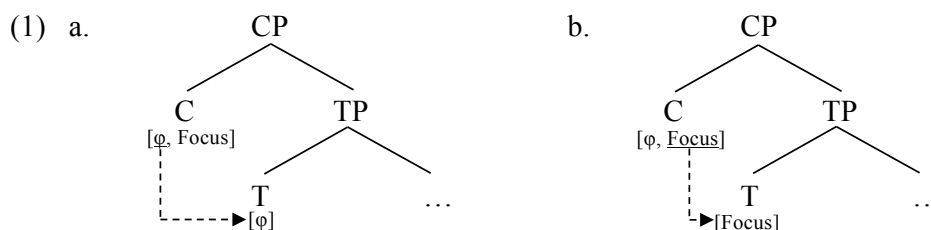


Two Types of Focus-Prominent Languages and Diachronic Change in Japanese Syntax*

Suguru Mikami

1. Introduction

Since the introduction of the Principles-and-Parameters approach by Chomsky (1981), many attempts have been made to capture the universality and diversity of human languages. Miyagawa (2010) advocates the Strong Uniformity and proposes the parameterization of feature inheritance. According to his parametric view, every language is seen as sharing the same set of grammatical features (i.e. \varnothing -feature, focus-feature) and manifesting these features overtly, and syntactic differences between individual languages are reduced to a difference in the type of feature that is passed down by the mechanism of feature inheritance, as shown in (1):¹



* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Pre-Workshop on the Three-Tier Model of Language Use: the Frontiers of Linguistic Inquiry Developed by Young Researchers, held at the University of Tsukuba on September 29, 2016. For many stimulating and rewarding discussions regarding an earlier version of this paper, I am indebted to Nobuhiro Kaga, Masaharu Shimada, Mikinari Matsuoka, Hiroaki Konno and Mai Osawa. I am also grateful to my *TES* reviewers, Masatoshi Honda and Yukihiro Kanda, for their careful reading of my original manuscript and their valuable suggestions for improvement. Needless to say, any remaining errors and shortcomings are my own. This work is supported in part by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers 15K16749 and 16H03428.

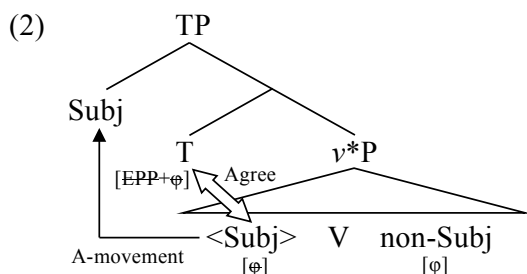
¹ Miyagawa (2017) further classifies languages into the following four types according to the patterns of feature inheritance:

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|----------|
| (i) Category I: | $C_{\varnothing}, T_{\delta}$ | Japanese |
| Category II: | $C_{\delta}, T_{\varnothing}$ | English |
| Category III: | $C, T_{\varnothing/\delta}$ | Spanish |
| Category IV: | $C_{\varnothing/\delta}, T$ | Dinka |
- (Miyagawa (2017:4))

In this paper, however, I adopt the original version of the parameterization of feature inheritance proposed by Miyagawa (2010) and consider the possibilities of the linguistic theory on the basis of the dichotomy between Category I (i.e. Focus-prominent languages) and Category II (i.e. Subject-prominent languages). Thus, I leave for future research the detailed discussion of the theoretical and empirical adequacy of the new classification.

(1a) illustrates the pattern of feature inheritance in Subject-prominent languages like present-day English (henceforth, PDE). In this structure, both a ϕ -feature and a focus-feature are inherently located in the phase head C and the former is then inherited to T, as is assumed in the original version of the feature inheritance mechanism (cf. Chomsky (2008), Richards (2007), etc.). On the other hand, as is schematized in (1b), Focus-prominent languages like present-day Japanese (PDJ) involve the inheritance of a focus-feature in its derivational system, with a ϕ -feature remaining on C throughout the derivation.²

This parameterization further provides the two types of languages with a different method by which the language types satisfy the requirement of the EPP on T. In Subject-prominent languages, the EPP on T works in tandem with the inherited ϕ -feature and triggers the A-movement of an element that establishes an Agree relation with T through the ϕ -feature.³



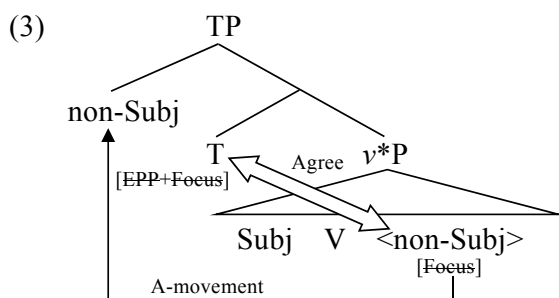
In this derivational system, both the subject element and the object element possess a matching ϕ -feature. However, given that the former is base-generated in a higher position than the latter, it follows that the former always enters into an Agree relation with T and moves to the Spec of TP.⁴ That is, the Spec position serves as the so-called ‘subject position’ in the type of languages. By contrast, the EPP on T

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

³ In this paper, following Miyagawa (2010), I assume that agreement occurs to establish a functional relation and that movement triggered by agreement takes place in order to keep a record of functional relations for semantic and information-structure interpretations.

⁴ Chomsky (2001) defines the locality conditions in order for the Agree operation to be properly implemented in the following way: (i) The features of P and G must match, (ii) P must c-command G, and (iii) there cannot exist a matching element intervening between P and G. In addition, Chomsky proposes another condition for Agree, often called the Activation Condition, which states that a goal must have an uninterpretable feature to obtain agreement. However, this condition is considered irrelevant to Miyagawa’s (2010) linguistic theory: In his derivational system, as stated in footnote 3, agreement is assumed to occur to establish functional relations. This contrasts with Chomsky’s original version, which views the operation as a means to value the unvalued features of both P and G.

in Focus-prominent languages does not necessarily raise a subject element to its Spec position, because it works coupled with the inherited focus-feature and triggers the A-movement of a focused element, irrespective of its grammatical function (cf. É. Kiss (1998)). Thus, when counted as the closest candidate bearing a matching focus-feature, a non-subject element can undergo A-movement to the Spec of TP, with the subject element remaining in its original position, as illustrated in (3):



In this type of languages, the Spec of TP can be occupied by either a subject element or a non-subject element; therefore, this position is no longer considered the subject position. Rather, the position establishes its status as the ‘focus position’ in that the EPP on T necessarily attracts a focused element.

