

Word orders with ditransitive verbs

A ditransitive V in BA selects an NP and a PP (1) or two NP's (2). Due to their select nature, these phrases/clauses are indispensable and their omission would deform such sentences.

(Dan 2:21) יְהַב חֲכָמָתָא לְחַכְמַיִין (1)

jâheb - xâkmetâ - lexakkijmijn

gives - the wisdom - to wise men

“He gives wisdom to the wise”.

(Dan 2:5) וּבְתִיכּוּן נְגְלִי יִתְשָׁמוּן (2)

ubâttejkwoun - newâlij - jitsbâmûn

and houses yours - ruins - he will be laid

“...and your houses will be laid in ruins...”

The word order of any sentence with a ditransitive verb will of necessity differ materially from word orders where the V is transitive or intransitive, due to the fact that the ditransitive verb has a twofold object. In this chapter the prevalence of an additional/second object position within the lexical domain is investigated. The functional domain has to be adapted to accommodate an additional AgrOP position in order to make provision for the licensing of an additional or second object.

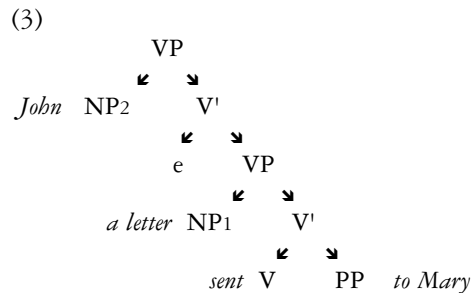
The derivation of word orders with a twofold object without an explicit S will be discussed first, followed by twofold word orders with an explicit S.

The derivation of word orders with a twofold object in BA sentences will be arranged according to their classes of conjugation, *viz* Perfect, Imperfect and Participle. The hypothesis that V movement can offer an adequate explanation of the various word orders will be justified by the use of model sentences with ditransitive V's.

6.1 Derivation of sentences with ditransitive verbs in MP

The derivation of sentences with ditransitive verbs must necessarily differ materially from that of those with intransitive or transitive V's. Larson (1988: 335-91) develops a structure for dative and twofold-object constructions, also adapted by Chomsky (1992: 18), for the derivation of ditransitive V's within MP.

The basic assumption of Larson's structure is that the VP is dative, as illustrated in (3) (adapted):



The VP consists of a vacant V and a VP complement with a specifier *a letter*, a head *send* and a complement *to Mary*. In order to achieve the sentence *John sent a letter to Mary*, *sent* moves to the vacant V position. The movement leaves a trace *t*.¹

One may illustrate GT as a structure-building mechanism for ditransitive V's in terms of Larson's (1988: 383-4) exposition by dint of the English language sentence (4):

(4) *John sent a letter to Mary.*

1 Zwart (1993: 220-7) indicates that in addition to Larson's (1988) analysis of a twofold-object construction, Small Clause analysis is feasible. Sentence (i) contains a Small Clause:

(i) *John put the book on the shelf*
 (i)(a)

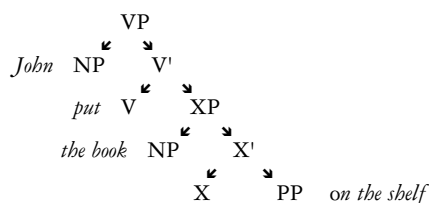
The syntactic derivation of sentence (4) starts with a selection of substantive heads: the V *sent*, the NP's *John* and *a letter*, the PP *to Mary*, each fully inflected, with its own morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *Sent* as a ditransitive V requires three arguments: one to which the role of Agent may be accorded, one capable of receiving that of Theme, and another capable of receiving that of Goal. *a letter* and *to Mary* figure as select clauses and are indispensable parts of the sentence.

In the projection of the syntactic derivation the thematic hierarchy (Larson 1988: 382) must be diligently adhered to, *viz*:

Agent \Rightarrow Theme \Rightarrow Goal \Rightarrow ...

The course of the derivation may be portrayed as follows:

The operation of projection creates a VP with a vacant position (e) to be occupied by an argument with the role of Goal; the VP, the NP's and the PP are interdependent.



A traditional Small Clause reads as follows:

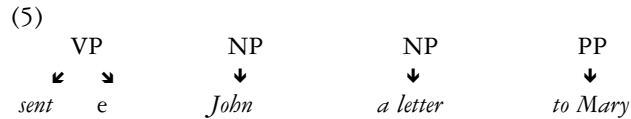
- (ii) *I find* [*Mary pretty*]
- (iii) *He painted* [*the door red*]
- (iv) *I consider* [*him a fool*]

According to Radford (1988: 324-32), a Small Clause has the following characteristics:

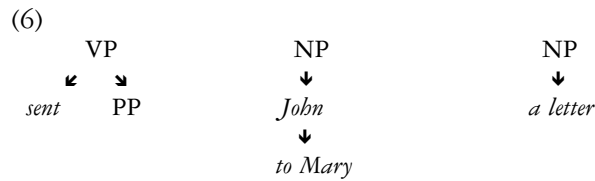
- (a) the structure [NP XP];
- (b) no complement or inflectional constituent.

In (i)(a) *the book* is not an internal argument of *put*, but an external argument of *on the shelf*.

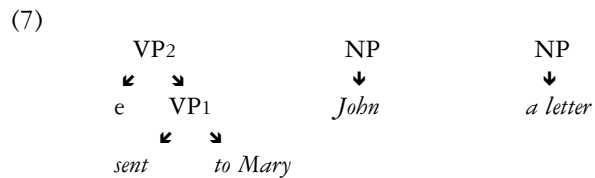
The two analyses vary in their understanding of the role played by the verb *put*. In Larson's analysis, *put* is generated as the head of a lower VP, while in Small Clause analysis the head is empty and *put* is generated as the higher VP.



