) as mechanisms for uninterpretable feature checking, the question receives new importance. I will argue that the EPP is a formal property of functional heads: that they require a specifier. Attempts to reduce the EPP to the Inverse Case Filter (the requirement that Case be assigned in a Spec-Head relation), most notably by Boskovic in *Syntax*, 2002, will be shown to fail for Locative "Non-Inversion" in English, and face a host of conceptual parochialities elsewhere. I conclude by demonstrating that scope reconstruction facts in Hindi, English, Greek, Russian, and (time-permitting!) Japanese demand a representational vocabulary of pure EPP movement.

第5回 コロキアム 「認知と言語学習」

講演者：マイケル・ハリントン 氏

(クイーンズランド大学 言語学英語学研究科)

演題：「第2言語テキスト理解にかかわる時間的側面について」

日時：11月29日(土) 15:30~17:30

場所：神田外語大学 6号館 プレゼンテーションルーム

要 旨

Fluency in understanding a second language (L2) text depends both on knowledge of the linguistic features of the L2 and the ability to use that knowledge quickly and accurately. Although it is widely recognised that time plays a central role in fluent comprehension, the temporal aspects of L2 text processing have received little attention from researchers in language acquisition or testing. In this talk I will discuss an online study that examines reading time differences among advanced L2 readers. Reading times on texts that differ in complexity are examined, both in relation to the degree of text complexity and to the L2 knowledge (of vocabulary and grammar) that the individual reader possesses. Issues that arise from the study for models of L2 text processing and testing are discussed.

第6回 コロキアム

講演者／演題：

大倉 直子 氏 (神田外語大学大学院)

Possessive-Relationship Constructions and Derivational Thematic-Interpretation

高橋 将一 氏 (マサチューセッツ工科大学大学院)

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization'

日 時：1月21日(水) 17:30~20:00

場 所：神田外語大学 3号館 304 教室

要 旨

Possessive-Relationship Constructions and Derivational Thematic-Interpretation (大倉氏)

In this talk I investigate varieties of sentences in which a possessor and its possessee are realized apart as different constituents: the former appears as a non-agentive subject of a sentence, while the latter as an object. Some examples follow, where thematic interpretations of the subjects are indicated in angle brackets:

(1) *Taroo-ga ude-o otta.*

'Taroo broke his arm'

<Experiencer/Patient>

(2) *Hanako-ga kami-o kitta.*

'Hanako had her hair cut'

<Benefactive>

(3) *Watasi-wa kuusyuu de ie-o yaita.*

- 'I got my house burned down by an air raid' <Mal-factive>
 (4) *Asagao-ga turu-o nobasita.*
 'The morning glory extended its vine' <Theme>
 (5) *Potto-ga yu-o wakasita.*
 'An electric pot boiled the water' <Instrument>

I attempt to give a unified account of these sentences, which I call "possessive-relationship constructions." Of interest is that θ -roles of subjects in these constructions are non-agentive though the verbs involved are transitive. Pointing out that the θ -roles of subjects involved in these constructions show different characteristics from those which are assigned by a verb or inherent Case, I propose that they are derivationally interpreted at the left-periphery position, which I assume to be "the existential Presuppositional Phrase," following the insight of Diesing (1992).

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization (高橋氏)

Since Jayaseelan (1990), it has been generally claimed that Pseudogapping is derived by movement of a remnant (*you* in (1)) and ellipsis of VP (Jayaseelan 1990, Lasnik 1999, Baltin 2003, among others).

- (1) John will select me, and Bill will <select> you
 (the material surrounded by <> is intended to be elide.)
 (Lasnik 1999:141)

However, there is no agreement on the point as to what type of movement is involved in Pseudogapping. More specifically, Jayaseelan defends the heavy NP shift (HNPS) analysis and Lasnik does the Object Shift analysis. The primary goal of the talk is to understand the nature of movement in Pseudogapping.

Based on Pseudogapping in the double object construction, I argue that we need both HNPS and Object Shift to derive all cases of Pseudogapping. This eclectic approach is supported by various facts in Pseudogapping, such as Pseudogapping with multiple remnants, the Condition C obviation effect and the parasitic gap licensing. A question arisen in this approach is why Object Shift takes place only in Pseudogapping in English. This is in contrast to the fact that it is clearly observable in Scandinavian languages. Following Fox and Pesetsky's (2003) cyclic linearization framework, I argue that Pseudogapping which involves Object Shift is an instance of salvation-by-deletion. That is, Object Shift is legitimate in English only if VP is elided.

言語学レクチャー

講演者：高野 祐二 氏（金城学院大学文学部助教授）

演 題：主要部末尾性と右周辺部

日 時：3月4日（木）／5日（金）13：30～17:00

場 所：神田外語大学 3号館 202教室

要 旨

本講義では、文の左周辺部（left periphery）と右周辺部（right periphery）の間に見られる非対称性に注目し、句構造と語順および移動の問題について考える。まず、左周辺部と右周辺部の間の非対称性を英語の付加詞と「右移動」およびトルコ語のスクランブリングの観点から検討し、従来の統語理論では説明できない興味深い現象が右周辺部に存在することを示す。次に、右周辺部のこういった特徴を説明するための新たな可能性として、以下の特徴を持った句構造と語順の理論を提案する。

- (1) 句構造を作り上げる操作は(set-)Mergeのみであり、付加(adjunction/pair-Merge)は存在しない。
- (2) Mergeにより併合された2つの要素の間の順序は、selectorを含んでいる方が必ずあとになる。
- (3) 移動した要素や付加詞は「指定部」だけでなく「補部」の位置にも現れることができる。

さらに、この理論の観点から、右周辺部に関する英語とドイツ語の違い、右方向へのスクランブリングに関するトルコ語と日本語の違い、イタリア語の「軽名詞句後置」、wh移動のように左方向にしか起こらない移動とスクランブリングのように左右両方向に起こる移動の違い、などについて考えてみたい。

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『テキスト理解と学習—テキストの言語の特徴が理解と記憶に与える効果について—』

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