TWO TYPES OF MULTIPLE NOMINATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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1 Introduction
1.1 Nominal phrasing in Japanese

(1) Possessive Multiple Nominative Construction (modified from Takahashi 1994: 395)
  usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
  rabbit-GA ear-GA long-PRES
  'It is rabbits which have long ears.'

(2) Adjunct Multiple Nominative Construction
  'ano mise-ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku kau.
  that shop-GA student-GA book-ACC often buy
  'It is at that shop that students often buy books.'

Claims:
(i) A possessive ga-phrase is an NP and is licensed by predication. An adjunct ga-phrase is
    a PP and is licensed by an interpretational rule concerning focus.
(ii) The particle ga always functions as a case marker when attached to an argument NP.
    However, it can also function as a focus marker in a certain environment.
(iii) The obligatory focus of the first ga-phrase is captured in terms of the configuration in
    which ga attached to this constituent is licensed.

1.2 Theoretical Assumptions
(i) Tense licenses ga at the clausal level in Japanese (Takezawa 1987)

(ii) Licensing configuration of ga:
    I assume with the standard approach that a tensed head can license multiple ga-phrases
    in multiple specifier or adjoined positions in one particular projection. (See Vermeulen
    (2002) for an alternative involving multiple heads for licensing multiple ga-phrases.)

2 Possessive Multiple Nominative Construction
2.1 Licensing of a possessive ga-phrase

(5) usagi-ga/no mimi-ga naga-i. (cf. Kuno 1973)
    rabbit-GA/gen ear-GA long-PRES

A possessive nominative phrase is licensed by predication by means of a null operator as in
the case of an English tough construction (Browning 1987).

(6) John is \( [\emptyset, \{AP \text{easy t}, \text{to please t}\}] \)

(7) }
2.2 Predictions

Subject-like properties:

- When embedded under an ECM/control verb, the leftmost possessive nominative NP may also appear in the accusative (Heycock 1993, Takahashi 1994).

(8) wareware-wa [usagi-ga/o mimi-ga naga-i]-to omoi-gati-daga....
we-top rabbit-ga/acc ear-ga long-pres-comp think-have.tendency-but...
'We have a tendency to think that rabbits have long ears, but...' (9) 'John-ga imooto3-ga zibun-no,1 gakkoo-de happyoo-o sita.
John-GA younger.sister-GA self-gen school-at presentation-acc did
'John's younger sister gave a presentation in self's school.'

- A possessive nominative NP is able to control PRO in a nagara-clause 'while'-clause, which requires the antecedent to be the closest c-commanding subject (Perlmutter 1984, D. Takahashi 1996, Ura 1996).

(10) John-ga [PRO, [zibun-wa] tibi da]-to nageitei-nagara
John-GA [self-top small.person cop.pres-comp lamenting-while
zituu se-ga kekkoo takai.
actually height-GA quite high-pres
'Lit: While PRO, lamenting that (he) is a small person, it is John whose height is actually quite high.'

- When a possessive nominative NP is a person for whom the speaker has respect, subject honorification is triggered on the predicate (Takahashi 1994, 1996).

Yamaoka-viscount-GA villa-GA splendid-SH-cop
'It is Viscount Yamaoka whose villa is splendid.'

Predicate-like properties:

- Coordination: A clause already containing a nominative NP can be conjoined with another predicate which contains no nominative NP:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(12) usagi-ga</td>
<td>[husahusa-site-i]-te katu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit-GA</td>
<td>[mimi-ga naga-i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mussuri-ga</td>
<td>furry-do-prog-and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear-GA</td>
<td>long-pres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'It is rabbits which are furry and have long ears.'

- Modification by a degree adverb: both conjuncts in (12) can be modified by a degree adverb (Bresnans 1973, Jackendoff 1977):

(13) a. usagi-ga totemo [husahusa-site-iru]
rabbit-GA very furry-do-pres
'It is rabbits which are very furry.'
b. usagi-ga totemo [mimi-ga naga-i]
rabbit-GA very ear-GA long-pres
'It is rabbits which have very long ears.'

Further predictions:

- There can be an indefinitely large number of possessive ga-phrases:

(14) kitahanyakyu-ga anettai-ga usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
N.Hemisphere-GA subtropics-GA rabbit-GA ear-GA long-pres
'It is the N. Hemisphere, where rabbits in the subtropics have long ears.'

- Pro associated with a possessive nominative phrase can be overtly realised:

(15) 'kitahanyakyu-ga kono tyoosa-niyoruto (sok0-no) usagi-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
N. Hemisphere-GA this survey-acccord-ing to there-gen rabbit-GA ear-GA long-pres
'According to this survey, it is the N. Hemisphere where rabbits (there) have long ears.'
• The word order among NP-ga's is fixed:

(16) *usagi-ga kitahankyuu-ga mimi-ga naga-i.
    rabbit-GA N. Hemisphere-GA ear-GA long-Pres
    '(intended) rabbits in the Northern Hemisphere have long ears.'

