5 *Ga/No* Conversion, Strong Uniformity, and Focus

5.1 Introduction

In Strong Uniformity, we assume that the grammatical agreement features and discourse-configurational features form a universal set that gets expressed in some fashion in all languages. The distribution of these two types of grammatical features—ϕ-feature and δ-feature—predicts at least four different types of languages: (I) ϕ-feature on C, δ-feature on T; (II) δ-feature on C, ϕ-feature on T; (III) both ϕ-feature and δ-feature on T; and (IV) both ϕ-feature and δ-feature on C. These are given below with representative languages.

(1) Some predicted languages
Category I: C_{ϕ}, T_{δ} – Japanese
Category II: C_{δ}, T_{ϕ} – Chinese, English
Category III: C, $T_{\phi/\delta}$ – Spanish
Category IV: $C_{\phi/\delta}$, T – Dinka

We saw that in Spanish, while the topic feature may occur on T as shown, the focus feature stays on C.

As shown, Japanese, a Category I language, has its ϕ-feature at C and its δ-feature at T. In this chapter, I will look at so-called *ga/no* conversion from the perspective of Strong Uniformity. I will show that recent work on *ga/no* conversion provides further evidence for the way that universality and variability are defined by Strong Uniformity. In particular, we will see evidence that the presence of a grammatical feature triggers movement, and that lack of grammatical features prevents movement. In Miyagawa (2010), I argued that when agreement occurs, movement takes place. Part of what makes agreement possible is activation based on Case (Chomsky 2001). One issue that I did not address in the 2010 work is, what is the activation for δ-features? This becomes a relevant question since Strong Uniformity considers ϕ-features and

δ-features to be two sides of the same coin, hence, they should in principle be guided by the same sort of conditions. I will show that Case in fact plays the role of activation for the δ-feature of focus in Japanese. I will first present an analysis of *ga/no* conversion in Japanese. Then, in the second half of the chapter, I will take up the issue of activation for the δ-feature of focus. I begin with the discussion of *ga/no* conversion and D-licensing. The following text, through section 5.6, is from Miyagawa (2013). I thank the English Linguistic Society of Japan for letting me use the article.

5.2 Miyagawa (2013)[1]

Harada (1971) brought our attention to the fact that in Japanese, the subject of relative clauses and noun complements may be marked with the genitive *-no* instead of the nominative *-ga*; he named it *Ga/No* Conversion.

(2) Hanako-ga/-no katta hon
Hanako-NOM/GEN bought book
'the book that Hanako bought'

As Harada also noted, while the nominative is always possible, there are restrictions on the occurrence of the genitive. For example, unlike the nominative subject, the genitive subject does not sound natural if certain elements intervene between it and the verb (Harada 1971, 80).

(3) a. kodomotati-ga minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
children-NOM together vigorously run-climb up stairway
'the stairway which those children ran up together vigorously'
b. *kodomotati-no minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
children-GEN together vigorously run-climb up stairway

In (3b), which contains a genitive subject, the intervention of 'together' and 'vigorously' between this subject and the verb leads to ungrammaticality.

Also, Dubinsky (1993) shows that scrambling, which is common in Japanese, is usually not possible across a genitive subject (I have changed the original example to avoid a transitivity restriction violation).

(4) geki-de$_i$ musume-ga/*-no t_i odotta koto
play-in daughter-NOM/-GEN danced fact
'the fact that my daughter danced in the play'

I will show that (3), noted by Harada, and (4) are the same phenomenon when we look at them through the lens of Strong Uniformity.

Finally, Akaso and Haraguchi (2010) observe another restriction on the genitive subject, namely, a focus element on the subject precludes the genitive from occurring.

(5) Taroo-**dake**-ga/*-no nonda kusuri
Taro-only-NOM/-GEN took medicine
'medicine that only Taro took'

I will demonstrate that Akaso and Haraguchi's observation follows from the typological status of Japanese as a Category I language. I will also incorporate an observation by Ochi (in press) to show that the focus feature is activated by Case. Our account will be based on so-called D-licensing of the genitive case marking and the extension of the D-licensing analysis proposed in Miyagawa (2012a). I begin with the explanation of the D-licensing approach to *ga/no* conversion.

5.3 D-Licensing of the Genitive Case

The D-licensing analysis (e.g., Bedell 1972; Miyagawa 1993, 2008, 2011; Ochi 2001) is based on the fact that in Japanese, the genitive typically occurs in nominal environments.

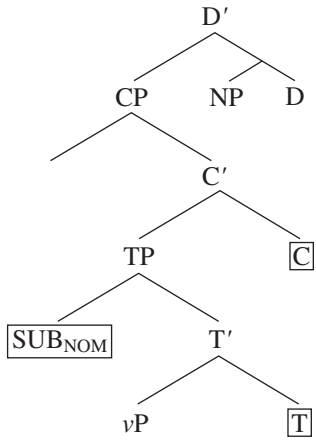
(6) [$_{DP}$ Hanako-**no** gakkai-de-**no** Taroo-**no** hihan]
Hanako-**GEN** conference-at-**GEN** Taro-**GEN** criticism
'Hanako's criticism of Taro at the conference'

In this example, two arguments and an adjunct within the noun phrase headed by the noun 'criticism' must bear the genitive case marker. The D-licensing approach equates the genitive marking on the subject in *ga/no* conversion environments with this phenomenon of genitive in noun phrases, assuming that such noun phrases are headed by D.

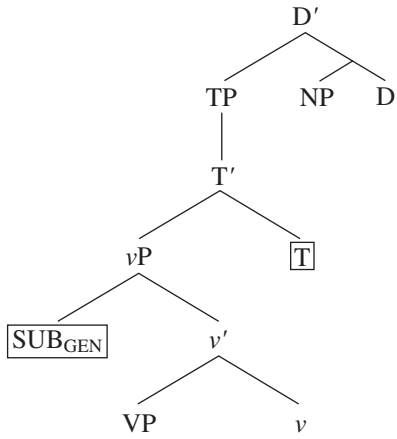
What precisely is the nature of the alternation between the nominative and genitive case marking? On the surface the alternation appears to be optional, and this is what Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) and Watanabe (1996) assumed. In Miyagawa (2008), following the analysis of Dagur by Hale (2002), I argued that the structures for the two case markers, nominative and genitive, are different, so that the alternation is not due to optionality, the choice is specified by structure. The intuition, following Hale's work, is that while the nominative case marking occurs in a full CP, the genitive case marking occurs in a smaller clause, Aspectual Phrase, as noted for the Dagur genitive subject. In Miyagawa (2011), I revised this proposal somewhat and suggested that the smaller structure for the genitive case is a TP (Akaso and Haraguchi [2011] came to the same conclusion independently).

(7) Nominative: CP
Genitive: TP

(8) a. Nominative



b. Genitive



(Miyagawa 2011)

There are several points to note about the difference between these two structures. In (8a), which contains the nominative subject, the structure is a full CP, and the C selects the T. As a result, this T is fully active and able to license the nominative on the subject. Because this T has a full set of features, presumably having inherited them from C (e.g., Chomsky 2005, 2008; Richards 2007; Miyagawa 2010), it triggers movement of the subject to its specifier (Miyagawa 2010). Given that T is the closest head that can license case marking on the subject, D, outside the CP, cannot license case marking on the subject. In contrast to this, in (8b) D directly selects a TP and, because the T is not selected

by C, the T does not contain formal features and is unable to license nominative case. As a result, D reaches in to license the case marking on the subject, leading to the subject having the genitive case marker. Also, because T lacks formal features, it does not trigger movement of the subject to its specifier (Miyagawa 2010, 2011), leaving the subject in the original Spec,*v*P position.[2]

The fact that the genitive subject does not move accounts for the grammaticality judgment that Harada (1971, 80) noted; the examples are repeated below.

