

The Syntax of Dative Constructions in Japanese*

Mihoko Zushi

0. Introduction

This paper deals with a problem of argument projection onto the syntactic structure within the framework of Chomsky (1981) and subsequent works. We will assume the following principles that govern the projection of arguments. First, we will assume that the arguments of a predicate are projected to the syntactic structure according to a thematic hierarchy. The thematic hierarchy that we will adopt in this paper is the one proposed by Carrier-Duncan (1985), Baker (1989) and Larson (1988), together with the partial hierarchy due to Belletti and Rizzi (1988):

- (1) Thematic Hierarchy¹⁾
Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Goal

The thematic hierarchy determines the structural relation between lexical items, in that given thematic role α and β , if $\alpha > \beta$ on the thematic hierarchy, then the element assigned α c-commands the element assigned β at D-structure (see Larson 1988).

The second principle that will be assumed is Baker's (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH).

- (2) The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis

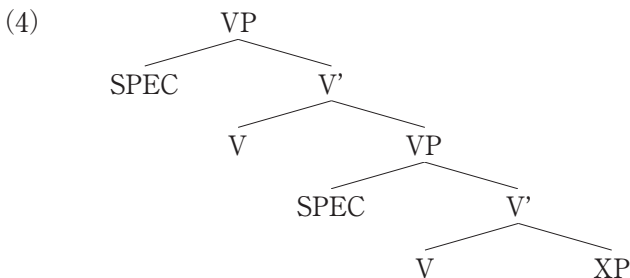
The identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

The UTAH restricts the class of D-structure representations of a given set of thematic roles. For example, the UTAH implies that dative constructions like (3a) and double object constructions like (3b) have parallel D-structure representations, on the assumption that the θ -roles involved in both sentences are identical.

- (3) a. John gave a book to Mary
 b. John gave Mary a book

The UTAH motivates a derivational account of double object constructions, which suggests that (3b) is derived from (3a) by Dative Shift (see Baker 1988, Larson 1988).

Third, we will assume, following Kitagawa (1986), Kuroda (1988), and Fukui and Speas (1986), that the arguments of a predicate are realized within a projection of the predicate. Assuming Larson's (1988) layered VP-structure, a subject will be realized in SPEC of the higher VP:



In this paper, we will investigate D-structure configuration and derivation of Japanese ditransitive sentences, as

in (5):

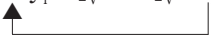
- (5) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC give-PAST
 ‘John gave Mary a book’
- b. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC receive-PAST
 ‘John received a book from Mary’

Both sentences contain a dative object and an accusative object. Whereas in (5a) the dative object bears a goal role and the accusative object a theme role, in (5b) the former bears a source role and the latter a theme role. We will argue that (5a) and (5b) have different D-structure representations, despite the superficial similarity. In accordance with the thematic hierarchy given in (1), we will propose that (5a) is transformationally derived from an underlying form where the goal composes with the verb before the theme. This amounts to claiming that (5a) is syntactically analogous to (3b). On the other hand, we will consider the dative object in (5b) as a secondary agent, and argue that it projects higher than the accusative object (theme) and no movement is involved.

1. Goal Constructions

In this section, we will be concerned with an underlying structure and derivation for the sentences like (5a). We call this kind of ditransitive sentence a Goal construction as a matter of convenience. We claim that (5a) is derived from an underlying form (6a), where the Theme asymmetrically c-commands the Goal.

- (6) a. John_{[_{VP}[_V hon_[_V Mary ager]]]}

- b. John_{[VP} Mary_i [_{V'} hon_{[V'} t_i ager]]]
- 

The Goal comes to c-command the Theme at S-structure by Dative Shift which moves the former over the latter, as shown in (6b).

This view of Goal constructions contrasts to a standard analysis proposed by Hoji (1985, 1986) and others, which suggest that the Goal asymmetrically c-commands the Theme at both D- and S-structure. After reviewing the previous analyses, we will present some pieces of evidence for the proposed c-command relation between the Theme and the Goal at D-structure.

1.1 Previous Analyses

Hoji (1985, 1986) observes certain asymmetries of the two objects in Goal constructions. Those involve phenomena in which a c-command relation seems to play a crucial role. The first asymmetry is related to the Weak Crossover (WCO) effect. The WCO effect is triggered when a *wh*-phrase is c-commanded by an NP containing a pronoun at pre-movement structure and the *wh*-phrase is coindexed with the pronoun (see Reinhart 1976, Saito and Hoji 1983, Hoji 1985, among others). Assuming that *wh*-phrases in Japanese move only at LF (Huang 1982), and that there exists an empty pronominal in Japanese, Hoji (1985) points out the following asymmetry.

- (7) a. Kimi-wa dare_i-ni[[e_i e_j okutte]kita]ningyoo_i]-o kaesita no
 you-TOP who-DAT sent over doll-ACC returned Q
 ‘Who did you return the doll that he sent over to you to?’
- b. *Kimi-wa[[e_i e_j tukutta]kodomo]-ni dono ningyoo-o ageta no
 you-TOP made child-DAT which doll-ACC gave Q
 ‘Which doll did you give to the child who made(it)?’

(Hoji 1985: 70)

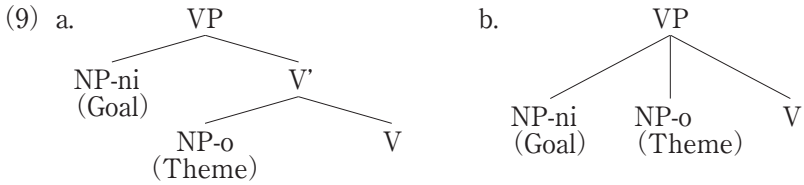
The absence of the WCO effect in (7a) suggests that the *wh*-phrase is not c-commanded by the NP containing the empty pronoun e_i , while the presence of the WCO effect in (7b) suggests that the *wh*-phrase is c-commanded by the NP containing the empty pronoun e_j . The contrast in (7) thus indicates that the indirect object asymmetrically c-commands the direct object.

The second asymmetry involves anaphoric binding. Condition A of the Binding Theory requires an anaphor to be c-commanded by its antecedent. Consider the following contrast (see Saito 1990):

- (8) a. John-ga karera_i-ni otagai_i-no sensei-o syoukaisita
 John-NOM they-DAT each other's teacher-ACC introduced
 'John introduced each other's teacher to them'
- b. *John-ga otagai_i-no sensei-ni karera_i-o syoukaisita
 John-NOM each other's teacher-DAT they-ACC introduced
 'John introduced them to each other's teacher'

Condition A is satisfied in (8a), showing that the indirect object binds the direct object. (8b) evidently violates Condition A.

These asymmetries in the Goal constructions indicate that a hierarchical structure in which the Theme is in the domain of the Goal holds at S-structure. This is parallel to the structural relationship between the two objects in English double object constructions observed by Barss and Lasnik (1986). Assuming a strictly binary branching structure (Kayne 1983), Hoji (1985) proposes a hierarchical VP structure like (9a) for Goal constructions, where the Goal asymmetrically c-commands the Theme under the definition of c-command based on first branching nodes (Reinhart 1976), rather than a flat structure like (9b).



Moreover, Hoji argues that (9a) also holds at D-structure. This claim rests on the scope interpretation of quantifiers. He proposes the generalizations concerning scope interpretation of quantifiers, as in (10), and observes Goal constructions with quantifiers, as in (11).²⁾

- (10) a. When two quantified NPs are in their D-structure positions at S-structure, the quantified NP that c-commands the other takes wide scope with respect to the other.

- b. When a quantified NP is preposed over another quantified NP, the scope interpretation is ambiguous.

(Hoji 1985: 66)

- (11) a. John-ga daremo-ni dareka-o syoukaisita
 John-NOM everyone-DAT someone-ACC introduced
 'John introduced someone to everyone'

- b. John-ga dareka-o daremo-ni syoukaisita
 John-NOM someone-ACC everyone-DAT introduced
 'John introduced someone to everyone'

(11a) is unambiguous in that *daremo* always takes wide scope over the other Q-NP, while (11b) is ambiguous. Given the generalizations in (10), this contrast suggests that (11a) directly

reflects the D-structure configuration, while (11b) involves movement of *dareka* over *daremo*. Thus, the facts indicate that the structure (11a) holds also at D-structure.

Some controversy surrounding the scope interpretation of quantifiers is whether A-movement creates a similar scope ambiguity. As noted in note 2, Hoji's generalizations of scope interpretation capture the fact that the relevant scope ambiguity is derived by scrambling which has been assumed to be A'-movement. He provides evidence that A-movement does not change the scope relation of quantifiers (see also Yoshida 1990).³⁾ The passive sentence in (12) is unambiguously interpreted as the quantified NP in the subject position taking only wide scope with respect to the other quantified NP.

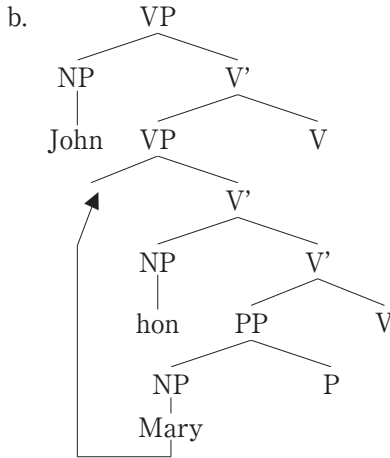
- (12) Huta-ri-no otoko-ga san-nin-no onna-ni seme-rare-ta
 2-CL-GEN man-NOM 3-CL-GEN woman-by criticized-PASS-PAST
 'Two men were criticized by three women'
 (Hoji 1985: 66)

Based on Hoji's (1985) analysis of quantifier scope, it is natural to assume that NP-*ni* NP-*o* sequence in Goal constructions is not derived by scrambling of NP-*ni* over NP-*o*. It leaves open, however, the possibility that the NP-*ni* NP-*o* sequence is derived by A-movement. This is what we will argue below.

