If you *have*, you can *give* [*]
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1.0 Introduction

The basic question that I intend to explore in this paper is simply expressed. There are languages that lack possessive "have"—they do not express possession in the "owner has ownee" sense that English speakers are familiar with. If one decomposed agentive verbs into a CAUSE element plus some other element one might imagine that the 'other element' of a double object verb like "give", as in "Opus gave Ronald-Ann a book" is a semantic element meaning HAVE (suggested in, e.g. Kayne (1984)) This would give a breakdown like "Opus CAUSED Ronald-Ann HAVE a book". If this kind of decomposition turned out to be correct, one could imagine that languages that lack verbal "have" would also lack a double object construction. I hope to demonstrate that this correlation at least has some plausibility on a first examination. You can see this generalization stated in 1, along with the proposed structures.

(1)   *The correlation*:
        Languages which contain a relation HAVE also have a double
            object construction.
        Languages which have no relation HAVE do not have a double
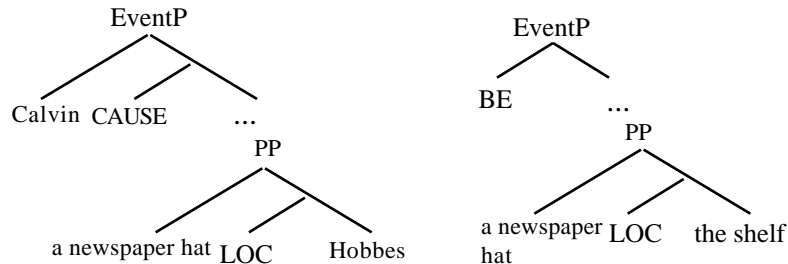   object construction.

a. Calvin gave Hobbes a newspaper hat.   b. Hobbes has a newspaper hat.
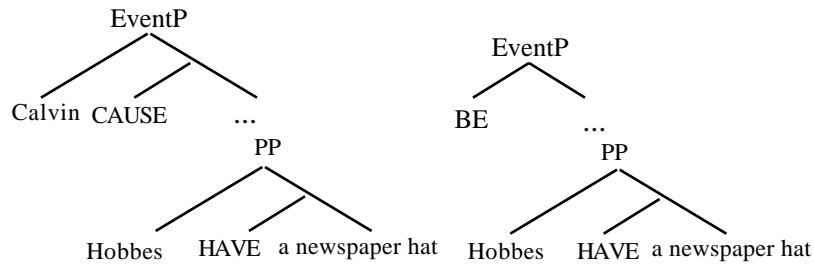
c. Calvin gave a newspaper hat to Hobbes.   d. A newspaper hat is
on the shelf.

There are two aspects to these structures to which I wish particularly to draw your attention. Firstly, the XP-shells posited to account for triadic verbs by Larson (1988) or Pesetsky (1992) are here argued to be headed by semantic primitives à la, e.g., Dowty (1979) or Jackendoff (1990). These primitives hence project in the syntax in much the fashion assumed by much work in the early seventies, e.g. McCawley (1968). Secondly, the eventiveness or stativity of a given predicate is assumed to be determined by the content of the head of top XP shell, which I have hence labeled "EventP". The complements to EventP are pure predication structures, all stative. In the case we are here concerned with, the complement is a PP, whose content is either a relation I refer to as HAVE or a relation I refer to as LOC. Treating HAVE as a prepositional relation, as originally proposed in by Benveniste (1966) has recently stimulated much fruitful research, among others, Gueron (1986, 1993), Freeze (1992), and Kayne (1993) have all exploited this intuition.

1.1   Motivation

Before beginning to justify the generalization, however, I would like to briefly consider the concept of lexical decomposition. The arguments I adduce for this type of decomposition are syntactic, not semantic, and the decomposition itself must thus be syntactic on this analysis, rather than semantic. This obviously requires some comment. Many of the original reasons advanced in the generative semantics literature for analyzing verbs as complex predicates formed in the syntax of verbal "primitives" were in fact purely semantic, and could be (and have been) captured adequately by theorists such as Jackendoff or Dowty who posited such decomposition purely at some level of semantic representation, e.g. in the lexicon.

