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Comparative syntax of genitive subjects in Standard Japanese and Hichiku Japanese*

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Abstract: In Standard Japanese (SJ), the nominative case marking on subjects can be replaced by the genitive case marking when the clauses are embedded under nominals. Genitive subjects are also found in Hichiku Japanese (HJ) but they are allowed even in the matrix context. It is argued that in both SJ and HJ, genitive subjects undergo A-movement to structural positions higher than *v*P rather than staying within *v*P, but that their moved positions differ between SJ and HJ.

Keywords: genitive subject, *ga-no* conversion, adnominal clause, edge features, Japanese

1. Introduction

In Standard Japanese (SJ), the nominative case *ga* on subjects can be replaced by the genitive case *no* when they appear in adnominal clauses, which include relative and noun-complement clauses (Harada 1971). This phenomenon, known as *ga-no* conversion, has been discussed extensively in the literature on Japanese (Miyagawa 1993; Watanabe 1996; Hiraiwa 2001, 2005, among others). Genitive subjects are also found in Hichiku Japanese (HJ)—a dialect of Japanese spoken in northern Kyushu (Kato 2007).[1]

(1) a. ame-{ga/no} hut-ta hi (√SJ, √HJ)
rain-{NOM/GEN} fall-PST day
'the day when it rained'

b. Ame-no hut-ta. (*SJ, √HJ)
rain-GEN fall-PST
'It rained.'

Notably, *ga-no* conversion is restricted to adnominal clauses in SJ, but this restriction does not hold in HJ. Thus, the acceptability of (1b), where the genitive subject appears in the matrix clause, differs between SJ and HJ.

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[1] "Hichiku Japanese" is the cover term for the dialects spoken in the regions of Hizen (Saga and Nagasaki Prefectures), Higo (Kumamoto Prefecture), and Chikuzen and Chikugo (Fukuoka Prefecture) (Kamimura 1983).

One perennial issue surrounding *ga-no* conversion in Japanese is where genitive subjects are located in clause structure. The recent prominent view is that in both SJ and HJ, genitive subjects remain in *v*P, where they are base-generated (Watanabe 1996, Hiraiwa 2001, 2005, Ochi 2009, Miyagawa 2011 for SJ; Kato 2007, Nishioka 2018, Ochi and Saruwatari 2018 for HJ[2]). On the contrary, we argue that in both SJ and HJ, the genitive subjects are raised to higher structural positions than *v*P rather than staying within *v*P, but that their moved positions differ between SJ and HJ.

We argue that the genitive subject moves to Spec,CP from Spec,*v*P in SJ, while the genitive subject in HJ moves to AspP, which lies between TP and *v*P.

(2) a. [DP [CP [TP SUBJ-NOM [AspP [*v*P ~~SUBJ-NOM~~ V-*v*] Asp] **T**] C] D] (SJ, HJ)
b. [DP [CP SUBJ-GEN [TP [AspP [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] Asp] T] C] **D**] (SJ)
c. [CP [TP [AspP SUBJ-GEN [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] **Asp**] T] C] (HJ)

We claim that in both SJ and HJ, nominative subjects are moved into Spec,TP, while the EPP and Case features assigned to CP are inherited by T. On the other hand, it is argued that genitive subjects in SJ are licensed by the Case feature of D after they are attracted to Spec,CP which bears an EPP feature, while genitive subjects in HJ move to Spec,AspP since EPP and Case features in C are inherited by Asp. We will provide new empirical evidence for our claims.

The discussion in the present paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 takes a look at some *v*P-in-situ analyses of genitive subjects in SJ and HJ. Section 3 argues that genitive subjects are displaced from *v*P and raised to different syntactic positions between SJ and HJ, contrary to the standard hypothesis that the genitive subjects in SJ and HJ stay within *v*P. Section 4 shows that the Case-licensing process for genitive subjects varies between SJ and HJ, with D serving as the licenser in SJ and Asp in HJ. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. Some previous analyses

In this section, we will look at some previous analyses of the locus for genitive subjects in SJ and HJ. In the literature, it is widely assumed that genitive subjects remain within *v*P in both SJ and HJ, as illustrated in (3).

(3) a. [TP [*v*P SUBJ-GEN V-*v*] T] … D (SJ)
b. [TP [*v*P SUBJ-GEN V-*v*] T] C] (HJ)

For SJ, Watanabe (1996), Hiraiwa (2001, 2005), Ochi (2009), and Miyagawa (2011) claim that genitive subjects reside in Spec,*v*P. For HJ, Kato (2007), Nishioka (2018), and Ochi and Saruwatari (2018) claim that genitive subjects remain in *v*P.

Miyagawa (2011) argues that the genitive subject in SJ appears in the low position because of the clause size of the genitive subject position, and is Case-licensed by D due to the absence of the CP projection, which constitutes a phase. (Note that Miyagawa sustains the D-licensing analysis, although two different views are available in the literature as to whether the licenser of genitive Case in SJ is D or C. We will turn to this issue in section 4.) Miyagawa provides three main reasons for sustaining the smaller clause size analysis for the genitive-subject construction: (i) pronominal coreference, (ii)

[2] For different views, see e.g. Saito (2004) for SJ and Moriyama et al. (2022) for HJ.

incompatibility with speech-act, evaluative and evidential adverbs, and (iii) the absence of a complementizer.

Nevertheless, the example in (4) suggests that the CP projection is present in the genitive-subject construction.

