ARGUMENT ORDERING IN GERMAN:

LEXICAL DECOMPOSITION OF THE 'ATOMIC' PREDICATE POSS AND ITS

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HIERARCHIZATION OF ARGUMENTS OF

DITRANSITIVE VERBS

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In this article it is argued that contrary to influential work by Höhle (1982) and Haider (1992, 1993), German ditransitive verbs do not display different base orders in the projection of dative and accusative arguments. The claim that there are three types of ditransitive verbs taking one dative and one accusative object characterized by the relative hierarchization of the given arguments cannot be maintained. It is a result of a misunderstanding of focus projection on the one hand, and the overlooking of some semantic facts with the DAT>ACC, ACC>PP alternation on the other. A doser look at the facts reveals that true dative objects generally precede and therefore c-command accusative arguments. There are no verbs which allow for both orders simultaneously. If dative objects appear to be closer to the verb than accusatives, the datives at issue are no true datives, but hidden PPs. The relation between the two non-accusative positions will be analyzed in the lexical decomposition framework as a transformational step creating the allegedly atomic predicate POSS by incorporation of a preposition into the primitive BE (transfer of Kayne's theory (1993) of the have-be alternation to the inner-lexical domain). The aim of this article can be characterized as an endorsement for a single universal hierarchy of arguments: [SU[IO[DO[PP (V]]]]).

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to argue that there is a single case hierarchy according to which the arguments of a verbal head are projected - crosslinguistically as well as particularly in German. I will focus on ditransitive verbs of two different types and their relationship: verbs that govern one accusative and one dative object and verbs that govern one accusative object and a PP. I will make the assumption that the (internal) arguments of a verb are projected VP-internally in a binary branching fashion. This implies that out of any two arguments always one asymmetrically c-commands the other. This relation can also be labeled 'ranking over'. One controversial question is the ranking of dative and accusative objects. As for the basic orders, it has been claimed that all possible rankings are attested (Höhle 1982, for a reprise cf. Haider 1992, 1993). All possible

rankings means: (I) dative is higher than accusative, (II) accusative is higher than dative, and neither ranks over the other or both are mutually exchangeable (III). It is claimed that the instantiation depends on the nature of the verb.

(1)
(I)   abgewöhnen, beibringen, verweigern, zutrauen...
        wean,   administer, deny,   to think somebody is able to
(II)   aussetzen, unterziehen, zuführen
        expose,   submit,   to bring to
(III)   geben, zeigen, empfehlen
        give,   show, recommand

Indeed, at first glance this division seems to be well motivated. If one gives these verbs to subjects (native speakers of German) and asks them to build a sentence with them, they will with high probability order the arguments in the way the classification predicts. That means that, whereas in sentences with verbs of class I dative objects will precede accusative ones, sentences with class II verbs will show the reverse order. Sentences that contain class III verbs will come with both orders. This is of course not sufficient for the given classification.

2. DIFFICULTIES WITH FOCUS PROJECTION AND A DIAGNOSTIC FOR BASIC WORD ORDER

Höhle (1982) takes the intuitions described above only as a point of departure and develops a test to   -order-hypothesis' theoretically. He proposes a correlation between basic word order and maximal focus spreading on the one hand, and derived word order and narrow focus on the other. Thus, his claim is that focus projection (along the lines of Selkirk 1984) is possible for base generated structures, but impossible for derived orders. I, too, assume that this is the right conjecture. However, I think that one has to be very careful in using focus projection as a reliable test. Later I will come back to the reason. But first, let's look at the data.

(2) a. daß Carl$_{NOM}$ die Lösung$_{ACC}$ fand   (spreading)
         that Carl-acc the solution-acc found
         that Carl found the solution
     b. daß die Lösung$_{ACC}$ Carl$_{NOM}$ fand   (no spreading)
(3) **class I**
     a. daß er seiner Frau$_{DAT}$ sein Geld$_{ACC}$ nicht gönnte   (spreading)
         that he his wife-dat his money-acc not to-not-grudge
         that he didn't grudge his wife his money
     b. daß er sein Geld$_{ACC}$ seiner Frau$_{DAT}$ nicht gönnte   (no spreading)
     class II
     c. daß er seine Kinder$_{ACC}$ ihrem Einfluß$_{DAT}$ aussetzte (spreading)
         thet he his children-acc her influence-dat exposed
         that he exposed his children to her influence
     d. daß er ihrem Einfluß$_{DAT}$ seine Kinder$_{ACC}$ aussetzte (no spreading)
     class III

e. daß er seiner Frau$_{DAT}$ sein Geld$_{ACC}$ gegeben hat   (spreading)
   that he his wife-dat his money-acc given has
   that he gave his money to his wife
f. daß er sein Geld$_{ACC}$ seiner Frau$_{DAT}$ gegeben hat   (spreading)

(2) is uncontroversial and shows that nominative must precede accusative to make focus projection possible. This fact then is carried over to the spreading possibilities in the double object examples from (3). However, the data here are less clear. Nevertheless, I claim that the mistake lies somewhere else, namely in the misunderstanding of the relation between questions and focus projection in possible answers. It is simply not the case that an answer to a wh-question only consists of the open proposition delivered by the question plus the (exhaustive) instantiation of the open proposition. It is very well possible for the answer to contain more material, for example in order to facilitate storing of new information. What I mean is that the answer to a question of the sort 'What happened?'/ 'What's the matter?' need not necessarily be an all-new sentence. A structured proposition in form of a categorial statement can also be a possible answer. A sentence like 'Aunt Lisa died' may have different information packagings. It can be a thetic statement, i.e. an all new sentence. In English, telicity of a one-argument clause is achieved by putting the main stress on the head of the argument. In that case the intonation pattern is:

(4)   Aunt LIsa[1] died.

