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| Title | An Ergative Approach to Dative Subject Constructions in Japanese and Its Consequences |
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| Citation | OUPEL(Osaka University Papers in English Linguistics). 2009, 13, p. 39-81 |
| Version Type | VoR |
| URL | https://doi.org/10.18910/58066 |
| rights | |
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AN ERGATIVE APPROACH TO DATIVE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN JAPANESE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

1 INTRODUCTION

Many languages around the globe have non-nominative subject constructions, one of which is a dative subject construction (DSC) to be pursued in this paper. Typical examples of the DSC are given below.

- (1) Kannada
avanige tayiya jnapaka Bantu
he-DAT mother's remember-NOM (NEUT.) came (NEUT.)
'He remembered his mother.'
(Sridhar 1979: 99)
- (2) Hindi
mujhe sab yaad hē
I-DAT all remembrance be.PRES
'I remember everything.'
(Mahajan 2004: 284)
- (3) Icelandic
Henni hefur alltaf þótt ólafur leiðinlegur.
her-DAT has always thought Olaf-NOM boring-NOM
'She has always thought Olaf is boring.'
(Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson 1985: 447)
- (4) German
Mir ist kalt.
me-DAT is cold
'I am freezing.'

This paper mainly focuses on the Japanese DSC as shown in (5). The Japanese DSC can be observed in a clause with a stative predicate such as a potential suffix, a psych predicate and so forth.

- (5) a. Kare-ni eigo-ga jyoozu-ni hanas-e-ru.
 he-DAT English-NOM well-DAT speak-can-PRES
 ‘He can speak English well.’
 b. Hanako-ni-(wa) hebi-ga totemo osorosii.
 Hanako-DAT-(TOP) snake-NOM very fearful
 ‘Hanako is very fearful of snakes.’

It has been held in the literature that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC is inherent Case (Ura 1999, 2000) or a postposition (Takezawa 1987).¹ Also, the ungrammaticality of the sentences as in (6) has been accounted for by resorting to Shibatani’s (1978) observation that a finite clause in Japanese must contain a nominative phrase.

- (6) a. *Kare-ni hayaku hasir-e-ru.
 he-DAT fast run-can-PRES
 ‘He can run fast.’
 b. *Kare-ni eigo-o jyoozu-ni hanas-e-ru.
 he-DAT English-ACC well speak-can-PRES
 ‘He can speak English well.’

Since the examples in (6) contain no nominative phrases, they can be ruled out by Shibatani’s observation. However, this paper claims that the state of affairs is not as simple as what has been assumed to date. By extending empirical coverage to Japanese dialects, we point out that Shibatani’s observation becomes less convincing. If one were to preserve his observation, it should be restated in such a way that it only applies to Standard Japanese. The obvious counterexamples to Shibatani’s observation come from Mitsukaido dialect.²

- (7) ore-nganja e:ngo wagaN-ne.
 I-DAT (EXP) English-ACC understand-can-not
 ‘I cannot understand English.’
 (8) are-nganja hadarag-e-ru
 I-DAT (EXP) work-can-PRES
 ‘I can work.’

(Sasaki 2004: 91)

In this dialect, dative Case is expressed by different morphological markers, depending on the semantic type of the DP that is assigned dative Case. This contrasts sharply with Standard Japanese, where dative Case is uniformly marked as *-ni*, whether the semantic type of the DP is Experiencer, Goal, Locative or others. The dative subject of Standard Japanese in most cases bears an Experiencer or Possessor θ -role. In Mitsukaido dialect, the dative Case corresponding to the Experiencer subject in the DSC

¹ We will briefly overview the previous analyses of the Japanese DSC later in the paper.

² Mitsukaido dialect is spoken in a southern west part of Ibaragi prefecture in Japan.

of Standard Japanese appears as *-nganja*. Following Sasaki (2004), we will express the dative Case as Experiencer Case. Important here is that although the clauses in (7) and (8) do not contain any nominative phrases, they are still grammatical contrary to Standard Japanese. Here again, Shibatani's observation on the obligatoriness of nominative Case will not provide a satisfactory account of the above examples from Mitsukaido dialect. One of the purposes of this paper is to attempt to account for the distinction between Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect regarding Case possibilities in the DSC by claiming that the dative Case in the DSC is assigned/valued structurally.³ To develop a configurational account of the DSC, I will propose that the dative Case assignment in the construction can be seen to pattern with the mechanism underlying multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian. In the course of discussion, it will be shown that the mechanisms behind those two seemingly extraneous constructions can be unified under the Agree system and Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). I will also claim that the dative Case in the Standard Japanese DSC and the Experiencer Case in Mitsukaido dialect can be treated on a par with ergative Case observed across ergative languages. In so doing, I will seek to uncover a parameter responsible for the distinction between Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect through investigation of the DSC.

2 OVERVIEW OF THE JAPANESE DSC

2.1. Basic Properties of the Japanese DSC

In this section, we will overview the basic properties of the Japanese DSC and show that the dative subject exhibits subjecthood just as the nominative subject does. It is well-known that a dative (*-ni*) subject can appear when the clause involves a stative predicate such as a potential suffix such as *-(rar)e* in (9a), a psych predicate in (9b), a possessive predicate (9c–d), or a predicate denoting subject's necessity in (9e).

- (9) a. Taro-ni eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
Taro-DAT English-NOM speak-can-PRES
'Taro can speak English.'
b. Hanako-ni hahaoya-ga simpai-da.
Hanako-DAT mother-NOM worry-COP
'Hanako worries about her mother.'

³ Richards (2007) presents an analysis of so-called "Case stacking" mainly in Lardil by proposing (i) a clear distinction between Case assignment and Case checking and (ii) variation in the timing of PF/LF Spell-Out. While I would like to refer the interested reader to Richards (2007) for details, it is important to touch upon his observation that a topic marker *-wa* in Japanese must replace structural Case (*-ga*, *-o*), whereas it can be added to inherent Case (*-kara*, for instance). Crucial to our analysis is that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC patterns with inherent Case in this respect: *-wa* can be added on top of the dative subject. Admittedly, since I found Richards' analysis of this matter after the completion of the paper, I would like to leave this for my future research.

- c. John-ni takusan-no-tomodati-ga iru.
John-DAT many-GEN-friend-NOM be
'John has many friends.'
- d. Bokutati-ni mada zikan-ga aru.
we-DAT still time-NOM be
'We still have time to go.'
- e. Kare-ni ima okane-ga hituyoo-da.
he-DAT now money-NOM need-COP
'He needs money now.'

It should be noted that the Theme object in the DSC must be always marked with nominative (*-ga*), not with accusative (*-o*), which is a canonical Case marker for an object. When the object in the DSC is marked with accusative, the sentence becomes ill-formed as shown in (10).

- (10) a. *Taro-ni eigo-o hanas-e-ru.
Taro-DAT English-ACC speak-can-PRES
- b. *Hanako-ni hahaoya-o simpai-da.
Hanako-DAT mother-ACC worry-COP
- c. *John-ni takusan-no-tomodati-o iru.
John-DAT many-GEN-friend-ACC be
- d. *Bokutati-ni mada zikan-o aru.
we-DAT still time-ACC be
- e. *Kare-ni ima okane-o hituyoo-da.
he-DAT now money-ACC need-COP

It should be also noted that the subject in a sentence like (9) can be marked with nominative as well as dative. In this case, the object can be marked with accusative as well as nominative.⁴

- (11) a. Taro-ga eigo-ga/-o hanas-e-ru.
Taro-NOM English-NOM/ACC speak-can-PRES
- b. Hanako-ga hahaoya-ga/-o simpai-da.
Hanako-NOM mother-NOM/ACC worry-COP

⁴ However, there are some cases in which the subject in a clause cannot be marked with dative even when the predicate falls into the predicates mentioned above.

- (i) a. Hanako-ga/*ni Taro-ga suki-da.
Hanako-NOM/DAT Taro-NOM like-COP
'Hanako likes Taro.'
- b. Taro-ga/*ni suugaku-ga kirai-da.
Taro-NOM/DAT math-NOM dislike-COP
'Taro dislikes math.'
- c. John-ga/*ni pizza-ga tabe-ta-i.
John-NOM/DAT pizza-NOM eat-want-PRES.
'John wants to eat pizza.'

Despite the interesting property, these predicates can be assumed to be a lexical idiosyncrasy and hence we will not go into detail about them here.

- c. Kare-ga ima okane-ga/-o hituyoo-da.
 he-NOM now money-NOM/ACC need-COP

In Japanese, it is mostly the case that nominative Case is a Case marker for subject. However, this is not always true as has been studied in the literature of Japanese linguistics. The nominative Case can be employed as a Case marker for object, so-called nominative object as shown in (9) and (11) when the predicate in a clause is stative (i.e. possessive verbs such as *aru/iru* and psych predicates) or a potential predicate such as *dekiru*, or when the potential suffix *-(rar)e* is attached to the verb. It should be also noted that the subject is not always marked with nominative. The dative subject we are discussing is a case in point. The genitive (*-no*) subject in relative clauses and nominal complements as shown in (12) is also one of non-nominative subjects, as has been investigated in Harada (1971), Miyagawa (1993), Watanabe (1996), Ochi (1999), Hiraiwa (2000), Saito (2004) among others. This is called Nominative-Genitive Conversion (NGC).

- (12) a. John-no/-ga kat-ta hon
 John-GEN/NOM buy-PST book
 'the book that John bought'
 b. asita John-no/-ga kuru kanoosei
 tomorrow John-GEN/NOM come-PRES possibility
 'the possibility that John will come tomorrow'

As Shibatani (1978) points out, the cases of non-nominative subjects indicate that contrary to Mikami (1953/1972), subject should be defined independently of nominative Case, or more generally, Case marking.⁵ Shibatani claims instead that the subjecthood which can be detected on the basis of syntactic tests needs to be employed as a necessary and sufficient condition for subject.⁶

Now consider the subjecthood of dative subjects based on well-known syntactic diagnostic tests (Shibatani 1978, Tsunoda 1991, Kishimoto 2000, Ura 1999, 2000 among others). First, the dative subject can bind the subject-oriented reflexive *zibun/zibun-zisin* just as the nominative subject can.

- (13) a. Hanako-ga_i zibun-o_i/zibun-zisin-o_i home-ta.
 Hanako-NOM self-ACC/self-self-ACC praise-PST
 'Hanako praised herself.'
 b. Taroo-ni_i zibun_i-no ie-ga waku.
 Taro-DAT self-GEN house-NOM understand-PRES
 'Taro can tell his house.'

⁵ See also McCloskey (1997) for an extensive discussion on subjecthood.

⁶ It is worth mentioning that following Kayne (1994), Whitman (2001) claims that a nominative Case marker *ga* and a topic marker *wa* in Japanese head an IP projection and a CP projection, respectively.

- c. Hanako-ni_i zibun_i-no hahaoya-ga simpai-da.
Hanako-DAT self-GEN mother-NOM worry-COP
'Hanako worries about her mother.'
- d. Bokutati-ni_i mada zibun_i-no okane-ga aru.
we-DAT still self-GEN money-NOM be
'We still have our own money.'
- e. Taro-ga_i kanojyo-o_k zibun-no_{i/*k} hahaoya-ni
Taro-NOM girlfriend-ACC self-GEN mother-DAT
syoukai-deki-ta.
introduce-can-PST
'Taro was able to introduce his girl friend to his mother.'
- f. Taro-ni_i John-ga_k zibun-no_{i/*k} kanojyo-ni
Taro-DAT John-NOM self-GEN girlfriend-DAT
syoukai-deki-ru.
introduce-can-PRES
'Taro can introduce John to his girlfriend.'

