

sprouting 構文と文主語制約
筑波大学大学院 岩崎宏之

1. はじめに

- (1) a. He's writing, but you can't imagine where / why / how fast / with whom.
(Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey (CLM) (1995:241))
b. She's reading. I can't imagine what. (CLM (1995:242))

※(1) = sprouting 構文 (cf. CLM (1995)) 【 _____: 先行詞節 / _____: 削除節 】

- (2) a. * Sandy was trying to work out which student would speak, but she refused to say who to / to who(m).
b. * Tony sent Mo a picture that he painted, but it's not clear with what. (CLM (1995:279))

- (3) a. * Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who Irv and were dancing together.

b. ?? Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who

- (4) a. * She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man who bit.

b. ?? She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends.

- (5) a. * That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that he'll hire is possible.

b. ?? That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who

(Ross (1969:276-277))¹

本発表の目的

文主語制約の事例を取り上げ、sprouting 構文において、実際に island repair の効果が見られない場合が存在することを示す。

(当該の sprouting 構文が、文主語制約に違反しているために容認されないことを示す。)

2. 先行研究

2.1. Nakao (2009)

- (6) (2)が容認されないのは、scopal parallelism requirement (スコープ平行性要件) を満たしていないからである。

(=(2)において、スルーシングが適用されていることが、非容認性の原因。)

¹ Ross (1969)が b の文の容認性を‘??’と判断している一方、Fox and Lasnik (2003)は、ほぼ完全に容認できると多くの話者が判断することを指摘している。

(i) implicit argument: narrowest scope 解釈のみ。

- (7) a. Exactly three kids ate.
b. There are exactly three kids such that there is something they ate.
c. * There is something that exactly three kids ate.

(Romero (1998:63))

- (8) a. Last year, he baked for few birthday parties.
b. There are few birthday parties for which there is something to be baked.
c. * There is something that he baked for few birthday parties.

(Romero (1998:63))

- (9) a. He never goes out for dinner.
b. There is no occasion on which he goes out for dinner to one place or other.
c. * There is a place such that on no occasion he goes there.

(Romero (1998:63))

(ii) スコープ平行性要件²

- (10) a. She always reads a book at dinnertime. We can't figure out WHICH one.
b. There is a particular book that she always reads at dinnertime, (a book > always)
and we can't figure out which book is such that she always reads it at dinnertime.
c. * It is always the case that she reads one book or other at dinnertime, (always > a book)
and we can't figure out which book is such that she always reads it at dinnertime.

(cf. Romero (1998:62))

(11) * John knows a girl who has eaten (at that restaurant), but I don't know what. (Nakao (2009:71))

(12) $\exists x. [\text{girl}(x) \wedge \text{know}(\text{John}, x) \wedge \exists y. [\text{eat}(x, y)]]$ (Nakao (2009:71))

- (13) a. * That Tom will win is likely, but it's not clear which race.
b. It's likely that Tom will win, but it's not clear which race

(CLM (1995:279))

² Merchant (2001)によれば、weak island が関与している sprouting 構文が容認されないことについては、スコープ平行性要件によって説明される。

- (i) a. * No nurse was on duty, but we don't know when.
b. * A nurse is rarely on duty — guess when!

(Merchant (2001:227))

Nakao (2009)はさらに、implicit argument が埋め込み節内に生じている場合には、sprouting 構文が容認されないことを観察し、その事実に関しても、スコープ平行性要件に基づく分析が成り立つと論じている。

- (ii) * She denied that John ate, but I don't know what. (Nakao (2009:72))

両者の詳しい議論については、Merchant (2001)、及び Nakao (2009)をそれぞれ参照のこと。

2.2. *Johnson (2001)* ³

- (14) a. It is necessary for Sally to win most races, but I don't know exactly which.
 b. It is necessary for Sally to win, but I don't know exactly which. (Johnson (2001:220))

- (15) a. It is necessary for Sally to win most races.
doesn't mean $\exists x$: x a majority of races [it is necessary for Sally [to win x]]
 b. It is necessary for Sally to win.
doesn't mean $\exists x$: x [it is necessary for Sally [to win x]] (Johnson (2001:220))

- (16) [_A It is necessary for Sally to win most races], but I don't know exactly which.
 A = $\exists x$: x a majority of races [it is necessary for Sally [to win x]] (Johnson (2001:220))

- (17) a. it is necessary for Sally [to [_{VP} most races [_{VP} win t]]] (cf. (15a))
 \uparrow ⇒ 'QR の clause-boundedness'
 b. it is [_{AP} most races [_{AP} necessary for Sally [to win x]]] (cf. (16))
 \uparrow ⇒ 'QR の clause-boundedness'
 (Johnson (2001:221))

- (18) It's likely that Tom will win, but it's not clear which race (=13b)

※ (14), (15), (16), (17): 外置された文主語 = 不定詞節 (18): 外置された文主語 = 定形詞節
--

- (19) a. I told someone you would visit everyone. (* every > some)
 b. Someone wanted to visit everyone. (^{OK} every > some)
 (Johnson (2000:188))

- (20) a. Somebody believes that everyone is kind.
 b. Somebody believes everyone to be kind.
 (Johnson (2000:192))

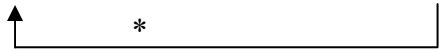
³ Johnson (2001)の枠組みにおいては、(i)のような、先行詞節に文主語が生起している sprouting 構文を排除するためには、文主語制約を(ii)のように定式化しなければならない。

