

\*今日のタイムテーブル

	セッション	担当講師	取り上げる論文
13:30 - 14:15	[1] 話題提供	小町・葛西	論文1「原理群による規則の説明から原理群への説明へ」 論文2 “Kase as a Weak Head”
14:15 - 14:30	[1] 質疑		
14:30 - 14:35	休憩		
14:35 - 15:20	[2] 話題提供	瀧田・大滝	論文3 “On the Causative Paradoxes”
15:20 - 15:35	[2] 質疑		
15:35 - 15:45	休憩		
15:45 - 17:00	全体討論		

\*各トーク直後の質疑セッションでは、簡単なやり取りで済む内容に絞りましょう。

## Notes on Saito (2020) and Saito (2018)

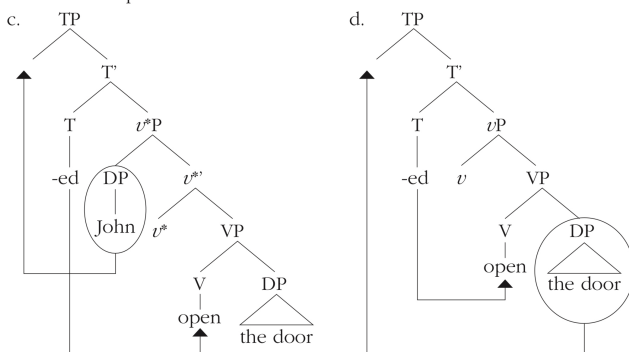
Masayuki Komachi (Shizuoka University)

Hironobu Kasai (The University of Kitakyushu)

### 論文1「原理群による規則の説明から原理群への説明へ」

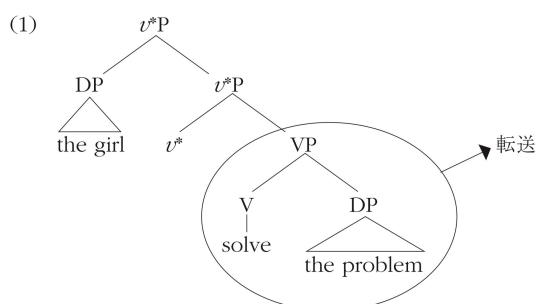
文の基本的な句構造：

- (5) a. John opened the door  
b. The door opened



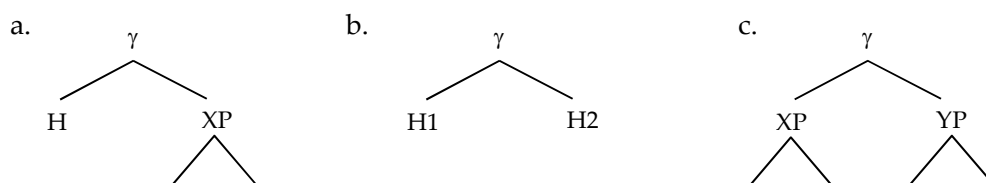
Chomsky (2013, 2015) :

- 「併合」と「転送」
- フェイズ (CP, v\*P) ごとに派生が進む。
- 解釈部門が必要とする情報として、ラベルが構造に付与される。

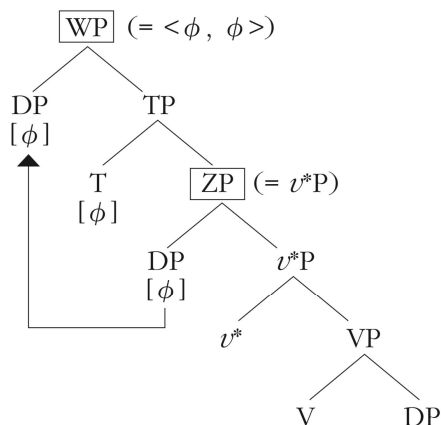


#### 4. Chomsky (2013, 2015)のラベル付け理論

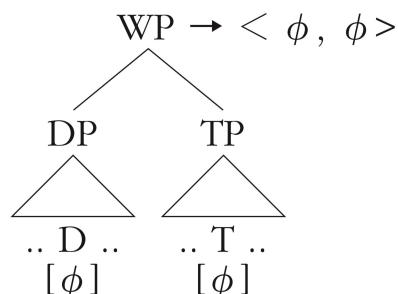
(23)



(24)



(25)



[1] 外項の DP が v\*P 指定部から TP 指定部に義務的に移動するのはなぜか。

(11) There are books (on the shelf)

⇒ (24) ZP

[2] 不定詞補文の主語は、なぜ主節に移動するのか。

(7) = (13) = (29)

- a. [ $\delta$  Mary is likely [ $_{TP}$  to [ $_{\gamma}$  \_\_\_\_ [ $_{v^*P}$   $v^*$  [ $_{VP}$  win the race]]]]]
- b. \*(It) is likely [ $_{TP}$  to [ $_{\gamma}$  Mary [ $_{v^*P}$   $v^*$  [ $_{VP}$  win the race]]]]]
- c. \*(It) is likely [ $\delta$  Mary [ $_{TP}$  to [ $_{\gamma}$  \_\_\_\_ [ $_{v^*P}$   $v^*$  [ $_{VP}$  win the race]]]]]