Note here that the reflexive cannot be coreferential with any non-subject elements such as the object in (13e–f). Second, subject honorification patterns with the reflexive binding of *zibun* by the dative subject.

- (14) a. Yamada-sensei-ga kyoo gakko-ni irassyaruru.
Yamada-teacher-NOM today school-DAT HON-come-PRES
'Prof. Yamada will come to the school today.'
- b. Yamada-sensei-ni sono-mondai-ga o-wakari-ni
Yamada-teacher-DAT that-problem-NOM HON-understand
nar-ta.
become-PST
'Prof. Yamada understood that problem.'
- c. *Seito-ni Yamada-sensei-no-ie-ga
student-DAT Yamada-teacher-GEN-house-NOM
o-wakari-ni nar-ta.
HON-understand become-PST
'The student could tell Prof. Yamada's house.'

Note that when honorification is induced by the object in (14c), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Another syntactic test proposed by Ura (1999, 2000) is the ability of the dative subject to control PRO as the examples in (15) show.

- (15) a. [PRO_k sutoraiki-o yat-tei-nagara],
strike-ACC do-PROG-while
roodoosya-ni(-wa)_k sono mokuteki-ga wakara-nakat-ta.
workers-DAT(-TOP) its purpose-NOM understand-not-PST
'Although PRO_k being on strike, the workers_k did not understand its

- purpose.’
- b. [PRO_k ongaku-o kiki-nagara], John-ni_k hon-ga
 music-ACC listen.to-while John-DAT book-NOM
 yom-e-ru.
 read-can-PRES
 ‘While PRO_k listening to music, John_k can read books.’
- c. [PRO_{k/*i} ongaku-o kiki-nagara], John-ga_k
 music-ACC listen.to-while John-NOM
 Mary-o_i damasi-ta.
 Mary-ACC cheat-PST
 ‘While PRO_{k/*i} listening to music, John_k cheated Mary_i.’
 (Ura 2000: 99)

(15c) shows that PRO in the *-nagara* construction cannot be controlled by any non-subject elements. These syntactic tests demonstrate that not unlike the nominative subject, the dative subject exhibits subjecthood, and hence can stand as subject.

2.2. Previous Analyses and Counterexamples

In this section we will briefly overview how the dative Case in the Japanese DSC has been dealt with in the literature. Takezawa (1987)⁷ analyzes the dative Case as a P(ostposition) on the basis of the observations of quantifier floating. He observes that while quantifiers can float out of nominative and accusative phrases, they cannot float out of dative phrases as illustrated below. The examples are drawn from Takezawa (1987).

- (16) a. [Sannin-no kodomo]-ga yatte-ki-ta
 three-GEN children-NOM come.over-PST
 ‘Three children came over.’
 b. Kodomo-ga sannin yatte-ki-ta
 children-NOM three come-over-PST
- (17) a. Sensei-ga [sannin-no kodomo]-o sikat-ta.
 teacher-NOM three-GEN children-ACC scold-PST
 ‘The teacher scolded three children.’
 b. Sensei-ga kodomo-o sannin sikat-ta
 teacher-NOM children-ACC three scold-PST
- (18) a. Sensei-ga [sannin-no kodomo]-kara hon-o morat-ta.
 teacher-NOM three-GEN children-from book-ACC receive-PST
 ‘The teacher received books from three children.’

⁷ See Takezawa (1987) for details about the mechanism whereby dative Case/postposition is assigned. Since his mechanism seems irrelevant to our discussion, we will not address it here.

- b. * Sensei-ga kodomo-kara sannin hon-o morat-ta.
 teacher-NOM children-from three book-ACC receive-PST
- (19) a. [Sannin-no kodomotati]-ni eigo-ga wakar-u.
 three-GEN children-DAT English-NOM understand-PRES
 ‘Three children understand English.’
- b. * Kodomotati-ni sannin eigo-ga wakar-u.
 children-DAT three English-NOM understand-PRES
 (Takezawa 1987: 94)

The examples in (18) and (19) show that the dative *-ni* patterns with a postposition *kara* ‘from’ in that they do not allow quantifier floating. This similarity leads Takezawa to claim that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC is actually a postposition.

However, I claim that the impossibility of dative subjects to be associated with floating quantifiers alone does not suffice to determine the syntactic status of *-ni* in the DSC. Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) provide an extensive survey of the dative particle *-ni* in Japanese. According to their dichotomy, the relevant *-ni* particle must be omitted in the focus position of the cleft construction if it is a Case marker. On the other hand, if it is a postposition, it can appear in the focus position of the cleft construction without omission of the *-ni* particle. They also observe in the same vein as Takezawa (1987) that quantifier floating is not allowed out of the phrase with a postposition. As we saw above, the dative *-ni* of the DSC does not permit quantifier floating. Yet, once we apply another operational test, namely a cleft construction proposed by Sadakane and Koizumi, it turns out that the *-ni* of the DSC patterns with other Case markers like nominative and accusative. Consider the following examples.

- (20) a. Mary-ga kinoo susi-o tabe-ta.
 Mary-NOM yesterday sushi-ACC eat-PST.
 ‘Mary ate sushi yesterday.’
- b. [Mary-ga kinoo tabe-ta] no-wa susi(*o)-da.
 Mary-NOM yesterday eat-PST GEN-TOP sushi-(ACC)-COP
 ‘It is sushi that Mary ate yesterday.’
- c. [Kinoo susi-o tabe-ta] no-wa Mary(*ga)-da.
 yesterday sushi-ACC eat-PST GEN-TOP Mary-(NOM)-COP
 ‘It is Mary that ate sushi yesterday.’

It is clear from these examples that the nominative and accusative markers must be omitted when the phrase to which they are attached occurs in the focus position of the cleft construction. Compare now the *-ni* particle of the DSC with a postposition *kara*.

- (21) a. John-ni eigo-ga umaku hanas-e-ru.
 John-DAT English-NOM well speak-can-PRES
 ‘John can speak English well.’
- b. [Eigo-ga umaku hanas-e-ru] no-wa John(*ni)-da.
 English-NOM well speak-can-PRES GEN-TOP John-(DAT)-COP

- (22) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-kara tegami-o morat-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-from letter-ACC receive-PST
 ‘Taro received the letter from Hanako.’
 b. [Taroo-ga tegami-o morat-ta] no-wa Hanako-*(kara)-da
 Taro-NOM letter-ACC receive-PST GEN-TOP Hanako-from-COP
 ‘It is from Hanako that Taro received the letter.’

It is important to notice that the *-ni* particle behaves on a par with nominative and accusative Case markers rather than with a postposition *kara*. Although these pieces of evidence may not be sufficient to draw a decisive conclusion, it has been shown that the analysis of the *-ni* particle in the DSC as a postposition based on the observation of quantifier floating is not conclusive, either. It thus seems plausible to attempt to analyze the *-ni* particle in the DSC as a Case marker.

Now consider a line of analysis in which the dative Case in the Japanese DSC is proposed to be inherent Case. Ura (1999, 2000) proposes that the dative subject in the DSC is a DP with inherent Case⁸ checked.⁹ In his mechanism, the light verb *v* in the DSC has a stative meaning and optionally assigns inherent Case to the dative subject.¹⁰ However, it seems that it has not been well discussed why the dative Case is inherently assigned in the case of the Japanese DSC. Moreover, it is held that inherent Case bears the property of Case preservation. This means that even when the element bearing inherent Case undergoes some operations like passivization, it preserves its original inherent Case. This is shown in the following examples of Icelandic quirky dative Case. When the dative object is passivized and becomes subject, it still retains quirky dative Case.

- (23) a. Þeir skiluðu Maríu bókinni.
 they returned Mary-DAT the.book-DAT
 ‘They returned the book to Mary’
 b. Maríu var skilað þessari bók.
 Mary-DAT was returned this book-DAT
 (Woolford 2006: 7)¹¹

This contrasts sharply with structural accusative Case in the English ECM construction.

⁸ Inherent Case is defined as follows.

“NP is inherently Case-marked as determined by properties of its [-N] governor.” (Chomsky 1981: 170)

“Inherent Case is presumably closely linked to θ role.” (ibid: 171)

⁹ See also Belletti and Rizzi (1988) for observations on inherent Case of psych verbs.

¹⁰ As observed earlier, the light verb in DSC may be allowed not to assign inherent Case to the dative subject, in which case the subject can be marked with nominative.

¹¹ Woolford (2006) distinguishes structural Case from non-structural Case, which consists of lexical Case and inherent Case. She claims that lexical Case is assigned by a lexical head, whereas inherent Case is assigned by a little *v* head. Svenonius (2002) also proposes that non-structural Case can be divided into idiosyncratic Case and Semantic Case.

- (24) a. I believe that he is smart.
 b. I believe him/*he to be smart.

With this much as background, it can be shown that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC patterns with structural Case with respect to Case preservation. The obvious example is an instance of Nominative-Genitive Conversion (NGC) we touched upon earlier. The NGC is a construction in which nominative Case can be replaced by genitive Case *-no* in a nominal clause as shown in (25).

- (25) John-no/-ga kat-ta hon
 John-GEN/NOM buy-PST book
 ‘the book that John bought’

When the predicate in the nominal clause is a stative predicate capable of taking a dative subject, dative Case can participate in Case conversion and hence does not exhibit the property of Case preservation.

- (26) Taroo-ni/-no/-ga eigo-ga/-no hanas-e-ruriyuu
 Taro-DAT/-GEN/-NOM English-NOM/-GEN speak-can-PRESreason
 ‘the reason Taro can speak English’

Moreover, when the dative Case in the Japanese DSC undergoes so-called subject raising, it can be assigned a different Case.

- (27) a. Yamada-wa [Tanaka-ga baka-da] to omotte-ita
 Yamada-TOP Tanaka-NOM afool-COP COMP think-PST
 ‘Yamada thought that Tanaka was a fool.’
 b. Yamada-wa Tanaka-o [baka da] to omotte-ita
 Yamada-TOP Tanaka-ACC a fool-COP COMP think-PST
 ‘Yamada thought Tanaka to be a fool.’
- (Kuno 1976)
- (28) a. Watasi-wa [Tanaka-ni eigo-ga dekiru] to omotte-ita.
 I-TOP Tanaka-DAT English-NOM can COMP think-PST
 ‘I thought that Tanaka was capable of English.’
 b. Watasi-wa Tanaka-o [eigo-ga dekiru] to omotte-ita.
 I-TOP Tanaka-ACC English-NOM can COMP think-PST
 ‘I thought Tanaka to be capable of English.’

It is unexpected that the dative Case in the DSC undergoes Case alternation if it is assumed to be inherent Case. Thus it also seems plausible to pursue an analysis of the dative Case in the Japanese DSC as structural Case, not a postposition or inherent

Case. This analysis unfolds in the sections that follow.

3 PROPOSAL

3.1. *Superiority Effects and Dative Case*

In this section, it will be proposed that the mechanism underlying the assignment of the dative Case in the Japanese DSC can be analyzed in the same way as multiple *wh*-movement found in the Slavic languages such as Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian as observed by Rudin (1988) among many others. I will present an analysis of asymmetric valuation of dative Case under the Agree system.

To elaborate on my analysis, I will take the observations of multiple *wh*-fronting by Bošković (1999) and Boeckx (2003) as a starting point. It is well-known that Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian exhibit multiple *wh*-fronting as shown in (29) and (30).

- (29) Bulgarian
 Koj kogo e vidjal?
 who whom is seen
 ‘Who saw whom?’

