

理由節の統語構造と意味

条件節との比較から

原由理枝

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関西言語学会シンポジウム
視点とモダリティー因果関係を含む言語表現を中心に一



Outline

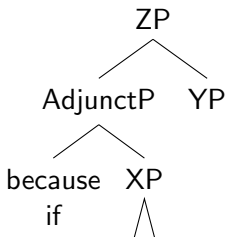
- 1 理由節と条件節
- 2 Discourse items (Hara, 2008)
- 3 已然形とwenn (Hara, 2019, 2022)
- 4 2つのコト節と2つの因果関係 (Hara et al., 2013)
- 5 Conclusion

理由節と条件節：統語構造

(1) Because the gears broke, Marty sold his bike.

(2) If a man buys a horse, he pays cash for it.

- Both *if*-clauses and *because*-clauses are adverbial adjuncts,



理由節：意味

- *because*-clauses express a relation between two saturated propositions (see also Johnston, 1994, for temporal clauses).

- (3) a. Because the gears broke, Marty sold his bike.
b. **because'**($\exists e_2$. [**break'**(the gears, e_2)],
 $\exists e_1$. [**sold'**(Marty, his bike, e_1)])
- (4) a. Because John wrecksthe car, Jane always fixes it.
b. $\# \forall e$ [**wrecks'**(John, the car, e)
 $\rightarrow \exists e'$ **because'**(e, e') & **fix'**(Jane, the car, e')]

ジョンが車を壊すのでジェーンはいつも修理をしている。

$\#$ ジョンが車を壊すイベントはすべてジェーンが修理するイベントを引き起こす。

The argument of *because* is a proposition of type $\langle s, t \rangle$.

条件節：意味

- *If*-clauses denote quantification over event predicates (Kratzer, 1991).

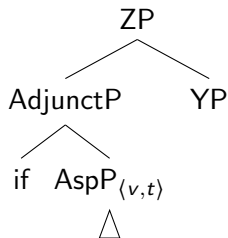
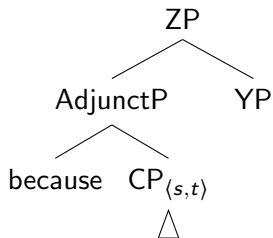
- (5)
- Sometimes, if a man buys a horse, he pays cash for it.
 - Always, if a man buys a horse, he pays cash for it.
 - Most of the time, if a man buys a horse. he pays cash for it.
(Kratzer, 1991)
- (6)
- There is an event e [if e is an event that involves a man buying a horse, then e is part of an event in which this man pays cash for it]
 - For all events e [if ... (e) ..., then ... (e) ...]
 - For most events e [if ... (e) ..., then ... (e) ...] (Kratzer, 1991)

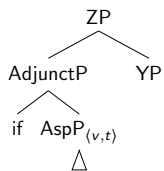
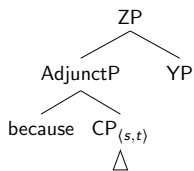
The argument of *if* is an event predicate of type $\langle v, t \rangle$

統語構造

These semantic differences are reflected in syntactic structures (Hara, 2008; Hara et al., 2013)

- *because* is sister to CP, which denotes a proposition.
- *if* is sister to AspP, which denotes an event predicate.





Goal

To show a wide range of empirical data that supports the syntactic and semantic differences between *if* and *because*.

- ① discourse items in Japanese, English, German (Hara, 2008)
- ② semantic shift from causal to conditional in Japanese and German (Hara, 2019, 2022)

Key point

Whether the clause can host modals and/or attitude holders

- Two kinds of causation: causal judgment and physical causation (Hara et al., 2013)

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Japanese Evidential

- (7)
- a. 子供が来るそうなので、おやつを用意する。
 - b. *子供が来るそうならば、おやつを用意する。

English Evidential

- (8)
- a. Mary is upset because obviously John doesn't love her.
 - b. *Mary will be upset if obviously she fails the exam.

