

**The Existential Construction in Japanese:
The Licensing of Structural Cases via AGREE and
a Consequence for the EPP System***

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1. Introduction

In the study of Japanese syntax in generative grammar, the mechanism for the assignment of structural Cases has been one of the hottest subjects and thus a lot of studies have been done on it. Takezawa (1987), for example, discusses what licenses nominative Case in Japanese, using the following examples:

- (1) a. John-wa [Mary-no yokogao- $\{ga/o\}$ totemo
John-TOP [Mary-GEN profile- $\{NOM/ACC\}$ very
utukusi-i to] omot-ta.
beautiful-PRES COMP] think-PAST
'John thought that Mary's profile was very beautiful.'
- b. John-wa [Mary-no yokogao- $\{*ga/o\}$ totemo utukusiku]
John-TOP [Mary-GEN profile- $\{*NOM/ACC\}$ very beautiful]
omot-ta.
think-PAST
'John thought Mary's profile to be very beautiful.'

(Takezawa (1987:73, 74))

In (1a), where the main verb *omow-* takes a finite clause as its complement, the subject of the embedded clause can be marked with either nominative Case or accusative Case. In (1b), on the other hand, in which the same main verb takes a non-finite clause, the subject of the embedded clause must be marked with accusative Case. This contrast leads Takezawa (1987) to conclude that there is a clear correlation between the assignment of nominative Case and the existence of Tense and thus the finite T licenses nominative Case in Japanese. This is almost an uncontroversial point on which all agree.

In this paper, I focus on the existential construction in Japanese, exemplified in (2), and discuss the mechanism for the assignment of nominative Case to the

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Theme DP in it:¹

- (2) a. Ano tera-ni takusanno butuzoo-ga ar-u.
 that temple-LOC many statues-NOM be-PRES
 ‘There are many statues in that temple.’
- b. Ano byooin-ni takusanno kanzya-ga ir-u.
 that hospital-LOC many patients-NOM be-PRES
 ‘There are many patients in that hospital.’

(Ura (2000:172))

Among the previous studies, Ura (2000) argues under the framework of early minimalism (Chomsky (1995)) that nominative Case on the Theme DP is licensed by the DP adjoining to T at LF. In this paper, I show that this licensing mechanism of nominative Case via LF-movement causes some empirical problems, proposing instead that nominative Case on the Theme DP in the Japanese existential construction is licensed via AGREE, a universal mechanism for the feature valuation proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001). In particular, I argue that nominative Case on the Theme DP is assigned in-situ from T and thus the DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation. One of the important consequences of this analysis is that the EPP on T is satisfied by the Location PP, which does not enter into an AGREE relation with T. This means that A-movement in Japanese does not necessarily require the establishment of an AGREE relation with T prior to movement, which follows from the properties of the EPP on T in Focus-prominent languages like Japanese (Miyagawa (2005, 2007)).²

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews Ura (2000), a previous approach on the licensing of nominative Case in the Japanese existential construction. Section 3 shows that his analysis is empirically problematic. Section 4 proposes an articulated analysis of this construction under a theory of AGREE, and verifies its validity. Section 5 considers a consequence of this analysis for the EPP system in Japanese, arguing for a parametric variation of the EPP on T, proposed in Miyagawa (2005, 2007); furthermore, it demonstrates that the EPP system provides a key to solving a mysterious paradox observed in this construction. Section 6 makes some concluding remarks.

¹ The existential verb *ar-ir-*, when used in the existential construction, alternates according to the animacy of the Theme DP it selects: When the Theme DP is animate, *ir-* is used; when it is inanimate, *ar-* is used. For further details, see Kishimoto (1996, 2005).

² In this paper, following Miyagawa (2005, 2007), I use the term *Focus-prominent language*. This term is almost identical to the more conventional terms, such as *Topic-prominent language* and *Discourse-related language*.

- (4) a. [PRO_i setubi-busoku-de komat-tei-nagara], ano
 [PRO facilities-lack due to suffer-PROG-while], that
 byooiin-ni_i takusanno kanzya-ga ir-u.
 hospital-LOC many patients-NOM be-PRES
 ‘[While PRO_i being in trouble due to the lack of facilities], in that
 hospital_i were many patients.’
 (Ura (2000:173))
- b. [PRO_{i/*j} ongaku-o kiki-nagara], John-ga_i Mary-o_j
 [PRO music-ACC listen to-while], John-NOM Mary-ACC
 damasi-ta.
 cheat-PAST
 ‘While PRO_{i/*j} listening to music, John_i cheated Mary_j.’

In (4a), the locative phrase *ano-byooiin-ni* functions as the controller of the missing subject in the *-nagara*-clause.⁴ This behavior is also shared by the normal subject; in (4b), for instance, PRO in the *-nagara*-clause can be obligatorily controlled by the subject *John*, not by the non-subject *Mary*.

To sum up, Ura (2000) uses two pieces of alleged evidence for the subjecthood of the locative phrase in the existential construction, arguing that the movement of the locative phrase to the sentence-initial position is due to A-movement. As noted in the introduction of this paper, he adopts the framework of early minimalism (Chomsky (1995)), and these properties of the locative phrase are to imply the following under the theory: The ability to bind a subject-oriented reflexive follows from the EPP-feature checking relation with T, and the ability to control the missing subject in a *-nagara*-clause results from a ϕ -feature checking relation with T.

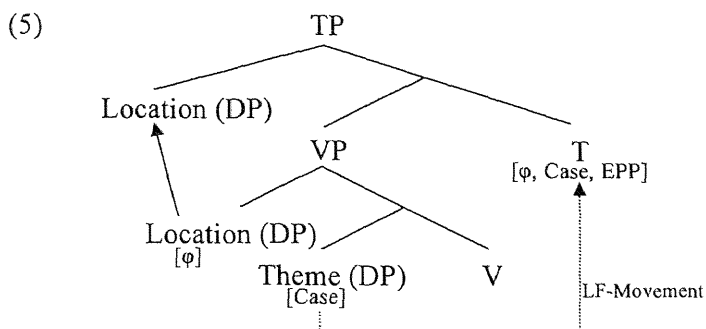
In the next subsection, let us see what derivation of the existential construction Ura (2000) proposes on the basis of the subjecthood of the locative phrase.

2.2. The LF Case-checking Approach of the Existential Construction

In introducing the derivation of the existential construction in Japanese, Ura (2000) assumes the following under the framework of early minimalism (Chomsky (1995)): (i) The EPP-feature and ϕ -feature on T in Japanese are strong, while the nominative Case-feature is weak; and (ii) the *-ni*-marked locative phrase in the existential construction, which he argues is a DP, is assigned an inherent Case by the

⁴ Here again, Ura (2000) uses the locative phrase which possesses the idiosyncratic property.

existential verb.^{5, 6} On the basis of these assumptions and the subjecthood of the locative phrase, he proposes that the derivation of the existential construction converges as follows:



The Location DP and the Theme DP are base-generated in the Spec and the Comp of VP, respectively. As soon as T is introduced by Merge, the Location DP moves to the Spec of TP to check off the strong EPP-feature and ϕ -feature on T. Finally, the nominative Case-feature moves up by the covert movement onto T to enter into a checking relation with T, and thus all the features that require checking for convergence can be properly checked. In this structure, because the locative phrase moves to the Spec of TP for checking the EPP-feature, the Theme DP remains in-situ overtly; consequently, Ura (2000) argues for the determination of the nominative Case on the Theme DP via the LF configuration.

