

## **Two types of D-licensing approach to Nominative/Genitive Conversion in Japanese: with some comparative notes on Hitiku and Osaka dialects and Inner Mongolian**

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### **Abstract**

This study discusses two analyses within the D-licensing approach to Nominative/Genitive Conversion (NGC), a phenomenon observed in Altaic languages such as Japanese, Turkish, and Mongolian. Japanese generative grammarians have endeavored to elucidate the case-alternation system, identifying two approaches: D-licensing and C-licensing approaches. The former assumes that the genitive case on the subject DP is licensed by the D-head of the hostmain noun, while the latter assumes that it is licensed by the C-head of the prenominal clause. Both approaches exhibit advantages and disadvantages; we focus on however, this study focuses on the former approach, study omitting discussion of the latter. A crucial aspect of the D-licensing approach revolves around the size of the prenominal clause, TP. Nevertheless, the traditional D-licensing approach analytical framework encounters challenges when dealing with NGC involved in nominative object constructions. Recently, a new analysis under the D-licensing approach has been proposed, in which the licensor is D, but the size of the prenominal clause is CP. We contend that this novel analysis raises some concerns as a result of the adopted assumptions. Therefore, we propose substituting by them with Chomsky's labeling algorithm and Saito's anti-labeling devices method. Additionally, we discuss dialectical variations in NGC, exploring Hitiku and Osaka Japanese, as well as the same drawing parallels with Mongolian.

**Keywords:** D-licensing approach, nominative/genitive conversion, altaic languages, prenominal clause, dialectical variations, Japanese, Mongolian, chomsky's labeling algorithm

## Two types of D-licensing approach to Nominative/Genitive Conversion in Japanese: with some comparative notes on Hitiku and Osaka dialects and Inner Mongolian

A persistent challenge in Japanese generative syntax is a case alternation phenomenon known as Nominative/Genitive Conversion (NGC), occurring within prenominal clauses. Previous research has been divided into two camps concerning the case-licensor: D-licensing and C-licensing approaches. The former assumes that the genitive on the subject DP is licensed by the D-head of the noun modified by the prenominal clause, where as while the latter assumes that it is licensed by the C-head of the prenominal clause. The D-licensing approach assumes that the category of prenominal clauses is TP without a CP layer, because reasoning that it is impossible for D outside the clause to license the genitive on a subject DP located at Spec-TP, if CP exists above TP. Let us refer to it as “the D-TP analysis.” While the D-TP analysis has advantages over the C-licensing approach, it faces a major drawback: it cannot explain the NGC data involving nominative object constructions. Recently, Kishimoto (2017, 2022) proposed a variant of the D-licensing approach: the genitive is licensed by the outer D, as assumed in the D-TP approach. However, but the syntactic category of the prenominal clause is CP, which is referred to as “the D-CP analysis.” Kishimoto (2022) argued that his analysis can account for problematic data in the D-TP analysis. This study, carefully through a careful examination of his new variant, asserts that the D-CP analysis holds promise, considering certain assumptions that Kishimoto does not make. In addition, this study provides a descriptive comparison of the NGC in standard Japanese, Hitiku, and Osaka dialects, as well as (Inner) Mongolian, focusing on the locality condition such as the complementizer blocking effect.

### Basics

#### *Genitive Subject in Japanese*

Among the participants, various types of case-marked subjects were identified in Japanese. The most common/prevalent/ and typical conventional type is the nominative subject, as exemplified in (1a): However, the Dative subject is also observed, as exhibited in (1b), and the KARA subject is employed when predicates convey the meaning of sending, as shown illustrated in (1c):

(1) Three types of Japanese case-marked subjects:<sup>1</sup>

- |    |                      |              |            |
|----|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| a. | Taroo-ga             | ranti-o      | tabe-ta.   |
|    | Taro-NOM             | lunch-ACC    | eat-PASTps |
|    | ‘Taro had lunch.’    |              |            |
| b. | Taroo-ni/-ga         | huransugo-ga | wakaru.    |
|    | Taro-DAT/-NOM        | French-NOM   | know       |
|    | ‘Taro knows French.’ |              |            |

<sup>1</sup> The initial arguments in (1b, c) are syntactically regarded as subjects in Japanese grammar, which is confirmed by the two established subject diagnostics of subject honorifics and reflexivization. See Kishimoto (2017) among others..

- c. Taroo-kara Hanako-ni hanasi-kake-ta.  
 Taro-ABL/-NOMs Hanako-DAT talk-Start-PAST.  
 ‘Taro started to talk to Hanako.’

Numerous studies have delved into each type of subject.; Through these studies, a more profound understanding and a wealth of data has been accumulated, leading to the proposal of various analyses.

Another peculiar subject in Japanese is the genitive case-pmarked subject, as exhibited in (2):

- (2) a. (kinoo) Taroo-no yon-da hon  
 yesterday Taro-GEN read-PAST books  
 ‘the book that Taro read (yesterday).’  
 b. (sengetu) ki-no taore-ta kooen.  
 Last month, tree-GEN fall-PAST park  
 ‘the park where trees fell down (last month).’

This peculiar type of subject is distinctive in that it exclusively manifests in prenominal clauses:, relative clauses (RCs) and gapless clauses (GCs), while remaining absent in root sentences, as exemplified in (3):

- (3) \*Taroo-no hon-o yon-da.  
 Taro-GEN book-ACC read-PAST  
 ‘(intended) Taro read the book.’

Similar to the Dative and KARA subjects, the genitive subject can be substituted to the nominative case, as exhibited in (4).

- (4) (kinoo) Taroo-ga/-no yon-da hon  
 yesterday, Taro-NOM/-GEN read-PAST books  
 ‘the book that Taro read yesterday’

This alteration is known as NGC. Note that the adverb *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ appears on the left side of the genitive subject, indicating that the subject should be located within the prenominal clause, rather than at Spec-DP.

