

1 Introduction: Strong Uniformity

1.1 Introduction

A linguistic theory should minimally tell us the following:

- How are natural languages the same?
- In what ways can they be different?

Government and Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky 1981) had a straightforward answer to these questions. All languages contain the same set of principles such as subjacency and the Empty Category Principle; where the languages differ is in the setting of the parameter built into many of the principles, the head parameter being one such example. This vision allowed the theory to attain not only descriptive adequacy, but explanatory adequacy as well—in the ideal, of course—because this framework gave what appeared at the time to be a compelling picture of the initial state of Universal Grammar. However, as we learned more about the nature of these principles, it became evident that many, if not all, of them are a description of the problem they are supposed to solve. Why, for example, should a movement that crosses two nodes of a particular kind lead to ungrammaticality? Subjacency simply builds this observation into a condition on movement, failing to tell us anything beyond what we already know to be the problem. Chomsky (1986) begins to address this issue, but it is in the Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky 1993, 1995) that the problem inherent to GB comes fully into the light, and an effort is made to rid the theory of anything that does not have independent and intuitive motivation. As Chomsky states (1995, 233), the assumptions of earlier theories were often “of roughly the order of complexity of what is to be explained.” While the MP’s transcending of principles-and-parameters is progress, it leaves us without an answer to either of the questions posed at the outset. Without universal principles, it is not obvious how we state the uniform nature of human language, and without principles, there can be

no parameters that can be built into them to capture the potential for variation that languages exhibit. Recognizing the vacuum left by ridding the theory of universal principles, Chomsky suggests the Uniformity Principle (UP) in their place.

(1) Uniformity Principle (Chomsky 2001, 2)

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

To understand the UP, we need to have more specificity to both parts of the statement. In assuming languages to be uniform, precisely what are the elements that we assume are shared by all languages? In what ways can languages vary within this uniform profile? It surely is not the case that the detectable properties of utterances are random in nature, just as the parameters in GB are not random in their formulation. I will attempt to provide a concrete instantiation of both portions of the UP by extending the proposal in Miyagawa (2010), in order to understand both the content of the universal statement and the precise nature of the variation being described in the UP. As we will see, the result is not radically different from the way that principles-and-parameters in GB is conceptualized, and it is also consistent with recent discussion of “microparameters” by Baker (2008), Kayne (2005), and many others.

1.2 Strong Uniformity: An Instantiation of the Uniformity Principle

In Miyagawa (2010), I focus on elements in linguistic theory that are responsible for triggering the operation of movement. Unlike in GB, in which movement is viewed as entirely optional and Move α moves anything, anywhere, at any time (Chomsky 1981), in MP, virtually every instance of movement is considered to be last resort (Chomsky 1995). What triggers it are grammatical features that must somehow be checked off. These grammatical features vary from language to language, the most common of them being ϕ -features.¹ Given the central role that grammatical features have come to play in linguistic theory, it is only natural to ask which grammatical features are found in which languages, and what accounts for the variation. To answer this question, I proposed Strong Uniformity.

(2) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)

Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features.

What Strong Uniformity states, in the spirit of the UP, is that the same stock of grammatical features is found in every language. The idea that these features overtly appear in some fashion provides the basis for delineating the possible variations in how the grammatical features manifest themselves. Right away, a whole host of questions arise. How does one account for the variety of ϕ -feature agreements across languages, from an impoverished set like in English to the rich agreement of Romance? What about languages that do not evidence any agreement, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean?

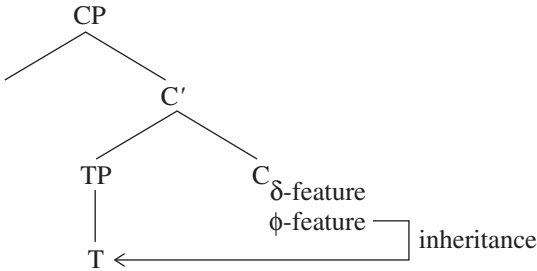
There are a variety of ϕ -feature agreements, but in this monograph I will mostly focus on person agreement, since it is person agreement that is operative in the kinds of phenomena I will look at, such as pro-drop and allocutive agreement. For the second question, I argue that there are two types of grammatical features, ϕ -features and what Kiss (1995) calls the “discourse-configurational” features, which are topic and focus. In some languages, topic/focus plays the same role as agreement in triggering movement to positions such as Spec,TP. By Strong Uniformity, every language has both ϕ -feature agreement and topic/focus, making all languages uniform. In this monograph, I will often use δ to stand for discourse-configurational features without distinguishing between topic and focus.

