「マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文はEnglish (European)-type か,
Japanese (Asian)-typeか?」

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Based on
"Noun-modifying
constructions in Marathi"

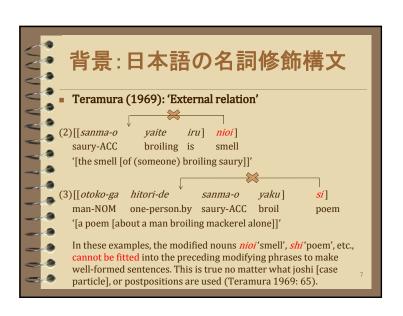
Peter Edwin Hook (Universities of Virginia and Michigan) &
Prashant Pardeshi (National Institute of Japanese Language and
Linguistics)

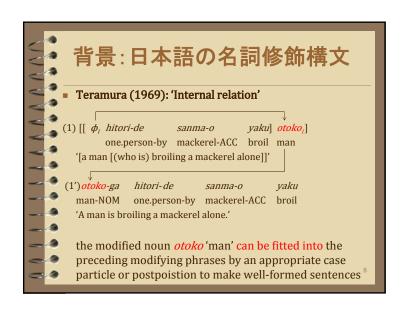
(To appear) In Matsumoto Yoshiko, Bernard Comrie and Peter Sells
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Rethinking theoretical and geographical boundaries. Amsterdam:
John Benjamins.

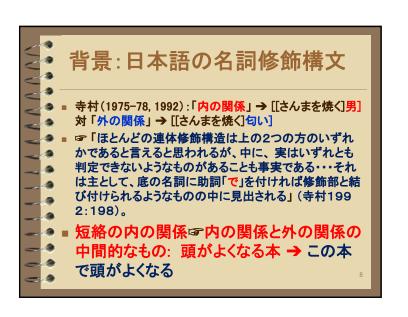
(Noun-modifying constructions=prenominal past participles)



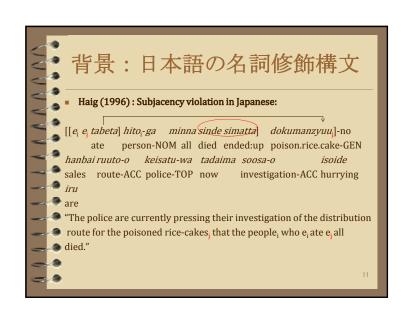




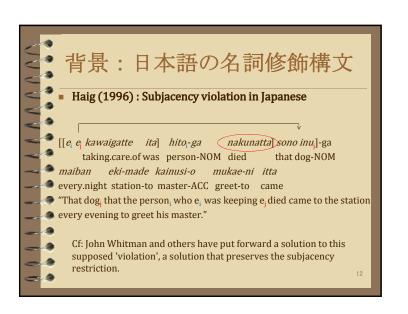




背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 ■ 寺村(1975-78): 名詞修飾の連続体内の関係、関係節→[[さんまを焼く]男] 短絡の内の関係:内の関係と外の関係の中間的なもの⑤ [[頭がよくなる]本] → 「この本を読めば頭がよくなる 外の関係、名詞補文節→[[さんまを焼く]匂い]、[[水が落ちる]音]、[[幽霊が出る](という)噂]

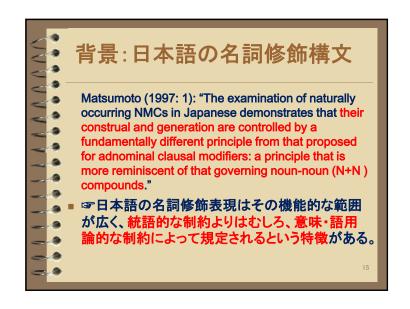


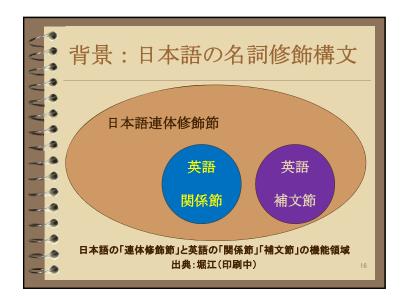
背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 ■ 日本語学の「連体修飾節」研究から「帰属節」の言語類型論的研究へ ■ Matsumoto (1988: 172): ...in English, the understanding of relative clauses is guided by the syntax of the construction, whereas in Japanese, the absence of explicit marker specifying the relations between the head noun and the clause seems to indicate a higher reliance on the semantics and pragmatics.



