Oriya Passives with Ditransitives

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Abstract

This paper aims at finding out if Oriya passives with ditransitives are symmetric or asymmetric passives. This typological schema is based on Woolford's analysis of passives with ditransitives. The next task is to determine whether Oriya ditransitives are Double Object Constructions (DOCs) or Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs). Using some syntactic diagnostics like A-bar extraction and Indirect Object (IO) reconstruction, Oriya ditransitives will be identified as DOCs, and then by using agreement and binding facts, and Accusative Case Blocking (ACB) it will be shown that Oriya passives with ditransitives are asymmetric.

1 Introduction

The present paper deals with passives with ditransitives in Oriya. The main objective is to find out if Oriya is typologically closer to languages with symmetric passives (e.g. Kinyarwanda, Swedish, and Norwegian) or those with asymmetric passives (English, Chichewa). Since this typological classification (Woolford, 1993) is based primarily on Double Object Constructions (DOCs), the second objective of the paper is to understand whether Oriya ditransitives are Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs) or DOCs. These two tasks become more challenging as Oriya is a free word order language, and due to the presence of a –ku case marker on indirect objects (IOs) that is homophonous with a postposition.

2 Literature Review

Though ditransitives in English and other languages are widely discussed in literature, very little research has been done on Oriya ditransitives. Hence, to study Oriya passives with ditransitives in more detail, the basic concept of structural representation of ditransitives is taken from proposals by Chomsky (1981), Larson (1988), and Kidwai (2000). Cross-linguistically passives are of two kinds: short passives with an explicit argument (1) and long passives with a prepositional phrase (2).

1. The bird was caught.

2. The bird was caught by me.

Passives also follow 1- Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1-AEX law), which suggests that a verb with a derived subject (*John* in (3) below) cannot be re-passivized (Baker, Johnson, & Roberts, 1989).

3. *John was been given a new book.

3 Data and Methods

The present study is qualitative in nature, and based on a theory-driven approach. The data that has been used is based on the intuition of native speakers of Oriya. The questionnaire was close-ended in nature and took into account the dialectal variations in Oriya. The sampling method employed was purposive sampling, which comes under the category of a non-probability sampling technique.

4 Discussion

The objective of this paper is to identify the nature of Oriya passives with ditransitives, based on Woolford's typological schema. As far as passive construction is concerned, Oriya, like English, has long passives with prepositional phrases (4), and short passives (5) with implicit arguments. Passivization with a derived subject is also ruled out for this language as it follows the 1-AEX rule (6).

4.   swechhasebimānanka dwāra chhātraTi   puraskruta helā.

        Volunteers   by   student   award-pass-3rd -past

        'The student was awarded by the volunteers.'

5.   chhātraTi puraskruta helā.

        Student   award-pass-3rd –pst

        'The student was awarded.'

6.   * John dwārā bahi chori kārājibā jāithilā.

        John by   book steal-pass-pass-3rd -pst

        'The book was been stolen by John.'[39]

In addition, the passive morpheme does not change morphologically with person or number of the derived subject (7a-d). These examples show that Oriya has quite a few passive morphemes such as *-galā/ -helā*,(7a-d)   *-jiba*,(8a-b) and *–jae*, (8e-f).

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[39] In Oriya the PP is generally better at sentence-initial position though sentence-final and sentence-medial positions are also fine.

e.g. 1. John dwārā bahi corikarājāithilā

        John by   book steal-pass-3rd sg-pst   'The book was stolen by John.'

   2. Bahi john dwārā corikarājāithilā

      Book john by   book steal-pass-3rd sg-pst

      'The book was stolen by John.'

   3. Bahi corikarājāithilā   john dwārā

      book steal-pass-3rd sg-pst john by

      'The book was stolen by John.'

7.   (a) mote khub jor re āghāt karāgalā/helā.

        I fiercely   hit-1st-sg-pass-pst

        'I was hit fiercely.'

(b)   tāku khub jor re āghat karāgalā/helā.

        He   fiercely   hit-3rd-sg-pass-pst

        'He was hit fiercely.'

(c)   tumaku khub jor re āghāt karagalā/helā.

        You   fiercely   hit-2nd-sg-pass-pst

         'You were hit fiercely.'

(d)   semāmanku khub jor re āghāt karagalā/helā.

        They   fiercely   hit-1st-sg-pass-pst

        'They were hit fiercely.'

But the passive morpheme changes according to the tense (8a- f).

8.   (a) choraku   goiThā marājiba.

        Thief   kick-pass-3rd PL-future

        'The thief will be kicked.'

(b)   āmaku   goiThā marājiba.

        We   kick-pass-1st PL-future

         'We will be kicked.'

(c)   choraku   goiThā marāgalā.

        Thief   kick-pass-3rd PL-pst

        'The thief was kicked.'

(d)   āmaku   goiThā marāgalā.

        we   kick-pass-1st PL-pst

        'We were kicked.'

(e)   choraku goiTthā marājāe.

Thief   kick-pass-1stpl-prst

The thief is kicked.'

(f)   āmaku goiThā marājāe.

I-pl   kick-pass-1st pl-prst

We are kicked.'

Another important feature of Oriya passives is the almost obligatory presence of a -*ku* case morpheme on the derived subject.[40] They are generally considered ungrammatical when they are not marked morphologically for case (as is also the case with nominative subjects) (Patnaik, 2001). If the subject is *se* and morphologically unmarked for case (as opposed to *taku*) it yields ungrammaticality.

9.   ? se dešaru   bāhāra karidiāgalā.

He country- out of drive-pass-3rd Psg-pst

'He was driven out of the country.'

