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Unifying Agreement and Agreement-less Languages*

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In languages that lack morphological agreement, focus plays a role which is computationally equivalent to agreement. The EPP on T picks out the focused XP and raises it to the Spec of TP, very much like the agreeing phrase in languages with agreement. Why should there be this 'parametric variation' between agreement and focus? Following Chomsky (2005), I assume that agreement as well as focus originates on the same head — the phase head C. Either agreement or focus percolates down to T. If focus percolates down, we have a focus-prominent language, while percolation of agreement leads to an agreement-prominent language. I will show that focus movement at the level of T resembles wh-movement to C in Indo-European. I suggest that focus movement in focus-prominent languages and wh-movement in agreement languages are essentially the same phenomenon (cf. Miyagawa 2001, in press), a point which accounts for an observation by Fukui (1988) and Kuroda (1988) that only agreement languages have wh-movement.

1. Introduction

One of the fundamental changes from GB to Minimalism is the role that agreement features play in linguistic operations. In GB such features play a minor role, but they are central in Minimalism. This change in the way we think about agreement features reflects a basic shift in our conception of linguistic operations. In GB all operations are thought to be completely optional: Move α moves anything anywhere, at any time, and it is up to the independent principles such as the ECP and Subjacency to sort out the good derivations from the bad. In Minimalism, such independent principles are dispensed with as excessive technology. In their place we find the notion that all operations must be motivated. Nothing happens if nothing needs to happen. What drive the operations are formal features, and agreement features are the core set.

*I am grateful to Noam Chomsky, Yoshio Endo, Meltem Kelepir, Nobuko Hasegawa, and Jaklin Kornfilt for suggestions on earlier drafts. This is a revised version of Miyagawa (in press). I thank the audiences at WAFL2, Keio University and Tohoku Gakuin University for comments and suggestions.

This is all and good, but this view of ‘UG’ has the unfortunate consequence of potentially leaving out languages that do not have morphological agreement — Japanese, Korean, etc. There are at least three possibilities, which I call the *pessimistic*, the *wishful*, and the *ideal*.

Pessimistic: the agreement-less languages are fundamentally different from agreement languages and cannot be dealt with within the same theory.

Wishful: the agreement-less languages have a phonetically empty agreement system that is identical to agreement.

Ideal: the agreement-less languages have something distinct from agreement that nevertheless functions similarly to agreement in triggering operations.

I will argue for the third, *ideal* approach. I will show that in agreement-less languages, *focus* plays a role virtually identical to agreement. To be concrete, the EPP feature on T in agreement languages such as those of Indo-European picks out the phrase with which T agrees with (usually the subject) and raises it to the Spec of TP (Chomsky 1981, 2001). This results in the subject-verb agreement with the subject DP in the Spec of TP. What I will show is that the EPP on T in agreement-less languages is sensitive to *focus*. In the simplest cases, the EPP picks out a DP with the focus feature and raises it to the Spec of TP. If the subject carries the focus feature, it is this subject DP that gets raised to the Spec of TP by the EPP. If the object has focus, it is the object that raises to the Spec of TP. Of course not every sentence has a special focus; sentences may simply have a default and neutral informational structure. I will comment on those cases within the theory I develop.

I assume that every language has the EPP, or something equivalent that is responsible for movement (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). The EPP interacts with agreement in agreement languages, and with focus in agreement-less languages. I will call these *agreement-prominent* and *focus-prominent* languages.

Agreement-prominent languages: the EPP on T picks out the agreeing phrase and raises it to the Spec of TP;

Focus-prominent languages: the EPP on T picks out a DP with *focus*, if there is one, and raises it to the Spec of TP.

While all languages that lack morphological agreement are focus-prominent, not all languages that exhibit agreement are agreement-prominent. There are languages that are focus-prominent despite having agreement (e.g., Turkish).

This way of looking at languages with and without agreement has an immediate and obvious advantage. It unifies these two types of languages under the same general theory of linguistic computation. We need not view Minimalism as an Indo-European-centric, or agreement-language-centric, theory, but one that, with the extension I propose, can deal with *all* human languages in a unified fashion.

2. The EPP, Agreement, and Focus

To lay the groundwork for the theory I will develop, it is important to frame the problem in a larger context. The idea of ‘focus-prominence’ and ‘agreement-prominence’ is couched in a theory that postulates formal features that are

matched, as in the case, for example, of ϕ -features, and together with the EPP, raises an XP with the ‘match’ to the Spec of TP. This is a theory of movement. But movement is not limited to the raising of the nominative DP to the Spec of TP by the EPP. There are other XP movements as well. The following is a partial list including the ‘agreement’ movement of the nominative subject.

(1) Movements to TP and higher

- wh-movement
- focus movement
- ‘agreement’ movement (e.g., thematic subject)
- scrambling

My analysis of these operations is that they are fundamentally the same: following Chomsky (2000), they are all triggered by the EPP feature on the relevant head. Whether it is movement of the subject to the Spec of TP to meet the EPP requirement of T, or the movement of wh-phrase to the Spec of CP, the movement is triggered by the EPP. The EPP was originally suggested by Chomsky (1981) because of the appearance of the expletive in existential constructions (*There stands a statue in the town center*). I will generalize this to all movements of a category, focusing my attention in this paper on movement to the Spec of TP and to positions higher than the TP. I will not deal with movement to *v*, which presumably also involves the EPP (Chomsky 2001).