Syntactically, monomorphemic verbs have been held to project a single verb, with a single associated VP, until quite recently. Recently, of course, proposals for multiple verbal or prepositional projections associated with monomorphemic verbs have been reintroduced in the literature, in e.g. Larson 1988 or Pesetsky 1994, largely to account for the syntactic properties of triadic verbs like *give*, but without (for the most part) any claims about independent semantic content for the heads of the multiple projections posited, and of course, with the difference that no such multiple projections have been posited for verbs in general. Larson, in particular, presented his VP-shell proposal as perfectly semantically vacuous.

On the other hand, approaching the problem from the other direction, Hale and Keyser (1991, 1994) present arguments for the *syntactic* nature of lexical decomposition (especially with respect to verbs derived from nominals like *saddle*), but assume that the syntactic structures they generate are purely internal to the lexicon, and invisible to the phrasal syntax; further, they avoid positing semantic "primitives" as far as possible. They argue that much of the interpretation of their lexical syntactic structures is purely configurational in nature.

The temptation to which I will succumb here, of course, is to a) introduce (some) semantic primitives into Hale and Keyser's lexical syntax (though it is possible to think of some of the primitives I introduce in configurational terms), and b) make an argument for putting it all back into the standard phrasal syntax, analyzing VP-shells as headed by some of the separate semantic primitives posited for the lexicon by Jackendoff and others, a la generative semantics. Hopefully, this is accomplished while still constructing the theory in such a way as to avoid the problems encountered by McCawley and associates in the early 70s. The crucial notion that needs to be captured, as noted by many critics at the time (see, e.g. Fodor (1970), Shibatani (1976)), is that of *eventiveness*: the problem with analyzing "kill" as "cause to die" is that the former denotes a single event while the latter denotes two events.

1.1.1 The CAUSE head and eventiveness

The solution to the eventiveness problem suggested itself to me during a consideration of Japanese lexical causatives. These causatives, although incorporating a separate morphological causative morpheme, have been convincingly argued to be lexically formed, though they can in some cases be homophonous with *syntactic* causatives, which behave differently according to a number of tests for, e.g., syntactic complementation.

The common denominator to all causatives, as pointed out for Japanese by Miyagawa in extensive work, is that they operate on a verbal form to add an argument, no matter whether they are syntactic or lexical. He proposed an analysis of the Japanese causative morpheme as essentially a transitivizing affix (we won't go into the details of his proposals here). A consideration of the thousands of lexical causatives listed in Jacobsen (1992), however, suggests that the process of formation of a lexical causative is more restricted than treating it as a transitivizing process suggests. All the verbal roots upon which lexical causatives are formed are *unaccusative*. (a representative sample of the various morphological classes of lexical causatives in Japanese is seen in 2, taken from Miyagawa

(1995)). That is, any verb that already has an external, *agent* argument,
cannot have a lexical causative formed on it, no matter what its valency.

2.   CAUSE morphemes in the syntax: Japanese lexical causatives
        Lexical Causatives (Jacobsen (1992))

	Intransitive		Transitive	
a)	-ar-	(ag-ar-u *rise*)	-e-	(ag-e-ru *raise*)
b)	-re-	(hazu-re-ru *come off*)	-s-	(hasu-s-u *take off*)
c)	-ri-	(ta-ri-ru *suffice*)	-s-	(ta-s-u *supplement*)
d).	-e-	(kog-e-ru *become scorched*)	-as-	(kog-as-u *scorch*)
e)	-i-	(ok-i-ru *get up* (intr))	-os-	(ok-os-u *get up* (tr))
f)	-Ø-	(nar-Ø-u *ring* (intr))	-as-	(nar-as-u *ring*(tr))
g)	-Ø-	(ak-Ø-u *open* (intr))	-e-	(ak-e-ru *open* (tr))
h)	-e-	(kir-e-ru *be cut*)	-Ø-	(kir-Ø-u *cut*)
i)	-ar-	(matag-ar-u *sit astride*)	-Ø-	(matag-Ø-u *straddle*)
j)	-Ø-	(niow *smell*)	-(s)ase-	(niow-ase *hint*)

