

What Do Genitive Subjects Tell Us About Adnominal Clauses?

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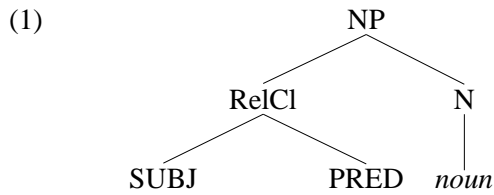
Linguistics, SOAS

Kobe Conference on Typology: English, Japanese, and Other Languages

25 October 2008

1. Introduction

There are various theoretical issues which adnominal clauses – here, primarily relative clauses – of a broad swath across Asia directly relate to.



- (2) a. In some languages, the subject of the relative clause is Genitive – and the relative clause is necessarily embedded inside NP. Is the Genitive licensed by the head noun, *from outside* the relative clause?
- b. In some languages, the relative clause predicate does not show any agreement – yet agreement appears on the head noun. Is this coincidental?
- c. What is the syntactic category of the relative clause – CP, or something different and/or something smaller? (Many of the relative clauses show some signs of nominalisation.) Cf. Hale (2002, 112): “It is probably incorrect to say of Dagur [Mongolian] that the verb of the relative clause is not in some sense nominalized.” Is it *this* that is responsible for the Genitive?

It is possible that a great majority of embedded or adnominal clauses are nominalised (Shibatani 2008).

There are remarks in the literature (especially Krause 2001, Miyagawa 2008a, 2008b) that relative clauses with Genitive subjects are structurally ‘smaller’ than the canonical CP associated with (embedded) clauses. Of the types below, only the first one shows possible evidence for reduced clausal structure in the adnominal clause. The first two types involve clausal structure that is nominalised, and Japanese presents an interesting borderline case.

- (3) a. Languages with Subjects which are Genitive inside adnominal clauses (more precisely, which take the same form that a possessor would take) (Altaic)
- b. Languages with Subjects which are Genitive but which are Genitive independent of being embedded in a larger NP (Turkish)
- c. Languages with Subjects which are not Genitive but which are Embedded (Japanese)
- d. Languages with Genitives which are not Subjects but which are Embedded (‘SUBJ’ in (1) is a Genitive but not a subject) (Toba Batak)

2. Possessive Relative Clauses

To begin, some core data, from Altai (cited from Ackerman and Nikolaeva ms):

- (4) a. [bis-tin kel-gen] d'oly-bys Altai
[we-GEN come-PART] road-1pl.poss
'the road on which we came'
- b. [tut-kan] balyg-ybys
[catch-PART] fish-1pl.poss
'the fish we caught'
- c. bis-tin balyg-ybys
we-GEN fish-1pl.poss
'our fish'

Ackerman and Nikolaeva (ms) present a significant survey of languages from Siberia to Turkey in which there are possessive subjects of relative clauses. They argue that a sizeable and essentially geographically contiguous group of languages overlay the Possessive Construction on the Relative Clause construction.

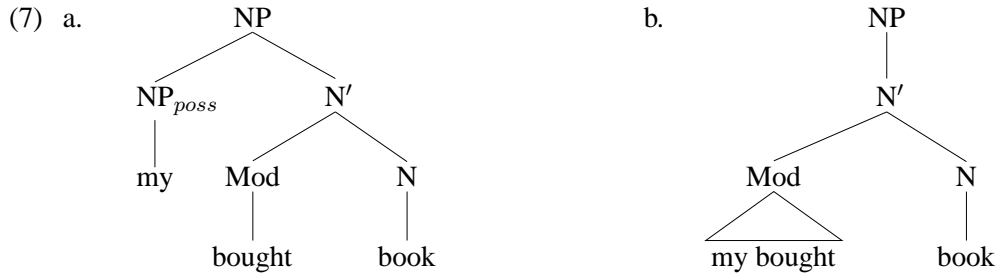
“... the general tendency is such that the regularity of possessive relatives in Turkic seems to decrease from East (North East) to West (South West). In the most Northeastern language, Yakut, possessive relative construction is the only available relative clause construction. In other Northeastern languages (Shor, Altai, Tuva, Khakas), as well as in Uzbek (Southeastern group) it competes with mc inflected relatives. Among the Northwestern Turkic languages, possessive relatives only exist in Kazakh and Kirghiz which also have mc inflected relatives, while in the Southwestern group possessive relatives are only well represented in Turkmen and seem to be very marginal otherwise. Finally, the most Western Turkic languages, including the modern Turkish, follow the mc inflected pattern. The predominance of possessive relatives in the North and East of the Turkic language area, especially in Yakut, may be due to Mongolian influence.”

- (5) Possessive Relatives:
- a. The subject of the relative clause is necessarily in the same case as an ordinary nominal possessor (often, but not always, Genitive), and;
- b. The head noun bears possessive agreement morphology covarying with the subject of the relative clause, necessarily exactly as an ordinary possessor would be cross-referenced.

