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言語文化共同研究プロジェクト2025

自然言語への理論的アプローチ

越智　正男
笠井　　源
陳　　韻雯
永野　大夏
宮前　純子

大阪大学大学院人文学研究科言語文化学専攻

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まえがき

本報告書は、大阪大学人文学研究科言語文化学専攻に所属する教員と大学院生によって構成されている共同プロジェクトによる 2025 年度の研究成果の一部をまとめたものである。今年度もこれまでに引き続き、本研究プロジェクトのメンバーを中心とする理論言語学の研究会が定期的に開催され、毎回活発な議論や意見交換がなされてきた。本報告書に収録されている論文の多くが研究会での議論を反映したものとなっている。なお、本研究プロジェクトのリサーチ・アシスタントである永野大夏さんには研究会の円滑な運営や本報告書の刊行のためにご尽力いただいた。この場を借りてお礼を申し上げる。

杉本　侑嗣（2025 年度研究プロジェクト代表者）

言語文化共同研究プロジェクト 2025

自然言語への理論的アプローチ

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統語的名詞化と格認可に関する一考察*

越智正男

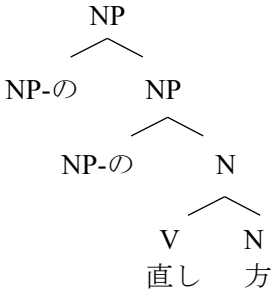
1. はじめに

本稿は日本語の名詞化節の一形態である接尾辞「-方」による名詞化構文の統語構造と格の認可について考察したものである。日本語では，(1b) のように動詞に接尾辞「方」が付くことにより，名詞化される現象がある。(2a) と (2b) の並行性が示すように，この「-方」接辞による名詞化構文では主語や目的語がノ格を伴って現れる。

(1) a. 車を直す方法
　　b. 車の直し方
(2) a. 技術者が車を直す方法
　　b. 技術者の車の直し方

Kageyama (1983) によれば，統語的派生（特に D 構造）において動詞 (=V) と「-方」(=N) が併合することにより，(1b) や (2b) にある「直し方」のような派生名詞が統語的に作られる。この分析によれば，(2b) は以下のような構造を持つことになるであろう。

(3)



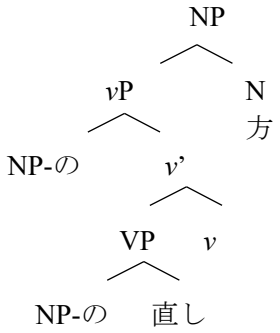
(2b) では，主語にあたる「技術者」や目的語にあたる「車」はすべてノ格でマークされるが，これはこの構造から自然と導き出される。(4) に見られるように，名詞句の投射に現れる要素はガ格やヲ格ではなく，ノ格でマークされるからである。

(4) 昨日の技術者の車の修理

* 本論文はリヤ スマイヤ アクタル 氏と行っている日本語とベンガル語の名詞化節に関する共同研究の一部に関する経過報告である。本研究は科学研究費基盤研究 (C) (No. 24K03963) の助成を受けている。

これに対して，Kishimoto (2006) では異なる構造が提案されている。以下の (5) にあるように，まず動詞句 (*v*P) が形成され，名詞化接尾の「-方」がこの *v*P を補部として選択する。

(5)



Kishimoto が示すように，「-方」接辞による名詞化構文が TP 領域を含まないことを強く示唆する証拠がある。例えば，この構文の動詞は過去形は出てこない。(6a) を参照されたい。また，(6b) が示すように，主語にあたる名詞句はガ格でマークされない。

(6) a. *本の読んだ方
b. 太郎{*が/の} 走り方

(5) の構造の支持として，Kishimoto (2006) は，「-方」を用いた名詞化が非常に生産的である点や意味の透明性 (transparency in meaning) を持つといった点に加えて，経験的根拠もあげている。例えば，(7) にあるように，「-方」は受動化や使役化を経た複合動詞と併合することが可能である。これは，語彙的名詞化の場合とは対照的である（(8) を参照されたい）。さらに言えば，(7a) の「太郎」は「しかる」の項であり，受動化接辞の「られ」の項ではない。同様に，(7b) の「本」は「読む」の項であり，使役化接辞の「させ」の項ではない。このような言語事実は，(5) の構造によって自然に捉えることが可能であろう。

(7) a. 太郎のしかられ方
b. 本の読ませ方
(8) a. 論文の書き直し
b. *論文の書き直させ
c. *論文の書き直され (Kishimoto 2006: 775)

2. 格付与についての考察

このように (5) の構造には一定の妥当性があるが，その一方で格に関する問題点も浮上する。先に見たように，この構文では項（及び付加句）は全てノ格で現れる。(9) を参照されたい。

(9) 昨日*(の) 技術者{*が/の} 車{*を/の} 直し方

ガ格が出現しないことは, (5) の構造に TP 領域が存在しないことから容易に説明ができる。その一方で，ヲ格が出現しないことに対しては説明が必要となる。これは，(5) の構造に対格を付与する *v* 主要部が存在するからである。同様に,「昨日」のような付加詞にノ格が付与されなければならない点も説明が必要であろう。通常, 動詞句内に現れる付加詞にはノ格が付かないからである。これらの疑問点に関して，Kishimoto (2006) は以下のような説明を提示している。まずヲ格の付与に関して，*v* 主要部のみならず，T 主要部も関与している旨の説明がなされている。また，付加詞（副詞）の認可にも T 主要部が必要であるとの説明を提示している。(5) の構造には T 主要部が存在しないため，ヲ格は付与されず，また付加詞（副詞）もそのままの形態では生起することができない。結果として，目的語も付加詞（副詞）もノ格で現れる，というのが Kishimoto (2006) の提案である。

ただし，この提案に対しては疑問が生じる。先行研究の多くにおいて，*v*P は CP 同様に独立した統語領域（いわゆる位相）を形成すると考えられている。そして，*v*P 位相内で対格（日本語ではヲ格）が付与されるのと平行して，CP 位相内では主格（日本語ではガ格）が付与される。主格（ガ格）の付与に関して言えば，その CP 位相のさらに上位にある位相に属する統語的要素の存在は必要ではない。つまり，主格の付与は，完全に CP 位相内部で起こる。そうすると，対格（ヲ格）に関してなぜ同様の状況にないのか，つまりなぜ *v*P 位相のさらに上の領域にある統語的要素（ここでは T 主要部）の存在がなければ対格の付与が可能でないのか、という疑問が出てくる。実際にベンガル語の名詞化節を調べてみると，T 主要部が存在しない名詞化構文の目的語や付加詞（副詞）は属格を伴って出てこないことがわかる。以下でこの点について論じることとする。

3. ベンガル語の名詞化構文

ベンガル語には，verbal noun（以下 VN と明記する）と呼ばれる接辞を用いて，動詞あるいは動詞句を名詞化するプロセスがある。この名詞化のプロセスは非常に生産的であり，数多くの動詞で VN の接辞化による名詞化が可能である（詳細については，David (2015) 等を参照されたい)。

そして VN の接辞化により，全体は名詞（句）となり，格の認可が必要となる。以下の (10) の例では，動詞の *śo* 'sleep' に VN 接辞の *-wa* が付き，*śo-wa* ('sleep' -VN) という名詞（句）が出来上がるが，この場合は *śo-wa* に属格マーカーの *-r* が義務的に付く。これは *śo-wa* が名詞の *ghɔr* 'room'を主要部とした名詞句に直接支配されているからである（日本語で言えば,「眠りの部屋」のようになる)。

(10) śo-wa-r ghɔr
sleep-VN-GEN room
'bedroom [lit. room for sleeping]' (David 2015: 237)

(10) は VN 接辞が名詞に付く比較的単純な名詞化の例である。しかし，VN は句（あるいは節）とも併合する。以下の (11) は David (2015: 236) からの用例であるが，VN は動詞句と併合していると考える根拠がある（以下の議論を参照されたい）。以下の例では，名詞化された句/節の範囲を角括弧 [ ] で示すこととする。(11a) では動詞の *śon* 'listen' に VN が付いており，*prosno kɔr-a-r age śon-a* 'to listening before questioning' で 1 つの構成素を成す。そしてこの構成素は，述部である *bhalo* 'good' の主語として機能している。そのため，主格（無音形）でマークされている。[1] また，(11b) では *śikka* 'teach' に名詞化接辞の *-a* が付いている。そしてこの名詞化された構成素には目的格 (objective Case) マーカーの *-ke* が付いているが，これはこの構成素が主節の述部である *prɔśɔnśa kor* 'praise do (= to praise)' の目的語としての役割を担っているからである。[2]

(11) a. [prosno kɔr-a-r age **śon-a]**-Ø bhalo
question do-VN-GEN before listen-VN-NOM good
'It is good to listen before questioning.'
b. [śe-rɔkɔm **śikka-a]-ke** ami prɔśɔnśa kore-chi-Ø-i
that-kind teach-VN-OBJ I.NOM praise do.PRF-PRF-PRS-1
'I have praised that kind of teaching.'

そして，この VN による名詞化節の内部には主語や目的語も現れる。以下の例では，述部の *prɔśɔnśa kɔr* 'praise do' の一部である軽動詞の *kor* 'do' に VN の *-a* が接尾している。そして，主語の *taro* '太郎' が属格の *-r* でマークされている。また目的語の *hanako* '花子' は目的格の *-ke* でマークされている。一方，*gotokal* 'yesterday' には格の付与がない。

(12) taro-r gotokal hanako-ke prɔśɔnśa kɔr-**a**-r poddhoti
Taro-GEN yesterday Hanako-OBJ praise do-**VN**-GEN way
'the way in which Taro praised Hanako yesterday' (VN = verbal noun)

[1] なお，この名詞化節内に現れる軽動詞の *prosno kɔr* 'question do (= to question)' にも VN の *-a* が付き，さらにこの VN に属格の *-r* が付いているが，この属格は後置詞の *age* 'before' から付与されたものである。ベンガル語の後置詞の多くは選択する名詞句に対して主格あるいは属格を付与する (David 2015: 157)。

[2] David (2015) に従い，目的語に付く格を「目的格 (objective Case)」と呼ぶこととする。

なお，この例文の *prɔśɔnśa kɔr-a* ‘praise do-VN (= to praise)’ は属格 *-r* でマークされているが，これはこの例文の名詞化節が名詞の *poddhoti* ‘way’ と併合しているからである。先程の (10) の場合と同じである。

この名詞化節においては，(i) 主語は属格であり，主格にはならない，また (ii) 述部に時制要素は出てこない。(13) の例を参照されたい。

(13) taro{-r/*Ø}　　gotokal(*-er)　　hanako-ke　　prosongsha
Taro-{GEN/*NOM}　　yesterday(*-GEN)　　Hanako-OB　　praise
{kɔr-**a** / *kor-e-chi lo　}-r　　poddhoti
do-**VN**　do-PST　3rd　-GEN　　way　　(VN = verbal noun)
‘the way in which Taro praised Hanako yesterday’

一方，ベンガル語の主節においては，主語は主格（無音型）でマークされ，動詞には一致マーカーと時制が現れる。また，*gotokal* ‘yesterday’ のような付加詞は格を持たずに現れる。[3]

(14) taro{ Ø/*-r }　　gotokal(*-er)　　hanako-ke　　prosongsha　　kor-e-chi lo.
Taro-NOM/*GEN　　yesterday　　Hanako-ACC　　praise　　do-Past　3rd
‘Taro praised Hanako yesterday.’

