Double Object Construction

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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá ditranzitivními konstrukcemi, konkrétně vztahem mezi konstrukcí s dvojitým objektem a konstrukcí s předložkovým dativem. Cílem této bakalářské práce je zjistit, zdali konstrukce s dvojitým objektem a konstrukce s předložkovým dativem mají stejnou strukturu, ze které jsou konstrukce odvozeny, nebo zdali jsou struktury těchto dvou konstrukcí odlišné.

Práce poskytuje základní popis konstrukcí na základě příruček normativní gramatiky. Práce dále popisuje první přístup, který předpokládá, že obě konstrukce mají stejnou výchozí strukturu a druhý přístup, který předpokládá, že struktury konstrukcí jsou odlišné.

Klíčová slova: ditranzitivní konstrukce, konstrukce s dvojitým objektem, konstrukce s předložkovým dativem, přímý předmět, nepřímý předmět, ditranzitivní sloveso

ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis deals with ditransitive constructions, specifically the relation between double object construction and the prepositional dative construction. The aim of this bachelor's thesis is to determine whether the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction share the same structure from which the constructions are derived or if the two constructions have distinct structures.

The thesis provides a basic description of the constructions based on comprehensive grammar books. Furthermore, the thesis describes the first approach that assumes that the two constructions have the same origin structure and the second approach that assumes that the structures of the constructions are distinct.

Keywords: ditransitive constructions, double object construction, prepositional dative construction, indirect object, direct object, ditransitive verb

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I hereby declare that the print version of my Bachelor's/Master's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Ditransitive constructions are used daily in the English language, but only a few brave souls delve further into the language to attempt to figure out the inner workings of language and understand the nuances of these constructions. Double object construction and prepositional dative construction were and still are a subject of many discussions between linguists. One of the topics discussed is what came first; or more precisely, whether the two constructions share the same origin structure or are entirely different.

The thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part, namely chapters one and two, encompasses information about the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction from established comprehensive grammar books. In the first chapter are defined key concepts, such as valency, transitivity and complementation that enable further discussion of the issue at hand.

The second chapter deals with various aspects of the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction that one can encounter when engaging with the said constructions. The chapter begins with divisions of ditransitive constructions then moves on to sentence functions of objects and the word order and how an object charged with information influence the word order. The penultimate section of the second chapter describes what semantic roles can be assigned to direct, indirect and prepositional object. In the last section of the second chapter, the formation of passive of double object and prepositional dative construction as well as the types of passives these two constructions exhibit are described.

The second part, i.e., chapter three, of this bachelor's thesis is focused on studies concerning the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction. Following Barss and Lasnik (1986) the thesis introduces the different approaches to such constructions, as first outlined by the authors.

The first approach assumes that the double object construction and prepositional dative construction share the same structure and through a series of derivations these constructions arrive at their respective forms which are presented to readers. This approach is further represented by Larson (1988) and Ormazabal and Romero (2010).

The second approach refuses the same structure notion and instead assumes that two construction, double object construction and prepositional dative construction have distinct structures. Proponents of this approach who are mention in this thesis are Harley (2002) and Bruening (2010a, 2010b).

The aim of this bachelor's thesis is to determine whether the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction share the same structure from which the constructions are derived or if the two constructions have distinct structures.

1 DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION AND PREPOSITIONAL DATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN ESTABLISHED GRAMMAR BOOKS

1.1 Valency, transitivity and complementation

1.1.1 Valency and transitivity

Quirk et al. (1985, 50) state that there are four traits of verbs. The position of a verb in a clause is rather medial then initial or final. Verbs can be found in all clause types and they cannot be moved freely within the clause. Lastly, verbs help to determine what other constituents should be present in a clause for it to be grammatical. The fourth trait of verbs, the ability of a verb to select other constituents of a clause, is called valency (Trask 1993, 296). Trask's distinction of four types of verb valency can be seen in table 1.

Valency:	Number of arguments:	Examples:	
Avalent	no arguments	*rain*	-
Monovalent	one argument	*die*	*John Dies*
Bivalent	two arguments	*describe*	*John describes something.*
Trivalent	three arguments	*give*	*John gives Mary a toy*

Table 1 – Verb valency (Trask 1993, 296)

With the exception of avalent verbs that can stand on their own, the rest of valency types include the subject of a clause. Quirk et al. (1985, 1169) prefer the use of the term 'verb complementation' instead of 'valency' because the subject of a clause is excluded from complementation. Also, while a verb always has valency, it might not have transitivity. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 54) the term transitivity is generally used to describe how many constituents the verb requires.

Before moving to complementation types of verbs, intransitive verbs should be mentioned. This type of verbs does not allow complementation or can function without it. Quirk et al. (1985, 1169) divide them into three categories. In the first case, the verb is truly intransitive and does not require an object (1).

(1) *Michal died.*

The verbs in the second category can be intransitive (2a) as well as transitive (2b). If such a verb occurs with an object, the meaning of the verb with relation to the subject stays the same (Quirk et al. 1985, 1169).

(2) a. *Michal sings.*
   b. *Michal sings a song.*

The third category is the same as the second but the semantic relation between the subject and verb changes. In the intransitive use of the verb (3a) the subject has the semantic role *affected*, i.e., the subject is affected by the action and is not causing it, while in the transitive use (3b) the semantic role of the subject is an *agent* (Quirk et al. 1985, 741, 1169).

(3) a*. The window closed.*
   b. *Michal closed the window.*

1.1.2   Verb complementation and Valency patterns

Quirk et al. (1985, 1170) divide verb complementation into four main types. The first type of verb complementation is Copular. Verbs that have copular complementation are followed by either subject complement or adjective phrase (Table 2, [A]) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1174).

The second type is monotransitive complementation. Monotransitive verbs require a direct object. The direct object can be a noun phrase and a finite or nonfinite phrase (Table 2, [B]) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1176).

The Third type of verb complementation is called complex transitive. Complex transitive complementation occurs in clause patterns SVOC and SVOA. The elements following the verb, in this case, are an object and object complement or predication adjunct (Table 2, [C]) (Quirks et al. 1985, 1195).

The fourth and last type of Quirks et al. (1985, 1208) verb complementation is ditransitive complementation (Table 2, [D]). This type of complementation consists of two objects and is described in depth in chapter 1.2.

[A]	Copular, e.g.: *John is only a boy*.
[B]	Monotransitive, e.g.: *I have caught a big fish.*
[C]	Complex transitive, e.g.: *She called him a hero.*
[D]	Ditransitive, e.g.: *He gave Mary a doll.*

Table 2 – Verb complementation (Quirk et al. 1985, 1170)

Biber et al. (1999, 380-381) on the other hand use the valency patterns (Table 3). There are five major valency patterns which all include a subject. The division is basically the same as the division of Quirk et al. (1985) with the difference that Biber et al. (1999) include in their division the intransitive category.

A	Intransitive	*More people came.*
B	Monotransitive	*She carried something.*
C	Ditransitive	*Fred gave her a vote.*
D	Complex transitive	*It was natural to call them photons.*
E	Copular	*Carrie felt a little less bold.*

Table 3 – Valency patters (Biber et al. 1999, 380-381)

In this thesis, the division by Quirk et al. (1985) of verbs based on the verb complementation will be further discussed as the authors further discuss each type of verb complementation. Valency patterns provided by Biber et al. (2002) on the other hand offer only basic distinction between the patters and further discussion of these patterns is based on findings in corpora that are not relevant to this thesis.

2   DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Double object structure occurs when a ditransitive verb is followed by two objects while prepositional dative constructions occurs when a ditransitive verb is followed by an object and a prepositional object. Quirk et al. (1985, 1208-1209) call these structures ditransitive complementation and divide them into two main complementation types D1-2 and four variants D3-6 of the complementation types D1-2.

D1. Indirect object and direct object as noun phrases

He gave the girl a doll.

D2. Direct or indirect object and prepositional object

a. *Mary told the secret only to John.*

b. *Mary told only John about the secret.*

D3. Indirect object or prepositional and *that*-clause object

John convinced me that he was right.

