Scrambling Verb-Final Languages and the Underlying Order of Objects in Ditransitive Constructions

Effi Georgala
Cornell University

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl

Recommended Citation
Georgala, Effi (2011) "Scrambling Verb-Final Languages and the Underlying Order of Objects in Ditransitive Constructions," University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics: Vol. 17 : Iss. 1 , Article 13. Available at: https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol17/iss1/13

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol17/iss1/13
For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.
Scrambling Verb-Final Languages and the Underlying Order of Objects in Ditransitive Constructions

Abstract
In this paper I provide evidence from depictive stranding to show that German and Turkish, scrambling verb-final languages which have been assumed to be an exception to the crosslinguistic generalization of IO>DO base order in double object constructions, in fact support the generalization. Following Georgala's et al. (2008) analysis of applicative constructions, which predicts that indirect objects (IOs) originate higher than direct objects (DOs), I argue that German and Turkish have two types of applied arguments (thematic and raising) with different underlying but the same surface position, namely [Spec, ApplP]. By showing that IO>DO is the base order of Turkish double object constructions, I also contribute to the discussion of the nature of scrambling in Turkish. In particular I corroborate Öztürk's (2005) view that scrambling in Turkish can be treated as either A-bar or A-movement.
Scrambling Verb-Final Languages and the Underlying Order of Objects in Ditransitive Constructions

Effi Georgala*

1 Introduction

Among scrambling verb-final languages there have been a number of different proposals about the syntactic structure of double object constructions (DOCs) and the underlying order of objects. In this paper, I focus on German and Turkish.

German and Turkish have a variety of DOCs with dative indirect objects (IOs) and accusative direct objects (DOs), as in examples (1–2).

(1) German
   a. Ich habe dem Kind das Bombon gegeben
      I NOM have the.DAT child.DAT the.ACC candy.ACC given
      ‘I gave the child the candy.’
   b. Ich habe das Kind einer Gefahr ausgesetzt
      I NOM have the.ACC child.ACC a.DAT danger.DAT exposed
      ‘I exposed the child to a danger.’

(2) Turkish
   Ben çocuğ-a şeker-i verdim
   I child.DAT candy.ACC gave
   ‘I gave the child the candy.’

In the recent literature on ditransitive constructions it has been claimed that German (den Dikken 1995, Müller 1995, McGinnis 1999, Tungseth 2008, among others) and Turkish (Issever 2003, Kornfilt 2003, Simpson et al. 2008) counterexemplify the generalization that IOs merge higher than IOs (Marantz 1993, Pesetsky 1995, Bowers 2010, among others). In this paper, I provide evidence from previously unnoticed data from stranded depictives in support of the view that IO>DO is the underlying order in German and Turkish, thus showing that the German and Turkish data in fact support <IO, DO> as the universal underlying order in DOCs.

Following Georgala et al.’s (2008) account of applicative constructions which predicts IO>DO as the underlying order, I propose that German and Turkish have both low- (raising) and high-type (thematic) applicative constructions, but a single applicative head above the lexical VP. The depictive stranding facts strongly support the view that in the low-type applicative construction, ApplP has a strong EPP feature that attracts the recipient IO from its underlying position in [Spec, VP].

Section 2 gives a brief overview of Georgala et al.’s (2008) raising/thematic applicative hypothesis and shows how it applies to German and Turkish. In Section 3 I discuss the depictive stranding data, while in Section 4 I provide a new argument from DOCs in support of the view that Turkish has both A- and A-bar scrambling. In Section 5 I conclude.

2 Raising/Thematic Applicative Hypothesis and the Syntax of German and Turkish DOCs

2.1 Raising/Thematic Applicative Hypothesis

Marantz (1993), based on evidence from Bantu languages with morphological applicatives, argues that in DOCs the IO is introduced by a (potentially silent) applicative head (3).

*Many thanks to Molly Diesing, Jaklin Kornfilt, John Whitman, and the audience of PLC 34 for valuable feedback. I am grateful to Waltraud Paul and Michael Wagner for the German judgments, and Esra Kesici and Jaklin Kornfilt for the Turkish judgments.
(3) \( [\text{vp IO} [\text{v'} \text{APPL} [\text{vp DO V}]]] \)  

(Marantz 1993)

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) extends Marantz’s approach by motivating two kinds of Appl heads: a “high” applicative which denotes a relation between an individual and the event denoted by VP (4a), and a “low” applicative which denotes a dynamic relation of transfer of possession between IO and DO (4b).

