

<Review Article>

FEATURE TRANSFER, LEFT PERIPHERY, AND CASE CONVERSION

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**Agreement Beyond Phi**, Shigeru Miyagawa, MIT Press, 2017, xvii+243pp.

Abstract

Based on Chomsky's (2001) Uniformity Principle, Miyagawa (2017) advances the thesis called Strong Uniformity (SU), which states that all languages are equipped with the same inventory of grammatical features, and that those features are overtly manifested in one way or another. This article places under careful scrutiny some of the major findings and proposals of this monograph, especially those concerning the syntax of 'why' and Nominative/Genitive Conversion, with particular attention paid to the syntactic operation known as Feature Inheritance. It is also demonstrated that working with Miyagawa's core ideas and implementing them in a slightly different way may yield a fruitful result.\*

keywords: *Case, Focus, Feature Inheritance, Wh-adjuncts*

1. Introduction

The monograph under review is an extension of an earlier monograph by the same author, whose main research strategy is guided by the following principle from Chomsky (2001).

(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.

As the name indicates, this principle puts a particular emphasis on the universal aspect of human language. If tenable, it sets a strong boundary on how far or to what extent languages may go separate ways. Variations do exist among languages but children exposed to language data should be able to ‘easily detect’ some properties in the data as clues that guide them in the course of acquiring the target language. Adopting this uniformity principle as a research guideline, Miyagawa in his (2010) monograph outlined his research agenda in the following manner.

(2) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)

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

Miyagawa’s primary concern is the status of grammatical features in the language faculty, an area where variations manifest themselves in a visible way, thus posing a challenge for the theory of uniformity. In particular, a variety of languages, including those in the Indo-European family, make an extensive use of  $\phi$ -agreement. Subject-verb agreement, which we see in English among others, is a case in point. And yet there are also languages that seemingly do not carry such features, so this presents an interesting and important challenge for (1). Furthermore, over the years, linguists have come to realize that even those “agreement-based” languages show a fair amount of variation among themselves, with respect to, for instance, when, where, and how  $\phi$ -agreement is manifested.

Approaching this issue in the context of Strong Uniformity (henceforth, SU) thesis, Miyagawa argues that all languages are equipped with the uniform set of grammatical features, and envisions Feature Inheritance (FI) as a locus of variations. Adopting Richards' (2007) proposal, Chomsky (2008) claims that the unvalued features (uF) of a phase head are inherited by a non-phase head immediately below. The reasoning is as follows. As discussed by Chomsky (2001), uF needs to be valued and transferred in the same phase cycle: otherwise, the computational system has no way of distinguishing valued and unvalued features. Now suppose that some uF on a phase head, say C, enters into an Agree relation with a goal located in its complement domain (i.e., TP). Under the assumption that the complement domain of a phase head (i.e., TP) is transferred (spelled out) upon the completion of a CP phase, the valued uF on the C head will not be affected by Transfer at the CP cycle, thus violating the requirement mentioned above. This conjecture forces a phase head (such as C) to transmit its uFs to a non-phase head immediately below it, Richards (2007) reasons. Departing from Richards' deduction of FI as an obligatory component of the computational system, Miyagawa argues in his (2010) monograph and this new monograph that UG allows limited options regarding how FI operates. Miyagawa focuses on two types of features that interact with FI:  $\delta$ -features (focus, topic) and  $\varphi$ -features. Miyagawa's idea in his (2010) monograph was that FI enables us to capture two typologically prominent language types: 'agreement-based' languages retain  $\delta$ -features at C and transfer  $\varphi$ -features to T, whereas 'discourse configurational' languages go in the other direction, retaining  $\varphi$ -features at C and transferring  $\delta$ -features to T. Behind this is the idea that the two types of features,  $\delta$ -features and  $\varphi$ -features, are in some sense computationally equivalent. Both of them, for example, are the underpinnings of syntactic operations such as Internal Merge. In this new monograph, Miyagawa takes this idea a step farther, arguing that SU in fact predicts four types of languages instead of two. In addition to the two already mentioned above (which correspond to Category I and II in this new

monograph), languages may choose to transfer both types of features to T (Category III language) or retain both at C (Category IV language). (3) illustrates this typological picture.

- (3) Category I:  $C_{\phi}, T_{\delta}$  Japanese  
Category II:  $C_{\delta}, T_{\phi}$  English, Chinese  
Category III:  $C, T_{\phi/\delta}$  Spanish  
Category IV:  $C_{\phi/\delta}, T$  Dinka

Miyagawa's theory makes a number of predictions that can be easily tested in a wide range of grammatical domains. Indeed, that is what Miyagawa sets out to do in this new monograph. This monograph investigates this SU thesis in four empirical domains:  $\phi$ -agreement (chapter 2), *pro* drop (chapter 3), *wh*-adjuncts (chapter 4), and Case and focus (chapter 5). Each chapter presents an in-depth study that deserves careful scrutiny. In the next section (section 2), I will provide a brief survey of each chapter. Then, in sections 3 and 4, I will place some aspects of Miyagawa's program under careful scrutiny. Due to space limitation, I need to limit the discussion to the materials in chapter 4 and chapter 5. In section 5, I will present a possible line of analysis for the "focus resistance" property of the genitive subject construction, which is extensively discussed in chapter 5 of this monograph, by borrowing several ingredients of Miyagawa's SU thesis.

## 2. Chapter Overview

One key question in chapter 2 is whether Japanese, a Category I language, has any form of  $\phi$ -feature agreement, and if so, where it is manifested. In the earlier (2010) monograph, Miyagawa presented an analysis of sentence final particles in Japanese as manifestations of person agreement. Miyagawa in this monograph attempts to equate the politeness marking in

Japanese, which he investigated in his (1987) work, with allocutive agreement in Souletin, a dialect of Basque.

- (4) Ootoo-ga                      ki-mashi-ta.  
       my.kid.brother-Nom    come-Polite-Past  
       ‘My kid brother came.’

As the following examples from Miyagawa (2017: 22) show, Souletin has formal agreement (e.g., subject-verb agreement) and allocutive agreement, the latter of which is determined on the basis of the (social) relationship between the speaker and the hearer: The Aux *dik* (5a) is used when this statement is addressed to a male friend, and *din* (5b) to a female friend.

- (5) a.    Pettek            lan            egin            dik.  
           Peter.ERG    work.Abs    do.PRF    AUX-3Sg. ABS-2Sg. Colloq.Masc.-3Sg.Erg  
           ‘Peter worked.’
- b.    Pettek            lan            egin            din.  
           Peter. ERG    work.Abs    do.Prf    Aux-3Sg.ABS-2Sg.Colloq.Fem.-3Sg.Erg
- c.    Pettek            lan            egin            dizü.  
           Peter.Erg    work.Abs    do.Prf    Aux-3Sg.Abs-2Sg. Formal.Sg.Erg

Of interest is the fact that allocutive agreement encodes information about politeness. (5c) shows that the Aux *dizü* is employed when the addressee is someone who is “higher in status than the speaker” (p. 23). This is where Miyagawa sees the tight connection between the allocutive agreement in Souletin and the politeness marker *-mas* in Japanese. Based on the works of Speas and Tenny (2003) and Haegeman and Hill (2011), Miyagawa postulates a

structure on top of CP, which is called speech act phrase, where information about speech act (including information about discourse participants such as speaker and hearer) is syntactically manifested. Probing by the C head carrying  $\phi$ -features that include [politeness] targets the hearer argument in the topmost region of the root clause. Of particular importance is the observation that allocutive agreement and formal agreement compete with each other when they happen to have the same value (1st person or 2nd person), which is an indication that allocutive agreement is part of the regular agreement system.

