

# DATIVES IN JAPANESE<sup>\*</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Since Barsz and Lasnik, (1986), the mismatch between the linear order of constituents and their positions in the hierarchical structure has been widely discussed. In this paper, we argue that the dative puzzles of domain and projection return when we cross languages and look at Japanese. Specifically, we argue the following points:

- (1) a. Japanese datives appear to systematically map, in properties, to English double object constructions (DOCs) and not to prepositional datives (Zushi 1992, Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2005).
- b. We argue (following Zushi 1992) that the “standard” order of arguments in Japanese datives is a derived one.
- c. We propose this follows from “weak *ni*’s” - the fact that in Japanese, *ni* is never a case probe; rather the *ni*-phrase is a concordial element.
- d. We argue that this effect is general, observed with many cases of *ni*-phrases, including those appearing in locatives & possessives.

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<sup>\*</sup> Earlier versions of this paper were presented at Mayfest 2007 (University of Maryland), 2007 International Forum on the Comparative Study of Chinese-Japanese Theoretical Linguistics (Beijing University), and The Past Meets The Present Conference (Academia Sinica). We are indebted to the attendants of those conferences, as well as the audience of WAFL-5, for comments and discussion. This research is partially supported by the MEXT Grant (Category Youth B, Grant No. 18720115) for the second author. All errors are our own.

## 2. The Puzzle of Japanese Datives

Japanese datives allow both DAT-ACC and ACC-DAT order of arguments in the VP (2a,b), of which the DAT-ACC order (2a) is widely assumed as ‘default’ (Hoji 1985, among others).

- (2) a. Hanako-ga      **Taroo-ni**      **Masao-o**      syookaisi-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM      Taroo-DAT      Masao-ACC      introduced  
 ‘Hanako introduced Masao to Taroo’
- b. Hanako-ga      **Masao-o**      **Taroo-ni**      syookaisi-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM      Masao-ACC      Taroo-DAT      introduced  
 ‘Hanako introduced Masao to Taroo’

Domain tests in (3) indicate that DAT asymmetrically c-commands ACC in DAT-ACC order.

- (3) a. Hanako-ga      [**karera**]<sub>i</sub>-ni      [**otagai**]<sub>i</sub>-no      sensei]-o      syookaisi-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM      they-DAT      each.other’s      teacher-ACC      introduced  
 Lit. ‘Hanako introduced to [them] [each other’s teacher].’
- b. \*Hanako-ga      [**otagai**]<sub>i</sub>-no      sensei]-ni      [**karera**]<sub>j</sub>-o      syookaisi-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM      each.other’s      teacher-DAT      them-ACC      introduced  
 Lit. ‘\*Hanako introduced to [each other’s teacher] [them].’

Given (3), and the default status of DAT-ACC, it seems natural to conclude that the goal c-commands the theme in the underlying structure of Japanese ditransitives. However this assumption raises a number of interesting puzzles.

### 2.1 Japanese Datives and English Datives

Japanese datives resemble English PP datives in so far as both contain an adpositional element (*to/-ni*). Assimilating them in structure yields the picture in (4):

- (4) a. English PP Dative
- 
- ```

graph TD
  vP --> DP1[DP  
△  
John]
  vP --> v_prime[v']
  v_prime --> v[v]
  v_prime --> VP
  VP --> DP2[DP  
△  
them]
  VP --> V_prime[V']
  V_prime --> V[V  
introduce]
  V_prime --> PP[PP  
△  
to e.o.]
  
```
- b. Japanese
- 
- ```

graph TD
  vP --> DP1[DP  
△  
Hanako]
  vP --> v_prime[v']
  v_prime --> VP
  v_prime --> v[v]
  VP --> DP2[DP  
△  
karera-o]
  VP --> V_prime[V']
  V_prime --> PP[PP  
△  
otagai...-ni]
  V_prime --> V[V  
syookaisita]
  
```

But (4b) is problematic on at least two accounts. First, it mispredicts basic word order for Japanese. We expect ACC-DAT whereas the unmarked order appears to be DAT-ACC (2a,b). Secondly, it mispredicts domain relations. In (4b) the theme (*karera-o*) asymmetrically c-commands goal (*otagai-no sensei-ni*), but the domain tests in (3) show *the goal* to asymmetrically c-command the theme. Thus assimilating the *ni*-phrase to English dative PPs yields undesirable results.