(4) a. **High applicative:** \([\text{VoiceP DP} \text{AGENT} [\text{Voice'} \text{Voice} [\text{ApplP DP BNF/LOC/INSTR... [Appl'} \text{Appl} [\text{vp V DP}]]]]] \)

b. **Low applicative:** \([\text{VoiceP DP} \text{AGENT} [\text{Voice'} \text{Voice} [\text{vp V} [\text{ApplP DP GOAL/SOURCE [Appl'} \text{Appl} \text{DP THEME}]]]]] \)

Georgala et al. (2008) reconcile the above two accounts by proposing that there is only one position for applicative heads above the lexical VP which come in two flavors: thematic and raising. Like Pylkkänen’s high applicatives (cf. (4a)), thematic applicatives introduce an extra argument above the lexical VP. The extra argument is base generated in [Spec, ApplP] and is assigned a theta-role (e.g., beneficiary, maleficiary, instrumental) by Appl.

(5) \([\text{vP SUBJ [v'} \text{v} [\text{ApplP IO BNF/LOC/INSTR... [Appl'} \text{Appl} [\text{vp V DO}]]]]] \)

Unlike thematic applicatives, raising applicatives do not introduce an extra argument, but attract the recipient/possessor goal IO from its base position in [Spec, VP] to their specifier.

(6) \([\text{vP SUBJ [v'} \text{v} [\text{ApplP IO REC [Appl'} \text{Appl} [\text{vp tIO [v'} \text{v DO}]]]]] \)

The raising/thematic applicative hypothesis, thus, preserves Marantz’s original structural insight, but at the same time it also accounts for Pylkkänen’s ample evidence for two distinct types of extra objects, one originating outside the lexical VP, another inside it. In the raising/thematic applicative analysis both types are licensed with a single position for the licensing head.

2.2 German, Turkish, and the Raising/Thematic Applicative Hypothesis

In this section I present a syntactic analysis of dative DOCs in German and Turkish, focusing on showing how the raising/thematic applicative hypothesis applies to both languages.

2.2.1 Two Types of Dative DOCs in German

Before I proceed, I should stress that there is fairly general consensus in the literature that German has two structurally distinct classes of dative DOCs (Wegener 1991, McFadden 2004, Cook 2006, Meinunger 2006, McIntyre 2006, among others).\(^1\)\(^2\) In this paper I show that German in fact has three structurally distinct classes of DOCs: (i) “low” dative DOCs,\(^3\) (ii) raising applicative constructions, and (iii) thematic applicative constructions.\(^4\) In previous literature raising and thematic

---

\(^{1}\) Cf. Dvorak forthcoming for a similar distinction in Czech.

\(^{2}\) Vogel and Steinbach (1998), Müller (1999), Fanselow (2003), among others, argue against two classes of dative DOCs, by attributing word order differences to an animacy constraint on word order, namely preference for animate arguments to precede inanimate ones. But McIntyre (2006) and Cook (2006) convincingly show that the animacy constraint does not explain the contrast between the two classes.

\(^{3}\) “Low”/“high” dative refers to the position of the dative argument with respect to the direct object.

\(^{4}\) German has two more types of dative, the so-called estimative and ethical datives. As Wegener (1989) and Draye (1996) observe, ethical datives have a restricted syntactic behavior (e.g., they can neither be stressed, negated or contrasted) and usually appear as 1st or 2nd person pronouns. Estimative datives typically co-occur with the degree modifiers zu ‘too’ and genug ‘enough’. Both estimative and ethical datives may co-occur with dative arguments (Wegener 1985). Regarding the syntactic analysis of these two types of dative, there is agreement in the literature that they should not be treated on par with “low” and “high” datives. In fact most studies of German dative DOCs treat them as adjuncts (McFadden 2004, Cook 2006, among others).
applicative constructions are subsumed under one class, namely “high” dative DOCs (cf. Wegener 1991, McFadden 2004, Cook 2006).\(^5\)

What is referred to as the “low” dative appears with verbs, such as _aussetzen_ ‘expose to’, _entziehen_ ‘deprive/withdraw’, _unterwerfen_ ‘subject to’, _zuführen_ ‘supply with/bring to’.\(^6\) The class of “low” dative verbs is relatively small and displays less productivity and regularity in its behavior. The so-called “high” construction, on the other hand, occurs with prototypical ditransitives (e.g., _geben_ ‘give’, _schicken_ ‘send’, _austeilen_ ‘distribute’) and a large number of verbs to which a dative argument can be freely added.

