

論文の英文要旨

論文題目 La particella *pa* nelle varietà del ladino dolomitico con particolare attenzione al Fassano
(The particle *pa* in the varieties of Dolomitic Ladin with particular attention to Fascian)

氏名 Atsushi Dohi

Abstract

The present dissertation focuses on the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of the particle *pa* (and its phonetic variant *po*) in the varieties of Dolomitic Ladin, with particular attention to its use in the dialects spoken in the Fassa valley (Province of Trento, Trentino-Alto Adige). The particle has different characteristics and functions in the varieties examined: in Anpezo and Fodom, it conveys speaker's attitude towards the event described by the sentence and thus is a modal particle, whereas in Badiot and Gherdëina it functions as a mandatory interrogative marker. In Fascian, the particle does not have any apparent function, although it is highly frequent in interrogative sentences. To illustrate and analyze the various properties of the particle in the varieties examined, the thesis is organized into five sections. First two sections present general properties of modal particles (MP) and the hypotheses proposed on the structure in which they occur. Subsequently, last three sections describe and analyze the functions of the particle *pa/po* in the Ladin varieties. The sections are preceded by an introductory chapter and followed by a conclusive summary and two appendices. In the first section, the characteristics of MPs are described and previous studies are presented. Examples are taken mostly from German (*doch, denn*) and Italian (*mai, poi*), but also from Japanese (*shi*) and French (*alors*). Regarding the theoretical framework, the so-called split CP hypothesis by Rizzi (2001) that allows understanding the interaction between the modality conveyed by the particles and the syntactic structure of the sentence is adopted. In the second section, MPs in the regional Italian and dialects spoken in Northeast Italy (*ben, mica, lu, ti, mo, po*) are taken into consideration. These MPs are compared to Italian and German particles introduced in the first section. This comparison suggests the existence of three types of positions in which the particles can appear: initial, internal and final. The particles in the internal positions have undergone various grammaticalization processes that can involve the change of the syntactic position, while the particles that appear in the initial or final positions have evolved in a relatively simple way.

The third section focuses on the use of *pa* in the Ladin varieties. The MPs in Dolomitic Ladin are analyzed based on the hypotheses on the left periphery of the sentence developed in previous sections. In particular, the detailed description of the uses of *pa* in interrogative sentences suggests the existence of a grammaticalization process that turns a temporal adverb into an obligatory interrogative marker, with an intermediate phase that re-categorizes the adverb as a modal particle (as proposed by Hack 2011, 2014).

The fourth section examines the grammaticalization process of the particle *pa*, based on Hack's (2011, 2014) works. The diachronic data collected from *Corpus dl Ladin Leterar* are investigated to show the frequency and contexts in which the particle occurs in the Dolomitic Ladin varieties over time (XIX and XX centuries). The data highlight various grammaticalization processes that are found in different varieties of Dolomitic Ladin. In this perspective, the unitary grammaticalization process assumed in previous studies no longer stands. Instead, different processes that take into account factors peculiar to each variety need to be presupposed.

The fifth section concentrates on Fascian, which was previously supposed to represent a variety of transition since it is the only one in which the particle has lost the modal value, yet has not acquired the mandatory usage. To describe in detail the use of *pa* in Fascian, two investigations were conducted. The first involved 75 students from various locations in the valley, while the second involved 27 speakers of different ages and localities. The analysis of the collected data shows that the use of the particle is influenced by three factors: diatopic variation, the linguistic standardization in the 1980s, and school education of Ladin language. The complexity of the use of the particle in this variety is interpreted following the hypothesis put forward by Benincà & Damonte (2009): the omission of the particle is due to the free choice between *pa* and an element without phonetic form. Moreover, in some of the Fascian sub-varieties, schooling has given rise to an intra-individual normative variety in which interrogative sentence the particle is strongly preferred.

In conclusion, the work shows the diachronic evolution of the particle *pa*, which has its origin in the temporal adverb, then develops its use as a modal particle and finally becomes an interrogative marker. Based on the split CP hypothesis, this development is interpreted as a change of the way the particle interacts with the highest field of the left periphery (ForceP), where sentence type and illocutionary force are coded. The present study on the particle *pa*, therefore, falls into the framework of studies aimed at describing the structure and properties of the left periphery of the sentence, and contributes with new data to the discussion on the relationship between "discourse" and "syntax".