As an alternative, consider a comparison between Japanese datives and English double object constructions, where the *ni*-phrase corresponds to what in English is an *accusative* Case position. This equivalence was first proposed (to our knowledge) by Zushi (1992):

- (5) a. English DO structure (simplified)      b. Japanese
- ...showed... e.o.

otagai...-o ...syookaisita...

The advantages of the former, derivational view are straightforward. First, it correctly predicts the word order; the *-ni* phrase precedes the accusative *o*-marked nominal. Secondly, it correctly predicts the domain data in (3); the goal (*karera-ni*) asymmetrically c-commands the theme (*otagai-no sensei-o*).

Beyond the word order and domain facts there is further evidence for the assimilation of Japanese datives to English DOCs. According to Lebeaux (reported in Larson 1988), whereas English PP datives allow either the direct object or the indirect object to take wide scope, double object constructions exhibit scope “freezing”, as illustrated by the contrast between (6a) and (6)/(7). The scopes of the objects freely permute in (6a) but not in (6b). And when we insert *same/different*, which require an element taking scope over them, the result is deviant (7):

- (6) a. John gave more than three presents to every student. (MT3 > ∀, ∀ > MT3)  
 b. John sent some letters to every respondent. (∃ > ∀, ∀ > ∃)
- (7) a. John gave some student every present. (∃ > ∀, \*∀ > ∃)  
 b. ?\*John sent the same student/a different student each message. (S/D > ∀, \*∀ > S/D)

Scope freezing thus appears to be a signature of the double object construction.

Turning to Japanese, datives do seem to exhibit the scope freezing effects (as first noted by Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).

- (8) a. Taroo-ga dareka-ni dono nimotu-mo okut-ta.  
 Taro-NOM someone-DAT which package-all send-Past  
 'Taro sent someone every package.' ( $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$ )
- b. Yamada-sensei-ga san-nin-izyoo-no gakusei-ni  
 Yamada-professor-NOM three-CL-more-GEN student-Dat  
 ni-hon-izyoo-no ronbun-o okut-ta.  
 two-CL-more-GEN paper-ACC send-Past  
 'Professor Yamada sent three or more students two or more papers.'  
 ( $3oM > 2oM, *2oM > 3oM$ )

Taking this result together with the word order and domain facts, we might conclude that although Japanese datives resemble English prepositional datives, they are more properly regarded as *disguised* versions of the double object construction – disguised by the presence of *ni*.

## 2.2 What About PP Datives?

Suppose Japanese sentences like (2) are in fact equivalent English DOCs. Let's ask a follow-up question: what about "true" adpositional dative constructions in Japanese? Given Harley's (1995, 2003) observation that languages possessing the equivalents of DOCs invariably possess the equivalents of PP datives as well, they should exist. Furthermore, they should show the properties rehearsed earlier in (4) and (6): unmarked ACC-DAT order, with the dative in the domain of the accusative, and lack of scope freezing.

### 2.2.1 Two-goal Datives (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) (henceforth M&T) suggest that "two-goal" examples like (9) exhibit the "missing" dative element. Specifically, M&T claim that the directional, second goal (*Tokyo-ni*) behaves like an English PP dative in showing free scope permutation vis-à-vis the theme (*nimotu-o*) (10):

- (9) Taroo-ga **Hanako-ni** **Tokyo-ni** nimotu-o okut-ta.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT Tokyo-DAT package-ACC send-Past  
 'Taroo sent Hanako a package to Tokyo'
- (10) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni dokoka-no-basyo-ni subete-no-nimotu-o okutta.  
 Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat some-Gen-place-to all-Gen- package-Acc send-Past  
 'Taro sent Hanako every package to some place.' ( $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$ )  
 (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:15)

