**Genitive of Dependent Tense in Japanese and Its Correlation with
Genitive of Negation in Slavic**

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1. Introduction

In Japanese, the subject of relative clauses and noun-complement clauses may be marked by the nominative case marker or, in some instances, by the genitive case marker.

(1) [**watasi-ga/no**   yonda]   hon-wa   omosiroi.

    [**I-NOM/GEN**   read]   book-TOP interesting

    'The book I read is interesting.'

While it is generally assumed that T licenses the nominative case marker (Takezawa 1987), there is lively debate as to what licenses the genitive case on the subject. In the D-licensing approach (e.g., Bedell, 1972, Miyagawa 1993, 2008, 2011a, Ochi, 2001, Saito, 1983), this genitive is licensed by the D head that takes the RC/noun-complement clause. In contrast, in the C-licensing approach (Watanabe 1996, Hiraiwa 2001, 2002, 2005), it is the "subjunctive" C of the RC/noun-complement clause that makes the genitive marking possible. In Miyagawa (2011a/Chapter 5; henceforth, Miyagawa 2011a), I give arguments for D-licensing of the genitive subject. One point that I note is that, contrary to the prediction made by the C-licensing approach, which portrays the choice between nominative and genitive to be optional, which means that there should be no real difference resulting from choosing one over the other (Watanabe 1996: 399-400; Hiraiwa

2001: 72-73, 115), there are, in fact, substantial differences. Many of these differences were first noted by Harada (1971) in the first comprehensive study of the genitive-subject construction. As Harada observed, while the nominative marking virtually always leads to a grammatical sentence, that is not the case with the genitive subject, the latter having a narrower range of grammatical possibilities. In Miyagawa (2011a), following Hale's (2002) work on Dagur genitive subjects, I argue that at least some of what Harada noted can be accounted for by the fact that the clause containing the genitive subject is smaller than the one containing the nominative subject; the compact nature of the genitive-subject clause allows the D that selects the clause to reach in and license the genitive on the subject.

We can see the difference in the size of the clauses in the range of adverbs that are possible (Miyagawa, 2011a). Cinque (1999) holds that speech act, evaluative, and evidential adverbials (*honestly, unfortunately, evidently*) occur in the CP region, while, for example, a "modal" adverb such as "probably" occurs lower, possibly in the TP region. We can see below that while a "CP adverb" is possible when the nominative case marker occurs, this is not the case with the genitive subject (thanks to Heizo Nakajima for this point). No such difference occurs with an adverb that occurs lower in the structure.

(2)a. Kore-ga   [saiwai-ni   Taroo-ga/?*-no   mituketa]   yubiwa desu.

     this-NOM   fortunately   Taro-NOM/-GEN   found   ring   COP

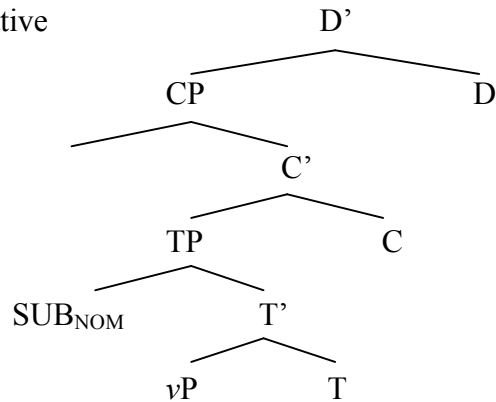   'This is the ring that Taro fortunately found.'

  b. Kore-ga   [kitto   Taroo-ga/-no   mituketa]   yubiwa desu.

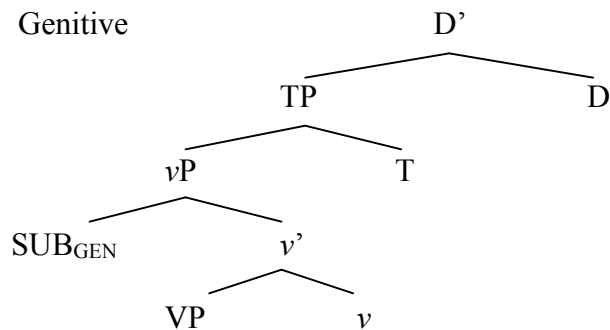   this-NOM probably   Taro-NOM/-GEN   found   ring   COP

    'This is the ring that Taro probably found.'

This difference suggests that when the nominative subject occurs, the structure is a full

CP, while the genitive subject is contained in a smaller clause, which I argue in

Miyagawa (2011a) to be a TP. The following structures illustrate the difference (I have

left out the RC head; also, see Miyagawa, 2011a, for arguments that the genitive subject

stays in vP, a point suggested earlier by Watanabe 1996).

(3)   Nominative

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                              D'
                  CP                    D
              C'
         TP        C
    SUB_NOM   T'
            vP     T
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(4)   Genitive

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                              D'
                  TP                    D
            vP         T
      SUB_GEN   v'
          VP        v
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Why does the nominative subject in (3) move to Spec, TP, while the genitive subject in

(4) doesn't? In (3), a full CP occurs, and T inherits formal features from C, including the

nominative Case feature, in turn, triggering movement of the nominative subject. In

contrast, in (4), there is no CP, so that the T does not end up with relevant formal

features, which makes movement of the subject unnecessary.[1] This difference solves a

problem noted by Harada (1971: 80) that there is a difference between the nominative

and the genitive subject when it comes to elements that may intervene between the

subject and the verb.