German discourse particle

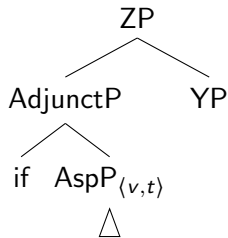
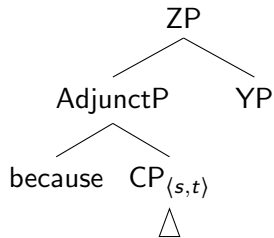
- (9) Spencer is walking up the stairs in front of Webster.
Webster: Du hast ja'n Loch im Ärmel.
You have JA.a hole in.the sleeve
'There is a hole in your sleeve.'
- (10) *Ja* α is appropriate in a context c if the proposition expressed by α in c is a fact of w_c which - for all the speaker knows - might already be known to the addressee. (Kratzer, 1999)
- (11) Webster sagte, dass er ja niemanden gekant habe
Webster said that he JA nobody know had
'Webster said he hadn't know anybody.' (Kratzer, 1999)

German discourse particle

- (12) a. Maria ist ärgerlich, weil John sie ja nicht liebt.
Maria is angry, because John her JA not love
'Maria is angry, because John JA doesn't love her.'
- b. *Maria wird ärgerlich sein, wenn sie die Prüfung ja nicht
Maria will angry be, if she the exam JA not
besteht.
pass
'Maria will be angry, if she JA doesn't pass the exam.'

AspP vs. CP

- Evidentials and discourse particles express some attitude towards a closed/saturated proposition



