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Nominative/Genitive Conversion:

From the Viewpoint of the Nagasaki Dialect of Japanese *

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キーワード：Nominative/Genitive Conversion, major subject, neutral description

　標準語の名詞節では主語が属格で格標示され、主格から属格に交替すること（主格／属格交替）が知られているが（Miyagawa 1993、Ochi 2001、Hiraiwa 2001）、九州方言の肥筑方言では、独立文で属格が生じることが論じられてきた（Kanbe 1982、Yoshimura 1994、Kato 2005、Ochi and Saruwatari 2014、Nishioka 2014）。標準語と肥筑方言の双方において、総記やフォーカスの解釈の場合に主語は属格で格標示されないという類似性がみられる（Kanbe 1982、Kato 2005、Yoshimura 1994、Akaso and Haraguchi 2010）。したがって、Kuno（1973a、1973b）が論じるように、独立文における大主語構文の大主語は総記の解釈になり、肥筑方言でも属格で格標示されない。本研究の目的は、主文現象で大主語が属格認可される新たなデータを示し、その構造を明らかにすることである。本研究では、主文現象と思われる大主語構文においても Ochi and Saruwatari（O&S）（2014）が提案する C 要素（トバイ／トヨ等）や weak v によって認可されるならば、属格で格標示されることを主張する。その際の大主語の意味解釈は、総記解釈ではなく、中立叙述の解釈となることは先行研究での意味解釈における分析を支持するものである。このことは、長谷川（2008、20011）の標準語の見解からも妥当であると考えられる。本研究では、大主語だけにかかわらず、他動詞文や状態述語文においても、属格認可子が生じ、中立叙述の意味となるならば、主語は属格で格標示されることを新たに示している。特に他動詞文については、長崎方言、熊本方言では、他動性制約がないことを示している。

1 Introduction

　　Although genitive subjects are only allowed in adnominal clauses in Standard Japanese (Harada 1971, Miyagawa 1993, Ochi 2001, Hiraiwa 2001), some Kyushu dialects (Hichiku dialects) show genitive subjects in independent clauses. The Hichiku dialects seem to retain genitive Case systems in Middle Japanese (e.g., in the 13th century,

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genitive subjects were used with *shushi*-form 'end-form' in independent clauses as seen in *Ujishui monogatari*[1]). It has been widely accepted that genitive subject is used for neutral descriptions (NDs) and that nominative subjects are used for exhaustive listings (ELs) in Hichiku dialects (Kanbe 1982, Kato 2005, Yoshimura 1994 etc.). As for the major subject, it is marked with *ga* since it has EL interpretation as seen in (1) (Yoshimura 1994, Murakami 1995, Kato 2005 etc.).

(1) Taro-ga/*no   se-no   takaka. [Nagasaki J; Murakami 1995:25]

  Taro-NOM/*GEN   height-GEN .   tall

  'lit. Taro is tall in height.'

In this paper, however, I will provide a new set of data as illustrated in (2a), corresponding to (2b) of Standard Japanese (SJ), to argue that Nagasaki Japanese (NJ) among Hichiku dialects allows a major subject to be marked by *no* in a main clause if the subject is licensed by certain Cs *tobai/toyo* (*noyo* in SJ) or weak *v oru* (*teiru* in SJ), as illustrated in (2c).

(2) a. Taro-no   (kanari)   se-no   takaka   tobai/toyo. [NJ][2]

   Taro-GEN quite   height-GEN   tall   C

   'lit. Listen, Taro is tall in height.'

   b. *Taro-no   (kanari)   se-no   takai   noyo. [SJ]

   Taro-GEN quite   height-GEN   tall   C

   c. Taro-no   (kanari)   se-no   nobi   yoru. [NJ]

   Taro-GEN quite   height-GEN   grow   te-be.PRES

   'lit. Listen, Taro is getting taller.'

Importantly, when genitive subjects appear, they have ND reading. This fact is supported by Hasegawa (2008, 2011). I will provide additional data to show that Ochi and Saruwatari's (O&S) (2014) genitive licensors in NJ capture the connection between ND reading and structures.

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[1] In Old Japanese, null Case was the default for subject marking and *no* as well as *ga* were used only in subordinate clauses. Although both *no* and *ga* were used for subject marking even in independent clauses in Middle Japanese, *no* fell into decline and *ga* came to be used mainly in the *Edo* period.