(5) 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

I argued in Miyagawa (2011a) that in (b), the genitive subject violates economy because

it had to have moved — presumably to Spec, TP — although nothing requires it to do so.

This analysis further predicts that an adverb may occur between a genitive subject and the

verb if it is a low, VP adverb that does not require the genitive subject to move from its

original position of Spec, vP.

(6) Koozi-no mattaku sir-anai   kakudo

    Koji-GEN at.all   know-NEG angle

    'an angle that Koji doesn't know at all'

The genitive subject occurs to the left of the adverb *mattaku* 'at all', which is a VP adverb

that can be viewed as directly modifying the VP and sits lower than the Spec,*v*P, hence

the genitive subject need not have moved. As further evidence, Nambu (2010) points out

that in two large corpora that he examined, there are 34 cases of a phrase occurring

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[1]In Miyagawa (2010), I give arguments that the effect of EPP only shows up when there

are relevant formal features on the head (e.g., T).

between a genitive subject and the verb, and all 34 are either VP adverbs or PPs, the latter presumably also occurring within the VP.

Further evidence for the difference in the size of the clause comes from Sakai's (1994:187) observation based on Binding Theory, Condition B (I have changed his example slightly).

(7)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

As Sakai notes, if we put a possessor phrase in Spec, DP, it is possible to have a pronoun in the subject position of the embedded structure be coreferential with the possessor phrase only if the subject pronoun is marked by the nominative case. This again suggests that the clause that contains the nominative subject is larger than the one that contains the genitive subject. As noted above, I argue in Miyagawa (2011a) that, while the nominative subject is contained in a CP, the clause that contains the genitive subject is a TP without a CP above it. Because the structure that contains the nominative subject is a CP, and the C selects the T, it is a "full" structure with an active T, and this allows the CP/TP to act as a governing category. But in the case of the clause that contains the genitive subject, there is no CP, but only a TP, so that this T is not selected by C and therefore is defective, and this TP fails to constitute a governing category, very much like the cases of the infinitive that we see in English constructions such as the ECM.

One way in which the T here is defective is that, being unselected by C, it cannot assign nominative case. This allows D that takes the TP to license the genitive on the subject because T is not a case assigner, so there is no minimality violation. I also gave evidence that the clause with the genitive subject, having a defective T, is limited to the interpretation of "stative," where the stativity may be the actual Aktionsart of a predicate or the result of an eventuality, which typically has a stative interpretation (e.g., Kratzer 1994, Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou, and Izvorski 2001). So, there is ample evidence that the genitive case on the subject is licensed by D, and what makes this possible is that the clause that contains this subject is smaller — a TP and not a full CP.

In this chapter, I will look at an entirely different phenomenon of genitive marking on the subject that apparently does not depend on the occurrence of D, but rather, it appears to be licensed by a certain type of *v* in combination with dependent tense. As we will see, the distribution of this genitive virtually matches the genitive of negation in Slavic, the only difference arising from the fact that it is licensed in part by depedent tense, which only occurs in subordinate structures, while the genitive of negation in Slavic may occur freely in matrix as well as subordinate clauses.

2. Challenges to the D-licensing approach

Watanabe (1996) drew our attention to examples that ostensibly show that genitive subjects may occur in contexts where there is apparently no D, which, he argued, gave credence to the idea that the genitive is licensed by some other means than D — for him, C. Extending this line of analysis, Hiraiwa (2002) gave examples below, one of which is taken from Watanabe, that presumably further demonstrate that the genitive case marking

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on the subject is not dependent on the occurrence of D.

(8) 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.'*tot*

  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) argue that these are not counterexamples to D-licensing; they propose that these examples all have a silent nominal head, such as *teido* 'degree' for (a) or *toki* 'time' for (b), so that these structures actually do have a D head that licenses the genitive marking. However, H. Takahashi (2010) shows that this cannot be true because, as we will see later, examples with and without such an overt head behave

differently. If the example without a nominal head really did have a covert head, we would not expect any variation in the examples. However, in another context, we will see evidence that supports the type of approach suggested by Maki and Uchibori.

An important point that H. Takahashi notices about Hiraiwa's examples is that three of them (b, d, e) contain an unaccusative verb. Although Takahashi does not provide an analysis, she notes that unaccusatives have been observed to behave in a special fashion in the context of genitive subjects (Fujita 1988, Miyagawa 1989). What I will argue is that the examples from Hiraiwa that contain an unaccusative verb are, as Hiraiwa and Watanabe argue, genitive case markings licensed in the absence of D. Contrary to Hiraiwa/Watanabe, I will show that this special instance of genitive marking is similar to the genitive of negation found in Slavic languages, which occurs only on internal arguments, including the subject of the unaccusative. I will show that the genitive in these examples is licensed by the "weak" *v* in combination with dependent tense. For (a) and (c), I will argue that these are cases of of D-licensing with an empty nominal head, along the lines of Maki and Uchibori (2008). This special genitive marking must be dealt with separately from the D-licensed kind, the latter strictly dependant on the occurrence of the D head.

