# *Multiple Case Valuation and Its Implications*

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3. Multiple Case Valuation via Merge: Japanese
3.1 Introduction

(1) The system of multiple Case valuation via Merge is schematically illustrated below.
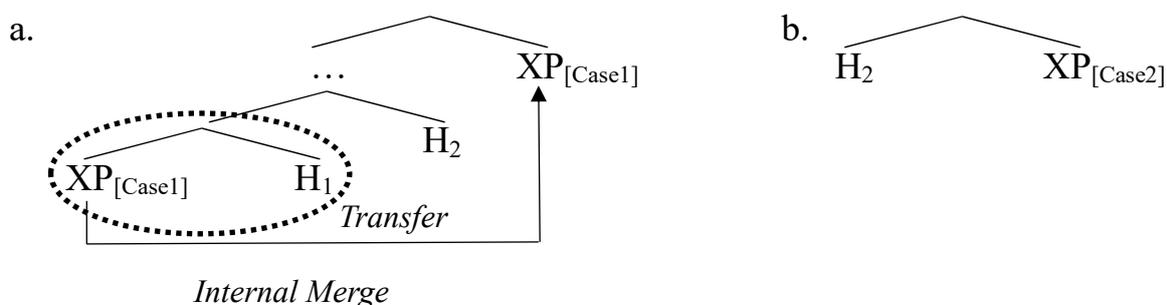
(2) **(i)** XP is merged with H_1 (a lexical head) and it undergoes IM into the edge of H_2 (a phase head) at Transfer. (When the complement of H_2 undergoes Transfer, the lower XP receives a Case value.)
(ii) The higher XP becomes a sister of H_2 (a phase head) when its "complement(s)" undergo(es) Transfer. (Since the higher XP is still in narrow syntax, it remains active and retains the ability to receive another Case value.)
(iii) The higher XP receives another Case value (when it undergoes Transfer).

(3) I will argue that Japanese instantiates all the three possibilities shown below.

(i)   **Case₂**+Case₁: The *last* Case value received is realized morphologically.
(ii)   Case₂+**Case₁**: The *first* Case value received is realized morphologically.
(iii) **Case₂**+**Case₁**: All the Case values received are realized morphologically.

3.2 Japanese *Tough*-Constructions
3.2.1 Inoue (1978, 2004)

(4) Inoue (1978, 2004) classifies Japanese *Tough*-Constructions (TCs) into four types.

   a. Gakusei-ni-wa   kono zisyo-   ga   tukai-yasu-i.   (Type I)
      students for-TOP   this dictionary-NOM   use-easy-PRES
      'This dictionary is easy for students to use.'

   b. Watasi-wa   kega-o   site-ite,   aruki-niku-i.   (Type II)
      I   TOP   hurt-ACC   get   walk-hard-PRES

'I hurt my leg, and it is hard for me to walk.'

c. Nuno-ga   atukute,   hari-ga   toori-niku-i.   (Type III)
   cloth-NOM   thick   needle-NOM   pierce-hard-PRES
   (Lit.) *'The cloth is thick, and the needle is hard to pierce it through.'

d. Eriito-wa   tuyoi zasetukan-   o   aziwai-yasu-i.   (Type IV)
   elites-TOP   strong sense of frustratioin-ACC   feel tend to-PRES
   'Members of the elite tend to have a strong sense of frustration.'

(Inoue 2004:76-86)

➢ **Type I**:   The embedded verb is [+self-controllable].
   Expresses the speaker's judgment.

Type II: The embedded verb is [+self-controllable].
           Expresses the subject's judgment or feeling.

Type III: The embedded verb is [-self-controllable].
           Expresses the speaker's judgment.

Type IV: The embedded verb is [-self-controllable].
           Expresses the speaker's judgment.
           Carries the meaning of 'tend to'.

(5) Let me focus on Type I and Type IV. As for Type I, Inoue (2004) proposes the following syntactic structure.

a. Gakusei-nitotte-wa kono zisyo-ga   tukai-yasu-i.
   pupil for-TOP   this dictionary-NOM   use-easy-PRES
   'For pupils, this dictionary is easy to use.'

b.