- (6) a. (Nik hi) ikusi haut.  
 (1Sg.Erg 2Sg.Colloq.Abs) see.Prf AUX-2Sg.Colloq.Abs-1Sg.Erg  
 ‘I saw you.’
- b. (Zuek ni) ikusi naizue.  
 (2.Pl.Erg 1.Sg.Abs) see.Prf AUX-1.Sg.Abs-2.Pl.Erg  
 ‘You saw me.’

One point in need of clarification is the potential mismatch between the location of the  $\phi$ -politeness probe and the actual pronunciation site of politeness marking. As we can see in (4), *-mas* is pronounced right after a verb stem and before tense, which would be unexpected if the  $\phi$ -politeness probe is on C as argued by Miyagawa.

Chapter 3 discusses *pro*-drop in relation to SU. Although it is a fairly popular view in the literature to regard at least some instances of null arguments in Japanese as derived via ellipsis (see Oku (1998)), Miyagawa casts doubt on this view, arguing instead for a return to Kuroda’s (1965) pronominal approach to null arguments. Another important contribution of this chapter is his analysis of the subject *pro* in Chinese. Based on the works of Liu (2014) and Yang (2014), Miyagawa argues that the subject *pro* in Chinese has two strategies for fixing its

reference. When it receives its referential context through the AGR head (or T), which in turn is anaphoric to a higher AGR node, it refers to the subject in the immediately higher clause. Alternatively, when it receives no referential content from AGR, it undergoes local topicalization to Spec, CP, which is an option available because Chinese is a Category II language. In that case, it finds its reference in a discourse. The first strategy is the norm, which is why the subject *pro* in Chinese, unlike its Japanese counterpart, takes its reference for the most part from the closest subject that c-commands it.

In chapter 4, Miyagawa investigates varieties of ‘why’ under SU. Notably, SU makes different predictions for Chinese and Japanese, which have been grouped together as bona fide *wh*-in-situ languages. For Miyagawa, Japanese is a Category I language, a language in which  $\phi$ -features remain at C whereas  $\delta$ -features are inherited by T, and Chinese is a Category II language that retains  $\delta$ -features at C and transfers  $\phi$ -features to T. Miyagawa shows that this specific classification of the two languages allows us to arrive at some surprising conclusions. In particular, Chinese licenses *wh*-questions by externally or internally merging a *wh*-element (in particular, *wh*-adjunct) into Spec, CP but Japanese lacks the external merge option and must resort to the internal merge option. This kind of difference in the behavior of *wh*-adjuncts follows from SU, according to Miyagawa. I will take up this issue in the next section.

In chapter 5, Miyagawa revisits Ga/No Conversion (GNC) from the perspective of SU. This is a well-investigated phenomenon observed mainly in adnominal clauses in which the subject may be marked genitive instead of nominative.

- (7) Taro-ga/no        yonda hon  
      Taro-Nom/Gen read book  
      ‘the book that Taro read’

Following his earlier works, Miyagawa pursues the so-called D-licensing approach to GNC: Nominative is licensed by T and Genitive by D. Miyagawa also assumes an additional mechanism for the licensing of genitive, which is called ‘Genitive of Dependent Tense’ (henceforth GDT). In his (2012) work, Miyagawa motivated the GDT analysis on the basis of the distribution of genitive subjects in temporal adverbial clauses. But in this monograph (as well as in his (2013) paper), Miyagawa attempts to extend the empirical domain of GDT, exploring the idea that GDT is fully operative in adnominal clauses as a whole. Although I cannot discuss GDT in any details in this review article, one thing to bear in mind is that GDT-genitive is available for internal arguments (e.g., the subject of unaccusatives and the object of stative predicates and complex predicates with the potential *-rare*, etc.) but not for external arguments. This is because GDT crucially involves the (weak) *v* head as a licensor, and an external argument sits outside the c-command domain of this head. With those theoretical tools at his disposal, Miyagawa in this monograph investigates the relation between Case and focus and comes to a conclusion that focus in a discourse configurational language requires activation by Case and is in this sense akin to  $\phi$ -agreement in agreement-based languages, which is also known to have a close connection to Case. I will discuss this in sections 4 and 5. Now let us turn to the syntax of ‘why,’ which is the topic of chapter 3 of the monograph.

### 3. On Varieties of ‘Why’

There are at least two prominent views about the syntax of ‘why.’ One popular view in the literature, represented by works such as Rizzi (1990), Ko (2005), and Stepanov and Tsai (2008) is that ‘why’ is externally merged into the spec of CP. According to this view, ‘why’ does not move at all in simplex questions such as *why did John leave?*. When ‘why’ is merged into the spec of the non-interrogative CP, it moves to a higher clause, yielding the well-known long-distance construal (e.g., *why do you think John left?*). Another view, which comes in various



forms, holds that ‘why’ may or must be externally merged somewhere lower than CP: For analyses along these lines, the reader is referred to Collins (1991), Aoun and Li (1993), Ochi (2004, 2014), Tsai (2008); also Shlonsky and Soare (2011). In chapter 4, Miyagawa tackles questions such as where ‘why’ originates in the clausal structure and how ‘why’-questions are derived. According to Miyagawa, Category II languages (or a Category IV language) are predicted to have a *wh*-adjunct that is externally merged in Spec, CP. This is because this type of language (and Category IV language) retains  $\delta$ -feature at C. English and Chinese belong to this category. Indeed, *how come* in English (Collins (1991)) and *zenme* ‘how come’ in Chinese (Stepanov and Tsai (2008) and Tsai (2008)) fit this description. Observe the following data. (8) is based on Collins (1991). (9a) is taken from Huang (1982: 534), and (9b) from Tsai (2008: 102) (see also Chou (2011: 5)). One clear indication that these ‘causal’ *wh*-adjuncts (to borrow the terminology of Tsai (2008)) do not move, overtly or covertly, is that they do not allow a long-distance construal, unlike ‘reason’ *wh*-adjuncts such as *why* and *weishenme*. If they were to move, it would be puzzling why they cannot give rise to a long-distance construal. We can thus conclude that they are externally merged into the spec of the interrogative CP and stay there throughout the derivation.

(8) a. Why did John say Mary left? (ambiguous)

b. How come John said Mary left? (matrix only)

(9) a. Ni renwei Lisi weishenme meiyou lai?

you think Lisi why not come

‘Why do you think he didn’t come?’

b. \*Akiu renwei [Xiaodi zenme hui chiuli zhe-jian shi]?

Akiu think Xiaodi how will handle this-CL matter

‘How come Akiu thinks [Xiaodi will handle this matter *t*]?’

Miyagawa argues that Category I languages are predicted to lack such *wh*-adjuncts. Recall that  $\delta$ -features are lowered to T in this type of language. Thus, if a *wh*-adjunct were to be externally merged into the the spec of the interrogative CP, no feature checking would be possible because C no longer carries the relevant feature. This is a very attractive hypothesis, which I think is very much on the right track, because Japanese indeed has no *wh*-adjunct of this kind. But one question needs to be settled before we can wholeheartedly endorse it, since whether or not the reasoning given by Miyagawa for the absence of an equivalent of causal *how come/zenme* in Category I languages goes through depends on the exact nature of *how come/zenme* that renders them inaccessible for movement. Suppose, for instance, that the uniqueness of causal *how come/zenme*, as opposed to reason *wh*-adjuncts like *why* and *weishenme*, lies in the requirement that they must enter into a focus (or *wh*-feature) checking upon external merge (and hence there is no chance for internal merge to apply to *how come* and *zenme*): see Ochi (2004) for such a possibility. Does this requirement preclude the existence of *how come/zenme* in Category I languages? Strictly speaking, the answer is no, because such a *wh*-adjunct, if it existed, should be externally merged into the domain of T that carries  $\delta$ -features (inherited from C), upon which it enters into a checking relation, satisfying the requirement under consideration. Nothing seems to go wrong in such a derivation, unless we stipulate that a *wh*-element, argument or adjunct, must be in the spec of the interrogative CP by the end of the derivation.

