Chapter 3
Other Types of Multiple Nominative Constructions

1 Introduction

In addition to the possessive multiple nominative construction discussed in the previous chapter, Japanese has two other kinds of constructions containing more than one nominative phrase. I refer to them as the adjunct multiple nominative construction, illustrated in (1), and the stative construction, shown in (2).

(1) *Adjunct Multiple Nominative Construction*

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

b. kono yoona ziko-ga takusan-no hito-ga sin-da.
this.kind.of accident-GA many-Gen people-GA die-Past
'It is by this kind of accident that many people died.' (cf. Tateishi 1994: 21)

c. siken-mae-ga gakusee-ga tosyokan-de yoku benkyoo-sur-u
exam-before-GA student-GA library-in hard study-do-Pres
'It is before their exams that students study hard in the library.'

(2) *Stative Construction*

a. John-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u.
John-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'It is John who understands Japanese.'

b. Mary-ga ryoori-ga dekir-u
Mary-GA cooking-GA able.to.do
'It is Mary who can cook.'

c. Polly-ga nihongo-ga hanas-er-u
Polly-GA Japanese-GA speak-can-Pres
'It is Polly who can speak Japanese.'

In contrast to the possessive multiple nominative construction, there is no direct thematic relation between the two adjacent *ga*-phrases in the above two constructions. In each of the examples in (1), the non-subject *ga*-phrase is interpreted as an adjunct at the clausal level. Thus, (1a) does not imply that students work at the shop, for instance. *Ano mise* 'that shop' can only be construed as the location at which students buy books. Similarly, in (1b) and (1c), the non-subject *ga*-phrases *kono yoona ziko-ga* 'this kind of accident-GA' and *siken-mae-ga* 'exam-before-GA' are understood only as adjuncts at the sentential level and not as modifiers or arguments of another argument.

The occurrence of multiple *ga*-phrases in the examples in (2) is due to certain stative predicates in Japanese selecting their object in the nominative. The predicate can be simplex, as in (2a) and (2b), or complex, as in (2c), in which the potential morpheme *er-u* 'can-Pres' is attached to the non-stative verb *hanas-* 'speak'. Again, no direct relation between the two nominative phrases is implied. In all the three examples in (2), the first *ga*-phrases are unambiguously interpreted as the subject and the second *ga*-phrases as the object of the lexical predicate that follows them.

The absence of a direct relation between two adjacent *ga*-phrases can also be demonstrated by the impossibility in both constructions of realising the first *ga*-phrase in the genitive internally to the following *ga*-phrase, while this option was shown in the previous chapter to be readily available for possessive *ga*-phrases. This is illustrated below for (1a) and (2a), respectively.[1]

(3) *[ano mise-no gakusee]-ga hon-o yoku ka-u.
that shop-Gen student-GA book-Acc often buy-Pres
'It is at that shop that students buy books.'

(4) *[John-no nihongo]-ga wakar-u.
John-Gen Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'It is John who understands Japanese.'

[1] The examples are of course grammatical with a different meaning involving a possessive relation between the two constituents in question, namely 'students of that shop often buy books' for (3) and 'one can understand John's Japanese' for (4). This alternative reading for (4) is available because Japanese is a pro-drop language, as we saw in Chapter 2 (Section 3).

Since the first nominative phrase is not construed as an argument of the following *ga*-phrase, the operation of re-association is clearly not involved in deriving the two constructions. Separate accounts must therefore be provided to ensure the correct interpretation of the non-subject *ga*-phrases.

Although the stative construction is generally considered to be a distinct type of multiple nominative construction from the possessive type, the adjunct multiple nominative construction is not. A prevalent view in the literature is that all *ga*-phrases are nominative NPs or DPs and that at least in the possessive and adjunct multiple nominative constructions they are licensed in multiple specifier or adjoined positions in one particular projection such as TP. In other words, a distinction between a possessive *ga*-phrase and an adjunct *ga*-phrase is rarely made, particularly in their syntactic status. However, there are in fact a number of striking syntactic differences between the two constructions. One difference is found in the number of *ga*-phrases permitted in each construction. We saw in Chapter 2 that there can be an indefinitely large number of possessive nominative phrases in a single clause. An example is repeated below as (5). In stark contrast, the maximum number of adjunct *ga*-phrases allowed in a single clause is one. The ungrammaticality of the (a)-examples in (6)-(8) illustrates this point. The (b) and (c)-examples are grammatical counterparts to the respective (a)-examples, where one of the adjuncts appears with an appropriate postposition. [2]

(5) kitahankyuu-ga anettai-ga usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
N.Hemisphere-GA subtropics-GA rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres
'It is the Northern Hemisphere, where rabbits in the subtropics have long ears.'

(6) a. *ano mise-ga ohiru zikan-ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku ka-u.
that shop-GA lunch hour-GA student-GA book-Acc often buy-Pres
'It is at that shop and that students often buy books during their lunch hour.'

[2] It has been pointed out to me that the adjunct multiple nominative construction suffers from degraded acceptability compared to the other two kinds of multiple nominative constructions considered in this thesis. However, what is crucial is that even for those who find it slightly degraded, the contrast in the acceptability between a sentence that contains one adjunct *ga*-phrase and one that contains two is clear. The latter is decidedly ungrammatical, in line with the * given to the (b)-examples in (6)-(8). See also Tateishi (1991: 23) for discussion on this issue.

b. ano mise-ga gakusee-ga ohiru-zikan-ni hon-o yoku ka-u.
that shop-GA student-GA lunch-hour-in book-Acc often buy-Pres
c. ohiru-zikan-ga gakusee-ga ano mise-de hon-o yoku ka-u.
lunch-hour-GA student-GA that shop-at book-Acc often buy-Pres

(7) a. *19-seeki-ga kono yoona ziko-ga takusan-no hito-ga sin-da.
19-century-GA this.kind.of accident-GA many-Gen people-GA die-Past
'It is in the 19th Century that many people died by this kind of accident.'
b. 19-seeki-ga takusan-no hito-ga kono yoona ziko-de sin-da.
19-century-GA many-Gen people-GA this.kind.of accident-by die-Past
c. kono yoona ziko-ga takusan-no hito-ga 19-seeki-ni sin-da.
this.kind.of accident-GA many-Gen people-GA 19-century-in die-Past

(8) a. *siken-mae-ga tosyokan-ga gakusee-ga benkyoo-sur-u
exam-before-GA library-GA student-GA study-Pres
'It is in the library that students study before their exams.'
b. siken-mae-ga gakusee-ga tosyokan-de benkyoo-sur-u
exam-before-GA student-GA library-in study-Pres
c. tosyokan-ga gakusee-ga siken-mae-ni benkyoo-sur-u
library-GA student-GA exam-before-in study-Pres

It seems most evident from the above observation that a possessive *ga*-phrase and an adjunct *ga*-phrase have distinct syntactic status and hence are syntactically licensed in a different manner.

Despite the above contrasting properties, the three multiple nominative constructions share one common feature, which is that the first *ga*-phrase must be interpreted as narrowly focused, as indicated by the use of the cleft construction in the English translations. In this chapter, I will provide a uniform account of this obligatory focus interpretation of the first *ga*-phrase and show that the differences among the constructions fall out from independent properties of each type. More specifically, I will claim, contrary to the standard view, that the particle *ga* does not always function as a case marker. It can also mark focus. *Ga* functions as the nominative case marker whenever it is licensed on an NP which bears a θ-role.

However, I will further propose an interpretational rule which treats it as a focus marker if the constituent to which it is attached appears as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in a clause, and also has the option of appearing with a marker other than *ga* such as another case marker or a postposition.

The presence of *ga* on a phrase can thus be motivated by two reasons: (i) to satisfy the Visibility Condition (Chomsky 1986), a requirement that an argument bear Case, or; (ii) to focus the phrase to which it is attached. It can also be motivated by both of these reasons simultaneously. For instance, *ga* functions as a case marker as well as a focus marker, if the phrase to which it is attached is an NP argument, appears as the first *ga*-phrase in the clause and has an alternative form of realisation. In other words, there is one morpheme *ga*, which carries case features, but can also be an input to an interpretational rule associated with focus. Crucially, if *ga* functions neither as a case maker nor as a focus marker, it is uninterpretable. A derivation containing such a superfluous *ga* violates the principle of Full Interpretation and crashes.

This approach to *ga*-licensing has the consequence that the non-subject *ga*-phrases are not licensed in the same manner in the three constructions. A possessive *ga*-phrase, as we saw in the previous chapter, is analysed as an NP argument bearing a θ-role. *Ga* on a possessive phrase therefore always functions as a marker for nominative case. *Ga* attached to the first possessive phrase functions in addition as a focus marker, because the interpretational rule identifies it as such in this position.

In this chapter, I will propose that an adjunct *ga*-phrase is not a nominative phrase, contrary to the widely held view. *Ga* attached to an adjunct cannot function as a nominative case marker, since adjuncts do not require case. It must therefore be interpreted as a focus marker, or the principle of Full Interpretation would be violated. As a result, its distribution is regulated by the interpretational rule. The presence of *ga* on an adjunct is not motivated by case reasons, but to focus the phrase. Consequently, its presence is not superfluous. A welcome consequence of this approach is that an adjunct followed by *ga* can be a PP, which does not usually require case either. It will be demonstrated that adjunct *ga*-phrases in the above examples are in fact underlyingly PPs followed by the particle *ga*.

In the stative construction, *ga* on the object is a case marker, since the host phrase is an NP argument. The subject of a stative predicate displays hybrid characteristics of a first possessive *ga*-phrase and an adjunct *ga*-phrase. *Ga* on the

subject behaves like that on a first possessive phrase in that it functions as a case marker, as it is attached to an NP argument, as well as a focus marker, due to the relative positioning of this phrase and the possibility of the phrase appearing with a postposition. It also behaves like *ga* on an adjunct in that the subject to which it is attached can sometimes be a PP.

However, there is an environment in which the interpretational rule does not seem to be able to capture the obligatory focus of a *ga*-phrase. The subject of an intransitive stative predicate must be interpreted with narrow focus, although it is the only *ga*-phrase in the clause and it has no alternative form of realisation. Heycock & Doron (2003) suggest that the obligatory focus of the first possessive *ga*-phrase can be accounted for in a similar fashion to the focus of the subject of an intransitive stative predicate. Nevertheless, I will show that the focus effects in the latter environment are determined by different factors from those that explain the focus of the first *ga*-phrases in the three types of multiple nominative constructions.

The purpose of this chapter is thus two-fold. First, I will develop a theory of how obligatory narrow focus is determined in the three multiple nominative constructions. In doing so, I will demonstrate that the particle *ga* functions as a case marker as well as a focus marker. I will subsequently provide analyses of the adjunct multiple nominative construction and the stative construction, which are couched in the proposed theory of obligatory focus. The analysis of the adjunct multiple nominative construction will also serve to explicate the disparity between adjunct *ga*-phrases and possessive *ga*-phrases.

In the following section, I will spell out the precise environment in which *ga* must be interpreted as a focus marker. Section 3 develops an analysis of the adjunct multiple nominative construction, while Section 4 discusses effects of focus in the stative construction. In Section 5, I demonstrate that the obligatory focus effects witnessed for the first *ga*-phrases in the multiple nominative constructions and for the subject of an intransitive stative predicate are governed by different considerations. Section 6 concludes the chapter.

2 The Particle *ga*

The particle *ga* is generally regarded as the marker for nominative case in Japanese. This appears to be a correct description to a certain extent, as thematic subjects of most transitive and intransitive predicates occur with this marker. However, it seems to have an additional interpretational effect of focusing the phrase on which it is realised, if the phrase appears as the first *ga*-phrase in a multiple nominative construction. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that a first *ga*-phrase in each of the three constructions under discussion can occur without *ga*, generally with a different marker instead of *ga*, such as a marker for another case or a postposition. With an alternative marker, the phrases are no longer obligatorily focused. We already saw in Chapter 2 that possessive phrases may be realised with the genitive case marker *no*, as in (9). Similarly, (10) illustrates that adjuncts may be marked with appropriate postpositions, while the subjects of the stative predicates in (2) can also occur with the postposition *ni*, as shown in (11).