Prepositional: *He promised to me that the debt would be repaid.*

D4. Indirect object and finite *wh*-clause object

John asked me what time the meeting would end.

D5. Indirect object and *wh*-infinitive clause object

The instructor taught us how to land safely.

D6. Indirect object and *to*-infinitive clause object

I persuaded Mark to see a doctor.   (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208-1215)

Moreover, while Quirk et al. categorize complementation type D2 into ditransitive complementation, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 248) do not accept double object structure realized by the indirect or direct object and preposition object. According to Huddleston and Pullum, the prepositional object realized in that way is still obligatory complement but cannot be considered an object. The upcoming chapters will discuss only the two main types D1 and D2 of Quirk et al. division, as the variants D3-6 describe various patterns that can occur in these structures and does not have to be necessarily described because the basic notion of formation of these variants is the same as of the main D1 and D2 types. Moreover, this thesis takes particular interest in the types D1 and D2 because these structures are relatively simple and can in some instances be transformed or derived into the other. This

process is called dative alternation. In the past, this process was also referred to as dative movement and dative shift (Larson 1988, 87).

2.1 Indirect object and direct object as noun phrases – Double Object Structure

In the first type (D1) of Quirk et al. division of ditransitive constructions of objects are noun phrases which are further divided into indirect and direct objects (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208-1209). The indirect object usually precedes the direct object and is usually animate, and the direct object is usually inanimate (4a). Should these noun phrases exchange their places and also change their sentence function with each other, the meaning of the sentence changes dramatically. The result, although grammatically correct, is often semantically infelicitous (4b).

<p style="text-align:center">Oi   Od</p>

   (4) a. *He gave the girl a doll.*

       b. ?*He gave a doll the girl.*

The result is semantically infelicitous due to the fact, as stated in the paragraph above that indirect objects are usually animate and direct objects are inanimate. Inanimate indirect object *doll* in example (4b) cannot accept anything (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 248). The word order of direct and indirect object realized by noun phrases is basically fixed. To avoid semantic infelicity when inverting the order of objects within a clause the indirect object has to be converted into preposition object (5). This is done by adding prepositions such as *to, for,* etc.

   (5) *He gave a doll to the girl.*

2.1.1 Pronominalized objects

Direct and indirect objects realized by pronouns are expressed in objective case – *I, he, she, we, they -> me, him, her, us, them* (Dušková 2003, 430). The word order of clauses with pronominalized objects in British English is inverted (6a), i.e., the word order deviates from the established word order discussed in chapter 1.3 while staying semantically felicitous. Otherwise, the word order in non-British English stays the same (6c), although the latter constituent is usually replaced by *to*-phrase (6d). However, these structures are only possible

if the emphasis, marked in bold, lays on the verb or in the case of British English on the second object (6b) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1396).

(6) a. BrE – *He **gave** it him.*

    b. BrE – *She gave it **him**.*

    c. *He **gave** him it.*

    d. *He **gave** it to **him**.*

    e. **She gave **him** it.*

      She gave **it him.*   (Quirk et al. 1985, 1396)

2.2 Direct or indirect object and prepositional object – Prepositional Dative Construction

The second type (D2) of Quirk, et al. division of ditransitive constructions deals with prepositional objects. However, the usage of prepositional objects depends on the ability of the verb to accept the prepositional object. There are two possible word orders demonstrated in example number (7).

(7) a. S V Od Op - *Mary told the secret only to John*

    b. S V Oi Op - *Mary told only John about the secret.*   (Quirk, et al. 1985, 1209)

Quirk et al. furthermore divide ditransitive verbs in accordance with their occurrence in types of ditransitive constructions consisting of indirect and direct object or either of the objects plus prepositional object as in the example (5) into six categories illustrated in table 4 with selected verbs. As can be seen in table 4 verbs in categories 1. to 3. all occur in S V Oi Od structure and only some occur in either of structures with a prepositional object. Verbs in category 4. occur only in S V Oi Od structure and verbs from categories 5. to 7. do not occur in S V Oi Od structure and instead form structures with a prepositional object. It is important to note that the number of verbs in table 4 does not reflect the actual number of verbs in these categories and serve only as examples. Quirk et al. provide more examples of verbs in category 2. such as *deny, do, find, ask, promise*, etc. Similarly, Quirk et al. also provide more examples for the seventh category, like *thank for, inform of, warn of, treat to,* etc. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208-1211).

	S V Oi Od	S V Od Op	S V Oi Op
1.	*pay* *serve*	*pay to* *serve to*	*pay with* *serve with*
2.	*bring* *reserve*	*bring to* *reserve to*	
3.	*envy* *forgive*		*envy for* *forgive for*
4.	*allow* *refuse*		
5.		*blame on* *supply for/to*	*blame for* *supply with*
6.		*address to*	
7.			*advise about*

Table 4 – Occurrence of verb (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208-1211)

2.3 Information structure

The given, old information is usually placed at the beginning of the sentences while the new information is placed at the end of a sentence. This word order also conforms with how the information is processed, from the least important to the most important. Quirk et al. 1985 (1985, 1361) call this principle End-focus and use the term theme for the given information and the term focus for the new information. The term focus can also be substituted by the term rheme.

There is also the End-weight principle which states that constituents with longer, more information heavy structure tends to gravitate towards the final position of the sentence. These two principles often cooperate, as the new information usually needs to be more descriptive (Quirk, et al. 1985, 1361-1362). Therefore, depending on which of the elements is heavier, an appropriate ditransitive structure can be selected. In examples (8a) and (8b) the patient is the heavier element and as a result example (8a) becomes semantically infelicitous while example (8b) seems more favorable. In a similar fashion examples (9a) and (9b) contain the recipient as the heavier element and therefore their realization as a prepositional object (9b) is more acceptable (Biber et al. 1999, 927-928).

(8) a. *Mary gave the book with pretty pictures to John.*

b. ?*Mary gave John the book with pretty pictures.*

(9) a. *Mary gave the man with big hat a book.*

b. ?*Mary gave a book to the man with big hat.*

Although the examples (8a) and (9a) may be unacceptable from a pragmatic point of view, they are still grammatical (Leech 1983, 74), and could be used if, for example, the patient in the example (8a) and the recipient in the example (9a) would be considered as a piece of new information.

2.4 Semantic roles of objects

Semantic roles of constituents are generally closely tied to their sentence function. The same way the verb helps determine the number of participants in a clause, the verb also denotes the semantic roles of said participants. In other words, the semantic role describes their relation to the verb of a clause. Therefore, if a verb requires a subject, the subject as a doer of the action, denoted by the verb, is most likely the semantic role *agent* (Aarts 2001, 94). The same applies to objects of a clause. Description of semantic roles of objects in double object construction and prepositional dative construction follows.

2.4.1   Direct Object

The direct object's semantic role is in the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction predominantly *patient* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 231). This object can be either animate or inanimate. The direct object (10) is directly affected by the action caused by the verb, but it is not causing the action of the verb. Quirk et al. (1985, 741) and Biber et al. (1999, 127) also call this semantic role *affected* or *theme*. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 750) and also Biber et al. (1999, 127) the direct object can also have the semantic role *resultant*. The *Resultant* object (11) is a direct object that is the result of the action of the verb.

(10) *He gave the girl <u>a doll.</u>*

(11) *He made the girl <u>a doll</u>.*

2.4.2   Indirect object & Prepositional object

The most typical semantic role of the indirect object is a *recipient* (12a). The Indirect object, therefore, has to be animate, as was demonstrated earlier in chapter 1.3 (Quirk et al. 1985, 741). Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 233) state that the semantic role *recipient* is rather a

subtype of semantic role *goal* in terms of possession because the verb denoted a movement of the patient/theme from one person to another. The prepositional object can also have the semantic role *recipient* or *goal* (Quirk et al. 1985, 480). Semantic role *beneficiary* or *benefactive* can be distinguished from the *recipient* role if the indirect object can be paraphrased by a *for*-phrase, thus becoming prepositional subject, illustrated in example (12a). The two roles can also coexist in the same clause if the *beneficiary* role is expressed by a for-phrase (13b) (Quirk et al. 1985, 741).

