

Free Constituent Order and the Subject*

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Starting with reviews of some recent important works on languages with free constituent order, Miyagawa's two works (2001, and to appear) related to the EPP are discussed from the viewpoints in view of some technical issues and descriptive generalizations so far accumulated concerning Japanese. It is proposed that Miyagawa (2001) be modified and augmented by the model proposed in his later work to appear. To remedy some of the inadequacies of his CP structure, I propose to have the EPP on both T and C as an optional feature. Making several revisions in technical aspects this pursuit has resulted in the claim that the Japanese subject appear not only in the Spec of TP as well as in a *v*P internal position, but also in the CP domain as a focus, a topic, or a quantified subject.

1. Introduction

It has long been taken for granted that the optional scrambling is responsible for the free constituent order in languages like Japanese. Still, initiated by the observation of Kuroda¹, it has been noted that scrambling causes difference in the interpretation of scope relations between quantified elements, including the negation morpheme. Miyagawa (2001) gives the following examples:

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¹ Kuroda (1970), reprinted in Kuroda (1992).

- (1) a. Zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nakat-ta (yo/to omou)
 all-NOM that test-ACC take-NEG-PAST (*not>all, all>not)
 'All did not take that test.' (M-(11))
- b. Sono tesuto-o_i zen'in-ga *t_i* uke-nakat-ta (yo/to omou)
 that test-ACC_i all-NOM *t_i* take-NEG-PAST (not>all, all>not)
 'That test, all did not take.'

In the unmarked constituent order the subject takes the wide scope over the negation morpheme (NEG). In (1a) the subject and NEG are in competition for the wide scope, and the subject wins out. On the other hand, in (1b), where the object is scrambled to the sentence initial position, both wide and narrow scope interpretations for the subject emerge.

As research on typological studies on constituent order has progressed, the observation of similar inversion phenomena has turned out to be relevant to the study of some other free constituent order languages like Hungarian. Furthermore, studies along this line have led to a deep insight into the nature of sentence building, yielding a principled explanation of inversion phenomena observed in languages with a rigid constituent order, like French stylistic inversion and English inversion of a quoted phrase. (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (A & A, 2001))

This paper first takes up A & A (2001) in Section 2, which proposes the Subject-in-Situ Generalization (SSG). The SSG claims (2) to be a universal constraint.

- (2) By Spell-Out VP can contain no more than one argument with an unchecked Case feature. (A & A. (1))

As a corollary (3a) and (3b) are assumed.

- (3) a. When there are two DP arguments, at least one of them must externalize.
 b. If two arguments remain VP-internal, one of them must be a PP.

Allowing either subject or object to occupy the Spec of TP, the SSG accounts for subjects in situ in languages with free constituent order as well as some inversion phenomena in languages with rigid constituent

order.

Next a flat (non-configurational) VP structure described by Kiss (2003) is introduced in Section 3. A common denominator of A & A (2001) and Kiss (2003) is the claim that the subject is not the only one licensed by formal features borne by T. As a representative of works along this line with emphasis on Japanese, detailed discussions are given to Miyagawa (2001) in Section 4, which claims that scrambling is an A-movement triggered by the EPP feature on T (the head of TP). Section 5 contains Yamashita's (2001) arguments against Miyagawa (2001) together with my comments and proposals for the solutions of some of the problems pointed out by Yamashita. Section 6 deals with the problems involved in the four papers taken up so far. Section 7 introduces Miyagawa (to appear), which claims that formal features are merged only on phase heads, C and *v*, and all the movements are triggered by the EPP feature.

My analysis given in Section 8 basically adopts Miyagawa's (2001) idea that the satisfaction of the EPP requirement on T is obligatory, clarifying at the same time some problems inherent to this approach. Some extension and refinement of Miyagawa's framework, proposed in this section, have made their solutions possible. Section 9 offers additional supporting evidence for the assumption of the in situ subject, followed by Section 10 with some further issues, which have led to the question as to the adequacy of the assumption of the obligatory appearance of the EPP feature on T. Based mainly on Ueda's (2002) argument for the assumption of the *kara* subject staying in a *v*P internal position, it is concluded that in Japanese the Spec of TP can be left without a lexical item.

The following is the summary of the concluding remark given in Section 11: With these theoretical and descriptive backgrounds in mind, we explored into the nature of the Japanese subject in terms of the properties shared by languages with free constituent orders, and came up with the proposal that the Japanese subject should be taken to occupy either the Spec(ifier) of TP or an *v*P internal position. Besides these cases, the Japanese subject can appear as a topic, a focus, or a quantified phrase.

2. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001)

A & A's proposals (2) and (3) are repeated below.

The Subject-in-Situ Generalization (SSG)

- (2) By Spell-Out VP can contain no more than one argument with an unchecked Case feature. (A & A. (1))
- (3) a. When there are two DP arguments, at least one of them must externalize.
- b. If two arguments remain VP-internal, one of them must be a PP.

T (I in A & A) has two formal features associated with it. They are the EPP-feature and a Case feature, the former triggering EPP-related phenomena and the latter externalization phenomena related to Case. The SSG applies to both the subject and the object. If one of them moves, the other one can remain in situ. Thus, the EPP-feature on T can be checked by an element other than the subject. This claim is in a sharp contrast with the standard hypothesis that the formal feature on T must be checked by the DP with Nominative Case. The following are five sub-cases of EPP checking:

- (4) 1. Via an expletive in (Transitive) Expletive Constructions (Icelandic, English)
2. Via a locative PP in Locative Inversion (English)
3. Via V-raising in VSO languages (Celtic, Romance)
4. Via a (*wh*)phrase in Subject Inversion in French
5. Via a null quotative operator in Quotative Inversion in English

In English and French the expletive construction is permitted only to intransitive predicates, as indicated by (5) and (6).

- (5) a. Il est arrivé un homme Expl-VS
EXPL is arrived a man
'There has arrived a man.' (A & A. (2))
- b. *Il a lu un élève le livre *Expl-VSO
EXPL has read a student-NOM the book-ACC
'There has read a student the book.'

- (6) a. There arrived a man. (A & A. (3)) Expl-VS
 b. *There finished somebody the assignment. *Expl-VSO

In this construction the subject is in a VP-internal position, so that only an intransitive subject can appear in this construction in accord with the SSG. However, French and English also have constructions where even the transitive subject remains in the VP-internal position, i.e. stylistic inversion in French and quotative inversion in English, involving A'-movement of an element other than the subject.

A. SI in French

- (7) a. Je me demande quand partira Marie (*wh*-questions)
 I wonder when will-leave Marie
 'I wonder when Marie will leave.' (A & A. (4))
 b. Les resultants que nous donnent ces experiences (relative clauses)
 the results that us give these experiments
 'the results that these experiments give us'

SI is not permitted to the VP with a direct object.

- (8) *Je me demande quand achèteront les consommateurs *les pommes*.
 I wonder when will buy the consumers-NOM the apples-ACC
 'I wonder when the consumers will buy the apples.' (A & A. (7))

When the direct object is either *wh*-extracted (9a) or cliticized (9b), SI is possible.

- (9) a. *Que* crois-tu que manquent un grand nombre d'étudiants
 what believe-you that be-absent-from a great number of students
 'What do you think that a large number of students are missing?'
 (A & A. (8))
 b. Tes cours, à quelle occasion *les* ont manqués
 your courses at which occasion them-have been-absent-from
 un grand nombre d'étudiants?
 a great number of students
 'On what occasion have a large number of students missed your courses?'

SI is also possible when the object is a PP.

- (10) ?Quand écrira ton frère à sa petite amie?
When will-write your brother to his little friend
'When will your brother write to his girlfriend?'

B. QI in English

- (11) a. "We must do this again," the guests *all* declared to Tony. (A & A. (11))
b. "We must do this again," declared *all* the guests to Tony.
c. *"We must do this again," declared the guests *all* to Tony.

The quantifier to the right of the subject DP in (11a) is in the subject's VP-internal position. The subject *the guests* is extracted from VP. Since there is no inversion, the sentence is grammatical. (11b) with the inverted order is all right, since there is no extraction of the subject DP. (11c) is ungrammatical because in QI the subject should remain in the VP-internal position. However, the subject to the left of the quantifier in (11c) indicates that it is extracted from the VP and raised to a higher position.

The EPP feature is checked by the null quotative operator of QI in English and by *wh*-elements in French. In the transitive and intransitive expletive constructions ((T)ECs), the expletive checks the EPP-feature². In VSO languages, V checks the EPP feature on T, but it is shown that the subject and the object are external to VP. (See A & A, p. 200.) In this context subject externalization is not triggered by the EPP, but related to Case.

Summary:

- [1] The SSG: By Spell-Out VP can contain no more than one argument with an unchecked Case feature.
- [2] It is assumed that the Case feature of *v* and that of T are formally identical. This case feature, probably [+Case], is on both *v* and T.
- [3] A & A proposes that two formal features are manipulated by the

² Still the subject must be externalized. Evidence for this claim is drawn from the distribution of adverbials located below the subject. (See for details A & A (2001), pp. 198-200.)

computational system, one triggering EPP-related phenomena and the other triggering externalization phenomena related to Case.

3. Kiss (2003)

Assumption:

Hungarian postverbal free order is the consequence of a flat VP in which the arguments c-command each other. Kiss gives four pieces of evidence to support this assumption.

(i) The subject and object have identical extraction possibilities
(*wh*-movement)³.

- (12) a. Melyik fiú melyik lányt hívta fel?
Which boy which girl.ACC called up
“Which boy called up which girl?” (K. (5))
b. Melyik lányt melyik fiú hívta fel?

(ii) The subject, object, and other arguments interact with Binding Principle C in identical ways.

- (13) a. *Tegnap fel-hívta Péter_i anyja *pro*_i/ot_i
yesterday up-called Peter’s mother *pro*/him
Intended meaning: “Yesterday Peter_i’s mother called him_i up”
(K. (7))
b. *Tegnap fel-hívta *pro*_i/ot_i Péter_i anyja
(14) a. *Tegnap fel-hívta Péter_i anyja *pro*_i/ot_i
yesterday up-called Peter’s mother *pro*/him
Intended meaning: “Yesterday Peter_i’s mother called him_i up”
(K. (7))
b. *Tegnap fel-hívta *pro*_i/ot_i Péter_i anyja

The co-reference between the object and the Genitive specifier of the subject is not permitted in (13a, b), which indicates that in the Hungarian VP the subject and the object c-command each other. A crucial example is (14a), where *pro*/him c-commands the genitive DP (*Peter’s*), resulting

³ This means that there is no Superiority Constraint in Hungarian.

in violation of Binding Principle C, that is, an r-expression *Peter* is bound by the pronoun. On the other hand, the English translation is all right, because the pronoun does not c-command the genitive DP and as the consequence, does not bind the r-expression and the pronoun itself is free. Therefore, the English version does not violate B(inding) P(inciple) C and B.