(9) a. kodomotati-ga minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
children-NOM together vigorously run-climb up stairway
'the stairway which those children ran up together vigorously'
b. *kodomo tati-no minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
children-GEN together vigorously run-climb up stairway

The adjuncts 'together' and 'vigorously' occur between Spec,TP and Spec,*v*P. In (9a), which has the nominative subject, the construction is grammatical because the nominative subject is in Spec,TP, having moved there across the adjuncts. But in (9b), which contains the genitive subject, there is no reason for the genitive to move from its original Spec,*v*P position because T is inert for the purpose of movement; the fact that the genitive subject occurs to the left of the adjuncts shows that it has moved without the need to do so, and this is what causes the ungrammaticality (Miyagawa 2011).[3]

In Miyagawa (2011), one argument for distinguishing the structures for *-ga* and *-no* has to do with scopal difference. As noted in Miyagawa (1993) (see also Ochi 2001), the two types of subjects lead to different scope relations.

(10) a. [[Taroo-ka Hanako]-ga kuru] riyuu-o osiete.
Taro-or Hanako-NOM come reason-ACC tell.me
'Tell me the reason why either Taro or Hanako will come.'
*reason > Taro or Hanako, *Taro or Hanako > reason*
b. [[Taroo-ka Hanako]-no kuru] riyuu-o osiete.
Taro-or Hanako-GEN come reason-ACC tell.me
'Tell me the reason why Taro or Hanako will come.'
reason > Taro or Hanako, Taro or Hanako > reason

In (10a), with the nominative case marking, the disjunction expression 'Taro or Hanako' scopes under the head noun 'reason', so that this structure can only mean that the speaker is asking for the reason why only Taro or Hanako will come. (10b), which has the genitive case marking on the subject, is ambiguous

between this reading and a reading in which the disjunction takes scope over 'reason'. The latter means 'Tell me the reason why Taro will come or the reason why Hanako will come.' This distinction in scope parallels what we see in English.

(11) Someone thinks that every student failed the test.

(11) only has the reading of *someone* > *every student* (May 1977). However, if the subordinate clause is an infinitive, that is, a TP, inverse scope is possible (e.g., Johnson 2000).

(12) Someone wants [$_{TP}$ to order every item in the catalogue]. (ambiguous)

From this, we see that while CP is a barrier to quantifier raising, TP isn't, which is consistent with the CP/TP distinction drawn for nominative and genitive subjects.[4]

5.4 A Different Kind of Genitive: Genitive of Dependent Tense

Watanabe (1996) and Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) present a fundamentally different approach to *ga/no* conversion in which the licensing head is C for both the nominative and the genitive. This is made possible, according to them, because of the special status of the verbal inflection, which they describe as "subjunctive/adnominal." In their analysis, *ga/no* conversion is truly an optional alternation (but see Hiraiwa 2005 for a slightly different view). In order to motivate their C-licensing approach, they present counterexamples to the D-licensing approach. One counterexample that Hiraiwa (2001) gives is the following.

(13) John-wa [ame-ga/-no yam-u made] ofisu-ni ita.
John-TOP rain-NOM/-GEN stop-PRS until office-at be-PST
'John was at his office until the rain stopped.'

As Hiraiwa correctly notes, there is no nominal head to license the genitive case marker here since 'until' is a postposition. This, then, is an instance in which the genitive is not licensed by a D head, yet it is grammatical (but see Maki and Uchibori 2008).

In response to this type of counterexample, H. Takahashi (2014) points out that these counterexamples tend to contain an unaccusative verb ('stop$_{INTR}$' above). As she notes, if we consider an example similar to the above, but with an unergative verb, it is ungrammatical.

(14) John-wa [oogoede Mary-ga/-*no sakeb-u made] odotta.
John-TOP loudly Mary-NOM/-GEN shout-PRS until danced
'John danced until Mary shouted loudly.'

Indeed, other counterexamples by Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) include the following, both with unaccusative verbs.

(15) a. Kono atari-wa [hi-**ga/-no** kureru nitsure(-te)]
around here-TOP sun-NOM/-GEN go down.PRS.ADN(-as)
hiekondeku-ru.
get colder-PRS
'It gets chillier as the sun goes down around here.'

b. John-wa [toki-**ga/-no** tatu-to tomoni]
John-TOP time-NOM/-GEN pass.PRS-C with/as
Mary-no koto-o wasurete-itta.
Mary-GEN fact-ACC forget-go.PST
'Mary slipped out of John's memory as time went by.'

One counterexample, in fact the original counterexample to D-licensing given by Watanabe (1996), is different from Hiraiwa's examples in that it contains a transitive verb.

(16) John-wa [Mary-**ga/-no** yonda yori] takusan-no hon-o
John-TOP Mary-NOM/-GEN read.PST.ADN than many-GEN books-ACC
yonda.
read-PST
'John read more books than Mary did.' (Watanabe 1996, 396)

Although Watanabe's contention is that this is a counterexample to D-licensing, it appears in fact to be an instance of D-licensing, with a covert nominal element that furnishes the D head. This is what is argued by Maki and Uchibori (2008) and, from a semantic point of view, by Sudo (2009). We can see this by the fact that a CP-level adverb is not allowed with the genitive subject, just as we saw for the typical cases of the D-licensed genitive subject (Miyagawa 2012a).

(17) John-wa [saiwaini Mary-ga/?*-no yatotta yori] takusan-no
John-TOP fortunately Mary-NOM/-GEN hire-PST.ADN than many-GEN
gakusei-o yato-e-nakat-ta.
students-ACC hire-can-NEG-PST
'John was unable to hire more students than Mary fortunately hired.'

This leaves the question of what precisely is the nature of Hiraiwa's counterexamples—why are they fine with unaccusative verbs but not with other types of verbs? Such a distinction is not found with regular *ga/no* conversion in which there is an overt nominal head (or in the case of Watanabe's case, a covert nominal head, if we are correct in our analysis of this counterexample).

5.4.1 Dependent Tense and the Genitive

Fujita (1988) identified a kind of genitive that has exactly the distribution of Hiraiwa's counterexamples as explicated by H. Takahashi (2014). I will begin with a discussion of the *toki* 'when' temporal clause to demonstrate Fujita's observations. As shown below, a *toki* temporal clause does not license the genitive.

(18) [Kodomo-ga/*-no waratta toki], tonari-no heya-ni ita.
child-NOM/-GEN laughed when next-GEN room-in was
'When the child laughed, I was in the next room.'

If, however, a case marker attaches to the *toki* phrase, genitive is possible (Fujita 1988, Miyagawa 1989).

(19) [Kodomo-ga/-no waratta toki]-**o** omoidasita.
child-NOM/-GEN laughed time-ACC recalled
'I recalled the time when the child laughed.'

Whitman (1992), upon seeing these facts, suggested that *toki* is a C when it is in an adjunct clause such as in (18), but it is an N when it is in an argument position such as in (19). Let us assume this. Being an N, it can licence the standard *ga/no* conversion.

Even in the adjunct CP clause, genitive is possible if the verb is unaccusative (Fujita 1988).

(20) [Kodomo-ga/-no kita toki], tonari-no heya-ni ita.
child-NOM/-GEN came when next-GEN room-in was
'I was in the next room when the child came.'

(21) [Kaze-de doa-ga/-no aita toki] daremo kizukanakatta.
wind-by door-NOM/-GEN opened when no one noticed
'When the door opened due to wind, no one noticed.'

It is also possible to have this special instance of the genitive with the passive.

(22) Watasi-wa [kodomo-no home-rare-ta toki] hontouni uresii kimoti
me-TOP child-GEN praise-PASS-PST when really happy feeling
datta.
was
'When my child was praised, I was really happy.'