(14) \*There is likely [ $_{TP}$  a boy to [ $_{v^*P}$   $v^*$  \_\_\_\_ [ $_{VP}$  win the race]]]

[3] ECM 構文の補文主語は、なぜ主節に移動するのか。

(16) a. I've believed John for a long time to be a liar

b. I have found Bob recently to be a morose

(Postal 1974)

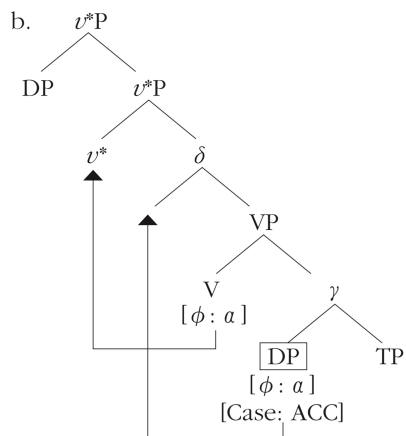
(17) a. \*The DA proved [that the defendants were guilty] during **each other's** trials

b. ?The DA accused the defendants during **each other's** trials

c. ?The DA proved [the defendants to be guilty] during **each other's** trials

(Lasnik and Saito 1991)

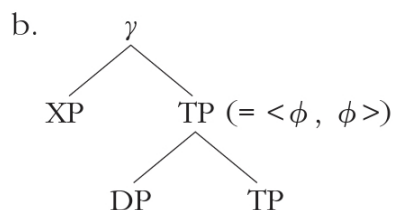
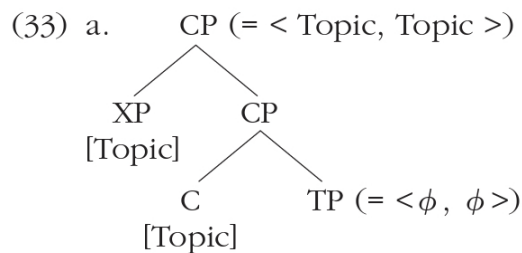
(31) a. I believe the scientist to be a genius



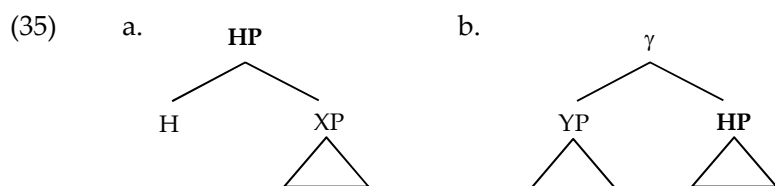
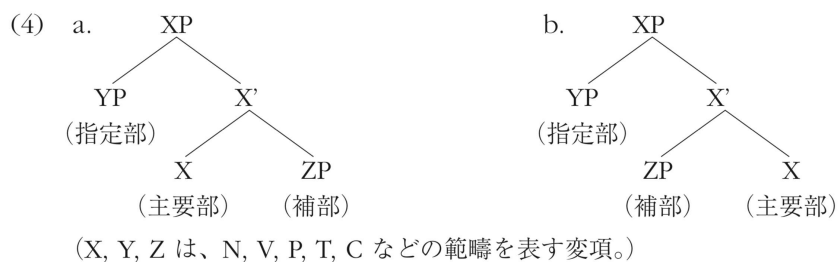
**[4] 主題にならない要素の移動は、なぜ許されないのか。**

(20) = (32)

- a. Mary didn't go anywhere  
b. \*Anywhere, Mary didn't go



**[5] なぜ X バー構造があるのか。**



- b-i. YP が  $\gamma$  の外に移動。  
b-ii. Y と H が主要な素性を共有。

\*ラベル付け理論が許容するのは上記パターンのみ。

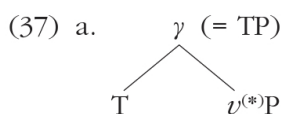
**[6] EPP に関する言語間変異はなぜ生じるのか。**

- (36) a. Affondarono due navi (Burzio 1986)  
           sank two ships  
           'Two ships sank.'  
       b. \*Sank two ships  
       c. Two ships sank \_\_\_\_