In this paper, I explore the theoretical and empirical applicability of this linguistic theory. More specifically, focusing on the ambiguity with respect to the status of the Spec of TP in PDJ and the applicability of ‘purely’ EPP-driven A-movement in the language, I propose that there exist two types of Focus-prominent languages and the types be determined depending on whether the Spec of TP is allowed to be filled with a non-focused element in the absence of a focused element: the strong-type and the weak-type. Furthermore, to validate the further classification of Focus-prominent languages, I demonstrate that the two types succeed in capturing the diachronic change of Japanese syntax: PDJ and Old Japanese (OJ) are, respectively, reclassified as a weak-type and a strong-type language, and Japanese syntax has undergone parametric change from the strong-type to the weak-type in its history.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews the ambiguous status of the Spec of TP and the applicability of purely EPP-driven A-movement in PDJ. Section 3 proposes the two types of Focus-prominent languages under Miyagawa’s linguistic theory. Section 4 verifies the validity of the further classification through the examination of the diachronic change in Japanese syntax. Section 5 offers some concluding remarks.

2. The Ambiguous Status of the Spec of TP and ‘Purely’ EPP-Driven A-Movement in PDJ

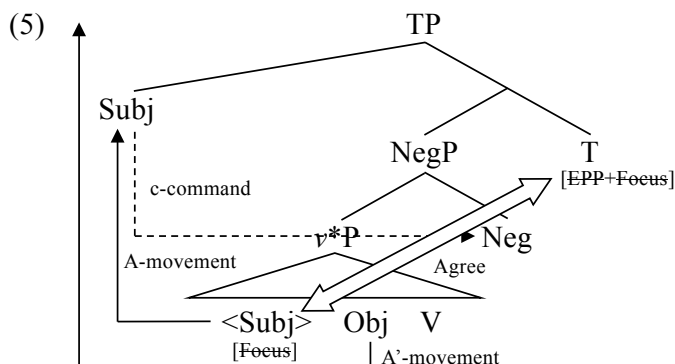
As briefly reviewed in the introduction, Miyagawa (2010) parameterizes feature inheritance and divides human languages into Subject-prominent languages and Focus-prominent languages on the basis of the type of inherited feature. In each of the language types, the EPP on T works in tandem with the inherited feature and triggers the A-movement of the element that establishes an Agree relation with T through the inherited feature. According to his parametric view, PDJ belongs to the Focus-prominent type, in which a focus-feature is inherited from C to T. Thus, unlike in the case of Subject-prominent languages like PDE, the Spec of TP serves as the focus position in that the EPP on T in the Focus-prominent type raises to its Spec position the element possessing a matching focus-feature, irrespective of its grammatical function. Let us consider the derivation of the following sentence:⁵

- (4) *Tesuto-o ano gakusei-dake-ga uke-nakat-ta.*
 Test-Acc that student-only-Nom take-Neg-Past
 ‘It is only that student that did not take the test.’ (only > not, *not > only)

In this sentence, the object element *Tesuto-o* ‘test-Acc’ is preposed across the subject element through Medium Scrambling. Miyagawa (2001) argues that it is in principle possible for the Spec of TP to be filled with a scrambled object element in certain cases of Medium Scrambling (cf. Kuroda (1988)). In this case, however, it is only the subject element combined with the *dake*-phrase ‘only-phrase’ that can satisfy the requirement of the EPP on T, and the object element has no option but to move to the sentence-initial position through the A’-movement type of scrambling. The *dake*-phrase is considered the only element that bears focushood in the sentence.⁶

⁵ The glossing abbreviations used in this paper are listed alphabetically as follows. Acc: accusative, Aux: auxiliary, Conj: conjunction, Dat: dative, Foc: focus, Gen: genitive, IZ: *izen* (perfective), Loc: locative, Neg: negative, Nom: nominative, Q: question, RT: *rentai* (adnominal), SS: *shuushi* (conclusive), Top: topic

⁶ Takano (2003) argues that the *dake*-phrase functions as a focused phrase, when combined with the nominative particle.



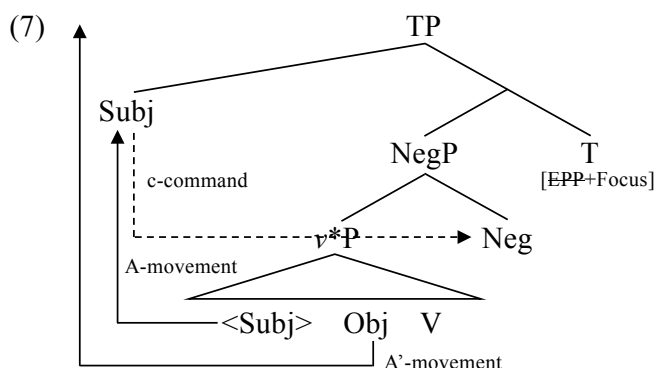
Thus, as illustrated in (5), the focused subject element obligatorily undergoes A-movement to the Spec of TP and asymmetrically c-commands the Neg-element, which is generally assumed to be base-generated between v^*P and TP (cf. Pollock (1989), Shibata (2014)). This configuration induces the obligatory wide scope interpretation of the subject element over the Neg-element.

