Chapter 2

Base generation and srambling

This part of the dissertation focuses on identifying and analysing the core case of ditransitives. The first chapter argues that there are (at least) three distinct ditransitive constructions (as seen on the surface in languages like German): dative—accusative ditransitives, accusative—dative ditransitives, and prepositional object constructions. Following others in the literature, I argue that accusative—dative ditransitives are derived from dative—accusative ditransitives via scrambling (i.e. only dative—accusative ditransitives and prepositional object constructions are base generated). In this chapter, I also describe why the dissertation focuses on recipient ditransitives (instead of, for example, benefactives). The next few chapters introduce the idea that the output of dative shift operations in languages that have them (e.g. 'John gave the book to Mary') should be analysed as cases of accusative—dative ditransitives and not prepositional object constructions (in spite of their surface similarity to prepositional object constructions).

2.1 Introduction to Germanic Recipient Ditransitives

All of the Germanic languages can introduce recipients in ditransitive clauses without the use of prepositions. In languages with synthetic case marking (Icelandic, Faroese, some Norwegian dialects, Yiddish and High German), the recipient is marked with dative case.

(1) a. Icelandic:

Pétur gaf konunginum ambáttina. Peter.NOM gave king.DEF.DAT maid-servant.DEF.ACC.

'Peter gave the king the maid-servant.'

b. Faroese:

Hon gav Mariu troyggiuna. She gave Maria.DAT sweater.DEF.ACC.

'She gave Maria the sweater (Lundquist 2013).'

c. Standard Norwegian:

Jeg har gitt mannen boken.

I have given man.DEF book.DEF.

'I gave the man the book (Sprouse 1995:ex 10).'

d. Halsa Norwegian (dialect):

Ho ga kattåinn mat. she gave cat.DEF.DAT food.

'She gave the cat food (Åfarli and Fjøsne 2012).'

e. Swedish:

Jag gav Johan en bok.

I gave John a book.

'I gave John a book (Holmberg and Platzack 1995).'

f. Danish:

Peter viste jo Marie bogen. Peter showed indeed Mary book.DEF.

'Peter indeed showed Mary the book (Vikner 1989).'

g. High German:

weil er (der) Unehrlichkeit keine Chance gibt. as he.NOM (the) dishonesty.DAT no opportunity.ACC gives.

'as he gives dishonesty no opportunity (Draye 1996:162).'

h. Yiddish:

Zi git der snjjer dus pékl. she.NOM gives the.DAT daughter-in-law the.ACC parcel.

'She gives her daughter-in-law the parcel (Birnbaum 1979:ex 190a).'

i. Dutch:

Ik heb (aan) Jan een boek gegeven. I have (to) Jan a book given. 'I gave Jan a book (Tiersma 1985).'

j. Afrikaans:

dat die man die vrou 'n dokument gegee het. that the man the woman a document given has.

"...that the man gave a document to the woman (Louw 2012)."

k. Frisian:

se joech jar kammeraatske in skjirre. she gave her girlfriend a pair of scissors.

'She gave her girlfriend a pair of scissors.'

l. Low German:

ick gaw den Mann dat Brod. I gave the man the bread.

'I gave the man the bread (Mussäus 1829).'

m. English: I gave the man the book.

Most of the Germanic languages also allow recipients to be introduced with a preposition and require the preposition in theme—recipient orders. One of the main points of the next few chapters is to determine the relationship between prepositional and non-prepositional recipients.

(2) a. Norwegian:

Vi har lånt den interessante boken du nevnte *(til) Petter. we have lent the interesting book you mentioned to Peter.

'We have lent the interesting book you mentioned to Peter (Larson 1988).'

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b. Swedish:
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c. Jag gav en bok *(til) Johan.
I gave a book to John.
'I gave a book to John (Holmberg and Platzack 1995).'
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d. Danish:

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Jeg gav bogen *(til) Anna.

I gave book.the to Anna.

'I gave the book to Anna(Holmberg and Rijkhoff 1998).'
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e. Dutch:

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Ik heb een boek *(aan) Jan gegeven.
I have a book *(to) Jan given.
'I gave a book to Jan.'
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f. Afrikaans:

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Ek het 'n fooitjie aan hom gegee.

I have a tip to him given.

'I have given a tip to him (de Stadler 1996).'
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g. Frisian:

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ik joech in plant oan Beppe.I gave a plant to Grandmother.'I gave a plant to Grandmother (Tiersma 1985).'
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h. English: I gave the book to the man.

