

## 1. 提案

## 1.1. 動詞句削除の話題化移動分析

- (1)
- 動詞句削除の話題化移動分析
- (Funakoshi (2012), Johnson (2001); see also Aelbrecht and Haegeman (2012))

For a VP to elide, it must first topicalize. (Johnson (2001: 446))

- (2)
- 削除要素と話題化要素の並行性

- a. 削除要素は談話上既出の要素（前提要素）である。(Johnson (2001))

話題化要素は談話上既出の要素（前提要素）である。(Erteschik-Shir (2007))

- b. 削除は音韻部門における極度の音韻的弱化 / 音韻縮約の結果起こる。

(Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), Fox (2000), Tancredi (1992))

話題化要素は典型的に音韻的弱化を受ける。(Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006), Selkirk (2008))

## 1.2. Criterial Head Movement

- (3) a.
- $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Force } [_{\text{TopP}^*} \text{Top}^* [_{\text{FocP}} \text{Foc } [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Fin } ]]]]$
- (Maeda (2014))

- b.
- $[_{\text{AspP}} \text{Asp } [_{\text{TopP}^*} \text{Top}^* [_{\text{FocP}} \text{Foc } [_{\text{VoiceP}} \text{Voice } ]]]]$
- (Maeda (2012, 2014))

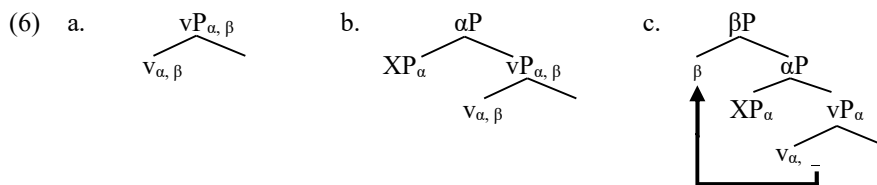
- (4)
- Criterial Head Movement
- (Maeda (2014))

フェーズ主要部が特定の素性を持つ要素と併合した後、フェーズ主要部の満たされていない素性が分離し Criterial Head Movement する。

- (5) The Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky (2013))

- (i) Suppose
- $SO = \{H, XP\}$
- , H a head and XP not a head. Then the Labeling Algorithm will select H as the label.

- (ii) Suppose
- $SO = \{XP, YP\}$
- , neither a head. In this case, the most prominent feature shared by X and Y (such as a
- $\phi$
- feature or a Q feature) becomes the label.

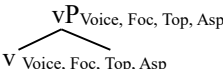


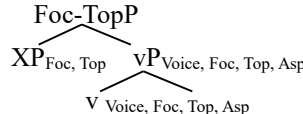
- (7) 対照主題

- a. A: Tell me about your brothers John and Bill.

B: JOHN is the smart one.

(Erteschik-Shir (2007: 48))

- b.
- 

- c.
- 

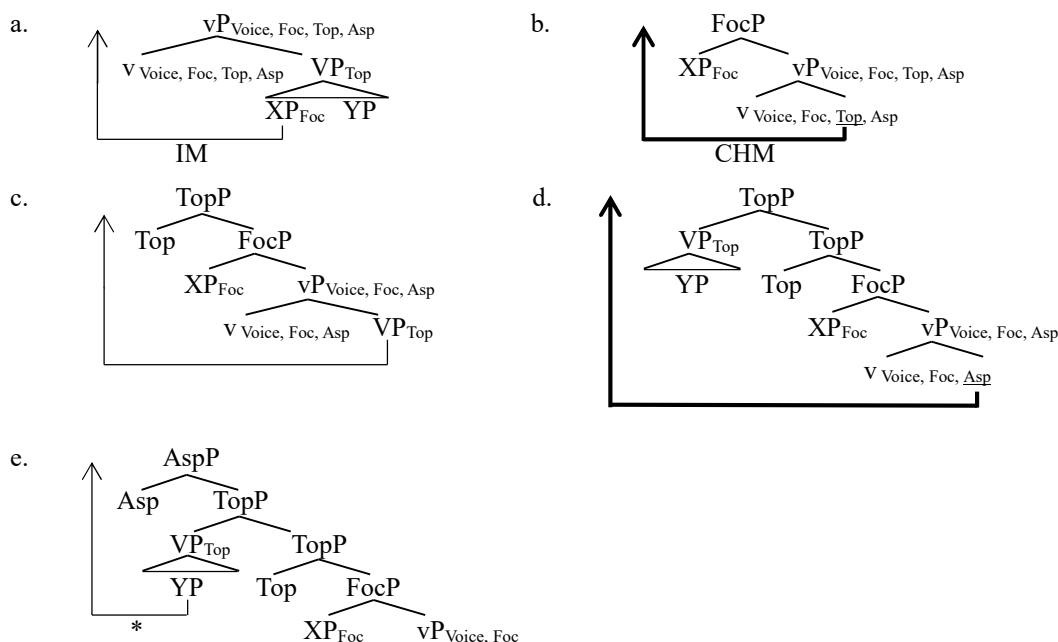
\*本研究は科研費 (若手研究 (B) 26770170)の助成を受けている。

### 1.3. 動詞句削除部からの抜き取り

(8) Topic domains are opaque for purposes of extraction. (Erteschik-Shir (1973, 2007))