Evidence for the distinction between the two classes comes from a series of diagnostic tests. Here, I present the most reliable ones: topicalization and recipient passives (cf. Wegener 1991, Frey 1993, McFadden 2004, for more diagnostic tests for the distinction between the two classes). By applying a traditional constituency test, topicalization, Wegener (1991) and McFadden (2004) show that “low” and “high” dative verbs pattern differently, as illustrated in (7–8).

\[(7)\]
\begin{align*}
a. \text{[Blumen kaufen] kann man einer Frau immer ti} \\
\text{flowers.ACC buy can one.NOM a.DAT woman.DAT always} \\
\text{‘One can always buy a woman flowers.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. *[Einer Frau kaufen] kann man Blumen immer ti \\
a.DAT woman.DAT buy can one.NOM flowers.ACC always \\
\text{‘One can always buy flowers for a woman.’}
\end{align*}

\[(8)\]
\begin{align*}
a. \text{[Der Kälte ausgesetzt] hat er das Kind ti} \\
\text{the.DAT cold.DAT exposed has he.NOM the.ACC child.ACC} \\
\text{‘He exposed the child to the cold.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. *[Das Kind ausgesetzt] hat er der Kälte ti \\
\text{the.ACC child.ACC exposed has he.NOM the.DAT cold.DAT} \\
\text{‘The child was exposed to the cold (by the mother).’} \quad \text{(McFadden 2004:106)}
\end{align*}

Furthermore, these two verb classes behave differently regarding the so-called recipient passive, in which _bekommen_ ‘receive’, _erhalten_ ‘obtain’ and _kriegen_ ‘get’ seem to function like passive auxiliaries in a construction in which the nominative subject corresponds to the dative IO in an active clause. Recipient passive is grammatical with “high” dative verbs, but not with “low” dative verbs, as examples (9b) and (10b) show respectively.

\[(9)\]
\begin{align*}
a. \text{Die Mutter schickt dem Jungen das Paket} \\
\text{the.NOM mother.NOM sends the.DAT boy.DAT the.ACC parcel.ACC} \\
\text{‘The mother sends the boy the parcel.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. \text{Der Junge kriegt das Paket geschickt} \\
\text{the.NOM boy.NOM gets the.ACC parcel.ACC sent} \\
\text{(von der Mutter)} \\
\text{by the.DAT mother.DAT} \\
\text{‘The boy gets sent the parcel (by the mother).’} \quad \text{(Cook 2006:145)}
\end{align*}

\[(10)\]
\begin{align*}
a. \text{Die Mutter setzt das Kind der Kälte aus} \\
\text{the.NOM mother.NOM exposes the.ACC child.ACC the.DAT cold.DAT} \\
\text{‘The mother exposes the child to the cold.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
b. *\text{Die Kälte kriegt das Kind ausgesetzt} \\
\text{the.NOM cold.NOM gets the.ACC child.ACC exposed} \\
\text{‘The child is exposed to the cold.’} \quad \text{(Cook 2006:145)}
\end{align*}

\(^5\)Similar to my account, McIntyre (2009) classifies “high” dative DOCs into two different types, namely Pylkkänen’s (2002, 2008) high and low applicatives.

\(^6\)Cook (2006) argues that that _entziehen_ ‘deprive/withdraw’ and _zuführen_ ‘supply with/bring to’, depending on their reading, can be classified as either “low” or “high” dative verbs.
Most German scholars agree that the base order of “low” dative DOCs is ACC>DAT and the dative argument is an oblique (McFadden 2004, Meinunger 2006, among others) (11).

(11) \[[v \text{DP}_{\text{NOM}} [v'\text{VP} [v \text{DP}_{\text{ACC}} [v' [P \text{DP}_{\text{DAT}} V]]]]]]

For the remainder of this section I focus on thematic and raising applicatives in German and Turkish. For simplicity, I will talk in terms of DOCs in German, but the claims to be made apply only to “high” dative DOCs. In the following section I show that German and Turkish have applicative constructions which should be divided into two types: thematic and raising.

