

マラティー語と日本語の写真名詞構文について

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1. Introduction

Teramura (1969: 71)

- (1) a. [*<kooeihei-ga senro-no ue-o arui-te i-ru>*] *syasin*
Red.Guard-NOM tracks-GEN top-ACC walk-GER be-PRS photo
‘a photo of the Red Guard walking along the train tracks’
b. [*<arui-te i-ru> kooeihei-no*] *syasin*
walk-GER be-PRS Red.Guard-GEN photo
‘a photo of a Red Guard walking’
- (2) [*<kawaiisyou-de odot-te i-ru> (iti-mai-no) kodomo-no*] *syasin*
cute dress-in dance-GER be-PRS one-CL-GEN child-GEN photo
‘one photo of the child dancing wearing a cute dress’
(<http://machi1.seesaa.net/category/18361826-1.html>)
[*(iti-mai-no)* added to the attested example by the authors]
- (3) a. [*<ghāṭā-var ubhyā as-lel-yā>* *mānsā-ṭsā photo*] *phār.ats*
ghat-on standing be-PST.PTCP-OBL man-GEN photo very.EMPH
khās !
special
‘The photo of the man standing on the ghat is really great!’
[Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex. (58)]
b. [*mājhyā čhotyā mulā-ṭsā <khiḍki-t ubhā as-lel-ā>*
1.SG.GEN small child-GEN window-in standing be-PST.PTCP-M.SG
photo] *pāṭhv-un dilā*
photo send-GER gave
‘I sent off a photo of my little boy standing in the window.’
[Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex. (59)]

2. Marathi and Japanese Picture-Noun Constructions

2.1. The Basic Properties

common nouns denoting humans (5a, b) (and nouns referring to gods) sometimes precede their PPPs, and sometimes they do not.

- (4) a. [*mājhyā čhotyā mulā-ṭsā <khiḍki-t ubhā as-lel-ā>*
1.SG.GEN small child-GEN window-in standing be-PST.PTCP-M.SG

photo] *pāthv-un dilā*
photo send-GER gave

‘I sent off a photo of my little boy standing in the window.’

(majhekavadase.blogspot) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex (59)]

- b. [*<ghātā-var ubhyā as-lel-yā>* *mānsā-tsā photo*] *phār.ats*
ghat-on standing be-PST.PTCP-OBL man-GEN photo very.EMPH
khās!
special

‘The photo of the man standing on the ghat is really great!’

(www.misalpav.com) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex (58)]

Personal pronouns (5a) almost always and proper nouns (5b) often precede PPPs, giving rise to the ‘imagee NP + PPP’ order

- (5) a. [*āplā <lāmb kes as-lel-ā>* *photo*] *ti-ne aplot ke-lā*
self’s long hair be-PST.PTCP-M.SG photo she-ERG upload do-PST
‘She uploaded a photo of her(self) having long hair.’

(divyamarathi.bhaskar.com) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 87), ex (52)]

- b. [*modi.n-tsā sādhe-panā dākhav-nār.ā ... <jhāḍu mār-at*
Modi-GEN simple-ness show-PRS.PTCP ... broom wield-ing
as-lel-ā> *photo*]
be-PST.PTCP photo

‘... a photo of Modi wielding a broom, showing (his) simplicity, ...’

(aarsaa.blogspot) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex. (54)]

- (6) a. [*gaṇ.pati-či <bas-lel-i* *pakhvāḍ vad.av-nār-i>*
Ganesh-GEN sit-PST.PTCP-F.SG drum play-PRS.PTCP-F.SG
murti] *āhe*
image is

‘There is a seated drumming image of Ganesha ...’

(www.maayboli.com/node/622) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 87), ex. (48)]

- b. [[*padmāsanā-madhe bas-lel-yā gaṇ.pati*]-*či murti*] *baryā.ṭ*
padmasan-in sit-PST.PRT-OBL Ganesh-GEN image many
thikāṇi pāhāy-lā miḷ.te
places see-INF available

‘Many places you can see an image of Ganesha sitting in the lotus position.’

