

Cyclic A-movement and Agree in Japanese

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Abstract

This paper argues that Agree as well as A-movement is a cyclic operation in the course of the derivation, with “the reversal of agreement” phenomena in Japanese. Hence, it provides an empirical support for Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) Earliness Principle, which says that an uninterpretable feature must be deleted as early as possible in the derivation. Furthermore, a (Nominative) Case-feature of the DP is claimed to induce A-movement. This reminiscence of Chomsky’s (1995) Last Resort is also defended by Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (to appear) and Lidz & Williams (2003).

Introduction

This paper is an argument for the validity of a strictly cyclic derivational approach to grammar proceeding phase by phase. Specifically, it will be argued that Agree as well as A-movement is a cyclic operation in the course of the derivation. It will be shown here that the agreement pattern becomes opposite when the movement changes the hierarchical relation of the nominals. I analyze that, in these instances, the agreement occurs when the moved DP is at the intermediate site where it leapfrogged the higher DP that is otherwise the candidate for the agreement. The current analysis provides an empirical support for Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) Earliness Principle, which says that an uninterpretable feature must be deleted as early as possible in the derivation. In so doing, a (Nominative) Case-feature of the DP is claimed to induce (cyclic) A-movement. This reminiscence of Chomsky’s (1995) Last Resort is also defended by Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (to appear) and Lidz & Williams (2003).

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 examines the data in Japanese that show a difference between Agree and movement in terms of locality. Specifically, they show that the movement appears to get away with a locality constrain but Agree does not. I suggest that the involvement of a Case feature of the moved element resolve the puzzle. Section 2, the main section of this paper, provides the evidence for the proposal in the previous section. Thereby, it is shown that the nominal that agrees with the verb becomes reversed in the course of the derivation during which the movement changes the hierarchical relation between the nominals. I call the phenomena “the reversal of agreement”. Section 3 extends the current analysis of the difference between Agree and movement in terms of locality observed in Japanese to a similar phenomenon in the existential constructions in English. Section 4 considers some general implication of the current analysis. Section 5 offers concluding remarks.

1. When Move does not agree with Agree

Boeckx & Niinuma (2004) likened the constraints on Japanese honorification to the intervention effects in Icelandic Quirky subject constructions in which Dative subjects prevent the verb from agreeing with a nominative element. In Japanese, the ditransitive verb cannot agree with the DO (=direct object) in honorification as in (1b) (cf. Harada 1976). In this sentence, only the dative DP, “a new student” is the candidate to be honorified.

- (1) a. Posudoku-ga Honsutein-sensei-ni shinnyuusei-wo
 Postdoc-Nom Hornstein-Prof -Dat new student-Acc
 go-syokai -sita.
 HO-introduce-past.
 ‘The postdoc introduced Prof. Hornstein to a new student.’
- b. *Posudoku-ga shinnyuusei -ni Honsutein-sensei -wo
 Postdoc-Nom new student -Dat Hornstein-Prof -Acc
 go-syokai -sita.
 HO-introduce-past.
 ‘The postdoc introduced a new student to Prof. Hornstein.’

Boeckx & Niinuma (2004) attribute the failure of object honorification in (1b) to the intervention effect of the dative element in Chomsky’s (1998) Agree relation as well as the intervention effects in Icelandic Quirky subject constructions in (2a).

- (2) a. Mér fannst/*fundust henni leiðast þeir.
 Me-Dat seemed 3sg/3pl her-Dat bore they-Nom
 ‘I thought she was bored with them’
 [v DAT Nom] (Number agreement is blocked by the dative nominal.)
- b. *Posudoku-ga shinnyuusei -ni Honsutein-sensei -wo
 Postdoc-Nom new student -Dat Hornstein-Prof -Acc
 go-syokai -sita.
 HO-introduce-past.
 ‘The postdoc introduced a new student to Prof. Hornstein.’
 [v DAT ACC] (Object honorification is blocked by the dative nominal.)

