Inversion as Rightward-Dative Shift in Icelandic Ditransitives

Cherlon Ussery
Carleton College ~ Minnesota, USA
cussery@carleton.edu

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b.'Lögreglan sviptir marga ökuskírteininu.
the police deprive many.Acc the driver's license.Dat
'The police take the driver's license away from many people.'

c. Ólafur lofaði Maríu þessum hring. Dat-Dat
Olaf promised Mary.Dat this ring.Dat
'Olaf promised Mary this ring.
c.' Jón skilaði henni vasanum.
John returned her.Dat the vase.Dat
'John returned the vase to her.'

d. María óskaði Ólafi alls góðs. Dat-Gen
Maria wished Olaf.Dat everything good.Gen
'Mary wished Olaf everything good.'
d.' Ég synjaði þeim leyfis.
I denied them.Dat permission.Gen
'I refused to grant them permission.'

e. Jón bað mig bónar. Acc-Gen
Jon asked me.Acc a favor.Gen
'Jon asked me a favor.'
e.' Þeir spurðu manninn tveggja spurninga.
they asked the man.Acc two questions.Gen
'They asked the man two questions.'

(1st example in each pair from Zaenen, Maling, Thráinsson 1985, ex 37; 2nd example from Jónsson 2000, ex1&26b)

- Two interesting things: (1) only some case frames allow object inversion and inversion is freely available within those frames; (2) the same case frames that allow inversion also allow a PP variant, but the availability of the PP is restricted by the semantics of individual verbs.

2.2 The DP-PP Variant

- Semantically restricted: Within the Dat-Acc case frame, DP-PP is only allowed with verbs that express physical movement of the direct object (Thráinsson 2007:174).
- E.g - *gefa* 'give,' *sýna* 'show,' *senda* 'send', and *fax* 'fax' all have the Dat-Acc frame, but only 'send' and 'fax' allow for the DP-PP variant.

(2) a. Haraldur sendi mér ost. DP-DP
Harold sent me.Dat cheese.Acc
'Harold sent me (some) cheese.'
b. Haraldur sendi ost til mín. DP-PP
Harold sent cheese.Acc to me.Gen
'Harold sent (some) cheese to me.'

(3) a. Þeir föxuðu mér samninginn. DP-DP
they faxed me.Dat the contract.Acc
'They faxed me the contract.'
b. Þeir föxuðu samninginn til mín. DP-PP
they faxed the contract.Acc to me.Gen
'They faxed the contract to me.'

(4) a. María gaf Haraldi bókina. DP-DP
Mary gave Harold.Dat the book.Acc
'Mary gave Harold the book.'
b. *María gaf bókina til Haraldar. *DP-PP
Mary gave the book.Acc to Harold.Gen

(5) a. Hann sýndi strákunum bátinn. DP-DP
he showed the boys.Dat the boat.Acc
'He showed the boys the boat.'
b. *Hann sýndi bátinn til strákanna. *DP-PP
he showed the boat.Acc to the boys.Gen (Thráinsson 2007:173-174)

- Dat-Dat verbs also allow the DP-PP variant when there is motion.

(6) a. Hún skilaði mér bókinni. b. Hún skilaði bókinni til mín.
she returned me.Dat the book.Dat she returned the book.Dat to me.Gen
'She returned the book to me.' 'She returned the book to me.'
(Thráinsson 2007: 177-178)

(7) a. Ég lofaði henni því. b. *Ég lofaði því til hennar.
I promised her.Dat it.Dat I promised it.Dat to her.Gen
'I promised her it.' 'I promised it to her.' (Thráinsson 2007: 177-178)

- Some Acc-Dat verbs allow DP-PP without a locative interpretation, but the preposition is different.

(8) a. Þeir leyndu hana sannleikanum.
they concealed her.Acc the truth.Dat
b. Þeir leyndu sannleikanum fyrir henni.
they concealed the truth.Dat from/for her.Dat
'They concealed the truth from her.' (Thráinsson 2007: 175)

- Thráinsson (2007) reports that some verbs that have the Acc-Gen pattern allow the DP-PP variant, but this sometimes changes the meaning. The Dat-Gen pattern is very restricted and sometimes only used with fixed expressions (p. 176-178).[2]

[2] Also see Maling 2002 for a detailed discussion of verbs with dative objects.

