

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

## 叙実動詞及び知覚動詞補文の名詞性

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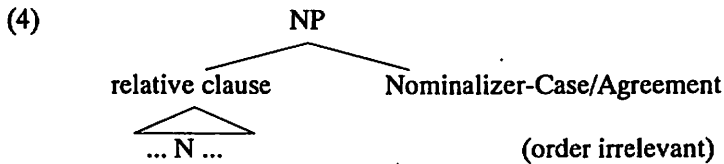


(3) John<sub>i</sub> was seen [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev-to [ t<sub>to</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> cross the street]]]

A theoretical consequence of this analysis is that the checking of the strong [+D] feature (the EPP feature) is satisfied not only by means of movement of DP to [Spec, IP] but also by means of movement of a nominal head.

## 2 Nominality of factive complements in languages with nominalizers

Some languages have a nominalizer which makes a clausal expression into nominal. A nominalizer is often used with an NP with internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs), which is schematized as in (4).



In an IHRC, the semantic head N stays in the relative clause and the syntactic head is accompanied with a Case-marker or agreement.

Interestingly enough, the languages which have IHRCs use a nominalizer in other constructions than IHRCs, as given in (5).

(5) Nominalized sentences in languages with Internally Headed Relative Clauses

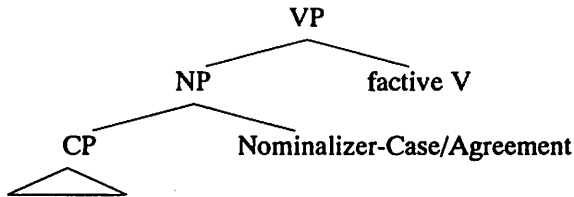
Language	Types of non-IHRC nominalized Ss
ASL	None?
Dagbani	?
Digueño	Knowledge complements ('know', 'remember')
Dogon	Factive?
Japanese	Factive, perception complements ('hear')
Lakhota	Factive, indirect questions, knowledge/belief complements ('know', 'believe', 'realize', 'doubt'), perception complements ('see that'), indirect speech
Mooré	Factive
Navajo	Factive, complement of 'know', indirect discourse
Quechua	Factive, communication complement, knowledge/belief complements, indirect questions

(Culy 1990: 264)

The languages listed in (5) have IHRCs with nominalizers, and those nominalizers are used in the types of sentences in the right column.

Two facts should be noticed in chart (5). One is that in most of the languages in (5) factive complements are nominalized by means of nominalizers. The structure of factive complements is illustrated as in (6).

(6)



(order irrelevant)

The other fact to be noticed is that given a rough dichotomy between factive and non-factive complements, both types of the complements are nominalized in some languages like Lakhota and

Quechua, while in the other languages, only factive complements are nominalized. This means that being nominal is a necessary condition but not a sufficient condition on being factive. And the crucial point is that there is no language in which only non-factive complements are nominalized. We can thus obtain the following observation.

- (7) In the languages which have a nominalizer, factive complements must be nominalized by the nominalizer.

The immediate question is, then, whether or not factive complements are nominal in languages without a nominalizer.

### **3 Nominality of factive complements in languages without a nominalizer**

Actually even in the languages without a morphological nominalizer, factive complements show nominal behavior. First of all, in Spanish and European Portuguese, a CP factive complement follows a determiner.<sup>1</sup>

#### **(8) Spanish**

Lamento/\*creo el que Pedro no haya pasado el exámen.  
I regret/believe det that Pedro not has passed the exam  
'I regret/believe that Pedro didn't pass the exam.'

(Zubizarreta 1982)

(9) European Portuguese

Nós lamentamos o eles terem recebido pouco dinheiro.  
we regret the they to-have-Agr received little money  
'We regret that they received little money.' (Raposo 1987: 97)

Secondly, Adams 1985 gives an excellent account of the impossibility of a subject extraction from a factive complement in French by assuming that the complement has the [+N] feature. In French, an object can be extracted from both a non-factive complement and a factive complement as shown in (10a) and (10b) respectively. The subject of non-factive complement clause also can be extracted as in (10c). The subject of a factive complement, on the other hand, cannot be extracted even if the *que/qui* alternation takes place as in (10d).