[2] This judgement is also shared in Kumamoto Japanese (KJ).

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 reviews genitive Case licensors proposed by O&S (2014) and argues that the ending particles *toyo* and *tobai* (*noyo* for SJ) and the *toru* form (*teiru* form for SJ) play a prominent role for ND, which is supported by Hasegawa (2008, 2011). Section 3 offers structures for the major subject construction based on Kishimoto (2013) and argues that major subjects as well as subjects in transitive (stative) sentences are marked by *no* if there are certain licensors (*toyo/tobai* and *toru* form). Finally, section 4 concludes the paper.

2 Genitive Case Licensors

Before discussing major subject construction, I will briefly review genitive Case licensors of NJ proposed in O&S (2014). Moreover, I will provide scope data to locate the position of genitive subjects and show that O&S's proposal for genitive Case licensors is supported by Hasegawa's (2008, 2011) ND observations.

2. 1 Genitive Case Licensors in Nagasaki Japanese

Genitive subjects are allowed in NJ when they are c-commanded by certain licensors such as D, weak v, and C listed in (3ii) in contrast to the licensors of SJ in (3i).

(3) Genitive Case licensors (See O&S)[3]
    (i) in standard Japanese:
        a. D (Miyagawa 1993, Ochi 2001 etc.)
        b. weak v, in conjunction with dependent tense (Miyagawa 2012)
    (ii) in Nagasaki Japanese (See Ochi and Saruwatari 2014):
        a. D
        b. weak v
        c. C (especially those Cs that are higher than a Finite head)

As the data in (4a,b) and the structures in (5a,b) show, *no* is allowed in independent clauses in NJ if the subject is c-commanded by licensors such as weak *v* (that occurs on top of the unaccusative verb *k-* 'come') and C heads *toyo/tobai* (especially the combination of Finite head *to* and Force head *bai* or *yo*). Since strong *v* as in (4b) with the unergative

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[3] The reason why the grammar permits such contrasts should be investigated further.

verb *hashi-* 'run' cannot license genitive subjects, C heads like *tobai* or *toyo,* as listed in (3iic), are needed. O&S treats *-toru* (*-teiru* for SJ) in (4c) as comprising *-te* and the unaccusative verb *oru* 'be/exist' (*iru* for SJ). The structures for (4) are illustrated in (5). In (4c), the genitive subject *Taro* is licensed by the weak *v* occurring on top of *oru,* as shown in (5c), where *-toru* comprises *-te* and the unaccusative verb *oru* 'be/exist' (*iru* for SJ) and the verbal suffix *-te* is a T head that is not selected by C (see Nakatani 2013). As the arrows in (5) show, weak *v* or Cs can Agree with NP *Taro* and license *no.*[4]

(4) a. Taro-no   k-ita.

    Taro-GEN   come-PAST

    'Taro came.'

  b. Taro-no   hashit-ta   *(tobai/toyo[5]).

    Taro-GEN   run-PAST   Fin.Force/Fin.Force

    '(Listen), Taro ran.'

  c. Taro-no   hashit-toru.

    Taro-GEN   run-PROG

    'Taro is running.'

(5) a. $[_{TP} [_{vP} [_{VP}$ Taro-no k-]i-] ta]

  b. $[_{ForceP} [_{FinP}[_{TP} [_{vP}$ Taro-no $[_{VP}$ hash-]i-] ta] to] bai/yo]

  c. $[_{TP2} [_{vP2} [_{VP} [_{TP1} [_{vP1}$ Taro-no $[_{VP}$] v_1] T_1 (= *-te*)] oru] v_2] T_2]

The position the genitive subject occupies in (5) is consistent with Kato's (2007) analysis that genitive subjects remain within *v*P. Kato argues that the subjects of stative predicates and transitives, as well as a major subject, cannot be marked by *no,* whereas objects of stative predicates and a regular subject in the major subject construction do bear *no* as seen in (6) and (8), respectively. As in (7b), however, when the object of transitives is scrambled to the sentence initial position, the subject can reside within *v*P and bear *no,* because the object moves out of *v*P to [Spec, TP]. Thus, Kato concludes that the NP-*no* has to stay within *v*P.

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[4] In SJ, D can be a probe, while weak *v* alone cannot function as a probe and needs the aid of a dependent tense.