• An adverb can follow a possessive nominative NP, but not a possessive genitive NP:

(17) kono tyoosa-ni-yoruto,
    this survey-according-to
    kitahankyuu-ga (kyonen) usagi-no (*kyonen) mimi-ga nagak-atta.
    N. Hemisphere-GA last.year rabbit-gen last.year ears-GA long-past
    'According to this survey, it was the Northern Hemisphere, where rabbits had long ears last year.'

3 Adjunct Multiple Nominative Construction
3.1 An adjunct ga-phrase is PP-ga

An adjunct in this construction can appear alternatively with the postposition de 'in, at'.

(18) a. ano mise-de/ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku kau.
    that shop-at/GA student-GA book-Acc often buy
    'It is at that shop that students often buy books.'

b. gakusee-ga ano mise-de/*ga hon-o yoku kau.
    student-GA that shop-at/GA book-Acc often buy

Ga may follow de, if another element such as dake 'only' intervenes.

(19) ano mise-de-'dake'-ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku kau.
    that shop-at-only-GA student-GA book-Acc often buy
    'It is only at that shop that students often buy books.'

An NP with a case marker allows a floating quantifier, while that with a postposition disallows it (Miyagawa 1989).

(20) *ano mise-ga 2tu gakusee-ga hon-o yoku kau.
    that shop-GA 2-C1 student-GA book-Acc often buy
    'It is at those two shops that students often buy books.'

    cf. [(ano) 2tu-no mise]-de/ga gakusee-ga hon-o yoku kau.
    that 2-C1-gen shop-at/GA student-GA book-Acc often buy

A possessive ga-phrase is a nominative NP:

(21) usagi-ga 2-hiki mimi-ga naga-i.
    rabbit-GA 2-cl ear-GA long-Pres
    'It is two rabbits which have long ears.'

(22) PP-ga
    ano mise
    'that shop'
    T'

(23) *[T[NP,ga [T[PP-ga VP] T]]}
3.2 Predictions

(No) subject-like properties:

For independent reasons, the subjecthood tests cannot be applied to an adjunct go-phrase. The ECM/control construction requires the embedded predicate to be either an adjective or of the form 'nominal + copula' (Kuno 1973). It is difficult to obtain an example with such a predicate with an adjunct being the focus of the sentence. The remaining subjecthood tests require the phrase in question to refer to a person. Such examples are again difficult to obtain, since adjuncts do not usually refer to a person.

No predicate-like properties:

- No coordination:

(24) *ano mise-ga [tometo ookikute] katu [gakusee-ga hon-o yoku kau]
that shop-GA very big-pres.conj and student-GA book-acc often buy
'(intended) It is that shop which is very big and [it is at that shop that] students often buy books.'

- No modification by a degree adverb:

(25) *ano ziko-ga hidoku [takusan-no hito-ga asi-o otta].
that accident-GA badly many-gen people-GA leg-acc broke
'It was in that accident where many people broke their leg badly.'

(c.f. ano ziko-ga takusan-no hito-ga hidoku [asi-o otta].)
that accident-GA many-gen people-GA badly leg-acc broke

Further predictions:


(26) ano mise-ga kyonen (*soko-de) gakusee-ga (*soko-de) hon-o yoku katta.
that shop-GA last.year there-at student-GA there-at book-acc often bought
'It was at that shop that students often bought books last year.'

- No apparent violation of the CED:

that shop-GA John-GA book-acc often buy student-about talked
'John was talking about a student who often buys books at that shop.'

- No more than one adjunct go-phrase: Placing an adjunct go-phrase above another renders go on the lower adjunct uninterpretable.

that shop-GA lunch hour-GA student-GA often book-acc buy
'It is at that shop and it is during their lunch hour that students often buy books.'

b. ano mise-ga ohiru zikan-ni gakusee-ga yoku hon-o kau.
that shop-GA lunch hour-in student-GA often book-acc buy

c. ohiru zikan-ga ano mise-de gakusee-ga yoku hon-o kau.
    lunch hour-GA that shop-at student-GA often book-acc buy

4 Conclusion

The two types of multiple nominative constructions must be distinguished. The various observed properties of the two constructions are difficult to capture in the standard analysis, where both types of go-phrases are treated as nominative NPs. In particular:

(i) There can be an indefinitely large number of possessive go-phrases, but only one adjunct go-phrase in a clause;

(ii) A possessive go-phrase has a subject-predicate relation with the clause to its immediate right, but an adjunct go-phrase does not;

(iii) A non-subject go-phrase of the type found in the possessive multiple nominative construction can be construed as being associated with the subject, but an adjunct go-phrase cannot;

(iv) A possessive go-phrase can host a floating quantifier but an adjunct go-phrase cannot;

(v) Pro associated with a possessive go-phrase can be overtly realised, but pro associated with an adjunct go-phrase cannot;

(vi) The word order among go-phrases is fixed in both constructions.
References: