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Two ways of genitive Case assignment in Japanese:

Evidence from genitive objects in Kansai Japanese

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Linguistics

by

Yuhi Inoue

2015

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Two ways of genitive Case assignment in Japanese:

Evidence from genitive objects in Kansai Japanese

by

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Master of Arts in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Dominique L. Sportiche, Chair

The purpose of this thesis is to propose a mechanism of genitive Case assignment in Japanese in which both a determiner (D) and a complementizer (C) independently play a role. I propose that both D and C can basically assign genitive Case, but C can serve as a genitive Case assigner only when the clause contains a nonfinite T. The evidence for this claim comes from Accusative/Genitive Conversion in Kansai Japanese, which was reported relatively recently by Asano and Ura (2010). What is the most significant in Accusative/Genitive Conversion is that the pattern in which both a subject and an object are marked as genitive at the same time is observed in Kansai Japanese, and it gives us crucial evidence for the claim that two different ways of genitive Case assignment are involved in Japanese.

The thesis of Yuhi Inoue is approved.

Hilda Koopman

Carson T. Schütze

Dominique L. Sportiche, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

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LIST OF ABBREBIATIONS

ACC = accusative case

ASP = aspect

COP = copula

DUR = durative aspect

GEN = genitive Case

IRR = irrealis mood

NEG = negation

NOM = nominative Case

PASS = passive

PAST = past tense

PRES = present tense

STAT = stative aspect

TOP = topic

1 Introduction

One of the best-known phenomena in Japanese is Nominative/Genitive Conversion, and since the 1970s, it has attracted many researchers' interest. Nominative/Genitive Conversion is a Case alternation in which a subject in a noun-modifying clause or a temporal adjunct clause can be optionally marked either as nominative or as genitive, and many studies have so far revealed that there are some syntactic and semantic differences between a nominative-marked subject and a genitive-marked subject. Despite the long-standing research on Case conversion, however, there has been no consensus about how genitive Case is assigned to a subject. Some researchers (Miyagawa 1993, 2011, Ochi 2001, among others) claim that a D head which takes a head noun of noun-modifying clauses as its complement assigns genitive Case to the subject, while others (Watanabe 1996 and Hiraiwa 2001a) suggest that a C head of the clauses is responsible for genitive Case assignment to the subject. These two approaches have been mutually exclusive; the former approach does not assume that a C head of the clause is involved in genitive Case assignment, and the latter denies that the source of genitive Case is a D head of the head noun of the clause. Thus, it has been assumed that genitive Case is assigned either by a D head or by a C head.

The purpose of this thesis is to propose a mechanism of genitive Case assignment in which both D and C independently play a role. More specifically, I propose that both D and C can basically assign genitive Case, but C can serve as a genitive Case assigner only when the clause contains a nonfinite T. The evidence for this claim comes from Accusative/Genitive Conversion in Kansai Japanese, which was reported relatively recently by Asano and Ura (2010). In Kansai Japanese, an object can be marked either with the accusative Case marker or with the genitive Case marker under limited conditions. What is the most significant for us in Accusative/Genitive Conversion is that the pattern in which both a subject and an object are marked as genitive at the same time is observed in Kansai Japanese, and it gives us crucial evidence for the claim that two different ways of genitive Case assignment are involved in Japanese.

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The organization of this thesis is as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the basic facts of and the licensing conditions on genitive objects in Kansai Japanese, based on the observations by Asano and Ura (2010) and Kusumoto (2013). As a novel generalization about the distribution of genitive objects, I argue that a genitive object can be licensed only when the clause where it occurs does not bear a temporal interpretation, which plays a crucial role in my analysis. In Section 3, we first review the assumptions which I adopt in this thesis. Also, I present an analysis that accounts for the peculiar Case patterns observed in Kansai Japanese. Based on the idea of feature inheritance (Chomsky 2008), I propose that a head of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese, C_{affix}, basically has the ability to assign genitive Case, but it is dependent on the type of TP in the clause. I also demonstrate that the proposed analysis can correctly explain why we can mark both a subject and an object as genitive at the same time when the clause has a nonfinite T, but not when the clause contains a finite T. I further demonstrate that the analysis based on the mechanism of MULTIPLE AGREE (Hiraiwa 2001b, 2005) not only fails to account for some data, but also makes a wrong prediction about possible Case patterns. Lastly, I briefly discuss the relevance of the proposed analysis to Nominative/Genitive Conversion and some remaining issues. Section 4 concludes the thesis.

2 Accusative/Genitive Conversion in Kansai Japanese

In this section, I show that in Kansai Japanese, but not in standard Japanese, the object in certain noun-modifying clauses can be marked either with the accusative Case marker or with the genitive Case marker. I also discuss some licensing conditions on genitive objects based on the observations made by Asano and Ura (2010) and Kusumoto (2013). Most importantly, I claim that genitive objects can be licensed only when the clause does not bear a temporal interpretation, which has gone unnoticed in the literature.

2.1 Accusative/Genitive Conversion

It is widely known that Japanese allows a Case alternation called Nominative/Genitive (*ga*/*no*) Conversion, in which a subject can be marked either with the nominative Case marker -*ga* or with the genitive Case marker -*no* under certain circumstances. On the other hand, it has long been assumed that an accusative-marked object cannot be replaced with a genitive-marked object under any conditions. Put differently, it has been argued that Japanese does not tolerate Accusative/Genitive (*o*/*no*) Conversion. The examples given in (1) demonstrate these points.

(1) a. [Taroo-**ga**/-**no** t_i kat-ta]   hon$_i$
       Taro-NOM /-GEN   buy-PAST book
       'the book which Taro bought'
    b. [t_i hon-**o**/*-**no**   kat-ta]   hito$_i$
        book-ACC/-GEN buy-PAST   person
       'the person who bought a book'
(2) a. [Taroo-**ga**/-**no** t_i hasit-ta]   basyo$_i$
       Taro-NOM/-GEN   run-PAST place
       'the place where Taro ran'

b. [Taroo-ga   t$_i$ hon-**o**/*-**no**   kat-ta]   basyo$_i$

    Taro-NOM   book-ACC/-GEN buy-PAST place

    'the place where Taro bought a book'

The examples in (1) involve the relativization of arguments. In (1a), the object *hon* 'book' is relativized and becomes the head noun of the relative clause. In this clause, the subject *Taroo* can be marked either as nominative or as genitive. In (1b), where the subject *hito* 'person' is relativized, by contrast, while an accusative-marked object is allowed, a genitive-marked object is not. Thus, genitive Case marking to the object is blocked. The same contrast can be seen in the pair in (2), where adjuncts are relativized. In (2a), the adjunct *basyo* 'place' serves as a head noun of the relative clause, and both a nominative-marked subject and a genitive-marked subject are allowed. In (2b), on the other hand, we can mark the object with the accusative Case marker, but not with the genitive Case marker. Based on examples like the ones given in (1) and (2), researchers have argued that Japanese does not allow Accusative/Genitive Conversion (See Watanabe 1996 and Hiraiwa 2001a for possible explanations for the universal absence of Accusative/Genitive Conversion).[1]

    Contrary to the general consensus, however, Asano and Ura (2010) report that in Kansai Japanese, which is spoken in the Kansai region of Japan, the object can be marked as genitive under limited circumstances.[2] This is illustrated in the examples in (3).

(3) a. [t$_i$ gomi-**o**/-**no**   sute-ru]   basyo$_i$

      trash-ACC/-GEN dump-IRR place

    'a place to dump trash'   (adapted from Asano and Ura 2010: 40)

---

[1] The examples in (1) and (2) include traces, but I am not claiming that relative clauses in Japanese involve movement. Some researchers (e.g. Murasugi 1991) claim that the gap in relative clauses in Japanese is a *pro*. In this thesis, traces are used just to indicate where the gaps are within the relative clauses.

[2] The Kansai region is located in the southern-central region of the main island of Japan. It includes the prefectures of Hyogo, Kyoto, Mie, Nara, Osaka, Shiga, and Wakayama.

b. [t$_i$ zabuton-**o**/-**no**   hakobikom-u] heya$_i$

   cushion-ACC/-GEN carry.in-IRR   room

   'a room to carry cushions into'   (adapted from Asano and Ura 2010: 40)

c. [t$_i$ hame-**o**/-**no**   hazus-u]   kikai$_i$

   bit-ACC/-GEN take.off-IRR opportunity

   'an opportunity to cut loose'   (adapted from Asano and Ura 2010: 40)

d. [koutya-**o**/-**no**   nom-u]   syukan

   tea-ACC/-GEN drink-IRR   habit

   'a habit to drink tea'

In (3a-c), the adjuncts are relativized and serve as the head nouns of the relative clauses. The clause in (3d) is an example of so-called gapless relative clauses in that the head noun has no relationship with the arguments and the predicate within the clause. These types of clauses are the canonical environments where Nominative/Genitive Conversion is observed. In these examples, accusative-marked objects optionally alternate with genitive-marked objects. While speakers of standard Japanese allow only accusative objects, those of Kansai Japanese readily accept genitive objects as well. Thus, these examples demonstrate that Accusative/Genitive Conversion is allowed in Kansai Japanese.

   Before investigating licensing conditions on genitive objects in Kansai Japanese, a note on the status of genitive objects is in order. As Asano & Ura discuss, one might wonder whether the genitive-marked DPs in (3) are really objects or not. In fact, genitive-marked DPs can modify following nouns as adnominal modifiers, as in (4), so one might think that the genitive-marked DPs in (3) do not actually appear as objects, but as adnominal modifiers, as in (5).

(4) gomi-no   basyo

   garbage-GEN place

   'a place for garbage'

(5) gomi_i-no   [_{clause} *pro*_i sute-ru]   basyo

    garbage-GEN   dump-IRR place

    'a place to dump garbage'   (adapted from Asano and Ura 2010: 41)

The structure given in (5) is a potential structure for (3a) discussed by Asano and Ura. In (5), the genitive-marked noun *gomi-no* 'garbage' serves as an adnominal modifier of the following noun *basyo* 'place'. Also, the genitive-marked noun is followed by a clause that contains the verb and the phonologically null object coreferential with the adnominal modifier.

      As Asano and Ura argue, in fact, this structure might be applicable to (3a), (3b), and (3d), but they argue that we cannot apply it to (3c), where the combination of the object and the verb *hame-no hazus-u* 'cut loose' is an idiomatic expression. As demonstrated in (6), the object of the idiomatic expression cannot appear as an adnominal modifier. By the same token, we cannot assume that (3c) has the structure shown in (7).

(6) *hame-no kikai

    bit-GEN   opportunity

(7) hame_i-no [_{clause} *pro*_i hazus-u]   kikai

    bit-GEN   take.off-IRR opportunity

    'an opportunity to cut loose'

In (7), the object of the idiomatic expression, *hame-no* 'bit', serves as an adnominal modifier of the following noun *kikai* 'opportunity'. However, one could argue that (6) is ungrammatical because part of the idiomatic expression, the verb, is missing, and that (7) is acceptable with the object extracted out of the clause containing the verb.

      Even if Asano and Ura's argument about the untenableness of the structure in (5) and (7) is not on the right track, we have another reasons to assume that the genitive-marked DPs in (3) are true objects. That is, a clause that contains a genitive-marked noun can have within it a

postpositional phrase preceding the genitive-marked noun, as in (8).

(8) [**siken-de** t_i tikara-o/-no   ire-ru]   kamoku$_i$

    exam-in   power-ACC/-GEN put-IRR subject

    'a subject to focus on in the exam'

In (8), the postpositional phrase *siken-de* 'in the exam' modifies the embedded verb *ire* 'put', and that indicates that the postpositional phrase appears within the noun-modifying clause. That also means that the genitive-marked DP *tikara-no* 'power' cannot appear outside the clause and must be located within the clause because it is preceded by the postpositional phrase that appears within the clause. This observation suggests that the genitive-marked DPs in (3) appear as objects within the clauses.

