

「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”

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Rethinking theoretical and geographical boundaries*. Amsterdam:
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(Noun-modifying constructions=prenominal past participles)

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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

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

寺村(1969,1975-78, 1992): 「**内の関係**」と「**外の関係**」



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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

■ Teramura (1969): 'Internal relation'

(1) [[ϕ , *hitori-de* *sanma-o* *yaku*] *otoko*_i]
 one.person-by mackerel-ACC broil man
 '[a man [(who is) broiling a mackerel alone]]'

(1') *otoko-ga* *hitori-de* *sanma-o* *yaku*
 man-NOM one.person-by mackerel-ACC broil
 'A man is broiling a mackerel alone.'

the modified noun *otoko* 'man' can be fitted into the preceding modifying phrases by an appropriate case particle or postposition to make well-formed sentences ⁶

背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

■ Teramura (1969): 'External relation'

(2) [[*sanma-o* *yaite* *iru*] *nioi*]
 saury-ACC broiling is smell
 '[the smell [of (someone) broiling saury]]'

(3) [[*otoko-ga* *hitori-de* *sanma-o* *yaku*] *shi*]
 man-NOM one-person.by saury-ACC broil poem
 '[a poem [about a man broiling mackerel alone]]'

In these examples, the modified nouns *nioi* 'smell', *shi* 'poem', etc., cannot be fitted into the preceding modifying phrases to make well-formed sentences. This is true no matter what joshi [case particle], or postpositions are used (Teramura 1969: 65).

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

■ 寺村(1975-78, 1992): 「**内の関係**」→ [[さんまを焼く**男**]
 対「**外の関係**」→ [[さんまを焼く**匂い**]

■ 「ほとんどの連体修飾構造は上の2つの方のいずれかであると思われるが、中に、実はいずれとも判定できないようなものがあることも事実である...それは主として、底の名詞に助詞「で」を付ければ修飾部と結び付けられるようなものの中に見出される」(寺村1992:198)。

■ 短絡の**内の関係** → **内の関係と外の関係の中間的なもの**: **頭がよくなる本** → **この本で頭がよくなる**

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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]

短絡の内関係: 内関係と外関係の中間的なもの → [[頭がよくなる]本] → 「この本を読めば頭がよくなる」

外関係、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]

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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.*

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

- Haig (1996) : Subjacency violation in Japanese:

[[e_1 e_2 tabeta] hito-ga minna sinde simatta] dokumanzyuu₁-no
ate person-NOM all died ended:up poison.rice.cake-GEN
hanbai ruuto-o keisatu-wa tadaima soosa-o isoide
sales route-ACC police-TOP now investigation-ACC hurrying
iru
are

“The police are currently pressing their investigation of the distribution route for the poisoned rice-cakes₁ that the people₁ who e_1 ate e_2 all died.”

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

- Haig (1996) : Subjacency violation in Japanese

[[e_1 e_2 kawaiatte ita] hito-ga nakunatta sono inu₁]-ga
taking.care.of was person-NOM died that dog-NOM
maiban eki-made kainusi-o mukae-ni itta
every.night station-to master-ACC greet-to came

“That dog₁ that the person₁ who e_1 was keeping e_2 died came to the station every evening to greet his master.”

Cf: John Whitman and others have put forward a solution to this supposed 'violation', a solution that preserves the subjacency restriction.

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

- ☞ 言語類型論の「帰属節」
- Comrie (1996, 1998): Attributive clauses (building on Matsumoto 1988 and Haig 1996)
- ☞ “Asian (Japanese)-type” languages: Languages with “general”, noun-modifying clause constructions (GNMCCs): Korean, Chinese, Ainu, Khmer, Tamil, and Karachay-Balkar (a Turkic language of the North Caucasus)

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

- ☞ 言語類型論の「帰属節」
- Comrie (1996, 1998): Attributive clauses
- ☞ “European (English)-type” languages: Languages that **do NOT have** a “general”, noun-modifying clause constructions (GNMCCs): English, Turkish etc.

