

Conference on
Ditransitive Constructions

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Abstracts

On “Dimonotransitive” Structures in English

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Ditransitive structures have been prototypically defined as those combinations of a ditransitive verb with an indirect object and a direct object. However, although in the prototypical ditransitive construction in English, both objects are present, there is often omission of one of the constituents, usually the indirect object. The absence of the indirect object has been justified on the basis of the irrelevance of its specification or the possibility of recovering it from the context.

The absence of the direct object, on the other hand, is not so common and only occur with a restricted number of verbs (e.g. pay, show or tell). This type of sentences have been called “dimonotransitives” by Nelson, Wallis and Aarts (2002) and the sole presence in the syntactic structure arises some interesting questions we want to clarify in this article, such as:

- (a) the degree of syntactic and semantic obligatoriness of indirect objects and certain ditransitive verbs
- (b) the syntactic behaviour of indirect objects in absence of the direct object, in other words, does the O_i take over some of the properties of typical direct objects as Huddleston and Pullum suggest?
- (c) The semantic and pragmatic interpretations of the missing element.

To carry out our analysis, we will adopt a corpus –based approach and especially we will use the International Corpus of English (ICE) for the most frequent ditransitive verbs (Mukherjee 2005) and the British National Corpus (BNC) for the not so frequent verbs.

Conceptual Representation of the Verb Forms Creation in Georgian:

Ditransitive Verbs

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1. Introduction

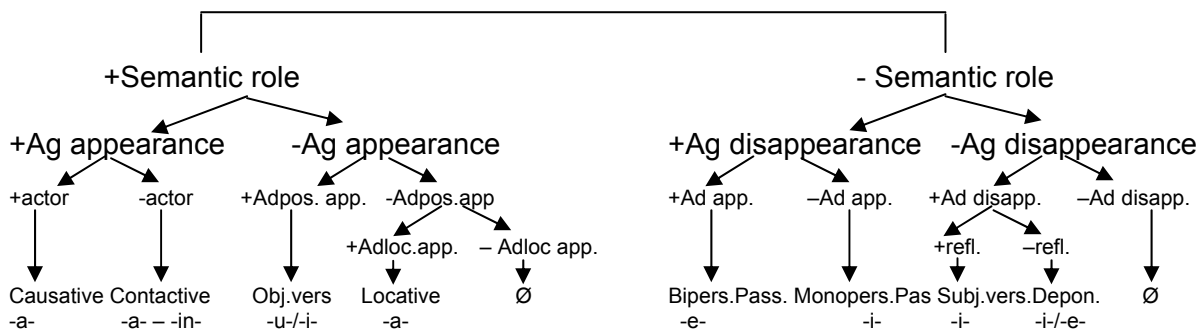
There are four verbal vowel prefixes in the Georgian Language: -a-, -e-, -i-, -u-. The vowels are poly-functional and represent semantically different derivational verb forms – transitive, causative, contactive, reflexive, passive, subjective version (rep. middle), objective version.

2. Generalization

Based on a semantic and functional analysis of the vowel prefixes one generalization can be suggested: The main function of the verbal vowels prefixes is the formalization of the conceptual changes which arise as a result of increasing or decreasing of the verb valency that implies either appearance or disappearance of the semantic roles – Ag, P or Ad.

3. General scheme

The changes of the verb valency can be summarized by the following scheme:



For the creation of ditransitive verb forms vowels -a- and -u- are valuable which form the following categories: causative, contactive and objective version.

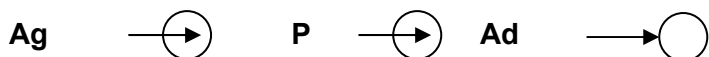
4. Conceptual Explanation

Naturally, the following questions arise: What is the cognitive background for the creation of such derivational verb forms? When the valency of the verb changes (that is: Ag or Ad appears (or disappears)), what kind of conceptual changes generate the basis for the various formal models of the verb forms creation.

First of all, let us construct the conceptual structure of the semantic roles.

Every concept has its own space within which “it stays identical with itself”. Conceptual space is defined according to many features. For the conceptual spaces of the semantic roles the most relevant are the features which characterize the noun in relation to the action which is represented by the verb.

During the action nouns can: (1) *cross the space*; (2) *approach the space*; (3) *stay within the space*. The three possibilities seem to be decisive for distinguishing between Ag, P and Ad. The **Ag** (as far as it is active, telic, volitional, dynamic, high in potency, etc.) is the concept which crosses (its own or something/somebody else’s) the space. The **P** (as it is inactive, atelic, non-volitional, static, low in potency, etc.) is the concept which stays within its own space; It allows the space to be crossed but never crosses the space itself. The **Ad** is the role which receives something, allows that it be reached but does not allow the space to be crossed. Schematically:



Different combinations of these features construct the conceptual structures which mirror the process of the linguistic structuring of the extra linguistic situations respective to the concrete verb semantics. Some examples:

Ag P		<i>to build, to write, to paint, etc.</i>
Ag P Ad		<i>to give, to hand over, etc.</i>
P		<i>to stand, to lie, to sit, etc.</i>

The strategy of structuring can differ and due to these various strategies languages differ in the way of structuring – they give different linguistic structures.

5. Conceptual representation of the Georgian verb forms creation

Suggested conceptual structures mirror also the conceptual background of the different derivational verb models (Among them (3) and (4) represent abstract structure of the ditransitive ones):

1. O - c'er-s		Ag P	"(S)he writes smth."
2. u - c'er-s		Ag P (+Adpos)	"(S)he writes smth. for smb."
3. a - c'er-in-eb-s		(+Ag) (Ag → Ad) P	"(S)he makes smb. to write smth."
4. a - c'er-s		Ag P (+Adloc)	"(S)he writes smth. above smth."
5. i - c'er-s		Ag P (-(+Adpos=Ag))	"(S)he writes smth. for him/herself"
6. i - c'er-eb-a		(-Ag) P	"Smth. is written"
7. e - c'er-eb-a		(-Ag) P (+Ad)	"Smth. is written for smb."

Coding and Syntactic Properties of Ditransitive Constructions in Jóola Banjal

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This paper presents an analysis of ditransitive constructions in Jóola Banjal, a West Atlantic language spoken by almost 7000 speakers in the South of Senegal. This language is characterized by SVO constituent order, obligatory subject markers prefixed to verb forms, and optional object markers suffixed to the verb. As illustrated below, there is no marking of core syntactic terms by means of case or adpositions.

(1)	si-ssixo	sasu	si-tij-e	e-lliw yayu
	CL4-cat	CL4.DEM	CL4-eat-TAM	CL3-meat CL3.DEM
	The cats ate the meat.			

- (2) a. Atejo na-sen-e si-nnan a-nnil axu
 Atejo s3s-give-TAM CL4-food CL1-child CL1.DEM
 Atejo gave food to the child.
- b. Atejo na-sen-ol-so
 Atejo s3s-give-o3s-CL4.PRO
 Atejo gave it to him.

Recent studies on alignment typology recognize three major ditransitive alignment types: indirective alignment, secundative alignment and neutral alignment. In Jóola Banjal, coding properties show that the two objects of ditransitive constructions (theme and recipient) are treated like the monotransitive patient (that is a neutral alignment). However, syntactic properties reveal a split pattern with two different hierarchies between these objects. According to the mechanism taken into account, either the theme aligns with the monotransitive patient (passivization), or the recipient aligns with the monotransitive patient (reflexivization).

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The Syntax of Double Object Constructions in Bangla/Bengali

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Amongst verb-final languages which permit scrambling/apparent free word order, there have been a number of rather different claims about the syntactic structure of ditransitive constructions and whether a unique underlying/neutral word order can be identified. With regard to German, there would seem to be a consensus of opinion that the ordering Indirect Object > Direct Object (IO>DO) is basic, following detailed investigations of markedness restrictions governing the re-ordering of IO>DO as DO>IO (involving (in)definiteness and focus projection) (Büring 1998). Concerning Turkish and Persian, however, Karimi (2003) and Issever (2003) report DO>IO to be the basic, underlying order, based on patterns of anaphor construal, weak crossover, prosody, and various other syntactic properties. Finally, a dual position is proposed in influential work on Japanese carried out by Shigeru Miyagawa (Miyagawa 1997, Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004). On the basis of binding and floating quantifier patterns it is argued that both IO>DO and DO>IO orders can be base-generated as underlying orders. It is therefore still unclear whether it can be asserted that there is some kind of 'universal' hierarchical ordering of direct and indirect objects in verb-final languages,

or if languages are simply open to parametrization in the structuring of double object constructions and the establishment of a neutral linear ordering of goal and patient arguments. The present paper seeks to add a further perspective on this universalist-particularist debate by investigating di-transitives in a language which is typologically similar to the free word order, verb-final languages so far well documented, but which is genetically distant (or fully unrelated): the Indo-Aryan language Bangla/Bengali. Bangla is a potentially useful representative of the Indic group of languages to consider with regard to double object constructions, as it not only exhibits the basic word order possibilities found in languages such as Turkish, Persian and Japanese, but is also a language which has nominal classifiers (unlike Indo-Aryan languages further to the west in South Asia) and hence allows for a comparative testing of the floating quantifier patterns in ditransitive structures described for Japanese. The paper makes use of the full set of syntactic diagnostics described in previous studies on double object constructions (anaphor binding, reconstruction, relative quantifier scope, crossover phenomena, (in)definiteness/specificity restrictions, positioning of numeral-quantifiers, idiom chunks), and probes the underlying structure and reordering possibilities present with both verbs of the 'give/send' type, and those of the 'introduce A to B' type, which may have different underlying representations. The paper also considers recent claims in Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) that there is a second, higher locative goal position present with many ditransitive verbs, and that the occurrence of such a non-recipient goal may complicate the analysis of double object constructions.

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Ditransitive constructions in Mansi language

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In our presentation we aim to describe the ditransitive constructions of Mansi language.

The Mansi (or Vogul) language belongs to the Ugric group of the Finno-Ugric language family, which forms a branch of Uralic languages. The languages closest to it in the language family are Khanty (which, together with Mansi, is in the Ob-Ugric branch and is a neighboring language geographically) and Hungarian. Mansi is one of the most endangered languages of the Uralic language family. In the 19th and early 20th centuries Mansi was found to be spoken by researchers in a much larger area than nowadays and identified as having four main dialects. Today, under the designation Mansi usually the Northern Mansi regional dialect is meant, the other dialects are practically extinct by today. The Northern Mansi is a variety spoken in a few villages by the lower Ob and its western tributaries the Sosva and Sigva rivers in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District (*okrug*) of the Tyumen Region (*oblast'*), as well as by the Lozva river in the Ivdel Area of the Sverdlovsk Region. Northern Mansi, is currently threatened by the process of language shift to Russian.

It seems that in Mansi ditransitive constructions are formed by a lot of verbs like 'give', 'bring', 'make', 'cook', 'pour' etc. The surface structure of ditransitive constructions varies in

the different dialects because of the case-marking of the direct object whereas the indirect object gets the instrumental suffix in all dialects. The direct object stands in the accusative if a pronoun in all dialects but if it is a noun, it stands in the nominative in the Northern dialect and in the accusative in the other dialects. The passivization of ditransitive constructions is very frequent in Mansi, in these cases the Agent stands in the Lative. See some examples:

- (1) *nānan am tēn-utəl totiylasanəm*
 you-Acc I food-Instr bring-Vx1SgDet-Past
 'I brought you food.'
- (2) *[am] [naŋəŋ] ḥall wāriləm, jōwtəl wārilām*
 I you-Acc bow-Instr do-Vx1SgDet arrow-Instr do-Vx1SgDet
 'I prepare you a bow and an arrow.'
- (3) *mīŋk tāwətām mātä šēməl kērpä ḥäləŋ oaläl puoltilām*
 we[Dual] s/he-Acc some black ironAdj bowAdj quiver-Instr give-as-a-marriage-portion-Vx1SgDet
 'Let's give him some kind of black iron quiver as a marriage portion.'
- (4) *ti tal taw jomśakw xaŋistaχtinete māyəs gubernator stipendial majwəs*
 this year s/he well study-PartPres-Px3Sg-SgPoss for governor's grant-Instr give-Vx3SgPast-Pass
 'This year s/he was given the governor's grant for studying well.'

Our aim is to investigate the morphosyntactic, syntactic and semantic characteristics of ditransitive constructions of older (19th and early 20th centuries) and modern Mansi language. Our corpus consists of folklore texts (of all dialects), nowadays newspaper articles and also data collected from Mansi informants.

Hupa ditransitives and the syntactic status of R

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This paper presents the first complete description of ditransitive constructions in Hupa (Pacific Coast Athabaskan), a critically endangered language of northwestern California. Following the Questionnaire on Ditransitive Constructions I examine the coding, behavioral, and lexical properties of the arguments of semantically ditransitive verbs, paying particular attention to the limitations imposed on argument realization by the animacy hierarchy. Against this background, I address the analytic question of the syntactic status of the Recipient argument with respect to the verb phrase. Recipients have traditionally been analyzed as oblique objects of postpositions at the left edge of the verbal complex; I ask whether a reanalysis of the postposition as applicative morphology is supported.

Ditransitive alignment in Hupa is indirective, in the sense of Haspelmath (2005). Agent (A) and Theme (T) arguments are always indexed on the verb. T is marked by the same set of pronominal prefixes in the same morphological position as the monotransitive patient. When A and T appear as free DPs, they are not morphologically flagged for case or semantic role. They are instead disambiguated through word order, animacy effects, and information structure. In (1), for example, the inanimate argument is interpreted as T; of the two animate arguments, the first is interpreted as A.

- (1) *hay xo'osday tsumestʰo:n aq'iwlaw xowa:'ning'a:n*
 that man woman book 3sgR-to.R-3sgT-3sgA-perf-give [inanimate T]
 'That man gave the woman a book.'

When the verb is semantically ditransitive, the Recipient (R) argument appears at the left edge of the verbal complex as a pronominal, preceding all other verbal morphology. R prefixes are identical to T prefixes in morphological form, with the addition of an inanimate 3sg R marker *mi-* (the equivalent category in T position is zero-marked). Although not a full P in the sense of the Questionnaire, R appears to be the pronominal complement of a postposition in verb prefix slot 11 (Golla 1970: 223), the farthest prefix from the verb stem under Golla's view of the Hupa verbal morphology template. The slot 11 form appears in boldface in (2).

- (2) *whi -wa: -k'i -n -di -iwh*
 1sgR **-to.R** -specific.impersonal.T -2sgA -CLS -move.sticklike.object
 'Move (a specific stick-like object) toward me!' (= 'Give me a smoke!' (Golla 1996: 80))

The question of the syntactic status of Hupa R arguments has not yet been thoroughly considered. Golla (1970) describes them as incorporated obliques, a natural consequence of the treatment of the slot 11 forms as postpositions. On the other hand, many analyses of ditransitives cross-linguistically treat R arguments as core, assigning them a structural position internal to the verb phrase. Starting from the hypothesis that the slot 11 morphemes can alternately be considered as applicatives, I will examine evidence from word order, agreement, and syntactic processes to develop an understanding of the structure of the verb phrase and the status of R. This study is based on over 1,000 pages of translated texts published in Golla & O'Neill (2001) and on my own ongoing fieldwork with one of the few remaining native speakers of Hupa.

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The Diachronic Syntax of the Dative Construction from Medieval Chinese to Early Southern Min (Sinitic)

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Using a diachronic framework, we compare syntactic and semantic features of the main types of dative or ditransitive constructions found in texts from the Late Medieval Chinese period (7th – mid 13th centuries) and in Early Modern Southern Min (16th and 17th centuries). We also briefly consider the synchronic dimension in terms of contemporary Min dialects. All these dative constructions use *give* verbs as the source of their dative markers in different kinds of syntactic configurations. The syntagmata in question can be regarded as prepositional object constructions. Such an analysis is possible due to the rediscovery in the last few decades of rare dialect texts representing the colloquial genre of Southern Min as spoken in the late Ming period.

The purpose of our analysis is thus to examine in detail the pathway of development of datives from Medieval Chinese to Early Southern Min and their relation to contemporary Min dialects of the Sinitic taxon, with reference to the relevant parts of the Leipzig questionnaire.

In Medieval Chinese, apart from double object constructions of the type V-IO-DO, the main preposition used to introduce the indirect object in the dative construction is *yu*³ 與 (Peyraube 1988, 1996). It forms several prepositional object constructions, distinguished by preverbal or postverbal position. In Early Modern Southern Min, the following dative markers are found: the non-cognate forms, *khit*⁴ 乞 and *thou*³ 度, as well as the cognate *u*³ 與. These are used in two dative constructions, isomorphic to those in Medieval Chinese *yu*³ 與 (Chappell 2000).

- (i) NP_{SUBJECT} – VERB – [*kir* – NP_{IO}] – NP_{DO}

總 名 沙膠覽民廚。賜 乞 人 呀勝 舍。

chong mia Sacramento su kir_{DAT} lang Galaçia.

full name sacraments bestow give people grace

‘The full name is the Sacraments which bestow grace upon us.’

(*Doctrina Christiana*, late 16th century)

- (ii) NP_{SUBJECT} – VERB – NP_{DO} – [*kir* – NP_{IO}]

你 揆 落 荔枝 乞 阮 為記

li² tan³ loh⁸ nai⁷-chi¹ khit⁴ gun² ui⁵ ki³

2SG throw down litchi:branch give_{DAT} 1PL forsign

‘Throw down the litchi branch to me as a token of your love.’

