The Licensing of Nominative Case in Japanese: Evidence from Ga/No Conversion[*]

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1.Introduction

The condition of the nominative case licensing in Japanese is one of the most intriguing issues in Japanese syntax. For example, Saito (1982) argues that the Japanese nominative case is an inherent Case. Takezawa (1987) offers an analysis that nominative case is assigned by INFL, and extending Takezawa's analysis, Ura (1996) argues that nominative case is licensed by T under the minimalist assumptions. These analyses above imply that there is only one type of nominative case licensing in Japanese.

On the contrary, Kuroda (1987) proposes that there are two types of nominative case licensing in Japanese; one by LCM (Linear Case Marking), and the other by movement.

In order to examine which analysis is superior, we will look at the nominative-genitive conversion (Ga/No Conversion; henceforth GNC) with the so-called *tough* construction in Japanese. The conclusion of the analysis is that there are two types of nominative case licensing in Japanese; the nominative case is licensed by T, or by another functional category, which we will call G(eneric). We argue that the existence of the functional category G is motivated by the genericity. To the extent that the analysis is on the right track, it will be shown that the semantics-driven functional category exists in syntactic structure.

The organization of this paper will be as follows: In section 2 and 3, we will briefly observe several properties of the *tough* construction, and the GNC in Japanese, respectively. In section 4, we will show that there are two types of the nominative case marker in Japanese. In section 5, we will propose our analysis. In section 6 we will argue that nominative objects and the possessor-raised NPs in Japanese are all licensed by T. Section 7 will conclude our paper.

2. The *Tough* Construction in Japanese

The *tough* construction in Japanese is a sentence that involves a main predicate with the adjectives such as *yasui* 'easy' or *nikui* 'tough'. According to Inoue (1978), there are four types of *tough* constructions in Japanese:

(1) a. Gakusei-ni-wa   kono zisyo-ga   tukai-yasui   (type I)
        student-for-Top this dictionary-Nom use-easy
       'This dictionary is easy for students to use'
   b. Saikin   watasi-wa   kooon-de   utai-nikui   (type II)
        recently I-Top   high-pitched notes-in sing-hard
       'To sing high-pitched notes has recently been hard for me.'
   c. Senzai-wa   yu-ni   toke-yasui   (Type III)
        detergent-Top   warm water-in   dissolve-easy
       (lit.) 'Detergent is easy to dissolve in warm water'
   d. Awatemono-wa   ziko-o   okosi-yasui   (Type IV)
        hasty people-Top   accident-Acc cause-tend to
       'Hasty people tend to cause accidents.'

As shown in (1), the direct object of the main predicate is marked as nominative. As we will see below, elements other than the direct object of the main predicate can be marked as nominative in type I. In type II, the direct object of the main predicate cannot be marked as nominative. In type III, it expresses the speaker's judgment toward the easiness/difficulties of an

event/action. In type IV, in contrast, it expresses the speaker's judgment toward the tendencies of an action/event. For the detailed discussion of this matter, see Inoue (1978, 2004).

In this paper, we assume, following Kuroda (1987), that there are two types of *tough* constructions in Japanese: type I on the one hand, and type II, III, and IV, on the other. There are two pieces of evidence to support this assumption. First, as noted by Kuroda (1987), only type I, and not other types, may contain an 'experiencer' argument, which can be marked by the morphologically complex postposition *nitotte*.

Second, in type I, the phrase other than the subject in the embedded clause may have the nominative case marker. The following examples clearly show this point:

(2) a. *Kodomo-ni-wa   suwari-nikui
          child-for-Top   sit-hard
          (lit.) 'For a child is hard to sit'
     b. Kodomo-ni-wa ano isu-ga   suwari-nikui
          child-for-Top   that chair-Nom   sit-hard
          'That chair is hard for a child to sit on'
(3) a. *Sensyu-ni-wa   tobi-nikui
          athlete-for-Top   jump-hard
          (lit.)'For athletes are hard to jump'
     b. Sensyu-ni-wa   kono dai-kara-ga   tobi-nikui
          athlete-For-Top this spring board-Nom jump-hard
          'This springboard is hard for athletes to jump from.'