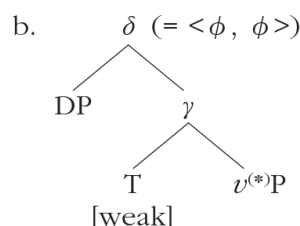
Chomsky (2015) : 主要部の強弱

- 強主要部：ラベルを供給できる。イタリア語の T。
- 弱主要部：ラベルを供給できない。英語の T。素性共有によってラベルを与えられるようになる。

イタリア語



英語



**Topic for Discussion: The Nature of Labeling**

- A) “[...] we need to discuss the exact nature of labels, and in particular whether they are to be defined internally, as a core aspect of syntactic computation, as in the traditional approach stemming from Government-Binding Theory, or externally, as in a recent proposal by Chomsky (2013), who claims that labels are only needed at the interface for the interpretation of syntactic objects. As noted earlier, labels seem to play some role in interpretation. The issue then is whether they also play a role in syntax, or whether one must assume that they are purely an interface condition.” (Cecchetto and Donati 2015: 30)
- B) Each SO generated enters into further computations. Some information about the SO is relevant to these computations. In the best case, a single designated element should contain all the relevant information: the label (the item “projected” in X-bar theories; the locus in the label-free system of Collins 2002). The label selects and is selected in EM, and is the Probe that seeks a Goal for operations internal to the SO: Agree or IM. (Chomsky 2008: 141)
- C) Projection is a theory-internal notion, part of the computational process GP. For a syntactic object SO to be interpreted, some information is necessary about it: what kind of object is it? Labeling is the process of providing that information. Under PSG and its offshoots, labeling is part of the process of forming a syntactic object SO. But that is no longer true when the stipulations of these systems are eliminated in the simpler Merge-based conception of UG. We assume, then, that there is a fixed labeling algorithm LA that licenses SOs so that they can be interpreted at the interfaces, operating at the phase level along with other operations. The simplest assumption is that LA is just minimal search, presumably appropriating a third factor principle, as in Agree and other operations. In the best case, the relevant information about SO will be provided by a single designated element within it: a computational atom, to first approximation a lexical item LI, a head. This LI should provide the label found by LA, when the algorithm can apply. (Chomsky 2013: 43)

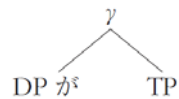
## 5. $\phi$ 素性一致を欠く日本語におけるラベル付け

### 5.1 Saito (2016)のラベル理論

(1) 主張: 接辞文法格・述部屈折が反ラベル付け機能を持つ。

<接辞文法格>

(2)



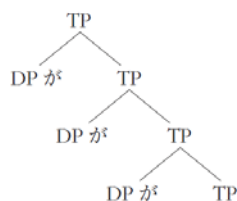
$\delta = \{XP\text{-Case}, YP\} \rightarrow YP$  が  $\delta$  のラベルを決定する

<帰結 1> 多重主語構文

(3) 文明国が 男性が 平均寿命が短い。

(Kuno 1973)

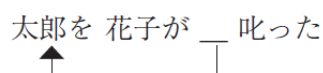
(4)



(5) 英語には接辞文法格がなく、時制文は、主語と時制の  $\phi$ 素性共有によりラベル付けされる。DP による T の  $\phi$ 素性値は、1 対 1 の関係であり、したがって、主語は一つに限られる。(Saito 2020: 28)

<帰結 2> スクランブリング

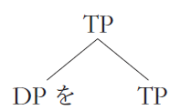
(6) 名詞句のスクランブリング



(7) スクランブリングは、句を単に TP(あるいは CP)に併合するものと考えられる。移動する句と TP の間に  $\phi$ 素性の共有はなく、形成される構成素は、素性の共有によってはラベルを与えられない。

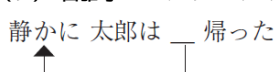
(Saito 2020: 28)

(8)



$\delta = \{XP\text{-Case}, YP\} \rightarrow YP$  が  $\delta$  のラベルを決定する

(9) 副詞のスクランブリング



(10) a. この部屋は 静かだ (非過去終止)

b. 静かな 部屋 (非過去連体)

c. 太郎は 静かに 帰った (連用)

(Saito 2020: 29)

<述部屈折>

(11) 日本語の連体修飾節の多様性

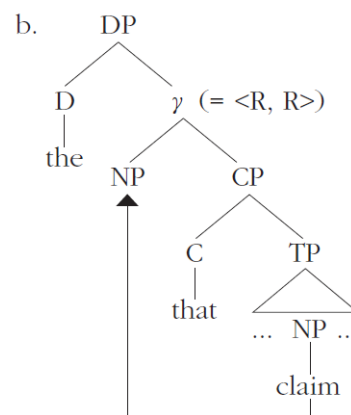
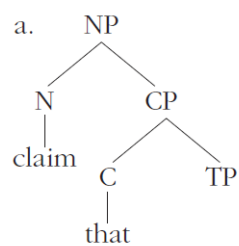
- a. 魚が焼ける匂い
- b. \*the smell that fish burns
- c. 誰かがドアを閉める音
- d. \*the sound that someone closes the door

(Saito 2020: 29)

(12) 英語の複合名詞句

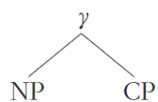
- a. the claim that John was asleep
- b. the claim that John made

(13)



R:関係節素性

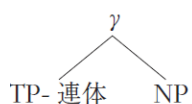
(14) (11b, 11d)の構造



(15) 終止形と連体形の区別 --> すべての述部で、この区別が抽象的には維持されている。

- a. その香水は 太郎が 香りが 嫌いだ
- b. 太郎が 香りが 嫌いな 香水

(16)



(17) コメント1:日本語で、格助詞がかきまぜによって残留できないことも説明できるのでは？

(18) \*花子 太郎が \_ を 叱った。---> {XP, YP}構造

(19) 格助詞が残留すること自体は形態的には問題ない。

### *Particle stranding*

(20) A: 東京でトム・クルーズを見たの！

B: え！本当？トム・クルーズを？

A: e を見たの！びっくりしちゃった。

(Sato and Ginsburg 2007: 198)