主語が属格でマークされ，述部に時制要素が出ない、という 2 点において，ベンガル語の名詞化構文と日本語の「-方」名詞化構文は共通点を持つ。したがって，ベンガル語の名詞化接辞を伴う節も *v*P レベルの節 (= reduced clause) であると結論付けられる。しかし，(13) の例で見たように，ベンガル語の名詞化節の場合には，目的語に目的格が付き，*gotokal* ‘yesterday’ には属格等の格標識が付かない。ベンガル語の名詞化構文はこれらの点において「-方」名詞化構文の場合と異なる。なお， *gotokal* ‘yesterday’ は名詞句に直接支配される位置に出てくる場合には，属格でのマーキングが義務的である。(15b) を参照されたい。この点ではベンガル語の付加詞と日本語の付加詞は同じ振る舞いを示すのである。

(15) a.　昨日*(の) ニュース

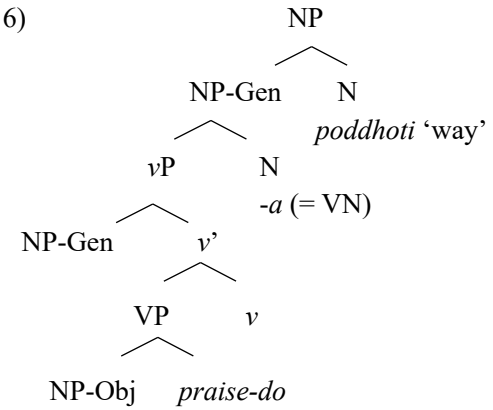
[3] ただし，意志性 (volitionality) が低い述語の場合には，主節でも属格主語が出てくる。

(i) a. ta-r　　cot　　lege-ch-Ø-e.
3SG.NHON-GEN　　injury　　strike.PRF-PRF-PRS-3
‘He got hurt.’
b. ama-r　　khudha　　lege-ch-Ø-e.
I-GEN　　hungry　　strike.PRF-PRF-PRS-1
‘I am hungry.’　　(David 2015: 74)

b. gotokal*(-er) kabara
yesterday-GEN news
'yesterday's news'

まとめると，(12) のベンガル語の名詞化節は verbal な性質を持つ。さらに，先程見たように，この名詞化節に主格は現れず，過去時制も起きない。ベンガル語の名詞化節は TP を含んでおらず，*v*P として具現化されていることになる。従って，(12) は以下の (16) のような構造を持つと考えることができる。

(16)



まず *v*P が形成される過程で主語，目的語，付加詞等が導入される。*v*P の構造が出来上がると，名詞化の役割を持つ VN がこの *v*P と併合する。この併合の際に，全体のラベルは NP となる（さらに，この NP が N の *poddhoti* 'way'と併合し，前者は属格でマークされる）。

上の構造は Kishimoto (2006) が「-方」名詞化構文について提案した構造 (= (5)) と（ほぼ）同じである。従って，目的格の付与や時を表す付加詞 (*gotokal* 'yesterday') の認可は T 主要部を必要としないという結論が導き出せる。

4. おわりに

ここまでのベンガル語に関する議論は，日本語の「-方」名詞化構文の構造の再検討を促すものであると言える。もし「-方」名詞化構文が (5) の構造を持つのであれば，ベンガル語の名詞化節との格に関する違いに対する説明が求められるからである。日本語の「-方」名詞化構文では，対格が付与されず，付加詞（副詞句）がノ格でマークされなければならないが，(4) で見たように，これは目的語や付加詞（副詞句）が名詞句に直接支配される位置に出てくる場合と同じである。そうすると，日本語の「-方」名詞化構文について，Kageyama (1983) が提唱したように，（少なくとも派生のある時点では）(3) の構造を持つ可能性を検討すべきであろう。もちろん，その際には (7) の受動化や使役化の例を含め，「-方」名詞化構文における項構造の統語的具現化の仕方についての詳細な検討が必要になる。また，仮に日本語の「-方」名詞化構文が (3) の構造を持ち，ベンガル語の名詞化節が (16)（(5)も参照

されたい）の構造を持つとすれば，新たな疑問点も生じる。例えば，ベンガル語に (3) の構造を持つ名詞化構文はあるのか，もし存在しないとすればそれは何故なのか，という問題等である。同様に，日本語には (5) の構造を持つ名詞化構文が存在するのか否か，という点の検証も必要となる。これらの点の検証は別の機会の課題としたい。

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Some Preliminary Notes on *Soo* ECM Constructions in Japanese

Gen Kasai

1. Introduction

In generative grammar, the study of Case has played a central role in linguistic research and has revealed innate properties of the language faculty. One of the most widely discussed Case-related phenomena is exceptional case marking (ECM). ECM constructions allow the embedded subject to be case-marked as accusative, as in (1). In (1), the embedded subject *her* is assigned accusative Case.

(1) Mike wants her to play tennis with you.

Japanese also has ECM constructions, as shown in (2). The embedded subject *Mike* can bear the accusative marker *o* as well as the nominative marker *ga*. Interestingly, Japanese ECM constructions in (2) allow the embedded subject to be accusatively marked in the finite CP headed by the complementizer *to*, while the embedded clause is non-finite TP in the English counterpart. A piece of evidence comes from tense alternation. A diagnostic of finiteness of clauses in Japanese is the availability of tense alternation of the predicate (Fujii 2006). (2) shows that the embedded copula can alternate with respect to present (non-past) and past tense. This fact suggests that the embedded clause in Japanese ECM constructions are finite CP, as discussed in the previous literature [1].

(2) Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-ga/o tensai da/dat-ta to] omotteiru.
T.-TOP M.-NOM/ACC genius COP/COP-PAST C think
'Taro thinks that Mike is a genius.'

Although canonical ECM constructions such as (2) have been investigated by many researchers (e.g., Saito 1985; Kaneko 1988; Oka 1988; Hoji 1991; Sakai 1998; Hiraiwa 2001; Kobayashi and Maki 2002; Tanaka 2002; Takano 2003; Hiwairwa 2005; Hoji 2005; Kuno 2007; Ura 2007; Goto 2014; Kishimoto 2021; Takahashi 2021), the syntactic properties of non-canonical ones, in which the verbs selecting the embedded CP is modified by a pro-form *soo* 'so', remain mysterious (cf. Sakamoto 2016; Fujiwara 2022). (3) shows that *soo* modifies the matrix predicate, which refers to the embedded CP, whose subject can be marked accusative.

(3) Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-ga/o tensai da/dat-ta to] soo omotteiru.
T.-TOP Mike-NOM/ACC genius COP/COP-PST C so think
'Taro thinks that Mike is a genius.'

This paper focuses on the non-canonical ECM constructions, which I call *Soo* ECM henceforth, and proposes

[1] As an annonymous reviewer points out, clause types may vary, depending on verbs. The discussion, however, does not matter so much in this paper and is beyond my scope. I leave this important issue for future research.

that *Soo* ECM is derived by optional movement of the embedded accusative subject out of the embedded CP as well as prolepsis [2]. The evidence emerges when the silent *pro* is unavailable. In other words, *Soo* ECM is legitimate even when *pro*-resistant wh-phrases and idioms are accusatively marked in *Soo* ECM.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly summarizes previous studies on ECM constructions in Japanese, and Section 3 introduces previous observations on *Soo* ECM. Section 4 observes that *pro*-resistant constituents, namely wh-phrases and idioms, can occur as ECMed subjects in *Soo* ECM and argues, on the basis of the Proper Binding Condition and cleft constructions, that *Soo* ECM can be derived by a raising approach as well as by prolepsis. Section 5 explores the nature of raising in *Soo* ECM and shows, on the basis of cleft constructions, PP placement, and island effects, that the raising involved in *Soo* ECM is optional. Section 6 concludes this paper.

2. A Quick Summary of Previous Literature on ECM Constructions

Analyses of ECM constructions can be divided into three main types, as illustrated in (4). The obligatory-raising analysis in (4-a) argues that ECM constructions involve obligatory movement out of CP, whereas the optional-raising analysis assumes that movement to the matrix clause is optional in (4-b). By contrast, the prolepsis (major object + *pro*) analysis in (4-c) does not involve movement. Rather, the major object occupies the V-complement position, and the embedded subject is the phonologically null pronoun (*pro*).

(4) a. NP-ACC$_1$ [$_{CP}$ t_1...] (Obligatory Raising, Kuno 1976; Sakai 1998; Tanaka 2002; Kuno 2007)

b. [$_{CP}$ NP-ACC...] or NP-ACC$_1$ [$_{CP}$ t_1...]
(Optional Raising, Hiraiwa 2001; Hiwairwa 2005; Kishimoto 2021)

c. NP-ACC$_1$ [$_{CP}$ *pro*$_1$...]
(Prolepsis, Major Object + pro, Saito 1985; Oka 1988; Hoji 1991; Takano 2003; Hoji 2005)

Due to space limitations, I will take up one argument in favor of the movement analyses in (4-a) and (4-b). ECM constructions show Proper Binding Condition (PBC) effects (Kuno 1976), as shown in (5). The unacceptability of (5) is explained by the PBC. The embedded subject *Mike* in (5) is extracted out of CP, and the embedded CP then undergoes scrambling to sentence-initial position. The embedded CP contains the unbound trace, t_1. By contrast, this unacceptability is difficult to capture under the prolepsis analysis due to the lack of the unbound trace (the embedded subject is just *pro*).

(5) *[$_{CP}$ t_1 tensai da to] Taro-wa Mike-o$_1$ omotteiru.
genius COP C T.-TOP Mike-ACC think
'Taro thinks that Mike is a genius.'

[2]The movement might be scrambling or case-driven A movement. Seeking this issue is beyond my scope. I leave this important issue for future research. I thank an annonymous reviewer for bringing this issue to my attention.

3. Basic Properties of *Soo* ECM and Some Previous Notes on *Soo* ECM

Having briefly reviewed previous studies on ECM constructions, I now turn to *Soo* ECM. *Soo* ECM shares some similarities with canonical ECM constructions. First, their embedded clauses are selected by verbs representing the indirect speech and the internal feelings of the matrix subject such as *sinziru* 'believe', *kantigaisuru* 'mistake', *kateisuru* 'hypothesize', and *omoikomu* 'erroneously believe' (cf. Kuno 1976). Second, the embedded clause, which contains the accusative subject, is finite CP headed by the complementizer *to*. (3) indicates that the embedded clause in *Soo* ECM allows tense alternation, which suggests the finiteness of the CP.

However, these two constructions behave differently with respect to PBC effects. *Soo* ECM does not show PBC effects (Fujiwara 2022:86), as in (6) (*soo* 'so' in (6) refers to the embedded CP), whereas canonical ECM constructions do. This fact supports the prolepsis analysis of *Soo* ECM because the analysis does not produce an unbound trace but instead places *pro* in the embedded subject position, as in (7-a). In contrast, (7-b) indicates that the movement analysis necessarily generates an unbound trace. In short, canonical ECM constructions are derived by raising strategies such as (4-a) and (4-b), whereas *Soo* ECM allows prolepsis strategy in (4-c) at least.

(6) [$_{CP}$ tensai da to] Taro-wa Mike-o$_1$ soo omotteiru.
genius COP C T.-TOP Mike-ACC so think
'That pro$_1$ is a genius, Taro thinks of Mike$_1$.'

(7) a. [$_{CP}$ *pro*$_1$ tensai da to] Taro-wa Mike-o$_1$ soo omotteiru.

b. [$_{CP}$ t_1 tensai da to] Taro-wa Mike-o$_1$ soo omotteiru.

However, the discussion does not show that *Soo* ECM completely lacks movement, even though the prolepsis option is available. The next section discusses *pro*-resistant constituents, namely wh-phrases and idioms, and argues that *Soo* ECM can involve raising.

4. Raising Analysis of *Soo* ECM

This section focuses on wh-phrases and idioms, which cannot be referred to by pronouns, and proposes that *Soo* ECM has raising as one of its sources, in addition to prolepsis. I propose that *Soo* ECM has two derivations, as in (8-a) and (8-b). In (8), *soo* 'so' adjoins to the matrix VP. In (8-a), the NP with the accusative marker is base-generated in V-complement position as a Major Object and is referred to by *pro*. In contrast, (8-b) illustrates that the accusative subject moves out of CP or stays in-situ. Having introduced evidence suggesting prolepsis strategy of *Soo* ECM in Section 3, subsections 4.1 and 4.2 are devoted to showing that *Soo* ECM are derived by a non-proleptic strategy when *pro* is inaccessible. Section 5 seeking the nature of a non-proleptic strategy involved in *Soo* ECM and argues that the strategy is not obligatory but optional movement of the embedded NP with an accusative case out of the embedded CP.

(8) a. [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ NP-ACC$_1$ [$_{CP}$ *pro*$_1$...]] soo]

b. [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ NP-ACC...] soo] or [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ NP-ACC$_1$ [$_{CP}$ t_1...]] soo]

4.1. Wh-phrases

As Saito (2017:723) points out, wh-phrases cannot be represented by *pro*, as exemplified in (9). The following sentence has a *pro* subject in the embedded clause, but that subject cannot refer to the preceding wh-phrase *dare* 'who'.

(9) *Dare-ga$_1$ kankoku-ni ittaka-wa sira-nai kedo, *pro*$_1$ amerike-ni itta ka nara sitteiru.
who-NOM Korea-DAT went-TOP know-NEG but America-DAT went Q if know
'I don't know who went to Korea but I know who went to America.'

If *Soo* ECM used only the prolepsis strategy, wh-phrases would be predicted not to occur with the accusative marker in *Soo* ECM. This prediction is not borne out, as indicated in (10). The wh-phrase *dare* 'who', bearing accusative Case, can occur in *Soo* ECM. This fact suggests that movement strategies such as (4-a) and (4-b) are available for *Soo* ECM.

(10) Taro-wa dare-ga/o tensai da to soo omotteiru no.
T.-TOP who-NOM/ACC genius COP C so think Q
'Who does Taro think is genius?'

In addition, PBC effects in *Soo* ECM with wh-phrases support the movement analysis of *Soo* ECM, as (11-b) shows. The embedded wh-phrase *dare* 'who' in (11-b) moves out of CP, after which the embedded CP undergoes scrambling into the matrix clause. Note that question formation itself does not affect the acceptability of (11-b) because (11-a), which is a yes/no question without the wh-phrase, is still acceptable.[3]

(11) a. [$_{CP}$ *pro*$_1$ tensai da to] Taro-wa Mike-o$_1$ soo omotteiru no.
genius COP C T.-TOP Mike-ACC so think Q
'That pro$_1$ is a genius, does Taro think of Mike$_1$?'

b. *[$_{CP}$ t_1 tensai da to] Taro-wa dare-o$_1$ soo omotteiru no.
genius COP C T.-TOP who-ACC so think Q
'That t$_1$ is a genius, who$_1$ does Taro think?'

Furthermore, cleft constructions indicate that *Soo* ECM can be derived by a movement approach. In Japanese cleft constructions, multiple constituents can be situated in the focus position. Koizumi (1995) argues that multiple foci must be clause-mates, as in (12) and in (13) (see also Tanaka (2002) and Hiraiwa (2001)). (12-b) shows that *dare* 'who' and *nani* 'what' can be focused because they are in the same clause. On

[3]PBC effects behave differently, depending on the movement type of the stranded NP and the following remnant movement (e.g., Müller 1998; Abels 2007), as an annonymous reviewer correctly notes. Müller (1998) argues that the movement types must not be the same. Then, the PBC violation in (11-b) suggests that CP fronting and extraction from the embedded CP are the same operation, that is, scrambling. However, Japanese shows PBC effects if A movement from the constituent, which is fronted later (e.g., Takita 2010). Considering this, it is difficult to argue that extraction from the embedded CP in (11-b) is scrambling or A movement.

the other hand, *dare* 'who' and *nani* 'what' in (13-b) are not clause-mates, which degrades the acceptability of (13-b).