These grammatical features have a similar status as the universal principles in GB: they are shared by all languages. What differentiates the grammatical features from the universal principles is that the grammatical features actually occur in the language as detectable entities, and they are closely associated with linguistic operations (Chomsky 2005, 2008; Miyagawa 2010), hence there is an independent and intuitive motivation for including them in the theory. What remains is how languages can vary within the framework of Strong Uniformity.

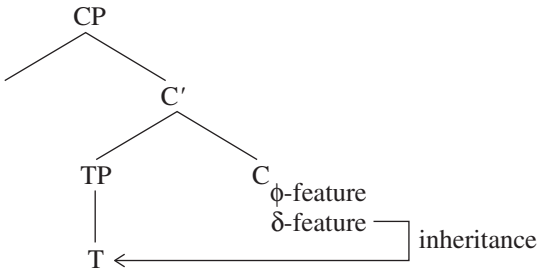
1.2.1 Examples of Typology Based on Strong Uniformity

I begin with the assumption that all grammatical features start out on a phase head; I will focus in this monograph on the phase head C (Chomsky 2005, 2007; Miyagawa 2010; Richards 2007). These grammatical features may be inherited by T in certain circumstances. As I noted in Miyagawa (2010), the patterns of inheritance can capture variations across languages. In that work, I only dealt with two such patterns.

(3) Agreement-based languages



(4) Discourse-configurational languages



In (3), the ϕ -feature agreement is inherited by T, leading to what I termed an agreement-based language such as English. In (4), the δ -feature is inherited by T, resulting in a discourse-configurational language such as Japanese. In this monograph, I will explore all the basic variations predicted by this approach.

Let us consider the two types of grammatical features, the ϕ -feature and the δ -feature. Without making further distinctions, such as dividing the δ -feature into topic and focus, we predict four different types of languages: (I) ϕ -feature on C, δ -feature on T; (II) δ -feature on C, ϕ -feature on T; (III) both ϕ -feature and δ -feature on T; and (IV) both ϕ -feature and δ -feature on C. These are given below with representative languages.

(5) Some predicted languages

- Category I: C_ϕ, T_δ – Japanese
- Category II: C_δ, T_ϕ – English
- Category III: $C, T_{\phi/\delta}$ – Spanish
- Category IV: $C_{\phi/\delta}, T$ – Dinka

In this monograph, I will look at each of these possibilities, and in fact more. As we will see, there are cases where the δ -feature must be divided into topic and focus, as noted originally by Kiss (1995). For example, Spanish has

been argued to be a Category III language, with the δ -feature occurring on T (Jiménez-Fernández 2010, Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014). However, this turns out to hold only for the δ -feature of topic; the other δ -feature, focus, occurs on C in Spanish. We will see this in chapter 4 when we look at the various forms of ‘why’ questions across languages.

Also, the δ -feature of topic is not a unitary feature but comes in at least three versions: Aboutness, Contrastive, and Familiar/Given (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007). As we will see in chapter 2, while Contrastive and Familiar/Given topics are subject to the parametric variation of either occurring on C or being inherited by T, the Aboutness topic uniformly occurs on C across all languages. It is simply the nature of the Aboutness topic that it must have the entire clause as its domain.

Below, I will discuss two instances of the typology given above: the occurrence of the δ -feature topic at T, which we find in Categories I and III; and the occurrence of both types of grammatical feature, the ϕ - and the δ -feature, at C, which we find in Category IV. In the chapters to follow, I will motivate other parts of the typology.

1.2.1.1 δ -Feature at T

Categories I and III have the δ -feature at T. I will show this with Japanese (I) and Spanish (III). In both languages, I will take up topic movement, which applies within the TP domain in these languages. The points I will demonstrate are that the movement is indeed for topicalization, which is well-known in Spanish, and that it is A-movement, hence a movement that occurs within the TP domain, a point already extensively argued for by Saito (1985, 1992).