One might wonder whether the postpositional phrase in (8) modifies the immediately following noun *tikara* 'power'. If the postpositional phrase modified the immediately following noun, then it would be marked with the genitive Case marker, as in (9).

(9) Tokyo-de-*(no) hakai

    Tokyo-in-GEN   destruction

    'the destruction in Tokyo'

Since the postpositional phrase is not marked as genitive in (8), we can conclude that it modifies the embedded verb. Consequently, the genitive object must be in the clause, too.

Thus, we can assume that the genitive-marked nouns in (3) are true objects. That means that Kansai Japanese allows direct objects to be marked with the genitive Case marker.

2.2 Licensing conditions on genitive objects

Genitive objects can appear only under certain circumstances. The question that arises is, under what circumstances can genitive objects be licensed? In this sub-section, I will discuss some properties of genitive objects in Kansai Japanese. As reported in Asano and Ura (2010) and Kusumoto (2013), genitive objects cannot appear everywhere; their distribution is quite limited. In this sub-section, we will look at two factors that restrict the distribution of genitive objects.

2.2.1 No tense interpretation

The first factor has to do with tense. If the clause bears a temporal interpretation, genitive objects are blocked. For example, in the clause below with the interpretation shown, genitive objects are not allowed.[3]

(10) [t_i hon-**o/*-no**   yon-**da**]   basyo$_i$

　　　 book-ACC/-GEN read-PAST place

　　 'the place where someone read books'

In (10), the verb *yon* 'read' has the past tense marker *-da*, and the clause bears a past tense interpretation, as indicated by the compatibility with the temporal adjunct *kinoo* 'yesterday'. Then, we cannot have the genitive-marked object, while the accusative-marked object is allowed.

　　 The ill-formedness of (10) does not have to do with the presence of the morpheme *-ta* itself, however. Based on Kusumoto's (2001) idea that the so-called past tense morpheme *-ta* is lexically ambiguous between a true past tense marker and a stative aspect marker, Kusumoto (2013) observes that when the morpheme *-ta* is used as a stative aspect marker, the object can be marked as genitive, as in (11) and (12).[4]

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[3] The morpheme *-ta* appears as *-da* for a phonological reason in (10).

[4] In her paper, Kusumoto (2001) calls the form in (11a) a non-past participial form.

(11) a. [t$_i$ booru-**o**/-**no**　　ire-**ta**]　　koppu$_i$

　　　　ball-ACC/-GEN put-STAT cup

　　　'the cup which has a ball in it'

　　b. [t$_i$ booru-**o**/*-**no**　　ire-**ta**]　　koppu$_i$

　　　　ball-ACC/-GEN put-PAST cup

　　　'the cup in which someone put a ball'

(12) a. [t$_i$ pasokon-**o**/-**no**　　　　　　oi-**ta**]　　tukue$_i$

　　　　personal.computer-ACC/-GEN　put-STAT desk

　　　'the desk which has a computer on it'

　　b. [t$_i$ pasokon-**o**/*-**no**　　　　　　oi-**ta**]　　tukue$_i$

　　　　personal.computer-ACC/-GEN　put-PAST desk

　　　'the desk on which someone put a computer'

The phrases with the accusative-marked objects are ambiguous between a stative interpretation and a past tense interpretation, as shown in (11a-b) and (12a-b). For example, the phrase containing the accusative-marked object in (11a-b) refers either to the cup which has a ball in it or to the cup in which someone put a ball, but the former interpretation is much preferred. This ambiguity, however, completely disappears with the genitive-marked object, as the ungrammatical examples in (11b) and (12b) show. In other words, while the phrase with an accusative-marked object allows both interpretations, the one with a genitive-marked object allows only a stative interpretation. That suggests that genitive objects are not licensed when the clause containing the morpheme -*ta* has a past tense interpretation, while they are when the clause has a stative interpretation.

　　Interestingly, we find a similar pattern with the so-called present tense marker -*ru*/-*u*.[5]

---

[5] Japanese has two types of tense markers: the so-called past tense marker -*ta* and the so-called present tense marker -*ru*/-*u*. We could call the latter a non-past tense marker since Japanese does not distinguish

That is, genitive objects can be licensed when the clause which contains the morpheme *-ru/-u* does not bear a present tense interpretation. In fact, the acceptable examples in (3) all contain the morpheme *-ru/-u* but do not make reference to any event that is taking place in the present or any particular event that will take place in the future. Instead, they just describe the properties attributed to the modified nouns. For example, the example in (3a), repeated here as (13), describes the property attributed to the place or what the place is for, and does not describe any specific event of someone dumping trash which is taking place in the present or which will take place in the future.

(13) [t$_i$ gomi-**o**/-**no**   sute-ru]   basyo$_i$

         trash-ACC/-GEN dump-IRR place

     'a place to dump trash'

In that sense, they are in irrealis mood, as noted by Asano and Ura, and they do not bear a present tense interpretation. Indeed, genitive objects are not compatible with any temporal adjuncts, as shown in the examples in (14).

(14) a. *[**kyou** t$_i$ hon-**no**   yom-**u**]   basyo$_i$

       today   book-GEN read-PRES place

       'the place where someone reads/is reading books today'

   b. *[**asita**   t$_i$ hon-**no**   yom-**u**]   basyo$_i$

       tomorrow   book-GEN read-PRES place

       'the place where someone will read books tomorrow'

The examples given in (14) contain the temporal adjuncts *kyou* 'today' and *asita* 'tomorrow'.

---

between present tense and future tense morphologically, but in this thesis, I just call it a present tense marker to avoid confusion with what Kusumoto (2001) calls the non-past participial *-ta*.

The use of the temporal adjuncts indicates that these examples bear a present tense interpretation, because they describe specific events which are taking place in the present or will take place in the future (today in (14a) and tomorrow in (14b)). These examples suggest that we cannot mark the object as genitive when the clause containing the morpheme *-ru/-u* has a present tense interpretation.

To summarize what we have seen so far, genitive objects are licensed when the clause does not bear a temporal interpretation. This generalization has not been reported in the previous literature, and the fact that the lack of a temporal interpretation has to do with the licensing of genitive objects will play an important role in my analysis which will be discussed in Section 3.[6] Also, I will discuss the lack of temporal interpretations with the morphemes *-ta* and *-ru/-u* in more detail in Section 3.2.

2.2.2 Restrictions on subjects

There are some restrictions on the kind of subjects which can co-occur with genitive objects. Let us first look at cases involving the morpheme *-ta*. We saw that clause which has the morpheme *-ta* in it bears a stative interpretation, we can mark the object either as accusative or as genitive, as in (11) and (12). As discussed in Kinsui (1994) and Kusumoto (2001), the clause which bears a stative interpretation with the morpheme *-ta* is not compatible with an overt subject, and if an overt subject appears, the clause only allows a past tense interpretation, as the examples in (15) show.

(15) a. *[**Taroo**-ga t_i booru-o   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

　　　Taro-NOM   ball-ACC put-STAT cup

　　　'the cup which has a ball in it (as a result of Taro having put a ball in it)'

---

[6] Asano and Ura (2010) argue that the clause which contains a genitive object must be in irrealis mood, but do not discuss anything about a temporal interpretation of the clause.

b. [**Taroo**-ga t_i booru-o   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

Taro-NOM   ball-ACC   put-PAST   cup

'the cup in which Taro put a ball'

In (15a), the clause with a stative interpretation cannot have the overt subject *Taroo*. In (15b), by contrast, the phrase bears a past tense interpretation, and the overt subject is allowed to occur within the clause. Thus, the clause which has a stative interpretation with the morpheme *-ta* cannot contain an overt subject.

In the same way, a genitive-marked object cannot be licensed if the clause contains an overt subject, as in (16).

(16) *[**Taroo**-ga t_i booru-**no**   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

Taro-NOM   ball-GEN   put-STAT   cup

'the cup which has a ball in it (as a result of Taro having put a ball in it)'

Thus, the presence of overt subjects blocks the stative interpretation of the morpheme *-ta*. Accordingly, genitive objects, which are licensed with a stative interpretation of the morpheme *-ta*, do not follow overt subjects.

Then, the question which arises is whether there is a subject at all in clauses bearing a stative interpretation. Is there no subject at all in the clause, or does the clause contain a *pro*? In this thesis, I assume that in the clause which has a stative interpretation, there is always an arbitrary *pro* (Suñer 1983) which does not require any antecedent, and that it occupies the specifier position of active VoiceP.[7] The difference between the arbitrary *pro* and a *pro* which appears in a finite clause can be seen in the pair given in (17).

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[7] I assume that Japanese projects a VoiceP and a *v*P independently, and active Voice introduces an external argument. I will discuss this in more detail in Section 3.1.1.

(17) a. Taroo-wa [*pro* t$_i$ booru-o ire-ta] koppu$_i$-o mottei-ru.

Taro-TOP ball-ACC put-STAT cup-ACC have-PRES

'Taro has a cup which has a ball in it'

b. Taroo-wa [*pro* t$_i$ booru-o ire-ta] koppu$_i$-o mottei-ru.

Taro-TOP ball-ACC put-PAST cup-ACC have-PRES

'Taro has a cup in which Taro put a ball'

In (17a), the phrase *booru-o ire-ta koppu* 'the cup that has a ball in it' serves as the object of the matrix clause, and there is a matrix subject *Taroo*, which is a potential antecedent of *pro*. However, the matrix subject cannot be the agent of the action of putting a ball, as indicated by the translation. Thus, the *pro* in the clause bearing a stative interpretation does not require an antecedent. In (17b), by contrast, the *pro* within the embedded clause can take the matrix subject as its antecedent, as the translation shows. These examples demonstrate that a *pro* in the clause bearing a stative interpretation is antecedentless and arbitrary.

Contrary to this assumption, however, Kusumoto (2013) argues that the clause which has the stative *-ta* in it does not contain any subject, and proposes the structure given in (18).[8]

---

[8] The structure given in (18) is somewhat simplified, but that does not affect the validity of the discussion here.