(12) a. Mary-wa [$_{CP}$ Taro-ga dare-ni nani-o watasita to] omotteiru no.
M.-TOP T.-NOM who-DAT who-ACC passed C think Q
'To whom does Mary think that Taro passed what?'

b. Mary-ga [$_{CP}$ Taro-ga t_1 t_2 watasita to] omotteiru no-wa dare-ni$_1$ nani-o$_2$ desu-ka.
M.-NOM T.-NOM passed C think NML-TOP who-DAT who-ACC COP-Q
'To whom and what is it that Mary thinks Taro passed?'

(13) a. Dare-ga [$_{CP}$ Taro-ga Mary-ni nani-o watasita to] omotteiru no.
who-NOM T.-NOM Mary-DAT who-ACC passed C think Q
'Who thinks that Taro passed Mary what?'

b. *t_1 [$_{CP}$ Taro-ga Mary-ni t_2 watasita to] omotteiru no-wa dare-ga$_1$ nani-o$_2$ desu-ka.
T.-NOM Mary-DAT passed C think NML-TOP who-NOM who-ACC COP-Q
'Who and what is it that thinks Taro passed to Mary?'

Let me go back to *Soo* ECM. The accusative-marked logical subject in the embedded clause and the indirect object in the embedded clause cannot be multiply focused under the prolepsis analysis because the subject and the indirect object are not clause-mates. This prediction is refuted by (14-b). The ECMed subject *dare* 'who' and the indirect object in the embedded clause *nani* 'what' can occupy the focus position in cleft constructions. These data are easily captured by a raising approach, that is, the optional raising approach. In the optional raising approach, the embedded subject with the accusative marker in (14-b) can stay in the embedded CP, which satisfies the clause-mate condition. Note that the optional raising approach to *Soo* ECM is further confirmed by the fact that the matrix subject and the ECMed embedded subject are multiply focused, as exemplified in (14-c). (14-c) suggests that the ECMed subject *dare* 'who' can be optionally moved out of the embedded CP and become clause-mates with the matrix subject *dare* 'who'.

(14) a. Taro-wa dare-o nani-ni muitei-nai to soo omotteiru no.
T.-TOP who-ACC what-DAT suitable-NEG C so think Q
'Who does Taro consider to be not suitable for what?'

b. Taro-ga [$_{CP}$ t_1 t_2 muitei-nai to] soo omotteiru no-wa dare-o$_1$ nani-ni$_2$ desu-ka.
T.-NOM suitable-NEG C so think NML-TOP who-ACC what-DAT COP-Q
'Who and for what is it that Taro considers to be not suitable?'

c. t_1 t'_2 [$_{CP}$ t_2 sono sigoto-ni muitei-nai to] soo omotteiru no-wa dare-ga$_1$ dare-o$_2$
that job-DAT suitable-NEG C so think NML-TOP who-NOM who-ACC
desu-ka.
COP-Q
'Who and whom is it that Taro considers to be not suitable for the job?'

This subsection has shown, on the basis of the availability of wh-phrases, PBC effects, and cleft constructions, that *Soo* ECM can be derived by optional raising as well as by the prolepsis strategy. The next subsection turns to another class of *pro*-resistant constituents, that is, idioms.

4.2. Idioms

This subsection argues that idioms, which are resistant to *pro*, can occur as the logical subject of the embedded CP, just as wh-phrases can. I will take up the idiom, *X no me ga husiana da* 'X does not see the nature of things'. This idiom can appear in the embedded CP position in ECM constructions, as exemplified in (15).

(15) Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-no me-ga/o fusiana da to] omotteiru.
T.-TOP Mike-GEN eye-NOM/ACC knothole COP C think
'Taro thinks that Mike does not see the nature of things.'

Since idioms are *pro*-resistant, the prolepsis analysis of *Soo* ECM predicts that the idiom cannot appear in the constructions. However, (16) shows that this prediction is not borne out. The availability of (16) supports the raising analysis of ECM [4].

(16) Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-no me-ga/o husiana da to] soo omotteiru.
T.-TOP Mike-GEN eye-NOM/ACC knothole COP C so think
'Taro thinks that Mike does not see the nature of things.'

Moreover, *Soo* ECMed idioms violate PBC if the logical subject is moved out of CP, after which the CP is fronted above the NP, as (17) indicates. The degraded status of (17) further suggests that *pro*-resistant constituents in *Soo* ECM can be derived by the raising strategy.

(17) *[$_{CP}$ t_1 husiana da to] Taro-wa Mike-no me-o$_1$ soo omotteiru.
knothole COP C T.-TOP Mike-GEN eye-ACC so think
'That t_1 does not see the nature of things, Taro thinks Mike$_1$.'

In summary, this section makes novel observations that *pro* resisting constituents, including wh-phrases and idioms, can appear as the accusative-marked logical subject of the embedded clause in *Soo* ECM in terms of PBC effects and cleft constructions. The next section addresses whether the raising involved in *Soo* ECM is optional and argues that it is optional based on cleft constructions, PP placement, and island effects.

[4] As Hiraiwa (2001) notes, ECM construction in Japanese can allow a nominative and accusative case to be realized in possessor raising constructions. This is true for *Soo* ECM, as in (i). Importantly, *o-ga* sequence is legitimate in (i-b), while *ga-o* sequence is not, as (i-c) exemplifies. The unacceptability of (i-c) might be attributed to defective intervention effect of the nominative marked NP *Mike* (Hiraiwa 2001). However, this intervention effect has been argued to be imposed on Agree (e.g., Takahashi 2010). If this line of reasoning is correct, (i-c) involves case-driven movement of the accusative NP across the nominative NP at lease once in the derivation. I leave this important issue for future studies.

(i) a. Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-ga me-ga fusiana da to] omotteiru.
T.-TOP Mike-NOM eye-NOM knothole COP C think
'Taro thinks that Mike does not see the nature of things.'
b. Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-o me-ga fusiana da to] omotteiru.
T.-TOP Mike-ACC eye-NOM knothole COP C think
'Taro thinks that Mike does not see the nature of things.'
c. *Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ Mike-ga me-o fusiana da to] omotteiru.
T.-TOP Mike-NOM eye-ACC knothole COP C think
'Taro thinks that Mike does not see the nature of things.'

5. The Optionality of Movement in *Soo* ECM

Having discussed empirical evidence favoring the movement approach to *Soo* ECM, I now turn to the optionality of movement in *Soo* ECM. I argue that the movement involved in this construction is optional with respect to cleft constructions, PP placement, and the absence of island effects. First, reconsider cleft constructions. The obligatory raising approach fails to rule in (14-b) because the accusative subject and the indirect object cannot be clause mates due to the obligatory raising of the accusative subject.

Next, PP placement provides a key diagnostic for where the accusative subject can be base-generated. Some PPs, such as *gakkyuu-iin kurai* 'like a class representative', which modifies the matrix predicate *omou* 'think' (Kobayashi and Maki 2002), cannot move across a clause Takahashi (2021:240). Given that the PP *gakkyuu-iin kurai* 'class-representative like' marks the edge of the embedded clause, let me consider (18), which indicates that the accusative wh-subject in *Soo* ECM can remain within the embedded clause. In (18), the ECMed wh-subject *dare* 'who' stays within the embedded CP because the PP *gakkyuu-iin kurai* 'class-representative like' modifying the embedded predicate precedes the subject. This fact supports the view that the ECMed subject in *Soo* ECM undergoes optional movement out of the embedded CP.

(18) Mary-wa [$_{CP}$ gakkyuu-iin kurai itumo dare-o seizitu da to] soo omotteiru no.
M.-TOP class-representative like always who-ACC sincere COP C so think Q
'who does Mary think is always as sincere as a class representative?'

Island effects also provide a useful testing ground for determining whether the movement in *Soo* ECM is obligatory. (19) shows that island effects are absent in *Soo* ECM with the accusative-marked wh-phrase. (19) would be degraded because of island effects if the ECMed subject *nani go* 'what language' within the relative clause underwent obligatory movement out of the embedded CP selected by *soo* 'so'. These data further suggest that the raising accompanying *Soo* ECM is optional.

(19) Taro-wa [$_{CP}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{CP}$ nani go-o dekiru] nihonzin-ga] tensai da to] soo omotta no.
T.-TOP what language-ACC can.do Japanese-NOM genius COP C so thought Q.
'What language$_1$ does Taro think Japanese people who can use t_1 are geniuse?'

Two notes are in order here. First, accusative Case does not come from the verb *dekiru* 'can do', selecting the ECMed subject *nani go* 'what language', but is assigned by the matrix verb *omotta* 'thought' because the verb *dekiru* 'can do' cannot assign the accusative case, as in (20).

(20) Taro-wa suugaku-ga/*o dekiru.
T.-TOP math-NOM ACC can.do
'Taro is good at math.'

Next, the absence of island effects cannot be attributed to possessor raising (cf. Kobayashi and Maki 2002). Kobayashi and Maki (2002) claims that the lack of island effects in ECM constructions can be explained by possessor raising. In other words, the ECMed subject can be regarded as a possessor of the NP modified by

a relative clause, which contains *pro* referring to the ECMed subject, as schematized in (21).

(21) [NP-ACC/GEN$_1$ [[*pro*$_1$ V] NP]]

This derivation is not suitable for (19) because the ECMed subject *nani go* 'what language' is resistant to the *pro* strategy. In addition, the genitive counterpart of the ECMed subject *nani go* 'what language' is degraded, as shown in (22).

(22) *Nani go-no nihonzin
what language-GEN Japanese
'Japanese people of what language'

In summary, this section argues that *Soo* ECM adopts the optional raising strategy as well as the prolepsis one with respect to cleft constructions, PP placement, and island effects.

6. Conclusion

This study argues, on the basis of two *pro*-resistant constituents, namely wh-phrases and idioms, as well as PBC effects and cleft constructions, that *Soo* ECM has optional raising as one of its sources in addition to prolepsis. The obligatory raising approach is inconsistent with the data of cleft constructions, PP placement, and island effects.

These findings show that *Soo* ECM is not a uniform prolepsis construction, but a structurally ambiguous configuration in which prolepsis and optional raising coexist. Crucially, the optionality of raising suggests that accusative Case in *Soo* ECM need not be tied to overt raising. This supports long-distance Case assignment without forcing displacement (e.g., Agree, Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001), contrary to views that rule out long-distance Case assignment in Japanese (e.g., Saito 2016; Zushi 2016).

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On the Applicability of PF Deletion to Argument Ellipsis in Qiang

Chen Yunwen

1. Introduction

It is observed that ellipsis constructions with a fronted phrase remain grammatical in Qiang, as shown in (1b). The ellipsis sentence preserves the same structural pattern as its antecedent clause. Under a PF-deletion approach, the ellipsis site is assumed to retain syntactic structure identical to that of the antecedent. Therefore, the grammaticality of these constructions may provide evidence for a PF-deletion analysis.

(1)

a. ləɣʐ tʰe-pen$_i$, Zhangsan-wu dʑi [Lisi t_i zə-p] wa.
book that-CL$_i$, Zhangsan-AGT say [Lisi t_i DIR-buy] SFP.
'that book, Zhangsan said that Lisi bought it.'

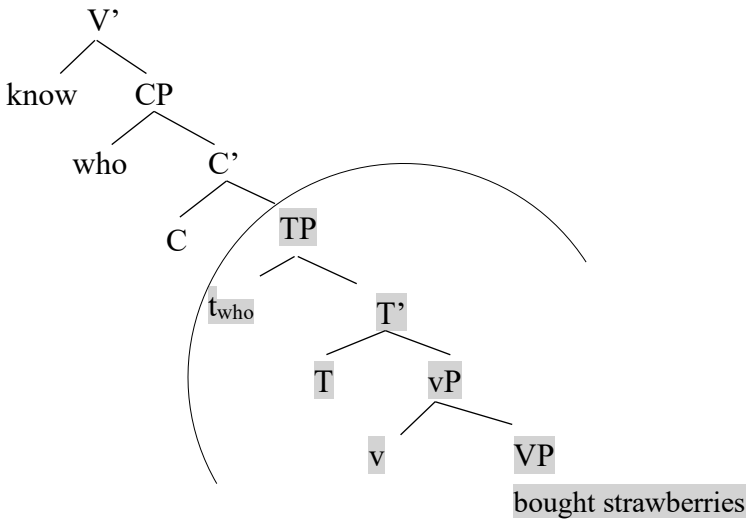
b. ləɣʐ tʰe-pen$_i$, Wangwu lə e-dʑi **Δ** wa.
book that-CL$_i$, Wangwu also DIR-say **Δ** SFP
'that book, Wangwu said that (Lisi bought it) too.'

c. ləɣʐ tʰe-pen$_i$, Wangwu lə e-dʑi ~~[Lisi t_i zə-p]~~ wa.
Book that-CL$_i$, Wangwu also DIR-say ~~[Lisi t_i DIR-buy]~~ SFP
'that book, Wangwu said that (Lisi bought it) too.'