(iii) No Weak Crossover effect is attested in Hungarian either between a subject operator and a pronoun embedded in the object, or between an object operator and a pronoun embedded in the subject. In (16a) the Hungarian sentence and its English translation both permit coreference indexation between *who* and the pronoun, because the pronoun in each sentence is free in its local domain (the DP *pro*'s/*his mother*), meeting the BP B. On the other hand, in (16b) the Hungarian example is grammatical, as opposed to the ungrammatical co-indexation in the English translation. The English translation violates the weak crossover constraint (15).

(15) A variable cannot be the antecedent of a pronoun to its left.

(Chomsky 1987)

(16) a. Ki_i hívta fel az pro_i anyját?
 who called up the *pro*'s mother.ACC
 "Who_i called his_i mother?"

(K. (9))

b. Kit_i hívta fel az pro_i anyja?
 whom called up the *pro*'s mother
 "*Whom_i did his_i mother call up t_i?"

In English version, the trace of *whom* (t_i , a variable) is the antecedent of *his* located to its left.

(iv) In Hungarian idioms the referential argument is not necessarily identical with the subject. The subject and the verb can also form an idiomatic unit, with the object or the oblique argument representing the referential argument.

(17) a. Jánost_{at} rájár a rúd (K. (10))
 John.at goes the shaft
 "The shaft goes at John" [It is rough on John]

- b. Jánost elkapta a gépszíj
 John.ACC caught the driving-belt
 “The driving belt has got John” [John has been roped in]

Summary:

“The Hungarian V and its arguments, including the subject, are generated as sister nodes, mutually c-commanding each other⁴. The mutual c-command among the postverbal arguments determines no linear sequence; hence they can be pronounced in any order.”

(Kiss, p. 26)

4. Miyagawa (2001)

This section is a summary of Miyagawa’s principal proposals divided into 6 subsections.

4.1. Claims

Miyagawa’s basic claims are the following:

- (18) a. Scrambling is feature driven, not optional. (M. (6))
 b. A-scrambling is triggered by the EPP-feature on T.
 (local scrambling)
 c. A’-scrambling is triggered by the focus feature.
 (long distance scrambling)

4.2. Conditions on the EPP-driven A-scrambling

- (19) a. Equidistance Condition (cf. Chomsky 1993): The head-movement of verbal complex (V-*v*) to T is a prerequisite for the EPP-driven A-scrambling (of non-subject XP)⁵. (M. pp. 300-312)
 b. AGREE(ment) condition (cf. Chomsky 2001): The EPP-checking item must have features that can enter into an agreement relationship with a feature on T. (M. 2001: Fn 15)
 (Yamashita (1))

⁴ The V is raised to various functional heads (Tense, Mood, AGR, etc.) from there it asymmetrically c-commands its arguments, and also precedes them, as predicted by the Linear Correspondence Axiom. (Kiss (2003), p. 26)

⁵ Miyagawa’s Equidistance Condition allows both the subject and the object to move to the Spec of TP, making them equidistant from T through the “*v* to T” movement.

(19b) ensures that the EPP feature functions iff an agreement relation is established between relevant items.

4.3. Items that can satisfy the EPP

As shown by the sentences in (1), the nominative subject as well as the accusative object has features that can agree with those of T satisfying the EPP requirement. A postpositional phrase (PP) with a *wh*-element in it can satisfy this requirement as shown by (20b) in contrast to the PP without *wh*-element in (20a).

- (20) a. Disco-de_i zen'in-ga t_i odora-nakat-ta yo/to omou
 Disco-at_i all-NOM t_i dance-NEG-PAST (*not>all, all>not)
 'At the disco, all did not dance.' (M. (50))
- b. Doko-no disco-de_i zen'in-ga t_i odora-nakat-ta no
 where-GEN disco-at_i all-nom t_i dance-NEG-PAST Q
 (not>all, all>not)
 'At which disco, all didn't dance?' (M. (52))

According to Miyagawa the items in (21) can satisfy the EPP requirement.

- (21) a. Nominative subject (in the SOV word order) (1a)
 b. Accusative object (in the OSV word order) (1b)
 c. *wh*-PP (not non-*wh* PP) (in the *wh*-XP SV word order) (M. (55))

Concerning *wh*-words, Miyagawa follows Watanabe's (1992) idea that English *Wh*-words contain both the *wh*- and the Q-features, forcing the entire *wh*-phrase to undergo overt movement. In Japanese the two features are distributed on two morphologically separable items, and only the item with the Q-feature (Q-particle) needs to be raised to C. (M. p. 316) Miyagawa further claims that the *wh*-feature in Japanese stays on T, and not on C. (M. p. 317) Now, a PP with a *wh*-element, but not one without a *wh*-element, contains the *wh*-feature that matches the same feature on T, and this agreement makes it possible for the *wh*-PP to move to the Spec of TP as an A-movement, which results in satisfaction of the EPP requirement. (20a) does not permit the narrow scope of the quantified subject, because the subject must be raised to T to check the EPP-feature, while (20b) yields both the narrow and wide scope, since the

EPP is satisfied by the *wh*-PP and the subject can stay in situ, c-commanded by NEG.

4.4. Items that do not satisfy the EPP requirement

Besides non-*wh*-PP, Long-distance-scrambling does not yield the scope ambiguity, as in (22).

- (22) Syukudai-o_i zen'in-ga [_{CP} sensei-ga *t_i* dasu to]
Homework-ACC_i all-NOM [_{CP} teacher-NOM *t_i* assign COMP]
omowa-nakat- ta (yo/to omou).
think-NEG-PAST (*not>all, all> not)
'Homework, all did not think that the teacher would assign.'
(M. (17))

All together, the items that do not satisfy the EPP requirement are those in (23) according to Miyagawa.

- (23) a. Non-*wh*-PP (both argument and adjunct) (in the PP-S-V order)
b. Long-distance scrambled Phrase.

4.5. Multiple Agreement

In a language like Japanese, neither DP nor T carries Φ -features. The uninterpretable Case feature on T can agree with the same feature on a DP. Miyagawa assumes, as A & A did, that there is no distinction between the nominative and accusative Case, the only relevant feature on both T and a DP being [+Case]. This is the reason why both the subject and the object can satisfy the EPP requirement associated with T. Furthermore, the lack of Φ -features on T and a DP permits T to agree with more than one DP with the same uninterpretable Case feature, that is, the feature [+Case] on T establishes a multiple agreement. "Thus, as far as agreement is concerned, the nominative subject and the nominative object are "one entity," because they are both linked by agreement to the same formal feature on T. On the assumption that agreement licenses movement, if one DP moves, then both must move." (M. p. 307)

On the other hand in a language like English, which makes a distinction for agreement in terms of Φ -features, the Φ -features on T are matched with those on a DP. Since each DP is assumed to carry distinct

5. Yamashita (2001)

This section is devoted to the summary of Yamashita's critical review of Miyagawa (2001), followed by the present author's comments on relevant points and tentative solutions to some of them.

5.1. Against Miyagawa's two conditions on the EPP-driven A-movement

5.1.1. Equidistance condition

This condition is supposed to exclude the extraction of constituents out of the tensed CP. However, the control construction permits the EPP-driven A-movement out of a (tensed) control construction.

- (25) a. Zen'in-ga Mary-ni [CP PRO sono hon-o kau yoni]
all-NOM -DAT that book-ACC buy-TNS to
tanoma-nakat-ta (yo)
ask-NEG-PAST

'All did not ask Mary to buy that book.' (*not>>all, all>>not)
(Y. 15a,b,)

- b. [Mary-ni_i [zen'in-ga t_i [CP PRO sono hon-o kau yoni]
tanoma-nakat-ta]] (yo)

'Mary_i, all did not ask t_i to buy that book.' (not>>all, all>>not)

Comment I: *Mary ni* in (25) belongs to the matrix, not to the complement clause, so that this example is not exactly to the point. Instead (25c) should be used to see whether or not the scrambling effect shows up there.

- (25) c. Sono hon-o_i zen'in-ga Mary ni [CP PRO t_i kau yoni]
tanoma-nakat-ta]](yo) (not>>all, all>>not)

Even if the scrambling effect is recognized in (25c), this is not a counter example to Miyagawa's claim. This is because the complement verb in the control construction can be assumed to be in the subjunctive form yielding 'not>>all' interpretation. Therefore, (25) is not a counter-example to Miyagawa's condition of Equi Distance Condition⁶.

⁶ Equidistance Condition is discarded through the discussion based on a different viewpoint. (See Section 8.1.)

5.1.2. AGREE condition

5.1.2.1. XPs without Case particles yield the scrambling effect.

- (26) a. Zen'in-ga Mary-ni [_{CP} John-ga sono hon-o nakusita to]
all-NOM -DAT -NOM that book-ACC lost COMP
osie-nakat-ta (yo)
tell-NEG-PAST (*not>all, all>not)
'All did not tell Mary that John lost that book.'
- b. [_{CP} John-ga sono hon-o nakusita to]_i zen'in-ga Mary-ni *t_i*
osie-nakat-ta (yo) (not>>all, all>>not)
'[that John lost that book]_i, all did not tell Mary *t_i*.'
(Y. (18)a, b)

5.1.2.2. A PP, whether an argument or an adjunct (and whether a *wh* PP or a non-*wh* PP), yields the scrambling effect.

Miyagawa's (20a), judged to be without scrambling effect, is interpreted to have this effect, that is, as permitting the "not>all, all> not" interpretation.

5.1.2.3. Scrambling of some agreeing items fails to yield "not>>all" interpretation.

A: NP-Scrambling (= "FNQ-Stranding") in the Quantifier-Float Construction

- (27) a. Zen'in-ga hon-o 2-satu kawa-nakat-ta (yo)
All-NOM book-ACC 2-CL buy-NEG-PAST
'All did not buy two books.' (*not>>all, all>>not)
- b. hon-o_i zen'in-ga *t_i* 2-satu kawa-nakat-ta (yo)
'books_i, all did not buy two *t_i*.'
(*not>>all, all>>not)
(Y. (21))

B: "FNQ-Preposing" in the Quantifier-Float Construction

- (28) 2-satu_j zen'in-ga hon-o *t_j* kawa-nakat-ta (yo)
'two_j, all did not buy *t_j* books.'
(*not>>all, all>> not)
(Y. (27))

5.1.2.4. The scrambled phrase containing the anaphor does not lead to the scrambling effect.

- (29) a. Zen'in₁-ga [zibun₁/John-no kodomo]-o sikara-nakat-ta (yo)
 all-NOM self/John-GEN child-ACC scold-NEG-PAST
 'All₁ did not scold self₁/John's chld.' (*not>>all, all>>not)
- b. [John-no kodomo]-o_i zen'in-ga t_i sikara-nakat-ta (yo)
 'John's child_i, all did not scold t_i.' (not>all, all>not)
- c. [zibun₁-no kodomo]-o_i zen'in₁-ga t_i sikara-nakat-ta (yo)
 'self₁'s child_i, all₁ did not scold t_i.' (*not>all, all>not)
 (Y. (24))

