

Concealed Sentential Complement of Information Transferring Constructions*

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1. Introduction

Objects of Japanese transitive verbs are usually marked with the accusative case – *o*, as shown in (1).

- (1) Taro-ga Hanako-**o** tataita.
Taro-nom Hanako-acc hit
'Taro hit Hanako.'

However, Kinjo and Sasaguri (1999) and Takubo, Sasaguri and Kinjo (2003) observe that some predicates require *-no koto* on their objects.

- (2) a. *Taro-ga Hanako-**o** kiita.
Taro-nom Hanako-acc heard
b. Taro-ga Hanako-**no koto-o** kiita.
Taro-nom Hanako-*no koto*-acc heard
'Taro heard about Hanako.'
- (3) a. *Taro-ga Hanako-**o** hanashita.
Taro-nom Hanako-acc talked
b. Taro-ga Hanako-**no koto-o** hanashita.
Taro- nom Hanako-*no koto*-acc talked
'Taro talked about Hanako.'

In these examples, *-no koto* is obligatory on their objects and without it, the sentences are ungrammatical.¹ Kinjo and Sasaguri list the predicates which require *-no koto* object.

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¹ The psycho-predicates, such as *suki* (like), *kirai* (hate), can also take the NP-*no koto* object. However, unlike the information transferring constructions, *-no koto* in the psycho-predicate construction is optional. Since they show different properties from the information transferring

- (4) *hanasu* (talk), *kaku* (write), *shiraseru* (inform), *tazuneru* (ask), *kiku* (hear),
tsugeru (tell), *hanashiaru* (discuss), *oshieru* (teach), *honomekasu* (hint),
barasu (reveal), *setsumei-suru* (explain), *kangaeru* (consider), *takuramu*
(plot) (Kinjo and Sasaguri 1999)

Kinjo and Sasaguri found that most of these predicates have the property of information transferring and require information as their object. They observe that DP-*no koto* object implicitly refers to the event where the object DP participates or the property the object DP carries. For example, *Hanako-no koto* in (2) refers to the event where Hanako participated or the property that Hanako has. This observation raises an interesting question: how does the DP-*no koto* form receive the interpretation of event or property?

In this paper, I show that the information transferring construction has the intensional property and argue that the DP-*no koto* object of the information transferring predicate has a concealed TP, claiming that intensional properties arise from this clause. Specifically, I propose that the genitive marked DP is in fact the subject of the concealed TP and TP-deletion occurs to derive the DP-*no koto* phrase. I further explore the consequence of this analysis in Korean and reveal the correlation between the case conversion and the availability of DP-*no koto* form in the information transferring constructions.

2. Intensional Properties

It has been argued that so called "intensional properties" are typically found in the clausal complement (Frege 1892, Larson and Segel 1995, Larson 2002). When a non-referring term, such as *Pegasus*, appear in the simple transitive constructions, the sentence is false, as in (5). However, when it appears within the clausal complement, the sentence may be true or false (6).

- (5) John saw **Pegasus**. **False**
- (6) Max believes [that John saw **Pegasus**]. **True or False**

Pegasus does not exist in this world. Thus, seeing Pegasus is impossible and (5) is always false. However, believing the presence of Pegasus is possible. Thus, (6) can be true as far as Max believes that Pegasus exists. The same phenomenon is observed in Japanese as well. The non-referring term makes the simple transitive sentence false, but when it appears in the embedded clause, the sentence can be true.

- (7) Taro-ga **Pegasasu**-o mita. **False**
Taro-nom Pegasus-acc saw
'Taro saw Pegasus.'

constructions, they require independent analysis. This paper, unfortunately, does not cover this optional *-no koto* construction.

- (8) Hanako-wa [Taro-ga **Pegasasu**-o mita to] omotteiru. **True or False**
 Hanako-top Taro-nom Pegasus-acc saw C think
 'Hanako thinks that Taro saw Pegasus.'

Interestingly, this intensional property is found in Japanese information transferring constructions as well. The non-referring term in the object position does not make the sentence false.