2.3 Object Inversion

- Inversion is restricted according to case frame, but is not sensitive to the semantics of individual verbs within a case frame.
- Some verbs that do not allow the DP-PP variant [=(4)/(5)b] do allow object inversion [=(9)/(10)b]

(9) a. Hann gaf konunginum ambáttina.
he gave the king.Dat the maidservant.Acc
'He gave the king the maidservant.'
b. Hann gaf ambáttina konunginum.
he gave the maidservant.Acc the king.Dat
'He gave the maidservant to the king.' (Collins and Thráinsson 1996, ex 43)

(10) a. Þau sýndu foreldrunum krakkana.
they showed the parents.Dat the kids.Acc
'They showed the parents the kids.'
b. Þau sýndu krakkana foreldrunum.
they showed the kids.Acc the parents.Dat
'They showed the kids to the parents.' (Collins and Thráinsson 1996, ex 44)

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(13) a. Ég synjaði þeim leyfis. Dat-Gen
I denied them.Dat permission.Gen
'I refused to grant them permission.'
b. *Ég synjaði leyfis þeim. Dat-Gen = *Gen-Dat
I denied permission.Gen them.Dat

(14) a. Þeir spurðu manninn tveggja spurninga. Acc-Gen
they asked the man.Acc two questions.Gen
'They asked the man two questions.'
b. *Þeir spurðu tveggja spurninga manninn. Acc-Gen = *Gen-Acc
they asked two questions.Gen the man.Acc

2.4 Summary

- Dat-Acc, Dat-Dat, and Acc-Dat case frames allow both PP and inversion. Inversion is most freely available with Dat-Acc.
- The PP variant is semantically restricted, but inversion is not. [I will argue that these two constructions have different structures, contra Collins and Thráinsson 1996.]
- Genitives are highly restricted. They don't allow the PP variant (generally) or inversion.

3 Inversion is Base-Generated: Overview of Collins and Thráinsson 1996

3.1 Object Inversion is Not Object Shift[4]

Object Shift Obeys Holmberg's Generalization

- (15)a: Both the verb and the object shift over negation. (15)b: Only the verb moves. (no object shift)

(15) a. Jón las bækurnar ekki.
John.Nom read the books.Acc not
'John did not read the books.'
b. Jón las ekki bækurnar.
John.Nom read not the books.Acc
'John did not read the books.' (C&T 1996, ex 2)

- Auxiliary occupies T, preventing verb movement. No object shift in transitive in (16)a or ditransitive in (17)b/c.

(16) a. *Jón hefur lesið bækurnar ekki.
John.Nom has read the books.Acc not
b. Jón hefur ekki lesið bækurnar.
John.Nom has not read the books.Acc (C&T 1996, ex 5d/e)

(17) a. Ég hef ekki lánað Maríu bækurnar.
I.Nom have not lent Maria.Dat the books.Acc
b. *Ég hef Maríu ekki lánað bækurnar.
I.Nom have Maria.Dat not lent the books.Acc
c. *Ég hef Maríu bækurnar ekki lánað.
I.Nom have Maria.Dat the books.Acc not lent (C&T 1996, ex 20 & 22)

[4] Collins and Thráinsson's (1996) overall goal is to provide an account of object shift in Icelandic, not an explicit account of inversion.

- If the main verb moves to T in a ditransitive, then the indirect object can shift alone =(18)a or the indirect object can shift with the direct object =(18)b. [5]

(18) a. Ég lána Maríu ekki bækurnar/bækur.
I lend Maria.Dat not the books/books.Acc
'I do not lend Maria the books/books.'

b. ? Ég lána Maríu bækurnar ekki.
I lend Maria.Dat the books.Acc not
'I do not lend Maria the books.'
(C&T 1996, ex 19a & 23)

- Crucially, the indirect object precedes the direct object in (18).

Inversion does not obey Holmberg's Generalization

- The auxiliary prevents verb movement in (19), but both orders are allowed.