### Two approaches to the NGC

This phenomenon has been sporadically reported in traditional Japanese grammars. Following Harada’s (1971, 1974) discussion this within the generative framework, Japanese linguists began to take it seriously, resulting in the accumulation of Editeintriguing data accumulated through out the 1970s. Previous research on NGC has been divided into two camps: the D-licensing and C-licensing approaches.<sup>2</sup> According to Miyagawa (2011), the former asserted that the D-head of the host noun should act as the licensor for the genitive case.

<sup>2</sup> They were named DP approach and non-DP approach respectively, in Maki and Uchibori (2008). For an overview, see Ochi (2017) for recent research, and Nakai (1980) for early research in 1970s.

In contrast, regarding the latter approach, Hiraiwa (2001) contended that the genitive case is licensed by a combination of special mechanisms, incorporating Chomsky's (2000) theory of agreement into his mechanism.

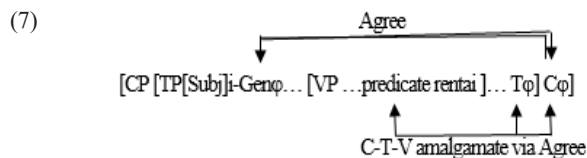
Let's take a brief look at example (5).

- (5) John-wa [ame-ga/no yamu made] kenkyuusitu-ni i-ta.  
 John-TOP rain-NOM/-GEN stop-PRES until office-in be-PAST  
 'John was in his office until the rain stopped.'

In example (5), an overt nominal head is absent in the *-made* clause; nevertheless, NGC is still possible. This indicates that the genitive subject in a clause is not licensed by a host noun or D, but by a special inflection called *rentai* 'attributive' predicate. Focusing on the predicate, Hiraiwa (2001) illustrates that there is evidence indicating the attributive precedes. In their early days, and for its form precedes the postposition *made*. 'until.'

- (6) John-wa izyoo-na/\*da made-ni sinkeisitu-da.  
 John-TOP abnormal-ATB/CON extent-DAT nervous-COP  
 'John is extraordinarily nervous.'

*izyoo-na* 'abnormal' is an attributive form, and its declarative form, *izyoo-da*, cannot occupy the same position. Therefore, it is evident that the predicate in example (5) is an attributive form since it precedes *made* 'until.' Hiraiwa (2001) proposed that this form, along with the agree system, participates in licensing the genitive case: The attributive predicate corresponds to T, V, and C through the Agree system, and the amalgamation of C-T-V licenses the genitive case. This mechanism is illustrated in (7):



As a result of the C-T-V amalgamate through the Agree system, the  $\phi$ -feature of T is copied or transferred onto C, and the case of the goal is valued as genitive. Similarly, a *syushi* 'conclusive' predicate also amalgamates, but does not involve C. The T-V amalgamation occurs, and the  $\phi$ -feature of T aligns with the Case of the goal, which is valued nominative. Consequently, both nominative and genitive subjects remain at Spec-TP, and their Cases are valued by the  $\phi$ -feature of T and C respectively.

While researchers from both camps have discovered various intriguing data while exploring the alternation mechanism, neither has achieved a perfect score. In this study, we elaborate on the D-licensing approach without evaluating the C-licensing approach. It is known that Advocates the D-licensing approach is difficult confronted with a lingering challenge: the struggles to address data involved in related to nominative object construction, as illustrated in (8). This issue was first highlighted by Ochi et al. (2017); see also refer to Miyagawa (1993).

- (8) Taroo-ga huransugo-ga/o hanas-eru.  
 Taro-NOM French-NOM-ACC speak-cCan.  
 ‘Taro can speak French.’

The verb *hanas-* ‘speak’ is a transitive one that typically takes a theme argument marked with accusative case, *-o*. However, in certain cases, the nominative case marker may appear on the object instead of *-o*, as illustrated in (8) when a potential suffix of *-eru* ‘able’ is added to the verb. As exhibited in the English gloss, *huransugo* ‘French’ serves as the theme (internal) argument and can be marked as either nominative or accusative. The presence of the nominative object allows for the observation of multiple mixed-case patterns when predicates utilizing this construction are employed in prenominal clauses. In other words, four patterns of case realization can be identified, as exemplified below.

- (9) a. Taroo-ga huransugo-ga hanas-eru koto. [NOM-NOM] pattern  
 Taro-NOMn French-NnOM speak-can fact  
 b. Taroo-ga huransugo-no hanas-eru koto. [NOM-GEN] pattern  
 Taro-NOMn French-:Gen. speak-can fact  
 c. Taroo-no huransugo-ga hanas-eru koto. [GEN-NOM] pattern  
 Taro-Gen French-NOM speak-canerfact  
 d. Taroo-no huransugo-no hanas-eru koto. [GEN-GEN] patterns  
 Taro-GEN French-GEN speak-can fact  
 ‘the fact that Taro can speak French’

In cases where the case markers are identical for both arguments, as seen in (9a) and (9d), they might pose no issue for the D-licensing approach. This is because the same case appears in the same type of clauses: the adnominal clause containing the nominative subject and the nominative object is CP, while the one containing the genitive subject and the genitive object is TP. In essence, the nominative case appears in the prenominal CP, whereas the genitive case appears in the prenominal TP. However, in (9b) and (9c), distinct case markers appear on the subject and the object, a scenario that cannot be explained by the conventional D-licensing approach.

Therefore, Ochi’s (2017) observations pose serious challenges to the D-licensing approach, and faces theof challenging proponents of this approach must grapple with addressing this issue.

### Kishimoto’s (2022) new analysis

To illustrate that the genitive subject appears in CP, Kishimoto (2022) introduced the ‘TARI correlative coordination’ construction (TRC, for convenience). This construction is utilized to enumerate non-exhaustive instances of events or states, as exemplified in (10).

- (10) Ken-ga hasit-tari, Mari-ga hasit-tari si-ta.  
 The Ken-NOM run-and Mari-NOM run-and Do-PAST  
 ‘Ken ran and Mari ran.’

Kishimoto focused on the contrast in (11), exhibiting that the genitive subject appears in a higher structural position than the nominative subject.