2.2.2 Thematic Applicatives in German and Turkish

In this section I first argue that German and Turkish have thematic applicatives, and then I describe how they are syntactically licensed.

Two diagnostic tests emerge from Pylkkänen’s applicative theory in (4): (i) Only high applicatives can combine with unergative predicates, since the semantics of low applicatives requires the presence of a DO, and (ii) only high applicatives can combine with static verbs, such as *hold*, since the type of event denoted by statives is inconsistent with the DO undergoing change of possession.

Based on Pylkkänen’s second diagnostic, German and Turkish dative DOCs can be high (thematic) applicative constructions, since the dative IO combines with the static predicate *hold* in both languages, as examples (12a) and (12b) show.

7

(12) a. Ich habe dem Kind deinen Rucksack gehalten
I.NOM have the.DAT child.DAT your.ACC backpack.ACC held
‘I held your backpack for the child.’

b. Ben çocu-ğ-a ça-nta-n-i tut-tum
I child-DAT bag-POSS.2SG-ACC held
‘I held your bag for the child.’

Lee-Schoenfeld (2006), McIntyre (2006) and Tungseth (2008) for German and Kesici (2008) for Turkish also provide many examples of event-related (high) applied arguments.

(13) a. *Benefactive dative in German
Er klopfte und sie machte ihm (die Tür) auf
he.NOM knocked and she.NOM made him.DAT the.ACC door.ACC open
‘He knocked and she opened the door for him.’

b. *Malefactive dative in German
Sie haben mir das Leben kaputtgemacht

7Pylkkänen’s transitivity diagnostic is inapplicable in German (Hoekstra 1988, Tungseth 2008, among others) and Turkish, as shown in (i) and (ii) respectively.

(i) *Fritz hat seinem Bruder geschwommen
Fritz.NOM has his.DAT brother.DAT swum
‘Fritz swam for/on his brother.’

(ii) *Orhan abi-si-ne yüzü dü
Orhan.NOM brother-POSS3SG-DAT swam
‘Orhan swam for/on his brother.’

(Tungseth 2008:110)

8Dative arguments in German and Turkish do not appear with all types of static predicates. Dative arguments cannot be added to verbs of perception (e.g., *see*), psych verbs (e.g., *love*) and verbs of existence (e.g., *live*). The following examples are examples with a verb of perception. Example (ia) is from Tungseth 2008:111.

(i) a. *Maria hat ihm das Foto nicht gesehen
Marini.NOM has him.DAT the.ACC photo.ACC not seen
‘Maria saw the photo for/on him.’

b. *Orhan o-na resm-i gör-dü
Orhan.NOM him/her-DAT photo.ACC see-PAST.3SG
‘Orhan saw the photo for/on him/her.’
they.NOM have me.DAT the.ACC life.ACC ruined

‘I had them ruin my life.’ (McIntyre 2006:193)

(14) a. Benefactive dative in Turkish

Emira ban-a kapı-(y)ı açtı
Emira.NOM me-DAT door-ACC opened

‘Emira opened the door for me.’

b. Malefactive dative in Turkish

Ben Orhan’a evde kalıp çocuklara bakmasını sordum, ‘I told Orhan to stay at home and watch the kids,’ ama o gitti bana televizyon karşısında uyuyakaldı
but he went me.DAT television in.front.of fell.asleep

‘but he fell asleep on me in front of the television.’ (Kesici 2008:20)

The syntactic licensing of thematic applicatives is straightforward. The applied argument merges in the specifier of ApplP, where it receives a theta-role (beneficiary/maleficiary) and is assigned inherent dative Case by Appl.9 The DO is licensed by v. Once inherent Case is assigned to the applied argument, it can no longer move to [Spec, TP] to check Case in a passive construction. Since inherent Case does not count as an intervener (McGinnis 1998, Legate 2008, among others), theme passivization is what is predicted by the analysis and supported by the data in (15) (German) and (16) (Turkish).