In (2) and (3), the main predicate is an intransitive verb, and without the phrase with the nominative case marker, the sentence is unacceptable. Thus, in order to account for the contrast above, Inoue (1978) made a generalization as illustrated in (4):

(4)   If the complement predicate is not transitive, the complement sentence
       has at least one more NP or PP besides the subject.

Put in a different way, the requirement for type I tough construction is that the phrase other than the subject must bear the nominative case marker.

Therefore, we will focus on type I tough construction throughout this paper and see how this construction interacts with the phenomenon called ga/no conversion (GNC).

3. Ga/No Conversion

The GNC is a phenomenon in which the nominative case marker is converted to the genitive case marker under a certain condition, as illustrated in (5)[1]:

(5) a. Taro-**ga**   hasiru riyuu
   Taro-Nom run   reason
   'the reason that Taro runs'
  b. Taro-**no**   hasiru riyuu
   Taro-Gen run   reason

What is interesting is that the GNC does not change any grammatical, nor semantic relations. Thus, *Taro-ga* in (5a) and *Taro-no* in (5b) are the subject of each sentence.

It has not been yet settled how to license the genitive case marker in (5b). Miyagawa (1993), for example, argues that the NP moves to Spec DP in covert syntax in order to license the genitive case marker. On the contrary, Hiraiwa (2001) argues that C_{affix} with the ϕ-feature transferred from T can license genitive Case of the subject in TP SPEC via Agree. Putting technical details aside, however, all of the above-mentioned analyses

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[1] It is often argued that the condition for the GNC is some sort of 'nominality' in the embedded context, such as sentential modifiers to nouns (Miyagawa (1993), Ochi (2001), Maki and Uchibori (2005)). See also Hiraiwa (2001) for the different analysis on this matter.

commonly assume that the prerequisite for the GNC is that the NP can bear the genitive case marker if it is in Spec IP (TP). Thus, we would like to make the following generalization for the GNC:

(6)   The phrase in Spec IP (TP) is able to bear the genitive case marker.

Throughout this paper, we simply assume, following Miyagawa (1993), and Maki and Uchibori (2005), that the NP moves to Spec DP in order to bear the genitive case marker[2].

4. GNC and the two types of nominative case marker

In section 2, we have observed that in addition to the direct object of the main predicate, other elements, such as PPs, can receive the nominative case marker in the type I tough construction. Now, the question that arises is whether the nominative case marker in (7), which the direct object of the main predicate bears, is identical to the nominative case marker in (8), which is assigned to PP. This question is related to the issue of the licensing of the nominative case marker in Japanese; namely, how the nominative case is licensed. Saito (1982) argues that the Japanese nominative case is an inherent Case. Takezawa (1987) offers an analysis that nominative case is assigned by INFL, and extending Takezawa's analysis, Ura (1996) argues that nominative case is licensed by T under the minimalist assumptions. They all assume that there is only one nominative case licensing condition in Japanese. On the other hand, Kuroda (1987) proposes that there are two types of nominative case licensing in Japanese: the one by LCM and the other by movement. Thus, our prediction is that if GNC behaves the same way in sentences (7) and (8), then, it would show that there is only one kind of the nominative case licensing, which constitutes evidence for Saito (1982), Takezawa (1987) or Ura (1996, 2000). On the other hand, if GNC behaves in a different way, then it shows that there are two kinds of

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[2] Note that even though we adopt Hiraiwa's (2001) analysis of the GNC, it does not affect the analysis in this paper.

nominative case licensing in Japanese. In this section, we will show that Kuroda's (1987) analysis of the nominative case licensing is correct.

(7)   Gakusei-ni-wa   kono zisyo-ga   tukai-yasui
        student-for-Top this dictionary-Nom   use-easy
        'This dictionary is easy for students to use'
(8)   Masao-nitotte kono kuni-kara-ga   nukedasi-yasui
                    -for   this country-from-Nom escape-easy
        'This country is easy for Masao to escape from'

4.1. NP vs. PP

   Let us consider the following sentences in order to see how GNC works in type I *tough* constructions.

