Ditransitive Constructions in Japanese*

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1. Introduction

This paper explores Case realizations of two internal arguments of Japanese ditransitive verbs whose Cases are morphologically marked with -*ni*, and -*o*. On the basis of Matsuoka's (2003) two types of ditransitive verbs, we will propose four different structures for *show*-type, *pass*-type, *receive*-type and *age* 'give'-type ditransitive verbs, respectively. As for Case marking, we claim that the arguments marked with -*ni* in the *show*-type and *age*-type ditransitive constructions are originally valued as accusative by the head of APPL, but they are marked with -*ni* to avoid violating Harada's (1973) double *o* constraint in the traditional sense. As a consequence of the proposed analysis, we will explain why the four types of verbs above can take the -*ga*, -*ni*, -*o* Case pattern, but a certain type of verbs cannot, such as *sikar* 'scold' and *home* 'praise.'

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 reviews Matsuoka's (2003) research on two types of ditransitive constructions in Japanese. In section 3, we modify Matsuoka's (2003) *show*-type ditransitive construction and propose four different structures for *show*-type, *pass*-type, *receive*-type and *age* 'give'-type ditransitive verbs. We further examine how each Case is valued and morphologically realized appropriately. Section 4 will be a conclusion.

2. Two types of ditransitive constructions: Matsuoka 2003

Matsuoka (2003) proposes two types of ditransitive constructions in Japanese, focusing on whether or not the arguments marked with -*ni* in ditransitive constructions can be a subject of the transitive variants. The contrast is illustrated in (1) and (2). Matsuoka calls the former *pass*-type verbs and the latter *show*-type verbs.

(1) *pass*-type verbs

    a.   John-ga   hanataba-o Mary-ni   wata-si-ta.
         John-Nom bouquet-Acc Mary-Dat pass-LC-Past
         'John passed a bouquet to Mary.'

    b.   Hanataba-ga Mary-ni   wata-r-ta. (wata-r-ta → watatta)
         bouquet-Nom Mary-Dat   pass-Inc-Past
         'A bouquet passed to Mary.'

    c.   *Mary-ga   hanataba-o   wata-r-ta.
         Mary-Nom bouquet-Acc   pass-Inc-Past
         'Mary$_i$ got a bouquet to her$_i$.'

                                (Matsuoka 2003: 173)

(2) *show*-type verbs

    a.   Mary-ga   John-ni   sono hon-o   mi-se-ta.
         Mary-Nom   John-Dat   that book-Acc show-LC-Past
         'Mary showed that book to John.'

    b.   John-ga   sono hon-o   mi-ta.
         John-Nom   that book-Acc show-Past
         'John saw that book.'

    c.   *Sono hon-ga   John-ni   mi-ta.
         that book-Nom   John-Dat   show-Past
         'The book got shown to John.'

                                (Matsuoka 2003: 187)

In the (a)-sentences above, both verb types have the same Case marking pattern -*ga*, -*ni/-o*, and -*o/-ni*. However, the *pass*-type verbs do not permit the dative argument to be the subject of the inchoative variant as in (1), while the *show*-type verbs permit the *dative*-subject alternation as in (2). Other ditransitive verbs which show the same type of alternation like (1) are given in (3) and those like (2) are given in (4).
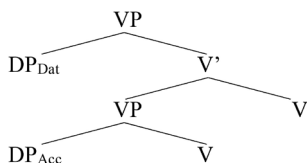
(3) *pass*-type verbs

    at-e 'hit-LC'   *butuk-e* 'bump-LC'   *kae-s* 'return-LC'
    todok-e 'deliver-LC'   *modo-s* 'return-LC'   *ot-os* 'drop-LC'
    tuta-e 'transmit-LC'

(4)   *show*-type verbs

   azuk-e 'entrast-LC'   *ka-s* 'lend-LC'   *ki-se* 'put (clothes) on-LC'

   os-ie 'teach-LC'   *sato-s* 'realize-LC'   *tamaw* 'grant'

   Matsuoka proposes the following constructions for the roots of the two types of verbs as in (5) and (6).

(5)   *pass*-type verbs ($DP_{ACC} > DP_{Dat}$ hierarchy)

```
            VP
          /    \
    DP_ACC      V'
              /    \
         DP_Dat      V
```

(6)   *show*-type verbs ($DP_{Dat} > DP_{ACC}$ hierarchy)

```
            VP
          /    \
    DP_Dat      V'
              /    \
           VP        V
          /   \
    DP_Acc      V
```

According to Matsuoka (2003), the *accusative*-subject alternation is permissible only in the *pass*-type verbs because the accusative phrase is generated hierarchically higher than the dative phrase as in (5). Thus, the accusative phrase can raise to the subject position in the inchoative variant without violating the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) proposed by Chomsky (1995):

(7)   Minimal Link Condition
      K attracts α only if there is no β, β closer to K than α, such that K attracts β.

                                                              (Chomsky 1995: 311)
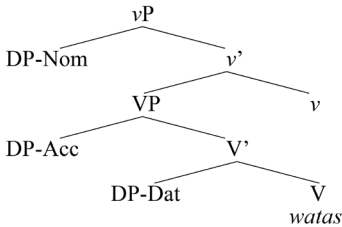
On the other hand, in the *show*-type verbs, the dative phrase is generated higher than the accusative phrase as in (6). The MLC properly explains why the dative phrase can become the subject of the inchoative variant in (2b).