### *Case marker drop*

(21) 君は その店で 何(を)買ったの

(22) コメント2:述部屈折の種類によって、反ラベル付け機能を持ったり持たなかったりするのか？

(23) a. \*この論文を読み、太郎がした。---> なぜ非文法的なのか？

b. この論文を読みさえ、太郎がした。---> focus particle も反ラベル付け機能を持つのか？

(24) コメント3:反ラベル付け機能を持つ副詞と持っていない副詞でかきまぜの可否に差が出るか？

(25) a. 3 時間 太郎が花子が \_ 勉強したと言った。

b. 3 時間で 太郎が花子が \_ その問題を解いたと言った。

(26) 太郎が花子が \_ 勉強したと言ったのは、3 時間だ。

(27) コメント4: 中国語のような、接辞文法格もゆ素性一致もない言語のラベル付けはどうするか？

(28)中国語の不定名詞句は、主語の位置やトピックの位置に一般に生起できない。

(29) a. \*Yi-ge ren lai-le.

one-CL person come-ASP

‘A person came.’

(Cheng 1991: 129)

b. \*Yi-zi gou, Geruisen hen xihuan.

one-CL dog Grissom very like

‘Grissom likes a dog.’

(Kuo 2009: 5)

(30) 中国語の主語は、Top の主要部と Top 素性の一致。-

コメント 5: 以下のような分析が可能か？

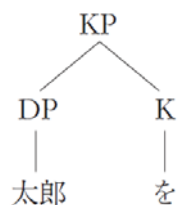
(31) a. 魚が焼ける時の匂い

b. 誰かがドアを閉める時の音

## 5.2. Saito (2018): 弱主要部としての接辞文法格／述部屈折

(32) 接辞文法格・述部屈折が弱主要部である。

(33)



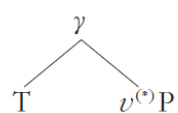
(34) 君は その店で 何(を)買ったの

(35) 他動詞が意味的に選択するのは、DP であり、KP ではない。

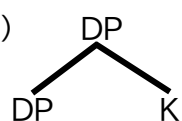
(36)  $\gamma = \{\alpha, \beta\}$  のラベルを決定するために、 $\gamma$  内を探索せよ。 $\alpha$  が弱主要部であるか  $\alpha$  内の探索が弱主要部を見いだす場合には、 $\alpha$  側の探索は停止され、 $\beta$  側のみで 探索が続けられる。

(Saito 2020: 31)

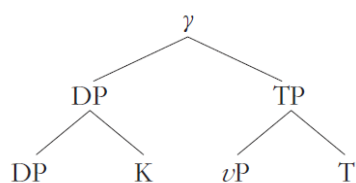
(37)



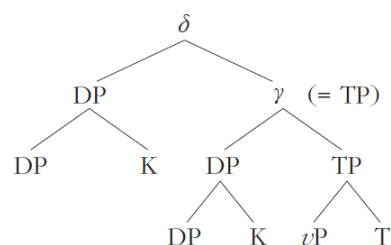
(38)



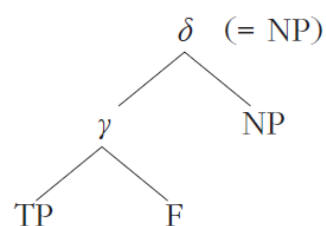
(39)



(40) 多重主語



(41) 連体修飾節

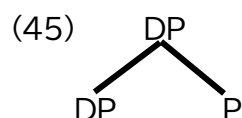




(42) コメント1:後置詞も弱主要部なのか？

(43) 東京から太郎が花子が \_\_ 来たと思っている。――>後置詞句もスクランプリング可。

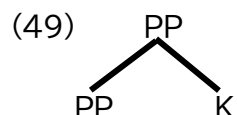
(44) 名詞句も後置詞句も同じ構造になるのか？



(46) 統語部門で、名詞句と後置詞句を分ける必要があるか？

(47) a. はなこがペンを三本買った。 (Miyagawa 1989: 28)  
b. \*人が小さい村から二つ来た。 (Miyagawa 1989: 31)

(48) ほとんどの会社から<sub>1</sub> その<sub>1</sub>パンフレットを送ってきた。



(50) このコンビニからが荷物を送りやすい。

(51) (43)のような例で K が何から格をもらうのか？

(52) コメント2: focus particle も弱主要部ということになるのか？ どのような語彙項目が弱主要部になるのか？

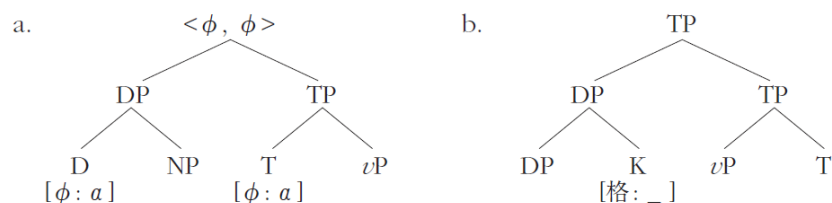
(53) この論文を読みさえ、太郎がした。

(54) コメント 3: ある語彙項目が弱主要部かどうかということを子供はどうやって獲得するのか？

(55) コメント 4: F は、どのような性質の主要部か？カートグラフィーの Fin？

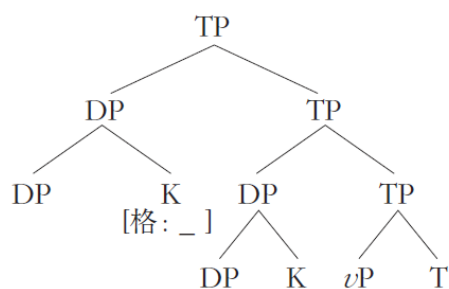
<格素性の与値について>

(56) 日本語における格素性の与値は、探索によって行われる。



(Saito 2020: 33)

