

Reading lecture から『言語研究』まで

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目的: 句構造文法からラベル理論に至り、構造構築とそれに付随する特性がどのように引き出され、どこに位置付けられるべきかの問題が解決した。一方、代表的には Chomsky 2019 から顕著となった新しい問題として、構造構築に用いられる Merge の適用方法とその定義を明確化することが必要になった。特に後者の動きについて、Chomsky のいくつかの講演及びそれを基にした論文を見ていき、一つの着点である Chomsky 2021c に至るまでどのような変更点があったのかを見ていく。

主要参考文献と略称

Reading...Chomsky (2019) “Some Puzzling Foundational Issues: The Reading Program,” *Catalan Journal of Linguistics Special Issue*, 263–285. (元の講演は 2017 年)

UCLA...Chomsky (2020a) “The UCLA Lectures,” *Lingbuzz*, Available at <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/005485> (元の講演は 2019 年)

LSJ...Chomsky (2020b) “Minimalism: Where We Are Now, and Where We Are Going,” Talk at the 161st meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan, September 22nd, Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X4F9NSVVVuw>

WCCFL...Chomsky (2021a) “Genuine explanations,” Talk at the 39th meeting of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, April 8th, Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F6SbPKmVNVQ>

GrOC...Chomsky (2021b) “A Linguistic ZOOM with Noam Chomsky (Q5),” Talk at Gramática Orientada a las Competencias, April 28th, Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1u2dwfRb9S8>

言語研究...Chomsky (2021c) Minimalism: Where Are we Now, and Where Can we Hope to Go,” *Gengo Kenkyu* 160, 1–41.

1. これまでの流れ: 構造構築を巡る二つの問題

1.1. 統語構造の作り方の問題

(UCLA: 16-17)

(1) 句構造文法: 階層構造、線形順序、投射を一緒くたにしていた。

$VP \rightarrow V+NP$

(2) X'-schema: 線形順序は追い出したが、compositionality と投射は依然一緒のまま。

$\{_{XP} ZP \{_{X'} X, YP\}\}$

(3) labeling: 残り二つも分けることができた。

$Merge(X, Y) \rightarrow \{_{\alpha} X, Y\}$

## 1.2. Merge の適用の仕方の問題

(Reading: 267-269)

- (4) Merge の extension としての late-Merge、Parallel Merge、Sideward Merge があったが、それらは legitimate ではなく、それらが提供していた“explanation”は実際には description。それらは legitimate ではないとして排除したいが、そうするとそれらが“explain”していた exotic construction が問題として残ってしまう。ACD、ATB、PG 等。これらのために新しい principle を提案することはできない。子供はそれらの証拠を持たず、これらの説明はシンプルなところから提供しなければならない。
- (5) The first question is ‘how can they be ruled out?’, ‘what’s a proper definition of Merge that rules them out?’, and the second question is ‘how do we deal with the descriptive results that are presented and described as solutions but we should think of as problems of the analyses?’ [...]

## 2. Reading lecture から『言語研究』までのいくつかの変更点

### ・ Merge について

- (6) MERGE の定義 (sequence あり)

(Reading: 280)

$$\Sigma = (X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n)$$

(i) Each  $X_i$  is *accessible* (that’s the definition of *recursion*)

(ii)  $\Sigma$  exhausts the workspace

$$\text{MERGE}(\Sigma) = \{\{X_1, X_2\}, X_3, \dots, X_n\}$$

That’s a *replace* operation. It replaces  $X_1$  and  $X_2$ , the first members of the sequence, by a *set*, and it doesn’t have any *Remove* operation.

- (7)  $\text{MERGE}(P, Q, WS) = [\{P, Q\}, \dots] = WS'$

(UCLA: 34)

- (8)  $\text{Merge}(X_1, \dots, X_n, WS) = WS' = \{\{X_1, \dots, X_n\}, W, Y\}$ , satisfying SMT and LSCs.

(言語研究: 20)

- (9) WS の表記は元々は curly bracket (Reading: 276) だったものが、UCLA lectures: 34 で、Merge によって作られた set と WS (これも set) を区別するために分かりやすいように square bracket を使っていた。

### ・ copy について

- (10) MERGE は常に copy を生む。

(UCLA lectures: 44)

- (11) [...] keeping MS to select an element  $X$  then searching for a structurally identical element  $Y$  under the conditions on  $\Sigma$ , and assigning the relation *Copy* to  $\langle X, Y \rangle$ .