[5] As for the ending particle *to* (*no* in SJ) and *bai* (*yo* in SJ), see Kido 2013 for details.

(6) Taro-ga/*no   eigo-no   dekuru   to.

     Taro-NOM/*GEN   English-GEN   can   C

     'Taroo is capable of English.'   (Kato 2007:120)

(7) a. Taro-ga/*no   sonhon-ba   kota   bai.

     Taro-NOM/*GEN   the.novel-ACC   bought   C

     'Taro bought the novel.'

   b. Sonhon-ba   Taro-no   kota   bai. (ibid., 120-121)

(8) Kumamoto-ga/*no   baniku-no   umaka.

     Kumamoto-NOM/*GEN   horse.meat-GEN   tasty

     'It is Kumamoto where horse meat is tasty.'   (Yoshimura, 1994:19)

In addition to Kato's observation, that genitive subjects stay within *v*P as shown in (5) is supported by the scope fact based on Miyagawa (2001).[6] When the subject is marked with *no*, it is interpreted inside the scope of negation, which will also be applied to the case of the major subject in Section 3.1. Although Kato (2007) indicates that genitive subjects with unaccusatives remain within *v*P, data in NJ suggest that genitive subjects with both unaccusatives and unergatives stay within *v*P as in (9b) and (10b), unlike the case of *ga* as in (9a) and (10a).

(9) a. Zenin-ga   ko-n.   b. Zenin-no   ko-n.

     All-Nom   come-NEG   All-Gen   come-NEG

       (all>not: *not>all)   ((?)all>not; not>all)[7]   (O&S 2014)

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[6] If an object is scrambled to the position preceding the subject 'all', the universal quantifier falls within the scope of negation as in (ic) in contrast with (ib). Since the object satisfies EPP, 'all' does not need to move to [Spec, TP] and stays in [Spec, *v*P].

(i) a. Taro-ga   zen'in-o   home-nakat-ta   (yo/to omou).
       Taro-NOM   all-ACC   praise-Neg-PAST (EXCEL/COMP think)
       '(I think that) Taro didn't praise all(!)'   not>all, (*) all>not
    b. Zen'in-ga   sono   tesuto-o   uke-nakat-ta   (yo/to omou)
       all-NOM   that   test-ACC   take-Neg-Past
       'All did not take that test.'   *not>all, all>not
    c. Sono tesuto-o_i   zen'in-ga t_i uke-nakat-ta   (yo/to omou)
       that   test-ACC_i   all-NOM   t_i take-NEG-PAST
       'That test, all didn't take.'   not>all, (all>not) (Miyagawa 2001:298-9)

[7] The reason why a genitive subject might be interpreted outside the scope of negation is similar to the case of the object in (ia) in note 6. An anonymous reviewer asked whether the NP-*ga* resists reconstruction due to some independent properties of its particle. To answer the question, the NP-*ga* might fall within the scope of negation as in Nomura's (2005) observation of nominative objects. This indicates that NP-*ga* can reconstruct.

(10) a. Zenin-ga   hashira-n   toyo/tobai.   b. Zenin-no   hashira-n   toyo/tobai.

   All-Nom   run-NEG   C   All-Gen   run-NEG   C

   (all>not: *not>all)   ((?)all>not; not>all)   (ibid.)

This analysis is further supported by Kishimoto's (2001) indeterminate pronoun binding. Indeterminate pronouns including *nani* 'anything' or *dare* 'anyone' function as negative polarity items when these pronouns are bound by the Q particle *mo*. After a complex head comprised of V and *mo* moves to the head of *v*P, only *v*P internal arguments and the spec of *v*P fall within the scope of *mo*. In (11), the object *nani* resides inside the scope of *mo*; hence, the sentence is grammatical. In contrast, the subject indeterminate pronoun *dare* lies outside the scope of *mo*; hence, (12) is ungrammatical.

(11) Taroo-wa   *nani-o*   kai-mo   si-nakat-ta.   (Kishimoto 2001:598)

   Taroo-TOP   anything-ACC   buy-Q   do-NEG-PAST

   'Taroo did not buy anything.'

(12) *Dare-ga*   warai-mo   si-nakat-ta. (ibid.:600)

   anyone-NOM   laugh-Q   do-NEG-PAST

   'Anyone did not laugh.'

