

CONDITIONS ON AGREEMENT IN JAPANESE\*

**ABSTRACT.** This paper integrates Japanese object honorification within a larger cross-linguistic context, and provides a principled explanation for an otherwise puzzling property: the fact that direct object honorification is blocked in the presence of a dative argument. Following a well-established tradition in the generative literature, we regard honorification as a case of agreement, but, unlike previous approaches, which rely on Spec-Head configurations, we show that Chomsky's (2000) Agree mechanism suffices for (object) agreement to obtain. We argue that the blocking effect of dative elements is a reflex of a more general locality constraint, 'defective intervention', proposed by Chomsky 2000. The analysis also provides a compelling argument in favor of taking the (indirect object; direct object) order in Japanese as basic, and against base-generation approaches to scrambling.

1. OBJECT HONORIFICATION IN JAPANESE

This paper investigates the nature of the object honorification in Japanese and its implications for principles of Universal Grammar. Honorification in Japanese is largely determined by two factors. One is sociolinguistic (the element associated with honorification must be socially superior to and respected by the speaker). The other is syntactic. We will be focusing here exclusively on defining the syntactic conditions for honorification.<sup>1</sup>

\* An early version of this paper was presented at the 3rd Formal Approaches to Japanese Linguistics conference at MIT (May 2001). We would like to thank Koji Sugisaki, Masashi Nomura, and very especially Nobuhiro Miyoshi for helping us sharpen the argument. Later on, one of us (Cedric Boeckx) had the chance to work closely on related issues with Youngmi Jeong. Cedric would like to thank Youngmi profusely for helping him understand the nature of agreement and Agree better, and work out the details of it in Boeckx and Jeong (2002). By incorporating the present material into Boeckx and Jeong, Cedric has benefited from comments from audiences at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Michigan State University, Indiana University, the University of Maryland, and UC Irvine. For suggestions and comments at various points, we thank Richard Kayne, Željko Bošković, Naoki Fukui, and especially Norbert Hornstein. Finally, special thanks to Fritz Newmeyer for supporting this project, and to three very conscientious *NLLT* reviewers.

<sup>1</sup> One reviewer objects to our treatment of (object) honorification as agreement on grounds that unlike agreement in, say, English, which is obligatory, honorific agreement is



We will not concentrate on the fairly well-studied case of subject honorification, in which an honorific marker on the verb is associated with the subject noun phrase, as in (1):

- (1) Tanaka sensei-ga hon-o o-yomi-ni-nat-ta  
*Prof. Tanaka-Nom book-Acc read-SH-past*  
 Prof. Tanaka read the book

Since Shibatani (1977), subject honorification has been treated as an instance of (abstract) subject verb agreement. Rather compelling evidence in favor of this position is to be found in Toribio (1990), Ura (2000), and Hasegawa (2002).

Example (2) illustrates the phenomenon of object honorification, where the verb bears an honorific marker associated with the object noun phrase, not the subject noun phrase:

---

optional and conditioned by extra-grammatical factors. We do not deny the importance of pragmatics in the study of honorification, but it seems to us that the nature of the constraint we discuss in this paper does not obviously lend itself to a pragmatic explanation. The fact that we are able to provide a reasonable syntactic account of an important set of sentences, in our view, argues for a syntactic characterization of honorification. (See also Hasegawa's (2002) comprehensive overview of honorification phenomena in Japanese, where extensive arguments for a syntactic account of them are provided.) The reviewer notes that a syntactic account is inappropriate, since failing to trigger honorification leads to 'discourse inappropriateness' as opposed to ungrammaticality. We disagree. All we need to say to account for the difference the reviewer noted is that the honorification feature is optional. But once present agreement is obligatory, and is governed by the same mechanism of feature-checking. In other words, optionality obscures genuine ungrammaticality.

Norbert Hornstein (p.c.) reminded us that the fact that object honorification with a reflexive is impossible (see (i)) provides a strong argument for treating (object) honorification as (object) agreement:

- (i) \* Tanaka sensei-ga zibun-o o-tasuke-si-ta  
*Prof. Tanaka-Nom self-Acc help-OH-past*  
 Prof. Tanaka helped himself

As Woolford (1999) extensively showed, anaphors typically resist agreement. We therefore expect anaphors to resist honorification.

Note, incidentally, that other grammatical phenomena like focus- and topic-assignment have received comprehensive treatment in terms of syntactic mechanisms like Agree/feature-checking, even though they too depend on extra-linguistic factors. Also, in the past purely syntactic accounts of 'optional' agreement (sometimes associated with different linguistic registers) such as past participle agreement (see especially Kayne 1989) have led to a deepening of syntactic theory, which is also our goal in this paper.

- (2) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-o o-tasuke-si-ta/tasuke-ta  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Acc help-OH-past/help-past*  
 Taro helped Prof. Tanaka

As shown in (2), the morphological shapes of subject and object honorifics are different. The main difference pertains to the suffix associated with the verb. In the case of subject honorification, *ni nar* is used, whereas *su* or *itas* function as object honorifics. The morphology of honorification in Japanese is summarized in (3) (from Harada 1976, p. 504).<sup>2</sup> (4) illustrates both types of honorifics:

- (3) Morphology
- a. HP+INF ni nar- (Subject Honorification)
  - b. HP+INF su-/itas- (Object Honorification)  
 HP = the ‘honorific prefix’, i.e. o-/go- (common to both forms of honorification)  
 INF = the infinitive form
- (4)a. hanasi-ta ‘talk-past’  
 b. o-hanasi ni nat-ta ‘talk-SH-past’  
 c. o-hanasi si-ta ‘talk-OH-past’

In the first modern study of object honorification, Harada (1976, p. 530) proposes a rule called Object Honorific Marking:

- (5) Object Honorific Marking  
 Mark the predicate as [Object Honorification] when an SSS (a person who is socially superior to the speaker) is included in  
 (a) the indirect object, if the predicate is ditransitive, or  
 (b) the direct object, if the predicate is transitive.

<sup>2</sup> Some verbs use a suppletive form instead of the affixes in (3), as illustrated in (i):

(i)	Suppletive Forms	Simple Form
a.	go-ran ni nar-u ‘see-(SH)-pres’	mi-ru ‘see-pres’
b.	mesiagar-u ‘eat-(SH)-pres’	tabe-ru ‘eat-pres’
c.	haiken su-ru ‘see-(OH)-pres’	mi-ru ‘see-pres’
d.	itadak-u ‘eat-(OH)-pres’	tabe-ru ‘eat-pres’

The verbs in examples (11), (15), and (17) are instances of this morphological process.

