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Decomposing Ditransitive Verbs

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1. Introduction

A ditransitive-verb sentence such as *John gave Mary a book* conveys the meaning that John did something that led to Mary possessing a book. What John did is not made specific — he may have handed the book directly to her, or he may have ordered it from Amazon.com for her. Harley (2002), following a great deal of previous research, has argued that a verb such as *give* decomposes into the predicate CAUSE and HAVE, thereby capturing the intuition directly for the *give* sentence above. Richards (2001) gives further evidence for this decomposition, by showing that there are idioms that alternate between CAUSE-HAVE and just HAVE, as in *Mary gave Susan the boot* and *Susan got the boot*. While this decomposition analysis has been widely accepted in the field, there is one problem. We cannot directly detect the existence of the causative predicate in verbs such as *give*. We only have *indirect* evidence for it, such as the semantics of the verb, and evidence such as those given by Richards.

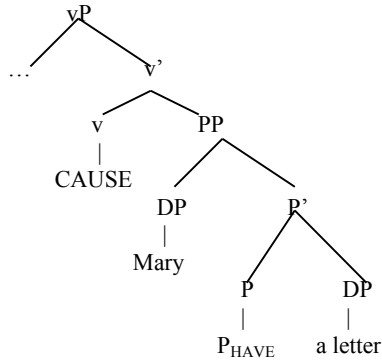
In this paper we will show that data from Korean provides direct evidence that there is CAUSE in verbs such as *give*. The type of evidence has to do with case-marking alternation, which is found only with causative verbs and with verbs such as *give*. The alternation in both types of verbs correlates with similar distinction in meaning. A point that emerges from our observation is that there is only a small number of ditransitive verbs in Korean that allow the “causative” case alternation, *give* being one of them. This is tantamount to saying that in Korean, only a small number of verbs participate in the so-called double-object construction. This is in sharp contrast to English in which a large number of ditransitive verbs allow the double object construction. As we will see, the situation in Korean makes perfect sense when we look at the ditransitive/causative parallelism. This leaves the situation in English a puzzle.

2. Lexical Decomposition of Double Object Verbs

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Harley (2002) argues that double object verbs such as *give* decompose into two heads, an external-argument-selecting CAUSE predicate (v_{CAUSE}) and a prepositional element, P_{HAVE} . Hence, for a sentence such as *John gave Mary a book*, the argument structure associates the meaning, ‘John CAUSED Mary to HAVE a book’. She suggests the following structure for the double object construction, adopting the structure suggested by Pesetsky (1995), where P_{HAVE} raises to v_{CAUSE} and is ultimately spelled out as a double-object verb.

(1) double object structure: *John gave Mary a book*:



There are three components to Harley’s proposal. First, there is decomposition of ditransitive verbs. Second, one component of the decomposition is the CAUSE predicate. Third, the other component of the decomposition is HAVE. For this third component, HAVE alternates with LOCATION; the latter shows up in the *to*-dative construction. In her work Harley focuses on HAVE (and LOCATION), giving empirical justification for HAVE in the underlying structure of ditransitives. Giving justification for HAVE has the effect of *indirectly* motivating the first component of her proposal — that there is decomposition. Richards (2001), building on Harley’s work, provides *direct* evidence for decomposition of ditransitive verbs. We will review his argument later. This leaves the second component — CAUSE — yet to be empirically motivated. This is what we will do in this paper.

The two primary arguments Harley presents for HAVE as a component of decomposition are as follows. First, the Goal argument of the double object construction must bear a possessor role which essentially restricts it to animate entities (Bresnan 1982, Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Gropen, Pinker et al. 1989, Mazurkewich and White 1984). As the contrast in (2) illustrates, when the Goal argument is inanimate, it cannot bear a possessor role; hence

(2d) sounds awkward. The only grammatical reading available for (2d) is when the Goal argument is an organization or corporate body, where *Philadelphia* is somehow interpreted as an animate entity. In the *to*-dative construction, on the other hand, the object of *to* is thematically a location, not necessarily a possessor; therefore, a wider range of arguments, animate or inanimate, may occur in that position.

- (2) a. The editor sent the article to Sue.
b. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.
c. The editor sent Sue the article.
d. ??The editor sent Philadelphia the article.

This possessor meaning is naturally captured if we postulate the predicate HAVE when a ditransitive verb occurs in the double object construction. Such possessor account of the double object construction can also explain the contrast in the implicatures of (3a) and (3b) naturally.

- (3) a. John taught the students French. b. John taught French to the students.

As noted in the literature (Oehrle 1976, Kayne 1975, Larson 1988), (3a) has a much stronger implication that the students actually learned some French. This contrast can be explained if *the students* in the double object construction has a possessor role, while in the *to*-dative construction, it bears only a location role. By incorporating P_{HAVE} into the argument structure as in (1), a possession relation between the Goal and the Theme can be directly encoded structurally, hence obviating the need for linking rules to lexical semantic structures of the kind proposed in Gropen, Pinker et al. (1989).