As I noted in Miyagawa (2012a), the distribution of this special genitive case matches the distribution of the so-called genitive of negation in Slavic (e.g., Babby 1980, Pesetsky 1982, Bailyn 1997, Babyonyshev 1996). This genitive in Slavic occurs as an alternate to the nominative when the verb is unaccusative or passive; it also can occur on the object of a transitive verb.

The contrast between unaccusative and unergative is illustrated below for Russian (Pesetsky 1987).

Unaccusative subjects

(23) a. Griby zdes' ne rastut.
mushrooms.NOM here NEG grow.3PL
b. Gribov zdes' ne rastët.
mushrooms.GEN here NEG grow.3SG
'Mushrooms don't grow here.'

Unergative subjects

(24) a. V pivbarax kul'turnye ljudi ne p'jut.
in beer.halls cultured people.NOM NEG drink.3PL
b. *V pivbarax kul'turnyx ljudej ne p'ët.
in beer.halls cultured people.GEN NEG drink.3SG
'In beer halls, cultured people don't drink.'

In accusatives and passives, the verbal structure contains the "weak *v*" (Chomsky 2000, 2001), hence the licensing conditions of the relevant genitive in Japanese and Slavic include weak *v*, plus an additional condition. In Slavic, it is negation; in Japanese, it is apparently dependent tense (Miyagawa 2012a).[5]

(25) Licensing of the non-D genitive
Genitive is licensed in the environment of *v* and:
negation (Slavic) or dependent tense (Japanese).

The fact that negation may occur in matrix as well as subordinate clauses makes it possible in Slavic for the genitive to occur in the matrix clause, but dependent tense is strictly a subordinate-clause phenomenon, hence the genitive of dependent tense in Japanese only occurs in subordinate environments. It cannot occur in matrix clauses.

(26) Doa-ga/*no aita.
door-NOM/-GEN opened
'The door opened.'

What is dependent tense? Ogihara (1994, 256) points out that the semantic content of tense in the subordinate clause is determined "in relation to structurally higher tenses." The following example demonstrates this.

(27) a. [Hanako-ga te-o ageta toki] kore-o watasite kudasai.
Hanako-NOM hand-ACC raised when this-ACC give please
'Please hand this (to her) when Hanako (lit.) raised her hand.'
b. [Hanako-ga te-o ageru toki] kore-o watasite kudasai.
Hanako-NOM hand-ACC raise when this-ACC give please
'Please hand this (to her) when Hanako (lit.) raises her hand.'

In (27a), the inflection on the verb within the adverbial clause is that of past tense, yet the event it refers to occurs at a future time. The past inflection simply indicates a sequence in which first Hanako raises her hand and then an event of giving something to her should take place. In (28b), the verb within the temporal clause has the "present" inflection, but again denotes a future event. In this sentence, it simply refers to an event of Hanako raising her hand either before or at the same time as an event of giving something to Hanako. Ogihara (1994, 257) points out that "a present tense morpheme in a temporal adverbial clause shows that the episode described in it is simultaneous with (or is subsequent to) the event or state described in the matrix clause." What we see, then, is that in these temporal constructions, the subordinate tense is somehow not fully specified as tense, in the sense that it is dependent on the higher tense for semantic determination.

If a clause has non-dependent tense, the genitive is not possible. The 'because' or 'if' clause has independent tense, as shown below.

(28) Hanako-ga kekkon-suru/*kekkon-sita kara/nara,
Hanako-NOM marry/married because/if
kanozyo-no kekkonsiki-ni de-tai.
her-GEN wedding-DAT attend-want
'Because/if Hanako is getting married/*got married, I'd like to attend her wedding.'

These clauses in turn do not license the genitive.

(29) a. Hanako-ga/*-no kuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.
Hanako-NOM/-GEN come because home-at be-please
'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'
b. Ame-ga/*-no futta kara, miti-ga nurete-iru.
rain-NOM/-GEN fall because street-NOM wet-is
'Because it rained, the streets are wet.'

We saw earlier that the D-licensed genitive occurs in TP without CP. Because T is not selected by C, it is incapable of assigning nominative case to the subject, which opens the way for D to license the case on the subject, and this case is the genitive. What about the genitive of dependent tense (GDT), illustrated in (19)–(22)? Given that it is not licensed by D, there is no reason to assume that the clause is less than a CP. In fact, we can see that it is a CP by the fact that a CP-level adverb is possible with a GDT.

(30) [Saiwaini ame-no yanda toki] kodomotati-o soto-de asob-ase-ta.
fortunately rain-GEN stopped when kids-ACC outside play-cause-PST
'When the rain fortunately stopped, I made the kids play outside.'

To summarize the differences between the two types of genitive:

(31) Two types of genitive in Japanese
D-licensed genitive: occurs in TP without CP; occurs with all kinds of predicates
Genitive of dependent tense: occurs in CP; occurs with unaccusatives and passives and on objects of certain transitive verbs.

As we will see, this difference is crucial for explaining the examples noted by Akaso and Haraguchi (2010), in which they show that the genitive is ungrammatical in the environment of focus.

Another correlation between the genitive of negation in Slavic and the GDT in Japanese is that both can occur on objects of transitive verbs. The following shows this for Slavic.

(32) a. Ja ne polučal pis'ma.
I NEG received letters.ACC.PL
b. Ja ne polučal pisem.
I NEG received letters.GEN.PL
'I did not receive letters.'

This genitive is not possible on the subject of transitive verbs.

(33) a. Studenty ne smotrjat televizor.
students.NOM NEG watch.PL TV
b. *Studentov ne smotrit televizor.
students.GEN NEG watch.SG TV
'Students are not watching TV.'

The correlation with Japanese is not direct, as the object of a normal transitive verb cannot be marked with the genitive.

(34) Taroo-ga hon-o/*-no yomu toki, ...
Taro-NOM book-ACC/-GEN read when
'When Taro reads a book, ...'

Where we do find such genitive marking is with the object of stative predicates. As is well-known, the object of a transitive predicate is often marked with the nominative instead of the accusative.

(35) Hanako-ga eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
Hanako-NOM English-NOM speak-can-PRS
'Hanako can speak English.'

Now, to see that the GDT can mark the object in this kind of stative environment, observe the following examples (Miyagawa 2012a).

(36) a. [Ziroo-ga eigo-ga wakar-anakat-ta toki]
Jiro-NOM English-NOM understand-NEG-PST when
Hanako-ga tasukete-ageta.
Hanako-NOM help-out.PST
'When Jiro didn't understand English, Hanako helped out.'

b. *[Ziroo-no eigo-ga wakar-anakat-ta toki]
Jiro-GEN English-NOM understand-NEG-PST when
Hanako-ga tasukete-ageta.
Hanako-NOM help-out.PST

c. ?*[Ziroo-no eigo-no wakar-anakat-ta toki]
Jiro-GEN English-GEN understand-NEG-PST when
Hanako-ga tasukete-ageta.
Hanako-NOM help-out.PST

d. [Ziroo-ga eigo-no wakar-anakat-ta toki]
Jiro-NOM English-GEN understand-NEG-PST when
Hanako-ga tasukete-ageta.
Hanako-NOM help-out.PST

In (36a), both the subject and the object have nominative case, and there is no problem. In the ungrammatical (36b) and (36c), the subject has the genitive case; just as with the genitive of negation in Russian, we do not expect the GDT to occur on the subject of a transitive predicate. The striking example is (36d). In this example the subject has the nominative case and the object has the genitive case. This example is predicted to occur on our analysis because it is an instance of the GDT, and this genitive occurs with T that is selected by C. Though it is dependent tense, being selected by C, this T is capable of licensing the nominative on the subject. The *v* here is weak because the entire predicate is stative and the *v* does not assign accusative case. This *v*, in conjunction with the dependent tense, can license the genitive on the object.[6,7]

5.5 Strong Uniformity and Scrambling

I now turn to the problems posed at the outset concerning certain distinctions between nominative-marked and genitive-marked subjects. As I will show, Strong Uniformity and related assumptions can account for these distinctions.

