

Sheila Chevallier

**First Steps  
to Linguistics**

Notes by

M. Yoshioka & J. Ito

**SANSHUSHA**

## は し が き

言語学は、一般にはなじみのうすい分野ではあるが、教材として選ばれる文芸作品や、社会批評を、正確に理解する為にも、又ことばに対する教養を深める意味でも、言語学の知識は決して無駄にはならない。事実、書店の店頭のことばの起源や意味を扱った本が数多く並び、新聞や雑誌に、方言やことばの話し方に関するコラムが連載されることもめずらしくない。このことから、一般の人々のことばに対する関心と興味が極めて強いことがわかる。しかしそれらの関心が、単語や表現といった、表面的現象にとどまって、言語のより本質的な側面にまで到達し得ない場合が多いのは、これまで、これらの問題を扱ったものが専門的すぎて、一般向きの教科書が少なかったことによるのではなからうか。その意味でも、「幼児が短期間にことばを話すようになるのはなぜか」、「人間すべてに生まれながらに与えられている言語能力とはどういうものなのか」、「現実の場で話されることばと言語能力とは異なるのか」など極めて興味深い諸問題を「人間のことばの習得は経験的過程によるよりも、むしろ、生来与えられている言語能力による」という立場から、平易に説きおこした本書は、言語学の分野に進もうとする学生の為の教科書としてのみならず、一般教養書として、一読に値する書といえよう。

本書は11章から構成されている。第1章においては「母国語の習得はいかにしてなされるか」、そして第2章においては英語のルールをさぐり、第3章以下において、1957年ノーム・チョムスキーによって提唱された生成変形文法の線に沿った、英語の文構造に関する分析がなされている。

言語学書は普通、歴史的に言語を考察する通時言語学か、ある時代の言語を横割りにして研究する共時言語学のどちらかに片寄りがちで、言語学の全体像を把握しにくいきらいがあったが、本書は平易な中にも、それら両分野をバランスよく取り扱っており、言語学を概観するには、適当な読みものといえよう。本書を読破することにより、言語学についての基礎的な知識を習得すると同時に、英語の読書力を養うことができるとすれば、一石二鳥である。

注をつけるに当って、本文の説明が不十分であると思われるものについては、なるべくわかりやすく、専門語を避けて説明することにつとめ、又本文に出てこない例や言語資料も、附加するよう配慮した。理論背景の説明も加えたが、これだけでは決して充分とはいえない。この本が今後、ことばについてより深い興味をもつための第一歩となることを期待する。

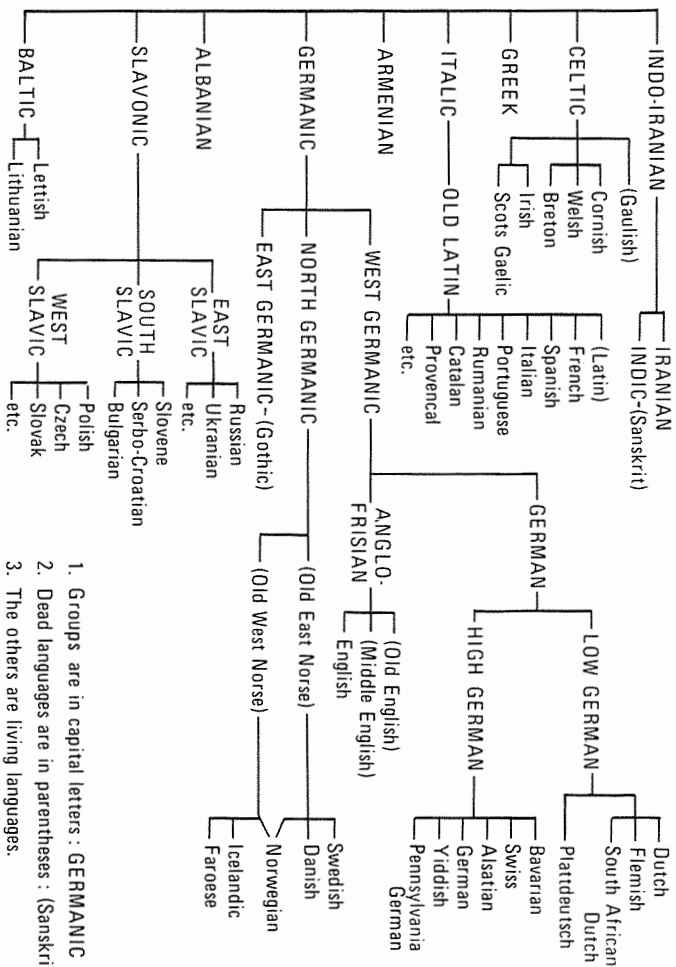
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吉岡元子 伊藤順子