(9) Kitahankyuu-no usagi-no mimi-ga naga-i.
N.Hemisphere-Gen rabbit-Gen ear-GA long-Pres
'Rabbits in the Northern Hemisphere have long ears.'

(10) a. ano mise-de gakusee-ga hon-o yoku ka-u.
that shop-at student-GA book-Acc often buy-Pres
'Students often buy books at that shop.'

b. kono yoona ziko-de takusan-no hito-ga sin-da.
this.kind.of accident-by many-Gen people-GA die-Past
'It is by this kind of accident that many people died.'

c. siken-mae-ni gakusee-ga tosyokan-de yoku benkyoo-sur-u
exam-before-in student-GA library-in hard study-do-Pres
'It is before their exams that students study hard in the library.'

(11) a. John-ni nihongo-ga wakar-u.
John-to Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'John understands Japanese.'

b. Mary-ni ryoori-ga dekir-u
Mary-to cooking-GA able.to.do
'Mary can cook.'

c. Polly-ni nihongo-ga hanas-er-u
Polly-to Japanese-GA speak-can-Pres
'Polly can speak Japanese.'

This phenomenon is not observed in sentences without a multiple nominative construction. In such sentences, the nominative phrase is not focused and cannot be realised with a different particle, as shown below.

(12) a. John-ga/*no/*de/*ni netei-ru
John-GA/Gen/at/to sleep.Prog-Pres
'John is sleeping.'

b. John-ga/*no/*de/*ni Mary-o mi-ta
John-GA/Gen/at/to Mary-Acc see-Past
'John saw Mary.'

It seems therefore that the obligatory focus is linked to the combination of the availability of an alternative marker for the phrase in question and its appearance as the first *ga*-phrase when they occur with *ga*. I assume a correlation between the relative positioning of the *ga*-phrase in question and the availability of an alternative marker on the one hand, and the obligatory focus imposed on the phrase on the other, and propose the following descriptive generalisation.

(13) *Focus Generalisation*
Ga is interpreted as a focus marker, if the constituent to which it is attached:
(i) appears as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in a clause and;
(ii) has an alternative form of realisation without *ga*.

The first clause can be considered as a reflection of a general property of language that focused elements tend to appear in the left-periphery. This generalisation is most concretely asserted within the Prague School tradition

(Hajičová & Sgall 1988, Hajičová, Partee & Sgall 1998).[3] Another example of a construction in Japanese which makes use of left-periphery for marking focus is long-distance scrambling, in which a phrase in an embedded clause is fronted to the left periphery of the matrix clause and obligatorily receives focus (Saito 1985).

The condition stated in the second clause is more functionalist in nature. It is often claimed that when an element can be realised in more than one form, for example, in another case or position, a different interpretation is identified with each form (cf. for example, Bolinger (1977), de Hoop (1996) and Williams (1997)).[4] Rarely is it the case that an element with only one form of realisation is strictly associated with one non-neutral interpretation. Thus, it seems reasonable that this type of property of the host phrase is a prerequisite for the particle *ga* to be interpreted as a focus marker.[5] Without further discussion, I will take this generalisation to operate as an interpretational rule and as such it will regulate the distribution of *ga* as a focus marker.

Ga, therefore, functions as a case marker as well as a focus marker. This variability in the function of *ga* may suggest the existence of two independent kinds of *ga*, a case marker *ga* and a focus marker *ga*.[6] Nevertheless, I maintain that there is only one kind of *ga* and the information it encodes is constant. More precisely, a

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[3] See also Jackendoff 1972, Kiss 1981, Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998, for approaches within the GB / Minimalist frameworks, which incorporate the generalisation by postulating specific functional projections for focused phrases.

[4] In Japanese, most constituents, including VPs, can freely be marked with the topic marker *wa* and other quantificational markers like *mo* 'also', *sae* 'even' and *dake* 'only'. However, *ga*-phrases, which do not have any alternative forms of realisation other than with these markers, are not obligatorily focused, such as the subjects in the examples in (12). I will therefore assume that these particles apparently do not count as an alternative marker for the purpose of the focus generalisation

[5] Johan Rooryck suggested to me that the CP-domain may be involved in multiple nominative constructions. For instance, it could be that the first *ga*-phrase must be licensed in a specifier position of a functional projection headed by Focus head in the sense of Rizzi (1997). However, focus in Japanese does not seem to be always related to this position. For example, a focused direct object may undergo scrambling to a position preceding an indirect object but following the subject. Furthermore, such an approach would lose the generalisation that a *ga*-phrase in a multiple nominative construction is interpreted as focused if it appears as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the clause It is unclear what would prevent any *ga*-phrase from being licensed in a specifier position of FocusP.

[6] Schütze (2001) proposes an analysis along this line for the nominative case marker in Korean. I will return to his analysis in Section 4.2.

single morpheme *ga* invariably contains case features, but its presence in an environment described by the generalisation in (13) also triggers an interpretational rule at LF, which identifies it as a focus marker. The case features of *ga* are relevant to the syntax only if the constituent on which it is realised is an NP and is assigned a θ-role. The presence of *ga* as a case marker on an NP argument is thus motivated in order to satisfy the Visibility Condition. On the other hand, if it can be identified as a focus marker, its presence on a constituent that does not require case is also motivated. Crucially, *ga* whose case features are not relevant to the syntax must be interpreted as a focus marker, as the principle of Full Interpretation would otherwise be violated. I will argue in detail in the following two sections that *ga* attached to an adjunct and the subject of a stative predicate in limited contexts is interpreted only as a focus marker, because these constituents do not require case.

Thus, as long as *ga* has a function either as a case marker or as a focus marker, its presence is properly motivated. It is furthermore possible for *ga* on a single phrase to function as a case marker and be identified as a focus marker. *Ga* on a first possessive phrase is a case in point. I argued in Chapter 2 that a possessive *ga*-phrase is an NP and is assigned a θ-role as a result of re-association, rendering the case features of *ga* attached to a possessive phrase relevant to the syntax. Recall from (9) that a possessive phrase can also appear in the genitive, satisfying the condition in the clause (ii) of the focus generalisation in (13).[7] As a consequence, if a possessive phrase appears as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the clause, *ga* must also be interpreted as a focus marker.

[7] In general, when two forms are considered for the purpose of comparing difference in their interpretation, they tend to be of one and the same constituent, base-generated in the same position. Thus, for example, scrambling in Dutch and German is often cited as an instance where an element, the object, has two forms of realisation (preceding or following an adverb) and each form is associated with a different meaning regarding its specificity. However, I proposed in Chapter 2 that a possessive *ga*-phrase and a possessive genitive phrase are not the same constituent. The former is merely associated with a *pro* that occupies the position in which the latter is usually base-generated. Although further formalisation is required, I will assume here that what is relevant is not that two possible forms are the same constituent, but that they bear the same thematic relation to the same predicate: a possessive *ga*-phrase and a possessive genitive phrase are both interpreted as a possessor of the possessee argument.

In sum, although there is only one *ga*, its presence on a phrase is motivated under three different circumstances: (i) as a case marker, if the phrase is an NP bearing a θ-role; (ii) as a case marker and a focus marker, if the phrase is an NP bearing a θ-role and appears in an environment described by the focus generalisation; (iii) as a focus marker, if the phrase does not require case, but appears in an environment described by the focus generalisation.[8] The proposed view of the particle *ga* has significant effects on how an adjunct *ga*-phrase in particular should be analysed. Note that the view of the particle *ga* developed in this chapter does not affect the assumptions concerning the licensing of the particle *ga* made in Chapter 2. This is because syntactic licensing is insensitive to the diversity of syntactic or interpretational function of the licensed element. Thus, I will assume that *ga*-phrases are licensed by a tensed head regardless of the motivation for the presence of each *ga*. Let us now consider how the adjunct multiple nominative construction can be analysed with the renewed view of the particle *ga*.

3 Adjunct Multiple Nominative Construction

3.1 Previous analyses

The adjunct multiple nominative construction has enjoyed relatively little attention in comparison to other kinds of multiple nominative constructions in Japanese. An adjunct *ga*-phrase, sometimes referred to as a 'major subject',[9] is generally considered to be a nominative phrase, licensed in an adjoined position to a tensed projection, like a possessive *ga*-phrase (Saito 1982, Kuroda 1986, Heycock 1993b, Morikawa 1993, Fujii 2001). The only distinguishing feature between an adjunct *ga*-phrase and a possessive *ga*-phrase is that some authors posit possessor raising movement out of the following *ga*-phrase for the latter, while the former is mostly assumed to be base-generated in its surface position. However, this general approach cannot easily explain some contrasting properties of the adjunct multiple nominative

[8] One might ask why the same morphological element *ga* can mark nominative case and focus. Although I have no account for this observation at present, some speculations are offered in Chapter 6.

[9] Note however that the term 'major subject' is sometimes also used confusingly to refer to a possessive *ga*-phrase as well, particularly by those who treat adjunct *ga*-phrases and possessive *ga*-phrases alike.

construction, such as the restriction on the number of *ga*-phrases permitted (cf. (5)-(8)).

To my knowledge, only Tateishi (1991) and Takahashi (1994) have explicitly provided an analysis of the adjunct multiple nominative construction as distinct from the possessive type.[10] They argue that the number of positions available for assigning nominative Case restricts the number of adjunct *ga*-phrases. I assigns nominative Case to SpecAgrSP and SpecIP positions in Tateishi's analysis and to SpecVP and SpecIP positions in Takahashi's analysis.[11] However, they both assume for the possessive multiple nominative construction that I may license nominative case more than once within one projection. Thus, as pointed out by C. Takahashi (1996), it is in fact unclear how the number of adjunct *ga*-phrases can be restricted to one. Takahashi (1994) claims that possessive nominative phrases occupy adjoined positions, where adjuncts cannot be assigned nominative Case. However, it seems rather strange to claim that an adjunct can be assigned nominative Case in one position, but not in another, where the same Case is available. Instead, I propose an account of the adjunct multiple nominative construction in terms of focus. In the following two subsections, I will argue that an adjunct *ga*-phrase is not a nominative

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[10]There is another type of multiple nominative construction similar to the adjunct type, involving a locative phrase and an existential predicate, as illustrated in (i), for which a number of analyses have been proposed (cf. Kuno 1973, Ura 2000 and references cited in the latter). I believe that the present analysis for the adjunct multiple nominative construction can be extended to this construction, although I will not discuss such extension in this thesis.

(i) New York-ga koosoo kentiku-ga takusan ar-u. (Kuno 1973: 77)
New York-GA high-rise building-GA many exist-Pres

[11] Takahashi (1994) argues with the following example that the maximum number of adjunct *ga*-phrases permitted is actually two and that positions where an element may be assigned nominative case are specifier positions in two separate VPs and a specifier position in IP. However, in this example, a possessive relation holds between adjacent NPs, as demonstrated by the possibility of replacing the nominative markers with genitive markers, except on the last NP This suggests that the non-subject *ga*-phrases are in fact possessive phrases rather than adjuncts.

(i) nenmatu-ga/no hugu-ga/no syokutyuudoku-ga yoku okor-u.
year-end-GA/Gen blowfish-GA/Gen food poisoning-GA often occur-Pres
'It is at the end of the year that food poisoning occurs most frequently with blowfish.'

I assume with Tateishi (1991), therefore, that the maximum of one adjunct *ga*-phrase is allowed.

phrase and that *ga* on an adjunct must be interpreted as a focus marker, which restricts the number of adjunct *ga*-phrases to one.