Another possibility is the use of the term *aunt Lisa* as an expression for someone about who it is being asserted that she died. In that case, the expression *aunt Lisa* is (more) salient, and the stress goes on the verb. This is the intonation of a categorial statement.

(5)   Aunt Lisa DIED.

Nevertheless, (5) is a possible answer to a what-happened-question. There is no necessary identity between the open proposition set by the question and the presupposed material in the answer. Otherwise, what-happened questions would only be allowed in situations where the speakers have no common ground at all, which is a very rare, if not even impossible case. It is true that presupposed material from the question cannot be used as the focus of the corresponding answer.

(6)
A: What happened to aunt Lisa?
B: *Aunt LIsa died.

However, this fact does not imply that everything contained in the answer which does not belong to the question must be focus or new information. Let me give another example:

(7)
A: (Why is Mary angry with Paul?) What did he do?
B: The day before yesterday, he slept with Marianne.

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[1] When necessary I indicate stress by capitals.

This dialog does not have the slightest flavor of oddness. The question asks for some action of Paul that causes Mary's anger. The answer to that is his sex with Marianne, encoded in the VP [vp slept with Marianne]. For some reason, B decided to be a bit more explicit and gave the time of the action. The sentence initial position of the temporal adjunct, together with an intonation pattern that puts little weight on it, but more on *Marianne*, indicates that the temporal information encoded in 'the day before yesterday' is a (non contrastive) topic. Thus we have two constituents that are not in focus, but only one of them is delivered by the linguistic context, namely *Paul = he*. The other one, which contains a deictic expression, can still be easily accommodated. Thus, we see that it is not completely conclusive to consider question-answer pairs as a reliable diagnostics for focus projection. Given a question and a felicitous answer, one cannot claim that all the material which is contained in the answer which is missing in the question must be new information and hence in the range of focus projection. So, why this long discussion? (3 f.) claimed that focus projection is possible where accusative precedes dative. However, focus projection was understood there as question-answer felicity. Thus, (3 f.) is regarded as a possible answer to a question 'Was hat er gemacht?' (What did he do?). With the wrong theory about the focus projection test outlined above, this then leads to the conclusion that every constituent (including the verb), but *er*, must be focus. This, however, is not the case. I shall claim that the <u>accusative argument in this case must be discourse-related and focus does not spread over it</u>. This claim is also confirmed by many other native speakers. For example, Steinbach and Vogel (1995) argue that in sentence 3.f. focus does not project over both arguments. The accusative DP gets a duiscourse related interpretation here. In the light of Meinunger's work (1995, see also below) this means that the accusative argument has been scrambled over the dative DP. The structure is not a basic configuration anymore.

I argue that the focus projection capacities of class I verbs are not different from class III verbs. And, therefore, the contrast between (3 b.) and (3 f.) seems to me to be spurious.

3. THE STRICT WORD ORDER HYPOTHESIS

I want to show that there is a clear and more reliable test for showing that dative is ranked higher than accusative (for both class I and class III verbs). According to the work of Adger (1993) and Meinunger (1995), which is based on Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis (1992); I will argue that linguistic material which is being introduced into the discourse frame stays in its base generated position. Discourse related constituents (topical material) must be scrambled out of the VP.

(8)   [CP...[AgrPs... | [VP ([discourse new adjuncts]) [VP...]]
              topic(s)[2] | comment

Thus we have to examine the order in which new material organizes. Since DPs containing ordinary nouns are not conclusive, we have to look for something else. Ordinary DPs are not conclusive because even indefinite DPs can easily obtain a presuppositional reading. However, with unstressed indefinite articles they are almost perfect indicators of what we are looking for. I think the best way of showing the linear order of arguments is to use indefinite pronouns that cannot or can hardly have a presuppositional reading. Such elements are *jemand, etwas, nichts, wer, wen, was,* (somebody,

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[2] Topics are to be understood as in Meinunger (1995), i.e. as anchoring expressions. This use is very different from the standard, where topic refers to sentence initial constituents inducing the typical aboutness feeling. The terminology is immaterial here, however.

something, nothing) and unstressed *einer, niemand* and their reduced forms *'ner, 'was,* and and the like. When one constructs sentences with these pronouns, one sees that verbs of class I behave exactly as verbs of class III in that the dative object must precede the accusative one.

(9) class III

a. weil er jemandem (et)was $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{gezeigt}\\ \text{gegeben}\\ \text{empfohlen}\\ \text{erklärt}\\ \text{geschickt...}\end{array}\right\}$ hat

since he somebody-dat something-acc {shown, given, recommanded, explained...} has
since he {showed, gave, recommanded, explained...} something to someone

b. *weil er (et)was jemandem $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{gezeigt}\\ \text{gegeben}\\ \text{empfohlen}\\ \text{geschickt...}\end{array}\right\}$ hat (reverse order, i.e. ACC > DAT)

The same is of course the case with class I verbs, which is already predicted by Höhle's theory.

