On the Position of Nominative NPs in Japanese:

The Possibility of Nominative NPs in-Situ*

KAZUMA FUJIMAKI
Tokyo International University

This paper presents some new data of the Japanese language, which show that the nominative NP, particularly the nominative subject, can stay in-situ and that in a certain case, it can not move to the Spec of TP. These examples come from a certain type of idioms with ditransitive verbs given by Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004). Based on their observation that some idioms cannot allow displacement of their parts, we will see that in such idioms, passivization is possible only if the nominative NP (the subject) remains in-situ. This supports the analysis that the nominative subject does not have to move to the Spec of TP to satisfy a feature of T, for example, EPP (Fukui (1986), Kuroda (1988), among others). This paper found it is stronger than this. We must say that, at least in overt syntax, the nominative subject in our examples may not move to the Spec of TP. We will further observe that the same is true of the genitive NP of so-called *ga-no* (nominative-genitive) conversion. The examples with the idiom support the analysis which claims that the genitive NP in *ga-no* conversion stays in VP in overt syntax. (Watanabe (1994, 1996), Miyagawa (1997)).

1. Classification of Idioms

1.1 English Idioms
Many studies have been carried out on English idioms, some of which claim the existence of NP-movement to a non-theta position in generative grammar. (For the properties and analyses of English idioms, see Fraser (1970), Newmeyer (1974), Nunberg et.al. (1994), Wasow et.al.(1984), Yamada (1979).) One of the most important properties, which is relevant

---

to the discussion later, is concerned with the movement possibility of a part of the idioms. For example, *spill the beans* allows the movement of *the beans* while *kick the bucket* does not allow the movement of the object, as shown in (1) and (2).[1]

(1)   *Loose Idiom (LI)*
   a. Bob spilled the beans.
   b. The beans were spilled by Bob.
   c. * [   ] were spilled the beans by Bob.

(2)   *Fixed Idiom (FI)*
   a. Bob kicked the bucket.
   b. *The bucket was kicked by Bob.
   c. * [   ] was kicked the bucket by Bob.

Let us call the type of idioms in (1) a loose idiom (LI), and the one in (2) a fixed idiom (FI) for ease of reference.[2] Later in Section 4 we will see that there is a type of (2c) in Japanese based on the observation of what can be called 'ditransitive idioms' by Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004).

1.2 Japanese Idioms

A similar observation has been made with respect to Japanese idioms. Muraki 1985, for example, presents the classification given in (3), based on several tests for his notion of *koteisei* 'fixedness', namely how fixed the combination of a verb and its argument(s) is.[3] The tests for this will be shown below.

(3)   a. kabe-ni   e-o   kakeru   (free)
         wall-on   picture-acc   hang/put
         'to hang a picture on the wall'
      b. Taroo-ni   sasoi-o   kakeru   (function verb)
         Taroo-to   invitation-acc
         'to invite Taroo'

---

1 What type of idiom allows the movement is discussed in Nunberg et. al. (1994), but this is not relevant to the discussion in this paper. Readers are referred to the article and references there.
2 Fraser (1970) used the different term, frozenness, for fixedness here. They are not exactly the same. Fixedness is used throughout the paper, just for ease of reference.
3 See Miyaji (1982) for similar tests and the classification of idioms.

c. hukyo-ni   hakusya-o kakeru ^{4} (idiom)
   recession-to   HAKUSYA(spur)-acc
   'to make the recession become worse'   (Muraki (1985))

The example (3a) is an ordinary ditransitive verb, which takes three arguments including its subject. Every argument can be replaced by other NPs. The example (3b) is assumed to consist of the verb, which he calls a function verb (a kind of light verb in our terms), and the noun (verbal noun, to borrow Kageyama's (1993) terms), which carries the essential meaning of the VP. The verb *kakeru* does not have much meaning except the meaning of some motion directed to *Taroo* whereas the verbal noun, *sasoi*, carries much meaning. The last (3c) is considered to be an idiom. The phrase, *hakusya-o kakeru,* is fixed according to the tests below. The other arguments can be replaced by other NPs, meaning that they are variable, but that *hakusya* is a constant.

The tests for the distinction, provided by Muraki, are as follows. The first is the question of whether the order change of arguments in the VP is possible or not.

(4) *change of the order*
    a. e-o kabe-ni kakeru
    b. ?sasoi-o Taroo-ni kakeru
    c. ??hakusha-o hukyo-ni kakeru   (Muraki (1985))

What is important here is that in the case of idiom (4c), the order can not be changed.^{5} Notice that this property is similar to the impossibility of the passivization of *kick the backet,* although the exact mechanism of each one is different.

Another test is related to the insertion of adverbs between the verb and its accusative object.

---

[4] The word, *hakusya,* is a metal instrument equipped with a boot for horse riding, which makes a horse run faster by the rider's kicking it. It can be a spur.

[5] The judgment is Muraki's. I agree with him on the relative contrast between (4b) and (4c). So '?' is taken here to be '??', and '??' to be '*?' in this paper.

(5) *Insertion of adverbs*

    a. kabe-ni e-o <u>sotto</u> kakeru
                    gently

    b. ? Taroo-ni sasoi-o <u>tyotto</u> kakeru
                      a little

    c. ??hukyo-ni hakusya-o <u>masumasu</u> kakeru
                      more and more/increasingly (Muraki (1985))

In the ordinary use of the verb, an adverb can appear between the verb and its object. In the case of light verbs, the insertion of an adverb is a little difficult, but still possible. The idiom, however, does not allow an adverb to be between the verb and its object. Thus, the idiom is fixed.

The last one is the test for the availability of relativization in which the head is originally the accusative object. (The brackets are added to the original examples.)

(6) *relative clauses*

    a. [[kabe-ni kake-ta] e]
                -past/perfect
    'the picture which someone hung on the wall'

    b. ?[[Taroo-ni kake-ta] sasoi]
    'the invitation which someone asked Taroo for'

    c. ??[[hukyo-ni kake-ta] hakusya]
    'the spur which something gave to the recession' (Muraki (1985))

As can be seen here, the idiom can not tolerate the relativization in which the fixed part is the head of the relative clause. In other words, if the relativization involves some kind of movement, for example, operator movement, then this is similar to the scrambling case, which in turn implies the similarity between *hakusya-o kakeru* and *kick the bucket*, although the types of movement involved can be different.

To summarize so far, the idiom, *hakusya-o kakeru*, is a fixed idiom (FI) in the sense that the object, *hakusya-o*, can not be moved, whether it is scrambling or relativization. Non-availability of NP-movement in (4c) is similar to the English idiom *kick the bucket* in that the part of the idiom, *the bucket* can not be the subject of a passive sentence. Some other

examples of FI are provided in (7).

<Fixed Idiom>

(7) a. Taroo-ga   kissaten-de | abura-o   utteita |.
         -nom   cafe-at   oil-acc   was selling

   'Taroo was selling oil at a cafe.' (literal meaning)
   'Taroo was not doing his job.' (idiomatic meaning)

   b. | abura-o | Taroo-ga   kissaten-de | utteita |.
       oil-acc   -nom   cafe-at   was selling

   'Taroo was selling oil at a cafe.' (literal meaning)
   *'Taroo was not doing his job.' (idiomatic meaning)

   c. Taroo-ga | otya-o   nigosita |.
                   tea-acc   made-cloudy

   'Taroo made the tea cloudy.' (literal meaning)
   'Taroo said something irrelevant, and did not tell the truth.'
                                              (idiomatic meaning)

   d. | otya-o | Taroo-ga | nigosita |.
       tea-acc   made-cloudy

   'Taroo made the tea cloudy.' (literal meaning)
   * 'Taroo said something irrelevant, and did not tell the truth.'
                                              (idiomatic meaning)

These phrases, *abura-o uru* and *otya-o nigosu*, have both idiomatic and non-idiomatic readings. Thus, the a-examples are ambiguous with the idiomatic reading preferable. The b-examples, however, are unambiguous with only the non-idiomatic reading.