(18)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                 NP    D
                /  \
             AspP    N
            /   \
          VP     Asp
         /  \    -ta
        DP   V
```
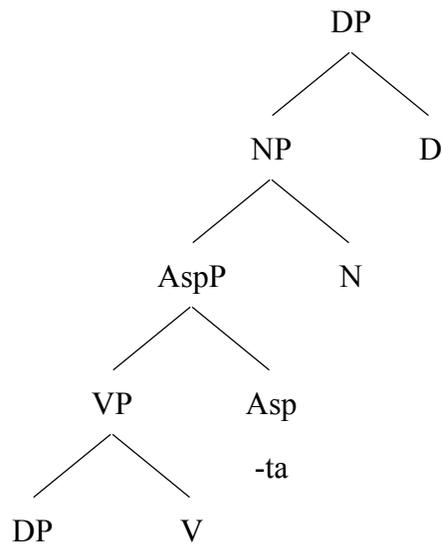
In (18), Kusumoto argues that the morpheme *-ta* which brings about a stative interpretation, which appears as an Aspect head, selects a VP, not a VoiceP, as its complement. That means that this *-ta* never co-occurs with any kind of subject. Also, she assumes that D assigns genitive Case to the object in this structure.

However, Kusumoto's analysis faces a significant problem. That is, it cannot give a satisfactory explanation of why accusative Case can be assigned to the object in a clause with a stative interpretation. Since she claims that a clause with this *-ta* lacks a VoiceP and a *v*P, which are canonical accusative Case assigners, it is predicted that accusative Case is always unavailable with this *-ta*. As we saw in (11) and (12), however, the object can be marked either accusative or genitive. The crucial example is repeated here as (19).

(19) [t_i booru-o/-no   ire-ta]   koppu$_i$

      ball-ACC/-GEN put-STAT cup

   'the cup that has a ball in it'

It is more plausible, then, to assume that the clause has an arbitrary *pro* as its subject and that a VoiceP which has the arbitrary *pro* in its specifier position somehow enables the object to be assigned accusative Case.[9]

Let us now turn our attention to cases where the clause does not bear a present tense interpretation with the morpheme *-ru/-u*. While we can have an overt subject in the same clause as an accusative-marked object, we cannot have one with a genitive-marked object, as the examples in (20) show.

(20) a. [**gakusei-ga** t_i hon-**o**   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

   students-NOM   book-ACC read-IRR place

   'a place for students to read books'

   b. *[**gakusei-ga** t_i hon-**no**   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

   students-NOM   book-GEN read-IRR place

   'a place for students to reads books'

In (20a), the overt subject *gakusei-ga* 'students' can co-occur with the accusative-marked object. In (20b), on the other hand, the overt subject is not compatible with the genitive-marked object.

However, the fact is not so simple. Interestingly, this restriction only applies to nominative subjects. If a subject is marked genitive, it can readily co-occur with a genitive object, as we can see in the examples given in (21).

(21) [gakusei-**no** t_i hon-**no**   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

   students-GEN   book-GEN read-IRR place

   'a place for students to read books'

To summarize, no overt subject can appear in the clause which has a stative interpretation

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[9] The mechanism of accusative Case assignment will be discussed in detail in Section 3.1.1.

with -*ta*, so a genitive object is not compatible with an overt subject as well, since a genitive object is licensed in the clause with a stative interpretation. Also, a subject must be marked as genitive when it co-occurs with a genitive object in the clause which does not bear a present tense interpretation with -*ru*/-*u*.

2.2.3 Possible patterns

Let us briefly summarize the possible Case patterns in the clauses with a stative interpretation of -*ta*, with an irrealis interpretation of -*ru*/-*u*, and with a temporal interpretation.

    With a stative interpretation of -*ta*, we can have either an accusative-marked object or a genitive-marked object, as shown in (22).

(22) a. [t_i booru-o   ire-ta]   koppu$_i$

        ball-ACC put-STAT cup

    'the cup which has a ball in it'

    b. [t_i booru-no ire-ta]   koppu$_i$

        ball-GEN put-STAT cup

    'the cup which has a ball in it'

In a clause which bears an irrealis interpretation with -*ru*/-*u*, a nominative-marked subject must co-occur with an accusative-marked object, and cannot co-occur with a genitive-marked object. By contrast, a genitive-marked subject can co-occur either with an accusative-marked object or with a genitive-marked object, as in (23).

(23) a. [gakusei-ga t_i hon-o   yom-u] basyo$_i$

    students-NOM   book-ACC read-IRR place

    'a place for students to read books'

b. *[gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-no   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

   students-NOM   book-GEN read-IRR place

   'a place for students to read books'

c. [gakusei-no   t$_i$ hon-o   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

   students-GEN   book-ACC read-IRR place

   'a place for students to read books'

d. [gakusei-no   t$_i$ hon-no   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

   students-GEN   book-GEN read-IRR place

   'a place for students to read books'

In a clause bearing a temporal interpretation, a nominative-marked subject and a genitive-marked subject can co-occur with an accusative-marked object, but neither of them are compatible with a genitive-marked object, as in (24).[10]

(24) a. [gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-o   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

   students-NOM   book-ACC read-PAST place

   'a place where students read books'

b. *[gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-no   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

   students-NOM   book-GEN read-PAST place

   'a place where students read books'

c. [gakusei-no   t$_i$ hon-o   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

   students-GEN   book-ACC read-PAST place

   'a place where students read books'

---

[10] The acceptability of the examples in (23c) and (24c), where a genitive-marked subject co-occurs with an accusative-marked object, varies among speakers, as pointed out by Watanabe (1996). In this thesis, I treat these examples as grammatical.

d. *[gakusei-no   t_i hon-no   yon-da]   basyo_i

students-GEN   book-GEN read-PAST place

'a place where students read books'

2.2.4 Summary

To summarize what we have observed in this sub-section, there are two properties that have to do with the availability of genitive objects; i) the clause where genitive objects are allowed do not bear a tense interpretation, ii) genitive objects which are licensed with a stative interpretation of -*ta* are not compatible with an overt subject because the stative interpretation is not compatible with an overt subject, and iii) genitive objects which appear in the clause bearing an irrealis interpretation of -*ru*/-*u* co-occurs with genitive subjects, but not with nominative subjects. All the possible patterns with a stative interpretation, an irrealis interpretaiton, and a temporal interpretaion are summarized in Table 1. My task in the next section is to correctly account for all the patterns shown below.

	Stative		Irrealis				Temporal			
Overt subjects	No		Yes				Yes			
Case on subj.	N/A		NOM		GEN		NOM		GEN	
Case on obj.	ACC	GEN	ACC	GEN	ACC	GEN	ACC	GEN	ACC	GEN
Grammatical?	✔	✔	✔	*	✔	✔	✔	*	✔	*
Examples	(22a)	(22b)	(23a)	(23b)	(23c)	(23d)	(24a)	(24b)	(24c)	(24d)

Table 1: Summary of Case patterns

3 Analysis of genitive objects in Kansai Japanese: How genitive Case is assigned

In this section, we first look at the assumptions which I adopt to explain the behavior of genitive objects, and give motivations to the assumptions. I propose that C_{affix}, which is a head of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese, can assign genitive Case only when there is no finite T in the clause, based on the mechanism of feature inheritance proposed by Chomsky (2008). Furthermore, we carefully investigate the structure of clauses which contain the morpheme *-ta* or *-ru*/*-u*. I propose that in Kansai Japanese, verbs can be "deverbalized" in that they do not have to be selected by *v*. Lastly, we see how we can account for the genitive Case assignment to objects in Kansai Japanese. I demonstrate that the proposed mechanism of genitive Case assignment can correctly account for all the patterns observed in Kansai Japanese.

3.1 Assumptions

Before constructing an analysis of genitive objects, it is necessary to make explicit the assumptions which I adopt in this thesis. More concretely, I discuss the assumptions about the structure of *v*Ps, the structure of noun-modifying clauses, and ways of Case assignment in Japanese. I also make a novel proposal on genitive Case assignment.

3.1.1 Voice and *v*

Let us first examine the structure of *v*Ps. In this thesis, I assume that Japanese projects a VoiceP and a *v*P independently (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008, Harley 2013, among others). As we briefly saw in Section 2.2, there are some cases (at least in Kansai Japanese) in which there is an external argument but accusative Case is not available, as in (11c) and (21), repeated here as (25) and (26), respectively.

(25) [t$_i$ booru-no ire-ta]　　koppu$_i$

　　　　ball-GEN put-STAT cup

　　'the cup that has a ball in it'

(26) [gakusei-no　　t$_i$ hon-no　　yom-u]　basyo$_i$

　　students-GEN　　book-GEN read-IRR place

　　'a place for students to read books'

In (25), there is an arbitrary *pro* within the clause, but the object is marked as genitive, not as accusative. In (26), the clause contains the genitive-marked subject, which is an external argument of the verb, but the object is marked with the genitive Case marker, and cannot have accusative Case. These examples indicate that (at least in Kansai Japanese) there is no clear correlation between the presence of an external argument and the availability of accusative Case.

　　Then, it is natural to give up the assumption that a single functional head, *v*, is responsible both for introducing an external argument and for accusative Case assignment. If we kept the assumption, we would have to posit at least three different types of *v*s to explain all the possible patterns: one which introduces an external argument and assigns accusative Case, one which introduces an external argument but does not assign accusative Case, and one which does not introduce an external argument and does not assign accusative Case.

　　It is more plausible, then, to attribute the roles of introducing an external argument and accusative Case assignment to two different functional heads: Voice and *v*, respectively. In this thesis, I assume, unlike the view that Voice is responsible for accusative Case assignment (as well as for introducing an external argument), that *v* is responsible for accusative Case assignment. More concretely, I assume that *v* inherits the relevant feature from Voice, as T inherits the relevant feature from C (Chomsky 2008); just like T can assign Case only when it inherits the relevant feature from C, *v* can serve as a Case assigner only when it inherits the

relevant feature from Voice.[11] That means that if a *v*P is not selected by Voice, *v* cannot assign accusative Case, as T cannot assign nominative Case if the TP is not selected by C.[12][13]

Based on the insight from the previous research on Nominative/Genitive Conversion (Miyagawa 2011), furthermore, I assume that when T assigns nominative Case to a DP, the noun has to move to the specifier position of TP, while the DP can stay in-situ when it is assigned genitive Case by D or C_{affix}. Put differently, when T assigns nominative Case, its EPP feature must be satisfied. The EPP feature on T will play an important role in the analysis discussed below.

3.1.2 Structure of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese

Next, let us investigate the structure of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese. Some researchers claim that they are TPs (Murasugi 1991, Taguchi 2008, among others), while others argue that they are CPs (Watanabe 1996, Hiraiwa 2001a, Saito 2012, among others). In this thesis, following Kinsui (1995), Kaplan and Whitman (1995), and Hiraiwa (2001a), I assume that noun-modifying clauses in Japanese are CPs, and more specifically, that the head of the clauses, C_{affix}, is responsible for the special inflection of predicates called the adnominal form.

Predicates take the adnominal form when they appear in a noun-modifying clause. The idea that noun-modifying clauses are headed by C_{affix}, which is responsible for the realization of the adnominal form of predicates, is based on the fact that although in Modern Japanese, verbs and adjectives do not differentiate the adnominal from the "end" form, which appears when

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[11] I leave open the question of what kind of features T and *v* inherit from C and Voice, respectively, considering the lack of φ-feature agreement in Japanese (Fukui 1986, among others).

[12] The example of T which cannot assign nominative Case due to the lack of C can be found in English ECM constructions, where the embedded clause is a TP and the embedded subject is marked as accusative, not as nominative. The similar case can be found in English for-to-infinitive constructions, where the embedded subject is assigned accusative Case.

[13] Also, I assume that in Japanese, there are at least two types of Voice: active Voice, which introduces an external argument, and passive Voice, which does not. I further assume that only active Voice has the relevant feature which *v* can inherit. Thus, when active Voice selects a *v*P as its complement, the *v* can serve as an accusative Case assigner, while it cannot when the *v*P is selected by passive Voice.

predicates occur at the end of the sentence, copulas and nominal adjectives still keep the distinction.[14] The examples given below include verbs in (27), adjectives in (28), nominal adjectives in (29), and copulas in (30).

(27) a. [asita   Taroo-ga t_i hon-o   yom-**u**]   basyo$_i$

     tomorrow Taro-NOM   book-ACC read-PRES place

     'the place where Taro will read books tomorrow'

    b. Taroo-wa   asita   tosyokan-de hon-o   yom-**u**.

     Taro-NOM tomorrow library-at   book-ACC read-PRES

     'Taro will read books at the library tomorrow.'

(28) a. **akai** hon

     red   book

     'a red book'

    b. Sono-hon-wa   **akai**.

     the-book-TOP red

     'The book is red.'

(29) a. [Taroo-ga t_i suki-**na**/*-**da**]   hito$_i$

     Taro-NOM   like-COP/-COP person

     'the person who Taro likes'

    b. Taroo-wa Hanako-ga   suki-**da**/*-**na**.

     Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM like-COP/-COP

     'Taro likes Hanako.'

(30) a. [t_i sizuka-**na**/*-**da**] heya$_i$

      quiet   room

     'the room which is quiet'

---

[14] In Classic Japanese, there was a distinction between an adnominal form and an end form in verbs and adjectives.

b. Sono-heya-wa **sizuka-da/*-na**.

the-room-TOP quiet

'The room is quiet.'

In (27) and (28), the verb and the adjective take the same form regardless of whether they modify the following noun or stand in the final position of the matrix clause. In (29) and (30), by contrast, the copula and the nominal adjective take the adnominal form -*na* when they modify the following noun, while they take the end form -*da* when they appear at the end of the matrix clauses. Thus, Japanese displays a distinction between the adnominal form and the end form in certain contexts, and that is the reason to assume that even verbs and adjectives take the adnominal form in noun-modifying clauses. Thus, I assume that noun-modifying clauses in Japanese are all headed by C_{affix}, which is responsible for the realization of the adnominal form of predicates. Also, I assume that C_{affix} is not a phase head, following Saito (2012).[15]

3.1.3 How genitive Case is assigned in Japanese

Finally, let us determine how genitive Case is assigned in Japanese. In this thesis, I assume that D, which takes a head noun of noun-modifying clauses as its complement, assigns genitive Case. Also, more importantly, I assume that C_{affix} can assign genitive Case, following Hiraiwa (2001a).[16] That means that Japanese has two ways of genitive Case assignment. In fact, there have been proposed two types of approaches to genitive Case assignment to subjects in Japanese: the D-licensing approach (Miyagawa 1993, 2011, Ochi 2001, among others) and the C-licensing approach (Watanabe 1996 and Hiraiwa 2001a).[17] However, the idea that both D and C_{affix} play a

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[15] Saito (2012) assumes that a complementizer of relative clauses in Japanese is "defective". He further assumes that it is the lowest C, the Subject head (Rizzi 1997). In this thesis, I am not going to discuss the status of the C of noun-modifying clauses in detail.

[16] The idea that C_{affix} can assign genitive Case comes from the fact that Nominative/Genitive Conversion is observed in the environment where predicates take the adnominal form.

[17] In fact, Miyagawa (2012) points out that there are two types of genitive Case in Japanese and they are assigned differently. His proposal will be briefly reviewed in Section 3.3.

role in genitive Case assignment has not been taken in the previous literature.

However, I do not assume that C_{affix} can always assign genitive Case, contrary to Hiraiwa (2001a). As I discussed in Section 3.1.1, I adopt the mechanism of feature inheritance proposed by Chomsky (2008). Based on the idea of feature inheritance, I propose that C_{affix} loses its Case-assigning property when T inherits the relevant feature from C_{affix}. I also propose that a finite T must inherit the relevant feature from C_{affix}, but a nonfinite T does not have to. In other words, the feature inheritance of a finite T from C_{affix} is obligatory, while that of a nonfinite T from C_{affix} is optional. That means that C_{affix} cannot serve as a genitive Case assigner if the clause contains a finite T.

3.1.4 Summary

In this sub-section, I discussed the specific assumptions about the structure of vPs, the structure of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese, and how genitive Case is assigned in Japanese. To summarize the mechanism of Case assignment, T assigns nominative Case only when it inherits the relevant feature from C, v assigns accusative Case only when the vP is selected by Voice, C_{affix} assigns genitive Case only when the feature inheritance of T does not take place, and D assigns genitive Case. This assumption is based on the idea that the category of the assigner determines the kind of Case assigned. The summary of case assignment assumed in this thesis is given in Table 2.

	Assigner	Conditions
Nominative	T	only when the TP is selected by C
Accusative	v	only when the vP is selected by Voice
Genitive	C_{affix}	cannot assign genitive Case when it selects a finite TP
	D	

Table 2: Cases, assigners, and conditions on assigners

3.2 Structure of the clauses involving the morpheme *-ta* or *-ru*/*-u*

In this sub-section, we look at the structure of clauses which contain the morpheme *-ta* or *-ru*/*-u*. Based on some syntactic and semantic evidence, I argue that the morpheme *-ta* and *-ru*/*-u* do not co-occur with each other, and that the clause which has a stative interpretation with *-ta* and the one which bears an irrealis interpretation with *-ru*/*-u* both have a nonfinite TP, not a finite TP. For the sake of argument, the morpheme *-ta* is called the stative *-ta* when it brings about a stative interpretation, and the past tense *-ta* when the clause bears a past tense interpretation. Also, the morpheme *-ru*/*-u* is called the irrealis *-ru*/*-u* when the clause has an irrealis interpretation, and the present tense *-ru*/*-u* when it brings about a present tense interpretation. However, I am not claiming that the morphemes *-ta* and *-ru*/*-u* are lexically ambiguous.[18]

3.2.1 Full structure of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese

It is worth trying all the possible combinations of the phrases in the structure with the stative *-ta* or the irrealis *-ru*/*-u*. The tree given in (31) is a full structure of noun-modifying clauses in Japanese.[19]

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[18] I have glossed the morpheme *-ta* as STAT when the clause bears a stative interpretation, and as PAST when it bring about a past tense interpretation, Also, the morpheme *-ru*/*-u* has been glossed as IRR when the clause has a irrealis interpretation, and as PRES when the clause bears a present tense interpretation. By so doing, I am not claiming that these morphemes are lexically ambiguous as well. In this thesis, it does not matter whether or not they are lexically ambiguous.

[19] Irrelevant parts are eliminated from the tree. Also, we will not be concerned with aspect markers other than the stative *-ta*, and we will not be concerned with mood markers other than the irrealis *-ru*/*-u* as well.

(31)

