On the Applicability of the Direct and Indirect Object Preposing in Double Object Constructions

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	作成者:
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On the Applicability of the Direct and Indirect Object Preposing

in Double Object Constructions

Iwao OTSUKA and Kazuhiko TANAKA[*]

The aim of this paper is to show why such sentences as 'Mary was bought a book by John' and 'A book was bought Mary by John' are ungrammatical. So far, little attention has been paid to such sentences, where Passivization applied to the direct object and the indirect object of the *For*-Double-Object Construction (*For*-DOC),[1] though much attention has been paid to the sentences where Passivization applied to the direct object and the indirect object of the *To*-Double-Object-Construction (*To*-DOC).[1] My investigation intends to shed light on the applicability of the object fronting by Passivization in the DOC. In the present study, we will first review two previous approaches and point out their defects ; we will then propose an alternative approach. What we will claim here is that we must consider the syntactic and semantic uniqueness of the DOC when we try to deal with this problem.

1.   The problem of the direct and indirect object preposing has been treated in two ways. One is a functional analysis, i.e., an analysis in terms of Information Structure, and the other is an affectedness analysis. To begin with, we will examine the former.

The speaker usually tries to give the hearer new information on the basis of what is still in the hearer's mind. In communication, new information is very important and will be usually the focus of the utterance. The DOC has two NPs in addition to the subject NP, and therefore theoretically it conveys more than one piece of information at a time. However, it is usually very hard for the hearer to deal with two pieces of new information at a time. So, in the case of the DOC, it is desirable that one object be truly new information and the other be given information, and this is usually the case. If a given-new sequence is preferable when two arguments form a line, as suggested in Kuno(1979), it follows that their combination (either a given-new or a new-given sequence) determines which construction (the DOC or the Prepositional Object Construction (POC)) is to be better. Judging from Kuno's suggestion and the principle in which the weightier element is given end position, the direct object is supposed to be focal in the DOC and the proposisional object (PO) is focal in the POC. On this premise, the unacceptability of the sentence (1a) can be explained:

(1) a. "What did you give to George?" ∗² "I gave the pennywhistle to George."

b. "What did you give to George?"   "I gave George the pennywhistle."

(Creider, 1979, p.6)

In (1a), although *George* is still in the questioner's mind, it is in the end position, suitable for new information. Therefore, (2a) is unacceptable, contextually. In (2b), *the pennywhistle*, which is new information, is in the suitable end position. Therefore, (1b) is acceptable, contextually.

Considering the circumstances mentioned, it is clear that the indirect object is old information and the direct object is new information in the DOC. This enables us to understand that the indirect object can be moved into subject position more easily than the direct object:

(2) a. John gave a book to Bill.

b. John gave Bill a book.

c. Bill was given a book by John.

d. ?A book was given Bill by John.

Judging from the fact that the subject NP is, in general, old information, it is natural for the indirect object in the DOC to move into subject position, and it is difficult for the direct object, which is focal, to move into subject position.

To be sure, this approach is adequate to explain the applicability of the object fronting by Passivization in the *To*-DOC. But the unacceptability of the following examples cannot be explained by this approach:

(3) a. ∗John was bought a book by Mary.

b. ∗A book was bought John by Mary.

(3a) is a sentence we can get by applying Passivization to the indirect object of the *For*-DOC of the next sentence:

(4) Mary bought John a book.

If we analyze (4) in terms of information structure, it naturally follows that *John* is given information and *a book* is new information. The problem here is why *John* in (4) cannot move into subject position, though both *John* in (4) and *Bill* in (2c) are considered to be given information. Another problem is why (2d) is acceptable, though a little unnatural, while (3b) is unacceptable. The functional approach cannot solve these two problems.

Next, we will examine an affectedness analysis proposed by Niiya(1984). This analysis is based on the affected condition (Bolinger (1975, 1977) ; Davison (1980)).

According to Bolinger, this condition is as follows:

(5)   Only NPs denoting "true patients", i.e., those actually affected in some way by the action described by the verb, may be passivized.