(12) a. *He gave <u>the girl</u> a doll.*

b. *He gave a doll <u>to the girl.</u>*

(13) a. *He made a doll <u>for the girl</u>.*

b. *He gave <u>me</u> a doll <u>for the girl</u>.*

2.5 Passive

The prominent function of passivization is a demotion of a subject while promoting an object to subject position, based on this Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1428) and Biber et al. (1999, 477) distinguish between short and long passives. During passivization the subject of the active clause (14a) *Peter* is either outright omitted, therefore forming the short passive (14b). Or the subject is demoted to an adjunct which is placed at the end of a sentence in the form of a *by*-phrase and thus forming the long passive (14c). The short passive is not, however, the exact counterpart of the active sentence as the agent, i.e., do doer of the action, is omitted.

The short passive, also called agentless passive (Quirk et al. 1985, 168; Biber, et al. 1999, 475), has several applications. For example, in academic writing, the short passive construction is used so that the text feels more objective. The short passive in academic writing might also be chosen for omitting the name of an author or a researcher. Moreover, in journalistic writing the short passive is usually preferred, as it is shorter and also it shifts the focus from the agent, who can be deduced, to the affected person (Biber et al. 1999, 477).

On the other hand, longer passive can be used for rhematization of an agent. As was discussed in chapter 1.5, the newer and or important information is generally placed at the end of a sentence. Therefore, by using longer passive construction, the agent can be emphasized.

(14) a. *Peter stole my bike.*

b. *My bike was stolen.*

c. *My bike was stolen by somebody*.

There are two possible ways of making passive construction out of double object construction or prepositional dative construction. Both Quirk et al. (1985, 1208) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 249) use the terms first passive and second passive. The term first passive is used when an indirect object *the girl* of active clause (15a) undergoes NP-movement to the initial position of a clause and becomes the subject, therefore forming the first passive (15b). The term second passive is used when the latter object of active clause *a doll* (15a) undergoes the NP-movement to the initial position of a clause, therefore forming the second passive (15c). These terms also reflect the amount of usage of these passive constructions. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 1208) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 249) the first passive is more common than the second passive. Quirk et al. (1985, 1208) also mention that prepositional paraphrase of the second passive (15d) is used more than the second passive. However, one could argue that the passive clause (13d) is not the passive counterpart to the active clause (13a) but to active clause *Michal gave a doll to the girl.*

(15) a. *Michal gave the girl a doll.*

b. *The girl was given a doll (by Michal).*

c. *A doll was given the girl (by Michal).*

d. *A doll was given to the girl (by Michal).*

Ditransitive verbs which allow only for one direct or indirect object together with a prepositional object have usually only one passive, exemplified in (16b) and (17b) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1209). This is due to the inability of these idiomatic verbs to part with their prepositions, as without them the idiomatic verbs would change their meaning. Any attempt of passivization of sentences containing such verbs will result in ungrammatical sentences (16c and 17c).

(16) a. *We addressed our remarks to the children.*

b. *Our remarks were addressed to the children.*

c. **The children were addressed our remarks (to).*   (Quirk et al. 1985, 1209)

(17) a. *We reminded him of the agreement.*

b. *He was reminded of the agreement.*

c. **The agreement was reminded him (of).*   (Quirk et al. 1985, 1209)

3 STUDIES OF DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION AND PREPOSITIONAL DATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The relation between the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction has been and still is a widely discussed topic in linguistics. Barss and Lasnik (1986) can be considered as the ones who started this discussion with their article *A Note on Anaphora and Double Object* in which they point out asymmetrical relations between the two noun phrases in double object constructions. This caused an emersion of two approaches that deal with this issue in different manners.

The first approach, pioneered by Larson (1998), assumes that the two constructions have the same structure. Based on the findings of Barss and Lasnik (1986) Larson (1998) in his article *On the Double Object Construction* proposed a theory that the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction share the same underlying d-structure from which the two constructions are derived. Other proponents of this approach are Ormazabal and Romero (2010) who demonstrate in their paper *Argument Structure and Syntactic Relations: A cross-linguistic perspective* that the two constructions cannot be distinguished based on semantic properties of the two constructions and introduce their own updated structures for double object and prepositional dative constructions which share the same underlying structure.

The second approach rejects the proposition that the two constructions share the same underlying structure and instead propose that the double object construction and prepositional dative construction have distinct underlying structures. The first mentioned proponent of this approach in this thesis is Harley (2002). In her paper *Possession and the double object construction,* Harley introduces her theory of abstract prepositions and furthermore discusses semantic properties which restricts the alternation between the two constructions. The second advocate for distinct structures of double object construction and prepositional dative construction is Bruening (2010a, 2010b). Bruening in his articles *Ditransitive Asymmetries and a Theory of Idiom Formation* and *Double Object Constructions Disguised as Prepositional Datives* introduces his solution to the longstanding debate in the form of R-dative shift as well as counter-arguments against small clauses in double object and prepositional dative constructions.
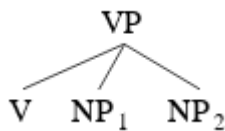
The two approaches will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapters 3.3 and 3.4.
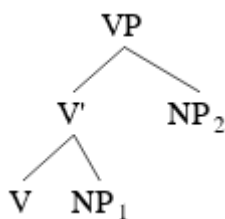
3.1.1 Barss and Lasnik (1986)

Barss and Lasnik (1986) pointed out some irregularities concerning the double object construction in the Chomsky's government and binding framework. Oehrle (1976) (18) and Chomsky (1981) (19) each proposed the structural trees of constructions with two objects. Barss and Lasnik have however found out that these structures have to be dismissed based on their argument that the first noun phrase in the double object construction asymmetrically c-commands the second noun phrase.

Reinhart (1976, 32) first defined c-command as follows: "Node A c(constituent)-commands node B if neither A nor B dominates the other and the first branching node which dominates A dominates B." In other words, the c-command represents the relationship between a node and its sister, and all the daughter of its sister. Moreover, the (a)symmetricity of c-command refers to the way one node c-commands the other. For example, node Z is symmetrically c-commanded by node Y if node Y also c-commanded by node Z, i.e., they symmetrically c-command each other. Asymmetric c-command would occur if the node Z c-commanded node Y but then node Y would not c-command node Z.

(18) Oehrle (1976)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
V \quad NP_1 \quad NP_2
\end{array}
$$

(19) Chomsky (1981)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
V' \qquad NP_2 \\
V \quad NP_1
\end{array}
$$

Their first piece of evidence was based on the binding principles. The binding principles were defined by Chomsky (1981, 225) as follows: Let β be a governing category for α. Then (A) if α is an anaphor, it is bound in β; (B) if α is a pronominal, it is free in β; (C) if α is an R-expression, it is free. An alternative definition of binding principles is provided by Carnie (2013), whereby the binding domain is defined as a clause that is containing the noun phrase (Carnie 2013, 154). Principle A: An anaphor must be bound in its binding domain, Principle

B: A pronoun has to be free within its binding domain and lastly Principle C: R-expression (not anaphor or pronominal) has to be free (Carnie 2013, 155-156). According to these principles, Barss and Lasnik have determined that the example (20a) does not violate any of the principles. The example (20b) on the other hand violates principles A and C (Barss a Lasnik 1986, 347).

    (20) a. *I showed Michal himself.*
         b. **I showed himself Michal.*

The second piece of evidence introduces double object constructions with quantifier pronoun, i.e. pronoun that bound to the noun phrase. In example (21a) the pronoun is bound variable but not in the example (21b) (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348).

    (21) a. *I denied each worker his paycheck.*
         b. *I denied its owner each paycheck.*   (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348)

The third piece of evidence of asymmetrical relation Barss and Lasnik present is weak crossover (22) (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348). Crossover refers to *wh*-movement across its coindexed pronoun and further divides to strong and weak crossover. The terms strong crossover and weak crossover refer to the degrees if perceived ungrammaticality (Haegeman 1991, 471).

