Benefactive Raising in Japanese[*]

NAOKO OKURA
Kanda University of International Studies

The Benefactive construction in Japanese, V-*te-age-ru/yar-u*, where the donative verb *age-ru/yar-u* 'give' is involved, has been extensively discussed. One of the issues is how to reconcile the Benefactive interpretation given to a DP and the position where it appears; that is, the Benefactive interpretation should be related to the donative verb 'give'; however, the Benefactive DP sometimes appears to be an argument of a lexical verb and to remain within the VP. In this paper, we will argue that *age-ru/yar-u* is a realization of an Appl(icative) head, which takes an "applied" argument such as the Benefactive (cf. Pylkkänen 2002, Okura 2006, 2009), and that the Benefactive DP in question is actually raised to a position where a local relationship is established with Appl and the Benefactive interpretation is obtained.

1. Introduction

As with many other languages, Japanese uses the donative verb *age-ru/yar-u* 'give' in a Benefactive/Malefactive construction (Nakau 1973, Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1978, 1994, 2000, Machida 1996, 1998, Hasegawa 2000, and Okura 2006, 2009, among many others). Sentence (1) shows the verb *age-ru/yar-u* 'give' in the original (lexical) use:

(1) Hanako-ga   Taroo-ni keeki-o   age/yat-ta.
     Hanako-Nom   Taroo-*ni* cake-Acc   give -Past
     'Hanako gave Taroo a cake.'

Notice that the Dative-Case marker *ni* appears, which is assumed to be assigned by the head *age-ru/yar-u* 'give.' Now, observe how the 'give' verb forms the Benefactive/Malefactive construction.

(2) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni   hon-o   okut-ta.
      Taroo-Nom   Hanako-*ni* book-Acc send-Past
      'Taroo sent Hanako a book.' / 'Taroo sent a book to Hanako.'

    b. Taroo-ga   <u>Hanako-ni</u>   hon-o   okut-te-<u>age</u>-ta.
      Taroo-Nom   Hanako-*ni* book-Acc send -Give-Past
      'Taroo sent Hanako a book (for the good of her).'

Sentence (2a) is an example of "simple ditransitives," where only a lexical verb is involved. *Hanako* in (2a) is interpreted as Goal or Possessor. On the other hand, the donative verb *age-ru/yar-u* 'give' is connected to an infinitival form of the lexical verb with *-te* in (2b), and the *ni*-marked phrase is construed as the Benefactive, which benefits from the event denoted by the lexical verb. The construction as a whole means 'do something for the good of someone.' This use of the donative verb *age-ru/yar-u* is glossed as 'Give,' and we will call the construction the "Give Benefactive/Malefactive Construction" (GBC).[1] Note that the verb *yar-u* can be construed as the Malefactive depending on the context.

(3) a. Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni   hanataba-o   watasi-te-<u>age/yat</u>-ta.
      Taroo-Top   Hanako-*ni* bouquet-Acc pass   -Give -Past
      'Taroo passed Hanako a bouquet (for the good of her).'

    b. Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni   mimizu-o   watasi-te-<u>yat</u> -ta.
      Taroo-Top   Hanako-*ni* earthworm-Acc pass   -Give -Past
      'Taroo passed Hanako an earthworm (to annoy her).'

The verb *age-ru* is a polite form of *yar-u*, hence the latter but not the former may be used in the Malefactive sense, although both forms can be used in the Benefactive sense. The fact that both senses are obtained from the same morpheme seems to suggest that a functional head

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[1] We consider that *ni* assigned by the head *age-ru/yar-u* 'give' in the GBC is a Dative-Case marker, while *ni* in simple ditransitives can be a postposition. For a detailed discussion of *ni*, see Chapter 3 of Okura (2009).

conveying abstracted semantic contents such as "affectedness" is involved, if we consider that carrying an abstract notion is characteristic of functional verbs, for example, v^* carries "transitivity" or "agentivity." Based on the sentences in (2b) and (3), the GBC is schematized as (4):

(4)   DP1   DP2   (Object)   V-*te* _-age/yar_ *-(r)u/ta*
        Agent Benefactive/Malefactive Theme   verb   Give   Tense
        'DP1 does something and DP2 {benefits from / is adversely affected by} it.'

Before going into a further discussion, some remarks are in order: a *ni*-marked Benefactive phrase, which is our area of focus, must be distinguished from a Benefactive phrase which is accompanied by *no-tame-ni* 'for the good of.' The *no-tame-ni* Benefactive phrase is "anywhere Benefactive," which is unrestrictedly available regardless of the predicate involved.

(5)   a.   *Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni   hasit-ta.
            Taroo-Top   Hanako-*ni*   run-Past
            (Int.) 'Taroo ran for the good of Hanako.'
    b.   Taroo-wa   Hanako-no-tame-ni   hasit-ta.
            Taroo-Top   Hanako for the good of   run-Past
            'Taroo ran for the good of Hanako.'
(6)   a.   *Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni   hasit-te-<u>age</u>-ta.
            Taroo-Top   Hanako-*ni*   run   -Give-Past
            (Int.) 'Taroo ran for the good of Hanako.'
    b.   Taroo-wa   Hanako-no-tame-ni   hasit-te-<u>age</u>-ta.
            Taroo-Top   Hanako for the good of   run   -Give-Past
            'Taroo ran for the good of Hanako.'

A *ni*-marked phrase is restricted by verb types and it is not compatible with intransitive verbs, as shown in (5a) and (6a). However, the *no-tame-ni* 'for the good of'/'on behalf of' phrase is not restricted by properties of verbs, and is acceptable in either (5b) or (6b). This is because the adverbial phrase *no-tame-ni* itself has the semantic content 'for the good of'/'on behalf of' and freely appears in any sentence as an

adjunct. For this reason, the *no-tame-ni* Benefactive phrase is not treated in this paper; rather, attention is focused on availability of the *ni* Benefactive phrase.

2. Benefactive Raising

2.1. Absence of the *ni*-marked Benefactive Phrase

Observe the following data: the (a)-sentences involve only a lexical verb, while the (b)-sentences are the GBC, including a donative verb.

(7) a. Hanako-wa   Taroo-to   ason-da.
        Hanako-Top   Taroo-with play-Past
        'Hanako played with Taroo.'

    b. Hanako-wa   Taroo-to/*ni   ason-de-<u>age</u>-ta.
        Hanako-Top   Taroo-with/*ni* play   -Give-Past
        'Hanako played with Taroo (for the good of him).'

