

Exercise 8.13-16

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Exercise 8.13

(i) のデータを参考に (ii-a),(ii-b) の LF 表示を考え, 量化詞の作用域の違いを説明せよ.

- (i) a. Some student attended every course.
 \rightsquigarrow some student \succ every course, every course \succ some student
 b. Some student said that Mary attended every course.
 \rightsquigarrow some student \succ every course, *every course \succ some student
- (ii) a. Some student seems to have attended every course.
 \rightsquigarrow some student \succ every course, every course \succ some student
 b. Some student seems to himself to have attended every course.
 \rightsquigarrow some student \succ every course, *every course \succ some student

(1) QP は原則 TP(IP) に付加すること,*¹ および (2) Scope Principle *² を仮定する.

Scope Principle

QP A が QP B を非対称に c-command し, かつそのときに限り QP A \succ QP B となる.

(ii) a. Some student seems to have attended every course.

c. [_{IP_A} every course [_{IP_B} some student to have [_{VP} some student attended every course]]] QR

d. [_{TP} some student seems [_{IP_A} every course [_{IP_B} some student to have [_{VP} some student attended every course]]]]

e. [_{TP} some student seems [_{IP_A} every course [_{IP_B} [~~some student~~] to have [_{VP} [~~some student~~] attended ~~every course~~]]]]

\rightsquigarrow some student \succ every course

f. [_{TP} [~~some student~~] seems [_{IP_A} every course [_{IP_B} [~~some student~~] to have [_{VP} some student attended ~~every course~~]]]]

\rightsquigarrow every course \succ some student

- 元的作用域は (e) のように matrix TP の主語を LF で残せば得られる.
- (f) のように *some student* の下位コピーを利用することで, 作用域が逆転する解釈を得られる (cf. GB における再構成).

(ii) b. Some student seems **to himself** to have attended every course.

*¹ May (1977) に基づく, 最も古典的な分析である. May (1985) 等は VP への付加も想定している.

*² May (1985) の提案を単純化したものである.

g. [TP some student+himself seems [PP to himself] [IP_A every course [IP_B some student to have [VP some student attended every course]]]] covert A-movement

h. [TP some student+himself seems [PP to ~~himself~~] [IP_A every course [IP_B ~~some student~~ to have [VP ~~some student~~ attended ~~every course~~]]]]]

↪ some student > every course

i. *[TP ~~some student~~/~~himself~~ seems [PP to himself] [IP_A every course [IP_B ~~some student~~ to have [VP ~~some student~~ attended ~~every course~~]]]]]

- 元の作用域は (h) のように matrix TP の主語を LF で残せば得られる。実際, *himself* の解釈も問題ない。
- しかし (f) と異なり, (i) のように *some student* の下位コピーを利用しようとすると, *himself* が解釈不可能なため派生が crash し, 逆の作用域の解釈は得られない。

!

QR は c-command 関係を作り出すため, 照応詞のように “構造が出来上がった後” の移動ではない。
さらに chain reduction は複数通り (この場合 2 × 3 通り) 考えられる。
↪ Spell-Out の作用や移動の動機を含め, QR についてはより厳密な議論が必要である。

Exercise 8.14

(i) の解釈を書き下し, その派生を与えよ。

- (i) a. The boys wondered which jokes about each other the girls told.
b. The boys wondered which jokes about each other the girls heard.

(i) a. The boys wondered which jokes about each other the girls told.

解釈その 1:

The boys wondered which_x the girls+each other_y told [*x* jokes about *y*]

LF その 1:

[TP The boys wondered [CP [which ~~jokes/about/each/other~~] [TP the girls+each other told [~~which~~ jokes about ~~each/other~~]]]]]

解釈その 2:

The boys+each other_y wondered [which jokes about *y*]_x the girls told *x*

LF その 2:

[TP The boys+each other wondered [CP [which jokes about ~~each/other~~] [TP the girls told [~~which~~ ~~jokes/about/each/other~~]]]]]

- 相互代名詞は先行詞によって認可される位置に “不可視な” 移動をする。
- 束縛原理 A においては, Preference Principle によって後回しにされる [Spec,CP] での意味領域の限定が可能 (解釈その 2) である。

(i) b. The boys wondered which jokes about each other the girls **heard**.