This decomposition analysis can be further supported by idiomatic expressions like (4).

- (4) a. Mary gave John a kick. c. Bill threw Mary a glance.
b. *Mary gave a kick to John. d. *Bill threw a glance to Mary.

Unlike other double object constructions, examples in (4) do not allow the *to*-dative alternation. The non-alternation of the double object constructions in (4) is expected if we assume that HAVE is a necessary component of the relation between the Goal and the Theme arguments in these idioms. Such possession relation is again encoded via P_{HAVE}, and idioms in (4) can be taken as instances of P_{HAVE}+Theme idioms, which form constituents at the level of P'.

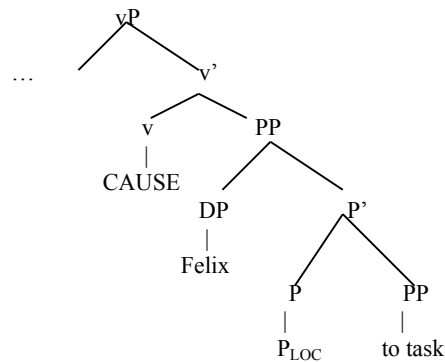
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So far we have focused on Harley's discussion of the double object construction, which contains HAVE. Harley gives a similar argument for the existence of LOCATION for the *to*-dative construction. Consider (5).

(5) a. Mary *took* Felix *to* task. b. *Mary took task Felix.

Examples in (5) include "discontinuous idioms" (Larson 1988), and they cannot be shifted to the double object construction. If such idioms must form constituents, as argued in Larson (1988), how can they be represented? Harley suggests that *to*-dative constructions have a structure like (6), with an abstract locative preposition P_{LOC} , where P_{LOC} forms a constituent with the Goal PP. Assuming the structure in (6), the idiomatic force can be established at the level of the P' constituent, just like the idioms in (4).

(6) *to*-dative structure:

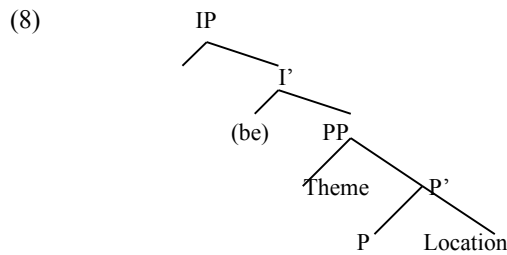


The second argument for the lexical decomposition analysis is based on the fact that the P_{HAVE} prepositional element is identified with the prepositional component of verbal *have* cross-linguistically. The analysis of HAVE as a preposition, rather than a verb, has been proposed by many authors (Benveniste 1966, Freeze 1992, Guéron 1995 and Kayne 1993). Their essential claim is that all languages represent the possessive *have* decompositionally as BE plus some preposition, and that languages with verbal *have* simply incorporate the P into the BE verb to create *have*.

In Hindi, for example, the possessive construction as in (7a) is expressed via a copula and a preposition, rather than a verbal *have*. For such possessive construction, Freeze (1992) proposes a structure as in (8). He suggests that the P in (8) does not incorporate into BE in Hindi; hence, the copula, rather than a verbal *have*, is manifested; that the surface order of the arguments is derived from the lower location/possessor element raising to

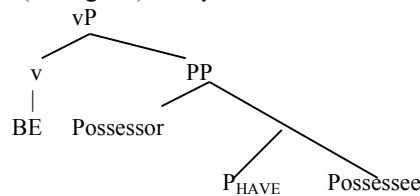
subject position. Freeze's proposal relies crucially on the observation that in Hindi and many other languages where possession is expressed via a copula and a prepositional element, locatives (7b) are remarkably similar to existentials (7c), and possessives (7a) just look like existentials, with a human location. In Freeze's analysis, therefore, the three constructions in (7) are united in a single PP paradigm, as proposed in (8).

- (7) a. larkee-kee paas kattaa hai. (Possessive)
 boy-OBL-GEN near dog BE.3SG.MSC.Pres
Location (Possessor) Theme V
 'The boy has a dog.' (Lit, 'Near the boy is a dog.)
- b. ma_i hindustaan-me_e thaa (Locative)
 I India-in BE.SG.MSC.Pst
Theme Location V 'I was in India.'
- c. kamree-me_e admii hai (Existential)
 room-in man BE.S3G.MSC.Pres
Location Theme V 'In the room is a man.'



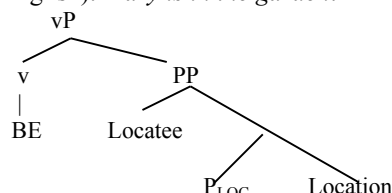
While recognizing the insight of Freeze's proposal, Harley suggests that possessive and locative constructions in languages like Hindi are derived from different underlying structures, with different prepositions, just as in English possessive and locative constructions, as in (9) (see Harley (2002) for arguments against Freeze's uniform structure (8)). The difference between Hindi and English possessives lies in whether P_{HAVE} incorporates into the verb BE to produce *have*.