(10) class I

a. weil er jemandem (et)was $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{abgewöhnt}\\ \text{verweigert}\\ \text{beigebracht}\\ \text{zugetraut}\\ \text{verübelt...}\end{array}\right\}$ hat

since he somebody-dat something-acc {weaned, denied, tought, blamed...} has

b. *weil er (et)was jemandem $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{abgewöhnt}\\ \text{verweigert}\\ \text{beigebracht}\\ \text{zugetraut}\\ \text{verübelt...}\end{array}\right\}$ hat (reverse order, i.e. ACC > DAT)

As mentioned above, unstressed indefinite DPs behave similarly. However, things are more complicated here. The order ACC > DAT itself is not ungrammatical, and the unmarked stress always falls on the verb adjacent argument. In this sense (9/10) a. and (9/10) b. are equally good. What distinguishes (9/10) a. from (9/10) b. is that the former may serve for focus projection whereas the latter may not. However, as I have argued, the focus spreading test is not appropriate. So I propose that (9/10) b. get starred when the intended reading is one where the indefinite objects are introduced into the discourse frame.

(11) class III
   a. weil er einer Frau eine Rose geschenkt hat
      since he a woman-data rose-acc given has
      sine he gave a rose to a woman
   b. *weil er eine Rose einer Frau geschenkt hat

(12) class I
   a. weil er einem Freund ein Lied beigebracht hat
      since he a friend-dat a song-acc tought has
      since he taught a song to a friend
   b. *weil er ein Lied einem Freund beigebracht hat

I hope to have shown that class I and class III are not different with respect to argument projection and that we therefore should not speak of two different classes.

Let us now turn to class II. If we apply our test to the verbs of this class, we will find out that the base order is ACC > DAT. However, I have to admit that the ordering test with indefinite pronouns does not work very well here.

(13) class II
   a. weil ich auf der Party niemand(en) jemandem vorgestellt habe
      since I at the party nobody-acc somebody-dat presented have
      since at the party I introduced nobody to anybody
   b. *$^{/??}$weil ich auf der Party niemandem jemand(en) vorgestellt habe

Yet, we may have one argument as a full DP. The claim is that the relevant indefinite pronouns must be in their base position. Thus it does no harm if the linearly following argument is a structured DP and the indefinite pronoun precedes it. The data become uncontroversial again.

(14) a. weil er jemanden einer schweren Prüfung unterzog
      since he somebody-acc a difficult exam-dat submitted
      since he submitted someone to a difficult exam
   b. *weil er einer schweren Prüfung jemanden unterzog
(15) a. weil sie niemanden einer großen Gefahr aussetzen würde
      since she nobody-acc a big danger-dat expose would
      since she would not expose anyone to a big danger
   b. *weil sie einer großen Gefahr niemanden aussetzen würde

Thus it seems that there are not three classes - however, there may exist at least two: DAT > ACC and ACC > DAT. Nevertheless I would like to maintain the claim that DAT > ACC holds underlyingly.

The ACC > DAT order can be seen as an epiphenomenon similar to what is going on with the so-called ill-behaved experiencer verbs. For the discussion of the relevant parallelism see the next paragraph.

4. SOME SIMILARITIES WITH EXPERIENCER VERBS

Ideally, arguments should be projected uniformly (UTAH: Baker 1988) and according some hierarchy, for example the one advocated in Grimshaw (1990), here given under (16). There are some difficulties with some verb classes, however. One well-known puzzle is the existence of two different types of experiencer verbs. One class of experiencer verbs - the *fear* class (or Belletti and Rizzi's *temere* class (1988)) - is well-behaved. That means that the experiencer, located higher in the thematic hierarchy, becomes the subject of the sentence; the theme, located deeper, becomes the object.

(16) (Agent (Experiencer (Goal / Source/ Location (Theme))))
(17) Lohengrin fears Elsa's question.
(18) Alberich likes the Rhine maidens.

However, there is the class of ill-behaved verbs - the *frighten* class (Belletti and Rizzi's *preoccupare* class)

(19) Alberich frightens the Nibelungs.

Here the experiencer appears as a postverbal object, and the theme occupies the subject position. Grimshaw however presents a way out of the dilemma. Her proposal is that there is not only one scale of hierarchy but more, at least two. She shows that the ill-behaved verbs have something to them which the other class lacks. There is a causative element involved such that (20) can be paraphrased by:

(20) Alberich causes the Nibelungs to experience fear.

