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1. 研究の背景

- (1) 複合語マーカー (Compound Marker) (cf. Ralli (2008, 2009))
複合語以外の環境では生じることのない要素

- (2) 様々な複合語マーカー

- a. Ralli (2008) : Linking element や接中辞など (cf. (3))
b. Shimada et al. (2014) : 語幹や音韻変化 (cf. (4)-(5))

- (3) a. ギリシャ語 : kukl-ó-spito < kúkl(a) spit(i)
doll-CM-house doll house
'doll house'

- b. ドイツ語 : Wirt-s-haus < Wirt Haus
host-CM-house host house
'inn'

- c. ロシア語 : les-o-park < les park
forest-CM-park forest park
'forest park'

(Ralli (2008: 20))

- d. 英語 : governess-cum-piano-teacher

(Renner (2013:57))

※ CM = compound marker

- (4) a. 日本語 : 白狐 (びゃっこ) < 白 (しろ) + 狐 (きつね)
b. 英語 : psych-o-logy

(Shimada et al. (2014))

- (5) a. 日本語 : 色紙 (いろがみ) < 色 (いろ) + 紙 (かみ)

(Itô and Mester (1986: 52))

- b. バスク語 : ele-pide < ele bide
'subject of conversation' speech way

(Labruen (2013: 61))

- (6) 複合語のタイプ (Scalise and Bisetto (2009))

- a. subordinate (e.g. love story, taxi driver)
b. attributive (e.g. blackboard, girlfriend)
c. coordinate (e.g. poet doctor)

→複合語マーカーは (6b) タイプと (6c) タイプの複合語にしか見られない?

(13) dog: [$n \sqrt{\text{DOG}}$]_{N0}

2. 3. 形態操作

(14) Vocabulary Insertion

環境に見合った音形を形態素に付与する操作。

(15) a. $\sqrt{\text{DOG}} \leftrightarrow \text{dog}$

b. $n \leftrightarrow -\emptyset$

(cf. (13))

(16) Single-Vocabulary-Insertion assumption (Embick and Marantz (2008: 7))

One exponent per terminal node; that is, Vocabulary Insertion applies only once to a terminal node.

(17) Feature Copying (Embick and Noyer (2007: 309))

A feature that is present on a node X in the narrow syntax is copied onto another node Y at PF.

→一致や呼応の効果を生じさせる。

(18) a. Tom loves Mary.

b. [_{TP} Tom_[3, sg] [_{T'} T [_{vP} love Mary]]] → [_{TP} Tom_[3, sg] [_{T'} T_[3, sg] [_{vP} love Mary]]]

3. 提案

3. 1. 複合語の構造

(19) Harley (2009) における複合語の定義

a word-sized unit containing two or more Roots

(Harley (2009: 130))

(20) 本発表における複合語の定義

a **terminal node** containing two or more Roots

(21) 複合語の構造? : [[$x \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$] [$y \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$]]_{Z0}

(22) a. ギリシャ語 : kukl-ó-spito

b. ドイツ語 : Wirt-s-haus

c. ロシア語 : les-o-park

d. 英語 : governess-cum-piano-teacher

(= (3))

仮定①

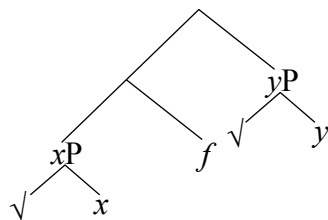
範疇を付与されたルート同士は機能範疇を介して結合される。

仮定②

当該機能範疇は EPP 素性を擁する機能範疇 f とする。(Okubo (2014))

→(22) に生じる複合語マーカ―は実質的意味を持たない要素。

(23)



※ $x, y = \text{categorizer}$ / $\sqrt{} = \text{ルーツ}$

仮定③

(23) の環境において、 f は構造全体の複合語性を保証する。(Okubo (2014))