In the next subsection, let us show some empirical evidence Ura (2000) gives for the LF-movement of the Theme DP for feature checking.

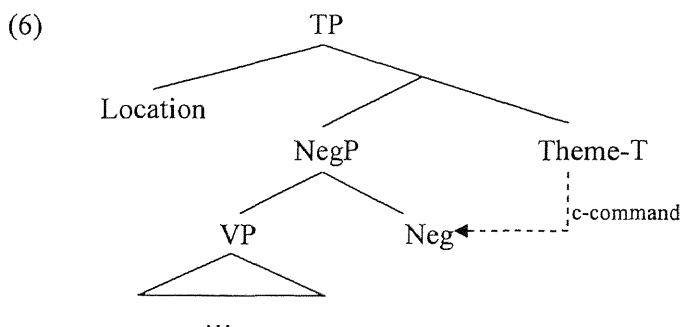
2.3. Ura's Arguments for the LF Case-checking Approach

As seen in 2.2, based on the subjecthood of the locative phrase in the existential construction, Ura (2000) argues that the strong EPP-feature and ϕ -feature on T are checked off by the Location DP and thus the nominative Case on the Theme DP must be determined by the LF configuration. To verify the validity of the derivation, he provides some facts on the quantifier scope. Firstly, let us consider the scope interpretation between the Theme DP and the Neg-element. As

⁵ In the early minimalism, it is assumed that agreement (i.e. a feature checking of uninterpretable features) is established under the Spec-head relation. Under this theory, thus, this checking mechanism serves as the driving force for movements.

⁶ In the early minimalism, formal features can be divided into two subtypes: the weak feature and the strong feature. The weak feature can be checked at LF, while the strong feature must be checked and deleted at narrow syntax, because the strong feature which remains unchecked at PF causes the crash of the derivation.

illustrated in (5), Ura (2000) proposes that the Theme DP rises to T at LF. This leads to the prediction that the Theme DP takes wide scope over the Neg-element, which is usually assumed to be base-generated between VP and TP, because the Theme DP asymmetrically c-commands the Neg-element at LF, as shown in (6):⁷



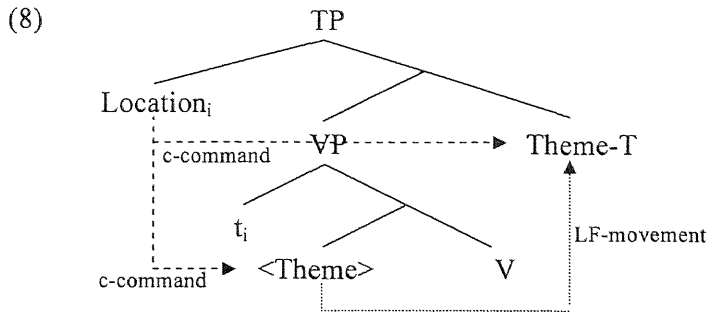
Indeed, this prediction is borne out. Observe the following sentence:

- (7) Kono doobutuen-ni gorira-dake-ga i-na-i.
 this zoo-LOC gorilla-only-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 ‘It is only a gorilla that does not exist in this zoo.’ (only > not)
 ‘It is not the case that only a gorilla exists in this zoo.’ (*not > only)
 (Ura (2000:178))

In (7), the Theme DP always takes wide scope over the Neg-element. This means that the DP asymmetrically c-commands the Neg-element, supporting that the Theme DP moves up to T at LF for feature checking.

Secondly, let us observe the scope interpretation between the Location DP and the Theme DP. Under the proposed derivation in (5), the Location DP, which is base-generated at the Spec of VP, moves to the Spec of TP; while the Theme DP, base-generated at the Comp of VP, is raised onto T at LF. Thus, the Location DP always c-commands the Theme DP, as shown in (8):

⁷ It is usually assumed that a scope-bearing constituent has scope over constituents which it c-commands: If α asymmetrically c-commands β , α takes wide scope over β .



Given the structure in (8), we can predict that the Location DP always takes wide scope over the Theme DP, and this prediction is also borne out. Observe the following sentence:

- (9) Dokoka-ni daremo-ga i-ta.
 somewhere-LOC everyone-NOM be-PAST.
 (Lit.)‘Somewhere was everyone.’
 (interpretation: some > every, *every > some)
 (Ura (2000:177))

In (9), as was first observed by Kuno (1973), the Location DP always takes wide scope over the Theme DP. This fact suggests that the Location DP asymmetrically c-commands the Theme DP, lending support to Ura’s (2000) analysis.

To sum up, in this section, I reviewed Ura’s (2000) analysis of the determination of nominative Case on the Theme DP via the LF configuration. In the next section, I show that his analysis is empirically inadequate.

3. Counterarguments

In this section, I closely examine Ura’s (2000) analysis of the existential construction in Japanese, in which he assumes the subjecthood of the locative phrase and proposes the LF-movement of the Theme DP to T for nominative-Case checking. I demonstrate that his analysis is not warranted empirically.

3.1. Against the Subjecthood of the Locative Phrase

3.1.1. The Idiosyncratic Nature of the Locative Phrase

Firstly, I must mention the idiosyncratic nature of the locative phrases in the existential construction which Ura (2000) uses in discussing the subjecthood of the phrases: *iinkai* ‘committee’ and *byooiin* ‘hospital.’ These locative phrases, which refer to locations that imply animate entities, are said to behave differently from

typical locative phrases with respect to syntactic phenomena. For example, consider the Double Object Construction (DOC) in English. As is well known, the Goal phrase in the DOC is very restricted; it must be interpreted as a possessor, as in (10a):

- (10) a. I sent {the boarder/*the border} a package.
 (Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004:2))
- b. John sent the government the letter.
 (Kishimoto (2001:135), with slight modifications)
- c. France gave some African countries humanitarian aid.
 (Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004:2), with slight modifications)

In (10a), the noun *boarder* is appropriate as the Goal phrase in the DOC, because the noun is animate and thus it can satisfy the requirement of the possessor interpretation of the Goal phrase; on the other hand, the inanimate noun *border* is not available because it is only interpreted as a location. Sentence (10b), where *government* is used as the Goal phrase, is acceptable, because the noun in question can imply a relevant animate entity such as the president or the prime minister and thus it can be interpreted as a possessor. Similarly, sentence (10c) is acceptable only if the phrase *some African countries* refers to the people in those countries.⁸

As just mentioned, the locative phrase which implies an animate entity shows an idiosyncratic behavior. Thus, it is not appropriate to use such phrases in discussing the general properties of the locative phrase in the existential construction. Indeed, if we replace such a locative phrase by a typical locative phrase like *kooen* ‘park,’ which does not imply any animate entity, we get a different result from Ura’s (2000) observation: In the existential construction, a purely subject-oriented reflexive cannot refer to the locative phrase indirectly, nor can the locative phrase control the missing subject in a *-nagara*-clause, as in (11):

- (11) a. * Ano kooen-ni; [[zibun-tati-zisin-no; rekisi-wo hiteisi-ta]
 that park-LOC [[self-PL-self-GEN history-ACC deny-PAST]
 zinbutu]-ga ir-u.
 person]-NOM be-PRES
 (Lit.)‘In that park_i is a person who denied themselves_i’s history.’