The relevant examples appear in (6)–(7). In (6), the verb is transitive, and it agrees with the direct object in honorification. In (7), we have a ditransitive predicate, and the verb agrees in honorification with the indirect object:

(6) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-o o-tasuke-si-ta  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Acc help-OH-past*  
 Taro helped Prof. Tanaka

(7) Hanako-ga Tanaka sensei-ni Mary-o go-syookai-si-ta  
*Hanako-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat Mary-Acc introduce-OH-past*  
 Hanako introduced Mary to Prof. Tanaka

(8) illustrates the core phenomenon of the present analysis. The predicate is ditransitive, as in (7), but this time the NP capable of triggering honorification (*Tanaka sensei-o*) functions as the direct object. In such a case, object honorification is impossible. If an object honorific marker surfaces on the verb, we obtain the odd interpretation that Hanako respects Mary. In other words, the honorific marker in a ditransitive predicate can only associate with the indirect object, not the direct object:

(8) \*Hanako-ga Mary-ni Tanaka sensei-o go-syookai-si-ta  
*Hanako-Nom Mary-Dat Prof. Tanaka-Acc introduce-OH-past*  
 Hanako introduced Prof. Tanaka to Mary

Note, incidentally, that changing the word order does not affect the object honorification relation, as shown in (9). The object is unable to control object honorification in the presence of an indirect object:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A reviewer points out several apparent counterexamples to this generalization:

(i) Watasi-wa kaizyoo-ni Tanaka sensei-o o-ture-si-ta  
*I-Top place-Dat Prof. Tanaka-Acc take-OH-past*  
 I took Prof. Tanaka to the place

(ii) Watasi-wa heya-ni Tanaka sensei-o go-annai-si-ta  
*I-Top room-Dat Prof. Tanaka-Acc usher-OH-past*  
 I ushered Prof. Tanaka to the room

In both (i) and (ii) object honorification with the direct object appears to be possible despite the presence of a dative element. However, note that the dative elements at stake are locatives, arguably generated lower than direct objects (see Larson 1988), or adjoined to the thematic domain as a whole – at any rate, plausibly not in a position that would trigger an intervention effect of the kind discussed in the text.

- (9)a. Hanako-ga Mary-o Tanaka sensei-ni go-syookai-si-ta  
*Hanako-Nom Mary-Acc Prof. Tanaka-Dat introduce-OH-past*  
 Hanako introduce Mary to Prof. Tanaka
- b. \* Hanako-ga Tanaka sensei-o Mary-ni go-syookai-si-ta  
*Hanako-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Acc Mary-Dat introduce-OH-past*  
 Hanako introduced Prof. Tanaka to Mary

Our goal in this study is to formulate an empirically correct condition on object honorification that captures the restriction exemplified by (8) in an explanatory fashion. As we describe in section 2, Harada's formulation extends beyond simple cases of indirect objects. After providing the necessary empirical refinements to Harada's generalization, we offer an analysis of object honorification based on Chomsky's (2000) Agree operation. We then show that Chomsky's (2000, 2001a) Defective Intervention Effect on Agree accounts straightforwardly for the conditions on object honorification (section 3). Section 4 embeds Japanese object honorification within a larger context of agreement (or lack thereof), which includes constraints on clitic clustering in Romance and nominative object agreement in the context of quirky subjects in Icelandic. Section 5 is a summary. Appendix 1 discusses the issue of Case assignment in double object constructions. Appendix 2 provides two potential arguments in favor of an Agree-based account of object honorification over a Spec-Head treatment.

## 2. ADDITIONAL OBJECT HONORIFICATION CONFIGURATIONS

In this section, we illustrate the range of objects capable of triggering object honorification in Japanese.

---

The example in (iii), also provided by the reviewer, is perhaps the only one that constitutes a genuine counterexample to our generalization:

- (iii) Watasi-ga tyoosyuu-ni sensei-o go-syookai-si-masu  
*I-Nom audience-Dat teacher-Acc introduce-OH-pres*  
 I'll introduce the teacher to the audience

However, the example may be made compatible with our approach if we treat *tyoosyuu-ni* as a locative of sorts. If that is correct, the sentence should be glossed as 'I'll take the teacher to the audience'.

2.1. *Object Honorification with Ni-NP-objects*

Harada's rule in (5) captures the basic facts about Japanese *ni*-phrases (indirect objects). As shown in (10)–(14), the verbs *kasu* 'lend', *ageru* 'give', *tsukuru* 'make', *osieru* 'teach' and *kakeru* 'call' take indirect *ni*-objects, which are responsible for Object honorification. (That this is the case is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of the sentences below if 'Professor Tanaka' is replaced by 'Mary,' which is incapable of triggering honorification.):

- (10) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-ni/\*Mary-ni  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat/Mary-Dat*  
 Yamada sensei-no-hon-o o-kasi-si-ta  
*Prof. Yamada-Gen book-Acc lend-OH-past*  
 Taro lent Prof. Yamada's book to Prof. Tanaka/to Mary
- (11) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-ni/\*Mary-ni tanjooobi purezento-o  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat/Mary-Dat birthday present-Acc*  
 sasiage-ta  
*give-OH-past*  
 Taro gave the birthday present to Prof. Tanaka/to Mary
- (12) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-ni/\*Mary-ni keeki-o  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat/Mary-Dat cake-Acc*  
 o-tsukuri-si-ta  
*make-OH-past*  
 Taro made the cake for Prof. Tanaka/for Mary
- (13) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-ni/\*Mary-ni insutooru-no sikata-o  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat/Mary-Dat install-Gen way-Acc*  
 o-osie-si-ta  
*teach-OH-past*  
 Taro taught Prof. Tanaka/Mary how to install
- (14) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-ni/\*Mary-ni denwa-o  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Dat/Mary-Dat phone-Acc*  
 o-kake-si-ta  
*call-OH-past*  
 Taro made a phone call to Prof. Tanaka/to Mary

2.2. *Object Honorification with kara-NP-objects*

However, the *ni*-phrase is not the only element which plays a role in the Object honorification in Japanese. As shown in (15)–(17), a ‘from NP’ can also control object honorification:

- (15) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-kara/\*Mary-kara hon-o  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-from/Mary-from book-Acc*  
 o-kari-si-ta/haishaku-si-ta  
*borrow-OH-past/borrow-OH-past*  
 Taro borrowed the book from Prof. Tanaka/from Mary
- (16) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-kara/\*Mary-kara hana-o  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-from/Mary-from flower-Acc*  
 itadai-ta  
*receive-OH-past*  
 Taro received the flower from Prof. Tanaka/from Mary
- (17) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-kara/\*Mary-kara hanasi-o  
*Taro-Top Prof. Tanaka-from/Mary-from story-Acc*  
 ukagat-ta  
*hear-OH-past*  
 Taro heard the story from Prof. Tanaka/from Mary

2.3. *Object Honorification with To-NP-objects*

Also, a *to*-phrase can agree with the verb in honorification. The verbs *hanasi* ‘talk’ and *sagasi* ‘look for’ in (18)–(19) take *to*-phrases and they can agree neither with the ‘about’ NP nor with the accusative NP:

- (18) Taro-ga kinoo Tanaka sensei-to/\*Mary-to  
*Taro-Nom yesterday Prof. Tanaka-with/Mary-with*  
 Yamada sensei-nitsuite o-hanasi-si-ta  
*Prof. Yamada-about talk-OH-past*  
 Taro talked yesterday to Prof. Tanaka/Mary about Prof. Yamada

- (19) Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-to/\*Mary-to Yamada sensei-no  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-with/Mary-with Prof. Yamada-Gen*  
 o-taku-o o-sagasi-si-ta  
*house-Acc look for-OH-past*  
 Taro looked for Prof. Yamada's house with Prof. Tanaka/Mary

#### 2.4. Object Honorification with Benefactives

A reviewer points out that null (dative) benefactives can also trigger object honorification (a fact already discussed by Harada 1976, p. 527). Witness the cases in (20)–(24):

- (20) Watasi-ga obentoo-o otabe-si-masyoo  
*I-Nom lunch-Acc eat-OH-will*  
 I'll eat (your) lunch for you
- (21) Watasi-ga kawarini Eberesuto-ni o-nobori-si-masu  
*I-Nom instead Everest-Dat climb-OH-pres*  
 I'll climb Mt. Everest instead (of you)
- (22) Watasi-ga ryoori-o o-tori-si-masu  
*I-Nom dish-Acc take-OH-pres*  
 I'll take the dishes for you
- (23) Watasi-ga sore-o o-kaki-si-masu  
*I-Nom that-Acc write-OH-pres*  
 I'll write it (for you)
- (24) Watasi-ga denwabangoo-o o-sirabe-si-masu  
*I-Nom phone number-Acc check-OH-pres*  
 I'll check the phone number (for you)

As the reviewer notes, all the cases above are acceptable if they receive a benefactive interpretation. We take those benefactives to be represented syntactically as instances of *pro* (possibly as instances of null applicatives).

