Asymmetries in Japanese Multiple Nominative Constructions

Evidence from Interaction with Nominative-Genitive Conversion

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*I would very much like to extend all my thanks and gratitude to all those who gave me inspiration and ideas for this paper. Most importantly, I'd like to thank Tomoko Ishizuka and Reiko Okabe for their graciousness with their time and patience for helping with my grammaticality tests. Furthermore, I would also like to thank all the native speakers who gave me their judgments.

Abstract

In this paper, I will explore Japanese Multiple Nominative Constructions[1] (MNCs), using Nominative-Genitive Conversion[2] (NGC) as a diagnostic tool. NGC is the phenomenon in which a Nominative Case (*ga*) marked constituent of certain embedded clauses can be alternatively marked with Genitive Case (*no*). MNCs are constructions in which more than one DP can be marked with Nominative Case.

In the literature on Japanese Multiple Nominative Constructions (MNCs), little research has been done that has motivated any subclassifications within MNCs. However, if we study the interaction between MNCs and NGC, it is plain to see that there is a definite asymmetry within MNCs. That is, when looking at each NOM-marked argument's ability to also be marked GEN below in (0), we see that all four logical possibilities combining are grammatical.

(0) John ga/no migime ga/no tumur.e.ru koto
John NOM/GEN right-eye NOM/GEN close.POT.IMP fact
'The fact that John can close his right eye'

This is the case with most MNCs; all four logical possibilities are grammatical. However, there seems to be a subclass of MNCs for which only two of them are grammatical. In (00), I give an example of one of those.

(00) Boku ga/no pai ga/*no tabe.ta.i koto
I NOM/GEN pie NOM/*GEN eat.DESR.IMP fact
'The fact that I want to eat pie'

Why is the NOM-marked object (henceforth NMO), able to undergo NGC in (0), while being unable to undergo it in (00)?

In section 1, I will go over basic facts of, and give my favored analysis for, NGC. In section 2, I will review basic facts and previous literature of MNCs. In Section 3, I will present data that shows how the two phenomena interact. In Section 4, I will offer a new theory that accounts for the findings of Section 3. Then I discuss the remaining issues for further research in Section 5. Finally, I conclude this paper in Section 6.

1 Nominative-Genitive Conversion

1.1 Basic Facts

In NGC structures, subjects[3] of NP complements or of relative clauses can seemingly freely[4] alternate between the use of NOM[5] case and GEN case. Examples of this can be seen below in (1) and (2).

(1) Complex NP-Embedded Clauses
John ga/no ki.ta koto wa sira.na.katta
John NOM/GEN come.PRF fact TOP know.not.PRF
'[I] didn't know that John came.'

[1] Also referred to in the literature as Double Nominative Constructions, or Ga Ga Constructions

[2] Also referred to in the literature as No-Ga Conversion or Ga-No Conversion

[3] "Subject" is a slightly vague term; by it, I mean any DP that would "normally" be marked in the nominative case. This will be important when we get to our discussion on MNCs and NGC. However, there are examples of NOM-marked DPs that cannot undergo NGC, such as NOM-marked PPs (Ochi 2001) or Desiderative objects, as I will demonstrate later on.

[4] It should be mentioned that some scholars say that this alternation is purely optional in a certain kind of structure; others, myself included, would say there is a fundamental difference in structure.

[5] For a list of abbreviations used in the paper, see the Appendix.

(2) Relative Clauses
John ga/no kai.ta hon wa omosiro.i
John NOM/GEN write.PRF book TOP interesting.IMP
'The book that John wrote is interesting.'

Contrasting the embedded clauses in (1) and (2) to the matrix clauses in (3) and the non finite clauses in (4), we can see clearly the point Harada makes when he states that NGC applies "only to . . . embedded sentences with finite main verbs." (1971:27) Though, as we will see in (4), they cannot be any kind of embedded clause.

(3) Matrix Clauses

a. John ga/*no net.ta
John NOM/GEN sleep.PRF
Intended: 'John slept.'

b. Udon ga/*no tsukur.are.ta
udon NOM/GEN prepare.PASS.PRF
Intended: 'The udon was prepared.'

c. Omae ga/*no ko.i
you NOM/*GEN come.IMPTV
Intended: 'You come!'

d. Ware.ware ga/*no si.yoo ka?
we NOM/GEN do.VOL Q
Intended: 'Shall we do [it]?'

e. Taro ga/*no wakat.ta no?
Taro NOM/GEN understand.PRF Q
Intended: 'Did Taro understand?'

(4) Other Embedded Clauses

a. Boku wa [John ga/*no kai.te] hosi.i
1SG TOP [John NOM/GEN write.CONT] want.IMP
Intended: 'I want John to write [it].'

b. [John ga/*no su.reba] i.i
[John NOM/GEN do.COND] good.IMP
Intended: 'It will be good if John does [it].'

c. [Mary ga/*no ik.u] kara boku ga ik.ana.i
[Mary NOM/GEN go.IMP] because I NOM go.NEG.IMP
Intended: 'Because Mary will go, I will not go.'

d. [Kyoo wa Taro ga/*no mie.na.i] to omo.u
[today TOP Taro NOM/GEN show-up.NEG.IMP] COMPL think.IMP
Intended: 'I think Taro won't show up today.'

Here we see that all matrix clauses, no matter their mood/voice, dont allow NGC to take place. Furthermore, other embedded clauses besides relatives and NP complements are unable to be an environment for NGC[6], no matter if they are finite (4c-d) or not (4a-b).

When it comes to the kinds of verbs (assuming they are in the correct clause-type) that allow for NGC, there does not seem to be any limitation. Below I give some examples of this, though the list could (of course) be extended easily.

(5) a. ***Unaccusative***
[yuki ga/no toke.ru] tuki wa taitei sangatu da
[snow NOM/GEN melt.IMP] month TOP usually march COP-IMP
'The month when the snow melts is usually March.'

[6]Perhaps what it must be is an embedded clause that has some kind of nominal feature to it – whether that is determined internally or externally to the embedded clause does not matter when it comes to describing the facts as they are.

b. ***Unergative***

[Mary ga/no yoku ne.na.i] riyuu wa naze desu ka?
[Mary NOM/GEN well sleep.NEG.IMP] reason TOP why COP-IMP Q
'What is the reason that Mary didn't sleep well'

c. ***Passive***

Boku wa [keeki ga/no tabe.rare.ta] inu o mi.ta
I TOP [cake NOM/GEN eat.PASS.PRF] dog ACC see.PRF
I saw the dog who the cake was eaten by.

d. ***Causative***

[sensee ga/no s.ase.ta] shukudai wa yasashi.katta
[teacher NOM/GEN do.CAUS.PRF] homework TOP easy.PRF
'The homework that the teacher made [someone] do was easy.'

e. ***Potential***

[Ichiro ga/no hanas.e.ru] gengo wa nihongo dake da
[Ichiro NOM/GEN speak.POT.IMP] language TOP Japanese only COP-IMP
'The language(s) that Ichiro can speak is only Japanese.'

1.1.1 Transitivity Restriction (TR)

Japanese NGC has a very interesting additional fact to it. Just in the environment where the subject is marked genitive, accusative objects are disallowed[7]. This should seem to suggest that the syntactic conditions for use of NOM and use of GEN are separate, and something about conditions for GEN don't allow accusative objects.

Examples of the TR are below in (6) and (7).

(6) TR in NP Complements

a. [John ga (kuruma o) ka.u] koto ga yuumei da.
[John NOM (car ACC) buy.IMP] fact NOM well-known COP-IMP
'It is well known that John will buy (a car).'

b. [John no (*kuruma o) ka.u] koto ga yuumei da.
[John GEN (*car ACC) buy.IMP] fact NOM well-known COP-IMP
'It is well known that John will buy (a car).'

(7) TR in Relative Clauses

a. [John ga (sushi o) tabe.ta] resutoran wa soko da.
[John NOM (sushi ACC) eat.PRF] restaurant TOP there COP-IMP
'The restaurant where John ate (sushi) is there.'

b. [John no (*sushi o) tabe.ta] resutoran wa soko da.
[John GEN (*sushi ACC) eat.PRF] restaurant TOP there COP-IMP
'The restaurant where John ate (*sushi) is there.'

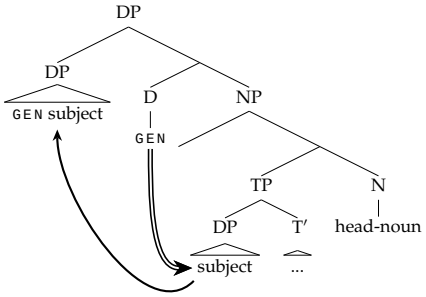
1.1.2 Favored Analysis

I will not present an in-depth case for an analysis of NGC, as that would go out of the scope of this paper. Instead, I will assume an externalist hypothesis (like that of Miyagawa 1993, Ochi 2001, Ahn 2006, among others). In essence, the externalist hypothesis is that NGC is licensed by an external motivator.

Below is a sample tree showing the basic idea of an externalist hypothesis.

[7] At least at the phonological level. Perhaps some phonologically empty category could enter the derivation. If we assume this, we must also assume that such an empty category would not have any features to be checked or Case that needs to be valued.

(8) A basic Externalist Tree



The two strongest pieces of evidence for this are scope facts for NGC and the fact phases can prevent GEN Case. The scope facts show that you should have to move outside of the embedded clause, which would be hard to motivate if the GEN licenser were internal to the clause. The facts are given below in (9).