Recall the minimal pair below, noted by Harada (1971).

(37) a. kodomotati-ga minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
children-NOM together vigorously run-climb up stairway
'the stairway which those children ran up together vigorously'

b. *kodomo tati-no minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
children-GEN together vigorously run-climb up stairway

The fundamental assumption behind Strong Uniformity is the idea that all formal features, including the discourse-configurational ones, start out at C. T by itself is devoid of any formal features that interact with syntactic operations to begin with, and it inherits whatever features it has from C. It is only when such inheritance occurs that T is active syntactically and can, for example, attract the subject to its specifier—the so-called EPP movement. The nominative subject in (a) is in Spec,TP, having moved there because T, being selected by C, has the full set of features and therefore is active, which triggers movement of the subject to its specifier (Miyagawa 2010). In (b), the genitive subject, being D-licensed, is in TP without CP, so that this T carries no formal features, making it inert as far as requiring movement is concerned. The reason why (b) is degraded is that the genitive subject has moved from its Spec,*v*P position despite the lack of need to do so; this is an economy violation (Miyagawa 2011).

We can make the same argument for why scrambling, which usually occurs freely in Japanese, is blocked when the subject is genitive (Dubinsky 1993).

(38) geki-de$_i$ musume-ga/*-no t_i odotta koto
play-in daughter-NOM/-GEN danced fact
'the fact that my daughter danced in a play'

The ungrammaticality of the genitive subject with scrambling cannot be because the genitive subject must occur on the left edge. As Nakai (1980) showed, it is possible for items such as the temporal adverb to occur to the left of the genitive subject.

(39) [**kyonen-made** danro-**no** atta] heya
last.year-until fireplace-GEN existed room
'the room where there was a fire place until last year'

In Miyagawa (2001), I argued, following a suggestion in Kuroda (1988), that scrambling may move an element to Spec,TP. Unlike Kuroda, who suggested that this movement is strictly optional, I argued that this movement is EPP movement. According to this, the word orders SOV and OSV are structurally equivalent, as shown below.

(40) a. Hanako-ga piza-o tabeta.
Hanako-NOM pizza-ACC ate
'Hanako ate pizza.'
b. Piza-o Hanako-ga tabeta.
pizza-ACC Hanako-NOM ate
'Hanako ate pizza.'

(41) a. [$_{TP}$ Hanako-ga$_i$ [$_{vP}$ t_i piza-o tabe]-ta]
Hanako-NOM pizza-ACC eat-PST
b. [$_{TP}$ piza-o$_i$ [$_{vP}$ Hanako-ga t_i tabe]-ta]
pizza-ACC Hanako-NOM eat-PST

In (a) the subject has moved to Spec,TP, and in (b), the object has moved to Spec,TP. In Miyagawa (2001), I give evidence that something must occupy the specifier of TP, commonly called the EPP requirement of T, and this is what we see above. In (a), the subject meets this requirement; in (b) the object meets the requirement. The latter is possible in Japanese, but not in English, because Japanese, unlike English, does not have subject agreement, given that it is a discourse-configurational language without agreement at T. This opens the way for essentially anything to move into Spec,TP to meet the EPP requirement.

Why is scrambling not possible if the subject is genitive, as we saw in (38)? The reason is that for the genitive subject to be D-licensed, there cannot be a CP structure, only a TP structure. T is not selected by C, so it does not contain any formal features that relate to syntax (such as nominative case). As I argued in Miyagawa (2010), unlike in Miyagawa (2001), the EPP requirement only arises if the T is selected by C and has formal features relevant to syntax. Scrambling an element as in (38) is therefore an unnecessary movement, and, unless there is some reason to move, it violates the principle of economy of derivation.

There is one exception to the rule against scrambling with genitives, and it is when the genitive itself is scrambled (thanks to Naoyuki Akaso for pointing this out).

(42) a. [Hanako-ga furansugo-no hanas-e-ru] koto
Hanako-NOM French-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
'the fact that Hanako can speak French'
b. [furansugo-no$_i$ Hanako-ga t_i hanas-e-ru] koto
French-GEN Hanako-NOM speak-can-PRS fact

This genitive is the GDT, which can only occur on internal arguments, such as the object in the example above, or the "subject" of an unaccusative verb. What we saw earlier about the GDT is that, unlike the D-licensed genitive, it occurs in CP. This means that the T that occurs in (42) is selected by C, and has inherited formal features. We can see this by the fact that the subject *Hanako* has the nominative case marker. This also means that the T may trigger movement, and in the scrambled case, it is the genitive object that has moved into Spec,TP to meet the EPP requirement of T.

5.6 Focus and Genitive

Let us now turn to the problem noted at the beginning of the chapter, which is that the genitive becomes ungrammatical if there is focus (Akaso and Haraguchi 2011).

(43) Taroo-**dake**-ga/*-no nonda kusuri
Taro-only-NOM/-GEN took medicine
'medicine that only Taro took'

Without the focus marker, the construction is perfectly grammatical.

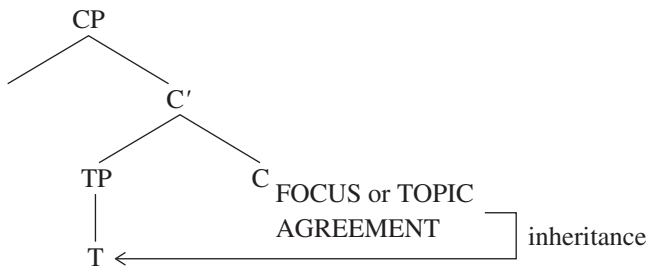
(44) Taroo-ga/-no nonda kusuri
Taro-NOM/-GEN took medicine
'medicine that Taro took'

Why should focus matter in determining when the genitive can or cannot occur? To add to the mystery, in a later work, Akaso and Haraguchi (2012) point out that the genitive is fine even with the focus marker if the verb is unaccusative.

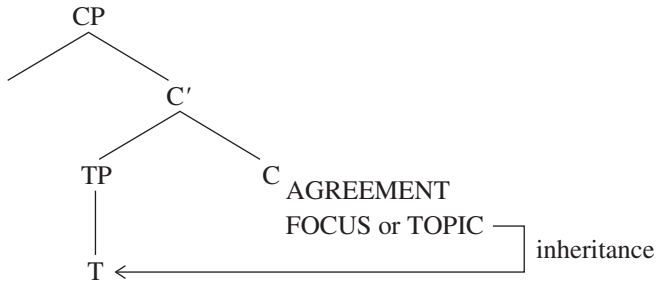
(45) umi-dake-ga/-no mieru heya
ocean-only-NOM/-GEN see.can room
'the room from which only the ocean can be seen'

Under the Strong Uniformity approach, all languages begin with agreement and topic/focus features on C. The variation occurs with the choice of which feature is inherited by T.

(46) Agreement-based languages



(47) Discourse-configurational languages



Under this approach, the occurrence of agreement or focus/topic requires that a full CP occurs, so that these features will find the appropriate initial host at C. For agreement, we can see this in the ECM construction (Chomsky 2005).

(48) Mary expects John to come to the party.

The lower clause is a TP, not a CP, so that there is no agreement (or Case). Likewise, in a discourse-configurational language, the occurrence of focus (or topic) is an indication that there is a full CP, with C having initially hosted the topic/focus feature before it is inherited by T.