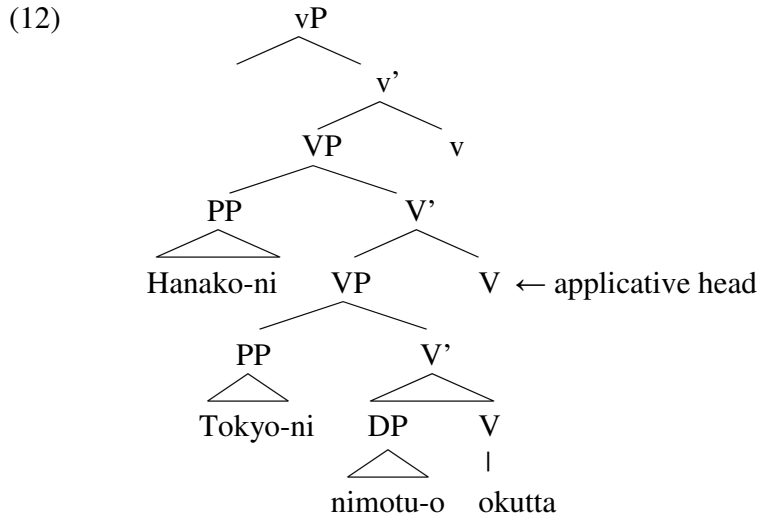
This conclusion is hasty, however. As noted by Harada & Larson (2006), appropriate test examples require quantifiers resisting specific readings (which are often confused with wide scope), and those employed by M&T are not of this kind. When appropriate quantifiers are

supplied, the scope properties of the second goal in a “two-goal dative” turn out to be identical to those of the first goal: both are frozen with respect to the theme object.

- (11) a. Yamada-sensei-ga [san-nin-izyoo-no gakusei-ni] ofisu-ni  
 Yamada-professor-NOM three-CL-more-GEN student-DAT office-DAT  
 [ni-hon-izyoo-no ronbun-o] okut-ta.  
 two-CL-more-GEN paper-ACC send-Past  
 'Professor Yamada sent three or more students two or more papers to the office.'  
 \*Q-Acc > Q-Dat
- b. Yamada-sensei-ga Hanako-ni [ni-kasyo-izyoo-no atesaki-ni]  
 Yamada-professor-NOM Hanako-DAT two-CL-more-GEN address-DAT  
 [yon-hon-izyoo-no ronbun-o] okut-ta.  
 four-CL-more-GEN paper-ACC send-Past  
 'Professor Yamada sent Hanako four or more papers to two or more addresses.'  
 \*Q-Acc > Q-to

In fact then, the second goal in a two-goal dative resembles the first goal with respect to scope.

This result intersects a further interesting point about examples like (9). As noted earlier, the true equivalent of a dative PP should merge lower than the accusative-marked theme, and hence follow it in linear order. But in fact in (9) the directional *ni*-phrase precedes the theme and behaves as if it c-commands the latter. Indeed, in their own tree for (9), M&T actually project the second *ni*-phrase higher than the theme (12), contrary to expectations:



Thus, far from exhibiting a case of a “low” PP dative, examples like (9) seem to show something quite different: that even *ni*-phrases we might expect to parallel PP datives on thematic grounds - ones with directional meaning - nonetheless behave like *ni*-phrases associated with double object constructions,

### 2.2.2 Unaccusatives (Zushi 1992)

Interestingly, although dative *ni*-phrases of all sorts behave as if they occupied a higher site than the theme, there is evidence for an underlying lower position. Zushi (1992) observes that ditransitive verbs like *wataru*- ‘pass’ in (13a) have unaccusative theme-goal counterparts, as shown in (13b) (cf. also Baker 1996 and Matsuoka 2003). Consider now the contrasts in (14), noted in Zushi (1992):