(*Li Jing Ji* 荔鏡記 1581: Act 26, line 235)

We also treat the case of other prepositions used in dative function in contemporary Southern Min languages, such as *hou*⁷, identifying a dialect island within the Min group for its use. It is interesting to observe that unlike *yu*³ or contemporary standard Mandarin *gěi* 給 (< 'give'), none of the Southern Min prepositions, *khit*, *hou*,⁷ *u*³ or *thou*³, has any preverbal use as a dative preposition. In fact, this position appears to have been pre-empted historically by another function of prepositions with their source in *give* as a passive marker.

Finally, we conclude that the multiplicity of dative prepositions arises from overlapping cycles of grammaticalization and renovation – the diachronic analysis highlights the fact that, depending on the historical period and language/dialect, each of these *give* verbs demonstrates different stages of grammaticalization.

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The Cantonese Dative Construction: Implications for Processing

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The typological configuration of Cantonese, SVO with prenominal relative clauses (RCs), is predicted to cause processing difficulty for its speakers. For example, the dative construction: [V Theme(T) Recipient(R)] (examples 1 and 2a) when the theme is modified by a relative clause.

(1) ngo5 bei2 cin2 nei5
 I give money you
 "I give you money"

(2a) [go3 sai3lou6zai2]bei2.zo2 [keoi5 ze3.gan6 go2 bun2 dak1ji3 ge3 syu1] [go3 sin1saang1]
 [CL child] give.PERF [3.sing borrow.PROG Det CL funny GE book] [CL teacher]
 "The child has given the teacher the funny book that he is borrowing"

Although Chinese linguistics favours pragmatic factors to explain alternatives to the canonical order, such as topicalization and the BA-construction, a previous study by Cheung (2004, 2005) reported that, as opposed to heavy NP shift (HNPS) in English, Cantonese speakers more frequently use alternative constructions such as the double-bei2 construction [bei2 T bei2 R] (example 2b) or the zoeng1-construction [zoeng1 T bei2 R] (equivalent to the Mandarin BA-construction, example 2c) while the theme NP is more complex.

- (2b) [go3 sai3lou6zai2] bei2.zo2 [keoi5 ze3.gan6 go2 bun2 dak1ji3 ge3 syu1] bei2 [go3 sin1saang1]
 [CL child] give.PERF [3.sing borrow.PROG Det CL funny GE book] give [CL teacher]
- (2c) [go3 sai3lou6zai2] zoeng1 [keoi5 ze3.gan6 go2 bun2 dak1ji3 ge3 syu1] bei2.zo2 [go3 sin1saang1]
 [CL child] BA [3.sing borrow.PROG Det CL funny GE book] give.PERF [CL teacher]
 "The child has given the teacher the funny book that he is borrowing"

This study employs a dual-task paradigm to compare the comprehension and production of the canonical double-object dative and the BA-construction. The BA-construction is found to be read faster in a masked self-paced reading task, and is imitated more accurately than the canonical construction in the elicited imitation task. To account for such effects, it is suggested that using alternative constructions facilitates processing and may be part of the reason Cantonese retains a typologically rare word-order configuration.

The Ditransitive Construction of Cantonese and its Argument Alignment Type

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Cantonese is a member of the Chinese language family. It is mainly spoken in the Guangdong and Guangxi provinces as well as overseas. It is one of the top 20 languages with the highest number of speakers in the world (Gordon, 2005). Chinese, including its dialects, is one of the well-known examples of isolating language which has no inflection or case marking. Grammatical functions are usually encoded by means of word order and function words, such as prepositions.

This paper provides an updated account of the Cantonese ditransitive construction in terms of the alignment type proposed by M. Haspelmath (2005a). We will show, by means of both synchronic and diachronic linguistic evidence, that Cantonese is not neutral in terms of flagging. Instead, it should be analyzed as indirective on flagging in which the Theme of the ditransitive construction receives the same marking [zero marking] as the Patient in a monotransitive construction while the Recipient is always preceded by a marker, which is cognate with the core ditransitive verb "give", as a result of grammaticalization.

The ditransitive construction in Cantonese is categorized as neutral both in flagging and indexing alignments by Haspelmath (2005a and 2005b). This conclusion is based on the description of the Cantonese grammar in Matthews & Yip (1994). However, we find this categorization needs closer examination because the examples of the ditransitive construction in Matthews & Yip (1994) do not represent the underlying structure in the dialect.

Sentence (1) is a canonical ditransitive sentence in Cantonese:

- (1) Ngo **bei** cin nei (Matthews & Yip, 1994:137)
 I give money you
 "I give money to you"

Apparently, the above sentence illustrates that there is neither case-marking nor indexing on the Recipient and Theme of the ditransitive construction in Cantonese. However, one can

also supply the morpheme *bei* (give) before the Recipient although the sentence sounds clumsy due to the closeness of the two homophones *bei* (Tang, 1998) and the reduction can be attributed to *proximate-haplology* which can be commonly found in monosyllabic languages. However, if the Theme is long enough, such a repetition is not disfavored (cf. sentence (2)). Furthermore, other inherent ditransitive verbs such as *offer*, *bestow*, *send*, *sell* require the use of the Recipient marker, which is supported by fieldwork data (Chin, 2001 and forthcoming).

- (2) Ngo *bei* loeng gaa ce tung-maai jat-cin man *bei* nei
 I give two CL car and 1000 dollar give you
 “I give two cars and 1000 dollars to you”

We argue that the second *bei* in (2) is a marker introducing the Recipient, which can be supported by both diachronic and synchronic linguistic evidence from Cantonese and other Chinese dialects:

- (a) In many Chinese dialects, the Recipient is always flagged by the verb *give* as a result of grammaticalization (Zhang, 2002; Yue-Hashimoto, 1993). In some dialects, the use of such a marker is obligatory even if the Theme is short and the main verb is also *give*. Such a grammaticalization from the basic ditransitive verb into a Recipient marker is not uncommon in other languages such as Yoruba and Thai and European-based creole languages (Michaelis & Haspelmath, 2003; Newman, 1996; Heine & Kuteva, 2002; Hopper & Traugott, 1997).
- (b) Early textual materials on the Cantonese dialects show that full grammaticalization of the verb *bei* into the Recipient marker did not complete until the 1940s (Takashima & Yue-Hashimoto, 2000). Prior to this, the Recipient marker was mainly *gwo* (lit. “to pass”) and was often present even if the main verb was *bei* and the Theme was short (Chin, forthcoming). This Recipient marker was later replaced by the ditransitive verb *bei*. This diachronic development demonstrates that the morpheme before the Recipient cannot be simply treated as a verb in a serial verb construction. It is also noted that the functional properties of *pass* and *give* are not entirely identical. The former mainly refers to literal, physical dislocations while the latter encodes metaphorical change of ownership.

The development of the ditransitive construction in Cantonese sheds light on human language in general. By tracing the development of the grammaticalization of the verb *give* into a Recipient marker, we note that the resultant problem of homophony can be counterbalanced by proximate haplology in the surface structure. We shall attempt to provide an extended account on the typology of the ditransitive construction in Cantonese, as well as the Chinese language. Furthermore, we shall examine the haplology and the shift of the Recipient marker from *pass* to *give* from the broader functional perspective of Martinet (1962).

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Ditransitive Constructions in a Neo-Aramaic Dialect

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Several factors make the North-eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects interesting studies for ditransitive constructions. Due to the huge diversity between dialects, I will be focusing on one, the dialect of Telkepe, just north of Mosul in Iraq, but I will make some comparisons with other dialects.

In Telkepe Neo-Aramaic (TNA) pronominal objects as well as subjects can be marked on the verb, using two sets of suffixes. They occur both as anaphora and as agreement with an independent noun. While subject agreement is obligatory, object agreement only occurs with definite objects and not with all of them. The object suffixes may mark a patient, a recipient or theme. If there are two pronominal objects, usually they are both marked on the verb. In this case, the theme is marked with a set of clitics, extended versions of the object suffixes. But an alternative strategy exists whereby the theme is marked by the object suffixes and the recipient is marked independently by a prepositions plus pronominal suffix. This strategy is obligatory when the theme is first or second person. Otherwise it is possible but not as common.

Another factor is the presence of two entirely separate forms used to express the past perfective. Their distribution is mainly based on the presence (and person) of a pronominal object. One of these forms only occurs with a pronominal object suffix, and can take the full set of persons. The other can only take third person object suffixes, and may occur without object suffixes. With their different historical development (the latter is a passive construction plus agent reanalysed as active), this provides an interesting case for comparison with regard to ditransitive constructions.

The Ditransitive Constructions of Dutch

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Dutch is one of the relatively few languages which display the phenomenon of Dative Alternation. A variety of 'give' verbs can either be used in (1) a double object construction with both theme and recipient participants coded just like the monotransitive patient, i.e. as unmarked NP objects, or (2) a prepositional dative construction with an unmarked theme object and the recipient marked by the preposition *aan*, as shown in the examples below.

(1) De man heeft zijn broer een boek gegeven/overhandigd/verkocht/aangeboden/beloofd.
'The man has given/handed/sold/offered/promised his brother a book'

(2) De man heeft een boek aan zijn broer gegeven/overhandigd/verkocht/aangeboden/bloofd
'The man has given/handed/sold/offered/promised a book to his brother'

This paper presents some observations from a large-scale study on the syntax and semantics of both ditransitive constructions, based on a database of over 9,000 examples taken from a Dutch newspaper corpus. Rather than focusing on the relation between the two Dutch constructions, i.e. on the semantic and/or pragmatic parameters governing the Dative Alternation, I will discuss a number of morphosyntactic and semantic properties which set apart the Dutch constructions from otherwise similar constructions in other languages.

With regard to the double object construction, for instance, it can be observed that, in Dutch, unlike English and many other languages with ditransitive "neutral alignment" constructions in terms of Haspelmath (2005), it is not the recipient but the theme which is the unmarked candidate (in fact, in most contexts and for most speakers, the only candidate) for subject function in passive clauses:

- (3) a. De man gaf de vrouw twee boeken.
'The man gave the woman two books'
b. * De vrouw werd twee boeken gegeven (door de man).
'The woman was given two books (by the man)'
c. Twee boeken werden de vrouw gegeven (door de man).
'Two books were given the woman (by the man)'

Many analyses of the English double object construction assume the recipient object to be the "real" object of the construction whereas the theme object is treated as a kind of secondary object, evidence for which is typically supplied by referring to behavioral properties such as passivization. Some authors even explicitly treat the English double object construction on a par with the "secundative alignment" constructions attested in other languages (see e.g. Newman 1996). The passivization facts in (3) clearly speak against a similar analysis of the Dutch construction.

Another interesting contrastive observation is that unlike English *to*, French *à*, Arabic *li*, etc., the recipient marker of the Dutch prepositional dative is not an allative marker. *Aan* (cognate of Engl. *on*, Germ. *an*) is used in a variety of locative functions, but it cannot mark a goal at the end of a spatiotemporal path. Typically allative verbs such as *brengen* 'bring', *dragen* 'carry' and *voeren* 'transport', for instance, cannot enter in the prepositional dative construction (or they can only do so in quite specific semantic contexts). In view of this, Dutch *aan* seems to be an exception to Blansitt's (1988) generalization that adpositions

which combine dative and locative functions will also display allative functions. These and other observations show that the ditransitive constructions of Dutch are actually less similar to their counterparts in English and other (neighbouring) languages than might have been expected at first sight.

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Ditransitive Constructions with the Recipient Treated as a Genitive Modifier of the Gift? The Case of Baule

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The recognition of constructions in which the recipient of give is more or less assimilated to a genitive modifier of the gift was proposed by Creissells 1979 for the Kwa language Baule and a few other languages spoken in various parts of the world. The argument for recognizing this type of construction in Baule was based on data presented in Creissells and Kouadio's description of Baule (Creissells & Kouadio 1977). More recently, similar proposals have been made by other authors (see in particular Croft 1985 , Lehmann & al 2004 , Daniel 2006). The aim of this talk is to discuss the situation of Baule on the basis of a more precise description of the relevant data.

In the case of Baule, the following observations provide evidence for recognizing the recipient of give as a genitive modifier of the gift: (a) Baule has a fully productive serial construction of the take ... give type along with a monoverbal construction in which the possible combinations of recipient and gift are limited by restrictions that have no equivalent with clearly ditransitive verbs such as kle 'show'; (b) in Baule, genitival dependents are retaken by a pronoun anteposed to their head, and in the monoverbal construction of give , the NP in the role of recipient is retaken by a pronoun anteposed to the NP representing the gift exactly in the same way; (c) the only possible combinations of recipient and gift in the monoverbal construction are those giving raise to sequences that have the appearance of genitival constructions; note in particular the impossibility to dissociate the recipient from the possessor of the gift, contrasting with the absence of similar restrictions in the monoverbal construction of kle 'show':

(1) *màn kòfí (í) bólí*
 give Kofi (3S) goat
 'Give Kofi a goat'

(compare with *kòfí (í) bólí nì* 'Kofi's goat' (where *nì* is a definite marker))

(2) *màn blā mù bé bólí*
 give woman PL 3P goat
 'Give the women a goat'

(compare with *blā mù bé bólí nì* 'The goat of the women' (where *nì* is a definite marker))

(3) *klè mí wó suǎ nì OR fà wó suǎ nì klè mí*
 show 3S 2s house DEF take 2s house DEF show 3S

- 'Show me your house
- (4) **màn mí wó bólí ni*
 give 1S 2s goat DEF
- (5) *fà wó bólí ni màn mí*
 take 2s goat DEF give 1S
 'Give me your goat'

However, a systematic application of constituency tests does not confirm this hypothesis: in focalization, the NPs representing the recipient and the gift clearly behave as two distinct terms in the construction of give :

- (6) *kòfí yê kuàkú à-màn (i) bólí ò*
 Kofi FOC Kouakou TAM-give (3S) goat FOC
 'Kouakou gave KOFI a goat'
- (7) *bólí yê kuàkú à-màn kòfí ò*
 goat FOC Kouakou TAM-give Kofi FOC
 'Kouakou gave A GOAT to Kofi'

This leaves open the possibility that perhaps, the NPs representing the recipient and the gift in the construction of the Baule verb *man* 'give' are basically two distinct terms in the construction of the verb, but are at the same time, contrary to current assumptions on syntactic structure, in some kind of direct interdependence relation that constrains their possible combinations, when they are adjacent to each other, in the same way as if the recipient were a genitival modifier of the gift.

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Ditransitives in Itonama

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Itonama is a nearly extinct language spoken in Magdalena, a small town in the Amazonian lowlands of northeastern Bolivia. It is a polysynthetic, head-marking, verb-initial language with an inverse alignment system. Furthermore, it has a multiple classifier system, with one set of classifiers appearing on verbs and demonstratives and another set on numeral classifiers. While the nominal morphology is quite transparent (no case-markers or adpositions), verbal morphology, not surprisingly for the region, is a bit more complicated with body-part incorporation, directionals, evidentials, verbal classifiers, etc. Greenberg's (1987) classification of Itonama as Paezan, a sub-branch of Macro-Chibchan, has not been supported yet and Itonama is still considered an isolate.

At first sight, ditransitives are expressed quite straightforward in Itonama, without flagging of R and T:

- (1) *imakī ihwana nimariya uwaka*¹
 i-ma-kī ihwana ni-mariya u-waka
 DV-hand-put Juan HON-María DV-SP.meat
 'Juan gave the meat to María.'

R is only indexed if it is a SAP, as in (2a) and (2b), and the object markers are the same ones as for SAP P arguments:

- (2) a. *simakīwe uwaka*
 si-ma-kī-we u-waka
 1SG-hand-put-2 DV-SP.meat
 'I will give you the meat.'
- b. *simakī uwaka asmaymaye'ne'ka*
 si-ma-kī as-may-maye'-ne'-ka u-waka
 1SG-hand-put 1SG-SUB-parent-NEUT-F.SG DV-SP.meat
 'I will give the meat to my mother.'

However, the prototypical ditransitive verb *imakī* 'give' and the ditransitive verb root *-k'ede* 'show', 'teach' belong to a very small group of verbs that do not get any aspect marking, which usually is obligatory before introducing the verb into the discourse.

- (3) *pa'ohna mikahana'ke yaspak'ede dihpadara t'iyaya*
 pa'oh-na mi-ka<ha>na'-ke yas-pa-k'ede dih-padara t'iyaya
 seem-NEUT REL-old-INTNS-NEUT-PL mouth-word-show 1PI-word child
 'It seems that the elders are teaching our language to the boy.'

Some monotransitives, like *iwehe* 'sell' and *chuduwa'na* 'pay' are ditransitized through the addition of an applicative; note that 'pay something to someone' has lexicalized into 'buy' (4):

- (3) a. *iwehe ihwana ahmiku*
 i-we-he ihwana ah-mi-ku
 DV-sell-DISTR Juan 3-REL-house
 'Juan is selling his house.'
- b. *se'mak'iwehe ihwana ahmiku*
 se'-ma-k'i-we-he ihwana ah-mi-ku.
 1SG.INV-hand-APPL-sell-DISTR Juan 3-REL-house
 'Juan is selling me his house.'
- (4) *a'dich'awa'na a'maymak'ichuduwa'namo asmiwiye*
 a'-di-ch'awa'-na a'-may-ma-k'i-chuduwa'-na-mo as-mi-wiye
 2SG-INT-want-NEUT 2SG-SUB-hand-APPL-pay-NEUT-1 1SG-REL-SP.ox
 'Do you want to buy my oxes from me?'