To summarize the facts so far, Harada's Object Honorific Marking rule extends beyond simple *ni*-marked indirect objects, and encompasses other instances of (argumental) 'datives'. In all cases, the presence of a 'dative' controls object honorification (i.e., the direct object is incapable of associating with the honorific marker on the verb.) To accommodate all cases

presented in this section, we will refer to ‘indirect objects’ as ‘datives’. Following Shibatani, Toribio, and others, we take honorification to be an instance of (abstract) agreement on a par with the more common  $\Phi$ -feature agreement found in many languages of the world. We further assume that all datives are capable of triggering agreement because their  $\Phi$ -features are accessible in Japanese (for a similar conclusion, based on the behavior of dative subjects, see Ura (1999, 2000)). That is, the postposition/Case-marker associated with the NP does not prevent the latter from agreeing with *v*. The simplest hypothesis, which we will adopt, is to treat such postpositions/Case-markers as adjoined to DP (for arguments in favor of this position, see Nimuma (2000) and Takano (1997), among others; for a related position, see Kayne (2000, 2001)). Thus, we suggest that all datives are DPs, visible to the verb.<sup>4</sup>

Having said that, we revise Harada’s generalization as in (25):<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Shigeru Miyagawa points out (p.c.) that honorification agreement with the direct object is unavailable even if the indirect object is passivized (as in the following *niyotte* passive example). (However, there is a potential interfering factor: the passive morpheme *-rare* also functions as a subject honorification marker in Japanese. A morphological conflict may prevent the realization of both passive and honorific markers. We abstract away from this in this note.)

- (i) \* Mary-ga Hanako-ni-yotte Tanaka sensei-o go-syookai-sare-ta  
*Mary-Nom Hanako-Dat-by Prof. Tanaka-Acc introduce-OH-pass-past*  
 Mary was introduced to Prof. Tanaka by Hanako

This fact can be captured under our analysis if we treat the passive morpheme as a ‘clitic’ doubled by the passivized argument (see Baker et al. 1989). The passive morpheme would absorb the Case/ $\Phi$ -features of *v*, thus blocking agreement with the direct object.

<sup>5</sup> As pointed out to us by Takae Tsujioka (p.c.) object honorification in monotransitive environments seems absent with nominative objects:

- (i) Boku-ga Tanaka sensei-\*ga/o o-tsure-si-tai  
*I-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Nom/Acc take-OH-want-pres*  
 I want to take Prof. Tanaka

This fact may follow from the analysis developed below if T, and not little *v*, acts as a probe for nominative objects, as argued in Nimuma (1999). (Under Nimuma’s analysis, T attracts both the subject and the nominative object, forming mirrored specifiers, as in Richards (1997).) For a detailed treatment of honorification in the realm of nominative objects, see Boeckx and Jeong in preparation.

- (25) Object Honorification Agreement generalization  
 Mark the predicate as [Object Honorification] when an SSS (a person who is socially superior to speaker) is  
 (a) an (argumental) Dative  
 (b) the accusative object, if the predicate does not take a dative argument

### 3. CAPTURING HONORIFICATION VIA AGREE<sup>6</sup>

Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b) proposes as an alternative to the Spec-Head relation the relation Agree to capture properties of agreement. The latter amounts to a process of feature checking (in his terms, valuation) at a distance. Chomsky proposes that Agree takes place under Match, but not every matching pair induces Agree (2000, p. 122). In particular, Chomsky provides one argument in favor of distinguishing Match from Agree. The argument rests on the existence of what he calls “defective intervention effects” (Chomsky 2000, p. 123). Defective intervention arises when an element A matches the featural requirements of a probe P, but fails to agree with it (for reasons we will not go into here; in the case Chomsky discusses, A bears inherent Case, which renders its  $\Phi$ -features inert). Crucially, in such cases, no more deeply embedded element B that matches the featural requirements of P, and is able to agree with it in other circumstances, is accessible for checking, due to the presence of A.

A clear case of intervention arises in Icelandic Quirky subject constructions (the data are taken from Boeckx (2000, 2003c), where the agreement facts are discussed at length). As is well-known, Quirky subjects fail to trigger agreement on the finite verb (26), despite the fact that they behave for all other purposes as *bona fide* subjects (again we assume that this follows from the fact that Quirky elements bear inherent Case, and that inherent Case-marked elements have inert  $\Phi$ -features):

- (26) Stelpunum            var        hjálpað  
       *girls.the.Dat.pl.fem was.3sg helped.neuter.sg*  
       The girls were helped

Yet, their presence blocks the establishment of an agreement relation between the verb and a nominative element (27), which is otherwise possible (28):

<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Youngmi Jeong for extensive discussion on the nature of Agree as it relates to the domain of honorification.

- (27) Mér fannst/\*fundust henni leiðast þeir  
*me.Dat seemed3sg/3pl her.Dat bore they.Nom*  
 I thought she was bored with them
- (28) Mér virðist/virðast þeir vera skemmtilegir  
*me.Dat seem.3sg/3pl they.Nom be interesting.Nom.pl.masc*  
 It seems to me that they are interesting

In terms of Agree, (27) and (28) can be schematized as in (29) and (30), respectively:

- (29) (Dative-NP) (Infl) Verb [... Nominative NP ...]  
└── Agree ──┘
- (30) (Dative-NP) (Infl) Verb [... Dative NP ... [... Nominative NP ...]]  
└── X ──┘

If Valuation were the only significant relation, the intervention effect in (30) would be unexpected, since the quirky element cannot participate in Valuation. However, if Match exists independently of Valuation, the blocking effect in (30) falls into place. Being a closer matching element, the quirky NP renders the nominative NP inaccessible to the finite verb.

We will now argue that the failure of object honorification with a direct object in the presence of an indirect object is another case of ‘defective intervention’.<sup>7</sup> That intervention is indeed defective is shown by the fact that the indirect object itself cannot trigger honorific agreement (it fails to refer to a socially superior person), but nevertheless prevents the direct object (which has the relevant features) from agreeing with *v*. (Our account, like Chomsky’s, raises the question of how Case is checked/assigned to the direct object, if it is not accessible to *v*. We address this issue in Appendix 1; see also Boeckx (2003b).). Thus, schematically, the impossibility of direct object honorification in (8) can be represented as in (31) (parallel to (30)):

- (31) *v* [Dative-NP [ V Accusative-NP]]  
└── X ──┘

<sup>7</sup> Boeckx and Jeong (2002) discuss the possibility of dispensing with the notion of ‘defectiveness’ in the realm of intervention. We will not be concerned with this theoretical issue here, and refer the interested reader to Boeckx and Jeong’s paper.