Most of the languages with synthetic case marking for which I have data do not allow recipients to be introduced by a preposition. For Icelandic¹ and German, the following examples show how prepositional recipients are ungrammatical. For Yiddish, I do not

¹Icelandic does allow 'til' with verbs like GIVE, but only with inanimate objects with an idiomatic donation reading. Thrainsson (2007) claims that this can only occur when 'a goal interpretation can be coerced.'

Jón gaf bókasafn sitt til háskólans.
 John gave library his own to university.DEF.
 'John donated his own library to the university.'

have ungrammatical examples, but there is no discussion of the possibility of prepositional recipients in the grammars (e.g. Birnbaum (1979)).

(3) a. Icelandic:

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*Jón gaf bókina til Maríu.
John gave book.DEF to Mary.
'John gave the book to Mary.'
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b. Standard High German:

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*Jan hat das Buch an Maria gegeben.
John has the book to Maria given.
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'John gave the book to Mary.'

While the availability of prepositional recipients tends to correlate with the absence of synthetic dative case, there are examples of languages with synthetic dative case that have prepositional case marking (Faroese and High German Dialects) and there is an example of a language without synthetic case that does not have prepositional recipients (Low German).

Both of the languages with synthetic dative case that allow prepositional recipients have been in intense contact with languages that have prepositional recipients. Faroese has been in intense contact Danish for the last 400 years, while the relevant High German dialects have been in contact with various Romance varieties (French and Northern Italian). This acceptance of prepositional recipients is a recent change in Faroese (Thrainsson 2007, Lundquist 2013).

(4) Faroese:

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*?Hon gav telduna til gentuna.
she gave computer-the.ACC to girl-the.ACC.
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'She gave the computer to the girl.'

(5) Bavarian German:

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gib-s a da Kathi.
give-it to the DAT Kathy.
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'Give it to Kathy (Seiler 2003:pg 95)!'

Concerning Low German, Fleischer (2006) states: "In Low German, this construction [prepositional dative marking] could eventually be viewed as compensatory to the loss of a distinct dative case; however, from the fact that I could not find any decisive examples of this construction in Low German, I conclude that it is very rare." Lindow (1998) makes no mention of prepositional dative marking (including in a section discussing the uses of various prepositions. However, Mussäus (1829) gives examples of theme–recipient clauses without any prepositional marking, even though the dative/accusative distinction had been lost hundreds of years before Mussäus wrote his grammar (Lasch 1914, Boden 1993).

(6) Low German:

ick gaw dat Brod den Man, wobei dat Brod zeigend ist. I gave the bread the man who the bread shown is.

'I gave the bread to the man who was shown the bread (Mussäus 1829).'

The remainder of this chapter argues that recipient ditransitives are base generated in a recipient—theme order, with the theme—recipient order derived via scrambling, why recipient ditransitives form a distinct category from other ditransitives, and why recipient ditransitives are the focus of this dissertation (namely that recipient ditransitives are the core ditransitive category with other ditransitives being marginal).

2.2 Evidence for Scrambling

As mentioned above, all of the languages allow bare or dative marked recipients to preceed bare or accusative marked themes. Most of the languages also allow for theme—recipient orders (either with the same case marking pattern or with prepositional marking of the recipient). The prepositionally marked examples were shown above (2). I show here the theme—recipient order in High German.

(7) High German:

dann hat die Frau das Buch dem Jungen gegeben then has the woman.NOM the book.ACC the boy.DAT given

'then the woman has given the book to the boy (Czepluch 1990:ex 1b), (Choi 1996:20b)'

However, Modern Icelandic does not allow theme–recipient orders (except as the product of heavy NP shift (Dehé 2004).

(8) Icelandic:

?*Hann gaf ambáttina konunginum. He.NOM gave maid-servant.DEF.ACC king.DEF.DAT.

'He gave the king the maid-servant (Dehé 2004:ex 14b).'

The universality of the recipient—theme order and the unavailability of theme—recipient orders in some languages suggest that the recipient—theme order is basic and the theme—recipient order derived (with Modern Icelandic lacking the theme—recipient deriving transformation). Georgala (2011) provides evidence from stranded depictives, floating quantifiers and split topics that support the notion that the recipient—theme order is basic. Modern German provides additional evidence that the transformation under discussion is scrambling (Lenerz 1977, Abraham 1986, Webelhuth 1992, Choi 1996).