(mr.wikipedia.org/wiki) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 87), ex.(50)]

In (7a), the imagee NP is generic and follows the PPP while, in (7b), the imagee NP is identified as the photographer’s own child and precedes the PPP.

- (7) a. [*<ghātā-var ubhyā as-lel-yā>* *mānsā-tsā photo*]
ghat-on standing be-PST.PTCP-OBL man-GEN photo
phār.ats khās!
very.EMPH special

‘The photo of the man standing on the ghat is really great!’

(www.misalpav.com) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex. (58)]

- b. [*mājhyā* *čhoṭyā* *mulā-tsā* <*khiḍki-t* *ubhā as-lel-ā*>
 1.SG.GEN small child-GEN window-in standing be-PST.PRT-M.SG
photo] *pāṭhv-un* *dilā*
 photo send-GER gave
 ‘I sent off a photo of my little boy standing in the window.’
 (majhekavadase.blogspot) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 88), ex. (59)]

In the picture-noun constructions, a numeral or adjectival element modifying the picture noun can appear between them, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. ...[*mājhā* ***ek*** <*rikšā-t* *bas-lel-ā*> *photo*] *kāḍh*
 1.SG.GEN one rikshaw-in sit-PST.PTCP-M.SG photo.M.SG take.IMP
mhaṇā-l-o
 say-PST-M.SG
 ‘...I said ‘Take one photo of me sitting in the rikshaw’.’
 (www.misalpav.com/node/23339)
- b. ...[*mājhe* ***don-tin*** <*rikšā-t* *bas-lel-e*> *photo*]
 1.SG.GEN.MPL two-three rikshaw-in sit-PST.PTCP-M.PL photo.M.PL
kāḍh *mhaṇā-l-o*
 take.IMP say-PST-M.SG
 ‘...I said ‘Take two or three photos of me sitting in the rikshaw’.’
- c. [<*khiḍki-t* *ubhā* *as-lel-e*> ***don*** *mājh-yā* *čhoṭ-yā*
 window-in standing be-PST.PTCP-M.PL two 1.SG.GEN-OBL small-OBL
mulā-ts-e *photo*]
 child-GEN-M.PL photo.M.PL
 ‘two photos of my little boy standing in the window.’
- c. [*mahārāḍān-ts-ā* ***puṛṇ.unči-ts-ā*** <*dhyānasth* *bas-lel-ā*>
 king-GEN-M.SG full.height-GEN.M.SG in.meditation sit-PST.PTCP-M.SG
photo] *lāv-lel-ā* *hot-ā*
 photo.M.SG hang-PST.PTCP.M.SG be.PST-M.SG
 ‘A full height photo of the king sitting in meditation was hung.’
 (www.manogat.com/diwali/2009/.../27267.html?...1)

The relative head could not be separated from the relative clause that modifies it, nor could it be fronted across the relative clause

- (9) a. a. [<*malā* *kāl* *bheṭ-lel-yā*> (**don*) *bāi-ts-e*
 1.SG.DAT yesterday meet-PST.PTCP-OBL two lady-GEN-M.PL
photo]
 photos
 ‘two photos of that lady whom I met yesterday’
- b. [<*malā* *kāl* *bheṭ-lel-lyā*> *bāi-ts-e* *pākiṭ*]
 1.SG.DAT yesterday meet-PST.PTCP-OBL lady-GEN-M.SG wallet.N.SG
 ‘the wallet of the lady whom I met yesterday’
- c. *[*bāi-ts-e* <*malā* *kāl* *bheṭ-lel-yā*>
 lady-GEN-N.SG 1.SG.DAT yesterday meet-PST.PTCP-OBL
pākiṭ]
 wallet.N.SG

‘the wallet of the lady whom I met yesterday’

The examples in (10) should be the Japanese counterparts of the Marathi picture-noun constructions with participial complements.