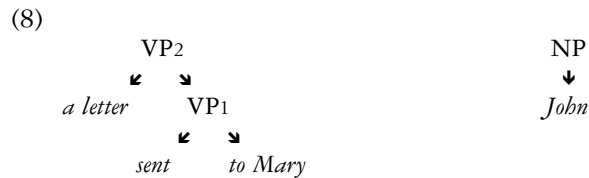
The operation of merging places the PP in the vacant VP-position.



The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an argument in receipt of the Theme-role.

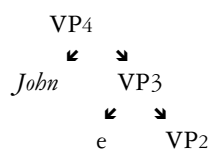


The operation of merging inserts the NP *a letter* into the vacant VP₂-position; *a letter* constitutes the specifier for the head *sent* and the PP *to Mary* the complement.



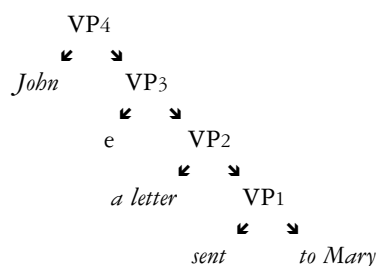
Structure (8) leave one argument, the Agent, unprojected, but a position has to be projected for it under VP. The operation of projection therefore creates a vacant head devoid of independent thematic requirements with VP₂ as the complement. The NP constitutes the specifier of the newly projected VP₄ and will receive the Agent-role, viz *John*.

(9)



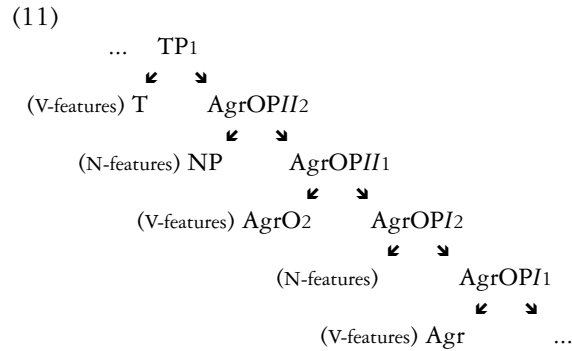
The operation of merging joins (8) and (9) together to create structure (10):

(10)

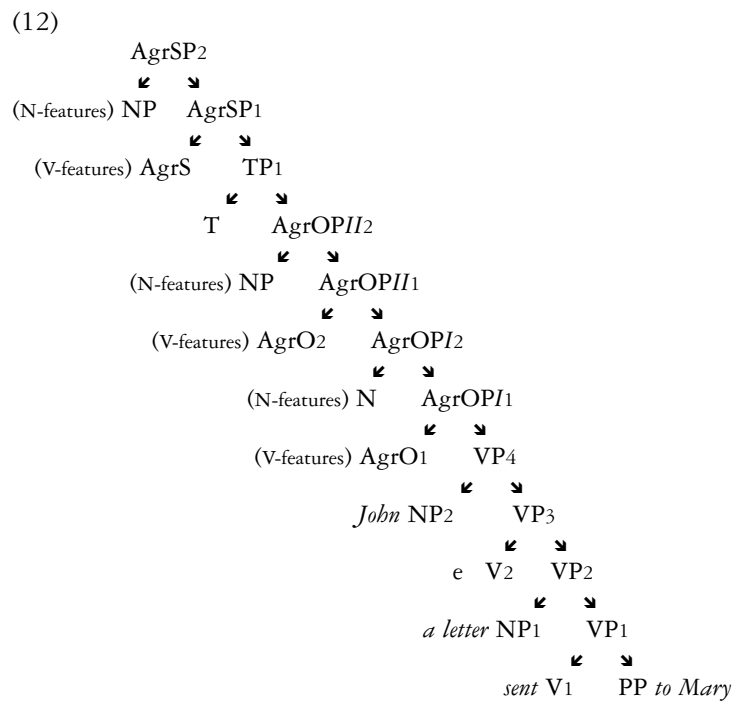


The morphological features of *John*, *sent*, *a letter*, and *to Mary* must be licensed. At least four functional heads have to be selected and projected.

The relevant functional headings T, AgrS and AgrO, which have been projected, are retained, but an extension of AgrO may be expected. This expected extension is a result of the twofold object-construction occurring in (10). The operation of projection creates an additional or second AgrOP position with an empty Spec-position and an AgrOP position with a vacant complement. The newly projected AgrOP is inserted by the operation of merging into the vacant complement position of the existing AgrOP:



The existing and newly projected structure is merged with VP₄ to form a single structure (12):

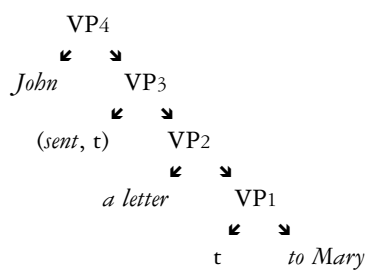


Licensing of the strong /weak features for sentence (4), which includes a ditransitive V, may take place overtly or covertly in the course

of the derivation. Chomsky (1992: 19) suggests the following processing for the syntactic derivation of sentence (4):²

V1 moves to the vacant position of V2 to form a link in the chain (*sent*, *t*). The expected result is that the minimal domain of this chain (*sent*, *t*) will be the three arguments (NP1, NP2, PP). The internal domain of the chain (*sent*, *t*) will be the internal arguments, *viz* NP1 and PP. The domain for the licensing of the chain (*sent*, *t*) will be NP2. No minimal domain, internal domain or control domain will be available for *sent per se*; only for the chain (*sent*, *t*). Schematically the processing assumes the following features:

(13)



Feature licensing takes place from the positions in structure (13) against the corresponding categories in the functional domain.