(8) a. Hanako-wa   Taroo-no hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.
        Hanako-Top   Taroo-Gen move-Acc help -Past
        (Lit.) 'Hanako helped Taroo's move.'

    b. Hanako-wa   Taroo-no/*ni hikkosi-o   tetudat-te-<u>age</u>-ta.
        Hanako-Top   Taroo-Gen/*ni* move-Acc help   -Give-Past
        (Lit.) 'Hanako helped Taroo's move (for the good of him).'

In this case, a *ni*-phrase does not appear with the lexical verbs in the (a)-sentences; instead, in (7a), the verb *asob-u* 'play' takes an argument marked with the Comitative particle *to* 'with,' and in (8a), the verb *tetuda-u* 'help' takes an argument marked with Accusative *o*. Next, observe the (b)-sentences, where the verbs in the (a)-sentences are connected to the 'give' verb and take the GBC frame. In (7b), what is construed as the Benefactive is *Taroo,* but it is not marked with *ni*: instead, the particle *to*, assigned by the lexical verb, is maintained. Moreover, in (8b), the Benefactive, *Taroo*, remains within the DP *Taroo-no hikkosi* 'Taroo's move' and is marked with Genitive *no*. Here arises a question: how is it possible for a DP (*Taroo*, in this case) to be construed as the Benefactive? We hypothesize that the Benefactive argument in question covertly moves to the position where it is interpreted as the Benefactive,

following Hasegawa's (2000) intuition. We assume the existence of a functional head Appl(icative), which takes an applied argument such as Benefactive/Malefactive (Pylkkänen 2002). We consider that the Appl head is realized as *age-ru/yar-u* in Japanese, as argued in Okura (2006, 2009), and that an argument must be in a local relationship with Appl to be interpreted as Benefactive/Malefactive. Based on this assumption, we will propose (9):

(9)   Benefactive raising
      A Benefactive phrase which is not marked with *ni* in the GBC raises to Appl without phonological materials.

We will verify this proposal by applying indeterminate binding, pronoun binding, and scope interaction.

2.2. Evidence for Benefactive Raising

2.2.1. Indeterminate Binding

In this section, we will present evidence for Benefactive raising, which comes from indeterminate binding.

Japanese indeterminate pronouns, such as *dare* 'anyone,' *doko* 'anywhere,' and *nani* 'anything' function as negative polarity items, as well as universal quantifiers, when bound by the Quantificational particle (Q-particle) *mo* (Kuroda 1965).

(10) Indeterminate binding by *mo*
      a. <u>Dare-mo</u>   gakkoo-ni   ika-nakat-ta.
          anyone-Q   school-to   go -Neg -Past
          (Lit.) 'Anyone did not go to school.' (= 'No one went to school.')
      b. John-wa   <u>nani-mo</u>   yoma-nakat-ta.
          John-Top   anything- Q   read -Neg -Past
          'John did not read anything.'

It has been observed that the Q-particle *mo* does not have to be adjacent to the indeterminate pronoun which it binds (Kuroda 1965, 1988). In sentence (11a) below, *mo* is attached to the object *nani* 'anything,' while in sentence (11b), *mo* is split from the object and attached to the verb.

(11) *Mo* can bind an indeterminate pronoun from a verb position
    a. John-wa   <u>nani-mo</u>   yoma-nakat-ta.
        John-Top anything- Q read -Neg -Past
        'John did not read anything.'
    b. John-wa   <u>nani-o</u>   yomi-<u>mo</u> si-nakat-ta.
        John-Top anything-Acc read-Q   do-Neg-Past
        'John did not read anything.'

Kishimoto (2001) observes asymmetry in grammaticality between an indeterminate object and an indeterminate subject when the Q-particle is not adjacent to them but attached to a verb.

(12) Indeterminate object
    a. Taroo-wa   <u>nani-o</u>   kai-<u>mo</u>   si-nakat-ta.
        Taroo-Top anything-Acc buy-Q   do-Neg-Past
        'Taroo did not buy anything.'
    b. Taroo-wa   <u>dare</u>-ni   ai-<u>mo</u>   si-nakat-ta.
        Taroo-Top anyone-Dat meet-Q   do-Neg-Past
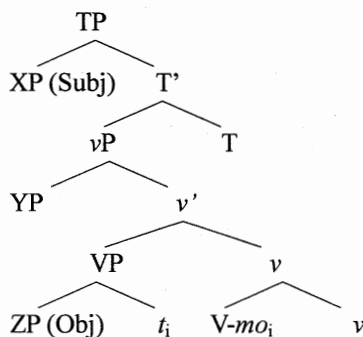   'Taroo did not meet anyone.'

(13) Indeterminate subject
    a. * <u>Dare</u>-ga   warai-<u>mo</u> si-nakat-ta.
        anyone-Nom laugh-Q   do-Neg-Past
        (Lit.) 'Anyone did not laugh.' (= 'No one laughed.')
    b. * <u>Dare</u>-ga   Hanako-o   home-<u>mo</u>   si-nakat-ta.
        anyone-Nom Hanako-Acc admire-Q   do-Neg-Past
        (Lit.) 'Anyone did not admire Hanako.'
        (= 'No one admired Hanako.')
                     (Kishimoto 2001: 600 with additional gloss)

Based on this asymmetry, Kishimoto argues that when the Q-particle is attached to a verb, the object is inside of the binding domain, whereas the subject is outside of it.   This is illustrated in (14).

(14)   The domain of indeterminate binding

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                    TP
                 ╱      ╲
         XP (Subj)      T'
                      ╱    ╲
                    vP      T
                  ╱    ╲
               YP       v'
                      ╱    ╲
                    VP      v
                  ╱   ╲    ╱  ╲
            ZP (Obj)  tᵢ  V-moᵢ   v
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<div align="right">(ibid.: 602 with additional notation)</div>

Kishimoto assumes that the verb, with *mo* attached, has to be raised to *v* in overt syntax. He defines the domain of indeterminate binding as follows:

(15)   The definition for the domain of indeterminate binding
       Y is in the domain of a head X if it is contained in Max (X), where
       Max (X) is the least full-category maximal projection dominating X.

<div align="right">(ibid.: 601)</div>

According to (15), YP and ZP in (14) are inside of the domain and the scope of *mo*, whereas XP is outside of the domain.

Keeping this discussion in mind, consider sentences in the GBC. First, compare an indeterminate object with a *ni*-marked Benefactive phrase.

