意味役割再訪——＜場所＞か＜存在者＞か——

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(1) Kaga (2007): ALL model

VP_1

動作主（AGENT）　　　　V'_1

V_1　　　　VP_2

場所（LOCATION）　　　V'_2

V_2　　　存在者（LOCATUM）

場所、着点、起点、 経路、標的、**所有者**、 **受取手、受益者**、 **経験者、被動者**、など	存在体 移動体 結果物
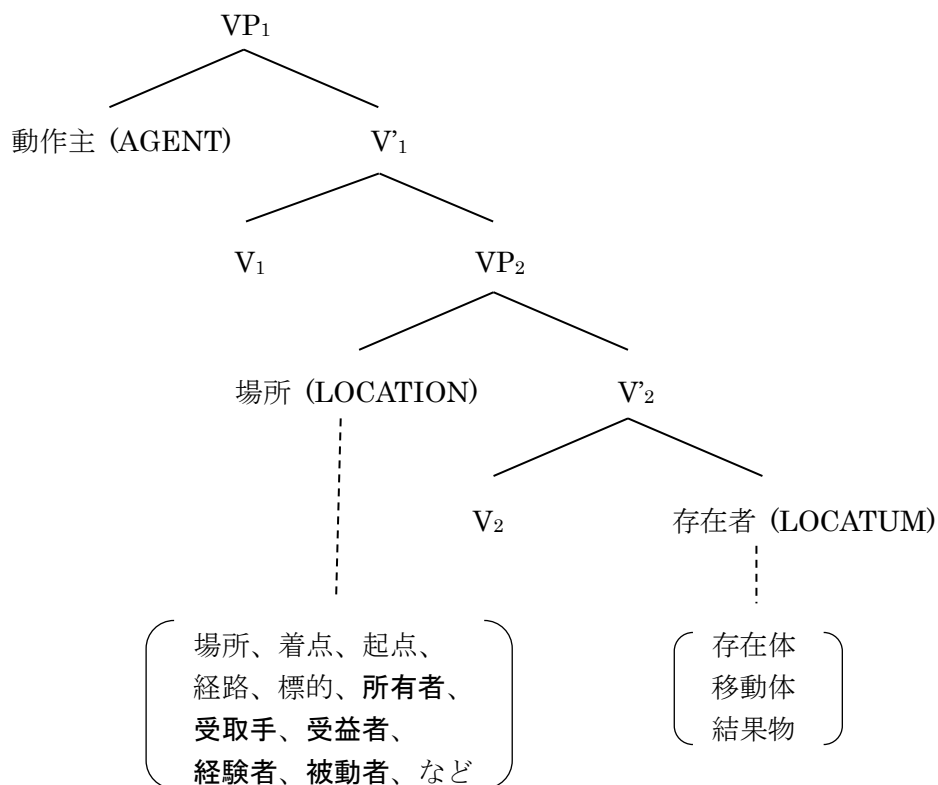
太字「影響を受けた《場所》」(affected LOCATION)

(2) a. Socrates is human.
　　b. 花子は女性である。

(3) Jackendoff (1983):
　　a. Elise is a pianist.
　　　[State BEIdent ([Thing Token ELISE], [Place ATIdent ([Thing Type PIANIST])])]
　　b. The light is red.
　　　[State BEIdent ([Thing LIGHT], [Place ATIdent ([Property RED])])]

(4) Kaga (2007):

| a.	John	is	{intelligent/of considerable talent}.	(character-describing)
	[LOCATION]		[LOCATUM]	
b.	John	is	{hungry/in good health}.	(state-describing)
	[LOCATION]		[LOCATUM]	
c.	John	is	{available/in the bed}.	(situation-describing)
	[LOCATUM]		[LOCATION]	

(5) 場所的存在論（木戸（2003）、岡（2013）など）

「ある認識機構を備えた生命体によって開示された「場」それ自体が「存在」であり、その「場」において形成される主体と客体の総体が「存在者」である。「存在」は、「場」が開示されてはじめて生まれるものであり、かつ主体から離れた「存在」とはありえないのである。」
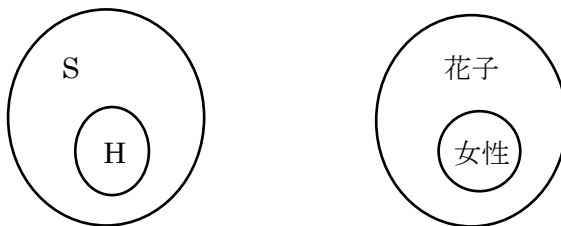
「個物は常に場所においてであり、場所に規定されて存在するものであり、個物と場所とは存在を規定する2つの欠くことのできないモメントなのである。すなわち、存在とは、個物と場所との相補的な相互作用である。」
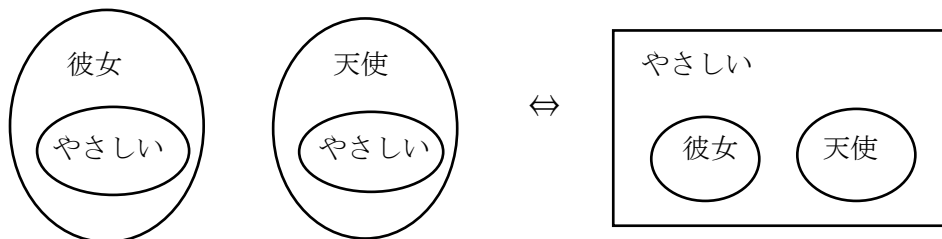
場所の論理学

