

Case, argument structure, and A movement in Japanese ditransitive constructions

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Goals of the talk

1. To examine the structure of various ditransitive verbs in Japanese
2. To spell out the consequences of the analysis for the theories of Case and A movement

1. Introduction

1) Two classes of ditransitive verbs in Japanese [Matsuoka 2003]

- a. Kaneda-ga hon-o Tetsuo-ni wata-si-ta [*“pass”-class:acc-dat*]
K.NOM book.ACC T.DAT pass.LC.PAST
Kaneda passed the book to Tetsuo
- b. Kaneda-ga Tetsuo-ni hon-o mi-se-ta [*“show”-class:dat-acc*]
K.NOM book.DAT T.ACC show.LC.PAST
Kaneda showed Tetsuo the book

More DAT-ACC verbs

abi-se ‘pour’
azuk-e ‘entrust’
ka-s ‘lend’
ki-se ‘put (clothes) on’
os-ie ‘teach’
sato-s ‘realize’
tamaw ‘grant’

More ACC-DAT verbs

at-e ‘hit’
butuk-e ‘bump’
kae-s ‘return’
kak-e ‘put on’
koroga-s ‘roll’
modo-s ‘return’
ot-os ‘drop’
todok-e ‘deliver’
tuta-e ‘transmit’

Semantic generalisation: in DAT-ACC verbs, there is some transfer/possession relation going on between the accusative and the dative (sometimes metaphorically, e.g. for *show* or *teach*). In contrast, in ACC-DAT verbs, the dative simply marks the endpoint of the event. Similar paradigms have been observed for German and Icelandic (Haider 1992) and Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003).

2) Unaccusative variants in the “pass”-class

- a. ✓ Hon-ga Tetsuo-ni watatta (←wata-ar-ta)
Book.NOM T.DAT pass.UNACC.PAST
The book passed to Tetsuo
- b. * Hon-ga Kaneda-niyotte Tetsuo-ni watatta
book.NOM K.by T.DAT passed
The book passed to Tetsuo (by Kaneda)
- c. * Tetsuo-ga hon-o watatta
T.NOM book.ACC passed
Tetsuo got the book passed

3) Passivisation in the “pass”-class

- a. ✓ Hon-ga (Kaneda-niyotte) Tetsuo-ni wata-s-are-ta
Book.NOM K.by T.DAT pass.LC.PASS.PAST
The book was passed to Tetsuo (by Kaneda)
- b. ✓ Tetsuo-ga (Kaneda-niyotte) hon-o wata-s-are-ta
T.NOM K.by book.ACC pass.LC.PASS.PAST
Tetsuo was passed the book

4) Unaccusative variants in the “show”-class

- a. ✓ Tetsuo-ga hon-o mi-ta
T.NOM book.ACC show.PAST
Tetsuo saw that book (lit. Tetsuo got shown the book)
- b. * Tetsuo-ga Kaneda-niyotte hon-o mi-ta
T.NOM K.by book.ACC show.PAST
Tetsuo saw the book by Kaneda
- c. * Hon-ga Tetsuo-ni mi-ta
book.NOM T.DAT show.PAST
The book got showed to Tetsuo

5) Passivisation in the “show”-class

- a. ✓ Tetsuo-ga (Kaneda-niyotte) hon-o mi-se-rare-ta
T.ga K.by book.ACC show.LC.PASS.PAST
Tetsuo was shown the book (by Kaneda)
- b. ✓ Hon-ga (Kaneda-niyotte) Tetsuo-ni mi-se-rare-ta
book.NOM K.by T.DAT show.LC.PASS.PAST
The book was shown to Tetsuo (by Kaneda)

Summary of data so far

“Pass” class

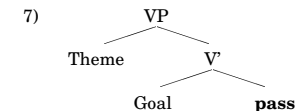
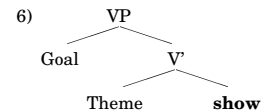
	IO mvt	DO mvt
Passive	✓	✓
Unaccusative	*	✓

“Show” class

	IO mvt	DO mvt
Passive	✓	✓
Unaccusative	✓	*

Matsuoka’s 2003 analysis

He assumes that argument structure parallels default order. Thus (simplified):



The paradigm for unaccusative variants follows from standard minimality. For passives, he assumes a definition of minimal domains that permits movement of either internal argument.