        An external agent argument, of course, implies that the verb
already *has* some CAUSE morpheme in its makeup. The idea, then, is that
the CAUSE morpheme projects a boundary for eventiveness; one CAUSE
morpheme, one event - if you try to add another CAUSE morpheme, you
have two events. When you have two events, you necessarily have two
verbs, and hence only *syntactic* causatives can be formed on verbs that
already contain an agent argument. It is the notion of *eventiveness* that
defines the distinction between the l-syntax and the phrasal syntax.
        So, to encode this delimiting line, I posit a node, EventP (similar
to an EventP posited independently by Travis 1994 for Indonesian reasons,
or Kratzer's 1994 VoiceP). This EventP can be headed by CAUSE (with an
external agent argument in its specifier, *John broke the ice*) or HAPPEN
(without an external argument in its specifier, giving eventive unaccusatives
like *the ice melted*). For stative predicates it is headed by BE here.[1] As noted
above, the complement XP is purely a stative predicative structure, with no
inherent eventiveness of its own, though perhaps aspectual information
needs to be represented inside it. The structures I propose for the analysis of
niow-ase, lit "make smell", in its lexical causative and syntactic causative
interpretations, can be seen in 3 (note these structures are right-headed).

(3)   a.   [EventP [VP niow] -ase   ]
                        smell   -cause
                        hint

        b.   [EventP [EventP [VP niow] - Ø] -ase]
                                smell -happen -cause
                                make smell

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[1](It is arguable that in fact in the stative case there is no EventP projected at all,
and that "be" is purely a realization of the Tense nodes, but given the apparently
verbal nature of "be" in English, for the moment I leave it under EventP.) To
adopt a purely configurational account of EventPs semantic content (with or
without specifier), à la Hale and Keyser, EventP would *have* to be absent or of a
different category for stative predicates.

So, let's just briefly consider how this resolves the two-event problem outlined by Fodor. In *John opened the door*, there is no embedded event of the door becoming open, on our story; there is a single event, that of John's causing the state, *door open*. The door does of course become open during the event in question, but that is semantically parasitic on the representation I offer, and no embedded BECOME or HAPPEN predicate is necessary. None of the scopal arguments offered in favor of lexical decomposition by the generative semanticists and others suggest anything but two possible scopes for e.g. adverbials, and the proliferation of CAUSE, BECOME, NEG, etc. heads in the generative semantics proposals, in the absence of alternative scopal interpretations for each, was justifiably regarded as a grave weakness of the analysis. Some examples of the type of scopal ambiguity I'm referring to can be seen in 4 on the handout, taken from a significant recent paper by von Stechow (1994), who presents convincing evidence that the semantic representation of the interpretation of these adverbials, without recourse to separate syntactic projections to adjoin them to, is fraught with difficulty, hence supporting the idea of multiple syntactic projections in the representations of these monomorphemic verbs.

(3)   a.   Calvin opened the door again.
               Calvin opened the door, which he had done in the past.
               Calvin opened the door, which had been open before.
        b)   The door opened again.
               The door opened, which it had done in the past.
               The door became open, which had been open before.

Other generative semantics arguments can equally be appealed to; a useful summary appears in Shibatani (1976).

1.1.2   The decomposition of *have*, *give*, and the prepositions HAVE and LOC

On the analysis presented here, then, agentive verbs contain a CAUSE head. What, then, is the remaining essential semantic primitive in agentive double object verbs like *give*? On the double object use, as seen above, I suggest that it must be HAVE. On what I will call the "double complement" use, where the Goal argument appears in a prepositional phrase, it must be something corresponding to a Locative element, like the preposition "at". The projection headed by HAVE or LOC, relating as it does an element in its specifier with an element in its complement, can be thought of as PP, a preposition being the quintessentially relational element[2].

Now, of course, there is nothing new about thinking about the element HAVE as a preposition, rather than a verb. As first noticed by Benveniste 1966, many languages represent the possessive as BE (the quintessentially stative verb) plus some spatial or locative preposition. Among others, Guéron 1986, 1995, Freeze 1992 and Kayne 1993 have proposed to encode this decomposition as part of UG; that all languages represent *have* as underlyingly BE+Prep, and that languages with verbal *have* simply combine them and come up with a single verbal form.

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[2]See Hale 1995 for a discussion of the configurational definition of syntactic categories.

Benveniste and later work divide all languages into two types, those that express possession with verbal *have,* combining the preposition with the copula, and those that express possession without such combination, realizing the preposition and a copula separately. I propose to argue here that there is a third type of language, which do not possess the preposition necessary to express the HAVE relation. These languages represent possession with what is essentially a locative structure, of the type in 1d. above - that is, they do not express possession at all. This possibility is introduced by the adoption of two separate prepositions, HAVE and LOC above, forcing the position that the expression of possession is separate from the expression of location.