3.2 *Ga* on an adjunct is interpreted as a focus marker

Although the particle *ga* is generally considered the marker for nominative case in Japanese, it seems unlikely that its presence on an adjunct is motivated by case requirements. This is because adjuncts do not usually require case in Japanese. Considerations of economy would prevent superfluous materials to be present in a sentence. Consequently, its presence on the phrase must be motivated by other reasons. Since an adjunct must always be interpreted as focused if it is marked with *ga*, but not if it is realised with a postposition alone, I argue that *ga* on an adjunct functions as a focus marker and not as a case marker. This claim predicts that it should be possible for an adjunct bearing *ga* to be a PP. Since PPs do not generally require case, if *ga* on an adjunct indeed has a function other than case, it should not make a difference whether the adjunct is an NP or a PP. In this section, I will show that the prediction is correct by demonstrating that the adjunct *ga*-phrases in (1) in fact have the underlying form PP-*ga* with the postposition deleted at PF.

We saw above in (10) that these adjuncts which appear as adjunct *ga*-phrases in (1) can also be realised with a postposition instead of *ga*. Interestingly, it is possible to realise both the postposition and the particle *ga*, in this order, preferably with another element such as *dake* 'only' intervening between the two particles. The following examples illustrate the point.[12]

(14) a. ano mise-de-$^{??}$(dake)-ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku ka-u.
that shop-at-only-GA student-GA book-ACC often buy-PRES
'It is only at that shop that students often buy books.'

[12] Hiroto Hoshi (personal communication) pointed out to me that *de* can be realised before *ga* without *dake* (also cf. Kuroda (1986)). However, all my informants felt that the acceptability improves significantly with *dake*. I will therefore cite all the examples with *dake*. This should not make any difference to the analysis presented here. See Yoon (1996) and Schütze (2001) who observe the same effect in comparable constructions in Korean.

b. kono yoona ziko-de-??(dake)-ga takusan-no hito-ga sin-da.
this.kind.of accident-in-only-GA many-Gen people-GA die-Past
'It is by this kind of accident that many people died.' (cf. Tateishi 1994: 21)

c. siken-mae-ni-??(dake)-ga gakusee-ga tosyokan-de yoku benkyoo-sur-u
exam-before-in-only-GA student-GA library-in hard study-do-Pres
'It is before their exams that students study hard in the library.'

The possibility of spelling out the postpositions before *ga* suggests that the adjunct *ga*-phrases in (1) are not really NPs followed by *ga*, but rather PPs followed by *ga*, with the postpositions deleted.[13] Besides, an adjunct such as *ano mise* 'that shop' alone cannot function as an adjunct referring to a location. It must be accompanied by an appropriate postposition. It seems therefore highly unlikely that the adjunct *ga*-phrases in (1) are NPs directly followed by the particle *ga*. Thus, the fact that the locational interpretation becomes available when it is followed by *ga* is also suggestive of the idea that there is a deleted postposition.

This point is further supported by an oft-employed diagnostic for determining whether a given particle is a postposition or a case marker. An NP followed by a case marker allows a floating quantifier, while an NP followed by a postposition disallows it (Shibatani 1977b, Miyagawa 1989). (15) demonstrates that *de* is indeed a postposition and that an adjunct *ga*-phrase is not a nominative NP, since no floating quantifier is permitted.

(15) *[$_{NP}$ tosyokan]-de/ga 2tu gakusee-ga yoku benkyoo-ga dekir-u.
library-at/GA 2-Cl student-GA well study-GA can-Pres
'It is at two libraries that students can study well.'

(cf. [$_{NP}$ 2tu-no tosyokan]-de/ga gakusee-ga yoku benkyoo-ga dekir-u.
2-Cl-Gen library-at/GA student-GA well study-GA can-Pres)

[13] Some kind of a rule for particle deletion is obviously then required to account for the optional deletion of the postposition. It seems that such a rule is generally required in Japanese, as there is a strong tendency to delete a particle if immediately followed by another. Since formulating such a rule is not the focus of this thesis, I will leave aside this issue for future research.

I conclude from the data in (14) and (15) that adjunct *ga*-phrases which can be realised with a postposition instead of *ga*, such as *ano mise* 'that shop', *kono yoona ziko* 'this kind of accident' and *siken-mae* 'exam-before', in (1) are underlyingly PPs followed by *ga* with the postposition being deleted at PF.

Note that a possessive *ga*-phrase displays different behaviour from a PP adjunct *ga*-phrase with respect to the properties observed so far. Although a possessive phrase can be realised with the genitive marker *no* instead of *ga*, it is not possible to realise both particles, even if *dake* 'only' intervened between the two particles, as shown below.

(16) usagi(*-no)(-dake)-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
rabbit-Gen-only-GA ear-GA long-Pres

Moreover, (17) illustrates that a possessive *ga*-phrase is able to host a floating quantifier.

(17) John-ga tomodati-ga 2ri se-ga taka-i.
John-GA friends-GA 2-Cl height-GA high-Pres
'It is John whose two friends are tall.'

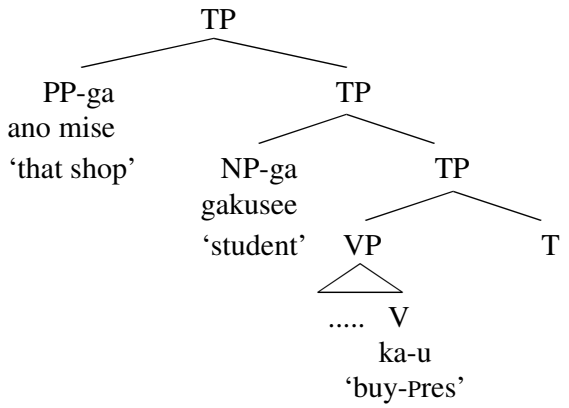
It is unclear how these disparate properties between a possessive *ga*-phrase and an adjunct *ga*-phrase can be explained if they are both analysed as nominative phrases.

The data discussed above show that the presence of *ga* on an adjunct is motivated by different considerations from that on a possessive NP. *Ga* on the latter functions primarily as a case marker, as argued in Section 2, since possessive phrases are NP arguments. By contrast, the case features of *ga* on an adjunct are never relevant to the syntax, since adjuncts are not arguments. Consequently, it must be interpreted as a focus marker in order not to violate the principle of Full Interpretation. As will be discussed in the next subsection, this conclusion has significant repercussions on the structure of the adjunct multiple nominative construction.

3.3 The structure of an adjunct multiple nominative construction

The particle *ga* can be interpreted as a focus marker at LF if it is licensed in an environment described by the focus generalisation in (13). This has the effect that an adjunct *ga*-phrase always appears as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the clause. Assuming that *ga*-phrases which are structurally higher than the subject are licensed in specifier positions in TP, an adjunct *ga*-phrase must appear as the highest *ga*-phrase in TP, yielding a structure like the following for (1a). A tensed head licenses *ga* on both *ga*-phrases.

(18)



This analysis explains why there cannot be more than one adjunct *ga*-phrase in a clause (cf. (6)-(8)). Nothing prevents another adjunct *ga*-phrase from being base-generated in the structure in (18), as illustrated below.

(19) * [$_{TP}$ adjunct-ga [$_{TP}$ adjunct-ga [$_{TP}$ subject-ga [$_{TP}$ VP T]]]

However, placing an adjunct *ga*-phrase above another renders the *ga* attached to the lower adjunct uninterpretable. This is because it cannot function as a case marker or be interpreted as a focus marker in this position. The derivation therefore violates the principle of Full Interpretation and hence crashes.[14]

[14] One might consider that examples like the following illustrates the possibility of more than one adjunct *ga*-phrase appearing in a clause, contrary to what the above proposal predicts.

(i) kono eki-kara-ga Tokyo-hoomen-e-ga zyookyaku-ga oo-i.
this station-from-GA Tokyo-direction-to-GA passengers-GA many-Pres
'There are many passengers from this station to the direction of Tokyo.'

One may wonder whether an adjunct *ga*-phrase could be analysed as left-dislocated, where it is base-generated in a clause-external position binding a clause-internal *pro*. This would explain the restriction on the number, since no more than one left-dislocated element is usually permitted. However, this approach is unlikely to be correct. It is well-known that a dislocated element must be specific and referential. Quantifier such as *every* or *all* therefore cannot occur in a dislocated position, yet (20) shows that an adjunct *ga*-phrase may appear with such a quantifier. An adjunct *ga*-phrase is therefore not left-dislocated.

(20) kono toori-de-wa
this street-on-Top
subete-no honya-ga [gakusee-ga hon-o yoku ka-u].
all-Gen book.shop-GA student-GA book-Acc often buy-Pres
'On this street, it is at all bookshops that students often buy books.'

The present analysis explains some further properties of this construction, to which I now turn.

3.4 Further properties of an adjunct *ga*-phrase

The proposed account makes four predictions, all of which are direct consequences of the claim that an adjunct *ga*-phrase is not a nominative phrase. I will discuss them in turn. Firstly, the order between an adjunct *ga*-phrase and the subject *ga*-phrase

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Williams (1994) observes that two PPs of a certain class of directional PPs may form a coordinate structure presumably with a null coordinator, as below (see also Jackendoff (1973)).

(ii) [[$_{PP}$ P NP] Ø [$_{PP}$ P NP]]

The PPs in (i) seem to fall precisely into this class, since the order between the two PPs cannot be reversed, as in many instances of asymmetric coordination, and they must be adjacent, as shown by (iii) and (iv), respectively.

(iii) *Tokyo-hoomen-e-ga kono eki-kara-ga zyookyaku-ga oo-i.
Tokyo-direction-to-GA this station-from-GA passengers-GA many-Pres

(iv) *kono eki-kara-ga mainiti Tokyo-hoomen-e-ga zyookyaku-ga oo-i.
this station-from-GA everyday Tokyo-direction-to-GA passengers-GA many-Pres

The reason why both PPs bear *ga* is perhaps because the two PPs form a coordinate structure, in which both conjuncts are generally realised in the same form.

should be fixed: the former should always precede the latter. In principle, it is possible to move the subject into a position higher than the adjunct *ga*-phrase, as shown below.

(21) $[_{TP}$ subject$_i$-ga $[_{TP}$ adjunct-ga $[_{TP}$ t_i $[_{TP}$ VP T]]

However, the derivation should be ruled out for the same reason as the derivation in (19), which contains more than one adjunct *ga*-phrase. Here, *ga* on the adjunct is superfluous. It cannot be identified as a focus marker by the focus generalisation, since it does not appear in an environment the generalisation describes. It cannot function as a case marker either, since the host constituent is not an NP argument. Its presence is not motivated and sentences with the structure in (21) should therefore be ungrammatical.[15] The prediction is borne out, as the ungrammaticality of (22) illustrates.

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[15] Tateishi (1991:188) cites the following example as grammatical, where the subject *nihonzin-ga* 'Japanese-GA' precedes the adjunct *ga*-phrase *ano ziko-ga* 'that accident-GA'. The quantifier *takusan* 'many' has floated out of the subject.

(i) nihonzin-ga ano ziko-ga takusan sin-da.
Japanese-GA that accident-GA many die-Past

However, the subject seems to be left-dislocated here, as it cannot appear in this position with the quantifier *takusan* 'many', making it non-specific.

(ii) (*takusan-no) nihonzin-ga ano ziko-ga sin-da.
many-Gen Japanese-GA that accident-GA die-Past

Takahashi (1994:399) argues for the same point with the following example.

(iii) ?syokutyuudoku-ga hugu-ga yoku okoru.
food poisoning-GA blowfish-GA often occur-Pres
'It is food poisoning that occurs most frequently with blowfish.'

I have already shown in footnote 10 that the above example is an instance of a possessive multiple nominative construction. Moreover, here too, the first *ga*-phrase appears to be left-dislocated, as it cannot be quantified and *pro* related to it can be spelled out in a position below *hugu-ga*.

(iv) ?(*subete-no syu-no) syokutyuudoku-ga tyoosa-niyoruto
every-Gen kind-Gen food poisoning-GA survey-according.to
hugu-ga (sore-ga) yoku okoru.
blowfish-GA it-GA often occur-Pres
'According to a survey, it is (every kind of) food poisoning that occurs most frequently with blowfish.'

(22) *gakusee-ga ano mise-ga hon-o yoku ka-u.
student-GA that shop-GA book-Acc often buy-Pres
'It is at that shop that students often buy books.'