In this talk I will discuss Itonama ditransitive constructions on the basis of the Questionnaire on Ditransitive Constructions, focusing on the small set of verbs that do not need any additional aspectual morphology and on a possible explanation for the fact that some monotransitive verbs do get lexicalized into ditransitives through an applicative, while others do not. Moreover special attention will be given to the verb *osine* ‘say’.

¹ **Abbreviations:** APPL=applicative; DISTR=distributive; DV=dummy vowel; F=feminine; HON=honorific; INT=interrogative; INTNS=intensive; INV=inverse; NEUT=neutral; PI=plural inclusive; PL=plural; REL=relativizer; SG=singular; SP=Spanish loan; SUB=subordinator; 1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person.

Ditransitives in Nakh-Daghestanian.

A Family Survey

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As Nakh-Daghestanian are relatively well-behaving indirect-object languages, and the indirect object strategy in ditransitives seems to dominate cross-linguistically, after applying the questionnaire suggested within the framework of the ditransitive project (B. Comrie, M. Haspelmath and A. Malchukov) to several languages of the family, we will focus on specifically Daghestanian features. The data come from both various published sources and text corpora and authors’ own fieldnotes / personal knowledge and provides an areal / intragenetic overview of the family diversity.

1. It is well known that Nakh-Daghestanian languages tend to distinguish between temporary and permanent possessive relations in possessive predication by switching between two alternative coding strategies, genitive (permanent possession) and one of the locative forms (temporary possession). Many if not most languages extend this distinction to ditransitive constructions. Although rare as compared to regular constructions with the dative, temporary transfer constructions occur even in relatively small corpora, as that of Archi, where they are limited to the case frame of the verb *Los* ‘give’; cf. (1). Similar phenomena (i.e. competition between dative and a spatial form) are also observed in Nakh (Nichols 1982; Holisky & Gagua 1994), Lak (Zhirkov 1955), Khinalug (Kibrik 1972), Avar (Charachidze 1981), Bagvalal (Kibrik 2001), Hunzib (van den Berg 1995), Bezhta, Khwarshi, Agul, Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999), Kryz (Authier, ms), although the exact semantic contrast is not equally clear in all descriptions and may vary from language to language. Interestingly, some grammars note that temporary transfer construction is also used for ‘giving back’ situations that are in a sense opposite to temporary transfer situations; cf. (2).

2. Another cross-linguistically rare feature notably shared by many Nakh-Daghestanian languages is marking the speech addressee by a spatial form rather than by a dative; cf. (3). Archi verbs such as ‘say’ or ‘ask’ may not introduce the Addressee except by means of Cont-Allative; and the latter is used almost exclusively in this function. This is also true of Nakh, various Andic and Tsezic languages, Lak, Khinalug, Kryz – but not of Lezgian or Agul (Tsakhur codes the speech addressee with affective case marker which probably indicates its locative origins, while Dargwa uses the same spatial form for both Recipient and Addressee; cf. Sumbatova, Mutalov 2003). Interestingly, Chechen may also use dative with speech verbs – not as a marker for Addressee, but as a marker for a participant indirectly affected by the speech act, i.e. in a rather experiential way; cf. (4).

3. Many Nakh-Daghestanian languages use dative both as Recipient *and* Experiencer marker (in some languages, it may also be governed by a postposition or by a verb of

physical contact). Experiential dative combines with such verbs as ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘meet’ or ‘find’ (some languages use a dedicated affective case marker). In a number of contexts, however, it is not straightforwardly clear which of the usage type one deals with, recipientive (prospective possession) or experiential. An important part of these are ‘acquisition situations’.

Consider Archi data in ex. (5). Semantically, intransitive *dāz-eχās* ‘to get, to come into possession of’ is very close to recipientive or, more broadly, prospective possessor semantics. However, unlike transfer or creation verbs, this verb excludes any Agent. It designates a more or less uncontrollable act of coming into possession of an object and, in the Daghestanian perspective, is very close to experiential ‘find’ that also codes an Experiencer of acquisiting type. Another example of uncontrollable experiential/benefactive situation is that of ‘be born to’, conveyed in Archi by intransitive use of *as* ‘do’ (something like ‘a child appeared (made itself) to me’). Unlike the first predicate, this may in principle introduce an Agent (childbirth assistant) in ergative, thus fully copying the ditransitive model. However, a childbirth assistant is obviously a highly peripheral and optional participant; the intransitive case frame is primary and has a distinctly experiential flavor to it.

There are more or less clear benefactive usages (i.e. cases where the dative is introduced situationally rather than by the verb); but in e.g. the Archi corpus now glossed, all such verbs are motion verbs including *eʔas* ‘pour’ (devils filling woman’s plate with fake food), *ačas* ‘pour’ (devils filling her hem with money), *caχas* ‘throw’ (a bird throwing/dropping an apple to/onto a man). That could be an indication that this type of recipientive meaning has some connection with the dative of physical contact verb (such as ‘hit’, where the person being hit is coded by a dative).

To sum up this section, to understand the structure of the benefactive domain and especially the problematic status of acquisition verbs in a Daghestanian language a cross-Daghestanian comparison of various benefactive contexts is required, which the authors will attempt to provide for some languages of the family.

Examples:

(1) *The first day the woman gave the pauper a jug (of butter) to churn.* (Archi 1977 Corpus)

k’an harak-du-t iq-n-a ja-r ʔanna č’ut
 most before-ATR-4 day-OBL-IN this-2 woman.OBL(ERG) jug(NOM)

bo-Lo-li jo-w oq’er-mu-ra-k dayi-s
 HPL-give.PF-EVID this-1 pauper-OBL.1-CONT-LAT <3>hit-INF

(2) *The boy gave money back to his father.* (author’s personal knowledge)

öždi abo-qa okko niλ-na
 boy:ERG father-CONT money(NOM) give-PST

(3) *One saying to another one – You stole it, the other one saying to the third one – You stole it, they quarrelled a lot.* (Archi 1977 Corpus)

ha ju-w-mu un eʔu-l-ēr-ši tu-w-mu-r-ši
 well this-1-OBL.1(ERG) you.sg(ERG) <3>steal-EVID-RPRT-CVB thot-1-OBL.1-CONT-ALL

tu-w-mu un eʔu-l-ēr-ši
 thot-1- you.sg <3>steal-EVID-RPRT-CVB
 OBL.1(ERG)

ošu-m-mu-r-ši dunāla bālbə-t’i ēti-li jij-me-n

other-1-OBL.1-CONT-ALL many tell-NMLZ INCH.PF-EVID this.PL.OBL-OBL.PL-GEN

(4) *I ratted on Zara to her father.* (author's personal knowledge)

aas zaara-na daa-ga muott tuox-na
1SG.ERG Zara-DAT father-ALL tongue(NOM) hit-PRF

(5) *The bandits got the one who stayed here and took him away.* (Archi 1977 Corpus)

eši-χuṭ-u-t qačax-til-če-s dāz+ eχu-li oχa-li
here.to-TRANS-ATR-4(NOM) robber-PL-OBL.PL-DAT get 4.stay.PF-CVB 4.carry.away.PF-EVID

(6) «*Ali-Ashat, stretch out your skirt-hem, (so that we could) fill it with money for you.*» (Archi 1977 Corpus)

ʕali+ ʕašat bo-li wa-š-at'u arsi ača-s kung ba-s-a bo-li
Ali Ashat(NOM) say.PF-EVID you.sg.OBL-DAT-4.R silver(NOM) 4.carry.out-INF hem(NOM) 3-hold-IMP say.PF-EVID

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Visual ditransitivity – conceptualized transfer events in (Norwegian) sign language

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All so far described signed languages seem to share a verb-class whose core member is the ditransitive verb “give”: the so-called “indicating verbs” (Liddell 2003). All verbs of this class appear in a construction with a specific way of marking the argument structure: they can be directed meaningful in space towards localizations of referents in the event. The direction of the verbs’ movement is part of a ditransitive construction and depends on either concrete or

metaphorical conceptualization of a transfer (Taub 1997). Thus, although not all members of this verb-class are semantically ditransitive, they appear in ditransitive constructions. Signed languages can vary with regard to class-members, except for its core-member “give”. The presentation will focus on data from Norwegian Sign Language (NTS). NTS treats concepts like *understand*, *invite* and *visit* as ditransitive indicating verbs, but not *throw* or *carry*. The NTS verb “visit” for example is based on the conceptualization of the visitor as both the source of the event’s movement and at the same time the transferred object. This kind of “double-role” allows transitive verbs to be used in a ditransitive construction with indicating verb movement.

The grammatical roles marked in this construction seem very little connected to the semantic roles of agent and patient/recipient, but rather focus on roles like source of the transfer, goal of the transfer and transferred object, which also affects sign-order.

Furthermore, there seem to be some constraints on the possible directions of movement for some of the verbs. Among other factors like phonological constraints, this probably depends on the degree of closeness to the core-members of the class with regard to the transfer-metaphor. Norwegian Sign Language seems to show some kind of visual ditransitivity hierarchy as a parallel to the transitivity hierarchy (Hopper & Thompson 1980) in spoken languages: different features like animacy and effect of transfer can possibly be identified as building stones in a ditransitivity hierarchy of signed language constructions.

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Ditransitive Structures in Standard and North-Eastern Basque

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In Standard Basque, as well as in its western and central varieties, the auxiliary agrees in person and number with three arguments: the subject, marked with ergative, the indirect object, marked with dative, and the object, marked with the unmarked Case absolutive (see Hualde, Oyharçabal and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003; Etxepare, 2003). In north eastern varieties of Basque, agreement in the auxiliary for the dative indirect object happens to be optional. This feature delimits an isogloss roughly distinguishing north-eastern varieties from the rest. In those varieties, both (1a) and (1b) are possible:

- (1) a. *Jonek aitari gauza bat erran dako*
Jon-erg father-dat thing one-abs said aux[3sE-3sD-3sA]
“John said something to his father”
- b. *Jonek aitari gauza bat erran du*
Jon-erg father-dat thing one-abs said aux[3sE-3sA]
“John said something to his father”

Preliminary studies of the phenomenon (Oyharçabal, 1992; Ortiz de Urbina, 1995) have shown two things: (i) that the optionality is heavily restricted depending on the nature of the predicate and the properties of the dative argument; (ii) that those restrictions are not uniformly distributed geographically. Thus, in the labourdin subarea, agreement is optional with third person dative arguments, but obligatorily absent with reciprocals, and in some

cases also with reflexive dative arguments. At the other end of the scale, it seems obligatory with first and second person dative arguments. In the low-navarrese subarea, as well as in other far eastern varieties (Aescoan, Camino, 1997), agreement with 1st and second person is also optional. We have therefore variation along two dimensions: one involves the range of the phenomenon, which seems to extend along a referentiality-axis; the other one is geographical, and suggests different cut-points in the scale across different varieties. Preliminary observations, due in this case to Ortiz de Urbina (1995), also suggest that the phenomenon of optional dative agreement is limited to a subset of all potential predicates possessing a dative argument. Superficially at least, the restrictions concerning the predicate recall a well known phenomenon in work related to ditransitive predicates. It seems that the subset of predicates that allow optional dative agreement in Basque are very close to those which allow so called dative shift in English (Pinker, 1989; Pesetsky, 1995), or optional clitic doubling in other languages, such as Greek (Anagnostopoulou, 2003) or romance languages (Ormazabal and Romero, in press). The same subclass of predicates seems to underlie also the applicative alternation in languages having applicative structures (Baker, 1988). The idea suggests itself that the Basque agreement alternation with datives is in fact a further alternation of the same type. If we compare the Basque agreement affixes to clitics (see Uriagereka, 1992; Gómez and Sainz, 1995; Etxepare, 2006), then it would seem that whereas the agreeing Cases correspond to the shifted or clitic doubled dative objects, the non-agreeing ones correspond to PPs. This conclusion correlates with another important locus of variation concerning the dative Case-marker: although the dative suffix *-i* is used as a dative case in most of the Basque speaking area (including the standard), being associated to the indirect object almost in all cases and triggering agreement with the auxiliary, it also survives as a lexical postposition in a handful of frozen expressions marking noun dependents (Albizu, 2001). In north-eastern varieties though, it actually survives as the lexically governed postposition of some verbs, and it shows up in contexts where a locative postposition is required in the standard and most of the Basque speaking area. The comparison of north-eastern and central and western varieties of Basque thus seems to point to a diachronic process in which a lexical postposition has become a functional marker (a Case marker), a plausible process of grammaticalization. Our presentation will have a mainly descriptive aim, attempting to describe the range of variation in north-eastern varieties, and comparing them to the more extended forms in the standard and the dialectal area it represents in this case (central and western varieties)

Ditransitives in Mian

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This paper deals with the ditransitive construction in the Papuan language Mian (Ok family, Papua New Guinea).

Mian has one morphological operation which productively increases the valency of a verb by one participant, namely applicativization. This (benefactive) applicative derives semi-transitives from intransitive verbs and ditransitives from (mono-)transitive verbs by introducing an indirect object into the argument structure of the verb. There is no other way of forming ditransitives. The range of semantic roles that can be assigned to the indirect object are beneficiary, source, and also recipient (for instance, in the case of GIVE, TELL and SHOW).

Mian is exclusively head-marking at the level of the clause, i.e. most arguments are indexed on the verb by pronominal affixes. R is obligatorily cross-referenced with a verbal suffix, whereas T is marked with a verbal prefix, but only for a subset of verbs. These affixes show agreement (in the service of construal) with any overt argument NPs in person, number, and—in the third person also—gender/noun class. Neither R nor T are flagged by morphological case-marking or adpositions on the respective NP arguments. An example of the ditransitive verb Ø ‘give’ follows:

- (1) *geim=e tob-Ø-u-b-ke-n-i=be*
 pronged_arrow=SG.N1 SG.LONG.O(T)-give.PFV-EP-BEN-2SG.IO(R)-PST-1SG.SBJ=DECL
 ‘I gave you a pronged arrow’

Stem aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) has an impact on the form of both the applicative morpheme and the suffix which cross-references R. The applicative *-b* is only overtly realized with perfective stems, in imperfective stems it is zero and there are two (partially) distinct series of R marking suffixes.

Since ditransitives—whether derived or non-derived—always involve the benefactive applicative and cross-referencing of an indirect object, there is considerable overlap between ditransitives (as defined for the purposes of the Questionnaire) and beneficiaries.

Yaqui ditransitives

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Yaqui, an accusative Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Sonora, Mexico and Arizona, USA shows two types of ditransitive alignment: indirective flagging and neutral flagging (Haspelmath, 2005a, b). This division depends directly on the semantics verbs; where one group of ditransitive verbs exemplified by *miika* ‘give’, *bittua* ‘show’, *majta* ‘teach’, take the neutral flagging alignment and second group represented by *bittua* ‘send’, *nenka* ‘sell’, and *reuwe* ‘borrow’, take the indirective flagging alignment. Interestingly, the verb *bicha* ‘see’ plus the CAUSATIVE *-tua* lexicalizes in two different verbs: *bittua* ‘show’ or ‘send’ which take each one different flagging alignments:

- (1) a. *joan kabai-ta peo-ta bittua-k*
 John horse-ACC Peter-ACC show-PFV
 ‘John showed a horse to Peter.’
- b. *joan kabai-ta peo-ta-u bittua-k*
 John horse-ACC Peter-ACC-DIR send-PFV
 ‘John sent a horse to Peter.’

Yaqui also presents the type of ditransitive person-role constraint attested by Haspelmath (2004) in many different languages. There is a peculiar behavior in the pronominalization of 3rd theme/3rd recipient in neutral alignment, only one is pronominalized, the other is coded as zero:

- (2) a. *joan ili usi-ta maria-ta bittua-k*
 John little child-ACC Mary-ACC show-PFV

'John showed Mary the child.'

- b. joan a=bittua-k
John 3SG.ACC=show-PFV
'John showed him to her.'

Furthermore, if one of the non-subject participants is plural,¹ this will be the pronominalized argument, ex. (3c), whether the theme (3a) or the recipient (3b):

- (3) a. joan ili usi-m maria-ta bittua-k
John little child-PL Mary-ACC show-PFV
'John showed the children to Mary.'
- b. joan maria-ta ili usi-m bittua-k
John Mary-ACC little child-PL show-PFV
'John showed the children to Mary.'
- c. joan am=bittua-k
John 3PL.ACC=show-PFV
'John showed them to her.'/'John showed her to them.'

Finally, examples like (2a), a kind of ditransitive neutral alignment –not mentioned by Kittila (2006)–, with both theme and recipient humans referents where the reading is actually ambiguous 'John showed Mary the child/John showed the child Mary', can not be disambiguated by any morphological or syntactic means, but depends on the recovery of the information.

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Towards a Theory of Indirect Objects

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This paper will present a view of Indirect Objects as secondary Subjects (and by default co-Topics) of their clause. It includes a theoretical component and a descriptive component, the latter based partly on original work with informants. The theoretical approach uses the terminology of Relational Grammar in classifying the inventory of Grammatical Relations. Its main focus, however, is a theory of predication and its relation to topichood. It is argued that each basic predicate is maximally binary, with its own subject (predication target) and possibly an object. A clause may contain a primary and a secondary predicate, one

¹ Yaqui marks with the suffix *-ta* only singular objects.

argument of which is identified with an argument of the primary predicate, so that the clause is maximally ternary (some putative exceptions will be discussed). A hierarchy of constraints determines the relational structure of the clause on the basis of which arguments are shared between the two predicates. It is claimed that indirect objects arise when the object of the secondary predicate is identified with the object of the primary one. This theory is then motivated by a study of the synchronic and diachronic behaviour of Indirect Objects in the Germanic languages, as discussed in particular by Cole et al (1980), Herslund (1986) and Holmberg and Platzack (1995), and supported by a study of the asymmetry between direct and indirect objects in clitic doubling in the Balkan languages. I also propose a partition of ditransitive predicates into two classes, which seem to have some cross-linguistic stability. These differ as to the grammatical relation normally borne by the "recipient" nominal in a double object construction. It is argued, from data in English and Scandinavian languages, that in the class represented by "give", this nominal is an indirect object, whereas in the "dative" construction it is an oblique. The operation of "dative shift" thus represents an "Obl>3 advancement", a phenomenon which appears at first sight exotic. It will be supported however by evidence from Amharic that the advancement of benefactives and instrumentals to take "object agreement", normally taken to indicate OBL>2 or "applicative" constructions, are in fact another example of precisely the operation posited. Finally the relation between passivized ditransitives and psychological predicates is examined. Following Cole et al (1980) the data is primarily from Germanic languages and Georgian, though it includes my own study of Dutch and Georgian data which differs from their data in certain details.