5.1.2.5. VP-Scrambling does not lead to the scrambling effect.

- (30) a. Zen'in-ga sono hon-o kai-sae si-nakat-ta (yo)
 all-NOM that book-ACC buy-FP do-NEG-PAST
 'All did not even buy that book.'
- b. [_{VP} sono hon-o kai-sae] zen'in-ga t_{VP} si-nakat-ta (yo)
 '[even buy that book]_i, all did not t_i.' (*not>>all, all>>not)
 (Y. (33))

5.1.2.6. Summary of the empirical claim.

- (31) EPP-Checking Items in Japanese
- a. Nominative Subject (in the S-O-V order)
 - b. Accusative/Dative Object (in the O-S-V order)
 - c. PP (in the PP-S-V order)
 - d. CP (in the CP-S-V order) (Y. (34))
- (32) the Non EPP-Checking Items in Japanese
- a. Long-distance Scrambled XP
 - b. The Host NP of FNQ ("NP") (in the scrambled order)
 - c. Anaphor DP (in the scrambled order)
 - d. FNQ ("Remnant DP") (in the scrambled order)
 - e. VP(+FP) (in the scrambled order) (Y. (35))

5.2. Summary of Yamashita's conclusion:

- [1] Yamashita's data showing that scrambling of some agreeing items fails to yield "not>all" interpretation are crucial to the study of scrambling. All the examples given in 5.1.2.3-5.1.2.5 have already been shown to involve radical reconstruction. Therefore, Yamashita's conclusion, "A phrase that is required to undergo (radical) reconstruction cannot be an EPP-checking item," is valid.
- [2] Using a different wording Yamashita admits Miyagawa's claim that a certain scrambling is an A-movement involving obligatory EPP-feature checking.
- [3] Yamashita claims that the A-movement makes the copy left behind inaccessible for interpretive procedures (at LF). The scrambling involving radical reconstruction makes the copy left behind accessible for LF interpretive procedures. Contrary to Miyagawa's claim, Yamashita regards A' movement, including long distance scrambling and scrambling involving radical reconstruction as optional and not involving feature checking.
- [4] Miyagawa's statement concerning agreement is made more specific and universal by Yamashita in the following proposal: "If a language is marked as [- Φ -agreement], it allows non feature-checking movement. If a language is marked as [+ Φ -agreement], it does not, and every movement must be motivated by feature-checking." Thus, the "scrambling parameter" reduces to the " Φ -agreement parameter". (Y. p. 328)

Comment II: The fact that the scrambled version (1b) permits ambiguity indicates that scope relations are identified in the trace position as well as the moved position. It is well attested that the trace left by A-movement is not accessible for LF semantic interpretations. Unless some means are provided to account for the 'Subject>Object' scope interpretation given to the inverted order in (1b), Yamashita's argument is not persuasive. Miyagawa derives (1b) by first raising the subject to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement and next raising the object by A'-scrambling for focus. Still the wide scope reading is permitted to the subject in the object-subject order. This fact must be accounted for.

5.3. A Partial Solution

[1] Yamashita's argument against Miyagawa's Equi-distance Condition asks for a careful examination, partly because Miyagawa's proposal for a unique property of the subjunctive verb form (Section 4.6) may account for the behavior of the control construction. It is not unreasonable to assume that the control complementizer *yoni* in (25b) requires the preceding verb to be in the subjunctive form. Next, assuming that Fanselow's (2001) assumption is applicable to Japanese that in German a coherent infinitive is covertly raised to the matrix predicate permitting the complement object to appear in the matrix sentence, as shown by (33b), the subjunctive verb *kau* in (25a) can be taken to be raised to the matrix together with the complementizer *yoni*.

- (33) a. dass niemand [CP dem Peter zu helfen] wagte (F. (14))
that nobody the.DAT Peter to help dared
'that nobody dared to help Peter'
b. dass dem Peter_i niemand [CP t_i zu helfen] wagte

Thus, Yamashita's example (25b) does not provide evidence against the Equi-distance Condition.

- [2] The non-*wh* PP scrambling yields the scope ambiguity according to Yamashita. This fact is taken by Yamashita to be counter evidence against Miyagawa's claim. However, the scrambling effect in (20a), for example, is explainable in terms of the [+Case] feature. In Japanese both the so-called structural and inherent cases are equally marked with particles. The strict distinction between structural and inherent cases may not be realistic in the first place. Then, it is natural that all the PPs, non-*wh*-PPs as well as *wh*-PPs, are marked with [+Case], which agrees with the same feature carried by T, resulting in scrambling of PPs to the Spec of TP.
- [3] Concerning the non-EPP checking items in (32) Yamashita's generalization is valid that items requiring the radical

do not permit the narrow scope of the subject, even though the PPs occupy the Spec of TP.

Some Points Relevant to Our Analysis:

[I] The examples in (35) suggest that the SSG does not hold in Japanese. This is a crucial point deciding the subject position in our analysis.

[II] It may turn out that the assumption of the PP-scrambling as A-movement is not supported and should be treated as an A'-scrambling.

If the PP-scrambling is an A'-scrambling, the interpretation given to (34) is adequately accounted for, because the subject is raised to the Spec of TP and c-commands the object.

6.2. Non-configurational structure

Kiss (2003) gives ample evidence for her claim that the Hungarian VP has a flat structure, which has a universal import as it corresponds to Miyagawa's (2001) claim that Japanese has a non-configurational phrase structure, which is Hale's original idea.

However, Miyagawa states, "An important result of the analysis is that the A-movement scrambling environment has a 'nonconfigurational' form as originally proposed by Hale, but instantiated within a configurational structure, thus capturing his original intuition about free word order and structure." (Miyagawa (2001), p. 295) Unclear though the meaning of "instantiate", his actual analysis seems to be a trial to show that the nonconfigurational structure can be cast into the configurational structure assumed by the MP as one of the universals of language without losing its basic characteristics.

However, the proposal of the nonconfigurational phrase structure as such is in conflict with the claim made in the framework of the MP that verbs are classified in terms of their potentiality of projecting an external argument or not. Transitive and unergative verbs belong to the class projecting external arguments. We should at least admit that these types of verbs appear in the configurational structure. Furthermore, binary

obligatory in all these cases.

branching is induced by Merge. Thus, ν P and VP are internally configurational.

Relevant point

[III] The issue is how to reconcile the basic flat structure with the “instantiated” configurational structure.

6.3. Two types of operations affecting constituent orders

A & A (2001) makes a specific claim in that there are two types of operations; one triggered by the EPP-feature and the other the externalization of arguments. As is amply shown by Miyagawa, Yamashita, and A & A, elements other than the subject can check the EPP-feature and move to the Spec of TP. In case no other element checks this feature, the subject bears this checking function. According to A & A externalization of an argument is necessary in the cases of the Expletive Construction as well as the VSO order.

Relevant point

[IV] Two formal features are assumed to be manipulated by the computational system, one triggering EPP-related phenomena and the other triggering externalization phenomena related to Case.

7. Miyagawa (to appear)

Miyagawa’s principal proposals are summarized in the following sections.

7.1. Background:

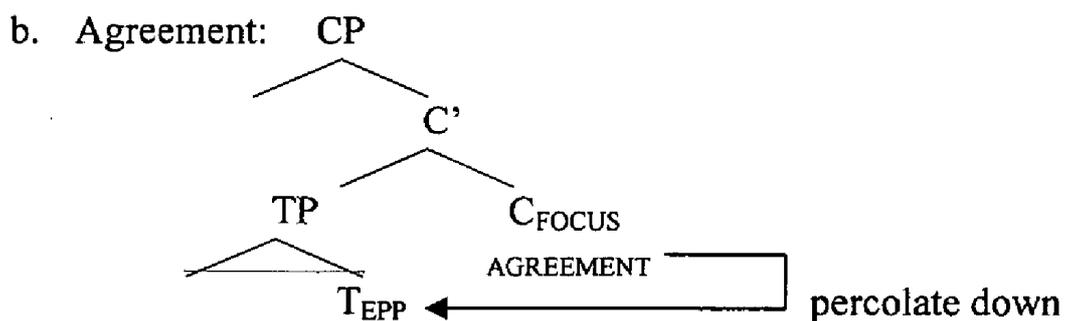
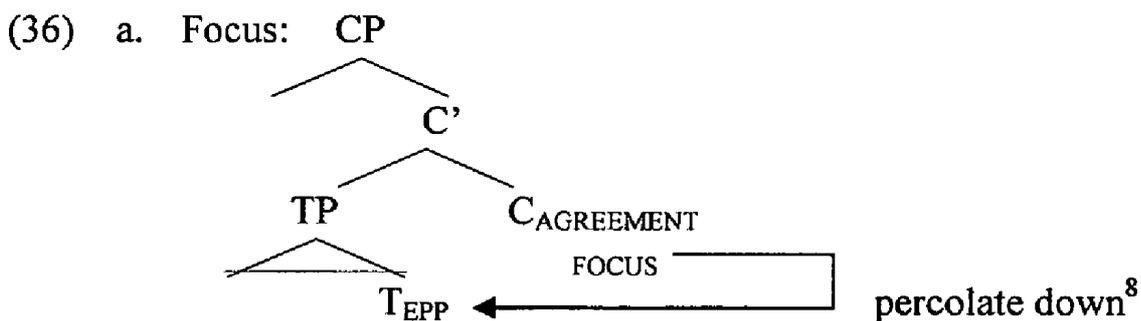
Formal features proposed by the GB theory are: (a) a feature on ν agreeing with ACC, (b) a feature on T agreeing with NOM, (c) a feature on C agreeing with the feature on WH, etc. In the MP strong phase heads are C, ν , but not T, so that computations related to movement are expected to take place mostly at C and ν .

7.2. Proposals:

- (i) Formal features are merged only on phase heads, C, ν .
- (ii) All the movements are triggered by the EPP feature.
- (iii) The movements to TP and higher categories (wh-movement, focus

movement, “agreement” movement, scrambling) are triggered by relevant features on C.

- (iv) Uniformity Principle: In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances. (Chomsky 2001, p.2)
- (v) Miyagawa’s strong version of Uniformity Principle: At least for inflectional features, such as agreement and focus, every language not only shares a uniform set, but every language overtly manifests these features in some fashion. (M. p.2)
- (vi) A language is either agreement prominent or focus prominent. In a given language, the EPP on T, which is assumed to be universal, works in tandem with either agreement or focus. (A focus-agreement parameter.) (M. p.2)
- (vii) TP carries the EPP feature which must always be satisfied.
- (viii) Focus and agreement are represented in (36).



⁸ Chomsky (2005) suggests another possible approach to this problem, stating “...the phase head C may be the locus of agreement, selecting T and assigning it (unvalued) phi-features, so that when raising of DP driven by C-agreement reaches the TP level, its uninterpretable features are valued and it is frozen, unable to proceed further.” (p. 18) Instead of lowering Agreement and Focus, Chomsky keeps them in the CP domain, permitting the partial movement. This saves lowering and raising operations proposed by Miyagawa.