- (9) Taro-ga **Pegasasu-no koto**-o hanashita. **True or False**
 Taro-nom Pegasus-*no koto*-acc talked
 'Taro talked about Pegasus.'

The truth-value of (9) indicates that the information transferring construction is not classified with simple transitive constructions, but it is grouped together with constructions with a sentential complementation, despite its appearance.

Other property of intensionality is also found in the information transferring constructions. Substitution of coreferring terms preserves truth in simple transitive construction (10), but not in intensional context with the embedded clause (11).

- (10) a. John saw **Cary Grant**.
 b. John saw **Archie Leach**.
- (11) a. Mary believes [that John saw **Cary Grant**].
 b. Mary believes [that John saw **Archie Leach**].

"Cary Grant" is Archie Leach's stage name and two names "Cary Grant" and "Archie Leach" refer to the same person. If John saw Cary Grant, then John saw Archie Leach and if John didn't see Cary Grant, then John didn't see Archie Leach. (10a) and (10b) always have the same truth-value and two names are substitutable. However, in the intensional context, substitution of coreferring terms may affect the truth-value. If Mary believes that "Cary Grant" and "Archie Leach" refer to different individuals, then (11a) and (11b) may have the different truth-values. This intensional phenomenon is found in Japanese, too. "Mori Ogai" is Mori Rintaro's pen name as a novelist.

- (12) a. Jiro-ga **Mori Ogai**-o mita.
 Jiro-nom Mori Ogai-acc saw
 'Jiro saw Mori Ogai.'
 b. Jiro-ga **Mori Rintaro**-o mita.
 Jiro-nom Mori Rintaro-acc saw
 'Jiro saw Mori Rintaro.'
- (13) a. Hanako-wa [Jiro-ga **Mori Ogai**-o mita to] omotteiru.
 Hanako-top Jiro-nom Mori Ogai-acc saw C think
 'Hanako thinks that Jiro saw Mori Ogai.'

- b. Hanako-wa [Jiro-ga **Mori Rintaro**-o mita to] omotteiru.
 Hanako-top Jiro-nom Mori Rintaro-acc saw C think
 'Hanako thinks that Jiro saw Mori Rintaro.'

In (12), the coreferring terms "Mori Ogai" and "Mori Rintaro" appear in the simple transitive sentence. Just like English example, (12a) and (12b) always have the same truth-value. However, when the coreferring terms appear in the embedded clause as in (13), two sentences may have different truth-value if Hanako does not know that "Mori Ogai" and "Mori Rintaro" refer to the same person. The information transferring construction shows this intentional property.

- (14) a. Hanako-ga **Mori Ogai-no koto**-o hanashita.
 Hanako-nom Mori Ogai-*no koto*-acc talked
 'Hanako talked about Mori Ogai.'
 b. Hanako-ga **Mori Rintaro-no koto**-o hanashita.
 Hanako-nom Mori Rintaro-*no koto*-acc talked
 'Hanako talked about Mori Rintaro.'

Whereas the sentences in (14) do not look like having the embedded clause, Hanako can talk about Mori Ogai without talking about Mori Rintaro, especially when Hanako does not know that Mori Ogai and Mori Rintaro refer to the same person. This fact again indicates that the information transferring construction have the property of intensionality.

McCawley (1974), Ross (1976), and den Dikken, Larson, and Ludlow (1996) argue the following intensionality hypothesis:

- (15) Intensionality arises strictly with sentential complementation.

This hypothesis suggests that Japanese information transferring construction should have a sentential complementation, in spite of its appearance. In the following section, I explore the possibility that Japanese information transferring predicates actually takes a concealed sentential complement, arguing that the nominative-genitive case conversion allows this construction.

3. Derivation of Japanese Information Transferring Construction

3.1. Nominative-Genitive Case Conversion

Harada (1971) observes that the nominative case *-ga* optionally changes to the genitive case *-no* in the sentential complement of noun in Japanese.