⁸ This type of idiosyncrasy of the locative phrase implying an animate entity is also observed in a variety of linguistic phenomena in Japanese, although I cannot go into the matter for lack of space in this paper.

- b. * [PRO_i setsubi-busoku-de komat-tei-nagara], ano
 [PRO facilities-lack due to suffer-PROG-while], that
 kooen-ni_i takusanno kodomo-tati-ga ir-u.
 park-LOC many child-PL-NOM be-PRES
 ‘[While PRO_i being in trouble due to the lack of facilities], in that
 park_i are many children.’

In (11a), the locative phrase *kooen-ni* cannot serve as the antecedent of the subject-oriented anaphor *zibun-tati-zisin* indirectly (cf. (3a)). Likewise, in (11b), the locative phrase cannot function as the antecedent of the missing subject in the *-nagara*-clause (cf. (4a)). Thus, the subjecthood of the locative phrase in the existential construction, which Ura (2000) observes, is problematic from an empirical perspective.⁹

3.1.2. Subject Honorification

It is often said that Japanese has some productive grammatical system of honorifics, which Harada (1976) calls “honorification.” For example, consider the following sentences:

- (12) a. Yamada-sensei-ga Taro-ni hon-o o-watasi-ni
 Yamada-prof.-NOM Taro-DAT book-ACC HP-hand-over-to
 nat-ta.
 become-PAST.
 ‘Prof. Yamada handed over the book to Taro.’

⁹ One would wonder why the locative phrase which implies an animate entity can bind the purely subject-oriented anaphor indirectly and control PRO, unlike typical locative phrases. Although a systematic solution for this problem needs to be investigated in the future, in this paper, I point out the possibility that such properties of the locative phrases come from the re-interpretation of the phrases as a kind of possessor due to the application of a rule involving metonymy. Indeed, the behavior of the locative phrase is similar to that of the possessor DP in the possessive sentence, as in (i):

- (i) a. John-ni zibun-no okane-ga ar-u.
 John-DAT self-GEN money-NOM be-PRES
 (Lit.) ‘John has himself’s money.’
 b. Watasi-wa John-ni [PRO kodomo-ga atte]-hossii-to omot-ta.
 I-TOP John-DAT [PRO children-NOM be]-wanto-COMP think-PAST
 ‘I wanted John [PRO to have children].’

(Kishimoto (2005:169, 170))

In (ia) and (ib), the possessor DP *John* can bind the subject-oriented anaphor *zibun*, and can control the missing subject in the embedded clause, respectively. In this paper, I do not discuss this type of conversion of a locative phrase to a possessor, because it is not my concern here.

- b. # Taro-ga Yamada-sensei-ni hon-o o-watasi-ni
 Taro-NOM Yamada-prof.-DAT book-ACC HP-hand-over-to
 nat-ta.
 become-PAST.
 ‘Taro handed over the book to Prof. Yamada.’

In (12), where the so-called “subject-honorification” is involved, the honorification is induced solely by the element which functions as the subject, and thus it has traditionally been considered to serve as a diagnosis for the subjecthood in Japanese: Sentence (12a) is acceptable because the subject *Yamada-sensei* undergoes the honorific agreement with the predicate, while sentence (12b) is unacceptable due to the inappropriate honorific agreement between the non-subject *Yamada-sensei* and the predicate. It has been assumed since Toribio (1990) that this type of honorification is an instance of agreement phenomena with T mediated by the ϕ -feature.¹⁰

Taking this into account, consider the existential construction in Japanese. Under Ura’s (2000) analysis, it would be expected that the subject honorific agreement with T is induced by the Location DP, because the DP checks off the strong ϕ -feature on T by moving to the Spec of TP, as shown in 2.2. However, this expectation is not borne out. Observe the following sentences:

- (13) a. Ano kooen-ni Yamada-sensei-ga ir-assyar-u.
 that park-LOC Yamada-prof.-NOM be-HP-PRES
 ‘Prof. Yamada is in that park.’
 b. # Yamada-sensei(-no-tokoro)-ni Taro-ga ir-assyar-u.
 Yamada-prof(-of-place)-LOC Taro-NOM be-HP-PRES
 (Lit.) ‘Taro is at the place where Prof. Yamada is.’

Sentence (13a), in which the Theme DP *Yamada-sensei* undergoes honorific agreement with the predicate, is acceptable; on the other hand, sentence (13b), where honorific agreement is established between the locative phrase *Yamada-sensei-no-tokoro-ni* and the predicate, is unacceptable. This contrast in their acceptability means that it is not the locative phrase but the Theme DP that enters into an agreement relation of ϕ -feature with T in the existential construction, suggesting that Ura’s (2000) analysis is empirically inadequate.

¹⁰ Niinuma (2003), assuming that the feature [+human] constitutes a ϕ -feature in Japanese, proposes that the properties of subject honorification can be explained in terms of AGREE with T (Chomsky (2000, 2001)).

3.2. *Against the LF-movement of the Theme DP for Feature Checking*

3.2.1. *Scope Interpretation between the Theme DP and the Neg-element*

As we saw in section 2.3, Ura (2000) employs as an argument for his analysis a certain fact on the quantifier scope between the Theme DP and the Neg-element, where *gorira-dake* ‘gorilla-only’ is used as the Theme DP (cf. (7)). However, if we replace the Theme DP with other phrases such as *zen’in* ‘all (people),’ a different result from Ura’s (2000) observation is obtained: The Theme DP can take narrow scope with respect to the Neg-element, as in (14):

- (14) Ano kooen-ni zen’in-ga i-na-i.
 that park-LOC all (people)-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 (Lit.) ‘In that park aren’t all (people).’
 (interpretation: not > all, (all > not))

The possibility of the partial negation interpretation in (14) means that the Theme DP must be c-commanded by the Neg-element, suggesting that the DP remains in-situ at all levels of the derivation including LF (cf. Miyagawa (2005)).¹¹ This fact would not be explained under Ura’s (2000) analysis; because he proposes that the Theme DP does undergo LF-movement onto T, the Neg-element cannot c-command the DP at LF.

3.2.2. *The Unavailability of the Theme DP as the Controller of PRO*

It is generally assumed that if PRO is controlled obligatorily by its controller, a requirement like the following must be satisfied:

- (15) Generalized Control Rule (GCR):
 Coindex an empty pronominal with the closest nominal element.¹²
 (Huang (1984:552))

This requirement means that the antecedent which controls PRO obligatorily must

¹¹ In (14), there is also the possibility that the Theme DP may be interpreted outside the scope of negation, as indicated by ‘all > not.’ In this paper, although I do not discuss this possibility in detail, following Miyagawa (2005), I suggest that it is due to the fact that the quantifier *zen’in* can be associated with a group reading, which does not have distributivity.

Note in passing that it is not the case at all that this tendency exceptionally arises from the inherent property of the quantifier, although I cannot go further into this matter for lack of space in this paper. Thus, it is not problematic to use the quantifier in discussing the general properties of this construction.

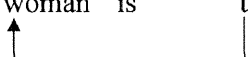
¹² The definition of the notion ‘close’ in terms of c-command is usually stated as follows: α is closer to β than γ , if α c-commands β but γ does not c-command β .

be the nominal element which c-commands the PRO locally. For example, consider the following sentences to confirm this:

- (16) a. John expects [Mary_i to try [PRO_i to behave herself]].
 b. * John_i expects [Mary to try [PRO_i to behave himself]].

