論文の英文要旨*

論文題目：

Case Marking and Agreement in Russian Noun Phrases

氏名：

Hikita, Go

Two types of agreement are observed in Russian noun phrases (NPs): agreeing modifiers (AMs) agree with their head nouns and predicates agree with their subject NPs. This dissertation constructs a grammatical theory that is intended to explain as many grammatical phenomena of this type as possible.

In Chapter 1 I review Corbett's (1978a, b, c) numeral squish, and in response, I construct a grammar to explain the non-discrete nature of Russian quantifiers (Qs) through formal grammatical theory.

In Chapter 2 I presented the descriptive and theoretical premises of my discussion. The nominal grammatical features to be discussed in the subsequent chapters are as follows:

(1) gender = masculine: [+m, –f](=[m]), feminine: [–m, +f](=[f]), neuter: [–m, –f](=[n]

   number = singular: [–pl](=[sg]), plural: [+pl](=[pl])

   animacy = animate: [+an](=[an]), inanimate: [–an](=[in])

   declension type = first: [I], second: [II], third: [III], forth: [IV], indeclinable: [indc]...

Nouns and AMs have the following features and slots.

(2) Grammatical features of nouns

number	[sg/pl]
gender	[{m/n/f}]
animacy	[{an/in}]
dec. type	[{I/II/III/IV/indc}]
case	[ø]

(3) Grammatical features of AMs

number	[ø]
gender	[ø]
animacy	[ø]
dec. type	×
case	[ø]

The grammatical features of some Qs are as follows:

(4) Grammatical features of "2"(PcQ)

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* The English language was reviewed by Enago (www.enago.jp).

number	×
gender	[ø]
animacy	[ø]
dec. type	×
case	[ø]

(5) Grammatical features of "3, 4" (PcQ)

number	×
gender	×
animacy	[ø]
dec. type	×
case	[ø]

(6) Grammatical features of "5 – 100" (HQ)

number	× / ([sg/pl])
gender	×
animacy	×
dec. type	[{III/IV}]
case	[ø]

(7) Grammatical features of ">1,000" (NQ)

number	[sg/pl]
gender	[{m/f}]
animacy	[in]
dec. type	[{I/II}]
case	[ø]

These sets of features should be revised in course of this paper.

Grammatical features in NPs can be copied either upward to phrasal nodes or horizontally to terminal nodes, whereas cases are assigned to the topmost phrasal node, percolating down to the terminal nodes.

(8)

NP [X][Y]

AM$_1$ [X]   N' [X][Y]

AM$_2$ [X]   HN [X][Y]

(9)

NP [case]

AM$_1$ [case]   N' [case]

AM$_2$ [case]   N [case]
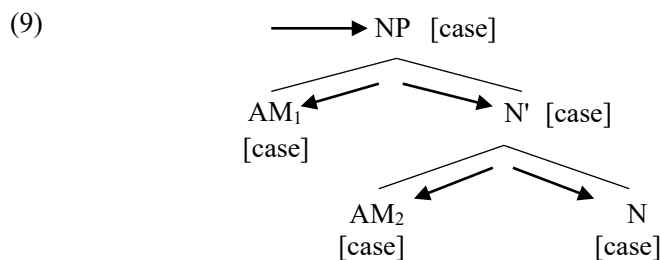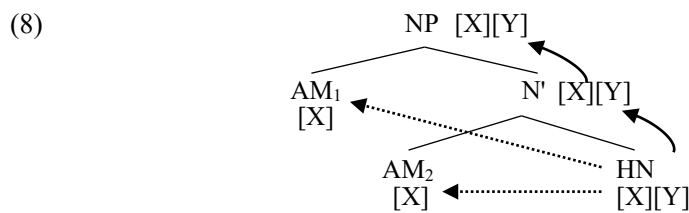
Babby (1987) proposed the following principles to explain how certain cases can coexist in one NP.

(10) (a) The seventh grammatical case in Russian : GenQ

(b) Structural cases : Nom, Acc, GenQ

(c) Lexical cases : Gen, Loc, Dat, Ins

(d) Lexical cases > structural cases

(e) According to a locality principle the direct assignment takes precedence over percolation.

In addition to these principles, each type of Q can assign the following cases to their Ns.

