

英文要旨

論文題目 現代ドイツ語の目的語としての相関詞 *es* の出現・非出現と動詞の選択制限

Occurrence and nonoccurrence of the correlative *es* as object and selectional restriction of verbs in modern German

氏名 井坂ゆかり

Yukari Isaka

This paper attempts to explain the tendency in the occurrence and nonoccurrence of the correlative *es* as object for verbs in modern German based on their selectional restrictions. The analysis in this paper is based on previous studies and authentic examples collected in a corpus.

Chapter 1 introduces the phenomenon of the correlative *es* as object. According to Pütz's (1975) classification criteria for *es*, the correlative *es* can occur when the complement sentence is extraposed and follows the matrix sentence. The frequency of its occurrence varies from verb to verb. According to the corpus research conducted by Axel-Tober et al. (2016), in the case where a *dass* sentence follows the matrix sentence, the correlative *es* appears in about 10% of examples for the verb *bedauern* ("regret") and about 80% of examples for the verb *hassen* ("hate"), while no examples with *es* were found for the verb *wissen* ("know").

Chapter 2 reviews previous studies on factivity and the occurrence and nonoccurrence of the correlative *es*.

According to Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970), in contrast to non-factive predicates such as "suppose," "claim," and "believe," speakers presuppose the complement proposition of factive predicates such as "resent" and "regret" as true, and the syntactic behavior of these predicates differs according to their

factivity. Based on the assumption that the factive complement has a deep structure with the noun “fact” as its head, “it” can appear before the clause in place of “fact.” In other words, the correlative can only occur in the case of factives and not in that of non-factives. However, it is also noted that “know” and “realize,” which are considered factive verbs, do not fit the hypothesis.

Kiparsky & Kiparsky’s factive verbs can be further divided into typical factive verbs, such as “regret” and semi-factive verbs, such as “realize”—a categorization that relies on the analysis of Karttunen (1971) and Hooper & Thompson (1973). By adopting the classification of semi-factive verbs, the exception noted by Kiparsky & Kiparsky can be eliminated. The modified hypothesis is that the correlative can occur in typical factive predicates.

Cardinaletti (1990) explains that *es* tends to appear in case of factive verbs in German as well. Moreover, it is pointed out that *es* does not occur for verbs that allow indirect questions.

Sandberg (1998) analyzes the correlative *es* from a semantic perspective; *es* is necessary for verbs that express an attitude toward a given proposition. Sudhoff (2003) developed a syntactic theory and explains the difference between the *bedauern* (“regret”) type that allows the occurrence of the correlative *es*, and the *behaupten* (“assert”) type that does not allow the occurrence of the correlative *es*. Both studies are similar to that of Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970) in that they classify verbs into two groups.

However, some studies do not distinguish verbs so strictly. For example, according to Mikame (1985), verbs such as *glauben* (“think/believe”) and *denken* (“think”), which are usually considered to be used without *es*, can be used with it when the speaker regards the complement proposition as a fixed topic in their consciousness—that is, when the speaker’s mental attitude is strengthened.

In Chapter 3, the question for corpus research is presented. This corpus research is based on the concept of scale proposed by Ulvestad/Bergenholtz (1983).

Chapter 4 describes the methodology of this research. From the large corpus of written language called DeReKo of the IDS, German Language Institute, 300 examples with an object were collected for the following verbs selected from the classification of Zifonun et al. (1997): Class I, *wissen* (“know”) and *vergessen* (“forget”); Class II, *glauben* (“think/believe”) and *vermuten* (“guess”); Class III-i, *bedauern* (“regret”), *begrüßen* (“welcome”), *hassen* (“dislike”), and *lieben* (“love”); Class III-ii, *bezweifeln* (“doubt”); and Class VI, *untersuchen* (“examine”) and *fragen* (“ask”).

Chapter 5 presents the results of the survey. Interestingly, in addition to the typical factive verbs, in some cases, *es* is used for *glauben*, which is usually a non-factive verb.

In Chapter 6, the questions for the following analysis are presented: (1) what is common for the verbs without *es* from the viewpoint of selectional restriction? (2) why was *es* found for *glauben* but not for *vermuten* in the same class? (3) why does the occurrence rate of *es* differ?

Chapter 7 is about selectional restrictions, an important concept for the analysis in this paper. Since the semantic type of complements is selected by predicates, the same form can be interpreted differently; Grimshaw (1979) analyzes whether *wh*-complements are interpreted as questions or exclamations according to predicates.

In Chapter 8, complement sentences collected in the corpus research are analyzed. As a result, no cases were observed in which *es* is used for verbs that allow indirect questions.

Chapter 9 examines *glauben* and *vermuten*. The verb *glauben* becomes factive with the help of an auxiliary verb and negation to express a surprise, and it also allows an exclamation. Conversely, *vermuten* can have an indirect question with the help of an auxiliary verb and *nur* (“only”) to emphasize that the truth of the proposition is open.

Thus, the difference in whether a verb allows indirect questions is reflected in the difference in whether the correlative *es* can occur.

Chapter 10 shows that, from a semantic point of view, a question can be regarded as a set of propositions. Then, *dass* sentences can be viewed as corresponding to a single proposition, while indirect questions to multiple propositions. When it is not clear to which proposition *es* refers, it causes difficulty for the occurrence of *es*.

In Chapter 11, other objects collected in the corpus research for each verb are analyzed and Chapter 12 summarizes the overall results of the analysis. First, verbs that select a set of propositions are unlikely to have the correlative *es* because the proposition to which *es* refers cannot be fixed. Second, the frequency of occurrence varies from verb to verb and *es* can be regarded as a marker of markedness. The verb with the lowest frequency of *es*, *glauben*, is usually considered as a typical example of non-factive verb. However, when the complement proposition is interpreted as factive, the occurrence of *es* is observed. Conversely, in the case of typical factive verbs, *es* mainly indicates that a complement sentence follows. *Begrüßen*, *lieben*, and *hassen* have about 90% of their objects in the form of a noun

phrase or pronoun, and the use of a complement sentence itself is rare. In addition, in many cases, the noun phrase or pronoun describes a specific person, which is different from *bedauern*, where the object noun usually describes an event. Therefore, when a complement sentence follows, the correlative appears more frequently for these verbs. Moreover, noun phrases of *lieben* and *hassen* describe specific persons or kinds. A complement sentence, expressing a proposition, differs significantly from the semantic type usually expected for the object. In the case of these verbs, the occurrence rate of *es* is very high when a complement sentence follows.

Chapter 13 reviews this paper. Based on the concept of selectional restriction, the research aimed to grasp the whole picture of objects and proposed that *es* basically refers to one proposition and that the correlative *es* can generally be regarded as a marker of markedness. The correlative *es* is more likely to occur when the complement sentence expressing a proposition differs significantly from the usual expectation about semantic type and form.