The essential quality I will claim to define possession, and define the relation represented by the preposition HAVE, is that the possessor c-commands the possessee - that is, the tail of any chain involving the possessor will c-command the tail of any chain involving the possessee. If we think of the possessor as a location, the preposition HAVE entails that the location c-commands the thing located, while the preposition LOC, used in locative expressions, entails that the thing located c-commands its location. If the HAVE preposition is not present in a language, locatees will always c-command locations, including in expressions of possession. Irish and Diné (Navajo) are languages of this type, lacking HAVE, while Japanese, Martuthinira, Hindi, Hebrew, and others in fact contain the preposition HAVE, as of course do languages with verbal *have.*

1.1.3   The decomposition of verbal *have*

Let us first consider one of the two-way split proposals, according to which there is only one type of preposition, as proposed by Freeze 1992. For an example language, take Hindi, which you can see in 5. Freeze wants to unite locatives, existentials and possessives in a single paradigm. He notes that for Hindi, and for many languages that express possession using a copula with a prepositional element, the expression of locatives (5a) is startlingly similar to the expression of existentials (5b), with the difference that the location and locatee arguments are reversed. Possessives (5c) in these languages look like existentials, with the location/possessor c-commanding the locatee — essentially, he views possessives as being existentials with a human location.

5.   HAVE as a preposition: Freeze (1992)
    a.   Locative maNiN   hindustaan-meNeN   thaa
             I   *India-in*   *BE.sg.msc.pst*
             "I was in India"
             Theme   **Location**   **V**

    b.   Existential   kamree-meNeN   aadmii   hai
                room-in   *man*   *BE.3sg.msc.pres*
                "In the room is a man"/"There is a man in the room")
                Location   **Theme V**

    c.   Possessive   larkee-kee   paas   kattaa hai
                Boy-Obl-G   *near*   *dog BE.3sg.msc.pres*
                "The boy has a dog. (Lit, "Near the boy is a dog").
                Location(Possessor)   **Theme V**

Freeze proposes that the preposition in all three cases is the same, as is the underlying structure, with the theme locatee c-commanding the location/possessor. The difference between the location and existential/possession interpretations, on his analysis, results from differences in the derivation to SPELL-OUT: in locatives, the highest, theme argument will raise to subject position, while in existentials or possessives, the lower location/possessor element will raise to subject position. This is illustrated in 6.

(6)
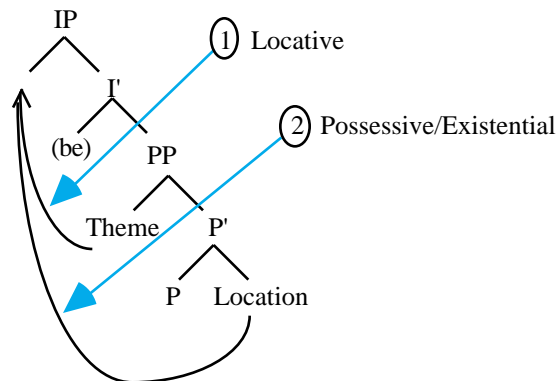
He suggests that the choice between the two derivations could be motivated by the well-known Definiteness Effect, as it is manifested in existentials: the thing asserted to be existing, cross-linguistically, must be indefinite. Indefinites must remain within the scope of the existential operator, and hence within in the VP, according to a treatment like that of Diesing, and Freeze hence argues that the only argument that can raise out of the PP in existentials is the location argument.

There are a couple of problems with this account of the difference between the two argument orderings and two interpretations. Firstly, it raises questions about Freeze's uniting the existential and possessives, as it is trivially obvious in many languages of this type that in possessives there is no definiteness restrictions on the Theme argument[3]. This can be seen for Japanese and Hindi in 7.

(7) a. Hindi:
    us-laRkee-kee   paas   mera kutta   hai
    That-boy-G   near   my   dog   is
    That boy has my dog.
    b. Japanese
    John-ga/ni   zibun-no uti-ga   aru
    John-N/D   self-gen house-N exist
    "John has his house"

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[3]At the same time, there are some languages of this type where definiteness does seem to play a role in argument order in possessives, in for example Tagalog (see Harley 1995), or Hungarian (see Szabolci 1995). I will refrain from treating these languages here, although it seems likely to me that restrictions on possible Topics in these languages are perhaps responsible.

