

## B-2

### 目的語主格構文と能格構文の平行性\*

(Parallelism between nominative object constructions and ergative constructions)

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#### 1. 導入

- (1) raam     bazaar     gayaa (Hindi)

Ram.M   market   go.Past.M.Sg

‘Ram went to the market.’

(Mahajan 1990: 221)

- (2) raam     ne   roTii     khaayii     thii

Ram.M   Erg   bread.f   eat.perf.f   be.Past.f

‘Ram had eaten bread.’

(Mahajan 1990: 221)

Ergative case pattern in Accusative languages (Kuno (1973), Kuroda (1978))

=Nominative Object Constructions, Quirky Subject Constructions

- (3) Hiromi-ni     syuwa-ga     deki-ru (Japanese)

Hiromi-Dat   sign language-Nom   capable-Pres

‘Hiromi can use a sign language.’

(Koizumi 2008: 141)

#### 2. 提案といくつかの帰結

##### 2.1. 提案

- (4) 能格言語における能格構文(ergative construction)は対格言語における主格目的語構文(nominative object construction)に対応する。

→ すべての言語は普遍的に対格言語であり、「有標な」能格パターンを有する言語もある。

##### 2.2. 派生

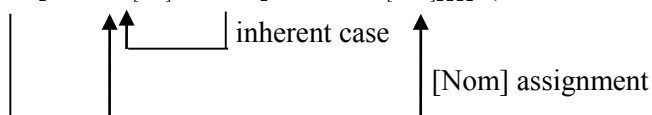
- (5) Hiromi-ga/ni     syuwa-ga     deki-ru (Japanese)

Hiromi-Nom/Dat   sign language-Nom   capable-Pres

‘Hiromi can use a sign language.’

(Koizumi 2008: 141)

- (6) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> DP<sub>[Dat]</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>[Nom]</sub>]]]] (word order irrelevant)



(Koizumi 2008: 159-160)

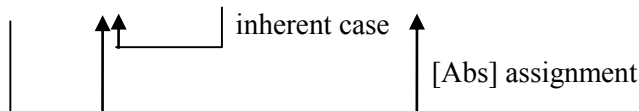
- (7) raam     ne   roTii     khaayii     thii (= (2))

Ram.M   Erg   bread.f   eat.perf.f   be.Past.f

‘Ram had eaten bread.’

\*本研究の一部は日本学術振興会科学研究費補助金（若手研究(B)課題番号 26770169）の助成を受けている。

(8) [CP C [TP T [vP DP<sub>[Erg]</sub> v [vP V DP<sub>[Abs]</sub>]]]] (word order irrelevant)



(9) a. 能格＝奇態格：共に v からの付与される内在格を持つ。

b. 共に構造上、上位の[Spec, TP]を占める

(10)a. 絶対格＝主格：共に T が認可する。

b. 共に構造上、下位を占める

(11) 内在格が付与されている DP は欠如要素介入(defective intervention)効果を示さない

(Stepanov 2004, Ura 2006)

(12)a. Henni<sub>i</sub> leiðist bókin sín<sub>i</sub>

(Binding)

(Icelandic)

her.Dat bores book self's

'She finds her won book boring.'

b. Henni<sub>i</sub> virðist [t<sub>i</sub> hafa leiðst bókin]

(Raising to Subject)

Her.Dat seems have bored book

'She seems to have found the book boring.'

(Boeckx 2000: 356)

(13)a. salmaa<sub>i</sub> ne apne<sub>i</sub> ghar kaa niriikshan kiyaa

(Hindi)

Salma Erg self's house Gen examination do-Perf-Masc

'Salma examined self's house.'

(Mahajan 2000: 82)

b. raam ne roTii khaayii lagtii thii

Ram.M Erg bread.F.Sg eat.perf.F seem.Imp.F be.Past.F

'Ram seemed to have eaten bread.'

(Mahajan 1989: 245)

c. salmaa<sub>i</sub> ne [PRO<sub>i</sub> ghar jaanaa] caahaa

Salma Erg home go-Inf want-Perf-Masc

'Salma wanted to go home.'

(Mahajan 2000: 83)

(14)ham to(h)rā dekh- l- i- o

(Magahi)

I you(h) see- Pst- 1Sg- 2Pl

'I saw you (honorific).'

(Verma 1991: 132)

### 2.3. いくつかの帰結

(15) a. 能格性は段階的(gradable)な概念であり、純粋な能格言語は存在しない(Aldridge 2004)。

b. 能格言語であれば、分離能格性(split ergativity)を有する。

(16) a. In fact, languages with intra-clausal ergativity seem seldom to have a preferred verb-medial constituent order...

(Dixon 1994: 50)

b. Verb medial languages are never ergative.

(Mahajan 1994: 38, cf. 1997)

### 3. ゲルマン語派の主格目的語構文

(17) Dat-Nom >> Dat-Acc >> Nom-Acc

Icelandic Faroese English

(Hrafnbjargarson 2002, 2004)

(18) Henni líkuðu heir

(Icelandic)

Her-Dat liked.3Pl they-Nom

‘She liked them.’

(Stepanov 2004: 386)

(19)a. 非構造(non-structural)格を持つDPは一致形態素を引き起こさない。(cf. Anand and Nevins 2006)

b. 多重一致(multiple agree)操作

(20) Mær dammar væl hesar bátarnar

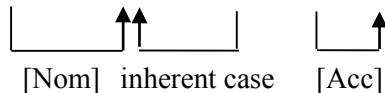
(Faroese)

Me.Dat likes.3Sg well these.Acc.Pl boats.Acc.Pl

‘I really like these boats here.’

