

# On the location of nominative objects: focus movement-based approach

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## Introduction

□ Nominative/Accusative alternation with *-(rar)e* 'can' (Kuno 1973)

- (1) a. Taroo-wa ringo-ga/o tabe-rare-ru.  
Taro-top apple-nom/acc eat-can-pres  
'Taro can eat apples.'  
b. Taroo-wa ringo-\*ga/o tabe-ru.  
Taro-top apple-nom/acc eat-pres  
'Taro eats apples.'

- Attaching the potential suffix *-(rar)e* 'can' to a verb allows an object to have nominative Case.

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## Introduction

□ Scope interactions with *-(rar)e*

- (2) a. Taroo-wa migime-dake-o tumur-e-ru.  
Taro-top right.eye-only-acc close-can-pres  
'Taro can close only his eye'. ?\*only > can; can > only  
b. Taroo-wa migime-dake-ga tumur-e-ru.  
Taro-top right.eye-only-nom close-can-pres  
'Taro can close only his eye'. only > can; \*can > only  
(adapted from Tada 1992: 94)

- For object's scope interactions with *-(rar)e*, see also Koizumi (1994, 1995, 1998), Saito & Hoshi (1998), Takano (2003), Nomura (2005), Takahashi (2010), among others.

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## Introduction

□ Scope interaction with *deki* 'can'

- (3) a. Taroo-wa migime-dake-o tumuru koto-ga deki-ru.  
Taro-top right.eye-only-acc close NM-nom can-pres  
'Taro can close only his eye'. ?\*only > can; can > only  
b. Taroo-wa migime-dake-ga tumuru koto-o deki-ru.  
Taro-top right.eye-only-nom close NM-acc can-pres  
'Taro can close only his eye'. only > can; \*can > only  
(adapted from Takano 2003: 825)

- Kasai (2018) claims that the *deki* construction like (3) is less studied than the *-(rar)e* construction, but it could in fact uncover some syntactic properties that had not been revealed by the study of the *-(rar)e* construction.
- Kasai (2018) takes the position that NOs can also take narrow scope (Nomura 2005).

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## Introduction

□ Miyagawa's (1987) adjacency condition on the restructuring verb *ik* 'go' and a purpose clause, VP/*ni*P

(4) a. Taro-wa Kobe-ni [<sub>*ni*P/VP</sub> hon-ga/o kai-ni] ik-e-ru.  
Taro-top Kobe-to book-nom/acc buy-ni go-can-pres  
/ik-u koto-ga deki-ru.  
go-pres NM-nom can-pres

✓ restructuring; NO allowed

'Taro can go to Kobe to buy a book.'

b. Taro-wa [<sub>*ni*P/VP</sub> hon-\*ga/o kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
Taro-top book-nom/acc buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-pres  
/ik-u koto-ga deki-ru.  
go-pres NM-nom can-pres

\* restructuring; NO disallowed

'Taro can go to Kobe to buy a book.'

- NOs can be licensed when the potential *-e* attached to the restructuring verb *-ik* and a purpose clause headed by *-ni* (*ni*P/VP) are adjacent to each other.
- We will return to the scope issue of NOs in the *ik* construction (see also Sugimura 2012).

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## Introduction

□ Roadmap

### ■ Hitherto Unnoticed Observation

- An apparent counterexample to Miyagawa's (1987) adjacency requirement

### ■ Proposal

- A focus-driven movement analysis of NOs in non-restructuring contexts

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## Introduction

□ Roadmap

### ■ Implication

- Extension to Kasai's (2018) scrambling analysis of nominative objects (NOs)
- Observation of the scope asymmetry between *-dake* 'only' and *-ka* 'or'

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## Facts: Adjacency Condition

□ Apparent counterexample to Miyagawa's (1987) adjacency condition

- In contrast to (4b), (5) is acceptable despite the adjacency condition violation.

(4b) Taro-wa [<sub>*ni*P/VP</sub> hon-\*ga/o kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
Taro-top book-nom/acc buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-pres  
'Taro can go to Kobe to buy a book'

(5) Hon-ga<sub>1</sub> Taro-wa [<sub>*ni*P</sub> e<sub>1</sub> kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru-yo.  
book-nom Taro-top buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-present-C  
lit. 'A/The book, Taro can go to Kobe to buy.'

- How should we account for the lack of adjacency effect in (5)?

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## Facts: Adjacency Condition

- NO movement ≠ scrambling

The acceptability of (5) is not due to scrambling of the NO, as shown in the ungrammaticality of (7), where the NO has scrambled out of the *niP*.

(6) \*Taro-wa densya-de [<sub>niP/VP</sub> hon-ga<sub>1</sub> kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
 Taro-top train-by book-nom buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-present

'Taro can go to Kobe by train to buy a book.'

(7) \*Taro-wa hon-ga<sub>1</sub> densya-de [<sub>niP/VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
 Taro-top book-nom train-by buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-present

'Taro can go to Kobe by train to buy a book.'