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                        CP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            TopP                  C'
                          ┌───────┴────────┐
                         FP                C'
                                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                                   TP               C
                                    │
                                   T'
                              ┌─────┴─────┐
                             AP           T
                              │           │
                             A'           i
                    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            Gakusei_i-nitotte          A'
                              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                             vP                    A
                       ┌──────┴──────┐             │
                     PRO_i           v'          yasu-
                              ┌───────┴───────┐
                             VP                v
                      ┌───────┴───────┐
                     NP               V
                      │               │
                 kono zisyo         tukai-
```

(CP = complementizer phrase)
(C = complementizer phrase)
(TopP = topic phrase)
(FP = focus phrase)

(TP = tense phrase)

(AP = adjectival phrase)

(A = adjective)

(vP = a verb phrase with the capacity of projecting an external argument)

(VP = a verb phrase immediately dominating the object)
(V = verb)

(Inoue 2004: 102)
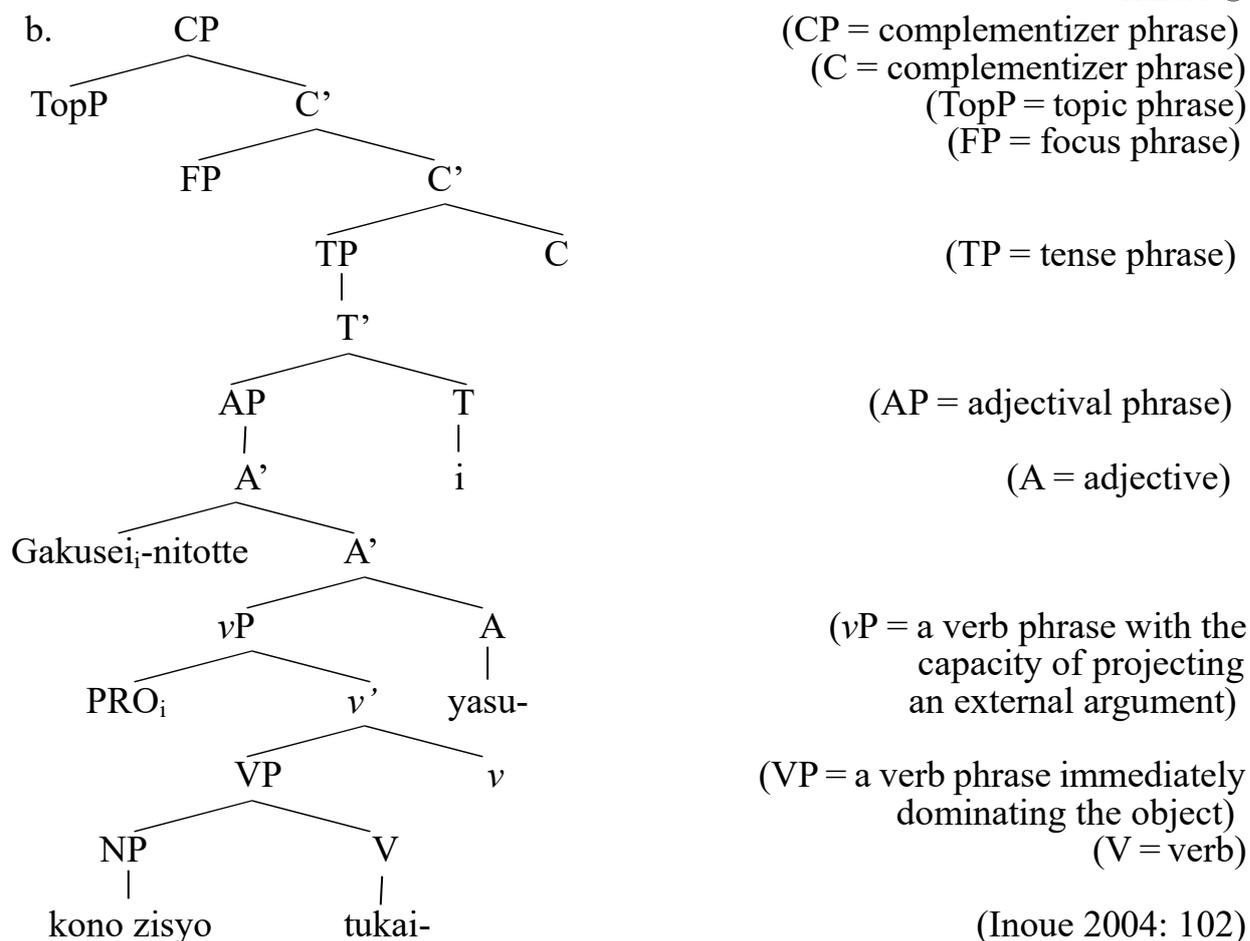
(6) **(i)** The embedded verb *tukai-* 'use' is first raised to *v* and then raised and incorporated with the adjective *yasu-* 'easy'. The result is the complex adjective *tukai-yasu-* 'use-easy'.
(ii) The complex adjective *tukai-yasu-* 'use-easy', being a stative predicate, assigns nominative Case to its object *kono zisyo* 'this dictionary' (cf. Kuno 1973).
(iii) The *nitotte* phrase is raised to the topic position and marked with *wa*.

(7) As for Type IV, Inoue (2004) proposes the following syntactic structure.

  a. Awatemono-wa   ziko-o   okosi-yasu-i.
    hasty people-TOP   accident-ACC   cause tend to-PRES
    'Hasty people tend to cause accidents.'

b.

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                        CP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            TopP                  C'
                        ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                       FP                   C'
                              ┌─────────────┴───────┐
                             TP                      C
                    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                   AP                   T'
             ┌──────┴──────┐            │
            vP             A'           T
       ┌─────┴─────┐       │            │
      NP           v'      A            i
       │      ┌────┴────┐  │
   awatemono VP         v  yasu-
         ┌────┴────┐
        NP         V
         │         │
       ziko      okosi-
```
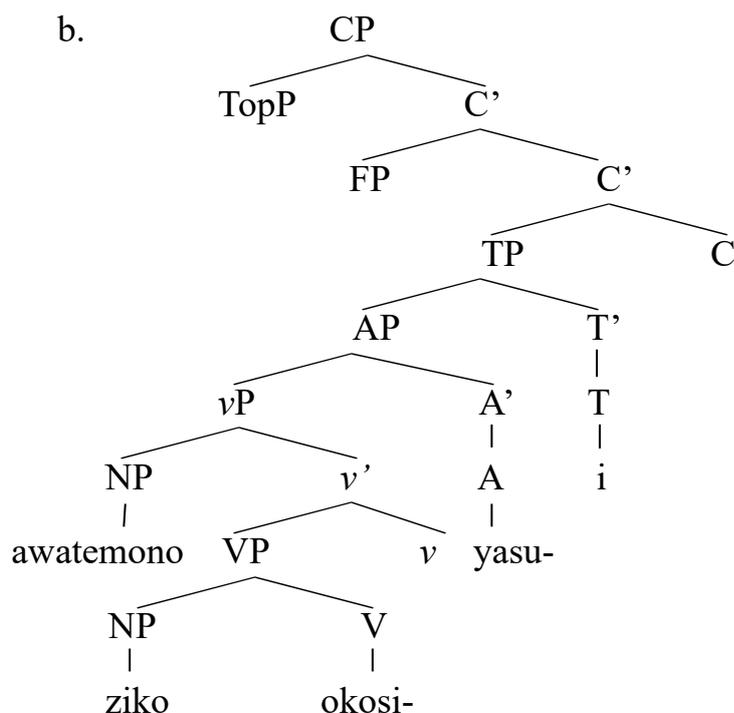
(Inoue 2004: 106)

(8) **(i)** The complement verb is raised and incorporated with the *tough* morpheme *in morphology*.) That is, verb-raising does not take place in syntax.
(ii) Since verb-raising does not take place in syntax, the embedded verb assigns accusative Case to its object.

(9) **Two problems:**

(i) Under Inoue's (2004) analysis, the object in Type I can never be assigned accusative Case since the embedded verb is *first* raised to *v* and then raised and incorporated with the adjective *yasu-* 'easy'.

However, the object in Type I can be assigned accusative Case.

a. Kono pen-ga   kodomo-nitotte   **kyappu-o**   hazusi-yasu-i.
   this pen-NOM   child-for   cap-ACC   pull off-easy-PRES
   'It is this pen whose cap is easy for children to pull off.'

b. Taro-ga   (Hanako-nitotte)   **okane-o**   watasi-niku-i.
   Taro-NOM   Hanako-for   money-ACC   hand-difficult-PRES
   (Lit.) 'Taro is difficult (for Hanako) to hand some money.'

(ii) Under Inoue's (2004) analysis, the object in Type IV can never be assigned nominative Case since the embedded verb does not raise in syntax.

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However, the object in Type IV can be assigned nominative Case.[1]

    a. ?Awatemono-wa   ziko-**ga**   okosi-yasu-i.
       hasty people-TOP   accident-NOM   cause tend to-PRES
       'Hasty people tend to cause accidents.'

    b. Awatemono-wa   kooitta ziko-**ga**   okosi-yasu-i.
       hasty people-TOP   this kind of accident-NOM   cause tend to-PRES
       'Hasty people tend to cause this kind of accident.'

3.2.2 Saito (1982)

(10) Saito (1982) argues that "focus" is freely base-generated with nominative Case in Japanese and that the nominative element in Type I serves as the "focus" element based on the following configurations.[2]

    a. S_1 b.   S
       FOCUS S_2 SUBJECT   VP
       [NOM.]   [NOM.]   (Saito 1982: 20)
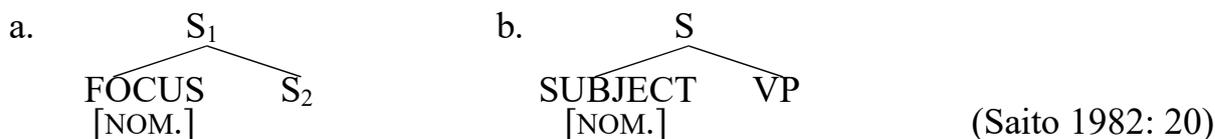
(11) Saito (1982) observes that the nominative element in Type I does not "scramble" with the object of the sentence.

    a. Suzuki_i-ga   Tanaka_j-nitotte   [PRO_j [e_i] wairo-o   tukam-ase-yasu-i]
       Suzuki-NOM   Tanaka-for   bribe-ACC   take-cause-easy-PRES
       'For Tanaka, Suzuki is easy to bribe.'

    b. Tanaka-nitotte Suzuki-ga wairo-o tukam-ase-yasu-i
    c. ??Suzuki-ga wairo-o Tanaka-nitotte tukam-ase-yasu-i
    d. ?*Tanaka-nitotte wairo-o Suzuki-ga tukam-ase-yasu-i
    e. ?*Wairo-o Tanaka-nitotte Suzuki-ga tukam-ase-yasu-i
    f. ?*Wairo-o Suzuki-ga Tanaka-nitotte tukam-ase-yasu-i   (Saito 1982: 37)

(12) The following examples show that the "focus" element *John* cannot be scrambled with the arguments of S_2. In this respect, the nominative element in Type I behaves like the "focus" element.