(11) Cases assigned by Qs

один	PcQ	HQ	NQ
×	GenQ	GenQ	Gen

When case is assigned to N(P)s, in principle, grammatical features cannot be copied out of the phrase. I hypothesize that this is because case boundaries (CBs) which are formed immediately above the phrase nodes block the feature copy. In addition to this hypothesis, I postulate the following rules:

(12) Gender deletion

$[_{\text{gender}} x] \rightarrow \emptyset$, if [pl]

(13) Declension type deletion

$[_{\text{DecType}} x] \rightarrow \emptyset$ if, [pl]

In Chapter 3 I note that QP subjects can have at most three morphological variants of predicate agreement.

(14) NQ

Миллион   россиян   посетило / посетил / посетили Америку.
million-nom.m Russian-gen.pl visit-pa.n   -pa.m   -pa.pl   America-acc
"One million Russians visited America."   (匹田 2016: 366)

I here term agreement in plural pl.3, and I term agreement in neuter n.sg.3. I show that the agreement pl.3 is not motivated semantically but formally, and conclude that differences in agreement morphology is due to differences in the nodes selected as controllers (Ctrl).

(15)
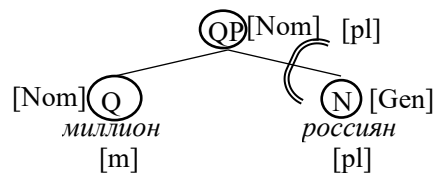
Where QP is a Ctrl, Pred agrees in [pl], which was copied upward from N. When Q *миллион* is a Ctrl, it agrees in [m]. When N is a Ctrl, the predicate agrees in default n.sg.3, because Pred cannot agree if N(P) is not in nominative case. While typical Russian NPs can allow only one agreement pattern, QPs can copy the grammatical features from Ns below CBs and select Ns below CBs as Ctrls

of predicate agreement. As a result of this difference, QPs can have at most three predicate agreement patterns.

In Chapter 4 I propose a solution to the problem posed by the discussion in Chapter three 3. When Q is PcQ, the morphological form of N is traditionally interpreted as genitive singular, which is inconsistent with the hypothesis presented in Chapter 3, namely, that predicate agreement in pl.3 is motivated formally but not semantically. PcQPs often shows pl.3 agreement. Akiyama (2002) hypothesized that Russian has a third number value, termed *paucal*. I adopt Akiyama's(2002) proposal to solve this problem, further propose the following.

(16) [sg] = [–pl]; [pl] = [+pl]; [pc] = [+pl, +pc]

(17) [+pl, +pc] → [+pl] if assigned case other than [GenQ]

These proposals can resolve a range of problems beyond those mentioned above.

The PcQs "two, three, and four" cannot be combined with pluralia tantum, although Collective numerals (ColQs) that mean the same number value can. To explain this difference, I revise the grammatical features of the two Qs presented above, as well as two surface filters, for the feature-slot correlation.

(18)Grammatical features of "2" (PcQ) (revised)

number	[$(\pm$pl ø), $(\pm$pc ø)]
gender	[$\pm$f ø]
animacy	[ø]
dec. type	×
case	[ø]

(19)Grammatical features of "3, 4" (PcQ) (revised)

number	[$(\pm$pl ø), $(\pm$pc ø)]
gender	×
animacy	[ø]
dec. type	×
case	[ø]

(20)Grammatical features of ColQ

number	[$(\pm$pl ø)]
gender	×
animacy	[ø]
dec. type	×
case	[ø]

(21) (a)*[(ø)]

(b)*[(x, y)]

With the revision of the feature inventories, rule (17) is also modified.

(22) $[_{num} (_{\pm pl} \text{ x}), (_{\pm pc} \text{ y})] \rightarrow [(_{\pm pl} \text{ x})]$ if assigned case other than [GenQ]

In Chapter 5 problems related to accusative morphology are posed. Russian has three morphological patterns for accusatives: inherent accusative form, nominative form, and genitive form. In many cases, AMs and Ns show the same pattern (often called agreement in animacy), but sometimes the patterns are different. I propose the following genitivizing rule.

(23) Genitivization

    If [an], and there are no gender features other than [m], and there are no declension type features other than [I], then [Acc] → [Gen]

Together with (12) and (13), this genitivization rule can explain the given behaviors with sufficient powerf.

To explain the differences in behavior between Qs, I propose the following feature sets for each Q.