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# INDO EUROPEAN LANGUAGES



1. Groups are in capital letters : GERMANIC
2. Dead languages are in parentheses : (Sanskrit)
3. The others are living languages.

## I

### DID YOU EVER THINK ABOUT HOW YOU LEARNED YOUR LANGUAGE?

Did you ever think about how you learned your language? How you began to speak? And how you understand your language?

Let's imagine a baby, a very young baby, who cannot speak or understand. We'll call her Eve. Eve makes 5 noises: she cries when she's hungry or unhappy, or if something hurts her. She indicates pleasure by other noises when she is content. But between Eve's world of noises and our world of people who speak, there is a world of difference. How does Eve and how did you 10 pass from the first world to the second? What does «acquisition of language» mean?

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EXERCISE: Before you continue to read, try to answer these questions: How did you pass from the world of not speaking to the world of speaking? What does 15 «acquisition» mean? The verb is «to acquire».

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Try to think about the babies in your family or that you know. At about 1.5 years of age (but the age can vary a lot among children), Eve begins to say some things. Usually her utterances (what she says; it  
5 can be one word or a group of words,) are words or imitations of sounds that she hears around her. They are also easy to pronounce: Mama, Dada, tic toc (of the clock), bow-wow (of the dog). But isn't it curious and lucky that a French baby speaks French, an  
10 American baby speaks English, and a Chinese baby speaks Chinese?

Maybe you're thinking that it's not really curious. It's completely normal. Because Eve is imitating or repeating the sounds and words she hears around her.  
15 A Chinese baby doesn't hear the French words for mother and father. He or she hears Chinese, and the first words are Chinese. A French baby surely doesn't say «Dada», but «Papa».

Now Eve is two years old. She is saying many words.  
20 But when she says a word, it can have one or another meaning, depending on the context. For example, Eve says «banana» when she sees bananas in the fruit bowl. And she says «banana» when there are no bananas in the bowl but when she wants one. Very rapidly, Eve  
25 begins joining two words. Her 2-word utterances also have many different meanings. When she is about three years old, her utterances are longer, and soon she is

really speaking. But she says such funny things sometimes. Her parents and brothers and sisters laugh and laugh at some of the things she says. They often repeat these things to other people. Why are they so funny? Is it because they're original? She selects words and joins 5 them in an original way. And her ideas are often different and surprising. Surprising because of the ideas and the words used to express them. «Where did Eve learn that?» «I never said anything like that in Eve's presence.» These are common comments about 10 children's utterances. They express surprise at the originality of Eve's language. When we say «original», we mean that the precise words in the precise order form a new, original sentence. Eve never heard it before and we never heard it before. 15

This ability of Eve and every child to speak is a specifically human characteristic. Only human beings seem to have this creative ability to make an infinite number of sentences. Infinite: there is no limit (except time and memory) to the number of original sentences 20 a person can make. But the number of sounds and the words used to make the sentences are finite. The sounds composing the words are limited. A person can produce a limited number of sounds with his nose, mouth, lips, tongue, teeth, throat, and vocal chords. All the 25 sounds of all the languages in the world are made with these parts of the body. There are many different



sounds, but their number is limited. The combinations of these sounds produce thousands of words, but not an infinite number. We cannot arbitrarily put sounds together and make a word. People will not understand  
5 it. «Boy» is a word in English, a combination of sounds we recognize and know. Everyone who speaks English understands «boy». «Byo» is a combination of sounds, but it is not a word in English.