(9) a. [John ka Mary] **ga** ki.ta kanousei ga 50% ijou da
[John or Mary] NOM come.PRF probability NOM 50% more COP-IMPF
(i) ✓probability>or ('The probability that John or Mary came is >50%')
(ii) *or>probability ('The probability that John came or the probability that Mary came is >50%')

b. [John ka Mary] **no** ki.ta kanousei ga 50% ijou da
[John or Mary] GEN come.PRF probability NOM 50% more COP-IMPF
(i) ✓probability>or ('The probability that John or Mary came is >50%')
(ii) ✓or>probability ('The probability that John came or the probability that Mary came is >50%')

(Miyagawa 1993)

Furthermore, if we introduce an embedded clause with a phase, we see that its subject cannot undergo NGC – even though all other conditions are satisfied. For example, below in (10), the embedded clause is as big as a CP which would make an impenetrable phase such that the GEN probe cannot reach down to *John*.[8]

(10) kare wa [John ga/*no ik.e.ru ka dou ka] situmon o si.ta
he$_{i,*j}$ TOP [John$_j$ NOM/*GEN go.POT.IMPF Q whether Q] question ACC do.PRF
'He asked the question (of) whether or not John could go'

2 Multiple Nominative Constructions

2.1 Basic Facts

MNCs are constructions in which there are more than one constituents marked with Nominative Case relating to the same predicate.[9] I give an example of this, below.

(11) Taroo ga Hanako ga suki da.
Taro NOM Hanako NOM fond COP-IMP
'Taro likes Hanako.'

The important facts are that both arguments of the predicate are (able to be) marked with NOM Case, and that there is a notable asymmetry in terms of the arguments – that is to say, (11) can

[8] I assume that the Q particle sits in the Spec CP (as per Cable 2007). In this way, the subject could not move up to Spec CP to escape the phase and be visible to the GEN probe.

[9] I should mention that these MNCs are extremely context dependent. Most speakers have difficulty using them without the right kind of context. That being said, they are most definitely a possible kind of construction that must follow from general syntactic principles of the language.

never mean 'Hanako likes Taro' with the linear order given.

2.1.1 Scope

We now turn to scope data to see the way in which the two arguments interact with the verb. Take the following data for example.

(12) a. John ga migime dake **o** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only ACC close-POT-IMP
'John can close only his right eye'
(i) can close > only (John can wink his right eye)
(ii) ?*only > can close (It is only his right eye that John can close.)

b. John ga migime dake **ga** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only NOM close-POT-IMP
'John can close only his right eye'
(i) *can close > only
(ii) only > can close (*Tada 1992 via Koizumi 1994, slightly altered*)

Based on this data, it seems logical that in (12b), the Nominative-marked Object (NMO) is located higher in the structure than when it is marked with Accusative Case as in (12a). This data has also been confirmed by others (Niinuma 2000 and myself).

2.2 MNC in Various Constructions

There are five constructions which allow for MNCs that I have been able to distinguish.[10,11] Below, I run through each of these and give an example and a short description.[12]

2.2.1 Locative Constructions

(13) yama ga ki ga ar.u riyuu wa daremo kit.te i.na.i kara
mountain NOM tree NOM exist.IMP reason TOP no-one cut-CONT exist.NEG.IMP because
da
COP-IMP
'The reason that there are trees on the mountain is that no one has cut them down.'

This construction is very interesting in that it seems to be the case that a PP is somehow being marked with structural Case – that is to say, a more "natural" way of saying this would be to use a locative postposition after *mountain* instead of *ga*. This has led some people to say that *ga* is not a NOM marker here, but it is instead a kind of PP or perhaps a pure focus particle.[13]

[10]There is another multiple nominative construction that I am not discussing. This is a possessive construction (possibly this might be an inalienable passive construction). These kinds of NOM marked DPs do not participate in the argument structure of a verb; they are possessors of a noun. An example of this kind of construction is given, below.

usagi ga mimi ga naga.i
rabbit NOM ear NOM long.IMP
'Rabbits' ears are long.' (modified from Vermeulen 2002)

[11]Tomoko Ishizuka has pointed out to me that passives can also participate as an MNC, but I have yet to look closely at the data concerning this.

[12]I should note that since there are parallel constructions for these sentences that require less context, often times the acceptability of these sentences may be called into question. That said, there are people whose judgments readily accept them.

[13]The latter kind of analysis is often used when trying to make parallels with Korean Case-Stacking. Japanese doesn't allow Case Stacking, so instead, it just uses the *ga* as a focus marker without the original case/postposition.

Furthermore, these kinds of MNCs are easily the most controversial in terms of grammaticality. Generally, a given speaker will either accept or reject them rather universally. This lends itself to two things: (1) the idea that the explanation should involve something that is marginally accepted about the language, and (2) the idea that the Locative Nominatives are different in terms of their structure as MNCs.

2.2.2 Ability Verbs

(14) Ken ga kankokugo ga yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da.
Ken NOM Korean NOM read.POT.IMP fact TOP probable COP-IMP
'It's probable that Ken can read Korean.'

For the sentence in (14), *Korean* can alternatively be marked ACC.

2.2.3 Psych Adjectives

(15) Taroo ga inu ga kowa.i yoo da ne.
Taro NOM dog NOM scared.IMP appearance COP-IMP right.
'The appearance is that Taro is scared of dogs, huh.'

2.2.4 Tough Adjectives

(16) boku ga kanji ga yowa.i riyuu wa benkyoo si.te
1sg NOM Chinese-characters NOM bad-at.IMP reason TOP study do.CONT
i.na.i kara da
exist.NEG.IMP because COP-IMP
'The reason that I am bad at Kanji is that I don't study.'

2.2.5 Tough Constructions

(17) John ga satujinhan ga sagasi.yasu.i
John NOM murderer NOM find.easy.IMP time
'The murderer is easy for John to find.'

In the Tough Construction, the Object DP, *murderer* in this case, can alternatively be marked ACC.

2.2.6 Desiderative Constructions

(18) Yasuko ga susi ga tukur.ita.i toki wa wazawaza ootoro o ka.u
Yasuko NOM sushi NOM make.DESR.IMP time TOP specially fatty-tuna ACC buy.IMP
'When Yasuko wants to make sushi, she specially buys fatty tuna.'

In a Desiderative construction, the Object DP, *sushi* in this case, can also be marked ACC.

2.3 Previous Analyses

2.3.1 Agreement-based Case and Biclausality

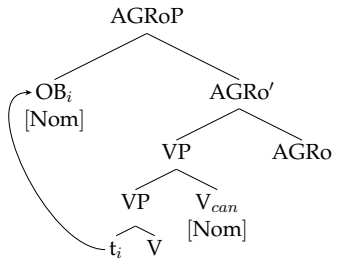
Tada (1992) proposes that MNCs are essentially monoclausal counterparts to a biclausal structure which assigns ACC Case to its object. I've mentioned Tada's data earlier in Section 2.1.1 as (12), and I'm repeating it below in (19).

(19) a. John ga migime dake **o** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only ACC close-POT-IMP
'John can close only his right eye'
(i) can close > only (John can wink his right eye)
(ii) ?*only > can close (It is only his right eye that John can close.)

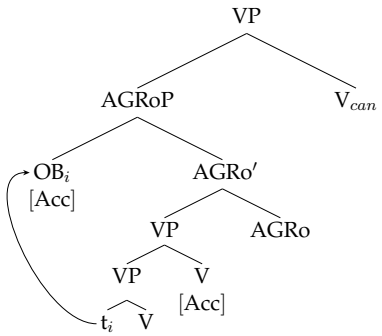
b. John ga migime dake **ga** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only NOM close-POT-IMP
'John can close only his right eye'
(i) *can close > only
(ii) only > can close (*Tada 1992 via Koizumi 1994, slightly altered*)

This data is what really led him to believe there must be a common reason that statives can assign NOM Case to the object and that when they do, they must be higher in the structure than the V. So, Tada posits a structure whereby, when the verb is stative, it can optionally be analyzed either as having its morphemes spread across heads (biclausal, ACC-object situation) or as having been reanalyzed as a single V (monoclausal, NMO situation). I present trees to this effect below.

(20)



(21)



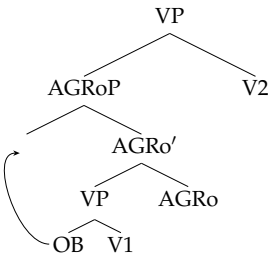
Assuming this structure, we can see why the OB scopes over the V$_{can}$ in (20) but not in (21). In support of this kind of biclausal raising, Tada gives examples of other clearly biclausal predicates where the object can take different scopes. One of the many of Tada's examples is repeated in (22) below.

(22) John ga ringo dake o tabe.hajime.ta
John NOM apple only ACC eat.start.PRF
'John started to eat only apples.'

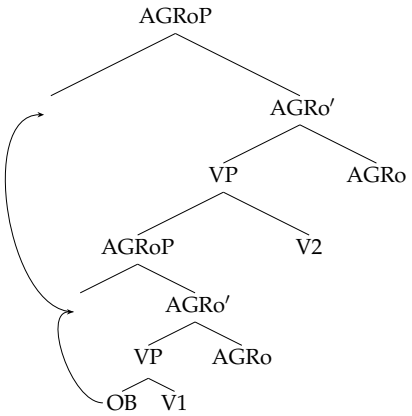
(i) ✓only > start (It is only apples that John started to eat.)
(ii) ✓start > only (It is eating only apples that John started to do.)

In this example, *only apples* is taking scope either above or below *start*. This means that it must optionally be in two different syntactic positions. I show the two kinds of movement that derive these two positions below in (23) and (24).