Though (9) is rejected outright by many as ungrammatical, such examples do occur, though mostly in written discourse. Patnaik also cites (10) from a written text (*Desha, kala, Patra,* p.159).

10.   semāne   bešyābruti pāi~n prastuta karāgale.

They-nom prostitute for   prepare-pass-3rd Pl-past

'They were prepared to be prostitutes.'

Morphologically unmarked derived subjects, though restricted to mainly written text, are sometimes available in spoken language as well. Below is the structure that my informants found either completely acceptable or odd.

11.   mu prašna   pacarāgali.

I   question ask-1stP-sg-pass-pst

I was asked a question.

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[40] The exact nature of this case morpheme, i.e. whether it is nominative, accusative, dative or a combination of two cases (structural and inherent) is open to discussion. As of now, I assume that –ku is a dative case marker.

Most importantly, nominative subjects in passives, unlike the marked subjects, show subject agreement (12a-d). 12(a) has *heli* with a 1st person sg. subject and 12(b) has *hele* with a 3rd person pl subject. 12(d) has a 3rd person sg. subject and shows default 3rd person sg. agreement (which is available also with non-nominative –*ku* marked subjects).

12. (a) mu parāsta heli.

    I   defeat-1st-sg-pass-pst

    'I was defeated'.

(b)   semāne parāsta hele.

    They   defeat-3rd-pl-pass-pst

    'They were defeated.'

(c)   tumemāne   parāsta hela.

    You   defeat-2nd-pl-pass-pst

    'You were defeated.'

(d)   chhātrati   parāsta helā

    student   defeat-3rd-sg-pass-pst

    'The student was defeated.'

Also note that -*ku* is a case marker that is homophonous to the postposition (13) as well.

13.   mu rādhā-ku goTe kalam deli.

    I   radha-to a   pen   give-1st-sg-pst

    'I gave a pen to Radha.'

The –*ku* marker in the derived subject will be taken up in more detail later in the discussion of ditransitives and their corresponding passives.

4.1. Oriya Passives with Ditransitives

Oriya also has passives with ditransitives (14a-b).

14.　　(a) mary-ku gote bahi diagalā.

　　　　Mary-to   a   book give-3rd-sg-pass-pst

　　　　 'Mary was given a book.'

(b)　　　Rādhā-ku gote prasna   pacharā galā.

　　　　Radha-to   a   question ask-3rd-sg-pass-pst

　　　　 'Radha was asked a question.'

As in 14a-b, the IO occupies the sentence initial position. As Oriya is a free word order language, the Direct Object (DO) can also occupy the sentence initial position (15a-b). As a result, it is difficult to identify which argument is being raised here to the subject position (or in more technical terms, it is difficult to locate the NP that loses its case from the verb and is thereby forced to take subject position for nominative case).

15.　　(a) goTe bahi   maryku diagalā

　　　　a   book mary   give-3rd-sg-pass-pst

　　　　'Mary was given a book.'

(b)　　　gote prašna   rādhā-ku pacarāgalā

　　　　 a   question radha   ask-3rd-sg-pass-pst

　　　　'Radha was asked a question.'

Another important thing to notice here is that the active counterpart of 15a-b also has *–ku* marker in the IO (16a-b). This makes it all the more difficult to identify the raised-for-case NP as the IO never appears in the nominative form morphologically, making it constant for the (recipient) role, and it is unaffected by order.

16.　　(a) Se   mary-ku goTe bahi delā.

　　　　He-nom Mary   a   book give-3rd-sg-pst

　　　　'He gave Mary a book.'

(b)   mu rādhāku goTe prašna   pachārile

I   Radha   a   question ask-1st-sg-pst

'I asked Radha a question.'

Hence, Oriya passives with ditransitives can place any one of the two object NPs in the subject-position and have their IOs carry their original *–ku* case-marker. This complicates the process of identifying which of the two object NPs is actually raised to the subject position for case. Therefore, a thorough analysis, rather than a quick scanning, is required to place Oriya ditransitive passives into Woolford's typological classification.

4.2. Woolford's Schema

Ditransitive passives are of two types: Symmetric Passives and Asymmetric Passives (Woolford, 1993). Symmetric passives are produced when either one of the two NPs can be moved to the subject position (17 and 18).

17. Kinyarwanda

(a)   Umugabo y-a-haa-ye   umug6re igitabo.

man   he-pst-give-asp woman book

'The man gave the woman the book.'

(b)   Igitabo cy-a-haa-w-e umug6re n'umugabo.

book it-pst-give-pass-asp woman by man

'The book was given to the woman by the man'

(c)   Umugore y-a-haa-w-e igitabo n'uimugabo.

woman   she-pst-give-pass-asp book by man

'The woman was given the book by the man.'   (Kimenyi, 1980)

18.   Norwegian

(a)   Jon gav   Marit ei klokke.

          'John gave Mary a watch.'

(b)   Jon vart   gitt   ei klokke.

          'John was given a watch.'

(c)   Ei klokke vart gitt Jon.

          'A watch   was given Jon.'   (Afarli, 1987)

17b-c, demonstrates that in Kinyarwanda, both the objects *igitabo* and *n'umugabo*, and in Norwegian 18b-c, both the objects *Marit* and *ei klokke* can move to the subject position producing grammatically correct sentences. Asymmetric passives, on the other hand, are produced when only one NP moves to the subject position. English passives are of this type (19a-c). Here, the English active sentence has two thematically different objects, *new houses* the theme and *hurricane victims*, the benefactive. Only the benefactive is passivized here, not the theme.

19.   (a) They built the hurricane victims new houses.

