Genitive Subject Positions in Japanese
AKASO Naoyuki & HARAGUCHI Tomoko
Nagoya Gakuin University & Nanzan University

1. Introduction

(1) Several types of case-marked subjects

    a. Taro-ga   ranchi-o   tabe-ta.
       T.-Nom   lunch-Acc   eat-Past
       'Taro had lunch.'

    b. Taro-ni   Furansugo-ga   wakaru.
       T.-Dat   French-Nom   know
       '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.
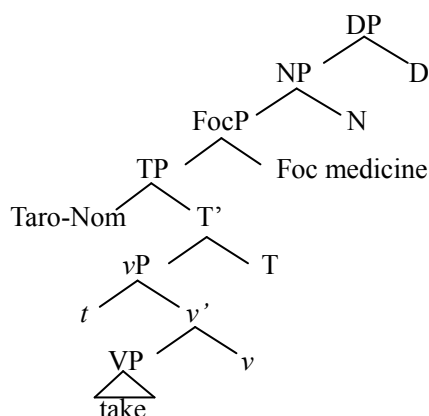
2. NGC and FocP

Akaso & Haraguchi (2010, 2011)   Nominative subject = FocP
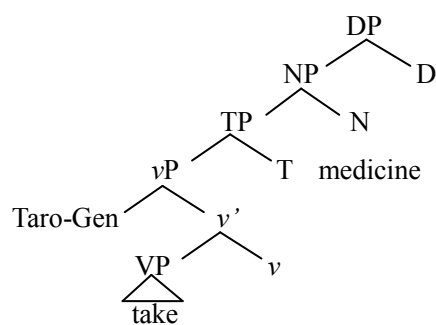   Genitive subject = TP

(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'
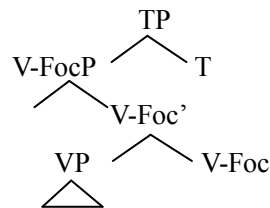
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c. gomi-*bakari*-no   medatsu   machi
garbage-only-Gen   be noticeable   city
'the city where only garbage is noticeable'

(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)
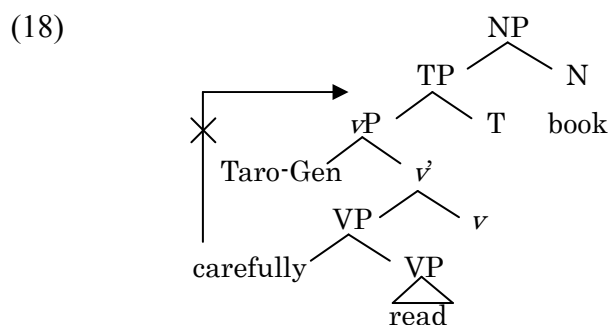
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3. Foc-head and Scrambling

(13) a. kossori   Taroo-ga   Hanako-no banana-o   tabe-ta. ⬅ ND
secretly   Taro-Nom   Hanako-Gen banana-Acc eat-PAST   (=**N**eutral **D**iscription)
'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   (=**E**xhaustive **L**ist)
(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

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(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.
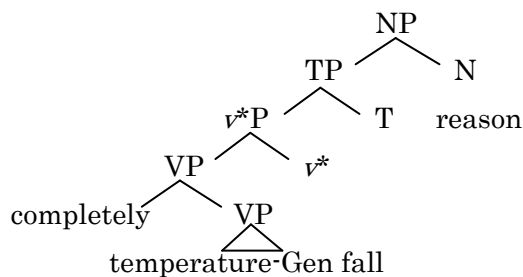
(18)

       ➔ 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'