背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 「空言語類型論の「帰属節」 Comrie (1996, 1998): Attributive clauses (building on Matsumoto 1988 and Haig 1996) 「S"Asian (Japanese)-type" languages: Languages with "general", nounmodifying clause constructions (GNMCCs): Korean, Chinese, Ainu, Khmer, Tamil, and Karachay-Balkar (a Turkic language of the North Caucasus)







背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 『「友達から聞いた」うわさ」 『に友達から聞いた」うわさ」 『にているに幽霊が出る」うわさ」 『につ家に幽霊が出る」うわさ」 『に夜トイレに一人で行けなくなる」うわさ」 『に夜トイレに一人で行けなくなる」うわさ」 『the rumor {?that/* by which/*∮} [one can't go to a restroom alone at night] (例文は堀江(印刷中)から) Note: The post-nominal 'X-that-S' construction in English covers both the NPAH and some noun-complement clauses.



背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 『日本語学の「連体修飾節」 『[[夜トイレに一人で行けなくなる]うわさ] the rumor {?that/* by which/*φ} [one can't go to a restroom alone at night] the (scary) rumor which [prevents one from going to a restroom alone at night] the rumor which [is so scary that one can't go to a restroom alone at night] (例文は堀江(印刷中)から)

背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 ■ Matsumoto, Comrie, Sells (forthcoming) Introduction ☞ GNMCCs = head noun + a dependent (modifying) clause with a same general structure ■ We emphasize, however, that the existence of GNMCCs in a language does not mean that "anything goes". While the strict definition of GNMCC excludes syntactic constraints on the relation between the head noun and the modifying clause, it is still the case that the hearer has to be able to infer a plausible semantic relation between the two and that the speaker is therefore restricted to sentences where such a relation can plausibly be reconstructed, and in the normal small amount of time allowed by human conversation.

背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文

- Matsumoto, Comrie, Sells (forthcoming)
 Introduction GNMCCs = head noun + a dependent (modifying) clause with a same general structure
- It follows from the absence of any explicit statement of the relation between the head noun and the modifying clause in a GNMCC that the modifying clause must have the basic morphosyntactic structure of a main clause in the language in question, because the existence of differences would provide the hearer with clues as to the semantic relation between head noun and modifying clause. But it is important to interpret this requirement correctly. It does not mean that the modifying clause must be identical to a main clause.

発表の構成

1. 背景: 日本語の名詞修飾構文

2. Noun-modifying constructions (NMCs) in Marathi (マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文)

2.1 Relativizing NMCs: Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy (NPAH) 内の関係

2.2 Beyond Accessibility短絡の内の関係、外の関係

2.3 Noun-complement NMCs 外の関係

2.4 Other functions of NMCs その他の機能

3. まとめと今後の展望

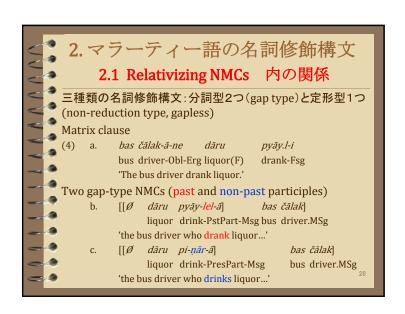
背景:日本語の名詞修飾構文 ■ Matsumoto, Comrie, Sells (forthcoming) Introduction GNMCCs = head noun + a dependent (modifying) clause with a same general structure ■ ...in Japanese, a modifying clause of any GNMCC can in fact function as a main clause, although in spoken Japanese such a main clause would normally have a sentence-final particle, something which is not possible in a modifying clause. In other languages like Korean, GNMCCs differ from main clauses in that the verbs of the former have explicit subordinate morphology while those of the latter have explicit main clause morphology. However, it remains the case that these differences in verb morphology provide no information on the interpretation of the relation between the head noun and the modifying clause.²²

