Spelling-Out Case-Values: In View of Passive Constructions, with Special Reference to Japanese Possessor Passive

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Abstract

Based on empirical considerations on passives (in particular Japanese *possessor passive*), I will defend the cycle-based Case theory of Bruening (2001), in which the notion of "Case-assignment" is decomposed into two distinct mechanisms, Case-valuation and inactivation. Case-valuation is an ancillary effect of Agree relations between the "Case-assigner" categories (T, *v*, etc.) and nominals, and inactivation (deletion of uninterpretable Case-features) is done at the timing of cyclic phase-by-phase Spell-Out. Contra the traditional "Case-absorption" approach to passive, I will claim that the passive counterpart of *v* (v_{pass}) retains its ability to assign Case-values to nominals. Rather, what is suppressed in passive is its ability to induce Spell-Out of its domain, i.e., inactivation.

1. Introduction

This short paper aims at investigating a proper treatment of abstract Case in the phase-theoretic framework of modern generative grammar (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006), through investigations into passives with special reference to the so-called Japanese *possessor passive* construction. The construction is instantiated by (1c), whose logical active counterpart would be (1a).

(1)　Japanese:
　　a.　masukomi-ga　　[***A.sya-no*** sukyandaru　]-***o***　　bakuros-ita.
　　　　mass.media-NOM　Company.A-GEN scandal -ACC　expose-PST
　　　　"The mass media exposed Company A's scandal."
　　b.　[***A.sya-no*** sukyandaru　]-***ga***$_i$ (masukomi-niyotte) t_i bakuros-**are**-ta.
　　　　 Company.A-GEN scandal -NOM　mass.media-by　　　　expose-PASS-PST
　　　　"Company A's scandal was exposed by the mass media."
　　c.　***A.sya-ga***$_i$　　　(masukomi-niyotte) [t_i sukyandaru]-***o*** bakuros-**are**-ta.
　　　　Company.A-NOM mass.media-by　　　　　scandal　-ACC expose-PASS-PST
　　　　"Company A was affected by the mass media's exposing its scandal."

In ordinary passives like (1b), the logical object of the main verb is dislocated to the subject position, receiving subjective Case there. In possessor passive (1c),

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however, what appears in the subject position is not the object itself, but an nP[1] which is obligatorily interpreted as a "possessor" of the object.[2] The object nP, on the other hand, remains in the object position and retains its objective Accusative Case, a crucial property of this passive to be investigated below.

As the trace notation I employed in (1c) indicates, Japanese possessor passive presumably involves a raising-to-subject of the possessor nP base-generated inside the object nP, as I will argue in §2 following Kubo (1992) and contra Hoshi (1999). If this really is the case, possessor passive in turn constitutes a piece of counterevidence against the traditional view that passive involves (morphological or syntactic) absorption of structural Case of the verb (Chomsky 1981), because the Accusative Case is clearly instantiated in the construction like (1c). To overcome this problem, in §3 I will develop an alternative theory of Case and passive, which crucially relies on the notion *phase* proposed by Chomsky (2001). Some empirical and theoretical consequences that my proposal bears will be noted in §4. §5 concludes the paper.

2. Possessor Passive is Possessor Passive

This section is dedicated to the argument that the possessor passive construction like (1c) is really an instance of direct passivization, involving A-movement of the possessor. The view that possessor passive involves raising-to-subject of the possessor nP originated within the object nP is defended by Kubo (1992), with whom I essentially agree on this point.

2.1. Dissociating possessor passive from indirect passive

First of all, it should be established that the passive in question is to be dissociated from the so-called *indirect* (*adversity*) *passive*, illustrated by (2).

(2)   Japanese: indirect passive
   a.   Isao-ga   Tsubasa-ni   nak-are-ta.
        Isao-NOM   Tsubasa-DAT cry-PASS-PST
        "Isao was affected by Tsubasa's crying."
   b.   Isao-ga$_i$ Tsubasa-ni$_j$ ([zibun-no$_{i/j}$ heya]-de) namida-o nagas-are-ta.
        Isao-NOM Tsubasa-DAT self-GEN room -at tear-ACC   shed-PASS-PST
        "Isao$_i$ is affected by Tsubasa's$_j$ shedding tears in his$_{i/j}$ room."

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[1] Throughout this paper I adopt the notation "nP" to refer to nominals, but bear it in mind that I simply use this term as a mere abbreviation for nominal phrases, without committing any particular analyses of the nominal-internal syntax. In doing this I merely try to avoid connotations irrelevant to the present discussion, which are very often associated to the term "DP" (and sometimes even to "NP"). Cf. Fukui (1986), Chomsky (2006), Fukui and Zushi (forthcoming).
[2] Here and below, I will use the term "possessor" as an informal notation for nPs in the Specifier of another nP. I don't try to clarify the exact semantics of each instance of possessors, because, as is well known, the semantic interpretation associated to possessors is difficult to provide a formal definition, as can be demonstrated by the simple English nP *Isao's books* or its Japanese counterpart *Isao-no hon*, for example (the "possessor" *Isao* can be construed as the owner, the possessor, the author, the fan, or the subject of the books, etc).

A salient property of indirect passive is that the argument structure of the "passivized" verb (verbs to which the designated passive morpheme *rare* is attached) is fully saturated by nPs *other than* the matrix subject. In (2a), for example, the external θ-role of the unergative verb *nak* 'cry' is associated to the dative-marked nP *Tsubasa-ni*, and in (2b) the external and internal θ-roles of the transitive verbal stem *nagas* 'shed' are fully discharged to *Tsubasa-ni* and *namida-o* 'tear,' respectively. The matrix subject (*Isao-ga*), on the other hand, does not bear any grammatical relation to these stem verbs, but rather it is construed as being (usually adversely) influenced by the event described by the verb. This is why the subject in this construction is often called an *affectee argument*. Note that in these examples there is no objective Case-suppression comparable to the ordinary passives, hence we can also take intransitive verbs ((2a)) as well as transitive ones ((2b)) to make up this construction. Specifically in the transitive cases, the stem verb does not lose its structural Accusative Case (which is realized on the object nP *namida-o* in (2b)), a fact that this construction apparently shares with possessor passives like (1c).

The literature on Japanese generative grammar basically agrees on the treatment of indirect passive (see Kubo 1992 and Hoshi 1999 and references cited therein). According to this consensus, indirect passive is analyzed as involving sentence complementation.

(3) $[_{S_1}$ DP$_1$-NOM … $[_{S_2}$ DP$_2$-DAT … (DP$_3$-ACC) … V$_{stem}$] *rare*$_V$] (see, e.g., (2))

Here *rare* serves as a matrix verb that discharges an external (malfactive) θ-role to the subject nP and takes a (reduced) sentential complement, whose exact cetegorial status is irrelevant to the present discussion (VP for Kubo 1992, *v*P for Goro 2006. N.B. the Predicate-internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH)). In this construction V$_{stem}$'s argument structure is fully saturated within the sentential complement S$_2$. A crucial fact is that indirect passive involves no Accusative Case-suppression comparable to ordinary passives, so if the verb is transitive, its Accusative Case is unproblematically assigned to its object.[3] On the other hand, the *direct passive* construction like (1b) involves a familiar A-movement of an nP to a subject position.

(4) $[_S$ nP-NOM$_i$ … (nP-*niyotte*) … t_i … V-*rare*]   (see, e.g., (1b))

A conventional assumption on direct passive is that the passive morpheme (*rare*) somehow "absorbs" the Accusative Case of the stem verb and suppresses its external θ-role (which is optionally realized as a *niyotte*-phrase adjunct).

Due to this structural difference, a number of tests are available for distinguishing direct and indirect passives. Here I review four of them, developed

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[3] I put aside the matter regarding how the Dative Case (*ni*) is assigned to the logical subject of the stem verb in indirect passive, due to its small relevance to the discussion below.

by Kubo (1992). These tests indicate that possessor passive shows properties of direct passive, hence presumably dissociated from indirect passive like (2).

(A) the subjecthood of agent phrases[4]: as schematized in (3) and (4), the *ni*-marked agent phrase serves as a subject of the sentential complement in indirect passive, whereas the *niyotte*-marked one in direct passive is an adjunct, hence expected not to show any subject properties. The difference in subjecthood of agent phrases is traditionally considered to be responsible for their *zibun*-binding possibility. *Zibun* 'self' is a subject-oriented long-distance reflexive, whose antecedent is restricted to nPs with subjecthood (Aikawa 1999). As is shown in (2b), not only the matrix subject but also the *ni*-marked agent phrase can bind *zibun* in indirect passive. However, in direct passive (5a) and possessor passive (5b), *zibun* can only be bound by the matrix subject.