1.2 Goal Constructions as Double Object Constructions

In analyzing the underlying structure of Goal constructions, we will appeal to Larson's (1988) analysis of double object constructions. The basic proposal is that the underlying configuration of Goal constructions is as illustrated in (13b):

- (13) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC give-PAST
 'John gave Mary a book'



Note that this structure is minimally different from the one proposed by Larson (1988), in that we assume, following Kayne (1983), Czepluch (1982), Baker (1988), and Emonds (1985), that the Goal NP is governed by an empty P. The movement of the Goal over the Theme (Dative Shift), as indicated by the arrow in (13b), yields the natural sequence of the two objects. Before explaining the precise mechanism of Dative Shift, we will present some evidence for the D-structure configuration given in (13b).

1.2.1 Crossover

Saito (1985) observes the following contrast:

- (14) a. [John_i-no hahaoya]-ga kare_i-o aisiteiru
 John-GEN mother-NOM he-ACC love
 ‘John’s mother loves him’
- b. ?*[John_i-no hahaoya]-o_j kare_i-ga t_j aisiteiru
 John-GEN mother-ACC he-NOM love
 ‘John’s mother, he loves’ (Saito 1985: 48)

Saito claims that the ungrammaticality of (14b) can be explained if the object is A'-moved over the subject by scrambling under the following generalization: when a pronoun c-commands its antecedent at D-structure, but this c-command relation does not obtain at S-structure due to A'-movement, the sentence is grammatical only if the antecedent is embedded "deeply enough" in the moved phrase (see also Postal 1971, Riemsdijk and Williams 1981, etc.). This generalization can be subsumed under Condition C of the Binding Theory if we assume that Condition C applies at LF and that Reconstruction takes the moved phrase back to its D-structure position at that level. The ungrammaticality of (14b) follows from the fact that the R-expression is bound by the pronoun at LF. This analysis rules out the general schema (15):

- (15) * $[\dots NP_i \dots]_j \dots \text{pronoun}_i \dots t_j$,
 where the pronoun c-commands t_j

It has been generally assumed that the crossover effect occurs when an R-expression is A'-moved. Roberts (1991) points out, however, that a similar effect can also be found in A-movement (see also Barss 1986, Oka 1989). Let us assume that Reconstruction also applies to A-movement.

One of the structures which possibly trigger the relevant crossover effect is a passive sentence derived from a ditransitive construction, as one object is moved over the other object. Consider the following examples, where the Theme is passivized in (16a), while the Goal is passivized in (16b):⁴⁾

- (16) a. [John_i-no sensei] -ga kare_i-ni syoukais-are-ta
 John-GEN teacher-NOM he-DAT introduce-PASS-PAST
 'John's teacher was introduced to him'

- b. ?*[John_i-no sensei] -ga kare_i-o syoukais-are-ta
 John-GEN teacher-NOM he-ACC introduce-PASS-PAST
 ‘John’s teacher was introduced him’

The absence/presence of the crossover effect in (16a) and (16b) suggests that the pronoun c-commands the trace of the subject containing an R-expression in (16b), but not in (16a). This contrast cannot be captured if one assumes that the Goal c-commands the Theme at D-structure, as proposed by Hoji (1985). On this view, (16b) is expected to be grammatical, since the pronoun would bind neither the phrase containing the R-expression nor its trace. (16a) should be ungrammatical, as the pronoun would bind the trace of the preposed phrase which contains the R-expression. Under our analysis, on the other hand, this contrast is expected. The structures of (16a) and (16b) are schematized as (17a) and (17b), respectively (details are omitted):

(17) a. [John_i-no sensei]_j-ga[[_{VP}[_{V'} t_j [_{V'} kare_i-ni V]]]]

b. [John_i-no sensei]_j-ga[[_{VP}[_{V'} kare_i-o [_{V'} t_j V]]]]

In (17b), the preposed phrase will be moved back at LF to its D-structure position which is c-commanded by the pronoun, and the R-expression is bound; hence, it is ungrammatical. In (17a), the pronoun does not c-command the D-structure position of the preposed phrase containing an R-expression, and thus it does not violate Condition C. Notice, however, that we argue that Goal constructions involve Dative Shift. One might wonder if the correct representation for (16a) would be (18), rather than (17a).

(18) [John_i-no sensei]_j-ga[[_{VP} kare_i-ni_k [_{V'} t_i [_{V'} t_k V]]]]

In (18), the pronoun does c-command the trace of the derived

subject containing an R-expression. This wrongly predicts that (16a) is ungrammatical. This problem can be solved if we assume that the shifted object may undergo Reconstruction which takes it back to the D-structure position at LF.⁵⁾ Then, the pronoun does not c-command the trace of the subject, on a par with (17a).

1.2.2 Unaccusative variants

We will show that the structural prominence of the Theme over the Goal is attested in some other constructions which are related to Goal constructions. Consider the following pair:

- (19) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o watasi-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC pass-PAST
 ‘John passed Mary a book’
- b. Hon-ga Mary-ni watat-ta
 book-NOM Mary-DAT pass-PAST
 ‘A book passed (to) Mary’

(19b) is related to (19a) in two respects. First, the two verbs are morphologically related: the transitive verb *watas* in (19a) is derived from a root *wata* by adding a morpheme *s*, while the intransitive verb *watar* in (19b) is derived from the same root by adding a morpheme *r* (see Teramura 1982). Second, and more importantly, similar kinds of θ -roles are involved in those examples, except that (19b) does not contain an agent role. If we demote the agent role from (19a) forming a passive sentence, as in (20), the similarity in terms of thematic information becomes more salient:

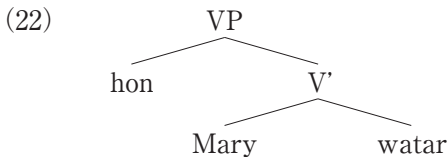
- (20) Hon-ga Mary-ni watas-are-ta
 book-NOM Mary-DAT pass-PASS-PAST
 ‘A book was given to Mary’

(20) contains a Theme and a Goal, which is exactly the same as in (19b). Furthermore, the theme argument is in the subject position in both cases. The difference is that (20), unlike (19b), is construed as “somebody passed a book to Mary,” despite the absence of the Agent. These facts remind us of the following pair:

- (21) a. The ship sank
 b. The ship was sank

In both cases, *the ship* is a theme of the predicate and is in the subject position. (21a) is construed as a non-voluntary event, while (21b) as voluntary event. The verb like *sink* in (21a) has been analyzed as an unaccusative verb and its complement is moved to a subject position due to their incapability of Case assignment (see Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986).

Taking the similar semantic property of the verbs in (19b) and (21b) as a clue, it is natural to assume that *watar* is a member of the class of unaccusative verbs. The only difference is that *watar* takes two complements rather than one.⁶⁾ In accordance with the proposed thematic hierarchy, suppose that (19b) has the following underlying representation, where the Theme is projected higher than the Goal.



Suppose further that the Theme in (22) is moved to the subject position in S-structure to get Case, assuming that unaccusative verbs do not assign structural Case (Burzio 1986, Belletti and

Rizzi 1988). Notice that the Goal in (22) cannot be moved to the subject position:

- (23) *Mary-ga hon-o watat-ta
 Mary-NOM book-ACC pass-PAST
 Lit. 'Mary passed the book' (The book passed to Mary)

Assuming that the Complete Functional Complex (CFC) for the Goal NP is VP (Baker 1991a), if the NP is moved to the subject position, its trace cannot be bound within the CFC; thus, violation of Condition A will ensue.

A question arises here is how the goal argument can get Case. We consider that it is assigned Case by a postposition *ni*. Whether *ni* is a real postposition can be examined by using Miyagawa's (1989) analysis of floated quantifiers. Miyagawa observes that a floated quantifier cannot modify an NP which is governed by a postposition, and argues that the PP node blocks mutual c-command relationship between the floated quantifier and its host NP. The following ungrammatical example suggests that *ni* in unaccusative Goal constructions is a real postposition rather than a Case realization.⁷⁾

- (24) *Hon-ga kodomo-ni san-nin watat-ta
 book-NOM child-DAT three-CL pass-PAST
 'Books passed to three children'

Let us now consider the structural prominence of the Theme over the Goal. The structure (22) predicts that if the Theme contains an anaphor, it yields ungrammaticality with respect to Condition A, since the anaphor cannot be bound by the Goal at either D- or S-structure. This prediction is borne out.

- (25) a. ?*[pro zibun-o hihansita kiji]-ga John-ni watat-ta
 self-ACC criticized article-NOM John-DAT pass-PAST

‘The article that (he) criticized himself passed to John’

- b. *[[_{e_i} zibun_j -o hihansita]hito_i]-ga John_j-o tazune-ta
 self-ACC criticized man-NOM John-ACC visit-PAST
 ‘The man that criticized himself visited John’

- c. [pro zibun_i-o hihansita kiji]-ga John_i-o nayam-ase-ta
 self-ACC criticized article-NOM John-ACC worry-CAUSE-PAST
 ‘The article that (he) criticized himself worried John’

(25a) is the relevant case which contains the unaccusative verb *watar*. The ungrammaticality of (25a) suggests two things. First, the Theme containing an anaphor is not bound by the Goal at S-structure in (25a). This is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (25b) which contains a transitive verb, showing that the subject containing an anaphor is not bound by the object. Second, the Theme in (25a) is not bound by the Goal at D-structure either. This result can be compared with the grammaticality of (25c) which contains a psych-verb (cf. Akatsuka 1976). The grammatical status in (25c) implies that the Theme containing an anaphor is c-commanded by its antecedent (Experiencer) at D-structure, and thus Condition A is satisfied either by D-structure application of Condition A proposed by Belletti and Rizzi (1988) or by Barss’s (1986) chain-binding analysis.