In (16a, b), where both the subject in the main clause *John* and the subject in the embedded clause *Mary* c-command PRO, *Mary* is appropriate as the controller of the PRO, while *John* is not. This is because *Mary* is the DP which c-commands the PRO locally and thus the GCR is met, whereas *John* does not c-command the PRO locally and thus the GCR is not satisfied.

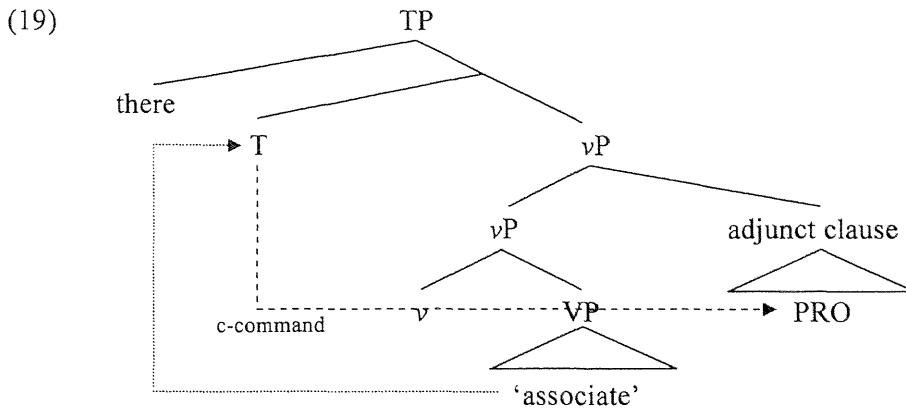
Moreover, in investigating the validity of Ura's (2000) analysis, it is necessary to consider whether the covert movement can create a new Control configuration. Let us confirm this point with the *there*-construction in English. In this construction, the so-called logical subject, or what has recently called the 'associate' (cf. Chomsky (1995)), triggers agreement with the finite verb, as in (17a). Thus, in order to capture this fact, previous analyses of this construction have often assumed that the associate undergoes covert A-movement to the position which is occupied by the expletive *there* at narrow syntax, as shown in (17b):

- (17) a. There is a woman here. : narrow syntax
 b. A woman is t here. : LF
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Chomsky (1995), for example, assumes that the feature movement of the associate allows the agreement to be appropriately established. Furthermore, he also proposes that this sort of movement creates a new Control configuration, based on the following sentence in (18):

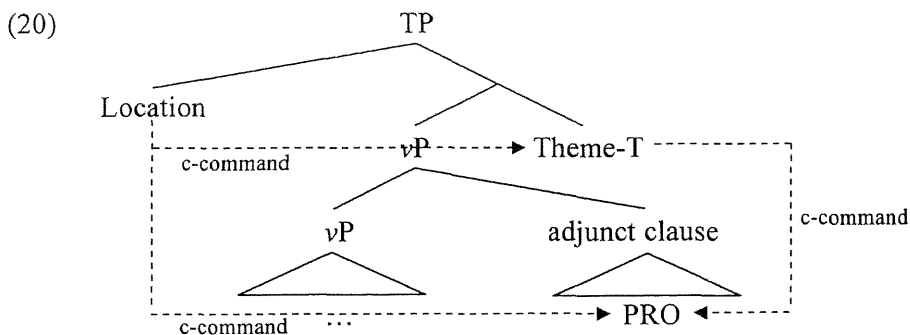
- (18) There arrived [three men]_i (last night) [without PRO_i identifying themselves]. (Chomsky (1995:274))

In (18), although the associate *three men* remains within the argument structure overtly, it can control the missing subject in the adjunct clause, which is usually assumed to be adjoined to *vP*. Given the feature movement of the associate onto T, this fact can be explained easily, as illustrated in (19):



In (19), the associate undergoes covert movement onto T; consequently, it can c-command PRO in the adjunct clause covertly and thus it can control the PRO obligatorily. This fact strongly suggests that the covert movement has an influence on the Control configuration.

Keeping in mind these basic properties of an obligatorily controlled PRO, let us consider Ura's (2000) analysis of the existential construction. In his proposed derivation, the locative phrase moves to the Spec of TP overtly and the Theme DP moves onto T covertly, as shown in (20):



In (20), the locative phrase c-commands both the Theme DP and PRO in the adjunct phrase, and the Theme DP c-commands the PRO; consequently, it is the Theme DP that c-commands the PRO locally. Given this configuration, it would be predicted that the PRO is controlled by the Theme DP. This prediction is not, however, borne out. As Ura (2000) himself observes, the Theme DP cannot control PRO in the *-nagara*-clause, as in (21):

- (21) * [PRO_i kenkoo-o simpaisi-tei-nagara], ano byooin-ni
 [PRO health-ACC worry-PROG-while], that hospital-LOC
 takusanno kanzya-ga_i ir-u.
 many patients-NOM be-PRES
 ‘[While PRO_i worrying about (their) health], there were many patients_i in
 that hospital.’

(Ura (2000:173))

In (21), the Theme DP *takusanno-kanzya* cannot control the missing subject in the *-nagara*-clause. Ura’s (2000) analysis cannot explain this fact, because he proposes the LF-movement of the Theme DP to T, which creates a new Control configuration.

4. A Minimalist Approach to the Existential Construction via AGREE

So far, I have argued that Ura’s (2000) analysis of the existential construction in Japanese, in which it is claimed that nominative Case on the Theme DP is licensed by the DP adjoining to T at LF, causes some serious empirical problems. In this section, I propose that nominative Case on the Theme DP is licensed by T via AGREE (Chomsky (2000, 2001)); that is, it is valued in-situ without any movement of the DP.

4.1. Analysis

In this subsection, let us take a look at the derivation of the existential construction in Japanese under a theory of AGREE (Chomsky (2000, 2001)).¹³ I

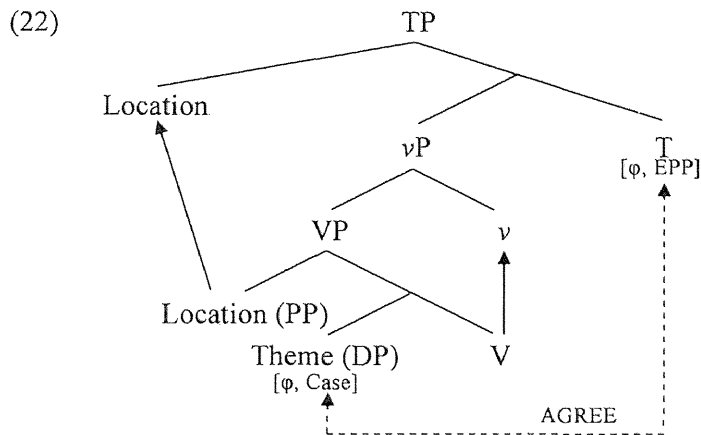
¹³ Under this theory, an AGREE operation is introduced as the operation to deal with the feature valuation, and the operation takes place under the structural relation in (i), based on the assumption for the probe-goal system in (ii):

- (i) AGREE:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} P & > & G \\ \uparrow & & \uparrow \\ \text{-----} & & \end{array}$$
 AGREE (P, G), where P is a probe and G is a matching goal,
 ‘>’ is a c-command relation: P c-commands G.
- (ii) Probe-Goal System:
- Matching is non-distinctness.
 - D(P) is the sister of P.
 - Locality reduces to ‘closest c-command.’
 - Probe and Goal must be active.