(4) [(tabun) John-no ka-u (de aroo)] ano hon
probably John-GEN buy-PRS COP will that book
'that book, which John would probably buy'

Example (4) represents a case of non-restrictive relative clause (cf. Kuno 1973). In (4), a modal *de aroo* 'will' appears to the right of the tense, and a modal adverb, which is placed above TP, occurs in the relative clause. Crucially, the genitive subject is still allowed in the clause. The acceptability of (4) shows that a CP projection (to be positioned higher than TP whose head is filled by the tense) is available in the genitive-subject construction, which in turn suggests that the genitive subject is licensed in SJ even if its clause includes a CP-projection.

Kato (2007) claims that in the Kumamoto dialect of HJ, genitive subjects stay in Spec,*v*P, on the basis of the observation that the genitive subjects can occur in OSV order, but not in SOV order, as shown by the contrast shown in (5).

(5) a. Mary-ga/*no John-ba home-ta bai.
Mary-NOM/GEN John-ACC praise-PST PRT
'Mary praised John.' (HJ: Kumamoto dialect)

b. John-ba Mary-ga/no home-ta bai.
John-ACC Mary-NOM/GEN praise-PST PRT
'Mary praised John.' (HJ: Kumamoto dialect)

Kato (2007) attributes the word order restriction on genitive subjects to their inability to participate in checking the EPP feature of T. To be concrete, the nominative subject is possible in (5a), because the EPP feature can be checked via its raising to Spec,TP. In contrast, the genitive subject cannot occur in the SOV order because it is not raised to Spec,TP. In this case, the EPP requirement must be satisfied via scrambling the object to Spec,TP. For Kato (2007), scrambling can be motivated by the EPP feature (Miyagawa 2001). Then the expected OSV order is obtained for the genitive-subject construction. The nominative subject remains in Spec,*v*P if the object is scrambled to Spec,TP, and hence, OSV word order is possible in the nominative-subject construction.[3]

Note, however, that speaker variation is found in the acceptability judgments of examples like (5). Yoshimura (2007) accepts (6a) for the Kumamoto Yatsushiro dialect of HJ, and Maeda and Maki (2021) accept (6b) for the Nagasaki dialect of HJ.

(6) a. Taro-no uso-ba tuk-asi-ta.
Taro-GEN lie-ACC tell-HON-PST
'Taro told a lie.' (HJ: Kumamoto Yatsushiro dialect)

[3] Although the details of the analysis vary among researchers, some studies assume that genitive subjects remain in a *v*P-internal position, following Kato (2007) (Nishioka 2018, Ochi and Saruwatari 2018).

b. Kinoo Masasi-no baiorin-ba hiki-yot-ta.
yesterday Masasi-GEN violin-ACC play-ASP-PST
'Masashi was playing the violin yesterday.' (HJ: Nagasaki dialect)

c. *Yoka tubo-ba Taro-no wat-te simoo-ta.
good vase-ACC Taro-GEN break-GER accidentally.do-PST
'Taro accidentally broke a good vase.' (HJ: Fukuoka Hakata dialect)

Furthermore, Sakai (2022) reports that her informant born in the Fukuoka-Hakata region does not accept the genitive subject in transitive predicate sentences with the OSV order, as in (6c). A small-scale survey of the Nagasaki and Fukuoka dialects conducted by Moriyama et al. (2022) shows that Nagasaki dialect speakers tend to accept genitive subjects more readily than Fukuoka dialect speakers.[4]

The discrepancy in judgments noted above suggests that explaining the structural position of the genitive subject in HJ based solely on word order restrictions may not be adequate for assessing the position of genitive subjects. Given this fact, it would be desirable to determine the structural position of the genitive subject by the heuristics which do not rely on word order. In the next section, the structural position of the genitive subject is assessed based on several diagnostics.

3. Structural positions of genitive subjects

In this section, we provide three diagnostics to assess the structural positions of genitive subjects in SJ and HJ. Before going into this discussion, let us remark on the clausal architecture and how nominative and genitive subjects are licensed.

For the clause structure, we assume that it includes AspP between *v*P and NegP/TP, as illustrated in (7).

(7) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{NegP}$ [$_{AspP}$ [$_{vP}$ V-*v*] Asp] Neg] T] C]

The presence of AspP is confirmed by way of the aspectual markers *te/de ir* and *yor*, which follow the verb but precede the negative and tense markers.

(8) a. John-wa hon-o yon-**de** **i**-nakat-ta ne. (SJ)
John-TOP book-ACC read-GER ASP-NEG-PST PRT
'John wasn't reading a book.'

b. John-wa hon-ba yomi-**yor**-anyat-ta ne. (HJ)
John-TOP book-ACC read-ASP-NEG-PST PRT
'John wasn't reading a book.'

This word order suggests that *te/de ir* and *yor* occupy the head of a projection located between *v*P and NegP/TP.

We suggest that subjects occupy distinct syntactic positions due to the difference in the locus and composition of edge features. Nominative subjects move into the canonical

[4] The survey results also indicate that among younger generations of Fukuoka dialect speakers, there is a cline for the acceptability of genitive subjects, which increases in the order of unaccusative verbs > unergative verbs > transitive verbs.

position of Spec,TP in both SJ and HJ, as a result of the EPP and Case features in CP being inherited by T.