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[1] Although Inoue (1976) regards examples like (9iia) as unacceptable, a slight lexical adjustment improves the acceptability as shown in (9iib).

[2] Saito (1982), somewhat tentatively, calls elements such as *nihon-ga* in (i) 'focus with nominative Case' and does not give any clear definition of it.
(i) Nihon-ga   dansei-ga tanmei   desu.
   Japan-NOM male-NOM short-life-span copula
   'It is in Japan that men have a short life span.'   (Saito 1982:5; see also Kuno 1973:67)

a. [$_{S1}$ John-ga   [$_{S2}$ otooto-ga   buturi-o   benkyosite-iru]]
      John-NOM   brother-NOM   physics-ACC   studying
      'It is John whose brother is studying physics.'

b. ?John-ga   buturi-o otooto-ga benkyosite-iru
c. ?*Buturi-o John-ga otooto-ga benkyosite-iru
d. *Otooto-ga   John-ga   buturi-o   benkyosite-iru

(13) Saito (1982) insightfully observes that there is a marked contrast between Type I and Type III=IV with respect to the possibility of scrambling.[3]

<u>Type III=IV: Scrambling is quite free</u>:

a. Eriito-ga   soosita   zasetukan-o   aziwai-yasu-i.
   elite-NOM   that kind of frustration-ACC   feel-easy-PRES
   'Elites easily feel that kind of frustration.'

b. ??Soosita   zasetukan-o   eriito-ga   aziwai-yasu-i.[4]   (Saito 1982: 37)

(14) Saito (1982) concludes from this that the nominative constituent in Type III=IV is not the "focus" element but the subject of S (i.e., (10b)) and conjectures that at least Type III=IV does not require the "focus" element.

(15) Saito (1982) further argues that in Type I the "focus" element is *obligatory*, as the unacceptability of (15b) indicates.

a. Kono hon-ga$_i$ John$_j$-nitotte   [PRO$_j$ [e$_i$] yomi-yasu-i].
   this book-NOM   John-for   read-easy-PRES
   'This book is easy for John to read.'

b. *John$_j$-nitotte   [PRO$_j$ kono hon-o   yomi-yasu-i].
                                  -ACC   (Saito 1982: 43)

(16) Saito (1982) speculates that when the complement predicate is [+self-controllable], the TC requires the "focus" constituent with nominative Case and that it is, for

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[3] Saito (1982) argues that it is unnecessary to distinguish between Type III and Type IV because the relevant distinction is pragmatic.

[4] The judgment is Saito's (1982). However, to my ear, (13b) is perfectly acceptable.

some reason, interpreted to be a "property statement" about the required element.[5]

(17) **<u>Saito's (1982) observations</u>:**

    <u>Type I</u>: The "focus" element with nominative Case is obligatory (for some reason).

    <u>Type III=IV</u>: The "focus" element with nominative Case is not obligatory.

3.2.3 External Arguments and Accusative Case

(18) I would like to show that the embedded transitive verb in Japanese TCs projects an external argument and assigns accusative Case.

(19) Since Kuno (1973), it has been widely known that the reflexive *zibun* 'self' is "subject-oriented."[6]

    Ken_i-ga $Hanako_j$-ni $zibun_{i/*j}$-no   hon-o   age-ta.
    Ken-NOM   Hanako-DAT   self-GEN   book-ACC   give-PAST
    (Lit.) 'Ken gave Hanako self's book.'

(20) Given the subject-orientation property of the reflexive *zibun* 'self', consider the following example (cf. Saito 1982, Montalbetti et al. 1982).

    Ken_i-ga $Hanako_j$-nitotte $zibun_{*i/j}$-no   himitu-o   hanasi-niku-i.
    Ken-NOM   Hanako-for   self-GEN   secret-ACC   talk to-difficult-PRES
    (Lit.) 'Ken is difficult for Hanako to talk to about self's secret.'

(21) The reflexive *zibun* 'self' refers to the complement of *nitotte* 'for' (i.e., *Hanako*).[7] That is, the complement of *nitotte* qualifies as a "subject" in the relevant sense. In

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[5] Saito's (1982) explanation for the "property reading" goes as follows. Consider (i) and (ii).

(i) John-ga   musuko-ga   gakusei-desu.
   John-NOM   son-NOM   student-copula
   'John is such that this son is a student.'

(ii) ?*John-ga   musuko-ga   odoroi-ta.
    John-NOM   son-NOM   surprise-PAST
    'John is such that his son was surprised.'   (Saito 1982: 9)

When the "focus" element (i.e., the first nominative-marked phrase) appears in a sentence, it is usually the case that some kind of "property reading" is imposed on it. Saito (1982) states that what constitutes a "property reading" about John is any sentence that can be a reply to a request for information about John and that when someone says that he wants to know about John, we may tell him that John's son is a student, but we would normally not say that John's son was surprised yesterday.

[6] I tentatively assume that the relevant notion of "subject" is related to an external argument of *v* (cf. Saito 2009).

[7] Toru Ishii reports that the reflexive *zibun* 'self' in this example can also refer to *Ken*. But the important point here is that *zibun* 'self' refers to the complement of *nitotte* 'for'.

order to account for this, <u>I assume, following Inoue (2004), that the complement of *nitotte* 'for', which belongs to the matrix sentence, obligatorily controls PRO in the embedded "Spec*v*P."</u>

(22) I will further show that the external argument of the embedded transitive verb is always projected. Taguchi and Niinuma (2009) present three pieces of evidence.

(i) The reflexive *zibun* 'self' can properly be licensed by the missing subject of the embedded verb.

Zibun-no   hon-ga   yomi-yasu-i.
Self-GEN   book-NOM   read-easy-PRES
(Lit.) 'Self's book is easy to read.'   (Taguchi and Niinuma 2009: 1878)

(ii) Subject honorification is applicable.

Kono hon-ga   o-yomi-ni-nari-yasu-i.
this book-NOM   SH-read-SH-easy-PRES
'This book is easy to read.'   (Taguchi and Niinuma 2009: 1879)

(iii) The subject of the *nagara* 'while' clause is controlled by the "subject" of the matrix clause (cf. Ura 1999, 2000).

a. [PRO$_i$ Tanosimi-nagara (demo)], kono hon-ga   PRO$_i$ yomi-yasu-i.
        enjoying-while (even)   this book NOM   read-easy-PRES
   (Lit.) 'While enjoying, this book is easy to read.'
                    (slightly modified from Taguchi and Niinuma 2009: 1879)

b. [PRO$_{k/*i}$ ongaku-o   kiki-nagara],   John$_k$-ga   Mary$_i$-o   damasi-ta.
    PRO   music-ACC listen.to-while   John-NOM   Mary-ACC   cheat-PAST
    'While PRO$_{k/*i}$ listening to music, John$_k$ cheated Mary$_i$.   (Ura 2000: 99)

(23) We can conclude that the external argument (i.e., PRO) is projected even though it appears to be missing.