解釈その 1:

The boys wondered which_x the girls+each other_y heard [*x* jokes about *y*]

LF その 1:

[_{TP} The boys wondered [_{CP} [~~which jokes/about/each/other~~] [_{TP} the girls+each other heard [~~which~~ jokes about ~~each/other~~]]]]

解釈その 2:

*The boys+each other_y wondered [which jokes about y]_x the girls heard x

LF その 2:

*[_{TP} The boys+each other wondered [_{CP} [which jokes about ~~each/other~~] [_{TP} the girls heard [~~which~~ ~~jokes/about/each/other~~]]]]

- (a),(b) は同一の構造をもつが, (b) においては (判断はできないが, 主題の意図を察するにおそらく) 解釈 2 が許されない. 例えば *tell*, *hear* の θ 役割の違いが解釈の違いにも影響を及ぼしているかもしれない.
- 高い位置の再帰代名詞/相互代名詞を移動させ, Preference Principle から [Spec,CP] に *wh*-operator のみ残すと, FI を満たさず, 収束しないのであった. 解釈 2 はそのあとのオプションであり, (b) における非対称性も自然であるといえよう.

Exercise 8.15

(i) を導出する派生 (ii)-(vi) は, Extension Condition だけで除外することはできない. Minimalist Program のもとで, どのように非文と予測できるのか?

- (i) *Which book did you leave the library without finding?
- (ii) a. K = [_{PP} without PRO finding [which book]]
b. L = [_{VP} leave the library]
- (iii) a. K = [_{PP} without PRO finding [which book]]
b. L = [_{VP} leave the library]
c. M = [which book]
- (iv) a. N = [did you [_{VP} [_{VP} leave the library] [_{PP} without PRO finding [which book]]]]
b. M = [which book]
- (v) [[[which book]_i did you [_{VP} [_{VP} leave the library] [_{PP} without PRO finding [which book]_i]]]]
- (vi) [[[which book]_i did you [_{VP} [_{VP} leave the library] [_{PP} without PRO finding [~~which/book~~]_i]]]]

(i) *Which book did you leave the library without finding? (= (78))

まず Extension Condition 違反となる派生を復習する.

Extension Condition (= (74))

Overt applications of Merge can only target root syntactic objects.

「付加部は適用外」という stipulation は放棄したのであった。

(80) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]$

b. $L = [[_C \text{ did }] \text{ you } [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }]]$

(81) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]$

b. $L = [\text{ did you } [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }]]$

c. $M = [\text{ which book }]$

(82) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]$

b. $N = [[\text{ which book }] \text{ did you } [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }]]$

(83) $[[\text{ which book }] \text{ did you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }] [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]]]$

(84) $[[\text{ which book }] \text{ did you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }] [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]]]$

- (80) までに [+wh] の素性をもつ C が併合されている。この素性によって *which book* のコピーが動機付けられる。
- (81) におけるコピーは adjunct island に問題を起こさない (付加部とは関係の中で定義される)。
- (82)→(83) で VP が root でないにもかかわらず PP と併合されており, Extension Condition に違反する。

さて, 問題となる派生を見てみよう。

(ii) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]$

b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }]$

(iii) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]$

b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }]$

c. $M = [\text{ which book }]$

(iv) a. $N = [\text{ did you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }] [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]]]]$

b. $M = [\text{ which book }]$

(v) $[[\text{ which book }]_i \text{ did you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ leave the library }] [_{PP} \text{ without PRO finding } [\text{ which book }]_i]]]$

- (ii)→(iii) で *which book* をコピーし, その後 (iii)→(iv) で VP と付加部を併合することによって, Extension Condition 違反を回避している。
- しかし (ii)→(iii) におけるコピーは何に動機付けられるのか? Move = Copy & Merge は Last Resort であって, 積極的には選択されない。 (ii) 時点で Numeration の index は 0 でないため, コピーに先駆けて併合が行われるはず。
- (ii) で K,L を併合すると $[_{PP} \text{ without } \dots]$ が adjunct island になり, *which book* がコピーできなくなるので, 収束しない。

Exercise 8.16

(i) のような parasitic gap (寄生空所) のある文は, sideward movement によって説明可能である.

(i) Which paper did you file without reading?