- (9) a. Possession (in English): *Mary has a book.*



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b. Location (in English): *Mary is in the garden.*



Note that the configuration in (9a) exactly parallels the double object construction, except for the content of the *v* head. If the decomposition of HAVE-as-preposition is part of UG, as suggested by Freeze (1992), Guéron (1995) and Kayne (1993), the postulation of P_{HAVE} for the double object construction can be further justified.

As we have just seen, Harley (1995) provides evidence that the ditransitive verbs in double object constructions contain the meaning of HAVE, while those in the *to*-dative contains the meaning of LOCATION. Her arguments do not directly argue for decomposition of the ditransitive verbs. It may simply be that a ditransitive verb in a double object construction contains the meaning of HAVE without necessarily including an independent predicate HAVE. Richards (2001) addresses this issue and presents direct evidence for decomposition. His argument is based on idiom alternations such as the following.

(10) a. Mary gave Susan the boot. b. Susan got the boot.

What we can notice immediately is that the idiom here is not *give the boot*, since the idiomatic meaning is sustained when *give* is replaced with *get*. What Richards suggests is that the idiom is HAVE *the boot*, and this HAVE is expressed as *give* in the ditransitive verb, and as simply *get* in the transitive counterpart. To see this structurally, recall Harley's proposal for the double object construction, given in (1). Under Richards's analysis, the idiom is $P_{\text{HAVE}} + \textit{the boot}$ — that is, the P' constituent. P_{HAVE} is pronounced as *give* if it occurs with CAUSE; otherwise it is pronounced as *get*. Note, too, that this way of looking at the idiom meets Larson's (1988) point that idioms must be a contiguous constituent underlyingly.

We have seen that two components of the decomposition analysis have empirical justification. There is clear evidence for HAVE (and LOCATION), and there is also evidence from idioms that HAVE must be an independent entity, thereby giving direct evidence for decomposition. What is lacking still is empirical evidence for the remaining component of decomposition — that there is CAUSE as a component of decomposition. In

the remainder of this paper we will give evidence for CAUSE as an independent predicate contained in ditransitive verbs. We begin with a discussion of ditransitive verbs in Korean.

3. The Verb *Cwu*-‘give’, Causatives, and Lexical Decomposition in Korean

3.1. Evidence for P_{HAVE}

The first thing we must try to establish is whether Korean has both double object and *to*-dative constructions. Given that Korean is a scrambling language, it is not clear at first glance whether Korean has both constructions. There are, however, morphosyntactic and semantic indications that it employs both types of constructions, just as in English. Among other ditransitive verbs in Korean, the verb *cwu*-‘give’ bears a special significance for our purpose.

In the typical ditransitive construction in Korean, illustrated in (11), the Goal and the Theme DPs are marked by the dative and accusative case, respectively, while the Goal DP never allows the accusative case

- (11) a. Mary-ka John-eykey/*ul chayk-ul ponay-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc book-Acc sent-Past-Dec
‘Mary sent a book to John.’
b. Mary-ka chinkwu-eykey/*lul pheyn-ci-lul ssuessta.
Mary-Nom friend-Dat/Acc letter-Acc wrote
‘Mary wrote a letter to her friend.’
c. Mary-ka John-eykey/*lul chayk-ul palassta.
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc book-Acc sold
‘Mary sold a book to John.’
d. Mary-ka John-eykey/*ul kong-ul tenciessta.
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc ball-Acc threw
‘Mary threw a ball to John.’

In sharp contrast to the ditransitive verbs above, the verb *cwu*- allows the Goal DP to be marked by either the dative or the accusative case, as shown in (12a). This option in case marking goes beyond a mechanical case alternation; crucially, it reflects semantic differences. The meaning associated with each case marking on the Goal DP can be paraphrased as in (12b) and (12c).

- (12) a. Mary-ka John-eykey/ul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc book-Acc give-Past-Dec

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- ‘Mary gave John a book.’
b. *Mary did something to the effect that the book is LOCATED on John.*
c. *Mary did something to the effect that John gets (=HAVE) the book.*

When the Goal is marked by the dative case, the immediately available meaning of the sentence is ‘Mary CAUSED the book to be LOCATED on John’; but when the Goal is marked by the accusative case, there is a stronger implication that John actually got the book — something expressed most naturally as a possession interpretation, ‘Mary CAUSED John to HAVE the book.’ Given that the double object construction in English bears this possessive interpretation, as we discussed earlier, we will treat the accusative Goal construction as the double object construction in Korean, and those with the dative Goal as *to*-dative construction.

The possession interpretation of the accusative Goal can be further observed from the contrast in sentences like (13). Sentence (13a) with the dative Goal makes perfect sense because the money’s being located on the person does not necessarily entail that the person actually gets possession of the money. On the other hand, sentence (13b) with the accusative Goal becomes odd in a similar context, since it is implied with the accusative Goal that the transfer involves the Goal’s possession of the money.