- (11) a. [Ken-ga hasit-tari] [Mari-ga hasit-tari] si-ta riyuu  
 Ken-NOM, run-and Mari-NOM run-,and do-PAST reasons  
 ‘the reason Ken ran and Mari ran’  
 b. \*[Ken-no hasit-tari] [Mari-no hasit-tari] si-ta riyuu  
 Ken-GEN run-and, Mari-GEN run-, and the do-past reason  
 ‘(intended) the reason Ken ran and Mari ran’

In (11a), where both subjects are marked nominative, the sentence is grammatical, whereas in (11b), where the subjects are marked genitive, it is not. This implies that the nominative and genitive subjects are positioned at different sites. This can be explained straight forwardly if we assume that TPs are conjoined by the *tari* particles and genitive subjects are not included in TPs. Kishimoto asserted that the genitive subject appears in the same position as the *t* marker ‘-*wa*’, showing the example in (12).

- (12) \*[Ken-wa hasit-tari] [Mari-wa hasit-tari] si-ta riyuu.  
 Ken-TOP run-and, Mari-TOP run-, and do-PAST reasons  
 ‘the reason Ken ran and Mari ran’

Grammaticality degrades when the subject is marked with ‘-*wa*’. Consequently, Kishimoto argued that (11b) has the same structure as (12): The genitive subject is raised outside the TP, specifically to Spec-CP. Therefore, Kishimoto (2017) proposes the following structure

- (13) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> SUBJ-GEN [<sub>TP</sub> SUBJ-NOM [<sub>VP</sub> SUBJ-GEN/NOM] .....] ] C ] D]

Considering the two functional heads, C and D, Kishimoto’s analysis may have a possibility of addressing accounting for the four various case-marking patterns when the predicate in the prenominal clause is a potential predicate, as illustrated below:

- (14) N+N: [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> SUBJ [+NOM] [<sub>VP</sub> \_\_\_\_ OBJ [+NOM]]T [+NOM] [EPP] ] C ] D]  
 G+G: [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> SUBJ [+GEN] [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> \_\_\_\_ OBJ [+GEN]] T ] C [EPP] ] D [+GEN] ]  
 N+G: [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> SUBJ [+NOM] [<sub>VP</sub> \_\_\_\_ OBJ [+GEN]] T [+NOM] [EPP] ] C ] D [+GEN] ]  
 G+N: [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> SUBJ [+GEN] [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> \_\_\_\_ OBJ [+NOM]]T [+NOM] ] C [EPP] ] D [+GEN] ]

Kishimoto explained the four patterns with assumptions, such as, optional Feature Inheritance and optional Case valuation, combined with Multiple Agree and long-distance Agree. In the case of N+N, only [+Nom] is transferred from C to T, leaving EPP on C, and T establishes a Multiple Agree relation with the two arguments. In this case nominative subject DP is raised to Spec-, CP by EPP on C. When C contains only EPP in the absence of [+Nom], Feature Inheritance is not available under the assumption that Feature Inheritance is implemented with the presence of a case feature only if [+Nom] is present. In this case, two arguments are case-marked as genitive by D: the object DP is valued as genitive through a long-distance Agree.

In the case of mixed case-marking pattern of N+G, C bears both EPP and [+Nom], which are inherited from C to T. When only Case valuation is implemented only for the subject argument, the unvalued object argument is valued as genitive through long-distance agree. In

the case of G+N, the object argument is valued as nominative by [+Nom] inherited from C to T, and the unvalued subject argument, which is raised to Spec-, CP, is valued as genitive by D. Thus, Kishimoto explained the four patterns with combinations of assumptions. See Kishimoto (2017) for detail.

Furthermore, the presence of C might assist in explaining the occurrence of CP-level adverbs, such as *saiwaini* “fortunately,” which is problematic for the D-TP analysis, as exemplified below.<sup>3</sup>

- (15) Naomi-wa [saiwaini keesatu-ga/-no mituke-ta] sai-hu-o kooban-ni  
 Naomi-TOP fortunately police-NOM/-GEN find-PAST wallet-ACC police.station-GOAL  
 toriniit-ta. (Nambu 2012: 222)  
 pick.up-PAST

‘Naomi picked up a wallet at the police station that fortunately, the police found.’

### Analysis

While Kishimoto’s new analysis successfully addresses issues that the D-TP analysis cannot, a closer examination of this new analysis is to be warranted. We are particularly concerned with the following two questions: i) Can Kishimoto’s analysis account for Miyagawa’s (2012) Genitives of Dependent Tenses? ii) Can Kishimoto’s effectively handle the observation that genitive subjects are incompatible with focus particles, as illustrated in (16)? His analysis predicts that (16) is grammatical, for C, which is generally considered to contain a focus licenser, is available.

- (16) a. \*Taroo-dake-no nonda kusuri (Akaso & Haraguchi (2011))  
 Taro-only- GEN take-PAST medicine.  
 ‘the medicine that only Taro took’  
 b. ?\*Hanako-dake-no huransugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto (Ochi (2020: 283))  
 Hanako-only- GEN French-NOM speak-can-PRES facts  
 ‘the fact that only Hanako can speak French’

For the item (i), the answer was negative. Observe the following examples in (17).

- (17) a. Simo-ga/no ori-tari, yuki-ga/no tumot-tari su-ru kisetu  
 Frost-NOM/-GEN become- and snow-NOM/-GEN cover- and do-PRES season  
 ‘the season when it is frosty and it snows’  
 b. kawa-ga/no hanransi-tari, taiboku-ga/no taore-tari si-ta tiiki  
 River-NOM/-GEN flood-and big.tree-NOM/-GEN fall-and do-PAST areas  
 ‘the area where rivers flooded and big trees fell’

Example (17), the featuring unaccusative predicates, exhibits that genitive subjects can be present in the TRC. If C possessed the [EPP] feature, as assumed in Kishimoto’s analysis, the genitive subject would have been raised to Spec-CP. However, to account for (17), it is necessary to disregard the [EPP] feature. Without recourse to an assumption of an idea of optional EPP, we will see how properly proposed Chomsky’s (2013, 2015) labeling algorithm and algorithm proposed Saito’s (2016) anti-labeling devices can handle (17) algorithm.

