Nominative-Genitive Conversion in Japanese Multiple Nominative Constructions

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Abstract

There are two well attested phenomena in Japanese with which this paper will concern itself – Nominative-Genitive Conversion[1] (NGC) and Multiple Nominative Constructions[2] (MNCs). NGC is a phenomenon in which the "subject" of a clause that has been embedded in a DP can be marked either with canonical Nominative Case, or with Genitive Case. MNCs are constructions in which both the "subject" DP and the "object" DP are marked with Nominative Case. The question I raise is, how do NGC and MNCs interact? Which DPs in an MNC can be marked with Genitive Case?

In this paper, based on data showing how NGC interacts with MNCs, I show that what are canonically unified as MNCs cannot be one construction. Instead, there must be at least three different constructions, each requiring their own analyses.

I will review basic facts and previous literature these topics in Sections 1 and 2, respectively. In Section 3, I will present data that shows how the two phenomena interact. In Section 4, I will offer possible solutions for the findings, while referring back to what the literature might say. Finally, in Section 5, I conclude my discussion of this topic.

[1] Also referred to in the literature as No-Ga Conversion or Ga-No Conversion

[2] Also referred to in the literature as Double Nominative Constructions, Nominative Object Constructions or Ga Ga Constructions

1 Nominative-Genitive Conversion

1.1 Basic Facts

In structures of this type, subjects[3] of NP complements or of relative clauses can seemingly freely[4] alternate between the use of NOM[5] case and GEN case. Examples of this can be seen below in (1) and (2).

(1) Complex NP-Embedded Clauses

John ga/no ki.ta koto wa sira.na.katta
John NOM/GEN come.PERF fact TOP know.not.PERF
'[I] didn't know that John came.'

(2) Relative Clauses

John ga/no kai.ta hon wa omosiro.i
John NOM/GEN write.PERF book TOP interesting.IMPF
'The book that John wrote is interesting.'

Contrasting the embedded clauses in (1) and (2) to the matrix clauses in (3) and the non finite clauses in (4), we can see clearly the point Harada makes when he states that NGC applies "only to . . . embedded sentences with finite main verbs." (1971:27)

(3) Matrix Clauses

a. John ga/*no ki.ta
John NOM/GEN come.PERF
Intended: 'John came.'

b. Udon ga/*no tsukur.are.ta
udon NOM/GEN prepare.PASS.PERF
Intended: 'The udon was prepared.'

c. Omae ga/*no ko.i
you NOM/GEN come.IMPTV
Intended: 'You come!'

d. Ware.ware ga/*no ik.oo ka?
we NOM/GEN go.VOL Q
Intended: 'Shall we go?'

(4) Other Embedded Clauses

a. Boku wa [John ga/*no kai.te] hosi.i
1SG TOP [John NOM/GEN write.CONT] want.IMPF
Intended: 'I want John to write [it].'

b. [John ga/*no su.reba] i.i
[*John NOM/GEN do.COND*] *good.IMPF*
Intended: 'It will be good if John does [it].'

c. [Mary ga/*no ik.u] kara boku ga ik.ana.i
[*Mary NOM/GEN go.IMPF*] *because I NOM go.NEG.IMPF*
Intended: 'Because Mary will go, I will not go.'

[3] "Subject" is a slightly vague term; by it, I mean any DP that would "normally" be marked in the nominative case. This will be important when we get to our discussion on MNCs and NGC. However, there are examples of NOM-marked DPs that cannot undergo NGC, such as NOM-marked PPs (Ochi 2001) or Desiderative objects, as I will demonstrate later on.

[4] It should be mentioned that some scholars say that this alternation is purely optional in a certain kind of structure; others, myself included, would say there is a fundamental difference in structure.

[5] For a list of abbreviations used in the paper, see the Appendix.

d. [Kyoo wa Taro ga/*no mie.na.i] to omo.u
[*today TOP Taro NOM/GEN show-up.NEG.IMPF*] *COMPL think.IMPF*
Intended: 'I think Taro won't show up today.'

Here we see that all matrix clauses, no matter their mood/voice, dont allow NGC to take place. Furthermore, other embedded clauses besides relatives and NP complements are unable to be an environment for NGC, no matter if they are finite (4c-d) or not (4a-b).

1.1.1 Transitivity Restriction (TR)

Japanese NGC has a very interesting additional fact to it. Just in the environment where the subject is marked genitive, accusative objects are disallowed[6]. This should seem to suggest that the syntactic conditions for use of NOM and use of GEN are separate, and something about conditions for GEN don't allow accusative objects.

Examples of the TR are below in (5) and (6).

(5) TR in NP Complements

a. [John ga (kuruma o) ka.u] koto ga yuumei da.
[*John NOM (car ACC) buy.IMPF*] *fact NOM well-known COP-IMPF*
'It is well known that John will buy (a car).'

b. [John no (*kuruma o) ka.u] koto ga yuumei da.
[*John GEN (*car ACC) buy.IMPF*] *fact NOM well-known COP-IMPF*
'It is well known that John will buy (a car).'

(6) TR in Relative Clauses

a. [John ga (sushi o) tabe.ta] resutoran wa asoko da.
[*John NOM (sushi ACC) eat.PERF*] *restaurant TOP over-there COP-IMPF*
'The restaurant where John ate (sushi) is over there.'

b. [John no (*sushi o) tabe.ta] resutoran wa asoko da.
[*John GEN (*sushi ACC) eat.PERF*] *restaurant TOP over-there COP-IMPF*
'The restaurant where John ate (*sushi) is over there.'

I should be explicit about what is happening in (6b). Here, we have attempted to relativize something other than the object (making this a non-object relative clause) while leaving the possibility that object could be overt in the embedded clause. This is also the case with a goal datives, as shown below in (7).

(7) Relativized Goals and TR

a. John no tomodati ni kasi.ta hon
John GEN friend DAT lend.PERF book
'The book that John lent to a friend'

b. *John no hon o kasi.ta tomodati
John GEN book ACC lend.PERF friend
Intended: 'The friend that John lent a book'

c. John no [*e*] kasi.ta tomodati
John GEN lend.PERF friend
'The friend that John lent [something]'

[6] At least at the phonological level. Perhaps some phonologically empty category could enter the derivation. If we assume this, we must also assume that such an empty category would not have any features to be checked or Case that needs to be valued.

1.1.2 NGC in History

While the Transitivity Restriction is a crucial aspect of NGC, it is only a relatively new innovation of the language. In 1971, Harada noted that speakers split into two major groups when it came to the TR – speakers under 40 generally rejected clauses with both genitive-marked subjects and accusative objects, whereas most people over 40 accepted them. As would be expected, then, these days, the majority of speakers hold the TR as a hard and fast rule for grammaticality judgments.