(6) 述語論理：場所＝述語から出発し、その場所において包み込まれる主体や客体（存在者）について論じる論理
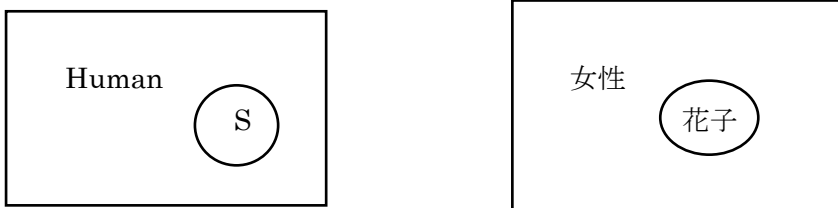
(7) 主語論理：個々の主体または客体から出発し、述語をその主語に属する性質として論じる論理

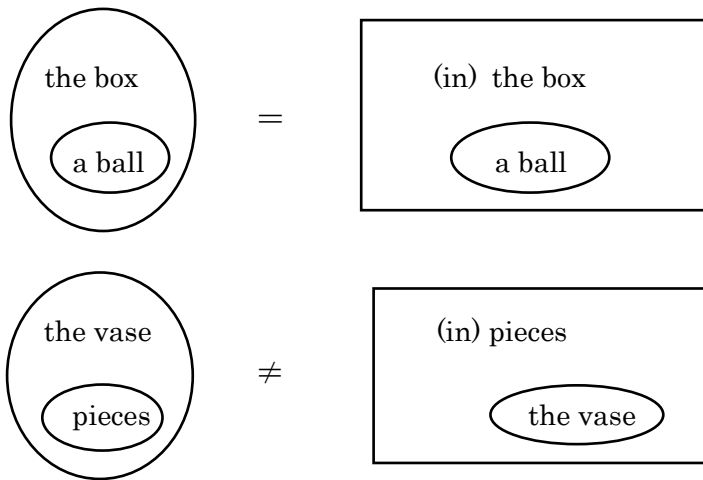(8) 彼女は天使だ。
　　a.　彼女はやさしい。
　　b.　天使はやさしい。

(9) 木戸（2003）:

	場所的思考	主語的思考
①	非言語的	言語的
②	実践的	理論的

③	レトリック	ロジック
④	帰納的	演繹的
⑤	こと（事）	もの（物）
⑥	イメージ	概念
⑦	右脳的	左脳的

(10) a.　　The ball is in the box.
　　 b.　　The vase is in pieces.

場所倒置構文（Locative Inversion）

(11) a.　　In the box is a ball.
　　 b.　*In pieces is a vase.
(12) a.　　Into the box was put a priceless antique vase.
　　 b.　*Into pieces broke a priceless antique vase.
(13) a.　　Available is a young doctor.
　　 b.　*Intelligent is a young doctor.

(14)　場所句倒置構文は事物・人の「存在」ないし「出現」を表す。

(15) a.　[TP　　　　　　　[T′　is (T) [VP1　V1　[VP2　in the box　[V2　V2　a ball]]]]]
　　 b.　[TP　in the box [T′　is (T) [VP1　V1　[VP2　~~in the box~~　[V2　V2　a ball]]]]]
　　 c.　[TP　a ball　　　[T′　is (T) [VP1　V1　[VP2　in the box　[V2　V2　~~a ball~~]]]]]

(16) a.　[TP　　　　　　　[T′　is (T) [VP1　V1　[VP2　a vase　[V2　V2　in pieces]]]]]
　　 b.　[TP　a vase　　 [T′　is (T) [VP1　V1　[VP2　~~a vase~~　[V2　V2　in pieces]]]]]
　　 c.　*[TP　in pieces　[T′　is (T) [VP1　V1　[VP2　a vase　[V2　V2　~~in pieces~~]]]]]

(17) a.　　More important has been the establishment of legal services.
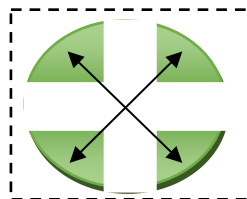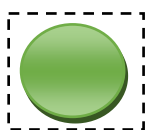　　 b.　　Equally difficult would be a solution to Russell's paradox.

