

## 付加詞節内部からの抜き出しとCPフェーズ\*

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**要旨:** 本発表の目的は、in order 節、before/after 節、if 節、外置された that 節として生起する付加詞節に焦点を当て、内部からの抜き出し現象を極小主義の観点から説明することである。Huang (1982) 以来、付加詞節内部からの抜き出しができないと仮定される。しかし、Ross (1967), Truswell (2011) などでは、抜き出しが可能となるデータが示されている。この説明のため、本発表では近年の極小主義を採用する。この枠組みでは、CP フェーズの補部に対する操作が不可能とされる(Chomsky 2000, 2008, 2015)。しかし、先行研究によれば、補部節の CP であれ、フェーズ・非フェーズに分類されると主張されている(Kanno 2008, Landau 2008)。本発表では、この補部節の CP に対する考えが、付加詞節へと拡張できると仮定し、C が本来持つべき固有の素性が欠如する場合、CP がフェーズを形成しなくなると提案する。抜き出しを許す非定形節の付加詞節では[Tense]素性が欠如し、また、同様に、定形節の付加詞節の場合は[Force/Focus]素性が欠如することを示し、これにより抜き出しが可能となると論じる。

### 1. 導入

付加詞内部からの抜き出し(特に、Huang (1982), Ross (1967), Uriagereka (1999)).

- (1) \*Who did John come back, before I had a chance to talk to? (Huang (1982: 487))  
抜き出しが可能例(Chaves (2012, 2013), Grosu (1981), Ross (1967), Truswell (2007, 2011)).
- (2) ?Whom<sub>i</sub> [did John go to England [in order to speak to t<sub>i</sub>]]? (Jones (1991: 74))
- (3) This is the watch that I got upset [when I lost t]. (Truswell (2011: 175, n. 1))

### 本発表の提案

- (4) C が本来持つべき固有の素性[α]が欠如する場合、その C は非フェーズとなる。

### 2. 採用する仮説と本発表の提案

#### 2.1. フェーズ理論

- (5) In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky (2000: 108))

#### 2.2. 本発表の提案

前提: Kanno (2008) (see also Landau (2008)).

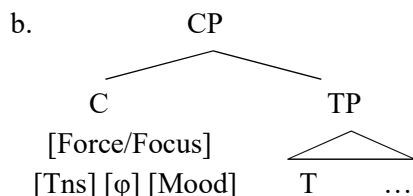
- (6) a. C に[Tense]素性が存在しない場合、CP はフェーズを形成しない。  
b. John tried [CP **C** [TP T<sub>io</sub> win]]  
c. John believed Mary [CP **C** [TP T<sub>io</sub> be honest]]

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提案

(7) a. C が本来持つべき固有の素性[α]が欠如する場合、その C は非フェーズとなる。(=(4))



3. 非定形節と[Tense]素性の欠如

*In order* 節

- (8) a. What did you come here [in order to talk about t]? (Truswell (2008: 50))  
 b. ?Whom<sub>i</sub> [did John go to England [in order to speak to t<sub>i</sub>]]? (= (1))

Purpose 節 (subject-gap and object-gap)

- (9) ?Which car<sub>i</sub> [did John bring Bill<sub>j</sub> in [e<sub>j</sub> to work on t<sub>i</sub>]]? (= (2))  
 (10) ?Which car<sub>i</sub> [did John bring these tires<sub>j</sub> [to put e<sub>j</sub> on t<sub>i</sub>]]? (Jones (1991: 74))

弱い島の効果

- (11) a. %About which topic did John ask whether to talk t?  
 b. Which topic did John ask whether to talk about t?  
 c. \*How did John ask whether to behave t? (Szabolsci and Lohndal (2017: 4045))

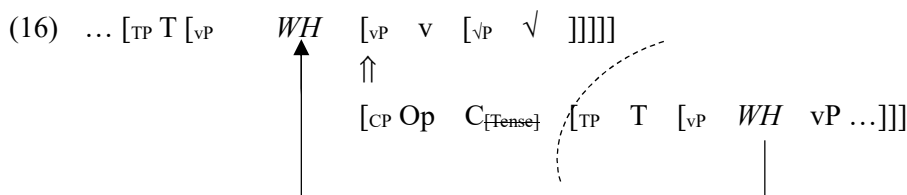
- (12) a. 副詞の wh 句 (why, how)は弱い島から移動できない。  
 b. Lasnik and Saito (1992), Chomsky (1986), Cinque (1990), Kiss (1993), De Swart (1992)

- (13) a. \*How<sub>i</sub> did [John go to the garage [in order to fix the car t<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 b. \*How<sub>i</sub> did [John bring Bill<sub>j</sub> in [e<sub>j</sub> to fix the car t<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 c. \*How<sub>i</sub> did [John bring these tires<sub>j</sub> [to put e<sub>j</sub> on the car t<sub>i</sub>]]? (Jones (1991: 77))