Turning to reason (as opposed to causal) *wh*-adjuncts such as *why* in English and *weishenme* in Chinese, Miyagawa argues that they always move. His analysis rests on two important works in the literature. One is Shlonsky and Soare (2011), who argue that the surface position and the base position of ‘why’ are always distinct: ‘why’ originates in Spec, ReasonP, which is part of the articulated left periphery of a clause, and moves to Interrogative Phrase (IntP), the criterial position. The other is Beck (1996), who decomposes ‘why’ into *because of what*.

(10) a. Why did Peter leave?

b. [what reason x, because of x] [Peter left] (Miyagawa 2017; Beck 1996)

Based on Beck, Miyagawa analyzes this *because* clause to be syntactically realized as an adjunct at the TP-level. Miyagawa then argues that the lexical item ‘why’ is inserted inside this ReasonP to give syntactic substance to this phrase, after which ‘why’ moves out of this phrase to its criterial position, the spec of the interrogative CP.

(11) a. [<sub>ReasonP</sub> *reason* [R [because of *t<sub>reason</sub>* ]]] (formation of ReasonP)

b. [<sub>ReasonP</sub> *why* [[<sub>ReasonP</sub> *reason* [R [because of *t<sub>reason</sub>* ]]]]] (insertion of *why*)

c. [TP [<sub>ReasonP</sub> *why* [<sub>ReasonP</sub> ....]] [TP John left]] <ReasonP, TP>

d. [CP *why* C [TP [<sub>ReasonP</sub> <*why*> [<sub>ReasonP</sub> ....]] [TP Peter left]]]] (movement of *why*)

Accepting Shlonsky and Soare’s arguments that are mainly based on data from English and Romanian, Miyagawa in this monograph meticulously analyses a wide range of data, new and old, from Japanese and Chinese, and concludes that ‘why’ in Japanese and Chinese is externally merged in a position lower than CP. Moreover, Miyagawa argues that *naze* in Japanese is base generated much lower than expected. For example, *naze* may be included in a fronted vP/VP (Miyagawa 2017: 126).

(12) [ano gakusei-o naze home-sae] Hanako-ga sita no?

that student-Acc why praise-even Hanako-Nom did Q

‘Why did Hanako even praise that student?’

Based on such evidence as this, Miyagawa proposes that *naze* in fact occurs quite low in the

structure and moves covertly to ReasonP, before moving to the spec of the interrogative CP. This is referred to as the Two-Tier Movement hypothesis of ‘why.’

- (13) a. Taro-wa naze kaetta no?  
 Taro-Top why left Q  
 ‘Why did Taro leave?’
- b. [CP naze C [TP [ReasonP <naze> [ReasonP ...]] [TP Taro <naze> left ]]]
- 
- The diagram in (13b) shows a syntactic tree structure. At the top level is the CP layer, containing 'naze' in its specifier position and 'C' as the head. Below CP is the TP layer, which contains a ReasonP projection and another TP. The ReasonP projection has '<naze>' in its specifier position and '[ReasonP ...]' as its complement. The lower TP contains 'Taro' as the subject and '<naze> left' as the VP complement. Two upward-pointing arrows indicate movement: one from the base position of '<naze>' in the lower TP to its position in ReasonP, and another from that position in ReasonP to the specifier position of CP.

The first step contributes to the formation of ReasonP, but it does not leave a variable as it does not take place for taking scope. It is the second step, the one from ReasonP to the interrogative CP, that leaves a variable. So, *naze* is associated with (at least) three syntactic positions. It is externally merged within vP/VP. It then moves to ReasonP, which is located just above the subject in the TP zone. Finally, it moves to the spec of the interrogative CP, a criterial position, leaving a variable inside ReasonP. Miyagawa also argues that this two-tier movement is not available for *weishenme* in Chinese. We will discuss this later.

Note in passing that Shlonsky and Soare claim that ReasonP is most likely to be part of the left periphery of a clause, which thus falls within articulated CP layers (but see the discussion below), but Miyagawa takes ReasonP to be an adjunct at the level of TP. Presumably, this modification is motivated by the compositional nature of ‘why’ inherited from Beck’s analysis. As we already saw, *why*-questions require the presence of ReasonP, which acts as the restriction of ‘why,’ and it is combined with TP to give rise to a semantic representation like the one in (10b). But notice that the first step of movement, one from the base position of *naze* to ReasonP, targets a position which does not c-command the base position of ‘why.’ This may not be so problematic if we take into consideration Miyagawa’s conjecture that this step of movement does not leave a copy/variable. For example, if the well-known c-command

requirement imposed on syntactic chains regulates the syntactic positions of copies/traces, it will not be relevant for this first step of movement: it simply does not contribute to the formation of a syntactic chain. Perhaps more worrisome is the second step of movement depicted in (11d). This step does leave a copy/variable, and it involves extraction of *why* out of the adjunct domain. So a question arises as to why it does not lead to a violation of the adjunct condition. Maybe this issue can be resolved by adjusting Miyagawa's analysis with the adoption of Shlonsky and Soare's original conception of ReasonP as part of the clausal spine in the left periphery, although such modifications may raise an issue about how we obtain a semantic representation of the sort postulated by Beck.

The two-tier movement hypothesis has a great potential to offer a new perspective on the true nature of *wh*-in-situ, although I see one urgent issue that needs to be dealt with. Consider the following example.

- (14) Kimi-wa Hanako-ga naze kaetta to omotte iru no?  
 You-Top Hanako-Nom why left that think Q  
 'Why do you think Hanako left?'

This Japanese sentence only allows the reading in which *naze* is construed with the embedded clause predicate *kaetta* 'left', excluding the reading in which *naze* is construed with the matrix clause predicate *omou* 'think.' On the face of it, this is not surprising, as the word order tells us that *naze* 'why' is located in the embedded clause. However, the two-tier movement hypothesis may allow, incorrectly, a derivation in which ReasonP is located in the matrix TP region, as illustrated below (Recall that *naze* moves covertly to ReasonP). This derivation, if allowed, should give us the unavailable reading under discussion.

- (15) [CP *naze* C [TP [ReasonP <*naze*> [ReasonP ....]] [TP you think [CP Hanako <*naze*> left]]]]
- ↑ \_\_\_\_\_|\_\_\_\_\_

Note that that the second step of movement of *naze* from ReasonP to the interrogative CP is potentially unbounded. Otherwise, we would not be able to obtain a long-distance construal of *naze* in the first place. The two-tier movement hypothesis thus needs to find a way to restrict the first step (but not the second step) of movement of *naze* to be clause bound. Is there any reasonable way to block this type of derivation? Again, the existence (second step) and the absence (first step) of a copy/variable may be the key to resolve the issue, although details need to be worked out.

Turning to Chinese, a Category II language, Miyagawa argues that it does not have the two-tier movement of *weishenme*. As far as I can see, this is an empirical claim, since his typological picture based on SU does not force us to reach this conclusion. Miyagawa notes a few key differences between *weishenme* and Japanese *naze*. First, *weishenme*-questions allow a pair-list answer when *weishenme* is preceded by the subject QP (but not when it precedes the subject QP) whereas *naze*-questions do not permit a pair-list answer irrespective of word order (see Miyagawa (2017: 130)). Second, *naze* shows what Miyagawa calls ‘anti-intervention’ effects whereas *weishenme* does not (i.e., *weishenme* shows intervention effects). Although I will not go over the relevant data here due to lack of space, they are taken by Miyagawa as evidence that *weishenme* does not undergo a two-tier movement, unlike *naze*, which may be base-generated fairly low as data like (12) show. Rather, *weishenme* is externally merged into Spec, ReasonP, which Miyagawa assumes to be located at (or just above) TP. That *weishenme* does not occur so low can be confirmed by data like the following, taken from Tsai (2008: 93) with a slight modification. As this data shows, reason *weishenme* cannot not be preceded by a modal element like *hui* ‘will,’ indicating that it cannot occur within vP/VP.

