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MOVEMENT TO SpecT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON THE INTERFACES [*]

1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The subject matter this paper will scrutinize is the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). More specifically, we will investigate what drives movement to SpecT in the narrow syntax. This is a rather long-standing issue in the generative literature but spurns any principled account, for some endeavors crucially have recourse to syntactic Case on the one hand, while others seek to ascribe such movement to phonological or semantic requirements on the other, namely the interfaces.

The desiderata for any research on movement to SpecT to conform to become more strenuous if we admit and assume that the notion of universal EPP property/feature is unsound, considering languages such as German or Icelandic, where nothing apparently occupies SpecT (cf. Rosengeren 2002, Wurmbrand 2006). Another concern is whether there is movement to infinitival T, with regard to which we must consider the issues of the Merge-over-Move problem (Chomsky 1995), ECM, Raising and the like (Martin 1999, Boeckx 2001, Bošković 2002, Epstein and Seely 2006, *inter alia*). However, we do not explore these issues. Instead, we will confine our attention to the discussion on the original formulation of the EPP by Chomsky (1982), which more or less goes as follows: "Every sentence must have a subject." The motivation for postulating this is to capture the fact that some languages like English have expletives (*there*, *it*) with no semantic content, which are in no way presented via Projection Principle. This said, the EPP is a "descriptive" requirement that will lead us nowhere for the explanatory adequacy. Put differently, we have to leave it pending to elucidate why we have the EPP in the grammar. In GB era, Rothstein (1983) attempted to attribute it to the universal theme/rheme requirement: any sentence must have the subject part, which is predicated by the rest.[1] There is, however, one problem with Rothstein's proposal, which is that it cannot explain the

[1] This line of reasoning is also suggested by Chomsky's frequent remarks on this issue, as Boeckx (2000) and Martin (1999) point out.

existence of expletives, since they do not have semantic content and hence cannot constitute a topic (see Martin 1999, Landau 2007 for the relevant discussion).

With the emergence of feature-based/derivational Minimalist Program, however, the EPP effect is achieved by virtue of (overt or covert) Spec-Head configuration of Case-feature checking (Chomsky 1993, 1995). Thus, the EPP is a syntactic requirement which is to be satisfied derivationally. Furthermore, Chomsky (1995) identifies the EPP with the strong D-feature on T, dissociating the EPP-feature checking from the Case-feature checking.[2] With this segregation, *there* in the existential construction can check EPP/D-feature overtly and its associate DP can check Case-feature covertly in a Spec-Head manner. For most recent minimalist tenet, since Chomsky (2000), where he posited non-local AGREE to the grammar, it has been (rather pervasively) assumed that the EPP is the sole device to instigate successive cyclic A- and A′-movement.

Notice that in fact, this shift is just a notational variant of the representational EPP requirement in GB − that is, we have the same stipulation restated in the derivational terms: in order to solve the *why*-problem, GB says, "because we have *representational* EPP requirement" and Minimalism says, "because we have EPP-*feature* on T to be checked off *through derivation*."

However, a quick reflection will, I presume, lead us to the following (rather long-established) facts. Every A′-movement has consequences on interpretation: for instance, *wh*-movement, which, either overt or covert, has the semantic contribution of establishing the operator-variable relation or Topic/Focus-fronting, which is dedicated for semantic or discourse considerations. Then, why must we see A-movement in terms of EPP? In this paper, accepting Hornstein's (2009) intuition that the feature checking procedure is executed under local Merge (or more precisely Concatenate; cf. Stroik 2009), I propose movement to SpecT is necessitated only for establishing another instance of such a local relation, which I term *Concatenate under T-feature* (CuT). I further propose CuT operates actually piggyback on other factors: *thetic/categorical judgment* (Kuroda 2005) in Japanese, and *agreement* in English, following but somewhat departing from Miyagawa (2005a.b, 2007). We will then see some consequences of this proposal.

This paper is organized as follows: in Chapter 2, we will overview the assumptions we exploit throughout this paper, most notably, Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001, 2004) C/case system. Then, I will clarify the reason I bring the notion of judgment to the table, arguing against the negation facts presented by Miyagawa (2001) and his subsequent works. With these assumptions, I will elucidate my alternative view to the current issue (identifying the catalyst that drives movement to SpecT) and consider its implication exclusively with respect to the fact that English has expletive *there* while Japanese does not. Chapter 3 will be devoted to the investigation of the dative subject construction (DSC) of Japanese, where I argue against Ura (2000), claiming that both dative and nominative arguments of Japanese DSC can assume the grammatical subject functions, with the introduction of new data.

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[2] Chomsky (2001) claims that EPP-feature is Person-feature, but this does not affect our discussion. One lurking problem is that if one assumes the movement to SpecT is triggered via D/Person-feature, then it will be difficult to explain why other syntactic objects, e.g., PP, CP, and VP can be situated in the position (e.g., see Ura 2000 for Locative Inversion).

Therefore, Japanese DSC is actually the double subject construction in the sense of Shibatani (1999). There, I will show that this fact can be swimmingly elucidated under my proposal for the EPP effect. Chapter 4 will give some concluding remarks.

2   ELIMINATING EPP FROM THE GRAMMAR

In this chapter, we first overview Miyagawa's (2001, 2005a.b, 2007) arguments on the indiscriminate properties of the EPP, subsequently pointing out its invalidity with regard to scope interaction. There, I, though somewhat speculative, suggest that in Japanese, scope interaction is not a matter of c-command and the lower *ga*-marked elements can scope over the higher negation, even if we suppose there is no QR in Japanese (cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2008). Then, focusing on the dichotomy of the subject morphemes of *wa* and *ga*, I propose that movement to SpecT is a simple instantiation of the procedure that the grammar can exploit: the local concatenation (cf. Hornstein 2009, Stroik 2009) and that such movement in Japanese operates piggyback on the notion of Kuroda's (2005) judgment; for a given argument to be marked with such morphemes, it must be located in SpecT.

2.1 Indiscriminate EPP and the Notion of Categorical and Thetic Judgment

Miyagawa (2001 and seq.) claims that since Japanese is not an Agreement language, not only Subj but also Obj can occupy SpecT insofar as both are located in the same minimal domain, which is consonant with Kuroda (1988) in assuming the indiscriminate satisfier of the EPP (though this movement is optional for Kuroda). Witness:

(1)   a.   Zen'in-ga   sono tesuto-o   uke-nakat-ta
            all-NOM   that test-ACC   take-NEG-PAST
            'All did not take that test.'
            *not > all, all > not
      b.   Sono tesuto-o_i zen'in-ga t_i uke-nakat-ta
            that test-ACC   all-NOM   take-NEG-PAST
            'That test, all didn't take.'
            not > all, (all > not)[3]

(Miyagawa 2001: 299)

The impossible reading in (1a) is due to the fact that Subj raises to SpecT for

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[3] For (all > not) reading, Miyagawa (2001) suggests A′-scrambling, where Subj is located in SpecT and Obj is located somewhere in CP domain. But this is irrelevant here.

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satisfying the EPP requirement and moves out of the negation scope. On the other hand, in (1b), Obj, not Subj, raises to SpecT for EPP and this enables Subj to remain in Specv, where NOM is checked/valued under AGREE; hence not > all reading.

This line of reasoning constitutes the motivation for Miyagawa to assume T obligatorily bears EPP. According to Miyagawa, Japanese, not having an expletive, can satisfy EPP via either Subj or Obj raising. However, I doubt that the negation facts go through as Miyagawa claims and I wonder whether you can really get the partial negation reading in (1b). (At least) I and a good many people around me reject the partial negation of (1b), saying both sentences in (1) represent all > not. One might think this means that both subjects in (1) move up to SpecT. Interestingly, however, if we replace the nominative morpheme *ga* with topic *wa*, then the examples, irrespective of either SOV or OSV, represent the partial negation. To make the examples more natural, I contrive the context where the following exchange takes place: (2) is the question and (3) is the reply.[4]

(2) Sono tesuto-o uke-ta   seito-no   kazu-wa   doudesita-ka
     that test-ACC take-PAST student-GEN number-TOP how-Q
     'How about the number of the students that took that test?'

(3) a. Zen'in-wa sono tesuto-o   uke-nakat-ta
         all-TOP   that test-ACC take-NEG-PAST
         'Not all took that test.'
     b. Sono tesuto-o zen'in-wa uke-nakat-ta
         that   test-ACC all-TOP   take-NEG-PAST
         'That test, not all took.'

In (3), I get only the partial negation interpretation. I presume this should be explained in terms of the contrastive/anti-exhaustive implicature associated with *wa* as opposed to the collective/exhaustive implicature associated with *ga* (Kuroda 2005). In (3) DP-*wa* cannot be about-ness topic, since such elements must be clausally initial, while contrastive topic need not (Vermeulen 2007, Watanabe 2003). In (1), the relevant interpretation is something like $\forall(x) \neg \text{T}(x, y)$ with -*ga* but $\neg \forall(x) \text{T}(x, y)$, with *wa* in (3).[5] That is, the exhaustive interpretation excludes the possibility that it was not the case that everyone took that test, whereas the contrastive interpretation allows it. Thus, I conclude that A-scrambling in Japanese does not affect the scopal relation. Instead, I propose the subjects in (1) and (3) move out of base-generated positions to the locus where DPs are appropriately marked with the relevant morphemes, which I discuss in the next subsection.

Kuroda (2005) claims that in most cases (unless embedded, subjunctive, or disjunctive), every sentence must constitute a statement. I take it that the term 'statement' is tantamount to judgment. Judgment is what differentiates the function of

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[4] For the sake of convenience, I use the gloss of TOP for *wa* in (3) but as I show you immediately, I do not assume *wa* simply represents Topic-hood.

[5] *x* stands for *all the examinees*, *y* stands for *that test*, and T stands for *take.*

sentences, all of which, conceptually speaking, represent propositions. Let us abstract away from the formal definition of proposition, and simply say we can evaluate them by whether they are completed ideas or we can apply a given proposition to a given situation to be described (Kuroda 2005).[6] Chomsky (2000), in discussing the notion of phases, also notes '… a proposition: either a verb phase in which all theta roles are assigned or a full clause including Tense and force… (Chomsky 2000: 20)' Somewhat differently from Chomsky (2000) but following the sprit of Chomsky (2007) and Miyagawa (2008), I assume propositions *per se* are what verbal phases describe, and all the functional/semantic (not thematic) considerations are determined outside the VP/vP. Given this, the judgment should belong to the functional domain.

Before further scrutinizing, however, I give the basic assumptions, recapitulating Kuroda (2005).

(4)   a.   *wa* is not necessarily a topic and *ga* is not necessarily a focus.
      b.   Sentences/clauses express judgments in addition to propositions.
           i.   *wa* sentences express the categorical judgment.
           ii. *ga* sentences express the descriptive/thetic judgement.
      c.   When sentences make judgment, then *wa* is optionally associated with contrastive implicature but *ga* obligatorily associated with exhaustive implicature.
      d.   When sentences do NOT make judgment (e.g. subjunctive mood), then *wa* is obligatorily associated with contrastive implicature but *ga* is optionally associated with exhaustive implicature.

Let us briefly see what (4) says. For (4a), Kuroda (2005) gives the following scenario, where A asks B:

(5)   tokorode,   dare-ga Nihon iti-no   sakka desyoo
      by-the-way, who   Japan one-GEN writer be-would
      'Who would be the greatest writer of Japan?'

(Kuroda 2005: 10)

After silent pondering, B replies as follows:

(6)   un, soo da, Nogami Yaeko-wa Nihon iti-no   sakka desu yo
      yes, so is   Japan one-GEN writer be Particle
      'Yes, that's right, Nogami Yaeko is the greatest writer of Japan, I would say.'

(ibid.)

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[6] I presume that the term "completed ideas" means that the relevant definition of judgment is assessed regarding argument structure (i.e., vP/VP domain, or vP phase in Chomsky's term) and "a given proposition to a given situation to be described" adverts to the concept that is commensurate with Chomsky's CP phase proposition.

The conversation of (5) and (6) illustrates the fact that the *wa* phrase in (6) is focal, since it is the answer to the *wh*-question (5). Now compare (5) and (6) with (7) and (8).

    (7)   dare-ga Nihon iti-no   sakka desu ka
             who   Japan one-GEN writer be   Q
             'Who is the greatest writer of Japan?'

                                                  (Kuroda 2005: 10)

    (8)   Natsume Soseki-ga/?wa Nihon iti-no   sakka desu
                              Japan one-GEN   writer be
             'Natsume Soseki is the greatest writer of Japan.'

                                                    (ibid.)

Kuroda argues (6) is an instantiation of (4bi) and (8), (4bii). According to Kuroda, A, asking (5), does not expect B knows the answer; rather A asks for B's reflection. Thus B explores his knowledge of Japanese literature, identifying Nogami Yaeko as the best, which is also an unexpected result to B. This is categorical judgment. Kuroda contends categorical judgment is a cognitive activity independent of other cognitive acts or states such as perception of the world: in other words, categorical judgment is autonomous inference: Kuroda claims this is assertion. In contrast, (7) is uttered with the presupposition that B knows the answer. And B responds as embodying a piece of his/her stored knowledge: hence thetic/descriptive judgment. The latter judgment is dependent on other cognitive components, say, '… the perception of real or imagined situation (Kuroda 2005: 30)': affirmation in his term.