This is an important condition on Passivization. For example, the unacceptability of the

following examples can be explained by (5) :

(6) a.　The room has three windows.

　　b.　＊Three windows are had by the room.

(7) a.　The book costs ten dollars.

　　b.　＊Ten dollars are cost by the book.

Generally, the object of the middle verb such as *has* and *cost* cannot be passivized. This is because the referent of the subject NP has no influence or effect on the referent of the object NP: the sentences (6b) and (7b) do not satisfy the affected condition (5).

The syntactic requirement to generate passive sentences is that their corresponding active sentences should contain at least two independent NPs. If the sentence contains only two NPs (one is an agent subject NP and the other is an affected object NP), there is no problem. But how about the sentence which contains more than two NPs?

(8) a.　I teach the little monsters arithmetic.

　　b.　I teach arithmetic to the little monsters.

Paying attention to the different implication between (8b) and (8b),[3] Dillon (1977) points out that the direct object[4] is regarded as the most direct and holistic affected participant. This leads Niiya to the next assumption:

(9)　　If the subject NP is agent in the active voice sentence, the object NP nearer to its verb is more affected and easy to move into subject position in its corresponding passive voice sentences.

On the basis of this assumption, Niiya gives an analysis of the indirect passive.[5] The main problem for Niiya is why (10b) is acceptable, while (11b) is unacceptable:

(10) a.　John gave Mary a book.

　　b.　Mary was given a book by John.

　　c.　John gave a book to Mary.

(11) a.　John bought Mary a car.

　　b.　＊Mary was bought a car by John.

　　c.　John bought a car for Mary.

What factor makes (11b) unacceptable?

Both the *To*-DOC verb such as *give* and *send* and the *For*-DOC verbs such as *buy* and *make* can appear without their indirect objects:

(12)　John gave a book.

(13)　John bought a car.

The indirect object of the *To*-DOC verb can be omissible only if an addressee is able to understand what its reference is, based on the situation of the utterance and the context of the

discourse. On the other hand, unless an addressee can understand what the indirect object NP refers to (for example, at the beginning of the conversation), it is unnatural to utter such a sentence as (14) :

(14)　Hello, Jack! Did you hear Mary gave a saucepan?

However, we can naturally utter such a sentence as (15) at the starting point of the conversation:

(15)　Hello, Jack! Did you hear Mary bought a house?

The difference of naturalness between (14) and (15) is concerned with the semantic structure of a given verb : how many NPs does the verb minimally require? For instance, *To*-DOC verbs require three NPs (Agent, Object and Recipient), and *For*-DOC verbs require at least two NPs (Agent and Object). In the case of the *For*-DOC verb, a benefactive NP is only an optional argument. This is why (13) is unnatural and (14) is natural.

　　The following examples also show that a benefactive NP is optional in the *For*-POC, but that a recipient NP is indispensable in the *To*-POC:

(16) a.　＊John gave a book to Mary and I did so to Nancy.
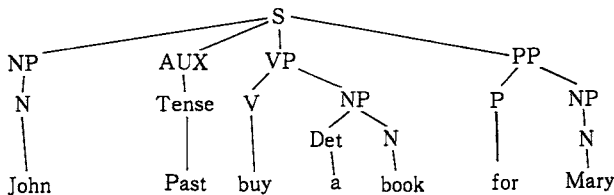
　　　b.　John bought a car for Mary and I did so for Nancy.

(Lakoff &Ross, 1966)

As the following tree diagrams show, the *To*-prepositional phrase is a sister of the verb and the *For*-prepositional phrase is not a sister of the verb but an adverbial modifier outside the VP:

(17)
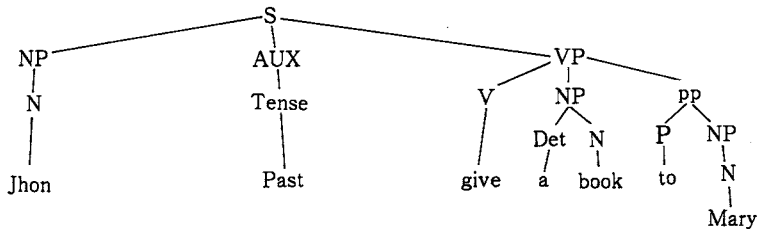
(18)