6.2 Two-fold objects in BA

A ditransitive verb selects two objects, one direct and another indirect. According to Cohen (1975: 3), in BA, indirect objects are wont to be introduced by the preposition לְ (*le*). The use of this preposition is prevalent in all Semitic tongues. Direct objects, on the other hand, are indicated by one of three constructions:

(i) The direct object may be phonologically unmarked but identified by the selection of the V:

(Dan 2:7) מַלְכָּא קַלְמָא יֵאמַר לְעַבְדֵּיהּ (14)

malkâ' - xêlmâ' - je'mar - le'abdowbij

2 A full analysis of the domain definition has been effected in chapter 2 (2.3.2 (footnote 9)).

the king - the dream - let he tell - to his servants
 subject - direct object - verb - indirect object

“Let the king tell his servants the dream”.

(ii) The direct object may be marked by the preposition לְ (*le*):

(Dan 2:25) אֲדַיִן אָרְיוֹךְ הֵנֵעַל לְהַנְיָאֵל (15)

’edajin - ’arjowk - han`el - ledâniyje`l

then - Arioch - he brought in - Daniel

subject - verb - direct object

“Then Arioch brought in Daniel”.

(iii) The direct object may be a pronominal suffix (clitic) attached to the V:

(Dan 4:2) חֵלֵם חַוִּית וַיִּדְחַלְנִי (16)

xelêm - xazejt - wijdaxalinmanij

dream - I saw - and it made afraid + me

subject - subject - verb + direct object

“I had a dream which made me afraid”.

As indicated previously, the preposition לְ (*le*) may be employed to introduce either a direct or an indirect object.

In BA, an object, whether direct or indirect, reveals no inflectional features for case. Only gender and number are revealed by the noun. Accordingly, the N-features of an O which have to be licensed against the corresponding N-features of AgrOP, are weak in BA. Furthermore, the overt congruence between V and O is completely lacking. The V-features of AgrOP are weak, as are those of both direct and indirect O’s.

6.3 Model sentences in BA with ditransitive verbs

The data with ditransitive V’s in BA reveal the following word orders:

6.3.1 Ditransitive verbs without an overt subject

(i) The V-O1-O2 word order

V as Perfect active

Simple sentence

(Ezra 5:12) יָהַב הֵמוּ בְיַד נְבוּכַדְנֶצְצַר (17)

jēbab - himmow - bejad - nebûkadnêtstsar

he gave - them - into the hand of - Nebuchadnezzar

“He gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar”.

V as Participle active

Simple sentence

(Dan 2:21) יָהַב חֻכְמָתָא לְחַכְמַיִן (18)

jâbeb - xôkmetâ' - lexakkijmijn

gives - the wisdom - to the wise men

“He gives wisdom to the wise”.

(ii) The V-O2(cl)-O1 word order

V as Imperfect active

Conditional sentence

(Dan 2:5) הֵן לֹא תְהוֹדֵעַנִי חֻלְמָא (19)

ben - lâ' - tebowde`ânnanij - xêlmâ'

if - not - you make known to me - the dream

“If you do not make known to me the dream...”

(iii) The O1-V-O2 word order

V as Perfect active

Complex sentence

(Dan 2:48) וּמַתְּנָן יָהַב־לֵיהּ (20)

ûmattenân - jēbab - leb

and gifts - he gave - to him

“...and he gave him gifts...”

(iv) The O1-V-O2(cl) word order

V as Perfect active

Complex sentence

(Ezra 5:11) וּכְנֻמָּא פְתִיבֻנָּא הֵתִיבוּנָּא (21)

ûkenemâ' - p̄itgâmâ' - batijbûnâ'

and the next - the answer - they gave us

“...and this was their reply to us...”

(v) The O2-V-O1 word order

V as Perfect active

Simple sentence

(Dan 6:23) נָכוּ הַשְׁתַּכַּחַת לִי (22)

zâkû - histekaxat - lij

blameless - she found - to me

“She found me blameless”.

6.3.2 Ditransitive verbs with an overt subject

(i) The O1-V-S-O2 word order

V as Perfect active

Simple sentence

(Dan 2:15) אָדִין מִלְתָּא הֹדַע אַרְיֹךְ לְדַנְיָאֵל (23)

'edajin - milleiâ' - howda' - 'arjowk - ledâniije'l

then - the matter - he made known - Arioch - to Daniel

“Then Arioch made the matter known to Daniel”.

V as Participle active

Complex sentence

(Dan 4:4) וְחִלְמָא אָמַר אָנָּה קְדַמִּיהוֹן (24)

wexêlmâ' - 'âmar - 'anâb - qodâmejbown

and the dream - told - I - before them

“...I told them the dream...”

(ii) The S-O1-V-O2 word order

V as Perfect active

Simple sentence

(Dan 5:18) אֱלֹהָא עֲלִיא מְלְכוּתָא יְהַב לְנִבְכַדְנֶצַּר (25)

'elâbâ' - 'illâj'â - malkûtâ' - jebab - linebukadnêtstsar

the God - the Most High - the kingship - he gave - to Nebuchadnezzar

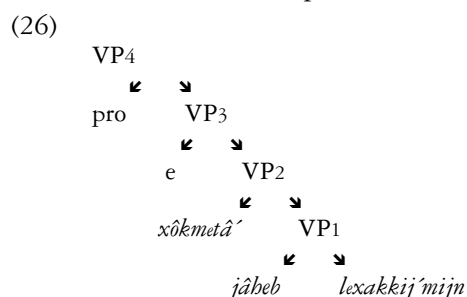
“The Most High God gave Nebuchadnezzar the kingship”.

From the word order of the sentences in (17)-(25) it may be gauged that there is only one simple example in which two positions are generated left of the V. This is in keeping with the proposal (in chapter 5 (5.5)) that two topic positions are available in BA to explain the distribution of multiple topics. The derivation of sentences (17)-(25) with ditransitive V's will now be discussed.

