論文の英文要旨 Summary	
論文題目 Title	The syntactic and semantic principles of the argument realization of German deverbal nominalizations: Focusing on the contribution of nominal arguments to referent identification
氏名 Name	Taishi Kobayashi

This dissertation deals with the argument realization of deverbal nominalizations in German. A nominalization seems to "inherit" arguments from its base verb. For instance, the postnominal genitive *Marias* 'of Maria' and the prepositional phrase *durch Peter* 'by Peter' in (1a) represent the arguments of *behandeln* 'to treat' in (1′a). Similarly, the postnominal genitive *Galliens* 'of Gaul' and the prepositional phrase *durch Cäsar* 'by Caesar' in (1b) stand for the arguments of *erobern* 'to conquer' in (1′b):

(1) a. **Die Behandlung Marias   durch Peter** dauert   noch   an.
         the treatment.NOM Maria.GEN by Peter.ACC   go_on.3SG.PRS still   PTCL
         'The treatment of Maria by Peter is still ongoing.'

     b. **Die Eroberung Galliens durch Cäsar** begann   im Frühjahr 57 v.Chr.
         the conquest.NOM Gaul.GEN   by Caesar.ACC   begin.3SG.PST in_the Spring.DAT 57 BC
         'The conquest of Gaul by Caesar began in the spring of 57 BC.'

(1′) a. Peter   behandelt   Maria.
          Peter.NOM   treat.3SG.PRS   Maria.ACC
          'Peter treats Maria.'

    b.   Cäsar   eroberte   Gallien.

        Caesar.NOM conquer.3SG.PST Gaul.ACC

        'Caesar conquered Gaul.'

An important background in this connection is the not straightforward relation of verbal arguments to "argument-like" elements of nominalizations: Whereas the subject *Peter* in (1′a) can correspond to a postnominal genitive as in (2a), the subject *Cäsar* in (1′b) cannot as in (2b).

(2)   a.   **Die Behandlung Peters**   dauert   noch an.

          the treatment.NOM Peter.GEN go_on.3SG.PRS still   PTCL

          'Peter's treatment (= Peter treats somebody; = Somebody treats Peter) is still ongoing.'

      b.   **Die Eroberung Cäsars**   begann   im Frühjahr 57 v.Chr.

          the conquest.NOM   Caesar.GEN begin.3SG.PST in_the Spring.DAT 57 BC

          'Caesar's conquest (≠ Caesar conquers something; = Somebody conquers Caesar) began in the spring of 57 BC.'

The questions this dissertation addresses are as follows:

Q1 What kinds of principled rules can adequately describe and predict the argument realization patterns of German nominalizations?

Q2 Is it possible, and if so, how, to distinguish arguments from adjuncts in the nominal domain, for although an element that extends a nominal phrase is generally optional, obligation is regarded as the main criterion for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts in the verbal domain?

Q3 Why are arguments generally optional in the nominal domain but obligatory in the verbal domain?

Q4 Why do some nominalizations such as *Schlag* 'hit' lack object genitives, genitives that represent the accusative of the base verb, as in (3), although the usual nominalization (of a transitive verb) allows such genitives in general?

(3)　　**Der Schlag des Nachbarn**　　hat　　　　sich　　　vor Mitternacht

　　　　　the hit.NOM　　the neighbor.GEN　　PRF.3SG.PRS　REF.ACC　before midnight

　　　　　ereignet.

　　　　　happen.PTCP

　　　　　'The neighbor's hit (= The neighbor hits somebody; ≠ Somebody hits the neighbor) happened before midnight.'

　　　　From the basic assumption that the head-initial nominal phrase and the head-final verbal phrase have symmetric structures, I give a syntactic analysis (4) of German nominal phrases.

(4)　　　　[DP die [nP [n′ Behandlung$_i$ [NP Marias t$_i$]]]]

　　　　　　　the　　　　treatment.NOM　　Maria.GEN

　　　　'the treatment of Maria'

Because NP-Spec, the structural position for genitive assignment, is right-adjacent to the n-head, a structural argument of a noun always takes the form of a post-nominal genitive. By distinguishing argument genitives from adjunct genitives with the criterion below (cf. A2), I answer questions Q1–Q4 with A1–A4:

A1: A nominalization inherits the semantic form (SF) of its base verb and shifts the situational argument onto the referential argument. The argument structure (AS) of a derivational nominalization (*ung*-, stem-, and *e*-nominalization) also registers the thematic arguments that can identify the situation. These arguments are Agent and/or Patient for an activity and Theme for a change-of-state. This type of nominalization realizes the structural argument explicitly, so far as this helps to identify the referent.