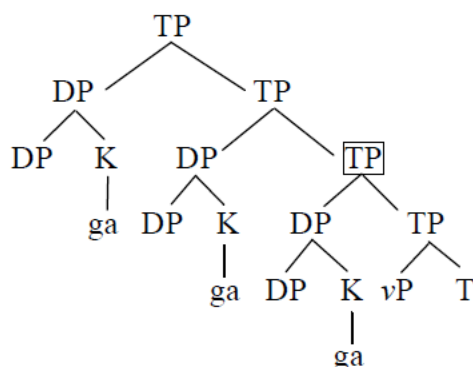
(57) 多重主語



探索によって、KとTを見いだす。

(Saito 2020: 33)

(58)



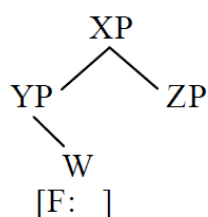
(Saito 2018: 8)

(59) Search into this structure yields the topmost subject DP and its sister TP. Search into the DP locates K. On the other hand, the first head found by search into the TP is K in the second subject. Then, it is not obvious how K in the topmost subject DP is valued as nominative. (Saito 2018: 8)

(60) It is the label provider that values a Case feature.

(Saito 2018: 8)

(61)



(Saito 2018: 8)

## References

- Cheng, Lisa. 1991. On the typology of wh-questions. MIT dissertation.
- Kuo, Pei-Jung. 2009. IP internal movement and topicalization. Uconn dissertation.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1989. *Structure and case marking in Japanese*. New York: Academic Press.
- Sato, Yosuke and Jason Ginsburg. 2007. A new type of nominal ellipsis in Japanese. *Proceedings of FAJL 4*, 197-204.

# Notes on “On the Causative Paradoxes: Derivations and Transfer Domains”

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## 1. Introduction

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### (1) “Causative paradoxes”

- a. Properties suggesting bi-clausal structure:  
→Kuroda (1965)/Murasugi & Hashimoto (2004) (cf. [2]) & Sec.2
- b. Properties suggesting mono-clausal structure:
  - i. “The single accusative effect” (e.g. [4])  
→Sec. 4
  - ii. “[T]he apparent extension of the binding domain” (e.g. [6a] vs. [6b])  
→Sec. 3

## 2. Evidence for Complex Structure

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### (2) *Subject-orientation and the Causee*

- a. Subject-orientation of *zibun* ([8]):  
Hanako-ga [<sub>CP</sub> Taroo-ga Ziroo-ni zibun-no syasin-o mise-ta to] it-ta (koto)
- b. The dative-marked causee argument being the antecedent (cf. [9]):  
Hanako-ga Taroo-ni zibun-no syasin-o sute-sase-ta

→The causee argument must be a subject; hence a bi-clausal structure.

### (3) *Adverb interpretation*

- a. Hanako-ga Taroo-o isoide rondon-ni mukaw-ase-ta (koto) (= [10b]).
- b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni isoide rondon-ni yukkuri mukaw-ase-ta (koto)

→A bi-clausal structure can represent the “causing” event and the “caused” event.

<??> How about the ambiguity of “John opened the door again”?

(4) *Locality of A-movement (passivization)*

- a. Sono hon-ga Hanako-niyotte Taroo-ni \_\_ watas-are-ta (= [11b])  
b. \* Wani-ga Hanako-niyotte Taroo-ni \_\_ tabe-sase-rare-ta (= [12])

(5) *Condition B-effect*

- a. Taroo-ga kare-o suisensi-ta (koto) (Taroo ≠ kare) (= [13a])  
b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kare-o suisens-ase-ta (koto) (Taroo = kare) (= [13b])  
c. \* Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kare-o syookaisi-ta (regular ditransitive)

➔ Given that pronouns must be in the different domain from their binders, there must be a certain boundary between *Taroo* and *kare* in (5b).

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✧ Personal notes

- (6) a. John made Bill nominate himself (himself = Bill [but ≠ John]) (cf. [7])  
b. Taroo made Hanako nominate him [him = Taroo] (cf. trans. of [13b])  
c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni zibun-zisin-o suisens-ase-ta (koto) (cf. [6b])  
d. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kare-o suisens-ase-ta (koto) (cf. [13b])

➔ Anaphors and pronouns are in complementary distribution in English (6a-b) but not in Japanese (6c-d).

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### **3. Phases and Transfer Domains in Causative Sentences**

(7) *The contrast to be addressed* (= [14])

- a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni zibun-zisin-o suisens-ase-ta (koto)  
b. \* Wani-ga Hanako-niyotte Taroo-ni \_\_ tabe-sase-rare-ta

➔ Anaphor binding and NP-movement: relations holding between A-positions.