The rigid word order between the two *ga*-phrases is particularly striking considering that a free word order obtains between the two phrases if the adjunct occurs with a postposition, as shown below.

(23) (ano mise-de) gakusee-ga (ano mise-de) hon-o yoku ka-u.
that shop-at student-GA that shop-at book-Acc often buy-Pres
'Students often buy books at that shop.'

I assume, for the sake of concreteness, that the two possible orders, [subject-*ga* adjunct] and [adjunct subject-*ga*], are derived by scrambling. The order in which the adjunct follows the subject *ga*-phrase is more natural. It could therefore be the case that when the adjunct appears with *ga*, it moves from the position following the subject rather than base-generated in a position preceding the subject, as the structure in (18) might suggest. I leave this question open.

Secondly, it should be impossible for a possessor of an adjunct *ga*-phrase to be realised with *ga* externally to the adjunct. This property is predicted by both the analysis of the possessive multiple nominative construction developed in Chapter 2 and the account of the adjunct multiple nominative construction proposed in the present chapter. The former predicts that a possessor of a noun may not be realised with *ga* externally to the projection headed by that noun unless that noun also functions as an argument of the verb (cf. Chapter 2, (46)). On the other hand, the latter prohibits the occurrence of an adjunct *ga*-phrase in environments other than that described by the focus generalisation. A possessive *ga*-phrase would prevent the adjunct *ga*-phrase from appearing as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the clause. The ungrammaticality of the (a)-examples below demonstrates that the expectations are met. The (b)-examples are grammatical counterparts to the (a)-examples, in which

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Thus, it seems that the subject cannot precede an adjunct *ga*-phrase, unless the former is left-dislocated.

the possessive phrase is realised with the genitive marker *no* internally to the adjunct *ga*-phrases.[16]

(24) a. *John-ga mise-ga gakusee-ga yoku hon-o ka-u
John-GA shop-GA student-GA often book-Acc buy-Pres
Lit.: 'It is John at whose shop students often buy books.'
b. [John-no mise]-ga gakusee-ga yoku hon-o ka-u
John-Gen shop-GA student-GA often book-Acc buy-Pres

(25) a. *hune-ga kono yoona ziko-ga takusan-no hito-ga sin-da
ship-GA this.kind.of accident-GA many-Gen people-GA die-Past
Lit.: '*It is ships that many people died in this kind of accidents.'
b. [kono yoona hune-no ziko]-ga takusan-no hito-ga sin-da
this.kind.of ship-Gen accident-GA many-Gen people-GA die-Past

(26) a. *suugaku-ga siken-mae-ga gakusee-ga tosyokan-de yoku benkyoo-sur-u
maths-GA exam-before-GA student-GA library-in hard study-do-Pres
'It is for maths which the students work hard in the library before the exams.'
b. [suugaku-no siken-mae]-ga gakusee-ga tosyokan-de yoku benkyoo-sur-u
maths-Gen exam-before-GA student-GA library-in hard study-do-Pres

A third prediction concerns the adjunct status of the non-subject *ga*-phrase in the construction under discussion. If I am correct in arguing that the non-subject *ga*-

[16] Morikawa (1993: 35) cites examples such as the following as grammatical, which seems to be a counterexample to the analysis presented in the main text.

(i) Nihon-ga natu-ga kudamono-ga suika-ga uma-i
Japan-GA summer-GA fruit-GA watermelon-GA good-Pres
Lit.: 'It is Japan's summer's fruit among which watermelon is god.'

At present, I have no insightful analysis for this construction. However, it seems that some of the *ga*-phrases such as *nihon-ga* 'Japan-GA' and *natu-ga* 'summer-GA', can be analysed as a functional definite in the sense of Loebner (1985), as suggested by Heycock & Doron (2003). Moreover, the third *ga*-phrase, *kudamono-ga* 'fruit-GA' appears to be functioning as some kind of a topic for the following *ga*-phrase. Korean also exhibits this kind of relation between two adjacent phrases bearing the same case. Some authors (Schütze 1996, 2001, Sim 2004, J. H.-S. Yoon 2004) argue that case markers are used as discourse particles such as topic and focus in these instances.

phrase is an adjunct rather than an argument bearing nominative case, it should be impossible to move it out of an island in violation of the island condition. This is because *pro* generally functions as an argument and the resumptive *pro* strategy is therefore unavailable for adjuncts. Since PP-*pro* does not exist in Japanese (cf. Chapter 2 Section 4), an NP adjunct followed by *ga* should be used to test this prediction. The example in (27a) shows that it is possible for an adjunct *ga*-phrase to be an NP followed by *ga*. There is no appropriate postposition which may attach to the adjunct *kyonen* 'last year' in this example. However, as (27b) shows, the NP adjunct *ga*-phrase *kyonen-ga* 'last year-GA' cannot be related to a position within a relative clause. Unfortunately, it is not possible to test whether a *pro* associated with it can be spelled out. As far as I am aware, adjunct NPs only express time, such as *kesa*, 'this morning' and *kyonen*, 'last year', and there appears to be no appropriate overt form of *pro* referring to time in Japanese.

(27) a. kyonen-ga John-ga gakusee dat-ta
last.year-GA John-GA student be-Past
'It was last year that John was a student.'

b. *kyonen$_j$-ga Mary-wa
last.year-ga Mary-Top
[$_{NP}$ Ø$_i$ [$_{TP}$ e_i t$_j$ gakusee dat-ta] hito$_i$]-o sagasite- iru
student be-Past person-Acc look.for-Prog.
Intended: 'Mary is looking for a person who was a student last year.'

Finally, an adjunct *ga*-phrase, in contrast to a possessive *ga*-phrase, should not have a subject-predicate relation with the clause to its right, since no predication is involved in deriving an adjunct multiple nominative construction. The prediction can be tested by employing the subject-hood tests and predicate-hood tests, which were applied to the possessive multiple nominative constructions in Chapter 2 (Section 2). For independent reasons, however, only one of the subject-hood tests can be applied, the one involving the ECM / control construction. The difficulty with applying the remaining subject-hood tests is that they require the *ga*-phrase in question to refer to a person. Such an example is hard to obtain, since adjuncts do not usually refer to a person.

Nevertheless, if an adjunct *ga*-phrase were licensed by predication, it should be able to appear in the accusative in an ECM/control construction. However, as the ungrammaticality of the following example demonstrates, this is not possible.

(28) John-wa ano ziko-ga/*o takusan-no hito-ga
John-Top that shop-GA /Acc many-Gen people-GA
sin-da-to omottei-ru.
die-Past-Comp think.Prog-Pres
'John thinks that it is by that accident that many people died.'

By contrast, both of the two predicate-hood tests can be employed. Firstly, if the clause to the right of an adjunct *ga*-phrase were a predicate, it should be possible to conjoin it with another predicate. This results in ungrammaticality, as shown below, suggesting that it is not a predicate. In the following example *kono-eki-kara-ga* 'this station-from-GA' is a PP-subject of the tough predicate *aruki-yasuku* 'walk-easy-Gerund.' in the first conjunct and an adjunct *ga*-phrase for the clause in the second conjunct.

(29) *kono eki-kara-ga [(roozin-nitotte) kooen-e aruki-yasuku] katu
this station-from-GA elderly-for park-to walk-easy-Gerund. and
[gakusee-ga yoku Tokyo-e ik-u]
student-GA often Tokyo-to go-Pres
Intended: 'From this station (it) is easy for the elderly to walk to the park and [it is from this station that] students often go to Tokyo.'

Secondly, although predicates can usually be modified by a degree adverb, the clause in question cannot be, as the ungrammaticality of the example in (30) illustrates.[17]

[17] Caroline Heycock (p.c.) has pointed out to me that an example like the following may cast doubt on the validity of the predicate-hood test using a degree adverb. Here, *New York-ga* is an adjunct *ga*-phrase, yet the clause to its right seems to be modified by the degree adverb *hidoku* 'badly'.

(30) *ano ziko-ga hidoku [takusan-no hito-ga asi-o ot-ta].
that accident-GA badly many-Gen people-GA leg-Acc broke-Past
'It was in that accident where many people broke their leg badly.'
cf.: ano ziko-ga takusan-no hito-ga hidoku [asi-o ot-ta].
that accident-GA many-Gen people-GA badly leg-Acc broke-Past

Thus, the fact that an adjunct *ga*-phrase does not behave like a subject according to the test involving an ECM / control construction together with the observation that the clause to its right also does not display any predicate-like properties suffice to show that an adjunct *ga*-phrase is not a subject. The term 'major subject', which is sometimes used to refer to an adjunct *ga*-phrase, is therefore rather misleading.[18]

(i) New York-ga hidoku ziko-ga oo-i
New York-GA badly accident-GA many-Pres
'It is in New York that there are awfully many accidents.'

However, the distribution of the adverb *hidoku* appears more flexible when the predicate is a quantifier like *oo-i* 'many-Pres', as in the above example. In particular, it can precede the subject of the predicate which it is modifying, which, as we saw in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2), is generally disallowed. Degree adverbs are known to interact with quantifiers in a distinct manner (cf. Doetjes 1997, for example) Thus, in (iia), in which the adverb follows the subject, the predicate need not be a quantifier. On the other hand, in (iib), in which the adverb precedes the subject, the predicate must be a quantifier.

(ii)a. kono miti-de-wa gomibako-ga hidoku oo-i/sukuna-i/ooki-i/tiisa-i
this street-in-Top bin-GA badly many-Pres/few-Pres/large-Pres/small-Pres
'In this street, there are awfully many/few bins / bins are awfully large/small.'
b. kono miti-wa hidoku gomibako-ga oo-i/sukuna-i/*ooki-i/*tiisa-i
this street-in-Top badly bin-GA many-Pres/few-Pres/large-Pres/small-Pres

Thus, the distribution of the adverb observed in (i) may be due to the fact that the lexical predicate is a quantifier. The issue obviously requires much deeper understanding of degree adverbs and their interaction with quantifiers. I leave it for future research.

[18] There may be one sense in which describing an adjunct *ga*-phrase as a 'subject' is not entirely inaccurate. Heycock & Doron (2003) argue that possessive nominative phrases are subjects of categorical sentences in the sense of Kuroda (1992) and Ladusaw (1998). They state explicitly that this characterisation does not apply to the kind of adjunct *ga*-phrases under discussion. However, I do not see any reason why it should not, assuming that what they consider to be the subject of a categorical sentence corresponds to Kuroda's (1992) object of a categorical judgement. Being the subject of a categorical sentence does not necessarily imply its syntactic subject status. Thus, the

The properties described in this section demonstrate clearly that an adjunct *ga*-phrase should not be analysed on a par with a possessive *ga*-phrase. The disparity in the behaviour of the two types of *ga*-phrases are particularly problematic for the standard approach, which treats all *ga*-phrases as nominative NPs or DPs. Such properties are listed below.

(31) (i) there can be an indefinitely large number of possessive *ga*-phrases, but only one adjunct *ga*-phrase in a clause (cf. (5)-(8));
(ii) a possessive *ga*-phrase can host a floating quantifier but an adjunct *ga*-phrase cannot (cf. (15), (17));
(iii) a possessor of an adjunct *ga*-phrase cannot be realised with *ga* externally to the adjunct, while a possessor of a possessive *ga*-phrase can be realised externally to the possessee (cf. (24)-(26));
(iv) *pro* associated with a possessive *ga*-phrase can be overtly realised, but *pro* associated with an adjunct *ga*-phrase cannot (cf. (27));
(v) a possessive *ga*-phrase has a subject-predicate relation with the clause to its immediate right, but an adjunct *ga*-phrase does not (cf. (28)-(30)).

Instead, I have proposed that unlike a possessive *ga*-phrase, an adjunct *ga*-phrase is not a nominative NP, since adjuncts are not arguments and do not require case. *Ga* on an adjunct can only function as a focus marker. The case features encoded by *ga* attached to an adjunct are therefore never relevant to the syntax and as a result, *ga* on an adjunct must function as a focus marker in order for its presence to be properly motivated. The claim that it does not function as a case marker predicts further that an adjunct *ga*-phrase can be a PP followed by *ga*, which, as I demonstrated, is true.

