#### On Weak Phases

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## 0. はじめに

(1) Along with Transfer, all other operations apply at the [strong] phase level. IM [Internal Merge] should be driven only by [strong] phase heads.

(Chomsky 2005: 9)

(2) [...] we take CP and vP to be phases. [...] there remains an important distinction between CP/v\*P and others: call the former *strong* phases and the latter *weak*.

(ibid. 2001: 12)

(3) Every child<sub>1</sub> doesn't seem to his<sub>1</sub> father to be smart. (every > not), (not > every)<sup>1</sup>

(Sauerland 2003:310)

- (4) a. Every child<sub>1</sub> doesn't seem to his<sub>1</sub> father [ $_{TP}$  every child<sub>1</sub> to be smart]
  - b. Every child<sub>1</sub> **doesn't** every child<sub>1</sub> seem to **his<sub>1</sub> father** [every child<sub>1</sub> to be smart].
- (5) 本発表の目的

弱フェイズの主要部は強フェイズの主要部から一致素性と共に Edge 素性を引き継ぎ、その指定部は弱フェイズを跨る A 移動の経由地となることを示す。

## 1. 先行研究

#### 1.1. 否定辞繰上げ

- (6) a.  $[\sum_{p} \text{not} \sum [\text{every child doesn't seem to his father } [\text{every child to be smart}]]]$  (every > not)
  - b.  $[_{\Sigma P} \text{ not } \sum [\text{every child does}_{n't} \text{ seem to his father } [\text{every child to be smart}]]] (not > \text{every})$
- (7) a. Every student mustn't get an A. At most a third of them get one. (not > every)
  - b. Every student usually doesn't follow. In fact, half of them usually don't follow. (not > every)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> not が every よりも広い作用域をとる解釈を得るには every で上昇し、doesn't で下降するという特別なイントネーションが必要であり、"In fact, half of them aren't smart."のような文章が続く場合が最も自然である。

- (8) a. Jan mustn't get an A. #In fact, he could get an A or a B. \*(not > must)
  - b. Tom usually doesn't follow. #In fact, half the time he doesn't follow. \*(not > usually) (ibid: 309)
- (9) 否定辞繰上げによる分析は、否定辞が must や usually よりも広い作用域をとると誤って予測 する。 従って、(3)に曖昧性があるという事実は(4b)の派生が正しいことを示している。

#### 1.2. 数量詞繰上げ

(10) Every child₁ doesn't [¬P every child₁ [¬P seem to his₁ father] [¬P every child₁ to every child₁ be A A' A' A' Smart]]].

- (11) Intermediate positions of successive cyclic A'-movement do not induce binding effects or have other A-position properties. (Chomsky 2005: 16)
- (12) a. Two women<sub>1</sub> seemed to each other<sub>1</sub> to two women<sub>1</sub> be dancing with every senator.

(\*every > two)

b. QR is impossible out of a raising infinitival.

(Seurland, 2003: 312)

- (13) Sauerland (2003)の主張
  - a. Inverse scope interpretation is derived by total reconstruction to a position to Spec vP.<sup>2</sup>
  - b. A-movement across vP can proceed through an intermediate vP-adjoined A-position where apparently no feature checking takes place.

(i) Every coin is 3% likely to land heads. (every > 3% likely), \*(3% likely > every)

(Lasnik 2003: 121)

しかし、Park and Park (2002)は(ii)~(iv)のように likely に n%や how のような程度副詞がつくと、繰り上げ構文ではなくコントロール構文と同様の振る舞いをすることを指摘し、(i)の事実は(vb)同様、コントロール構文においては inverse scope が許されないことを示しているに過ぎないと主張している。

- (ii) a. There is likely to be a riot.
  - b. Advantage is likely to be taken of John.
- (iii) a. \*How likely to be a riot is there?
  - b. \*How likely to be taken of John is advantage?

(Park and Park 2002: 236)

- (iv) a. \*There hopes to be a dog in the barn.
  - b. \*The shit hopes to have hit the fan.

