A Note on the Syntax-Semantics of English Double Genitives[*]
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1. Introduction

An important characteristic of generative grammar is to explore symmetry, or the parallelism between the clausal domain and the nominal domain (cf. Chomsky (1970) and Grimshaw (1990)). For example, the distribution of grammatical relations like subject and object is essentially the same in a sentential expression like *the enemy destroyed the city* and a nominal expression like *the enemy's destruction of the city*. From the perspective of generative grammar, the subject *the enemy*(*'s*) occupies the so-called specifier position and behaves as a subject of TP or DP; the object, on the other hand, occupies the complement position of the head (V or N), and serves as a direct object. These grammatical relations follow from phrase structure building, which creates grammatical functions across phrasal domains. In addition to phrase structure building, displacement is also applicable in both the clausal domain and the nominal domain; for example, passivization is applied as a general rule across phrasal domains (e.g. "*the city was destroyed by the enemy*" vs. "*the city's destruction by the enemy*"). Thus, the exploration for the parallelism in phrase structure building and displacement that holds across phrasal domains has been a fundamental guideline of generative grammar. Within the Minimalist Program (hereafter, MP) framework (Chomsky (2001, 2004, 2008)), the research guideline is implemented by assuming (i) that external merge (phrase structure building) creates a thematic relation and (ii) that internal merge (displacement) derives a discourse-related property (e.g. focus, topic, *wh* etc.). If this research guideline is followed, the next question that arises is to what extent the parallelism between the clausal domain and the nominal domain can be empirically observed and theoretically dealt with.

If we limit our focus to displacement-related phenomena, it has been argued that similar kinds of movement operations are applicable in both the clausal domain and the nominal domain. For example, Kayne (1994) and den Dikken (2006) suggest that the so-called *N* of *N* construction (e.g. *that jerk of a policeman*, *a jewel of an island*, etc.) is seen as an instance of predicate inversion within the DP domain.[1] Although Kayne (1994) and den Dikken (2006) do not directly discuss

    [1] More precisely, den Dikken (2006) argues that predicate inversion within the DP domain is an instance of A-movement.

the nature of the displacement effect in the *N* of *N* construction in terms of information structure (e.g. topic, focus, etc.), some previous studies (Giusti (1996), Aboh (2004), Corver and van Koppen (2009), to name a few) argue that the parallelism between the nominal domain and the clausal domain extends to information structure (See Section 2.2 for some illustrations). If the search for cross-categorial symmetry on the basis of information structure is followed, it will be expected that displacement within the DP domain generates a discourse-related property interpretable at PF and LF; the so-called cartographic project (e.g. Aboh (2004)) will be seen as one of the representative frameworks which implement the parallelism between the clausal and nominal domains in terms of information structure. There is, however, less research which deals with the issue of whether displacement derives a certain discourse-related property within the DP domain.

Hoping to contribute to such a research project, on the basis of Abel's (2006) focus hypothesis for English double genitives, this note aims to argue that their derivation process involves displacement for a particular discourse-related property reason; namely, the focus which causes the pragmatic effect of "bringing a referent into a prominent position in discourse" (Abel (2006:1)). English double genitives (e.g. *a book of John's*) involve two linguistic markers to encode possessions: the possessive enclitic *'s* (e.g. *John's book*) and the preposition *of* (e.g. *the roof of the house*). They are, furthermore, classified into (at least) two subtypes: indefinite double genitives and demonstrative double genitives.[2] These two types of double genitives are illustrated below:

(1) a.   a BOOK$_i$ of John's [e]$_i$ (Abel (2006:1), with modifications)
     b.   that BOOK$_i$ of John's [e]$_i$ (Abel (2006:1), with modifications)

The indefinite double genitive in (1a) involves the possessum with the indefinite article *a book*, the preposition *of*, and the possessor with the enclitic *'s*; in the literature, it is argued that the possessor involves a gap which roughly corresponds to the possessum (cf. Anderson (1984)). The demonstrative double genitive in (1b), on the other hand, includes the demonstrative *that*. Abel (2006) argues that in (1a) and (1b), the possessum receives focal stress (cf. Barker (1998)), and the entire DP is interpreted as a referent introduced into a prominent position in the discourse.[3]

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[2]   The possessive NPs may take different pronominal forms (e.g. her book *vs*. hers). I leave open the question of whether the different pronominal forms contribute to any interpretive difference in the double genitive construction.

[3]   More precisely, Abel (2006) argues that the head noun receives focal stress in both indefinite double genitives and demonstrative double genitives, while Barker (1998) does not discuss whether or not the head noun of indefinite double genitives receives focal stress.