3

受動構文

(18) a.   He arrived at the station.
     b.   They arrived at the conclusion.   'to succeed in getting the result you wanted'
(19) a. ＊The station was arrived at.by him.
     b.   The conclusion was arrived at by them.

(20) a. $[_{VP1}$ $[_{V'1}$ V_1 $[_{VP2}$ at the station $[_{V'2}$ arrive (V_2) he $]]]]]$
     b. $[_{VP1}$ they $[_{V'1}$ V_1 $[_{VP2}$ $[_{V'2}$ arrive (V_2) (at) the conclusion $]]]]]$

(21) Thematic Hierarchy Condition on Passives：
The passive *by*-phrase must be higher on the Thematic Hierarchy than the derived subject. (Jackendoff 1972))

(22) a.   John left a lot of wine for us.
     b.   A lot of wine was left for us by John.
(23) a.   John left London for Paris.
     b. ＊London was left for Paris by John.
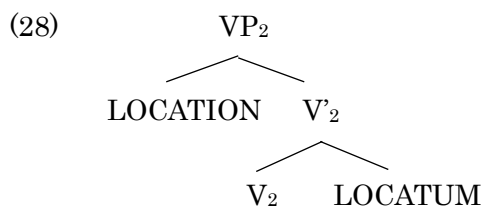
抽象性（abstractness）

(24) a.   Mary is intelligent.
     b.   The leaf is red.
(25) a.   She became intelligent.
     b.   The leaf turned red.

(26) The cat moved into the box.   （位置変化、［存在者－場所］）
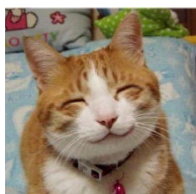
(27) The vase broke apart.   （状態変化、［場所－存在者］）

構成性（compositionality）

(28)