(16) Indeterminate object
    a. Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni <u>nani</u>-o   hanasi-<u>mo</u> si-nakat-ta.
       Taroo-Top Hanako-*ni* anything-Acc tell-Q   do-Neg-Past
       'Taroo did not tell anything to Hanako.'

    b. ? Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni <u>nani</u>-o   hanasi-<u>mo</u>
       Taroo-Top Hanako-*ni* anything-Acc tell-Q
       site-*age*-nakat-ta.
       do-Give-Neg-Past
       'Taroo did not tell anything to Hanako$_i$ (for the good of her$_i$).'

    c. ? Taroo-wa   Hanako-ni <u>nani</u>-o   hanasi-te-*age*-<u>mo</u>
       Taroo-Top Hanako-*ni* anything-Acc tell   -Give-Q
       si-nakat-ta.
       do-Neg-Past
       'Taroo did not tell anything to Hanako$_i$ (for the good of her$_i$).'

(17) Indeterminate Benefactive phrase (*ni*-marked)
    a. Taroo-wa <u>dare</u>-ni   densetu-o   hanasi-<u>mo</u> si-nakat-ta.
       Taroo-Top anyone-*ni* legend-Acc tell-Q   do-Neg-Past
       'Taroo did not tell the legend to anyone.'

    b. *Taroo-wa <u>dare</u>-ni   densetu-o   hanasi-<u>mo</u>
       Taroo-Top anyone-*ni* legend-Acc tell-Q
       si-te-*age*-nakat-ta.
       do-Give-Neg-Past
       'Taroo did not tell the legend to anyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$).'

    c. Taroo-wa <u>dare</u>-ni   densetu-o   hanasi-te-*age*-<u>mo</u>
       Taroo-Top anyone-*ni* legend-Acc tell   -Give-Q
       si-nakat-ta.
       do-Neg-Past
       'Taroo did not tell the legend to anyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$).'

In sentence (16a), the indeterminate object *nani-o* 'anything' is bound by the Q-particle *mo*, which is attached to the verb, and the sentence is grammatical, as we have seen in (12). The sentences in (16b) and (16c) are the GBC, where the 'give' verb *age* is involved and the Benefactive *Hanako* is marked with *ni*. The difference between (16b) and (16c) is the location of Q-particle *mo* attachment: in (16b), it is attached to the
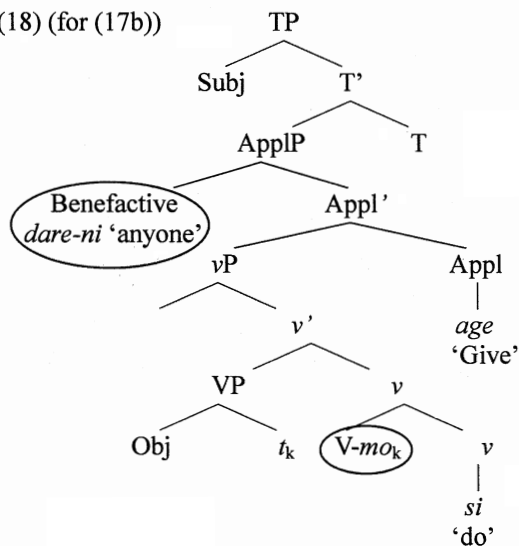
lexical verb 'tell,' whereas in (16c), it is attached to the 'give' verb *age*. Both sentences are acceptable, though they do not sound perfect, possibly because the verb stem is split from the 'give' verb and its inflection.

Now, let us turn to the *ni*-marked phrases in the sentences in (17). As was the case for the indeterminate object in (16a), the indeterminate *ni*-phrase in (17a) is successfully bound by *mo*. The sentences in (17b) and (17c) are examples of the GBC involving the 'give' verb, parallel to the sentences in (16b) and (16c). However, sentence (17b) is ungrammatical, as the indeterminate *ni*-marked phrase fails to be bound by the Q-particle. In contrast, the indeterminate *ni*-marked phrase in (17c) is successfully bound. This fact is readily explained by our proposal that a *ni*-marked phrase in the GBC is a Benefactive argument, which occupies a higher position, in ApplP. In (17b), the Q-particle *mo* is attached to the lexical verb stem, and it is too low to bind the indeterminate Benefactive phrase, while in (17c), it is attached to the 'give' verb and high enough to bind the indeterminate Benefactive phrase. Our argument is demonstrated in (18) and (19). NegP is omitted for the sake of simplicity.
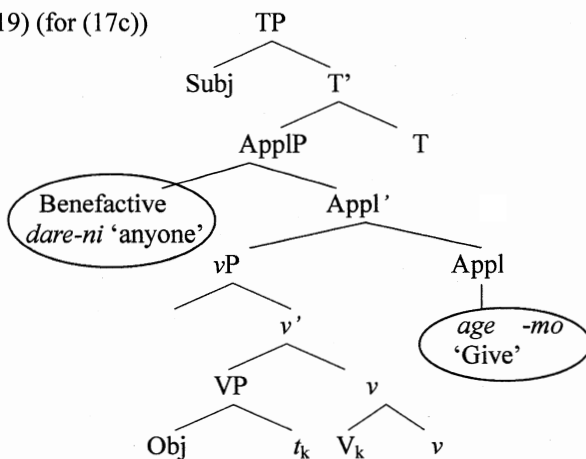
(17) b. *Taroo-wa   <u>dare</u>-ni   densetu-o   hanasi-<u>mo</u>
          Taroo-Top   anyone-*ni*   legend-Acc   tell-Q
          si-te-*age*-nakat-ta.
          do-Give-Neg-Past
          'Taroo did not tell the legend to anyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$).'

(18) (for (17b))

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                        TP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                 Subj        T'
                        ┌─────┴─────┐
                      ApplP         T
                 ┌──────┴──────┐
            Benefactive      Appl'
          dare-ni 'anyone'  ┌───┴────┐
                          vP        Appl
                     ┌────┴───┐      │
                   VP?        v'    age
                             ┌─┴──┐  'Give'
                           VP     v
                      ┌────┴──┐  ┌─┴──┐
                    Obj      tk  V-mok  v
                                        │
                                       si
                                      'do'
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(17) c. Taroo-wa dare-ni   densetu-o   hanasi-te-*age*-mo
         Taroo-Top anyone-*ni* legend-Acc tell   -Give-Q
         si-nakat-ta.
         do-Neg-Past
   'Taroo did not tell the legend to anyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$).'