This note will provide an analysis to explain the pragmatic and phonological focus properties by assuming the syntactic operation of displacement, more specifically, focus movement within the DP domain (cf. Kayne (1993, 1994)).   The analysis to be proposed in this note will be naturally motivated under the view that the nominal domain, as well as the clausal domain, has some functional projections dedicated to information structure.

     This note is organized as follows. After reviewing focus typology, Section 2 will illustrate focalization within the DP domain and present some basic properties of English double genitives.   Integrating Abel's (2006) focus hypothesis into Kayne's (1993, 1994) structural analysis, Section 3 will propose an analysis of English double genitives by assuming focus movement within the DP domain; more specifically, this note will propose that double genitives convey a new information focus interpretation.   Section 4 will provide some evidence for the proposed analysis with reference to question/answer pairs, the existential *there*-construction and the use of double genitives in the root context.   Section 5 draws conclusions.

2.   Focus in the Clausal and Nominal Domains

2.1.   *Focus Typology*

     In the literature on focus typology, it is widely assumed that there are at least two different types of foci: information (presentational) focus and contrastive (identificational) focus (e.g. É. Kiss (1998) and Cruschina (2011)).   The former can be defined as new, non-presupposed information, while the latter can be roughly characterized as an appropriate "subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially holds." (É. Kiss (1998:13)).   The two types of foci are illustrated below:

(2)   a.   (Context: What happened?)
          [My CAR broke down]_{sentence-Focus}   (Cruschina (2011:14))

      b.   (Context: What happened to your car?)
          My car [broke Down]_{predicate-Focus}   (Cruschina (2011:14))

      c.   (Context: What broke down?)
          [My CAR]_{argument-focus} broke down.

(3)   (Context: John bought [a Ferrari])
          (No.) John bought [an Alfa Romeo]_{CFoc}   (Cruschina (2011:14))

The sentences in (2) involve new information focus, or the most informative part in the sense that it provides new information in the discourse.   In (2a), the entire sentence represents the new information which conveys the entire propositional

content to the addressee.   In (2b), the predicate denotes the new information, while the DP *my car* is a topic, or the old information that has already been mentioned in the discourse.   In (2c), the argument DP provides the new information, and the rest of the sentence is presupposed.   The sentence in (3), on the other hand, illustrate contrastive focus, which creates a contrast.   One of the functions of contrastive focus is to replace some piece of information that the speaker believes to be incorrect with the (supposedly) correct information.   For example, the contrastively focused DP *an Alfa Romeo* in (3) conveys the correct information which replaces the incorrect information *a Ferrari*.

The two types of foci illustrated above can be syntactically realized by fronting an element from a thematic position to the left periphery.   For concreteness, consider the following sentences:

(4)   THIS BOOK you should read _ (rather than something else)

                                                        (Cruschina (2011:14))

(5)   Sai   come lo   chiamava   il   suo amico? [Italian]
        know.2SG how   him.CL   called.IPF.3SG the his   friend
        'Do you know how his friend called him?'
        "*Novellino*" lo   chiamava.
        greenhorn   him.CL called.IPF.3SG
        'He called him *greenhorn*.'

(S. Veronesi, *No Man's Land*, Milan 2003) (Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina (2016:2))

In (4) with contrastive focus, the preposed DP conveys the piece of correct information which substitutes the incorrect old information that has already been introduced into the previous discourse.   In (5) with information focus, on the other hand, the preposed DP expresses new information focus with a concomitant of unexpectedness or surprise.[4]   These data suggest that the left periphery of CP includes functional projections for contrastive focus and information focus which accompanies a certain speaker's evaluative attitude.

To recap, the two types of foci, contrastive focus and information focus, can be syntactically encoded by displacement into CP.   Bearing this property in mind, the next subsection will illustrate some DP-internal focus patterns.

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[4] Adopting the cartographic framework, Cruschina (2011) argues that the CP domain contains functional projections dedicated to contrastive focus (CFoc) and new information focus (IFoc).   In his proposal, CFoc occupies a higher position than IFoc.   This point is not directly relevant to the discussions in the rest of this note, so I simply mention here that the CP domain may include functional projections for CFoc and IFoc.   On the relevant issues, an interested reader is referred to Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina (2016).

2.2. DP-Internal Focus: Some Illustrations

Having the background introduced in the previous subsection in mind, let us consider the focus-related displacement within the DP domain. If we turn to the realization of focus within the DP domain, there are some cases in which the change in word order results in a focus interpretation, more specifically, a contrastive focus interpretation.