6.4 Derivation of ditransitive verbs without an overt subject in BA

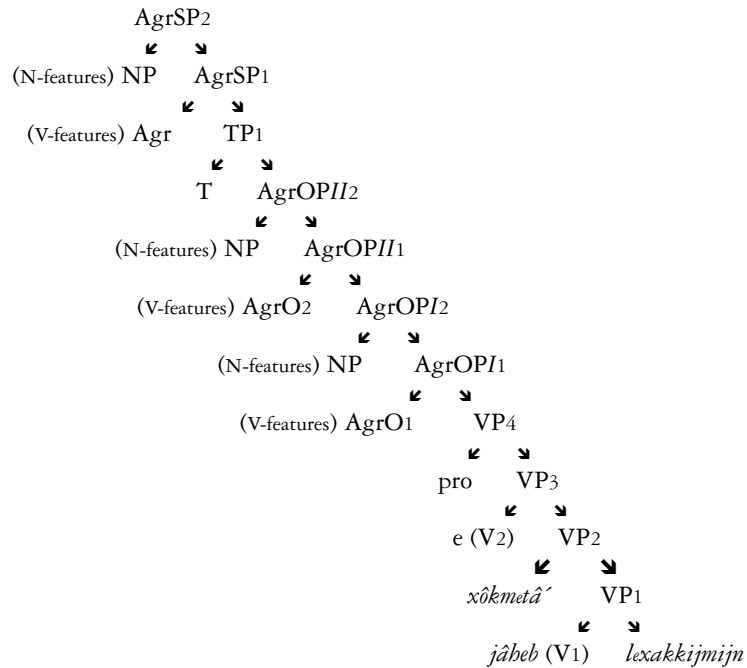
6.4.1 Derivation of BA sentences with V-O1-O2 word order

The syntactic derivation of sentence (18) starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *jâbeb*, the NP *xôkmetâ'* and the PP *lexakkijmijn*, each fully inflected, with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *jâbeb*, as a ditransitive V, requires two arguments: one to receive the role of Theme and another that of Goal. Even though the V is in the Participle conjugation class and consequently requires an overt S in BA, the overt S in the preceding passage is explicit, which renders it unnecessary to indicate it twice. The argument receiving the role of Agent is therefore covert and has to be indicated with *pro* (26):



The morphological features of *jâbeb*, *xôkmetâ'* and *lexakkijmijn* must be licensed. Four functional heads, *viz* AgrOI, AgrOII, T and AgrS are selected, projected and merged with (26) in order to constitute structure (27):

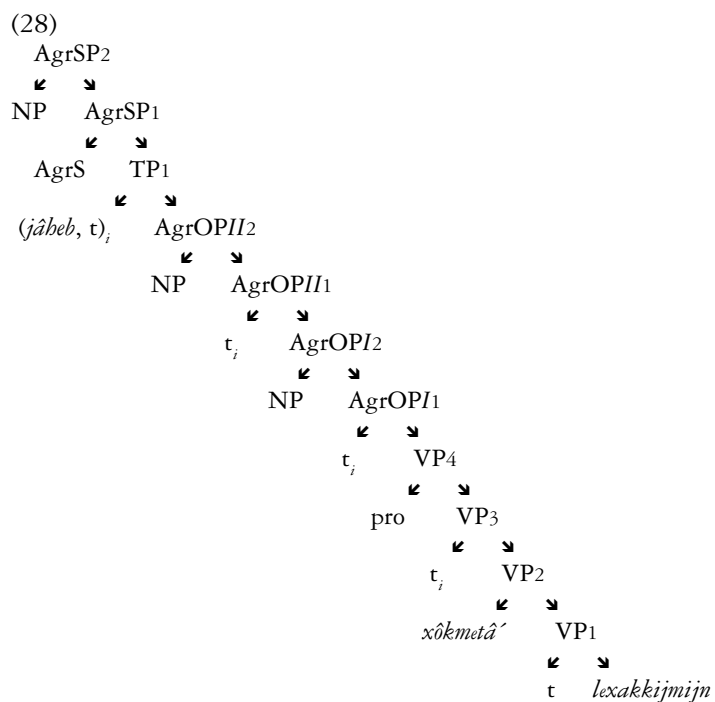
(27)



The verb *jáheb* moves overtly to V2 to form a link in the chain (*jáheb*, τ). A trace τ is left in V1. AgrO2 and AgrO1 have weak V-features, but the V moves to T, necessarily and overtly to AgrO1 and AgrO2 to ensure that the most economical route is followed. As a result of the strong V-features on T, the chain (*jáheb*, τ) overtly moves further to T to license and eliminate the corresponding V-features prior to spell-out. It moves covertly further to AgrS after spell-out.

The N-features on AgrOP1 and AgrOP2 are weak. The direct O *xôkmetâ'* and the indirect O *lexakkijmijn* remain *in situ* in the lexical domain where O1 and O2 were originally generated. It is only after spell-out that the direct and indirect objects in covert processing will move to Spec-AgrO1 and Spec-AgrO2 respectively to license their corresponding N-features.

The overt processings are depicted in structure (28):



After derivation the word order is V-O1-O2. It is surmised that V-O1-O2 will also be the unmarked word order for ditransitive V's without an overt S. Inference (F) is as follows:

(F): In BA, V-O1-O2 is the unmarked word order.

6.4.2 Derivation of BA sentences with V-O2(cl)-O1 word order

The indirect object in sentence (19), which is repeated here, functions as an object suffix. In BA, an object suffix is written as part of the V, as an enclitic.