(15) a. Die Türen wurden den Kindern geöffnet
the.NOM doors.NOM were the.DAT children.DAT opened

‘The doors were opened for the children.’

b. *Die Kinder wurden die Türen geöffnet
the.NOM children.NOM were the.ACC doors.ACC opened

(16) a. Kapi-lar çocuk-lar-a açıldı
door-PL child-PL-DAT open-PASS-PAST

‘The doors were opened for the children.’

b. *Çocuk-lar kapı-lar-a açıldı
child-PL.NOM door-PL-ACC open-PASS-PAST

2.2.3 Raising Applicatives in German and Turkish

Raising applicatives appear in the same surface position as thematic applicatives. However in the case of raising applicatives, instead of hosting a dative DP in its specifier, Appl attracts the dative possessor/recipient goal from [Spec, VP]. This pattern captures the semantic properties of a goal-theme double object construction, which corresponds to Pylkkänen’s low applicative construction in (4b).

What is crucial in the raising applicative hypothesis is the surface position of the IO outside the VP (6). Evidence that the IO raises from [Spec, VP] to [Spec, ApplP] in German and Turkish comes from the position of manner adverbs, as shown in (17a) and (17b), respectively. Under the standard assumption that secretly is positioned on the left edge of VP, the order in (17a–b) is exactly the order predicted by the raising applicative hypothesis.10

(17) a. Er hat jemandem heimlich einen alten Test gegeben
he.NOM has someone.DAT secretly an.ACC old.ACC Test.ACC given

‘He secretly gave someone an old test.’

b. O birisin-e gizlice eski bir sınav ver-di
he someone-DAT secretly old a test give-PAST.3SG


10Cf. Georgala forthcoming for a strong argument from adverbial floating quantifiers in support of raising of IO to [Spec, ApplP] in German. Quantifier floating is not attested in Turkish (Muysken 1989, among others).
'He secretly gave someone an old test.'

As shown in the derivation of (17a–b) in (18), DO and V are first merged in V' and then IO is merged in [Spec, VP]. Assuming that Appl bears an EPP feature in both languages, IO is attracted to [Spec, ApplP] to check the EPP feature of Appl. Appl also assigns inherent Case to all arguments in [Spec, ApplP] in German and Turkish. In the next step of the derivation, v is merged with Appl and Agree is established between v and DO, the closest DP with an unchecked Case feature.

\[(\nu \text{ Subj} [\nu \cdot [\text{App}l \ IO \ [\text{ApplP} \ [\nu \cdot [\text{VP} [\text{secretly} \ [\text{VP} t \ IO \ [\text{V'} \ DO \ V]]]]]]]])\]

The proposed syntactic licensing predicts asymmetric theme passivization which is borne out by the data in (19–20). Since IO is assigned inherent Case by Appl, it does not qualify to undergo A-bar movement to [Spec, TP], which explains why IO passivization in (19b) and (20b) is ungrammatical. Assuming that inherently Case-marked DPs do not count as interveners, the theme DO is free to move to [Spec, TP] to check nominative Case. This renders theme passivization in both languages grammatical (19a and 20a).

\[(19)\]
\[\begin{align*}
(19a) & \text{Das Bombon wurde dem Kind gegeben} \\
\text{the. NOM candy. NOM was the. DAT child. DAT given} \\
\text{‘The candy was given to the child.’} \\
(19b) & \text{*Das Kind wurde das Bombon gegeben} \\
\text{the. NOM child. NOM was the. ACC candy. ACC given} \\
\text{‘The child was given the candy.’}
\end{align*}\]

\[(20)\]
\[\begin{align*}
(20a) & \text{Şeker çocuğ-a ver-il-di} \\
\text{candy. NOM child-DAT give-PASS-PAST} \\
\text{‘The candy was given to the child.’} \\
(20b) & \text{*Çocuk şeker-i ver-il-di} \\
\text{child. NOM candy-Acc give-PASS-PAST} \\
\text{‘The child was given the candy.’}
\end{align*}\]

In this section I argued that German and Turkish dative DOCs can be accounted for by the raising/thematic applicative hypothesis. In Section 3 I provide data from depictive stranding showing that IO>DO is the underlying order of dative DOCs in both languages, which is exactly what the raising/thematic applicative hypothesis predicts.

