

July 2011

Genitive of Dependent Tense in Japanese and Its Correlation to Genitive of Negation in Slavic

Shigeru Miyagawa, MIT

1. Introduction

- (1) [watasi-ga/no yonda] hon-wa omosiroi.
[I-NOM/GEN read] book-TOP interesting
‘The book I read is interesting.’

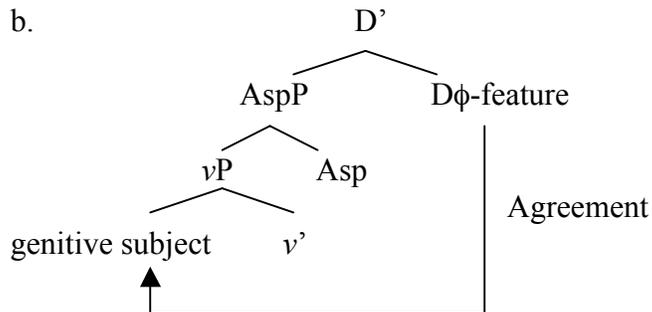
- (2) D-licensing: e.g., Bedell 1972, Miyagawa 1993, 2011, Ochi 2001
The two case markers occur in different structures (Miyagawa 2011), where T licenses the nominative and D licenses the genitive.

C-licensing: Watanabe 1996, Hiraiwa 2001, 2005

The two case markers are essentially licensed by the same structure, where C licenses either the nominative or the genitive (see Hiraiwa 2005 for one difference).

- (3) Dagur RC (based on Hale 2002; some details changed)

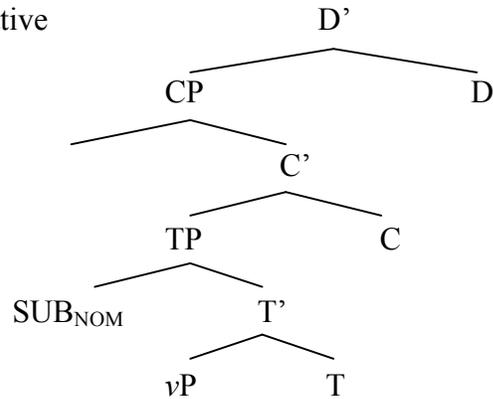
- a. [[mini au -sen] mer^y -min^y] sain.
[[1sGEN buy-PERF] horse -1sGEN] good
‘The horse I bought is good.’



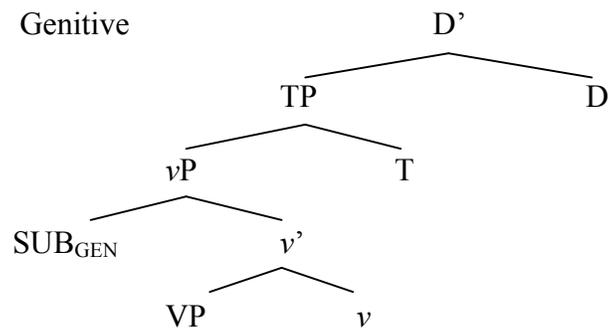
Size of the clause (Miyagawa 2011; see Cinque 1999)

- (4)a. Kore-ga [saiwai-ni Taroo-ga/?*-no eranda] yubiwa desu.
this-NOM fortunately Taro-NOM/-GEN chose ring COP
‘This is the ring that Taro fortunately chose.’
- b. Kore-ga [kitto Taroo-ga/-no eranda] yubiwa desu.
this-NOM probably Taro-NOM/-GEN chose ring COP
‘This is the ring that Taro probably chose.’

(5) Nominative



(6) Genitive



Harada (1971: 80)

- (7) a. kodomotati-ga minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
 children-NOM together vigorously run-climb up stairway
 'the stairway which those children ran up together vigorously'
- b. *kodomo-tati-no minna-de ikioi-yoku kake-nobotta kaidan
 children-GEN together vigorously run-climb up stairway

Further evidence for the difference in the size of the clause (see Sakai 1994)

- (8) a. Mary_i-no [kinoo kanozyo_i-ga yatotta] gakusei
 Mary-GEN yesterday she-NOM hired student
 'Mary's student whom she hired yesterday'
- b. ??Mary_i-no [kinoo kanozyo_i-no yatotta] gakusei
 Mary-GEN yesterday she-GEN hired student