Then she states that the causal structure of a predicate also defines a hierarchy, just as the thematic structure does, a hierarchy in which the cause argument is most prominent:
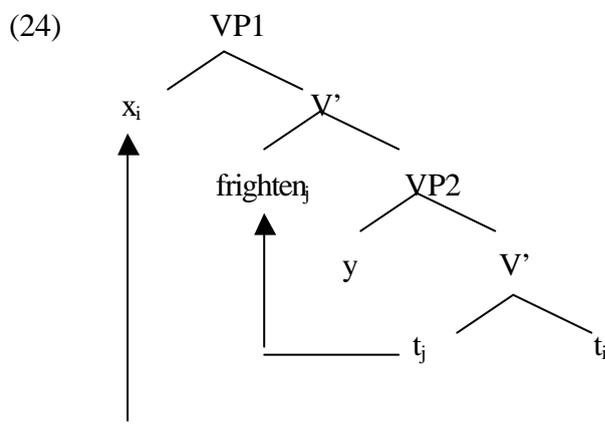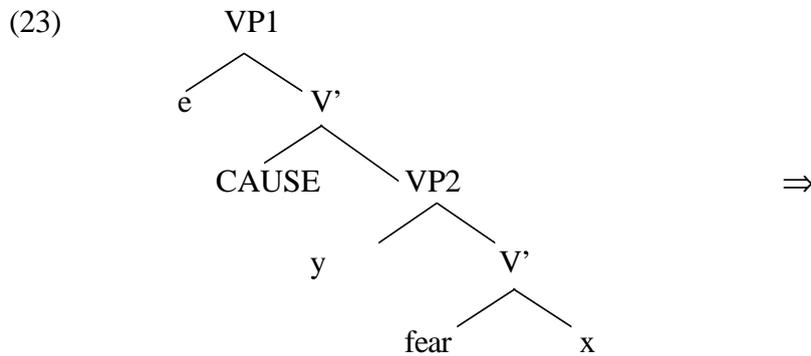
(21) (cause (....))

She claims that the causativity hierarchy overrides the other one(s) and imposes a structure where the causer is the most prominent argument. Another possible, and actually similar way of capturing the difference between the two classes is more along the lines of Pesetsky (1990). In his theory too, *frighten* is not equal in meaning to *fear* with the theta-roles in the reverse order. The difference lies in the additional causative component which the well-behaved class lacks, but the ill-behaved class exhibits. This can be represented in the following representation:

(22) a. like /fear: $\lambda x \lambda y \, [x \, E \, y]$

     b. please/ frighten: $\lambda x \lambda y \, [y \, CAUSE \, [x \, E \, y]]$

If this notation, taken from Haider (1992), is translated into a syntactic tree, we get a specifier position where the agent is licensed in the topmost argument position. Instead of making the lambda

prefix unselectively bind two variables, we can handle the difference syntactically by assuming movement (or another position dependency):

(23)
$$VP1$$

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(23)            VP1
            /        \
           e          V'
                   /      \
              CAUSE        VP2
                        /       \
                       y         V'
                              /      \
                           fear       x
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⇒

(24)

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(24)            VP1
            /        \
          xᵢ          V'
                  /        \
            frightenⱼ       VP2
                        /        \
                       y          V'
                               /       \
                             tⱼ          tᵢ
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Thus, decomposition of verb meanings into atomic predicates followed by related head and phrasal movement may explain the queer nature of experiencer verbs: FRIGHTEN = CAUSE + FEAR. The universal alignment principles are nicely obeyed under such an approach.

5. THE DAT > ACC > DAT / PP ASYMMETRY

I would like to claim now that this kind of argument (position) manipulation can be fruitfully carried over to the bitransitive verb asymmetry. It has been observed that (in German) there seems to exist a tendency that when the non-theme object of bitransitive verb is +animate or +human, it is realized as a dative object (25a), (26a). On the other hand, when it is not animate or human, it is likely to be expressed in a directional PP (25b), (26b) (see Kaufmann (1993) among others). Another difference that Kaufmann overlooks or intentionally withholds is the fact that in the animate case the dative object appears preferably before the accusative object; in the inanimate case, the PP must appear after the accusative object.

(25) a. Sie schickte ihre**r** Tante ein Buch.
          she sent   her aunt-dat a book-acc
      b. Sie schickte das Buch **an** die Bibliothek.
          she sent the bookACC to the library

(26) a. Sie brachte ihre**m** Vater einen Kuchen.
   she brought her father-dat a cake-acc
b. Sie brachte einen Kuchen **ins** Büro.
   she brought a cake into+the office

   I would like to claim that it is not primarily the interaction of animacy or humanness, but that the difference is mediated through a distinction concerning the interaction of the atomic predicates. In generative semantics it is generally assumed that POSS(ESSION) is an atomic predicate. I will argue, however, that it is of great advantage to analyze it as a derived one. For this conjecture I will assume a view of argument structure similar to that found in Speas (1990) and a theory of the broadly discussed have-be alternation much like in Kayne (1993). My claim is that many bitransitive verbs either refer to a relation between a theme and the theme's location, or express a process (or a state) in which the dative argument possesses / comes to possess the theme. I furthermore claim that the former relation (location) is underlying and the latter (possession), which contains more information, is derived. As for the constructions with a locational (secondary) predication, I assume that the lexically decomposed structure looks like:
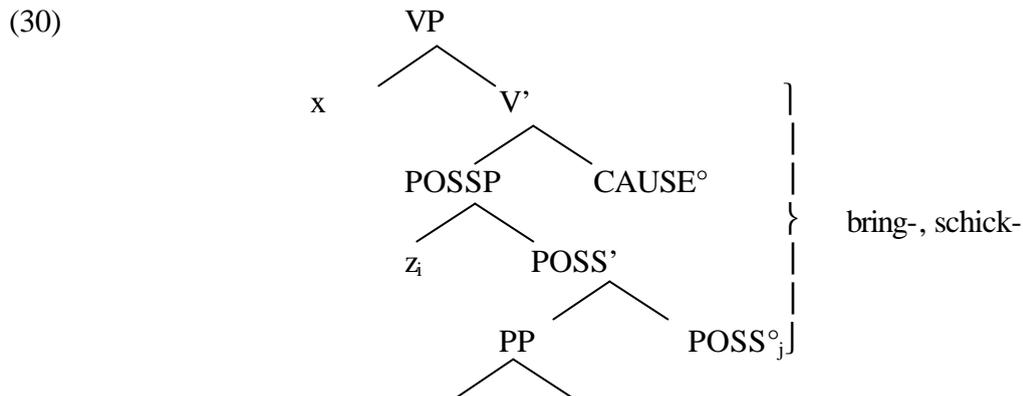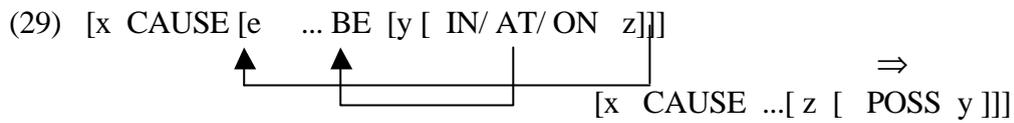
(27)   [x CAUSE [... BE [y [IN/ AT/ ON z]]]]