(10) French

- a. le livre que Jean croit que Marie aime  
the book that Jean believes that Marie likes
- b. le livre que Jean regrette que Marie aime  
the book that Jean regrets that Marie likes
- c. Qui crois-tu qui aime ce livre?  
who believe-you that likes this book  
'Who do you believe likes this book?'
- d. \*Qui regrettes/com prends/oublies-tu qui aime ce livre?  
who regret/understand/forget-you that likes this book  
'Who do you regret/understand/forget likes this book?'

(Adams 1985: 305)

Following Kayne 1981, Adams assumes that a clausal boundary (i.e. IP) blocks government by a [+N] head. If the C selected by a

factive predicate bears the [+N] feature, the ungrammaticality of (10d) can be accounted for by the ECP.

(11) \*... regrettes [<sub>CP</sub> qui [<sub>IP</sub> t aime ...  
[+N]

The same pattern is observed in English as given in (12).<sup>2</sup>

(12) a. Who<sub>i</sub> do you believe t<sub>i</sub> likes this book?

b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> do you regret/understand/forget t<sub>i</sub> likes this book?

(Adams 1985: 305)

In cases like (12b), the [+N] feature is assumed to be on the null C as in (13).

(13) \*... understand [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [<sub>IP</sub> t likes ...  
[+N]

It can be concluded from these observations that factive complements in languages without a nominalizer are also nominal. Generalization in (14) thus obtains.

(14) Factive complements are universally nominal.

#### 4 Syntactic realization of the nominality of factive complements

Let us now discuss how the nominality of factive complements are syntactically realized. In the previous section, following Aams 1985, I represented the nominality of the factive comple-

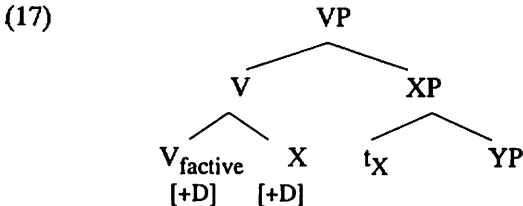
ment with the [+N] feature. But it is also possible to argue that their nominality is represented by the [+D] feature. In what follows, I will argue that their nominality should be due to the [+D] feature which is selected by the factive verbs, and propose the following principle concerning C-selection.

(15) Factive predicates C-select a maximal projection whose head has the [+D] feature.

In the minimalist terms, (15) can be restated as in (16).

(16) Both factive predicates and the heads they select have the [+D] feature.

According to Chomsky 1995, the [+D] feature is a [-interpretable] formal feature, and therefore it must be checked off in the overt syntax. This checking requirement is satisfied by head-movement of the selected head to the factive verb as illustrated in (17).



The claim in (15) is supported by the Spanish and the European Portuguese data in (8) and (9), where the factive verbs select the DP. This fact clearly shows that the nominality of factive complements comes from the [+D] feature.



What if the claim that the [+N] feature is responsible for the nominality of factive complements? Empirically it is very difficult to tell [+D] from [+N], so that nothing seems to be wrong with this claim. There is a conceptual or theory-internal difference between the two features, however. In the minimalist program, the distribution of nominal expressions is accounted for by the theory of checking of Case-features like [accusative feature] and [nominative feature]. For example, a nominal expression which has [accusative feature] must have the Spec-Head relation with a head which also has that feature. If this is correct, the [+N] feature plays no role of determining the distribution of nominal expressions. This implies that the [+N] feature is not a formal feature in the sense of Chomsky 1995; there is nothing that checks the feature off nor does it have to be checked off. If the C-selection of factive complement is the matter of checking of a formal feature as assumed in (17), the feature should be the [+D] feature, not the [+N] feature.

What about (11) and (13), where having the [+N] is very crucial? If the nominality of factive complements comes from the [+D] feature, how is the subject extraction fact in French and English accounted for? Let us continue to assume that the ECP account of the impossibility of subject extraction is correct, which means that the C head of the factive complement has the [+N] feature. Then, I propose that there is an extra projection headed by the [+D] feature above the CP as in (18). I call the projection Event Phrase (EvP).

- (18) ... regret [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev [<sub>CP</sub> that ...  
           [+D]           [+D]           [+N]

I assume that the [+D] feature of Ev is strong in English, so that the empty head incorporates into the factive verb as in (19).

(19) ... regret-Ev [<sub>EvP</sub> t<sub>Ev</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> that ...  
[+N]]

A piece of supporting evidence for assuming the extra projection above CP comes from a sentence like (20) (and an example from a dialect of Spanish reported in note 1).