The present analysis also predicts that unaccusative verb constructions do not show the crossover effect discussed in the previous subsection, when the goal argument is a pronoun. This prediction seems to be right:

- (26) a. [Mary_i-no syasin]-ga kanozyo_i-ni watat-ta
 Mary-GEN picture-NOM she-DAT pass-PAST
 ‘Mary’s picture passed to her’

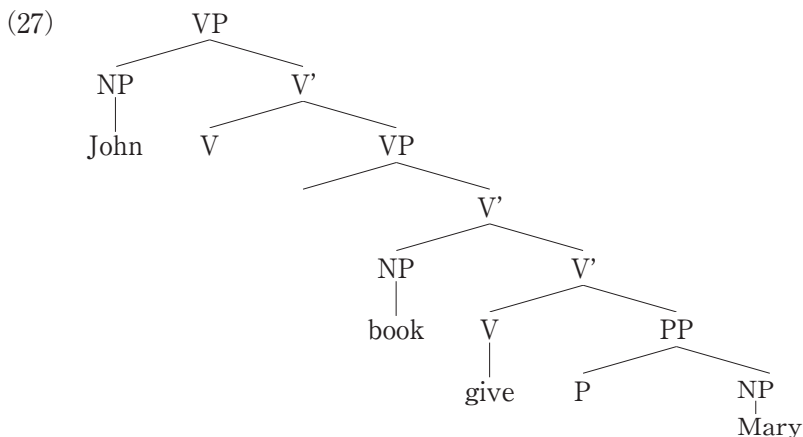
- b. [Mary_i-no syasin]-ga_j[_{VP} t_j[_V kanozyo_i-ni watar]]

(26a) has the S-structure representation (26b) under our analysis. In (26b), the pronoun c-commands neither the phrase containing an R-expression nor the trace of that phrase, hence no violation of Condition C at LF.

These results indicate that the Theme projects higher than the Goal in unaccusative Goal constructions as in (22). The UTAH implies that the structural prominence of the Theme over the Goal must also hold in transitive Goal constructions.

1.3 Dative Shift

We have argued that Goal constructions are transformationally derived from the underlying structure where the Theme asymmetrically c-commands the Goal. Let us clarify the mechanism of this movement (Dative Shift). As we pointed out above, we assume that the Goal NP is governed by an empty P, as illustrated in (27). We also assume, following Kayne (1983), that the empty P cannot be a source of Case. The NP cannot get Case from a verb at the D-structure position, since the verb does not govern this NP under Chomsky's (1986b) Minimality Condition.⁸⁾

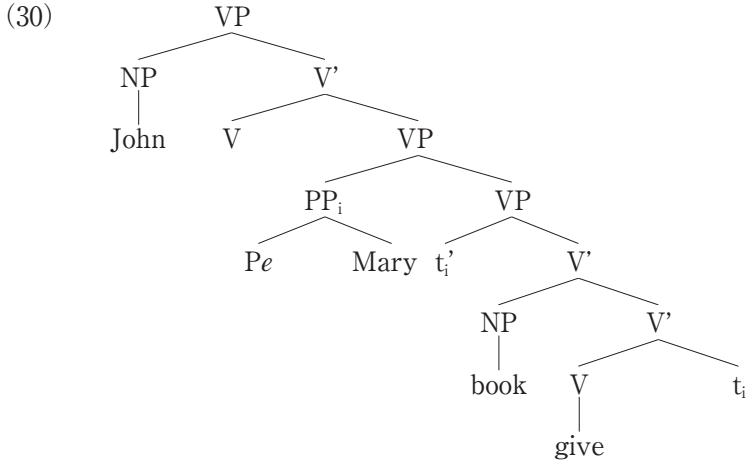


If the goal argument is not assigned Case, it cannot be visible for θ -role assignment at LF. In analyzing Case licensing for PPs, we will appeal to Stowell's (1981) analysis of PP-topicalization. Stowell claims that the PPs in (28) are not in the subject position, but rather they are adjoined to S, binding a trace in the subject position, as shown in (29). He also argues that the trace as an anaphor is assigned Case so as to be licensed at LF.⁹⁾

- (28) a. Into the room walked my brother Jack
 b. On the table was put a valuable book
 c. Down the stairs fell the baby

- (29) $PP_i[_S t_i[_{VP}[_{V'} V t_i]NP]]$

Let us extend this idea to double object constructions. We propose that the PP in (27) moves out of the D-structure position, leaving a trace, and that the trace is assigned Case by the verb so as to be licensed at LF. Although this argument can be licensed at LF, we must ensure that the Goal NP is assigned Case to satisfy the Case Filter.¹⁰⁾ Assuming that Case transmission is a property of an A-chain (Safir 1985), PP movement must create an A-chain. Suppose that the PP is moved to SPEC of the lower VP ("inner subject" position in Larson 1988) and then adjoins to the VP.¹¹⁾ The adjoined position is interpreted as part of an A-chain, binding a trace in the inner subject position that is assumed to be an A-position.^{12) 13)}



Notice that the traces in (30) are interpreted as NP-traces, assuming that categorial features are not among the features that are left behind by the application of Move α (see Stowell 1981). We assume, following Baker (1988), that Case assignment is considered as the indexing relationship between a verb and an NP. The PP movement in (30) creates an A-chain, assigning the same index to the PP, t' , and t . The index is read as a Case indexing, and the one on PP is percolated down to the complement of the empty P due to the P having no Case index. In this way, the structural Case assigned by the verb can be transmitted to the Goal NP through the A-chain so as to satisfy the Case Filter.

Note that we consider the direct object in this construction as being assigned inherent (accusative) Case by the verb (see Chomsky 1981, Baker 1988).

1.4 VP-Preposing

Our analysis of the Goal construction involving Dative Shift can account for interesting facts about VP-preposing. As Hoji et al. (1989) observe, this process is possible only when the entire VP

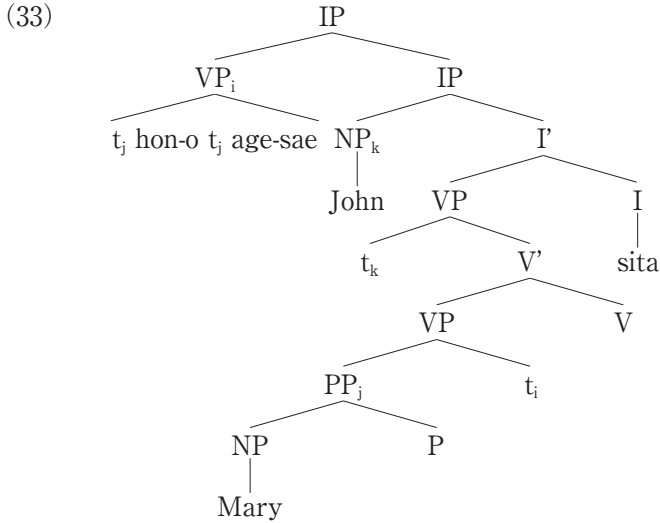
is preposed, as shown in (31a). (31b) is ungrammatical, since the preposed phrase is a part of VP:

- (31) a. [_{VP} susi-o tabe]-sae_i John-ga t_i sita
 sushi-ACC eat-even John-NOM did
 Lit. ‘even eat sushi, John did’
- b. *tabe-sae_i John-ga [_{VP} susi-o t_i] sita
 eat-even John-NOM sushi-ACC did
 Lit. ‘even eat, John did sushi’

Let us consider VP-preposing in Goal constructions. The entire VP can be preposed, as shown in (32a). Interestingly, the Goal can also be separated from the preposed phrase, as shown in (32b).

- (32) a. [Mary-ni hon-o age]-sae_i John-ga t_i sita
 Mary-DAT book-ACC give-even John-NOM did
 Lit. ‘even give Mary a book, John did’
- b. [hon-o age] -sae_i John-ga Mary-ni t_i sita
 book-ACC give-even John-NOM Mary-DAT did
 Lit. ‘even give a book, John did to Mary’

The structure (30) can explain the fact that the Goal can remain in-situ in (32b), for the lower (segment of) VP may undergo VP-preposing, leaving the adjoined phrase behind (see Roberts 1987). The structure of (32b) can be represented as (33):



A problem with (33) is how the traces contained in the preposed phrase can be bound, satisfying the Proper Binding Condition (see Fiengo 1977, May 1977, Saito 1985, 1989). We suggest that those traces are bound by virtue of chain-binding proposed by Barss (1985).¹⁴⁾ They are chain-bound by the antecedent, since the latter c-commands the trace of VP which contains the former.¹⁵⁾

2. Source Constructions

In this section, we will deal with another type of ditransitive sentences, as given in (34). We call this kind of sentence a Source construction, since the dative phrase bears a source role.

- (34) John-ga Mary-ni hon-o morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC receive-PAST
 'John received a book from Mary'

Although (34) is superficially similar to Goal constructions like *John-ga Mary-ni hon-o ageta* ‘John gave Mary a book,’ we will claim that they are syntactically different. In particular, we will propose that the source argument asymmetrically c-commands the theme argument at every level.

2.1 *Semantic Constraints*

The dative case-marker in Source Constructions can be replaced by a postposition *kara* ‘from’:

- (35) a. John-ga Mary-{ni/kara} hon-o kari-ta
 John-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} book-ACC borrow-PAST
 ‘John borrowed a book from Mary’
- b. John-ga Mary-{ni/kara} sono sirase-o kii-ta
 John-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} that news-ACC hear-PAST
 ‘John heard the news from Mary’
- c. John-ga Taro-{ni/kara} nihongo-o narat-ta
 John-NOM Taro-{DAT/from} Japanese-ACC learn-PAST
 ‘John learned Japanese from Taro’

In some cases, however, this alternation is impossible. For example, the source argument can be marked only by *kara* in the following examples.