The first, correct, prediction of our analysis is that in the absence of a dative element, object honorification with the direct object can take place unhindered. As we saw above, this is the case. In monotransitive contexts, *v* can probe for the direct object, and agree with it:

- (32)a. Taro-ga Tanaka sensei-o o-tsure-si-ta  
*Taro-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Acc take-OH-past*  
 Taro took Prof. Tanaka
- b. [<sub>v</sub> *v* [ DO V ]]  
 [ ] AGREE

Another prediction of our proposal is that if the object bearing the relevant feature for honorification is embedded within a larger noun phrase, it should be inaccessible to Agree. As shown in (33)–(34), this prediction is borne out. In (33), *Tanaka sensei* ‘Professor Tanaka’ is embedded inside a noun phrase. By Relativized Minimality, the closer element for an Agree relation with *v* is ‘Mary’.<sup>8,9</sup> Here too ‘Mary’ does not possess the relevant feature for honorification, but nonetheless blocks the search. A similar situation obtains in (34), where *o-tonari-san-o* ‘neighbor’ intervenes<sup>10</sup> (taken

<sup>8</sup> A reviewer observes that in his judgment, the sentence is still odd if ‘Mary-no’ is absent, as in (i).

- (i) \* Watasi-ga Tanaka sensei nituite-no kizi-o haidokusita  
*I-Nom Prof. Tanaka about-Gen article-Acc read-OH-past*  
 I read an article about Prof. Tanaka

The reviewer suggests (and we follow him in this respect) that the sentence may be excluded under our analysis by positing a null *pro* in SpecDP.

<sup>9</sup> We assume that nominals like *kizi-o* ‘article’, or *otaku-o* ‘house’ are not eligible candidates for honorific agreement. Unlike ‘datives,’ which are animate, and thus match the  $\Phi$ -features of *v*, inanimate nouns such as *kizi-o* or *otaku-o* don’t even match the features of *v*. Hence, they are not involved in computing locality conditions. See Boeckx and Jeong (2002) for discussion of this point.

<sup>10</sup> For intervention to obtain in this configuration, we assume, following Fukui (1997), that the A-over-A configuration can be reduced to a Minimality configuration. Such a reduction is possible if we assume that a Probe first sees a label/head such as the NP *o-tonari-san* before the specifier (*Tanaka sensei-no*). For related discussion, see Collins (2002).

from Harada 1976) (unless *o-tonari-san-o* is taken away, in which case *Tanaka sensei-no* becomes accessible to *v*, as in (35)):

- (33) \**Watasi-ga Mary-no Tanaka sensei-nituite-no kizi-o*  
*I-Nom Mary-Gen Prof. Tanaka-about-Gen article-Acc*  
*haidoku-si-ta.*  
*read-OH-past*  
 I read Mary's article about Prof. Tanaka
- (34) \**Watasi-ga Tanaka sensei-no otaku-no o-tonari-san-o*  
*I-Nom Prof. Tanaka-Gen house-Gen neighbor-Acc*  
*o-tazune-si-ta*  
*visit-OH-past*  
 I visited the house next door to Prof. Tanaka's
- (35) *Watasi-ga tanaka sensei-no otaku-o o-tazune si-ta*  
*I-Nom Prof. Tanaks-Gen house-Acc visit-OH-past*  
 I visited Prof. Tanaka's house

Several consequences of our analysis are worth pointing out at this point. First, in order to capture the relevant defective intervention effects, it is crucial for us that the dative element c-command the accusative element. If the reverse were possible, the accusative element would be closer to *v*, and there would be no defective intervention. That, in turn, would entail that the base ⟨IO;DO⟩ order in Japanese is rigid, as originally argued on independent grounds by Hoji (1985). In other words, Miyagawa's (1997) proposal that both ⟨DO;IO⟩ and ⟨IO;DO⟩ word orders are basic in Japanese cannot be correct. If it were, (direct) object honorification in the presence of an indirect (dative) object would be predicted to be possible, as schematized in (36) (the structure that Miyagawa would assign to (9b)):<sup>11</sup>

- (36) [<sub>v'</sub> *v* [DO [IO V]]]  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Agree

<sup>11</sup> Norvin Richards points out (p.c.) that a base-generation analysis *à la* Miyagawa could capture the honorification facts if the direct object were base-generated higher than *v* (in which case, it could not act as a goal, hence trigger agreement). However, in the absence of a principled characterization of possible base-generation sites, this analysis seems *ad hoc*. Further, it does not appear to exclude the possibility of base-generating the indirect object higher than *v*, in which case we would predict honorification agreement to be possible with the direct object, contrary to fact.

As a matter of fact, our analysis provides a powerful empirical argument against any base-generation analysis of scrambling. As we saw in (9) above, word order alternations do not affect object honorification, which follows if the latter is determined via Agree. Take, for concreteness, Bošković and Takahashi's (1998) analysis of scrambling, which to date is the most detailed base-generation analysis of the phenomenon. According to them, 'scrambled' phrases are in fact base-generated in their surface positions, and undergo covert (LF) lowering to check their theta-roles, thereby satisfying Full Interpretation (FI). Under Bošković and Takahashi's analysis, a scrambling sentence like (37) is analyzed as (38):

(37) Sono hon-o John-ga [ Mary-ga katta to] omotteiru  
*that book-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM bought that thinks*  
 John thinks that Mary bought that book

(38) Numeration  $\rightarrow$  (a)  $\rightarrow$  (c) (LF);  $\rightarrow$  (b) (PF)  
 a. [sono hon-o [John-ga [[Mary-ga [katta]] to] omotteiru]]  
 b. sono hon-o John-ga Mary-ga katta to ometteiru  
 c.  $t$  [John-ga [[Mary-ga [[sono hon-o] katta]] to] omotteiru  
     |\_\_\_\_\_ LF-lowering \_\_\_\_\_| $\uparrow$

Note that if Agree is taken as a derivational process (i.e., it applies as soon as the probe is introduced), as it is in Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b), Bošković and Takahashi would predict that object honorification is not possible if the object is scrambled, contrary to fact (see (9)). This is so because for them the object is not in the c-command domain of the agreeing verb at the point when Agree applies. A probe-Goal relation could therefore not be established. (As a reviewer notes, this is especially true in the case of long-distance scrambling, for which Bošković and Takahashi merge the scrambled object in the matrix clause, where there cannot be any c-command relation between the object and the embedded  $v$  upon First-Merge).

Bošković and Takahashi also incorrectly predict no intervention effect by datives in (9b). To see this, it is worth discussing how they account for the absence of superiority effects under scrambling. As has often been noted, scrambling of both objects in a ditransitive structure may result in either order. Consider (39):

- (39)a. Sono hon-o John-ni Mary-ga watasita  
*that book-Acc John-Dat Mary-Nom handed*  
 Mary handed the book to John
- b. John-ni sono hon-o Mary-ga watasita

Bošković and Takahashi account for the absence of superiority by capitalizing on the fact that scrambling is lowering. Since movement is not to a c-commanding position, they predict no Relativized Minimality (Superiority) effects, since the latter arise only when Closeness, which is defined in terms of c-command, is violated. Such an account works nicely for (39), but it clearly fails to predict the distribution of the object honorific marker in Japanese, as it treats both objects of a ditransitive predicate as equally close to *v*.

Based on the object honorification facts discussed here, we conclude that scrambling must receive a movement-based account.

Our analysis also provides evidence for Nemoto’s (1993) and Kitahara’s (2002) claims that the position occupied by the object under “short scrambling” is not a VP-adjoined position (contra Ura 1996, 2000; Takano 1998). It must be higher than *v*. This is so because if the VP-adjunction analysis were correct, the structure of (9b) would be (40).