(ii) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]$

b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ file }]$

(iii) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]$

b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ file } [\text{ which paper }]]$

(iv) $[_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ file } [\text{ which paper }]] [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]$

(v) $[[c \text{ did }] \text{ you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ file } [\text{ which paper }]] [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]]]$

(vi) a. $[[[\text{ which paper }] \text{ did you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ file } [\text{ which paper }]] [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]]]$

b. $[[[\text{ which paper }] \text{ did you } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ file } [\text{ ~~which paper~~]] [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ ~~which paper~~]]]]]$

この提案が正しいとすれば, 非文となる (vii) の parasitic gap はどのように除外されるのか, 派生 (viii)-(x) に沿って考えよ.

(vii) *Who did you file which paper without reading?

(viii) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]$

b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ file }]$

(ix) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]$

(ix) b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ file } [\text{ which paper }]]$

(x) a. $[[[\text{ who }] [\text{ did you file } [\text{ which paper }]] [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]]^a$

b. $[[[\text{ who }] [\text{ did you file } [\text{ ~~which paper~~]] [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ ~~which paper~~]]]]]$

^a p.285 (x) は誤植である.

8.15 と同様に, まずは (1) Extension Condition, (2) adjunct island, (3) コピーする動機 に注目しながら, 正文である (i) を見る.

(i) Which paper did you file without reading?

parasitic gap は移動の痕跡としないのが一般的である.

!

(i)' Which_i paper did you file t_i without reading e ?

(ii) a. $K = [_{PP} \text{ without reading } [\text{ which paper }]]$

b. $L = [_{VP} \text{ file }]$

(iii) a. K = [PP without reading [which paper]]

b. L = [VP file [which paper]]

(iv) [VP [VP file [which paper]] [PP without reading [which paper]]]

(v) [[C did] you [VP [VP file [which paper]] [PP without reading [which paper]]]]

(vi) a. [[which paper] did you [VP [VP file [which paper]] [PP without reading [which paper]]]]

- (ii)→(iii) では *file* の Theme θ -role を付与するために *which book* をコピーしており, adjunct island でもない.
- (iii)→(iv) の併合は Extension Condition を満たす.
- (v)→(vi) における *which book* のコピーは C の wh 素性に駆動される.

! (ii)–(vi) の派生では *which book* が *reading* と *file* から θ 役割をもらうので θ -criterion に違反するが, 移動として分析するため, ここでは許容する.

次に非文となる (vii) を観察する.

(vii) *Who did you file which paper without reading?

(viii) a. K = [PP without reading [which paper]]

b. L = [VP file]

(ix) a. K = [PP without reading [which paper]]

b. L = [VP file [which paper]]

(x) [CP [who] [did you file [which paper]] [PP without reading [which paper]]]

- (1)–(3) に関わる部分は先の派生と同じなので問題なし.
- (ix)→(x) で *who* は [Spec, CP] に併合されるので, θ 役割が付与されず, θ -criterion に違反する.

このように (vii) が非文であることは簡単にわかる. またここまでの議論が正しければ, (xi)*³は (xii) で *who* が θ 役割を付与されるので, 正文となる.

(xi) Who filed which paper without reading.

(xii) [VP who [VP filed which paper without reading which paper]]

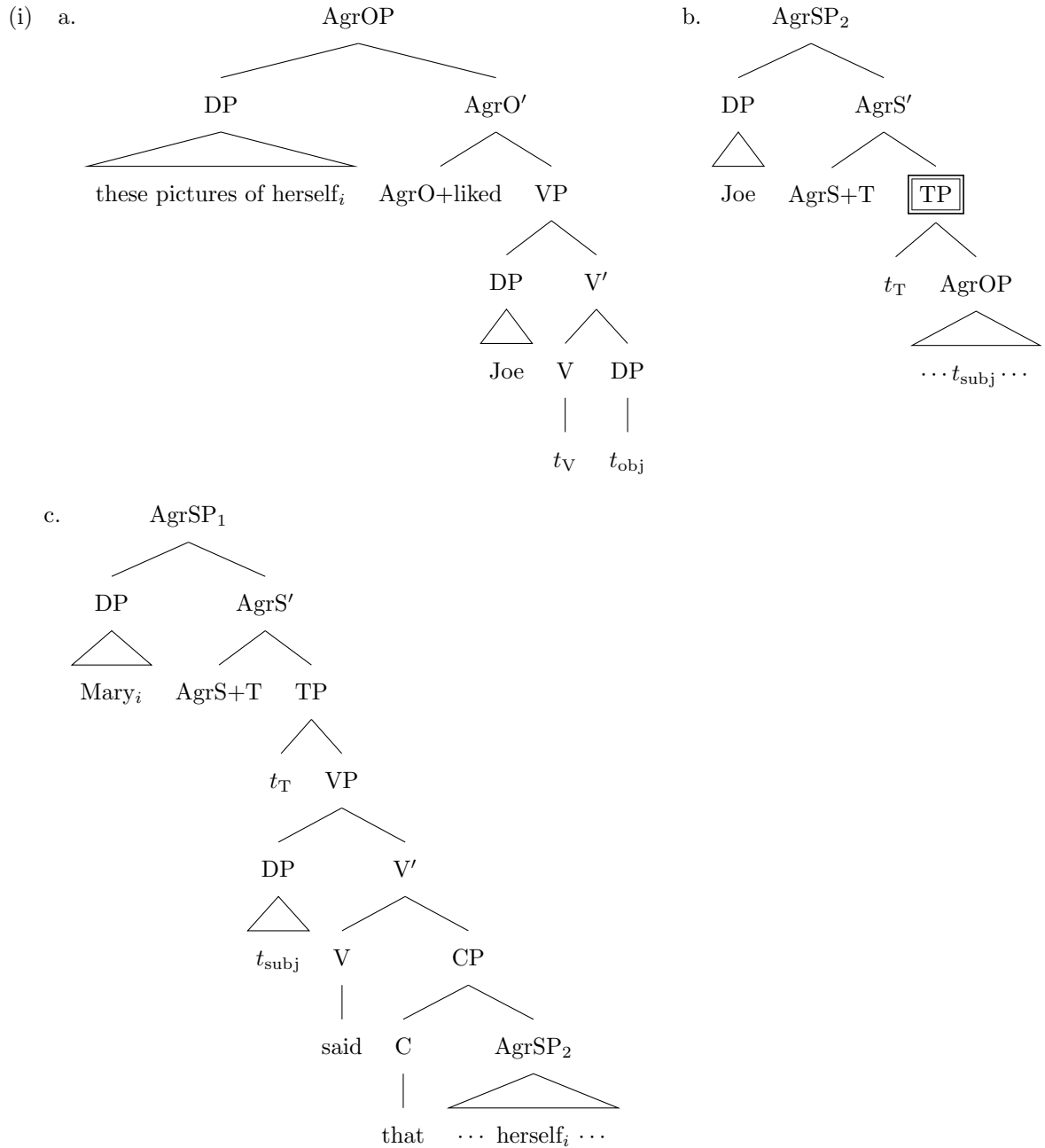
しかし θ -criterion に stipulation を設けたうえで θ -criterion によってある派生を排除するというのは ad hoc な処理に過ぎず, より精緻な議論が必要である.

*3 p.285 (x-a) のデータ.