(b)   The hurricane victims were built new houses.

 (c)   *New houses were built the hurricane victims.

Other than English, Chichewa, Swahili, German, Fula and HiBena also show asymmetric passives. Swahili (20), German (21) and English (19) passives are different from Fula (22), HiBena (23) and Chichewa (24) as the former are without applicatives and the latter are with applicative languages.

20. Swahili

(a)   Halima alimpa Fatuma zawadi.

       Halima she-pst-her-giveF atumag ift

        'Halima gave Fatuma a gift.'

(b)   Halima alimpa zawadi Fatuma.

       Halima she-pst-her-giveg ift Fatuma

       'Halima gave Fatuma a gift.'

(c)   Fatuma alipewa zawadi na Halima

       Fatumas he-pst-give-pass gift by Halima

       'Fatuma was given a gift by Halima.'

(d)   *Zawadi ilipewa Fatuma na Halima.

        gift it-pst-give-pass Fatuma by Halima

       'A gift was given Fatuma by Halima.'   (Vitale, 1981)

21. German

(a)   Sie haben den Jungen das Lied gelehrt.

       they have the boy-acc the song-acc taught

        'They have taught the boy the song.'

(b)   *dann ist den Jungen das Lied gelehrt worden

       then is the boy-acc the song-nom taught been

       'Then the song was taught the boy.'

(c)   ?dann ist der Junge das Lied gelehrt worden

        then is the boy-nom the song-acc taught been

       'Then the boy was taught the song.'   (Czepluch, 1988)

In the Swahili, German and English examples, there are two objects in each active sentence, a goal and a theme. Thematically, the goal is higher than the theme.[41] So, only the goal, not the theme is passivized. In 21c, though, the passive sentence is not ungrammatical but the speakers find it odd.

22. Fula

(a)   Take def-an-ii sukaab'e b'e gertogal.

        Takko cook-Ben-Tns children Det chicken

         'Takko cooked a chicken for the children.'

(b)   Sukaab'e b'e ndef-an-aama gertogal.

        children Det cook-Ben-Tns/Passive chicken

         'The children had a chicken cooked for them.'

(c)   *Gertogal def-an-aama sukaab'e b'e.

        chicken cook-Ben-TnsIPassive children Det

        'The chicken was cooked for the children.'   (Sylla, 1979)

23. HiBena

(a)   Umugosi i-hwandih-ila umudala ibaluwa.

        man ag-write-app woman letters

         'The man is writing the woman letters.'

(b)   Umudala a-hwandih-ilil-we ibaluwa n-umugosi.

        woman ag-write-app/ T-passl etters by-man

        'The woman was written letters by the man.'

(c)   *Ibaluwad za-hwandih-ilil-weu mudalan -umugosi.

        letters ag-write-appIT-pass woman by-man

        'Letters were written the woman by the man.'   (Hodges & Stucky, 1979)

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[41]The thematic hierarchy used here is as follows: agent>benefactive>goal>theme>instrument/locative. Jackendoff (1972) and Bresnan and Karneva (1989)

24. Chichewa

(a)   Chitsiru chi-na-guil-ir-a atsikdna mphatso.

        7-fool 7S-PST-buy-AP-FV2 -girls 9-gift

        The fool bought a gift for the girls.'

(b)   Atsifkina a-na-gu'l-ir-idw-6 mphatso (ndi chftsiru).

        2-girls 2S-PST-buy-AP-PAS-FV9 -gift by 7-fool

        'The girls were bought a gift (by the fool).'

(c)   *Mphatso i-na-guil-ir-idw-a dtsfkana (ndi chitsiru).

        9gift 9S-PST-buy-AP-PAS-FV2 -girls by 7-fool

        'A gift was bought the girls (by the fool).'   (Alsina & Mchombo, 1989)
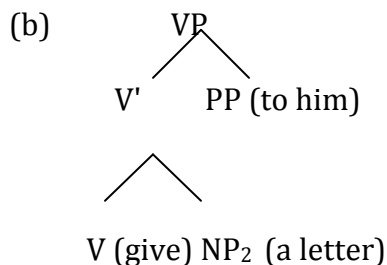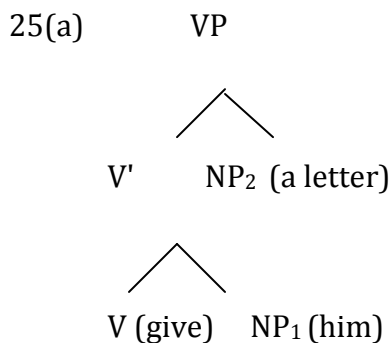
It is important to note here that Woolford's analysis is entirely based on DOCs (rather than PDCs). We are yet to find out if Oriya ditransitives are DOCs or PDCs. The next section deals with this particular problem.