#### **3.1. On the Theory of Phase and Transfer**

(8) *Quicoli's phase-based locality of anaphor binding*

Information on the reference of an anaphor is sent to the C-I interface together with a transfer domain that includes the anaphor. (= [17])

(9) *Illustration*

- a. John recommended himself. (= [18a]):  
 $[_{VP} \text{ John } [_{v^*} [_{VP} \text{ recommend himself}]]]$  (= [19])  $\leftarrow$  Transfer: ‘himself = John’
- b. \* John thinks that Mary recommended himself. (= [18b]):  
 $[_{VP} \text{ Mary } [_{v^*} [_{VP} \text{ recommend himself}]]]$  (= [20])  $\leftarrow$  Transfer: ‘himself = ?’
- c. John recommended him. (from Saito’s 2017 (5b)-(6b)):  
 $[_{VP} \text{ John } [_{v^*} [_{VP} \text{ recommend him}]]]$   $\leftarrow$  Transfer: ‘him  $\neq$  John’

(10) *NIC (Nominative Island Condition) effect and its absence*

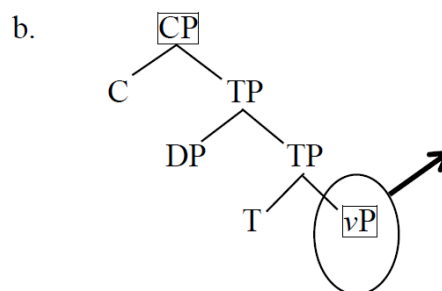
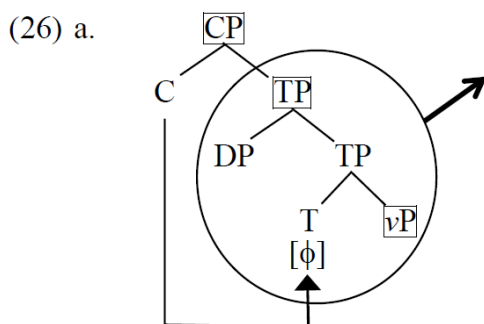
- a. \* John thinks  $[_{CP} \text{ that } [_{TP} \text{ himself will be nominated}]]$  (= [21]):  
 $[_{CP} \text{ that } [_{TP} \text{ himself will be nominated}]]$   $\leftarrow$  Transfer: ‘himself = ?’
- b. Hanako-wa  $[_{CP} [_{TP} \text{ zibun-zisin-ga sore-o mi-ta}]]$  to] syutyoosi-ta (= [22b]):  
 $[_{CP} [_{TP} \text{ zibun-zisin-ga sore-o mi-ta}]]$  to]  $\leftarrow$  Transfer: ‘zibun-zisin = ?’
- c. They want very much  $[_{CP} \text{ for } [_{TP} \text{ each other to succeed}]]$  (= [23b])

➔ The contrast between (10a-b) is left unexplained under Quicoli’s analysis.

➔ The NIC is so-named because the locality effect disappears when no nominative is available (= no  $\phi$ -feature agreement happens) as in (10c).

(11) *Saito’s (2017) proposals* (= [25])

- a. T/V inherits phasehood from C/ $v^*$  together with  $\phi$ -features.
- b. A phase HP is transferred upon the completion of the next phase up.



➔ Absence of  $\phi$ -feature agreement renders the Transfer domain smaller.

(12) *Illustration with [23b]* (cf. [24])

They want very much  $[_{CP} \text{ for } [_{TP} \text{ each other to succeed}]]$  (= [23b]):

- a.  $[_{CP} \text{ for } [_{TP} \text{ each other to succeed}]] \leftarrow \text{Transfer: 'each other = ?'}$
- b. i.  $[_{CP} \text{ for } [_{TP} \text{ each other to } [_{vP} \text{ succeed}]]] \leftarrow \text{Transfer}$   
 ii.  $[\dots \text{ they want very much } [_{CP} \text{ for } [_{TP} \text{ each other to } [_{vP} \dots]]] \dots]$   
 $\leftarrow \text{Transfer: 'each other = they'}$
- 

✧ Topics for Discussion (1)

(13) *What defines phases?*

- a.  $\phi$ -features? i. C and  $v^{(*)}$  are inherently phases by having them.  
 ii. T and V become phases by  $\phi$ -feature inheritance (C/T are still phases even after inheritance).

- b. interpretive properties?

➔ If (13a), why do phases exist in Japanese?

➔ If (13b), why can T/V count as phases?

