

## E-2

前置詞残留からみる削除現象の派生  
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### 1. 導入

前置詞残留(Preposition Stranding): 前置詞の補部のみが移動し、前置詞は元位置にとどまる

◆ 左方移動でのみ認可され、右方移動では禁止される

(1) Who did you look at? (wh-question) (Drummond, Hornstein and Lasnik 2010:689)

(2) \*John looked at  $t_i$  in the living room yesterday [the man who lived next door] $_i$ . (Heavy DP Shift)  
(*ibid.*: 689)

◆ 削除現象における前置詞残留 – 認可の可否に差異

(3) John was dancing with someone, but I don't remember **(with) who John was dancing**. (Sluicing)  
(Almeida and Yoshida 2007:350)

(4) She told me she was having an affair, so I asked **who with she was having an affair**. (Swiping)  
(Radford and Iwasaki 2015: 704)

(5) John stood beside Jim and Jill ~~stood~~ **\*(beside) Mary**. (Gapping) (Johnson 2014:33)

(6) You can't count on a stranger; but you can ~~count~~ **\*(on) a friend**. (Pseudo-gapping) (Gengel 2013: 73)

(7) Some linguist spoke about some paper on sluicing, but I don't know which linguist ~~spoke~~ **?(about) which paper on sluicing**. (Multiple Sluicing) (Lasnik 2014: 9)

### 2. 先行研究の問題点

#### 2.1. Gengel (2013)

##### (8) Pseudo-gapping

a. John invited Mary and Jane did Bill. (Gengel 2013:141)

b. ... [TP Jane [did [FocP Bill [Foc [VP Jane [V[E] [~~VP-invite-Bill~~]]]]]]]

##### (9) Sluicing

a. Jack bought something, but I don't know what ~~Jack bought~~. (*ibid.*:155)

b. ... [CP what [C[E] [~~TP-Jack [VP-Jack bought what]]]]]~~

##### (10) Gapping

a. Claire read a book, and Heather a magazine. (*ibid.*:161)

b. ... [TopP Heather [Top [FocP a magazine [Foc[E] [~~TP-Heather [VP-read-a-magazine]]]]]]]~~

◆ 各削除現象を統一的に左方移動で分析→ 前置詞残留の認可の違いをとらえられない

#### 2.2. Drummond, Hornstein and Lasnik (DHL) (2010)

(i) Spell-out is cyclic (Fox and Pesetsky 2005)

(ii) PP is a phase

(iii) Linearization applies so that P<sup>0</sup>s linearly follow their escape hatches

(11) a. ... [PP DP<sub>i</sub> [P' P  $t_i$ ]] ... (DHL 2010: 691)

b. \*John looked at  $t_i$  in the living room yesterday [the man who lived next door] $_i$ . (=2))

- ◆ 前置詞の補部が PP の *escape hatch* に移動 → DP<P の語順が決定  
DP をさらに右へ移動させる操作は線形化情報に矛盾を生じる (\*P<DP)  
⇒ 前置詞残留は左方移動のみ可能であり、右方移動では不可能

(12) Cyclic linearization (Fox and Pesetsky 2005:14)

α [D X Y Z]

1. X may freely move leftward out of D.
2. Y may move leftward out of D so long as it does not phonologically cross X. Y moves out of D without phonologically crossing X if:
  - a. X has itself moved further to the left, or
  - b. **X is unpronounced as a consequence of ellipsis.**

(13) John stood beside Jim and Jill ~~stood~~ \*(beside) Mary. (=5))

- Spell-out of PP      Mary < ~~beside~~
- Spell-out of vP      Jill < ~~stand~~ < ~~beside~~ < Mary

- ◆ 削除の場合、DP<P の語順情報も消え、矛盾が解消される → 前置詞残留 OK を予測

3. 想定

(14) Phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008)

派生は phase (CP, v\*P) 単位で bottom-up に進む

(15) p\*P phase (Matsubara 2000)

[<sub>p</sub>\*P p\* [PP P DP]]

(16) wh はそれ自身の持つ u(nvalued)wh feature によって phase の left edge へ移動する (Bošković 2007)

(17) Deletion by phase (cf. Merchant (2001), Takaki (2017))