- (ix) Two types of focus: Identificational vs. informational focus⁹:
- (a) Informational focus; what is not presupposed in a topic-focus (theme-rheme) structure.
 - (b) Identificational focus; expresses exhaustive identification.

(Kiss 1998)

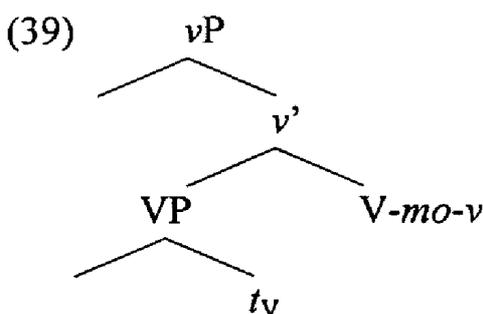
7.3. Analysis:

7.3.1. Identificational focus: the case of indeterminate pronoun (Kiss 1998)

Kishimoto (2001) claims that *mo* must m-command the indeterminate pronoun.

(37) Taroo-ga *nani-mo* kawa-nakat-ta
 ‘Taro didn’t buy anything.’

(38) Taroo-ga *nani-o* kai-*mo* sina-kat-ta
 ‘Taro didn’t buy anything.’



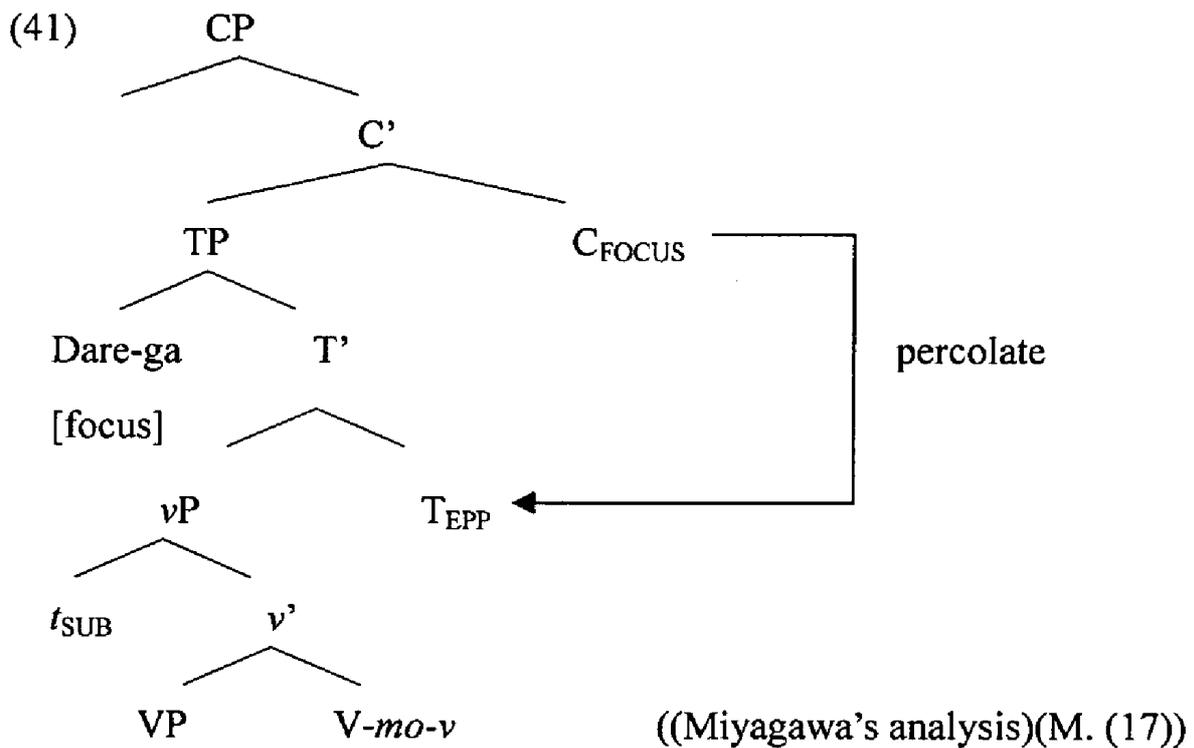
(Kishimoto’s analysis)

In an identificational focus construction with an indeterminate pronoun in the object position, it is possible to optionally raise the subject. The object indeterminate pronouns are in a long-distance agreement with FOC without moving. This kind of long-distance agreement never happens in informational focus structure.

In (40) the subject is raised to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement, leaving the m-command domain of *mo* (vP), as shown in (41). Therefore, it is ungrammatical.

(40) **Dare-ga* pizza-o tabe-*mo* sina-kat-ta
 ‘Anyone didn’t eat pizza.’

⁹ Kiss uses “information” rather than “informational.”



(42) is also ungrammatical, since the movement takes the indeterminate pronoun *nani-o* out of the licensing domain of *mo*. (M. p.12)

(42) **Nani-o_i Taroo-ga t_i kai-mo sina-kat-ta*
 'Taro didn't buy anything.'

(42) shows that the movement of the indeterminate object must be the EPP-triggerred A-movement. It cannot be an A'-scrambling, which would allow reconstruction moving the indefinite pronoun back to the licensing domain of *mo*. (M. p.12)

In an agreement prominent language such as those of Indo-European, the agreement feature on C works in conjunction with the EPP on T, which raises the agreed-with phrase, in this case the thematic subject, to the Spec of TP. Thus the EPP requirement on T is satisfied on the basis of agreement. The focus feature on object *wh*-phrase requires (another) EPP, because of the requirement that focus works in conjunction with the EPP. If this EPP is merged at C, the focus feature agrees with the same feature on the *wh*-phrase, and working with the EPP on C the *wh*-phrase is raised to the Spec of CP. In this case, the focus feature is not checked to satisfy the EPP requirement on T, because this is

an agreement prominent language. (M. p. 28)

English, an agreement language, requires any item meeting the EPP requirement to have some sort of agreement feature compatible with T¹⁰. But in Japanese, a focus-prominent language, there is no agreement feature to carry out this function, and a full DP in the right location can satisfy the EPP requirement, as amply shown by Miyagawa (2001) and Yamashita (2001).

In languages such as Japanese with no overt agreement, once focus is satisfied in conjunction with the EPP on T by long-distance agreement with the *wh*-phrase, nothing more happens, if some element other than the *wh*-phrase satisfies the EPP requirement on T. Thus, no overt *wh*-movement is required. Focus “agreement” in Japanese involving identificational focus works in the same way as agreement in Indo-European. (M. p.13)

7.3.2. Informational focus (Kiss 1998)

Nuclear Stress Rule:

Nuclear stress falls on the phrase located lowest on the syntactic tree
(Cinque (1993)).

(Informational) Focus Rule:

The focus of IP is a(ny) constituent containing the main stress of IP, as determined by the nuclear stress rule.

In the absence of an identificationally focused category, some sort of agreement takes place between focus and a category within TP. The agreed-with phrase raises to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP on T. The agreed-with phrase in this case is without a “focus” feature, but is probed by some feature on T¹¹. The agreed-with phrase is the unfocused portion of the informational focus structure. The interface system needs to know that the agreement here is “anti-focus”; it is the “topic” of informational focus¹². (M. p.14)

¹⁰ Chomsky (2001) suggests that the expletive has a person feature to be in the agreement relation with T. (M. p. 13)

¹¹ The feature [+Topic] is taken to be a possible candidate for triggering this movement.

¹² This statement means that the identificational and informational foci are mutually exclusive, because in the case of identificational focus, the focused phrase can stay either in situ or in the

The Spec of TP must be filled by something (subject, Object, etc) to meet the EPP requirement. Everything else can stay in situ. The “anti-focus” phrase must be raised to the Spec of TP. There is no long distance agreement, contrary to the case of a sentence with an identificational focus.

Summary: Focus and the EPP:

- [1] If there is an identificational focused element, T, which inherits FOCUS from C, agrees with it.
- [2] If there is no identificational focus, the same T picks out an XP as the “topic” (“anti-focus”).
- [3] A focus phrase occupying the Spec of TP does not raise to the CP domain, since it does not necessarily carry the sense of specificity.

Summary: Agreement and the EPP

- [1] Overt *wh*-movement to the Spec of CP only occurs in agreement prominent languages, because the EPP on T must agree with the closest DP (the thematic subject) with relevant features. If the EPP on T is satisfied by agreement, the Focus on C must have its own EPP feature, which requires that a category be raised to C¹³.
- [2] In a focus prominent language, long distance agreement between Focus on T with *wh*-phrase is possible, so that the *wh*-movement is not induced¹⁴.

Relevant points:

- [V] **Both the identificational focus and anti-focus phrases occupy the Spec of TP. There is no syntactically represented difference between them. In order to interpret them differently, the CI interface must refer to the information structure.**
- [VI] **The anti-focus phrase is speculated as a topic. If it is the topic in the standard sense, then the question is what to do with**

Spec of TP, while the “anti-focus” phrase must be in the Spec of TP. The identification of the “anti-focus” with “topic” causes a certain confusion. (See Section 7.4 for details.)

¹³ This sentence is added, following Okura’s suggestion.

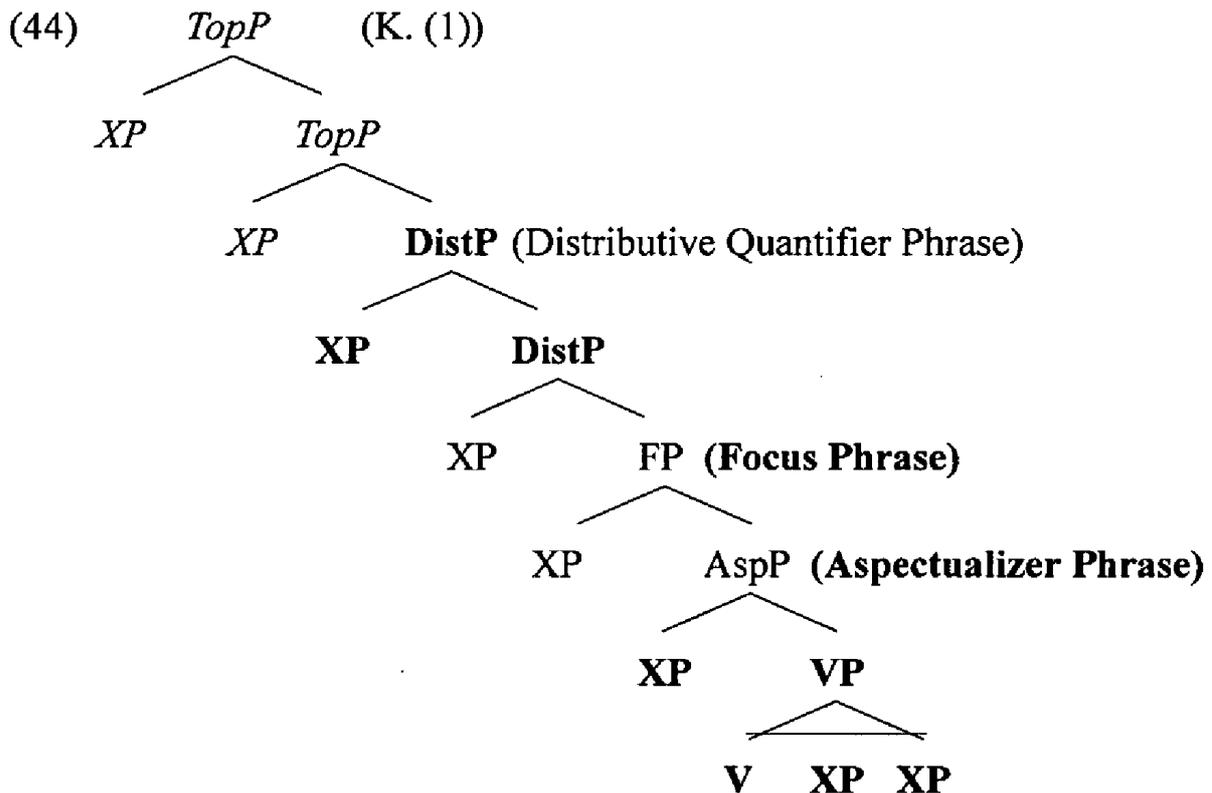
¹⁴ By assuming that *wh*-elements carrying the focus feature undergo long distance agreement, Miyagawa accounts for the fact that overt *wh*-movement is not required in Japanese, a focus prominent language.

the subject in a sentence without any presupposition, which yields the neutral description in Kuno's (1973) sense¹⁵.