(9)   a. Gakusei-ni-wa   kono zisyo-ga   tukai-yasui
            student-for-Top this dictionary-Nom   use-easy
            'This dictionary is easy for students to use'
        b. Gakusei-ni-wa   kono zisyo-ga/no   tukai-yasui riyuu
             student-for-Top this dictionary-Nom/-Gen use-easy   reason
             'This dictionary is easy for students to use'

As illustrated in (9b), the nominative case-marked element is the direct object of the main predicate, and GNC is possible. However, the following data shows that the nominative case marker with the PP in (10) cannot convert to the genitive case marker.

(10) a. Masao-nitotte   kono kuni-kara-ga   nukedasi-yasui
                      -for   this country-from-Nom   escape-easy
            'This country is easy for Masao to escape from'
        b. Masao-nitotte   kono kuni-kara-ga/*-no   nukedasi-yasui
                      -for   this country-from-Nom/-Gen escape-easy
            riyuu

reason

'the reason that this country is easy for Masao to escape from'

The contrast in (9) and (10) clearly shows that there are two kinds of nominative case markers in Japanese in that the GNC is possible in some cases.

4.2. No Gap

Takezawa (1987) notes that in type I, an element other than the argument of the main predicate can receive the nominative case marker, as given in (11):

(11) a. Kooitta ziko-ga   (higaisya-nitotte)
        this kind of accident-Nom   injured party-for
        bakudaina   songaibaisyoo-o   seikyuusi-yasui
        enormous   amount of compensation-Acc   claim-easy
        (lit.)'This kind of accident is easy (for the injured party) to claim an
        enormous amount of compensation.'
     b. Kotosi (gakusei-nitotte-wa) gengogaku-ga   ii   sigoto-o
        this year students-for-Top   linguistics-Nom good job-Acc
        mituke-nikui rasii
        find-difficult seem
        (lit.)'It seems that this year, linguistics is difficult (for students) to
        find a good job.'
                                                    (Takezawa (1987:210))

In (11a), for example, *kooitta ziko* is not an argument of the main predicate *seikyuu suru*. Note that it does not bear any postpositions, and one might predict that the nominative case marker in (11) can alter to the genitive case marker via the GNC. However, this prediction is not correct, as illustrated in the following data:

(12) a. Kooitta ziko-ga/*-no   (higaisya-nitotte)
        this kind of accident-Nom/-Gen   injured party-for
        bakudaina   songaibaisyoo-o   seikyuusi-yasu-i riyuu
        enormous   amount of compensation-Acc claim-easy   reason
        (lit.)'the reason that his kind of accident is easy (for the injured
        party) to claim an enormous amount of compensation'
     b. Kotosi   (gakusei-nitotte-wa) gengogaku-ga/*-no   ii
        this year students-for-Top   linguistics-Nom/-Gen good
        sigoto-o   mituke-nikui riyuu
        job-Acc   find-difficult reason
        (lit.)'the reason that this year, linguistics is difficult (for students) to
        find a good job'

The unacceptable sentences above suggest that not only the nominative case marker with PPs, but also the nominative case marker with NPs, cannot undergo the GNC under certain conditions.

4.3. Multiple Nominative

Kuroda (1987) notes that in type I *tough* construction in Japanese, more than one nominative case-marked element can cooccur in the sentence, as illustrated below:

(13) a. Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-de-wa   baiorin-de
        children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Top   violin-with
        sonata-ga   hiki-yasui
        sonata-Nom play-easy
        'Sonata is easy for children to play with violin in this hall'
     b. Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-de baiorin-de
        children-for-Top   this hall-Loc   violin-with
        sonata-ga   hiki-yasui
        sonata-Nom   play-easy
     c. Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-de   baiorin-de-**ga**

      children-for-Top   this hall-Loc   violin-with-Nom

      sonata-ga   hiki-yasui

      sonata-Nom play-easy

  d. Kodomotati-nitotte-wa   kono kaizyoo-(de)-**ga** baiorin-de

      children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Nom violin-with

      sonata-ga   hiki-yasui

      sonata-Nom play-easy

  e. Kodomotati-nitotte-wa   kono kaizyoo-(de)-**ga** baiorin-(de)-**ga**

      children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Nom   violin-with

      sonata-ga   hiki-yasui

      sonata-Nom play-easy

In (13), there are three elements that can bear the nominative case marker. *Sonata-ga* is a direct object of the main predicate *hiku*, and the other two elements can be considered as adjuncts. Let us now consider how the sentences above would interact with the GNC, as shown below:

(14) a. *Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-(de)-no baiorin-(de)-ga

        children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Gen   violin-with-Nom

        sonata-ga   hiki-yasui riyuu

        sonata-Nom play-easy   reason

        (lit.)'the reason that sonata is easy for children to play with violin

        in this hall'

   b. *Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-(de)-no baiorin-(de)-no

       children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Gen   violin-with-Gen

       sonata-ga   hiki-yasui riyuu

       sonata-Nom play-easy reason

   c. *Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-(de)-ga baiorin-(de)-no

       children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Nom   violin-with-Gen

       sonata-ga   hiki-yasui riyuu

       sonata-Nom play-easy   reason

   d. *Kodomotati-nitotte-wa kono kaizyoo-(de)-no baiorin-(de)-ga

       children-for-Top   this hall-Loc-Gen   violin-with-Nom

　　　　sonata-no　　hiki-yasui　riyuu
　　　　sonata-Gen　play-easy　reason
　　e. *Kodomotati-nitotte-wa　kono kaizyoo-(de)-ga　baiorin-(de)-no
　　　　children-for-Top　　　　this hall-Loc-Nom　　violin-with-Gen
　　　　sonata-no　　hiki-yasui　riyuu
　　　　sonata-Gen　play-easy　reason
　　f. Kodomotati-nitotte-wa　kono kaizyoo-(de)-ga　baiorin-(de)-ga
　　　　children-for-Top　　　　this hall-Loc-Nom　　violin-with-Nom
　　　　sonata-no　　hiki-yasui　riyuu
　　　　sonata-Nom　play-easy　reason

In the acceptable sentence (14f), the GNC is only applied to the direct object of the main predicate. All the unacceptable sentences in (14) show that the PP adjuncts fail to undergo the GNC.

　　To summarize, we have examined how the GNC can be applied to type I, and shown that there are two kinds of the nominative case marker in Japanese, as given in (15). The question that arises is how we can account for the different behaviors of the nominative case markers in Japanese.

(15)　a. the marker that undergoes the GNC -> the direct object of the main predicate
　　　b. the marker that does not undergo the GNC -> something other than the direct object

5. A Proposal

5.1. G(eneric)P

The key assumption of our analysis is that the elements that undergo the GNC are in Spec TP in overt syntax, as discussed in section 3. If this is on the right track, this suggests that the elements to which the GNC does not apply are not in Spec TP in overt syntax. Therefore, we propose that there is a functional category G(eneric) above TP that can license the other

nominative case marker in Japanese. According to our proposal, the nominative case marker is licensed by T (structural Case) or by the functional category G, as schematized below:

(16)   GP
        /   \
     [e]   G'
            /   \
          TP   G
          …..   [+Generic]
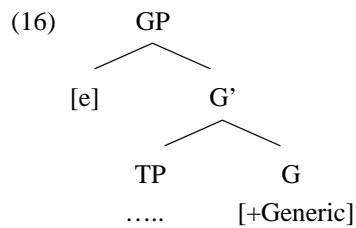
The motivation for the existence of GP is from semantics. Saito (1982), for example notes that "… a "tough sentence" requires an F&T (Focus and Topic), and it is, for some reason, interpreted to be a "property statement" about the required element." Kuroda (1987) also note that "the subject *ga* phrase of a root sentence describing a state (as opposed to a specific event, action, situation, etc.) is interpreted as 'focused'." What is common in these statements is that a *tough* sentence denotes a "generic" meaning.