2. Challenges to the D-licensing approach

Watanabe (1996), Hiraiwa (2001, 2002, 2005)

- (9) a. John-wa [Mary-**ga/-no** yonda yori] takusan-no hon-wo yonda.
 John-TOP Mary-NOM/GEN read-PST-ADN than many-GEN books-ACC read-PST
 ‘John read more books than Mary did.’ (Watanabe 1996:396)
- b. John-wa [ame-**ga/-no** yamu made] office-ni i-ta.
 John-TOP rain-NOM/GEN stop-PRES-ADN until office-at be-PST
 ‘John was at his office until the rain stopped.’
- c. [Boku-**ga/no** omou ni] John-wa Mary-ga suki-ni-tigainai
 I-NOM/GEN think-PRES-ADN -DAT John-TOP Mary-NOM like-must-PRES
 ‘I think that John likes Mary.’
- d. Kono atari-wa [hi-**ga/no** kureru nitsure(te)] hiekondekuru.
 around-here-TOP sun-NOM/GEN go-down-PRES-ADN as colder-get-PRES
 ‘It gets chillier as the sun goes down around here.’
- e. John-wa [toki-**ga/no** tatsu to tomoni]
 John-TOP time-NOM/GEN pass-PRES-ADN with as
 Mary-no koto-wo wasurete-itta.
 Mary-GEN FN-ACC forget-go-PST
 ‘Mary slipped out of John’s memory as times went by.’

Maki and Uchibori (2008): covert nominal head

3. Temporal clause: CP or DP

- (10) [kodomo-ga/*-no waratta toki], tonari-no heya-ni ita.
 child-NOM/GEN laughed when next-GEN room-in was
 ‘When the child laughed, I was in the next room.’
- (11) [Kodomo-ga/-no waratta toki]-o omoidasita.
 child-NOM/GEN laughed when-ACC recalled
 ‘I recalled the time when the child laughed.’

Whitman (1992): an adjunct clause headed by a word such as *toki* ‘when’ (or *koto* ‘matter’) is a CP; in argument position, *toki* is an N.

- (12) When the kids laughed, I was in the next room.

Fujita (1988), Miyagawa (1989).

- (13) a. [Minna-ga/?*-no odotta toki], nigiyaka-ni natta.
all-NOM-GEN danced when lively became
'When everyone danced, it became lively.'
- b. [Minna-ga/-no odotta toki]-ga itiban nigiyaka datta.
all-NOM-GEN danced when-NOM most lively was
'The time when every danced was very lively.'

3.1. Genitive of dependent tense

Fujita (1988) (Miyagawa 1989: 104-105): genitive subjects are allowed in this environment if the predicate is unaccusative.

- (14) [Kodomo-ga/-no kita toki], tonari-no heya-ni ita.
child-NOM/-GEN came when next-GEN room-in was
'I was in the next room when the child came.'
- (15) [Kaze-de doa-ga/-no aita toki] daremo kizukanakatta.
wind-by door-NOM/GEN opened when no one noticed
'When the door opened due to wind, no one noticed.'

Fundamentally different from D-licensed genitive: this genitive occurs in CP, not TP.

- (16) Kore-ga [saiwai-ni Taroo-ga/?*-no eranda] yubiwa desu.
this-NOM fortunately Taro-NOM/-GEN chose ring COP
'This is the ring that Taro fortunately chose.'
- (17) [Saiwai-ni ame-no yanda toki], minna kooen-de asonda.
fortunately rain-GEN stopped when everyone park-in played
'When the rain fortunately stopped, everyone played in the park.'
- (18) [Saiwai-ni seki-no aita toki], Hanako-wa obaasan-ni osiete-ageta.
fortunately seat-GEN opened when Hanako-TOP grandmother-DAT let.know
'When a seat fortunately opened up, Hanako let her grandmother know.'

Also fine with passive:

- (19) Watasi-wa [kodomo-no home-rare-ta toki] hontouni uresii kimoti datta.
I-TOP child-GEN praise-PASS-PST when really happy feeling was
'When my child was praised, I was really happy.'

As in the case of the genitive of unaccusative, the genitive of the passive occurs in CP.

