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On the Double-*o* Constraint in Japanese

Akihiko Sakamoto, Hiroyuki Iwasaki, and Suguru Mikami

Since Harada (1973), it has generally been observed that in Japanese, more than one element marked with *o* (i.e. an accusative marker) cannot co-occur in a sentence (cf. Kuroda (1978), Hiraiwa (2002), Poser (2002)). The Double-*o* effect (henceforth, *Do* effect) is illustrated in the following sentences:

- (1) Taroo-ga Hanako- $\{no/??o\}$ atama-o tatai-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako- $\{Gen/Acc\}$ head-Acc hit-Past
 ‘Taro hit Hanako on the head.’
- (2) Taroo-ga Hanako- $\{ni/*o\}$ sono-hon-o yom-ase-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako- $\{Dat/Acc\}$ the-book-Acc read-Caus-Past
 ‘Taro made Hanako read the book.’

Sentences (1) and (2) indicate that it is not possible for two accusative elements to co-occur in the possessor-raising construction and the transitive causative construction, respectively. However, there is a significant asymmetry between them with respect to the availability of repair strategies, as shown below:

- (3) [Taroo-ga t_i atama-o tatai-ta no]-wa Hanako- o_i da.
 [Taro-Nom head-Acc hit-Past C]-Top Hanako-Acc CPL
 ‘It is Hanako that Taro hit on the head.’
- (4) * [Taroo-ga Hanako- o_i t_i yom-ase-ta no]-wa sono-hon- o_i da.
 [Taro-Nom Hanako-Acc read-Caus-Past C]-Top the-book-Acc CPL
 ‘It is the book that Taro made Hanako read.’

Sentences (3) and (4) show that the *Do* effect in (1) is obviated by clefting, whereas the one in (2) is not repaired by the same strategy. To explain the former fact, Hiraiwa (2002) reformulates the Double-*o* Constraint (*DoC*), adopting Chomsky’s (2001) theory of Phase and Multiple Spell-Out. According to his reformulation, more than one structural accusative Case cannot be morphologically ‘spelled-out’ via Spell-Out within each phase. On the other hand, he argues that the latter fact is accounted for by Harada’s (1975) Functional Uniqueness Principle (FUP): No term of grammatical relation may be represented by more than one constituent, and conversely, no single constituent may bear more than one term of grammatical relation. In the literature, based on the asymmetrical behavior between (3) and (4), causative constructions have traditionally been differentiated from non-causative

constructions.

In this research, however, we claim that the distinction should be reconsidered. In doing this, let us classify causative constructions into three subtypes: the syntactic causative construction (SCC), the double object construction (DOC), and the lexical causative construction (LCC). The crucial fact for our claim is that while the Do effect in the SCC can be repaired, the one in the DOC and the LCC is never obviated. Observe the following sentences:

- (5) Hanako-o_i Taroo-ga muriyari t_i yukkuri hon-o yom-ase-ta.
 Hanako-Acc Taro-Nom forcibly slowly book-Acc read-Caus-Past
 ‘Taro made Hanako read a book slowly.’
- (6) a. * Taroo-ga Hanako-o hon-o {okutta/miseta}.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Acc book-Acc {sent/showed}
 ‘Taro {sent/showed} a book to Hanako.’
- b. * Hanako-o_i Taroo-ga muriyari yukkuri t_i hon-o {okutta/miseta}.
 Hanako-Acc Taro-Nom forcibly slowly book-Acc {sent/showed}
 ‘Taro {sent/showed} a book to Hiroyuki slowly.’

Sentence (5) means that the Do effect in the SCC is saved by the scrambling of one of the accusative elements to the sentence-initial position (cf. Kitagawa (1999)). On the other hand, the DOC and the LCC are not allowed to have two accusative elements, even if we apply the same strategy to the constructions, as illustrated in (6). This contrast is parallel with the one between (3) and (4). Thus, it is expected that the Do effect in the SCC is ruled out by the DoC, whereas the one in the DOC and the LCC is excluded by the FUP.

Let us now consider syntactic structures of these constructions to verify the expectation. Firstly, we argue that the SCC has a bi-clausal structure, whereas the DOC and the LCC have a mono-clausal structure. This is supported by the interpretation of a subject-oriented anaphor *zibun*, as in (7):

- (7) a. Taroo_i-ga Hanako_j-ni zibun_{i/j}-no hon-o yom-ase-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat self-Gen book-Acc read-Caus-Past
 ‘Taro made Hanako read {his/her} letter.’
- b. Taroo_i-ga Hanako_j-ni zibun_{i/*j}-no tegami-o {okutta/miseta}.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat self-Gen letter-Acc {sent/showed}
 ‘Taro {sent/showed} his letter to Hanako.’