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

Matsumoto (1997: 1): “The examination of naturally occurring NMCs in Japanese demonstrates that **their construal and generation are controlled by a fundamentally different principle from that proposed for adnominal clausal modifiers: a principle that is more reminiscent of that governing noun-noun (N+N) compounds.**”

- ☞ 日本語の名詞修飾表現はその機能的な範囲が広く、統語的な制約よりはむしろ、意味・語用論的な制約によって規定されるという特徴がある。

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

日本語連体修飾節

英語
関係節

英語
補文節

日本語の「連体修飾節」と英語の「関係節」「補文節」の機能領域
出典：堀江(印刷中)

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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

- ☞ 日本語学の「連体修飾節」
 - [[友達から聞いた]うわさ]
 - the rumor {which/that/φ} [I heard from a friend of mine]
 - [[この家に幽霊が出る]うわさ]
 - the rumor {that/*which/*φ} [this house is haunted]
 - [[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] (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. 17

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)
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背景：日本語の名詞修飾構文

- ☞ Matsumoto, Comrie, Sells (forthcoming)
- GNMCCs = head noun + a dependent (modifying) clause with a **same** general structure
- [本を買った]学生 (Subject/Buyer)
- [学生が買った]本 (Direct Object/Goods)
- [学生が本を買った]店 (Oblique/Place)
- [本を買った]知らせ <noun complement equivalent>
- [本を買った]おつり <other>

Examples from Matsumoto, Comrie, Sells (forthcoming) *Introduction*. In Matsumoto Yoshiko, Bernard Comrie and Peter Sells (eds.) *Noun Modifying Clause Constructions in Languages of Eurasia: Rethinking theoretical and geographical boundaries*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 19

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. 20

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.**

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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

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Keenan-Comrie's Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy [NPAH]

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP
(where ">" = 'more accessible than')

- SU = subject; DO = direct object; IO = 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 GEN)
- (f) **the man** who the girl is taller than (relativizing on OCOMP)

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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 \emptyset].
In this presentation **mainly the Gap type** are discussed.

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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⇨ European-type
- 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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2. マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文

- ⇨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)
- 母語話者人口で世界トップ20に含まれる



Map source: web.joumon.jp.net

2. マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文

2.1 Relativizing NMCs 内の関係

三種類の名詞修飾構文: 分詞型2つ (gap type) と定形型1つ (non-reduction type, gapless)

Matrix clause

- (4) a. *bas čālak-ā-ne dāru pyāy.l-i*
bus driver-Obl-Erg liquor(F) drank-Fsg
'The bus driver drank liquor.'

Two gap-type NMCs (**past** and **non-past** participles)

- b. $[[\emptyset \text{ dāru pyāy-lel-ā}] \text{ bas čālak}]$
liquor drink-PstPart-Msg bus driver.MSg
'the bus driver who **drank** liquor...'
- c. $[[\emptyset \text{ dāru pi-nār-ā}] \text{ bas čālak}]$
liquor drink-PresPart-Msg bus driver.MSg
'the bus driver who **drinks** liquor...'

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2. マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文

2.1 Relativizing NMCs 内の関係

三種類の名詞修飾表現分詞型2つ (gap type) と定形型1つ (non-reduction type, gapless)

Matrix clause

(4) a. *bas čālak-ā-ne dāru pyāy.l-i*
 bus driver-Obl-Erg liquor(F) drank-Fsg
 'The bus driver drank liquor.'

One non-reduction type (relative-correlative construction)

d. [[*iyā (bas.čālak-ā)-ne dāru pyāy.l-i*] to (*bas čālak*)]
 Rel.Obl (bus driver-Obl)-Erg liquor drank-Fsg Corel bus driver.MSG
 'the bus driver who drank liquor...'

e. [to *bas čālak* [*iyā (*bas čālak-ā)-ne dāru pyāy.l-i*]]
 Corel bus driver Rel (bus driver-Obl)-Erg liquor drank-Fsg
 'the bus driver who drank liquor...'

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2. マラーティー語の名詞修飾構文

2.1 Relativizing NMCs 内の関係

	Gap type (分詞型)	Non-reduction type(定形型)
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
修飾句内の述語の形式	不定形(過去分詞 <i>-let-</i> 、 非過去分詞 <i>-nār-</i>) 主名詞が述語と一致 (性・数・格)	定形

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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

☞ 様々な種類の主語: Agent subject

(5) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

(a) [[*mahāgaḍi vāhane tsor-nār-i*] *tolī*] *jerband (dzhāli)*
 expensive vehicles steal-PresPart.Fsg gang.Fsg arrested became
 '[The gang [stealing expensive vehicles]] (was) arrested.'

(a') *tolī mahāgaḍi vāhane tsor-te*
 gang.Fsg expensive vehicles steal-Pres.Fsg
 'The gang steals expensive vehicles.'