Linear Order as a Basic Morphosyntactic Factor in Non-Khoe Khoisan

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The paper presents data from Ju (alias "Northern Khoisan") and attempts to show that the morphosyntax of these languages is determined to a considerable extent by grammatical rules which are best defined purely in terms of linear order and such concomitant factors as slot position. The prominence of the factor of linear order leads to several structures which are marked from a typological perspective, because this factor can override semantic and/or syntactic principles commonly at work in other languages. It concerns in particular the encoding of non-subject participants after the verb (the language has the basic word order SVO and is core-serializing). It is based on the general pattern that maximally one nominal term can follow the verb with no marking on the nominal, whereas any other participant must occur further to the right and is normally preceded by a so-called "multipurpose oblique (MPO)" marker. In some languages, any non-subject participant (argument or adjunct) can assume the zero-marked position. Thus the pattern can disregard semantic roles almost entirely, because (a) it applies not only to canonical verbal participants, but to any kind of postverbal nominal term (that is, even time adverbials can be treated like "direct objects") and (b) the placement and marking of semantic roles is not determined by their semantic-syntactic relation to the verb. In Ju|'hoan, for example, this leads to a grammatical structure as in (1)b., where a transitive verb (*//ohm* 'chop') and its undergoer (*!aihn* 'tree') are maximally detached from each other; paradoxically the undergoer (marked by the MPO *kò*) looks more like an oblique here than does the locative adverbial (*g/úí* 'forest').

(1)a. *ha* *kú* *//ohma* *!aihn* *kò* *g/úí*
 1.PRO IPFV chop tree MPO forest

or b. *ha kú //ohma gl'úi kò !aihn*
 1PRO IPFV chop forest MPO tree
 He was chopping the tree in the forest. (Dickens n.d.: 22)

Since the major factor for relative placement of participants seems to be animacy, this leads in ditransitives to the fact that the patient does not precede the recipient.

(2) *dshàú n/lóá /'àn ha dà'ámá kò 'm-sì*
 woman.I.S cook give I.S child MPO food-P
 The woman cooked food for her child. (Dickens n.d.: 23)

Abbreviations:

Arabic numeral = nominal agreement class

IPFV imperfective, MPO multipurpose oblique, PRO anaphoric pronoun

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Ditransitive Constructions in Vietnamese: How to Integrate Serial Verb Constructions and Systematic Zero-Anaphora in a Typology of Alignment Patterns

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Besides the three construction types described in literature as ditransitive constructions for Vietnamese (cf. Clark (1978), Thompson (1965), Nguyen (1997)), cf. (1) and (2), there is a fourth construction type that falls in the definition of semantic ditransitive constructions in the sense of Comrie/Haspelmath (2005), cf. (3).

	<i>Elaborated Structure</i>	<i>Minimal Structure</i>
(1) A V R T	<i>Con chuột cho con voi một cái chảo.</i> CL mouse give CL elephant one CL pan 'The mouse gives the elephant a pan.'	(1') \emptyset cho \emptyset \emptyset . give same as (1a).
(2) a. A V1 V2 R T	<i>Con chuột đưa cho con voi một cái chảo.</i> CL mouse give give CL elephant one CL pan 'The mouse gives the elephant a pan.'	(2')a. \emptyset đưa cho con voi \emptyset . give give CL elephant same as (2a).
b. A V1 T V2 R	<i>Con chuột đưa một cái chảo cho con voi.</i> CL mouse give one CL pan give CL elephant 'The mouse gives a pan to the elephant.'	b = (2a.)
(3) A V1 R V2 T	<i>và nó đưa con voi cầm một cái chảo.</i> and it give CL elephant hold one CL pan 'and it (the mouse) gives the elephant a pan to hold.'	

The double object construction in (1) is a straightforward case of neutral alignment according to the typology of ditransitive alignment patterns proposed by Comrie/Haspelmath 2005. By contrast, the constructions in (2) and (3) are far more problematic to classify within this

typology due to their use of serial verb constructions (SVCs). The Recipient- and the Theme-argument in ditransitive SVCs have coding properties of the neutral alignment because they are both coded like the Patient in the monotransitive construction – in fact SVCs seem to combine two monotransitive constructions into one complex verb construction. Yet arguing for attributing at least the ditransitive (SV) constructions in (2) to the indirect alignment type seems appropriate as well, since the V_2 *cho* can be seen as a special marking device for the Recipient-argument. With respect to the possible alignment patterns in the analysis of (2) and (3), this depends on the degree of grammaticalization, that can be proven for the second verbs in ditransitive SVCs. While the grammaticalization of V_2 *cho* into a preposition is controversially discussed in literature, the verbal status of V_2 in SVCs as in (3) is unquestioned. Whichever way one analyzes the *cho*-constructions in (2), "real" SVCs as the one in (3) still raise the question whether they can be subsumed in one of the alignment types of the said typology or whether they constitute an additional type. Using data from my fieldwork, I will give an overview of relevant behavioral properties of the various arguments in semantic ditransitive SVCs in order to examine this question more closely. The problems that arise for the categorization "intransitive/transitive/ditransitive" in languages as Vietnamese exhibiting systematic omission of arguments ("zero-anaphora", cf. the minimal structures exemplified in (1') and (2')) have been neglected in the previous descriptions of the Vietnamese verbal system. An adequate description of the alignment patterns of Vietnamese ditransitive constructions has to keep this in mind and consequently faces inevitably the question where to situate ditransitivity with respect to levels of linguistic description. In my paper, I present a description of the (semantic) ditransitive constructions in Vietnamese, that takes into account ditransitive SVCs and also addresses as to whether ditransitivity in Vietnamese manifests itself lexically and/or (only) syntactically.

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Three Types of Ditransitive Verbs in Japanese

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In this paper, I report that ditransitive verbs in Japanese are divided into three classes on the basis of their behavioral and coding properties, and discuss how they are differentiated. Data are mostly taken from subject-source verbs where transition is conceived as taking place from the subject to the indirect object (and where necessary, from subject-goal verbs where transition goes from the indirect object to the subject).

One class of verbs, which includes verbs of giving, communication, and future having (such as *ataeru* 'give' *tugeru* 'tell', and *yakusoku-suru* 'promise'), displays the following properties among others: (1) both dative and accusative objects are allowed to be promoted to passive subjects under direct passivization, (2) the source argument of the goal-subject alternant verbs could be marked with dative case, (3) the dative phrases are restricted to animate nominals, (4) low productivity of forming compound verbs with motion verbs, and (5) the impossibility of replacing the dative phrase with a postposition indicating a destination.

A second class of verbs including verbs of sending (*okuru* 'send' and *yuusoo-suru* 'mail') displays different properties, in that (1) only the accusative phrase can be promoted to passive subject under direct passivization, (2) the source argument of the goal-subject alternant cannot be marked with dative case, (3) no animate restriction is imposed on the dative phrase, (4) high productivity of compound verb formation with motion verbs, and (5) a destination-oriented postposition can be substituted for the dative phrase.

A third class of ditransitive verbs including verbs of commercial transfer (*uru* 'sell') and temporal transfer (*kasu* 'lend') show mixed properties: (1) only the accusative phrases are subject to direct passivization, (2) the source argument of a goal-subject alternant cannot be marked in the dative case, (3) the dative phrases are amenable to the animacy constraint, (4) high productivity of compound verb formation with motion verbs, and (5) the dative phrases cannot be replaced with a destination-oriented postposition. Thus, this class of verbs patterns with the first class with respect to (3) and (4), but with the second class with regard to (1), (2) and (5).

I suggest that the divergent properties of the three classes of ditransitive verbs are motivated by two semantic factors; (A) whether the verb encodes the meaning of a change of possession, and (B) whether the verb conceptualizes a change of location. In particular, some behavioral patterns are shown to come from the verbs' selecting an argument-like or adjunct-like goal (which roughly correspond to the distinction of indirect object versus *to*-dative in English), which is motivated the factor B.

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The coding of R (Recipient/Goal) in Finnish: animacy or semantic role?

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In Finnish, the R argument (including both Recipients and Goals, but excluding Beneficiaries) can be coded in two ways; R may occur in the allative or the illative case. This variation is largely conditioned by animacy: animate R's take the allative case, whereas inanimate R's appear in the illative case, a generalization, which explains most instances of R coding. In my talk, I will examine the allative/illative variation in Finnish more closely by examining other features than animacy. My goal is to show that this variation is not conditioned solely by animacy, but other features make a contribution here as well. The aspects below are relevant to my talk:

1. Animate R's almost exclusively occur in the allative case, while inanimate R's usually bear illative coding. This is in line with what is typically known of R coding in Finnish. However, my claim is that this variation is conditioned primarily by the semantic role borne by R's: animate R's are typically recipients, while inanimate R's are typically mere goals/endpoints of motion, which very well explains the distribution of allative and illative in R coding.
2. Animate and inanimate R's differ from each other in whether the variation between the two cases used for R coding is possible or not: the variation is possible only for inanimate R's, which may occur in the allative, if they can be conceptualized as recipients. Animate R's thus appear to be highly marked in the role of goal (see also 4 below).
3. Verb semantics also makes a significant contribution to the coding of R. Variation between allative and illative (and the roles of recipient and goal) is possible only if the semantics of the given verb involves a recipient. The variation is not possible with, e.g., *viedä* ('take') and *tuoda* ('bring'), because R refers primarily to a goal with these verbs. On the other hand, the verb *antaa* ('give') never takes an R in the illative due to its strong association with the role of recipient. However, the correlation of animacy with the semantic role of recipient is more important here, which means that animate R's (in the allative) are always conceptualized as recipients also with verbs that do not allow inanimate R's to be interpreted as recipients.
4. Allative and illative differ from each other also in how loyal they are to their original function (of expressing motion) in R coding. The original function of the allative has faded into the background in R coding and the primary function has shifted to coding the semantic role of recipient. This is reflected, for example, in the fact that motion towards a human entity cannot be coded by the allative; if human R's are merely goals, they need to be adpositionally coded (e.g., *isä-n luokse* '(father-GEN to) instead of *isä-lle* (father-ALL)). The illative, in turn, has largely maintained its original function also in the case of R coding.

The features in 1-4 will all be discussed in light of actual linguistic data. The conclusions above are based only on data from Finnish. I will, however, discuss data from other languages as well (most notably Estonian, Erzya Mordvinian, Korean and English), and show that similar variation is attested in other languages, too. I therefore also hope that my talk could serve as a starting point for studies in other languages that display similar variation in R coding.

Ditransitive Constructions in Laz

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Four grammatical categories are involved in the characterization of Laz ditransitive constructions: cases, cross-referencing affixes, preroot vowels and preverbs.

(a) With respect to case marking, the agent is in the ergative case, the theme in the absolutive and the recipient in the dative (I have found just one occurrence of a recipient marked by a postposition):

bere-k zabun doxtori-s mend-u-yon-u-don
boy-ERG sick.person doctor-DAT PREV-APPL.II3-bring-AOR.I3S-EVD
The boy brought the sick girl to the doctor.

However, first and second person pronouns have no distinction between absolutive, ergative and dative cases.

(b) Laz has two series of cross-referencing affixes. Series I cross-references A and S; series II cross-references the monotransitive patient, and is used also for the recipient or the theme in ditransitive constructions. With the verb “give”, the cross-referenced argument is the higher one on the Animacy Hierarchy 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person:

ar mandvala gyari-t var me-k-ç-am
one piece bread-*ti* NEG PREV-II2S-give-THS
I shall not give you even a piece of bread.

baba skani-k si ma ko-mo-m-ç-am-s
father POSS2S-ERG 2S 1S PREV-PREV-II1S-give-THS-I3S
Your father will give you to me.

baba-k var-me-m-ç-am-s
father-ERG NEG-PREV-II1S-give-THS-I3S
My father will not give me to you.

With all the other ditransitive verbs, my data includes no example of constructions with the theme and the recipient represented both by 1st or 2nd person pronouns, and the cross-referenced argument is always the recipient.

(c) In some verbs, the series II affix is preceded by a preroot vowel (*o-* or *i-lu-*).

(d) In at least one verb (“give”), two preverbs alternate according to the person of the recipient: *mo-* with first person recipients, *me-* in the other cases.

However, this characterization does not hold if the verb undergoes potential derivation. In this derivation, the term representing the person who can do the action receives dative marking and is cross-referenced by a series II affix. Consequently, with ditransitive verbs in the potential, the recipient must be treated as an oblique:

Axmeti-s mugvala va-g-Ø-a-nval-e-n
Ahmet-DAT ball NEG-PREV-II3S-PRV-throw-THS-I3S
Ahmet can't throw the ball.

Axmeti-s mugvala çkim-da va-g-Ø-a-ngval-e-n
 Ahmet-DAT ball 1S-POST NEG-PREV-II3S-PRV-throw-THS-I3S
 Ahmet can't throw me the ball.

Starting from this description, my talk will include a discussion of the syntactic functions of the terms involved in the ditransitive construction (A, O, E and oblique terms).

Abbreviations:

AOR = aorist; APPL = applicative; EVD = evidential; POST = postposition; PREV = preverb; PRV = preroot vowel; THS = thematic suffix; I3S = first series of cross-referencing affixes, 3rd person singular; II3 = second series of cross-referencing affixes, 3rd person

Ditransitive Constructions in Cantonese: The Give-construction as the Non-Prototypical Example

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The default definition for a ditransitive construction is almost invariably ‘a construction like the give-construction’. While the give-construction is the most representative example of such constructions in most languages, this is definitely not the case in Cantonese. In fact, in Cantonese, the give-construction is the *only* construction that displays a number of peculiar properties.

This paper investigates the syntax of the theme argument and the recipient argument in ditransitive constructions in Cantonese in a number of phenomena. These include the structural order of the arguments and the effect of weight on the arguments. The paper also discusses whether the two non-subject arguments in a ditransitive construction can be relativized on, questioned and pro-dropped.

Throughout the paper, the syntax of the give-construction is contrasted with that of other ditransitive constructions. This is because the give-construction is not the prototypical ditransitive construction in Cantonese. In fact, in two respects, it is the *only* exceptional ditransitive construction in the language. First, it is the theme argument, but not the recipient argument, that immediately follows the verb ‘give’ (1), unlike all other ditransitive constructions, where the recipient argument is the argument that is adjacent to the verb. The theme argument is the final one in the examples in (2). This order is just as the one identified for ditransitive constructions in most other languages:

(1) Give

ngo	bei-zo	bun	syu	ngo	gaaze
1.sg	give-perf	CL	book	1.sg	elder.sister

‘I gave the book to my elder sister.’

(2) Other ditransitive constructions

a. Teach

ngo	gaau	siupangjau	zungman
-----	------	------------	---------

1.sg teach children Chinese

'I teach children Chinese.'

b. Ask

go gingcaat man-zo go zingjan hou do mantai
CL police.officer ask-perf CL witness very many question

'The police officer asked the witness a lot of questions.'

Second, under the effect of weight, the arguments in a give-construction are the only ones that can switch positions such that the *heavy* NP is in final position in the clause. Weight does not seem to matter in other ditransitive constructions.

When it comes to relativization, question formation and pro-drop, the give-construction behaves in similar ways to other ditransitive constructions. The contrast is between the theme-argument and the recipient argument in a ditransitive construction, rather than between the give-construction and all other ditransitive constructions. In terms of relativization, the theme argument in a ditransitive construction is relativized using the gap strategy, just as the theme argument in a monotransitive construction is relativized. The recipient argument, on the other hand, can only be relativized if there is a resumptive pronoun filling its canonical position. In terms of question-formation, either the theme argument or the recipient argument can be questioned. With pro-drop, it is easier to pro-drop the theme argument than it is to pro-drop the recipient argument.

The Crosslinguistic Study of Dative Alternations: A Verb Sensitive Perspective

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Studies of English “dative” verbs and their counterparts in other languages typically focus on whether a language shows two morphosyntactic realization options for these verbs—i.e., a dative alternation—and, if so, what these options are. We argue languages differ in their treatment of these verbs along two axes: (i) the ways in which the meaning a verb lexicalizes can be associated with certain event types and (ii) the morphosyntactic realizations available to these event types. Understanding (i) requires distinguishing the meaning components lexicalized by a verb from the range of meanings the verb can be associated with. Understanding (ii) involves determining how languages exploit morphosyntactic means at their disposal in realizing the arguments of dative verbs.

Based on a study of English, Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2006) propose that core dative verbs (e.g. *give*, *show*) must be distinguished from noncore dative verbs (e.g. *send*, *throw*, *kick*) with respect to (i). The former are typically associated ONLY with a caused possession event type ('x cause y to have z'; y a recipient), while the latter are associated with both caused motion ('x cause y to be at z'; z a spatial goal) and caused possession. Though English core dative verbs alternate, RH&L show that these verbs still only express caused possession even when they mark the recipient with *to*, which also marks spatial goals. The proper statement about English, then, is that *to* covers a range of semantic notions, including recipient and spatial goal.