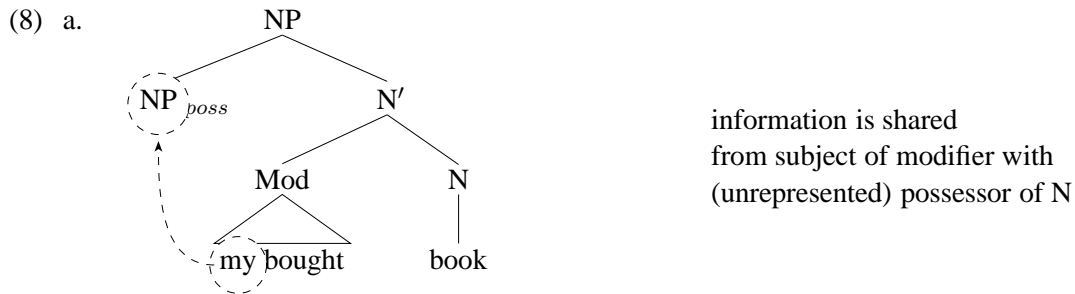
This type of relative clause gives us a starting point for the rest of the discussion. Possessive Relatives are analyzed in HPSG by Ackerman et al. (2004):

- (6) a. the predicate of the relative clause is an adjectival or participle form of a verb specified to modify a noun
- b. that predicate's subject is structure-shared with the possessor of the modified noun
- c. the semantic relation between the possessor and the possessee \mathcal{R} is given by the modifying clause
- d. informally, *my bought book* means that *I* stand in some relation \mathcal{R} to *book* and in this case the relation is that 'I bought it'.

The analysis they give actually gives the structure in (7)a rather than what might be the fully ‘grammaticalised’ form (Nikolaeva, p.c.) in (7)b.



Now what we really need is (8), where the subject has some properties of the possessor even though it is not the structural possessor. Information-based theories like LFG and HPSG provide a framework in which to do this.



- b. Syntactically, the head noun *has* a possessor, but it is not represented structurally: the grammatical information associated with it comes part from the possessor agreement on the head noun and part from *structure-sharing* (‘information flow’) up from the subject of the modifying clause.

What (8) represents is analogous to ‘Backward Raising’, structures which look like Subject-Subject Raising except that it is the lower, not the higher position which is filled. Backward Raising has been particularly carefully documented by Polinsky and Potsdam (2002a, 2002b, 2006), for Circassian (NW Caucasian) languages, Tsez, and Malagasy, among others.

- (9) In all the cases surveyed here, the information flow is either:
- a. local, between a head and its dependents, or
 - b. upward, from an embedded constituent to its higher grammatical context (a piece of lower structure says something about its containing syntactic context)

3. Variations Across Asia

The Altai facts above make it look like the agreement has ‘moved’ from the predicate of the modifying clause to the head noun, and that this then correlates with the subject of the modifying clause having Genitive case.

3.1. NE Asia

Dagur and (standard) Mongolian do not enforce the properties above. The subject of the relative clause may be Genitive, or some other case, and the head noun may or may not bear possessive agreement:

- (10) a. [mini au-sen] mer^y-min^y Dagur
[I.GEN see-PART] horse-1sg.poss
'the horse I bought' (Hale 2002)
- b. [nami al-sen] taul-min
[I.ACC kill-PART] rabbit-1sg.poss
'the rabbit I killed'
- c. [ʃi namde uk-sen] biteg-ʃin^y
[you.NOM I.DAT give-PART] book-2sg.poss
'the book you gave to me'

Hence, the case on the subject of the modifying clause can be determined independently of the possessor agreement on the head noun (in other words, the agreement determines the agreement features of the subject, but not its case).

Standard Mongolian does not have the possessive agreement on the head noun:

- (11) [jerunhiilegch/-in/-ees bich-sen] zahia Mongolian
[president.NOM/-GEN/-ABL write-PART] letter
'the letter that the president wrote' (Guntsetseg et al. 2008)
- a. [miniy üz-sen] oxin
[I.GEN see-PART] girl
'a girl I saw' (Binnick 1979)

In Sakha (Yakut, Siberia), the possessive agreement is only in non-subject relatives (Kornfilt 2008):

- (12) a. [üüt ih-iex-teex] it Sakha
[milk drink-FUT-MOD] dog
'the dog which should drink the milk'
- b. [it ih-iex-teex] üüt-e
[dog drink-FUT-MOD] milk-3sg.poss
'the milk which the dog should drink'

The same pattern is found in Uzbek (Sjoberg 1963, 101):

- (13) a. [men yoz-gan] kitob-im Uzbek
[I write-PART] book-1sg.POSS
'the book I wrote'
- b. [kor-gan] qiz
[see-PART] girl
'the girl who sees (something)'

In the other direction, Evenki shows double marking (Ackerman and Nikolaeva ms):

- (14) a. [bi o-na-v] d'av-iv Evenki
 [I make-PART-1sg] boat-1sg.poss
 'the boat I made'
- b. [içede-ne-l-in] beje-ŋi-l-in
 [see-PART-PL-3sg] man-AL-PL-3sg.poss
 'the men she saw'

Also in Nganasan, Enets, Yukaghir. This shows that having agreement on the predicate or on the noun is not a strict choice that a language must make. Most likely, non-nominative case on a subject shows that a clause is somewhat non-canonical, e.g., embedded, and may also be a clue that the clause is nominalised. In addition, agreement on the head noun may signify that the head noun has a nominal or nominalised modifier.

3.2. Subordinate Clauses in Turkish

One type of relative clause in Turkish is formed with a clause nominalized by the famous *DIK* form, in construction with a noun. *DIK* clauses necessarily have overt subjects, either Genitive or Nominative, the choice depending on a variety of factors (basically, relative and complement clauses have Genitive subjects; adjunct clauses may have Nominative subjects). The nominalised predicate also bears possessive agreement, with the subject of the *DIK* clause. There is no agreement on the head noun.

