Two-Goal Datives

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Miyagawa and Tsujioka (M&T) (2004) claim Japanese examples like (1) exhibit both a "possessive goal" (*Hanako-ni*) <u>and</u> a "locative goal" (*Tokyo-ni*):

(1) 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'

Two goal datives cast doubt on derivationalist views of the dative alternation (Baker 1988, den Dikken 1995, Larson 1988) where IOs arise from PP goals by movement: (2)a,b. In a two-goal dative, the source position for the IO appears filled (2)c, and a movement account unavailable.

(2) a. Taroo sent   a package   to Hanako.
    b. Taroo sent [Hanako]$_i$ a package   to t_i
    c. Taroo sent [Hanako]   a package   to Tokyo.

We argue that Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) misanalyze examples like (1): The latter are not two-goal datives but rather a combination benefactive/ dative. (1) thus constitutes either (3) or (4).

(3) Taroo-ga **Hanako-ni**   Tokyo-ni mukete   nimotu-o   okut-ta
    Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat   Tokyo-Dat toward   package-Acc   send-Past
    Lit. 'Taroo sent a package to Hanako toward Tokyo.'

(4) Taroo-ga **Hanako-no   tame-ni**   Tokyo-ni nimotu-o   okut-ta
    Taro-Nom Hanako-Gen   sake-Dat   Tokyo-Dat package-Acc   send-Past
    'Taroo sent a package to Tokyo for Hanako's sake'

1.   Ditransitive Sentences in Japanese
1.1.   The "Standard" Analysis: GOAL > THEME
(5) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni   nimotu-o   okut-ta.
       Taro-Nom   Hanako-Dat   package-Acc   send-Past
       'Taro sent Hanako a package.'
    b. Taroo-ga   nimotu-o   Hanako-ni   okut-ta.
       Taro-Nom   package-Acc   Hanako-Dat   send-Past

(6) GOAL > THEME (Hoji 1985; cf. Takano 1998, Yatsushiro 2003, etc.)
    a. Taroo-ga   dareka-ni   dono nimotu-mo   okut-ta.
       Taro-Nom   someone-Dat   which package-all   send-Past
       'Taro sent someone every package.'
                                        some > every, *every > some
    b. Taroo-ga   [dono nimotu-mo]$_i$ dareka-ni t_i okut-ta.
       Taro-Nom   which package-all   someone-Dat   send-Past
                                        some > every, every > some

1.2.   The "Standard" Analysis Questioned
(7) The standard analysis predicts ...
    "[U]nlike English, we should not find any argument-structure differences in the ditransitive constructions because there is only one structure associated with ditransitive verbs."   (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:6)

(8) The prediction not borne out: (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:6)
    Taroo-ga **dokoka-ni**   dono nimotu-mo   okut-ta.
    Taro-Nom   some.place-Dat which package-all   send-Past
    'Taro sent every package to some place'
                                        some > every, every > some

1.3.   M&T (2004): Ditransitives as Hidden Applicatives
1.3.1.   The Structure
(9) Marantz 1993:
    A non-derivationalist approach to DOCs; postulates an applicative head (mediating possession relation between the DO and IO) for the DOC. The *to*-dative is assumed to lack the applicative head.

(10)
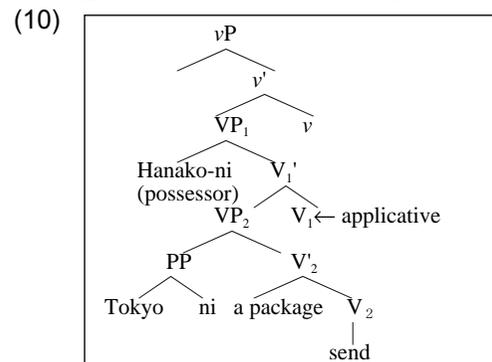
(Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:14)

1.3.2. M&T's (2004) Evidence for the Two (High and Low) Goals
- **Evidence 1: Quantifier scope facts**

(11) Taroo-ga [$_{VP1}$ **dareka**-ni [$_{VP2}$ **subete**-no-basyo-ni   nimotu-o
      Taro-Nom   **someone**-Dat **all**-Gen-place-to   package-Acc
      okut]]-ta.
      send-Past   'Taro sent someone a package to every place.'
                                    some > every, *every> some