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However, this analysis goes against the standard view that (in Japanese) goals are always projected higher than themes (cf. Hoji 1985, Fujita 1996, Takano 1996, Yatsushiro 1999, 2003).

2. Further properties of (Japanese) ditransitives

2.1 Binding & scope asymmetries

“Pass”-type verbs allow backward binding and scope

- 8) a. ?/✓ Kaneda-ga [[**pro** tyuumonsita] hon]-o [**subeto-no kyaku**]-ni wata-si-ta
K.NOM ordered book.ACC all.GEN client.DAT pass.LC.PAST
Kaneda passed the book he ordered to every client
- b. ✓ Kaneda-ga [**suneto-no hon**]-o [[**pro** tyuumonsita] kyaku]-ni wata-si-ta
K.NOM all.GEN book.DAT ordered client.ACC pass.LC.PAST
Kaneda passed every book to the client who ordered it
- 9) a. ✓ Tetsuo-ga [**otagai-no** kodomo]-o [**Keiko to Kazuko**]-ni watasita
T.NOM each other.GEN child.ACC K and K.DAT passed
Tetsuo passed each other's child to Keiko and Kazuko
- b. ✓ Tetsuo-ga [**Kaneda to Takashi**]-o [**otagai-no** hahaoya]-ni watasita
T.NOM K and T.ACC each other.GEN mother.DAT passed
Tetsuo passed Kaneda and Takashi to each other's mother
- 10) Tetsuo-ga **nanika**-o [**subete-no seito**]-ni wata-si-ta
T.NOM something.ACC all.GEN student.DAT pass.LC.PAST
Tetsuo passed something to every student
[∃ > ∀ / * ∇ > ∃]

“Show”-type verbs do not allow backward binding and scope

- 11) a. * Kaneda-ga [[**pro** tyuumonsita] kyaku]-ni [**subeto-no hon**]-o mi-se-ta
K.NOM ordered client.DAT all.GEN book.ACC show.LC.PAST
Kaneda showed every book to the client who ordered it
- b. ✓ Kaneda-ga [**subeto-no kyaku**]-ni [[**pro** tyuumonsita] hon]-o mi-se-ta
K.NOM all.GEN client-DAT ordered book.ACC show.LC.PAST
Kaneda showed every client the book he ordered
- 12) a. * Tetsuo-ga [**otagai-no** hahaoya]-ni [**Kaneda to Takashi**]-o miseta
T.NOM each other.GEN mother.DAT K and T.ACC showed
Tetsuo showed Kaneda and Takashi to each other's mother
- b. ✓ Tetsuo-ga [**Keiko to Kazuko**]-ni [**otagai-no** kodomo]-o miseta
T.NOM K and K.DAT each other.GEN child.ACC showed
Tetsuo showed Keiko and Kazuko each other's child
- 13) Tetsuo-ga **dareka**-ni [**subeto-no hon**]-o mi-se-ta
T.NOM something.DAT all.GEN book.ACC show.LC.PAST
Tetsuo showed something to everybody
[∃ > ∀ / * ∇ > ∃]

2.2 Interpretation

- 14) a. Kaneda-ga kunsyoo-o Tetsuo-ni wata-si-ta
K.NOM medal.ACC T.DAT pass.LC.PAST
Kaneda passed a medal to Tetsuo
- b. Kaneda-ga Tetsuo-ni kunsyoo-o tamaw-ta
K.NOM T.DAT medal.ACC grant.PAST
Kaneda granted Tetsuo a medal

- “...Tetsuo cannot be given the medal by proxy in [14b], though he can in [14a]”

[Matsuoka 2003:189]