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EXERCISE: In language, what is infinite and what is  
10 finite? What parts of the body contribute to forming the sounds of language?

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But to return to Eve, if she says sentences that you never heard and her parents never said, how and where and when did she learn them? The answers to these  
15 questions are not easy. And they are not completely known by the people who study them, the linguists and psycholinguists.

We said that Eve can produce an infinite number of sentences. Some things she says we have never heard.  
20 And she says them correctly. We can understand. But when *we* speak, do we speak perfectly? Are our sentences perfectly formed and perfectly spoken, from the first word to the last? Think about it. When we speak,

we usually do it spontaneously. Our ideas are not always clear in our minds. Many ideas and thoughts come into our minds. Sometimes we try to say too many things at the same time. Or, on the contrary, sometimes we hesitate and «look» for the right word, beginning one word and stopping, beginning another word, maybe continuing, maybe not. Sometimes we change our idea in the middle of the sentence. 5

In fact, we rarely speak perfectly formed and pronounced sentences. But we have the knowledge that permits us to do that. In linguistics (the study of language), the knowledge that we have of how to speak and understand our language is called linguistic COMPETENCE. The study of the way we really speak, with hesitations, false beginnings, «errors» of grammar, etc.—the examples you are finding for the exercise—is called the study of PERFORMANCE. 15

It is your performance and mine in speaking our language that Eve as a child observes. We don't hear perfect sentences, but we understand. And before Eve was able to speak, she seemed to understand the complicated and imperfect sentences of her parents. 20

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EXERCISE: What is the difference between *competence* and *performance*?

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Now Eve is four. She speaks quite well. She makes errors, but we understand her. For example, she says «John taked the ball.» (We say: «John took the ball.») Her errors are generally superficial. They do not affect  
5 the meaning of the sentence. We understand the sentences completely. And the errors do not usually affect the basic order of words in the sentence. Her grammar — how Eve constructs her sentences — permits her to express the deep or basic structure of the  
10 sentence, that is, the idea. We know that the idea is John/take/ball. Eve would never say «John the taked ball», and if she did, we would not understand her. She already «knows» the grammar of her language.

All children in all countries are born with the  
15 capacity to learn language. The capacity to learn language in general, not one specific language. We learn «our» language because we are born in a specific country and our parents speak that language. Some children are lucky to be born in one country and have  
20 parents who speak a different language. For example, Katy and Jeff Kline are American. They live and work in France and speak French very well. Their son, Ethan, hears English from his parents and French from other people. He will probably learn both French  
25 and English and very easily. A French child, a Chinese child, an American child, etc. begins speaking French, Chinese, English, etc. He or she expresses many ideas

and grammatical relations in one and then two words and gradually builds up his or her language: more words and more grammar. The deep structure, or the general, basic form of their beginning, simple utterances, develops into more varied and complicated sentences<sup>5</sup> and utterances, more and more similar to adult language. We will talk much more about deep structure in the rest of the book.

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EXERCISE: Which sentences have superficial errors? What are these errors? Which sentences are not English?<sup>10</sup> Correct all the sentences.

1. Why you smiling?
2. Susan be in bath.
3. Ball that don't throw.
4. What dinosaur do eat?
5. Some I chocolate need.

## II

### THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE GROUP

We have been talking about language in general. Let's now talk about the common origin of French and English and many other languages.

Indo-European is the name given to one very big  
5 group of languages, the one that French and English  
belong to. There is no place or country called Indo-  
Europe. But the people who have studied the origins of  
our languages—grammarians, historians, anthropologists,  
linguists—have used the name Indo-European to des-  
10 ignate the hypothetical source of most of the languages  
of Europe, of countries colonized by Europeans, and of  
other regions. This Indo-European source was probably  
somewhere in Asia, but this is not absolutely sure. In  
any case, people from that region probably migrated to  
15 India and Persia (Iran) in pre-historic times. The mi-  
grations extended over thousands of years.