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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

☞ 様々な種類の主語: Abilitative or Experiencer subject

(6) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

(a) to [[*ingraji na ye-nār.ā*] *iṭāliyan*] *nighālā*
 he English not come-PresPart.Msg Italian came.out.MSG
 Lit. 'He turned out to be [an Italian [(to whom) English does not come]].'

(a') *tyā iṭāliyan-lā ingraji ye-t nāhi*
 that.Obl Italian-Dat English come-Pres Neg
 'That Italian doesn't know English.'

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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

☞ 様々な種類の主語: Inalienable possessor subject

(7) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

(a) [[*hāt nas-lel-e*] *lok*] *pāyā-ne lihi-ny.ā-tsā*
 hands not.be-PstPart-Mpl people.Mpl foot-with write-Inf-Gen
 prayatn kar-tāt
 attempt do-Pres.Mpl

'[People [(whose) hands are gone]] try to write with their feet.'

(a') *kāhi lok-ān-nā hāt nāhi-t*
 some people-Obl.pl-Dat hands not.be-3pl
 'Some people do not have hands.'

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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

☞ 直接目的語: Direct object

(8) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

(a) [[*tum.čyā kāryālayā-t āṇ-lel.e*] *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.'

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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

☞ 間接目的語: Indirect object

(9) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

(a) [[*tyān-ni madat di-lel-yā*] *sansthān*]-*či yādi*
 he-Erg help give-PstPart-Obl organizations-Gen list
 tar moṭhi āhe-ts
 Top large is-Emph
 'The list of [organizations [(to which) he gave help]] is a long one indeed.'

(a') *tyān-ni sansthān-nā madat di-li*
 he-Erg organizations-Dat help give-Pst
 'He gave help to (many) organizations.'

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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

☞ 斜格名詞句: Oblique case NPs

■ (a) Locative, (b) ablative, (c) instrument, (d) alienable and inalienable possession, (e) genitive of patient, and (f) Possessor of intransitive subject of embedded clause expressing a part-whole relation.

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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

☞ 斜格名詞句: Oblique case NPs: Ablative

(10) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

(a) *tyā-nantar* [*mast* [*vāph nigh-ṅār-ā*] *ḥahā!*]
that-after delightful steam come.out-PresPart-Msg tea(Msg)
'After that a perfect (cup of) [[steaming] tea]'

(a') *ḥahā-tun vāph nigh-te*

tea-Abl steam come.out-Pres

'The tea is steaming.'

[Lit: 'Steam comes off from the tea.']

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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

☞ 比較の対象: Objects of comparison: Non-reduction type only

(11) [[*iyā-ḥyā-pekṣā mi uttam ingraji bol-u ṣat-o*] *to*
Rel-Gen-than I.Nom better English speak-Part can.MSg that
mājhā mitr] *ingraji mādhyaṃ-āt.un ṣik-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。

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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

☞ 共同動作主: Co-agent: Non-reduction type only

(12) (a) =NMC, (a') = hypothetical corresponding matrix clause

[[*ḍuni maitriṅ*] [*ji-cyā.barobar āpaṅ bhel-puri khāy-ṭ-o*] *tī*]
old girl.friend whom-with self bhel-puri eat.Inf-Hab-1pl she
kadhi.tari ... dis.te

sometimes appears

'[An old girlfriend [with whom I used to eat bhel puri]], she sometimes appears ...'

(a') *āpaṅ ḍunyā maitriṅ-i-barobar bhel-puri khāy-ṭ-o*

self old girl.friend-Obl-with bhel-puri eat.Inf-Hab-1pl

'Self used to eat bhel puri with old girl friend.'

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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

☞ 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) [*toṅḍā-lā pāṇi suṭ-ṅār-e*] *padārth!*
mouth-to water be.released-PresPart-Mpl item(Mpl)
'Items [(by [seeing] which) your mouth will water].'

(a') *ṣav.dār padārth pāh-un toṅḍā-lā pāṇi suṭ-te*

tasty items see-Ger mouth-to water be.released-PresHab

'[On seeing tasty items] one's mouth waters.'

(a'') *ṣav.dār padārth-ā-ne toṅḍā-lā pāṇi suṭ-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。

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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

- 主名詞は後置詞を付けて修飾句に戻せる
- CAUSE and EFFECT

(14) 修飾部内の述語は自動詞と他動詞の両方可能

(a) [[*rakt-dāb* *kami ho.ṅārī* *auśadhe*] *kāḷji.purvak-ats*
 blood-pressure less become-PresPart medicines carefully-Emph
vāpar-āvi
 use-Sbjnctv
 'Medicines [(by [taking] which) blood pressure drops]] should be
 used with care.'