- (16) (Weishenme) Akiu (weishenme) hui (\*weishenme) zou?  
 why Akiu why will why leave  
 ‘Why would Akiu leave?’

In a sense, *weishenme* behaves as expected for Miyagawa’s analysis: It is always base-generated in Spec, ReasonP, from where it undergoes covert movement. *Naze* in Japanese occurs lower than expected, and this is where the two-tier movement comes into play.

But a question arises. Notice that Miyagawa’s overall analysis rests on the supposition that ReasonP is located in a designated position, at or above TP. But Shlonsky and Soare (footnote 9) acknowledge that “there are likely to be multiple external Merge positions for *why*” (p. 656). They discuss this point in conjunction with the observation that the reason clause may take wide or narrow scope with respect to negation (see Iatridou (1991)).

- (17) Lee didn’t fall in love with Kim because it was raining when they met.  
 a. Because it was raining when they met, they didn’t fall in love.  
 b. They didn’t fall in love because it was raining but because of something else.

(Shlonsky and Soare 2011: 656)

Once we embrace the view that the base position of ‘why’ cannot be restricted to a single syntactic position, a question arises.<sup>1</sup> It is known that *weishenme* may occur preceding or following the subject, and when *weishenme* precedes the subject (see (16)), it may actually be externally merged in the spec of CP. As a matter of fact, Miyagawa’s characterization of Category II languages should allow such a possibility.

Let us turn to another important aspect of this chapter, which is the investigation of a causal *wh*-adjunct in Japanese. This is the use of *nani-o* as ‘why’. Following Ochi (2014), let us

refer to this *nani-o* as causal *nani-o*.

- (18) Taro-wa nani-o awatete-iru no?  
Taro-Top what-Acc panick-ing Q  
'Why (the hell) is Taro panicking?'

A number of works in the literature (e.g., Kurafuji (1996, 1997) and Ochi (2004, 2014)) hold the view that this *nani-o* as 'why' is a *wh*-adjunct, not a *wh*-argument. One piece of evidence, originally due to Kurafuji, is that this causal *nani-o* is sensitive to all kinds of syntactic islands including the inner island.

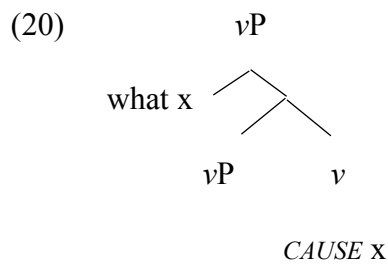
- (19) Taro-wa {naze/\*nani-o} awatete-i-nai no?  
Taro-Top {why/\*what-Acc} panick-ing-not Q  
'Why (the hell) is Taro not panicking?'

Kurafuji (1996, 1997) argues that this causal *nani-o* is an adjunct externally merged in the domain of *v*P, which is lower than the position of negation, thus exhibiting inner island effects. *Naze* 'why' is externally merged fairly low (see (12)), but the variable of *naze* is created in Spec, ReasonP, which is (or may be) higher than negation. Hence *naze* is not sensitive to the presence of a clause-mate negation.

Miyagawa endorses the view that the causal *nani-o* is merged fairly low in the structure, but he advances a novel hypothesis to treat the causal *nani-o* as an argument. He motivates this analysis in the context of answering another question for which there has been no satisfactory answer: why does this use of *nani-o* yield a causal meaning? According to Miyagawa, this type of *nani-o* is actually part of a causative construction, where it serves as an argument for an



abstract causative head.



What x: cause x, Taro is panicking

This analysis potentially answers yet another question that has resisted an explanation to this date: why does this causal *nani-o* occur so low in the structure? For Miyagawa, the base position of causal *nani-o* is so low because it is an argument of the causative vP.

The idea that causal *nani-o* is an argument of the (covert) causative head is novel and interesting, but I have two comments to make. My first comment concerns Chinese. In addition to the causal *zenme*, Chinese employs *shenme* ‘what’ to mean ‘why,’ which, like *nani-o* as ‘why’ in Japanese, has a causal reading (see Ochi (2004, 2014)). Suppose with Huang et al. (2009) that the verb in Chinese raises to *v* (but no further than *v*). All else being equal, we would expect causal *shenme* to appear pre-verbally under Miyagawa’s analysis, because the covert causative head under discussion takes vP as its complement.

(21) [<sub>vP</sub> shenme [<sub>v</sub> v<sub>CAUSE</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> ..... ]]]

However, as noted by Ochi (2004, 2014), this causal *shenme* appears post-verbally when the predicate is unergative, as we see in (22), and between a verb and the direct object in the transitive construction, as shown in (23).

(22) Lisi pao shenme?

Lisi run what

‘Why (the hell) is John running?’

(23) Lisi qiao shenme men?

Lisi knock what door

‘Why is Lisi knocking on the door?’

Thus, Miyagawa’s treatment of causal *nani-o* as an argument of a covert causative head does not easily extend to its counterpart in Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

Second, if causal *nani-o* is an argument, why is it sensitive to islands? We know that Japanese (and Chinese) exhibits a familiar argument vs. adjunct asymmetry in island effects (see Lasnik and Saito 1984, 1992). As originally pointed out by Kurafuji (1996, 1997), causal *nani-o* patterns with *naze* in this respect, as shown in (25).

(24) Kyooshitsu-de nani-o kowashita seito-ga shikar-are-ta no?

Classroom-at what-Acc broke student-Nom scold-Pass-Past Q

‘(lit.) What was [a student who broke *t* in the classroom] scolded?’

(25) \*Kyooshitsu-de naze/nani-o sawaideiru seito-ga shikar-are-ta no?

Classroom-at why/what-Acc clamoring student-Nom scold-Pass-Past Q

‘(lit.) Why was [a student who was clamoring *t* in the classroom] scolded?’

Miyagawa argues that causal *nani-o* shows island effects despite its argument status because, as in the case of *naze*, its restriction is left behind when the *wh*-operator undergoes covert movement. To be more concrete, the covert causative head introduces the restriction [*cause x*], which stays where it is throughout the derivation. As is known, the relative positions of

an operator and its restriction matter when they originate inside syntactic islands. In particular, they cannot be separated by an island, as the unavailability of the (b) reading indicates in the following example from Cresti (1995: 84), which involves movement of a *how many* phrase across an island (see also Beck (1996)).

- (26) How many people do you wonder whether I should talk to? (*wh*-island)
- (i) For what *n*: there are *n*-many people  $x_i$ , such that you wonder whether I should talk to  $x_i$ .
- (ii) \*For what *n*: you wonder whether it should be the case that there be *n*-many people that I talk to.

As we can see here, the restriction *n-many people* stays below in (ii).

But let us look at a ‘how many’-question in Japanese. When seeking information about a cardinal quantity, Japanese employs a *wh*-numeral phrase consisting of *nan*, a phonological variant of *nani* ‘what,’ and a classifier. And a *wh*-numeral phrase does occur embedded inside an island. Let us examine (27), which has a *wh*-numeral inside an adjunct clause.

- (27) Yamada sensei-wa kanjya-o nan-nin miru tabi-ni kyuukei-suru no?  
 Yamada Dr.-Top patient-Acc what-Cl see whenever break-do Q  
 For what *n*: Dr. Yamada takes a break whenever she examines *n*-many patients.