- (36) a. Suri-ga Mary-{*ni/kara} saifu-o nusum-da
 pickpocket-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} wallet-ACC steal-PAST
 ‘A pickpocket stole the wallet from Mary’
- b. John-ga kodomo-{*ni/kara} conpuutaa geimu-o tot-ta
 John-NOM child-{DAT/from} computer game-ACC take-PAST
 ‘John took a computer game from the child’

- c. John-ga Mary-[*ni/kara] aidia-o ubat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-[DAT/from] idea-ACC take-PAST
 ‘John took Mary’s idea’

Let us take (36a) as an example. The interpretation of this sentence is that the event of a pickpocket’s stealing the wallet happened regardless of Mary’s will or permission. In this sense, Mary is interpreted as a location from which the wallet is transferred. The postposition *kara* is suitable to represent such “locational source” meaning.

Moreover, Shibatani (1978) observes that an inanimate object cannot be marked by a dative case:

- (37) a. Taro-ga sensei-no kenkyuusitsu-[*ni/kara] hon-o kari-ta
 Taro-NOM teacher’s office-[DAT/from] book-ACC borrow-PAST
 ‘Taro borrowed a book from the teacher’s office’
 b. Taro-ga hon-[*ni/kara] eigo-o narat-ta
 Taro-NOM book-[DAT/from] English-ACC learn-PAST
 ‘Taro learned English from a book’
 c. Taro-ga kokyuu-[*ni/kara] tayori-o morat-ta
 Taro-NOM hometown-[DAT/from] letter-ACC receive-PAST
 ‘Taro received a letter from his hometown’

(Shibatani 1978: 297)

Shibatani (1978) points out that NP-*ni* appeared in Source constructions is semantically similar to NP-*ni* (*by*-phrase) in passives like *John-ga Mary-ni butareta* ‘John was hit by Mary,’ in a sense that both NP-*ni*’s represent Agent of the action. The predicates in (36) do not assign agentive meaning to their first objects. In (37), inanimate NPs cannot serve as agents of voluntary actions. Therefore, *ni-kara* alternation is not allowed in those cases. We can make a generalization that the dative Case

marker can appear on source arguments only when they are construed as “secondary agents.”

2.2 *The Structure of Source Constructions*

The above claim that the dative marked source serves as a secondary agent intuitively motivates us to propose that the Source projects higher than the Theme. We will show that this hypothesis is supported by syntactic tests such as anaphoric binding, Weak Crossover, and quantifier scope.

First, consider the following contrast in terms of anaphoric binding:

- (38) a. John-ga karera_i-ni otagai_i-no hihan-o kii-ta
 John-NOM they-DAT each other's criticism-ACC hear-PAST
 ‘John heard each other's criticism from them’
- b. *Mary-ga otagai_i-no oya-ni kodomo-tati_i-o azukat-ta
 Mary-NOM each other's parents-DAT children-ACC take=charge-PAST
 ‘Mary took charge of the children from each other's parents’

The grammaticality of (38a) suggests that the anaphor is A-bound, satisfying Condition A. The ungrammaticality of (38b), on the other hand, suggests that it does not satisfy Condition A.

Second, an asymmetry with respect to Weak Crossover effect arises in Source constructions.

- (39) a. John-ga dare_i-ni[[e_i e_j tukutta] keeki_j]-o moratta no
 John-NOM who-DAT made cake-ACC received Q
 ‘Who did John get a cake that (he) made from?’
- b. ?*John-ga[[e_i e_j yomi-oeta] hito_j]-ni dono hon_j-o morat-ta no
 John-NOM read-finished man-DAT which book-ACC receive-PAST Q
 ‘Which book did John receive from the man who finished reading (it)’

The absence of WCO effect in (39a) suggests that the *wh*-phrase is not c-commanded by the phrase containing the empty pronominal. The ungrammaticality of (39b) indicates that the *wh*-phrase is c-commanded by the dative phrase containing an empty pronominal which is coindexed with that *wh*-phrase, and LF movement of the *wh*-phrase over the dative phrase induces WCO effect.

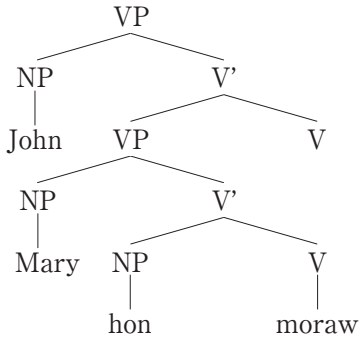
Third, consider scope interpretations of the quantifiers:

- (40) a. John-ga dareka-ni dono kodomo-mo azukat-ta
 John-NOM someone-DAT every child take=charge=of-PAST
 'John took charge of every child from someone'
- b. John-ga dono kodomo-mo dareka-ni azukat-ta
 John-NOM every child someone-DAT take=charge=of-PAST
 'John took charge of every child from someone'

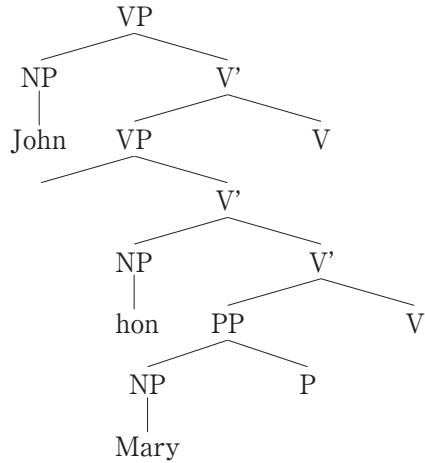
(40a) is unambiguously interpreted in that *dareka* 'someone' takes only wide scope with respect to the other Q-NP, while (40b) is ambiguous. Given Hoji's (1985) generalizations of scope interpretation of quantifiers given in (10), it turns out that (40b) involves scrambling which moves *donokodomo-mo* over *dareka*, while (40a) involves no scrambling.

These results suggest that the Source asymmetrically c-commands the Theme, and that NP NP-Q sequence is not derived by scrambling. We may assign the structure (41a) to the Source constructions:

(41) a.



b.



On the basis of the preceding discussion that the dative source argument represents a secondary agent, it seems reasonable to say that this argument is generated in inner subject position in (41a). However, the Source construction could be derived from the double object structure like (41b) by Dative Shift, parallel to Goal constructions. We will illustrate syntactic differences between Source constructions and Goal constructions, and argue for the structure (41a).

As we mentioned in footnote 4, either of the two objects in the Goal construction can be passivized. On the other hand, the theme object in the Source construction cannot be passivized:¹⁶⁾

- (42) a. *Hon-ga Mary-ni karir-are-ta
 book-NOM Mary-DAT borrow-PASS-PAST
 ‘A book was borrowed from Mary’
- b. Mary-ga hon-o karir-are-ta
 Mary-NOM book-ACC borrow-PASS-PAST
 ‘Mary was borrowed a book’

If the Source construction is structurally parallel to the Goal construction with the structure (41b), the ungrammaticality of (42a) is not expected. This fact can be accounted for, however, if we assume the structure (41a). If the Theme NP is moved to the subject position in passive, its trace cannot be bound in the binding domain, since the Source base-generated in the inner subject position serves as a “subject” relevant to the Binding Theory which intervenes between that NP and its trace. Therefore, violation of Condition A will ensue. In (41b), on the other hand, passivization of the Theme does not violate Condition A, since no element will intervene between the promoted NP and its trace.¹⁷⁾

Another evidence for the structure (41a) concerns VP-preposing. We have argued in section 1.4 that VP-preposing moves the lower segment of VP in the structure like (41b), leaving its adjoined phrase behind. This analysis accounts for the fact that the Goal can be separated from a preposed VP. If the Source construction is derived from (41b) by Dative Shift, it is expected that the Source could remain in-situ, separated from a preposed VP. On the other hand, (41a) predicts that the Source cannot be separated by VP-preposing, since it is strictly inside VP. Consider the following examples.

- (43) a. [_{VP} Mary-ni hon-o morai]-sae_i John-ga t_i sita
 Mary-DAT book-ACC receive-even John-NOM did
 Lit. ‘even receive a book from Mary, John did’
- b. * [hon-o morai]-sae_i John-ga Mary-ni t_i sita
 book-ACC receive-even John-NOM Mary-DAT did
 Lit. ‘even receive a book, John did from Mary’

The entire VP can be preposed in the Source construction, as illustrated in (43a), while the Source cannot be separated by VP-

preposing, as shown in (43b). The ungrammaticality of (43b) indicates that the right structure of Source constructions is (41a), rather than (41b). The structural relationship between the Source and the Theme at D-structure is preserved in the course of the derivation.

2.3 *NP-ni and Case Assignment*

We pointed out that NP-*ni* in Source constructions serves as a secondary agent as well as a source. This thematic property of the NP-*ni* is peculiar to this construction, comparing to NP-*ni*'s in other instances such as those in (44).

- (44) a. John-ga Tokyo-ni dekake-ta
 John-NOM Tokyo-DAT go=out-PAST
 ‘John went out to Tokyo’
- b. Hikooki-ga sora-ni tobitat-ta
 plane-NOM sky-to take=off-PAST
 ‘The plane took off’
- c. Ohasi-ga yuka-ni oti-ta
 chopstick-NOM floor-to fall-PAST
 ‘The chopsticks fell to the floor’

In these examples, the dative phrases are all adjuncts in terms of the Theta Theory, and the postposition *ni* makes a semantic contribution, specifying a positional goal of motion along some path. Similarly, the NP-*ni* in the Goal construction expresses a goal of motion. This is one of the motivations to argue that the Goal is governed by an empty P in Goal constructions. Contrary to these cases, the meaning represented by the NP-*ni* in Source constructions is not specified by the postposition; rather it is assigned by the verb. In this sense, *ni* does not make a semantic contribution. It is natural to assume that the source argument is

realized as an NP and *ni* is not present at D-structure.