(24) We have already seen that in Type I the embedded transitive verb can assign accusative Case.

a. Kono pen-ga   kodomo-nitotte **kyappu-o**   hazusi-yasu-i.
   this pen-NOM   child-for   cap-ACC   pull off-easy-PRES
  'It is this pen whose cap is easy for children to pull off.'

b. Taro-ga   (Hanako-nitotte)   **okane-o**   watasi-niku-i.
　Taro-NOM   Hanako-for   money-ACC   hand-difficult-PRES
　(Lit.) 'Taro is difficult (for Hanako) to hand some money.'

(25) We can further show that the embedded transitive verb assigns an external argument and assigns accusative Case at the same time.

(i) The reflexive *zibun* 'self' + accusative Case

Kono-kaizyoo-(de)-ga   Guurudo-nitotte **zibun**-no **sonata-o**   ensousi-yasu-i.
this concert hall-(at)-NOM Gould-for   self-GEN sonata-ACC   play-easy-PRES
(Lit.) 'It is at this concert hall that it is easy for Gould to play self's sonatas.'

(ii) Subject honorification + accusative Case

Sono yuubinkyoku-kara-ga   Yamada-sensei-nitotte   **kozutumi-o**
that post office-from-NOM   Yamada-Professor-for   package-ACC
o-okuri-**ni-nari**-yasu-i.
SH-send-SH-easy-PRES
(Lit.) 'It is from that post office that it is easy for Prof. Yamada to send packages.'

(iii) The *nagara* 'while' clause + accusative Case

Me-o   toji-**nagara** (demo), kono-hon-ga   **peeji-o**   mekuri-yasu-i.
eye-ACC   close-while (even)   this book-NOM   page-ACC   flip through-PRES
(Lit.) 'While closing (your) eyes, this book is such that it is easy to flip through the pages (of it).'

3.2.4 *O-Ga*/*Ni-Ga* Stacking
(26) Now I show that accusative Case (-*o*) and nominative Case (-*ga*) can be stacked in Japanese TCs (see section 3.2.6).[8,9]

Atarasii ryuukoo-**o**-dake-**ga**   wakamono-nitotte   oikake-yasu-i.
new fashion-ACC-only-NOM   young people-for   follow-easy-PRES
'Only the new fashion is easy for young people to follow.'

(27) I also show that dative Case (-*ni*) and nominative Case (-*ga*) can be stacked in

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[8] I would like to thank Ryoichiro Kobayashi for bringing this kind of example to my attention.

[9] I will not enter into the detailed syntactic structure of nominal phrases like NP-Acc-*dake*-Nom, for want of better understanding of nominal-internal syntax. For some relevant discussion, see Aoyagi (2006).

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Japanese TCs (see section 3.3.3).[10]

Hanako-**ni**-dake-**ga**   Taro-nitotte   hon-o   age-yasu-i.
Hanako-DAT-only-NOM   Taro-for   book-ACC   give-easy-PRES
'Only Hanako is easy for Taro to give some books.'

(28) It is worth pointing out here that multiple Case valuation is also found in Korean TCs (cf. Gerdts and Yoon 1989, Yoon 1996).

    a. [IP e [VP Chelswu$_i$- eykey [PRO$_i$ New York-eyse   Seoul-lo   ka-ki]-ka
             Chelswu-DAT   New York-from   Seoul-to   go-NML-NOM
    Sangtanghi   elyep-ta]]
    very   difficult-DECL
    'It is very difficult for Chelswu to go to Seoul from New York.'

    b. [IP NY-**(eyse)-ka**$_j$ [VP Chelswu$_i$-eykey [PRO$_i$ t$_j$ Seoul-lo ka-ki]-ka
          NY-(from)-NOM   Chelswu-DAT   Seoul-to go-NML-NOM
    sangtanghi elyepta]]
    very   difficult
    'It is from New York that going to Seoul is very difficult for Chelswu.'

    c. [IP Chelswu-**eykey-(man)-i**$_i$ [VP t$_i$ PRO$_i$ New York-eyse   Seoul-lo ka-ki]-ka
        Chelswu-**DAT**-(only)-**NOM**   New York-from   Seoul-to go-NML-NOM
     sangtanghi elyepta]]
    very   difficult
  'It is (only) Chelswu for whom it is very difficult to go from New York to Seoul.'
                                    (Yoon 1996: 113)

3.2.6 Derivations
(29) Now I discuss the derivations of Japanese TCs.

<u>**To sum up the properties:**</u>
(i) The embedded transitive verb projects an external argument and assigns accusative Case.
(ii) The *nitotte* phrase belongs to the matrix clause and controls PRO merged at "Spec*v*P." (cf. Inoue 2004).
(iii) In Type I, "focus with nominative Case" is obligatory (for some reason), while in Type III=IV, it is not obligatory (cf. Saito 1982).
(iv) Japanese TCs exhibit multiple Case valuation.

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[10] Following Sadakane and Koizumi (1995), I assume that *ni* in (27) is a structural Case marker.

Case Valuation Rules:

a. When a nominal is merged with a lexical head, its case feature is valued as accusative.

b. When a nominal is merged with a phase head (*v* or *n*), its case feature is valued as nominative or genitive.

c. Otherwise, the case feature of a nominal is valued as dative.   (Zushi 2016: 48)

(30) The derivation of Type I proceeds as follows.

    a. Atarasii ryuukoo-ga   wakamono-nitotte   oikake-yasu-i.
      new fashion-NOM   young people-for   follow-easy-PRES
    'Only the new fashion is easy for young people to follow.'

    b.

    c.

    d.
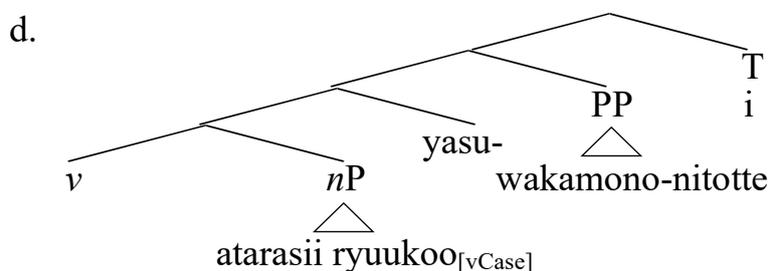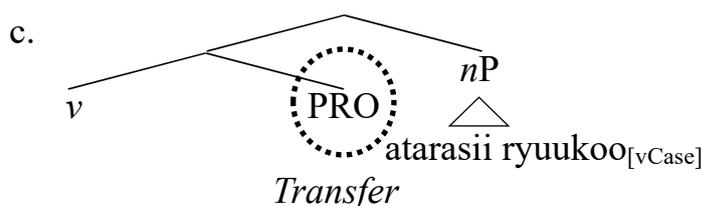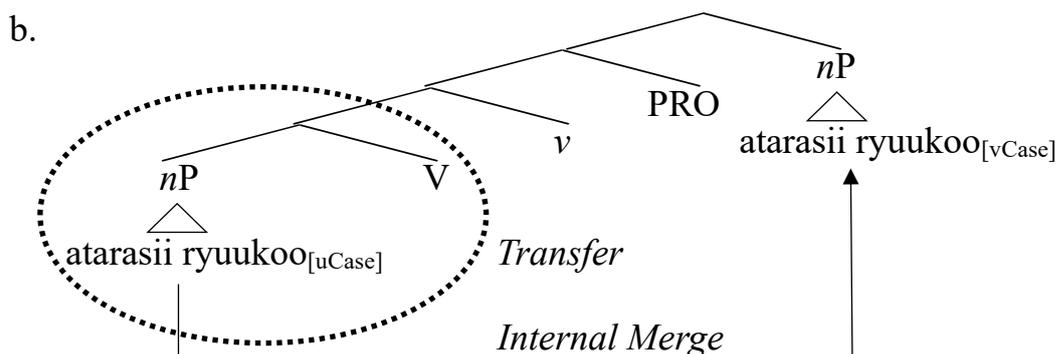
➢ **Derivation**:

(i) At Transfer of VP, the *n*P undergoes IM into the edge of *v*. (It gets valued as accusative.)

(ii) The "complement" PRO undergoes Transfer. ({atarasii ryuukoo, {PRO, *v*}} ⇒ {atarasii ryuukoo, {*v*}} ⇒ {atarasii ryuukoo, *v*})

(iii) At the end of the derivation (i.e., when all the constituents undergo Transfer), *atarasii ryuukoo* 'new fashion' is *revalued* as nominative.

➢ **Labeling:**
   (i)   {V, atarasii ryuukoo}: label = **V**
   (ii) {*v*, {V, atarasii ryuukoo}}: label = ***v***
   (iii) {PRO, {*v*, {V, atarasii ryuukoo}}}: label = ***v*** (At Transfer of VP, *atarasii ryuukoo* 'new fasion' undergoes IM into the edge of *v*. Transfer reduces the set {atarasii ryuukoo, {PRO, {*v*, {V, *t*atarasii ryuukoo}}}} into the set {atarasii ryuukoo, {PRO, {*v*}}}. If a singleton set is equivalent to its member, the set {atarasii ryuukoo, {PRO, {*v*}}} will be regarded as the set {atarasii ryuukoo, {PRO, *v*}}. Thus, the label of the set {PRO, *v*} will be determined to *v*.
   (iv) {atarasii ryuukoo, *v*}: label = ***v*** ({atarasii ryuukoo, {PRO, *v*}} ⇒ {atarasii ryuukoo, {*v*}} ⇒ {atarasii ryuukoo, *v*})
   (v)   {yasu-, {atarasii ryuukoo, *v*}}: label = **A**
   (vi) {wakamono-nitotte, {yasu-, {atarasii ryuukoo, *v*}}}: label = **A** (Adjuncts are invisible to LA) (cf. Hornstein 2009, Oseki 2015)
   (vii) {T, {wakamono-nitotte, {yasu-, {atarasii ryuukoo, *v*}}}}: label = **T**

(31) The *n*P receives two Case values in the course of the derivation. The question is which to choose. But Saito (1982) observes:

   Type I: "Focus with nominative Case" is obligatory (cf. Saito 1982).

➢ Thus, if nominative Case is realized morphologically, the result is fine.

   a. Atarasii ryuukoo-**ga**   wakamono-nitotte   oikake-yasu-i.
      new fashion-NOM   young people-for   follow-easy-PRES
      'The new fashion is easy for young people to follow.'

   b. *Atarasii ryuukoo-**o**   wakamono-nitotte   oikake-yasu-i.
      new fashion-ACC   young people-for   follow-easy-PRES
      'The new fashion is easy for young people to follow.'

(32) Note that if the *n*P does not undergo IM into the edge of *v* (30b), it receives only accusative Case. Then, the result is unacceptable due to the lack of "focus with nominative Case," just as in (31b).

(33) Since the *n*P receives two Case values, it is possible to realize both of them provided that they are not adjacent to each other.

  a. *Atarasii ryuukoo-**o-ga**   wakamono-nitotte   okikake-yasu-i.
     new fashion-ACC-NOM   young people-for   follow-easy-PRES
     'Only the new fashion is easy for young people to follow.'

  b. Atarasii ryuukoo-**o**-dake-**ga**   wakamono-nitotte   oikake-yasu-i.
     new fashion-ACC-only-NOM   young people-for   follow-easy-PRES
     'Only the new fashion is easy for young people to follow.'

➢ A focus particle like *dake* 'only' breaks the adjacency between the stacked Case values.

(34) Recall here that in Korean and Cuzco Quechua, stacked Case particles can appear adjacent to each other.

  a. Cheli-**hanthey-ka**   ton-i   isse.
     Cheli-**DAT-NOM**   money-NOM   have
     'Cheli has money.'   (Levin 2017: 448)

  b. Mariya   Xwancha-**q-ta**-n$_i$ muna-n [t$_i$ platanu ranti-mu-na-n-ta]
     Maria   Juan-**GEN-ACC**-AF   want-2   bananas buy-NML-3-ACC
     'Maria wants Juan to buy bananas.'   (Lefebvre and Muysken 1988: 144)

(35) Thus, I would like to hypothesize that Japanese (but not Korean and Cuzco Quechua) has the following constraint (cf. Hiraiwa 2014).

  A Morphological Constraint in Japanese:
  Case particles cannot appear adjacent to each other.

(36) The derivation of Type IV proceeds as follows.

  a. Eriito-ga   tuyoi zasetukan-   o   aziwai-yasu-i.
     elites-NOM   strong sense of frustratioin-ACC   feel tend to-PRES
     'Members of the elite tend to have a strong sense of frustration.'

  b.

c.
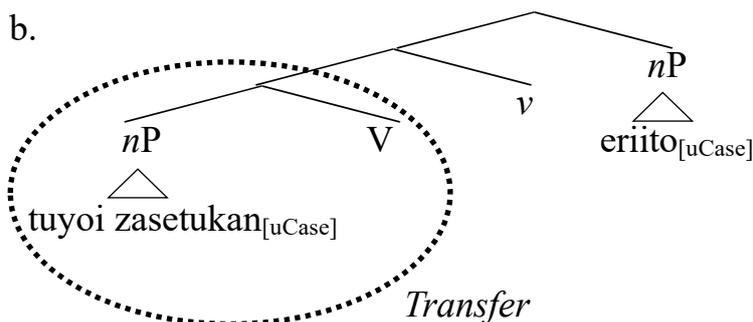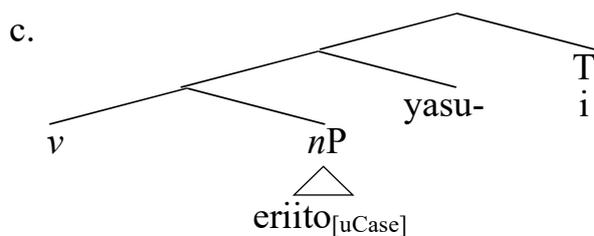
➢ **Derivation:**
  (i) The object undergoes Transfer. (It gets valued as accusative.)
  (ii) The subject is valued as nominative (at the end of the derivation).