Thus for *bringen* (to bring) and *schicken* (to send) with a prepositional complement, we would have a tree structure like in (28).

(28)
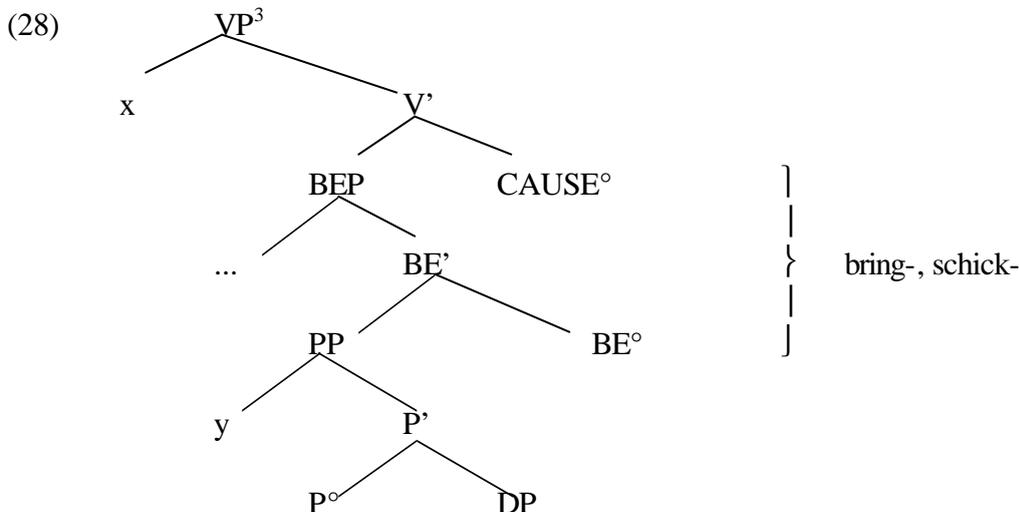
This is the representation for sentences like (24 a) and (25 b). Now comes Kayne's idea (which goes back to earlier work by traditional grammarians, especially Benveniste 1966). For him *have* is derived from a preposition which has incorporated into *be*. Transferred into a syntactic theory of lexical head decomposition, this means something like the deepmost locational P° incorporates into the primitive BE. This process results in the POSSESSION relation. Exactly as with the experiencer verbs, the head movement within the VP triggers the movement of an argument. In our case here, it is the former complement of the preposition which becomes the specifier of POSS. (The overt

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[3] For the shake of harmony I will assume that in German also the VP internal atomic predicates project head finally. This makes the trees appear somewhat less familiar. Nevertheless I think that this is not an insurmountable problem for the reader.

preposition disappears and a possession relationship comes across. See also Kayne.)[4] Semantically, that means that it becomes the possessor. Thus, my claim is that the possession relation is not a semantic primitive, but that it is a result of verb phrase internal changes. Thus:

(29) [x CAUSE [e   ... BE [y [IN/ AT/ ON z]]]]

$\Rightarrow$

[x CAUSE ...[z [POSS y]]]

(30)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
\text{x} \quad \text{V'} \\
\text{POSSP} \quad \text{CAUSE}° \\
z_i \quad \text{POSS'} \\
\text{PP} \quad \text{POSS}°_j
\end{array}
$$

bring-, schick-

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[4] Interestingly there is a fact that could be used as additional evidence for the analysis. The fact is the relation between dative Case and possession. It is well known that there is no one-to-one correspondence between morphological Cases on the one hand and thematic roles on the other. However, it is as well known that both are more than only loosely related. At any case, in many languages that have morphological dative, this case is often assigned to the possessor in a process similar to the one discussed here. For example in Hungarian (discussed in Szabolcsi (1981) and re-presented in Kayne (1993)), the possessive construction consists of a copula (BE) and a single DP containing the possessor and the possessee. When the whole DP is definite, the possessor can remain is situ carrying nominative Case, but in other cases it must or can move to the left to some specifier position where it gets assigned dative Case. Something similar also happens in my non-standard German. A DP expressing some possessive relation may come in two variants:

(i) der Garten von der Ingrid   having the structure [DP D° [NP N° [PP P° POSSESSOR]]]
    the garden of the Ingrid