In (7a), the anaphor *zibun* can be interpreted as *Hanako* as well as *Taroo*. In (7b),

on the other hand, the anaphor is only interpreted as *Taroo*. This fact means that the SCC has two subjects, while the DOC and the LCC have one subject. Secondly, we argue that the SCC has two Case assigners: the matrix v^* and the embedded v^* , which assign a structural Case to the dative argument and the accusative argument, respectively. On the other hand, the DOC and the LCC have only one Case assigner v^* , which assigns a structural Case to both the internal arguments. This is confirmed by the applicability of the passivization, as given in (8) and (9):

- (8) a. Hanako-ga (Taroo-niyotte) hon-o yom-as-are-ta.
 Hanaka-Nom (Taro-by) book-Acc read-Caus-Pass-Past
 ‘Hanako was made read a book (by Taro).’
 b. * Hon-ga (Taroo-niyotte) Hanako-ni yom-as-are-ta.
 book-Nom (Taro-by) Hanako-Dat read-Caus-Pass-Past
 ‘A book was made read Hanako (by Taro).’
- (9) a. Hanako-ga (Taroo-niyotte) tegami-o {okur/mise}-(r)are-ta.
 Hanaka-Nom (Taro-by) letter-Acc {send/show}-Pass-Past
 ‘Hanako was {sent/showed} a letter.’
 b. Tegami-ga (Taroo-niyotte) Hanako-ni {okur/mise}-(r)are-ta.
 letter-Nom (Taro-by) Hanako-Dat {send/show}-Pass-Past
 ‘A letter was {sent/showed} to Hanako.’

Sentences (8) and (9) show that in the SCC, only the dative argument can be passivized, while in the DOC and the LCC, both the internal arguments can be passivized, respectively. Based on these facts, we assign the structure in (10) to the SCC and the one in (11) to the DOC and the LCC:

- (10) [v^*P Agent [[v^*P Experiencer [[v^*P PRO [[v^*P Theme V] v^*] V]] v^*]]
- (11) [v^*P Agent [[v^*P Experiencer [Theme V]] v^*]]

It is generally assumed that v^* forms a strong phase, and thus the complement of the v^* (i.e. VP) is transferred to the interfaces and becomes inaccessible to operations outside the phase (cf. Chomsky (2000, 2001)). Given the structure in (10) and the DoC, we are forced to state that no Do effect is observed in the SCC, for structure (10) has two strong v^*P phases and only one accusative element should be transferred within each phase. But the absence of the Do effect in the SCC is not borne out, as already observed in (2). The fact is captured by assuming that the

lower v^* in the SCC where two accusative elements co-occur forms no strong phase as a result of restructuring. This theoretical assumption is supported by the interpretation of an anaphor *zibun*. Consider the following sentence:

- (12) Taro_i-ga Hanako_j-o muriyari zibun_{i/*j}-no hon-o yom-ase-ta.
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Acc forcibly self-Gen book-Acc read-Caus-Past
 ‘Taro made Hanako read his book.’

In (12), the anaphor *zibun* can be only interpreted as *Taroo*, differently from (7a). This fact means that the sentence behaves as if it had a mono-clausal structure, suggesting that the lower v^* forms no strong phase. Therefore, we can give an explanation to the *Do* effect in the SCC as follows: Sentence (2) is ruled out due to the existence of two accusative elements within the same Spell-Out domain. Moreover, sentence (5) is acceptable, because one of the two accusative elements in (2) moves to the sentence-initial position and thus they are located within a different Spell-Out domain. The current explanation of the *Do* effect in the SCC exhibits parallelism with the one of the *Do* effect in non-causative constructions.

Let us turn to the *Do* effect in the DOC and the LCC. In (6), we have observed that the *Do* effect in the constructions cannot be saved. Thus, as already mentioned above, it is expected that the *Do* effect in them is excluded by the FUP. To implement this idea, following Williams (1981) and Takano (1998), we propose a case realization rule as follows: The experiencer argument is realized as the dative argument, and the theme argument as the accusative argument. It then follows that both of the two accusative elements in (6a) are theme arguments. Note that in the DOC and the LCC, there is only one θ -role assigner V, as indicated in (11). This means that the V assigns the same θ -role to the two internal arguments. Thus, it is obvious that the situation results in a violation of θ -Criterion. This account is consistent with Fukui’s (2000) reinterpretation of the FUP in terms of θ -Criterion. Furthermore, we can apply the account to the unacceptability in (6b): A thematic relation between the verb and the internal arguments does not change, regardless of whether or not one of the internal arguments moves to the sentence-initial position which is in a higher Spell-Out domain. Hence, the sentence is also ruled out as a violation of θ -Criterion.

In conclusion, we have argued that the *Do* effect in the SCC is excluded by the *Do*C, whereas the one in the DOC and the LCC is ruled out as a violation of θ -Criterion. The treatment of the SCC corresponds to that of non-causative constructions in the literature. If this conclusion is on the right track, it follows that the FUP is applied more narrowly than has been expected.