Ross (1967, 1969) first explored PF deletion as its pre-PF work, further developed by Lasnik (1999), Merchant (2001, 2004), Johnson (2001), Tomioka (2008), Gengel (2005, 2007), Van Craenenbroeck (2010), Aelbrecht (2010) and many others. In this account, the full-fledge structures remain in the elliptical site and its LF representation has no much change compared with its non-elliptical counterparts. Only the phonological unreleasing differs the elided site from the non-elliptical one. The sluicing example in (2) is used to illustrate the basic assumption of PF-deletion, namely that the full syntactic structure remains in the ellipsis site and only the phonological content is deleted at PF.

(2) a. Someone had bought strawberries, but I don't know who.

b. But I don't



On the contrary, the Japanese counterpart will be ungrammatical, as Shinohara (2006) argued. This ungrammaticality cannot simply be attributed to the presence of a trace, since traces may also appear inside deleted constituents, as in sluicing constructions such as (4). Therefore, another account is required to explain the contrast.

(3)

a*.	sono hon -o_i	Taroo-wa	[Hanako-ga	t_i	katta	to]	itta si,
	that book-ACC	Taroo-TOP	[Hanako-NOM	t_i	bought	that]	said and
b.	sono hon -o_j	Ziroo-mo	***Δ***	itta			
	that book-ACC	Ziroo-also	***Δ***	said			

'Taroo said that Hanako bought that book, and Ziroo also said that she bought that book.'

(4). John bought something, but I don't know what$_i$ ~~[John bought t_i]~~

To account for this contrast, an alternative analysis based on LF-copying has been proposed and interpret its ungrammaticality well follow the spirit of Saito (1989) and Tada (1993), which argued that the extracted element would return back to the trace position in LF. Under this argument, the ungrammaticality can be interpreted as having two objects in LF, when the antecedent site with returned-back element is LF-copied to the elided one in second conjunct, shown as (5). Based on this analysis, this sentences becomes the evidence for supporting LF-copy.

(5)

a.*	sono hon -o_i	Taroo-wa	[Hanako-ga	t_i katta	to]	itta	si,
	that book-ACC	Taroo-TOP	[Hanako-NOM	t_i bought	that]	said	and

b.*	**sono hon -o_j**	Ziroo-mo				
	that book-ACC	Ziroo-also				
	[Hanako-ga	**sono**	**hon -o**	katta	to]	itta
	[Hanako-NOM	that	book-ACC	bought	that]	said

However, whether the grammaticality of ellipsis constructions with fronted phrases truly supports a PF-deletion analysis still requires further investigation. In order to address this question, this paper has two main goals: i) to demonstrate that the fronted phrase is derived through movement from the embedded clause, and ii) to examine whether ellipsis constructions remain grammatical when such movement-derived structures serve as their antecedents.

To accomplish the first goal, three diagnostics are employed. Section 2 investigates island sensitivity, showing that the fronted phrase is subject to island constraints and therefore derived from the embedded clause rather than base-generated in the matrix clause. Section 3 examines weak crossover repair, demonstrating that movement changes the c-command relation between the antecedent and the pronoun. Section 4 discusses reflexive binding variation, showing how the interpretation of the reflexive changes along the movement path of the fronted phrase.

Crucially, the ellipsis constructions in both weak crossover repair and binding variation contexts remain grammatical. This suggests that the movement-derived configurations found in the antecedent clause are preserved in the ellipsis site, providing support for a PF-deletion analysis. Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Island sensitivity

Island constraints are known to restrict extraction dependencies involving gap positions. In such dependencies, a fronted phrase is interpreted together with a lower gap position inside the embedded clause, forming a filler-gap dependency. When the gap position occurs inside an island structure, extraction becomes ungrammatical by preventing phrase from moving front of sentence. This is illustrated by wh-movement in English, as shown in (6). The ungrammaticality of extraction from a relative-clause island indicates that island structures block the movement of a wh-phrase from its base position to the sentence-initial position.

(6)

a. wh-movement

What does Susan think that John bought __? b.

relative-clause island

*What did you meet [the scientist who invented __]?

As shown above, if sentences with a fronted phrase become ungrammatical when the gap position occurs inside an island structure, this suggests that the fronted phrase originates inside the embedded clause rather than being base-generated in the matrix clause. Based on this, this section examines whether the fronted noun phrase in Qiang exhibits island sensitivity and thus whether it is derived through movement from the embedded clause. Relative-clause islands, complex NP islands, and coordinate structure islands are employed as diagnostics, and the relevant Qiang examples are presented below.

(7) Basic line (cf.(1a))

ləɣʐ̩	tʰe-pen$_i$,	Zhangsan-wu	dʑi	[Lisi	t_i	zə-p]	wa.
book	that-CL$_i$,	Zhangsan-AGT	say	[Lisi	t_i	DIR-buy]	SFP.

'that book, Zhangsan said that Lisi bought it.'

(8) Relative clause island

a.*	ləɣz	tsə-pən$_i$	Zhangsan	e-dʑi	[t_i	zə-p	mi	taχ]
	book	DEM-CL$_i$	Zhangsan	DIR-say/mention	[t_i	DIR-buy	person	those]

'This booki, Zhangsan mentioned those people who bought ti'

b.*	ləɣz	tsə-pən$_i$	Wangwu	lə	e-dʑi	***Δ***
	book	DEM-CL$_i$	Wangwu	also	DIR-say/mention	***Δ***

'This book, Wangwu also mentioned ***Δ***.'

(9) Complex NP island

a.	[ləɣz	tsə-pən]$_i$,	Zhangsan	e-dʑe-dʑi	
	[book	DEM-CL]$_i$	Zhangsan	DIR-say-EXP	
	[Lisi	[t_i	sə-lie	ʐ̩okoʂ]	zə-p]
	Lisi	[t_i	DIR-buy	bag]	DIR-buy

'*This book$_i$, Zhangsan have said that Lisi bought the bag that contains t_i.'

b.*	[ləɣz	tsə-pən]$_i$,	Wangwu	lə	e-dʑe-dʑi	***Δ***
	book	DEM-CL$_i$	Wangwu	also	DIR-say	***Δ***

'This book$_i$, Zhangsan have said that ***Δ***, too.'

(10) Coordinated Structure Island

a.*	ləɣz	tsə-pən$_i$	Zhangsan	e-dʑi	[Lisi pi ŋa	t$_i$ zə-p]
	book	DEM-CL$_i$	Zhangsan	DIR-say	[Lisi pen CONJ	t$_i$ DIR-buy]

'This book(i), Zhangsan have said that Lisi bought pen and e.'

b.*	[ləɣz	tsə-pən]$_i$,	Wangwu	lə	e-dʑedʑi ***Δ***
	[book	DEM-CL]$_i$	Wangwu	also	DIR-say ***Δ***

'This book$_i$, Zhangsan have said that ***Δ***, too.'

As shown above, the ungrammaticality of (8)-(10) indicates that the fronted noun phrase participates in an extraction dependency involving a lower gap position inside the embedded clause. Since extraction becomes impossible when the gap position occurs inside an island structure, this suggests that the fronted noun phrase originates inside the embedded clause rather than being base-generated in the matrix clause.

However, island sensitivity is not the only diagnostic for movement. Another way to test whether the fronted noun phrase is genuinely movement-derived is to examine whether its movement affects c-command relations. The repair of Weak crossover (WCO) provides such a diagnostic.

3. The Repair of Weak crossover (WCO)

Weak crossover (WCO) refers to a configuration in which a pronoun c-commands its coindexed antecedent, resulting in an unacceptable interpretation. In such cases, the structural relation between the pronoun and the antecedent cannot be properly established.

(11)

a. [everyone$_i$ [t$_i$ loves his$_i$ mother]].

b. [who$_i$ [t$_i$ loves his$_i$ mother]].

c. *[everyone$_i$ [his$_i$ mother loves t$_i$]].

d. *[who$_i$ [his$_i$ mother loves t$_i$]].

In (11c) - (11d), the pronoun c-commands the antecedent from its original position, resulting in an unacceptable interpretation. Importantly, the unacceptability remains even when the antecedent moves to the sentence-initial position, as in (11d). However, the Japanese data from Yoshimura (1989) shows the possibility of weak crossover repair by the movement of antecedent as shown below.

(12)

a.?*	[Taroo-wa	[Hanako-ga	e$_i$	yomu	mae-ni]
	Taroo-Top	Hanako-NOM	e$_i$	read	before]
	[dono	hon-o$_i$	yonda]]	no?	
	[which	book-ACC	read	Q	

'[Taroo [read which booki] [before Hanako read ei]]?'

b. dono hon-o$_i$ [Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga e$_i$ yomu mae-ni]
which book-ACC [Taroo-TOP [Hanako-NOM e$_i$ read before
[t$_i$ yonda]] no?
[t$_i$ read]] Q
'Which book$_i$, [Taroo [read t$_i$] [before Hanako read e$_i$]]?'

In a typical weak crossover configuration, as shown in (12a), the wh-in-situ phrase ‘dono hon’ (‘which book’) does not c-command the empty coindexed pronoun at its base position. As a result, binding fails, yielding ungrammaticality. In contrast, when the wh-phrase undergoes movement to the sentence-initial position, as in (12b), it comes to c-command the pronoun, and the sentence becomes acceptable. This contrast indicates that the availability of binding depends on whether the wh-phrase occupies a position from which it c-commands the pronoun at LF (Hoji 1985; Saito 1985).

The Qiang data below show the same type of weak crossover repair in (13). When the fronted phrase appears in the sentence-initial position, the sentence becomes grammatical, suggesting that the fronted phrase occupies a position from which it c-commands the pronoun in LF.

(13)

a*. [*pro$_i$* ke-tse] Zhangsan dʑi Lisi [leɣz tse-pen]$_i$ zə-p.
pro$_i$ DIR-read Zhangsan say Lisi book DEM-CL DIR-buy
‘Zhangsan who read *pro* said that Lisi bought this book.’

b. [leɣz tse-pen]$_i$, [*pro$_i$* ke-tse] Zhangsan dʑi Lisi t$_i$ zə-p.
book DEM-CL *pro$_i$* DIR-read Zhangsan said Lisi t$_i$ DIR-buy
‘[This book]$_i$, Zhangsan who read pro said that Lisi bought t$_i$].’

Even in the interrogative sentences (14), the same pattern is observed. The in-situ wh-phrase cannot c-command the empty pronoun in its base position. However, once the wh-phrase moves to the sentence-initial position in the matrix clause, the sentence becomes acceptable, which parallels to the Japanese data.

(14) Wh-in-situ

a. ge tɕalakuai: le-n na?
2sg where live-2sg Q?
‘where do you live?’

b. Zhangsan ləɣz ɳila pən zə-p?
Zhangsan book which CL DIR-buy?
‘Which book did Zhangsan buy?’

(15) Weak Crossover

a.*?	Zhangsan	gən	[Lisi	[e_i	tse	geɪ]
	Zhangsan	ask	[Lisi	[e_i	read	before]
	[ləɣz	ŋ̊ila	pən]$_i$	zə-p]?		
	[book	which	CL]$_i$.	DIR-buy]?		

'Zhangsan asks which book Lisi bought ti before he read e_i?'

b.	[ləɣz	ŋ̊ila	pən]$_i$	Zhangsan	gən	[Lisi	[e_i	tse	geɪ]
	[book	which	CL]$_i$	Zhangsan	ask	[Lisi	[e_i	read	before]
	ti	zə-pu]?							
	[ti	DIR-buy]?							

'Which booki Zhangsan asks that Lisi bought ti before he read e_i.'

Crucially, when (15b) serves as the antecedent for an elliptical conjunct, as in (16), the second conjunct remains grammatical. This suggests that the c-command relation reset by movement is preserved under ellipsis, giving the empirical support to the analysis of PF-deletion.

(16)

a.	[ləɣz	ŋ̊ila	pən]$_i$	Wangwu	lə	gən	***Δ***
	[book	which	CL]$_i$	Wangwu	also	ask	***Δ***

b. ~~Wangwu lə gən [Lisi [ei tse geɪ] ti zə pu]?~~

~~Wangwu also ask [Lisi [e_i read before t_i DIR-buy]~~

In this section, I showed that repair of Weak crossover provides evidence that the fronted phrase in Qiang is derived by movement from the embedded clause. The crucial point is that the sentence becomes acceptable only when the relevant phrase is fronted to a position from which it can c-command the pronoun. Furthermore, the grammaticality of the corresponding ellipsis constructions suggests that this movement-derived c-command relation is preserved under ellipsis, supporting a PFdeletion analysis.

The next section further examines the movement analysis by considering reflexive binding variation. If the fronted phrase is indeed movement-derived, its movement is expected to affect not only ccommand relations, but also the interpretation of reflexive binding.

4. Binding variation of reflexive movement

Reflexive binding follows Principle A of Binding Theory, which requires an anaphor to be locally bound within its domain. As a result, long-distance binding is generally not permitted in English. As (18)showed that the 'Mary' in matrix clause (TP_1) cannot achieve long-distance binding 'herself' in the embedded clause (TP_2) located in different binding domains.

(17) Principle A:

An anaphor (e.g. a reflexive or reciprocal) must be bound in its domain.

(18) a. Mary like the picture of herself.

b. *[$_{TP1}$ Mary$_i$ said that [$_{TP2}$ Joe liked these pictures of herself$_i$]]

In contrast, Battistella and Xu (1990) observed that in Chinese, a reflexives can not only bound by its local subject but also long-distance bound by the matrix subject, excluded by an intermediate subject. This pattern is referred to as the "matrix clause effect". In the (19), the embedded reflexive 'ziji'('self ') can be bound not only by the matrix subject *John*, but also by its local subject *Bill*.