(20) John regrets [<sub>EvP</sub> it [<sub>CP</sub> that Mary didn't come to the party]].

In this construction, the Ev-head is realized as *it*, and since it has the strong [+D] feature, it incorporates into *regret* in the overt syntax, as in (21).

(21) John regrets-it [<sub>EvP</sub> t [<sub>CP</sub> that Mary didn't come to the party]].

This construction will be discussed in detail in section 6.

## 5 Perception verbs in English

In the previous section, I claimed that factive complements are nominal and they have the [+D] feature. In this section I will argue that this analysis is applied to a small clause complement to a perception verb like (22).

- (22) a. Mary saw [John cross the street]  
b. Mary heard [John sing a song]

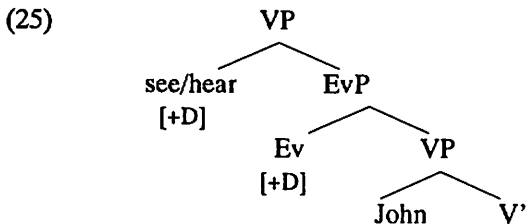
Semantically complement clauses to perception verbs are very close to factive: for instance, in order for (22a) to be true in a world of evaluation  $w$ , the proposition denoted by the small clause complement also must be true in  $w$ . The factivity of small clause complements to perception verbs is also shown from the syntactic point of view. Factive clauses constitute a barrier for extraction of adjuncts out of them as in (23a), but not for extraction of arguments as in (23b).

- (23) a. \*Why does John regret [that Mary quitted the company  $t$ ]?  
 b. ?What does John regret [that he bought  $t$ ]?

The same contrast is observed in the complement to perception verbs.

- (24) a. \*Why did you see [Mary cry  $t$ ]?  
 b. ?What did you hear [John sing  $t$ ]?

Just like the case of complements to factive verbs, I claim that a perception verb has the [+D] feature and it takes EvP with the [+D] feature as its complement, and the Ev-head moves to the verb where the strong [+D] feature is checked off



In this context, I should clarify the notion of factive. As Ken Safir (personal communication) pointed out, the complement clause to an implicative verbs like *manage* also seem factive, since in order for the whole clause to be true, the infinitival complement clause must be true.

(26) John managed to fix the car.

But there is a crucial difference between factive/perception verbs on the one hand and implicative verbs on the other. In the former, negation of the matrix verb does not entail that the proposition denoted by the complement clause is false as in (27), while it does in the case of implicative verbs as in (28)

(27) a. John didn't regret that Mary left the company.  
--/--> Mary didn't leave the company.

b. John didn't see Mary cross the street.  
--/--> Mary didn't cross the street.

(28) John didn't manage to fix the car.  
----> John didn't fix the car.

Another difference is the islandhood of complements. As we have observed in (23a) and (24a), adjuncts cannot be extracted out factive complements. On the other hand, adjunct extraction from the infinitival complement clause to an implicative verb as given in (29).

(29) How did John manage to [fix the car t]?

It can be thus concluded that the infinitival complement clause to an implicative verb is not factive, and therefore it does not have the [+D] feature.

## 6 Passivization

The structure in (25) has an interesting consequence. Let us consider the ungrammaticality of (30) first.

(30) \*John<sub>i</sub> was seen [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> cross the street]].  
[+D]

At first glance, the ungrammaticality of (30) seems to be due to the failure of government of  $t_i$  by non- [+V] head. However, this is not the case, since it is OK if the trace is left behind by wh-movement as shown in (31).

(31) Who<sub>i</sub> did you see [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> cross the street]]?  
[+D]

Note that the ECP is satisfied in (31) since there is no boundary created by the [+N] feature between the wh-phrase and its trace.

Where does the ungrammaticality of (30) come from, then? Let us assume that a passive morpheme *-en* deprive factive verbs of their [+D] features (or the features are lexically saturated with the morpheme). Then, the [+D] feature of the Ev loses its target and remains unchecked, which makes the derivation clash. The ungrammaticality of (30) thus follows.

There is a way to salvage (30). If the complement clause has the projection I headed by *to*, then the sentence becomes grammatical.

(32) John<sub>i</sub> was seen [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev [ to [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> cross the street]]].  
   [+D]            [+D]

Chomsky 1995 assumes that *to* in infinitival clauses has the [+D] feature, which induces the EPP effect. So, it must have a DP in its specifier position. I claim that the feature can be checked off by incorporation. This is what happens in (31). The *to* incorporates into the Ev as in (33).

