



between them, as shown below (Fukuda 1991, Heycock 1993b, C. Takahashi 1996). An adverb may adjoin to a projection at the clausal level, but not to a position within an NP.

- (2) a. (taitee) usagi-ga (taitee) mimi-ga (taitee) naga-i.  
 generally rabbit-GA generally ear-GA generally long-Pres  
 ‘It is rabbits which generally have long ears.’
- b. (saikin) dansee-ga (saikin) heekin-zyumyoo-ga (saikin) mizika-i.  
 recently male-GA recently average-life-span-GA recently short-Pres  
 ‘It is men whose average life-span of men is recently short.’
- c. (kyonen) Taroo-ga (kyonen) titioya-ga (kyonen) nyuuin-si-ta.  
 last.year Taro-GA last.year father-GA last.year be.hospitalised-Past  
 ‘It is Taro whose father was hospitalised last year.’

Fukuda (1991: 34) also notes that there is a short break after a possessive nominative phrase, but after a possessive genitive phrase. Major constituents like arguments and adjuncts generally determine the prosodic phrasing of a sentence, but constituents within these constituents do not. (Ackema & Neeleman 2004, Selkirk & Tateishi 1988, 1991).

Furthermore, as already noted in Chapter 1, this construction allows an indefinitely large number of external possessive nominative phrases. This is demonstrated below, where each nominative phrase except the last is construed as a possessor of the immediately following nominative phrase.<sup>1</sup> The last nominative phrase, as in the above examples, is interpreted as the subject of the following lexical predicate.

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<sup>1</sup> The translations given for the examples (3a) and (3b) may suggest that some non-subject *ga*-phrases have a locative relation rather than a possessive one. It might therefore appear that a more accurate translation is ‘it is the Northern Hemisphere whose subtropics have rabbits which have long ears’ and ‘it is the civilised countries which have men whose average life-span is short’, respectively. However, these translations allow interpretations which are not present in the examples, namely an existential reading. The examples only allow a generic reading. In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, I will refrain from using these alternative translations.

- (3) a. *kitahankyuu-ga anettai-ga usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i.*  
 N.Hemisphere-GA subtropics-GA rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres  
 ‘It is the N. Hemisphere, where rabbits in the subtropics have long ears.’
- b. *bunmeikoku-ga dansee-ga heekin-zyumyoo-ga mizika-i.*  
 civilised.countries-GA male-GA average-life-span-GA short-Pres  
 ‘It is the civilised countries where the average life-span of men is short.’
- c. *Taroo-ga titioya-ga ootoo-ga nyuinsi-ta*  
 Taro-GA father-GA younger.brother-GA be.hospitalised-Past  
 ‘It is Taro whose father’s younger brother was hospitalised.’

(Tateishi 1991: 270)

Another striking property of this construction is that the first *ga*-phrase must be interpreted as focused. Kuno (1973) observes that it must receive an exhaustive listing reading. However, as pointed out by Shibatani (1990: 270), the exhaustive listing reading results from the effects of the Gricean maxim of quantity ‘make your contribution as informative as is required’ on a narrowly focused constituent. In other words, exhaustiveness is merely implied, and not necessarily required. I will therefore refer to the interpretation in question as ‘narrow focus’ or simply ‘focus’ (cf. also Heycock (1993a)).

Thus, in (1a), *usagi-ga* ‘rabbit-GA’ must be narrowly focused, while the second *ga*-phrase *mimi-ga* ‘ear-GA’ is not obligatorily interpreted as such. By contrast, the same phrase, *usagi-ga*, is not focused in (3a). It is no longer the first possessive *ga*-phrase in the clause. Instead, *kitahankyuu-ga* ‘Northern Hemisphere-GA’ is now focused. This interpretation is implied by the use of the cleft construction in the English translations.

Japanese also permits other kinds of multiple nominative constructions, in which the non-subject nominative phrase does not have a possessive relation with the subject, as the following examples show. In (4), the non-subject *ga*-phrase *anomise-ga* ‘that shop-GA’ is an adjunct, while in (5), the *ga*-phrase that follows the subject, *nihongo-ga* ‘Japanese-GA’, is an object. A narrow focus interpretation of the first *ga*-phrase obtains also in these two constructions. In order to distinguish the different types of multiple nominative constructions, I will call the type exemplified by the examples in (1) the ‘possessive multiple nominative construction’ and those

illustrated by the examples in (4) and (5) the ‘adjunct multiple nominative construction’ and the ‘stative construction’, respectively.

(4) *Adjunct Multiple Nominative Construction*

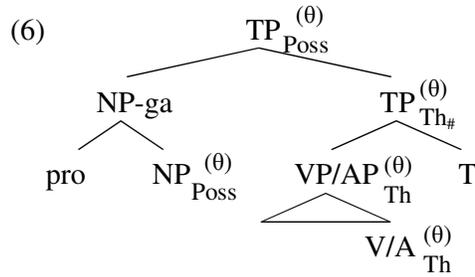
ano mise-ga gakusee-ga yoku hon-o ka-u.  
 that shop-GA student-GA often book-Acc buy-Pres  
 ‘It is at that shop that students often buy books.’

(5) *Stative Construction*

John-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u.  
 John-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres  
 ‘It is John who understands Japanese.’

Considering that it is possible for two adjacent *ga*-phrases to express relations other than a possessive relation, as in the examples in (4) and (5), it is necessary to explain how the correct interpretation of the *ga*-phrases can be ensured in each construction. In this chapter, I will provide an analysis of the possessive multiple nominative construction in terms of ‘re-association’, the operation introduced in the previous chapter. The following chapter discusses the two types of multiple nominative constructions in (4) and (5) together with the obligatory focus of the first *ga*-phrase in the three constructions.

I argue here that the possessor of the subject in each of the examples in (1) is realised as a resumptive *pro* within the NP headed by the subject. This has the consequence that a semantic representation relevant for interpreting the possessor argument of the subject contains an unbound variable and is available for re-association. The external  $\theta$ -role of the lexical predicate, which is assigned to the subject, is dissociated from its associated semantic representation and re-associated with the variable-containing semantic representation present in the subject. This is illustrated below, where *Poss* refers to the semantic representation relevant for interpreting the possessor argument of the subject.



The re-associated  $\theta$ -role is subsequently assigned to the possessive nominative phrase. As a result, the possessive nominative phrase is licensed as a syntactic argument of the lexical predicate and a semantic argument of the subject. The well-known observation that an external possessor of a subject behaves like a subject, which is discussed in Section 2, follows readily from the proposed analysis. The re-associated  $\theta$ -role, which the external possessor receives, is an external  $\theta$ -role. The external possessor therefore is licensed by predication, accounting for its subjecthood. The operation is potentially recursive, further allowing a possessor of the external possessor to appear in the nominative. This explains the possible presence of an indefinite number of possessive nominative phrases.

The analysis proposed in this chapter correctly predicts a number of properties of the construction. They include the following: (i) *pro* related to a possessive *ga*-phrase can be overtly realised; (ii) a subject-predicate relation holds between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its immediate right; (iii) a semantic argument of a nominative phrase can appear with *ga* externally to the subject, but an adjunct modifier of a nominative phrase cannot; (iv) more than one semantic argument of the same *ga*-phrase cannot be licensed in the nominative externally to that *ga*-phrase; (v) a possessive *ga*-phrase cannot be interpreted as a possessor of a noun internal to an adjunct; (vi) a possessive nominative phrase cannot be a PP.

I will also argue against three alternative analyses offered in the literature. A first is what is generally known as the *Possessor Raising* approach (Kuno 1973, Tateishi 1991, Fukuda 1991, Takahashi 1994, 1996, Ura 1996). In this approach, a possessive *ga*-phrase is base-generated in a position internally to the projection headed by the subject. It then moves to a specifier or an adjoined position in a particular projection, such as IP or AgrSP, for case reasons. In a second alternative, possessive *ga*-phrases are base-generated in adjoined or specifier positions within one projection and the thematic relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases arises due

to semantic or pragmatic factors (Saito 1982, Heycock 1993b, Namai 1997, Shibatani 2001). Finally, a third approach also assumes that possessive *ga*-phrases are base-generated externally to their corresponding possessee *ga*-phrases, but they also bind a *pro* which appears internally to the possessee argument (Doron & Heycock 1999, Heycock & Doron 2003). I will demonstrate that the alternatives cannot easily explain some of the above-mentioned properties.

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 demonstrates that a possessive *ga*-phrase displays subject-like properties and independently that the clause to its right behaves like a predicate. Section 3 develops an analysis of the possessive multiple nominative construction in terms of re-association. A number of predictions made by the proposed analysis are shown to be correct in Section 4. Section 5 discusses the alternative analyses and compares them to the present analysis. Concluding remarks are noted in Section 6.

## **2 A Possessive *ga*-phrase is Licensed by Predication**

One insight that emerges from the literature is that a possessive nominative phrase is licensed by predication (Saito 1982, Fukuda 1991, Heycock 1993b, Heycock & Lee 1989, 1990, Namai 1997). This idea is motivated by the well-known observation that a possessive nominative phrase behaves syntactically like a subject. I believe that this is indeed correct and will demonstrate in the next section how the effect follows from an analysis in terms of re-association. In this section, I will first present evidence offered in the literature illustrating subject-hood of a possessive nominative phrase. I will then provide evidence for predicate-hood of the clause to the right of a possessive *ga*-phrase, which further supports the idea that predication is indeed involved in deriving a possessive multiple nominative construction.

### **2.1 Subject-like properties of a possessive *ga*-phrase**

A number of researchers have reported that a possessive nominative phrase behaves like a subject (Fukuda, 1991, Heycock, 1993b, C. Takahashi, 1994, 1996, Tateishi, 1991, Ura 1996). Here, I provide three pieces of evidence suggesting the subject-hood of a possessive *ga*-phrase. It should be noted at the outset, however, that subject-hood tests in Japanese are not entirely reliable. Other constituents sometimes

do show properties associated with subjects. Nevertheless, the crucial point is that subjects generally display these properties. Thus, if a possessive *ga*-phrase were to be identified as the subject of a predicate, it should display these properties as well.