(5)   Japanese:
  a. *Isao-ga$_i$* (Tsubasa-niyotte$_j$) [zibun-no$_{i/*j}$ heya]-de t_i nagur-are-ta.
    Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by self-GEN room -at hit-PASS-PST
    "Isao$_i$ was hit (by Tsubasa$_j$) in his$_{i/*j}$ room."
  b. *Isao-ga$_i$* (Tsubasa-niyotte$_j$) [zibun-no$_{i/*j}$ heya]-de [t_i ude]-o
    Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by self-GEN room -at arm-ACC
    tuner-are-ta.
    nip-PASS-PST
    "Isao$_i$ was nipped on his arm (by Tsubasa$_j$) in his$_{i/*j}$ room."

(B) the particles on agent phrases: agent phrases in indirect passive are uniformly marked by the dative particle *ni*, whereas those in direct passive can be marked by either of *ni*, *niyotte* 'by,' or *kara* 'from,' as is also the case with those in possessor passive. All of the *niyotte*'s attached to agent phrases in the examples of direct and possessor passives above and below can be freely replaced by *ni* and *kara*.[5] However, if we replace *ni* of agent phrases in indirect passive sentences with other particles such as *niyotte* and *kara*, the resultant examples show various but significant degrees of deviance. Hence the *niyotte/kara*-marking on agent phrases in possessor passive is a diagnosis of its patterning with direct passive.

(C) the animacy condition on the subject: as discussed above, the matrix subject nP in indirect passive is assigned a kind of θ-role by the verb *rare*. It is observed that there is a selectional restriction imposed on the indirect passive subject, namely that it must be an animate nP. Thus an inanimate subject is incompatible with the indirect passive construction (6a). On the other hand, there is no such

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[4] For expository convenience, I will use the cover term "agent phrase" to refer to the demoted external argument in passives (realized as *ni/niyotte/kara*-phrases in Japanese and *by*-phrases in English, for example), but as is well known, their interpretation is not restricted to *agent*. Cf. Jaeggli (1986).
[5] It should be quickly noted that the direct passive with *ni*-marked agent phrases (*ni*-direct passive in Hoshi's (1999) terms) shows a set of semantic peculiarities that are not readily accounted for by a simple A-movement analysis of direct passives, unlike *niyotte*-passive and *kara*-passive (see Hoshi 1999). For this reason, throughout this paper I use *niyotte*-passive sentences as representative of direct passive in Japanese.

restriction on the subject in direct passive (6b) or possessor passive (6c).

(6) Japanese:
  a.??? [Isao-no ie   ]-ga kazoku-ni   inakunar-are-ta.
      Isao-GEN home-NOM family-DAT   disappear-PASS-PST
      "Isao's home was affected by his family's disappearing."
  b./c. [*Isao-no ie   ]-ga* kazoku-niyotte t_i/[t_i soozoku]-o hookis-are-ta.
      Isao-GEN home-NOM family-by   descent-ACC abandon-PASS-PST
      "Isao's home('s inheritance) was abandoned by his family."

Based on these diagnostic facts (A)-(C), Kubo (1992) concludes that possessor passive should be treated as an instance of direct passive involving a raising-to-subject A-movement of the possessor nP, a conclusion I follow.

Note that once we dissociate possessor passive from indirect passive, the fact that the object in possessor passive retains its Accusative Case becomes a mystery for the conventional "Case-absorption" approach to passive (Chomsky 1981, Jaeggli 1986, Baker et al. 1989, to name just a few), because it postulates that passivization suppresses verbs' structural Accusative Case, which leads to a prediction that the Case be absent in passives. Japanese possessor passive then becomes a piece of potential counterevidence to the claim that passivization is a "Case-absorption" phenomenon.

2.2. On the placement of possessor's trace

To avoid this problem, Hoshi (1999), advocating the Case-absorption approach to direct passive, proposed that possessor passive cases should be analyzed rather as derived from underlyingly existing multiple accusative ditransitive structures. For example, the active counterpart of (1c) is (7) rather than (1a) under Hoshi's proposal, where the two Accusative nPs are generated independently of each other and serve as two distinct arguments.

(7) Japanese: multiple accusative structure
   ?* masukomi-ga   *A.sya-o   sukyandaru-o* bakuros-ita.
   mass.media-NOM   Company.A-ACC scandal-ACC   reveal-PST
   "The mass media brought Company A's scandal into light."

He argues that such multiple Accusative object structures underlyingly exist but never surface as well-formed due to the Japanese-particular *Double-o Constraint*, which prohibits more than one Accusative-marked object within a single *v*P (see Hiraiwa 2002 for a current treatment of the Double-*o* Constraint). Hoshi calls such an extraneous "argument" like *A.sya-o* 'Company A' in (7) an *affected object*, which is semantically interpreted as being affected by the event denoted by the verb, subsuming the "possessor" relations to the second Accusative object. Hoshi claims that if Japanese sentences really allow this kind of ditransitive structure, then the raising-to-subject of such nPs ceases to be problematic for the Case-absorption approach to passives, because then it can be imagined easily that

in such cases the passive morpheme absorbs only one of the two Accusative Cases of the verb, letting the other be operative even in passives.

There are, however, a set of facts for which Kubo's "out-of-object" analysis can provide an explanation superior to Hoshi's "underlying ditransitive" analysis. Note first the difference between these two approaches with respect to the placement of the trace of the raised possessor: while the former places the trace of possessor inside the object nP, the latter does not.

(8)   Kubo's "out-of-object" analysis
        nP-NOM$_i$ …   [$_{nP}$ t_i N]-ACC   …   V-PASS

(9)   Hoshi's "underlying ditransitive" analysis
        nP-NOM$_i$ … t_i nP-ACC   …   V-PASS

This difference naturally leads to empirically different predictions: Kubo's analysis predicts that the possibility of possessor passive sentences is restricted to cases where the object nP can host the trace of the raised subject, whereas no such restriction is predicted in Hoshi's analysis. Another prediction that Kubo makes but Hoshi fails to is that movement of the host object nP is restricted in a certain way, due to its *remnant movement* status. Below I will argue that the predictions of Kubo's out-of-object analysis are in fact borne out.

(I) The first set of observations is that the Accusative object in possessor passive cannot be a null pronominal category (*pro*), exemplified in (10a). *pro* is presumably a "closed" nP in itself, and hence is assumed to be unable to host a possessor nP('s trace) inside it, unlike other nominals. If the possessor passive construction requires that the possessor be base-generated within the Accusative object nP, then *pro* cannot be in such an object position. This prediction is borne out by the infelicitousness of (10b) in an out-of-the-blue discourse context.[6] Note that Japanese relative clauses are also claimed to utilize *pro* as their relative gap, which is coreferencial with the relative head N under an obligatory "aboutness" relation between them (Murasugi 1991; see also Fukui and Takano (2000) and references cited therein).[7] Thus the ungrammaticality of relativization of the Accusative nP in possessor passive ((10c)) further confirms the point.[8, 9]

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[6] The out-of-the-blue context excludes the possibility of deriving the nP gap in (10b) not by merging *pro* but by an "nP-ellipsis" of the remnant object nP, which can be regarded as salvaging the structure like (ii). The nP-ellipsis is claimed by Oku (1998) and Saito (2003a) to be operative in Japanese.

(i)   A: *A.sya-ga$_i$*   masukomi-niyotte   (*t$_i$*)   [*t$_i$* sukyandaru]-o bakuros-are-ta   rasii yo.
            Company.A-NOM mass.media-by   scandal   -ACC expose-PASS-PST seem SFP
            "It seems that Company A was affected by the mass media's exposing its scandal."

(ii)   B: tigau yo, *B.sya-ga$_i$*   (*t$_i$*) [~~t$_i$ sukyandaru~~]-o bakuros-are-tan-da   yo.
            wrong SFP Company.B-NOM   scandal   -ACC expose-PASS-PST-DECL   SFP
            "It's not true, It's Company B that was affected by the exposure of its scandal."