This explains why the occurrence of focus prohibits the genitive. Focus requires the clause to be a CP, but the genitive, which is D-licensed, can only occur in a TP without a CP.

(49) D-licensed genitive and focus
A D-licensed genitive cannot occur with focus because focus requires CP but the D-licensed genitive cannot occur in CP.

This analysis also predicts that the genitive should be fine with focus if it is the genitive of dependent tense. As already noted, Akaso and Haraguchi (2012) notice precisely this point.

(50) umi-dake-ga/-no mieru heya
ocean-only-NOM/-GEN see.can room
'the room from which only the ocean can be seen'

The following shows that the CP adverb 'fortunately' is fine with the GDT.

(51) saiwaini umi-dake-ga/-no mieru heya
fortunately ocean-only-NOM/-GEN see.can room
'the room from which fortunately only the ocean can be seen'

5.6.1 Focus at *v*

One issue that I did not take up in Miyagawa (2010) is the question of whether discourse-configurational features such as focus may occur not only at C, but also at *v*. Focus marking combined with *ga/no* conversion allows us to explore this issue in an interesting way. Recall that the following is ungrammatical because the occurrence of the focus marker *dake* 'only' requires the CP structure to occur.

(52) Taroo-dake-ga/*-no nonda kusuri
Taro-only-NOM/-GEN took medicine
'medicine that only Taro took'

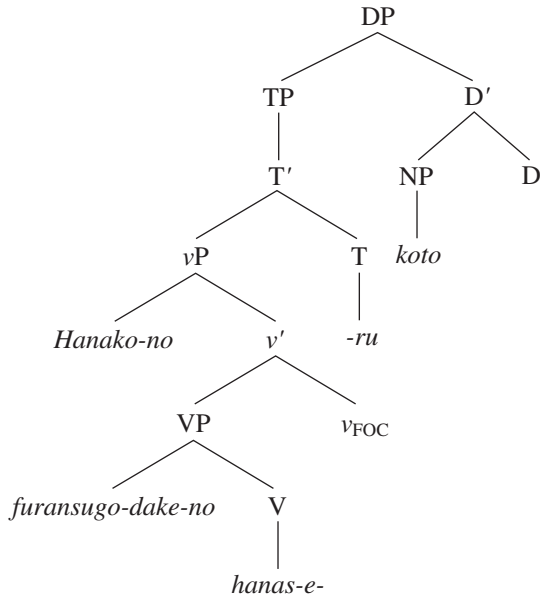
Because the genitive, if it were to occur here, would be on the subject of a transitive verb, it could not be the GDT. Therefore, it would have to be the genitive that is D-licensed, but D-licensing requires a TP without CP, which is not possible here because of the focus marking. Now note the following contrast.

(53) a. *Hanako-dake-no furansugo-no hanas-e-ru koto
Hanako-only-GEN French-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
'the fact that only Hanako can speak French'
b. Hanako-no furansugo-dake-no hanas-e-ru koto
Hanako-GEN French-only-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
'the fact that Hanako can speak only French'

(53a) is ungrammatical for the same reason as (52): the genitive must be D-licensed, but the focus marker forces there to be a CP structure, which prevents D-licensing. In (53b), there is genitive marking on the object, and given that it occurs with the focus marker, we assume that it is the GDT. Earlier, we saw that the GDT occurs in CP, unlike the D-licensing kind; if that is the case here, then D-licensing of the genitive should be out. Yet, in (53b), the genitive on the subject is fine. This genitive cannot be the GDT because it occurs on the subject of a transitive verb. How can it be grammatical?

I suggest that in (53b), the focus marker is licensed by a focus feature not on C, but on *v*.

(54)



The focus feature on *v* licenses the focus marker on the object 'only French'. Since this focus feature occurs on the phase head *v*, the requirement that the grammatical feature appears on a phase head is met. This, in turn, makes it possible for the higher structure to simply be a TP without a CP, which makes it possible for the genitive on the subject to be D-licensed.[8]

One issue that comes up in the analysis given above is the status of *v*. If it is the case that the focus feature occurs on the *v*, and that is what licenses the focus marker on the object, this *v* is a phase head, just like C. The phasehood of this *v* is also reflected in the fact that it licenses Case, in the form of genitive case.[9] In Miyagawa (2011), I suggested that phasehood is defined by the ability to assign Case.

(55) Case identifies phase heads. (Miyagawa 2011, 1273)

Hence, this *v* counts as a phase head because it licenses Case. The fact that the *v* can host a focus feature is simply a consequence of this way of identifying phases.[10]

5.7 Activation of the δ-Feature

As noted earlier, Akaso and Haraguchi (2011) observed that focus precludes genitive case on the subject in certain *ga/no* conversion environments. Their example is repeated below.

(56) Taroo-dake-ga/*-no nonda kusuri
Taro-only-NOM/-GEN took medicine
'medicine that only Taro took'

From the perspective of Strong Uniformity, this makes sense on the D-licensing analysis of *ga/no* conversion. To license the genitive on the subject, the relative clause must be a TP, not a CP. But to license the focus marking, there must be a C above the TP that furnishes this grammatical feature. This conflict leads to ungrammaticality. We saw that if the predicate is an unaccusative, the focus-genitive combination is allowed (Akaso and Haraguchi 2012). This is because the unaccusative allows another kind of genitive, the genitive of dependent tense, which may occur in a full CP.

(57) umi-dake-ga/-no mieru heya
ocean-only-NOM/-GEN see.can room
'the room from which only the ocean can be seen'

Up to this point, D-licensing and the GDT together with Strong Uniformity can straightforwardly account for the distribution of focus in genitive-subject constructions. However, Ochi (in press) makes an important new observation that he casts as a challenge to the D-licensing approach to the focus construction and genitive subjects. He notes that by the Strong Uniformity analysis, focus should be ruled out everywhere in the relative clause if it is the D-licensed kind, not just on the genitive subject. This is because the genitive subject requires the relative clause to be a TP, not a CP, so that there should be no place within the TP to license focus. Yet, as he notes, the following is grammatical (I only give the genitive version).

(58) kinoo/sukosi-dake Taroo-no nonda kusuri
yesterday/little-only Taro-GEN took medicine
'the medicine that Taro took only yesterday/only a little'

In this example, there is genitive marking on the subject, and this has to be the D-licensed genitive because the predicate is transitive. At the same time, the focus marking *-dake* occurs on the adjunct 'yesterday'/'a little'. Why is this construction grammatical with this combination? This is an argument/adjunct distinction, and I will argue, following Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016), that this distinction points to the fact that the δ-feature at least of focus requires activation, and what activates it is Case, just like ϕ-feature agreement. This is a particularly important result since it endorses the Strong Uniformity notion that ϕ-features and δ-features are computationally equivalent for narrow-syntax operations. I will first present the analysis of negative-sensitive items in Japanese by Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra, who give an argument that the two types of features undergo activation by Case.

5.7.1 Focus and Case (Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra 2016)

Like other languages, Japanese allows fragment answers to questions.

(59) a. Dare-ga kita no?
who-NOM came Q
'Who came?'
b. Hanako.

Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016) look at negative-sensitive items (NSIs)—items that require negation—in Japanese to see whether they can occur in this context of short answers. A central issue they take up is whether a NSI has a focus feature or not. Two NSIs they look at are the exceptive *XP-sika* 'only' and the *wh-mo* N-word.

(60) a. Taroo-wa piza-sika tabe-nakat-ta.
Taro-TOP pizza-only eat-NEG-PST
'Taro at only pizza.'
b. Hanako-wa nani-mo tabe-nakat-ta.
Hanako-TOP what-MO eat-NEG-PST
'Hanako didn't eat anything.'