(19) a. Ég hafði gefið konunginum$_i$ ambáttina sína$_i$.
I had given the king.Dat the maidservant.Acc his(refl)
'I had given the king his maidservant.'

b. Ég hafði gefið ambáttina$_i$ konungi sínum$_i$.
I had given the maidservant.Acc king.Dat her(refl)
'I had given the maidservant to her king.' (C&T 1996, ex 50)

3.2 Object Inversion is Not Rightward Extraposition of the Indirect Object

Rightward extraposition does not change binding[6]

(20) a. Við sýndum foreldrunum$_i$ krakkana sína$_i$.
we showed the parents.Dat the kids.Acc their(refl)
'We showed the parents their kids.'

b. Við sýndum krakkana$_i$ foreldrunum sínum$_i$. *Inversion*
we showed the kids.Acc the parents.Dat their(refl)
'We showed the kids to their parents.'

c. *Við sýndum krakkana sína$_i$ foreldrunum$_i$. *Rightward Extraposition*
we showed the kids.Acc their(refl) the parents.Dat
'We showed their kids to the parents.' (C&T 1996, ex 46, slightly modified)

Inversion does change binding

- (19)/(20)a: The dative DP binds the accusative in the standard word order.
- (19)/(20)b: The accusative DP binds the dative in the inverted order.

[5] This latter option is less good. There is speaker variation and the acceptability varies with intonational patterns as well (Collins and Thráinsson 1996:406).

[6] This was observed in Rögnvaldsson 1982.

The dative has to be stressed. It doesn't have to be heavy.

- Inversion is reported to not be allowed with reduced pronouns.[7]

(21) a. Þeir gáf 'onum 'ana.
they gave him.Dat her.Acc
'They gave her to him.'

b. *Þeir gáf 'ana 'onum.
they gave her.Acc him.Dat
'They gave her to him.' (C&T 1996, ex 49)

When the dative is heavy, rightward extraposition is allowed when inversion is not

(22) a. Forstjórinn svipti manninn vinnunni.
the boss deprived the man.Acc the work.Dat
'The boss deprived the man of the work.'

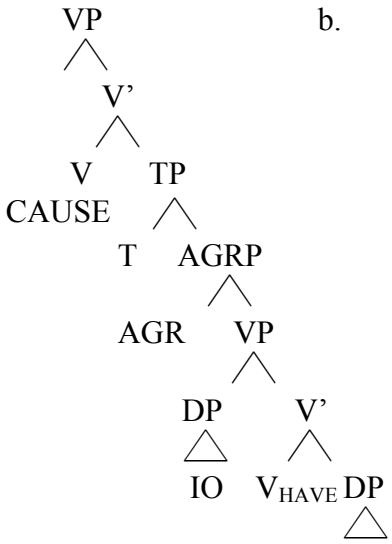
b. *Forstjórinn svipti vinnunni manninn.
the boss deprived the work.Dat the man.Acc

c. ?Forstjórinn svipti vinnunni manninn sem hafði unnið hjá honum í 10 ár.
the boss deprived the work.Dat the man.Acc that had worked for him for 10 years
(C&T 1996, ex 45)

3.3 Inversion is Base Generated (Collins and Thráinsson 1996)

- Building on Falk (1990), Collins and Thráinsson (1996) argue that the inverted order is not derived by movement.
- Inversion has the same structure as the DP-PP variant.
- A null causative verb selects for a TP small clause. That TP contains a VP whose head decomposes into the ditransitive verb plus either HAVE or BE.[8] HAVE selects for a DP and BE selects for a PP.

(23) a.



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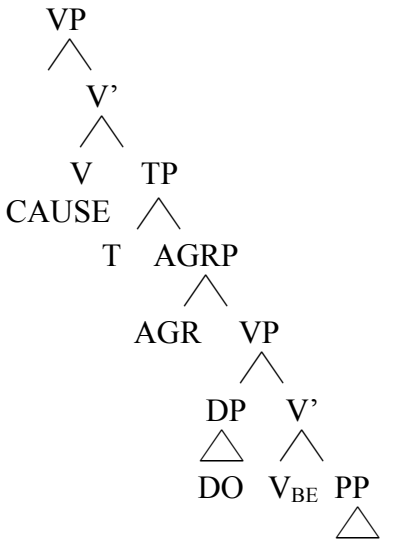

(based on C&T 1996, ex 17 and 65)

- I also propose that inversion is a base-generated structure, but it's not the same as the DP-PP structure. The DP-PP variant and inversion have different distributions.

[7] Though these examples are acceptable for some speakers.
[8] See the discussion in Section 5 of Collins and Thráinsson (1996) for a detailed explanation of the nature of the lexical decomposition of the verb.