[7] One might claim, against the *pro*-based account of relative clauses, that the gap should be analyzed rather as a *wh*-trace of the relative operator movement of the familiar kind, but such controversy is largely irrelevant to the present discussion, because anyway the gap within relative clauses, be it a *wh*-trace/copy of null operator *Op* or a *pro*, presumably cannot host a possessor('s trace) inside it.

[8] It should be noted that the Accusative object posision in possessor passive is marginally allowed to be filled

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(10) Japanese: "unpossessable" *pro*

    a./b. *A.sya-ga$_i$*   masukomi-niyotte (t_i) [t_i sukyandaru]-o/$^{*?}$***pro***
         Company.A-NOM mass.media-by   scandal -ACC/*pro*
         bakuros-are-ta.
         expose-PASS-PST
         "Company A was affected by the mass media's exposing its scandal."

    c. *? [$_{RC}$ Isao-ga   Tsubasa-niyotte ***pro$_i$*** tuner-are-ta] ***ude***/***titioya$_i$***
         Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by   nip-PASS-PST   arm/father
         "the arm/father that Isao was nipped on by Tsubasa"

(II) second, observe that passivizing the (remnant) object nP, instead of what Hoshi calls an affected object, results in a severely deviant expression.

(11) Japanese: passivizing the remnant object (cf. (1))

    * [t_j ***sukyandaru***]-***ga$_i$*** (masukomi-niyotte) **A.sya-o/wa/sae$_j$**^{10}
      scandal   -NOM mass.media-by   Company.A-ACC/TOP/even

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by (a) a proper name, (b) a lexical pronoun, (c) a demonstrative, or (d) an nP which is already possessed by other entity, all of which one might think cannot host a possessor nP inside them for some syntactic or semantic reasons.

(i) Japanese: "unpossessable" nPs other than *pro*
    Isao-ga$_i$ Tsubasa-niyotte/kara $^{??}$**Narita.kuukoo-o**/$^{???}$**sore-o**/$^{???}$**kore-o**/$^{???}$[**Genki-no zaisan**]-**o**
    Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by/from   Narita.Airport-ACC/it-ACC/this-ACC/ Genki-GEN estate-ACC
    bossyuus-are-ta.
    confiscate-PASS-PST
    "Isao was affected by Tsubasa's confiscation of Narita Airport/it/this/Genki's estate."
However, overt lexical nominals in Japanese are not so "closed-off" in the sense that they can host additional Genitive-marked "possessor" nP(s), as is not the case with those in English (thus the ungrammatical status of the English translation of (ii); see Fukui 1986). Thus the nominals of the form in (ii) are licit as far as some kind of "possessive" relation holds, which can be vaguely characterized as elements showing some "commitment" to the "possessed" (see note 1).
(ii) Japanese:
  (?/??/???) [$_{nP}$ *Isao-no*   **Narita.kuukoo/sore/kore**/[**Genki-no zaisan**]]
             Isao-GEN   Narita.Airport /it /this / Genki-GEN estate
          "(*) [Isao's   Narita Airport/it/this/Genki's estate]"
Therefore, the possibility of marginal structures like those in (i) cannot affect the validity of the present discussion.
^{9} (10b), which is severely degraded, involves an inalienable possessive relation to the possessor *Isao*. Comparable examples involving an alienable one, such as in (i), sometimes show a contrast in acceptability.
(i) Japanese:
    ?? [$_{RC}$ Isao-ga   Tsubasa-niyotte/kara *pro$_i$* ubaw-are-ta] ***teeburu$_i$***/***neko$_i$***
         Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by/from   rob-PASS-PST   table/cat
       "the table/cat that was robbed of Isao by Tsubasa"
I would like to leave the exact factor of such a contrast for future research, but a plausible line of reasoning is that an alienable possessor-possessee relation can be more readily recast in the aboutness relation which holds between the relative head N (*teeburu/zaisan* in (i)) and the gap in the relative clause in Japanese. This suggestion is further strengthened by the observation that the aboutness relation in the sentential topic-comment structure shows the comparable contrast between alienable and inalienable possession relations.
(ii) Japanese:
    (sono) ***ude**/***titioya** //$^{??}$**teeburu**/$^{??}$**neko -wa** Isao-ga   Tsubasa-niyotte e_i kizutuker-are-ta.
      the   arm/ father // table/   cat -TOP Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by   hurt-PASS-PST
      "As for the arm/father//table/cat, Isao was affected by Tsubasa's hurting it."
^{10} The strategy of the Double-*o* Constraint obviation parallel to (14b) below does not help here, either.

t_i bakuros-are-ta.

    expose-PASS-PST

"The scandal was affected by the mass media's exposing of Company A."

Given Kubo's assumption that possessor passive involves raising of the possessor nP (refer to (8)), then we can provide an explanation on the ungrammatical status of (11) by resorting to the possessor's trace within the subjectivized nP, noted as t_j. t_j fails to be bound by the raised possessor *A.sya*, hence we can charge it with violation of some principle deriving the effect of the Proper Binding Condition (PBC), a classical conjecture that a trace must be bound by its moved antecedent. On the other hand, Hoshi's analysis crucially assumes the *non*existence of such an offending trace, so this PBC-based account is simply unavailable in this approach. Rather it must stipulate some other means to exclude the possibility of (11).

Note that PBC cannot be maintained in its bare form, in face of various *remnant movement* phenomena in natural languages. For example, adaptation of the Predicate-Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH) made it harder to keep PBC. Consider (12).

(12)   English:

        a.   [t_i how proud of Mary]$_j$ is ***John**_i$ t_j?

        b.   [how likely [(t_i) to t_i win]]$_j$ is ***John**_i$ t_j?

        c.   [t_i hit himself$_i$]$_j$, Bill$_k$ thought ***John**_i$ did t_j.

(12a, b) are examples of predicate *wh*-movement, and (12c) of *v*P-preposing. All the examples are fine, but predicted to be bad if PBC is literally correct, because of the unbounded trace within the fronted phrases, which is predicted to exist under PISH. Crucially, the strongest interpretation of PBC bans *every instance of remnant movement*, which cannot be correct in face of (12), as long as PISH holds (see Hiraiwa 2003 and Müller 1996 for further cases).[11] One possibility to avoid such "overstrictness" of PBC is to limit its domain to traces *of the same type of movement*, as suggested by Müller (1996). For the present discussion, it is

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[11] One might suppose that if we assume reconstruction of the *wh*-moved categories into t_j, then the offending traces t_i's in (12) cease to be problematic under the original PBC. However, there are some reasons to believe that the PBC violation cannot be obviated by reconstruction. Consider Japanese scrambling examples like (i).

(i)   Japanese: scrambling and PBC (Saito 2003b)

    *[*Hanako-ga* *t_i* *iru* *to*]$_j$ ***Sooru-ni**_i$ [Taroo-ga t_j omotteiru] (koto)

     Hanako-NOM   be that Seoul-DAT Taro-NOM   think   fact

    "[That Hanako is t_i]$_j$, in Seoul$_i$, [Taro thinks t_j]."

There are two instances of (long-distance) scrambling. One moves *Sooru-ni*, and then the remnant clause is scrambled to the sentence-initial position. The trace of *Sooru-ni*, t_i, is out of the binding/c-command domain of *Sooru-ni*, hence the deviance of (i) is attributed to PBC. Scrambling is one of the clearest examples of "semantically vacuous" movement, and it is claimed to be obligatorily "undone" or reconstructed at LF (see Saito 1989, 2003b for argument. In fact, such examples as (i) lead Saito (1989) to propose that PBC is an "S-structure" condition). The still bad status of (i) then indicates that reconstruction cannot obviate the PBC violation. Based on these considerations (among others), I will reformulate PBC below without recourse to reconstruction. Note that RPBC proposed below in (13) can readily account for the deviance of (i), because the second scrambling, presumably an A'-movement, pied-pipes an A'-trace of the scrambled phrase *Sooru-ni*.

sufficient to assume that *A* and *A-bar* (*A′*) in the canonical sense are the possible types of movement.[12] The movement type-based relativization of PBC allows (12) to be legitimately generated, because the unbound trace (t_i) within the *wh*-moved/ topicalized remnant XP is not an A′-trace but an A-trace, created by *John*'s A-movement into TP-Spec. Along with these considerations, I offer a relativized version of PBC, (13),

(13) Relativized Proper Binding Condition (RPBC):
      α-movement cannot pied-pipe an *α*-trace out of the c-command domain of its antecedent.

where *α* stands for a variable for movement types, *A* or *A-bar* (cf. Müller's *Unambiguous Domination* and Chomsky's (1964) *A-over-A Principle*). I assume with Chomsky (2000) that the operation *Move* is a composite of Agree/pied-piping/Merge. (13) bans *α*-movement of a structure X of the form $[_X … t_Y …]$ out of Y's c-command domain, where Y is an *α*-moved antecedent of t_Y. Crucially, it allows the possibility of remnant *α*-movement pied-piping *β*-traces, where $α \neq β$. This amounts to saying that an A′-movement can pied-pipe A-traces, hence the well-formedness of (12).[13]

   Let us return to the question of how to exclude such ill-formed examples as (11). In order for this question to be legitimate at all, we must antecedently ask whether the hypothetical multiple accusative structure (like (7), repeated as (14a)) is generable at all. The surface deviance of (14a) is, as noted, due to the Double-*o* Constraint violation, under Hoshi's (1999) claim. It should be noted that the deviance of (14a) can be remedied when one of the *o*'s is excluded from the *v*P domain (Hiraiwa 2002), for example, by replacing it by some focus particle like *sae* 'even,' *mo* 'also,' or the contrastive topic marker *wa* ((14b)).

