W-1-1

回帰的併合と強勢

時崎 久夫

１．問題と提案

　句と複合語の強勢は、核強勢規則（NSR）と複合語強勢規則（CSR）によって説明されてきたが、Cinque (1993) は、この２つの規則を一般化し、Xバー構造で最も深い位置に埋め込まれた要素に強勢を付与する規則を提案した。本発表では、この規則を現在のミニマリストの枠組みで再定義し、併合を受けた集合に端末要素を併合する際には、集合に強 (S) を付与するという規則を提案する。

　また、句強勢・複合語強勢が構造によって決定されるのに対し、語強勢は、語末第２音節など、語の中の線的な位置によって指定されることが多かった。この発表では、重音節への強勢付与を手がかりに、音節構造が文節音さらには音韻特性の回帰的併合によって作られると考えることにより、句強勢・複合語強勢と同じ仕組みで語強勢が決定されるという可能性を論じる。これが成り立てば、強勢は、句から語に至るまで、すべて同一の規則によって与えられるという一般化が得られる。

２．英語の軟口蓋音軟化

２．１．埋め込みの深さ

(1)　Assign stress to the most deeply embedded constituent in a structure.　　　(cf. Cinque 1993)

(2)　a.
```
        VP
       /  \
      V    NP
      |     |
      |     N
      |     |
     see   John
```
b.
```
        N
       / \
      NP   N
      |    |
      N    |
      |    |
    towel rack
```

(3)　a.
```
        VP
       /  \
      V    N
      |    |
     see  John
```
b.
```
        N
       / \
      N   N
      |   |
    towel rack
```
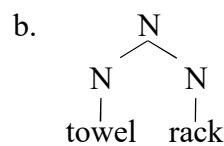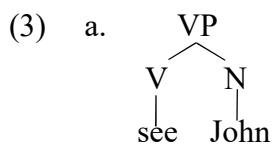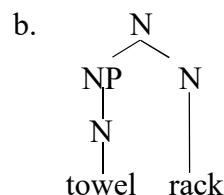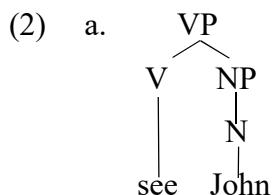
２．２．韻律規則

(4)　Generalized Stress Rule (metrical-tree version) (Reinhart (2006: 133))

　　　Assign a Strong label to the node that is syntactically more embedded at every level of the metrical tree. Assign Weak to its sister node.

(5)
```
                IPs
              /     \
           DPw        I's
           Max      /     \
                  Iw        VPs
                          /     \
                        Vw       DPs
                        read    /    \
                              Dw       Ns
                              the     books
```
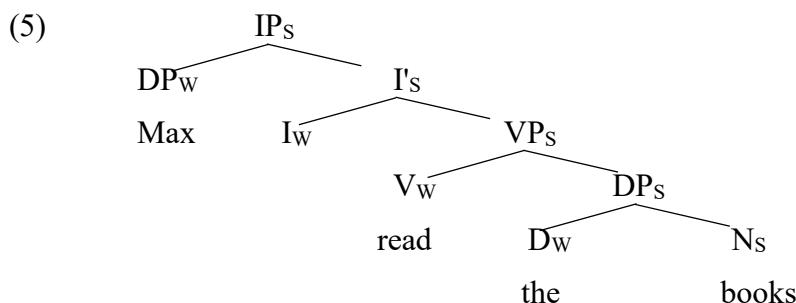
(6)　　Set Strong: Assign S(trong) to a set and W(eak) to a terminal when they are merged.

(7)　a.　　[[$_W$ eat] [$_S$ good fóod]]

　　b.　　[[$_S$ kítchen towel] [$_W$ rack]]

(8)　a.　[[$_W$ good] {$_S$ food}]

　　b.　[{$_S$ kitchen} [$_W$ towel]]

(9)　a.　[$_{DP1}$ [$_{DP2}$ The [man [from {Philadelphia}]]] [$_{D'1}$'s {$_N$ hát}]]

　　b.　[$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ The [man [from {Philadelphia}]]] [$_{T'}$ will [$_{VP}$ meet {Máry}]]]

３．語強勢

３.１．語幹と接辞

(10)

		'unalterability'
		'unalterable'
		'alterable'
		'alter'
		'other'

on-　ver-　{ánder}　-lijk　-heid

un-　en-　other　-able　-ity
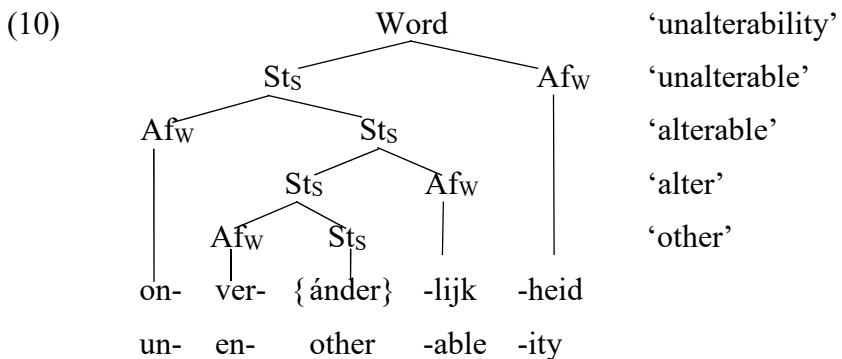
(11)　　a.　　　　Japán > Japan-ése

　　　　b.　　　　emplóy > employ-ée

３.２．拘束形態素

(12)　a.　　[re- {plý}]　(again-fold (Latin))　(verb/noun)

　　b.　　[re- {pórt}]　(back-carry (Latin))　(verb/noun)

　　c.　　[sub {mít}]　(under-send (French))　(verb, cf. noun: *submíssion*)