First, it is observed that an adjective may move from its base position to the left periphery of the DP domain and receives contrastive focal stress (Scott (1998) for English and Corver and van Koppen (2009) for Dutch). Observe the following examples:

(6) a. de roze Amerikaanse auto's   [Standard Dutch]
       the pink American   cars
       'the pink American cars'   (Corver and van Koppen (2009:3))
    b. de AMERIKAANSE roze auto's   [Standard Dutch]
       the American$_{STRESS}$ pink cars
       'the AMERICAN pink cars'   (Corver and van Koppen (2009:4))

(6a) shows that with a neutral intonation, the nationality adjective must be located closer to the head noun than the color adjective. With a contrastive intonation, the same nationality adjective may precede the color adjective, as in (6b). Corver and van Koppen (2009), following Scott (1998), argues that an AP-reordering like the one in (6) is triggered to meet a contrastive focus requirement within the DP domain.

Another illustration of DP-internal focalization comes from Greek. Ntelitheos (2004) notes that a possessor marked with genitive case follows the possessum in Greek, but when the same possessor is contrastively focused, it can appear in a pre-possessor position:

(7) a. mu   ipes   pos dhavases to vivlio   tu Gianni
       me-GEN said-2sg that read-2sg the book-NOM the Gianni-GEN
       'You told me you read Gianni's book.'   (Ntelitheos (2004:17))
    b. mu   ipes   pos dhiavases tu GIANNI   to vivlio
       Me-GEN said-2sg that read-2sg the Gianni-GEN the book-NOM
       (ki ohi tu KOSTA)
       (and not the Kosata-GEN)
       'You told me you read Gianni's book (and not Kosta's).'

                                                  (Ntelitheos (2004:17))

Netlitheos (2004) argues that the focus effect observed in (7b) follows from the assumption that the DP domain contains a contrastive focus projection.

The two cases shown above suggest that word order alternations within the nominal domain result in contrastive focalization. These patterns are naturally expected under the assumption that both the clausal domain and the nominal domain have a functional projection for contrastive focus. It should be noted, however, that there are some cases in which a non-moved element receives a focus interpretation as a result of the movement of some other element. Consider the following examples:

(8) a. il   mio libro importante   [Italian]
         the my   book   important
         "my important book"   (Bernstein (2001:2), glosses mine)

     b. il   libro importante **mio**   [Italian]
         the book   important   my
         "**my** important book"   (Bernstein (2001:2), glosses mine)

(8a) shows that the head noun (the syntactic unit consisting of the N *libro* 'book' and the A *importante* 'important') follows the possessive marker *mio* 'my'. If the head noun undergoes scrambling to the position that follows the determiner *il* 'the', as in (8b), the DP must receive a contrastive focus interpretation. In this case, the possessor, but not the moved head noun, receives the contrastive focus interpretation. Bernstein (2001), following Zubizarreta's (1998) nuclear stress rule, claims that the possessor receives the focal stress by moving, or defocusing, the head noun.[5] Thus, (8b) involves the movement of the head noun, but the contrastive reading is assigned to the possessor which remains at its base position.

Given the facts in (6), (7) and (8), it will be concluded that there are (at least) two focus assignment patterns: a moved element receives contrastive focus via displacement or a non-moved element does as a consequence of the movement of some other element. It should also be noted that the DP-internal focalization patterns illustrated above are all associated with a contrastive focus interpretation. Having these properties in mind, the next subsection will observe and consider some basic properties of English double genitives.

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[5] In general, a clause-final element receives focal accent in Romance languages. The idea proposed by Bernstein (2001) is that by fronting the head noun, the possessive marker occupies the lowest position in the nominal structure. As a result, the possessive marker receives focal accent and a contrastive focus interpretation. This focus assignment is achieved in (narrow) syntax as a consequence of the head noun movement, but the source of the contrastive focus interpretation lies in the possessive marker remaining in the base position.

2.3.   English Double Genitives

In generative grammar, it has been argued that the English double genitive in (9b) is derived from the genitive DP in (9a), and they show different semantic properties (cf. Chomsky (1970) and Kayne (1993, 1994)).   The genitive DP in (9a) consists of the possessor *John's* and the possessum *book*, and the semantic relation between them can be pragmatically determined; roughly speaking, the possessor has a certain relation to the possessum (e.g. Anderson (1984)).   For example, *John's book* can be interpreted as the book that John owns, the book that John wrote, the book that Mary lent John, etc.   In contrast with the genitive DP in (9a), the double genitive only allows an owner interpretation; the possessor must be interpreted as an owner of the possessum.   This property is indicated by the contrast in (10).

(9) a.   John's book
    b.   a BOOK$_i$ of John's [e]$_i$ (= (1a))
(10) a.   That desk of his is over there.   (Anderson (1984:18))
     b. * That destruction of the enemy's shocked us.   (Anderson (1984:18))

The possessor in (10b) must be construed as agent because it is an external argument of the nominalized verb *destroy*.   The agent role, however, semantically conflicts with the owner role which the same possessor bears in double genitives.   This fact suggests that the semantic/thematic relation between the possessor and possessum is fixed to an owner interpretation; that is, English double genitives has a unique thematic relation property.