(i) somehow corresponds to the base variant in (32) involving a PP. The other, more natural, variant is (ii) where the possessor has been moved to some specifier position where it appears in dative Case. The D° element shows agreement with the phrase in the specifier position with respect to gender. Here, the dative's function is to mark the possession relation:

(ii) meiner Mutter ihr Garten   having the structure [DP POSSESSOR_DAT [D° [NP N° t]]]
    my_DAT mother her garden
    my mother's garden

Also sentences that refer to possession relations make use of dative Case as possessor marker. In my variety of German, it is very common to express possession by a copula (BE) with two satellite DPs (I do not want to call them arguments). If the possessee is definite, it is likely to appear in nominative case. The possessor then carries dative Case:

(iii) Dieser Garten ist meiner Mutter.
     this garden_NOM is my_DAT mother
     This garden belongs to my mother.

Thus, the link of POSS and a dative DP in its specifier seems to be motivated by an akin, but different construction across languages.

<div align="center">

y   P'

t_j   t_i

</div>

This analysis is corroborated by the following facts. The alluded tendency to dativize a +animate /+human DP is only an epiphenomenon. There is nothing strange about having an +animate/ +human DP within a PP construction.

(31)   weil ich ein Buch zu meinem Vater gebracht habe
       since I a book-acc to my   father brought have[5]
       since I brought a book to my father

(32)   weil ich das Farhrrad zu meiner Tante geschickt hatte
       since I the bicycle-acc to my aunt   sent   had
       since I sent the bike to my aunt

However, the meaning is different from the corresponding DAT > ACC construction. (31) and (32) do not tell us anything about possession. (31), for example, expresses that I brought some book to my father's residence. My father needn't even know of the book. In (32), there is not the slightest hint that the aunt becomes the possessor. On the other hand, the corresponding DAT > ACC constructions make a POSS reading much more likely.

(33)   weil ich meinem Vater   ein Buch   gebracht habe
       since I   my   father-dat a book-acc   brought have

(34)   weil ich meiner Tante das Fahrrad geschickt habe
       since I   my   aunt-dat the bicycle-acc sent have

(33) strongly suggests that now my father owns the book. However, my claim is not that POSS necessarily expresses ownership. It merely means that someone is in the (perhaps temporary) possession of something. For example, (34) does not necessarily mean that the ownership of the bicycle changes from mine or someone else's to my aunt's. However, the sentence says that my aunt is somehow in <u>conscious possession</u> of the bike. This is not the case with the PP construction in (32). That sentence might describe a situation where I have sent a / my bike to my aunt's address in Paris. However, for the time being my aunt doesn't live there and I know that. The only reason for my sending action was that I want to go to Paris and did not want to take the bike with me in the train. Since I don't trust left-luggage offices, I wanted to pick up my bike at my aunt's place rather than at the station. In such a case, my aunt need not know anything about that. (34) cannot be used to describe such a situation.

     This theory is also partly corroborated by the fact that the DAT > ACC vs. ACC > PP alternation is not freely allowed. It is not the case that to every DAT > ACC order there is a corresponding ACC > PP order. This possibility seems to me to be limited to the case with verbs where the non-accusative object can receive a locative reading. For verbs, where this is not possible, the ACC > PP construction sounds awkward.

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[5] Translations into English would blur the meaning. The interpretations are discussed below. For this reason I only give the word-by-word translation.

(35a) ^{ok}weil ich es meiner Mutter $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{gezeigt} \\ \text{empfohlen} \\ \text{erklärt} \\ \text{zugetraut} \\ \text{verübelt...}\end{array}\right\}$ habe[6]

'since I showed, recomanded, explained...it to my mother'

(35b) *weil ich es **an** meine Mutter / **zu** meiner Mutter $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{gezeigt} \\ \text{empfohlen} \\ \text{erklärt} \\ \text{zugetraut} \\ \text{verübelt...}\end{array}\right\}$ habe

Now the reader might wonder why I have spent so much effort on the DAT > ACC vs. ACC > PP alternation. The answer lies in the DAT > ACC vs. ACC > DAT problem which was alluded to above, but for which a solution has still not yet been given. The following discussion revives this problem.

Above, I have shown that there is no DAT > ACC vs. DAT > ACC & ACC > DAT distinction, i.e. class I and class III collapse. The long discussion about the DAT > ACC vs. ACC > PP distinction was intended to prepare for the next verb class collapse; namely, I shall claim that the 'ill-behaved' class II verbs are hidden ACC > PP verbs. To put it in other words, the dative argument of ACC > DAT verbs (class II) is actually (the remnant of) a PP. The argumentation will not be very semantic. The only thing I want to mention is that also Müller (1993, p. 204, fn.3) admits that the dative arguments of verb II class verbs do not act as goals. I want to go further and say that the datives denote something local. Let us consider the verbs of class II. Haider (1992) gives the following examples:

(36) <u>aus</u>setzen   to expose so to sth
    <u>aus</u>liefern   to extradite
    entziehen   (!)   to take away from
    <u>unter</u>ziehen   to submit
    <u>unter</u>werfen   to subject
    <u>zu</u>führen   to bring to

We can add:
    <u>vor</u>stellen   to introduce
    <u>vor</u>ziehen   to prefer