    Kuroda also demonstrates a case where *ga* constitutes a topic. A asks B:

    (9)   ano hito-wa dare desu ka
             that person who be Q
             'who is that person?'

                                                      (ibid.)

B responds:

    (10)   ano hito-wa/ga ano yuumeina Microsoft-no   syatyoo-no   Gates-san
            desu yo
            that person   that famous   GEN president-GEN Mr. Gates
            be   Particle

                                                    (ibid.)

In (10), both *wa* and *ga* sound good. *Wa* expresses an ordinary reply, supplying the topic phrase with the new information '*ano yuumeina Microsoft no syatyoo no Gates-san.*' However, with *ga*, the situation is a little complicated; it is as if B is ready to supply this information (*ano yuumeina Microsoft no syatyoo no Gates-san*), since

for B, 'Mr. Gates is conceptually a familiar person (Kuroda 2005: 35)' and Kuroda argues *ano yuumeina Microsoft no syatyoo no Gates-san* can be a potential/implicit topic and *ano hito* can be a potential/implicit focus. So, by hearing (9), no matter whether or not A presupposes B's readiness to give this new information, B shifts the 'overt' focus to the 'potential' topic in B's mind. B, thereby, characterizes *ano hito* by describing his mental situation, not by inference as in categorical judgment.

Albeit I rendered Kuroda's argument too simple, this suffices to show that *wa*/*ga* alternation is not determined by the distinction of topic/focus. Kuroda also notes we do not have to attribute exhaustive implicature to *ga* phrase when it is focus, since *ga* with stage-level predicates as well as individual-level predicates expresses a description of a situation; '… in this cognitive process, a kind of maximality constraint is imposed (Kuroda 2005: 38).' Thus, we choose a thetic/descriptive statement to fit the grasped situation maximally, irrespective of whether it is a real or imagined one. Likewise, *wa* phrase in focus position must bear contrastive implicature because it does not exhaust all the possibilities in the discourse. Consider the following scenario from Kuroda.

(11) A: koko ni Toyota-no   zimuin-ga   imasu yo-ne
         here at   GEN office-worker-NOM beTag
         'there are office-workers of Toyota here, aren't there?'
      B: soo desu. (Turning to C) dare-ga   Toyota-no   zimuin   desu ka
         so   be   who-NOM   GEN office-worker be   Q
         'there are office-workers of Toyota here, aren't there?'
      C: Mori-san-wa Toyota-no   zimuin   desu
         Mr. Mori   GEN an office worker be
         'Mr. Mori is an office-worker of Toyota.'

                                    (adopted and adapted from Kuroda 2005: 42)

In (11), C just commits himself/herself to the proposition that Mr. Mori is an office-worker of Toyota, via asserting the predicate *an office-worker of Toyota* (x) be attributed to *Mori-san*; whence, C leaves open the possibility of others possessing such property.

The bottom line of my discussion so far is that the partial negation is not the matter of c-command: i.e., contra Miyagawa's argument; (at least with respect to Japanese Subj), it is rather the matter of judgment: a property of semantics. A predictable outcome should be that when a sentence does not make a judgment, exhaustive interpretation is not necessarily imposed on *ga* phrase. This is, I think, borne out, as shown in (12a) subjunctive and (12b) disjunctive.

(12) a. Mosi zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nakat-ta-ra …
          If   all-NOM that test-ACC take-NEG-PAST-Subjunctive
          'If all do not take that test …'
          all > not / not > all
      b. Zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nai   ka zen'in-ga sono jugyoo-o
          uke-nai …

all-NOM that test-ACC take-NEG or all-NOM that class-ACC
take-NEG
'Either all do not take that test or all do not take that class …'
all > not / not > all

Still possible as the *all > not* interpretation is, the contrast between (1) and (12) is clear. If we rearrange the order of Subj and Obj, the result seems to be all the same. We would obtain the contrast with respect to the scope interpretation were Miyagawa's arguments on the right track, which is not presumably attested.[7]

To recapitulate so far, I contend here:

(13) a. Subj must be SpecT.
      b. *ga*/*wa* alternation does not represent Focus/Topic-hood; rather they are morphological manifestations of the *thetic (descriptive) or categorical* judgment.
      c. Scope interaction with universally quantified Subj is not determined via c-command but the difference between two types of judgment.
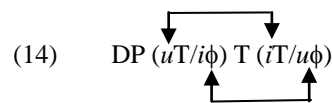
2.2 Movement to SpecT and the Interfaces

2.2.1 Basic Assumptions   Here, we discuss two important assumptions for our further investigation of the current topic, viz. identifying the EPP. The first one is from Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) and the second from Bobaljik (2008) and Marantz (1992) among many others; these assumptions will supplant the traditional outlook of Cases.

2.2.1.1 Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004): Case as Tense-Feature   Following Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004), I assume that traditional Case-features are actually uninterpretable T(ense)-features borne by DPs. Their motivation for reconstruing Case-features as such is motivated by the intuition that there is no such thing as syntactic Case features. It is widely assumed that Case-features are needed to activate nominal elements in the narrow syntax (Activation Condition; see Bošković 2007 for extensive discussion over this topic), whereby the grammar can operates them for syntactic computation, and after checking or valuing them, then they are gone, namely

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[7] One might ask why there is an ordering difference between (12a) and (12b). Here, I assume that in (12b), where Obj precedes Subj, Obj is somehow located in CP domain (cf. fn. 3) via A′-movement, and that we never achieve the configuration in which Subj and Obj are equidistant to SpecT. As I will show you, I crucially avail myself to Pesetsky and Torrego's (2004) dual TP structure. Within this framework, transitive verbs never have Subj and Obj in the same minimal domain; hence, the SpecT under the current discussion must be filled via Subj movement. However, scopal interpretation is irrelevant to the word order as shown in (1), (3) and (12). Thus, it is not implausible to observe that c-commanding relation is not crucial to quantificational scope and negation in Japanese. In passing, note that the optional reading of wider scope of negation in (12) should be ascribed to (4d).

deleted or erased (probably phase by phase (Chomsky 2001)); hence no contribution to LF interface, or, at best, some morphological reflex for languages with rich Case morphology. Thus, the existence of syntactic Case-features is only a stipulation at best. Pesetsky and Torrego claim that all the syntactic features must have some contribution to interpretation. If we take these into consideration, we have to find another way to describe Case related phenomena, which is, according to them, T-features. It is obvious that nominative case is related to T, and Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) show that there is a language that has a T-related affix on nominals. Therefore, it is plausible for us to regard Case-features as T-features and if we assume Case as a T-feature, this relation ensures bidirectional symmetry between DP and T for their features.

(14)   DP (uT/iϕ) T (iT/uϕ)

Thus it is plausible that Case-features are T-features. The corollary of this result is that the accusative Case is also an instance of T-features.

Now consider:

(15)   a.   John broke the window.
       b.   [$_{TP}$ John T [$_{vP}$ t$_{Subj}$ v-T-broke [$_{TP}$ the window t$_T$ [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ t$_{Obj}$]]]]

Again, advocating Pesetsky & Torrego (2004), I also assume simple transitive verbs like *break* have two subevents: a process and a completion of this process and each constitutes a one-argument predicate. Therefore, TP dominates each verbal projection (at least for verbs expressing telicity).[8]

2.2.1.2 Case-Embodiment as a Post-Syntactic Operation   In addition, I crucially deploy the post-syntactic manifestation of C/cases (and agreement, but this has nothing to do with our current concerns) (Bobaljik 2008, Marantz 1992).[9] Thus, case-realization is determined via the hierarchy originally formulated by Marantz (1992):

(16)   a.   Lexically governed case
       b.   Dependent case (accusative, ergative)
       c.   Unmarked case (nominative, absolutive)
       d.   Default case

By incorporating this post-syntactic morphology into the model where case is a T-feature, what kind of result do we obtain? Here, I assume that lexically governed

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[8] Note that Pesetsky & Torrego (2004) themselves do not say that Obj also raises to lower SpecT.
[9] From now on, I use "case" instead of Case, since small *c* is widely accepted for expressing morphological cases.

case (16a) is independent of the TP projections in (15b) and it can be selected by a relevant predicate due to its lexical property. Wherever it may be, what is marked with lexical case is manifested as such in this system. What about the others, namely (16b-d)? Marantz proposes that dependent case is realized only if there is another instance of DP that is located above DP bearing the dependent case when a given language has the accusative system, and the opposite holds when a given language has the ergative system. This means that case marking works only dependently on the configuration the syntax builds up. Reinterpreting this claim under Pesetsky & Torrego's T-featural system, I assume that in the Nom-Acc system, morphology will read the lower T as the dependent case, and the higher T as the unmarked case while the Egr-Abs system takes the opposite case marking. More precisely put, I propose that in (15b), the DP located in upper SpecT is marked as nominative and the DP located in lower SpecT as accusative. That being so, anything outside this hierarchy (viz. non-lexically governed cases that are not located in SpecT) is destined to be marked as a default case or case-less. Schematically, this is represented as:

(17) Lexically governed (Inherent) case > lower SpecT (ACC) > higher SpecT (NOM) > everything else (Default or case-less)

Note that while no derivation is doomed to crash for failure of case-assignment since the morphology always has the choice of elsewhere-rule (default or $\varnothing$), we cannot generate (18) due to the argument structure restriction.

(18) *John met Mary Bill.

Bill in (18) may well be marked as default but does not possess any θ-roles, which leads the derivation to crash (most plausibly at LF). Thus, as I noted above, default or zero marking comes to be relevant when a given nominal fails to situate itself in SpecT for some reason. This is substantiated by the Turkish accusative. As Diesing (1992) notes, a Turkish object shows its accusative morphology only when it has undergone object-shift to SpecAgroP.

(19) a. Ali bir kitab-i   aldi
          Ali one book-ACC bought
          'A book is such that Ali bought it.'
      b. Ali bir   kitab aldi
          Ali one book bought
          'Ali bought some book or other.'

(Diesing 1992: 85)

As the gloss clarifies, it has semantic consequence with respect to presuppositionality. If we reconstrue AgroP as lower TP, we can see (19) as an example showing that overt morphological manifestation, which is related to a specific effect concerning language

usage, requires that an argument be located in SpecT.[10]

2.2.2 Concatenate under T-Feature   Armed with the assumptions discussed in the previous subsection, we can now delve into a discussion of the EPP effect (i.e., the mystery as to why arguments move to SpecT). My proposal goes as follows: accepting Hornstein's (2009) intuition that feature checking is executed under local Merge (or more precisely Concatenate; cf. Stroik 2009), I propose that movement to SpecT occurs for establishing a local head-to-head relation between T and DP, both of which bear T-features on their heads; crucially, however, diverging from Hornstein (2009), I assume this concatenation is executed in a selectional fashion. Differently put, movement to SpecT does not necessarily involve feature checking. Thus, in principle, merging [+interpretable] and [+interpretable] is possible, which is a pivotal assumption for analyzing the dative subject construction in Japanese under my reasoning (see Chapter 3). For the sake of convenience, I term this instance of local concatenation Concatenate under T-feature (henceforth, CuT).[11,12] This relation via CuT is crucial for obtaining appropriate consequences for the interfaces like A′-movement (e.g. setting up Op-Vbl connection). Such said, I further propose CuT operates piggyback on other factors: thetic/categorical judgment (see Section 2.1) in Japanese, and the morphological manifestation of agreement in English, following but also somewhat departing from Miyagawa (2005, 2007). Be that as it may, bear in mind that CuT per se is an independent operation in the narrow syntax, where every merger should be executed meaningfully for interpretational purposes (cf. Stroik 2009). Typical delineation of this comes from the traditional θ-assignment, where a verb selects an entity to be θ-marked. In the case of CuT, a simplest assumption should hold that T selects an entity that enters into the state or event T depicts, which I presume are subject to LF interpretation. Thus, in (15b), repeated as (20) here, Subj and Obj enter into process (higher SpecT) and completion of process (lower SpecT) respectively via CuT.

(20)   [$_{TP}$ John T [$_{vP}$ t$_{Subj}$ v-T-broke [$_{TP}$ the window t$_T$ [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ t$_{Obj}$]]]]

Returning to the issue of what interfacial property is operative with CuT, the Turkish examples given in (19) is ostensively instructive; for Obj to be ACC-marked, it should be present in SpecT. However, LF (or extended LF in the sense of Inoue 2008) considerations dictate that Obj must be inside VP (if Diesing's (1992) Mapping

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[10]   Ochi (2009) notes that when Obj remains in situ (i.e., VP-internally), the accusative case drops.

[11]   For Hornstein (2009), the local Merge is implemented by the well-known feature checking algorithm whereas Stroik (2009) proposes it is carried out via Concatenation that is never relevant to the feature checking since for him, all the features are interpretable for the learnability concerns, and the grammar just sees the Concatenation relation linking two elements. Put differently, whether given two elements are integrated meaningfully at the interfaces is at issue. For example, *She are busy* is uninterpretbale since the number features of *She* and T do not match (see Stroik 2009 for further detail). My standpoint is close to Stroik since movement to SpecT is not always pertinent to the feature checking procedure.