(9) [DP [CP [TP SUBJ-NOM [AspP [*v*P ~~SUBJ-NOM~~ V-*v*] Asp] **T**] C] D]

The nominative subject is Case-licensed by T under Agree, so that it bears nominative case. The genitive subject moves to Spec,CP from Spec,*v*P in SJ, and to a projection lying between TP and *v*P in HJ. We argue that genitive subjects move out of *v*P in SJ and HJ, contrary to the standard hypothesis that in both SJ and HJ, genitive subjects reside in *v*P, where their predicate relation to the verbal head is determined.

CP is projected in the genitive-subject construction. As we will see from the discussions that follow, D is the Case-licenser of genitive subjects in SJ. Thus, the genitive subjects must be moved to the edge of CP phase for its Case licensing. We suggest that C is assigned an EPP feature to attract the genitive subject, but not a Case-feature, and that the genitive subject is licensed by the Case feature of D after it is attracted to Spec,CP. Accordingly, the occurrence of *no*-marked subjects is restricted to adnominal clauses in SJ.

(10) [DP [CP SUBJ-GEN [TP [AspP [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] Asp] T] C] **D**] (SJ)

By contrast, genitive subjects in HJ can occur in matrix clauses, where no DP is projected above CP. Note that *ga* was a nominal marker at the earlier stages of Japanese but has developed into a verbal Case marker to license a nominative subject in the matrix clause in Modern Japanese (Frellesvig 2010). Apparently, a similar process has taken place on *no* in HJ. If so, it is reasonable to postulate that in HJ, *no* can be used as a verbal marker to Case-license a matrix subject. In light of this consideration, we suggest that in HJ, C is assigned both EPP and Case features but they are inherited by Asp rather than T; consequently, the genitive subject moves to Spec,AspP.

(11) [CP [TP [AspP SUBJ-GEN [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] **Asp**] T] C] (HJ)

In the proposed analysis, the genitive *no* is assigned to the subject in HJ when its Case feature is valued by Asp. In this respect, it is plausible to view that in HJ, the case marker *no* is utilized to indicate that the subject appears in Spec,Asp, a structural position distinct from Spec,TP filled by the *ga*-marked subject.[5]

[5] Under this analysis, since the *no*-marked subject is licensed by the Case feature assigned to C in a way similar to the *ga*-marked subject, it might not be unreasonable to see that *no* is a disguised nominative case marker.

In the subsequent sections, we show that genitive subjects are subject to A-movement out of *v*P by presenting novel data pertaining to the *koto*-cleft construction with *v*P-focus, indeterminate pronoun binding within AspP, and indeterminate pronoun binding in a semi-modal construction.

3.1. The *koto*-cleft construction with *v*P-focus

One piece of new empirical evidence that subjects occupy distinct positions depending on their case marking in SJ and HJ comes from the pseudo-cleft construction with *v*P focus, in which both the presuppositional and focus components are introduced by the nominalizer *koto* 'thing', as exemplified in (12).

(12) John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u] koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP run-INF thing-COP/PRT
'What John did is run.'

The pseudo-cleft sentence in (12) involves *v*P focusing. This fact can be confirmed by embedding various constituents.

In the first place, the past tense marker *ta*, which is generally assumed to fill the tense head, cannot be embedded in the focus position, as in (13).

(13) *John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasit-**ta**] koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP run-PST thing-COP/PRT
'What John did is run.'

This fact illustrates that the verb *hasir-u* 'run' in the focus position of (12) appears in the bare form, i.e. the tense morpheme occurring in *hasir-u* lacks a tense feature.

In the pseudo-cleft construction with *v*P-focusing, a temporal adverb like *kinoo* 'yesterday' can occur in the presuppositional clause but not in the focus component, as illustrated in (14).

(14) a. **Kinoo** John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u]
yesterday John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John did yesterday is run.'

b. *John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ **kinoo** hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP yesterday run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John did is run yesterday.'

The temporal adverb *kinoo* is adjoined to TP. This assumption is plausible since *kinoo* can occur when the verb is in the past tense, i.e. T is finite and bears a past tense feature.

(15) Kinoo John-ga *ku-ru/$^{\surd}$ki-ta.
yesterday John-NOM come-PRS/come-PST
'John comes yesterday. /John came yesterday.'

The verb appearing in the focus component in (12) is a bare verb which lacks a tense feature. The impossibility of embedding the temporal adverb *kinoo* in (14b) follows given that the focus component consists of *v*P.

Negative markers are not allowed to occur in the focus component, whereas they are permitted in the presuppositional clause, as in (16).

(16) a. John-{ga/no} si-**nakat**-ta^{SJ}/se-**nyat**-ta^{HJ} koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-NEG-PST thing-TOP run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John didn't is run.'

b. *John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasira-**nai**^{SJ}/hasira-**n**^{HJ}]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP run-NEG
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John did is not run.'

This restriction can be attributed to the structural position of NegP. NegP is projected above *v*P. Thus, the example in (16b), where the negative marker appears in the focus position, is not acceptable.

Furthermore, aspectual markers such as *te i* and *-yor* exhibit a distribution similar to tense and negative markers, as shown in (17).

(17) a. John-{ga/no} si-**te** **i**-ta^{SJ}/**yot**-ta^{HJ} koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-GER ASP-PST/ASP-PST thing-TOP run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John was doing is run.'

b. *John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasit-**te i-r**u^{SJ}/hasir-**iyor**-u^{HJ}]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP run-GER ASP-INF/run-ASP-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
lit. 'What John did is being running.'

These aspectual markers are restricted to the presuppositional clause, as they occupy the head of AspP, which is projected between *v*P and (finite) TP.[6] This view is corroborated by the aspectual adverb *moo* 'already' since the adverb shows the same distribution as the aspectual markers in the pseudo-cleft construction.