[VII] In this analysis Topic must be uniquely identified as the realization of agreement, excluding the possibility of multiple occurrences of Topic. However, many languages permit multiple topic phrases as in (43).

- (43) Yamada-san-wa sono hon-wa ka-e-nakat-ta
 TOP that book- TOP buy-POT-NEG-PAST
 ??'As for Mr. Yamada, that book, he could not buy.'

Kiss (2003) proposes the flat VP structure together with a finely articulated CP structure as in (4), which permits two topic phrases. As a matter of fact, there can be more than two topics.



¹⁵ In this type of sentence, none of its part carries discourse presupposition, so that it can be used in the discourse initial position, or as an answer to the question "What happened?" Miyagawa states on p. 21 that with the nuclear stress on the object the focus domain can be the object, the VP, or the IP. In the last case the whole IP is the focus, and the subject is in the focus domain. This is exactly the case of a sentence with the sense of neutral description. And as a matter of fact, the sense of neutral description is given to sentences with both specific and non-specific subjects.

7.4. Arguments and counter examples

The identification of “anti-focus” with “topic” is certainly a problem. This idea is reiterated on p. 18 as, “In the neutral cases, the interface system uses the focus stress to partition the sentence into topic and focus, creating a theme-rheme informational structure.” The theme in the “theme-rheme” relations is what the predicate states about, not the topic in the standard sense. To deal with the cases where there is no element with the feature agreeing with the Focus feature, Miyagawa suggests the feature “topic” merely as a matching feature. The “anti-focus” phrase is not the topic in the sense of Mikami either, contrary to Miyagawa’s statement concerning Mikami on p. 22.

Since there is no mention of specificity of thematic subject, it is expected that specific and non-specific thematic subjects are raised to the position of Spec of TP by virtue of agreement with a topic feature on Focus percolated down to T.

- (45) Gakusei-ga ni- san-nin kono ziko-de asi-no hone-o
students-NOM two or three this accident in leg-bone-ACC
ot-ta
break-PAST
‘Two or three students broke their leg-bones in this accident.’

The NP with the floated numerical quantifier is non-specific. The floated quantifier functions as an existential quantifier. *Gakusei-ga* is neither a topic nor a focus in the standard sense.

[VIII] According to Miyagawa, to satisfy the EPP requirement on T, the focus or agreement feature percolated down to T must trigger the movement of an NP to TP. In case a non-specific “anti-focus” phrase moves to the Spec of TP by agreeing with some feature on Focus, it must stay there without satisfying the EPP on C¹⁶. Miyagawa’s strong Uniformity Principle is violated.

¹⁶ According to the strong Uniformity principle, the EPP on C and Agreement in CP (with the feature “Topic”) are obligatory elements.

- (46) a. *Gakusei-no asi-no hone-ga or-e-ta*
 student-GEN leg-bone-NOM break-INT.-PAST
 ‘The student’s leg-bone broke.’
- b. *Gakusei-ga asi-no hone-ga or-e-ta*
 student-NOM leg-bone-NOM break-INT.-PAST
 ‘As for the student, his leg-bone broke.’

In the sentences in (46) the subject *gakusei* is specific, and the addition of *kono* turns the NP definite, which makes these sentences more natural than the original. (46a) is without a topic or a focus, carrying the sense of the so-called neutral description by Kuno (1973). On the other hand, (46b) is with the identificational focus conveying the sense of exhaustive listing. *Gakusei-ga* in (46b) is licensed by the focus agreement and can stay in situ. In the multiple subject construction like (46b) the highest subject is with the identificational focus, that is, in the framework of this grammar it has the focus feature. Now, if we follow Miyagawa’s analysis of Kinande, *gakusei-ga* can stay in the Spec of TP, and *asi-no hone*, agreeing with the Agreement feature “topic” in CP, is raised to the Spec of CP to satisfy the EPP on C, which makes the non-specific NP *asi-no hone* (leg bone) specific¹⁷.

[IX] According to Miyagawa’s analysis of Kinande, the focus agreement is assumed to permit a focus phrase to stay in the Spec of TP, and an Agreed-with phrase must be raised to the Spec of CP to satisfy the EPP requirement on C. This analysis induces rather a curious result if it is applied to Japanese.

¹⁷ Note that in Kinande only specific NPs can be the agreed-with subjects. In Japanese specific and Note that in Kinande only specific NPs can bear the Agreement feature. (We call these NPs Agreed-with phrases, when they are matched in the Agreement feature.) non-specific subjects freely appear in sentences without any presupposition, while topic and focus phrases must be specific and definite. Miyagawa adds, “In Japanese a topic phrase might be a candidate for agreement realization.” Due to his strong version of Uniformity Principle, he has to admit that Japanese is a focus prominent language like Kinande with a virtual agreement. According to his analysis, *gakusei-ga* is the focus, and *asi-no hone-ga* is the topic of (46b). However, *asi-no hone-ga* is not a topic, even if we admit that it can be interpreted as specific. If multiple subjects are treated as a whole as identificational focus, the result will be an ungrammatical sentence with double foci. Our proposal of positing both the focus and topic features in the CP domain leaving the EPP feature as optional element selected by C seems to be more reasonable.

- (47) Gakusei-ga asi-no hone-o ot-ta
 student-NOM leg-bone-ACC break-PAST
 'The student broke his leg-bone.'

(47), the transitive version of (46a), hints at the adequacy of the above statement that there are sentences with neither a topic nor a focus which yield the interpretation of neutral description. With the stress on *gakusei* the sentence changes to the one with an identificational focus.

Okura claims that the possessor in her Possessor-Relationship Construction (PRC) is raised to the CP domain. The fact that sentences of this kind, exemplified by (47), can carry the sense of neutral description is overlooked in the argument supporting her claim¹⁸.

Though Okura seems to deal only with the PRC with the identificational focus, her proposal to locate the PRC subject in the CP domain indirectly supports Kiss's claim for distinguishing between the identificational and informational foci.

¹⁸ Arguing that the possessor in a locative sentence can be assumed to be in the CP domain, Okura claims that the PRC has its possessor in the CP domain as well.

- (i) a. Taroo-ni(-wa) kuruma-ga ar-u
 Taro-DAT (-TOP) car-NOM be-PRES
 'Taro has a car.'
 b. Kuruma-ga Taroo-ni-wa ar-u
 car-NOM DAT-TOP be-PRES
 c. *Kuruma-wa_i Taroo-ni *t_i* ar-u
 car- TOP DAT be-PRES (Okura (75))
 d. Kuruma-wa_i Taroo-ni-wa *t_i* ar-u

(ia) is grammatical, since the locative *Taroo-ni*, which is assumed to be in the CP domain, is topicalized, while in (ic) the subject *kuruma* is topicalized instead of the locative. This is the reason why (ic) is ungrammatical.

(iia), a PRC, is ungrammatical for the same reason given to the ungrammatical status of (ic). However, (iib) is also ungrammatical contrary to the well-formedness of (id). Thus, the argument given by Okura does not seem to be conclusive.

- (ii) a. *Yubi-wa Taroo-ga (ziko-de) *t_i* kit-ta
 finger-TOP NOM (accident-in) cut-PAST
 'Taroo cut his finger (in the accident).'
 b. *Yubi-wa Taroo-wa (ziko-de) *t_i* kit-ta
 TOP TOP cut-PAST

(iia) is marginally good in the sense that "as for the finger, it was Taro, but no one else, who cut his". In this sense *Taroo-ga* is an identificational focus.

8. Analysis

The following are the problems pointed out in the course of the above discussion as relevant to the study of the subject position in a language with apparent free constituent orders.

- [I] The examples in (35) suggest that the SSG does not hold in Japanese. This is a crucial point deciding the subject position in our analysis.**
- [II] It may turn out that the assumption of the PP-scrambling as A-movement is not supported and should be treated as an A'-scrambling.**
- [III] The issue is how to reconcile the basic flat structure with the “instantiated” configurational structure.**
- [IV] A & A (2001) proposes that two formal features are manipulated by the computational system, one triggering EPP-related phenomena and the other triggering externalization phenomena related to Case.**
- [V] Both the identificational focus and anti-focus phrases occupy the Spec of TP. There is no syntactically represented difference between them. In order to interpret them differently, the CI interface must refer to the information structure.**
- [VI] The anti-focus phrase is speculated as a topic. If it is the topic in the standard sense, then the question is what to do with the subject in a sentence without any presupposition, which yields the neutral description in Kuno’s (1973) sense.**
- [VII] In this analysis Topic must be uniquely identified as the realization of agreement, excluding the possibility of multiple occurrences of Topic. However, many languages permit multiple topic phrases as in (43).**
- [VIII] According to Miyagawa, to satisfy the EPP requirement on T, the focus or agreement feature percolated down to T must**

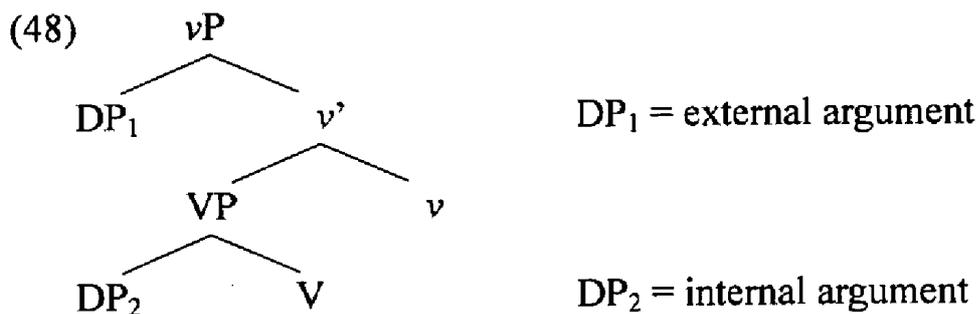
trigger the movement of an NP to TP. In case a non-specific “anti-focus” phrase moves to the Spec of TP by agreeing with some feature on Focus, it must stay there without satisfying the EPP on C. Miyagawa’s strong Uniformity Principle is violated.