   Furthermore, Matsuoka (2003) points out that the dative arguments of *pass*-type verbs refer to the end point to which the referent of the accusative

arguments move. In this sense, he calls the dative arguments *Goal*. In contrast, the dative arguments of *show* type verbs do not have to refer to the end point of the accusative arguments. (2a) describes a situation in which Mary showed the book to John, keeping the book in Mary's hand. Instead, the dative arguments of this type refer to the animate individual that is affected and undergoes a change of state in some way, following Matsumoto (2000) (Matsuoka 2003: 189). He calls these arguments *Experiencer*.[1]
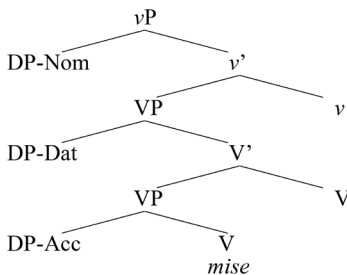
To sum up, Matsuoka (2003) provides the following structures for the ditransitive variant of *pass*-type verbs and that of *show*-type verbs respectively as shown in (8) and (9) below.[2]

(8) *pass*-type ditransitive verbs (-o_{theme} > -ni_{Goal} hierarchy)

```
              vP
         _____
     DP-Nom        v'
              _____
            VP          v
        _____
    DP-Acc      V'
            _____
          DP-Dat      V
                    watas
```

(Matsuoka 2003: 172, slightly modified by Ueda)

(9) *show*-type verbs (-$ni_{Experiencer}$ > -o_{Theme} hierarchy)

```
              vP
         _____
     DP-Nom        v'
              _____
            VP          v
        _____
    DP-Dat      V'
            _____
          VP          V
      _____
  DP-Acc      V
            mise
```

(Matsuoka 2003: 172, slightly modified by Ueda)

In the subsequent sections, we focus our attention on the structure and the Case realizations of the *show*-type ditransitive construction.

3. Proposals: Reconsidering the structure of *show*-type verbs

Section 3 reconsiders Matsuoka's (2003) *show*-type ditransitive construction in (9) in the previous section. We propose that the *show*-type ditransitive construction takes its transitive alternate clause as the complement of a *v* (APPL). For the sake of clarification, we would like to modify some of Matsuoka's (2003) glosses in example sentences. We will call the root verbs 'R' and represent them as an R with italicized capital letters such as R_{SHOW}, R_{POUR} *and* R_{WEAR} throughout this paper. Furthermore, Matsuoka (2003) uses *dative* (or *Dat*) as the gloss of particle -*ni*. However, we will propose that relevant DPs are marked with -*ni* in two ways in Japanese. Thus, we will use capital -*NI* as its gloss from section 3.

3.1 The structure and the Case realizations of *show* type ditransitive constructions

The *show*-type ditransitive verbs select three arguments which are morphologically realized by -*ga* 'nominative,' -*ni* 'NI' and -*o* 'accusative.' (10) shows that the Case realizations of the three arguments of the *show*-type ditransitive verbs are much like those of transitive-causatives.

(10) a. transitive causative constructions

Mary-***ga***   John-***ni***   sono hon-***o***   mi-***sase***-ta.

Mary-Nom   John-NI   that book-Acc R_{SHOW} -CAUS-Past

'Mary made John see that book.'

b. ditransitive constructions with *show*-type verbs

Mary-***ga***   John-***ni***   sono hon-***o***   mi-***se***-ta.

Mary-Nom   John-NI   that book-Acc R_{SHOW}-LC-Past

'Mary showed that book to John.'

Typical examples of the transitive causatives are given in (11). (12) is the structure, where a transitive clause is embedded as the complement of causative verb -*sase* 'CAUS.'[2]

(11) Transitive Causatives

a. Mary-ga   John-ni   sono eiga-o   mi-∅-***sase***-∅-ta.

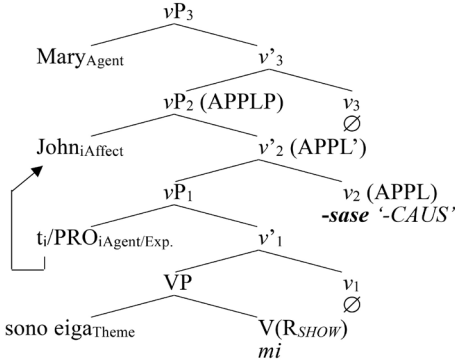Mary-Nom   John-NI   that film-Acc R_{SHOW}-∅$_{v1}$-CAUS$_{v2(APPL)}$-∅$_{v3}$-Past

'Mary made John watch the film.'

b. Mary-ga John-ni sono penki-o abi-∅-***sase***-∅-ta.

 Mary-Nom John-NI that paint-Acc R_{POUR}-$∅_{v1}$-CAUS$_{v2(APPL)}$-$∅_{v3}$-Past

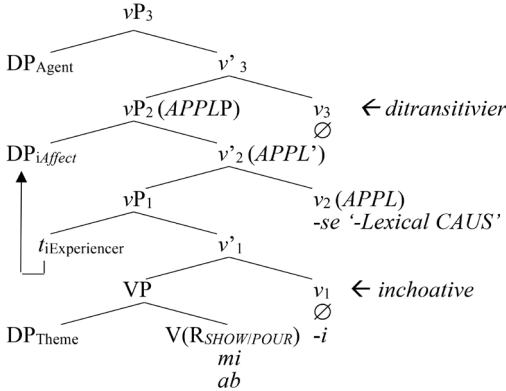 'Mary made John$_i$ get that paint over him$_i$.'