Hiraiwa (2002) and Whitman (2006) claim this is part of a larger change that started as early as the 13th century. At that time, dialects of Japanese began the merger of *rentaikei* (attributive form, for clauses followed by a nominal element) and *shūshikei* (conclusive form, for sentence-final matrix clause verbs) verbal inflections[7]. Before this merger, only *rentaikei* allowed for marking subjects in any way – with genitive markers *ga*[8] and *no* – and *shūshikei* subjects were unmarked.

This merger meant a loss of affixal identity for triggering genitive marking on subjects. Also, as time went on, *ga*'s identity as a genitive marker was lost[9], and it was learned by new generations as a nominative marker, therefore, *no* became the only genitive marker. The loss of a visible trigger for genitive subjects caused them to be used less and less as no perceivable element was driving its use any more. In turn, contexts where *no* appeared as the subject marker also lessened, causing use to decline faster as well. According to data from Nambu (2005)'s research on a certain vast corpora of texts, the probability of using a genitive-marked subject has decreased from ∼22% to ∼7% over just the past 130 years.

Whitman (2006) argues that the *rentaikei* was used to marker [+N] CPs, which made first language acquisition of the genitive subject possible and uncomplicated. In this way, when the marker of [+N] disappeared phonologically, it became more complicated as learners for learners of the languages, thus its use became more restricted, accounting for the decline noted in Nambu (2005). Moreover, Whitman notes that Middle Korean, which had an NGC pattern, lost it after losing an overt [+N] CP marking, which lead to a Transitivity Restriction in Late Middle Korean. Shortly thereafter, NGC in Korean was lost permanently. In this way, he says that "Korean provides a preview for developments in Japanese;" in other words, he expects NGC to continue to decline in use until it no longer exists.

1.2 Previous Literature

The most widely accepted stances on NGC are generally able to be broken down as either relying on an internal licenser (e.g., C-T-v amalgamate in Hiraiwa 2001, 2002, and the [+N] CP in Whitman 2006) or relying on an external licenser (e.g., external D Agreement in Miyagawa 1993, 2003, Ochi 2001, 2005) for the use of genitive subjects. Along the lines of a [N] feature motivation (or a C-T-v amalgamate which is similar in nature), in earlier forms a Japanese a [+N] CP did not require an external DP to induce the usage, as in data

[7]This merger took place on all verbs, with one exception – the copula. The copula in its matrix form is *da* whereas the *rentaikei* form is *na*. We will see more on this later.

[8]At this point, *ga* was a genitive marker – this is still seen in such frozen phrases such as *wa ga ie* - 'my home.'

[9]Though not entirely. It seems that *ga* can still mark genitive in at least a semi-productive manner. See footnote 2.2.

from Hiraiwa (2002), though he claims such a pattern is still good today. I replicate some of his data below.

(8) a. John wa [ame ga/no yam.u] made office ni i.ta.
John TOP [*rain NOM/GEN stop.IMPF*] *until office LOC exist.PRF*
'John was at his office until the rain stopped.'
b. John wa [Mary ga/no yon.da] yori takusan no hon o yon.da
John TOP [*Mary NOM/GEN read.PRF*] *than many GEN books ACC read.PRF*
'John read more books than Mary did.' (Hiraiwa 2002:3)

Maki and Uchibori, however, note that many modern speakers of Japanese do not like this kind of example, and Whitman and many native speakers concur that these feel "archaic" in contemporary Tokyo Japanese. However these sentences are vastly improved when an explicit noun occurs after the relative clause, as in the data below.

(9) a. John wa [ame ga/no yam.u] **toki** made office ni i.ta.
John TOP [*rain NOM/GEN stop.IMPF*] ***time*** *until office LOC exist.PRF*
'John was at his office until the time that the rain stopped.'
b. John wa [Mary ga/no yon.da] **hon** yori takusan no hon o yon.da
John TOP [*Mary NOM/GEN read.PRF*] ***book*** *than many GEN books ACC read.PRF*
'John read more books than the books that Mary read.'

This data suggests that speakers have shifted away from using an [+N] CP as the catalyst for NGC, and that instead, they rely on an DP. As a result of this kind of data, I will put my faith in the externalist tradition of Miyagawa and Ochi.[10]

1.2.1 Externalist Camp

Feature Checking by D

Miyagawa (1993) proposed a theory of feature checking and genitive case assignment via an external head, namely D. The foundation of Miyagawa (1993)'s theory is that the genitive marked subject covertly[11] raises to Spec DP at LF. This accounts for data Miyagawa found whereby genitive subjects have a higher scope position than its nominative counterparts. This data is shown below.

(10) Scope Differences between Nominative and Genitive

a. [Rubii ka shinju] ga yasu.ku nar.u kanousei ga 50% ijou da
[*ruby or pearl*] *NOM cheap.CONT become.IMPF probability NOM 50% more COP-IMPF*
(i) 'The probability that rubies or pearls will become cheap is over 50%'
(ii) *'The probability that rubies will become cheap or the probability that pearls will become cheap is over 50%'

b. [Rubii ka shinju] no yasu.ku nar.u kanousei ga 50% ijou da
[*ruby or pearl*] *GEN cheap.CONT become.IMPF probability NOM 50% more COP-IMPF*
(i) 'The probability that rubies or pearls will become cheap is over 50%'
(ii) 'The probability that rubies will become cheap or the probability that pearls will become cheap is over 50%'

[10] However, no externalist theory can rely totally on external motivation – instead, externalists also have to explain the TR, which can only be accounted for by saying things about the ACC Case assigner (which is internal to the embedded clause).

[11] He posits covert movement because the DP in question does not phonologically cross over elements that intervene between the subject and the licensing Spec DP.

This data is crucial because it shows that genitive subjects do not interact in the same way as nominative marked subjects necessitating that some other unique syntactic operation(s) to take place.

Elaborating on Miyagawa (1993), Ochi (2001) stipulated that the genitive subject may covertly raise to Spec DP, but it ay also overtly raise to Spec DP. He uses the idea that the presence of the feature-checking D head, D_{Agr} is only optionally in the tree. The following is an excerpt from Ochi (2001), formalizing his notion of optional D_{Agr}.