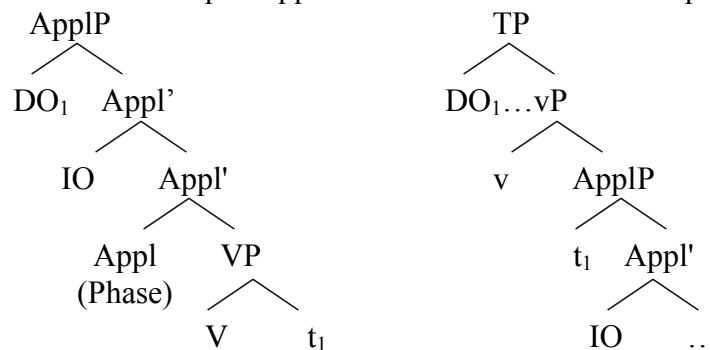
On the other hand, Japanese ditransitive constructions do allow long passives, in which the lower object, i.e., DO can be raised to the subject, passing over the higher object, i.e., IO (=indirect object). Why is the passivization of the DO over the IO possible, whereas the DO cannot agree with *v* due to the intervention effect in honorification?

- (3) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-wo okutta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat book-acc sent
 ‘John sent Mary a book.’
 b. Hon-ga Mary-ni okur-are-ta
Book-Nom Mary-Dat send-pass-past.
 Lit: ‘A book was sent Mary.’

In Kiguchi (to appear), I proposed that Japanese ditransitives are high applicatives which internally selects the VP, in the sense of McGinnis (2001, 2004), who proposes a HighAppl head is a phase as well as C and *v*. Given this proposal, the lower object steps over the higher object via the multiple Spec of HighApplP.¹ Once the high applicative is a phase, which Chomsky (1998) assumes to have an EPP-feature, the DO can move to the outer specifier of the HighApplP, leapfrogging over the IO because there is no intervener between the high applicative head (=Probe) and the DO (=Goal), as in (5a). Subsequently, the DO can move from the outer specifier of the HighApplP to the matrix subject position as shown in (5b). Thus, ‘long’ passive as in (1b) is available in a HighAppl construction.

(4) Long passive in HighAppl construction

- a. DO’s movement to Spec ApplP b. DO’s movement to Spec TP



¹ See also Ura’s (1996, 2000) for the similar proposal, which refers to HighApplP as $V_{mid}P$.

On the other hand, in the case of (the failure of) the honorific agreement, Kiguchi (to appear) suggested that the involvement of Case features resolves this tension. In the case of long passives, the DO is motivated to move to get its Case feature checked eventually with T. To do so, the DO must leapfrog over the IO, moving to the outer specifier of HighAppIP by means of a phasal EPP. On the other hand, if Honorific-feature checking is done solely by an Agree operation as Boeckx & Niinuma assume, the command relation between the IO and the DO never changes in ditransitive constructions when the honorification-feature of v probes its target. Since Agree is an antisymmetric operation in that a probe needs its unvalued uninterpretable feature to be valued by a goal's interpretable feature, there is no need for the DO, a goal, to move up to the outer specifier of HighAppIP. The difference is schematized in (5) and (6). In (5), v can agree only with the IO because the IO is closer to v in terms c-command. On the other hand in (6a), the outer specifier of HighAppIP offers the DO an escape hatch, allowing the DO to step over the IO. The DO can then agree with T and move to Spec TP as in (6b).

- (5) Honorific feature Agree
- a. [v [HighAppIP IO [High Appl [VP [V DO]]]]] (Agree between v and IO; OK)
- b. [v [HighAppIP IO [High Appl [VP [V DO]]]]] (IO serves as an intervener)
- (6) Long passive
- a. [HighAppIP DO₁ [IO [High Appl [VP [V t₁]]]]] (DO first leapfrogs over IO)
- b. [TP DO₁ [T [vP [V [HighAppIP t₁ [IO [High Appl [VP [V t₁]]]]]]]]] (DO moves to Spec TP)

2. The reversal of agreement

The current approach can explain the data below in which (1b) repeated in (7a) is improved when the direct object is raised via the passivization as shown in (7b).

- (7) a. *Posudoku-ga shinnyuusei -ni Honsutein-sensei -wo
Postdoc-Nom new student -Dat Hornstein-Prof -Acc
 go-syokai -sita.
HO-introduce-past.
 'The postdoc introduced a new student to Prof. Hornstein.'