(12) Transitive Causatives

In causative constructions, it is widely assumed that -*sase* 'CAUS' is a morphological realization of a functional head Applicative (or *v*), generally called APPL (Pylkkänen 2008). This head assigns theta role *Affect* to a DP in its Spec position as shown in (12). The DP is affected by the caused event itself. Thus, the DP is often called *Affected Object*. We, here, assume the movement from a theta position to another theta position. In order to avoid the movement of this type, a PRO, which is controlled by the arguments with -*ni* 'NI' in the Spec of APPLP, is often assumed in the transitive causative constructions.[3] Unfortunately, we cannot reach a crucial conclusion as to whether or not the embedded subject should be a PRO or a trace. Thus, we tentatively assume here that the subject in the embedded transitive clause moves to the Spec of higher functional head APPL to get/check the new theta role. As for labeling (Chomsky 2013, 2015), it might be plausible to assume that the embedded subject should be raised to the Spec of APPL to avoid the XP-YP problem at the vP_1 phase level.

 The same is true of *show*-type ditransitive construction as given in (13).

(13) *mise* 'show' (R_{SHOW} + $\varnothing_{v1}$ + -$se_{v2(APPL)}$ + $\varnothing_{v3}$ → *mi-se*)

   abise 'pour' (R_{POUR} + -i_{v1} + -$se_{v2(APPL)}$ + $\varnothing_{v3}$ → *ab-i-se*)

```
                        vP₃
                 _____/  _____
            DP_Agent            v'₃
                          _____/  \_____
                    vP₂(APPLP)         v₃        ← ditransitivier
                   ____/   \____        ∅
            DP_iAffect      v'₂(APPL')
                          ___/   \___
                        vP₁         v₂(APPL)
                    ___/  \___      -se '-Lexical CAUS'
            t_iExperiencer   v'₁
                        ___/  \___
                      VP          v₁       ← inchoative
                   __/  \__        ∅
            DP_Theme   V(R_SHOW/POUR)  -i
                              mi
                              ab
```
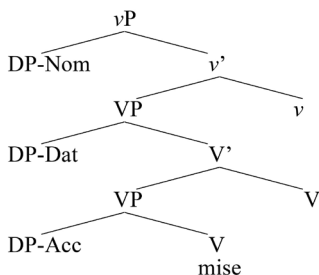
It is often said that the *show*-type ditransitive verbs describe an event where the referent of the *ni*-phrase is mentally or physically the possessor of the referent of the accusative phrase. However, it is a subtle question as to whether or not the referent of the *ni*-phrase can possess the referent of the accusative-phrase. As illustrated in (14) below, *mise* 'show' is a typical *show*-type verb, but it is semantically quite unclear whether or not the referent of the *ni*-phrase, namely, *John*, possesses the referent of the accusative-phrase, namely, *sono hon* 'that book':

(14) Mary-ga   John-ni   sono hon-o   mi-$\varnothing$-se-$\varnothing$-ta.
   Mary-Nom   John-Dat   that book-Acc R_{SHOW}-$\varnothing_{v1}$-$LC_{v2(APPL)}$-$\varnothing_{v3}$-Past
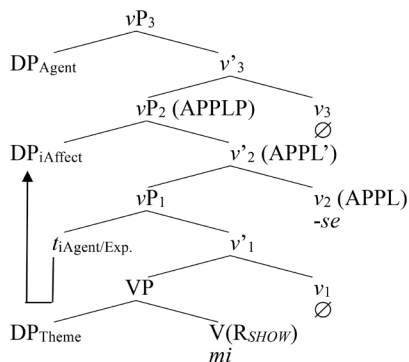   'Mary showed a book to John.'

It seems to me that the *ni*-phrase is not a possessor of the referent of accusative phrase, but it is rather an affected object of the caused event itself. In ditransitive verbs of this type, the affected object, which is realized as the *ni*-phrase, gets a benefit by the caused event and recognizes this affectedness. That is why it requires animate individuals as Matsumoto (2000) mentions. In this sense, the structure of the *show*-type ditransitive verbs we propose is more appropriate than that of Matsuoka's. The proposed structure with the head of APPL is summarized below:

(15) Matsuoka's *show*-type verbs (-ni_{Goal} > -o_{Theme} hierarchy)

```
                  vP
          _____|_____
      DP-Nom            v'
                    _____|_____
                  VP           v
            _____|_____
        DP-Dat        V'
                  ____|____
                VP         V
          _____|_____
      DP-Acc        V
                   mise
```

(Matsuoka 2003: 172)

(16) Our *show*-type ditransitive verbs

```
                    vP₃
            _____|_____
      DP_Agent            v'₃
                      _____|_____
                vP₂ (APPLP)      v₃
                                  ∅
            _____|_____
      DP_iAffect          v'₂ (APPL')
                      _____|_____
                vP₁            v₂ (APPL)
                               -se
        _____|_____
     t_iAgent/Exp.      v'₁
                    _____|_____
                  VP          v₁
            _____|_____      ∅
      DP_Theme       V(R_SHOW)
                       mi
```

Given the parallel constructions for the two types of sentences, namely, the *show*-type ditransitive construction and the transitive causative construction, we can treat the *ni*-phrase in the *show*-type ditransitive constructions as an accusative object valued by Lexical Causer v_2 (APPL) -*se*, but it cannot be realized as -*o* 'Acc' by the double *o* constraint in traditional sense. This analysis of ditransitive constructions accounts for why the ditransitive constructions of this type are morphologically realized with -*ga* -*ni* -*o* Case pattern. Since the Lexical Causer v_2, that is, APPL, in the *show*-type ditransitives always takes a transitive clause, which contains an accusative theme argument, the double *o* constraint prevents the newly introduced object from being morphologically realized as *o* as illustrated in (17).

