Genitive Subject Positions in Japanese
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1. Introduction

(1) Several types of case-marked subjects
      T.-Nom lunch-Acc eat-Past              T.-Dat French-Nom know
      ‘Taro had lunch.’                        ‘Taro knows French.’
   c. Taro-no yon-da hon
      T.-Gen read-Past book
      ‘the book that Taro read’

(2) Taro-ga yon-da hon
    T.-Nom read-Past book
    ‘the book that Taro read’

(3) * Taro-no hon-o yon-da.
    T.-Gen book-Acc read-Past
    ‘Lit. Taro read the book.’

(4) Taro-no hon
    T.-Gen book
    ‘Taro’s book’

(5) kino Taro-no yon-da hon                 (Nakai 1980)
    yesterday T.-Gen read-Past book
    ‘the book that Taro read yesterday’

(6) Our claim:
    The structure of prenominal clauses is different between that containing Nom-subj. and that containing Gen-subj., but there might be a possibility that the structure is identical in some case, in which the alternation is totally optional.

2. NGC and FocP
   Genitive subject = TP
(7) a. Taro-dake-ga/*no non-da kusuri
t. only-Nom/Gen take-Past medicine
‘the medicine that only Taro took’
b. gakusei-bakari-ga/*no kat-ta hon
students-only-Nom/Gen buy-Past book
‘the book that only students bought’
c. kokosei-nomi-ga/*no eran-da manga
high school students-only-Nom/Gen chose-Past comics
‘the comics that only high school students chose’
d. Taro-sae-ga/*no tabe-ta keeki
T. even-Nom/Gen eat-Past cake
‘the cake that even Taro ate’

(8) a. Taro-dake-ga/*no nai-ta jijitsu
t. only-Nom/Gen cry-Past fact
‘the fact that only Taro cried’
b. nihonjin-bakari-ga/no aruku riyu
Japanese-only-Nom/Gen walk reason
‘the reason that only the Japanese walk there’
c. joshi-nomi-ga/no hashit-ta kyogi
girl-only-Nom/Gen run-Past game
‘the game in which only women ran’

(9) a. Nominative subject
    b. Genitive subject

(10) a. umi-dake-no mi-eru heya
    b. na-dake-no shire-ta shohin
    ocean-only-Gen see-can room
    name-only-Gen be known product
    ‘the room where we can see only ocean’  ‘the product that is known by only name’
c. gomi-bakari-no medatsu machi
garbage-only-Gen be noticeable city
‘the city where only garbage is noticeable’

(11) a. *Taro-ga [VP hayaku [VP tegami-wa yonda]]
    Taro-Nom quickly letter-FP read
    ‘Taro read the letter quickly.’

b. Taro-ga tegami-wa [VP hayaku [VP t yonda]]
    Taro-Nom letter-FP quickly read
    ‘Taro read the letter quickly.’

(Yanagida 1996)

(12)

3. Foc-head and Scrambling

(13) a. kossori Taroo-ga Hanako-no banana-o tabe-ta. ✈ ND
    secretly Taro-Nom Hanako-Gen banana-Acc eat-PAST (=Neutral Discription)
    ‘Secretly Taro ate Hanako’s banana.’

b. Taroo-ga kossori Hanako-no banana-o tabe-ta. ✈ ND or EL
    Taro-Nom secretly Hanako-Gen banana-Acc eat-PAST (=Exhaustive List)
    (Fujimaki 2011)

(14) a. Taroo-ga kossori tabe-ta banana ✈ ND or EL
    Taro-Nom secretly eat-PAST banana
    ‘the banana Taro ate secretly’

b. kossori Taroo-ga tabe-ta banana ✈ ND
    secretly Taro-Nom eat-PAST banana

(15) a. chuibukaku Taro-ga yon-da hon
carefully T.-Nom read-Past book
    ‘the book that Taro read carefully’

b. Taro-ga chuibukaku yon-da hon
T.-Nom carefully read-Past book

c. ??* chuibukaku Taro-no yon-da hon
carefully T.-Gen read-Past book

d. Taro-no chuibukaku yon-da hon
T.-Gen carefully read-Pat book
(16) a. mushimegane-de Taro-ga yon-da hon
loupe-with T.-Nom read-Past book
‘the book that Taro read with loupe’
b. Taro-ga mushimegane-de yon-da hon
T.-Nom loupe-with read-Past book
c. mushimegane-de Taro-no yon-da hon
loupe-with T.-Gen read-Past book
d. Taro-no mushimegane-de yon-da hon
T.-Gen loupe-with read-Past book