- b. ?Honsutein-sensei -ga (posudoku-niyotte) shinnyuusei-ni
Hornstein-Prof-Nom (posdoc -by) new student-Dat
 go-syokai -sare-ta.
HO-introduce-pass-past.
 ‘Prof. Hornstein was introduced to a new student by the postdoc.’

Since, as illustrated in (6), the direct object leapfrog over the indirect object before the small *v* is introduced, DO can agree with the small *v* in the intermediate landing site i.e. the outer specifier of HighApplP. Thus, it is possible that the derived subject is honorified. The current analysis suggests that Agree as well as A-movement be a cyclic operation in the sense of Chomsky (1998) which says that properties of the probe/selector α must be exhausted before new elements of the lexical item are introduced in the phrase marker to drive further operations. In order for the uninterpretable feature on the *v*, the probe in the honorific agreement in Japanese to agree with the DO, the target, the *v* must agree with the DO in the intermediate landing site, for it is only when the DO is in the intermediate landing site that the *v* c-commands the DO after the *v* is introduced in the phrase marker. After the T is introduced in the phrase marker and agrees with the DO, which is raised to the specifier of TP, it is too late for the *v* to agree with the DO.

In addition, this line of thought predicts the agreement relation in (1a) to be reversed when the lower object is raised. Since the lower object that is raised to the outer specifier of HighApplP intervenes between the small *v* and the indirect object when the small *v* merges with the phrase marker, the agreement between them should be blocked. On the other hand, if Agree was operated acyclically, it would be possible for the IO to agree with the *v* because there is no intervener between the *v* and the IO after the DO is raised to Spec TP. Similarly, the current approach predicts that the passivization of the IO in the sentence (1b) remains unacceptable because, as the originally higher object is raised to the subject position, the command relation between the two objects are never changed, thereby the reversal of the agreement should not occur. However, if Agree was operated acyclically, it would be possible for the DO to agree with the *v* because there is no intervener between the *v* and the DO after the IO is raised to Spec TP. Thereby the reversal of agreement would result. These two predictions are borne out. As in (8), the IO cannot enter into the agreement relation with the verb when the lower un-honorified object in (1a) is long-passivised (e.g. Niinuma 2003). As in (9), the passivization of the IO in (1b), the DO cannot enter into the agreement relation with the verb.²

² An anonymous reviewer correctly points out that the passivization of the IO in (1b) should be considered in order to complete the paradigm, and that the status of the sentence is predicted to be good because the IO agrees with the *v* before it is raised to the subject position. The status of the

- (8) *Shinnyuusei-ga (posudoku-niyotte) Honsutein-sensei-ni
New student-Nom (postdoc-by) Hornstein-prof. -Dat
 go-syokai -sare-ta.
HO-introduce-pass-past.
 ‘A new student was introduced to Prof. Hornstein by the postdoc.’
- (9) *Shinnyuusei-ga (posudoku-niyotte) Honsutein-sensei-wo
New student-Nom (postdoc-by) Hornstein-prof-Acc
 go-syokai -sare-ta.
HO-introduce-pass-past.
 Lit: ‘A new student had Prof. Hornstein introduced to her by the postdoc.’

Furthermore, the examples (8) and (9) exclude the possibility that the (honorific) agreement is applied on the representation of the sentence i.e., the result of the entire derivation, instead of being in the course of the derivation. If the former was possible, the small *v* could agree with the indirect object in-situ in (8) or the direct object in (9) after the copy of the other object in the specifier of HighApplP is deleted at LF.³ The fact contrary to this indicates that the intervention effect on Agree must be evaluated operation by operation not on the representation of the sentence.

Taken together, the reversal of agreement phenomena observed above suggests that the long-passivised object leapfrog over the indirect object, namely it lands the intermediate site between the *v* and the higher object as proposed in the previous section, and that the (honorific) agreement is applied in the course of the derivation in a cyclic fashion not on the representation of the sentence i.e., the result of the entire derivation.

sentence is intermediate as in (i). According to my informants, it is worse than (1b) and (7b) but better than (8) and (9). I have no explanation for the status of the sentence right now.

- (i) ??Honsutein-sensei -ga (posudoku-niyotte) shinnyuusei-wo
Hornstein-Prof-Nom (posdoc -by) new student-Acc
 go-syokai -sare-ta.
HO-introduce-pass-past.
 Lit: ‘Prof. Hornstein had a new student introduced to him by the postdoc.’

