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GENITIVE SUBJECTS IN JAPANESE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THEORY OF NULL OBJECTS*

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1. Introduction

This paper concerns the so called *ga*/*no* conversion phenomenon in Japanese. As shown in (1), the nominative Case marker *ga* can be "converted" to the genitive Case marker *no* in a prenominal sentential modifier.

(1) *Taroo-ga /-no it -ta tokoro*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN go-PAST place

'the place where Taroo went'

The phenomenon is apparently restricted to prenominal sentential modifiers. Thus, a genitive subject is not allowed in a matrix declarative sentence.

(2) *Taroo-ga /*-no soko -e it -ta.*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN there-to go-PAST

'Taro went there.'

Many important works have appeared recently on the general properties of this alternation between *ga* and *no*. Among them are Miyagawa (1993), Watanabe (1996), Ochi (2001) and Hiraiwa (2000). In this paper, I will focus on a specific restriction observed with the distribution of genitive subjects. As (3) shows, a genitive subject is impossible when an object NP is present.

(3) *Taroo-ga /*-no hon -o kat -ta mise*
Taroo-NOM/ -GEN book-ACC buy-PAST shop

'the shop where Taroo bought a book'

I will suggest that the examination of this intervention effect leads to supporting evidence for Kim's (1999) hypothesis that some cases of null objects in East Asian languages should be analyzed as instances of ellipsis rather than involving phonologically empty pronouns.

In the following section, I will briefly present the analysis of the genitive subjects that will be assumed in this paper. It is a simplified (and somewhat distorted) version of Hiraiwa's (2000) analysis, but it should suffice for the purpose here. There, I will also discuss the intervention effect and show that null objects do not induce this effect. In Section 3, I will introduce Kim's hypothesis on null objects, and argue that the "invisibility" of the null objects in the genitive subject construction provides supporting evidence for his theory. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. A Brief Analysis of the Genitive Subjects

In this section, I will present a simplified version of Hiraiwa's (2000) analysis of the *ga/no* alternation and describe the intervention effect mentioned above.

2.1. The Source of the Genitive Subject

For some time, a movement analysis was widely assumed for the genitive subjects in examples like (1). The basic idea is that the genitive subject moves out of the prenominal sentential modifier to a position within the projection of the head noun, and as a result, the genitive Case is licensed. This analysis straightforwardly explains the fact that genitive subjects are possible in pronominal sentential modifiers but not in matrix declarative sentences, since it is the nominal head that licenses the genitive Case on the subject. This approach is pursued, for example, in Miyagawa (1993) and Ochi (2001).

The movement in question can be covert, as Miyagawa points out, because the genitive subject can be preceded by an adverb that is clearly contained within the sentential modifier. This is shown in (4).

(4) *kinoo Taroo-ga /-no it -ta tokoro*
yesterday Taroo-NOM/-GEN go-PAST place

'the place where Taroo went yesterday'

Further, we have examples such as (5).

(5) *Taroo-ga /-no purin -ga /-no suki-na koto*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN pudding-NOM/-GEN like fact

'the fact that Taro likes pudding'

As shown in (6), stative predicates in Japanese take nominative objects.

(6) *Taroo-ga purin -ga suki-da*
Taroo-NOM pudding-NOM like

'Taro likes pudding.'

(5) indicates that when (6) appears as a prenominal sentential modifier, both the subject and the object can optionally be marked by the genitive *no*. Thus, four patterns, *ga-ga*, *ga-no*, *no-ga* and *no-no*, are possible. In the *ga-no* pattern, the subject is apparently not moved out of the sentence as it appears in nominative. If so, the genitive object must be contained within the sentence as well. Thus, the *ga-no* pattern constitutes evidence that the proposed movement of genitive subjects need not be overt.

However, the movement analysis is rejected in Watanabe (1996) and Hiraiwa (2000). Among their arguments is that the required movement involves extraction out of an adjunct in most, if not all, cases, which is known to be illicit on independent grounds. For example, the sentential modifier in (1) is a relative clause and is clearly an adjunct. Hiraiwa (2000), then, proposes that genitive subjects (and objects) are licensed sentence-internally by the adnominal verbal inflection. The regular declarative form and the adnominal form of predicates were distinguished clearly in classical Japanese. However, the two forms merged in most cases around the 13th century. Hiraiwa's claim is that the declarative/adnominal distinction is still present in modern Japanese although it is obscured on the surface.

