

# Get-受動態の統語的ステータス:Smuggling 分析と事象構造分析の統合アプローチ

鈴木彪真, 木村一馬  
(青山学院大学大学院, バルセロナ自治大学)

## はじめに

### Get-受動態と Be-受動態の統語構造

- (1) a. They were not arrested./\*They got not arrested.  
b. They were arrested, weren't they?/\*They got arrested, gotn't they?  
c. Were they arrested?/\*Got they arrested? (Fleisher 2008:2-4)

### ▶ Implicite argument

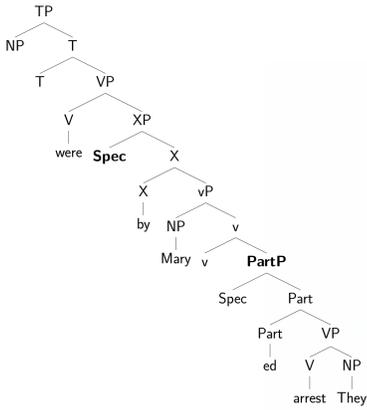
- (2) a. The ship was sunk [PRO to collect insurance money].  
b. \*The ship got sunk [PRO to collect insurance money].
- (3) a. The book was torn on purpose.  
b. \*The book got torn on purpose. (Fox and Grodzinsky 1998:327)

## Smuggling を仮定した Be-受動態の分析

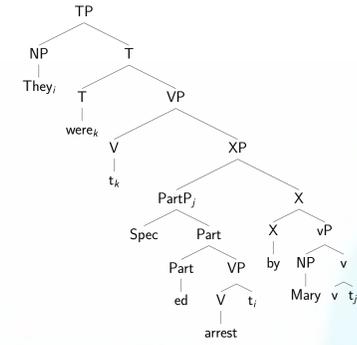
### Smuggling: 最大投射単位で移動した要素の中からさらに要素を抜き出す移動

- (4) They were arrested by Mary.

### (5) 移動前



### 移動後



### Smuggling 分析を用いた背景

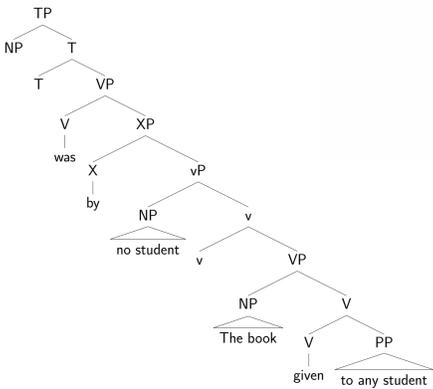
- (6) The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH): Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure. (Baker 1988:57)

- (7) Minimal Link Condition:  
K attracts A only if there is no B, B closer to K than A, such that K attracts B. (Chomsky 1995:285)

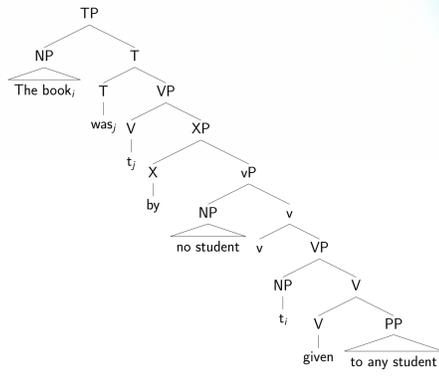
### 外項は表層主語の基底生成位置を c-command している

- (8) a. The book was given by no student to any professor.  
b. The book was given by each professor to the other. (Collins 2024:113)

### (9) 移動前



### 移動後



## Get-受動態における implicit argument の存在

### Get-受動態においては表層主語が PRO のコントローラーとして選択されやすい

- (10) a. Mary was promoted by her project manager.  
b. Mary got promoted by her project manager. (Biggs and Embick 2022:34-35)

### コンテキストによる影響

- (11) Mary got arrested by the police.  
Context: We are watching Mary standing on a corner, minding her own business.  
→ Oh wow, did you see that, Mary just got arrested by the police. (Biggs and Embick 2022:34)