(13)　a.　　[$_N$ ré- {cord}]　←　[$_V$ re- {córd}]　(back- heart (Latin))

　　b.　　[$_N$ ím- {port}]　←　[$_V$ im- {pórt}]　(in- carry (Latin))

(14)　a.　　[$_V$ re- {córd}]　(back- heart (L))　→ [$_N$ re-cord] → [$_N$ ré-cord]

　　b.　　[$_V$ im- {pórt}]　(in- carry (Lt))　→ [$_N$ im-port]] → [$_N$ ím-port]

４．形態素内の強勢

４．１．依存部強勢（Nasukawa and Backley 2015）

(15) a.
```
              PP
           ／    ＼
         P        DP
         │      ／   ＼
         │     D      NP
         │     │      │
         │     │      N
         │     │      │
        in    the   gárden
         H     H      D
```
b.
```
            Ft
          ／  ＼
         σ     σ
         │     │
        wɔ:    tə    'water'
         D     H
```

(16) a. [{σS wɔ:} [σW tə]]
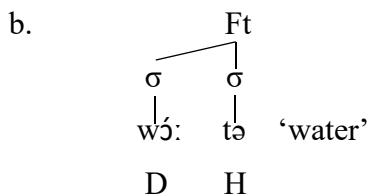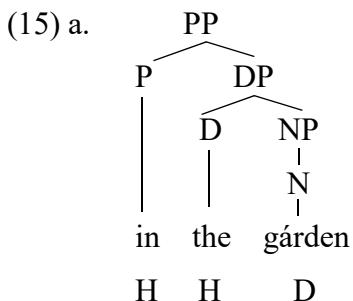
      b. [[σW wɔ:] {σS tə}]

４．２．重音節

(17) Weight factors in weight-sensitive stress systems (Goedemans and van der Hulst 2005c)

  a. Long vowels or closed syllables make heavy [35]

     Hopi (Uto-Aztecan; Arizona): If the first syllable is light, stress falls on the second: *hoˈnani* 'badger', but if the first is heavy, it is stressed: *ˈsipmasmi* 'silver bracelet', *ˈnaatɪhota* 'to hurt oneself'.

  b. Long vowels make heavy [65]

     Iraqw (Southern Cushitic, Tanzania): *baˈʔeeso* 'bushbucks' vs. *ˈwawitmo* 'king' (the closed syllable does not draw stress onto itself)

  c. Coda consonants make heavy (mostly languages that have no long vowels) [18]

     Amele (Madang, Papua New Guinea): stress falls on the first heavy syllable *itiˈtom* 'righteous' or the first syllable *ˈnifula* 'kind of beetle'

 d. prominence (other factors are heavy for stress) [41]

  e. lexical (lexical stress, diacritic weight) [38]

 f. Combined (two of the above factors determine weight) [42]

  g. No weight (fixed stress), or weight factor unknown [261]

   Initial, second, third, antepenultimate, penultimate, ultimate

(18) light syllable (σ)

```
         σ
        ／ ＼
       C    V
       │    │
       c    v
```
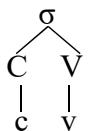
(19) a. heavy syllable with long vowel (Σ) b. heavy syllable with coda C (Σ)
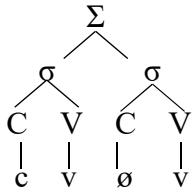
```
          Σ                              Σ
        /   \                          /   \
      σ       σ                      σ       σ
     / \     / \                    / \     / \
    C   V   C   V                  C   V   C   V
    |   |   |   |                  |   |   |   |
    c   v   ø   v                  c   v   c   ø
```

(20) a.

```
                    ω
                  /   \
                       Fts
                      /   \
                    Σs     \
                 /  |  |  \  \
              σw   σ    σ    σw
             / \  / \  / \  / \
            C  V C  V C  V C  V
            |  | |  | |  | |  |
            ø  ə r  ɪ ø  : n  ə
```