Now that we have seen the FI, let us consider some from Japanese LI. Miyagawa (1997), discussing issues related to scrambling, shows that in example (8), a part of the idiom, *te* 'hand', can be scrambled without losing its idiomatic reading.[6]

---

[6] Miyagawa (1997), referring to the personal communication from Natsuko Tsujimura, gives the examples of a following non-fixed type idiom in (8) .

<Loose Idiom>

(8) a. John-ga   hoteru gyo-ni | te-o   nobasita |.
       -nom   hotel business-to   hand-acc extended
     'John became involved in the hotel business.' (idiomatic meaning)
     b. | te-o | John-ga hoteru gyo-ni | nobasita |.
       hand-acc   (Miyagawa (1997))

Notice that the verb is a ditransitive verb, which takes three arguments, and that the idiom consists of the verb and its (most) internal argument. This is important for later discussions. The idiom in (9) is another LI with a ditransitive verb.

(9) a. Taroo-wa   sono ken-ni | kuti-o   hasande | kita.
       -top   the matter-to   mouth-acc put-in came
     'Taroo put his mouth in the matter.'
     'Taroo said something about the matter and got involved in it.'
     b. Taroo-ga | kuti-o | sono ken-ni | hasande | kita.
       mouth-acc   the matter-to
     c. | kuti-o | Taroo-ga sono ken-ni | hasande | kita.
       mouth-acc

So far, we have seen that like English, there are two types of idiom in Japanese, with respect to the possibility of a movement of their parts. One is a fixed idiom (FI), which does not allow the movement of its object. The other is a loose idiom (LI), which allows it. These are summarized schematically in (10).

(10) a. FI: X ... | OBJ + V | -> * | OBJ | ... X ... | t_{-OBJ} V |
      b. LI: X ... | OBJ + V | -> ok | OBJ | ... X ... | t_{-OBJ} V |
      where X can be a subject or an indirect object.

2. Miyagawa (1997), Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004)

In this section, we will briefly summarize the points of Miyagawa (1997), and Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) (henceforth M&T) relevant to our discussion later.

2.1 Two Types of Ditransitive Verb

Japanese verbs with three arguments (one external and the others internal) have raised an important issue concerning the (hierarchical) order of two internal arguments. Consider, for example, the verb *age* 'give.'

(11) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni   yubiwa-o ageta.
         -nom   -dat   ring-acc   gave
      'Taroo gave Hanako a ring.'
     b. Taroo-ga   yubiwa-o   Hanako-ni   ageta.
                   ring-acc   -dat

The question is which of these two internal arguments, *Hanako-ni* and *yubiwa-o*, is structurally higher. In other words, which NP c-commands the other? It has been argued partially from scopal facts that the dative marked NP c-commands the accusative marked NP (Hoji (1985)). Miyagawa (1997), and M&T, however, argue that there is another case in which the accusative marked NP c-commands the dative marked NP, by providing many empirical facts for this contention.

(12) a. Taroo-ga   dareka-ni   dono nimotu-mo   okutta.
         -nom   someone-dat   every package   sent
      'Taroo sent someone every package.'
                                   some > every, *every >some
     b. Taroo-ga   dono nimotu-mo-i   dareka-ni   t-i   okutta.
         -nom   every package   someone-dat   sent
                                   some > every, every >some
     c. Taroo-ga   dokoka-ni   dono-nimotu-mo okutta.
         -nom   some place-to   every package   sent
      'Taroo sent   every package to some place.'
                                   some > every, every > some

The contrast between (12a) and (12b) supports Hoji's claim. Given this scopal facts, the ambiguity of (12b) comes from the movement. A slight change in (12a), however, gives rise to the ambiguity in (12c). The change is one from an animate goal to an inanimate goal. The contrast due to the animacy of the goal phrase (*ni*-phrase), they argue, is similar to

the English contrast between the Double Object Construction (DOC) and the *to*-dative construction noted by Bresnan (1982) and others. Further, the English *to*-dative shows the following facts concerning the scope of two quantified NPs (Aoun and Li (1989))

(13) a. John sent some student every article.   DOC   *every > some
b. John sent some article to every student. *to*-dative   every > some

If (12a) and (12c) correspond to the DOC and the *to*-dative, respectively, the animacy restriction and the scopal facts can be explained naturally. With other facts about floating quantifiers, they argue that this is the case.

They further argue that there are two types of goal phrase. The examples in (14) are a representative case. One is a high goal, which corresponds to the goal phrase in the DOC. The other is a low goal, which is considered to be a *to*-phrase, namely a PP in the *to*-dative.

(14) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni   Tokyo-ni   **nimotu-o**   okutta.
        -nom   -dat   -to   package-acc   sent
    'Taroo sent Hanako a package to Tokyo.'
b. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni   **nimotu-o**   Tokyo-ni   okutta.   (M&T)

In (14), the dative NP, *Hanako-ni*, is a high goal while the *to*-phrase, *Tokyo-ni*, is a low goal. As shown in (14), both orders are possible. They argue that the two orders are not derived from each other but they are base-generated. Put differently, there are two basic orders with respect to the low goal and the theme as in (15).

(15) a. high goal (possessive)   ...   low goal (locative) ... **theme**
b. high goal (possessive)   ... **theme** ... low goal (locative)   (M&T)

Supporting data for this example will be discussed in the next subsection.
The structure of (14a) is claimed to have the following structure.

(16)

```
                vP
              /    \
          Taroo     v'
                  /    \
               VP1      v
             /    \
     Hanako-dat    V1'
                 /    \
              VP2      V1
            /    \
          PP      V2'
        /  \     /   \
    Tokyo   to  a package  V2
                            |
                          send
```

Hanako-dat => high goal

Tokyo-to => low goal

(M&T)
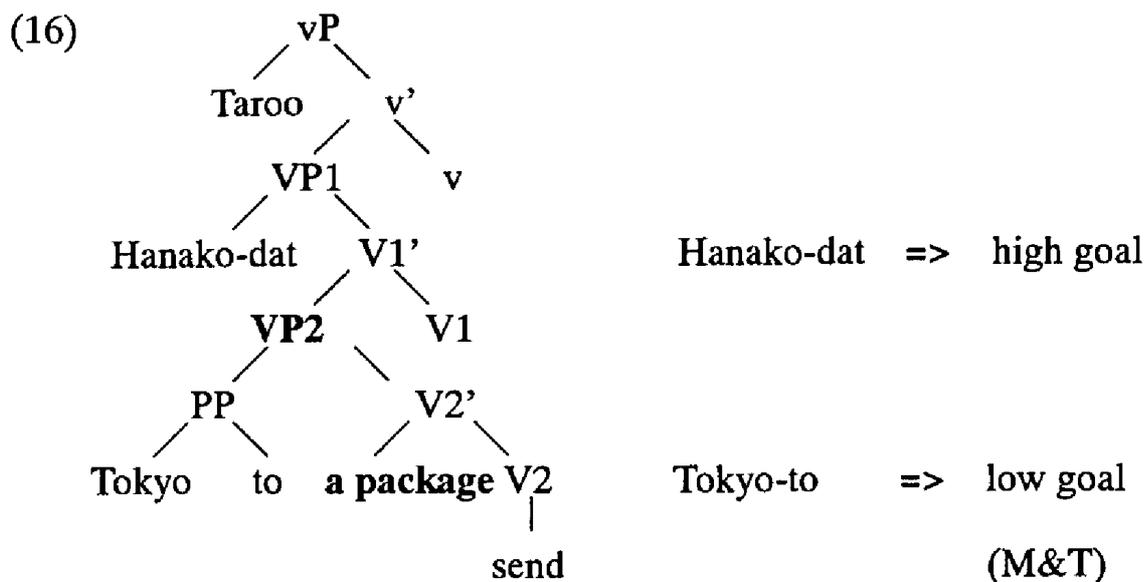
Although they have not given the structure for (14b), the following structure proves more viable.