(17) the *show*-type ditransitive verbs
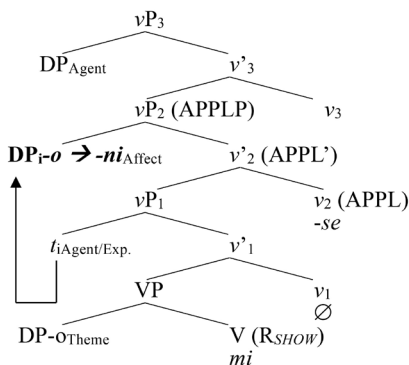
Assuming that English does not have the double *o* constraint, two internal arguments in English DOCs can be realized as two Accusative objects:[4]

(18) a. John gave *her* a ring.
b. John gave Mary all of *them*.

3.2 *Age* 'give' as a *show*-type verb with a *receive*-type transitive clause

In the previous sections, we have observed that the *show*-type ditransitive verbs have the transitive variant whose subject is identical with the *ni*-phrase in the ditransitives. The two verb variants morphologically share the same root verb (e.g., R$_{SHOW}$). Section 3.2 examines one of the typical ditransitive verbs *age* 'give' and proposes that *age* 'give' is one of the *show*-type ditransitive verbs in the sense that the head of APPL selects a transitive clause whose subject is identical with the *ni*-argument of *age* 'give.' However, *age* 'give' contains morphologically unrelated root verb R$_{RECIEVE}$ as shown in (19).

(19) *age-moraw* 'give-receive'
    a. *age* 'give'
      Mary-ga   **John-ni**   sono syoo-o   age-ta.
      Mary-Nom   John-NI   that prize-Acc   give-Past
   'Mary gave John that prize.'

9

b. **John-ga**   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
   John-Nom that prize-Acc recieve-Past
   'John received that prize.'

In (19), the *ni*-argument of *age* 'give' becomes the subject of a transitive clause.

Furthermore, the *ni*-argument of *age* 'give,' *John*, is interpreted as the affected entity of the caused event. The referent of *ni*-argument receives a kind of benefit from the caused event and must be interpreted as undergoing a change of state (See Matsumoto 2000).

With the discussion concerning the *ni*-phrase in mind, there is nothing wrong with assuming that *age* 'give' has the parallel structure of the *show*-type verbs as in (20).

(20) *age* 'give' ($R_{RECEIVE}$ + $\varnothing_{v1}$ + $\varnothing_{v2(APPL)}$ + $\varnothing_{v3}$ → *age*)
     Mary-ga   John-ni   sono syoo-o   age-ta.
     Mary-Nom   John-NI   that prize-Acc give-Past
     'Mary gave John that prize.'
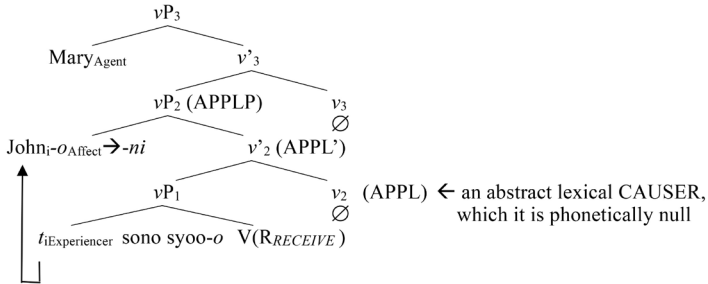
In our analysis *age* 'give' is a complex verb containing a transitive construction headed by $R_{RECEIVE}$. This is exactly the same as the *show*-type verbs such as *mise* 'show.' In (20), *John* is base generated in the subject of the embedded transitive clause headed by $R_{RECEIVE}$. When the transitive vP_1 merges with the head of APPL ($\varnothing$), the embedded subject *John* raises to the Spec of higher vP_2 (APPLP) for labeling. At the same time, its new theta role and the Case are checked/valued. The functional head v_2 (APPL) checks accusative Case and *John* gets a value of *accusative* there. However, due to the double *o* constraint, *John* is phonetically realized as *John-ni* 'John-NI.'

In the next section, we will take a closer look at the structure of the embedded transitive clause of vP_1, which v_2 (APPL) selects as its complement.

3.3 *Receive*-type verbs: R$_{RECEIVE}$

In section 3.3, let us focus our attention on *receive*-type verbs in (21). It appears to show *-ga*, *-ni* and *-o* Case-pattern in the same fashion as the *show*-type verbs we have observed so far, at first glance.

(21) *moraw* 'receive'

   John-ga   Mary-ni   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
   John-Nom   Mary-NI   that prize-Acc receive-Past
   'John received that prize from Mary.'

However, (21) is originally not a ditransitive sentence, but a transitive sentence with a PP, in which *Mary* is interpreted as a Source. (21) neither permit the *ni*-phrase transitive variant as shown in (22), unlike the *show*-type verbs.

(22) *Mary-ga   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
   Mary-Nom   that prize-Acc recieve-Past
   'Mary received a prize.'

This indicates that the *ni*-phrase in (21) completely differs from the *ni*-argument in the *show*-type ditransitives. That is, the *ni*-phrase in (21) is neither valued by the head of APPL nor realized as a consequence of the double *o* constraint.

Furthermore, the *ni*-phrase in (21) is interchangeable with another postposition *-kara*:

(23) John-*ga*   Mary-ni-/kara   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
   John-Nom   Mary-NI-/from   that prize   recieve-Past
   'John received that prize from Mary.'