The above contrasting properties between the two multiple nominative constructions were shown to follow from this difference in the function of the particle *ga* attached to a possessive phrase and an adjunct. In addition, the focus

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characterisation of an adjunct *ga*-phrase as the subject of a categorical sentence and its syntactic status as an adjunct are not in contradiction. This may explain the slightly degraded acceptability of the construction, since it perhaps requires more effort to understand a statement which describes inherent properties of an adjunct.

generalisation ensures the obligatory focus of the first *ga*-phrase in both constructions. The rigid word order among *ga*-phrases, a property also shared by the two constructions, is due to different factors. While a possessive nominative phrase must precede its possessee because of the nature of re-association, an adjunct *ga*-phrase must precede the subject because *ga* attached to the phrase can be interpreted as focused only in such a position.

4 Stative Construction

The stative construction is generally accepted as a distinct type from the possessive and adjunct multiple nominative constructions. Subject-hood of the sentence-initial *ga*-phrase and non-subject-hood of the second *ga*-phrase are well documented in the literature (Dubinsky 1993, Perlmutter 1984, Shibatani 1978, Sugioka 1984, Takezawa 1987, Ura 1999, 2000).[19] I shall therefore not concern myself here with argument-hood or the grammatical function of the respective arguments. Instead, I will concentrate on the issue of how the obligatory focus on the subject *ga*-phrase can be explained in terms of the theory of focus proposed in Section 2.

4.1 The categorial status of a subject *ga*-phrase

Some simplex stative predicates in Japanese select their object in the nominative, such as *wakaru* 'understand', *dekiru* 'able to do' and *hituyoo da* 'need', yielding a clause which contains two nominative phrases. Recall that it is possible for the subject of such a predicate to appear either with *ga* or with *ni*, as illustrated below, repeated from (2a) and (11). The subject *John* is obligatorily interpreted with narrow focus if it is marked with *ga*, but not if it is realised with *ni*.

[19] Many authors note that the 'object-hood' of the second *ga*-phrase is difficult to test, as there appears to be no appropriate applicable tests here. In fact only its non-subject status is reported in the literature. However, its non-subject status together with the fact that it is construed as the object of the lexical predicate that follows are taken to be a strong indication of its object-hood. See Shibatani (1990) for discussion on this point.

(32) John-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u.
John-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'It is John who understands Japanese.'

(33) John-ni nihongo-ga wakar-u.
John-to Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'John understands Japanese.'

Although the marker *ni* is glossed as a preposition 'to' without any discussion, it is often claimed to be ambiguous between the dative case marker and a postposition. Saito (1982), Takezawa (1987) and Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) argue that *ni* in the above use is indeed a postposition. They reach this conclusion as a result of applying to the subject *ni*-phrase the diagnostic involving a floating quantifier (cf. Section 3.2). An NP followed by a case marker can host a floating quantifier, while an NP followed by a postposition cannot. The following example illustrates that *ni* on the subject is a postposition, as a floating quantifier associated with it is disallowed.

(34) *kodomotati-ni 3nin eigo-ga wakar-u.
children-to 3-Cl English-GA understand-Pres
'Three children understand English.' (Saito 1982: 82)

This observation suggests that the subject *ga*-phrase of a stative predicate could be analysed on a par with adjunct *ga*-phrases discussed in the previous section. In other words, a subject *ga*-phrase of a stative predicate could have the form PP-*ga*, with the postposition being deleted. This view is supported by the fact that like the postposition on an adjunct, the marker *ni* on the subject can be realised together with *ga*, preferably with another element such as *dake* 'only' intervening, as shown below (cf. (14)).

(35) John-ni-??(dake)-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u.
John-to-only-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres

Furthermore, when the subject appears with the postposition *ni* alone, it may follow the object *ga*-phrase, just as an adjunct without *ga* may follow the subject *ga*-phrase (cf. (23)).

(36) nihongo-ga John-ni/*ga wakar-u.
Japanese-GA John-to/GA understand-Pres

Despite these similarities, there is one crucial difference between an adjunct *ga*-phrase and the subject *ga*-phrase of a stative predicate. When the latter is realised with *ga* alone, it is able to host a floating quantifier as (37) shows. As we saw above in (15), repeated here as (38), such an option is unavailable to the former.

(37) kodomotati-ga 3nin eigo-ga wakar-u.
children-GA 3-CL English-GA understand-Pres
'Three children understand English.' (Takezawa 1987:120)

(38) *[$_{NP}$ tosyokan]-de/ga 2tu gakusee-ga yoku benkyoo-ga dekir-u.
library-at/GA 2-Cl student-GA well study-GA can-Pres
'It is at two libraries that students can study well.'

Moreover, a subject followed by *ni-dake-ga* does not allow a floating quantifier. Thus, it cannot be that the core of a subject *ga*-phrase is always a PP with a deleted postposition.

(39) *kodomotati-ni-dake-ga 3nin eigo-ga wakar-u.
children-to-only-GA 3-CL English-GA understand-Pres

The behaviour witnessed in (37) is more reminiscent of that of a possessive *ga*-phrase. A possessive phrase also has two possible forms of realisation, either with *ga* or with the genitive marker *no*. When it is marked with *ga*, it can host a floating quantifier (cf. (17)), but not if it is marked with the genitive marker. The following example demonstrates the point.

(40) John-no tomodati-no (*2ri) se-ga taka-i.
John-Gen friends-Gen 2-cl height-GA high-Pres
'It is John whose two friends are tall.'

I propose that when the subject of a stative predicate appears with *ga*, it is ambiguous between an NP followed by *ga* or a PP followed by *ga* with the postposition deleted. More precisely, the subject NP can satisfy the Visibility Condition either with the postposition *ni* or with the nominative case marker *ga*.[20] If it appears with the postposition, it has a further option, like a PP adjunct, of appearing with the marker *ga*, in which case, *ni* can be deleted. This approach explains the above data involving floating quantifiers. Since a subject *ga*-phrase can be either a nominative NP or a PP followed by *ga*, the fact that subject-*ga*, but not subject-*ni-dake-ga*, allows a floating quantifier does not constitute a problem. If *ga* on the subject were invariably a marker for nominative case, it is difficult to see how the above data can be explained.

Regardless of whether the core of the subject *ga*-phrase is an NP or a PP, *ga* attached to this constituent is identified by the focus generalisation in (13) as a focus marker. It appears as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the clause and has the option of being realised in an alternative form, with the postposition *ni*. When the subject is an NP, the obligatory focus interpretation arises in a similar fashion to the first possessive *ga*-phrase. Although its case features are relevant to the syntax, it is also interpreted as a focus marker, because it is licensed in an environment described by the focus generalisation. On the other hand, when the subject *ga*-phrase is a PP, with the postposition *ni*, overt or covert, *ga* on this constituent can only be interpreted as a focus marker, as in the case of an adjunct *ga*-phrase, because PPs do not require case.

The ambiguity of the categorial status argued for above explains a number of distributional and interpretational properties of a subject *ga*-phrase, which will be

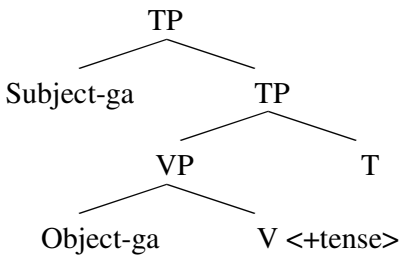
[20] The situation observed here suggests that satisfaction of the Visibility Condition in Japanese involves fulfilling somewhat different requirements from what is generally assumed, namely that arguments are visible for θ-marking if it bears Case (Chomsky 1986). The fact that the subject of a stative predicate can appear with the postposition *ni* alone and without any further case marking implies that PP-arguments or NPs contained in a PP need not carry case in Japanese.

discussed in Section 4.3. Let us first consider the structure of the present construction.

4.2 The structure of a stative construction

The standard assumption that an internal θ-role is assigned before an external θ-role dictates that the object should be merged with the verb first, yielding structures like the following for a stative construction with a simplex verb.[21,22]

(41)



I assume, following Neeleman & Weerman (1999), that tense features can be generated directly on the verb when it is stative, licensing nominative case on the object, as indicated in the above structure. Non-stative predicates, on the other hand, typically select their object in the accusative or dative and not in the nominative. This is illustrated below.

(42) a. John-ga hon-o/*ga yon-da.
John-GA book-Acc/ GA read-Past
'John read a book.'

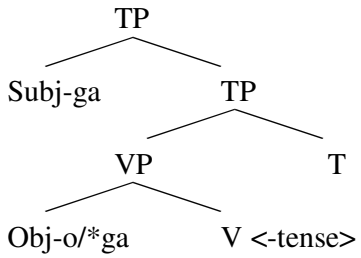
[21] Hoshi (2001) also proposes that a nominative object is base-generated as a complement of a tensed head. However, in Hoshi's system a stative verb which assigns nominative case to its object does not project and is directly merged with T, which hosts the tense morpheme. The nominative object is base-generated as a complement of a complex T head in TP. A crucial assumption is that the verb can assign a θ-role after adjoining to another head. Such assumption is not made in the structure in (41).

[22] One may wonder where the subject is licensed if it bears the postposition *ni*. I assume for the purpose of this chapter that it is licensed in the same position as the subject *ga*-phrase, namely SpecTP in the structure in (41). However, I will give a re-interpretation of this structure in Chapter 5, in which the relevant position is SpecVP headed by a moved verb.

b. Mary-ga uma-ni/*ga not-ta
Mary-GA horse-Dat/GA ride-Past
'Mary rode a horse.'

Neeleman & Weerman (1999) argue that the contrast is due to the presence of aspectual properties in non-stative sentences and their absence in stative sentences. Non-stative predicates have aspectual properties, since they describe events. Aspect must always occur internal to tense, because the type of an event must be determined before it can be placed in time. This is evidenced in languages which have preverbal tense and aspect particles. The order typically found is tense-aspect-verb rather than aspect-tense-verb. Aspectuality is determined by the combination of verb and object (cf. Tenny 1989, Verkuyl 1993). Thus, tense features cannot be present in VP if the verb is non-stative. One way of implementing this idea is to assume that when the verb is non-stative, tense-features cannot be generated directly on the verb and hence the object cannot bear nominative case.

(43)



On the other hand, stative predicates lack aspectual properties, as they do not describe events. They can therefore be base-generated with tense features and license nominative case on the object, as indicated in the structure in (41).[23]

This view of case-licensing is in accordance with the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky 1973). Assuming that nominative case and accusative case are both licensed structurally by the verb, the former is licensed in a more specific context, namely when tense features are available within the VP containing the verb and the object. The latter is licensed elsewhere. In other words, priority must be given to nominative case over accusative case whenever tense features are present.

[23] In Chapter 5, I will give another possible implementation of this idea.

Recall that when the subject is followed by the postposition *ni*, the object may either precede or follow the subject (cf. (33) and (36)). As in the adjunct multiple nominative construction, I assume that the two possible orders [subject-*ni* object-*ga*] and [object-*ga* subject-*ni*] are derived by scrambling of the object. Recall furthermore from the example in (36) that it is not possible for an object *ga*-phrase to precede a subject *ga*-phrase. Nothing in the analysis developed above actually prevents this order. Since *ga* on the subject can function as a case marker, it need not always appear as the leftmost *ga*-phrase. I believe that there is a simple explanation for this. The idea is that if two arguments carry the same case marker, it is not possible to distinguish which argument has which grammatical function in relation to the predicate. In general, when the grammatical function of two arguments cannot be determined by their overt forms, either because no rich enough morphological case system closely linked to grammatical functions is available in that language, or because they bear the same morphological case, the ordering between the two constituents tends to be fixed. For example, languages with a relatively rich morphological case system generally allow flexible word order, such as German. However, when the verb selects two arguments with identical case marking, the ordering between the two arguments cannot be reversed. For instance, *lehren* 'to teach' selects its two internal arguments in the accusative. As illustrated below, only one order is possible (cf. Neeleman & Weerman 1999: 80).