4 The R-Dative Shift Proposal for English (Bruening 2010b)

- Tremendous debate about the semantics of the DP-DP construction vs the semantics of the DP-PP construction and whether one variant is derived from the other.[9]

The Alternative Projection Approach[10]

- DP-DP and DP-PP variants have different meanings which map to different structures.
  - *DP-DP* necessarily encodes *caused possession*
  - *DP-PP* necessarily encodes *caused motion*
  - Seen in Collins and Thráinsson's (1996) proposal

The Verb Sensitive Approach[11] (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008)

- The interpretation of the DP-PP variant depends on the verb.
- Agree with Alternative Projection Approach that DP-DP always = possession.
- But DP-PP can encode either possession or motion, depending on the verb.[12]
  - *Give*-type verbs: DP-PP = possession
  - *Throw* and *send*-type verbs: DP-PP = possession/DP-PP = motion

The Pragmatic/Information Structure Approach: (Bresnan et al. 2007, Bresnan 2007, Bresnan and Nikitina 2007)[13]:

- Factors related to pragmatics, information structure, prototypical use determine whether DP-DP or DP-PP is used. (E.g. – pronoun vs non-pronoun, givenness, animacy, definiteness, phrasal length)
- Previously observed restrictions on the DP-PP variant vanish when the goal is phonologically heavy.

(24) a. The lighting here gives me a headache.
b. *The lighting here gives a headache to me. (Bruening 2010b, ex 2)

(25) …a stench or smell is diffused over the ship that would give a headache to the most athletic constitution. (Bruening 2010b, ex 5a/ Bresnan and Nikitina 2007, ex 15)

Rightward Dative Shift (Bruening 2010b)

- Argues against the *Pragmatic/Information Structure Approach.*
- Proposes that (25) actually has an underlying DP-DP structure.
- The goal DP is merged in a rightward specifier. *To* appears later after the goal rightward shifts.
- Evidence from binding. (Examples (26) - (29) from Bruening 2010b, ex 12, 14, &15.)

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[9] See Green 1974 and Oehrle 1976 for early observations about an asymmetry in the interpretation of the two different frames. See Larson 1988 for one of the foundational syntactic proposals.

[10] Also referred to as the Unified Multiple Meaning Approach in Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008. Numerous proposals adopt some form of this approach, though the technical implementation varies – e.g. Harley 2002, Beck and Johnson 2004, Bruening 2010b, Harley and Jung 2015.

[11] Some elements of the Verb Sensitive Approach are extended in Hallman 2015, which argues that the DP-DP frame is basic and that the DP-PP frame can be base generated or derived from DP-DP.

[12] Rappaport Hovav and Levin's (2008) categorization builds on that found in Pinker 1989.

[13] Bresnan et al. (2007) use statistical modeling to make predictions about which frame is used. Bresnan (2007) reports the findings of corpus and judgment studies which show that speakers use contextual information to choose between frames. Bresnan and Nikitina (2007) provide a Stochastic Optimality Theory analysis.

*DP-DP has surface scope =(*26)

(26) I gave a different child every candy bar. *DP-DP*
- There is a different child and that child was given every candy bar. [a > every]
- *For every candy bar, it was given to a different child. [*every > a]

DP-PP has ambiguous scope =(27)

(27) I gave a different candy bar to every child *DP-PP*
- There is some different candy bar, and that candy bar is given to every child. [a > every]
- For every child, there is a different candy bar. [every > a]

- Some DP-DP constructions pattern like (26) and have surface scope. = (28)

(28) DP-DP: Surface scope only
a. This lighting gives everyone a different kind of headache.
- For every person, there is a different kind of headache. [every > a]
- *There is some different kind of headache, and that headache is given to everyone. [*a > every]

b. This lighting gives a different person every kind of headache.
- There is a different person and that person gets every kind of headache. [a > every]
- *For every kind of headache, it is given to a different person. [*every > a]