```
                              CP
                          ／      ＼
                        TP        C_affix
                     ／    ＼
                  MoodP      T
                ／    ＼
             AspP      Mood
           ／   ＼      -ru/-u
        VoiceP    Asp
       ／   ＼     -ta
    Subj      Voice
         ／  ＼
       vP
      ／  ＼
    VP      v
  ／  ＼
Obj    V
```
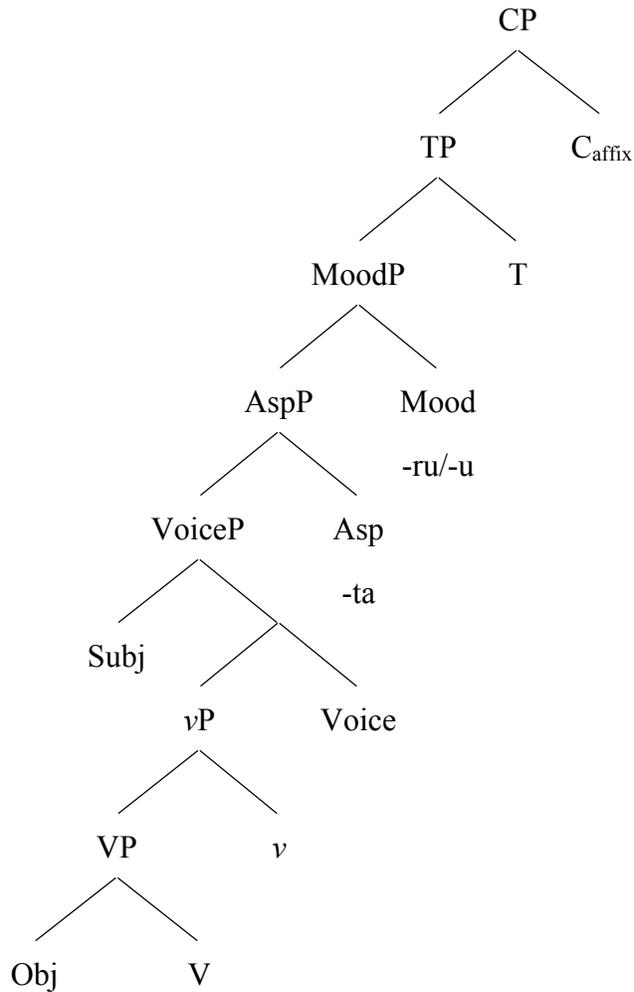
As I claimed in Section 3.1.2, all noun-modifying clauses are CPs, so C_affix must always occur within the clause. Also, since we are concerned with objects of transitive verbs, a VoiceP, a vP, and a VP must always appear in a clause. However, how can genitive Case be assigned to the object if there is an accusative Case assigner, v? It is natural to assume that the object is assigned genitive Case when it cannot get accusative Case. Put differently, for the object to be assigned genitive Case, it must not be assigned accusative Case. That means that the structure where genitive objects are licensed lacks an accusative Case assigner. That also suggests that the clause where accusative Case is assigned to the object and the one where the object gets genitive Case have different structures. Based on these considerations, I propose that in Kansai Japanese, verbs

can be "deverbalized" in that they do not have to be selected by *v*. That means that when the object is assigned accusative Case, there is *v* in the clause, while there is not when the object gets genitive Case.

Also, we have to determine when a TP, a MoodP, and an AspP occur. More concretely, we have to check whether the stative *-ta*, which is an Asp head, co-occurs with a TP and a MoodP, as well as whether the irrealis *-ru/-u*, which is a Mood head, co-occurs with a TP and an AspP. In the following sub-sections, I claim that the stative *-ta* and the irrealis *-ru/-u* are not compatible with each other, and that the clause including the stative *-ta* or the irrealis *-ru/-u* contains a nonfinite T, which behaves differently from a finite T.

3.2.2 the stative *-ta*, the irrealis *-ru/-u*, and a kind of T

First, the stative *-ta* does not co-occur with the irrealis *-ru/-u*, and therefore the clause where the stative *-ta* appears lacks a MoodP. If we consider that they are semantically incompatible with each other, it is plausible to claim that they do not co-occur with each other; the stative *-ta* is used to describe the current situation of the head noun in the present, as in (32), while the irrealis *-ru/-u* is used to describe the property attributed to the head noun, as in (33).

(32) [t_i booru-o   ire-ta]   koppu$_i$

       ball-ACC put-STAT cup

    'the cup which has a ball in it'

(33) [t_i hon-o   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

       book-ACC read-IRR place

    'a place to read books'

In (32), the whole clause describes the current state of the cup having a ball in it in the present. In that sense, the example is in realis mood. In (33), on the other hand, the clause just describes the

27

property attributed to the place or what the place is for. It does not describe any specific event of someone reading books in the present or in the future, so it is in irrealis mood. Thus, the stative *-ta* and the irrealis *-ru* are semantically incompatible with each other.

Also, we cannot use both the stative *-ta* and the irrealis *-ru/-u* at the same time, as in (34) and (35).

(34) a. *[t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta-ru**]   koppu$_i$

            ball-ACC put-STAT-IRR cup

    b. *[t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ru-ta**]   koppu$_i$

            ball-ACC put-IRR-STAT cup

(35) a. *[t$_i$ hon-o   yon-**da-ru**]   basyo$_i$

            book-ACC read-STAT-IRR place

    b. *[t$_i$ hon-o   yom-**u-ta**]   basyo$_i$

            book-ACC read-IRR-STAT place

From these observations, we can conclude that the stative *-ta* and the irrealis *-ru/-u* do not co-occur with each other, that the clause containing the stative *-ta* lacks a MoodP, and that the clause where the irrealis *-ru/-u* appears does not have an AspP in it as well.

Second, let us examine the status of TP in the clause where the stative *-ta* or the irrealis *-ru/-u* occurs. We start with cases involving the stative *-ta*. I claim that the clause containing the stative *-ta* has a nonfinite T. The reason for the nonfiniteness of the TP comes from the fact that the stative *-ta* is not compatible with any temporal adjuncts, as demonstrated in (36). What is remarkable is that even though the stative *-ta* is used to describe the current state of the head noun in the present, the temporal adjunct *ima* 'now' is not compatible with it, as in (36b).

(36) a. *[**kinoo**   t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

   yesterday   ball-ACC put-STAT cup

   'the cup which had a ball in it yesterday'

   b. *[**ima** t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

   now   ball-ACC put-STAT cup

   'the cup which has a ball in it now'

   c. *[**asita**   t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

   tomorrow   ball-ACC put-STAT cup

   'the cup which will have a ball in it tomorrow'

   Indeed, this pattern is in clear contrast with cases involving the true present tense marker
-ru/-u and the true past tense marker *-ta*. The present tense *-ru/-u* can co-occur with the temporal
adjunct *asita* 'tomorrow', and the past tense *-ta* can co-occur with the temporal adjunct *kinoo*
'yesterday', as shown in (37).

(37) a. [**asita**   t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ru**]   koppu$_i$

   tomorrow   ball-ACC put-PRES cup

   'the cup in which someone will put a ball tomorrow'

   b. [**kinoo**   t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta**]   koppu$_i$

   yesterday   ball-ACC put-PAST cup

   'the cup in which someone put a ball yesterday'

   However, it is not the case that all aspect markers in Japanese are incompatible with
temporal adjuncts. For example, the durative aspect markers *-tear* and *-tei*, which must be
followed by a tense marker, can co-occur with temporal adjuncts, as in (38) and (39).[20]

---

[20] Both *-tear* and *-tei* are aspect markers, but the former must be used with a transitive verb, and the latter
must be used with an intransitive verb.

(38) a. [booru-ga   t_i ire-**tear-u**]   koppu_i

ball-NOM   put-DUR-PRES cup

'the cup that has a ball in it (as a result of someone having put a ball in it)'

b. [**ima**booru-ga   t_i ire-**tear-u**]   koppu_i

now ball-NOM   put-DUR-PRES cup

'the cup that has a ball in it now (as a result of someone having put a ball in it)'

c. [booru-ga   t_i ire-**tear-ta**]   koppu_i

ball-NOM   put-DUR-PAST cup

'the cup that had a ball in it (as a result of someone having put a ball in it)'

d. [**kinoo**   booru-ga   t_i ire-**tear-ta**]   koppu_i

yesterday ball-NOM   put-DUR-PAST cup

'the cup that had a ball in it yesterday (as a result of someone having put a ball in it)'

(39) a. [booru-ga   t_i hait-**tei-ru**]   koppu_i

ball-NOM   get.into-DUR-PRES cup

'the cup which has a ball in it'

b. [**ima**booru-ga   t_i hait-**tei-ru**]   koppu_i

now ball-NOM   get.into-DUR-PRES cup

'the cup which has a ball in it'

c. [booru-ga   t_i hait-**tei-ta**]   koppu_i

ball-NOM   get.into-DUR-PAST cup

'the cup which had a ball in it'

d. [**kinoo**   booru-ga   t_i hait-**tei-ta**]   koppu_i

yesterday ball-NOM   get.into-DUR-PAST cup

'the cup which had a ball in it yesterday'

In (38) and (39), the durative aspect markers *-tear* and *-tei* are followed by the present tense

marker *-ru/-u* or the past tense marker *-ta*. We can safely assume that what follows the aspect markers *-tear* and *-tei* is a true tense marker because the choice of the markers between *-ru/-u* and *-ta* brings about a difference in temporal meaning, as shown in (38a) and (38c), and (39a) and (39c). Also, we can see that the present tense marker *-ru/-u* is compatible with the temporal adjunct *ima* 'now', and that the past tense marker *-ta* is compatible with the temporal adjunct *kinoo* 'yesterday'. Thus, the stative *-ta* behaves differently from the tense markers in terms of the availability of temporal adjuncts. That suggests that the clause containing the stative *-ta* has a different kind of tense from the clause which has a true tense marker in it. I claim that the difference in the compatibility of temporal adjuncts is attributed to the finiteness of T, and that the clause where the stative *-ta* occurs has a nonfinite T.

Additional support for the idea that a clause which contains the stative *-ta* has a nonfinite T comes from the fact that the stative *-ta* does not co-occur with a true tense marker, as the examples in (40) show.

(40) a. *[t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta-ru**]   koppu$_i$

ball-ACC put-STAT-PRES cup

'the cup which has a ball in it'

    b. *[t$_i$ booru-o   ire-**ta-ta**]   koppu$_i$

ball-ACC put-STAT-PAST cup

'the cup which had a ball in it'

Thus, these examples given above clearly show that the clause containing the stative *-ta* does not have a finite T, but has a nonfinite T.

To summarize what we have seen so far about stative *-ta*, a clause which includes stative *-ta* lacks a MoodP, and it has a nonfinite T. The proposed structure for the stative *-ta* is given in (41).

(41)