(44) a. Jan lehrte die Schüler diese Sprache
Jan taught the pupils-Acc this-Acc language
'Jan taught the pupils this language.'
b. *Jan lehrte diese Sprache die Schüler
Jan taught this-Acc language the pupils-Acc

Note furthermore that it is not possible for an accusative object of a non-stative predicate to bear *ga*, be fronted and licensed as the left most *ga*-phrase, interpreting the *ga* as a focus marker, in a similar fashion to *ga* on a PP subject. In other words, examples such as the following are disallowed.

(45) *hon(-o)-ga John-ga kat-ta
book-Acc-GA John-GA buy-Past
'It is a book that John bought.'

The ungrammaticality results from the fact that *ga* is attached to a case-marked argument NP. Recall that *ga* on an NP that receives a θ-role can additionally be interpreted as a focus marker, but must be interpreted as a case marker. Thus, *ga* attached to the accusative object NP must function as the nominative case marker, resulting in the object being doubly case-marked as accusative and nominative, which is generally prohibited. *Ga* on a PP subject, on the other hand, cannot function as a case marker, as PPs do not require case.

The approach to the stative construction advocated here together with the focus generalisation makes a number of predictions, which I will examine in the next two sections. Before concluding this section however, I would like to mention that analyses somewhat similar to the proposed account of the marker *ga* have been offered for the Korean nominative case marker *ka* by Schütze (2001) and Yang (1999). Investigating constructions which are comparable to the two types of multiple nominative constructions examined in this chapter, Schütze (2001) claims that what are generally considered the nominative case particle in Korean is in fact ambiguous between a case marker and a focus marker. He argues furthermore that the focus marker and the case marker are distinct morphemes: there is a case particle *ka*, marking nominative case, and a focus particle *ka*, which can attach to dative subjects and adjunct PPs. Yang (1999) claims that there is a single morpheme *ka*, which is a case marker, but that it has two uses, 'the canonical use' and 'the non-canonical use'. In its non-canonical use, *ka* marks focus.

The two analyses differ from the account proposed here in one crucial respect. They assume that the particle can function *either* as a case marker *or* a focus marker, but not as both. In the present approach, one morpheme, namely *ga*, encodes features relevant for nominative case and focus, which is similar to what Yang claims. However, *ga* attached to one constituent can function as a case marker as well as a focus marker, as in the case of the first possessive *ga*-phrase and the NP subject of a stative predicate.

The Korean multiple nominative / accusative constructions which Schütze and Yang examine exhibit slightly different properties from those observed in the

Japanese multiple nominative constructions.[24] Moreover, in Korean, the accusative case marker shows similar behaviour to the nominative case marker. Thus, it is unclear whether the present proposal can be carried over to the constructions in Korean, or whether such a move is at all desirable. Nevertheless, for the constructions in Japanese, treating *ga* as one morpheme whose syntactic and interpretive functions are not mutually exclusive has the advantage that it provides a uniform account of the obligatory focus of the first *ga*-phrase in the three distinct types of multiple nominative constructions.

The following section deals with predictions related to the distribution and interpretation of the subject *ga*-phrase, while Section 4.4 is concerned with the possible external realisation of a possessor related to the object of a stative predicate and the repercussions on the interpretation of various *ga*-phrases involved in such a construction.

4.3 Properties of a subject *ga*-phrase

The claim that the core of the subject *ga*-phrase can be an NP and need not always be a PP with a deleted postposition makes three predictions. A first prediction concerns the possibility of extraction out of an island. If the subject *ga*-phrase always had the form PP-*ga*, moving it out of an island should result in ungrammaticality, and it should be impossible to overtly spell out a *pro* related to it. This is because a resumptive *pro* related to a PP does not exist in Japanese (cf. Chapter 2, Section 4). The prediction can be tested in topicalisation and cleft constructions. In these constructions, it is possible to retain the postposition on the topicalised and clefted constituent, but not the case marker (Hoji 1987, Koizumi & Sadakane 1995). This allows a subject which appears with *ga* alone to be contrasted with a subject which occurs with *ni*. In other words, if the core of the subject *ga*-phrase were invariably a PP, it should behave like a subject *ni*-phrase. As the contrast between the following examples demonstrates, however, this is not true. The example in (46a) shows that it is possible to topicalise the subject without the postposition *ni*, namely a subject *ga*-phrase whose core is an NP, out of a relative clause and spell out a resumptive *pro*

[24] For instance, the morpheme *ka* may be used as a topic marker in yet another type of multiple nominative construction; the word order among *ka*-phrases are more flexible; and more than one adjunct *ka*-phrases are possible.

referring to it internally to the relative clause. On the other hand, (46b) illustrates that a subject bearing *ni* cannot undergo the same process. A *pro* associated with *John-ni* is not available, since this phrase is a PP.

(46) a. John$_i$-wa [Ø$_j$ [e_i /(?kare$_i$-ga) e_j wakaru] gaikokugo$_j$]-ga
John-Top he-GA understand foreign.language-GA
nihongo da
Japanese be-Pres
'As for John, the foreign language he understands is Japanese.'

b. *John$_i$-ni-wa [Ø$_j$[e_i e_j wakaru] gaikokugo$_j$]-ga nihongo da
John-to-Top understand foreign.language-GA Japanese be.Pres

A similar observation is obtained in a cleft construction. In (47a), the subject is clefted without any marker. The example illustrates that the subject can be extracted out of a relative clause and a *pro* associated with it can be realised internal to the relative clause. By contrast, (47b) shows that if the clefted subject bears the postposition *ni*, the same construction is disallowed.

(47) a. [Ø$_j$ [e_i / (?kare$_i$-ga) e_j wakaru] gaikokugo$_j$]-ga
he-GA understand foreign.language-GA
nihongo na no-wa John$_i$ da
Japanese be-Inf Nmz-Top John be-Pres
Lit.: 'The person whose foreign language he understands is John.'

b. *[Ø$_j$ [e_i e_j wakaru] gaikokugo$_j$]-ga
understand foreign.language-GA
nihongo na no-wa John$_i$-ni da
Japanese be-Inf Nmz-Top John-to be-Pres

The fact that a subject without the postposition *ni* does not behave in a parallel fashion to a subject with a marker in the topicalisation and cleft constructions shows that when the subject of a stative predicate appears with *ga*, it is not necessarily a PP followed by *ga* with a deleted postposition. It can also be an NP followed by *ga*.

A second prediction is that an adjunct *ga*-phrase can precede a subject *ga*-phrase in the stative construction. This is because the presence of *ga* on the subject

need not be motivated entirely to focus the phrase. If the subject is an NP, its presence is motivated by case reasons too. Thus, even if it appears in an environment other than that described by the focus generalisation, its presence is not superfluous. The following example illustrates that this prediction is borne out.

(48) tosyokan-ga gakusee-ga benkyoo-ga dekir-u
library-GA student-GA study-GA able.to.do-Pres
'It is in the library that students can study.'

Crucially, in the above example, the subject *gakusee* 'student' is not obligatorily interpreted with narrow focus, while the adjunct *ga*-phrase *tosyokan-ga* 'library-GA' is.

Finally, it should be possible for a possessor of a subject to be realised externally to the subject. As in the previous prediction, the claim that *ga* on a subject can be a case marker in the stative construction predicts that it need not appear as the leftmost *ga*-phrase. Moreover, recall that re-association of a θ-role with a semantic representation is possible only if the representation is present in an argument, as opposed to a non-argument. Since the subject *ga*-phrase is an argument, external realisation of a possessor of this subject should be possible. This is indeed true, as shown by the following example.[25] The external possessor *John-ga* is derived in the same manner as other possessive *ga*-phrases examined in Chapter 2.

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[25] A further related prediction is that it should be impossible to spell out the postposition *ni* and the particle *ga* together on the subject in the examples in (48) and (49). This is because *ga* is then attached to a PP, in which case it must be interpreted as a focus marker, yet it does not appear in an environment described by the focus generalisation. The prediction is correct, as shown by (i) and (ii).

(i) *tosyokan-ga gakusee-ni-dake-ga benkyoo-ga dekir-u
library-GA student-to-only-GA study-GA able.to.do

(ii) *John-ga imooto-ni-dake-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u
John-GA sister-to-only-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres

However, there is potentially an independent reason for the ungrammaticality. The subject cannot be marked with *ni* in the presence of an adjunct *ga*-phrase or a possessive *ga*-phrase related to it, as illustrated in (iii) and (iv) respectively.

(iii) *tosyokan-ga gakusee-ni benkyoo-ga dekir-u
library-GA student-to study-GA able.to.do-Pres

(49) John-ga imooto-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u
John-GA sister-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'It is John whose sister understands Japanese.'

This property is in stark contrast to the behaviour of the adjunct multiple nominative construction, which disallows an external possessor to be related to an adjunct *ga*-phrase (cf. (24)-(26)).

It is clear that the observed properties of the subject *ga*-phrase can be captured only if the phrase in question can be an NP followed by *ga* and not necessarily a PP followed by *ga* on a par with PP adjunct *ga*-phrases. The next section examines the effects of an external possessor of the object in the stative construction.

4.4 An external possessor of an object

I suggested in the concluding remarks in the previous chapter that the reason why a possessor of an accusative object could not be licensed externally in the accusative was because Japanese does not permit multiple occurrences of accusative case in one clause, as opposed to nominative case. If this suggestion is on the right track, external realisation of a possessor of an object should be possible if case other than the accusative is available for the external possessor. Since a tensed head in Japanese can clearly license more than one *ga*-phrase in a clause, if the object of a stative predicate appears in the nominative, a possessor of such an object should also be able to appear with *ga* externally to the object. As the following example illustrates, this prediction is correct.

(iv) *John-ga imooto-ni nihongo-ga wakar-u (modified from Morikawa 1993: 34)
John-GA sister-to Japanese-GA understand-Pres

I believe the ungrammaticality in (iii) and (iv) is due to the unavailability of tense features to license *ga* on *tosyokan* and *John*. Takezawa (1987) argues that *ni* on the subject is inserted as a last resort, namely when no other case is available. Thus, the fact that *ni* occurs on the subject, but *ga* is present on the object indicates that for some reason, tense features are available only in the lowest VP in these examples and therefore cannot license *ga* on the adjunct or the possessor of the subject. It is therefore difficult to establish what the precise cause of the ungrammaticality is in (i) and (ii).

(50) John-ga kono hon-ga naiyoo-ga sappari wakara-na-i
John-GA this book-GA content-GA at all understand-not-Pres
'John does not understand the content of this book at all.'
(modified from Morikawa 1993: 29)

This prediction is borne out in a more striking manner in a stative construction containing a complex predicate. We saw in (2c) that a stative predicate can be derived from a transitive verb by attaching to it the stative morpheme *(r)e* 'can', forming a complex predicate. The example is repeated here.

(51) Polly-ga nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru
Polly-GA Japanese-GA speak-can-Pres
'It is Polly who can speak Japanese.'

The subject of a complex transitive stative predicate may appear either with *ga* or *ni*, like that of a simplex transitive stative predicate. However, the object may bear accusative case only if the subject appears with *ga*.[26]

[26] There seems to be a consensus among analyses offered in the literature that the case alternation on the object results from different positions in which case is licensed. There are two major schools of thought in accomplishing this effect. Tada (1992) and Koizumi (1994, 1995, 1998) propose that the object moves to a position higher in the structure for nominative case, while accusative case is licensed by the embedded transitive verb. The other approach assumes ambiguity in the structure. In a bi-clausal structure accusative case can be licensed by the embedded verb, while a mono-clausal structure forces the object to carry nominative case, because such a clause is headed by a complex predicate whose head in turn is the stative morpheme. (Sugioka 1984, Saito & Hoshi 1998, Neeleman & Weerman 1999, Hoshi 2001). However, see Takano (2003) who argues that bi-clausal structure is always involved regardless of the case of the object. Furthermore, the impossibility of the combination of subject-*ni* and object-*o* is often attributed to a constraint proposed initially by Shibatani (1978:65) that a clause in Japanese must contain at least one nominative phrase. Here, I will not discuss the structure of a stative construction with a complex predicate, but rather the interpretation of the *ga*-phrases involved.