(12) Taroo-ga [$_{VP1}$ **dareka**-ni[$_{VP2}$ Tokyo-ni   **subete**-no-nimotu-o
      Taro-Nom   **someone**-Dat Tokyo-to **all**-Gen-package-Acc
      okut]]-ta.
      send-Past   'Taro sent someone every package to Tokyo.'
                                    some > every, *every> some

(13) The locative goal allows inverse scope with the theme.
      Taroo-ga [$_{VP1}$ Hanako-ni [$_{VP2}$**dokoka**-no-basyo-ni **subete**-no-
      Taro-Nom   Hanako-Dat   **some**-Gen-place-to   **all**-Gen-
      nimotu-o   okut]]-ta.
      package-Acc   send-Past
      'Taro sent Hanako every package to some place.'
                                    some > every, <u>every> some</u>
                          ((11)-(13) from Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:15)

(14) Quantifier Scope in VPs (Based on Marantz 1993, Bruening 2001)
      a. Two quantifiers can take either the wide scope or the narrow
         scope with respect to the other, as long as they are in the same
         VP.
      b. If two quantifiers reside in different VPs, scope freezing effects are
         observed.

(15) M&T's Account for (11)-(13):
      a. The high goal is in the specifier of the applicative head; hence it is
         outside the lower VP containing the lower goal and the theme. |
      → The high goal unambiguously takes a wider scope over the low
         goal in (11) and (12).
      b. The low goal and the theme are within the same VP, leading to
         the ambiguity of (13).

- **Evidence 2: The categorial status of the two goal phrases**

(16) In ditransitive sentences, a locative phrase cannot be passivized.
      a. Taroo-ga   nimotu-o   okur-are-ta.
         Taro-Nom   package-Acc   send-Pass-Past
         'Taro was sent a package.'
      b. *Tokyo-ga   nimotu-o   okur-are-ta.
         Tokyo-Nom   package-Acc   send-Pass-Past
         Lit. 'Tokyo was sent a package.'

(17) M&T's prediction: The passivization of the low goal is out.
      a. The difference in the categorical status of high and low goals;
         The low goal is PP, which is orthogonal to Case-related
         operations like passivization.
      b. Locality considerations; moving the low goal over the high goal
         may violate the locality principles (cf. (10)).
                                    (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:16)

(18) a. Taroo-ga   Tokyo-ni nimotu-o   okur-are-ta.
         Taro-Nom   Tokyo-to package-Acc   send-Pass-Past
         'Taro was sent a package to Tokyo.'
      b. *Tokyo-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.'
                                    ((17)-(18) from Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004:16)

(19) M&T's explanation on (16)b/(18)b:
      a. If *Tokyo-ni* is a PP, it cannot undergo Case-motivated operations.
      b. *Tokyo-ni* is a 'low' goal; hence movement to Spec, TP past the
         position of the 'high' goal is blocked by locality principles.

2. Japanese Ditransitives are NOT Hidden Possessives
2.1 Quantifier Scope in Two-Goal Datives Revisited
(20) A problem with M&T's quantifier test:
      A use of quantifiers like *dareka* 'someone' and *subete-no* 'all ...' which
      admit specific group readings (Ueyama 1998), often confused with
      wide scope.

- If quantifiers are substituted for those that resist specific group readings, ambiguity occurs.

(21) Yamada-sensei-ga   san-nin-izyoo-no   gakusei-ni
      Yamada-professor-Nom   three-CL-more-Gen   student-Dat
      ni-kasyo-izyoo-no   atesaki-ni   ronbun-o   okut-ta.
      two-CL-more-Gen   address-to   paper-Acc   send-Past
      'Professor Yamada sent three or more students papers to two or
      more addresses.'   Q-Dat > Q-Acc, Q-Acc > Q-Dat

   [Interpretation 1]   Q-Dat > Q-Acc - most salient
   Four students: Tomoko, Yukiko, Yunju, and Lanko. Prof. Yamada
   sent his latest drafts to more than two addresses for each of the
   students; e.g., one for his/her apartment, another for his/her
   office, and the other for his/her parents' home.

