D-4 主語句からの摘出における **DP** と **PP** との非対称性: ボトムアップ式の統語計算に基づくアプローチ

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【要旨】主語句から名詞句(DP)を摘出すると主語条件などの統語制約に違反してしまい非文が生じることはよく知られているが、前置詞句(PP)の摘出であれば可能であることが Ross(1967)や Chomsky(1986)などで指摘されており、この事実は主語条件などの統語制約にとって大きな問題となる。また、PPの摘出であっても述部がステージレベルではなく個体レベルの場合だと容認性が著しく下がることが Bianchi and Chesi(2014、2015)による研究で報告されている。主語句からの摘出に関するこのような事実に対して、Bianchi and Chesi はトップダウン式の統語計算に基づいて分析を試みている。本発表では、近年の生成文法理論における極小主義モデル(Chomsky 2013、2015)を採用し、同様の事実がボトムアップ式の統語計算に基づくアプローチでも説明することが可能であることを論じ、同アプローチの妥当性の向上に貢献したい。

0. はじめに:主語句からの摘出について

- (1) a. *the man who [pictures of t_{DP}] are on the table
 - b. ?*Who did [friends of t_{DP}] see Mary?

(a from Chomsky 1986: 31, b from Bošković 2016a: 18)

- (2) a. Of which cars were [the hoods t_{PP}] damaged by the explosion?
 - b. He is the person of whom [pictures t_{PP}] are on the table.

(a from Ross 1967: 242, b from Chomsky 1986: 32)

- (3) a. ?*Which masterpiece is [one reproduction of t_{DP}] already available? (stage-level)
 - b. Of which masterpiece is [one reproduction t_{PP}] already available? (stage-level)
 - c. ?*Of which masterpiece is [one reproduction t_{PP}] absolutely perfect? (individual-level) (Bianchi and Chesi 2015: 50, 62)
- (4) "Unfortunately, the standard bottom-up view of the syntactic derivation gives us no hint of what the relevant constraint could be" (Bianchi and Chesi 2015: 63)

<本発表の趣旨>

主語句からの摘出における DP と PP との非対称性がボトムアップ式の統語計算に基づくアプローチでも説明できることを明らかにし(Bianchi and Chesi の言明を覆すことで)、同アプローチの妥当性の向上に貢献したい。

1. 理論的道具立て

- <理論的枠組み=極小主義モデル(Chomsky 2013、2015)>
- ① ラベリング (Labeling): 統語体 (syntactic object) の主要部を決定する統語操作。ラベルが未定の統語体はインターフェイスで適切な解釈が与えられず派生が破綻する。
- (5) I. Label($\{X, YP\}$) = X(P)
 - II. Label($\{XP, YP\}$) = ?
 - i. Label($\{t_{XP}, YP\}$) = Y(P) (Labeling through movement)
 - ii. Label($\{XP_{\leq F}\}$, $YP_{\leq F}\}$) = $\langle F, F \rangle$ (Labeling through feature sharing)

- ② 移動の反局所性 (Antilocality) と局所性 (Locality)
- (6) 反局所性 (Bošković 2016a: 20):

"Movement of A targeting B must cross a projection distinct from B (where unlabeled projections are not distinct from labeled projections)." (N.B. "... movement does not cross B if it involves merger with B." (ditto))

(cf. Saito and Murasugi 1999; Abels 2003; Grohmann 2003, 2011)

- (7) i. $[_{XP} X, YP] \rightarrow *[_{?} YP [_{XP} X, t_{YP}]]$
 - ii. $[_{ZP} Z [_{XP} X, YP]] \rightarrow [_{?} YP [_{ZP} Z [_{XP} X, t_{YP}]]]$
 - iii. [WPW] $[YPZPZ[XPX, t_{YP}]]] \rightarrow *[YPWPW]$ $[YPZPZ[XPX, t_{YP}]]]]$
 - iv. $[?WP[ZPZ[XPX, YP]]] \rightarrow *[?YP[?WP[ZPZ[XPX, t_{YP}]]]]$
- (8) 局所性((6) の反局所性と経済性の原理を前提とする): Movement of A targeting B must not cross more than one projection distinct from B.
- (9) i. $[_{ZP} Z [_{XP} X, YP]] \rightarrow [_{?} YP [_{ZP} Z [_{XP} X, t_{YP}]]] (= (7ii))$
 - ii. $[WPW[ZPZ[XPX, YP]]] \rightarrow *[?YP[WPW[ZPZ[XPX, t_{YP}]]]]$
- ③ 転写 (Transfer): 統語体をインターフェイスに写し出す統語操作。転写後の統語体はその後の統語操作に対して不可侵になる (「位相不可侵条件 (Phase Impenetrability Condition)」)。転写の適用範囲は、位相 (phase) の補部ではなく位相全域とする (Chomsky 2000; Bošković 2016b)。
- (10) 提案: 転写のタイミング