- (10) a. [*<nikoniko-to warat-te i-ru/warat-ta> (ni-mai-no) kodomo-no*
 smile laugh-GER be-PRS /laugh-PST two-CL-GEN child-GEN
syasyin]
 photo
 ‘(two) photos of the child smiling with a wide grin’
- b. [*kodomo-no (ni-mai-no) <nikoniko-to warat-te i-ru/warat-ta>*
 child-GEN two-CL-GEN smile laugh-GER be-PRS /laugh-PST
syasyin]
 photo
 ‘(two) photos of the child smiling with a wide grin.’

The examples in (11) illustrate that relative clauses possess properties different from those of the picture-noun constructions.

- (11) a. [*<watasi-ga at-ta> (*iti-mai-no) ano hito-no syasin*]
 1.SG-NOM meet-PST one-CL-GEN that man-GEN photo
 ‘one photo of that man whom I met.’
- b. [*<watasi-ga kinoo at-ta> ano hito-no ie*]
 1.SG-NOM yesterday meet-PST that man-GEN home
 ‘the home of that man who I met yesterday.’
- c. * [*ano hito-no <watasi-ga kinoo at-ta> ie*]
 that man-GEN 1.SG.-NOM yesterday meet-PST home
 ‘the home of that man who I met yesterday.’

Marathi and Japanese picture-noun constructions can be identified as possessing structure where a subject-predicate relation between the imagee and the participial predicate is established via control.

- (12) a. [Imagee-GEN <_{ParticipialP} PRO V-PPP/V-*te-iru*/V-*ta*>] Pict-N
 b. [<_{ParticipialP} PRO V-PPP/V-*te-iru*/V-*ta*>_i Imagee-GEN *t_i*] Pict-N

Evidence for the existence of subject within participial complements.

- (13) a. [*mulā-ṭs-ā (ek) <anvāṇi.pāyā-ne dhāv-at as-lel-ā>*
 boy-GEN-M.SG (one) barefoot-with run-DUR be-PST.PTCP-M.S
photo]
 photo
 ‘(one) photo of the child’s running barefoot’
- b. [*<anvāṇi.pāyā-ne dhāv-at as-lel-yā> (ek) mulā-ṭs-ā*
 barefoot-with run-DUR be-PST.PTCP-M.SG (one) boy-GEN-M.SG
photo]
 photo

- ‘(one) photo of the child’s running barefoot’
- c. [*kodomo-no (iti-mai-no) <hadasi-de hasi-te i-ru> syasin*]
 child-GEN (one-CL-GEN) barefoot-with run-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘(one) photo of the child’s running barefoot’
- d. [*<hadasi-de hasi-te i-ru> (iti-mai-no) kodomo-no syasin*]
 barefoot-with run-GER be-PRS (one-CL-GEN) child-GEN photo
 ‘(one) photo of the child’s running barefoot’

The secondary predicate cannot appear outside the participial complement.

- (14) a. * [*mulā-ts-ā anvāṇi.pāyā-ne ek <dhāv-at as-lel-ā>*]
 boy-GEN-M.SG barefoot-with one run-DUR be-PST.PTCP-M.SG
photo
 photo
 ‘(one) photo of the child’s running barefoot.’
- b. * [*<dhāv-at as-lel-yā> anvāṇi.pāyā-ne mulā-ts-ā*]
 run-DUR be-PST.PTCP-M.SG barefoot-with boy-GEN-M.SG
photo
 photo
 ‘(one) photo of the child’s running barefoot.’
- c. * [*kodomo-no hadasi-de iti-mai-no <hasi-te i-ru> syasin*]
 child-GEN barefoot-with one-CL-GEN run-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘the photo of the child’s running barefoot.’
- d. * [*<hasi-te i-ru> hadasi-de kodomo-no syasin*]
 run-GER be-PRS barefoot-with child-GEN photo
 ‘the photo of the child’s running barefoot.’