- (16) a. Taro-wa [DP [TP Hanako-**ga** taishokusuru] uwasa]-o kiita.
 Taro-top Hanako-nom retire rumor-acc heard
 b. Taro-wa [DP [TP Hanako-**no** taishokusuru] uwasa]-o kiita.
 Taro-top Hanako-gen retire rumor-acc heard
 'Taro heard the rumor that Hanako will retire.'

The noun *uwasa* (*rumor*) takes a sentential complement. In (16a), the subject of the embedded clause *Hanako* is marked with the nominative marker *-ga*. In (16b), it is marked with the genitive marker *-no*.

Bedell (1972), Saito (1983) and Miyagawa (1989) suggest that the embedded subject moves to DP domain to receive the genitive case as in (17).

- (17) [DP Hanako-**no** [TP t taishokusuru] uwasa]
↑
Hanako-gen retire rumor
'the rumor that Hanako will retire'

Nakai (1980), however, observes that the bare sentential adverb, which must stay at the TP internal position, may precede the genitive marked subject as in (18).

- (18) [DP [TP raigetū Hanako-**no** taishokusuru] uwasa]
next month Hanako-gen retire rumor
'the rumor that Hanako will retire next month'

The bare sentential adverb *raigetū* (*next month*) forces the subject to be pronounced within the TP, even though the subject has the genitive case. Miyagawa (1993) proposes that movement of genitive marked subject takes place covertly. He presents some evidence for the presence of movement of genitive marked elements. He observes that the nominative marked subject and the genitive marked subject take different scope with respect to the noun head. Compare (19) and (20).

- (19) [DP [TP **Taro-ka Hanako-ga** kuru] kanousei]
Taro-or Hanako-nom come probability
'the probability that Taro or Hanako comes'
a. the probability that Taro or Hanako comes
[probability > Taro or Hanako]
b. *the probability that Taro comes or the probability that Hanako
comes
[*Taro or Hanako > probability]
- (20) [DP [TP **Taro-ka Hanako-no** kuru] kanousei]
Taro-or Hanako-gen come probability
'the probability that Taro or Hanako comes'
a. the probability that Taro or Hanako comes
[probability > Taro or Hanako]
b. the probability that Taro comes or the probability that Hanako
comes
[Taro or Hanako > probability]

In (19), the subject *Taro-ka Hanako* has the nominative case. It takes scope under the head noun unambiguously. In (20), the subject has the genitive case and the sentence is ambiguous: the genitive marked subject may take scope over or under

3.2. DP-no koto Phrase

Japanese information transferring constructions has the formal noun *koto*. It does not have much lexical content and it usually takes a sentential complement, as in (27).⁴

- (27) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP [TP Hanako-**ga** taishokusuru] **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-nom retire FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako would retire.'

Nominative-genitive conversion is possible in the *koto* constructions as well.

- (28) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP [TP Hanako-**no** taishokusuru] **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen retire FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako would retire.'

Under Ochi's analysis of nominative-genitive case conversion, the genitive marked subject may be in DP spec as in (29).

- (29) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP Hanako-**no** [TP **t** taishokusuru] **koto**]-o kiita.
↑
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen retire FN-acc heard

With this structure, TP deletion should be possible stranding the genitive marked subject when the content is recoverable.

- (30) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP Hanako-**no** [~~TP t taishokusuru~~] **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen retire FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro about (the retirement of) Hanako.'

When the TP is deleted as (30), the DP-*no koto* phrase is derived.

Nominative-genitive case conversion may happen even when the embedded predicate is a stative predicate or an adjective.

- (31) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP [TP Hanako-**ga** totemo kashikoi] **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-nom very smart FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako is very smart.'

- (32) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP Hanako-**no** [TP t totemo kashikoi] **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen very smart FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako is very smart.'

In (31) and (32), the adjective *kashikoi* (*smart*) is used to describe the character of Hanako. When the speaker and the hearer know how smart Hanako is, the TP may be deleted, deriving the DP-*no koto* phrase.