- (40) [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> *v* [<sub>VP</sub> Obj<sub>1</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> Dat ... t<sub>1</sub> ... ]]]  
 \_\_\_\_\_] Agree

At the point of adjunction to VP, the direct object is closer to *v* than the indirect object, and we would thus expect *v* to be able to agree with the direct object, contrary to fact. Under Nemoto’s and Kitahara’s analyses, short scrambling applies after the merger of *v*, and therefore fails to affect the relevant Agree relation (41):<sup>12</sup>

- (41) [<sub>vP</sub> Obj<sub>1</sub> *v* [<sub>VP</sub> Dat t<sub>1</sub> V]]

Before closing this section, we would like to point out that taking *v* to be the relevant probe (locus of object honorification) captures the distribution of the honorific marker more straightforwardly than an analysis that assumes a (full-blown) ‘Split VP’ structure. Building upon Johnson

<sup>12</sup> Note, incidentally, that the object undergoing short scrambling may move through a VP-adjoined position on its way to Spec<sub>vP</sub>, if successive cyclic movement is not a series of independent steps (as in Chomsky 2000, 2001a, b), but rather part of the operation Form Chain, which applies only after the introduction of the highest probe (*v*, in our case), as in Takahashi (1994), Collins (1994), Bošković (2002), and Boeckx (2001b, 2003a).

(1991), Koizumi (1993, 1995) (see also Lasnik 1995) argues that the locus of object agreement is below *v*, as in (42):

$$(42) \quad [{}_{vP} v^0 [{}_{AGRoP} AGRo^0 [{}_{VP} V^0 [OBJ]]]]$$

Bures (1992) already argued that in double object constructions, the relevant structure must be as in (43) (for additional arguments and related proposals, see Collins and Thráinsson 1996; Koizumi 1995; Kayne 2001):

$$(43) \quad [{}_{AGRioP} AGRio^0 [{}_{vP} v^0 [{}_{AGRdoP} AGRdo^0 [{}_{VP} IO V^0 [DO]]]]]$$

Note that such a structure would fail to capture the object honorification facts in Japanese. Here the direct object moves to *AGRdo*, hence would be able to trigger agreement.<sup>13</sup>

An alternative structure for ditransitives, explored in Lasnik (1995) and subsequent work, is given in (44):

$$(44) \quad [{}_{vP} v^0 [{}_{AGRioP} AGRio^0 [{}_{VP} IO [V^0 [{}_{AGRoP} AGRo^0 V^0 [DO]]]]]]$$

Here, each argument is dominated by its Case shell, and no notion of equidistance is needed to account for Case-marking. But note that here too, the direct object raises to some *AGR* projection; hence, if no additional assumption is made, we expect direct object honorification agreement to be possible in ditransitives.

In sum, taking *v* as a probe for object agreement seems to yield the most straightforward account of object agreement in Japanese.

#### 4. FROM HONORIFICATION IN JAPANESE TO AGREEMENT CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY

The picture that emerges from our account of object honorification in Japanese as subject to defective intervention effects is that (honorific) agreement in Japanese is no different from ( $\Phi$ -) agreement cross-linguistically. As already pointed out in section 3, defective intervention accounts for agreement constraints in Icelandic (see Boeckx 2000, 2003c for fuller discussion and references). In the presence of a Quirky “dative” in the *c*-command domain of the probe, a nominative object fails to trigger agreement on the finite verb.

<sup>13</sup> Most accounts adopting (43) rely on the notion of equidistance (Chomsky 1993), which in a way not dissimilar to the base-generation analyses discussed above, allows for the direct object and the indirect object to be ‘equally close’ – precisely what we must avoid.

Boeckx (2000) argues that the Icelandic facts mirror constraints on clitic clustering in Romance, in particular, the so-called *me-lui* constraint (Perlmutter 1971; Kayne 1975; Bonet 1994). This constraint basically says that the presence of the dative clitic prevents the presence of a 1st/2nd person accusative clitic. If an accusative clitic is used, it must be 3rd person.<sup>14</sup> Taking 3rd person to be the default, Boeckx argues that the presence of a dative clitic prevents the presence of an agreeing accusative clitic – another case of defective intervention effect on agreement (we assume that the dative clitic c-commands the accusative clitic upon first Merge (before cliticization), as in Japanese; hence the intervention effect):

(45) *Me-lui* Constraint

If AGR<sub>dative</sub> → AGR<sub>obj</sub> = 3rd person (default)

- a. \*Jean me lui a recommandé  
*Jean me.Acc him.Dat has recommended*  
 Jean recommended him to me
- b. Jean le lui a recommandé  
*Jean it.Acc him.Dat has recommended*  
 Jean recommended it to him

We can now liken the Japanese facts to those found in Romance and Icelandic.<sup>15</sup> If so, our analysis begs the question of whether functional heads in Japanese are as impoverished as has sometimes been claimed (see, especially, Fukui 1986, 1995). Given that we find constraints on agreement in Japanese similar to those found cross-linguistically (i.e., in languages where agreement is more pervasive, morphologically speaking), it would be undesirable to say that agreement is absent or fundamentally different in Japanese. There is, however, a sense in which agreement in Japanese is ‘different’. As Shigeru Miyagawa has observed (in a comment following our presentation of this material at FAJL 3), agreement in Japanese seems to be restricted to honorification (or ‘person’ features). One does not find

<sup>14</sup> This constraint holds irrespective of the order of clitics within the cluster, which varies across Romance. For a recent overview, see Manzini and Savoia (2001).

<sup>15</sup> Richard Kayne (p.c.) reminds us that the *me-lui* constraint is less sharp across Romance with 2nd person clitics. Consider the following example involving a 2nd person honorific clitic: \*?Jean vous lui a recommandé ‘J. you(polite) him recommended’/‘J. recommended him to you’. To our ears, the *me-lui* constraint is still quite sharp in such cases. Should there be a difference between Romance and Japanese, we would like to claim that it is due to the ‘defective’ character of agreement in Japanese, which does not leave much room to maneuver in non-agreement situations (see the text below).

agreement in number (or gender). It is interesting to note in this context that Chomsky (2000) treats expletive elements as defective  $\Phi$ -feature bearers, where defectiveness is taken to be [+person]. Following Chomsky, we may say that agreement is ‘defective’ if restricted to [person] features, thereby making agreement in Japanese comply with Fukui’s claim that Infl is defective in the language. What is important for us is that even defective agreement be subject to the same universal locality constraint on Agree.

## 5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, we have examined the properties of object honorification in Japanese. Refining original observations of Harada’s (1976) we have argued for the following generalization:

- (46) Mark the predicate as [Object Honorification] when an SSS (a person who is socially superior to speaker) is
- (a) a Dative argument.
  - (b) the direct object, if the predicate does not take a dative argument.

Chomsky’s (2000) Agree relation captures the whole array of facts once it is assumed to be subject to defective intervention effects, which are attested independently. Our analysis enables us to bring the Japanese agreement facts fully in line with agreement constraints cross-linguistically, and thus provides another piece of evidence that, abstractly, languages are near-invariant.

## APPENDIX 1: CASE-ASSIGNMENT IN DITRANSITIVES

In this appendix, we will return to the question of Case assignment left open in section 3. Recall that for us the direct object is inaccessible to  $v$  if a dative element is present. This begs the question of how the direct object checks/is assigned Case. We would like to offer three possible solutions.