<sup>3</sup> Although some native speakers of Japanese judge example (15) to be ungrammatical, many regard it as grammatical. If so, the D-TP analysis needs to explain why CP-level adverbs can appear without CP.

Chomsky (2013) hypothesized that a label is determined by an independent operation called known as the Labeling Algorithm (LA). This algorithm is based on a Minimal Search (derived from the third factor), which seeks a head X within its search domain, aiding in the identification of the label. In the case of  $\gamma = \{X, YP\}$ , a search into  $\gamma$  immediately yields a unique head, X, as it is the closest one to  $\gamma$ . Consequently, X becomes the determinant for labeling the newly merged object. However, the Minimal Search strategy can in cases involving  $\{XP, YP\}$  because the computation of the economy cannot determine the label for the set in a straightforward manner. This results in an undetermined label. To address such situations, Chomsky proposed two concrete hypotheses: the symmetry-breaking movement option and the shared-label option.

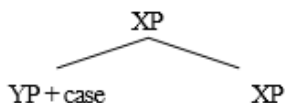
(18) Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky (2015))

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| a. $\{XP_i, \{_{\alpha} t_i, YP\}\}$ ( $\alpha = YP$ )                    | Symmetry-breaking movement option |
| b. $\{_{\alpha} XP_{[F]}, YP_{[F]}\}$ ( $\alpha = \langle F, F \rangle$ ) | Shared label option               |

In (18a), describes an operation method for symmetry-breaking movements is described. Here, XP moves upward to disrupt the symmetric relation, resulting in labeling the set with the remaining phrase YP. Conversely, in (18b), the shared label option is illustrated, where both the head, X and Y, have a common feature, such as  $\phi$ . However, the latter option is irrelevant in this paper, as Japanese lacks  $\phi$ -feature-agreement. Therefore, (18a) is remains valid.

Another assumption we madopt is derived from Saito's (2016) insightful analysis, which proposed that suffixal particles, including case markers in Japanese, function as anti-labeling devices that render a constituent inert for labeling. We assume that once their cases are licensed, case-marked arguments cannot participate in labeling, as demonstratedas below.

(19) Saito's anti-labeling



Considering Miyagawa's (2012) proposal of the genitive of dependent tense and the aforementioned assumptions, the subject DPs in (17) can coexist with vP. The grammaticality observed in (17) can be explained, as the subject DPs are not required to be at Spec-CP, potentially avoiding an erroneous ungrammatical outcome. Consequently, Kishimoto's analysis necessitates a modification of the EPP assumption.

Regarding the item (ii), it is essential to note that the D-TP analysis can explain the incompatibility between focus particles (FPs) and the genitive subject. This is attributed to its assumption that the prenominal clause lacks a C containing a focus-licensor. However, the D-CP analysis faces the challenge of explaining the incompatibility with FPs, as C, which possesses focus-licensing ability, may allow FPs to appear. Therefore, the D-CP analysis bears the burden of proof.

To address this issue, we can utilize the analysis proposed by Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra. (2016), twich addresses the argument/adjunct asymmetry between (16a) and (20), as cited from Ochi (2017).



- (20) kinoo/sukosi-dake Taroo-no non-da kusuri.  
 yesterday/little- only Taro-GEN take-PAST medicine  
 ‘the medicine Taro took only yesterday/only a little’

When the FP *-dake* ‘only’ is added to the argument in (16a), genitive subjects cannot appear. Conversely, when added to an adjunct, as illustrated in (20), the genitive can be on the subject DP. Miyagawa (2017) attempted to explain the contrast between (16a) and (20), drawing upon the analysis of fragment answers discussed in Miyagawa, Nishioka, and Zeijlstra (2016).

- (21) Activation conditions of the focus features for agreement

An interpretable focus feature, [iFOC], on an XP becomes visible for the Agree system with some a higher head -carrying [uFOC] in T or any other functional head that. This probing feature is inherited this probing feature from C if and, but only if the XP is in another (case-) a.Agreement relationship with the head.

This implies that case agreement on an argument should be implemented before the focus is licensed. Adjuncts are excluded as they do not undergo case licensing. In other words, focused arguments must undergo focus licensing against uFoc on C, whereas focused adjuncts do not. Given this understanding, we find it possible to explain the contrast between (16a) and (20) under the D-CP analysis, as the focus on a subject DP in (16a) cannot be licensed by C before the genitive case is licensed by DD.

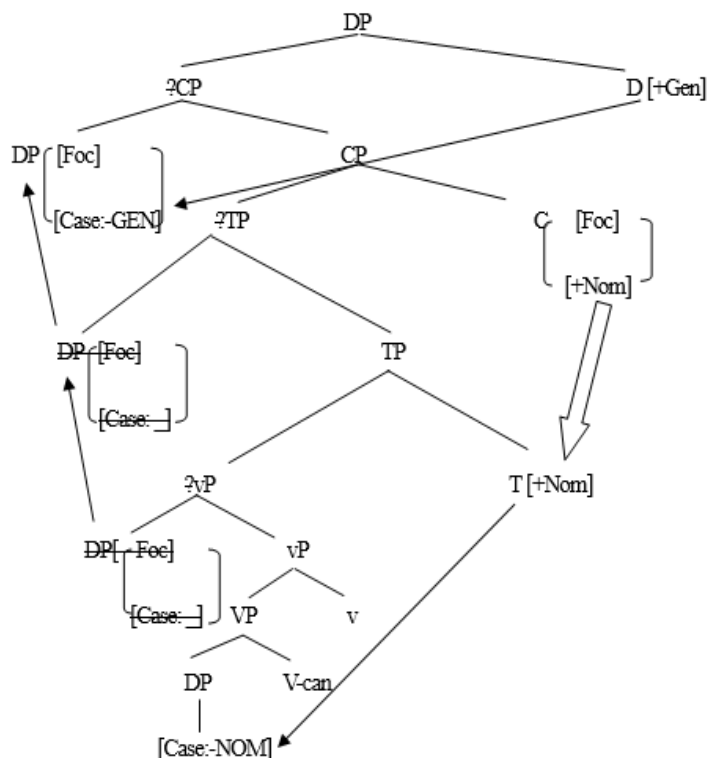
Having outlined the modified version of the D-CP analysis, let us examine the derivation of the following examples in (22), which exhibit a mixed case-marking pattern (genitive and nominative cases) with and without a focus particle.

