

2022年度

大学院文学研究科博士課程前期2年の課程入学試験

(秋期・一般選抜) 問題

専門科目Ⅰ 言語学 専攻分野

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専門科目 I (言語学 専攻分野)

I. 次の文章を読んで、問(1)～(5)に答えなさい。

Conditional structures involve an adverbial clause, often referred to as the *conditional clause*, *antecedent*, or *protasis* (the underlined constituent in (1)), and a main clause, known as the *consequent* or *apodosis*. Conditional structures are interpreted, in general terms, with the proposition expressed by the antecedent clause specifying the (modal) circumstances in which the proposition expressed by the main clause is true. Thus, (1) states that the possible worlds/situations in which Andrea arrives late (the denotation of the conditional clause) are possible worlds/situations in which Clara gets upset (the denotation of the main clause).

(1) If Andrea arrives late, Clara will get upset.

Conditionals as in (1) are known as (i) *hypothetical conditionals*. They are the most common kind of conditional structures discussed in the literature, and consequently, our chapter will mostly focus on them.

Other types of conditionals exist as well, notably (ii) *relevance conditionals*, as illustrated in (2a), and (iii) *factual conditionals* (see Iatridou 1991, also called *premise-conditionals* in Haegeman 2003), as in (2b):

- (2) a. If you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge.
b. If Fred is (indeed) so smart, why didn't he get the job?

In the case of relevance conditionals, clearly the antecedent does not specify the circumstances in which the proposition expressed by the consequent is true, as the latter is, in fact, asserted to be true (in the world of evaluation). Rather, the possible worlds/situations in which the proposition expressed by the antecedent is true, are possible worlds/situations in which it is *relevant*, from the perspective of the speech act, that the proposition expressed by the consequent clause is true. It is as if in a relevance conditional, there is an implicit performative clause embedding the surface main clause, and this performative is the true consequent in a (hypothetical) conditional structure (*If you are thirsty, then it is relevant*

for you to know that there is beer in the fridge).

Factual conditionals are somewhat harder to distinguish from hypothetical conditionals. According to Iatridou (1991), the conditional clause in a factual conditional is presupposed to be true. Haegeman (2003) notes that while in a hypothetical conditional the antecedent clause is integrated into the speech act of the matrix clause, the antecedent in a factual conditional has an independent illocutionary force. [この後、一部省略]

Conditionals are not unique in their overall structure; rather, conditional clauses belong to a class of adverbial clauses that includes, among others, clausal adverbials of time, cause, and concession, as illustrated in (3).

- (3)
- a. If Andrea arrived late, Clara must have gotten upset.
 - b. When Andrea arrived late, Clara got upset.
 - c. Because Andrea arrived late, Clara got upset.
 - d. Although Andrea arrived on time, Clara got upset.

Like the other clausal adverbials, conditional clauses are typically introduced by a CP-related element, a complementizer, or an operator in SpecCP (see *if*, *when*, *because*, *although* in (3) above). And like the other adverbial clauses, conditional clauses may precede or follow the main clause. [この後、一部省略]

(iv) Languages use a variety of means to indicate that a particular syntactic structure is a conditional rather than some other construction that involves two clauses. Without attempting to give an exhaustive description of the range of options and typological tendencies, we present in this section some of the common structural means of forming conditionals.

Overt marking of the protasis (the antecedent of the conditional) appears to be the commonest strategy, cross-linguistically (see Comrie 1986; Zaefferer 1991). This can be done by employing certain lexical items (i.e., free morphemes), through particular inflectional morphology, or by purely syntactic means (e.g., verb-movement). The English *if*, the German *wenn* and *falls*, and the Mandarin Chinese *rúguǒ* exemplify the marking of an antecedent using lexical items, arguably functional elements in the CP-domain – complementizers or operators in SpecCP.

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- (4) a. *If* it is sunny, I will go for a walk.
- b. German
- Wenn* Steffi gewinnt, wird gefeiert.
- if Steffi wins IMPERS.PASS celebrate
- ‘If Steffi wins, people celebrate.’
- c. German
- Falls* Steffi gewinnt, wird gefeiert.
- in-case Steffi wins IMPERS.PASS celebrate
- ‘In case Steffi wins, people celebrate.’
- d. Mandarin
- Rúguǒ* Zhangsan hē jiǔ, wǒ mà tā.
- if Zhangsan drink wine I scold him
- ‘If Zhangsan drinks wine, I will scold him.’

Many languages use temporal *wh*-pronouns (e.g., German *wenn* ‘when/if’) as conditional markers (see Traugott et al. 1986). Another common lexical device for forming a conditional is interrogative complementizers/operators, for example English *if* is also used in embedded yes–no questions.

The marker on the antecedent does not have to be a single lexical item. It can also be a phrase, as is the case with the English *in case* and the Spanish *con tal que*, literally ‘with such that’.

- (5) Te perdono con tal que vayas.
- to-you forgive-1S with such that go-SBJV-2S
- ‘I forgive you if you go.’

Languages can also mark the antecedent through inflectional morphology on the verb in the antecedent clause. Examples of such languages include West Greenlandic, Turkish, and Basque.