Japanese Contrastive *wa*

(13) メアリーは来たとジョンが信じている。

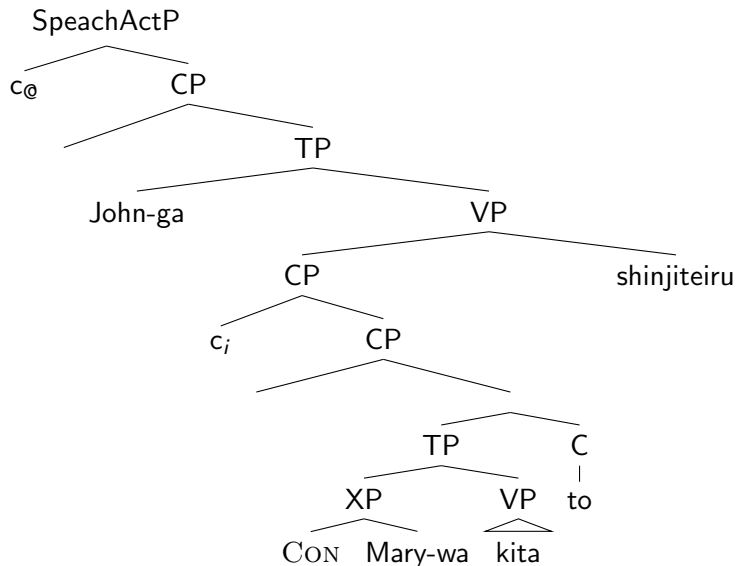
(14) a. Local: ジョンの視点

Local implicature: ピーターが来たかどうかジョンは知らない。

b. Global: 話者の視点

Global implicature: ピーターが来たことをジョンが知っているかどうか話者は知らない。

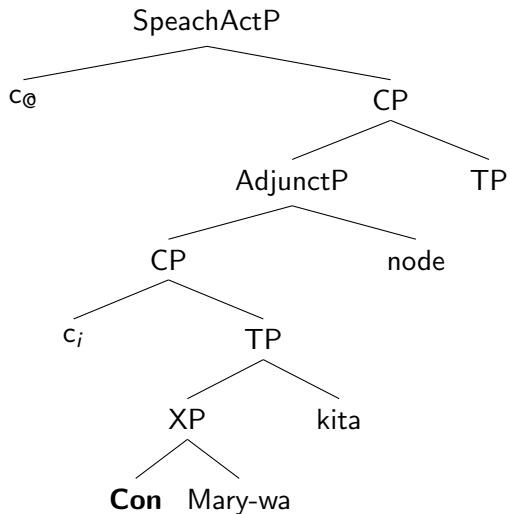
Local vs. Global



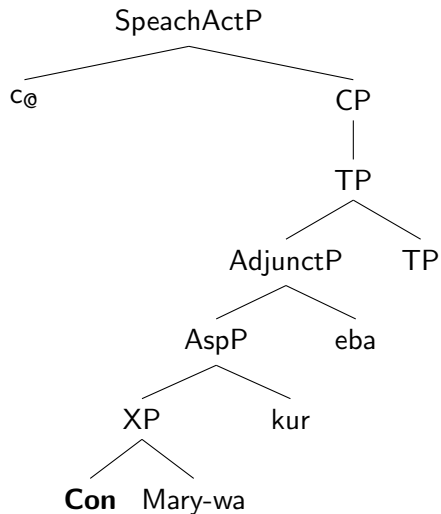
Japanese Contrastive *wa*

- (15) いつもうちに子供はくるので、お菓子を用意する。
- (16) *もしジョンが本を三冊は読めば、合格する。

理由節



条件節



Interim Summary 1

- Evidentials (Japanese *sooda/soona*, English *obviously*)
- Discourse particles (German *ja*, Japanese contrastive *wa*)
- express some attitude-holder's attitude toward a closed/saturated proposition
- can appear in *because*-clauses but not in *if*-clauses.

	evidentials/disc. particles	its sis	the semantic type of its sis
because	✓	CP	$\langle s, t \rangle$
if	*	AspP	$\langle v, t \rangle$

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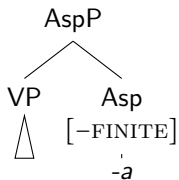
中世日本語の已然形と未然形

- Fukuda (2006)

- (17) くるしきことのみまされば、いといたう思ひわびたるを
(つらいことばかり増えていくので、更衣がたいそうひどく
途方にくれているのを)
- (18) 恨むべからむふしをも、憎からずかすめなさは、それにつ
けて、あはれもまさりぬべし
(恨むのがもっともな点もかわいらしくぼかして言えば、そ
れにつけて男の愛情もますことでしょう)

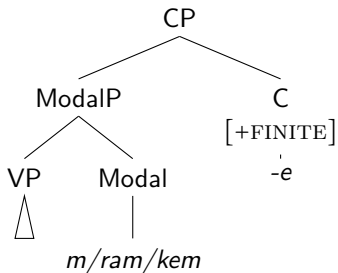
AspP and CP

(19)



- an **event predicate**/
an **unsaturated** proposition

(20)



- a **saturated** proposition.

Embedding of modals

	-a	-e
<i>m-</i>	0	1327
<i>ram-</i>	0	187
<i>kem-</i>	0	107

Table: Corpus of Historical Japanese (CHJ)

- Classical Japanese modals of probability, *m*, *ram*, *kem* cannot be followed by *-a* (i.e., **m-a*, **ram-a*, **kem-a*)
- *m-e*, *ram-e*, *kem-e* forms are attested.

- (21) ものはかなき身には過ぎにたるよそのおぼえあらめど
(たよりない私の身には過分という他人の評判はあるでしょうが)
- (22) すべてさるけしきもこそは見ゆらめ
(困ったことに、そのような私の様子は全て見えているのだろう)
- (23) ひとつ家の内は照らしけめど
(一軒の家の中は照らしたと言いますが)

German *wande/wann/wenn*

Causal before Zeit I (1472–1525) of Early New High German:

- (24) *wenn* der herre hat angesehen die demutigkeit seiner
because the lord has seen the humility his.GEN
dirne dorumb sagen mich selig alle geslechte
maid therefore say me blessed all generations
'because the lord has seen the humility of his maid, so all
generations call me blessed.' (cf. Rieck 1977: 194; Breslau (second
quarter 15th century) 79)

Conditional after Zeit II (1525–):

- (25) ich weine mit, *wenn* dir ein freund starb.
I cry with.ADV if you.DAT a friend died
'I cry with you if you lost a friend of yours.' (Klopstock, 1771)

Causal *wenn*

Verb-2nd; matrix clause, [+FINITE], a saturated proposition

- (26) *wenn* der herre *hat* angesehen die demutigkeit seiner
because the lord has seen the humility his.GEN
dirne dorumb sagen mich selig alle geslechte
maid therefore say me blessed all generations
'because the lord has seen the humility of his maid, so all
generations call me blessed.' (cf. Rieck 1977: 194; Breslau (second
quarter 15th century) 79)

Conditional *wenn*

Verb-Last; subordinate clause [-FINITE], an event predicate

- (27) ich weine mit, **wenn** dir ein freund **starb**.
I cry with.ADV if you.DAT a friend died
'I cry with you if you lost a friend of yours.' (Klopstock, 1771)

Interim Summary 2

- 中世日本語
 - ▶ 已然形+バ : causal; a relation between saturated/closed propositions: [+FINITE]
 - ▶ 未然形+バ : conditional; quantification over event predicates; [-FINITE]
- German *wenn*
 - ▶ Causal *wenn* before Early New High German: Verb-2nd; matrix clause, [+FINITE], a saturated proposition
 - ▶ Conditional *wenn* in New High German: Verb-Last; subordinate clause [-FINITE], an event predicate

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コト節

- Hara et al. (2013) show that there are two kinds of sentential *koto*-nominals

- ① salient propositions denoted by TP-*koto*
- ② event kinds denoted by AspP-*koto*

- Salient propositions:

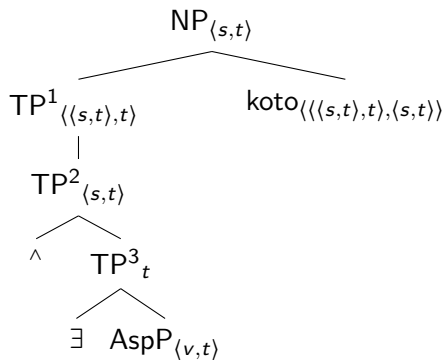
- (28) a. ジョンはメアリーがバカなことを嘆いた。
b. ジョンはメアリーがバカだと嘆いた。(Kuno, 1973)

- (29) 担当者が業者から賄賂をもらったことは間違いない。
(Masuoka, 2007)

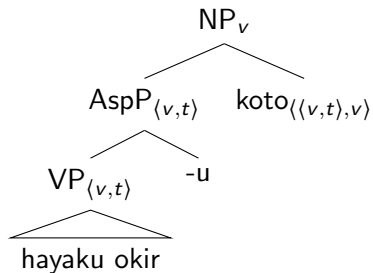
- Event kind:

- (30) 早く起きることは健康に良い。 (Masuoka, 2007)

TP-コト



AspP-コト



2つの因果関係

- Hara et al. (2013) also show that there are two kinds of causal relations:
 - ① causal judgment: A judgment where some attitude holder causally connects a proposition and an event.
 - ② physical causation: A causal relation between events.