➢ **Labeling:**
  (i) {V, tuyoi zasetukan}: label = **V**
  (ii) {v, {V, tuyoi zasetukan}}: label = **v**
  (iii) {eriio, {v, {V, tuyoi zasetukan}}}: label = **v** ({eriito, {v, {V, tuyoi zasetukan}}}⇒{eriito, {v}}⇒{eriito, v})
  (iv) {yasu-, {eriito, v}}: label = **A**
  (v) {T, {yasu-, {eriito, v}}}: label = **T**

(37) If *tuyoi zasetukan* 'strong sense of frustration' undergoes IM into the edge of *v* in (36b), the result is also fine. Consider the derivation.

a.

b.

14

c.

- ➤ **Derivation:**
  (i) At Transfer of VP, *tuyoi zasetukan* 'strong sense of frustration' undergoes IM into the edge of *v*. (It gets valued as accusative.)
  (ii) The "complement" *eriito* 'elites' undergoes Transfer. ({tuyoi zasetukan, {eriito, *v*}}⇒{tuyoi zasetukan, {*v*}}⇒{tuyoi zasetukan, *v*})
  (iii) At the end of the derivation (i.e., when all the constituents undergo Transfer), *tuyoi zasetukan* 'strong sense of frustration' gets *revalued* as nominative.

- ➤ **Labeling**:
  (i) {V, tuyoi zasetukan}: label = **V**
  (ii) {*v*, {V, tuyoi zasetukan}}: label = ***v***
  (iii) {eriito, {*v*, {V, tuyoi zasetukan}}}: label = ***v*** (At Transfer of VP, *tuyoi zasetukan* 'strong sense of frustration' undergoes IM into the edge of *v*. Transfer reduces the set {tuyoi zasetukan, {eriito, {*v*, {V, $t_{\text{tuyoi zasetukan}}$}}}} into the set {tuyoi zasetukan, {eriito, {*v*}}}. If a singleton set is equivalent to its member, the set {tuyoi zasetukan, {eriito, {*v*}}} will be regarded as the set {tuyoi zasetukan, {eriito, *v*}}. Thus, the label of the set {eriito, *v*} will be determined to *v*.

  (iv) {tuyoi zasetukan, *v*}: label = ***v*** ({tuyoi zasetukan, {eriito, *v*}} ⇒ {tuyoi zasetukan, {*v*}} ⇒ {tuyoi zasetukan, *v*})

  (v) {yasu-, {tuyoi zasetukan, *v*}}: label = **A**
  (vi) {T, {yasu-, {tuyoi zasetukan, *v*}}}: label = **T**

(38) The object receives two Case values in the course of the derivation. The question is which to choose. But Saito (1982) observes:

Type III=IV: "Focus with nominative Case is *not obligatory* (cf. Saito 1982).

(39) If Saito's (1982) observation is correct, we expect that in Type IV, either accusative Case or nominative Case can be realized morphologically. This expectation is borne out.

   a. Tuyoi zasetukan-**o**   eriito-ga   aziwai-yasu-i.
      strong sense of frustration-ACC   elite-NOM   feel tend to-PRES
      'Members of the elite tend to have a strong sense of frustration.'

15

b. Tuyoi zasetukan-**ga**　　　　　　eriito-ga　　　aziwai-yasu-i.[11]
　 strong sense of frustration-NOM　elite-NOM　　feel tend to-PRES
　 'It is a strong sense of frustration that members of the elite tend to feel.'

(40) Note that since the *n*P receives two Case values, it is possible to realize both of them provided that the adjacency between them is broken by a focus particle.

Tuyoi zasetukan-**o**-dake-**ga**　　　　　　eriito-ga　　　aziwai-yasu-i.
strong sense of frustration-ACC-only-NOM　elite-NOM　　feel tend to-PRES
'It is only a strong sense of frustration that members of the elite tend to feel.'

3.3 Implications
3.3.1 Scrambling as Multiple Case Valuation
(41) The proposed theory implies that scrambling in Japanese can be seen as an instance of multiple Case valuation where the *first* Case value received is realized/retained morphologically.[12]

　a. Taro-ga　　　Hanako-o　　　sikat-ta.
　　 Taro-NOM　Hanako-ACC　scold-PAST
　　 'Taro scolded Hanako.'

　b. Hanako$_i$-o　　Taro-ga　　　t_i　sikat-ta.
　　 Hanako-ACC　Taro-NOM　　　　scold-PAST
　　 'Taro scolded Hanako.'

(42) If we assume that scrambling is an instance of IM and that *v*P constitutes a phase, the object *Hanako* in (41b) must undergo IM into the edge of *v*.[13]

a.

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[11] Takaomi Kato points out that in order for (39b) to be (marginally) acceptable, a heavy stress must be put on *tuyoi zasetukan-ga* 'strong sense of frustration'.

[12] I would like to thank Naoki Fukui for suggesting this possibility.

[13] Whether the final landing site is "SpecTP" or "Spec*v*P," the object must undergo IM into the edge of *v*. Otherwise, it would be trapped inside the Transfer domain.

b.

c.

➢ **Derivation:**
(i) The object *Hanako* undergoes IM into the edge of *v* at Transfer of VP. (It gets valued as accusative.)
(ii) The "complement" *Taro* undergoes Transfer. (It gets valued as nominative.)
(iii) The object *Hanako* gets *revalued* as nominative (at the end of the overall derivation).

(43) The object receives two Case values. The question is which to choose. If the first Case value (i.e., accusative Case) is realized, the result is fine. But if the last Case value (i.e., nominative Case) is realized, the result is marginal.

    a. Hanako$_i$-**o**   Taro-ga t_i sikat-ta.
       Hanako-ACC   Taro-NOM   scold-PAST
      'Taro scolded Hanako.'

    b. ??Hanako-**ga**   Taro-ga t_i sikat-ta.
        Hanako-NOM   Taro-NOM   scold-PAST
        'It is Hanako who Taro scolded.'

(44) However, there are numerous examples where the objects can be marked with either accusative Case or nominative Case.

    a. Kono tosyokan$_i$-**o**   ookuno-gakusei-ga t_i riyou-su-ru.
       this library-ACC   many students-NOM   use-do-PRES
       'Many students use this library.'

    b. Kono tosyokan$_i$-**ga**   ookuno-gakusei-ga t_i riyou-su-ru.
       this library-NOM   many-students-NOM   use-do-PRES
       'Many students use this library.'

    c. Sono-toori$_i$-**o**   takusan-no torakku-ga t_i too-ru.
       the road-ACC   many-GEN truck-NOM   drive-PRES

17

'A lot of trucks are driven on the road.'

    d. Sono-toori$_i$-**ga**   takusan-no torakku-ga t_i too-ru.
      the road-NOM   many-GEN-truck-NON   drive-PRES
      'A lot of trucks are driven on the road.'

    e. Anoyouna taipu-no jyosei$_i$-**o**   daremo-ga t_i konom-u.
      that kind-GEN   woman-ACC   everyone-NOM   like-PRES
      'Everyone likes that kind of woman.'

    f. Anoyouna taipu-no jyosei$_i$-**ga**   daremo-ga t_i konom-u.
      that kind-GEN   woman-NOM   everyone-NOM   like-PRES
      'Everyone likes that kind of woman.'