(Bošković 1999: 159)

- (30) Serbo-Croatian
 Ko koga vidi?
 who whom sees
 ‘Who sees whom?’

(Rudin 1988: 449)

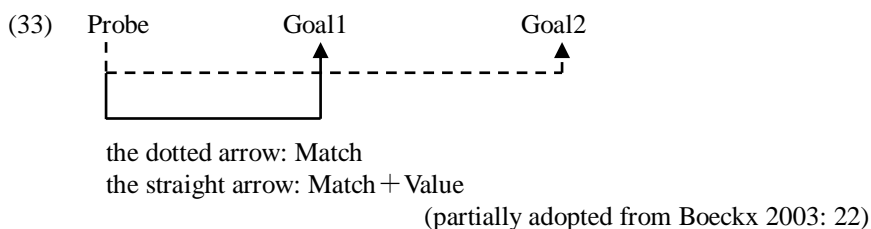
Bošković (1999) observes that Superiority effects as to *wh*-fronting can be found in Bulgarian, but not in Serbo-Croatian. This is shown as below.

- (31) Bulgarian
 a. Koj kogo e vidjal?
 who whom is seen
 ‘Who saw whom?’
 b. *Kogo koj e vidjal?
 (32) Serbo-Croatian
 a. Ko je koga vidio?
 who is whom seen
 b. Koga je ko vidio?

(Bošković 1999: 163)

Bošković claims from these observations that multiple *wh*-questions in Bulgarian are an instance of *wh*-movement, whereas those in Serbo-Croatian are an instance of focus movement. Under his analysis, *wh*-questions exhibit Superiority effects, that is, only the *wh*-phrase closest to C can be attracted. He further proposes that the movement involved in *wh*-movement is triggered by a [Wh] feature located on C. In contrast, it is claimed in Bošković (1999) that *wh*-fronting by focus movement is induced by a [Focus] feature located on the moving *wh*-phrase, and that focus movement does not exhibit any Superiority effects.

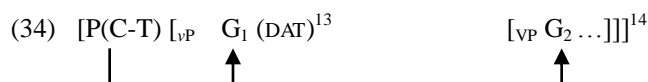
Building on Bošković's analysis, Boeckx (2003) argues that the asymmetry observed in Bulgarian multiple *wh*-movement where only the closest *wh*-phrase can be moved arises from the nature of Value. Boeckx follows Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004) in assuming that the Agree relation consists of a Matching procedure and a Valuation procedure: while Match¹² is assumed to be symmetric (that is, α and β match), Value is asymmetric (that is, α values β). It should be also noted that Chomsky assumes that not every matching pair induces Agree (Chomsky 2000: 122). Assuming that an uninterpretable [Wh] feature is located on C and an uninterpretable [Focus] feature is on a *wh*-phrase itself, Boeckx conjectures that the asymmetry exhibited by Bulgarian multiple *wh*-movement can be accounted for by claiming that the valuation of the Probe, namely C is executed by the closest Goal *wh*-phrase in the spirit of the Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). The Superiority effects in Bulgarian multiple *wh*-movement thus fall into place. When it comes to the subsequent movements of other *wh*-phrases in the language, Boeckx argues that Match can take place multiply and therefore multiple *wh*-phrases can match the Probe and move to the sentence initial position. It is important here to mention that the Probe matches the second Goal, namely the second *wh*-phrase without valuation from the Goal, which is compatible with Chomsky's assumption that not every matching pair induces Agree. The upshot is that the uninterpretable feature located on a Probe can only be valued once by the closest Goal, whereas the interpretable feature located on a Probe can match Goals multiply. The Goals will in turn receive a Case value. We can schematize the aforementioned operation as below, following Boeckx (2003).



Let us return to the DSC in Japanese. We will attempt to situate the analysis of the Japanese DSC within the (a)symmetric Agree system we observed in Bulgarian multiple *wh*-movement. Firstly, I propose that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC is

¹² It is assumed in Chomsky (2001 and 2004) contra Chomsky (2000) that Matching is not strictly speaking Identity, but Non-distinctness. Boeckx (2003) also claims that matching is “featural compatibility” (Boeckx 2003: fn.6).

valued structurally in the course of the derivation via Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001 and Chomsky 2004), instead of receiving inherent Case. To clarify the mechanism that enables a structural-Case account of the dative Case in question, I present the configuration for the DSC schematized as shown in (34).



Here, it is assumed that a special form of a Probe is formed in the Japanese DSC involving stative predicates, and that the Probe enters into an Agree relation with two Goals in the manner of Multiple Agree. We will express the Probe as C-T in the sense of Chomsky (2004 and 2005) or simply T throughout the paper. Consider the examples of the Japanese DSC as in (35).

- (35) a. Hanako-ni eigo-ga umaku hanas-e-ru.
 Hanako-DAT English-NOM well speak-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can speak English well.’
 b. *Hanako-ga eigo-ni umaku hanas-e-ru.
 Hanako-NOM English-DAT well speak-can-PRES

Notice from the examples above that dative Case can be assigned only to the Goal closest to the Probe: the subject *Hanako* can be marked with dative, but the object *eigo* cannot. Recall also that in Standard Japanese dative Case cannot appear in intransitive sentences.

- (36) *Taroo-ni hayaku hasir-e-ru.
 Taro-DAT fast run-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can run fast.’

As for the “closeness” of dative Case assignment, it can be claimed that it patterns with the asymmetric valuation of a [Wh] feature located on a Probe observed in multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian, yielding Superiority effects. Let us assume that the Probe C-T in the Japanese DSC has an uninterpretable [Ergativity] feature in addition to its ϕ feature. We will return to the discussion on why the Probe of the Japanese DSC has the [Ergativity] feature later in the paper. Given the analysis by Boeckx (2003), the valuation of the [Ergativity] feature will be asymmetric since the feature is located on the Probe. This means that it can be valued only by the closest Goal, namely the subject DP, which is assigned a dative Case value and subjecthood prop-

¹³ It will be assumed throughout the paper that the subject DP raises to the Spec TP after valuation. We will also assume the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis advanced by Kitagawa (1986), Kuroda (1988) and Koopman and Sportiche (1991) among others.

¹⁴ I assume that the left-to-right order expresses the c-command relation: the probe (P) c-commands the goal₁ (G₁), which c-commands the goal₂ (G₂).

erty due to the [Ergativity] feature and the ϕ feature, respectively. Here it is important to note that for a Probe and a Goal to enter into an Agree relation their features need to match in terms of Non-distinctness (Chomsky 2001, 2004). If so, what feature on the Goal matches the [Ergativity] feature on the Probe? Adopting Boeckx's (2003) more articulated version of Match, we will assume that Match is featural compatibility: as long as the features on the Probe and the Goal have the same function, they are eligible for Match. With this much as background, let us assume that the Case feature on the Goal is featurally compatible with the [Ergativity] feature on the Probe. To be more precise, we will introduce the relation between ergativity and aspectual properties on the one hand, aspectual properties and Case on the other. Ergativity is in some cases related to aspectual properties of a clause. For instance, ergative subjects in Hindi only appear in perfective sentences, not in imperfective sentences as shown below. *ne* is an ergative marker in Hindi.

- (37) a. raam roTii khaataa thaa
 Ram bread eat be
 ‘Ram (habitually) ate bread.’
 b. raam-ne roTii khaayii thii
 Ram-ERG bread eat be
 ‘Ram had eaten bread.’

(Mahajan 1990: 73)

As we will see in the section that follows, the dative Case in the Japanese DSC is also closely related to aspectual properties of a clause or VP. As for the relation between aspectuality and Case, Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) claim, on the basis of both conceptual and empirical investigations, that Case is an instance of an uninterpretable T(ense)-feature on a DP.¹⁵ If their analysis is correct, it seems reasonable to argue that the Aspect or Tense property on a Case feature is featurally compatible with an [Ergativity] feature, which also has an Aspectual property.

In contrast to the uninterpretable feature on the Probe, the interpretable feature located on the Probe, possibly a Case feature¹⁶ can match Goals multiply: the Probe can enter into a Matching relation with the object DP, which is in turn assigned a nominative Case value. It is important to assume that the dative Case assignment in the Japanese DSC may take place as a reaction to Superiority effects couched under the Relativized Minimality. This predicts that in the absence of Superiority effects, no [Ergativity] feature is generated and hence dative Case assignment does not take place. The case in point is an instance of (36) intransitive sentences. Since only a single DP appears in (36), a Superiority condition plays no role in the Agree operation: the notion of Superiority comes into play only when the relative relation of an element to another is present. Thus, in Standard Japanese the dative Case assignment is impossible in intransitive sentences.

¹⁵ More specifically, Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) argue that nominative Case is an instance of an uninterpretable Tense feature on a DP. Taking their analysis further, Pesetsky and Torrego (2004) claim that all instances of structural Case are instances of an uninterpretable Tense feature on a DP.

¹⁶ Note, incidentally, that Boeckx (2003) assumes an interpretable feature on a Probe to be the Tense/Aspect feature.

To sum up so far, we have attempted to situate the dative Case assignment system in the Japanese DSC within the (a)symmetric valuation system advocated by Boeckx (2003) under Agree. It has been shown that the dative Case assignment in the Japanese DSC can be analyzed to pattern with multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian. It is worth noting that our analysis of the Japanese DSC is an attempt to deduce the Case assignment system associated with dative Case, and more broadly ergative Case from deeper principles; Minimality and a Superiority condition derivable from it.¹⁷

3.2. *Dative as Ergative*¹⁸

Before closing this section, it is necessary to explain why we can analyze the dative Case in the Japanese DSC on a par with ergative Case observed across various languages. The examples of ergative languages are given below.

- (38) Hindi
 raam- ne roTii khaayii thii.
 Ram-MASC-ERG bread-FEM eat be-PAST.FEM
 ‘Ram had eaten bread.’
 (Mahajan 1990: 73)
- (39) Marathi
 Ti ni keli khaa-ll-it
 she-ERG banana eat-PERF-3PL
 ‘She ate bananas.’
 (Blake 2001: 129)
- (40) Basque
 Ni-k neska ikusten dut.
 I-ERG girl see AUX
 ‘I see the girl.’
 (Comrie, Matthews and Polinsky 1996: 45)
- (41) Inuktitut
 arna-up angut kuni-ga-a
 woman-REL man(ABS) kiss-PASS.PART-3s/3s
 ‘The woman kissed the man.’
 (Johns 1992: 59)

The above examples involving ergative Case on the subject show that they are all

¹⁷ As pointed out to me by Henk van Riemsdijk (p.c.), one of the issues to be overcome by my analysis may concern the instances in which dative Case apparently appears in oblique contexts. He points out that the dative Case assigned by German adjectives to an NP is a case in point (van Riemsdijk 1983). These adjectives include *befreundet* ‘friendly’, *beschwerlich* ‘troublesome’, *willkommen* ‘welcome’, and so forth. While this is an interesting issue one can work on within the minimalist context, I leave this matter for my future research.

¹⁸ Throughout the paper we will employ “ergative” in a canonical sense, in which intransitive subjects and transitive objects form a natural class. See Dixon (1979) and Comrie (1989) among many others.

transitive sentences, including the external argument and the internal argument of the predicate. In the majority of ergative languages, the subject bears ergative case only when the predicate involved is transitive as shown above, yet in some ergative languages the subject bears ergative Case in unergative intransitives as well as transitives as shown below.