The simplest answer is to treat Case as a default, possibly via the presence of a Case-particle, as argued in Takano (1997). Alternatively, we may follow Chomsky’s (2000, p. 123) suggestion that the Case requirement of the moving element need not be checked. Evidence for this claim comes from gapping, for which we will adopt Johnson’s (1994) analysis. Johnson

suggests that a sentence like (47) is derived by Across-the-Board movement of the verb, with the second conjunct lacking a T-layer, as represented in (48):<sup>15</sup>

(47) John reads Plato, and Mary Aristotle

(48) [<sub>IP</sub> John<sub>i</sub> Infl [<sub>XP</sub> [<sub>X'</sub> reads<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub> Plato]], and [<sub>VP</sub> Mary [<sub>v'</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub> Aristotle]]]]]]

As noted by Kayne (2000, p. 165f.), in the absence of a T-layer in its domain, the subject in the second conjunct is expected to lack Case. The grammaticality of the sentence in (47) supports Chomsky's (2000) conjecture that what is primary is not structural Case itself but the  $\Phi$ -features of the head (T/*v*) the argument interacts with. Put differently, failure to check Case on *Mary* does not lead to a crash (the features of Infl are checked against those of *John*). What matters is what Howard Lasnik dubbed the *Inverse* Case Filter: the requirement that the  $\{(Case/)\Phi\}$  features of the probe be checked. (For extensive discussion of the Inverse Case Filter, see Bošković (1997), Martin (1999), and Boeckx (2001a).)

A third option would be to treat Case and  $\Phi$ -features separately. Accordingly, we may claim that Case is assigned 'simultaneously' to all relevant elements within a phase, as in Hiraiwa (2001). An alternative would be to say that all elements within a given domain (say, the *v*P-phase) are co-valued, as in Lopez (2002) (for a related proposal, see Frampton and Gutmann's (2000) idea of Agreement as Feature Sharing). Equivalently, Case may be treated as an [Attract-All] feature in the sense of Bošković (2000) (see also Nimuma 1999), which for reasons which we will not review here, is not subject to Attract Closest. By contrast, the  $\Phi$ -features of *v* have an [Attract-One] property, subject to Attract Closest, and hence the (defective) intervention effect discussed in this paper. For a detailed exploration of this idea, see Boeckx (2003b).

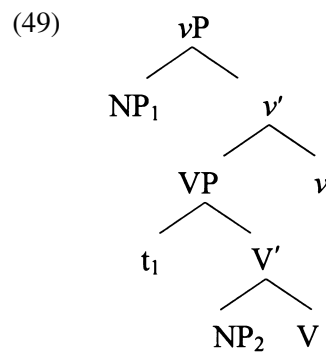
Choosing among the three alternatives sketched here would take us too far afield. We leave this issue for future research.

<sup>15</sup> We simplify the labels in (48) somewhat, and depart from Johnson's claim that the verb ATB-moves to T<sup>0</sup>, which we regard as problematic in the case of English main verbs.

APPENDIX 2: POTENTIAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST A SPEC-HEAD  
AGREEMENT TREATMENT OF HONORIFICATION<sup>16</sup>

In this paper we proposed an Agree-based analysis of object agreement in Japanese. We think that Agree captures the relevant intervention effect of datives very naturally. Since Chomsky (2001b) recently argued that Spec-Head agreement is an epiphenomenon, and suggested that Agree underlies all instances of agreement, it would be interesting to find arguments against Spec-Head agreement in the realm of object honorification. In this appendix we offer two potential arguments to that effect. We stress that the arguments are contingent upon specific analyses of independent phenomena such as the structure of head-internal relative clauses and secondary predication. This prevents us from saying that the arguments are fully conclusive. In addition, we think that in the absence of a full-fledged theory of what counts as a possible functional projection, there is no way to exclude the possibility of Spec-head agreement, as it will always be possible to claim the existence of an abstract XP to implement Spec-Head agreement mechanically (though, we feel, at the cost of explanatory adequacy).

A Spec-Head agreement analysis of object honorification would take the following form: Object honorification is the result of the relevant NP raising to Spec $\nu$ P, as schematized in (49) (linear order is immaterial, here and throughout):



Assuming that all ‘datives’ are first-merged higher than accusative NPs (as we argued above), the intervention effect caused by datives would reduce to a standard Attract Closest account. Two pieces of evidence against such an analysis of object honorification based on Spec-Head agreement can

<sup>16</sup> Many thanks to Nobuhiro Miyoshi for helping us construct the arguments that appear in this appendix.

be made. The first piece of evidence comes from head-internal relative clauses.<sup>17</sup> Consider (50):

- (50) John-wa [Tanaka sensei<sub>1</sub>-ga kuukoo-ni  
*John-P(Top) Prof. Tanaka-Nom airport-at*  
 o-tuki-ni-nat-ta no]-o pro<sub>1</sub> o-mukae-si-ta  
*arrive-SH-past-No-Acc greet-OH-past*  
 John greeted Prof. Tanaka, who arrived at the airport

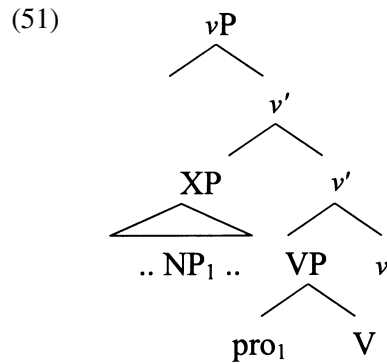
Following Murasugi (1995) and Hoshi (1996), we assume that in the case of head-internal relative clauses, a *pro* functions as the head of the relative clause.<sup>18</sup> Hoshi's structure, which we adopt, is given in (51) (notice that the hierarchical relation between the head-internal relatives and *pro* is important. If the order were reversed, a violation of Condition C of the Binding Theory would result):

<sup>17</sup> We concede that the argument is very theory-internal as it depends on the correctness of Murasugi's and Hoshi's analyses of head-internal relations. We refer the reader to these works for arguments in favor of the position adopted in the text (see also footnote 18).

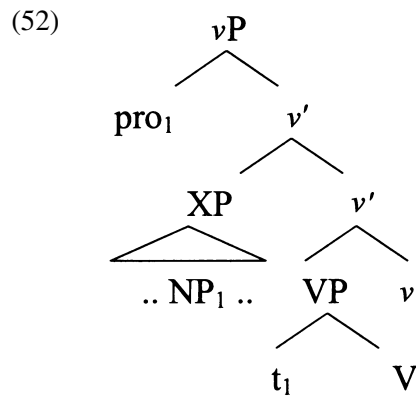
<sup>18</sup> A strong piece of evidence in favor of Hoshi's and Murasugi's view comes from Kuroda's (1992) observation that head-internal relatives can have multiple internal heads, as shown in (i):

- (i) [zyunsa<sub>1</sub>-ga doroboo<sub>2</sub>-o kawa-no-hoo-e  
*policeman-Nom thief-Acc river's.direction-toward*  
 oitumete-itta no]-ga [pro<sub>1,2</sub>] ikioi amatte futaritomo kawa-no-naka-e  
*tracked down-NO-Nom power exceed both-two river-into*  
 tobikonda.  
*jumped*  
 A policeman was tracking down a thief toward the river, who both, losing control, jumped into the river

In this example, both the subject 'policeman' and the object 'thief' of the relative clause are heads, that is, they together function as the subject of the matrix verb, 'jumped into' (as attested by the use of 'both'). Hoshi's *pro*-analysis of head-internal relatives captures Kuroda's observation by letting *pro*, in the complement position of V, take both the subject and the object of the relative clause as referents.