[6] The aspectual construction in HJ has a mono-clausal structure, where *yor*(*u*) directly attaches to the verb morphologically. The corresponding aspectual construction in SJ is bi-clausal. The morpheme *-te* in SJ indicates that the aspectual verb *i*(*ru*) embeds an infinitival (or gerundive) clause, but the generalization that Asp intervenes between *v*P and finite TP still holds.

(18) a. John-{ga/no} **moo** si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} already do-PST thing-TOP run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John already did is run.'

b. *John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ **moo** hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP already run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
lit. 'What John did is run already.'

The examples in (18) suggest that *moo* appears in AspP, whose head is filled by the aspectual markers in (17).

In contrast, agent-oriented adverbs are allowed in the focus component, as well as in the presupposition clause, as shown in (19).

(19) a. John-{ga/no} si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ **iyaiya** hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} do-PST thing-TOP reluctantly run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John did is run reluctantly.'

b. John-{ga/no} **iyaiya** si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} reluctantly do-PST thing-TOP run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John did reluctantly is run.'

(19a) suggests that the agent-oriented adverb *iyaiya* 'reluctantly' is adjoined to *v*P and hence is permitted to appear in the focus position. When the adverb is adjoined to *v*P, two layers of *v*P are created: [$_{vP}$ *iyaiya* [$_{vP}$]]. Thus, the adverb *iyaiya* appears in the presupposition clause when the lower layer of *v*P, which does not contain the adverb, is placed in the focus component. When the upper layer of vP is placed in the focus position, *iyaiya* appears in the focus component.

With this much in mind, let us consider whether nominative and genitive subjects can appear in the focus component. As (20) shows, neither nominative nor genitive subjects can occur in the focus component although they can occur in the presuppositional component.

(20) a. **John-{ga/no}** moo si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ hasir-u]
John-{NOM/GEN} already do-PST thing-TOP run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
'What John did already is run.'

b. *Moo si-ta koto-wa [$_{vP}$ **John-{ga/no}** hasir-u]
already do-PST thing-TOP John-{NOM/GEN} run-INF
koto-da^{SJ}/bai^{HJ}.
thing-COP/PRT
lit. 'What did already is John run.'

The unacceptability of the genitive and nominative subjects in HJ in (20b), which contrasts with the acceptability of (20a), suggests that both nominative and genitive subjects are not allowed to remain in *v*P, where they are base-generated.

Obviously, the *v*P-in-situ hypothesis, which posits that genitive subjects appear in *v*P, falls short of accounting for the facts of genitive as well as nominative subjects, discussed in this section. In SJ and HJ, genitive and nominative subjects display the same behavior in the pseudo-cleft construction with *v*P-focusing, in that they are not allowed in the focus component. The fact suggests that in both HJ and SJ, subjects are extracted from *v*P, regardless of whether they are marked with nominative case or genitive case.

3.2. Indeterminate pronoun binding within AspP

Even though genitive and nominative subjects undergo A-movement out of *v*P in both HJ and SJ, the syntactic positions to which genitive subjects are moved differ between HJ and SJ. Crucial evidence in support of this claim comes from data pertaining to indeterminate pronoun binding within AspP.

To make this point, observe first that indeterminate pronouns such as *nani* 'what' and *dare* 'who' can take on a variety of interpretations—interrogative, free choice, existential, and negative polarity—depending on the particle that is associated with them (Kuroda 1965; Kishimoto 2001; Hiraiwa 2005; Shimoyama 2006).

(21) a. John-wa nani-o tabe-ta **no**? (interrogative)
John-TOP what-ACC eat-PST Q
'What did John eat?'

b. John-wa dare-**demo** home-ru. (free choice)
John-TOP who-PRT praise-PRS
'John praises anyone.'

c. Dare-**ka** ki-ta. (existential)
who-PRT come-PST
'Someone came.'

d. Dare-**mo** ko-nakat-ta. (NPI)
who-PRT come-NEG-PST
'Nobody came.'

When bound by the adverbial particle *mo* 'also', as in (21d), indeterminate pronouns typically behave as negative polarity items (NPIs). Thus, (22), where *dare-mo* appears in an affirmative sentence, is ungrammatical.

(22) *Dare-**mo** ki-ta.
who-PRT come-PST
'Anybody came.'

The adverbial particle *mo* is not required to occur contiguous with indeterminate pronouns, as shown in (23a), where the particle follows the verb stem *tabe* 'eat' rather than the indeterminate pronoun *nani* 'what'.

(23) a. John-wa nani-o tabe-**mo**-si-nakat-ta. (SJ)
John-TOP what-ACC eat-PRT-do-NEG-PST
'John didn't eat anything.'
b. *Dare-ga sore-o tabe-**mo**-si-nakat-ta. (SJ)
who-NOM that-ACC eat-PRT-do-NEG-PST
'No one ate that.'

(23a) is grammatical because the indeterminate pronoun in object position is licensed under the scope of *mo*. In (23b), in contrast, the indeterminate pronoun *dare* 'who' in the subject position cannot be licensed, indicating that it lies outside the scope of *mo*. Kishimoto (2001) argues that the particle *mo*, which attaches to the verb, is adjoined to *v*P and takes *v*P as its scope. In the light of the subject-object asymmetry observed for indeterminate pronoun binding, Kishimoto (2001) claims that nominative subjects in Japanese undergo A-movement to Spec,TP by virtue of the EPP feature on T, i.e. they cannot remain within *v*P.