In addition, as Takezawa (2001) reports, there is a contrast with respect to the availability of floating quantifier (FQ) from the *ni*-phrase. FQ from the

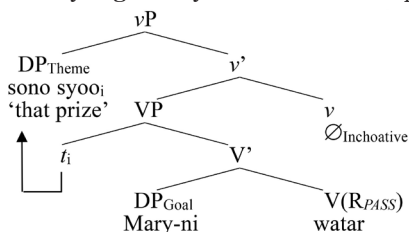*ni*-phrase in *age* 'give' is permissible, but that in *moraw* 'receive' impossible as illustrated in (24).

(24) a. [[gakusei-ni t_i] 2-ri$_i$]   sono syoo-o   age-ta.
       student-NI   2-CL   that prize-Acc give-Past
    '(Mary) gave two students that prize.'
   b. ???[[gakusei-ni t_i] 2-ri$_i$]   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
       student-NI   2-CL   that prize-Acc receive-Past
    '(Mary) received that prize from two students.'

Moreover, there is a difference between Matsuoka's *pass*-type verbs and our *receive*-type verbs. The Theme DP in the *pass*-type verbs can become a subject of the transitive variant by merging with a v as in (25).

(25) *watar* 'pass'
   a.

```
              VP
         ┌─────┴─────┐
   DP_Theme         V'
              ┌──────┴──────┐
          DP_Goal       V(R_PASS)
```
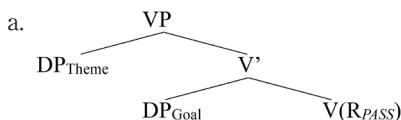
   b. Sono syoo-ga Mary-ni watar-ta. 'That prize passed to Mary.'

```
                    vP
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
   DP_Theme                    v'
   sono syoo_i          ┌───────┴───────┐
   'that prize'        VP               v
        ↑        ┌──────┴──────┐    ∅_Inchoative
        └── t_i              V'
                      ┌───────┴───────┐
                  DP_Goal         V(R_PASS)
                  Mary-ni          watar
```
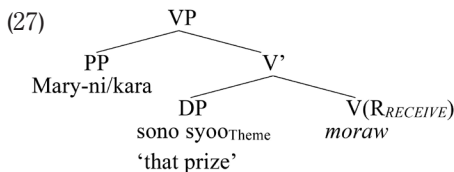
Following Matsuoka (2003), this is because the Theme argument is the closest candidate for the attraction of v.

Contrary to R_{PASS} 'pass,' $R_{RECEIVE}$ 'receive' does not allow this movement as illustrated in (26).

(26) *Sono syoo-ga   Mary-ni   moraw-ta.
    that prize-Nom   Mary-NI   receive-Past
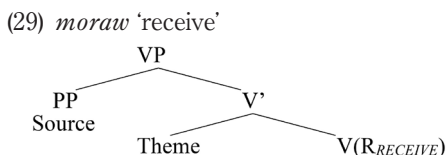   '*(lit.)That prize receives to Mary'

To avoid this movement, we provide the following internal structure for $R_{RECEIVE}$ 'receive,' where the Theme DP is bese-generated in a lower position than the Source PP as in (27).

(27)

```
              VP
        ┌──────┴──────┐
       PP             V'
   Mary-ni/kara    ┌───┴────┐
                  DP       V(R_RECEIVE)
            sono syoo_Theme  moraw
              'that prize'
```

Takezawa (2001) used the FQ-test to determine the hierarchical relation between the Theme argument and the PP. In (28), the Theme object can strand the co-indexed quantifier 2-tu '2-CL.' This indicates that the original position of the Theme argument is hierarchically lower than the PP:

(28) **yubiwa**$_i$-o John-ni/-kara [[t$_i$] **2-tu**$_i$]   moraw-ta.
    ring-Acc   John-NI/-from   2-CL   receive-Past
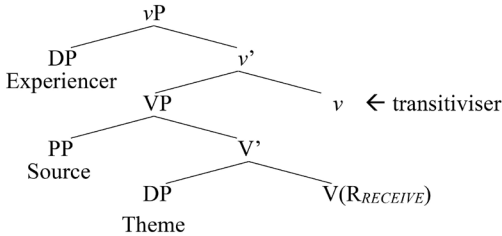   '(Mary) received two rings from John.'

With the above discussion, we provide the following structure for $R_{RECEIVE}$:

(29) *moraw* 'receive'

```
               VP
        ┌───────┴───────┐
       PP               V'
     Source        ┌────┴────┐
                 Theme     V(R_RECEIVE)
```

Then, if the VP merges with a transitiviser *v*, then we get transitive sentence (21), which is reproduced here as (30). (31) is the structure of (30). The discussion so far leads us to a conclusion that the sentence (21) (=(30)) is not a ditransitive, but a transitive construction.
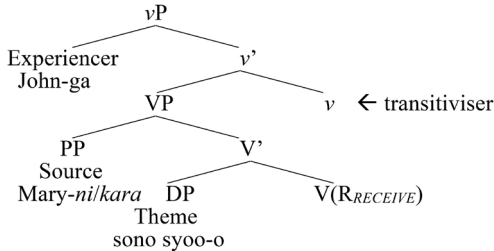
(30) *moraw* 'receive'
    John-ga   Mary-ni   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
    John-Nom Mary-NI that prize-Acc recieve-Past
    'John received that prize from Mary.'

(31) John-ga Mary-ni sono syoo-o moraw-ta.

```
                    vP
            ┌────────┴────────┐
           DP                v'
       Experiencer    ┌───────┴───────┐
                     VP                v   ← transitiviser
              ┌───────┴───────┐
             PP               V'
           Source      ┌───────┴───────┐
                      DP              V(R_RECEIVE)
                    Theme
```

There arises a question about *ni*-marking in the *receive*-type verbs. In what way does the Source P-*kara* alternate with -*ni* in (32)?