- (13) a. *Mary-ka ku salam-eykey ton-ul cwu-ess-ta, kuluna ku-nun*
Mary-Nom the person-Dat money-Acc gave, but he-Top
alachalici mos hay-ss-ta.
notice couldn’t do-Past-Dec
‘Mary gave money to the person, but he couldn’t notice it.’
b.?? *Mary-ka ku salam-ul ton-ul cwu-ess-ta, kuluna ku-nun*
Mary-Nom the person-Acc money-Acc gave, but he-Top
alachalici mos hay-ss-ta.
notice couldn’t do-Past-Dec
‘Mary gave the person money, but he couldn’t notice it.’

Such contrast in meaning becomes even sharper in examples like (14).

- (14) a. *Mary-ka John-eykey/*ul maum-ul cwu-ess-ta.*
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc heart-Acc give-Past-Dec
Lit. ‘Mary gave her heart to John.’
b. *Mary-ka John-eykey/*ul sisun-ul cwu-ess-ta.*
Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc eye sight-Acc give-Past-Dec
Lit. ‘Mary gave a glance to John.’

Sentences in (14) are never construed as ‘Mary CAUSED John to HAVE her heart/her glance,’ but only construed as ‘Mary CAUSED her heart/her glance to be LOCATED on John.’ In other words, there is no implication that the Goal *John* actually accepted or took Mary’s heart or glance. It is important to emphasize here that the accusative case is never possible with the Goal DP in such sentences. This indicates that case marking on the Goal makes a crucial contribution to the meaning differences in the *cwu*-construction; that it should be the accusative case that makes the Goal convey a possession reading. Given that the possessive interpretation is associated with the double object construction in English, what we have observed is that in Korean, the double object construction is marked by the accusative case marking on the Goal.

Another important characteristic of the *cwu*- construction is that when the Goal is accusative-marked, it is restricted to animate entities. This, again, is typical of the double-object construction as observed in English and other languages (see Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) and references therein). In (15), the dative case of the inanimate Goal can never alternate with the accusative case. Given the general property that inanimates cannot be voluntary possessors, the impossibility of the accusative case on the inanimate Goal in (15) is naturally expected.¹

- (15) a. Mary-ka hakkyo-ey/*lul ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom school-Dat/Acc money-Acc give-Past-Dec
‘Mary gave money to the school.’
b. Uysa-ka sontung-ey/*ul chim-ul cwu-ess-ta.
doctor-Nom the back of the hand-Dat/Acc acupuncture-Acc gave
‘The doctor applied acupuncture to the back of the hand.’
c. Mokswu-ka panca-ey/*lul mos-ul cwu-ess-ta.
carpenter-Nom board-Dat/Acc nail-Acc give-Past-Dec
‘The carpenter nailed the board.’

1. There are cases where an inanimate DP seems to be marked by either the accusative case or the dative case (Yang 1998). This is illustrated in (i).
(i) Mary-ka path-ey/ul mwul-ul cwu-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom field-Dat/Acc water-Acc give-Past-Dec
‘Mary watered the field.’
We consider, however, that examples like (i) are a different kind of construction; that they belong to a typical case of locative alternation constructions like (ii).
(ii) a. John loaded the hay onto the truck. b. John loaded the truck with hay.

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Among the verbs that belong to the same class as *cwu-* are *kaluchi-* ‘teach’, and *cipwul-* ‘pay’. In the *kaluchi-* construction, for instance, depending on the case of the Goal, there are entailment differences in terms of the extent to which the Goal is affected.

- (16) a. Mary-ka haksayngtul-eykey yenge-lul kaluchi-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom students-Dat English-Acc teach-Past-Dec
‘Mary taught English to the students.’
b. Mary-ka haksayngtul-ul yenge-lul kaluchi-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom students-Acc English-Acc teach-Past-Dec
‘Mary taught the students English.’

In (16), when the Goal is marked by the dative case, the sentence simply implies that the teaching was performed to the students, thus carrying no clear implication about whether the students came to possess some knowledge of English. For the accusative-marked Goal, on the other hand, there is a stronger implication that the teaching was successful and the students actually learned some English. In other words, the Goal DP in (16a) is interpreted as a location, while the Goal DP in (16b) is interpreted as a possessor.

This is exactly the kind of contrast found between the double object and *to*-dative construction in English. What we can see for Korean is that it is case marking, rather than word order, that signals the type of construction. If the Goal DP goes with the accusative case, it must be animate and interpreted as a possessor, hence it is a double object construction; and if it goes with the dative case, it is interpreted as a location, with no particular restriction on animacy, thus it is a *to*-dative construction.

The correlation of the case marking with semantic interpretation is also attested in Yaqui (also known as Hiaki and Yoeme), an Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Sonora, Mexico and Arizona. Jelinek (1999) and Jelinek and Carnie (2003) show that although most Yaqui ditransitive verbs have accusative/dative argument array, there is a small closed class of verbs that allow their internal arguments to be marked with two accusative cases. Such verbs include ‘give’, ‘teach’, ‘borrow’, and ‘take’. Taking ‘give’ as an example, compare the following sentences:

- (17) a. 'aapo Huan-tau 'uka vachi-ta maka-k (Acc/Dat)
he John-Dat Det.Acc corn-Acc give-Perf
‘He gave John the corn.’
b. 'aapo Huan-ta 'uka vachi-ta miika-k (Acc/Acc)
he John-Acc Det.Acc corn-Acc give.food-Perf

‘He gave John the corn (as a gift).’