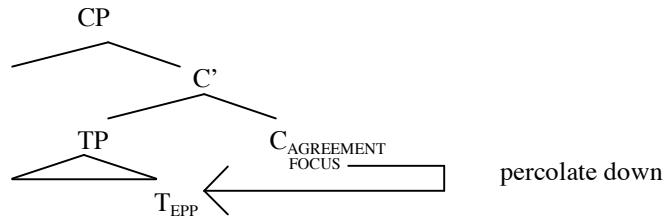
Why should there be this agreement/focus parameter? Focus and agreement are usually thought to be on different heads. Focus is commonly postulated in the region of C (e.g., Culicover and Rochemont 1983, Rizzi 1997). In contrast, agreement in, for example, subject-verb agreement, is normally construed as being on T. While it is not entirely implausible for two features on fundamentally different heads to vary parametrically, it would be more plausible if they aren’t on such vastly different heads. There is sufficient evidence to associate focus with a head higher than T, so if we are going to do anything about ‘head parity’, we need to look at agreement. To get right to the point, I suggest that agreement in, for example, subject-verb agreement, is principally associated with C (cf. Chomsky, to appear, and Fall 2004 lecture notes; Boeckx 2003; Kornfilt 2004; among others). As evidence, look at the following West Flemish examples from Carstens (2003) based on Haegeman (1992).

- (2) a. Kpeinzen *dan-k* (ik) morgen goan.
 I-think that-I (I) tomorrow go
 ‘I think that I’ll go tomorrow.’
- b. Kpeinzen *da-j* (gie) morgen goat.
 I-think that-you (you) tomorrow go
 ‘I think that you’ll go tomorrow.’
- c. Kvinden *dan* die boeken te diere zyn.
 I-find that-PL the books too expensive are
 ‘I find those books too expensive.’

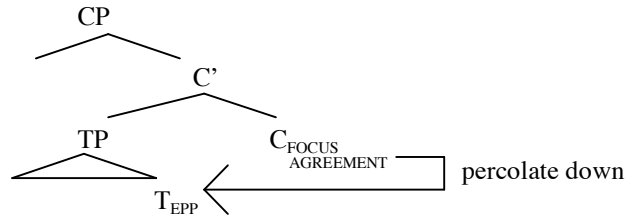
While a number of linguists have proposed that the complementizer-subject agreement is an instance of the agreement on T raising to C, Carstens (2003) argues that the agreement originates on C (see Carstens (2003) for additional references for and against this idea). In these examples, the embedded verb also inflects for agreement, suggesting that the agreement also shows up on T. This suggests that **the agreement on C may percolate down from C to T**.

Maintaining the view that the EPP is on T, we have the following representations for focus and agreement (I will use the head-final order).

(3) Focus-prominent



(4) Agreement-prominent



The focus/agreement feature is matched with a feature on a category in syntax, and, in most cases, this category is raised to the Spec of TP to satisfy the EPP.

Do focus and agreement constitute some sort of a natural class? Simpson and Wu (2001) show that historically, agreement in a variety of languages developed from a focus structure. Although some of what they deal with is concordance, as in French *ne...pas*, their argument that dependencies such as concordance/agreement find historical source in focus structure is suggestive of focus and agreement constituting the two polarities of a parametric variation.

3. A Focus-prominent Language: Japanese

Japanese is a typical focus-prominent language — it does not have morphological agreement. I will illustrate the focus-prominent property using the ‘XP-*mo*’ ‘XP-also’ expression (Hasegawa 1991, 1994, Kuroda 1965, 1969/70).¹

The first thing to note about a *-mo* expression is that it always carries focus stress. Note the minimal pair below.

- (5) a. Taroo-wa HON-o katta.
 Taro-TOP book-ACC bought
 ‘Taro bought a book.’
 b. TAROO-*mo* hon-o katta.
 Taro-also book-ACC bought
 ‘Taro also bought a book.’

In (5a), which has neutral intonation, the object DP ‘book’ receives the default nuclear stress because it is the deepest element in the structure (cf. Cinque 1993). In (5b), the stress falls not on the object, but on the ‘also’ expression *Taroo-mo*.

Hasegawa (1991, 1994) points out an interesting property of *-mo*. When occurring with sentential negation, the *-mo* phrase gets interpreted outside the scope of negation. The following are taken from her article.

- (6) a. John-mo ko-nakat-ta.
 John-also come-NEG-PAST
 ‘John (in addition to someone else) did not come.’
 b. John-ga hon-mo kaw-anakat-ta.
 John-NOM book-also buy-NEG-PAST
 ‘A book is one of the things that John did not buy.’

(6a) only has the interpretation that there is at least one person who did not come besides John. It does not mean that someone came, but John didn’t come as well, which would be the interpretation if the *-mo* phrase is inside the negative scope. Likewise, (6b) only means that John did not buy something besides a book; it does not mean that John bought something but not also a book.