- (20) Watasi-wa [saiwai-ni kodomo-no erab-are-ta toki], hotto simasi-ta.
I-TOP fortunately child-GEN choose-PASS-PST when relieved was
'When my child was fortunately chosen, I was relieved.'

This unusual genitive is similar to the genitive of negation in Slavic languages such as Russian (Babby, 1980, Pesetsky, 1982, Bailyn, 1997, Babyonyshev, 1996, etc.): this genitive case marking only occurs on internal arguments — the “subject” of passives and unaccusative and the direct object of transitives, but not the subject of unergatives or transitives. The following examples are taken from Pesetsky (1982, 40-50) to demonstrate this point.

Direct objects

- (21)a. Ja ne polučal pis'ma.
I NEG received letters.ACC.PL

b. Ja ne polučal pisem.
I NEG received letters.GEN.PL

Subjects of passives

- (22) a. Ni odna gazeta ne byla polučena.
not one newspaper.FEM.NOM.SG NEG was.FEM.SG received.FEM.SG

b. Ni odnoj gazety ne bylo polučeno.
not one newspaper.FEM.GEN.SG NEG was.NEUT.SG received.NEUT.SG

Unaccusative subjects:

- (23) a. Griby zdes' ne rastut.
mushrooms.NOM here NEG grow.3PL

b. Gribov zdes' ne rastet.
mushrooms.GEN here NEG grow.3SG

(24) a. Otvét iz polka ne prišlo.
answer.NOM from regiment NEG arrived.MASC.3SG

b. Otveta iz polka ne prišlo.
answer.GEN from regiment NEG arrived.NEUT.3SG

Unergative subjects:

- (25) a. V pivbarax kul'turnye ljudi ne p'jut.
in beerhalls cultured people.NOM NEG drink.3PL
- b. *V pivbarax kul'turnyx ljudej ne p'et.
in beerhalls cultured people.GEN NEG drink.3SG
- (26) a. Ni odin rebenok ne prygnul
not one child.M.SG.NOM NEG jumped.MASC.SG
- b. *Ni odnogo rebenka ne prygnulo
not one child.M.SG.GEN NEG jumped.NEUT.SG

Transitive subjects (regardless of their agentivity):

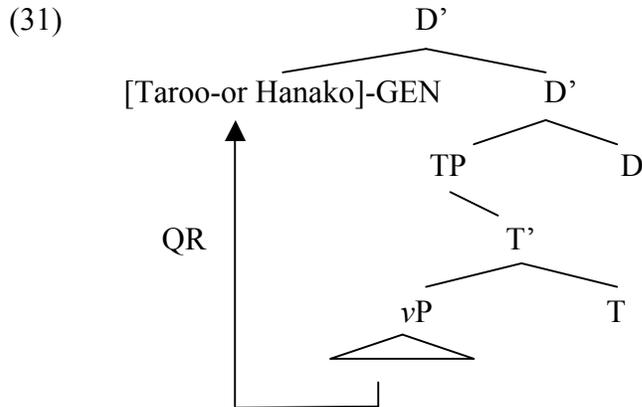
- (27) a. Studenty ne smotrjat televizor.
students.NOM NEG watch.PL TV
- b. *Studentov ne smotrit televizor.
students.GEN NEG watch.SG TV

As H. Takahashi (2010) notes, some of the examples that Hiraiwa (2001, 2002) gives as counterexamples to D-licensing are the Fujita-type examples involving an unaccusative verb.

- (28) John-wa [ame-ga/no yam-u made] office-ni ita.
John-TOP rain-NOM/GEN stop-PRES until office-at be-PST
'John was at his office until the rain stopped.'
- (29) John-wa [oogoede Mary-ga/?*no wara-u -made] odotteita.
John-TOP loudly Mary-NOM/GEN laugh-PRES until was.dancing
'John was dancing until Mary laughed loudly.'