³ Lasnik (1999) has argued that A-movement does not leave a trace. If this is correct, the copy in the specifier of HighApplP does not exist once the movement from this site occurs.

One might wonder whether the short scrambling approach can account for the problem discussed above: Instead of the current cyclic A-movement approach, if the landing site of the short scrambling is lower than the vP, namely, HighApplP or VmidP, we would get the same effects on the reversal of the agreement. Since the scrambling is regarded as a kind of adjunction operations, which need not obey locality constraints on movement (e.g., Kuroda (1988), Saito (1989), Takano (1998) among others), the lower object can pass by the higher object, and if the adjunction site is somewhere lower than the vP, the reversal of agreement is also derived. However, Boeckx & Niinuma (2004) have already excluded this possibility. They showed that the scrambled direct object cannot agree with v. That is, even after the scrambling, the direct object cannot be honorified. The person to be honorified in the sentence must be the indirect object, *shinnyuusei* (=a new student).

- (10) a. *Posudoku-ga shinnyuusei -ni Honsutein-sensei -wo
 Postdoc-Nom new student -Dat Hornstein-Prof -Acc
 go-syokai -sita.
 HO-introduce-past.
 ‘The postdoc introduced a new student to Prof. Hornstein.’
- b. *Posudoku-ga Honsutein-sensei -wo shinnyuusei -ni
 Postdoc-Nom Hornstein-Prof -Acc new student -Dat
 go-syokai -sita.
 HO-introduce-past.

This suggests that the landing site of short scrambling is higher than v. If so, the scrambling is not involved with the reversal of the agreement in the long passivization. In order to invoke the reversal of the agreement observed above, the lower object must land somewhere below the v (and above the indirect object). Taken together, the landing site for the lower object’s leapfrogging is shown to be different from the landing site of the short scrambling. The former is lower than the small v because the long-passivised object can agree with the small v. The latter is higher than the small v because the scrambled object failed to agree with the small v. This consequence is at odds with Ura’s (1996, 2000) proposal that the higher specifier of V_{mid}P i.e., High ApplP in our terms, serves as not only the escape hatch for Japanese long passive but also the landing site of the short scrambling.

3. Extension

Boeckx (2002) and Boeckx & Jeong (2002) observe similar asymmetry between Move and Agree in English raising constructions:

- (11) a. John seems to Mary [t to be nice].
 b. There seem to be men in the room.
 c. ?*There seem to Mary to be men in the room.

As in (11a), English allows overt raising over an experiencer. On the other hand, the presence of an experiencer blocks Agree as in (10c). The observation in (11) could be accommodated in the current proposal (see also Kiguchi (to appear)). Following Belletti (1988) and Lasnik (1992), there are two types of *be*, the “existential *be*”, which checks partitive Case, and the “copula *be*”, which does not. This assumption is supported by the fact that some languages do use different verbs for these constructions. As reported in Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (forthcoming) Brazilian Portuguese uses the existential *ter* ‘have’ for the constructions like (11b) in which the nominal does not move to the apparent subject position and uses the copula *estar* “be” for the constructions like (11a) in which the nominal moves up to the apparent subject position.

- (12) a. Alguém está questionando se tem alguém aqui.
someone is wondering whether has someone here
 ‘Someone is wondering whether there is someone here.’
 b. Tem alguém questionando se alguém está aqui.
has someone wondering whether somebody is here
 ‘There is someone wondering whether someone is here.’

Furthermore, it could be assumed that English raising is a High Applicative construction. When the embedded subject moves overtly as in (11a), it leapfrogs an experiencer so that it can eventually move to Spec TP. On the other hand, when the relevant construction needs solely to Agree with [Number] with the expletive inserted in the matrix subject position as in (11bc), the embedded subject stays in the base position. In this case, an experiencer will serve as an intervener for Agree because it has an interpretable Number feature.

McGinnis (1998, 2004), however, claims that English raising should not be a HighAppl, based on the lethal ambiguity. The gist of lethal ambiguity is that two DPs which merge with the same head cannot be linked with each other. In Italian, the raised subject cannot bind the experiencer on one hand. In English, on the other hand, the raised subject can bind the experiencer, as the contrast is shown below.