Hasegawa (1991) describes what we just observed as the ‘positive polarity’ property of *-mo*. According to Hasegawa, at LF the *-mo* phrase must be outside the scope of negation to stay true to its positive-polarity property. But this is not always true. As shown below, a *-mo* phrase is fine being inside the scope of negation if the negation is in the higher clause.

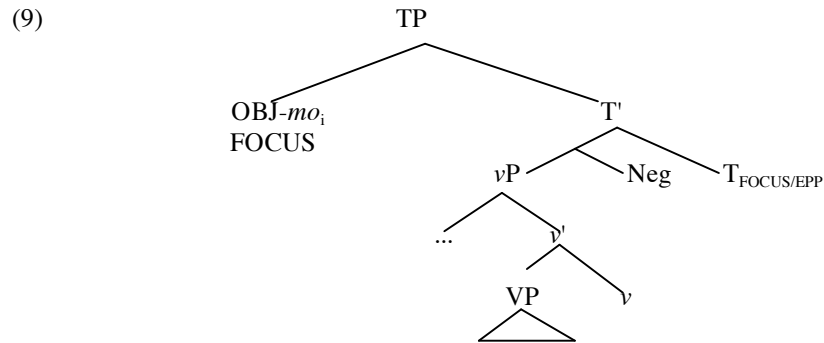
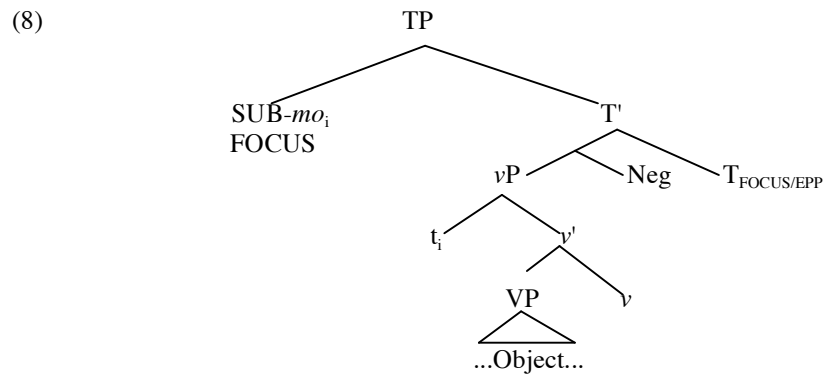
¹Relevance of focus for scrambling has been suggested in the literature by Abe 2003, Bailyn 2003, Ishihara 2000, Jung 2002, Miyagawa 1997, in press, to appear, and Otsuka, in press, among others.

- (7) Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga suteeki-mo tabeta to] omotte-i-nai.
 Taro-NOM [Hanako-NOM steak-also ate C] think-NEG
 O-sushi-dake-da.
 sushi-only-COP
 'Taro doesn't think that Hanako also ate steak. Just sushi.'

This example has an interpretation in which Hanako ate sushi, but not also steak. This shows that *-mo* is not, strictly speaking, a positive polarity item. In Hasegawa (1994), she revises her analysis of *-mo*, arguing that it involves a form of agreement. She suggests that the PolP head, which occurs just under C, enters into agreement with *-mo*, and this agreement raises the *-mo* phrase to the Spec of PolP. Below, we will adopt Hasegawa's idea of agreement and movement within the typology of focus/agreement prominence proposed in Miyagawa (in press).

3.1 The EPP targets the focus feature of *-mo*

More interestingly, the *-mo* phrase must raise not at LF, but at overt syntax. We take this to mean that the property that Hasegawa identified is not positive polarity at LF, but rather, it is EPP movement that targets focus. The *-mo* phrase raises above negation, which is between *v*P and TP (cf. Laka 1990, Pollock 1989). The following show subject *-mo* and object *-mo* phrases.



t_i

I follow Klima (1964) in assuming that for an element to occur in the scope of negation, that element must be c-commanded by negation.

One immediate observation is that in these EPP-triggered A-movements, the copy of the movement is not visible to negation. This is a general property of A-movement in Japanese. It has been argued in the literature that the copy of A-movement is not visible (there is no reconstruction, in other words) even in languages such as English (Lasnik 1999). However, I take a different perspective following Nevins and Anand (2003). Nevins and Anand (2003) argue that A-movement may reconstruct — hence the lower copy is visible in the relevant sense — if agreement is involved in the movement. If there is agreement, the resulting A-movement may reconstruct. However, if there is no agreement the lower copy is not visible for reconstruction purposes. See their paper for evidence from a variety of languages. Their observation makes sense in the context of recent assumptions about agreement. Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes that agreement (what he calls ‘AGREE’) takes place without movement — there is no Spec-Head agreement. Agreement therefore takes place before the agreeing DP moves. This means that the copy left behind by A-movement maintains the agreement, since that is the location of AGREE, hence it must be visible. But if there is no agreement, the lower copy need not be visible for reconstruction, hence the copy is not. Later we will see an instance in which even in Japanese the lower copy of A-movement is visible, precisely because a form of agreement (NPI-negation) requires its visibility.