4.3. Reanalyzing Oriya Ditransitives

To recapitulate, there are three problems that we encounter when it comes to analyzing Oriya ditransitives as DOCs or PDCs: (i) free word order, (ii) the *-ku* marker on the IO and, (iii) absence of agreement on the passive morpheme (unless the subject is case-marked nominative). A mere morphological analysis therefore does not suffice for our purposes; syntactic diagnostics must also be deployed. In this section, a sketch of some of the existing analyses on ditransitives is provided before I proceed to reexamine Oriya ditransitives with the help of some new syntactic tools taken mostly from Kidwai (2000).
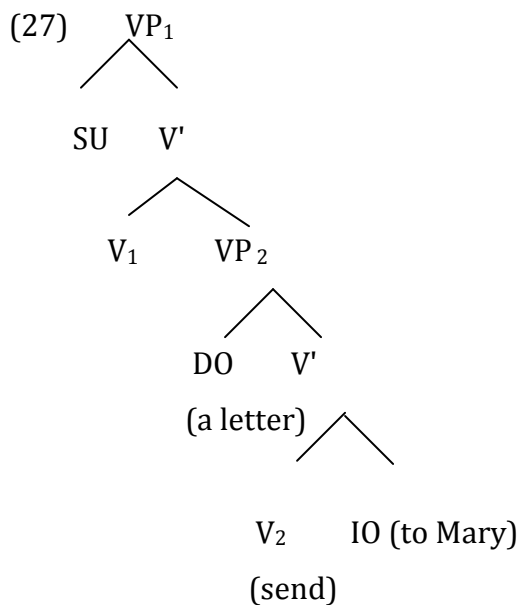
4.4. Previous Analyses

Ditransitives have received a great deal of attention in the literature. The earliest structural representation of ditransitive constructions (25a) suggests that PDCs and DOCs are not derivationally linked with each other (Chomsky, 1981).

25(a)

```
            VP
           /  \
         V'    NP₂ (a letter)
        /  \
   V (give)  NP₁ (him)
```

25(a)
- VP
  - V'
    - V (give)
    - NP$_1$ (him)
  - NP$_2$ (a letter)

(b)

- VP
  - V'
    - V (give)
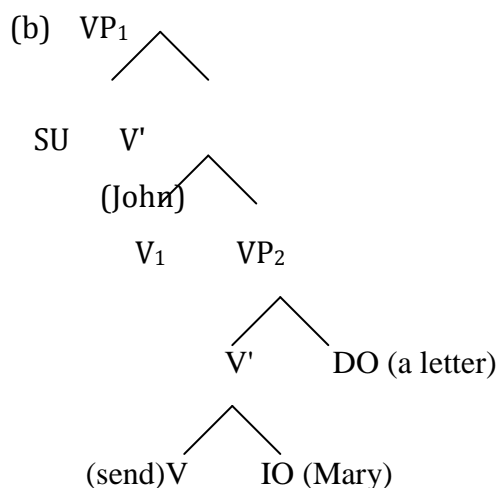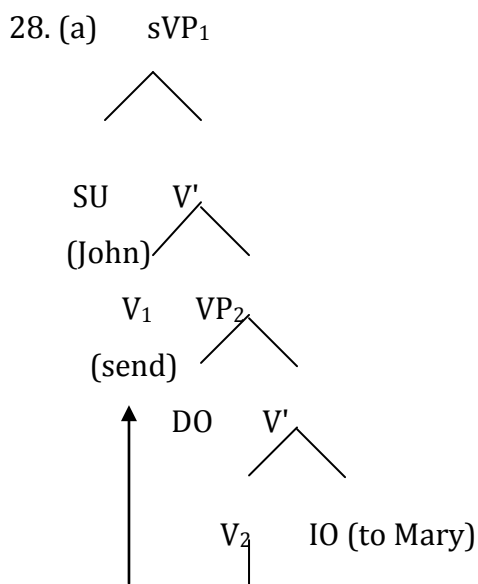   - NP$_2$ (a letter)
  - PP (to him)

The structure 25a represents a DOC and has the IO c-commanding the DO. Therefore, the IO may license anaphors, bound variables and negative polarity items in the DO. But these structures are sharply contradicted by the empirical facts, as illustrated by 26a-c.

26.   (a) *I showed herself$_i$ Mary$_i$.

        (b) *Whose$_i$ pay did you send his$_i$ mother$_{ti}$?

        (c) *I gave anyone nothing

To overcome these problems, another structure was suggested which indicates that both the PDCs and the DOCs are derivationally linked with each other (Larson, 1988). According to Larson, the DOC and the PDC have the same underlying structure, and are separately derived through different transformations. The default structure (27) shows that IO attached with a preposition is the complement and the DO is the specifier.

(27)   VP₁

```
         VP₁
        /  \
      SU    V'
           /  \
         V₁    VP₂
              /  \
            DO    V'
        (a letter) / \
                 V₂    IO (to Mary)
               (send)
```

Larson further contends that the PDC is derived from the default structure by head-to-head movement (28a) of the lexical verb V_2, to V_1 position; the movement is being triggered to case-assign the DO.

28. (a)   sVP₁

```
         sVP₁
        /  \
      SU    V'
    (John) /  \
         V₁    VP₂
       (send) /  \
            DO    V'
                 / \
               V₂    IO (to Mary)
```

(b) VP₁

```
         VP₁
        /  \
      SU    V'
    (John) /  \
         V₁    VP₂
              /  \
            V'    DO (a letter)
           /  \
      (send)V   IO (Mary)
```

However, the DOC is derived in a different way. The structure in 28b suggests that VP-passive absorbs the case-assigning property of V_2 and forces the demotion of the external argument DO. It also leaves the IO caseless and the IO moves to the specifier of VP_2 to satisfy the case filter. Case assignment to the IO is then accomplished by the verb being raised to the V_1 position.
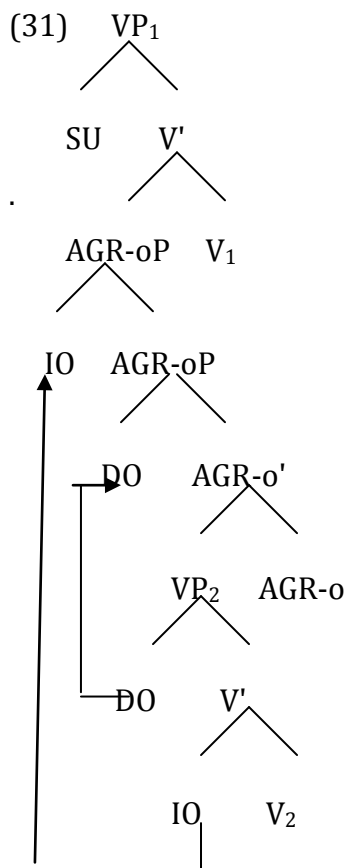
It is therefore apparent that though Larson's proposal has a universal appeal, it faces some empirical inadequacies as in 29 (Kidwai, 2000).