    (22) a. *Which worker$_i$ did you deny his$_i$ paycheck?*
         b. **Which paycheck$_i$ did you deny it$_i$s owner?*   (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348)

The fourth piece of evidence demonstrates 'superiority' (23), i.e., if both noun phrases in double object construction are *wh*-phrases then only the first one can be moved (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348).

    (23) a. *Who did you give a book?*
         b. *Who did you give which book?*
         c. **Which book did you give who?*   (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348)

The fifth piece of evidence is concerned with the relation between the words *each* and *the other*. *Each* contained in the first object of the sentence in the example (24a) can be related to *the other* which is in the second object. That is not the case in (24b) however (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 349).

(24) a. *I gave each man the other's watch.*

b. **I gave the other's trainer each lion.* (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 349)

Polarity item *Any* is the last evidence proposed by Barss and Lasnik (1986). Various negations license distinct polarity items which can manifest in different elements. The polarity item *any* in the scope of negation, in this case, is licensed to the second object (25a) and not to the first object (25b) (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 350).

(25) a. *I gave no one anything.*

b. **I gave anyone nothing*. (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 350)

Based on this evidence Barss and Lasnik (1986, 350) conclude that the second noun phrase in the double object construction is in the domain of the first noun phrase. In other words, the first noun phrase asymmetrically c-commands the second noun phrase. The structure proposed by Oehrle (1976) (18) shows however that both noun phrases are symmetrically c-commanding each other and therefore this structure has to be rejected. In the second structure (19), proposed by Chomsky (1981), the second noun phrase asymmetrically c-commands the first noun phrase which goes against Barss and Lasnik's findings and therefore has to be also rejected.
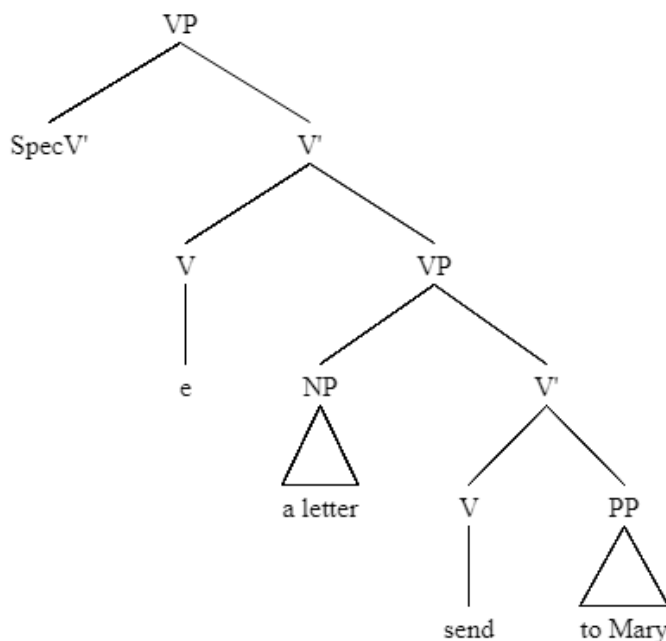
3.2 Double object construction and Prepositional dative construction share the same underlying structure

3.2.1 Larson (1998)

Larson (1988) builds upon the issue raised by Barss and Lasnik (1986) and proposes that both s-structures of prepositional dative and double object construction have the same underlying d-structure (26b). The term d-structure and its counterpart s-structure refer to the structure of a clause/sentence before it is formed (d-structure) and after the clause/sentence is formed (s-structure). The d-structure proposed by Larson (1988) contains inner VP within a higher VP. The higher VP's head is empty and takes the inner VP as a complement in which the two objects complement the verb as subject and object forming VP with clauselike structure: *a letter send to Mary*. This after the addition of a subject results in a sentence: *John a letter send to Mary* which is the base d-structure (26b). To form the s-structure the verb *send* is raised from the head of the inner VP to the empty head of the higher VP (26c) while leaving behind a trace in its original position as well as coindexing the V positions. Larson calls this movement of a verb to higher empty VP "V-Raising" (Larson 1988, 144).
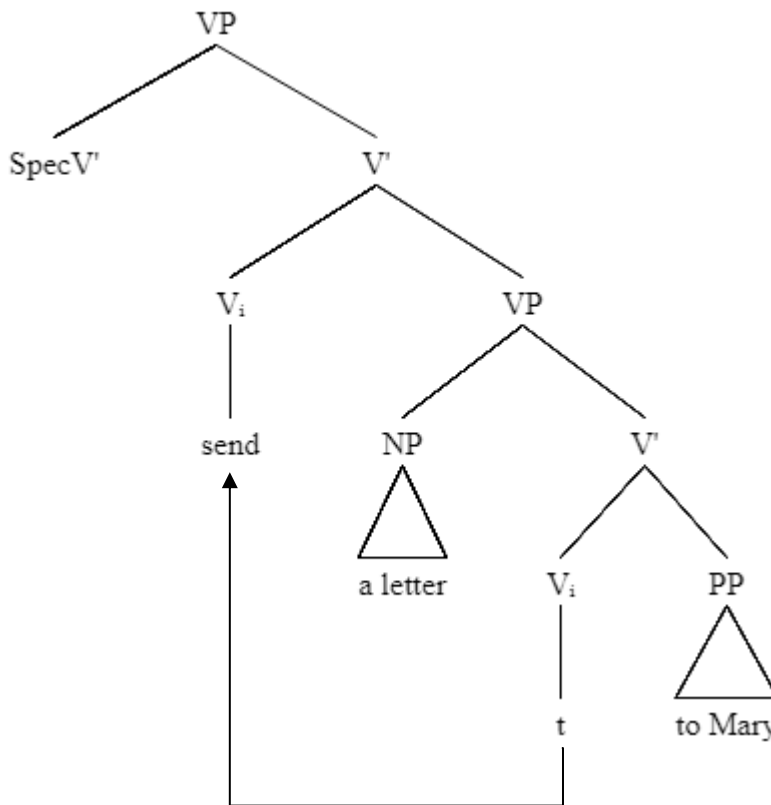
(26) a. John sent a letter to Mary.

b. D-structure of (a).

(Larson 1988, 143)

c. S-structure of (a)

```
                        VP
                     /      \
                SpecV'       V'
                          /      \
                       Vᵢ         VP
                        |       /    \
                      send    NP      V'
                             / \     /   \
                          a letter Vᵢ    PP
                                   |     / \
                                   t   to Mary
```
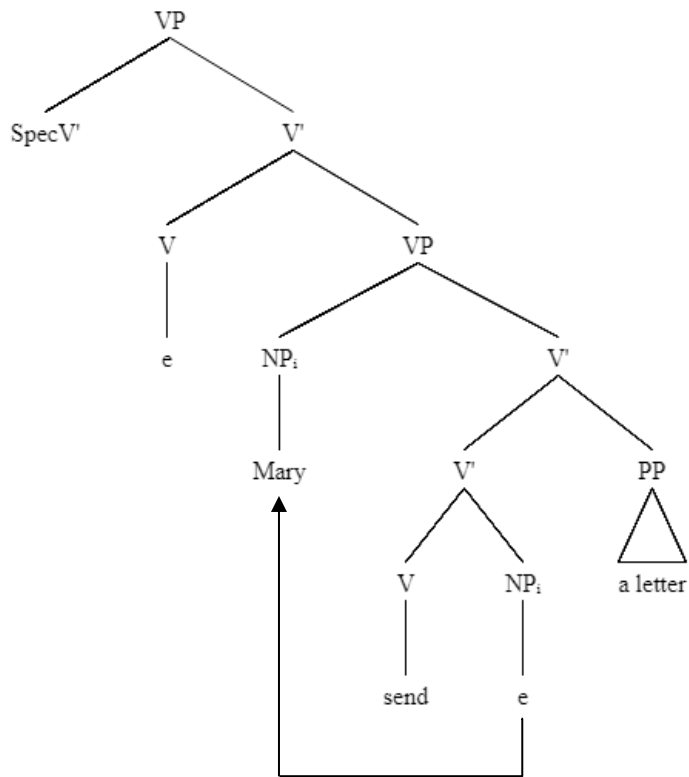
(Larson 1988, 144)