[12]   Landau (2007) also employs this head-to-head selection to derive the EPP effect. But his analysis is based on PF-side, claiming that something with phonetic content in its head must be present in SpecT. Important here is that he also utilizes the notion of the selection.

Hypothesis is at work in the grammar); hence, no case marking in (19). One might ask how CuT is satisfied in (19b) without an accusative case morpheme. I entertain at least three scenarios as follows:

> (21) a. LF consideration preempts PF consideration (or Morphology consideration).
> b. CuT can be violated for LF interfacial requirements.
> c. CuT can be satisfied via covert movement.

(21a) and (21b) are, at the first glance, the same, in that both can be interpreted as if SpecT need not be occupied when necessary. Nevertheless, there is an important difference between the two; that is, only (21b) allows nothing to occur in SpecT whereas under (21a), it is still possible that SpecT is occupied but simply unpronounced.[13] As for (21c), I reject this view since I have tacitly assumed the single Spell-Out model (Bobaljik 2002, 2008 among others).

For the time being, I leave this issue but in Section 2.2.4, I will reconsider this topic, confining myself to the comparative study of Japanese and English in terms of the expletive *there* vs. the *ga/wa* alternation (but see fn. 13). Before so doing, we investigate the source of *ga/wa* distinction and the interior composition of arguments in Japanese.

2.2.3 Wa and Ga Alternation and (Higher) SpecT   In this section, I investigate the issue of how to derive the *wa/ga* alternation in Japanese under Pesetsky & Torrego's (2004) nominal structure. As shown in (22), categorical marker *wa* and nominative *ga* (also accusative o), which have been hitherto assumed to be structural, cannot go together.[14]

> (22) a. Taro-ga(-o)
>   Taro-NOM(ACC)
> b. *Taro-ga(-o)-wa
>   Taro-NOM(ACC)-wa

Thus, it should be tenable for us to assume that the nominative/accusative cases and

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[13] Later, in discussing why Japanese does not have expletive *there*, I crucially advert to Bobaljik's (2002) Minimize Mismatch principle, according to which when a given DP moves, leaving its copy behind in the base-position, either the head or the tail of the copy chain can be preempted by each interface, viz. LF or PF respectively. In the best case, both interfaces privilege the same copy; nevertheless, it is possible for LF and PF to interpret the different copy, as schematized in (i)

> (i) a. PF: top / LF: top   (standard cases)
>   b. PF: bottom / LF: bottom   (expletive construction)
>   c. PF: top / LF: bottom   (reconstruction)
>   d. PF: bottom / LF: top   (LF raising)

Given this, in languages that apparently exempt from the overt SpecT requirement such as German, it is still plausible that there exists something in SpecT, which is simply unpronounced for interpretational grounds (cf. Diesing 1992). If so, CuT is tacitly satisfied.

[14] Hereafter, I, but not always, discard the gloss of TOP for *wa* for the reason that I mentioned in 2.1.

wa constitute the same position (or featural position, more precisely) in the nominal structure. Under Pesetsky & Torrego's system, cases are T-feature borne by D, which belief we maintain throughout this section.

2.2.3.1 Complete T and Defective T in DP; Locus of Morphemes   Pesetsky & Torrego (2004) propose the following nominal architecture:

(23) $[_{DP} D_{[uT/i\phi]} [_{TP} T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{NP} N]]]^{15}$

As is obvious from (23), the T-feature in DP is not just a feature borne by D head but T head which projects itself, and the latter is sandwiched between DP and NP. Pesetsky & Torrego (2004) claim that T between DP and NP will head-move and merge with DP to check off D's *u*T. Note that this head movement is the complex of substitution to SpecD and the subsequent morphological merger (cf. Matushansky 2001). Thus, the relevant derivation goes as follows:

(24)   a. $[_{DP} T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{D'} D_{[uT/i\phi]} [_{TP} t [_{NP} N]]]]$ (Substitution)
         b. $[_{DP} T_{[iT/u\phi]}+D_{[uT/i\phi]} [_{TP} t [_{NP} N]]]$ (Morphological merger)

Thus, in principle, D can check off its uninterpretable T-feature DP-internally, which in turn means that it can dispense with entering into a further checking relation with another T. When this is the case, according to Pesetsky & Torrego, we have a self-sufficient argument, which, as we will see in Chapter 3, is PP. However, their assumption of (25) still ensures that we can obtain nominative and accusative DPs.

(25)   There are two instances of T in the nominal structure: *defective* and *complete*. For the former, we have nominative and accusative DPs; for the latter, PPs.[16]

Bearing (25) in mind, consider (26), where the verb is transitive and Subj and Obj are a DP with a defective T head, hence granting a nominative and an accusative realization under the case hierarchy of (17).

(26) $[_{TP} Subj(DP_{[uT/i\phi]}) T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{vP} t_{Subj} v [_{TP} Obj(DP_{[uT/i\phi]}) T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{VP} V t_{Obj}]]]]$

---

[15] Let us abstract away from directionality parameterization; (23) represents the head-initial language. Note that for Pesetsky & Torrego's original proposal, NP is nP, which is rather the functional category that renders a root category a nominal but this is irrelevant to our discussion.

[16] This dichotomy of T is far from a novel assumption; consider the distinction of finite T and nonfinite T. Chomsky (2001) calls nonfinite T as defective. If we take it that Pesetsky & Torrego's (2004) nominal structure is on the right track, then there is no motivation for us to refrain from postulating defective T inside DP. Thus, let us assume so until some stipulation supplants this. The simplest assumption says that the self-sufficient arguments can identify themselves to the event or state the relevant predicate portrays without concatenating to higher or lower T in (15b).

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In this structure, Subj and Obj cannot check off their uninterpretable T-feature by themselves, which is why the former enters into a local Spec-head configuration with the higher T and the latter, the lower one, via CuT. Thus, the case realization of the T-feature of the DP with a defective T head inside its composition is contingent on which TP projection of (26)/(15b) it is concatenated with. In this sense, albeit I take the Marantzian (or Bobaljikian) case/agreement system for granted, I nevertheless have recourse to the feature checking procedure in the (narrow) syntax. In other words, I do not fully push out morphologically related operations to Morphology, where, as we assume alongside Marantz and Bobaljik's works, case and agreement realizations are executed via mapping relevant morphemes on the representation the syntax constructs. Rather, I assume the syntax still enjoys the feature checking in some abstract fashion, which should display some morphological reflex, and for our concern here, this is manifested as the nominative and accusative case marking in (26) (if a given language employs a Nom-Acc system). Therefore, it is conceivable for us to conclude that for the syntax, CuT subsumes two distinct relations: feature checking and selection, and CuT is at work for both (as I discussed in Section 2.2.2; see also fn. 11 in this chapter). Note that this assumption is not outlandish from the minimalist perspective; consider the current discussion over Merge and Move.

Under latest Chomsky's reasoning (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2008), Merge and Move are both a species of Merge: the former is only Merge, and the latter is the combination of Copy and Merge. Thus, we have just two symmetric operations: External Merge (EM) and Internal Merge (IM). What differentiates them is the source of an element to be Merged, namely the numeration and the tree set up at some point of a relevant derivation, respectively. Be that as it may, we tacitly (and innocently) presume that in a default case, EM is the pertinent operation for the argument structure and IM is for the functional domain in the sense of Chomsky (2007), and Miyagawa (2008). Why this is so, however, remains unexplained. To be precise, why maneuvering EM and IM is apropos of the selection and the feature checking under AGREE respectively is doomed to be a mystery. Given that EM and IM are symmetric, the motivations for them must be symmetric.[17] Thus, let us keep our assumption that CuT is just a local concatenation, irrespective of the feature checking operation involved.

If regarding EPP as CuT is on the right track, self-sufficient arguments in the sense of Pesetsky & Torrego (2004) also satisfy CuT, even without checking any features. For the derivation of the self-sufficient arguments, Pesetsky & Torrego propose the following:

(27) a. $[_{DP} D_{[uT/i\phi]} [_{TP} T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{NP} N]]]$
      b. $[_{DP} T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{D'} D_{[uT/i\phi]} [_{TP} t [_{NP} N]]]]$ (Substitution)
      c. $[_{TP} T_{[iT/u\phi]} [_{D'} D_{[uT/i\phi]} [_{TP} t [_{NP} N]]]]$ (No morphological merger with T projecting)

---

[17] Hornstein (2009) reasons that all Merger operations are executed under the local feature checking, as I noted in fn. 1 in this Chapter. Thus he assumes that θ-role assignment is ascribed to another feature checking algorithm.

Incidentally, under his system, Merge is also composite: Concatenate and Label (see Hornstein 2009 for the detailed discussion), whereby he attempts to answer Darwin's Problem: why human beings developed the natural language pretty suddenly and recently. In any case, concatenating operations are symmetric.

Crucial here is the point of (27c), where we observe the moved T project the phrase in a free relative manner. Thus, for Pesetsky & Torrego, P is T; the complete T head is embodied as various P in Morphology. In English, it is possible that the locative phrase constitutes a subject of a copular clause as shown in (28).

 (28) Under the bed is a cozy spot.

Limited as their distribution is, sentences like (28) substantiate my proposal that CuT is fulfilled with PP.[18]

 Now witness the following paradigm. In Japanese nominative and accusative cases cannot co-occur with *wa* but PPs can:

 (29) a. Taro-ga(o) *vs.* *Taro-ga(o)-wa
    Taro-NOM(ACC)   Taro-NOM(ACC)-wa
   b. Taro-to   *vs.* Taro-to-wa
    Taro-with   Taro-with-wa

Hence, it is safe and plausible for us to conclude that *ga/o* and *wa* occupy the same position in the nominal architecture. Confining our attention to the contrast between *ga* and *wa*, we see that both morphemes are vital for identifying an entity, namely, definiteness (see Hoshi 1993, Kishimoto 2005 for taking case markers as D) Thus, I propose that *wa* is also D. In contrast, postpositions are T in line with Pesetsky & Torrego (2004).

 Things, however, are not so simple since we have the ordering problem as is evidenced by the ordering problem in (30). Because Japanese is a head-final language, the initial configuration of DP should be (30a). Consider first the case where the T head is defective. The movement to SpecD (i.e., (30b)) and the subsequent morphological merger are applied (i.e., Matushansky's head movement), we obtain (30c), where T+D's internal order is irrelevant.

 (30) a. $[_{DP} [_{TP} [_{NP} N] T_{def[iT/u\phi]}] D_{[uT/i\phi]}]$
   b. $[_{DP} T_{def[iT/u\phi]} [_{TP} [_{NP} N] t_T] D_{[uT/i\phi]}]$
   c. $[_{DP} [_{TP} [_{NP} N] t_T] T_{def[iT/u\phi]} + D_{[uT/i\phi]}]$

However, if T is complete with no morphological merger, then the structure should be:

 (31) $[_{TP(PP)} T_{comp[iT/u\phi]} [_{DP} [_{TP} [_{NP} N] t_T] D_{[uT/i\phi]}]]$

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[18] The limited distribution of PP in SpecT should, I presume, be attributed to a selectional concern between the predicates and PP arguments. In English, PP can be Subj only when a given predicate represents stative situations such as (28), or when unaccusative verbs are chosen (i.e., Locative Inversion). Both cases should involve only one TP projection, unlike the transitive structure in (15b). I leave this for future research but see Chapter 3 for deriving the dative subject construction in Japanese.

The structure in (31) cannot yield the right word order for PPs in Japanes: instead it gives something like, say for (29b), *[with [[Taro] D]]]*, which is an undesirable result.

Nevertheless, I surmise (perhaps aptly) that there are at least two ways to circumvent this problem, without postulating the rightward Spec. One is to just declare that the head movement does not belong to the syntax proper and is just a morphological rearrangement of a given head and another (cf. Chomsky 2000, Boeckx and Stjepanović 2001, Hornstein 2009). The other way to go is that since Japanese takes the head-final option for directionality parameter, the moved T in (31) stands in a proper head position once it turns out to be X^0 in the structure, as in (32).

(32) $[_{TP(PP)} [_{DP} [_{TP} [_{NP} N] t_T] D_{[uT/i\phi]}] T_{comp[iT/u\phi]}]$

We still need to adjust the morphological order in Morphology in order to get *Taro-to*(T)-*wa*(D) in (29b), but at least we can comply with the adjacency requirement for PF-merger (cf. Bošković and Lasnik 2003). I remain neutral on the issue of which should be regarded as correct, and I leave the matter open here.