In (i) and (ii), it is indicated that unvalued features of P and those of G are valued under the following conditions: (i) Features of P and G must match, (ii) P must c-command G, (iii) there cannot exist a matching element intervening between P and G, and (iv) both P and G have unvalued features. Because all the agreement phenomena occur via this operation, the feature valuation is no longer the driving force for movements. Under this theory, thus, the EPP is considered to trigger the movement operation.

propose that the derivation of the construction converges in the following fashion. A Theme DP and a Location PP are base-generated in Comp and Spec of VP, respectively.^{14, 15} Then, v is merged and V-to- v raising takes place. As soon as T is introduced by Merge, T searches down the tree for a goal, and it enters into an AGREE relation with the Theme DP across the PP; consequently, the ϕ -feature on T and the case-feature on the DP are deleted. Finally, the Location PP moves to the Spec of TP, satisfying the EPP on T. Now all the features that require agreement for convergence can be properly deleted; consequently, the derivation converges, as is illustrated in the tree structure in (22):



In this structure, the Location PP need not be assigned any structural Case because of its inherent nature, which means that it has no uninterpretable feature. An element with no uninterpretable feature does not function as the Goal of an AGREE relation (Chomsky (2000, 2001)); as a consequence, although the Location PP intervenes between them, the establishment of an AGREE relation between the Theme DP and T does not cause a locality violation. Furthermore, in this structure,

¹⁴ In this paper, I assume the two-layered VP-shell for the underlying structure in which Agent, Location, and Theme are discharged, as shown in (i):

- (i) [_{v*P} Agent [v* [_{VP} Location [V Theme]]]]

In (i), v^* is a kind of light verb with the ability to assign Agent, and Location and Theme are base-generated in the Spec and the Comp of V, respectively. Although this structure is in accordance with the thematic hierarchy proposed in Jackendoff (1972), the hierarchical relation between Location and Theme is a controversial point on which not all agree; thus, some analyses posit that Theme and Location are mapped into the Spec and the Comp of VP, respectively. There is, however, much cross-linguistic evidence that argues for the structure in (i), as discussed in Takano (1996, 1998).

¹⁵ In this paper, contra Ura (2000), I assume that the categorial status of the locative phrase in this construction is PP, like typical locative phrases. In 4.2.3, I provide some evidence to argue for this assumption.

where the EPP on T is satisfied by the Location PP and the Theme DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation, nominative Case on the DP is licensed in-situ by T via AGREE and thus the DP need not adjoin to T for feature checking at LF.

In the next subsection, I demonstrate how this analysis enables us to explain the facts on the existential construction in Japanese observed in the previous sections.

4.2. *Explanation*

In 4.1, I proposed the following two points in discussing the derivation of the existential construction in Japanese: (i) T enters into an AGREE relation with the Theme DP, not with the Location PP, and (ii) nominative Case on the Theme DP is licensed via AGREE and thus it remains in-situ throughout the derivation. In this subsection, I argue that these two proposals provide a correct account for the facts observed in section 2 and 3.

4.2.1. *Subject Honorification*

Let us start by considering the fact on the subject honorification. As observed in (13), in this construction, the subject honorific agreement with T is induced by the Theme DP, repeated here in (23):

- (23) a. Ano kooen-ni Yamada-sensei-ga ir-assyar-u.
 that park-LOC Yamada-prof.-NOM be-HP-PRES
 ‘Prof. Yamada is in that park.’
- b. # Yamada-sensei(-no-tokoro)-ni Taro-ga ir-assyar-u.
 Yamada-prof(-of-place)-LOC Taro-NOM be-HP-PRES
 (Lit.)‘Taro is at the place where Prof. Yamada is.’

Sentence (23a), in which the Theme DP *Yamada-sensei* undergoes the honorific agreement with the predicate, is acceptable; in contrast, sentence (23b), where honorific agreement is established between the Location PP *Yamada-sensei(-no-tokoro)-ni* and the predicate, is unacceptable.

As seen in 3.1.2, given that this phenomenon is usually assumed to be licensed by an AGREE relation with T (cf. Toribio (1990) and Niinuma (2003)), this fact can be correctly accounted for under my analysis. In the structure shown in (22), as soon as T is introduced by Merge, T enters into an AGREE relation with the Theme DP and thus the ϕ -feature on T and the case-feature on the DP are deleted; as a consequence, subject honorific agreement is established between T and the DP.

4.2.2. Scope Interpretations

Let us turn to the facts on scope interpretations. Firstly, in the existential construction, the Location PP always takes wide scope over the Theme DP, as seen in (9), repeated here as (24):

- (24) Dokoka-ni daremo-ga i-ta.
 somewhere-LOC everyone-NOM be-PAST.
 (Lit.)‘Somewhere was everyone.’
 (interpretation: some > every, *every > some)

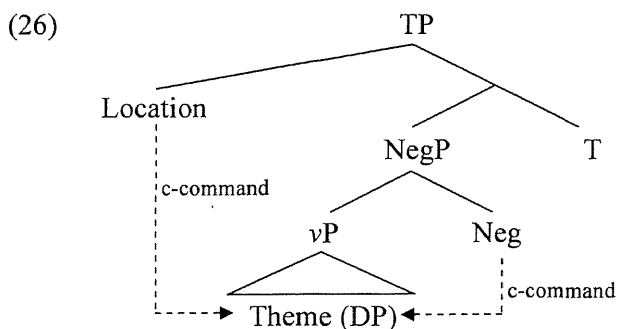
In (24), we can get only the interpretation that everyone is at the same place, not the interpretation in which different people are at different places.

Secondly, in this construction, the Theme DP can take narrow scope with respect to the Neg-element, as shown in (14), repeated here as (25):

- (25) Ano kooen-ni zen'in-ga i-na-i.
 that park-LOC all (people)-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 (Lit.)‘In that park aren't all (people).’
 (interpretation: not > all, (all > not))

In (25), we can get the partial negation interpretation, that is, the interpretation that not all but some people are in that park.

These facts can be explained under my analysis in the following fashion: In the proposed structure, the Location PP moves to the Spec of TP overtly, whereas the Theme DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation because of the assignment of nominative Case via AGREE, as illustrated in (26):



In (26), throughout the derivation, the Location PP asymmetrically c-commands the Theme DP: As a consequence, the PP always takes wide scope over the DP, as

shown in (24). Similarly, the Neg-element also c-commands the Theme DP throughout the derivation: Consequently, it takes wide scope over the DP, as indicated in (25).