(19)	John$_j$	yiwei$_i$	Jack$_k$	zhidao	Bill$_i$	bu	xiangxin	ziji$_{j/*k/i}$
	John	think	Jack$_k$	know	Bill$_i$	not	believe	self

'John thinks Jack knows that Bill doesn't believe himself.'

Before discussing long-distance binding and binding variation in Qiang, it is necessary to exhibit the basic binding properties of the reflexive. As shown in (20), the reflexive 'ŋ̟itɕuku'('self ') in simple sentence in Qiang can refers either to the local subject Lisi or to the discourse-external third person, marked as 'g'. Note that the reflexive 'ŋ̟itɕuku' ('self ') remain bound by the local subject 'Lisi' when it moves to the sentence-initial position.

(20)

a.	Lisi($_i$)	ŋ̟itɕuku($_{i/g}$)	tə-ʁua	wa.
	Lisi	self	DIR-help	PRT

'Lisi helped himself.($_{i/g}$).'

b.	ŋ̟itɕuku($_{i/g}$)	Lisi($_i$)	tə-ʁua	wa.
	self	Lisi	DIR-help	PRT

'himself($_{i/g}$), Lisi helped t.'

Turning now to long-distance binding in Qiang, the language also permits matrix-subject binding of an embedded reflexive, similarly to Chinese. As showed in (21), A reflexive 'ŋ̟itɕuku' ('self ') may be interpreted as referring either to the local subject *Lisi* or to the matrix subject *Zhangsan*, with a preference for the long-distance interpretation. Crucially, the interpretation of the reflexive changes as the fronted phrase appears in progressively higher positions. This binding variation suggests that the possible antecedent of the reflexive is sensitive to the structural position occupied by the fronted phrase during the derivation.

(21)

a.	Zhangsan($_k$)	dʑi	[Lisi($_i$)	[ŋ̟itɕuku($_{?i/*g/k}$)]	tə-ʁua]
	Zhangsan	say	[Lisi	self	DIR-help]

'Zhangan says that Lisi helped himself.'

b.	Zhangsan$_k$	dʑi	[[ŋ̟itɕuku($_{?i/*g/k}$)]$_j$	Lisi$_i$	t$_j$	tə-ʁua]
	Zhangsan	say	[self	Lisi	t$_j$	DIR-help]

'Zhangsan says himself$_j$ Lisi helped t$_j$.'

c.	[t^he-ŋ̟itɕuku(∗i/∗g/k)]$_j$	Zhangsan$_k$	dʑi	[Lisi$_i$	t$_j$	tə-ʁua.]
	3sg-self	Zhangsan	say	[Lisi	t$_j$	DIR-help
	‘Himself$_j$, Zhangsan said Lisi helped t$_j$.’					

As illustrated in (21a - c), the available antecedent of the reflexive changes as the fronted phrase moves to higher structural positions. When the reflexive reaches the left periphery of the matrix clause, only the matrix subject can serve as its antecedent.

This binding pattern is preserved in the ellipsis construction, as shown in (22a) - (b), where the interpretation of the reflexive continues to depend on the matrix subject. The preservation of this interpretation under ellipsis suggests that the same movement-derived structural relation is maintained in both the elided and non-elided structures, which may give a support to PF-deletion analysis.

(22)

a.	[t^he-ŋ̟itɕuku(∗i/∗g/k)]$_j$	Wangwu(k)	lə	dʑi	***Δ***.
	3sg-self	Wangwu	also	say	***Δ***
	‘Himself$_j$, Wangwu also said ***Δ***.’				
b.	[t^he-ŋ̟itɕuku(∗i/∗g/k)]$_j$	Wangwu(k)	lə	dʑi	~~**[Lisi$_{(i)}$ t$_j$ tə-ʁua.]**~~

In this section, I examined the binding properties of reflexives in Qiang in order to test whether the fronted phrase is movement-derived. The data showed that the interpretation of the reflexive changes according to the structural position occupied by the fronted phrase during the derivation, suggesting that the fronted phrase undergoes successive movement from the embedded clause rather than being base-generated in the matrix clause. Crucially, the corresponding ellipsis constructions remain grammatical while preserving the same reflexive interpretation patterns. This suggests that the movement-derived structural relations established in the antecedent clause are maintained under ellipsis, providing further support for a PF-deletion analysis of argument ellipsis in Qiang.

5. Conclusion

This paper investigated whether PF deletion can account for argument ellipsis in Qiang through two steps. First, three movement diagnostics, island sensitivity, weak crossover repair, and reflexive binding variation, were employed to show that the fronted phrase is derived through movement from the embedded clause rather than being base-generated in the matrix clause.

Second, this paper examined whether these movement-sensitive properties are preserved under ellipsis. The grammaticality of the corresponding ellipsis constructions in weak crossover and reflexive-binding environments suggests that the structural relations created by movement are maintained under ellipsis. This supports the view that argument ellipsis in Qiang is derived through PF deletion rather than LF-copy.

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Toward a High Applicative Analysis of Direct Passives: A Preliminary Proposal*

Taika Nagano

1 Introduction

Passivization is one of the original transformational rules proposed in Chomsky (1957). In the Principles and Parameters (P&P) framework (Chomsky 1981), the passive is an instantiation of the interaction between θ-role and Case assignment. According to Keenan and Dryer (1985), its crucial property is to demote an external argument (EA) of a lexical verb, after which the internal argument (IA) is promoted to the subject (i.e., Raising). A number of attempts to analyze passives have been made in the generative tradition, but, despite differences among these approaches, there is a consensus that the passive construction is derived by several syntactic operations, which are contained in Universal Grammar.

There is, however, morphological variation observed across languages as to the surface form of passive constructions. English, for example, has a special verbal form for passives (i.e., *be* + past participle) with an optional agentive *by*-phrase, as in (1a). On the other hand, Chinese lacks such passive verbal morphology. Instead, the agentive *bei*-phrase is obligatory in the language. This is exemplified in (2), whose English counterpart is in (1a). It goes without saying that English never allows the Chinese-type passive pattern, as in (1b).

(1) a. Lisi **was killed** (by Zhangsan).
b. *Lisi **killed** by Zhangsan.

(2) Lisi *(bei Zhangsan) sha-le.
Lisi by Zhangsan kill-PFV

Japanese passives are more puzzling. A typical passive construction in Japanese is shown in (3a). Japanese is similar to English in that it has a verbal form for passives (i.e., *-(r)are*) and optional *by*-phrases, but it differs from English in two respects. First, Japanese has two *by* phrases: *-ni* and *-niyotte*. Although the two *by* phrases are generally interchangeable, some crucial contrasts are pointed out (Inoue 1976, Kuroda 1979). Second, unlike English and Chinese, Japanese allows adversity or indirect passives. As mentioned above, the defining property of passives is demotion of an external argument, but in Japanese adversity passives, a malfactive experiencer is newly introduced. In (3b), *Jiro* is a non-core argument (NCA) with *musuko* 'son' being the sole argument of the lexical verb *sin* 'die.'

(3) a. Hanako-ga Taro-ni(yotte) koros-are-ta.
Hanako-NOM Taro-by kill-PASS-PST
'Hanako was killed by Taro.'

b. Jiro-ga musuko-ni sin-are-ta.
Jiro-NOM son-DAT die-PASS-PST
Int. 'Jiro's son died on him.'

In order to explain the idiosyncratic properties of Japanese passives and the morphological variation

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observed in passive constructions, this paper explores a new approach to passivization. I argue that *-ni* direct passives and *-niyotte* passives, though seemingly similar, are different syntactic objects. More precisely, the former instantiate a high applicative construction, whereas the latter correspond to English long passives. I follow Bruening (2013) for the analysis of long passives or *-niyotte* passives, but I treat *-ni* direct passives as a control-like high applicative construction, where the NCA introduced by Appl is co-indexed with the IA, which is PRO. When the NCA is not identical with the IA, the high applicative construction is an indirect passive. To sum, there are two passive-related constructions—(4) and (5). The passives in (4) correspond to English passives. Passives without the *by* phrase such as (4a) are called *short passives* whereas ones with the *by*-phrase *-niyotte*, such as (4b), are called *long passives*. On the other hand, passives in (5) are not observed in English because they are high applicative. I dub (5a) and (5b) *direct passives* and *indirect passives*, respectively.

(4) a. Hanako-ga _____ koros-are-ta.
b. Hanako-ga Taro-**niyotte** koros-are-ta.

(5) a. Hanako-ga Taro-**ni** koros-are-ta.
b. Jiro-ga musuko-**ni** sin-are-ta.

The discussion proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we review the role of PassP, which is proposed by Bruening (2013), and how PassP functions in Japanese (Jo and Seo 2023, Asami 2025). Section 3 introduces several differences between *-ni* and *-niyotte* passives. In Section 4, I propose an analysis of Japanese passives. I categorize the *-ni* direct passive construction as a high applicative while *-niyotte* passives are identical with canonical passives in English. I also touch upon the possibility that my analysis naturally predicts the cross-linguistic variation in passives. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 PassP (Bruening 2013)

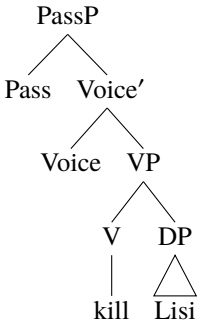
In the P&P framework, passivization is the result of demotion of a canonical subject (EA) and promotion of a canonical object (IA). When an EA is suppressed, it automatically loses the ability to assign Case (i.e., Burzio's Generalization (Burzio 1986)) and hence the IA undergoes A-movement to the grammatical subject position (i.e., Spec-IP).

What has been controversial is how an EA is suppressed. Bruening (2013) offers a solution to it by arguing that the EA suppression is syntactically triggered. Bruening (2013) is concerned with the functional head Pass(ive)P and its interaction with *by* phrases and nominalizations in English. I will not discuss nominalization in this paper, but the key idea is that it is PassP that suppresses the EA of the lexical verb. PassP has two options depending on the presence or absence of the *by* phrase. In the absence of a *by* phrase, it is semantically active. PassP existentially binds the EA before VoiceP (Kratzer 1996) introduces it, which is formally schematized in (6e). When there is a *by* phrase, PassP makes no semantic contribution and is truth-conditionally equivalent to the active VoiceP. The role of *by*P is to independently introduce an EA and then take unsaturated Voice′ as its input, returning a saturated VoiceP whose syntactic and semantic properties are comparable to those of active VoiceP.

English passives such as in (1a) are analyzed as follows. In (6), the illustration of passives without

a *by* phrase (i.e., short passive) is presented. First, following Kratzer (1996), VP merges with Voice as in normal transitive clauses. They are composed via *Event Identification*, where the combination of functions of type $\langle e, st\rangle$ (typically, Voice) and $\langle s, t\rangle$ (such as VP) is interpreted as a function of type $\langle e, st\rangle$, as in (6c).[1] Under normal circumstances (e.g., transitives), Voice′ newly introduces an EA, but in short passives, PassP merges with the unsaturated Voice′. Due to the absence of the EA, PassP existentially quantifies over it.

(6) **Input configuration**

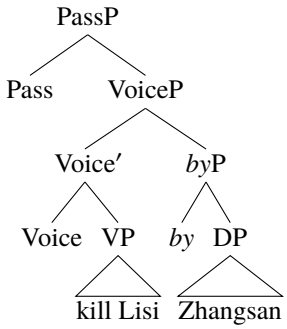


Semantic interpretation

a. $[\![\text{VP}]\!] = \lambda$e [kill(e,Lisi)]
b. $[\![\text{Voice}]\!] = \lambda$x$\lambda$e [Agent(e,x)]
c. *Event Identification*: $[f_{\langle e,st\rangle}$ & $g_{\langle st\rangle}] \rightarrow h_{\langle e,st\rangle}$
d. $[\![\text{Voice}']\!] = \lambda$x$\lambda$e [kill(e,Lisi) & Agent(e,x)]
e. $[\![\text{Pass}]\!] = \lambda\text{P}_{\langle (e),\, st\rangle}\lambda$e($\exists$x) [P(e,(x))]
f. $[\![\text{PassP}]\!] = \lambda$e$\exists$x [kill(e,Lisi) & Agent(e,x)]

When there is a *by* phrase (i.e., long passive), PassP is semantically vacuous. It loses the role of existential quantification. This is because *by*P introduces an EA, so that VoiceP in long passives is equivalent to saturated active VoiceP in the end. *By*, whose denotation is given in (7b), is a two-place predicate of type $\langle e, \langle\langle e, st\rangle, st\rangle\rangle$: it selects an argument, which is normally an Agent, like ordinary prepositions, and *by*P takes unsaturated VoiceP (i.e., Voice′) as the input, eventually returning a function of type $\langle s, t\rangle$ (i.e., VoiceP). This VoiceP is chosen as the input of PassP, working as an identity function (i.e., $\langle st, st\rangle$) and returning an event predicate that is truth-conditionally equivalent to the VoiceP. PassP in this case, being semantically inactive, just contributes to passive morphology. This series of processes is illustrated in (7).