It might be surprising to assume that the semantic information can be expressed in syntactic structure. However, the heads for topic, focus, or *wh*-movement are also motivated by semantic information, and this is not so strange even if the generic information can become a syntactic head in Japanese. Thus, the immediate consequence of this analysis is that in the Japanese syntactic structure, there exists another kind of head that is motivated by semantics.

Let us now consider how our analysis can account for the derivation of (17):

(17)   (Masao-nitotte)   sono yuubinkyoku kara-ga   kozutumi-o
             -for   that post office-from-Nom   package-Acc
       okuri-yasui
       end-easy
       'It is easy (for Masao) to send the package from that post office'

(18)   [[$_{GP}$ sono yuubinkyoku kara-ga$_1$] [$_{TP}$ [$_{AP}$ (Masao$_2$-nitotte) [$_{vP}$ PRO$_2$ [$_{VP}$ t_1 kozutumi-o okuri]] yasui]]

(18) is the structure for (17). We assume, following Inoue (2004), that the adjective *yasui* takes vP as a complement. The *NP-nitotte* is in the matrix clause, and it has the same index with the PRO in the embedded Spec vP. The PP *sono yuubinkyoku kara* would move from the embedded VP to Spec GP in overt syntax, and the PP will receive the nominative case marker there[3]. Since the nominative case marker of the PP is not licensed by T, it is not subject to the GNC.

   Let us now consider the following example where the direct object of the main predicate receives the nominative case marker:

(19)   (Gakusei-nitotte-wa)   kono zisyo-ga   tukai-yasui
       student-for-Top   this dictionary-Nom   use-easy
       'This dictionary is easy for students to use'
(20)   [$_{TP}$ kono zisyo-ga$_1$ [$_{AP}$ (Gakusei$_2$-nitotte) [$_{vP}$ PRO$_2$ [$_{VP}$ t_1 tukai]]
       yasui]]]

In (20) it would move to the matrix Spec TP, because the direct object of the main predicate needs to check off its Case feature. This is the reason why the nominative case marker undergoes the GNC.

   To sum up, we have proposed the existence of GP in the Japanese syntax, and the PPs move to Spec GP in overt syntax. In the next section, we will provide a piece of evidence that the PPs move to the matrix position in overt syntax.

5.2. Island Constraints

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[3] We will leave the issue of how the complex predicate *okuri-yasui* is formed. It might be the case that the main verb *okuri* would move to the *tough* adjective to form a complex predicate. It might also be possible to analyze that the main verb and the adjective would be merged in the morphology.

Takezawa (1987) notes that the movement of the direct object is not sensitive to island constraints, as shown in (21):

(21) a. [Kono te-no hanzai]$_1$-ga   (keisatu-nitotte)
          This kind of crime-Nom   police-for
          [[e$_2$ e$_1$ okasi-ta]   ningen$_2$]-o   sagasi-yasui
                  commit-Past   person-Acc   search-easy
          (lit.)'[This kind of crime]$_1$ is easy (for the police) to search a man
          who committed e$_1$'
       b. [Kooitta itazura]$_1$-ga   (senseitgata-nitotte)
          This kind of trick-Nom   teachers-for
          [[e$_2$ e$_1$ si-ta]   seito$_2$]-o   mituke-yasui
                  do-Past   pupil-Acc   find-easy
          (lit.)'[This kind of trick]$_1$ is easy (for the teachers) to find a pupil who
          played e$_1$'
                                                                  (Takezawa (1987:203))

Takezawa (1987) argues that what is involved here is that the NP is directly inserted in the matrix position, and the phonetically null element *pro*, which has the same index with the NP, is base generated within VP. This implies that the NP in the sentence-initial position has not moved, so that it is not subject to any island condition.