3. Temporal clause: CP or DP

In Miyagawa (1989: 103-105), I reported on Fujita's work (1988) that identified a type of genitive subject that, from the perspective of today's D- vs. C-licensing debate, is puzzling under either approach; Fujita's work is an extension of Terada's (1987) original

insights. I will begin with examples that clearly fall under the D-licensing approach, then move onto the puzzling examples.

In a temporal clause headed by a phrase such as *toki* 'time', only the nominative case is possible, with one exception that I will discuss later.

(9)   [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.'

Here the "when" clause is a temporal adjunct. However, as Fujita (1988) noted, if the temporal clause occurs as an argument, the genitive subject becomes possible. This is shown below.

(10) [Kodomo-ga/-no   waratta   toki]-o   omoidasita.

        child-NOM/GEN laughed   when-ACC recalled

        'I recalled the time when the child laughed.'

For the "adjunct clause" effect in (9) in which the genitive subject is excluded, I will adopt a suggestion by Whitman (1992), who, upon examining this data, proposed that an adjunct clause headed by a word such as *toki* 'when' (or *koto* 'matter') is a CP, so that *toki* in this construction is itself a C. This is comparable to a *when*-adjunct clause such as the following in English.

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

Given that there is no D, we would not expect the genitive subject to occur, and this is what we find, at least with examples such as (9) above. When this temporal clause occurs in an argument position as in (10), the clause takes on a DP structure, with *toki* 'when' occurring as an N head instead of as a C head (Whitman 1992), which is evident from the

fact that the accusative case marker occurs on it. One can also find the nominative, as

shown below (Miyagawa 1989). The first example is an instance of the temporal clause

functioning as an adjunct; in the second example it is functioning as an argument with the

nominative *ga* marking attached to the subordinate structure.

(12) a. [Minna-ga/?*-no   odotta   toki], nigiyaka-ni natta.[2]

      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

We saw that genitive subjects are impossible in temporal adjunct clauses. However,

there is one exception to this prohibition. Note that the verbs in the ungrammatical

examples in (9/12a) above are unergative ("laugh," "dance"). As Fujita (1988) observed

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[2] Some speakers do not find (12a) so bad. It is possible that these speakers are
topicalizing the 'when' phrase, keeping the topic marker *–wa* silent, which is an option
(see Kuno 1973). The topic marker functions like a case marker in turning *toki* into an N.
These speakers are thus allowing D-licensing of the genitive. One such speaker I checked
with does not allow 'fortunately', a sure sign that the genitive is being D-licensed.

(i)   [Saiwai-ni minna-ga/?*-no odotta   toki](-wa)   nigiyaka-ni natta.
    fortunately all-NOM/GEN danced when-(TOP) lively   became
    'When everyone fortunately danced, it became lively.'

The sentence with the genitive is fine without 'fortunately' if *–wa* is assumed to occur
overtly or covertly. Another possibility is that these speakers are silently assuming *–ni*
intead of *–wa*; *-ni* can occur optionally on temporal clauses and it has the same effect of
turning *toki* into a nominal.

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

(13) [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.'

(14) [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.'

Though not as natural as the nominative, the genitive in these examples is certainly within the range of ready acceptability. Given our assumption that these temporal adjunct clauses are CPs, with no relevant D in the structure, the occurrence of the genitive is completely unexpected. Clearly, it is licensed by something other than D.

 We can in fact show that the genitive in (13/14) is fundamentally different from the D-licensed genitive that we have been looking at up to know. The D-licensed genitive occurs in TP, which allows D selecting the TP to reach inside the TP to license the genitive, but the adjunct clause that contains the genitive subject is a CP because the temporal word such as *toki* 'when' is C, so that the genitive of unaccusative must be occurring in CP and not TP. To show this, recall that in a typical case of D-licensed genitive subject, a CP adverb such as "fortunately" is infelicitous because this structure only has a TP.

(15) Kore-ga   [saiwai-ni   Taroo-ga/?*-no   mituketa] yubiwa desu.

 this-NOM   fortunately   Taro-NOM/-GEN   found   ring   COP

 'This is the ring that Taro fortunately found.'

However, with the genitive subject involving an unaccusative, the situation is different.

(16) [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.'

(17) [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.'

Given that passives, like unaccusatives, involve a subject that starts out as an internal argument, we expect the subject of passives to also allow the genitive in the adjunct clause, and this is indeed the case.

(18) 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.

(19) 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.'