(52) a. Polly-ga/ni nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru.
Polly-GA/to Japanese-Acc speak-can-Pres
b. Polly-ga/*ni nihongo-o hanas-e-ru.
Polly-GA/to Japanese-Acc speak-can-Pres

Although the object can be marked with the accusative case marker *o*, as in (52b), the same predicate is capable of licensing nominative case on the object, as (52a) shows. This predicts that an external possessor of an accusative object should be possible if it is realised with *ga*. The following examples illustrate that this is true.

(53) a. John-ga Mary-ga atama-o tatak-e- ru
John-GA Mary-GA head-Acc hit-can- Pres
'John can hit Mary's head.' (modified from Tada (1992: 99))
b. John-ga Mary-ga musume-o sikar-e-ru
John-GA Mary-GA daughter-Acc scold-can-Pres
'John can scold Mary's daughter.' (modified from Takano (2003: 797))

Thus, the possibility of an external possessor in Japanese is not related to the grammatical function of the possessee argument, but to the availability of case marking on the possessor.

The proposed account of focus makes further predictions with respect to the interpretation of various *ga*-phrases in the examples (50)-(53). Let us first consider the examples without a nominative possessor of the object in (51) and (52). The subject has an option of being realised in two forms only when the object appears in the nominative, but not when the object occurs in the accusative. The focus generalisation predicts that a subject *ga*-phrase should be focused only when the object appears in the nominative. For *ga* to be identified as a focus marker, the phrase to which it is attached must have an alternative form of realisation. The prediction is correct: *Polly* in (51) must be interpreted with narrow focus, but not in (52b).

A second prediction concerns the interpretation of nominative possessors of the objects in the examples in (50) and (53). Although these phrases can be realised in an alternative form, namely with the genitive marker *no*, it is not the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the clause. As a result, they are not in an environment described by the

focus generalisation. It is therefore predicted that they need not be read as focused. The prediction is borne out: *kono hon-ga* 'this book-GA' in (50) and *Mary-ga* in both (53a) and (53b) are not necessarily interpreted with narrow focus.

What is even more significant about the examples in (50) and (53) is that the subject cannot occur with the postposition *ni*, which is readily available in the absence of the external possessor of the object, as we have seen throughout this chapter for examples with a simplex stative predicate (cf. (33), for instance, and in (52a) for an example with a complex predicate). This point is illustrated below.

(54) *John-ni kono hon-ga naiyoo-ga sappari wakara-na-i.
John-to this book-GA content-GA at all understand-not-Pres
'John does not understand the content of this book at all.'

(55) a. *John-ni Mary-ga atama-o tatak-e-ru.
John-to Mary-GA head-Acc hit-can-Pres
'John can hit Mary's head.'
b. *John-ni Mary-ga musume-o sikar-e-ru.
John-to Mary-GA daughter-Acc scold-can-Pres
'John can scold Mary's daughter.'

At present, I have no insightful account of why the postposition becomes unavailable in the presence of a possessive *ga*-phrase. However, the focus generalisation makes a clear prediction. The subject *ga*-phrases in (50) and (53) should not be obligatorily focused, because they have no alternative forms of realisation. This is indeed true, as indicated by the non-use of the cleft construction in the translations.

In sum, the present account of the stative construction as well as its interaction with the analyses proposed for the possessive and adjunct multiple nominative constructions and the focus generalisation accounts for the following properties of the stative construction:

(56) (i) the subject *ga*-phrase of a simplex stative predicate is obligatorily focused;

(ii) the subject *ga*-phrase can be associated with a position internal to an island in topicalisation and cleft constructions, but a subject *ni*-phrase cannot (cf. (46)-(47));

(iii) the adjunct *ga*-phrase can precede the subject *ga*-phrase (cf. (48));

(iv) a possessor of the subject *ga*-phrase can be licensed in the nominative externally to the subject (cf. (49));

(v) a possessor of a nominative or accusative object can be licensed in the nominative externally to the object (cf. (50), (53));

(vi) an external possessor of a nominative or accusative object need not be interpreted with narrow focus (cf. (50), (53));

(vii) a subject *ga*-phrase is not obligatorily focused in the presence of an external possessor of the object (cf. (50), (53)).

The idea that one interpretational rule, i.e., the focus generalisation, governs the obligatory focus reading of *ga*-phrases in all three types of multiple nominative constructions yields a simple explanation for the various interpretations of *ga*-phrases in the stative construction witnessed in this section, particularly when they interact with other kinds of *ga*-phrases, such as adjunct *ga*-phrases and possessive *ga*-phrases.

Before concluding the chapter, I would like to discuss issues concerning the possibility of accounting for the obligatory focus reading of the first *ga*-phrase in the three constructions as an instance of obligatory focus of *ga*-phrases found in other constructions in Japanese.

5 Focus Generalisation

There is one instance of obligatory focus of a *ga*-phrase which appears problematic for the focus generalisation in (13). When the predicate is an intransitive stative predicate such as an unergative adjective or in a copula construction, the subject *ga*-phrase must be read with focus, although it is the only *ga*-phrase in the sentence (Kuno, 1973). This is illustrated below in (57). In order to distinguish the type of

construction under discussion from the stative construction which was discussed in the previous section, I will refer to the former as the transitive stative construction and the latter as the intransitive stative construction.

(57) a. John-ga kasiko-i
John-GA smart-Pres
'It is John who is clever.' (Heycock 1993a: 158)

b. John-ga kanemoti des-u.
John-GA rich be-Pres
'It is John who is rich.' (Kuno 1973: 57)

The observed obligatory focus is not predicted by the focus generalisation, because although the phrases in question appear as the leftmost *ga*-phrase in the respective clause, they do not have an alternative form of realisation. However, there are reasons to believe that the focus in this type of construction is determined by different considerations.

Heycock (1993a) offers an analysis of the obligatory focus in examples such as above in terms of Vallduví's (1992) system of 'information packaging'. Information packaging organises material in a given sentence in terms of three informational primitives, *Focus*, *Link* and *Tail*, so that they can be most optimally represented at the level of Information Structure. A sentence is divided into focus and ground, and the latter consists of link and tail, as shown below.

(58) a. Sentence = {Focus, Ground}
b. Ground = {Link, Tail}

The focus denotes the material in the sentence that provides new information. It is the only informative component and therefore must be present in every sentence. The ground, the complement of the focus, denotes relevant information which the speaker assumes is already part of the hearer's knowledge. It may be further divided

into link and tail. The link refers to what is sometimes considered the 'topic'.[27] The link need not be overtly present in the sentence, but must be at least recoverable from the context. Finally, the tail corresponds to relevant knowledge that is already known about the link.

Heycock (1993a) claims that an argument which is a link must be realised with the particle *wa* in Japanese. Although a precise characterisation of *wa* is an issue of much controversy, it is broadly assumed to be a marker for topic. If a sentence contains a stage-level predicate, the Davidsonian event argument is always available to function as the link. As a result, various parts of the sentence could act as the focus; it could be the object, the subject, the whole sentence and so on.

By contrast, when the predicate is stative, as in (57a), there is no event argument available to be identified as the link. Furthermore, *John-ga* cannot be the link, as it is not realised as a *wa*-phrase. The only possible candidate for the link then is the predicate *kasiko-i* 'clever-Pres'. This forces the subject *John-ga* to function as the focus of the sentence. This is demonstrated below.

(59) [$_{\text{Focus}}$ John-ga] [$_{\text{Link}}$ kasiko-i]
John-GA smart-Pres (Heycock 1993a: 165)

Thus, the analysis proposed by Heycock (1993a) accounts for the obligatory focus of the subject *ga*-phrase in the intransitive stative construction exemplified in (59) and the lack of it in a sentence with a non-stative predicate. Heycock & Doron (2003: 114, fn.10) suggest furthermore that the analysis in terms of information packaging can perhaps be extended to at least the possessive multiple nominative construction. However, as I will discuss in the next section, it is unclear how such an extension can be achieved most straightforwardly. Moreover, there are contexts in which the *ga*-phrases in the examples in (57) need not be interpreted with narrow focus, which Heycock's (1993a) account captures. However, as I will show in Section 5.2, the first *ga*-phrase in the three multiple nominative constructions do not always display the same behaviour, indicating that the focus reading is indeed

[27] Vallduví (1992) describes it as an address pointer. Adapting Heim's (1983) metaphor, if the hearer's knowledge-store consists of file-cards, a link is the address of a file-card. It instructs the hearer on which file-card the new information should be entered.

determined by different considerations in the latter from the former type of constructions.

5.1 Obligatory focus of the first possessive *ga*-phrase

A sentence with a possessive multiple nominative construction contains more elements than a sentence with an intransitive stative predicate, such as (59). Thus, there are more potential candidates which can function as a focus, even if the lexical predicate is stative. As a result, even if the sentence contained only one possessive *ga*-phrase, nothing forces it to act as the focus. For instance, the possessee argument, namely the subject, may be the focus and the predicate the link, leaving the possessive *ga*-phrase to be the tail, as illustrated in (60b). The information packaging indicated in this example would arise as an answer to the question in (60a). Here, the focus of the question and the answer is the body-part, *mimi-ga* 'ear-GA', implied by the use of capital letters in the translation, and the predicate functions as the link.[28] However, the intended reading is not available. The possessive *ga*-phrase must also be read with narrow focus, making it an inappropriate sentence with which to answer the question.

(60) a. usagi-ga asi-ga nagai des-u ka?
rabbit-GA leg-GA long be-Pres Q
'Do rabbits have long LEGS?'

b. (Ie,) [$_{\text{Tail}}$ usagi-ga] [$_{\text{Focus}}$ mimi-ga] [$_{\text{Link}}$ nagai des-u]
no rabbit-GA ear-GA long be-Pres
*'No, rabbits have long EARS.'
'No, it is rabbits which have long EARS.'

Alternatively, the sentence in (61) can be uttered as an answer to the question 'talking about ears, do rabbits have long ones or short ones?'. The possessee

[28] Note that the absence of the cleft construction in the translation of (60a) suggests that it is possible not to focus the possessive *ga*-phrase in this sentence. However, this is not entirely correct. The possessive *ga*-phrase as well as the possessee must be focused in this sentence. Thus, a more accurate translation might be, 'Is it rabbits which have long LEGS?'. Nevertheless, the translation in the main text is given, as the crucial point of this question is that the possessee is read with focus.

argument, *mimi* 'ears', is marked with *wa*, thereby functioning as the link, and the predicate *naga-i* 'long-Pres' is the focus. As a result, the possessive *ga*-phrase *usagi-ga* 'rabbit-GA' can be the tail, as illustrated below. However, again, a reading in which the possessive nominative phrase is not focused is unavailable in this example.

(61) [$_{\text{Link}}$ mimi-wa] [$_{\text{Tail}}$ usagi-ga] [$_{\text{Focus}}$ naga-i]
rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres

The same considerations prevent extension of an account in terms of information packaging to the obligatory focus of an adjunct *ga*-phrase and the subject *ga*-phrase of a transitive stative predicate. Other potential candidates for the focus are present in sentences containing either of the two types of *ga*-phrases. Moreover, the form and the relative positioning of a particular constituent appear irrelevant for information packaging, thus the generalisation that only the left-most *ga*-phrases with an alternative form of realisation is obligatorily focused cannot be captured.

An analysis in terms of information packaging predicts correctly some environments in which the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate need not be read as the focus. However, as demonstrated in the next section, the first *ga*-phrases in the multiple nominative constructions are still obligatorily focused in some of the contexts.