Note that we are dealing with a non-presuppositional reading here, because the question is strictly about the number of patients that Dr. Yamada examines before taking a break. We thus see that *wh*-fronting and *wh*-in-situ do not quite go hand in hand in *how many* questions. Note also that the *how many* phrase in (26) is an argument whereas the *wh*-numeral in (27) is

a floating numeral quantifier (NQ). There is evidence that a floating NQ is an adjunct. For example, floating NQs pattern with adjuncts in resisting long-distance scrambling (28c): see Miyagawa (1989: chapter 2).<sup>3</sup>

- (28) a. Enpitu-o      Taro-ga      Hanako-ga      otta      to      omotteiru      koto  
          pencil-Acc    Taro-Top    Hanako-Nom   broke   C    think          fact  
          ‘the fact that a pencil/pencils, Taro thinks that Hanako broke.’
- b. ?\*Riyuu-mo   naku      Taro-ga      Hanako-ga      enpitsu-o      otta      to  
          Reason      without    Taro-Nom    Hanako-Nom   pencil-Acc   broke   C  
          omotteiru      koto  
          think          koto  
          ‘The fact that without reason, Taro thinks [that Hanako broke pencils *t*]
- c. ??San-bon    Taro-ga      Hanako-ga      enpitsu-o      otta      to      omotteiru  
          three-Cl    Taro-Top    Hanako-Nom   pencil-Acc   broke   C    think  
          koto  
          fact  
          ‘The fact that three, Taro thinks that Hanako broke pencils.’

This makes the status of (27) all the more puzzling. If the *wh*-NQ is an adjunct, why is this example good, especially with its non-presuppositional reading? I think Huang’s (1982) analysis of *when/where* is informative in this context. Huang argues that *when/where* is always selected by a preposition, which may be phonologically null (e.g., [*PP e* [*NP when/where*]]) or overt (e.g., *since when* and *from where*). Crucially, the whole temporal/locative PP is an adjunct for Huang. This line of analysis offers an elegant account of the facts that (i) *when/where* pattern with adjuncts as far as overt movement is concerned

(29c) but (ii) they pattern with arguments when they are in-situ (30c).

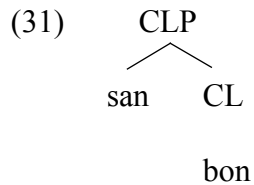
- (29) a. ?\*Whom did you cry [after John kissed *t*]  
b. \*How did you cry [after John kissed Mary *t*]  
c. \*[<sub>PP</sub> *e* [When/Where]] did you cry [after John kissed Mary *t*]
- (30) a. Who kissed whom?  
b. \*Who kissed Mary how?  
c. Who kissed Mary [<sub>PP</sub> *e* [<sub>NP</sub> when/where]]?

Huang argues that overt movement affects the entire PP (an adjunct) in (29c), which is why it is strongly island sensitive. As for a paradigm like the one in (30), Huang argues that the covert *wh*-movement affects the NP *when/where* in (30c), which is the argument of a null preposition, and thus the Empty Category Principle is satisfied, unlike in (30b).<sup>4</sup> Adapting Huang's (1982) analysis, we could analyze (30) in the following manner. First, let us assume that English moves the highest *wh*-element to the spec of the interrogative C in overt syntax, and that this language lacks covert movement, which means that what remains in-situ remains there throughout the derivation. In all the examples in (30), *who*, the highest *wh*-element, moves in overt syntax. Furthermore, adapting the proposals of Tsai (1994) and Reinhart (1998), let us suppose that *wh*-arguments, but not *wh*-adjuncts, may be licensed in-situ by means of unselective binding.<sup>5</sup> Thus, *whom* (30a) and the *when/where* (30c) are eligible for unselective binding. (30b) is ungrammatical because *how* is an adjunct and because it has failed to move to the spec of CP in overt syntax.

We can extend this line of analysis to floating NQs and say that the entire (*wh*-)NQ phrase is an adjunct but a (*wh*-)numeral is an argument selected by the classifier (CL) head.<sup>6</sup>

According to this hypothesis, the (*wh*-)numeral is just like *when/where* in that it is selected by

an element that heads an adjunct phrase.



Let us return to (27) and (28). (28c) is degraded because of the adjunct status of the floating NQ. On the other hand, (27) is fine because the *wh*-numeral *nan(i)* is an argument of the classifier that heads the entire adjunct phrase. As a result, it can be licensed in-situ via unselective binding. This line of analysis, if plausible, indicates that the causal *nani-o* is an adjunct, for if it was an argument as argued by Miyagawa, (25) with *nani-o* would be expected to be well-formed even if the restriction remained below.<sup>7</sup>

To summarize, Miyagawa's attempt to deduce the absence of a *wh*-adjunct of the *how come/zenme* type in Category II languages under his SU hypothesis is very insightful and appears to be correct, although several questions still await answers. I will turn now to the material of chapter 5, which concerns the role of Case under SU.

#### 4. Strong Uniformity, Case Conversion, and Focus

Miyagawa's discussion in chapter 5 is based on his (2011) earlier proposal that GNC is not a matter of genuine optionality. He argues that nominative and genitive occur in distinct types of clauses. Nominative originates on C and is lowered to T, and thus the nominative subject requires a full CP clause. The genitive subject by contrast occurs in a reduced clause, a bare TP, and is licensed by D. It cannot occur in a full CP for locality reasons: D cannot probe inside a full CP as the latter is a phase domain. Note that Case is divorced from  $\phi$ -feature agreement under Miyagawa's program. As a Category I language, Japanese retains  $\phi$ -feature

at C, but Case feature is lowered from C to T (for the assignment of nominative Case). This point relates to another important proposal explored in this chapter, which concerns GNC and focus. This will be taken up in this section and in the next section.

While quite insightful, there are some aspects of Miyagawa’s analysis that need careful scrutiny. First, as already mentioned above, he claims that the alternation between *ga* and *no* is not a matter of genuine optionality but is conditioned by the size of an adnominal clause: the nominative subject occurs in a CP and the genitive subject in a bare TP. We therefore expect the two types of subjects to be mutually exclusive. As Miyagawa acknowledges, however, this is not the case: *ga* and *no* do co-occur in the same clause.

- (32) a. Taroo-ga totemo yoku eigo-no wakaruru koto  
 Taro-Nom very well English-Gen understand thing  
 ‘the fact that Taro understands English very well’
- b. Taroo-no totemo yoku eigo-ga wakaruru koto  
 Taro-Gen very well English-Nom understand thing  
 ‘the fact that Taro understands English very well’

Consider the *no-ga* sequence illustrated in (32b) as an example. Miyagawa speculates that the nominative on the object in this case is presumably licensed in a manner that does not rely on the C-T association. I will take up this issue in the next section.

Let us turn to a related topic, which is about GNC and focus.<sup>8</sup> As discussed by Akaso and Haraguchi (2012) and Miyagawa (2013), genitive (as opposed to nominative) is incompatible with focus, as shown in (33). And yet these authors point out an interesting exception. Genitive objects are not incompatible with focus; see (34b).

- (33) Taro-dake- $\{ga/*no\}$  yonda ronbun  
 Taro-only-Nom/Gen read article  
 ‘the article that only Taro read’
- (34) a. Taroo-dake-ga/ $*no$  eigo-ga hanas-eru koto  
 Taro-only-Nom/ $*Gen$  English-Nom speak-can fact  
 ‘the fact that only Taro can speak English’
- b. Taro-ga Furansugo-dake-ga/no hanas-eru koto  
 Taro-Nom French-only-Nom/Gen speak-can fact  
 ‘the fact that Taro can speak only French’

Miyagawa’s analysis runs as follows. Focus feature originates on C, meaning that focus checking requires a CP layer. But the D-licensed genitive cannot occur in a CP because the D head cannot probe inside a CP. (34b) is fine with the genitive object because genitive in this case is licensed via GDT. Hence, no probing by the D head is required.

Incidentally, Miyagawa’s analysis is consistent with the fact that the *wh*-subject can be genitive (although he does not address this point).

- (35) Kimi-wa [dare-ga/no kaita] hon-o yonda no?  
 You-Top who-Nom/Gen wrote book-Acc read Q  
 ‘Who is the person x such that you read the book that x wrote?’

Here the focus head that licenses the *wh*-subject (i.e., the interrogative C head) is located in the matrix clause. Thus, under Miyagawa’s analysis, the adnominal clause can be a bare TP and the *wh*-subject can be D-licensed.