Another discourse-related property of double genitives is that the head noun receives focal stress (Abel 2006).   Contra Barker (1998), who argues that the double genitive construction is an instance of proper partitivity, Abel (2006) claims that the main semantic/pragmatic function of double genitives is to express focus.   Abel's (2006) argument is motivated by Barker's (1998) observation that demonstrative double genitives do not obey the proper partitivity constraint:

(11) a. * a mother of John's
     b.   that mother of John's

Proper partitivity excludes (11a) because the possessum with the indefinite article implies that John has more than one biological mother; such a statement is incompatible with the social concept that each person has a unique biological mother. The demonstrative double genitive in (11b) seems to violate the proper partitivity constraint, but is acceptable. In order to explain the problematic case, Barker (1998)

maintains proper partitivity by assuming that the possessum receives a focus interpretation.   In general, focus means that an entity is selected among the set of alternatives.   Such a focus property can be seen as consistent with the notion of (proper) partitivity, which represents a subset of a larger set.   Abel (2006) further pursues the alternative possibility and proposes the focus hypothesis for double genitives; namely, the referent of a double genitive is introduced into a prominent position in the discourse and is not necessarily contrasted with other referents.   The focus hypothesis needs further justification but opens a possibility to analyze the thematic and discourse properties described above in terms of DP-internal focalization.

This subsection has shown that the possessum of double genitives receives the owner semantic role and focus.   Adapting Kayne's (1993, 1994) analysis of double genitives and assuming that the DP domain involves a functional projection for information focus, the next section proposes an analysis which directly derives the focus effect observed by Abel (2006).

3.   Proposal

The previous section has briefly discussed that English double genitives receive an ownership interpretation and conveys focus.   Within the MP framework, these two semantic properties are assumed to be derived by application of external merge and internal merge, respectively; the former yields an argument/thematic relation, and the latter allows a focus interpretation.   The following subsections elaborate how these two syntactic operations derive double genitives.

### 3.1.   *The Syntactic Structure of Double Genitives and Application of Merge*

In the literature, several analyses are proposed to capture the observation that the possessor DP of double genitives receives an owner interpretation (Anderson (1984), Lasnik and Saito (1992), Kayne (1993, 1994), to name a few).   For example, Anderson (1984) claims that the enclitic *'s* assigns the possessor theta role to the DP, but Kayne (1993, 1994) proposes that the thematic relation is established within a simplex DP.   Among these two approaches, this note adopts Kayne's approach for the reason that it provides a basis to directly connect the thematic and discourse-related properties by means of (internal/external) merge.[6]

According to Kayne's (1993, 1994) approach, English double genitives have

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[6] Anderson (1984) takes the possessor to be an adjunct, but if so, it will be predicted that the head noun occurs with the definite determiner (even if there is no restrictive relative clause).   As we will see later, this prediction is not borne out.   Kayne's (1993, 1994) approach, on the other hand, may not suffer from the same problem as.

the following underlying structure: $[_{DP[uDefinite]} \ldots [_{AGRP}$ Possessor $[_{NP/QP}$ Possessum$]]]$. If the possessum (NP/QP) raises to [Spec, DP], the D head receives the [−Definite] feature value and the double genitive, *three books of John's*, is derived.   If the possessum does not raise, the D head has the [＋Definite] value and the genitive DP, *John's three books*, results.   In the underlying structure, the thematic relation is syntactically expressed within the DP, the possessor at [Spec, AGRP] and the possessum which is an NP/QP.   More concretely, the indefinite double genitive in (12a) has the syntactic structure in (12b):