We now turn to evidence that the raising of the *-mo* phrase is to the Spec of TP, as predicted by the ‘EPP on T’ hypothesis, and that this movement occurs at overt syntax. If the movement is to the Spec of TP, it is A-movement, not A’-movement. I will give two arguments that the *-mo* phrase undergoes overt A-movement. First, A-movement scrambling may overcome a weak crossover violation (Mahajan 1990, Saito 1992, Tada 1993, etc.).

- (10) Hotondo-daremo-o_i [sono-hito_i-no tomodati]-ga t_i suisensita.
almost-everyone-ACC_i [his_i-GEN friend]-NOM t_i recommended
Lit: ‘Almost everyone, his friend recommended.’

This parallels what we find in English (cf. Mahajan 1990).

- (11) a. ??Who_i does his_i mother love t_i ?
b. Who_i t_i seems to his_i mother t_i to be smart?

In (11a) the wh-phrase crosses the pronoun *his* by A’-movement, which leads to a WCO violation, but in (11b) the wh-phrase crosses the pronoun *his* by A-movement, which avoids a WCO violation. Now note the following (see also footnote 2).

- (12) a. Hotondo-daremo-o_i [sono-hito_i-no tomodati]-ga t_i suisensita.
 almost-everyone-ACC_i [his_i-GEN friend]-NOM t_i recommended
 Lit: ‘Almost everyone, his friend recommended.’
 b.??Hotondo-daremo-o_i [sono-hito_i-no tomodati]-mo t_i suisensita.
 almost-everyone-ACC_i [his_i-GEN friend]-also t_i recommended
 Lit: ‘Almost everyone, his friend also recommended.’

(12a) repeats what we saw earlier that local A-scrambling suppresses a WCO violation. Although subtle, when the subject has *-mo*, as in (12b), WCO appears to be violated despite the ‘local’ scrambling. This suggests that this is not A-movement scrambling. In turn, it suggests that what has moved into the Spec of TP is the *-mo* phrase, which was targeted by the EPP by hypothesis.

The second piece of evidence involves idiom chunks. In Miyagawa (1997), I show that only A-movement scrambling can move an idiom chunk.

- (13) idiom: kosi-o orosu
 hip-ACC lower
 idiom: ‘sit down’

- (14)a. kosi-o_i Taroo-ga t_i orosita benti
 hip-ACC_i Taro-NOM t_i lowered bench
 ‘the bench where Taro sat down’
 b. *?kosi-o_i Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga t_i orosita to] omotta benti²
 hip-ACC_i Hanako-NOM [Taro-NOM t_i lowered C] thought bench
 ‘the bench where Hanako thought that Taro sat down’

In (14a), the idiom chunk *kosi-o* undergoes A-scrambling, hence it maintains the idiomatic meaning. In (14b) the scrambling is long-distance, which we know to be solely A'-movement (Mahajan 1990, Saito 1992, Tada 1993, Yoshimura 1989, etc.). The sentence is marginal with the intended idiomatic meaning.

Returning to the *-mo* phrase, note the examples below.

- (15) a. Taroo-mo kosi-o orosita benti
 Taro-also hip-ACC lowered bench
 ‘the bench where Taro also sat down’
 b. kosi-o_i Taroo-ga t_i orosita benti
 hip-ACC_i Taro-NOM t_i lowered bench
 ‘the bench where Taro sat down’
 c.???kosi-o_i Taroo-mo t_i orosita benti
 hip-ACC_i Taro-also t_i lowered bench
 ‘the bench where Taro also sat down’

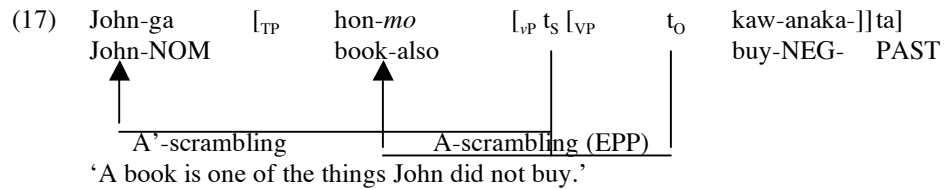
²Six native speakers I consulted agreed that the (a) examples in (12) and (14) are fine. Three reported that (b) examples are ungrammatical or worse than (a). In a survey, all 52 undergraduate students judged (a) examples to be grammatical, while 70% of them found (12b) worse than (12a), and 60% found (14b) worse than (14a). Thanks to Yoshio Endo for doing the survey.

(15a) shows that the idiom ‘sit down’ is fine with subject *-mo* phrase. (15b) repeats what we saw earlier, that it is possible to A-scramble a chunk of the idiom. The important example is (15c). In this example, the subject has *-mo*, and the same idiom chunk as in (15b) scrambles. Unlike (15b), this example is degraded with the idiomatic reading. This suggests that when the subject has *-mo*, it is this subject that moves to the Spec of TP for the EPP, and the idiom chunk that scrambles across it necessarily undergoes A’-scrambling, thus precluding it from maintaining the idiomatic interpretation.