From the various facts mentioned above, Niiya concludes as follows: though the *To*-PP and the *For*-PP are moved into post-verbal position by Dative Movement, the indirect object in the *For*-DOC originally has little semantic connection with its verb (i.e., the indirect object is not

actually affected by·the action described by the verb). This is why the indirect object in the *For*-DOC cannot be moved into subject position by Passivization. On the other hand, the indirect object in the *To*-DOC plays a necessary role for the action described by the verb and therefore it is considered to have a close connection with the verb and is actually affected by the action described by the verb. This is why the indirect object in the *To*-DOC can be moved into subject position by Passivization.

On the face of it, Niiya's approach seems to be adequate to explain the applicability of the indirect object fronting by Passivization in the *For*-DOC and the *To*-DOC. However, she does not consider the important point which we must not miss when we deal with the DOC. It is the unique property of the DOC in English:

(19)   John bought a book for Mary.

(20)   John bought Mary a book.

To be sure, *for Mary* in (19) has little connection with the verb *bought*. But can *Mary* in (20) be an element which has as little connection with the verb as *for Mary* in (19) ?

Her approach is not adequate in that she does not consider the unique property of the DOC. In the next section, we will examine the peculiarity of the DOC in English.

2.   The DOC is very peculiar in English. Generally speaking, in English it is rare for two NPs to stand in a row.[6] The following are rare examples in which two Nps form a line $(NP_1 + NP_2)$:

(21) a.   A car, John bought yesterday.

b.   What a wonderful car John bought!

c.   This is a car John bought yesterday.

d.   John gave Mary a book.

(21a) is an example of Topicalization and (21b) of Exclamation Formation. (21c) is a sentence in which a relative pronoun *which* or *that* is omitted. And (21d) is a Double-Object Construction. Superficially each sentence has the same NP_1-NP_2 sequence. But close examination reveals a difference between the first three examples and the fourth. The first three sentences have an NP-NP sequence as the result of the movement or the omission of an NP. In (21d) this is not the case. In the case of the DOC, both NP_1 and NP_2 have the function of object unlike those in the other examples in (21). This is one of the peculiarities of the DOC.

The DOC is also unusual in another respect. Generally, lexical items cannot appear between a verb and its direct object as is shown in the following examples:

(22) a.   *John put on the table the book.

b.   John put the book on the table.

(23) a.   *John insulted deliberately Mary.

　　b.　　John insulted Mary deliberately.

<div align="right">(Czepluch, 1983, p. 2)</div>

Of the above examples, the most interesting one is (23a). The only place where an adverbial cannot occur is between the verb and its direct object :

(24) a.　　Carefully John read it to them.

　　b.　　John carefully read it to them.

　　c.　　＊John read carefully it to them.

　　d.　　John read it carefully to them.

　　e.　　John read it to them carefully.

Thus, the DOC is peculiar in that between the verb and its primary argument (the direct object), where even adverbials cannot appear, another argument (the indirect object) stands.

　　Chomsky (1981) also seems to take great pains in disposing of the problem of the DOC within his Case Theory. According to him, one of the basic properties of the theory of abstract Case is as follows: Each lexical NP needs to have Case at S-structure; otherwise the Case Filter marks the structure as deviant in the PF-component.

(25)　　＊NP if NP has 'phonetic' content and has no case.

The Case of an NP is determined by the Case-assignment rules of Universal Grammar:

(26) (i)　　NP is nominative if governed by AGR

　　(ii)　　NP is objective if governed by V with the subcategorization feature: -NP (i.e., transitive)

　　(iii)　　NP is oblique if governed by P

　　(iv)　　NP is genitive in [NP-$\bar{x}$]

　　(v)　　NP is inherently Case-marked as determined by properties of its [-N] governor.