As Hiraiwa points out, the distinction is overtly manifested with a certain class of predicates, called nominal adjectives, even in the present-day Japanese. Thus, the predicate is *suki-da* in (6), whereas it is *suki-na* in (5). Capitalizing on this fact, he presents evidence that a genitive subject is licensed even when there is no nominal head around as long as the predicate is in the adnominal form. One of his examples is shown in (7).

(7) *John-wa ame-ga /-no yam-u made kenkyuusitu-ni i -ta.*
John -TOP rain-NOM/-GEN stop -PRES until office -in be-PAST

'John was in his office until the rain stopped.'

In this example, genitive Case is possible on the embedded subject despite the fact that the embedded clause is apparently not a prenominal sentential modifier but is in the complement position of the postposition *made* 'until'. Further, there is evidence that the predicate of the embedded clause is in the adnominal form rather than the regular declarative form. That is, a nominal adjective appears in the adnominal form in this position, as can be observed in (8).

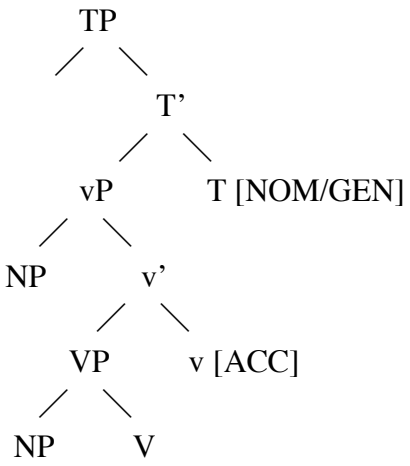
(8) *John-wa izyoo-na made-ni sinkeisitu-da.*
John -TOP abnormal up to -in nervous

'John is extraordinarily nervous.'

In this example, the nominal adjective can assume the adnominal form *izyoo-na* but not the declarative form *izyoo-da*. Hiraiwa takes this as confirming evidence that the genitive Case is licensed sentence-internally by the adnominal inflection.

Hiraiwa's actual analysis is rather involved in details, but I will assume a simplified version in the discussion here. More specifically, I will assume that the verbal inflection in question lies in T, and that the declarative T checks nominative Case while the adnominal T checks either nominative or genitive as illustrated in (9).[1]

(9)



This accounts for the free variation between nominative and genitive on the subject of a prenominal sentential modifier. Given Koizumi's (1995) proposal that T is responsible also for the Case of nominative objects, it extends to examples like (5) as well.

Then, how can the intervention effect in (3) be analyzed? One way to interpret the phenomenon is that the presence of an accusative Case prevents the adnominal T from checking genitive Case. Assuming that *v* checks accusative Case, Hiraiwa proposes (10).[2]

(10) Spell-out of morphological accusative case by *v* triggers nominative Case checking on T in the next strong phase.

Without going into the details of this proposal, I will adopt a slightly modified version shown in (11).

(11) When an adnominal T checks genitive, it absorbs the Case-feature of *v*.

When the subject is marked by genitive in (3), (10) prevents the Case-checking of the accusative Case. Hence, the genitive-accusative pattern is excluded.

It seems that the adnominal T affects *v* in other ways as well. For example, Abe (1992) points out that the external argument is optional (with an appropriate semantic/pragmatic context) in prenominal sentential modifiers. The contrast between (12) and (13) illustrates this generalization.

(12) *komakaku kizan-da daikon*
thinly slice -PAST radish

'the thinly sliced radish'

(13) *komakaku kizan-da hito*
thinly slice -PAST person

'the person who thinly sliced (it)'

(13) is an incomplete expression with the object missing. The missing object receives a definite interpretation like a pronoun, and hence, the example means 'the person who thinly sliced it'. On the other hand, (12) is syntactically complete despite the fact that the subject is missing. The subject is interpreted as an indefinite 'someone' as in 'the radish that someone thinly sliced'. This indicates, as Abe argues, that the subject θ-role is absent in (12). Note that this phenomenon is observed in prenominal sentential modifiers but not in matrix declarative sentences. Thus, the missing subject in (14) can only have a definite interpretation.

