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**Applicative head in Japanese and its consequences**  
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Goals:

- Categorially, *-ni* is dative case, and *-e* is a postposition (in this paper, the focus is on experiencer/goal, not on dative subject).
- Dative (*-ni*) marked/postposition (*-e*) marked arguments are either Experiencer or Goal. Depending on the lexical semantics of verbs, three-argument verb contains [Agent, Goal, and Theme], [Agent, Experiencer, and Theme], or [Agent, Experiencer, Goal, and Theme].
- Under passivization, a goal argument moves up to [Spec TP] for EPP via [Spec v2 (possibly Applicative)] to pick up an Experiencer role.
- There are two passive morphemes in Japanese: one that absorbs accusative case and the other that absorbs dative case. Cross-linguistically, there are passive morphemes that do not absorb dative case (German and Icelandic) and the ones that do (Japanese). Hence, language chooses either one or both morphemes that are provided by UG.

1 Previous Study: Double Object Construction in Japanese

1.1 Scrambling between Goal (Hanako) and Theme (*nimotu* ‘package’) argument

(1) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nimotu-o okutta.

Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat package-Acc sent

b. Taroo-ga nimotu-o Hanako-ni okutta.

Taroo-Nom package-Acc Hanako-Dat sent

‘Taroo sent Hanako a package.’

1.2 Scope interpretations

(2) Taroo-ga dareka-ni dono-nimotu-mo okutta.

Taroo-Nom someone-Dat every-package sent

‘Taroo sent someone every package.’

**Some > Every, \*Every > Some**

(3) Taroo-ga dono-nimotu-mo dareka-ni ti okutta

Taroo-Nom every-package someone-Dat sent

**Some > Every, Every > Some**

Standard Assumption of Word Order: Goal > Theme (Hoji 1985, Takano 1998, Yatsushiro 2003 among others)

2 High Goal and Low Goal (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

2.1 Two types of goal: Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) challenge standard assumption.

Miyagawa and Tsujioka propose that the internal structure of double object construction is:

- (4) a. High Goal (possessive) ... Low Goal (locative) ... Theme  
 b. High Goal (possessive) ... Theme ... Low Goal (locative)

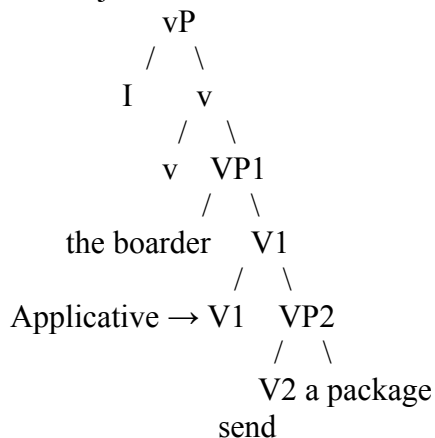
Miyagawa and Tsujioka equate Japanese double object constructions with English ones:

- (5) a. I sent the boarder/\*the border a package. (Double Object Construction)  
 b. I sent a package to the boarder/ the border. (To-Dative Construction)

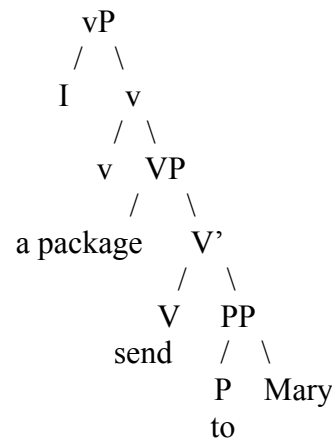
(5a): the animate goal ‘the boarder’ (OK); the inanimate goal ‘the border’ (NOT)  
 (5b): the animate goal and inanimate goal (OK)

Reason: The animacy restriction in (5a) arises from the reading of the goal in double object construction to be interpreted as the possessor of theme. There is no animacy restriction in (5b) since the goal is construed as locative (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).

(6) a. double object construction



b. to-dative construction



(Marantz 1993)

## 2.2 Evidence of High Goal and Low Goal

### 2.2.1 Inanimate NP *dokoka* ‘some place’ and scope interpretations

(7) Taroo-ga dokoka-ni dono-nimotu-mo okutta.

Taroo-Nom some place-to every package sent

‘Taroo sent every package to some place.’

**Some > Every, Every > Some**

(Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

Locative goal and Theme argument are ambiguous with respect to scope. Miyagawa and Tsujioka admit that this judgment is not absolute.

### 2.2.2 Two Types of NI: dative vs. postposition

The scope (un)ambiguity in (8a, b) is derived from two types of *-ni*.

(8) a. Taroo-ga dareka-**ni** dono-nomitu-mo okutta.

Taroo-Nom someone-**Dat** every-package sent **Some > Every, \*Every > Some**

b. Taroo-ga dokoka-**ni** dono-nimotu-mo okutta.

Taroo-Nom some place-**to** every-package sent **Some > Every, Every > Some**

Distinction between dative and postposition *-ni*

(9) Floating Quantifiers

- a. Taroo-ga gakusee-ni huta-ri nimotu-o okutta. (Dative *-ni*)  
Taroo-Nom student-Dat 2-CL package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent two students a package.'
- b. \*Daitooryoo-ga kokkyoo-ni huta-tu heetai-o okutta. (Postposition *-ni*)  
president-Nom borders-to 2-CL soldiers-Acc sent  
'(lit.) The president sent two borders soldiers.' (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

2.2.3 Based on two types of *-ni*, Miyagawa and Tsujioka discovered two *-ni* construction.

(10) Two goals

- Taroo-ga Hanako-ni Tookyoo-ni nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat Tokyo-to package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent Hanako a package to Tokyo.' (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

Interpretation: Taroo sent a package to Tokyo, which is a location, but the intention is that Hanako will come to possess it. There are two goals: 'Hanako' (possessor) and 'Tokyo' (location) (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).

2.2.4 Rigid word order: low goal (Tokyo) and theme (*nimotu* 'package') cannot precede high goal (Hanako).

- (11) a. \*Taroo-ga Tookyoo-ni Hanako-ni nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Tokyo-to Hanako-Dat package-Acc sent
- b. \*/? Taroo-ga nimotu-o Hanako-ni Tookyoo-ni okutta.  
Taroo-Nom package-Acc Hanako-Dat Tokyo-to sent  
(Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

2.2.5 Scrambling between low goal (Tokyo) and theme (*nimotu* 'package') is fine.

- (12) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nimotu-o Tookyoo-ni okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat package-Acc Tokyo-to sent
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni Tookyoo-ni nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat Tokyo-to package-Acc sent

2.2.6 Scope Interpretations

- (13) Taroo-ga dareka-ni subete-no-basyo-ni nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom someone-Dat all-Gen place-to package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent someone a package to every place.' **Some > Every, \*Every > Some**

- (14) Taroo-ga dareka-ni Tookyoo-ni subete-no-nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom someone-Dat Tokyo-to all-Gen-package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent someone every package to Tokyo.' **Some > Every, \*Every > Some**

- (15) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni dokoka-no-basyo-ni subete-no-nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat some-Gen-place-to all-Gen-package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent Hanako every package to some place.' **Some > Every, Every > Some**  
(13-15 Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

2.2.7 Passivization: dative goal (Taroo) can undergo passivization, but PP goal (Tokyo) cannot since PP satisfies case to its complement.

- (16) a. Taroo-ga nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 ‘Taroo was sent a package.’  
 b. \*Tookyoo-ga nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Tokyo-Nom package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 ‘Tokyo was sent a package.’

- (17) a. Taroo-ga Tookyoo-ni nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom Tokyo-to package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 ‘Taroo was sent a package to Tokyo.’  
 b. \*Tookyoo-ga Taroo-ni nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Tokyo-Nom Taroo-Dat package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 ‘(lit.) Tokyo was sent a package to Taro.’

(16-17 Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

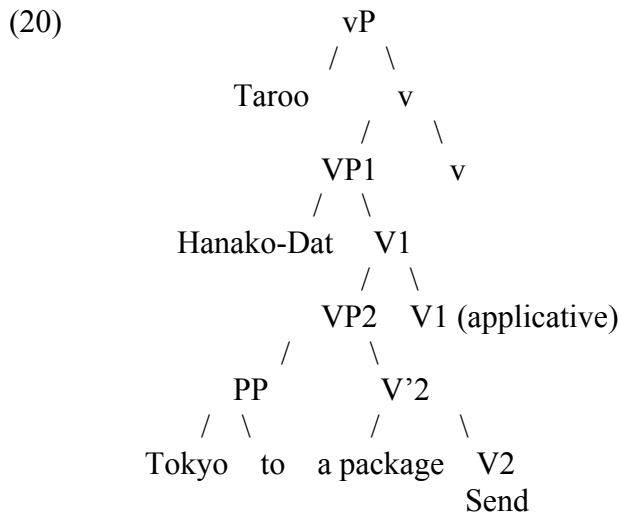
2.2.8 *E* ‘to’ is a true postposition and only appears as a low goal.

- (18) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-e nimotu-o okutta.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-to package-Acc sent  
 b. Taroo-ga nimotu-o Hanako-e okutta.  
 Taroo-Nom package-Acc Hanako-to sent  
 ‘Taroo sent a package to Hanako.’

(19) *E* ‘to’ only appears at lower goal.

- Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/\*e Tookyoo-ni/-e nimotu-o okutta.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to Tokyo-to/-to package-Acc sent

(18-19 Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)



### 3 Problems in High Goal and Low Goal

3.1 Numeral Quantifier Test and Postposition *e* ‘to’ (the postposition *e* ‘to’ behaves exactly the same as dative *ni*)

(21) a. Taroo-ga gakusee-**e** huta-ri nimotu-o okutta.

Taroo-Nom student-**to** two-CL package-Acc sent  
‘Taroo sent two students a package.’

b. \*Daitooryoo-ga kokkyoo-**e** huta-tu heetai-o okutta.

president-Nom borders-**to** 2-CL soldiers-Acc sent  
‘(lit.) The president sent two borders soldiers.’

c.f. Kyoo gakusei-**kara** huta-ri situmon-o uketa.

today student-**from** two-CL question-Acc received  
‘(I) received a question from two students.’

Numeral quantifier floating may have to do with animacy.

3.2 According to Miyagawa and Tsujioka, dative goal (high goal) is a possessor, and location (low goal) cannot precede high goal. However, this is not correct. In the following example, existential quantifier appears with location (*aru kaisya*) and universal quantifier appears with person (*soko-no-subete-no-syain*).

(22) Toosika-ga aru kaisya-**ni** soko-no-subete-no-syain-**ni** meesi-o  
Investor-Nom some company-**to** that-Gen-all-Gen-employee-**Dat** name card-Acc  
okutta.

sent

‘An investor sent all employees name **card** to some company.’

**Some > Every, \*Every > Some**

*E* ‘to’ can also appear where *-ni* appears.

(23) Toosika-ga aru kaisya-**e** soko-no-subete-no-syain-**e** meesi-o  
Investor-Nom some company-**to** that-Gen-all-Gen-employee-**to** name card-Acc  
okutta.

sent

‘An investor sent all employees name **card** to some company.’

(24) a. Toosika-ga aru kaisya-**e** soko-no-subete-no-syain-**ni** meesi-o  
Investor-Nom some company-**to** that-Gen-all-Gen-employee-**to** namecard-Acc  
okutta.

sent

b. Toosika-ga aru kaisya-**ni** soko-no-subete-no-syain-**e** meesi-o  
Investor-Nom some company-**to** that-Gen-all-Gen-employee-**to** namecard-Acc  
okutta.

sent

It seems that the judgments in (11) are not correct.

### 3.3 Inanimate NP can be a passive subject.

- (25) a. Tizi-ga Tookyooto-ni/-e yuusyooki-o okutta.  
governor-Nom Metropolitan Tokyo-Dat/-to champion flag-Acc sent  
'The governor sent Tokyo a champion flag.'
- b. Tookyoo-ga tizi-ni yotte yuusyooki-o  
Metropolitan Tokyo-Nom governor-by champion flag-Acc  
okur-are-ta.  
send-Pass-Past  
'Tokyo is sent a champion flag by the governor.'

It seems that the judgment is up to pragmatics, not grammar.

### 3.4 Goal is not the only role that obtains *-ni* or *-e*: experiencer.

- (26) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e hon-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to book-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent Hanako a book.'
- b. Hanako-ga hon-o okur-are-ta.  
Hanako-Nom book-Acc send-Pass-Past  
'Hanako was sent a book.'

'Hanako' in (26a) has a goal reading, but not an experiencer reading. However, in (26b), 'Hanako' obtains both goal and experiencer readings.

- (27) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e hon-o miseta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to book-Acc showed  
'Taroo showed Hanako a book.'
- b. Hanako-ga hon-o mise-rare-ta.  
Hanako-Nom book-Acc show-Pass-Past  
'Hanako was shown a book.'