- (22) a. Hanako-no huransugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto  
 Hanako-GEN French-NOM speak-can-PRES fact  
 ‘the fact that Hanako can speak French’.
- b. ?\*Hanako-dake-no huransugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto (= (16b))  
 Hanako-only-GEN French- NOM speaker-can-PRES facts  
 ‘the fact that only Hanako can speak French’

In (22a), the nominative case on the object *huransugo-ga* is licensed by T with [+Nom] inherited from C, and the genitive on the subject *Hanako-no* is raised from Spec-vP through Spec-TP to the ultimate landing site of Spec-CP owing to the symmetry-breaking movement option. In contrast, (22b), where the FP *-dake* is added to subject DP, is ruled out. Refer to the following derivation in (23) for (22b).

The nominative case of the object DP is licensed by [+Nom] in T, and the subject DP is raised to Spec-CP, as in (22a).

The FP on the subject DP becomes visible after the genitive nominative is licensed by the external D. However, it becomes too late for C to license the focus on the DP because it is outside the c-command domain. Therefore, (22b) is ungrammatical.



## Two remaining issues

Up to this point, we have addressed the necessary revisions to Kishimoto's D-CP analysis for handling (16b) and (17), incorporating two significant assumptions: Chomsky's (2013, 2015) labeling algorithm and Saito's (2016) anti-labeling devices, along with Miyagawa's (2017) analysis adopting the activation condition of the focus feature for agreement in (21). However, two issues remain to be resolved in this study: firstly, why genitive subjects cannot appear in the TRC construction, as shown in (11b), and secondly, whether the D-CP analysis can effectively replace the D-TP. We consider these issues in this section.

## Incompatibility of Genitive Subject with the TRC

We begin our discussion of Kishimoto's (2022) TRC analysis within the framework of the D-CP analysis. Given the aforementioned assumptions, the subject DP in the TRC can feasibly be licensed without raising to Spec-CP. Subsequently, we need to investigate why genitive subjects cannot appear, as exemplified in (11b). Although we lack a definitive analysis at the present stage of our understanding, we introduce a potential directions for future research.

We find it beneficial to focus on coordinate constructions other than excluding except beyond the TRC. Kishimoto (2013) mentioned identified two types of coordination:

- (24) a. Ken-ga hasiri, Mari-ga arui-ta.  
 Ken-NOM run Mari-NOM walk-PAST  
 'Ken ran, and Mari walked.'

- b. Ken-ga hasit-te, Mari-ga arui-ta.  
 Ken-NOM running Mari-NOM walk-PAST  
 ‘Ken ran, and Mari walked.’

Kishimoto (2013:204) referred to (24a) and (24b) as *i*-coordination and *te*-coordination, respectively. In contrast to the TRC, *-wa* can appear in these types of coordination:

- (25) a. Ken-wa hasiri, Mari-wa arui-ta.  
 Ken-TiOP run Mari-TOP walk-PAST  
 ‘Ken ran, and Mari walked.’  
 b. Ken-wa hasit-te, Mari-wa arui-ta.  
 Ken-TOP running Mari-TOP walk-PAST  
 ‘Ken ran, and Mari walked.’

Furthermore, *-wa* can appear in the prenominal clauses containing these coordinate constructions, as shown in (26).

- (26) a. Ken-wa hasiri Mari-wa arui-ta reesu.  
 Ken-TOP run Mari-TOP walk-PAST races  
 ‘The race in which Ken ran and Mari walked’  
 b. Ken-wa hasit-te Mari-wa arui-ta reesu  
 Ken-TOP running Mari-TOP walk-PAST races  
 ‘The race in which Ken ran and Mari walked’

Note that *-wa* can be acceptable in the construction at hand, whether it is a main or prenominal clause, as exemplified in (25) and (26). According to Kishimoto’s argument that the genitive subject appears in the same position as *-wa*, namely, Spec-CP, we predict that the genitive subject could appear in this environment. However, this scenario is ruled out.

- (27) a. \*Ken-no hasiri, Mari-no arui-ta reesu  
 Ken-GEN runs Mari-GEN walk-PAST race.  
 ‘The race in which Ken ran and Mari walked’  
 b. \*Ken-no hasit-te, Mari-no arui-ta reesu  
 Ken-GEN running Mari-GEN walk-PAST race  
 ‘The race in which Ken ran and Mari walked’

The contrast between (26) and (27) shows that the position of the genitive subject may differ from that of *-wa*. Put differently, the reason why the genitive subject cannot be permitted in (11b) might not be solely as a result of its location but could involve another factor, such as the distance between the subject DP in the first conjunct and the external D. Examine the examples in (28). When the subject DP of the first conjunct is marked as nominative, the resulting expression is grammatical, as exhibited in (28a). However, when case-marked as genitive, it is judged as ungrammatical, as illustrated in (28b).

- (28) a. Ken-ga hasiri/-hasit-te, Mari-no arui-ta reesu  
 Ken-NOM run/running Mari-GEN walk-PAST race  
 ‘The race in which Ken ran and Mari walked’  
 b. \*Ken-no hasiri/-hasit-te, Mari-ga arui-ta reesu  
 Ken-GEN run/running Mari-NOM walk-PAST race  
 ‘The race in which Ken ran and Mari walked’

In (28a), the nominative case of the subject DP is licensed by the clause's C, as in (24). However, in (28b), the genitive must be licensed by the external licenser, that is, namely D, and not by a licenser within the clause. This observation may suggest that the unfeasibility of the genitive subject in coordinate constructions could stem from the distance between the subject in the first conjunct and its external D. However, a more in-depth investigation is reserved for future research.