29.   (a) *Who did Noor give the book?

        (b) *The book was given Mary.

29a is Wh-extraction of IO and 29b is the passivization of DO. The DOCs in English forbid both these functions though PDCs have no such restrictions (30a). The Ungrammaticality of 29a shows that Larson's proposal is unable to capture the adjunct status of IO, which disallows extraction of any element internal to it. Cross linguistically it is known that IOs in DOCs do not exhibit prototypical argument properties like scrambling (Kidwai, 2000), and are therefore resistant to Wh-extraction, but the DOs show normal argument properties by allowing A'-extraction.

30.   (a) Who$_i$ did you give them [a photo of$_{ti}$]?

        (b)*Who$_i$ did you give [a friend of $_{ti}$] a present?

In 30a *a photo of X* is the DO and the sentence is perfectly fine with WH-extraction but in 30b, *a friend of X* is realized as the IO. So WH-extraction produces an ungrammatical sentence. This shows that IO is an adjunct and is resistant to Wh-extraction. Kidwai proposes a different structure for ditransitives, one that can generate both PDCs and DOCs, and can also account for the adjunct status of IOs in DOCs. The structure she proposes shows that the theta domain and the case domain are different (31). The AGR-o head bears the case and the VP_2 assigns theta role. She also proposes that the DOC is the default structure and the PDC is derived by the preposition insertion.

(31)

```
            VP₁
           /    \
         SU      V'
.               /  \
          AGR-oP    V₁
          /    \
        IO    AGR-oP
              /    \
           DO      AGR-o'
                   /    \
                VP₂      AGR-o
               /   \
             DO     V'
                   /  \
                 IO    V₂
```

Kidwai's structure does not need argument demotion as she is not concerned with the sentential passive. Her structure has a strict distinction between the case and θ-domain and therefore both the NPs in the DOCs should be raised to the case domain to be assigned case. It is cross-linguistically true that the IOs are adjuncts. Hence Kidwai proposes it as the adjunct of AGR-oP and the DO, which shows all the properties of an argument, is raised to the specifier of AGR-oP. The rule of VP passive affects only the AGR-o head. Thus, her contention is that it is the PDC which is derived by VP-passive. Because the rule of VP passive absorbs the case of DO forcing it to be raised to the spec of AGR-oP, the IO must remain in situ. Here the preposition insertion saves the derivation by assigning case to the IO.

Kidwai has used two diagnostics to show that Hindi-Urdu (Henceforth HU) ditransitives are not PDCs but rather DOCs. The diagnostics are (i) A-bar extraction and (ii) IO reconstruction. As illustrated below, scrambling of IO is impossible in HU ditransitives, suggesting that they are DOCs (36a). Compare this unacceptable structure with the acceptable 32(b) with A-bar extraction from the DO of the ditransitive:

32.   (a)*[mārksvādpar]ᵢ ek ālochak ne [ₜᵢek kitāb ko] bahut buri Tippani di

   Marxism-on   a critic(S)   one book (IO) very bad review gave.

        The critic gave a very bad review to the book on Marxism.

(b)   [mārksvādpar]$_i$ ram-ne   use   [$_{ti}$ ek kitāb] di

Marxism-on   Ram(S) her(IO)   a book   gave

'Ram gave her a book on Marxism.'   (Kidwai, 2000, p. 68)

Here, we see in 32b *mārksvād par ek kitāb* is the DO and we can easily scramble it. However, in 32a *mārksvād par ek kitāb* is the IO and scrambling is impossible. Had it been in a specifier position from which an extraction could have taken place, it would display the same behavior as DO. This shows that the IO in HU ditransitives is confined to the adjunct position and is different from its position in a PDC.

IO-reconstruction is also an important diagnostic to find out if the HU ditransitives are DOCs or PDCs. Cross linguistically the IOs in the DOC undergo full reconstruction in Logical Form (LF) (33) and the effects of the reconstruction can be observed with conditions B and C of binding theory.[42]

(33)
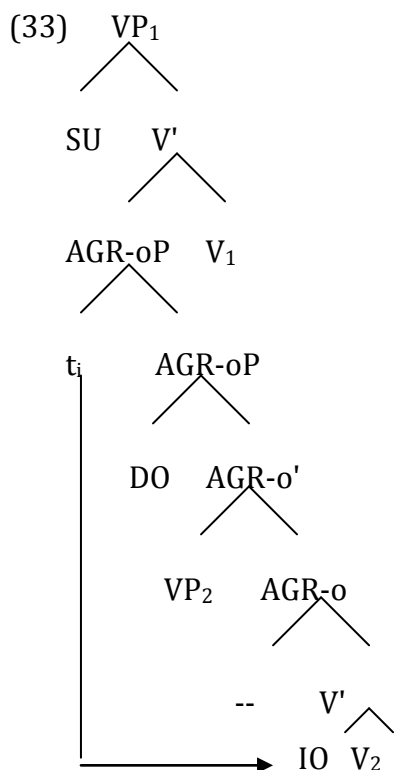
The IO reconstruction in LF shows that the IO has moved from the adjunct position to its base position which is lower than that of the DO. As a result, the DO c-commands the IO and we get the expected results as illustrated below.