(14) *Daikon-o komakaku kizan-da.*
radish -ACC thinly slice -PAST

'She/he/they thinly sliced the radish.'

It seems then that the adnominal T can absorb not only *v*'s Case but also its θ-role.[3]

2.2. A Closer Look at the Intervention Effect

In this section, I will discuss the intervention effect in more detail. The discussion is based on the detailed descriptive studies in Watanabe (1996), Hiraiwa (2000), and Miyazawa (2001).

First, (11) predicts that only object NPs induce the intervention effect on genitive subjects. This prediction is in fact borne out. (15), for example, shows that an adverb can occur between the genitive subject and the verb.

(15) *Taroo-ga /-no kinoo it -ta tokoro*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN yesterday go-PAST place

'the place where Taroo went yesterday'

An NP trace does not induce the effect either, as it need not be checked for Case by *v*.

(16) *Taroo-ga /-no* t *taihos-are -ta tokoro*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN arrest -PASS-PAST place

'the place where Taro was arrested'

On the other hand, the trace of scrambling, which requires Case checking, does induce the effect, as correctly predicted.

(17) *hon -o Taroo-ga /*-no* t *kat -ta mise*
book-ACC Taroo-NOM/ -GEN buy-PAST shop

'the shop where Taroo bought a book'

But there are also cases that (11) does not account for straightforwardly. For example, as Harada (1971) initially observed, a relative gap seems to have no effect on the genitive subject. (18) is a representative example.

(18) *Taroo-ga /-no* e *kat -ta hon*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST book

'the book that Taroo bought'

Further, Hiraiwa (2000) points out that null objects do not exhibit the intervention effect. As Miyazawa (2001) confirms this generalization in detail, let us consider one of her

examples here. (20)-(22) are all appropriate as an utterance to follow (19) in a discourse.

(19) *Ziroo-ga hazimete Nagoya-ni ku -ru -node, minna-ga iroiro-na*
Ziroo-NOM for the first time Nagoya-to come-PRES-since all -NOM various

basyo-ni tureteik-u yotei-desu.
place -to take -PRES plan -is

'Since Ziroo is coming to Nagoya for the first time, the plan is for everyone to take him to various places.'

(20) *Hanako-ga /*-no Ziroo-o tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu.*
Hanako-NOM/ -GEN Ziroo-ACC take -PRES place -TOP Nagoya Castle-is

'The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.'

(21) *Ziroo-o Hanako-ga /*-no* t *tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu.*
Ziroo-ACC Hanako-NOM/ -GEN take -PRES place -TOP Nagoya Castle-is

'The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.'

(22) *Hanako-ga /-no* e *tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu.*
Hanako-NOM/ -GEN take -PRES place -TOP Nagoya Castle-is

'The place that Hanako is taking (him) is the Nagoya Castle.'

(20) is an example of the standard intervention effect by an object NP. (21) confirms that scrambling of the object does not help. And finally, (22) indicates that a null object can freely intervene between the genitive subject and the verb.

A clear generalization seems to emerge from (18) and (22). It has been standardly assumed, since Kuroda (1965), that the null object in examples like (22) is a pronoun without phonetic content (an empty pronoun). It was also argued persuasively by Perlmutter (1972) that the gap in a Japanese relative clause can be an empty pronoun. This hypothesis explains, among other things, the fact that Japanese relative clauses do not exhibit Subjacency effects. The following example is from Kuno (1973):

(23) *[* e *kitei -ru yoohuku]-ga yogoretei-ru sinsi*
wearing-PRES suit -NOM dirty -PRES gentleman

'the gentleman who the suit that he is wearing is dirty'

Then, the intervention effect is not observed with the null objects that have been considered empty pronouns.[4]

But this is quite puzzling. If those null objects are indeed empty pronouns, we would expect them to require Case-checking and hence, to exhibit the intervention effect. It is then necessary to look more closely into the nature of those null objects. In the following section, I will argue that Kim's (1999) analysis of null objects as NP-ellipsis provides an elegant account for the facts observed above.