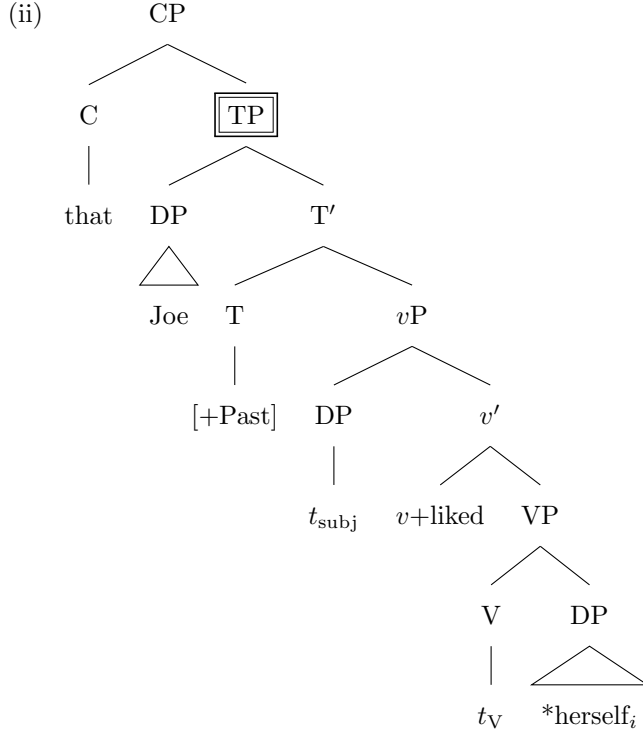
Exercise 8.1

格素性は Spec-head の関係で認可されると仮定する. このとき split Infl (i.e. TP&Agr projection) と unsplit Infl&light verb (i.e. TP&*v*P) の両方のアプローチで (4) の LF 表示を与えよ. またその表示において, 束縛原理で用いる統率範疇 (domain) の定義を修正すべきか答えよ.

- (4) a. *[Mary_i said that [TP Joe liked these pictures of herself_i]] (束縛原理 A 違反)
 b. [Mary_i said that [TP Joe liked these pictures of her_i]]
 c. *[He_i said that [TP Mary likes these pictures of Joe_i]] (束縛原理 C 違反)



d. [_{AgrSP₁} Mary_i ... [_{AgrSP₂} ... [_{TP} ... [_{AgrOP} theses pictures of herself_i ...]]]]



Domain (= (2))

α is the domain for β iff α is the smallest IP (TP) containing β and the governor of β .

- (i) は TP+Agr のアプローチで, (d) のように *herself* を含む最小の TP に先行詞 *Mary* が存在しないので, 束縛原理 A 違反となる. したがって束縛原理 B の統率範疇としても機能することもわかる.
- (ii) も少し構造が大きくなるだけで, 統率範疇は今まで通りで問題ない.

Exercise 8.2

(i) のデータは不可視な *wh* 移動と束縛原理 B の

(i) John_i wondered which woman liked which pictures of him_i.

- (ii) a. [_{TP} John_i wondered [[which pictures of him_i]_k + [which woman]_j [t_j liked t_k]]]
 b. [_{TP} John_i wondered [which_k + [which woman]_j] [_{TP} t_j liked t_k pictures of him_i]]]

- (a) の *him* の統率範疇は matrix TP だから束縛原理 B 違反となり, *wh* 句全体の不可視な移動を仮定すると, 誤った予測をする.
- (b) の *him* の統率範疇は [t_j liked t_k pictures of him_i] となり, *wh* のみの移動を支持する.

8.3

(11) John_i wondered which pictures of him_{i/*k} Fred_k liked.

- a. Fred_k liked which pictures of him_i
- b. [_{CP} [which pictures of him_i] *Q* Fred_k liked *t*]
- c. [_{TP} John_j [_{CP} [which pictures of him_i] *Q* Fred_k liked *t*]]

- (a) で束縛原理 B から *Fred* に *k* が添え字づけられる.
- (b) では (a) における添え字づけによって *him* ≠ *Fred* の解釈が保たれ, 束縛原理 B の適用の有無について考える必要がない.
- (c) で *John* に *j* (≠ *k*) が添え字づけられる.

→ 派生の各段階で束縛原理 B を適用 & contraindexing では *him* の先行詞が文中に存在せず, うまくいかない.

8.4

(16) He_{*i} wondered which picture of John_i he_{*i} liked.

- (i) Which picture of John_i did he'_{*i} say that he_i liked?
- a. [_{TP} he_{*i} liked which picture of John_i]
- b. [_{CP} [which picture of John_i] that he_{*i} liked *t*]
- c. [_{TP} he'_{*i} say [_{CP} [which picture of John_i] that he_{*i} liked *t*]
- d. [_{CP} [which picture of John_i] did [he'_{*i} say [*t'* that he_{*i} liked *t*]]]

- (a) で束縛原理 C から *he* ≠ *John* が決まる.
- (b) でも束縛原理 C が適用されるが, *he* = *John* の解釈は (a) によって退けられる.
- (c) では *he'* ≠ *John* が決まる.
- (d) でも束縛原理 C が適用されるが, *he'* = *John* の解釈は (c) によって退けられる.

→ 派生の各段階で束縛原理 C を適用 & 一度得た (先行詞の参照に関する) 解釈を保持では *he* (= *John*) の解釈は不可能である.

この派生の DS = (a) からは *he* = *John* の解釈を説明できず, (b) 以降の段階における *he*, *John* への (効果のある) 束縛原理 C の適用が必須である.

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