(a') [[*učč rakt-dāb* *kami kar-ṅārī* *auśadha*] *bādzārā-t*
 high blood-pressure less make-PresPart medicines market-in
vikri-lā āli
 sale-Dat came
 'Medicines [(which) make high blood pressure drop]] came into the
 market for sale.'

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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

- 修飾句の述語の自他交替
- 修飾句内の述語が自動詞→短絡の内の関係
- 対応する他動詞の構文も可能→内の関係
- 上記のような修飾句の述語の自他交替が可能なものの中にはイディオム的なものが多い
- 日本語でも同様な現象が観察される→

[[よだれが**出そう**な]メニュー] > [[よだれを**出し**そう
な]メニュー]

- 両言語で自動詞のほうが好まれる→「なる」言語の性質と関わり?

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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

- 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 hoto* 32 11 *rakt-dāb kami kar -to, -te, -ta, -tāt*
 NMCs: *rakt-dāb kami hoṅār@* 1 17 *rakt-dāb kami karṅār@*

ネットを使って上記のような非対称性を発見することは可能となる。Google counts made on 22 July 2013, 詳細はHook and Pardeshi (forthcoming) を参照。

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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

- 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

(15) (a) 名詞補文節 (外の関係)
 [[*kičan-madhye bhāṇḍi paḍ-lyā -ts-ā* *āvāḍ*] *āl-ā*
 kitchen-in vessels.Npl fall-Pst.Inf-Gen-Msg sound(Msg) came-Msg
 'The sound [of pots having falling]] came (= was heard).'

(15) (a') 分詞型関係節 (外の関係)
 [[*kuṭhla.tari bhāṇḍa paḍ-lel-ā*] *āvāḍ*] *mi*
 some vessel.Nsg fall-PstPart-Msg sound(Msg) I.Erg
aik-l-ā
 hear-Pst-Msg
 'I heard [the sound [(that) some or other pot fell]].'

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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

☞ **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

(16) (a) 名詞補文節 (外の関係)
[[*pāus paḍ-tānnā-tṣ-ā āvāḍ*] ...
rain.Nom fall-AdvrbPart-Gen-Msg sound.Msg
'[rain (while) falling]'s sound].'

(16) (a') 分詞型関係節 (外の関係)
[[*ḥhaprā-vartī [pāvasā-ḥyā sarin]-tṣ-ā paḍ-nār-ā āvāḍ*] ...
roof-on rain-Gen showers-Gen-Msg fall-PresPart-Msg sound.Msg
'...[the falling sound of [rain showers] on the roof].'

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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 sahaḍ śaky as-nār-l*] ...
day-during fifty phones-even easily possible be-PresPart-Fsg
sthiti] ...
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 ṭāltā ye-nār-l] 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
2.2 Beyond Accessibility 外の関係

☞ **Non-sensorial head nouns: Cause, Purpose, Time**

(18) [[*jibhe-lā pāṇi suṭ-lel-ā hā masālā*] [Cause]
tongue-to water escape-PstPrt-Msg this spice
'This spice that [caused] your mouth to water...'
[shreekantmasale.com] [not very common]

(19) [[*kām ke-lel-e paise dyā*] [Purpose?]
work do-PstPrt-Mpl money give (www.lokmat.com)
'Pay the money [owed to X] for doing the job.'

(20) [[*hatyā dzā-lel-yā vel-i*] ...] [Time, rare]
murder occur-PstPrt-Obl time-Loc
'At the time that the murder occurred ...'
(www.majhapaper.com)

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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: nominalization ending in the genitive form of the present or past tense infinitive modifying the head noun**

■ **[V-ṇyā-č@ + N]** or **[V-lyā-č@ + N]**

(21) (a)
ačānak ruṅṅālayā-t [[āg lāg.lyā]-ḥ-i bātm]
suddenly hospital-in fire catch-Pst.Inf-Gen-Fsg news(Fsg)
pasar-l-i
spread-Pst-Fsg
'[The news of [fire having broken out]] suddenly spread in the hospital.'

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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-ṅyā-č@ + N]** vs. **[V-lel@ + N]**

(22) (a)
ačānak ruṅṅālayā-t [[*āg lāg.lyā-č-i* *bātm*]
 suddenly hospital-in fire catch-Pst.Inf-Gen-Fsg news(Fsg)
pasar-l-i
 spread-Pst-Fsg
 'The news of [fire having broken out]] suddenly spread in the hospital.'