(17) a. hadaka-de Taro-ga yon-da hon
naked-with T.-Nom read-Past book
‘the book that Taro read with naked’
b. Taro-ga hadaka-de yon-da hon
T.-Nom naked-with read-Past book
c. hadaka-de Taro-no yon-da hon
naked-with T.-Gen read-Past book
d. Taro-no hadaka-de yon-da hon
T.-Gen naked-with read-Past book

⇒ VP adverbials cannot precede Genitive Subjects.

(18)

⇒ Scrambling cannot be done within the prenominal clauses with Genitive Subjects.

(19) kanzen-ni ondo-ga/no sagat-ta riyu
completely temperature-Nom/Gen fall-Past reason
‘the reason that the temperature fell completely’

(20) totsuzen hi-ga/no kie-ta koto
suddenly fire-Nom/Gen go out-Past fact
‘the fact that the fire went out suddenly’
• (15), (16), (17) \( \Rightarrow \) Genitive subject = Agent
• (19), (20) \( \Rightarrow \) Genitive subject = Theme

(21)

4. **Nominative case by v***

(22) \[ [TP \text{ Subj \ldots}] \text{ Foc-N-D} \Rightarrow \text{ Nominative} \]
    \[ [TP \text{ Subj \ldots}] \text{ N-D} \Rightarrow \text{ Genitive} \]

(23)a. Nominative subject

(23)b. Genitive subject

(24) Transitives:

a. kodomotachi-ga hon(-o) yomu-no mita koto nai
   children-Nom book(-Acc) read-Nominalizer saw fact Neg
   ‘I have never seen the kids read books.’

b. * kodomotachi-ga hon(-o) yomu-no mita koto nai
   children-Nom book(-Acc) read-Nominalizer saw fact Neg

(25) Taro [ ] shitteiru jyosei
    Taro [ ] know woman
    ‘(the) woman who knows Taro’/ ‘(the) woman who Taro knows’

\( \Rightarrow \) The accusative case marker can be deleted, but the nominative case marker cannot in a transitive sentence.
(26) Unaccusatives:
   a. kotsujiko(-ga) okoru tokoro mita koto aru?
      Traffic accident-Nom. happen place saw fact be?
      ‘Have you seen a traffic accident happen?’
   b. gohantsubu (-ga) tsuiteiru-no sitteru?
      a grain of rice-Nom stick to-Nominalizer know
      ‘Do you know there is a grain of rice on your face?’

(27) Unergatives:
   a. kodomo-tachi *(-ga) sawagu-no mita koto nai.
      Children-Nom make noise-Nominalizer saw fact Neg
      ‘I have never seen the kids make noise.’
   b. kanjya *(-ga) abareta-no sittemasuka?
      patient acted-Nom violently-Nominalizer know
      ‘Do you know a patient acted violently?’

   ➔ The nominative case marker can be deleted in the case of unaccusative predicates, but the
   nominative case marker cannot in the case of unergative predicates. That is, Theme
   subject may stay within v*P.

(28) a. 
   b. 

(29) a. keeki-ga/no suki-na kodomo
    cake-Nom/Gen like-Adj kids
    ‘(the) kids who like cakes’
   b. kodomo-ga/no suki-na keeki
    kids-Nom/Gen like-Adj cake
    ‘(the) cake which kids like’

(30) a. keeki-ga suki-na-T-Foc kodomo
   b. kodomo-ga suki-na-T-Foc keei
5. Summary

• Akaso & Haraguchi (2010, 2011)  
  \[
  \text{Nominative Subject} = \text{FocP} \\
  \text{Genitive Subject} = \text{TP}
  \]

• The case-realization depends on the syntactic structure.

• When the predicate within a pre-nominal clause is unaccusative, the NGC may be a free alternation.
References

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