Jelinek (1999) and Jelinek and Carnie (2003) note that the different case marking on the Goal DP in (17) induces distinct semantics. Those verbs that require the double accusative argument must have animate Goals and be interpreted as “strongly affected” by the action of the agent. The Goal’s being “strongly affected” means that the accusative Goal *Huan* in (17b) is actually *fed* the corn. This can be readily interpreted as the accusative Goal having a possessor interpretation.

In this sense, the patterns found in Yaqui exactly parallel those found in Korean. That is, the acc/acc pattern is similar to the double object construction in its possession interpretation, and the acc/dat pattern is similar to the *to*-dative construction in its location interpretation. To recast this observation in terms of the lexical decomposition analysis proposed by Harley (2002), in Korean and Yaqui, the acc/acc ditransitive constructions contain P_{HAVE}, and the acc/dat ditransitive constructions contain P_{LOC}.

Similarly, in Japanese Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004) show that the equivalents of double-object and *to*-dative are reflected in case marking. In Japanese the dative case marker *-ni* has two existences, one as a case marker, the other as a postposition. If the Goal is animate — which means that the construction may be double-object, the dative *-ni* on the Goal is case marking. But if the Goal is inanimate, the “dative” *-ni* can only be a postposition. Miyagawa and Tsujioka showed this with the possibility of floating a numeral quantifier. Numeral quantifiers can float only off a phrase that has true case marking (cf. Miyagawa 1989, Sadakane and Koizumi 1995).

(18) a. Mary-ga tomodati-ni san-nin nimotu-o todoketa.

Mary-Nom friends-Dat 3-CL package-Acc delivered
‘Mary delivered three friends a package.’

b. *Mary-ga kokyoo-ni mit-tu nimotu-o todoketa.

Mary-Nom border-to 3-CL package-Acc delivered
‘Mary delivered to three borders (or her country) some packages.’

As shown in (18a), the Goal ‘friends’ may be a possessor, hence part of a double object construction, so that *-ni* on it is a case marker, allowing the numeral quantifier to float. In (18b), with a clearly inanimate Goal, ‘borders,’ there is no possibility of it being a possessor, so that it can only be a location. This restricts this construction to the *to*-dative, which means that the *-ni* is a postposition. This makes it impossible to float the numeral quantifier.

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3.2. Evidence for CAUSE

We are now ready to give evidence for CAUSE as a component of decomposition of ditransitive verbs. We will give two pieces of evidence. First, recall that with the verb *cwu-* ‘give’, it is possible for the Goal to be marked with either the dative or the accusative. Other ditransitive verbs in the class are *kaluchi-* ‘teach’, and *cipwul-* ‘pay. Importantly, the other kind of verb that allows this accusative/dative alternation is the lexical causative verb, as in (19).

- (19) John-i Mary-eykey/lul pica-lul mek-i-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Dat/Acc pizza-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Dec
‘John caused Mary to eat pizza.’

The generalization is as follows.

- (20) In Korean, the only transitive verbs that allow the accusative/dative alternation are the causative verbs and verbs such as *cwu-* ‘give’.

This generalization receives a straightforward explanation if we assume that *cwu-* contains CAUSE; hence the real generalization is that only causative transitive verbs in Korean allow the accusative/dative alternation.

Second, in Harley’s decomposition analysis of the double object construction in English, it is assumed that the CAUSE in the v head is realized as a null affix. It is never pronounced. There are cases in Korean, however, where the CAUSE affix is overtly realized. These are the so-called lexical causative affixes. Lexical causative verbs as in (21) consist of a verb and one of the allomorphemes of the causative suffix *i*, such as *i*, *hi*, *ki*, and *li*.

- (21) *mek-i-* ‘feed’; *ip-hi-* ‘dress’; *sin-ki-* ‘put shoes on someone’;
mwul-li- ‘suckle’

What is particularly significant in the present context is that these ditransitive lexical causative verbs and the verb *cwu-* ‘give’ exhibit parallelism in their interpretation and certain morphosyntactic properties, indicating again that *cwu-* is a causative verb. First, notice in (22) that the lexical causative verbs allow the causee to be marked by the dative or the accusative case. This case alternation patterns exactly like the one found in the *cwu-* construction.

- (22) a. Mary-ka ai-eykey/ul os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom child-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put on-Caus-Past-Dec
'Mary put the clothes on the child.'
'Mary made a child put on the clothes.'
- b. Emma-ka aki-eykey/lul cet-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
mother-Nom baby-Dat/Acc breast-Acc take-Caus-Past-Dec
'Mother gave the breast to the baby.'
'Mother made the baby take the breast in its mouth.'
- c. Mary-ka aki-eykey/lul uwyuw-lul mek-i-ess-ta.
Mary-Nom baby-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Dec
'Mary fed milk to the baby.'
'Mary made the baby have milk.'