- (13) a. John-ga      Mary-ni      hon-o      watasi-ta  
          John-NOM   Mary-DAT   book-ACC   pass-PST  
          ‘John passed a/the book to Mary’  
       b. Hon-ga      Mary-ni      watat-ta  
          book-NOM   Mary-DAT   pass-PST  
          ‘A/the book passed to Mary’
- (14) a. \*[zibun<sub>i</sub>-o    hihanisita hito]-ga    John<sub>i</sub>-o      tazune-ta      (transitive)  
          self-ACC    criticized man-NOM   John-ACC    visit-PST  
          ‘The man that criticized self visited John’  
       b. [*pro* zibun<sub>i</sub>-o    hihanisita kiji]-ga    John<sub>i</sub>-o    nayam-ase-ta (φ-verb)  
          self-ACC      criticized    article-NOM   John-ACC   worry-CAUSE-PST  
          ‘The article that criticized self worried John’  
       c. ?\*[*pro* zibun<sub>i</sub>-o    hihanisita kiji]-ga    John<sub>i</sub>-ni    watat-ta      (unacc.)  
          self-ACC    criticized article-NOM   John-DAT   pass-PST  
          ‘The article that criticized self passed to John’

(14a) shows that an accusative object cannot normally bind into a nominative subject. This possibility exists with psych verb like (14b), whose subjects are analyzed as raising from a point below the object in underlying structure (Belletti and Rizzi 1996). (14c) with the intransitive version of the verb ‘to pass’ in Japanese, patterns like (14a) suggesting that the subject in a *wataru* unaccusative sentence is situated in a position higher than that of the *ni*-phrase. However, the verb being unaccusative, the subject in a *wataru* unaccusative sentence in (14c) originates from the position of the accusative theme in the *wataru* ditransitive construction. This argues that the theme in *wataru* constructions occupies a position higher than the goal. This in turn suggests that the goal originates in a position lower than the theme in Japanese PP datives.

### 2.2.3 Information & Specificity (Kaiser & Nakanishi 2001)

An additional piece of evidence for the initial low position of Japanese datives comes from interpretive properties of the construction. Based on pragmatic considerations, Kaiser & Nakanishi (2001) have noticed the following characteristics of the DOC: Whereas the ACC-DAT order is unrestricted in that either argument can be specific/non-specific or represent old or new information, the DAT-ACC order is constrained. Specifically the DAT argument must be specific or represent old information. Kaiser and Nakanishi’s test paradigms are represented schematically in (15), where DO refers to the direct object and IO refers to the indirect object.

- (15) a. **DO-IO**: While I have heard [that S1 **DO IO V**], it seems [that S2 DO  $\emptyset_{IO}$  V].  
 b. **IO-DO**: While I have heard [that S1 **IO DO V**], it seems [that S2  $\emptyset_{IO}$  DO V].
- (16) a. **DO-IO**  
 Taroo-ga **Hanako-o** [**Penn-no gakusei**]-ni syookaisita to kiita  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-ACC [Penn-GEN student]-DAT introduced COMP heard  
 kedo Jiroo-mo **Hanako-o**  $\emptyset_{IO}$  syookaisita-rasiiyo.  
 while Jiro-too Hanako-ACC introduced-seem  
 ‘While (I) have heard that Taro introduced Hanako to a Penn student, it seems that Jiro introduced Hanako (to a Penn student), too.’  
 $\emptyset_{IO}$  could refer to the same Penn students or to different ones.
- b. **IO-DO**  
 Taroo-ga [**Penn-no gakusei**]-ni **Hanako-o** syookaisita  
 Taro-NOM [Penn-GEN student]-DAT Hanako-ACC introduced  
 to kiita kedo Jiroo-mo  $\emptyset_{IO}$  **Hanako-o** syookaisita-rasiiyo.  
 COMP heard while Jiro-too Hanako-ACC introduced-seem  
 ‘While (I) have heard that Taro introduced to a Penn student Hanako, it seems that Jiro introduced (to a Penn student) Hanako, too.’  
 $\emptyset_{IO}$  was overwhelmingly taken to refer to the same students.  
 ⇒ **IO was judged to represent old information:**

There is asymmetry in the interpretation of the elided nominal in the examples in (16), which instantiate the schemata in (15) with an elided IO. In (16a), with the DO-IO order of internal arguments, the elided IO in the second clause has many interpretive options, whereas the elided IO in (16b) has a much narrower range of interpretations. Native speakers strongly prefer to interpret  $\emptyset_{IO}$  in (16b) as referring to the same student referred to in the first sentence. With (16a) the individual may be the same or different.

Compare now examples with the DO as the target of ellipsis (17)-(18).