(22) NP$_1$ [$_{island}$ … *pro$_1$* …]
                                                                  (Saito (1985), Takezawa (1987))

With this in mind, let us now consider whether PPs are sensitive to island effects:

(23) a. *[Annataipu-no zyosei-to]$_2$-ga   (John-nitotte)[e$_1$e$_2$
          That types of woman-with-Nom John-for
          kekkon-site-i-ru] otoko$_1$]-to   hanasi-niku-i
          marry-Pres man-with   talk-hard-Pres

(lit.)'[With that type of woman]$_1$ is hard (for John) to talk to the man who marry e$_1$'

b.?*[Sooiu kinyuukikan-kara]$_2$-ga   (John-nitotte)[e$_2$ itumo   e$_1$
  Such financial agency-from-Nom John-for   always
okane-o   takusan karite-i-ru] hito$_1$]-o   sinyoosi-nikui
money-Acc a lot   borrow-Pres person-Acc trust-difficult
'[From such a financial agency]$_1$ is hard (for John) to trust a person who always loans a lot of money e$_1$'

(Takezawa (1987:215-216))

The unacceptable sentences above indicate that PPs are subject to the island constraints. Takezawa (1987) and Niinuma and Park (2004) argue that there is no phonologically null element *pro* that corresponds to PP in Japanese, and thus, PPs must move to the sentence-initial position in order to bear the nominative Case marker. To put it in a different way, PPs move to Spec GP in overt syntax, and this is the reason why the movement of PPs across islands would cause an unacceptable sentence.

5.3. No Gap

We have shown that Spec GP is filled with by movement of PPs. The question we would like to address is whether the direct merger of an element to Spec GP may be possible. Let us first consider the following examples:

(24) a. Kooitta ziko-ga   (higaisya-nitotte)
       this kind of accident-Nom   injured party-for
       bakudaina songaibaisyoo-o   seikyuusi-yasui
       enormous   amount of compensation-Acc   claim-easy
       (lit.)'This kind of accident is easy (for the injured party) to claim an enormous amount of compensation.'
    b. Kotosi   (gakusei-nitotte-wa) gengogaku-ga   ii   sigoto-o
       this year students-for-Top   linguistics-Nom good   job-Acc
       mituke-nikui   rasii

find-difficult   seem
(lit.)'It seems that this year, linguistics is difficult (for students) to
find a good job.'

(Takezawa (1987:210))

As noted above, the element with the nominative case marker that is not an argument of the main predicate may appear in type I. Furthermore, we have observed that the nominative case marker in (24) does not undergo the GNC, as illustrated in (25):

(25) a. Kooittaziko-ga/*-no   (higaisya-nitotte)
         this kind of accident-Nom/-Gen   injured party-for
         bakudaina songaibaisyoo-o   seikyuusi-yasu-i   riyuu
         enormous   amount of compensation-Acc claim-easy   reason
        (lit.)'the reason that his kind of accident is easy (for the injured
         party) to claim an enormous amount of compensation'
     b. Kotosi   (gakusei-nitotte-wa) gengogaku-ga/*-no   ii
        this year students-for-Top   linguistics-Nom/-Gen good
        sigoto-o   mituke-nikui riyuu
        job-Acc   find-difficult reason
       (lit.)'the reason that this year, linguistics is difficult (for students) to
        find a good job'

According our analysis, the nominative-case marked elements in (24) are base-generated in Spec GP, which means that the direct merger of an element to Spec GP is possible. This is not surprising, since C with [+wh]-feature can be checked off by the moved element, or by the direct merger of 'whether.'

(26) a. I don't know what$_1$ John bought t_1.
     b. I don't know whether John bought the book.

   To conclude this section, we have shown that a new functional category G

exists in Japanese, and that the Specifier position of G is filled by movement or by direct merger. To the extent that this analysis is correct, the consequence of this analysis is that there is a semantically-driven head in Japanese.

6. An application to other constructions

In the previous sections, we have shown that there are two types of the nominative case marker in Japanese. The diagnostics of this distinction is whether the nominative case marker undergoes the GNC. In this section we will show that the nominative case marker that is on the nominative object and on the possessor-raised NPs is licensed by T, not by G.