### The D-CP and the D-TP analyses

We have observed that the D-CP analysis can account for NGC in predicates containing a nominative object. As a natural step, we may question the necessity of both analyses and whether the D-CP analysis can supersede the D-TP. Let us reconsider the most crucial/core phenomenon for D-TP analysis: Genitive subject cannot appear with Focus Particle.

As mentioned in (16a), Akaso and Haraguchi (2011) argued that the syntactic status of prenominal clauses is TP, lacking C, which contains a focus licenser. While this is a compelling reason for the D-TP analysis, we have also demonstrated that the D-CP analysis can account for the core case (16a), leveraging the activation condition of the focus feature for agreement in (21). Is there any substantial evidence to justify retaining the D-TP analysis? Alternatively, could it be discarded, considering that the D-CP analysis might encompass the data for the former?

In considering this issue, the following data should not be overlooked:

- (29) a. Taroo-ga/\*no      hasit-ta      toiu reesu  
       Taro-NOM/-GEN    run-PAST    C    race  
       'the race in which they say Taro ran'
- b. Taroo-ga/no        hasit-ta        reesu.  
       Taro-NOM/-GEN    run-PAST    race  
       'the race in which Taro ran'
- (30) a. kanojyo-ga/\*no    not-ta        toiu basu  
       girl-NOM/-GEN    take-PAST    C    bus  
       'the bus which they say she took'
- b. kanozyo-ga/no    not-ta        basu  
       girl-NOM/-GEN    take-PAST    basu  
       'the bus which she took'

These examples illustrate that the complementizer *toiu* does not permit NGC; this phenomenon is known as the complementizer -blocking effect (CBE). The complementizer *-toiu*, consisting of the two elements, *-to* 'that' and *-iu* 'say', is currently employed as a single complementizer as a result of grammaticalization. When a genitive subject appears within a prenominal clause with this complementizer, its grammaticality deteriorates, as exhibited in (29a) and (30a). This observation aligns with the D-TP approach, as there is no designated position to accommodate the complementizer, *-toiu*.

In addition, we could invoke the Minimum Structure Hypothesis, originally proposed by Bošković (1997:25). This hypothesis posits that a minimum structure is preferred when there

is no necessity for a functional head to construct syntactic structures.

(31) Minimal Structure Principle (MSP)

Provided that lexical requirements of relevant elements are satisfied if two representations have the same lexical structure and serve the same function, then the representation that has fewer projections is to be chosen selected as the syntactic representation serving that function.

Given the MSP, we do not need to assume the C-head unless the nominative case *-ga*, which requires the presence of C, appears in a prenominal clause. Therefore, retaining the D-TP analysis seemappears to be reasonable as opposed to abandoning it at this stage of understanding. However, the issue of the MSP is internal to theory-internal, and we must acknowledge that beyond the CBE, we lack additional concrete evidence to support the D-TP analysis. Therefore, what we can obtain is a broad generalization: when the nominative case appears in a prenominal clause, the categorial status of the clauses forms a complete CP. Since we do not have any further evidence at the moment, we must stop our discussion here and leave it for future research. In the next section, we examine the CBE in two dialects of Japanese descriptively.

**The Complementizer Blocking Effect and dialectal variations.**

This section deals with CBE in the two Japanese dialects, namely the Hitiku and Osaka dialects. We begin our discussion with the Hitiku dialect (Hitiku Japanese: HJ), spoken in the northwestern region (i.e., Kumamoto, Saga, Nagasaki, and western parts of Fukuoka) of Kyusyuu in southern Japan. This dialect is known to have a peculiar NGC as exhibited below:<sup>4</sup>

- (32) a. tenki-ga/no                      yoka-ne                      (HJ)  
 Weather-NOM/-GEN              fine-SFP  
 ‘(Look!) Nice weather, isn’t it?’
- b. tegami-ga/no              ki-ta.                      (HJ)  
 letter-NOM/-GEN              come-PAST  
 ‘Mail has come.’
- c. kodomo-ga/no              naki-yoru (-bai).              (HJ)  
 child-Nom-NOM/-GEN cry-PROG (-SFP)  
 ‘A child is crying.’

As exhibited in (32), the genitive subject appears in matrix sentences, which is prohibited in standard Japanese. Researchers have attempted to explain this peculiar phenomenon in HJ. For instance, Nishioka (2022) assumedsd that C has feature of [+N], which can license a genitive case on a subject DP. Putting aside technical issues, let us examined this dialect in terms of CBE. Observe the HJ examples illustrated in (33) and (34) with care.<sup>5</sup>

- (33) a. kinoo              Ichiroo-ga/no              hasit-ta              toiu ranningu koosu              (HJ)  
 yesterday To, Ichiro-NOM/-GEN run-PAST the an C running course.  
 ‘the running course on which they say Ichiro ran yesterday’

<sup>4</sup> The examples in (32) are cited from Nishioka (2018).

<sup>5</sup> We owe to Tetsuya Joo the grammatical judgements in (33), (34), and (36).

- b. kinoo Ichiro-ga/no hasit-ta ranningu koosu (HJ)  
 yesterday Ichiro-NOM/-GEN run-PAST running course.  
 ‘the running course on which Ichiro ran yesterday’
- (34) a. sakunen daitooryoo-ga/no not-ta toiu gondora (HJ)  
 last year, President-NOM/-GEN ride-PAST C gondola.  
 ‘the gondola which they say President rode last year’
- b. sakunen daitooryoo-ga/no not-ta gondora. (HJ)  
 last year President-NOM/-GEN ride-PAST gondola  
 the gondola which President rode last year’

In contrast to standard Japanese (SJ), the genitive subject is allowed even when the complementizer *-toiu* appears in a prenominal clause.

In SJ, when prenominal clauses are embedded in other clauses, as in the examples in (35), the genitive subject cannot appear in SJ.