So far the evidence that the EPP targets the *-mo* phrase, which is focused, is limited to *-mo* on the subject. The following idiom chunk test provides evidence that any *-mo* phrase blocks an idiom chunk from scrambling across it.

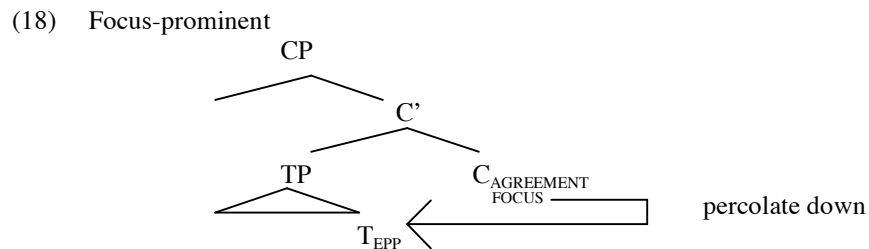
- (16)idiom: te-o nobasu
hand-ACC extend
‘get involved in’
- a. Taroo-ga hoteru-gyoo-ni te-o nobasita uwasa
Taro-NOM hotel-industry-DAT hand-ACC extended rumor
‘the rumor that Taro became involved in the hotel industry’
- b. te-o_i Taroo-ga hoteru-gyoo-ni t_i nobasita uwasa
hand-ACC_i Taro-NOM hotel-industry-DAT t_i extended rumor
- c. ???te-o_i Taroo-ga hoteru-gyoo-ni-*mo* t_i nobasita uwasa
hand-ACC_i Taro-NOM hotel-industry-DAT-also t_i extended rumor

One consequence of our analysis is that it predicts that any argument DP to the left of the *-mo* phrase must have scrambled there by A’-scrambling. This means that in the example below, repeated from Hasegawa (1991), the subject has undergone A’-movement scrambling.

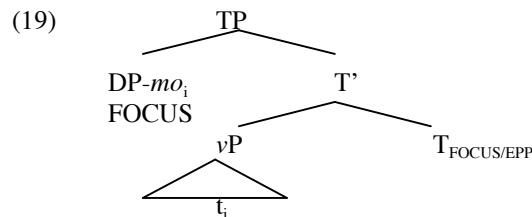


Saito (1985) argues that subjects do not scramble. However, Ko (in press) argues that the subject can, in fact, scramble in Japanese and Korean. What we have seen is further evidence for Ko’s proposal.

Let us now consider precisely how the *-mo* phrase is targeted by the EPP on T and raised to the Spec of TP. Japanese, being a focus-prominent language, has the focus feature on C percolate down to T.



This focus feature on T acts like agreement; it looks within its search domain for a match. It finds the focus feature on the *-mo* phrase, which I assume is a lexical property of the particle *-mo*.



This parallels the agreement-prominent languages: if we replace ‘focus’ in (19) with ‘agreement’, the structure would reflect the familiar agreement-prominent languages of Indo-European and other language families. However there is a fundamental difference. In the agreement-prominent languages, what raises is the subject (or the externalized object in passives and unaccusatives), except in the expletive construction. But in the focus-prominent languages, anything can raise so long as it carries the focus feature. Agreement (of the IE type) appears virtually always to be bundled up with (nominative) Case. In fact it is plausible to think that the reason why agreement in the IE type lowers to T is to have the Case, which starts out unspecified, be given valuation by T. No such Case accompanies focus, thus the EPP may target a wider range of DPs

within the search domain.

A further observation is that the pattern of movement to the Spec of TP in a focus-prominent language parallels wh-movement to the Spec of CP in languages that have overt wh-movement. That is, in a focus-prominent language, anything can raise to the Spec of TP so long as it has the appropriate feature (focus). Likewise, wh-movement in languages such as English may move anything to the Spec of CP so long as it has the appropriate feature (wh). As I suggested in Miyagawa (2001), it is the same feature that triggers ‘EPP’ movement in focus-prominent languages and ‘wh-movement’ in agreement prominent languages. I will briefly sketch the analysis at the end of the paper.

What we have seen accounts for a point I made earlier, namely, *-mo* phrase can occur inside the scope of negation if the negation is in a higher clause. The earlier example (10) is repeated below.

- (20) Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga suteeki-mo tabeta to] omotte-i-nai.
Taro-NOM [Hanako-NOM steak-also ate C] think-NEG
O-susi-dake-da.
sushi-only-COP
‘Taro doesn’t think that Hanako also ate steak. Just sushi.’

Unlike Hasegawa’s (1991) cases, in which the *-mo* phrase and negation are clause-mates, in this example the negation occurs in the next higher clause, and the *-mo* phrase is in the scope of this negation as indicated by the English translation. This is consistent with the ‘EPP’ analysis of focus. The *-mo* phrase in this example is in the search domain of the focus feature on the subordinate T, but not on matrix T (if such a feature were to occur on matrix T). So the EPP on subordinate T raises it to its specifier.³

3.2 Further evidence: the NPI *sika nai* ‘only’

The NPI *sika nai* ‘only’ provides further evidence for Japanese being a focus-prominent language. In a *sika nai* construction, *sika* attaches to an XP, and the negation, *nai* (*na-i* is present, *nakat-ta* is past), occurs as sentential negation.

