複数形の非前提的名詞句の解釈と状況変数の束縛理論 (Interpretation of Plural Non-presuppositional Noun Phrases and Binding Theory of Situation Variables)

要旨

Musan (1995) observes that the temporal interpretation of a cardinal (i.e. non-presuppositional) noun phrase is always dependent on that of the main predicate. One theory that naturally accounts for this is to assume that nouns, as well as the main predicate, have a time argument, and that for the temporally dependent reading, the time variables of the cardinal noun phrase and of the main predicate are co-bound by one and the same operator that quantifies over times. As I will show, however, this scope approach leads to a scope puzzle with plural cardinal noun phrases. On the other hand, Musan's own theory, which rejects the scope approach and exploits stages of individuals, can naturally account for simple cases involving plural cardinal noun phrases. I will conclude, however, that Musan's theory is not tenable and the scope approach should thus be maintained because Musan's theory cannot deal with certain bi-clausal cases involving plural cardinal noun phrases. In order to solve the scope puzzle that has manifested itself, I propose that only the determiner (numeral) part of cardinal noun phrases undergoes movement.