(14) Japanese: multiple accusative structure
      a. ?* masukomi-ga   *A.sya-o*   *sukyandaru-o* bakuros-ita.
         mass.media-NOM   Company.A-ACC   scandal-ACC   expose-PST
         "The mass media exposed Company A of its scandal."
      b. (?) masukomi-ga   *A.sya-**sae/mo/wa***   *sukyandaru-o* bakuros-ita.
         mass.media-NOM   Company.A-even/also/TOP   scandal-ACC expose-PST

It seems then that Hoshi is correct in claiming that even if degraded by the Double-*o* Constraint, structures like (14a) are somehow generable by Japanese grammar, a point on which I basically agree with him. However, I would like to

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[12] Of course a more articulated classification is ready to be offered if needed. It should be quickly noted that the definition of A- and A′-movement itself is still in controversy. Here I tentatively assume Hiraiwa's (2005) feature-based definition, which posits that positions created by either θ-role (θ-feature in his terms) assignment or φ-feature checking are construed as A-positions and ones created by operator feature-checking are construed as A′-positions (see also Chomsky 2005).
[13] The reverse should also be true: an A-movement is predicted to be able to pied-pipe A′-traces, a possibility which I leave for future research.

suggest that double accusative structures like (14a) are rather derived from the underlying object nP of the form [$_{nP}$ nP$_{(possessor)}$ N] (like the one in (1a), repeated below as (15a)) by *possessor raising*, which assigns structural Case to a possessor and raises it, leaving its trace in the remnant nP.[14]

(15)   Japanese: possessor raising
      a.   masukomi-ga   [***A.sya-no*** sukyandaru   ]-***o***   bakuros-ita. (=(1a))
            mass.media-NOM   Company.A-GEN scandal -ACC expose-PST
            "The mass media exposed Company A's scandal."
      b. ?* masukomi-ga ***A.sya-o***$_i$ [t_i sukyandaru]-***o*** bakuros-ita. (=(14a))

I propose, assuming Hiraiwa's (2005) mechanism of Multiple Agree, that (Accusative) possessor raising is attained by *v*'s multiple Agree-relation with these nPs, resulting in a multiple Accusative Case-valuation to them and a raising of the possessor nP out of the host nP to *v*P-Spec. The derivation is schematized in (16).

(16)   possessor raising
    … [$_{vP}$ ***nP-ACC***$_i$ [$_{v'}$ … [$_{nP}$ t_i … N]-***ACC*** … V-*v*]]
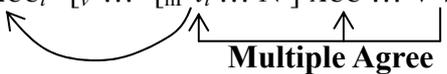
Multiple Agree

Crucially, the possessor is raised from inside the object nP, leaving an *A*-trace within it. Then, passivizing the remnant object (examples like (11)) leads to the RPBC violation, because the passive A-movement, which is induced by the Nominative-Case checking requirement of T, cannot raise the remnant object, pied-piping an A-trace of possessor raising. Hence again, the unpassivizability of the (remnant) host object nP can be attributed to the possessor's A-trace within it, along the line of reasoning with Kubo (1992).[15]

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[14] The point that Japanese employs possessor raising strategies is independently claimed by Ura (1996) and Hiraiwa (2004), in light of examples like those below.
(i)   Japanese: subject possessor raising (Ura 1996)
    John-ga$_i$ [$_{nP}$ t_i kuruma]-ga   seibihuryoo-da.
    John-NOM   car   -NOM   ill.conditioned-COP
    "John's car is ill-conditioned."
(ii)   Japanese: object possessor raising (Hiraiwa 2004)
    Taroo-wa   Hanako-o$_i$ (tuyoku)   [$_{nP}$ t_i te   ]-$^{??}$o/mo   tataita.
    Taro-TOP   Hanako-ACC   hard   hand -ACC/also   hit
    "Taro hit Hanako's hand (hard)."
There is a parametric variation on whether or not a language allows possessor raising (see Ura 1996). For reasons of space, I must leave the exact source of the variation and simply assume that this operation is allowed in Japanese. Ura (1996) claimed that only subject possessor raising, but not the object one, is allowed in Japanese, but I follow Hiraiwa's (2004) claim that the superficial (often mild) degradation of object possessor raising such as that of (ii) is only due to the independent Double-*o* Constraint and not owing to the impossibility of object possessor raising.

[15] One might argue that reference to RPBC is redundant in this "possessor raising" approach to possessor passive, because T's probing to the remnant nP is independently banned by the intervention of the raised possessor (i.e., minimality). Actually, I will argue below that possessor raising is prerequisite for possessor passive, resorting to an argument based on minimality. However, note that Japanese allows *v*P-internal A-scrambling/object shift of the direct object (see the discussion below and in §4.2). Then, if we attribute the unpassivizability of the remnant nP to minimality, we should antecedently ensure that the remnant object nP can never undergo object shift over the raised possessor. The fact that such a "leapfrogging" cannot occur can

Compare the situation with Hoshi's analysis, which posits that possessor passive is rather derived from underlying ditransitive structure. It crucially assumes the *non*existence of possessor's trace within the (second) object nP, so it must stipulate some means other than RPBC to exclude the possibility of passivizing the object as in (11). Notice that the ordinary double object construction (DOC) in Japanese readily allows both the direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) to be passivized (see §4.2 below), so such a stipulation must be made in a way that allows both IO- and DO-passivization in DOC on the one hand and excludes specifically the passivization of the second object nP in the passive in question on the other, an unattractive solution. On the other hand, Kubo's line of reasoning can *uniformly* explain both of the observations (I) and (II) above simply by analyzing the possessor's trace as residing the remnant object. For these reasons, I would like to conclude that Kubo's "out-of-object" analysis is superior to Hoshi's "underlying ditransitive" analysis, and assume the former in the following discussion.

Note, in passing, that the above discussion does not yet address the issue of whether or not possessor raising *always* precedently occurs before possessor passivation. I would like to claim that the answer to the question is affirmative and that possessor raising is actually a *prerequisite* for possessor passivization, mainly for two considerations. First, the point that possessor raising at least *can* precede possessor passivization is demonstrated by (17), where the passivized possessor subject can float its quantifier to the trace position presumably created by the precedent possessor raising.

(17)   Japanese:
        syousya-ga$_i$ masukomi-niyotte t_i **6-sya** [t_i sukyandaru]-**o** bakuros-are-ta.
        company-NOM mass.media-by   6-CL   scandal -ACC expose-PASS-PST
        "Six companies were affected by the mass media's exposing their scandals."

The second, more important consideration is related to the minimality of Agree. If possessor raising does not occur, the possessor remains within the object nP when

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be readily explained by RPBC, because such an object shift is an instance of remnant A-movement pied-piping an A-trace. Hence the minimality-based account must be supplemented by some additional assumption to the effect of RPBC, which I argue constitutes indirect support for RPBC. So I argue that RPBC is an independently motivated principle.

   Note incidentally that object shift/*v*P-internal scrambling of the remnant object nP seems possible, as long as the moved remnant nP is still c-commanded by the raised possessor (maybe utilizing "tucking-in" into the inner *v*P-Spec, cf. Richards 2001), a point illustrated by the word order in (i) relative to adverbials and agent phrases. Cf. (ii). RPBC in (13) is consistent with this fact.