(12) a.   three books of John's

b.
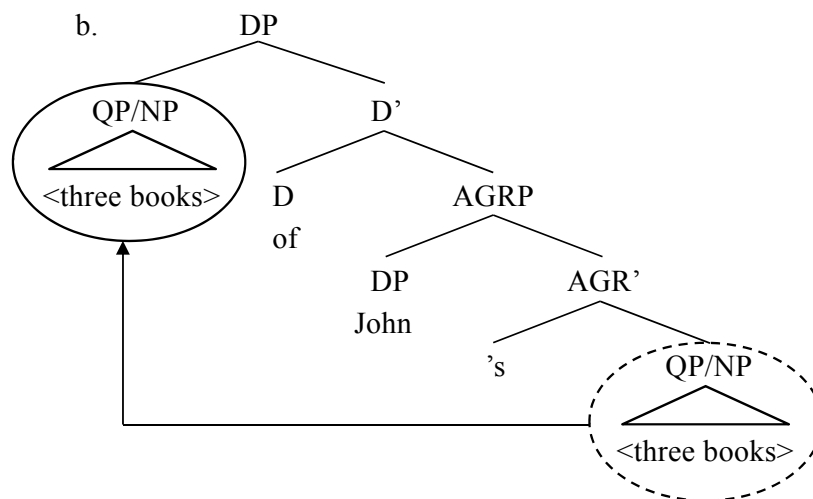
Kayne's analysis is summarized as follows.   First, the possessum NP/QP, or the head noun, is base-generated (externally merged) as the complement of AGR, and the possessor DP is externally merged at [Spec, AGRP].   Second, the AGR head serves to express the number agreement.   To put it concisely, the possessive enclitic *'s* is regarded as a morpheme realizing the singular number agreement with the possessor DP.   The fundamental idea here is that both the clausal domain and the nominal domain share a functional projection dedicated to inflection, or φ feature agreement.   Third, the possessum moves into [Spec, DP], and encodes the definiteness value of D as [−Definite].   Fourth, the preposition *of* is inserted into the D head and licenses Case on the DP *John*.[7]   Thus, according to Kayne's analysis, the thematic relation is established by application of external merge, and the definiteness value is determined by application of internal merge.

    Adopting Kayne's (1993, 1994) approach to double genitives, I would like to add the following two assumptions.   First, following the focus projection

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    [7]   According to Kayne's (1993, 1994) analysis, the apparent PP with the possessor DP is neither a constituent nor a restrictive modifier (cf. Anderson (1984).

hypothesis in the DP domain (cf. Giusti (1996), Aboh (2004), Corver and van Koppen (2009)), I assume that the head noun moves to [Spec, FocP] and *of* occurs as the Foc head.   Second, I assume that demonstratives are generated at the D head. The modified version of Kayne's (1993, 1994) analysis is schematically illustrated below:

(13) a.   that mother of John's

b.
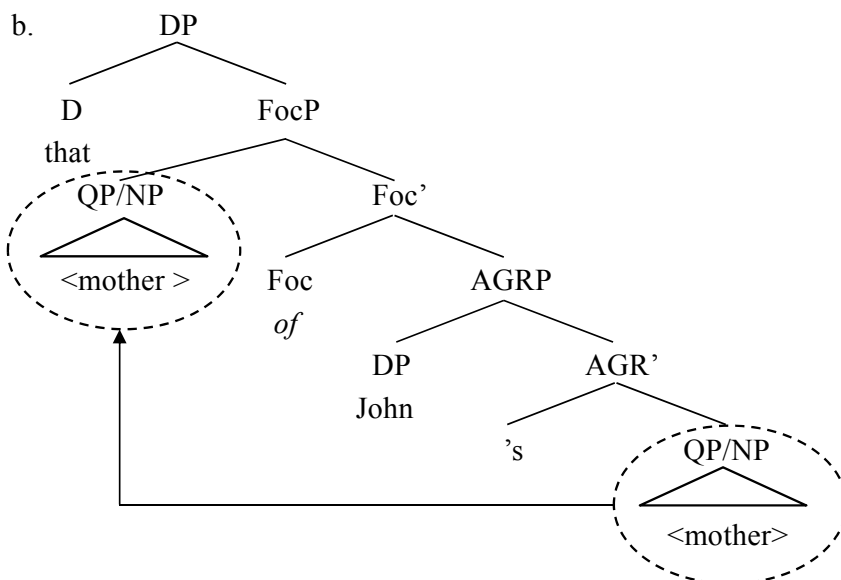
As shown above, the head noun (QP/NP) moves into [Spec, FocP] in the DP domain, and as a result, the head noun receives focal stress at PF.   Another consequence of the focus movement is that the quantificational chain is formed, and therefore an operator-variable (or focus) interpretation is available at LF.   Thus, the thematic relation is established by means of external merge, and the discourse-related property (focus) results from application of internal merge (focus movement).

One remaining issue is the nature of focus involved in double genitives.   The next subsection clarifies this part of the proposal concerning the nature of focus.

3.2.   *The Focus Interpretation in Double Genitives*

The previous subsection has proposed that the possessum of double genitives moves into [Spec, FocP] within the DP domain.   The next question is what type of focus is assigned at [Spec, FocP], contrastive focus or information focus.   In this connection, Abel (2006) claims that a double genitive introduces a referent into a prominent position and does not necessarily express a contrast.   Taken together with Kayne's (1993, 1994) original proposal that the head noun encodes the

definiteness value as [−Definite], Abel's focus hypothesis can be slightly modified as follows: the head noun of a double genitive conveys new information focus, and as a consequence, the double genitive functions to express information focus, or to introduce a referent into a prominent position in discourse. Thus, Abel's application of the notion *focus* is broad in the sense that she does not specify the type of focus involved in double genitives. This note, on the other hand, departs from Abel's wide application of focus by proposing that the head noun of double genitives serves as the source to provide information focus (but not necessarily contrastive focus); as a result of this, the entire double genitive DP is able to introduce a (new) referent into the discourse. The rest of this subsection is dedicated to make clear how the mechanism derives indefinite and demonstrative double genitives.