However, it is not always the case that PDJ sentences contain such a focused element that serves as a candidate to enter into an Agree relation with T and move to the Spec of TP in Focus-prominent languages. Miyagawa (2010) proposes purely EPP-driven A-movement as the last-resort method to fulfill the requirement of the EPP on T, and argues that in the absence of a focused element, the Spec of TP must be filled by a non-focused element. Unlike the movement that is motivated by the necessity of a series of agreement operations, this movement is assumed to be applied only for the purpose of filling the Spec position, fully independently of the implementation of the agreement operation; therefore, all the candidates for the movement are non-focused elements, which fail to enter into an Agree relation with T due to their lack of focushood. Consider the derivation of the following sentence with respect to the application of this movement:

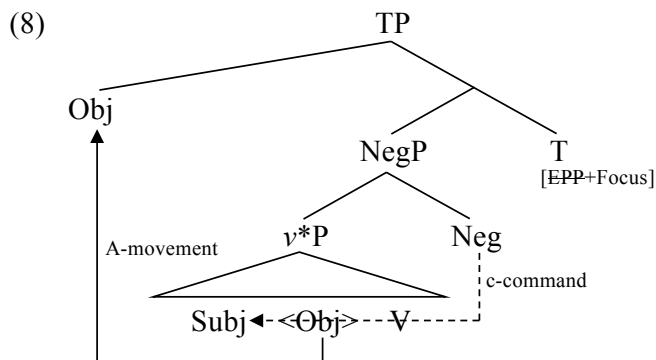
- (6) Tesuto-o zen'in-ga uke-nakat-ta. (Miyagawa (2001:299))
 Test-Acc all (the people)-Nom take-Neg-Past
 'All (the people) did not take the test.' (not > all, all > not)

In this scrambled sentence, the *dake*-phrase functioning as the subject element in (4) is replaced with the non-focused element *zen'in* 'all (the people),' and we can obtain both the partial negation interpretation and the total negation interpretation. There are two options to satisfy the requirement of the EPP on T through the last-resort mechanism in such a transitive sentence that contains no focused element; that is, the Spec of TP can be filled with either a subject element or an object element. In

the former case, the object element undergoes A'-scrambling to the sentence-initial position, and the subject element asymmetrically c-commands the Neg-element throughout the derivation:



In this derivational pattern, the subject element, which is non-focused, obligatorily takes wide scope over the Neg-element. On the other hand, in the latter case, the derivation will be as illustrated in (8) when the object element that is non-focused undergoes A-scrambling to the Spec of TP:



In this case, the subject element remains in its original position and it is c-commanded by the Neg-element throughout the derivation. This configuration results in the narrow scope of the subject element with respect to the Neg-element.

In this section, I have confirmed the ambiguous status of the Spec of TP in PDJ. Given the inherently assumed EPP properties of Focus-prominent languages, PDJ requires the Spec of TP to always serve as the focus position. Thus, the Spec position is expected to be filled with a focused element in any case, in the same way that the Spec position is always occupied by the subject element in PDE as a

Subject-prominent language.⁷ However, as illustrated in the configurations in (7) and (8), PDJ actually allows the Spec position to be filled by a non-focused element in the absence of a focused element. This strongly suggests that in PDJ, the Spec of TP does not necessarily function as the focus position and the language triggers the application of purely EPP-driven A-movement as the last-resort method for the requirement of the EPP on T.

3. Two Types of Focus-Prominent Languages

In this section, focusing on the gap between the theoretically expected status of the Spec of TP in Focus-prominent languages and the actual ambiguous status observed in PDJ, I classify Focus-prominent languages into two types on the basis of the presence/absence of ambiguity with respect to the status of the Spec of TP. More specifically, I argue that Focus-prominent languages can be decomposed into the strong-type and the weak-type according to whether the requirement of the EPP on T can be satisfied through the purely EPP-driven A-movement of a non-focused element in the absence of a focused element. The essential properties of each type are summarized as follows:

(9) The Properties of the Two Types of Focus-Prominent Languages:

	Strong Type	Weak Type
Type of Inherited Feature	Focus-Feature	Focus-Feature
Status of the TP-Spec	Focus Position	(*non-)Foc Position iff Foc-Elem. Contained
Agreementless Movement (including 'Purely' EPP-Driven A-Movement)	*	✓

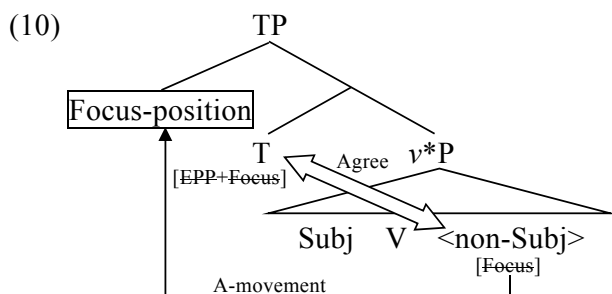
As shown in the table above, both of the two types involve the inheritance of a focus-feature from C to T. Thus, as far as a focused element is introduced into the

⁷ One might wonder if in the Locative Inversion Construction in English, the Spec of TP is not filled with a subject element, because the element is realized post-verbally, as shown in the following examples:

- (i) a. In the corner was a lamp.
- b. Into the room walked John.

However, Mikami (2010) argues that even in the so-called 'stylistic inversion' constructions, the Spec position is occupied by the subject element for the obligatory fulfillment of the requirement of the EPP on T, although the lower copy of the subject element is pronounced in its original position at PF. For a more detailed discussion of the validity of the analysis, see Mikami (2010).

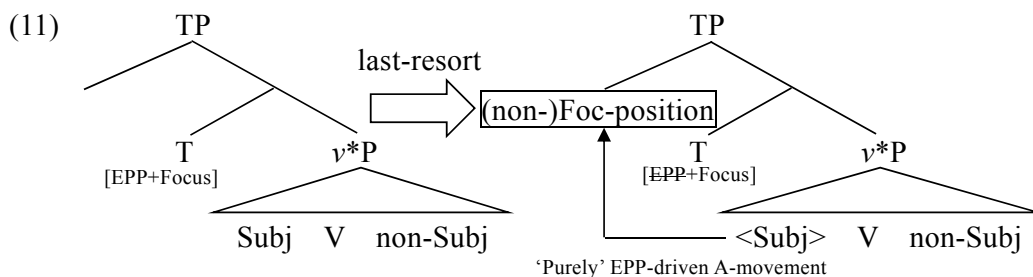
derivation, both the types force the Spec of TP to function as the focus position, thereby exhibiting the same derivational pattern: As soon as the focus-feature is passed down, the EPP on T works in tandem with the inherited focus-feature and raises to its Spec position the closest candidate bearing a matching feature:



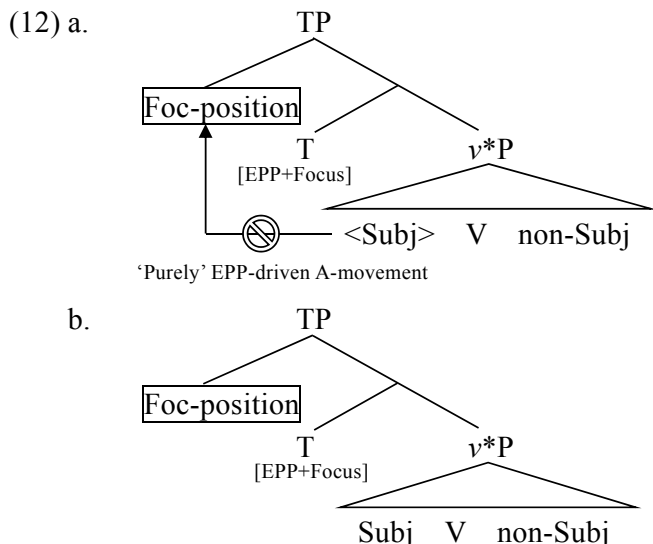
As reviewed in the introduction, this would be the derivational pattern of Focus-prominent languages that can be theoretically expected under the parameterization of feature inheritance advocated by Miyagawa (2010), in that the focus-agreement relation is completely established between T and the focused element and the requirement of the EPP on T is satisfied by the focused element.

In contrast, when no focused element is involved in the derivation, the two types show a distinctive derivational pattern. In the weak type of Focus-prominent languages, once the inheritance of a focus-feature is implemented, T inevitably attempts to seek a matching focus-feature in a certain search domain, even though the focus-agreement is not completed due to the lack of candidates bearing the relevant matching feature. Following the agreement failure, the type of language triggers the purely EPP-driven A-movement of a non-focused element in order to satisfy at least the requirement of the EPP on T, as Miyagawa (2010) assumes for PDJ:⁸

⁸ According to Chomsky (2001, 2008) and Richards (2007), uninterpretable features must be valued and deleted in the course of narrow syntax; otherwise they cause crash at the interfaces. In this paper, I adopt Miyagawa's (2010) linguistic theory, in which it is assumed that agreement occurs to establish functional relations and the Agree operation is insensitive to the Activation Condition, in contrast with Chomsky's original version (also see footnotes 3 and 4); therefore, a different treatment would be expected for the features unchecked throughout the derivation. I tentatively assume that the features on T that remain unchecked throughout the derivation because of the agreement failure do not cause the derivation to crash at the interfaces, and I leave for future research how such unchecked features are treated under Miyagawa's theoretical framework.



In this derivational pattern, the Spec of TP is filled by a non-focused element, but this configuration raises no theoretical problem. In the weak type, the Spec of TP need not function as the focus position in the absence of a focused element. Contrastively, the strong type of Focus-prominent language requires the Spec of TP to always function as the focus position. That is, in this type of language, it is only a focused element that is considered eligible for occupying the Spec position in any case. Thus, when no focused element is contained in the derivation, a non-focused element fails to undergo purely EPP-driven A-movement to the Spec position functioning as the focus position, unlike in the case of the weak-type of Focus-prominent language:



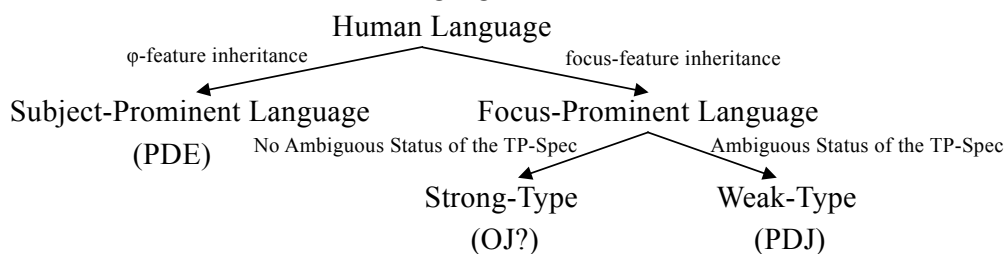
Here, this type of language has no other options available; therefore, as illustrated in (12b), the Spec of TP remains vacant throughout the derivation, without the requirement of the EPP on T satisfied and the focus-feature on T checked.

As described above, in the weak type of Focus-prominent language, the Spec of TP does not necessarily function as the focus position, which makes it possible, in

principle, for the position to be filled with a non-focused element through purely EPP-driven A-movement. As stated in section 2, this movement is defined as the last-resort method to fulfill the requirement of the EPP on T, and it is applied accompanied by no agreement operation. In this paper, on the basis of this applicability of purely EPP-driven A-movement in PDJ, I identify this ‘agreementless’ type of movement as a property characteristic of weak-type Focus-prominent languages.⁹ Furthermore, given Saito and Fukui’s (1998) view that the movement which is not motivated by the necessity of feature checking is an optional operation, it is reasonable to suppose that the agreementless type of movement is applied optionally in general, and the obligatory nature of purely EPP-driven A-movement follows independently from the EPP properties on T in the weak-type.¹⁰

The proposed two types of Focus-prominent languages incorporated into the linguistic theory on the basis of the parameterization of feature inheritance, human languages are newly classified as represented in (13):

(13) New Classification of Human Languages:



⁹ One might pose a reasonable question with respect to the applicability of the agreementless type of movement: Why is the type of movement restricted to the weak-type of Focus-prominent language? However, unfortunately, I currently cannot provide an adequate answer to the question. In this paper, I only attempt to point out the correlation between the presence of purely EPP-driven A-movement and the licensing of agreementless movement, and I leave the principled explanation for future research.

¹⁰ This argument theoretically predicts that Subject-prominent languages like PDE do not exhibit the agreementless types of movement, because in the type of language, the Spec of TP is always filled with the subject element and purely EPP-driven A-movement is not applied in any case. Contrary to the prediction, Saito and Fukui (1998) argue that, in addition to Scrambling in Japanese, Heavy NP Shift in English is also viewed as a case involving the movement that is not motivated by the necessity of feature checking. However, Mikami (2012) proposes the analysis of Heavy NP Shift under the copy theory of movement and argues that, like normal object elements, the ‘shifted’ object element in the construction establishes an Agree relation mediated by the ϕ -feature and moves to the “object position” at narrow syntax, although the element is realized in a non-canonical position because of the pronunciation of the lower copy at PF (also see footnote 7). If this analysis is on the right track, it follows that no “agreementless” types of movement is involved in the derivation of Heavy NP Shift; therefore, the theoretical prediction can be maintained.