To recapitulate, arguments are divided into two categories DPs and PPs; for the former T is defective, which necessitates further T-feature checking with T whereas the latter can check its uninterpretable T-feature self-sufficiently but they can still be concatenated with another T, since CuT is indifferent to the interpretability of features. Turning to Japanese morphemes, I propose that not only *ga* but also *wa* is situated in D, considering the combinative possibilities with categorical marker: *wa* and other morphemes. Thus, we can restate the case hierarchy of (17) for Japanese as follows:

(33)   *wa* and Self-sufficient arguments > lower SpecT (ACC) > higher SpecT (NOM) > everything else (Default or case-less)

The reason I add *wa* in the highest rank abreast of self-sufficient arguments is due to the fact that it can co-exist with PPs and, as we will see later in Chapter 3, lexically governed/inherent cases (i.e., datives). Thus, I implicitly treat such cases as self-sufficient. Another rationale I entertain is that case markers are also thetic judgment markers (Lee 2002 treats *o* as well as *ga* as the thetic marker), on which grounds we can speculate that the categorical judgment is a marked case, compared with the former.[19,20] If so, *wa* preempts *ga* and *o* just as self-sufficient arguments take

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[19] Consider the interlocution of (11). In the default case, C should reply to B, using *ga*, but in this case, C, selecting *wa*, deliberately confines his commitment only to the proposition that Mr. Mori is an office-worker of Toyota. This violates Grice's maximally effective exchange of information (cf. Kuroda 2005). Thus, the assumption that the categorical judgment is marked and the thetic judgment is unmarked does not seem (at least to me) bizarre.

[20] Then it is predictable that *ga* also attaches to P/datives. I know a few cases where this is correct, one of which is:

(i)   koko-kara-ga   mondai-da
       here-from-NOM   problem-COP
       'From here/this point, the problem begins.'

But the combination of *ga* and the dative case seems marginal or impossible for some reason. I leave this issue for future scrutiny (but see fn. 39 in Chapter 3). More important is the fact that (33) does not derive (i),

precedence over them, since self-sufficient arguments can decide on their own, not depending on TP projections of the clausal structure (cf. (15b)/(26)), how to enter into the state or event the predicates depict. Thus, from now on, let us assume that (33) is correct not just for a descriptive justification but for a conceptual one, as I discussed above.

Now, the next task for us to get down on is deriving *wa*/*ga* distinction. In so doing, I crucially utilize the duality of semantics (Chomsky 2007, Miyagawa 2008).

2.2.3.2 The Duality of Semantics and C_{thetic} and $C_{categorical}$ Consider (12) again, repeated here as (34).

(34) a. Mosi zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nakat-ta-ra …
          If   all-NOM that test-ACC take-NEG-PAST-Subjunctive
          'If all do not take that test …'
          all > not / not > all
      b. Zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nai   ka zen'in-ga sono jugyoo-o uke-nai …
          all-NOM   that test-ACC take-NEG or all-NOM   that class-ACC take-NEG
          'Either all do not take that test or all do not take that class …'
          all > not / not > all

Kuroda (2005) claims that when sentences do not express judgment (i.e., subjunctive or disjunctive), *ga* is optionally associated with the exhaustive reading (i.e., (4d)). Miyagawa (2001) also notes that there is scope ambiguity for *koto* (fact)-clause as in (35).

(35) Zen'in-ga sono tesuto-o uke-nakat-ta-koto
      all-NOM   that test-ACC take-NEG-PAST-NOMINAL
      'All did not take that test.'
      all > not / not > all

since P is higher than *ga* in the case hierarchy. This suggests some problems are lurking in (33). Heycock (2003) claims *ga* can also take on categorical judgment, contrary to Kuroda (2005). If so, we can place this *ga* in the same place as *wa* in (33). But then, we face another problem: how to derive the difference of *ga*/*wa*. We can advert to the fact that it is widely acknowledged that Japanese *ga* can be classified into two (Kuno 1973: neural description vs. exhaustive listing) (or three (Hasegawa 2007, Inoue 2008: two types of neutral description and exhaustive listing)) types. Roughly speaking, however, *ga* is used for neutral description or exhaustive listing. Therefore, we can speculate that *ga* associated with exhaustive listing (exhaustive implicature in Kuroda's (2005) term) is moved out to SpecT (cf. Miyagwa 2005). Then, if a sentence constitutes the neutral description, which in turn means the DP which to be marked with *ga* is left v/VP-internally, then the default marking comes to rescue; according to Saito (1982), Schüze (2001), and Fukui & Takano (1998) *inter alia*, the default case in Japanese is nominative. I am not to advocate nor rebut Heycock's intriguing proposal, but at least we must ensure multiple instances of *ga*-phrases. Note, however, that whether a given *ga*-phrase expresses neutral description or exhaustive listing, the sentence with it should describe the situation the speaker can use firsthand: descriptive (thetic) judgment in the sense of Kuroda (2005).

Miyagawa (2001) argues that nominal *koto* "fact" takes subjunctive sentences. This observation also holds with relative clauses. In subjunctive clauses, Miyagawa argues that V-v-Neg amalgam moves, passing through T, to as high as C, whereby we observe scope ambiguity. The current proposal does not have to resort to T-C movement as discussed by Miyagawa (2001), which seems quite speculative, since we can ascribe this to the optional association of exhaustive reading with *ga*-phrases.[21] If we assume that these sentences are all complemented by subjunctive C head, statement/judgment-making sentences should be chosen by the C that is responsible for the relevant function.

As I alluded to above (see Section 2.1), I assume the various functions of sentences are determined outside the verbal domain (i.e., the duality of semantics). Thus, judgment is also one of the properties of the functional domain. Considering that (34) and (35) do not involve judgment, I propose thetic/categorical distinction is determined by C. Rizzi (1997) argues the topmost of the C system (ForceP) is the interface to discourse/context, when a sentence is a matrix one. C (ForceP) may assume the characteristic of inference/assertion or of description dependent on other cognitive activity, e.g., visual stimulation, in the same way as the interrogative C expresses the open sentence/proposition, i.e., *wh*-clause. Therefore, I propose that there are three types of declarative C for making an appropriate interpretation available:

(36) a. C_{thetic}
b. $C_{categorical}$
c. C (subjunctive or non-judgment/statement making)

Furthermore, such thetic/categorical distinction operates piggyback on T. C-T dependency is widely known (Chomsky 2008; Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2004; Roberts & Roussou 2001). Here, I propose that the judgment features percolate down to T, as do agreement features in Chomsky (2008) and (identificational) focus feature in Miyagawa (2005), exerting influence over the manifestation of morphology with regard to the element standing in (higher) SpecT of (15b), namely *ga*/*wa* alternation. Thus, if a sentence denotes a categorical judgment, the structure is:

(37) $[_{CP} [_{TP} \text{Subj-wa} [_{vP} t_{Subj} [_{TP} \text{Obj} [_{VP} t_{Obj} \text{V}] \text{T}] \text{v}] \text{T}_{categorical}] \text{C}_{categorical}]$
percolate down

In (37), Morphology will embody Subj in higher SpecT with *wa*. For a DP to be case-marked, it must be located in SpecT. Recall that I treat *wa* as another instance of T-feature borne by nominals since *wa* and *ga* cannot co-occur, and each manifests a different judgment. Thus movement to SpecT is necessary for the interpretation (LF)

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[21] Kuroda (2005) claims that exhaustive reading is the lexical property of *ga* since it describe fully the situation the speaker can exploit. Thus, we can say that the subjunctive C can optionally cancel such reading. I am completely at a loss why this is so. It should be related to the ambiguity of *ga*, but I do not pursue this issue any further here.

and pronunciation (PF).[22] If an argument fails to move to SpecT (more precisely, both interfaces have priority over the lower copy in Specv (t_{Subj} in (37)), then it must be default-marked or case-less. This is exemplified in Turkish objects in (19); as for the default case marking, I discuss it in the next section.

Before I conclude this section, I would like to note one more point regarding the scope interaction concerning *ga*-phrase. In the single Spell-Out system that we employ, there should be no LF-movement. Concerning the nominative objects in multiple nominative constructions, selected by stative predicates, it is reasonable to assume that these predicates have only one TP projection and the nominative manifestation for objects is due to the default case marking inside VP if Subj occupies SpecT. Consider the following abstract structure:

(38) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Subj-NOM [$_{vP}$ t Obj-NOM V] T] C]

Given this, we have to find another way to explain the nominative object takes wider scope in (39). For that matter, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2008) argue that Japanese have no QR operation, since scrambling is available in this language.

(39) a. Taro-ga   migime-dake-ga   tumur-e-ru
          Taro-NOM right.eye-only-NOM close-POT-PRES
          i. * Taro can wink his right eye. (*can > only)
          ii. It is only his right eye that Taro can close. (only > can)
      b. Taro-ga   migime-dake-o   tumur-e-ru
          Taro-NOM right.eye-only-ACC close-POT-PRES
          i.   Taro can wink his right eye. (can > only)
          ii.?* It is only his right eye that Taro can close. (?*only > can)
                                                          (Ochi 2009: 338)

Tada (1992), Koizumi (1995), Ura (2000) among others argue that this scope fact can be elucidated if we assume that the nominative object is licensed by T and therefore moves higher than the potential marker covertly (unlike the accusative objects which are licensed by AgrO or v located below T. However, with Kuroda's (2005) assumption that *ga* is associated with exhaustive implicature, we can still explain the fact of (39) (but see fn. 21). Thus, the scope interaction will become complicated if we introduce the notion of judgment into the grammar, as we discussed in Section 2.1.

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[22] How we ensure the existence of fronted objects with *wa* such as (i) is outside the scope of the current discussion.
(i)   Sono hon-wa boku-ga   kat-ta
       that book-wa I-NOM   buy-PAST
       'That book, I bought.'
But suppose that Obj is base-generated in SpecC and binds *pro* in the normal object position as widely assumed. SpecC can also constitute judgment position, considering (36). Then how we get Subj-*ga* in (i) is a total mystery. However, if we assume that C with a judgment feature can iterate just in the same way TopP or FocP do so in Rizzi's (1997) fine structure of left periphery, then (i) should be as follows (let us abstract away from the head movement and the lower TP):
(ii)   [$_{CP}$ that book$_i$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ I-ga [$_{vP}$ t$_{Subj}$ [$_{VP}$ *pro*$_i$ buy] v] T$_{thetic}$] C$_{thetic}$] C$_{categorical}$]

In the next section, I will contemplate what consequences arise from the current proposal, concentrating on the comparison of Japanese with English for the availability of the expletive *there*.

2.3 Expletive There *vs. the* Wa/Ga *Dichotomy*

Before I conclude this chapter, I briefly sketch a rather speculative idea of why English has expletive there but Japanese does not.

Consider (40):

(40)   a.   Students are at school. (generic/existential)
       b.   There are students in this school. (existential)

It is generally acknowledged that *there*-construction can co-occur with stage-level predicates, and it is only interpreted with existential reading. How does Japanese express such distinction? If categorical judgment is a kind of assertion (or denial) whereby some property is attributed to a given object and thetic judgment is depiction of objects or events (Heycock 2003, Kuroda 2005), then existential reading can be obtained via thetic judgment. Thus, we can say that in Japanese, what *there*-construction does in English is swimmingly done with *ga* morpheme. This is borne out: with *ga*, only the existential reading is possible, as seen in (41b):

(41)   a.   Gakusei-wa (kono jikan) gakko-ni   iru (generic/existential)
            students-wa (this time)   school-LOC be-PRES
            'Students are at school this time.'
       b.   Gakusei-ga   (kono) gakko-ni   iru (existential)
            students-NOM (this) school-LOC be-PRES
            'There are students in this school.'

As I proposed above, if morphemes are realized via being SpecT, *ga*-phrase must be located in SpecT, wherein it can also satisfy CuT. Thus the relevant structure of (41b) is as follows:[23]

(42)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Gakusei-ga [$_{VP}$ t$_{DP}$ [$_{V'}$ kono gakko-ni iru]] T$_{thetic}$] C$_{thetic}$]

For English, the structure of (40b) should be:[24]

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[23] I only use one TP projection since existential constructions involve one event or state.

[24] I am not concerned with and hence neutral to the internal composition of VP. In addition, I do not contend that English have no judgment feature. Uniformity consideration (see Chomsky 2001) says English also has such features. If so, this explains why (40a) also has existential reading despite the fact that morphemes like *ga/wa* are not available. Then the question is what is the benefit for PF by XP being

(43)   [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ there T+are [$_{VP}$ students [$_{V'}$ t$_V$ in this school]]]]]

I assume, following Diesing (1992), that existential reading in English is secured by placing DP VP-internally. Then how do we ensure that V takes up plural morphology (recall that CuT and agreement features are linked in English, as Miyagawa (2005) claims) and more crucially CuT? Following Bobaljik (2002), coupled with the copy theory of movement, I propose here that DP does raise and stay in SpecT, hence satisfying CuT. Be that as it may, optimal places for interpretation differs with respect to LF and PF (Morphology), that is, SpecV for the former and SpecT for the latter. This effect is formalized by Bobaljik (2002):

(44)   *Minimize Mismatch*
       (To the extent possible) privilege the same copy at PF and LF. (Bobaljik 2002: 251)

Thus, (40b) is one instantiation where a gap between LF and PF is found; PF (Morphology) reads the upper copy for plural agreement morphology, with DP *students* in SpecT incarnated as *there*. In contrast, LF reads the lower copy in terms of Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis, but PF still have to pronounce it as *students*; otherwise, we find constructions such as **there are in this school.*[25] On the other hand, Japanese does not necessitate such mechanism as a consequence of overt morphology (in passing, note that the assumption that the upper copy is realized as *there* is not a novel idea; see Bobaljik 2002, and Julien 2002).