(7) **Input configuration**



Semantic interpretation

a. $[\![\text{Voice}']\!] = \lambda$x$\lambda$e [kill(e,Lisi) & Agent(e,x)]
b. $[\![by]\!] = \lambda$x$\lambda\text{P}_{\langle e,\, st\rangle}\lambda$e [P(e,x)]
c. $[\![by\text{P}]\!] = \lambda\text{P}_{\langle e,\, st\rangle}\lambda$e [P(e,Zhangsan)]
d. $[\![\text{VoiceP}]\!] = \lambda$e [kill(e,Lisi) & Agent(e,Zhangsan)]
e. $[\![\text{Pass}]\!] = \lambda\text{P}_{\langle (e),\, st\rangle}\lambda$e($\exists$x) [P(e,(x))]
f. $[\![\text{PassP}]\!] = \lambda$e [kill(e,Lisi) & Agent(e,Zhangsan)]

Based on Bruening (2013), Jo and Seo (2023) and Asami (2025) propose analyses of Japanese passives. As we saw in the previous section, Japanese differs from languages like English in that it has (i) two types of *by* phrases (*-ni* and *-niyotte*) and (ii) allows indirect passives. To capture these

[1] Bruening (2013) does not assume *Event Identification*, arguing that Voice is $\langle st, \langle e, st\rangle\rangle$. We will not pursue this point, following the Kratzarian event composition.

typological features of Japanese, Jo and Seo (2023) loosen the restriction on PassP. In Bruening (2013), PassP only selects active VoiceP that is unsaturated or merged with *by*P. However, Jo and Seo (2023) propose that PassP in Japanese can have any VoiceP (e.g., unaccusative) as its complement and *by*P can be introduced after Pass merges with VoiceP. Additionally, they argue that PassP has an EPP feature. Via either Internal Merge or External Merge, the specifier of PassP must be filled with any XP. An IA moves up to Spec-PassP in short passives, while in long passives, *by*P satisfies the EPP in PassP. These weakened properties of PassP account for the wide variety of passive constructions found in Japanese.

Asami (2025) departs from Jo and Seo (2023) by following Bruening's (2013) idea that PassP only selects active VoiceP. He points out some empirical and methodological problems in Jo and Seo (2023), which I will not pursue in this paper. Nevertheless, his analysis largely follows Jo and Seo's approach and captures the typologically notable characteristics of Japanese passives. Jo and Seo (2023) and Asami (2025) share the view that Aff(ect)P (Bosse et al. 2012) enables Japanese to have indirect passives. AffP, roughly speaking, is a function that syntactically introduces an Experiencer argument, as in (8). It can appear in various contexts, and indirect passives are one of them. In Japanese indirect passives, Aff selects PassP as its complement and then newly introduces an experiencer affected by the event denoted by its complement (i.e., PassP). This is how a NCA is introduced in indirect passives.

(8) $[\![\text{Aff}]\!] = \lambda P_{\langle st \rangle} \lambda x \lambda e\, [P(e) \,\&\, \exists e'\, [\text{Experience}(e') \,\&\, \text{Experiencer}(e', x)]\colon \forall e''\, [P(e'') \rightarrow \text{Source}(e'', e')]]$

(Bosse et al. 2012:1188)

However, there are two issues that remain unsolved. First, it remains unclear why there is such typological variation in passives, as we saw in the previous section. In other words, why does Japanese allow indirect passives whereas English does not? Asami (2025:237) also notes, "[f]urther research is needed to understand why [indirect passives are] not observed in other languages, such as English." The other question is why Japanese has two types of *by* phrases— *-ni* and *-niyotte*. Bruening (2013) mentions that relatively little attention has been paid to *by*-phrases in studies of passives. This holds true for Jo and Seo (2023) and Asami (2025). Although relatively few studies have examined the contrasts between *-ni* and *-niyotte* passives, the next section introduces some of the differences between them.

3 Two Types of *by*-Phrases in Japanese

First and foremost, although there are two distinct *by* phrases, the practical difference between the two is very marginal. That is to say, *-ni* and *-niyotte* are basically interchangeable, as in (3a). However, it has been pointed out that there are some differences between them. In this section, we will look at the contexts where the contrast is significant. In Section 3.1, I will present contexts where *-niyotte* can appear but *-ni* cannot, and vice versa. Section 3.2 will introduce the fact that while *-niyotte* passives exhibit a reconstruction effect of an IA, *-ni* direct passives do not.

3.1 θ-Roles

The most significant and well-known difference between *-ni* and *-niyotte* is that the former generally disallows an abstract or inanimate NP as the subject of a sentence, whereas the latter allows it. This contrast can be seen clearly in examples such as (9). The sentence in (9a) is a passive construction with *Ferumaa-no teiri* 'Fermat's theorem', which is abstract and inanimate, as the grammatical subject. In such a case, *-niyotte* must be chosen as the *by* phrase instead of *-ni*. Interestingly enough, in (9b), both *-ni* and *-niyotte* appear to be grammatical, but they give rise to different readings. While *gityoo-niyotte* is simply regarded as the *by* phrase, *gityoo-ni* must be interpreted as a Goal argument, for the verb *sengen-s* 'announce' is generally ditransitive.

(9) a. Ferumaa-no teiri-ga John-ni*(yotte) syoomei-s-are-ta.
Fermat-GEN theorem-NOM John-by prove-do-PASS-PST
'Fermat's theorem was proved by John.' (Kuroda 1979:206)

b. Kaikai-ga gityoo {-ni / -niyotte} sengen-s-are-ta.
opening-NOM chairman -to -by announce-do-PASS-PST
'The opening of the meeting was announced { to / by } the chairman.' (Inoue 1976:83)

In principle, ditransitive passives could contain two *-ni* arguments, corresponding to a Goal and an Agent, respectively; however, such configurations are in fact impossible. The predicate verbs in the sentences in (10) are ditransitive. Whether the grammatical subject is animate (10a) or inanimate (10b), two *-ni* phrases cannot co-occur in a single sentence, even when the two arguments are separated by an adjunct such as *kinoo* 'yesterday'. In ditransitive passives, the *-ni* NP must be interpreted as Goal.[2]

(10) a. * Naomi-ga tomodati-ni (kinoo) Ken-ni syookai-s-are-ta.
Naomi-NOM friend-NI yesterday Ken-NI introduce-do-PASS-PST
Int. 'Naomi was introduced to Ken by her friend (yesterday)'

b. Hanataba-ga Ken-ni*(yotte) (kinoo) Naomi-ni watas-are-ta.
bouquet-NOM Ken-by yesterday Naomi-DAT hand-PASS-PST
'The flower bouquet was given to Naomi by Ken yesterday.' (Ishizuka 2012:64)

One might therefore conclude that *-ni* is more restrictive than *-niyotte*, but there is a case where *-niyotte* cannot be used as the *by* phrase. A *-niyotte* phrase is infelicitous with psychological predicates such as *ai-s* 'love' (Park and Whitman 2003). In (11), the thematic subject is *ookuno hito* 'many people', which is an Experiencer of *ai-s* 'love'.

(11) Haru.no.umi-wa ooku-no hito {#-niyotte / -ni} ai-s-are-tei-ru.
spring.GEN.sea-TOP many-GEN person -by -by love-do-PASS-ASP-PRS
'*Spring Sea* is loved by many people.' (Park and Whitman 2003:310)

[2]Ishizuka (2012) dubs this "Double *-ni* Constraint".

Since a *by* phrase in passives generally introduces an Initiator argument (e.g., Agent, Causer, etc.), a *niyotte* phrase does not match passives with psycho verbs because they do not require an Initiator. In such cases, *-ni* is chosen as the *by* phrase.

3.2 Reconstruction Effect

Hoji (2008) points out that only *-niyotte* passives exhibit reconstruction effects of the IA. The contrast in (12), which is presented by Hoji (2008), suggests that whereas the *-niyotte* passive allows the grammatical subject to be interpreted in the base-generated object position, there is no such reconstruction effect in the *-ni* passive.[3] Put it simply, for *soko* to be interpreted as a bound variable, it must be c-commanded by its binder, *[Toyota-ni-sae]*, at LF. On the surface, *soko* does not appear to be properly bound in (12), but the sentence is fine. This is because the grammatical subject is interpreted in the base position, t_2, at LF.

(12) [Soko$_1$-ni hairi-tagat-tei-ta gakusei]$_2$ -ga Abe.kyoozyu-**ni*(yotte)** [Toyota-ni-sae]$_1$
it-DAT work.for-want-ASP-PST student -NOM Abe.professor-by Toyota-DAT-even
t_2 suisen-s-are-ta.
recommend-do-PASS-PST
'[A student who wanted to work for it$_1$] was recommended by Prof. Abe to [even Toyota]$_1$.'

Fukuda (2006:90-1) also makes the same observation. The sentence in (13a) is ambiguous. Both 'three students' and 'every time' can take a higher scope over the other. In contrast, in (13b), only the reading where 'three students' is higher is available.[4]

(13) a. Sannin-no gakusei-ga Ito.sensei-**niyotte** **maikai** sas-are-ta.
three-GEN student-NOM Ito.professor-by everytime call-PASS-PST
'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.' { 3 > ∀ / ∀ > 3 }

b. Sannin-no gakusei-ga Ito.sensei-**ni** **maikai** sas-are-ta.
three-GEN student-NOM Ito.professor-by everytime call-PASS-PST
'Three students were called on by Prof. Ito every time.' { 3 > ∀ / *∀ > 3 }

3.3 Interim Summary

In the above sections, we have seen that Japanese passive constructions have two idiosyncratic characteristics: (i) they include indirect passives, and (ii) they have two types of *by* phrases. Additionally, this section has shown that *-niyotte* passives are less restricted than *-ni* direct passives in several respects, but

[3] Hoji (2008) argues that the sentence in (12) has "NP-*ni* NP-*ga*" as its base order, and the surface order is derived by PF-movement. This departs from the general idea that direct passive entails A-movement. We will not discuss this point because it is beyond the scope of this paper.

[4] Masao Ochi (p.c.) pointed out that if *sannin-no* in (13) is changed to *sannin-izyoo-no* 'more than three', even the *-ni* direct passive shows the scope ambiguity. I will leave this residual for future research.

-ni is preferred in passives with a psycho verb. From a syntactic perspective, only the former exhibits reconstruction effects of an IA.

4 Direct Passives as High Applicatives

This paper aims to account for why Japanese allows both indirect passives and two *by*-phrases in passives. I argue that, while *-niyotte* passives are identical to long passives in English, *-ni* direct passives are passives that English does not have. That is, *-niyotte* corresponds to English *by*, and the same mechanism as in Bruening (2013) is in operation. In contrast, the *-ni* direct passive construction belongs to the same syntactic class as indirect passives, which is a high applicative construction. English does not have this type of construction and therefore does not show two *by* phrases.

I first provide some background. Pylkkänen (2008) proposes that a NCA is introduced by a functional head Appl(icative)P, and the location of ApplP is parametric. It can be situated above and/or below VP. When it appears above the VP, it is called high applicative. When it appears in the VP, it is low applicative. The configurations of applicative constructions are roughly schematized in (14).

(14) a. *High Applicative:* [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ [EA] Voice [$_{\text{Appl}}$ [NCA] Appl [$_{\text{VP}}$ [IA] V]]]
b. *Low Applicative:* [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ [EA] Voice [$_{\text{VP}}$ V [$_{\text{Appl}}$ [NCA] Appl [IA]]]]

English is a low applicative language, so it is generally considered that the language does not show a high applicative construction. The low applicative sentence in (15b) is derived from (15a). Creation verbs like *bake* allow a benefactive NCA to be optionally expressed. In contrast, unergative verbs like *run* are not allowed to introduce a benefactive NCA. If a benefactive is to be expressed, the preposition *for* must be used, as in (15c). In contrast, high applicative languages can form the high applicative configuration like (15c). The example in (16) is Chaga, a Bantu language, cited from Bresnan and Moshi (1993:90-1). In such languages, even unergatives can take a NCA.

(15) a. I baked a cake (for him)
b. I baked him a cake.
c. I ran *(for) him.

(16) N-a-i-zrìc-í-à mbùyà.
FOC-1SG-PRS-run-APPL-FV 9-friend
'He is running for a friend.'

Japanese is a high applicative language, and Pylkkänen (2008) treats indirect passives in Japanese as an example of high applicatives. Based on this view, I further pursue the possibility that direct *-ni* passives are also analyzed as high applicatives. I assume the high applicative constructions in (17). Following Aoyagi (2010), high ApplP is situated above VoiceP,[5] departing from Pylkkänen (2008). The configuration in (17a) is for indirect passives. NP_1, NP_2, and NP_3 correspond to the IA, the EA, and the NCA, respectively. The NP introduced by ApplP (i.e., NP_3 in (17)) undergoes A-movement to Spec-TP, where it is assigned nominative Case. I assume that Appl assigns dative to the closest

[5] Although there is no VoiceP in (17), XP can be VoiceP. I assume that there is no VoiceP in the absence of an Initiator role.

NP in its c-command domain, which is marked with *-ni*. In the absence of NP_2, the EA, NP_1 can be assigned dative, instead. This is how the indirect passive construction is derived. In the case of direct *-ni* passives, syntactic derivation proceeds as follows. Its syntactic configuration, as in (17b), is equivalent to that of indirect passives except that the IA is PRO co-indexed with the NP in Spec-ApplP.