In all relevant respects, the internal morphosyntax of *DIK* complement clauses is just the same as in relative clauses. Essentially for this reason, Kornfilt has argued (2004, 2006) that the relation between a Genitive subject in a *DIK* clause and the possessively agreeing predicate of the clause is a 'local' relation – one determined internal to the clause, which may be a full CP or equivalent. Following Haig (1998), I gloss *DIK* in adnominal clauses as marking the 'possessive participle' (PP):

- (15) a. [ben-im aile-m-i terket-tiğ-im] söylenti-si Turkish
 [I-GEN family-1sg.poss-ACC abandon-PP-1sg] rumor-CMPDM
 'the rumor that I abandoned my family' (Kornfilt 2006, 166)
- b. [ben aile-m-i terket-ti-m] söylenti-si
 [I.NOM family-1sg.poss-ACC abandon-PAST-1sg.poss] rumor-CMPDM
 'the rumor that I abandoned my family'
- (16) a. [şehir-e git-tiğ-imiz] duy-ul-du
 [town-DAT go-PP-1pl.pss] hear-PASS-PAST
 'It was heard that we went to town.' (Haig 1998, 97)
- b. [şehir-e git-tiğ-imiz] otobüs
 [town-DAT go-PP-1pl.pss] bus
 'the bus (by which) we went to town'

To a first approximation, subject relatives in Turkish take the (y)An participle form, which I gloss as the Free Participle, again following Haig:

- (17) [ben-i gör-en] adam
 [I-ACC see-FP] man
 'the man who saw me'

The FP is a dedicated participle use; it has no use as a general marker of clausal subordination, and does not inflect for agreement.

In the perspective I want to take here, it is useful to turn the usually received wisdom about Turkish relative clauses around, following Haig (1998, 164):

- (18) Turkish relative clauses
- Subjects of adnominal clauses that are low in ‘control’ (e.g., animacy) and ‘individuation’ are Nominative; otherwise, subjects are Genitive.
 - If the subject of an adnominal clause is Genitive, the predicate bears the *DIK* nominaliser and possessive agreement with the Genitive subject.
 - If the adnominal clause has no Genitive subject, the Free Participle form *-(y)An* is used.

In other words, in *DIK* clauses, it is not so much that there is a nominaliser or possessive agreement, and this determines Genitive case on the subject, but rather, there are conditions which determine that a subject should be Genitive, and *DIK* is necessary to license the Genitive.* Consider the examples in (19) from Göksel and Kerslake (1995, 444–5):

- (19) a. [ön-ün-den köprü geç-en] ev-ler
 [front-3sg.poss-ABL bridge be.situated-FP] house-PL
 ‘the houses in front of which a bridge is situated’
- b. [ön-ün-den köprü-nün geç-tiğ-i] ev-ler
 [front-3sg.poss-ABL bridge-GEN be.situated-PP-3sg.poss] house-PL
 ‘the houses in front of which the bridge is situated’

The FP is used even if there is an overt subject in the relative clause, as long as it is not Genitive. Such (Nominative) subjects are termed ‘categorical subjects’ in Göksel and Kerslake (1995) and ‘semi-subjects’ in Haig (1998). They are low in CONTROL, VOLITION, and INDIVIDUATION:

- (20) a. ?[bir doktor otur-an] ev
 [a doctor live-FP] house
 ‘house in which a doctor lives’ (Haig 1998, 180)
- b. [bir köpek bul-un-an] ev
 [a dog find-PASS-FP] house
 ‘house in which there is a dog’
- (21) a. ?[dal-ın-dan çocuk in-en] ağaç
 [branch-3sg.poss-ABL child descend-FP tree
 ‘tree from whose branch child(ren) descended’
- b. [dal-ın-dan çocuk düş-en] ağaç
 [branch-3sg.poss-ABL child fall-FP tree
 ‘tree from whose branch child(ren) fell’

In other words, semantic and discourse properties determine whether an embedded subject will be Genitive; but once we have a Genitive subject, we can predict several other properties.

*The reverse implication does not hold – some *DIK* clauses have Nominative subjects, not Genitive subjects.

3.3. Adnominal Clauses in Japanese

So-called ‘*Ga/No* Conversion’ in Japanese has been the subject of a great deal of research (e.g., Ueda 1966, 38ff., Harada 1971, Bedell 1972, Watanabe 1996, Hiraiwa 2002, Miyagawa 2008a, 2008b, among others). The form *no* canonically marks possessors, though in fact it marks a much wider range of grammatical forms and relationships (e.g., Bedell 1972), and is somewhat analogous to the Mandarin Chinese linker *de*.

On the assumption that *no* in these constructions is marking Genitive, certain adnominal clauses in Japanese appear to have Genitive subjects, and the fact that they must be adnominal had led to analyses where there is some implicit ‘agreement’ between the modified N (or D in contemporary literature) and the clause’s subject.

- (22) a. [Taroo-ga katta] hon hon Japanese
[Taroo-*GA* buy.PAST] book
‘the book that Taroo bought’
- b. [Taroo-no katta] hon
[Taroo-*NO* buy.PAST] book
‘the book that Taroo bought’
- (23) a. [kayoobi-no zyuu-zi-ga tugoo-no yoi] hito
[Tuesday-*NO* 10-hour-*GA* convenience-*NO* good.PRES] person
‘the person(s) for whom Tuesday at 10 is convenient’ (Kanazawa 1990)
- b. [uguisu-no kite nak-u] ume-no ki
[nightingale-*NO* come.CONJ sing-PRES] plum-*NO* tree
‘the plum tree to which nightingales come to sing’ (Bedell 1972)

However, apart from the fact that clauses with *no*-marked subjects are typically embedded inside larger NPs, there is no evidence that *no* marks Genitive case – it simply marks embedded subjects. In fact, there is scant non-theory-internal evidence that Japanese has any case features at all, such as Nominative, Accusative or Genitive (see Spencer and Otaguro 2005). That is to say, there are no constructions in the language which refer to case features; and a language that does not have Genitive case cannot have Genitive subjects. Both forms *ga* and *no* are subject markers historically: “Throughout the history of Japanese the two particles *ga* and *no* have shared functions with each other, and the actual distribution of the functions today varies from dialect to dialect” (Martin 1975, 662).