One test that Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016) use for focus-hood is the VP adverb *umai/zyoozuni* 'well', which typically occurs on the left edge of the verb phrase. Note the distinction between the two NSIs relative to this adverb.

(61) *Sika-nai* 'only': focus
a. Taroo-wa {zyoozuni} keeki-o {zyoozuni} tukut-ta.
Taro-TOP skillfully cake-ACC skillfully made
'Taro baked a cake well.'
b. Taroo-wa {*zyoozuni} keeki-sika {zyoozuni} tukur-anakat-ta.
Taro-TOP skillfully cake-only skillfully make-NEG-PST
'Taro baked only a cake well.'
(cf. Yanagida 1996, 2005; Yoshimoto 1998; Watanabe 2002, 2004)

(62) *Wh-mo* N-word: no focus
Taroo-wa {zyoozuni} nani-mo {zyoozuni} tukur-anakat-ta.
Taro-TOP skillfully what-MO skillfully make-NEG-PST
'Taro did not make anything well.'

(61a) shows that the accusative object without any special marking except case marking may occur in the VP following the VP adverb, presumably in its original complement position, or it may occur before the VP adverb, apparently having undergone optional scrambling from within the verb phrase. In (61b), the same object is accompanied by the exceptive *XP-sika* 'only', and

we see that this object cannot occur after the VP adverb, which indicates that the object with *sika* obligatorily undergoes movement from within the verb phrase to a higher position. Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra, following a number of studies in the literature, propose that the exceptive *XP-sika* is associated with a focus feature that forces it to undergo movement (cf. Yanagida 1996, 2005; Yoshimoto 1998; Watanabe 2002, 2004). In contrast, as we see in (62), the other NSI, *wh-mo* may stay inside the verbal phrase, indicating that it is not associated with the focus feature that triggers obligatory movement.

Turning to fragment answers, the two NSIs behave differently as fragment answers (Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra 2016, Nishioka 2000, Watanabe 2004).

(63) a. Dare-o mita no?
who-ACC see Q
'Who did you see?'
b. *John-sika.
Intended: 'Only John.'
c. John-sika mi-nakat-ta.
John-only see-NEG-PST
'I only saw John.'

(64) Dare-mo.
who-MO
'No one.'

(63) shows that the exceptive *XP-sika* cannot occur as a fragment answer (63b), instead requiring the entire sentence with negation to be pronounced (63c). In contrast, *wh-mo* is fine as a fragment answer, as we see in (64). Since we have already seen that *XP-sika* has focus, requiring it to undergo movement, while *wh-mo* does not, the first approximation for fragment answers is that a NSI cannot occur as a fragment answer if it is associated with focus.

(65) Generalization on fragment answers and focus
A NSI associated with focus cannot occur as a fragment answer.

Below, we will refine this slightly to narrow the notion of "associated with focus."

We saw in (63b) above that the *XP-sika* exceptive cannot occur as a fragment answer. However, Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016) note that

the following, similar to an example pointed out earlier by Kuno (1995, 170), is acceptable (Kuno uses *iya* 'no' to begin the answer).

(66) a. Kimi, nando betonamu-ni it-ta koto aru no?
you how.many.times Vietnam-to go-PST experience have Q
'How many times have you been to Vietnam?'
b. Itido-sika.
once-only
'Only once.'

Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra note that the crucial difference between the ungrammatical (63b) and this grammatical example is that the former is an argument fragment answer while the grammatical example involves an adjunct answer. See their paper for other examples of this argument/adjunct distinction. If the generalization in (65) is correct that a NSI with focus is unable to occur as a fragment answer, it must be the case that an adjunct *XP-sika* is not associated with focus in some relevant sense. Thus, for the "movement" test, we would expect an adjunct *XP-sika* to behave the same as *wh-mo* in not being required to undergo movement, so that it can stay inside the verbal phrase. This expectation is met (Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra 2016). Unlike the argument *XP-sika*, which must move out of the verb phrase (the example is repeated below as (67)), an adjunct *XP-sika* may stay within the verb phrase.

(67) Taroo-wa {*zyoozuni} keeki-sika {zyoozuni} tukur-anakat-ta.
Taro-TOP skillfully cake-only skillfully make-NEG-PST
'Taro baked only a cake well.'

(68) Taroo-wa {zyoozni} keeki-o {zyoozni} itido-sika {zyoozni}
Taro-TOP skillfully cake-ACC skillfully one time-only skillfully
tukur-e-nakat-ta.
make-can-NEG-PST
'Taro was able to make cake well only once.'

As we see in (68), the adjunct *itido-sika* 'only once' may occur after the VP adverb 'skillfully', indicating that it may stay inside the verb phrase. Nothing is required to move, as shown by the fact that even the object may stay within the verb phrase, being able to occur after 'skillfully'.

So the correlation given in (65) holds up: a NSI associated with focus cannot serve as a fragment answer, but a NSI not so associated in the relevant sense is free to occur as a fragment answer. But now, we have an issue to contend with. Regardless of whether the *XP-sika* is an argument or an adjunct, it is associated with the meaning of focus and with the stress pattern typical of

narrow focus. Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016) argue that this argument/adjunct distinction involving a focalized phrase is a reflection of the way a δ-feature is activated by Case in a discourse-configurational language. The way in which Case licenses a δ-feature cannot be exactly the same as for a ϕ-feature; the ϕ-feature itself may occur together with Case (Chomsky 2001), but that cannot be the case for δ-features because δ-features may occur with adjuncts as well as arguments. Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra's proposal is that in a discourse-configurational language an uninterpretable δ-feature—they limit their discussion to focus feature—may lower to T, and the agreement that ensues is between this δ-feature at T and an XP in the δ-feature's search domain that holds the relevant interpretable feature (focus). Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra argue that this agreement between the uninterpretable and the interpretable features requires the interpretable feature to be activated. They argue that this activation is the same as the activation required for ϕ-feature agreement. This reinforces the Strong Uniformity idea that ϕ-features and δ-features are computationally equivalent, because they are both activated by Case.

The Case activation that underlies focus agreement cannot be exactly the same as for ϕ-feature agreement. If the focus item (*-sika*) is on the external argument, nominative case at T can activate the interpretable focus feature on the subject, just as with ϕ-feature agreement. The problem arises when the focus item is in the object position. How does the focus feature on this object get activated? An important point to remember is that the focused NSI in the object position must move out of the verb phrase. Where does it move to? In Miyagawa and Arikawa (2007), Miyagawa (2010), and Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016), it is shown that this object focused item moves to the TP region. Thus, the object NSI enters into agreement with the uninterpretable focus feature on T. This means that activation must take place in such a way that T and the object position are linked up. How can we do this?

We begin with the standard assumption that the accusative case on the object is checked by *v*. This is insufficient for establishing a "Case" relation between the object and T. How can *v* and T be related? Whatever this relation is, how can T–*v* express the Case relation when *v* has already checked the accusative case inside the verbal phrase? For the question of how we can link *v* and T, I will simply assume that *v* raises to T (e.g., Koizumi 1995, Miyagawa 2001; see Kishimoto 2008 among others for a view that V-*v*-to-T does not occur in Japanese). For the issue of Case, I will utilize a system called Case Agreement.

In Austronesian languages, a phrase is marked as topic, and the verb shows Case Agreement with this topic. This is called voice marking in the literature.

The following Tagalog data is taken from Rackowski (2002) (see her work for an extensive list of references on this topic).