Miyagawa (1993) (see also Ochi 2001)

- (30) a. [[Taroo-ka Hanako]-ga kuru] riyuu-o osiete.
Taro-or Hanako-NOM come reason-ACC tell.me
'Tell me the reason why either Taro or Hanako will come.'
reason > Taro or Hanako, *Taro or Hanako > reason
- b. [[Taroo-ka Hanako]-no kuru] riyuu-o osiete.
Taro-or Hanako-GEN come reason-ACC tell.me
'Tell me the reason why Taro or Hanako will come.'
reason > Taro or Hanako, Taro or Hanako > reason



Johnson 2000, Miyagawa, 2011

- (32) a. Someone thinks [_{CP} every boy will come]. (May 1977)
 b. Someone wants [_{TP} to order every item in the catalogue].

H. Takahashi (2010) observes that in the temporal adjunct clause, scope relations are fundamentally different.

- (33) a. [[John-ka Mary]-**ga** kuru -made] mati-masyou.
 [John-or Mary]-NOM come -until wait-let.us
 ‘Let’s wait until the time when John or Mary comes.’
 *‘Let’s wait until the time John comes or the time Mary comes.’
- b. [[John-ka Mary]-**no** kuru -made] mati-masyou.
 [John-or Mary]-GEN come -until wait-let.us
 ‘Let’s wait until the time when John or Mary comes.’
 *‘Let’s wait until the time John comes or the time Mary comes.’

If we change (34) so that there is an overt nominal head, scope ambiguity returns with the genitive subject. This is D-licensed *no*.

- (34) a. [[John-ka Mary]-**ga** kuru **zikan**-made] mati-masyou.
 [John-or Mary]-NOM come time-until wait-let.us
 ‘Let’s wait until the time when John or Mary comes.’
 *‘Let’s wait until the time John comes or the time Mary comes.’
- b. [[John-ka Mary]-**no** kuru **zikan**-made] mayi-masyou.
 [John-or Mary]-GEN come time-until wait-let.us
 ‘Let’s wait until the time when John or Mary comes.’
 ‘Let’s wait until the time John comes or the time Mary comes.’

- (35) *Ame-no futta.
 rain-GEN fell
 ‘It rained.’

Dependent tense (Ogihara 1994)

- (36) a. [Hanako-ga te-o ageta toki] kore-o watasite kudasai.
Hanako-NOM hand-ACC raised when this-ACC give please
'Please hand this (to her) when Hanako (lit.) raised her hand.'
- b. [Hanako-ga te-o ageru toki] kore-o watasite kudasai.
Hanako-NOM hand-ACC raise when this-ACC give please
'Please hand this (to her) when Hanako (lit.) raises her hand.'
- (37) Genitive subjects in Japanese are contained in a TP headed by T that is not fully specified as independent tense.
- (38) Genitive of dependent tense (GDT)
The combination of weak v + dependent tense licenses genitive case in Japanese.
- (39) In Russian, the combination of weak v + negation licenses genitive case.

4. Temporal adjuncts vs. other types of adjuncts

toki/made: dependent tense

- (40) Hanako-no kaeru toki/made, uti-ni ite-kudasai.
Hanako-GEN come.home when/until home-at be-please
'When/until Hanako comes home, please be at home.'
- (41) [Taroo-ga/-no kuru made] matte-ita.
Taro-NOM-GEN come until wait-PAST
'I waited until Taro came.'

kara/nara: non-dependent tense

- (42) Hanako-ga kekkon-suru/*kekkon-sita kara/nara,
Hanako-GEN marry/married because/if
boku-wa kanozyo-no kekkonsiki-ni de-tai.
I-TOP her wedding-DAT attend-want
'Because/if Hanako is getting married/was married, I'd like to attend her wedding.'
- (43) a. Hanako-ga/*-no kuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.
Hanako-NOM/-GEN come because home-at be-please
'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'
- b. Ame-ga/*-no futta kara, miti-ga nurete-iru.
rain-NOM/GEN fall because street-NOM wet-is
'Because it rained, the streets are wet.'

- (44) a. Hanako-ga/*-no kuru nara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.
 Hanako-NOM/-GEN come if home-at be-please
 ‘If Hanako is coming, please be at home.’
- b. Ame-ga/*-no furu nara, dekake-na-i.
 rain-NOM/GEN fall if because go.out-NEG-PRESENT
 ‘If it rains, I won’t go out.’