³Along with ‘also’ *-mo*, Hasegawa (1991) identifies indefinite expressions containing *-ka* and universal expressions containing *-mo* as positive polarity items — what I have characterized as focused expressions. These expressions are often used to demonstrate the ‘scopal rigidity’ of Japanese (Kuroda 1970, Hoji 1985).

- (i) Dareka-ga daremo-o suisensita.
someone-NOM everyone-ACC recommended
‘Someone recommended everyone.’ some > every, *every > some

It is not surprising that these expressions only take surface scope since specially focused phrases have precisely that property as noted by É. Kiss (1998). Numeral phrases, on the other hand, are not focused, and it is often pointed out that they give rise to ambiguity of scope. I leave open the issue of ambiguity that arises with scrambling even for focused expressions.

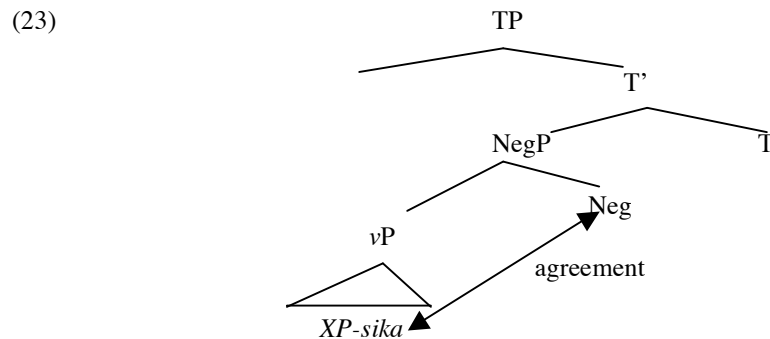
- (21) a. Hanako-ga piza-*sika* tabe-nakat-ta.
 Hanako-NOM pizza-only eat-NEG-PAST
 ‘Hanako ate only pizza.’
- b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni-*sika* tegami-o okur-anakat-ta.
 Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT-only letter-ACC send-NEG-PAST
 ‘Hanako sent only Taro a letter.’
- c. Taroo-*sika* susi-o tabe-nakat-ta.
 Taro-only sushi-ACC eat-NEG-PAST
 ‘Only Taro ate sushi.’

We can see immediately that this NPI behaves differently from the *-mo* phrase. In all of these examples, the XP with *-sika* must be in the scope of negation for it to be licensed as an NPI. In contrast, we saw from Hasegawa’s (1991) work that a *-mo* phrase occurs outside the scope of clause-mate negation due to the *XP-mo* being targeted by the EPP on T. At first blush, this fact about the NPI appears to make it irrelevant, or, worse, a counterexample, to the idea that the EPP targets focus in Japanese. *-Sika*, like *-mo*, attracts focus stress.

We find the solution to the problem in the work of Aoyagi and Ishii (1994). They analyze the licensing of *sika* by *nai* as a form of agreement. One piece of evidence for this ‘agreement’ licensing of the NPI is the one-to-one relation of *XP-sika* and negation. As noted by Kato (1985), there can be only one *sika* for each negation.

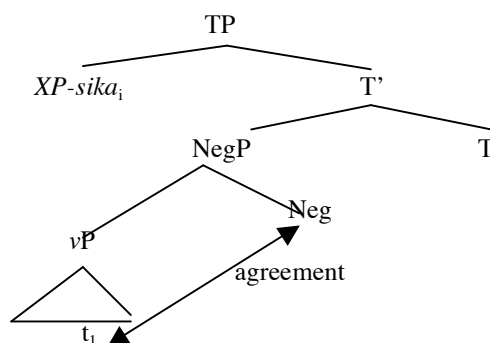
- (22)*Taroo-*sika* piza-*sika* tabe-nakat-ta.
 Taro-only pizza-only eat-NEG-PAST
 Intended: ‘Only Taro ate only pizza.’

The English equivalent (‘Only Taro ate only pizza’) is somewhat difficult to interpret, although once we think of an appropriate context the meaning comes through. The Japanese counterpart is simply ungrammatical. This sort of one-to-one relation typically reflects an agreement structure. Unlike Aoyagi and Ishii (1994), who propose that the agreement is implemented as a Spec-Head agreement, I will simply assume that the agreement takes place between NEG and *sika* without any movement on the part of *XP-sika*.



What we have observed is that the *sika* phrase is focused, hence it raises to the Spec of TP. However, unlike *XP-mo* ‘XP-also’, it has to be licensed by negation, which does not have in its scope the Spec of TP. We therefore have a paradox. It is possible to resolve the paradox by considering the nature of the copy left by A-movement of the *sika* phrase. In all instances of EPP-triggered A-movement we have encountered up to now in Japanese, the lower copy is not visible in the relevant sense (e.g., there is no reconstruction). We based this on the observation by Nevins and Anand (2003) that the lower copy of an A-chain is visible if the movement involves agreement, as in the case of Indo-European. Japanese does not evidence agreement of the type found in IE, hence the lower copy is not visible in the relevant sense.