(Dan 2:5) $\text{בן לא תבדע עמני חלמא}$ (19)

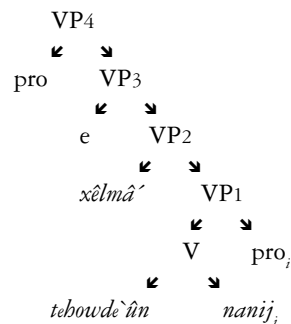
ben - lâ' - tbowde`ânmanij - xêlmâ'

if - not - you tell me - the dream

“If you do not tell me the dream...”

The syntactic derivation of sentence (19) starts with a selection of substantive heads: the V *tebowde`ûn*, with the clitic *nanij*, and the NP *xêlmâ'*. *tebowde`ûn*, as a ditransitive V, requires three arguments: one to which the role of Agent may be accorded, another capable of receiving that of Theme and yet another that of Goal. The argument to which the role of Agent is accorded is covert and is indicated as *pro*.³ The lexical derivation of sentence (19) is as follows (29):

(29)



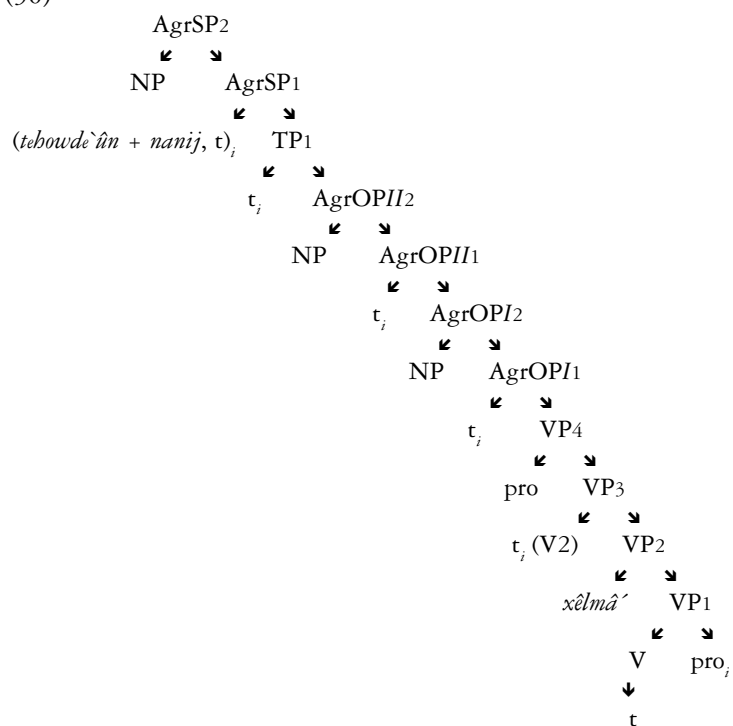
The morphological features of *tebowde`ûn* + *nanij* and *xêlmâ'* must be licensed. At least four functional heads have to be selected, projected and merged with (29) in order to eventually justify the syntactic derivation.

The V + clitic (*tebowde`ûnnanij*) moves overtly to V2 to form the chain (*tebowde`ûnnanij*, τ). This moves overtly further to AgrO1, to AgrO2, to T and then finally to AgrS to license and eliminate strong V-features on T and AgrS prior to spell-out. The direct O *xêlmâ'* remains *in situ* as the result of the weak N-features reflected by AgrOPII. The V-O2(cl)-O1 word order is the result of these operations.

The overt processing is depicted in structure (30):

³ *tebowd`ûn* is an NS verb form requiring no S.

(30)



6.4.3 Derivation of BA sentences with O1-V-O2 word order

The direct O occupies a position to the left of V in the O1-V-O2 word order. On the basis of inference (D), that O-V word order is marked in BA and the object occupies a topic position, it may be accepted that the direct O in sentence (20) which is repeated here, occupies a topic position. The indirect object remains *in situ* where O2 was originally generated.

(Dan 2:48) וּמַתְּנָן יְהַב־לֵהּ (20)

ûmattenân - jehab - leh

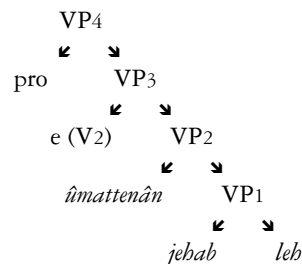
and gifts - he gave - to him

“...and he gave him gifts...”

The syntactic derivation of sentence (20) starts with a selection of substantive heads: the V *jebab*, the NP *ûmattenân* and the PP *leb*. *jebab*, as a ditransitive verb, requires three arguments: one to which the role of Agent may be accorded, another capable of receiving that of Theme and yet another that of Goal. The argument to which the role of Agent is accorded is covertly present.

A feature [+ topic] is added to *ûmattenân*. In BA the [+ topic] feature is a strong N-feature which requires licensing. The operation of projection therefore creates a TopP where *ûmattenân* can check the strong topic features. The lexical derivation of sentence (20) is as follows:

(31)