The second problem arises in languages which show *no* variation in argument order between locatives, existentials, and possessives, such as Scots Gaelic (from Freeze) or Irish (which we will consider in detail below). It looks as if the derivation for these is always the same, with the Theme raising no matter whether the meaning is locative, possessive or existential. Freeze proposes that these languages simply do not exhibit the restriction imposed by the definiteness effect. The data from Scots Gaelic is in 8. below.

8. a. LocativeTha   a' mhin anns   a' phoit.
             BE   *the oatmeal*   *in*   *the pot*
             "The oatmeal is in the pot."
             V   **Theme Location**

   b. Existential   Tha   min   anns   a'phoit
                    BE   *oatmeal in*   *the pot*
                    "There is oatmeal in the pot"
                    V   **Theme**   **Location**

   c. Possessive   Tha   an peann aig   Màiri
                    BE   the pen at   Mary
                    "Mary has the pen"
                    V   **Theme**   **Location/Possessor**

While recognizing the fruitfulness of the decomposition approach, I would like to pursue an alternative version that allows a non-stipulative approach to the lack of variation in word order in languages like Irish.

The alternative presented here, of course, is that locative and possessive constructions in languages like Hindi are derived from different underlying structures, with different prepositions, where the highest argument becomes the subject exactly as can be seen in the locative and possessive structures proposed for English in (1b) and (1d) above. The difference between Hindi and English type languages on the one hand, where the possessor/location becomes the subject, and languages like Scots Gaelic on the other hand, where the possessee becomes the subject, is that the latter *lack* one of these structures, that is, lack the HAVE preposition. It is worth noting that separate arguments from psych predicates for Irish as a HAVEless language have been presented by Noonan 1993.

2   HAVE-not languages

So, let's go on to some HAVE-not languages. Let's first consider Irish, which behaves for the purposes of Freeze's distinctions like Scots Gaelic, as you can see in 8 below; the locative, existential and possessive all involve the same ordering of theme and location arguments. In my terms, Irish does not have the preposition HAVE, which permits the location to c-command the theme in possession structures. Note that the c-command relations are confirmed by binding phenomena; quantified possessors cannot bind pronouns in their possessees (8d).

(8) a. LocativeTá   an mhin   sa phota.
                BE   *the (oat)meal*   *in.the pot*
                "The oatmeal is in the pot."
                V   **Theme Location**

b.   Existential   Tá   min   sa phota
BE   oatmeal in.the   pot
"There is oatmeal in the pot"
V   Theme Location

c.   Possessive   Tá   an peann ag Máire
BE   the pen   at Mary
"Mary has the pen"
V   Theme Location

d.   Possessor cannot c-command possessee:
         *Tá a_i pheann-fhéin   ag chuile$_i$ bhuachaill
         Is   his pen-self   at every boy
        "Every boy has his pen"

Now, if Irish doesn't have the preposition HAVE, then its triadic verbs should always express the "Goal" arguments as objects of prepositions, never allowing them to function as some kind of direct object, as in English double object constructions. This you can see in 9c. Further, and more germanely for my point, the Goal argument should never be in a position to c-command the theme in Irish, which you can see is the case for binding phenomena in 9d.

9.   *Double object constructions:
    a.   Thug   Míleó   caisearbhán   do Bhinclí
         Gave   Milo   dandelion   to Binkley
         "Milo gave a dandelion to Binkley"

    b.   *Thug Míleó do Bhinclí   caisearbhán
         Gave   Milo   to Binkely   a dandelion
         "Milo gave to Binkley a dandelion"

    c.   *Thug Míleó caisearbhán Bhinclí
         Gave Milo dandelion Binkley
         *Thúg Míleó Bhinclí caisearbhán
         Gave Milo Binkley dandelion
         "Milo gave Binkley a dandelion"

    d.   Goal cannot c-command Theme.
         *Thug Míleó a_i pheann-fhéin do   chuile$_i$ bhuachaill
         Gave Milo his pen-self   to   every boy
         Milo gave every boy his pen.

To summarize the Irish case: there is no HAVE preposition, only a LOC preposition. As a result, possession is expressed as a locative. Further, since the agentive verb give decomposes into a CAUSE morpheme plus a LOC morpheme, there is nothing resembling a double object construction in Irish, where the Goal argument c-commands the Theme argument.