Let us first consider the following indefinite double genitive and its syntactic configuration (The syntactic unit in square bracket denotes a copy of the moved element.):

(14) a.　　a BOOK$_i$ of John's [e]$_i$ 　　　　　　　　　　(= (1a))

　　　b.　　$[_{DP[-D]}$ $[_{FocP}$ $[_{QP}$ a book] $[_{Foc'}$ of $[_{AGRP}$ John $[_{AGR'}$ -s <$[_{QP}$ a book]>]]]]]

　　　　　　　Operator　　　　　　　　　　　*variable*

The head noun moved to [Spec, FocP] is a QP because it involves the indefinite article corresponding to the numeral *one* whose definiteness/specific value is [−Definite]; hence, the head noun, in general, does not refer to any particular entity in the discourse. The operator-variable configuration opens the (open) set of alternatives (books), and one member (book) is picked out; basically, no strong contrast arises in the case of new information focus. This analysis derives an effect similar to partitivity, which is pointed out by previous studies (Jackendoff (1968, 1977) and Barker (1998)); the possessum is interpreted as a subset of the larger set.[8]

Next, let us consider a demonstrative double genitive like *that friend of Mary's* and its configuration at LF:

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[8] This analysis may provide a different analysis of (i), which Barker (1998) regards as a violation of the proper partitivity constraint:

(i)　　*　a mother of John's 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(= (11a))

Intuitively, (i) is unacceptable because the double genitive implies that John has more than one (biological) mother. In the present proposal, the copy of the head noun is interpreted as a variable bound by the operator (or the head noun). The configuration opens the open set of members (mothers), and one mother is picked out among the alternatives. This causes an effect similar to the proper partitive constraint.

(15) a.　　that BOOK$_i$ of John's [e]$_i$　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(= (1b))

　　　b.　　[$_{DP[-D]}$ that [$_{FocP}$ [$_{NP}$ book] [$_{Foc'}$ of [$_{AGRP}$ John [$_{AGR'}$ -s <[$_{QP}$ φ book]>]]]]]

　　　　　　　　　　　Operator　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*variable*

Here, the head noun (NP) moves into [Spec, NP], and the demonstrative *that* is merged at the D head.   Here, it is assumed that the definiteness/specificity value of the D head can be determined by the demonstrative as [−Definite, +Specific] (cf. Lakoff (1974) and Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993)).   In the literature, it has been pointed out that demonstratives in English can be used in a certain syntactic context in which only indefinites (but not definites) are allowed to occur; in such a context, the occurrence of a demonstrative adds some speaker's evaluative/affective attitude to the entire indefinite expression.   For example, Lakoff (1974) observes that the emotional use of the demonstrative *this* is possible "in contexts where, syntactically, the indefinite article is usually the only possibility (Lakoff (1974:347)):

(16)　　There was {*the / a / this} traveling salesman, and he …

　　　　　　　　　　　　(Lakoff (1974:347, with slight modifications))

The demonstrative in (16) "give[s] greater vividness to the narrative, to involve the addressee in it more fully (Lakoff (1974:347))."   Taken together with the definiteness effect observed in the post-copular position (Milsark (1974)), (16) suggests that a demonstrative nominal may behave as an indefinite.   Given the potential indefiniteness property of demonstratives, the operator-variable configuration in (15b) will open the set of alternatives consisting of the referents that the speaker is able to access in the discourse; thus, the head noun is interpreted as a referent picked out among the set of the referents in the discourse.   Although the assumption that the demonstratives that occur in double genitives are [−Definite, +Specific] needs justification in the future research, some researchers argue that demonstrative double genitives, in general, convey some speaker's emotional attitude toward the referent (Narita (1986) and Barker (1998); see also Section 4.3.).

　　　Finally, let us consider the case in which the definite article *the* occurs with double genitives.   The definite article, unlike demonstratives, enables one to uniquely identify the referent of the DP that has been mentioned in the previous discourse.   This property will be incompatible with the notion of new information focus because a newly introduced referent cannot be already introduced in the previous discourse.   Hence, the following sentence is unacceptable (cf. Barker's (1998) anti-uniqueness requirement):

(17) * The chair of John's is not here.   (Anderson (1984:19))

If the proposed analysis above is correct, it will be predicted that the possessum of double genitives may convey new information focus, but the rest of the expression does not.   The prediction stated here will be tested with reference to question/answer pairs, the existential *there*-construction and the use of double genitives in the root context.   The next section will test the prediction.