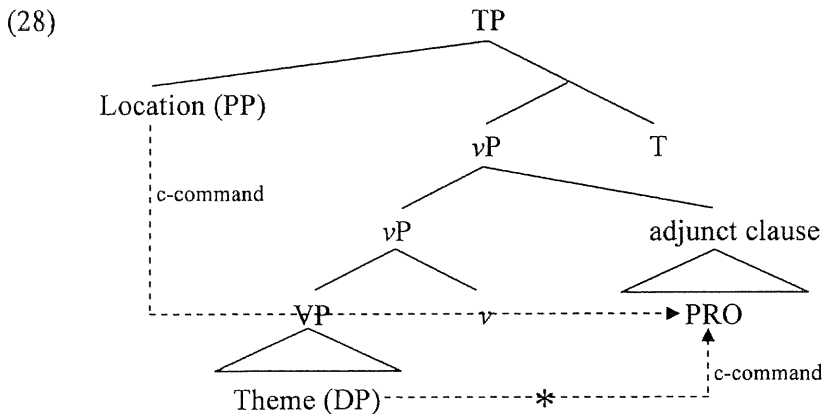
4.2.3. Obligatory Control of PRO

Finally, let us consider the facts on the obligatory control of PRO. In the existential construction, the Theme DP cannot control PRO in the *-nagara*-clause, as confirmed in (21), repeated here as (27):

- (27) * [PRO_i kenkoo-o simpaisi-tei-nagara], ano byooiin-ni
 [PRO health-ACC worry-PROG-while], that hospital-LOC
 takusanno kanzya-ga_i ir-u.
 many patients-NOM be-PRES
 ‘[While PRO_i worrying about (their) health], there are many patients_i in
 that hospital.’

In (27), the Theme DP *takusanno-kanzya* cannot serve as the antecedent of the missing subject in the *-nagara*-clause.

This fact can be predicted accurately by my analysis: In the proposed structure, the Theme DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation, because nominative Case on the DP is licensed via AGREE, as shown in (28):



In (28), because the adjunct clause is considered to be adjoined to *vP*, the Theme DP remaining in-situ cannot c-command PRO in the adjunct clause. As a consequence, the DP cannot control the PRO.

Given the structure shown in (28), one would predict that in the existential construction, the Location PP can control the missing subject in the *-nagara*-clause,

because the PP can c-command PRO in the adjunct clause locally. This prediction is not, however, borne out. In this construction, the Location PP cannot serve as the controller of PRO in the adjunct clause, as confirmed in (11b), repeated here as (29):

- (29) * [PRO_i setubi-busoku-de komat-tei-nagara], ano kooen-ni_i
 [PRO facilities-lack due to suffer-PROG-while], that park-LOC
 takusanno kodomo-tati-ga ir-u.
 many child-PL-NOM be-PRES
 ‘[While PRO_i being in trouble due to the lack of facilities], in that
 park_i are many children.’

In (29), the Location PP *ano-kooen-ni* cannot control the missing subject in the *-nagara*-clause.

Why, then, is it that the Location PP in the existential construction cannot obligatorily control PRO in the adjunct clause even though the PP c-commands it locally? Note here that in this construction, the categorial status of the locative phrase is indeed PP, not DP. As seen in (15), the GCR requires that PRO is obligatorily controlled by the nominal element which c-commands it locally. Given this requirement, it is considered that in the existential construction, the locative phrase is a PP and hence cannot serve as the antecedent of the obligatory control.

There is, in fact, some evidence to suggest that the categorial status of the locative phrase is PP. For instance, let us consider the fact on the quantifier floating. As is well known, quantifiers such as *3-nin* ‘3-CL’ and *2-tu* ‘2-CL’ can float out of NPs but not out of PPs, as in (30):

- (30) a. Gakusei-ga 3-nin hon-o kat-ta.
 Students-NOM 3-CL book-ACC buy-PAST
 ‘Three students bought a book.’
 b. Gakusei-ga hon-o 3-satsu kat-ta.
 Student-NOM book-ACC 3-CL buy-PAST
 ‘A student bought three books.’
 c. * Hito-ga tiisai mura-kara 2-tu ki-ta.
 People-NOM small village-from 2-CL come-PAST
 ‘People came from two small villages.’

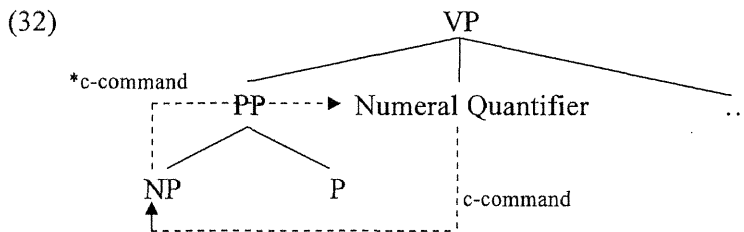
(Miyagawa (1989:24, 31))

In (30a, b), the quantifiers modify the subject NP *gakusei* and the object NP *hon*, respectively; in (30c), on the other hand, the quantifier is intended to modify the NP which the postposition *kara* selects, but this modification is blocked. To account for this contrast, Miyagawa (1989) proposes the following requirement:

(31) Mutual c-command requirement:

For a predicate to predicate of a NP, the NP or its trace and the predicate or its trace must c-command each other. (Miyagawa (1989:30))

According to this requirement, in (30a, b), the subject NP and the object NP c-command the floating quantifiers and the quantifiers also c-command the NPs; consequently, they can modify the subject and the object, respectively. In (30c), on the other hand, the floating quantifier can c-command the NP selected by the postposition, while the NP cannot in return c-command the quantifier, as shown in (32):



This results in a violation of the Mutual c-command requirement; as a consequence, the quantifier cannot modify the NP which is at the Comp of the postposition.

Taking this into account, let us consider the case of the existential construction. In this construction, quantifiers cannot float out of the locative phrase, as in (33):¹⁶

¹⁶ Ura (2000) also uses this phenomenon to claim that the categorial status of the locative phrase is indeed DP, not PP, as in (i):

- (i) ? [Kansai-no daigaku]-ni 3-koo suupaa-kompyuutaa-ga ar-u.
 [Kansai-in universities]-LOC 3-CL super-computers-NOM be-PRES
 (Lit.) 'At three universities in the Kansai area are super-computers.'

(Ura (2000:175))

Sentence (i), where the quantifier *3-koo* '3-CL' can float out of the locative phrase, appears to be perfect, contrary to (33b). The quantifier used in this example, however, behaves differently from typical quantifiers: When the quantifier is inserted into an host NP, the sentence is less acceptable, as in (ii):

- (ii) ?? [3-koo-no Kansai-no daigaku]-ni suupaa-kompyuutaa-ga ar-u.
 [3-CL-GEN Kansai-in universities]-LOC super-computers-NOM be-PRES

- (33) a. [3-tu-no eki]-ni eki'in-ga ir-u.
 [3-CL-GEN stations]-LOC station attendants-NOM be-PRES
 'There are station attendants at three stations.'
- b. * eki-ni 3-tu eki'in-ga ir-u.
 station-LOC 3-CL station attendants-NOM be-PRES

In (33b), the quantifier *3-tu* '3-CL' cannot float out of the locative phrase *eki-ni* 'at the station,' which suggests that the categorial status of the locative phrase in this construction is PP, not DP.

