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<p>助成事業の区分 (該当するものに○印)</p>	<p>研究協力に関する事業 (学術出版・叢書・学会等運営 <u>学会参加</u>) 学術振興に関する事業 (学生・事務職員・その他の特別事業)</p>
<p>事 業 名</p>	<p>Japanese/Korean Linguistics 24 (第 24 回日本語・韓国語言語学会)</p>
<p>事業実施期間</p>	<p>平成 28 年 10 月 13 日 ~ 平成 28 年 10 月 17 日</p>
<p>成果の概要</p>	<p>Japanese/Korean Linguistics 24 (第 24 回日本語・韓国語言語学会) において、論文 ‘to suru’ constructions—especially ‘need’—in Japanese をポスター発表した。</p> <p>日本語のいわゆる形容動詞に軽動詞「する」を付して他動詞化した場合、連用形語尾の形態によって、次の 3 通りのパターンが観察される。連用形「と」は許されるが、「に」は許されない場合、「援助を必要とする」「*援助を必要にする」。逆に「に」は許されるが、「と」は許されない場合、「人間関係を大事にする」「*人間関係を大事とする」。どちらも許される場合、「英語を得意にする」「英語を得意とする」。本研究では、なぜこのような分布上の相違が生じるのかを考察した。</p> <p>発表の要旨は以下の通りである。</p> <p style="text-align: center;">‘to suru’ constructions—especially ‘need’—in Japanese</p> <p>‘Need’ in Japanese, when used as a predicate with a copular verb, takes a DAT-NOM case frame, not NOM-ACC, as illustrated by the contrast below:</p> <p>(1) a. John-ni tasuke-ga hituyoo-da. John-DAT help-NOM NEED-COP ‘John needs help.’ b. *John-ga tasuke-o hituyoo-da. John-NOM help-ACC NEED-COP</p> <p>In (1a) the “needer” occurs in the dative case, and the “needee” in the nominative case in the same way as widely attested among the world’s B-languages (Harves and Kayne (2012)). Interestingly, however, when occurred with a light verb, the same word <i>hituyo</i> selects a NOM-ACC frame, not DAT-NOM, as in (2):</p> <p>(2) a. John-ga tasuke-o hituyoo-to-suru. John-NOM help-ACC NEED-COMP-do ‘John needs help.’ b. *John-ni tasuke-ga hituyoo-to-suru. John-DAT help-NOM NEED-COMP-do</p> <p>Unlike the normal Japanese light verb constructions, the verbal</p>

noun *hituyoo* shows peculiar properties: a) it must occur with a complementizer (2a), b) it cannot be accusative-case marked (3a, b), and c) it cannot be incorporated into the light verb (4):

- (3) a. *John-ga tasuke-o hituyoo-o suru.
 John-NOM help-ACC NEED-ACC do
 b. *John-ga tasuke-no hituyoo-o suru.
 John-NOM help-GEN NEED-ACC do
 (4) *John-ga tasuke-o hituyoo-suru.
 John-NOM help-ACC NEED-do

Although the construction in question exhibits the H-language's case-marking pattern, it does not involve transitive 'have' and nominal 'need', as is obvious from the overt appearance of the complementizer and the verb *su* "do." Instead I will propose, following Baker (2003) and Kamiya (2006), that the verbal noun *hituyoo* is actually a verb and that the verb *su* takes a clausal complement, followed by "raising-to-object (RTO)" out of the CP (Tanaka (2002)).

The proposed structure is schematized as follows:

- (5) [TP John-NOM [VP tasuke-ACC_i [CP [VP PRO t_i hituyoo] to] suru]]

A piece of evidence for this structure comes from adverbial modification. The verbal head *hituyoo* can be modified by an adverb, not an adjective. Observe the following sentence:

- (6) John-ga tasuke-o fukoonimo/*fukoona hituyoo to suru.
 John-NOM help-ACC unfortunately/unfortunate NEED-COMP do
 'John needs help unfortunately.'

Compare example (6) with example (7):

- (7) [DP John-no fukoona/*fukoonimo tasuke-no hituyoo]
 John-GEN unfortunate/unfortunately help-GEN NEED
 'John's unfortunate need of help'

An additional piece of evidence is offered by the cleft version of this construction. Because of the clausal nature of *hituyoo*, the complement cannot occur in the focus position, as in (8a):

- (8) a. *John-ga suru-no-wa tasuke-o hituyoo-to da.
 John-NOM do-nominalizer-TOP help-ACC NEED-COMP be
 b. John-ga hituyoo-to-suru-no-wa tasuke-o da.
 John-NOM NEED-COMP-do-nominalizer-TOP help-ACC be
 'What John needs is help.'

Moreover, the clause containing *hituyoo*, because of its verbal status, cannot appear in the subject position as it is:

- (9) *[John-ga tasuke-o hituyoo]-ga aru.
 John-NOM help-ACC NEED-NOM be
 'It is necessary to help John.'

The fact that the accusative-marked DP is moved from the argument position of *hituyoo* is based on the Proper Binding Condition. If the clausal complement of the verb *su* is scrambled over the accusative-marked DP, the resulting sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (10):

- (10) *[TP John-ga [CP [VP PRO t_i hituyoo] to]_j [VP tasuke-o t_j suru]]
 John-ga NEED COMP help-ACC do

The clausal complement itself can be scrambled, as illustrated by (11):

- (11) [tasuke-o hituyoo-to] John-ga suru.
 Help-ACC NEED-COMP John-NOM do

The contrast between (10) and (11) indicates that the trace left behind by RTO is not properly bound within the fronted clause in (10), violating the Proper Binding Condition.

As far as I know, the word *tokui* 'be good at' behaves in the same way, as in (12), which shows that the properties mentioned above are not lexical peculiarities confined to 'need'.

- (12) a. John-ga eigo-ga tokui-da.
 John-NOM English-NOM be-good-at-COP
 'John is good at English.'
 b. *John-ga eigo-o tokui-da.
 John-NOM English-ACC be-good-at-COP

- c. *John-ga eigo-ga tokui-to-suru.
 John-NOM English-NOM be-good-at-COMP-DO
- d. John-ga eigo-o tokui-to-suru.
 John-NOM English-ACC be-good-at-COMP-DO
- e. *John-ga eigo-o tokui-o suru.
 John-NOM English-ACC be-good-at-ACC do
- f. *John-ga eigo-o tokui-suru.
 John-NOM English-ACC be-good-at-do

Although there remain many problems with '*to suru*' constructions (for instance, the status of the complementizer and the unacceptability of ACC-case-marked verbal nouns), its research will provide a deeper understanding of the nature of verbal nouns and light verb constructions in Japanese.