In (27b), 'Hanako' has an experiencer reading, but not a goal reading. Matsuoka (2003) maintains that the interpretations of dative marked object depend on the lexical semantics of verbs (Matsuoka is not concerned with dative/postposition alternations). Under Miyagawa and Tsujioka's system, there is no explanation of experiencer with dative and postposition.

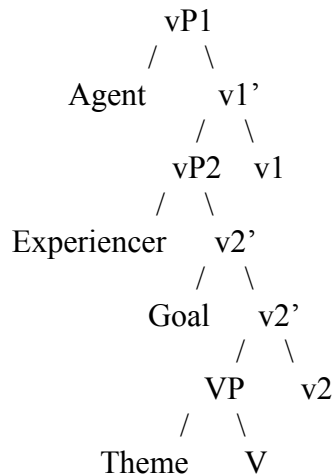
### 3.5 Is the judgment correct?

- (7) Taroo-ga dokoka-ni dono-nimotu-mo okutta.  
Taroo-Nom some place-to every package sent  
'Taroo sent every package to some place.'

**Some > Every, Every > Some**  
(Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

As Miyagawa and Tsujioka admit, this judgment is not absolute. My informants judge (7) as some > every, but not \*every > some.

4 A Proposal  
(28)



- *Ni* is a dative case, not a postposition. *Ni* is assigned to a complement of a null P by v2. Depending on the lexical semantics of verbs, dative/postpositional marked DP is either Experiencer or Goal.
- The thematic structure is: Agent > Experiencer > Goal > Theme. The evidence is obtained in passivization. In passivization, an argument that originates in Goal position in an active sentence obtains both Goal and Experiencer reading. However, an argument that originates in Experiencer position in an active sentence obtains only Experiencer reading. This indicates that Goal argument moves up to Experiencer on its way to [Spec TP] in passivization.
- Two goals can be part-whole relation of a phrase.
- There are two passive morphemes in Japanese: one that absorbs dative case and the other that absorbs accusative case.

4.1 *Ni* is a dative case, not a postposition in Japanese

In (29), *-ni* and *-e* in *Hanako-ni/-e* seem to be interchangeable.

(29) Taroo-ga *Hanako-ni/-e* nimotu-o yusoo sita.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to package-Acc sending did  
 ‘Taroo sent Hanako a package.’

However, dative case cannot co-occur with genitive case.

(30) a. [NP Taroo-no Hanako-e-no nimotu-no yusoo]  
 Taroo-Gen Hanako-to-Gen package-Gen sending  
 b. \*[NP Taroo-no Hanako-ni-no nimotu-no yusoo]  
 Taroo-Gen Hanako-Dat-Gen package-Gen sending  
 ‘Taroo’s sending of package to Hanako’

It is generally observed that Japanese postpositions can co-occur with genitive case.

- (31) a. Canada-kara-no tegami                      b. Nizi-made-no zyugyoo  
       Canada-from-Gen letter                      two o'clock-Gen lecture  
       'a letter from Canada'                      'a lecture until two o'clock'

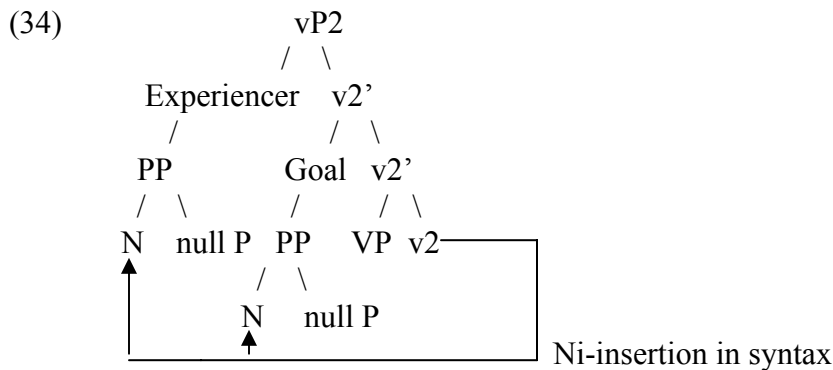
Dative case *-ni* behaves like nominative case *-ga* and accusative case *-o* (see 30b). They cannot co-occur with genitive case (32).