In the case of derivation of the double object construction from the underlying d-structure (27b) Larson proposes that the inner VP undergoes a derivational process similar to passivization. During passivization the subject is demoted to an adjunct and the case is absorbed from the object position. In this vein, the passive-like process absorbs the case of an indirect object, thus removing the preposition *to* because the preposition is regarded only as case marking. The subject of the inner VP a *letter* (direct object in s-structure) is then demoted, stripped of its theta-role and assigned a new one by the verb and becomes an adjunct. The object *Mary* (indirect object in s-structure) of the inner VP undergoes NP movement, taking its place in the subject position, resulting in *(John) Mary send a letter*. Lastly, the verb is raised from the head of the inner VP into the empty head of the higher VP forming the s-structure (27c), leaving behind a trace (Larson 1988, 151). Larson (1988, 152) calls this the promotion of an argument to the VP subject position "Dative Shift".

Larson's resulting structure of the double object construction conforms with the findings of Barss and Lasnik (1986). The first object in Larson's proposed structure of the double object construction asymmetrically c-commands the second object.
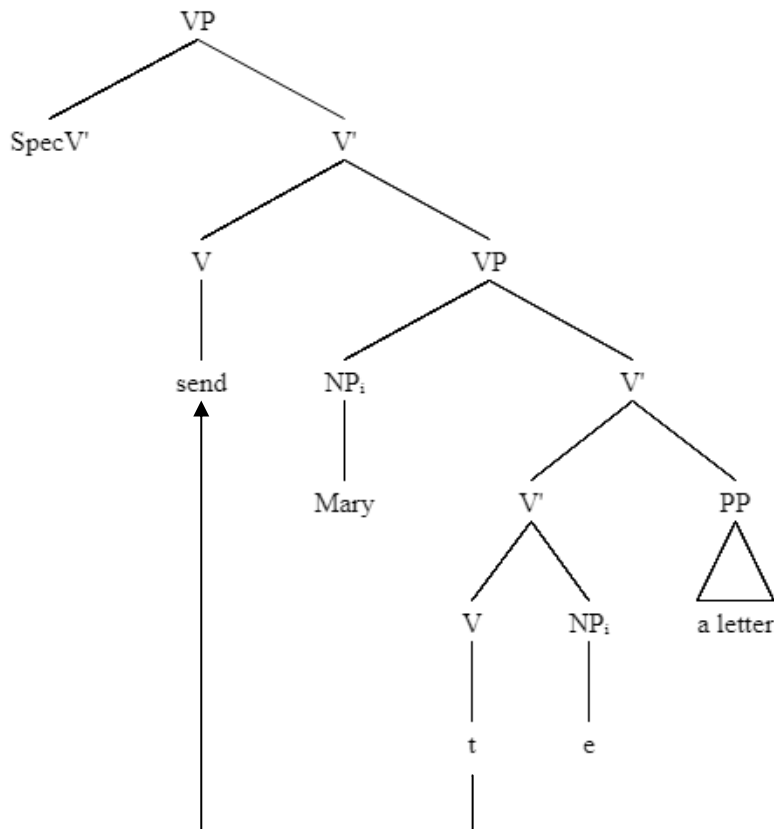
(27) a. *John sent Mary a letter.*

b.

(Larson 1988, 152)

c.

(Larson 1988, 152)

3.2.2 Ormazabal & Romero (2010)

Ormazabal & Romero (2010) argue against two different structures for the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction. Ormazabal and Romero do so by disproving arguments, based on the semantic properties of the two constructions, that were used for example by Harley (2002) to distinguish between the double object and prepositional dative constructions.

The first counter-argument concerns the notion of movement is being supposedly encoded in the preposition in prepositional dative constructions. Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 206) state that the polysemic approaches, i.e., approaches advocating two different structures, fail to see that while the verb *give* only denotes a transfer of possession and does not denote a movement, it can however still occur in both the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction.

The second counter-argument takes in an account the animacy restriction of objects in double object and prepositional dative constructions. As was discussed in the chapter (1.3), the first object in double object construction has to be animate, while inanimate first object will render the clause ungrammatical (28b). The prepositional dative construction (29) does not share this restriction of animacy, and therefore any of the objects can be inanimate.

(28) a. *John sent a letter to Zlín.*
   b. **John sent Zlín a letter.*

(29) a. *John sent a letter to Michal.*
   b. *John sent Michal a letter.*

Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 208) claim that polysemic approaches often ignore the fact that this restriction of animacy can also occur with certain verbs in the prepositional dative construction and instead the polysemic approaches attribute the ungrammaticality of (30b) to a different syntactic and semantic structure of each construction. Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 208) use the verb *give* together with the preposition *to* to illustrate the restriction of animacy in the prepositional dative construction. As can be seen in example (30b) the prepositional object has to be animate because the verb *give* in this context denotes transfer of possession.

(30) a. *I gave the package to Maria.*

b. **I gave the package to London.* (Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 208).

The third proposed counter-argument by Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 209) states that the inference of successful transfer is denoted by the verb itself and not by the syntactic structure as the polysemy approach suggests. Inference is a term related to the understanding of what was said and what was meant (Yule 2010, 132). The polysemy approach argued that only the double object construction denoted inference of successful transfer and prepositional dative construction did not (Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 209). Exemplified in (31) Ormazabal and Romero proved that the verbs that indicate the act of giving, for example: *give, hand, lend, loan, etc.*, denote successful transfer in both variants (31a) and (31b). On the other hand, verbs that indicate future having, for example: *owe, offer, promise, etc.*, denote rather unsuccessful transfer in prepositional dative construction as well as the double object construction (32b) (Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 209).

(31) a. *?His aunt gave/lent/loaned my brother some money for a new car, but he never got it.*

b. *?His aunt gave/lent/loaned some money to my younger brother, but he never got it.* (Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 209).

(32) a. *Max offered help to the victims, but they refused his offer.*

b. *Max offered the victims help, but they refused his offer.*

(Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 209).

To further strengthen their argument, Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 222-223) introduce the syntactic structure of prepositional dative construction (33) from which is then derived the structure of double object construction (33) using Ramchand's Split vP (2008). The split vP theory assumes that the verb splits into three heads that denote *initiation* (init) of an event, *process* (proc) is the event and *result* (res) is, as the name suggests, a result of the event (Ramchand 2008). In both structures the initiator of the complex event, i.e., subject, is *Sara*. The specifier of procP (process projection) *the book* is the undergoer, i.e., the theme or patient, of the event of giving and also the resultee of the event. The final node is the DP *Mateo*, i.e., the receiver, which is defined by the PP *to*. In the case of preposition dative construction, this result in *Sara gave the book to Mateo*. DP stands for determiner phrase. Unlike noun phrase, which has the determiner as a specifier and noun phrase as a head, the

head of the determiner phrase is complemented by the noun phrase while the determiner is the specifier of the determiner head (Carnie 2013).
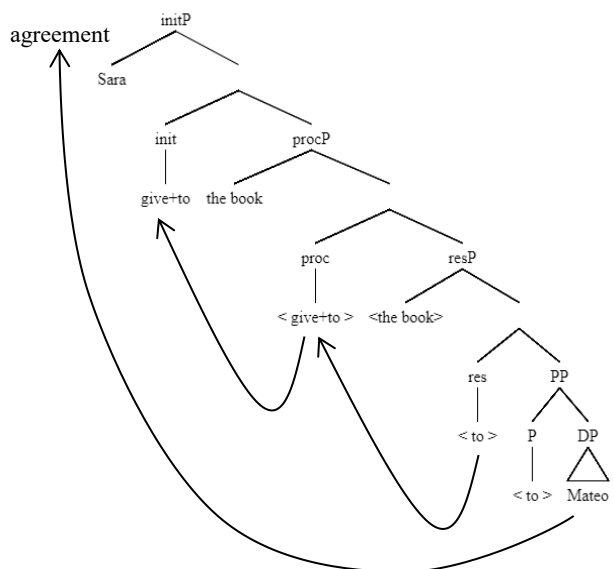
Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 224) assume that in regards to the double object construction (34) the preposition *to* gets incorporated into the verb. The DP is left caseless as the preposition *to* was assigning the case and therefore the verbal head then targets the DP *Mateo* for agreement purposes. The double object construction results to *Sara gave Mateo the book.*