(33) John<sub>i</sub> was seen [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev-to [ t<sub>to</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> cross the street]]]].

Note that *John<sub>i</sub>* raises from the [Spec, VP] of the small clause complement to the matrix [Spec, IP] without landing at the intermediate [Spec, IP] position headed by *to*. The reason is clear enough; the EPP feature (= the [+D] feature) of *to* is checked off by the Ev, so that there is no need for DP movement to the [Spec, IP] of the embedded clause.

It follows from the present analysis that *to* doesn't show up in a sentence in which a perception verb is passivized and the verb in the small clause is gerundive, as in (34).

(34) John was seen (\*to) crossing the street.



this operation is possible. It is just the opposite case of clitic movement where a maximal projection moves to a head position.

## 7 Conclusion

In this paper, I proposed that clausal complements to factive and perception verbs are both projections of a nominal head with the [+D] feature, which is checked off against those verbs. I first argued that complement clauses to factive verbs are nominal based on the following observation: (i) In languages with internally headed relative clauses, a nominalizer is used as a head of relative clause, and it is also used in the complement clause to a factive verb, (ii) In Spanish and European Portuguese, definite determiner shows up in the complement clauses to factive verbs, and (iii) the complementizer of factive verbs fails to lexical-govern the subject trace (cf. Kayne 1981, Adams 1985). I extended this claim to small clause complements to perception verbs, since perception verbs can be regarded as a kind of factive predicates, and the wh-extraction from the small clause complements show the same pattern as that from factive complements. I also argued that the present analysis can account for the fact that *to* shows up in passive sentences of perception verbs. This implies that the [+D] feature (or the EPP feature) can be checked off not only by the Spec-head configuration but also by the head-head relation via head-movement.



## Notes

I would like to thank Eric Bakovic, Susana Diego, Ken Safir and Yasushi Yoshimoto for their helpful comments, suggestions and/or judgment. The usual disclaimers obtain.

<sup>1</sup>My Spanish informant did not accept (8), and instead he gave me the following example.

(i) (Lo)lamento que Pedro no haya pasado el exámen.

I it-regret that Pedro not has passed the exam

‘I regret (it) that Pedro didn’t pass the exam.’

In (i) *lo* cliticizes the factive verb. This is impossible in the non-factive verb like *creer* ‘believe’.

<sup>2</sup>It might be pointed out that the impossibility of the subject extraction from the complement clause of *regret* should be reduced to the impossibility of *that* deletion as in (i).

(i) John regrets that/\* $\emptyset$  he didn’t attend the meeting.

But the ungrammaticality of (12b) with *regret* is much worse than that of (i). So, I assume, following Adams 1985, that the ungrammaticality of (12b) comes from the impossibility of the subject extraction.

<sup>3</sup>See Rothstein 1995 for the similar proposal.

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## 論文要旨

### 叙実動詞及び知覚動詞補文の名詞性

歳藤健雄

本稿ではregret等の叙実動詞に選択される時制補文とsee等の知覚動詞に選択される小節がそれぞれ(1)、(2)のように[+D]素性を持つ主要部の最大投射（ここではEvent Phraseと表記）であると主張する。

- (1) Mary regretted [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev [<sub>CP</sub> that she didn't go to the party]]  
                  [+D]        [+N]
- (2) Mary saw [<sub>EvP</sub> Ev [<sub>VP</sub> John cross the street]]  
                  [+D]

まず、以下の3つの根拠に基づいて叙実動詞の補文が名詞的であることを主張する：(i)主要部内在型関係節を有する言語では関係節の形成において名詞化子(nominalizer)が用いられるが、これらの言語では叙実動詞の補文においても名詞化子が用いられている、(ii)スペイン語やポルトガル語では叙実動詞文の補文標識の前に定冠詞が現れる、(iii)叙実動詞文の補文主語は抽出できないが、これは名詞主要部が痕跡を適正統率しない(Kayne1981)ということから説明される。次に、意味論的に知覚動詞も一種の叙実動詞であることからそれらの補文も名詞的である考え(2)の構造を提案する。さらに(1)/(2)の構造を仮定することによってMary regretted it that she didn't go to the party.のような構文や知覚動詞を受動化した場合toが生じることが説明できることを示す。