- (13) a. *Gianni₁ si₁ sembra non fare il suo dovere.
Gianni himself seems not to do the his duty.
 ‘Gianni seems to himself not to do his duty.’
 b. John₁ seems to himself₁ to be quite fortunate.

Given the lethal ambiguity, the difference between Italian and English can be explained. In Italian, the raising construction is in fact a HighAppl construction. The embedded subject is first raised to the outer specifier of HighApplP whose inner specifier is occupied by the experiencer. Then, the lethal ambiguity prevents the raised subject in Spec TP from anaphorically linking with both the trace in the outer specifier of HighApplP and the anaphoric pronoun in the inner specifier of HighApplP. On the other hand, since the raised subject can bind the experiencer in English, the raising construction in English should not be a High Appl construction. McGinnis (1998, 2004) argues that the lack of the intervention effects of an experiencer in English raising constructions is due to its nature of inherent Case but not to the phasal property of the Applicative head. That is, an experiencer with the dative marker in English raising constructions is an inherent case marked PP. Once it is a PP, it does not serve as an intervener for A-movement (see also Baker 1988 a, b). That is, since the raising of the embedded subject is driven by its uninterpretable Nominative Case, i.e., structural Case, an inherent Case marked DP that cannot undergo A-movement as shown below does not enter into the intervention effects for A-movement. Thereby the embedded subject can move to Spec TP in English raising constructions.

- (14) a. *Bill₁ seemed to t₁ [Mary to be clever].
 b. *Bill₁ seemed to t₁ that Mary was clever].

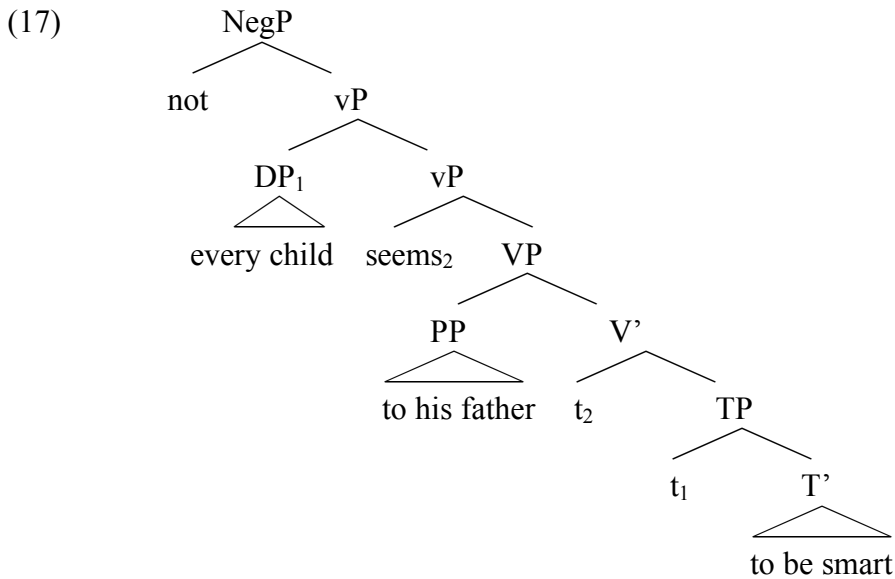
If the lack of the intervention effects of an experiencer in English raising constructions is due to its nature of inherent Case but not to the phasal property of the Applicative head as McGinnis (1998, 2004) argues, the assumption that English raising is a High Appl construction is not maintained. If so, it is unclear whether the embedded subject lands somewhere in between T and an experiencer on its way to its final landing site. Here, I would like to reconcile McGinnis' (1998, 2004) claim on English raising constructions and the current analysis that an experiencer prevents T from agreeing with the embedded subject, and that the embedded subject lands some place in between T and an experiencer so that T can agree with the subject. For the current purpose, it could be assumed that the embedded subject lands the edge of the raising verb phrase as claimed by Sauerland (2003), whereby the embedded subject can agree with the head T and then moves to Spec TP as in (15).⁴

⁴ Sauerland (2003) assumes that the raising verb is a phase so that the raised subject can target its maximal projection for the movement. See Chomsky (2005) who also counts verbs with an experiencer as a (strong) phase.

