

中国語における CQWC 構文について-非移動分析から

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1. wh 等位節構文

wh 等位節とは二つの wh 疑問詞からなる等位節であり、二種類の構文が観察されている(1)。

- (1) a. CQWC (Conjoined Question Words Construction)
[What_i and when_j] does John (normally) eat ___i ___j?
b. IDC (Interwoven Dependency Construction)
[Which nurse_i and which hostess_j] did Fred date ___i and Bob Marry ___j, respectively.
(Zhang 2007, (1a) (1b))

中国語は wh 疑問詞が in-situ の言語であり、wh 移動は義務的ではない (Tsai 1994)。ところが、中国語の wh 疑問詞は等位節をなす場合に、文頭に前置しなければならない(2)。

- (2) a. shenme haiyou shenmeshihou, Zhangsan juan gei-LE xueixiao?
what and when Zhangsan donate to-PAST school
(lit.) 'What and when did Zhangsan donate to school?'
b. *Zhangsan juan gei-LE xueixiao [shenme haiyou shenmeshihou] ?
Zhangsan donate to-PAST school what and when

本稿では中国語の CQWC 構文を考察し、中国語の CQWC は mono-clausal を持っていると主張し、wh 等位節は sideward 移動によって形成されるという分析が適切ではないことを指摘する。

Citko & Gracanin-Yuksek (2013)

英語には multiple wh 移動がないが(3)、wh 等位節の構造が許される(4)。

- (3) *when_i, when_j does John (normally) eat ___i ___j?
(4) [What_i and when_j] does John (normally) eat ___i ___j? = (1a)

一見 wh 疑問詞が同じ節から抜き出されているように見えるが(5a) (すなわち構造が mono-clausal である)、Citko and Gracanin-Yuksek (2013)では英語の CQWC 構文が bi-clausal であると主張する(5b)。

- (5) a. mono-clausal
[CP [&P wh_i and wh_j] [TP t_i...t_j]]
b. bi-clausal
[&P [CP wh_i [TP t_i...]] and [CP wh_j [TP...t_j]]]
(6) a. What and where did you sing? (Citko & Gracanin-Yuksek 2013:11)
b. *What and to whom did John give? (Citko & Gracanin-Yuksek 2013:10)

Citko and Gracanin-Yuksek (2013)により、eat と sing は内項をアプションナルに取る動詞 (optionally transitive verbs) であり、NP gap が許されるのに対し、give と buy のような内項を義務的に取る動詞 (obligatorily transitive verbs) では NP gap が許されない。(6)の構造を(7)に示す。

- (7) a. What_i did you sing ___i and where did you sing φ?
b. *What_i did John give ___i φ and to whom_j did John give φ ___j?

(8) 優位性条件違反
a. When and what can I eat?
b. What and when can I eat? (Whitman 2002:87)

(9) bi-clausal
[&P [CP what C⁰ [TP T⁰ [VP V⁰ t_{what}]]]] & [CP where [TP [VP t_{where}]]]]

2. 中国語の CQWC 構文

2.1 wh 等位節

wh 等位節に関して二つの事実が観察されている((10) vs. (11)(12))。

- (10) wh 項と wh 項

 - a. ??/*shei_i haiyou shenme_j, zuotian Zhangsan song-le _____i _____j?
whom and what yesterday Zhangsan give-ASP
'(lit.) To whom and what did Zhangsan give?'
 - b. *shei_i haiyou shei_j, zuotian _____i song-le _____j yi-tiao xianglian?
who and whom yesterday give-ASP one-CL necklace
'(lit.) Who gave whom a necklace yesterday?'
 - c. *shei_i haiyou shenme_j, zuotian _____i song-le Ahua _____j?
who and what yesterday give-ASP Ahua
'(lit.) Who gave Ahua what yesterday?'
 - d. *shei_i haiyou shenme_j, zuotian _____i mai-dao-le _____j?
who and what yesterday buy-reach-ASP
'(lit.) Who got what yesterday?'