As observed by Ochi (2017), however, the genitive subject and a focus particle are not



mutually exclusive, as the genitive subject construction may have a focus particle on other elements, such as an adverb (36).

- (36) kinoo/sukosi-dake    Taro-ga/no    nonda kusuri  
yesterday/little-only    Taro-Nom/Gen    took    medicine  
‘the medicine that Taro took only yesterday/only a little’

In response to this observation, Miyagawa in this monograph advances an interesting analysis that is aimed to cover a wide range of data including data like (33) and (36). Recall that SU treats  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features alike, as they are regarded to be “two sides of the same coin, hence, they should in principle be guided by the same sort of conditions” (p. 150). The essence of Miyagawa’s proposal is that the  $\delta$ -feature (especially focus feature) in discourse configurational languages like Japanese requires activation by Case. Recall that in Japanese,  $\delta$ -features such as focus originate at C and get inherited by T. This is an uninterpretable focus feature [u FOC]. The focus particle *-dake* contains an interpretable focus feature [i FOC]. T with [u FOC] and the *-dake* phrase, which bears [i FOC], need to enter into a checking relation. According to Miyagawa, Nishioka and Zeijlstra (2016) whose analysis Miyagawa adopts in this monograph, this checking requires “activation by Case” on the part of the *-dake* phrase.

- (37) An interpretable focus feature, [i FOC], on an XP becomes visible for Agree with some higher head-carrying [u FOC] in T or any other functional head that inherits some probing feature from C if and only if the XP is in a case-agreement relation with the head. (Miyagawa, Nishioka and Zeijlstra 2016)

Imagine a situation in which *-dake* is attached to an argument. Miyagawa argues that this focus phrase moves to the domain of T for focus feature checking. Because the nominative subject is assumed to move to the domain of TP independently of focus, the checking relation can be trivially satisfied between T and the focused nominative subject. In the case of the accusative object bearing focus, Miyagawa assumes that the  $v$  head that checks accusative moves to T.

Miyagawa then goes on to argue that when *-dake* is attached to an adjunct, there is in fact no need for focus checking. This amounts to the claim that two types of focused phrases must be recognized: some (e.g., argument focus phrases) need to undergo focus checking against T and some (e.g., adjunct focused phrases) need not do so. Although this dual nature of focus in Japanese may raise a warning flag, Miyagawa makes reference to Miyagawa et al. (2016), who report an interesting argument/adjunct asymmetry among focused phrases in fragment answers (see their paper for details), asserting that a separate treatment of the two types of focused phrases is empirically justified. The dual nature of focus may thus be independently motivated, but the reasoning leading to this conclusion may require scrutiny. It is true that adjuncts by definition do not have Case requirements to satisfy. But then we might as well expect Case activation to be satisfied vacuously for focused adjuncts. Instead, Miyagawa seems to be claiming that the lack of the need for Case activation amounts to the absence of focus feature checking.

At any rate, this dichotomy in the realm of focus checking becomes extremely important in the present context, as it is precisely this dichotomy that helps Miyagawa distinguish (33), where focus is on the genitive subject, from (36), where an adjunct is focused. Recall that, for Miyagawa, the adnominal clause in (33) needs to project up to CP as this is where [u FOC] originates before it is passed down to T, but the D-licensed genitive requires the adnominal clause to be TP, not CP. Hence this conflict results in ungrammaticality. As for (36),

although it contains the focus particle *-dake*, no focus checking is required. As a result, the adnominal clause might as well be a bare TP, and the D-licensed genitive is allowed.

The argument/adjunct distinction drawn here may be on the right track, given the findings by Miyagawa et al. (2016). Issues remain, however. In particular, the genitive subject may co-occur with a nominative or genitive object that carries focus (as noted by Miyagawa himself: see also Akaso and Haraguchi (2012)), as shown in (38b). Also, a PP argument seems to be able to carry focus in the presence of the genitive subject, as shown in (39).<sup>9</sup>

- (38) a. ?\*Hanako-dake-no huransugo-*{ga/no}* hanas-e-ru koto  
           Hanako-only-Gen French-GEN speak-can-PRES fact  
           ‘the fact that only Hanako can speak French’
- b. Hanako-no huransugo-dake-*{ga/no}* hanas-e-ru koto  
       Hanako-Gen French-only -Nom speak-can-PRES fact  
       ‘the fact that Hanako can speak only French’
- (39) Taro-dake-ni Hanako-*{ga/no}* okutta syorui  
       son-only-to Hanako-*{Nom/Gen}* sent document  
       ‘the document that Hanako sent only to Taro’

Since the subject in (38b) is an external argument, this instance of genitive must come from D, and not from GDT. Accordingly, the adnominal clause must be TP, not CP. And, unlike in (36), we have a focus marker on the object, which according to Miyagawa must establish a Case checking relation with the T head that carries [u FOC]. Of course, the problem is that there should be no C that can provide [u FOC]. Miyagawa entertains the idea that in a case like this, it is the *v* head that carries focus, not C: the *v* head may act as a phase head when it participates in GDT, and hence it may carry a focus feature, just like C. While this line of

inquiry may prove to be fruitful in the genitive object construction where the  $v$  head acts as a Case licensor, it poses a non-trivial question for the nominative object construction, since  $v$  in that case does not participate in Case licensing in the first place.

All in all, then, the correct generalization about GNC and focus seems to be as follows:

- (40) a. An external argument cannot be marked genitive and focused at the same time.  
No such restriction applies to an internal argument.
- b. An external argument marked genitive can co-occur with a focused element, whether the latter is an argument or an adjunct.

In the next section, I will suggest that implementing some of the key ideas in this monograph in a different manner may in fact open up another way to approach GNC and focus.



## 5. On ‘Parameterized’ Feature Inheritance

One crucial aspect of Miyagawa’s overall analysis is that feature inheritance is “parameterized,” as given features may stay on C or get inherited by T. In a similar vein, Ouali (2008) explores the hypothesis that  $\phi$ -feature inheritance may or may not take place in Berber. Below I would like to suggest that this ‘optionality’ in FI may open up a new possibility when we analyze GNC.

Here are two crucial ingredients. First, extending Miyagawa’s (2010, 2017) view that feature inheritance is subject to parameterization, suppose that a language may choose to exercise both options - transferring or not transferring features - for certain features. Specifically, suppose that Japanese allows both options for the D head: it may transfer some of its features (to T: see below) or retain them freely and, crucially, simultaneously within a single phase domain. Second, following Murasugi (1991) and departing from Miyagawa’s proposal,

let us assume that adnominal clauses in Japanese are uniformly TPs.<sup>10</sup>

Armed with these assumptions, I would like to entertain the hypothesis that the two Case values under discussion, *ga* and *no*, originate in the same head, D. The difference between the two Case values, I surmise, comes from the ways in which they are assigned. When the D head transfers its Case feature to T, so that T probes, we obtain *ga*. On the other hand, we get *no* when D acts as a probe without the assistance of T.

- (41) a. [DP [TP [vP DP ... ] T ] D] ⇒ *no*  
  
 Agree
- b. [DP [TP [vP DP ... ] T ] D] ⇒ *ga*  
  
 Agree FI

This hypothesis is in part inspired by Hiraiwa’s (2005) proposal that nominative Case assignment and genitive Case assignment are traced to the same source (*v*-T-C amalgam for Hiraiwa). Hiraiwa’s proposal nicely captures the fact that nominative and genitive can “mix” rather freely in the same syntactic domain without interfering with each other. Take (32b) as an example. If D and T probe independently for genitive and nominative, respectively, it would be puzzling why the T head can probe the object, bypassing the subject, which is closer to T than the object is. No problem of this nature arises if the two Case values come from the same source: D transfers its Case feature to T (yielding *ga*) and, at the same time, retains its Case feature and serves as a probe (yielding *no*).<sup>11</sup> The idea to connect *ga* marking with D, a nominal head, may initially sound counterintuitive, since *ga* is employed in all sorts of clauses, adnominal and non-adnominal, in Modern Japanese. But there is supporting evidence from Old Japanese (OJ) for this conjecture.<sup>12</sup> In OJ, both *ga*

and *no* served as possessive markers in noun phrases and subject markers of nominalized clauses. The choice between the two is conditioned by several factors, including a relationship between the speaker and the entity denoted by the noun to which they are attached. Crucially, this point holds across nominal (that is, *ga/no* as possessive markers) and clausal (i.e., *ga/no* as subject markers) domains, as we can see in (42) and (43).