Firstly, in an ECM/control construction, the possessive *ga*-phrase, when embedded, may also appear with the accusative case marker *o* (Heycock 1993b, Hiraiwa 2001, Kuno 1978, Morikawa 1993, Takahashi 1994). This property is generally associated with subjects.

- (7) wareware-wa [usagi-ga/o mimi-ga naga-i]-to omoi-gati-daga....  
 we-Top rabbit-GA/Acc ear-GA long-Pres-Comp think-have.tendency-but...  
 ‘We have a tendency to think that rabbits have long ears, but...’

Secondly, a possessive *ga*-phrase is able to bind the subject-oriented reflexive *zibun* (Fukuda, 1991, Heycock, 1993b, C. Takahashi, 1996, Ura, 1996).<sup>2</sup>

- (8) a. <sup>?</sup>John<sub>i</sub>-ga imooto<sub>j</sub>-ga tomodati<sub>k</sub>-ga zibun-no<sub>i/j/k</sub> gakkoo-de  
 John-GA younger.sister-GA friend-GA self-Gen school-at  
 happyoo-o sita.  
 presentation-Acc did  
 ‘John<sub>i</sub>’s sister<sub>j</sub>’s friend<sub>k</sub> gave a presentation at self<sub>i/j/k</sub>’s school.’
- b. Taroo<sub>i</sub>-ga titioya<sub>j</sub>-ga [zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-ga hatumeesita kusuri-ga  
 Taroo-GA father-GA self-GA discovered medicine-GA  
 gen’in-de] nyuuinsi-ta.  
 cause-by be.hospitalised-Past  
 ‘It was Taroo<sub>i</sub> whose father<sub>j</sub> was hospitalised due to medicine discovered  
 by himself<sub>i/j</sub>.’

Finally, an antecedent of PRO in a *nagara*-clause ‘while’-clause must be the closest c-commanding subject (Perlmutter 1984, D. Takahashi 1996). The following examples show that a possessive nominative phrase can control PRO.

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<sup>2</sup> This test is often considered the least reliable due to a number of counterexamples. Various semantic accounts have been provided for the *zibun*-binding phenomena in terms of empathy, logophoricity and pivot. See Iida (1996) and references cited therein for further discussion.

- (9) a. John<sub>i</sub>-ga Bill-niyoruto [PRO<sub>i</sub> [zibun<sub>i</sub>-no kodomotati-ga minna se-ga  
 John-GA Bill-according.to self-Gen children-GA all height-GA  
 hiku-i]-to nageitei-nagara] musume-ga zituwa se-ga taka-i.  
 short-Pres-Comp lamenting-while daughter-GA actually height-GA high-Pres  
 ‘According to Bill, while PRO<sub>i</sub> lamenting that (his<sub>i</sub>) children are small, it is  
 John<sub>i</sub> whose daughter is actually tall.’
- b. dansee-ga tyoosa-niyoruto [PRO kenkootekina seekatu-o  
 male-GA survey-according.to healthy living-Acc  
 sitei-nagara] heekinzyumyoo-ga warito mizika-i.  
 doing-while average.life-span-GA quite short-Pres  
 ‘According to a survey, although PRO<sub>i</sub> leading a healthy life, men<sub>i</sub> have quite a  
 short average life-span.’

Before concluding this subsection, a remark is in order regarding subject honorification. In Japanese, when the subject refers to a person for whom the speaker has respect, honorific markers appear on the predicate which selects it (Harada, 1976). Some researchers, including myself, have claimed that a possessive *ga*-phrase can trigger subject honorification on the lexical predicate, as illustrated by the example in (10), and that this observation is indicative of the subject-hood of the possessive *ga*-phrase (C. Takahashi 1994, 1996, Ura 1996, Vermeulen 2002, 2005).

- (10) Yamaoka-sisyaku-ga bessoo-ga go-rippa-da.  
 Yamaoka-viscount-GA villa-GA SH-splendour-Cop  
 ‘It is Viscount Yamaoka whose villa is splendid.’ (Takahashi 1994: 398)

However, I now believe that the above example in fact does not show conclusively that subject honorification is triggered by the possessive *ga*-phrase. Firstly, the predicate can bear the honorific morpheme even if the possessor, for whom the speaker wishes to show deference, appears in the genitive within the NP headed by the possessee, as shown below.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore difficult to ascertain whether the possessive *ga*-phrase, as opposed to the possessee, is triggering subject honorification in the above example.

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<sup>3</sup> I thank Caroline Heycock for bringing this point to my attention.

- (11) [Yamaoka-sisyaku-no   bessoo]-ga go-rippa-da.  
 Yamaoka-viscount-Gen villa-GA SH-splendour-Cop  
 ‘It is Viscount Yamaoka whose villa is splendid.’ (Takahashi 1994: 398)

Moreover, an intervening NP-*ga* referring to a person for whom the speaker does not have respect blocks subject honorification. Thus, unless the speaker has respect for Viscount Yamaoka’s son, (12) is infelicitous. This casts further doubt on the claim that the possessive *ga*-phrase is triggering subject honorification in (10). I will therefore not take data such as (10) to be a piece of evidence for the subject-hood of a possessive *ga*-phrase.

- (12) Yamaoka-sisyaku-ga    musuko-ga    o-warai-ni-nat-ta.  
 Yamaoka-viscount-GA    son-GA        SH-laugh-Past  
 ‘It is Viscount Yamaoka whose son laughed.’

Nevertheless, considering that a possessive *ga*-phrase displays the three properties associated with subject, it seems reasonable to claim that it has a subject status. This claim is further supported by the observation that the clause to its immediate right also behaves like a predicate, as discussed in the next subsection.

## 2.2 Predicate-like properties

There is some evidence that the clause to the immediate right of a possessive *ga*-phrase behaves like a predicate. If the clause in question is indeed a predicate, the observation lends further support to the idea that a possessive *ga*-phrase is licensed by predication. The evidence comes from two predicate-hood tests. One test involves modification by a degree adverb. A gradable predicate can usually be modified by degree adverbs such as *very* and *more*, as shown below (Bresnan 1973, Jackendoff 1977).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The choice of what kind of degree expressions modify a gradable predicate depends on the categorial status of the predicate. I will not discuss this issue in this thesis, but see Corver (1997), Doetjes (1997) and Doetjes, Neeleman & van de Koot (2002) for comprehensive studies of degree expressions.

- (13) a. He is *very* [famous]  
 b. He is *more* [famous] than I thought.

In Japanese too, a gradable predicate can be modified by a degree adverb, such as *totemo* ‘very’, as illustrated by the example in (14a). The example in (14b) shows that the clause to the right of a possessive *ga*-phrase can also be modified by the same degree adverb.

- (14) a. usagi-ga totemo [husahusa-site-iru]  
 rabbit-GA very furry-do-Pres  
 ‘It is rabbits which are very furry.’  
 b. usagi-ga totemo [mimi-ga naga-i]  
 rabbit-GA very ear-GA long-Pres  
 ‘It is rabbits which have very long ears.’

Note that although word order is relatively free in Japanese, *totemo* cannot precede the subject of the predicate which it is modifying, as demonstrated by (15a). This seems to indicate that *totemo* selects a predicate. (15b) shows that a possessive *ga*-phrase can also not be preceded by *totemo*, suggesting that it functions as the subject of the clause that follows it.

- (15) a. \*totemo usagi-ga [husahusa-site-iru]  
 very rabbit-GA furry-do-Pres  
 b. \*totemo usagi-ga [mimi-ga naga-i]  
 very rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres

Secondly, in a coordinate construction, both conjuncts must be of the same semantic category, such as predicates or arguments or modifiers (See Sag, Gazdar, Wasow & Weisler (1985) for a comprehensive study of coordination). A predicate can therefore only be coordinated with another predicate. Japanese has a coordinator,



adverb between *usagi-ga* ‘rabbit-GA’ and *husahusasitei-te* ‘furry-Gerundive’ and for it to have scope over both conjuncts. In other words, the following example with the reading provided should be ungrammatical.

- (18) *usagi-ga totemo husahusasitei-te katu mimi-ga naga-i*  
 rabbit-GA very furry-Gerundive and ear-GA long-Pres  
 ‘Rabbits are very furry and have very long ears.’

According to the structure in (17a), in order for the adverb to have scope over both conjuncts, it must sit outside the coordination so that it may c-command both conjuncts. This also implies that it must precede the trace of the subject, as illustrated by (19a). However, as we saw in (15), the degree adverb *totemo* ‘very’ cannot precede the subject of the predicate which the adverb modifies, predicting that the sentence with the relevant reading should be ungrammatical.

- (19) a. \**usagi<sub>i</sub>-ga totemo [ t<sub>i</sub> husahusasitei-te] katu [ t<sub>i</sub> mimi-ga naga-i]*  
 rabbit-GA very furry-Gerundive and ear-GA long-Pres

Similarly, according to the structure in (17b), the adverb must appear outside the coordination for the desired reading, which has the consequence that it precedes the subject *pro*, as shown below.

- (19) b. \**usagi-ga totemo [ pro husahusasitei-te] katu [ pro mimi-ga naga-i]*  
 rabbit-GA very furry-Gerundive and ear-GA long-Pres

Finally, the sentence is also predicted to be ungrammatical according to the analysis in (17c). If the adverb follows *usagi-ga*, the former appears necessarily in the first conjunct, as (19c) shows. As a consequence, this structure implies that the adverb cannot take scope over the second conjunct.

- (19) c. \**[usagi-ga totemo husahusasitei-te] katu [ pro mimi-ga naga-i]*  
 rabbit-GA very furry-Gerundive and ear-GA long-Pres

The prediction is not borne out, however: the sentence in (18) is grammatical with the reading provided, suggesting that the correct structure is as follows.