### 3 German, Turkish, and the Universal Order of DOCs

German and Turkish are alleged counterexamples to the crosslinguistic generalization that IOs are merged higher than DOs in DOCs (Marantz 1993, Pesetsky 1995, Bowers 2010, among others). In particular, in the recent literature on German DOCs it has been argued that the accusative DO originates higher than the dative IO, and the order <IO, DO> is derived either by A-bar scrambling (den Dikken 1995, Müller 1995) or A-scrambling (McGinnis 1999). In Turkish it has been observed (Kornfilt 2003) that native speakers usually judge <DO, IO> as the unmarked order. This observation has lead Kornfilt (2003) to suggest that the accusative DO is positioned in a hierarchically higher position than the dative IO. Also Simpson et al. (2008) suggest that DO>IO might be the underlying order in Turkish, based on reciprocal and anaphor binding facts (cf. footnote 17). However, previously unnoticed data from depictive stranding in dative DOCs support the hypothesis that IO>DO is the underlying order in German and Turkish.

---

11 Tungseth (2008) also argues that <IO, DO> is a derived order in German, but she does not discuss the type of movement by which <IO, DO> is derived.

12 According to Kornfilt (2003:140) “[…] the Accusative object is positioned in [Spec, AGREoP].” Notice, though, that AGREoP is typically taken to be a derived position.


14 Öztürk 2005 provides another argument in support of IO>DO in Turkish (cf. discussion on A-bar...
In German, depictives can be predicated of DOs (21a), but not of IOs (21b), and can be stranded by A-movement, for example by passive (21c) or unaccusative (21d) movement.

(21)

(a) Er hat Jan [das Bier]_i lauwarm_i serviert
    he.NOM has Jan.DAT the.ACC beer.ACC lukewarm served
    ‘He served the beer to Jan lukewarm.’

(b) Er, hat Jan, das Bier nackte serviert
    he.NOM has Jan.DAT the.ACC beer.ACC naked served
    ‘He served the beer naked.’

(c) [Das Bier]_i wurde von dem Kellner
    the.NOM beer.NOM was by the.DAT waiter.DAT
    lauwarm_i serviert
    lukewarm served
    ‘The beer was served lukewarm by the waiter.’

(d) Eva_i ist aus München müde zurückgekommen
    Eva.NOM is from Munich.DAT tired returned
    ‘Eva returned tired from Munich.’

Turkish depictives behave similarly to German depictives, as illustrated in (22).15

(22)

(a) Orhan turist-e bira-yı_i ilk_i servis etti
    Orhan.NOM tourist-DAT beer-ACC service did
    ‘Orhan served the tourist the beer lukewarm.’

(b) Orhan, turist-e bira-yı çıklağı servis etti
    Orhan.NOM tourist-DAT beer-ACC service did
    ‘Orhan served the tourist the beer naked.’

(c) Arkadaşlar-mız Münih-ten yorgun, döndü
    friend-PL-POSS.1PL Munich-ABL tired returned
    ‘Our friends came back from Munich tired.’

(d) Bir, garson tarafından ilk, servis edildi
    beer waiter by lukewarm service did
    ‘The beer was served lukewarm by the waiter.’

My account of depictives is consistent either with the DO and the depictive forming a constituent (Marusic et al. 2008), or with the DO controlling PRO in the specifier of the depictive small clause (Bowers 1993, among others). In the latter case, no other eligible controller (DP) may intervene between the depictive and PRO due to the Minimal Distance Principle (Rosenbaum 1967). Crucially, depictives can be stranded by ACC DAT depictive stranding in both German and Turkish, as shown in (23a) and (23b) respectively: the depictive lukewarm is stranded in the base position of the DO the beer, which moves to the left of the IO.

(23)

(a) Er hat [das Bier]_i Jan t, lauwarm, serviert
    he.NOM has the.ACC beer.ACC Jan.DAT lukewarm served
    ‘He served the beer to Jan lukewarm.’

(b) Orhan bira-yı_turist-e ilk, servis etti
    Orhan.NOM beer-ACC tourist-DAT service did
    ‘Orhan served the beer to the tourist lukewarm.’

4 A Note on Turkish Scrambling

Similar to Japanese (Miyagawa 2001 and subsequent work, among others), scrambling can be

scrambling in Section 4).