[42] Condition A is not crucial here because in HU all DO reflexives are subject oriented.

34.   (a) me-ne ram$_i$-ko   uski$_i$ kitāb di

   I(S)   Ram(IO) his   book   gave

   'I gave Ram$_i$ his$_i$ book.'

  (b)   *me-ne ram$_i$-ko wo$_i$ diyā.

   I(S)   Ram(IO)   him(DO) gave

   'I gave Ram him.'

In 34 (a) the IO reconstructs to its base position and it does not c-command the DO, but it can be antecedent to pronominals inside the DO. Since pronominals must not be c-commanded by co-referring expressions, we get a correct result in 34(b) when the IO co-refers to the pronominal *uski*. Moreover, since the IO reconstructs, if it is an R-expression, it must be free (by Condition C of the Binding Theory). This is exactly what we find in 38b where co-reference between the DO pronoun and the IO R-expression yields ungrammaticality. It reveals that cross linguistically IO is an adjunct and ditransitives in HU are DOCs.

4.5. Oriya Ditransitives: DOCs or PDCs?

In order to find out if Oriya ditransitives are DOCs or PDCs, two diagnostics will be used: (i) A'- extraction and (ii) IO reconstruction. Oriya ditransitives allow no A'- extraction (35) of the IO.

35.   (a) [mārksvād-upare$_i$] rām tāku [$_{ti}$gote bahi]   delā.

   Marxism-on   Ram him a   book gave

    'Ram gave him a book on Marxism.'

 (b) *[mārksvād-upare$_i$] alochak māne [$_{ti}$ goTe bahiku] khub kharāp Tippani dele

   Marxism-on   critic - s   a   book   very bad   review gave

    'The critics gave a very bad review to a book on Marxism.'

In 35a *mārksvād upare goTe bahi* is an argument which is realized as the DO and the A'-extraction produces a correct sentence, but in 35b *mārksvād upare goTe bahi* is realized as the IO. Recall that cross-linguistically the IOs in DOCs do not show prototypical argument properties (Kidwai, 2000) and they are resistant to Wh-extraction so the impossibility of A'-extraction, which is a characteristic of an adjunct island, shows that the IO is not in the specifier position; rather it is confined to the adjunct position.

The next diagnostic used here is IO reconstruction. The effect of IO reconstruction is observed in conditions B and C of the binding theory (36).[43]

36.   (a) mu rāma-ku$_i$ tā$_i$ bahi   deli

         I(S) Ram(IO)$_i$ his$_i$ book(DO) gave

         'I gave Ram his book.'

(b)   *mu rāma-ku$_i$ tāku$_i$ deli.

         I(S) Ram(IO) him gave

         'I gave Ram$_i$ him$_i$.'

In 36a after IO reconstruction the IO cannot c-command the DO but it is free to co-refer to pronominals in the DO. So the condition B of binding theory is obeyed here. On the other hand, if the IO is an R-expression, it must be free (binding condition C). 36b is an ungrammatical sentence as it violates condition C of binding theory. The structural representation of 36b shows that the pronominal DO tāku binds the R-expression Ram which is a violation of condition C. Hence it can be concluded that Oriya ditransitives are DOCs, not PDCs as the IOs in Oriya ditransitives manifest the properties of an adjunct and satisfy properties typically associated with DOCs.

4.6. Oriya Passives: Symmetric or Asymmetric?

I will now address the issue of whether Oriya passives with ditransitives fit into Woolford's typological schema. To identify if Oriya passives are symmetric or asymmetric, two different diagnostics are used: (i) Triggering agreement and case, and (ii) Binding effects.

As mentioned above, when the verb passivizes it loses one of its cases and one of the NPs must move to the specifier of TP to get nominative case (Baker et al., 1989). In Oriya, the nominative subject triggers agreement. 1(a-b) is repeated as 37(a-b) for convenience.

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[43] In Oriya ditransitives like HU the effect of Condition A of Binding theory is not much relevant since the DO reflexives are subject oriented.

e.g. dāktara rogititiku$_i$ tānijaku$_i$ āina -re dekheile

    Doctor patient self   mirror-in showed

    'The doctor showed patient himself in the mirror.

37. (a) john āmba khāuchhi.

John(S) mango(O) eat-ing(V)

'John is eating mango.'

(b) mu khabarakāgaja paDhuthili.

I newspaper read-be-1st sg-pst cont

'I was reading newspaper.'

In Oriya passives with ditransitives the objects move to the specifier position of TP to get nominative case. However, the verbal agreement diagnostic cannot work for IOs, as the IOs in Oriya are always overtly case marked with –*ku,* and overtly case marked NPs do not trigger agreement. This diagnostic can nevertheless work for the DOs as they are not overtly case marked (38).

38. (a) tume mary-ku diāgalā

you mary-to give-pass-2sg-pst

'You were given to Mary.'

(b) tumaku mary-ku diāgalā

you mary-to give-pass-2sg-pst

'You were given to Mary.'

Both 38(a) and (b) are semantically similar, but in the former *tume* is without accusative –*ku* and marked with nominative case but in the latter *tumaku* is overtly case marked. The active counterpart of these two sentences is 39.

39. john mary-ku tumaku delā.

John mary-to you gave

'John gave you to Mary.'