b.

```
                    ω
                  /   \
                       Fts
                      /   \
                    Σs     \
                 /  |  |  \  \
              σw   σ    σ    σw
             / \  / \  / \  / \
            C  V C  V C  V C  V
            |  | |  | |  | |  |
            v  ə r  æ n  ø d  ə
```
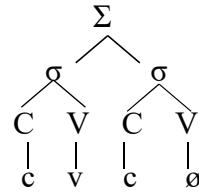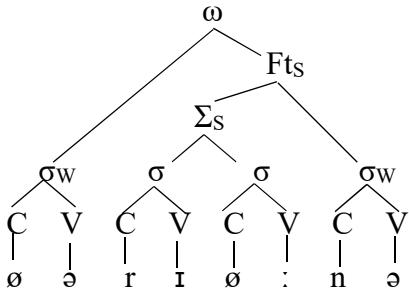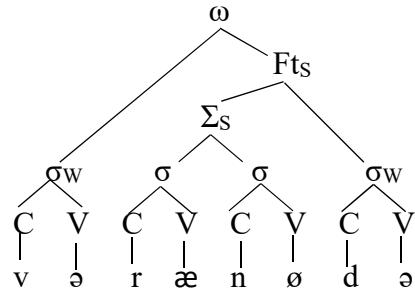
(21) a. "heavy" σ with a long V (light σ) b. "heavy" σ with a coda C (light σ)

```
          σ                              σ
        /   \                          /   \
       /     V                        /     R
      /     / \                      /     / \
     C    V    V                    C    V    C
     |    |    |                    |    |    |
     c    v    :                    c    v    c
```
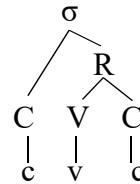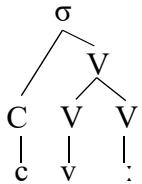
(22) a. Long vowels or closed syllables make heavy [35]: (19a), (19b)

b. Long vowels make heavy [65]: (19a), (21b)

c. Coda consonants make heavy (no long V) [18]: (21a), (19b)

d. prominence (other factors are heavy for stress) [41]

e. lexical (lexical stress, diacritic weight) [38]

f. Combined (two of the above factors determine weight) [42]

g. No weight (fixed stress), or weight factor unknown [261]: (21a), (21b)

(23) Weight criteria and stress (Gordon 2006: 52, Gordon 2016: 186)

a. CVV(C) or CVC heavy [42]

b. CVV(C) heavy [35]

c. Full V heavy [12]

d. CVV(C) or CVR heavy [4]

e. CVC or Full V heavy [5]

f. Low V heavy [2]

g. Non-high V heavy [1]

h. Full V or CVR heavy [1]

## ４.３. 固定強勢

(24) a.

```
            ω
          /   \
        Fts    σw
       /   \
    {σ}s    σw
```

b.

```
            ω
          /   \
        σw     Fts
              /   \
            σw    {σ}s
```

(25) a.

```
                        XP
                      /    \
              Wd/Cmpnds    Wdw
               /    \
             ωs      ωw
            /  \
          Fts   σw
         /   \
      {σ}s    σw
```

b.

```
                    XP
                  /    \
               Wdw    Wd/Cmpnds
                      /    \
                    ωw      ωs
                           /  \
                         σw    Fts
                              /   \
                            σw    {σ}s
```
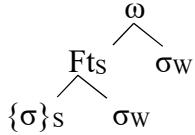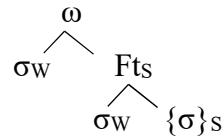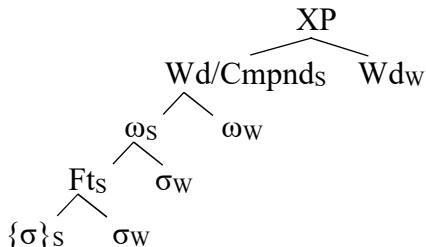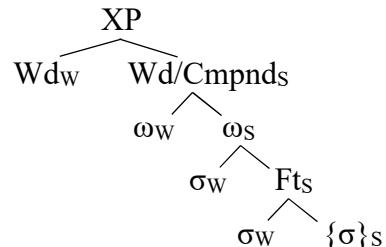
(26) Fixed stress locations (Goedemans and van der Hulst 2005a)

a.	Initial [92]	d.	Antepenultimate [12]
b.	Second [16]	e.	Penultimate [110]
c.	Third [1]	f.	Ultimate [51]

(27)

```
            ω
          /   \
        σw     Fts
              /   \
           {σ}s    σw
```

４.４. 語強勢、複合語強勢、句強勢、第２強勢

(28) a.

```
             VP
           /    \
          Vw     Cmpnds
         /  \    /    \
       Σs  σw   Ns     Nw
            /  \       |
          Σs   σw
       vis- it  Dis- ney  land
```

b.

```
              ω
            /    \
          Ftw     Fts
         /  \    /    \
       Σs  σw  Fts     σw
              /  \     |
            Σs   σw
       top  i  cal  i   ty
```
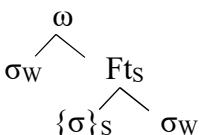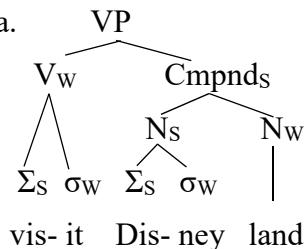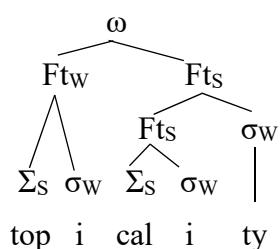
５. 結論

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