

## 平成 30 年度学術振興基金助成による成果報告書

平成 31 年 3 月 29 日

学 長 殿

所属部局・職名 経済経営学類・教授

申 請 者 名 福 富 靖 之

助成事業の区分 (該当するものに○印)	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)
事 業 名	The 20th International Congress of Linguists (第 20 回国際言語学会議)
事業実施期間	平成 30 年 6 月 30 日 ～ 平成 30 年 7 月 8 日
成 果 の 概 要	<p>The 20th International Congress of Linguists (第 20 回国際言語学会議)において、論文“Integrated Parenthetical Constructions in Japanese” (日本語における統合挿入構文) を口頭発表した。</p> <p>本発表では、ドイツ語、ロシア語で観察される対応する構文との類似性に基づいて、日本語にも「統合挿入構文 (Integrated Parenthetical Constructions)」が存在することを主張し、その諸特徴を併合 (Merge) のタイミングの帰結して説明した。</p> <p>発表の要旨は以下の通りである。</p> <p><b>Integrated parenthetical constructions in Japanese</b></p> <p>The present paper argues that Japanese has an Integrated Parenthetical Construction (IPC), which has been acknowledged in Russian and German:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) <i>Anata-wa [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru ka] doo you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC loves Q how omotteiru no?</i> (Japanese) think Q 'Who do you think John loves?'</li> <li>2) <i>Kak ty dumaesh kogo ja videla?</i> (Russian) how you think who I see-PAST 'Who do you think I saw?'</li> </ol> <p>This construction shows three different properties from the real instance of Partial Wh-movement: a) IPCs do not allow the presence of an overt complementiser (3); b) IPCs allow a preposing (postposing in Japanese) of the 'apparently embedded' interrogative clause (4); and c) IPCs do not allow for more than two clauses (5). The following examples alternate between Russian (a), and Japanese (b).</p>

- 3) a. *Kak ty думаеш (\*что) кого я видел?*  
how you think (that) who I see-PAST
- b. \**Anata-wa [John-ga dare-o aisiteriu to] doo*  
you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC love COMP  
*omotteiru no?*  
how think Q
- 4) a. *[Kogo ja videla], [kak ty думаеш]?*  
who I see-PAST how you think
- b. *Anata-wa doo omotteiru no, [John-ga dare-o*  
you-TOP how think Q John-NOM who-ACC  
*aisiteiru ka]*  
love Q
- 5) a. \**Kak ty думаеш [(kak) Ivan skazal [kogo ja*  
how you think how Ivan said who I  
*videla]]?*  
see-PAST
- b. \**Anata-wa [[John-ga dare-o aisiteiru ka]*  
you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC loves Q  
*Mary-ga doo itta ka] doo omotteiru no?*  
Mary-NOM how said Q how think Q

By proposing the existence of an internally complex wh-phrase (6), we can give a unified analysis to these three properties of IPCs in Russian, German, and Japanese:

- 6) [DP [Restrictor ...] [OpP Operator [wh-stem] ]]

Specifically, the property a) can be considered to be one of the concord phenomena; that is, several wh-elements contribute to one question. The presence of an overt declarative complementiser is semantically incompatible. The property b) can be reanalysed as an instance of a large-scale pied-piping. Lastly, the property c) can be directly accounted for by the proposed internal structure; a wh-stem with an operator affixed is not locally merged with the associated interrogative clause.