Lenerz (1977) showed that all scrambling in German is sensitive to information focus (i.e. the focus recieved by new information), but contrastive focus can be placed on any element. In particular, words that recieve new information focus cannot be targeted by scrambling operations. Lenerz (1977) applied this heuristic to ditrasntives and discovered that recipient ditransitives had the following pattern. When recipients recieved information focus (by being the answer to a wh-question), both recipient—theme and theme—recipient word orders were possible. This would be consistent with either of the following analyses: the two word orders are not derived via scrambling or the recipient is not the element that scrambles.

(9) IO Focus (Choi 1996):

- a. Wem hast du das Geld gegeben? whom.DAT have you.NOM the money.ACC given 'Who did you give the money to?'
 - i. Ich habe dem KASSIERER das Geld gegeben.I.NOM have the cashier.DAT the money.ACC given.'I have given the cashier the money.'
 - ii. Ich habe das Geld dem KASSIERER gegeben.I.NOM have the money.ACC the cashier.DAT given.'I have given the money to the cashier.'

However, when the theme recieves information focus, only the recipient—theme word order is possible. Given the constraints on scrambling in German, this indicates that the recipient—theme order is base generated and that the theme—recipient order is derived via scrambling the theme above the recipient.

(10) DO Focus (Choi 1996):

- a. Was hast du dem Kassierer gegeben? what.ACC have you.NOM the cashier.DAT given 'What did you give to the cashier?'
 - i. Ich habe dem Kassierer das GELD gegeben.I.NOM have the cashier.DAT the money.ACC given.'I have given the cashier the money.'
 - ii. ?* Ich habe das GELD dem Kassierer gegeben.I.NOM have the money.ACC the cashier.DAT given.

'I have given the money to the cashier.'

Another piece of evidence about scrambling has to do with the c-command properties of the two objects. Evidence about c-command in scrambling has been more carefully studied in Japanese than in German, so Japanese data will be given here. In the recipient—theme order, the recipient is able to scope over/bind into the theme, but the theme cannot scope over/bind into the recipient.

(11) (Takano 1998:ex 7)

- a. Mary-ga [subete-no gakusei]_i-ni [soitu_i-no sensei]-o syookaisita Mary-NOM all-GEN student-DAT he-GEN teacher-ACC introduced 'Mary introduced every student to his teacher.'
- b. * Mary-ga [soitu_i-no sensei]_i-ni [subete-no gakusei]-o syookaisita Mary-NOM he-GEN teacher-DAT all-GEN student-ACC introduced 'Mary introduced his teacher to every student.'

In the theme–recipient order, the theme can easily scope over/bind into the recipient. However, the recipient is also able to marginally scope over/bind into teh theme. This is consistent with the idea that the theme has moved from a position under the recipient and can (marginally) reconstruct to that position at LF.

(12) (Takano 1998:ex 7)

- a. Mary-ga [subete-no gakusei]_i-o [soitu_i-no sensei]-ni syookaisita Mary-NOM all-GEN student-ACC he-GEN teacher-DAT introduced 'Mary introduced every student to his teacher.'
- b. ? Mary-ga [soitu_i-no sensei]_i-o [subete-no gakusei]-ni syookaisita Mary-NOM he-GEN teacher-ACC all-GEN student-DAT introduced 'Mary introduced his teacher to every student.'

Two different diagnostics show that the landing site of the scrambling is within the verb phrase. First, in cases of VP-topicalisation, both word orders are possible.

(13) High German, VP-topicalisation:

a. Dem Mann das Buch gegeben habe ich, (nicht der Frau the.DAT man the.ACC book given have I, (not the.DAT woman dEN Film geschenkt). the.ACC film sent).

'It was giving the man the book that I did (not sending the woman the film).'

b. Das Buch dem Mann gegeben habe ich, (nicht dEN Film the.ACC book the.DAT man given have I, (not the.ACC film der Frau geschenkt).

the.DAT woman sent).

'It was giving the book to the man that I did (not sending the film to the woman).

Secondly, both word orders can occur after VP-level adverbs (such as negation).

- (14) High German, VP-level adverbs:
 - a. Ich habe nicht dem Mann das Buch gegeben, SONDERN DER I have not the.DAT man the.ACC book given, but the.DAT FRAU DEN FILM GESCHENKT.

 woman the.ACC film sent.
 - 'I didn't give the man the book, instead I sent the woman the film.'
 - b. Ich habe nicht das Buch dem Mann gegeben, SONDERN DEN I have not the ACC book the DAT man given, but the ACC FILM DER FRAU GESCHENKT. film the DAT woman sent.

'I didn't give the book to the man, insead I sent the film to the woman.'

This section argued that the recipient—theme order is base generated. High German provided evidence that the theme—recipient order was derived via scrambling. In the following section, I will show that these two constructions (base generated recipient—theme and scrambled theme—recipient) are distinct from prepositional object constructions. I also argue for why recipient ditransitives are the focus of this dissertation.

2.3 Discursus on Non-Recipient Ditransitives

The purpose of this section is to explain why this dissertation focuses on recipient ditransitives. There are two main reasons to prefer recipients for the purpose of this investigation in comparison to alternative structures. First, since this dissertation focuses on a comparison across a wide variety of languages, it is essential that the constructions under investigation not be marginal, so that they can be assured to exist in as many of the languages as possible for comparison. I show that many of the alternative ditransitive structures are actually quite marginal and therefore only occur in a sample of the languages.

One of the other purposes of this dissertation is to investigate the relationship between prepositional object constructions, non-prepositional ditransitive constructions and the results of dative shift operations (for the languages that have them). In the next part of the dissertation, I argue that dative shifted examples need to be taken in to account when discussing the typology of ditransitive passivisation. I show that many of the non-recipient constructions show alternations with prepositional object constructions even in languages with synthetic case marking. Fiven that there are independent sources for prepositional objects in these cases, the rise of dative shift operations there is an ambiguity between the pre-dative shift prepositional objects and the results of dative shift. This ambiguity is avoided by focusing on constructions involving recipients introduced by verbs of transfer (e.g. GIVE) and verbs of future transfer (e.g. PROMISE). One of the themes of this dissertation is to argue that by attempting to collapse a number of distinct constructions together (whose distinctions are seen on the surface in many of the languages with synthetic case marking), deeper generalisations about the individual constructions have been missed (especially with regards to the typology of ditrasitive passivisation).

I start this section by providing a discussion of alternative ditransitive structures in some of the languages with synthetic case marking (Icelandic and Old English). I show that these alternative patterns are: always marginal in comparison to dative—accusative structures, often co-occur with over prepositional object constructions, and tend to behave more like prepositional object constructions even when the prepositions are absent (e.g. resistance to reordering of objects and a theme—indirect object order). I then discuss benefactives and show how they also show covariation with a prepositional construction in all languages, tend to be quite marginal and that non-prepositional forms are ungrammtical/extremely restricted in many of the Germanic languages, which hinders comparison. Finally, I show that verbs of motion and verbs of speaking are also somewhat variable in their ability to license recipients and that even when they do license recipients there is often ambiguity between goal/addressee and recipient interpretations that complicates the investigation of the relationship between prepositional and non-prepositional recipients and the relationship between synthetic dative case and prepositional recipient marking.

2.3.1 Prepositional Objects and Alternative Case Patterns

As seen above, languages with synthetic case marking have dative case marked recipients and accusative case marked themes. In addition to these case marked ditransitives, all languages attest prepositional object ditransitives. In these cases, a (usually accusative) theme is followed by a prepositional phrase. Unlike with recipient constructions, however, variation in word order between the theme and the prepositional object is more marked.

In German, for example, only the theme–prepositional object order is available in VP-topicalisation contexts.

(15) High German, VP-topicalisation:

- a. * Nach Paris das Buch geschenkt habe ich, (nicht nach London To Paris the ACC book sent have I, (not to London dEN Film verschifft).
 the ACC film shipped).
 'It was sending to Paris the book that I did (not shipping to London the film).'
- b. Das Buch nach Paris geschenkt habe ich, (nicht dEN Film nach the ACC book to Paris sent have I, (not the ACC film to London verschifft).
 London shipped).
 'It was sending the book to Paris that I did (not shipping the film to London).'