- (42) a. wa-**ga** ko  
 I-Gen child  
 ‘my child’
- b. hito-**no** ko  
 person-Gen child  
 ‘the person’s child’ (cited from Uchibori, Maki, and Jin 2010)

- (43) a. tada wa-**ga** tatetaru koto  
 just I-Nom paid due respect (Adn) fact  
 ‘the fact that I paid due respect (to him)’
- b. imijiku hito-**no** shiritaru gen nare domo  
 very well person-Gen know(ADN) word be although  
 ‘although (it is) the word which people know very well’  
 (cited from Uchibori, Maki, and Jin 2010)

According to Yanagida and Whitman (2009), *ga* is attached to a personal noun whose referent is someone close to the speaker (e.g., *imo* ‘sister, wife, lover’, or a pronoun with a specific human referent), and *no* is used typically for a nonspecific animate noun (e.g., *pito* ‘other people’) and for an inanimate noun. In addition, Uchibori, Maki, and Jin (2010) discuss the distribution of *ga* and *no* in terms of honorification: *ga* is anti-honorific and *no* is honorific.

Whatever the analysis, this complementarity between *ga* and *no* that cuts across the nominal and clausal domains is quite expected under the proposal sketched above. In OJ, *ga* and *no* originate in D in both nominal and clausal domains. This complementarity has been lost for the most part in Modern Japanese, although Hichiku Japanese, a dialect spoken in some parts of Kyushyu, still retains some traits of it (see, for example, Akiyama and Yoshioka (1991)).

Now can we shed a new light on the argument/adjunct asymmetry regarding focus in the GNC examples by incorporating Miyagawa's insights into the D-T system illustrated above? I would like to sketch one possible line of analysis, but let me stress that what follows is not meant to be a full-fledged alternative to Miyagawa's proposal, because I have nothing new to add to the discussion of the argument/adjunct asymmetry discussed in Miyagawa et al. (2016), on which Miyagawa's analysis is based. I will keep the goal modest, confining the discussion to the distribution of focused elements in GNC and leaving for another occasion an investigation of the argument/adjunct asymmetry found in wider contexts including fragment answers.

Here are some crucial points. First, let us follow Miyagawa and assume that focus in Japanese originates on C and is inherited by T, which means that a focused element is syntactically licensed at the level of TP. What if there is no CP layer, as was assumed above for the adnominal domain? For the configuration depicted in (41), we can entertain the possibility that focus feature originates on D instead of C. Miyagawa (p. 175) rejects this possibility on empirical grounds, but I think the issue is still open, as we find proposals in the literature pointing to a designated focus projection in the periphery of a noun phrase (see Aboh (2004), and Corver and van Koppen (2009) among others).<sup>13</sup> Besides, the possibility of the focus feature on D is predicted by Miyagawa's overall framework. Here is why. If we assume with Miyagawa (2017) that phasehood is defined by the ability to assign Case, then D qualifies as a phase head as it assigns genitive Case. Now, it is worth highlighting Miyagawa's

remarks (p. 166) that the weak  $\nu$  that participates in the assignment of genitive of dependent tense (GDT) carries focus feature because (i) focus feature originates on a phase head and (ii) the weak  $\nu$  in the GDT configuration qualifies as a phase head due to the very fact that it assigns Case. Putting these considerations together, we should expect D, a phase head, to be able to carry focus feature as well. So let us imagine that focus is lowered from D to T when the clause is an adnominal TP, which occurs in the absence of C.

Second, let us accept Miyagawa's conjecture about the licensing of focus being conditioned by Case activation and implement it in a different way. Here is a suggestion.

(44) For an argument  $\alpha$  with Case feature and focus feature, focus feature checking of  $\alpha$  cannot precede Case checking of  $\alpha$ .

The suggestion is not really new, as it echoes an old idea about improper movement, which militates against an element moving to an A'-position before moving to an A-position. An example like (45a), taken from Boeckx (2008), is barred as it involves movement of *who* into the spec of the embedded CP, an A-bar position, prior to its movement into the spec of the matrix TP (an A-position).

(45) a. \*Who seems that it was told that it would be raining outside?  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub> Who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub>  $t_i$  seems [<sub>CP</sub>  $t_i$  that [<sub>TP</sub> it was told  $t_i$  that .... ]]]]

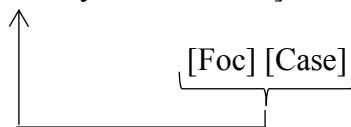
How to deduce the ban on such improper movement is an important issue, but this paper cannot address it in any depth. The point here is simply that focus checking (A-bar property) cannot occur prior to Case checking (A-property). Once something like (44) is at work in the computational system, we have a fairly reasonable way to accommodate the observations



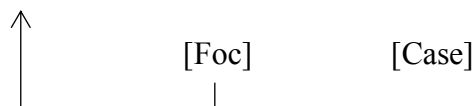
summarized in (40).

Let us consider (33) in light of (44). When the subject is nominative, the adnominal T receives a Case feature and a focus feature from D. Accordingly, a single probe (T in this case) probes and agrees with the subject, valuing both features simultaneously, as shown in (46a). This derivation conforms to (44). When the subject is genitive, however, we get a different picture. As shown in (46b), a focus feature is lowered to T but a Case feature remains on D.<sup>14</sup> Given the traditional notion of strict cyclicity, T probes first in this case. But that directly goes against (44).

(46) a. [DP [NP [TP Taro-only read T ] book ] D ]



b. [DP [NP [TP Taro-only read T ] book ] D ]



Let us now turn to (34). In (34a), genitive Case cannot appear on the subject for the reason that we have just seen: focus is checked by T (inherited from D) but the genitive Case is assigned by D. As for (34b), I assume that genitive in this case is (or can be) GDT-licensed (as in Miyagawa (2012, 2013)). Accordingly, genitive Case is licensed at the level of  $\nu$ P and focus feature is licensed at the level of TP. (44) is obeyed.

This line of analysis also accommodates (35), with the focus feature on *dare* ‘who’ being licensed at the matrix CP, much later in the derivation than the licensing of genitive, which takes place at the level of DP.

(47) [DP [NP [TP who wrote T ] book ] D ] read C

↑ [Case] [Foc]

Now, the data shown in (36), (38b) and (39), which pose a potential problem for Miyagawa, are accommodated straightforwardly under the suggestion made here. For instance, in (36) the adverb *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ has its focus feature checked by the adnominal T that has inherited the focus feature from D (see (48a)) while the subject is assigned genitive by D (see (48b)). The condition in (44) is satisfied.

(48) a. [DP [NP [TP yesterday-only Taro took T ] medicine ] D ]

↑ [+Foc]

b. [DP [NP [TP yesterday-only Taro took T ] medicine ] D ]

↑ [Case]

(38b) and (39) can be handled essentially in the same fashion. In both cases, D probes the subject (when the subject is genitive, that is) while T probes something other than the subject for focus. Again, (44) is satisfied.

Finally, let us briefly consider how this analysis would deal with examples in which adnominal clauses are stacked, with one of the clauses containing a focused element (I thank a reviewer for bringing my attention to such data).