(19) (for (17c))

```
                        TP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                 Subj        T'
                        ┌─────┴─────┐
                      ApplP         T
                 ┌──────┴──────┐
            Benefactive      Appl'
          dare-ni 'anyone'  ┌───┴────┐
                          vP        Appl
                     ┌────┴───┐      │
                              v'   age  -mo
                             ┌─┴──┐ 'Give'
                           VP     v
                      ┌────┴──┐  ┌─┴──┐
                    Obj      tk  Vk    v
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—88—

If we continue to assume that the 'give' verb, a realization of Appl head, takes a Benefactive phrase, we predict, analogously to the *ni*-marked Benefactive phrase, that a Comitative-marked Benefactive phrase and a Genitive-marked Benefactive phrase can be in the domain of indeterminate binding only when the Q-particle *mo* is attached to the 'give' verb *age* in the GBC. This prediction is borne out. First, the data of a Comitative-marked Benefactive phrase are presented in (20), the relevant derivations for which are shown in (21).

(20) Indeterminate Benefactive phrase (Comitative-marked)
    a. Taroo-wa   dare-to   asobi-mo   si-nakat-ta.
        Taroo-Top   anyone-with play-Q   do-Neg-Past
        'Taroo did not play with anyone.'
    b. *Taroo-wa   dare-to   asobi-mo   si-te-*age*-nakat-ta.
        Taroo-Top   anyone-with play-Q   do-Give-Neg-Past
        'Taroo did not play with anyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$).'
    c. ? Taroo-wa   dare-to   ason-de-*age*-mo si-nakat-ta.
        Taroo-Top   anyone-with play   -Give-Q do-Neg-Past
        'Taroo did not play with anyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$).'

(21) a. (for (20b))
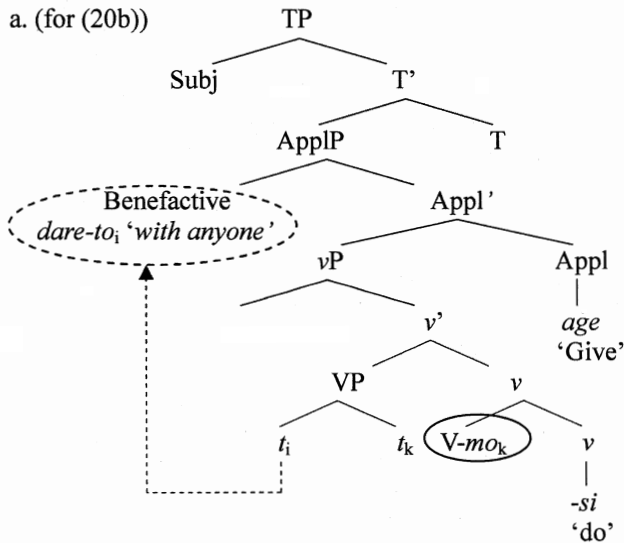
(21) b. (for (20c))
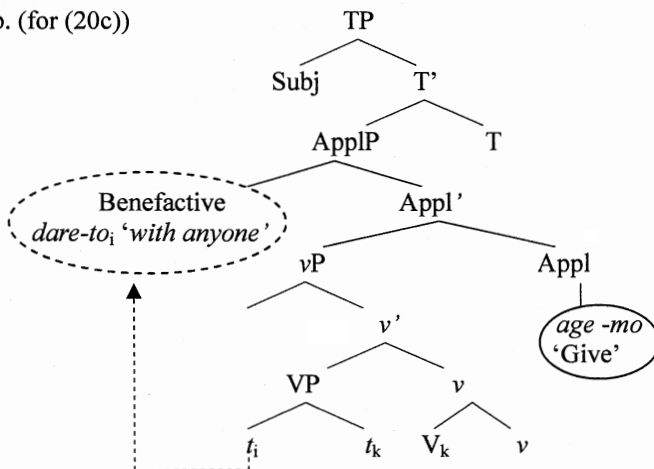
In (20), the Comitative *to*-marked Benefactive phrase appears, and the same fact is observed as the *ni*-marked Benefactive in (17).   This is accounted for quite naturally by our Benefactive raising approach depicted in (21): despite the surface position, the Benefactive argument is covertly raised to ApplP.
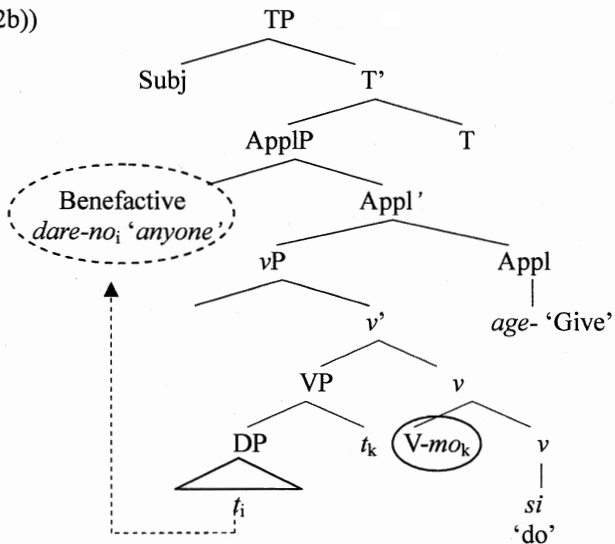
Next, the parallel fact is attested in the case of a Genitive *no*-marked Benefactive phrase:

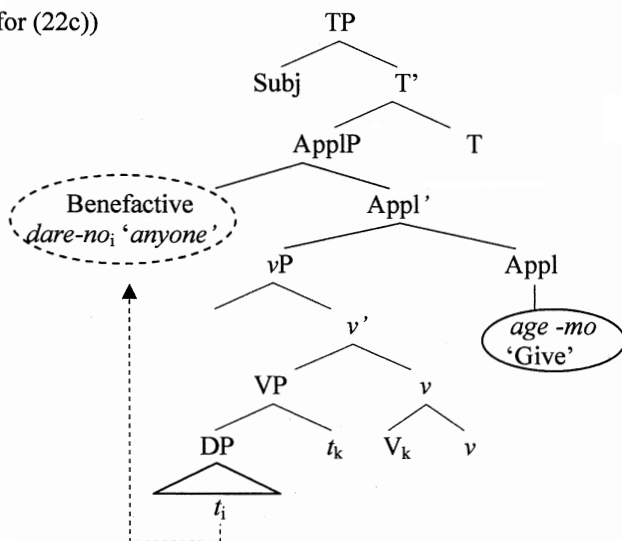(22)   Indeterminate Benefactive phrase (Genitive-marked)
     a. Taroo-wa   <u>dare</u>-no   hikkosi-<u>mo</u> tetudawa-nakat-ta.
        Taroo-Top   anyone-Gen move-Q   help   -Neg -Past
        'Taroo did not help anyone's move.'
     b. *Taroo-wa   <u>dare</u>-no   hikkosi-o   tetudai-<u>mo</u>
        Taroo-Top   anyone-Gen move-Acc help-Q
        si-te-*age*-nakat-ta.
        do -Give-Neg-Past
        'Taroo did not help anyone$_i$'s move (for the good of him$_i$).'

c. ? Taroo-wa <u>dare</u>-no   hikkosi-o   tetudat-te-*age*-<u>mo</u>
Taroo-Top anyone-Gen move-Acc   help   -Give -Q
si-nakat-ta.
do-Neg-Past
'Taroo did not help anyone$_i$'s move (for the good of him$_i$).'

(23) a. (for (22b))

TP
Subj   T'
ApplP   T
Benefactive
dare-no$_i$ 'anyone'   Appl'
vP   Appl
v'   *age*- 'Give'
VP   v
DP t_k (V-*mo*$_k$)   v
t_i *si*
'do'

(23) b. (for (22c))

In the same way as the *ni*-marked or the Comitative *to*-marked phrases, the Genitive *no*-marked Benefactive phrase can be bound in the domain of the 'give' verb, as shown in (22c).   We speculate that the *no*-marked phrase *dare-no* 'anyone-Gen' within the larger nominal phrase *dare-no hikkosi* 'anyone-Gen move' is covertly raised to ApplP and interpreted as the Benefactive in the GBC, which is illustrated in (23b).   Thus, we maintain that despite the surface position, the Benefactive argument is raised to ApplP in the GBC.[2]

Before closing this subsection, we should clarify the difference between our proposal and Kishimoto's (2001).   Our argument is based on Kishimoto's observation and analysis, however, the conclusion

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[2] One might observe that the following sentence is fairly good in addition to (22c) (p.c. Enoch Iwamoto):

(i) Taroo-wa   dare-no   hikkosi-o   tetudat- te -mo   -age   -nakat-ta.
     Taroo-Top   anyone-Gen   move-Acc   help   -Q   -Give   -Neg-Past
     'Taroo did not help anyone_i's move (for the good of him_i).'

If *mo* remains in the *v*P projection, the indeterminate Benefactive *dare* 'anyone,' which we claim to be raised to ApplP, would be outside of the scope of *mo* and not bound.   In Chapter 4 of Okura (2009), it is discussed that T under which *te* is posited is raised to Appl.   Consequently, *mo* in (i), which is attached to T and raised to Appl, may bind the Benefactive *dare* 'anyone.'

diverges. We argue for invisible Benefactive raising, which is driven by Appl head, while Kishimoto claims covert DP raising for Case reason. He assumes that vP-internal arguments need to be raised to the domain of the topmost v, where all the Case features of the v-heads are assembled. We do not go into the details of his argument, but just point out that there are some data which cannot be accounted for by Case reason. We have seen above that an indeterminate Benefactive phrase is bound by *mo*, which is attached to the higher head, the 'give' verb. This is true in the case where a Benefactive phrase is marked with Comitative *to* 'with,' which is considered to be inherent Case and does not need to further move for Case. Moreover, the Genitive-marked DP does not need to move to vP, since it is already licensed within a larger DP. Thus, a Case-driven analysis does not account for all the data.