- (20) usagi-ga        totemo [husahusasitei-te]    katu [mimi-ga    naga-i]  
       rabbit-GA        very        furry-Gerundive    and    ear-GA    long-Pres

One may argue that the ban on the degree adverb preceding the subject is a surface condition and the adverb can therefore precede the trace of the subject in (19a). However, this is a peculiar kind of condition. I am not aware of any similar surface condition, which prohibits the occurrence of an item unless another item has undergone non-obligatory movement with the consequence that the order between the two items is reversed. Furthermore, as I will discuss in Section 5.1, there are reasons to believe that the derivation of a possessive multiple nominative construction does not involve movement of the possessive *ga*-phrase.

The facts observed in this sub-section, together with the evidence from the subject-hood tests, demonstrate clearly that a possessive nominative NP and the clause to its right are in a subject-predicate relation. However, the question of how this predication relation is achieved is, to my mind, not satisfactorily addressed by the analyses offered in the literature. For example, Saito (1982) and Fukuda (1991) argue that it is achieved by an ‘aboutness’ relation: the clause to the right of a possessive nominative phrase must be a statement about general characteristics of the possessive nominative phrase, but a formal definition of ‘aboutness’ is not provided. Heycock (1993b) and Namai (1997) claim that the ‘aboutness’ relation is a semantic correlate of syntactic predication and that a particular syntactic configuration alone establishes the predication relation, without  $\theta$ -role assignment. I believe, however, that the subject-predicate relation between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its immediate right involves  $\theta$ -role assignment (Browning, 1987, Chomsky, 1981, Napoli, 1989, Williams, 1980, 1994). This is because, as I will demonstrate in the following section, the kind of phrase which can be realised externally to the subject is limited to those which can function as arguments of the subject. This observation seems indicative of the involvement of  $\theta$ -role assignment. I will now argue that an analysis based on re-association is able to achieve precisely this effect.

### 3 The Structure of a Possessive Multiple Nominative Construction

In Chapter 1 I suggested that a possessive multiple nominative construction is explained in terms of re-association, an operation which was developed in detail there. Re-association allows a possessive *ga*-phrase to be licensed syntactically as an argument of the lexical predicate but semantically as a possessor of the possessee argument. I argue here that the syntactic predication relation between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its right illustrated in the previous section follows most naturally from an analysis that assumes re-association. A re-associated  $\theta$ -role which is assigned to a possessive *ga*-phrase is an external  $\theta$ -role of the lexical predicate. The predication relation is therefore accounted for in terms of external  $\theta$ -role assignment. However, this approach also implies that a subject in this construction contains a resumptive *pro*, as its presence is a necessary ingredient for the operation to take place. In what follows, I will first provide evidence for the presence of *pro* in the subject and discuss in detail how re-association allows a possessive nominative phrase to be licensed by predication and also accounts for other properties of the construction.

#### 3.1 *pro*

That a possessive nominative phrase is indirectly related to a resumptive *pro* internal to the subject is demonstrated clearly by the fact that it may optionally be spelled out with the genitive marker *no*, although somewhat marginally.<sup>6</sup> This is illustrated by the following examples. Resumptive pronouns are indicated by pronouns in brackets.

- (21) ?*kitahankyuu*<sub>i</sub>-*ga*    *sono tyoosa-niyoruto*  
       N. Hemisphere-GA    this survey-according.to  
       (*soko*<sub>i</sub>-*no*) *usagi-ga*    *mimi-ga*    *naga-i*.  
       there-Gen rabbit-GA    ear-GA    long-Pres

---

<sup>6</sup> The same effect is observed in Korean, which I will discuss in Chapter 4 (footnote 3). Following D.-I. Cho (1992, 1993), I attribute the observed degraded acceptability of the examples in the presence of overt pronouns to Avoid Pronoun Constraint, which disfavors the occurrence of an overt pronoun if it can be covert (Chomsky 1981).

‘According to this survey, it is the Northern Hemisphere where rabbits (there) have long ears.’

- (22) ?John<sub>i</sub>-ga kyonen (kare<sub>i</sub>-no) titioya-ga nyuuinsi-ta.  
 John-GA last.year he-Gen father-GA be.hospitalised -Past  
 ‘It is John whose (his) father was hospitalised in summer last year.’
- (23) ?John<sub>i</sub>-ga gakkai-de (kare<sub>i</sub>-no) imooto-ga happyoo-o si-ta.  
 John-GA conference-at he-Gen younger.sister-GA presentation-Acc do-Past  
 ‘It is John whose (his) friend gave a presentation at a conference.’

There are also other constructions in which a resumptive pronoun referring to a displaced argument may optionally appear. These constructions involve relativisation, topicalisation and *tough* movement of an NP out of an island, as shown below. In (24), the NP *sono sinsi* ‘that gentleman’ is relativised out of a relative clause. Similarly, *sono sinsi-wa* ‘that gentleman-Top’ in (25) and *kono te-no hanzai-ga* ‘this kind of crime-GA’ in (26) are each related to a position inside a relative clause.

(24) *Relativisation*

[<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> (kare<sub>i</sub>-ga) e<sub>j</sub> kitei-ta] yoohuku-ga]  
 (he-GA) wearing-Past suit-GA  
 yogoretei-ta] sono sinsi].  
 dirty-Past] that gentleman

Lit.: ‘A gentleman, who the suit (he) was wearing was dirty.’

(modified from Kuno (1973: 249))

(25) *Topicalisation*

sono sinsi<sub>i</sub>-wa [<sub>TP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> (kare<sub>i</sub>-ga) e<sub>j</sub> kitei-ta] yoohuku-ga]  
 that gentleman-Top (he-GA) wearing-Past suit-GA  
 yogoretei-ta.  
 dirty-Past

‘Speaking of that gentleman, the suit (he) was wearing was dirty.’

(modified from Kuno (1973: 249))



nominative phrase is involved and an example such as (1a) has a partial structure like the following.

- (28) usagi-ga [NP pro mimi]-ga naga-i  
 rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres

Besides, as pointed out by J. H.-S. Yoon (1987), movement of a possessive nominative phrase out of a subject is unlikely to be involved, as a subject is generally considered to be an island for movement. Note that it is not a general property of Japanese that the island conditions do not hold. For example, as will be shown in Section 4, when a PP moves out of a subject or a relative clause, the sentence is ungrammatical.

Let us now consider how the presence of a resumptive *pro* in the subject allows an analysis of this construction in terms of re-association, which also captures the subject-predicate relation illustrated in Section 2.

### 3.2 Predication by re-association

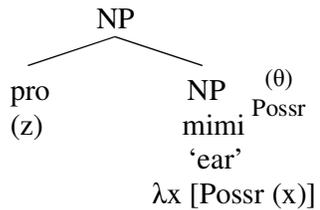
Recall from Chapter 1 that licensing an argument consists of two processes: satisfaction of the syntactic conditions represented by a  $\theta$ -role by an argument under sisterhood and replacement of a variable in the associated semantic representation. I assume that the noun *mimi* ‘ear’ has the semantic representation in (29). In other words, it has in its argument structure a  $\theta$ -role associated with a semantic representation relevant for interpreting its argument as its possessor, which I label as *Poss*, as shown in (30a). The semantic representation referred to by *Poss* is given in (30b).

- (29)  $\lambda x \lambda y$  [ear (x) & Possessor (x,y)]

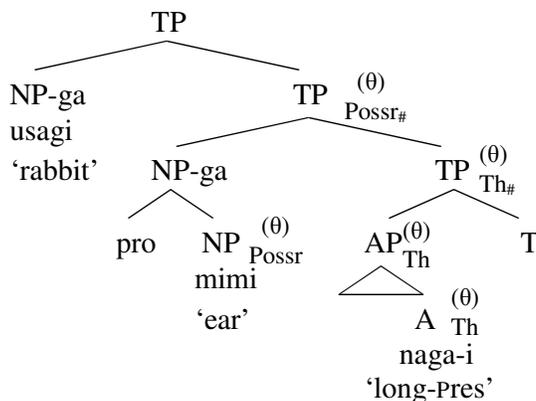
- (30) a. *mimi* ( $\theta$ )  
       ‘ear’ Poss  
       b. Poss:  $\lambda x \lambda y$  [Possessor (x,y)]

*Pro*, being a legitimate syntactic object, can be assigned the  $\theta$ -role in a sisterhood configuration to the NP *mimi* ‘ear’, as illustrated below in (31a). The *pro* then

replaces the variable contained in the associated semantic representation. This, however, results in the representation still containing a variable, because a resumptive *pro* is a variable in the semantics, as demonstrated in (31b), where the resumptive *pro* is represented as the variable (*z*).

- (31) a.
- 
- b.  $\lambda x \lambda y [\text{Possessor } (x, y)] (z) \rightarrow \lambda x [\text{Possessor } (x, z)]$

The resultant representation in (31b) is of a type that can be re-associated with another  $\theta$ -role. It contains an unbound variable and a predicate that corresponds to the kind of semantic role that is usually linked to a  $\theta$ -role. This allows the external  $\theta$ -role of the lexical predicate, which is assigned to the NP in (31a), to be dissociated from its semantic representation, and be re-associated with the variable-containing semantic representation present in the subject. This yields the structure in (32), which was suggested in Chapter 1, for the example in (1a). Following Takezawa (1987), I assume that tense licenses nominative case in Japanese.<sup>8</sup>

- (32)
- 

<sup>8</sup> This view is by no means uncontroversial. This issue is discussed in the appendix, where I suggest that there are in fact more than one licenser for nominative case in Japanese. Nevertheless, it seems to be the case that tense is responsible for the occurrence of nominative case at the clausal level. Since the main concern in this thesis is the syntax at the clausal level, I will assume that the relevant licenser is tense.