Turning to HJ, the same subject-object asymmetry in indeterminate pronoun binding is observed for accusative objects and nominative subjects, as shown in (24a,b).

(24) a. John-wa nan-ba tabe-**mo**-se-nyat-ta. (HJ)
John-TOP what-ACC eat-PRT-do-NEG-PST
'John didn't eat anything.'
b. *Dai-ga ki-**mo**-se-nyat-ta. (HJ)
who-NOM come-PRT-do-NEG-PST
'Nobody came.'

Given that the subject indeterminate pronoun cannot be bound by *mo* in (24b), it is reasonable to state that nominative subjects in HJ move to Spec,TP on a par with the nominative subjects of SJ.

Nevertheless, genitive subjects in HJ can be bound by *mo* attached to the verb, as seen in (25) (Saruwatari 2015, Moriyama et al. 2022).

(25) Dai-no ki-**mo**-se-nyat-ta. (HJ)
who-GEN come-PRT-do-NEG-PST
'Nobody came.'

In view of this fact, one might be tempted to state that the genitive subject in HJ resides in Spec,*v*P (Saruwatari 2015). The analysis taking the genitive subject to remain in *v*P is called into question, however, since genitive subjects as well as nominative subjects cannot be placed in the focus position of the pseudo-cleft construction with *v*P focus, as discussed in section 3.1.

The facts of the pseudo-cleft construction with *v*P focus illustrate that the genitive subject in HJ undergoes A-movement out of *v*P. On the other hand, the data in (24b) and (25) suggest that the genitive subject does not move to Spec,TP. The syntactic behaviors of genitive subjects in the two types of construction indicate that genitive subjects in HJ are dislocated from Spec,*v*P, but are not raised to Spec,TP, to which nominative subjects are raised. In light of these considerations, we propose that the genitive subject in HJ moves to Spec,AspP—a projection lying between *v*P and TP.

(26) [CP [TP [AspP **SUBJ-GEN** [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] Asp] T] C] (HJ)

the scope of -*mo* (= AspP)

While Kishimoto claims that *mo*, which follows the verb, takes scope over *v*P by virtue of its adjunction to *v*P, we posit that the particle *mo* placed to the right of the verb is adjoined to AspP, taking AspP as its scope, as (26) illustrates (Moriyama et al. 2022).[7]

In HJ, genitive subjects are located in Spec,AspP, i.e. they occupy a lower structural position than nominative subjects, falling under the scope of *mo*. Accordingly, *mo* can bind the genitively-marked indeterminate pronoun subject in (25). By contrast, nominative subjects cannot be bound by *mo*, as shown in (24b). This fact follows straightforwardly if they fill in Spec,TP, which falls outside the scope of *mo*.

At this point, it is worth noting that some previous works observe an interpretive difference between nominative and genitive subjects in HJ. Nominative subjects can receive an exhaustive-listing interpretation, which has the presupposition that no other alternatives available in the context can satisfy the proposition, and a neutral-description interpretation which has no such presupposition. In contrast, genitive subjects can only have the neutral-description interpretation (Kato 2007; Nishioka 2018; cf. Kuno 1973). Accordingly, the particle *dake* 'only' is admissible on the nominative subject but not the genitive subject, as (27a) and (27b) illustrate. In SJ, both interpretations are allowed on genitive subjects in SJ, and thus, (27c) is acceptable regardless of whether or not *dake* appears on the genitive subject (cf. Akaso and Haraguchi 2011).

(27) a. Kodomo(-dake)-ga atumat-ta. (HJ)
child-only-NOM gather-PST
'(Only) the children gathered.'

b. Kodomo(*-dake)-no atumat-ta. (HJ)
child-only-GEN gather-PST
'(Only) the children gathered.'

c. [kodomo(-dake)-no atumat-ta] riyuu (SJ)
child-only-GEN gather-PST reason
'the reason why (only) the children gathered'

The interpretive difference in (27a) and (27b) in HJ may come from structural reasons. The nominative subject is located in Spec,TP, so that it can have an exhaustive-listing interpretation, as well as a neutral-description interpretation. The genitive subject appears in a less prominent position of Spec,Asp, which is in the verbal domain where only a neutral description is possible. In SJ, both genitive and nominative subjects are located above *v*P, so that they can receive exhaustive-listing and neutral-description interpretations.

[7] The particle *mo* attached to aspectual markers such as *yor* is expected to bind a genitive subject. Nevertheless, for reasons that are not clear to us, *mo* cannot be added to the aspectual marker *yor*, as shown in (i).

(i) *John-wa hon-ba yomi-yori-mo-sen. (HJ)
John-TOP book-ACC read-ASP-PRT-NEG.PRS
'John isn't even reading a book.'

SJ genitive subjects that are allowed only in adnominal clauses appear in a higher structural position than genitive subjects in HJ. This fact can be confirmed by the examples in (28).

(28) a. [dare-o sikari-**mo** si-nakat-ta] sensei (SJ)
who-ACC scold-PRT do-NEG-PST teacher
'a teacher who didn't scold anyone.'
b. *[dare-ga aruki-**mo** si-nakat-ta] haikingu-koosu (SJ)
who-NOM walk-PRT do-NEG-PST hiking-trail
'a hiking course where no one walked.'
c. *[dare-no aruki-**mo** si-nakat-ta] haikingu-koosu (SJ)
who-GEN walk-PRT do-NEG-PST hiking-trail
'a hiking course where no one walked.'