Moreover, the *ni* in Source constructions is syntactically inert. It does not block mutual c-command relationship between a floated quantifier and its host NP, as shown in (45a). On the other hand, *ni* in the examples like (44a) does block modification of a floated quantifier, as shown in (45b).

- (45) a. John-ga sensei-ni san-nin hon-o kari-ta
 John-NOM teacher-DAT three-CL book-ACC borrow-PAST
 ‘John borrowed books from three teachers’
- b. *John-ga mati-ni yot-tu dekake-ta
 John-NOM town-to four-CL go=out-PAST
 ‘John went out to four towns’

This contrast suggests that *ni* in (45a) is a realization of Case, while the one in (45b) is a real postposition.

We propose that a verb in the Source constructions assign its indirect object inherent Case which is linked to the source role and realized as *ni*, and that the verb assigns structural Case to its direct object. The source argument generated in the inner subject position is compositionally assigned a (secondary) agent role by V’ which consists of the verb and its theme argument. This is partly motivated by the fact that *ni* also marks agents in passives and causative constructions.

3. Benefactive Constructions and the Theory of Control

In this section, we will deal with benefactive constructions that involve the verb *moraw* ‘receive’ like (46a), and *ager* ‘give’ like (46b), henceforth referred to as the *te-moraw* and *te-ager* constructions, respectively.

- (46) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o katte morat-ta

John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC buy receive-PAST
 ‘John received the favor of Mary’s buying a book’

- b. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o katte age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC buy give-PAST
 ‘John gave Mary the favor of buying a book’

In (46a), *John* represents a person who receives a favor of the action caused by *Mary*, while in (46b), *Mary* represents a beneficiary of the action caused by *John*.

It has been argued that (46a) is analogous to a simple ditransitive sentence like (47a), and likewise (46b) to (47b) (Shibatani 1978, Tonoike 1979, etc.).

- (47) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC receive-PAST
 ‘John received a book from Mary’
 b. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC give-PAST
 ‘John gave Mary a book’

On this view, both verbs take either two NP complements or an NP and a clausal complement. Along these lines, we will extend our preceding analysis of Source constructions to (46a) and that of Goal constructions to (46b).

3.1 *Biclausal Nature of Benefactive Constructions*

Shibatani (1978) claims that the benefactive constructions contain an embedded clause, and arise by a rule of Equi-NP-Deletion. He provides an underlying structure (48) for (46a).

- (48) John-ga Mary-ni [Mary-ga hon-o kaw] ageta

Shibatani proposes a rule which inserts *te* after the embedded clause. However, we consider *te* as a infinitive marker based on the following facts: first, there is no Tense in the embedded clause; second, a nominative marked subject cannot appear in this clause.¹⁸⁾ The phenomena analyzed in terms of Equi-NP-Deletion can be captured by the theory of Control in the current GB framework. Taking up Shibatani's idea, it is reasonable to suppose that (46a) involves object control, as shown in (49a).

- (49) a. John-ga Mary_i-ni [_{CP} [_{IP} PRO_i hon-o katte]] moraw
 b. John-ga [_{CP} [_{IP} Mary-ni hon-o katte]] moraw
 c. John-ga Mary-ni [_{VP} hon-o katte] moraw

However, there are two other possible structures. One is (49b) proposed by Takezawa (1987), who argues that the verb takes a clausal complement, and that *ni* is assigned to a subject if it is not governed by Tense. The other is (49c), where the verb takes an NP and a bare VP complement, and the VP is predicated of the NP in the sense of Williams (1980). We will propose that (49a) is the right representation for (46a), showing that (49b) is unavailable with respect to quantifier scope, nor is (49c) available with respect to the SSC effect.

Turning to *te-ager* construction, Shibatani (1978) provides an underlying structure like (50a). Following this idea, we will propose that this construction involves subject control, as illustrated in (50b).¹⁹⁾

- (50) a. John-ga Mary-ni [John-ga hon-o katte] age-ta
 b. John-ga Mary-ni [_{CP} [_{IP} PRO_i hon-o katte]] age-ta

3.1.1 Quantifier Scope

Let us first verify that the benefactive construction contains an embedded clause by examining scope interpretation of quantifiers. Arisaka et al. (1991) point out that long-distance

scrambling does not create scope ambiguity for two quantifiers, contrast to short-scrambling discussed by Hoji (1985). In (51a), the quantifier in the matrix clause always takes wide scope with respect to the embedded quantifier. Even if the embedded quantifier is scrambled to an initial position of the matrix clause, as in (51b), the interpretation does not change.

- (51) a. Dareka-ga [Taroo-ga daremo-ni atta to] omotte-iru
 someone-NOM Taro-NOM everyone-DAT met COMP think-ing
 ‘Someone thinks that Taro met everyone’
- b. Daremo-ni dareka-ga [Taroo-ga t_i atta to] omotte-iru
 everyone-DAT someone-NOM Taro-NOM met COMP think-ing
 ‘Everyone, someone thinks that Taro met’

Arisaka et al. observe similar patterns in benefactive constructions. When there is no scrambling, a quantifier in (matrix) subject position always takes wide scope over the other. In both examples in (52), *dareka* ‘someone’ takes only wide scope:

- (52) a. Dareka-ga Taroo-ni [daremo-o sasotte] morat-ta
 someone-NOM Taro-DAT everyone-ACC invite receive-PAST
 ‘Someone received the favor of Taro’s inviting everyone’
- b. Dareka-ga Yukari-ni [subete-no kodomo-o homete] age-ta
 someone-NOM Yukari-DAT every-GEN child-ACC praise give-PST
 ‘Someone gave Yukari the favor of praising every child’
 (Arisaka et al. 1991)

Even if the lower quantifier is scrambled to the initial position, the scope interpretation is still unambiguous, with *dareka* taking only wide scope.

- (53) a. Daremo-o_i dareka-ga Taroo-ni [_{t_i} sasotte] morat-ta
 everyone-ACC someone-NOM Taro-DAT invite receive-PAST
- b. Subete-no kodomo-o_i dareka-ga Yukari-ni [_{t_i} homete] age-ta
 every-GEN child-ACC someone-NOM Yukari-DAT praise give-PAST

These results suggest that the bracketed phrases in (53) form clauses on a par with (51b). If the sentences were simple clauses, the scrambling of a quantifier should create scope ambiguity in accordance with Hoji's (1985) generalizations.

This test can distinguish the three possible analyses for *te-moraw* constructions. Both in (49a) and (49c), the dative phrase is analyzed as a matrix element, while in (49b), it is analyzed as an embedded element. Suppose that the dative phrase is a quantifier, and is scrambled over another quantifier in subject position. On the analysis (49a)/(49c), the abstract structure will be (54a), while on the analysis (49b), the one will be (54).

- (54) a. QP-ni_i QP-ga t_i [_{XP} ...]V
 b. QP-ni_i QP-ga [_{CP} t_i ...]V

In (54a), we predict that the scope interpretation is ambiguous in accordance with Hoji's (1985) generalizations, while in (54b), the scope interpretation should be unambiguous, given the generalization that long-distance scrambling does not create scope ambiguity. Consider the following examples:

- (55) a. Dareka-ga daremo-ni akusyu-site morat-ta
 someone-NOM everyone-DAT shake=hands receive-PAST
 'Someone received the favor of everyone's shaking hands'
- b. Daremo-ni dareka-ga akusyu-site morat-ta

everyone-DAT someone-NOM shake=hands receive-PAST

(55a) is unambiguously interpreted as *dareka* taking only wide scope with respect to *daremo*, while (55b) is ambiguous. This contrast indicates that the dative phrase is a matrix element and (54a) is the right structure. Thus, the structure (49b) is not available.

Note that the same situation can also be seen in *te-ager* constructions. In (56a) the quantifier in subject position always takes wide scope over the other quantifier. When scrambling moves the lower quantifier over the higher one, as in (56b), the scope interpretation is ambiguous.

- (56) a. Dareka-ga daremo-ni akusyu-site age-ta
 someone-NOM everyone-DAT shake=hand give-PAST
 ‘Someone gave everyone the favor of shaking hands’
- b. Daremo-ni dareka-ga akusyu-site age-ta
 everyone-DAT someone-NOM shake=hand give-PAST

This contrast suggests that the dative phrase in *te-ager* construction is also an element of the matrix clause.

3.1.2 Binding Facts

It has been assumed that the Japanese reflexive *zibunzisin* is a local anaphor that obeys Condition A of the Binding Theory. It has also been assumed that *zibunzisin* shows a property of subject orientation (see Katada 1991).²⁰⁾ Bearing these properties in mind, consider the following fact about anaphoric binding in *te-moraw* constructions:

- (57) John_i-ga Mary_j-ni zibunzisin_{i/j}-no heya-de benkyousite morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT self-GEN room-in study receive-PAST
 ‘John received the favor of Mary’s studying in her room’

Here, the anaphor only takes *Mary* as its antecedent. The fact that the anaphor cannot take the matrix subject as its antecedent suggests that there is another subject that is closer to it. This SSC effect makes the bare VP analysis illustrated in (49c) untenable, since the bare VP does not contain a subject.²¹⁾ On the other hand, the object control analysis can account for this fact: the anaphor is bound by PRO, satisfying Condition A, and the latter is coindexed with *Mary* by a construal rule of Control. Therefore, *Mary* is interpreted as the antecedent of the anaphor, even though it is not a structural subject.

Next, consider anaphoric binding in *te-ager* constructions.