What is the nature of this genitive marking that is allowed in the absence of D for the subject of unaccusatives and passives, but not for transitives and unergatives? I suggest that this unusual genitive is similar to the genitive that occurs in the context of negation in Slavic languages such as Russian (Babby, 1980, Pesetsky, 1982, Bailyn, 1997, Babyonyshev, 1996, etc.). What is of interest is that 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.[3]

Direct objects

(20)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:

(21) 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:

(22) a. Griby   zdes' ne   rastut.

   mushrooms.NOM here NEG grow.3PL

   b. Gribov   zdes' ne   rastet.

   mushrooms.GEN here NEG grow.3SG

(23) a. Otvet   iz polka   ne   prišel.

   answer.NOM from regiment NEG arrived.MASC.3SG

   b. Otveta   iz   polka   ne   prišlo.

   answer.GEN from regiment NEG arrived.NEUT.3SG

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[3] These examples from Pesetsky (1982) were organized by Jason Merchant in a handout.

Unergative subjects:

(24) 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

(25) 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):

(26) a. Studenty ne smotrjat televizor.

   students.NOM NEG watch.PL TV

 b. *Studentov ne smotrit televizor.

   students.GEN NEG watch.SG TV

   In Japanese the genitive is apparently licensed by *v*, specifically, a "weak" *v* in the sense of Chomsky (1995, etc.), in combination with dependent tense. I will call this "genitive of dependent tense" for short. In fact, as H. Takahashi (2010) notes, some of the examples that Hiraiwa (2002) gives as counterexamples to D-licensing are the Fujita-type examples involving an unaccusative verb. Following is one such example from Hiraiwa (2001).[4]

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[4] Other unaccusatives in his examples include *kureru* '(something) goes down' and *tatsu* '(something) passes'. There are examples of transitive/unergative such as *yomu* 'read'

(27)   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.'

This is a type of adjunct clause headed by the temporal head, *made* 'until', which Hiraiwa

points out is not associated with D. As H. Takahashi (2010) notes, this temporal adjunct

construction becomes ungrammatical with the genitive subject if the verb is unergative.

(28)   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.'

In this regard, Hiraiwa's example is a demonstration of the genitive marking that occurs

with *v* (and dependent tense), but it is not a demonstration of the overall phenomenon of

genitive marking in Japanese as he assumed.

       But is there evidence that the *v* is indeed responsible for licensing the genitive case?

Takahashi (2010) makes an interesting observation in this regard. First, as noted in

Miyagawa (1993) (see also Ochi 2001), there is a scope difference between nominative

and genitive case markings.

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and *omou* 'think', but in other constructions such as the comparative. I will comment on

those examples later.

(29) 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.'

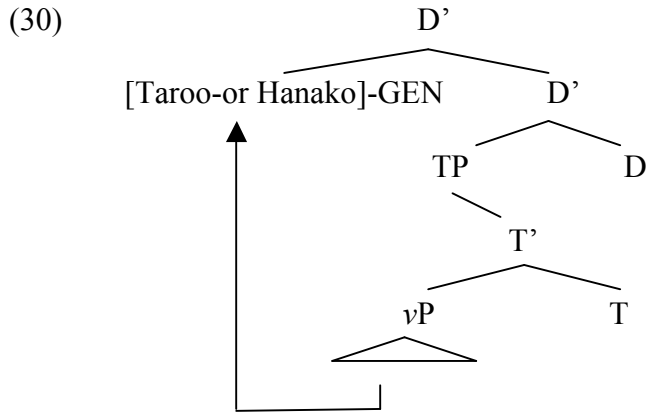   reason > Taro or Hanako, *Taro or Hanako > reason

  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

The nominative subject in (a) only takes narrow scope relative to the head 'reason', so that this sentence is asking for the reason why either Taro or Hanako will come. In (b), there is this reading, but also, there is a reading in which the genitive subject takes wide scope relative to 'reason', so that, on this latter reading, the speaker is asking for the reason why Taro will come or the reason why Hanako will come. I argued in Miyagawa (2011a) that because the clause containing the genitive subject is a TP, not a CP, there is no barrier to having the genitive subject QR to the higher D projection, allowing the wide reading that we see.

(30)

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                        D'
          ┌─────────────┴────────┐
    [Taroo-or Hanako]-GEN        D'
         ▲                 ┌──────┴─────┐
         │                 TP           D
         │               ┌──┘
         │               T'
         │            ┌───┴────┐
         │           vP        T
         │         ┌──┴──┐
         └─────────┘
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This is similar to the observation that QR in English, which is known to be clause-bound (May 1977), may nevertheless extract a quantifier out of an infinitival clause, that is, a TP (Johnson 2000, Miyagawa, 2011).

(31) Someone wants to order every item in the catalogue.

This sentence readily admits the inverse scope interpretation, "every item > someone."

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

(32) 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.'

In (a), with the nominative case, the subject only takes narrow scope, which is what we expect. What is surprising is that in (b), the genitive subject does not lead to scope

ambiguity, unlike what we saw earlier. Although Takahashi does not give a reason for this difference, an analysis based on Miyagawa (2011a) together with the assumption that *v* (and dependent tense — see below) assigns the genitive case in (b) provides a possible account. In Miyagawa (2011a), I argue that phases are specified by Case: if a head has Case to assign (or whatever formal statement one prefers for Case), that head is designated as a phase head. I also suggested that QR is limited in its local domain to the phase in which the quantifier occurs (see Miyagawa (2011b) for exceptions and other relevant discussion of QR). If we assume that *v* (in combination with dependent tense) licenses the genitive case marking on the internal argument of the unaccusative verb, *v* is designated as a phase head, and it would block the genitive subject from raising by QR beyond it. This blocks the wide scope reading of the genitive subject relative to 'until'. As Takahashi also notes, if we change (32) so that there is an overt nominal head, scope ambiguity returns with the genitive subject.[5]

(33) 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.