→本発表では便宜上 $f_{[\text{compound}]}$ と表す。

3. 2. 複合語マーカの分布

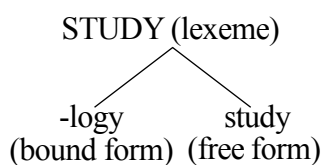
3. 2. 1. Linking element あるいは接中辞

- (24) a. kukl-ó-spito (cf. (3a))
 b. $[[[\sqrt{\text{DOLL}}\ n]f_{[\text{compound}]}][\sqrt{\text{HOUSE}}\ n]]$

(25) $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-O-}$

3. 2. 2. 語幹

(26) 語彙素基盤のアプローチ (Shimada and Nagano (2011))



(27) 語彙素 = $[\text{Root } n/v/a]$

(cf. Marantz (2006))

- (28) a. psych-o-logy (= (4b))
 b. $[[[\sqrt{\text{MIND}}\ n]f_{[\text{compound}]}][\sqrt{\text{STUDY}}\ n]]$

→範疇付与されたルーツが *mind* や *study* といった自由形を取らないのは何故か？

提案

$f_{[\text{compound}]}$ は、Feature Copying の適用により、categorizer にコピーされうる。

(29) $[[[\sqrt{\text{MIND}}\ n_{[\text{compound}]}]f_{[\text{compound}]}][\sqrt{\text{STUDY}}\ n_{[\text{compound}]}]]$

- (30) a. $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-O-}$
 b. $[\sqrt{\text{MIND}}\ n_{[\text{compound}]}] \leftrightarrow \text{psych-}$
 c. $[\sqrt{\text{STUDY}}\ n_{[\text{compound}]}] \leftrightarrow \text{-logy}$

- (31) a. 白狐 (びゃっこ) (= (4a))
 b. $[[[\sqrt{\text{WHITE}} n/a_{[\text{compound}]}] f_{[\text{compound}]}] [\sqrt{\text{FOX}} n_{[\text{compound}]}]]$
- (32) a. $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow -\emptyset-$
 b. $[\sqrt{\text{WHITE}} n/a_{[\text{compound}]}] \leftrightarrow \text{白 (びゃく)}$
 c. $[\sqrt{\text{FOX}} n_{[\text{compound}]}] \leftrightarrow \text{狐 (こ)}$

3. 3. 音韻変化

- (33) a. 色紙 (いろがみ) (= (5a))
 b. $[[[\sqrt{\text{COLOR}} n] f_{[\text{compound}]}] [\sqrt{\text{PAPER}} n]]$
- (34) a. $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow [+voice]$ (cf. Itô and Mester (1986))
 b. $[\sqrt{\text{COLOR}} n] \leftrightarrow \text{色 (いろ)}$
 c. $[\sqrt{\text{PAPER}} n] \leftrightarrow \text{紙 (かみ)}$
- (35) a. ele-pide (= (5b))
 b. $[[[\sqrt{\text{SPEECH}} n] f_{[\text{compound}]}] [\sqrt{\text{WAY}} n]]$
- (36) a. $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow [+devoice]$
 b. $[\sqrt{\text{SPEECH}} n] \leftrightarrow \text{ele}$
 c. $[\sqrt{\text{WAY}} n] \leftrightarrow \text{bide}$

4. 帰結：複合語マーカー間の相補分布

- (37) Single-Vocabulary-Insertion assumption (Embick and Marantz (2008: 7))
 One exponent per terminal node; that is, Vocabulary Insertion applies only once to a terminal node. (= (14))

→音形の具現に同じ環境を要する場合には相補分布が生じる。

- (38) a. $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow -\emptyset-$ (cf. (29a))
 b. $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow [+voice]$ (cf. (31a))

予測

漢語から成る複合語では、連濁が許されない。

- (39) 琵琶湖：びわこ vs. *びわご (窪 蘭 (1995: 58))

→漢語では連濁がほとんど起こらない。(cf. 窪 蘭 (1995: 58))

- (40) 日本語の genitive compounds

孫の手、狐の手袋、木の葉

→ほとんど連濁が起こらない。(cf. 天の川 (あまのがわ))

(41) Mukai (2008) : 「の」は linking element である。

(42) $f_{[\text{compound}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-の}$

6. 結論

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