(Hornstein 2001: 25)

- (v) a. A unicorn is likely to be apprehended. = It is likely that a unicorn will be apprehended.
  - b. A unicorn is eager to arrive. = #/\*It is eager that a unicorn will arrive.

(Park and Park 2002: 237)

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Lasnik (2003)は下記の例に曖昧性が無いことなどから A 移動の再構築は不可能であると主張している。

- (14) IM (Internal Merge) should be driven only by phase heads  $(C, v^*)$ .
- (15) a. なぜ強フェイズではないvPの主要部がInternal Merge を引き起こすことが可能なのか。
  - b. なぜ何の素性も照合されない vP 指定部が A 位置なのか。

## 2. 素性の引継ぎ

- (16) It seems to be T that is the locus of the  $\varphi$ -features that are involved in the Nominative-agreement system, and raising of the external argument subject or unaccusative/passive object to SPEC-T. (Chomsky 2005: 9)
- (17) T manifests  $\varphi$ -features and tense if and only if it is selected by C. These features are inherited from C, the phase head.
- (18) A as well as A'-movement must be triggered by probes in C.
  - a. The Edge-feature (EF) in C attracts the *wh*-phrase to the edge of C.
  - b. The Agree-feature in C, inherited by T, raises the DP to T.
- (19) a. who saw John
  - b. C [T [who [v\* [see John]]]]
  - c. who<sub>3</sub> [C [who<sub>2</sub> [T [who<sub>1</sub> v\* [see John]]]]] A'連鎖 = (who<sub>1</sub>, who<sub>3</sub>) A 連鎖 = (who<sub>1</sub>, who<sub>2</sub>), (who<sub>1</sub>)
- (20) EF can be inherited from the phase head along with the Agree-feature. [...] by some kind of feature spread, this extends to all T's in the phase. (Chomsky 2005: 22)
- (21) Uninterpretable features of C must be inherited by an element selected by C [...] but it cannot be *v*\*, which already has features.<sup>3</sup> (*ibid.* 2006: 15)
- (22) 提案 非対格動詞/受動態の v は C から Edge 素性と一致素性を引き継ぐ。
- (23) A 移動 (繰り上げ構文)

<sup>3</sup> 下線は発表者による

- (24) a. A 移動: 強フェイズ主要部から T または v に引き継がれた一致素性、Edge 素性によって引き起こされる。
  - b. A'移動: 強フェイズ主要部の Edge 素性によって引き起こされる。

## (25) 受動文

- a. [At which of the parties that  $he_1 Mary_2 to$ ] was every  $man_1 \sqrt{introduced}$  to  $her_2 *?$
- b. \*[At which of the parties that  $he_1$  invited  $Mary_2$  to] was  $she_1 \stackrel{*}{=} introduced$  to every  $man_2 \stackrel{*}{=} ?$  (Legate 2003: 507)

#### (26) 非対格構文4

- a. [At which conference where  $he_1$  mispronounced the invited speaker<sub>2</sub>'s name] did every organizer<sub>1</sub>'s embarrassment  $\sqrt{\text{escape her}_2}$ \*?
- b. \*[At which conference where he<sub>1</sub> mispronounced the invited speaker's name<sub>2</sub>] did it<sub>2</sub> \* escape every<sub>1</sub> organizer entirely \*? (*ibid*: 508)
- (27) a. [...] successive-cyclic *wh*-movement proceeds through passive [and unaccusative] VPs, as well as transitive *v*Ps.
  - b. [...] unaccusative and passive VPs are [strong] phases as well. (ibid: 506)

#### (28) Legate (2003)の問題点

- a. 非対格動詞/受動態の vP は強フェイズではないとする(2)の主張と矛盾する。
- b. A'移動の経由地は束縛子にはなれないとする(11)の主張と矛盾する。

#### (29) (22)の提案に従うと

- a. 非対格動詞/受動態の vP は強フェイズではな〈弱フェイズである。
- b. (25a), (26a)において wh 句が経由する位置、つまり vP 指定部は A 位置である。
- (30) a. 弱フェイズ主要部 v は強フェイズ主要部 C から Edge 素性を引継ぐ。
  - b. A 移動は vP 指定部を経由する。