I assume furthermore for the purpose of this and the following chapter that *ga*-phrases which appear higher than the subject are licensed by a tensed head in multiple specifier positions within one projection. This is a widely adopted licensing configuration for multiple nominative constructions in Japanese (Hiraiwa 2001, Koizumi 1994, Morikawa 1993, Takahashi 1994, 1996, Takezawa 1987, Ura 1993, 1994, 1996). I will argue in Chapter 5 however that there is a viable alternative licensing configuration involving multiple copies of a tensed head. The current licensing configuration and the alternative are in fact empirically equally adequate. I will assume for the time being the standard licensing configuration with multiple specifier positions.

In the structure in (32), the external  $\theta$ -role of the lexical predicate *nagai* ‘long-pres’ is copied up to TP, where it is assigned to the NP headed by *mimi* ‘ear’, which allows this constituent to be interpreted as the theme argument of the lexical predicate. The  $\theta$ -role then undergoes re-association with the variable-containing semantic representation, labelled *Poss*, present in the NP headed by *mimi* ‘ear’. The possessive *ga*-phrase *usagi-ga* ‘rabbit-GA’ is base-generated in a specifier position in TP and receives the re-associated  $\theta$ -role.

In terms of semantics, re-association is an operation that introduces a lambda operator. The variable  $z$  in the resultant semantic representation in (31b) is therefore bound by a newly introduced lambda operator, as illustrated in (33). This further allows the formula to be applied to an argument, namely the possessive *ga*-phrase.

(33) Re-association:  $\lambda x$  [Possessor ( $x, z$ )]  $\rightarrow$   $\lambda x \lambda z$  [Possessor ( $x, z$ )]

On this approach, the predication relation between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its immediate right is represented as involving external  $\theta$ -role assignment, as in many other instances of a subject-predicate relation (Browning 1987, Chomsky 1981, Napoli 1991, Stowell 1983, Williams 1980, 1994). The  $\theta$ -role which undergoes re-association is an external  $\theta$ -role of the lexical predicate, *naga-i* ‘long-pres’. The re-associated  $\theta$ -role is therefore also an external  $\theta$ -role of the lexical predicate. Consequently, a possessive nominative phrase, which is assigned the re-associated  $\theta$ -role, is licensed syntactically as an external argument of the lexical predicate. The predicate-hood of the clause to the immediate right of a possessive *ga*-phrase follows from the fact that this clause assigns an external  $\theta$ -role.

The proposed analysis accounts for other properties of the possessive multiple nominative construction described so far. Firstly, it explains the possessive relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases. A possessive nominative phrase receives a  $\theta$ -role whose associated semantic representation is relevant for interpreting the argument as the possessor of the possessee nominal. The representation is related to the lexical meaning of *mimi* ‘ear’ and not of the adjective *naga-i* ‘long-Pres’, ensuring a correct interpretation of *usagi* ‘rabbit’ as a possessor of *mimi* ‘ear’. Secondly, it captures the observation that only the last nominative phrase in a sequence of multiple nominative phrases is thematically selected by the lexical predicate that follows it. As already noted, the example in (1a) means that the ears are long not the rabbits.

Moreover, since re-association is potentially a recursive operation, there can be an indefinitely large number of possessive nominative phrases (cf. (3)). The possessive *ga*-phrase *usagi-ga* ‘rabbit-GA’ in (32) itself can contain a *pro* in its specifier position, which would allow the re-associated  $\theta$ -role, which it is assigned, to undergo further re-association. This permits another base-generated *ga*-phrase to be licensed by predication and be interpreted as a possessor of *usagi* ‘rabbit’. Since there is no limit on the number of specifiers permitted within one maximal projection, multiple specifiers can be projected to accommodate additional possessive *ga*-phrases, yielding examples like the following with the structure as indicated.

- (34) [TP anettai<sub>i</sub>-ga [TP [NP pro<sub>i</sub> usagi]<sub>j</sub>-ga [TP [NP pro<sub>j</sub> mimi]-ga [TP [AP naga-i] T]]]].  
           subtropics-GA           rabbit-GA           ear-GA           long-Pres

Note that even when there is more than one possessive *ga*-phrase, each possessive *ga*-phrase must be construed as a possessor of the immediately following *ga*-phrase. Thus, in the example in (3c), repeated below, it is not possible to interpret *Taro* as the possessor of *otooto* ‘younger.brother’.

- (35) Taroo-ga   titioya-ga   otooto-ga                   nyuinsi-ta  
       Taro-GA   father-GA   younger.brother-GA   be.hospitalised-Past  
       ‘It is Taro whose father’s younger brother was hospitalised.’

This is because each possessive *ga*-phrase must receive a  $\theta$ -role, as they are licensed syntactically as arguments. Re-associating the  $\theta$ -role assigned to *otooto* ‘younger.brother’ with an appropriate semantic representation present in the argument and assigning it to *Taro* would imply that the intervening possessive *ga*-phrase *titioya* ‘father’ is without a  $\theta$ -role, causing the derivation to crash.

Thus, the proposed analysis is able to capture the properties of the possessive multiple nominative construction observed so far. The subject-predicate relation between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its immediate right follows from the idea that a possessive *ga*-phrase is assigned an external  $\theta$ -role. Re-association of a  $\theta$ -role with a semantic representation relevant for interpreting the possessor argument of a *ga*-phrase explains the possessive relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases, while its potentially recursive nature accounts for the possibility of an indefinite number of possessive *ga*-phrases in a clause. The present analysis makes a number of further correct predictions, to which I now turn.

## 4 Predictions

The proposed analysis makes six predictions, four of which are directly related to the claim that a  $\theta$ -role is involved in the process of licensing an external possessor. In this section, I will discuss them in turn and show that they are borne out.

Firstly, an analysis of the possessive multiple nominative construction based on re-association predicts that not only a possessor of the subject, but any argument of the subject should be able to appear as a *ga*-phrase externally to the NP headed by the subject. Nothing in the operation of re-association restricts its application solely to possessor arguments. Part of the semantic representation of an argument is appropriate for re-association as long as it contains a variable which is restricted by semantics typical of a  $\theta$ -role such as *Agent* and *Theme*.

As a result, if an argument of the subject is realised as *pro* internally to the subject, the semantic representation associated with the  $\theta$ -role which is assigned to the *pro* becomes available for re-association. The following examples illustrate that this prediction is borne out. (36) illustrates that the theme argument of the subject, *Roma* ‘Rome’ can appear with the nominative marker *ga*, indicating that it can be licensed syntactically by the clausal predicate. Similarly, in (37) and (38), *John-ga*

can be interpreted as either the agent or the theme of the action expressed by the subject. Thus, in fact, the possessive multiple nominative construction is not limited to possessors of the subject. For the sake of simplicity, however, I will continue to refer to the construction as the possessive multiple nominative construction and the derived arguments as the possessive nominative or *ga*-phrases.

- (36) Roma-no/ga      hakai-ga            hisan            datta.  
 Rome-Gen/GA    destruction-GA    horrible        was  
 ‘Rome’s destruction was horrible.’ (modified from Saito & Murasugi (1990: 99))

- (37) John-no/ga    hihan-ga        takusan        atta.  
 John-Gen/GA    criticism-GA    many            were  
 ‘There were many criticisms against / by John.’

- (38) John-no/ga    ansatu-ga        hidok-atta.  
 John-Gen/GA    murder-GA        terrible-was.  
 ‘John’s murder was terrible.’  
 (John can be either the theme or the agent of ‘murder’)

By contrast, it should be impossible for an adjunct modifier of the subject to be realised externally to the subject. Adjuncts do not receive a  $\theta$ -role and hence do not replace variables in semantic representations associated with  $\theta$ -roles. It is also unclear whether a *pro* can correspond to an adjunct, since pronominals generally function as arguments. The implication is that no semantic representation relevant for interpreting an adjunct can be made available for re-association. The following ungrammatical examples demonstrate that an adjunct modifier of a subject which clearly does not receive a  $\theta$ -role cannot be licensed externally to the subject.<sup>9</sup> ((39) and (40) are modified from Saito & Murasugi (1990:99)).

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<sup>9</sup> This of course raises the question of what kind of elements receive a  $\theta$ -role, particularly in view of the fact that I claimed in connection to the structure in (32) that locatives such as ‘Northern Hemisphere’ receives a  $\theta$ -role from a nominal like ‘rabbit’. However it seems that certain adverbials such as locatives behave more like arguments than other adverbials such as those denoting time and manner. Starke (2001), for instance, argues that every adverbial is assigned a  $\theta$ -role, but certain

- (39) saikin-wa ame-no/\*ga hi-ga ooi.  
 recently-Top rain-Gen/GA day-GA many-Pres  
 ‘Recently, there have been many rainy days.’
- (40) huta-kire-no/\*ga hamu-ga yuusyoku-ni naru.  
 two-slice-Gen/GA ham-GA supper-to make.up  
 ‘Two slices of ham make up a supper.’
- (41) sensyuu-no/\*ga sinbun-ga husiginakoto-ni kyoo Haitatu-sare-ta.  
 last.week-Gen/GA newspaper-GA strangely today deliver-Pass-Past  
 ‘Strangely, last week’s newspaper was delivered today.’

Secondly, the proposed analysis predicts that no more than one argument of the same subject can be involved in deriving a possessive multiple nominative construction. This is because a semantic representation can only be re-associated with a  $\theta$ -role which is assigned to the argument in which the representation is present. Considering that an argument usually satisfies at most one  $\theta$ -role, there is only one  $\theta$ -role per argument which can undergo re-association. Consequently, even if two arguments of the same subject were realised as *pro* internally to the subject, making semantic representations related to two arguments available for re-association, only the semantic representation linked to one argument can be re-associated with the  $\theta$ -role assigned to the subject.