```
                              CP
                           /      \
                         TP        C_affix
                      /      \
                   AspP       T_nonfinite
                 /      \
             VoiceP      Asp
            /      \     -ta
       pro_arb      \
                vP    Voice
              /    \
            VP      v
          /    \
       Obj      V
```
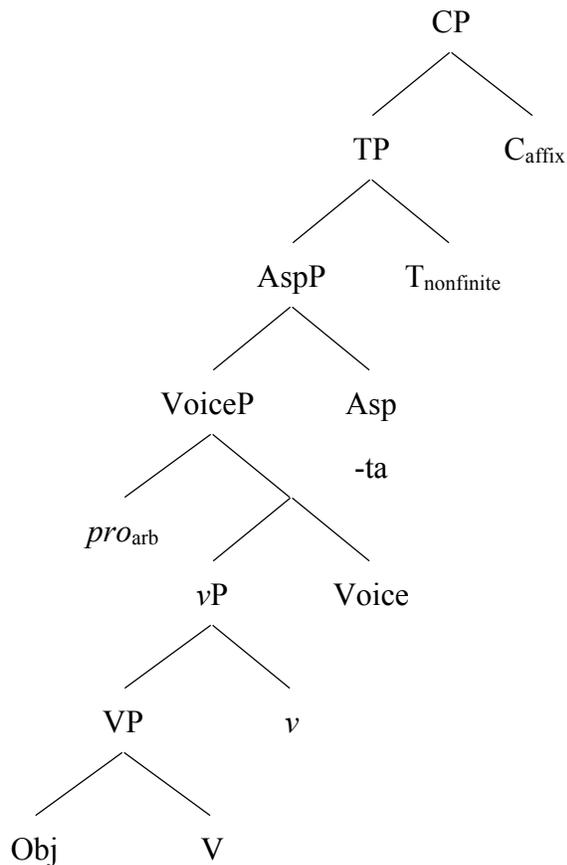
Now, let us turn our attention to the irrealis *-ru/-u*. As I discussed above, it is semantically incompatible with the stative *-ta*, so the clause containing the irrealis *-ru/-u* lacks an AspP. Also, as in the case of the stative *-ta*, I claim that the clause where the irrealis *-ru/-u* occurs has a nonfinite T. The first evidence for this claim comes from the semantic property of the irrealis *-ru/-u*. That is, it does not describe any specific event that is happening in the present or any event that will happen in the future. Instead, it just describes the property which the head noun has. In (42), for example, it describes what the place is for, and it does not refer to any specific event in the present or in the future.

32

(42) [t$_i$ hon-o   yom-u]   basyo$_i$

       book-ACC read-IRR place

   'a place to read books'

     In fact, if we put the temporal adjuncts like *ima* 'now' or *asita* 'tomorrow' in these clauses, then the irrealis *-ru/-u* no longer describes the property of the head noun but describes a specific event which takes place in the present or will take place in the future. Then, the clause must have a present or future tense interpretation, as in (43).

(43) a. [**ima** t$_i$ hon-o   yom-**u**]   basyo$_i$

      now   book-ACC read-PRES place

      'the place where someone reads books now'

    b. [**asita**   t$_i$ hon-o   yom-**u**]   basyo$_i$

     tomorrow   book-ACC read-PRES place

     'the place where someone will read books tomorrow'

     The second evidence for the nonfiniteness of the clause where the irreals *-ru/-u* appears can be obtained from the fact that the irrealis *-ru/-u* cannot be followed by a tense marker, as shown in (44).

(44) a. *[t$_i$ hon-o   yom-**u-ru**]   basyo$_i$

       book-ACC read-IRR-PRES place

    b. *[t$_i$ hon-o   yon-**u-ta**]   basyo$_i$

       book-ACC read-IRR-PAST place

Thus, these are the reasons of claiming that the clause containing the irrealis *-ru/-u* has a nonfinite T.

To summarize, the clause containing the irrealis *-ru/-u* lacks an AspP, and it has a nonfinite T. The proposed structure is given in (45).

(45)

```
                         CP
                        /  \
                      TP    C_affix
                     /  \
                 MoodP    T_nonfinite
                /    \
           VoiceP     Mood
           /   \      -ru/-u
         Subj   \
              vP   Voice
             /  \
           VP    v
          /  \
        Obj   V
```
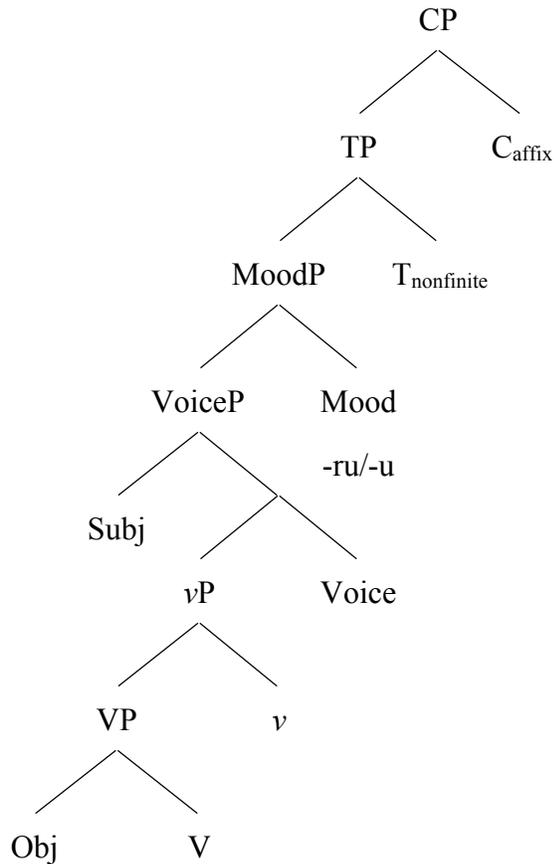
3.3 Analysis of genitive objects in Kansai Japanese

So far, we established the assumptions and the structures of clauses containing the stative *-ta* or the irrealis *-ru/-u*. Now, it is time to construct an analysis of how genitive Case is assigned to objects in Kansai Japanese. As I briefly discussed in Section 3.1.3, I propose that there are two types of genitive Case assignment in Japanese, and that D and C_{affix} independently serve as genitive Case assigners. I also demonstrate that an analysis based on the mechanism of MULTIPLE AGREE (Hiraiwa 2001b, 2005) is problematic in that it makes a wrong prediction

about possible patterns of Case assignment in a clause containing a finite T.

Let us start with cases where the stative -*ta* occurs. We saw in Section 2.2.1 that in the clause containing the stative -*ta*, the object can be marked either with the accusative Case marker or with the genitive Case marker, as in (11a) and (11b), repeated here as (46).

(46) [t_i booru-o/-no   ire-ta]   koppu$_i$

       ball-ACC/-GEN put-STAT cup

   'the cup that has a ball in it'

Also, we saw that the clause where the stative -*ta* appears lacks a MoodP and has a nonfinite T, so the phrase in (46) with the accusative-marked object has the structure given in (47).

(47)