The core/noncore dative verb distinction gains support from studies of German, Hebrew, and, Russian, which reveal that these languages parallel English in their associations of the two verb types with the two event types. These studies also show two sources for a dative

alternation: a verb may be associated with two event types, each with its own morphosyntactic realization, or an argument type specific to an event type may have two realizations. A language may have one or both forms of the alternation: we show English has both, while Russian only the first.

As mentioned, languages may differ in two ways. First, languages show variation in their case and adposition inventories, as well as in the “semantic domain” of what might be taken to be comparable cases or adpositions across languages. As such elements are used to express recipients and spatial goals, variation is expected in the expression of these notions (cf. Aristar 1996, Blansitt 1988). For example, where English *to* covers both recipients and spatial goals, the Russian preposition *k* is reserved for certain spatial goals, while the dative case is used for recipients, but never for purely spatial goals. The result is that in Russian, the caused possession event type has a single morphosyntactic realization—a realization distinct from caused motion, contrasting with English. German, however, has a richer case/adposition system, making finer distinctions even among core dative verbs: *geben* ‘give’ only allows its recipient to be dative, but *verkaufen* ‘sell’ allows its recipient to be either dative or the object of the preposition *an*.

Second, a review of primary and secondary data from about 10 languages shows that noncore dative verbs are not always associated with the caused possession event type: English allows a wide range of noncore dative verbs to express caused possession, but Yaqui does not (Guerrero Valenzuela 2002). This observation is implicit in Croft et al. (2001); they propose that a language only shows the double object construction—the expression of caused possession—with a verb on the “ditransitivity” hierarchy ‘give’ < ‘send’ < ‘throw’ if it allows it for verbs to its left. Furthermore, in some languages certain noncore dative verbs must be morphologically “marked” when used in the expression of caused possession. We predict that this marking will always occur with verbs lower on the hierarchy. Thus, German *schicken* ‘send’, besides showing the alternation available to *verkaufen*, allows a caused motion event type, appearing with a spatial goal marked by *zu*; *kicken* ‘kick’, however, can only have a caused possession meaning when it appears with a particle: *zukicken*. Few studies of the dative alternation have systematically focused on this dimension of variation.

These studies suggest the importance of fully delineating the space of morphosyntactic options found across languages for expressing caused motion and caused possession, in general, and the notions recipient and goal, in particular. Blansitt’s (1988) typological study of dative, locative, and allative case/adposition syncretisms would provide a productive starting point for doing this. Such an investigation would set the stage for understanding why only some languages allow two realization options for recipients and whether there is a connection between the morphosyntactic means for expressing caused possession and motion and the verbs which a language allows to alternate.

Ditransitive Constructions in Mandarin Chinese

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One of the basic questions we need to answer when we examine ditransitive constructions in Mandarin Chinese is how many ditransitive constructions the language has. Among the three sentences in (1), most of the previous studies take (1c) as a sub-type of (1b), a double object construction (DO). Superficially, the two differ only in that while the verb in (1b) is simplex, the verb in (1c) is a complex verb whose second component is the verb *gei* ‘give’.

- (1) a. *Zhangsan* *zuo-le* *yige* *dangao* *gei* *ta*
 Zhangsan make-perf one-cl cake to him
 ‘Zhangsan made a cake and gave it to him.’

- b. *Lisi song ta yiben shu*
 Lisi give him one-cl book
 'Lisi gave him a book.'
- c. *Lisi songgei ta yiben shu*
 Lisi give-give him one-cl book
 'Lisi gave him a book.'

In this study, I will show that in fact, (1a), (1b) and (1c) represent three different, although related, constructions. Recognizing them as independent constructions will enable us to better understand the properties of each construction and how the three constructions relate to one another.

The strongest evidence that (1b) and (1c) represent different constructions comes from the fact that the verbs that enter DO are not the same as verbs that enter the complex verb double object construction (Complex V DO). Except for core verbs that denote transfer of possession (e.g. *song* 'give', *tigong* 'provide', *jiao* 'teach', *mai* 'sell'), verbs that enter DO and verbs that enter Complex V DO do not overlap, as shown in (2):

- (2) a. Verbs that enter DO:
 gaosu 'tell', wen 'ask', qian 'owe', wei 'feed', zhidao 'guide', daying 'promise', zhun 'allow', zhaodai 'provide food', shao 'short of', guan 'pour into'
- b. Verbs that enter complex V DO:
 juan 'donate', diu 'throw', ji 'mail', jieshao 'introduce', na 'bring', da (dianhua) 'call on the phone', chuanzhen 'fax', chuan 'pass', di 'hand over', pao 'throw'

Semantically, the three constructions differ with respect to aspects of transfer that are expressed and the role of the dative object. DO expresses act of transfer (or expected act) only, but the indirect object can be recipient as well as goal or patient. On the other hand, in complex V DO, besides act of transfer, manner or instrument of transfer can also be expressed; however, the indirect object must be recipient. Finally, the prepositional object construction expresses act, manner, instrument of transfer and pre-condition of transfer, (the last one illustrated in (1a)), and the prepositional object has the role of recipient.

Syntactically, the constructions make reference to the semantic role of the constituents. Thus, in all three constructions the theme object can be passivized, but not the recipient/goal; similarly, the theme object can be questioned, while the recipient/goal object can be questioned if the theme object is topicalized.

Ditransitive Coding in Chinese

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Chinese has all the three main types of ditransitive coding, and even more. However, their functions are different. This paper explores the relationships between coding types and information structure, and thus provides some criteria to judge the dominant one among different coding types.

1. The indirect-object type.

- (1) a. *Wo song-le yi-ben shu gei ta.*
 I give-Aor one-Clf book to s/he

'I gave a book to him/her.'

- b. Wo xie-le yi-feng xin gei ta.
I write-Aor one-Clf letter to s/he
'I wrote a letter to him/her.'

The second **gei** in (1) is described by some scholars as a secondary verb. We will provide plenty of evidence to show that it is more a preposition than a secondary verb on the way of grammaticalization.

2. The double-object type.

- (2) a. Wo song(gei)-le ta yi-ben shu.
'I gave him/her a book (as a gift).'
b. Wo xie*(gei)-le ta yi-feng xin.
'I wrote him/her a letter.'

In this type, **gei** is optional only when the main verb has the meaning of transference (**song** means *to give as a gift*). In addition, the two cases with and without **gei** in (2a) have different meanings. With **gei**, (2a) implies that the action must be completed; thus *wo song-gei ta yi-ben shu, danshi ta meiyou jiешou* (lit. I gave him a book, but he didn't accept) is unacceptable.

3. The secondary-object type.

- (3) Wo ba zhe-ben shu song(gei)-le ta.
I Prep. this-Clf book give(to)-Aor s/he
'I gave the book to him/her.'

This type requires an at-least specific theme. Therefore, **zhe-ben** can be replaced by **yi-ben** (here **yi** can be taken as an indefinite article), but not **san-ben** (three-Clf). Some scholars treat the theme in (3) as a secondary topic.

Statistically, type (2) is used most frequently in Mandarin Chinese, though not always so in other dialects. However, distributional analyses show that type (1) is most unmarked, because it is least conditioned in terms of the pragmatic perspective. The recipient in (2) cannot be lower than the theme on the hierarchy of definiteness. (1) is not subject to this restriction. Type (3) is the most marked in many aspects.

Considering word order, there is another type of the indirect-object pattern, where the indirect object with a preposition precedes V:

- (4) Wo xiang ta huibao shiyan jiegou.
I toward s/he report experiment result.
'I report the result of experiment to him.'

(4) differs from (1) in that the specifically coded recipient precedes V rather than follows it. Many ditransitive verbs without the connotation of transference obligatorily require this construction.

In some southern dialects, the double-object type also use the theme-recipient order, in addition to the recipient-theme order. However, this construction is highly restricted in the sense that neither recipient nor theme can be a heavy constituent.

A Parallel between the Orders Composed of S,O, V and those of R, T, V

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A parallel between the order composed of S, O, V and those of R(ecipient), T(heme), V is observed based mainly on an investigation of 90 languages in China.

Dryer 2005:	SOV	SVO	VSO	VOS	OVS	OSV
	497	435	85	26	9	4
Our data:	RTV	RVT	VRT	VTR	TVR	TRV
	44	0	14	10	0	1

If we classify the two sets into three groups with V as the reference point, a parallel appears, where $S \approx R$ and $O \approx T$ in terms of word ordering.

1. In the case of V-final, SOV is overwhelmingly dominant over OSV. Similarly, RTV is absolutely dominant over TRV. In fact, no language in our data takes TRV as its basic order.

2. In the case of V-initial, both VSO and VOS are likely. In fact, numerous languages belong to the mixed type of the two orders and can be simply titled with a covering term 'V-final languages'. Similarly, both VRT and VTR are frequently documented. And 13 SVO languages in our data belong to the mixed type of VRT and VTR.

3. In the case of V-middle, the parallel is not straightforward. SVO is overwhelmingly dominant over OVS. However, as basic word orders, neither RVT nor TVR language is found, in our data. Nevertheless, in many VRT/VTR languages and few RTV/TRV languages, the RVT alternation is much more frequently used than the TVR alternation.

The parallel invites an explanation of the distribution of the six orders of R, T and V, which is similar to that of the distribution of S, O and V. The explanation goes as follows:

The two sets of word order distribution can be explained with the interaction of two principles: Linear Precedence (LP) and Semantic Proximity (SP).

LP claims that there is a hierarchy of precedence tendency among arguments. The hierarchy is motivated by several factors, including definiteness, animacy, given information, etc. They could constitute a natural class as the identifiability hierarchy.

SP claims that there is a hierarchy of proximity to the verb among the arguments.

Suppose (1): LP favors the orders [S...O] and [R...T], and (2): SP favors the orders where O and T are closer to V than S and R are, i.e. $\{\{V\}O\}S$ and $\{\{V\}T\}R$ (where $\{\}$ means proximity, but not linear order). The two sets of word order distribution can be largely explained by the interaction of the two principles. Evidence is plentiful for the claims of (1) and (2).

The status of OVS and TVR deserves further analysis. Take OVS for instance. At first sight, OVS satisfies SP (i.e. $[[OV]S]$) but violates LP. However, the satisfaction is dubious, since O and S are both immediately connected to V, at least on the surface. In other words, the satisfaction is vacuous; SP is just irrelevant here. Or in other words, OVS is not motivated by SP while it violates LP. Thus, statistically, OVS and OSV belong to the same category of 'almost non-existent'.

One might say SP should be irrelevant to SVO as well and ask why it occurs so frequently. The answer goes as follows. Since SXVO is frequent but SVXO is almost non-existent, SP does work in SVO. Or in other words, SP-relevant $[S[VO]]$ is true. The same explanation can be extended to TVR and RVT. Here is a piece of evidence: VOX 189, VXO zero, XOY 45, OXV 23 (Dryer 2005).

Ditransitives, applicatives, and “half-transitive” verbs in Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo)

Osahito Miyaoka

This paper is meant to be a sketchy description of CAY ditransitives in the light of the whole verb system of the language in especial reference to the two other multi-argument verbs—“complex transitive” and applicative verbs—, with minimum information provided beforehand about the classification of its basic verb stems and related valency modifications.

Main emphasis is laid upon [1] characterization of ditransitives as compared with agentive (S=A; “accusative”) monotransitives and complex transitives (with superordinate agent - i.e. “double transitives” by Kleinshmidt/Fortescue and “compound-verbal” by Jacobson) and [2] applicative verbs as compared with non-agentive (S=O; “ergative”) monotransitives to see their relevance to “half-transitives” (as called in Eskimology, that is, anti-passivisations of non-agentive verbs).

In particular I will distinguish between two different types of ditransitives—recipient prominent and theme prominent—by characterizing them on several morpho-syntactic criteria, among them, case alignments, relative clauses, nominalizations, and intransitivisations which are made by different processes (anti-passive, medio-passive, reflexive/reciprocal, half-transitive). In this context, attention to derived applicatives, which may be three-argumental but behave differently from ditransitives and complex transitives, would be highly relevant. Their (adversative and benefactive) experiencer roles are particularly focused, and this hopefully leading to an understanding of the (probably pan-Eskimo) nature of half-transitives.

The basic patterns of the system as I perceive are shown in Summary [1] and [2] below:

Summary [1]: Monotransitives (agentive), ditransitives, and complex transitives

monotransitives (agentive)

intransitive inflection (anti-passive)

① **ner'-uq** he is eating (something)
(O) S=A
ABM ABS

transitive inflection

② **ner-aa** he is eating it
O A
ABS REL

complex transitives*

reading 1

reading 2

③ **nere-vkar-aa** he let her eat (something)
(O_{THM}) A A'
ABM ABS REL

④ **nere-vkar-aa** he let (someone) eat it
O_{THM} (A)** A'
ABS ALL REL

ditransitives*

type 1 (recipient-prominent)

type 2 (theme-prominent)

⑤ **cikir-aa** he provides her (something)
(O_{THM}) O_{RCP} A
ABM ABS REL

⑥ **tun-aa** he gives it (to someone)
O_{THM} (O_{RCP})** A
ABS ALL REL

* Alignment of complex transitives and ditransitives with agentive monotransitives does not mean they are “agentive” verbs: Instead they are “non-agentive” and behave so in intransitivisation like ⑦ and ⑨ in Summary [2].

** ALL demotion (from REL) specific to reading 2 and type 2 only, but not three-argument applicatives.

Summary [2]: Monotransitives (non-agentive) and applicative verbs

monotransitives (non-agentive)

intransitive inflection

transitive inflection

⑦ **naveg-tuq**---medio-passive

⑨ **navg-aa** he broke it

1. it broke
S (O-A medialisation)
ABS
2. it was broken
S=O (A-deletion)
ABS

O A
ABS REL

⑩ **navg-i-uq**---“half-transitive” (anti-passive)

he broke (something)
(O) S
ABM ABS

applicatives (adversative)

intransitive inflection

transitive inflection

⑩ **navg-i-uq**

⑪ **navg-i-a** ‘he broke (something) on her

1. he broke (something)
(O) S (O_{APL}-A medialisation)
ABM ABS
2. he had (something) broken
(O) S=O_{APL} (A-deletion)
ABM ABS

(O) O_{APL} A
ABM ABS REL

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Ditransitivity in Teop

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Teop, an Oceanic language spoken in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, shows an exceptional high number of ditransitive verbs as well as causativisation, verb serialisation and the incorporation of prepositions as a productive device of deriving ditransitive constructions from transitive ones. Semantically we can distinguish three types of simple ditransitive verbs: recipient/theme verbs, place/theme verbs and patient/instrument verbs:

Table 1: Semantic roles in ditransitive constructions

verb		semantic role of OBJ1	semantic role of OBJ2
hee	give s.o. s.th.	recipient	theme
dao	call s.o. s.th.	recipient (of a name)	theme (name)
koma	pour s.th. on s.th.	place	theme
hivi	ask s.o. s.th.	addressee	content
tasu	throw s.th. at s.o./s.th.	goal/patient	theme
asun	hit, kill s.o. with s.th.	patient	instrument

There is no passive in Teop. Without any morphological changes, both the primary and the secondary object can be the topic of the clause, which always holds the first position; and both of them can be relativised.

Sequential order of arguments:

TOPIC	VC	1	2
subject	VC	primary object	secondary object
primary object	VC	subject	secondary object
secondary object	VC	subject	primary object

- | | SUBJ | VC | OBJ1 | OBJ2 |
|-----|--|------------------|--|----------------------|
| | agent | | recipient/patient | theme/instrument |
| (1) | [Me Toko] | [paa hee] | [bene Sookara] | [bona overe]. |
| | [and.ART Toko] | [TAM give] | [ART Sookara] | [ART coconut] |
| | 'Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' [Sia. 1.68E] | | | |
| (2) | Me-ori paa asun [bari] | | [bona maa taba vaasunasun teori]. | |
| | and-they TAM kill [him] | | [ART PL thing fight their] | |
| | 'And they killed him with their weapons.' [Sii. 6.308] | | | |

- OBJ2 VC SUBJ OBJ1
 theme agent recipient
- (3) **[O paku bona ve] [pasi hee ri vu]-[e] [bona ba noasinae]**
 [ART feast this but] [TAM give OBJ:3PL TAM] [3SG] [ART his.relative]
 'But this feast he will give his relatives.' [MLV 1.22R]

All ditransitive verbs can be combined with the applicative particle **ni**. With intransitive verbs **ni** transitivises the verb, e.g. **pita** 'walk', **pita ni** 'walk with s.th. (for example, a stick)', but with ditransitive verbs, it reduces the valency as it promotes the secondary object to the position of the primary object, while removing the original primary object or demoting it to the position of an adjunct. When **hee** is used with the applicative, the theme becomes the primary object whereas the recipient is either removed or demoted to the position of an adjunct.