(33)
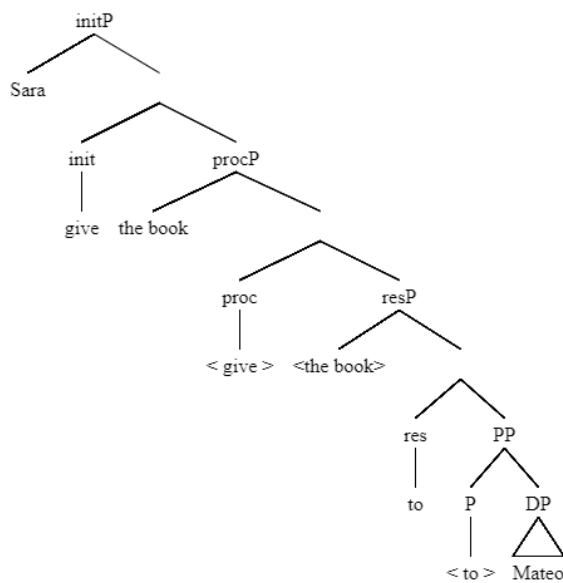
(Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 222)

(34)

(Ormazabal and Romero 2010, 223)

Based on these arguments, Ormazabal and Romero (2010) conclude that the arguments postulated by the polysemy approach do not hold. Furthermore, based on the proposition of incorporation of the preposition Ormazabal and Romero similarly to Larson (1988) propose that the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction are not, in fact, two distinct structures but are rather derived from one shared structure.
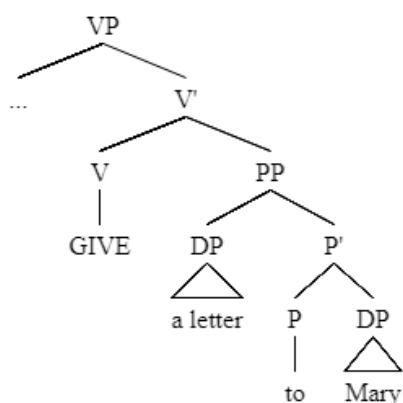
3.3 Double object construction and prepositional dative construction as two different structures

3.3.1 Harley (2002)

Harley (2002) is a proponent of two different structures of the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction and argues for a modified version of Pesetsky's approach. Pesetsky (1995) based his proposition on Larson's (1988) proposed structures for the double object and the prepositional dative constructions and further modified it. Pesetsky, however, considers the two structures distinct even though that he preserved the hierarchical structure.
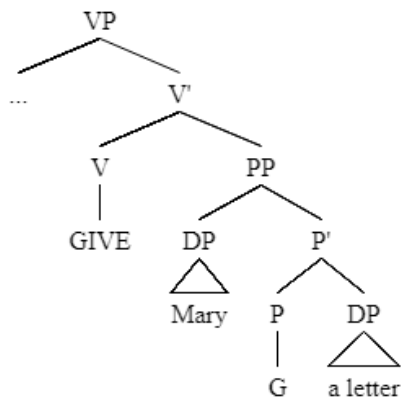
In the prepositional dative construction (35) the V projected by the verb *give* is complemented by a prepositional phrase which consists of a *theme* in its specifier and preposition *to* as the head of the phrase. The complement of the prepositional phrase represents the goal (Harley 2002, 32). The structure of double object construction (36) differs in a different prepositional phrase that complements the V *give*. The goal and theme are obviously interchanged, and the preposition is replaced by a null *G*. The zero morpheme null G represents the goal of the double object construction and the null is supposed to rise by head-movement and become incorporated into the V *give* (Harley 2002, 32-33).
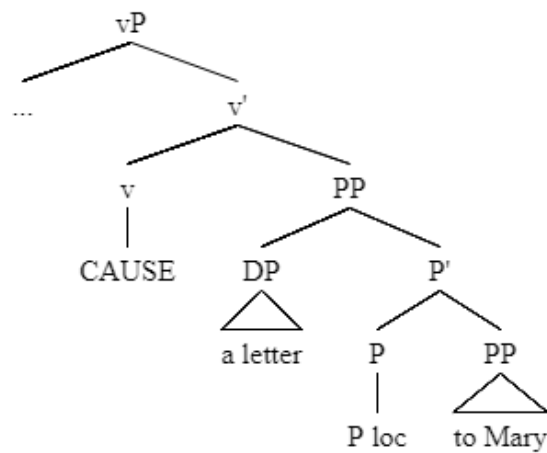
(35)

(Harley 2002, 33)

(36)

```
            VP
          /    \
        ...      V'
               /    \
              V      PP
              |     /   \
            GIVE  DP     P'
                  /\    /  \
                 /  \  P    DP
               Mary  |    /\
                     G  a letter
```
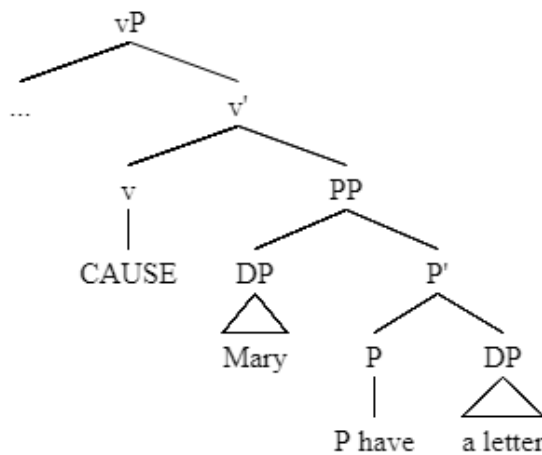
(Harley 2002, 33)

Harley (2002, 33-34) further builds upon Pesetsky's structures and modifies them as follows. In the prepositional dative construction, the preposition *to* does not head the complement of prepositional phrase as in (37) and is replaced by an abstract locative preposition P loc which denotes the location. The preposition *to* is incorporated into the DP which then becomes a prepositional phrase. The null G in the structure of double object construction (38) is replaced by an abstract preposition P have, which assumes that the verb *have* consists of the verb *be* and a prepositional element. This preposition expresses the transfer possession to the goal. The abstract prepositions P loc and P have are the second part of the decomposed verb of which the first part is the null head CAUSE which denotes the external argument, i.e., subject.

(37)

```
            vP
          /    \
        ...      v'
               /    \
              v      PP
              |     /   \
           CAUSE  DP     P'
                  /\    /  \
                 /  \  P    PP
              a letter |    /\
                      P loc  to Mary
```

(Harley 2002, 34)

(38)

(Harley 2002, 34)

The abstract preposition P have and P loc combined together with CAUSE result in the correct form of the verb *give* and enable the emersion of prepositional dative construction: … *gave a letter to Mary* and the double object structure: … *gave Mary a letter* (Harley 2002, 34).

Harley (2002, 37) furthermore argues that since the object of preposition *to* in the prepositional dative construction and the direct object in the double object construction do not have the same semantic roles, they also cannot be derived from one another. Harley (2002, 37) bases this assumption on the evidence presented in example (39).

(39) a. *The editor sent the article to Sue.*

b. *The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.*

c. *The editor sent Sue the article.*

d. ?*The editor sent Philadelphia the article* (Harley 2002, 37)

The example (39d) is grammatical only if *Philadelphia* is considered animate. This leads Harley to assume that the prepositional object with preposition *to*, from the semantic point of view, denotes rather a location and not possession while in the double object construction the possessor, i.e., the first object has to be animate. Moreover, examples (40) and (41) by Harley confirm this assumption.