Under my proposal, an XP that fails to be in SpecT cannot be given appropriate morphemes, and I proposed above that, such being the case, the default case (or zero-case) becomes relevant. In English, the default case is widely assumed to be accusative. Observe:

(45)   a.   This is me.
       b.   [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ This T+be [$_{VP}$ t$_{this}$ t$_{be}$ me]]]

To sum, to acquire the intended interpretation of existential reading, English utilizes expletive *there*, and Japanese deploys different case (or T-feature) morphology.

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situated in SpecT. I think this may be concerned with pronunciation, say, stressing elements that are thetically judged (cf. Basilico 2003). Unfortunately, I do not have the slightest idea on tonal principles of language, so this is just an innocent conjecture. But what is more perplexing is that (41a) allows existential reading, which I propose is relevant to thetic judgment. But if *wa* tolerates such reading, does this mean that we must find another way to explain the *ga*/*wa* distinction? The answer is negative, since what I assume following Kuroda (2005) is that *ga*/*wa* distinction is associated with the difference of judgment, not the difference of existential vs. generic, or presuppositionality. Thus this implies that genericity, existentiality, and presuppositionality belong to the properties of discourse as do topic and focus. Thetic judgment is necessarily existential since it represents description, but categorical judgment does not have to, for it just attributes some property to a given object. Whether objects are existential or generic does not matter.
[25] One might ask why both copies are not pronounced as *students* in (40b). But we can easily exclude this possibility, since that state of affairs should pose the difficulty for linearization.

KOJI SHIMAMURA

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I proposed that the traditional EPP effect is achieved by the local concatenation of CuT, which serves for the interfacial purposes. This is prominent for both LF and PF (Morphology) in Japanese; on the other hand (insofar as the present discussion is concerned) PF is only prominent in English along the line of Miyagawa (2005) and his subsequent works. Local head-to-head concatenation becomes usable for deriving the EPP effect when we accept Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001, 2004) proposal that cases are T-features borne by D.

   In the next chapter, I discuss the nature of the dative subject construction in Japanese under the current system, with a special attention to the grammatical functions of dative subjects and nominative objects. In the course of discussion, I crucially exploit the assumption that the feature checking is irrelevant to CuT; hence, self-sufficient arguments (i.e., PP) can move to SpecT via CuT.

3   ON THE DATIVE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE

In this chapter, we delve into the issue of how to derive the dative subject construction (henceforth, DSC) in Japanese under the framework discussed thus far. DSC is one of the intriguing linguistic phenomena, observed in many languages including Japanese, Korean, Icelandic, Turkish, Russian, Hindi and so on. However, instead of implementing a comprehensive (cross-linguistic) study of the relevant structure that should enable us to elucidate the general properties of DSC, limiting our attention to DSC in Japanese, I argue that DSC in this language is not of the same kind as those that are observed in other languages just mentioned, which attest to the following clear-cut grammatical subjecthood properties of dative-marked arguments: (i) inducing the morphological agreement (insofar as Japanese and Korean are concerned; for the unmarked pattern of agreement in DSC, however, (partial) agreement with the nominative Obj is observed), (ii) constituting a feasible controller of PRO, and (iii) binding a subject oriented reflexive; and I claim that DSC in Japanese is in fact the double subject constructions 2SC in the sense of Shibatani (1999) (cf. Yoon 2004). Thus, it is predicted that not just dative- but nominative-marked arguments can assume such properties as (i)-(iii), and I show this prediction is borne out.

   Ura (2000), however, claims that only dative subjects of DSC in Japanese do show such grammatical functions, and that this fact is elucidated under his split feature checking system. He argues all the pertinent features that dictate the grammatical subjecthood are checked overtly via the alleged dative subjects. Nevertheless, installing a set of new data, as well as Ura's (2000) data with interpretations different from his divulges lurking problems with his analysis of DSC at least in Japanese.

   The idea that DSC in Japanese is actually 2SC, to my knowledge, is originally proposed by Shibatani (1999), who points out several aspects of subjecthood that alleged nominative objects seem to possess, to which I will return below. What

differentiates my claim from Shibatani's is the assumption that DSC is parallel to its Nom-Acc counterpart with respect to VP structure. Shibatani argues dative subjects are not the argument to the predicate (cf. Yoon 2004) but I will not follow this idea for two reasons: the notion of dependency and PRO. Instead, I take the same position as Ura (2000), Belletti & Rizzi (1988) in the following structure, abstracting away from the two-layered verbal shell.

(46)   [$_{VP}$ Exp [$_{V'}$ Theme V]] (word order irrelevant)

As shown in (46), I take the dative Experiencer (Exp) to be the external argument of the predicate. This clearly contrasts with Shibatani's (1999) structure.

(47)   [$_S$ Exp [$_S$ Theme Pred]]   (adopted from Shibatani 1999: 61)

Restating (47) with our present terms, we may well get (48). Note that he does not mention the internal organization of Pred (in principle, Pred can be VP/vP). In any rate, he claims that Exp is not the argument of the predicate, which I will not follow.

(48)   [$_{TP}$ Exp [$_{TP}$ Theme VP]]

Shibatani (1999) takes it tacitly that the semantic properties are various (see fn. 34, 36 in this chapter), dubbing them all under the name of DSC. Thus, it is still tenable to apply (48) for some of the DSCs discussed by him (I think this can be the case with DSC with the possessive interpretation given in (58)-(59) below); yet, I assume that we can have (46) for others, one of which is the topic of this chapter, viz., the DSC expressing the potential interpretation (i.e., (52a)).

In the following, first, we will review the analyses of DSC presented by Ura (2000), pointing out that they are insufficient to derive the properties of DSC in Japanese, and inconsistent with the actual data and the recent minimalist doctrine. Note that what is intended in this chapter is not to rebut the whole endeavor Ura commits himself to, but just to show that, albeit his analyses are lucid and elegant, at least the potential DSC in Japanese does not fall into the same typological classification of the widely attested DSC in other languages, in terms of the grammatical subjecthood that the dative arguments are alleged to assume.

3.1 Grammatical Subjecthood of Datives and Ura's (2000) Feature Checking System[26]

3.1.1 Deriving DSC   As to how DSC is derived, Ura proposes that (i) in Japanese

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[26] Throughout this subsection, I use "Case" instead of case, for Ura (2000) assumes the existence of Case-features in the syntax.

(and Korean), φ- and EPP-feature are strong and nominative Case-feature is weak; (ii) v in the two-layered verbal structure in (49) has a stative meaning and assigns a dative Case as an inherent Case to Exp. The light verb has no ability to check an accusative Case as its lexical idiosyncrasy; (iii) φ-feature checking and nominative Case-feature checking are implemented independently; (iv) T's nominative feature can enter into checking relation multiple times.[27] Bearing these proposals in mind, consider how DSC is derived, as schematized in (50).

(49) [$_{vP}$ Exp [$_{VP}$ Theme V] v] (v: *stative meaning with dative Case assigning capacity*)

(50) a. [$_{vP}$ Exp-DAT [$_{VP}$ Theme V] v]   (v assigns DAT to EXP)
      b. [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ Exp-DAT [$_{VP}$ Theme V] v] T]   (merging T)
      c. [$_{TP}$ EXP-DAT$_k$ [$_{vP}$ t$_k$ [$_{VP}$ Theme V] v] T] (checking T' φ- and EPP-feature by Spell Out)
      d. [$_{TP}$ EXP-DAT$_k$ [$_{vP}$ t$_k$ [$_{VP}$ Theme V] v] T+F: NOM]   (Theme's NOM is checked at LF)

In (50c), the closest DP is Exp, so it raises overtly to SpecT, where it checks off EPP- and φ-feature of T simultaneously. In the stage of (50d), the nominative Case-feature of Theme moves covertly onto T via feature movement.[28]

Another DSC is a transitive verb with the potential suffix *-(rar)e*. The relevant structure proposed by Ura goes as follows in (51). sP stands for the maximal projection of the suffix phrase.

(51) [$_{sP}$ DP^1-DAT [$_{vP}$ PRO [$_{VP}$ DP^2 V] v] -rar(e)(=s)]

According to Ura, (i) the potential suffix takes a transitive verb as its complement; (ii) it has null Case which to be assigned to PRO and assigns a θ-role to its Spec; (iii) it optionally absorbs the accusative Case borne by v, and when it does so it assigns an inherent dative Case to its Spec. Whence, the following two structures are possible as shown in (52), due to the proposal (iii).

(52) a. Taro-ni   eigo-ga   hanas-e-ru.
          Taro-DAT English-NOM speak-POT-PRES
          'Taro can speak English.'

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[27] The proposal (iv) is needed in order to account for the Nom-Nom pattern. For example, as Ura notes, *suki "like"* or *kirai "dislike"* disallows the Dat-Nom pattern (e.g., *Taro-ga/*ni neko-ga suki-da, "Taro likes cats"*). He attributes this to the lexical idiosyncrasy of the relevant predicate. Thus, the proposal (ii) is at work: some psych-predicates disallow assignment of the inherent Case as their lexical "idiosyncrasy." Such the case, T checks the nominative Case-feature of Subj overtly and that of Obj covertly, which Ura does not discuss but must have bear in mind. See Ura (2000) p108-109 for another discussion, concerning (iv).

[28] In fact, Ura does not use feature movement in analyzing Japanese (Korean) but at the later point, when he analyzes Tamil, he crucially uses it. In principle, LF checking is carried out through the feature movement.

b. Taro-ga eigo-o hanas-e-ru.
Taro-NOM English-ACC speak-POT-PRES
'Taro can speak English.'

Turning to (51), Agent-role is assigned to PRO by v, and Theme-role is assigned to DP^2 by V; PRO checks off the null Case borne by the suffix.[29] Thus the only way to mark DP^1 with a Case is to enter into the checking relation with T. Now let us see the derivation of (52a).

(53) a. $[_{sP} DP^1\text{-DAT} [_{vP} PRO [_{VP} DP^2 V] v] \text{-rar(e)}]$
      b. $[_{TP} DP^1\text{-DAT}_k [_{sP} t_k [_{vP} PRO [_{VP} DP^2 V] v] \text{-rar(e)}] T]$
      c. $[_{TP} DP^1\text{-DAT}_k [_{sP} t_k [_{vP} PRO [_{VP} DP^2 V] v] \text{-rar(e)}] T+F: NOM]$

In (53a), the suffix, absorbing the accusative Case of v, assigns a dative Case to DP^1. Then, in (53b), with the introduction of T, DP^1 bearing the dative Case checks off strong φ- and EPP-features of T by Spell Out. Finally DP^2's nominative Case-feature raises onto T; the derivation converges. Note that PRO never intervenes, according to Ura, since it is invisible at LF due to the null Case's incompatibility with T (i.e., nominative).[30] If there is no absorption by v, it checks the accusative Case-feature in the same fashion as what happens in the normal transitive clause; hence we get (52b).

This is, rather simplified, what Ura (2000) proposes for the derivation of DSC in Japanese. His explanation is not only ingenious but also empirically correct, for it ascribes the Case-pattern (i.e., Dat-Nom or Nom-Nom) to the lexically idiosyncratic diversity of stative v and the Case-pattern alternation of the potential suffix to the optionality of Case-absorption strategy. But the problem is, as Yoon (2004) points out, that Ura crucially uses strong/weak distinction of features. Ura argues that if φ-feature is weak, we get Icelandic or Tamil pattern of agreement where T agrees with the nominative object, and this means that agreement morpheme can, *ceteris paribus*, be associated either with Subj or with Obj by equal chance. This is not the case: agreement with Obj is predominant, as Yoon (2004) claims. In addition, as to the reason covert/LF checking of φ-feature takes the nominative-marked object, Ura claims that it is so because it is more economical than covert/LF checking of Exp, which is located in SpecT.[31]

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[29] As Ura (2000) notes, it is not so easy to ensure that DP^1 and PRO are co-referential to each other. Although to say that this PRO is obligatorily controlled seems easy, its theoretical implementation is difficult. In passing, another problem to me is that it is still unclear what kind of θ-role the suffix assigns to DP^1, to which he does not discuss. One possible θ-role is, I guess, something like "DP^1 has the ability to do what vP denotes." Thereby, we get a stative interpretation characteristic of DSC.

[30] It is clear that feature-based Relativized Minimality is assumed here.

[31] Ura (2000)'s account goes as follows (NB: EPP is D-feature):

(i) $[_{TP} EXP\text{-DAT}_k [_{vP} t_k [_{VP} Theme_{[iEPP/i\phi/uCase]} V] v] T_{[uEPP/u\phi/iCase]}]$ (at LF)

When the Case-feature of Theme moves at LF, φ-feature can be pied-piped and move along with it via the free-rider strategy. Put differently, what actually moves is Case-feature, and φ-feature moves piggyback on it; thus, Case- and φ-feature do not move separately. If the grammar selects the covert checking of φ-feature of Exp, it has to move φ-feature from within T to Exp, which operation is unnecessary for the covert checking of the relevant features of Theme.