(42) Hindi

- a. kuttoN-ne bhoNkaa
 dogs(pl.)-ERG barked (m. sg.)
 ‘The dogs barked.’
- b. siitaa-(*ne) aayii
 Sita (f.) arrived/came (f.)
 ‘Sita came’

(Mahajan 1990: 74)

(43) Basque

- a. Ni-k hitz-egin dut
 I-ERG speak [+trans]AUX.3A/1E
 ‘I spoke.’
- b. Ume-a etorri da
 kid-the-ABS come [-trans]AUX.3A
 ‘The kid arrived.’

(Bobaljik 1993: 35)

(Bobaljik 1993: 34)

While the (a) examples in (42) and (43) involve unergative verbs and allow the subject to bear ergative Case, the (b) examples are unaccusatives and therefore require the subject to bear unmarked nominative Case or absolutive Case instead of ergative Case. We will call the examples like (42a) and (43a) “ergative unergatives”, following Bobaljik (1993). In contrast, some ergative languages disallow ergative Case on the subject in unergatives as well as unaccusatives. Yup’ik, an Eskimo language falls into this group. The subject in the language cannot be marked with ergative in the sentence with a verb inflected intransitively.

(44) Yup’ik

- a. John-am ner-aa
 John-ERG eat-3s/3s
 ‘John ate *(it).’
- b. John ner’-uq
 John-ABS eat-3s
 ‘John ate (*it).’

(Bobaljik 1993: 31)

The contrast in (44) demonstrates that ergative Case cannot appear on the subject unless the sentence involves an object and exhibits transitivity.

Here, it is important to point out that the dative Case in the DSC of Standard Japanese behaves in an analogous way. It can appear in a stative transitive sentence that involves both a subject and an object. It cannot occur in an intransitive sentence just like Yup'ik, whether the predicate is unergative or unaccusative. These examples are given below.

- (45) a. Hanako-ni eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
Hanako-DAT English-NOM speak-can-PRES
'Hanako can speak English.'
- b. Hanako-*ni/ga hayaku hasir-e-ru.
Hanako-DAT/NOM fast run-can-PRES
'Hanako can run fast.'
- c. Hanako-*ni/ga ima suupaa-ni ik-e-ru.
Hanako-DAT/NOM now supermarket-DAT go-can-PRES
'Hanako can go to the supermarket now.'

Interestingly enough, the Experiencer Case *-nganja* in Mitsukaido dialect and the ergative Case¹⁹ *-nga* in Kikai-jima dialect²⁰, a Ryukyuan (Matsumoto 1990) behave in the same way as Hindi and Basque in that they can appear in both transitive and unergative intransitive sentences.

- (46) Mitsukaido dialect
- a. ore-nganja e:ngo wagaN-ne.
I-DAT (EXP) English-ACC understand-can-not
'I cannot understand English.'
- b. are-nganja hadarag-e-ru
I-DAT (EXP) work-can-PRES
'I can work.'

(Sasaki 2004: 91)

- (47) The Case pattern of Kikai-jima dialect
- a. N- ϕ – V stative intransitives
- b. N-nga (N- ϕ) V active intransitives
- c. N-nga N- ϕ V transitives

(Matsumoto 1990)

From these observations, it seems plausible to propose that the dative Case in the DSC of Standard Japanese, the Experiencer Case in Mitsukaido dialect and the ergative Case in Kikai-jima dialect can be treated on a par with ergative Case.²¹ Hence, we will assume that the Probe of the Japanese DSC bears an uninterpretable [Ergativ-

¹⁹ We follow Matsumoto (1990) in assuming that the relevant Case *-nga* in Kikai-jima dialect is ergative Case. See Tsunoda (1991) for a different view.

²⁰ As Matsumoto (1990) points out, linguistic data from Kikai-jima dialect is extremely scarce. Hence, I will only lay out the Case pattern of the dialect illustrated by Matsumoto (1990), rather than concrete examples.

²¹ Sasaki (2004) presents a different view on Experiencer Case of Mitsukaido dialect.

ity] feature.²² Here again, a distinction between Standard Japanese and the two dialects needs to be made: while Standard Japanese and Yup'ik behave in the same way, Mitsukaido dialect and Kikai-jima dialect behave in the same way as Hindi and Basque. The account for this distinction is an issue to be dealt with in 5.2.²³

As a final remark for this section, we need to touch upon the works that propose a mechanism for ergative Case assignment.²⁴ Marantz (1991) introduces the notion of dependent case including ergative and accusative Case. According to Marantz, the assignment of a dependent case to a DP is dependent on the existence of another DP, which does not bear a quirky Case. It is claimed in Marantz (1991) that Case or case is assigned at the Morphological Structure.²⁵ In a different vein, Bittner and Hale (1996) conjecture that dependent Cases can be structurally assigned at the syntax. What Marantz (1991) and Bittner and Hale (1996) have in common is to claim that the assignment of dependent Case to a DP is made possible by the presence of another DP. Bittner and Hale further claim that the DP to be assigned a dependent Case needs to be in a “competitive” relation with another DP.²⁶ With these proposals at hand, it is worth pointing out that my proposal is an attempt to transpose the insights of Marantz (1990) and Bittner and Hale (1996), particularly about the assignment of ergative Case, into the mechanism of Agree within the minimalist context and apply it to the dative Case in the Japanese DSC. In particular, our proposal captures dependent Case as the Case derived from Superiority effects. The Superiority condition entails the presence of Case competition advocated by Bittner and Hale (1996): the existence of another DP in addition to the DP to be assigned dependent Case can be given a straightforward account.

4 ANALYSIS

4.1. A Configuration for the DSC and An Aspectual Perspective

²² Note, incidentally, that there is a line of analysis which proposes that Old Japanese exhibited the properties of syntactic ergativity as well as morphological ergativity (Yanagida 2008).

²³ It should be pointed out that dative Case in the Japanese DSC does not exhibit the properties of syntactic ergativity in the sense of Dixon (1979) and Comrie (1989). For instance, as for a coordination test (Comrie 1989), S (= intransitive subjects) and A (= transitive subject) behave on a par. In contrast, in Dyirbal, which exhibits the properties of syntactic ergativity as well as morphological ergativity, S and P (= transitive objects) behave in the same way when it comes to a coordination test (Comrie 1989: 112). It thus seems possible to assume that the Japanese DSC can be classified as a case of morphological ergativity.

²⁴ Interestingly, Richards (2007: fn. 9) has recently suggested an idea that languages universally assign ergative Case to subjects. In his mechanism, language variation as to the manifestation of ergative Case may be reduced to the timing of PF Spell-Out. See Richards (2007) for more detailed discussions.

²⁵ Mahajan (2000, 2004) basically adopts Marantz's (1991) idea of dependent Case, yet slightly modifies it and proposes that the assignment of a dependent Case to a DP is contingent on the ability of the predicate to assign accusative Case. He posits on the basis of observations about ergative Case in Hindi that in the perfect sentences of the language the perfect participles lack the ability to assign accusative Case, and thus the subject receives ergative Case while the object receives nominative Case by moving to a higher position.

²⁶ See Bittner and Hale (1996) for more details about their proposals.

In the preceding section, I proposed that asymmetric valuation under Agree is responsible for the dative Case in the Japanese DSC. It was also proposed that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC can be treated on a par with ergative Case along the line of Bittner and Hale's (1996) proposal, which posits a structural Case account of dependent Case (Marantz 1991) including ergative and accusative Case. Now, the onus is on us to provide evidence in favor of the structural configuration for asymmetric valuation: we need to prove that when Agree is initiated by the Probe (C-T), the structural position demanded by the asymmetric valuation for the DSC is SUBJ (DAT)-OBJ (NOM), not vice versa. If the condition for this configuration is not met, the subject DP may not sit in between the Probe and the object DP. This means that the assignment of dative Case fails, an issue to which we will return in 4.2. In what follows, we will discuss the base position of the subject DP and the object DP, and investigate evidence that points to the dependent relation between dative Case and an object DP from the perspective of aspectual properties.

4.1.1. The Base Position for the DSC

The aim of this section is to prove that in the Japanese DSC the subject DP is situated between the Probe and the object DP in order to ensure asymmetric valuation at least when the Probe initiates the operation of Agree. The evidence for this comes from quantifier floating in Japanese.

It has been reported in the literature (Takezawa 1986 and Miyagawa 1989 among many others) that like many other languages, quantifiers in Japanese such as *sannin* ('three persons'), *gosatu* ('five books') and *takusan* ('many') can float out of the phrases with which they are construed. This is what we observed in 2.2. Note here that there arises an interesting asymmetry between the subject and the object with respect to the (im)possibility of quantifier floating. This is given below.

- (48) a. * *Gakusei-ga hon-o sannin kat-ta.*
 student-NOM book-ACC three-people buy-PST
 'Three students bought books.'
- b. *Hon-o gakusei-ga gosatu kat-ta.*
 book-ACC student-NOM five-books buy-PST
 'A student bought five books.'

As pointed out by Takezawa (1986), this asymmetry can be accounted for by assuming that SUBJ-OBJ is an underlying word order, and that the grammatical example in (48b) is derived from scrambling the object over the subject, thereby leaving behind its numeral quantifier. In contrast, (48a) is ungrammatical because the subject does not undergo movement. Hence, the subject does not leave behind its numeral quantifier if we assume the underlying word order. Moreover, if we adopt Sportiche's (1988) proposal that a quantifier and the DP with which it is construed form a constituent before quantifier floating, it can be claimed that the object in (48b) starts from the position where the quantifier *gosatu* is stranded. Now let us consider the DSC in terms of quantifier floating.

- (49) a. * Gakusei-ni gaikokugo-ga sannin hanas-e-ru.
 student-DAT foreign.language-NOM three people speak-can-PRES
 ‘Three students can speak foreign languages.’
 b. Gaikokugo-ga gakusei-ni mit-tu hanas-e-ru (koto)
 foreign.language-NOM student-DAT three speak-can-PRES
 ‘Students can speak three foreign languages.’

The grammaticality of (49b), where the objects scramble to the sentence initial position and the quantifiers are stranded, demonstrates that the dative subjects precede the nominative objects prior to scrambling of objects. From these pieces of evidence it seems plausible to claim that the underlying word order at the point of Agree by the C-T Probe is SUBJ (DAT) — OBJ (NOM), thereby making possible the asymmetric valuation for the DSC.

4.1.2. Aspectual Properties and Dative Case

It was proposed in 3.1. that the Probe in the Japanese DSC bears an [Ergativity] feature, which is responsible for dative Case. I also proposed that the [Ergativity] feature may have aspectual properties with which a Case feature on the Goal is featurally compatible. It will be explored in this section that the appearance of the dative Case on dative subjects rests on the aspectual property of a clause. Evidence in favor of this comes from the interaction between the telicity of VP and PP modifiers. It is well-known that a telic-diagnosing PP such as *in an hour* is incompatible with the VP predicated by an intransitive verb, whereas a durational PP such as *for an hour* is compatible with the intransitive VP. This is shown by the contrast between (50) and (51).

- (50) a. * Mary read in an hour.
 b. Mary read for an hour.
 (51) Mary read the book in an hour.

Assuming with Dowty (1979) and Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2005) among others that telicity is a property of VPs with both verbs and objects inclusive, the contrast shown in (50) and (51) can be readily accounted for: the VP in (50a) does not contain an object, and hence cannot occur with the PP denoting telic events. As Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2005) point out, a contrast analogous to the one in (50) and (51) is observable in Japanese. The Japanese telic PP corresponding to the English counterpart *in an hour* is *1 zikan-de* with the postposition *-de* attached to the noun. When the noun denoting time is used as a bare form, it expresses a durational event, which corresponds to *for an hour* in English. Now consider the following examples.