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[5] This raises an issue of QR in English, in particular, how can the object quantifier take scope over the subject quantifier in examples such as *Someone loves everyohe*, if the object is inside *v*P, presumably a phase? Johnson and Tomoika (1997) and Johnson (2000) give arguments that the object takes scope over the copy of the subject in Spec,*v*P. On this account, the object quantifier need not raise out of *v*P to take inverse scope.

[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.'

This is clear evidence that when an overt nominal heads the clause, D may license the genitive; the clause containing the genitive subject being a TP, the genitive subject can raise above the TP and take scope over the head. As Takahashi (2010) notes, this fact is a counterexample to Maki and Uchibori's (2008) argument that when there is no nominal head, there is a covert nominal head. If Maki and Uchibori are right, we should not detect any difference between those with and without an overt nominal head. See Takahashi (2010) for other interesting facts that parallel the scope observation. I will return to the idea of covert head later, showing that Maki and Uchibori are correct in certain instances.

An immediate question that arises with this genitive in Japanese is, why doesn't it ever occur in the matrix clause? Given that it isn't dependent on the occurrence of D, we should, in principle, expect it to occur everywhere, but, in fact, it does not.[6]

(34) *Ame-no futta.

    rain-GEN fell

    'It rained.'

The reason why this genitive does not occur in root environments is due to the fact that its licensing is dependent not only on weak v, but also on the occurrence of a certain type of tense, dependent tense, which only occurs in subordinate clauses.

Tense in subordinate contexts, including temporal clauses of the type we have been

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[6]There are dialects on the southern island of Kyushu that allow the genitive case in nominative positions even in the matrix clause. See Kato (2008) and Yoshimura (1994).

looking at, are often not a fully specified tense. Ogihara (1994) points out that the semantic content of tense in the subordinate clause is determined "in relation to structurally higher tenses" (p. 256). Following demonstrate this.

(35) 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.'

In (35a), the inflection on the verb within the adverbial clause is that of past, yet, the event points to a future time. The past inflection simply indicates a sequence in which Hanako raises her hand first, then the event of giving "this" to her should take place. In (35b), the verb within the temporal clause has the "present" inflection, which again denotes a future event. In this sentence, it simply denotes the sequence of either following or simultaneous with giving "this" to her. Ogihara (1994) points out that "a present tense morpheme in a temporal adverbial clause shows that the episode described in it is simultaneous with (or is subsequent to) the event or state described in the matrix clause" (1994:257). What we see, then, is that in these temporal constructions, the subordinate tense is somehow not fully specified as tense in that it is dependent on the higher tense for semantic determination. We therefore have the following generalization for genitive subjects in general, whether it is D-licensed or by weak *v*.

(36) Genitive subjects in Japanese are contained in a TP headed by T that is not fully specified as independent tense.

Although we can state the generalization in (34) to cover all instances of genitive subjects in Japanese, there is clearly a difference between the D-licensed type and those licensed by weak *v*. The former (D-licensed) occurs in a TP clause without a CP, which allows the D to license the genitive in Spec,TP without violating minimality. We can see that lack of CP in a variety of ways including the fact that a CP-level adverb cannot occur in a D-licensed genitive environment. On the other hand, the genitive licensed by weak *v* occurs within a CP, as indicated by the fact that a CP-level adverb occurs without a problem. We know that the D-licensed genitive is licensed by the D head. What about the genitive that is licensed by the weak *v*? It cannot just be any weak *v* since there is the additional condition that the T that takes the *v*P must be dependent tense. It appears, then, that this genitive is licensed by a combination of a weak *v* and dependent tense. Let us stipulate the following.

(37) Genitive of dependent tense (GDT)

The combination of weak *v* + dependent tense licenses genitive case in Japanese.[7] Presumably, this combination is implemented by *v* raising to T. Though merely a stipulation that needs to be derived from independent assumptions, (37) captures the fact that the subjects with the genitive of dependent tense (GDT) occur only in subordinate clauses, unlike Russian, because dependent tense never occurs in the main clause. In Russian, we can imagine a similar stipulation, not with dependent case, but with negation.

(38) In Russian, the combination of weak *v* + negation licenses genitive case.[8]

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[7] See footnote 9 for a suggestion that only a subset of dependent tense licenses GDT.

Since both weak *v* and negation occur in root as well as subordinate clauses, in Russian the genitive may occur in root clauses.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will give further evidence for (37).

4. Temporal adjuncts vs. other types of adjuncts

We saw that the genitive subject is licensed within a temporal adjunct that clearly does not contain a D. These include 'when' and 'until'.

(39) 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.'

The tense in these temporal adjuncts may all be dependent. We saw this for *toki* 'when' above; following shows it for *made* 'until', which requires the preceding predicate to be in the present form.

(40) [Taroo-ga/-no   kuru   made]   matte-ita.