In this new classification, while PDE remains categorized as a Subject-prominent language, PDJ constitutes the new category of the weak-type of Focus-prominent languages. Then, what languages are classified into the strong-type? In the next section, I examine the possibility to identify OJ as such.

4. Diachronic Change in Japanese Syntax

In section 3, I proposed the two types of Focus-prominent languages and reclassified PDJ as the weak-type of Focus-prominent language, which does not establish the stable status of the Spec of TP and allows for the agreementless type of movement, including purely EPP-driven A-movement. In this section, to verify the further classification of Focus-prominent languages, I attempt to characterize OJ as a strong-type, providing the possibility of a parametric change in Japanese syntax from the strong-type to the weak-type.¹¹

4.1. The Kakari-Musubi Construction in OJ and Its Structural Change

The first argument for the parametric change in Japanese syntax comes from the development of the *kakari-musubi* construction in OJ and its structural change.¹² In this construction, the presence of a focus particle in the sentence induces a change in the inflectional ending of a verb: When declarative clauses contain no focus particle, the verb takes the conclusive (*shuushi*) form, as shown by the data from *Manyoshu* (MYS) in (14); however, when the phrase that is marked by the focus particles like *zo*, *namu*, *ya* or *ka* occurs, the adnominal (*rentai*) form is used, and when the focus particle *koso* is contained, the perfective (*izen*) form is used, as in (15):

(14) Ume-no pana ima sakari na-ri.
 plum-Gen flower now open BE-SS
 ‘The plums are now in bloom.’ (MYS 820)

(15) a. A-ga kwofu-ru kimi-zo kiso-no yo ime-ni
 1SG-Gen love-RT lord-ZO last-Gen night dream-Dat

¹¹ Under the Principles-and-Parameters approach, syntactic change can also be viewed as change in the parametric values specified for a given language, and a unified and principled explanation can be given for both cross-linguistic variations and diachronic changes (cf. Roberts and Roussou (2003)).

¹² The *kakari-musubi* construction is not observed in PDJ (at least in standard Japanese). In the traditional Japanese studies, this phenomenon is generally considered having been lost by the Muromachi period (14th to 15th centuries) as a result of the collapse of the distinction between the adnominal form and the conclusive form, which occurred in the 12th through 15th centuries (cf. Ohno (1993)).

mi-ye-tu-ru.

see-PASS-PRV-RT

‘My beloved appeared in my dream last night.’ (MYS 150)

- b. Pito-koso sira-ne, matu-pa siru ramu.
 person-KOSO know-Neg.IZ pine-Top know Aux

‘Though people do not understand, the pine may know.’ (MYS 145)

Furthermore, the *kakari-musubi* construction also shows word order restrictions in MYS. According to Nomura’s (1993) significant observation, (i) the element combined with the focus particles must precede a Case-marked subject element, and (ii) the focus phrase must follow a *ha*-marked topical element. The crucial data are given in (16) and (17):

- (16) a. Iduku-yu-ka imwo-ga iri-ki-te ime-ni
 where-through-KA dear-Nom enter-come-Conj dream-Dat
 mi-ye-tu-ru
 see-PASS-PRV-RT

‘From where did my dearest come and appear in my dream?’

(MYS 3117)

- b. Nani-wo-ka-mo mikari-no pito-no ori-te
 what-Acc-KA-MO hike-Gen person-Nom pick-Conj
 kazasa-mu
 wear.on.the.hair-will

‘What should hikers pick and wear on the hair?’ (MYS 1974)

- (17) ... Hatsuse-no kawa-ha ura na-mi-ka fune-no
 Hatsuse-Gen river-Top shore absent-ness-KA boat-Nom
 yori-ko-nu?
 approach-come-Neg

‘Is it because Hatsuse River has no shore that no boat comes near?’

(MYS 3225)

The sentences in (16) obey the rule (i) stated above, in which the focus phrase marked by *ka* comes before the *ga/no*-marked subject element.¹³ Similarly, sentence (17) reflects the designated order derived from the two rules, in which the *ha*-marked topical element precedes the focus phrase, followed by the *no*-marked subject element. As is clear from the numbers of examples instantiating each

¹³ In OJ, both *no* and *ga* are used as genitive particles. See Frellesvig (2010) for a brief description of the Case system in OJ.

ordering pattern represented in the tables in (18) and (19), it can be found out that the word order restrictions are fairly strictly imposed on the *kakari-musubi* construction in the Nara period, which strongly suggests that the ordering restrictions result from the type of movement that is motivated by the necessity of feature checking:

(18) Ordering of the Case-marked Subject and the Focus Particle in MYS:

	FP — Subj(<i>ga/no</i>)	Subj(<i>ga/no</i>) — FP
<i>ka</i>	120	5
<i>so</i>	49	1
<i>ya</i>	40	0

(cf. Nomura (2005))

(19) Ordering of the *Ha*-marked Topical Element and the Focus Particle *Ka* in MYS:

FP(<i>ka</i>) — Topic(<i>ha</i>)	Topic(<i>ha</i>) — FP(<i>ka</i>)
3	50

(cf. Watanabe (2005))

However, these word order restrictions no longer hold in the Heian period. The following example comes from the *Tale of Genji* (ToG), in which the *no*-marked subject element precedes the focused element:

- (20) Medurashiki hodo-ni-nomi aru gotaimen-**no** ikade-~~ka~~-ha oroka nara-mu?
 rare extent-in-only is meeting-**Nom** ho-~~KA~~-Top slack be-will
 ‘How could such an infrequent rendezvous not be passionate?’