3. Empty Pronouns as Ellipsis

As noted above, it has been widely assumed since Kuroda (1965) that null objects in Japanese are literally pronouns without phonetic content. However, this standard hypothesis clearly faces a problem with the absence of the intervention effect in (22). A pronoun should require Case, and hence, should block genitive subjects. On the other hand, Kim (1999) has proposed that null objects in Japanese/Korean can result from NP-ellipsis. In this section, I will consider how this theory can capture the facts discussed in the preceding section. In Section 3.1, I will briefly go over Kim's arguments for NP-ellipsis. Then, in Section 3.2, I will suggest an analysis for the absence of the intervention effect with null objects. To the extent that the analysis is tenable, it provides supporting evidence for Kim's theory.

3.1. Kim's (1999) Arguments

A deletion analysis of null objects in East Asian languages was first suggested in Huang (1987). Relevant Mandarin examples are shown in (24) and (25).

(24) *Zhangsan da le* e.
Zhangsan hit Perf

a. *'Zhangsan hit himself.'
b. 'Zhangsan hit someone else.'

(25) *Meigeren piping le ziji ma? Bu, John mei piping le* e.
everyone criticize Perf self Q no John not criticize Perf

'Did everyone criticize himself? No, John did not criticize himself.'

As discussed in Huang (1984) in detail, examples like (24) indicate that a null object usually cannot corefer with the subject of its clause. However, Xu (1986) presents examples such as (25) and points out that this coreference is allowed in an appropriate context.[5]

Huang (1987) suggests that the peculiar interpretive property of (25) receives a straightforward explanation if the example is analyzed as an instance of VP-deletion. The idea is that V raises overtly to T in Chinese and hence, the VP contains only the object NP when VP-deletion applies. Thus, null objects can be created with VP-deletion in an appropriate context. According to this analysis, (25) is analyzed exactly as the English (26).

(26) Did everyone [$_{VP}$criticize himself]? No, John didn't ~~[$_{VP}$criticize himself]~~.

The deletion analysis cannot apply to (24) because there is no appropriate antecedent VP of the form '[$_{VP}$ t$_{V}$ ziji]' in this case. The contrast between (24) and (25) is thus explained.

Otani and Whitman (1991) argue that Huang's VP-deletion analysis of null objects applies directly to Japanese. Their main evidence is that null objects in Japanese allow sloppy interpretation. One of their examples is shown in (27).

(27) *John-wa zibun-no tegami-o sute -ta; Mary-mo* e *sute -ta.*
John-TOP self -GEN letter -ACC discard-PAST Mary-also discard-PAST

'John threw out his letters, and Mary did too.'
a. Mary threw out his (John's) letters, too. (the strict interpretation)
b. Mary threw out her (Mary's) letters, too. (the sloppy interpretation)

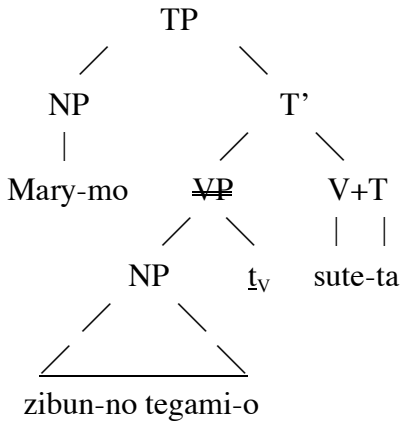
As shown in (28)-(29), a sloppy reading is not possible with a pronoun, but it is with VP-ellipsis.

(28) Peter likes his picture, and Joan likes it too.
a. Joan likes his (Peter's) picture, too. (the strict reading)
b. *Joan likes her (Joan's) picture, too. (the sloppy reading)

(29) Peter likes his picture, and Joan does too.
a. Joan likes his (Peter's) picture, too. (the strict reading)
b. Joan likes her (Joan's) picture, too. (the sloppy reading)

Hence, Otani and Whitman conclude that the null object construction in Japanese can involve VP-ellipsis. More specifically, they follow Huang (1987) and propose that the construction can be derived by raising the verb to T and then deleting the remnant VP that contains only the object. The proposed derivation of the second conjunct of (27) is shown in (30).