Taro-NOM-GEN   come   until   wait-PAST

'I waited until Taro came.'

I suggested that the GDT is licensed by a combination of weak *v* and dependent tense. This predicts that if a subordinate clause does not contain dependent tense, genitive should be impossible. The reason-clause and *nara*-conditionals are exactly such adjunct clauses. The tense marking on the subordinate verb is deictic, thus has independent tense

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[8] In Slavic, the genitive of negation may occur on the object of transitive verbs; I assume that when this happens, the small *v* is somehow partially defective in that it fails to assign accusative case.

reference based on time of speech.

(41)　Hanako-ga　　kekkon-suru/*kekkon-sita kara/nara,

　　　Hanako-GEN　marry/married　　　　　　 because/if

　　　kanozyo-no　kekkonsiki-ni　de-tai.

　　　her　　　　　wedding-DAT attend-want

　　　'Because/if Hanako is getting married/was married, I'd like to attend her wedding.'

　　　As predicted, the GDT cannot occur in either the reason-clause or *nara-*

conditionals.

(42)　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.'

(43)　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.'[9]

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[9] There is a complication here in that another conditional, -*tara* 'if', which contains the

"past" morpheme –*ta* but there is no independent tense interpretation. This means that the

5. Objects and the genitive case

We have seen that GDT is clearly different from the D-licensed counterpart. There is one issue which I have not focused on about the licensing condition for these two types of genitives, namely, is there a difference in the status of T for for these two kinds of genitive markers? In the D-licensing environment, because T is not selected by C, T is defective, and it cannot assign nominative case. That is the reason why D that selects the

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conditional with –*tara* has dependent tense interpretation, yet, genitive subject is not allowed.

(i) Hanako-ga/*-no   ki-tara, osiete kudasai.

   Hanako-NOM/-GEN come-if tell.me please

  'Please let me know if Hanako comes.'

Similarly, the conditional –*to*, which requires the non-past inflection on the preceding predicate, blocks genitive case. This tense marking is also dependent tense marking.

(ii) Hanako-ga/*-no   kuru-to, paatii-ga   motto tanosiku   naru.

   Hanako-NOM/GEN come-if   party-NOM more   fun   becom

   'If Hanako comes, the party will become more fun.'

Chiharu Kikuta pointed out to me that –*nara* 'if' and –*node* 'because' can occur with dependent tense, yet they never allow the GDT. All this point to the possibility that what licenses GDT is a subset of dependent tense that goes with such temporal notions as 'when' and 'until'. I leave this issue open.

TP can reach inside the TP and license the genitive case of the subject. What about the T involved in the GDT? The TP that contains this genitive is selected by C, as we saw from the fact that CP level adverbs occur easily, so, we predict that unlike in the case of T for the D-licensed genitive, the T for GDT should be able to assign the nominative case. We will see that this prediction is borne out.

I drew a parallel between the GDT in Japanese and genitive of negation in Slavic, showing that the internal argument of unaccusatives and passives may be licensed by the weak v + dependent case in subordinate environments. There is so far one gap in this parallel, namely, while genitive of negation in Slavic may place a genitive case on the direct object of transitive verbs, such a construction in Japanese is impossible.

Direct objects

(44)a.   Ja ne polučal   pis'ma.

I NEG received letters.ACC.PL

b. Ja ne   polučal   pisem.

I NEG received letters.GEN.PL

(45) *[Hanako-ga   tegami-no okutta]   hito

Hanako-NOM   letter-GEN sent   person

'the person to whom Hanako sent a letter'

Is this a gap in otherwise close parallel between the two types of genitive? As it turns out, there in fact exists a parallel with genitive of negation even here in that, although objects of transitive verbs such as 'send' above cannot bear the genitive case marker, objects of stative predicates may do so. First of all, objects of stative predicates may (or in some cases, must) be marked by the nominative case marker.

(46) 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.

(47)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

In (a), both the subject and the object have nominative case, and there is no problem. In

(b) and (c), the subject has the genitive case; just as with Russian, we do not expect the

genitive on the subject of a transitive predicate. The striking example is (d). In this

example the subject has the nominative case and the object has the genitive case. This

example is predicted to occur on our analysis because this is an instance of a GDT, and

this genitive occurs with T that is selected by C. Though it is dependent tense, being

selected by C, this T is capable of licensing the nominative on the subject. The *v* here is

weak because the entire predicate is stative and the *v* does not assign accusative case.

This *v*, in conjunction with the dependent tense, can license the genitive on the object.

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).[10]

(48) 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

Transitive stative predicates such as 'can-speak' above mark their object with the

nominative case, although for complex predicates like 'can-speak' the object may

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[10] In an earlier version of Miyagawa (2011), I mistakenly said that some of the examples
in (48) are not very good, but it has become clear that they are basically fine after
checking with a large number of native speakers.

alternatively be marked by the accusative case marking (Kuno 1973, etc.). It is assumed in Miyagawa (1993) that the "alternation" on the object is nominative/genitive, and not accusative/genitive, because, as we saw earlier, an object that can only be marked by the accusative cannot bear the genitive case instead. As we can see in the four examples above, in this subordinate environment, all four possibilities exist in which the nominative case marking may alternate with the genitive on the subject and object phrases. Assuming that the genitive on the subject is D-licensed, which is the only option because, like in Slavic, the GDT does not occur on the subject of transitive predicates, what we want to know is the licensing mechanism for the genitive on the object.