- (31) Causal Judgment
アクセルペダルが故障したことが消費者のトヨタ離れを引き起こした。
- (32) Physical causation
アクセルペダルが故障したことが事故を引き起こした。

Dutch Causal connective *omdat*

Causal judgment

- (33) a. ??Jantje stopte *omdat* zijn remmen zich vastgezet
Jantje stopped because his brakes SELF jammed
hadden.
had
'Jantje stopped because his brakes had jammed.' (Physical)
- b. Jantje stopte *omdat* de stoplichten op rood stonden.
Jantje stopped because the traffic.lights on red stood
'Jantje stopped because the traffic lights were red.'
(Judgment)

(adapted from Sæbø, 1991, p. 625)

Dutch Causal connective *doordat*

Physical causation:

- (34) a. Jantje stopte *doordat* zijn remmen zich vastgezet
Jantje stopped because his brake SELF jammed
hadden.
had
'Jantje stopped because his brakes had jammed.' (Physical)
- b. *Jantje stopte *doordat* de stoplichten op rood stonden.
Jantje stopped because the traffic.lights on red stood
'Jantje stopped because the traffic lights were red.'
(Judgment)

(Sæbø, 1991, p. 625)

2つの因果関係

- causal judgment

- ▶ propositions (of type $\langle s, t \rangle$), denoted by *TP-koto*, as arguments
- ▶ Modals can take TP as their arguments.
- ▶ *MP-koto*

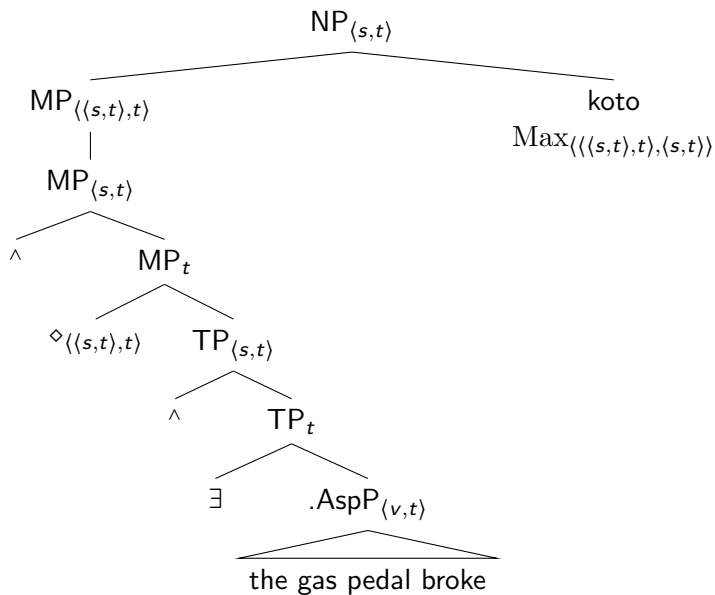
- physical causation

- ▶ events (of type ν) denoted by *AspP-koto* as arguments
- ▶ Modals cannot appear inside *AspP-koto*

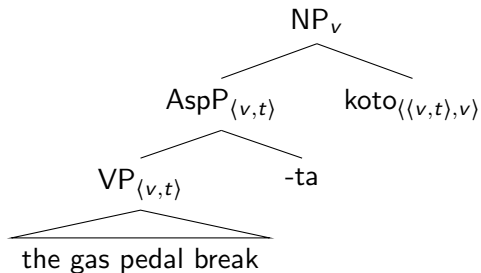
(35) Causal judgment
アクセルペダルが故障したかもしれないことが消費者のトヨタ離れを引き起こした。

(36) Physical causation
*アクセルペダルが故障したかもしれないことが事故を引き起こした。

Causal judgment and MP-koto



Physical causation and AspP-koto



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Summary

- *Because*-sentences and causal judgments:
 - ▶ express a causal relation between closed/saturated propositions of type $\langle s, t \rangle$
 - ▶ Syntax: CP or TP
 - ▶ can host modal-like items that express some attitude towards the propositions
- *If*-sentences and physical causation:
 - ▶ express a quantification over event predicates of type $\langle v, t \rangle$
 - ▶ Syntax: AspP
 - ▶ cannot host modal-like items

Takehome message

Because-clauses are syntactically bigger and semantically more abstract than *if*-clauses.

Acknowledgments

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