      Another language where the possessor c-commanding the possessee seems to correlate with the lack of double object construction is Diné (Navajo). The data are somewhat less clear, as binding evidence wasn't available, but the status of objective arguments is clearly morphologically marked, and as far as can be seen, it obeys the correlation.

      An instance of a typical possession sentence is seen in 10. below:

(10)   Diné possessive:
    a.   Diné   ¬í v í v' **b-ee**   **hóló**v
        manhorse   he-with exists
        "The man has a horse" (Lit. "The man, a horse is with him").

        In Diné, ordering is SOV, which might seem to suggest that the possessor is the subject of (10). There is a wrinkle in the possessive construction in (10), however. The realization of the pronoun "he" in the oblique PP as *b-* indicates that *inversion* has taken place - that is, that the possessor-possessee ordering is derived, by movement of the possessor over the possessee, rather than base-generated.. Inversion in this construction is usual, forced by the animacy hierarchy of Diné: when an object outranks a subject on the hierarchy, (which it usually will, as possessors tend to outrank possessees) it must be fronted to sentence-initial position (Hale (1973):302). This is why the *man* NP precedes the *horse* NP. Crucially, the non-inverted marker *y-* can never appear in the possessive construction, no matter what the order of the arguments (11):

(11)   *diné   ¬í v í v' **y-ee**   **hóló**v
        manhorse   he-with exists
        "The man has a horse."

If 11 were grammatical, it would indicate that possessor-possessee was a base-generated order, and that the possessor c-commanded the possessee. The *b-ee* construction indicates that the possessor object has moved over the possessee subject, that is, that inversion has taken place. Hence, the base configuration of possession structures in Diné is the same as that in Irish.
        Now, let's consider a construction with a triadic verb. The goal object, as you can see in 12a., appears in a prepositional phrase headed by a preposition meaning "to", as in the English double complement construction. Notice that the PP in which the Goal appears must always be linearly ordered after the theme. (Inversion is optional here, as both the subject and the Goal are animate - you can see the inverted order in 12b., with the marker *bi-* on the PP. The theme direct object is marked on the verb with the yi- affix.

(12)   a. Shizhé'é **sitsilí**   t¬÷óó¬ yi-ch÷iv÷ hada-y-**íí**-¬-**déél**
     My father my little brother rope him-to down-it-prf-tr-handle([4])
     My father tossed the rope to my little brother

     b. **Sitsilí** shizhé'ét¬÷óó¬ bi-ch÷iv÷ hada-y-**íí**-¬-**déél**
     My little brother my father rope him-to down-it-perf-tr-handle
         My father tossed the rope to my little brother

Any construction in which the Goal attempts to behave as a direct object, being marked on the verb with another yi- affix as in 13, rather than in a PP, is completely uninterpretable.

(13)   *Shizhé'é   **sitsilí** t¬÷óó¬ hada-**yi**-y-**íí**-¬-**déél**
     My fathermy little brother rope down-him-it-perf-tr-handle
     My father tossed my little brother the rope.
So Diné behaves according to the prediction.

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[4]Long Flexible Object class.

3   HAVE languages

So, now let's move on to the more familiar HAVE languages.
There are two aspects of HAVE languages that are particularly interesting.
One is demonstrating that languages that apparently have no verbal HAVE
form do in fact contain the preposition HAVE, in our terms. This entails
showing that the (often quirky-case-marked or PP) possessor c-commands
the possessee in such languages. The other is demonstrating the presence of
a double-object like construction in languages where the case-marking or
word order don't seem to suggest a double-object-like construction. As
should be clear by now, the presence of a double object construction in a
language for the purposes of this correlation can be considered to be shown
by demonstrating that the Goal can c-command the Theme, or, with caution,
by demonstrating direct object-like morphosyntactic properties. Case-
marking, here, can be a supporting argument, but is not conclusive; it is c-
command that truly matters.

English is of course our paradigm case, where the assumption that
an alternation in word order represents a different syntactic configuration is
borne out by changes in case-marking and binding possibilities between the
Goal and the Theme object, as well as the fact that either object can become
the subject of a passive. I won't repeat that well-known data here.

Let us now consider a slightly more difficult case, that of Japanese,
which is a language without verbal *have*, but which can be shown to have
both a (null) preposition HAVE and a double object construction.