Let us begin by asking about the size of the relative clause in each case. What we predict is that those examples in which the subject is marked with the genitive is a TP, not a CP, because the genitive on the subject of a transitive predicate must be D-licensed. We can see that this prediction is borne out.

(49) 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.

Let us look at (d), which has a nominative subject and a genitive object. The relative clause here is a CP, so the T is selected by C, and this gives T the ability to license the nominative on the subject. This is exactly the same construction as (48d), again showing that the T that enters into licensing of the genitive with the weak v may assign nominative, so that the only requirement on this T is that it be dependent tense, which it clearly is (Ogihara 1994). We can thus maintain the licensing condition given in (37) for the GDT intact; it is repeated below.

(50) Genitive of dependent tense

The combination of weak v + dependent tense licenses genitive case in Japanese.

The examples in (b) and (c) raise questions which I will indicate, but will not attempt to answer. In (c), both the subject and the object are marked with genitive case. We know that the genitive on the subject is D-licensed, but what about the genitive on the object? There are two possibilities, and I will simply list them. First, the genitive on the object may also be D-licensed under multiple agreement with the D head; we know that such multiple agreement occurs in Japanese (see, for example, Hiraiwa 2005). The other possibility is that the genitive on the object is the GDT kind, and it is in principle also possible due to the fact that the licensing condition is met (weak v + dependent tense). We have to account for the fact that the structure is TP, not CP, as shown by the fact that 'fortunately' is not possible.

In (b), the subject is marked with the genitive case while the object has the nominative case. This example challenges the most straightforward analysis of nominative object, namely, that it is licensed by T just like the subject nominative

(Koizumi 1994, Ura 1999, Kishimoto 2001; see also Takezawa 1987). One piece of evidence given for this analysis is that when the nominative case on the object alternates with the accusative case, the two case markers give rise to different scope interpretations (Sano 1985, Tada 1992). See Koizumi (2008) for a summary of the different approaches; the following is taken from his work, which, in turn, uses data from several previous works including Tada (1992).

(51) a. Kiyomi-wa   migime-dake-o   tumur-e-ru.

       Kiyomi-TOP   right.eye.only-ACC   close-can-PRES

       'Kiyomi can close only his right eye.'

       [can > only]: Kiyomi can wink his right eye.

  b. Kiyomi-wa   migime-dake-ga   tumur-e-ru.

       Kiyomi-TOP   right.eye.only-NOM   close-can-PRES

       [only > can]: 'It is only the right eye that Kiyomi can close.'

As we can see in (a), when the accusative case occurs on the object, this object takes scope low in the structure, presumably in its original position, but when the object has the nominative case as in (b), it takes scope wider than the higher predicate 'can', suggesting that the nominative object raises to a position in the TP region. This would be consistent with the idea that the nominative is licensed by T. However, what we saw in (42b), which has a genitive subject and a nominative object, is an instance in which the T cannot assign nominative, yet the nominative shows up on the object. This may indicate that the T that cannot license the nominative on the subject may nevertheless somehow license the case marker on the object; or, that the nominative object is somehow licensed differently, albeit by some high functional head, something that would be consistent with

Tada's (1992) analysis. I will leave this question open.

Let us return to the main point of this chapter, namely, the phenomenon of the GDT. We saw in the transitive stative predicate construction that the examples in which a genitive object that occurs with a nominative subject are instances of the GDT. I will give further evidence for this analysis. Recall that one hallmark of the GDT is that the genitive phrase is unable to take scope above *v*P. In this regard, we can find in Miyagawa (1993) evidence that the genitive on the object in (d) above (NOM-GEN) is GDT. The following are taken from that work.

(52) a. Taroo-ga   [tenisu-ka sakkaa]-ga   dekiru   riyuu   (NOM-NOM)

Taro-NOM [tennis-or soccer]-NOM   can   reason

'the reason why Taro can play tennis or soccer'

reason > [tennis or soccer]; *[tennis or soccer] > reason

 b. Taroo-no [tenisu-ka sakkaa]-ga   dekiru   riyuu   (GEN-NOM)

Taro-GEN [tennis-or soccer]-NOM   can   reason

'the reason why Taro can play tennis or soccer'

reason > [tennis or soccer]; *[tennis or soccer] > reason

 c. Taroo-no   [tenisu-ka sakkaa]-no   dekiru   riyuu   (GEN-GEN)

Taro-GEN   [tennis-or soccer]-GEN   can   reason

'the reason why Taro can play tennis or soccer'

reason > [tennis or soccer]; [tennis or soccer] > reason

 d. Taroo-ga   [tenisu-ka sakkaa]-no   dekiru   riyuu   (NOM-GEN)

Taro-NOM [tennis-or soccer]-GEN   can   reason

'the reason why Taro can play tennis or soccer'

reason > [tennis or soccer]; *[tennis or soccer] > reason

In these examples, there is a disjunctive phrase ('tennis or soccer') in the object position, and in all but (b), this phrase is incapable taking scope over the head noun 'reason'. The reason why this object phrase can scope over the head noun is because both the subject and the object bear the genitive case, and, as noted earlier, there is one analysis available in which both genitive cases are licensed by D. At LF both can raise by QR outside of the TP and above the head noun in the absence of a CP projection.

