２０２４年度

大学院文学研究科博士課程後期３年の課程入学試験

（　冬期・一般選抜　）問題

筆記試験　　英　語　学　　専攻分野

試験開始の合図があるまで、この問題冊子を開いてはいけない。

受験記号番号	

成 績	

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筆記試験（　　**英　語　学**　　専攻分野）

次の英文を読んで設問に答えなさい。

The central question, of course, is *why* speakers should prefer one structure over another. If we look at individual speakers in individual speech situations, then there can be a myriad of reasons. However, if we confine ourselves to the big picture, one factor greatly overrides all others in importance: speakers attempt to increase efficiency by reducing structural complexity. Efficiency can be increased in three ways: first, by minimizing the domains (i.e. the sequences of linguistic forms and their conventionally associated properties) within which certain properties are assigned; second, by minimizing the linguistic forms themselves (phonemes, morphemes, etc.) that are to be processed; and third, by selecting and arranging linguistic forms so as to provide the earliest possible access to as much of the ultimate syntactic and semantic representation as possible.

Concretely, Hawkins proposes three efficiency principles:

(78) Minimize Domains (MiD)

The human processor prefers to minimize the connected sequences of linguistic forms and their conventionally associated syntactic and semantic properties in which relations of combination and/or dependency are processed. The degree of this preference is proportional to the number of relations whose domains can be minimized in competing sequences or structures, and to the extent of the minimization difference in each domain.

(79) Minimize Forms (MiF)

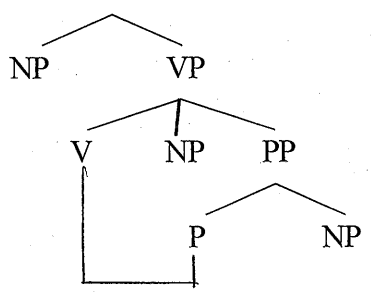
The human processor prefers to minimize the formal complexity of each linguistic form F (its phoneme, morpheme, word or phrasal units) and the number of forms with unique conventionalized property assignments, thereby assigning more properties to fewer forms. These minimizations apply in proportion to the ease with which a given property P can be assigned in processing to a given F.

(80) Maximize Online Processing (MaOP)

The human processor prefers to maximize the set of properties that are assignable to each item X as X is processed, thereby increasing O(nline) P(roperty) to U(ltimate) P(roperty) ratios. The maximization difference between competing orders and structures will be a function of the number of properties that are misassigned or unassigned to X in a structure/sequence S, compared with the number in an alternative.

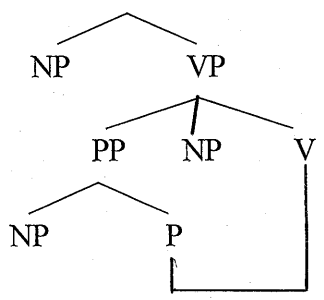
Let us now have a glimpse at how an interesting typological prediction follows from each of these principles, beginning with MiD. This principle encompasses that of Early Immediate Constituents, which formed the centerpiece of Hawkins (1994) and was given an overview presentation in Newmeyer (1998b: ch. 3, §4.2.2). The basic insight of MiD is that the processor prefers shorter processing domains than longer ones, given combinatorial and/or dependency relations between two elements within a particular domain. The more such relations, the greater the pressure for adjacency. For example, **(1)**MiD explains why SVO languages tend to be prepositional and SOV languages postpositional. There are four logical possibilities, illustrated in (81a-d): SVO and prepositional (81a); SOV and postpositional (81b); SVO and postpositional (81c); and SOV and prepositional (81d):

(81) a.



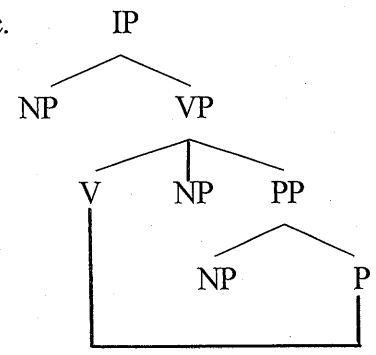
SVO and prepositional (common)

b.



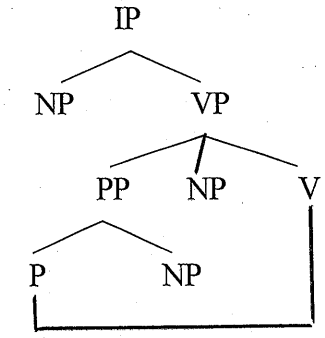
SOV and postpositional (common)

c.



SVO and postpositional (rare)

d.



SOV and prepositional (rare)

Notice that the domain necessary to identify the constituents of the VP in (81a) and (81b)—the common orderings—is the distance from P to V, with only the object NP intervening. But in (81c) and (81d)—the uncommon orderings—the object of the preposition intervenes as well. In other words, (81c) and (81d) are rarer because they are harder to process.

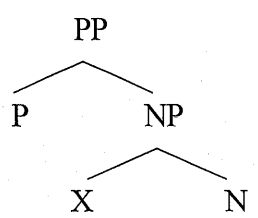
(2) The Prepositional Noun Modifier Hierarchy follows straightforwardly from MiD.