As can be seen from the English glossary in (22), the ditransitive causative construction may have two different meanings. There hasn't been, however, a consensus in the literature as to whether the ditransitive causatives in (22) have both meanings or only one of them (Yang 1972, 1974, Patterson 1974, Lee 1985, Um 1985, Song 1988). Such situation is not surprising at all, though, given that the potential semantic effect of the case marking on the causee has been ignored in the literature in determining the meanings of the ditransitive causative constructions. The manifestation of the two case markings on the causee in (22) is not a trivial case alternation; rather, it makes a distinct semantic contribution to the interpretation of the sentences. Sentence (22a), for example, can be paraphrased as (23), according to the case alternation on the causee.

- (23) a. *Mary caused the clothes to be put on the child.* (Dat/Acc)
b. *Mary caused the child to put on the clothes.* (Acc/Acc)

When the causee is marked by the accusative case, there is a stronger implication that the causee somehow participates in taking the action caused by the causer. Such implication, however, is less prominent when the causee is marked by the dative case. In such cases, the dative causee is simply interpreted as a location on which the causer performs the action. Related to this distinction in meaning, consider the following example.

- (24) a. John-i haksayngtul-eykey/*ul ku sosik-ul al-li-ess-ta.
John-Nom students-Dat/Acc the news-Acc know-Caus-Past-Dec
'John informed Mary of the news.'
- b. = *John caused the news to be known to the students.*
- c. ≠ *John caused the students to know the news.*

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Sentence (24a) bears the meaning of (24b), but not the meaning of (24c). Importantly, in such cases, the causee is never marked by the accusative case. This means that the accusative causee is possible only when the causee is interpreted as a taker (or metaphorically, a possessor) of the state or action caused by the causer. In this sense, the interpretations of the dat/acc and the acc/acc causative constructions are basically in accord with those of their counterparts in the *cwu-* ditransitive construction.

The lexical causatives' being associated with a possession interpretation is not peculiar to Korean. Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973), in their survey of causative constructions in over one hundred languages, observe that if a causative affix in a language is unproductive for transitive verbs but only allows a few exceptions, those exceptions include verbs pertaining to the giving of something to be consumed, like "eat/feed," "suck/suckle," or "drink/give to drink," in many languages. Based on this observation and language acquisition facts from English children's overgeneralization of sentences like *Don't eat it me*, Pinker (1989) suggests that it is apparently universal that "causative ditransitive structures are attracted to connotations with literal or metaphorical possession. It is thus not entirely surprising that the Korean causative ditransitive constructions have a connotation of possession in their interpretation. What is interesting in Korean is that it is the verb form in conjunction with case marking that leads to a clear interpretation of possession.

Further evidence that there is CAUSE built into the structure of ditransitive verbs comes from the fact that certain lexical causative verbs may have exactly the same usage with the verb *cwu-*. The causative verb *mek-i-* 'feed', for example, can be used interchangeably with the verb *cwu-*, as illustrated in (25).

- (25) John-i kyungchalkwan-eykey/ul noymwul-ul {*mek-i/cwu*}-ess-ta.
John-Nom policeman-Dat/Acc bribe-Acc eat-Caus/give-Past-Dec
'John gave a bribe to a policeman.'/'John gave a policeman a bribe.'

If the lexical causative constructions indeed parallel the *cwu-* construction in meaning, they must also be susceptible to animacy restriction. In other words, when the causee DP is marked by the accusative case in the lexical causative constructions, it should be restricted to animate entities. As shown in (26), inanimate causee DPs cannot be marked by the accusative case.

- (26) a. John-i catongcha-ey/*lul waks-lul mek-i-ess-ta.
John-Nom car-Dat/Acc wax-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Dec

- ‘John coated his car with wax.’
- b. Mary-ka cipswuli-ey/*lul manhun ton-ul
 Mary-Nom house renovation-Dat/Acc much money-Acc
 mek-i-ess-ta.
 eat-Caus-Past-Dec
- c. Yaksa-ka alyak-ey/*ul tanguy-lul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 pharmacist-Nom tablet-Dat/Acc sugar coat-Acc put on-Caus-Past-D
 ‘The pharmacist coated tablets with sugar.’
- d. Cengwonsa-ka ap matang-ey/*ul canti-lul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 gardener-Nom front yard-Dat/Acc grass-Acc put on-Caus-Past-Dec
 ‘The gardener covered the front yard with grass.’

The case markings in the lexical causative and the *cwu-* construction also are the same with regard to passivization. As shown in (27), if the causee/Goal is dative, the lower object can be passivized across this causee/Goal. However, if the causee/Goal is accusative, the lower object cannot be passivized across the causee/Goal.