(Hrafnbjargarson 2002: 2)

(21) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> DP<sub>[Dat]</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> V DP]]]] (word order irrelevant)



(22) %Nógvum kvinnum dára mannfólk við eitt sindur av Búki.

many.Dat women.Dat like.3Pl men.Acc with a bit of belly

‘Many women fancy slightly fat men.’

(Jónsson 2009: 146)

(23) \*Mær dámi Hasa bókina

I.Dat like.1Sg this.Acc book.the.Acc

‘I like this book.’

(Jónsson 2009: 159)

	Icelandic	Faroese	English
(19a)	✓	✓/--	--
(19b)	✓	--	--

Table 1

### 4. インド・アーリア語派の能格構文

	Hindi	Nepali	Bengali
(19a)	✓	✓/--	--
(19b)	✓	--	--

Table 2

(24) rām-ne chidiyā dekh-ī

(Hindi)

Ram.M-Erg bird.F.Nom see-Perf.F.Sg

‘Ram saw a sparrow.’

(Deo and Sharma 2006: 376)

- (25) sita-ne radha-ko dekh-ā  
 Sita.F-Erg Radha.F-Acc see-Perf.M.Sg  
 ‘Sita saw Radha.’ (Deo and Sharma 2006: 376)
- (26) mmi-le us-lai lng<sup>h</sup>vt-ē. (Nepali)  
 I-Erg he-Acc chase-Past.1Sg.  
 ‘I chased him.’ (Li 2007: 1466)
- (27) rājīkumari...bagiicaā-mā ghum-na gaeko rahe-che/char  
 princess garden-Loc walk-1P go-RP stay-3Sg.F.Imp./3Sg.M.Imp.  
 ‘The princess was strolling in the garden.’ (Genetti 1993: 93-94)
- (28) bhut-haru-le cahī karā-echan/echa re  
 ghost-Pl-Erg Top shout-3Pl.M./3Sg.M. NRPST.Evid.  
 ‘The ghosts shout.’ (Genetti 1993: 94)
- (29) d<sup>h</sup>uṅga-hṛu-le dz<sup>h</sup>jal p<sup>h</sup>uṭa-e/-jo  
 stone-Pl-Erg window break-Past.3Pl/3Sg  
 ‘The stones broke the window.’ (Li 2007: 1465)
- (30) ma-le luga d<sup>h</sup>yo (Darjeeling Nepali)  
 mother.Erg cloth.M.Pl wash.3Sg.Perf  
 ‘Mother has washed the clothes.’ (Chandra and Udaar 2015: 65)
- (31) āmī sita-ke dekh-chī (Bengali)  
 I.Nom Sita.F-Acc see-Pres.1Sg  
 ‘I see Sita.’ (Deo and Sharma 2006: 381)
- (32) anu sita-ke dekh-lo  
 Anu.F.Nom Sita.F-Acc see-Perf.3Sg  
 ‘Anu saw Sita.’ (Deo and Sharma 2006: 381)

## 5. グジャラート語

(33)(=19a) 非構格を持つ DP は一致形態素を引き起こさない。→能格の DP にのみ適応

- (34) sita-e kāgal vāc-yo (Gujarati)  
 Sita.F-Erg letter.M.Nom read-Perf.M.Sg  
 ‘Sita read the letter.’ (Deo and Sharma 2006: 379)
- (35) sita-e raj-ne pajav-yo  
 Sita.F-Erg Raj.M-Acc harass-Perf.M.Sg  
 ‘Sita harassed Raj.’ (Deo and Sharma 2006: 379)
- (36) raj-e sita-ne pajav-i  
 Raj.M-Erg Sita.F-Acc harass-Perf.F.Sg  
 ‘Raj harassed Sita.’ (Deo and Sharma 2006: 379)

## 6. 関連する問題

### 6.1. タンギック諸語 (Klekoid 1976, Dench 1982)

- (37) a. Erg-Abs V → (loss of Erg-marker)  
b. Abs-Dat V → Abs(=Nom) V (Dat=Acc)  
Proto-Tongic-Lardill/Yukulta Lardil

(38) tanka -ya -ka -di kunawuna pala -tha (Yukulta)  
man -Erg-Tr -Press Child.Abs hit -VS  
‘the man is hitting the child.’ (McConvell 1981: 147)

(39) walida -ngka tangka -ra kunawuna -ntha pala tha  
Neg -Press man -Abs child -Dat hit VS  
‘The man is not hitting the child.’ (McConvell 1981: 147)

(40) pidngen kudi kun tanga-n (Lardil)  
woman.Nom see Eventive man-Acc  
‘A woman saw a man.’ (McConvell 1981: 153)

(41) ...the Lardil accusative case suffix arises from an earlier dative case suffix... (McConvell 1981: 176)

### 6.2. 能格言語の特殊性

(42) \*Ihm hofft, PRO geholfen zu werden (German)  
Him.Dat hopes PRO.Dat helped to become  
‘He hopes to be helped.’ (Boeckx 2000: 375)

(43) \*Er kam und (ihm) wurde geholfen  
He came and (him.Dat) became helped  
‘He came and (he) was helped.’ (Boeckx 2000: 375)

(44) raam se \*apne/uske kamre kii caabhii kho gaii. (Hindi)  
Ram Instr. self’s/his room of key lose went  
‘Ram (inadvertently lost the key to his room.’ (Kachru 1990: 62)

### 6.3. Long Distance Agreement

(45) Johnne [roTiiyaan khaaniin] chaah-iin. (Hindi)  
John-Erg bread.PI.Fem eat.Inf.PI.Fem want.PI.Fem.Perf  
‘John wanted to eat bread.’ (Chandra 2005:4)

## 7. 結語

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