- (15) a. [_{VP} John₁ seems to Mary [_{IP} t₁ to be nice]]
 (The DP is raised to the edge of the raising verb phrase.)
 b. [T [_{VP} John₁ seems to Mary [_{IP} t₁to be nice]]]
 (T agrees with the DP.)
 c. [_{TP} John₁ [T [_{VP} t₁ seems to Mary [_{IP} t₁to be nice]]]]
 (The DP moves to Spec TP.)

Sauerland (2003) observes that the sentence (16) can have the reading in which the universal quantifier takes scope under the negation and license the bound pronoun. He argues that, in order to achieve this reading, the raised element must stop by the intermediate site, say, the edge of the vP. The tree in (17) is the detailed structure for (16) that he assumes (see Sauerland 2003:311).

- (16) Every child₁ doesn't [_{VP} t₁ seem to his father to t₁ be smart].



This type of analysis is supported by Sportiche's (1988) stranding analysis of floating quantifier constructions, on which the quantifier is stranded at the trace position of the element which it modifies. Consider the example (18) in which the quantifier is floated between the tensed element and the raising verb. Given Sportiche's (1988) stranding analysis of floating quantifier constructions, it shows that there is a landing site between the verb and the head T in raising constructions.

- (18) The players have all seemed to gain weight.

This section provides another instance that the uninterpretable feature i.e. Case-feature of the moved element induces the movement and enables it to agree with the head which is otherwise too far for the agreement. The current analysis also supports Sauerland's (2003) claim that raising constructions in English have an intermediate site for the embedded subject that undergoes raising.

4. Implications

The reversal of agreement observed above indicates that Agree as well as A-movement be a cyclic operation in the sense of Chomsky (1998) which says that properties of the probe/selector α must be exhausted before new elements of the lexical item are introduced in the phrase marker to drive further operations. It also provides an empirical evidence for a similar formulation of cyclicity, Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001) Earliness Principle, which says that an uninterpretable feature must be deleted as early as possible in the derivation. If the uninterpretable feature on the v in the honorific agreement in Japanese needs not to be deleted as soon as it can, the reversal of agreement would not have to be realized. In the cases of the reversal of agreement schematized below, when the probe, v is introduced in the phrase marker, Agree is possible with the target in the intermediate site. According to Earliness Principle, the probe and the target must agree at this moment. Given this analysis, the current data support Pesetsky & Torrego's Earliness Principle.

(19) The reversal of agreement

- a. $[_{\text{HighAppIP}} \text{DO}_1 [_{\text{IO}} [_{\text{High Appl}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{V}} t_1]]]]]$
(DO first leapfrogs over IO)
- b. $[_{\text{V}} [_{\text{HighAppIP}} \text{DO}_1 [_{\text{IO}} [_{\text{High Appl}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{V}} t_1]]]]]]]$
(The v merges with the HighAppIP)
- c. $[_{\text{V}} [_{\text{HighAppIP}} \text{DO}_1 [_{\text{IO}} [_{\text{High Appl}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{V}} t_1]]]]]]]$
(The v agrees with the DO)
- d. $[_{\text{TP}} \text{DO}_1 [_{\text{T}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{V}} [_{\text{HighAppIP}} t_1 [_{\text{IO}} [_{\text{High Appl}} [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{V}} t_1]]]]]]]]]$
(DO moves to Spec TP)

Furthermore, the current approach casts doubt on Boeckx's (2003) view of A-movement. Inspired by Bošković (2002) and Takahashi (1994), Boeckx (2003) proposes that not until the final landing site of the moved element is introduced in the phrase marker is A-movement activated. The moved element is then adjoined to every maximal domain of A-head on its way to its final landing site (see also Manzini 1994) so that each link of a chain is the shortest (see Chomsky and Lasnik's (1993) Minimize Chain Links Condition). This alternate to Chomsky's phase approach to movement captures the cyclic nature of movement. However, it is unclear how this type of view on A-movement reconciles with the reversal of agreement phenomena. Since in this view of A-movement, the lower object does not move in long passivization until the phrase marker introduces the T, the probe of the honorific agreement, i.e., the v can agree with the higher object by then, as schematized below. That is, it would predict that the reversal of agreement should not arise.