位相に転写が適用できるのは、位相主要部にある素性の値が全て確定される時である (N.B. 値が未定の素性はインターフェイスで解釈不可能であるため、派生がインターフェイスに転写される前にその値が確定されなければならない。値が確定されるには、値が未定の素性が値が確定されている同等の素性と一致(Agree)しなければならない。一致が成立するには、前者の主要部もしくはその投射が後者の主要部もしくはその投射を C 統御していなければならない)。

2. 主語句からの摘出に対するボトムアップ式の統語計算に基づく分析

2.1. DP と PP との非対称性

(11) 想定:

 $[DP1 D_{Case:}] > [NP N [PP P DP2]] = Phase (cf. Bošković 2005)$

- (12) DP2 による DP1 の先端 (edge) への移動 (不可)
 - i. $[DP1 D_{Case:} > [? DP2 [NP N [PP P t_{DP2}]]]]$
 - ii. *[? DP2 [DP2 [PP DP2 [PP DP2]]]]] (Antilocality violated)
 - iii. *[$_{?}$ DP2 [$_{DP1}$ D $_{<Case:} > [_{NP}$ N [$_{PP}$ P t_{DP2}]]]]

(Locality violated)

iv. *[$_{?}$ DP2 [$_{DP1}$ D $_{<Case:} > [_{NP}$ N [$_{?}$ t_{DP2} [$_{PP}$ P t_{DP2}]]]]

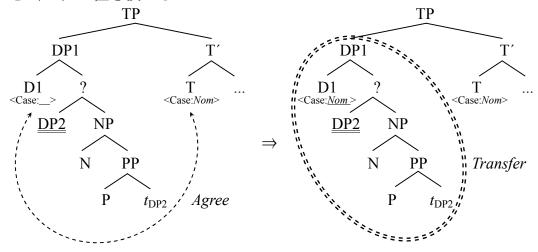
(Antilocality violated)

(13) PP による DP1 の先端への移動(可能)

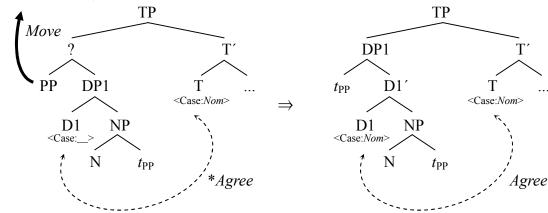
 $[PP] [PP] D_{Case:} > [NP] N t_{PP}]$

(14) $[\text{TP SUBJ T}_{<\text{Case}:Nom>}]$

(15) SUBJを(12i) に置き換えると...



(16) SUBJを(13) に置き換えると...



2.2. 述部の種別と主語の位置

<問題>

述部が個体レベルの場合、主語句から PP を摘出しても容認性が下がるのは何故なのか。

- (17) a. ?*Which masterpiece is [one reproduction of t_{DP}] already available? (stage-level)
 - b. Of which masterpiece is [one reproduction t_{PP}] already available? (stage-level)
 - c. ?*Of which masterpiece is [one reproduction t_{PP}] absolutely perfect? (individual-level) (Bianchi and Chesi 2015: 50, 62)

<解答>

(17c) のような文の非容認性は下記の一般化①と仮説②から導かれる。

- ① 個体レベルの述部の主語は常に特定解釈 (specific interpretation) を持つ (Milsark (1974) の一般化) (次ページ (18) を参照)。
- ② 特定解釈の主語の位置は、CP と TP の間にある投射の指定部である(Kiss (1996) の 仮説)(次ページ(19)を参照)。

- (18) a. The man is sick. (specific + stage-level)
 - b. The man is tall. (specific + individual-level)
 - c. Sm men are sick. (non-specific + stage-level)
 - d. *Sm men are tall. (non-specific + individual-level)

(Ladusaw 1994: 221)

- (19) $\left[\operatorname{CP} C \left[\operatorname{RefP} \operatorname{SUBJ}_{+\operatorname{Specific}} \operatorname{Ref} \left[\operatorname{TP} \operatorname{T} \ldots \right] \right] \right]$
- (20) SUBJ_{+Specific}を(13)に置き換えると... [CP C [? [? PP, DP1](= (13)), [RefP Ref [TP T ...]]]]] →*[? PP [CP C [? [? tPP, DP1], [RefP Ref [TP T ...]]]]] (Antilocality violated)
- (21) $[_{CP} C [_{RefP} Ref [_? [_? PP, DP1]_{(=(13))}, [_{TP} T ...]]]]$ $\rightarrow [_? PP [_{CP} C [_{RefP} Ref [_? [_? t_{PP}, DP1], [_{TP} T ...]]]]]$