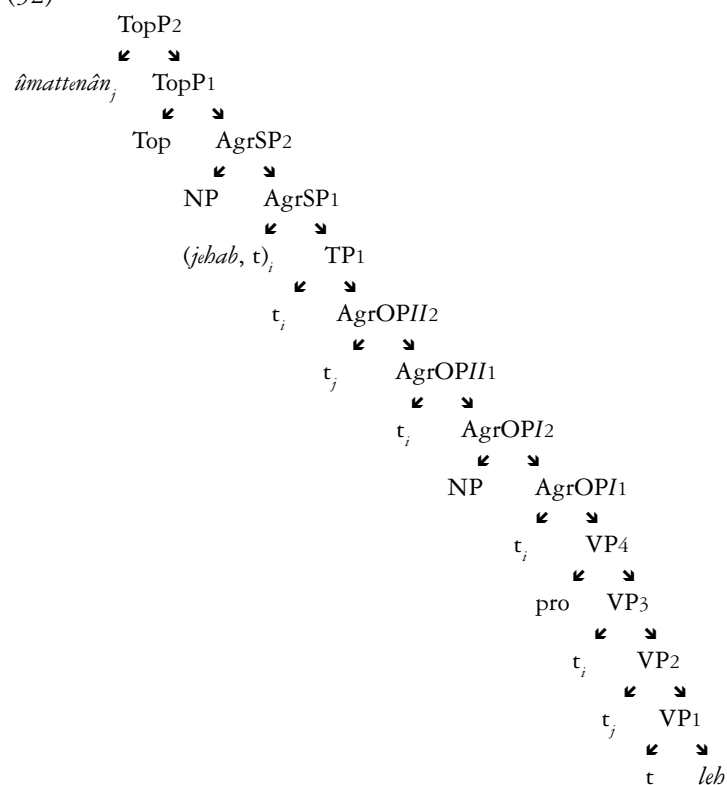
The morphological features of *ûmattenân*, *jebab* and *leb* must be licensed. The functional heads AgrOI, AgrOII, T, AgrS and TopP are selected, projected and merged with (31) to justify the syntactic derivation.

The V *jebab* moves overtly to V2 in order to constitute the chain (*jebab*, t). The chain (*jebab*, t) overtly moves further to AgrO1, AgrO2, T, and finally AgrS in order to license weak-features on AgrO1 and AgrO2 and strong V-features on T and AgrS prior to spell-out.

The topic position Spec-TopP reveals strong N-features. The direct O *ûmattenân* moves overtly, under way to Spec-TopP, in order to license these features prior to spell-out, via Spec-AgrOII in order to license weak N-features.

The indirect O *leb* remains *in situ* as the result of N-features revealed by AgrOP1. The overt processing is reported in (32):

(32)



The result is an O1-V-O2 word order with the direct O as an object topic in the O1-V-O2 word order.

6.4.4 Derivation of BA sentences with O1-V-O2(cl) word order

The derivation of the O1-V-O2(cl) word order requires exactly the same processing as the derivation of the O1-V-O2 word order (6.4.3), with the notable difference that the indirect O in sentence (21) moves, as a clitic,⁴ with the V to AgrOPI, AgrOPII, T and then AgrS as in (32). For the sake of convenience (21) is repeated here:

⁴ In chapter 4 (4.5 (ii)) the clitic move is dealt with fully.

(Ezra 5:11) וְכַנְמָא פִּתְגָמָא הִתִּיבֵינָא (21)

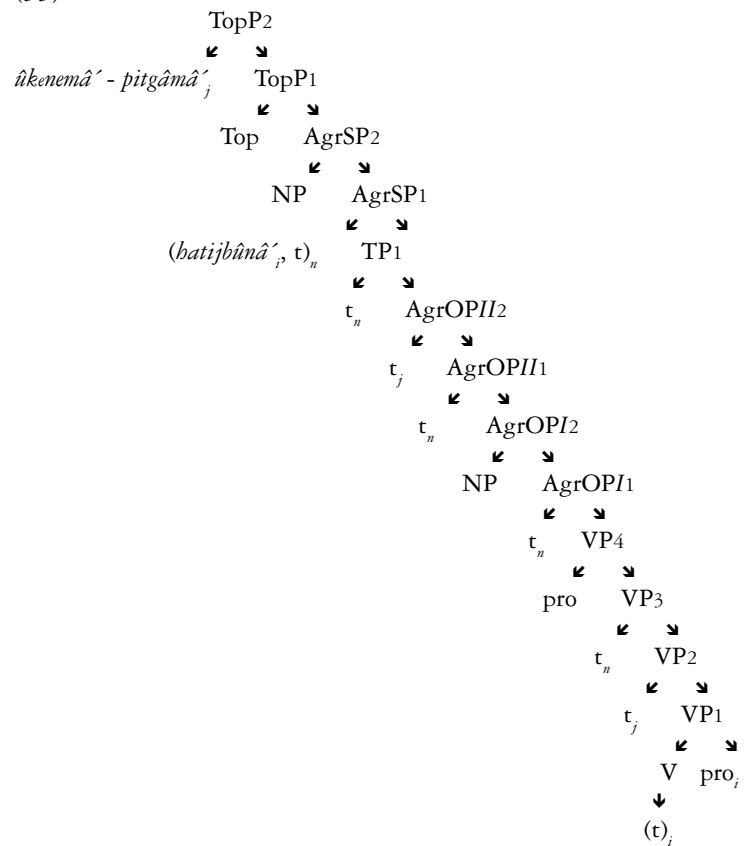
ûkenemâ' - pitgâmâ' - batijbûnâ'

and the next - the answer - they gave us

“...and this was their reply to us...”

The overt processing of sentence (21) is reported as follows (33):

(33)



The result is an O1-V-O2(cl) word order. The direct O is a topic and the indirect object *nâ'* a clitic which moves overtly with the V.

6.4.5 Derivation of BA sentences with O2-V-O1 word order

It may be gauged from the O2-V-O1 word order that the indirect O is generated in a position to the left of the verb, which is, according to inference (D), a topic position. As opposed to the O1-V-O2 word order in (6.4.3), the indirect O in sentence (22), which is repeated here, will assume the function of a topic. Consequently a feature [+topic] is added to *zâkû*.

(Dan 6:23) לִי הִשְׁתַּכַּחַת לִי (22)

zâkû - *hištekaxat* - *lij*

blameless - she found - to me

“She found me blameless”.