(82) Prepositional Noun Modifier Hierarchy (PrNMH; Hawkins 1983)

If a language is prepositional, then if RelN then GenN, if GenN then AdjN, and if AdjN then DemN.

The longer the distance between the P and the N in a structure like (83), the longer it takes to recognize all the constituents of the PP:

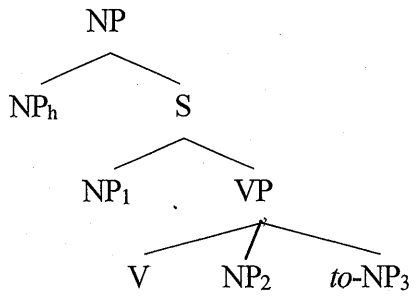
(83)



Given the idea that grammars are organized so as to reduce constituent recognition time, the hierarchy follows. Since relative clauses tend to be longer than possessive phrases, which tend to be longer than adjectives, which tend to be longer than demonstratives, which are always longer than 'silence,' the hierarchy is predicted on parsing grounds. Again, it is not by any means clear how the generalization captured by the PrNMH could be handled by means of parameters.

For another example supporting MiD, consider the Accessibility Hierarchy for relativization. If a language can relativize a direct object (NP_2 in the tree below), it can relativize the subject (NP_1). If it can relativize the indirect object (NP_3), it can relativize both the subject and the direct object. And so on for more 'oblique' grammatical relations:

(84)



Note that the domain encompassing the head noun (NP_h) and NP_1 is shorter/less structurally complex than the NP_h-NP_2 domain, which in turn is shorter/less structurally complex than the NP_h-NP_3 domain. In other words, the more processing involved, the rarer the structure.

MiF embodies the insight that there is an inverse relationship between familiarity and/or frequency and complexity. Hence, it is almost unknown for a language to have a form expressing plurality that is shorter or less complex than the singular form. Another example is illustrated by what Givón (1991) and earlier work (Givón 1983a, 1985) calls the 'quantity principle.' He argues that speakers will choose longer or more prominently stressed structures to encode 'information that is either semantically larger, less predictable, or more important' (Givón 1991: 87). Hence, zero anaphora will be chosen when a referent is fully predictable, unstressed lexical pronouns when it is somewhat less so, followed by stressed lexical pronouns, definite NPs, and modified definite NPs. As the contributions to Givón (1983b) indicate, **(3)**this generalization appears to hold cross-linguistically.

MaOP predicts that a structure or sequence will be dispreferred in proportion to the number of properties that are unassignable to it online. Put simply, as far as processing is concerned, the sooner the better.

This principle accounts for a wide variety of well-known typological generalizations involving left-right asymmetries, among which are the following:

(85) Asymmetries predicted by MaOP:

a. Fillers tend to precede gaps

i. *Wh*-questions

ii. Relative clauses

iii. Control structures

iv. A wide variety of 'deletion' constructions

b. Antecedents tend to precede anaphors

c. Topics tend to precede predications (cf. Japanese *wa*)

d. Restrictive relative clauses tend to precede appositives

e. Agents tend to precede patients

f. Quantifiers/operators tend to precede elements within their scope

(4) Why should *wh*-phrases tend cross-linguistically to precede, rather than follow, their extraction sites? MaOP provides an answer. Fodor (1983) observed that given an obvious filler (say, a *wh*-phrase in non-canonical position), the hearer is primed to search for a coreferential gap, but a gap is simply the absence of something—its existence could easily go unobserved by the hearer. MaOP provides a concretization of this insight. Note that more *properties* are immediately assignable to a lexical *wh*-phrase than to a gap. The other asymmetries outlined in (85) are explained by MaOP in parallel fashion.

But not every relation between grammatical elements is an asymmetrical one. For example, there are about equal numbers of VO and OV languages. Such symmetries occur when the two elements depend on each other for property assignments. So the direct object depends on the verb for case, for thematic role, and for the construction of the VP mother node. And the verb depends on the object for selection of the intended syntactic and semantic co-occurrence frame (e.g. transitive versus intransitive *run* as in *John ran* versus *John ran the race*), and for the intended semantics of V from among ambiguous or polysemous alternatives (*ran the race/the water/the advertisement*).

Again, it is not my intention here (nor would it be appropriate) to present and motivate the dozens, if not hundreds, of typological generalizations that are explained by the processing principles in Hawkins (1994) and Hawkins (2004a). **(5)**Suffice it to say that they provide a convincing alternative to the idea that such generalizations should be accounted for internally to grammatical theory. If such is correct, there is no need for UG-provided parameters.

[Adapted from Frederick J. Newmeyer (2005) *Possible and Probable Languages,* Oxford University Press]

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問1　下線部 **(1)** についてその内容を本文に即して説明しなさい。

問2　下線部 **(2)** についてその内容を本文に即して説明しなさい。

問3　下線部 **(3)** について this generalization の内容を明らかにした上で、これを (79) の MiF の観点から説明しなさい。

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問4　下線部 **(4)** についてその内容を具体的に説明しなさい。

問5　下線部 **(5)** について、本文で述べられている typological generalizations の一つを用いて具体的に説明しなさい。