The particle *mo* can bind an object but not a nominative subject, as shown in (28a,b). If the particle *mo* is adjoined to AspP, the data suggest that in SJ, both nominative and genitive subjects are located in a position higher than AspP. Moreover, since the HJ example in (25) is acceptable, as opposed to the SJ example in (28c), it must be the case that genitive subjects in SJ occupy a higher structural position than genitive subjects in HJ.[8]

The construction used for evaluating the position of subjects in this section shows that in SJ, nominative and genitive subjects are both moved out of *v*P, but their relative positions outside *v*P cannot be measured by this construction. In the next section, we show that the genitive subject in SJ moves to Spec,CP, which is higher than the position occupied by the nominative subject, drawing on data from indeterminate pronoun binding in a semi-modal construction.

3.3. Indeterminate pronoun binding in a semi-modal construction

In this section, it is argued that a semi-modal construction containing the expression *te okasiku-nai* 'it could be that …' can provide a confirmation on the difference in the structural position of genitive and nominative subjects in SJ, as well as the difference in the position of genitive subjects between SJ and HJ. (29) is a representative example of the semi-modal construction from SJ and HJ.

(29) Boodoo-ga okot-te(-**mo**) okasiku-na-i^{SJ}/okasyuu-na-ka^{HJ}.
riot-NOM occur-GER-PRT strange-NEG-PRS
'Riots could occur.'

In (29), the adverbial particle *mo* can optionally attach to the gerundive marker *te*. Following Kishimoto (2012) and Nakatani (2013), we posit that the gerundive marker *te* serves as the head of non-finite TP in (29). Whether subjects are located in CP or below

[8] Some speakers control the link of an indeterminate pronoun to *mo* prosodically and other speakers do not. The judgments are based on the latter group of speakers. It seems, however, that even for speakers belonging to the former group, the relevant judgements are obtained if the prosodic strategy is not used.

TP can be assessed according to whether the particle *mo* appearing after *te* can bind indeterminate pronoun subjects in the semi-modal construction.

If the semi-modal construction occurs as an adnominal clause, the subject of the adnominal clause can be marked with either nominative or genitive case in SJ and HJ, as shown in (30).[9]

(30) [boodoo-{ga/no} okot-te-**mo** okasiku-na-i^{SJ}/okasyuu-na-ka^{HJ}]
riot-{NOM/GEN} occur-GER-PRT strange-NEG-PRS
zyookyoo
situation
'the situation that riots could occur'

In the semi-modal construction at issue, the adverbial particle *mo* following the gerundive marker *te* takes scope over the embedded TP, as illustrated in (31).

(31) [$_{TP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ … V-*v*] -*te*] -***mo***]……
the scope of *mo*

Given the configuration in (31), it is easy to see that the nominative subject *nani* 'what' can be bound by *mo* in the semi-modal construction, as (32a) shows, and the indeterminate pronoun receives free choice interpretation. An indeterminate pronoun object can also be licensed by *mo*, as in (32b).

(32) a. [nani-ga okot-te-**mo** okasiku-na-i^{SJ}/okasyuu-na-ka^{HJ}]
what-NOM get.angry-GER-PRT strange-NEG-PRS
zyookyoo (√SJ, √HJ)
situation
'the situation that anyone could get angry'

b. [kare-ga nani-o^{SJ}/nan-ba^{HJ} ii-dasi-te-**mo**
he-NOM what-ACC say-begin-GER-PRT
okasiku-na-i^{SJ}/okasyuu-na-ka^{HJ}] zyookyoo (√SJ, √HJ)
strange-NEG-PRS situation
'the situation where he could begin to say anything'

The difference in the admissibility of genitive subjects in the semi-modal construction, shown in (33), suggests that the indeterminate pronoun *dare* appearing as a genitive subject cannot be bound by *mo* in SJ, but *dare* serving as a genitive subject can in HJ.

[9] The complex expression *te okasiku-nai* does not have an affirmative form **te okasii*, which suggests that it is grammaticalized as a semi-modal expression filling in CP, although it originally has a bi-clausal structure. Speaker variation is often observed in the degree of the admissibility of genitive subjects in the semi-modal construction in SJ. Some speakers find (30) awkward, though not totally unacceptable, perhaps because the process of grammaticalization which renders *te okasiku-nai* into a modal has not been completed yet.

(33) [nani-no ^{SJ}/nan-no^{HJ} okot-te-**mo** okasiku-na-i^{SJ}/okasyuu-na-ka^{HJ}]
what-GEN occur-GER-PRT strange-NEG-PRS
zyookyoo
situation
'the situation that anything could occur' (*SJ, √HJ)

Since *mo* is attached to the right of *-te*, which fills the T-head position in the semi-modal construction, it is reasonable to postulate that nominative subjects move into the canonical position of Spec,TP.

(34) [DP [CP [TP SUBJ-NOM [AspP [*v*P ~~SUBJ-NOM~~ V-*v*] Asp] **T**] C] D]
[Case] [EPP] ~~[Case]~~ ~~[EPP]~~
feature inheritance

(32a) is acceptable, since *mo* can bind the indeterminate pronoun subject marked with nominative *ga*. The nominative subject is Case-licensed by T under Agree, and thus bears nominative case.

Next, the ungrammaticality of (32a) suggests that in SJ the genitive subject occupies Spec,CP, a higher position than the nominative subject, as (35a) illustrates. By contrast, (32b) is acceptable, which shows that in HJ, the genitive subject is located in the binding domain of *mo*, as illustrated in (35b).