Many thousands of other languages exist in the world  
that do not belong to the Indo-European group. Chinese,  
Turkish, Hungarian, Finnish, Navajo, Eskimo are some  
20 of these. The Basque language, spoken in France and  
Spain, does not seem to be related to any living lan-  
guage.

Before, but particularly during, the eighteenth century, there was a lot of interest in language in general and in specific languages. People were studying and investigating dead languages, those not spoken by people at that time. One very important dead language is Sanskrit which had been spoken in India 1000 years before Jesus Christ. Shortly before 1800, it was noticed that there were many similarities between Sanskrit and other more familiar languages, such as those from Europe, including Latin, Greek, and Russian.

This discovery was the beginning of many, many studies of individual languages. And comparative studies of the languages, their sounds, words, resemblances, and differences were made.

In comparing these languages, evident similarities were found in words, for example those expressing familiar relationships and numbers. These related words are called cognates.

<i>English</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>
three	drie	drei	trois
seven	zeven	sieben	sept
me	mij	mich	moi
mother	moeder	mutter	mère
brother	broeder	bruder	frère

<i>Celtic</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>
tri	tres	treis	tri
secht	septem	hepta	sapta
me	me	me	me
5 mathair	mater	meter	matar
brathair	frater	phrater	bhratar

There were two principal things that characterized languages which belonged to the Indo-European group. One characteristic was the similarity of many words, the cognates or a common word-stock. The other  
 10 characteristic was inflection. Inflection means the changing or modifying of the forms of words to indicate grammatical relationships. For example, we add *-s* to nouns to form the plural, in both French and English:  
 15 «ball, balls». Or we add *-d* to verbs in English to form the past tense: «love, loved».

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EXERCISE: Think of other inflectional changes (for example, *-s* for plural, *-d* for past tense) in the forms of words in English. Give examples and say what the  
 20 changes do.

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As the similarities, differences, and changes among the languages were better known, smaller or sub-groups

were found. Look at the English verb «drink»:

GERMANIC	ROMANCE	SLAVIC
<i>English</i> drink	<i>French</i> boire	<i>Russian</i> pit'
<i>German</i> trinken	<i>Italian</i> bere	<i>Polish</i> pic'
<i>Dutch</i> drinken	<i>Spanish</i> beber	<i>Bohemian</i> piti 5
<i>Danish</i> drikke		<i>Serbian</i> piti
<i>Swedish</i> dricka		

French and English are related but they belong to two different sub-groups. English and all the other members of the Germanic sub-family give the same 10 evidence of a pre-historic change in consonants. This very general change, called Grimm's law, is one of the things that makes the Germanic languages different from the Romance ones. All the Romance languages come from Latin. French, Italian, Spanish, and the 15 others in that group often resemble Latin and Sanskrit more than the Germanic languages do, because of that consonant change. For instance, the word for «two» (2) begins in English with a «t» but in French as in Latin and Sanskrit, it begins with a «d». 20

<i>English</i>	<i>French</i>
two	deux
ten	dix
tooth	dent

Furthermore, French and English have a lot of words 25 which are the same in both languages because they



were borrowed from one language into another: «action, voyage, direction,» and thousands of other words were borrowed from French into English. The borrowing began after the Norman French conquered England in 5 1066 and has continued to the present. «Businessman, knock-out, football» are examples of words borrowed from English into French. The pronunciation is different for these words, but the spelling and the meaning are the same.

10 Then there are some words which look almost the same: «une balle, a ball»; «danse, dance»; «aider, aid»; «famille, family».

But some words are completely different: «une pierre, a stone»; «nager, to swim»; «garçon, boy or son»; «fille, 15 girl or daughter».