Conceptually speaking, feature movement and strong/weak distinction are somewhat obsolete for the current minimalist viewpoint, which implies that we should dispense with them. As I will show you, my proposal is free from such out-of-date syntax-oriented artifacts, and all I employ are independently motivated (see Chapter 2).

Next, after reviewing Ura's investigation into the grammatical functions of the dative subjects, we see that, contrary to his claim, the nominative arguments can also assume such roles.

3.1.2 Checking Theory and Grammatical Function; Subjecthood only for Datives?
Ura (2000) proposes that the pertinent subjecthood is determined by three grammatical functions (GF):

(54) a. Whether to control PRO in a subordinate clause
      b. Whether to induce Subj-V agreement
      c. Whether to constitute the antecedent of the subject-oriented reflexive

He further argues that each of three components in (54) is regulated in terms of the feature checking as follows: ϕ-feature checking decides on (54a.b) and EPP-feature (D-feature) checking, (54c). Thus Case is irrelevant to the properties delineated in (54).

Ura posits another feature of [±construable], which is, roughly speaking, endowed with interpretable features. Therefore, those features that survive (i.e., undeleted) at LF after the checking relation on either the checker or the checkee, or both are [+construable]. Note that only interpretable ϕ- and EPP-feature are [+construable], not Case-features, though Case on T should be interpretable. Put differently, what matters with respect to GF determination is ϕ- and EPP-feature, which are both [+construable]. In English the element that enters into the checking relation with T for nominative Case and ϕ-feature is the same DP (i.e., the nominative DPs) but in Japanese DSC, ϕ-feature is checked by Subj bearing a dative Case and the nominative Case-feature, by Obj covertly.[32]

Now consider the following:

(55) a. John-ni   Mary-ga   [zibun/zibun-zishin-no sensei]-ni
          hikiawase-(ra)re-ru
          John-DAT Mary-NOM self/self-self-GEN   teacher-to
          introduce-POT-PRES
          Lit. 'John can introduce Mary to self's teacher.'[33]   (Ura 2000: 98)

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[32] As we have seen above, Ura (2000) crucially employs the notions of strong/weak distinction, Spec-Head configuration for the feature checking and this nominative Case checking is executed via the feature movement.

[33] One may say that *Mary* can binds *self* since the former c-commands the latter, given the following traditional Larsonian structure:

(i)   [vP John-DAT [VP Mary-NOM [V' self's teacher-to V] v]]

However, as Ura (2000) correctly points out, the subject-oriented reflexive must be bound by Subj even if

    b. [PRO sake-o   nomi-nagara], John-ni   Mary-ga
       damas-e-ru
            sake-ACC drink-while   John-DAT Mary-NOM
       cheat-POT-PRES
       'While PRO drinking sake, John can cheat Mary.'

                                        (Ura 2000: 102)

As Ura (2000) claims, datives subjects in (55) can bind the subject-oriented reflexive and become the feasible controller of PRO. However, to me, *hikiawase(ra)reru* in (55a) is ambiguous; its meaning can be simply "*show Mary to self's teacher*." If we interpret it not to mean that the agent gets the patient acquainted with the goal, who has been unknown to the patient, then the reflexive can mention either *John* or *Mary* (at least to me and some around me). Thus, the dative-antecedent reading should be due to the biased reading associated with *introduce*. And for control in (55b), I think PRO can refer to both of DPs, whereby we get the meaning like "*while they are drinking sake, John can cheat Mary*." (55b), however, seems extremely marginal. Consider other cases as shown in (56):

  (56) a. [PRO$_j$ tokidoki   togire-nagara],   Taro-ni$_j$
           amaoto-ga   kiko-e-ta
           [PRO$_j$ sometimes break.intermittently-while] Taro-DAT$_j$
           sound.of.rain-NOM hear-POT-PAST
           'While PRO beak intermittently, Taro could hear the sound of the rain.'
      b. [PRO$_{j\ or\ i}$ bodan-chokki-o   ki-nagara],   Taro-ni$_i$
           Hanako-ga$_j$ koros-e-ru
           [PRO   bulletproof-vest-ACC wear-while] Taro-DAT
           Hanako-NOM kill-POT-PRES
           'While PRO be wearing a bulletproof vest, Taro can kill Hanako (with a gun).'

Interestingly, in (56a), the only controller should be the nominative argument, and in (56b) either of the dative or nominative argument controls PRO by equal chance (I think this is partially due to the ambiguity of *nagra* in Japanese; it can be interpreted as "*the time during which/while*," or "*although*"). This is not captured by Ura's approach.

    What we can say about subject-verb agreement? It is assumed that Japanese lacks overt agreement like English (Kuroda 1988). However, Ura (2000), following Harada

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Theme c-commands Goal:

  (i)   John-ga$_i$ Mary-o$_j$ [zibun/zibun-zishin$_{i/*j}$ -no sensei]-ni hikiawase-(ra)re-ru
        John-NOM Mary-ACC self/self-self-GEN   teacher-to introduce-POT-PRES
        Lit. 'John can introduce Mary to self's teacher.'

                                        (Ura 2000: 98)

In (ii), John is Subj since it is marked with a nominative Case. Thus, insofar as *zibun/zubun-zishin* is concerned, not the c-command relation but the fact of being a grammatical subject is irrelevant.

(1976) and Shibatani (1977), argues that only the element equipped with the subject functions does induce the agreement with the predicate, which is substantiated in the form of honorification. Ura gives (57), where the dative-marked subject triggers honorification.

(57)   Yamada-sensei-ni sono mondai-ga   o-wakari-ni   nar-u
       Prof.Yamada-DAT that problem-NOM HON-undrstand-to become-PRES
       'Prof. Yamada understands that problem.'

<div align="right">(Ura 2000: 101)</div>

But Shibatani (1999) notes the nominative object does instigate it. Consider:

(58)   Yamada-sensei-ni-(wa)   utukushii okusan-ga oide-ni naru
       Prof.Yamada-DAT-(TOP) beautiful wife-NOM exist-HON
       'Prof. Yamada has a beautiful wife.'

<div align="right">(Shibatani 1999:59)</div>

Shibatani notes that it is rather difficult to decide on which argument induces agreement, since both Prof. Yamada and his wife deserve speaker's deference. However, in the following contrast, the only plausible candidate is Prof. Yamada. But the sentence is obviously infelicitous, so he concludes the nominative-marked DP induces agreement in (58), viz., honorification.

(59)   #Yamada-sensei-ni-(wa)   sirami-ga oide-ni naru
       Prof.Yamada-DAT-(TOP) lice-NOM exist-HON
       'Prof. Yamada has lice (i.e., lice-infected).'

<div align="right">(ibid.)</div>

I wonder whether (58) and (59) will constitute a tenable counterexample to Ura's argument, since they are different from the instances we have been investigating so far, in that there is a possibility that the dative elements might be PP: hence a locative expression, and that they might have different derivational history from DSC.[34] But assume that they are DSC as Shibatani claims; then we can say that both dative-marked and nominative-marked arguments can induce the honorific agreement, though this line of reasoning seems less robust, compared to (55) and (56).[35,36]

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[34] Shibatani (1999) identifies DSC-semantics with (i) Possession/Existence, (ii) Psychological status, (iii) Physiological status, (iv) Perception, (v) Modal status (e.g., *need*) and (vi) Potential ability/Permission.
   Note that even if the dative elements are PP in (58)/(59), they are supposed to have the ability to bring about agreement, given Ura's framework. For, his analysis of Locative Inversion also treats the locative PP as a candidate for satisfying ϕ- and EPP-feature (see Ura 2000: Chapter 5).

[35] I point out another potential problem of Ura's argument here. As I noted in fn. 31, when ϕ-feature is weak as in Icelandic, the nominative object checks that feature. But note that ϕ-feature is [+construable]. Thus it is predicted that the nominative DP controls PRO in a subordinate clause, which is contrary to the fact.

To recap, the dative subject does assume the subjecthood, as Ura claims, but we have observed that the nominative object can do the same job as the dative arguments in Japanese DSC. These facts suggest that DSC in Japanese is actually not DSC in the traditional sense; rather it is the double subject construction (hereafter, 2SC) as Shibatani (1999) claims.

Though I assume DSC in Japanese is 2SC alongside Shibatani (1999), one conspicuous point where my assumption depart from his is that, a I noted above, the DSC under our consideration (i.e., the DSC that presents the ability) is constructed from a transitive verbal configuration; in other words, Subj is located in SpecV, and Obj, in VComp.

3.2 On Double Subject Construction

3.2.1 Shibatani's (1999) Large Subject, Sentential Predication and the Notion of Dependency   Shibatani (1999) argues for DSC as 2SC. Consider (48), repeated as (60).

(60)   [$_{TP}$ Exp [$_{TP}$ Theme VP]]

In (60), according to him, the dative subject (Exp) provides the domain where the proposition that the internal sentence describes applies. For instance, (61a) is not universally true, so this statement must be enclosed to a specific domain as in (61b) or (61c).

(i)   Mer$_i$ likuðu   bækurnar$_j$ [an þess PRO$_{i/*j}$ að buast við þvi]
      me.DAT liked.pl the-books without PRO   to expect it
      'I like the books without PRO expecting to.'

(Ura 2000: 128)

To circumvent this problem, moderating his original proposal, Ura stipulates that if there is more than one argument that have undergone [+construable] feature checking with T in a single clause, then the ability to control obeys the following hierarchy:

(ii)   argument with a φ-feature checking with T before Spell Out > <u>argument with an EPP feature checking before Spell Out</u> > argument with a φ-feature checking with T at LF > argument with an EPP-feature checking with T at LF (ibid.: 124)

Here, the pertinent ranking is underlined in (ii); hence the right result. But (ii) is rather *ad hoc*, and if we employ the current AGREE mechanism (Chomsky 2000 and his subsequent works), we have no way to derive (i), since, with AGREE, every instance of agreement operates "overtly" without displacement. As we shall see, this problem simply does not arise under my proposal; thus, we do not have to fabricate such a stipulation as (ii).

[36] Suppose that the DSC with the possessive reading actually has the structure of:

(i)   [$_{TP}$ Loc [$_{TP}$ Theme VP]]

In (i), Loc(ative) is an adjunct; not the (apparent) dative subject but the nominative object (actually subject) induces the agreement. If so, (58) and (59) are irrelevant here, and we have no way of explaining why the nominative object in the true DSC in Japanese cannot trigger honorification. But I doubt that honorification is a genuine instance of agreement, say, in the sense of English or other agreeing languages, so I leave this for future research.

(61) a. Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru
       Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
       'Someone can speak Japanese'
    b. Ken-ni-(wa)   Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru (DSC)
       Ken-DAT-(TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
       'Ken can speak Japanese'
    c. Hawai-de-(wa)   Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru
       Hawaii-in-(TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
       'In Hawaii Japanese can be spoken.'

                                    (adopted from Shibatani 1999: 64)

With the structure (60) and the observation in (61), Shibatani proposes that the predicate is itself intransitive and that the nominative-marked subject and the predicate express a state of affairs that must be anchored to some person- or place-domain. Thus, without a specific domain, the only possible interpretation for (61a) is elliptical one: that is, something is missing, as will be the case with *pro*-drop languages like Japanese. To explain this, Shibatani puts froth the following structure.

(62) [DAT-NP   [NOM-NP PRED]]
      Large Subj Small Subj

                                             (Shibatani 1999: 66)

As (62) indicates, the large subject is not the direct argument to the predicate; instead it is predicated over by the inner clause: the sentential predication (cf. Yoon 2004). Simply put, the sentential predicate characterizes the large subject. The only mechanism that ensures the relation between the large subject and the sentential predicate is "dependency." The notion of dependency affects the Case realization of the large subjects. Shibatani argues that when the dependency is high, that is, when what the large subject represents is inherently related to the small subject — a body-part or emotive states such as *liking* or *hating* — we find the nominative large subjects, as shown below.

(63) a. Ken-ga/*-ni   atama-ga   ookii/itai
       Ken-NOM/*-DAT head-NOM large/hurting
       'Ken has a large head/a headache.'
    b. Ken-ga/*-ni   Mami-ga   suki-da/kirai-da
       Ken-NOM/*-DAT Mami-NOM like-COP/hat-COP
       'Ken likes/hates Mami.'

                                                  (ibid.: 69)

When the degree of dependency is low, the dative Case is selected:

(64) a. Boku-ni-(wa) kono-hon-ga   omosiroi
     I-DAT-(TOP) this-book-NOM interesting
     'To me, this book interesting.'
  b. Boku-ni-(wa) ano-hito-ga   kowai
     I-DAT-(TOP) that-person-NOM frightening
     'To me, that person is frightening.'

(Shibatani 1999: 69)

Potential sentences are interesting in this respect, since the dative Case and the nominative Case alternate as given in (65a.b), whilst the potential sentence with the place-domain does not allow the alternation, as shown in (65c).

(65) a. Ken-ni-(wa)   Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru (DSC)
     Ken-DAT-(TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
     'Ken can speak Japanese.'
  b. Ken-ga   Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru
     Ken-NOM Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
     'Ken can speak Japanese.'
  c. Hawaii-de-(wa)/*-ga   Nihongo-ga hanas-e-ru
     Hawaii-in-(TOP)/*-NOM Japanese   speak-POT-PRES
     'In Hawaii Japanese can be spoken.'