[IX] According to Miyagawa’s analysis of Kinande, the focus agreement is assumed to permit a focus phrase to stay in the Spec of TP, and an Agreed-with phrase must be raised to the Spec of CP to satisfy the EPP requirement on C. This analysis induces rather a curious result if it is applied to Japanese.

8.1. How to reconcile the basic flat structure with the “instantiated” configurational structure.

Since RP [III] deals with the assumption of the basic structure, it is taken up first.

Kiss’s (2003) assumption of the flat structure of VP is based on the c-command relation with all the arguments as sisters. This idea is in conflict with the Merge operation yielding binary branching structures. However, if the m-command relation is used, all the arguments can be treated as equal in terms of the mutual m-commanding, since vP is the only maximal projection in this structure. The Merge operation gives the following structure:



In (48) DP₁ and DP₂ m-command each other. This means that “instantiated” in the MP framework, the sisterhood assigned to arguments in the flat structure is maintained.

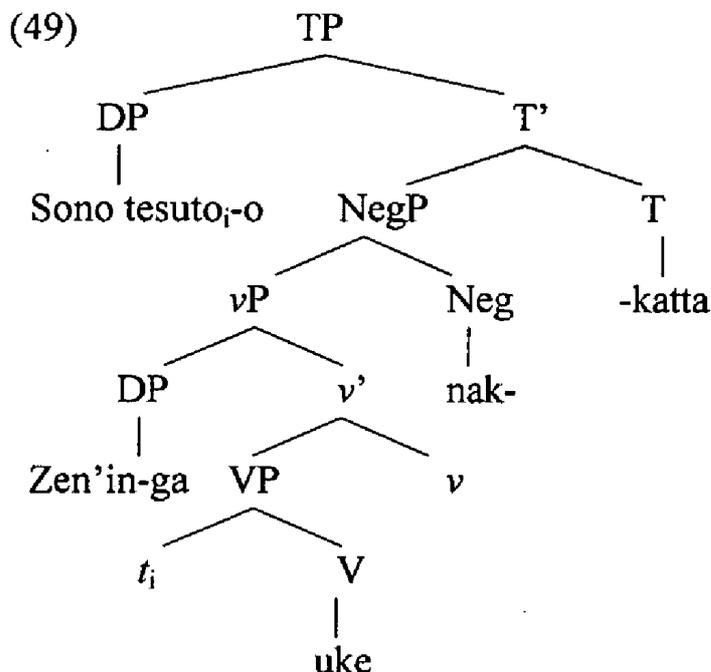
If this assumption is in the right track, Miyagawa’s Equi-distance condition can be, or should be, dispensed with as a redundant and unnecessary complication.

8.2. Does the SSG hold in Japanese?

First let us review relevant examples.

- [1] (1) a. Zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nakat-ta (yo/to omou)
 (*not>all, all>not)
 b. Sono tesuto-o_i zen'in-ga t_i uke-nakat-ta (yo/to omou)
 (not>all, all>not)

To account for the interpretation of the wide scope of the subject, the only permissible reading of (1a), the subject must be raised to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement. In (1b) the object satisfies the EPP requirement, occupying the Spec of TP position, as shown by (49). Since the subject remains in the ν P internal position, the 'not>all' interpretation becomes available. However, the other interpretation 'all > not' cannot be yielded on the basis of (49). To account for the 'all>not' interpretation, Miyagawa assumes that the subject is first raised to the Spec of TP and then the object is raised to a higher position. However, as already pointed out, the wide scope reading given to the subject in the object-subject order should be accounted for.



- [2] (22) a. Disco-de_i zen'in-ga t_i odora-nakat-ta yo/to omou
 Disco-at_i all-NOM t_i dance-NEG-PAST
 (*not>all, all>not)
 'At the disco, all did not dance.' (M. 50))
- b. Doko- no disco-de_i zen'in-ga t_i odora-nakat-ta no
 where-GEN disco-at_i all-NOM t_i dance-NEG-PAST Q
 (not>all, all>not)
 'At which disco, all didn't dance?' (M. (52))

Assuming that the PP *doko-no disco-de* satisfies the EPP requirement in the Spec of TP, the subject remains in the vP internal position c-commanded by NEG. Thus, the 'not>all' interpretation is available. To account for the 'all>not' reading we have to resort to the same device as Miyagawa's, namely, raising the subject to the Spec of TP and moving the PP to a higher position. This means that the PP undergoes A'-movement.

- [3] (34) a. Disco-de dareka-ga zenkyoku-o utat-ta
 some-NOM all song-ACC sing-PAST
 (some>all, *all>some)
 'At the disco someone sang all the songs.'
- b. Dono disco-de dareka-ga zenkyoku-o utat-ta no
 which disco Q-PARTICLE
 (some>all, *all>some)
 'At which disco did someone sing all the songs?'
- (35) a. Disco-de zenkyoku-o dareka-ga utat-ta
 (all>some, some>all)
- b. Dono disco-de zenkyoku-o dareka-ga utat-ta no
 (all>some, some>all)

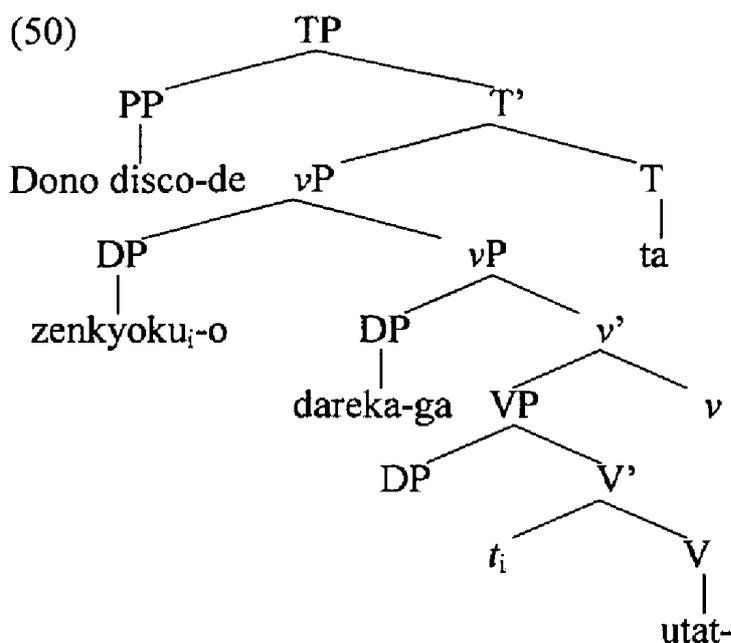
If the PPs in (34) and (35) occupy the Spec of TP, the subjects and objects stay in vP internal positions, contrary to the SSG. To maintain the SSG, RP-[II] may have to be answered in the positive, that is, the PP-movement is an A'-movement. However, RP-[II] cannot be easily supported in the face of many examples given by Miyagawa and

Yamashita, in which the PPs occupying the Spec of TP yield the scrambling effect, namely, scope ambiguity involving quantified elements and Neg, as in (21b).

- (21) b. Doko-no disuko-de_i zen'in ga t_i odora-nakat-ta no?
(not>all, all>not)
'At which disco, all didn't dance?' (M. (52))

We tentatively conclude that the SSG does not hold in Japanese. A plausible reason is that Japanese arguments are all marked by case particles, so that they are already Case checked when merged with them. A & A's assumption that Case checking is involved in the SSG is not relevant to the Japanese case.

Recall that Miyagawa claims that the movement triggered by the EPP feature on T is an A-movement, which does not permit reconstruction. Yamashita argues that the elements subject to reconstruction do not give rise to the scrambling effect. We tentatively concluded that the PP raising to the Spec of TP is an A-movement. As a consequence, we have to give up the SSG in view of the data in (35). With our mutually m-command relation, we can give a straightforward account for the ambiguity in (35). However, we have to derive the surface order 'Object – Subject'. The only plausible solution seems to be that we admit adjunction of the object to ν P, as in (50).



Since the lower vP is a segment, the higher vP alone counts as a maximal projection. Thus, both the subject and the object m-command each other, yielding the scrambling effect. The problem identified in [1] above, i.e. the wide scope reading given to the subject in the reversed order, is solved in this way¹⁹.

Next we have to account for the wide scope interpretation of the subjects in (34). There are two possible analyses: (a) To raise the subject to a higher position than TP, i.e. the TP adjunction of the subject, or raising the subject to the CP domain, (b) to adjoin the PP to TP or raise it to the CP domain leaving the Spec of TP for the subject to occupy. The surface word order supports the latter analysis. However, both (a) and (b) have a potential problem if the subject is raised to TP or CP breaking up the mutually m-commanding relation with the object. To give an adequate answer to this problem we have to take up RP-[V] through RP-[IX], which are related to the focus and topic constructions.

In sum, we assume that the argument scrambling within a vP is a vP adjunction, and that the subject and the object mutually c-command (in our terms mutually m-command) in a structure like (50), which makes both wide and narrow scope readings available for the subject.

¹⁹ This solution leaves the Spec of TP in (49) unfilled, which is in conflict with our tentative assumption that the EPP on T is an obligatory element.

If this assumption is tenable, the wide and narrow scope relations in (35) are accounted for. RP-[I] is supported as far as the discussion given so far goes. That is, the SSG does not hold in Japanese.

[4] The sentences in (34), with PPs satisfying the EPP requirement and the subject and object in situ, pose a problem, because only the wide scope interpretation is permitted to the subject. The solution to this problem can be drawn from the proposal by A & A (2001), given as **RP-[IV]: Two formal features are assumed to be manipulated by the computational system, one triggering EPP-related phenomena and the other triggering externalization phenomena related to Case.** The subject in this case may be taken to be the externalized argument of a ν P. Case may not be involved in the externalization of an argument in Japanese. Reasonable though it seems to be, this solution as the externalization within the ν P has a serious weakness in that it is in conflict with our assumption that arguments are in the mutually m-command relation in a ν P, as shown by (50) and the discussion in this connection.

[5] As an alternative analysis we propose to keep Miyagawa's claim that the EPP requirement on TP is obligatory, adding an additional proposal that when the Spec of TP is occupied by either the subject or object, a PP with the focus feature agrees with that of T and is raised to the Spec of CP. We have to discard Miyagawa's analysis of Kinande, which leaves the focused phrase in the Spec of TP and raises the Agreed-with phrase to the Spec of CP. This analysis has given rise to RP-[VIII] and RP-[IX]. It is not unreasonable to assume that PPs optionally have the identificational focus feature, since NPs are all given that possibility. Through the assumption of the movement of a focused PP as an A'-movement, it is concluded that the SSG holds in Japanese in answer to Relevant Point [I]. At the same time RP [II] is partially answered in the positive. This solution means that PPs with the feature [+focus] undergoes A'-movement, while those without this feature is optionally undergoes A-movement by being raised to the Spec of TP.