There are two explanations for why the same word is found in two languages. The first reason is that the word comes from a common origin. For example, of the cases given above, «deux» and «two» are the same 20 because of their common origin. Both were pronounced the same by speakers of Indo-European thousands of years ago.

The second reason for the same word in two languages comes from borrowing. We say a word is borrowed 25 when it comes into the language from another language, as in the examples above. In cases like «danse» and «dance», the French word was borrowed into English

in the Middle Ages.

How did languages descended from Indo-European come to be spoken in so many different places? Thousands of years ago, the speakers of the common Indo-European languages began to split apart. Probably the first Indo-Europeans to reach Britain were Celts. And there were probably other Celtic people in France and other regions of Europe. Other groups went to other parts of Europe, for example, the Romans in Italy, the Greeks in Greece, etc. The people of each region developed their own civilizations. As time passed, their languages became more and more different from each other. Sometimes there were contacts among the peoples, unfortunately, mostly because of wars. The Romans conquered Britain and brought some words of their language, along with customs, habits, tools, etc. So some Latin words were introduced into the Celtic languages. Germanic invaders then introduced their own language into Britain. Much later, there were other important exchanges with Europe and many more French words were introduced to the English language. This language, English, replaced Celtic in most of Britain. Some words were adopted into English from the Celtic languages, for example:

*whiskey*, *weird* (= «bizarre»), *dim* (= «obscure»).

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EXERCISES: Look at the chart which describes the Indo-European language development.

1. If you think of Indo-European as the mother, what is the relationship of French to Italian?
- 5 2. What is the relationship of English to Breton?
3. Can you find the Basque language? If you can't, why not?
4. Which of these languages are not Indo-European?

Albanian	Norwegian
Bulgarian	Portuguese
Hungarian	Turkish
Russian	Greek
Dutch	German
5. Which of these languages are not Germanic?

Gaelic	Irish
English	Yiddish
Sanskrit	Danish
Polish	Russian
Flemish	Basque

### III

## GRAMMAR

Grammar! What does «grammar» mean to you? Like the word «language», «grammar» is a familiar and accepted word. We don't often think about its meaning. There are many different types of grammars. Traditional English grammars were based on Latin and Greek. In the nineteenth century there were also comparative grammars which described, by classification, differences and similarities among languages. There were historical grammars which traced a language from its earliest writing to the present time. As a result of these different studies, especially in the eighteenth century, the Indo-European family was discovered.

In addition to the comparative and historical grammars of languages, there are grammars that describe the language as it is at present and particularly of exceptions and irregularities. They concentrate on how the language is different from other languages. One big contribution of modern grammar writers was to make their research and results more scientific. They tried to describe the languages scientifically, not emotionally.

A pedagogical grammar takes its information from the other types of grammars. It is used by teachers and

students to learn a language. A pedagogical grammar must be appropriate to the students using it. An English grammar for a French student and an English grammar for a Japanese person in Japan are quite different. A French grammar for French students is different from the one used at L'Alliance Française to teach non-French students, even though both of them are written in French.

Some of the pedagogical and other grammars tell you what you should say and what you should not say; what is «good» or approved English (or French or Russian, etc.) and what is not. This type of grammar is called «prescriptive». It prescribes what to do in speaking, just like a doctor prescribes medicine to make you well.

We have been talking about grammars—various types of descriptions of languages. Grammar has another, more general, meaning. And it is this meaning that is at the basis of the other meanings.

A grammar can be considered as a theory of a language. A grammar of English is a theory of English structure. The objective of a grammar is to describe a native person's knowledge of his or her own language. Your intuition about your language tells you if a sentence is correct or not. Even in English, your intuition is probably developing. You have acquired to some extent a theory of English structure, that is, a grammar.