All these verbs, with one exception, can be morphologically decomposed into a verbal stem and a local preposition (underlined). The only exception *entziehen* can easily be shown to be misplaced

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[6] Now, my argumentation could be used against me. What I did was dealing with the opposition possession vs. location. Now, I am using the lack of a locational reading with the given verbs as an argument for the lack of the ACC > PP construction. So far, so good. However, if the matters were that simple, my narrow minded opposition predicts that with the given verbs, we only get a reading where POSS plays a role. This, however, is not the case. Here we do not get any (sub)relation which could be identified as POSSESSION. So what I have to say is that my theory of location to possession change does not explain every DAT > ACC ordering. This, however, has never been my claim. What I claim is only that it covers a considerable part.

here. Even people who accept the Höhle-Haider test of focus projection admit that the order is dative > accusative[7]. Thus my claim is that ACC > DAT verbs are ACC > PP verbs where the (local) preposition has been incorporated into the verb. A clear case where this incorporation can be shown by a related construction is the acceptability of both (35) and (36) with the verb *(zu) führen.*

(37) weil sie ein neues Opfer **zu** ihrem Medizinmann _geführt haben
since they a new victim-acc to their wizard _lead have
since they led a new victime to their wisard

(38) weil sie ∅ ihrem Medizinmann ein neues Opfer *(**zu**)geführt haben
since they ∅ their wizard-dat a new victim-acc **to**lead have

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[7] A: Und was hast du dann gemacht?   A: And what did you do then?

B: Dann habe ich dem Wasser die Giftstoffe   B: Then I depoisened the water.
   then have I the water-dat the poisenous substances-acc
   entzogen
   away-taken

Also my test of the ordering of indefinite pronouns / or DP shows that *entziehen* is an ordinary DAT > ACC verb:

(i) [ok]weil ich jemandem etwas entzogen habe
   since I someone-dat something-acc away-taken have

(ii) *weil ich etwas jemandem entzogen habe   (reverse order)

(37)

VP

x   V'

BEP   führ-...

e   BE'

PP   BE°

y   P'

P°   z

sie   ein neues Opfer   zu   ihrem Medizinmann   geführt haben

(38)

VP

x   V'

$V°_i$

POSSP (BEP)

z_j POSS(BE)'

PP $POSS°_i$ (BE)

y   P'

t_i t_j

sie ihrem Medizinmann ein neues Opfer   zugeführt haben
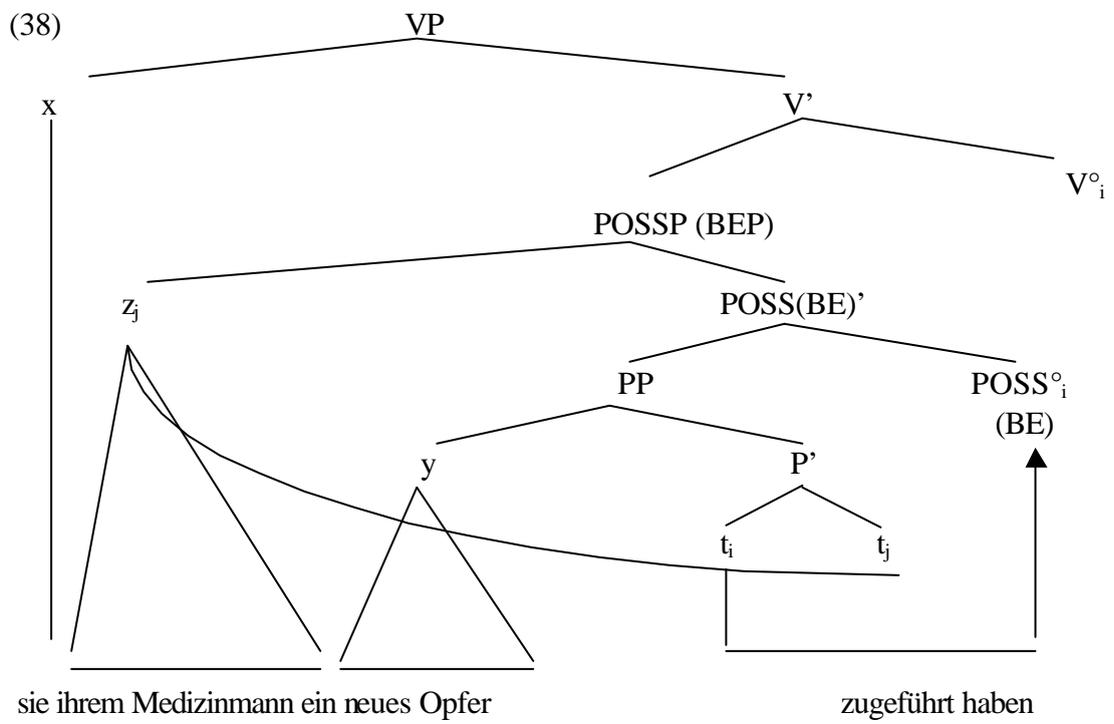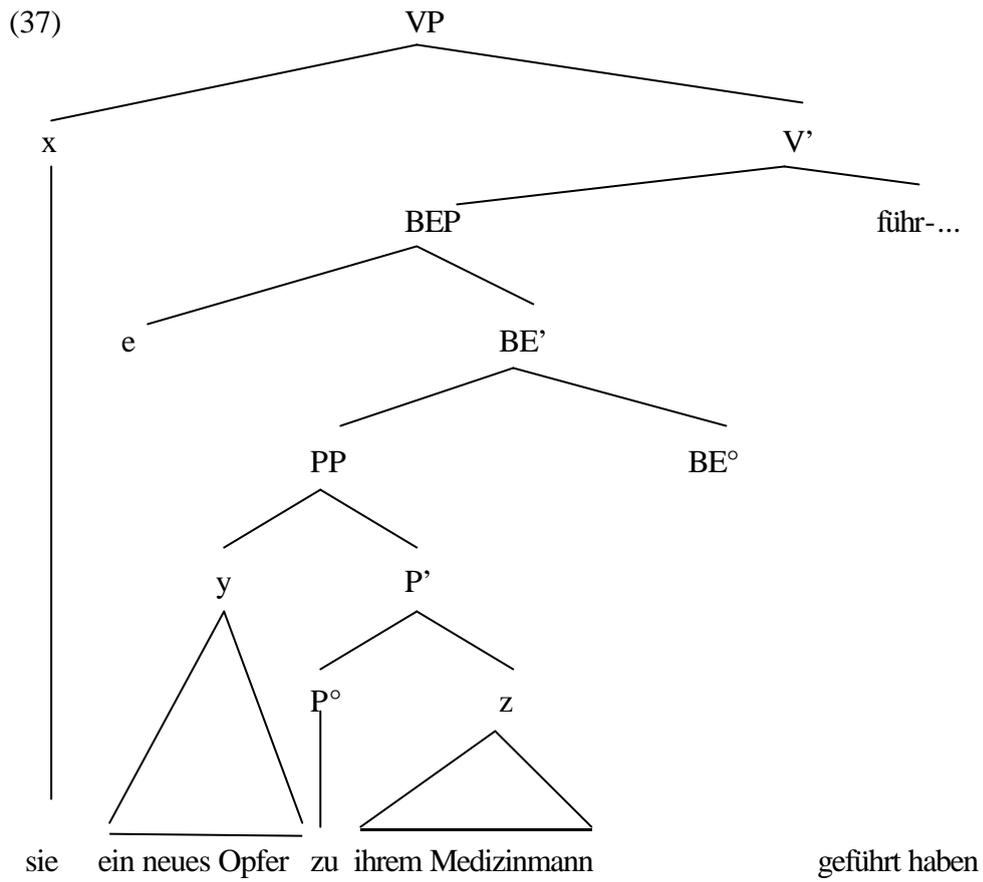
6. SOME PROBLEMS AND SPECULATIONS