(ibid.)

Thus, we can conclude that the dependency in the potential DSC is high as in the case of (65a.b) but not in (65c).

The notion of dependency also has an influence on the distribution of subjecthood properties of the large subject; the higher the dependency is, the stronger the subjecthood the large subject assumes. Shibatani refers to the following examples:

(66) a. [(Hata-san-ga) [okusan-ga kaisha-o   keiei-site iru]]
     Hata-Mr-NOM wife-NOM company-ACC run-do   be
     'Mr. Hata, his wife runs a company.'
  b. [(Hata-san-ga) [Yasuko-ga   suki-da]]
     Hata-Mr-NOM Yasuko-NOM like-COP
     'Mr. Hata likes Yasuko.'

(adopted and modified from Shibatani 1999: 71)

If we elide *Hata-san-ga* in both sentences, we get the elliptical reading, but on different grounds. Shibatani argues that the source of elliptical reading of (66a) comes from the marital relation between *Mr. Hata* and *his wife*, which readily allows *Hata-san-ga* to be elided, whereas that of (66b) comes from the state of affairs the predicate describes (*like Yasuko*); hence we need to express someone cognizant of such emotion. Therefore, the predicate is highly dependent on the nominative cognizer.

I ponder whether the agreement properties also manifest the degree of dependency. As Shibatani or Ura (2000) argues, the large subject does induce the agreement.

(67) a. Hata-sensei-ga migi-me-ga o-warui/warui
Prof.Hata-NOM right-eye-NOM HON-bad/bad
'Prof. Hata has a bad right eye.'

(Shibatani 1999: 63)

b. Yamada-sensei-ni sono mondai-ga o-wakari-ni nar-u
Prof.Yamada-DAT thatproblem-NOM HON-undrstand-to become-PRES
'Prof. Yamada understands that problem.'

(Ura 2000: 101)

We can replace the dative Case with the nominative Case in (67b), so this is a case of the high dependency. But as I noted above in (59), repeated as (68), this is not always the case:

(68) #Yamada-sensei-ni-(wa) sirami-ga oide-ni naru
Prof.Yamada-DAT-(TOP) lice-NOM exist-HON
'Prof. Yamada has lice (i.e., lice-infected).'

(Shibatani 1999: 59)

This is explained with the notion of dependency. Put differently, since this possession is different from the possession of, say, a body-part, the subjecthood of the dative-marked DP is weak; hence, the impossibility of agreement. That is, when the dependency is high, the large subject behaves as a subject in the following respects:

(69) a. The large subject allows the nominative-dative alternation.
b. When elided, the large subject is construed as *pro*.
c. The large subject triggers agreement (honorification).

Having discussed the dependency so far, one may wonder why all the alleged large subjects are generated independently of the predicate. In fact, Shibatani does not present any kind of syntactic representation but (48)/(60), and he just proposes both nominative-marked and dative-marked DPs act as subject. But the degree of the subjecthood of the large subject "depends" on the dependency. What I cannot get from his proposal is why any instance of the large subject with such difference (the weak vs. strong dependency) is all generated independently of the predicate. Considering the observation (69), the large subject with strong dependency seems to be a true argument. I do agree with Shibatani's idea in that the large subject with weak dependency such as (70c) should be independent of the predicate since it does not show any property of (69). Nonetheless, why do we have to apply the same analysis

of (70c) to (70a.b)?

(70) a. Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru
       Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
       'Someone can speak Japanese'
    b. Ken-ni-(wa)   Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru (DSC)
       Ken-DAT-(TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
       'Ken can speak Japanese'
    c. Hawai-de-(wa)   Nihongo-ga   hanas-e-ru
       Hawaii-in-(TOP) Japanese-NOM speak-POT-PRES
       'In Hawaii Japanese can be spoken.'

Thus we still have the task to make clear how (60) is derived, or to be specific, what (60) would be like as the whole structure including the internal description of VP.

I think Shibatani's proposal of 2SC should be tenable, considering the fact that both of the DPs in DSC can control PRO, and bind the subject-oriented reflexive (save our concern on honorific agreement (see fn. 36)), but I dare presume that the point where he slipped off the right track is when he decided to treat every dative element as the large subject generated independently of the predicate; thus we see this contradiction: some large subjects behave like an adjunct whereas others behave like a true argument. Shibatani will argue against me, maintaining that this is the matter of the dependency. But how do we define the dependency in syntax is a rather strenuous issue. One possible way to circumvent this is to posit a null argument (*e*) in the predicate VP when the dependency is high.

(71) $[_{TP}$ DP-DAT $[_{VP}$ *e* $[_{V'}$ DP-NOM V] v] T]

The null argument may be obligatory control PRO, but how do we ensure that such PRO occurs here? Note that we are not facing the same problem as Ura (2000) with his potential suffix phrase, but more serious one. He acknowledges that introducing PRO into the structure is not as easy as it seems to be, but I think this is somehow justified with the assumption that his potential suffix assigns a null Case to PRO (see fn. 29 in this chapter). Now the problem for us is that we have to stipulate the existence of PRO even for such a simple transitive sentence as:

(72) Ken-ga/*-ni   Mami-ga   suki-da/kirai-da
     Ken-NOM/*-DAT Mami-NOM like-COP/hat-COP
     'Ken likes/hates Mami.'

This might not be a crucial problem and constitute the refutation of Shibatani's 2SC analysis but at least this line of reasoning is hard to implement, given the current minimalist considerations. Thus, let us assume that at least the dative DPs with the properties of (69) are the argument of the predicate. In other words, I adopt the

transitive structure (73) for potential DSCs in (52) (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Ura 2000).

(73) [$_{VP}$ Exp [$_{V'}$ Theme V]]

3.2.2 Very Short Remarks on Yoon 2004   To conclude this section, I briefly review another proposal in line with Shibatani (1999), which is advanced by Yoon (2004). He also assumes the large subject is not the argument of the predicate.

(74) [$_{TP}$ MS-ka [$_{VP}$ GS V]]

Taking up the phenomenon of nominative Case-stacking, he further claims the element standing in SpecT must bear a nominative Case (*ka*), taking on Topic- or Focus-hood. As for the grammatical functions, Yoon observes MS controls PRO, and GS induces the honorific agreement.[37] So in the unmarked case, MS is co-indexed with the null element as shown in (75). The relevant example goes as follows.

(75) Cheli-eykey-ka$_i$ (MS) [e_i (GS) ton-i   philyoha-ta]
       Cheli-DAT-NOM   money-NOM necessary-DECL
       'It is Cheli who needs money.'

(Yoon 2004: 31)

If the Case-stacking does not occur, the MS position (i.e., SpecT) is not activated.

(76) Cheli-eykey (GS) ton-i   philyoha-ta
       Cheli-DAT   money-NOM necessary-DECL
       'Cheli needs money.'

(ibid.: 30)

I admit Yoon is right with respect to another Case-stacking like Locative+*ka*; the relevant element should be base-generated in SpecT, as is the case for DSC with the possessive interpretation in Japanese. Insofar as (75) is concerned, however, it must be derived from (76) for the reason that I have just mentioned above.

3.2.3 Intermediate Summary   In this section we have overviewed Shibatani's (1999) proposal. His claim is that the dative DP is not the argument of the predicate but the element providing the domain where the proposition the internal clause (i.e., the nominative DP and the predicate) depicts is evaluated as true. The subjecthood of the large subject becomes strong when the dependency is high; otherwise it rather conducts itself as an adjunct. To abandon a somewhat vague notion of the dependency,

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[37] For Yoon (2004), the relevant MS test is whether DP is ECMed or SORed (subject-object raising), but I skip the detail here.

I assume some DSCs (DSCs with the high dependency in the sense of Shibatani 1999) have the transitive structure for the verbal domain, at least concerning those with the potential (and emotive) interpretations. One argument for verifying what we have discussed is gained from the following contrast.

(77) a. Gukusei-ni san-nin eigo-ga hanas-e-ru
     student-DAT three-CL English-NOM speak-POT-PRES
     'Three students can speak English.'
b.?*Sensei-ni san-nin utukusiiokusan-ga oide-ni-naru
     professors-DAT three-CL beautifulwife-NOM exist-HON
     '(*intended meaning*) Three professors each have a beautiful wife.'

If the dative-marked element in (77b) is in fact an adjunct, then it is plausible to reason that it is a PP, contrary to the true argument with a dative marking in (77a). This is, I think, borne out, since PPs cannot be associated with a numeral quantifier (cf. Miyagawa 1997, Ochi 2009). (77b) becomes acceptable only when it is interpreted as something like '*A certain professor has three beautiful wives* (perhaps, in some society with the polygamous custom).' Some say that they can still get the intended interpretation from (77b), but the contrast is sharp. For that reason, I will keep assuming that my claim is on the right track.

At this moment in time, we are ready to scrutinize (52a), repeated here:

(78) Taro-ni eigo-ga hanas-e-ru
    Taro-DAT English-NOMspeak-POT-PRES
    'Taro can speak English.'

As argued in 3.1.2, there are some cases where the nominative objects assume the grammatical subjecthood properties; thus, I show in the next section how to capture these and the derivation of the dative arguments under the model I proposed in Chapter 2.

3.3 (Potential) DSC and Concatenate under T-feature[38]

The movement to SpecT has several consequences on the interpretation by the LF and PF interfaces, as we saw in the previous chapter. In this sense, CuT is interfacially motivated, and the simplest assumption says that arguments are concatenated and thereby integrated to T in the Spec-Head manner, for identifying the event or state they enter into. Put simply, arguments are presented in each SpecT (in (15b) in Chapter 2), in order to be predicated over via the relevant verbal domain (i.e., vP and VP in a transitive clause). Still, there are other considerations on such movement in

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[38] Now, we come back to the use of small *c* for cases.

Japanese, viz. judgment. I propose that this property is crucial to determine whether the subject or the object moves to SpecT in DSC, whereby we derive the 2SC.

In the next subsection, to begin with, we see in what way UG can render the dative case available under the case system with Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001, 2004) model.

3.3.1 The Dative Case DP as Self-Sufficient Argument   My reasoning for the dative case marking is so simple. Following Pesetsky & Torrego's (2004) intuition, I propose the dative subject in Japanese is one instance of a self-sufficient DP. As I noted in Chapter 2, they regard a case as T-feature and propose the following structure for DP.

(79) $[_{DP}$ $D_{[uT/i\phi]}$ $[_{TP}$ $T_{[iT/u\phi]}$ $[_{NP}$ N$]]]$

And self-sufficient PPs are derived as follows:

(80)   a. $[_{DP}$ $D_{[uT/i\phi]}$ $[_{TP}$ $T_{[iT/u\phi]}$ $[_{NP}$ N$]]]$
b. $[_{DP}$ $T_{[iT/u\phi]}$ $[_{D'}$ $D_{[uT/i\phi]}$ $[_{TP}$ t $[_{NP}$ N$]]]]$ (Substitution)
c. $[_{TP}$ $T_{[iT/u\phi]}$ $[_{D'}$ $D_{[uT/i\phi]}$ $[_{TP}$ t $[_{NP}$ N$]]]]$ (No morphological merger with T projecting)

Crucial is the point of (80c), where, as Pesetsky & Torrego claim, the moved T head projects in a free relative way, turning to be P.

Now if we do not use the free relative strategy and apply the same derivation as defective arguments to self-sufficient ones, then we get dative or more generally lexically governed cases as shown in (81). This is a welcome result since PPs and dative cases can co-occur with the categorical marker (*wa*). Thus, basically there is no difference between datives and PPs. Both can satisfy CuT since their head is T (recall that the feature checking *per se* is irrelevant).[39]

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[39] As I noted above, the alleged self-sufficient arguments diverge with respect to the compatibility with *ga*.
(i)   koko-kara-ga   mondai-da
      here-from-NOM problem-COP
      'From here/this point, the problem begins.'
(ii) * Taro-ni-ga   eigo-ga   dekiru
      Taro-DAT-NOM English-NOM understand
      'Taro understands English.'
The dative DP cannot co-occur with *ga*. Why is this so?
   Here, without any confidence, I sketch my speculation with thetic/categorical distinction. In discussing the case hierarchy in Chapter 2, I suggested that the default/unmarked morpheme is thetic and the categorical morpheme is marked. If so, all arguments (with $T_{complete}$ or T_{def}) are thetic by default (insofar as the given sentence is not only a proposition but also a statement). The idea that the thetic marker is default is also consistent with the claim by some researchers that the nominative case is default in Japanese, as noted in fn. 18 in the previous chapter (e.g., Fukui & Takano 1998). If all arguments are intrinsically thetic, the dative case ($T_{[iT/u\phi]}$) in (iii), which is morphologically fused into D, is thetic by default:
      (iii) $[_{DP}$ $T_{[iT/u\phi]}$+$D_{[uT/i\phi]}$ $[_{TP}$ t $[_{NP}$ N$]]]]$
Hence, it does not have to be marked another thetic marker: the nominative, in the same location (i.e. "$T_{[iT/u\phi]}$+$D_{[uT/i\phi]}$"). Then, why is (i) possible, which is doubly thetic-marked? Notice that D and T are not

(81) a. $[_{DP}\ D_{[uT/i\phi]}\ [_{TP}\ T_{[iT/u\phi]}\ [_{NP}\ N]]]$

      b. $[_{DP}\ T_{[iT/u\phi]}\ [_{D'}\ D_{[uT/i\phi]}\ [_{TP}\ t\ [_{NP}\ N]]]]$ (Substitution)

      c. $[_{DP}\ T_{[iT/u\phi]}+D_{[uT/i\phi]}\ [_{TP}\ t\ [_{NP}\ N]]]]$ (Morphological merger)

3.3.2 The Structure of DSC   The prominent similarity concerning interpretation of DSC in Japanese is that it is statively interpreted. Therefore, I propose that DSC has only one TP projection, unlike transitive verbs.