- (15) a. [Imagee-GEN <PRO DepictP V>] Pict-N
 b. [<PRO DepictP V> Imagee-GEN] Pict-N

3. Genitive Subjects in Japanese

3.1. Nominative-Genitive Conversion

A relative clause and a noun-complement clause

- (16) a. [*Ken-ga/-no mot-te i-ta*] *syasin*
 Ken-NOM/-GEN hold-GER be-PST photo
 ‘the photo which Ken was holding’
- b. [*gakusei-ga/-no ku-ru*] *kanousei*
 student-NOM/-GEN come-PRS possibility
 ‘the possibility that the student will come.’

Picture noun construction

- (17) [*kare-no (iti-mai-no) <warat-te i-ru>*] *syasin*
 he-GEN (one-CL-GEN) laugh-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘the photo of his laughing’

- (18) a. [<Genitive/Nominative Subject ... V-*te iru*>] Pict-N
 b. [Genitive-imagee NP <PRO V-*te iru*>] Pict-N

In the relative clauses in (19), expressions modifying the head noun (like the demonstrative *sono* ‘that’) can be placed before, but not after, the subject of the embedded predicate, and can also be placed to the immediate left of the picture noun.

- (19) a. [(*sono*) [Ken-*ga* (**sono*) *mot-te* *i-ru*] (*sono*) *syasin*]
 (that) Ken-NOM (that) hold-GER be-PRS (that) photo
 ‘(that) photo which Ken is holding’
 b. [(*sono*) Ken-*no* (**sono*) *mot-te* *i-ru*] (*sono*) *syasin*
 (that) Ken-GEN (that) hold-GER be-PRS (that) photo
 ‘(that) photo which Ken is holding’

An adverbial like *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ residing in a relative clause can appear on either side of the genitive-marked subject.

- (20) a. [John-*no* (*kinoo*) *unt-en-si-ta*] *kuruma*
 John-GEN (yesterday) driving-do-PST car
 ‘the car which John drove (yesterday)’
 b. [(*kinoo*) John-*no* *unt-en-si-ta*] *kuruma*
 (yesterday) John-GEN driving-do-PST car
 ‘the car which John drove (yesterday)’

The picture-noun construction does allow *sono* to either precede or follow the genitive imagee NP.

- (21) a. [Ken-*no* (*sono*) <*warat-te* *i-ru*>] *syasin*
 Ken-GEN (that) laugh-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘(that) photo of Ken’s laughing’
 b. [(*sono*) Ken-*no* <*warat-te* *i-ru*>] *syasin*
 (that) Ken-GEN laugh-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘(that) photo of Ken’s laughing’

- (22) a. [Ken-*no* (*sono*) *hon*]
 Ken-GEN (that) book
 ‘(that) book of Ken’s’
 b. [(*sono*) Ken-*no* *hon*]
 (that) Ken-GEN book
 ‘(that) book of Ken’s’

‘transitivity’ restriction

- (23) a. [Ken-*ga*/*-*no* *hon-o* *kat-ta*] *mise*
 Ken-NOM/-GEN book-ACC buy-PST shop
 ‘the shop where Ken bought a book’
 b. [Ken-*ga*/-*no* *kat-ta*] *hon*

Ken-NOM/-GEN buy-PST book
 ‘the book which Ken bought’

In the picture-noun construction, by contrast, the transitivity restriction is not applicable.

- (24) a. [*watasi-no yuiitu-no <sigoto-o si-te i-ru> syasin*] *desu*.
 1.SG-GEN only-GEN job-ACC do-GER be-PRS photo COP
 ‘(It is) a photo of my doing a job.’
 (www.remixayase.blog87.fc2.com/blog-date-201209.html)
- b. [*<kawaii isyoo-de odot-te i-ru> (iti-mai-no) kodomo-no syasin*]
 cute dress-in dance-GER be-PRS one-CL-GENchild-GEN photo
 ‘The photo of the child dancing wearing a cute dress’
 (<http://machi1.seesaa.net/category/18361826-1.html>) [*(iti-mai-no)* is added by
 the authors.]