- (27) a. Os_i-i (Mary-eyuyhay) John-eykey/*John-ul t_i ip-hie-ci-ess-ta.
 clothes-Nom (Mary-by) John-Dat/John-Acc wear-Caus-Pass-Past-D
 ‘The clothes were put on John (by Mary).’
- b. Chayk_i-i (Mary-eyuyhay) John-eykey/*John-ul t_i cwue-ci-ess-ta.
 book-Nom (Mary-by) John-Dat/John-Acc give-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘The book was given to John (by Mary).’

This fact suggests that the difference between the dative and the accusative is a difference between postposition and case marking. If the causee/Goal is marked with the postposition dative, it does not interfere in the movement of the DP object; locality is not violated, in other words. However, if both the causee/Goal and the lower object have the same categorial status of DP, the closer one must be chosen in passivization. This is the reason why the lower object cannot be attracted across the accusative causee/Goal. As expected, it is possible to passivize the causee/Goal (see Section 4 for a further discussion of passivization).

- (28) a. John_i-i (Mary-eyuyhay) t_i os-i ip-hie-ci-ess-ta.
 John-Nom (Mary-by) clothes-Nom wear-Caus-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘John was put the clothes on (by Mary).’
- b. John_i-i (Mary-eyuyhay) t_i chayk-i cwue-ci-ess-ta.
 John-Nom (Mary-by) book-Nom give-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘John was given a book (by Mary).’

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There are two points to make here. First, the passivized causee/Goal must be associated with structural case, i.e., the accusative case, in order to participate in passivization. It must not be a part of PP, in other words. Second, the fact that it can be passivized is predicted. It is the closest DP to T. Note that the contrast in (27) and (28) exactly parallels the English counterparts in (29).

- (29) a. Mary gave John a book. c. *A book_i was given John t_i.
 b. John_i was given t_i a book. d. A book_i was given t_i to Mary.

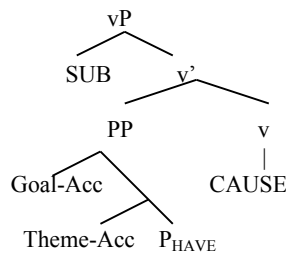
The idea that the dative on the Goal in the *cwu-* construction is a postposition is consistent with Harley's idea that *give* can take either P_{HAVE} or P_{LOC}. With the accusative Goal, CAUSE selects P_{HAVE}. But with the dative (postpositional) Goal, CAUSE selects P_{LOC}.

The complete parallel in case marking and meaning of the lexical causative construction and the *cwu-* construction thus provides *direct* evidence that the ditransitive verb *cwu-* has CAUSE as a component of its structure.

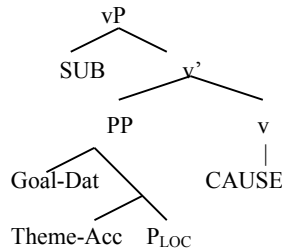
4. Obligatory Object Shift

From our discussion in the previous section, it is clear that verbs such as *cwu-* 'give' in Korean decompose into the predicate CAUSE and P_{HAVE}/P_{LOC}, just as in the English *give* construction. What differentiates Korean from English is that the two types of *give* constructions are expressed by different case markings on the Goal DP. The structures for the double object construction and *to*-dative construction in Korean can be represented as follows:

- (30) a. double object:



- b. *to*-dative:



We assume that in the double object structure (30a), CAUSE assigns accusative case to the Goal and the Theme, while in the *to*-dative structure (30b), CAUSE assigns accusative case only to the Theme. This assumption in fact is supported by passivization. As seen in (31), both the Goal and the Theme DPs in the double object construction are marked by the nominative case in the passivized sentences. This is because when the CAUSE is passivized, both the Goal and the Theme lose their ability to have accusative case from v; hence both move to T. The order of the two nominative DPs reflects tuck-in-type movement (Richards 1999) because both are attracted by the same head T.

- (31) a. *Mary-ka John-ul chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*
 Mary-Nom John-Acc book-Acc give-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary gave John a book.’
 b. *John-i chayk-i cwue-ci-ess-ta.*
 John-Nom book-Nom give-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘John was given a book.’

In the *to*-dative construction, when CAUSE is passivized, the Theme can only occur with nominative case. As noted earlier, since the dative on the Goal DP here is a postposition, it is not visible to the probe T, hence, there is no violation of locality with the movement.

- (32) a. *Mary-ka John-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*
 Mary-Nom John-Dat book-Acc give-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary gave a book to John.’
 b. *Chayk-i John-eykey cwue-ci-ess-ta.*
 book-Nom John-Dat give-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘The book was given to John.’

Although it is not our immediate concern to propose the exact structure for the causative ditransitive construction in Korean, it seems to be the case,

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from our discussion in the previous section, that their structures are very much like those in (30). The passivization fact suggests that the two types of causative ditransitive constructions pattern exactly like the *cwu*-constructions with respect to case marking, as shown in (33) and (34).