(45) Thus, it seems certain that the awkwardness of (43b) is not due to syntax but rather due to semantics.

(46) It has been reported in the literature that when an object is marked with nominative Case, it receives a "focus" interpretation (cf. Saito 1982, Takano 2003, Miyagawa 2010, Nambu et al. 2018). Furthermore, as Saito (1982) points out, when a "focus" element (i.e., focus with nominative Case) appears in a sentence, it is usually the case that some kind of "property reading" is imposed on it.

(47) Thus, the interpretation of (43b) will be something like "Hanako has an (intrinsic) property such that Taro hit her," which is anomalous (cf. Saito 1982). In contrast, the interpretation of the acceptable sentence (44b), for instance, will be something like "This library has an (intrinsic) property such that many students use it," which is felicitous.

To sum up:
(i) The object can undergo IM into the edge of *v* at Transfer of VP and receive two Case values.
(ii) If the first Case value (i.e., accusative Case) is realized, the result is fine (i.e., an instance of scrambling). In contrast, if the last Case value (i.e., nominative Case) is realized, it is interpreted to be "focused" and some kind of "property interpretation" is imposed on the resulting sentence (cf. Saito 1982).

3.3.2 *O-Ni* Stacking vs. *Ni-Ga* Stacking
(48) The proposed theory correctly predicts the presence of *ni-ga* (i.e., dative-nominative) stacking and the absence of *o-ni* (i.e., accusative-dative) stacking in

Japanese.[14]

<u>Zushi's (2014, 2016) Case Valuation Rules</u>:
a. When a nominal is merged with a lexical head, its case feature is valued as accusative.
b. When a nominal is merged with a phase head (v or n), its case feature is valued as nominative or genitive.
c. Otherwise, the case feature of a nominal is valued as dative.   (Zushi 2016: 48)

(49) Zushi (2014, 2016) argues that dative *ni* in Japanese is a default Case and assigned to a nominal phrase which lacks a Case value. That is, dative Case valuation applies *as a last resort*.

    a. Taro-ga   Hanako-ni   tegami-o   morat-ta.
       Taro-NOM   Hanako-DAT letter-ACC   receive-PAST
      'Taro received a letter from Hanako.'

    b.
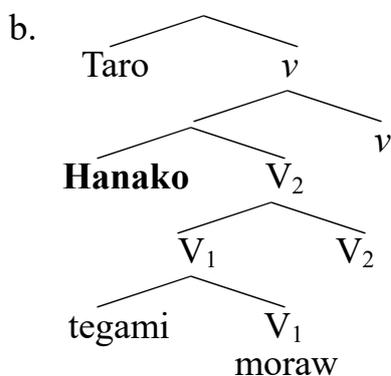
(Zushi 2014: 87)

(50) **<u>Derivation:</u>**
    (i) *Tegami* 'letter' is valued as accusative since it is merged with V.
    (ii) V_2 does not value accusative because it is an applicative head, not a lexical head. Therefore, (48c) is applied *as a last resort* and *Hanako* is valued as dative.
    (iii) *Taro* is valued as nominative since it is merged with v.

(51) When *Hanako* is merged into "SpecV_2P," an XP-YP configuration is formed. Following McGinnis (2001), I assume that the applicative head in structures like (49b) is a phase head. If so, when *Hanako* is merged into the structure, the applicative head is created, and hence, the complement (i.e., V_1P) undergoes Transfer. Thus, the label of the set $\{V_2, Hanako\}$ will be determined to V_2.

[14] I would like to thank Toru Ishii for helpful discussion.
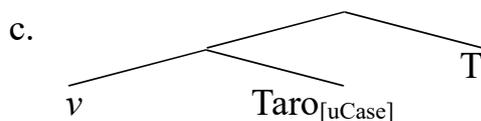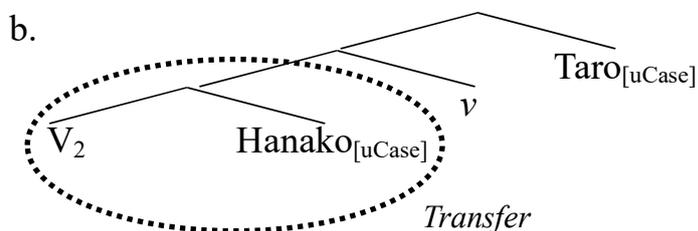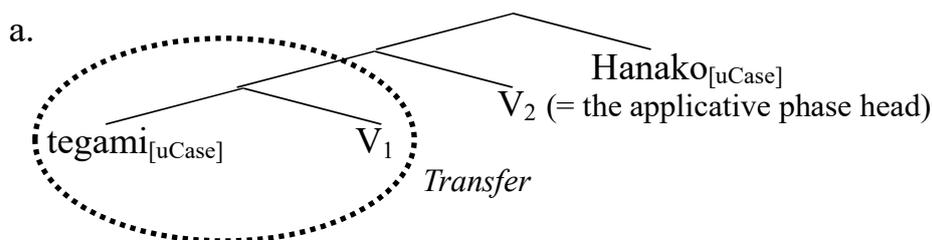
a.

tegami$_{[uCase]}$ V$_1$ Hanako$_{[uCase]}$
V$_2$ (= the applicative phase head)
Transfer

b.

V$_2$ Hanako$_{[uCase]}$ Taro$_{[uCase]}$
v
*Transfer*

c.

v   Taro$_{[uCase]}$ T

➢ **Derivation:**
 (i) Upon completion of the applicative phase, the complement (i.e., V$_1$P) undergoes Transfer. ({*Hanako*, {V$_2$, {V, *tegami*}}} ⇒ {*Hanako*, {V$_2$}} ⇒ {*Hanako*, V$_2$})

 (ii) Upon completion of the *v*P phase, the complement (i.e., {*Hanako*, V$_2$}) undergoes Transfer. The Case valuation rule (48c) is applied as a last resort and *Hanako* is valued as dative.

 (iii) At the end of the overall derivation (i.e., at the point of TP), all the constituents undergo Transfer. *Taro* is valued as nominative.

(52) What if *tegami* 'letter' in (51a) undergoes IM into the edge of the applicative head?

a.

tegami$_{[uCase]}$ V$_1$ Hanako$_{[uCase]}$ tegami$_{[vCase]}$
V$_2$ (= the applicative phase head)
Transfer

*Internal Merge*

b.

c.