(49) Hakako-dake-ga yonda Taro-no kaita tegami  
 Hanako-Nom read Taro-Gen created letter  
 ‘a letter which Taro wrote that only Hanako read’

Recall from the discussion of (32b) that D in Japanese can retain and transfer its Case feature in a single derivation. This is what happens in (49) as well: D transfers its Case feature to T in the first (i.e., leftmost) relative clause, so that T probes and values *Hanako* as nominative. D also probes into the second relative clause and values the subject *kodomo* ‘child’ as genitive. In addition, D transfers a focus feature to the T head of the first clause. Again, (44) is satisfied.

## 5. Conclusion

Miyagawa’s monograph offers a highly novel way to address and answer some of the fundamental questions about the architecture of our language faculty. What are the elements that all languages share? In what respects and to what extent can they diverge from each other? Strong Uniformity, an answer provided by Miyagawa, dictates that all languages share a fixed set of grammatical features, and variations arise as the loci of such features may vary, albeit in a restricted way, across languages. Of course, questions remain, or in some cases, proliferate. We want to know why things are as they are. Why is Japanese a Category I language and not Category II? Why does the subject *pro* in Chinese have a much more impoverished internal structure than its Japanese equivalent, and not vice versa? Such questions can be answered only with further empirical investigations. It is worth highlighting in this context that this monograph contains a wealth of new data, observations and generalizations that are worthy of careful scrutiny. As I have tried, with my humble effort, to demonstrate in the last section, working within the boundary set by SU should bring us a step, or a few steps, closer to a deeper understanding of the universal aspect of human language.

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## FOOTNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> We saw earlier that *naze* may be contained in a fronted *vP/VP*. Yet, *naze* may occur outside a fronted *vP/VP* as well, as (i) below shows. This suggests two possibilities. Either *naze* is base-generated low and has undertaken the first step of movement to Spec, ReasonP in overt syntax, or *naze* is base generated outside *vP/VP* and ReasonP is located somewhere higher than the surface position of *naze*.

- (i) [ano gakusei-o home-sae] Hanako-ga naze sita no?  
that student-Acc praise-even Hanako-Nom why did Q

<sup>2</sup> Ochi (2014) argues that causal *shenme* occurs inside VP.

<sup>3</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggests that a long-distance scrambling of NQ may be possible in cases like the following, in which the scrambled *wh*-numeral *nan-bon* ‘what-CL’ is linked to the embedded interrogative C.

- (i) Nan-bon Taro-ga [Hanako-ga enpitsu-o otta ka]  
what-CL Taro-Nom Hanako-Nom pencil-Acc broke Q  
tazuneta koto  
asked fact

‘the fact that Taro asked how many pencils Hanako broke’

As Bošković and Takahashi (1997) note, long-distance scrambling of an adjunct seems to be exceptionally allowed when reconstruction is forced for interpretive purposes. For example, although a reason adjunct does not undergo long-distance scrambling (see (28c)), they

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observe that *naze* ‘why’ can be scrambled long-distance when it is construed with the interrogative complementizer of the embedded clause.

- (ii) (?)Naze Taro-ga Hanako-ga enpitsu-o otta ka tazuneta koto  
why Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM pencil-ACC broke Q asked fact  
‘the fact that Taro asked why Hanako broke pencils’

Thus, the contrast between (28c) in the text and (i) above falls under the same generalization.

<sup>4</sup> Huang also stipulates that the Condition on Extraction Domain (CED) does not regulate covert movement.

<sup>5</sup> Note that this is a departure from for Tsai (1994) and Reinhart (1998), because they make reference to the distinction between nominal *wh*-elements and non-nominal *wh*-elements. For the discussion in this paper, however, the line should be drawn between *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts (as originally claimed by Huang (1982)). The reason for this departure is empirical. If the notion of nominality plays a major role here, we wrongly expect causal *nani-o*, which is nominal, to be licensed via unselective binding and therefore insensitive to syntactic islands (see also Ochi (2014)).

<sup>6</sup> See Watanabe (2008) and Huang and Ochi (2014) for discussion of the internal structure of NQs. For ease of exposition, I will assume a simplified structure shown in (31), according to which the numeral sits in the complement position of the classifier head (see also footnote 7).

<sup>7</sup> One might try to defend Miyagawa’s analysis by saying that the causal *nani-o* is island-sensitive because it is located in the specifier position (of a causative head) and not in the complement position, and hence is not “properly governed.” But for authors like Watanabe (2008) and Huang and Ochi (2014), the numeral in fact sits in the specifier position of the number head (for Watanabe (2008)) or the classifier head (for Huang and Ochi (2014)).

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<sup>8</sup> I take it that focus under discussion is the identificational focus (as opposed to the information focus) in the sense of É. Kiss (1998, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> See Miyagawa (2003) and Ochi (2009) for the discussion that *-ni* that occurs in the genitive subject construction is unambiguously a postposition.

<sup>10</sup> One piece of evidence provided by Miyagawa (2011, 2017) for his claim about the distinct clause size in the nominative subject construction and the genitive subject construction concerns the placement of evaluative adverbs such as *saiwai-ni* ‘fortunately,’ which are assumed to occur in the CP layer. Miyagawa claims that such ‘high’ adverbs are incompatible with the genitive unergative/transitive subject because the latter occurs in a reduced clause that lacks C. The following example is provided by a reviewer (I am grateful to him/her for urging me to touch on this issue).

- (i) Kore-ga [saiwai-ni Taroo-ga/?\*-no mitsuketa] yubiwa desu  
This-Nom fortunately Taro-Nom/-Gen found ring COP  
‘This is the ring that Taro fortunately found.’

The status of this alleged contrast, however, is not crystal clear to me. In fact, Miyagawa (p. 190) reports a variation among speakers concerning the status of such data. See also Nambu (2012) and especially Shimamura (2019) for much relevant discussion.

<sup>11</sup> A question arises as to why D in Japanese can retain and transfer its Case feature at the same time. Presumably, this point should be considered in conjunction with the fact that Japanese allows multiple instances of genitive (and of nominative) in the same syntactic domain, although details need to be fully worked out.

<sup>12</sup> Thanks to Asako Uchibori (p.c.) for informing me about the distribution of *ga* and *no* in Old Japanese.

<sup>13</sup> As a reviewer points out, this suggestion would need a way to deal with the observation, originally due to Dubinsky (1993), that the presence of the genitive subject seemingly blocks

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scrambling of its clausemate.

- (i) Geki-de musume- $\{ga/?^*-no\}$  odotta koto  
Play-in daughter-Nom/Gen danced fact  
'the fact that my daughter danced in the play'

Miyagawa accommodates this observation in the following way. Because the genitive subject occurs in a reduced clause, which lacks the C layer, no feature inheritance from C to T is possible. Consequently, T is syntactically inert and *geki-de* 'in the play' in the above example cannot move to the domain of T across the genitive subject. No problem of this sort arises when the subject is nominative, since the adnominal clause is a full CP in that case. Once we assume, as I do here, that the adnominal clause is uniformly a TP, however, the contrast witnessed in (i) demands an alternative explanation. Although I have no concrete proposal to offer here, let me point out that in order for Miyagawa's account to go through, not only T but also  $v$  would have to be syntactically inert. If it were possible for *geki-de* 'in the play' to scramble to the edge of  $vP$ , it should be able to precede the genitive subject located in the spec of  $vP$ .

- (ii) [ $vP$  Geki-de<sub>i</sub> [ $vP$  musume-no [ $vP$   $t_i$  odotta koto ]]]  
Play-in daughter-Gen danced fact

Also, (36) in the main text shows that the degree adverb *sukosi-dake* 'only a little' can precede the subject (and recall that under Miyagawa's analysis, *-dake* does not require focus checking when its host is an adjunct).

<sup>14</sup> Following Miyagawa's (2017) typological view on Japanese, I assume that focus feature in this language is always lowered from a phase head to T.