## NOTES

### I Did you ever think about how you learned your language?

P. L.

- 1 12 **acquisition of language** 「言語習得」。経験主義の考え方に強く影響されて、子供の言語習得は、生後周囲で話されることばを聞いたり、教えられたりすることによってのみ行なわれると考えられていたが、1957年、アメリカの言語学者ノーム・チョムスキーが、*Syntactic Structures* を発表して以来それとは全く異なった理性主義の立場から、子供の言語習得が考えられるようになった。理性主義によると、すべての子供は生得概念 (innate ideas) を持って生まれてくる。チョムスキーは、更にこの考えを発展させて、すべての子供は、人種、能力にかかわらず「言語習得装置」(Language Acquisition Device 略して LAD) を生得的に備えており、周囲から言語資料が与えられると、LAD はその資料に内在する規則性についての理論、すなわち文法を発展させるように作られていると理論づけている。そして LAD には、人間言語の一般形式に関する情報や、言語構造を習得するための手順が含まれていると考える。LAD がその様な性能を持っているからこそ、子供はどんな言語でも、生後非常に短い期間に、それまで聞いたこともない文を用いて、おどろくべき複雑な内容を伝達し得るのである。もし言語習得が完全に後天的なものであるとしたら、子供の言語における、すばらしい創造性はどのように説明され得るか、と彼は経験主義的考え方に反論している。「生得概念」の有無をめぐる問題の明らかにするためにも、「言

語習得」の分野に於ける研究は、今後も続けられるであろう。

- 2 4 **utterances** 「発話」。一回に連続して話すことばのこと。発話は、Mama!などの呼びかけのように一つの単語から成っている場合もあり、たくさんの単語を配列して、長い文から成っている場合もある。
- 21 **depending on the context** contextとは通常「文脈」の意であるが、ここでは、発話の行なわれた時の状況や、周囲の状態などによって、単語の持つ意味が変わることを意味している。
- 3 11 **the originality of Eve's language** p.80の acquisition of language の項でも述べたが、周囲から豊富な言語資料が与えられると、子供は生得的に持っている言語能力を働かせて、言語に内在する規則性に従い、正しい文と、そうでない文とを区別する。更に、教えられたことも、聞いたこともない文を無限に創造していく。ここでは、Eve という子供の、このようなことばの創造性を意味している。
- 25 **vocal chords** [vókəl kɔ:dz] vocal cords と書く。「声帯」。声帯は二枚の唇のような筋肉から成っていて、普通の呼吸をしている時は声門は開いており、従って、声帯の振動は起らない。しかし、閉じている時、呼気が通過すると、声帯は振動して声 (voice) が生じる。このように、声帯の振動の有無により、有声音 (g, b, d, m, n など) と、無声音 (k, p, t, s など) の区別をする。
- 4 3 **We cannot arbitrarily put sounds together and make a word.** 'We cannot make a word by putting sounds together arbitrarily' と書きかえて理解するとよい。一つの単語が意味をなすためには、その単語を構成している個々の音が、どのように配列されているかが重要である。
- 17 **psycholinguists** 「心理言語学者」。これらの学者が研究する部門は psycholinguistics と呼ばれ、言語学者の立場から、言語行動 (verbal behavior) を研究する分野である。すなわち、

人間が情報をどのように受けとめ、どのように解釈するのか、その方法及び条件などを研究しようとするものである。心理学の一部門としての言語研究「言語心理学」(psychology of language)はこれより以前からあったが、心理言語学は、非常に新しい研究分野で1951年、コーネル大学の夏季講座で、Carroll, Osgood, Sebeok など言語学者と心理学者が一緒になって、この分野での研究の発端を作ったといわれている。現在ではその研究分野も拡大され、言語習得に関連して二ヶ国語使用 (bilingualism) の問題、言語知覚の問題、言語行動の神経生理学的問題なども、その研究対象とされている。