2.2.2. Pronoun Binding

It has been widely assumed that a quantified NP can bind an anaphoric NP in its c-command domain (Reinhart 1983).

(24) a. Everyone$_i$ loves his$_i$ mother.
      b. *His$_i$ mother loves everyone$_i$.

The quantified NP *Everyone* in (24a) c-commands the pronoun *his* and the bound pronoun reading is obtained. In Japanese, the anaphoric expression *soitu* corresponds to *he/she* in English and functions as a bound variable (Hoji 1985).

(25) Daremo$_i$-ga   soitu$_i$-no inu-o   tatai-ta.
      everyone-Nom   he-Gen dog-Acc   hit-Past
      'Everyone$_i$ hit his$_i$ dog.'

Even if an anaphoric NP is scrambled to the sentence initial position, the bound variable reading is marginally attested because the scrambled NP can be "reconstructed" to its base position (Saito 1985, 1992).

(26) ? Soitu$_i$-no inu-o   daremo$_i$-ga   tatai-ta.
      he-Gen dog-Acc   everyone-Nom   hit-Past
      'Everyone$_i$ hit his$_i$ dog.'

An anaphoric adjunct phrase can also be bound, however, if it is scrambled to the front of its binder, the bound variable reading is lost because the scrambled adjunct is not "reconstructed" (cf. Bošković and Takahashi 1998).

(27) a. Daremo$_i$-ga   soitu$_i$-no muti-de   inu-o   tatai-ta.
     everyone-Nom he-Gen   stick-with dog-Acc hit-Past
     'Everyone$_i$ hit the dog with his$_i$ stick.'
   b. *Soitu$_i$-no muti-de   daremo$_i$-ga   inu-o   tatai-ta.
     he-Gen stick-with   everyone-Nom   dog-Acc hit-Past
     'Everyone$_i$ hit the dog with his$_i$ stick.'

As can be seen above, the adjunct *soitu-no muti-de* 'with his stick' in (27b) cannot be bound, staying in the position preceding the quantified NP *dare-mo* 'everyone.'

Now, observe the sentences involving a Comitative *to*-phrase:

(28) a. Taroo-wa   dono-ko$_i$-to-mo   soitu$_i$-no omotya-de ason-da.
     Taroo-Top   every child-with he-Gen toy-with   play-Past
     'Taroo played with every child$_i$ with his$_i$ toy.'
   b. *Taroo-wa   soitu$_i$-no omotya-de   dono-ko$_i$-to-mo   ason-da.
     Taroo-Top he-Gen   toy-with   every child-with   play-Past
     'Taroo played with every child$_i$ with his$_i$ toy.'
   c. ? Taroo-wa   soitu$_i$-no omotya-de   dono-ko$_i$-to-mo   ason-de-yat-ta.
     Taroo-Top he-Gen toy-with   every child-with   play-Give-Past
     'Taroo played with every child$_i$ with his$_i$ toy (for the good of him$_i$).'

In (28a), the quantified NP *dono-ko* 'every child' binds the anaphoric expression *soitu* 'he.'   In (28b), the anaphoric expression *soitu* is preposed to the quantified NP *dono-ko* 'every child' by scrambling and adjoined to the *v*P.   Consequently, it gets out of the c-command domain of the quantified NP; hence, the bound pronoun reading fails.   The sentence in (28c) is a GBC with the 'give' verb *yar-u*.   Interestingly, the bound pronoun reading becomes available.   This fact suggests that the Benefactive phrase *dono-ko* 'every child' is in a higher position, which

we assume to be ApplP. This argument is illustrated below:

(28) d.
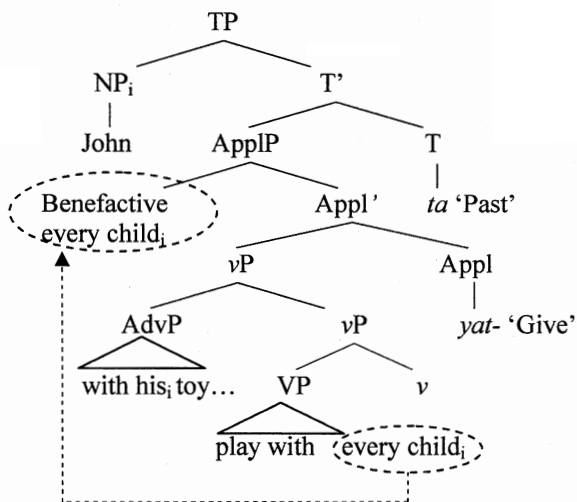
The same point is demonstrated in the sentences in (29), where another quantifier *subete* 'every' is used and the adjunct phrase is expressed by a clause.

(29) a. John-ga   [subete-no kodomo]$_i$-to   [[soitu-ga [e]$_i$ tyuumonsi-ta]
      John-Nom every-Gen child-with   he-Nom   order -Past
      omotya$_j$] -de   ason-da.
      toy   -with   play-Past
      'John played with every child$_i$ with his$_i$ toy which he$_i$ had ordered.'

    b. *John-ga   [[soitu$_i$-ga [e]$_j$ tyuumonsi-ta] omotya$_j$] -de
      John-Nom   he-Nom   order-Past   toy   -with
      [subete-no kodomo]$_i$-to   ason-da.
      every-Gen child   -with   play-Past
      'John played with every child$_i$ with his$_i$ toy which he$_i$ had ordered.'

c. John-ga   [[soitu$_i$-ga [e]$_j$ tyuumonsi-ta]   omotya$_j$] -de
    John-Nom   he-Nom   order-Past   toy   -with
    [subete-no kodomo]$_i$-to   ason-de-yat-ta.
    every-Gen child   -with   play   -Give-Past
    'John played with every child$_i$ with his$_i$ toy which he$_i$ had
    ordered (for the good of him$_i$).'

Next, we will examine a Benefactive phrase with Genitive *no*, which has been discussed in (22)-(23). Verbs such as *tetuda-u* 'help' take one object, marked with Accusative *o*.

(30) a. Hanako-wa   Taroo-o   tetudat-ta.
       Hanako-Top   Taroo-Acc   help -Past
       'Hanako helped Taro.'
    b. Hanako-wa   hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.
       Hanako-Top   moving-Acc   help -Past
       'Hanako helped (someone's) move.'

In order to express both who is helped and what is helped, the two arguments are connected into one nominal phrase by Genitive *no*, as in (31a). The Dative marker *ni* is not available, as shown in (31b).

(31) a. Hanako-wa   Taroo-no hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.