(17)

```
                vP
              /    \
          Taroo     v'
                  /    \
               VP1      v
             /    \
     Hanako-dat    V1'
                 /    \
              VP2      V1
            /    \
       package    V2'
                 /    \
               PP      V2
             /  \      |
          Tokyo  to   send
```
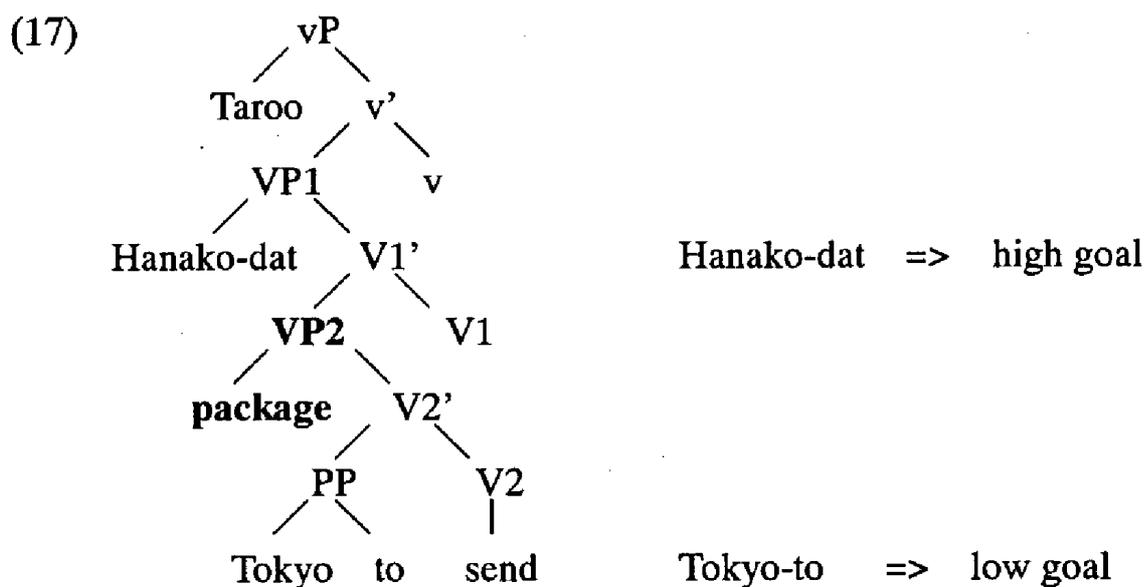
Hanako-dat => high goal

Tokyo-to => low goal

To summarize, there are basically three cases of ditransitive verbs with respect to the order of two internal arguments, a *ni*-phrase and an *o*-phrase. This is schematically shown in (18).

(18) a. NP-ga NP-ni **NP-o** V   high goal-**theme** order
      b. NP-ga **NP-o** NP-ni V   **theme**-low goal order
      c. NP-ga NP-ni **NP-o** V   low goal-**theme** order

2.2 Ditransitive Idioms in Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004)

One piece of the evidence that supports Miyagawa and Tsujioka's

analysis comes from the existence of idioms in the structure of (17) in which the combination of a *ni*-phrase and a ditransitive verb is an idiom. Particularly interesting is the existence of fixed idioms in both types of construction in (16) and (17). (Boxes and traces are added here to show the idiomatic part.)

<Fixed idioms with ditransitive verbs>

(19) *goal-V type idiom*

    a. Taroo-wa omotta koto-o | kuti-ni   dasu |

          -top   thought matter-acc mouth-to let.out

        'Taroo says what's on his mind.'

    b. ??? ... | kuti-ni | omotta koto-o | *t* dasu |

(20) *theme-V type idiom*

    a. Taroo-wa hito-no   koto-ni | kuti-o   dasu |

                person-gen business-to   mouth-acc let.out

        'Taroo cuts in on someone else's business.'

    b. * ... | kuti-o | hito-no koto-ni | *t* dasu |.

(21) a. Taroo-wa sainoo-o | hana-ni   kaketeiru |

                talent-acc nose-to   hanging

        'Taroo always boasts of his talent.'

    b. * ... | hana-ni | sainoo-o | *t* kaketeiru |

(22) a. Taroo-wa sono giron-ni | hakusya-o   kaketa |

                that controversy-to spur-acc   hang

        'Taroo added fresh fuel to the controversy.'

    b. * ... | hakusya-o | sono giron-ni | *t* kaketa |

(23) a. Taroo-wa kuruma-o | te-ni   ireta |

            car-acc   hand-in put in

        'Troo acquired a car.'

    b. *| te-ni | kuruma-o | *t* ireta |.

(24) a. Taroo-wa genkoo-ni | te-o   ireta |.

            draft-to   hand-acc put in

    b. *| te-o | genkoo-ni | *t* ireta |.

   ((18)-(24) from Miyagawa & Tsujioka (2004))

Take the idioms in (19) and (20), for example. The verb, *dasu,* is used in both examples. One of its arguments is the same NP, *kuti* 'mouth,' in both

examples. The difference lies in the case-marker. In (19), the case-marker of *kuti* is dative (or a *to*-phrase in Miyagawa & Tsujioka) while in (20) it is accusative. Because these idioms can not allow the movement of the argument in question, *kuti-ni/o*, as shown in (b)-examples, (a)-examples are considered to reflect their basic orders. Thus, the existence of these two types of idioms with respect to their case-markers, particularly the one in (19), supports their analysis. The same holds of the pair (21) and (22), and also the pair (23) and (24).

To summarize, there are idioms in the following structures.

(25) a. Subj NP-ni $\boxed{\text{NP-o V}}$ low goal - theme 'Y-ni kuti-o das'
     b. Subj NP-o $\boxed{\text{NP-ni V}}$ theme - low goal 'Y-o kuti-ni das'
     c. X-ga Y-ni/o $\boxed{\text{Z-o/ni V}}$ (Z is a theme or a low goal.)

If the parts of the idiom are required to be base-generated adjacent to each other as Miyagawa & Tsujioka assume with Larson 1988, the idioms will have the following structures.

(26) a.   low goal - theme   b.   theme - low goal
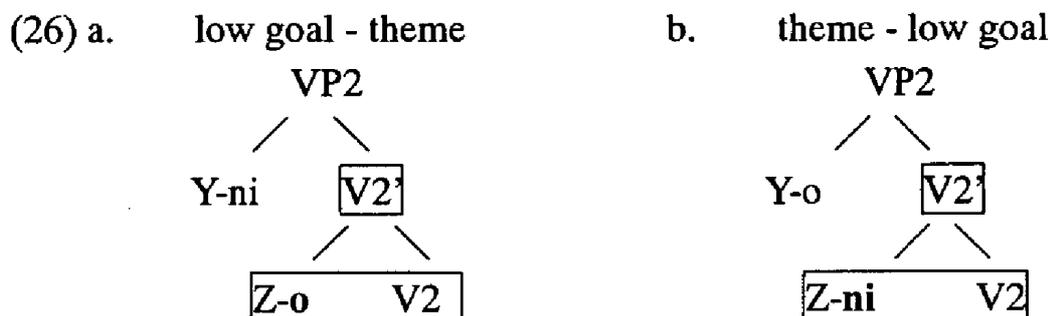
The boxed portion is fixed in the sense that abstractly the argument Z cannot be moved out of the box, some projection of V.

3   On the Position of *Ga*-Marked Subject in Passive Sentences

In this section, we will look at some examples relevant to the position of the subject of passive sentences with fixed ditransitive idioms. The examples are thought of as suggesting the existence of the *ga*-marked NP (subject) in-situ, supporting such analyses as those by Fukui (1986), Kuroda (1988), Miyagawa (2001), among others.

3.1 Passive Sentences

Let us first consider a simple case of passive sentences.

(27) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-o   tasuketa.
          -nom   -acc   saved

    'Taroo saved Hanako.'

      b. Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-ga   tasuke-rareta.
          -by   **-nom**   was-saved

    'Hanako was saved by Taroo.'

      c. Hanako-ga Taroo-niyotte   tasuke-rareta.
          -nom   -by   was-saved

There are several types of passive sentence in Japanese. The examples in (27) are called *niyotte*-passive, the subject position of which has been assumed to be a non-theta position (See Kuroda (1979), Hoshi (1994)). Thus, *niyotte*-passive is similar to English passive sentences. The question here is whether the nominative subject of Japanese passive sentences must be moved to the non-theta position, namely, the Spec of TP, like English passives.