When we look at the genitive subjects of NJ, both genitive subjects in unaccusatives and unergatives are bound by *mo* unlike the nominative subjects as seen in (13) and (14), respectively. This suggests that genitive subjects reside within *v*P.

(13) Dai-{*ga/no}   ki-mo   se-nkat-ta.

   Anyone-{*NOM/GEN}   come-Q   do-NEG-PAST

   'Anyone did not come.'

(14) Dai-{*ga/no}   hashiri-mo   se-nkat-ta   toyo.

   Anyone-{*NOM/GEN}   run-Q   do-NEG-PAST   C

   'Listen, anyone did not run.'

2.2 Neutral Descriptions and Genitive Subjects

   Hasegawa develops Kuno's (1973a, 1973b) analysis and argues that in main clauses *te-iru* 'be-stative' is needed for neutral descriptions in the case of activity/process

predicates, as (15) illustrates. In addition, some sentence-final particles (*yo, zo, ne,* and *wa*) that are used to convey information to the listener play an important role for ND as shown in (16).

Neutral Description　(See Hasegawa 2008:70, Hasegawa 2011:98)

(15) a. Oya, Taro-ga　　　　　hon-o　　　　　yondeiru.

　　　　Hey, Taro-NOM　　　book-ACC　　　reading

　　　　'Hey, Taro is reading a book.'

　　b. Are, Hanako-ga　　　Taro-ni　　　　dennwashiteiru.

　　　　Hey, Hanako-NOM　　Taro-DAT　　　calling

　　　　'Hey, Hanako is calling Taro.'

(16) a. Oya, Taro-ga　　　　　hon-o　　　　　yonda　　　　　*?(zo/yo).

　　　　Hey, Taro-NOM　　　book-ACC　　　read.PAST C

　　　　'Hey, Taro read a book.'

　　b. Are, Hanako-ga　　　Taro-ni　　　　dennwasuru　　　*?(zo/yo).

　　　　Hey, Hanako-NOM　　Taro-DAT　　　call　　　　　　C

　　　　'Hey, Hanako calls Taro.'

The claim that *tobai* or *toyo* and *toru* (*teiru*) (consisting of *-te* and the unaccusative verb *oru* (*iru* for SJ)) are necessary for genitive Case licensing in NJ, as in (4), is supported by Hasegawa's observation[8], since genitive subjects in NJ are used only when the sentence denotes ND reading. We will see in the next section that these genitive Case licensors (C heads and weak *v*) also work in major subject constructions.

3 Major Subject Constructions

It has been said that only *ga* is allowed for the major subject in independent clauses even in Hichiku Dialects (Yoshimura 1994, Murakami 1995, Kato 2005). I will illustrate how major subjects bear *no* in NJ by comparing them with their SJ counterparts.

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[8] Hasegawa proposes that *ga,* which yields ND reading, stays inside *v*P; however, this proposal needs to be investigated further since *ga* cannot remain within *v*P under Kishimoto's (2001) indeterminate pronoun binding. Hasegawa also argues that *ga* cannot be interpreted as ND in interrogative sentences. Genitive subjects in NJ, however, can be marked by *no* since genitive licensors exist, for instance, a combination of C heads (Finite Phrase head *to* and Force Phrase head (a rising intonation as mentioned by O&S (2014)).

　(i) Dokode　　　Hanako-no　　　odot-ta　　　　to? [NJ]

　　　where　　　Hanako-GEN　　　dance.PAST　　Q

　　　'Where did Hanako dance?'

3.1 Derivation of Major Subjects

Although the major subject has been considered to bear only *ga* as seen in (17) (Yoshimura 1994, Murakami 1995, Kato 2005 etc.), I will demonstrate that it can be marked by *no* in NJ, as shown in (18a), unlike its SJ counterpart as in (18b).