(11) wh 項と wh 付加詞(wh-adjunct, [pp P [wh]])

 - a. [zai naili_i] haiyou shenme_j, Zhangsan _____i mai-dao-le _____j?
at where and what Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP
'(lit.) Where and what did Zhangsan get?'
 - b. shei_i haiyou [zai nali_j], _____i _____j mai-dao -le "Syntax"?
who and at where buy-reach-ASP "Syntax"
'(lit.) Who got "Syntax" where?'
 - c. shenmeshihou_i haiyou shenme_j, Zhangsan _____i mai-dao-le _____j?
when and what Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP
'(lit.) When and what did Zhangsan get?'
 - d. shei_i haiyou shenmeshihou_j, _____i _____j mai-dao -le "Syntax"?
who and when buy-reach-ASP "Syntax"
'(lit.) Who got "Syntax" when?'

(12) wh 付加詞と wh 付加詞

- a. shenmeshihou haiyou [zai nali], Zhangsan ___ mai-dao-le “Syntax”?
when and at where Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP “Syntax”
(lit.) When and where did Zhangsan get “Syntax”??
- b. [zai nali] haiyou [xiang shei], Zhangsan ___ mai-dao-le “Syntax”?
at where and from whom Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP “Syntax”
(lit.) Where and from whom did Zhangsan get “Syntax”??

(13)では、*gei shei* ‘to whom’が *song* ‘give’が取る PP 項であり、*gei shei* ‘to whom’が前置されてほかの wh 項と等位節をなしても容認可能である。

- (13) a. shenme_i haiyou [gei shei_j], zuotian Zhangsan song-le ____i ____j? ⇔(10a)
what and to whom yesterday Zhangsan give-ASP
(lit.) What and to whom did Zhangsan give yesterday?
b. ?shei_i haiyou [gei shei_j], zuotian ____i song-le yi-tiao xianglian ____j? ⇔(10b)
who and to whom yesterday give-ASP one-CL necklace

(13)の事実は中国語の CQWC が mono-clausal である可能性を排除できないことを示した。

- (14) a. *[wh 項 & wh 項]
b. [wh 項&[pp wh 項]/wh 付加詞]....
c. [[pp wh 項]/wh 付加詞&[pp wh 項]/wh 付加詞]

2.2 優位性効果

中国語の CQWC には優位性効果が現れている(15)。

- (15) a. ???[zai nali]_i haiyou shei_j, ____j ____i mai-dao -le “Syntax”? ⇔ (11b)
at where and who buy-reach-ASP “Syntax”
(lit.) Who bought a book where?
b. *[gei shei_j] haiyou shei_i, zuotian ____i song-le yi-tiao xianglian ____j? ⇔ (13b)
to whom and who yesterday give-ASP one-CL necklace
d. ??shenmeshihou_i haiyou shei_i, ____i ____j mai-dao -le “Syntax”? ⇔ (11d)
when and who buy-reach-ASP “Syntax”
(lit.) When and who “Syntax” when?

wh主語とは異なり、wh目的語 *shenme* ‘what’はwh付加詞 *zai nali* ‘at where’と先行順位を変えても、容認度がかわらない(16)。¹

¹同様に、二重目的語構文にも[theme]と[goal]の間に優位性効果が現れない。それはそれぞれ異なる構造から派生してきたものだと考える。(i)の例は(iii-a)の構造を持ち、(ii)の例は(iii-b)の構造を持つ。

- (i) shenme_i haiyou gei shei_j, zuotian Zhangsan song-le ____i ____j?
what and to whom yesterday Zhangsan give-ASP
(ii) gei shei_j haiyou shenme_i, zuotian Zhangsan song-le ____i ____j?
to whom and what yesterday Zhangsan give-ASP
(iii) a. [vp what [song [pp gei whom]]]
b. [vp [vp song what] [pp gei whom]]]

- (16) a. shenme_i haiyou zai nali_j, Zhangsan ____mai-dao-le ____? $\Leftrightarrow(11a)$
 what and at where Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP
 ‘(lit.) What and where did Zhangsan get?’
- b. shenme_i haiyou shenmeshihou_j, Zhangsan ____mai-dao-le ____? $\Leftrightarrow(11c)$
 what and when Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP
 ‘(lit.) What and when did Zhangsan get?’