He refers to the Case assigned under (i)——(iv) as "Structural Case," and the Case assigned under (v) as "Inherent Case." Within Case Theory mentioned above, Chomsky gives an analysis of the sentence (27) in the following two ways:

(27)　　John gave Bill a book.

One analysis is to assume that *Bill* in this construction receives its structural Case under (26ii) and *a book* receives inherent Case under (26v). In other words, we have a structure with a verb head followed by structural Case (Bill) and inherent Case (a book) in the sentence (27). Another analysis is to assume that the VP contains an internal VP, so that its structure is (27):

(28)　　John [$_{VP}$ [$_{V\text{-bar}}$ gave Bill] a book]

It follows from this analysis that *Bill* receives structural Case under (26ii) in the normal way and *a book* receives structural Case from V-bar under (26ii) as well. This small VP analysis is in line with the adjacency and single Case condition, if V-bar is admitted as a governor: both V

and V-bar Case-mark an object adjacently and singularly. On this premise, it is no longer necessary to assume that the direct object in the DOC bears inherent Case, which is considered obsolete in English. In this respect this analysis is far better than the former one.

At first sight, this small VP analysis seems to succeed in dealing with the DOC within Case Theory. This analysis is only an automatic consequence of the single-Case condition under the Projection Principle in that verbs that subcategorize for two NP objects require a layered complement ordering which results from properties of Case Theory. While the DO-PIO order results naturally, this is not so for the PIO-DO order. It is not clear at all what general property blocks (29), which is well-formed in terms of Case Theory :

(29)   John [$_{VP}$ [$_{v\text{-bar}}$ gave the book] Mary]

The fact that Chomsky can give only an ad-hoc analysis of the DOC within Case Theory reveals that the DOC is peculiar in English.[7]

3.   Up to now, we have argued that neither the functional approach nor the affectedness approach is adequate to explain the applicability of the object fronting by Passivization in the DOC because they do not pay attention to the unique character of the DOC. Thus, we will argue in this section the applicability of the direct and indirect object fronting in terms of the syntactic characteristics of the DOC.[8]

As we said in the previous section, the DOC is peculiar in that another argument (indirect object) appears between the verb and its primary argument (direct object). Thus, the peculiarity of the DOC is ascribed to the position or the status of the indirect object. The important thing here is that the indirect object is dependent not only on the verb but also on the direct object. For that reason, we may assume the following surface structure constraint on the indirect object:

(30)   The indirect object must appear between the verb and its direct object.

If we follow this assumption, almost all the problems of the movement of the indirect object seem to be solved. For example, we can explain the unacceptability of the following sentences:

(31) a.   *Who did John give a book?

b.   *Mary, John gave a book.

c.   *What a beautiful girl John gave a book!

In the case of the indirect object fronting, Wh-question Formation, Topicalization and Exclamation Formation are not permitted. Why? In the sentences of (31) all NPs in sentence initial position are indirect objects. But they do not stand between the verb *give/gave* and its direct object *a book*. Thus, the sentences of (31) contradict the constraint in (30) and therefore they are unacceptable. On the other hand, the sentences of (32) are all acceptable:

(32) a.   Who did John give a book to?

　　　b.　Mary, John gave a book to.

　　　c.　What a beautiful girl John gave a book to.

In the sentences in (32) the NPs in sentence initial position are not indirect objects but objects of the preposition *to*. Thus they do not contradict the assumption of (30).

　　　The problem here is how grammatical relations are determined. In general, they are decided by the lexical characteristics of the verb and the position of the NP in the sentence. For instance, in the case of (33) :

　　(33)　John gave Mary a book.

Mary in post-verbal position is the indirect object and *a book* followed by *Mary* is the direct object. However, how can grammatical relations be determined in the case of (32a)?To determine grammatical relations in such sentences as in (32), we must adopt Trace Theory (Fiengo, 1977, p.58). Using Trace Theory, we get the following surface structure of (32a):

　　(34)　[Who]$_{NP1}$ did John give [t]$_{NP1}$ [a book]$_{NP2}$

The trace *t* in (34) is governed by *who*, as the index NP_1 shows. In this case, *who* must be treated as if it were in its trace position. As a result, *who* and *a book* in (34) are assigned the grammatical relations of the indirect object and the direct object respectively, just as *Mary* and *a book* in (33).