- 15) a. ✓ Kaneda-ga penki-o kabe-ni kak-e-ta
K.NOM paint.ACC wall.DAT put on.LC.PAST
Kaneda put paint on the wall
- b. * Kaneda-ga kabe-ni penki-o abi-se-ta
K.NOM wall.DAT paint.ACC pour.LC.PAST
Kaneda poured paint on the wall

- “...show-type verbs typically select a human or an animate NP for the dative argument, whereas such generalisation cannot be made with respect to *pass*-type verbs”

[Matsuoka 2003:190]

2.3 A parallel with English

DOCs vs. *to*-datives

- 16) a. I gave John a book
b. I gave a book to John

Binding & scope

- 17) a. ✓ Sue showed [John and Mary][to each other's friends]
b. ✓ Sue showed [each other's friends][to John and Mary]

- 18) a. * Sue showed [each other's friends][John and Mary]
b. ?/✓ Sue showed [John and Mary][each other's friends]

- 19) a. I gave a girl every piece of candy [∃ > ∀ / * ∇ > ∃]
b. I gave a piece of candy to every girl [∃ > ∀ / ∇ > ∃]

Interpretation

- 20) a. The bank gave Sue the money [* *indirect transfer*]
b. The bank gave the money to Sue [✓ *indirect transfer*]

- 21) a. I sent ✓Susan/*Amsterdam a package
b. I sent a package to ✓Susan/✓Amsterdam

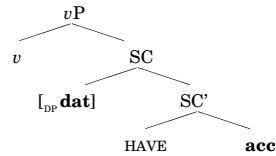
Interim summary

	English DOCs	Japanese <i>show</i> verbs	English <i>to</i> -datives	Japanese. <i>pass</i> verbs
Backward binding	*	*	✓	✓
Backward scope	*	*	✓	✓
Indirect transfer	*	*	✓	✓
Inanimate dative	*	*	✓	✓

The two structures for ditransitives

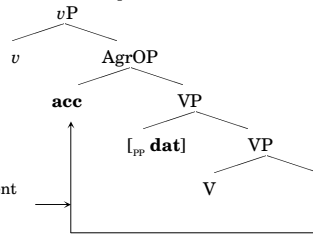
(cf. Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Marantz 1993, Pesetsky 1995, Harley 1995, 2000, Pylkkänen 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Beck & Johnson 2004, Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004).

22) DOCs / "show" verbs



Optional movement
in Japanese

23) To-datives / "pass" verbs

**The Pesetsky/Takano generalisation:** non-themes are projected higher than themes

- where "non-theme" includes goals, sources, beneficiaries, malefactors...¹

Evidence: binding and short scrambling combined²

24) a. * Tetsuo-ga [otagai-no hahaoya]-ni [Kaneda & Takashi]-o miseta (=12a)

T.NOM each other.GEN mother.DAT K and T.ACC showed
Tetsuo showed Kaneda and Takashi to each other's mother

- b. ✓ Tetsuo-ga [Kaneda to Takashi]-o [otagai-no hahaoya]-ni miseta
T.NOM K and T.ACC each other.GEN mother.DAT showed
Ditto

25) a. ✓ Tetsuo-ga [otagai-no kodomo]-o [Keiko to Kazuko]-ni watasita (=9a)

T.NOM each other.GEN child.ACC K and K.DAT passed
Tetsuo passed each other's child to Keiko and Kazuko

- b. * Tetsuo-ga [Keiko to Kazuko]-ni [otagai-no kodomo]-o watasita
T.NOM K and K.DAT each other.GEN child.ACC passed
Ditto

26) a. ✓ Tetsuo-ga [subete-no hon]-o [sore-no tyosia]-kara karita

T.NOM all.GEN book.ACC it.GEN author.from borrowed
Tetsuo borrowed every book from its author

- b. * Tetsuo-ga [sore-no tyosia]-kara [subete-no hon]-o karita
T.NOM it.GEN author.from all.GEN book.ACC borrowed
Ditto

	"show" verbs	"pass" verbs	PP verbs
Backward binding in ACC-DAT/PP order	✓	✓	✓
Backward binding in DAT/PP-ACC order	*	*	*

Conclusion: in *pass*-type verbs, and in ditransitives with a PP, the DAT/PP-ACC order is actually *absence of movement*.