   [Interpretation 2]   Q-Acc > Q-Dat **INVERSE SCOPE POSSIBLE**
   There are more than two addresses, where Professor Yamada sent
   papers to more than three students.

   U Tokyo: 5 students   Kyusyu U: 7 students
   Tohoku U: 8 students   Nanzan U: 2 students
   Kyoto U: 2 students

(22) Yamada-sensei-ga   san-nin-izyoo-no   gakusei-ni
      Yamada-professor-Nom   three-CL-more-Gen   student-Dat
      ofisu-ni   ni-hon-izyoo-no   ronbun-o   okut-ta.
      office-to   two-CL-more-Gen   paper-Acc   send-Past
      'Professor Yamada sent three or more students two or more papers
      to the office.'

   [Interpretation 1] Q-Dat > Q-Acc - most salient
   Four students, not necessarily in the same office: Tomoko,
   Yukiko, Yunju, and Lanko. Prof. Yamada sent three of his latest drafts
   to their office(s). That is, each of them gets the same set of papers by
   Prof. Yamada.

   *[Interpretation 2] Q-Acc > Q-Dat   **INVERSE SCOPE IMPOSSIBLE**
   Four students: Tomoko, Yukiko, Yunju, and Lanko. Prof.
   Yamada sent some of his latest drafts to their offices. Depending on
   the students' interest, he picks up different drafts for each student.

Tomoko: Paper A, Paper B, Paper C
Yukiko: Paper A, Paper C, Paper D
Yunju: Paper A, Paper B, Paper D, Paper E
Lanko: Paper A, Paper C, Paper D, Paper E

Paper A: Tomoko, Yukiko, Yunju, Lanko
Paper B: Tomoko, Yunju
Paper C: Tomoko, Yukiko, Lanko
Paper D: Yunju, Yukiko, Lanko

(23) Yamada-sensei-ga   Hanako-ni   ni-kasyo-izyoo-no
      Yamada-professor-Nom   Hanako-to   two-CL-more-Gen
      atesaki-ni   yon-hon-izyoo-no   ronbun-o   okut-ta.
      address-Dat   four-CL-more-Gen   paper-Acc   send-Past
      'Professor Yamada sent Hanako four or more papers to two or more
      addresses.'

   [Interpretation 1] Q-Dat > Q-Acc - most salient
   There are two or more addresses to which Prof. Yamada sent four or
   more papers for Hanako.

   Apartment: Papers 1, 2, 4, 8   Office: Papers 2, 4, 6, 8, 9
   Parents': Papers 3, 6, 9   Relatives': Papers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
   Friends': Papers 7, 9

   *[Interpretation 2]   Q-Acc > Q-Dat **INVERSE SCOPE IMPOSSIBLE**
   Prof. Yamada wants to send some papers to Hanako, but she is hard
   to catch. According to her schedule, Prof. Yamada decides to send
   some of the papers to the places where Hanako is likely to show up.
   In doing so, he sends some of the papers to most of the addresses,
   while some that are not of so importance are sent to only a couple of
   places. There are five papers out of seven which got sent to two or
   more addresses - those are the ones that Prof. Yamada has
   considered as important.

   Paper 1: Apt, Office, Friends'   Paper 2: Apt
   Paper 3: Apt, Office,   Paper 4: Office
   Paper 5: Apt, Office, Relatives'   Paper 6: Office, Parents'
   Paper 7: Apt, Office, Relatives', Friends'   Paper 8: Relatives'

(24) Summary of (21)-(23):
    a. There is no intrinsic asymmetry as to the position of High Goal and that of Low Goal. (cf. (21))
    b. High Goal is situated in a position higher than the Theme. (cf. (22))
    c. Low Goal is situated in a position higher than Theme. (cf. (23))
  ⇒ **The hierarchical relation between the two goals undetermined**.