15Unlike German, the depictive predicate in Turkish always appears adjacent to the verb (only a few discourse particles, such as de ‘also’, and the question particle mı may intervene between the depictive and the verb, as Boeder and Schroeder 1998 observe). This has led Kornfilt (1997) and Boeder and Schroeder (1998) to suggest that the depictive is incorporated into the verb.
treated either as A- or A-bar movement in Turkish (Öztürk 2005). Below I provide evidence from
DOCs to support this claim.
Simpson et al. (2008) interpret the anaphor binding facts in (24a–b) to show that both IO>DO
and DO>IO are underlying orders in Turkish.\footnote{The contrast between examples (i) and (ii) below, where the reciprocal is the head of the goal and
theme respectively leads Simpson et al. to suggest that IO>DO might be a derived order in Turkish. Examples (i) and (ii) come from Simpson et al. 2008.
(i) Ali Ayşe ve Mehmet-i parti-de birbirleri-ne taniş-tir-di
Ali Ayşe and Mehmet-ACC party-LOC each other-DAT meet-CAUS-PASS
‘Ali introduced Ayşe and Mehmet to each other at the party.’
(ii) ?Ali Ayşe ve Mehmet-e parti-de birbirleri-ni taniş-tir-di
Ali Ayşe and Mehmet-DAT party-LOC each other-ACC meet-CAUS-PASS
Note, though, that the contrast between (i) and (ii) disappears, when the locative partide ‘at the party’ is
omitted, as illustrated in (iii) and (iv).
(iii) Ali Ayşe ve Mehmet-i birbirleri-ne taniş-tir-di
Ali Ayşe and Mehmet-ACC each other-DAT meet-CAUS-PASS
‘Ali introduced Ayşe and Mehmet to each other.’
(iv) Ali Ayşe ve Mehmet-e birbirleri-ni taniş-tir-di
Ali Ayşe and Mehmet-DAT each other-ACC meet-CAUS-PASS}

(24) a. Ali John ve Mary-i birbirler-i-nin
    Ali John and Mary-ACC each other-3POSS-GEN
    arkadaşlar-i-na taniş-tir-di
    friends-POSS-DAT meet-CAUS-PAST
    ‘Ali introduced John and Mary to each other’s friends.’

b. Ali John ve Mary-e birbirler-i-nin arkadaşlar-i-ni
    Ali John and Mary-DAT each other-3POSS-GEN friends-POSS-ACC
    taniş-tir-di
    meet-CAUS-PAST

\(16\)

Under the assumption that IO>DO is the base order in Turkish (24b here), example (24a) can be
explained by assuming that DO A-scrambles from its base position inside the VP to the outer
specifier of vP (Georgala submitted).
However, in a sentence in which DO contains a pronominal variable and IO is a quantificational
operator, A-scrambling of the accusative DO with the embedded variable his does not lead
to reconstruction, as shown in (25b).

(25) a. Her adam-a\_i resm-in-i\_ij verdim
    every man-DAT picture-3POSS-ACC gave-PAST-1SG
    ‘I gave every man his picture.’

b. Resm-in-i\_ij her adam-a\_i ver-di-m
    picture-3POSS-ACC every man-DAT gave-PAST-1SG
    ‘I gave every man his picture.’

\(154\)

As noticed by Kural (1992), under scrambling Turkish allows reconstruction in the presence of a
correlatively focused element. Thus, when constrastive focus is introduced into a DOC, yielding
A-bar movement effects, DO can reconstruct into a position below IO, as shown in (26). This
suggests that IO is higher than DO (Öztürk 2005).

(26) Resm-in-i\_ij her adam-a\_i DÜN ver-di-m
    picture-3PS-ACC every man-DAT yesterday give-PAST-1SG
    ‘I gave every man his picture YESTERDAY.’

\(154\)

5 Conclusion
Using evidence from depictive stranding I have shown that German and Turkish, verb-final scrambling languages which have been assumed to be an exception to the crosslinguistic generalization of IO->DO base order in DOCs, in fact support the generalization. Following Georgala et al.’s (2008) analysis of applicative constructions, which predicts that IOs originate higher than DOs, I have argued that German and Turkish have two types of applied arguments (thematic and raising) with different underlying but the same surface position, namely [Spec, ApplP]. By showing that IO->DO is the base order of Turkish DOCs I have also contributed to the discussion of the nature of scrambling in Turkish. In particular I have corroborated Öztürk’s (2005) view that scrambling in Turkish can be treated as either A-bar or A-movement.

References


Department of Linguistics
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14853-4701
eg99@cornell.edu