5. Objects and the genitive case

Direct objects

- (45)a. Ja ne polučal pis'ma.
 I NEG received letters.ACC.PL
- b. Ja ne polučal pisem.
 I NEG received letters.GEN.PL
- (46) *[Hanako-ga tegami-no okutta] hito
 Hanako-NOM letter-GEN sent person
 ‘the person to whom Hanako sent a letter’
- (47) Hanako-ga eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
 Hanako-NOM English-NOM speak-can-PAST
 ‘Hanako can speak English.’

When we put this in a temporal adjunct clause, the following pattern of judgment emerges.

- (48)a. [Ziroo-ga eigo-ga wakar-anakat-ta toki]
 Jiro-NOM English-NOM understand-NEG-PAST when
 Hanako-ga tasuke-ta.
 Hanako-NOM help-PAST
 ‘When Jiro didn’t understand English, Hanako helped out.’
- b. *[Ziroo-no eigo-ga wakar-anakat-ta toki]
 Jiro-GEN English-NOM understand-NEG-PAST when
 Hanako-ga tasuke-ta.
 Hanako-NOM help-PAST
- c. ?*[Ziroo-no eigo-no wakar-anakat-ta toki]
 Jiro-GEN English-GEN understand-NEG-PAST when
 Hanako-ga tasuke-ta.
 Hanako-NOM help-PAST

- d. [Ziroo-ga eigo-no wakar-anakat-ta toki]
 Jiro-NOM English-GEN understand-NEG-PAST when
 Hanako-ga tasuke-ta.
 Hanako-NOM help-PAST

Let us now look at the same construction, but in an environment where the genitive may be D-licensed. Unlike the GDT case above, all four possibilities are essentially fine (Miyagawa 1993).

- (49) a. Hanako-ga furansugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto (NOM-NOM)
 Hanako-NOM French-NOM speak-can-PRS fact
 ‘the fact that Hanako can speak French’
- b. Hanako-no furansugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto (GEN-NOM)
 Hanako-GEN French-NOM speak-can-PRS fact
- c. Hanako-no furansugo-no hanas-e-ru koto (GEN-GEN)
 Hanako-GEN French-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
- d. Hanako-ga furansugo-no hanas-e-ru koto (NOM-GEN)
 Hanako-NOM French-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
- (50) a. saiwai-ni Hanako-ga furansugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto (NOM-NOM)
 fortunately Hanako-NOM French-NOM speak-can-PRS fact
 ‘the fact that Hanako fortunately can speak French’
- b. *saiwai-ni Hanako-no furansugo-ga hanas-e-ru koto (GEN-NOM)
 fortunately Hanako-GEN French-NOM speak-can-PRS fact
- c. *saiwai-ni Hanako-no furansugo-no hanas-e-ru koto (GEN-GEN)
 fortunately Hanako-GEN French-GEN speak-can-PRS fact
- d. saiwai-ni Hanako-ga furansugo-no hanas-e-ru koto (NOM-GEN)
 fortunately Hanako-NOM French-GEN speak-can-PRS fact

The relative clause in examples (b) and (c), which contain a genitive subject, is a TP, while in (a) and (d), which have a nominative subject, the clause is a CP.

- (51) Genitive of dependent tense
 The combination of weak *v* + dependent tense licenses genitive case in Japanese.

5. Two remaining exceptions

Watanabe (1996) gave the following as a counterexample to the D-licensing approach.

- (52) John-wa [Mary-**ga/no** yonda yori] takusan-no hon-o yonda.
 John-TOP Mary-NOM/GEN read-PST-ADN than many-GEN books-ACC read-PST
 ‘John read more books than Mary did.’ (Watanabe 1996:396)

Covert nominal head: Maki and Uchibori (2008), and from a different, semantic point of view, by Sudo (2009).

This leaves the following counterexample (Hiraiwa 2002).

- (53) [Boku-**ga/no** omou ni] John-wa Mary-ga suki-ni-tigainai
 I-NOM/GEN think-PRES-ADN -DAT John-TOP Mary-NOM like-must-PRES
 ‘I think that John likes Mary.’