(21) Ordering of the Case-marked Subject and the Focus Particle in ToG:

FP — Subj(<i>ga/no</i>)	Subj(<i>ga/no</i>) — FP
21	34

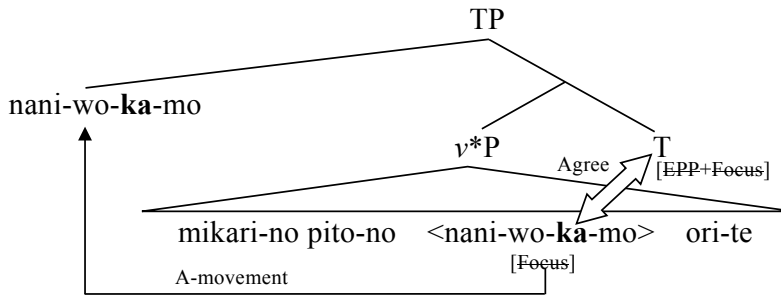
(cf. Nomura (2005))

As shown in the table above, the number of the word order where the focused phrase precedes the Case-marked subject element is smaller than that of the inverse word order in ToG, although the former constitutes the overwhelming majority in MYS.

In this paper, following Kuroda (2007), I attempt to analyze the *kakari-musubi* construction as a manifestation of focus-agreement, and argue that

the element combined with the focus particles obligatorily moves to the Spec of TP for the requirement of the EPP on T in Focus-prominent languages.¹⁴ Thus, taking into consideration the syntactic properties of OJ as a strong-type Focus-prominent language, I propose the following derivation for the *kakari-musubi* construction in the Nara period:

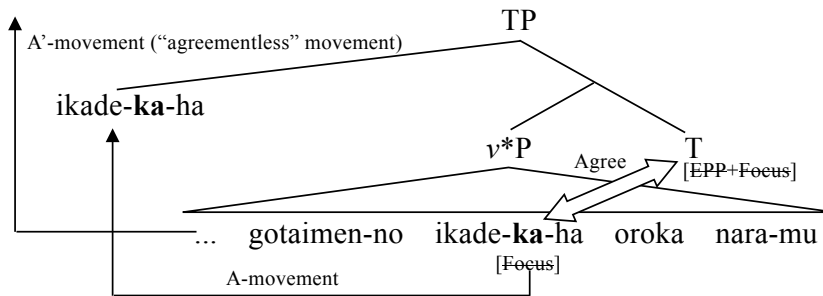
(22) The Structure of the *Kakari-musubi* Construction in the Nara Period:



This illustrates the structure of sentence (16b), in which the phrase combined with the focus particle *ka* establishes an Agree relation with T and moves to the Spec of TP across the *no*-marked subject element.¹⁵ As proposed in section 3, the strong type of languages trigger no agreementless type of movement, and the Case-marked subject element remains in its original position throughout the derivation. As a result, the focused phrase precedes the subject element in most of the examples of the *kakari-musubi* construction in MYS. Then, how is the flexibility of the word order of the construction observed in ToG captured under the proposed mechanism? Suppose that Japanese syntax underwent parametric change from the strong-type to the weak-type in the Heian period. Given the syntactic properties of the weak-type Focus-prominent language, the *kakari-musubi* construction in the Heian period like (20) is given the following structure:

¹⁴ Watanabe (2002, 2005) proposes overt *wh*-movement in OJ and argues that the element combined with the focus particles moves to a focus position outside TP.

¹⁵ In the *kakari-musubi* construction, the *ha*-marked topical element must precede the element combined with the focus particle, as shown in the sentence in (17). In this paper, I cannot provide the adequate explanation for the derivation of this sentence, but the high frequency with respect to the precedence of the topical element strongly suggests that the element undergoes the movement triggered by the necessity of feature checking. One theoretical possibility is that as Rizzi (1997) assumes for the CP structure, TP has a layered structure (cf. Pollock (1989)), where the focus phrase moves to the Spec of the lower TP, while the topical element undergoes A-movement to the Spec of the higher TP. I for now leave the adequacy of this split TP structure for future research.

(23) The Structure of the *Kakari-musubi* Construction in the Heian Period:

In (23), like in the case of the construction in the Nara period, the phrase combined with the focus particle *ka* induces the focus-agreement with T and undergoes the obligatory A-movement to the Spec of TP to satisfy the requirement of the EPP on T. In this case, however, nothing prevents the *no*-marked subject element from freely moving across the focus phrase, because weak-type Focus-prominent languages allow for the agreementless type of movement.

In this subsection, I have demonstrated that the word order restrictions of the *kakari-musubi* construction in the Nara period and their loss in the Heian period can successfully be captured as a consequence of the parametric change from the strong-type to the weak-type in the two periods; that is, whether possible word orders are restricted in the construction is attributed to the presence/absence of agreementless movement in the type of language.

4.2. 'Wo' as a Focus Marker and Its Obligatory Movement

The second argument for the view of OJ as a strong-type Focus-prominent language stems from the unique nature of *wo*-marked object elements in OJ.

The particle *wo* is used in PDJ as the accusative Case marker, and thus it is attached to the object elements of canonical transitive sentences. In OJ, by contrast, the particle can mark object elements, as is the case in PDJ; however, it can also be used to mark various other kinds of phrases: The particle can mark the internal arguments of intransitive verbs, as shown in (24); adjunct phrases, as in (25); and even the subject elements of non-active intransitive verbs, as in (26):

- (24) a. Naniha-to-**wo** kogi-dete mire-ba
 Naniwa Bay-**WO** row-out see-Conj
 'When (we) row from Naniwa Bay...'
 (MYS 4380)

- b. Nara-**wo** ki-fanare ...
 Nara-**WO** come-leave
 ‘...come away from Nara.’ (MYS 4008)
 (Yanagida (2006:40))
- (25) a. Aga koromo sita-ni-**wo** ki-mase ...
 My clothes underneath-**WO** wear-Aux
 ‘wear this robe of mine underneath.’ (MYS 3584)
- b. adisawi-no yafe saku gotoku yatuyo-ni-**wo**
 hydrangeas-Gen eight bloom as eight generations-Loc-**WO**
 imase...
 live
 ‘As hydrangeas have eightfold flowers, so (my lord) live for eight
 generations (MYS 4448)
 (Yanagida (2006:40))
- (26) a. Kimi-wo ki-mase-to tifayaburu kamwi-no yasiro-**wo** noma-nu.
 lord-**WO** come-Aux almighty god-Gen shrine-**WO** pray
 ‘I pray to the shrine of strong and almighty gods that my lord may call
 on me.’ (MYS 2660)
- b. utusemi no inoti-**wo** naga-ku ari-koso ...
 present-world life-**WO** long be-Excl
 ‘(I wish my lord’s) life in this present world be prolonged.’ (MYS 3292)
 (Yanagida (2006:41))

We can observe from the examples that in OJ, the function of the particle is not limited to merely the Case marker, which suggests that the particle bears a special function that the counterpart of PDJ does not.