5.2 Non-focus environments

There are four environments in which the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate need not be obligatorily focused. If the focus of the first *ga*-phrase in the three multiple nominative constructions were to be accounted for in a similar fashion to that of the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate, a non-focused interpretation should also be available for the *ga*-phrases in the multiple nominative constructions in the same environments. However, this prediction is not correct for all instances. It is not borne out for adjunct *ga*-phrases in all the four environments, while it is correct for the subject *ga*-phrase of a transitive stative predicate and the first possessive *ga*-phrase in two of the four contexts. I will first discuss two contexts

in which the first *ga*-phrase in all three constructions must be focused, before turning to the remaining two non-focus environments in which only the adjunct *ga*-phrase receives focus.

The first non-focus context is when the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate is modified by a numeral quantifier (Kuno 1973). In the following example, a non-focus reading of the subject *ga*-phrase, *3-nin-no gakusee-ga* 'three-Cl-Gen student-GA' is available. In other words, the sentence can be used as all-focus, indicated by the presence of *a* 'oh'.[29]

(62) A, [3-nin-no gakusee]-ga kasiko-i
Oh, 3-Cl-Gen student-GA smart-Pres
'Oh, three students are smart.'

Although Heycock (1993a) does not offer an explanation for this observation, it is presumably because the whole sentence can be identified as the focus instead of *gakusee-ga* 'student-GA' alone or the numeral quantifier can function as the focus.

By contrast, the three kinds of multiple nominative constructions cannot be used as all-focus. The first *ga*-phrases in these constructions must receive a narrow focus reading, even if they are modified by a numeral quantifier. The constructions are therefore pragmatically infelicitous in such contexts, as indicated below by #. Sentences without a multiple nominative construction must be used in the given situations.

(63) #A, [3-biki-no usagi]-ga mimi-ga naga-i
Oh 3-Cl-Gen rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres
'Oh look, it is three rabbits which have long ears.'

(64) #A, [3-nin-no gakusee]-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u
Oh 3-Cl-Gen student-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'Oh look, it is three students who understand Japanese.'

[29] This is what Kuno (1973) refers to as a neutral description.

(65) #A, [3-gen-no mise]-ga gakusee-ga yoku hon-o ka-u
Oh, 3-Cl-Gen shop-GA student-GA often book-Acc buy-Pres
'Oh look, it is at those three shops that students often buy books.'

A second context in which the subject *ga*-phrase of the intransitive stative construction is not necessarily read with narrow focus is when the link is provided by the context. Recall that while the focus must be present in the sentence, the link need not be. It can be recovered from the context, in which case the predicate is no longer required to be the link and can be the focus or the whole sentence can be identified as the focus. As a result, a non-focus reading becomes available for the subject. The following discourse represents such an instance. Here, Heycock argues that A's question provides 'problems with B's new job' as the link for B's answer. The entire reply by B in turn is identified as the focus. Indeed, the subject *ga*-phrases in B's reply are not obligatorily interpreted with narrow focus.

(66) A: Atarasii sigoto-no mondai-wa nan desu ka?
new work-Gen problem-Top what be Q
'What's the problem with your new job?
B: Ofisu-ga tiisaisi, kyuuryoo-ga yasuisi, uwayaku-ga hidoi desu
office-GA small-and pay-GA low-and boss-GA terribe be
'The office is small, the pay is low, and the boss is terrible.'

It seems, however, that a comparable interpretational pattern does not obtain for the multiple nominative constructions. The use of a multiple nominative construction is again infelicitous in the described situation. In each of the following pairs of examples, the questions in (a) provide a link for the replies in (b) containing a multiple nominative construction. Nevertheless, the (b)-examples are pragmatically inappropriate as answers. Some of my informants report that the examples in (68b) (69b) may be used in the given situation, but a narrow focus interpretation of the *ga*-phrases in question is still obligatory.

(67) a. tikyuu-no doobutu-no tokutyoo-wa nan desu ka?
Earth-Gen animal-Gen feature-Top what be Q
'What are the features of animals on Earth?'
(An alien may ask such a question.)

b. #afrika-ga usagi-ga mimi-ga nagaisi,...
Africa-GA rabbit-GA ear-GA long-and
Intended: 'Rabbits in Africa have long ears and...'

(68) a. kono class-no tuyoi ten-wa nan desu ka?
this class-Gen strong point-Top what be Q
'What is the strong point of this class?'
b. #dansee-ga nihongo-ga wakarusi...
men-GA Japanese-GA understand-and
Intended: 'Men understand Japanese and....'

(69) a. kono miti-no tokutyoo-wa nan desu ka?
this street-Gen feature-Top what be Q
'What are the features of this street?'
b. #ano mise-ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku ka-u
that shop-GA student-GA book-Acc often buy-Pres
Intended: 'Students often buy books at that shop.'

The disparity in the focus interpretation between the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate, on the one hand, and the first *ga*-phrases in the three multiple nominative constructions, on the other, is unexpected, if the interpretation is determined by the same considerations.

However, there are two further non-focus environments for the subject of an intransitive stative predicate in which the first possessive *ga*-phrase and the subject *ga*-phrase of a transitive stative predicate are also not necessarily focused. One environment is when the relevant *ga*-phrase is embedded in an *if*-clause or complex NP (Kuroda 1986). This is illustrated by the example in (70a). The analysis in terms of information packaging predicts that a narrow focus reading of *John-ga* is not obligatory, because there are other materials in the sentence which can be identified as the focus. For example, if uttered as an answer to the question, 'what would have happened if John was smart?', the entire *if*-clause would be the link and the matrix clause would be the focus. As the examples in (70b) and (70c) demonstrate, the first *ga*-phrase in the possessive multiple nominative construction and the transitive stative construction may also receive a non-focus reading.

(70) a. [mosi John-ga kasikokattara], Mary-ga ki-o kaeta-daroo
if John-GA smart.Cond Mary-GA mind-Acc change-Cond.
'If John was smart, Mary would have changed her mind.' (cf. Heycock 1993a: 167)

b. mosi usagi-ga mimi-ga mizikak-ereba,
if rabbit-GA ear-GA short-Cond.
pro ookina nezumi-ni mieta-daroo.
big rats-to look.like-cond.
'If rabbits had short ears, they would have looked like big rats.'

c. mosi John-ga nihongo-ga wakar-eba,
if John-GA Japanese-GA understand
nihon-e-no ryokoo-ga motto rakude atta-daroo
Japan-to-Gen holiday-GA much easy be.Past-cond.
'If John understood Japanese,'

The other non-focus context is when the *ga*-phrase in question is preceded by a *wa*-phrase (Kuno 1973). According to Heycock's (1993a) analysis, this is because the *wa*-phrase can function as the link. The subject *ga*-phrase is therefore not the only possible candidate for the focus: either the predicate or the predicate and the subject *ga*-phrase together can be identified as the focus. This allows the subject to receive a non-focus reading. The example in (71a) illustrates the point for the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate, while the examples in (71b-c) show, respectively, that the first *ga*-phrase in the possessive multiple nominative construction and the transitive stative construction also need not be focused in this environment.

(71) a. kono class-wa dansee-ga kasiko-i.
this class-Top men-GA smart-Pres
'As for this class, men are smart.'

b. kitahankyuu-wa usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i
N.Hemisphere-Top rabbit-GA ear-GA long-Pres
'As for the Northern Hemisphere, rabbits have long ears.'

c. kono class-wa dansee-ga nihongo-ga wakar-u
this class-Top men-GA Japanese-GA understand-Pres
'As for this class, men understand Japanese.'

At present, I have no insightful explanation as to why the focus generalisation in (13) is not operative in these environments for the two multiple nominative constructions. Note however that the nature of the topic seems to influence whether a non-focus reading becomes available. In (61), in contrast to (71b) for instance, the first possessive *ga*-phrase must still be focused.

Nevertheless, in both of these environments, an adjunct *ga*-phrase must still be focused, as shown below. This strongly supports the idea advocated in this chapter that the sole motivation for the presence of the particle *ga* on some phrases such as adjuncts can be to focus those phrases.

(72) a. kono miti-wa honya-ga takusan-no gakusee-ga hatarai-tei-ru
this street-Top bookshop-GA many-Gen student-GA work-Prog-Pres
'As for this street, it is at bookshops that many students are working.'

b. ?mosi ano mise-ga gakusee-ga yoku hon-o kau-naraba,
if that shop-GA student-GA often book-Acc buy-Cond
'If it is at that shop that students often buy books,...'

Thus, it is indeed the case that the focus generalisation proposed in this chapter does not account for the obligatory focus of the subject of an intransitive stative predicate. However, the focus in this construction seems to be best accounted for in terms of information packaging, as proposed by Heycock (1993a). Conversely, it seems difficult to extend the analysis based on information packaging to the three types of multiple nominative constructions, since the presence of other overt material than the *ga*-phrase in question and the predicate causes difficulties in always identifying first *ga*-phrase as the focus of the sentence. Furthermore, although the exceptions observed in (70)-(71) must be explained, the obvious contrasting interpretation of the *ga*-phrases in question in some environments implies that the focus is governed by distinct factors in the constructions involved.

6 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have investigated two further kinds of multiple nominative constructions in Japanese, which do not involve re-association. In doing so, I developed a uniform account of the general obligatory focus reading of the first *ga*-phrase in the multiple nominative constructions, including the possessive type. More specifically, I argued that the particle *ga* encodes information related to case as well as focus. It functions as a case marker whenever it is realised on an NP that is assigned a θ-role. It is also independently identified as a focus marker by an interpretational rule, if the phrase to which it is attached appears as the first *ga*-phrase in the clause and has an option to be realised in an alternative form without *ga*. The presence of *ga* is therefore motivated under three circumstances, depending on the nature of the phrase to which it is attached: (i) as a case marker, if the phrase is an NP argument; (ii) as a case marker and a focus marker, if the phrase is an NP argument and appears in an environment described by the focus generalisation; (iii) as a focus marker, if the phrase does not require case, but appears in an environment described by the focus generalisation.

As a result of this approach, the first *ga*-phrase is analysed differently in each construction. *Ga* on a possessive phrase always functions as a case marker, since a possessive phrase is an NP and receives a θ-role, as argued in the previous chapter. However, it is furthermore interpreted as a focus marker on the first possessive phrase, because the focus generalisation identifies it as such in this environment. By contrast, *ga* on an adjunct can only be a focus marker, as adjuncts do not require case. As a direct consequence, an adjunct *ga*-phrase must invariably appear as the first *ga*-phrase in the clause. This view is in contrast to the standard assumption that adjunct *ga*-phrases are nominative phrases. The proposed analysis captures numerous distinguishing properties of the adjunct multiple nominative construction, which are summarised in Section 3.4. Finally, the subject *ga*-phrase of a transitive stative predicate was shown to have features related to both the first possessive nominative phrase and an adjunct *ga*-phrase. Its categorial status is ambiguous between NP and PP. When it is an NP, it behaves like the first possessive *ga*-phrase in the sense that *ga* realised on it functions as a case marker as well as a focus marker. On the other hand, when it is a PP, *ga* is interpreted only as a focus marker, in a similar fashion to *ga* on an adjunct. The findings related to the stative

construction are summarised in Section 4.4. Effects of interaction between the three kinds of multiple nominative constructions on the distribution and interpretation of various *ga*-phrases involved were also discussed throughout the chapter.

Finally, it was shown that the obligatory focus of the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate does not follow from the proposed interpretational rule, but that it is determined by different considerations. I argued that an analysis that accounts for the focus reading in the intransitive stative construction cannot be carried over most straightforwardly to the multiple nominative constructions. I demonstrated furthermore that the interpretation of the first *ga*-phrase in the three multiple nominative constructions cannot always be identified with that of the subject *ga*-phrase of an intransitive stative predicate.

The two multiple nominative constructions were investigated in this chapter as two types of constructions distinct from the possessive type discussed in Chapter 2. The next chapter will examine another kind of construction which contrasts with the possessive multiple nominative construction from another perspective. Effects of the grammatical function of the possessee argument will be investigated in the possessive multiple accusative construction, in which a possessor of an accusative object, as opposed to a nominative subject, is licensed externally to the object.