(i)   Japanese: (cf. (14b))
  (?) masukomi-ga   *A.sya-sae/mo/wa$_i$*   [t_i **sukyandaru**]-**o$_j$** **sibasiba yoosyanaku** t_j **bakuros-uru.**
      mass.media-NOM Company.A-even/also/TOP   scandal -ACC often   relentlessly   expose-PRS
      "The mass media often relentlessly exposes the scandal of Company A."
(ii)   Japanese: (cf. (1c))
      A.sya-ga$_i$ [t_i **sukyandaru**]-**o$_j$** **sibasiba** **yoosyanaku masukomi-niyotte** t_j bakuros-are-ru.
      Company.A-NOM   scandal -ACC often   relentlessly mass.media-by   expose-PASS-PRS
      "Company A is often relentlessly exposed the scandal of Company A."

T starts probing, and then T's probing cannot reach the possessor without skipping the label of the object nP, presumably violating minimality. I assume that T's probing can reach the possessor only via Multiple Agree with both the object nP and the possessor nP, obviating minimality (Hiraiwa 2005). This results rather in the "subject possessor raising" structure as in (18),

(18) Japanese:
       A.sya-ga$_j$ [t_j **sukyandaru**]-**ga**$_i$ (masukomi-niyotte) t_i bakuros-are-ta.
       Company.A-NOM scandal   -NOM mass.media-by   expose-PASS-PST
       "Company A, its scandal was exposed by the mass media."

where both of the Agree-partners of T are assigned Nominative and attracted to TP-Spec (see note 14). Based on these considerations, I assume that possessor passive is contingent on the antecedent possessor raising within *v*P. Note that with this assumption, I am actually synthesizing Kubo's (1992) proposal (that the passivized possessor is base-generated within the object nP) with Hoshi's (1999) proposal (that possessor passive is derived from the underlying multiple Accusative structure as in (15a)). In fact, empirical considerations reveal that what is wrong with Hoshi is only the assumption of the nonexistence of the possessor's trace within the object nP.

2.3. Summary for section 2

Let us quickly sum up the discussion so far: we have seen data which indicate that the Japanese possessor passive construction is really an instance of direct passive, involving raising-to-subject A-movement, unlike the so-called indirect passive construction. Moreover, it is argued, especially against Hoshi's (1999) "underlying ditransitive" analysis, that the passivized nP is really a possessor base-generated within the object nP.[16]

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[16] Example like (i) are sometimes argued to constitute potential counterevidence to this claim, because the possessor position of the object nP is overtly realized as a pronominal/subject-oriented reflexive coreferential with the subject.
(i)   Japanese: (Masahiro Yamada, p.c.; cf. (1c))
   (?) **A.sya-ga**$_i$ (masukomi-niyotte) [**soko-no**$_i$/**zi-sya-no**$_i$ sukyandaru]-**o** bakuros-are-ta.
       Company.A-NOM mass.media-by   it-GEN/self-CL-GEN scandal -ACC expose-PASS-PST
       "Company A was affected by the mass media's exposing its scandal."
Of course we can avoid the problem by stipulating that they are instances of "resumptive pronouns," i.e. redundantly pronounced chain tails. However, even such a stipulation might not be needed here. First of all, recall that Japanese allows more than one Genitive-marked "possessor" nPs within a single nP (see note 8). Then, there is nothing wrong with deriving (i) from the underlying "double possessor" structure as in (ii).
(ii)   Japanese: (cf. (1a))
       masukomi-ga   [**A.sya-no**$_i$ (hokanaranu)$^{???}$**soko-no**$_i$/$^{???}$**zi-sya-no**$_i$ sukyandaru]-**o** bakuros-ita.
       mass.media-NOM Company.A-GEN very   it-GEN / self-CL-GEN scandal-ACC expose-PST
       "(*)The mass media exposed Company A's (very) its scandal."
It is at least possible to suppose that the apparent deviance of (i), which sounds relatively mild in contrast with the comparable English example *Company A's its scandal*, is only due to binding conditions (the deviance of the pronoun *soko-no* 'its' is due to Condition B applied in the domain of the bracketed object nP, and that of the reflexive *zi-sya-no* 'self's' is due to its subject-orientation, which is satisfied only after the passive raising-to-subject of *A.sya* as in (i)). Then, once we admit the possibility of such underlying double possessor structures, the possessor raising/passive is supposed to be able to target the outermost possessor

Now this state of affairs gives rise to problems for the "Case-absorption" approach to passive, among which the following is salient: if passive morpheme absorbs the verb's Case-assigning property, as this approach posits, then how can Accusative Case ever be assigned to the remnant host object nP? This question is a prelude for the next section, where I develop a new theory of Case and passive which readily resolves this issue.

3. Case-Valuation and Inactivation

3.1. Case and Spell-Out

Since Chomsky (1981), it has been predominantly assumed that (abstract) Case is a "licenser" for an nP to be legitimate in syntax. One of the current formulations of Case is that it is an uninterpretable feature on nPs that must be deleted via a checking relation with some appropriate functional head (T for Nominative, v for Accusative, etc.; Chomsky 1995). In this paper, I specifically adopt the view that uninterpretable features are features that *lack value*, and that they are deleted soon after *valuation* (Chomsky 2001).

In order to check their Case-features, nPs often undergo A-movement. Lasnik (1995) and Chomsky (1995) proposed the *Attract* theory of movement, under which every movement is triggered by the need of attractor/target, rather than that of the mover. Specifically, A-movement is not driven by the need of moving nPs, but by that of the "Case-assigner" functional heads. These functional heads (or *probes*) have a requirement to establish an agreement relation with some nP within their c-command domain. For expository purposes, let us follow Chomsky (2001) in formulating this agreement requirement as a set of uninterpretable φ-features ([uφ]) on the probes.[17] In order to check [uφ], the probe P searches its c-command domain to find a goal nP to agree with. If this probing reaches an appropriate goal G, feature matching holds (the operation *Agree*), and as an ancillary effect of it the Case-feature of G is assigned a value (Agree with T Nominative, one with v Accusative, etc.), and G is attracted to the Spec of P if P has an EPP-feature (or n-feature). Under this conception of A-movement, the uninterpretable Case-feature ([uCase]) on nP does not trigger A-movement. Rather, it serves only as an "activator" of the goal nP (Chomsky 2000: 123, 137). That is, an uninterpretable Case feature renders the bearer nP *active* for Agree.[18] If it is deleted, then the nP is *inactivated*, and further access to this nP is barred by the

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without problem, which substantially weakens the alleged counterargument based on examples like (i). Why languages like Japanese ever allow such "redundant" Specifiers is a separable matter. See Fukui (1986) and Saito and Fukui (1998), etc..
[17] Whether languages like Japanese ever employ formal agreement features like [uφ] is still under debate (see Fukui 1986, Fukui and Kasai 2004, etc.), but let me here quite tentatively assume that [uφ] is also responsible for the Case-valuation in Japanese.
[18] This activation property is assumed not to be restricted to Case-features but is a property of uninterpretable features in general (Chomsky 2000).

Inactivity Condition.

(19)   Inactivity Condition (Chomsky 2000, 2001)
       Only active goals can be accessed by Agree.

This condition explains the ungrammaticality of cases like (20), in which an NP moves from a Case-position to another Case-position.

(20)   English:
       a. * $John_i$ seems that t_i is smart.
       b. * $John_i$ seems to t_i that Mary is smart.

   Now we must proceed to ask exactly when the inactivation (deletion of Case-features) of nPs occurs. Recall that we assume Chomsky's (2001) conception of uninterpretable features: they are features that lack value, and the operation Agree assigns a value to them under feature matching. Syntactic operation Agree now does not delete uninterpretable features, but only *assigns values* to them. Then, what is responsible for deleting the valued Case-features? Chomsky (2001) hinted that the deletion of uninterpretable features is the task of Spell-Out.[19] Bruening (2001) explicitly took this position, and proposed that inactivation (deletion of Case-features[20]) is done by Spell-Out at each phase in a cyclic manner. According to Bruening's theory, Agree only assigns values to unvalued Case-features and renders them *marked for deletion* (cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2001), but inactivation is suspended till the point when the nPs undergo Spell-Out. Note that here the traditional notion "Case-assignment" is decomposed into two subcomponents: Case-valuation by Agree and inactivation by Spell-Out. I would like to call this line of phase-theoretic Case theory the *cycle-based Case theory*.