d.
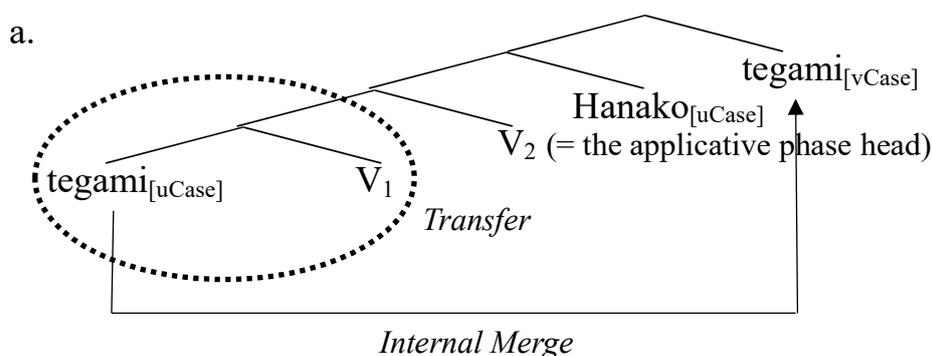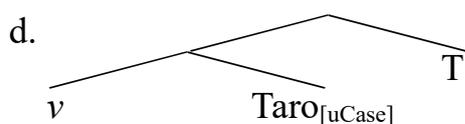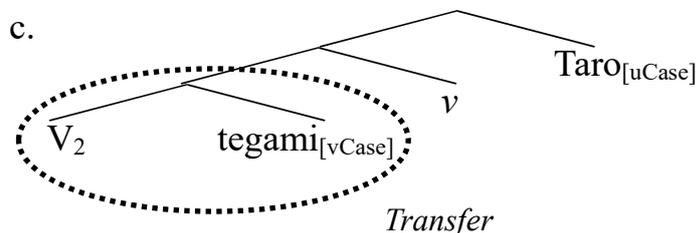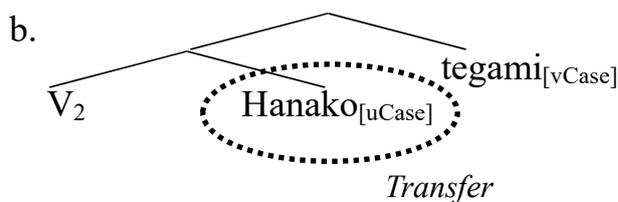
➢ **Derivation:**

(i) *Tegami* 'letter' undergoes IM into the edge of the applicative phase at Transfer.

(ii) The "complement" *Hanako* undergoes Transfer. It is valued as dative as a last resort since neither (48a) nor (48b) can be applied.

(iii) Upon completion of the *v*P phase, the complement (i.e., $\{V_2, tegami\}$) undergoes Transfer. **But *tegami* 'letter' has already been assigned accusative Case. Therefore, it will not receive dative Case since (48c) is a last-resort rule.**

(iv) At the end of the overall derivation (i.e., at the point of TP), all the constituents undergo Transfer. *Taro* gets valued as nominative.

(53) This correctly predicts that *o-ni* stacking (i.e., accusative-dative stacking) is absent.

    *Taro-ga   tegami-**o**-dake-**ni**$_i$ Hanako-ni t_i morat-ta.
     Taro-NOM   letter-ACC-only-DAT Hanako-DAT   receive-PAST
     'Taro received only a letter from Hanako.'

(54) The proposed theory can also correctly predict the presence of *ni-ga* (i.e., dative-nominative stacking) stacking.

    a. Hanako-**ni**-dake-**ga**$_i$ (Taro-nitotte) t_i okane-o   age-niku-i.
      Hanako-DAT-only-NOM Taro-for   money-ACC   give-hard-PRES
      'Only Hanako is hard (for Taro) to give some money.'

b.

Hanako[uCase]

V₂ (= the applicative phase head)

okane[uCase]   V₁

Transfer

c.

Hanako[vCase]

PRO

v

V₂   Hanako[uCase]

Transfer

Internal Merge

d.

v   Hanako[vCase]

PRO

Transfer

e.

T

Taro-nitotte

yasu-

v   Hanako[vCase]
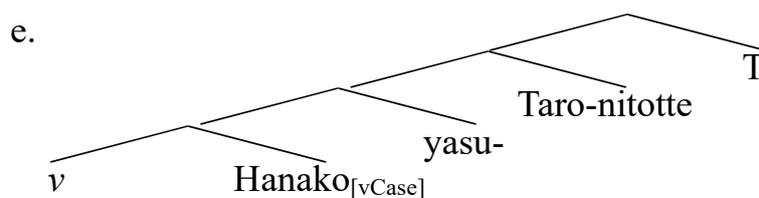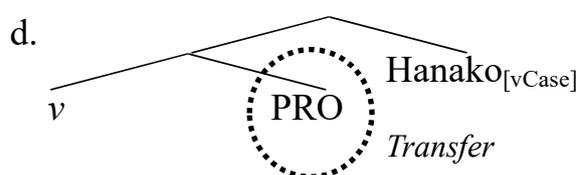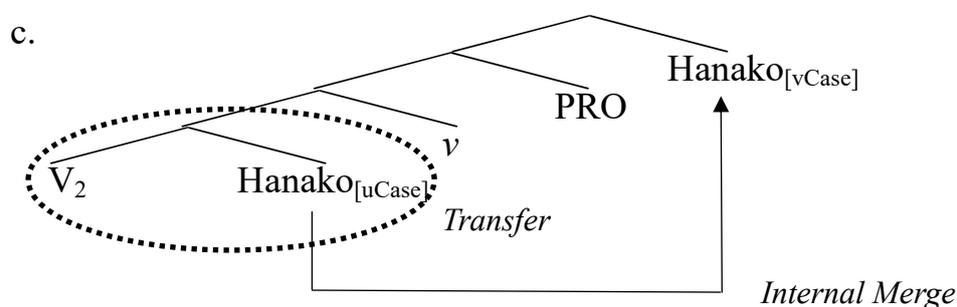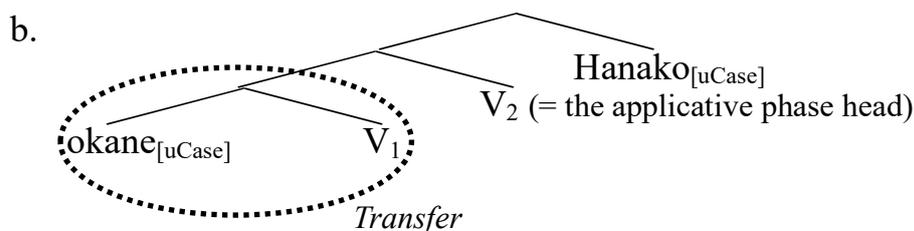
➢ **Derivation:**
(i) Upon completion of the applicative phase, the complement (i.e., {V, *okane*}) undergoes Transfer. (The nominal phrase *okane* 'money' gets valued as accusative.)
(ii) Upon completion of the *v*P, *Hanako* undergoes IM into the edge of *v* at Transfer. ***Hanako* at the edge of V₂ gets valued as dative since it lacks a Case value at this point.**
(iii) The "complement" PRO undergoes Transfer.
(iv) At the end of the overall derivation (i.e., at the point of TP), all the constituents undergo Transfer. ***Hanako* at the edge of *v* gets *revalued* as nominative because nominative Case valuation is not a last-resort rule**. (Nominative Case is assigned to *Hanako* regardless of whether it has received a Case value or not.)

(55) The above derivation correctly predicts the presence of *ni-ga* stacking (i.e., dative-

nominative stacking). The above discussion confirms the view that dative Case valuation is applied only as a last-resort.

3.4 Conclusion

(56) I have argued that Japanese instantiates all the three possibilities shown below.

(i) **Case$_2$**+Case$_1$: The *last* Case value received is realized morphologically.
(ii) Case$_2$+**Case$_1$**: The *first* Case value received is realized morphologically.
(iii) **Case$_2$**+**Case$_1$**: *All* the Case values received are realized morphologically.

(57) Type I TCs instantiate **(i)** and **(iii)**, while Type IV TCs instantiate **(i)**, **(ii)**, and **(iii)**. Scrambling can be seen as (ii).

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