4.3. Supporting Evidence for the Present Approach

In 4.1, I claimed that the Theme DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation because of the assignment of nominative Case via AGREE, while the Location PP moves to the Spec of TP overtly to satisfy the EPP on T. In this subsection, I provide further evidence in favor of this claim. The supporting evidence comes from the fact on the scope interpretation between the Location PP and the Neg-element. Let us confirm this with sentence (34a):

- (34) a. Subete-no kooen-ni kodomotati-ga i-na-i.
 all park-LOC children-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 (Lit.) 'In all parks are not children.'
 (interpretation: all > not, *not > all)
- b. Zen'in-ga siken-wo uke-nakat-ta.
 all (people)-NOM examinations-ACC take-NEG-PAST
 'None of the people took the examination.'
 (interpretation: all > not, *not > all)

In (34a), the Location PP *subete-no kooen-ni* always takes wide scope over the Neg-element. This fact is also observed in the case of the subject DP and the Neg-element in the SOV order, as in (34b), which suggests that the Location PP undergoes A-movement to the Spec of TP, because the type of movement is not allowed to reconstruct.¹⁷ Needless to say, from this fact it follows that there is also

In (ii), the quantifier *3-koo* '3-CL' cannot remain within the host NP, in contrast with other cases like (33a). This sharp contrast leads us to conclude that the quantifier has an idiosyncratic property and hence it is not appropriate to use such a quantifier in order to confirm the general properties of the locative phrase.

¹⁷ One of the main differences between A'-movement and A-movement is whether the movement is allowed to reconstruct: A'-movement is permitted to reconstruct, while A-movement is not, as shown in (i):

no possibility that the Theme DP moves to the Spec of TP overtly, because the EPP on T is already satisfied by the Location PP.

4.4. *An Apparent Problem with the Present Approach*

In 4.2 and 4.3, I showed that my approach can attain higher empirical adequacy. In this subsection, to increase its validity, I discuss an apparent problem, the fact on the scope interpretation between the Theme DP and the Neg-element which is provided in Ura (2000).

As seen in 2.3, Ura (2000) claims that the Theme DP rises onto T at LF for feature checking, based on the fact on the scope interpretation between the Theme DP and the Neg-element, repeated here as (35):

- (35) Kono doobutuen-ni gorira-dake-ga i-na-i.
 this zoo-LOC gorilla-only-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 ‘It is only a gorilla that does not exist in this zoo.’
 (interpretation: only > not, *not > only)
- (= (7))

In (35), where *gorira-dake* ‘gorilla-only’ is used as the Theme DP, the DP always takes wide scope over the Neg-element, although it remains in-situ overtly. This fact suggests that the DP, which is raised onto T at LF, asymmetrically c-commands the Neg-element covertly, and appears not to be explained structurally under my approach. In this paper, I claim that the Theme DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation because of the assignment of nominative Case via AGREE and thus the DP cannot c-command the Neg-element at all.

Recall here that I also used another fact on the scope interpretation between the Theme DP and the Neg-element in order to argue that the DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation, contra Ura (2000). Observe the following sentence again:

-
- (i) a. [Which pictures of herself_i]_j did Mary_i find t_j ?
 b. [John_i]_j seems to himself_i [t_j to be a genius].

In (ia), in which *wh*-movement is applied, a reconstruction effect allows the reflexive pronoun *herself* to be c-commanded in-situ by the R-expression *Mary*. In (ib), on the other hand, where *raising-to-subject* is applied, the reflexive pronoun *himself* can be c-commanded by the R-expression *John* because of the absence of a reconstruction effect.

- (36) Ano kooen-ni zen'in-ga i-na-i.
 that park-LOC all (people)-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 (Lit.) 'In that park aren't all (people).'
 (interpretation: not > all, (all > not))
 (= (25))

In (36), in which the Theme DP *gorira-dake* 'gorilla-only' in (35) is replaced with another phrase *zen'in* 'all (people),' the DP can take narrow scope with respect to the Neg-element. This fact, which means that the Theme DP must be c-commanded by the Neg-element, would not be explained under Ura's (2000) analysis, because in his analysis, the Theme DP asymmetrically c-commands the Neg-element at LF. In 3.2.1, on the basis of this fact, I pointed out that his analysis causes an empirical problem.

Here, a reasonable question would be this: Why does the difference in scope interpretation between (35) and (36) arise? In this subsection, I propose that the key to solving this paradox is the special property of the *dake*-phrase 'only-phrase,' which is stipulated in Takano (2003).

According to Takano (2003), this mysterious fact can also be observed in another construction; the nominative-object construction in Japanese. Confirm this with the following sentences:

- (37) a. John-wa niku-dake-ga tabe-rare-na-i.
 John-TOP meat-only-NOM eat-POT-NEG-PRES
 'John cannot eat only meat.'
 (interpretation: only > not, *not > only)
- b. John-wa subete-no mondai-ga tok-e-na-i.
 John-TOP all problems-NOM solve-POT-NEG-PRES
 'John cannot solve all the problems.'
 (interpretation: all > not, not > all)
- (Takano (2003:815, 817))

In (37a), the *dake*-phrase always takes wide scope over the Neg-element; in (37b), in which the *dake*-phrase is replaced with another phrase, the narrow scope of the nominative object becomes possible. This sharp contrast leads Takano (2003) to conclude that the obligatory wide scope of the nominative object in (37a) is due to something special about the *dake*-phrase, and stipulate that the nominative particle, attached to an NP containing *dake*, necessarily functions as a focus marker. Based on this stipulation, the exceptional behavior of the *dake*-phrase in (37a) can be

accounted for as follows: The *dake*-phrase serves as the focus of the sentence because of the presence of the nominative Case; as a consequence, it always takes wide scope with respect to the Neg-element differently from ordinary cases.

If Takano's (2003) stipulation is on the right track, the fact in (35) does not provide any counterargument against my analysis at all. In the existential construction, nominative Case on the Theme DP is licensed via AGREE without any movement and thus the DP usually takes narrow scope with respect to the Neg-element. In some cases, where the Theme DP functions as the focus of the sentence, the DP can take wide scope over the Neg-element exceptionally. This is, however, simply a descriptive generalization, and thus it remains unsolved why the focus of the sentence always takes wide scope over the Neg-element in Japanese. In section 5, I demonstrate that the fact follows from the EPP system in Japanese.

5. A Consequence: The EPP on T in Japanese

So far, I have argued that in the existential construction, nominative Case on the Theme DP is licensed in-situ via AGREE with T and thus the DP need not undergo any movement for feature checking throughout the derivation. Furthermore, as a consequence, I have claimed that in this construction, the EPP on T is satisfied by the Location PP, which does not enter into an AGREE relation with T. This type of movement, which is only involved in the satisfaction of the EPP, suggests that A-movement in Japanese does not necessarily require the establishment of an AGREE relation with T prior to the movement to the Spec of TP; and it cannot usually be observed in English, where the EPP on T is satisfied by a nominal phrase that triggers agreement with a finite verb in most cases.^{18, 19} Why does Japanese have 'AGREE-free EPP-only' A-movement, unlike English? In this section, I demonstrate that this fact follows from the EPP system in Japanese, which is based on a parametric variation of the EPP on T (Miyagawa (2005, 2007)).

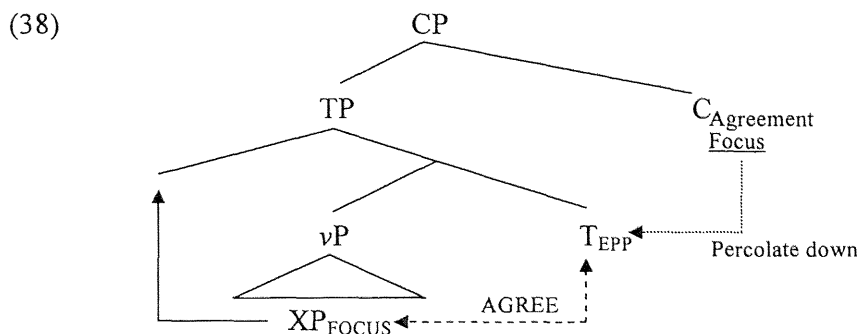
¹⁸ Yamashita (2006) argues that in Japanese, not only A-movement of the non-subject (i.e. A-scrambling) but that of the subject DP is a movement involving only the satisfaction of the EPP on T.