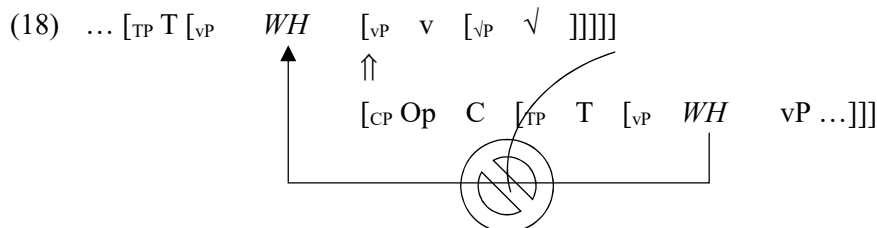
(11)-(13)に基づき、以下を仮定する。

- (14) a. 非定形付加詞節は演算子(Op)をその指定部に持つ。  
 b. この演算子の存在により、弱い島の効果が引き起こされる。

(15) ?Which car<sub>i</sub> [did John bring Bill<sub>j</sub> in [e<sub>j</sub> to work on t<sub>i</sub>]]? (= (9))



(17) \*Who did John come back, before I had a chance to talk to t? (=1)



### 現在分詞の付加詞節

- (19) a. What did John come back [whistling t]?  
 b. What did John lie in bed [reading t] all day?  
 c. What did John drive Mary crazy [trying to fix t]? (Truswell (2008: 20))

- (20) a. What did John drive Mary crazy [whistling t]?  
 b. What did John die [whistling t]? (Truswell (2011: 30))

### without 節

- (21) a. the article that I went to England [without reading t] (Chomsky (1982: 72))  
 b. What did you go away [without thinking of t]? (Truswell (2008: 173))  
 c. Which problem could you go a whole day [without thinking about t]? (Truswell (2007: 160))

### before/after ...ing 節<sup>1</sup>

- (22) a. Which book did John design his garden [after reading t]?  
 b. %Which professor was John working so hard [before meeting t]? (Truswell (2007: 17, 131))

## 4. 定形付加詞節内部からの抜き出し

### 4. 1. If/When/Because 節と Before/After 節

- (23) Which play<sub>i</sub> do you say/believe/claim/think that [{if/when} the coach sees t<sub>i</sub>] then the Lions will win the game? (Taylor (2007: 190-192), Yoshimura (2013: 18))

- (24) This is the watch that I got upset [when I lost t]. (=2)

- (25) I got to do things<sub>i</sub> in the film that, if you did t<sub>i</sub> on the street they'd send you away.  
 (Chaves and Pullum (2020: 91), citing *Lee Marvin: Point Blank* by Dwaine Epstein)

- (26) a. Which email account would you be in trouble if someone broke into t?  
 b. Which problem would you be devastated if someone had already solved t?  
 c. This is the formula that I would be devastated if someone had already discovered t?  
 (Chaves (2012: 468))

- (27) a. Which problem would you be impressed if someone had already solved?  
 b. Which costume would mom freak out the most if I wore on Halloween?  
 c. This is the type of problem that I would be relieved if someone had already solved.  
 (Chaves (2013: 293))

<sup>1</sup> Boeckx (2012: 67)は Uriagereka (2012: 32)を引用し次の対比を指摘している。

- (i) a. ?That's the game that he cried (bitterly) [after having lost \_\_\_]  
 b. ??That's the game that [after having lost \_\_\_] he cried (bitterly)

Haegeman (2003, 2006, 2010、及び以降の研究)

(28) [<sub>ForceP</sub> Force [<sub>TopP\*</sub> Top\* [<sub>FocP</sub> Foc [<sub>TopP\*</sub> Top\* [<sub>FinP</sub> Fin [<sub>IP</sub> I ]]]]]] (Rizzi (1997: 297))

(29) a. Root clauses: Top Focus Force Mod Fin IP  
b. Adverbial clauses: Sub Mod Fin IP (Haegeman (2010: 632))

項前置 (話題化 / 左方転移)

(30) a. \*When [her regular column] she began to write again, I thought she would be OK.  
b. \*If [these final exams] you don't pass, you won't get the degree. (Haegeman (2010: 629))

Higher Adverb と Epistemic Modal

(31) a. If it (\*probably) rains you may get wet. (Haegeman (2006: 1652))  
b. \*John will do it when/if he may/must have time. (Haegeman (2009: 630))

Coalescence: Hsu (2021)

(32) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TP</sub> T ....  
[Force/Focus]  
[Tns] [φ] [Mood]

本発表の分析

(33) Which play<sub>i</sub> do you say/believe/claim/think that when the coach sees t<sub>i</sub>, then the Lions will win the game? (=23)

(34) ... say/believe/claim/think that [<sub>CP</sub> *WH* C [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> √ ]]]]  
↑  
[<sub>CP</sub> Op C<sub>{Force/Focus}</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> *WH* vP ...]]]

**Premise Conditionals**

(35) a. If [his syntactic analysis], we can't criticize, there is a lot to be said against the semantics of the paper. (Haegeman (2003: 332))

b. If you are [probably] going to move soon, there's no point in getting a broadband connection at home. (Haegeman (2006: 1652))

(36) \*Which topic do you say that [if we can't criticize t], there is a lot to be said against the semantics of the paper.