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                VP₂
              ╱    ╲
      LOCATION      V'₂
                  ╱    ╲
               V₂      LOCATUM
```

(29) a. John talked to Mary <u>about Bill</u>.
 b. talk: to say things (to someone)
 c. [John]   <u>said</u> [things about Bill] [to Mary]
     Agent   Theme   Goal

(30) a. John knows <u>the fact</u>.
 b. know: to have information about something
 c. [John]   <u>have</u>   [information about the fact]
     Possessor   Theme

(31) a. The vase broke <u>into pieces</u>.
 b. break $_{Vi}$: to become separate (into two or more pieces)
 c. [the vase]   <u>become</u> [separate into pieces]
     Patient   Result

(32) a. The cat moved into the box.
 b. [into the box]   moved   [the cat]
     Goal   Theme

Idioms:

(33) *Logically possible fixed ditransitive idiom patterns* (Bruening 2010)
 a. Class 1: <u>Verb</u> NP <u>NP</u>   (*give* X *the creeps*)
 b. Class 2: <u>Verb NP</u> to NP (*give rise to* X)
 c. Class 3: <u>Verb</u> NP <u>to NP</u> (*throw* X *to the wolves*)
 d. Class 4: <u>Verb NP</u> NP   (nonexistent)

(34) Class 1a:
 a. give NP a wide berth   'to avoid someone or something'
     give a wide berth to NP
 b. give NP the cold shoulder   'to deliberately ignore someone or be unfriendly to them'
     give the cold shoulder to NP

(35) Class 1b:
 a. give NP the creeps   'to make you feel nervous and a little frightened'
   * give the creeps to NP
 b. give NP the boot   'to give something a quick hard kick'
   * give the boot to NP

(36) Class 2:
    a.   give birth to NP   'to produce a baby from her body'
        ??give NP birth
    b.   give rise to NP   'to be the reason why something bad happens'
        ??give NP rise

(37) Class 3:
    a.   throw NP to the wolves   'to leave someone to be roughly treated or criticized'
        * throw the wolves NP
    b.   send NP to the showers   'to remove a player from a race or contest early on'
        * send the showers NP

(38) Class 4:
    a. * throw the wolves NP
    b. * send the showers NP

(39) Class 1:
    [(to) NP$_1$ [<u>V   NP$_2$</u>]]   (*give* NP *the creeps*, *give a wide berth* to NP)

(40) Class 2:
    [[<u>V   NP$_1$ to</u>] NP$_2$]   (*give birth to* NP)

(41) Class 3:
    [NP$_1$ [<u>V to NP$_2$</u>]]   (*throw* NP *to the wolves*))

(42) Class 4:
    [<u>NP$_1$</u> [<u>V</u> NP$_2$]]   (**throw the wolves* NP)

(43) a.   He got a wide berth.
     b.   A wide berth should be given to those who use mediation.
(44) a.   He got the creeps.
     b.   Brian got the boot from the moderators.
(45) a. * The baby got birth.
     b. * A birth was given to her.

影響性（affectedness）

(46) Patient = Affected Theme

(47) a.   Sue hammered **the metal** flat.   （状態変化）
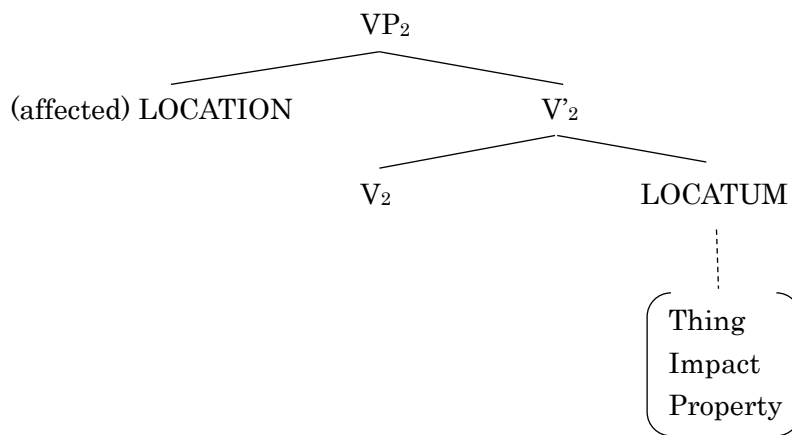   b.   Bill threw **the ball** into the field.   （位置変化）

(48) Jackendoff (1990):
    a.   ⎡ CAUSE ([SUE], [INCH [BE$_{Ident}$ ([METAL], [AT FLAT])]]) ⎤
          ⎣ AFF⁻ ([SUE], [METAL]) ⎦

b.
$$
\left[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{CAUSE ([BILL], [GO ([BALL], [TO [IN [FIELD]])])} \\
\text{AFF}^{\cdot} \text{([BILL], [BALL])}
\end{array}
\right]
$$

(49) 「位置変化」と「状態変化」の峻別　→　(26)(27)　を参照

(50) a.　Sue gave Bill the boot (= a kick).
　　 b.　Bill threw John the ball.
(51) a.　Bill knocked the ball out of the park.
　　 b.　Bill knocked the ball out of shape.

(52)

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                              VP₂
               ╱                          ╲
   (affected) LOCATION                    V'₂
                              ╱                    ╲
                            V₂                    LOCATUM
                                                    ⋮
                                              ┌───────────┐
                                              │ Thing     │
                                              │ Impact    │
                                              │ Property  │
                                              └───────────┘
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(53) a.　Bill threw the ball into the field.
　　 b.　Bill threw John the ball.
(54) a.　John shot at the bear.
　　 b.　John shot the bear.

(55) *Structural Realization Principle* (Kaga 2007)
　　 Instances of simple LOCATION are realized as PPs, while those of affected LOCATIONs are realized as DPs.

(56) Locative Alternation
　　 a.　Jack loaded books on the truck.
　　 b.　Jack loaded the truck with books.

＜場所＞か＜存在者＞か?

中右 (2018):

WIPE
(57) a.　She wiped <u>mud, dirt and tears</u> off her face.
　　 b.　He wiped away <u>the blood</u> with a paper napkin.
(58) a.　Mary wiped <u>the table</u> with a damp cloth.
　　 b.　He wiped (sweat from) <u>his brow</u> with a handkerchief.

(59) a.   We wiped <u>our dirty boots</u> on the mat before entering the house.

     b.   He wiped <u>his hands</u> on his apron.

(60) a.   She wiped <u>her hands</u> over her body to remove the mosquitos attacking her.

     b.   Wipe <u>the pad</u> over the surface until the wood starts to shine.

HIDE

(61) a.   She hid <u>her money</u> under the bed.

     b.   Marcia hid <u>the pictures</u> in her desk drawer.

     c.   They hid <u>themselves</u> behind a tree.

(62) a.   She hid <u>her face</u> in her handkerchief.

     b.   She hid <u>her red-rimmed eyes</u> behind sunglasses.

RUB

(63) a.   John rubbed <u>his eyes</u> wearily.

     b.   Jo rubbed <u>the counter</u> with a towel.

(64) a.   She took out her suncream and rubbed <u>some</u> on her nose.

     b.   He rubbed <u>polish</u> onto the surface of a table.

(65) a.   Jo rubbed at the counter.

     b.   *She rubbed at some cream (on her nose).

STRIKE

(66) a.   He struck <u>the table</u> with his fist.

     b.   He struck <u>the ball</u> with her racket.

(67) a.   He struck <u>his fist</u> on the table.

     b.   She struck <u>her knee</u> against the desk.

SCRATCH

(68) a.   The child scratched <u>the table top</u> with her toy.

     b.   He scratched <u>a match</u> on the sole of his shoe.

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