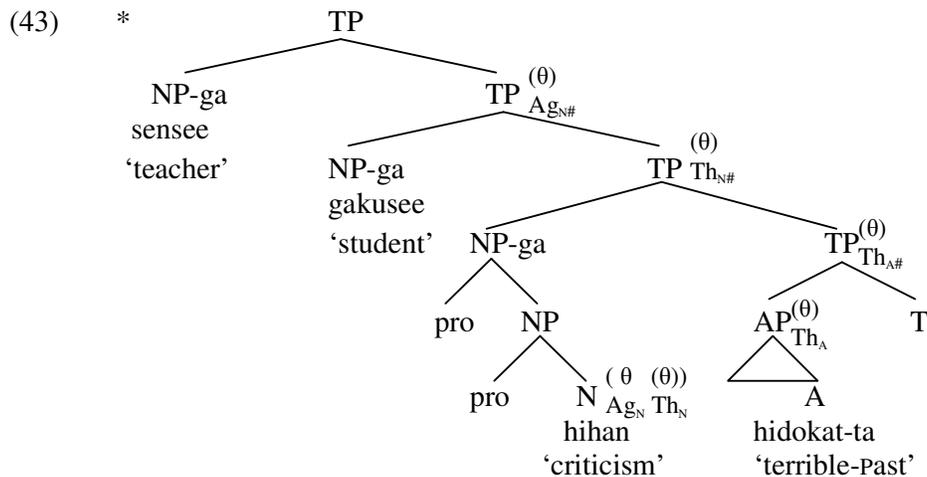
This prediction is indeed correct. In Japanese, all arguments of a deverbal noun can appear in the genitive in the projection of the noun, as shown by (42a). In (42b) the agent of the deverbal noun *hiahn* ‘criticism’ is realised with *ga*, while (42c) illustrates that it is possible for a theme argument of the subject to appear externally to the subject with the agent remaining internally to the subject. However, as (42d) demonstrates, it is not possible for both the agent and the theme to be licensed externally to the subject.

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adverbials such as locatives receive  $\theta$ -roles associated with argument behaviour (*‘i $\theta$ -roles’* in his terminology), while other adverbials receive  $\theta$ -roles associated with adjunct properties (simply *‘ $\theta$ -roles’* in his terminology).

- (42) a. [sensee-no gakusee-no hihan]-ga hidokat-ta.  
 teachers-Gen students-Gen criticism-GA terrible-Past  
 ‘The teachers’ criticism against the students was terrible.’
- b. sensee-ga [gakusee-no hihan]-ga hidokat-ta.  
 teachers-GA students-Gen criticism-GA terrible-Past
- c. gakusee-ga [sensee-no hihan]-ga hidokat-ta.  
 students-GA teachers-Gen criticism-GA terrible-Past
- d. \*sensee-ga gakusee-ga [hihan]-ga hidokat-ta.  
 teachers-GA students-GA criticism-GA terrible-Past

It is important to note that the  $\theta$ -role assigned to *gakusee-ga* ‘student-GA’ in (42d) cannot be re-associated with the semantic representation related to the agent argument of the deverbal noun *hihan* ‘criticism’, as (43) illustrates. The subscripts A and N on the labels *Agent* and *Theme* indicate whether the respective representation is related to the adjective *hidokat-ta* ‘terrible-Past’ or the noun *hihan* ‘criticism’.



The instance of re-association depicted above is illegitimate due to the strictly local nature of this operation (cf. Ch. 1, discussion around (32)). Recall that a  $\theta$ -role can only be re-associated with a semantic representation present in the argument that satisfies the  $\theta$ -role. More specifically, the  $\theta$ -role assigned to the NP headed by *hihan* ‘criticism’ and the  $\theta$ -role assigned to *gakusee* ‘student’ are both instances of the external  $\theta$ -role of the adjective *hidokat-ta* ‘terrible-Past’. Nevertheless, each instance is distinguished for the purpose of re-association, because each instance is ‘satisfied’

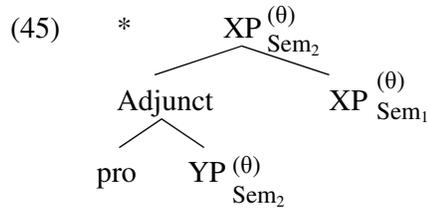
by a different argument, the relevant notion for the operation. Consequently, the  $\theta$ -role which *gakusee-ga* ‘student-GA’ satisfies can only be re-associated with a semantic representation relevant for interpreting an argument of *gakusee* ‘student’ and not of *hihan* ‘criticism’.

The preceding discussion in turn suggests that it should be possible, for example, for a possessor of *gakusee* ‘student’ to be realised as a *ga*-phrase preceding it. This is because in this instance, the  $\theta$ -role assigned to *gakusee* is re-associated with a semantic representation present in *gakusee*. The following example shows that this is indeed true.

- (44) John-ga   gakusee-ga   [sensee-no   hihan]-ga   hidokat-ta.  
 John-GA   students-GA   teacher-Gen   criticism-GA   terrible-Past  
 ‘It is John whose students received terrible criticisms from the teachers.’  
 Lit.: ‘It is John that the teacher’s criticism against (his) students was terrible.’

Moreover, it is important to note the distinction between the example in (42d) and the superficially similar example in (35), in which the two *ga*-phrases preceding the subject of the lexical predicate are each interpreted as a possessor of the immediately following *ga*-phrase. (42d), as we saw just above, constitutes an illegal instance of re-association. On the other hand, (35) is similar to (44). In (35), *Taro* is assigned a  $\theta$ -role which is associated with part of the semantic representation of the immediately following *ga*-phrase *titioya* ‘father’, respecting the local nature of re-association.

Thirdly, the proposed account also restricts what kind of function the argument-taking noun must have in order to allow its argument to be licensed externally. The prediction is that the argument-taking noun must itself be an argument of the predicate which heads the clause. This is because a  $\theta$ -role can only be re-associated with a semantic representation present in the constituent that receives the  $\theta$ -role. In other words, an argument of a noun contained in an adjunct cannot be licensed externally. As a result, the semantic representation present in an adjunct, labelled *Sem*<sub>2</sub> in the following structure, cannot be re-associated with the  $\theta$ -role in XP’s  $\theta$ -grid.



The following examples demonstrate that this option is indeed disallowed.

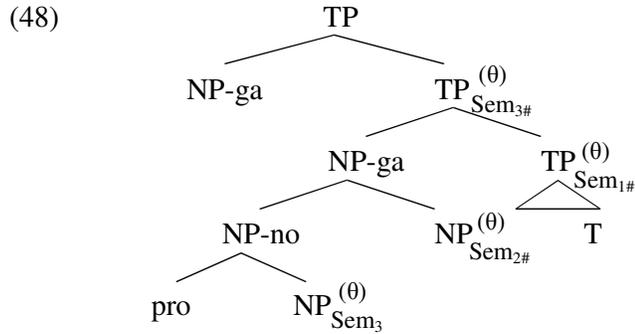
- (46) a. \*Mary-ga John-ga [pro niwa]-de mainiti hon-o yomu.  
 Mary-GA John-GA garden-at everyday book-Acc read  
 Intended: 'It is John, in whose garden Mary reads books everyday.'
- b. \*Mary-ga John-ga [pro zyugyoo]-tyuu-ni yoku hanasu.  
 Mary-GA John-GA lecture-during-in often talk  
 Intended: 'It is John, in whose lecture Mary often talks.'

A fourth predication is related to the locality of a dissociated  $\theta$ -role and an appropriate semantic representation which is re-associated with it. Let us first consider the definition of the operation proposed in Chapter 1, repeated below.

(47) *Re-association*

A  $\theta$ -role can be re-associated with an appropriate part of the semantic representation of an argument that satisfies the  $\theta$ -role.

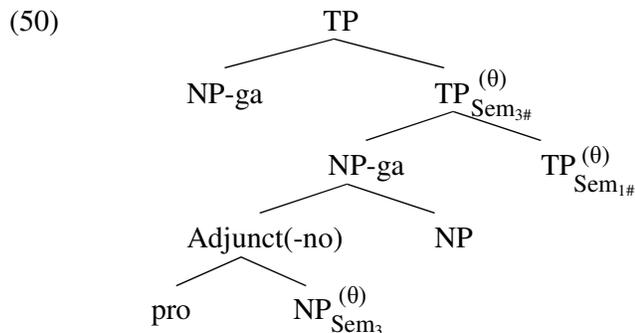
The above formulation does not imply that a semantic representation appropriate for re-association must be part of the representation determined by the argument's lexical meaning. It merely has to be part of it. It predicts then that an appropriate semantic representation linked to an argument further embedded in the subject can be re-associated with the  $\theta$ -role assigned to the subject. For instance, if an argument of a subject, which is realised internally to the NP headed by the subject, also takes an argument, the latter should be able to appear in the nominative externally to the subject, as illustrated below.



In the above structure, the subject receives the  $\theta$ -role with the associated semantic representation  $Sem_1$ . The subject assigns the  $\theta$ -role with the associated semantic representation  $Sem_2$  to its argument, which is realised with the genitive marker *no* internally to the NP headed by the subject. This argument also takes an argument, which is realised as *pro*. As a result, a semantic representation appropriate for re-association, namely  $Sem_3$ , is present in the genitive NP and consequently in the subject. The formulation provided above allows re-association of this representation with the  $\theta$ -role which is assigned to the subject. The re-associated  $\theta$ -role is then assigned to the base-generated NP, licensing it syntactically as an argument of the lexical predicate, yet it should be interpreted as an argument of an argument of the subject. The following example shows that the prediction is borne out. In (49), *kitahankyuu* ‘Northern Hemisphere’ is interpreted as a possessor of the most embedded NP *usagi* ‘rabbit’, but is realised in the nominative externally to the subject.

- (49) *kitahankyuu-ga*    [[*pro usagi*]-*no mimi*]-*ga naga-i*.  
 N.Hemisphere-GA        rabbit-Gen ear-GA    long-Pres  
 ‘It is the N. Hemisphere, where rabbits have long ears.’