- (35) a. watasi-ga kinoo Taroo-ga/\*no kat-ta to omot-ta hon. (Bao (2015))  
 I-NOM yesterday Taro-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST C think-PAST book  
 ‘the book which I thought that Taro bought’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ga/\*n No kat-ta to omot-teiru hon-wa. (Mihara and Hiraiwa (2007))  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM/\*Gen buy-PAST C think-PROG book-TOP  
 dore desu-ka.  
 which be-Q  
 ‘Which book does Taro think that Hanako bought?’ (Mihara and Hiraiwa (2007))

We can see that the prenominal clauses with genitive subjects are embedded in (35), and the genitive subject is not allowed in SJ. By contrast, HJ enables genitive subjects under the same circumstances as shown in (36).

- (36) Kore-ga Taroo-ga Hanako-ga/no koota to omot-teiru hon desu. (HJ)  
 this-NOM Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM/-GEN bought C think-PROG book be.  
 ‘This is the book Taro thinks that Hanako bought.’

This is not surprising, given that HJ permits genitive subjects in matrix sentences, as exhibited in (32). Assuming [+N] in C, the genitive case is licensed by C. This implies that the genitive subject in (36) does not need to be licensed by an external licenser, i.e. the D of host noun, *hon* ‘book.’

In this context, we introduce data from another dialect spoken in Osaka, located 280 miles (450 KM) west of Tokyo in mainland Japan, although . However, detailed research on the dialectal variation in this dialect (Osaka dialect, OJ) is necessary. Initially, OJ does not permit genitive subjects in matrix sentences, as in SJ.

- (37) a. tenki-ga/\*no ii-ne. (OJ)  
 Weather-Nom/-GEN fine-SFP  
 ‘Nice weather, isn’t it?’
- b. tegami-ga/\*no ki-ta. (OJ)  
 letter-NOM/-GEN come-PAST  
 ‘Mail has come.’
- c. kodomo-ga/\*no nai-teru (-yo). (OJ)  
 child-NOM/-GEN cry-PROG (-SFP)

As for CBE, OJ speakers have the same judgement as SJ speakers do, as long as the predicates are either transitive or unergative, as illustrated in (38).

- (38) a. sakunen daitooryoo-ga/\*no not-ta toiu gondora (OJ)  
 Last year, President-NOM /-GEN ride-PAST C gondola  
 ‘the gondola which they say President rode last year’
- b. gaikotu-ga/\*no odoru toiu gakkoo (OJ)  
 skeleton- NOM/-GEN dance C school  
 ‘the school where they say a skeleton dances’
- c. tenisu sensyu-ga/\*no hasiru toiu torakku (OJ)  
 tennis player-NOM/-GEN run,a C track  
 ‘the track where they say tennis players run’

However, when unaccusative predicates are employed, OJ speakers may permit genitive subjects to appear.

- (39) a. (sakuban) kaminari-ga/no oti-ta toiu ki (OJ)  
 (last night) ILightning-NOM-/-GEN strike-PAST C tree  
 ‘the tree that they say was struck by lightning (last night)’
- b. (kyonen) sakura-ga/no kare-ta toiu kooen (OJ)  
 (last year) Cherry tree-NOM/-GEN wither-PAST C park  
 ‘the park where they say cherry trees withered (last year)’

Previous studies have reported that SJ does not permit genitive subjects, even when the predicate in a prenominal clause is unaccusative, as illustrated in (40).

- (40) a. karera-ga/\*no buzi-datta toiu sirase-ga kazoku-o genkizuketa. (Inoue (1976: 228))  
 they-NOM/-GEN safe-was C news-NOM family-ACC cheer-PAST  
 ‘The news that they were safe cheered the family’
- b. kisyoochoo-wa juunen inaini ookina zisinn-ga/\*no (Mihara and Hiraiwa (2007: 327))  
 Meteorological Agency-TOP ten-year within major earthquake-NOM/\*GEN  
 okiru toiu kanoosei-o sisasi-ta.  
 occur C poassibility-ACC suggest-PAST

Moreover, OJ exhibits intriguing behavior concerning non-local relations between the genitive subject and D of the hostmainhost noun. Let us scrutinize the sentences in (41).<sup>6</sup>

- (41) a. kaasan-ga oyaji-ga/no katta yuu-te-ta toti-wa moo nai-rasii. (OJ)  
 Mom-NOM Dad-NOM/-GEN bought say-PROG-PAST land-Ttop no more- I-hear.  
 ‘I hear the land my mother said my father had bought was gone.’
- b. Taroo-ga baacyan-ga/no suteta omo-te-ta soroban-ga kura-ni  
 Taro-Nom-NOM grandma-Nom-NOM/-GENGen throws think-PROG-PAST abacus-NOM warehouse in  
 at-ta. (OJ)  
 be-PAST  
 ‘I found in the warehouse the abacus Taro thought Grandma had thrown away.’

<sup>6</sup> My informants (five OJ speakers) are over 50 years old. We found that two university students who speak OJ reported that genitive subjects in (40) might sound unacceptable to their ears. It means that we need to survey this issue of differences by generation.

However, upon closer examination of the data in (40), it is notable that these sentences lack an explicit complementizer. In fact, when a complementizer is inserted in the missing place, OJ speakers may perceive the one with the genitive subject as degraded, as illustrated below.

- (42) a. kaasan-ga oyaji-ga<sup>no</sup> kat-ta to yuuteta toti-wa moo nai-rasii. (OJ)  
 Mom-NOM Dad-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST C said land-TOP no more-I-hear  
 ‘I hear the land my mother said that my father had bought was gone.’
- b. Taroo-ga baacyan-ga<sup>no</sup> sute-ta to omote-ta soroban-ga kura-ni at-ta. (OJ)  
 Taro-NOM grandma-NOM/-GEN throw-PAST C think-PAST abacus-NOM warehouse- in be-PAST  
 ‘I found in the warehouse the abacus Taro thought that Grandma had thrown away.’