(言語研究: 20)

- (12) IM の解体: copy ができた後に deletion が行われる。deletion は externalization で起こるもので、internal language とは無関係。

(LSJ: 57: 19)

- (13) The man who read the book liked the book.

(*ibid.*: 58: 20)

- (14) [Which boy]<sub>1</sub> did John ask [which boy]<sub>2</sub> [which boy]<sub>3</sub> Bill met [which boy]<sub>4</sub>

1 と 3 が c-command を持つから非文。

(UCLA lectures: 46)

- (15)  $X, \{ \text{John}_1 \text{ INFL } \{ \cancel{X}_1, \{ \text{John}_2 \{ \text{meet } X_2 \text{ yesterday} \} \} \}$

$\langle X, \text{John}_1 \rangle, \langle \text{John}_1, \mathbf{X}_1 \rangle, \langle \mathbf{X}_1, \text{John}_2 \rangle, \langle \text{John}_2, \mathbf{X}_2 \rangle$

The problem can be traced to the improper Copy pair  $\langle \text{John}_1, \mathbf{X}_1 \rangle$ , the Copy analogue to improper movement. (言語研究: 28)

(16)  $\text{what}_1$  did  $\text{John}_1$  file  $\text{what}_2$  [without [ $\text{what}_3$   $\text{John}_2$  reading  $\text{what}_4$ ]] (ibid.: 35)

(17) topicalization は copy で left dislocation は repetition。IM でできたものが copy で EM は repetition。 (Reading: 278)

(18) topicalization の stability (UCLA: 42)

(19) [Mary's book]<sub>1</sub>, John read [Mary's book]<sub>2</sub> (Reading: 278)

(20) Mary's book, John read it.

(21) double object、topicalization、small clause が依然残っている問題、abstract case、left periphery+labeling 等で copy か否かを判別する。 (UCLA lectures: 44)

• sequence について

(22) a. [<sub>α</sub> Conj [<sub>β</sub> Z W]] (Chomsky (2013: 46))

b. [<sub>γ</sub> Z [<sub>α</sub> Conj [<sub>β</sub> Z W]]] (Chomsky (2013: 46))

(23) 線形順序や any other arrangement は C-I に一切 feed しない。 (Reading: 272)

(24) 順序が解釈に影響を与えるものを sequence として導入。 (UCLA: 50)

(25)  $\langle \text{CONJ}, \langle S_1, L_1 \rangle, \dots, \langle S_n, L_n \rangle \rangle$  (L[inker]=categorizer) (UCLA lectures: 50-51)

(26)  $X_1, \dots, X_m$  from WS, forming  $Y = \{X_1, \dots, X_m\}$

Merging of & and FSQ yields  $\langle \&, X_1, \dots, X_m \rangle$  (言語研究: 31-32)

(27) a. Which farm does John live near the border next to with his family (list) (LSJ: 1:10:10)

b. \*Which farm does John live near the border next to and with his family (coordination) (ibid.)

(28) Now the coordinator, as indicated there, is optional. If it's present, externalization gets it to show up in one place or another. Typically, before the  $X_n$ . If it's missing, the Form Sequence operation produces sequences that are rather like a list as a contrast between these two. (LSJ: 1:08:55)

(29) [(27)]b violates what's called the coordinate structure constraint. [(27)]a doesn't. It's not a coordinate structure. The constraint actually is eliminable. There are strict matching conditions on coordinations. (ibid.: 1:10:35)

(30) a. Which farm did John live on [<sub>1</sub> which farm] near [<sub>2</sub> which farm] (言語研究: 32)

b. Which farm did John live on [<sub>1</sub> which farm] and near [<sub>2</sub> which farm] (ibid.: 32)

(31) In [(30b)], deletion of both is less acceptable, perhaps ungrammatical. (ibid.)