8.3. Do both the identificational focus and anti-focus phrases occupy the Spec of TP?

The only reason Miyagawa gives to his assumption of keeping the focus phrases in the Spec of TP is that the movement of these phrases to the CP domain would make them specific. Topic and focus phrases are generally specific and definite. Since Miyagawa decides that indefinite pronouns with the [+*wh*] feature are foci, he has to protect them from being raised to the CP domain, where they assume the feature [+Specific]. Keeping Miyagawa's claim in Miyagawa (2001), we assume that T has the *wh*-feature, and the successful feature matching either permits *wh*-phrases to remain in situ, on condition that some other element satisfies the EPP requirement on T, or raises them to TP, but not any further. By raising topic and focus phrases to the CP domain, we can solve RP-[VI] and RP-[VIII], which point out the necessity of treating the subject of a sentence with the interpretation of neutral description differently from topic or focus phrases. The subject of a sentence of neutral description stays in the Spec of TP, which is the standard position of the subject. The remaining problem is what kind of agreement is involved in this case in working with the EPP on T. This question will be taken up again in Section 11.

Next, it is necessary to assume a CP structure similar to Kiss (44) with multiple topic phrases and a focus phrase. In this way Problem [VII] is also solved.

8.4. Summary: Proposals for technical revisions

- [1] Through the empirical and theoretical discussions given so far, it became clear that the subject of a sentence without any presupposition, yielding the interpretation of neutral description, should be distinguished from a focused NP with *ga* and a topic NP with *wa*.

It is proposed that the subject of a sentence without presupposition, yielding the sense of neutral description, is raised to the position of the Spec of TP, in order to satisfy the EPP requirement. This is the standard position of the subject in Japanese. In the cases where the Spec of TP is occupied by elements other than the subject, it remains in a *vP* internal position.

- [2] The subject is not the only element satisfying the EPP requirement

on TP. The object as well as postpositional *wh*- and non-*wh*-phrases can satisfy this requirement, which allows the subject to stay in situ. With the assumption that the *v*P internal scrambling is a *v*P adjunction and that the subject and the object m-command each other, the ambiguity pertaining to sentences with the inverted subject and object order, such as (1b) and (35a, b) can be explained.

- [3] The focused and topicalized NPs are first raised to the Spec of TP due to the EPP feature on T working with the focus and topic agreement, further moving up to the Spec of CP to meet the EPP requirement on C²⁰.
- [4] To solve the problem involved in the sentences in (34), we proposed to raise the subject to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement, and leave a PP with the focus feature to agree with that feature on T and to move to the Spec of CP. This proposal solves the problem raised as RP [II].
- [5] Kiss's proposal of a finely articulated CP structure in (44) is adopted to account for multiple occurrences of topic phrases. Instead of treating *wh*-elements as focus phrases, the feature [+*wh*] is given to T, which agrees with the same feature carried by *wh*-elements. This is the case of long distance agreement, allowing *wh*-elements to remain in situ.

9. Additional supporting evidence

Fujimaki (to appear) analyses Japanese idioms into the following three classes, one without a tight connection with the verb, the second with the tightest connection with the verb, and the last with the intermediate status. Concerning the second class with the tightest connection, Fujimaki argues that the nominative NP of the passive sentence of ditransitive idioms of

²⁰ In our framework the identificationally focused phrase must be raised to CP, leaving the Spec of TP for an "anti-focus" phrase to occupy. This proposal is counter to Miyagawa's claim. Miyagawa's system is summarized by Okura (personal communication) as follows: The prominent features, the Focus in the Focus prominent language (FPL) and the Agreement in the Agreement prominent language (APL) raise the agreed-with phrase to the Spec of TP, while non-prominent features, the Agreement in FPL and the Focus in APL raise the agreed-with phrase to the CP domain.

this kind must stay in situ. The sentences in (51) are active sentences with these idioms, while those in (52) are their passive counterparts.

- (51) a. Taroo-ga sono ziken-ni kuti-o dasi-ta
 NOM that incident-to mouth-ACC put-PAST
 ‘Taro meddled in that incident.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-no giron-ni hakusya-o kake-ta
 NOM GEN discussion-to spur-ACC place-PAST
 ‘Taro accelerated Hanako’s discussion.’
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o ire-ta
 NOM GEN manuscript hand-ACC put-PAST
 ‘Taro edited Hanako’s manuscript.’
- (52) a. Taroo-niyotte sono ziken-ni kuti-ga das-are-ta
 by that incident-to mouth-NOM put-PASS-PAST
 ‘That incident was meddled by Taro.’
- b. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no giron-ni hakusya-ga
 by GEN discussion-to spur-NOM
 kake-rare-ta
 place-PASS-PAST
 ‘Hanako’s discussion was accelerated by Taro.’
- c. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-ga ire-rare-ta
 by GEN manuscript-to hand-NOM put-PASS-PAST
 ‘Hanako’s manuscript was edited by Taro.’

The subjects of the passive sentences in (52) cannot be raised to the Spec of TP, separated from the verbs as shown by (53).

- (53) a. *Taroo-niyotte kuti-ga sono ziken-ni das-are-ta
 b. *Taroo-niyotte hakusya-ga Hanako-no giron-ni kake-rare-ta
 c. *Taroo-niyotte te-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni ire-rare-ta

To support his assumption of the in situ passive subjects in (52), Fujimaki uses the distribution of sentential adverbs in these sentences, showing that these adverbs indicate the VP boundary, within which the subject follows the dative NP.

Ditransitive idioms involve both dative and accusative NPs. The

examples given so far are idioms with accusative NPs passivized. The other type of idioms with dative NPs passivized shows the same characteristics. (See Fujimaki (to appear) for details.)

Cast into our framework of analysis, in all these cases there are three candidates other than the subject for satisfaction of the EPP requirement, the *by*-phrase (*niyotte*), the accusative NP, or the dative NP. So far as Fujimaki's arguments go, our account of the in situ subject is supported. However, it is necessary to further study passive counterparts of simple transitive idioms with the tightest connection, examining whether or not the *by* phrase alone ensures the in situ subject in this case.

10. Further issues

So far we have maintained Miyagawa's claim that the assignment of the EPP feature to T is obligatory. However, there are further issues to consider in checking the adequacy of this claim.

10.1. Sentences without nominative subjects

Inoue (1998) pointed out that there are sentences without nominative subjects in Japanese. Typical examples are as follows:

10.1.1. Use of *kara* in place of *ga*

- (54) a. *watasi-kara renraku-o tor-anaku nat-ta* (I. (12, c, d, e))
I from contact-ACC make-NEG become-PAST
'I ceased to make contact from myself.'
- b. *zikka-kara kome-o okut-te ki-ta*
home from rice-ACC send-come-PAST
'My family sent me some rice.'

- c. watasi-domo- de uketamawaru ka, arui wa o-kyaku-sama-no
 we by take order Q or TOP HON-customer-GEN
 hoo-de go-yooi nasaruka.
 part by HON-prepare HON Q
 ‘Whether we take your order or you get it on your part...’
- d. Taroo to Hanako- de bokoo-o otozure-ta
 and by alma mater-ACC visit-PAST
 ‘Taro and Hanako visited their alma mater.’

De in these sentences does not designate the locations or places where the events are taking place. It is a kind of delimiters focusing the elements it is attached to. In the case of (55b), for example, the replacement of *de* with *ga* causes the loss of the meaning “it is us not some one else that is doing the job.” This is made clearer by (55c), which expresses the contrast “we or you”²². *De* with this sense is used as a delimiter.

10.1.2.2. *Demo, made, sae* (even) and *dake, sika* (only)

- (56) a. kodomo demo sit-te i-ru (I. (13))
 children even know- Pres
 ‘Even children know that.’
- b. sekinin-sya made kaet-te simat-ta
 person in charge even go home PERF-PAST
 ‘Even the person in charge has gone home.’
- c. sinyuu sae uragit-ta
 best friends even betray-PAST
 ‘Even his best friend betrayed him.’
- d. kanai dake sanku si-mas-u
 wife only participate do-POL-PRES
 ‘Only my wife will participate.’

Cast into our framework the delimiter phrases bear the feature [+Focus] and agreeing with the same feature on C, they are first raised to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement and then further raised to

²² In some Japanese grammar, the particle *de* of this kind is treated as “agentive *de*”.

the Spec of CP. The question is whether or not the Spec of TP vacated by the delimiter phrase must be lexically filled²³. In cases where a delimiter is attached to an element other than the subject, the delimiter phrase undergoes the same procedure as the case of the subject delimiter phrase. Then a question arises as to whether or not the subject must be raised to the vacated position of the Spec of TP. If this position must be filled with some lexical item in accord with the EPP requirement on T, a question ensues as to what kind of agreement is responsible for this type of raising.

10.1.3. Variety of topic markers

Topic phrases usually marked with *wa* undergoes the same procedure as those with the focus feature, leaving the same problem involving a non-topicalized subject as well as other elements and the vacated position of the Spec of TP.

It is to be noted that there are variety of topic markers in Japanese, as exemplified by the sentences in (57).

- (57) a. anata nara kono kanozyo-no kokoro-no uti to
 you if this her-GEN heart-GEN inside and
 kooi-o doo yomi-toku no daroo ka
 behavior-ACC how decipher will Q
 ‘I wonder how you will decipher her feeling and behavior.’
- b. zinsei tte tuneni zibun-o sagas-u tabi mitaina
 life speaking of always self-ACC seek-PRES journey like
 mono desyoo
 thing PRESUM
 ‘Speaking of life, it is like a journey seeking for one’s real self, isn’t it?’
- c. zyagaimo to ieba niku-zyaga da
 potatoe speaking of beef-potato COP
 ‘Speaking of potatoes, the best is those cooked with beef.’

All the examples without nominative subjects leave the following two questions: (1) Is the EPP requirement on T mandatory? (2) If so,

²³ The trace or the copy of the moved element occupies this position.

what kind of agreement is responsible for raising some element to the vacated position of the Spec of TP?

10.2. Some evidence supporting the assumption of the empty Spec of TP

This section takes up Ueda (2002), which contends that the Japanese *kara* subject must stay in the *v*P internal position leaving the Spec of TP vacant, and the *ga* subject must be located in the CP domain.

10.2.1. The Japanese *kara* subject

Ueda states that the Japanese *ga* subject has the A'-status, as the Greek/Catalan preverbal subject does, while the *kara* subject as well as the Greek/Catalan postverbal subject has the A-status. She refers to A & A's (1998) arguments supporting this distinction in Greek/Catalan. The three kinds of arguments given by A & A are claimed to hold in Japanese: (1) The postverbal (*kara*) subject, not the preverbal (*ga*) subject, permits a sentential adverb; more specifically the *kara* subject in the embedded clause of a causative sentence does not permit a sentential adverb. (2) The bound variable reading for personal pronouns in the postverbal (*kara*) subjects is possible, but impossible in the case of those in the preverbal (*ga*) subjects. This fact indicates that the postverbal (*kara*) subject has the A property, while the preverbal (*ga*) subject is with the A' property, since the bound variable reading is given to an argument, not to a non-argument. (3) Scope ambiguity arises between quantified NPs and the postverbal (*kara*) subject, but the preverbal (*ga*) subject does not cause ambiguity in its scope relation.