(30)



Examining Otani and Whitman's analysis in detail, Kim (1999) first points out that there are cases where sloppy reading is available and yet the VP-deletion analysis cannot be maintained.[6] One of them involves the double-accusative construction in Korean, shown in (31a).

(31) a. *Mike-nun James-lul tali-lul ketechassta.*
Mike-TOP James-ACC leg-ACC kicked
'Mike kicked James on the leg.'

b. **Mike-nun tali-lul James-lul ketechassta.*
Mike-TOP leg-ACC James-ACC kicked

In this construction, the order between the two accusative NPs, the inalienable possessor and possessee, is fixed. Thus, (31b) is ungrammatical. Yet, sloppy interpretation is possible when the first accusative NP is null, as the example in (32b) shows.

(32) a. *Jerry-nun caki-uy ai -lul phal-ul ttayliessta.*
Jerry-TOP self-GEN child-ACC arm-ACC hit

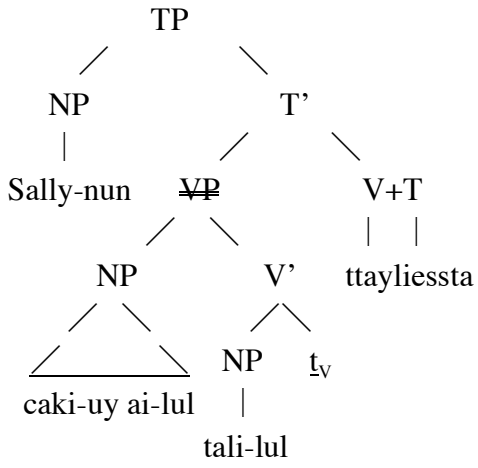
'Jerry hit his child on the arm.'

b. *Kulena Sally-nun* e *tali-lul ttayliessta.*
but Sally-TOP leg-ACC hit

a. But Sally hit his (Jerry's) child on the leg. (the strict reading)
b. But Sally hit her (Sally's) child on the leg. (the sloppy reading)

If the null object in (32b) is produced by verb movement and VP-deletion, the second accusative NP, *tali-lul* 'leg-acc', must also be deleted, as illustrated in (33).

(33)



Hence, Otani and Whitman's analysis does not extend to this example.

Although (32b) is clearly problematic for Otani and Whitman's VP-deletion analysis, it provides further evidence that the analysis of null objects in Japanese/Korean as pronouns cannot be maintained for all cases. Kim concludes then that they involve NP ellipsis. This proposal covers the Japanese and Korean examples discussed above, and also extends to the Chinese examples introduced at the outset of this section. The relevant examples (24) and (25) are repeated below in (34) and (35).

(34) *Zhangsan da le* e.
Zhangsan hit Perf

a. *'Zhangsan hit himself.'
b. 'Zhangsan hit someone else.'

(35) *Meigeren piping le ziji ma? Bu, John mei piping le* e.
everyone criticize Perf self Q no John not criticize Perf

'Did everyone criticize himself? No, John did not criticize himself.'

The elided NP in (35) can be construed as *ziji* 'self' because there is a linguistic antecedent in the discourse. This is impossible in the case of (34). As *Zhangsan* is the only possible antecedent, there is no way to interpret the elided object as an anaphor.

3.2. The Absence of Intervention Effect with Empty Objects

Let us now return to our main concern, i.e., the fact that null objects do not block genitive subjects. Miyazawa's (2001) examples in (19), (20) and (22) are repeated below in (36)-(38).

(36) *Ziroo-ga hazimete Nagoya-ni ku -ru -node, minna-ga iroiro-na*
Ziroo-NOM for the first time Nagoya-to come-PRES-since all -NOM various

basyo-ni tureteik-u yotei-desu.
place -to take -PRES plan -is

'Since Ziroo is coming to Nagoya for the first time, the plan is for everyone to take him to various places.'

(37) *Hanako-ga /*-no Ziroo-o tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu.*
Hanako-NOM/ -GEN Ziroo-ACC take -PRES place -TOP Nagoya Castle-is

'The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.'