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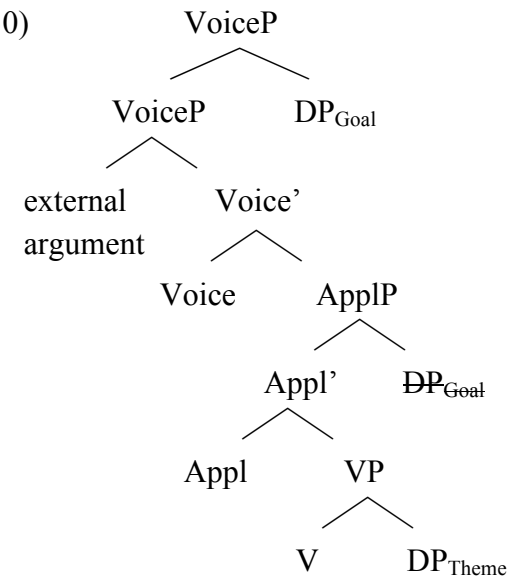
(30)



(Bruening 2010b, ex10)

Rightward Dative Shift (in English)

- Goal is merged in right-projected specifier of ApplP.
- Goal moves to a higher right-projected specifier of VoiceP.
- As a result of this movement, 'to' is inserted.

The Extraction Constraint on Rightward Specifiers: The specifier of ApplP may be ordered to the right of its sister only if the NP that occupies it undergoes A-bar extraction. (Bruening 2010b, ex 9)

5 My Proposal: Accounting for Inversion in Icelandic

5.1 Scope Patterns

(31) [15]a. DP-DP: Surface Scope Only

Haraldur sendi einhverjum blaðamanni öll skjölin.
Harold sent some reporter.Dat all the documents.Acc
'Harold sent some reporter all the documents.'

- Surface: There is some reporter and that reporter received all documents.
- *Inverse: For all documents, each one was sent to a different reporter.

b. DP-PP: Allows Inverse Scope

Kennarinn sendi skjal til allra foreldra í skólanum.
the teacher sent a document.Acc to all parents.Gen in the school
'The teacher sent a document to all the parents in the school.'

- Surface: There is some document and that document was sent to all parents.
- Inverse: For all parents, they received some unique document.

- Some Icelandic ditransitives pattern similarly to English.
- Standard DP-DP constructions have surface scope…

(32) Norðurljósin færa öllum útlendingum einhverja tilfinningu.
the northern lights provide all foreigners.pl.Dat some feeling.sg.Acc
'The northern lights provide all foreigners some feeling.'

- Surface scope: For every foreigner, each person gets a unique feeling.
- *Inverse scope: There is a unique feeling and every foreigner gets that feeling.

[15] Examples from Tinna Frímann Jökulsdóttir. Judgments from Hlíf Árnadóttir and Einar Freyr Sigurðsson.

(33) Norðurljósin færa einhverjum útlendingi allar tilfinningar.
the northern lights provide some foreigner.sg.Dat all feelings.pl.Acc
'The northern lights provide some foreigner all feelings.'

- Surface scope: There is some foreigner and that person gets all feelings.
- *Inverse scope: For every feeling, that feeling is given to a different foreigner.

- …**But inverse scope is strongly preferred with inversion…**

(34) Norðurljósin færa allar tilfinningar einhverjum útlendingi.
the northern lights provide all feelings.pl.Acc some foreigner.sg.Dat
'The northern lights provide every feeling (to) some foreigner.'

- Inverse scope (preferred reading): There is some foreigner and that person gets all feelings.
- Surface scope (can be forced): For every feeling, that feeling is given to a different foreigner.

- ...And inversion gets better with a heavy DP. The interpretations for (35) are the same as for (34).

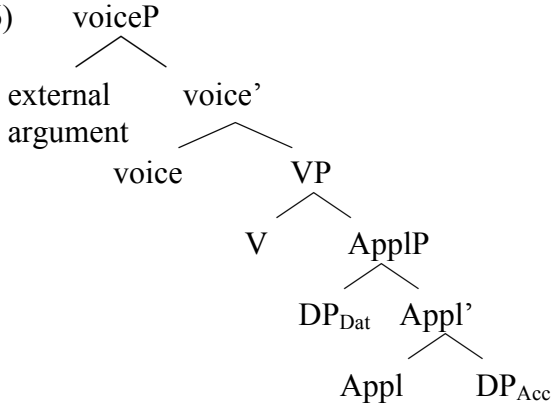
(35) Norðurljósin færa einhverja tilfinningu öllum útlendingum sem koma til Íslands.
the northern lights provide some feeling.sg.Acc all foreigners.pl.Dat that come to Iceland
'The northern lights provide some feeling (to) every foreigner that comes to Iceland.'