(24)



What we can see in the *sika nai* cases is that the lower copy involves a form of agreement. It is the site where agreement with negation takes place, very much like the way AGREE licenses ϕ -feature agreement in Indo-European. Let us, then, extend Nevins and Anand’s (2003) observation, as follows.

(25) The lower copy of an A-chain is visible if it is the site of agreement.

This is an expansion of the proposal by Nevins and Anand’s (2003) to allow agreement that is not part of the EPP movement to effect visibility. This solves the paradox: the *sika* phrase raises to the Spec of TP due to its focus feature being targeted by the EPP. The Spec of TP is outside the scope of negation, but the *sika* phrase is nevertheless licensed by negation because the lower copy enters into agreement with negation, which makes the lower copy visible and able to maintain the agreement — thus licensing — relation with negation.

4. When there is no focus

We have seen that in Japanese, when focus appears on an XP, it is matched with a focus feature that originates on C and percolates down to T. But not every sentence has a specially focused element. In the following discourse, *Taroo* in (b) does not entail a special focus.

- (26) a. Taroo-ga hon-o kaimasita ka?
 Taro-Nom book-Acc bought Q
 'Did Taro buy a book?'
- b. Hai, Taroo-ga kono hon-o kaimasita.
 yes Taro-Nom this book-Acc bought
 'Yes, Taro bought this book.'

We understand *Taroo* in (26b) as what the sentence is about ('theme' in theme-rheme, or 'topic' in a broad sense), and the rest of the sentence, or some part thereof, provides new information ('focus'). This sort of 'topic' is not limited to thematic subjects. Under the right context, the same kind of characterization can be given to the object that has moved to the head of the sentence.

- (27) Hon-o_i Taroo-ga t_i kaimasita.
 book-ACC_i Taroo-Nom t_i bought
 'A/The book, Taro bought.'

In this sentence 'book' is what the sentence is about, and the remainder is understood to give some new information about this 'book'.

What we observed is the typical structure for what É. Kiss (1998) calls 'informational focus'. Informational focus is the portion that is not the topic; what corresponds to the topic is, in the examples in (26b) and (27), on the left periphery. The phrase on the left periphery does not receive stress because it is not focused. The main stress falls on the object in (26b) and the subject *Taroo* in (27). I will assume, following a slightly modified version of my analysis in Miyagawa (2001) roughly along the lines of Yamashita (2001), that the EPP on T picks out an XP within the local domain (the 'search domain') and raises it to the Spec of TP. This creates a structure which is ultimately interpreted as an informational-focus structure, with what is in the Spec of TP as 'given information', and the rest, or some part thereof, as the informational focus.

- (28) $[_{TP} \underbrace{\dots}_{\text{topic}} \underbrace{[_{VP} \dots]}_{\text{focus}}]$

Some category (e.g., subject, object) raises to the Spec of TP, and everything else stays in-situ. What is important to point out is that the raised category *is not focused*; it is simply picked out by the EPP and raised. The interface system can tell that this is not a special focused structure, because there is no focus feature on the raised element in the Spec of TP. This would lead to the sentence being interpreted as an informational focus structure.

The crucial test given in Miyagawa (2001; cf. also 2003) to show the effects of the EPP on T involves the universal quantifier *zen'in* 'all' and its interpretation relative to sentential negation. As shown below, *zen'in* 'all' in the object position may have the partial negation interpretation of 'not all'. (The other reading of 'all . not' is probably due to a collective reading of 'all'.)

- (29) Taroo-ga *zen'in-o* sikar-anakat-ta
 Taro-Nom all-Acc scold-Neg-Past
 'Taro didn't scold all.' not > all (all > not)

As noted by Kato (1988), when a universal expression is in the subject position, it is interpreted outside the scope of negation (with neutral intonation).

- (30) *Zen'in-ga* siken-o uke-nakat-ta.
all-nom test-Acc take-Neg-Past
 'All did not take the test.'
 *not > all, all > not

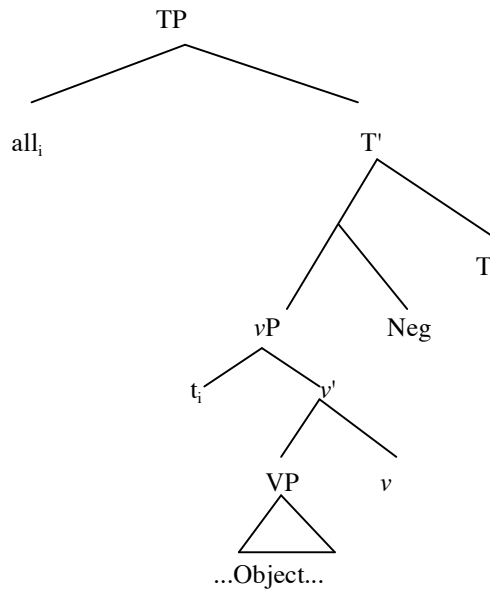
In contrast, as noted in Miyagawa (2001), if the object is scrambled the subject universal expression may be interpreted inside the scope of negation.