(38) *Hanako-ga /-no* e *tureteik-u tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu.*
Hanako-NOM/ -GEN take -PRES place -TOP Nagoya Castle-is

'The place that Hanako is taking (him) is the Nagoya Castle.'

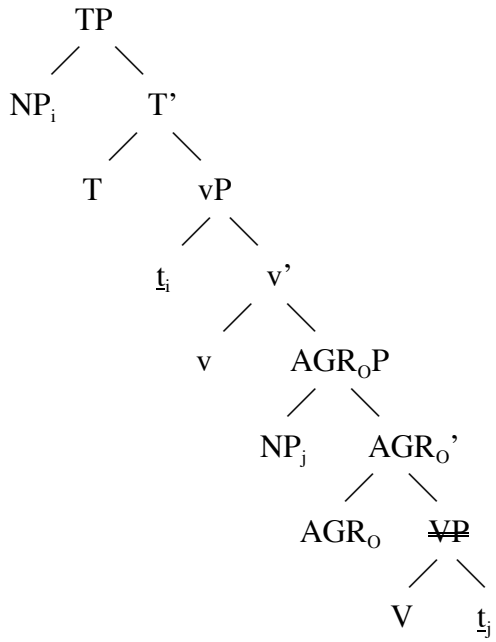
In Section 2, I assumed, following Hiraiwa (2000), that the genitive subject is licensed by the adnominal T, and suggested that the adnominal T absorbs the Case of *v*. This accounts for (37). When the subject is in genitive, the accusative Case of the object fails to be checked. The fact that (38) allows a genitive subject implies then that null objects need not be checked for Case.

This is surprising if null objects are empty pronouns, as noted above. But it is not if they involve NP ellipsis as Kim (1999) has argued. In fact, the situation is similar to the case discussed in Lasnik (1995), where ellipsis saves a potential violation. Let me, then, briefly go over his analysis first.

Adapting Jayaseelan's (1990) analysis, Lasnik (1995) proposes that pseudogapping results from object shift and VP-ellipsis. Thus, the second conjunct in (39) is derived by movement of *his leading campaign contributor* to AGR_O Spec and deletion of the remnant VP, as illustrated in (40).

(39) John will select the CEO of a multinational Corporation and Bill will [$_V$ e] his leading campaign contributor.

(40)



This analysis is based on Koizumi's (1995) theory, where the object moves overtly out of the VP to AGR_O Spec and has its Case checked there. This, in turn, implies that the verb also moves overtly to a head position preceding the AGR_O Spec, for otherwise the English word-order should be SOV instead of SVO. But then, an interesting problem arises. The verb movement clearly does not apply in the second conjunct of (39). If it does, the verb cannot be elided with VP-ellipsis. It follows then that the verb need not move out of the VP when and only when VP-deletion applies.

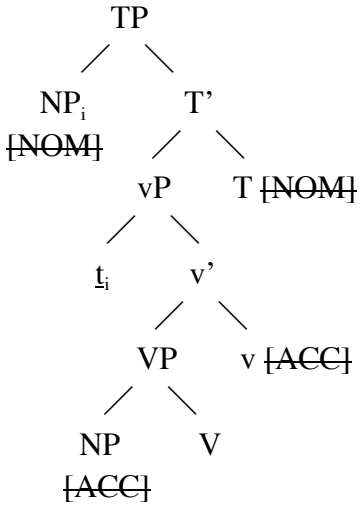
Assuming that VP-ellipsis is derived by PF deletion, Lasnik explains this curious state of affairs as follows. Suppose that a verb has a feature that blocks PF interpretation, and that this feature is checked and deleted when the verb moves to the higher head position. Then, the verb movement is obligatory in regular sentences. But in the case of VP-ellipsis, the feature of the verb can be deleted without the movement. Since the whole VP is deleted, so is the feature of the verb. Hence, VP-deletion allows the verb to stay in its original position.

This analysis can be applied directly to NP-ellipsis.[7] Suppose that the Case feature of an object NP needs to be checked and deleted so that the NP can be interpreted properly in the PF component. Then, Case-checking by *v* is required in the normal cases. Thus, the ungrammaticality of the genitive subject in (3), repeated below (41), is explained as illustrated in (42).