(32) John-ga   Mary-*ni*/-*kara*   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.
     John-Nom   Mary-NI/-from   that prize-Acc   receive-Past
     'Mary received the ring from John.'

```
                    vP
            ┌────────┴────────┐
        Experiencer          v'
         John-ga      ┌───────┴───────┐
                     VP                v   ← transitiviser
              ┌───────┴───────┐
             PP               V'
           Source      ┌───────┴───────┐
        Mary-ni/kara   DP             V(R_RECEIVE)
                     Theme
                   sono syoo-o
```
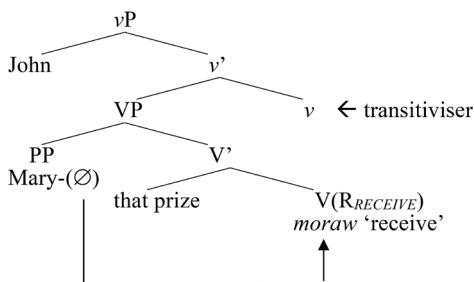
Inoue (2001) attempts to account for the *ni-kara* 'NI-from' alternation in terms of adjunct incorporation at the Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS). Inoue extends the idea originally proposed by Gruber (1965), to the LCS level. Inoue (2001) proposes that the availability of the adjunct incorporation is parameterized from language to language. According to Inoue (2001), the adjunct incorporation is not allowed in English, but it is optionally permitted in Japanese at the LCS level. Given the assumption Inoue proposed, the *ni-kara* 'NI-from' alternation in (32) is accounted for in the following way. If the post position -*kara* incorporates into a V at the LCS level, then *Mary* in (32) merges with a VP (V' in (32)) as a DP in the Syntax. Note that we assume the two-way *ni*-marking system in causatives, which is repeated here as (33).

(33) a. *-Ni* is assigned to an unmarked DP in the embedded clause.

    b. *-O* is replaced with *-ni* under the double *o* constraint

Due to (33a), the unmarked DP *Mary* after *kara*-incorporation is marked with *-ni* '-NI' as shown in (34).

(34) John-ga   Mary-*ni/kara*   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.

     John-Nom   Mary-NI/-from   that prize-Acc receive-Past

     'Mary received that prize from John.'

```
                    vP
              _____|_____
           John            v'
                       _____|_____
                     VP            v  ← transitiviser
                 ____|____
               PP         V'
          Mary-(∅)    ____|____
                 that prize     V(R_RECEIVE)
                                moraw 'receive'
```

kara-incorporation at the LCS level

→*ni*-insertion due to (33a) at the syntactic structure

Finally, the adjunct incorporation parameter at the LCS level predicts the following interesting contrast in English and Japanese. Japanese *moraw* 'receive' permits both *kara*-phrase and *ni*-phrase as illustrated in (34). The latter is morphologically realized with *-ni* in syntax, due to (33a) above. On the other hand, English permits only the former, namely, *from*-phrase, as illustrated in the contrast in (35).

(35) a. John-ga   Mary-*kara*   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.

      John-Nom   Mary-from   that prize-Acc receive-Past

      'John received that prize from Mary.'

    b. John-ga   Mary-*ni*   sono syoo-o   moraw-ta.

      John-Nom   Mary-NI   that prize-Acc receive-Past

    c. John received the ring from Mary.

    d.*John received Mary the ring.

According to Inoue's adjunct-incorporation parameter in the LCS, English does not allow this type of incorporation at the level of LCS, but Japanese permits it optionally. Therefore, (35d) cannot be derived in English.

3.4 Double object constructions in English: *give*

Finally, section 3.4 briefly touches on English double object constructions (henceforth DOCs). Take a look at *give*, which is one of the typical ditransitive verbs in English. Let us suppose that English *give* belongs to the *age*-type verbs and has the parallel complex construction to *age* 'give' in Japanese as in (36)[5].

(36) *give*: ($R_{RECIEVE}$ + $\varnothing_{v1}$ + $\varnothing_{v2(APPL)}$ + $\varnothing_{v3}$ → *give*)

Mary gave John that prize
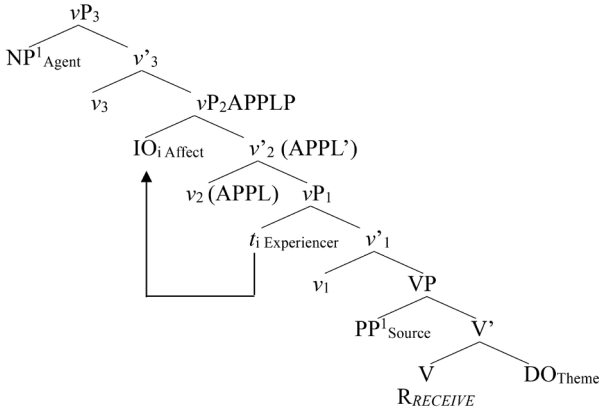
A piece of evidence for the movement of the *IO* to the Spec of vP_2 (APPLP) is provided from the availability of quantifier stranding as illustrated in (37).

(37) a. The students$_i$ seem [$_{IP}$ [all t_i]$_j$ to [$_{vP}$ t_j pass the exam]].
   b. The students$_i$ [$_{vP}$ [all t_i] passed the exam].
   c. *Mary passed the exams$_i$ [all t_i].
   d. John gave students$_i$ [all$_i$ t_i] apples.

It is said in general that in English, FQ is restricted to subject DPs only.