- (32) a. Taroo-ga eego-o benkyoo sita.  
       Taroo-Nom English-Acc study did  
       'Taroo studied English.'  
       b. [NP Taroo-no eego-no benkyoo]  
           Taroo-Gen English-Gen study  
       c. \*[NP Taroo-ga-no eego-o-no benkyoo]  
           Taroo-Nom-Gen English-Acc-Gen study

The difference between dative and nominative/accusative case is that *-ni* can appear in NP with intensifier *dake* 'only', but *-ga* and *-o* cannot.

- (33) a. [NP Taroo-no Hanako-ni-dake-no nimotu-no yusoo]  
       Taroo-Gen Hanako-Dat-only-Gen package-Gen sending  
       b. \*[NP Taroo-ga-dake-no Hanako-e-no nimotu-o-dake-no yusoo]  
       Taroo-Nom-only-Gen Hanako-to-Gen package-Acc-only-Gen sending

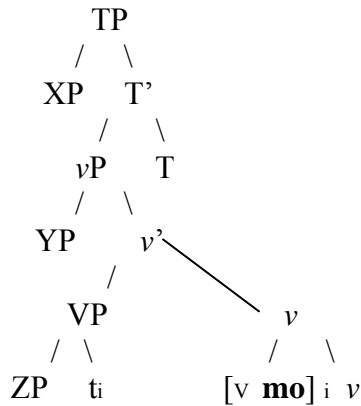
Fukuri and Sakai (2002), Kuroda (1965, 1978) among others: *-ga* and *-o* are assigned at PF. To account for the difference between *-ga*, *-o* and *-ni*, I propose that *-ni* is assigned in syntax.



4.2 The thematic structure is: Agent > Experiencer > Goal > Theme

4.2.1 The location of Experiencer and Goal is within vP. This is detected by indeterminate pronoun and Q particle bidding (Kishimoto 2001):

- (35) a. Taroo-ga **dare-ni-mo** ringo-o age-nakat-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom who-Dat-Q apple-Acc gave-Neg-Past  
 ‘Taroo did not give anyone an apple.’
- b. Taroo-ga **dare-ni** ringo-o age-**mo**-si-nakat-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom who-Dat apple-Acc give-Q-do-Neg-Past
- c. **Dare-mo** Hanako-ni ringo-o age-nakat-ta.  
 Who-Q Hanako-Dat apple-Acc give-Neg-Past  
 ‘Nobody gave Hanako an apple.’
- d. \***Dare**-ga Hanako-ni ringo-o age-**mo**-si-nakat-ta.  
 Who-Nom Hanako-Dat apple-Acc give-Q-do-Neg-Past



(Kishimoto 2001: 602)

XP, YP, and ZP are indeterminate pronouns. While YP and ZP are in the scope of *mo* (vP), but XP is not. Therefore, (35d) is not acceptable. By using this test, it is possible to detect where Experiencer and Goal are located.

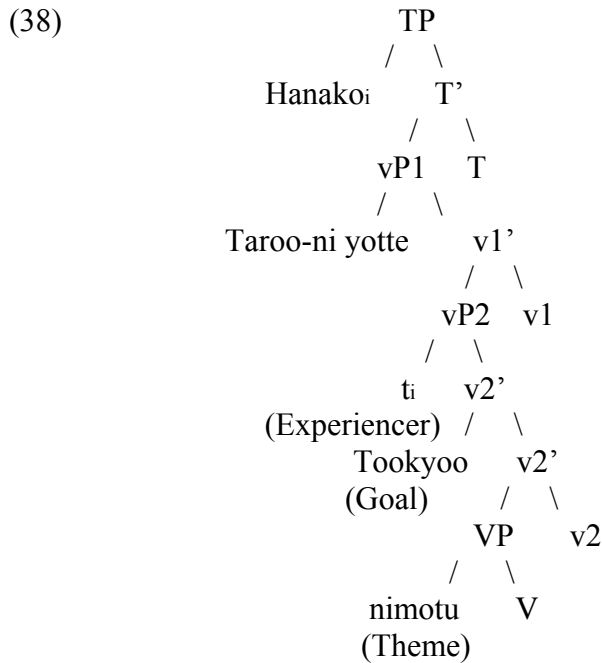
- (36) a. Taroo-ga **dare-ni** Tookyoo-ni nimotu-o okuri-**mo**-si-nakat-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom who-Dat Tokyo-Dat package-Acc send-Q-do-Neg-Past  
 ‘Taroo did not send anyone a package to Tokyo.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni **doko-ni** nimotu-o okuri-**mo**-si-nakat-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat where-Dat package-Acc send-Q-do-Neg-Past  
 ‘Taroo did not send Hanako a package any where.’