In this active sentence, *tumaku* is the DO. When the verb passivizes it loses its accusative case, which is assigned to DO. As a result it moves to the specifier of TP to get nominative case. 38a shows that '*tume*' is without accusative –*ku* and marked with nominative case. This

shows that the derived subject triggers verbal agreement. More data are provided below in 40 and 41 to substantiate the claim.

40.   mu mary-ku diāgali

    I   mary-to give-pass-1sg-pst

    'I was given to Mary.'

41.   āme mary-ku   diāgalu.

    We   mary-to give-pass-1pl-pst

    'We were given to Mary.'

In 40 *mu*, the subject is 1st person sg and is associated with the passive morpheme *gali* but in 41 *āme* is 1st person plural and the passive morpheme is *galu*. It can therefore be seen that the nominative subjects of underlying DOs trigger agreement and that DO moves to the specifier of TP to get nominative case in the passives with ditransitives.

 As the previous diagnostic is not evidence against the movement of IO to subject position, another diagnostic that is related to binding effects has been deployed. This deals with both kinds of passive structures i.e. DO-IO-V Passive and IO-DO-V Passive.

My predictions for DO-IO-V Passive structure (here the DO has moved to spec-TP and the DO c-commands the IO) are as follows:

 I.   DO must co-refer with reflexives in the IO.

 II.   DO must not co-refer with a pronominal in the IO.

 III.   IO R-Expressions must be free.

I will now analyze the data provided below in 42a-c to verify whether Oriya follows these predictions.

42.   (a) mary$_i$ tā-nijaku$_i$ dekheidiāgalā.

    Mary(DO)   herself (IO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst

    'Mary$_i$ was shown to herself$_i$.'

(b)   * mary$_i$ tāku$_i$ dekheidiāgalā.

Mary$_i$(DO) her$_i$ (IO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst

‘ Mary$_i$ was shown to her$_i$.’

(c)   *se$_i$ john-ku$_i$ dekhāidiāgalā.

He$_i$ (DO) john$_i$ to (IO) show-pass-3sg-pst

‘He$_i$ was shown to John$_i$.’

In 42a-b *Mary* is the DO and *tānijaku* is the IO but in 42c *se* is the DO and *John* is the IO. 42a shows that the DO c-commands the IO and both are co-referred. Hence the condition A of Binding theory is obeyed. In 42b as the DO c-commands the IO and they are co-referenced it violates condition B. Similarly in 42c we observe the violation of condition C as *John*, an R-expression, is c-commanded and co-referred.

I will now assess the IO-DO-V Passive (here the IO moved to spec-TP and IO c-commands DO). The predictions are:

  I.   IO must co-refer reflexives in DO.

  II.   IO must not co-refer pronominal in DO.

  III. DO r-expressions must be free.

However Oriya does not provide any distinctive semantic difference between the DO-IO-V Passive and the IO-DO-V Passive. Let us consider the data provided below (43):

43.   (a) mary-ku$_i$ tā-nija-ku$_i$ dekheidiāgalā.

Mary(IO)   herself (DO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst

‘Mary$_i$ was shown to herself$_i$.’

(b)   *mary-ku$_i$ tāku$_i$ dekheidiāgalā.

Mary$_i$(IO) her$_i$ (DO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst

‘Mary$_i$ was shown to her$_i$.’

(c)   *taku$_i$ john-ku$_{i\text{-to}}$ dekheidiāgalā.

He$_i$ (IO) john$_i$ to (DO) show-pass-3sg-pst

‘He$_i$ was shown to John$_i$.’

As far as 42 and 43 are concerned, the Oriya speakers do not find any relevant difference in meaning when the order of the IO and DO changes. As IO is always marked with –*ku* and Oriya is a free word order language it is not easy to predict whether the IO is moving to the specifier position. So this particular diagnostic is not able to aid much in discovering the movement of IO. Other diagnostics like the effects of binding and reconstruction can be helpful in this regard. To identify the movement of IO let us discuss 44, which is an example of IO-DO-V Passive.

44.   mary-ku$_i$ tā-ku$_i$ āinā-re   dekhei-diā-galā.

        Mary   her-to mirror-in show-pass-3sg-pst

        'Mary was shown her in the mirror.'

In 44, the DO, tāku is a pronominal and co-referred to IO, maryku. The condition B of binding theory must be violated here as IO c-commands DO and DO pronominal and IO are co-indexed. But it is clear that there is no condition B violation, contrary to our predictions. I contend that there are two reasons for this. The first could be that the IO has been successfully reconstructed to a position where it no longer c-commands tāku. The second is that the IO is in A-bar position, and it cannot A-bind the DO. It must have come to the sentence initial position as Oriya is a free word order language. This shows that IO in Oriya passives with ditransitives does not acquire subject position at all.

As Oriya passives with ditransitives allow only one argument to move to the specifier position, they seem to fit into the category of asymmetric passives. But in Woolford's typological schema, asymmetric passives are also of two different kinds, i.e. English type asymmetric and Chichewa type asymmetric. In both categories, only one argument moves to the specifier position, but Chichewa type passive is different from English type due to the presence of an overt applicative morpheme. As Oriya lacks an applicative morpheme it cannot be included in the category of Chichewa type passive. So, the next task is to identify if it can be included in English type passive (45a-c).

45.   (a) I sent Pat a letter.

        (b) Pat was sent a letter.

        (c) *A letter was sent Pat.

In the presence of two objects, a goal and a theme, only the goal can passivize as it is higher on the thematic hierarchy. Similarly in constructions involving a benefactive and a theme, the benefactive is higher then the theme. So only the benefactive can passivize (46).

46.   (a) They built the hurricane victims the new houses.

        (b) The hurricane victims were built new houses.