#### 3. 弱 CP フェイズ

- (31) a. \*Sam, who I know [ $_{\text{CP1}}$  when you said you saw t], is a famous linguist.
  - b. Sam, who I know [ $_{CP1}$  when to try to see t], is a famous linguist.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> (26a-b)の escape は 2 つ内項をとる非対格動詞で、'forget'に相当する意味を表す。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> (31)の例は Frampton (1990: 69)を参考にしている。

- (32) a. \*karera<sub>1</sub>-o [[otagai<sub>1</sub>-no sensei]- ga [Mary- ga t<sub>1</sub> hihansita to] itta] (koto). they-ACC each other-GEN teacher-NOM Mary-NOM criticized that said fact "Them, each other's teachers said that Mary criticized."
  - b. ?[karera<sub>1</sub>-o [John-ga [[otagai<sub>1</sub>-no sensei]-ni<sub>2</sub> [t<sub>2</sub> t<sub>1</sub> homeru yooni tanonda]]]] they-ACC John-NOM each other-GEN teachers-DAT praise to asked (koto).

fact

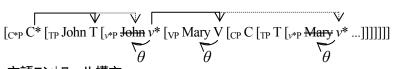
- "Them, John asked each other's teachers to praise."
- c. [karera<sub>i</sub>-o [John-ga [[otagai<sub>i</sub>-no sensei]-ni *t*<sub>i</sub> syookaisita]]] (koto). *they-ACC John-NOM each other-GEN teachers-DAT introduced fact* "Them, John introduced to each other's teachers." (Aoshima, 2001: 44-45)

## (33) スロベニア語

- a. \*Janeza<sub>1</sub> je njegov<sub>1</sub> oče rekel, [da se boji  $t_1$ ] . *J-GEN AUX his father said COMP REFL fear* "Janeza, his father said that he fears."
- b. Janeza<sub>1</sub> je njegov<sub>1</sub> oče sklenil [poslati t<sub>1</sub> v semenišče].
   J-ACC AUX his father decided send-INF to theological-seminary
   "Janeza, his father decided to send to the theological seminary." (Marušič, 2003: 2-3)
- (34) Control infinitivals not introduced by an overt complementizer must be IPs.

  (Bošković, 1996: 301)
- (35) a. \*John said [Peter left] and [that Bill kissed Mary]. (Radford 1997: 149)
  b. John expected [to write a novel] but [that it would be a critical disaster]. (Bošković, 1996: 133)
- (36) Only identical categories can be conjoined, idiomatically. (Radford 1988: 76)
- (37) a. What he suspected was [that Bill saw Monument Valley].
  - b. \*What he suspected that was [Bill saw Monument Valley]. (Koster and May, 1982: 132)
  - c. \*What the terrorists believe is [they will hijack an airplane]. (Boskovic 1996: 282)
- (38) a. What he wanted was [for Bill to visit Monument Valley].
  - b. What he wanted was [to visit Monument Valley]. (Koster and May, 1982: 132)
- (39) a. コントロール不定詞補部は顕在的な補文標識の有無に関わらず CP である。
  - b. 定形の CP 補部とコントロール不定詞補部の振る舞いの違いは両者の範疇が異なるためではない。

- (40) a. コントロール CP 補部は強フェイズではなく、弱フェイズである。
  - b. 限定詞句が A 移動の過程で  $\theta$  位置を経由する場合は、複数の意味役割を得ることが可能である。
  - c. 義務的コントロール構文は強フェイズ主要部から引き継がれた素性が引き起こす A 移動によって生成される。
- (41) a. 目的語コントロール構文<sup>6</sup>



b. 主語コントロール構文

$$[_{\text{C*P}} \text{ C*} [_{\text{TP}} \text{ John T } [_{\nu P} \text{ } \frac{\text{John } \nu}{\theta} [_{\text{VP}} \text{ (Mary) V } [_{\text{CP}} \text{ C } [_{\text{TP}} \text{ T } [_{\nu * P} \text{ } \frac{\text{John } \nu *}{\theta} ...]]]]]]]$$