(11) "When the D_{Agr} head is present, it triggers overt movement of the genitive subject into the spec of D_{Agr}P (another instance of the EPP). The Case of the genitive subject is checked against N within the projection of the D_{Agr} head (Case checking is mediated by Agr). When it is absent, the genitive Case of the subject is checked against the N head (such as *kanousei* 'probability') after the formal features of the genitive subject are raised to the position of N in cover syntax."

1.2.2 Internalist Camp

The P-A Form

Hiraiwa (2001) has proposed a distinctive theory, in which genitive case (in totally optional distribution with Nominative Case) is selected in relative and embedded clauses by a specific verbal form. The evidence he cites for this is the merger of *rentaikei* (which he calls the Predicate-Adnominal form, or the P-A) and *shūshiskei*, as we discussed earlier in Section 1.1.2. Despite the fact that most verbs do not have a phonologically distinct form, the copula does maintain a distinction. Furthermore, it seems that the cases in which genitive is disallowed are those without this form of the verb. In this way, it is not an external D that drives genitive subject marking, rather it the verbal agreement. Therefore, according to Hiraiwa's logic, the occurrences of *na* (the *rentaikei* form of the copula) coincide with ability to license NGC, as shown below.

(12) P-A and Declaritive Forms of the Copula

a. John ga/no suki na biiru wa kore da.
John NOM/GEN like COP-IMPF-PA beer TOP this COP-IMPF
'This is the beer that John likes.'

b. Biiru wa John ga/*no suki da.
Beer TOP John NOM/GEN like COP-IMPF
'As for beer, John likes [it].'

While this does make the correct prediction for most all cases, one interesting case that it does not account for is the following, in (13).

(13) P-A Form without Genitive Subject

John ga/*no suki na no da.
John NOM/GEN like COP-IMPF-PA COMPL COP-IMPF
'(It's that) John likes [it].'

This kind of construction uses *no* as the complementizer, which, importantly, cannot act like a normal Nominal in that this flavor of *no* never appears in a case position. However, it does catalyze the use of the P-A form on the proceeding copula. Significantly, this construction does not allow for genitive marking; something Hiraiwa might be hard-pressed to explain.[12]

[12]He does attempt to explain this in his 2002 paper as an effect of grammaticalizaiton of *no* with another

2 Multiple Nominative Constructions

2.1 Basic Facts

MNCs are constructions in which there are more than one constituents marked with Nominative Case relating to the same predicate.[13] These constructions also have parallel constructions whereby at least one of the constituents that can be marked with NOM can also be marked in another way. I give an example of this, below.

(14) a. Taroo ga Hanako ga suki da.
Taro NOM Hanako NOM fond COP-IMPF
b. Taroo ni Hanako ga suki da.
Taro DAT Hanako NOM fond COP-IMPF
'Taro likes Hanako.'

It should be noted that (14a) has a strong forceful-ness on both Taroo and Hanako, and that (14b) has a reading somewhat analagous to "To Taroo, Hanako is likeable." In any case, the important facts are that both arguments of the predicate are (able to be) marked with NOM Case, and that there is a notable asymmetry in terms of the arguments – that is to say, (14a) can never mean 'Hanako likes Taro.'

2.1.1 Scope

Also noteworthy is the way in which the two arguments interact with the verb in terms of scope. Take the following data for example.

(15) a. John ga migime dake **o** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only ***ACC*** *close-POT-IMPF*
'John can close only his right eye'

(i) can close > only (John can wink his right eye)
(ii) ?*only > can close (It is only his right eye that John can close.)

b. John ga migime dake **ga** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only ***NOM*** *close-POT-IMPF*
'John can close only his right eye'

(i) *can close > only
(ii) only > can close (*Tada 1992 via Koizumi 1994, slightly altered*)

Based on this data, it seems logical that when marked with Nominative Case as in (15b), the Object DP is located higher in the structure than when it is marked with Accusative Case as in (15a). This data has also been confirmed by others (Niinuma 2000 and myself).

element such as the copula and other particles. He cites data that in certain cases *no* + particle is grammaticalized to the point of being unable to be interpreted as a sum of parts. This still does not explain why the *rentaikei* copula does not allow for a GEN subject.

[13] I should mention that these MNCs are extremely context dependant. Most speakers have difficulty using them without the right kind of context. That being said, they are most definitely a possible kind of construction that must follow from general syntactic principles of the language.

2.2 MNC in Various Constructions

There are five constructions which allow for MNCs that I have been able to distinguish.[14] Below, I run through each of these and give an example and a short description.[15]

2.2.1 Locative Constructions

(16) yama ga ki ga ar.u riyuu wa daremo kit.te i.na.i kara
mountain NOM tree NOM exist.IMPF reason TOP no-one cut-CONT exist.NEG.IMPF because
da
COP-IMPF
'The reason that there are trees on the mountain is that no one has cut them down.'

This construction is very interesting in that it seems to be the case that a PP is somehow being marked with structural Case – that is to say, a more "natural" way of saying this would be to use a locative postposition after *mountain* instead of *ga*. This has led some people to say that *ga* is not a NOM marker here, but it is instead a kind of PP or perhaps a pure focus particle.[16]

Furthermore, these kinds of MNCs are easily the most controversial in terms of grammaticality. Generally, a given speaker will either accept or reject them rather universally. This lends itself to two things: (1) the idea that the explanation should involve something that is marginally accepted about the language, and (2) the idea that the Locative Nominatives are an entirely different analysis than the rest of these MNCs.

2.2.2 Ability Verbs

(17) Lexical Ability Verb
Naomi ga chuugokugo ga wakar.u wake ja.na.katta.
Naomi NOM Chinese NOM understand.IMPF situation COP.NEG.PRF.
'It's not [the situation] that Naomi understands Chinese.'

(18) Derived Ability Verb
Ken ga kankokugo ga yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da.
Ken NOM Korean NOM read.POT.IMPF fact TOP probable COP-IMPF
'It's probable that Ken can read Korean.'

The lexical ability verb and the Derived one act someone differently than each other, in terms of parallel structures, but they have semantic similarities. For (17), *Naomi* can

[14]There is another multiple nominative construction that I am not discussing. This is a possessive construction (possibly this might be an inalienable passive construction). These kinds of NOM marked DPs do not participate in the argument structure of any verb; they are only possessors of a noun. An example of this kind of construction is given, below.

usagi ga mimi ga naga.i
rabbit NOM ear NOM long.IMPF
'Rabbits' ears are long.' (modified from Vermeulen 2002)

[15]I should note that since there are parallel constructions for these sentences that require less context, often times the acceptability of these sentences may be called into question. That said, there are people whose judgments readily accept them.