(17) a. $[_{TP}\ NP_3\text{-NOM} \ldots [_{ApplP}\ \sout{NP_3}\ [_{XP}\ (NP_2\text{-DAT}) \ldots [_{VP}\ \ldots(NP_1\text{-ACC/DAT}). \ldots]]]]$

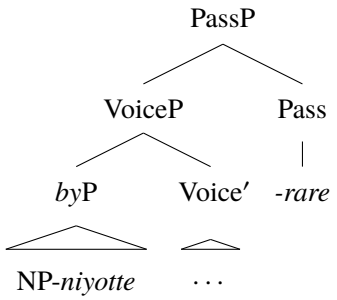
b. $[_{TP}\ NP_1\text{-NOM} \ldots [_{ApplP}\ \sout{NP_1}\ [_{XP}\ NP_2\text{-DAT} \ldots [_{VP}\ \ldots PRO_1 \ldots]]]]$

Since this is a control configuration, the reconstruction effect we saw in Section 3.2 is not observed in direct *-ni* passives. Additionally, the dative marker *-ni* attaches to the most local NP in Appl's c-command domain. This means that NP with *-ni* can be assigned a theta role other than Initiator in the absence of VoiceP. Only *-ni* is allowed in passives with a psycho verb because *-niyotte* 'by' introduces an Initiator NP.

Put simply, my proposal is that Japanese has two distinct instances of *(r)are*. One is the passive suffix, namely, the phonological realization of Pass, as in (18a). This type of passive is equivalent to English passives, and the denotation in (18a) is identical to (6e,7e). The syntactic structure of long passives is shown in (18b). Since *-niyotte* is an agentive marker, it does not match contexts where VoiceP is absent. This is why *-niyotte* cannot be used with a psycho verb. Also, the IA obligatorily undergoes movement to the grammatical subject position, Spec-TP. This explains why only *-niyotte* passives allow the reconstruction effect in §3.2.

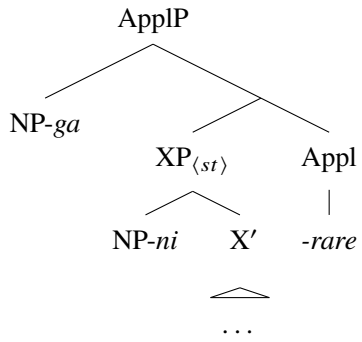
(18) a. $[\![(r)are]\!] = \lambda P_{\langle (e),st\rangle} \lambda e(\exists x)\ [P(e,(x))]$

b.



(19) a. $[\![(r)are]\!] = \lambda x \lambda e\ [\text{Experiencer}(e,x)]$

b.



The other instance of *(r)are* is a high Appl head, which forms indirect passives and direct *-ni* passives. The denotation is in (19a), where an Experiencer is newly introduced. Normally, the Experiencer NP is assigned nominative and moves to Spec-TP. I assume that Appl and XP are combined via Event Identification. That is, XP can be any kind of predicate if it is of type $\langle s,t\rangle$, allowing *-ni* to be assigned to an NP other than an Initiator. This flexibility accounts for why psycho verbs disallow *-niyotte* in passives. Additionally, in direct passives, the NP with *-ga* is identical with the IA, which is PRO. Since this is a control structure, there is no reconstruction effect in direct *-ni* passives.

If this analysis is on the right track, we can straightforwardly explain why Japanese has indirect passives and two forms corresponding to English *by*-phrases. Japanese is a high applicative language,

and therefore allows indirect passives (Pylkkänen 2008). I further proposed that direct *-ni* passives are also high applicatives. Only *-niyotte* is a genuine *by*-phrase, but as the language also has the high applicative construction, Japanese appears to have two *by*-phrases. However, *-ni* is in fact closely related to the dative marker,[6] and if ApplP introduces an NP identical with the IA, direct *-ni* passives are derived.

5 Concluding Remarks

This paper has offered a preliminary account of the typologically notable idiosyncrasies of Japanese passives. Compared with languages such as English, Japanese differs in two respects. First, it allows indirect passives, in which a NCA is newly introduced despite the construction being passive. Second, the language has two forms corresponding to English *by*-phrases: *-ni* and *-niyotte*. I have argued that these two facts are related. While *-niyotte* passives correspond to canonical English long passives, direct *-ni* passives belong to a type of passive that English lacks. My answer to the question of why Japanese appears to have two *by*-phrases is that the language independently has an indirect passive construction. The direct *-ni* passive construction is syntactically of the same type as indirect passives. The sole difference is that direct *-ni* passives introduce an Experiencer co-indexed with the IA, PRO, whereas indirect passives introduce an Experiencer NP distinct from the IA. This yields the relevant parametric contrast: Japanese allows high applicatives, whereas English allows only low applicatives.

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[6] It has been widely debated whether *-ni* is a case marker or a postposition. Miyagawa (1989) argues that *-ni* in indirect passives is the dative marker while that of direct passives is a postposition. Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) present diagnostics for *-ni*, according to which the view in this paper that *-ni* in direct passives is identical with that of indirect passives is not mainstream. I will discuss this point in future work.

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低位置の数量副詞「たくさん」における個体量化と事象量化
―非対格性と量化領域の観点から―

宮前純子

1　はじめに

日本語の量化表現[1]は、統語構造の中で多様な振る舞いを示す。特に数量副詞「たくさん」は、名詞句が表す個体の数量を表す場合もあれば、動詞句が表す事象の量・頻度・程度を表す場合もある。たとえば、「子供がたくさん走った」では、「たくさん」は「子供」の数が多いという個体量化としても、「走る」という行為の量が多いという事象量化としても解釈される。一方、「子供がグラウンドをたくさん走った」では、「たくさん」は通常、子供の数ではなく、走行量や走行時間など、走る事象の量を表す。このように、「たくさん」の解釈は、文中の位置や動詞の項構造と密接に関係している。類似の現象は多くの言語で見られるが、英語などの言語では名詞に決定詞や複数接辞などが付加するため、量化表現が修飾している対象が比較的分かりやすい。一方で、日本語の名詞項は単数・複数の区分を明示的に（かつ義務的に）マークする必要がないという特徴がある（Ochi 2024）。さらに、「たくさん」は類別詞を伴わずに用いられるため、文中のどの要素を量化しているのかを判別しにくい場合がある。しかし、先行研究で議論されているように、「たくさん」は構造の中で解釈が規定される。低い位置、すなわち VP 内に生起する「たくさん」が、非能格動詞と非対格動詞で異なる解釈を示す。非能格動詞の場合、低位置の「たくさん」は主語を個体量化することができず、事象量化として解釈される。一方、非対格動詞の場合、低位置の「たくさん」であっても、主語を個体量化することが可能である。

本稿は、この非対称性を、単なる非対格性のテストとしてではなく、統語構造によって量化領域が選択される現象として捉え直す。具体的には、Miyagawa (1989) の相互 c 統御条件を、低位置の「たくさん」が名詞句に構造的にアクセスできる条件として位置づける。そのうえで、Nakanishi (2007) の名詞領域(nominal domain)、動詞領域（verbal domain）における解釈の区別を導入し、低位置の「たくさん」が名詞領域に適用可能な場合には個体量化として、名詞領域への適用が阻まれる場合には動詞領域における事象量化として解釈されると主張する。

本稿の構成は以下の通りである。第 2 節では、影山 (1993, 1996)、岸本 (2005, 2015)、Miyagawa (1989)、Nakanishi (2007) の議論を先行研究として整理する。続く第 3 節では、本稿の分析を提示し、低位置の「たくさん」の解釈が構造的アクセス可能性と量化領域の選択によって決定されることを論じ、本稿の意義を整理しする。最後に、第 4 節で結論を述べる。

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[1] 本稿では、数詞数量詞と区別するため、量化表現という語を使用する

2　先行研究

2.1　影山・岸本による「たくさん」と非対格性の議論

日本語の数量副詞「たくさん」は、名詞句の数量を表す場合と、動詞句が表す事象の量を表す場合がある。本稿では、前者を個体量化、後者を事象量化と呼ぶ。

(1) a. 子供がたくさん走った。
　　b. 子供がグラウンドをたくさん走った。

(1a) では、「たくさん」は主語「子供が」に近い位置にあり、「子供」の数が多いという個体量化の読みと走る量が多いという事象量化の読みが可能である。これに対して、(1b) では「たくさん」が動詞「走った」に近い低い位置に現れており、走るという事象を量化し、「たくさん」が主語「子供」を個体量化する読みは得られにくい。このような「たくさん」の解釈差は、影山 (1993, 1996) や 岸本 (2005, 2015) によって、非対格性のテストと関連づけて論じられてきた。これらの研究によれば、低い位置に生起する量化表現は、主語を自由に量化するのではなく、動詞の項構造に応じて量化対象を制限されている。

影山は、非対格仮説の観点から、日本語の動詞を非能格動詞と非対格動詞に区別し、その違いが量化表現の解釈に反映されることを指摘した。非能格動詞の主語は外部項として導入されるのに対し、非対格動詞の主語は内部項として動詞の補部位置に基底生成される。この項構造の違いにより、低位置の「たくさん」が主語を個体量化できるかどうかに差が生じる。

(2) 非能格動詞
　　a. 子供がたくさん走った。
　　b. 子供がグラウンドをたくさん走った。

(3) 非対格動詞
　　a. 花がたくさん枯れた。
　　b. 庭で花がたくさん枯れた。

(2) の非能格動詞「走る」では、低位置に現れる「たくさん」は主語を個体量化できず、「子供がグラウンドをたくさん走った」は「走る量が多い」という事象量化として解釈される。一方、(3) の非対格動詞「枯れる」では、「たくさん」が低い位置に現れていても、主語「花」を個体量化することができ、「多くの花が枯れた」という解釈が得られる。影山の議論の重要性は、低位置の「たくさん」の解釈差を、表面的な語順だけでなく、動詞の項構造に結びつけた点にある。すなわち、非対格動詞の主語は、統語的には内項の位置から移動しており、低位置の量化表現によって量化される。一方、非能格動詞の主語は外項であるため、

低位置の「たくさん」によって個体量化されにくい。

Kishimoto は、この観察をさらに発展させ、低位置の量化表現が内項と外項を区別することを、他動詞文のデータからも示している。特に重要なのは、低位置の「たくさん」が目的語を量化できる一方、主語を量化できないという点である。

(4) a. 太郎が本をたくさん読んだ。
b. 学生がその本をたくさん読んだ。

(4a) では、低位置の「たくさん」が目的語「本」を個体量化することができる。これは目的語が動詞の内項であり、VP 内部に基底生成されるためである。これに対して、(4b) では目的語「その本」が定名詞句であり、数量的に量化される対象になりにくい。この場合、「たくさん」は目的語を個体量化するのではなく、読む事象の反復・頻度を表す事象量化として解釈される。 (4b) において「たくさん」が主語「学生」を個体量化する読みが得られにくいという点である。もし低位置の「たくさん」が文中の任意の名詞句を自由に量化できるのであれば、「多くの学生がその本を読んだ」という読みも可能であるはずである。しかし実際には、その読みは得にくい。このことは、低位置の「たくさん」が外部項である主語を個体量化できないことを示している。
以上の影山、Kishimoto の議論では、それまで主流であった国語学的な分析の主語・目的語という文法関係ではなく、内部項か外部項かという統語的性質に依存することが説明され、以下のような一般化が得られた。

(5) 低位置の「たくさん」に関する一般化
低位置の「たくさん」は、VP 内部の内部項を個体量化することができる。一方、VP 外部に導入される外部項を個体量化することはできず、その場合には事象量化として解釈される。

この一般化は、低位置の量化表現が非対格性の診断として機能しうることを示しているが、二つの理論的課題を残している。第一に、低位置の「たくさん」が個体量化を可能にするためには、量化対象とのあいだにどのような統語的条件が必要なのかが十分に明示されていない点である。第二に、その条件が満たされず個体量化が阻止される場合に、なぜ「たくさん」が事象量化として解釈されうるのかについて、独立した説明が必要だという点である。この二つの課題に対して、Miyagawa (1989) の相互 c 統御条件と Nakanishi (2007) の名詞領域・動詞領域における量化の区別を導入し、名詞領域での量化が成立しない場合に、動詞領域での事象量化が選択されると分析する。

2.2 Miyagawa (1989)

低位置の量化表現と量化対象との関係を説明するうえで重要なのが、Miyagawa (1989) の相互 c 統御条件である。Miyagawa によれば、数量詞と、 それが修飾する名詞句またはその痕跡とは、相互に c 統御される関係に なければならない。この条件は、もともと数量詞と名詞句が基底で一つの 構成素を成し、そこから数量詞が分離して現れるという分析と結びつけて 提案されたものであり、相互 c 統御が要求される理由は、両者がかつて同一の構成素を構成していた点に求められていた。

一方、本稿は、次節で導入する Nakanishi (2007) の量化領域の区別を採用する。Nakanishi の枠組みは、量化表現と名詞句が基底で構成素を 成すことを前提とせず、事象から個体への写像によって量化を捉えるため、 相互 c 統御条件の根拠を基底構成素性に求めることはできない。そこで 本稿は、この条件を、基底構成素性の反映としてではなく、低位置の「たくさん」が名詞句を個体量化の対象として捉えるための統語的局所性 条件として位置づける。すなわち、相互 c 統御条件は、「たくさん」が 名詞領域に構造的にアクセスできるか否かを規定するフィルターとして 機能し、それが満たされる場合に名詞領域における個体量化が可能になる。

(6) 子供がグラウンドをたくさん走った。

非能格動詞「走る」の主語「子供」は外項として vP の指定部 に導入される。一方、「たくさん」は動詞に近い低位置、すなわち VP に現れる。この場合、「たくさん」は VP の主語「子供」と相互 c 統御条件を満たすことができない。そのため、「たくさん」は「子供」を個体量化できず、「走る」という事象の量を表す事象量化として解釈される。これに対して、非対格動詞の場合を考える。