The type of movement in Japanese that I take up in Miyagawa (2010) that is triggered by a δ -feature on T is scrambling. As already established in the literature, clause-bound scrambling has properties of A-movement. To show this, we can turn to some typical properties of A-movement: A-movement can overcome a Weak Crossover (WCO) violation, and it is able to create a new binder (Mahajan 1990).

(6) Who_i t_i seems to his_i mother t_i to be smart?

(7) John_i seems to himself_i to be t_i smart.

In (6) the *wh*-phrase *who* undergoes A-movement from the subordinate subject position to the matrix Spec,TP, crossing the pronoun *his*. Despite this, the sentence is grammatical because a WCO violation only occurs if there is a variable and a pronoun coreferential with the variable that the variable fails to c-command. A-movement does not create a variable because it is not an operator movement, so in (8) the trace and the pronoun in the subordinate subject position are not subject to WCO. In (9), *John* A-moves to

Spec,TP and is able to bind *himself* from this new position. Presumably, such binding only takes place from A-positions. We can see below that A'-movement is incapable of suppressing a WCO violation; it also cannot create a new binder.

(8) ?*Who_i does his_i mother love t_i?

(9) *To whom_i did each other_i's friends introduce Mary t_i?

The following are examples of clause-bound scrambling in Japanese that demonstrate that it is A-movement; these examples are modeled after Mahajan's work, and similar examples are discussed by Hoji (1985), Saito (1992), Tada (1993), and Yoshimura (1989, 1992). As shown in the (b) example, A-scrambling can suppress a WCO violation.

- (10) a. *[Kinoo *pro_i pro_j* atta hito_i]-ga dare-o_j hihansita no?
 yesterday met person-NOM who-ACC criticized Q
 Lit. 'The person who met (him) yesterday criticized whom?'
 b. Dare-o_j [kinoo *pro_i pro_j* atta hito_i]-ga t_j hihansita no?
 who-ACC yesterday met person-NOM criticized Q
 Lit. 'Who, the person who met (him) yesterday criticized?'

A-movement can also create a new binder (Mahajan 1990, Saito 1992).

- (11) a. *Otagai_i-no sensei-ga [Taroo-to Hanako]_i-o
 each other-GEN teacher-NOM Taro-and Hanako-ACC
 suisensita.
 recommended
 'Each other's teachers recommended Taro and Hanako.'
 b. Taroo-to Hanako-o_i otagai-no sensei-ga t_i
 Taro-and Hanako-ACC each other-GEN teacher-NOM
 suisensita.
 recommended
 'Taro and Hanako, each other's teachers recommended.'

Unlike this kind of local scrambling, long-distance scrambling solely has A' properties. Long-distance scrambling is unable to suppress a WCO violation and it cannot create a new binder (Mahajan 1990, Saito 1992, Tada 1993).

- (12) *Dare-o_j [kinoo *pro_i pro_j* atta hito_i]-ga
 who-ACC yesterday met person-NOM
 [Taroo-ga t_j sitteiru to] itta no?
 Taro-NOM know C said Q
 Lit. 'Who, the person who met (him) yesterday said that Taro knows (him)?'

- (13) ?*Taroo-to Hanako-o_i otagai-no sensei-ga
 Taro-and Hanako-ACC each other-GEN teacher-NOM
 [koutyou-ga *t_i* sikaru to] omotta.
 principal scold C thought
 Lit. 'Taro and Hanako, each other's teachers thought that the
 principal will scold.'

Having established that clause-bound scrambling may be A-movement, let us move on to the evidence that its function may be topicalization. One piece of evidence comes from acquisition (Miyagawa 2010). Hayashibe (1975) noted that there appears to be a period, sometime up to five years of age, in which children tend to interpret scrambled sentences like (14b) as if they were non-scrambled SOV sentences like (14a), completely ignoring the case marking on the arguments.

- (14) a. SOV: Kamesan-ga ahirusan-o osimasita.
 turtle-NOM duck-ACC pushed
 'A turtle pushed a duck.'
 b. OSV: Ahirusan-o kamesan-ga osimasita.
 duck-ACC turtle-NOM pushed

Hayashibe concludes from this that scrambling is acquired late in language development. However, Otsu (1994) shows that children before or around the age of three have no problem with scrambling when they are presented with a discourse context that makes the scrambled sentence sound natural.

- c. Kooen-ni ahirusan-ga imasita.
 park-in duck-NOM was
 Sono ahirusan-o kamesan-ga osimasita.
 the duck-ACC turtle-NOM pushed
 'There was a duck in the park. A turtle pushed the duck.'

What Otsu has shown is that scrambling of the object, 'the duck-ACC', is possible if there is prior context that establishes it as the discourse topic.²

Spanish is a typical agreement language in that the ϕ -feature agreement occurs on T; given the rich nature of agreement, it is able to license pro-drop.

- (15) ___ baila bien. (Jaeggli 1982)
 dance-3SG well
 'She dances well.'

At the same time, the δ -feature of topic apparently lowers to T as well (Jiménez-Fernández 2010, Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014). This

topic construction, which Jiménez-Fernández calls topic dislocation, is also called Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) in the literature.

- (16) a. Estos libros, Juan los leyó ayer.
 these books Juan them read yesterday
 ‘These books, Juan read yesterday.’
 b. Algunos libros, Juan los leyó ayer.
 some books Juan them read yesterday
 ‘Some books, Juan read yesterday.’ (Arregi 2003)

As we saw with Japanese, if this topic dislocation in Spanish is applying within the TP domain, it is an instance of A-movement. Two pieces of evidence that it is indeed A-movement are Floating Quantifiers (FQs) and binding. On the basis of Catalan data, López (2009) concludes that FQs are allowed only in A-movement, not in A'-movement (Lasnik 2003).³ We see the same for Spanish, where A-movement such as raising and passivization is compatible with FQs.

- (17) a. Los padres parecen haber asistido todos a la reunión.
 the parents seem-PRES.3PL to.have attended all to the meeting
 ‘The parents seem to have all attended the meeting.’
 b. Los exámenes han sido corregidos todos.
 the exams have-PRF.3PL been corrected all
 ‘The exams have all been graded.’

If topic displacement involves A-movement, it should allow FQs. We see this in (18) (Jiménez-Fernández 2010).

- (18) Los exámenes los ha corregido todos este profesor.
 the exams CL have-PRF.3SG corrected all this teacher
 ‘This teacher has corrected all the exams.’

The second piece of evidence that topic displacement, or CLLD, in Spanish applies within TP relates to the fact that it exhibits A-properties (Jiménez-Fernández 2010). Specifically, it is able to create a new binder, which is clearly an indication of A-movement.

- (19) a. *Su_i enfermera llamó al paciente_i.
 self's nurse call-PST.3SG to.the patient
 ‘His/her nurse called the patient.’
 b. Al paciente_i lo llamó su_i enfermera.
 to.the patient CL call-PST.3SG self's nurse
 ‘The patient was called by his/her nurse.’

While the anaphor fails to be bound in (19a), leftward topicalization of the antecedent makes it possible to create a binder for the anaphor, thus making (19b) grammatical.⁴

1.2.1.2 Agreement at C: Dinka

Two types of languages are predicted to have agreement at C: Category I (C_ϕ , T_δ) and Category IV ($C_{\phi/\delta}$, T). Reversing the order, I will first discuss Category IV. According to the typology, a Category IV language has both types of grammatical features, ϕ and δ , at C. This means that such a language would have, for example, topicalization to Spec,CP and the ϕ -feature on C would agree with this topic.⁵

A language that evidences these properties of Category IV is Dinka, a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in southern Sudan. The analysis here is drawn from van Urk (2015). Dinka is a V2 language, with the verbal element—either the main verb or an auxiliary element—occurring at C. What occurs as the first element preceding the V2 verbal item is normally a topic. In the first example below, the topic is the subject, and C agrees with it in person and number (singular). In the second example, the topic is the object, and C agrees with this 3rd person singular object. In the third example, the topic is a plural subject, and the agreement at C inflects for plurality as well as 3rd person.

- (20) a. Àyén à-càm cùŋ nẹ pàl.
 Ayen 3SG-eat.SV food P knife.
 ‘Ayen is eating food with a knife.’
- b. Cu ŋn à-céem Áyén nẹ pàl.
 food 3SG-eat.OV Ayen.NOM P knife
 ‘Food, Ayen is eating with a knife.’
- c. Kóć áa-cé ròth tŋŋ.
 people 3PL-PRF.SV self.PL see
 ‘The people have seen themselves.’