In 14a., you see a typical possession construction in Japanese,
where the possessor can be marked nominative or dative and is followed by
the theme, and the whole is completed with the existential verb *aru*. The
theme, interestingly, takes the nominative case-marker *ga.*. It might thus
appear as if the Japanese case patterned with the HAVEless languages above,
in that the Location argument appears to be prepostionally case-marked (at
least when dative case appears), while the Locatee is nominative. It could be
imagined   that   the   word   order   resulted   from   scrambling   the
Location/Possessor to the front of the sentence, like in Diné. This analysis
is not tenable for Japanese, however. Crucially, the dative-marked possessor
in these instances is clearly a subject, rather than an object (argued
extensively by Takezawa (1987)); it can trigger subject-honorification (14b)
and antecede a reflexive in the possessee, and it cannot contain a reflexive
bound by the Theme (14c). Ignoring case-marking for the moment, then, we
can see that the possessor c-commands the possessee. The HAVE structure
can be seen in 14d. The subject's case is properly analyzed as quirky.

(14)   a.   John-ga/ni   zibun-no uti-ga   aru
             John-N/D   self-gen house-N exist
             "John has his house"
             Location/Possessor   Theme V

        b.   Subject Honorification
             Tanaka-sensei-ga/ni$_i$ musume-san-ga$_j$ o-ari-ni$_{i/*j}$ naru
             T-Prof-N/D   daughter-N   exist-honorific
             Professor Tanaka has his daughter"

        c.   Binding

*Zibun¡-no musume-ni   Tanaka¡-sensei-ga aru
self-gen   daughter   Tanaka-Prof   exist
"His daughter has Professor Tanaka"

d.

EventP

aru   ...

PP

John-ni   HAVE   zibun-no uti-ga

quirky dative
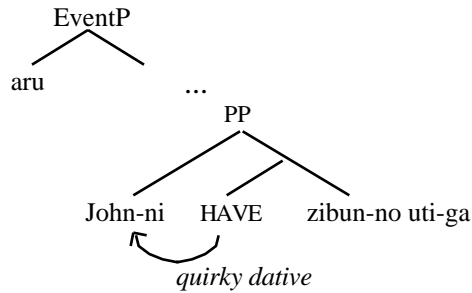
Now, consider a clause whose verb is the typical double-object verb *give*. Trickily, no matter what order the two internal arguments appear in, the Goal/Location object is marked with the dative *ni*-marker. Japanese is well-known as a scrambling language, and the two orders indicated in 15a. and 15b. below could conceivably be derived via scrambling of one argument across the other. We can show that the two orders are not equivalent, however. The *ni*-marker (labeled DAT in the examples) is ambiguous between a preposition and a case-marker (argued extensively in Sadakane and Koizumi (1994)). If it can be shown that in one order, the *ni*-marker is a case-marker and in the other order it is a preposition, we have evidence that there is a dative-shift alternation in Japanese.

Miyagawa (to appear) convincingly shows that this is indeed the case. For space reasons, I will just present the one case-marking argument.

As noted above, the *ni-* marker on NPs has two variants, one that appears more case-like, and one that appears more prepositional. Numeral quantifiers associated with a *ni*-marked argument can appear "floated" to the right of their argument only when the *ni*-marker is a case-marker. A numeral quantifier to the right of a prepositional *ni,* on the other hand, downgrades the grammaticality of a sentence significantly. In the 15c. case, where the dative argument precedes the accusative argument, floating of the quantifier is legitimate, suggesting that the *ni* in this case is a case-marker. In 15d, on the other hand, where the accusative argument precedes the dative argument, floating of the quantifier produces a marginal sentence, indicating that the *ni* is a preposition.

(15)   a.   Bugs-ga Daffy-ni piza-o   ageta
                  Bugs-N Daffy-D pizza-A give-Pst
                  "Bugs gave a pizza to Daffy"

        b.   Bugs-ga piza-o   Daffy-ni ageta
                  Bugs-N pizza-A Daffy-D give-Pst
                  "Bugs gave Daffy a pizza"

        c.   Bugs-ga tomodati-ni   2-ri   piza-o   ageta
                  Bugs-N friends-D   2-CL   pizza-A give-Pst
                  "Bugs gave two friends pizza."

        d.   ???Bugs-ga piza-o tomodati-ni   2-ri   ageta

> *Bugs-N pizza-A friends-Prep   2-CL   give-Pst*
> "Bugs gave pizza to two friends"

Now, this works in accordance with our prediction. Note that the word-order facts correlate with the English double-object construction word-order facts: when the Goal argument is introduced by a preposition, the Theme precedes the Goal, as in the English double complement construction. When the Goal argument is introduced by a case-marker, the Goal precedes the Theme, as in the double object construction. Any analysis proposing to derive the above ordering alternations using optional scramblingcannot account for the difference in the status of *ni* between the two. Thus, we can conclude that Japanese is a language with prepositional HAVE, and also has a double object construction, supporting our correlation.