(17) a. Taro-ga/*no   se-no   takaka. [NJ; Murakami 1995:25]
         Taro-NOM/*GEN   height-GEN   tall
         'lit. Taro is tall in height."

     b. Taro-ga/*no   se-ga/*no   takaki. [SJ]
         Taro-NOM/*GEN   height-NOM/*GEN   tall

(18) a. Taro-no   (kanari)   se-no   takaka tobai/toyo. [NJ]
         Taro-GEN quite   height-GEN   tall   C
         'lit. Listen, Taro is tall in height."

     b. Taro-ga/*no   (kanari) se-ga/*no   takai   noyo. [SJ]
         Taro- NOM/*GEN quite   height-NOM/*GEN   tall   C

The genitive subject is not allowed in independent clauses in SJ; hence, (17b) is ungrammatical. Note that *to* of *tobai/toyo* corresponds to *no* in SJ, and *bai* or *yo* is used as *yo* in SJ. Even when *noyo* is attached to (18b), it is not grammatical in SJ, while (18a) is grammatical in NJ. However, there is an exception in SJ; a genitive subject is allowed in the main clause. As in (19), where the exclamatory sentence with *koto* (modal) appears in a main clause, *no* indeed occurs in SJ. *Koto* here is regarded as a nominal-like element and the subject bears *no* even in SJ. In contrast, since the particles *no+yo* in (18b) do not license *no*, they do not contain any nominal-like element; *no* at hand is considered to be a complementizer and not a nominalizer.

(19) a. Oujosama-ga/no   nannto   outsukushii   koto!
         princess-NOM/GEN   how   beautiful   C(Mod)
         'How beautiful the princess is!'   [SJ; Uchibori 2006:79]

     b. Oujosama-?ga/no   nannte   outsukushika   koto!
         princess-NOM/GEN   how   beautiful   C(Mod)
         'How beautiful the princess is!'   [NJ]

Now let us go back to the major subjects in (17) and (18) and consider how they are derived. Kuno (1973a, 1973b) presents the Subjectivization rule, which changes the leftmost NP-*no* of a sentence to NP-*ga* to obtain the new subject (the major subject), as illustrated in (20). For instance, the Subjectivization rule is applied to *dansei* 'men' in (21a), and then, its genitive maker *no* is changed into *ga,* as shown in (21b).

(20) a. Subjectivization (Kuno 1973a:71, 1973b:41)

Change the sentence-initial NP-no to NP-ga, and make it the new subject of the sentence.

b. [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ NP-no ... N]...] → [$_S$ NP-ga [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ ... N]...]]

(21) a. [Dansei-no   heikinzyumyo-ga]   mijikai.

men-GEN   their.average.life-span-NOM is short

'Men's average life-span is short.'

b. [Dansei-ga]   [heikinzyumyo-ga]   mijikai.

men-NOM   their.average.life-span-NOM is short

'It is men that their average life-span is short.'   (See Kuno 1973a: 71, 1973b: 41)

Under Kuno's (1973a, 1973b) analysis, the major subject is derived in the manner of possessor raising. To support this analysis, Kishimoto (2013) provides evidence including the possessive honorification originally discussed by Harada (1976), who states that the possessive honorification rule is allowed if the possessor refers to a person "socially superior to the speaker." As in (22), the possessor should occupy the specifier position of the possessum and the honorific marker *o* is attached to the head N.

(22) a. Suzukisan-no   o-toshi   b.   NP

Suzuki.Mr.-GEN   Hon-age   NP   N

'Mr. Suzuki's age'   Suzuki-san   o-toshi

(See Harada 1976, Kishimoto 2013)

Some idiomatic expressions like the one in (23) also occur in major subject construction. Example (23a) shows that the possessor is included within the possessum nominal since an adverb such as *kanari* 'fairly' cannot intervene between the possessor and the possessum, as illustrated in (23b). Contrastively, (23c) allows the adverb *kanari* to occur

between the two, which shows that the possessor is outside of the possessum nominal[9].

(23) a. [Ito-sensei-no   kuti]-ga   koe-te   i-ru.
     Ito-teacher-GEN   mouth-NOM   fattening   be-PRES
     'Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'

   b. [Ito-sensei-no   (*kanari)   kuti]-ga   koe-te   i-ru.
     Ito-teacher-GEN   fairly   mouth-NOM   fattening   be-PRES
     'Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'

   c. Ito-sensei-ga   (kanari)   kuti-ga   koe-te   i-ru.
     Ito-teacher-NOM   fairly   mouth-NOM   fattening   be-PRES
     'Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'   (Kishimoto 2013:177)

Notably, the possessive honorification is legitimate in this idiom even though the adverb appears to the right of the possessum as in (24b), which indicates that the possessor *Ito-sensei* is base-generated in the specifier position of the possessum, where the possessor is regarded to be worthy of respect, and it is extracted from within the possessum nominal, as demonstrated in (25).