Furthermore, the constituent which contains the resumptive *pro* in (48) need not be an argument. As long as what *pro* corresponds to is construed as an argument, which ensures that the semantic representation is appropriate for the process, re-association is predicted to be possible. Consequently, if the subject contains an adjunct headed by a noun, an argument of this noun can be realised externally to the subject. The following structure demonstrates the point.



The grammaticality of the following examples shows that the prediction is correct. In (51), the head of the subject NP *taido* ‘attitude’ takes an argument *seeto* ‘student’, which in turn is modified by an adjunct [*pro zyugyoo-tyuu*] ‘lecture-during’. The element that corresponds to the resumptive *pro*, *rekisi* ‘history’ is realised externally to the NP headed by the subject. The presence of an extra argument does not make a difference to the point being made here, since what is important for testing this prediction is that *pro* is contained within an adjunct inside a subject. (52) shows that the subject of a relative clause embedded in the subject can appear externally to the subject.

(51) *rekisi-ga John-niyoruto*  
 history-GA John-according.to  
 [[[*pro zyugyoo-tyuu*]-no *seeto*]-no *taido*]-ga *hidoi(-rasi-i)*<sup>10</sup>  
 lecture-during-Gen student-Gen attitude-GA bad-seem-Pres  
 ‘According to John, the students’ attitude during the history class seems to be bad.’

(52) *sono sinsi-ga kyoo*  
 that gentleman-GA today  
 [TP<sub>[NP] ∅<sub>j</sub></sub> [TP *pro kinoo e<sub>j</sub> kitei-ta*] *yoohuku-ga* *yogoretei-ta*.  
 yesterday wearing-Past suit-GA dirty-Past  
 ‘Speaking of that gentleman, the suit (he) was wearing yesterday was dirty today.’

<sup>10</sup> *-rasi-i* ‘seem-Pres’ is added here merely because the acceptability of the example improves with it. The grammaticality does not depend on its presence.



(54) *Tough Construction*

- \*[<sub>PP</sub> Anna taipu-no zyosei-to]<sub>i</sub>-ga  
 that type of woman-with-GA  
 [<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> e<sub>j</sub> (kanozyo-to<sub>i</sub>) kekkon-site-i-ru] otoko]-to hanasi-niku-i.  
 (she-with) marry-Pres man-with talk-hard-Pres  
 Lit.: ‘With that type of woman is hard to talk to the man who is married  
 (to her).’ (modified from Takezawa (1987: 215))

Saito attributes the ungrammaticality of the example in (53) to the idea that PPs cannot be licensed by an ‘aboutness’ relation with the rest of the sentence. He specifically claims that the question of whether Japanese has PP-pro is irrelevant. However, there are other constructions in which a PP cannot be related to a position inside an island, although the constructions themselves do not appear to require an ‘aboutness’ relation. The cleft construction is an example (cf. Hoji 1987, Fukaya & Hoji 1999). As demonstrated by (55a), it is possible for an NP in the focus position of a cleft sentence to be linked to a position internal to an island. This indicates that the resumptive *pro* strategy, which we observed for relative clauses, topicalisation and tough constructions in Section 3.1, is also available here. On the other hand, a PP cannot be licensed in the same environment, as shown by (55b).

(55) *Cleft Construction*

- a. [<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> (kare<sub>i</sub>-ga) e<sub>j</sub> kitei-ta] yoohuku-ga]  
 (he-GA) wearing-Past suit-GA  
 yogoretei-ta no]-wa sono sinsi da].  
 dirty-Past] NMZ-Top that gentleman is  
 Lit.: ‘It is that gentleman, who the suit (he) was wearing was dirty.’
- b. \* [<sub>NP</sub> Ø<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> e<sub>j</sub> (soko kara<sub>i</sub>) ki-ta] hito]-ga  
 there-from come-Past person-GA  
 Amerika-ni oozei iru no]-wa Hiroshima-kara<sub>i</sub> da  
 America-in many arenmz-Top Hiroshima-from is  
 Lit.: ‘It is from Hiroshima that there are many people in America who  
 came (from there).’

It is difficult to argue that the focus phrases in the above sentences are licensed by ‘aboutness’, since there is already a topic, the preceding *wa*-phrase.<sup>11</sup> Thus, I take the data in (53)-(55), to be evidence that there is no PP-*pro* in Japanese.

According to the proposed analysis of the possessive multiple nominative construction, a derived *ga*-phrase is indirectly related to a *pro* in the following *ga*-phrase. If PP-*pro* does not exist, a PP possessor of a subject cannot be realised externally to the subject by means of re-association. The effect must be achieved by movement. However, since subjects are generally considered to be an island for movement, it is predicted that a possessive *ga*-phrase cannot be a PP. The ungrammaticality of the following examples shows that the prediction is borne out.<sup>12</sup>

- (56) a. \*Tokyo-kara-ga zyosee-ga yoku wara-u  
Tokyo-from-GA woman-GA often laugh-Pres  
Lit.: ‘\*It is from Tokyo that women often laugh.’
- b. \*gengogaku-nituite-ga koogi-ga omosiro-i.  
linguistics-about-GA lecture-GA interesting-Pres  
‘It is about linguistics that the lecture is interesting.’

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<sup>11</sup> Hoji (1987) suggests that the focused NP is licensed by ‘aboutness’, if not case-marked, in a similar fashion to Saito’s (1985) analysis of topicalisation. However, as stated in the main text, I believe that the fact that a topic phrase can be present in the same sentence makes it difficult to pursue this line of analysis.

<sup>12</sup> One may find examples like the following, where a possessive *ga*-phrase appears to be a PP, to be a piece of evidence for the existence of PP-*pro* in Japanese.

- (i) N.Y.-kara-ga/no miti-ga warui.  
N.Y.-from-GA/Gen road-GA bad-Pres  
‘It is from New York, according to this survey, that roads (from there) are bad.’

However, *N.Y.-kara* ‘N.Y.-from-ga’ behaves like an adjunct *ga*-phrase, which I will consider in the next chapter. When it appears without *ga* or *no*, it may follow the subject NP, as shown in (ii), while such an option is unavailable to other possessive phrases, as illustrated in (iii).

- (ii) miti-ga New York-kara warui.  
road-GA New York-from bad-Pres  
‘The roads are bad from New York.’
- (iii) \*mimi-ga usagi-ga/no/Ø naga-i.  
ear -GA rabbit-GA/Gen/Ø long-Pres

I argue that a PP in the genitive appears in SpecNP, on a par with other possessive genitive NPs, while when it appears with *ga*, it is an adjunct.

Crucially, the examples in (53) to (56) also illustrate that it is not a general property of Japanese that the island conditions do not hold. The apparent violation of the condition witnessed when the displaced element is an NP must be due to the availability of the resumptive *pro* strategy in Japanese.

Finally, changing the word order among *ga*-phrases should result in ungrammaticality. The  $\theta$ -role assigned to a possessive *ga*-phrase is associated with a semantic representation relevant for interpreting it as a possessor of another argument. This representation is part of the semantic representation of the possessee argument and can only be re-associated with the  $\theta$ -role that the possessee argument has satisfied. In other words, it is not possible to license a possessive *ga*-phrase without first licensing its possessee. As noted by Fukuda (1991) and C. Takahashi (1994), a possessive *ga*-phrase must precede its possessee. The following example, in which the order between the two possessive *ga*-phrases, *kitahankyuu-ga* ‘N. Hemisphere-GA’ and *usagi-ga* ‘rabbit-GA’, has been reversed is ungrammatical. The prediction is therefore correct.

- (57) \**usagi-ga kitahankyuu-ga mimi-ga naga-i.*  
 rabbit-GA N. Hemisphere-GA ear-GA long-Pres  
 Intended: ‘Rabbits in the Northern Hemisphere have long ears.’

This property is striking, particularly because the positioning of *ga*-phrases is extremely flexible with respect to adjuncts. This was already shown for the example under discussion by the example in (2a), repeated below.

- (58) (*taitee*) *usagi-ga (taitee) mimi-ga (taitee) naga-i.*  
 generally rabbit-GA generally ear-GA generally long-Pres  
 ‘It is rabbits which generally have long ears.’

In sum, the proposed analysis accounts for the following properties of the possessive multiple nominative construction. Recall that any semantic argument of a subject can be realised externally to the subject (point (v) below) and that I refer to such derived arguments as possessive *ga*-phrases for convenience.

- (59) (i) *pro* related to a possessive *ga*-phrase can be overtly realised (cf. (21)-(23));
- (ii) a possessive *ga*-phrase is interpreted correctly as a semantic argument of the immediately following *ga*-phrase (cf. Section 3);
- (iii) there can be an indefinitely large number of possessive *ga*-phrases (cf. (3));
- (iv) a subject-predicate relation holds between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its immediate right (cf. Section 2);
- (v) any semantic argument of a subject can appear with *ga* externally to the NP headed by the subject, but an adjunct modifier of a subject cannot (cf. (36)-(41));
- (vi) it is not possible for more than one argument of the same subject to be licensed externally to the NP headed by the noun (cf. (42));
- (vii) an argument of a noun which is contained in an adjunct cannot be realised externally (cf. (46));
- (viii) an argument contained in an NP-internal argument or in an adjunct modifier of a subject can be realised externally to the subject (cf. (48)-(51));
- (ix) a possessive *ga*-phrase cannot be a PP (cf. (56));
- (x) the word order among *ga*-phrases is fixed (cf. (57)).

The possessive multiple nominative construction has received much attention in the literature since at least Kuno (1973). The next section discusses and compares some alternative analyses to the present account.

## 5 Alternative Analyses

This section considers three major approaches to the possessive multiple nominative construction in Japanese offered in the literature and shows that the analysis proposed in this chapter is able to capture properties which are difficult to explain in the alternative analyses.