(82) $[_{TP}\ [_{VP}\ DP\text{-}DAT(Exp)\ DP\text{-}NOM(Theme)\ V]\ T(\text{-}POT)]$

In this configuration, the dative argument and the nominative argument is equidistant to T. Note that if we posit a suffix phrase or a small verbal shell above VP, Spec of which the dative-marked elements are base-generated, we still obtain the equidistance since I assume the extension of minimal domain via head movement, contrary to Ura (2000).[40] Thus I will not discuss possible projections immediately dominating VP. The notion of equidistance is important, since both arguments can be a candidate for the movement to SpecT, hence the subject of DSC, to be more precise, 2SC. Thereby we have the option to move either Exp or Theme.

    However, one may wonder which argument moves if both can do so. The answer lies in the notion of judgment. The discourse considerations dictate which argument to be judged. Suppose, for example, that someone asks:

(83)   dare-ni   eigo-ga   dekiru-no

      who-DAT English-NOM understand-Q

      'Who understands English?'

Then someone else may answer this with thetic- or categorical-judgment (note that the dative argument does not have to be *ga*-marked (see fn. 39 in this chapter)):

(84) a.   Taro-ni   eigo-ga   hanas-e-ru-yo. (thetic)

          Taro-DAT English-NOM speak-POT-PRES-PARTICLE

      b.   Taro-ni-wa   eigo-ga   hanas-e-ru-yo. (categorical)

          Taro-DAT-wa English-NOM speak-POT-PRES-PARTICLE

          'Taro can speak English.'

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morphologically integrated in this case; the locus for the thetic marker is different in a sense, as shown below:

(iv) $[_{TP(PP)}\ T(P)_{[iT/u\phi]}\ [_{D'}\ D_{[uT/i\phi]}\ [_{TP}\ t\ [_{NP}\ N]]]]$

Whence, it is still possible for Morphology to mark *ga* on D, and subsequently integrate D into P. What I entertain is that the relevant morphological merger happens in syntax in (iii), and in Morphology in (iv), which leads to the difference between (i) and (ii). The morphological merger must occur in the narrow syntax; otherwise, dative arguments never allow numeral quantifiers to float as shown in (77). Be that as it may, I am aware that this line of reasoning is highly conjectural, so I just leave this issue pending here.

   [40] I am aware that this assumption is not far from innocent, considering the status of the head movement. But let us assume that the notion of equidistance holds for the subject and the object, due to the structure of (82).

The structures of (84) should be (85).

(85) a. [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ DP-DAT(Exp) [$_{VP}$ t [$_{V'}$ DP-NOM(Theme) V]] T$_{thetic}$(-POT)]
        C$_{thetic}$]
     b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ DP-DAT(Exp) [$_{VP}$ t [$_{V'}$ DP-NOM(Theme) V]] T$_{categorical}$(-POT)]
        C$_{categorical}$]

However, by the virtue of equidistance, we can also obtain (86), the structure of which is delineated in (87), for answering the question of "*What language can Taro speak?*".

(86) a. Eigo-ga   Taro-ni   hanas-e-ru-yo. (thetic)
        English-NOM Taro-DAT speak-POT-PRES-PARTICLE
     b. Eigo-wa   Taro-ni   hanas-e-ru-yo. (categorical)
        English-wa Taro-DAT speak-POT-PRES-PARTICLE
        'Taro can speak English.'
(87) a. [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ DP-NOM(Theme) [$_{VP}$ DP-DAT(Exp) [$_{V'}$ t V]] T$_{thetic}$(-POT)]
        C$_{thetic}$]
     b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ DP-NOM(Theme) [$_{VP}$ DP-DAT(Exp) [$_{V'}$ t V]] T$_{categorical}$(-POT)]
        C$_{categorical}$]

As I proposed, CuT operates piggyback on two types of judgment in Japanese, so such a semantic consideration decides on which argument to be raised to SpecT. Thus, I assume that if there are two candidates to be a subject in the same minimal domain, judgment considerations overtake CuT, leaving one of the two arguments left behind VP-internally. In (84), the source of the nominative case should be the elsewhere-principle under the case hierarchy of (88) (see Chapter 2), that is, the default case.

(88) *wa* and Self-sufficient arguments > lower SpecT (ACC) > higher SpecT
      (NOM) > everything else (Default or case-less)

Furthermore, I assume the nominative argument can be subsumed in the property VP describes. Thus, in (84), it is possible for us to have the interpretation that the dative argument possesses the ability the VP represents (i.e., *speak English*). On the other hand, with (86), we can pick out what language Taro can speak. In this case, the default marking plays no role, for the dative argument is self-sufficient (cf. fn. 16 in Chapter 2).

The assumption the judgment consideration takes precedence over CuT (i.e., CuT is violable) is not weird in the least, considering the discussion on the reference-set computation proposed by Reinhart (2006), where she claims that a certain derivation is chosen if it is the only way to derive the intended meaning; even though it violates some syntactic principle. This conforms to my rationale that every instance of

movement has some consequence on the interpretation by the interfaces.

3.3.3 The Grammatical Functions of DSC   If all arguments bear the T-feature irrespective of the feature interpretability, then both can satisfy CuT. But as I noted above, such selectional requirement is motivated by the interfaces. Thus, if there is more than one candidate for CuT, the grammar selects one of them for other more significant considerations, which is in Japanese the property of judgment. This is what happens in DSC.

As we have seen the facts presented in 3.1.2, both arguments seem to have the relevant GFs. Here, I propose that such functions are determined by T (boldface in (89)) in (82), repeated here:

(89)   [$_{TP}$ [$_{VP}$ DP-DAT(Exp) [DP-NOM(Theme) V]] **T**(-POT)]

Thus, CuT by itself is not crucial to the GF determination. Rather, the fact that both arguments are related to T is at work (in a Multiple AGREE-fashion (Hiraiwa 2001), though AGREE in the sense of, say, Chomsky (2001) is not pertinent here). I call this relation "anchoring." This means to relax the original proposal for CuT, which says such a relation serves for (i) optimal interpretations by the LF and PF interfaces and LF's identification of which argument is concerned with the event/state T depicts; T-anchoring works for the latter. Thus, arguments are anchored and then moved via CuT. Note both operations are not notational variants of AGREE and EPP, since such operations work purely for the interfacial interpretations. I further assume anchoring-algorithm is implemented via indexation; indexed arguments can be selected and moved.[41] I assume that such anchoring also serves for determining GF and that if there are two candidates for, say, binding the subject-oriented reflexive in (55a), repeated as (90) with the modification of the gloss of *hikiawase* for the reason discussed in Section 3.1.2, the discourse determines which to be chosen for the binder for *zibun/zibun-zishin*.

(90)   John-ni   Mary-ga   [zibun/zibun-zishin-no sensei]-ni
         hikiawase-(ra)re-ru
         John-DAT Mary-NOM   self/self-self-GEN   teacher-to
         introduce-POT-PRES
         Lit. 'John can introduce Mary to self's teacher.'

Thus, the grammatical functions are not as clear-cut as those of the transitive clauses.

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[41] This is not an innocent assumption, considering the Inclusiveness. But Baker (2008) also uses the notion of indexation for a different reason.

It is obvious that this anchoring operation threatens the notion of CuT since our guideline for the investigation in this paper is that all the grammatical operations are implemented in the local Spec-Head fashion. Thus, I guess the anchoring is a kind of Last Resort operation. In the best case, an XP moves to a given SpecT via CuT, but if there is more than one candidate for such movement, a derivation that matches discourse-requirements best will be selected.

Compare (91a), which is repeated (56b), and (91b).

(91) a. [PRO$_{j\ or\ i}$ bodan-chokki-o ki-nagara], Taro-ni$_i$ Hanako-ga$_j$
koros-e-ru
[PRO bulletproof-vest-ACC wear-while] Taro-DAT Hanako-NOM
kill-POT-PRES

b. [PRO$_{i(*j)}$ bodan-chokki-o ki-nagara], Taro-ga$_i$
Hanako-o$_j$ koros-e-ru
[PRO bulletproof-vest-ACC wear-while] Taro-NOM
Hanako-ACC kill-POT-PRES
'While PRO be wearing a bulletproof vest, Taro can kill Hanako
(with a gun).'

That the Nom-Acc pattern allows only the nominative subject to possess the GFs is also substantiated with Ura's (2000) original example.[42] For (90), consider:

(92) John-ga$_i$ Mary-o$_j$ [zibun/zibun-zishin$_{i(*j)}$-no sensei]-ni
hikiawase-(ra)re-ru
John-NOM Mary-ACC self/self-self-GEN teacher-to
show-POT-PRES
Lit. 'John can show Mary to self's teacher.'

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that in DSC (or 2SC) in Japanese, both arguments can be a grammatical subject due to the fact that they are in the same minimal domain of VP. Therefore, both arguments assume such GFs as the binder of the subject-oriented reflexive, the controller of PRO (and maybe the trigger of agreement). Which element is to be selected as a grammatical subject is rather a discourse-related issue in DSC since the logical subject and the logical object are anchored to the same T, namely, the same stative situation.

The syntax is optimally designed with respect to the interfaces, bestowing the special role to (higher) SpecT (the judgment position) in Japanese. This is somewhat similar to Miyagawa's (2005) proposal that Japanese is a focus prominent language, and what is moved to SpecT is a DP with the identificational focus-feature. But for us, we do not have to use such a feature, since Topic-hood or Focus-hood is irrelevant (see Chapter 2 for the relevant discussion).

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[42] The fact that the Nom-Acc pattern allows only the nominative subject to possess GFs can be attributed to the assumption that only the upper SpecT has such properties, and the Nom-Acc pair requires two instances of TP projections in the clausal structure.

In passing, our system desirably prevents the Dat-Acc pattern from being constructed for DSC, for such case combination also requires two instances of TP in the structure of (82).

Lastly, I make some remarks on the dative subject. As I proposed, the dative subject is not an inherent case, but an instantiation of the self-sufficient argument in the sense of Pesetsky & Torrego (2004). It seems that we have to constrain the possibility for the dative marking to occur. The advantage of the notion of inherent case is that it can explain why only (some) stative predicates allow the dative subject. But under the current proposal, we cannot rule out the Dat-Acc pattern in a simple transitive construction.

(93) *[$_{TP}$ DP-DAT$_i$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ [$_{TP}$ DP-ACC$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ V] T] v] T]

This might be circumvented if we assume Japanese must discharge the nominative case somewhere, since it does not have impersonal constructions like some Germanic languages. This is what Ura's (2000) impersonal parameter says. But it is obvious that the occurrence of a dative argument is connected with a given stative predicate involving only one instance of T, so that we can attribute this fact to the lexical idiosyncrasy of some stative predicates in some way or another, the precise implementation of which idea I leave as an open question here.

4   CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been claimed throughout this paper that the traditional EPP effect can be reduced to the local concatenation with respect to T-features borne by arguments and T heads, viz. Concatenation under T-feature (CuT), which is irrelevant to the feature checking procedure. In the course of discussion, I have also assumed that in Japanese, CuT is operative in tandem with the property of categorical/thetic judgment, which exerts its influence on the interpretation by the two interfaces, explaining *wa*/*ga* distinction and the related issues.

The discussion so far, one may well say, seems to be theory-internal and to have little room for falsifiability. From the minimalist standpoint, nonetheless, this is desirable since all I use here is just empirically motivated notions, all of which must be subject to an optimal interpretation. I do not resort to indiscriminate way to satisfy the EPP requirement, a complex procedure of Case valuation, deletion, erasure in the narrow syntax, and finally the EPP *per se*. Furthermore, given that the syntactic component is embedded in the performance systems viz., C-I/A-P, it must be an optimal solution to the language usage, with a minimal set of operations and features. Hence, the movement to SpecT is interface-oriented, while the EPP is not. If an XP moves (copy and concatenate), then the LF interface assigns an optimal interpretation to the relevant XP, e.g. it is related to the event/state T describes (and judgment in Japanese), and such an XP is embodied with desirable morphemes at PF (Morphology).

Albeit we successfully applied the current model of the grammar to deriving DSC in Japanese (Chapter 3) and the asymmetry between English and Japanese for the availability of expletive *there* (Chapter 2), a further comprehensive inspection of to

what extent this mechanism is adapted for investigating other linguistic phenomena is, of course, needed. But I leave this issue for my future exploration and only time will tell.

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