3.2. Clausal Idioms

Clausal idioms of the intransitive type are allowed to appear inside a relative or a noun-complement clause, and also inside the picture noun.

- (25) a. [*kankodori-ga/-no nai-te i-ru*] *mise*
 cuckoo-NOM/-GEN sing-GER be-PRS store
 ‘a store attracting less and less customers’
- b. [*kankodori-ga/-no nai-te i-ru*] *syasin*
 cuckoo-NOM/-GEN sing-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘the photo of there being less customers’

A transitive clausal idiom can be embedded in the picture-noun construction (while preserving its idiomatic meaning) when the subject of the idiom is marked with nominative case, but not when it is marked with genitive case/

- (26) a. #[*syooziki-mono-no <baka-o mi-te i-ru>*] *syasin*
 honest-people-GEN fool-ACC look.at-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘the photo of the honest man looking at the fool’
- b. [*syooziki-mono-ga baka-o mi-te i-ru*] *syasin*
 honest-people-NOM fool-ACC look.at-GER be-PRS photo
 ‘the photo showing that honesty does not pay’

- (27) a. [<Subject-NOM Object-ACC V>] PictN
 b. [Imagee NP-GEN <PRO Object-ACC V>] PictN

- (28) a. *The cat is out of the bag.*
 b. #*The cat thinks that she is out of the bag.*

4. Sensorial Nouns

- (29) a. [*dhab.dhabyā-čyā pāṇyā-tṣā <paḍ-ṇār-ā> āvāḍ*] ...

- waterfall-GEN water-GEN fall-PRS.PTCP-M.SG sound
 ‘... the sound of the waterfall’s water falling ...’
 (mr.wikipedia.org/wiki) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 87), ex.(49)]
- b. [[*dhab.dhabyā-tsā kivāā <ḍorā-t paḍ-ṅār-yā> pāṅyā*]-*tsā āvāḍ*]
 waterfall-GEN or force-in fall-PRS.PTCP-OBL water-GEN sound
 ‘... the sound of a waterfall or of plummeting water ...’
 (1000chandra.blogspot.com) [Hook and Pardeshi (2013: 87), ex.(51)]
- c. [*kāṅdyā-čyā ṭrṭsurit bhajyān-tsā <taḷ-lel-ā> vās*] ...
 onion-GEN crispy Bhaji-GEN deep.fry-PST.PTCP.-M.SG smell
 ‘... the smell of the deep fried crispy onion Bhaji...’
 (<https://shrikrishnasamant.wordpress.com/2011/08/22/>)
- d. [[*nuktyāṭs taḷ-lel-yā bhajyān*]-*tsā mast vās*].....
 recently deep.fry-PST.PTCP-OBL Bhaji-GEN nice smell
 ‘... the nice smell of recently deep fried Bhaji.....’
 (<http://www.maayboli.com/node/5884?page=1>)

- (30) a. [*rinzin-no (kasukana) [<rooka-o arui-te i-ru> asi-oto*]
 neighbor-GEN (faint) corridor-ACC walk-GER be-PRS foot-sound
 ‘the faint sound of a neighbor’s footsteps walking along the corridor’
 (blogs.yahoo.co.jp/meroblythe/36588481.html)
- b. [<*rooka-o arui-te i-ru> (kasukana) rinzin-no asi-oto*]
 corridor-ACC walk-GER be-PRS (faint) neighbor-GEN foot-sound
 ‘the (faint) sound of a neighbor’s footsteps walking along the corridor’
- c. [<*oobun-de yake-te i-ru> (honokana) sakana-no nioi*]
 oven-in bake-GER be-PRS (slight) fish-GEN smell
 ‘the slight smell of the fish burning in the oven’
- d. [*sakana-no (honokana) <oobun-de yake-te i-ru> nioi*]
 fish-GEN (slight) oven-in bake-GER be-PRS smell
 ‘the slight smell of the fish burning in the oven’

5. Theoretical Implications

6. Conclusion

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