(15)(16)の事実から、wh 主語と wh 目的語は優位性効果において非対称的だということが分かる。また、(17)に示すように、wh 等位節の中の要素が両方とも付加詞である場合も容認度がかわらない。

- (17) a. zai nali haiyou shenmeshihou, Zhangsan ____mai-le yi-ben shu? $\Leftrightarrow(12a)$
 at where and when Zhangsan buy-ASP one-CL book
 ‘(lit.) When and where did Zhangsan bought a book?’
- b. xiang shei haiyou zai nali, Zhangsan ____mai-dao-le “Syntax”? $\Leftrightarrow(12b)$
 from whom and at where Zhangsan buy-reach-ASP “Syntax”
 ‘(lit.) From whom and where did Zhangsan get “Syntax”? ’

2.3 Mono-/Bi-clausal

- (18) a. wh 項と wh 項
- (i) *[[_{NP} wh-arg]_i & [_{NP} wh-arg]_j] [...e_i...e_j]
 - (ii) * [[_{NP} wh-arg]_j & [_{NP} wh-arg]_i] [...e_i...e_j]
- b. wh 主語と [_{PP} P wh 項]/wh 付加詞
- (i) [[_{NP} wh-subj]_i & [_{PP} [wh-arg]]/ [wh-adj]_j] [...e_i...e_j]
 - (ii) *[[_{PP} [wh-arg]]/ [wh-adj]_j & [_{NP} wh-subj]_i] [...e_i...e_j] (優位性効果あり)
- c. wh 目的語と [_{PP} P wh 項] /wh 付加詞
- (i) [[_{NP} wh-obj]_i & [_{PP} [wh-arg]]/ [wh-adj]_j] [...e_i...e_j]
 - (ii) [[_{PP} [wh-arg]]/ [wh-adj]_j & [_{NP} wh-obj]_i] [...e_i...e_j] (優位性効果なし)
- d. wh 付加詞と wh 付加詞
- (i) [[wh-adj]_i & [wh-adj]_j] [...e_i...e_j]
 - (ii) [[wh-adj]_j & [wh-adj]_i] [...e_i...e_j] (優位性効果なし)

Citko and Gracanin-Yuksek (2013)の検証方法に従うと、(18b)の事実は、中国語の中国語の CQWC は mono-clausal であり、wh 移動も優位性条件に従うことを示している。一方(18a)では、項から等位節をなさないことから、中国語 CQWC は bi-clausal である可能性もある。

- (19) a. mono-clausal
- [[_{NP} wh-arg]_i & [_{NP} wh-arg]_j] [...e_i...e_j]
- b. bi-clausal
- i. [[_{NP} wh-arg]_i [...e_i...φ_j] & [_{NP} wh-arg]_j [...φ_i...e_j]] (NP gap あり ⇒ ×)
 - ii. [[_{NP} wh-arg]_i {...e_i...φ_j} & [_{NP} wh-arg]_j [...φ_i...e_j]] (deletion)

- (20) a. (18c)の bi-clausal 構造

$[[NP \text{ wh-obj}_i - \dots e_i \dots \phi_j] \& [PP [\text{wh-arg}]]_j \dots \phi_i \dots e_j]$ (NP gap あるが \Rightarrow ok)

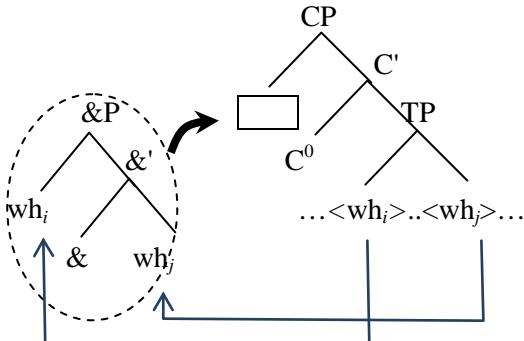
- b. (18d)の bi-clausal 構造

$[[[NP \text{ wh-obj}_i \dots e_i \dots] \& [\text{wh-adj}]]_j \dots \phi_i \dots e_j]$ (deletion ができない)