Following Sportiche's (1988) Q-stranding approach, it is the host DPs that are extracted from the Quantifier Phrase. The stranded quantifier remains in situ. In other words, the existence of the stranded quantifier indicates the movement of the host DP. Examples form (37a) to (37c) show that subject raising is possible, whereas the object raising is impossible, because there is no overt object shift in normal transitive constructions in English. However, the IO in double object constructions permits the quantifier stranding as in (37d).[6] This indicates that there exists a movement of the IO.
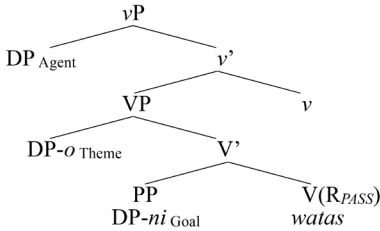
4. Conclusion and further implication

To sum up the discussion so far, we, first, provide the following structures for *show*-type, *pass*-type and receive-type verbs:
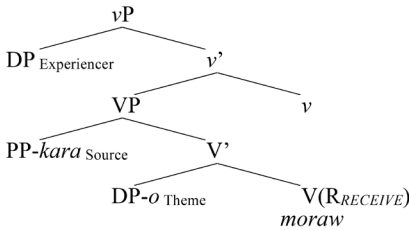
(38) the *show*-type ditransitive construction: R_{SHOW}

17
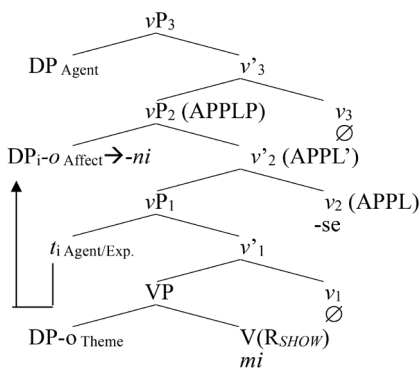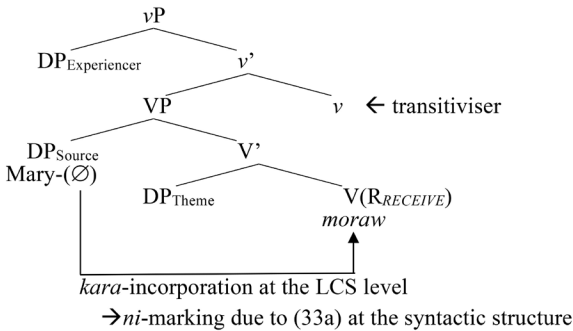
(39) the *pass*-type ditransitive construction: R$_{PASS}$ 'pass'

```
                    vP
            _____|_____
        DP Agent           v'
                    _____|_____
                   VP                v
            _____|_____
      DP-o Theme          V'
                   _____|_____
                  PP               V(R_PASS)
               DP-ni Goal           watas
```

(40) the *receive*-type transitive construction: *moraw* 'receive'

    (i) trasitives

```
                    vP
            _____|_____
      DP Experiencer         v'
                    _____|_____
                   VP                v
            _____|_____
   PP-kara Source         V'
                   _____|_____
              DP-o Theme         V(R_RECEIVE)
                                    moraw
```

    (ii) *kara*-incorporation at the LCS level

```
                    vP
            _____|_____
      DP_Experiencer        v'
                    _____|_____
                   VP              v  ← transitiviser
            _____|_____
      DP_Source           V'
      Mary-(∅)      _____|_____
               DP_Theme        V(R_RECEIVE)
                                   moraw
```

kara-incorporation at the LCS level
→*ni*-marking due to (33a) at the syntactic structure

      We also proposed that the *age* 'give' ditransitive construction is a syntactic ditransitive construction by introducing the head of APPL, but the embedded transitive clause has a morphologically unrelated root (R$_{RECEIVE}$) as shown in (41).

(41) the *age*-type ditransitive construction ($R_{RECEIVE}$ + $\varnothing_{v1}$ + $\varnothing_{v2(APPL)}$ + $\varnothing_{v3}$ → *age*)

vP_3

 DP^1 Agent v'_3

  vP_2 (APPLP) v_3
         $\varnothing$

 DP_i-o Affect→-ni v'_2 (APPL')

  vP_1 v_2 (APPL)
       $\varnothing$

 t_i Exp. v'_1

  VP v_1
      $\varnothing$

 PP^1 Source   V'

  DP-o Theme   V($R_{RECEIVE}$)
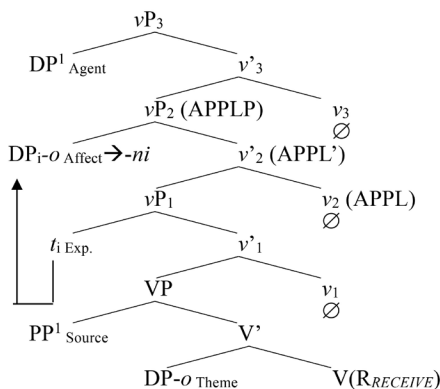
In (41), *age* 'give' has a syntactic ditransitive construction as well as the *show*-type ditransitives, but it contains a *receive*-type transitive clause. The *receive*-type transitive clause, vP_1, merges with APPL. The external Experiencer DP in the embedded transitive clause raises to the Spec of APPLP to get an appropriate theta role, namely, the theta role *Affect*. Then, the vP_2 merges with v_3 and introduces the external Agent DP.

Moreover, in (41), the DP_{Agent} in the Spec of vP_3 must be coindexed with the Source PP in the embedded vP_1 and either of them, DP_{Agent} or DP_{Source}, must be phonetically realized. However, I cannot find any good reason why it should be. I have to say that it might be specified at LCS level that they share the same variable. However, if it is so, we have another interesting correlation between ditransitives and Disguised Subject Sentences (henceforth, DSSs), namely, *ga-kara* 'Nom-from' alternate constructions. According to Ito (2001) and Inoue (2001), *ga-kara* 'Nom-from' alternation is allowed in the following conditions as shown in (42b). (42a) is a typical example of *ga-kara* 'Nom-from' alternation.