(20) Boeckx's (2003) type of A-movement

- a. $[v_{\text{HighAppIP}} [\text{IO} [\text{High Appl} [\text{VP} [\text{V DO}]]]]]$
(The v merges with the HighAppIP)
- b. $[v_{\text{HighAppIP}} [\text{IO} [\text{High Appl} [\text{VP} [\text{V DO}]]]]]$
(The v agrees with the IO)
- c. $[T_{\text{VP}} [v_{\text{HighAppIP}} [\text{IO} [\text{High Appl} [\text{VP} [\text{V DO}]]]]]]]$
(The T merges with the vP)
- d. $[_{\text{TP}} \text{DO}_1 [T_{\text{VP}} [v_{\text{HighAppIP}} t_1 [\text{IO} [\text{High Appl} [\text{VP} [\text{V } t_1]]]]]]]$ ⁵
(DO moves to Spec TP)

As discussed above, the reversal of agreement arises in Japanese long passives. Especially in (8), the higher object in the base position is shown to fail the agreement with the verb, contrary to what Boeckx's (2003) type of A-movement would expect. The data discussed above, thus, seem to hold against Boeckx's (2003) view of A-movement.

⁵As mentioned in the text, the moved element is adjoined to every head on its way to its final position, according to Boeckx (2003). The arrows that indicate the landing site, are omitted other than the relevant site i.e., HighAppIP and TP.

Second, a (Nominative) Case-feature of the DP induces A-movement. This reminiscence of Chomsky's (1995) Last Resort is also defended by Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (to appear) and Lidz & Williams (2003).⁶ Given the current analysis of long passives in Japanese and raising constructions in English, the status of the uninterpretable feature on the DP decides the availability of the movement. If the uninterpretable feature on the DP can be checked in-situ, the DP does not move up. On the other hand, if it remains unchecked, the DP must move (to the edge of the current phase). Only in the latter case, the hierarchy in the phrase structure between the higher object and the lower object is changed, thereby the reversal of agreement results.

Finally, as discussed in the previous section, the landing site of the scrambling and the escape hatch for the long passive is different. It argue against Ura's (1996, 2000) claim that the higher specifier of $V_{mid}P$ i.e., High ApplP in our term, serves as the escape hatch for Japanese long passive and the landing site of short scrambling. Boeckx & Niinuma's (2004) observation in (9) in which the scrambled direct object fails to agree with the v , suggests that the landing site of the scrambling is higher than v (e.g. Nemoto 1993, Kitahara 1999). On the other hand, the reversal of the agreement in the long passivization observed above indicates that the lower object must land somewhere below the v (and above the indirect object). The difference between long passivization and short scrambling in terms of agreement leads us to conclude that the landing site for the lower object's leapfrogging is different from the landing site of the short scrambling. The former is lower than the small v because the long-passivised object can agree with the small v . The latter is higher than the small v because the scrambled object failed to agree with the small v . To put it in another way, Ura (1996, 2000) is a half right and half wrong: Ura (1996, 2000) is right in that there is a maximal projection between VP-shell in ditransitive constructions in Japanese, which can offer a multiple specifier for an escape hatch of a long passivization. However, he is wrong in that that the multiple specifier is not used for the landing site of the short scrambling.

⁶Though Chomsky (1998) proposes Suicidal Greed, claiming that the movement is induced solely due to the reasons of "the attractor", i.e., the probing head, he has to further assume that the element is "frozen in place" once its Case is checked, so that the sentence like (i) is ruled out (see also Lasnik 1995).

(i) [John₁ to seem [t₁ is intelligent]] (would be surprising).

Since this assumption is essentially the restatement of the original Greed, it appears that the notion of Greed is still retained in Chomsky's (1998 and subsequent works) system.

5. Conclusion

This paper provides independent supporting evidence that A-operations such as movement for Case-theoretic reason and agreement is done in a cyclic fashion, namely, proceeding phase by phase. In other words, it implies the validity of a strictly cyclic derivational approach to grammar as advocated by Chomsky (1998) and subsequent works (Chomsky 2001, 2004).

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