6.1. Nominative Objects

It is a well-known fact that that the direct object can be marked as nominative under a certain condition (see Tada (1992), Koizumi (1994, 1998), Niinuma (2000), Nomura (2003), among others).

(27) a. John-ga   eigo-ga   wakaru
        John-Nom English-Nom understand
        'John understands English'
    b. Boku-ga biiru-ga   nomi-tai
       I-Nom   beer-Nom   drink-want
       'I want to drink beer'

One of the issues of the nominative object is how the nominative case is licensed. Tada (1992), for example, argues that it is in Spec AgroP in covert syntax. On the other hand, Koizumi (1994, 1998) argue that it is licensed by T. We have shown in this paper that the GNC is one of the diagnostics of how a nominative case marker is licensed. With this in mind, let us consider the following data:

(28) a. John-ga   eigo-ga   wakaru   riyuu
       John-Nom English-Nom understand reason
      'the reason that John understands English'
   b. John-**no** eigo-ga wakaru riyuu
   c. John-**no** eigo-**no** wakaru riyuu
   d. John-ga eigo-**no** wakaru riyuu

(29) a. Boku-ga biiru-ga   nomi-tai   riyuu
      I-Nom   beer-Nom drink-want reason
      'the reason that I want to drink beer'
   b. Boku-**no** biiru-ga nomi-tai riyuu
   c. Boku-**no** biiru-**no** nomi-tai riyuu
   d. Boku-**no** biiru-**no** nomi-tai riyuu

The acceptable sentences above clearly indicate that the nominative objects in Japanese are licensed by T.

6.2. Possessor Raising

Possessor Raising is a construction where the genitive-marked NP can be marked as nominative when the head noun and the possessive NP have a relationship called 'inalienable possession.'

(30) a. Boku-**no** hana-ga   nagai (koto)
      I-Gen   nose-Nom long
      'My nose is long'
   b. Boku-**ga** (totemo) hana-ga   nagai (koto)
      I-Gen   very   nose-Nom long
      'My nose is (very) long'

Ura (1996, 2000) argues that the possessor-raised NPs are licensed by T in Japanese. The GNC can confirm whether Ura's analysis of possessor raising is right.

(31) a. Boku-**no** (totemo) hana-ga   nagai koto
        I-Gen   very   nose-Nom long fact
        'the fact that my nose is long'
     b. Boku-ga (totemo) hana-ga nagai koto
     c. Boku-**no** (totemo) hana-**no** nagai koto
     d. Boku-ga (totemo) hana-**no** nagai koto

The fact that the possessor-raised NPs can undergo the GNC clearly demonstrates that Ura's analysis of possessor raising is on the right track.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have provided an answer to the question of whether there is only one kind of licensing condition for the nominative case marker in Japanese. Our proposal is that there are two kinds of the nominative case licensing in Japanese: the one by TP, or the other by G(eneric)P. Furthermore, we have shown that Spec GP is filled by movement or by the direct merger.

There are two interesting implication of this analysis. First, it has to be the case that the functional head T may have the Case feature optionally (see also Niinuma and Park (2004)). This should be so when we consider the following examples:

(32)   (Masao-nitotte) sono yuubinkyoku kara-ga   kozutumi-o   okuri-yasui
              -for   that post office-from-Nom   package-Acc send-easy
        'It is easy (for Masao) to send the package from that post office'
(33)   [[$_{GP}$ sono yuubinkyoku kara-ga$_1$] [$_{TP}$ [$_{AP}$ (Masao$_2$-nitotte) [$_{vP}$ PRO$_2$
        [$_{VP}$ t_1 kozutumi-o okuri]] yasui]]

Under the proposed analysis, the PP moves from the embedded clause to the matrix Spec GP to receive the nominative case marker. The question that arises is whether the matrix Spec TP is filled or not. Since, no element can

undergo movement to the matrix Spec TP, the sentence would be ungrammatical, contrary to fact. Therefore, the Case feature of the functional head should be optional.

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