⁴ See Kurafuji (1998) for the semantic contribution of *koto*.

- (33) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP}Hanako-**no** [_{TP}t ~~totemo kashiko~~] **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen very smart FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro about Hanako (that she is very smart.)'

This indicates that DP-*no koto* phrase may express the property of the DP. Thus, the ellipsis analysis of DP-*no koto* phrase explains Kinjo and Sasaguri's (1999) intuition that DP-*no koto* phrases denote an event or a property depending on the context. Furthermore, the intensional property of the information transferring construction follows from the proposed analysis. As discussed above, intensionality arises strictly with sentential complementation (McCawley 1974, Ross 1976, den Dikken, Larson and Ludlow 1996). Since the information transferring construction has a concealed clause in the complement of *koto*, the intensionality is expected to arise from the elided TP.

So far, I have shown that the DP-*no koto* phrases in the information transferring construction are derived with nominative-genitive case conversion and TP deletion. Interestingly, Harada (1971) notes that there is a restriction on nominative-genitive case conversion.⁵ He observes that for some speakers, case conversion is disallowed when some phrase (DP or PP) intervenes between the subject and the predicate.

- (34) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP}[_{TP}Hanako-**ga** *sigoto-o* yameru] **koto**]-o
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-nom job-acc quit FN-acc
 kiita.
 heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako would quit her job.'

- (35) % Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP}Hanako-**no** [_{TP}t *sigoto-o* yameru] **koto**]-o
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-nom job-acc quit FN-acc
 kiita.
 heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako would quit her job.'

In these examples, the object *sigoto-o* (*job-acc*) appears between the subject and the embedded predicate. The judgement of (35) splits into two groups: the speakers who allow this sentence and those who do not accept it. Under the current analysis of DP-*no koto* phrases, we predict that the speakers who disallow (35) would not generate the DP-*no koto* form. However, the DP-*no koto* form in (36) is acceptable for all speakers.

- (36) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP}Hanako-**no** **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro about Hanako.'

⁵ I am grateful to Naomi Harada for pointing out this problem.

I argue that the deleted TP in (36) has *pro* in the object position. Japanese allows unpronounced pronoun *pro* and when the object is unpronounced, the restriction of case-conversion disappears.

- (37) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP} Hanako-**no** [_{TP} t *pro* yameru] **koto**]-o
 I-top Taro-from Hanako-gen quit FN-acc
 kiita.
 heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako would quit it.'

When TP-deletion applies to (37), the DP-*no koto* phrase in (36) is successfully derived. With the *pro* object, the acceptability of *Hanako-no koto* form in (36) for the speakers who disallow (35) can be accounted for.

3.3. Distribution of Temporal Adverbs

The proposed analysis of the DP-*no koto* phrase in Japanese information transferring construction explains an otherwise puzzling distribution of temporal adverbs. Temporal adverbs typically cannot modify proper nouns.

- (38) *Taro-ga [_{DP} *kinou-no* **Hanako-o**] tataita.
 Taro-nom yesterday-gen Hanako-acc hit
 'Taro hit yesterday's Hanako.'

Exceptionally, however, the genitive marked temporal adverbs can co-occur with proper nouns in the information transferring construction.⁶

- (39) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP} *kinou-no* **Hanako-no koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from yesterday-gen Hanako-gen FN-acc heard
 'lit. I heard from Taro about yesterday's Hanako.
 = I heard from Taro about what Hanako did yesterday.'

With the TP deletion analysis, the grammaticality of (39) can be accounted for. The sentential complement of noun may have multiple genitive marked elements and they may move to the DP domain as (40).⁷

⁶ It is clear that the temporal adverb *kinou-no* in (39) does not modify the main predicate. The main clause may have independent temporal adverbs, as illustrated in (i).

(i) Kyou, watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP} *kinou-no* **Hanako-no koto**]-o kiita.
 today, I-top Taro-from yesterday-gen Hanako-gen FN-acc heard
 'lit. Today, I heard from Taro about yesterday's Hanako.'