What occurs in Spec,CP need not always be a topic. Dinka is a *wh*-movement language, and Spec,CP may host a *wh*-phrase. In that case, C agrees with the *wh*-phrase moved into Spec,CP.⁶

- (21) Agreement with *wh*-phrases
- a. Ye kòðc-kó è-kè-thèt?
 Q people.CS1-which.PL PST-3PL-cook.SV
 ‘Which people were cooking?’

- b. Ye kɔ̀ɔ̀c-kó è-kè-cfí Áyén kè gàam gàlám?
 Q people.CS1-which.PL PST-3PL-PREF.OV Ayen-NOM PL give.NF pen
 ‘Which people had Ayen given a pen to?’
- c. Ye kɔ̀ɔ̀c-kó è-kè-yè kè tàak,
 Q people.CS1-which.PL PST-3PL-HAB.2SG PL think.NF
 [_{CP} è-kè-cfí Áyén kè gàam gàlám]?
 PST-3P-PREF.OV Ayen-NOM PL give.NF pen
 ‘Which people did (s)he think that Ayen had given a pen to?’

Wh-phrases carry focus, hence, in these cases, presumably C has the δ -feature of focus. Whether the δ -feature is topic or focus, it occurs at C along with ϕ -feature agreement, making Dinka a Category IV language.

Based on the discussion above, we have the following example languages for each of the typological categories.

(22) Some predicted languages

Category I: C_ϕ, T_δ – Japanese

Category II: C_δ, T_ϕ – English

Category III: $C, T_{\phi/\delta}$ – Spanish

Category IV: $C_{\phi/\delta}, T$ – Dinka

1.3 Outline of the Monograph

In chapter 2, “Allocutive Agreement and the Root,” I will look at agreement at C in Japanese. Japanese is traditionally considered to be a language without any agreement, yet Strong Uniformity predicts that it has ϕ -feature agreement that occurs at C. I will argue that the politeness marker *-mas-* (*-des-* for nominal) is this agreement at C. To make this argument, I will draw on the study of some dialects of Basque that exhibit a type of agreement called allocutive agreement, which agrees with one of the discourse participants, the speaker or the hearer. Basque allocutive agreement agrees with the hearer, hence it is 2nd person. Drawing on the work of Oyharçabal (1993), who gives arguments that Basque allocutive agreement is standard agreement, and not some other phenomenon, we will see that Basque allocutive agreement mirrors politeness marking in Japanese in both function (politeness) and position (at C). As agreement, the allocutive agreement requires a “goal,” a 2nd person entity that can furnish the features for person, gender, number, and politeness level. I will argue that such an entity is part of the “performative analysis,” originally proposed by Ross (1970) and recently updated by Speas and Tenny (2003). Speas and Tenny call the structure that contains the speaker and hearer representations the “speech act projection” (saP). I will show that the distribution

of saP matches exactly the original conception of the root due to Emonds (1969). Thus, the “allocutive agreement” in Japanese, the politeness marker *-mas-*, occurs in the three environments Emonds specified as roots.

(23) Root

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S, or the reported S in direct discourse.

(Emonds 1969, 6)

In chapter 3, “Pro-Drop, E-Type Pronouns, and Agreement,” I take up a topic that was extensively studied in the 1980s—the phenomenon of pro-drop. Kuroda (1965) suggested that the empty slots in Japanese sentences are pronominal in nature, an analysis that foreshadowed later works of Taraldsen (1978), J. Huang (1984), and Rizzi (1986), among many others. In the 1990s, starting with Huang (1991) and Otani and Whitman (1991), a new breed of what in the past would have been called pro-drop began to be discussed. At issue are cases in which an empty element in an argument position has an indefinite meaning that allows sloppy interpretation. Oku (1998), in a work that opened the door to the so-called argument ellipsis analysis, notes that in Japanese, the subject empty element may get either the strict or the sloppy interpretation.