As far as I am aware, there is no impediment to taking what would be a very traditional analysis – that *no* marks the subject of an embedded clause that is somehow subordinate to a nominal – crucially with no need or motivation for mentioning Genitive case.

Japanese is also famous as it typically has no formal marker of a relative or adnominal clause (roughly, a regular finite clause is simply put in front of a noun; see Matsumoto 1997 or Comrie 1996 for potential consequences of this). However, there is a grammaticised complementiser *toyuu* which can also appear in adnominal (but not relative) clauses (see Matsumoto 1998), and which also allows *Ga/No* Conversion. In many examples, *toyuu* is formally optional, though it may bring an additional shade of meaning. There is little controversy in Japanese linguistics that *toyuu* is a canonical complementiser, a C heading a CP.

- (24) a. [John-no nihon-ni itta toyuu] koto-wa uso-da
[John-*NO* Japan-DAT go.PAST COMP] ‘fact’-TOP lie-COP.PRES
‘It is a lie that John went to Japan.’ (Watanabe 1972)

- b. [mibun-ni yotte kotoba-no tigau toyuu] syuukan-ga mada aru
 [social.status-according.to word-*NO* differ.PRES COMP] custom-*GA* still exist.PRES
 toyuu hookoku-ga atta ...
 ‘(There was a report that) it is still customary to use different levels of speech depending on one’s social status.’ (Watanabe 1972)
- c. [taihuu-no zyooriku sita toyuu] nyuusu-o kiita
 [typhoon-*NO* land.PAST COMP] news-ACC hear.PAST
 ‘I heard the news that the typhoon had struck.’ (Watanabe 1972)

Interestingly, such examples show that the conditions for *no* are not a structural, but are functional, and do not pay attention to the syntactic category of the adnominal clause. In an attempt to provide a local (clause-internal) account of *no*-marked subjects, Hiraiwa (2002) proposes that there is a special adnominal form of the predicate in Japanese, and ties the appearance of *no*-marked subjects to this. Historically, there is ample evidence for a morphosyntactically particular form of the predicate in Japanese, used in adnominal constructions – though not exclusively so; synchronically, this grammatical property remains in exactly one form of one predicate, the present tense copula. Otherwise Japanese simply uses any regular tense-inflected form as a prenominal form.

However, while it is true that *no*-marked subjects only appear in adnominal clauses, it is not true that they only appear in local clauses whose predicate is in the attributive form. The prediction of the local-agreement account is that *no*-marked subjects should not appear in clauses whose predicate is followed by *toyuu*, for the predicate is in its regular form in such clauses, not its attributive form. Hiraiwa (2002) claims that the prediction is borne out; but while it is perhaps true for his own speech, the literature shows several examples, and my informal consultations with native speakers reveal that at least some examples are grammatical.

- (25) a. [kankei-no aru toyuu] koto-ga
 [relation-*NO* be.PRES COMP] fact-*GA*
 ‘the fact that there is a relationship ...’
- b. [wakamiya-kun-ni sonna koto-no atta toyuu] hanasi-wa watasi-wa
 [Wakamiya-DIM-DAT such.a thing-*NO* happen.PAST COMP] story-FOC I-TOP
 siranai-yo
 know.NEG-LEVEL
 ‘I didn’t know the story that such a thing had happened to Wakamiya.’
- c. [syoorai daizisin-no okiru toyuu] kanoosei-o kangae-ni ire-te
 [future earthquake-*NO* happen.PRES COMP] possibility-ACC thought-DAT put-CONJ
 tosi-keikaku-o tateru hituyoo-ga aru
 city-plan-ACC have.PRES necessity be.PRES
 ‘It is necessary to have a city plan, thinking of the possibility that there might be an earthquake in the future.’

These facts have important syntactic consequences. They show that *no*-marked subject are not triggered by any overt morphosyntactic property of their containing clause, and they show that *no*-marked subjects may appear in clauses that are structurally CPs.

Functionally, what is the difference between an adnominal clause with *toyuu* and one without?–None. They are both ‘embedded clauses’ which are subordinate to a noun inside NP. And what *no* marks is that it is the subject of such a clause.

4. Red Herrings in the Pacific: Toba Batak

Krause (2001) cites an example from Tuller (1984) suggesting that relative clauses in Toba Batak, an Austronesian language, have Genitive subjects. However, this must be a misanalysis. The Genitive is a relic case in many Austronesian language, often used to mark non-subject direct arguments, and perhaps having a wider distribution in embedded clauses. “This genitive marking pattern is how main clauses in Tagalog and other northern languages still work, but in the south it has gone from main clauses, and is confined to subordinate clauses on the ‘fringe’ languages: Batak (see also Woollams’ grammar of Karo Batak), Nias, Simalur, Tukang Besi.” (Mark Donohue, p.c.)

