

On the Asymmetric Behavior of Movements
in the Double Object Construction

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It is generally agreed that in the Double Object Construction (=DOC) Indirect Objects (IOs) cannot move in terms of A-bar movement (1) and that A-bar extraction from within IOs (2) is impossible. By contrast, DOs can undergo A-bar movement.

- (1) a. *Who did you give *t* a book? (Wh question) (Oba (2005:61))
 b. What did you give John *t*. (ibid.)
- (2) a. *Who did you say John sent a friend of *t* a book?
 (Oba (2005:57))
 b. Who did you say John sent me a picture of *t*?
 (Runner (2001: 40))

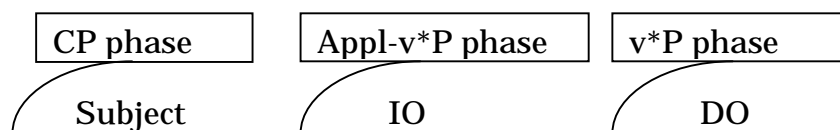
Asymmetrically, IOs can undergo A movement, while DOs cannot.

- (3) a. Tom was given the book.
 b. *The book was given Tom.

This asymmetry can be shown in the table below.

	IOs	DOs
A movement	OK	*
A-bar movement	*	OK

In this presentation, I will demonstrate that these facts can be naturally accounted for in the framework of the phase theory based on Chomsky (2008). Richards (2010) argues that elements belonging to the same category cannot occupy the same phase. If we take this position, the DOC, which has three arguments requires three phases. The fact that the DOC shares three propositional contents (Bruening (2010b)) also suggests the need to posit three phases in the construction. Thus I assume that the Appl(icative) head suggested by Baker (1988) and Marantz (1993) constitutes a phase head in addition to the C and v*. This layer of phases explicates the ungrammaticality of (2) based on the ban on extraction from phase edge elements proposed by Chomsky (2008).



Bruening (2010a), introducing an operation called R-dative shift in order to explain the phenomenon in (1), speculates that, when A-bar movement is applied to IOs, “to” appears phonetically. He claims that A-bar movement of IOs “disguises” the DOC as the DC. Based on this basic idea, I propose a new analysis in which (1) is naturally accommodated in the minimalist framework without R-dative shift. There actually

exists “to” in the DOC, but usually this “to” is . In certain situations, however, “to” appears phonetically.

As for A movement, I assume that the Appl does not constitute a phase head, when the DOC is passivized. Thus, IOs can move to the Subject position in the passive DOC. DOs, nevertheless, cannot move because they are within v*P, which constitutes a phase.

Some speakers allow sentences like (1). In addition, when IOs are pronouns, DOs’ passivization becomes more acceptable.

(4) ?The book was given him.

The analysis presented here explains this diversity as well. For such speakers, sentences like (2) are still unacceptable and this discrepancy can be accounted for if we assume that there is no “to” in such varieties. Also, when it comes to (4), there is a possibility that not only Appl, but also v* becomes a non-phase head. This allows DOs to move over IOs.

In addition, this analysis can be extended to the DOC’s problems of asymmetrical c-commanding relation, nominalization and interpretation of possession.

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