(24) a. [Ito-sensei-no   o-kuti]-ga   koe-te   i-ru.
     Ito-teacher-GEN   HON-mouth-NOM   fattening   be-PRES
     'Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'

   b. Ito-sensei-ga   (kanari) o-kuti-ga   koe-te   i-ru.
     Ito-teacher-NOM fairly   HON-mouth-NOM   fattening   be-PRES
     'Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'   (Kishimoto 2013:177)

(25)   [$_{TP}$ Ito-sensei-ga[$_{DP}$ ~~Ito-sensei-ga~~ o-kuchi]-ga koe-te i-ru] (ibid.:178)

In NJ, the possessor *Ito-sensei* also bears *no* with the adverb *kanari* following it, as in (26b), which suggests that the possessor with *no* in NJ is derived from within the possessum nominal.

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[9] The question of how the left branch extraction out of a DP can be possible might be explained by adopting Bošković's (2005) proposal to the effect that NP languages (article-less languages) allow extraction out of NP. In the main text, I follow Kishimoto (2013) and label the noun phrase as DP, but this need not be taken at face value.

(26) a. [Ito-sensei-no   o-kuti]-ga/no   koe-t   o-ru. [NJ]

      Ito-teacher-GEN   HON-mouth-NOM/GEN   fattening   be-PRES

      'Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'

  b. Ito-sensei- no   (kanari) o-kuti-ga/no   koe-t   o-ru   tobai.

      Ito-teacher- GEN   fairly   Hon-mouth-NOM/GEN   fattening   be-PRES C

      'Listen, Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'

Before considering how sentences like (26b) in NJ are derived, I will discuss the structure of the major subject construction in SJ. An example from SJ and its structure are shown in (27) and (28), respectively. The possessor, generated within the possessum nominal, moves to the Specifier of TP.

(27) Taro-ga   se-ga   takai.   [SJ]

    Taro-NOM   height-NOM   tall

    'Taro is tall in height.'

(28) a. $[_{TP}$ $[_{AP}$ $[_{DP}$ Taro-no se-ga]   [takai(=A)]] T]   [SJ]

                Taro-GEN.height-NOM   tall

  b. $[_{TP}$ Taro-ga $[_{AP}$ $[_{DP}$ ~~Taro~~ se-ga]   [takai (=A)]] T]]

Now, the focus turns to NJ. As discussed in 2.1, the genitive subject needs to be c-commanded by Cs *to+bai* (Finite head and Force head) or weak *v* in NJ. If the genitive subject *Taro* is c-commanded by *to+bai*, even the major subject is marked with *no*, as illustrated in (29a). The adjective phrase *takai* does not have any agentive subject and there is no strong *v*. Consequently, we assume that *se* is licensed by a kind of weak *v* and it bears *no*. The structure for (29a) is represented in (29b).

(29) a. Taro-no   se-no   takaka   tobai.   [NJ]

      Taro-GEN   height-GEN   tall   C

    'lit. Listen, Taro is tall in height.'

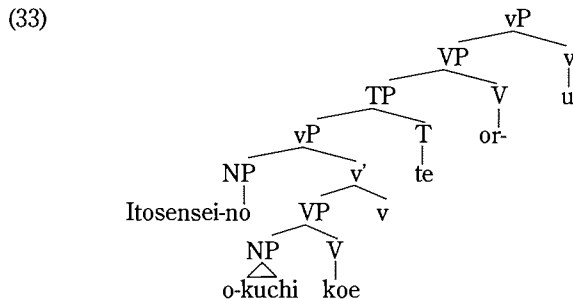 b. $[_{ForceP}$ $[_{FinP}$ $[_{TP}$ $[_{AP}$ Taro-no $[_{DP}$ ~~Taro~~ se-no] [takaka(=A)]] T] to bai]

Let me now explicate the position that the major subject occupies in NJ, which becomes clearer with the scope facts and the indeterminate pronoun binding in the sense of

Kishimoto (2001). Unlike the major subject bearing *ga*, the major subject with *no* falls within the scope of negation, as illustrated in (30). These major subjects with *no* are bound by the Q particle *mo,* as shown in (31).