- (9) SUBJ:agent VC OBJ1:theme ADJUNCT:recipient
[eori to] [hee ni nao-ri] [bona taba ani][vo kuri-ri- ori]
 3PL REL give APP DIR-IMPF:3PL ART ART thing eat GOAL hand- POSS- 3PL
 'it is them who give the food into their hands' [Bua. 1.221R]

- (10) OBJ1:theme VC SUBJ:agent
[A maa iana bara maa meha taba] [hee ni nao nom] [nam]
 ART PL fish and PL other thing give APP DIR IMPF 1EXC
 'Fish and other things we gave' [Pur. 2.272R]

Among the incorporated prepositions, the preposition **ki**, which marks recipients, beneficiaries and addressees, is the most frequently used one; in fact, the data suggest that all transitive verbs can be ditransitivised by **ki**.

				semantic role of OBJ1	semantic role of OBJ2
dee	carry s.th.	dee ki	bring s.o. s.th.	recipient	theme
paku	make s.th.	paku ki	make s.th. for s.o.	benefactive	patient
sue	say s.th.	sue ki	tell s.o. s.th.	addressee	content
vaa-kuu CAUS-fall	drop	vaa-kuu-ki CAUS-fall-for	drop s.th. for s.o.	recipient	Theme

Other incorporated preposition are **mi** 'with (comitative)', **kahi** 'from (ablative)' and **suku** 'because of'.

Prototypical Ditransitivity

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The question of what exactly characterises a prototypical ditransitive verb is a matter of some disagreement in the typological literature. Most commonly, the prototypical ditransitive verb is assumed to be 'give'; Newman (1998:11) suggests that "the act of giving can be considered as a basic type of act of considerable functional importance".

The prototypicality of 'give' has, however, been disputed. Borg and Comrie (1984) argue that 'give' in Maltese is "syntactically a very atypical ditransitive verb". Kittilä (2006), on the other hand, shows that if 'ditransitive verb' is defined as a verb having two nonsubject arguments which are **both** treated in the same way as a transitive Patient – that is, a verb genuinely taking 'two objects' – then practically all languages which have such a category of verbs will include 'give' among them, and if a language has only one such verb, it is apparently always 'give'. This is clearly a prototype pattern, with 'give' as the most prototypical instance.

It is essential to keep in mind that 'prototypical' does not mean the same as 'frequent' or 'unmarked': The fact that 'give' is the prototypical example of a verb found in formally ditransitive constructions in no way excludes the possibility that such constructions are in themselves rare, unusual or 'marked' in a given language. What Borg and Comrie (1984) show for Maltese is that **genuine ditransitives are fairly rare in language**; the atypicality of 'give' in Maltese consists of its recipient argument showing direct-object properties to a larger extent than that of any other three-participant verb in the language, in other words it is a 'highly ditransitive' verb. What these data suggest is not that 'give' is an atypical ditransitive verb, but rather that ditransitivity itself is atypical. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that many languages entirely lack ditransitive constructions in the sense specified above; instead, three-participant events may be expressed in an **extended transitive** construction, that is, in a monotransitive clause with an additional oblique NP. Even in languages which do have 'real' ditransitive verbs, the set of such verbs tends to be quite small.

Næss (to appear) suggests that a formally transitive construction – with two independent syntactic arguments, subject and direct object – may be a relatively marked way of encoding a two-participant event, since it casts both participants as highly prominent and requires roughly equal attention to be paid to both agent and patient. Obviously, a construction with **three** prominent participants will be marked to an even greater extent, which may be why many languages choose other strategies than a genuinely ditransitive clause to encode three-participant events. One might represent this as a scale of naturalness of expression, with the relative markedness of a construction increasing with the number of syntactic arguments. Thus a 'prototypical ditransitive' is in fact a highly marked construction type, as it requires the hearer to simultaneously keep track of three distinct prominent participants. That such a construction should be restricted in many languages to a few highly salient instances, such as acts of giving, is, from this perspective, hardly surprising.

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Ditransitive Constructions in Tungusic Languages

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Tungusic languages possess two main types of ditransitive constructions (DC): 1) canonical DCs and 2) specific DCs. The former type is analogous to DCs in many other languages (e.g. Slavic and Germanic) in which themes (T) are, as a rule, expressed by the accusative case form and recipients (R) by the dative case form, e.g. Evenki: Etyrken (NOM) sulaki-du (DAT) imuren-me (DEF.ACC) buu-re-n 'The-old-man gave the fat to the fox'. The latter type is characterized by R-indexing on T-nouns, e.g. Evenki: Dyav-ya-v (boat-INDEF.ACC-1SG.POSS) oo-kal (make-2SG.IMP) 'Make a boat-for-me'.

In canonical DCs with full NPs Rs in Northern Tungusic languages are, as a rule, flagged by the dative case marker -du, and in the Southern Tungusic languages by the allative case marker (e.g. Nanai -chi, Uilta -tai), whereas Ts are marked either by the accusative case markers or by the reflexive possession markers (the former and the latter are additionally distributed), e.g. Uilta: Bi mapa-tai (ALL) ulisse-e (ACC) buu-hem-bi 'I gave the meat to the-old-man'. Rs with Evenki verb gun- 'say, tell' may take either the dative or the allative (-tki/-tyki) case marker (the latter is preferable with pronouns), and in Poligus Evenki dialect also the accusative case marker, e.g. Evenki: Tara-ve (ACC) gu-kel (2SG.IMP) min-tyki (ALL) 'Tell me that'; Atyrkan gun-e-n beye-l-ve (ACC) 'The-old-woman said to the men'. The neutral order in non-elliptical declarative DCs is ARTV_{fin}, although ATRV_{fin} is also possible in Evenki. Any NP in DCs may be omitted in case it is clear from the context/situation. Animate themes (both nominal and pronominal) are possible in DCs, e.g. with verbs buu- 'give' and iche-vken- (see-CAUS) 'show'.

The specific type of DCs with R-indexing on T-nouns involves either the indefinite accusative case marker -ya (in Evenki and Negidal) or specialized designative case markers (Even -ga, Nanai -goa, Oroch -laa/-yaa/-naa, Udehe -na, Uilta -do). All these markers are obligatorily followed by either personal or reflexive possession markers expressing person/number of possessor who is also recipient or beneficiary, e.g. Even: Hut-ke-ku emu-li (2SG.IMP) 'Bring (for) me a child'; Nanai: Mi ag-bi dangsa-goi-va ga-chi-ni 'My elder brother bought a book-for me', Oroch: Tadu megge asa-laa-i (REFL.POSS) baa-ha-ni 'Then the hero found a wife-for-himself', Uilta: Bi apun-do-si ga-tchi-mbi 'I took a cap for you'. Full NPs in the dative case form expressing Rs are sometimes found in DCs of the second type, e.g. Oroch: MIN-DU (DAT) asa-naa-m buu-dyenge-su '(You) give ME a wife-for-me' (Avrorin, Boldyrev 2001: 115). And conversely, designative noun forms may occur in DCs of the canonical type, cf. Evenki: Etyrken omolgi-va (ACC) gun-e-n: Bi SIN-DU (DAT) buu-dye-m (FUT) hute-i (REFL-POSS) asi-ya-s (wife-INDEF.ACC-2SG.POSS) '[The-old-man said to the boy:] I shall give YOU my daughter as-a-wife-for-you' (Kolesnikova 1966: 161).

Possessive suffixes which index Rs on T-nouns when used after specialized case markers may be also added to purposive converbs (Evenki, Even, Negidal -daa, Nanai -goa, Oroch -laa, Udehe -laga, Ulcha -bda, Uilta -buddo). In this case they also fulfil the designative function, cf. Evenki: Bu-kel (2SG.IMP) tan-daa-v (-v -- 1SG.POSS) 'Give me [a pipe, tobacco, etc.] to smoke' (lit. 'Give in-order-to-smoke-for-me'); Muu-ve (ACC) emep-kel-lu (2PL.IMP) um-daa-n (-n -- 3SG.POSS) '(You-pl.) bring water for-him/her-to-drink'; Oroch: Dzheu-lee-mu buu-ve-su 'Give me to eat'. It is worth mentioning that Nanai and Oroch have the same markers both for the designative case and for the purposive converb.

Ditransitives in Ket: a case of syntactic realignment?

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There are two distinct types of ditransitive constructions in Ket. One pattern is basically secundative where the verb agrees through the object agreement slot with the recipient, and the verb includes the so called 'applicative' (Vajda 2005) or 'instrumental' (Werner 1997) marker. As can be seen in (1) both objects are unmarked for case. The second pattern

illustrated by another ‘give’ verb is indirective, where the verb agrees through the object agreement slot with the theme, which remains unmarked, while recipient takes the dative case. Importantly there is no applicative marker on the verb in this case (see (2)).

The second group is considerably larger, including verbs such as *q_7-k5-a4-bed0* ‘sell’, *t5-4-ki0* ‘tell’, *eda7-q5-t~a0* ‘send’, *k5-bes0* ‘bring’. The first group, which contains a few items like *es7-k5-a4-b3-daq0* ‘throw’, *t5-a4-b3-kit0* ‘rub’, *es7-t5-a4-b3-a0* ‘shoot’, *_q_d7-k5-b3-a0* ‘cover’) is of particular interest. First it shows considerable variability in case marking which sometimes allows for marking of the third argument by an oblique (instrumental/comitative) case with *_q_d7-k5-b3-a0* ‘cover’, or the goal argument with a dative case with *es7-k5-a4-b3-daq0* ‘throw’; but this marking is optional in other cases. Another puzzling point here is the role of the applicative marker and its identity to the marker of inanimate patients of intransitives, as illustrated in (see (3)). While some approaches (cf. Belimov 1991) do not consistently differentiate between different *-b-* markers, as shown by Vajda (2004), the use of *-b-* in (1) cannot be regarded as an agreement marker: *b3-aq0* ‘give’ is also compatible with an animate theme, even if such constructions tend to be avoided.

Yet, it can be shown that both problems can be provided a solution from a diachronic perspective. In particular, we propose that the applicative marker is diachronically identical to the inanimate object marker (cf. Georg’s 2007 discussion of ‘petrified uses’ of *-b-*). This can explain the regular use of applicatives with three argument verbs: in this construction there are two object slots, one for an animate primary object (goal/patient), another for an inanimate secondary object (theme/instrument). The original state is best preserved with the ‘give’ verbs as in (1), which form the double object construction exclusively. Originally this class should have been larger, but eventually (probably also due to language contact), the original secundative double object pattern started to change to indirective, which is most obvious in case marking: *es7-k5-a4-b3-daq0* ‘throw’ now may take the recipient/goal as the dative or prepositional object, while *t5-a4-b3-kit0* ‘rub’ and *_q_d7-k5-b3-a0* ‘cover’ take the notional instrument in the comitative/instrumental case. In case of ‘throw’ the restructuring affected agreement as well, insofar as the verb agrees with the theme/instrument, while originally it should have indexed the goal argument, as the presence of the applicative/intensive marker suggests (see (4)). A concomitant change was a change in the status of the secondary (inanimate) object marker, which was dissociated from the case-marked nominal and acquires a semi-formal status of the “applicative” marker.

Further the original pronominal status of the applicative can be detected from the interplay of the applicative marker with incorporation. It is striking that those few verbs with the applicative marker, which like *t5-a4-b3-kit0* ‘rub’ allow for instrument incorporation, the incorporated noun can obviate the use of the applicative marker (cf. Vajda 2003: 81). This interaction is puzzling if one treats this marker as an applicative, but has an obvious explanation, if we regard the marker as an object marker. Indeed, incorporation obviating the use of object agreement is regularly observed for monotransitives in Ket and is also common cross-linguistically. The same explanation can be offered for other meanings of the formant *-b-* like the ‘intensive’ one noted for ‘shoot’ by Vajda. The original identity of all the aforementioned varieties of *-b-* prefix is also still evident from morphological behavior: the *-b-* marker in all of its uses regularly disappears in imperatives (Georg 2007). In general, these data suggest that originally the basic type of the ditransitive (and broader three argument) construction in Ket was a double object construction with both objects unmarked, and which used two different agreements slots for primary object (goal) and for the invariantly marked secondary object (theme/instrument). Subsequently the secundative pattern was partially reanalyzed with some ditransitives, with the secondary object marker retained in a semi-fossilized form of the “applicative” or “intensive” markers.

Examples:

(1) *kεra qīm tīp divijaq*

kεʔd da qīm tīp d[u]ʰ-iʰ-b³-ij²-aq⁰

person 3SG.M woman dog 3SG.M⁸-3SG.F⁶-APPL³-PST²-give⁰
 'The man gave his wife a dog.'

(2) *āt haŋtip daŋa tq r'uksibεt*

ā d haŋ-tib daŋa d[ij]⁸-q d⁷-u⁶-k⁵-s⁴-i/bed⁰
 1SG female-dog 3SG.DAT 1SG⁸-gift⁷-3SG.F⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-make⁰
 'I give a dog to him.'

(3) *keʔt doʔn dubbεt*

keʔd doʔn du⁸-b³-bed⁰
 person knife 3SG.M⁸-3SG.N³-make⁰
 'The man makes a knife.'

(4) *āt tiʔs' bur'ε tan dεs'komdaq*

ā d tiʔs bu de tan d[ij]⁸-es⁷-k⁵-o⁴-b³-n²-daq⁰
 1SG stone 3SG 3SG.M in.direction 1SG⁸-up⁷-TH⁵-PST⁴-INTENSE³-PST²-throw⁰
 'I threw a stone at him.'

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Examining the Oblique in Tsimshianic Causatives

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The eastern Tsimshianic languages Gitksan and Nisgha'a have a complex system of morphological causativization (Tarpent 1987; Belvin 1997; Peterson *to appear*), which includes a productive strategy for morphologically deriving indirect causatives. A subset of these constructions, ones in which a causative attaches to a transitive verb, are syntactically identical to ditransitive sentences. Additionally, in the westernmost language in the Tsimshianic continuum, Sm'algyax, the cognates of these causatives have undergone an innovation, producing what could be described as a locative/applicative meaning. This paper explores a hypothesis that this subtype of causative construction may be acquiring in general an applicative meaning – which may be synchronically at different stages across the Tsimshianic continuum of languages – as well as examines the overlap these causatives have with ditransitive sentences.

Gitksan and Nisgha'a have three morphemes which increase the valency of a verb by adding an actor/agent to a sentence: (1) is an example with the verbal prefix causative *si-*, which adds one argument to intransitive, stative predicates (including nominals), causing someone or something to be in the state X. The verb suffix *-in* in examples (2) and (3) adds one argument to unergative or transitive predicates, thus functioning to *make* someone X by

one's (own) hand or action. (3) and (4) are examples of the third causative, *gwin-*, which also adds one argument to a transitive or unergative (but not an unaccusative) predicate, and produces something similar to the English *have* causatives.

There are two issues of specific interest regarding this system, both of which are the focus of this paper. The first concerns the b. examples of (3) – (5), and how *-in* and *gwin-* have the effect of deriving indirect causatives when attached to a transitive predicate. The syntactic outcome of this is the introduction of an oblique position (glossed as a PREPOSITION and underlined). The causee (the agent of the caused event) is then demoted to this oblique position, while the causer assumes the subject position and the direct object remains in its position. What is notable about these types of derived indirect causative constructions is that they have the same syntactic pattern as ditransitive sentences, as in example (6). And as with the indirect object in a ditransitive sentence, the oblique causee in sentences causativized by *gwin-* are optional (indicated by brackets). Peterson (*to appear*) and Belvin (1997) have analyzed the semantics of these constructions, proposing that *gwin-* links a subject to a state or event through an intermediary agent (Gwen), thus deriving indirect causativization similar to English *have*. Thus, we may interpret (5)b. as Bill kicking the ball, using Gwen as an (optional) 'instrument'. The corresponding ditransitive in (6) uses the same oblique marker, 'a, where Bill is kicking the ball to an (optional) location/goal/recipient: Gwen. Gitksan and Nisgha'a represent the eastern (interior) end of the Tsimshianic language continuum. Less is known about causativization in Sm'algyax, the westernmost language in the continuum, but preliminary research indicates there are cognates of all three of the causatives above. However, there appears to be one divergence: Mulder (1994) describes the verbal prefix *gun-* in Sm'algyax as a causative similar to its cognate *gwin-* in Gitksan and Nisgha'a, but with a separate locative meaning as 'toward' or 'closely'. This can be observed in (7)b., where *gun-* attaches to an intransitive, not to add an agent/actor to the predicate (i.e. 'X sat the old man down' – cf. (4)), but to add a location to the event. There is suggestive evidence that a similar alternation occurs with the causative *si-* cognate in Sm'algyax: *gyaa* 'to take' and *si-gyaa* 'to take off', and in what appear to be grammaticalized forms of *gwin-* in the Sm'algyax verbs *gwinse'ik* 'to pull somewhere (non-human)' and *gwinspiil* 'to pull somewhere (human)'. Dunn (1979: 44) characterizes these last two as 'locative/motion' verbs. None of these forms have been corroborated in Gitksan nor Nisgha'a, and this part of the hypothesis claims that the oblique nominal introduced by *gun-* (and the grammaticalized form of *gwin-*) in Sm'algyax represents an innovation in the function of causatives at this end of the language continuum, specifically, the genesis of 'directional applicatives' (Gerds 2004). As in Nisgha'a/Gitksan, these causatives in Sm'algyax are syntactically nearly identical to ditransitives, as in (8).