Most characteristic of Austronesian languages is the voice system, which promotes one argument of a predicate to subject without demoting any other to obliques. And famously, extraction constructions are restricted to applying only to subjects – as documented for Malagasy by Keenan (1976) and essentially forming the cornerstone of the Keenan-Comrie hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977).

From this, it follows that any overt argument inside a relative clause in Toba Batak – as in almost every Austronesian language – cannot be a subject, for it is precisely the subject that is relativised. In the example above, the Genitive marked argument is an Actor, but an object – for the voice form *di* determines the Undergoer argument as subject, and this is what is relativised.

(26) Basic order is VOSX;

mang marks Actor Voice (Actor is subject);

di marks Patient Voice (Patient is subject):

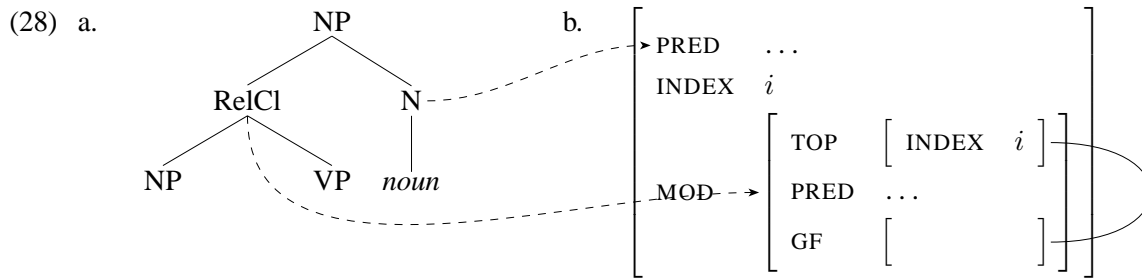
- a. Man-ongos si Torus ahu tu imana. Toba Batak
AV-send PN Torus I to (s)he
‘I sent Torus to her.’
- b. Di-tongos imana surat tu si Ria.
PV-send (s)he letter to PN Ria
‘A letter, she sent to Ria.’

(27) a. Di-boto si John bahasa [di-tongos (*ni) si Torus surat tu si Ria].
PV-know PN John COMP [PV-send (*GEN) PN Torus letter to PN Ria]
‘John knows that Torus sent the letter to Ria.’

- b. Huida surat na [di-tongos ni si Torus i ___ tu si Ria].
I-saw letter LNK [PV-send GEN PN Torus Det to PN Ria]
‘I saw the letter that Torus sent to Ria.’

Hence, we see a somewhat familiar scenario – if Genitive marks anything, it marks an argument of a clause that is embedded, though in this language that argument is not a subject, though it is a direct argument of the verb.

5. Analysis in Lexical-Functional Grammar



An embedded clause is a COMP or a MOD (officially “ADJ” in LFG). A relative clause has an internal TOP – effectively, the relative operator – identified with a clause-internal GF, and coindexed with the head noun (Bresnan 2001, Dalrymple 2001).

5.1. Case Markers

On a lexicalist account, case markers provide information about the context in which the phrase hosting them appears.

(29) a. Ergative case (Nordlinger 1998):

((SUBJ↑) OBJ) (= ‘the clause in which I am subject has an object’)
 (↑ CASE) = ERG (= ‘my case is ergative’)

b. Butt and King (2004):

Urdu <i>ne</i> :	(↑CASE) = ERG	AND	OR
	(SUBJ↑)	(↑ <i>sem-str</i> VOLITION) = +	(SUBJ↑) OBJ
	(EXT-ARG↑ <i>arg-str</i>)		(SUBJ↑) VFORM=PERF

Ergative marks an external argument with volition or the subject of a transitive perfective clause.

Japanese case markers (Sells 1995, 2000):

(30) a. *-ga*

(SUBJ ↑) (‘I am subject of my clause’)

b. *-no*

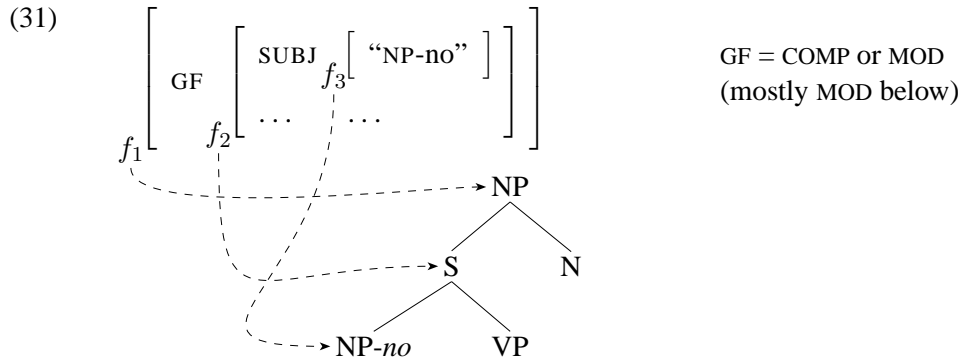
(SUBJ ↑) (‘I am subject of my clause’)

(GF SUBJ ↑) (‘the clause of which I am subject is subordinate in a larger structure’)

CAT((GF SUBJ ↑), N) (‘the category of that larger structure is N’)