Keenan-Comrie's Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy [NPAH] SU > D0 > 10 > OBL > GEN > OCOMP (where " > " = 'more accessible than') SU = subject; D0 = direct object; 10 = indirect object; OBL = object of preposition; GEN = genitive; OCOMP = object of comparison (a) the man who met the girl (relativizing on SU) (b) the man whom the girl met (relativizing on DO) (c) the man whom the girl gave a book to (relativizing on IO) (d) the desk that the girl put a book on (relativizing on OBL) (e) the man whose book the girl took (relativizing on OCOMP)

RC-forming strategies (Comrie 2002) (A) Non-reduction type [With which knife the man killed the chicken], Ram saw that knife. (B) Pronoun-retention type I saw the woman [that Hasan gave the potato to her]. (C) Relative-pronoun type The fox saw the rabbit [with whom the chicken danced]. (D) Gap type The man saw the chicken [the fox had killed Ø]. In this presentation mainly the Gap type are discussed.

2. マラーティー語 インド・ヨーロッパ語族、インド・アーリア語派、インド西部のマハーラーシュートラ州の公用語 言語使用者: 約9,000万人(2011年の国勢調査の速報値) の速報値) の語話者人口で世界トップ20に含まれる Map source: web.joumon.jp.net

マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文 先取りしての結論 マラーティー語では、日本語と違って、基本的にいわ ゆる内の関係(関係節)と外の関係(名詞補文節)の 名詞修飾構文は形式上区別される⑤ Europeantype しかし、マラーティー語では、日本語と同様、内の関係を表す分詞型関係節が短絡の内の関係や一部の 外の関係を表現することもある⑥ Asian-type マラーティー語にはEuropean-typeと Asian-typeが 混在する。この事実は日本語との対照研究で見えて きたものであり、既存の文法書等で記述されてない。



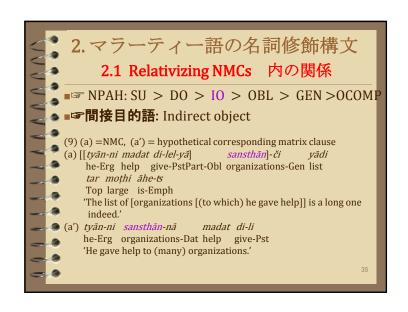


2.1 Relativizing NMCs 内の関係
■ NPAH: SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOME
☞様々な種類の主語: Agent subject
(5) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause (a) [[mahāgaḍi vāhane tsor-ṇār-i] toḥī] jerband (dzhāli) expensive vehicles steal-PresPart.Fsg gang.Fsg arrested became '[The gang [stealing expensive vehicles]] (was) arrested.'
(a') <i>toli</i> mahāgaḍi vāhane tsor-te gang.Fsg expensive vehicles steal-Pres.Fsg 'The gang steals expensive vehicles.'
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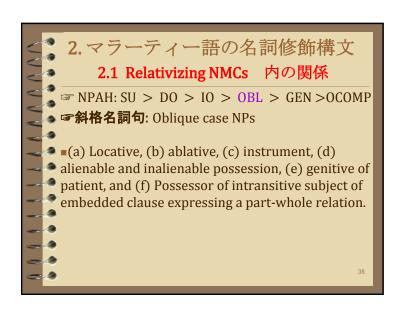
		ーティー語の名 Relativizing NMCs	
3		Gap type (分詞型)	Non-reduction type(定形型)
3	主名詞の 位置	[[修飾句]主名詞] *[主名詞[修飾句]]	[[修飾句]主名詞] [主名詞[修飾句]]
	修飾句内 主名詞の 形跡	空所	名詞、代名詞
3 3 3	修飾句内 の述語の 形式	不定形(過去分詞 -lel-、 非過去分詞-nār-) 主名詞が述語と一致 (性・数・格)	定形