SELECTED REFERENCES

- Babby, Leonard H. 1980. Existential Sentences and Negation in Russian. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma Publishers.
- Babyonyshev, Maria A. 1996. Structural connections in syntax and processing: Studies in Russian and Japanese, MIT: Ph.D. dissertation.
- Bailyn, John F. 1997. Genitive of negation is obligatory. In *Annual Workshop on Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Cornell Meeting 1995*, eds. W. Browne, E. Dornsich, N. Kondrashova and D. Zec, 84-114. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Bedell, George. 1972. On *no*. In: *UCLA Papers in Syntax 3: Studies in East Asian Syntax*, pp. 1-20.
- Cinque, G. 1999. Adverbs and Functional Heads. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Fujita, Naoya. 1988. *Genitive subject in Japanese and Universal Grammar*. Masters thesis, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
- Hale, Kenneth. 2002. On the Dagur object relative: some comparative notes. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 11, 109-122.
- Harada, S.-I., 1971. *Ga-no* conversion and ideolectal variations in Japanese. *Gengo Kenkyu* 60, 25-38.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2001. On nominative-genitive conversion. In: Guerzoni, E., and O. Matushansky (Eds.), *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 39: A Few from Building E39*, pp. 66-125.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2002. Nominative-Genitive Conversion Revisited. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 10. Stanford: CSLI/The University of Chicago Press, 546-559.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2005. Dimensions of Symmetry in Syntax: Agreement and Clausal Architecture, Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Johnson, Kyle. 2000. How far will quantifiers go? In: Martin, R., Michaels, D., Uriagereka, J. (Eds.), *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalism in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. MIT Press.
- Johnson, Kyle, and Satoshi Tomioka. 1997. Lowering and mid-size clauses. In *Proceedings of the 1997 Tübingen Workshop on Reconstruction*, ed. Graham Katz, Shin-Sook Kim, and Heike Winhart, 185–206. Universität Stuttgart and Universität Tübingen.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1994. Nominative objects: The role of TP in Japanese. In: Koizumi M., Ura., H. (Eds.), *Formal Approaches to Japanese Linguistics 1: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 24*, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 211-230.

- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 2008. Nominative object. In: Miyagawa, S., Saito, M. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 141–164.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Maki, Hideki, and Aasako Uchibori. 2008. *Ga/no* conversion. In Miyagawa, S., Saito, M. (Eds.), *Handbook of Japanese Linguistics*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.192-216.
- May, Robert. 1977. *The Grammar of Quantification*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1993. Case-checking and minimal link condition. In: Phillips, C. (Ed.), *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 19: Papers on Case and Agreement II*. MITWPL, Cambridge, Mass, pp. 213-254.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2008. Genitive subjects in Altaic. In: Ulutas, S., Boeckx, C. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics (WAFL4)*, MITWPL 56, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 181-198.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2010. *Why agree? Why move? Unifying Agreement-based and discourse-configurational languages*. MIT Press. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 54.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2011. Genitive subjects in Altaic and specification of phase. A special volume of *Lingua* on nominalization, edited by Jaklin Kornfilt and John Whitman.
- Ochi, Masao. 2001. Move F and *ga/no* conversion in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 10, 247-286.
- Ogihara, Toshiyuki. 1994. Adverbs of Quantification and Sequence-of-Tense Phenomena. In the proceedings of *Semantics and Linguistic Theory IV*. 251-267. CLC Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Pesetsky, David. 1982. *Paths and categories*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Sakai, Hiromu. 1994. Complex NP constraint and case-conversions in Japanese. In: Nakamura, M. (Ed.), *Current Topics in English and Japanese*. Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo, pp. 179-200.
- Sudo, Y. 2009. Invisible degree nominals in Japanese clausal comparatives. In Reiko Vermeulen and Ryosuke Shibagaki (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th Workshop on Altaic in Formal Linguistics*. MITWPL, Cambridge, Mass., pp. , 285–295.
- Tada, Hiroaki. 1992. Nominative objects in Japanese. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 14, 91-108.
- Takahashi, Hisako. 2010. Adverbial Clauses and Nominative/Genitive Conversion in Japanese. *Proceedings of the 6th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics (WAFL6)*. MITWPL.
- Takezawa, Koichi. 1987. *A Configurational Approach to Case-marking in Japanese*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- Watanabe, A., 1996. Nominative-genitive conversion and agreement in Japanese: A cross-linguistic perspective. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 5, 373-410.
- Whitman, John. 1992. String Vacuous V to Comp. Ms. Cornell. Paper presented at 1991 GLOW.