- Inverse scope (preferred): For every foreigner that comes to Iceland, each person gets a unique feeling.
- Surface scope (forced): There is some particular feeling and that feeling is given to all foreigners.

5.2 Analysis

- Assume an Alternative Projection Approach.
- In the standard DP-DP variant, both arguments are merged inside ApplP (in line with Wood 2015, Sigurðsson 2017).

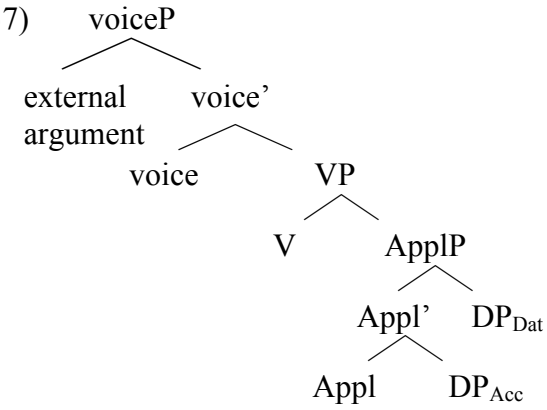
(36)



Regular Word Order = (32)/(33)
- Dative is merged in a left Spec,ApplP.
- Accounts for surface scope.

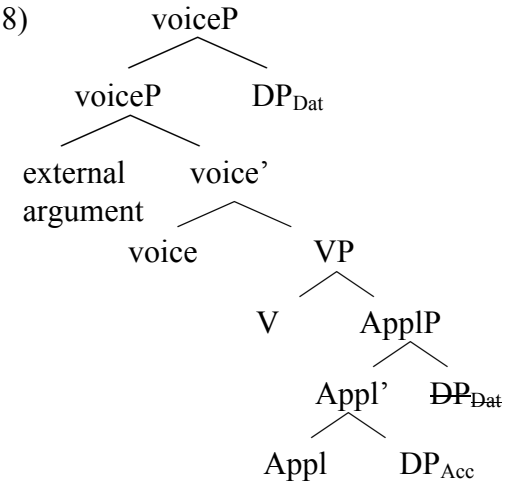
- One analysis for the DP-PP structure might be an extension of Sigurðsson's (2017) PathP structure for some Icelandic PPs. (Sigurðsson 2017:112, ex 106)

(37)



Inverted Order =(34)
- Dative is merged in right Spec,ApplP.
- Accounts for inverse scope preference.

(38)



Inverted Order with Heavy DP =(35)
- Dative is merged in right Spec,ApplP and moves to right Spec,voiceP.

Icelandic has an extraction "preference" on rightward specifiers, not the extraction constraint that Bruening (2010b) proposes for English.

5.3 About the Right Specifier

Only a dative can occupy a right specifier

- Recall that inversion of Dat-Dat is acceptable and inversion of Dat-Acc can be repaired to Dat-Dat.

(39) a. Jón skilaði henni vasanum. — Dat-Dat
John returned her.Dat the vase.Dat
'John returned the vase to her.'

b. ?Jón skilaði vasanum henni. — Dat-Dat = ?Dat-Dat
John returned the vase.Dat her.Dat

(40) a. Þeir leyndu Ólaf sannleikanum. — Acc-Dat
they concealed Olaf.Acc the truth.Dat
'They concealed the truth from Olaf.

b. *Þeir leyndu sannleikanum Ólaf. — Acc-Dat = *Dat-Acc
they concealed the truth.Dat Olaf.Acc
'They concealed the truth from Olaf.

c. ?Þeir leyndu sannleikanum Ólafi.[16] — Acc-Dat = ?Dat-Dat
they concealed the truth.Dat Olaf.Dat
'They concealed the truth from Olaf.

[16] Judgment courtesy of Tinna Frímann Jökulsdóttir.

Only an actual argument can occupy a right specifier

- Inversion of benefactives is ungrammatical.

(41) a. Þeir héldu Jóni þessa veislu.
they held John.Dat this party.Acc
'They threw John this party.'

b. *Þeir héldu þessa veislu Jóni
they held this party.Acc John.Dat
'Intended: they threw John this party.'
(Viðarsson 2012, ex 84)[17]

5.4 A Loose End: Binding Facts

- Example (19) repeated below.
- Suggests that the dative c-commands the accusative in (42)a but that the accusative c-commands the dative in (42)b.