[16]The latter kind of analysis is often used when trying to make parallels with Korean Case-Stacking. Japanese doesn't allow Case Stacking, so instead, it just uses the *ga* as a focus marker without the original case/postposition.

alternately be marked with a Dative Marker, and for (18), *Korean* can be marked ACC.

2.2.3 Psych Adjectives

(19) Taroo ga inu ga kowa.i yoo da ne. inu o mi.tara, Taroo wa
Taro NOM dog NOM scared.IMPF appearance COP-IMPF right. dog ACC see.COND Taro TOP
nige.ru.
run.IMPF
'The appearance is that Taro is scared of dogs, huh. If he sees a dog, Taro runs.'

Here, *Taro* in the first sentence can alternatively be marked with a Dative Marker.

2.2.4 Tough Constructions

(20) boku ga kanji ga yowa.i riyuu wa benkyoo si.te i.na.i
1sg NOM Chinese-characters NOM bad-at.IMPF reason TOP study do.CONT exist.NEG.IMPF
kara da
because COP-IMPF
'The reason that I am bad at Kanji is that I don't study.'

In (20), *Chinese characters* can be marked with a Dative marker in a parallel sentence.

2.2.5 Desiderative Constructions

(21) Yasuko ga susi ga tukur.ita.i toki wa wazawaza ootoro o ka.u
Yasuko NOM sushi NOM make.DESR.IMPF time TOP specially fatty-tuna ACC buy.IMPF
'When Yasuko wants to make sushi, she specially buys fatty tuna.'

In a Desiderative construction, the Object DP, *sushi* in this case, can also be marked ACC.

2.3 Previous Analyses

As I discuss the previous analyses, it should me kept in mind that the authors were attempting to treat all MNCs in the same way. I will do my best to consider them separately when it comes to the Desiderative MNCs and when it comes to the other MNCs.

2.3.1 Agreement-based Case and Biclausality

Tada (1992) proposes that MNCs are essentially monoclausal counterparts to a biclausal structure which assigns ACC Case to its object. I've mentioned Tada's data earlier in Section 2.1.1 as (15), and I'm repeating it below in (22).

(22) a. John ga migime dake **o** tumur.e.ru
*John NOM right-eye only **ACC** close-POT-IMPF*
'John can close only his right eye'

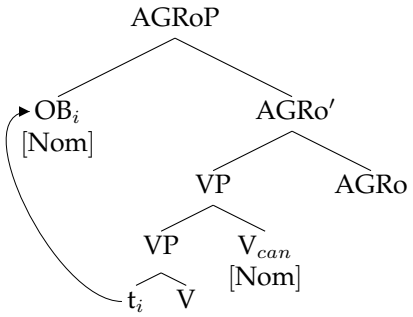
(i) can close > only (John can wink his right eye)
(ii) ?*only > can close (It is only his right eye that John can close.)

b. John ga migime dake **ga** tumur.e.ru
John NOM right-eye only ***NOM*** *close-POT-IMPF*
'John can close only his right eye'

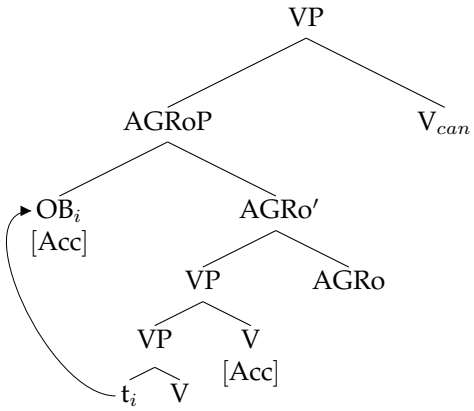
(i) *can close > only
(ii) only > can close (*Tada 1992 via Koizumi 1994, slightly altered*)

This data is what really led him to believe there must be a common reason that statives can assign NOM Case to the object and that when they do, they must be higher in the structure than the V. So, Tada posits a structure whereby, when the verb is stative, it can optionally be analyzed either as having its morphemes spread across heads (biclausal, ACC-object situation) or as having been reanalyzed as a single V (monoclausal, NOM-Object situation). I present trees to this effect below.

(23)



(24)



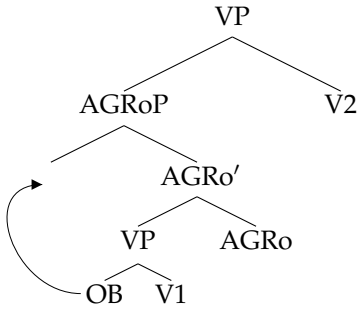
Assuming this structure, we can see why the OB scopes over the V$_{can}$ in (23) but not in (24). In support of this kind of biclausal raising, Tada gives examples of other clearly biclausal predicates where the object can take different scopes. One of the many of Tada's examples is repeated in (25) below.

(25) John ga ringo dake o tabe.hajime.ta
John NOM apple only ACC eat.start.PRF
'John started to eat only apples.'

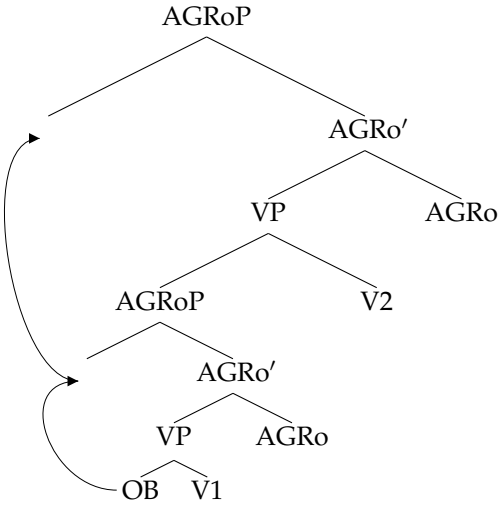
(i) ✓only > start (It is only apples that John started to eat.)
(ii) ✓start > only (It is eating only apples that John started to do.)

In this example, *only apples* is taking scope either above or below *start*. This means that it must optionally be in two different syntactic positions. I show the two kinds of movement that derive these two positions below in (26) and (27).

(26)



(27)



Tada says that in (27), the lower verb raises to the higher verb, which absorbs the Case features of the lower verb. In this way, there are no extra Case features at the end of (27).[17] This kind of optional secondary raising derives the scopal asymmetry we saw between NOM-Objects ACC-Objects in biclausal structures. This is supposed to be good evidence for Agreement-based Case and the biclausal nature of MNCs.