(40) a. *John taught the students French*

b. *John taught French to the students* (Harley 2002, 38)

(41) a. *I knitted this sweater for our baby.*

b. *I knitted our baby this sweater.* (Harley 2002, 38)

The students in (40a) according to the restriction of animacy have to be animate and therefore receive possessive semantic role. This conforms to the way of the sentence is read, which is that *the students* actually learned some French. Similarly, in (40b) the semantic role of the prepositional object *the students* is considered locative and therefore implicates that they did not learn much (Harley 2002, 38).

Similar effect of different semantic roles can be observed in example (41). In (41a) *our baby*, as a prepositional object, can be considered inanimate and therefore yet unborn. The indirect object *our baby* in (41b) however has to be animate and thus has to be considered as born already (Harley 2002, 38).

Harley (2002, 38) also presents a restrictive theory of discontinuous idioms. The term discontinuous idiom refers to an idiom of which constituents were "separated" by some other constituent. Using examples of idioms in prepositional dative constructions (42) from Larson (1988) Harley shows that under a circumstance, that the prepositional object which follows the idiom consisting of verb + the immediate object is informationally light (44), the idiom cannot alternate between the double object construction (43) and prepositional dative construction and the result is at best difficult to understand (44b,c) or it is outright ungrammatical (44a) (Harley 2002, 45-46).

(42) a. *Max gave <u>his all</u> to linguistics.*

b. *Alice <u>gives hell</u> to anyone who uses her training wheels.*

c. *Oscar will <u>give the boot</u> to any employee that shows up late.* (Harley 2002, 44)

(43) a. *Max gave linguistics his all.*

b. *Alice gives everyone hell.*

c. *Oscar will give John the boot.* (Harley 2002, 46)

(44) a. **Max gave his all to it.*

b. *?Alice gave hell to him.*
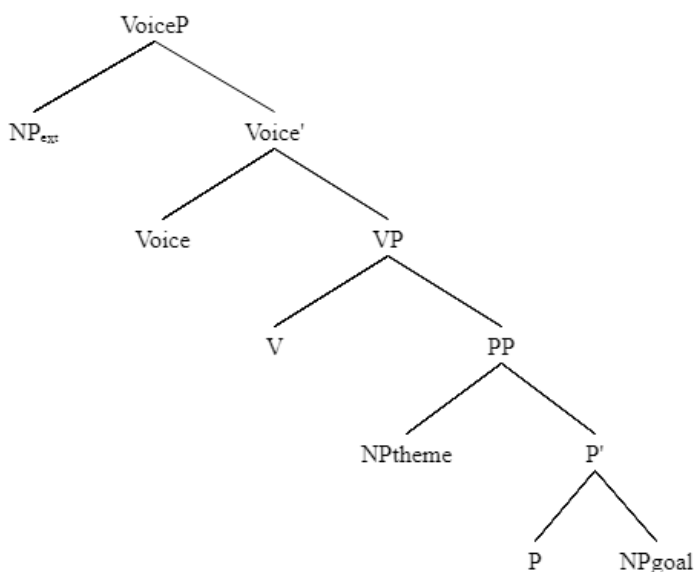
c. *?Oscar gave the boot to Susan* (Harley 2002, 46)

Harley's (2002) proposition suggests that the structures of the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction are the same except for the position of objects.
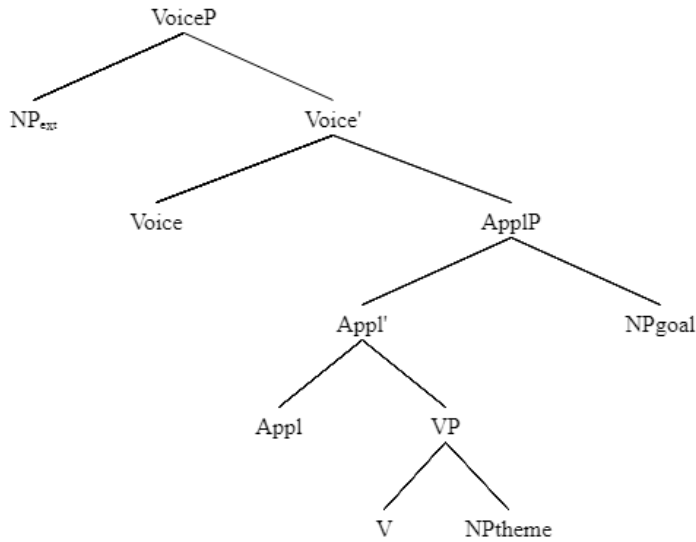
3.3.2 Bruening (2010a), (2010b)

Bruening (2010b, 287-291) opposes the view that the double object construction and prepositional dative construction share the same syntactic and semantic properties and that the speaker chooses between them on the grounds of discourse accessibility, definiteness, animacy, length of the two object NPs, etc. Instead, Bruening proposes that constructions which are able to alternate between these two structures do not actually form the prepositional dative construction but rather undergo rightward dative shift (R-dative shift). The rightward dative shift refers to the possibility of reversing the order of the two NPs in the double object construction and subsequent appearance of the preposition *to*. The resulting construction has the same appearance, i.e., the sentence looks the same on the surface, as the prepositional dative construction but the two constructions have different syntactic structures as can be seen in example (45a) of the structure of prepositional dative structure and example (45b) which represents the structure of double object construction that has been R-dative shifted. It should be noted that Bruening utilizes the Voice theory developed by Kratzer (1996) that incorporates voice into the syntactic structure in order to account for case assigning and the semantic relations between the external argument (subjects), the internal argument and the verb (Kratzer 1996).

(45) a.

(Bruening 2010b, 289)

b.

VoiceP

NP_ext   Voice'

Voice   ApplP

Appl'   NPgoal

Appl   VP

V   NPtheme

(Bruening 2010b, 290)

The syntactic structure of R-dative shifted double object construction (45b) is basically the same as the syntactic structure (46), which represents the structure of "pure" double object construction, with the difference that the specifier of Applicative Phrase is not right shifted and resides on the left (46) (Bruening 2010b, 290). The appearance of Goal NP on the right of ApplP then forces the NP to acquire the preposition *to*.

(46)

VoiceP

NP_ext   Voice'

Voice   ApplP

NPgoal   Appl'

Appl   VP

V   NPtheme
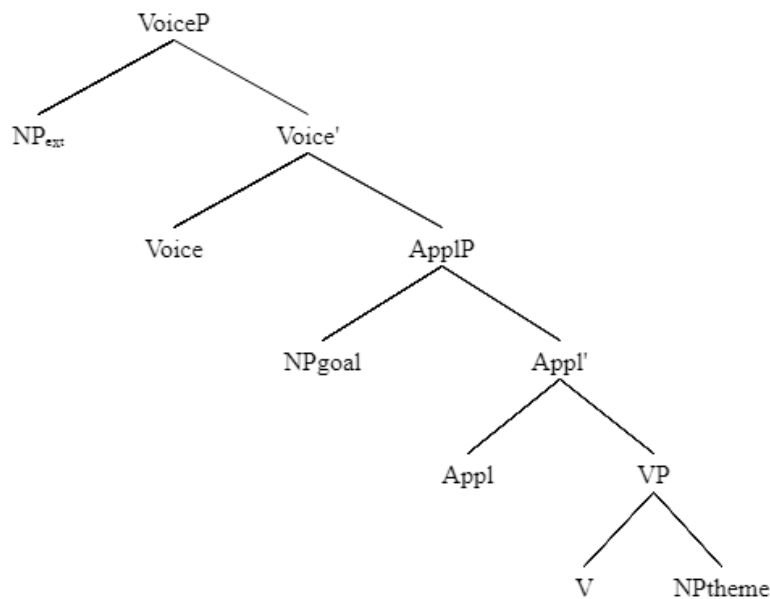
(Bruening 2010b, 289)

The first way Bruening (2010b, 292) tests his R-dative shift hypothesis is by looking at the scope of quantifiers with relation to the double object construction. According to Bruening the second object in the double object construction cannot take scope over the first object. The Scope of quantifier determines the range (scope) of the quantifier's influence. This can be illustrated in the following example (47a-b).