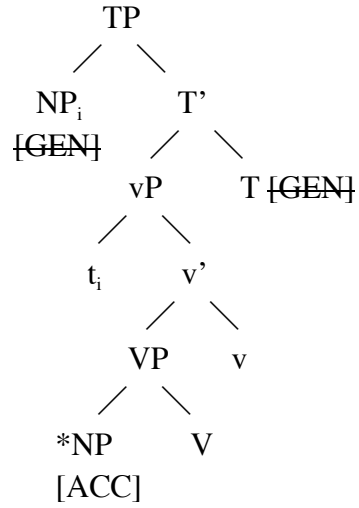
(41) *Taroo-ga /*-no hon -o kat -ta mise*
Taroo-NOM/ -GEN book-ACC buy-PAST shop

'the shop where Taroo bought a book'

(42) a.



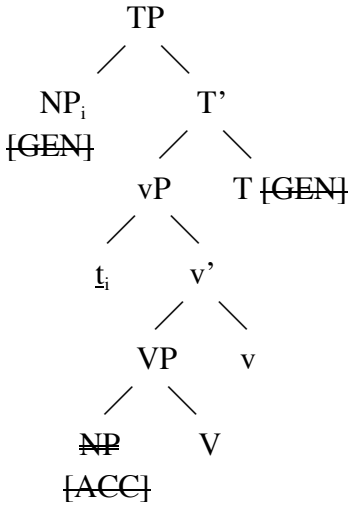
b.



When the subject is in nominative, *v* carries the [ACC] feature and checks the [ACC] of the object NP as shown in (42a). On the other hand, when T checks the genitive Case, it absorbs the [ACC] feature of *v* by hypothesis. Hence the [ACC] feature of the object fails to be checked and deleted, and the NP cannot be properly interpreted at PF. This case is illustrated in (42b).

But the situation is different when the object NP is elided. Since the object NP is deleted, its Case feature disappears with it as shown in (43).

(43)



Hence, Case-checking by *v* is not required in this particular case. The absence of the intervention effect with null objects thus follows.

Note that this analysis readily extends to the relative clause example in (18), repeated below in (44).

(44) *Taroo-ga /-no* e *kat -ta hon*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST book

'the book that Taroo bought'

If the relative head can serve as the antecedent for the deletion of the object NP, then the [ACC] feature of this NP need not be checked by *v*. Hence, a genitive subject is possible also in this case.

It has been controversial whether ellipsis involves PF deletion, as Lasnik assumes, or LF copying. Sag (1976) has argued for the former and Williams (1977) for the latter, and as far as I can see, the issue is not completely settled. It is then probably worth mentioning that the analysis proposed above is consistent also with the LF copying analysis of ellipsis. Suppose that the null object in (38) is interpreted by copying *Ziroo-ga* 'Ziroo-NOM' in (36) in its position at LF. The copied NP must already be checked for Case, and hence, it need not have its Case checked again at the copied site. Hence, the analysis can be maintained under the LF copy theory as well.

4. Conclusion and Further Issues

In this paper, I examined the intervention effect observed with the genitive subject construction in Japanese. I assumed, following Hiraiwa (2000), that the genitive Case is licensed by the adnominal T, and suggested that this T absorbs the Case feature of *v*. This accounts for the fact that an accusative object cannot occur in the genitive subject construction. Then, I considered why this intervention effect is not observed with null objects. The analysis of the genitive subjects implies that null objects need not be checked for Case, and based on this, I argued that the fact constitutes supporting evidence for Kim's (1999) hypothesis that null objects can result from NP-ellipsis.

The conclusion of this paper, if correct, raises a number of issues. First, the NP-ellipsis analysis of null objects must be made more precise. The discussion in this paper makes this task even more challenging, since it requires the analysis to extend to the gaps in relative clauses. A more general issue is why NP-ellipsis is allowed in East Asian languages but not in, say, English. This issue is particularly interesting because it has been proposed in Saito and Murasugi (1990) and Takahashi (1994) that N'-deletion and sluicing in Japanese are subject to the same licensing conditions as their English counterparts. If ellipsis is subject to Universal Principles, as it should be, then the presence/absence of NP-ellipsis is likely to be due to a fundamental parametric difference.