Concerning Point (1), Ueda first gives examples of the so called *ga/kara* alternation.

- (58) a. Anata-ga/-kara Taroo-ni tegami-o okut-te-kudasai
you-GA/-from Taro- to letter-ACC send-TE-IMPERTIVE
'Please send a letter from you.' (Ueda. (27))
- b. Watasi-ga/-kara Taroo-ni sono zizitu-o tutae-te-oki-masu
GA/-from Taro-to the fact-ACC tell-TE-put-PRES
'I will tell the fact to Taro.'

Next, it is pointed out that *ni* instead of *ga* must be used as the causative complement subject.

- (59) Mary-ga [John-*ga/^{OK}-ni ringo-o tabe]- sase-ta
 Mary-GA John-GA DAT apple-ACC eat- CAUS-PAST
 ‘Mary made John eat an apple.’ (U. (28b))

The embedded clause permits a VP adverb, but not a sentential adverb, as shown in (60).

- (60) a. Mary-ga [gatugatuto John-ni ringo-o tabe] sase-ta (U. (29))
 Mary-GA hungrily John-DAT apple-ACC eat- caus-PAST
 ‘Mary made John eat an apple hungrily.’ (VP adverb)
 c. *Mary-ga [saiwai John-ni ringo-o tabe] sase-ta
 Mary-ga fortunately John-DAT apple-ACC eat- CAUS-PAST
 *‘Mary made [John eat an apple fortunately].’ (sentential adverb)

In the case that the complement verb is ditransitive, *ni* is almost obligatorily replaced by *kara*, as in (61).

- (61) a. ??Taroo-wa [_{vp} watasi-ni Mary-ni kanozyo-no byoozyoo-o
 Taro-TOP I-NI Mary-to her-GEN condition-ACC
 setumei-s]- (s)ase-ta
 explain-do CAUS-PAST
 ‘Taro made me explain her condition to Mary.’ (U. (31))
 b. Taroo-wa [watasi-kara Mary-ni kanozyo no byoozyoo-o
 Taro-TOP I- from Mary-to her-GEN condition-ACC
 setumei-s]- (s)ase-ta
 explain-do CAUS-PAST
 ‘Taro made me explain her condition to Mary.’

The *kara* subject permits only VP adverbs as shown by (62), indicating that the *kara* subject stays in the *vP* internal position.

- (62) a. Taro-wa [yukkurito watasi-kara Mary-ni kanozyo no
 Taro-TOP deliberately I- from Mary-to her-GEN
 byoozyoo-o setumei-s]- (s)ase-ta
 condition-ACC explain-do- CAUS-PAST (U. (32))
 ‘Taro made [me explain her condition to Mary deliberately].’

- b. *Taroo-wa [saiwaini watasi-kara Mary-ni kanozyo no
 Taro- TOP [fortunately I- from Mary-to her-GEN
 byoozyoo-o setumei-s]-(s)ase- ta
 condition-ACC explain-do- CAUS-PAST
 *‘Taro made [me explain her condition to Mary fortunately].’

Concerning Point (2), (63b) shows that in Japanese, as in Catalan, the *kara* subject can be interpreted as a bound variable, while in (63a) the *ga* subject is not taken to be a bound variable. These are pieces of evidence for supporting Ueda’s claim that the *kara* subject has an A property and that the *ga* subject is with an A’ property.

- (63) a. *Daremo_i-ga [karera_i-ga Taroo-o sikar-u to] it-ta
 everyone-GA they-GA Taro-ACC scold-PRES COMP say-PAST
 ‘Everyone_i said that they_i will scold Taro.’
 (*as a variable reading) (U. (33))
- b. Daremo_i-ga [karera_i-kara Taroo-o sikar-u to] it-ta
 everyone-GA they- from Taro-ACC scold-PRES COMP say-PAST
 ‘Everyone_i said that they_i will scold Taro.’

Concerning Point (3) the same contrast exists in Japanese and Greek as to the unambiguous scope reading in the case of the *ga* and preverbal subjects, and the ambiguous reading in the case of the *kara* and postverbal subjects.

- (64) a. Dareka-ga dono tegami-mo okut-te- oi-te- kudasai.
 Someone-GA every letter send-TE- put-TE- IMPERATIVE
 ‘I hope that there is someone who sends every letter.’
 (some>every)
 *‘I hope that each letter is sent by someone.’ *(every>some)
- b. Dareka- kara dono tegami-mo okut-te- oi-te- kudasai
 someone-from every letter send-TE- put-TE- IMPERATIVE
 ‘I hope that there is someone who sends every letter.’
 (some>every)
 ‘I hope that each letter is sent by someone.’ (every>some)

All these examples indicate that the *kara* subject stays in the ν P internal position, and the *ga* subject is outside the ν P. Since the position of the *kara* subject is shown to be ν P internal, the question as to whether or not some other element is raised to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement is irrelevant. It means that there is a possibility of a vacant Spec of TP, which poses a problem to Miyagawa's assumption of obligatory appearance of the EPP feature on T. As for the *ga* subject, it is shown to be outside the ν P. And a natural assumption locates it in the Spec of TP, contrary to Ueda's proposal that it is raised to the CP domain.

10.2.2. The Quantified *ga* subject

Ueda assumes that the *ga*-subject is in the CP domain, partly on the basis of the facts that the bound variable reading does not emerge with the *ga* subject and that the quantified *ga* subject is always interpreted as superior to other quantified elements in scope relations. It has always a wide scope. The examples in (63) and (64), given in this connection, necessarily involve quantified *ga* subjects. This fact does not support Ueda's contention that the *ga* subject is located in the CP domain, since they simply show that the *ga* subject is out of ν P. However, the A' property of the *ga* subject revealed in the unavailability of the bound variable reading offers a piece of supporting evidence for Ueda's claim. The fact about the interaction with NEG, demonstrated by Miyagawa (2001), indicates that the *ga* subject is above NEG, and possibly in the Spec of TP. Without a discovery of more revealing facts, it is hard to give a hundred per cent support to Ueda's claim at this stage.

Another basis for Ueda's assumption is the argument given in A & A (1998) from the viewpoint of linguistic universals, which is an extensive study of the properties of VS(O) orders across languages. One of their proposals relevant to Ueda's work is the assumption that null subject languages involve Clitic Left Dislocation, one of the A'-movements similar to topicalization. Ueda uses the three arguments given by A & A (Points (1), (2), and (3) at the beginning of Section 10.2.1) in checking the distribution of the *ga* and *kara* subjects. However, it seems to be reasonable to question whether the *ga* subject in general behaves like the subject in null subject languages with the VSO

order. Since Point (3), offering crucial evidence, necessarily involve quantified *ga* subjects, the position of this type of subject must be investigated first.

A & A (1998) makes the following comment concerning the Greek preverbal subject position: "...the Greek preverbal subject position can be occupied by QPs and indefinites, which do not show scope ambiguities. Moreover, preverbal indefinites do not have an existential, weak interpretation – they can only be partitive, specific²⁴." (A & A, p. 509) And Footnote 19 states, "Interestingly enough, similar properties characterize the higher subject in *Multiple Subject Constructions* in Japanese and Hebrew,..." Obviously, they parallel only the highest subject in the multiple subject construction, not the Japanese subject in general, for the Greek preverbal subject. In our terms the highest subject in this context is identificationally focused as pointed out in relation to (46b).

Kiss's (2003) finely articulated structure above VP, shown in (44), gives a hint at the solution of this problem. Her Distributive Quantifier Phrase, which is iterative, seems to be an appropriate location of the quantified subjects. Since DistPs include only universal quantifiers, we have to extend them to cover all the quantified subject phrases, including distributive phrases as a subclass. This category is tentatively named as Quantified Phrase (QP). One specification is necessary in this connection that only the quantified *ga* subject is raised to the Spec of QP, after being raised to the Spec of TP motivated by the EPP on T as well as the agreement of the feature [+Quant].

After the movement of the quantified *ga* subject, the Spec of TP is again left vacant. Any way we have to admit the lexically unfilled Spec of TP.

A remaining problem is how to deal with the A' property of the *ga* subject revealed by sentences like (63a), in which the bound variable reading is unavailable to the *ga* subject.

²⁴ The Japanese *ga* subject in general can be specific or non-specific.

11. Conclusion

11.1. The standard position of the *ga* subject in Japanese.

Chomsky's (2005) idea is that even the feature [Tense] is assigned to C and C selects TP and assigns it phi-features, which carries on the matching procedure with the NP with the corresponding phi-features. If this matching is successful the NP is raised to the Spec of TP and stays there. Since Japanese NPs are assumed to be without phi-features, the raising of an NP to the Spec of TP is impossible without the EPP feature on T. Still the agreement concerned here is not at all obvious. We tentatively assume that the agreement feature in this case is [+External]

Ueda succeeds in arguing for her assumption of a ν P internal position of the *kara* subject, which together with Fujimaki's argument for the subject in situ in passive sentences with certain idioms, strongly supports the idea of optionality of the EPP feature on T. On the other hand, in our framework the *ga* subject of a sentence expressing neutral description has to be raised to the Spec of TP, since we assume that the arguments are all sisters in a ν P. One possible solution is to regard raising in this case is a kind of externalization, claimed by A & A (2001), motivated by the argument structure of the verb. This is the externalization specified in the argument structure, moving the external argument to the position outside the ν P. This is not a movement within ν P. The feature matched can be [+External] assigned to the external argument as well as to T, since in Japanese Case does not play any role in matching, unlike some languages cited by A & A. In addition to the externalized *ga* subject occupying the Spec of TP, the *ga* subjects in ν P internal positions all yield the interpretation of neutral description. Only those with [+Topic], [+Focus], and [+Quant] are raised to the CP domain, successfully matching with those features on the heads of TP, QP, and FP.

11.2. Theoretical overview

It is a substantial achievement of A & A's (2001) that they proposed the common basis in the form of the SSG for investigating various facts revealed by the studies of languages with free constituent orders as well as those with fixed orders. Miyagawa's work (2001) extends this line of

research by casting it in the framework of the Minimalist Program, in particular in connection with the EPP and agreement. With this theoretical background the present study explored into the nature of the subject of Japanese using descriptive generalizations so far accumulated. It is shown that with certain modifications Miyagawa's models proposed in Miyagawa (2001, and to appear) are sustainable. Without doubt all the proposals made in this paper for major and minor revisions must be checked against some more facts about other languages as well as Japanese. Especially, the consequence of the proposal for the assumption of optional assignment of the EPP feature to T and C should be checked from theoretical points of view.

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