名物化、**C-T** 繼承理論以及移位的不對稱性

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在許多南島語言中動詞與主語之間有一種獨特的一致關係（所謂的「焦點系統」），動詞上的詞綴表示句中哪一個論元帶主格。此外，該一致關係亦可見於關係子句，表示哪一個論元充當中心語，因為只有帶主格的名詞詞組才能夠透過移位而成為關係子句的中心語。無獨有偶，同樣的一致關係也出現在一些非南島語言（如阿爾泰語言 （Altaic）、藏緬語言 （Tibeto-Burman）、猶他-阿茲特克語言 （Uto-Aztecan）等）中的名物化關係子句。本文採取生成語法的 C-T 繼承理論的角度，對這兩種一致的現象進行分析，提出 C 與 T 不分開時，只有主語（或主事）才能夠與 C-T 建立一致關係而獲得主格或移位到 CP 的指定語。為了讓其他論元與 C 建立一致的關係，C-T 必須具備兩個格位特徵，因而 C 與 T 強制分開，主語由 T 分配格位，因此賓語能夠與 C 建立一致關係並獲得主格而移位到 [Spec, CP]。在阿爾泰、猶他-阿茲特克等語言中，提供第二個格位（即屬格）的句法環境是名物化小句，因此賓語充當中心語的關係子句皆為名物化的小句。有趣的是，在南島語言中給主語提供屬格的構式（與主語以外的成分建立一致關係的「非主事焦點」句型）的歷史來源亦是名物化小句（帥德樂等 1981）。

Nominalization, C-T Inheritance, and Extraction Asymmetries

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Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan and the Philippines exhibit a type of concord between verbal morphology and the NP with nominative case, i.e. the so-called "voice system". The morphological pattern is also mirrored in dislocation, since only the nominative NP with can undergo movement operations such as relativization. Interestingly, a similar concord pattern is found in a number of other unrelated languages, for instance Altaic, Tibeto-Burman, Uto-Aztecan, and Quechuan languages, but in these languages the pattern surfaces only within nominalized relative clauses. In this case, the morphological concord signals which argument is the head of the relative clause. This presentation pursues a unified analysis of these two types of concord within the framework of C-T Inheritance in the Minimalist Program. Specifically, I argue that the parameter defining this pattern is the lack of C-T Inheritance in default declarative clause types. Thus, nominative case is valued by C in all of these languages, and subjects (i.e. the highest NP in the argument structure) value their case with an unsplit C-T. Consequently, a non-subject is blocked from undergoing movement when the subject has nominative case. A non-subject can only dislocate when C-T enters the derivation with a second case feature. This feature forces C and T to split, with the result that the subject values this case with T, while the object enters into Agree with C, either to value nominative case or to undergo movement to the specifier of CP. Given that the extra case feature is what forces C and T to split, non-subject movement is found in nominalized clauses in the non-Austronesian languages, where genitive case is available for the subject. In the Austronesian languages, it is "non-actor voice" clause types where the subject values genitive case, leaving nominative case for a non-subject and allowing this lower argument to move to [Spec, CP]. Given the parallel behavior between Austronesian NAV and non-Austronesian nominalization, it is not surprising that NAV clause types also derive historically from nominalizations, as first proposed by Starosta et al. (1981).