```
                              DP
                             /  \
                           NP    D
                          /  \
                        CP    N
                       /  \   koppu
                     TP   C_affix  'cup'
                    /  \
                 AspP   T_nonfinite
                /  \
          VoiceP    Asp
          /  \      -ta
        DP    \
      pro_arb  vP    Voice
              /  \
            VP    v
           /  \
         DP    V
       booru  ire
       'ball' 'put'
```
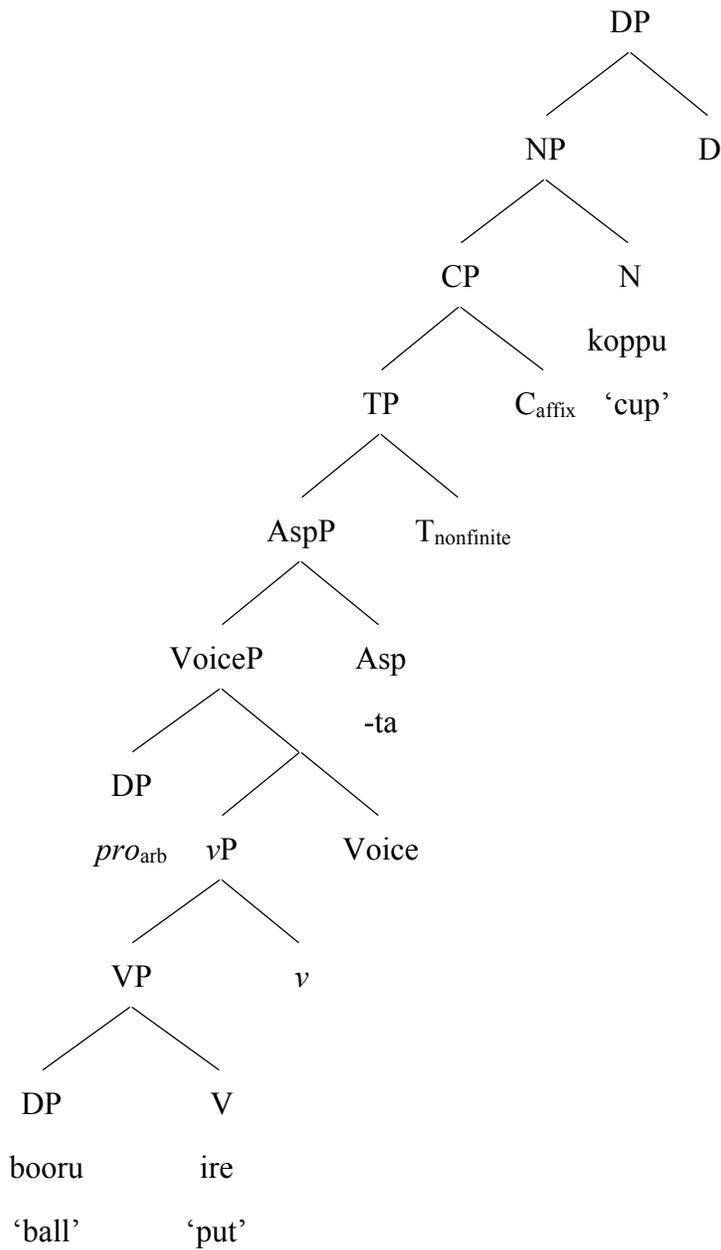
Let us first explain how accusative Case is assigned to the object in the structure in (47). In fact, this is straightforward. Since the VoiceP, which introduces an arbitrary *pro* in its specifier position, selects a *v*P as its complement, the *v* can inherit t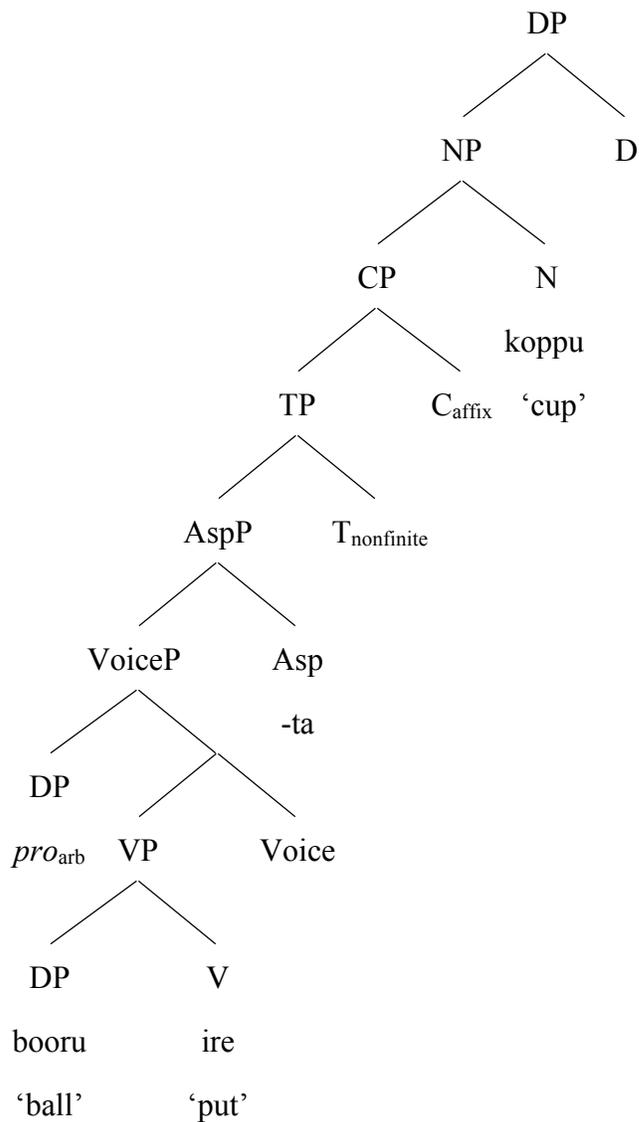he relevant feature from the Voice, and the *v* can serve as an accusative Case assigner. Thus, the object can be correctly assigned accusative Case by the *v*.

Then, how can we account for the genitive Case assignment to the object in Kansai Japanese? I proposed in Section 3.2.1 that in Kansai Japanese, verbs do not have to be selected by *v*. More concretely, Kansai Japanese allows the structure as in (48), where the VP is not selected by *v*, but by Voice.

(48)

```
                              DP
                           /      \
                         NP         D
                       /    \
                     CP       N
                   /    \    koppu
                 TP     C_affix  'cup'
               /    \
            AspP    T_nonfinite
           /    \
       VoiceP    Asp
      /    \     -ta
    DP      VP ... Voice
  pro_arb  VP
          /    \
        DP      V
      booru    ire
      'ball'   'put'
```
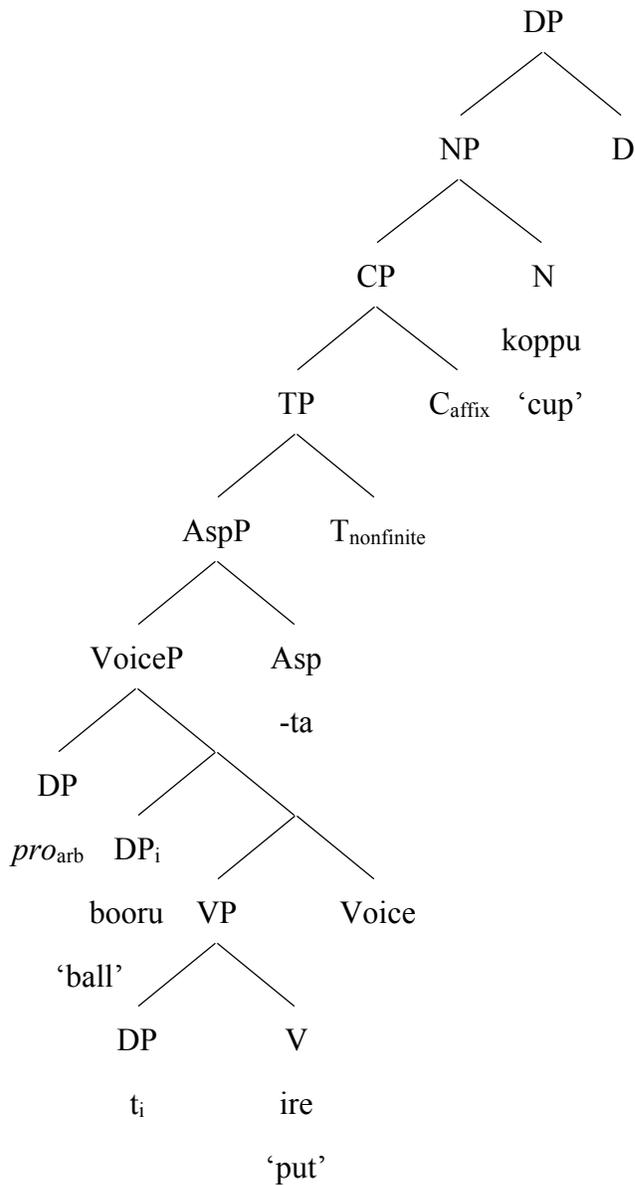
In (48), there is no *v*, which is a canonical accusative Case assigner, so accusative Case is not available. Instead, both D and C$_{affix}$ can independently assign genitive Case to the object and the

arbitrary *pro,* so the genitive object can be licensed in this structure.

Let us take a look at how the derivation proceeds in (48) in more detail. Here, I assume that a VoiceP is a phase. Since there is no *v* and accordingly no accusative Case assigner in this structure, the object cannot be assigned any Case within the VoiceP. For the object to get Case, it has to move to the specifier position of the VoiceP, which is an edge of the phase, as in (49).

(49)