4.   Supportive Evidence
4.1.   Question/Answer Pairs
The first piece of evidence for the present proposal comes from question/answer pairs.   Under the present proposal, the possessum is expected to convey new information focus in double genitives.   Thus, the head noun is predicted to be the source to provide an answer, but the other parts do not.   This prediction can be confirmed with question/answer pairs.

First, let us consider the following discourse patterns:

(18) [Who]$_F$ did you meet?
    a.   I met [a SUBORDINATE]$_F$ of Mary's.
    b.   I met [an incompetent SUBORDINATE]$_F$ of Mary's.
    c.   I met [an INCOMPETENT SUBORDINATE]$_F$ of Mary's

(19) [Who]$_F$ did you meet?
    a.   I met [that SUBORDINATE]$_F$ of Mary's.
    b.   I met [that incompetent SUBORDINATE]$_F$ of Mary's.
    c.   I met [that INCOMPETENT SUBORDINATE]$_F$ of Mary's

As the examples above show, both the indefinite and demonstrative double genitives can be used as answers, and the head nouns receive primary stress; the demonstrative double genitives in (19a-c), furthermore, adds a certain speaker's negative attitude toward the referents.   These patterns are expected under the present proposal because the possessum moves to [Spec, FocP] and conveys new information within the DP domain.

If any part other than the head noun receives focal stress, on the other hand, double genitives only allows a contrastive focus reading, as shown below:

(20) a.   I met [an INCOMPETENT subordinate]$_F$ of Mary's.
       (but not a competent subordinate of hers.)

      b.   I met an incompetent subordinate of [MARY'S]$_F$.
          (but not an incompetent subordinate of JOHN'S)

(21) a.   I met [that INCOMPETENT subordinate]$_F$ of Mary's.
          (but not this competent subordinate of hers.)

      b.   I met that incompetent subordinate of [MARY'S]$_F$.
          (but not this incompetent subordinate of JOHN'S)

In each case, the head noun constitutes part of the presupposition, or the old information that has been mentioned in the previous discourse; the focalized (adjective or possessor) part represents the correct information that replaces the incorrect information that has been provided in the previous discourse. In these cases, there must be some (incorrect) information that has been mentioned in the previous discourse.

      The syntactic property that the possessum conveys new information focus will be further supported by Kayne's (1993) observation that only the possessum part, but not the possessor part, can be questioned,

(22) a. ?? What woman were you talking to a friend of's?   (Kayne (1993:5))
     b. ** What woman's were you talking to a friend of?   (Kayne (1993:5))
     cf.   How many pictures of John's did you see?

Kayne (1993) argues that the possessor part is not a constituent and therefore cannot be questioned; in contrast, the possessum can be questioned because it is a constituent (QP/NP). This pattern will support the present proposal because only the head noun conveys new information focus.

      This subsection provided some evidence for the present proposal in terms of question/answer patterns; more precisely, it is confirmed that the possessum of double genitives is assumed to convey new information focus.

4.2. *The Existential* There-*Construction*

      The second piece of evidence comes from the existential *there*-construction. It is well-known that the post copular position exhibits the so-called definiteness restriction (Milsark (1974)): those which occur in the post copular position are limited to the class of indefinite weak quantifiers like *something* and numeral expressions. In terms of information structure, Lambrecht (1994) also states that the existential there-construction conveys new information focus, or introduces a new referent into the discourse. Given this pragmatic property, it will be expected that a double genitive occurs at the post copular position.

In support of this view, my informant reported that the post copular position can be occupied either by an indefinite double genitive or a demonstrative double genitive:

(23) a. * There is [Mary's cat]$_F$ in this room.
   b.   There is [a CAT of Mary's]$_F$ in this room.
   c.   There is [that CAT of Mary's]$_F$ in this room.

The genitive DP in (23a) is a [+definite] genitive DP, and hence violates the definiteness restriction; in other words, the genitive DP does not serve as new information focus to introduce a new referent into the discourse. The acceptable examples in (23b, c) suggest that the possessum of indefinite/demonstrative double genitives naturally fits with the new information focus position; the demonstrate double genitive in (23c) is slightly different from the indefinite double genitive in (23b) in that the former accompanies a speaker's negative attitude toward the referent, or (some property of) the cat in question. The patterns in (23) are expected because the possessum conveys new information focus.

This subsection has shown that the possessum of double genitives is in accord with the structural new information focus position, namely, the post copular position in the existential *there*-construction.

4.3. Double Genitives in the Root Context

The last piece of evidence comes from the use of double genitives in the root context. As Corver and van Koppen (2009) discussed, a nominal expression will be expected to mark some discourse-related property under the hypothesis that the nominal system has its own information structure. To put it in another way, the independent presence of the information structure of the nominal domain will be confirmed when a nominal expression is not embedded in a sentence, or in the root context.