　　　Thus far we have argued the applicability of a few kinds of indirect object fronting and succeeded in explaining it on the basis of the surface constraint (30). Next we will look at the sentence (35) on the basis of (30):

　　(35)　Mary was given a book by John.

In the case of (35), we get the following surface structure :

　　(36)　[Mary]$_{NP1}$ was given [t]$_{NP1}$ [a book]$_{NP2}$ by John

It should be noted that *Mary* was originally in its trace position. In this respect this construction is similar to that of (34). But *Mary* in (36) is the subject of the predicate *was given*, unlike *who* in (34). In other words, *Mary* in (36) was originally an indirect object and now in (35) *Mary* has the grammatical function of subject. If we analyze the sentence (35) in this way, *Mary* in (35) has already lost the grammatical function of indirect object and now takes on the grammatical function of subject. Therefore the sentence (35) is not prohibited by the constraint (30). However, how can we explain the unacceptability of the sentence (37)?

　　(37)　＊Mary was bought a book by John.

The surface structure of (37) is (38):

　　(38)　[Mary]$_{NP1}$ was bought [t]$_{NP1}$ [a book]$_{NP2}$ by John.

As (38) shows, *Mary* was originally an indirect object and now in (37) *Mary* has the grammmatical function of syntactic subject, like *Mary* in (35). If you look at the sentence (37)

in this way, it is considered to be acceptable, just as the sentence (35) is, since it does not contradict the constraint (30). But in fact, (37) is clearly unacceptable.

The surface structure constraint we proposed in (30) is adequate to explain the acceptability of the sentences in (31), (32) and (35). But regrettably it is not valid to explain the unacceptability of (37). After all, by the constraint (30) the object fronting by Passivization of the *To*-DOC can be explained, while that of the *For*-DOC cannot. How, then, can we solve this problem?

In the next section, on the basis of Green (1974, ch.4) we will focus on the semantic difference between the DOC and the POC, and show the semantic characteristics of the DOC. Moreover, we will try to explain the applicability of the object fronting in terms of the semantic characteristics of the DOC in English.

4.   In general, the POC and its corresponding DOC are said to be cognitively synonymous:

(39) a.   He sent a package to Mary. (POC)

b.   He sent Mary a package. (DOC)

However, is this really true? Green (1974) points out that the POC and its corresponding DOC are not synonymous in a strong sense:[9]

(40) a.   Mary taught John linguistics.

b.   Mary taught linguistics to John.

(41) a.   John showed Fido a bone.

b.   John showed a bone to Fido.

Acoording to Green, (40a) implies or entails that John learned linguistics, while (40b) merely states that he was a student of linguistics, and is neutral as to whether his teacher *Mary* had any success in her efforts; (41a) implies that Fido perceived the bone, while (41b) leaves this open. In other words, the a-sentences in (40) and (41) imply the achievement of an action, while the b-sentences do not necessarily. Under this analysis, the acceptability of the following examples can be explained :

(42) a.   John taught linguistics to Mary, but she did not learn anything.

b.   *John taught Mary linguistics, but she did not learn anything.

(Green, 1974)

(42b) is unacceptable because the first clause is semantically incompatible with the second clause; the first clause implies that Mary learned linguistics, while the second clause means that Mary did not learn linguistics. On the other hand, (42a) is acceptable. Since the first clause does not necessarily imply that John learned linguistics, it is semantically not incompatible with the second clause.

The semantic difference between the *To*-POC and its corresponding DOC in the above

examples is also true of the examples of other dative verbs:

(43) a.   He sent a package to Mary, but she did not receive it.

   b. *He sent Mary a package, but she did not receive it.

<div align="right">(Nakau, 1982, p.151)</div>

(44) a.   John showed a bone to Fido, but he did not receive it.

   b. *John showed Fido a bone, but he did not receive it yet.