(24) Grammatical features and their slots of Qs

	1	PcQ		HQ		NQ	QCN
		2	3, 4	5〜	100		
数	[ø]	[(ø), (ø)]	[(ø), (ø)]	×	×	[sg/pl]	[sg/pl]
性	[ø]	[ø]	×	×	×	[m], [f]	[m], [n], [f]
有生性	[ø]	[ø]	[ø]	×	×	[in]	[in]
タイプ	×	×	×	[III]	[IV]	[I], [II]	[I], [II], [III]
格	[ø]	[ø]	[ø]	[ø]	[ø]	[ø]	[ø]

(25) Features that determine Q's case-assignability

		1	PcQ	HQ		NQ		QCN
			2	3	5	100	1,000	100万	
Case assignability	(i) asCase	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	(ii) asLex		−	−	−	−	±	+	+

(26) Features that allow grammatical features of N to cross CB

		1	PcQ	HQ		NQ		QCN
			2	3	5	100	1,000	100万	
Features which allow grramtical features of N to cross CB	(iii) upNum		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	(iv) horNum		+	+	+	+	-	-	-
	(v) horGend		+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(vi) upAni		+	+	-	-	-	-	-
	(vii) horAni		+	+	+	+	-	-	-
	(viii) setCtrl		+	+	+	+	+	+	-

Finally, I conclude that unlike genitivization, nominativization is a purely morphological phenomenon, and propose the following.

(27) If it has no inherent accusative form [Acc] → [Nom]

In Chapter 6 I claim that some types of Qs have [GenQ] preassigned in the lexicon (PreGenQ). This proposal seeks to solve the problems posed by (22) and (28). My theory predicts that gender features

of PcQ in (28) should be deleted, which is incorrect.

(28) две   книги
      two-nom.pl.+f   book-genq.pc.+f
「2 冊の本」

For this reason I propose PreGenQ for PcQs and HQs. This proposal can explain not only the linguistic facts shown in (28), but also the anomalous case morphology of complement QPs of distributive preposition *po*. With Franks's (1995) [DatQ] as a structural case, my PreGenQ hypothesis can predict the anomalous case patterns of the complement of *po*.

I also suggest that the PreGenQ and GenQ assignability of these Qs can be considered as a characteristic feature of the newly formed word-class *Quantifiers* in Russian.

In Chapter 7 I simplify (26). While it can predict the linguistic facts correctly at least descriptively, the feature copy caused by [±hor-] can be reduced to the existence of empty slots. In other words, the features [±hor-] are redundant. In compensation for the [±hor-] features, I state the following.

(29) Probes in QP can search for goals below CBs if necessary.

Feature copy by [±up-] cannot be reduced to the lexical characteristics of each Q, so as to features [±up-] instead, the following proposals are made.

(30)
    (a) In QP, the number features of N can optionally be copied upward across CB, whereas the number features are never copied upward from Q.
    (b) The Ctrl of predicate agreement is, as in the case of AM agreement, determined by the closest c-command.

These proposals also explain the correlation of morphological forms of AMs and predicates.

In Chapter 8 anomalous gender agreement is discussed. AMs and predicates can agree with masculine nouns in [f] when they denote female persons. The real picture is not so simple because, for example, when an AM agrees in [f], the predicates cannot agree in [m]. Pesetsky (2013) tried to solve this problem by positing a null morpheme Ж.

(31) (a) An optional null morpheme Ж 'female' may be merged at any point above a certain structural threshold within NP. Low adjectives fall below this threshold.
    (b) Once Ж merges, the nominal counts as feminine for agreement purposes from then on.

Mitsui (2018), in contrast, claimed that some phenomena cannot be correctly predicted only with Ж, proposing a deactivation rule for Ж.

(32) Ж is deactivated if all of the following conditions are met:

gender = [+m, –f]; declension type = [I]: number = [+sg]; case = [OBL]

While her proposal achieved a high degree of descriptive adequacy, it has proven very difficult to directly incorporate it into my system. I propose the following surface filter to achieve the same descriptive adequacy.

(33) *[+f] & [I]

The incompatibility of [+f] and [I] has been attested in other areas of Russian grammar.

In Chapter 9 I summarize my dissertation and compare my theory with Pesetsky's (2013) to support the descriptive adequacy of my proposal. As Pesetsky (2013) was forced to make many ad hoc exceptions and rules for them, my theory is the simpler option.