2.3.2 Checking Domain

Koizumi (1994) reviews Tada's account and deems that it is rather robust. However, he does find some problems with the analysis. First, Koizumi fairly points out, "It is not clear at all why Nominative Case should be licensed by two distinct sets of categories as different as Tense and stative predicates." Next, Koizumi points out that there are cases of NOM-Objects scoping over the higher verb in a biclausal predicate, which is something that Tada could not account for.

(28) a. Mary wa suugaku dake o wakari.tuzuke.ta
Mary TOP math only ACC understand.continue.PRF
b. Mary wa suugaku dake ga wakari.tuzuke.ta
Mary TOP math only NOM understand.continue.PRF
'Mary kept understanding only math'

wakar, 'understand', can alternate between stative ((28b)) and nonstative (Last[a]) in Japanese. (28a) should be ambiguous, according to Tada - and it is. However, (28b) should only have the reading *continue* > *only*, but this is not the case. Koizumi is unclear as to whether it is ambiguous or obligatorily construed as *only* > *continue*, but in either case, Tada could not account for this at all.

Finally, Koizumi points out that Tada would incorrectly predict the scope interactions in negative sentences. Assuming, as Tada himself does, that NegP occurs between TP and AGRoP, we would expect negation to always scope over the object - regardless of the object's Case. Koizumi shows that the ACC-object is indeed in the scope of negation, but the NOM-Object definitely scopes over negation.

[17] Tada, as far as I can tell, does not, however, explain what happens to the Case feature of the higher verb.

(29) a. John ga migime dake o tumur.e.na.i
John NOM right-eye only ACC close.can.NEG.IMPF
NEG > can > only 'John cannot wink his right eye'

b. John ga migime dake ga tumur.e.na.i
John NOM right-eye only NOM close.can.NEG.IMPF
only > NEG > can 'It is only the right eye that John cannot close.'

If we take these facs seriously, then we must assume that the NOM-Object is above negation and below the subject-position. Koizumi makes a distinction, however, in two kinds of subject position. The first, he calls MS (major subject) and the second he calls SU (regular subject) - both are marked with NOM *ga*. MSs are especially focused subjects that have an exhaustive-listing denotation, whereas SUs only have the denotation of neutral-description[18]. He gives an example of the two sorts.

(30) Ano hito ga ki.ta
that person NOM come.PRF
'That person came.'
(i) 'That person came.' (netural description)
(ii) 'It is that person (and only that person) who came.' (exhaustive-listing)

Furthermore, Koizumi points out that NOM-Objects allow only the neutral description interpretation.

(31) John wa eego ga deki.ru
John TOP English NOM can-do.IMPF
'John can do (speak/understand) English.'
(i) As for John, he can speak English. (netural description)
(ii) *As for John, he can speak English and only English. (exhaustive-listing)

Koizumi describes the licensing domain for MSs and SUs as separate – the *Broad Checking Domain* of Tense and the *Narrow Checking Domain* of Tense, respectively. NOM-Objects and SUs both get Case in the *Narrow Checking Domain*, and MSs get Case in *Broad Checking Domain*. He defines the *Broad Checking Domain* of Tense as AGRsP-adjoined position(s) and the *Narrow Checking Domain* of Tense as "{Spec of AGRs, Spec of Tense}."

To justify the grouping of NOM-Objects and SUs as opposed to MSs, Koizumi appeals to a dialect of Japanese, the Kumamoto dialect which is spoken in central Kyūshū. Data from this dialect is given below.[19]

(32) a. Standard Japanese
Natu ga kankookyaku ga oo.i
summer NOM tourists NOM numerous.IMPF
'It is summer (and only summer) when the tourists are numerous.'
b. Kumamoto Dialect
Natu ga kankookyaku no ookabai
summeer NOM tourists GEN numersous
'It is summer (and only summer) when the tourists are numerous.'

[18]I'm not sure how much the use of *ga* is ever neutral in Japanese. Most speakers report a kind of forcefullness to *ga*.

[19]I should note that, although Kumamoto Japanese seems to be doing NGC in some obligatory sense, I don't think this the case. Koizumi writes in such a way that *no* is the only possible SU marker. This seems more like *no*-marked subjects of Old Japanese, in which *no* was the only overt subject marker.

Furthermore, the NOM-obj is also marked *no* – even when there is a SU (which must also be marked *no*) in this dialect.

(33) Kumamoto Dialect
An ojisan no/*ga eego no/*ga hans.e.ru ka
*that man GEN/*NOM English GEN/*NOM speak.can.IMPF Q*
'Can that man speak English?'

This should be strong evidence that both constituents are getting Case from the same place. Since Koizumi assumes Case to come from existance in a certain domain, just by making sure that the DPs end up in the correct domain will be enough to take care of the multiple assignments of the same Case.

However convincing the facts may be, I am not comfortable with Koizumi's stipulation that Case is assigned to elements based solely on their existance in a given domain.[20] At best, that idea does not fit in a Minimalist framework. There will also arise some problems with this solution having to do with NGC.

2.3.3 Multiple Agree and Biclausality

Niinuma (2000) is a paper on NOM-Objects which mostly concerns itself with the Desiderative MNCs. Niimuma attempts to show that in clauses that normally assign NOM to objects cannot do so when the clause is non-tensed (in the same way, subjects cannot get NOM Case from an non-tensed clause).

(34) a. kono atu.i tenki ga (watasi ni) biiru o/*ga nomi.ta.ku sase.ta
*this hot.IMPF weather NOM (1sg DAT) beer ACC/*NOM drink.DESR.CONT make.PRF*
'This hot weather made me want to drink a beer.'

This is similar to English, in that since there is no tense in the embedded clause, the subject must get a kind of ECM Case. The difference is that in Japanese, a NOM-Object, normally available, is not available in just the situation where tense is lacking. Specifically, Niinuma believes that there is no [T] at all in the structure of the embedded clause[21]. He goes on to say others, Koizumi (1994) included, have also noted the relationship between T and NOM-Objects.

Niinuma also shows us that idios do not allow for any kind of movement of the object while preserving the idiomatic meaning. Take the example *hi ni abura o sosogu* which literally means "add oil to the fire," and idiomatically means "make things worse."

(35) a. *Abura o Taro wa hi ni sosoi.da.
oil ACC Taro TOP fire LOC pour.PRF
Intended: 'Taro made things worse.'