(53)
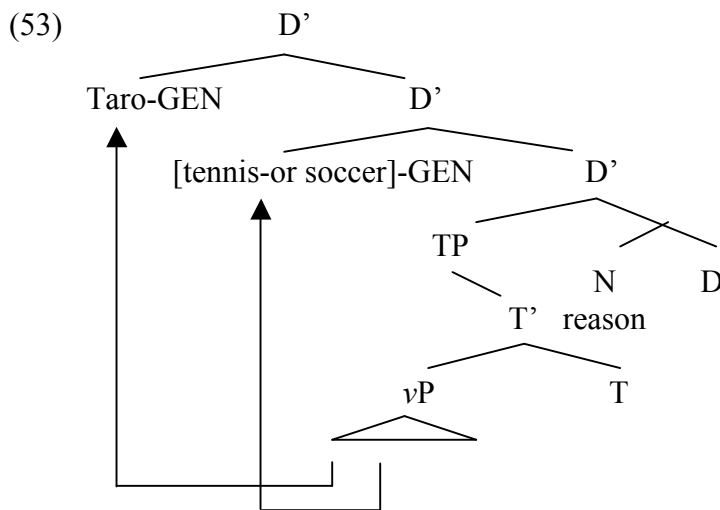
Of the remaining three, (a) and (b) are straightforward: the object cannot take scope over the head noun because the object is marked with the nominative. This means that both have a CP structure. Let us look at (d), which has the sequence NOM-GEN. The occurrence of the nominative on the subject entails that a full CP structure exists, and the C selects T, which allows T to be fully specified and assign the nominative case. This account forces the analysis of the genitive on the object to be the GDT kind, not one that is D-licensed, and, as H. Takahashi (2010) observes, this object does not take scope over the head noun

5. Two remaining exceptions

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

(54) 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)

What is noteworthy is that the predicate that goes with the genitive subject is a transitive verb, hence it is not an instance of the GDT.　What the comparative must represent, then, is an instance where there is a covert nominal head, as argued by Maki and Uchibori (2008), and from a different, semantic point of view, by Sudo (2009).　A piece of evidence for this covert nominal analysis is that there are speakers who do not find Watanabe's example fully grammatical. However, it becomes grammatical even for these speakers if the nominalizer *no* is inserted (thanks to Hisako Takahashi for this point).

(55) John-wa　[Mary-**no**　　　　yonda　　　　*NO* yori] takusan-no hon-o　　　　yonda.

　　　John-TOP Mary-NOM/GEN read-PST-ADN　NO than　many-GEN books-ACC　read-PST

　　　'John read more books than Mary did.'

This *no* represents an overt nominal head, thus allowing D-licensing of the genitive. One way to view Watanabe's example is that what is covert is this nominal head *no*, or some such semantically consistent head, an analysis that is consistent with Maki and Uchibori's (2008) approach. Furthermore, the comparative clause cannot host a CP adverb as predicted by the D-licensing of the genitive.

(56) John-wa　[saiwaini　Mary-ga/?*-no　yatotta　　　　(*NO*) yori]

　　　John-TOP　fortunately Mary-NOM/-GEN hire-PST-ADN　NO　than

takusan-no gakusei-o   yato-e-nakat-ta.

many-GEN students-ACC   hire-can-NEG-PST

'John was unable to hire more students that Mary fortunately hired.'

This leaves the following counterexample (Hiraiwa 2002).

(57)   [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.'

The occurrence of the dative case marker suggests that this structure is a DP despite the

fact that there is no indication of a nominal head. If so, like the comparative construction,

this would also be an instance of a covert nominal head, as argued by Maki and Uchibori

(2008). We can see this by the fact that the subject is an external argument (subject of

'think'), hence the genitive case can only be the D-licensed kind based on all that we

have seen.

6. Conclusion

    In this chapter I gave evidence for genitive case marking that is not licensed by D,

but rather by a combination of weak *v* and dependent tense. While this licensing

condition itself must be derived from other assumptions, what we have been able to

capture are similarities and differences between this genitive and the genitive of negation

in Slavic. In both cases, the genitive occurs on the internal argument of a predicate —

unaccusative, passive, and the direct object (in Japanese, only of stative predicates). In

Slavic, the licensing condition for this type of genitive is, informally, by a combination of

weak *v* and negation, and since both may occur in root as well as subordinate clause, genitive of negation occurs in root as well as subordinate clause. In contrast, in Japanese, due to the fact that one element of the licensing condition is dependent tense, which only occurs in subordinate clause, this type of genitive only occurs in subordinate clause in Japanese. Finally, we gave ample evidence that this GDT is different from the D-licensed kind, which also occurs in Japanese, but with a clearly different distribution from the GDT.

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