- (33) a. Mary-ka John-ul os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom John-Acc clothes-Acc put on-Caus-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary made John put on the clothes.’
 b. John-i os-i ip-hie-ci-ess-ta.
 John-Nom clothes-Nom wear-Caus-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘John was made put on the clothes.’
- (34) a. Mary-ka John-eykey os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom John-Dat clothes-Acc put on-Caus-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary put the clothes on John.’
 b. Os-i John-eykey ip-hie-ci-ess-ta.
 clothes-Nom John-Dat wear-Caus-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘The clothes were put on John.’

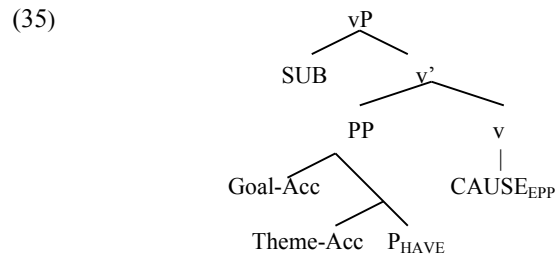
A crucial point here is that unlike other accusative DPs, the accusative Goal/causee has an obligatory specific interpretation. That is, the accusative Goal/causee in (31a) and (33a) must be a specific DP.² How can we explain this requirement? We suggest that the obligatory specificity of the

2. The specific interpretation of regular accusative DPs (and the dative DPs) in Korean is not obligatory, hence, it may be either specific or non-specific, depending on the context. However, the accusative Goal (/causee) in ditransitive constructions is obligatorily interpreted as specific, as can be seen in the following contrast.

- (i) a. John-i nwukwunka-eykey senmwul-ul cwu-ess-nuntey,
 John-Nom someone-Dat present-Acc give-Past-and
 na-nun ku salam-i nwukwu-in-ci kwungkumhata.
 I-Top the person-Nom who-Cop-Q wonder
 ‘John gave a present to someone; I’m wondering who it is.’
 b. ??John-i nwukwunka-lul senmwul-ul cwu-ess-nuntey,
 John-Nom someone-Acc present-Acc give-Past-and
 na-nun ku salam-i nwukwu-in-ci kwungkumhata.
 I-Top the person-Nom who-Cop-Q wonder
 ‘John gave someone a present; I’m wondering who it is.’

If specificity is the speaker’s ability to identify the referent (Fodor and Sag 1982), a specific DP should be a *particular individual* in the actual world. The semantic oddness of (ib), unlike (ia), indicates that the accusative Goal must be specific. Exactly the same requirement also applies to the accusative causee in ditransitive causative constructions, of which examples are omitted here for space reasons.

accusative Goal (/causee) is a corollary of double accusative case assignment by CAUSE. In the double object structure (30a), repeated in (35), the Goal DP must move out of its original position in order to make it possible for CAUSE to assign accusative case both to the Goal DP and the Theme DP. That is, CAUSE first assigns accusative case to the closer DP — the Goal DP — and moves it to the outer spec of vP by its EPP feature, and then, in the absence of the intervener, it can assign another accusative case to the Theme DP below. In our analysis, therefore, the obligatory specific interpretation of the Goal is an edge effect which results from such an obligatory object shift of the Goal.



5. Concluding Remarks

In this paper we attempted to show, based on Korean ditransitive constructions, that there exists CAUSE, as a component of lexical decomposition, built into the structure of double object verbs such as *give*. The arguments leave a large number of ditransitive verbs in Korean in a different category, though. For example, the verb *ponay-* ‘send’ does not allow its Goal to be marked by the accusative case.

- (36) Mary-ka John-eykey/*ul chayk-ul ponay-ess-ta.
 Mary-Nom John-Dat/Acc book-Acc sent-Past-Dec
 ‘Mary sent a book to John.’

We can tell from the passive test that the dative is a postposition because while the dative Goal cannot be passivized, the lower object can be passivized across it.

- (37) a. *John_i-i (Mary-eyuyhay) t_i chayk-i ponay-ci-ess-ta.
 John-Nom (Mary-by) book-Nom send-Pass-Past-Dec
 ‘John was sent the book (by Mary).’
 b. Chayk_i-i (Mary-eyuyhay) John-eykey t_i ponay-ci-ess-ta.

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book-Nom (Mary-by) John-Dat send-Pass-Past-Dec
'The book was sent to John (by Mary).'

With this postpositional dative, the Goal *John* carries no explicit implication of successful possession of *chayk* 'book'; as such, (36) can only be construed as 'Mary CAUSED the book to be LOCATED in John.'

Most of the ditransitive verbs in Korean behave just like the *ponay*-type verb with respect to case alternation and passivization; and the meaning is limited to a locative interpretation. Hence, the number of verbs in Korean that allow the double object construction is extremely limited. From a semantic point of view, this makes sense, though. While verbs like *cwu* may have a clear possessive interpretation, the *ponay*-type verbs don't in Korean. It then makes English a puzzle — why is English apparently loose in allowing possessive interpretation (i.e., double object construction) for verbs like *send* that don't have a clear possessive interpretation? We leave this puzzle for future research.

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