```
                              DP
                            /    \
                          NP      D
                        /    \
                      CP      N
                    /    \    koppu
                  TP   C_affix  'cup'
                /    \
             AspP  T_nonfinite
            /    \
       VoiceP   Asp
       /    \   -ta
     DP      \
   pro_arb  DP_i
          /     \
      booru     VP      Voice
      'ball'   /   \
             DP     V
             t_i    ire
                   'put'
```

The object *booru* 'ball' "tucks-in" (Richards 1999) to the lower specifier position of the VoiceP. Now, C_{affix} can serve as a genitive Case assigner because there is a nonfinite T in the clause, and the feature inheritance of the nonfinite T from C_{affix} is optional. If the feature inheritance does not take place, then C_{affix} assigns genitive Case to the arbitrary *pro*. Also, D assigns genitive Case to the object. Since the *pro* and the object occupy the specifiers of the same phrase and therefore are equidistant from D, the defective intervention effect (Chomsky 2000) is not observed in this derivation; even after the arbitrary *pro* becomes inactive in that its Case feature is valued, it does not intervene between D and the object because the *pro* and the object are equidistant from D.[21] Thus, the object can be correctly assigned genitive Case by D in this structure.

One might wonder at this point why we have to posit two different Case assigners. More concretely, one might think that we could explain the genitive Case assignment to the arbitrary *pro* and the object in (49) by assuming the mechanism of MULTIPLE AGREE proposed by Hiraiwa (2001b, 2005). That is, we could argue that either D or C_{affix} assigns genitive Case to the *pro* and the object via one syntactic operation called MULTIPLE AGREE. As we will see below, however, the analysis based on MULTIPLE AGREE makes a wrong prediction about the possible Case patterns in the clause which includes a finite T.

The crucial point in my analysis is that since the structure contains a nonfinite T in (48) and (49), we can have two genitive Case assigners in this structure: C_{affix} and D. Recall that with a nonfinite T, the feature inheritance is optional, and C_{affix} can keep the relevant feature needed to assign genitive Case and serve as a genitive Case assigner. Since we have two genitive Case assigners, we can correctly assign genitive Case both to the object and the arbitrary *pro*, and the derivation converges. Thus, we can correctly account for the two patterns observed with the stative *-ta*.

Let us next look at cases where the irrealis *-ru/-u* occurs. In Section 2.2.3, we saw that while an accusative-marked object is compatible either with a nominative-marked subject or with
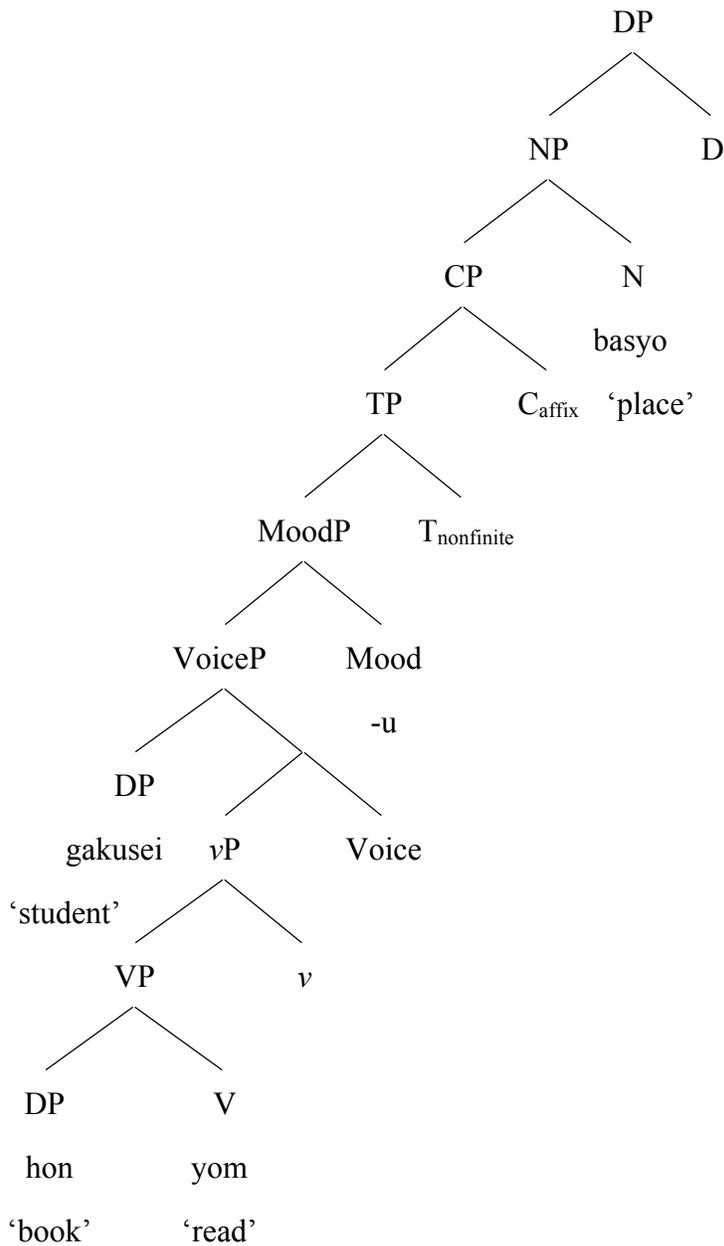
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[21] One might imagine the case where C_{affix} assigns genitive Case to the object, and the *pro* gets genitive Case from D, but we obtain the same result.

a genitive-marked subject, a genitive-marked object co-occurs with a genitive-marked subject, but not with a nominative-marked subject, as shown in (23), repeated here as (50).

(50) a. [gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-o   yom-u]   basyo$_i$
        students-NOM   book-ACC read-IRR place
        'a place for students to read books'

   b. *[gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-no   yom-u]   basyo$_i$
        students-NOM   book-GEN read-IRR place
        'a place for students to read books'

   c. [gakusei-no   t$_i$ hon-o   yom-u]   basyo$_i$
        students-GEN   book-ACC read-IRR place
        'a place for students to read books'

   d. [gakusei-no   t$_i$ hon-no   yom-u]   basyo$_i$
        students-GEN   book-GEN read-IRR place
        'a place for students to read books'

Also, we saw that the clause with the irrealis *-ru/-u* does not contain an AspP, and it has a nonfinite T. The clause structure of the phrase in (50) with the accusative-marked object is given in (51).
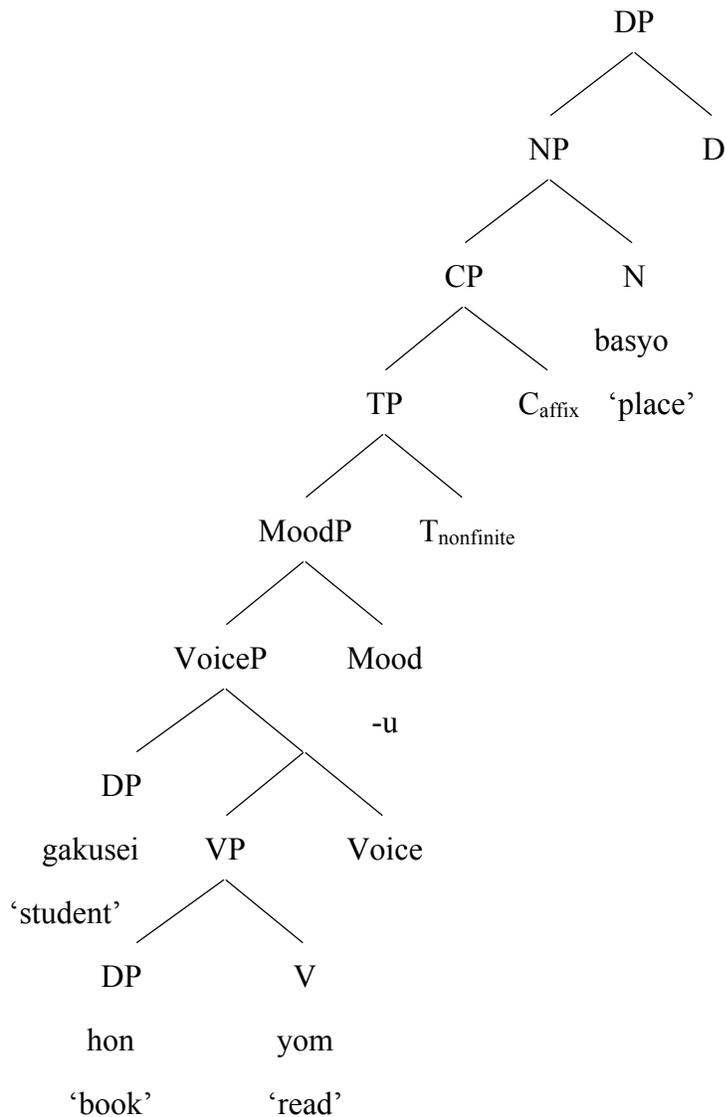
(51)

```
                                    DP
                                   /  \
                                 NP     D
                                /  \
                              CP     N
                             /  \    basyo
                           TP    C_affix  'place'
                          /  \
                      MoodP    T_nonfinite
                     /    \
                 VoiceP    Mood
                /    \     -u
              DP      \
           gakusei   vP    Voice
           'student' /  \
                  VP     v
                 /  \
               DP    V
              hon    yom
             'book'  'read'
```

The structure in (51) is almost the same as the one containing the stative -*ta* given in (47). The only difference between these trees is whether they have the stative -*ta* or the irrealis -*ru*/-*u* between the TP and the VoiceP. Then, we can easily explain how accusative Case is assigned to the object again. In (51), the *v*P is selected by the Voice head, so the feature inheritance of *v* from the Voice takes place, and the *v* can serve as an accusative Case marker. Thus, the object can be

correctly assigned accusative Case by the *v*. Also, as I proposed in Section 3.1.3, the feature inheritance of the nonfinite T from C_{affix} is optional. If it takes place, the nonfinite T inherits the relevant feature from C_{affix}, and serves as a nominative Case assigner. As a result, nominative Case is assigned to the subject by the T. If the feature inheritance does not take place, C_{affix} keeps the relevant feature, and it assigns genitive Case to the subject. Thus, we can correctly explain the grammaticality of the patterns given in (50a) and (50c).

Also, how genitive Case is assigned to the object can be explained in the "deverbalization" analysis proposed above. The structure where a genitive object is licensed is given in (52).

(52)

```
                              DP
                             /  \
                           NP     D
                          /  \
                        CP     N
                       /  \    basyo
                     TP   C_affix  'place'
                    /  \
                MoodP   T_nonfinite
               /    \
          VoiceP    Mood
          /   \      -u
        DP     \
     gakusei   VP    Voice
    'student'  /  \
             DP    V
            hon   yom
           'book' 'read'
```

In (52), there is no *v*, and the structure does not have any accusative Case marker. Therefore, the object cannot be assigned accusative Case. To get Case, it has to move to the lower specifier position of the VoiceP. Since the clause contains a nonfinite T, the feature inheritance is optional. Let us first look at the case without the feature inheritance. C_{affix} keeps the relevant feature, and assigns genitive Case to the subject *gakusei* 'student'. Also, D assigns genitive Case to the object *hon* 'book'. Note that the subject does not intervene between D and the object because the subject and the object are equidistant from D. Thus, we can correctly predict that a

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genitive-marked object can co-occur with a genitive-marked subject in the clause containing the irrealis -*ru*/-*u*.
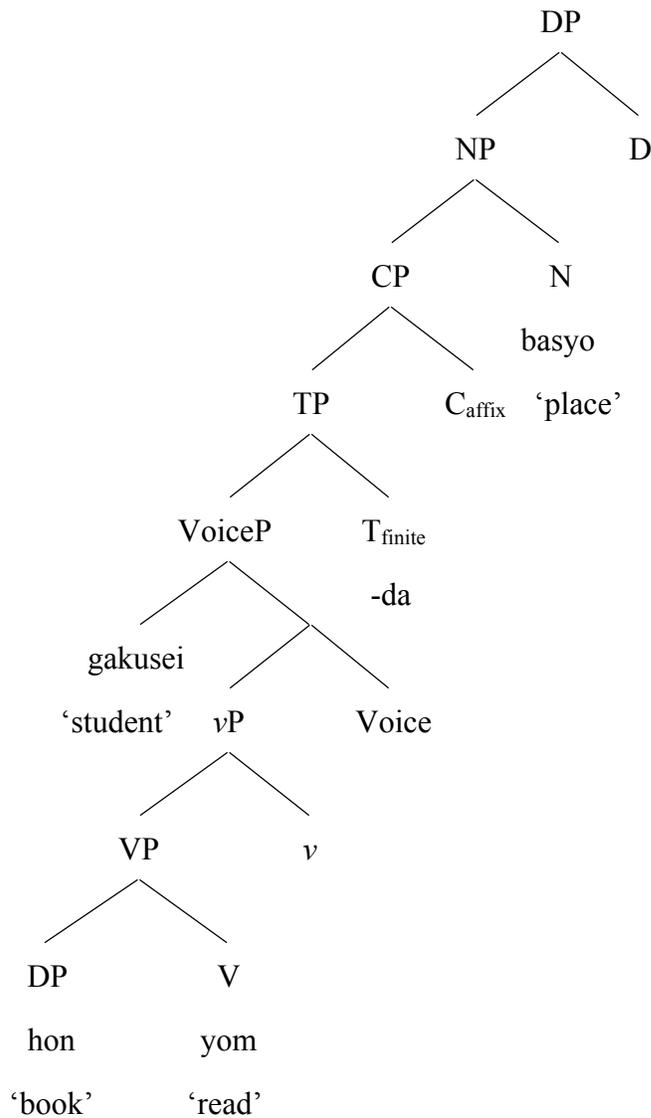
Next, let us look at the case involving the feature inheritance. The nonfinite T inherits the relevant feature from C$_{affix}$, and serves as a nominative Case assigner. However, this derivation does not converge; if the nonfinite T assigns nominative Case to the subject, the subject has to move to the specifier position of TP due to the EPP feature on the T. Then the subject, which is inactive, intervenes between D and the object, and prevents D from assigning genitive Case to the object. Thus, we cannot have a nominative-marked subject and a genitive-marked object at the same time. This is in conformity with the ungrammatical example in (50c).

Lastly, let us examine cases where a true tense marker is involved. We saw that an accusative-marked object can co-occur either with a nominative-marked subject or with a genitive-marked subject, while a genitive-marked object is not compatible either with a nominative-marked subject or a genitive-marked subject, as in (24), repeated here as (53).

(53) a. [gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-o   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

     students-NOM   book-ACC read-PAST place

     'a place for students to read books'

   b. *[gakusei-ga   t$_i$ hon-no   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

     students-NOM   book-GEN read-PAST place

     'a place for students to read books'

   c. [gakusei-no   t$_i$ hon-o   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

     students-GEN   book-ACC read-PAST place

     'a place for students to read books'

   d. *[gakusei-no t$_i$ hon-no   yon-da]   basyo$_i$

     students-GEN   book-GEN read-PAST place

     'a place for students to read books'

Let us look at the derivations of the cases where accusative Case is assigned to the object. The structure of (53a) and (53c) is given in (54).
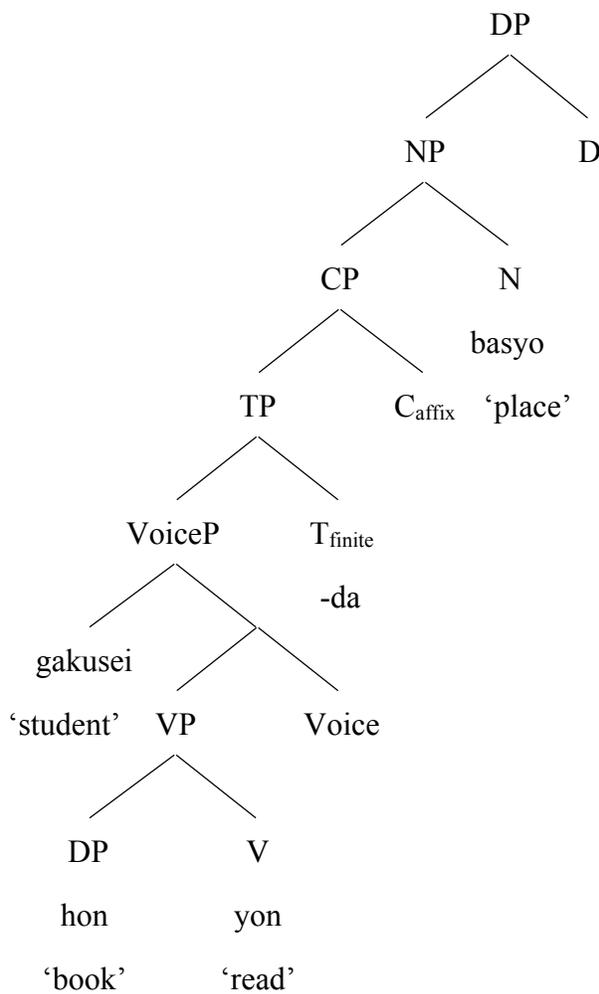
(54)