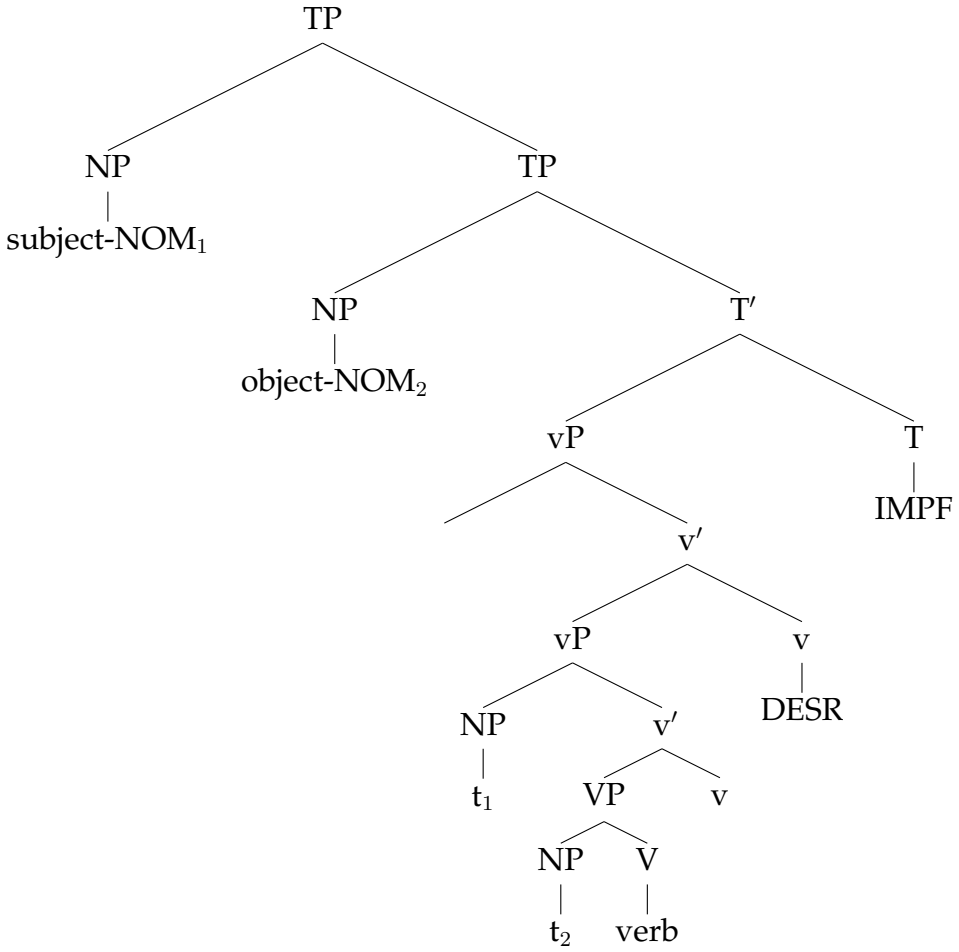
b. Taro wa hi ni abura o/*ga sosog.ita.i.
*Taro TOP fire LOC oil ACC/*NOM pour.DESR.IMPF*
'Taro wants to make things worse.'

[20] At least this can't be the case for structural Case. Perhaps it is a possible explanation of inherent Case, if we believe such a to thing exist.

[21] I'm not completely sure as to why this is - he could assume just as easily that T is non-finite and lacks Case features. In any case, he cites Takezawa's 1987 dissertation when he asserts this.

The only reason there could be that the NOM-Object should be bad in (35c) is that the object, when marked NOM, is doing some movement. He further solidifies his arguments that NOM-Objects more by offering scope facts similar to those offered by Tada (1992). His tree of such movements ends up as is shown below.

(36)



This tree requires a few notes. First, when the DESR morpheme attaches to the verb, "the Case assigning property ... is optionally abosrbed." Then, in Niinuma's own words, "the object must move to Spec of TP so that the Case feature of NP can be checked off." In this movement, the object needs to 'tuck-in' (in Richards' terms) to allow for the correct word order.

I must say that I am a little confused about the movement of the object. Niinuma claims that it is so the NP can check its Case features, but why would T, after checking its Case feature already on the subject NP, probe for another goal? Niinuma doesn't say so, but there must be some kind of Multiple Agree. However, we run into another problem here. Even if the T were to probe for a new goal (the object), why would that object raise? If we assume a Multiple Agree similar to that of Hiraiwa (2001b), then there is the problem that Multiple Agree allows for long distance Case valuing. T's D feature and its EPP feature have already been satisfied, so what is motivating the movement up to Spec TP?

3 NGC in MNCs

If we believe that NGC should be able to apply to a Nominative-marked constituent, we should expect that both DPs participating in an MNC should be able to undergo NGC. This has been noted to be true by Hiraiwa (2001a, 2001b, 2002) and Miyagawa (1993), among others. Even so, the work on NGC in MNCs is somewhat limited in that a thoroughly systematic evalutation of NGC in the varying types of MNCs has not been done before. Therefore, I set out to explore just that.

3.1 Grammaticality Data

I took sentences of the five types of MNC listed above, and tested their acceptability in the four logical possibilities of NOM and GEN.

(37)

Subject DP - Object DP
NOM - NOM
GEN - NOM
NOM - GEN
GEN - GEN

In the following subsections, I will describe the results of the data.

3.1.1 Locative Constructions

Inasmuch as the native speakers accepted the NOM-NOM Locative construction, they also accepted the GEN-NOM, NOM-GEN and GEN-GEN constructions.

(38) 'The reason that there are no fish in the Dead Sea is that there is too much salt.'

a. %sikai **ga** sakana **ga** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
*Dead-Sea **NOM** fish **NOM** exist.NEG.IMPF reason TOP salt NOM a-lot.too-much.IMPF*
kara da.
because COP-IMPF

b. %sikai **no** sakana **ga** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
*Dead-Sea **GEN** fish **NOM** exist.NEG.IMPF reason TOP salt NOM a-lot.too-much.IMPF*
kara da.
because COP-IMPF

c. %sikai **ga** sakana **no** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
*Dead-Sea **NOM** fish **GEN** exist.NEG.IMPF reason TOP salt NOM a-lot.too-much.IMPF*
kara da.
because COP-IMPF

d. %sikai **no** sakana **no** i.na.i riyuu wa sio ga oo.sugi.ru
*Dead-Sea **GEN** fish **GEN** exist.NEG.IMPF reason TOP salt NOM a-lot.too-much.IMPF*
kara da.
because COP-IMPF

3.1.2 Ability Verbs

The ability verbs allow for all combinations of NOM and GEN.