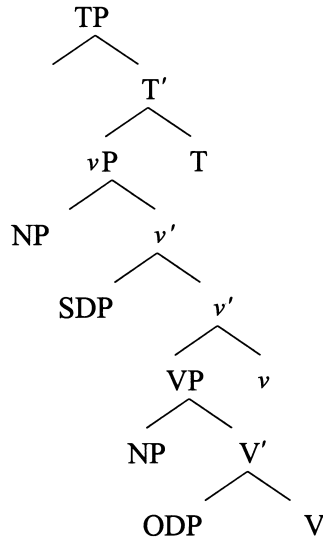
Assuming the correctness of Hoshi's analysis, let us now reconsider (50). The sentence is acceptable with object honorification. Under Hoshi's analysis, the object *pro* agrees with the verb (and the latter, by transitivity, with 'Prof. Tanaka'). If the Spec-head configuration were responsible for object honorification, the structure needed for (50) would be as in (52). However, such a structure would rule out the sentence as a Condition C violation:<sup>19</sup>



The second piece of evidence against treating object honorification as an instance of Spec-Head agreement comes from secondary predicates in Japanese. Building upon Koizumi (1994), Yatsushiro (1999) assumes the following structural representation for the subject depictive phrase and the object depictive phrase (see also Pylkkänen 2002):

<sup>19</sup> Recall that in section 3, we rejected the possibility that the agreeing object raises to some specifier position lower than *vP*, as in Koizumi's (1993, 1995) analysis. Note that such an analysis would not predict any Condition C effect in (50).

(53) Depictive Predicates in Japanese



Under her analysis, the subject depictive phrase is adjoined to  $v'$ . Evidence for this position comes from the following VP preposing data:<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> A reviewer objects to Yatsushiro's analysis by observing that she missed the generalization that Japanese does not allow a remnant VP to be preposed, as evidenced by the following cases, provided by the reviewer:

- (i)a. \* [ $t_i$  tabe-sae] Taro-ga katuo-o<sub>i</sub> sita  
eat-even Taro-Nom bonito-Acc did  
Taro even ate the bonito
- b. \* [ $t_i$  huri-sae] ame-ga<sub>i</sub> sita  
fall-even rain-Nom did  
The rain even fell
- c. \* [ $t_i$  hiraki-sae] doa-ga<sub>i</sub> sita  
open-even door-Nom did  
The door even opened

To our knowledge, the generalization the reviewer appeals to has never been studied in any depth in the Japanese literature, and it is not clear what it would follow from, were it correct (given that, as the reviewer notes, many languages allow remnant VP-movement). At this point, it clearly requires further investigation.

## (54) VP Preposing

- a. Taro-ga hadaka-de katuo-o tabeta.  
*Taro-Nom naked bonito-Acc ate*  
 Taro ate the bonito naked
- b. [<sub>VP</sub> katuo-o tabe-sae]<sub>1</sub> Taro-ga hadaka-de t<sub>1</sub> sita  
*bonito-Acc eat-even Taro-Nom naked did*  
 Even eat the bonito, Taro did naked
- c. [<sub>VP</sub> hadaka-de katuo-o tabe-sae]<sub>1</sub> Taro-ga t<sub>1</sub> sita  
*naked bonito-Acc eat-even Taro-Nom did*  
 Even eat the bonito naked, Taro did

Yatsushiro (1999) argues that VP preposing in Japanese may target either VP or *vP*. In (54b), the subject depictive phrase *hadaka-de* is outside of VP, and thus fails to be part of the preposed VP. (54c) is an instance of *vP* preposing.

Koizumi (1994) further argues that the subject depictive phrase is structurally higher than the position of the indirect object. Evidence for this assumption comes from variable binding (Koizumi 1994, p. 41). In (55a), the variable *soitu* cannot be bound by the NP in indirect object position. However, if the indirect object moves to the higher position due to the scrambling, then the variable can be c-commanded, and thus be bound:

## (55) Variable Binding

- a. ?\*Hanako-wa [<sub>soitu</sub><sub>1</sub>-no mottomo sukina kakkoo]-de  
*Hanako-Top it-Gen most favorite fashion*  
 [Yamada-to yuu otoko to Tanaka-to yuu otoko]<sub>1</sub>-ni  
*Yamada called man and Tanaka called man-Dat*  
 tanzoo purezento-o watasita  
*birthday present-Acc gave*  
 Hanako gave a birthday present to [a man called Yamada and a man called Tanaka]<sub>1</sub> in his<sub>1</sub> most favorite dress.
- b. [Yamada-to yuu otoko to Tanaka-to yuu otoko]<sub>1</sub>-ni<sub>2</sub>  
*Yamada called man and Tanaka called man-Dat*  
 Hanako-wa [<sub>soitu</sub><sub>1</sub>-no mottomo sukina kakkoo]-de t<sub>2</sub>  
*Hanako-Top it-Gen most favorite fashion*  
 tanzoo purezento-o watasita  
*birthday present-Acc gave*

The VP structure we arrive at is given in (56), where the subject depictive phrase (SDP) is generated higher than the indirect object:

(56) [<sub>v'</sub> SDP [<sub>VP</sub> NP-ni [<sub>v'</sub> NP-o ... ]]]

Combining Yatsushiro's and Koizumi's results, we now have a strong prediction concerning object honorification. If the Spec-head agreement is responsible for object honorification in Japanese, then the dative NP must move to Spec *v*P at some point in the derivation so as to be able to trigger agreement. It should therefore be able to bind a variable inside the depictive phrase. However, as shown in (57), this is not the case:

(57)a. ?\*Taro-wa [so<sub>1</sub>-no kata-no mottomo sukina kakkoo]-de  
*Taro-Top it-Gen person-Gen most favorite fashion*  
 [Yamada sensei to Tanaka sensei]<sub>1</sub>-ni tanzoo purezento-o  
*Prof. Yamada and Prof. Tanaka-Dat birthday present-Acc*  
 o-watasi-si-ta  
*give-OH-past*  
 Taro gave a birthday present to [Prof. Yamada and Prof. Tanaka]<sub>1</sub> in their<sub>1</sub> most favorite dress.

b. Taro-wa [Yamada sensei to tanaka sensei]<sub>1</sub>-ni [so<sub>1</sub>-no  
*Taro-Top Prof. Yamada and Prof. Tanaka-Dat it-Gen*  
 kata-no mottomo sukina kakkoo]-de tanzoo purezento-o  
*person-Gen most favorite fashion birthday present-Acc*  
 o-watasi-si-ta  
*give-OH-past*  
 Taro gave a birthday present to [Prof. Yamada and Prof. Tanaka]<sub>1</sub> in their<sub>1</sub> most favorite dress.

As shown in (57a), even though object honorification obtains, the bound variable reading is not available. This reading is possible when the dative NP moves to the higher position via scrambling, as illustrated in (57b).

If the arguments made on the basis of the head-internal relative and the depictive phrase data are tenable, we can conclude that the most straightforward Spec-head agreement analysis is incapable of capturing the facts about object honorification in Japanese. In both cases, we have shown that the object triggering object honorification fails to move to Spec *v*P. Our conclusion would then corroborate Chomsky's (2001b) statement that the Spec-Head relation is irrelevant to matters of agreement, contrary to

much work in the late 1980s and in the 1990s (see Belletti 2000 for a comprehensive overview).