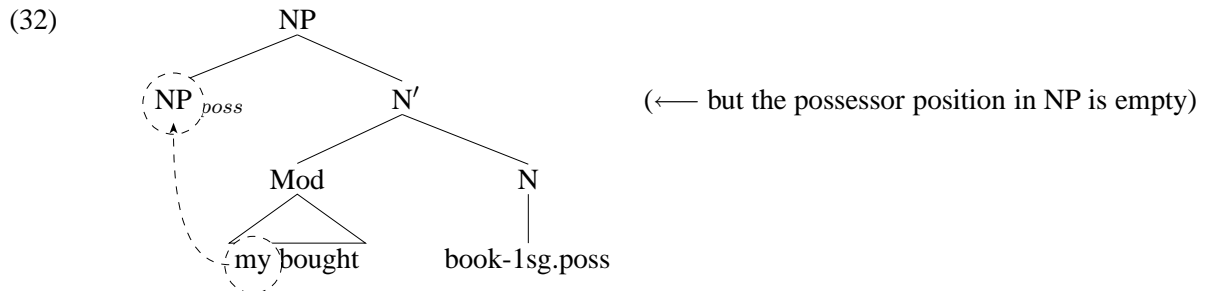
Due to the second line of annotations, this form cannot mark a subject in a non-embedded clause, and due to the last line, it cannot mark a subject not embedded inside the structure of a containing N(P).[†]

[†]Definition from Kaplan (1995): CAT(*f*, *c*) is true iff *f* is an *f*-structure, *c* is a category, and there exists a node *n* in $\phi^{-1}(f)$ such that $\lambda(n) = c$.

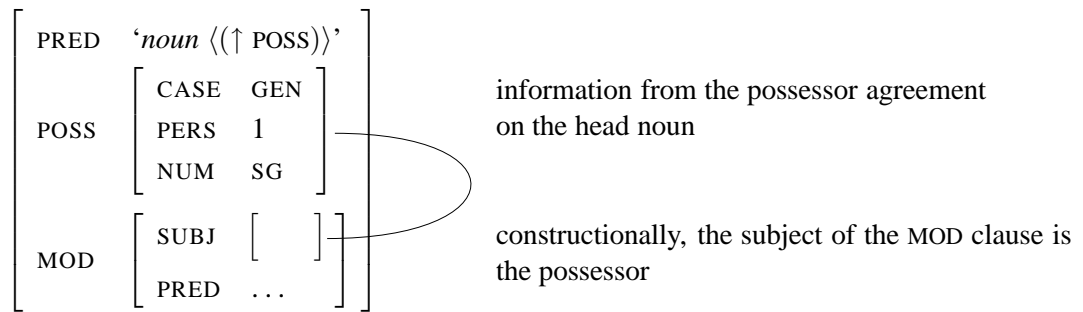


No grammatical information is passed upwards (using ‘ \sqsubseteq ’) from the *no*-marked subject.

5.2. Altaic Modifiers

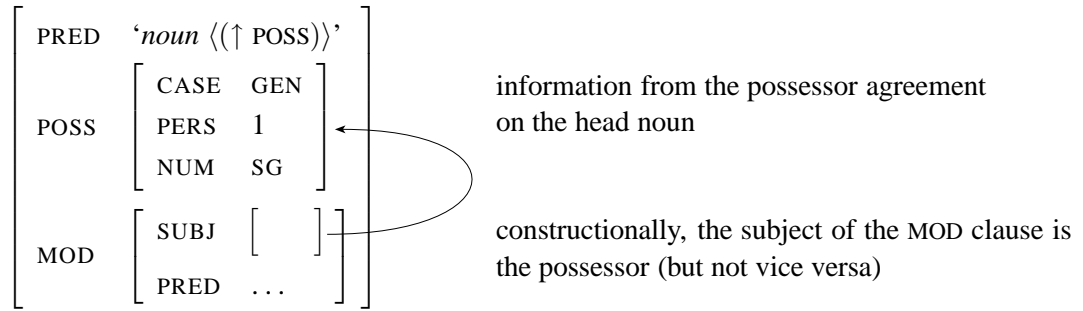


(33) An agreeing possessor relative (v.1.0)



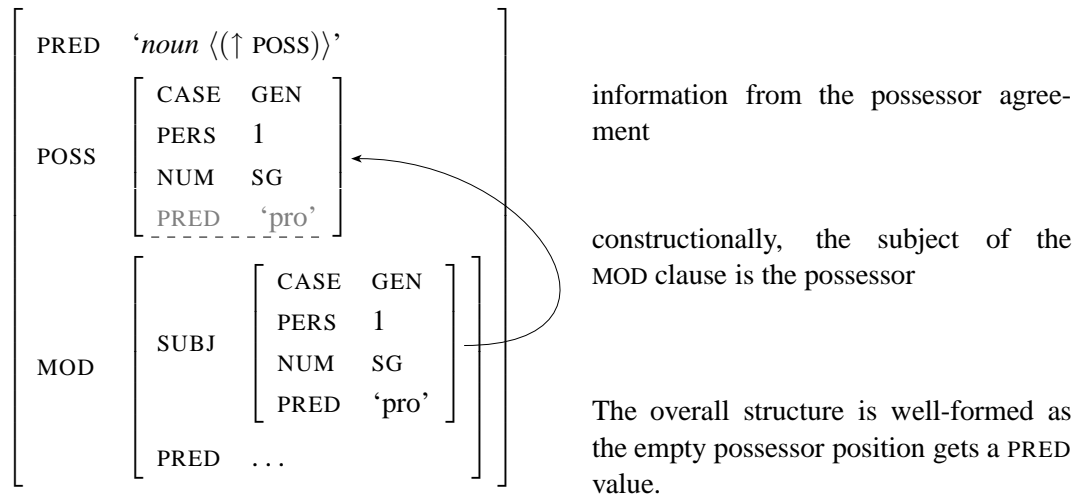
This structure needs a pronoun in order to be well-formed (each GF needs a PRED, see below); as the structure is given, filling either of the NP positions in the tree would suffice.