(39) Lexical Ability Verb
'The appearance is that Ayumi is good at math. Without using a calculator, she passed the test.'

a. ✓Ayumi **ga** suugaku **ga** deki.ru you da. keesanki tukaw.azu,
Ayumi ***NOM*** *math* ***NOM*** *can-do.IMPF appearance COP.IMPF calculator use.not*
shiken ni ukat.ta.
test DAT pass.PRF.

b. ✓Ayumi **no** suugaku **ga** deki.ru you da. keesanki tukaw.azu,
Ayumi ***GEN*** *math* ***NOM*** *can-do.IMPF appearance COP.IMPF calculator use.not*
shiken ni ukat.ta.
test DAT pass.PRF.

c. ✓Ayumi **ga** suugaku **no** deki.ru you da. keesanki tukaw.azu,
Ayumi ***NOM*** *math* ***GEN*** *can-do.IMPF appearance COP.IMPF calculator use.not*
shiken ni ukat.ta.
test DAT pass.PRF.

d. ✓Ayumi **no** suugaku **no** deki.ru you da. keesanki tukaw.azu, shiken
Ayumi ***GEN*** *math* ***GEN*** *can-do.IMPF appearance COP.IMPF calculator use.not test*
ni ukat.ta.
DAT pass.PRF.

(40) Derived Ability Verb
-"Someone can read Chinese or Korean, right?" -"It is probable that Ken can read Korean."

a. ✓-" dareka wa kankokugo ka chuugokugo o yom.e.ru ne?" -" ken **ga**
someone TOP Korean or Chinese ACC read.POT.IMPF right Ken ***NOM***
kankokugo **ga** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da."
Korean ***NOM*** *read.POT.IMPF fact TOP probable COP-IMPF*

b. ✓-" dareka wa kankokugo ka chuugokugo o yom.e.ru ne?" -" ken **no**
someone TOP Korean or Chinese ACC read.POT.IMPF right Ken ***GEN***
kankokugo **ga** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da."
Korean ***NOM*** *read.POT.IMPF fact TOP probable COP-IMPF*

c. ✓-" dareka wa kankokugo ka chuugokugo o yom.e.ru ne?" -" ken **ga**
someone TOP Korean or Chinese ACC read.POT.IMPF right Ken ***NOM***
kankokugo **no** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da."
Korean ***GEN*** *read.POT.IMPF fact TOP probable COP-IMPF*

d. ✓-" dareka wa kankokugo ka chuugokugo o yom.e.ru ne?" -" ken **no**
someone TOP Korean or Chinese ACC read.POT.IMPF right Ken ***GEN***
kankokugo **no** yom.e.ru koto wa tasika da."
Korean ***GEN*** *read.POT.IMPF fact TOP probable COP-IMPF*

3.1.3 Psych Adjectives

The psych adjectives allow for all combinations of NOM and GEN.

(41) 'No one knew that Ryu doesn't like coffee.'

a. ✓Ryuu **ga** koohii **ga** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu ***NOM*** *coffee* ***NOM*** *dislike COP-PA-IMF fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF*

b. ✓Ryuu **no** koohii **ga** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu ***GEN*** *coffee* ***NOM*** *dislike COP-PA-IMF fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF*

c. ✓Ryuu **ga** koohii **no** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu ***NOM*** *coffee* ***GEN*** *dislike COP-PA-IMF fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF*

d. ✓Ryuu **no** koohii **no** kirai na koto wa daremo sir.ana.katta
Ryu ***GEN*** *coffee* ***GEN*** *dislike COP-PA-IMF fact TOP no-one know.NEG.PRF*

3.1.4 Tough Constructions

The tough constructions allow for all combinations of NOM and GEN.

(42) 'The reason that Mary is good at Japanese is that her father was working in Japan.'

a. ✓Mary **ga** nihongo **ga** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary ***NOM*** *Japanese* ***NOM*** *good-at.IMPF reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT*
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMPF

b. ✓Mary **no** nihongo **ga** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary ***GEN*** *Japanese* ***NOM*** *good-at.IMPF reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT*
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMPF

c. ✓Mary **ga** nihongo **no** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary ***NOM*** *Japanese* ***GEN*** *good-at.IMPF reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT*
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMPF

d. ✓Mary **no** nihongo **no** tuyo.i riyuu wa otoosan ga nihon de hatarai.te
Mary ***GEN*** *Japanese* ***GEN*** *good-at.IMPF reason TOP father NOM Japan in work.CONT*
i.ta kara da.
exist.PRF because COP-IMPF

3.1.5 Desiderative Constructions

It seems that the Desiderative constructions do not allow for GEN marked objects. This is the most interesting data, as it is the only time that we have encountered a DP which can be marked NOM but not GEN.

(43) 'But, when Akira wants to eat yakisoba, his mother makes it for him'

a. ✓Demo, Akira **ga** yakisoba **ga** tabe.ta.i toki, okaasan wa tukut.te
but Akira ***NOM*** *yakisoba* ***NOM*** *eat.DESR.IMPF time, mother TOP make.CONT*
age.ru.
give.IMPF

b. ✓Demo, Akira **no** yakisoba **ga** tabe.ta.i toki, okaasan wa tukut.te
but Akira ***GEN*** *yakisoba* ***NOM*** *eat.DESR.IMPF time, mother TOP make.CONT*
age.ru.
give.IMPF

c. *Demo, Akira **ga** yakisoba **no** tabe.ta.i toki, okaasan wa tukut.te age.ru.
but Akira ***NOM*** *yakisoba* ***GEN*** *eat.DESR.IMPF time, mother TOP make.CONT give.IMPF*

d. *Demo, Akira **no** yakisoba **no** tabe.ta.i toki, okaasan wa tukut.te age.ru.
but Akira ***GEN*** *yakisoba* ***GEN*** *eat.DESR.IMPF time, mother TOP make.CONT give.IMPF*

3.2 Scope Data

After learning of the (un)acceptability of Genitives in (43c-d), I wanted to test other aspects of the Desiderative construction. Specifically, if Desideratives do not allow for GEN-marked objects, perhaps the syntactic position of the objects in Desideratives is different than that of NOM-marked objects in other MNCs. We should recall the data that showed NOM-marked objects to be higher in the structure than their accusative counterparts (see (15) in section 2.1.1, repeated later as (22) in section 2.3.1).

I wonder, then, if Desideratives have the same kind of asymmetry. If not, it would be one more reason to assume a very different structure of Desiderative MNCs from the others. If so, we know that Desiderative MNCs are similar to other MNCs in that they

both involve some movement of the object when it is NOM marked. So to learn the answer, I asked Native Speakers for their judgments, and the results are shown below.