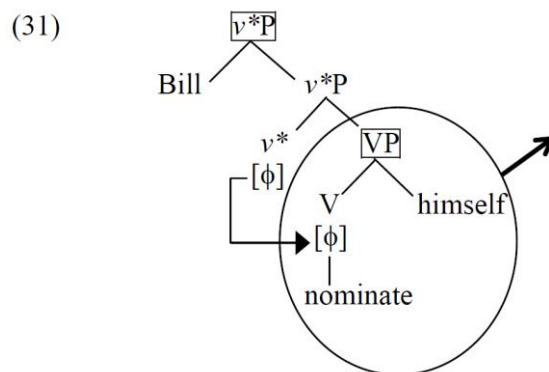
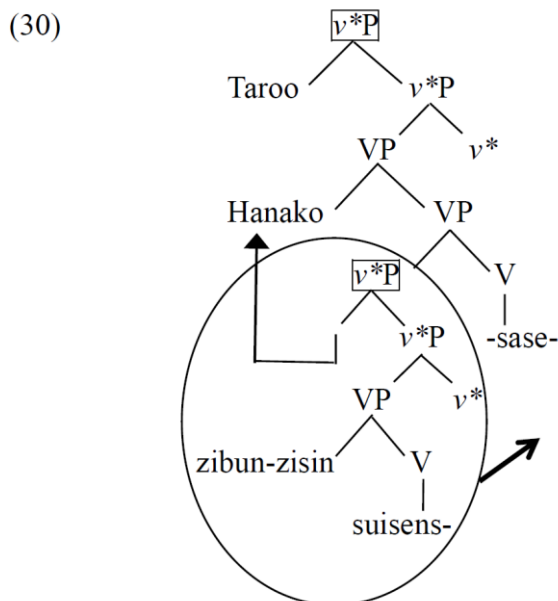
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### 3.2. Locality of Movement and Binding in Causative Sentence

(14)a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni zibun-zisin-o suisens-ase-ta (koto) (= [28])

b. John made Bill nominate himself (himself = Bill). (= [29])

(15) *Analysis*



➔ The size of Transfer domains changes depending on the presence of  $\phi$ -features.

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✧ Topics for Discussion (2)

(16) *How about Condition B?*

a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kare-o suisens-ase-ta (koto) (= (6d); cf. [13b])

b. John recommended him. (from Saito's 2017 (5b)-(6b)):

[<sub>VP</sub> John [<sub>v\*</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> recommend him]]] ← Transfer: 'him ≠ John' (= (9c))

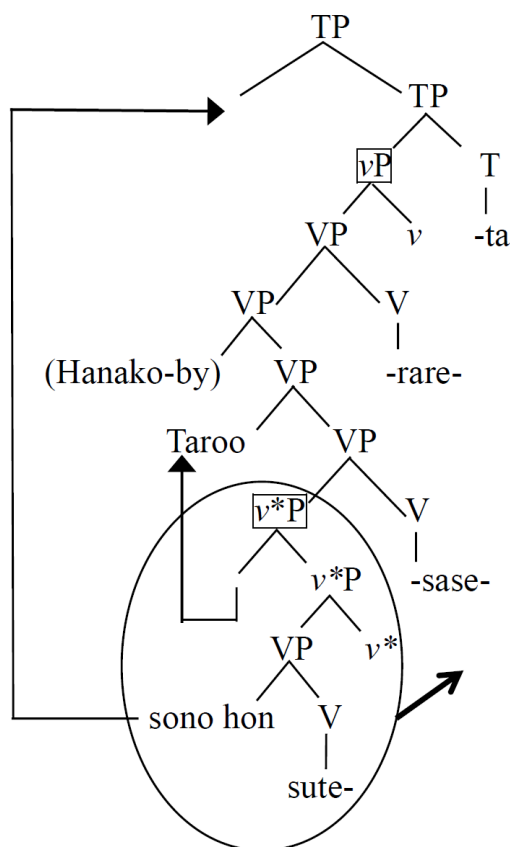
➔ Given [30], *Taroo* has been in the structure, hence the information 'kare ≠ Taroo' should be sent to the interface just like (16b).

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(17) *Locality of A-movement*

a. \* Wani-ga Hanako-niyotte Taroo-ni \_\_ tabe-sase-rare-ta (= [32])

b. (33)



➔ fn.2: “[T]he NP-movement cannot proceed through the edge of vP. [...] [T]his is because the edge of vP/v\*P counts as an A'-position unless it is a  $\theta$ -position.”

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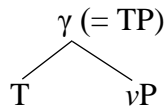
✧ Topics for Discussion (3): How should improper movement be defined?

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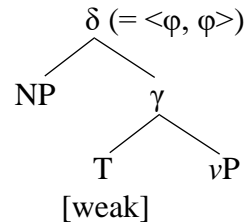
## Section 4: The Single Accusative Effect

(1) The structure of TP (= 39)

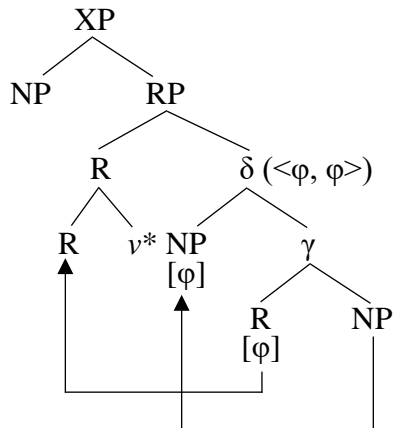
a. Italian



b. English



(2) The structure of  $v^*P$  (= 40)

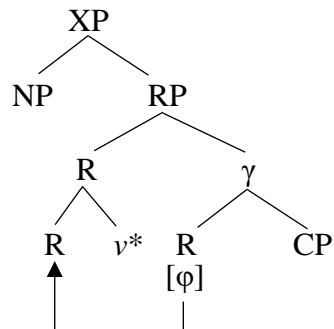


- R is a weak head.
- NP (internal argument) raises to Spec, R.
- $\delta$  is labeled  $\langle \phi, \phi \rangle$ .
- R (internally) pair-merges with  $v^*$ .
- R is categorized as V.

