Goal-driven Movement in Japanese: Verb-Verb Compounds

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In this paper, I will reexamine the syntactic structure and its derivation of Verb-Verb compounds (VVCs) in Japanese argued by Fujimori (2000), following Boskovic's (2007) analysis and proposals.

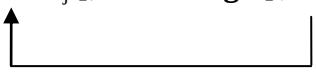
Fujimori (2000) argues that, in VVCs, both V1 and V2 are projected to *v*P respectively, and that arguments in the V1 projection move into the argument positions in the V2 projection, following Hornstein (1999). Assuming this movement, the scope interaction between quantifiers in subject and in object can be accounted for: in the course of the derivation, the moved quantifier (object) c-commands the base-generated quantifier (subject), inducing the scope interaction.

(1) $[_{vP}$ SUBJ$_i$ $[_{VP}$ OBJ$_j$ $[_{vP}$ t_i $[_{VP}$ t_j V1] *v*] V2] *v*]

(2) a. Dareka-ga daremo-o korosi-ta (unambiguous)
b. Dareka-ga daremo-o yaki-korosi-ta (ambiguous)

However, there is a crucial problem in Fujimori's (2000) analysis: when object in the V1 projection moves into the V2 projection, it skips subject, which is the more local candidate for movement, violating the locality requirement of movement.

(3) $[_{VP}$ daremo-o$_j$ $[_{vP}$ **dareka-ga** $[_{VP}$ t_j V1] *v*] V2]



Therefore, Fujimori's (2000) argument should be reanalyzed not to violate the locality of movement, retaining the idea that object c-commands subject in the course of the derivation.

Crucially, in (1), arguments in the V1 projection move across the *v*P boundary, of which head, *v*, is assumed to be a strong phase in Chomsky (2000). Chomsky (2000) argues that once derivation reaches the phase boundary, no more operations can be applied into the phase from the higher elements except for Head of the phase and its edge, which is called *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC). Due to PIC, when an element XP needs to move out of a phase, in order for XP to be "visible" from outside of the phase, it must first move to Spec of the phase. Chomsky (2000) assumes that this movement is implemented by giving the head of the phase the EPP property ([EPP]), which is satisfied by filling the Spec position. Therefore, for Chomsky, [EPP] is the driving force for the movement to Spec of the phase.

However, Boskovic (2007) convincingly argues against Chomsky's proposals.

(4) a. What$_i$ does he think $[_{CP}$ t_i $[_{C'}$ **that** Mary bought t_i]]?
[EPP]
b. You think $[_{CP}$ **that** Mary bought a car]
no [EPP]

The embedded C in (4b), in contrast (4a), does not have [EPP], so no movement occurs. If so, there must be two Cs, one with [EPP], and the other without [EPP]. Boskovic crucially points out that the "dual" existence of Cs as to [EPP] leads to the problem of *look ahead*.

As to VVCs, in order for object to move into the V2 projection, it must first move to Spec*v*P to avoid the PIC effects. Under the [EPP]-driven movement analysis, [EPP] has to be assigned to *v*. However, in the simple transitive cases like (2a), *v* does not have [EPP], inducing no movement to Spec*v*P. This is another case of *look ahead*, which is parallel to what Boskovic (2007) points out.

(5) a. [$_{v}$P dareka-ga [$_{VP}$ daremo-o V1] **v**] (simple transitives)
no [EPP]

b. [$_{v}$P daremo-o$_{j}$ [$_{v}$P dareka-ga [$_{VP}$ t_{j} V1] **v**]] (VVCs)
[EPP]

To account for the movement into the Spec of a phase, Boskovic (2007) proposes that the uninterpretable feature on the moving element, not on the target, motivates the movement of a phrase containing it.

(6) [$_{XP}$ ... X ... Y] (XP = phase)
*i*F
*u*K

In (6), the *u*K of Y, which cannot be checked within XP, motivates the movement of Y to SpecXP. If this proposal is correct, there is no need to assign [EPP] on intermediate Cs.

Following Boskovic's (2007) proposals, I will argue that arguments in V1 move into V2 due to the requirement of feature checking of uninterpretable features, more specifically, [*u*Case]s.

It is well-known that, in VVCs, the realization of Case is determined by the property of V2, not that of V1.

(7) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-**o** ot-ta
b. Taroo-ga Hanako-**ni** tui-ta
c. Taroo-ga Hanako-**ni** oi-tui-ta
d. * Taroo-ga Hanako-**o** oi-tui-ta

This means that arguments in the V1 projection have not had their [*u*Case]s checked, therefore they must move into the V2 projection to have their [*u*Case]s checked. Due to PIC, elements in the V1 projection have to first move to Spec*v*P. Subject has already been in Spec*v*P, but object has to move to Spec*v*P to avoid the PIC effect.

(8) [$_{v}$P OBJ$_{j}$ [$_{v}$P SUBJ [$_{VP}$ t_{j} V1] *v*]]

In this configuration, object c-commands subject, inducing the scope interaction, as desired.

Furthermore, the fact that arguments in the V1 projection move into the V2 projection implies that no feature checking occurs in the V1 configuration. Boskovic (2007) argues that once [*u*F] is checked in some position, the element bearing the checked [*u*F] cannot move further, which Boskovic calls 'freezing effect.' If so, to move into the V2 projection, arguments in the V1 projection should not have their [*u*Case]s checked in the V1 projection, also as desired. In this respect, Hornstein's (1999) proposal that θ-roles be features cannot hold, because if arguments in the V1 projection had their θ-roles (or θ-features) checked, they could not move further, contrary to the fact.

References

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