(28) a.   **Hanako-$_i$** was saved t-$_i$ by Taroo

      b.   **Hanako-$_i$** -ga Taroo-niyotte t-$_i$ tasuke-rare-ta

If the movement is obligatory, then the example (27b) will be represented as follows.

(29) a. [Taroo-niyotte-$_j$ [$_{TP}$ **Hanako-$_i$** -ga   t-$_j$ t-$_i$ tasuke-rare-ta]]

      b. [Taroo-niyotte-$_j$ [$_{TP}$ **Hanako-$_i$** -ga   t-$_i$ t-$_j$ tasuke-rare-ta]]

(29a, b) are the case in which *Taroo-niyotte* is also moved to the position higher than *Hanako-ga*, probably by scarmbling. The difference is the starting position of *Taroo-niyotte*, which is not really an issue at this point.

This movement analysis follows if languages employ the same mechanism. In the Government and Binding theory (Chomsky (1981)), nominative case is assigned to an NP in the Spec of IP (TP). Given the D-structure, in which theta roles are assigned/satisfied, a nominative NP (subject) must move to the Spec of IP to get case-marked. In the Minimalist Program (Chomsky (1995, 1998, 2001, 2004)) this movement is due to feature checking, whether the relevant feature is a case feature or

EPP. Thus, if Japanese, like English, has the same mechanism of whatever captures the checking, the nominative NP should be moved.[7] This movement is motivated by the mechanism a theory is assumed to provide. The movement analysis is, thus, well motivated by a theory-internal mechanism, which seems to be a good indication of the universality of language, as long as it captures the empirical facts.

Without this theoretical assumption of universality, however, just by looking at the examples in (27), we cannot actually tell whether the nominative subject must be moved like many cases of English which requires the subject position to be filled.[8]
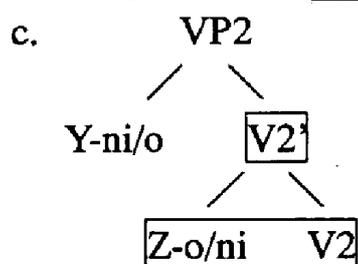
What is more, there are some examples which show that the nominative subject in Japanese may stay in-situ, at least in the passive sentences that we will see in the following subsection.

3.2 Passivization of Ditransitive Idioms

In this subsection, we will demonstrate that the nominative subject may stay in-situ, based on the observation of ditransitive idioms. Remember that there are idioms which are fixed in the sense that the part of it can not be moved. The boxed portion is a fixed idiom.

(30) a. kuti-o dasu, kuti-ni dasu, te-o ireru, te-ni ireru
      b. X-ga Y-ni/o $\boxed{\text{Z-o/ni V}}$
      c.   VP2
              ╱   ╲
         Y-ni/o $\boxed{\text{V2'}}$
                  ╱ ╲
            $\boxed{\text{Z-o/ni}\quad \text{V2}}$

In these idioms of Miyagawa & Tsujioka, the fixed argument Z cannot be

---

[7] More recently, Miyagawa (2001, 2004) present an EPP account for the movement of NP to the Spec of TP, in which not only nominative NPs but also accusative NPs as well as *wh*-PPs can be moved. Non *wh*-PP cannot be moved to satisfy EPP, so that *Hanako-ga* in our example must be moved for the EPP of T. I will discuss the implication of our examples to his theory later.

[8] In *there*-construction, the nominative subject can be considered to stay in its originally merged position. In Collins (1997) as well as Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001), quotative inversion involves not a movement of a nominative subject, but a movement of an empty operator standing for the quoted part to the Spec of T. See Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou for the discussion of the subject in-situ in other languages.

moved. With this in mind, let us consider the passivization of these idioms. First, in the following passive examples, the loose argument *Y* is the subject.

(31) a. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-e-no omoi-ga | kuti-ni   das | are-ta.
               -by   -to-gen thought-**nom** mouth-to let.out pass.
        Lit. 'The thought about Hanako was put to the mouth by Taroo.'
      b. Taroo-niyotte   sono jiken-ga | kuti-o   das | are-ta.
             -by   the   incident-**nom**   mouth-acc let.out   pass.
        Lit. 'The incident was cut in on by Taroo.'

(32) a. Hanako-e-no omoi-ga   Taroo-niyotte | kuti-ni   das | are-ta.
          -to-gen thought-**nom**   -by   mouth-to   let.out passive
      b. sono jiken-ga   Taroo-niyotte | kuti-o   das | are-ta.
        the   incident-**nom**   -by   mouth-acc   pass.

A loose argument *Y* can be moved unlike *Z*. Thus, these examples can not tell us whether the nominative subject must be moved or not, just in the case of a simple passive sentence in (27).

    Now consider the following examples.

(33) Passive sentences with ditransitive idioms
      a.*Taroo-niyotte Hanako-e-no   omoi-o | kuti-ga   das | are-ta.
             -by   -to-gen   thought-acc mouth-**nom** let.out pass.
        Lit. 'The mouth was put the thought about Hanako to by Taroo.'
      b. Taroo-niyotte   sono jiken-ni | kuti-ga   das | are-ta.
             -by   the   incident-to mouth-**nom** let.out   pass.
        Lit. 'The mouth was put to the incident by Taroo.'
      c. *Taroo-niyotte   e-no sainoo-o | hana-ga   kake | rare-ta
             -by   piture's talent-acc   nose-**nom** hang   pass
        Lit. 'The nose was hang the talent of pitures to by Taroo.'
      d. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-to-no   giron-ni | hakusya-ga kake | rare-ta
             -by   -with-gen discussion-to spur-**nom**   hang   passt
       . Lit. 'The spur was hang to the discussion by Taroo.'
      e. *Taroo-niyotte   RVsha-o | te-ga   ire | rare-ta
             -by   SUV-acc   hand-**nom** put.in   pass.-past

Lit. 'The hand was put in an SUV to by Taroo.'

f. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-ni 　te-ga　ire　rare-ta

　　-by　　　　　　-gen draft-to　hand-**nom** put.in　pass.

Lit. 'The hand was put in to Hanko's draft by Taroo.'

'Some changes were made in Hanako's draft by Taroo.'

The examples (33a, c, e) show that if the argument Z is originally marked with -*ni*, 'to' in Miyagawa & Tsujioka, the passivization is not possible.[9] But if the argument Z is originally marked with -*o*, accusative case, then the passivization is possible as shown in (33 b, d, f).

If the idiom involved in passivization is a loose one, then even the nominative NP which is part of an idiom can be moved (Hoshi (1991)).

(34)　a.　Taroo-ga Hanako-no sigoto-ni　keti-**o**　　　　　tuketa.

　　　　　　-nom　　-gen work-to　badness(evil omen) put

　　　'Taroo found fault with Hanako's work.'

　　b.　Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no sigoto-ni　keti-**ga**　　tuke-rareta.

　　　　-by　　　　　　-gen　-to　　**-nom**　　put passive.

　　c.　keti-**ga** Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no sigoto-ni　t　tuke-rareta.

　　　　-nom　-by　　　　　-gen　-to　　　put passive.

What do these passive examples indicate? Notice that these ditransitive idioms provide the interesting environment which an oridinary transitive idiom like English *spill the bean* cannot offer. That is, in passivization of an internal argument of ditransitve idioms, there is one more argument remaining in VP (or possibly in the Spec of TP given Miyagawa's (2001) analysis of EPP) even after the external argument (the original subject) is demoted to an adjunct. By this remaining internal argument, we can test the position of the nominative NP which is lower than the remaining argument. Thus, the examples above can be taken to show that the nominative NP (the subject) stays in-situ if we assume the dative argument (the other internal argument) also stays in-situ, at least

---

[9] In Miyagawa & Tsujioka, there are two *ni*-phrases. One is a high goal, which is located higher than a theme argument, an accusative NP. The other is a low goal, which is lower than a theme. The high goal is considered to have dative case while the low goal is assumed to be a PP, which explains the (im)possibility of passivization. PPs cannot be passivized.

inside VP, which seems to be a natural assumption unless there is any evidence against it. This is shown in (35).