(32) There are matching conditions for both the set and the sequence, but they are much more stringent for the sequence, [...] (言語研究: 32)

(33) 受け身にできない quasi causative は pair-Merge で派生。 (UCLA lectures: 54-55)

(34) a. The man was seen walking down the street. (ibid.: 54)

b. \*The man was seen walk down the street. (ibid.: 54)

(35) head movement は C と T との pair-Merge (ibid.: 56)

(36)  $\{C, \{T, VP\}\} \rightarrow \{<C, T>, \{T, VP\}\} \rightarrow \{\{<C, T> \{T, VP\}\}\}$  (*ibid.*: 56)

(37) a.  $C, \{John_3, \{INFL, <\&, \{v, \{arrive, John_1\}\}, \{John_2, \{v^*, \{meet, Bill\}\}\}\>\}$   
(言語研究: 35)

b.  $[INFL, [v, root]]$  (*ibid.*: 36)

・その他

(38) ACD について、Chomsky (2004: 127) は QR を用いず afterthought が含まれるとし、note 68 では PG にも同様の分析を当てはめると示唆。

(39) John likes every boy (that is, more accurately...) every boy Mary likes. (Chomsky (2004: 127))

(40) island 違反の文も考えることはできるが produce できないものの例 (UCLA lectures: 30)

(41) each occurrence が theta role か argument role を持つ expanded theta criterion ([LSJ: 1:34:10](#))

(42)  $uF$  を phase と関連付けると inheritance 等複雑になり正しくない、valuation は description で、何故 agree があるかに答えられない限り正しい答えに辿り着けない。 ([GrOC: 2:57](#))

(43) a. T の C への依存性 (Chomsky (2000: 103))

b. Tense と INFL の関係

(44) These [unvalued] features mark phases, a particular execution of strict cyclicity, well-motivated on grounds of computational efficiency; and it may be that their only motivation is to do so.

(Chomsky (2015: 5))

(45) Perhaps phases are the sets with unmatched values  $(+n, -v)$ ,  $(-n, +v)$ , along with CP (with force indicator and left periphery). (言語研究: 37)

(46) With head-movement eliminated,  $v$  need no longer be at the edge of the  $vP$  phase, but can be within the domains of PIC and Transfer, which can be unified. (*ibid.*: 36)

(47) Minimal Search also has important empirical consequences. For example, it explains why Japanese, but not English, and other languages, allow multiple-Spec constructions. EKS have shown that in an important paper. ([LSJ: 49:59](#))

(48)  $\{_{SO1} \{N_1[uCase/vPhi], \alpha\}, \{N_2[uCase/vPhi], \beta\}, \{N_3[uCase/vPhi], \gamma\}, \{T[vTense/\underline{uPhi}], \delta\}\}$   
(adapted from Epstein, Kitahara, and Seely (2020: 7))

### 3. Appendix: 再構築可能性と Form Copy

(49) a. 太郎が会った自分の母親 (自分=太郎)

b. 太郎が[花子が会ったと信じている]自分の母親 (自分=太郎/\*花子)

(50) the picture of himself that John thinks Bill likes best (*himself*=John/Bill)

(51) a. one interpreter each<sub>1</sub> seems [to have been assigned one interpreter each<sub>1</sub> to the diplomats]  
IM (adapted from Chomsky (2021: 22))

b. \*one interpreter each<sub>1</sub> INFL [one interpreter each<sub>1</sub> tried [to be assigned one interpreter each<sub>1</sub> to the diplomats]] IM FC (adapted from *ibid.*)

(52) The interpretive systems allow reconstruction for a copy relation (IM configuration) iff it is made by a uniform operation.

(53) [DP [CP ...[<sub>v</sub>\*P ...DP<sub>1</sub>......]] DP<sub>1</sub>]  
FC

FC  
(54) [DP [CP ...[<sub>v</sub>\*P ...DP<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v</sub>\*' ...DP<sub>1</sub>...]]]] DP<sub>1</sub>]  
IM

(55) A phase makes the next lower phase inaccessible. (Saito (2017))

FC  
(56) [DP [CP ...[<sub>v</sub>\*P ...DP<sub>1</sub> [CP ...[<sub>v</sub>\*P ...DP<sub>1</sub>...]]]]] DP<sub>1</sub>]  
IM

(57) a. 着ている洋服が汚れている紳士

b. [DP (RC2) [CP C ... [<sub>v</sub>\*P [DP (RC1) gentleman<sub>1</sub> [DP (RC1) [CP gentleman<sub>1</sub>...clothes...wear] clothes]]] is dirt]] gentleman<sub>1</sub>]

(58) a. Equi-NP Deletion, I found Brame's arguments against \*(it) very convincing.

(Radford (2018: 49))

b. Gianni, \*(lo) ho visto.

G. him I saw

'Gianni, I saw him.'

(Italian, adapted from Cinque (1990: 14))

(59) Defoe, even I could have scored that goal.

(Radford (2018: 42))

#### その他参考文献

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