

論文の英文要旨

論文題目

A Study of Syntactic Structure and Semantic Interpretation of Nominal Phrases in Russian: With a Focus on Some Problems of Nominal Structure in Languages without Overt Articles

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The so-called nominal phrase had traditionally been analyzed as a projection of N, namely NP headed by N. However, it has been reanalyzed as DP since Fukui (1986) and Abney (1987) proposed the DP Hypothesis. Currently, according to the DP hypothesis, the nominal structure, in which the head of the nominal phrase is D and the complement is NP, is generally accepted at least in languages with overt articles.

Considering noun phrases in languages without overt articles, in conventional NP analysis, a phrase consists only of N, but in analysis based on the DP hypothesis, it is necessary to assume a determiner that is not realized morphologically and phonetically. The question of whether the DP Hypothesis should be adopted in nominal phrases of languages that do not have overt articles, such as Russian, is still controversial. There are two main hypotheses on this matter: “Universal DP Hypothesis” (e.g., Pereltsvaig 2007), under which a nominal phrase to be DP in any language, and “Parameterized DP Hypothesis”

(e.g., Fukui 1986, Bošković 2009), under which whether a nominal phrase is DP or NP depends on languages. The question of whether DP exists or not across languages is one of the major problems in theoretical linguistics.

In this dissertation, I examine syntactic structure and semantic interpretation of the nominal phrase in Russian, using theoretical frameworks of formal morphology, syntax, and semantics. This dissertation aims to show that the nominal phrase in Russian does not have a DP projection; that is, it demonstrates that the DP Hypothesis is not valid at least in Russian. This means that DP is not necessarily language-universal. Concrete discussion is as follows.

First, I discuss presence or absence of DP in Russian from the viewpoint of binding under the theory of Kayne (1994) and the methodology used by Despić (2013). In Russian, the construction including a subject with a prenominal possessor (possessive adjective) and an object co-indexed with the possessor is ungrammatical. On the other hand, the similar construction in English are grammatical. I show that this difference in grammaticality is caused by that in the structure of nominal phrases between the two languages, and that DP is projected in English, but not in Russian. Even in Russian, the construction in which the possessive adjective is replaced with postnominal genitive NP is grammatical. The grammaticality is correctly predicted by taking into account the syntactic position of genitive NP. The difference in grammaticality between prenominal and postnominal possessors supports the claim that there is no DP in Russian.

I discuss presence and absence of DP in Russian, based on argument structures and syntactic structures of event nominals. I describe argument structures of event nominals, classify them according to θ -roles of genitive NPs following them, and then propose syntactic structures of event nominal phrases. It is possible to derive restrictions on θ -roles of following genitive NPs from Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000) under the proposed structures, by adopting the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993) and the proposal that the phase expands (Phase-Sliding; Gallego 2010). In English, Saxon genitives appear prenominally, whereas in Russian, the genitive NP cannot. I show that the fact is due to the structures of nominal phrases in the two languages; DP is projected in English, but not in Russian.

In addition, I examine co-occurrence and word orders of some adjuncts in a

nominal phrase, and maximal interpretation of a phrase containing a possessive adjective and a numeral, which have been successfully explained under the DP Hypothesis. According to the hypothesis, the co-occurrence and word orders of demonstratives, possessives, and quantifiers that are treated as adjuncts in this dissertation, are derived from syntactic positions of the functional categories corresponding to each element. However, I show that they are determined by semantic characteristics of each element, and that it can be semantically derived from type theory without assuming DP and the functional categories.

Kagan and Pereltsvaig (2012) attributed the maximal interpretation of a phrase containing a possessive adjective and a numeral to a syntactic high position of the possessor, and treated this phenomenon as the basis for existence of DP in Russian. However, I point out the fact that the maximal interpretation can also be obtained when genitive NP in a syntactically lower position is used as the possessor, and demonstrate that possibility of the maximal interpretation can be simply reduced to definiteness by means of tests through definiteness effect and genitive of negation. Then, I propose a semantic operator of definite that can be merged anywhere in a nominal phrase, and show that the maximum interpretation can compositionally computed without a DP projection. This means that it is unnecessary to assume DP at least because of realization of definiteness into nominal phrases.

As described above, this dissertation concludes that Russian does not have a DP projection, and that DP is not universal.

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