(42) a. *ga-kara* 'Nom-from' alternation

  John-*ga/-kara*   Mary-ni   sono hon-o   age-ta.
  John-Nom/-from   Mary-NI   that book-o   give-Past
  'John gave Mary that book.'

 b. properties of -*ga/-kara* alternation

    (i) The sentence has the *-ga -ni -o* Case pattern.
    (ii) The subject alternated with *kara* must be interpreted as Agent.
    (iii) The *ni*-phrase must be [+animate].

Ito (2001) points out that *sikar* 'scold' and *home* 'praise' permit *ga-kara* 'Nom-from' alternation, but they do not show the *-ga -ni -o* Case pattern as illustrated in (43).

(43) a. John-ga/-kara   Mary-o   sikar-ta.
       John-Non/-from   Mary-Acc scold-Past
       'John scolded Mary'
    b.*John-ga   dareka-ni   Mary-o   sikar-ta.
       John-Non someone-NI Mary-Acc scold-Past
       'John scolded Mary to someone'

    We propose that *sikar* 'scold' and *home* 'praise' have the *age*-type ditransitive construction, which contains a *receive*-type transitive clause. If we assume the structure (41) for these verbs in question, the properties given in (42) are naturally predictable without any other implement. In addition, we can solve Ito's question of why not the three-argument sentence, but the two-argument sentence in (43a) permits *ga-kara* alternation.[7]

    We pay our attention to *Mary* in (43a). *Mary-o* 'Mary-Acc' seems to be an Accusative Theme object of *sikar* 'scold' in (43a) at a glance, but the verbs of this type can take a quotation clause as in (44).

(44) John-ga   Mary-o   [(omae-wa) baka da   to]   sikar-ta.
     John-Non Mary-Acc   you-Top   stupid copula Comp scold-Past
     '*(lit) John scolded Mary "(you) are stupid".'

In (44), *Mary* can be interpreted as an affected individual of the event, namely to RECEIVE the quoted word from *John*. However, why is *Mary* marked with *o*? Let us suppose that *sikar* 'scold' has the *age*-type ditransitive construction, namely, the structure (41), which is repeated as (45).

(45) *sikar* 'scold' ($R_{RECIEVE}$ + $\varnothing_{v1}$ + $\varnothing_{v2(APPL)}$ + $\varnothing_{v3}$ → *sikar*)
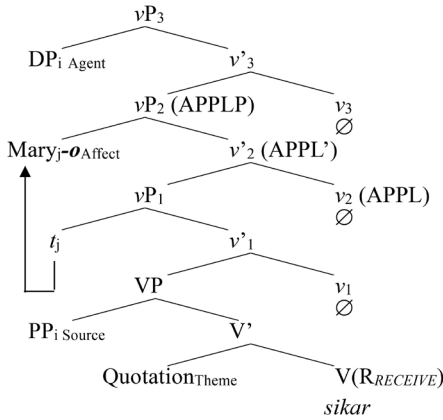
With respect to (42b-ii), in (45), the Agent matrix subject is coindexed with the Source in the VP. Thus, the alternating subject must be an Agent. Next, as for (42b-iii), raising *Mary* to [Spec, vP_2 (APPLP)] is responsible for the animacy requirement to *ni*-phrase in standard *ga-kara* alternating sentences. Finally, we can answer to Ito's question related to (42b-i). According to our analysis of *ni*-marking, the *-ni* is assigned to avoid the double *o* constraint. In other words, the affected DP is originally valued as an accusative Case by the head of APPL. As I mentioned above, *sikar* 'scold' has a quotation Theme argument headed by a complemetizer *-to*. There is no other Accusative marker in this sentence. *Mary*, which is valued as Accusative by the head of APPL, does not violate the double *o* constraint. Thus, *Mary* can be realized with *-o* as it is.

NOTES

1. Matsuoka (2003) introduces Matsumoto's (2000) minimal-pair example which provides the difference in the interpretation of the dative arguments between the two types of verbs, *pass*-type and *show*-type verbs, as in (i).
   (i) a. the *pass*-type ditransitive verbs

Daitooryoo-ga	John-ni	kunshoo-o	wata-s(i)-ta.
President-Nom	John-Dat	medal-Acc	pass-LC-Past

'The president passed a medal to John.'

 b. the *show*-type ditransitive verbs

  Daitooryoo-ga John-ni kunshoo-o tamaw-ta.

  President-Nom John-Dat madal-Acc grant-Past

  'The president granted John a medal.'

According to Matsumoto (2000), the *show*-type verb in (ib) describes that John not only receives a medal but also gains honor through it. Thus, John cannot be given the medal by proxy in (ib), while he can be in (ia).

2. -*Sase* 'CAUS' can be, of course, take an intransitive clause as its complement.

3. See Hornstein (2000) and Fujimaki (1997) for detailed discussions of the movement from a theta position to another theta position and the double theta role assignment.

4. I express my sincere thanks to Sandiway Fong and the late Roger Martin for discussing this issue and giving their judgements.

5. We have to assume that the Agent external argument must be coindexed with the Source argument at the LCS level. At the present stage, we have to leave the details in the LCS for future studies.

6. My thanks go to Divid Lebeaux, Sandiway Fong and the late Roger Martin for their judgements.

7. Ito (2001) tries to solve the problem from a cognitive linguistic perspective. Contrary to Ito, I attempted to propose a purely syntactic solution to this issue in this paper.

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