- (52) a. Taroo-ga 1-zikan-(*de) hasit-ta.
 Taro-NOM 1-hour-in run-PST
 ‘Taro ran for an hour/*in an hour.’
 b. Taroo-ga sono.hon-o 1-zikan-de yon-da.

Taro-NOM that-book-ACC 1-hour-in read-PST
 ‘Taro read that book in an hour.’

As shown by the contrast in (52), the telic PP *1 zikan-de* can modify the transitive VP, whereas it cannot modify the intransitive VP. In this respect, the interaction between the telicity of VP and its transitivity in Japanese patterns with English. Now let us turn to the constructions with potential predicates where dative subjects and nominative objects can occur. Here, it is important to note that the appearance of a dative subject hinges on the telicity of VP. This amounts to saying that the [Ergativity] feature responsible for the dative Case in the DSC is closely related to the aspectual property of the clause. This is shown by the examples below.

- (53) a. Hanako-*ni/ga 1-zikan-(*de) hasir-e-ru.
 Hanako-DAT/NOM 1-hour-in run-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can run for an hour.’
 b. Hanako-ni/ga sono-hon-ga 1-zikan-de yom-e-ru.
 Hanako-DAT/NOM that-book-NOM 1-hour-in read-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can read that book in an hour.’

As the example in (53a) demonstrates, the dative subject as well as the telic PP cannot occur with the intransitive VP lacking an object. By contrast, once the VP involves an object and denotes a telic event as shown in (53b), both the dative subject and the telic PP become available. It has been shown above that the interaction between dative Case and the aspectuality of the clause receives support from the investigation of the aspectual properties of VP: the telic PP can only occur with the transitive VP, which in turn indicates the interaction between the telic PP and the telicity of VP. Given that the dative subject patterns with the telic PP with respect to the context in which they can occur, it can be claimed that the dative subject reflects and is closely related to aspectual properties, particularly the telicity of VP, which lends support to the postulation that an [Ergativity] feature responsible for the dative Case in the DSC has aspectual properties.

4.2. Overt Object Shift and DAT-ACC

In this section we will investigate the instances where the assignment of dative Case becomes impossible due to some factors. Before we proceed, let us base our analysis of the vP structure for complex predicates including stative predicates taking the DSC on Takano’s (2003) prolepsis analysis. Takano proposes the biclausal structures like (55) for sentences with complex predicates as shown in (54).²⁷

²⁷ See Tada (1992), Koizumi (1995), Ura (2000) and Nomura (2005) for different analyses on Japanese complex predicates.

- (54) a. Taroo-ga eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-NOM English-NOM speak-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can speak English.’
 b. Taroo-ga eigo-o hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-NOM English-ACC speak-can-PRES
- (55) a. [TP [_{VP1} SUBJ (Taro-NOM)_i [_{VP1} OBJ (eigo-NOM)_j
 $V_1(-e)$ [_{VP2} PRO_i [_{VP2} pro_j V₂ (hanas)] v₂] v₁] T] C]
 b. [TP [_{VP1} SUBJ_i (Taro-NOM) [_{VP1} V₁ (-e) [_{VP2} PRO_i
 V_2 (hanas)] v₂] v₁] T] C]²⁸

(54a) and (54b) are examples of a potential sentence with a nominative object and an accusative object, respectively. (55a) and (55b) correspond to (54a) and (54b), respectively. Under Takano’s mechanism, a nominative object in (55a) occurs in a higher clause and binds a null *pro* in the lower clause, while an accusative object in (55b) is base-generated in a lower clause and Case-assigned by V₂. The nominative object may be Case-assigned by T, though Takano (2003) is not explicit about this. It is worth mentioning the merit of Takano’s analysis at this point. Consider the scope contrast between nominative objects and accusative objects. This is shown in (56).

- (56) a. Hanako-ga migime-dake-ga tumur-e-ru.
 Hanako-NOM right-eye-only-NOM close-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can only close her right eye.’
 (only > can / *can > only)
 b. Hanako-ga migime-dake-o tumur-e-ru.
 Hanako-NOM right-eye-only-ACC close-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can wink her right eye.’
 (can > only / ?* only > can)²⁹

In (56a) where the nominative object takes scope over the potential predicate *-(rare)e*, the only reading available is that it is only her right eye that Hanako can close. In contrast, (56b) where the potential predicate takes scope over the accusative object has the reading that Hanako can wink her right eye. This contrast can be straightforwardly accounted for by adopting Takano’s proposal: the nominative object in (56a) is in a higher position than the potential predicate expressed as V₁, whereas the position of the accusative object in (56b) is lower than the potential predicate. If the structure proposed by Takano is correct, the scope fact in (56) falls into place. Thus, we will adopt Takano’s biclausal structure for complex predicates throughout the paper, unless noted otherwise.

The first and obvious example of instances where dative Case assignment becomes impossible is a case of intransitive sentences with a dative subject as we saw earlier. This is given as in (57).

²⁸ In 4.2., I will offer an alternative as to the structure of accusative objects in complex predicates. Here, I tentatively adopt Takano’s structure in (58b).

²⁹ I will provide an example against the scope reading associated with (56b) later on.

- (57) Taroo-*ni/ga hayaku hasir-e-ru.
 Taro-DAT/NOM fast run-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can run fast.’

In (57), the absence of the object DP makes it impossible for the subject DP to participate in the Case competition, and hence no Superiority effects obtain. This readily accounts for the ungrammaticality of (57). As pointed out in the previous section, Mitsuikaido dialect and Kikai-jima dialect allow the subject to be assigned dative Case in unergative intransitives. We will return to this issue in the section 5. Another evidence comes from the case that I will call double dative constructions as shown in (58).

- (58) *Taroo-ni eigo-ni hanas-e-ru
 Taro-DAT English-DAT speak-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can speak English.’

This example shows that when the object as well as the subject is marked with dative Case, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This contrasts with double nominative constructions like (59).

- (59) a. Taroo-ga eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-NOM English-NOM speak-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can speak English.’
 b. Hanako-ga okaasan-ga bizin-da.
 Hanako-NOM mother-NOM beautify-COP
 ‘It is Hanako whose mother is beautiful.’

Now our analysis can account for the ungrammaticality of double dative constructions as in (58). Under the analysis being pursued, dative Case can be assigned to the DP₁ that is closest to the Probe. Since the valuation of dative Case is the result of the [Ergativity] feature located on the Probe, the minimality condition holds. Thus it is only the subject that is eligible for dative Case.

Then, let us turn to examine another interesting instance where the dative Case assignment fails due to some form of intervening effects. The Case array DAT-ACC is the one to be addressed here. As touched upon in the Introduction section, the dative subject cannot cooccur with the accusative object as shown in (60a).

- (60) a. * Taroo-ni eigo-o hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-DAT English-ACC speak-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can speak English.’
 b. Taroo-ga eigo-o hanas-e-ru.

- Taro-NOM English-ACC speak-can-PRES
 c. Taro-ni eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-DAT English-NOM speak-can-PRES

To derive a grammatical sentence, the subject needs to be assigned nominative Case with the object unchanged as in (60b), or the accusative object is changed to nominative object with the subject unchanged as in (60c). We will adopt the recent analysis of overt object shift³⁰ in Japanese proposed by Ochi (to appear) in order to explain the DAT-ACC pattern in the DSC.

Before we move on, let us briefly overview Ochi's proposal. Ochi proposes that the DP object in Japanese always moves overtly to the outer Spec of *v*P, developing Koizumi's (1995) work.

- (61) [_{TP} T...[_{vP} OBJ [SUBJ [_v [_{vP}... t_{OBJ}]]]]]
 (linear order irrelevant)

The overt object shift neatly accounts for the scope fact in control verbs such as *wasure*- 'forget'. When the verb functions as a Case assigning verb in a mono-clausal situation, the object always takes scope over the verb. This is shown in (62).

- (62) Taro-wa ringo-dake-o tabe-wasure-ta.
 Taro-TOP apple-only-ACC eat-forget-PAST
 'Taro forgot to eat only apples.'
 (only > forget, *forget > only)

If we assume that the accusative object shifts overtly to a higher position than the control verb, the scope relation can be accounted for. By employing the hypothesis of overt object shift, Ochi accounts for the so-called Transitivity Restriction (TR) observed in the Nominative-Genitive Conversion (NGC) of Japanese. The TR imposed on the NGC can be stated in such a way that accusative/dative objects cannot occur with the genitive subject. The examples of NGC and the TR are given in (63).

- (63) a. Hanako-ga hon-o kat-ta mise
 Hanako-NOM book-ACC buy-PAST store
 'The store where Taro bought a book'
 b. *Hanako-no hon-o kat-ta mise
 Hanako-GEN book-ACC buy-PAST store

Ochi conjectures that the ungrammaticality of the TR example in (63b) is due to the presence of the shifted object. This is schematized as below.

³⁰ See also Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1995) and McCloskey (2000) among others for object shift.

- (64) [D [TP T...[_{VP} hon-ACC(OBJ) [Hanako(SUBJ)[_v [_{VP}... t_{OBJ}]]]]]]
(Ochi to appear)

In Ochi (to appear), it is assumed that while D in a nominal clause is responsible for genitive Case, T is responsible for nominative Case. In his mechanism, the shifted object does not block the Agree relation between T and SUBJ due to the proposed notion of equidistance and the phase system in Chomsky (2001). On the other hand, once D, or the next higher phase head is introduced, the Phase Impenetrability Condition³¹ comes into play. Thus genitive Case cannot be valued.

Let us return to the DAT-ACC pattern in the DSC. Following Ochi's insight, I claim that overt shift of the accusative object takes place in stative sentences, contrary to what has been assumed in the literature. Recall the biclausal structures of the complex predicates proposed by Takano (2003) we have adopted. The object position differs, depending on whether the object is accusative or nominative. I repeat the structures of (55a) and (55b) as (65a) and (65b).

- (65) a. Taroo-ga eigo-ga hanas-e-ru.
Taro-NOM English-NOM speak-can-PRES
'Taro can speak English.'
[TP [_{VP1} SUBJ (Taro-NOM)_i [_{VP1} OBJ (eigo-NOM)_j
V₁ (-e) [_{VP2} PRO_i [_{VP2} pro_j V₂ (hanas)] v₂] v₁] T] C]
- b. Taroo-ga eigo-o hanas-e-ru.
Taro-NOM English-ACC speak-can-PRES
[TP [_{VP1} SUBJ_i (Taro-NOM) [_{VP1} V₁ (-e) [_{VP2} PRO_i
[_{VP2} OBJ (eigo-ACC) V₂ (hanas)] v₂] v₁] T] C]

We have seen that Takano's biclausal structures in (65a) and (65b) for the nominative object and the accusative object, respectively, can nicely account for the scope contrast between the nominative object and the accusative object in stative sentences without postulating any movement of the object: while the nominative object necessarily takes scope over the potential predicate, the accusative object always takes scope under the potential predicate. I share the judgment as to nominative objects with other previous analyses.³² Yet, I offer a new scope fact associated with accusative objects in stative sentences: the accusative object in question can actually take scope over the potential predicate. Consider again the scope contrast we observed earlier. This is repeated here as (66).

³¹ The Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)

The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky 2001:13)

³² It is worth pointing out that Nomura (2005) presents a different view on the nominative object in stative sentences. He claims that nominative object can also take scope under the potential predicate.