(34) An agreeing possessor relative (v.2.0)

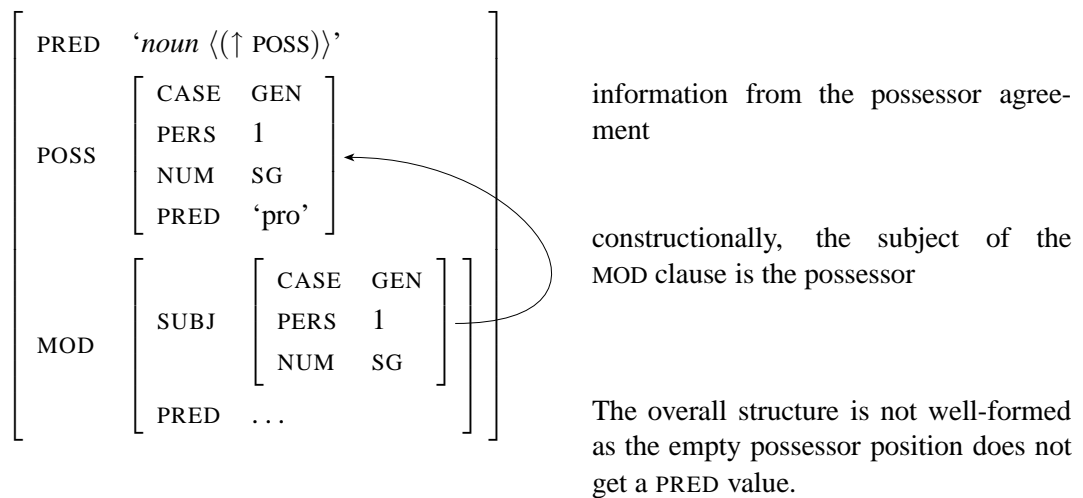


Structure-sharing by Subsumption (\sqsubseteq) can be used to make information flow up (or down), but not both ways (see Sells 2006) – as in Forward or Backward Control or Raising. Change from (33) to (34) would involve ‘=’ becoming ‘ \sqsubseteq ’.

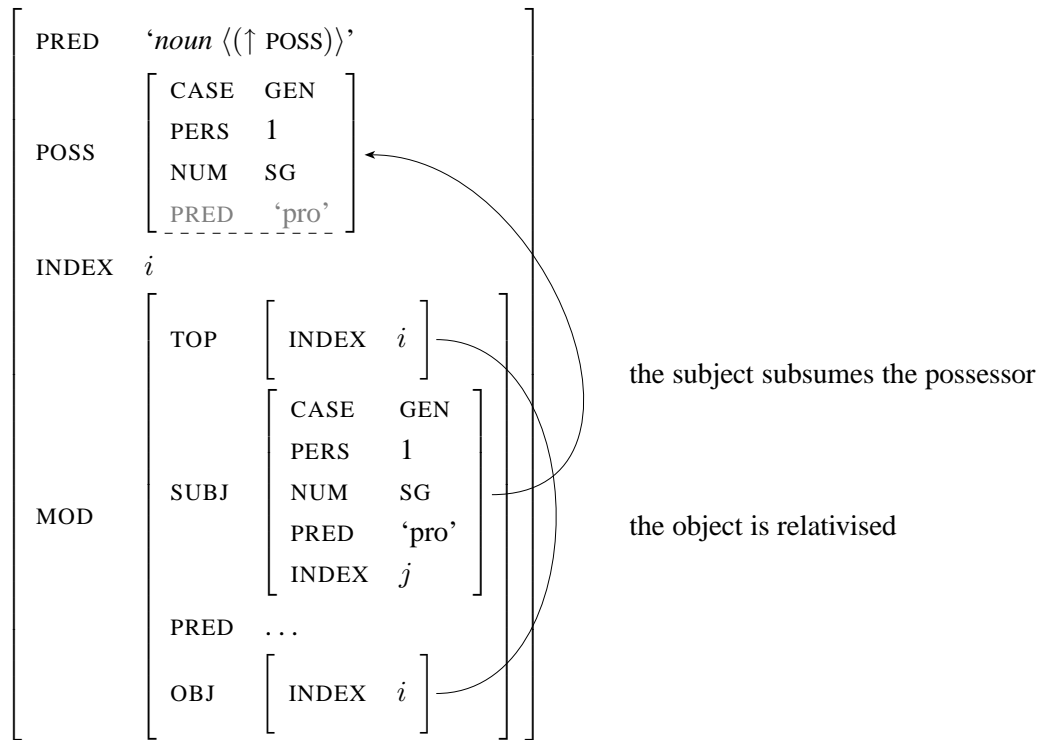
(35) An agreeing possessor relative with a pronominal **subject**



(36) An agreeing possessor relative with a pronominal **possessor**



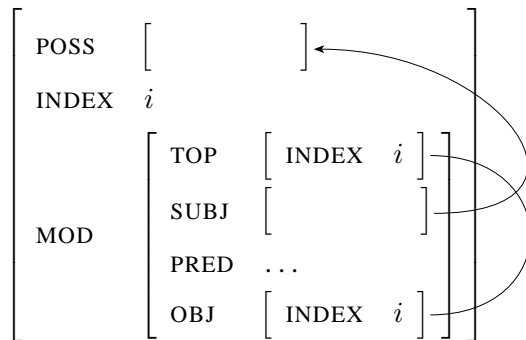
(37) Extending: a non-subject possessive relative