- a. E-feature は phase heads (C, v\*) とともに派生に導入され、E-feature を持つ phase の補部は PF で削除される
- b. ellipsis sites は phase ごとに決定され、phase ごとに決定された削除/非削除の情報は保たれる。  
ellipsis sites の指定は補部全体には及ばない

4. 提案

- ◆ agreement を必要としない焦点化要素は、それ自身の持つ End Focus feature (EFF) によって phase の right edge へ移動する (cf.(16))
- ◆ wh が移動する Sluicing, Swiping は、移動要素の uwh による左方移動と削除を伴う
- ◆ 焦点化要素が移動する Gapping, Pseudo-gapping, Multiple Sluicing (second wh) は、移動要素の EFF による右方移動と削除を伴う

## 5. 分析

	leftward movement	rightward movement
non-ellipsis	wh-question (cf. 5.1)	Heavy DP/PP Shift (cf. 5.2)
ellipsis	Sluicing, Swiping (cf. 5.3)	Gapping, Pseudo-gapping, Multiple Sluicing (second wh) (cf. 5.4)

### 5.1. Leftward movement including non-ellipsis

- wh-question

(18) Who did you look at? (=1))

[CP **who** [C [TP did [v\*P you [v\* [VP look [p\*P p\* [PP **at** who<sub>[uwh]</sub>]]]]]]]]]

### 5.2. Rightward movement including non-ellipsis

- Heavy DP/PP Shift

(19) John looked in the living room at the man who lived next door. (cf: DHL:689)

a. [p\*P[EFF] p\* [PP at the man who lived next door]]

b. [v\*P [v\*P John [v\* [VP [VP looked [p\*P[EFF] p\* [PP at the man who lived next door]]] [p\*P in the living room]]]]] **at the man who lived next door]**

(20) \*John looked at in the living room the man who lived next door. (cf: DHL:689)

a. [p\*P [p\*P p\* [PP at [DP[EFF] the man who lived next door]]] the man who lived next door]

b. \*[v\*P [v\*P John [v\* [VP [VP looked [p\*P [p\*P p\* [PP **at** [DP the man who lived next door]]] [DP **the man who lived next door**]]] [p\*P in the living room]]]]]

### 5.3. Leftward movement including ellipsis

- Sluicing

(21) John was dancing with someone, but I don't remember (with) who. (=3))

a. [p\*P **who** [p\*P p\* [PP with who<sub>[uwh]</sub>]]]

b. [v\*P **who** [v\*P John v\*[E] [VP dancing [p\*P **who** [p\*P p\* [PP with who]]]]]]]

c. [CP **who** [CP C[E] [TP John [was [who<sub>[uwh]</sub> [v\*P John v\*[E] [VP dancing [p\*P p\* [PP with who]]]]]]]]]]]

- Swiping

(22) She told me she was having an affair, so I asked who with. (=4))

- a. [<sub>p\*P</sub> who [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> with who<sub>[uwh]</sub>]]]
- b. [<sub>v\*P</sub> who with [<sub>v\*P</sub> she v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> having an affair [<sub>p\*P</sub> who<sub>[uwh]</sub> [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> with who]]]]]]]
- c. [<sub>CP</sub> **who with** [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> she [<sub>v\*P</sub> was [<sub>v\*P</sub> who<sub>[uwh]</sub> with [<sub>v\*P</sub> she v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> having an affair [<sub>p\*P</sub> who [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> with who]]]]]]]]]]]]]

#### 5.4. Rightward movement including non-ellipsis

- Gapping

(23) John stood beside Jim and Jill ~~stood~~ \*(beside) Mary. (=5)

(24) a. [<sub>p\*P</sub>[EFF] p\* [<sub>PP</sub> beside Mary]]

b. [<sub>v\*P</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> Jim v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> stand [<sub>p\*P</sub>[EFF] p\* [<sub>PP</sub> beside Mary]]]] beside Mary]

c. [<sub>andP</sub> and [<sub>v\*P</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> Jim v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> stand [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> beside Mary]]]] **beside Mary**]]

(25) a. [<sub>p\*P</sub> [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> beside [<sub>DP</sub>[EFF] Mary]]]] Mary]

b. \* [<sub>v\*P</sub> Jim v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> stand [<sub>p\*P</sub> [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> beside [<sub>DP</sub> Mary]]]] **Mary**]]