- (66) a. Hanako-ga migime-dake-ga tumur-e-ru.
 Hanako-NOM right-eye-only-NOM close-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can only close her right eye.’
 (only > can / *can > only)
- b. Hanako-ga migime-dake-o tumur-e-ru.
 Hanako-NOM right-eye-only-ACC close-can-PRES
 ‘Hanako can wink her right eye.’
 (can > only / ?* only > can)

In (66b), the reading in which the accusative object scopes over the potential predicate is hard to obtain, as the previous analyses have observed.³³ However, once we control for a certain context, the picture of scope facts will become different.

- (67) (Ziko-kara mikka-sika tat-te-i-nai node)
 (accident-since three-days-only pass-PAST-not-because)
 Taro-ga migime-dake-o tumur-e-ru
 Taro-NOM right-eye-only-ACC close-can-PRES
 no-ga genjyoo-da
 GEN-NOM the.present.situation-COP
 ‘Because only three days have passed since the accident, all Taro can do now is close his right eye.’
 (OK only > can)

The sentence in (67), combined with the given context, allows the interpretation in which the accusative object takes scope over the potential predicate. Moreover, another piece of evidence in favor of the accusative object shift comes from binding of *otagai* ‘each other’.

- (68) ? [TP Otagai_i-no tomodati-ga
 Each other-GEN friends-NOM
 [_{VP} [John to Mary]_i-o t_{SUBJ} nagur-e-ta]].
 John and Mary-ACC hit-can-PAST
 ‘Each other_i’s friends were able to hit [John and Mary]_i.’

That *otagai* can corefer with *John to Mary* ‘John and Mary’ indicates that at some stage of the derivation the accusative object *John to Mary* occurs in a higher position than the subject and binds it. If we follow Belletti and Rizzi (1988) in that the Condition A of the Binding theory can apply anywhere throughout the derivation, it can be argued that prior to raising of the subject in (68), the object overtly shifts to the outer Spec of *vP*, which is higher than an underlying position of the subject, and thus the binding relation obtains. These pieces of evidence strongly suggest that the accusative

³³ Koizumi (1995) also points out the ambiguity as to accusative objects in potential sentences, though he considers it orthogonal to his discussion.

object in stative sentences undergoes overt object shift in the same manner as the case of usual transitive sentences as Ochi (to appear) claims. However, there arises a question as to how one can explain the narrow scope of the accusative object in (66b). This leads us to assume that the narrow scope of the accusative object relative to the potential predicate may derive from reconstruction effects. In fact, as Boeckx (2003) and Ochi (to appear) recently have argued, the reconstruction of A-movement is possible, contrary to Chomsky (1995). If their analysis is correct, we can argue that the narrow scope of the accusative object in (66b) is due to reconstruction. Although we have nothing more to say about the reconstruction effects at this moment, it seems reasonable to speculate that the shifted object may reconstruct to its base position and thus yields a narrow scope reading in (66b), but not in (67). Nevertheless, the question remains unexplained why reconstruction is optional. I leave it for future research. All in all, it can be claimed that the accusative object can and must overtly shift to the outer Spec of vP in complex predicates once it is assigned Case.

With the possibility of overt object shift in complex predicates at hand, we are now ready to provide an explanation for why a DAT-ACC pattern is excluded in Standard Japanese. It can be claimed that the overtly shifted accusative object blocks dative Case assignment in the DSC. Consider the ungrammatical DAT-ACC pattern as in (69).

- (69) *Taroo-ni eigo-o umaku hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-DAT English-ACC well speak-can-PRES
 'Taro can speak English well.'

We can assign the structure like (70) to (69).

- (70) P (C-T) [_{TP} [_{vP} [Goal₂ (eigo-ACC)_i [Goal₁ (Taro-*DAT)
 [_{VP1} V] [_{VP2} PRO [_{VP2} t_i V₂] v₂] v₁] T] C]

The explanation runs as follows. The shifted object *eigo-o* is inactive with its Case value already assigned, and occupies the position between the Probe and the subject. Therefore the Probe cannot enter into a Valuation relation with the closest goal, namely the accusative object. Here, let us assume that the valuation of the [Ergativity] feature on the Probe is purely sensitive to structural closeness. Once the relevant valuation fails due to the existence of the intervening inactive Goal as in (70), the ability of the Probe to assign dative Case will be lost. What counts most for the Probe to assign dative Case is thus that it succeeds in valuation with the structurally closest Goal. Yet, it still needs to have its uninterpretable features including ϕ feature valued in some way. We will return to this issue shortly. Before we proceed, it is worth mentioning a case of multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian analogous to the one being addressed. Recall that multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian exhibits Superiority effects as shown below.

- (71) Bulgarian
 a. Koj kogo e vidjal?
 who whom is seen
 ‘Who saw whom?’
 b. *Kogo koj e vidjal?

(Bošković 1999: 159)

This indicates that the sentence becomes ill-formed unless the closest *wh*-phrase is attracted. Another interesting aspect of multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian we have not addressed is that the Superiority condition related to the [Wh] feature located on C affects only one *wh*-phrase, namely a closest *wh*-phrase.³⁴ This means that the subsequent movement does not conform to the Superiority condition, and its order will not matter. This is shown in the following examples.

- (72) a. Kogo kak e tselunal Ivan ?
 whom how is kissed Ivan
 ‘How did Ivan kiss whom?’
 b. ?*Kak kogo e tselunal Ivan?
 (73) a. Koj kogo kak e tselunal?
 who whom how is kissed
 ‘Who kissed whom how?’
 b. Koj kak kogo e tselunal?

(Bošković 1999: 165)

The example of (72b) shows that once the Probe, or C fails to attract the closest Goal *kogo*, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. In contrast, as long as the closest Goal is attracted as in (73), the order of the other two *wh*-phrases is not important. These pieces of data demonstrate that the multiple operations couched under Multiple Agree rest on whether the valuation of uninterpretable feature(s) on a Probe is successfully executed by the closest Goal. Once the relevant valuation is successfully done, the operation proceeds multiply, thereby making it possible for the Probe to enter into a Matching relation with the next Goal(s). In the case of Bulgarian *wh*-movement in (73), the Matching relation of the Probe with *kogo* and *kak* is made possible by the successful valuation with the closest *wh*-phrase, *koj*. Therefore, in the Japanese DSC and multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian the valuation of an [Ergativity] feature and a [Wh] feature, respectively, is only possible with the structurally closest Goal due to the Superiority Condition, and this successful valuation matters for the subsequent operation. This is again ensured by asymmetric valuation: When uninterpretable features are located on the Probe, Valuation of them is subject to the Minimality Condition.

Let us return to the ungrammatical DAT-ACC pattern of the DSC in question. We have observed that the ungrammatical pattern can be accounted for by the overt shift of the accusative object. Recall, however, that the sentence becomes grammatical if

³⁴ See also Pesetsky (2000) and Richards (2001) for the important relevant analyses.

the subject is assigned nominative Case as in (74).

- (74) Taroo-ga eigo-o umaku hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-NOM English-ACC well speak-can-PRES
 ‘Taro can speak English well.’

The question is why the nominative Case assignment to the subject becomes possible despite the failure of the dative Case assignment. If the valuation of nominative Case is irrelevant to the Superiority condition, there still arises a question as to whether the intervening inactive Goal, namely the accusative object will trigger the Defective Intervention Constraint (DIC) stated as below.

- (75) $\alpha > \beta > \gamma$, where $>$ is c-command, β and γ match the probe α , but β is inactive so that the effects of matching are blocked.

(Chomsky 2000)

We will seek to answer these two questions in the next section.

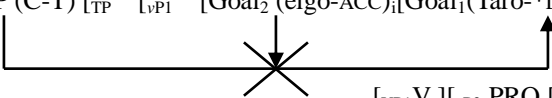
4.3. Towards a Reformulated DIC

The issue to be dealt with in this section concerns the situation in which the nominative Case assignment to the subject is allowed even when the dative Case assignment to the subject is impossible. In the first place, we will tackle the question as to why the assignment of nominative Case is possible while the assignment of dative Case to the closest Goal is blocked. Let us assume on conceptual grounds that nominative Case assignment may be employed as a last resort strategy³⁵ for derivation to converge. Recall that the asymmetric valuation of Probe’s uninterpretable features including its [Ergativity] feature and ϕ feature has failed due to the absence of an active Goal which is structurally closest to the Probe. The derivation would crash with uninterpretable features on the Probe and the Goal unvalued. Here, the nominative Case assignment will come in to salvage the derivation. Specifically, the Probe will seek the second closest Goal that is active with an unvalued feature. It should be noted, however, that this Agree relation is not characterized by asymmetric valuation and hence the assignment of dative Case may not take place. Rather, since this operation is a last resort strategy, it will be only executed to value the uninterpretable features of both the Probe and the Goal. Then nominative Case, which T is canonically responsible for, will be assigned to the subject as a result of the valuation. It may be possible

³⁵ It has been recently suggested in the literature that an auxiliary (and rescuing) operation may be employed when the primary operation fails for some reason. For example, Bobaljik and Wurmbbrand (2005) propose that movement is triggered when Agree is blocked due to the domain-related factor. McCloskey (2000) also proposes the introduction of a new lexical item as an auxiliary strategy when the first option, movement in his analysis, causes the derivation to crash.

to claim that the assignment of nominative Case as a last resort may be taken to be a conceptual reason for Shibatani's (1978) observation that every clause in Japanese must have a nominative phrase. This conjecture still awaits further research, nevertheless.

Now, the second question is whether the overtly shifted accusative object induces the DIC with respect to the assignment of nominative Case. We repeat the relevant structure for (76) here as (77).

- (76) Taro_o-*ni/ga eigo-o umaku hanas-e-ru.
 Taro-DAT/NOM English-ACC well speak-can-PRES
 'Taro can speak English well.'
- (77) P (C-T) [_{TP} [_{VP1} [_{Goal₂} (eigo-ACC)_i [_{Goal₁} (Taro-*DAT)_j]]]]]

 [_{VP1} V] [_{VP2} PRO [_{VP2} t_i V₂] v₂] v₁] T] C]

According to the DIC in (75), the Goal₂ in (77) that is rendered inactive since it is assigned accusative Case in the lower clause will serve as an intervener for the Agree relation between the Probe and Goal₁. However, the subject can be, in fact, assigned nominative Case. There arise two possibilities as to this puzzle. One is that the object shift in complex predicates may not occur and hence the configuration in (77) is incorrect. The other is that the DIC may not be invoked in the situations like (77). As for the first possibility, we demonstrated in 4.2. that the accusative object in complex predicates does overtly shift to the outer Spec of the higher vP on the basis of scope interpretation and binding of an anaphor *otagai*. Thus it seems feasible to argue that the first possibility should be ruled out. The possibility we are left with is that the DIC may not be invoked in the relevant context. In fact, we will entertain this possibility and propose that the DIC should not be invoked in the following context. Now we add a new proviso as shown in (72) to the DIC.

- (78) [_{ZP} Z [_{YP} Y [_{XP} DP₂ / Adjunct (**inactive**)_(i) [DP₁ (**active**) [X (t_i)]]]]]
 The DIC cannot be invoked when the DP₁ goal in the inner Spec/edge of XP has an unvalued feature.

