

英語の **exempt anaphor** の統語的特性に関する一考察

—強調的読みと対比性の関係に着目して—

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1. はじめに

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|-----|---------------------------|--------------|
| (1) | [+ anaphor, - pronominal] | anaphor |
| | [- anaphor, + pronominal] | pronoun |
| | [+ anaphor, + pronominal] | PRO |
| | [- anaphor, - pronominal] | R-expression |

(Chomsky (1981: 132))

- (2) Condition A: An anaphor is bound in its governing category.

Condition B: A pronominal is free in its governing category.

Condition C: An R-expression is free.

(Chomsky (1981: 188))

・統率範疇(Governing category)は、統率子(governor)や主語を含む句 (e.g., S, DP(NP), SC(Small Clause))と考えられてきた。

- (3) a. [s John criticized himself]
 b. Mary looked at [NP John's portrait of himself]

(Kuno (1985: 59))

- (4) a. * John_i arrived yesterday. Everybody came to meet himself_i.
 b. * John_i thinks that Paul hates himself_i.
 c. * John_i's brother hates himself_i.

(Zribi-Hertz (1989: 697))

・形態素レベルの観点から、英語では長距離束縛が不可能だが、日本語や中国では可能である (cf. Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Reuland (2011)).

- (5) [John_i-ga [Bill_j-ga Mike_k-ni zibun_{i/j/*k}-no koto-o hanasita to] omotteiru.
 John SB Bill SB Mike IO GN matter DO told that think
 'John_i thinks that Bill_j told Mike_k about self_{i/j/*k}.'

(Katada (1991: 287))

- (6) Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan Ziji_{i/j/k}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi know Wangwu like self

‘Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes him/himself.’

(Cole et al. (1994: 355))

・しかし、英語においても、長距離束縛が可能となる事例がある (e.g., Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Zribi-Hertz (1989), Baker (1995))

(7) a. This paper was written by Ann and myself. (Ross (1970: 228))

b. The picture of himself_i that hangs in Nixon_i’s study is quite dignified looking.
(Cantrall (1974: 146))

・対比を喚起する環境下であれば、Exempt anaphor は認可される。

(8) a. John_i thinks that Mary is in love with himself_i, not Peter. (Zribi-Hertz (1989: 700))

b. Mary_i complained that the teacher gave extra help to everyone but herself_i.
(Keenan (1988: 22))

→ 対比によって強調的読みが生じる (cf. Baker (1995)).

・対比の意味はある一定の環境下で生じる。

(9) a. * John_i thinks that [Paul hates himself_i].

b. John_i thinks that [Paul hates HIMSELF_i] {more than anyone in the world/as well as Mary/and only himself_i}].
(Baker (1995: 66))

問い

談話的要因である対比性によって認可される exempt anaphor は、生成文法の観点からどのように説明できるのか。

提案

(i) DP 内の LogP に生起する pro-log によって Exempt anaphor は束縛される。

(ii) DP 内における LogP と CFocP は構造上隣接しており、LogP と CFocP が密接に関係しているため、Exempt anaphor は対比的強調の読みを表すことができる。

構成

2 節：先行研究

3 節：Charnavel (2020, 2022)

4 節：提案と分析

5 節：まとめと今後の課題

2. 先行研究

2.1 統語分析の問題点

(10) Condition A による 3 つの要求 (cf. Kuno (1987: 58-59), Zribi-Hertz (1989: 697))

- a. anaphor は先行詞を持たなければならない。 (cf. (11))
- b. anaphor は antecedent に c-command されなければならない。 (cf. (12))
- c. anaphor は antecedent の主語と同じ local domain (governing category)内に生起しなければならない。 (cf. (13))

• plain anaphor

- (11) a. He sees himself_i
b. * I see himself.

(Lees and Klima (1963: 18))

- (12) a. [Mary's father]_i supported himself_i.
b. * Mary_i's father supported herself_i.

(Lees and Klima (1963: 18))

- (13) a. They_i like [each other]_i.
b. * They_i wanted Bill to like [each other]_i.

(Chomsky (1986: 165))

• exempt anaphor

- (14) a. Physicists like herself are rare.
b. Faith in yourself is important in this job.