- (17) a. **IO-DO**: While I have heard [that S1 **IO DO V**], it seems [that S2 IO  $\emptyset_{DO}$  V].  
 b. **DO-IO**: While I have heard [that S1 **DO IO V**], it seems [that S2  $\emptyset_{DO}$  IO V].
- (18) a. **IO-DO**  
 Taroo-ga **Hanako-ni** [**gengogaku-no hon**]-o miseta to kiita  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT [linguistics-GEN book]-ACC showed COMP heard  
 kedo Jiroo-mo **Hanako-ni**  $\emptyset_{DO}$  miseta-rasiiyo.  
 while Jiro-too Hanako-DAT showed-seem  
 ‘While (I) have heard that Taro showed to Hanako a book on linguistics, it seems that Jiro showed to Hanako (a book on linguistics), too.’

b. **DO-IO**

Taroo-ga [gengogaku-no hon]-o Hanako-ni miseta to kiita  
 Taro-NOM [linguistics-GEN book]-ACC Hanako-DAT showed COMP heard  
 kedo Jiroo-mo Ø<sub>DO</sub> Hanako-ni miseta-rasiiyo.  
 while Jiro-too Hanako-DAT showed-seem  
 ‘While (I) have heard that Taro showed a book on linguistics to Hanako, it seems  
 that Jiro showed (a book on linguistics) to Hanako, too.’

Between the two examples in (18) no clear contrast is found counterpart to what we found with (16). The DO is pragmatically unrestricted. These tests thus show that the DO-IO (i.e., ACC-DAT) order is the informationally less restricted, and pragmatically more neutral order. Kaiser & Nakanishi 2001 suggest a parallelism between this result and that found with object shift in the Germanic languages. Specifically, the pragmatics of the IO-DO (i.e., DAT-ACC) order suggests movement in so far as we are seeing the same specificity and old-information effects as those induced by scrambling and object shift.

### 3. –Ni as “Concordial Case”

#### 3.1 An Outline of the Proposal

We saw above that the Japanese dative-accusative argument array uniformly parallels the English DOC in so far as *ni*-phrases behave as if they are higher than the theme is surface form. At the same time we found evidence from unaccusatives and informational structure that the original position of the *ni*-phrase is actually lower than the theme, and hence that the high position is a derived one. In Larson and Harada (2008) we show this pattern is not confined to *ni*-phrases appearing in dative constructions but extends to those occurring in transitive and intransitive locatives and possessives as well. All occur structurally higher than expected on thematic grounds, and all behave informationally as if this position were a derived one (19):

- (19) a. ... DP-*ni* ... DP-*o* ... DP-*n* (datives, transitive locatives)  
 b. ... DP-*ni* ... DP-*ga* ... DP-*ni* (intransitive locatives, possessives)

Looking at this pattern, the distribution of *ni*-phrases can be stated descriptively as follows.

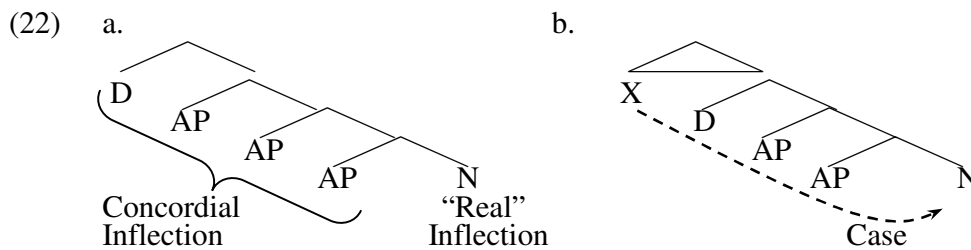
- (20) A *ni*-phrase must c-command a structurally Case-marked argument.