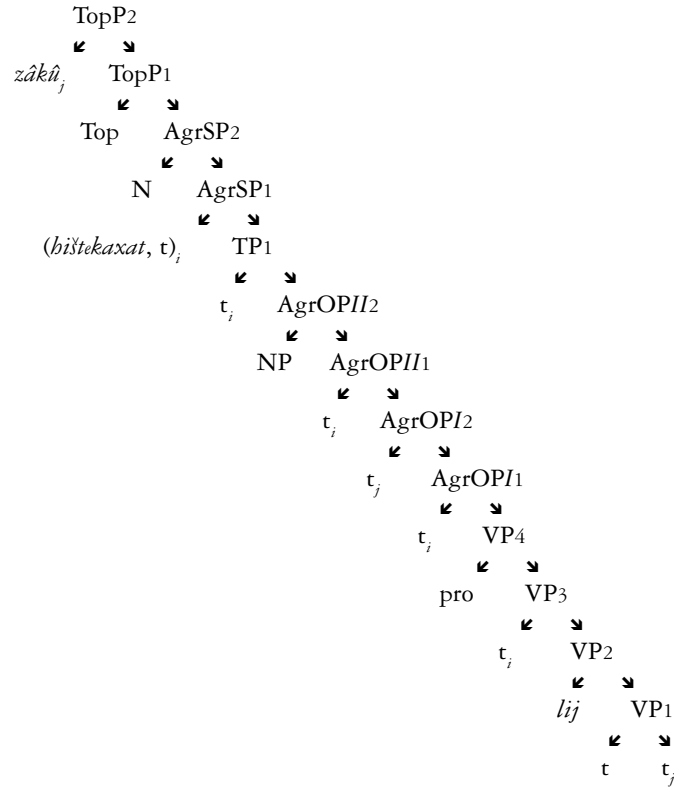
The V *hištekaxat* moves overtly to V2 to form the chain (*hištekaxat*, t). The chain (*hištekaxat*, t) moves overtly to AgrO1 and AgrO2 to license weak features and then to T and finally to AgrS to license strong V-features prior to spell-out.

The available topic position Spec-TopP reveals strong N-features. Consequently *zâkû* moves overtly to Spec-TopP to license and eliminate the strong N-features of O2 prior to spell-out. On its way to Spec-TopP *zâkû* will first overtly move to Spec-AgrOI for weak N-feature checking.

The direct O *lij* remains *in situ* because AgrOPII reveals a weak N-feature.

The derivation of the O2-V-O1 word order in sentence (22) may be sketched as follows (34):

(34)



This results in the O2-V-O1 word order with the indirect O functioning as a topic.

6.5 Derivation of ditransitive verbs with an overt subject in BA

6.5.1 Derivation of BA sentences with O1-V-S-O2 word order

The syntactic derivation of sentence (23), which is repeated here, starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *bowda`*, the NP's *milletâ`* and *'arjowk* and the PP *ledânijje`l. bowda`*, as a ditransitive

verb, requires three arguments: one capable of receiving the role of Theme, viz *milletâ'*; another that of Goal, viz *ledâniġje'l*, and yet another that of Agent, viz *'arjowk*. A feature [+ topic] is added to *milletâ'*.

(Dan 2:15) אַרְיֹחַ מִלְתָּא הוֹדַע לְדַנְיָאֵל (23)

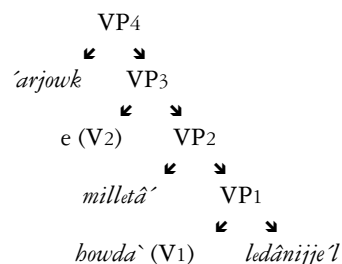
'edajin - milletâ' - bowda` - 'arjowk - ledâniġje'l

then - the matter - he made known - Arioch - to Daniel

“Then Arioch made the matter known to Daniel”.

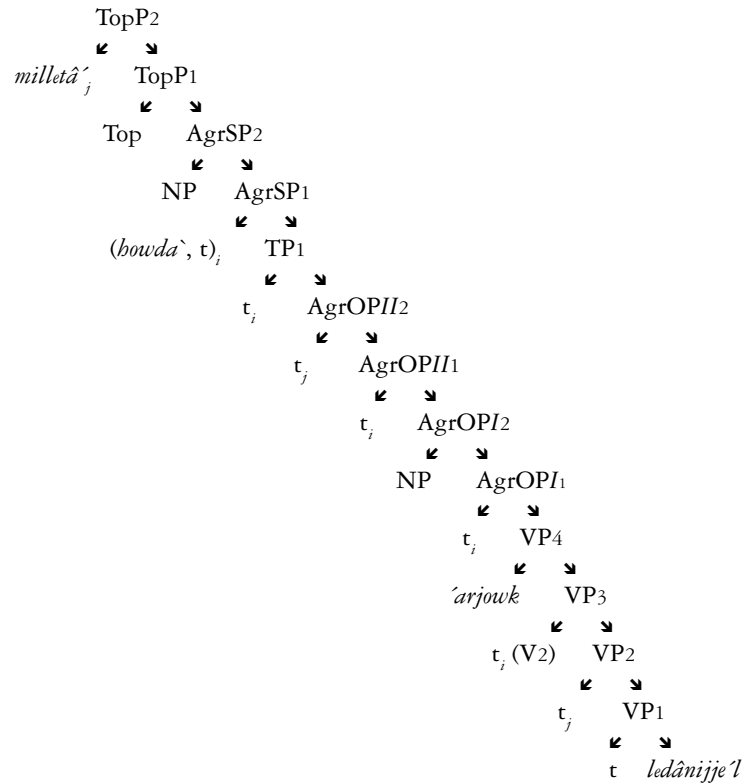
The operations of projection and merging are applied to constituent structure (35):

(35)



The morphological features of *milletâ'*, *bowda`*, *'arjowk* and *ledâniġje'l* must be licensed. The functional heads AgrOI, AgrOII, T, AgrS and TopP are selected, projected and merged with (35) in order to justify the syntactic derivation of sentence (23):

(36)



In the syntactic derivation of sentence (23), the V *bowda`* moves overtly to V2 in order to form the chain (*bowda`*, t). The chain (*bowda`*, t) moves overtly further to AgrO1 and to AgrO2 in order to license weak features and thereafter to T and AgrS to license strong V-features prior to spell-out.