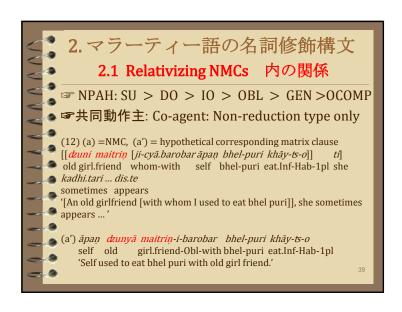




2.マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文 2.1 Relativizing NMCs 内の関係 PNPAH: SU > D0 > I0 > OBL > GEN > OCOMP D直接目的語: Direct object (8) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause (a) [[tum.čyā kāryālayā-t āṇ-le.le] paise] lāts-ats hoti your office-Loc bring-PstPart money bribe-Emph be.Pst '[The money [(which) [someone] brought into your office]] was a bribe.' (a') (X-ne) tum.čyā kāryālayā-t paise āṇ.le X-Erg your office-Loc.Dat money brought '(X) brought money into your office.'

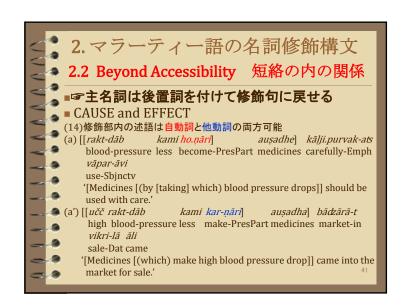






2.マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文 2.1 Relativizing NMCs 内の関係 NPAH: SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP い比較の対象: Objects of comparison: Non-reduction type only (11)[[/yā-čyā-pekšā mi uttam ingraji bol-u šat-o] to Rel-Gen-than I.Nom better English speak-Part can.MSg that mā/hā mitr] ingraji mādhyam-āt-un šik-l-ā āhe I.Gen friend English medium-through learn-Pst-MSg be.Prs 'My friend, than whom I speak better English, has studied in English medium school. NPAHの左端の方(Subject > Direct Object > etc.)は空所型で表現できるが、比較の対象辺りからは空所型で表現できず、non-reduction typeで表現しなければならない。

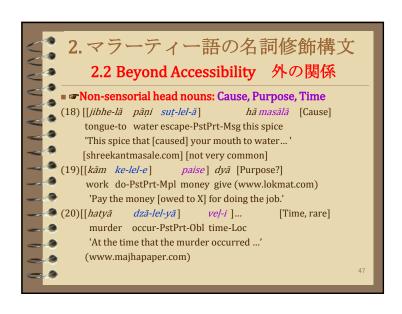
2.マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文 ◆ 2.2 Beyond Accessibility 短絡の内の関係 ■母主名詞は後置詞を付けて修飾句に戻せる CAUSE and EFFECT (13) (a) = NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause (a) [tondā-lā pāni sut-nār-e] mouth-to water be.released-PresPart-Mpl item(Mpl) 'Items [(by [seeing] which) your mouth will water].' (a') tsav.dār padārth pāh-un toṇḍā-lā pāni sut-te tasty items see-Ger mouth-to water be.released-PresHab '[On seeing tasty items] one's mouth waters.' (a") tsav.dār padārth-ā-ne tondā-lā pāni sut-te tasty items-Obly-by mouth-to water be.released-PresHab '[By tasty items] one's mouth waters.' ☞修飾部内の述語は自動詞と他動詞の両方が可能。 しかし、自動詞のほうが強く好まれる。



2.2 Beyond Accessibility 短絡の内の関係 ■☞自他交替:主節 対 分詞型関係節					
	自動詞	他動詞			
主節	32	11			
分詞型関係節	1	17			
Main Clause: rakt-dāb kami h NMCs: rakt-dāb kami honār(ā					

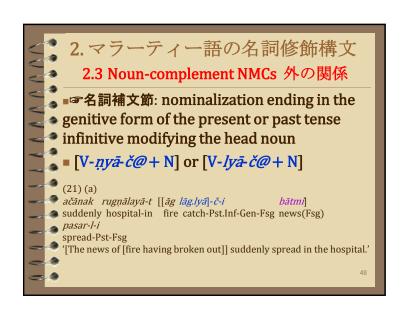






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2.マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文
2.2 Beyond Accessibility 外の関係