(23)



(24)



Tada says that in (24), the lower verb raises to the higher verb, which absorbs the Case features of the lower verb. In this way, there are no extra Case features at the end of (24).[14] This kind of optional secondary raising derives the scopal asymmetry we saw between NMOs and ACC-Objects in biclausal structures. This is supposed to be good evidence for Agreement-based Case and the biclausal nature of MNCs.

2.3.2 Checking Domain

Koizumi (1994) reviews Tada's account and deems that it is rather robust. However, he does find some problems with the analysis. First, Koizumi fairly points out, "It is not clear at all why Nominative Case should be licensed by two distinct sets of categories as different as Tense and stative predicates." Next, Koizumi points out that there are cases of NMOs scoping over the higher verb in a biclausal predicate, which is something that Tada could not account for.

(25) a. Mary wa suugaku dake o wakari.tuzuke.ta
Mary TOP math only ACC understand.continue.PRF
b. Mary wa suugaku dake ga wakari.tuzuke.ta
Mary TOP math only NOM understand.continue.PRF
'Mary kept understanding only math'

wakar, 'understand', can alternate between stative ((25b)) and non-stative ((25a)) in Japanese. (25a) should be ambiguous, according to Tada - and it is. However, (25b) should only have the reading *continue* > *only*, but this is not the case. Koizumi is unclear as to whether it is ambiguous or obligatorily construed as *only* > *continue*, but in either case, Tada could not account for this at all.

Finally, Koizumi points out that Tada would incorrectly predict the scope interactions in negative sentences. Assuming, as Tada himself does, that NegP occurs between TP and AGRoP, we would expect negation to always scope over the object - regardless of the object's Case. Koizumi shows that the ACC-object is indeed in the scope of negation, but the NMO definitely scopes over negation.

(26) a. John ga migime dake o tumur.e.na.i
John NOM right-eye only ACC close.POT.NEG.IMP
NEG > can > only 'John cannot wink his right eye'

[14] Tada, as far as I can tell, does not, however, explain what happens to the Case feature of the higher verb.

b. John ga migime dake ga tumur.e.na.i
John NOM right-eye only NOM close.POT.NEG.IMP
only > NEG > can 'It is only the right eye that John cannot close.'

If we take these facts seriously, then we must assume that the NMOs are above negation and below the subject-position. Koizumi makes a distinction, however, in two kinds of subject position. The first, he calls MS (major subject) and the second he calls SU (regular subject) - both are marked with NOM *ga*.[15] MSs are especially focused subjects that have an exhaustive-listing denotation, whereas SUs only have the denotation of neutral-description[16]. He gives an example of the two sorts.

(27) Ano hito ga ki.ta
that person NOM come.PRF
'That person came.'
(i) 'That person came.' (neutral description)
(ii) 'It is that person (and only that person) who came.' (exhaustive-listing)

Furthermore, Koizumi points out that NMOs allow only the neutral description interpretation.

(28) John wa eigo ga deki.ru
John TOP English NOM can-do.IMP
'John can do (speak/understand) English.'
(i) As for John, he can speak English. (neutral description)
(ii) *As for John, he can speak English and only English. (exhaustive-listing)

Koizumi describes the licensing domain for MSs and SUs as separate – the *Broad Checking Domain* of Tense and the *Narrow Checking Domain* of Tense, respectively. NMOs and SUs both get Case in the *Narrow Checking Domain*, and MSs get Case in *Broad Checking Domain*. He defines the *Broad Checking Domain* of Tense as AGRsP-adjoined position(s) and the *Narrow Checking Domain* of Tense as "{Spec of AGRs, Spec of Tense}."

To justify the grouping of NMOs and SUs as opposed to MSs, Koizumi appeals to a dialect of Japanese, the Kumamoto dialect which is spoken in central Kyūshū. Data from this dialect is given below.[17]

(29) a. Standard Japanese
Natu ga kankookyaku ga oo.i
summer NOM tourists NOM numerous.IMP
'It is summer (and only summer) when the tourists are numerous.'
b. Kumamoto Dialect
Natu ga kankookyaku no ookabai
summer NOM tourists GEN numerous
'It is summer (and only summer) when the tourists are numerous.'

Furthermore, the NOM-obj is also marked *no* – even when there is a SU (which must also be marked *no*) in this dialect.

[15]Since he posits this, I'm perplexed as to why he is opposed to, in his own words, "Nominative Case [being] licensed by two distinct sets of categories." That is, here, he proposes more than one *ga*, each of which is assigned in a different syntactic location.

[16]I'm not sure how much the use of *ga* is ever neutral in Japanese. Most speakers report a kind of forcefulness to *ga*.

[17]I should note that, although Kumamoto Japanese seems to be doing NGC in some obligatory sense, I don't think this the case. Koizumi writes in such a way that *no* is the only possible SU marker. This seems more like *no*-marked subjects of Old Japanese, in which *no* was the only overt subject marker.

(30) Kumamoto Dialect
An ojisan no/*ga eego no/*ga hans.e.ru ka
that man GEN/*NOM English GEN/*NOM speak.POT.IMP Q
'Can that man speak English?'

This should be strong evidence that both constituents are getting Case from the same place. Since Koizumi assumes Case to come from existence in a certain domain, just by making sure that the DPs end up in the correct domain will be enough to take care of the multiple assignments of the same Case.

However convincing the facts may be, I am not comfortable with Koizumi's stipulation that Case is assigned to elements based solely on their existence in a given domain.[18] At best, that idea does not fit well in a Minimalist framework.

2.3.3 Multiple Agree and Biclausality

Niinuma (2000) is a paper on NMOs which mostly concerns itself with the Desiderative MNCs. Niimuma attempts to show that in clauses that normally assign NOM to objects cannot do so when the clause is non-tensed (in the same way, subjects cannot get NOM Case from an non-tensed clause).

(31) kono atu.i tenki ga (watasi ni) biiru o/*ga nomi.ta.ku sase.ta
this hot.IMP weather NOM (1sg DAT) beer ACC/*NOM drink.DESR.CONT make.PRF
'This hot weather made me want to drink a beer.'

This is similar to English, in that since there is no tense in the embedded clause, the subject must get a kind of ECM Case. The difference is that in Japanese, a NMO, normally available, is not available in just the situation where tense is lacking. Specifically, Niinuma believes that there is no [T] at all in the structure of the embedded clause[19]. He goes on to say others, Koizumi (1994) included, have also noted the relationship between T and NMOs.

Niinuma also shows us that idioms do not allow for any kind of movement of the object while preserving the idiomatic meaning. Take the example *hi ni abura o sosogu* which literally means "add oil to the fire," and idiomatically means "make things worse."

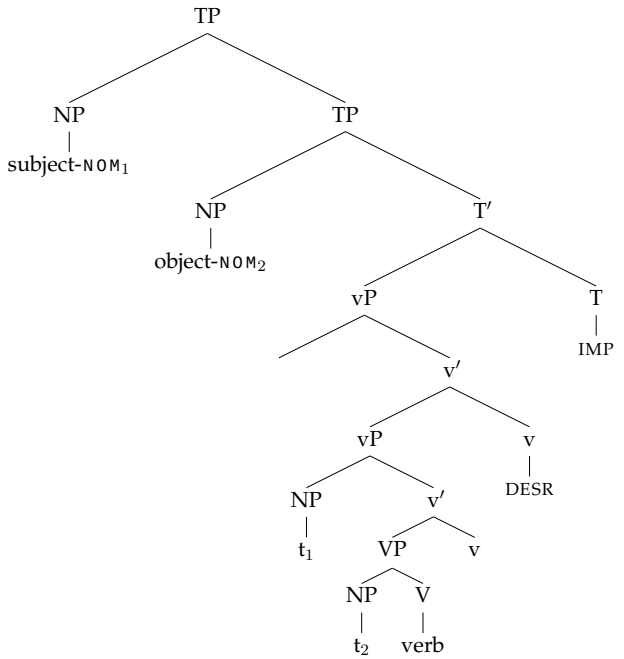
(32) a. *Abura o Taro wa hi ni sosoi.da.
oil ACC Taro TOP fire LOC pour.PRF
Intended: 'Taro made things worse.'
b. Taro wa hi ni abura o/*ga sosog.ita.i.
Taro TOP fire LOC oil ACC/*NOM pour.DESR.IMP
'Taro wants to make things worse.'

The only reason there could be that the NMO should be bad in (32c) is that the object, when marked NOM, is undergoing some movement. He further solidifies his arguments about NMOs more by offering scope facts similar to those offered by Tada (1992). His tree of such movements ends up as the one shown below.

[18] At least this can't be the case for structural Case. Perhaps it is a possible explanation of inherent Case, if we believe such a to thing exist.

[19] I'm not completely sure as to why this is - he could assume just as easily that T is non-finite and lacks Case features. In any case, he cites Takezawa's 1987 dissertation when he asserts this.

(33)



This tree requires a few notes. First, when the DESR morpheme attaches to the verb, "the Case assigning property ... is optionally absorbed." Then, in Niinuma's own words, "the object must move to Spec of TP so that the Case feature of NP can be checked off." In this movement, the object needs to 'tuck-in' (in Richards' terms) to allow for the correct word order.

I must say that I am a little confused about the movement of the object. Niinuma claims that it is so the NP can check its Case features, but why would T, after checking its Case feature already on the subject NP, probe for another goal? Niinuma doesn't say so, but there must be some kind of Multiple Agree. However, we run into another problem here. Even if the T were to probe for a new goal (the object), why would that object raise? If we assume a Multiple Agree similar to that of Hiraiwa (2001b), then there is the problem that Multiple Agree allows for long distance Case valuing. T's D feature and its EPP feature have already been satisfied, so what is motivating the movement up to Spec TP?