(30) a. Zen'in-ga   (sogan) se-no   takou-naka   tobai   all>not; *not>all [NJ]

All-NOM   quite   height-GEN   tall-NEG   C

'lit. Listen, all is not quite tall in height.'

b. Zen'in-no   (sogan) se-no   takou-naka   tobai   (?)all>not; not>all

all-GEN   quite   height-GEN   tall-NEG   C

'lit. Listen, all is not quite tall in height.'

(31)   Dai-?no/*ga   (sogan) se-no   takou-mo naka   tobai   [NJ]

Anyone-GEN/*NOM quite   height-GEN tall -Q   NEG   C

'lit. Listen, anyone is not quite tall in height.'

Based on data in (30) and (31), major subjects remain in SpecAP (with no raising to TP), as (29b) illustrates, since they are bound by *mo* attached to *takai*. The subject *Taro* is marked with *no* since *tobai* occurs in (29). Before moving on, there is one thing to note. When *-toru* (*-teiru* for SJ) comprising *-te* and the unaccusative verb *oru* 'be/exist' (*iru* for SJ) occurs, a major subject bears *no* as in (32) (as in the same way as (5c)). The structure is provided in (33), wherein the unaccusative verb *oru* selects a TP complement headed by *-te* on T, which is not selected by C (Nakatani 2013). Since there is a genitive licensor, i.e., weak *v* on top of *oru, tobai* is not necessary.

(32) Ito-sensei- no   (kanari)   o-kuti-no   koe-   to-ru   (tobai)

Ito-teacher- GEN   fairly   Hon-mouth-GEN   fatten   te-be.PRES C

'Listen, Professor Ito is dainty about her food.'

(33)

```
                              vP
                          ___/  \___
                        VP          v
                    ___/  \___      |
                  TP          V     u
               __/  \__       |
             vP        T      or-
          __/  \__     |
        NP       v'    te
        |       /  \
  Itosensei-no VP    v
             __/  \__
           NP       V
          /__\      |
       o-kuchi     koe
```

Having discussed the structure of the major subject construction, let us turn to the interpretation of the major subject in the following section.

3.2 Neutral Descriptions and Major Subjects

As mentioned before, a genitive subject is only allowed with ND reading in Hichiku Dialects. Crucially, genitive subject in the major subject construction also yields only ND interpretation. This suggests that, in Hichiku Dialects, if there are certain genitive licensors, ND reading is obtained as in the subordinate clauses in SJ. As Kuno (1973) proposes, the subjects of any kinds of predicates including the transitive stative verb indicate ND reading in subordinate clauses in SJ. For instance, the subject *John* in (34) is interpreted as ND.

(34) Anata-wa   [John-ga   Nihongo-ga   dekiru   koto]-o   shitteimasu ka?
     You-TOP   John-NOM   Japanese-NOM   can   fact-ACC know   C
     'Do you know the fact that John can (speak) Japanese?' (Kuno 1973a:56)

In SJ, the major subject *Taro* with *no* Case marker holds no EL reading in contrast with *ga* Case marker, as in (35).

(35) Taro-{ga/no}   (kanari)   se-no   takai   koto
     Taro-{NOM/GEN}   quite   height-GEN   tall   fact
     'lit. The fact that Taro is tall in height' [SJ]

3.3 Genitive Subjects in Other Constructions

Now we can predict that if any subject is licensed by C heads *tobai/toyo* or weak *v*, it can be marked by *no*. This prediction is borne out. The subjects of transitive stative predicates and transitive predicates do bear *no* if there are such licensors.

First, we look at transitive stative predicates. Although (36) indicates that the genitive subject *Taro* is not marked with *no* (Kato 2005), it obtains *no* when licensed by the combination of *to* and *tai,* as shown in (37). Again, the salient point is that these subjects with *no* are not EL reading. This is why *Taro* in (38) from O&S (2014) is also marked with *no* due to ND reading.