- (i) a. * To win is necessary for Sally, even though I don't know (exactly) what. (Johnson (2001:219))
 b. * That Tom will win is likely, but it's not clear which race. (=13a)

- (ii) The Sentential Subject Constraint
 No intrinsic variable, α , in [_{CP}... α ...] may be bound by something outside of CP, when CP surfaces in Specifier of IP. (Johnson (2001:220))

(i)の文の先行詞節内で、(ii)の文主語制約の違反が生じるので、(i)の文は容認されないと説明される。ただし、(i)の文の先行詞節内では移動が全く関与していないため、この分析が正しければ、文主語制約は移動とは無関係なかたちで定式化されることになる。

- (21) a. A different student said that I had read every book.
 b. A different student wanted to read every book. (Johnson (2000:198-199))

- (22) a. It's likely that Tom will win, but it's not clear which race (=18)
 b. it is [_{AP} implicit arguement [_{AP} likely [that Tom will win x]]]

 ⇒'QR の clause-boundedness'

3. 分析

- (23) a. * That Tom will win is likely, but it's not clear which race.
 b. It's likely that Tom will win, but it's not clear which race (=13)

- (24) That Maxwell killed the judge was proven, but it's still not clear with what. (Merchant (2001:222))

- (25) e-givenness
 An expression E counts as e-given iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting,
 (i) A entails F-clo (E), and
 (ii) E entails F-clo (A)

Focus condition on IP-ellipsis

An IP α can be deleted only if α is e-given.

(Merchant (2001:30))

⇒先行詞節と削除節は、意味的に同一であればよい。(統語的に同一である必要はない。)

∴意味が等価である限りにおいて、先行詞節 / 削除節の統語形式を変えることが許される。

- (26) a. That Maxwell killed the judge was proven, but it's still not clear with what. (=24)
 b. with what_i ~~Maxwell killed the judge~~_{t_i} (Merchant (2001:222))
 c. with what_i ~~that Maxwell killed the judge~~_{t_i} was proven

- (27) a. * That Tom will win is likely, but it's not clear which race. (=23a)
 b. Tom will win _{t_i} ≠ that Tom will win _{t_i} is likely
 c. which race_i ~~that Tom will win~~_{t_i} is likely

- (28) ellipsis が island violation を repair することはない。

4. 含意

- (29) a. * Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who Irv and were dancing together.
 b. ?? Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who (cf. (3))
- (30) a. * She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man who bit.
 b. ?? She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends. (=(4))
- (31) a. * That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that he'll hire is possible.
 b. ?? That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who (=(5))

※(29-31) = merger 構文 (cf. CLM (1995))

- (32) merger 構文に観察される island repair effect に対する分析の可能性
 a. ellipsis による repair (Fox and Lasnik (2003), Merchant (2001, 2008))
 b. resumption による repair (Boeckx (2008), (Sauerland (1996)))
 c. wh-in-situ (Kimura (2010))
- (33) ellipsis による repair 分析は、「ellipsis が island violation を repair することはない (28)」というテーゼに矛盾する。
- (34) a. Agnes wondered how John managed to cook a certain food, but it's not clear what food
~~[-Agnes wondered how John managed to cook pro].~~
 b. * Agnes wondered how John managed to cook, but it's not clear what food ~~[-Agnes wondered how John managed to cook].~~ (cf. Boeckx (2008:217))
- (35) sprouting 構文においては、island repair effect は見られない。
- (36) That Maxwell killed the judge was proven, but it's still not clear with what. (=(24))
- (37) John bought something, but I don't know what.
- (38) a. ... [CP C_[Q] [TP John bought what]]
 b. ... [CP wh [C C_[Q] [TP John bought what]]]
 c. ... [CP wh [C C_[Q] [TP ~~John bought what~~]]] (Kimura (2010:50))

5. おわりに

1. スコープ平行性要件では、文主語制約が関与する sprouting 構文を説明できない。
2. 文主語制約が関与する sprouting 構文は、文主語制約に違反しているために容認されない。
3. ellipsis が island violation を repair することはない。
4. merger 構文は、wh-in-situ で派生されなければならない。

(※island の性質)

参考文献

- Boeckx, Cedric (2008) *Bare Syntax*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Chung, Sandra, William Ladusaw, and James McCloskey (1995) “Sluicing and Logical Form,” *Natural Language Semantics* 3, 239-282.
- Fox, Danny and Howard Lasnik (2003) “Successive-cyclic Movement and Island Repair: The Difference between Sluicing and VP-Ellipsis,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 34, 143-154.
- Johnson, Kyle (2000) “How Far Will Quantifiers Go?” *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 187-210, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Johnson, Kyle (2001) “Sluicing and Constraints on Quantifier Scope,” *Glott International* 5, 217-221.
- Kimura, Hiroko (2010) “A Wh-in-situ Strategy for Sluicing,” *English Linguistics* 27, 43-59.
- Merchant, Jason (2001) *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Merchant, Jason (2008) “Variable Island Repair under Ellipsis,” *Topics in Ellipsis*, ed. by Kyle Johnson, 132-153, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Nakao, Chizuru (2009) *Island Repair and Non-repair by PF Strategies*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Romero, Maribel (1998) *Focus and Reconstruction Effects in Wh-phrases*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Ross, John Robert (1969) “Guess Who?” *CLS* 5, 252-286.
- Sauerland, Uli (1996) “Guess How?” *Proceeding of the Fourth Conference of the Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe*, ed. by Joao Costa, Rob Goedemans, and Ruben van de Vijver, 297-309, Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe, Leiden.