論文の英文要旨

論文題目	On Adverbial Adjectives: An Attempt at Schematisation Based on Corpus Data
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1. Introduction.

In general, the suffix -ment is added to adjectives to derive adverbs. However, some adjectives function as adverbs without this suffix. In this study, these lexical groups are referred to as adverbial adjectives (AAs), and the expressions in which AAs occur to the right of the verb are called [V + AA] expressions. AAs are mainly postposed to the verb and fulfil the function of indicating quantity or manner.

2. AA features.

It is also well-known that French adjectives usually agree with the gender and number of words they modify (Examples (1) and (2)). Conversely, AAs occur in an invariant form in many cases, regardless of the co-occurring word (Example (3)).

(1) Je connais un circuit touristique *intéressant,* dit-il en sortant un papier de sa poche.
    I know some interesting sightseeing tours, he said as he took a piece of paper from his pocket.
    (QUENEAU Raymond, Le dimanche de la vie, 1951, p. 166)

(2) Je me demande pourquoi Pontevin ne rend pas publiques des idées si *intéressantes.*
    I wonder why Pontevin hasn't gone public with some very interesting ideas.
    (KUNDERA Milan, La lenteur, 1995, p. 33)

(3) **Degrelle, (...), avait pensé que son rôle politique lui vaudrait ses galons d'officier, mais la Wehrmacht avait** refusé _net_ **: pas d'expérience.**

Degrelle believed his political role qualified him for the rank of officer, but the Wehrmacht rejected it flatly on the grounds of inexperience.

(LITTELL Jonathan, Les Bienveillantes, 2006, p. 219)

Notably, lexical syntactic restrictions are imposed on AAs. First, the vocabulary available as an AA is limited. Productive words have a basic meaning and are frequently used as adjectives, such as _fort_ (strong), _haut_ (high), and _bas_ (low). Therefore, replacing AAs with synonyms is often difficult. In Example (4a), the pair "_payer_" (pay) and "_cher_" (expensive) indicates the meaning "to pay a high amount of money", which becomes unacceptable when _cher_ is replaced by the synonym "_coûteux_" (costly)(Example (4b)).

(4a) **(...) rendre service au personnel, c'est en particulier le** payer _cher_ **pour un travail réduit.**

Contribute to your employees, especially by paying them well for less work.

(WILBOIS Joseph, Comment fonctionne une entreprise, 1941, p. 5)

(4b) *(...) c'est en particulier le payer _coûteux_ pour un travail réduit.

From a syntactic perspective, AAs occur to the right of the verb in many cases. Given the relative positional freedom of French adverbs, this is an exceptional phenomenon. One specific limitation is the difficulty of leftward movement by means of a cleft sentence construction. Adverbs can generally be highlighted by the structure _c'est...que_ (it is···that) construction, but Example (5) shows that such an operation is unacceptable in this case.

(5) *C'est _cher_ que Paul a payé cette erreur.

Paul paid dearly for that failure.

(ABEILLÉ et GODARD, 2004, p. 214)

Thus, [V + AA] expressions are accompanied by various restrictions and have idiomatic features. However, they also show a certain productivity and thus have grammatical properties. For instance, *fort* has been found to co-occur with 550 verbs, with various verb meanings. There are also verb/AA pairs that are certainly acceptable or uncertain owing to their infrequency of occurrence; that is, they are novel expressions. Furthermore, it has been noted that there is a large variation in the vocabulary that can be used as AAs in areas such as the casual register and advertising catchphrases, and that new expressions are being produced.

3. Theory to be used in this study.

The present study adopts the theory of construction grammar, which has been actively studied in recent years as a part of cognitive linguistics. One of the main features of this theory is that it does not establish a clear boundary between lexicon and syntax. Construction grammar assumes units called "constructions" as the basic unit of language. The unit is composed of semantic and formal pairs and includes not only words but morphemes, compound expressions, and idiomatic expressions of low compositional quality (see Table 1).

