動名詞の連体用法「VN / N」の使用実態と成立条件 —中国人日本語学習者の使用状況から—

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「スル」を伴って動詞化する名詞は動名詞 (VN) と呼ばれている。VN は連体修飾語になる際に, 論理的には「VN ノ N」と「VN スル/シタ N」の二種の構造が取れるはずである。しかし,「後退 {*の/する}経済」の例からも分かるように,常に二種の構造が取れるとは限らない。中国語は連体修飾の場合に名詞・動詞のどちらも,一括して"的"を用いるため,中国人学習者は「*後退の経済」のような誤用を生み出しやすい。本稿では,連体節構造の分類方法の一つを「VN ノ N」に適用し,「内の関係」(意味的な格関係が想定可能:*後退の経済)と「外の関係」(意味的な格関係が想定不可:離婚の話)に分類した。これにより,外の関係の「VN ノ N」は一般に成立可能であり,内の関係の「VN ノ N」は極めて特殊な場合を除き,成立不可であると判断でき,「VN ノ N」の成立可否において指針となる基準を得られた。

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The Usage of Modifying Noun *VN no N* and the Conditions for Its Validity: From the Perspective of Its Usage by Chinese Learners of Japanese Language

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The type of noun that can function as a verb after being combined with suru 'do' is defined as Verbal Noun (VN for short). When using VN for modifying, there are usually two types of constructions, namely VN no N and VN suru/shita N. However, the case of $k\bar{o}tai$ (*no/suru) keizai 'slumping economy' shows that these two constructions are not always valid. In Chinese, to use a noun or a verb as modifier, you just need to add the structural particle de behind it. For this reason, Japanese learners from China are prone to such errors as * $k\bar{o}tai$ * no* keizai. This paper applies an approach to categorize adnominal modification relations to the study of VN* no* N, thereby dividing the relations between the VN and N into two types, namely "inner relation" (a semantic case relationship can be assumed: * $k\bar{o}tai$ * no* keizai*) and "outer relation" (a semantic case relationship cannot be assumed: *rikon* no* hanashi* 'the matter of divorce'). This paper draws the conclusion that the construction VN* no* N* featuring an outer relation is generally valid, but the construction VN* no* N* featuring an inner relation is not valid except for extremely special cases. Finally, the author proceeds to establish the indicative criteria for the validity of the construction VN* no* N*.

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