## 5.1 Possessor raising approach

The process of possessor raising has been proposed on several occasions (Fukuda 1991, Morikawa 1993, Takahashi 1994, 1996, Ura 1996), also known as subjectivization (Kuno 1973) and genitive raising (Tateishi 1991). On this approach, the possessive phrase is base-generated in a specifier position of the NP headed by its possessee, a position typically associated with a possessive interpretation. An argument in support for this approach is that a possessor of a subject need not always appear in the nominative, but may also bear genitive case and form a constituent with the subject. The following example illustrates that the possessive phrase *usagi* ‘rabbit’ can appear with the genitive case marker *no* and no adverbial may be inserted between the possessor and the possessee.

- (60) *usagi-no*      (\**taitee*)      *mimi-ga*      *naga-i*.  
       rabbit-Gen      generally      ear-GA      long-Pres

When the possessive phrase appears in the genitive, it remains unmoved, while when it bears nominative case, it moves to a specifier or an adjoined position in a clausal level projection, S or IP or AgrSP, where nominative case is licensed. This is shown below.

- (61) [<sub>S/IP/AgrSP</sub> NP<sub>i</sub>-NOM [<sub>S/IP/AgrSP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> NP]-NOM... VP/I/AgrS]]

The approach explains neatly the thematic relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases and captures a number of properties illustrated above. For example, the fact that more than one argument of the same *ga*-phrase cannot be licensed externally can perhaps be reduced to a violation of Relativised Minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990). If two elements move out of the same NP, one will cross over a trace of the other. Also, the fixed word order among *ga*-phrases follows from the presence of a possessor’s trace in the possessee argument. The possessee argument cannot be moved to a position preceding its possessor, as such movement would render the trace illegally unbounded.

However, there are several problems with assuming the kind of movement illustrated in (61). Firstly, the movement is an instance of A-movement, since it is

movement to a case position. A possessive *ga*-phrase should therefore exhibit properties related to a constituent which has undergone A-movement such as scope reconstruction effects. However, as pointed out by Heycock & Doron (2003), the prediction is not borne out. The following sentence, in which a possessive phrase *minna* ‘everyone’ is realised in the genitive, is ambiguous between two readings: a distributive reading, where each person has their own computer and they all broke down, and a collective reading, which implies that there is one computer jointly owned by everyone and it broke down.

- (62) *minna-no konpyuutaa-ga kowarete-simatta*  
 everyone-Gen computer-GA broke.down  
 ‘Everyone’s computer broke down.’ Heycock & Doron (2003: 104)

However, when the possessor appears with the nominative marker *ga*, the collective reading is no longer available.

- (63) *minna-ga konpyuutaa-ga kowarete-simatta*  
 everyone-GA computer-GA broke.down  
 ‘Everyone’s computer broke down.’ Heycock & Doron (2003: 104)

If the example in (63) is derived from that in (62) by movement of the possessive phrase to an A-position, one would expect both readings to be available, contrary to the fact.

From a more technical point of view, the movement itself is problematic. Firstly, as pointed out by Doron & Heycock (1999), the movement is from a case position to another case position, which is usually prohibited. Even if such movement were permitted, it must be stipulated that nominative case overrides genitive case. Secondly, as already pointed out in Section 3.1, the movement in question is out of an island, which is generally disallowed. As we saw in Section 4, it is not the case that the island conditions can be freely violated in Japanese. Movement of a PP out of an island results in ungrammaticality (cf. (53)-(56)). A stipulation is thus required to permit this kind of movement. Fukuda (1991), for example, claims that the subject NP does not constitute a barrier in Japanese, while Takahashi (1994) argues that there is restructuring within the subject, which enables

NP in the highest specifier to move out of the subject without violating the island conditions. Morikawa (1993) also proposes that the violation can be avoided in Japanese as a result of parametric variation in determining barrierhood of a particular maximal projection. It is questionable whether these assumptions can be independently motivated.

Furthermore, there are some properties observed in Section 4, which are difficult to explain on this approach, most notably the restrictions on what kind of elements can be a possessive *ga*-phrase and a possessee. Possessor raising does not impose any restriction on what the raised element can be. Thus, it can account for the fact that arguments other than possessors may be realised externally. However, this is too unrestrictive as it is. For instance, nothing rules out an adjunct modifier or a PP from undergoing possessor raising. Similarly, it is unclear why a possessor cannot be contained in an adjunct. The subject-predicate relation between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its right also does not readily follow from the analysis, since adjunction to a clausal level projection alone does not usually imply predication. It must therefore be stated independently, as Fukuda (1991) proposes, that a subject-predicate relation holds between a derived *ga*-phrase and the clause to its right in this construction.

The analysis proposed in this chapter retains an attractive aspect of the possessor raising approach, namely that the structure represents the option between the two forms of realisation available for a possessive phrase (cf. (32)). While a possessive nominative NP occupies a specifier position in TP, a possessive genitive NP appears in the position which *pro* occupies, as (64) shows.

(64) [TP [NP NP-no NP]-ga T]

However, unlike the possessor raising approach, an analysis in terms of re-association does not assume movement of the possessive phrase. Rather, a possessive *ga*-phrase is indirectly related to a *pro* in the specifier position of the immediately following nominative NP. Thus, the problems of accounting for the absence of reconstruction effects, for the apparent violation of the island conditions and for genitive case being overridden by nominative case do not arise. The predication relation also follows naturally from the operation of re-association.

## 5.2 Base-generation approach

A second approach claims that possessive *ga*-phrases are base-generated in specifier or adjoined positions to a clausal level projection, such as S or VP without being related to a position internal to the NP headed by the argument-taking noun. The thematic relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases is inferred from pragmatics or semantics. (Saito 1982, Heycock & Lee 1989, 1990, Heycock 1993b, Namai 1997, Shibatani 2001).

(65) [<sub>S/VP</sub> NP-*ga* [<sub>S/VP</sub> NP-*ga* VP/V ]

This approach assumes no movement of a possessive nominative phrase and therefore does not face the problems related to such movement that the possessor raising approach does.

Saito (1982) implies and Heycock & Lee (1989, 1990), Heycock (1993b) and Namai (1997) explicitly state that nominative case on a possessive *ga*-phrase is an indication that it is licensed by predication by the clause to its right. Saito claims that an ‘aboutness’ relation holds between a possessive *ga*-phrase and the clause to its right, while Heycock & Lee, Heycock and Namai argue that the predication is achieved purely syntactically.

However, there are problems with relying entirely on semantics or pragmatics for a correct interpretation of the external possessor of a subject. Firstly, in other types of multiple nominative constructions, such as the adjunct multiple nominative construction and the stative construction exemplified in (4) and (5), no semantic relation obtains between two adjacent *ga*-phrases. Thus, the unfailing semantic relation observed in the construction under discussion must always be seen as a sheer coincidence. Moreover, on this approach, it is difficult to explain most of the syntactic properties of this construction observed in Section 4. If possessive *ga*-phrases are simply base-generated, it is unclear why more than one semantic argument of one and the same noun cannot be licensed externally or why the derived argument must be an NP argument and not an adjunct modifier or a PP. Similarly, nothing prevents the possessee from being contained in an adjunct of the clausal predicate. Since these are syntactic properties of the construction, it seems

undesirable to depend entirely on semantics or pragmatics for the well-formedness of the construction.

### 5.3 Base-generation + *pro* approach

A final alternative is similar to the analysis proposed in this chapter. It assumes that a possessive *ga*-phrase is base-generated in an adjoined position to a clausal level projection and is indirectly related to a resumptive *pro* which occupies a position internal to the possessee (Heycock & Doron 2003, cf. also Doron & Heycock 1999). Heycock & Doron (2003) claim that a possessive nominative phrase is interpreted as a subject of a categorical sentence, which presumably explains its behaviour as a syntactic subject. The approach does not face the problems the other two alternatives do. Since a possessive *ga*-phrase is base-generated, problems related to movement of a possessor does not arise. The thematic relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases is explained, as a possessive *ga*-phrase is related to a position internal to the possessee. It captures most of the properties predicted by the proposed account.

One crucial difference between this alternative and the proposed account is that the former does not involve any thematic operations such as re-association. This implies that a possessee need not be an argument and wrongly predicts that it can be contained in an adjunct. Recall that a semantic representation can only be re-associated with a  $\theta$ -role which has been assigned to the argument in which the representation is present. This ensures that a possessive *ga*-phrase is an argument of a noun which in turn is an argument of the clausal predicate. Under the base-generation + *pro* approach, nothing forces the possessee itself to be an argument. As we saw in (46), a possessive *ga*-phrase may not be construed as a semantic argument of a noun in an adjunct. It appears that a mechanism that allows a semantic argument of a noun to be realised externally to the projection headed by the noun must have recourse to  $\theta$ -roles.

## 6 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have provided an account of the possessive multiple nominative construction in terms of re-association. In this construction, a subject contains a variable, a resumptive *pro*. This has the effect that part of the semantic

representation of the subject becomes available for re-association. This environment allows the  $\theta$ -role assigned to the subject to be dissociated from its associated semantic representation and be re-associated with another. An external possessor of a subject receives the re-associated  $\theta$ -role. Since a subject is assigned an external  $\theta$ -role in the  $\theta$ -grid of the lexical predicate, the re-associated  $\theta$ -role is also an external  $\theta$ -role. In other words, a possessive nominative phrase is syntactically licensed as an external argument of the lexical predicate. Moreover, the semantic representation associated with the re-associated  $\theta$ -role is related to the lexical meaning of the subject. The possessive *ga*-phrase is therefore correctly interpreted as a semantic argument of the subject. The operation of re-association is potentially recursive. thus It can further apply to the external possessor of a subject, resulting in a clause containing multiple *ga*-phrases each being interpreted as a semantic argument of the immediately following *ga*-phrase. The properties which the proposed analysis is able to capture is summarised in Section 4.