¹ But possibly not locatives (cf. Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004). Although this is an interesting exception on its own right, it is not directly relevant to the issue at hand.

² Data adapted from Takano 1996, ch. 3.

3. Passives and unaccusatives

Recall the initial alternations

"Pass" class

	IO mvt	DO mvt
Passive	✓	✓
Unaccusative	*	✓

"Show" class

	IO mvt	DO mvt
Passive	✓	✓
Unaccusative	✓	*

3.1 Case assignment**Assume**

- a) that morphological case is independent (at least to a certain extent) of abstract Case
- cf. Marantz 1991, Harley 1995a, McFadden 2004, Bobaljik 2005.

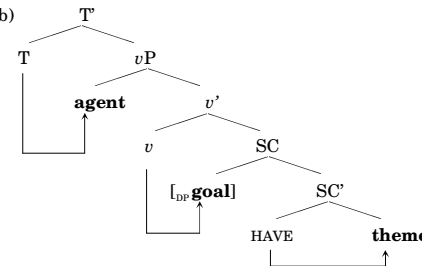
from which it follows that

- b) abstract Case is a *morphologically unspecified* relation between an argument and a c-commanding functional head (i.e., there is no "abstract accusative/nominative...")
- cf. McGinnis 1998, Sigurdsson 2003

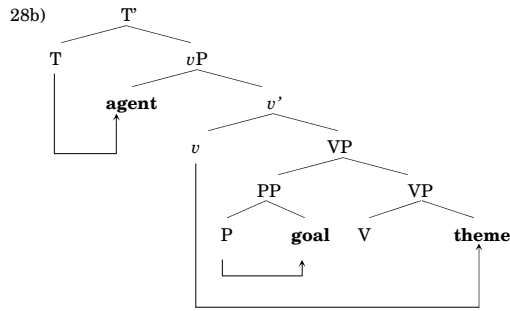
27a) Case in DOCs/"show" verbs

- HAVE • Case on the theme • morphological accusative
v • Case on the goal • morphological dative
T • Case on the agent • morphological nominative

27b)

28a) Case in *to*-datives/"pass" verbs

- P • Case on the goal • morphological dative
v • Case on the theme • morphological accusative
T • Case on the agent • morphological nominative



3.2 Argument structure

The difference between passives and unaccusatives is that only the former have an agentive component (Roberts 1987). This is encoded by passives having an agent-introducing head (*v*), but not unaccusatives.

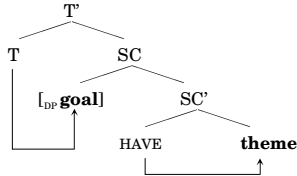
- 29) *Agent-oriented adverbials*
 a. ✓ The wine was spilled on purpose
 b. * The wine spilled on purpose

- 30) *By-phrases*
 a. ✓ The wine was spilled by Peter
 b. * The wine spilled by Peter

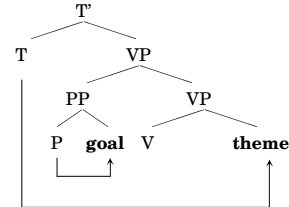
Assume also that *v* is fully responsible for agentive semantics, and that passives have no external argument whatsoever –cf. Embick 1997, Pytkkänen 2002.