Moreover, as we will see in the coming section, this theory is inadequate in terms of its ability to deal with NGC in MNCs.

3 NGC in MNCs

If we believe that NGC should be able to apply to a Nominative-marked constituent, we should expect that both DPs participating in an MNC should be able to undergo NGC. This has been noted to be true by Hiraiwa (2001a, 2001b, 2002) and Miyagawa (1993), among others. Even so, the work on NGC in MNCs is somewhat limited in that a thoroughly systematic evaluation of NGC in the varying types of MNCs has not been done before. Therefore, I set out to explore just that.

3.1 Grammaticality Data

I took sentences of the five types of MNC listed above, and tested their acceptability in the four logical possibilities of NOM and GEN.

(34)

	1st DP - 2nd DP
a.	NOM - NOM
b.	GEN - NOM
c.	NOM - GEN
d.	GEN - GEN

In the following subsections, I will describe the results of the data.

3.1.1 Locative Constructions

Inasmuch as the native speakers accepted the NOM-NOM Locative construction, they also accepted the GEN-NOM, NOM-GEN and GEN-GEN constructions.

(35) 'The reason that there are no fish in the Dead Sea is that there is too much salt.'

a. %sikai **ga** sakana **ga** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
Dead-Sea NOM fish NOM be.NEG.IMP reason TOP salt NOM much.beyond.IMP
kara da.
because COP-IMP

b. %sikai **no** sakana **ga** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
Dead-Sea GEN fish NOM be.NEG.IMP reason TOP salt NOM much.beyond.IMP
kara da.
because COP-IMP

c. %sikai **ga** sakana **no** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
Dead-Sea NOM fish GEN be.NEG.IMP reason TOP salt NOM much.beyond.IMP
kara da.
because COP-IMP

d. %sikai **no** sakana **no** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
Dead-Sea GEN fish GEN be.NEG.IMP reason TOP salt NOM much.beyond.IMP
kara da.
because COP-IMP

3.1.2 Ability Verbs

(36) 'It is probable that Ken can read Korean.'

a. ✓ken **ga** kankokugo **ga** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da.
Ken NOM Korean NOM read.POT.IMP fact TOP probable COP-IMP

b. ✓ken **no** kankokugo **ga** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da.
Ken GEN Korean NOM read.POT.IMP fact TOP probable COP-IMP

c. ✓ken **ga** kankokugo **no** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da.
Ken NOM Korean GEN read.POT.IMP fact TOP probable COP-IMP

d. ✓ken **no** kankokugo **no** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da.
Ken GEN Korean GEN read.POT.IMP fact TOP probable COP-IMP

3.1.3 Psych Adjectives

The psych adjectives allow for all combinations of NOM and GEN.

(37) 'No one knew that Ryuu doesn't like coffee.'

a. ✓Ryuu **ga** koohii **ga** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu NOM coffee NOM dislike COP-PA-IMP fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF

b. ✓Ryuu **no** koohii **ga** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu GEN coffee NOM dislike COP-PA-IMP fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF

c. ✓Ryuu **ga** koohii **no** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu NOM coffee GEN dislike COP-PA-IMP fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF

d. ✓Ryuu **no** koohii **no** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu GEN coffee GEN dislike COP-PA-IMP fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF

3.1.4 "Tough" Adjectives

The tough adjectives allow for all combinations of NOM and GEN.

(38) 'The reason that Mary is good at Japanese is that her father was working in Japan.'

a. ✓Mary **ga** nihongo **ga** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary NOM Japanese NOM good-at.IMP reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMP

b. ✓Mary **no** nihongo **ga** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary GEN Japanese NOM good-at.IMP reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMP

c. ✓Mary **ga** nihongo **no** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary NOM Japanese GEN good-at.IMP reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMP

d. ✓Mary **no** nihongo **no** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary GEN Japanese GEN good-at.IMP reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMP

3.1.5 Tough Constructions

It seems that the Tough Construction MNCs do not allow for GEN marked objects.
This is the first time that we have encountered a DP which can be marked NOM but not GEN.

(39) 'The murderer is easy for John to find.'

a. ✓John **ga** satujinhan **ga** sagasi.yasu.i
John NOM murderer NOM find.easy.IMP time

b. ✓John **no** satujinhan **ga** sagasi.yasu.i
John GEN murderer NOM find.easy.IMP time

c. *✓John **ga** satujinhan **no** sagasi.yasu.i
John NOM murderer GEN find.easy.IMP time

d. *✓John **no** satujinhan **no** sagasi.yasu.i
John GEN murderer GEN find.easy.IMP time

3.1.6 Desiderative Constructions

It seems that the Desiderative constructions do not allow for GEN marked objects.
This is the second time that we have a NOM-marked DP which cannot undergo NGC.

(40) 'When Akira wants to eat yakisoba, [someone] makes it for him'

a.	✓Akira	**ga**	yakisoba	**ga**	tabe.ta.i	toki,	tukut.te	age.ru.
	Akira NOM		yakisoba NOM		eat.DESR.IMP	time,	make.CONT	give.IMP
b.	✓Akira	**no**	yakisoba	**ga**	tabe.ta.i	toki,	tukut.te	age.ru.
	Akira GEN		yakisoba NOM		eat.DESR.IMP	time,	make.CONT	give.IMP
c.	*Akira	**ga**	yakisoba	**no**	tabe.ta.i	toki,	tukut.te	age.ru.
	Akira NOM		yakisoba GEN		eat.DESR.IMP	time,	make.CONT	give.IMP
d.	*Akira	**no**	yakisoba	**no**	tabe.ta.i	toki,	tukut.te	age.ru.
	Akira GEN		yakisoba GEN		eat.DESR.IMP	time,	make.CONT	give.IMP

3.2 Scope Data

After learning of the (un)acceptability of GEN in (39c-d) and (40c-d), I wanted to test other aspects of these MNCs. Specifically, if Tough Construction MNCs (TCMNCs) and Desiderative MNCs (DMNCs) do not allow for GEN-marked objects, perhaps the syntactic position of the objects in TCMNCs and DMNCs is different from that of NMOs in other MNCs. We should recall the data that showed NMOs to be higher in the structure than their accusative counterparts (see (12) in section 2.1.1, repeated later as (19) in section 2.3.1).

I wonder, then, if TCMNCs and DMNCs have the same kind of asymmetry. If not, it would be one more reason to assume a radically different structure for TCMNCs and DMNCs from the others. If so, we know that TCMNCs and DMNCs are similar to other MNCs in that they all involve some movement of the object when it is NOM marked. So to learn the answer, I asked Native Speakers for their judgments[20], and the results are shown below.

(41) a. Boku ga pai dake **o** tabe.ta.i
1sg NOM pie only ACC eat.DESR.IMP
'I want to eat only pie.'

(i) ✓ want eat > only (I don't want to eat pie with anything else.)
(ii) ?/✓ only > want eat (Anything other than pie, I don't want to eat.)

b. Boku ga pai dake **ga** tabe.ta.i
1sg NOM pie only NOM eat.DESR.IMP
'I want to eat only pie'

(i) ?/✓ want eat > only (I don't want to eat pie with anything else.)
(ii) ✓ only > want eat (Anything other than pie, I don't want to eat.)

3.3 Short Discussion on the Findings

The grammaticality data in 3.1 shows that there must be at least three types of structures for MNCs – one for the Locative construction, one for the TCMNCs and DMNCs, and one for the rest. When devising possible analyses of these three structures, it is imperative that we keep in mind the evidence which shows that each is distinct while also being aware of the previous research and its contributions.

The scope data in 3.2 shows that the DMNCs[21] are still rather similar to the others (save for

[20] These judgments were only for scope with DMNCs, as, at the time, I was only aware of this asymmetry in DMNCs.
[21] and presumably TCMNCs as well

Locative MNCs[22]) in that the object is in a higher position when marked NOM than it is when it is marked ACC.

4 Possible Solutions

4.1 Using Previous Literature

The crucial decision in choosing between theories of NGC and MNC is whether or not to use Multiple Agree. If we choose **not** to use Multiple Agree, first of all, GEN-NOM constructions become straightforward inasmuch as the NOM Case is straightforward. However, since (Non-Multiple) Agree in NGC takes place between one Case assigner and one DP, we cannot straightforwardly get the data for GEN-GEN MNCs. Furthermore, even basic NOM-NOM MNCs are a problem without Multiple Agree because there is much data that shows the NMO raises up to be near T (as in (12), (19) and (29)) – even in the DMNCs, scope interactions seem to show this (as in (41)).

If we **do** choose to use Multiple Agree, we do get NOM-NOM and GEN-GEN MNCs very easily; however, we have other problems. Namely, using Multiple Agree, GEN-NOM and NOM-GEN constructions become somewhat odd. We would have to stipulate that Multiple Agree is only an option – one that must be chosen in GEN-GEN and NOM-NOM, but must not be chosen in GEN-NOM and NOM-GEN. Furthermore, using Multiple Agree, we lose the connection between the stative verbs and the ability to license MNCs. That is to say, with Multiple Agree, why should we not expect MNCs in non-stative counterparts to the stative examples in this paper? Furthermore, using Multiple Agree as it is in Hiraiwa (2001b), we have a problem (I mentioned this at the end of Section 2.3.3 as well). Hiraiwa claims that Multiple Agree can apply long distance, so why should we bother raising the Object DP?

Lastly, when it comes to the TCMNCs and DMNCs, Multiple Agree must never be an option.[23] This means that there **must** be an alternative strategy that gets NOM on both DPs. Furthermore, since it seems that NMOs raise in the same way across all MNCs, based on the scope data, we should expect that the NMO assignment should be rather universal in form.