Given the conclusion in this paper, it also becomes necessary to reexamine those

phenomena that have been explained on the assumption that null objects are empty pronouns. A notable case is the 'double-*o*' effect observed in examples like (45b).

(45) a. *Hanako-ga Taroo-ni /-o Nagoya-ni ik -ase -ta.*
Hanako-NOM Taroo-DAT/-ACC Nagoya-DAT go-make-PAST

'Hanako made Taroo go to Nagoya.'

b. *Hanako-ga Taroo-ni /*-o biiru-o nom -ase -ta.*
Hanako-NOM Taroo-DAT/ -ACC beer -ACC drink-make-PAST

'Hanako made Taroo drink beer.'

As can be seen in (45a), the causee in the causative construction can be marked either by the dative *-ni* or by the accusative *-o*. But (45b) shows that when the embedded verb takes an accusative object, the dative *-ni* is the only option for the causee. It has been standard to exclude the double-accusative pattern in (45b) on the assumption that *v* can license only one instance of the accusative *-o*. Under this account, one of the accusatives in (45b) is left unchecked.

Interestingly, Harada (1973) and Shibatani (1973) point out that the 'double-*o*' effect is observed even when one of the accusative NPs is a null object, as shown in (46).

(46) *Ziroo-ga kusuri -o motteki-ta -node, Hanako-ga Taroo-ni /*-o* e
Ziroo-NOM medicine-ACC bring -PAST-since Hanako-NOM Taroo-DAT/ -ACC

nom -ase -ta.
drink-make-PAST

'Since Ziroo brought a medicine, Hanako made Taroo drink it.'

This is expected if the null object is an empty pronoun and needs to have its Case checked. However, an alternative account for the 'double-*o*' effect is required if null objects can involve NP-ellipsis as argued in this paper. I will have to leave the discussion of these issues for another occasion, hoping that their exploration will lead to further understanding of the Japanese Case system and the mechanism of Case checking in general.

Notes

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1. See also Watanabe (1996) for a similar proposal.

2. It will become clear in Section 2.2 why Hiraiwa considers the 'spell-out' of morphological accusative Case to be relevant here.

3. The peculiar properties of pronominal sentential modifiers illustrated here suggest that they are 'nominal' in some sense. The external argument is optional in NPs. Further, even when it is present in an NP, the object cannot bear accusative Case. But I have to leave the precise account for this parallelism for future research.

4. Miyazawa (2001), in fact, takes the parallelism between (18) and (22) as evidence for Perlmutter's analysis of Japanese relatives. See Murasugi (2000) for a detailed, general discussion on the nature of Japanese relative clauses.

It should be mentioned here that Watanabe (1996) and Hiraiwa (2000) draw different generalizations. Watanabe argues that the absence of the intervention effect is observed not only with the gaps in relative clauses but also with those in clefts. A relevant example is shown in (i).

(i) *Taroo-ga /-no* e *kat -ta no -wa kono hon-o -da.*
Taroo-NOM/-GEN buy-PAST comp-TOP this book-ACC-is

'It is this book that Taro bought.'

As it is argued in Hoji (1989) and Murasugi (1991) that Japanese clefts involve empty operator movement, he draws the generalization that the intervention effect is lifted when the object is dislocated by operator movement. Hiraiwa, on the other hand, points out that Watanabe's generalization does not cover cases like (22). Then, he assumes instead that the effect does not obtain when the accusative Case assigned by *v* is not phonetically realized. (Hence, the formulation of (10).)

Their generalizations may turn out to be correct. However, I will not follow them here because (I) I think it has been shown quite convincingly that Japanese relative clauses need not involve operator movement, (II) there is much variation in the judgments for examples

like (i), and (III) as far as I can see, further research is needed for the precise analysis of Japanese clefts.

5. Xu (1986) concludes, based on examples such as (25), that Chinese has a "free empty category," an empty category that can have any binding property.

6. See also Hoji (1998) for much relevant discussion.

7. Lasnik (2001) proposes a slightly revised analysis based on feature-movement. This analysis, too, can be readily applied to NP-ellipsis, but I will not go into the details here as the analysis is technically more involved.

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