In this connection, Barker (1998) and Narita(1986) observes the exclamatory use of demonstrative double genitives. One interesting property of it is that exclamatory double genitives can be used as an independent utterance which is not embedded in a sentence. In this particular use, only the head noun (and the head noun with the AP) receives focal accent, as shown below:

(24) a.   That nose of John's!
   b.   That subordinate of Bill's!

(25) a. $^{??}$ That nose of [JOHN'S]$_F$!
    b. $^{??}$ That [INCOMPETENT subordinate]$_F$ of Bill's!

The focalized head noun indicates that there is some salient (negative) property in the referent of the possessum. For example, (24a) may be used to mock at the size of John's nose, and (24b) also implies that the speaker criticizes Bill's (incompetent) subordinate. Barker (1998) argues that the speaker's evaluative attitude results from focus; the particular body part, which is endowed with some salient property, is selected out from the other body parts that John has. Barker's (1998) argument can be naturally captured under the present proposal.

    Double genitives, furthermore, can be used as vocatives in the root context (Corver and van Koppen (2009)):

(26) a.   Aspects of the theory of SYNTAX.   (books by Noam Chomsky)
    b.   Bust of an old MAN   (paintings by Rembrandt)
    c.   Hi, little friend of WILL'S!   (<u>vocatives</u>)
                 (Corver and van Koppen (2009:14), underline mine)

Corver and van Koppen explain the focus properties of the nominals in (26) as follows. The root nominals in (26) function as titles of books and paintings and vocatives, respectively. They are pronounced with pitch accent on the rightmost element, or the most deeply embedded within the DP domain. The element with pitch accent indicates that the entire DP conveys new information: for example, the title of the book in (26a) is interpreted as an entity newly introduced into the discourse. The same is true of (26b) and (26c). Among the three cases above, the one in (26c) is relevant to the topic of this note because it involves the double genitive structure without the (in)definite article.[9] In appearance, the presence of an example like (26c) may pose a problem to the present proposal because the head noun, but not any other part of it, is expected to carry new information focus.

    A careful observation, however, will be needed to capture the function of vocative double genitives. The fundamental role of a vocative expression is for the speaker to draw attention from the addressee, or the referent of the vocative expression. Such a role may mismatch putting primary stress on the possessor DP because the referent of the possessor is different from the referent of the vocative expression. In accord with this consideration, my informant reported that vocative double genitives express some subtle difference in meaning according to different

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    9   Corver and van Koppen (2009), furthermore, points out that vocative double genitives are incompatible with the indefinite article *a(n)*.

intonation patterns. For concreteness, let us consider the following set of examples:

(27) a.   Hi, [MOTHER]$_F$ of John's!
      b.   Hi, mother of [JOHN'S]$_F$!

According to my informant, the vocative double genitive *mother of John's* can be pronounced in two different ways. When the head noun *mother* receives primary stress, as in (27a), the double genitive is used to talk to the referent with a certain speaker's negative attitude without any contrastive meaning. If the possessor *John's* receives primary stress, as in (27b), the double genitive implies that the possessor is the more important, or the better-known, of the two, John and the referent of the vocative double genitive; in other words, the focal stress on the possessor conveys some kind of contrastive meaning. Hence, the data in (27) may show that the primary stress on the possessor leads to a contrastive interpretation. This observation will be slightly different from Corver and van Koppen's (2009) argument that the possessor of vocative double genitives concerns information focus. The speaker therefore may put primary focus on the head noun to talk to the referent if s/he wants to speak to the addressee with an intention to mock; this pattern will naturally follow under the present proposal that the head noun receives a new information focus interpretation (cf. Barker (1998)).

5.   Conclusion

The search for symmetry across syntactic domains has been an essential guideline within the framework of generative grammar. In a recent development of the MP and the cartographic framework, the notion of symmetry, furthermore, is hypothesized to extend to both the clausal domain (CP) and the nominal domain (DP) (Giusti (1996), Aboh (2004), Corver and van Koppen (2009), to name a few)). Hoping to contribute to such a research on symmetry, this note proposed that the thematic and discourse-related properties of English double genitives are derived by application of external and internal merge. Following Kayne (1993, 1994), this note proposed that the thematic relation is established within the DP domain by means of application of external merge (structure building); the possessum, then, undergoes internal merge (displacement), or information focus movement within the DP domain which derives the discourse-related property (focus). Thus, the syntactic/semantic properties of English double genitives can be naturally captured under the symmetric view across syntactic domains that external merge establishes a thematic relation, and internal merge derives a discourse-related property.

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