        (c) *New houses were built hurricane victims.

As in English, in Oriya only one argument can passivize the verb. But there is a subtle difference between the two. First, in English we can reliably predict which object will passivize. Second, English never allows transitive or ditransitive impersonal passive, regardless of whether they allow intransitive impersonal passives (Woolford, 1993).[44]

Oriya is a bit different in this regard. The surface word order is not a determining factor in Oriya for the passivization of a verb because Oriya is a free word order language. In addition, it has already been identified that in Oriya passives with ditransitives it is the DO, and not the IO, which always moves to the specifier position to get nominative case.

In English, we observe that the thematic hierarchy regulates passivization. Oriya contrasts sharply in this regard as it does not allow IO pasivization at all. But the movement of DOs in passivization of Oriya does not mean that thematic hierarchy is absent in this language. They are equally important. But unlike English, goals in Oriya are not thematically higher than theme. The assumption here is that IOs in Oriya, which are thematically goals, have the lexical case, not the structural case. If the object with the higher thematic role has lexical case, and the object with lower thematic role structural case, only the object with structural case can passivize (Besten, 1981). Woolford suggests that German passives are of this category, as in German only the accusative theme can become nominative in the passive (47a-c).

47.   (a) Das Mädchen schenkte dem Jungen   ein Buch.

        the girl-NOM gave   the boy-DAT a   book-ACC

        'The girl gave the boy a book.'

---

[44] An impersonal passive is one in which no object has undergone case change. The present paper does not deal with that property of Oriya passives.

(b)   Ein Buch   wurde dem Jungen von dem Mädchen geschenkt.

a   book-NOM was   the boy-DAT by the girl   given

'A book was given to the boy by the girl.'

(c)   *Der Junge   wurde von dem Mädchen ein Buch geschenkt

the boy-NOM was   by the girl   a   book-ACC   given

'The boy was given a book by the girl. (Wilkinson, 1983)'

These German data (47a) illustrate that, *dem Jungen*, the goal is the IO and *ein Buch*, the theme is the DO. Passivization of the theme shows that the goal is marked with lexical case and the theme is marked with structural case.

Oriya passives with ditransitives are similar to German in this regard as I assume that IOs in Oriya are marked with lexical case (48a-c).

48.   (a) bāpā   mote   prašna-Tie   pachārile

Father (NOM) me (DAT)   question- a (ACC) ask-3sg-pst

'Father asked me a question.'

(b)   prašnatie   mote   (bāpānka dwārā) pacarāgalā

Question-a (NOM) me (DAT) father   by   ask-pass-3sg-pass

A question was asked me by my father.

(c)   mote   (bapanka dwārā) prašna-Tie   pacarāgalā

I (DAT) father   by   question-a (NOM) ask-pass-1sg-pst

'I was asked a question by my father.'

The contention is that *mote* is marked with lexical case but it has moved over to the sentence initial position in (48c) as Oriya is a free word order language. Hence 48(c) does not yield ungrammaticality.

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4.7. How Accusative Case Blocking Produces Oriya Passives with Ditransitives

ACB is a universal rule of case theory which blocks assigning structural case to the highest unmarked argument in its argument structure.[45] Woolford assumes here that verbs have the capacity to assign accusative case to each of their unmarked arguments simultaneously. According to Woolford, in active ditransitive constructions such as 49, the verb assigns structural accusative case to both objects.

49.   They gave Pat the money.

For speakers of dialects with asymmetric passives, the agent has been suppressed in the passive when ACB applies. The suppressed argument is marked ø (Grimshaw, 1990).

(50) give + passive < A, G, T >

$$\downarrow$$

ø

The highest unmarked argument from the point of view of ACB is the goal. ACB blocks the passive verb from assigning structural accusative case to the NP, which is assigned the role of goal. This forces this NP to move to the spec-TP. Nothing interferes with the passive verb's ability to assign structural accusative case to the theme. Hence, the passive counterpart of 49 is 51(a), not 51(b).

51.   (a) Pat was given the money.

(b)   *The money was given Pat.

In Oriya passive with ditransitives, the agent is suppressed before ACB applies (52).

52.   (bāpānka dwārā) mote goTe prasna   pacharāgalā.

         (father by)   me a   question ask-pass-pst

         'I was asked a question by my father.'

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[45] Marked arguments are arguments marked to get lexical case, arguments realized as PPs, and suppressed arguments.

In 52, the agent *bāpā* is already suppressed and at the same time the verb loses one of its cases after it is passivized. Of the two unmarked arguments, *prašna tie* is the highest thematic argument and it is marked with accusative case, as the assumption is that the goal is marked with lexical dative case and is lower than the theme. After ACB applies it blocks assigning structural accusative case to *prashna tie*. Hence it moves to the spec-TP to satisfy the case filter and *mote*, the IO, remains in situ. In short, the theoretical representation of this particular structure is 53. A suppressed argument is marked here with the symbol ø, as in Grimshaw (1990).

53. *pacāribā* + passive <A, T, G>

    Ask   +passive <A, T, G>

$$\downarrow$$

        ø

This indicates how Woolford's proposal related to ACB stands true for Oriya passives with ditransitives.

5 Conclusion

Oriya ditransitives are shown to be DOCs and Oriya passives with ditransitives asymmetric. This study unmasks close affinity of Oriya with German on some typological dimension of passivization. Though realization of argument structure sometimes varies with lexical semantics of verbs, the present study has strictly focused on syntactic facts aimed at the identification of ditransitive constructions in Oriya. Further research can clarify intricacies of such constructions based on the lexical semantics of Oriya verbs.

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