(69) a. Bi-bilh-**in** ng bata **ang tela** sa palenke para sa Compl. of V
PRF-buy-ACC CS child ANG cloth DAT market P DAT
Nanay
mother
'The child will buy **the cloth** at the market for mother.'

b. B-**um**-ili **ang bata** ng tela sa palenke para sa Ext. arg.
NOM.PRF-buy ANG child CS cloth DAT market P DAT
Nanay
mother
'**The child** bought cloth at the market for mother.'

c. **I**-t-in-akbo ni Cory **ang asawa** para sa High appl.
OBL-ASP-run CS Cory ANG spouse P DAT
pagkapresidente.
president
'Cory run for president **for her husband**.'

d. **I**-p-in-ang-balot ko sa libro **ang diyaryo**. High appl.
OBL-ASP-ANG-wrap I DAT book ANG newspaper
'I wrapped the book **with the newspaper**.'

e. B-in-igy-**an** ko **ang bawat ina** ng laruan. Low appl.
ASP-give-DAT I ANG each mother CS toy
'I gave **each mother** a toy.'

In the literature, we find an analysis of the voice-marking agreement as agreement with the theta role on the topic. However, Rackowski (2002) argues that the agreement is with the particular case marking on the topic. She provides the following table for the various agreement forms.

(70) Case agreement in Tagalog (adopted from Rackowski 2002)

Predicted system		Tagalog marking
Type of argument	Type of case	Voice marker
Complement of verb	Accusative	-in (i-, -an)
External argument	Nominative	-um-
High applicative	Dative/oblique	i-
Low applicative	Dative	-an

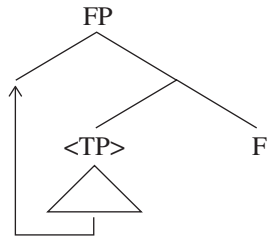
By Rackowski's analysis, topic agreement clearly exhibits the effect of Case in the form of Case Agreement. What is clear is that the agreement occurs on the sentence-initial verb at T. This Case Agreement is "visible" even after a Case is checked, such as the accusative case.

Let us suppose that Case Agreement is what underlies activation of the focus feature in Japanese. The following is from Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016).

(71) Activation condition of the focus feature for agreement
An interpretable focus feature, [iFOC], on an XP becomes visible for Agree with some higher head carrying [uFOC] in T or any other functional head that inherits this probing feature from C if and only if the XP is in another (case–)agreement relation with the head.

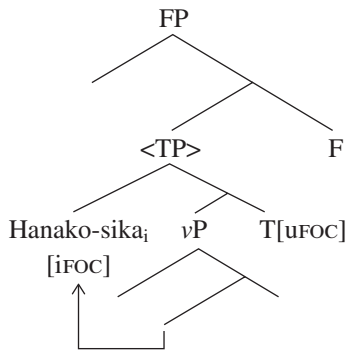
Returning to fragment answers, Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra adopt the analysis of short answers developed by Merchant (2004) based on his analysis of sluicing. The idea is that there is a Focus phrase above the TP to which the focalized element that ends up as the short answer is raised.

(72)



The TP is then deleted to give the surface form of a fragment answer. This holds for all cases of fragment answers in an agreement-based language. It also holds for adjunct focused short answers, as we saw in (66). In a discourse-configurational language such as Japanese, there is an additional issue: the discourse-configurational property is that the feature of topic/focus can be inherited by T, and the XP that enters into agreement with this feature moves to Spec,TP. However, if making a fragment answer requires that the fragment moves to Spec,CP and the TP is then deleted, the focused item that ends up in Spec,TP, such as an argument *XP-sika*, would get deleted along with the TP. Therefore, an argument *XP-sika* simply cannot occur in a fragment answer because it is always deleted as part of the TP. This is illustrated below.

(73)



One might wonder, though, why an argument *XP-sika* cannot further raise to FP. Various reasons may apply, including anti-locality effects, but we point out that raising to a left-peripheral, CP-internal position (like FP) must also be triggered by [uTOP] or [uFOC] features (albeit without simultaneous case agreement taking place). However, if [uFOC] is inherited by T, it is no longer present above, and no trigger is present to further raise the argument *XP-sika*. That is not a problem for an adjunct *XP-sika*, which does not enter into Case Agreement with the uFOC feature at T, hence it is free to move to a position from which it can function as a fragment answer.

5.7.2 *Ga/No* Conversion, Focus, and Case Agreement

We can now answer the question raised by Ochi, why is focused *-no* subject bad but *-dake* on an adjunct is fine? The examples are repeated below.

(74) Taroo-dake-ga/*-no nonda kusuri
Taro-only-NOM/-GEN took medicine
'medicine that only Taro took'

(75) kinoo/sukosi-dake Taroo-no nonda kusuri
yesterday/little-only Taro-GEN took medicine
'the medicine that Taro took only yesterday/only a little' (Ochi, in press)

The subject genitive case with *-dake* is ungrammatical because this is a D-licensed genitive, which requires that the structure it occurs in be a TP without a CP. The interpretable focus feature on the genitive subject with *-dake* enters into Case Agreement, hence it is activated. It needs an uninterpretable focus feature to agree with, but no such uninterpretable feature exists due to the absence of C. The adjunct with *-dake* in (75) is fine because, being an adjunct, it does not enter into Case Agreement, hence it is not required to enter into an agreement relation with an uninterpretable focus feature. As such, it is free to represent the focus meaning independently.

We can see that focus marking can occur independent of C in examples such as the following.

(76) a. Taroo-dake-no heya
Taro-only-GEN room
'room only for Taro'
b. Hanako-koso-no nebari
Hanako-really-GEN tenaciousness
'Hanako's real tenaciousness'

These are nominal phrases without any C to carry an uninterpretable focus feature. As shown, it is possible to have focus marking on the elements within the nominal phrase.

There is no Case Agreement in a nominal phrase, hence the focus feature on the XPs simply carries the meaning of focus without any need to undergo agreement and movement. We can see this in the following.

(77) zyoozu-na yasai-dake-no ryoori
skillful vegetable-only-GEN dish
'a dish skillfully done with only vegetables'

Yasai 'vegetable', which is the complement of *ryoori* 'dish', stays in its original position despite the focus marking, as shown by the fact that it occurs after 'skillful'. In the sentential version, we saw that the object occurs outside of the verbal phrase, in front of 'skillfully'. If we change the order above to the "moved" order, the examples becomes degraded.

(78) ??yasai-dake-no zyoozu-na ryoori
vegetable-only-GEN skillful dish

This is due to the fact that scrambling does not occur within a nominal phrase (Kishimoto 2006).

5.7.3 *Ga/No* Conversion and Focus on Internal Arguments

I gave an analysis of why the genitive subject cannot have focus. Under Strong Uniformity, the focus δ-feature originates at C, and is inherited by T in a Category I language such as Japanese. However, under D-licensing, the occurrence of the genitive subject is only possible if there is no C, hence the genitive subject cannot occur with focus. We also saw that this restriction only holds for the subject; an adjunct phrase within a genitive-subject clause may occur with focus. The reason is that an argument such as the subject enters into Case Agreement with T, which activates the interpretable focus feature on the subject with focus. This requires the interpretable focus feature to enter into agreement with the uninterpretable focus feature at T. If there is no Case

Agreement, as is the case with adjuncts, the focus feature on the adjunct need not enter into agreement, so it is free to occur independent of whether there is C or not.

This raises the question, what about internal arguments? Are they subject to the same restriction against having focus as the subject? There is one confound here that we must keep in mind: the Transitivity Restriction (e.g., Harada 1971, Watanabe 1996) prohibits an object from occurring with the genitive subject.

(79) kyoo Hanako-ga/*-no Taroo-o mita basyo
today Hanako-NOM/-GEN Taro-ACC saw place
'the place where Hanako saw Taro today'

The fact that a focused object is equally unacceptable is presumably due to this same restriction.