(38) *Altaic-participle*

- (↑ OBJ) = (↑ TOP) ('the object of the clause is the topic')
- (↑ TOP INDEX) = ((MOD ↑) INDEX) ('the index of the topic is the index of the modified noun')
- (↑ SUBJ) ⊆ ((MOD ↑) POSS) ('the subject subsumes the possessor')

(39)

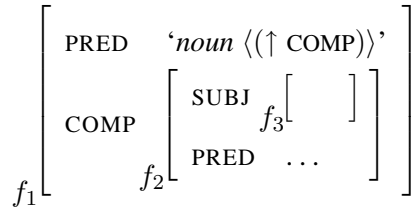


5.3. Japanese and Turkish

(40) *Japanese no*

- (SUBJ ↑) ('I am subject of my clause')
- (GF SUBJ ↑) ('the clause of which I am subject is subordinate in a larger structure')
- CAT((GF SUBJ ↑), N) ('the category of that larger structure is N')

(41) Japanese Noun Complement Clause



(42) [[kankei-no aru (toyuu)]₂ koto]₁-ga
 [[relation-NO be.PRES (COMP)] fact]₁-GA
 ‘the fact that there is a relationship ...’

(43) *Japanese toyuu*
 (COMP ↑) (‘my structure is a COMP in a larger structure’)

(44) *Turkish Gen case*
 (↑ CASE) =_c GEN (‘I need to be assigned Genitive case’)
 (SUBJ ↑) (‘I am the subject of my clause’)
 (GF SUBJ ↑) (‘the clause of which I am subject is subordinate in a larger structure’)
 ↑ ⊆ ((MOD SUBJ ↑) POSS) (‘information from me passes up to the POSS argument of the modified noun’)

(45) *Turkish Possessive Participle*
 (↑ SUBJ CASE) = GEN ∨ NOM (‘the subject of my clause is Genitive or Nominative’)
 CAT(↑, N) (‘my structure maps to the category N(P)’)

6. Back to Japanese

Miyagawa (2008b) proposes that (46)a allows either an “eventive” reading – the shirt got stained – or a “property” reading – the shirt had a stain, while (46)b only allows the property reading:

- (46) a. simi-ga tuita syatu-o kiteiru
 He’s wearing the shirt that got stained.
- b. simi-no tuita syatu-o kiteiru
 He’s wearing the shirt that had a stain.

(47) brings out the ‘property’ interpretation:

(47) taroo-wa [simi-no tuita syatu]-wa kiree-ni natta kedo kinai
 Taroo won’t wear the stained shirt even though it has been cleaned.

And (48) brings out the ‘eventive’ interpretation:

(48) [totuzen simi-ga/*no tuita syatu]-o misete kudasai
 Please show me the shirt that suddenly got stained.

Marking the embedded subject with *no* is considered by many researchers to ‘subdue’ the agentivity of the subject, relative to marking with *ga*, and a modifying clause with a *no*-marked subject does seem to have a more (semantically) “attributive” function. Can this be represented grammatically?

Whatever the nature of this attributive use, it does not seem to correlate with the clause being ‘smaller’ in any structural sense (as opposed to semantic or functional properties that may vary). In addition to the *toyuu* examples above, the following examples, all from Martin (1975), show that the larger context/use of the modifying clause allows or prevents a *no*-marked subject:

- (49) a. ame-ga huranai yoo-da
rain-*GA* fall-NEG seem-COP
‘It looks like it will not rain.’
- b. *ame-no huranai yoo-da
rain-*NO* fall-NEG seem-COP
‘It looks like it will not rain.’
- c. ame-ga huranai yoo-na hi
rain-*GA* fall-NEG seem-COP day
‘a day when it seems it will not rain’
- d. ame-no huranai yoo-na hi
rain-*NO* fall-NEG seem-COP day
‘a day when it seems it will not rain’
- (50) a. gokai-ga nai yoo-ni ari-tai mono-da
misunderstanding-*GA* not.be seem-DAT be-want thing-COP
‘We want it kept so that there are no misunderstandings.’
- b. gokai-no nai yoo-ni aritai mono-da
misunderstanding-*NO* not.be seem-DAT be-want thing-COP
‘We want it kept so that there are no misunderstandings.’
- (51) a. ki-ga nasa-soo-da
feeling-*GA* not-seem-COP
‘He is uninterested.’
- b. *ki-no nasa-soo-da
feeling-*NO* not-seem-COP
‘He is uninterested.’
- c. ki-ga nasa-soo-na kao-o siteiru
feeling-*GA* not-seem-COP face-ACC do
‘He looks uninterested.’
- d. ki-no nasa-soo-na kao-o siteiru
feeling-*NO* not-seem-COP face-ACC do
‘He looks uninterested.’
- e. ki-ga nasa-soo-ni, kare ...
feeling-*GA* not-seem-DAT, he
‘looking uninterested, he ... ’

- f. ki-no nasa-soo-ni, kare ...
feeling-*NO* not-seem-DAT, he
'looking uninterested, he ... '
- g. ki-ga nasa-soo-nara
feeling-*GA* not-seem-if
'if he is uninterested, ... '
- h. *ki-no nasa-soo-nara
feeling-*NO* not-seem-if
'if he is uninterested, ... '

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