   Bruening (2001) went on to suggest that the proposed timing dichotomy between Case-valuation and inactivation opens up the possibility that an nP undergoes *Multiple Agree/Case-valuation* with more than one probe. As long as nPs are not affected by Spell-Out, these nPs remain active, and still have an ability to receive another Case-value under Agree. He proposed that the Raising-to-Object constructions in Passamaquoddy and Japanese really instantiate such a multiple Agree/Case-valuation possibility (see also Hiraiwa 2004). Thus, it can be said that Bruening naturally opened up a way to accommodate what had been called "multiple Case-checking" phenomena into the current phase-based syntactic theory, a dominant executant of the minimalist program.

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[19] A quote from Chomsky follows: "The operation Spell-Out removes LF-uninterpretable material from the syntactic object K and transfers K to the phonological component. It must therefore be able to determine which syntactic features are uninterpretable, hence to be removed. Prior to application of Agree, these are distinguished from interpretable features by lack of specification of value. After application of Agree, the distinction is lost. To operate without reconstructing the derivation, Spell-Out must therefore apply shortly after the uninterpretable features have been assigned values" (Chomsky 2001: p. 5).

[20] Or [P(roximate)] features in Bruening's (2001) terms employed in his analysis on Algonquian languages.

3.2. Passive and multiple Case-valuation

Now, let us turn to the analysis of passive, adapting the cycle-based Case theory within the phase-theoretic framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2005, 2006; see also Hiraiwa 2005). Let us begin with the ordinary direct passive (1b), repeated here as (21). Here I omit the optional agent *niyotte*-phrase adjunct, and add some labeled brackets relevant to the discussion. (N.B.: I follow the conventional assumption that the external θ-role of verbs is suppressed in (direct) passive, which optionally realized as some oblique adjunct phrases, such as *by*-phrases in English and *niyotte*-phrases in Japanese.)

(21)   Japanese: (verb-raising omitted)
$[_{CP}$ [*A.sya-no sukyandaru*   ]-*ga*$_i$ $[_{vP}$ *t*$_i$ bakuros-are-ta]   T-C]
    Company.A-GEN scandal -NOM   reveal-PASS-PAST
    "Company A's scandal was exposed."

(21) is an instance of ordinary direct passive, which involves raising-to-subject of the logical object nP. The Nominative Case indicates that this nP has undergone Agree with the matrix T, by the time it is inactivated by Spell-Out. Assuming that Spell-Out occurs cyclically at the completion of each strong phase (Chomsky 2000), this Nominative-marking indicates that the nP did not undergo inactivation at the lower vP-phase, given that T's Agree is a CP-phase operation. This is a straightforward result of Chomsky's (2000) suggestion that the passive variety of v, which I dub v_{pass} without committing to any specific analysis of its internal morphosyntactic structure, is not a *strong phase head*. That is, v_{pass}P is only a *weak phase* that does not trigger Spell-Out of its domain. Let us assume so. Then nPs within the v_{pass}P-phase are not inactivated at the completion of v_{pass}P, and hence remain active for further operations above v_{pass}P, so T's probing successfully reaches them without violating the Inactivity Condition (19).

We should carefully examine what hypotheses we employ to make the story stand. Specifically, I would like to point out that whether an additional stipulation around "Case-absorption" in passive is ever needed is unclear under this approach. Note that once we make the assumption that v_{pass}P is not a strong phase triggering Spell-Out of its domain, then nPs within v_{pass}P remain active, *regardless of whether or not they have undergone Agree/Case-valuation with some probe*, under the cycle-based Case theory. So it should be an open question whether there are some preceding Agree operations, feeding Case-valuation, and the answer to this question should be provided on empirical grounds.

What I would like to claim is that the remnant object in the Japanese possessor passive construction instantiates the possibility of such a precedent Case-valuation. Consider (1c), repeated here as (22).

(22)   Japanese: (verb-raising omitted)
$[_{CP}$ *A.sya-ga*$_i$ $[_{vP}$ *t*$'_i$ $[_{nP}$ *t*$_i$ sukyandaru]-*o* bakuros-are-ta]   T-C]

Company.A-ɴᴏᴍ　　　　　　　　scandal　-ᴀᴄᴄ reveal-ᴘᴀss-ᴘsᴛ
　　　　"Company A was affected by an exposure of its scandal."

Along with the observations in §2, I assume that possessor passive is derived by raising-to-subject A-movement of the possessor, which is precedently dislocated to the vP-Spec by possessor raising. This A-movement is presumably triggered by T's [uφ] and EPP-feature, and I assume so. T's probing finds the raised possessor as a goal, and the Agree-relation holds, attracting the nP to TP-Spec. As noted, the issue is that in this derivation the remnant object remains its object position, assigned Accusative Case. This Accusative Case-value is an evidence that the nP undergoes Agree with v, a prototypical source for it.

Now I propose that the passive counterpart of v, v_{pass}, still has [uφ] to agree with a nominal, just as the transitive v does. This assumption immediately explains why the host object nP can still appear with Accusative Case even in passive.[21] However, as we have assumed, v_{pass} is not a strong phase head. v_{pass} can (and in fact *must*) discharge an Accusative Case-value to nP(s) in its search domain via Agree, but v_{pass}P is not a strong phase and hence the domain of v_{pass} (the complement VP) does not undergo Spell-Out at the completion of v_{pass}P. Due to the absence of Spell-Out, nPs in v_{pass}P are still not inactivated and can be further accessed by operations of the next phase cycle. Suppose that the next phase is finite CP. T is merged with v_{pass}P. T has [uφ] and EPP, and its probing is eventually satisfied by the Agree-relation with an active nP within v_{pass}P. As noted, I follow the conventional assumption that the external θ-role of the verb is suppressed in passive, so the v_{pass} cannot have an external argument, which is generated in the vP-Spec in its active counterpart. Hence, the probing of T reaches the object nP as its goal in direct passive, and the raised possessor in possessor passive, as they are the nPs closest to T. Even if these nPs precedently receive some Case-values, they are still active and they can be "revalued" as Nominative via the Agree-relation with T.[22] Due to EPP, T attracts them into its Spec, resulting in the raising-to-subject of these nPs.

Note that the raised possessor is assumed to occupy vP-Spec in possessor raising configuration, hence they are closest to T. What happens if T agrees with/attracts the remnant nP rather than the raised possessor? As already noted, this A-movement violates RPBC (13), due to the unbound A-trace within the

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[21] Moreover, if we are right in assuming that possessor raising relies on the Multiple Agree of v with the possessor nP inside the object, then the passive counterpart of v, which still has an agreement requirement, is also able to optionally induce possessor raising, a desired result.

[22] One might think it is necessary to assume that nPs cannot constitute strong phases, because if they can, then possessors must be inactivated at the completion of these "nP"-phases, bleeding possessor raising. However, the assumption is not necessarily required, if we assume that the possessors are dislocated or base-generated to the edge of these nPs, a familiar assumption. Then "nP"-phase Spell-Out only affects its interior domain, therefore possessors dislocated to the nP-Spec are still allowed to be accessible for higher operations. Cf. Morikawa (1989) and Fukui and Zushi (forthcoming).

dislocated remnant object.[23]

In this way, our cycle-based Case theory naturally accounts for the problems raised by the Japanese possessor passive construction. Crucially, we posit an assumption contrary to the "Case-absorption" approach to passive, namely that v_{pass} still has $[u\varphi]$, feeding Case-valuation. In our approach, what really differentiates v_{pass} from its transitive counterpart is not its lack of Case-assigning property ($[u\varphi]$), but its inability to trigger Spell-Out of its domain (i.e., its non-strong-phase-head-hood). The passive morpheme, be it morphologically attached to the verb or heading its own projection, does not really absorbs Case ($[u\varphi]$), but suppress v's Spell-Out cycle (cf. Watanabe 1996).

Put differently, I argue that the "Case-absorption" approach is only *half* correct. The characterization of "Case-assignment" changes over time, and now the feature-based conception of Case opens up a new possibility that this notion be decomposed into Case-valuation (by Agree) and inactivation (by Spell-Out). My proposal is that it is the latter that is crucially suppressed in passive, while leaving the former operative.

3.3. On the cost of revaluation

Before leaving this section, we must ensure that the above proposal does not overgenerate ungrammatical expressions. Consider examples in (23).