Stated as such, (20) is a mere descriptive generalization. However, the resemblance to certain phenomena in the nominal domain suggests that it can in fact be rooted in a deeper principle of grammar. Consider Icelandic nominal inflection, in which the adjectival elements exhibit concord with the noun (here *kennigár* ‘theories’) inflecting for Case and  $\phi$ -features:



- (21) all<sup>l</sup>ár                      ðess<sup>á</sup>ár                      ðrjár                      nyju  
 all.FEM.PL.NOM    these.FEM.PL.NOM    three.FEM.PL.NOM    new.FEM.PL.NOM  
 kennig<sup>á</sup>ár  
 theories.FEM.PL.NOM  
 ‘all these three new theories’                      (Kester 1996, citing Sigurðsson 1993:181)

In discussions of nominal inflection patterns in traditional grammar, nouns are viewed as inflecting for Case and  $\phi$ -features and adjectival elements (including articles and determiners) are described as agreeing, or exhibiting concord, with them. This amounts to assume a distinction between the occurrence of inflection on N and other elements: The lowest inflecting element is identified as the “true” bearer of inflection, whereas the elements c-commanding it (D and AP) are merely *concordial*.



Case can then be seen as “passing through” the intermediate, concordial elements on its way to the target NP, which occupies the lowermost position in the domain (22b).

We wish to propose that the distinction routinely drawn in the nominal domain between true and concordial case can be found in the verbal domain as well. Specifically, we propose that *ni*-phrases occur above a structurally case-marked argument because they are basically *concordial elements* - not bearing Case themselves, but rather receiving Case by agreement from a higher probe. We summarize this in the following theses:

- (23) *Ni* is neither a case-marker, nor a case-probe.  
*Ni*-phrases obtain case by agreement from a structural case probe (v,T).

### 3.2 The Analysis

#### 3.2.1 Technical Assumptions – Pesesky & Torrego (2004)

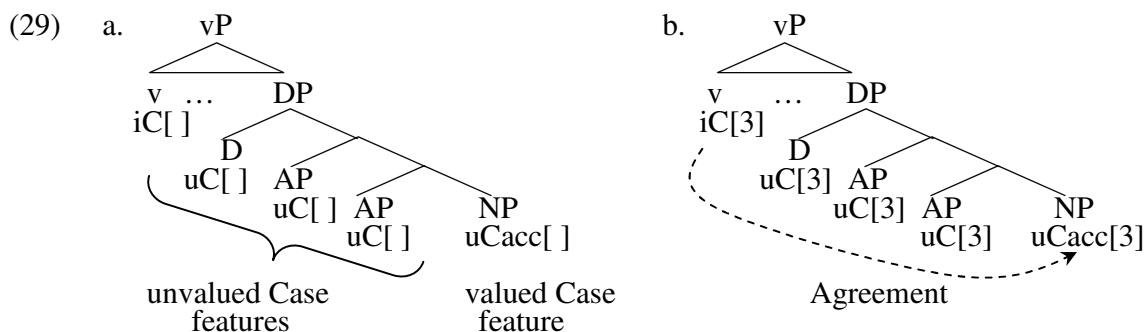
In implementing the proposal, we employ some technical concepts from Pesetsky & Torrego (2004). Specifically, we assume that features come in four varieties, according to whether they are interpretable/uninterpretable or valued/unvalued (24).

(24)

	interpretable	uninterpretable
valued	iFval	uFval
unvalued	iF	uF



case feature (29a). Agreement between the higher, unvalued features and the lower valued feature, then produces a single feature with multiple instances that is both interpretable and valued (29b) – a legitimate interface object:



### 3.2.3 Slavonic Possessive Adjectives

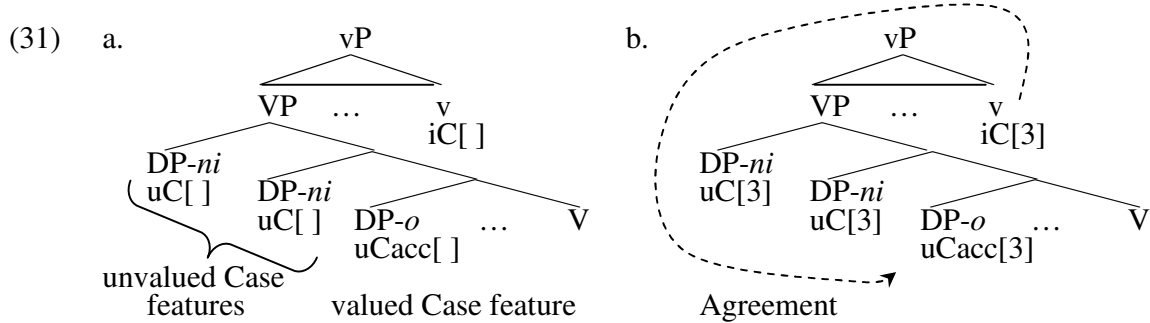
This picture of nominal inflection allows for some interesting elaborations. In so-called Ezafe languages, adjectives (and other items) seem to be able to behave like nouns in bearing (oblique) valued case-features (Larson 2007). It is also apparently possible for nominal elements to behave adjectivally: to be inserted with unvalued case features and to obtain case by agreement. An apparent example of this is Slavonic possessive adjective formation, as discussed in a series of studies by Corbett. As (30) shows upper Sorbian expresses possession in nominals either with a postnominal genitive (30a) or what is called a *possessive adjective*, derived from a noun (30b):

- (30) Upper Sorbian Possession (Corbett 1987)
- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| a. An adnominal genitive | b. With the “adjectivalizing” suffix <i>-ow</i> : |
| kniha Jan-a              | Jan-ow-a knih-a                                   |
| book Jan-GENSG           | Jan-POSS-NOMSGFEM book-NOMSGFEM                   |

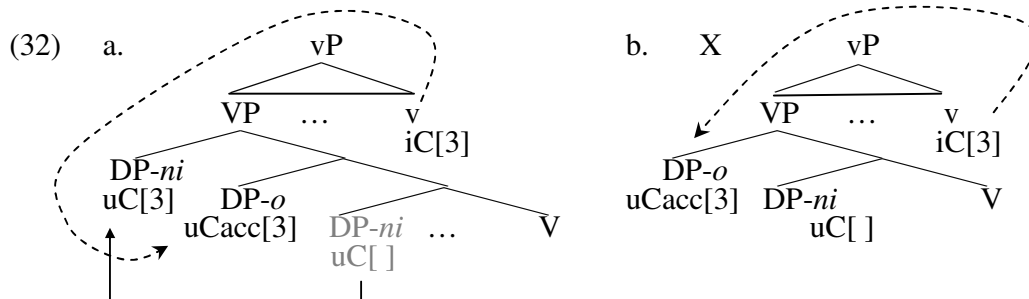
The adjectival nature of *Janow* in (30b) can be seen in the two respects: (i) it exhibits the same agreement forms as normal attributive adjectives, and (ii) it precedes the head, like attributives, but unlike the adnominal genitive. Suffixation by *-ow*, does not as literally turns *Jan* into an adjective; rather, it makes it adjective-like in lifting the normal requirement of valuation for case and agreement. In other words, *-ow* (*in/yn* for feminine Ns) behaves as a “concordializing” suffix taking an expression typically valued for case (and  $\phi$ -features) and creating a phrase that must obtain such values by agreement. That is, *Janow* enters the numeration with  $uC[ ]$  and  $u\phi[ ]$  and must therefore be situated in the same position as adjectives in order that its case and  $\phi$ -features be valued.

### 3.2.4 *-Ni* as a “Concordializing” Suffix

We propose that Japanese *-ni* is not a case-marker, but rather a concordializing suffix, equivalent in the vP/VP system to Slavonic *-ow* in the nominal system. Descriptively speaking, *-ni* attaches to a nominal and creates a phrase that obtains its case value by agreement (31).



In (31) the *ni*-phrases are presented as base-generated above the accusative object. But observe that a legitimate interface object will also result if the *-ni* phrase initially merges below the accusative-marked object, and then raises to the edge of VP (32a). What will not yield a legitimate result is for the *-ni* phrase to merge below the accusative-marked object and remain there (32b). Since DP-*o* is valued for case, it will not probe the *-ni* phrase beneath it, nor will the interpretable unvalued feature on v probe beyond DP-*o*. Search will terminate, and DP-*ni*'s case feature will be unvalued.