Unaccusatives are unproblematic. The absence of *v* means that one internal argument does not receive Case. Since there is no external argument either, T can Agree with the Caseless argument, and attract it to SpecTP [NB: this last step is not represented below]

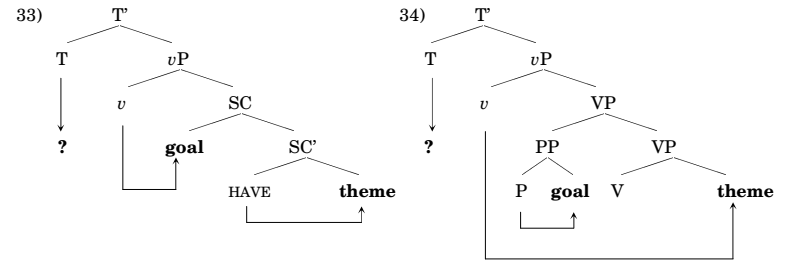
- 31) DOCs/"show" verbs



- 32) To-datives/"pass" verbs



Passives are trickier. Since there is a *v*, both internal arguments can receive Case in the usual way. But, since there is no external argument, T has in principle nothing to Agree with.

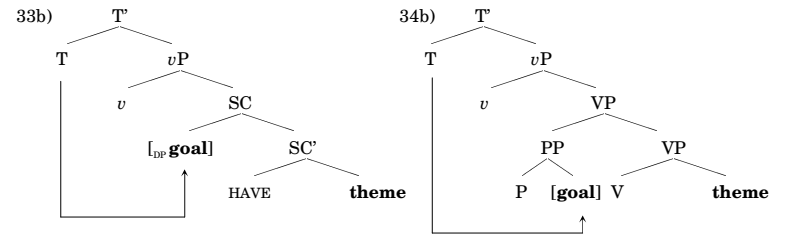


T has to Agree with something (because it has an unvalued ϕ set), but there is no argument left with an unvalued Case feature.

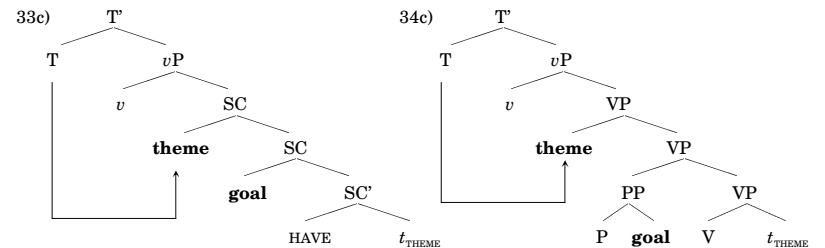
Proposal: arguments with *valued* Case features can establish extra Agree relations with functional heads (*contra* Chomsky 1998, 2000, McGinnis 1998, Richards 2005)

[Notice, though, that arguments with valued Case features do not enter Agree with a higher probe if there is an argument with an unvalued feature (cf. McGinnis 1998)]

In (33) and (34), since there are no DPs left with unvalued features, T simply Agrees with the closest one. Since Japanese has scrambling, the lower internal argument can move over the higher one and passivise (cf. McGinnis 1998, Ura 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003).



Note that (34b) entails that Japanese has prepositional passives. This is plausible, since Japanese dative seems to be structural, which is a prerequisite for the formation of this type of passives (cf. Hornstein & Weinberg 1981, Boeckx 1998).



In summary:

- The differences between passives and unaccusatives reduce to the presence/absence (respectively) of *v*, with a few more assumptions.
 - a) *v* always assigns structural Case, even in passives (*contra* Burzio's Generalisation).
 - b) an argument can enter into Case relations with more than one functional head, as long as there are no other arguments with unvalued Case features
 - c) case morphology is (at least to some extent) independent from abstract Case

This requires an re-examination of other phenomena (most prominently, defective intervention effects), if this theory of Case and movement is to be workable... but that's another story.

Appendix: passives, unaccusatives, and the EPP

- 35) a. Dokoka-ni daremo-ga tuita
 somewhere everyone arrived
 some > every
 *every > some
- b. Dareka-ga doko-ni-mo tuita
 someone everywhere arrived
 some > every
 every > some
- 36) a. Dokoka-ni daremo-ga manek-are-ta
 somewhere everybody invite.PASS
 some > every
 every > some
- b. Dareka-ga doko-ni-mo manek-are-ta
 someone everywhere was invited
 some > every
 every > some

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