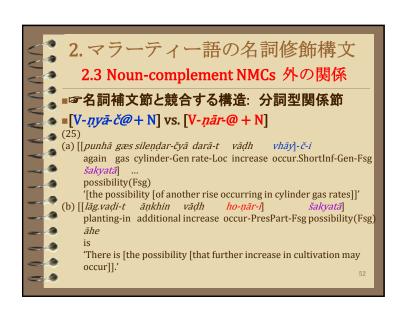
■「Non-sensorial head nouns
■通常、名詞補文節の形式で表現されるが、100対1
の確率で分詞型関係節としても表現可
(17) (a)名詞補文節(外の関係)
[[divasā-tun pannās phon-hi sahadz šaky as-ṇār-i]
day-during fifty phones-even easily possible be-PresPart-Fsg sthit] ...
situation
[The situation [(that) even fifty phone calls per day are easily possible]] ...'
(17)(b)分詞型関係節(外の関係)
[mhātār-paṇ [hi paṇ [ek na tāl-tā ye-ṇār-i] avasthā] ...
agedness this too one Neg avoiding come-PresPart-Fsg condition 'Age, too is [a condition [(that) cannot be avoided]]...'
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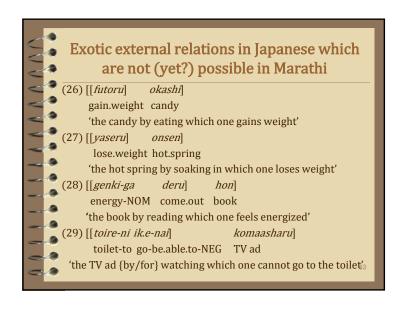


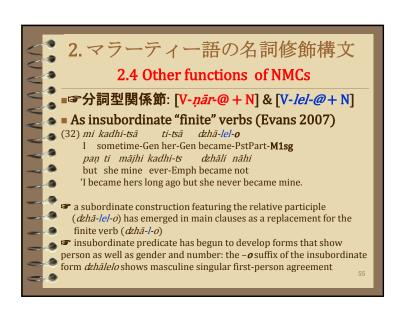




2.マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文 2.3 Noun-complement NMCs 外の関係 『『名詞補文節と競合する構造: 分詞型関係節 『【V-nyā-č@+N】 vs. 【V-lel-@+N】: 同一の文で (23) [[sureš kalmāḍi tihār-madhun suṭ-lel.] bātmī] kīvā Suresh Kalmadi Tihar.jail-from be.released-PstPart news or [[e.ke.rājā-nā dzāmin miļā-lyā]-či bātmī] sarv-ats mādhyamān-ni A.K.Raja-Dat parole get-Pst.Inf-Gen news all-Emph media-Erg breking nyuz mhan-un prasiddha keli breaking news say-Ger published did 'All the media published [the news [(that) Suresh Kalmadi was released from Tihar Jail]] or [the news of [A.K. Raja getting parole]] as "breaking news".







2. マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文 2.4 Other functions of NMCs ■☞分詞型関係節: [V-*ṇār*-@+N] & [V-*lel-@*+N] ■ As a complementizer (30) [paryaṭakān-čyā sankhye-t vāḍh tourists-Gen number-in increase(Fsg) become-PstPart-Fsg dis-te be.visible-PresF3sg 'There seems to have been an increase in the number of tourists.' (ms-mv.facebook.com) (31) [kāhi abhinete ekmek-ān-ši dzuļ-<u>ņār</u>-e vāt-tāt some actors each.other-Obl-with match-PresPart-Mpl feel-3pl 'Some actors seem to go together.' (shabdavel.blogspot.com/2013/02/blog-post_6.html)



3. まとめと今後の展望

- マラーティー語では、日本語と違って、基本的にいわ ゆる内の関係(関係節)と外の関係(名詞補文節)の 名詞修飾構文は形式上区別される⑤ Europeantype
- しかし、マラーティー語では、日本語と同様、内の関係を表す分詞型関係節が短絡の内の関係や一部の外の関係を表現することもある®Asian-type
- マラーティー語にはEuropean-typeとAsian-typeが 混在する。この事実は日本語との対照研究で見えて きたものであり、既存の文法書等で記述されてない。

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