For the sake of showing that even a language without any overt copula at all works in exactly the same way, because HAVE is a prepositional relation, I present in 16 (some) data from Martuthunira, an Australian aboriginal language (data from R. Pensalfini, p.c.). Martuthunira is a strictly SVO language. Plain predicative sentences like "John is a doctor" are represented as "john doctor". Possessive sentences look like predications, where the theme appears marked with a comitative affix meaning roughly "with" (the HAVE preposition), and follows the possessor subject. Although the "be" head is not overtly realized, it should be clear that Martuthunira has the structure presented for Japanese above, modulo the null copula. The possessive can be seen in 16a.

Conveniently, it is clear that Martuthunira has a double object relation, as the examples in 16b. and 16c. should show clearly; either word order is acceptable, both are marked with accusative case, and either can be the subject of a passive construction. What is less clear is that the theme-goal word order represents a double complement construction, but unfortunately data is not available that would let us decide the question for the language, as its last speaker recently died. If linear order represents c-command in this language, as seems likely given that it's not a scrambling language, the variation in argument order should represent the different structures we want here.

(16)   a.   Mary pen-COMIT
                  Mary has a pen

          b.   ngayu thathu-lalha ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u pawulu-u
                  1sg-N send-PAST that-A dog-A   2sgGEN-A child-A
                  I sent that dog to your child

          c.   ngayu thathu-lalha kartungu-u pawulu-u ngurnu muyi-i
                  1sgN send-PAST 2sgGEN-A child-A   thatA dog-A
                  I sent your child that dog.

So Martuthunira appears to be a well-behaved HAVE language.

Now, we have seen that morphological indicators are not necessarily the best clues available about the locus of base-generation of Goal and Theme arguments, as the Japanese evidence shows. It is worth considering, however, data from languages that trivially have HAVE, as they have a verbal "have" form, but do not obviously have a double-object construction. Many Romance languages are of this type.

Consider first the case of Italian. The Goal object in Italian must always be marked with the prepositional marker *a.*, suggesting perhaps that there is no double object construction in Italian. This is confirmed by the necessary word order of Theme followed by Goal. However, despite this apparent uniformity of status of the Goal argument, binding is possible in either direction. This is seen in 17a and b[5]. In a., the Theme can bind into the Goal, and in b. the Goal can bind into the Theme. Let me emphasize here the contrast that this presents with the Irish data, where the word order and case-marking facts are the same, but the binding facts are different.

(17)   a. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito Maria$_i$ a se stessa$_i$
        'A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria to herself'

        b. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito se stessa$_i$ a Maria$_i$
        'A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria herself'.

Similar data can be seen for French in 18. below.

(18)   a. Marie a donné son$_i$ crayon à chaque$_i$ garçon.
        'Mary gave every boy his pencil.'

        b. Jean a introduit chaque$_i$ institutrice à ses$_i$ élèves.
        'Jean introduced every teacher to her students.

It's worth noting that it has been argued that the French *à* is in fact a case-marking element rather than a true preposition, by Miller (1992), using evidence from conjunction, etc. In any case, the binding evidence leads us to conclude that at some level of representation, it is possible for the Goal argument to c-command the Theme argument in these languages, hence permitting the hypothesis that the presence of HAVE in these languages signals the presence of a double-object-type construction to be maintained.

4   Conclusions

This paper has two main points. Firstly, I argue that the "External" subjects of agentive verbs are analyzed as heading a projection I have called EventP, delimiting the event denoted by the verb, and also coinciding with the domain of what Hale and Keyser (1991) have termed l-syntax.

The second is the presentation and support of a cross linguistic generalization, taken as evidence for the decomposition alluded to above, which is there is a correlation between the presence of the prepositional element HAVE in a given language and the appearance of a double object construction in that language.

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[5]Data from Giorgi and Longibardi (1991).

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