Note in passing that we are only addressing the situations applying at the Spec/edge level of XP. We therefore follow the standard analysis in assuming that the DIC will be invoked in other instances. Our proposed proviso states that within the multiple Specs/edges of XP the inactive DP₂ may not serve as an intervener for the Agree relation with the DP₁ as long as DP₁ is active, that is, it has an unvalued feature.³⁶ This amounts to saying that the DIC should be relativized, depending on the syntactic "activeness" of DP₁. If this reformulated DIC is tenable, the Probe in (77) can access the

³⁶ Takahashi (1994) independently presents the analysis wherein the adjoined position of XP and the Spec position of XP should not be treated on a par through investigation of *Wh*-island constraints. Note incidentally that Kayne (1994) takes a specifier to be an adjoined phrase on independent grounds.

subject (Goal₁) and the valuation proceeds. As a result, nominative Case will be assigned to the subject. Importantly, some pieces of evidence in favor of (78) come from Breton and Icelandic.

- (79) Breton (a Celtic language)
 Dec'h neus roet anezhan Yann d'e verc'h
 yesterday has given it Yann to-his sister
 'Yesterday Yann gave it to his sister.'
 (McCloskey 1997: 223)
- (80) Icelandic
 Það hafa einhverjum strákk verið gefnar gjafir.
 there have-PL some boy-DAT been given presents-NOM
 'Some boy has been given presents.'
 (Holmberg 2002: 99)

Breton is a VSO language in its finite clause, yet Verb Second in the matrix clause (McCloskey 1997). Breton has object shift, and weak object pronouns move to the outer edge of VP in McCloskey's (ibid) term, or *vP* in our analysis. If we take the example in (79) to indicate that the shifted object *anezhan* occupies the position between the Probe, possibly T and the subject *Yann*, it turns out that this example corroborates our proposed proviso to the DIC in (78). Since the subject remains in situ, this predicts that the DIC will be triggered by the presence of the shifted inactive object, which has been arguably assigned accusative Case prior to object shift. However, as is evident in the agreement form of *neus*, it seems that T enters into an Agree relation with *Yann* despite the presence of the intervening inactive *anezhan*. This case can thus be analyzed as an instance that our proposed proviso can capture: since the subject *Yann* has an unvalued feature, or a Case feature, the Probe can Agree with the subject without being blocked by the inactive object. A similar account is in order with regard to Icelandic in (80). If we take the dative DP *strákk* as a quirky Case and hence inactive, this predicts that the intervening quirky DP will block the Agree relation between the Probe and the nominative object *gjafir*, contrary to fact. This can be accounted for by (78): since the nominative object is active with its Case feature unvalued, the inactive quirky DP may not induce the DIC.³⁷ Another interesting case in favor of the newly added proviso to the DIC comes from complementizer agreement in Hellendorn as shown in (81).

- (81) a. datte wiej noar't park loop
 that-PL we to.the park walk
 'that we are walking to the park'
- b. [_{CP} dat/*datte [_{TP} op den wärmsten dag van't joar
 that/that-PL on the warmest day of.the year
 [_{TP} wiejtegen oonze wil ewärkt hebt]]]
 we against our will worked have

³⁷ See Broekhuis (2007) for a different view on the DIC.

‘that on the warmest day of the year we have worked against our will’
(Carstens 2003: 398; *the brackets added*)

In (81a), the complementizer *datt* bears a complementizer agreement inflection *e*, which agrees with the subject *wiej*. Yet, when the intervening element appears, complementizer agreement fails as shown in (81b). Let us assume that the subject has raised to the Spec of TP after having its Case feature valued and the adjunct occupies the outer Spec of TP. We claim that this is an instance where the DIC is invoked, and hence Probe C fails to Agree with the subject due to the intervening adjunct. Our proposed proviso to the DIC in (78) will correctly explain why the DIC should apply here: since the subject as well as the adjunct is inactive with its uninterpretable feature valued³⁸, the inactive adjunct counts as an intervener and triggers the DIC. Importantly, we assume with Carstens (2003) that the adjunct has a Case feature so as to count as a possible Goal, though not uncontroversial. All of these pieces of evidence demonstrate that it is reasonable to propose the proviso to the DIC as in (78). If our analysis is on the right track, it can be claimed that the assignment of nominative Case to the subject is possible as a last resort strategy when the assignment of dative Case fails.

5 EXPLAINING VARIATION

It has been established in the preceding sections that Japanese, particularly Standard Japanese has the overt shift of the accusative object in complex predicates as well as in simple clauses. It has been also shown that the ungrammaticality of DAT-ACC in the DSC of Standard Japanese can be reducible to the presence of overt object shift: the shifted accusative object makes impossible the asymmetric valuation of an [Ergativity] feature located on a Probe. If our analysis is tenable, the question arises why the DAT-ACC pattern is allowed in Mitsukaido dialect. I claim that the relevant (micro-)parametric difference can be accounted for by advancing our proposal that dative Case in the Japanese DSC is assigned/valued structurally. Given the account of the DAT-ACC pattern in Standard Japanese developed in the previous sections, it is predicted that Mitsukaido dialect may not have overt object shift. Indeed, this is exactly what I will pursue in the rest of paper that follows. The empirical data in favor of my claim comes from possessor raising constructions in the dialect, though it only serves as somewhat indirect supporting evidence. We will also attempt to answer the question as to why ergative unergatives are permissible in Mitsukaido dialect and Kikajima dialect. Yet, with the paucity of the relevant data we will only speculate a possibility and leave it for my future research.

³⁸ Here we remain silent on exactly how the Case feature of the adjunct is valued since the debate on whether the adjunct has a Case feature at all has not been resolved successfully so far. We leave this issue for future research.

5.1. *The Absence of Overt Object Shift in Mitsukaido Dialect*

A cross-linguistically well-known possessor-raising can be also observed in Japanese. Possessor-raising is referred to as an operation in which a DP contained within another DP is moved out of the host DP. It is held that the moved DP and the host DP form an inalienable possession relation such as a body-part relation or a kin-ship relation. The possessor raising out of a subject DP is shown as below.

- (82) a. [Taroo-no asi-ga] nagai.
 Taro-GEN feet-NOM long-PRES
 ‘Taro’s feet are long.’
 b. Taroo-ga_i [t_i asi-ga] nagai.
 Taro-NOM feet-NOM long-PRES
- (83) a. [Hanako-no titioya-ga] hannsamu-da.
 Hanako-GEN father-NOM handsome-COP
 ‘Hanako’s father is handsome.’
 b. Hanako-ga_i [t_i titioya-ga] hannsamu-da.
 Hanako-NOM father-NOM handsome-COP

The (a) examples above represent a non-raising pattern, whereas the (b) examples are an instance of possessor-raising. Evidence for the raising analysis comes from the following examples.

- (84) a. * [_{DP} Mary-no *totemo* kami]-ga nagai
 Mary-GEN extremely hair-NOM long-be
 b. * [_{DP} John-no *sugoku* imooto]-ga utokusii.
 John-GEN strikingly sister-NOM beautiful
- (85) a. Mary-ga_k *totemo* [_{DP} t_k kami]-ga nagai.
 Mary-NOM extremely hair-NOM long-be
 ‘Mary’s hair is extremely long.’
 b. John-ga_k *sugoku* [_{DP} t_k imooto]-ga utokusii.
 John-NOM strikingly sister-NOM beautiful-be
 ‘John’s sister is strikingly beautiful.’

(Ura 1996: 101)

Notice that adverbs cannot intervene between the genitive DP and the possessed DP in (84), whereas they can between the nominative DP and the possessed DP in (85). This shows that the nominative DP has raised out of the DP to which the host DP belongs. Interestingly, possessor raising is disallowed in the case of accusative objects.

- (86) a. Taroo-ga Mary-no atama-o tatai-ta.
 Taro-NOM Mary-GEN head-ACC hit-PST

- ‘Taro hit Mary on the head.’
 b. * Taroo-ga Mary-o atama-o tatai-ta.
 Taro-NOM Mary-ACC head-ACC hit-PST

This phenomenon has been called the Double-*o* Constraint (DoC)³⁹ in the literature. Harada (1973) states the constraint as follows.

- (87) A derivation is marked as ill-formed if it terminates in a surface structure which contains two occurrences of NPs marked with *o* both of which are immediately dominated by the same VP-node.

(Harada 1973: 211)

Since the example in (86b) contains two accusative-marked objects in the VP domain in Harada’s terms, the sentence is ungrammatical. It is worth mentioning that the accounts of the DoC by other authors differ from Harada’s in some respects. For instance, Shibatani (1978) observes that more than one accusative object cannot appear in a clause. Hiraiwa (2008) proposes under the phase theory that multiple identical occurrences of the structural accusative Case value cannot be morphologically realized within a single Spell-Out domain at Transfer. In Hiraiwa’s account, a single Spell-Out domain is *v*P and CP, which is in accordance with Chomsky (2001, 2004, 2005). Nevertheless, we will not go into detail about the DoC and each author’s accounts since this will take us beyond the scope of the paper. Here, it is assumed that the domain in which DoC applies is *v*P⁴⁰, maintaining the insight of Harada (1973). I propose that the DoC is induced when two accusative DPs are adjacently present at the Specs/edges of *v*P. Note in passing that the DoC is held to be cancelled by way of movement including scrambling and clefting, or ellipsis (Harada 1973 and Shibatani 1978).⁴¹ Recall from the previous section that accusative objects in (Standard) Japanese are shown to undergo object shift to the outer Spec/edge of *v*P. If this analysis is

³⁹ In contrast to Japanese, many languages allow constructions in which two accusative objects appear. For instance, German and Korean are the languages of this kind.

- (i) German
 Er liess seinen Sohn den Brief abtippen.
 he-NOM let-PST his son-ACC the letter-ACC type
 ‘He let his son type the letter.’
 (ii) Korean
 Nae-ka ai-lil pap-il mæk-ke ha-æss-ta.
 I-NOM son-ACC meal-ACC eat- make-PST
 ‘I made my son eat meal.’

(Shibatani 1978: 362)

⁴⁰ This is not to deny Hiraiwa’s (2008) proposal that CP as well as *v*P is a domain for the DoC. Rather we will only deal with the DoC at a *v*P level in the interest of brevity. Hence, we will be silent on the CP domain of the DoC in this paper.

⁴¹ An example regarding the salvation of the DoC is shown below.

- (i) Scrambling
 a. ?? Taroo-ga omik-kiri Mary-o atama-o tatai-ta.
 Taro-NOM hard Mary-ACC head-ACC hit-PST
 ‘Taro hit Mary hard on the head.’
 b. Mary-o_i Taroo-ga omik-kiri t_i atama-o tatai-ta.
 Mary-ACC Taro-NOM hard head-ACC hit-PST.

correct, at least the host DP, namely *atama* in (86b) in a possessor raising construction raises to the edge of *vP* since it is an object in the clause. My proposal therefore rests on whether the possessor DP, namely *Mary* in (86b) raises out of the host DP just as possessor raising out of a subject DP as we saw above. Consider the examples in (88).

- (88) a. *Taroo-ga [_{DP} Mary-no omoikiri atama-o] tatai-ta.
 Taro-NOM Mary-GEN hard head-ACC hit-PST
 ‘Taro hit Mary hard on the head.’
 b. Taroo-ga [_{vP} Mary-o_i omoikiri [_{DP} t_i atama-o] tatai-ta].
 Taro-NOM Mary-ACC hard head-ACC hit-PST

The example in (88a) shows that a manner adverb *omoikiri* cannot intervene between the possessor DP marked with genitive Case and the host DP marked with accusative Case since the possessor DP may stay within the DP headed by *atama*. This is evident from the fact that the possessor DP is assigned genitive Case for which a head D of the DP is responsible, combined with the assumption that a manner adverb *omoikiri* appears at the edge of *vP* as touched upon in the footnote 41. In contrast, when the possessor DP is marked with accusative Case as shown in (88b), *omoikiri* can intervene between the two DPs. This contrast indicates that the accusative-marked possessor raises out of the DP headed by the host DP *atama* to the edge of *vP*.⁴² Consider also the following examples.