(Fiengo (1977: 50))

→ 顕在的な先行詞 (antecedent)を必要としない。

- (15) a. That the paper would have to be written by Ann and himself_i was obvious to Tom_i.
(Ross (1970: 227))

- b. According to John_i, no one but himself_i was innocent. (Keenan (1988: 223))

→ C-command されていない。

- (16) a. Tom_i believes that there is a picture of himself_i hanging in the post office.

(Jackendoff (1972: 133))

- b. [Each student]_i was certain that the teacher would ask a question that no one but himself_i could answer. (Keenan (1988: 223))

→ 先行詞が、local domain (i.e. governing category)内に生起しなくても良い。

(17) anaphor の 2 面性 (“a dual behavior” (Charnavel (2020: 5)))

plain anaphor : Condition A の要求を満たす。

exempt anaphor : Condition A の要求を満たさない。

2.2 Logophoricity Analysis (e.g., Kuno (1987), Zribi-Hertz (1989))

・ Logophoricity (意識性) : ある照応形が特定の話し手や認識者の内面的な視点を表す。

(18) Kuno (1987)の分析 :

exempt anaphor は思考・感情・意識などを示す名詞句を先行詞として選択する。

a. logophoricity を示すものは、話し手や経験者 (または聞き手) である。

b. 話し手と聞き手以外の人には logophoricity を示すことができない。

(cf. Kuno (1987:126))

(19) a. John_i knew that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.

b. ✓/? Mary heard from John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.

c. * Mary said about/of John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.

(Kuno (1987:126))

→ exempt anaphor の先行詞が誰を指すかによって容認度に段階性が生じる。

(20) Zribi-Hertz (1989)の discourse principle :

exempt anaphor は logophoricity を表すものの視点が及ぶ範囲内で束縛される。

(cf. Zribi-Hertz (1989: 711,714))

→ exempt anaphor は (統語ではなく) 談話における視点領域内で 照応関係が成り立つ。

・ logophoricity による exempt anaphor の認可

(21) a. [This paper was written by Ann and myself.]

b. [John_i suspects that no one is as rational as himself_i.]

c. [He_i (Zapp) sat down at the desk and opened the drawers. In top right-hand one was an envelope addressed to himself_i.]

(cf. Baker (1995: 66))

→ logophoricity の環境下であれば exempt anaphor が容認される。

2.3. 残された課題

・ 問題意識① : Condition A の随意性

(22) [...] the c-command constraint applies only if the discourse principle [in (19)] does not come into play. (Zribi-Hertz (1989: 718))

→ Condition A の位置づけが随意的である。

・問題意識②：強調的読み (emphatic reading)

(23) a. John's favorite subject of conversation is John himself.

b. John's favorite subject of conversation is himself.

(Hall (Partee) (1965: 44))

→ 音調的ストレスを受け、強調的読み (emphatic reading)になる (cf. Baker (1995)).

(24) a. John_i boasted that the queen had invited Lucy and himself_i for a drink.

(Reinhart and Reuland (1993: 670))

b. John_i thinks that Mary is in love with himself_i, not Peter.

(Zribi-Hertz (1989: 700))

・対比や強調表現によって認可される exempt anaphor

(25) a. * I_i stared at her. Her manner frightened myself_i a lot.

b. I_i stared at her. Her manner clearly frightened Mary much more than it did myself_i.

(26) a. * He_i sat staring ahead of him with his bright blue eyes. Some thought seemed to have struck himself_i.

b. He_i sat staring ahead of him with his bright blue eyes. Some thought seemed to have struck both Eleanor and himself_i.

(27) a. * The music made her_i think of her life as it seldom did. It exalted herself_i.

b. The music made her_i think of her life as it seldom did; it exalted no one as it did herself_i.