3. 分析

3.1 移動分析—Sideward movement (Zhang 2007, Haida & Repp 2012)

- (21) Sideward movement Zhang (2007)



ところが、このような移動分析は、(10)の容認不可能性を捉えることができない。²また、島の効果が観察されていない(22)。

- (22) a. shenme_i haiyou [gei shei_j], [NP[Zhangsan song-le ___i ___j]de yaoyan] chuankai-le?
what and to whom Zhangsan give-ASP DE gossip spread-ASP

'(lit.) What and to whom did [the gossip about [Zhangsan gave __] spread?'

- b. ?shenme_i haiyou [gei shei_j], Zhangsan [[PP zai [ji ___i ___j] zhiqian de] na-ge xiaoshi]
what and to whom Zhangsan at send before DE that-CL hour

hen jingzhang?

very nervous

'(lit.) What and to whom did Zhangsan feel nervous [one hour [before he send __ __]]?'

3.2 非移動分析

- (23) 仮定

- a. wh 等位節は FocP の指定部に基底生成する。

- b. &P の範疇の値は external conjunct の範疇によって決まる。 (Zhang 2010:55)

[&P PP & [NP __]] &P : [-N, -V]

[&P NP & [PP __]] &P : [+N, -V]

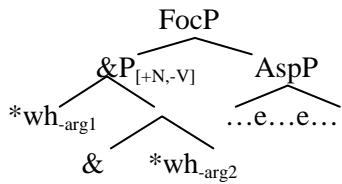
- c. wh 項は適切に解釈されるために、θ 位置にある *empty resumptive pronoun* と関連付けなければならない (格付与と θ 役割)。 (wh 付加詞は必要がない)

² 中国語では multiple wh 項の移動はできない。

(i) ???/*shei_i, shenme_j, zuotian ___i song-le Ahua ___j?
who what yesterday give-ASP Ahua

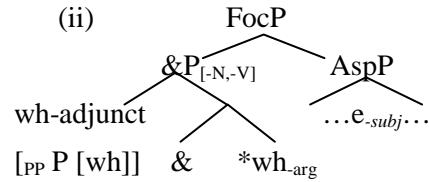
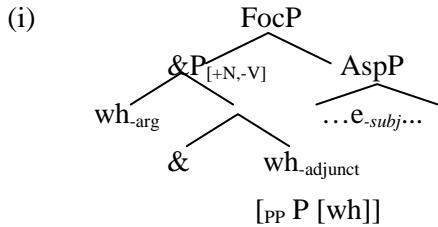
d. *e* は適切に bind されなければならない (GB の θ 統率と先行詞統率)

(24) (18a)

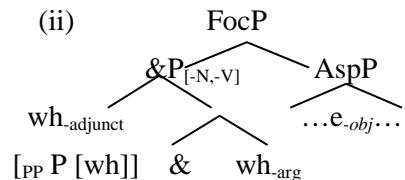
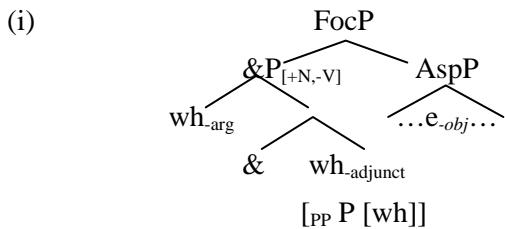


(25) *wh-arg₁...[...e₁...e₁...]

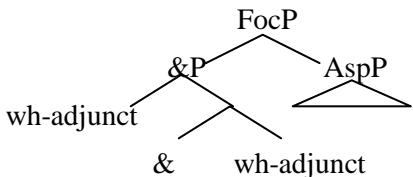
(26) (18b)



(27) (18d)



(28) (18e)



4. 結論

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