<div align="right">(Yasui, 1982, p.121)</div>

(45) a.   John threw a ball to Mary, but she missed it.

   b. *John threw Mary a ball, but she missed it.

<div align="right">(Green, 1974, p.135)</div>

The b-sentences in (43)——(45) are unacceptable, because they are semantically ill-formed. Since the first clause implies the achievement of an action, it is semantically incompatible with the second clause. The following (46) and (47) show the semantic difference between the *To-*DOC and its corresponding DOC in terms of thematic relations:

(46) NP_1 V NP_2 NP_3

    Agent   Goal   Theme

    Source

(47) NP_1 V NP_3 to NP_2

    Agent   Theme   Target (Goal)

    Source

The Goal argument in (46) is wholly affected by the action described by the verb, while the Target argument in (47) is not necessarily affected by the action described by the verb.[10]   To explain this clearly, we will take an example of (48):

(48) a. He   sent a package   to   Mary.

    Agent   Theme   Target

    Source

   b. He   sent   Mary   a package

    Agent   Goal   Theme

    Source

(48b) means that Mary re eived a package from a man, so that Mary represents Goal. On the other hand, in (48a) it is uncertain whether Mary received the package, so that Mary represents Target. According to Oehrle (1976), such a semantic difference is also seen between the *For-*POC and its corresponding DOC:

(49) a.   I baked a cake for Max, but now that you are here you may take it.

   b. *I baked Max a cake, but now that you are here, you may take it.

The DOC in (49b) implies that Max got a cake. Therefore, (49b) is semantically ill-formed: the first clause is semantically incompatible with the second clause. On the other hand, the POC in (49a) does not have such an implication : the first clause is semantically compatible with the second clause. Therefore, (49a) is acceptable.

Thus the *For*-POC and its corresponding DOC are not synonymous, just as the *To*-POC and its corresponding DOC are not. The semantic difference between the *FOR*-POC and its corresponding DOC can be analyzed in terms of thematic relations as below:

(50) NP_1 V NP_2 NP_3

       Agent   Goal   Theme

       Source

(51) NP_1 V NP_3 for NP_2

       Agent   Theme   Benefactive
       ((Goal))[11]

The following examples will make this clear:

(52) a. John   bought   Mary   a book

         Agent   Goal   Theme

         Source

     b. John   bought   a book   for   Mary.

         Agent   Theme   Benefactive

         (Goal)

(52a) implies that Mary received a book from John, while (53b) does not have such an implication.[12]

Thus far, we have argued that there is a semantic difference between the *To*-POC and its corresponding DOC, and between the *For*-POC and its corresponding DOC. The next problem is how this semantic characteristic of the DOC influences the applicability of the indirect and direct object fronting by Passivization.

Once again, let's examine closely the semantic defference between the *To*-POC and its corresponding DOC, and the *For*-POC and its corresponding DOC:

(53) a. John (Agent, Source) sent Mary (Goal) a package (Theme).

     b. John (Agent, Source) sent a package (Theme) to Mary (Target)

(54) a. John (Agent, Source) bought Mary (Goal) a book (Theme).

     b. John (Agent, (Goal)) bought a book (Theme) for Mary (Benefactive).

As the above thematic relations show, both (53a) and (54b) mean that a package (theme) left John (source) for Mary (goal). The difference between them is whether Mary received the package or not. In (53a), *Mary* is followed by the verb *sent*, so that Mary has a stronger

connection with the verb *sent* than *Mary* in (53b), and as a result, (53a) implies the achievement of an action.[13] On the other hand, (54b) means not that a book (theme) left John (source) for Mary (goal) but that a book (theme) left a seller (source) for the buyer John (goal). This is indirectly mentioned in Gruber (1976, p.7). He writes as follws :

(55)   It may be that we do not have a grammatical sentence in the string **John bought a book to Alice* because we can have no more than one prepositional phrase with *to* in the prelexical structure of such a sentence, there being, underlyingly, TO JOHN in it already.