(80) kyoo Hanako-ga/*-no Taroo-dake mita basyo
today Hanako-NOM/-GEN Taro-only saw place
'the place where Hanako saw only Taro today'

What about the internal arguments of a ditransitive verb? In Miyagawa (2003), I pointed out that a dative argument appears to be subject to a similar restriction as the accusative object is. We have to ensure that we are dealing with the dative argument as opposed to a PP (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004); one way to do this is by using a floating numeral quantifier, which only occurs with an argument.

(81) kyoo Hanako-ga/*-no gakusei-ni san-nin okutta tegami
today Hanako-NOM/GEN student-DAT 3-CL sent letter
'the letter that Hanako sent to three students today'

The one construction in which focus is allowed on an internal argument is one with a stative predicate where both the focused object and the subject have the genitive case marking, as we saw earlier. The example is repeated below.

(82) Hanako-no furansugo-dake-no hanas-e-ru koto
Hanako-GEN French-only-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
'the fact that Hanako can speak only French'

I suggested earlier that the occurrence of this focus on the internal argument 'French' is licensed by the focus δ-feature occurring on *v*, not on C. Because D-licensing only pertains to the subject, there should be no restriction on the object if it can be licensed by the focus feature on *v*, and this is what we see in this example.

5.8 *Ga/No* Conversion and Interpretation

The genitive case marking on the subject in *ga/no* conversion indicates that this subject occurs in a TP without a CP. Because T is not selected by C, it is defective in ways that are similar to the T in the ECM construction in English: the T does not have a Case-assigning feature, lacks the EPP, and there is no scrambling. On the other hand, if the subject takes the nominative case marker, that means that the T is selected by a C, and all of those properties lacking in genitive-subject constructions are present—C has a Case feature that T inherits, assigning the nominative case; EPP raises the external argument to Spec,TP; and scrambling applies freely. A question we might ask is, if there are such significant differences syntactically between the two types of subjects, are there semantic differences? In English, infinitival clauses, which arguably contain a defective T, are known to have severe restrictions on tense interpretation (e.g., Stowell 1982). In Miyagawa (2011), I show that the defective T of genitive-subject constructions also imposes a restriction on interpretation. In particular, it appears that genitive-subject constructions are aspectually limited to stative interpretations, whereas the nominative-subject counterpart has the full range of aspectual interpretations including eventive readings.

The following well-known example demonstrates the distinction between eventive and stative readings, involving the inflection *-ta* (e.g., Teramura 1984, Abe 1993, Kinsui 1994, Ogihara 2004).

(83) [yude-ta] tamago
boil-PST egg
(i) 'the egg which (I) boiled' (eventive reading)
(ii) 'the boiled egg' (stative reading)

The first reading contains the event of having boiled the egg, and *-ta* here is used as past tense to indicate that this event occurred prior to utterance time. The second reading is often described as a stative modifier in which the state holds at the time of utterance, so that *-ta* here is typically analyzed as indicating not past tense, but rather the result that obtains from a past event. Another way to view the stative nature of the second reading is that the nominal version points to the result of some event (boiling the egg). This is similar to what Kratzer (1996) argues for the difference between the purely stative *cool* and the adjectival passive *cooled*.

(84) a. *cool*: $\lambda x \lambda s[\text{cool}(x)(s)]$
b. *cooled*: $\lambda x \lambda s \exists e[\text{cool}(x)(s) \wedge s = f^{\text{target}}(e)]$

For the latter, there is an event, and the adjectival passive expresses the result of this event.

We can see the idea of result in the following pair taken from Miyagawa (2011).

(85) a. [Simi-ga tuita syatu]-o kiteiru.
stain-NOM had shirt-ACC is.wearing
'He's wearing the shirt that sustained a stain.'
b. [Simi-no tuita syatu]-o kiteiru.
stain-GEN had shirt-ACC is.wearing
'He's wearing the shirt that has a stain.'

In (85a), which has the nominative case marker, the relative clause indicates that there was an event of the shirt getting stained. In (85b), while the event of staining is included in the meaning, the focus is on the result of this eventuality, and the most natural interpretation is that the shirt being worn has a stain at the time of the utterance. The latter is stative in aspect due to the focus on the resultative meaning. It is odd with an adverb that emphasizes the event as opposed to the result.

(86) [Totuzen simi-ga/*-no tuita syatu]-o misete kudasai.
suddenly stain-NOM/-GEN had shirt-ACC show.me
'Please show me the shirt that was suddenly stained.'

The adverb 'suddenly' puts focus on the event of the shirt getting stained, and is in conflict with the stative meaning of genitive-subject constructions. As we can see, this adverb is fine with the nominative subject.

The stative nature of the genitive subject finds further support from a corpus study by Kim (2009). Kim (2009) looked at four novels from the 1970s to the 1990s,[11] and from these works she identified 1,143 examples of subjects in relative clauses or noun-complement clauses. Of these, 572 were genitive subjects and 571 were nominative subjects, so half were genitive and half were nominative, a result which by itself does not directly shed light on our question about the interpretation of clauses containing a genitive subject. However, when she broke down the examples into the types of predicates that occurred in the clause—adjective, unaccusative, and transitive/unergative—a striking pattern emerged. The following gives the percentage of genitive subjects for each of the predicate types.

(87) Adjective: 91%
Unaccusative: 56%
Transitive/Unergative: 17%

As shown, 91% of the relevant occurrences of adjectives are associated with a genitive subject as opposed to a nominative subject. Adjectives are by nature stative, hence are conducive to fitting into the "substantive" interpretation of a nominalized form.[12] Below is an example of an adjective with a genitive subject taken from her work.

(88) kami-no nagai hito
hair-GEN long person
'a person whose hair is long'

Unaccusatives take on a stative reading readily because of the lack of an agent that would encourage an eventive reading. Transitives and unergatives are least likely to readily take on a stative reading because they contain an agent. There are in fact native speakers who resist the genitive subject with highly eventive transitive and unergative verbs. In the case of a transitive or unergative verb, the genitive subject and the concomitant nominalized predicate would need to have a resultative interpretation. If an adverb, for example, discourages such resultative reading, *-no* is degraded.

(89) Wazato kodomo-ga/*-no kowasita kabin-o misete-kudasai.
intentionally child-NOM/-GEN broke vase-ACC show.me-please
'Please show me the vase that the child broke intentionally.'

The adverb *wazato* 'intentionally' goes with an agent, so that in this example, it puts the focus on the actual event of breaking the vase instead of on the result or the experience of having broken the vase. As shown, while the nominative subject is fine, the genitive subject is highly degraded, if not ungrammatical.

5.9 Conclusion

Strong Uniformity characterizes ϕ-features and δ-features as computationally equivalent. In chapter 3, we saw how the subject *pro* in Chinese takes advantage of this equivalency, being given ϕ-features by its local T/AGR as the first option, but if it does not take that option, it raises to Spec,CP where it takes on the δ-feature of topic. In this chapter we observed another instance where the two types of grammatical features are equivalent. Using the D-licensing approach to *ga/no* conversion, we looked at the distribution of focus. While the genitive subject does not allow focus, an adjunct with focus is allowed in the same clause as the genitive subject. This argument/adjunct distinction also shows up in fragment answers with a negative-sensitive focus item. I argued that this distinction arises from the notion that the δ-feature, in this case focus,

looks for an interpretable focus feature that has been activated. Just as with the goal of ϕ-features, this activation takes place through Case. Since Case only occurs on arguments, this accounts for the argument/adjunct asymmetry we see in the distribution of focus in *ga/no* conversion environments and also in fragment answers. In turn, this gives further credence to the idea that ϕ-features and δ-features are computationally equivalent, both requiring activation by Case.

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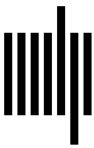

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