Since (36a, b) is acceptable, it is assumed that Experiencer and Goal are within vP.

4.2.2 A subject in passivization indicates that the hierarchy is Experiencer > Goal.

- (37) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e Tookyoo-ni/-e nimotu-o okutta.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to Tokyo-Dat/-to package-Acc sent  
 b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni yotte Tookyoo-ni/-e nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-by Tokyo-Dat/-to package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 ‘Hanako was sent a package to Tokyo by Taroo.’

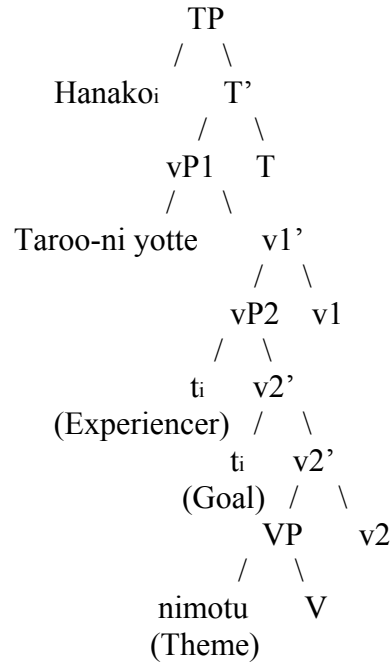
In (37a, b), ‘Hanako’ obtains only experiencer reading.



- (39) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e nimotu-o okutta.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to package-Acc sent  
 ‘Taroo sent Hanako a package.’  
 b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni yotte nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Hanako-Nom Taroo-by package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 ‘Hanako was sent a package by Taroo.’

In (39a), ‘Hanako’ only has a goal reading, but in (39b), ‘Hanako’ has both goal and experiencer reading. This indicates that ‘Hanako’ starts its derivation at Goal and moves up to Experiencer on its way to [Spec TP].

(40)

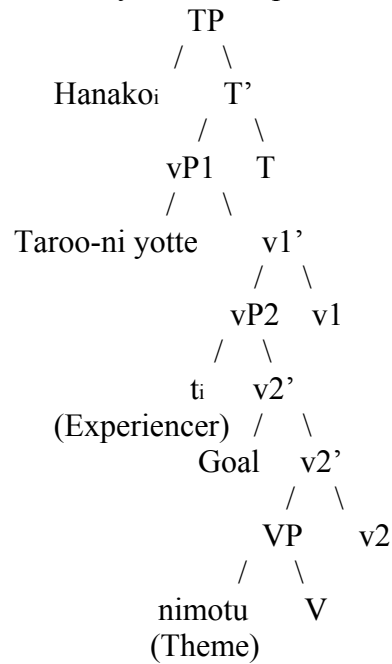


(41) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e hon-o miseta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to book-Acc showed  
'Taroo showed Hanako a book.'

b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni yotte hon-o mise-rare-ta.  
Hanako-Nom Taroo-by book-Acc show-Pass-Past  
'Hanako was shown a book by Taroo.'

In (41a, b), 'Hanako' only obtains experiencer reading (Matsuoka 2003).

(42)



One may wonder if Theme argument picks up experiencer reading. Under an appropriate context, this is possible.

- (43) Hannin-ga keemusyo-ni/-e okur-are-ta.  
criminal-Nom jail-Dat/-to send-Pass-Past  
'A criminal was sent to a jail.'

*Hannin* 'criminal' has both theme and experiencer reading.

#### 4.3 Scope interpretations

Miyagawa and Tsujioka observe the following scope interpretations by calling high goal and low goal. However, the following scope interpretation should be understood by Experiencer and Goal (passivization).

