

論文の英文要旨	
論文題目	A Formal Semantic Analysis of Genericity in Spanish
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This thesis is a theoretical study of genericity in Spanish. Specifically, it examines the following two expressions from the perspective of formal semantics: (1) generic sentences and (2) binominal constructions generalized as <i>N1 de N2</i>. The first part of this study discusses the formation of generic sentences in Spanish. The second part focuses on <i>N1 de N2</i> constructions, addressing two topics: the occurrence of bare nouns in the <i>N2</i> position and the weak interpretation of definite singular <i>N1</i>. Chapter 1 introduces the prerequisites for this study. Chapter 1.1 outlines the syntactic behavior of noun phrases in Spanish. Chapter 1.2 presents the theoretical frameworks on which the study is based, including Determiner Phrases Analysis (Abney 1987), type-shifting (Partee 1987), Semantic Incorporation (van Geenhoven 1998), type coercion (Pustejovsky 1995), and event semantics (Davidson 1967; Parsons 1990). Chapter 2 examines how genericity has been studied in the literature on formal semantics. The notion is traditionally attributed to two syntactic dimensions: noun phrases and entire sentences. Given the fact, this paper defines generic sentences as those in which predicates apply to a particular kind. Chapter 2.2 describes the main characteristics of generic sentences, while Chapter 2.3 provides the ontology of the domain of individuals and discusses the stage- and individual-level distinction of predicates, both proposed by Carlson (1977a). Chapter 3 discusses Spanish generic sentences. It is widely known that in Spanish, the subject of these constructions appears with one of the following definiteness and number markings: definite singular, definite plural, or indefinite singular. Chapter 3.1 focuses on the main features and restrictions observed in each of these three patterns. Chapter 3.2 presents two semantic studies of kind reference in Spanish: Borik and Espinal (2015) and Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2014). Borik and Espinal (2015) provide an elegant explanation of generic sentences with definite subjects but devote little attention to the genericity of indefinite singulars. Similarly, Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2014)	

relate the genericity of definite singular phrases to weak definite noun phrases, proposing a semantic rule that associates one with the other. However, they do not address the genericity of singular indefinites. In addition, the unrestricted use of generic GEN operators presents challenges. Therefore, a paradigm for the semantic composition of generic sentences must be developed.

Chapter 4 discusses the semantic formation of Spanish generic sentences. The following two assumptions are made:

- (1) As Borik and Espinal (2015) propose, common nouns in Spanish denote properties of kinds, and Number should be treated as a realization operator (R) that applies to nouns to yield properties of objects.
- (2) Dynamic predicates are lexically stage-level, but when combined with the simple present tense, which requires a stative predicate as input, they undergo syntactic coercion into individual-level predicates with habitual meaning.

Based on these assumptions, definite singulars denote kinds on their own and can therefore be predicated by both kind-level and individual-level predicates. Definite plurals denote the maximal sum of objects; however, they are intensionalized by kind or individual-level predicates that refer to a kind. Indefinite singulars do not form generic sentences unless quantified by the generic operator GEN, which can be introduced covertly only if an inherent relationship exists between the property denoted by the indefinite singular and the predicate with which it combines.

The second part of this study analyzes a frequently used binominal expression in Spanish, namely *N1 de N2*. Chapter 5 introduces the syntactic behavior of bare singular and bare plural nouns, concluding that their occurrence in argument positions can be explained by Semantic Incorporation, as proposed by van Geenhoven (1998). Chapter 5.2 classifies *N1 de N2* based on internal semantic structures.

Chapter 6 first examines the appearance of bare nouns in the *N2* position, focusing on two patterns of *N1 de N2*: (1) cases in which *N1* is occupied by a deverbal noun and *N2* serves as its argument, such as *destrucción de ciudades*, *voto de mujeres* and *posesión de arma*; and (2) cases in which no argument structure is present, and *N1 de N2*

as a whole functions as a syntactic compound, such as *dolor de cabeza* and *silla de ruedas*. In the first pattern, bare *N2* is semantically incorporated into the deverbal noun *N1* as an internal or external argument. In the second pattern, where the preposition *de* expresses an abstract relation between the two nouns, bare *N2* is semantically incorporated not into *N1* but into the preposition. The discussion then shifts to the weak interpretation of definite singular DPs. While Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2014) propose a lexical rule called the *Kind Lifting Rule* (KLR), which applies an object-level predicate to yield its kind-level counterpart with an additional meaning of stereotypical usage, this study claims that such a lexical rule is too strong to account for the weak interpretation of *N1 de N2*, as cases exist where no stereotypical meaning of kinds can be perceived. As a substitute for the theory submitted by Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2014), this thesis claims that weak interpretation arises in syntax through a type of coercion that occurs when an object-level predicate combines with a kind-referring noun. The combination of these two expressions is possible only if reference to the objects of *N1* is irrelevant for the following three reasons:

- (1) Verbal phrases express the stereotypical usage of a kind, as claimed by Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2014).
- (2) *N1* is occupied by a relational noun, such as *esquina* or *pata*.
- (3) *N2* is occupied by an indefinite singular noun.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the study. This thesis develops a paradigm for the semantic composition of generic sentences in Spanish, which has not been addressed in detail in previous studies. In addition, it discusses the genericity of bare nouns within the same theoretical framework, demonstrating that their occurrence can be uniformly explained through Semantic Incorporation. Furthermore, the study examines the existential theory of weak interpretation and proposes an alternative theory to more accurately account for the phenomenon.