## REFERENCES

- Baker, Mark, Kyle Johnson, and Ian Roberts. 1989. 'Passive Arguments Raised', *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 214–251.
- Belletti, Adriana. 2000. 'Agreement Projections', in M. Baltin and C. Collins (eds.), *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 483–510.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2000. 'Quirky Agreement', *Studia Linguistica* 53, 354–380.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2001a. *EPP Eliminated*, ms., University of Connecticut. [A revised version to appear in N. Hornstein and J. Vriagereka (eds.), *The Minimalist Fact*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.]
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2001b. *Mechanisms of Chain Formation*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2003b. 'Symmetries and Asymmetries in Multiple Checking', in C. Boeckx and K.K. Grohmann (eds.), *Multiple Wh-fronting*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 1–12.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2003a. *Islands and Chains*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Boeckx, Cedric, and Youngmi Jeong. 2002. *Refining Syntactic Intervention*, ms., University of Maryland.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2003c. *Intricacies of Icelandic Agreement*, ms., University of Maryland.
- Boeckx, Cedric, and Youngmi Jeong. In preparation. *Nominative Objects in Japanese: Principles and Parameters*, ms., University of Maryland.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 1994. 'The Person-Case Constraint: Morphology or Syntax?', in *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 22, MITWPL, Cambridge, MA, pp. 33–52.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997. *The Syntax of Non-finite Complementation: An Economy Approach*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Bošković, Željko. 2000. 'On Multiple Feature Checking: Multiple wh-fronting and Multiple Head Movement', in S. D. Epstein and N. Hornstein (eds.), *Working Minimalism*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 159–187.
- Bošković, Željko. 2002. 'A-movement and the EPP', *Syntax* 5, 167–218.
- Bošković, Željko, and Daiko Takahashi. 1998. 'Scrambling and Last Resort', *Linguistic Inquiry* 29, 343–366.
- Bures, Anton. 1992. *Recycling Expletives (and Other) Sentences*, ms., MIT.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. 'A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory', in K. Hale and S. J. Keyser (eds.), *The View from Building 20*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 1–52.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. 'Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework', in R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by Step*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 89–151.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001a. 'Derivation by Phase', in M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 1–52.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001b. 'Beyond Explanatory Adequacy,' ms., MIT. [To appear in A. Belletti (ed.), *Structures and Beyond*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.]
- Collins, Chris. 1994. 'Economy of Derivation and the Generalized Proper Binding Condition', *Linguistic Inquiry* 25, 45–61.
- Collins, Chris. 2002. 'Eliminating Labels', in S. D. Epstein and T. D. Seely (eds.), *Explanation and Derivation in the Minimalist Program*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 64–42.
- Collins, Chris, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 1996. 'VP-internal Structure and Object Shift in Icelandic', *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 391–444.

- Frampton, John and Sam Gutmann. 2000. *Agreement as Feature Sharing*, ms., Northeastern University.
- Fukui, Naoki. 1986. *A Theory of Category Projection and Its Application*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Fukui, Naoki. 1995. 'The Principles-and-parameters Approach: A Comparative Syntax of English and Japanese', in M. Shibatani et al. (eds.), *Approaches to Language Typology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 327–372.
- Fukui, Naoki. 1997. 'Attract and the A-over-A Principle', in *UCI Working Papers in Linguistics 3*, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Irvine, pp. 51–67.
- Harada, Shin-Ichi. 1976. 'Honorifics', in M. Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics 5*, Academic Press, New York, pp. 499–561.
- Hasegawa, Nobuko. 2002. *Honorifics*, ms., Kanda University.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. 'Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese', in *Proceedings of HUMIT 2000*, MITWPL, Cambridge, MA, pp. 67–80.
- Hoji, Hajime. 1985. *Logical Form Constraints and Configurational Structures in Japanese*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- Hoshi, Koji. 1996. 'Multiple Case-checking in the Head-internal Relativization in Japanese', in *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 29*, MITWPL, Cambridge, MA, pp. 21–40.
- Johnson, Kyle. 1991. 'Object Positions', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* **9**, 577–636.
- Johnson, Kyle. 1994. *Bridging the Gap*, ms., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kayne, Richard. 1989. 'Facets of Past Participle Agreement in Romance', in P. Beninca (ed.), *Dialect Variation and the Theory of Grammar*, Foris, Dordrecht, pp. 85–103.
- Kayne, Richard. 2000. *Parameters and Universals*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Kayne, Richard. 2001. *Prepositions as Probes*, ms., New York University.
- Kitahara, Hisatsugu. 2002. 'A Derivational Analysis of Scrambling Sites', in S. D. Epstein and T. D. Seely (eds.), *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 167–183.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1993. 'Object Agreement Phrases and the Split VP Hypothesis', in *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 18*, MITWPL, Cambridge, MA, pp. 99–148.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1994. 'Secondary Predicates', *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* **3**, 25–79.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1995. *Phrase Structure in Minimalist Syntax*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. 1992. *Japanese Syntax and Semantics*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.
- Larson, Richard. 1988. 'On the Double Object Construction', *Linguistic Inquiry* **19**, 335–391.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995. 'A Note on Pseudogapping', in *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 27*, MITWPL, Cambridge, MA, pp. 143–163.
- Lopez, Luis. 2002. 'On Agreement: Locality and Feature-valuation', in A. Alexiadou (ed.), *Formal Approaches to Universals*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 165–209.
- Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2001. *Clitics: Cooccurrence and Mutual Exclusion Patterns*, ms., University of Florence.
- Martin, Roger. 1999. 'Case and EPP', in S. D. Epstein and N. Hornstein (eds.), *Working Minimalism*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 1–25.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1997. 'Against Optional Scrambling', *Linguistic Inquiry* **28**, 1–25.

- Murasugi, Keiko. 1995. *Head-internal Relative Clauses and the Pro-drop Parameter*, ms., Kinjo Gakuin University.
- Nemoto, Naoko. 1993. *Chains and Case Positions: A Study from Scrambling in Japanese*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Niinuma, Fumikazu. 1999. 'On Nominative Objects and Overt A-movement in Japanese', in R. Daly and A. Riehl (eds.), *ESCOL '99*, Cornell University, pp. 149–160.
- Niinuma, Fumikazu. 2000. *On the Role of Postposition in Japanese*, ms., University of Connecticut.
- Perlmutter, David. 1971. *Deep and Surface Constraints in Generative Grammar*, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York.
- Pylkkänen, Lina. 2002. *Introducing Arguments*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Richards, Norvin. 1997. *What Moves Where When in Which Language?*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1977. 'Grammatical Relations and Surface Cases', *Language* **53**, 780–809.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 1994. *Minimality of Movement*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Takano, Yuji. 1997. *Linear Order and Parametric Variation in Syntax*, ms., Keio University.
- Takano, Yuji. 1998. 'Object Shift and Scrambling', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* **16**, 817–889.
- Toribio, Almeida. 1990. 'Specifier-head Agreement in Japanese', in *Proceedings of WCCFL 9, CSLI*, Stanford, pp. 535–548.
- Ura, Hiroyuki. 1996. *Multiple-feature Checking: A Theory of Grammatical Function Splitting*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Ura, Hiroyuki. 1999. 'Dative Subjects in Japanese and Korean', *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* **7**, 223–254.
- Ura, Hiroyuki. 2000. *Checking Theory and Grammatical Functions in Generative Grammar*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Woolford, Ellen. 1999. 'More on the Anaphor-agreement Effect', *Linguistic Inquiry* **30**, 257–287.
- Yatsushiro, Kazuko. 1999. *Case Licensing and VP Structure*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.

Received 9 November 2001

Revised 27 January 2003

Cedric Boeckx  
 Dept. of Linguistics  
 Harvard University  
 Cambridge, MA 02138  
 USA  
 <cboeckx@fas.harvard.edu>

Fumikazu Niinuma  
 Kochi Gakuen College  
 292-26 Asahitenjin-cho  
 Kochi, Kochi 780-0928  
 Japan  
 <niinuma@kochi-gc.ac.jp>