(44) a. Boku ga pai dake **o** tabe.ta.i
*1sg NOM pie only **ACC** eat.DESR.IMPF*
'I want to eat only pie.'

(i) ✓ want eat > only (I don't want to eat pie with anything else.)
(ii) ?/✓ only > want eat (Anything other than pie, I don't want to eat.)

b. Boku ga pai dake **ga** tabe.ta.i
*1sg NOM pie only **NOM** eat.DESR.IMPF*
'I want to eat only pie'

(i) ?/✓ want eat > only (I don't want to eat pie with anything else.)
(ii) ✓ only > want eat (Anything other than pie, I don't want to eat.)

3.3 Short Discussion on the Findings

The grammaticality data in 3.1 shows that there must be at least three types of structures for MNCs – one for the Locative construction, one for the Desiderative construction, and one for the others. When devising possible analyses of these three structures, it is imperitive that we keep in mind the evidence which shows that each is distinct while also being aware of the previous research and its contributions.

The scope data in 3.2 shows that the Desiderative MNCs are still rather similar to the others (save for Locative MNCs[22]) in that the object is in a higher position when marked NOM than it is when it is marked ACC.

4 Possible Solutions

4.1 Using Previous Literature

The crucial decision in choosing between theories of NGC and MNC is whether or not to use Multiple Agree. If we choose not to use Multiple Agree, first of all, GEN-NOM constructions become straightforward inasmuch as the NOM Case is straightforward. However, since (Non-Multiple) Agree in NGC takes place between one Case assigner and one DP, we cannot straightforwardly get the data for GEN-GEN MNCs. Furthermore, even basic NOM-NOM MNCs are a problem without Multiple Agree because there is much data that shows the NOM-Object raises up to be near T (as in (15), (22) and (32)) – even in the Desiderative MNCs, scope interactions seem to show this (as in (44)).

If we do choose to use Multiple Agree, we do get NOM-NOM and GEN-GEN MNCs very easily; however, we have other problems. Namely, using Multiple Agree, GEN-NOM and NOM-GEN constructions become somewhat odd. We would have to stipulate that Multiple Agree is only an option – one that must be chosen in GEN-GEN and NOM-NOM, but must not be chosen in GEN-NOM and NOM-GEN. That isn't so hard to imagine. Furthermore, using Multiple Agree, we then lose the connection between the

[22]Perhaps Locative MNCs are a kind of MS. In which case, there would be no PP structure, and the semantics of the sentence is much more natural (it is an exhaustive list of places where something is true).

stative verbs and the ability to license MNCs. That is to say, with Multiple Agree, why should we not expect MNCs in non-stative counterparts to the stative examples in this paper? Furthermore, using Multiple Agree as it is in Hiraiwa (2001b), we have a problem (I mentioned this at the end of Section 2.3.3 as well). Hiraiwa claims that Multiple Agree can apply long distance, so why should we bother raising the Object DP?

Lastly, when it comes to the Desiderative MNC, Multiple Agree must never be an option. This means that, at least in Desiderative MNCs, there **must** be an alternative strategy that gets NOM on both DPs. Furthermore, since it seems that NOM-Objects raise in the same way across all MNCs, based on the scope data, we should expect that the NOM-Object assignment should be rather universal in form.

4.2 My Ideas

The crux of this paper is that we know, due to the acceptability judgments on NGC+MNC, that Desiderative NOM-Objects must be in such a syntactic location such that GEN is not assignable.

One option that occured to me early on was that we could possibly say that Desiderative MNCs are different because NOM-Object is able to be marked accusative as well. Yet, the ability verbs all[23] can also have ACC-Objects as well as NOM or GEN marked objects.

Looking at the data in Koizumi (1994), we see that there is a difference in major subjects (MSs) and reglar subjects (SUs). Perhaps, in the Desiderative MNC, is the Subject DP is actually a major subject. If so, we could say that major subjects are closer to the GEN Case licenser and make a sort of intervener which would prevent the NOM-GEN and the GEN-GEN construction with Desiderative MNCs.

Also looking at Koizumi (1994), we see that (at least some) NOM-Objects are scoping over negation, which puts them in a position above Neg and below T. Perhaps in Desiderative MNCs, the NOM-Object is raising (we see this in (44)), but not as high as in the other MNCs. Perhaps it is below Neg and above vP and Neg acts as some kind of intervener for GEN Case assignment in NGC. Or even lower, perhaps the NOM-Object raises somewhere high up in the VP-complex (above *want*) but it is still low enough that there is some kind of intervention effects on NGC. To test this, maybe we can look at how Desiderative objects interact with the scope of negation in a sentence like the following.

(45) a. Boku ga pai dake **o** tabe.ta.kuna.i
*1sg NOM pie only **ACC** eat.DESR.NEG.IMPF*
'I don't want to eat only pie.'

b. Boku ga pai dake **ga** tabe.ta.kuna.i
*1sg NOM pie only **NOM** eat.DESR.NEG.IMPF*
'I don't want to eat only pie.'

If we find that negation scopes over *pie*, then we know that the NOM-Object in Desideratives does not raise higher than negation, which would at least give us a better starting point for discoving why NGC is not possible on the the Object DP.

Another possible solution to Desiderative MNCs is the following. We know that NGC involves raising of the GEN DP (as Miyagawa's scope facts show in Section 1.2.1). Perhaps the problem with Desiderative MNCs is that, for some reason, a GEN-Object would

[23]With the exception of *dekiru*.

not be able to raise (even if Case assignment were possible). I think this kind of thing would be very hard to test for, but it may be the solution.

5 Conclusion

The evidence is clear that MNCs must be split into at least 3 structural categories. Based on the dichotomous acceptability of Locative MNCs, it should be said that they have their own distinct structure which allows many Native Speakers to reject them. Using evidence of interactions with NGC, we see that Desiderative MNCs must have a distinctive structure which disallows for GEN-objects. Of course, the rest of the MNCs need a structure as well. Despite the clarity of the problem, the solution is still murky.

Appendix

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

ACC	Accusative Case Marker
COND	Conditional Form Marker
CONT	Continuative Form Marker
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative Case Marker
DESR	Desiderative Suffix
GEN	Genitive Case Marker
IMPF	Imperfective Tense (non-past) Marker
MNC	Multiple Nominative Construction
NGC	Nominative-Genitive Conversion
NOM	Nominative Case Marker
PA	Predicate-Adnominal Form (aka *rentaikei*)
PRF	Perfective Tense (past) Marker
POT	Potential Mood Marker
RT	*Rentaikei*
SS	*Shūshikei*
TOP	Topic Marker

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