(3) Bridge-verb constructions (= 41)

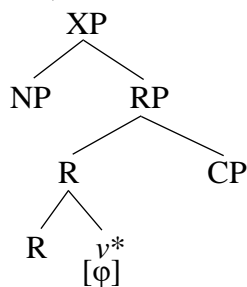
- John thinks that Mary is the most qualified candidate.
- It seems that Mary is the most qualified candidate.

(4) (= 42)



- The  $\phi$ -features of R cannot be valued.
- R being a weak head,  $\gamma$  cannot be labeled.

(5) Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (2016) (= 43)

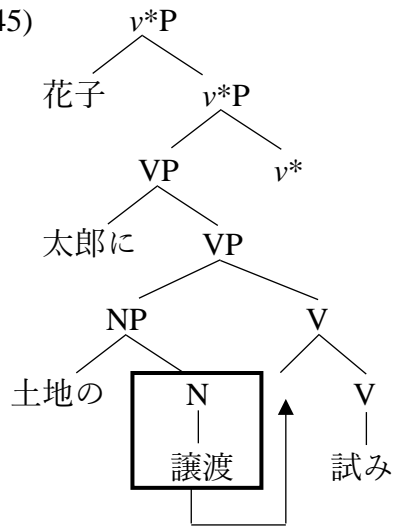


- External pair merge of R and  $v^*$  forms  $\langle R, v^* \rangle$
- No  $\phi$ -feature inheritance by R.
- The  $\phi$ -features are suppressed in  $v^*$ .
- $v^*$  can assign a  $\theta$ -role to the external argument.
- R is categorized as V.



(6) 花子が 太郎に [NP 土地の 譲渡]-を した/試みた。 (= 44)

(7) (= 45)



(8) 花子が 太郎に/\*を ワニを 食べ-させ-た。 (= 46)

(9) (= 47)

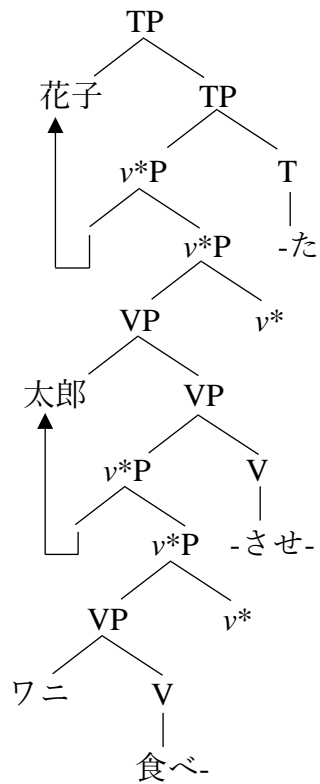


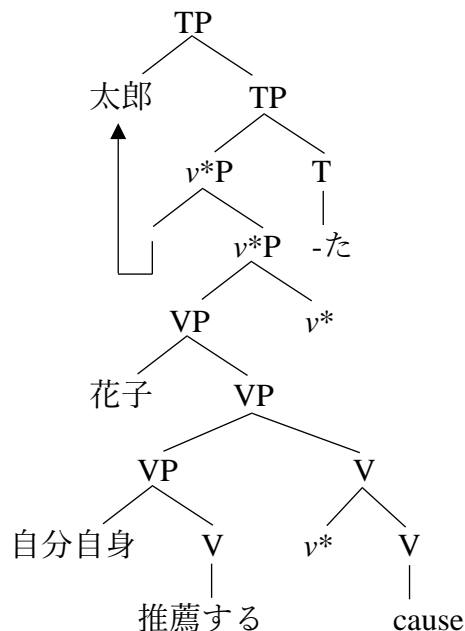
Diagram illustrating the syntax tree for the sentence "太郎は花子に食べた" (Taro ate Hanako). The tree structure is as follows:

- TP (Top) branches into "花子" (Hanako) and another TP.
- The second TP branches into  $v^*P$  and T.
- T branches into "-た" (ta).
- $v^*P$  branches into another  $v^*P$  and VP.
- The lower  $v^*P$  branches into VP and  $v^*$ .
- The upper VP branches into "太郎" (Taro) and another VP.
- This VP branches into another VP and V.
- The lower VP branches into "ワニ" (Wani) and V.
- The lower V branches into "食べ" (tabe).
- The upper V branches into  $v^*$  and V.
- The lower  $v^*$  branches into "cause".

- (11)  $\langle \text{cause}, v^{(*)} \rangle \leftrightarrow \text{-sase-}$

(12) 太郎が 花子に 自分自身を 推薦させた (こと) (= 6b)

- (14)



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### Topics for Discussion [2]

- (16) How does the structure in (48) distinguish between lexical and syntactic causatives?
- (17) a. 花子が 太郎に 自分の ワンピースを 着せた  
b. 花子が 太郎に 自分の ワンピースを 着させた
- (18) No lower  $v^*$  in the lexical causative?  
→ What does  $v^*$  do in the structure?

### Topics for Discussion [3]

- (19)  $v$  = categorizer?
- (20) How is the lower  $V (=R)$  categorized in (48)?
- (21)  $\langle v^*, \langle \langle \text{cause}, v^* \rangle, R \rangle \rangle \quad R \rightarrow V$