(22) (b)
 [[*gharā-lā āg lāg-lel-i* *bātm*] *sarvatr*
 house-LocDat fire catch-PstPart-Fsg news(Fsg) all.over
pasar-l-i
 spread-Pst-Fsg
 'The word [that fire had broken out in the house]] spread everywhere.'

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-ṅyā-č@ + N]** vs. **[V-lel@ + N]** : 同一の文で

(23)
 [[*suresh kalmāḍi tihār-madhun suṭ-lel-i* *bātm*] *kīvā*
 Suresh Kalmadi Tihar.jail-from be.released-PstPart news or
 [[*e.ke.rājā-nā dzāmin miḷā-lyā-či* *bātm*] *sarv-ats mādhyamān-ni*
 A.K.Raja-Dat parole get-Pst.Inf-Gen news all-Emph media-Erg
breking nyuz mhaṅ-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".'

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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-ṅyā-č@ + N]** vs. **[V-lel@ + N]**

(24)
 (a) [[*jagā-t-il sarvāt.moṭhi lok.śāhi bhraṣṭāčārā-ne kālavaṅḍ-un*
 world-in-Adj largest democracy corruption-Ins blacken-Ger
ge-lyā-tse *čitr*]
 go-PstInf-Gen picture
 'a picture of [the world's largest democracy blackened by corruption]].'

(b) [[*parisarā-t-ā ḍongar kālavaṅḍ-un ge-lel-e* *čitr*]
 vicinity-in-Adj mtn.Nom blacken-Ger go-PstPart-Nsg picture(Nsg)
pāhāy-lā miḷ-te
 see.Inf-Dat get-3sg
 '(One) gets to see a blackened scene of local mountains.'

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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-ṅyā-č@ + N]** vs. **[V-ṅār@ + N]**

(25)
 (a) [[*punhā gæs sileṅḍar-čyā darā-t vādh vḥāy-č-i*
 again gas cylinder-Gen rate-Loc increase occur.ShortInf-Gen-Fsg
śakyatā ...
 possibility(Fsg)
 'the possibility [of another rise occurring in cylinder gas rates]]'

(b) [[*lāg.vaḍi-t āṅkhin vādh ho-ṅār-i* *śakyatā*]
 planting-in additional increase occur-PresPart-Fsg possibility(Fsg)
āhe
 is
 'There is [the possibility [that further increase in cultivation may occur]].'

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Exotic external relations in Japanese which are not (yet?) possible in Marathi

- (26) [[*futoru*] *okashi*]
gain.weight candy
'the candy by eating which one gains weight'
- (27) [[*yaseru*] *onsen*]
lose.weight hot.spring
'the hot spring by soaking in which one loses weight'
- (28) [[*genki-ga deru*] *hon*]
energy-NOM come.out book
'the book by reading which one feels energized'
- (29) [[*toire-ni i.k.e.nai*] *komaasharu*]
toilet-to go-be.able.to-NEG TV ad
'the TV ad {by/for} watching which one cannot go to the toilet'

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-*ṅār*-@ + N] & [V-*lel*-@ + N]

As a complementizer

- (30) [*paryāṭakān-ṅyā sankhye-t vādh* *ḍā-lel-l*]
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-my.facebook.com)

- (31) [*kāhi abhinete ekmek-ān-ṣi* *ḍuḷ-ṅār-e*] *vāṭ-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)

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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-*ṅār*-@ + N] & [V-*lel*-@ + N]

As in subordinate "finite" verbs (Evans 2007)

- (32) *mi kadhi-tsā ti-tsā ḍhā-lel-o*
I sometime-Gen her-Gen became-PstPart-M1sg
paṇ ti mājhi kadhi-ts ḍhāli nāhi
but she mine ever-Emph became not
'I became hers long ago but she never became mine.'

- ☞ a subordinate construction featuring the relative participle (*ḍhā-lel-o*) has emerged in main clauses as a replacement for the finite verb (*ḍhā-l-o*)
- ☞ in subordinate predicate has begun to develop forms that show person as well as gender and number: the *-o* suffix of the in subordinate form *ḍhālelo* shows masculine singular first-person agreement

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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

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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⇒ European-type
- 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いない。

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●ありがとうございます！ Thank you very much !
● 감사합니다 謝謝 धन्यवाद ! شکریہ Спасибо



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