

Agreement Beyond Phi

Linguistic Inquiry Monographs

Samuel Jay Keyser, general editor

A complete list of books published in the Linguistic Inquiry Monographs series appears at the back of this book.

Agreement Beyond Phi

Shigeru Miyagawa

The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England

© 2017 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

This book was set in Times LT Std by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited. Printed and bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Miyagawa, Shigeru, author.

Title: Agreement beyond Phi / Shigeru Miyagawa.

Description: Cambridge, MA : The MIT Press, [2017] | Series: Linguistic inquiry monographs ; 75th | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016030743 | ISBN 9780262035880 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780262533324 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Grammar, Comparative and general--Agreement. | Japanese language--Agreement. | Japanese language--Syntax. | Grammar, Comparative and general--Agreement. | Discourse markers. | Government-binding theory (Linguistics) | Minimalist theory (Linguistics)

Classification: LCC PL597.A35 M48 2016 | DDC 495.6/5--dc23 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016030743>

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To my family

Contents

Series Foreword	xi
Preface	xiii
1 Introduction: Strong Uniformity	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Strong Uniformity: An Instantiation of the Uniformity Principle	2
1.2.1 Examples of Typology Based on Strong Uniformity	3
1.2.1.1 δ -Feature at T	5
1.2.1.2 Agreement at C: Dinka	9
1.3 Outline of the Monograph	10
2 Allocutive Agreement and the Root	19
2.1 Agreement at C: Japanese	19
2.2 Allocutive Agreement	22
2.2.1 Politeness Marking in Japanese as Allocutive Agreement	26
2.2.2 Further Evidence for the Speech Act Projection: Jingpo and Newari	30
2.2.2.1 Jingpo	30
2.2.2.2 Newari	32
2.3 Two Counterexamples	34
2.4 Root Phenomena	36
2.4.1 Attitudinal and Style Adverbs in English	42
2.4.2 The Relative Clause: Another Root	44
2.5 Types of Topicalization	45
2.6 Topicalization and Relative Clauses	53
2.7 Conclusion	55
3 Pro-Drop, E-Type Pronouns, and Agreement	57
3.1 Introduction	57
3.2 Agreement in Chinese	61
3.2.1 Anaphor Binding and Blocking	64
3.2.2 Subject <i>pro</i> in Chinese	68

3.2.3	Chinese Subject <i>pro</i> as a Weak Pronoun	73
3.2.4	On J. Huang's (1984) Generalized Control Rule	75
3.3	Malayalam	77
3.3.1	Binding of <i>Taan</i> 'Self/You'	77
3.3.2	Blocking	78
3.4	Toward a Unified Analysis	80
3.4.1	Unified Account Based on <i>pro</i>	81
3.4.2	Evidence That the Sloppy Interpretation Cannot Be Due to Argument Ellipsis	83
3.4.3	On Hoji (1998)	85
3.5	E-Type Pronouns and Agreement	86
3.6	Large-Scale Survey of Chinese and Japanese Speakers for Sloppy Interpretation	91
3.6.1	Japanese Study	92
3.6.2	Chinese Study	95
3.7	Anaphoric Binding in Japanese and POV	98
3.8	Conclusion	102
4	On the Distribution and Structure of 'Why'	105
4.1	Introduction	105
4.2	'Why' as a Base-Generated <i>Wh</i> -Adjunct	107
4.2.1	A Gap in the Paradigm	107
4.3	Three Observations about <i>Naze</i> 'Why'	111
4.4	'Why' Moves (Shlonsky and Soare 2011)	114
4.4.1	Problem for the External-Merge Hypothesis: 'Why' Apparently Always Moves	115
4.4.2	Evidence from Chinese for 'Why' Movement	118
4.5	The Structure of 'Why'	119
4.6	Anti-Superiority and the Structure of 'Why'	121
4.7	Evidence That <i>Naze</i> Can Occur Low in the Structure	124
4.8	The Two-Tier Movement Analysis of 'Why'	127
4.8.1	Why Chinese Does Not Have the Two-Tier Movement of 'Why'	132
4.9	Use of 'What' for 'Why'	134
4.9.1	'What' Adjunct Questions in Japanese	135
4.10	On the Double- <i>O</i> Constraint and the <i>Nani-o</i> 'What' Construction	140
4.10.1	Double- <i>O</i> Constraint	142
4.10.2	Surface DOC, Deep DOC	144
4.10.3	<i>Nani-o</i> and the DOC	146
4.11	Conclusion	148
5	<i>Ga/No</i> Conversion, Strong Uniformity, and Focus	149
5.1	Introduction	149
5.2	Miyagawa (2013)	150
5.3	D-Licensing of the Genitive Case	151
5.4	A Different Kind of Genitive: Genitive of Dependent Tense	154
5.4.1	Dependent Tense and the Genitive	156

5.5	Strong Uniformity and Scrambling	160
5.6	Focus and Genitive	163
5.6.1	Focus at v	165
5.7	Activation of the δ -Feature	166
5.7.1	Focus and Case (Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra 2016)	168
5.7.2	<i>Ga/No</i> Conversion, Focus, and Case Agreement	174
5.7.3	<i>Ga/No</i> Conversion and Focus on Internal Arguments	175
5.8	<i>Ga/No</i> Conversion and Interpretation	177
5.9	Conclusion	179
6	Concluding Remarks	181
	Notes	183
	References	193
	Name Index	213
	Subject Index	217

This is a section of [doi:10.7551/mitpress/10958.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/10958.001.0001)

Agreement Beyond Phi

By: Shigeru Miyagawa

Citation:

Agreement Beyond Phi

By: Shigeru Miyagawa

DOI: 10.7551/mitpress/10958.001.0001

ISBN (electronic): 9780262338639

Publisher: The MIT Press

Published: 2017



The MIT Press

© 2017 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

This book was set in Times LT Std by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited. Printed and bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Miyagawa, Shigeru, author.

Title: Agreement beyond Phi / Shigeru Miyagawa.

Description: Cambridge, MA : The MIT Press, [2017] | Series: Linguistic inquiry monographs ; 75th | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016030743 | ISBN 9780262035880 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780262533324 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Grammar, Comparative and general--Agreement. | Japanese language--Agreement. | Japanese language--Syntax. | Grammar, Comparative and general--Agreement. | Discourse markers. | Government-binding theory (Linguistics) | Minimalist theory (Linguistics)

Classification: LCC PL597.A35 M48 2016 | DDC 495.6/5--dc23 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016030743>

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1