This type of innovation is perhaps not surprising given the fact that many languages display similar overlaps in the form and function of causatives and applicatives. A similar situation involving applicative morphosyntax in the neighbouring Salish language Halkomelem has been extensively described and analyzed (notably in Gerds 2004; Gerds & Kiyosawa 2005, and references therein). In addition to comparing causatives and ditransitives, these studies are discussed as well in order to compare and place the Tsimshianic languages within the greater context of the Pacific Northwest Coast language area.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. 'al'ax=t
angry=DET
'Gwen is angry' | Gwen
Gwen | b. si-'al'ax-i-t=s
CAUS-angry-TR-3=CASE
'Clara made Gwen angry.' | t=Clara=t
Gwen
DET=C.=DET G. |
| (2) | a. kuxw=hl kyuwatan
run=DET horses
'The horses ran away.' | | b. kuxw-'in-y'=hl kyuwatan
run-CAUS-1sg=DET horses
'I chased the horses away.' | |
| (3) | a. hooy-i-t=s t=Gwen=hl ha'aks
use-TR-3=CASE DET=Gwen=DET bucket
'Gwen used a bucket' | | b. hooy-'in-t=s t=Clara=hl ha'aks ' a =s G wen
use-CAUS-3=CASE DET=C.=DET bucket PREP=CASE Gwen
'Clara made Gwen use a bucket.' | |
| (4) | a. ts'in=hl hanak'
enter=DET woman
'The woman entered' | | b. gwin-ts'in-i-t=s (t=)Gwen=hl hanak'
CAUS-enter-TR-3=CASE DET=G.=DET woman
'Gwen had the woman come in' | |
| (5) | a. hlo'oxs-i-t=s t=Gwen=hl hlit | | b. gwin-hlo'oxs-i(-t)=s (t=)Bill=hl hlit (' a =s G wen) | |

- kick-TR-3=CASE DET=G.=DET ball **CAUS**kick-TR-3=CASE DET=B.=DET ball PREP=CASE Gwen
 'Gwen kicked the ball' 'Bill had Gwen kick the ball'
- (6) hlo'oxs-i(-t)=s (t=)Bill=hl hlit (' a = s G wen)
 kick-TR-3=CASE DET=Bill=DET ball PREP=DET Gwen
 'Bill kicked the ball to the woman.'
- (7) a. t'aa lguw'ileeks b. **gun**-t'aa lguw'ileeks- d a n -dzoog-a a ks
 sit old.man **CAUS**-sit old.man-PREP POSS-edge-DET water
 'The old man sat down' 'The old man sat down at the water's edge.'
- (8) hla dm kwvlaasga 'yuuta hla't- **i da h ana**'k
 INCEPT FUT kick man=DET ball-PREP woman
 'The man is about to kick the ball to the woman.'

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The Double Object Construction in Malagasy

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In this talk, I investigate the order of object NPs in double object constructions in the VOS language Malagasy. Malagasy allows for a lot of different orders for objects located in the area between the verb and the right-peripheral structural subject. As will be illustrated, these different orders are determined by factors such as (i) the base, i.e. unmarked word order, (ii) the focus/background information structure, and (iii) the definite/indefinite character of the arguments involved. Concerning (i), for example, it will be shown that the order D(irect) O(bject) > I(ndirect) O(bject) > P(repositional) O(object) represents the unmarked postverbal word order of arguments. As a whole, the findings suggest that the following conditions in Malagasy:

- (1) a. DO before IO
 b. Focus before background
 c. Indefinite before definite

Consider one piece of evidence for postulating (1a). The examples (2)-(3) show that the order DO – IO is less restricted than the order IO – DO since the former order allows for an

acceptable answer if the IO represents the focus (2a) (violating the condition of focus-background ordering (1b)), as well as if the IO represents the background (3a). The order IO – DO, on the other hand, with the IO representing the focus is more restricted in the different utterance contexts (2b) and (3b). (3b) violates two conditions ((1a), (1b)). In contrast, (2a-b) violate only one condition, and (3a) no condition at all. In a similar way, arguments for (1b-d) will be presented.

- (2) *An'iza no nohomeny ny mofo izy?*
 whom Particle gave Art bread he
 'Whom did he give the bread?'
 a. *Nanome ny mofo_B ny ankizy_F izy*
 b. *Nanome ny ankizy_F ny mofo_T izy*

- (3) *Inona no nohomeny ny ankizy izy?*
 what Particle gave Art child he
 'What did he give to the child?'
 a. *Nanome ny mofo_F ny ankizy_B izy*
 b. *#Nanome ny ankizy_B ny mofo_F izy*

The factors (i)-(iv) that determine word order force exactly the opposite orders in SOV languages such as Dutch, German and Turkish with respect to conditions (1a-c) (i.e., IO before DO, background before focus, definite before indefinite). More “mirror effects” between Malagasy and the SOV languages are observed with respect to the order of prepositional arguments and adjuncts. Based on the study of the VOS language Palauan in Freeze and Georgopoulos (2000), I will discuss the relevance of their findings for different analyses deriving linear order in Malagasy.

The data are compatible with the generalization that the order of arguments in the Malagasy predicate phrase displays the mirror order compared to SVO/SOV languages (Rackowski and Travis 2000, Pearson 2000, Travis 2005). However, the question arises as to whether the data concerning the postverbal order of nominal arguments are consistent with analyses that derive Malagasy word order (as well as word order in other verb-initial Austronesian languages) via base-generation (Keenan 2000) or via predicate fronting (Pensalfini 1995, Travis and Rackowski 2000, Travis 2004, among others). It will be argued that they are compatible with both analyses.

On Emai Ditransitive Constructions

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Ditransitive constructions have received minimal attention in Emai. A member of southern Nigeria's Edoid group, Emai is a relatively strict SVO language with verb phrases characterized by postverbal particles and verbs in series. These marking strategies as well as postverbal double objects frame its ditransitive constructions. Moreover, Emai shows no generic monotransitive verbs like 'give,' 'take,' 'bring' and 'feed,' conveying these meanings with particles and achievement verbs that classify direct objects for size, shape and consistency.

Central to ditransitive constructions is the relation between syntactic position and the semantic roles theme and recipient. For this analysis, we construe recipient broadly to designate final transactor in possession change and information exchange events. Theme

undergoes either possession change as a physical entity or information exchange as an abstract entity.

Possession change constructions in Emai are framed by the postverbal applicative (APP) particle *li* or the allative (ALL) form *ye* in series. Permanent possession change is signaled by *li*: *òjè nwú ólì èkpà lí àlèkè* [Oje take.hold the bag APP Aleke] 'Oje gave the [large/heavy] bag to Aleke.' Non-permanent possession change is conveyed by *ye*: *òjè nwú ólì èkpà yé àlèkè* [Oje take.hold the bag ALL Aleke] 'Oje took the bag to Aleke.' Verb constraints reveal these possession types: the verb *shén* 'sell' accepts *li* (*òjè shén èkpà lí àlèkè* 'Oje sold a bag to Aleke') but not *ye* (**òjè shén èkpà yé àlèkè*), whereas the verb *fí* 'throw' accepts *ye* (*òjè fí úkpóràn yé àlèkè* 'Oje threw a stick to Aleke') but not *li* (**òjè fí úkpóràn lí àlèkè*). Other roles associated with *li* include benefactive for non-possession change events and abessive (Blake 2001) for entity absence that precludes possession change: *òjè nwú ólì èkpà láhèè lí àlèkè* [Oje take.hold the bag hide APP Aleke] 'Oje hid the bag from Aleke.'

Information exchange constructions are framed by *li* and the verb *hòn* 'hear' in series, by *ye* or by the verb *vbíèè* 'be apparent to' in series. Verbal exchange requires *li hòn*: *òjè kpé ítàn lí áléké hòn* [Oje narrate saying APP Aleke hear] 'Oje narrated a saying to Aleke.' Non-verbal information exchange utilizes *vbíèè*: *òjè kpé ítàn vbíèè àlèkè* [Oje narrate saying be.apparent.to Aleke] 'Oje conveyed a saying to Aleke.' Verb constraints support this exchange distinction: the verb *só* 'sing' rejects *li hòn* (**òjè só íòò lí áléké hòn*) but accepts *vbíèè* (*òjè só íòò vbíèè àlèkè* 'Oje sang a song to Aleke'), whereas the verb *ta* 'say' accepts *li hòn* (*òjè tá étà lí áléké hòn* [Oje say word APP Aleke] 'Oje said something to Aleke') but rejects *vbíèè* (**òjè tá étà vbíèè àlèkè*). Message exchange constructions rely on the main verb *ye* 'send.' Unidirectional messaging is marked by allative *ye*: *òjè yé úhùnmi yé àlèkè* [Oje send message ALL Aleke] 'Oje sent a message to Aleke.' Reciprocal messaging, where a return response is expected, requires *ye* in series with the verb *ree*: *òjè yé úhùnmi réé àlèkè* 'Oje sent a message after Aleke.' And instructional exchange reveals a different construction contrast. Instructional 'show' requires the verbs *re* and *vbíèè* in series: *òjè ré ólì ébè vbíèè àlèkè* [Oje make the book be.apparent.to Aleke] 'Oje showed the book to Aleke.' Instructional 'teach' requires *vbíèè* with double objects: *òjè vbíèè áléké ólì ébè* [Oje make.apparent.to Aleke the book] 'Oje taught Aleke the book.'

Emai ditransitive constructions thus mark the syntactic position of recipient with the particle *li*, a verb in series, both or a double object construction. Interestingly, the latter also occurs optionally with a few possession-change verbs of financial transaction meaning 'lend' and 'pay.'

Ditransitive Constructions in Jaminjung (Northern Australia)

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This paper provides an overview of constructions with both a recipient-like and a theme-like argument in Jaminjung, a Non-Pama-Nyungan language of Northern Australia. In Jaminjung, there are two main argument frames for "semantically ditransitive" predicates, a ditransitive construction proper and an indirect object construction where the dative-marked object, however, encodes recipient as well as benefactive and general purposive arguments. Every predicate occurs in either one or the other of the argument frames, and it is the predicate as

a whole, not just the inflecting verb, which determines the construction used (Jaminjung only has around 35 inflecting verb so the majority of predicates are complex predicates).

Only two of the inflecting verbs appear in the ditransitive construction proper as simple verbs or in complex predicates whose meaning is close to that of the verbs as simple verbs. These are the verb *-ngarna* 'give' and its semantic converse *-jungga* 'take away from, rob, deprive'. In the ditransitive construction proper, the recipient argument normally takes up the object slot in the bound pronominal prefix, while the theme argument is not registered on the verb. As full NPs (if present), regardless of whether they are headed by a free pronoun or a noun, both recipient and theme are in absolutive case (unmarked, not glossed in the examples). Thus, the ditransitive construction proper in Jaminjung can be regarded as a combination of a double-object and a secondary-object construction. This is illustrated in (1) and (2) for both of the verbs mentioned above.

- (1) *janju-nud mangurn juwum burrarra-ngarna-ny bulawula*
 DEM-COLL white.person show(Kriol) 3pl:3pl-give-PST painting
 'that lot of whitefellows, they showed them the paintings'
- (2) *birrg gan-jungga-na, majani ngarrgina mali, garlagarla-gina,*
 take.away 3sg:1sg-deprive-IMPF maybe 1sg:POSS thing playing-POSS
 'she (my sister) used to take it away from me, such as my things, toys'

Some other complex predicates, expressing meanings such as 'show', 'ask' and 'promise (wife)' appear in the ditransitive construction even though they are formed with verbs which as simple verbs are monotransitives. This is true, for example, for the verb *-arra* with a basic meaning of 'put, cause to be in a location' which, as shown in (3), is used to form a complex verb with a meaning of 'show'.

- (3) *mulurru-ni gagawuli yurrng gan-karra-ny Gilwi-ni*
 old.woman-ERG long.yam show 3sg:1sg-put-PST <place.name>-LOC
 'the woman showed me yam in Gilwi'

There is some evidence that in the ditransitive construction, theme arguments that are as high as the recipient on the animacy hierarchy may take up the bound object pronominal slot on the verb instead of the recipient, but not always. The variation is illustrated with the complex predicate *nyilng -ma* (lit. 'promise wife' + 'hit') in (4) (recipient as secondary [pronominal] object) and (5) (theme as pronominal object).

- (4) *ngayug bun-ngarna-ny thanthu marlayi,*
 1sg 3pl:1sg-give-PST DEM woman
gurrany nami nyilng bunyu-ma-nyi, ngayug nyilng bun-ma
 NEG 2sg promise.wife 3pl:2sg-hit-IMPF 1sg promise.wife3pl:1sg-hit.PST
 'me, they gave that woman, not to you they promised her, to me they promised her'
- (5) *thanthiya=gun nyilng yirruny-ma=nu, jirrama nanbarn=nunthu*
 DEM=CONTR promise.wife 1pl.excl:3du-hit.PST=3sg.OBL two wife=POSS.KIN
 'those two we promised him, his two wives'

The majority of predicates which semantically involve a recipient argument, e.g. those expressing meanings such as 'send' (6) or 'bring' (7), appear in a monotransitive construction, with the theme encoded as the pronominal object and an absolutive NP, and the recipient as an oblique/dative pronominal clitic and (if present) a dative-marked NP. There is nothing that distinguishes this construction from an ordinary transitive construction with a benefactive or purposive adjunct such as the one shown in (8).

- (6) *mali ngarrgu dalag gan-arra-ny=ngarrgu, teip-nguji, Nangari-ni*
 thing 1sg.OBL send 3sg:3sg-put-PST=1sg.OBL tape-ASSOC.PL <subsection>-ERG
 'the things she sent me, tapes and others, Nangari did'

- (7) *yiny-guga=burrag* *ngayin thanthiya*
 1du.excl.3sg-take.PST=3pl.OBL meat DEM
 'we two brought them that meat (lit.: took that meat for them)'
- (8) *ngayin=biyang mind-irriga-m=burrag, mulurru, jarlig-gu!*
 meat=now 1du.incl.3sg-cook-PRS=3pl.OBL old.woman child-DAT'
 'let's cook meat for them now, old woman, for the children!'

The focus on the paper will be on the semantic rationale for the distribution of predicates among the two construction types, and on animacy effects on the encoding of the theme and recipient arguments.

Ditransitives in Vafsi

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Vafsi, an Indo-European language of the Tati family of NW Iranian, (as opposed to SW Iranian, represented by Persian/Farsi), has two main constructions to indicate the Recipient of Ditransitive verbs. These differ from each other in the type of *flagging* and in important differences in word order. Both lack any indexing behavior. A third (much less common) construction is only manifested in its *indexing* of the REC directly in the verb, using the Oblique (or Set2) PAMs. That is, the two flagging types do not share any formal strategies with the indexing type.

1) The Double Object Ditransitive Construction (DOC), found with most Ditransitive verbs, most commonly with 'give', lacks an adposition but puts RECs in the Oblique case. The postverbal position of the REC (as opposed to the preverbal Theme) is also a significant (but still optional) feature of the DOC. The following two examples show both inanimate and animate Themes:

<i>æz</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>æd-do-m</i>	<i>hæsæŋ-i.</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>gulle-y</i>	<i>æd-do-m</i>	<i>tini</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>toæn.</i>
I	money	DUR-give=1SG ₁	P.N.-OBL.MASC	this	calf-OBL.MASC	DUR-gave=1SG ₁	he.OBL	9	toman
'I gave (±the) money to Hassan.'					'I'll give him this calf for 9 toman (unit of money).'				

2) The Indirect Object Construction (IOC), depending on the verb used, takes one of two prepositions, *dæ* 'to, on' (most common with 'say'), *o* 'to, on' (rare, used occasionally with 'give'), or the postposition =*ra*, 'for/Benefactive, with/Comitative-Instrumental'. Animate RECs with *dæ* and *o* require the Oblique case; =*ra* always requires an Oblique. The REC (and its adposition) is more commonly preverbal with *dæ*, but may be preverbal or postverbal with the other adpositions.

<i>dæ</i>	<i>tawan</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>næ-r-vaz-e</i>	<i>kell-i=ŋan</i>	<i>æd-do-nde</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>in.tini</i>
to	we.OBL	nothing	NEG-DUR-say-3SG ₁	daughter-OBL.FEM=3PL ₂	DUR-give-3PL ₁	to	he.OBL
'He doesn't tell us anything'				'They'll give (= marry) their (3PL ₂) daughter to him.'			

=*ra* is used in Ditransitive clauses with a very limited set of verbs (esp. 'write' and 'send', but also 'bring', 'take', etc.) The REC with =*ra* is usually postverbal, occasionally preverbal:

<i>kaqæ</i>	<i>æŋ-nivis-om</i>	<i>esdæ=ra.</i>
paper	DUR-write-1SG ₁	you.OBL=for
'I'll write you a letter.'		

3) In the Oblique PAM Ditransitive Construction (OPD), the Oblique PAM enclitics~prefixes (Set2: 1SG2, 2SG2, 3SG2, 1PL2, etc.) index the REC directly in the verb. One variant of the OPD occurs only with simplex verb roots when no Theme NP is present (rare). The second variant is used with simplex verbs that have an overt Theme (slightly more common) or with the Non-verbal element (NVE) of Light Verbs (very common). The crucial feature of this second variant is that the Set2 PAM prefix *obligatorily* moves leftwards off the verb and cliticizes to the Theme or the NVE.

<u>No Overt Theme</u>	<u>Overt Theme</u>	<u>Light Verb Construction</u>
is-ær-vaz-om	ketab=es æd-do-m (*is-æd-do-m)	nešan=es æd-do-m (*is-æd-do-m)
3SG ₂ -DU-say-1SG ₁	book=3SG ₂ du-give-1SG ₁	sign=1SG ₂ DUR-give
'I'll tell him.'	'I'll give him a book'	'I'll show (it) to him'

In the full paper, I will discuss various optional points, variations, and restrictions within, and the statistics of frequency of, each of the three Ditransitive Constructions. I will also discuss the typology of the three Ditransitive constructions and show both the similarities and the differences between strategies for expressing Recipient vs. Patient/Theme, Goal/Destination (with motion verbs, verbs of placing, etc.), and Benefactive.