       Hanako-Top   Taroo-Gen move-Acc   help   -Past
       'Hanako helped Taroo's move.'
    b. Hanako-wa   Taroo-*ni   hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.
       Hanako-Top Taroo-*ni*   move-Acc   help   -Past
       (Lit.) 'Hanako helped Taroo the move.'

The situation with regard to Case marking above is the same as in the GBC:

(32) a. Hanako-wa   Taroo-no hikkosi-o   tetudat-te-age-ta.
       Hanako-Top   Taroo-Gen move-Acc   help   -Give-Past
       'Hanako helped Taroo's move (for the good of him).'

b. Hanako-wa   Taroo-*ni   hikkosi-o   tetudat-te-<u>age</u>-ta.
Hanako-Top   Taroo-*ni*   move-Acc   help   -Give-Past
(Lit.) 'Hanako helped Taroo the move (for the good of him).'

These data may seem to suggest that the verb *tetuda-u* 'help' takes only one internal   argument.   However, there is a situation where two internal arguments come to show up in one sentence: a cleft sentence. Even if the two arguments cannot appear because of some Case conflict such as the "Double *o* constraint" (Harada 1973, Aoyagi 1998, 2006, Hiraiwa 2002, and Fujii 2006, among others), the two arguments may appear if clefted.   Observe the sentences in (33).   The causative predicate *aruk-ase* 'make walk' takes one *o*-marked phrase as in (33a). If the two *o*-marked phrases appear in one sentence, it becomes unacceptable because of the "Double *o* constraint," as shown in (33b). However, the sentence improves if a cleft sentence is derived, as shown in (33c).

(33) a. Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   aruk-ase-ta.
          Hanako-Nom   Taroo-Acc   walk-Caus-Past
          'Hanako made Taroo walk.'
      b. *?Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   hamabe-o   aruk-ase-ta.
           Hanako-Nom   Taroo-Acc   sea shore-Acc   walk-Caus-Past
           'Hanako made Taroo walk on the seashore.'
      c. Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   aruk-ase-ta-no-wa
          Hanako-Nom   Taroo-Acc   walk-Caus-Past-NL-Top
          hamabe-(o)-da.
          seashore-Acc-Cop
          'It was the seashore that Hanako made Taroo walk.'

A similar situation is observed with the predicate *tetuda-u* (cf. Fujii 2006).

(34) a. Hanako-wa   {Taroo-o/hikkosi-o}   tetudat-ta.
          Hanako-Top   Taroo-Acc/move-Acc   help-Past
          'Hanako helped {Taroo/the move}.'

b. *Hanako-wa   Taroo-o   hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.
   Hanako-Top   Taroo-Acc   move-Acc   help-Past
   (Lit.) 'Hanako helped Taroo the move.'

c. Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   tetudat-ta-no-wa   hikkosi-(o)-da.
   Hanako-Nom   Taroo-Acc   help-Past-NL-Top   move-Acc-Cop
   (Lit.) 'It was moving that Hanako helped Taroo.'

d. Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   tetudat-te-age-ta-no-wa
   Hanako-Nom   Taroo-Acc   help   -Give-Past-NL-Top
   hikkosi-(o)-da.
   move-Acc-Cop
   (Lit.) 'It was moving that Hanako helped Taroo (for the good of him).'

As the contrast between (34a) and (34b) shows, the predicate *tetuda-u* 'help' may take only one Accusative *o*-marked phrase. However, the acceptability of the cleft sentence in (34c) indicates that having two arguments, *Taroo* and *hikkosi* 'the move,' is potentially allowed. This is also the case in the GBC in (34d). We postulate that potential arguments, which are prohibited to appear in one sentence due to Case conflict, may appear in a cleft sentence.

Now that the existence of two arguments in a sentence with the predicate *tetuda-u* has been verified, let us examine the Genitive-marked Benefactive phrases in (31a) and (32a), repeated below as (35a) and (35b) respectively:

(35) a. Hanako-wa   Taroo-no hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.
        Hanako-Top   Taroo-Gen move-Acc   help   -Past
        'Hanako helped Taroo's move.'

     b. Hanako-wa   Taroo-no hikkosi-o   tetudat-te-age-ta.
        Hanako-Top   Taroo-Gen move-Acc   help   -Give-Past
        'Hanako helped Taroo's move (for the good of him).'

It is shown that the verb *tetuda-u* 'help' takes one object which is marked with Accusative *o* as in (35a). In (35b), this verb is connected to the 'give' verb in the GBC frame. In this sentence, what is construed as the Benefactive is *Taroo*, but it is marked with Genitive *no* and remains

within the DP *Taroo-no hikkosi* 'Taroo's move.' However, irrespective of this surface position, the Benefactive DP *Taroo* is actually in a higher position, as well as in the case of a Comitative-marked DP, which we have already discussed. Observe pronoun binding in (36).

(36) a. *John-wa soitu$_j$-no kuruma-de <u>dono-gakusei$_j$-no</u> hikkosi-mo
　　　 John-Top he-Gen car-by every-student-Gen move-also
　　　 tetudat-ta.
　　　 help -Past
　　　 'John helped every$_i$ student's move by his$_i$ car.'

　　 b. John-wa soitu$_j$-no kuruma-de <u>dono-gakusei$_j$-no</u> hikkosi-mo
　　　 John-Top he-Gen car-by every-student-Gen move-also
　　　 tetudat-te-<u>yat</u>-ta.
　　　 help -Give-Past
　　　 'John helped everyone$_i$'s move by his$_i$ car (for the good of him$_i$).'