⁷ More natural example is given in (i).

(i) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [_{DP} *kinou-no* **Hanako-no** [yusho-shita **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from yesterday-gen Hanako-gen win-championship FN-acc heard
 'lit. I heard from Taro about yesterday's Hanako.
 = I heard from Taro about that Hanako won championship yesterday.'

- (40) ?Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP *kinou-no* **Hanako-no** [TP t] t]
 I-top Taro-from yesterday-gen Hanako-gen
 koronda] **koto**]-o kiita.
 tumbled FN-acc heard
 'I heard from Taro that Hanako tumbled yesterday.'

When TP ellipsis applies to the structure in (40), the sentence in (39) is derived.

- (41) ?Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP *kinou-no* **Hanako-no** [_{TP} t]—t]
 I-top Taro-from yesterday-gen Hanako-gen
 koronda] **koto**]-o kiita.
 tumbled FN-acc heard

Because of the presence of the concealed TP, the temporal adverbs may exceptionally co-occur with the proper nouns in the information transferring constructions.

As shown in the previous sub-section, when the temporal adverb lacks the genitive marker, the following genitive marked subject must stay TP internal position. The TP ellipsis analysis of DP-*no koto* phrase predicts that the bare temporal adverb cannot co-occur with the proper nouns even in the information transferring constructions. This prediction is borne out. Compare (42) and (43).

- (42) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP *asu-no* **Hanako-no koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from tomorrow-gen Hanako-gen FN-acc heard
 'lit. I heard from Taro about tomorrow's Hanako. = I heard from Taro about what Hanako will do tomorrow.'

- (43) *Watashi-wa Taro-kara [DP *asu-∅* **Hanako-no koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from tomorrow Hanako-gen FN-acc heard

The genitive marked temporal phrase may move to DP spec together with the genitive marked subject. Thus, TP deletion may occur stranding the genitive marked phrases and (42) is grammatical. In (43), the temporal phrase does not have the genitive marker. Both the temporal phrase and the genitive marked subject must be part of TP. TP deletion cannot take place stranding the bare adverb and the genitive marked subject and hence, the form in (42) cannot be derived. The current analysis, thus, captures the puzzling distribution of the temporal adverbs and the correlation between the presence of the genitive marker and the availability of DP-*no koto* form.

4. Cross-linguistic Evidence: Case-conversion and DP-*gen* FN form

The DP-*no koto* object of the informational transferring construction is found only in Japanese and the corresponding form is not found in other Altaic languages. In this section, I discuss Turkish and Korean data and examine why this form is unique to Japanese.

4.1. Turkish Data

In Turkish, the noun *iddia* (*claim*) can take the sentential complement and its subject is marked with genitive case.

- (44) John [Ali-**nin** evlen-dig-i iddia-sin]-i duymus.
John(-nom) Ali-gen marry-Nind-3sg claim-CMPMD-acc heard
'John heard the claim that Ali got married.'

If the genitive marked subject may move to DP spec, we predict that Turkish also allows TP ellipsis stranding the genitive marked subject, as illustrated in (45).

- (45) John [_{DP}Ali-**nin** [_{TP}evlen-dig-i] iddia-sin]-i duymus.
John(-nom) Ali-gen marry-Nind-3sg claim-CMPMD-acc heard

This prediction is born out. *Ali-nin iddia* (*Ali-gen claim*) is ambiguous.

- (46) John [Ali-**nin** iddia-sin]-i duymus.
John(-nom) Ali-gen claim- CMPMD-acc heard
a. John heard the claim that Ali made. (the claim by Ali)
b. John heard the claim about Ali. (for example, the claim that Ali got married)

In the reading (46a), the genitive phrase *Ali-nin* directly modifies *iddia* (*claim*). No context is required for this DP modifier reading. The reading in (46b) is the reading which is derived with TP ellipsis. It requires that the speaker and the hearer know the content of the claim: if the speaker and the hearer have Ali's marriage in their mind, then the *Ali-nin iddia* would be interpreted as the claim that Ali got married. The high sensitivity to the context confirms that ellipsis is involved to derive the phrase *Ali-nin iddia*. With the presence of TP ellipsis reading in (46b) we predict that DP-*gen* FN is allowed in Turkish. However, Turkish does not have the formal noun which corresponds to Japanese *koto*. Thus, DP-*gen* FN form is not found.