- (24) a. Mariko-wa [zibun-no kodomo-ga furansugo-o benkyoosuru to]
 Mariko-TOP self-GEN child-NOM French-ACC study that
 omotteiru.
 think
 Lit. ‘Mariko thinks that self’s child will study French.’
- b. Haruna-wa [*e* surobeniago-o benkyoosuru to] omotteiru.
 Haruna-TOP Slovenian-ACC study that think
 Lit. ‘Haruna thinks that *e* will study Slovenian.’
 ✓strict, ✓sloppy

In the context of (24a), the *e* in the subordinate subject position in (24b) may be interpreted as ‘he/she’, which would be the standard *pro* referring to Mariko’s child, but it can also have the sloppy interpretation of ‘Haruna’s child’. Following Otani and Whitman (1991), Oku assumes that the sloppy interpretation, which arises from an indefinite expression, cannot be *pro*. He then proposes that the sloppy interpretation is made possible by a fully specified argument (‘self’s child’) that has undergone ellipsis. He calls this argument ellipsis. Oku (1998) makes one additional observation that has led to an important body of work on the relationship between the possibility of sloppy interpretation and agreement. He notes that in the Spanish example below, only the strict reading is possible.

- (25) a. María cree que su propuesta será aceptada.
 Maria believes that her proposal will.be accepted
 ‘Maria believes that her proposal will be accepted.’
- b. Juan también cree que *e* será aceptada.
 Juan also believes that will.be accepted
 Lit. ‘Juan also believes that *e* will be accepted.’ Strict/*sloppy

Oku suggests that the difference here is that the subject has agreement, and that this blocks the subject position from undergoing argument ellipsis. This is consistent with the observation by Taraldsen (1978) and Rizzi (1986) that rich agreement licenses pro-drop. Thus, if there is agreement, and the target of agreement—the subject—is empty, the agreement is sufficiently rich to license the *pro*. We would not expect anything else in that position, such as a covert fully specified argument. The idea that agreement blocks argument ellipsis has been reinforced and extended by a series of important works by Saito (2007) and Takahashi (2008a,b, 2013; Şener and Takahashi 2010).

One problem with Oku’s observation is that there are languages such as Chinese and Malayalam that do not evidence any overt subject agreement, yet Takahashi reports that the subject position does not allow sloppy interpretation. I will draw on the work of Liu (2014) on Chinese and various works on Malayalam, including Swenson and Marty (2014), to show that these languages indeed have agreement that targets the subject even though the agreement is not pronounced. The evidence for it comes from the so-called blocking effect of anaphor binding. Having defended Oku’s original observation even with languages that do not have overt agreement, I will then turn the table around and argue, following Oikonomou (to appear), that the empty element is a *pro*, as originally suggested by Kuroda (1965), even when it allows a sloppy interpretation. It is not argument ellipsis that gives rise to the sloppy interpretation. Cases have been reported of sloppy interpretation even with overt pronouns and they are presumed to have the E-type pronoun reading (Karttunen 1969; I have changed the example slightly to make it less provocative).

- (26) The man who gave his paycheck to his wife was wiser than the man who gave it to his child.

The impersonal pronoun *it* allows an E-type pronoun interpretation which leads to it being reinterpreted as a fully specified noun phrase, *his paycheck*, where *his* stands for a variable. The idea that the sloppy interpretation is related to the E-type pronoun is similar to Tomioka’s (2003) proposal that the element that gets this interpretation is type <e,t> (so a predicate); it must have

Existential Closure, and it is type-shifted from predicate to individual. The proposal is also related to the “indefinite pronoun” idea of Hoji (1998), which I will discuss in some detail. I will argue along the lines of Oikonomou that the sloppy interpretation is due to an E-type pronoun interpretation of the *pro*. I will also correlate the difficulty of E-type pronoun interpretation with agreement being operative, thereby incorporating Oku’s original idea without having to assume argument ellipsis.

Chinese is a Category II language, in which the δ -feature remains on C and the ϕ -feature is inherited by T. Adopting an idea of Sato (2015a,b), I will argue that the difficulty of sloppy interpretation has to do with *pro* being topicalized to Spec,CP in the relevant constructions. I will further argue that this topicalization is also what is operative in the agreement languages, such as Spanish, making sloppy interpretation difficult, although not impossible, as we will see. To show that the sloppy interpretation of the subject *pro* is readily available in Japanese but not so easily detectable in Chinese, I present two large-scale surveys, one on Japanese, the other on Chinese. We will see that while the Japanese speakers readily perceive the sloppy interpretation without the help of any additional context, the Chinese speakers rarely get the sloppy interpretation. However, if an appropriate context is provided to induce the sloppy interpretation, as many as 50% of the speakers report that they get the sloppy reading. I will suggest that these variations are due to factors—topicalization is the factor we take up—that render the example easy or difficult for interpreting the *pro* as an E-type pronoun.

In chapter 4, “On the Distribution and Structure of ‘Why,’” I take up two approaches to ‘why’: the movement analysis and the external-merge (EM) analysis, the latter originally due to Bromberger (1987, 1992) and Rizzi (1990), later extended by Ko (2005), Stepanov and Tsai (2008), and others. A well-known externally merged ‘why’ is *how come* (Collins 1991), which is merged directly into the Spec,CP where it takes scope. The lack of movement is indicated by the absence of Aux inversion (*How come you left the party early?*). While many languages have the EM option, a language such as Japanese apparently does not, leaving a gap in the paradigm for ‘why’. It is not the case that this gap exists because Japanese is a *wh*-in-situ language. Chinese, another *wh*-in-situ language, has an EM ‘why’, *zenme* (Tsai 2008), that behaves similarly to *how come* in English. I argue that the gap in the paradigm for a language such as Japanese (and presumably Korean) is due to the fact that Japanese is a Category I language in which the δ -feature is inherited by T. This means that focus, a discourse feature, never occurs at C. I show that the EM option for ‘why’ requires focus at C, something that Chinese allows since it is a Category II language, in which the δ -feature of focus remains

at C. In the literature, one ostensible piece of evidence for the EM nature of *naze* ‘why’ in Japanese is that it is unique among *wh*-phrases in being able to escape the intervention effect (Miyagawa 1997b). The intervention effect (Takahashi 1990, Rizzi 1992, Beck 1996a; the effect studied also in Hoji 1985) is a phenomenon in which the covert movement of a *wh*-phrase is blocked when it is c-commanded by certain types of expressions such as a quantifier or something with focus.⁷ Takahashi (1990) noted that the NPI focus marker *-sika* triggers an intervention effect.

- (27) *Hanako-sika dare-ni erab-are-nakat-ta no?
 Hanako-only who-by choose-PASS-NEG-PST Q
 ‘By whom was only Hanako chosen?’

The occurrence of ‘only Hanako’ in the subject position blocks the *wh*-phrase ‘by whom’ from taking scope. All *wh*-phrases are subject to this intervention effect save one: ‘why’ may circumvent the effect of the intervenor and be able to take proper scope (Miyagawa 1997b).

- (28) Hanako-sika naze erab-are-nakat-ta no?
 Hanako-only why choose-PASS-NEG-PST Q
 ‘Why was only Hanako chosen?’

Ko (2005) shows that the same anti-intervention effect shows up in Korean.

- (29) a. ***Amwuto**/***John-pakkey** mwues-ul ilk-ci-anh-ass-ni?
 Anyone/John-only what-ACC read-CI-not-PST-Q
 ‘What did no one/only John read?’ (Beck and Kim 1997)
 b. **Amwuto**?/***John-pakkey** way ku chayk-ul ilk-ci-anh-ass-ni?
 Anyone/John-only why that book-ACC read CI-not-PST-Q
 ‘Why did no one/only John read that book?’ (Ko 2005)

In (29a), the argument *wh*-phrase ‘what’ cannot take scope because of the c-commanding intervenor, ‘anyone’/‘only John’, in the subject position. As in Japanese, ‘why’ is able to escape this intervention effect, as we see in (29b).

In contrast, in Chinese ‘why’ cannot escape the effect of intervention (Yang 2012).

- (30) *Zhiyou Zhangsan weishenme cizhi?
 only Zhangsan why_{ADV} resign
 ‘Why did only Zhangsan resign?’

I will argue that it is no accident that Japanese and Korean, but not Chinese, have the anti-intervention effect. Drawing on the work of Beck (1995) and Shlonsky and Soare (2011), I will propose a structure for ‘why’ that, looked

at from a Strong Uniformity perspective, predicts that only languages such as Japanese and Korean have the anti-intervention effect with ‘why’. These are *wh*-in-situ languages and Category I languages in which the δ -feature is inherited by T. In addition to *naze* ‘why’, I will look at another expression in Japanese that has a similar meaning, the use of ‘what’ for ‘why’.

- (31) Taroo-wa nani-o awatete-iru no?
 Taro-TOP what-ACC panick-ing Q
 ‘Why (in the hell) is Taro panicking?’