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## Facts: Adjacency Condition

- NO ≠ major subject

- Moreover, the binding data in (8a, b) show that the NO is not base-generated higher in the structure, as also highlighted by Kasai (2018).

(8) a. Hanako<sub>1</sub>-wa [**zibunzisin**<sub>1/2</sub>-no hon-ga [<sub>Taro<sub>2</sub>-ga t kai-ni Kobe-ni ik-e-ru</sub>]-to]  
 Hanko-top self-gen book-nom Taro-nom buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-pres-C  
 omottei-ru.

think-pres

'Hanako thinks that Taro can go to Kobe to buy self's book.'

b. \*Hanako<sub>1</sub>-wa [[<sub>Taro<sub>2</sub>-ga [**zibunzisin**<sub>1/2</sub>-no hon-ga kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru</sub>]-to]  
 Hanko-top Taro-nom self-gen book-nom buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-pres-C  
 omottei-ru.

think-pres

'Hanako thinks that Taro can go to Kobe to buy self's book.'

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## Proposal

- Focus movement analysis of NOs

- We propose that the NO in a non-restructuring context undergoes focus movement (cf. Kuno 2002) to the embedded CP/Foc(us) P, with the option of moving further to the matrix CP.

(9)=(8a) [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako<sub>1</sub>-wa [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>CP/FocP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Taro<sub>2</sub>-ga [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>2</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub>

[<sub>niP/VP</sub> **zibunzisin**<sub>1/2</sub>-no hon-ga kai-ni] [<sub>VP</sub> Kobe-ni ik]]-e]]-ru]]-to]

omot-te] -i] v]] -ru]]

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## Proposal

- Focus movement analysis of NOs

(10)=(5) [<sub>CP/FocP</sub> **Hon-ga** [<sub>C'</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Taro<sub>2</sub>-wa [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>2</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>niP/VP</sub> t kai-ni] [<sub>VP</sub> Kobe-  
 ni ik]]-e]]-ru]]-yo]]

- We claim that in (10) since the object has undergone focus movement, it gets NOM-marked (see Kato, 2007; Fukuda, 2008; and, Nishioka 2010) for discussion on NOM-marked NPs, being focused in Kumamoto dialect.

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## Proposal

### □ NOM-marking focus movement

- As seen in (7) scrambling does not license NO, which shows that the presence of  $-(rare)$  in the structure is not sufficient for NO licensing; rather the object needs to undergo focus movement, where the Foc head and  $-(rare)$  together license its NOM-Case.

(7) \*Taro-wa hon-ga<sub>1</sub> densya-de [<sub>nIP/VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
 Taro-top book-nom train-by buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-present  
 'Taro can go to Kobe by train to buy a book.'

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## Proposal

### □ NOM-marking focus movement

- We assume that the stative predicate  $-(rare)$  raises to Foc to license NOs (e.g. via Spec-Head agreement).

(11) [<sub>CP/FOCP</sub> NO<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> SUBJ [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>SUBJ</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> V]  $-(rare)$ ]]] C/Foc]

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## Proposal

### □ Further prediction

- Given Nom-Case licensing via focus movement and assuming that FocP is also available in the  $vP$ -domain (e.g. Belletti 2004), we predict that the adjacency effect in (4b) goes away when the NO is stressed (i.e. focused).

(4b) Taro-wa [<sub>nIP/VP</sub> hon-\*ga/o kai-ni] Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
 Taro-top book-nom/acc buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-pres  
 /ik-u koto-ga deki-ru.  
 go-pres NM-nom can-pres

(12) (?) Taro-wa (**Tyomusukii-no**) **hon-ga** kai-ni Kobe-ni ik-e-ru.  
 Taro-top Chomsky-gen book-nom buy-ni Kobe-to go-can-present  
 'It is (Chomsky's) book that Taro can go to Kobe to buy.' (Bold-faced = Stressed)

- Miyagawa's (1987) adjacency condition should be obeyed by default; however, when an NO is focused the adjacency between the VP/ $nIP$  and the restructuring verb *ik* 'go' is no longer required.

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## Implication #1

### □ Extension to Kasai's (2018) movement analysis

- Kasai (2018) assumes that when an object scrambles out of VP to  $vP$  edge in a restructuring context, it can receive Nom Case from  $v$ , assuming Zushi (2016) for Case valuation.
- Based on Wurmbrand's (2001) restructuring analysis, Kasai also assumes that a *koto*-phrase takes a bare VP structure because it is selected by the restructuring predicate *deki*.