```
                              DP
                            /    \
                          NP      D
                         /  \
                       CP    N
                      /  \   basyo
                    TP   C_affix  'place'
                   /  \
              VoiceP   T_finite
              /   \    -da
         gakusei   \
        'student'  vP   Voice
                  /  \
                VP    v
               /  \
             DP    V
             hon   yom
            'book' 'read'
```

Again, the explanation is straightforward. Since the *v*P is selected by Voice, the *v* can serve as an accusative Case assigner. As a result, the object can be correctly assigned accusative Case by the *v*. Also, the finite T inherits the relevant feature from C_affix, and it can assign nominative Case. Then, the possible Case assigner for the subject in this structure is either the finite T or D; if the

finite T assigns Case to the subject, it gets nominative Case, while if D assigns Case, the subject gets genitive Case. Thus, we can give a clear explanation to why an accusative-marked object is compatible either with a nominative-marked subject or with a genitive-marked subject.

Now, we have to explain the patterns in which the object is assigned genitive Case, as in (53b) and (53d). For the object to be assigned genitive Case, the structure must lack a vP, as in (55).

(55)

```
                              DP
                          ┌────┴────┐
                         NP          D
                      ┌───┴───┐
                     CP        N
                  ┌───┴───┐   basyo
                 TP      C_affix  'place'
              ┌───┴───┐
           VoiceP    T_finite
         ┌────┴───┐    -da
      gakusei
      'student'  ┌──┴──┐
                VP    Voice
             ┌───┴───┐
            DP        V
           hon       yon
          'book'    'read'
```

Since the object can get no Case within the VoiceP, it has to move to the lower specifier position of the VoiceP. Then, the finite T, which inherits the relevant feature from C$_{affix}$, has to assign

nominative Case to the subject *gakusei* 'student', and the subject moves to the specifier position of the TP to satisfy the EPP feature on T. The subject, which is inactive, intervenes between D and the object, and D cannot assign genitive Case to the object due to the defective intervention effect.[22] Thus, a nominative-marked subject cannot co-occur with a genitive-marked object. Also, since we have only one genitive Case assigner, D, we cannot mark both the subject and the object as genitive, so a genitive-subject is not compatible with a genitive-marked object in the clause which has a finite T in it. Thus, we can correctly predict the ungrammaticality of (53b) and (53d).

As I briefly discussed above, one might wonder whether a single head could license multiple genitive Cases via MULTIPLE AGREE. If we adopted the mechanism of MULTIPLE AGREE, for example in (55), we would predict that the subject and the object can be marked as nominative by T at the same time, and that they can be marked as genitive by D at the same time. However, these patterns are not grammatical, as shown in (56).

(56) a. *[Taroo-ga t_i booru-ga ire-ta] koppu$_i$

　　　Taro-NOM 　　ball-NOM 　put-PAST 　cup

　　　'the cup in which Taro put a ball'

　　b. *[Taroo-no t_i booru-no ire-ta] koppu$_i$

　　　Taro-GEN 　　ball-GEN 　put-PAST 　cup

　　　'the cup in which Taro put a ball'

Thus, if we assumed that two genitive Cases on the *pro* and the object in (49) were assigned by a single head via MULTIPLE AGREE, then we cannot explain why examples like (56b), in which a subject and an object are marked as genitive at the same time in a clause

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[22] Whether or not the nominative-marked subject causes the defective intervention effect in this example depends on how we construe the effect. In this thesis, I simply assume that an element which is inactive due to a prior Agree serves as an intervener. Thus, I assume that the nominative-marked subject, which is inactive due to an Agree with T, blocks the Agree between D and the object.

containing a finite T, are not accepted. That further suggests that two different types of genitive Case assignment are involved in (49).

3.4 Nominative/Genitive Conversion and remaining issues

Lastly, let us briefly discuss the consequence of the proposed analysis for the study of Nominative/Genitive Conversion. The analysis proposed here makes a clear prediction about when D assigns genitive Case and when C_{affix} assigns it in the case of Nominative/Genitive Conversion. That is, if a clause contains a finite T, then D is responsible for genitive Case assignment, while C_{affix} can serve as a genitive Case assigner when a clause does not contain a finite T. That means that a genitive-marked subject in a tensed relative clause like (57) is licensed by D, whereas a genitive-marked subject in a temporal adjunct clause like (58), which Miyagawa (2012) claims has dependent tense, gets genitive Case from C_{affix}.[23]

(57) [Taroo-**ga**/-**no** t_i kat-ta]   hon$_i$

    Taro-NOM/-GEN   buy-PAST book

    'the book which Taro bought'

(58) Taroo-wa   [ame-**ga**/-**no**   yam-u   made] ofisu-ni i-ta.

    Taro-TOP   rain-NOM/-GEN rain-ASP   until   office-at be-PAST

    'Taro was at his office untill the rain stopped'   (adapted from Hiraiwa 2001: 77)

    In fact, Miyagawa (2012) argues that the genitive subjects in (57) and (58) are licensed differently. Miyagawa suggests that the subject is assigned genitive Case by D in (57), while in (58), genitive Case on the subject is licensed by a combination of dependent tense and weak *v*

---

[23] Miyagawa argues that the tense in (58) is not fully specified and dependent on the temporal interpretation of the matrix clause. I assume that the clause in (58) has a nonfinite T because the embedded clause lacks a temporal interpretation by itself. Also, I glossed the morpheme *-ru* just as ASP because it does not bring about a present tense interpretation.

(Chomsky 1995). As we can see, however, the explanation of the latter is insufficient, and it is no better than an observation. It is not clear exactly how genitive Case is licensed by the combination of dependent tense and weak *v*. Contrary to his proposal, my analysis can correctly explain why C$_{affix}$ can assign genitive Case in (58), but not in (57). In that sense, my analysis is explanatorily one step ahead of Miyagawa's analysis.[24]

　　However, Miyagawa is right in some respects. He observes that in a temporal adjunct clause, genitive Case is available for the internal argument of unaccusatives and passives, but not for the subject of unergatives, as shown in (59).

(59) a. Unaccusatives

　　[Kaze-de doa-**ga**/-**no**　　ai-ta　　toki] daremo　kizuka-nakat-ta

　　wind-by　door-NOM/-GEN　open-ASP when everyone　notice-NEG-PAST

　　'When the door opened due to wind, no one noticed.'　　　　(Miyagawa 2012: 152)

　b. Passives

　　Taroo-wa [kodomo-**ga**/-**no**　home-rare-ta　　toki] uresii kimoti dat-ta

　　Taro-TOP child-NOM/-GEN praise-PASS-ASP　when happy　feeling　COP-PAST

　　'Taroo was happy when his child was praised.'　　(adapted from Miyagawa 2012: 153)

　c. Unergatives

　　[Minna-**ga**/?*-**no** odot-ta　　toki], nigiyakani　nat-ta.

　　all-NOM/-GEN　dance-ASP when　lively　　　become-PAST

　　'When everyone danced, it became lively.'　　　　　　(Miyagawa 2012: 152)

These examples demonstrate that the type of verb is relevant for genitive Case assignment in temporal adjunct clauses. My analysis can correctly predict that the genitive-marked subject can be licensed in (59a) and (59b), but it cannot predict the ungrammaticality of (59c) with the

---

[24] The question which has left unsolved in my analysis is why feature inheritance is obligatory when the clause contains a finite T and optional when the clause has a nonfinite T. This question is left open for future research.

genitive subject. The relevance of the type of verb to genitive Case assignment in temporal adjunct clauses is left open for future research.

3.5 Summary

In this section, I have argued that there are two different ways of genitive Case assignment in Japanese. Specifically, I have proposed that D can assign genitive Case, and that C_{affix}, which is a head of noun-modifying clauses, can assign genitive Case only when the clause contains a nonfinite T, based on the mechanism of feature inheritance. Furthermore, I have proposed that the clause where genitive objects are licensed involves "deverbalization", in which a VP is not selected by v, but by Voice, and as a result, the clause lacks a vP. Along with the proposed mechanism of genitive Case assignment, I have demonstrated that we can explain why an object can be assigned genitive Case. I have also shown that the proposed analysis can correctly explain why in a finite clause, a subject and an object cannot get genitive Case at the same time. Furthermore, I have argued that this fact cannot be explained if we adopt the mechanism of MULTIPLE AGREE, in which a single head is responsible for multiple Case assignment. That further gives a support to the idea that two different ways of genitive Case assignment are involved in Japanese.

4 Conclusion

The most stunning result of the present study is that it has revealed that both D and C_{affix} independently play a role in genitive Case assignment in Japanese. I have proposed that C_{affix}, which is a head of noun-modifying clauses and is responsible for the realization of the adnominal form, has the ability to assign genitive Case, but it can serve as a genitive Case assigner only when the clause has a nonfinite T. I have demonstrated that the proposed mechanism of Case assignment accounts for all the patterns observed in Kansai Japanese. I have also argued that an analysis which is based on the mechanism of MULTIPLE AGREE cannot fully explain all the patterns and makes a wrong prediction about possible Case patterns. That further suggests that it is not the case that a single head is responsible for the assignment of genitive Case, and that two different ways of genitive Case assignment are involved in Japanese.

Before concluding the thesis, let me add a quick note on the interaction of two different types of genitive Case assignment. I have demonstrated that D and C_{affix} independently assign genitive Case in the case of Accusative/Genitive Conversion, but it is true that we can see both of them at work in the same clause only when the clause involves the "deverbalization" because an object must not be assigned Case to get genitive Case. Standard Japanese does not seem to allow the "deverbalization" judging from the unavailability of Accusative/Genitive Conversion, and then in standard Japanese, we cannot find any case where both D and C_{affix} are operative in the same clause. However, the main claim of this thesis remains unchanged. The most significant part of the claim is that all dialects of Japanese have two sources of genitive Case available, but we can find cases where both of them are operating in the same clause only in a dialect which allows the "deverbalization".

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