### Get-受動態文でもコンテキストを操作すると implicit argument が PRO のコントローラーとして選択される

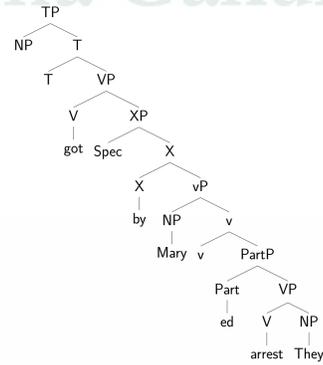
- (12) Q: Did they sink the ship to scare the workers?  
A: No, the ship got sunk [PRO to collect the insurance money]. (Biggs and Embick 2022:39)

## 提案・分析

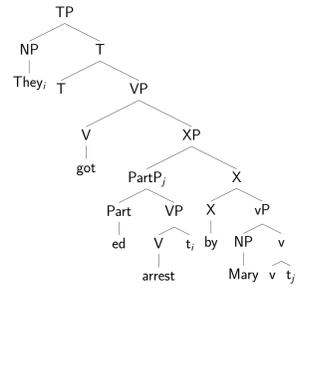
- (13) They got arrested by Mary.

### Smuggling を仮定した get-受動態の統語構造

### (14) 移動前



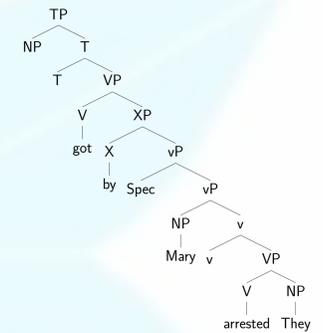
### 移動後



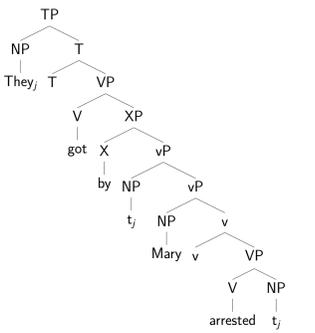
### leapflogging を仮定した get-受動態の統語構造

### ▶ このアプローチでは受動態の語順を導き出せない

### (15) 移動前



### 移動後

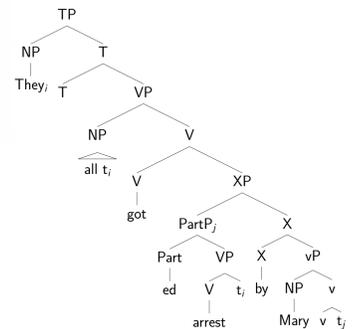
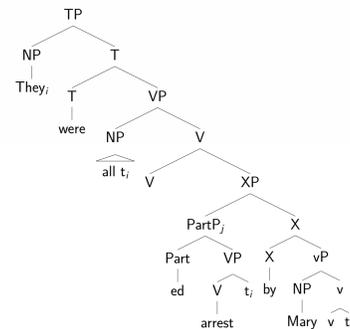


### 遊離数量詞の分布

- ▶ (1) にあるように be 動詞は T に主要部移動するが、get は T に主要部移動しないため (15) にあるようなコントラストが現れる

- (16) a. \*They got all arrested by Mary.  
b. They were all arrested by Mary.  
c. They did all get arrested by Mary.  
d. \*They all were arrested by Mary. (Fleisher 2008:2-4)

### (17)



## 帰結

- ▶ Get-受動態にも Be-受動態同様に implicit argument が存在するのであれば、Smuggling の移動による分析が可能である。  
▶ 受動態において表層主語は VP の指定部を通して TP の指定部に移動している。  
▶ Smuggling 移動が受動文の成立条件である可能性を示唆している。

## 参考文献

- Baker, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. The University of Chicago Press.  
Biggs, Alison and David Embick. 2022. On the event-structural properties of the English get-passive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 53(2):211–254.  
Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. The MIT Press.  
Collins, Chris. 2024. *Principles of Argument Structure: A Merge-Based Approach*. The MIT Press.  
Fleisher, Nicholas. 2008. Passive get, causative get, and the phasehood of passive vp. *Proceedings of Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*.  
Fox, Danny and Yosef Grodzinsky. 1998. Children's passive: A view from the by-phrase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29(2):311–332.