A similar use of ‘what’ for ‘why’ is found in other languages; the following is a German example from Ochi (2014).

- (32) Was tadeln Sie Hans denn?
 what blame you Hans
 ‘Why (the hell) are you blaming Hans?’

I will show that this usage of ‘what’ for ‘why’ in Japanese differs from the regular ‘why’ word *naze* in having a structure that is causative in nature. As part of the argument for this, I show that this construction evidences the “deep” double-*o* constraint proposed by Harada (1973, 1975) based on the causative construction.

In chapter 5, “*Ga/No* Conversion, Strong Uniformity, and Focus,” I look at the well-known phenomenon of genitive subjects in Japanese. This is a phenomenon found in many Altaic languages, though there are many variations across these languages. The basic fact in Japanese is that the subject of a relative clause or a complex NP may be marked with the nominative *-ga* or the genitive *-no*.

- (33) Hanako-ga/-no katta hon
 Hanako-NOM/GEN bought book
 ‘the book that Hanako bought’

Two competing theories of how to account for the occurrence of the genitive *-no* appear in the literature, the D-licensing and C-licensing approaches. In the D-licensing approach, linguists key in on the fact that there must be a nominal head to license the genitive, and this is consistent with the nominal phrase in Japanese, where everything must be marked with the genitive.

- (34) [_{DP} Hanako-**no** gakkai-de-**no** Taroo-**no** hihan]
 Hanako-**GEN** conference-at-**GEN** Taro-**GEN** criticism
 ‘Hanako’s criticism of Taro at the conference’

The C-licensing approach focuses on the morphology of the predicate: the prenominal predicate is in an adnominal form, although the actual distinction

between adnominal and finite was lost hundreds of years ago except for the copula (*na* vs. *da*). The idea is that despite the loss of morphological difference, the actual difference still exists between adnominal and finite inflections. I will show that the *ga/no* construction provides further evidence for Strong Uniformity. The key observation, by Akaso and Haraguchi (2010, 2011), is that focus eliminates the possibility of genitive marking on the subject.

- (35) Taroo-dake-ga/*-no nonda kusuri
 Taro-only-NOM/GEN took medicine
 ‘medicine that only Taro took’

This is predicted on the D-licensing analysis viewed within Strong Uniformity. D-licensing states that for the genitive to be licensed, the relative clause must be a TP, not a CP. It is the same as the exceptional case marking construction in English, where the lack of a CP layer allows a higher head to assign Case to it. Because focus requires C to furnish the pertinent feature, the occurrence of focus naturally leads to the occurrence of C, and that in principle should block the possibility of the genitive subject under D-licensing, which assumes that only a TP relative clause allows a genitive subject. However, Ochi (in press) observes that focus is possible with genitive subjects if the focus occurs on an adjunct.

- (36) kinoo/sukosi-dake Taroo-no nonda kusuri
 yesterday/little-only Taro-GEN took medicine
 ‘the medicine that Taro took only yesterday/only a little of’

Here, the focus marking is on the adjunct time adverbial ‘only yesterday’ or the quantity adverbial ‘only a little of’.

What I will show is that this argument/adjunct asymmetry for focus marking in the *ga/no* conversion construction reflects a fundamental point about Strong Uniformity. Strong Uniformity holds that ϕ -features and δ -features are computationally equivalent as far as narrow-syntax operations are concerned. I will argue that the argument/adjunct asymmetry in focus marking of the *ga/no* conversion construction shows that activation must trigger the agreement involving a δ -feature, in particular, focus agreement. The activation we see in *ga/no* conversion is Case, just as we find Case for activation for ϕ -feature agreement (e.g., Chomsky 2001). Although the actual case system for δ -feature agreement is slightly different—what Rackowski (2002) calls Case Agreement—it nevertheless operates on the familiar case distinctions nominative, accusative, dative, and so forth. This analysis provides evidence for the Strong Uniformity notion that the two types of grammatical features are computationally equivalent. Together with what we will see in chapter 2

about allocutive agreement and in chapter 3 about the Chinese subject *pro*, which depends on either the ϕ -feature of person agreement or the δ -feature of topic for participating in coreference, the picture emerges of human language that is uniform in that it contains a uniform set of grammatical features, with variation arising from where these grammatical features may occur in the structure and how they are used by language to implement the various operations that make human language the dynamic and expressive system that it is.

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