- 5 14 **COMPETENCE** 「言語能力」。前述のチョムスキーが1965年の *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* の第1章で linguistic competence 「言語能力」と linguistic performance 「言語運用」という二つの概念を明確に定義している。彼によると competence とはある言語に於て、その言語の正しい文を作り理解する能力を意味し、人間は誰でも母国語については、この能力を生まれながらにして備えていると考える。これに対して performance 「言語運用」とは、発話に際して、心理状態、注意力、その話題に対する関心などから生じる間違い、ためらい、省略などを含む現実の発話を意味する。従って、言語を研究の対象とする場合も、言語そのものの研究、すなわち linguistic competence の解明と、言語外要素を含めた言語資料の研究、すなわち linguistic performance の研究とを区別して考える必要があるとしている。1960年代初めまでのアメリカ構造言語学者たちは linguistic performance の研究に終始したが、これに反してチョムスキーは、本当の意味での人間言語の解明は linguistic competence を対象とすべきことを主張し、その解明を目指した変形生成文法を提唱している。本書はその変形生成文法の考え方に立って書かれている。前述のチョムスキーの著書は、難解な部分を含んでいるので、competence 及



び performance について理解しにくい場合は、Postal, P. M.(1968)“Epilogue”to R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum, *English Transformational Grammar* に於てやさしく説明されているので、参照されたい。Aspects は、「文法理論の諸相」(安井稔訳)と題して研究社より出版されている。

5 17 **PERFORMANCE** 前項参照。

- 6 8 **grammar** 「文法」というと一般には、文字通り文を作る法則を列挙したものであり、学校で習うものと考えられがちである。しかし、母国語を使う場合、そのような法則を意識しなくても自由にそのことばを駆使することができる。また反対に、外国語の文法規則を学んだだけでは決してそのことばを自由に使うことはできない。変形生成文法理論に於ては、「文法」という概念を、ある言語のいかなる文でも理解し、又、自ら作ることができるよう人間の能力の一部として捉えている。このような人間の言語能力を表わす文法モデルは、変形生成文法理論内でもいくつか提案されているが、本書の立場は前述の *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965) で提唱された標準理論 (Standard Theory) と呼ばれる文法モデルに基づいたものである。

「ことばを理解する」ということは実際には、どのようなことなのであろう。我々は、まったく知らないことばが話されているのを聞くと、それをただの「音」の連続としか捉えられない。つまり、その音の意味するところが理解できないので、「意味のない音」になってしまうのである。母国語や知っている言語が話されていれば、音の羅列であることには変わりないのに、「意味のある音」として理解できるのである。このことから、人間の言語能力を表わす文法とは、「音」と「意味」を関連させる仕組みでなくてはならない。標準理論では、「音」とその表わす「意味」、すなわち「音韻部門」(phonology) と「意味部門」(semantics) とをつなげる役割を果たすものとして、文を構成している要素がどのような関係にあるかを示す「統語部門」(syntax) を設定している。

これらの部門の仕組みや機能については、本書第三章以下で述べられている。

- 6 9 **the deep or basic structure of the sentence** 文中の意味関係をもっともよく表わしている構造、すなわち文の深層構造のこと。深層構造について詳しい説明は、p.89 Sentence Structure の項を参照されたい。
- 10 **idea** 文の中には、文法関係を表わす要素（冠詞、不定詞の to、従属節の that など）とその文の意味決定に不可欠な要素とがある。発話に於て、相手に伝えたいと思う意味内容のことをここでは idea と呼んでいる。
- 14 **born with the capacity to learn language** 「(子供は)生まれながらにして、言語を、(人間の言語である限り母国語として)習得する能力を持っている。」。ここでの capacity とは p.80 の acquisition of language の項で説明してある LAD のことである。
- 7 3 **deep structure** 「深層構造」。チョムスキーが人間の言語能力を説明する際に明確にした概念で Surface Structure 「表層構造」に対するものとしている。両事項に関しては、p.89 Sentence Structure の項、p.94 Transformations の項及び p.96 surface structure の項で、詳しく説明してあるので参照されたい。

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- 8 10 **hypothetical source** 「インドヨーロッパ語」という言語が、現在、実際にどこかで使われているというのではなく、又、過去に使われていたという証拠を示す文献も残っていない。しかし、そういう言語を祖語として仮定することによって、現存する諸言語の派生関係を明らかにできると考えられている。