(47) a. *I gave a different candy bar to every child.* (every > a)

    b. *I gave a different child every candy bar.* (*every > a)   (Bruening 2010b, 292)

Bruening (2010b, 292) states that the universal quantifier *every* is able to take scope over the indefinite quantifier *a* together with *different* in the prepositional dative construction (47a) and therefore the inverse scope is possible. Moreover, should the distributive reading, i.e., there might be more children, be missing as in example (47b) the word *different* will sound strange or cannot be understood without context.

Based on this example Bruening (2010b, 293) theoreticizes that since the R-dative shifted double object construction has basically the same syntactic structure but with the specifier of Applicative Phrase on the right as the double object construction, the R-dative should behave the same way as the double object construction in regards to the scope of quantifiers. In examples (48) and (49) Bruening found strong indication that the R-dative double object construction, specifically (48c), behaves the same way as the ordinary double object construction (48b) and therefore can be considered as one.

(48) a. *This lighting gives everyone a different kind of headache.* (every > a)

    b. *This lighting gives a different person every kind of headache.* (*every > a)

    c. *This lighting gives every kind of headache to a different (type of) person.*

      (*every > a)

    d. *This lighting gives a different kind of headache to everyone who enters the*

      room. (every > a)   (Bruening 2010b, 294)

(49) *I give every kind of candy to a different (type of) person.* (every > a)

                            (Bruening 2010b, 294)

The second way Bruening (2010b, 297) tests his hypothesis is by utilization of locative inversion as an instrument for distinguishing between R-dative shifted double object constructions and prepositional dative constructions. Locative inversion refers to a process

of passivization in which positions of a subject and a verb are inversed while the complement denoting the location is fronted to the initial position of the clause. Bruening (2010) states that double object constructions that have undergone the R-dative shift are not able to form locative inversion unlike prepositional dative constructions that are able to (50a). This is due to the fact that the double object construction also cannot form locative inversion, as illustrated in example (50b) (Bruening 2010b, 298). Examples (51, 52) provided by Bruening (2010b, 298) of R-dative shifted double object constructions confirm Bruening's assumption that the prepositional dative construction is, in fact, distinct from the R-dative shifted double object construction.

(50) a. *At that battle were given to the generals enough helicopters to block out the sun*

b. **At that battle were given the generals enough helicopters to block out the sun.*

(Bruening 2010b, 298)

(51) a. **At that battle was/were given the generals who lost hell*.

b. **At that battle was given to the generals who lost hell.*   (Bruening 2010b, 298)

(52) a. **In that room is/are given anyone who stays long enough horrible headaches that don't go away.*

b. **In that room are given to anyone who stays long enough horrible headaches that don't go away.*   (Bruening 2010b, 298)

Bruening (2010a) also discusses the proposed symmetric approach of Harley (2002) and compares it with his asymmetric approach to the double object (46) and the prepositional dative constructions (45a). The symmetric approach assigns two identical structures to both constructions (37) and (38) in chapter 2.2.1, while the position of the two objects is reversed in accordance with the chosen construction. According to Bruening, this structure contains a small clause that is essentially a clause embedded in a clause, which has its own subject, i.e., the object that immediately follows the verb, and predicate. Bruening argues against the approach which promotes small clauses and bases his counter-arguments on the following assumptions.

Bruening (2010a, 523) opposes the assumption that during locative inversion the prepositional phrases can be fronted only if the prepositional phrase is a predicate of a small clause. Bruening demonstrates in example (53) that this assumption does not hold because

the fronted prepositional phrases do not predicate anything. Thus, Bruening concludes his argument that the preposition phrase is not required to be predicate of a small clause (Bruening 2010a, 524).

    (53) a. *For that perverted cause were slaughtered thousands of innocents.*

        b. *During the reign of Queen Lulu II were built many fabulous monuments.*

        c. *With this pen seems to have been written the first verse of that famous sonnet.*

        d. *Throughout that period were undertaken some impressive feats of irrigation.*

                                          (Bruening 2010a, 523)

Furthermore, Bruening (2010a, 524) states that there are three syntactic features of true small clauses that are lacking in prepositional phrases of prepositional dative constructions. The first syntactic feature is the impossibility of extracting the subject of the true small clause (54a). The first subject in the prepositional dative construction can be extracted (54b). The second syntactic feature refers to the ability of the first object of the prepositional dative construction to undergo nominalization (55b) while the subject of the true small cannot (55a). The last, third feature concerns domains for anaphora. The prepositional phrase in prepositional dative construction does not create any additional domains (56b), the true small clause, on the other hand, creates an additional domain and thus renders sentences like (56a) ungrammatical (Bruening 2010a, 524).

    (54) a. **Who do you consider supporters of beneath our notice?*

        b. *Who did you give statues of to all the season-ticket holders?*

                                          (Bruening 2010a, 524)

    (55) a. **the consideration of him beneath our notice*

        b. *gifts of bobble-head dolls to season-ticket holders*   (Bruening 2010a, 524)

    (56) a. **John considers her proud of himself.*

        b. *John gave a gift to himself.*   (Bruening 2010a, 524)

Bruening (2010a, 525) notes that these findings render Harley's (2002) symmetric approach invalid as both of Harley's structures of prepositional dative and double object constructions utilize small clauses.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this bachelor's thesis was to determine whether the double object construction and the prepositional dative construction share the same structure from which the constructions are derived or if the two constructions have distinct structures.

In this first two chapters of this thesis were described the basic notions one encounters when dealing with ditransitive constructions that proved further understanding of these structures. The third chapter discussed the two approaches to ditransitive constructions.

Larson's (1988) assumption about double object construction and prepositional construction having being derived from one shared structure was quite plausible. According to Larson (1988), during the formation of the double object construction, the verb undergoes a dative shift. The dative shift stands for a promotion of the prepositional object to the position of the first object. During the process, the prepositional object is absorbed into the verb and the first object becomes an adjunct that is demoted to the position of the second object. Larson (1988) likens this process to passivization. However, as Harley (2002) pointed out Larson based his proposition on idioms alternating between the two structures that were really just instances of heavy constituent shift. Thus, this proposition is rejected.

Ormazabal and Romero (2010) took a similar stand and point out that counter-arguments based on semantic discrepancies are in fact invalid and do not hold. Ormazabal and Romero's (2010) counter-arguments concerned for example the restriction of animacy and inference of successful transfer. Furthermore, Ormazabal and Romero (2010) introduced their theory of incorporation of preposition which assumes that in the double object construction the preposition gets incorporated into the verb, similarly as in Larson's dative shift. Unfortunately, since Ormazabal and Romero based their proposition on Larson, it has to be also rejected.

Harley (2002) proposed basically the same structure for both construction while replacing the verb and prepositional heads with abstract heads. The combination of these heads results in the correct form of the verb and emersion of a preposition if the construction requires it. Harley's proposition was however rendered invalid by Bruening (2010a) because Harley's proposition assumed that the two constructions comprise a small clause. Bruening proved that the two construction do not embed a small clause and therefore this proposition has to be rejected.

Bruening (2010b) presented the rightward dative shift (R-dative shift). The R-dative shift refers to a process of derivation of prepositional dative construction from double object

construction. The resulting construction, according to Bruening, is not however prepositional dative construction the surface structure looks the same but it is still double object construction as it behaves the same way. Bruening's approach to double object and prepositional constructions presents the most sensible way of distinguishing between these two constructions and furthermore provides evidence that his R-dative shift hypotheses is correct like for example locative inversion or scope of quantifiers.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

S Subject

V Verb

O Object

Od Direct Object

Oi Indirect Object

Op Prepositional Object

BrE British English

VP Verb Phrase

NP Noun Phrase

DP Determiner Phrase

LIST OF TABLES