4.2 Ideas

The crux of this paper is that we know, due to the acceptability judgments on NGC+MNC, that Tough Construction and Desiderative NMOs must be in a syntactic location such that GEN is not assignable.

One option that occurred to me early on was that we could possibly say that TCMNCs and DMNCs are different because the object is (alternatively) able to be marked accusative. Yet, Ability verbs also alternate between ACC and NOM Objects, and NGC is possible on the NMO there.

Looking at the data in Koizumi (1994), we see that there is a difference in major subjects (MSs) and regular subjects (SUs). Perhaps, in the TCMNCs and DMNCs, the Subject DP is actually a major subject. If so, we could say that major subjects are closer to the GEN Case licenser and make a sort of intervener which would prevent the NOM-GEN and the GEN-GEN construction with TCMNCs and DMNCs. However, this idea is unsatisfactory in that we have other MNCs that involve MSs in which the NMO can undergo NGC.

[22] Another separating factor for the Locative MNCs is that they require a highly salient context in which both *ga*-marked constituents are focused. Perhaps both *ga*-marked constituents are MSs.

[23] Multiple Agree in Hiraiwa's sense – one probe that values Case optionally as NOM or GEN.

Also looking at Koizumi (1994), we see that (at least some) NMOs are scoping over negation. Perhaps in TCMNCs and DMNCs, the NMO is raising (we see this in (41)), but not as high as in the other MNCs.

4.3 A New Theory

4.3.1 Overview

A new perspective on MNCs which I will advocate for is one whereby NOM is not assigned by the T-head, but rather by another head that is near T in the structure.[24] I am positing a new level of the VP-shell that will locally assign NOM in the standard Minimalist probe-goal+EPP relationship; let us call this head X. XP can be recursive[25], and when it is, the higher X - let us call it X_2 - assigns NOM to the NMO. Furthermore, there is a subject position above TP in the spec of (what I am calling) subP, which is the SU (Koizumi's regular subject) position.

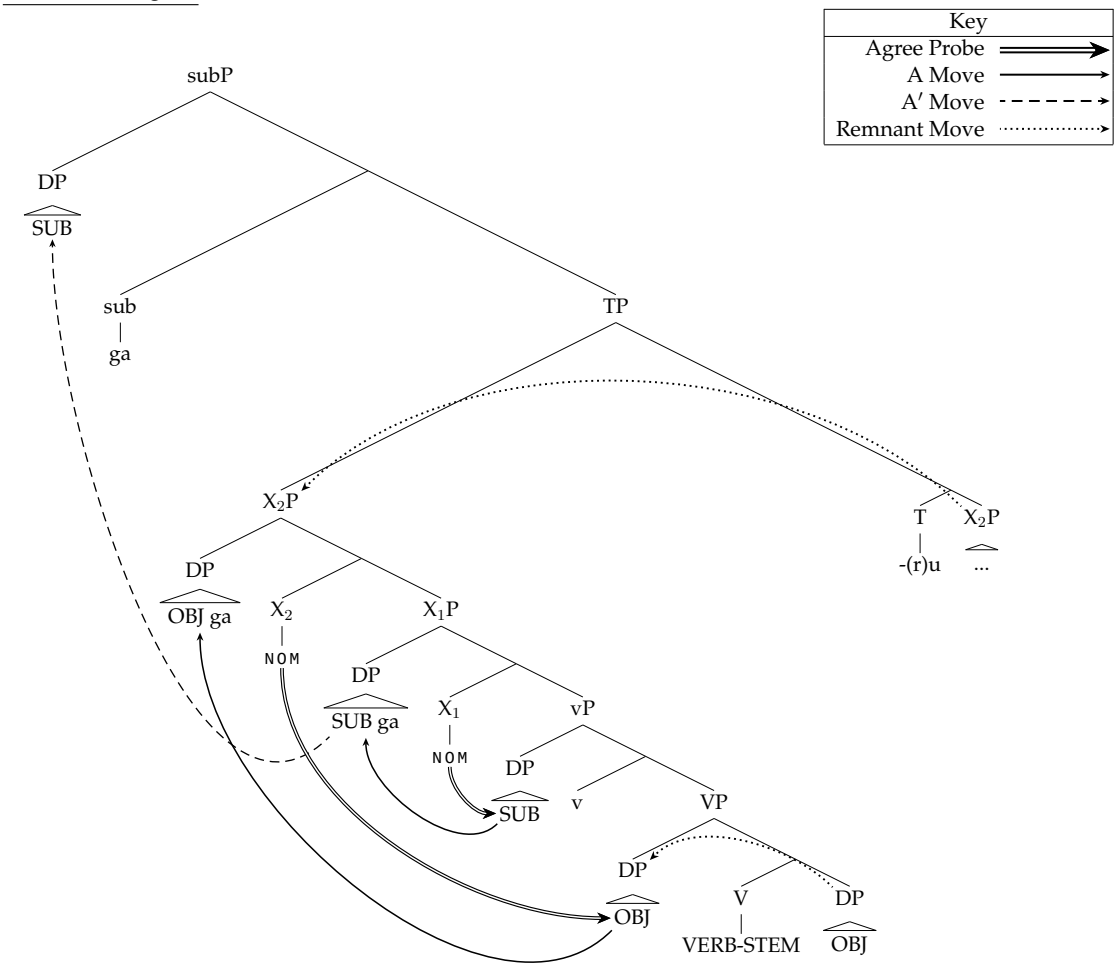
This Spec subP position **must** be filled; there are several ways to motivate this. Most basically, we can say that the head of the subP has an feature. Furthermore, if this movement didn't take place, the subject would only be able to be interpreted below the verb, which is also undesirable. Finally, we can assume Fox and Pesetsky's (2005) Cyclic Linearization, if this movement did not take place, we would break the ordering: <SUB,OBJ>. Moreover, we cannot posit that this work is done by TP and its Spec, as we need that position for remnant movement of the X_2P. If we did use Spec TP for the subject, we would have a problem in that we would expect the subject to intervene between the verb stem and the tense-morpheme.

In this way, we are given the correct linear order. Below in (42), I give a tree that shows this.

[24] That head must at least be near the T in all MNCs besides TCMNCs and DMNCs.

[25] More on when and why it is recursive in the next section.

(42) Demonstrating XP[26,27]



4.3.2 Syntactic Consequences

What are the syntactic consequences of a theory that uses this XP? It provides us with a means of assigning Case to objects, even when the ACC is not available. That is, it seems that the NMO does not have ACC before getting NOM. I assume this as NGC is available in this clause, and the TR would seem to block that if a DP were getting ACC.[28,29]

Furthermore, this XP, when it attracts the DP that is getting NOM, raises it to a position that - using Kayne's (1994) definition of c-command - asymmetrically c-commands modals and negation. This derives all the scope facts that we wanted to derive (cf. (19) and (26)), in which NMOs scope over NEG and the POT modal. I briefly recap these scope facts in (43), and I show the tree that derives them in (44).

(43) NMO > NEG > Mod_{abl}
*NEG > Mod_{abl} > NMO (Koizumi 1994)

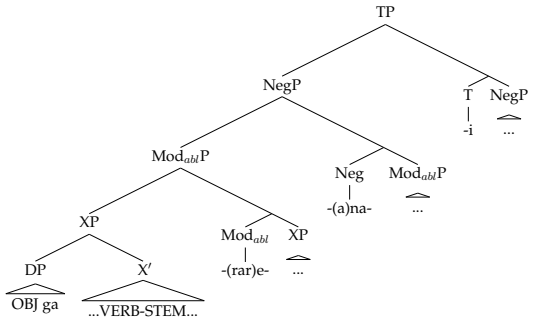
[26]You can refer to Appendix B for this Key later on.

[27]I use VP here, but this could easily be translated to AP (and the vP would change to aP).

[28]These arguments do not necessarily hold if Koopman 2005 is right about that (i) the Spec-head relationship being the Case licenser, and (ii) the Case markers are stranding heads.

[29]I am also unsure if this is right, as we see that the OBJ does not seem to be able to be even reconstructed in the original object position (cf. (19)).

(44) Scope of the NMO over the modal[30]



4.3.3 Selectional Characteristics

Let us discuss the selectional characteristics of this XP theory, as it applies to Japanese. First of all, X_1P is always selected by every structure. This is actually important as there are sentences that seem to be non-finite in Japanese in which the subjects are still getting Case. For example, *kare* is marked with *ga* in (45), despite the fact that the verb *kaite* in non-finite.

(45) boku wa [kare ga kai.te] hosi.i
I TOP he NOM write.CONT want.IMP
'I want him to write [it].'

Next, we should note that XP can be recursive. In order for it to be recursive, the vP complement of X_1P must be stative so that X_1P is stative, because X_2P seems to select for a stative X_1P complement. This is evidenced by the fact that the only time we get NMOs (which are licensed by X_2P) are when the predicate is interpretable as stative.[31] Without X_2P the object would never get Case, because (I am assuming) statives cannot assign ACC.[32]

A modal selects for a VP-shell projection. This verbal clause can come as either (i) a stative complement - an X_2P (which gives an MNC), or (ii) an active complement - an X_1P (giving a 'normal' NOM-ACC construction).

As an aside, FocP can be in the derivation (above subP at some point), which would focus the subject (or anything else), if needed.[33]

Finally, on a selectionally-related note, the shapes of *-(rar)e-*, *-(i)ta-*, *-(i)yasu-*, *-(a)na-*, and *-(r)u* do not need to be decided in the syntax (which is good, as they are not necessarily local to the morphemes they attach with). They can be determined by the phonology after spell-out has occurred and the morphemes are adjacent such that they can simply follow morphophonemic rules/constraints.