- (44) Taroo-ga dareka-ni subete-no-basyo-ni nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom someone-Dat all-Gen place-to package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent someone a package to every place.' **Some > Every, \*Every > Some**
- (45) Taroo-ga dareka-ni Tookyoo-ni subete-no-nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom someone-Dat Tokyo-to all-Gen-package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent someone every package to Tokyo.' **Some > Every, \*Every > Some**

#### 4.3 Part-Whole Relation

- (46) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e Tookyoo-ni/-e nimotu-o okutta.  
Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to Tokyo-Dat/-to package-Acc sent  
'Taroo sent Hanako a package.'  
Hanako = experiencer, Tokyo = goal
- (47) a. Toosika-ga aru kaisya-ni soko-no syain-ni meesi-o okutta.  
Investor-Nom some company-Dat it-Gen employee-Dat namecard-Acc sent  
b. Toosika-ga [NP aru kaisya-no soko-no syain]-ni meesi-o  
investor-Nom some company-Gen it-Gen employee-Dat namecard-Acc  
okutta.  
sent  
c. kaisya = whole, syain = part
- (48) a. [NP Bunmeekoku-no dansee-no heekinzyumyoo]-ga nagai.  
Civilized county-Gen man-Gen average life expectancy-Nom long  
b. Bunmeekoku-ga dansee-ga heekinzyumyoo-ga nagai.  
Civilized country-Nom man-Nom average life expectancy-Nom long  
c. \*Danseei-ga bumeekoku-ga ti heekinzyumyoo-ga nagai.  
Man-Nom civilized country-Nom average life expectancy-Nom long

Scrambling is not allowed in part-whole phrase.

(49) \*Toosika-ga soko-no syain-ni aru kaisya-ni meesi-o okutta.  
 Investor-Nom it-Gen employee-Dat some company-Dat namecard-Acc sent

The behaviors of (48c) and (49) are the same. I take this as evidence of part-whole relation.

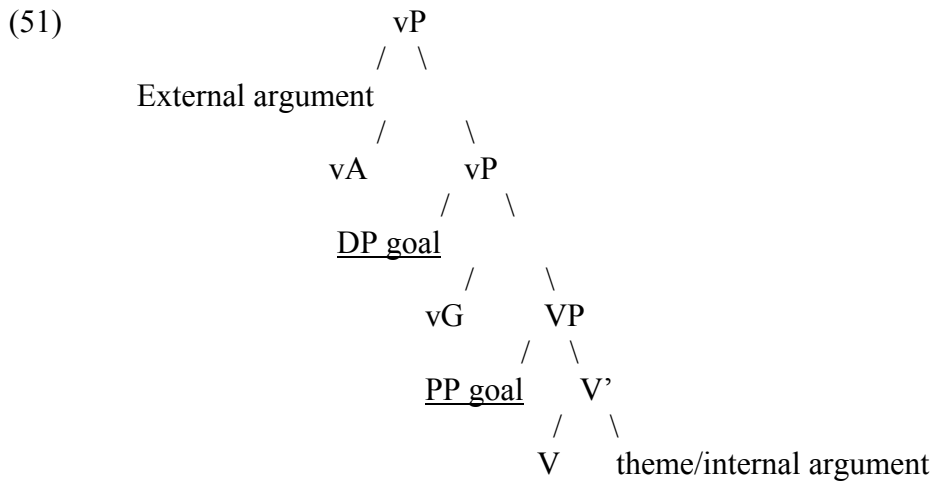
#### 4.4 Cross Linguistic Differences: German, Icelandic, and Japanese.

##### DP Goal and PP goal in Icelandic

(50)a. Ég skilaði henni peningunum  
 I returned her-Dat the money-Dat  
 b. Ég skilaði peningunum til hennar.  
 I returned the money-Dat to her-Gen

(Woolford 2006: 114)

Woolford (2006) hypothesizes that inherent case is licensed by vG (or Applicative head). In addition, vG assigns goal role to DP goal. Besides inherent case (in DP goal), there is another goal argument: PP goal. A goal argument in PP obtains lexical case that is licensed by lexical head P. Woolford shows PP goal whose case is genitive case.



(Woolford 2006)

Passivization and Case Marking: In German and Icelandic, dative marked goal can retain its case even after passivization (A-movement) takes place.