3. 主語句からの摘出に関する近年の先行研究

3.1. 移動分析

< 反局所性に基づく分析: Bošković (2016a) >

- (22) 反局所性(Bošković 2016a: 20):
- "Movement of A targeting B must cross a projection distinct from B (where unlabeled projections are not distinct from labeled projections)." (N.B. "... movement does not cross B if it involves merger with B." (ditto))
- (23) $[WPW[?[?XP,YP],ZP]] \rightarrow *[?XP[WPW[?[?t_{XP},YP],ZP]]]$
- (24) [DP1 D1 [NP N [PP P DP2]]] (= Phase) $\rightarrow [PP2 [DP1 D1 [NP N [PP P t_{DP2}]]]]$
- (25) $[_{CP} C [_? [_? DP2, DP1], TP]] \rightarrow *[_? DP2 [_{CP} C [_? [_? t_{DP2}, DP1], TP]]]$
- <位相に基づく分析: Bošković (2018) >
- (26) "Only phases can undergo movement."

(Bošković 2018: 252)

(27) "... unlabeled objects cannot be phases."

(ibid: 254)

- (28) $\lceil_{DP1} D1 \lceil_{NP} N \lceil_{PP} P DP2 \rceil \rceil \rceil$ (= Phase) $\rightarrow \lceil_{?} DP2 \lceil_{DP1} D1 \lceil_{NP} N \lceil_{PP} P t_{DP2} \rceil \rceil \rceil \rceil$ (\neq Phase)
- (29) $\lceil_{\text{TP}} \text{ T} \lceil_{\text{v/VP}} \lceil_{?} \text{ DP2, DP1} \rceil \dots \rceil \rceil \rightarrow * \lceil_{?} \lceil_{?} \text{ DP2, DP1} \rceil \lceil_{\text{TP}} \text{ T} \lceil_{\text{v/VP}} t_{?} \dots \rceil \rceil$

<転写効果に基づく分析:内芝(2019)>

- (30) I. Label($\{X, YP\}$) = X(P)
 - II. Label($\{XP, YP\}$) = ?
 - i. Label($\{t_{XP}, YP\}$) = Y(P) (Labeling through movement)
 - ii. Label($\{XP, YP\}$) (where XP is transferred) = Y(P) (Labeling through Transfer)
- (31) $[P, TP] \rightarrow [TP, TP]$

<確定性原理(Determinacy)に基づく分析: Goto and Ishii(2019)>

- (32) 確定性原理(Chomsky, et al. 2019):
 "If Structural Description (SD) for a rule holds for some [Work Space], then Structural Change (SC) must be unique." (Goto and Ishii 2019: 1)
- (33) "Determinacy applies at the *input* of (capital) MERGE."

 (Goto and Ishii 2019: 5、イタリック体は原典より)
- (34) a. Input: $\{x, \{y, z\}\} \to \text{Output: } \{z, \{x, \{y, z\}\}\}\}$ b. Input: $\{w, \{z, \{x, \{y, z\}\}\}\} \to \text{Output: } \{z, \{w, \{z, \{x, \{y, z\}\}\}\}\}\}$ (Determinacy violated)
- (35) $[CP \ C \ [TP \ [DP \ the \ pictures \ of \ who]_i \ T \ [v/VP \ [DP \ the \ pictures \ of \ who]_i \ ...]$ $\rightarrow *[CP \ who_j \ C \ [TP \ [DP \ the \ pictures \ of \ who_j]_i \ T \ [v/VP \ [DP \ the \ pictures \ of \ who_j]_i \ ...]$ (Determinacy violated)

<先行研究と本発表との関連性:まとめにかえて>

本発表で提示したボトムアップ式の統語計算に基づく分析は、Bošković(2016a)による反局所性に基づく分析と内芝(2019)による転写効果に基づく分析とを掛け合わせたものとなっている。両者の分析はそのままでは、主語句から PP の摘出が可能であることを説明することができないのだが、反局所性と局所性の両方を採用することで、これらの制約を満たして主語句である DP の先端へ移動できるのが PP であることが導かれ、これが主語句から PP の摘出が可能になる理由となる。また、PP の摘出であっても述部が個体レベルだと非文になることも、反局所性の違反の結果として説明される。一方、主語句内の DP が主語句の先端へ移動すると反局所性と局所性のいずれかを違反してしまうため、その DP は主語句内に留まることを余儀なくされる。主語句に転写が適用されると、その内部はその後の統語操作に対して不可侵になるため、主語句から DP が摘出できないのは転写効果によるものだと説明される。

3.2. 非移動分析: Jurka (2010)

(36) Of which cars were [the hoods t_{PP}] damaged by the explosion?