In Section 5, three alternative approaches were discussed and compared to the present analysis. It was shown that the possessor raising approach can explain a number of properties, but it faces some problems in relation to the proposed movement of the external possessor. The base-generation approach assumes no movement of the external possessor and no syntactic dependency between two adjacent *ga*-phrases. On this approach, it is unclear how in particular, syntactic properties of the construction could be explained. Finally, the base-generation + *pro* approach was shown to be the closest to the proposed analysis. Nevertheless, the lack of reference to  $\theta$ -roles in licensing a possessive nominative phrase turned out to be crucial in ruling out a derivation in which the external possessor is a semantic argument of a noun contained in an adjunct.

The analysis presented in this chapter invites the possessive multiple nominative construction to be contrasted with other types of constructions on two dimensions. Firstly, considering that a single clause tolerates more than one nominative phrase in Japanese, a question arises as to whether a multiple nominative construction is possible without re-association in this language. The following chapter discusses the adjunct multiple nominative construction and the stative construction, exemplified by (4) and (5), respectively, and demonstrates that the answer to this question is positive. This conclusion in turn has repercussions for our understanding of the precise function of the particle *ga*.

The other dimension is related to the grammatical function of the possessee argument. However, it is not possible for a possessor of an accusative object to be realised externally in the accusative in Japanese, as shown below.

- (66) \*Mary-ga John-o asi-o ket-ta  
 Mary-GA John-Acc leg-Acc kick-Past  
 ‘Mary kicked John’s leg.’

It is not the case that an object cannot be a possessee in Japanese. I will show in the next chapter that a possessor of an object can be realised externally to the object, if the predicate is stative. The ungrammaticality of the above example is generally attributed to an independent, language specific constraint called ‘Double O Constraint’ (cf. Harada 1973, Hiraiwa 2002 and the references cited in the latter), which prohibits the occurrence of more than one accusative phrase in a clause. I will therefore examine a similar construction in Korean in Chapter 4. I will argue that the grammatical function of the possessee argument has implications for how the external possessor is interpreted.

## Appendix: Licensing Nominative Case in Japanese

In Section 3, I assumed following Takezawa (1987) that tense licenses nominative case in Japanese. However, there appears to be environments in which nominative case is licensed in the absence of tense. This appendix discusses issues surrounding nominative case licensing in Japanese. I will suggest that there may be more than one licenser for nominative case.

Takezawa (1987) argues that nominative phrases are disallowed in non-finite contexts and provides the following examples. In (1), the matrix predicate *omotta* ‘thought’ takes a non-finite small-clause like complement, while in (2), the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* also takes a non-finite complement clause (cf. Takezawa (1987: 73-76)). In both examples a *ga*-phrase is disallowed in the complement clause.

- (1) John-wa [[Mary-no yokogao]-o/\*ga totemo utokusiku] omot-ta.  
 John-Top Mary-Gen profile-Acc/GA very beautiful think-Past  
 ‘John thought [Mary’s profile (to be) very beautiful].’
- (2) John-wa [Mary-ni/\*ga susi-o tabe]-sase-ta  
 John-Top Mary-Dat/GA sushi-Acc eat-Caus-Past.  
 ‘John made Mary eat sushi.’

However, it has been reported that there are other instances in which a *ga*-phrase seems to be permitted in a non-tensed embedded environment (Fukushima 1999, Heycock 1993b, Heycock & Lee 1989, 1990, Tomioka 1992, Whitman 2001).

The following examples illustrate each of these environments. (3) shows that a *ga*-phrase may appear in a conjunct headed by a verb in a non-finite form. In (4), a VP headed by a stative verb which takes an object in the nominative, is topicalised clearly without the present tense morpheme *-(r)u*, as a dummy *do suru* is inserted to support the tense morpheme. The contrast in (5) shows that the presence of a numeral quantifier in an NP seems to license a *ga*-phrase.<sup>13</sup> The examples in (6) and (7) contain elements from the categories verbal nouns and adjectival nouns. Elements of these categories show hybrid properties of verbs and nouns, and adjectives and nouns, respectively. Verbal nouns generally appear with the light verb *su-*, while adjectival nouns occur with the copula *da* to function as a clausal predicate. Verbal nouns and adjectival nouns can realise their arguments internally or externally to the projection headed by them (Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Shibatani & Kageyama 1988, Kageyama 1999, Saito & Hoshi 2000). However, they may also appear embedded under elements such as *-tyuu* ‘in the middle of’ and *-ni tuki* ‘because of’. The examples in (6) and (7) demonstrate that a *ga*-phrase can be licensed in the latter non-finite contexts.

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<sup>13</sup> I thank Mana Kobuchi-Phillip for bringing this data to my attention.

- (3) [John-ga uwagi-o nuide/nugi],  
 John-GA jacket-Acc take.off-ger./take.off-inf.  
 [Mary-ga (sore-o) hangaa-ni kake-ta]  
 Mary-GA it-Acc hanger-on hang-Past  
 ‘John took off his jacket and Mary put it on a hanger.’  
 (modified from Kuno 1973: 195)
- (4) [huransugo-ga wakar-i]<sub>i</sub>-sae John-wa t<sub>i</sub> sur-u  
 French-GA understand-inf.-even John-Top do-Pres  
 Lit.: ‘Even understand French, John does.’ (modified from Tateishi 1994: 65)
- (5) a. John-wa [onnanoko-ga 3-nin-no rockband]-o mi-ta  
 John-Top girl-GA 3-cl-Gen rockband-Acc see-Past  
 ‘John saw a rockband with three girls.’  
 b. \*John-wa [onnanoko-ga rockband]-o mi-ta  
 John-Top girl-GA rockband-Acc see-Past  
 Intended: ‘John saw a girl rockband.’
- (6) Yamada-san-ga tyuukosya-o hanbai-tyuu-ni, doroboo-ga haitta  
 Yamada-Mr.-GA used.car-Acc selling-middle-Loc thief-GA entered  
 ‘A burglar sneaked in while Mr. Yamada was selling used cars.’  
 Lit.: ‘During Mr Yamada’s selling of used cars, a burglar sneaked in.’  
 (modified from Shibatani & Kageyama 1988: 454)
- (7) singi-ga huzyuubun-ni tuki...  
 discussion-GA insufficient-Dat because  
 ‘because the discussion is insufficient...’  
 Lit. ‘because of the insufficiency of the discussion...’ Kageyama  
 (1989:88)

A conjunct headed by a non-tensed verb, as in (3), can be modified independently by a temporal adverbial, as shown below. Thus, it could be the case that there are some tense features present in the first non-finite conjunct distinct from the second conjunct.

- (8) [John-ga kinoo uwagi-o nuide/nugi],  
 John-GA yesterday jacket-Acc take.off-ger./take.off-inf.  
 [Mary-ga kyoo (sore-o) hangaa-ni kake-ta]  
 Mary-GA today it-Acc hanger-on hang-Past  
 ‘John took off his jacket yesterday and Mary put it on a hanger today.’

Nevertheless, for the other instances, especially in the nominal contexts illustrated by the examples in (5)-(7), it does appear that an element other than tense is responsible for the occurrence of *ga*. Indeed, some researchers have concluded from observations such as above that nominative case is independent of tense and it is assigned to elements occupying specific structural positions, such as adjoined positions to S (Saito 1982) or specifier positions in VP (Fukui 1986, Heycock 1993b).

Implicit in most approaches to nominative case licensing is the idea that there is only one licenser for nominative case. Thus, Takezawa (1987) proposes that nominative case is licensed by a tensed head, while others attribute its occurrence to one particular structural environment (Saito 1982, Fukui 1986/1995, Heycock 1993b). However, there does not seem to be any valid reason why this should be so. In other words, there could be more than one licenser for *ga*. Cases generally have no unique licenser. Accusative Case, for instance, is often licensed by verbs as well as prepositions.

One may argue that in many other languages, particularly in the Indo-European family, nominative Case behaves differently from other Cases in a number of respects, one of which is that it is licensed by only one particular head such as T or one particular feature such as finiteness (Neeleman & Weerman 1999). However, as I will illustrate in more detail in Chapter 6, nominative case in Japanese appears to be different from nominative Case in other languages in that it behaves in a similar manner to other cases in the language. For example, it is morphologically realised, it is selected on the complement of some stative predicates and more than one phrase can bear it in one clause. It is perhaps thus expected that nominative case, like other cases, is licensed by more than one head in Japanese and that the occurrence of nominative case in the embedded contexts in the examples (3)-(7) is licensed by a head or features other than tense.

In order to pursue this claim, however, it is necessary to show that other cases in Japanese are indeed licensed by more than one category. Japanese postpositions do not select for a case-marked NPs. It is therefore difficult to see, for example, if accusative case is licensed by verbs as well as postpositions. However, as we saw above, Japanese has verbal nouns and adjectival nouns. The following examples show that accusative and dative cases can be licensed by elements of these categories. The verbal nouns and adjectival nouns all appear with the genitive marker *no* as modifiers of a noun to ensure that the accusative and dative phrases are properly embedded in a nominal environment and that there is no other possible licensers available. In (9a), the object of the verbal noun *minoo* ‘unpaid’ is licensed in the accusative, while in (9b), the deverbal noun *soosin* ‘sending’ licenses dative and the accusative arguments.

- (9) a. [kaihi-o minoo]-no hito  
       fee-Acc unpaid-Gen person  
       ‘those who have not paid the membership fee’       (Kageyama 1989: 88)
- b. [John-ni fax-o soosin]-no sai...  
       John-Dat fax-Acc sending-Gen occasion  
       ‘In the even of sending a fax to John..’

Since accusative and dative cases can be licensed by more than one licenser and nominative case behaves like other cases in this language, it seems reasonable to assume that nominative case also has distinct licensers in different syntactic environments.

The primary concern in this thesis with respect to multiple nominative constructions is at the clausal level, however. Takezawa’s examples in (1) and (2) demonstrate clearly that the relevant licenser in this context is tense. I will therefore continue to assume in the subsequent chapters that *ga*-phrases at the clausal level are licensed by tense in a specifier-head configuration. I will remain agnostic as to whether case-licensing takes the form of feature-checking or assignment by a head.