- (42) Hornstein (1999) コントロール構文は  $\theta$  素性が引き起こす移動によって派生する
  - a. John persuaded Mary to leave.
  - b.  $[_{TP} \text{ John T } [_{\nu^*P} \text{ John persuade} + \nu^*[\theta] [_{VP} \text{ Mary V } [\theta] [_{CP} \text{ C } [_{TP} \text{ to } [_{\nu^*P} \frac{\text{Mary}}{n} \text{ leave}]]]]]].$

V が強フェイズの主要部ではないにも関わらず移動を引き起こしている

#### (43) アイスランド語

- a. Èg skipaði hann að vera góður/góðan.
   I asked him-ACC Comp be-INF good-masc.sg.NOM/ACC
   "I asked him to be good."
- b. Èg lofaði honum að vera góður/\*góðum/\*góðan.
   I promised him-DAT Comp be-INF good-masc.sg.NOM/\*DAT/\*ACC
   "I promised him to be good." (Anderson, 1990: 263)

(44) a. 
$$[_{C*P} C^*[_{TP} I T [_{v*P} I v^* [_{VP} him V [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [be him good]]]]]]]$$
  
b.  $[_{C*P} C^*[_{TP} I T [_{vP} I v [_{VP} him V [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [be I good]]]]]]]$ 

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  以下、強フェイズ主要部 C を  $C^*$ 、弱フェイズ主要部 C を C と表示する。

- (45) a. 対格との一致が可能 コントロール CP 補部内の要素は次の強フェイズ主要部 v\*であるから可視的。
  - b. 主格との一致が可能 弱フェイズ主要部Cは一致素性のうち、人称素性のみを欠く。
  - c. 主語コントロール構文の目的語は V から内在格を付与されている 主語コントロール構文の V は何らかの一致素性を持っている。7
  - d. 弱フェイズ主要部 C や内在格を付与する V のように、一致素性の一部を持つ主要部は強フェイズ主要部の素性を引き継がないため、その指定部は A 移動の経由地にはならない。
- (46) [PRO] is the sole NP that can bear null Case. [...] the infinitival element (with null agreement) and the head of ING of gerundive nominals check null Case [...].

(Chomsky and Lasnik 1993: 561)

- (47) a. I persuaded the men (all) to (all) resign.
  - b. The men (all) promised me (\*all) to (all) resign.<sup>8</sup>

(48) a. 
$$[_{C^*P} C^* [_{TP} I T [_{\nu^*P} I \nu^* [_{XP} \text{ the men } X [_{VP} \text{ the men } V [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{\nu^*P} \text{ the men } \nu^*]]]]]]])$$
b. 
$$[_{C^*P} C^* [_{TP} \text{ the men } T [_{\nu^P} \text{ the men } \nu [_{YP} \text{ me } X [_{VP} \text{ me } V [_{CP} C [_{TP} T [_{\nu^*P} \text{ the men } \nu^*]]]]]]]])$$

(49) 不定詞の前の遊離数量詞は TP 指定部に生起しているのではなく、VP 指定部に生起している。

#### 4. まとめ

- (50) a. 一致素性を完全に欠く弱フェイズ主要部は一致素性を持つフェイズの主要部から一致素性と Edge 素性を引き継ぎ、その指定部は A 移動の経由地になる。
  - b. コントロール CP 補部は弱フェイズである。
  - c. 義務的コントロール構文は強フェイズ主要部から引き継がれた素性が引き起こす A 移動によって生成される。

<sup>7</sup> promise タイプの動詞の目的語は与格を付与されており、直接目的語ではないという主張については Hornstein (2001)を参照。また、内在格は V との局所的な関係によって付与されるという主張については Lasnik (1999), Chomsky (2000)を参照。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> この例は Baltin (1995: 222)を参考にしている。

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