(Ross 1967: 242)

- (37) Of which cars was it the case that the hoods of those cars were damaged by the explosion?

 (Jurka 2010: 151)
- (38) Jurka の主張:

(35) と (36) の "of which cars" は「垂下話題(hanging topic)」である。

- (39) There was a terrible explosion and the hoods of certain cars were damaged.
 - a. Of which cars were they damaged?
 - b. *Which cars were they of damaged?
 - c. *They of the SUVs were damaged.
 - d. The hoods of the SUVs were damaged.

(Jurka 2010: 152)

- (40) a. *This book, I wonder who will read.
 - b. This book/As for this book, I wonder who will read it.

(Miyagawa 2017: 3、太字は原典より)

4. 最後に:主語句からの摘出について再び

- (41) a. Which candidate were there [posters of t_{DP}] all over the town?
 - b. *Which candidate were [posters of t_{DP}] all over the town?

(Lasnik and Park 2003: 651)

- (42) a. *Which words is [learning the spellings of t_{DP}] difficult?
 - b. ?Of which words is [learning the spellings t_{PP}] difficult?

(Kuno 1973: 379)

- (43) a. *Who was [that the principal would fire t_{DP}] expected by the reporters?
 - b. *Who did [that Mary was going out with t_{DP}] bother you?

(Müller 2010: 46)

- (44) a. *Which candidate did they say [to get t_{DP} to agree to a debate] was hard?
 - b. Which candidate did they say it was hard [to get t_{DP} to agree to a debate]?

(Lasnik and Park 2003: 651)

- (45) a. Of whom did you read [a biography t_{PP}]?
 - b. *On which table did you read [books t_{PP}]

(ibid: 653)

- (46) a. A biography was published by Abby. I wonder of whom.
 - b. *Books were sold to John, but I don't know on which shelf.

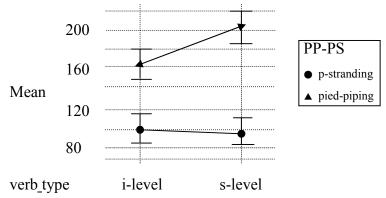
(ibid: 653-654)

- (47) a. Which president would [the impeachment of t_{DP}] cause outrage?
 - b. Which school has [the principal of t_{DP}] recently resigned?

(Chaves and Dery 2014: 97)

付録 A: Bianchi and Chesi(2015)による実験の結果

(i) 前置詞残留/随伴と述部の種別との相関関係



(Bianchi and Chesi (2015:60) の図 3 より)

付録 B: DP の内部構造が更に複雑になると...

- (i) [DP1 D1 [QP Q(uantifier) [NumP Num(eral) [NP N [PP P DP2]]]]] (cf. Ritter 1991; Watanabe 2006)
- (ii) DP2 による DP1 の先端への移動(不可)
 [DP1 D1 [? DP2 [OP Q [NumP Num [? t_DP2 [NP N [PP P t_DP2]]]]]]]

(iii) PP による DP1 の先端への移動(可能) [? PP [DP1 D1 [QP Q [? tPP [NumP Num [NP N tPP]]]]]]

付録 C: 反局所性が存在する理由についての覚書

- (i) $\{x, y\} \rightarrow *\{x, \{x, y\}\}$
- (ii) 確定性原理(Chomsky, et al. 2019):
 "If Structural Description (SD) for a rule holds for some [Work Space], then Structural Change (SC) must be unique." (Goto and Ishii 2019: 1)
- (iii) *{x, {x, y}}に至るまでの派生過程
 - a. $Merge(x, y) \rightarrow \{x, y\} = \alpha$
 - b. $Merge(x, \alpha) \rightarrow \{x, \alpha\}$
 - c. Label(α) = y
 - d. i. Structural Change by Merge (a): Input $(x, y) \rightarrow Output(\{x, y\})$
 - ii. Structural Change by Merge (b): Input(x, y) \rightarrow Output({x, y})
- (iv) $\{z, \{x, y\}\} \rightarrow \{x, \{z, \{x, y\}\}\}\)$ (where z is a head)
- (v) $\{x, \{z, \{x, y\}\}\}$ に至るまでの派生過程
 - a. Merge(x, y) \rightarrow {x, y} = α
 - b. Merge(z, α) $\rightarrow \{z, \alpha\} = \beta$
 - c. Merge $(x, \beta) \rightarrow \{x, \beta\}$
 - d. i. Label(α) = y
 - ii. Label(β) = z
 - e. i. Structural Change by Merge (a): Input $(x, y) \rightarrow Output(\{x, y\})$
 - ii. Structural Change by Merge (b): Input(z, y) \rightarrow Output($\{z, y\}$)
 - iii. Structural Change by Merge (c): Input(x, z) \rightarrow Output($\{x, z\}$)

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