(54a) means that a book bought by John left for Mary and reached her. The important thing is the difference between the *For*-POC and its corresponding DOC. The semantic difference between the *To*-POC and its corresponding DOC is whether the construction implies the achievement of an action or not, as mentioned before: the *To*-DOC has an implication of the achievement of an action. On the other hand, the *For*-DOC has a special meaning in addition to that implication. The special meaning is that the referent of the direct object (theme) moves to that of the indirect object (goal), and that the referent of the indirect object receives the referent of the direct object. The *For*-POC cannot have such a peculiar meaning.

For example, the verb *buy* in the DOC functions as a kind of complex verb: *buy* has the meaning of *give* in addition to the original meaning of *buy*. In other words, although the *To*-DOC is similar in appearance to the *For*-DOC, only the *For*-DOC enables the verb to have a special meaning in addition to its original meaning. The verb of the *To*-DOC cannot have such an additional meaning.

(56) a.   The verb in the *To*-POC has its original meaning.

   b.   The verb in the *For*-POC has its original meaning.

(57) a.   The verb in the *To*-DOC has its original meaning.

   b.   The verb in the *For*-DOC has a special meaning in addition to its original meaning.   buy＝buy ＋ give

       make＝make ＋ give

However, why does only the verb of the *For*-DOC have such an additional meaning? Let's take the example of *buy* and argue this problem.

The verb *buy* assigns a thematic role "Goal" to its subject, though underlyingly, and "theme" to its direct object, as shown in (58):

(58)   John (Goal) bought a book (Theme).

But the verb *buy* in the DOC assigns "Goal" to its indirect object and "Source" to its subject as in (59):

(59)   John (Source) bought Mary (Goal) a book (Theme).

It should be noted that (59) has the same thematic relations as the *To*-DOC in (60):

(60)   John (Source) sent Mary (Goal) a package (Theme).

This causes the verb of the *For*-DOC to have a special meaning in addition to its original meaning.

To summarize, we can say that both the *For*-DOC and the *To*-DOC have a unique syntactic characteristic, but semantically the *For*-DOC has a more unique property than the *To*-DOC has. The *For*-DOC verb in general needs no "Goal" (though the verb *buy* has Goal-assigned subject exceptionally), but when it takes the DOC, it never fails to assign "Goal" and only to the indirect object. The *To*-DOC verb, on the other hand, needs "Goal" whether it takes the DOC or the POC. In other words, *To*-DOC verbs such as *give* and *send* has a Goal-assigned NP in the predicate, while the *For*-DOC verbs in general have no Goal-assigned NP in the predicate unless it takes DOC.

As the above shows, the *For*-DOC is a special construction where *For*-Dative verbs such as *buy* and *make* can have Goal-assigned NP (the indirect object) in its VP. In this respect, the *To*-DOC is not so special a construction as the *For*-DOC, because *To*-dative verbs such as *give* and *send* always need a Goal-assigned NP.

This semantic uniqueness of the *For*-DOC is an important key to the explanation of the applicability of the indirect and direct object fronting by Passivization. In the case of the *For*-dative verb, it can assign "Goal" to the indirect object only when it has an IO-DO (an indirect object + a direct object) sequence: the word order IO-DO is very important in the For-DOC. However, the *To*-dative verb can assign "Goal" to an NP whether it has an IO-DO sequence or DO-to-PO (a direct object + to + a prepositional object) sequence: the word order IO-DO is not so important in the *To*-DOC in comparison with that in the *For*-DOC. For this reason, the V-IO-DO sequence in the *For*-DOC is frozen and the VP is not available for further Passive Movement, while the V-IO-DO sequence in the *To*-DOC is not tightly bound and the VP is available for Passivization.

Thus, neither the direct object nor the indirect object of the *For*-DOC can be fronted by Passivization, although both the direct and indirect objects of the *To*-DOC can be preposed by Passivization.

5.   In this paper we have argued the applicability of the object fronting by Passivization in the DOC.

First, we have discussed two previous approaches (the functional approach by Fukuchi and others, and the affectedness approach by Niiya), and pointed out that they are not adequate to explain the problems in question, because they pay no attention to the unique character of the DOC.