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・(15), (16), (17)　➡　Genitive subject = Agent
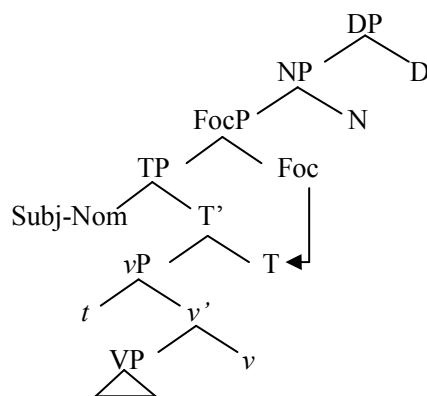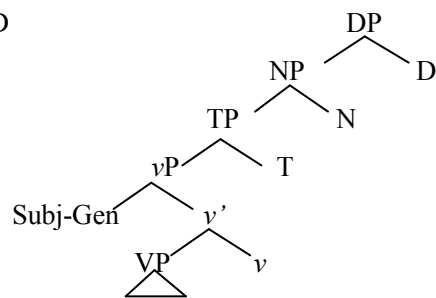・(19), (20)　　　　➡　Genitive subject = Theme

(21)

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                        NP
                   TP        N
              v*P      T    reason
          VP      v*
   completely   VP
          temperature-Gen fall
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4.　Nominative case by v*

(22)　　[TP Subj …] Foc-N-D　➡　Nominative
　　　　[TP Subj …] N-D　➡　Genitive

(23) a. Nominative subject　　　　　　　b.　Genitive subject

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                    DP                                        DP
               NP        D                              NP        D
           FocP     N                              TP        N
        TP      Foc                            vP       T
   Subj-Nom   T'                          Subj-Gen   v'
        vP        T                              VP       v
     t     v'
        VP     v
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(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'

➡　The accusative case marker can be deleted, but the nominative case maker cannot in a transitive sentence.
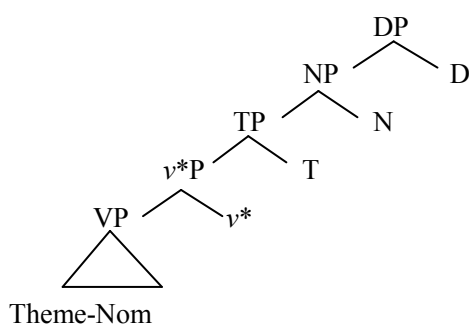
(26)   Unaccusatives:

    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?'
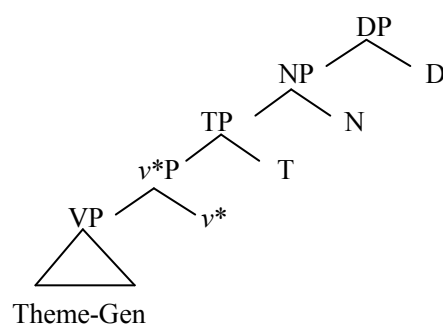

(27)   Unergatives:

    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 maker cannot in the case of unergative predicates. That is, Theme subject may stay within v*P.

(28) a.

Theme-Nom   b.   Theme-Gen

(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

(31) a.   keeki-no   suki-na-T   kodomo
     b.   kodomo-no   suki-na-T   keeki

(32)   kodomo-ga   keeki-ga   suki-da.
          kid-Nom   cake-Nom   like-be
          'Kids like cakes.'

(33)   kodomo-ga   keeki-ga   suki-na   koto
          kids-Nom   cake-Nom   like-Adj   fact

(34)   kodomo-no   keeki-no   suki-na   koto
          kids-Gen   cake-Gen   like-Adj   fact

(35)   kodomo-ga   keeki-no   suki-na   koto
          kid-Nom   cake-Gen   like-Adj   fact
          'the fact that kids like cakes'

(36)   [$_{TP}$[$_{v*P}$ kodomo-ga   keeki-no   suki-na-v*]-T] koto
                  kid-Nom   cake-Gen like-Adj   fact
          'the fact that kids like cakes'
          ➔ v* (the little weak v) can license the nominative case.

5.   Summary
・Akaso & Haraguchi (2010, 2011)   Nominative Subject = FocP
                                    Genitive Subject   = 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.

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E-mail addresses:
naoakaso@ngu.ac.jp
devtomo@yahoo.co.jp