2.2. The Passive Test Revisited

(25) a. Taroo-ga   nimotu-o   okur-are-ta.
      Taro-Nom   package-Acc   send-Pass-Past
      'Taro was sent a package.'
    b. *Tokyo-ga   nimotu-o   okur-are-ta.
      Tokyo-Nom package-Acc   send-Pass-Past
      Lit. 'Tokyo was sent a package.'

(26) a. Taroo-ga   Tokyo-ni   nimotu-o   okur-are-ta.
      Taro-Nom   Tokyo-to   package-Acc   send-Pass-Past
      'Taro was sent a package to Tokyo.'
    b *Tokyo-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.'

(27) Restrictions on Passives in Japanese 1:   (Inoue 1976:76-77)
    Inanimate NPs do not stand in the subject position of passives.

(28) a. Boku-wa tonari-no-inu-ni   hoetate-rare-ta.
      I-Top   neighbor-Gen-dog-by bark-Pass-Past.
      'I was barked by the neighbor's dog.'
    b. Taroo-wa   densya-ni   hik-are-ta.
      Taro-Top   train-by   hit-Pass-Past
      'Taro was run over by a train.'
    c. *Hanako-wa booru-ni butukar-are-ta.
      Hanako-Top ball-by   hit-Pass-Past
      'Hanako was hit by a ball.'
    d . *Taroo-wa niwaki-ni   siger-are-te   komat-te
      Taro-Top   garden.green-by   grow-Pass-Ger be.annoyed-Ger
      i-ru.
      be-Pres
      'Taro is annoyed at (the fact that) the garden trees have grown (too) thick.'   (Inoue 1976:76)

(29) Restrictions on Passives in Japanese 2:
    If the complement of the passive morpheme is a ditransitive clause,
    (i) The DO becomes the subject of the passive sentence if the IO is inanimate. (cf. (30))
    (ii) Either of the two objects can be the subject in the passive sentence if both DO and IO are animate. (cf. (31))

(30) a. Kare-ga   watasi-ni   hidori-o   soodansi-ta.
      he-Nom   I-Dat   date-Acc   consult-Past
      'He consulted me the date (of some event).'
    b. Watasi-ga   kare-ni/(kara)   hidori-o   soodans-are-ta.
      I-Nom   he-Dat/by   date-Acc consult-Pass-Past
      'I was consulted by him about the date (of some event.).'
    c. *Hidori-ga   kare-ni/(kara)   watasi-ni soodans-are-ta.
      Date-Nom   he-Dat/by   I-Dat   consult-Pass-Past
      Lit. 'The date (of some event) was consulted to me by him.'

(31) a. Hanako-ga   akanboo-o   watasi-ni   azuke-ta.
      Hanako-Nom baby-Acc   I-Dat   leave-Past
      'Hanako left (her) baby to me.'
    b. Watasi-ga   Hanako-ni/(kara)   akanboo-o   azuke-rare-ta.
      I-Nom   HanakoNI/from   baby-Acc   leave-Pass-Past
      'I was left (Hanako's) baby by Hanako.'
    c. Akanboo-ga Hanako-kara   watasi-ni   azuke-rare-ta.
      Baby-Nom   Hanako-from   I-Dat   leave-Pass-Past
      'The baby was left to me by Hanako.'
                ((30)-(31) from Inoue 1976:81)

(32) **Summary:**
    Whatever principles underlying (27) and (29), they independently account for the ill-formed status of (25)b and (26)b.
    The issue of Case/locality is thus orthogonal to the point.

2.3. Harley's Generalization

(33) Correlation between HAVE and possessives
    (Benveniste 1966, Freeze 1992 among others)
    a. HAVE languages: P incorporates into BE, yielding HAVE
    b. BE languages: Possession as BE + $P_{LOC/SPATIAL}$; Possessives look like existentials.

(34)
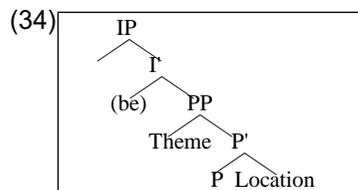
(Freeze 1992; simplified)

(35) Harley's Generalization
DOC is found only in a language with have-type possessives.