- (31) Siken-o_i *zen'in-ga* t_i uke-nakat-ta.
 test-Acc_i *all-Nom* t_i take-Neg-Past
 'All didn't take the test.'
 not > all, all > not

As we saw in (30), when 'all' is in the subject position in the SOV order, the preferred reading is 'all > not' (cf. Kato 1988). In (31), we can see that, by scrambling the object to the left edge, partial negation becomes possible (Miyagawa 2001).

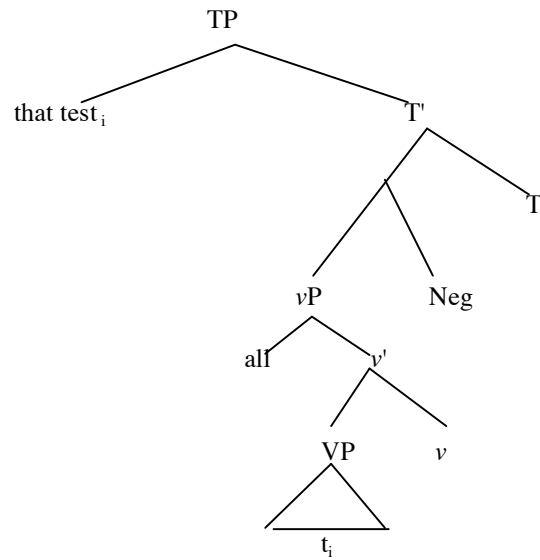
How does negation take scope over 'all' to achieve the partial negation interpretation? In (32), in which the subject 'all' is outside the scope of negation, 'all' begins in the Spec of vP, but moves to a position outside the c-command domain of negation. A reasonable assumption is that it moves to the Spec of TP as shown below. (The position of negation is roughly as proposed by Laka (1990), Pollock (1989).)

(32)=(30)



In (31) in which the subject 'all' occurs in the 'scrambled' order of OSV, it is able to be interpreted inside the scope of negation. The simplest assumption to make here is that this subject 'all' stays in-situ in the Spec of vP, which is made possible by the movement of the object to the Spec of TP.

(33)=(31)



These structures suggest that the EPP on T raises something — subject, object — to the Spec of TP despite the fact that the raised XP is not focused

(Miyagawa 2001; cf. also 2003). If the subject moves to the Spec of TP, the object stays in-situ, as in (32). On the other hand, if the object moves to the Spec of TP, this allows the subject to stay in-situ, as shown in (33).⁴

5. Agreement, Scrambling, and Wh-movement

The proposal in this paper gives rise to the following generalization.

(34) Focus-prominent languages have scrambling.

This is essentially the same observation that Fukui (1988) and Kuroda (1988) make — lack of agreement leads to scrambling. However, there are two important differences. First, in our theory scrambling is not completely optional, but is an operation that meets the EPP requirement of T.⁵ Second, we predict that a language could have agreement, yet be focus-prominent. This is a case in which agreement is merged at C, and stays there. One such language is Turkish (cf. Kornfilt 2004). Despite the occurrence of agreement, word order is free. The following is taken from Shibatani (1990), who refers to Erguvanlı for the data (1984).

- (35)a. Murat bu adam-a para-yı ver-di.
Murat this man-DAT money-ACC give-PAST-3SG
'Murat gave the money to this man.'
b. Para-yı Murat bu adam-a ver-di.
c. bu adam-a Murat para-yı ver-di.

Another prediction we make is the following.

(36) Wh-movement to C occurs only in agreement prominent languages.

This, again, is similar to Fukui (1988) and Kuroda (1988), who propose that the existence of agreement in a language triggers wh-movement, as in English. We have a slightly different take on this generalization, however. Wh-movement occurs in an agreement language not because of agreement, but because 'focus' is left on C, and this focus works in tandem with the EPP on C to attract the wh-phrase, which has a focus feature. What this means is that in a focus-prominent language, there is no wh-movement to C because focus percolates down to T and is no longer at C. This means, however, that there could be 'wh-movement' at the level of T. Due to lack of space I am unable to pursue this in this paper.

⁴ Kuroda (1988) was the first to propose that, for example, the object in Japanese can move to the Spec of TP. For him this is purely an optional movement, but in our approach (Miyagawa 2001) it is an obligatory fulfillment of the EPP requirement, which can be achieved by moving the object or the subject or some other category into the Spec of TP. See Kitahara (2002) for an analysis of scrambling that also utilizes the EPP feature on T.

⁵ This requirement is for the so-called A'-movement scrambling. For A'-movement scrambling, see Miyagawa (in press) among others.

Finally, unlike Fukui/Kuroda's proposal, a language with agreement need not always have wh-movement. Turkish is such a language (Shibatani 1990).

- (37) Doktor-lar ne bul-du-lar?
doctor-PL what find-PAST-3PL
'What did the doctors find out?'

We predict this because Turkish is a focus prominent language with agreement staying at C.

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