(35) a. [DP [CP **SUBJ-GEN** [TP [AspP [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] Asp] T] C] D] (SJ)
the scope of *-mo* (= AspP)

b. [CP [TP [AspP **SUBJ-GEN** [*v*P ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] Asp] T] C] (HJ)
the scope of *-mo* (= AspP)

Overall, the data regarding the semi-modal construction ascertain that genitive subjects in SJ undergo movement to Spec,CP, and genitive subjects in HJ are moved to Spec,AspP, contrary to the standard hypothesis that the genitive subjects stay within *v*P with no A-movement in both SJ and HJ.

4. The Case licensers of genitive subjects

In this section, we contend that genitive subjects in SJ are licensed by the Case feature of D after raising to CP whose head carries an EPP feature but lacks a Case feature. We suggest that in the genitive-subject construction in HJ, C is endowed with both EPP and Case features, and that since they are inherited by Asp, genitive subjects are moved to Spec,AspP while their Case is licensed by Asp.

4.1. D-licensing approach vs. C-licensing approach

There are two main approaches to the licensing of genitive subjects in SJ: the D-licensing approach (Miyagawa 1993, 2011; Ochi 2001, 2009; Maki and Uchibori 2008) and the C-licensing approach (Watanabe 1996; Hiraiwa 2001, 2005). The D-licensing approach

posits that the D head is the licenser of genitive Case. The C-licensing approach is advanced by Hiraiwa (2001), who claims that genitive subjects are Case-licensed by the probe φ-feature on C.

Several proposals on how genitive Case is licensed have been advanced in the D-licensing approach. For instance, Ochi (2001) claims that genitive subjects are licensed either by their overt movement into Spec,DP, or by the covert movement of the genitive Case feature to D. Miyagawa (2011) suggests that when an adnominal clause comprises CP, C is assigned a nominative Case feature, which is inherited by T, and accordingly, nominative Case is licensed by T. If an adnominal clause projects only up to TP, the D head licenses genitive Case on the embedded subject. While the details of the analysis vary among the proponents of the D-licensing approach, they share the view that the D head is responsible for the licensing of genitive Case.

Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) argues against the D-licensing approach by presenting a number of examples, in which genitive subjects are allowed despite an apparent lack of a genitive Case licenser. One such example is given in (36).

(36) John-wa Mary-{ga/no} ku-ru **made** heya-ni i-ta. (SJ)
John-TOP Mary-NOM/GEN come-PRS until room-in exist-PST
'John was in his room until Mary showed up.'

Hiraiwa (2001, 2005) notes that in clauses where *ga-no* conversion can take place, the adjectival noun predicates take *rentaikei* (attributive form). Note that when an adjectival noun is used attributively, the combined copular *da* appears as *na*, as shown in (37).

(37) a. John-wa yuushuu-**da**. (SJ)
John-TOP excellence-COP
'John is excellent.'
b. John-{ga/no} yuushuu-**na** wake (SJ)
John-NOM/GEN excellence-COP reason
'a reason why John is excellent'

According to Hiraiwa (2001), the inflectional form of *na* results from Agree being established between V, *v*, T, and C. Genitive Case on the subject is licensed by C after T's φ-feature being copied onto C through Agree.

Although this analysis looks attractive, Maki and Uchibori (2008) claim that examples like (36) do not necessarily constitute counterexamples to the D-licensing analysis. For example, in light of the fact that the common noun *zikan* 'time' can be inserted before the subordinator *made*, as in (38), it could be argued that (36) has an implicit head noun before *made*. This being the case, the silent D is expected to license genitive marking on the embedded subject.

(38) John-wa Mary-{ga/no} ku-ru zikan **made** heya-ni
John-TOP Mary-NOM/GEN come-PRS time until room-in
i-ta. (SJ)
exist-PST
'John was in his room until Mary showed up.'

In addition, relational nouns are often grammaticalized into postpositions. Then, another possibility is that *made* is the Case licenser of the genitive Case. This view is plausible since *made* can have a nominal use, as in (39).

(39) a. Itigatu-matu-**made**-o kigen-to si-masu.
January-end-until-ACC deadline-COP make-POLITE
'The deadline is the end of January.'
b. Sono-toki-**made**-ga yo-i.
that-time-until-NOM good-PRS
'It is ok until that time.'

The PP headed by *made* can appear in the nominal position, as illustrated in (39). If a postposition grammaticalized from a relational noun (like *made*) retains a syntactic function to license genitive Case, as with ordinary nouns, there is a sense in which the genitive marking should be allowed in (36).

Hiraiwa's examples do not allow us to choose the C-licensing approach over the D-licensing approach, and the issue over the licenser of genitive Case in SJ still remains unsettled. For SJ, we claim that the genitive Case on the genitive subjects is licensed by a D head in accordance with the D-licensing approach. In the next section, we present empirical evidence in support of the D-licensing analysis.

4.2. Evidence from the quasi-modal noun *wake*

How the genitive Case on genitive subjects is licensed differs between HJ and SJ. This can be evidenced by the adnominal clause construction headed by *wake*, which can be used as either a noun expressing the meaning of 'reason' or a quasi-modal noun expressing the meaning of 'no wonder'. In the SJ example in (40a), *wake* is used as a full-blown noun, and the copula combined with the adjective appears in the attributive form (*rentaikei*). The same inflectional pattern is observed when *wake* is used as a quasi-modal noun used as an exclamative or an interrogative marker, as in (40b,c).