(36) Japanese lacks HAVE-possessives
Taroo-**ni** okane-ga **ar**-u.
Taro-**at** money-Nom **be**-Pres.
'Taro has (some) money.'

(37) If M&T's claim about the two-goal datives were correct, it would constitute an exception to the otherwise solid generalization by Harley.

3. Two-Goal Datives as Benefactives/Directionals

(38) **Suggestion**
What corresponds to "two-goal datives in M&T ((1); repeated below in (39)) is a **benefactive/dative combination**.

(39) (= (1))
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'

(40) Studies of the dative alternation note the existence of *to-* and *for-*DOC constructions, but do not address the possibility of their co-occurrence. We suggest this is what is going on in (1), precisely because Japanese *-ni* conflates *for* and *to*. (cf. Inoue 1976; Sadakane and Koizumi 1995, among others)

- The majority of the native speakers prefer (41)/(42) to (39).

(41) Taroo-ga **Hanako-ni** Tokyo-ni mukete nimotu-o okut-ta
Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat Tokyo-Dat toward package-Acc send-Past
Lit. 'Taroo sent a package to Hanako toward Tokyo.'

(42) Taroo-ga **Hanako-no tame-ni** Tokyo-ni nimotu-o okut-ta
Taro-Nom Hanako-Gen sake-Dat Tokyo-Dat package-Acc send-Past
'Taroo sent a package to Tokyo for Hanako's sake'

(43) a. Taroo sent a package for Hanako to Tokyo.
b. Taroo sent [Hanako] a package for t to Tokyo.

(44) This accounts for the otherwise unexplained fact that two-goal datives are normally licit *only when the goal contains a phrase anaphorically bound to the benefactive*: (45)a,b.

(45) a. ?John sent **Mary** flowers to **her** office.
b. *John sent **Mary** flowers to **Bill**.

4. Summary

- We argued against M&T by critically reviewing the quantifier scope test and the passive test.
- We suggested an alternative in which the attested "two-goal" datives are viewed as disguised benefactives/directionals.

Acknowledgements

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APPENDIX.   Case-Marker Drop (Harada 2005)

(46) Kansai dialect shows Case-marker drop more frequently than in other
       dialects; omission of "dative" *ni* is possible under certain conditions.

(47) Target data: A dialogue between the participants A and B.
       The task: After watching a cartoon segment (*Dora-emon*) for 10
       minutes, A explains the gist of the piece to B. (Bono 2005)

(48) From Case 1
   A: De, (breath) ieØ   kaet-te,   (Ø = The site of Case-marker drop)
      Then,   home return-ing,   'Then, (he) went home and ...'
   B: Un.   'OK,'
      Int (Int = Interjective)
   A: Maa, Dora-emon-**ni,** eh,   iikoto-na,   minna-no
       Int,   Dora-emon-Dat, Int   good.thing-SFP everyone-Gen
      hanasi-te
      speak-ing   (SFP = Sentence final particle)
      Lit. 'And then, (he) told Dora-emon all the good things happened
           to the others, and ... '

(49) Summary of the occurrence of *ni*-drop in three dialogue sessions.

		Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
	# of ditransitives	17	26	16
∅	# of [-animate] NP／# of *ni-∅*	7/7 (100%)	8/8 (100%)	2/2 (100%)
∃	# of [-a]／total # of ∃ of *ni*	4/10 (40%)	3/18 (16.7%)	6/14 (42.3%)
	[+a]／total # of [+a] NPs	6/6 (100%)	12/12 (100%)	8/8 (100%)

(50) Observations:
      Ni with a [**+**animate] NP never undergo deletion;
      ***Ni*-drop is limited only when the preceding NP is [-animate].**

(51) *Ni*-drop is not ad-hoc; it is constrained by a principle sensitive to a
      semantic feature [**+/-animate**] of the preceding nominal expression.

These data suggest that **the position of DP-*ni* is not directly tied to the
high/low status of the DP under question**; what is more crucial is **the
semantic feature** associated with the DP attached by *ni*.

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