(23)   Japanese:
    a.   Isao-ga   ***sanma-o/*ga_i***   kinoo t_i tabeta.
           Isao-NOM   saury-ACC/NOM   yesterday   ate
           "Isao ate a saury yesterday."
    b.   ***sanma-o/*ga_i***   Isao-ga t_i kinoo t_i tabeta.

Nominative-marking on the object nP in these examples leads to total ungrammaticality. However, how to exclude such Nominative-marking remains unclear in the above approach so far, under which an non-inactivated nP can in principle undergo multiple Agree/Case-valuation relations. Recall that Japanese is a language that allows the multiple Nominative construction (MNC) like (24).

(24)   Japanese: multiple Nominative construction (MNC)
    aki-ga   **sanma-ga**   syokuyoku-o sosoru   (koto).
    autumn-NOM saury-NOM   appetite-ACC whet   fact
    "(the fact that) as for autumn, saury whets people's appetite."

MNC shows that Japanese T (a prototypical source for Nominative) is allowed to discharge multiple Nominative-values to more than one nP. If we interpret this fact as demonstrating T's ability to induce Multiple Agree with more than one nP,

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[23] It may also leads to the minimality violation due to the intervention of the raised possessor, but not necessarily, because there is a possibility of the remnant object nP's "tucking-in" into the inner vP-Spec (see note 15). This tuck-in makes the remnant nP and the raised possessor in the outer vP-Spec equidistant to T, assuming with Chomsky (2000) that Specs of the same head are equidistant for higher operations.

then it might be expected that the Accusative objects in (23) can also be reassigned a Nominative-value. Note that in (23a) the Accusative object is overtly shifted to the edge of vP (suppose that temporal adverbs like *kinoo* 'yesterday' are generated as high as vP-adjunct position. Cf. Ura 1996), hence it is regarded as escaping the Spell-Out domain of vP-phase. (The fact that this nP can be further scrambled to the sentence initial position as in (23b) confirms this point.)

(25)   (order irrelevant)
$[_{CP} \ldots \ T_{[u\varphi]} \ [_{vP} \ \mathbf{Obj}_{[ACC]i} \ [_{v'} \ \mathbf{Subj}_{[uCase]} \ [_{v'} \ v \ [_{VP} \ldots t_i \ldots]]]]]$

This indicates that the Accusative object remains active at the next CP-phase, hence T, which can establish multiple Agree-relations with nPs, might be regarded as able to reassign a Nominative-value to it as well as the yet un-Case-valued subject. This is, however, not the case. Then such ungrammatical Nominative-value reassignment should be excluded by some independent principles.

The problem is in fact far more general. How can we exclude the unwanted possibility of "superfluous" Case-revaluations of already Case-valued but not inactivated nPs?

I would like to suggest that the answer lies in economy that governs the architecture of human language. I propose that *revaluation* is more costful than mere valuation on unvalued features, hence economy avoids the former when unnecessary. In (25), there are two nPs within T's search domain. One is the base-generated external argument (subject), and the other is the shifted Accusative object nP. Assuming that Specs of the same head are equidistant to higher operations (Chomsky 2000), these nPs are equidistant to T, so either (or both) in principle can be the Agree-partner of T. However, the object has been already Case-valued, and so T's Case-revaluation of it counts as more costful than the mere Case-valuation of the unvalued subject nP, and hence is to be avoided in face of the more economical Agree-relation with the un-Case-valued subject only. On the other hand, in the MNC cases like (24), T's two potential Agree-partners are base-generated within the domain of CP-phase as un-Case-valued in the first place, so T can (and in this case *must*) successfully agree with both of them.

Compare these situations with passive cases. Our account was that v_{pass} has $[u\varphi]$ and Agree(v_{pass}, Obj) assigns Accusative Case-values to the object just as in active sentences, but v_{pass} does not trigger Spell-Out of its domain, so the object remains active for further operations. Crucially, due to the demotion of the external argument, T in direct passive has only one candidate to agree with, namely the object, which is already Case-valued but still remains active. There is no other choice more economical than the object, therefore T can choose the Case-revaluation option *as a last resort*.[24] (And languages like Japanese allow an

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[24] The preference of mere valuation over revaluation is a reminiscent of the preference of Merge over Move (Chomsky 1995, 2000).

equally costful option of Agree between T and the raised possessor of the object nP, feeding the possessor passive construction.)

In this way, unnecessary Case-revaluations are avoided in terms of economy.[25]

4. Further Prospects

Before moving directly to conclusion, I would like to refer to some other empirical considerations, which the proposal is naturally extended to, but I have to leave the detailed analyses to future research due to space considerations.

4.1. English pseudopassives

English has no possessor raising option, so in its passive construction the probing of T ordinarily finds the object nP as its closest goal to agree with. Note that even in English there are some instances of passives where an nP that is not the direct object of the verb is raised to subject. Examples are in (26).

(26)   English: English "pseudopassives" (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1979)
    a.   *John$_i$* is looked [at *t$_i$*] by Bill.
    b.   *The bed$_i$* was slept [in *t$_i$*] by Mary.
    c.   *These woods$_i$* have never been walked [through *t$_i$*] before.
    d.   *Bill$_i$* was taken [a picture [of *t$_i$*]] by Mary.

In these examples T attracts not an object nP but an nP from a PP-complement position. All we have to say is that PPs (and nPs) do not constitute strong phases (at least in these constructions), an assumption which seems to be needed anyway for any phase-theoretic account of these passives to be tenable at all. Once we make this assumption, the Nominative Case-value of T's Agree successfully overrides the Oblique Case-value of nPs, assigned by prepositions, because they are not inactivated within PPs. No redundant stipulations around "reanalysis," "restructuring" nor "Case-absorption" are required here.

4.2. "Symmetric languages" v.s. "asymmetric languages"

English (of the American variety) is an instance of an "asymmetric language," in which only the higher, indirect object (IO) can be raised to subject in passivization of the double object construction (DOC).

(27)   English (an asymmetric language): passivization in DOC
    a.   John gave **Mary$_i$ a picture of herself$_i$**.
    b.   *Mary$_i$* was given *t$_i$* **a picture of herself$_i$** (by John).
    c. *   [*a picture* (*of herself$_i$*)]$_j$ was given **Mary$_i$ *t$_j$*** (by John).
    (cf.   d. *   John showed herself$_i$ Mary$_i$ (using a mirror).   )

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[25] This economy-based account leaves the matter why *v* in possessor raising can revalue Accusative to the possessor nP, which is supposed to have already been valued Genitive within the object nP. Here I simply resort to Ura's (1996) proposal that "n" (D in Ura's terms) in possessor raising does not assign Genitive to the possessor. See Ura (1996) for some argument. Morikawa (1989) proposed that Genitive-Case assignment within nominals is only optional.

IO occupies a position higher than the direct object (DO), which is certified by the anaphor binding fact in (27a) contra (27d). Here I follow Ura (1996) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) in assuming that the structure of DOC across languages is universally of the form (28).

(28) $[_{vP}$ (EA) $[_{v'}$ v $[_{V_{mid}P}$ **IO** $[_{V_{mid}'}$ V_{mid} $[_{VP}$ V **DO**$]]]]]$ (order irrelevant)

Now in the passive counterpart of (27a), only IO can be raised to subject as in (27b). Passivization of DO leads to ungrammaticality. If we follow the standard assumption that the probing of T obeys minimality, then these facts are straightforward in our cycle-based Case theory. Given the structure (28), the probing of T always finds the IO as its closest goal (the external argument (EA) is suppressed in passive). If we make the assumption that $v_{pass}P$ does not induce Spell-Out of its domain, then IO and DO are not inactivated at the completion of $v_{pass}P$ (regardless of being Case-valued). The impossibility of DO-passivization can be simply attributed to the minimality of T's probing, where Agree(T, DO) is always blocked by the intervention of IO.

On the other hand, Japanese is an instance of a "symmetric language." As is seen in (29b, c), Japanese allows both IO- and DO-passivization in DOC, a point already noted in relation to possessor passive.

(29)   Japanese (a symmetric language): passivization in DOC
        a.   Tsubasa-ga   **Isao-ni   gakuhu-o** watasita.
             Tsubasa-NOM Isao-DAT score-ACC gave
             "Tsubasa gave Isao a score."
        (cf. a′.   Tsubasa-ga *gakuhu-o$_i$* **Isao-ni** t_i watasita.)
        b.   *Isao-ga$_i$* Tsubasa-niyotte t_i **gakuhu-o** watas-are-ta.
             Isao-NOM Tsubasa-by   score-ACC give-PASS-PST
             "Isao was given a score by Tsubasa."
        c.   *gakuhu-ga$_i$* Tsubasa-niyotte **Isao-ni** t_i watas-are-ta.
             score-NOM   Tsubasa-by   Isao-DAT   give-PASS-PST
             "A score was given to Isao by Tsubasa."