- Pseudo-gapping

(26) You can't count on a stranger; but you can ~~count~~ \*(on) a friend. (=6)

(27) a. [<sub>p\*P</sub>[EFF] p\* [<sub>PP</sub> on a friend]]

b. [<sub>v\*P</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> you v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> count [<sub>p\*P</sub>[EFF] p\* [<sub>PP</sub> on a friend]]]] on a friend]

c. [<sub>andP</sub> and [<sub>TP</sub> you [can [<sub>v\*P</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> you v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> count [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> on a friend]]]]] **on a friend**]]]]

(28) a. [<sub>p\*P</sub> [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>DP</sub>[EFF] a friend]]]] a friend]

b. \* [<sub>v\*P</sub> you v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> count [<sub>p\*P</sub> [<sub>p\*P</sub> p\* [<sub>PP</sub> on [<sub>DP</sub> a friend]]]]] **a friend**]]

- Multiple Sluicing

(29) Some linguist spoke about some paper on sluicing, but I don't know which linguist ~~spoke~~ \*(about) which paper on sluicing. (=7)

(30) a. [<sub>p\*P</sub>[EFF] p\* [<sub>PP</sub> about which paper on pragmatics]]

b. [<sub>v\*P</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> which<sub>[uwh]</sub> linguist] v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> speak [<sub>p\*P</sub>[EFF] p\* [<sub>PP</sub> about which paper on pragmatics]]]]]

about which paper on pragmatics]

c. [CP which linguist [C<sub>[E]</sub> [TP T [v\*P [v\*P ~~which~~<sub>[uwh]</sub> linguist] v\* [VP spoke [p\*P p\* [PP about which paper on pragmatics]]]]] **about which paper on pragmatics**]]]]

(31) a. [p\*P [p\*P p\* [PP about [DP<sub>[EFF]</sub> which paper on pragmatics]]] which paper on pragmatics]

b. [v\*P [DP which<sub>[uwh]</sub> linguist] v\*<sub>[E]</sub> [VP speak [p\*P [p\*P p\* [PP ~~about~~ [DP which paper on pragmatics]]]]] **which paper on pragmatics**]]]

6. 分析の拡張: **clause-boundedness**

(32) When two wh-phrases are not phase mates, they are not ordered directly. **Their relative order is determined via elements which are at the edge of the intervening phases.** If these connecting links are deleted, phonology doesn't know what to do with the remaining elements.

(Fox and Pesetsky 2003: 27)

◆ Sluicing, Swiping: clause-boundedness なし

(33) I know that John said that Mary read a certain book, but I don't know which one ~~John said that Mary read.~~

(Fox and Lasnik 2003:151)

(34) A recent poll is predicting the Socialists will win, but I'm not sure how much by ~~it is predicting they will win.~~

(Radford and Iwasaki 2015:723)

successive cyclic leftward movement によって派生 → 線形化情報に矛盾が生じない

(35) a. Spell-out of the embedded v\*P: which one < Mary < read  
 b. Spell-out of the embedded CP: which one < that < Mary < read  
 c. Spell-out of the matrix v\*P: which one < John < say < that < Mary < read

◆ Gapping, Pseudo-gapping, multiple sluicing: clause-boundedness あり

(36) \*Max said that you should buy bread and Peter ~~said that you should buy~~ wine. (Neijt 1979:143)

(37) \*Kathy thinks she should study French, but she doesn't ~~think she should study~~ German.

(Thoms 2016:294)

(38) \*One of the students said that Mary spoke to one of the professors, but I don't know which student ~~said that Mary spoke~~ to which professor. (Lasnik 2014:6)

rightward movement を伴う → 削除により **connecting link** が削除され、線形化できない

(39) a. Spell-out of the embedded v\*P: you < buy < wine  
 b. Spell-out of the embedded CP: you < should < buy < wine  
 c. Spell-out of the matrix v\*P: Peter < say < that < you < should < buy < wine

7. まとめ

◆ wh が移動する Sluicing, Swiping は、移動要素の uwh による左方移動と削除を伴う

- ◆ 焦点化要素が移動する Gapping, Pseudo-gapping, Multiple Sluicing (second wh)は、移動要素の End Focus feature (EFF)による右方移動と削除を伴う
- ◆ 削除現象における clause-boundedness の有無は、左方移動と右方移動の差異によって説明できる

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