Table 1: Elements considered constructions

Syntax type	Example
morpheme	pré-, super-, -able, -ant, -ment
word	table, mot, donner, avec, joli
compound word	pomme de terre, mot-clé, sous-titre, portefeuille
idiomatic usage	tout de suite, et ainsi de suite, battre le pavé
abstract construction	NOUN^1 VERB NOUN^2 à NOUN^3, espace NOUN (cf. Koga 2020)

Furthermore, construction grammar assumes, as form, not only lexical items, but also abstract entities lacking concrete vocabulary, such as [NOUN^1 VERB NOUN^2 à NOUN^3]. Furthermore, it is assumed that abstract forms can

be assigned some kind of meaning, and consequently, grammatical structures can be recast in the same framework as vocabulary. Abstract constructions are thought to be produced on the basis of numerous concrete expressions experienced by speakers that have similarities but differ in parts. Conversely, abstract constructions can produce various concrete cases (construals) and are therefore highly productive (see Figure 1). By contrast, concrete constructions such as lexicons are considered less productive, and the relationship between form and meaning is arbitrary and fixed. Considering these points, lexicon and syntax are not clearly separate concepts in construction grammar, but can be recast as lying on a continuum based on productivity and semantic structure.
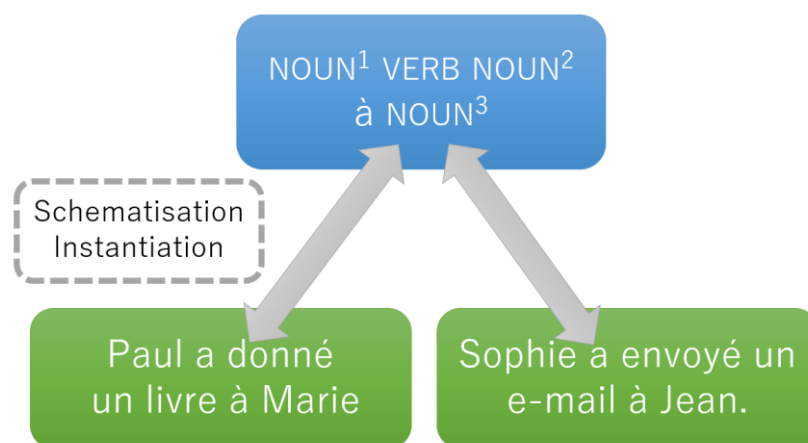

Figure 1: Schematisation of concrete examples and schema-based construals

The [V + AA] expressions considered in this study are productive despite the lexical-syntactic constraints described above. In other words, they are a group of expressions that exist simultaneously in both the lexical and syntaxic domains. Therefore, the use of construction grammar, which can deal with linguistic phenomena without a clear separation between lexicon and syntax, is appropriate for this study's analysis.

4. Purpose and significance of this study.

As the name suggests, AAs are a lexical group that exists at the boundary

between adverbs and adjectives. In addition, the use of AAs in modern French is relatively infrequent and peripheral, especially lexically. These factors indicate that the examination of AAs has not received much emphasis in French studies.

As mentioned above, [V + AA] expressions have various restrictions and productivity simultaneously. This study clarifies the production principle of [V + AA] expressions by means of the theory of construction grammar developed by Goldberg (1995) and others and by observing actual examples.

We selected [V + AA] expressions that were considered relatively productive for analysis. In the corpus, we investigated five verbs, which were described by Hummel and Gazdik (2022) as having the most co-occurring AA types, and five adjectives, which were also described as having the most frequent co-occurring verb types. The corpus used was Frantext, which contains data on literary works written in French. Considering the possibility that differences in usage could be observed between genres of writing, we restricted ourselves to the novel, that contained the largest number of words in the corpus data. Furthermore, as this study was concerned with the use of contemporary French, we examined works from 1950 to 2021, the latest data available at the time of the survey.

Regarding the [V + AA] expression in modern French, no study has attempted to describe its actual use, both quantitatively and qualitatively, on the basis of corpus data, supported by the perspective of construction grammar. The significance of this study lies in its ability to address this limitation.