Yanagida (2006) extensively surveys MYS and clarifies the restricted distribution and the special semantic feature of *wo*-marked object elements in OJ. It has generally been accepted that OJ also allows Case particles to be dropped, as is the case with PDJ, but Yanagida points out that OJ establishes the more systematic patterns: In the SOV word order, a subject element is Case-marked, whereas an object element must appear morphologically unmarked, as shown in (27); when the object element is marked by the particle *wo*, it must precede the Case-marked subject element, thereby resulting in the OSV word order, as in (28):

- (27) a. wago opokimi mikwo-no mikoto-**no** ame-no sita-**Ø** sirasi-
our prince-Gen noble man-**Gen** heaven-Gen under reign-
myesise-ba
Pol-when
'If our noble Prince was to govern the land...' (MYS 167)
- b. waga pi-no mikwo-**no** yorodu-yo-ni kuni-**Ø** sirasa-masi
my sun-Gen prince-**Gen** forever land govern-Aux
Sima-no miya ...
shima-Gen palace
'the Palace of Shima where the Prince of the Sun might govern the land
for ever' (MYS 171)
- c. Sayofime-no ko-**ga** fire-**Ø** furi-si yama-no na
Sayo-Hime-Gen dear-**Gen** scarf wave-Past hill-Gen name
'the name of the hill where Sayo-Hime waved her scarf' (MYS 868)
(Yanagida (2006:45))
- (28) a. Aki-yama-**wo** ikani-ka kimi-**ga** pitori kwoyu-ramu.
autumn-mountain-**WO** how-Q you-**Gen** alone cross-Aux
'How do you cross the autumn mountain alone?' (MYS 106)
- b. Aga te-**wo** koyopi-mo-ka tonono wakugwo-**ga** torite
my hand-**WO** tonight-Foc master-Gen young-son-**Gen** hold
nageka-mu
grieve-Aux
'My master's young son may hold my hand this evening and heave a
sigh of sorrow.' (MYS 3459)
- c. Ware-**wo** yamwi-ni-ya imo-**ga** kwopwitungu aru-ramu.
1P-**WO** dark-Loc-Foc maid-**Gen** long for be-Aux
'My maid may long for me in the darkness.' (MYS 3669)
(Yanagida (2006:46-47))

Furthermore, Yanagida (2006) also focuses on the semantic tendency of *wo*-marked object elements: As is originally pointed out by Motohashi (1989), *wo*-marked object elements in OJ tend to be definite/referential, with non-referential indefinite nouns unmarked. The crucial contrasts are given in (29) and (30):

(29) Definite vs. Indefinite:

- a. sigeyama-no tanipye-ni opuru yamabuki-wo
 wooden mountain-Gen valley-Loc grow yellow-rose-WO
 …pikiuwete
 transplant
 ‘transplant the yellow-roses that grow about the valley of the wooden
 mountain...’ (MYS 4185)
- b. fitomoto-no nadesikwo-Ø uwe-si tsono kokoro
 one-Gen fringed pink plant-Past that heart
 ‘the heart that planted a flowering pink’ (MYS 4070)
 (Yanagida (2006:49-50))

(30) Referential vs. Non-referential:

- a. komatu-ga sita-no kutsa-wo kara-tsane
 small pine-Gen under-Gen grass-WO cut-mood
 ‘Please cut the grass under the small pine.’ (MYS 11)
- b. Akami yama kutsane-Ø kari tsoke
 Akami Mt. grass cut remove
 ‘Mt. Akami I mowed and cut all the grasses’ (MYS 3479)
 (Yanagida (2006:50))

Based on the distributional restriction and the semantic feature of *wo*-marked object elements in OJ, Yanagida concludes that (i) the particle *wo* shows up obligatorily when the object element is moved out of the VP domain, and (ii) the element bearing the particle receives a discourse-related interpretation.¹⁶

¹⁶ Separately, Kato (2003) also makes a significant observation with respect to the relative position of a *wo*-marked object element to a negative complex form. According to Kato’s investigation, in the Heian period, the discontinuous form *e-(...)-V-zu* is used for negative declaratives, and the arguments of verbs may appear either to the left of the negative complex or between the two negatives, as schematized in (i):

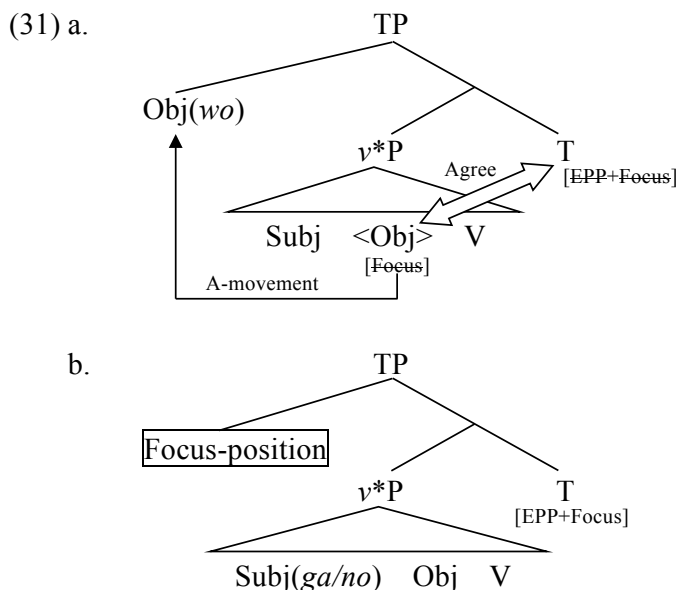
- (i) a. External Form: XP-*e*-V-*zu*
 b. Internal Form: *e*-XP-V-*zu* (Kato (2003:316))