4.3.4 Phases

Given that we are assuming that XP is part of the verbal shell, and the vP phase was introduced when it is a Case assigner, perhaps we can assume that X_1P is actually the phase instead of vP just in case that the vP doesn't assign ACC. That is, perhaps what defined vP as a phase was

[30] More and more complete trees can be found in Appendix C

[31] We have to say something about the stative-ness of the complements of modals. Without the modal, the clause would not be stative; somehow the modal induces a stative-ness upon its complement.

[32] I'm not entirely sure why, nor can I find really good evidence of this fact at this point, but it seems to be an intuitively reasonable assumption.

[33] FocP is probably where Koizumi's MSs would be found

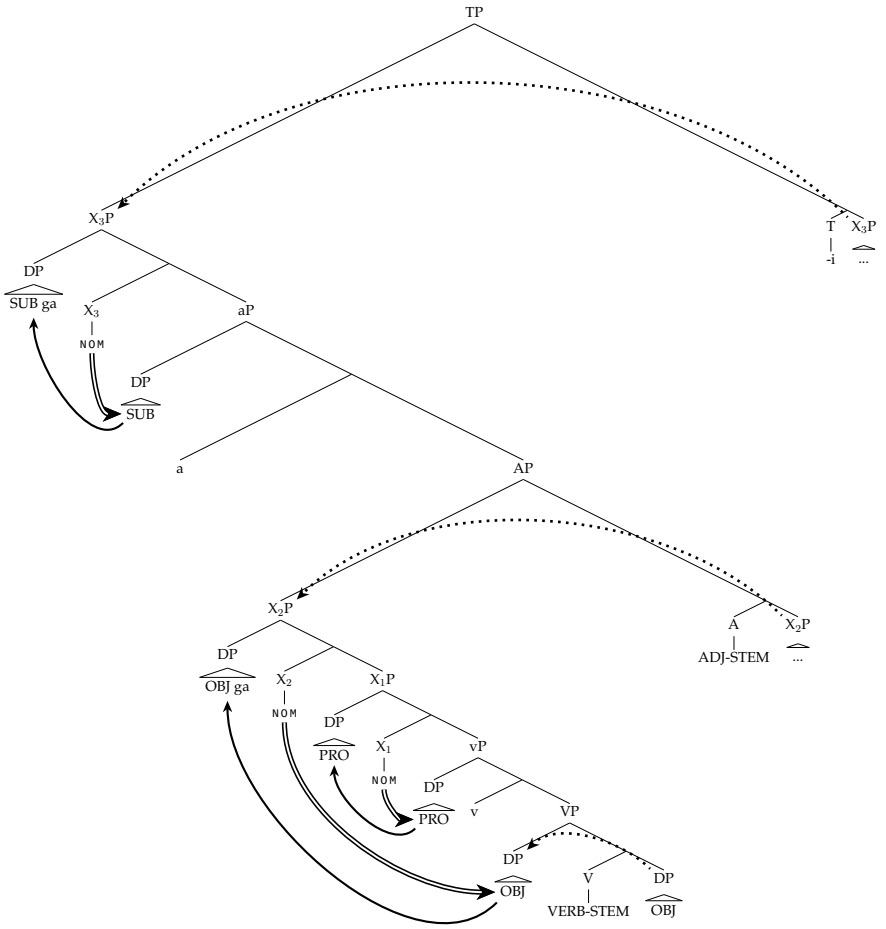
its VP-shell-internal Case-assignment, and when vP is "defective," the next higher VP-internal Case-assigner is the phase boundary.

Furthermore, it should be said that X_2P, when directly selected by X_1P, is not a phase boundary. This is necessary, as Spec X_1P needs to be able to get as high as Spec subP without crossing a phase boundary.[34]

4.3.5 Deriving the TCMNC/DMNC differences

The most important question is, how does this theory account for the asymmetry we found in TCMNCs and DMNCs? Let us assume the structure in (46) as the TCMNC/DMNC structure.

(46) Adjectival Secondary Predicate[35]



TCMNCs and DMNCs are actually biclausal (unlike that monoclausal analysis we just gave for the ability modal), and what looks like an adjectival modal is actually a secondary predicate that takes an X_1P or X_2P small clause complement, similar to the verbal modal. Also similar to the verbal modal, when it selects an X_1P complement, we get the 'normal' NOM-ACC construction; and when it selects an X_2P, we get an MNC.[36] Once again similar to the verbal modal, we see that the

[34] However, an X_nP would be a phase if not directly selected by X_{n-1}P. That is, X_nP is not a recursion.

[35] I assume there is a subP above this TP, but for the sake of space, I have omitted it. If you would like to see more complete trees, check Appendix C.

[36] When it comes to the other selectional features of this construction, we must posit that there is some kind of adjectival nature to the X_3P. Perhaps what happens is that AP selected for a (which has some adjectival features); aP

NMO is asymmetrically c-commanding over the modal. This gives us the scope facts from (41).

What makes these different from the verbal modal MNCs is that these adjectival secondary predicates are control predicates[37]. In this way, there is much more structure intervening between an external D head and the NMO.

If we recall (10), we remember that a phase between a NOM-marked DP and the external GEN probe prevents NGC from taking place. Taking, then, that we decided in the previous section that X_3P should be a phase boundary, we are able to derive the fact that NMOs in TCMNCs/DMNCs are unable to get GEN. In other words, the NMO is buried underneath a phase boundary such that it is unreachable by the external GEN probe.

In this way, we have successfully derived the asymmetry of NGC interaction with MNCs by using local Case assigners. Not only that, but we have also derived the interesting scope facts that went along with these constructions.

5 Future Research

The areas ripe for exploration with this theory are not few. I will briefly describe some of those that have come to my attention that I believe would be interesting to pursue.

5.1 Predictions of this theory

First, we see that there is another scopal prediction based on the analysis given by the tree in (46). Based on the c-command relations, we should expect that the NMO can **never** scope over negation in TCMNCs and DMNCs, contrary to the way it behaves with other MNCs. This would be a good diagnostic on the validity of this theory.

This next idea is based on the fact that this analysis has a lower clause into which NGC's GEN probe cannot reach. If the probe cannot reach/see into the phase, NGC should be agnostic as to whether or not an ACC object is within that phase. In other words, we should be able to break the Transitivity Restriction in TCMNCs and DMNCs, based on this theory. Is this possible?

5.2 Improvements on this theory

Let us recall Niinuma's facts about NMOs needing a finite TP (cf. (31)). That is, with an non-finite T, we are supposed to have the following paradigm:

(47)
X ga	Y *ga/o	V.(i)ta.ku	...
X NOM	Y *NOM/ACC	Verb.DESR.INFIN	

While this theory may not explain the Case marking pattern for Y, what it can do is derive the Case on X. That is, X is the subject that gets Case from Spec X_1P, and then moves up to Spec subP. However, Niinuma should have a harder time explaining why the subject can get NOM even when the T is non-finite. That said, this theory also needs to be adjusted to take this kind of data into account.

selected for X_3P (which has some adjectival features); and then the X_3P selected for the adjectival T, *-i*. Or perhaps the selectional features somehow move up the tree. However, importantly, *-(i)ta-* cannot head move as high as X_3 because that would linearly order *-(i)ta-* before X_2P, which would not be right.

[37] That is, if we believe that *-(i)ta-* is a control predicate like *want* is in other languages, and we believe Vermeulen (2002) that Japanese tough constructions involve a (secondary) control predicate.

5.3 MNCs in general

Another test for these MNC theories would be to see if NMOs can license verbal honorifics. If so, we might have to revisit this theory. If not, we would have evidence against the idea that NMOs get their Case from the same position as the subject.

Having just been informed that passives have an MNC available, I would like to research/analyze it. Does it fall neatly into one of this theory? I would predict that it would have similar facts to the verbal modals – specifically the NMO would scope over the passive and negation, and it would be able to undergo NGC.

6 Conclusion

The theory set forth in this paper captures the facts that we set out to explain – especially the various scope facts relating to the NMO, and the NMO's varying ability to undergo NGC. Furthermore, the theory proposed in this paper is rather powerful and should have implications across linguistic research in Japanese - and perhaps beyond. What's more, I have gathered specific research questions related to it which should be straightforwardly testable, so the viability of this theory could be easily investigated.