(37) \*Which smart phone is there no point in getting a broadband connection at home [if you are probably going to buy t soon]?

**Third type of *if*-clauses (non-logical or irrealis *if*-clauses)** (see Pullum (1987) and Rocchi (2010)).

- (38) \*I would prefer it if Clarence, you contacted t directly. (Postal (1998: 71))  
(39) Which commitment would it be useful if we kept? (Pullum (1987: 264))  
(40) a. [What size steak] would you prefer it if we ordered t?  
b. \*[How big a steak] would you prefer it if we ordered t? (Postal (1998: 49))

**because 節** (Hooper and Thompson (1973) and Haegeman (2006))

Logical reason

- (41) a. \*Sam is going out for dinner, not because his wife, she can't cook, but because he wants to discuss Q-magic with Stella. (Hooper and Thompson (1973: 494))  
b. \*I didn't drop the class because frankly I didn't like it, I dropped it because it was too expensive. (Haegeman (2006: 1655))  
(42) a. ??the book that I went to college [because I liked t]. (Chomsky (1982: 72))  
b. Which toy did Tom throw a tantrum [because somebody broke t]? (Chaves (2013: 293))  
c. [Who]<sub>i</sub> did Tom get mad [because Phil forgot to thank/say t<sub>i</sub>]? (Chaves and Pullum (2020: 8, 91))

Speaker's evidence

- (43) a. Mildred drives a Mercedes because her son, he owns stock in Xerox. (Hooper and Thompson (1973: 493))  
b. [A referendum on a united Ireland]...will be a 'good thing,' because frankly they need to be taken down a peg and come down to earth and be a little bit more sober in their approach to things. (Haegeman (2006: 1655)) citing *Guardian*, 22.7.2, page 4, col 4  
(44) \*Which person did you say that he was sick [because you got a call from t]?

**before/after 節**

- (45) \*Mildred bought a Mercedes [before/after her son, he purchased stock in Xerox]. (Sawada and Larson (2004: 517))<sup>2</sup>  
(46) \*We met John before he must have tampered with the tapes. (Haegeman (2010: 630))

Extraction out of finite temporal adjuncts<sup>3</sup>

- (47) a. These are the pills that Mary died [before she could take t].  
b. This is the house that Mary died [before she could sell t]. (Chaves (2019: 28))

<sup>2</sup> Sawada and Larson (2004)は、when 節内部で項前置が生じないと主張する。

<sup>3</sup> Grosu (1981: 87)は次を述べ、(i)の対比を指摘している：“...informants report that the (a) sentences [ones including (ia) below] are at least as acceptable as the (b) sentences [ones including (ib) below] (and often significantly better).”

(i) a. There are a number of important people WHO Mary died before she could meet t.

b. There are a number of important people WHO Mary died after she (had) met t. (Grosu (1981: 88))

## 4.2. 外置構文と目的語虚辞構文

### 4.2.1. 目的語虚辞構文

TP への付加

(48) I discovered it recently that Lou had been fired. (Stroik (1996: 239))

(49) a. I have learned it from Lou that Bill keeps asking you for money.

b. I see it now that I can't trust you.

c. I heard it from your mother that I can't trust you. (Stroik (1996: 243, n. 8))

項前置と抜き出し

(50) \*Maria loves it that [the big prize] John won t (de Cuba (2018: 3))

(51) a. ?Who<sub>i</sub> do you admit it freely that you once loved t<sub>i</sub>.

b. ?Where<sub>i</sub> did Lou mention it to you that she had put the hammer t<sub>i</sub>. (Stroik (1996: 248))

(52) \*Why<sub>i</sub> do you admit it freely [that you broke the window t<sub>i</sub>] (Stroik (1996: 249))

### 4.2.2. 外置の that 節

(53) Which packages is it possible [that Sam didn't pick up t which are to be mailed tomorrow]?

(Ross (1967: 286))

(54) Which movie did it confuse you the most that nobody wanted to watch?

(Chaves and Pullum (2020: 218))

(55) a. ? I wonder which opponent it matters that Marcus can beat.

b. \* I wonder how tall it matters that Marcus is.

(Rullmann (1995: 7))<sup>4</sup>

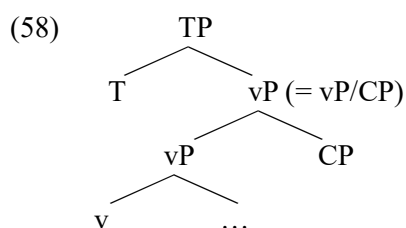
項前置

(56) \*It was impossible that [each part] he had examined carefully. (Hooper and Thompson (1973: 479))

## 5. 付加詞節のラベル付け

(57) {<sub>α</sub> XP, YP} α = XP/YP

(Mizuguchi (2019))



## 6. 結論

<sup>4</sup> 弱い島の効果は不定詞の場合であれ観察される。

(i) a. ? Which man is it time to invite?

b. \* How high is it time to jump?

(Rullmann (1995: 216))

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