　　　　An infinitival nominalization is an "intensional expression of situation," which can denote, but cannot refer to a unique extension. Thus, a deverbal nominalization that refers to an unique situation cannot be paraphrased with an infinitival nominalization, as in (5a) and (5b):
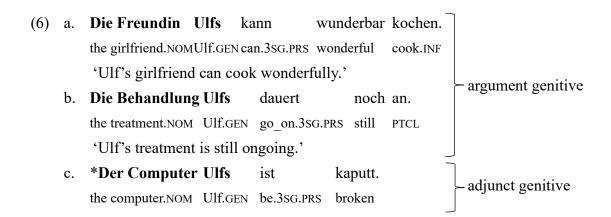
(5) a. Im kommenden Jahr   jährt   sich   **die Besteigung   des Mount**
   in_the next year.DAT   year.3SG.PRS REF.ACC   the climbing.NOM   the Mount

   Everest   durch Sir Edmund Hillary und Tenzing Norgay   zum 50sten
   Everest.GEN by Sir Edmund Hillary.ACC   and Tenzing Norgay.ACC to_the 50th

   Mal.   (DWDS: Der Tagesspiegel, 22.12.2002)
   times.DAT

   'The coming year celebrates the 50th anniversary after Sir Edmund Hillary and
   Tenzing Norgay climbed Mount Everest.'

   b. ??Im kommenden Jahr jährt   sich   **das Besteigen   des Mount**
   in_the next year.DAT   year.3SG.PRS REF.ACC   the climbing.NOM   the Mount

   Everest   durch Sir Edmund Hillary und Tenzing Norgay   zum 50sten
   Everest.GEN by Sir Edmund Hillary.ACC   and Tenzing Norgay.ACC to_the 50th

   Mal.
   times.DAT

An infinitival nominalization does not presuppose the existence of participants. To satisfy the AS, therefore, it must either realize arguments explicitly or make them bound by a matrix argument.

A2: A structural argument of a noun takes the form of a postnominal genitive, while not every postnominal genitive is an argument. There are argument genitives, which satisfy the AS of a noun, and adjunct genitives, which are modifiers. An argument genitive is distinguished from an adjunct genitive with a phonological criterion: The former can be an articleless short proper noun with one or two syllables, the latter not, as in (6).

(6) a. **Die Freundin   Ulfs**   kann   wunderbar kochen. ⎤
      the girlfriend.NOM Ulf.GEN can.3SG.PRS wonderful   cook.INF ⎟
      'Ulf's girlfriend can cook wonderfully.'   ⎟
   b. **Die Behandlung Ulfs**   dauert   noch an.   ⎬ — argument genitive
      the treatment.NOM Ulf.GEN go_on.3SG.PRS still   PTCL   ⎟
      'Ulf's treatment is still ongoing.'   ⎦
   c. ***Der Computer Ulfs**   ist   kaputt.   ⎤
      the computer.NOM Ulf.GEN   be.3SG.PRS   broken   ⎬ — adjunct genitive
                                                                   ⎦

iv

      c′. **Ulfs**   **Computer**   ist   kaputt.

         Ulf.GEN computer.NOM be.3SG.PRS broken

         'Ulf's computer is broken.'

A3: Verbal arguments are obligatory because the interpretation of tense/mood requires the person/number of an argument. The inflected verb *rolle* can be indicative present and/or subjunctive I, depending on the person/number of the subject, as in (7):

(7)   a. Ich   **rolle**   das Fass   in den Keller.

         I.NOM   roll.1SG.PRS the barrel.ACC into the celler.ACC

         'I roll the barrel down to the basement.'

    b. Der Ball   **rolle**   über die Seitenlinie.

         the ball.NOM   roll.3SG.SBJ1 over the side_line.ACC

         'The ball is said to roll over the sideline.'

Nominal arguments, on the other hand, are generally optional, because functional/relational nouns and derivational nominalizations (but not infinitival nominalizations) realize an argument only so far as it helps to identify the referent. If the referent is clear from the context, the argument can be implicit.

A4: An object genitive is usually possible, because the semantic lowest argument, which is coded accusative, can identify the situation. Some verbs such as *schlagen* 'to hit', code, however, a non-lowest argument secondarily in the accusative. A derivational nominalization of such verbs does not take the argument in question, because doing so would fail to help to identify the referent.

A1–A4 hold implications for studies of nominalizations and other topics. First: Infinitival nominalizations require careful treatment because of their argumental properties, and analyzing them as "intensional expressions" poses further questions: Does this property relate, and if so, how, to others of their characteristics such as lack of number or imperfectivity?; Is there an "intensional expression" besides infinitival nominalizations? Second: The referential function is revealed to be an essential property of nouns. This is crucial for studies of the difference between verbs and nouns. Third: The obligation is not an essential property of verbal arguments, but only a result of the necessity of person/number for tense/mood interpretation. This conclusion advances our

understanding of arguments and the argument structure of natural languages.