¹⁹ Mikami (2009) argues that English also has some constructions in very limited contexts, where the Spec of TP is filled by the XP that does not establish any agreement relation with T: the Locative Inversion Construction and Preposing around *Be*. The relevant examples are illustrated in (i):

- (i) a. In the swamp {*was/were} found two children.
 b. More important are some of the problems implicit in it.

In (ia) and (ib), the so-called "Subject Positions" are occupied by the locative PP and the comparative AP which do not trigger agreement with a finite verb, respectively. For further details, see Mikami (2009).

Miyagawa (2005, 2007) parameterizes languages into two types with respect to what satisfies the EPP on T: an agreement-prominent language (e.g. English) and a Focus-prominent language (e.g. Japanese). This parameterization depends on the feature which percolates down from C to T (i.e. ϕ -feature or a focus-feature). According to his typological view, the EPP on T in Japanese, which works in tandem with focus, usually picks out the XP with a focus-feature from the argument structure and raises it to the Spec of TP, as schematized in (38):



The structure in (38) illustrates that when there is a specially focused element in a sentence, the EPP on T in Japanese raises it to the Spec of TP. Not every sentence in Japanese, however, contains such a focused phrase. What, then, happens if there is no specially focused phrase in a sentence? Miyagawa (2005, 2007) claims that in such a case, to prevent the crash of the derivation, the EPP on T can be satisfied by a given XP, including an XP which does not enter into an AGREE relation with T.

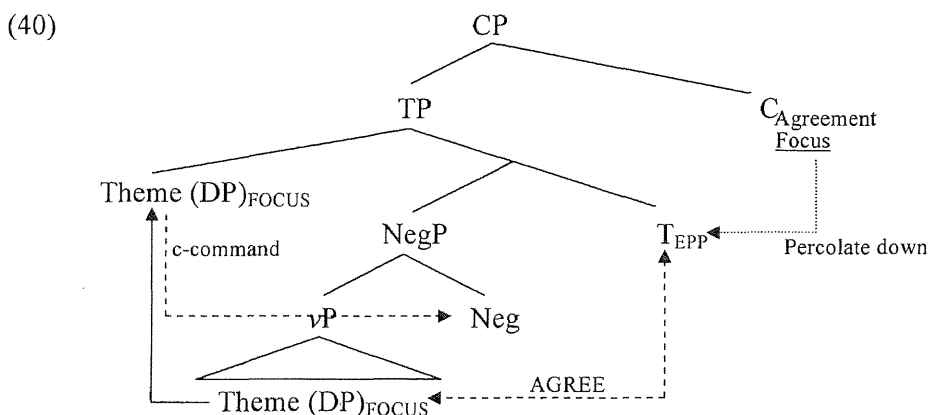
Under this EPP system in Japanese, the proposed derivation of the existential construction in Japanese, as shown in (22), is explained as follows. In Japanese, because the focus-feature percolates down from C to T, the EPP on T works in tandem with the focus. Thus, when there is no specially focused phrase in this construction, its derivation is crashed unless the EPP on T is satisfied by a given XP which does not enter into an AGREE relation with T. For that reason, in the construction, the Location PP, which is closer to the Spec of TP than the Theme DP, moves to the position, though it does not establish an AGREE relation with T: Consequently, the EPP on T is satisfied properly and thus the derivation converges.

Furthermore, this EPP system can also give an adequate account for the mysterious paradox on the scope interpretation between the Theme DP and the Neg-element. As confirmed in 4.4, if the Theme DP is interpreted as the focus of the sentence, the DP always takes wide scope over the Neg-element, repeated here as (39):

- (39) Kono doobutuen-ni gorira-dake-ga i-na-i.
 this zoo-LOC gorilla-only-NOM be-NEG-PRES
 ‘It is only a gorilla that does not exist in this zoo.’ (only > not)
 (interpretation: only > not, *not > only)

(= (35))

Under the present EPP system, this fact is accounted for as follows: In Japanese, the EPP on T works in tandem with the focus; consequently, when the Theme DP *gorira-dake* ‘gorilla-only’ is interpreted as the focus of the sentence, the EPP on T is satisfied by the specially focused DP, as illustrated in (40):²⁰



In (40), the Theme DP, which bears the focus-feature, undergoes A-movement to the Spec of TP, where the DP can asymmetrically c-command the Neg-element. As confirmed in 4.4, this movement does not exhibit a reconstruction effect, and thus the Theme DP always takes wide scope over the Neg-element.

The overt A-movement of the specially focused Theme DP is also supported by the following fact on the binding of a purely subject-oriented reflexive: In the existential construction, the Theme DP cannot usually bind the subject-oriented reflexive contained in the Location PP, as in (41a); by contrast, if an indeterminate pronoun combined with the particle *-mo* is used as the Theme DP, the reflexive binding becomes possible, as in (41b):

- (41) a. * [Zibun-no_i heya]-ni dareka-ga_i ir-u.
 [self's room]-LOC someone-NOM be-PRES
 (Lit.) ‘In self’s_i room is someone_i.’

²⁰ We can get the linear order of (39) from the structure in (40), if the Location PP is scrambled to the sentence-initial position after the movement of the Theme DP to the Spec of TP.

- b. [Zibun-no_i heya]-ni dare-mo-ga_i ir-u.
 [self's room]-LOC Indet-Q-NOM be-PRES
 (Lit.) 'In self's_i room is everyone_i.'

In (41a), the Theme DP *dareka* 'someone' cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive contained in the Location PP, because the Theme DP usually remains in-situ throughout the derivation and thus it cannot c-command the reflexive (cf. (22)). In (41b), on the other hand, the Theme DP *dare-mo*, the indeterminate pronoun with the particle *-mo*, can bind the reflexive. Note here that an indeterminate pronoun is always associated with a sense of exhaustive interpretation when combined with the particle *-mo*. Thus, Miyagawa (2005, 2007) assumes that the indeterminate pronoun is associated with the focus feature which gives it such an interpretation. Given this assumption, the acceptability in (41b) is explained under the present EPP system as follows: Because the indeterminate pronoun combined with the particle *-mo* is used as the Theme DP and thus the DP is interpreted as the focus of the sentence, the EPP on T raises the specially focused DP to the Spec of TP; consequently, the DP can c-command the reflexive before the application of the scrambling of the Location PP to the sentence-initial position.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I proposed that in the existential construction, nominative Case on the Theme DP is assigned via AGREE and thus the DP remains in-situ throughout the derivation (cf. Chomsky (2000, 2001)). Furthermore, I argued that in this construction, the EPP on T is satisfied by the Location PP, which does not enter into an AGREE relation with T. I demonstrated that this property of A-movement in Japanese, which is not usually observed in English, follows from the EPP system in Focus-prominent languages (Miyagawa (2005, 2007)), which can give an appropriate account for the mysterious paradox in the construction.

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