(36) * Taro-no   yakyu-no   zyozu   tai

     Taro-GEN   baseball-GEN   good   Force

     'Taro is good at baseball.'   (Kato 2005:32)

(37) Taro-no   yakyu-no   zyozuka   to tai[10] [NJ]

(38) Taroo-no   eigo-no   dekuru   to bai/yo

     Taroo-GEN   English-GEN   can   C Fin/Force

     'Taroo is capable of English.'   [NJ/KJ; See O&S(2004) for NJ]

Turning to the genitive subject of transitive verbs, Kato (2007) argues that the subject of a transitive verb cannot bear *no* unless the object is scrambled to the sentence initial position, as shown in (39). However, it is not surprising under the analysis here that C heads *tobai/toyo* or weak *v* licenses genitive subject and even the subject of transitive verb can bear *no,* as seen in (40), according to my informants of NJ and Kumamoto Japanese (KJ). This indicates that there is no transitivity restriction in these dialects.

(39) a. *Taro-no   son hon-ba   ko-ta   bai.   (Kato 2007:120-121)[11]

        Taro-GEN   that.book-ACC   buy-PAST   Force

        '(Listen), Taro bought that book.'

     b. Son hon-ba   Taro-no   ko-ta   bai.

(40) a. Taro-no   son hon-ba   ko-ta   tobai.   [NJ/KJ]

        Taro-GEN   that.book-ACC   buy-PAST   Fin.Force

        'Listen, Taro bought that book.'

     b. Taro-no   son hon-ba   kai-yoru.   [NJ/KJ]

        Taro-GEN   that.book-ACC   buy-PROG

        'Taro is buying that book.'

3.4 Wa and No

We have seen in section 3.1 and 3.3 that the subject located lower than the combination *to+bai* (Fin + Force) or weak *v* bears genitive. Finally, what happens for

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[10] *Tai* occupies Force head as well as *bai* (Kido 2013).

[11] Although there seems to be no obvious difference between (39a) and (39b) according to my informants, (i) is grammatical as in (40) since a combination of *to* and *bai* or *yoru* (another form for *teiru*) appears.

(i) a. Sonhon-ba Taro-no   kota   tobai. [NJ/KJ]

     b. Sonhon-ba Taro-no   kai   yoru. [NJ/KJ]

elements generated in a position that is not c-commanded by such licensors? These elements cannot be marked with *no* as demonstrated below. The thematic *wa* in (41) is base-generated in the sentence initial position, and not derived by the Thematization in (42).

(41) Thematic *Wa*

    a. Sakana-wa   tai-ga   ii. (Kuno 1973a:250, 1973b:162)

       Fish-TOP   red.snapper-NOM good.is

       'Speaking of fish, red snapper is the best.'

    b. *Sakana-no   tai-ga   ii.

       Fish-GEN   red.snapper-NOM good.is

(42) Thematization (Kuno 1973a:71)

    Add *wa* to an NP+particle, and prepose the NP+particle+*wa* to the beginning of the sentence.

According to the articulated cartographic structure, thematic *wa* is base-generated in the spec of the upper Topic Phrase (Endo 2007). Given this, theme arguments like *sakana* 'fish' base-generated in the upper Topic head cannot bear *no* in NJ as the theme is c-commanded by *bai* but not by *to* as shown in (43b). This reminds us that the genitive subject needs to be c-commanded by the combination of *to* and *bai*.

(43) a. *Sakana-no   tai-ga   yoka   tobai. [NJ]

      fish-GEN   red.snapper-NOM good.is   Fin.Force

    b.[$_{ForceP}$[$_{TopP}$Sakana-no[$_{FocP}$[$_{TopP}$[$_{FinP}$[$_{TP}$[$_{AP}$[$_{DP}$Tai-ga] [yoka(=A)]]]T[to]Top]Foc]Top[bai]]

To sum up, it is expected under this analysis that any subject c-commanded by *tobai/ toyo* or weak *v* is marked by *no*. Importantly such a subject has no EL reading, which is consistent with previous research on Hichiku dialects that genitive subjects hold only ND reading.

4. Conclusion

    In this paper, I argued that the major subject is marked with *no* in Nagasaki Japanese if it is licensed by the C heads, *tobai/toyo* (*noyo* for SJ) or weak *v*, *-toru* (*-teiru* for SJ),

which is also applied to other constructions including the subject of transitive (stative) sentences. Moreover, I showed that these licensors are supported by Hasegawa (2008, 2011). The present analysis provided new data to show the connections between the ND reading and licensors of genitive subjects, C heads or weak v proposed by Ochi and Saruwatari (2014). As for transitive verbs, I argued that Nagasaki Japanese as well as Kumamoto Japanese show no transitivity restriction.

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