In section 2, we have shown that the DOC is a peculiar construction from some points of view. It is unusual in that the secondary argument (an indirect object) appears between the verb and its primary argument (a direct object).

In section 3, we have dealt with the problem of the object fronting by Passivization in terms of the syntactic uniqueness of the DOC.

In the last section, we have turned to the semantic peculiarity of the DOC. We have shown in terms of thematic relations that the *For*-DOC is a more special construction than the *To*-DOC semantically. Because of this unusual semantic property, the word order V-IO-DO sequence of the *For*-DOC is bound together much more tightly than that of the *To*-DOC and therefore the VP sequence is frozen to further Passivization.

Notes

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1.　We refer to (ia) as the *To*-Double Object Construction, and (iia) as the *For*-Double Object Construction, since *to* and *for* appear in paraphrase:

    (i)　　a.　John gave Mary a book.

         b.　John gave a book to Mary.

    (ii)　　a.　John bought Mary a book.

         b.　John bought a book for Mary.

2.　This asterisk means that this sentense is unacceptable contextually.

3.　According to Dillon. (8a) implies that the little monsters succeed in learning arithmetic, but (8b) does not necessarily.

4.　"The direct object" in his terms refers to the object followed by its verb adjacently.

5.　According to the Shin Eigogaku Jiten (1982), the indirect passive is a sentence where Passivization applies to the indirect object in the DOC.

6.　This is suggested by Minoru Yasui (personal communication).

7.　This is also mentioned in Czepluch (1983).

8.　This approach is also mentioned in Suzuki (1976).

9.　If we analyze the sentences in (39) on the basis of the theory of thematic relations in Jackendoff (1972), each NP in (39) has a thematic role as shown in (i):

    (i) HE — Source, Agent, MARY — Goal, A PACKAGE — Theme.

The indication of the whole meaning of the sentences in (39) based on (i) is as follows:

    (ii)　　Cause (HE　GO (A　PACKAGE,　HE,　MARY))

               Agent　　　　　Theme　　　　Source　Goal

(ii) means that Package (theme) moves from him (source) to Mary (Goal) and that he is the agent in the process of movement. The important thing is that both (39a) and (39b) have the same indication of the meaning as shown in (ii) within the theory of thematic relations. This shows that (39a) and (39b) are synonymous in a broader sense.

10.   The following sentences are apparent counter-examples to the semantic difference between (46) and (47):

(i)   John gave a book to Mary.

(ii)   John gave Mary a book.

To be sure, Green (1974) and Yasutake (1984) point out that there is no semantic difference betweeen the *To*-POC and the *To*-DOC in the case of *give* on the basis of the following examples:

(iii)   *John gave a book to Mary, but he did not give anything to her.

(iv)   *John gave Mary a book, but he did not give anything to her.

(v)   ? John gave the book to Mary, but she did not receive it.

(vi)   ??John gave Mary the book, but she did not receive it.

According to them, in the case of *give*, both constructions imply the achievement of an action. However, is this true?

(vii)   John gave his money to the Institute.

(viii)   John gave the Institute his money.

According to Gee (1974, p.8), when his money has not been given to the Institute, (vii) is preferred to (viii) and when his money has already been given to the Institute, (viii) is preferred to (vii). Such a semantic difference can be shown in the following sentences:

(ix)   I will give a ring to my wife in case I should decide to marry.

(x)   ?I will give my wife a ring in case I should decide to marry.

The above examples show that also in the case of *give*, the DOC implies the achievement of an action, while the POC does not necessarily.

11.   In general, the *For*-DOC verb needs no Goal-assigned subject NP in the POC. But exceptionally *buy* needs Goal-assigned subject NP in the POC.

12.   This is mentioned in Yasui (1982, p.123).

(i)   John bought a present for his son.

(ii)   John bought his son a present.

According to him, (i) means *John wa musuko no tameni okurimono o katta*, and (ii) means *John wa musuko ni okurimono o kai ataeta*.

13.   In Yasui (1982), he explains that the DOC implies the achievement of an action on the basis of his principle of Closeness: syntactic closeness is the reflection of semantic closeness.

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