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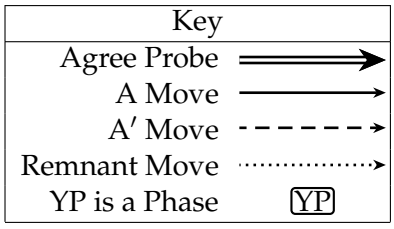
Appendix A

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

ACC	Accusative Case Marker
COMPL	Complementizer
COND	Conditional Form Marker
CONT	Continuative Form Marker
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative Case Marker
DESR	Desiderative Suffix
GEN	Genitive Case Marker
IMP	Imperfective Tense (non-past) Marker
IMPTV	Imperative Mood
MNC	Multiple Nominative Construction
NGC	Nominative-Genitive Conversion
NMO	Nominative-Marked Object
NOM	Nominative Case Marker
PA	Predicate-Adnominal Form (aka *rentaikei*)
PASS	Passive Voice
PRF	Perfective Tense (past) Marker
POT	Potential Mood Marker
TOP	Topic Marker
TR	Transitivity Restriction
VOL	Volitional Mood

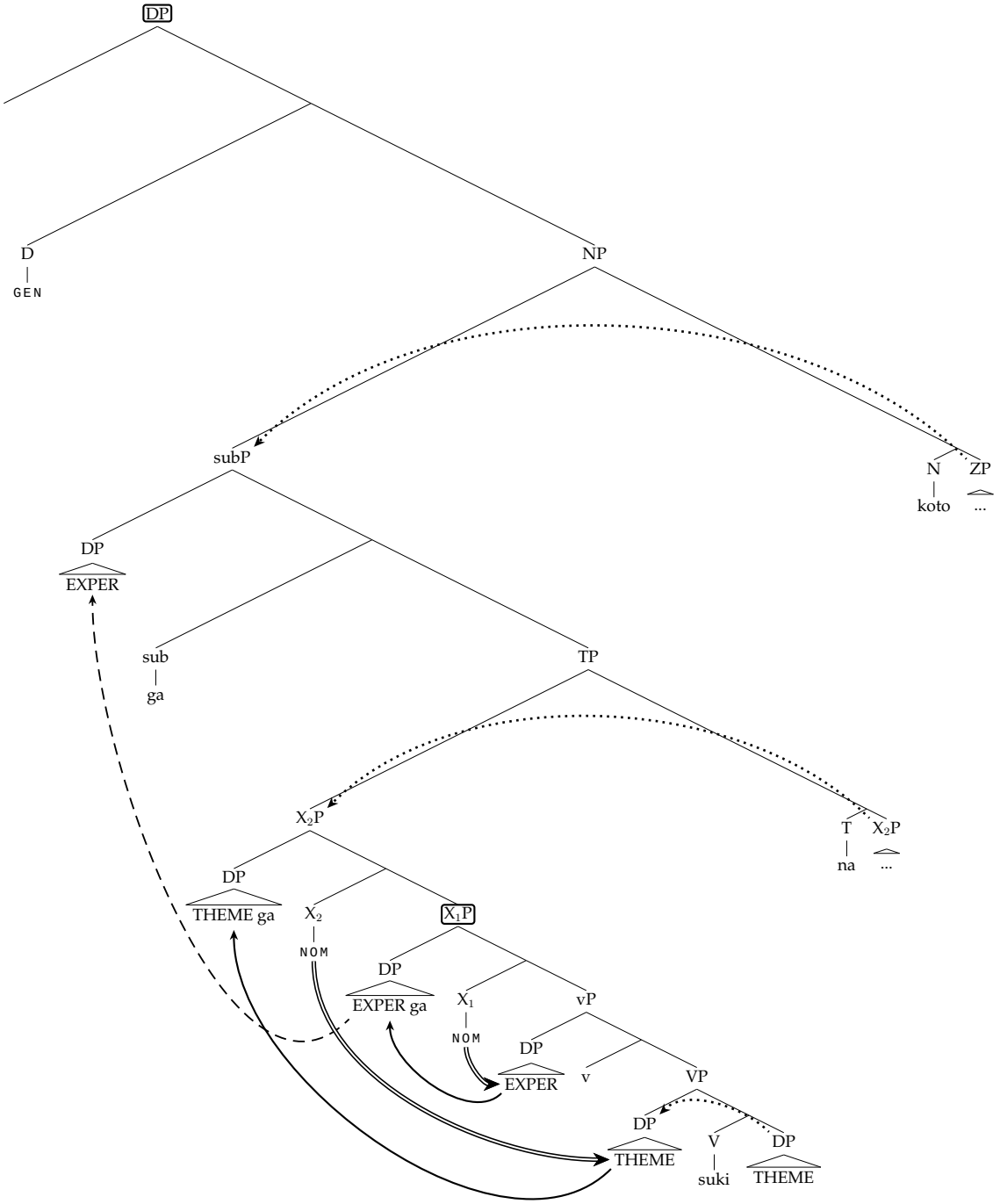
Appendix B



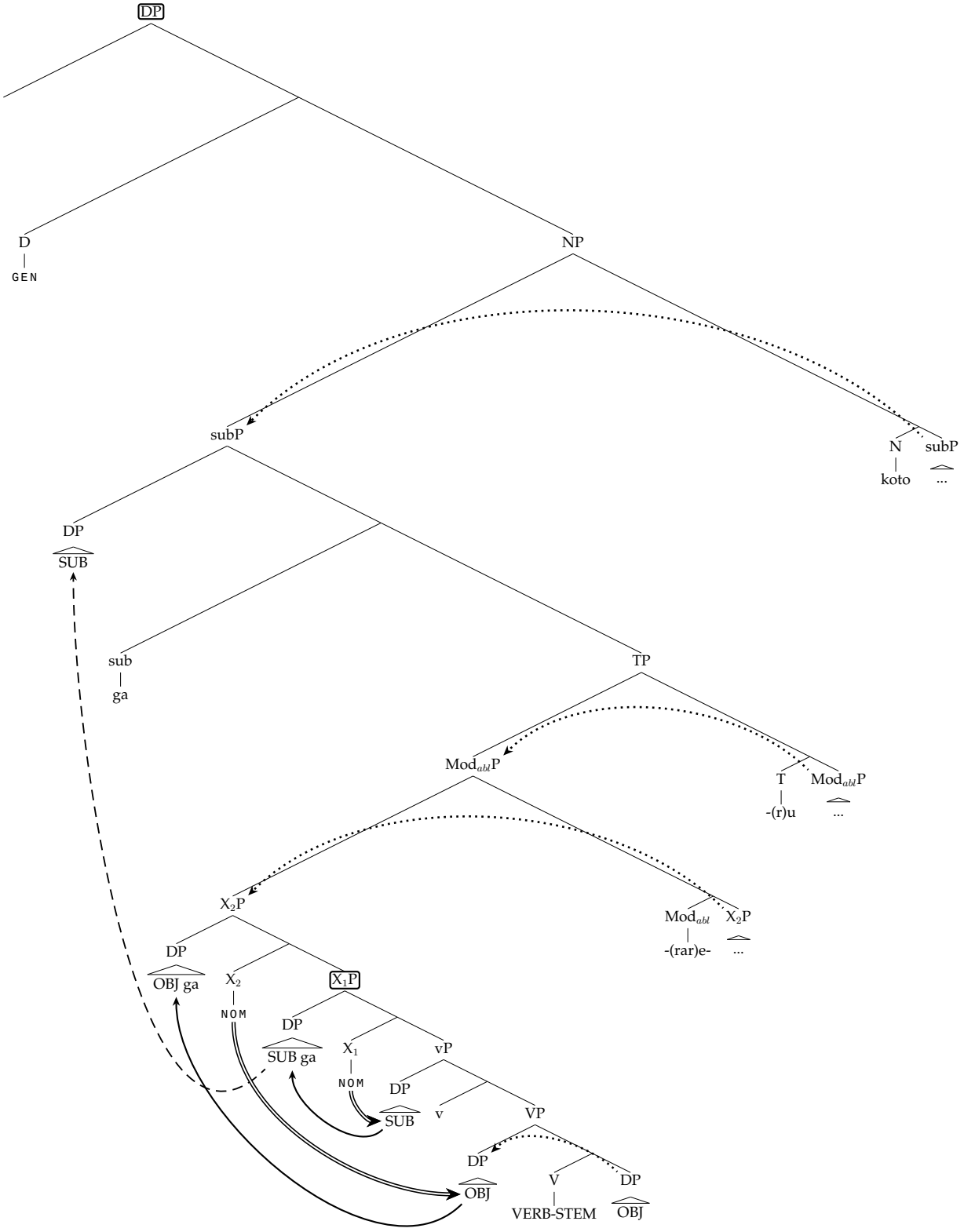
Appendix C

Full Trees

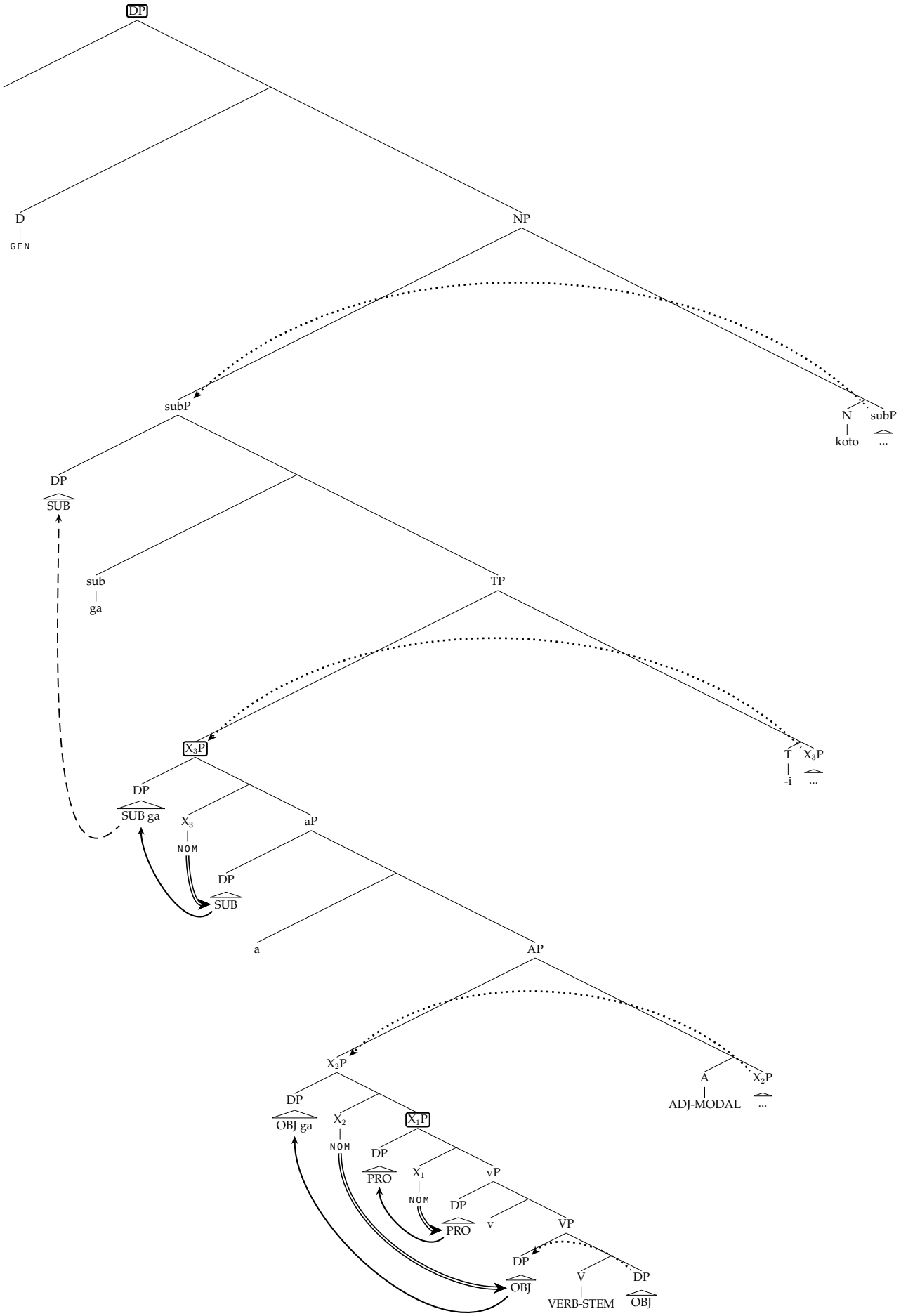
(i) Monoclausal Non-modal Stative



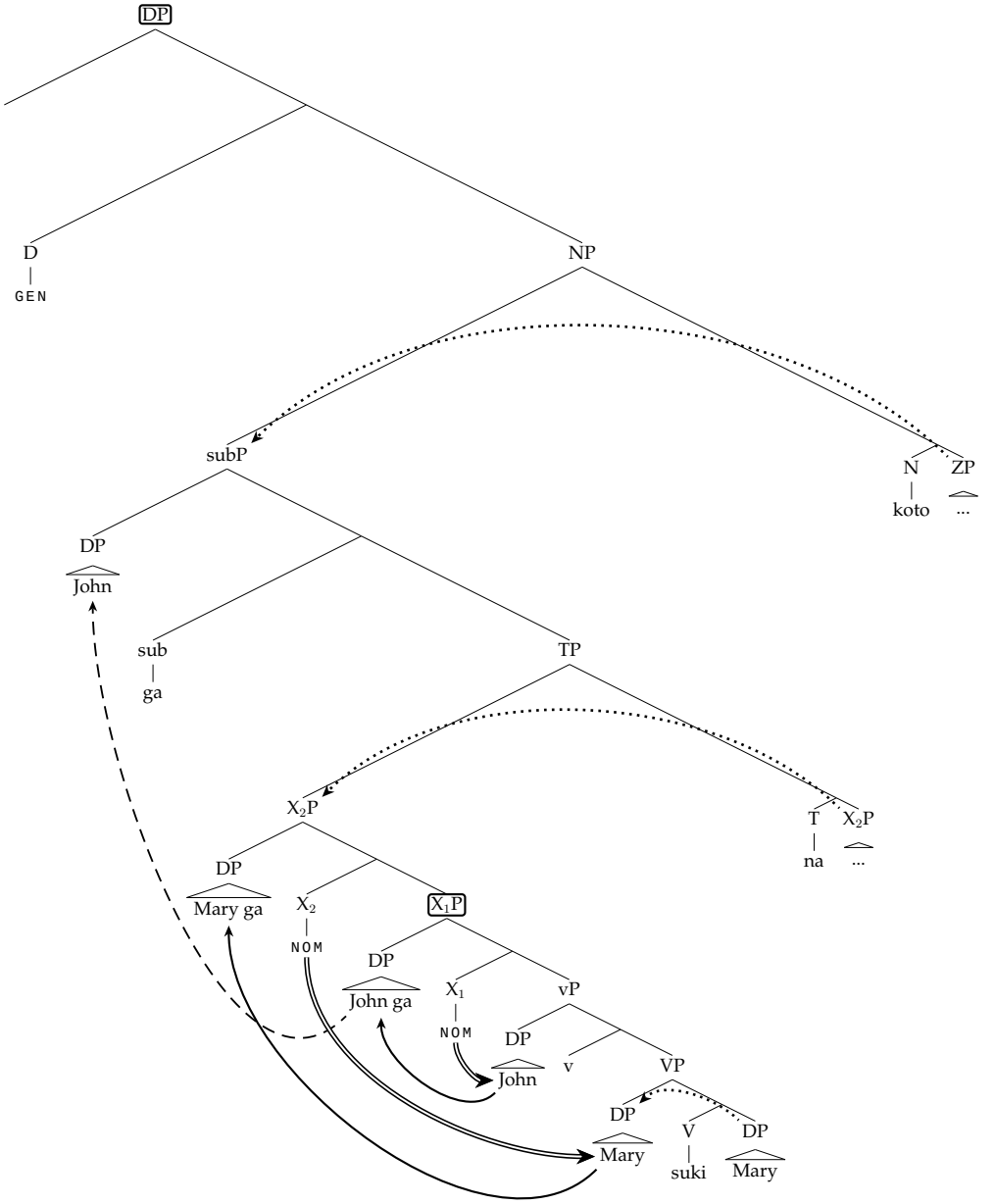
(ii) Monoclausal (Verbal) Modal



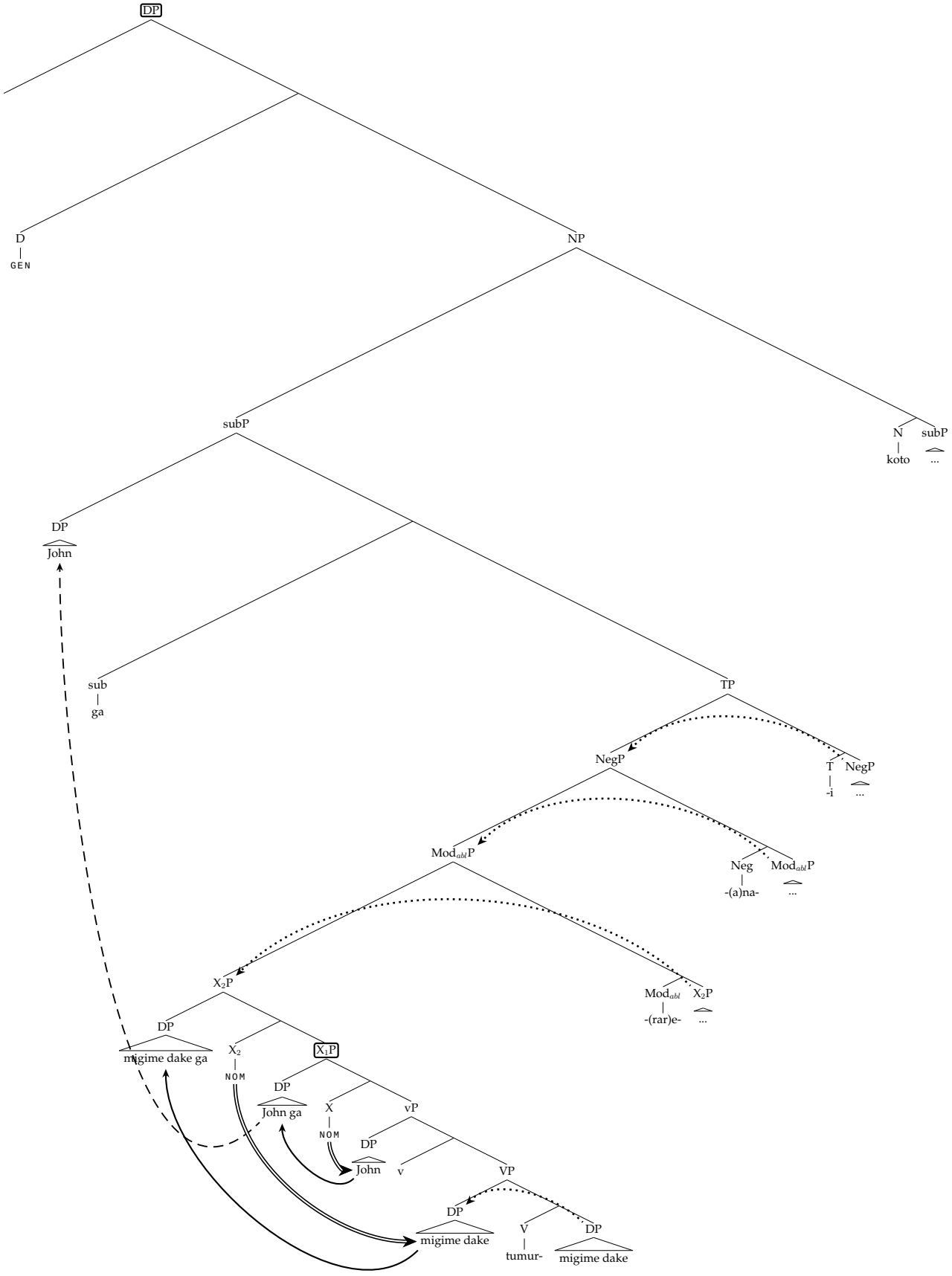
(iii) Adjectival Secondary Predicate



(iv) Psych Adjective: *John ga Mary ga suki na koto*



(v) Ability MNC: *John ga migime dake ga tumurenai koto*



(vi) TCMNC: *John ga satujinhan ga sagasiyasui koto*