4.2. Korean Data

Korean has a formal noun *kes*, which takes a sentential complement like Japanese *koto*. However, Korean lacks nominative-genitive case conversion.⁸

- (47) Chelswu-nun [[Yenghi-**ka** ttena-ss-ta-nun] kes]-ul tul-ess-ta.
Chelswu-top Yenghi-nom leave-pst-dec-rcl FN-acc heard
'Chelswu heard that Yenghi left.'

⁸ Some Korean speakers allow nominative-genitive conversion, but none of them allows the DP-*uy kes* form. It seems that some speaker allows nominative-genitive case conversion, but no one allows overt movement to DP spec overtly in Korean. Since the genitive marked subject stays at the TP internal position, TP deletion cannot be applied stranding the genitive marked subject.

- (48) * Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-uy [t ttena-ss-ta-nun] kes]-ul tul-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-top Yenghi-gen leave-pst-dec-rcl FN-acc heard
 'Chelswu heard that Yenghi left.'

Nominative-genitive case conversion is required to derive the DP-*no koto* phrase in Japanese. So, we predict that the corresponding expression is not allowed in Korean. This prediction is correct: (49) is ungrammatical.

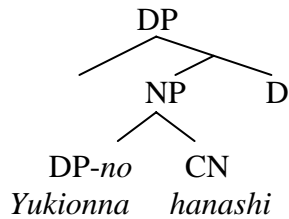
- (49) * Chelswu-nun [Yenghi-uy kes]-ul tul-ess-ta.
 Chelswu-top Yenghi-gen FN-acc heard
 'Chelswu heard about Yenghi.'

When we examine the readings of the DP-*gen* N form, further interesting correlation is found. In Japanese, the contentful noun *hanashi* (story) may take a true argument, as well as the genitive marked subject stranded by TP ellipsis. Though the semantic difference is subtle, (50) is ambiguous.⁹

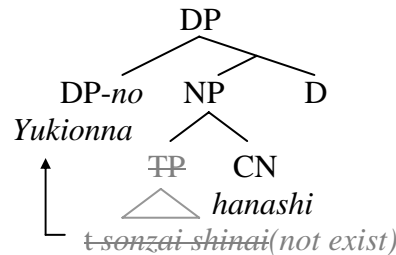
- (50) Kino, watashi-wa Taro-kara [Yukionna-no hanashi]-o kiita.
 Yesterday I-nom Taro-from Yukionna-gen story-acc heard
 a. I heard the (legendary) story of Yukionna from Taro yesterday.
 b. I heard the story about Yukionna from Taro yesterday.
 (for example, that Yukionna does not exist in the real world.)

The reading in (50a) does not require context. There is a famous old story which has Yukionna as its main character and this reading expresses that the speaker heard this story yesterday from Taro. For the reading in (50b), however, some contexts are required. Assume that the speaker had believed the presence of Yukionna, but yesterday, Taro said to the speaker that Yukionna does not exist and the speaker was surprised. In this context, the reading in (50b) can be available. The first reading is the argument reading with the structure in (51a) and the second reading is the TP subject reading with the structure in (51b).

- (51) a. Argument reading



- b. TP subject reading



⁹ When we use the genitive marked referring proper nouns, in stead of non-referring proper noun like *Yukionna*, the sentence is three-way ambiguous. In addition to the readings indicated, the sentence allows the reading where the story is discussed by the genitive marked element.

In the argument reading, the genitive marked DP is interpreted as the argument of the contentful noun (CN). Thus, it appears in the complement of CN. In the TP subject reading, the genitive marked phrase is the subject of the deleted TP. Because of the nominative-genitive case conversion, the subject may move to DP spec and after this movement, TP is deleted stranding the genitive subject.