(Zribi-Hertz (1989: 717))

→ ある特定の統語的環境下 (i.e. 対比を生じさせる環境下) でなければ、exempt anaphor は容認されない。

⇒ 対比・強調の有無は、談話的要因だけではなく、統語的要因も関与していることを示唆する。

問題意識

(i) Condition A と logophoricity はそれぞれ独立しているものなのか？それとも (何らかの点で) 関連し合うのか？

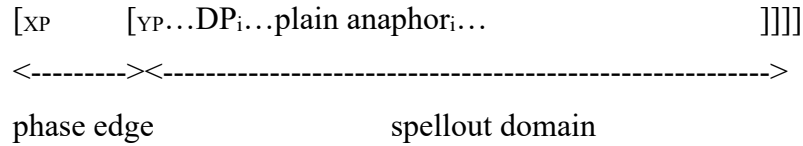
(ii) Exempt anaphor が表す対比的強調はどのような説明が与えられるのか？

3. Charnavel (2020, 2022)

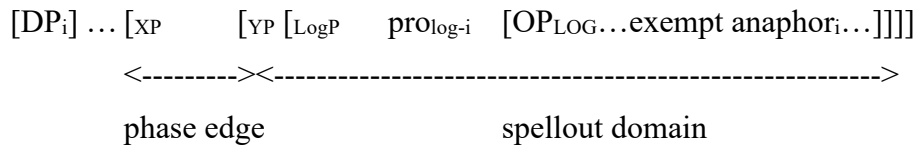
• Charnavel (2020, 2022)の理論的前提

- (i) exempt anaphor は、意識主体の視点 (logophoricity as first-person mental perspective or *de se* attitude)を持つ logophoric operator pro_{log} に束縛される。
- (ii) pro_{log} は、logophoric operator (OP_{LOG})によって統語構造上に導入される (cf. Anand (2006), Oshima (2006))。
- (iii) $[OP_{LOG}] = \lambda\alpha.\lambda x. \alpha$ from x 's first-personal perspective
- (iv) pro_{log} は OP_{LOG} を主要部とする LogP の指定部に生起する。
- (v) 意識主体の視点領域 (logophoric domain)は、最小の spellout domain (i.e., TP, VP, NP) に対応する。

(28) a. Plain anaphor



b. Exempt anaphor



(Charnavel (2020: 217))

• 英語のデータ

(29) a. Tom_i believes that there is [DP pro_{log-i} a picture of himself_i] hanging in the post office. (= (16a))

b. [DP pro_{log-i} Faith in yourself_i] is important in this job. (= (14b))

• フランス語のデータ

(30) a. Selon Eric_i, ses enfants ne dependent [VP pro_{log-i} que de lui_i-même].

According to Eric_i, his children only [VP pro_{log-i} depend on himself_i].

b. [TP pro_{log-i} Les gens comme toi_i-même vont être bien affligés de cette nouvelle].

[TP pro_{log-i} People like yourself_i will be deeply distressed by the news].

c. [DP pro_{log-i} Les commentaries des internautes sur elle_i-même] ont atteint le moral de Lucie_i.

[DP pro_{log-i} The net surfer's comments about herself_i] have affected Lucy_i's morale.

(Charnavel (2020: 218))

• 複数の視点

- (31) [Le fils de Guillaume]_k espère que [TP pro_{log-k} son_k propre fils [VP pro_{log-k} se confiera à lui_k-même ou à sa femme enc as de problème]].
[Guillaume's son]_k hopes that [TP pro_{log-k} his_k own son will [VP pro_{log-k} confide in himself_k or his wife in case of a problem]].

(Charnavel (2020: 224))

- (32) [Mes_k amis]_i pensent que Lucie- [DP pro_{log-k} cette idiote amoureuse de leur fils plutôt que de mon_k propre fils]- ferait [pro_{log-i} tout pour eux_i-mêmes ou leur proches].
[My_k friends]_i think that Lucy- [DP pro_{log-k} that idiot in love with their son rather than my_k own]- would [VP pro_{log-i} do anything for themselves_i or their relatives].

(Charnavel (2020: 224))

→ pro_{log} は各 spellout domain ごとに現れる。

• the idiot テスト

- (33) a. Tom_i believes that there is a picture of himself_i hanging in the post office.
b. * Tom_i believes that there is a picture of [the idiot]_i hanging in the post office.

(Charnavel (2022: 568))

• dear テスト

- (34) a. The picture himself_i in Newsweek dominated John_i's thoughts.
b. The picture his_i dear son in Newsweek dominated John_i's thoughts.
(35) a. * Mary said about John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
b. * Mary said about John_i that there was a picture of his_i dear son in the post office.

(Charnavel (2022: 568))

→ John は *epithet* および *dear* が含まれている spellout domain の logophoric domain ではない。

• inanimacy に関するデータ

- (36) a. [The witty play]_i inspired a parody of itself_i.
b. * [The witty play]_i inspired {many theaters/Bob} to present a parody of itself_i.

(Charnavel (2022: 557))

4. 提案と分析

- (37) a. John_i thinks that Mary is in love with himself_i, not Peter. (Zribi-Hertz (1989: 700))
b. Mary_i complained that the teacher gave extra help to everyone but herself_i.
(Keenan (1988: 22))

→ 対比性に関わることで exempt anaphor が認可される (cf. Baker (1995))

- (38) a. * John_i thinks that [Paul hates himself_i].
b. John_i thinks that [Paul hates HIMSELF_i] {more than anyone in the world/as well as Mary/and only himself_i}.
(Baker (1995: 66))

→ 対比性による談話構造は、ある一定の統語的環境下と関わりがある。

- (39) Cartographic Approach (Rizzi (1997), Cruschina (2006, 2011), Belletti (2001, 2004))
CP periphery: ForceP ... TopicP ... Contrastive FocusP (CFocP) ... TopicP ... Information FocusP (IFocP) ... Finite TP

- (40) i. exempt anaphor は、LogP に束縛されることで認可される。
ii. exempt anaphor は、対比焦点の解釈を持つ。
iii. CFocP と LogP は、構造的に隣接した機能範疇である。

• CP との平行性から見た DP 構造 (cf. Laenzlinger (2017: 4))

- (41) DP periphery: (QP) > DPdeixis > FocP > TopP/ModifP > Dpdet

- (42) Contrast の定義 (Cruschina (2011: 11), cf. Nagata (2022: 37), Nagano (2016: 12))

- i. Highlighting
ii. Dominant contrast
iii. Membership in a set.
iv. Limited set of candidates.
v. Explicit mentioning of alternatives

→ (i)と(ii)を満たすものは IFoc に、(iii)～(v)を満たすものは CFoc に相当する。

• (iii)に該当する環境下での exempt anaphor

- (43) a. At the same time he_i had the clearest image in his mind of the three of them: Fred, Daisy, and himself_i, and it was a spectacle of nothing but pleasure. (BNC)
b. Of course most of us, including myself, will accept the democratic decision. (BNC)

- (44) a. John_i boasted that the queen had invited Lucy and himself_i for a drink.
 b. * John_i boasted that the queen had invited himself_i for a drink.

(König and Siemund (2000: 189))