(7) 庭で花がたくさん枯れた。

非対格動詞「枯れる」の主語「花」は、意味的には主語であるが、統語的には内項として VP に基底生成される。低位置の「たくさん」は、同じ VP にある「花」と相互 c 統御条件を満たすことができる。その結果、「たくさん」は「花」を個体量化し、「多くの花が枯れた」という読みが可能になる。他動詞の場合も同様である。

(8) 太郎が本をたくさん読んだ。

目的語「本」は内項として VP に基底生成される。そのため、低位置の「たくさん」は「本」と相互 c 統御条件を満たし、「多くの本を読んだ」という個体量化の読みが可能である。一方で、(9) のような単数の定名詞句の場合には解釈が変わる。

(9) 学生がその本をたくさん読んだ。

この文では、低位置の「たくさん」は目的語「その本」と構造的に近い位置にある。しかし、「その本」は定名詞句であり、数量的に量化される対象としては不適切である。そのため、「たくさん」は目的語を個体量化せず、動作の反復や頻度を表す事象量化として解釈される。また、主語「学生」は外項であるため、低位置の「たくさん」によって個体量化されない。

以上のように、Miyagawa の相互 c 統御条件は、低位置の「たくさん」がどの名詞句を個体量化できるかを説明するうえで有効である。特に、非対格動詞の主語と他動詞の目的語が個体量化の対象になりうる一方、非能格動詞の主語や他動詞の主語が個体量化の対象になりにくいことを、内項と外項の統語的位置の違いから説明できる。しかし、Miyagawa の分析だけでは、低位置の「たくさん」が個体量化できない場合に、なぜ事象量化として解釈されるのかまでは十分に説明できない。そこで次節では、Nakanishi (2007) の量化領域の分析を導入し、個体量化と事象量化の違いを、名詞領域と動詞領域の違いとして整理する。

2.3 Nakanishi (2007)

Nakanishi (2007) は、日本語の数詞数量詞が名詞領域と動詞領域の双方に関与しうることを論じている。Nakanishi は、「学生三人」のように量化表現が名詞句に隣接して現れる構文を non-split MP construction、「学生が三人帰った」のように量化表現が名詞句から離れて現れる構文を split MP construction と呼んでいる。

(10) a. [学生三人] が家に帰った。
b. 学生が家に三人帰った。

(10a) では、「三人」が名詞句「学生」に隣接しており、「学生」という個体の数を量化している。これに対して、(10b) では、「三人」は名詞句「学生」から離れ、動詞句内に現れている。この場合、「三人」は「学生」と意味的に対応しているが、同時に「帰る」という事象の量化にも関与している。この主張の根拠として、Nakanishi は、split MP 構文だけが動詞領域の制約が厳しいことを示す。たとえば、split MP は一回限りの事象、個体レベル述語、集合読みの解釈にはならない。これは、split MP が名詞句だけでなく、動詞句の統語構造にも依存して解釈されることを示している。

さらに Nakanishi は、split MP の特殊性を説明するために、事象から個体への写像を導入する。split MP は事象そのものを直接量化するのではなく、事象から対応づけられた個体を量化することで、間接的に事象を量化すると述べている。たとえば、「学生が三人家に

帰った」では、「三人」は単に学生の数を表すのではなく、「家に帰る」という事象に関与した学生の数を表す。

以上のように Nakanishi の分析を加えることで、Miyagawa の統語的条件が成立しない場合、事象量化が選択されるプロセスについて、意味論的に補強する役割を果たすと考える。

3 分析

3.1 非能格動詞

まず、非能格動詞の場合を考える。

(11) 子供がグラウンドをたくさん走った。

非能格動詞「走る」の主語「子供」は外項であり、VP 外に導入される。一方、「たくさん」は動詞に近い低位置にある。そのため、「たくさん」は主語「子供」に構造的にアクセスできず、名詞領域における個体量化は成立しない。その結果、「たくさん」は動詞領域に適用され、「走る」という事象を量化する。したがって、(11) は「多くの子供が走った」ではなく、「子供が多く走った」「長く走った」「何度も走った」といった事象量化として解釈される。ここで重要なのは、事象量化が単なる意味上の代替解釈ではなく、名詞領域での量化が構造的に阻まれた結果として生じるという点である。すなわち、非能格動詞では、低位置の「たくさん」が主語を個体量化するための構造的条件を満たさないため、量化領域が動詞領域へと移行する。

3.2 非対格動詞

次に、非対格動詞の場合を考える。

(12) 庭で花がたくさん枯れた。

非対格動詞「枯れる」の主語「花」は、表面的には主語であるが、統語的には内部項として VP 内部に基底生成される。そのため、低位置の「たくさん」は「花」と構造的関係を結ぶことができる。この場合、「たくさん」は名詞領域に適用され、「花」という個体の数量を量化する。その結果、(12) は「多くの花が枯れた」という個体量化として解釈される。この分析では、非対格動詞の特殊性は、主語が意味的に主語であるにもかかわらず、統語的には内部項として VP 内部に存在する点にある。低位置の「たくさん」は、表面的な主語性ではなく、基底位置における構造的関係に敏感である。そのため、非対格動詞の主語は低位置の「たくさん」によって個体量化されうる。

3.3 他動詞目的語

他動詞目的語の場合も、非対格動詞の主語と同様に説明できる。

(13) 太郎が本をたくさん読んだ。

目的語「本」は内部項として VP 内部に基底生成される。そのため、低位置の「たくさん」は「本」と構造的関係を結ぶことができる。この場合、「たくさん」は「本」を個体量化し、「太郎が多くの本を読んだ」という意味が得られる。この例は、低位置の「たくさん」が主語・目的語という表面的な文法関係ではなく、内部項であるかどうかに依存して個体量化を行うことを示している。

3.4 他動詞主語と定名詞句

最後に、次の例を考える。

(14) 学生がその本をたくさん読んだ。

この文では、目的語「その本」は VP 内部にあるが、定名詞句であり、「たくさん」による個体量化の対象にはなりにくい。一方、主語「学生」は外部項であり、低位置の「たくさん」によって個体量化されない。その結果、「たくさん」は名詞領域に適用できず、動詞領域に適用される。したがって、(14) は「多くの学生がその本を読んだ」ではなく、「学生がその本を何度も読んだ」という事象量化として解釈される。この例は、本稿の分析にとって重要である。なぜなら、低位置の「たくさん」が個体量化を行うには、単に VP 内部に名詞句が存在するだけでは不十分であり、その名詞句が数量的に量化可能でなければならないからである。定名詞句「その本」は、個体数の多さを表す対象としては不適切であるため、名詞領域での量化は成立しない。その結果、事象量化が選択される。

3.5 分析のまとめ

以上の分析をまとめると、低位置の「たくさん」の解釈は、次の手順で決定される。

(15) 低位置の「たくさん」の解釈決定

a. 低位置の「たくさん」は、まず VP 内で構造的にアクセス可能な名詞句を探索する。
b. その名詞句が量化可能であれば、名詞領域における個体量化が成立する。
c. 構造的にアクセス可能な名詞句が存在しない場合、またはその名詞句が量化対象として不適切な場合、「たくさん」は動詞領域に適用され、事象量化として解釈される。

このように、本稿は「たくさん」の解釈を、単なる語彙的曖昧性としてではなく、統語構造と量化領域の相互作用によって決定されるものとして分析する。(15)の手順は、名詞領域における個体量化が動詞領域における事象量化に優先することを含意している。構造的にアクセス可能で量化可能な名詞句が存在する限り「たくさん」は個体量化として解釈され、事象量化はそれが成立しない場合にのみ選択される。この優先性は恣意的な規定ではなく、本稿が採用する Nakanishi (2007) の枠組みから動機づけられる。Nakanishi の分析において、名詞領域の量化は、量化表現が名詞句の指示する個体を直接量化する操作である。これに対して動詞領域の量化は、事象そのものを直接量化するのではなく、事象から個体への写像を介して間接的に事象を量化する操作である。つまり事象量化は、個体量化に加えて事象と個体を対応づける写像の措定を要する、相対的に複雑な解釈である。この複雑さの差を踏まえると、(15)は経済性の面からも妥当だと考えられる。すなわち、より少ない操作で達成される直接的な量化が、追加の写像を要する間接的な量化に優先し、事象量化は前者が構造的・意味的に阻まれた場合に後退的解釈として選択される。この意味で、非能格動詞の主語や定名詞句において事象量化が生じるのは、個体量化が任意に選ばれなかったからではなく、名詞領域での直接的量化が成立しえないためである。

ただし、この優先性に対しては、一見すると反例となりうる事例が存在する。(16)のような総称文である。

(16) 子供はたくさん転ぶ (ものだ)。

「転ぶ」は非対格動詞であり、主語「子供」は統語的には内項である。したがって(15)と経済性の原則から考えると、低位置の「たくさん」が「子供」を個体量化し、「多くの子供が転ぶ」という読みが優先されると予測されるはずである。しかし(16)の自然な解釈は、個々の子供が何度も転ぶという頻度の事象量化であり、個体量化の読みはむしろ得られにくい。

この事例は、本稿の分析の反例ではなく、むしろ構造的アクセス可能性が解釈を決定するという主張を支持するものとして理解できる。総称・習慣文において、主語「子供は」はトピックとして解釈され、vP 外の高い位置に繰り上がっている。その結果、低位置の「たくさん」の c 統御域から外れ、「たくさん」は主語「子供」に構造的にアクセスできない。すなわち(16)では、主語が意味的には内項であっても、トピック化によって名詞領域へのアクセスが構造的に阻まれているのである。したがって (15a) の条件が満たされず、後退的解釈として動詞領域における事象量化が選択される。この分析が正しければ、(16)の事象量化は経済性原則の例外ではなく、名詞領域へのアクセスが不可能な場合に事象量化が生じるという、(15)が予測するとおりの帰結である。

最後に、本稿は低位置の「たくさん」の解釈を扱ってきたが、ここで高位置の「たくさん」の振る舞いについて触れておく。(1a)を再掲する。

(17) 子供がたくさん走った。

(17)では、「たくさん」は主語「子供」の直後、すなわち動詞句よりも高い位置に現れている。この位置において、「たくさん」は主語「子供」と相互 c 統御の関係に立つことができ、同時に下位の動詞句領域にもアクセス可能である。したがって、高位置の「たくさん」は名詞領域と動詞領域の双方にアクセスできる。

その結果、(17)は二通りの解釈を許す。第一に、「たくさん」が名詞領域に適用される場合、「多くの子供が走った」という個体量化の読みが得られる。第二に、「たくさん」が動詞領域に適用される場合、「子供が長く/何度も走った」という事象量化の読みが得られる。両解釈が並立しうるのは、高位置の「たくさん」が(15a)で要求される構造的アクセス可能性を、名詞領域・動詞領域の両方について満たしているためである。

この観察は、本稿の分析の妥当性を間接的に支持する。低位置の「たくさん」が非能格動詞の主語を個体量化できないのは、(15a)の構造的アクセス可能性が満たされないためであり、量化表現一般が外項を量化できないからではない。実際、同じ非能格動詞「走る」であっても、「たくさん」が主語を c 統御する高位置に現れれば、個体量化の読みは問題なく成立する。すなわち、低位置と高位置の振る舞いの差は、語彙的・項構造的な制約ではなく、量化対象への構造的アクセス可能性の差として一元的に説明される。

4 おわりに

本稿の意義は、以下の三点にある。

第一に、本稿は、低位置の「たくさん」の解釈を、非対格性のテストとしてではなく、量化領域の選択を可視化する現象として捉え直した。従来の研究では、非能格動詞では低位置の「たくさん」が事象量化として解釈され、非対格動詞では主語の個体量化が可能であるという記述的一般化が示されてきた。本稿は、この一般化を、内部項への構造的アクセス可能性と、名詞領域・動詞領域の量化の違いから説明した。

第二に、本稿は、Miyagawa の相互 c 統御条件と Nakanishi の量化領域の分析を組み合わせることで、「個体量化ができない場合になぜ事象量化へ回るのか」という問題に答えた。

第三に、本稿は、「たくさん」が数詞数量詞とは異なり、量化領域が未指定であることに注目した。「三人」や「三冊」のような数詞数量詞は、助数詞によって量化対象がある程度明示される。これに対して、「たくさん」は助数詞を伴わないため、名詞領域にも動詞領域にも適用されうる。この未指定性こそが、「たくさん」に個体量化と事象量化の両方の解釈を可能にしていると考えられる。

今後の課題としては、「たくさん」以外の非数詞数量表現、たとえば「少し」「かなり」「いっぱい」などが同様の量化領域の交替を示すかを検討する必要がある。また、非対格動詞の種類によって、低位置の「たくさん」の個体量化の解釈が成立するかにも差がある

可能性がある。これらの点を検討することで、日本語における数量表現と事象構造の関係をより精密に明らかにすることができるだろう。

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執筆者紹介（掲載順）

越智正男（OCHI, Masao）
人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 理論言語学・デジタル
ヒューマニティーズ講座
笠井　源（KASAI, Gen）
人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 博士後期課程
陳　韻雯（CHEN, Yunwen）
人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 博士後期課程
永野大夏（NAGANO, Taika）
人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 博士後期課程
宮前純子（MIYAMAE, Jyunko）
人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 博士後期課程

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編集発行者
大阪大学大学院人文学研究科言語文化学専攻