(35) (= 33 b, d, f)

a. Taroo-niyotte [VP sono jiken-ni | kuti-ga das |] are-ta.

b. Taroo-niyotte [VP Hanako-to-no giron-ni | hakusya-ga kake |] rare-ta

c. Taroo-niyotte [VP Hanako-no genkoo-ni | te-ga ire |] rare-ta

d. X-by   [VP Y-dat | Z-nom   V |] passive-past

These examples in (35) roughly correspond to the ungrammatical English example in (36c), in which the direct object and the *to*-phrase remain in VP. (The example is taken from Fraser (1970), and is modified a little.)

(36) a. John read the riot act to Bob. loose idiom

  b. **The riot act** was [VP read *t*   to Bob (by John)].

  c. * [ ]   was [VP read **the riot act** to Bob (by John)].
              nom

Now consider the case in which the nominative NP is moved. The case corresponds to the English case of (36b) structurally.[10] Since the idioms are fixed, as observed in the previous section, the passivization cannot be obtained because the movement breaks the fixed idiom.

(37) a. *Taroo-niyotte | kuti$_i$-ga | [VP sono jiken-ni | t$_i$ das |] are-ta.

  b. *Taroo-niyotte | hakusya$_i$-ga | [VP Hanako-to-no giron-ni

    | t$_i$ kake |] rare-ta

  c. *Taroo-niyotte | te$_i$-ga | [VP Hanako-no genkoo-ni | t$_i$ ire |]rare-ta

  d. * Taroo-by | Z$_i$-nom | [VP Y-dat | t$_i$ V |] passive

The position to which the nominative NP moves is irrelevant here.

By assuming that the *ni*-phrase stays·in-situ, it can be said that the nominative NP, the subject of passives, stays in-situ, at least, in this case. This does not mean that every nominative NP must stay in-situ. It can stay in-situ. In our examples, however, it must stay there, because of the fixedness of the idioms. This is summarized in (38).

---

[10] The English idiom, *read the riot act to*, is not fixed as shown in (36b). The ungrammaticality of (36b) is due to the unsatisfied EPP.

(38) The nominative NP, the subject of passives, does not have to move to the Spec of TP in overt syntax to satisfy EPP/case.

This supports the analysis of Fukui (1986), Kuroda (1988), in which a nominative NP can stay in-situ from the theoretical point of view. Miyagawa (2001) also argues that the nominative DP (NP), the subject of a sentence, can stay in-situ, and that one of the DPs, the subject or the object, or *wh*-PP must be moved to the Spec of TP to satisfy EPP. The examples above seem to be compatible with his analysis. If we adopt his analysis, the structure will be something like (39).

(39) (= 33 b, d, f)

> X -by   Y-dat $\boxed{\text{Z-nom V}}$ passive
> a. Taroo-niyotte [$_{TP}$ sono jiken$_{-k}$ -ni [$_{VP}$ t$_{-k}$ $\boxed{\text{kuti-ga das}}$] are-ta]
> b. Taroo-niyotte [$_{TP}$ Hanako-to-no giron$_{-k}$ -ni [$_{VP}$ t$_{-k}$
> $\boxed{\text{hakusya-ga   kake}}$] rare-ta]
> c. Taroo-niyotte [$_{TP}$ Hanako-no genkoo$_{-k}$ -ni [$_{VP}$ t$_{-k}$
>   **EPP**
> $\boxed{\text{te-ga ire}}$] rare-ta]

What moves to the Spec of TP in this case is the *ni*-phrase.[11] The nominative case is Agreed with T, thereby getting valued in-situ. Thus, they can be taken to support Miyagawa's analysis from an angle different from his scopal evidence of scrambling involved.

3.3 An Alternative

There is still another possibility to those passive sentences with ditransitive idioms, which will be rejected in the following. Suppose that the nominative NP is actually in the Spec of TP as has been assumed partially in the literature, namely the movement analysis of passives.

(40) (= 33 b, d, f)

> a. Taroo-niyotte$_j$ [X sono jiken$_k$ -ni   [$_{TP}$ $\boxed{\text{kuti}_i\text{-ga   t}_j\text{ t}_k\text{ t}_i\text{   das}}$ are-ta]]
> b. Taroo-niyotte$_j$ [X Hanako-to-no giron$_k$ -ni [$_{TP}$ $\boxed{\text{hakusya}_i\text{-ga t}_j\text{ t}_k\text{ t}_i\text{ kake}}$ rare-ta]]

---

[11] Some modification is required to incorporate non-*wh* PPs, because in his system, a non-*wh* PP, in this case, the *ni*-phrase, can not satisfy the EPP. What is more, a question arises: is *Taroo-niyotte* also moved, or base-generated there? I leave them open here.

c. Taroo-niyotte$_j$ [X Hanako-no genkoo$_k$ -ni [$_{TP}$ te$_j$-ga t$_j$ t$_k$ t$_j$ ire rare-ta]]

If this were the case, the dative NP, possibly the *by*-phrase, should also be moved to the position higher than the nominative NP. Then, the projection X is some projection of T, or the higher projection, namely, CP.

In this case, the idiom should be assumed to respect the surface order as the boxes indicate. But if what is relevant to the movement possibility was the surface order, it would mean that the difference in the movement possibility should also be related to the surface order, which is hard to define. It is because we would have to say that in some case, it should respect the surface order while in another case, it does not have to. Without anything other than the surface order to rely on, for example, without representations of their structures, it is difficult to say which idiom is fixed and which one is not. This is one problem which the structures in (40) pose. In the remainder of this section, we will present some examples which pose other structural problems to the analysis in which the subject of our examples is in the Spec TP.

3.3.1 Adverb Insertion

3.3.1.1 TP Adverbs and VP Adverbs

It will be shown that the structures in (40) are not right. Let us look at some examples with sentential (TP) adverbs or VP/vP adverbs.[12] Following Ueda (1993), the sentential adverb, for example, *saiwaini* 'fortunately' is a TP adverb, which must be licensed in TP.[13] The manner adverb, *tyuuibukaku* 'carefully' is a VP/vP adverb, which must be licensed in VP/vP. (In Ueda (1993), the position of sentential adverbs is assumed to be adjoined to IP (now TP). (For the precise definition of the position see Ueda (1993).) This is shown in (41).

(41)   TP(T')   VP(V')

        / \\   / \\

   saiwaini   tyuuibukaku

---

[12] The distinction between vP and VP is not made here. VP is used throughout this paper.

[13] The adverb *saiwaini* can be a CP adverb licensed in CP. We will assume it to be a TP adverb here because it does not affect our discussion below.

Let us further assume the following with respect to the scrambling of two types of adverb.

(42)   a. A TP-adverb cannot be scrambled down (to VP).

b. A VP-adverb can be scrambled up (to TP).

First consider the examples of a TP adverb.

(43)   *TP adverb*

a.   [TP **saiwaini** Taroo-ga   Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o   ireta]
        fortunately   -nom Hanako's   draft-to hand-acc put.in
        'Fortunately, Taroo improved Hanako's draft.'

b.   ?[TP Taroo-ga [T· **saiwaini** [VP Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o ireta]]

c.   *Taroo-ga [VP Hanako-no genkoo-ni **saiwaini** te-o ireta]

d.   *Taroo-ga [VP Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o **saiwaini** ireta]

If the TP adverb appears in VP, for example between a verb and its object, the sentence is ungrammatical. Otherwise, the sentence seems to be good, although the sentence initial position sounds the best. The adverb in (43a, b) is licensed because it is in TP. In (43c, d), the adverb must be in VP, by the assumption (42b), which leads to the ungrammaticality.

Next, consider the case of a VP adverb. Its position is relatively free, as shown in (44).[14]

(44) *VP adverb*

a.   [TP **tyuuibukaku**_m Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o t.m ireta].
        carefully   -nom Hanako's   draft-to hand-acc put.in
        'Taroo improved Hanako's draft carefully.'

b.   [TP Taroo-ga **tyuuibukaku**_m Hanako-no genkoo-ni   te-o t_m   ireta].

c.   Taroo-ga [VP   Hanako-no genkoo-ni **tyuuibukaku** te-o t_m ireta].

d.   Taroo-ga [VP   Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o **tyuuibukaku** ireta].