However, when marked with *wo*, the object element must be located outside the discontinuous form, as evidenced by the following data:

- (ii) Kaguya-fime-**wo** g-tatakafi-tome-**zu** nari-nu
 Kaguya-Hime-**WO** Neg-fight.against.keep.back-Neg become
 ‘(We) couldn’t fight against the enemy forces and keep back Kaguya-hime.’
 (Taketori Monogatari)

Given that the Neg-element is base-generated between *v**P and TP (cf. Pollock (1989), Shibata (2014)), this fact also suggests that the *wo*-marked element undergoes movement to a higher

In this paper, following Yanagida's insight, I identify the particle *wo* as a kind of focus marker, and argue that an object element marked with the particle must undergo A-movement to the Spec of TP to satisfy the requirement of the EPP on T:



(31a) illustrates the derivation of the OSV word order, in which the object element is morphologically marked with the particle *wo*. In this structure, given the inapplicability of the agreementless type of movement in OJ as a strong-type Focus-prominent language, the Case-marked subject element remains in its original position throughout the derivation.^{17, 18} In the SOV word order, by contrast, where a subject element is marked by the genitive Case particle and an object element is not morphologically marked, both of the elements stay in their original positions within the VP domain, as illustrated in (31b). That is, the Spec of TP functioning as the focus position remains vacant throughout the derivation, without the requirement of the EPP on T satisfied and the focus-feature on T checked.

In this subsection, on the basis of the extensive study by Yanagida (2006), I have confirmed the distributional restriction and the semantic feature of *wo*-marked object elements in OJ. I have also demonstrated that the unique nature can be

position than NegP.

¹⁷ On the basis of the fact that subject elements in OJ are licensed independently of Tense, Yanagida (2006) argues that Case-marked subject elements must appear in their original position. For further details of the arguments, see Yanagida (2006).

¹⁸ Following Kuroda (2007), I assume that unmarked subject elements are interpreted as topical elements in the same way that *ha*-marked subject elements are, and they obligatorily move out of the VP domain (also see footnote 15).

properly explained under the view of OJ as a strong-type Focus-prominent language.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, to fill the gap between the theoretically expected status of the Spec of TP in Focus-prominent languages and the actual ambiguous status observed in PDJ, I proposed the two types of Focus-prominent languages on the basis of the presence/absence of ambiguity with respect to the status of the Spec of TP and the (in-)applicability of purely EPP-driven A-movement. Furthermore, I validated the further classification of Focus-prominent languages by demonstrating that the two types proposed succeed in capturing the diachronic change of Japanese syntax.

REFERENCES

- Chomsky, Noam (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa Lectures*, Foris, Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, Noam (2001) "Derivation by Phase," *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, Noam (2008) "On Phases," *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory: Essays in Honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, ed. by Robert Freidin, Carlos P. Otero, and Maria Luisa Zubizarreta, 133-166, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- É. Kiss, Katalin (1998) "Identificational Focus versus Information Focus," *Language* 74, 245-273.
- Frellesvig, Bjarke (2010) *A History of the Japanese Language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kato, Yasuhiko (2003) "Negation in Classical Japanese: A Minimalist Perspective," *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language: A Festschrift for Masaru Kajita*, ed. by Shuji Chiba et al., 314-325, Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (1988) "Whether We Agree or Not: A Comparative Syntax of English and Japanese," *Linguisticae Investigationes* 12, 1-47.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (2007) "On the Syntax of Old Japanese," *Current Issues in the History and Structure of Japanese*, ed. by Bjarke Frellesvig, Masayoshi Shibatani and John Charles Smith, 263-317, Kurosio Publishers, Tokyo.
- Mikami, Suguru (2010) "The Locative Inversion Construction in English: Topicalization and the Pronunciation of the Lower Copy," *English Linguistics* 27, 297-328.
- Mikami, Suguru (2012) "Heavy NP Shift in English and A-Movement in Subject-Prominent Language," *English Linguistics* 29, 259-284.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (2001) "EPP, Scrambling, and Wh-in-situ," *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 89-155, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (2005) "On the EPP," *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 49, 201-236.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (2007) "Unifying Agreement and Agreementless Languages," *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 54, 47-66.

- Miyagawa, Shigeru (2010) *Why Agree? Why Move?: Unifying Agreement-based and Discourse-configurational Languages*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (2017) *Agreement Beyond Phi*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Motohashi, Tatsushi (1989) *Case Theory and the History of the Japanese Language*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona.
- Nomura, Takashi. (1993) “Joudaigo-no ‘No’ to ‘Ga’ nituite (On ‘No’ and ‘Ga’ in Old Japanese,” *Kokugo Kokubun* 62, 1-17.
- Nomura, Takashi (2005) “Tyuuko Kakari-musubi-no Henyoo (The Change of Kakari-musubi in Late Old Japanese),” *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 82-11, 36-46.
- Ohno, Susumu (1993) *Kakari-musubi no Kenkyu (Studies on Kakari-musubi)*, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves (1989) “Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 365-424.
- Richards, Marc D. (2007) “On Feature Inheritance: An Argument from the Phase Impenetrability Condition,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 38, 563-572.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1997) “The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery,” *Elements of Grammar: Handbook of Generative Syntax*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281-331, Kluwer Academic, Dordrecht.
- Roberts, Ian and Anna Roussou (2003) *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Saito, Mamoru and Naoki Fukui (1998) “Order in Phrase Structure and Movement,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 29, 439-474.
- Shibata, Yoshiyuki (2014) “Negative Structure in Japanese,” *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 20, 291-299.
- Takano, Yuji (2003) “Nominative Objects in Japanese Complex Predicate Constructions: A Prolepsis Analysis,” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21, 779-834.
- Watanabe, Akira (2002) “The Loss of Overt *Wh*-Movement in Old Japanese,” *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot, 179-195, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Watanabe, Akira (2005) *Minimarisuto Puroguramu Josetsu: Seisei Bunpoo no Aratana Choosen (Introduction to the Minimalist Program: The New Challenge of Generative Grammar)*, Taishukan, Tokyo.
- Yanagida, Yuko (2006) “Word Order and Clause Structure in Early Old Japanese,” *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 15, 37-67.