In addition to prepositional objects and dative—accusative recipient ditransitives, many of the languages with synthetic case marking have other ditransitive types that involve different case marking patterns. For example, Icelandic has the following case marking patterns (Thrainsson 2007:4.149): dative—accusative, accusative—dative, dative—genitive, dative—dative, and accusative—genitive. Even in older varieties of Icelandic, where theme—recipient word orders were possible with dative—accusative verbs, the other case patterns did not allow for alternate word orders (Ottósson 1991). Also, many of these other case patterns have prepositional object alternates, which as discussed above do not exist for dative—accusative verbs (Ottósson 1991, Thrainsson 2007).

Old English attests at least four additional case patterns in addition to the dative

recipient/accusative theme pattern discussed above. Note that the same verb can sometimes introduce two different case patterns. Allen (1999) could not find enough examples of these alternative case patterns in her corpus to identify word order patterns, which suggests that these patterns are marginal compared to the more robust dative recipient/accusative theme pattern.

THEME	RECIPIENT	Example
Accusative	Dative	giefan 'give'
Genitive	Dative	forwyrnan 'forbid'
Genitive	Accusative	bereafian 'deprive'
Accusative	Accusative	laeran 'teach'
Dative	Accusative	bereafian 'deprive'

Table 2.1: Case-marking patterns of ditransitive verbs in Old English (Allen 1999:Table 2.1)

Most of these alternative patterns seem to be marginal. Even in languages that maintain the morphological expression of case, many of these constructions are replaced with prepositional objects. For example, in Modern Faroese, many of the patterns with non-dative recipients or non-accusative themes are being replaced with prepositional objects (Höskuldur Práinsson 2004). The verb ASK in Old Norse had an accusative phrase followed by a genitive phrase, but in Modern Faroese, it now introduces either two accusative phrases or an accusative phrase and a prepositional object.

2.3.2 Benefactive Ditransitives

In addition to pure recipient interpretations, English double objects also permit benefactive interpretations. These can be identified by the fact that they alternate with a phrase introduced by 'for' instead of 'to'.

(16) Recipients:

- a. John gave Mary the book.
- b. John gave the book to Mary.
- c. * John gave the book for Mary.

(17) Benefactives:

- a. John baked Mary the cake.
- b. * John baked the cake to Mary.
- c. John baked the cake for Mary.

Phrases introduced by 'for' have a much broader scope than bare benefactives. In English, bare benefactive require a (potential) recipient relationship (i.e. the theme needs to be at least intended for the beneficiary).

(18) John baked Mary a cake.

- a. John baked a cake so that Mary would have one.
- b. * John baked a cake so that Mary would fulfill her cake making obligation.

Thus, the benefactives in English require a theme in order to be licensed (since there must be an object whose possession is under discussion). This contrasts with other languages with true benefactives (i.e. any type of beneficiary).

(19) Albanian:

Agimi i mban Dritës ç anten time. Agim.NOM CL holds Drita.DAT bag.ACC my

'Agim holds my bag for Drita (McGinnis 2000:ex 8a).'

Phrases marked with 'for' pattern like true benefactives in co-occurring with intransitive predicates.

(20) John ran *(for) the charity.

All of the Germanic languages have a cognate of 'for' that behaves like a true benefactive and as a prepositional object (i.e. with the standard order being object—prepositional phrase). This contrasts with recipients, as discussed above, in so far as most languages with synthetic dative case do not allow recipients to be introduced in prepositional phrases. Also, the recipient benefactive is marginal in many of the Germanic languages. Lundquist (2013) reports results of the Scandinavian Dialect Survey on the availability of benefactives with the verb bake:

(21) a. Norwegian (similar sentence for Swedish and Danish)

Han bakte gjesten en kake. He baked guest.the a cake. 'He baked the guest a cake.'

b. Faroese:

Omman bant gentuni eina troyggju. Grandma.NOM knit.PAST girl.SG.DEF.DAT a sweater.ACC.

'Grandma knitted the girl a sweater.'

Availability of the benefactive was marginal at best throughout most of mainland Scandinavia (Norwegian, Danish and Swedish), with some scattered acceptance, especially along the western coast of Norway. In Faroese, the construction was completely acceptable as can be seen in Fig. 2.1.

Thrainsson (2007) shows that in Icelandic, while some verbs of creation allow free use of dative beneficiaries, other verbs of creation (including BAKE) only allow coreferential pronominal beneficiaries:

(22) Icelandic:

Ég bakað i mér/??þér köku. I.NOM baked me.DAT/you.DAT cake.ACC.

'I baked myself/you a cake (Thrainsson 2007:4.155).'

