

A Unified Account of Double Complement Constructions

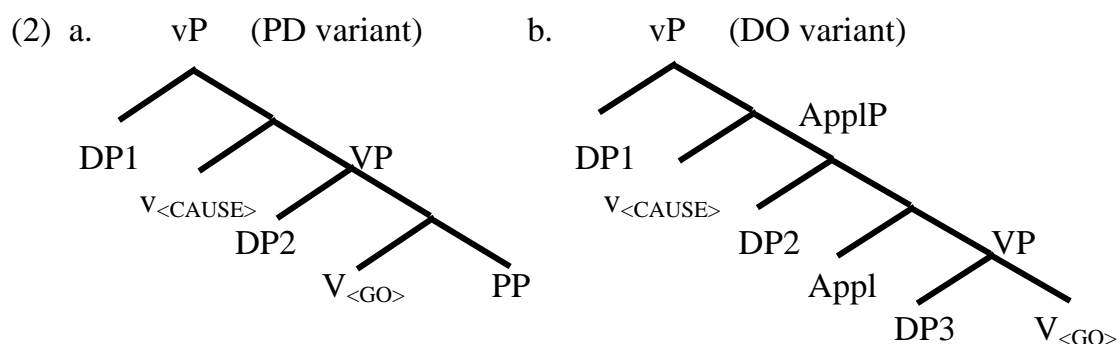
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English double complements constructions have two variants:

- (1) a. John sent Mary a book.
b. John sent a book to Mary.

The variant in (1a) is called a double object (DO) variant, and that in (1b) a prepositional dative (PD) variant. There are two very distinct sides to the analysis of double complement constructions, the transform approach and the alternative projection approach (Harley (2003)). The transform approach assumes a derivational relation between DO and PD variants (Baker (1997)). This approach provides a unified analysis of the two variants by arguing that they share the underlying structure. However, the derivational relation between them is not tenable in the Minimalist Program. Regardless of the orders of derivations, in (1), the preposition *to* has to be added or deleted in the course of computation, a clear violation of the Inclusiveness Condition. The alternative projection approach, on the other hand, does not assume a derivational relation between the two variants; each is associated with a distinct syntactic structure (Harley (2003)). Consequently, no violation of the Inclusiveness Condition results in this approach, though it gives up a unified analysis of the two variants.

The purpose of this paper is to resolve the dilemma between the transform approach and the alternative projection approach by providing a unified analysis of double complement constructions. I propose that ditransitive verbs in both DO and PD variants share the decompositional predicates CAUSE and GO (cf. Harley (2003)), as exemplified in (2):



A complex head formed by CAUSE and GO is spelled out as a verb such as *send*. In (2a), GO is predicated of DP2 and a recipient is introduced by a goal PP, which further specifies the path denoted by GO. In (2b), GO is predicated of DP3 and ApplP denotes a relation between an individual expressed by DP2 and an event evoked by VP. A recipient is introduced by ApplP as DP2. Importantly, the two variants share the decompositional predicate structure. The unified analysis based on the common decompositional predicate structure is supported by the following three pieces of evidence.

Firstly, because PD and DO variants share the decompositional predicate structure, we can predict that the modifications by *again* give rise to the same readings between them. In fact, both PD and DO variants share the repetitive and restitutive readings, as shown by the following sentences (Beck and Johnson (2004)):

- (3) Thilo gave the map to Satoshi again. (PD)
 a. Thilo gave the map to Satoshi, and that had happened before. (repetitive)
 b. Thilo gave the map to Satoshi, and Satoshi had had the map before.
(restitutive)
- (4) Thilo gave Satoshi the map again. (DO)
 a. Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and that had happened before. (repetitive)
 b. Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and Satoshi had had the map before. (restitutive)

Secondly, the entailment of (un)successful transfer of possession holds across both variants, as shown by the following sentences (Rappaport and Levin (2008)):

- (5) a. # My aunt gave some money to my brother for new skis, but he never got it.
(PD)
 b. # My aunt gave my brother some money for new skis, but he never got it.
(DO)
- (6) a. Max offered help to the victims, but they refused his offer. (PD)
 b. Max offered the victims help, but they refused his offer. (DO)

Finally, both PD and DO variants allow the occurrence of a goal PP, in addition to another goal PP (e.g. (7)) or a recipient DP (e.g. (8)):

- (7) John sent the book to New York to Bill. (Gruber (1976:85))
 (8) Anne is curious as to why her father sent her a telegram to America to return home at once ... (Rappaport and Levin (2008:136))

In (7), the goal PP to New York occurs in addition to the goal PP to Bill. In (8), likewise, the goal PP to America co-occurs with the recipient DP her. In these sentences, the paths denoted by the goal PPs further specify the locations of the recipients. The further specification of paths is possible because both PD and DO variants involve the predicate GO, which evokes the paths. All the data presented here point to the existence of the same underlying decompositional predicate structure of PD and DO variants.

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