(13) a. [<sub>TP</sub> Taro-wa<sub>1</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> **hon-ga**<sub>2</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>2</sub> kau] koto-ga]] [<sub>v'</sub> deki v]]]]-ru]]  
 Taro-top book-nom buy NM-nom can pres  
 'Taro can buy a book'

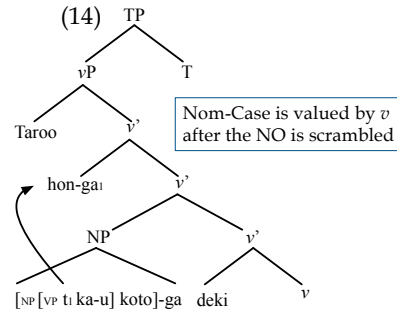
b. [<sub>TP</sub> Taro-wa<sub>1</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> **hon-ga**<sub>2</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>2</sub> ka-] [<sub>v'</sub> -e- v]]]]]-ru]]  
 Taro-top book-nom buy can pres  
 'Taro can buy a book'

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## Implication #1

□ Kasai's (2018) movement analysis

- Because the *koto*-phrase does not involve a phase head *v*, the NO can freely move to the *v*P edge.
- The NO taking scope over *deki* in (3a) is also explained, accordingly (but see Kasai (2018) for his opposing view on the scope of NOs).



- Note that Kasai (2018) also argues for movement of NO; however, the nature of movement in Kasai's analysis differs from that in the current proposal.
- Under the current analysis, the relevant NO movement in (13) is focus-related and thus the object moves to a FocP, where its NOM-Case is licensed by the Foc-(*rar*)*e* complex.

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## Implication #2

□ Scope asymmetry between *-dake* 'only' and *-ka* 'or'

- Interestingly, the NO with the disjunctive exhibits scope interaction with -(*rar*)*e* 'can', whereas the NO with *-dake* 'only' must take scope over -(*rar*)*e*.

- (15) Hanako-wa Taro-ga [sushi-**ka** soba-ga/ sushi-**dake**-ga  
 Hanako-top Taro-nom sushi-or soba-nom/ sushi-only-nom  
 [tabe-ni Kobe-ni ik-e-ru]]-to omottei-ru.  
 eat-ni Kobe-to go-can-pres-C think-pres  
 'Hanako thinks that Taro can go to Kobe to eat sushi or soba/ only sushi.'

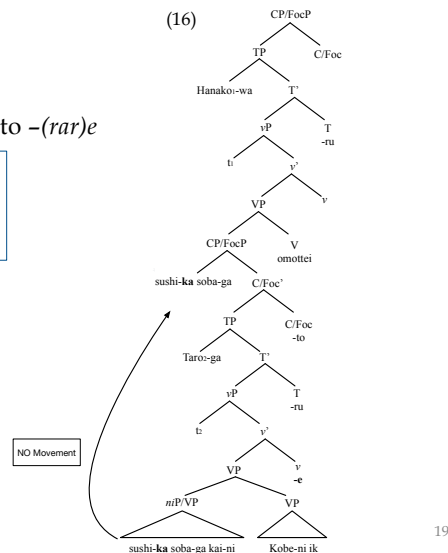
✓ or > can; ✓ can > or  
 ✓ only > can; \*can > only

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## Implication #2

□ Ambiguous scope of *-ka* 'or' relative to -(*rar*)*e*

- The availability of reconstruction with disjunction conforms to and further supports the current proposal.

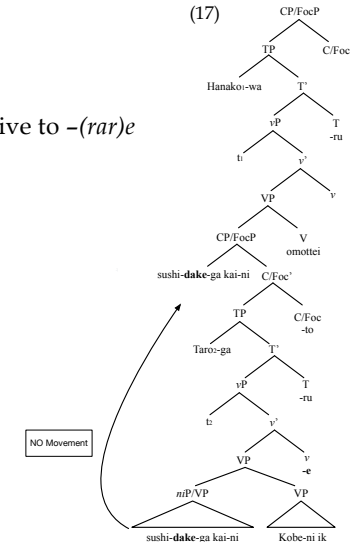


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## Implication #2

□ Unambiguous scope of *-dake* 'only' relative to -(*rar*)*e*

- (15) shows that *-dake* 'only' behaves differently from *-ka* 'or', obligatorily taking scope over -(*rar*)*e*.
- The scope asymmetry between *-dake* and *-ka* suggests that *-dake* should be treated differently from *-ka*, which may be problematic for Shibata (2015) (e.g. Tamura, Miyamoto & Sauerland 2019 for the scope of *-ka*).



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## Conclusion

- (18) a. In restructuring contexts, adjacency between the restructuring verb *ik'go'* and a purpose clause (i.e. VP/*niP*) must be adjacent to each other (Miyagawa 1987).
- b. When an NO is stressed (i.e. focused), however, it undergoes focus movement to CP/FocP, where the NO is Nom-marked by the *-rare* /Foc complex head.
- c. The current proposal lends further support to the movement-based analysis of NOs such as Kasai (2018). However, the present study has shown that the relevant movement is not scrambling but is focus movement in a non-restructuring configuration. This means that two different types of movement can be part of NO licensing, which calls for a unified analysis. Under the current proposal, the key may be NOs being interpreted as focused when they vacate the original position.

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