In terms of inference (D), the direct O *milletâ'* occupies a topic position. It moves overtly to Spec-TopP in order to license strong N-features prior to spell-out. On its way, it moves overtly to Spec-AgrOII in order to license weak N-features.

The S *ʿarjowk* remains *in situ* as the consequence of weak N-features revealed by AgrS. The indirect O *ledâniyjeʿl* also remains *in situ* where O2 has been generated in the lexical domain.

An O1-V-S-O2 word order results, with the direct O as the topic.

6.5.2 Derivation of BA sentences with S-O1-V-O2 word order

The derivation of the S-O1-V-O2 word order links up with the S-O-V word order dealt with in chapter 5 (5.5). In the derivation of the S-O-V word order, two topic positions were suggested to which S and O may move respectively for feature licensing. The processing applicable to the S-O-V word order will also apply to sentence (25), which reveals the S-O1-V-O2 word order, with the only difference to be found in the indirect O, which is an additional feature of sentence (25), and remaining *in situ*. Sentence (25) is repeated here.

(Dan 5:18) אֱלֹהֵא עֲלִיָא מְלְכֻתָא יְהַב לְנְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר (25)

ʿelâbâʿ - ʿillâjʿâ - malkûtâʿ - jebab - linebukadnêtstsar

the God - the Most High - the kingship - he gave - to Nebuchadnezzar
“The Most High God gave Nebuchadnezzar the kingship”.

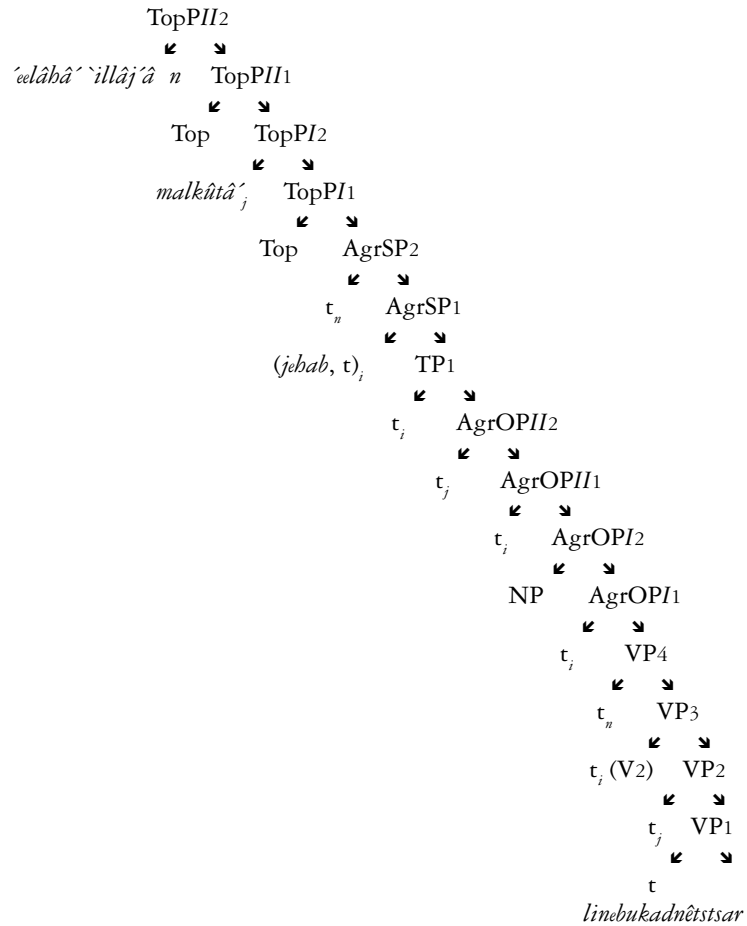
In the syntactic derivation of sentence (25) the S *ʿelâbâʿ ʿillâjʿâ* moves overtly as a matter of necessity to AgrS and thereafter to Spec-TopII to license strong topic (subject) N-features in the latter prior to spell-out.

Spec-TopPI reveals strong topic (object) N-features. These cause the direct O *malkûtâʿ* to move overtly to Spec-AgrOPII and then to Spec-TopPI to license and eliminate the strong N-features of O1 prior to spell-out on Spec-TopI.

The V *jebab* moves prior to spell-out to the vacant position V2 to form the chain (*jebab*, t). This chain moves overtly further to AgrOI and AgrOII to license weak V-features and thereafter to T and AgrS to license strong V-features. The indirect O *linebukadnêtstsar* remains *in situ*.

The overt processing of sentence (25) may be sketched as follows (37):

(37)



This results in an S-O1-V-O2 word order with S and O1 as topics.

6.6 Conclusions

- An additional or second AgrOP position in the functional domain is suggested for the syntactic derivation of BA sentences with a ditransitive V.

- The features of both direct and indirect objects are weak in BA.
- V-O1-O2 is the unmarked word order of ditransitive V's without an overt subject in BA.
- V-O2(cl)-O1 is the unmarked word order in BA, where the clitic moves overtly with V. The S is non-overtly present.
- O1-V-O2, O1-V-O2(cl), O2-V-O1 and O1-V-S-O2 are marked word orders in BA with an O which is topicalised in every instance.
- S-O1-V-O2 is a marked word order in BA with S and O1 as topics.

The word order of any sentence with a ditransitive V in BA is justifiable within the principles of economy propounded by Chomsky (1992).