Among West Germanic languages (English, Dutch, and German), English and German both have productive benefactives. In Dutch, the benefactives are restricted to a small class of fixed expressions mostly involving food: "In standard Dutch, this so-called benefactive use of the DOC is a near obsolete phenomenon. Apart from a handful of exceptions, such as iemand een drankje inschenken 'to pour someone a drink' and iemand een maaltijd bereiden 'to prepare someone a meal', verbs of creation and obtaining no longer allow the double object complementation pattern in Dutch (Colleman 2009)."

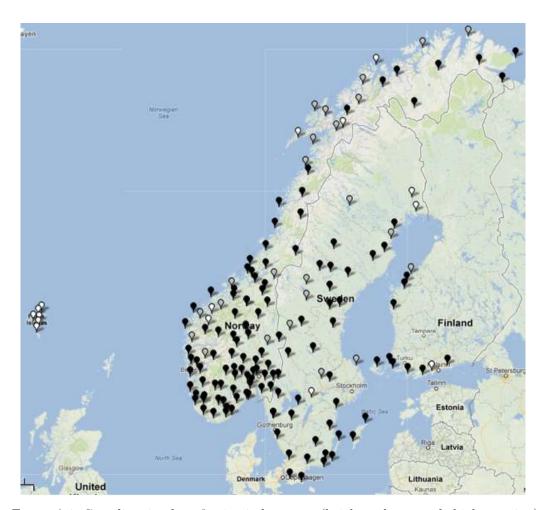


Figure 2.1: Scandinavian benefactive judgements (brighter dots equals higher rating)

2.3.3 Goals and Addressees

In Modern English, 'to' phrases alternates with bare noun phrases in verbs of motion (e.g. SEND) and verbs of saying (e.g. TELL)

- (23) Verbs of Motion:
 - a. I sent John a package.
 - b. I sent a package to John.
- (24) Verbs of Saying:
 - a. I told John a story.
 - b. I told a story to John.

There are good reasons to think that with verbs of motion, there is an ambiguity between a recipient and a goal interpretation (Levinson 2005, Hovav and Levin 2008). One of the best pieces of evidence is the availability of 'where' questions with verbs of transfer (e.g. GIVE) and verbs of motion (e.g. SEND). With verbs of transfer 'where' questions can only have a locative interpretation (i.e. the location where the transfer takes place). With verbs of motion, a goal interpretation is also available, suggesting that 'to' can be ambiguous between a goal and recipient interpretation, but only with certain types of verbs.

- (25) A: Where did you send the book?
 - a. B: To my sister.
 - b. B: At the post office.
- (26) A: Where did you give the book?
 - a. *B: To my sister.
 - b. B: At the post office.

Another piece of evidence comes from cross-linguistic comparison. As mentioned above, languages with synthetic dative case mostly do not allow recipients to be introduced with prepositional phrases. However, verbs of motion can introduce goal arguments with prepositional phrases. These arguments pattern like prepositional objects, in so far as the theme

(usually) precedes the goal prepositional phrase. The same property holds of addressees, although the order of prepositional phrase and clausal objects is reversed (i.e. prepositional phrase – speech clause). Indeed, in Swedish verbs of saying only allow for prepositional objects (Lundquist 2013). In Old English, there are no examples of verbs of transfer occuring with 'to' or West Germanic 'on' (McFadden 2002). However, both verbs of motion and verbs of saying do co-occur with directional prepositions from an early point, suggesting that addressees as well as goals provide a more muddled picture of ditransitives.

(27) Old English, Verb of Motion:

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And he asende hi to Bethlem. and he.NOM sent out them.ACC to Bethlehem.
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'And he sent them out to Bethlehem (Taylor et al. 2003:cowsgosp:2.8.77).'

(28) Old English, Verb of Saying:

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& cwaeð to him ... and said to him ...
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'and said to him ...(Taylor et al. 2003:cowsgosp:4.6.169).'

The main conclusion of this section is that recipient ditransitives form the core case of non-prepositional object ditransitive constructions. Other constructions involving non-recipient theta roles (e.g. benefactives), other case marking patterns, or ambiguity in theta role (e.g. verbs of motion and saying) provide a marginal or muddled picture of ditransitive structures. Therefore, this dissertation focuses on the nature of the core ditransitive phenomenon, namely recipient ditransitives. The next chapter will argue that all of the Germanic languages share a similar syntax for recipient ditransitives that is distinct from prepositional object constructions.