(6) West Greenlandic

pakasa-anna-rukku pissanganar-niru-vuq
surprise-just-2S.3S.COND be.exciting-more-3S.IND

‘If you just surprise him, it will be more exciting.’ (see Fortescue 1984)

The inflection that serves as the overt marker of the antecedent clause need not be unambiguously conditional (i.e., only realized in conditionals). Some languages mark antecedent clauses by using imperative verbs (in the absence of a coordinating conjunction). Consider (7), from Jakab (2005, 302, ex. 2a):

(7) Russian

Znaj ja kakoj-nibud’ inostrannyj jazyk rabotal by
know-imper.2SG I some-kind foreign language worked would
perevodčikom.
translator-INSTR

‘If I knew some foreign language, I would work as a translator.’

(v) Morphosyntactically, conditionals like (7) differ from true imperatives in, at least, the absence of subject–verb agreement and the fact that they can be formed from verbs that do not normally appear in the imperative, such as *happen* or *turn out* (see Hacking 1998; Jakab in press, for discussion). The imperative verb, which in imperatives can show number distinction, with forms for 2SG and 2PL, can only be 2SG in its use in this type of conditional.

The use of subjunctive morphology is another common formal device in building conditional antecedents. Consider the following examples from Russian in this respect (from Hacking 1998):

(8) Pročitala by ona etu stat’ju, ona smogla by
read-SG.FEM SUBJ she this-ACC article-ACC she can-SG.FEM SUBJ
otvetit’ na vaš vopros.
answer-INF to your question

‘Had she read/were she to read the article, she would have been/be able to answer your question.’

Interestingly, when there is no conditional complementizer, as in the above Russian examples, the verb, whether marked as subjunctive or imperative, undergoes movement to C. I-to-C movement is in fact another formal mechanism for forming antecedents of conditionals, often employed by languages in the absence of any other indicator, lexical or morphological, of conditional marking.

In English, I-to-C movement is restricted to the antecedents of counterfactual conditionals (see Iatridou and Embick 1994), and also some future-less-vivid conditionals – that is, conditionals that implicate that if p is the proposition expressed by the antecedent, $\neg p$ is more likely than p (Iatridou 2000 uses the term “futureless-vivid,” which is drawn from grammars of Ancient Greek). In other languages, inversion is less restricted and is available in indicative conditionals as well, as the German example (9c) below illustrates.

- (9) a. Had I known, I would not have gone.
 b. Were he to come, we would not go.
 c. Hast du was, dann bist du was
 Have you something then are you something
 ‘If you have something, then you are something.’

The preceding discussion might suggest that the explicit marking of the antecedent is cross-linguistically obligatory. This is not the case. In Bengali (Comrie 1986) and Hindi, for example, it is the presence of the *then* which is obligatory, not the presence of the *if*.

- (10) Hindi
 (agar) mehnat karoge to safal hoge
 if hard-work do-FUT.2PL then successful be-FUT.2PL
 ‘If you work hard, you’ll be successful.’ (see McGregor 1995)

The marker of the apodosis (the main clause) in Bengali and Hindi is clearly of pronominal origin. Comrie (1986) notes that all instances of overt apodosis marking known to him involve particles, often of pronominal origin. He suggests that these may therefore be analyzable as resumptive pronouns.

Finally, there are conditional constructions where no overt marking of any sort seems to be necessary. Mandarin Chinese allows for conditional interpretation in the absence of any overt marking of conditionality, since *rugou* ‘if’ is optional, and so is the pronominal in the consequent clause *jiu* ‘then’:

- (11) (rúguǒ) Zhangsan hē jiǔ, wǒ (jiù) mà tā
if Zhangsan drink wine I then scold him
‘If Zhangsan drinks wine, (then) I will scold him.’

However, Comrie (1986) notes that in the absence of any overt conditional marking, a sentence like (11) is ambiguous between a variety of relations holding between the two clauses (e.g., *if/when / because*).

In summary, conditionals are formed through a variety of means. They share a basic biclausal structure, with the antecedent adjoined to the main clause.

(Bhatt, R. and Pancheva, R. (2017). Conditionals. In The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition (eds M. Everaert and H.C. Riemsdijk). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118358733.wbsyncom119>. より一部改変)

- 問（１） 下線部(i)の hypothetical conditionals とは何か、本文に即して簡潔に説明しなさい。
- 問（２） 下線部(ii)の relevance conditionals とは何か、本文に即して簡潔に説明しなさい。
- 問（３） 下線部(iii)の factual conditionals とは何か、本文に即して簡潔に説明しなさい。
- 問（４） 下線部(iv)から本文末尾までの内容を踏まえて、日本語の条件文の性質について説明しなさい。
- 問（５） 下線部(v)を和訳しなさい。

II. 「令和３年３月２日」を通常の速度で発話した場合の発音を IPA で表記しなさい。

III. 次の 10 語の中から 5 語を選び、和訳した上で簡潔に説明しなさい。

1. allophone 2. c-command 3. endangered languages 4. implicature
5. onomatopoeia 6. politeness theory 7. scrambling 8. thinking for speaking
9. unaccusative verb 10. voice onset time

【問題 I、問題 II、問題 III に対する解答は次頁以降にまとめて記すこと】

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