- (58) John_i-ga Mary_j-ni zibunzisin_{i/*j}-no heya-de utatte age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT self-GEN room-in sing give-PAST
 'John gave Mary the favor of singing in his room'

Here, the anaphor only takes the matrix subject as its antecedent. This result does not really verify the biclausal structure for this construction, given the subject orientation for this anaphor. Nevertheless, under the subject control analysis, this fact is expected, for the anaphor is bound by PRO within its binding domain, and the latter is coindexed with the matrix subject by a construal rule of Control, and thus the subject can be interpreted as its antecedent.

Similar points can be shown by pronominal coreference. As shown in (59a), the pronoun *kanozōyo* obeys Condition B, showing that it can refer to the NP outside of its governing category.

- (59) a. John-ga Mary_j-ni [kanozōyo_j-no hahaoya-ga kita to] itta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT she-GEN mother-NOM came COMP said
 'John said to Mary that her mother came'

- b. John-ga Mary_i-ni kanozyo_{o,*i}-no syasin-o totte morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT she-GEN picture-ACC take receive-PAST
 ‘John received the favor of Mary’s taking photos of her’
- c. John-ga Mary_i-ni kanozyo_o-no syasin-o totte age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT she-GEN picture-ACC take give-PAST
 ‘John gave Mary the favor of taking photos of her’

The fact that the pronoun cannot refer to *Mary* in (59b) can be directly accounted for under control analysis. The dative phrase is coindexed with PRO by object control, and the latter binds the pronoun, and hence it violates Condition B. The fact in (59c) is also expected under the subject control analysis. *Mary* is outside of the governing category for the pronoun, and PRO is coindexed with the subject, but not *Mary*, hence no violation of Condition C.

3.2 The Structures of Benefactive Constructions

3.2.1 VP-Preposing

We have argued that both verbs in the benefactive constructions take a dative marked object and an infinitival complement, and that *te-moraw* constructions involve object control, while *te-ager* constructions involve subject control. Let us now consider VP internal structures for those constructions. As we pointed out above, the dative phrase in *te-moraw* constructions serves as Agent, while the one in *te-ager* constructions serves as Beneficiary. This thematic difference of the dative phrase is also represented in simple ditransitive sentences: Source vs. Goal constructions. Taking this thematic similarity as a clue, it is reasonable to claim that the *te-ager* construction is structurally parallel to the Goal construction, while the *te-moraw* construction to the Source construction.

A key to distinguish the Goal construction from the Source construction is that whereas the dative phrase in the

former can remain in-situ when the VP is preposed, the one in the latter verb cannot. Let us examine VP-preposing in benefactive constructions. In both cases, the entire VP can undergo VP-preposing.

- (60) a. [Mary-ni hana-o katte age]-sae_i John-ga t_i sita
 Mary-DAT flower-ACC buy give-even John-NOM did
 Lit. ‘even give Mary the favor of buying flowers, John did’
- b. [Mary-ni keeki-o yaite morai]-sae_i John-ga t_i sita
 Mary-DAT cake-ACC bake receive-even John-NOM did
 Lit. ‘even receive the favor of Mary’s baking a cake, John did’

The dative phrase in (60a) can separate from the preposed phrase and remain in-situ, while the dative phrase in (60b) cannot.

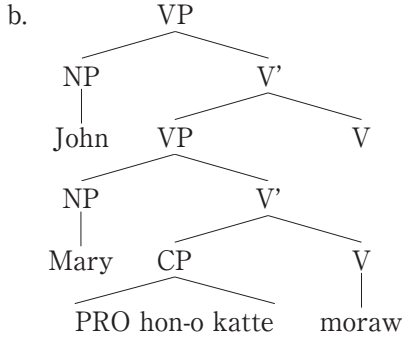
- (61) a. [hana-o katte age]-sae_i John-ga Mary-ni t_i sita
 flower-ACC buy give-even John-NOM Mary-DAT did
- b. *[keeki-o yaite morai]-sae_i John-ga Mary-ni t_i sita
 cake-ACC bake receive-even John-NOM Mary-DAT did

This contrast can be accounted for if we assume that the dative phrase in (61b) is within the VP, but the one in (61a) is adjoined to the VP. This motivates us to propose that the *te-ager* constructions, but not the *te-moraw* constructions, are derived by Dative Shift.

3.2.2 *Te-moraw* versus *Te-ager* Constructions

On the basis of the above discussion, we propose that *te-moraw* constructions like (62a) are underlyingly represented as (62b):

- (62) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o katte morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC buy receive-PAST
 'John received the favor of Mary's buying a book'

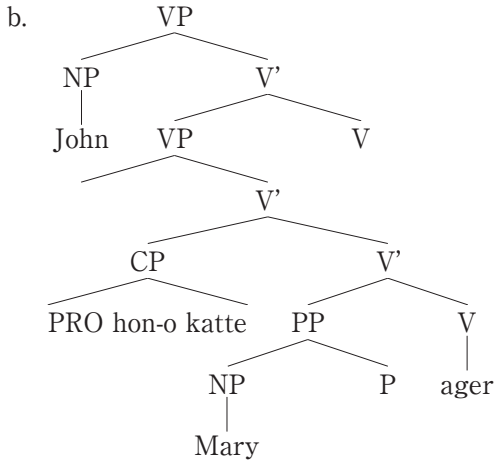


In (62b), *Mary* is generated in the inner subject position of predicate-like element *hon-o katte moraw*, and is compositionally assigned a (secondary) agent role. This argument stays there in a course of the derivation. The verb assigns a theme role to the infinitival clause and a source role to *Mary*.

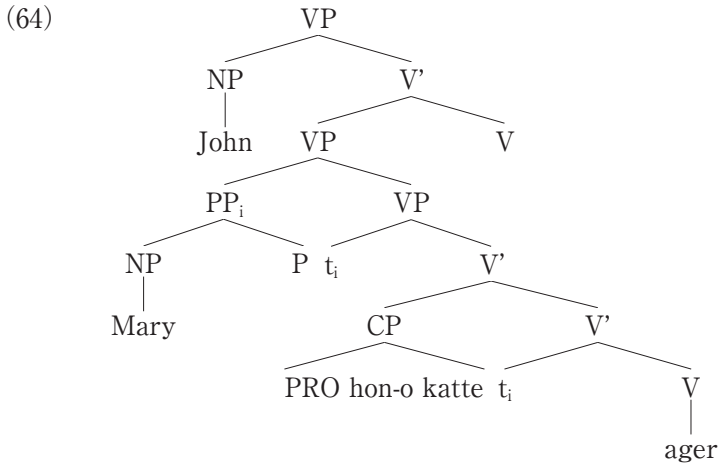
This structure directly explains why the dative phrase cannot remain in-situ when VP-preposing applies in (61b). Since *hon-o katte morai-sae* is a part of the entire VP, it cannot move, leaving *Mary* behind.

As we argued, *te-ager* constructions like (63a) are analogous to double object constructions. On the preceding analysis, this entails that their underlying structure is like that in (63b).

- (63) a. John-ga Mary-ni hon-o katte age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT book-ACC buy give-PAST
 'John gave Mary the favor of buying a book'



The correct surface form is derived by Dative Shift which moves the PP over the infinitival clause. As we argued in 1.3, the PP adjoins to the VP through the inner subject position, as shown in (64):



This structure provides a direct account for the grammaticality

of (61a), where the dative phrase remains in-situ, separated from the preposed phrase. VP-preposing moves the lower segment of VP, leaving the adjoined PP behind. As we argued in section 1, the traces within the preposed phrase satisfy the Proper Binding Condition by virtue of chain-binding, as their antecedent binds the trace of the preposed VP which contains them.

3.3 *The Theory of Control*

3.3.1 The Minimal Distance Principle

We have argued that the benefactive constructions involve control. Thus, we must face the question of how a controller is determined. According to a well-known syntactic account, controller selection follows from some version of Rosenbaum's (1970) Minimal Distance Principle (Bach 1979, Chomsky 1980, Larson 1991). For example, Larson (1991: 115) states that:

- (65) Minimal Distance Principle (MDP)
 An infinitival complement of a predicate P selects as its controller the minimal c-commanding noun phrase in the functional complex of P

Following Larson (1991), we will assume that the MDP applies at D-structure. In his discussions of the structures for *promise* and *persuade*, Larson argues that the former is a double object verb, but not the latter. He assigns the underlying structure (67a) for sentences with *promise* like (66a), and (67b) for sentences with *persuade* like (66b).

- (66) a. John promised Mary [PRO to leave]
 b. John persuaded Mary [PRO to leave]
- (67) a. [_{VP}John[_{V'}[_{VP}[_{V'}[_{V'} promise Mary] [PRO to leave]]]]]

- b. [_{VP}John[_V[_{VP} Mary[_V persuade [PRO to leave]]]]]

In (67b), the closest NP in the functional complex of the verb that c-commands the infinitival clause is the object, *Mary*; therefore, the MDP predicts object control for (66b). In (67a), *Mary* fails to c-command the infinitival clause and thus it cannot be a controller. The closest NP in the functional complex of *promise* that c-commands the infinitival clause is the subject, hence subject control for (66a).

Given the control analysis of the benefactive constructions, the controller selection should also follow from the MDP. We have argued that the *te-moraw* constructions like (62a) involve object control and the *te-ager* constructions like (63a) subject control. These control patterns confirm the proposed structures under the MDP. As we proposed above, the D-structure configuration for *te-moraw* constructions is (68a), and the one for *te-ager* constructions is (68b).

- (68) a. [_{VP}John[_V[_{VP} Mary[_V[PRO hon-o katte] moraw]]]]
 b. [_{VP}John[_V[_{VP}[_V[PRO hon-o katte] [_V Mary ager]]]]]

In (68a), the closest NP in the functional complex of *moraw* that c-commands the infinitival clause is *Mary*. The MDP predicts that *Mary* is the controller. In (68b), *Mary* fails to c-command the infinitival clause at D-structure, and thus, it is not a possible controller. The closest NP in the functional complex of the verb that c-commands the infinitival clause is the subject. The MDP predicts subject control for *te-ager* constructions.