In Korean, the contentful nouns can take the genitive marked phrase, but only the argument reading is available.

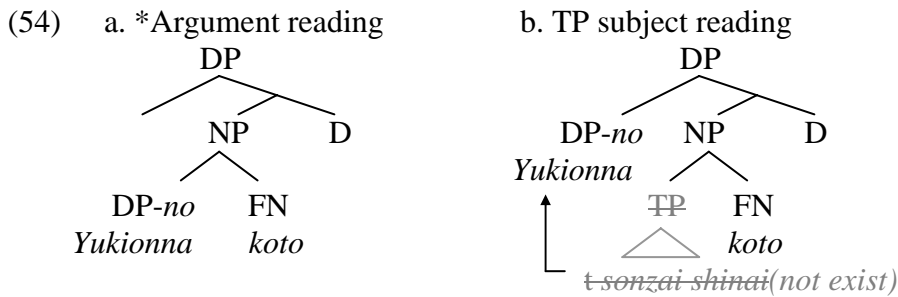
- (52) Chelsuw-num [Dokebi-uy iyaki]-lul tulessta.
 Chelsuw-top Dokebi-gen story-acc heard
 a. Chelsuw heard the legendary story of Dokebi.
 b. # Chelswu heard the story about Dokebi.
 (for example, that Dokebi does not exist in the real world.)

The reading in (52a) corresponds to the argument reading and the missing reading in (52b) corresponds to the TP subject reading. Since Korean does not allow nominative-genitive case conversion or raising of the subject phrase the DP domain, only the argument reading is allowed.

Unlike the contentful nouns, the formal nouns lack semantic content and it does not have the argument structure. Hence, the argument reading should be impossible. This is true with Japanese *koto* constructions.

- (53) Watashi-wa Taro-kara [Yukionna-no **koto**]-o kiita.
 I-top Taro-from Yukionna-gen FN-acc heard
 a. # I heard the issue of Yukionna.
 b. I heard about Yukionna.
 (for example, that Yukionna does not exist in the real world.)

This indicates that only structure in (54b) is allowed with the formal noun *koto*.



Now, in Korean, the corresponding example is ungrammatical, as shown before.

- (55) *Chelswu-num [Dokebi-uy kes]-lul tulessta.
 Chelswu-top Dokebi-gen FN-acc heard
 a. # Chelswu heard the issue of Dokebi.
 b. # Chelswu heard about Dokebi.
 (for example, Dokebi does not exist in the real world.)

Just like Japanese *koto*, Korean formal noun *kes* does not allow the argument reading for lack of the argument structure of *kes*. Furthermore, TP subject reading cannot be derived, since Korean does not have nominative-genitive case conversion. Thus, DP-*uy kes* form is disallowed. The difference between Japanese and Korean supports the correlation between the availability of the DP-*gen* FN form and the presence of nominative-genitive case conversion.

Since Turkish does not have formal noun, the DP-*gen* FN form is not allowed. Korean does not have the nominative-genitive case conversion or movement of TP subject to DP spec. Thus, Korean does not allow DP-*gen* FN form, either. Japanese, on the other hand, has both formal noun and nominative-genitive case conversion with movement of the TP subject to the DP domain. Hence, the DP-*gen* FN form is found only in Japanese.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined why Japanese information transferring predicates take DP-*no koto* phrase as its object. I have proposed that Japanese information transferring predicates require sentential elements as their complement. I have shown that DP-*no koto* form is possible because of the presence of the nominative-genitive case conversion and it is derived with the nominative-genitive case conversion and TP deletion. If this approach of Japanese information transferring construction is on the right track, its intensional properties can be attributed to the elided TP. The proposed analysis of Japanese information transferring construction, thus, provides further support for the sentential approach to intensional transitive predicates proposed by Ross (1976), McCawley (1974) and den Dikken, Larson and Ludlow (1996).

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