If a VP adverb can be scrambled from its base-generated position in VP, as we assume here, then the adverb in (44) will be licensed. The adverb in (44a, b) is licensed in VP, and then it is scrambled to the sentence initial

---

14 Despite Muraki's observation, there are some adverbs which seem to be inside our idioms.

position.[15][16]

Now let us look at the passive case with those adverbs closely.

(45) *TP adverb in passive sentences*

a. **saiwaini** Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** | te-ga ire | rare-ta

   Taroo-by   Hanako's draft-to   hand-**nom**

b. ??Taroo-niyotte **saiwaini** Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** | te-ga ire | rare-ta

c. *?Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** **saiwaini** | te-ga ire | rare-ta

d. * Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** | te-ga | **saiwaini** | ire | rare-ta

(46) *VP adverb in passive sentences*

a. **tyuuibukaku**$_m$ Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** | te-ga t$_m$ ire | rare-ta

b. Taroo-niyotte **tyuuibukaku**$_m$ Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** | te-ga t$_m$ ire | rare-ta

c. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** **tyuuibukaku**$_m$ | te-ga t$_m$ ire | rare-ta

d. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** | te-ga | **tyuuibukaku** | ire | rare-ta

Almost the same pattern as the active one is observed here. That is, if the TP adverb is placed inside the VP as in (45c, d), the sentence is ungrammatical. On the other hand, the VP adverb can be placed rather freely.

There are two crucial contrasts between (45) and (46) to be explained. First, the most important contrast is shown in (47).

(47) *the contrast between (45c) and (46c)*

a. *?Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** **saiwaini** | te-ga ire | rare-ta

b. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-**ni** **tyuuibukaku**$_m$ | te-ga t$_m$ ire | rare-ta

Suppose that the nominative NP, *te-ga*, is in the Spec of TP as in (48).

---

15 In (44a), *Taroo* may be in the VP internal position, like the nominative subject of our idiom examples.

i. [$_{TP}$ [e] [$_{VP}$ **tyuuibukaku** Taroo-ga [Hanko-no genkoo-ni te-o ireta]]]

If the EPP of T must be satisfied overtly in Japanese, *Taroo* should be in the Spec of TP. If this is the case, the adverb should be scrambled to the sentence initial position as in (44a).

16 Base-generation of the VP adverb in TP cannot be maintained.

i. [TP **tyuuibukaku** [Taroo-ga [VP Hanako-no genkoo-ni te-o ireta]]

   carefully   -nom   's draft-to hand-acc put.in

There must be a relation between the adverb and the V(P) it modifies. If the adverb were base-generated in TP, we would lose the way to capture the relation which otherwise would be in the structure, for example a trace/copy in the VP.

(48) a.*?Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni [$_{TP}$ saiwaini [$_{TP}$ te-ga ire   rare-ta]

    b.   Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni [$_{TP}$ tyuuibukaku$_{-m}$[$_{TP}$ te-ga t$_m$ ire
    rare-ta]

Since the nominative NP is in the Spec of TP, both adverbs should be in the projection equal to or higher than TP. By the assumption (42), the VP adverb can be scrambled, as shown in (48b). Then both adverbs should be licensed, contrary to the fact. This is the major problem to the structure (48), suggesting that in fact the nominative NP is not in the Spec of TP.

    Next consider the contrast in (49).

(49)   *the contrast between (45d) and (46d)*
    a. *Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni   te-ga   saiwaini   ire   rare-ta
    b.   Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni   te-ga   tyuuibukaku   ire   rare-ta

A minor problem arises in assuming that the nominative NPs of (49) are in the Spec of TP. Suppose again that *te-ga* is in the Spec of TP.

(50)(=(49))   *the contrast between (45d) and (46d)*
    a. *Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni   [$_{TP}$ te-ga   [$_X$ saiwaini   ire   rare-ta]]
    b.   Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni   [$_{TP}$ te-ga   [$_X$ tyuuibukaku   ire
    rare-ta]]

The problem lies in the determination of the category X in (50). If X is V-related, which is possible there, then the contrast will be accounted for. Because the TP adverb is in VP, it is not licensed. There is, however, another possibility: X is T-related, for example T'. Then the TP adverb in (50a) should be licensed, though in fact, it is not. The VP adverb in (50b) can be licensed lower and moved to the position. Depending on the category of X, the TP adverb in (50) should be licensed if X is T-related, or it should not be licensed if X is V-related. Thus, if we can guarantee that X is V-related in (50), the contrast will be accounted. It seems, however, hard to do so. In particular, it is hard to guarantee that X is V-related in (50a).

    Suppose on the other hand that the nominative NPs in (48) and (49) are not in the Spec of TP, but in VP, or more precisely stay in-situ. Let us consider the clearer case (49) first.

(51) (=(49)) *the contrast between (45d) and (46d)*

a. *Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-ni [$_{VP}$ te-ga] [$_X$ saiwaini [ire] rare-ta]]

b. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-ni [$_{VP}$ te-ga] [$_X$ tyuuibukaku [ire]
rare-ta]]

If the nominative NP is in VP, then X cannot be T-related. It must be
V-related. If so, the contrast will be accounted because the TP adverb in
(51a) cannot be licensed. The VP adverb in a V-related projection is
licensed.

As suggested in considering the structures (50), the nominative NP
te-ga is in VP in (52) now.

(52)(=(47)) *the contrast between (45c) and (46c)*

a. *?Taroo-niyotte [$_\alpha$ Hanako-no genkoo-ni [$_X$ saiwaini [$_{VP}$ te-ga ire] rare-ta]

b.   Taroo-niyotte [$_\alpha$ Hanako-no genkoo-ni [$_X$ tyuuibukaku$_m$ [$_{VP}$ te-ga t$_m$ ire]
rare-ta]

A problem similar to that in (50) seems to arise. If X is V-related, the
contrast will be accounted. If X is T-related, it cannot. Thus, if we can
guarantee that X is V-related, then we can explain the contrast. This time,
however, there is one thing different from (50). That is, the *to*-phrase,
Hanako-no genkoo-ni, can be considered to be in VP. If α is VP, which
is a reasonable assumption, then the TP adverb must be in VP, by which
we can account for the fact that it is not licensed. On the other hand, the
to-phrase in (50) cannot be in VP, with the problem remaining there.

To summarize, it has been shown that if the nominative NP, which is a
part of a fixed idiom, is in VP, not in TP, then the contrasts with respect to
a TP adverb and a VP one will be accounted.

(53)   Contrast   *te-ga* in TP   *te-ga* in VP(in-situ)
          (47)   *(50)   ok (51)
          (49)   *(48)   ok (52)

3. 4 Summary

What we have seen is summarized schematically in (54).

(54) a.   X-nom   Y-dat   Z-acc   V
     b.   X-by   Y-dat   Z-nom   V-passive

c. *X-by [Z-nom] Y-dat [t-z V]-passive

What is crucial is that the passivization of Z in (54a) is possible if it stays in-situ as in (54b). If it moves as in (54c), then the sentence loses its idiomatic reading. This suggests the following.

(55) The nominative subject of a direct passive sentence in Japanese can stay in-situ. It does not have to move to the Spec of TP (IP) to satisfy EPP, or nominative case feature.

This supports such analyses as Fukui (1986), Kuroda (1988), and Miyagawa (2001), from empirical grounds. What is more, our case suggests a stronger version (56) from the empirical point of view.

(56) In the idiom case we have seen, the nominative NP may not move to the Spec of TP in overt syntax.[17]

4. *Ga-No* (Nominative-Genitive) Conversion

In this section, we will discuss the position of a genitive NP in the case of *ga-no* (nominative-genitive) conversion. Because the genitive NP is from the corresponding nominative NP, they are expected to share the same property with respect to the position if a fixed ditransitive idiom is involved.

In Japanese, there has been observed a case-alternation phenomenon called *ga-no* (nominative-genitive) conversion. Some relevant points will be summarized.[18]

(57) a. [[kinoo Taroo-**ga** katta] hon]
       yesterda -**nom** bought book
       'the book(s) which Taroo bouth yesterday'

---

[17] There remain important questions. First, Akira Watanabe (personal communication) pointed out that those NP which can stay in-situ are indefinite NPs and that the nominative NPs remain indefinite both in the active and passive sentences. The question is: is there a case in which a nominative subject obligatorily moves to the Spec of TP. Second, Nobuko Hasegawa (personal communication) raised a question related to this. How is the nominative NP in-situ interpreted? I speculate that it is interpreted there because it is a part of an idiom. But I will leave these questions open for future research.

[18] See Harada (1971), Inoue (1976), Watanabe (1994), among others, for details.

b. [[kinoo Taroo-**no** katta] hon]

      -gen

c. Taroo-ga/*no kinoo hon-o katta.

      -nom/-gen

      'Taroo bought the book(s).'

In a relative clause, not in the matrix clause, the nominative subject, *Taroo-ga*, can be changed into the genitive NP, *Taroo-no*. The same is true in the case of nominalization.

(58) a. [[Taroo-ga   Itariago-**ga** dekiru] wake/koto]

         -nom   Italian-**nom** can   reason/fact

    'the reason/fact that Taroo can speak Italian'

    b. [[Taroo-ga   Itariago-**no** dekiru] wake/koto]

          -nom   **-gen**

    c. Taroo-ga Itariago-ga/*no dekiru.

               -nom/gen

    'Taroo can speak Italian.'

If there is an accusative marked object, a nominative NP cannot be genitive. Scrambling of the accusative NP cannot improve the grammaticality.

(59) a. [[Taroo-ga sono hon-o yonda] wake/koto]

           -nom   -acc read   reason/fact

    b. *[[Taroo-no sono hon-o yonda] wake/koto]

         -gen   -acc

    c. *[[sono hon-o Taroo-no yonda] wake/koto]

When the accusative object is the head of a relative clause, *ga-no* conversion is possible even if some other argument is scrambled.

(60) a. ??[[Taroo-no Hanako-ni   kasita] hon]

             -gen   -dat lent   book

      'the book which Taroo lent to Taroo'

    b.   [[Hanako-ni Taroo-no kasita] hon]   (Inoue (1976))

           -dat   -gen

The question here is what licenses the genitive NP.[19] Many studies argue that it is licensed by the N head in the relative clause or nominalized clause (Fukui & Nishigauchi (1992), Miyagawa (1993), Saito (1982), among others). This seems natural if there is no N head as in (72c), the conversion is not possible. Watanabe 1994, on the other hand, argues that this is related to *wh*-agreement observed in other languages, not the existence of the N head itself, trying to capture the strong similarities between *ga-no* conversion and French stylistic inversion.

Related to this question is the question as to where the genitive NP is. According to Watanabe (1994), the genitive NP stays in-situ and at LF it is licensed in AgrsP, one of the projections of Inflection. Miyagawa (1997) also argues from the discussion of T-related adverb like *yesterday*, that the genitive NP stays in-situ, and at LF, it is licensed.[20]

We will present some examples that support this analysis of the position of the genitive NP. First, remember that the passivization is possible when the nominative NP stays in-situ.
(Repeated here as (61))

(61) = (33b, d, f)

  a. Taroo-niyotte sono jiken-ni | **kuti-ga**   das| are-ta.

      -by   the incident-dat   **mouth-nom**   pass.-past

  b. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-to-no giron-ni |hakusya-ga kake| rare-ta

  c. Taroo-niyotte Hanako-no genkoo-ni |te-ga ire| rare-ta

From these examples, we can make the following examples in which the nominative NP is changed to a genitive NP.

(62) *ga-no* conversion

  a. [[Taroo-niyotte sono jiken-ni | **kuti-no das**| are-ta] riyuu]

      -by   the incident-dat   **mouth-gen** pass.-past reason

    'the reason why some changes were made in Hanako's draft by Taroo'

---

19 This is beyond the scope of this paper. Assuming the N(D) head is enough for the purpose here.

20 See also Hasegawa (1995) for the DP analysis, in which a genitive NP is argued to move to the Spec of DP. For the recent development of the analysis of *ga-no* conversion, see Hiraiwa (2000). For a different view, see Hoshi (2002), in which a genitive NP is base-generated in the projection of N, with his head adjunction structure and nonconfigurational theta marking.

b. [[Taroo-niyotte Hanako-to-no   giron-ni   ⌐hakusya-**no** kake⌐
        -by   -with-gen discussion-dat spur-**gen**   put
   rare-ta]   mondai]
   ass.-past   problem
   'the problem that fresh fuel was added to the discussion with Hanako by Taroo'

c. [[Taroo-niyotte   Hanako-no genkoo-ni ⌐te-**no**   ire⌐ rare-ta] koto]
                                draft-dat hand-**gen** put pass.   fact
   'the fact that some changes were made in Hanako's draft by Taroo'

If the genitive NP is scrambled as is possible in the ordinary case, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

(63)   *ga-no* conversion
   a.   *[[Taroo-niyotte ⌐kuti-**no**⌐   sono jiken-ni ⌐ *t* das⌐ are-ta] riyuu]
             -by   mouth-**gen**   the incident-dat pass.-past   reason
   b. *[[Taroo-niyotte ⌐hakusya-**no**⌐ Hanako-to-no   giron-ni   ⌐ *t*   kake⌐
             -by   spur-**gen**   -with-gen discussion-dat put
      rare-ta]   mondai]
      pass.-past   problem
   c. *[[Taroo-niyotte ⌐te-**no**⌐ Hanako-no genkoo-ni ⌐ *t* ire⌐ rare-ta] koto]
                 hand-**gen**   -gen draft-dat   put pass.-past   fact

From what we observed, we can make the same claim as the nominative NP in the passives.

(64)   A genitive NP can stay in-situ. At least, in the above examples, it must stay in-situ.[21]

The same observation can be made with other constructions. First in the desiderative sentence, the nominative object is possible.[22] [23]

---

21 If a quantifier is attached to a non-idiomatic genitive NP, it can move. Quantifiers generally cannot be attached to a NP which is a part of an idiom.

22 For details of nominative objects, see Kuno (1973), Takezawa (1987), Tada (1992), Ura (1999) and the references therein.

23 Some speakers find this sentence not good. However, they find the contrast between (65a) and (i).

i. *Taroo-ga ⌐ te-_j -ga⌐ Hanako-no genkoo-ni ⌐ t_j ire⌐ tai.

(65) Desiderative sentences

    a. Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{\text{te-ga ire}}$ tai (to omotteiru)

        -nom   -gen draft-dat hand-**nom** put want (think)

    Lit. 'Taroo want to put hand to Hanako's draft.'

        'Taroo want to make some changes in Hanako's draft.'

    b. [[Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{\text{te-ga ire}}$ tai] wake]

                                 -nom   reason

    'the reason why Taroo wants to make some changes in Hanako's draft'

We can change the nominative object into a genitive NP as in (66b). There is, however, one restriction which we have seen several times above. That is, we cannot move the genitive NP out of the idiomatic VP.

(66) a. [[Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{\text{te-no ire}}$ tai] wake]

                                        -gen   reason

    b. *[[Taroo-ga $\boxed{\text{te-no}}$ Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{t \text{ ire}}$ tai] wake]

              -gen   reason

Thus, it must stay in-situ, as in the above discussion.

    Secondly, *tough*-sentences allow nominative objects.[24] Exactly the same pattern is observed here.

(67) *Tough*-sentences

    a. Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{\text{te-ga ire}}$ nikui

        -nom   -gen draft-dat   hand-**nom** put   tough

        'It is tough for Taroo to make some changes in Hanako's draft.'

    b. [[Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{\text{te-ga ire}}$ nikui] wake]

                                     -nom   reason

    'the reason why it is tough for Taroo to make some changes in Hanako's draft'

    c. [[Taroo-ga Hanako-no genkoo-ni $\boxed{\text{te-no ire}}$ nikui] wake]

                                       -gen tough reason

---

[24] There are two to four types of tough-sentence in Japanese. See Inoue (1976), Saito (1982), Kaneko (1994) for details. The examples in this paper are the type in which the object of the embedded clause is nominative.

— 27 —

d. *[[Taroo-ga te-no Hanako-no genkoo-ni [t ire nikui] wake]
-gen   tough   reason

The (a) example is a *tough*-sentence with a nominative object, which the (b) example embeds. The nominative object in (b) can be changed into a genitive case in-situ. Once it is moved, then it breaks the idiomatic reading, leading to the ungrammaticality.

To summarize, we have seen mainly two types of *ga-no* conversion by using the fixed idioms with ditransitive verbs. One is the nominative NP of passivization, and the other is the case of nominative objects. In every case, if our fixed idioms are involved, the nominative NP in question, which can be a genitive NP, must stay in-situ, at least in overt syntax. This observation is compatible with Ura's analysis of the dative subject construction involving a nominative object.

(68)   a. Taroo-ni   Itariago-ga   wakaru (koto)
          Taroo-dat   Italian-nom   understand (fact)
          'Taroo understand Italian.'
       b. [TP Taroo$_i$ -ni   [vP t$_i$ [VP Itariago-ga waka] ru
          EPP

Although this is not a scrambling case discussed by Miyagawa, it shares an important property in satisfying EPP. Namely, the dative NP is assumed to satisfy the EPP of T. Thus, the nominative object stays in-situ. Our idioms further support such an analysis in which a nominative object can stay in-situ.

5. Concluding Remarks

We have considered phenomena concerning Japanese ditransitive idioms. We have seen, on the basis of the observation of Muraki (1985) and Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004), that there are two types of idioms with respect to the possibility of moving a part of an idiom. Using the fixed idioms in which a part of an idiom cannot be moved, we have seen the possibility and impossibility of passivization, and *ga-no* conversion. From these examples, we have been led to the conclusion that the nominative NP, importantly the subject, does not have to move overtly to

the Spec of TP to satisfy EPP of T. More importantly, we have been led to propose a stronger version that in our examples of fixed idioms, the nominative (idiomatic) subject must stay in-situ at least overtly. In relation to this, the genitive (idiomatic) NP of a sentence with nominative-genitive conversion has been shown to behave in the same way as the corresponding sentence with a nominative NP. If the analysis here is on the right track, it will support the previous analysis of Japanese nominative subject by Fukui (1986) and Kuroda (1988). It is also compatible with the analysis of Miyagawa (2001), in which A-scrambling is EPP-driven, so that a dative NP can satisfy EPP of T as well as a nominative NP (subject).

References

Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 2001. The subject-in-situ generalization and the role of case in driving computations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:193-231.

Aoun, Joseph and Yen-hui Audrey Li. 1989. Constituency and scope. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 141-172.

Bedell, George, Eichi Kobayashi, & Masatake Muraki (eds.) 1979. *Explorations in Linguistics: Papers in honor of Kazuko Inoue.* Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Bresnan, Joan. 1982. *The mental representation of grammatical relations.* Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Collins, Chris. 1997. *Local economy.* Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding Theory.* Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program.* Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phrase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), 1-52.

Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In Belletti (ed.) *Structure and Beyond,* 104-131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harada, Shin-Ichi. 1971. Ga-no conversion and idiolectal variations in Japanese. *Gengo-Kenkyu* 60:25-38.

Harada, Shin-Ichi. 1976. Ga-no conversion revisited. *Gengo-Kenkyu* 70:23-38.

Fraser, Bruce. 1970. Idioms within a Transformational Grammar. *Foundations of Language* 6: 22-42.

Fujimaki, Kazuma 2005. Nihongo sankoo doosi no kan'yooku ni tuite. In *Journal of Tokyo International University* 1:69-80. School of Language and Communication, Tokyo International University, Kawagoe, Japan.

Fukui, Naoki. 1986. A theory of category projection and its applications. Doctoral dissertation, MIT. [Published as *Theory of projection in syntax*. CSLI & Kurosio Publishers. 1995]

Hasegawa, Nobuko. 1995. 'No' no shintakkusu: Minimalist Program no tachiba kara, *Gengo* 24-11: 62-69.

Hiraiwa, Ken. 2000. On nominative-genitive conversion. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 39: 67-125.

Hoji, Hajime. 1985. Logical Form constraints and configurational structures in Japanese. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.

Hoshi, Hiroto. 1991. The generalized projection principle and its implication for passive constructions. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 13:53-89.

Hoshi, Hiroto. 1994. Passive, causative, and light verbs: A study on theta role assignment. Doctoral dissertation, University of Conneticut.

Hoshi, Hiroto. 2002. (Non)configurational theta marking. In *Proceedings of Linguistics and Phonetics 2002*, Charles University and Meikai University.

Inoue, Kazuko. 1976. *Henkei bunpoo to nihongo zyo*. Tokyo:Taishukan.

Kageyama, Taro. 1993. *Bunpo to gokeisei*. Tokyo:Hitsujishobo.

Kaneko, Yoshiaki. 1994. Some topics in Tough constructions. In Nakamura, Masaharu (ed.) *Current Topics in English and Japanese*, 27-52. Tokyo:Hituzi Syobo.

Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1994. Nominative object: The role of TP in Japanese. In Koizumi, Masatoshi and Hiroyuki Ura (eds.) *MIT*

Working Papers in Linguistics 24: Formal Approaches to Japanese Linguistics 1, 211-230.

Kuno, Susumu.1973. *The structure of the Japanese language.* Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Kuroda, S.-Y. 1979. On Japanese passives. In Bedell, G., Kobayashi, E., & Muraki, M. (eds.). 1979, 305-347.

Michael Kenstovicz (ed.) 2001. *Ken Hale: a life in language.* Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1993. LF case-checking and minimal link condition. In C. Phillips (ed.) *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 19: Papers on case and agreement,* 213-254.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1997. Against optional scrambling. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28(1): 1-25

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2001. The EPP, scrambling and *wh*-in-situ. In Michael Kenstovicz (ed.), 293-338.

Miyagawa, Shigeru, and Takae Tsujioka. 2004. Argument structure and ditransitive Verbs in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 13:1-38.

Miyaji, Yutaka. 1982. *Kanyooku no imi to yoohoo.* Meijishoin.

Muraki, Shinjiro. 1985. Kanyooku, kinoo doosiketugo, ziyuuna goketugoo. *Nihongogaku* 1(4):15-27.

Newmeyer J. Frederick. 1974. The regularity of idiom behavior. *Lingua,* 34: 327-342.

Nunberg, Geoffrey, Ivan A.Sag, and Tomas Wasow. 1994. Idioms. *Language* 70: 491-538.

Saito, Mamoru. 1982. Case-marking in Japanese: a preliminary study. Ms., MIT, Cambridge Mass.

Takezawa, Koichi. 1987. A configurational approach to case-marking in Japanese. Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Washington.

Tada, Hiroaki. 1992. Nominative objects in Japanese. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 14: 91-108.

Ueda, Masanobu. 1993. On the phrase structure of Japanese and English clauses. In Hasegawa, Nobuko (ed.) *Japanese Syntax in Comparative Grammar,* 9-44. Tokyo:Kurosio Publishers.

Ura, Hiroyuki. 1999. Checking theory and dative subject constructions in

Japanese and Korean. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 8:223-254.

Yamada, Hiroshi. 1979. Idioms from a new point of view: a trace theoretic approach. In Bedell, G., Kobayashi, E., & Muraki, M. (eds.). 1979, 529-551.

Wasow, Tomas, Ivan A.Sag, and Geoffrey Nunberg. 1984. Idioms: an interim report. In Hattori, S. & Inoue, K. (eds.). *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Linguists,* 102-115. Tokyo: Nippon Toshi Center.

Watanabe, Akira. 1994. A crosslinguistic perspective on Japanese nominative-genitive conversion and its implications for Japanese Syntax. In Nakamura, Masaru (ed.) *Current topics in English and Japanese,* 341-369, Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.

School of Language Communication
Tokyo International University
1-13-1 Matobakita, Kawagoe-shi
Saitama-ken, 350-1197
JAPAN

fujimaki@tiu.ac.jp