Semantics in Children's Production of Ditransitives

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We claim that the meaning of ditransitive verbs determines children's ordering preferences for Accusative objects (*o*-phrases) and Dative objects (*ni*-phrases) in Japanese children. In Japanese, Accusative and Dative objects of ditransitive sentences can freely swap their linear positions with no effects on grammaticality, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. Taro-ga *Hanako-ni hon-o* age-ta. b. Taro-ga *hon-o Hanako-ni* ageta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC gave Taro-NOM book-ACC Hanako-DAT gave
 (Literally) 'Taro gave a book to Hanako.'

For this reason, how these configurations are syntactically derived has long been a topic of theoretical debate (Hoji 1985, Miyagawa 1997, among others). Language acquisitional studies have conducted experiments to examine which word order children prefer in ditransitives, the Dat-Acc order or the Acc-Dat one. The results have been contradictory. Some studies (e.g., Suzuki et al. 1999) conclude that children can perform the Acc-Dat order better than the Dat-Acc one, while others (e.g., Sugisaki and Isobe 2001a, b) reach the opposite conclusion. The inconsistencies are due to the fact that they have not adequately controlled the semantics of ditransitive verbs. To date, few studies on Japanese ditransitives, theoretically or psycholinguistically, have taken the semantics of ditransitive verbs into consideration. An exception is a study by Kishimoto (2001), who argues that Japanese ditransitive verbs can be divided into two classes: change-of-possession verbs (e.g. *watasu* 'hand', *ageru* 'give', *wariatateru* 'assign') and change-of-location verbs (e.g. *okuru* 'send', *nageru* 'throw', *hakobu* 'carry').

Based on Kishimoto's classification, we investigated Japanese children's word order preferences for Accusative (*o*-phrases) and Dative objects (*ni*-phrases) in ditransitive sentences. The results of an elicited production task (Crain and Thornton 1998) involving 105

three or four-year old children (Age=3;11-4;11, Mean=4;6) show a statistically significant effect which verb semantics has on word order preferences. We showed the children the pictures depicting change-of-possession and change-of-location situations and told them to describe the pictures. Japanese ditransitive verbs *ageru* (give) and *butukeru* (throw) differ from each other in that the former, but not the latter, specifies a change of ownership. In analyzing the data, we dealt with only the sentences which correctly include both *o*-phrases and *ni*-phrases. The sentences amounted 448, 241 change-of-possession and 207 change-of-locations. The results are summarized below.

	Dat-Acc	Acc-Dat
change of possession	155	86
change of location	95	112

In change-of-possession situations, children produced the Dat-Acc pattern (64%) more often than the Acc-Dat one (36%). On the other hand, in change-of-location situations, the opposite preference was observed: the Acc-Dat order (54%) was produced more often than the Dat-Acc one (46%). The χ^2 test showed that there is a significant correlation between two conditions and word order preferences ($\chi^2=15.32$, $p < 0.001$).

Our results also show that children can produce both the Dat-Acc and the Acc-Dat order freely, which is incompatible with Sugisaki and Isobe's (2001a, b) result. They claim on the basis of A-Chain Maturation Hypothesis (Borer and Wexler 1987) that children perform better on the Dat-Acc order since the children in this age group cannot apply VP-internal scrambling regarded as a kind of A-movement (Tada 1993). However, our results clearly suggest that VP-internal scrambling does not include such a process as A-chain maturation, which poses a considerable problem for Sugisaki and Isobe's analysis.

On Extended Transitive Constructions in Cebuano

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This study investigates Extended Transitive Constructions (ETC) in Cebuano, *-an*-marked constructions that encode the "transfer" of a Theme from an Agent to a human Goal (1a), a human Benefactee (1b), or an inanimate Location (1c) that is highlighted by means of a nominative marking. These constructions, equivalent to double-object constructions in English, also contain a genitive Agent and an oblique but obligatory Theme, an encoding pattern categorized as the "T-type oblique/adjunct" strategy (Margetts and Austin, in press). The oblique Theme, like its counterpart in an extended intransitive construction (EIC), a separate clause type in Cebuano as well as in other Formosan and Philippine languages, as the core vs. oblique distinction in these languages is pretty robust (Huang, submitted), is marked by *ug* (non-specific, as in 1b) or *sa* (specific, as in 1d).

Our data, consisting of five conversational texts totaling approximately two hours and 30 minutes compiled between 2001 and 2005, show that ETCs are a distinct construction from Locative Voice (LV) constructions, also *-an*-marked transitive constructions in the language. These LV constructions contain a genitive Agent and a nominative nominal, a benefactee (2a), a patient (2b), a goal (2c), an addressee (2d), or a source/percept (2e), which is viewed as a kind of location. In these constructions, there is neither a semantic Theme to be transferred nor a syntactic Theme to be marked oblique, not like in an ETC. Previous studies to date on *-an* constructions in Philippine-type languages have not distinguished between the two constructions.

Furthermore, ETCs can be distinguished from Agent Voice (AV) and Patient Voice (PV) clauses. AV constructions even of three-place verbs focus on the activity expressed by the

verb, with no interest at all on the Theme argument, if any (therefore encodes no “transfer”), as in the English sentence *I always give to the Salvation Army* (example taken from Margetts and Austin in press). On the other hand, if three-place verbs are used in the highly-transitive PV constructions, the focus is on the theme argument, with similarly very little interest placed on any recipient or goal, marked oblique if expressed at all (and therefore also encodes no “transfer”). It is thus only in an ETC where “transfer” is encoded in Cebuano.

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Huang, Shuanfan. Submitted. *Transitivity as an emergent category in Formosan languages*.

Margetts, Anna and Peter K. Austin. in press. Three participant events in the languages of the world: towards a cross-linguistic typology. To appear in *Linguistics*.

Data:

(1a) *ig-'abot sa katapusan taga-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya*
temp-reach obl end give-lv=par=emph=2s.n=3s.g
'At the end (of the month), he'll just give you (an allowance).'

(1b) *unya amo-ng himo'-an ug travel document*
then 1p.e.g-lk make-lv obl travel document
'Then, we process a travel document for [to give to] him.'

(1c) *mao bitaw nga di butang-a-g map kahibawo=na=man=ka mo-lakaw*
that's.why sub neg place-lv-obl map know=pfv=par=2s.n af.fut-walk
'That's why (they) don't provide maps, because if they do, you'll know how to go (on your own).'

(1d) *ako' siya-ng gi-ingn-an sa amo-ng disisyon*
1s.g 3s.n-lk pfv-say-lv obl.spec 1p.e.p-lk decision
'I told him our decision.' (constructed)

(2a) *iya gyud ko-ng gi-tabang-an*
3s.g emph 1s.n-lk pfv-help-lv
naa gyud siya diha sa ako-ngtupad
exist emph 3s.n there loc 1s.p-lk side
'He really helped me; he was there by my side.'

(2b) *kwarto=ra=sad amo-ng gi-abang-an kay-*
room=only=also 1p.e.g-lk pfv-rent-lv because
usahay mo-pa-uli=man=sad=mi
sometimes av-cau-return=par=also=1p.e.n
'We're renting only a room since-, sometimes we go home.'

(2c) *kana=ra ako-ng na-adto-an sentosa naka-adto=man=ko Singapore*
two times
that=only 1s.g-lk pot-go-lv pn pot-go=par=1s.n pn two times
'That's the only place I've been to, Sentosa; I've been to Singapore twice.'

(2d) *ako' gi-ingn-an ako igsoon, di=ko mo-sugot*
1s.g pfv-say-lv 1s.p sibling neg=1s.n av-agree
'I told my brother (that) I won't agree.'

(2e) *W dealer=ra=ta, sila, naa=na=gyud=sila-y factory*

dealer=only=1p.i.n 3p.n exist=asp=emph=3p.n-obl factory
 T *mao lagi dako kaay na-kit'-an=nako*
 agree par huge emph pot-see-lv=1s.g
 W: We're only dealers; them, they already have a factory.
 T: Right, really huge. I saw it.

Correlates between the Serial Verb Constuction and the Double Object Construction: Evidence from Cantonese

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In this essay we restrict ourselves to comparing the Cantonese serial verbs which revolve around the classic di-transitive verbs such as 'give', 'bring' and 'take' and others commonly listed in Austin and Margetts' (in press) comprehensive typology. Austin and Margetts' study has already concluded that in certain languages (including Cantonese) the SVC is used as a configuration expressing tri-partite events. Bodomo, Lam and Yu's (2003) research also connects the DOC and the SVC although as their study is in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar their c-structure isn't as restricted as the tree diagrams of a Government and Binding approach (post Kayne 1984). As a consequence Bodomo et al. representations are not specific to the SVC and DOC thus loosing the scientific principle that shared behaviour is reflected in shared structure (Kaye 2001, p.c).

Section one shows the properties and behaviours shared by the SVC and the DOC. Both will be shown to contain three arguments and are thus claimed to be verb-specific clausal manifestations of di-transitive verbs (cf. Austin and Margetts in press). The ordering of arguments within the SVC in Cantonese will be shown to be different to the supposed universal di-transitive order of arguments: subject, indirect object, direct object (Dehé 2004) although Cantonese's SVC ordering is identical to the typologically marked argument ordering of its own DOC (cf. Bodomo et al. 2003) evidencing a further similarity between the constructions (cf. Prof. Ian Roberts, Prof. Adam Ledgeway p.c.)

Section two examines the exact clause structure and derivation of the SVC as compared with the DOC. It will be shown that, although the SVC and DOC's structures at SF are exactly analogous, their derivation is importantly different. Firstly, it is shown that verbs occurring in Vo1 are never found in Vo2 in either the SVC or the DOC. Likewise, verbs which occur (at SF) in Vo1 in the DOC are never found in this position in the SVC. We will see that aspect marking and the position Vo1 are intrinsically related in Cantonese SVC and DOC constructions. Two hypotheses are proposed to account for this. Firstly, following Holmberg and Platzack (1995) the position called Vo1 can be relabelled Aspo which houses the aspectual markers in just the same way as Vo1 in Icelandic is labelled Acto (ibid.). Verbs base generated in Vo1, therefore, are automatically marked for aspect thus blocking movement into Aspo for the verbs base generated in Vo2. Secondly, it could be assumed that Aspo takes VP1 as its complement and in the DOC verbs in Vo2 move from their base generated position into Vo1 and then into Aspo.

Section three, then, takes the conclusions in section two and shows that they both preclude the same state of affairs. Verbs base generated in Vo1 are not randomly selected. Conversely, the verbs in Vo2 are more freely selected apart from when they are c-

commanded by verbs base generated in Vo1. These factors highlight an asymmetry potentially explained by x-selection (Chomsky 1965 in Pesetsky 1991). What seems to be the case is that Vo projections of particular verbs (base generated in Vo1) select for VP projections of other particular verbs (base generated in Vo2).

Section four takes the conclusions of section three and concludes that, in order for our syntactic structures not to over-generate data, the position of base-generation must be encoded as a feature of tokens in the lexicon (Chomsky 1995).

Ditransitives in Tlapanec, a language without transitivity

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In the Otomanguean language Tlapanec the cross-linguistic category of ditransitives is typically instantiated morphosyntactically as a subcategory of dipersonal predicates of low affectedness, i.e. predicates which are inflected for two animate participants taking the mirror cases negative-dative (Wichmann 2005). Case roles are indicated on the predicate by means of portmanteau suffixes for case and person. When a third person singular R is involved, the A is indexed on the predicate and takes negative case. Otherwise the R is indexed and takes dative case. Thus, dative and negative are mutually exclusive throughout these dipersonal paradigms. (1)-(2) are two examples of dipersonal verbs, where one is semantically monotransitive and the other semantically ditransitive (gender is not distinguished, I use he/him/she/her arbitrarily).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) <i>ni-ra ḡn-ú</i>
 PFV-meet-3SG.PEG>3SG
 'She met him.'</p> | <p>(2) <i>ni-šn-ú</i>
 PFV-give-3SG.PEG>3SG
 'She gave it to him.'</p> |
|---|---|

In terms of argument encoding, (1) and (2) are identical. As all inanimates in Tlapanec, the T in (2) is inert in the sense that it is not indexed on the predicate. Nevertheless, (1) and (2) are different inasmuch as (2) can be expanded to include overt mentioning of the T, as in *nīšnú bühká* 'she gave her money'. In order to delimit ditransitives involving an inanimate T on internal Tlapanec grounds, the status of inanimates must be investigated. Are they true arguments or somehow grammatically inert? This question, to which I do not yet have a clear answer, will be explored in depth.

There is a (non-productive) suffix *-y* which serves to augment the number of animate arguments from zero to one (3), one to two (4), or two to three (5).

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------|------------------------|
| (3) <i>nàçû</i> | 'it is beautiful' | → | (3) <i>nàçyû?</i> | 'she is beautiful' |
| (4) <i>nanegò?</i> | 'I like it' | → | (4) <i>nanegyò?</i> | 'I like him' |
| (5) <i>nušná</i> | 'they give it to him' | → | (5) <i>nušnyá</i> | 'they give her to him' |

Although both verbs in (5) would fall in the category of ditransitives from a cross-linguistic perspective, they differ from an language-internal perspective in being dipersonal as opposed to tripersonal.

Language-specific peculiarities also manifest themselves in alternations corresponding to double- vs. prepositional objects, where, as can be seen in (6-7), the alternation involves different case-marking for the A.

(6) *maria ra na-ndoʔ-ó bũhká hwá*
María FOC IPFV-ask-3SG.PEG>3SG money *Juan*
 'Mary is asking John (for) money.'

(7) *maria ra na-ndaʔ-á bũhká inũ hwá*
María FOC IPFV-ask-3SG.ERG money his.face *Juan*
 'Mary is asking money from John.'

The major topic of the paper is the intersection of the cross-linguistic category of ditransitives and the language-specific category of dipersonals. It will build on data collected during 1991-94 and 2003-4 in Azoyú, Guerrero, Mexico, as well as during a summer's fieldwork in 2007 which will be devoted entirely to the Questionnaire on Ditransitive Constructions.

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The Typology and Origins of Tavization in Georgian Ditransitive Constructions

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As might be expected from a Caucasian language, Georgian has a rather baroque apparatus for the morphological expression of three-place predicates. Georgian verbs, both transitive and ditransitive, inflect for the person and number of their T and R roles. In (1), a normal monotransitive P (a) and a causative ditransitive T (b) pattern identically with respect to object agreement, which in turn also matches the R role of some underived ditransitives such as in (2a-b) for first and second persons. This at first glance appears to be a rather unremarkable primary object relation.

However, it is not the case that all combinations of person and number are possible with ditransitives, a fact that has been known since at least Boeder 1968. As shown in (3), the R and T roles of ditransitives compete for the marking of first or second person objecthood with PO markers on the verb, and since both cannot be so marked, the T role is shunted off into a third-person phrase headed by *tavi* 'head', a process called *tavization*. In these contexts, as you can see in (3c-d), the primary object still agrees with the verb. When the R role is third person and the theme is either first or second person, one of two things can happen. Either, as in (4a), the first or second person theme argument can undergo tavization (this is characteristic of the standard dialect of Tbilisi) or as in (4b) in some dialects the theme, rather than the recipient, exceptionally receives object agreement.

The full extent of the contexts in which tavization occurs is poorly understood. In this talk, I will be summarizing my findings of research on Georgian dialects based on fieldwork in Georgia, and attempt to derive from this a larger understanding of its origins and its typology, especially on whether other animacy hierarchy effects are present in other Georgian dialects.

- (1) a. *m-nax-a*
1SGOBJ-see.PERF-3SGAOR
'He saw me.'
- b. *da-m-a-int'eres-eb-in-a*
PVB-1SGOBJ-CAUS-interest-TH-CAUS-3SGAOR
'She got me to interest him in it.'
- (2) a. *am c'ign-i mo-m-c-a*
this book-NOM PVB-1SGDAT-give.AOR-3SGAOR
'He gave me this book.'
- b. *am c'ign-i mo-s-c-a*
this book-NOM PVB-3SGDAT-give.AOR-3SGAOR
'She gave him this book.'
- (3) a. **man ga-mo-m-i-gzavn-a me šen*
3SGERG PVB-MO-1SGOBJ-SV-send-3SGAOR 1SGDAT 2SGNOM
'S/he sent you to me.'
- b. **man ga-mo-g-i-gzavn-a šen me*
3SGERG PVB-MO-2SGOBJ-SV-send-3SGAOR 2SGDAT 1SGNOM
'S/he sent you to me.'
- c. *man ga-mo-m-i-gzavn-a me šen-i tav-i*
3SGERG PVB-MO-1SGOBJ-SV-send-3SGAOR 1SGDAT 2SG-NOM head-NOM
'S/he sent you [lit. yourself] to me.' (Tuite 1986)
- d. *man ga-mo-g-i-gzavn-a šen čem-i tav-i*
3SGERG PVB-MO-2SGOBJ-SV-send-3SGAOR 1SGDAT 1SG-NOM head-NOM
'S/he sent you [lit. myself] to you.' (Tuite 1986)
- (4) a. *deda-tkven-ma tkveni tav-i ča-Øa-a-bar-a masaa*
mother-2PL-ERG 2PL-NOM head-NOM PVB-3SGDAT-entrust-3SGAOR 3SgDat
'Your mother entrusted you to him/her.' (Standard Tbilisi dialect; Harris 1981)
- b. *deda-tkven-ma tkvenb ča-gb-a-bar-a masaa*
mother-2PL-ERG 2PL PVB-2SGDAT-entrust-3SGAOR 3SgDat
'Your mother entrusted you to him/her.' (Boeder 1968)

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