When a complementizer is introduced in a clause embedded with the genitive subject, the sentence is perceived as less satisfactory to their ears. We can attribute this phenomenon to CBE. By observing the correlation between complementizer-deletion and the presence of a genitive subject, we may conclude that genitive case licensing differs between the Hitiku and Osaka dialects when a genitive subject is placed in a long-distance environment: the local licenser at C in HJ and the external D in OJ.<sup>7</sup>

### Genitive subject in (Inner) Mongolian

We discussed the NGC in Japanese, including the Hitiku and Osaka dialects. However, the alternation at issue has also been observed in other Altaic languages. For instance, Hale (2002) demonstrated that NGC can be identified in Dagur relative clauses, where the categorial status is Aspect Phrase, lacking C, and Kornfilt (1984, 2003) presented evidence of NGC in Turkish, where the nominalized form of C licenses the genitive case on subject.

Regarding Mongolian, a series of studies led by Hideki Maki have shed light on this phenomenon<sup>8</sup>

- (43) a. öčügedür Ulayan-ø/\*-u nom-ø qudaldun-ab-čai (Maki et al. (2015))  
 yesterday Ulagan-NOM/-GEN book-ACC buy-take-PAST. CON  
 ‘Ulagan bought a book yesterday.’

The crucial difference between Mongolian and SJ is that the adnominal forms of predicates are required in Mongolian genitive subjects. In Japanese, the adnominal, or *rentai* (‘attributive’), form was utilized in the past, but disappeared several centuries ago. Therefore, in Modern Japanese, no morphological differences can be recognized between the adnominal and conclusive forms.<sup>9</sup>

Interestingly, Maki et al. (2015) found that genitive subjects can have a non-local relationship with an external host noun.

<sup>7</sup> See Ura (2007) on the relationship between complementizer deletion in the Osaka dialect and phasehood; he insisted that the former has much to do with the latter. See also Hatakeyama et al. (2008). Kageyama (2009) claimed that the case pattern discussed in Ura (2007) is of the queer type and should not be analyzed in terms of the mechanism in UG.

<sup>8</sup> The dialect of Mongolian which Maki et al. (2015) investigate is the Khorchin spoken in Inner Mongolia. In their work Mongolian is used as a cover term. As for *nom-ø* ‘book-ACC’ in (43a), a reviewer pointed out that it might be a nominative object. But we follow Maki et al (2015), putting it on hold.

<sup>9</sup> See Nomura (1993) for historical changes in classical Japanese.



- (44) a. Bayature- $\emptyset$  Ulayan-u qudaldun-abu-γsan/\*-ab-čai gejü bodu-γsan nom-bol ene nom  
 Bagatur-NOM Ulagan-GEN buy-take-PAST.ADN/-take-PAST.CON that think-PAST.ADN book-TOP this book  
 ‘The book which Bagature thought that Ulgan bought is this book.’
- b. Bayature- $\emptyset$  Ulayan- $\emptyset$  qudaldun-abu-γsan/-ab-čai gejü bodu-γsan nom-bol ene nom  
 Bagatur-NOM Ulagan-NOM buy-take-PAST.ADN/-take-PAST.CON that think-PAST.ADN book-TOP this book  
 ‘The book which Bagature thought that Ulgan bought is this book.’

This exhibits that the adnominal forms of predicate in a prenominal clause can function crucially as genitive-case licensors in Mongolian, even if an external D is in a non-local location. Additionally, we needed to pay attention to the fact that the adnominal form of the nearest predicate is essential for licensing genitive case to the subject, as exhibited in (44a). The adnominal form of the predicate inof the higher clause, i.e. *bodu-γsan* ‘(think-PAST.ADNdn)’, which takes the clause containing the genitive subject as its complement, cannot license the genitive case on the DP when the embedded clause at issue ends with the conclusive form, i.e. *quaddunqudaldun-ab-čai* ‘buy-take-PAST.CON’.

As seen in the previous section, HJ can allow genitive subjects to have a non-local relation with an external D because the genitive case on subjects is licensed by its local C containing [+N], regardless of the presence of a host noun. Therefore, Mongolian and HJ are identical in that the local licensor plays the role of licensing the genitive case on the subject. As for a local licensing in SJ, we cannot overlook Miyagawa’s Genitive of Dependent Tense which has the same function. Consider the following examples in (45).

- (45) a. simo-no ori-tari, yuki-ga tumot-tari su-ru kisetu  
 frost-GEN become-and snow-NOM cover-and do-PRES season  
 ‘the season when it is frosty and it snows’
- b. kawa-no hanransi-tari, taiboku-ga taore-tari si-ta tiiki  
 river-GEN flood-and big.tree-GEN fall-and do-PAST area  
 ‘the area where rivers flooded and big trees fell’
- c. simo-no ori/ori-te, yuki-ga tumot-ta kisetu  
 frost-GEN become/becoming snow-NOM cover-PAST season  
 ‘the season when it is frosty and it snows’
- b. kawa-no hanransi/hanransi-te, taiboku-ga taore-ta tiiki  
 River-GEN flood/flooding big tree-NOM fall-PAST area.  
 ‘the area where rivers flooded and big trees fell’

Genitive subjects in the first conjuncts are allowed when their predicates are unaccusative in (45). This exhibits that Miyagawa’s Genitives of Dependent Tense is also regarded as licensed by the local licensor: ; that is, weak v.

## Conclusion

This study argues that Kishimoto’s new analysis of the NGC, the D-CP analysis, should incorporate Chomsky’s LA and Saito’s anti-labeling devices instead of EPP, enabling it to effectively address the properly data issues encountered by the D-TP analysis. Although D-CP analysis seems appealing, we have argued that it needs to tackle two challenges: the

impossibility of genitive subjects in TRC and the redundancy problem of the two analyses. Discussing the CBE, potentially offering evidence supporting the D-TP analysis, we make a comparison of the Hitiku and Osaka dialects with Standard Japanese. In the last section, we have observed some similarities and differences between Japanese and (Inner) Mongolian. While our observations are descriptive and limited, making minimal contribution to theoretical advancements, we hope this study stimulates future research on NGC in Altaic languages.

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