In the sentence in (36a), *dono-gakusei* 'every student' is marked with Genitive *no* and connected to the head NP *hikkosi* 'move,' forming the larger DP *dono-gakusei-no hikkosi* 'every student's move.' The DP 'every student' cannot bind the preceding anaphora *soitu* 'he.' Sentence (36b) is a GBC, where the 'give' verb *yar-u* appears. In this sentence, *dono-gakusei* 'every student' is construed as the Benefactive. Now it becomes possible to bind the preceding anaphora *soitu* 'he,' in contrast with the case in (36a). This fact suggests that the Benefactive phrase *dono-gakusei* 'every student' is raised to a higher position, though it is marked with Genitive Case and embedded in a larger DP on the surface. This is parallel to what we observed in the Comitative *to*-marked DP. Thus, irrespective of its surface position, a Benefactive phrase in the GBC occupies a higher position, which is introduced by an Appl head.

2.2.3. Scope interaction
Japanese has been regarded as a scope-rigid language (Kuroda 1965, Hoji 1985, Saito 1985, Fukui 1986, among many others). A subject and an object show scope interaction in English, as in (37a), but not in Japanese, as in (37b), for the scope in Japanese is rigidly determined depending on

the word order.

(37) a. English: inverse scope ok
       Someone loves everyone.
       some > every,   every > some
    b. Japanese: scope depending on the word order
       Dareka-ga   daremo-o   aisite-iru
       Someone-Nom   everyone-Acc   love-Pres
       'Someone loves everyone.'
       some > every,   *every > some

In ditransitive sentences, however, it is observed that an object which is marked with Accusative *o* interacts with a "Goal" phrase which is marked with *ni* in certain cases, though the *ni*-marked phrase seems to precede in word order (Miyagawa and Tsujioka (M&T) 2004; cf. Ueda 2002).

(38) Taroo-ga   dokoka-ni   dono-nimotu-mo   okut-ta.
     Taroo-Nom   some place-to   every package   send-Past
     'Taroo sent every package to some place.'
     some > every,   every > some

(M&T 2004: 6)

M&T argue that if a *ni*-marked phrase is an animate Goal, it is in a higher position, and therefore the subsequent object cannot take scope over it, as conventionally observed. However, if a *ni*-marked phrase is a locative Goal, it is in a lower position, and the Accusative object can take scope over it. Based on this phenomenon, we assume that if two quantifiers are sufficiently close (i.e., in the same scope-calculating domain or Quantifier Raising (QR) domain), they can interact with each other irrespective of their surface word order.

Assuming this, let us examine scope interpretations between a subject and another argument. The sentence in (39) is a typical transitive sentence and the scope between the subject and the object is rigid. The sentences in (40) are ditransitive. (40a) is a simple ditransitive sentence and the scope between the subject and a *ni*-marked phrase is rigid, which is compatible with the standard view that Japanese

is a scope-rigid language. In contrast, in the GBC in (40b), scope interaction between the subject and a *ni*-phrase becomes possible. This fact, together with the discussion above, leads us to speculate that a *ni*-phrase in the GBC is in a higher position, where scope interaction between the subject and the *ni*-phrase becomes available.

(39) Transitive

　　Dareka-ga　　　daremo-o　　　aisi-te-iru.　　(*daremo > dareka)
　　someone-Nom　everyone-Acc　love-Pres
　　'Someone loves everyone.'

(40) Ditransitive

　　a.　Simple ditransitive

　　　　Dareka-ga　　　daremo-ni　　hon-o　　　okut-ta.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*daremo > dareka)

　　　　someone-Nom　everyone-*ni*　book-Acc　send-Past
　　　　'Someone sent everyone a book.'

　　b.　The GBC

　　　　Dareka-ga　　　daremo-ni　　hon-o　　　okut-te-<u>age</u>-ta.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(daremo > dareka)

　　　　someone-Nom　everyone-*ni*　book-Acc　send-Give-Past
　　　　'Someone sent everyone$_i$ a book (for the good of him$_i$).'

Let us turn to sentences which contain a non-*ni*-marked Benefactive phrase.

(41) Comitative: *to*-marked Benefactive phrase

　　a.　Simple transitive

　　　　Dareka-ga　　　daremo-to　　　ason-da.　(*daremo > dareka)
　　　　someone-Nom　everyone-with　play-Past
　　　　'Someone played with everyone.'

　　b.　The GBC

　　　　Dareka-ga　　　daremo-to　　　ason-de-<u>yat</u>-ta.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(daremo > dareka)

　　　　someone-Nom　everyone-with　play-Give-Past
　　　　'Someone played with everyone$_i$ (for the good of him$_i$)'

(42) Genitive: *no*-marked Benefactive phrase

    a. Simple transitive

      Dareka-ga   daremo-no   hikkosi-o   tetudat-ta.

                                                        (*daremo > dareka)

      someone-Nom everyone-Gen move-Acc   help-Past

      'Someone helped everyone's move.'

    b. The GBC

      Dareka-ga   daremo-no   hikkosi-o   tetudat-te-<u>yat</u>-ta.

                                                       (daremo > dareka)

      someone-Nom everyone-Gen move-Acc   help-Give-Past

      'Someone helped everyone$_i$'s move (for the good of him$_i$).'

The sentences in (41b) and (42b) show that even though the Benefactive phrase *daremo* 'everyone' is not marked with *ni*, it may cause scope interaction with the subject just as in (40b). This is explained by our proposal in (9) that a Benefactive argument which is not marked by *ni* in the GBC is raised to Appl without phonological materials.

