

Ditransitive constructions, argument structure and A-movement

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1. Introduction

1) Two classes of ditransitive verbs in Japanese

- 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

2. Some properties of ditransitive constructions

2.2 Binding & scope asymmetries

2) “Pass”-type verbs

- 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

- 3) 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
[$\exists > \forall / \forall > \exists$]

4) “Show”-type verbs

- 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

- 5) 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
[$\exists > \forall / * \forall > \exists$]

Summary:

- “Show”-class verbs only allow direct binding and scope
- “Pass”-class verbs allow both direct and inverse binding and scope.

2.3 Interpretation

- 6) 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

- “Pass”-class: dative marks to the end point of the action
- “Show”-class: dative marks an argument that is affected by the action

- “...Tetsuo cannot be given the medal by proxy in [6b], though he can in [6a]”
[Matsuoka 2003:189]

- 7) 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]

2.4 A parallel with English(?)

DOCs vs. to-datives

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

Binding & scope

- 9) a. I gave a girl every piece of candy [$\exists > \forall / * \forall > \exists$]
b. I gave a piece of candy to every girl [$\exists > \forall / \forall > \exists$]

- 10) a. ✓ Sue showed [John and Mary][each other’s friends]
b. ✓ Sue showed [John and Mary][to each other’s friends]
c. * Sue showed [each other’s friends][John and Mary]
d. ?/✓ Sue showed [each other’s friends][to John and Mary]

Interpretation

- 11) a. ✓ I sent Mary a package
 b. ✓ I sent a package to Mary
 c. * I sent Leiden a package
 d. ✓ I sent a package to Leiden

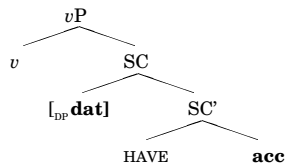
2.5 Working hypothesis

Japanese *pass*-type verbs = English *to*-dative clauses
 Japanese *show*-type verbs = English DOC clauses

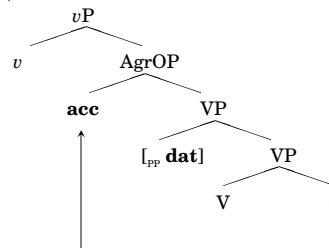
3. The structure of ditransitives

3.1 The “independent structures” approach

12) DOCs



13) To-datives



In DOCs, the dative argument is a small clause subject, whereas in *to*-datives it is a VP modifier (cf. Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Marantz 1993, Harley 2000, Beck & Johnson 2004)

3.2 The tough case: two kinds of goals

- 14) a. * John didn't send the letter to Mary, but he will do **to Jane**
 b. ✓ John didn't send the letter to Leiden, but he will do **to Amsterdam**
- 15) a. ✓ John sent a package to Mary to London [recipient > destination]
 b. ?? John sent a package to London to Mary [destination > recipient]
- 16) a. ✓ Kaneda-ga Tetsuo-ni Tokyo-ni nimotu-o okut-ta [recipient > destination]
 K.NOM T.DAT T.DAT package.ACC send.PAST
Kaneda sent Tetsuo a package to Tokyo
 b. * Kaneda-ga Tokyo-ni Tetsuo-ni nimotu-o okut-ta [destination > recipient]
 K.NOM T.DAT T.DAT package.ACC send.PAST
Ditto

- 17) a. ✓ Kaneda-ga **tomodati-ni futa-ri** nimotu-o okut-ta
 K.NOM friends.DAT 2.CL package.ACC sent.PAST
Kaneda sent two friends a package
 b. * Daitooryoo-ga heitai-o **kokkyoo-ni futa-tu** okut-ta
 president.NOM soldiers.ACC borders.ACC 2.CL sent.PAST
The president sent soldiers to two borders
- 18) a. Kaneda-ga Tokyo-ni/e nimotu-o okut-ta
 K.NOM T.DAT/DIR package.ACC send-PAST
Kaneda sent a package to Tokyo
 b. Kaneda-ga Tetsuo-ni/*-e nimotu-o okut-ta
 K.NOM T.DAT/DIR package.ACC send.PAST
Kaneda sent Tetsuo a package

However, *send* is a strange verb in that, cross-linguistically, it can have both [dat-acc] and [acc-dat] as their underlying orders (cf. Haider 1993, McIntyre 2002). More data are needed from Japanese *show* vs *tell* verb classes to determine how VP structure can vary.

4. A-movement in Japanese

4.1 Promotion to subject

19) 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

20) 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

21) 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

22) *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:

In ditransitive verbs:

- either object can be promoted to subject under passivisation
- only the highest object (DAT or ACC, depending on the verb class) can be promoted to subject in unaccusative variants
- unaccusative variants have no agentive argument (cf. ungrammaticality of *by*-phrases), whereas passives have one.

That is, raising and passivisation are different classes of A-movement

- raising respects minimality conditions
- passivisation can violate minimality conditions

[Woolford 1993]

4.2 A constellation of *v*?

Arad 1999, Juarros 2002: there is no such thing as *v*. What we have is a whole family of functional heads that introduce external arguments, each one with different properties

- 23) a. *v*-passive: introduces an external argument, but doesn't realise it syntactically
 [Japanese: (r)are]
- b. *v*-unaccusative: doesn't introduce an argument
 [Japanese: ar]

So, A-movement is not an unique operation, but a family of movement operations with certain common consequences (e.g., binding, WCO amnesty,...), in the same way as Müller's 1995 claim for A-bar movement. Current analyses (McGinnis 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003) cannot deal with this intuition, since they collapse all kinds of A-movement under the same rules/constraints.

I can't (yet) offer a solution either ☹ . It'll require to come up with an answer for these questions:

- 24) a. How is nominative case assigned? By *v* (Sigurdsson 2003)? By T (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001)? By T+C (Landau 2004)? Something completely different?
- b. Is promotion to subject driven by Case (Burzio's Generalisation), or not (EPP)?
- c. What are the locality conditions on A-movement? In which way do phases work (McGinnis 2002, Legate 2002)? Can scrambling/object shift dodge A-minimality violations (Anagnostopoulou 2002)?
- d. The million-dollar question: why does A-movement (and different subtypes of it) have the properties it does?

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