3.3.2 Residual Problems

Shibatani (1978) points out that NP-*ni* in *te-moraw* constructions can be replaced by NP-*kara* 'from' in some cases.

- (69) a. John-ga Mary-{ni/kara} [PRO hon-o okutte] morat-ta

John-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} book-ACC send receive-PAST
 ‘John received the favor of Mary’s sending a book’

- b. John-ga Mary-{ni/kara} [PRO homete] morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} praise receive-PAST
 ‘John received the favor of Mary’s praising him’

In these examples, the NP contained in the PP headed *kara* can be interpreted as a controller of the infinitival clause. However, this is not predicted by the MDP, for that NP inside a PP does not c-command the infinitival clause. That *kara* prevents the NP contained in it from c-commanding an element outside the PP is confirmed by the example (70) with a floated quantifier, which shows that the quantifier cannot modify the NP governed by *kara*.²²⁾

- (70) *John-ga sensei-kara san-nin [PRO homete] morat-ta
 John-NOM teacher-from three-CL praise receive-PAST
 ‘John received the favor of praising him from three teachers’

A plausible analysis of (69) is that NP-*kara* is not a matrix element. We suggest the following representation for the examples with NP-*kara*:

- (71) John-ga [_{CP} [_{IP} Mary-kara V]] moraw

Here, the matrix verb undergoes detransitivization, selecting no NP object. A lexical NP is base-generated in the subject position of the infinitival clause. That NP is assigned Case by the postposition, satisfying the Case Filter. This analysis is motivated by Shibatani’s observation that the *ni-kara* alternation is impossible with an embedded predicate which does not assign both agent and source roles to its argument.

- (72) a. *John-ga Mary-{ni/*kara} kite morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} come receive-PAST
 'John received the favor of Mary's coming'
- b. *John-ga Mary-{ni/*kara} Tokyo-e itte morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-{DAT/from} Tokyo-to go receive-PAST
 'John received the favor of Mary's going to Tokyo'

The embedded predicates in these sentences do not assign both agent and source roles to their arguments, suggesting that the NP-*kara* is an embedded element. Thus, the ungrammaticality of these examples with *kara* directly follows from the fact that the embedded verbs do not select a source argument.

We can show that NP-*kara* is within an embedded clause in the cases like (69) in terms of scope interpretation of quantifiers. (73b) is derived from (73a) by scrambling of *daremo-kara*. If the QP-*kara* is scrambled out of the embedded clause to the matrix initial position, the scope should be unambiguous. This prediction seems to be right. Note that the postposition does not affect scope interpretation of quantifiers.²³⁾

- (73) a. Dareka-ga daremo-kara homete morat-ta
 someone-NOM everyone-from praise receive-PAST
 'Someone received the favor of everyone's praising him'
- b. Daremo-kara dareka-ga homete morat-ta
 everyone-from someone-NOM praise receive-PAST

Both examples are unambiguously interpreted as *dareka* taking wide scope with respect to *daremo*. This confirms that NP-*kara* is within the embedded clause.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we considered D-structure representations for certain ditransitive sentences in Japanese under the theoretical assumption that configurational prominence reflects intrinsic thematic prominence. We showed that ditransitive sentences with a verb taking a goal argument and a theme argument (Goal constructions) are derived from an underlying structure in which the Theme asymmetrically c-commands the Goal, analogous to double object constructions in English. This empirically supports the thematic hierarchy: Agent>Theme>Goal, which is motivated independently by Baker (1989) based on serial verb constructions in Kwa languages and by Carrier-Duncan (1985) based on word formation in Tagalog, and strengthens the hypothesis that D-structure configurations are arranged in a specific way that the higher role on the thematic hierarchy is projected to a higher structural position.

We also examined another type of ditransitive sentences with a verb taking a source argument and a theme argument (Source constructions). Despite their superficial similarity with the Goal constructions, we proposed that the dative source asymmetrically c-commands the theme argument. The structural difference between the Goal and Source constructions derives several syntactic differences concerning passive and VP-preposing.

The structural differences between the two constructions are also attested in benefactive constructions. We independently verified that *te-ager* constructions involve subject control, while *te-moraw* constructions involve object control. These control patterns further confirm our structural analysis of the Goal and Source constructions under Larson's (1991) version of the Minimal Distance Principle.

References

- Akatsuka, N. 1976. Reflexivization: a transformational approach, In *Syntax and semantics 5: Japanese generative grammar*, ed. M. Shibatani, 51–116. Academic Press, New York.
- Arisaka, K., S. Homma, H. Hoshi, M. Matsuoka, and K. Takeda. 1991. Control and *te*-clauses in Japanese. Paper presented at the 12th Annual Meeting of Tsukuba English Linguistic Society.
- Bach, E. 1979. Control in Montague grammar, *Linguistic Inquiry* 10: 515–531.
- Baker, M. 1988. *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Baker, M. 1989. Object sharing and projection in serial verb constructions, *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 513–553.
- Baker, M. 1991a. Why can't intransitive verbs dative-shift. Paper presented at project meeting at McGill University, Montreal.
- Baker, M. 1991b. Some subject/object non-asymmetries in Mohawk and their theoretical implications, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9: 537–576.
- Barss, A. 1986. *Chains and anaphoric dependence: on reconstructions and its applications*. Doctoral dissertation at MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Barss, A. and H. Lasnik. 1986. A note on anaphora and double objects, *Linguistic Inquiry* 17: 347–354.
- Belletti, A. and L. Rizzi. 1988. Psych-verbs and θ -theory, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 291–352.
- Burzio, L. 1986. *Italian Syntax*. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Carrier-Duncan, J. 1985. Linking of thematic roles in derivational word formation, *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 1–34.
- Chomsky, N. 1980. On binding, *Linguistic Inquiry* 11:1–46.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, N. 1986a. *Knowledge of language: its nature, origin, and use*. Praeger, New York.
- Chomsky, N. 1986b. *Barriers*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Czepluch, H. 1982. Case theory and the dative construction, *The Linguistic Review* 2: 1–38.
- Emonds, J. 1985. *A unified theory of syntactic categories*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Fiengo, R. 1977. On trace theory, *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 35–61.
- Fukui, N. and M. Speas. 1986. Specifiers and projections, *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 8: 128–172.
- Hoji, H. 1985. *Logical form constraints and configurational structures in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation at University of Washington, Seattle.
- Hoji, H. 1986. Weak crossover and Japanese phrase structure. In *Issues in Japanese Linguistics*, ed. T. Imai and M. Saito, 163–201. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Hoji, H., S. Miyagawa, and H. Tada. 1989. NP movement in Japanese. Ms.,

- USC, OSU, and MIT.
- Huang, C.-J. 1982. *Logical relations in Chinese and the theory of grammar*. Doctoral dissertation at MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Katada, F. 1991. The LF representation of anaphora, *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 287–313.
- Kayne, R. 1983. *Connectedness and binary branching*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Kitagawa, Y. 1986. *Subjects in Japanese language*. Doctoral dissertation at University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. 1970. Remarks on the notion of subject with reference to word like *also*, *even* or *only*. In *Annual Buletin* Vol. 4, Logopedics and Phoniatrics Research Institute. Tokyo University, Tokyo.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. 1988. Whether we agree or not: a comparative syntax of English and Japanese. Ms., USCD, La Jolla.
- Larson, R. 1988. On the double object construction, *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 335–391.
- Larson, R. 1990. Double object revisited: reply to Jackendoff, *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 589–632.
- Larson, R. 1991. *Promise* and the theory of control, *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 103–139.
- May, R. 1977. *The grammar of quantification*. Doctoral dissertation at MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Miyagawa, S. 1989. *Structure and case marking in Japanese*. *Syntax and Semantics* 22, Academic Press, New York.
- Oka, T. 1989. Subject in Japanese, *Proceedings of the Tokyo Linguistic Forum*, Tokyo.
- Perlmutter, D. 1978. Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 157–189. University of California, Berkeley.
- Postal, P. 1971. *Crossover phenomena*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Raposo, E. and J. Uriagereka. 1990. Long-distance case assignment, *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 505–538.
- Reinhart, T. 1976. *The syntactic domain of anaphora*. Doctoral dissertation at MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Riemsdijk, H van, and E. Williams. 1981. NP-structure, *The Linguistic Review* 1.2.
- Roberts, I. 1987. *The representation of implicit and dethematized subjects*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Roberts, I. 1991. NP-movement, crossover, and chain-formation. In *Representation and Derivation in the Theory of Grammar*, ed. H. Haider and K. Netter, 17–52. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.
- Rosenbaum, P. 1970. A principle governing deletion in English sentential complementation. In *Readings in English transformational grammar*, ed.

- R. Jacobs and P. Rosenbaum, 20–29. Ginn, Waltham, MA.
- Saito, M. 1985. *Some asymmetries in Japanese and their theoretical implications*. Doctoral dissertation at MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Saito, M. 1989. Scrambling as semantically vacuous A'-movement. In *Alternative conceptions of phrase structure*, ed. M. Baitin and A. Kroch, 182–200. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Saito, M. 1990. Long distance scrambling in Japanese. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Saito, M. and H. Hoji. 1983. Weak crossover and Move α in Japanese, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1: 245–259.
- Safir, K. 1985. *Syntactic chains*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Shibatani, M. 1978. *Nihongo no bunseki* [Analyses of Japanese]. Taisyukan, Tokyo.
- Stowell, T. 1981. *Origins of phrase structure*. Doctoral dissertation at MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Takezawa, K. 1987. *A configurational approach to case-marking in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation at University of Washington, Seattle.
- Teramura, H. 1982. *Nihongo no shintakkusu to imi* [Japanese syntax and semantics]. Kuroshio Publishing, Tokyo.
- Tonoike, S. 1979. *Complementation and case particles in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation at University of Hawaii.
- Williams, E. 1980. Predication, *Linguistic Inquiry* 11: 203–238.
- Yoshida, T. 1990. Case-marking and verb-movement in Japanese. Ms., Cornell University, Ithaca.