3. Benefactive constructions in Alamblak

In this subsection, we will review Iwamoto's (1999a, 1999b) observations of Benefactive constructions in Alamblak (Papuan, Papua New Guinea). Like Japanese, Alamblak exploits the 'give' verb in both Benefactive and Malefactive constructions. In Alamblak, this verb is realized as *he,* as shown in the following examples:

(43) a. Niak-r   Mnginda-t   bupa-m   tasak-<u>he</u>-më-r-(t).

         Niak-3SM   Mnginda-3SF   water-3Pl fetch-<u>Give</u>-RPST-3SM-3SF

         'Niak fetched water and gave it to Mnginda.'

         'Niak fetched water for (the good of) Mnginda.'

    b. *Niak-r   Mnginda-t   bupa-m   tasak-më-r-(t).

         Niak-3SM   Mnginda-3SF   water-3Pl fetch-RPST-3SM-3SF

(44) a. Kmbroming-r   met-t-hu   fëh-r

         Kmbroming-3SM   woman-3SF-Gen   pig-3SM

         tufnah-<u>he</u>- më-r-*(t).

         shoot-<u>Give</u>-PRST-3SM-3SF

         'Kmbroming shot the woman's pig affecting her.'

b.* Kmbroming-r   met-**t**-hu   fĕh-r
    Kmbroming-3SM   woman-3SF-Gen   pig-3SM
    tufnah-mĕ-r- (*t).
    shoot-PRST-3SM-3SF
    'Kmbroming shot the woman's pig.'
                    (Iwamoto 1999b: 249 with slight modification)

In Alamblak, the first inflectional element on a verb (i.e. the pronominal suffix) shows agreement with the surface subject.   We will focus on the second suffix on a verb.

First, Iwamoto (1999b) describes that the absence of the morpheme *he* 'give' in (43b) leads the sentence to become ungrammatical in comparison with (43a).   This fact shows that Benefactive argument *Mnginda* is licensed by the morpheme *he* 'give,' but not by the verb stem *tasak* 'fetch.'   Now, observe the pair in (44).   In the sentences in (44), a Benefactive DP is embedded in a larger DP and marked with Genitive Case, as shown in *met-t-hu fĕh-r* 'the woman's pig.'   Iwamoto's data demonstrate that the Genitive DP agrees with the 'give' morpheme, as shown in (44a), but it cannot agree with the lexical verb stem, 'shoot,' as illustrated in (44b).   Further, this agreement must be phonologically marked, as indicated in (44a), though it is optional in (43a).   These data strongly suggest that the DP *met* 'the woman,' though embedded in a larger nominal, is licensed as an independent argument, namely, the Benefactive, by the 'give' verb *he*.   Iwamoto insightfully suggests LF-movement as a possible analysis:

(45)   Kmbroming-3SM   woman-3SF$_i$ [t_i pig-3SM]   shoot-Give-T
                            ⬆_____⎦
                     (ibid.: 258 with slight modification)

This is compatible with our invisible raising analysis of the Benefactive argument.   An important fact is witnessed here: two languages, Japanese and Alamblak, which belong to different language families, share a similar system which exploits a 'give' verb in both Benefactive and Malefactive constructions, and that the system seems to adopt a similar operation such as covert Benefactive raising.   This fact suggests that the

functional head, Appl, realized as the 'give' verb, is a property of natural language.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored a Benefactive construction in Japanese where the donative verb *age-ru/yar-u* 'give' is involved. Assuming that 'give' is a realization of the Appl head which is responsible for the Benefactive interpretation, we have proposed Benefactive raising to Appl, and this invisible movement is verified by indeterminate binding, pronoun binding, and scope interaction. Note that this movement is not for Case reason, but for thematic reason: to be assigned an "applied" θ-role, such as Benefactive/Malefactive.[3] That is to say, Case may be dealt with by Agree at a distance (Chomsky 2000, 2001), but θ-role cannot; it sticks to the local relationship with a head, assuming that thematic interpretation is configurationally obtained at the C-I interface.

Finally, DPs that may undergo Benefactive raising should be noted. We have seen the following DPs undergo thematic raising: (i) a Genitive phrase, which is licensed by the head nominal[4]; (ii) a Comitative DP, which is licensed through inherent Case. These arguments are "non-core arguments," which are not directly selected by a verb, but licensed within a nominal phrase or by inherent Case. They are not associated with structural Case such as Nominative or Accusative, hence not "deactivated," and may move.[5] Therefore, Applicative head may raise these DPs.

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[3] Technically, we may be able to assume θ-features as a driving force for movement (Bošković and Takahashi 1998).

[4] To be precise, the head nominal must be "event nominal" in Grimshaw's (1990) terms. See Chapter 3 of Okura (2009) for more details.

[5] As for Genitive Case in Japanese, the Case marker *no* is inserted afterward by the "*no*-insertion rule" (like the "*of*-insertion rule" in English) when two nominals are adjacent (cf. Murasugi 1991), and therefore does not necessarily prevent a nominal from moving.

Southern California.

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Center for Language Sciences
Kanda University of International Studies
1-4-1 Wakaba, Mihama-ku, Chiba-shi,
Chiba-ken 262-0014
JAPAN

naoko@fd6.so-net.ne.jp