Ura (1996) proposed that DO-passivization across languages is contingent on the possibility of DO's overt raising to vP- or V_{mid}P-Spec. Assuming the structure (28) as a language universal, IO intervenes in T's probing to DO as a default. Unless some vP-internal rearrangement occurs, T always attracts IO (the closest nP) in ditransitive passive, as is the case with asymmetric languages. However, if DO is allowed to be overtly dislocated to vP- or V_{mid}P-Spec (object shift), then it can come to compete with IO in closeness to T. Ura proposes that possibilities of overt raising of DO to vP- or V_{mid}P-Spec are parametrized across languages, and the positive setting for the availability of either of them is the key source for the symmetric passivization pattern (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003). As for Japanese, for example, it has an option of vP-internal A-scrambling of DO to a position higher

than IO, as is seen in (29a′) (Tada's (1993) S(hort)-scrambling. Ura proposed that the position is the second V_{mid}P-Spec). If the preceding A-scrambling can produce the structure (29a′), then in passive construction T can reach the shifted DO without any intervening nPs, resulting in the passivization of it, as in (29c).

This line of minimality-based account of parametric variation makes a perfect sense in our cycle-based Case theory. Case-valuation to IO and DO is successfully conducted within v_{pass}P, and what is passivized is simply the nP closest to T's probing. In this approach, importantly, there is no need for additional stipulations such as Case-absorption (of one of two distinct Case-assigning properites), covert Case-checking movement of unpassivized DOs or IOs, "lookahead" value-insertion to Case-features at Numeration, etc., to account for the typological facts. Much finer-grained scrutiny is needed to draw any conclusion on the empirical success of such a simplistic approach, but if it turns out to be tenable, then we can radically eliminate many technical assumptions which are not conceptually motivated, a desirable direction under the minimalist program.

4.3.   On multiple Case-values

Lastly, I want to briefly address the question of how to treat multiply assigned Case-values. We have entertained the cycle-based Case theory, in which a single nP is allowed to receive multiple Case-values. For example, in passives the derived subject is Nominative but precedently assigned Accusative Case-value by v_{pass}'s Agree. The subject in possessor passive is further supposed to be originated from a Genitive-Case position within the object nP (but see note 25). Subjects in English pseudopassives are also suggested to receive two Case-values (Nominative by T and Oblique by P). In these constructions the subject is realized as Nominative, which is the most lately assigned Case-value. Passamaquoddy's and Japanese's cross-clausal Raising-to-Object constructions, analyzed by Bruening (2001) adapting the cycle-based Case theory, also morphologically realize the most lately assigned Accusative Case-values (see also Hiraiwa 2004). Then, it may be the case that Case-valuation in unmarked cases is also conducted in a cyclic manner, in the sense that once another value is reassigned to the "Case-slot" then syntax completely "forgets about" the previous values.

However, one might expect that there are some marked cases in which the multiple Case-values on a single nP are morphologically manifested differently. At least two possibilities come to our mind: one is that some *non-final* Case-value determines the morphological shape of the nP, instead of the finally assigned one; the other hypothetical situation is that *all* the values are realized on the nP. Our cycle-based Case theory at least allows such cases to be attested. In fact, there are cases which can be regarded as embodying such hypothetical possibilities. Suggestive data of each possibility are presented below:

(30)	Icelandic: Quirky Case construction (Andrew 1990, cited in Bejar and Massam 1999)

    a.	Við vitjuðum **sjúklinganna**
        we.NOM visited.1.PL the-patients-GEN.PL.M
        "We visited the patients."

    b.	**Sjúklinganna**$_i$ var vitjað ***t**_i$
        the-patients-GEN.PL.M was-DFLT visited-supine
        "The patients were visited."

(31)	Cuzco Quechua: ECM/RTO "multiple Case-marking" (Hiraiwa (2004: 107-108) attributes this example to Claire Lefebvre)

    a.	Maryyacha numa-n **Xwancha-q**-(***ta**) platanu ranti-na-n-ta.
        Maria   want-3 Juan-GEN-ACC   banana exchange-NML-3-ACC
        "Maria wants Juan to buy bananas."

    b.	Maryyacha **Xwancha-q**-*(**ta**)$_i$ numa-n t_i platanu ranti-na-n-ta.
        Maria   Juan-GEN-ACC   want-3   banana exchange-NML-3-ACC
        "Maria wants Juan to buy bananas."

Some verbs in Icelandic assign Quirky Case to their object, Genitive in (30a). Quirky arguments are required to be assigned structural Case, but its morphological realization is controlled by the value of Quirky Case, regardless of whatever Case-values it later receives. Quirky Case might be characterized to be a Case-value that blocks the *morphological* (not syntactic) "Case-slot" of the nP to be refilled by another Case-value, hence we might be allowed to say that the Icelandic Quirky Case construction embodies the possibility of morphological *non*-final Case-value realization.[26] Also, the Cuzco Quechua data in (31) might be considered to show the other possibility that all values assigned to an nP are morphologically realized. In embedded clauses the subject is Genitive-marked as in (31a). When this subject undergoes Raising-to-Object movement into the matrix clause, then the Accusative-value is "stacked" to the Case-slot of the nP, and both of Genitive- and Accusative-values are morphologically realized on the nP in the form of "double Case-marking."

In this way, our cycle-based Case theory naturally opens up a new way to treat various patterns of morphological Case-realization, though much more must be said characterizing the exact source of the parametric variation on the morphological realization of Case-values.

## 5.	Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I pursued the possibility that there are instances of passives where *v* does assign Case-values to nPs. I argued, following the essential claim behind

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[26] It is well known that Quirky subjects cannot feed φ-feature agreement on T, and subject-verb agreement in this case shows a default agreement pattern. I would like to suggest, reinterpreting Bejar and Massam's (1999) proposal, that the T's morphological φ-feature agreement is a reflex of Nominative Case-valuation, hence it fails when the already assigned Quirky Case-value on the subject nullifies the latter.

Bruening (2001) and Chomsky (2001), that the previous notion of "Case-assignment" should be decomposed into Case-valuation and inactivation. Case-valuation is an ancillary effect of the Agree-relation with the designated functional categories (T, *v*, etc.) and nPs, and inactivation is deletion of uninterpretable Case-features by Spell-Out. It is the latter operation that renders nPs inaccessible for further Case-checking/Agreeing operations, and as long as nPs are not inactivated by Spell-Out, they can be in multiple Agree with more than one probe. Relying on this conception of Case, I built up Japanese possessor passive to a counter- evidence against the Case-absorption approach to passive, in particular arguing against Hoshi (1999), and proposed that passivization absorbs not the verb's Case-valuing property, but only its *inactivating* ("Spelling-Out") property.

Before closing this paper, I want to emphasize that my proposal crucially relies on many recent proposals on the architecture of human language computation. First, the Agree-based conception of movement is essential. I have proposed that raising-to-subject A-movement in passive is essentially induced by the agreement/ EPP requirement of T, not the un-Case-valued status of the moving nP. In particular, there is no "greedy" movement in passive constructions. It is only the Agree- (or Attract-) theory of movement that can make room for the possibility of moving Case-valued nPs while keeping the "last resort" conception of movement. Second, our analysis is contingent on the featural conception of Case. In particular, we rely on Chomsky's (2001) assumption that uninterpretable features, Case being one, are features that *lack value*. It is this Case theory that allows a "time lag" between valuation and deletion of Case-features (Case-valuation and inactivation, respectively). Thus, the featural conception of Case should not be taken as a mere metaphor or accidental formalization of the modern theory, but it is an empirical assumption that makes unique predictions, some of which are entertained in this paper. Third, the multiple cyclic Spell-Out thesis of Chomsky (2000, 2001) is crucially assumed in order to let Spell-Out participate in one component of Case assignment, namely inactivation. Therefore, if the proposed analysis is on the right track, then it constitutes evidence for these assumptions.

As is evident, many issues remain to be settled or even mentioned in this short paper, but I hope this work will shed a new light on issues around passive and Case.

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