(40) a. John-ga yuumei-**na** (sono) wake (SJ)
John-NOM famous-COP that reason
'that reason John is famous.'
b. Dakara, John-ga yuumei-**na** (*sono) wake ka! (SJ)
that.is.why John-NOM famous-COP that no.wonder PRT
'It is no wonder John is famous!'
c. Dakara, John-ga yuumei-**na** (*sono) wake? (SJ)
that.is.why John-NOM famous-COP that PRT
'Is that why John is famous?'

When *wake* is a full noun, it can be preceded by a nominal modifier *sono* 'that', as (40a) shows. The addition of the nominal modifier is not possible when *wake* is a quasi-modal, as shown in (40b,c).

Hiraiwa (2001) posits that *na*, the attributive form of the copula *da*, is a morphological manifestation of Agree established in V, *v*, T, and C, and thus the C can license genitive Case. In Hiraiwa's analysis, then *ga-no* conversion is expected to be triggered in both (40a) and (40b), where the adjective appears in the attributive form, i.e. it has the *na*-

ending. Nevertheless, the genitive subject is allowed when *wake* is a full noun, as in (41a), but is not allowed with the quasi-modal noun *wake* even though the copula appears in its attributive form, as in (41b).

(41) a. Sore-ga John-**no** yuushuu-na wake-da. (SJ)
it-NOM John-GEN excellence-COP reason-COP
'That is the reason John is excellent.'

b. *Dakara, John-**no** yuushuu-na wake ka! (SJ)
that.is.why John-GEN excellence-COP no.wonder PRT
'It is no wonder that John is excellent!'

In our analysis, the well-formedness of (41a) falls out straightforwardly on the assumption that in the SJ, C is endowed with an EPP feature to attract the genitive subject, but it lacks a Case feature in genitive-subject construction. In (41a), the genitive subject is licensed by the Case feature of D after raising to Spec,CP.

(42) [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ SUBJ-GEN [$_{TP}$ [$_{AspP}$ [$_{vP}$ ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] Asp] T] C] **D**] (SJ)
[EPP] [Case]

The ungrammaticality of (41b) cannot be accounted for under Hiraiwa's (2001) analysis, since the predicate takes the attributive form. Rather, its ungrammaticality is attributed to the quasi-modal noun *wake*'s loss of the categorial status as a full noun. (41b) is not acceptable since *wake* fails to serve as the Case licenser of the genitive subject.

Next, HJ does not have adjectival nouns, and *yuushuu-na* 'excellent', which is categorized as an adjectival noun in SJ, appears as an adjective in HJ, as in (43). No morphological distinction is drawn between the conclusive and attributive forms of adjectives in Japanese, so the suffix attached to *yuushuu* is invariably realized as *ka* in HJ.

(43) a. John-wa yuushuu-**ka** bai. (HJ)
John-TOP excellence-PRS PRT
'John is excellent.'

b. Soi-ga John-ga yuushuu-**ka** wake bai. (HJ)
it-NOM John-NOM excellence-PRS reason PRT
'That is the reason John is excellent.'

c. Yaken, John-ga yuushuu-**ka** wake ka! (HJ)
that.is.why John-NOM excellence-PRS no.wonder PRT
'It is no wonder that John is excellent!'

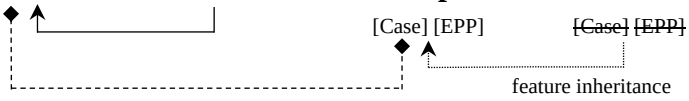
As shown in (44), *ga-no* conversion is permitted in HJ regardless of whether *wake* is a noun or a quasi-modal noun.

(44) a. Soi-ga John-no yuushuu-**ka** wake bai. (HJ)
it-NOM John-GEN excellence-PRS reason PRT
'That is the reason John is excellent.'

b. Yaken, John-no yuushuu-**ka** wake ka! (HJ)
that.is.why John-GEN excellence-PRS no.wonder PRT
'It is no wonder that John is excellent!'

The data in (44) are naturally expected in our proposed analysis since the genitive subject in HJ is moved to Spec,AspP by the EPP feature, and is Case-licensed by the Case feature on Asp, as illustrated in (45).

(45) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{AspP}$ SUBJ-GEN [$_{vP}$ ~~SUBJ-GEN~~ V-*v*] **Asp**] T] C] (HJ)



It must be stressed that the differences in the syntactic behavior of genitive subjects in SJ and HJ are derived from a difference in how genitive subjects are Case-licensed. Our analysis taking the licenser of genitive Case to be D in SJ and Asp in HJ can readily account for the fact that genitive subjects are confined to adnominal clauses in SJ, while genitive subjects in HJ are not.

In this section, on the basis of the data regarding the quasi-modal noun *wake* that allows us to access how genitive Case on the genitive subjects in SJ and HJ, we have argued that the D-licensing approach is favored over the C-licensing approach.

5. Conclusion

Genitive subjects appear in structural positions different from Spec,TP filled by nominative subjects. In SJ, the genitive subject occupies Spec,CP, located at the edge of adnominal clauses. In HJ, the genitive subject occurs in AspP. It has been argued that genitive subjects are displaced from *v*P, but their exact moved positions differ depending on how edge features are assigned within the genitive-subject constructions. The discussion illustrates that the genitive subjects in SJ and HJ possess remarkably different properties despite bearing the same *no* marking.

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