*This paper was originally written back in 1992, as an evaluation thesis submitted to the Department of Linguistics at McGill University. It is hardly necessary to say that a great deal has been learned about the issues discussed in this paper in the intervening years. If I were to rewrite it now, I would naturally introduce quite a few modifications, though I still consider some of the arguments presented here as sound. Since the original paper has been circulated for some time in the manuscript form, I have decided to have it appear with its original content. Thus, in editing this paper for publication, I have made no attempt to introduce substantial revisions in the light of subsequent work and restricted the revision mostly stylistic ones. I would like to thank Mark Baker, Jose Bonneau, Naoki Fukui, Richard Larson, and Lisa Travis for their valuable suggestions and comments on this paper.

Notes

- 1) We will later propose a slightly modified hierarchy, where an animate Source fits between the Experiencer and the Theme in the hierarchy

given in (1).

- 2) The generalizations given in (10) capture the following contrast observed by Kuroda (1970):

- (i) a. Daremo-ga dareka-o aisiteiru
 everyone-NOM someone-ACC love
 'Everyone loves someone'
- b. Dareka-o_i daremo-ga t_i aisiteiru
 someone-ACC everyone-NOM love
 'Someone, everyone loves'

(ib) is derived from (ia) by movement of *dareka-o* over *daremo-ga* by scrambling which is assumed to be A'-movement. Whereas (1a) is unambiguously interpreted as *daremo* taking wide scope over *dareka*, (ib) is ambiguously interpreted.

- 3) Oka (1989) and Hoji et al. (1989), on the other hand, argue that A-movement does create the relevant scope ambiguity.

- (i) a. Dareka-ga daremo-ni syoukais-are-ta
 someone-NOM everyone-DAT introduce-PASS-PAST
 'Someone was introduced to everyone' (Oka 1989: 146)
- b. Dareka-ga subete-no heya-ni hait-ta
 someone-NOM every-GEN room-to enter-PAST
 'Someone entered every room' (Hoji et al. 1989: 6)

In both cases, *dareka* 'someone' is moved to the subject position by A-movement which is triggered by the passive morphology in (ia) and the unaccusative verb in (1b). It was claimed that both examples are ambiguous.

Apart from (1a), a problem for (ib) arises in terms of its D-structure configuration. Hoji et al. assume that the Theme is projected lower than the Location, and the former is moved over the latter in S-structure. The following example, however, appears to suggest that the hierarchical order between the Theme and the Location is in reverse order.

- (ii) John-ga huta-ri-no kyaku-o san-kasyo-e turete- itta
 John-NOM two-CL-GEN guest-ACC three-CL-to brought

‘John brought two guests to three places’

It seems to me that (ii) is unambiguous in that two guests always takes wide scope with respect to three places. Under Hoji’s generalizations, the Theme asymmetrically c-commands the Location at both D- and S-structure. If this is right, it turns out that the Theme is not moved over the Location in (ib).

- 4) Note that two objects in Goal constructions can be passivized in general:

(i) a. Mary-ga hon-o watas-are-ta
 Mary-NOM book-ACC pass-PASS-PAST
 ‘Mary was given a book’

b. Hon-ga Mary-ni watas-are-ta
 book-NOM Mary-DAT pass-PASS-PAST
 ‘A book was given (to) Mary’

- 5) Alternatively, we could argue that when the Theme is passivized, Dative Shift does not occur. Thus, (17a) will be the right representation for (16a). This amounts to saying that (16a) is analogous to the English sentence like *John’s mother was introduced to him*.

- 6) Another type of unaccusative verbs that take two complements is the psych-verbs discussed by Belletti and Rizzi (1988).

- 7) Note that the *ni* in transitive Goal constructions does not block mutual c-command relationship between a floated quantifier and its host NP.

(i) John-ga kodomo-ni san-nin hon-o age-ta
 John-NOM child-DAT three-CL book-ACC give-PAST
 ‘John gave books to three children’

- 8) Kayne (1983) also assumes that an empty P blocks Case assignment of its NP complement by a verb, and claims that the verb assigns Case to the PP and it is transmitted to that NP via the empty P. We do not, however, follow this account of Case assignment, as PPs in general cannot be assigned Case (see Stowell 1981). Contrary to Kayne (1983) and the present analysis, Baker (1988) argues that empty Ps do not block government by verbs. Under his analysis of dative shift as P-incorporation to a verb, the verb can govern an NP complement of the

incorporated P by virtue of the Government Transparency Corollary.

- 9) Note that this analysis follows from the Case Resistance Principle which states that Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a Case-assigning feature. See Stowell (1981).
- 10) Following Baker (1988, 1991b) and Raposo and Uriagereka (1990), we assume that both the Visibility Condition at LF and the Case Filter at S-structure (or PF) are necessary in grammar.
- 11) We suggest that the reason that the PP cannot stay in the inner subject position follows from the general impossibility of PPs to involve predication relations.
- 12) We assume, following Chomsky (1986a), that A-positions are the positions in which thematic roles can be assigned in principle.
- 13) We might modify Chomsky's (1986a) Visibility Condition as in (i) in order for the chain (t', t) in (30) to be licensed at LF.
 - (i) The visibility Condition (revised)
 An A-chain receives a θ -role only if one member of the chain is Case-marked.
- 14) We adopt Saito's (1989) definition of chain-binding:
 - (i) $X \text{ CHAIN-BINDS } Y =_{df} X \text{ and } Y \text{ are coindexed, and}$
 - a. $X \text{ c-commands } Y$, or
 - b. $X \text{ c-commands a trace of } Z$, where $Z = Y$ or Z contains Y .
- 15) Hoji et al. (1989) point out that the example (ia) is ungrammatical due to violation of the Proper Binding Condition.
 - (i) a. $*[t_i \text{ tabe}] \text{-sae}_j \text{ susi-o}_i \quad \text{John-ga } t_j \text{ sita}$
 eat-even sushi-ACC John-NOM did
 Lit. 'even eat, sushi, John did'
 - b. $\text{Susi-o}_i [t_i \text{ tabe}] \text{-sae}_j \quad \text{John-ga } t_j \text{ sita}$

In contrast to (1a), (1b) is grammatical, satisfying the Proper Binding Condition. We will develop a slightly different account, because of the following fact that the VP containing a trace can be preposed in passive,

as Hoji et al. noted.

- (ii) [_i but-are] -sae_j John-ga_i t_j sita
 hit-PASS-even John-NOM did
 Lit. 'even hit, John was'

We suggest that the trace contained in the preposed phrase in both (ia) and (ii) satisfies the Proper Binding Condition by virtue of chain-binding. The difference in grammaticality between (ia) and (ii) follows from the different nature of movement. Let us assume that scrambling must be undone at LF, taking a stronger position than Saito (1989, 1990). In (ia), the scrambled phrase, *susi-o*, cannot move back to its D-structure position, since it does not c-command that position. Therefore, it is ungrammatical. No such requirement holds for A-movement.

- 16) If the source argument is not present in (42a), the sentence becomes grammatical.

- (i) Hon-ga karir-are-ta
 book-NOM borrow-PASS-PAST
 'A book was borrowed'

This suggests that this kind of verbs allow detransitivization, by which the source argument becomes optional.

- 17) In contrast to Japanese Goal constructions, English double object constructions do not allow the Theme to be passivized.

- (i) a. *A book was given Mary
 b. Mary was given a book

The ungrammaticality of (ia) follows from the Case Theory, in that if the Theme is moved to the subject position, getting nominative Case there, the Goal cannot get Case under the assumption that passive morphology absorbs Case. A question arises then is why the Theme can be passivized in Japanese. We suggest that passive verbs in the Goal constructions can assign inherent Case to their goal argument, satisfying the Case Filter.

- 18) For example, the following examples in which a nominative marked NP occurs in the embedded clause are ungrammatical:

- (i) a. *John-ga Mary-ni [kanozyo-ga itte] morat-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT she-NOM go receive-PAST
 'John received the favor of Mary's going'
- b. *John-ga Mary-ni [zibun-ga utatte] age-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT self-NOM sing give-PAST
 'John gave Mary the favor of singing'

19) Another possibility is to analyze this construction as a raising construction:

- (i) John-ga_i Mary-ni [t_i hon-o katte] age-ta

A problem is that both subject positions are independently assigned a θ -role in (i), hence violation of θ -Criterion.

20) In (ia), for example, *zibunzisin* can only take the embedded subject as its antecedent. In (ib), the anaphor can refer to the subject, but not the indirect object.

- (i) a. John_i-ga [Mary_j-ga zibunzisin_{i/j}-no heya-de benkyou siteiru to] itta
 John-NOM Mary-NOM self-GEN room-in studying COMP said
 'John said that Mary is studying in her room'
- b. John_i-ga Mary_j-ni zibunzisin_{i/j}-no syasin-o miseta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT self-GEN picture-ACC showed
 'John showed his picture to Mary'

21) Note that the bare VP analysis may still be available if one adopts Williams' (1980) predicate condition in place of the SSC.

22) Note that *ni* does not block a c-command relation between a floated quantifier and its host NP:

- (i) John-ga sensei-ni san-nin [PRO homete] morat-ta
 John-NOM teacher-DAT three-CL praise receive-PAST
 'John received the favor of praising him from three teachers'

23) For example, the QP governed by *kara* can take wide scope over another QP, when it is scrambled in a simple clause:

- (i) Dareka-kara_i daremo-ga t_i hon-o kari-ta
 someone-from everyone-NOM book-ACC borrow-PAST
 'Everyone borrowed a book from someone'