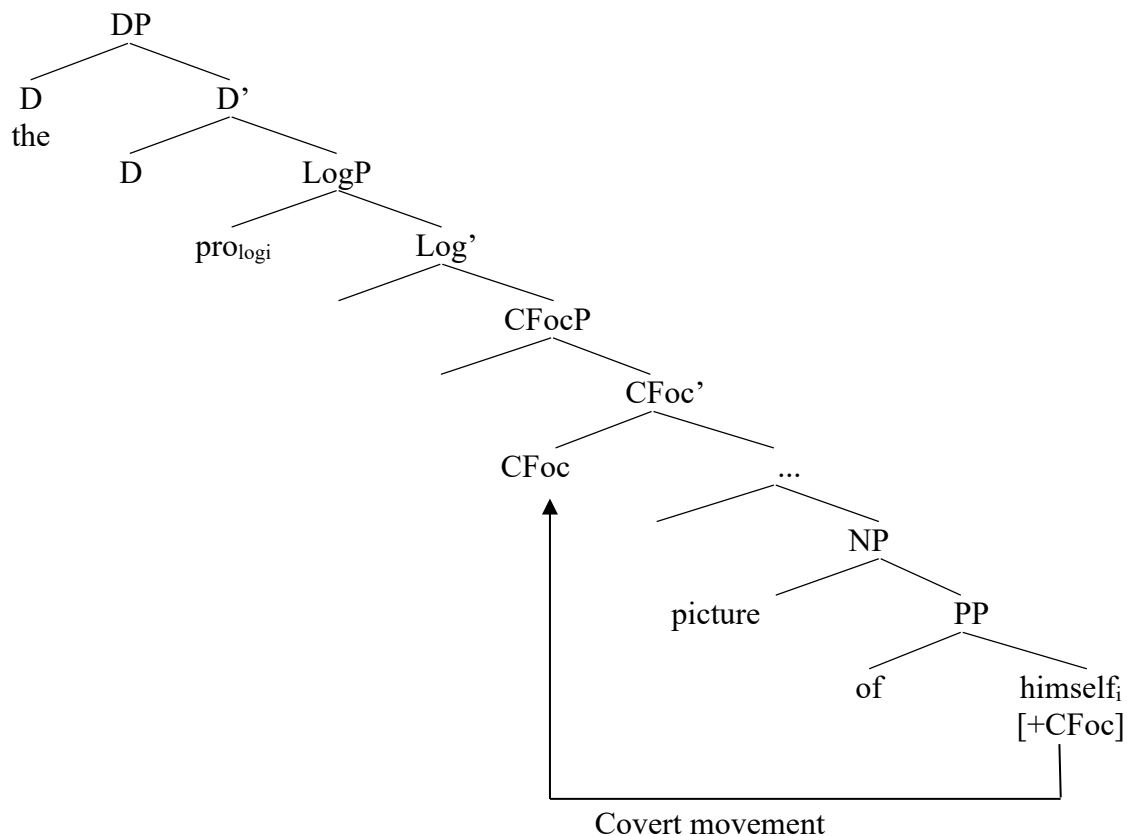
• (v)に該当する環境下での exempt anaphor

- (45) a. Always a bit of a loner, Basil_i here found an environment of people committed like himself_i. (LOLAC)
 b. Joyce_i hadn't expected Barry to follow her, for she knew he was as obstinate as herself_i. (Brown)
 c. She_i never felt quite at ease with people richer than herself_i. (LOLAC)
 (cf. König and Siemund (2000: 190))

• 提案 :

(46) DP 内における LogP と CFocP

e.g., [DP The picture himself_i in Newsweek] dominated John_i's thoughts. (= (34a))



• sloppy/strict 読みの違い

(47) John_i hit himself_i, and Bill did too.

- a. Bill_j hit himself_j too. [sloppy]

b. # Bill hit John too. [strict]

(Lebeaux (1984: 346))

→ plain anaphor では、sloppy の読みしかできない。

(48) John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside, and Bill did too.

a. Bill thought that there were some pictures of himself inside too. [sloppy]

b. Bill thought there were some pictures of John inside too. [strict]

(Lebeaux (1984: 346))

→ exempt anaphor では、sloppy と strict の読み両方可能である。

・予測：対比があれば strict 読みができる。

(49) [文脈：John と Bill が、Mary は誰が好きなのかについて話している。]

John thinks that Mary is in love with HIMSELF_i, not Peter, and Bill did too.

a. Bill_j thinks that Mary is in love with himself_j. [sloppy]

b. Bill thinks that Mary is in love with John. [strict]

(50) [文脈：Mike と Bill は、部屋にどの写真を飾ろうかと話している。]

Mike_i thought that a picture of HIMSELF_i, but not Mary, would be nice on the wall and Bill did too.

a. Bill_j thought a picture himself would be nice on the wall. [sloppy]

b. Bill thought a picture of Mike would be nice on the wall. [strict]

(51) [文脈：Tom と Bill は郵便局にかかっている写真について話している。]

Tom_i said that there is a picture of HIMSELF_i, not Mary, hanging in the post office, and Bill did too.

a. Bill_j said that there is a picture of himself_j hanging in the post office. [sloppy]

b. Bill said that there is a picture of Tom hanging in the post office. [strict]

5. おわりに

問い

談話的要因である対比性によって認可される Exempt anaphor は、生成文法の観点からどのように説明できるのか。

提案

(i) DP 内の LogP に生起する pro-log によって Exempt anaphor は束縛される。

- (ii) DP 内における LogP と CFocP は構造上隣接しており、LogP と CFocP が密接に関係しているため、Exempt anaphor は対比的強調の読みを表すことができる。

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