- (89) a. Taroo-ga omikiri Mary-no atama-o tatai-ta.
 Taro-NOM hard Mary-GEN head-ACC hit-PST
 b. *Taroo-ga omikiri Mary-o atama-o tatai-ta.
 Taro-NOM hard Mary-ACC head-ACC hit-PST

The contrast in (89) shows that when the possessor DP and the host DP, both of which are marked with accusative Case, move to the edge of *vP* and appear adjacently, the sentence becomes ill-formed. Important here is the contrast between (88b) and (89b). In the former, the accusative possessor DP raises over the adverb to the outermost edge of *vP*. The sentence is well-formed due to the cancellation of DoC. In contrast, the accusative possessor DP in the latter moves to the edge of *vP*, yet does not raise past the adverb⁴³, as a result of which both accusative DPs appear adjacently. The effects of the DoC obtain, therefore. To sum up, these examples demonstrate, com-

⁴² A word is in order with respect to the landing site of the accusative-marked possessor DP. The manner adverb *omik-kiri* can be assumed to appear at the edge of *vP*. Given that the accusative-marked possessor DP *Mary-o* does not precede the subject, it may not raise as far as to TP or a topic position. It thus seems plausible to assume that *Mary-o* moves to the edge of *vP*.

⁴³ Since Japanese is a language in which a free word order is allowed, the position of the DP relative to the adverb is quite flexible.

- (i) a. John-ga hayaku hon-o yon-da.
 John-NOM fast book-ACC read-PST
 ‘John read the book fast.’
 b. John-ga hon-o hayaku yon-da.
 John-NOM book-ACC fast read-PST

bined with the observation in the previous section that accusative objects undergo overt object shift to the edge of ν P, that an accusative possessor DP as well as an accusative host DP raises to the edge of ν P. More importantly, it has been shown that the DoC is invoked when two accusative DPs appear adjacently at the Specs/edges of ν P. The proposal as to the DoC developed above can be schematized as below.

(90) The Double-*o* Constraint at the ν P level

*[ν P DP₁-ACC DP₂-ACC [ν P [_{DP} t_{DP1} [D t_{DP2}]] V] ν]

Let us now turn to Mitsukaido dialect. One of the important discoveries about the dialect by Sasaki (2004) concerns possessor raising. In this dialect, the DoC is not invoked even when two accusative DPs appear in a possessor raising construction. The dialect has two accusative Case markers, depending on the animacy of the object. When the object is animate, it is marked with *-godo*. When it is inanimate, it is marked with a null Case marker. The examples of possessor raising in the dialect are shown below.

- (91) a. ano seNse: [kodomogodo] buQ-ta.
 that teacher-NOM child-ACC hit-PST
 ‘That teacher hit the child.’
 b. ano seNse: [kodomonga hoQpeda] buQ-ta.
 that teacher-NOM [child-GEN cheek]-ACC hit-PST
 ‘That teacher hit the child on the cheek.’
 c. ano seNse: [kodomogodo] [hoQpeda] buQ-ta.
 that teacher-NOM child-ACC cheek-ACC hit-PST
 ‘That teacher hit the child on the cheek.’

(Sasaki 2004: 53)

Here it is crucial that in (91c) where the raised possessor DP *kodomogodo* and the host DP *hoQpeda* are both marked with accusative Case, the sentence is still grammatical.⁴⁴ This contrasts sharply with the counterpart of Standard Japanese examined above. Now let us try to attribute this difference to a deeper syntactic difference between the two variants of Japanese. If the DoC in (90) is correct, the grammaticality of (91c) can be accounted for by assuming that in Mitsukaido dialect the object does not undergo overt object shift when assigned accusative Case. In the case of (91c), the object in the clause is *hoQpeda* ‘cheek’. In our account, *hoQpeda* does not raise to the

⁴⁴ One might argue that the absence of the DoC in this dialect can be attributed to the fact that the two DPs bear different accusative Case markers. This is compatible with a so-called syntactic OCP effect (Mohan 1994 and Ackema 2001). However, as the following example shows, morphological appearance alone does not suffice to determine the grammaticality of the sentence.

(i) * [are-godo] [kodomu] jobaQ-ta.
 he-ACC child-ACC call-PST
 ‘(I) called his child.’

(Sasaki 2004: 57)

Nevertheless, it takes a closer investigation into the phonological and morphological aspect of the dialect in question to draw a decisive conclusion as to the DoC constraint.

edge of νP , whereas the possessor DP *kodomo-godo* may raise out of the DP headed by the host DP *hoQpeda*. Although no direct evidence in favor of raising of the possessor DP in this dialect is now available to me, it seems possible to assume that in possessor raising constructions a possessor DP crosslinguistically raises out the DP within which it originates^{45,46}, possibly in order to check the EPP feature or some strong feature. If this analysis is tenable, it can be claimed that the two accusative DPs in (91c) do not appear at the Specs/edges of νP . Thus the DoC effects do not obtain, according to (90).

With the observation that accusative objects in Mitsukaido dialect may not undergo overt object shift in mind, we are now ready to explain why the DAT-ACC pattern in the DSC of Mitsukaido dialect is possible.

- (92) ore-nganja e:ngo wagaN-ne.
 I-DAT (EXP) English-ACC understand-can-not
 ‘I cannot understand English.’

(Sasaki 2004: 91)

Recall that the pattern is disallowed in Standard Japanese because the shifted accusative object makes impossible the asymmetric valuation of dative Case. It can be argued, combined with the discussion made so far, that the DAT-ACC pattern is allowed in Mitsukaido dialect because the accusative object in the dialect does not undergo object shift, thereby setting the stage for asymmetric valuation of dative Case. In other words, since the accusative object does not intervene between a Probe and the subject DP, the Probe can access the closest active DP, namely the subject DP. This is illustrated as below.

- (93) P (C-T) [_{TP} [_{VP1} Goal₁(ore-DAT) [_{VP1} V] [_{VP2} PRO [_{VP2} Goal₂
 (e:ngo-ACC) V₂] v₂] v₁] T] C]

Although the object is assigned accusative Case in the lower νP_2 , it is still accessible to the Probe C-T if it is assumed that the complex predicates νP_1 and νP_2 do not constitute a strong phase or a domain of some sort⁴⁷ due to the low transitivity of stative predicates compared to other transitive predicates. If this is on the right track, the Superiority effects obtain, yielding the situation in which the subject DP closest to the Probe is assigned dative Case due to asymmetric valuation induced by the [Ergativity] feature located on the Probe. All in all, the DAT-ACC pattern is allowed in Mitsukaido dialect because asymmetric valuation of dative Case is made possible by the absence

⁴⁵ Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) has recently shown that a possessor dative in German undergoes raising out of the DP within which it originates.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that even if the possessor DP in question does not raise, our analysis may not be refuted: our proposed constraint in (84) comes into play only when the two accusative DPs appear at the edges of νP . Therefore even if both the accusative possessor DP and the accusative host DP in Mitsukaido dialect do not undergo overt object shift, the absence of the DoC effect will be explained.

⁴⁷ Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) and Carstens (2003), following them, claim that deletion-marked Case is accessible to the next phase as long as it is a strong phase. We are assuming their claim here.

of overt object shift. Thus it can be claimed that the micro-parametric difference between Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect stems from the presence/absence of overt object shift.⁴⁸

5.2. *Speculation and Further Issues: Ergative Unergatives in Mitsukaido Dialect and Kikai-jima Dialect*

As we saw in 3.2., Mitsukaido dialect and Kikai-jima dialect pattern with Basque and Hindi in that the Experiencer Case in the former dialect and the ergative Case in the latter appear in unergative intransitives. Following Bobaljik (1993), we have called these types of ergativity “ergative unergatives”. It was also observed that the dative Case in the DSC of Standard Japanese cannot appear in any intransitive sentences. Standard Japanese patterns in this respect with Yup’ik, which does not permit ergative unergatives. In this section, we will provide a speculation about the difference between Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect (and Kikai-jima dialect) with regard to possibility of ergative unergatives. With the paucity of the relevant linguistic data of the two dialects at moment, our speculation should be taken to be a preliminary sketch.

Bobaljik (1993) addresses the distinction between Basque and the Eskimo languages such as Yup’ik with respect to the possibility of ergative unergatives. Bobaljik claims that underlying transitivity is maintained for syntax and morphology in unergative intransitives of Basque. On the other hand, he argues that in the Eskimo languages the internal argument/the object of unergative predicates is incorporated. In a nutshell, unergative predicates in Basque take two arguments at some level of derivation due to the absence of incorporation, whereas unergative predicates in the Eskimo languages are one-place predicates because of incorporation. Although we refer the interested reader to Bobaljik (1993) for more details, the gist of his proposal is that the difference between Basque and the Eskimo languages can be reduced to the parameterization of incorporation.

If we are to apply Bobaljik’s analysis to our discussion, it can be assumed that the distinction between Standard Japanese on the one hand and Mitsukaido dialect and Kikai-jima dialect on the other derives from the presence/absence of incorporation of objects. However, since no relevant data of the dialects is available to me, it is impossible to develop a concrete discussion here. Given the analysis in 5.1., I speculate nonetheless that null objects in unergative predicates of Mitsukaido dialect do not incorporate, thereby making ergative unergatives possible: the Superiority effects obtain if the null object does not incorporate and remains accessible to a Probe, as a result of which the assignment of Experiencer Case is made possible by asymmetric valuation. This is because the absence of overt object shift in Mitsukaido dialect may be related to the immovability of objects in general. It may be possible, of course, that

⁴⁸ If we follow Chomsky (1995: 169–170) and van Koppen (2005) among others in assuming that the locus of variation resides in the lexicon and lexical items, our analysis can be restated as follows: The light verb *v* of Standard Japanese possesses the EPP feature or the OCC feature that induces overt movement of object, whereas the counterpart of Mitsukaido dialect does not.

incorporation and object shift are entirely different operations and thus subject to different constraints. However, I believe that this speculation is worth pursuing in the future because it may turn out that the parameter, namely the incorporation parameter, more generally, the parameter as to object movability is responsible for the microparametric difference between Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect (and possibly Kikai-jima dialect) just as observable in the difference between Basque and the Eskimo languages. It is necessary in this respect that the investigation of not only the dialects mentioned in this paper and but various dialects spoken in Japan and ergative languages is conducted more closely from a syntactic viewpoint.

6 CONCLUSION

It has been claimed throughout the paper that the dative Case in the Japanese DSC is assigned/valued structurally under the Agree system. We have argued in this respect that the mechanism behind the dative Case assignment in the Japanese DSC can be treated in the same vein as multiple *wh*-movement found in Bulgarian: asymmetric valuation is responsible for both phenomena. We have thus attempted to show that dative Case assignment and multiple *wh*-movement can be unified under the Agree system characterized by asymmetric valuation. In the course of discussion it has been also demonstrated that the accusative objects in Japanese complex predicates undergo overt object shift. This discovery has enabled us to account for the difference between Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect with respect to the possibility of a certain Case array, DAT-ACC. It has been revealed that Mitsukaido dialect does not have overt object shift, thereby making possible the asymmetric valuation of dative Case even in the presence of an accusative object. Although we have attempted to treat the dative Case in the Standard Japanese DSC and the Experiencer Case in Mitsukaido dialect on a par with ergative Case, we have left it for my future research to investigate how our mechanism works for other ergative languages. A closer inspection of Japanese dialects will be also required in the near future.

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