#### (9) 提案

動詞句削除の話題化移動分析と Criterial Head Movement の想定のもとでは、削除部からの要素の抜き取りはその要素が TopP よりも下位の位置に移動する場合は許されるが、TopP よりも上位の位置に移動する場合は許されない。



## 2. 動詞句削除部からの抜き取り

### 2.1. FocP への移動：可能

(10) 疑似空所化構文において、主語以外の残余句は焦点化されなければならない

(Gengel (2013), Jayaseelan (1990, 2001), Lasnik (1999), 島 (2015))

a. He realized he could make more money in some other position than he can farming. (Levin (1978: 229))

b. A: Drinks like that knock me over.

B: They would me.

(Levin (1978: 239))

### 2.2. Foc-TopP への移動：可能

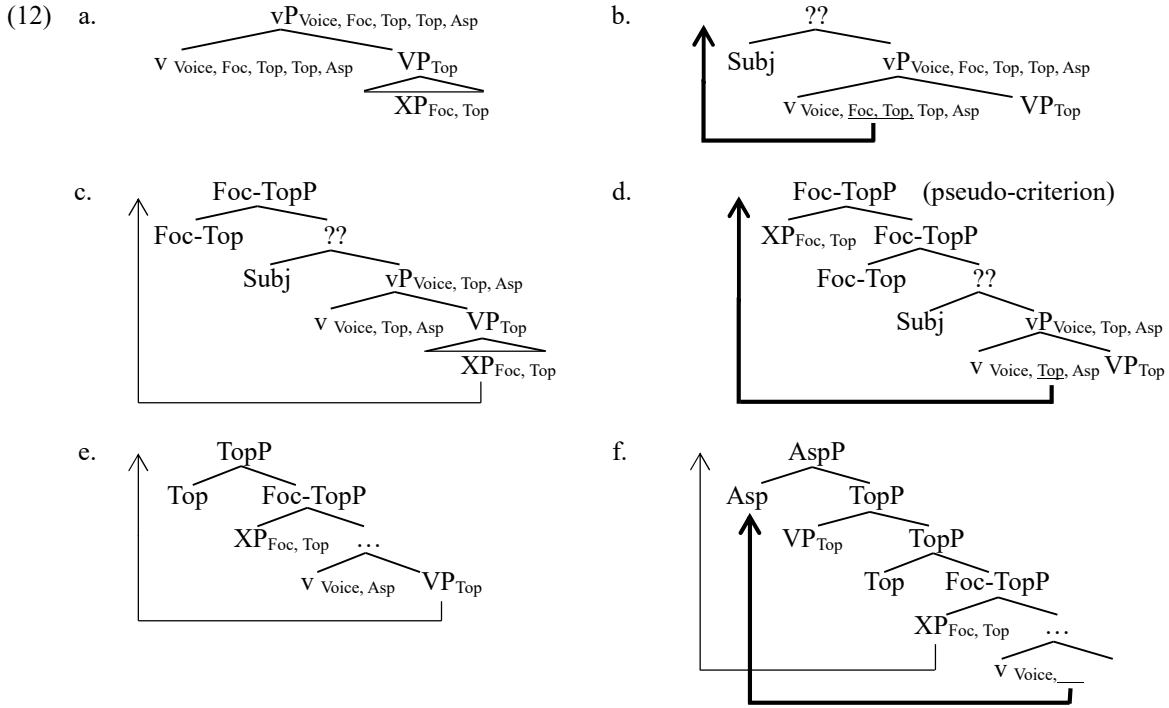
(11) 疑似空所化構文における対照主題の抜き取り

a. GREEK, you should take; DUTCH, you shouldn't. (Merchant (2008: 140))

b. I think PETE should sign the BLUE papers, and I think the GREEN ones JAN should. (Schuyler (2001: 13))

c. I think Pete MIGHT have signed the BLUE papers, but the GREEN ones he most definitely DID.

(Schuyler (2001: 13-4))



### 2.3. FocP と Foc-TopP への移動：可能

#### (13) 空所化構文

- a. Some gave albums to their spouse, and others tapes. (Johnson (1996: 4))  
 b. Some put plants in their office and others art. (Johnson (1996: 4))  
 c. Then suddenly, your heart seems to stop and your stomach to leap into space.

#### (14) 空所化構文における束縛代名詞

- a. Not every girl<sub>i</sub> ate a green banana and her<sub>i</sub> mother a ripe one.  
 b. No boy<sub>i</sub> joined the navy and his<sub>i</sub> mother the army. (Johnson (1996: 26))

Cf. 動詞句削除: \*Not every girl<sub>i</sub> ate a green banana and her<sub>i</sub> mother did too.

疑似空所化構文: \*Not every girl<sub>i</sub> ate a green banana and her<sub>i</sub> mother did a ripe one. (Johnson (1996: 26))

#### (15) ATB 移動分析 (Johnson (1996, 2009))

[John [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> likes *t*] <sub>Pred</sub> [[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>t</sub><sub>VP</sub> caviar]]] and [<sub>VP</sub> Mary [<sub>t</sub><sub>VP</sub> beans]]]] (Johnson (2009))

↑

#### (16) a. Arizona elected Goldwater senator, and Pennsylvania Schweiker. (Takaki (2012: 175))

b. [Arizona [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> elected *t* senator] <sub>Pred</sub> [[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>t</sub><sub>VP</sub> Goldwater]]] and [<sub>VP</sub> Pennsylvania [<sub>t</sub><sub>VP</sub> Schweiker]]]]

↑

#### (17) 動詞句付加位置への移動+動詞句削除分析 (Coppock (2001))

[John likes caviar, and [<sub>VP</sub> Mary<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> beans<sub>sk</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ~~*t*~~ likes ~~*t*~~]]]]. (Coppock (2001: 133))

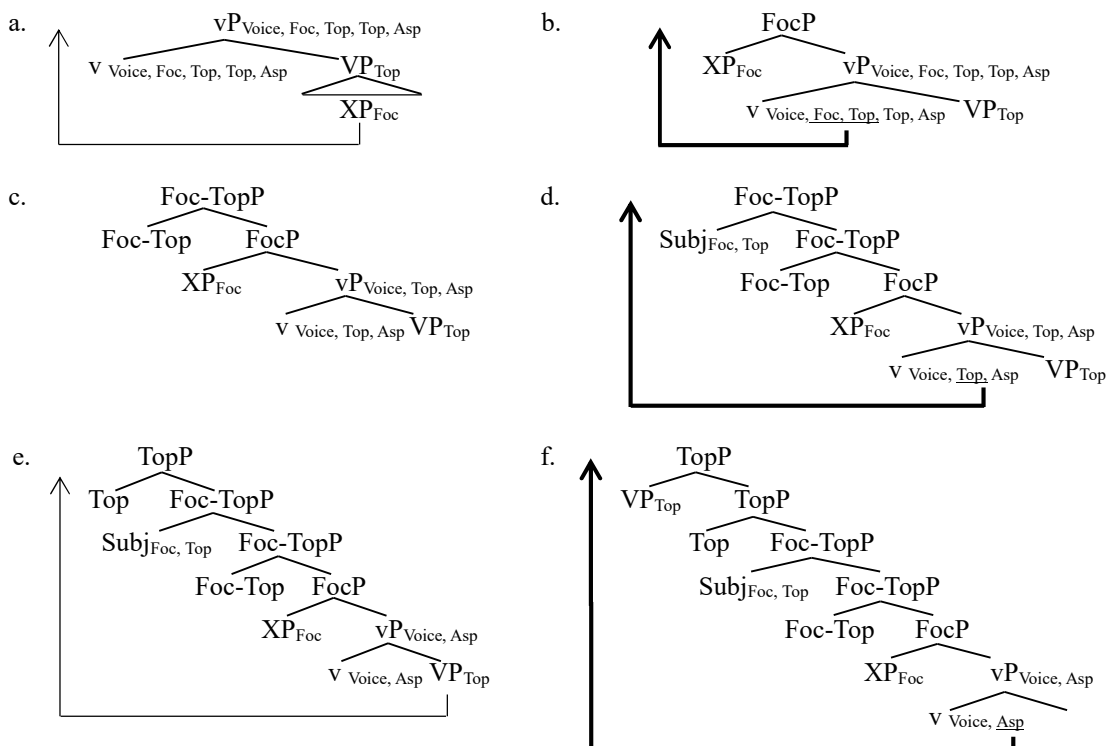
#### (18) 空所化構文の主語は対照主題としてふるまう (Gengel (2013: 158))

- a. Claire read a book, and Heather a magazine.  
 b. \*Claire<sub>i</sub> read a book, and she<sub>i</sub> a magazine.  
 c. Claire<sub>i</sub> read a book, and SHE<sub>k</sub> a magazine. (Gengel (2013: 158))

- (19) a. I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary a play.  
 b. ?I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary to write a play.  
 c. ?I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary to begin to write a play.  
 d. ?I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary to try to begin to write a play. (Ross (1970: 250))

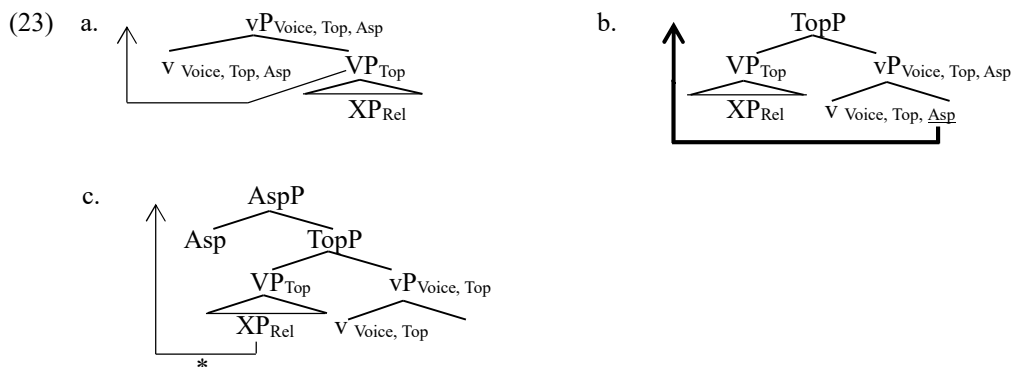
- (20) 空所化構文の残余句は対比焦点となる (Johnson (2014))  
 a. I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary to review a play.  
 b. I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary to set out to review a play.  
 c. I want to try to begin to write a novel and Mary to get ready to set out to review a play. (Johnson (2014: 2))

- (21) 空所化構文は対照主題—対比焦点の構造を有する (Gergel, Gengel and Winkler (2007))



- (22) a. \*John even threw the dishes, and Mary the glasses.  
 b. \*John never ate pizza, and Mary sushi. (Saito (2007: 209))

#### 2.4. AspP への移動：不可能



- (24) 動詞句削除部からの関係代名詞の抜き取り  
 a. \*I discovered that my cat had scratched some of the furniture, so I threw away the least salvageable pieces that he had.  
 b. \*I repaired the furniture that my cat had scratched, so I was then able to sell the very pieces that he had.  
 (Schuyler (2001: 12))
- (25) 動詞句削除部からの wh 句の抜き取り  
 \*I think you should adopt one of these puppies, but I don't know which one you should. (Schuyler (2001: 1))
- (26) 動詞句削除部からの対比焦点である wh 句の抜き取り  
 a. ?I know which PUPPY you<sub>i</sub> should adopt, but I know which KITTEN you<sub>i</sub> should.  
 b. ?Some guests wondered WHAT Jan<sub>i</sub> would eat, and other guests wondered HOW MUCH she<sub>i</sub> would.  
 (Schuyler (2001: 9))
- (27) 助動詞 / 主語の焦点化  
 a. I discovered that my cat had scratched some of the furniture, and then I sold the furniture that he HADN'T.  
 b. ?I discovered that my CAT had ruined some of the furniture, after I had already sold the furniture that my DOG had.  
 (Schuyler (2001: 13))  
 c. I don't know which puppy you SHOULD adopt, but I know which one you SHOULDN'T.  
 (Schuyler (2001: 2))  
 d. I know which woman HOLLY will discuss a report about, but I don't know which woman YOU will.  
 (Schuyler (2001: 3))

## 2.5. 拡張: 日本語の名詞句削除からの抜き取りと CP 削除からの抜き取り

- (28) 陽菜のピアノの取り扱い<sub>i</sub>は丁寧だけど、麻里子の[[フルートの]<sub>i</sub> ~~[-<sub>i</sub> 取り扱い<sub>i</sub>]]は粗雑だ。  
 (Daiko Takahashi, p.c.)~~
- (29) \*本を太郎は花子<sub>i</sub>が買った<sub>i</sub>といったが、[雑誌を]<sub>i</sub> 次郎は ~~[-<sub>i</sub> 花子<sub>i</sub>が買った<sub>i</sub>と]~~ 言った。 (Saito (2007: 210))

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