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Manfred Bierwisch (p.c.) draws my attention to that fact that a siple minded analysis in terms of movement from the verb adjacent PP position into the specifier of POSS / GOAL is not without problems. The reason for his objection are constructions where both positions are obviously present.

(39)   Ich habe meinem Freund das Buch nach München geschickt.
        I have my friend-dat the book-acc   to   Munich   sent
        'I sent the book to my friend in Munich.'
(40)   Ich habe meiner Tante das Rad in die Garage gebracht.
        I have my aunt-dat the bike-acc in the garage brought.
        'I brought the bike into my ant's garage.'

There is clearly more to be said about the relation between the two relevent positions, i.e. the position of the dative DP and the PP.Be it as it may, the data in (39), (40) points into the direction that there is a referential dependency between the positions. In a construction with a dative DP and a PP, both must not be completely independent. In (40), for example; the garage is understood as the aunt's property. Thus, one has to abandon an analysis which declares goal datives as underlying PPs, yet it must be admitted that there is some referential dependency between both positions, either by movement (chains and indexing as discussed in the preceding sections) or by a relation akin to, but more abstract and loosly than inalienability.

7. SUMMARY

Within the (German) VP, the arguments are projected according to a universal hierarchy of thematic roles and corresponding cases. I have shown that the claim that German displays several base orders (DAT > ACC, ACC > DAT, ACC < / > DAT) cannot be maintained. The conclusion that there are different base-orders is the result of a misunderstanding of focus projection on the on hand, and the overlooking of some semantic facts with the DAT > ACC, ACC > PP alternation on the other. A closer look at the facts reveals that true dative objects generally precede and therefore c-command accusative arguments. There are no verbs which allow for both orders simultaneously. If dative objects appear to be closer to the verb than accusatives, the datives at issue are no true datives, but hidden PPs. The semantic prove comes from a lexical decomposition of the meaning. Higher ranked datives denote goal arguments, deeper ranked ones, which are actually PPs, denote locations or directions. The syntactic evidence comes from the morphological shape of the relevant class of verbs. All verbs that project an ACC > DAT VP, are particle verbs that consist of a verbal root and a prefixed (locational) preposition. I argue that this word-internal structure is the result of the incorporation of the preposition leaving the former prepositional complement surface as a(n apparent) dative argument. The internal structure of verbs projecting a goal argument is the result of an abstract incorporation of a locative/directional preposition into the semantic primitive BE. This process - similar to Kayne's *have-be* alternation (Kayne 1993) - creates a complex part of meaning denoting a possession relation: POSS, which hosts the derived goal argument in its specifier.
The conclusion of all observations is that also the German VP projects according to a familiar hierarchy proposed by many linguists for many languages: [$_{VP}$ SU [IO [DO [PP verb(]v]v]v]).

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