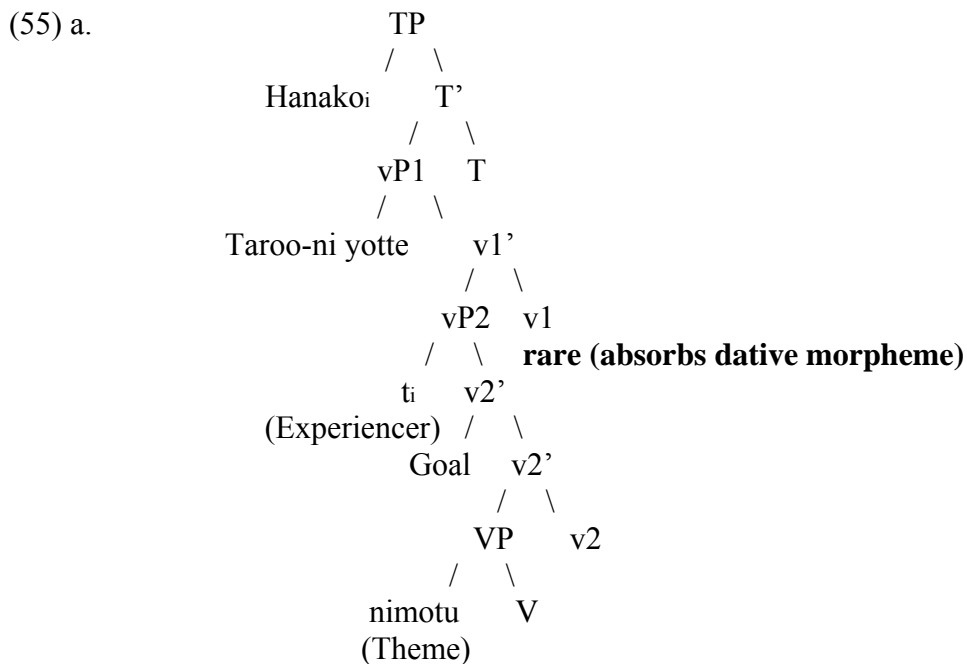
(52) a. Þeir skilutu Mariu bokinni  
 they returned Mary-Dat boo-the-Dat  
 ‘They returned the book to Mary.’  
 b. Mariu var skilat þessari bok.  
 Mary-Dat was returned this book-Dat

- (53) a. Sie hilft ihm.  
 she helps him-Dat  
 b. Ihm wird geholfen.  
 he-Dat is helped

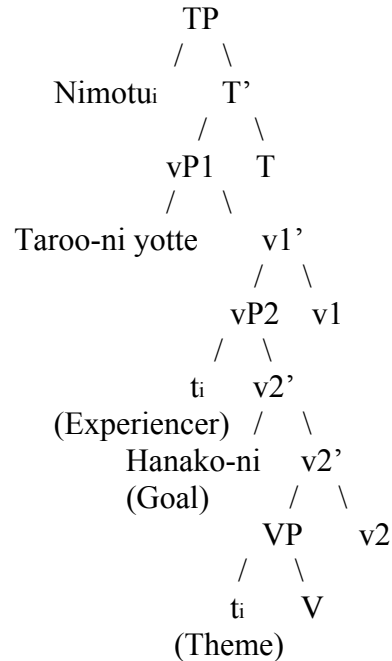
Japanese does not pattern like German or Icelandic.

- (54) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-**ni/-e** nimotu-o okutta.  
 Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to package-Acc sent  
 'Taroo sent Hanako a package.'  
 b. Hanako-**ga** nimotu-o okur-are-ta.  
 Hanako-Nom package-Acc send-Pass-Past  
 c. Nimotu-ga Hanako-**ni/-e** okur-are-ta.  
 package-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to send-Pass-Past

Two types of passive morphemes *rare*: one that absorbs dative case and the other that absorbs accusative case.



b.



Both 'Hanako' and *nimotu* 'package' moves up to [Spec TP] via [Spec vP2].

#### 4.5.2 Two types of Nominalizing Morphemes: null nominalizing morpheme 'Ø'

(53) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni/-e nimotu-o yusoo sita.

Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to package-Acc send did

b. [<sub>NP</sub> Taroo-no Hanako-e-no nimotu-no yusoo Ø]

Taroo-Gen Hanako-to-Gen package-Gen sending

(54) Taroo<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>NP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> Hanako-ni/-e nimotu-o yusoo Ø]-o sita

Taroo-Nom Hanako-Dat/-to package-Acc send -Acc did

(55) a. [John's **send**ing of a package to her] is nice.

b. [John's **send**ing her a package] is nice

A Dialect of English (Woolford 2000): some passive morpheme does not absorb accusative case.

(56) The watch was given him for his birthday.

(57) a. A reward was offered the man.

b. The man was offered a reward.

(Woolford 1993, originally from Jespersen 1927)

## 5 Conclusions

See goals.

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