(42) a. Ég hafði gefið konunginum$_i$ ambáttina sína$_i$.
I had given the king.Dat the maidservant.Acc his(refl)
'I had given the king his maidservant.'

b. Ég hafði gefið ambáttina$_i$ konungi sínum$_i$.
I had given the maidservant.Acc king.Dat her(refl)
'I had given the maidservant to her king.' (C&T 1996, ex 50)

- *Perhaps* inversion allows for the dative or the accusative to be merged in the right specifier. If the latter, then the dative would move over it.

6 Why Should We Care About Inversion?

- It's a marked construction.
- Dehé (2004) reports the results of studies which found that the Dat-Acc order is strongly preferred even when factors such as phonological heaviness and animacy have been controlled for.[18]
- Variation in word order is most readily allowed when a non-structural case c-commands a structural case in the base structure.
  - Inversion is best with the standard Dat-Acc order.
- Similar to other constructions in Icelandic.

"Symmetric" verb constructions

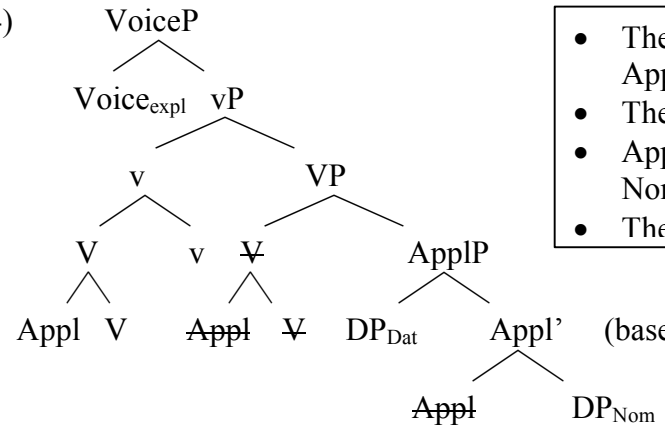
- Allow either the underlying subject or the underlying object to raise to the syntactic subject position.
- Analyzed in Wood and Sigurðsson 2014.[19]

(43) a. Mér hafa alltaf nægt tvennir skór.
Me.Dat have always sufficed two.pairs shoes.Nom

b. Tvennir skór hafa alltaf nægt mér.
Two.pairs shoes.Nom have always sufficed me.Dat
'I have always made do with two pairs of shoes.' (Wood and Sigurðsson 2014, ex 2)

[17] See also Jónsson 2000, footnote 3.
[18] Dehé (2004) provides an Optimality Theory based account which contrasts the ordering in Icelandic with that in German.
[19] See also Barðdal, Eythórsson and Dewey (2014) for an analysis couched within the Sign-Based Construction Grammar framework.

(44)



- The Nominative (theme) is merged as sister to Appl.
- The Dative is merged in Spec,ApplP.
- Appl moves to V, making the Dative and the Nominative equidistant to higher positions.
- Therefore, either DP can move to Spec TP

(based on Wood and Sigurðsson 2014, EX 26)

Ditransitive passives in which either DP can passivize [20/ 21]

- Allowed when the standard frame is Dat-Acc (in the active).

(45) a. Konunginum voru gefnar ambáttir.
the king.Dat were given maidservants.Nom
'The king was given maidservants.'
b. Ambáttir voru gefnar konunginum.
Maidservants.Nom were given the king.Dat
'Maidservants were given to the king.' (Zaenen, Maling, Thráinsson 1985, ex 44, slightly modified)

- The core elements of the analysis in (44) could be extended to (45).

7 Conclusion and Open Questions

- Differing distributions of the DP-PP variant and inversion suggest that they have different structures.
- Parallels between the scope interpretations of some English and Icelandic ditransitives suggest that R-dative shift applies in both languages.
- Inversion patterns like symmetric verb constructions and ditransitives which allow passivization of either object in that a non-structural case c-commands a structural case in the base structure.
- Future research includes a detailed investigation of the semantics of ditransitives in order to determine whether the Alternative Projection theory is the best model for Icelandic.

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[20] Also discussed in Wood and Sigurðsson 2014.
[21] See Ussery 2015 for an analysis of Icelandic passive constructions, with an emphasis on agreement.

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