The same reasoning applies with *-ni* phrases and subject marking. Hence by these means we derive the constraint in (20) that a *ni*-phrase must c-command a structurally case-marked argument. Essentially, this analysis can be applied to the other constructions involving *ni*-marked phrases such as locatives and possessives; see Larson and Harada (2008).

### 3.3 DAT-ACC Order?

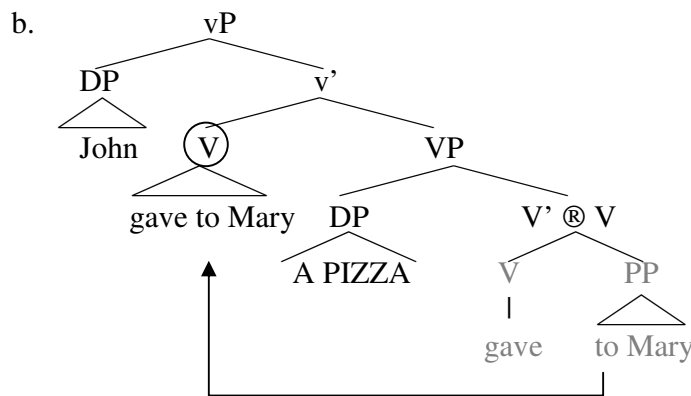
As a final point we saw earlier that although the SUBJ IO DO V order is unmarked in Japanese, the SUBJ IO DO V order is also available (33a,b):

- (33) a. John-ga piza-o Mary-ni ageta  
 b. John-ga Mary-ni piza-o ageta

From the discussion above, it should be clear that (33a) cannot simply reflect the base merge order we propose, since the case feature of DP-*ni* cannot be valued in its low initial position. Once again, we believe the key to this lies in the informational status of (33a).

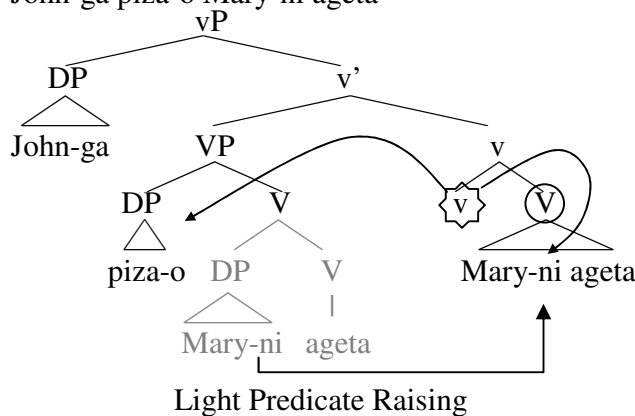
In cases like (33a) Japanese speakers perceive the object *piza-o* as bearing focus, similar to what English speakers perceive in “Heavy NP Shift” examples like (34a). Larson (1989,1990) reanalyzes HNPS constructions as instances of “Light predicate Raising,” in which a thematically transitive V’ reanalyzes as V and raises around the direct object (34b), stranding it in lowest position. The effect of stranding is focus on the non-moving object.

- (34) a. John gave to Mary [A PIZZA] Larson (1989,1990)



Assume now that this process were available in Japanese as well. The transitive V’ reanalyzes as V and raises string-vacuously rightward. Assume again that the stranded direct object is interpreted as focused, just as in English (35b):

- (35) a. John-ga piza-o Mary-ni ageta  
 b.



Notice now that although raising has not altered the linear order of *piza-o* and *Mary-ni*, it has changed their structural relations; specifically, the latter is no longer c-commands the former. This entails that *piza-o* no longer intervenes between *v* and *Mary-ni*. *v* can probe on both its left

and its right. It can agree with DP-*ni*, and it can agree with, and be valued as ACC by the *o*-marked object, which will yield a legitimate interface object.

## 4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we developed an account for the properties of Japanese dtransitives sentences based on the affixal nature of “dative P” *-ni* is not a case probe, but rather a concordializing element. Since *-ni* as concordializing element does not have the ability to license Case on nominals it attaches to, the goal DP associated with *-ni* should always move above the theme DP in constructions involving two internal arguments to avoid Case violations. The proposal of the paper constitutes evidence for a uniform view to ditransitive sentences, i.e., the theme c-commands the goal in the structure across languages.

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