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# **Embracing the Differences: The Three Classes of Russian Ditransitives**

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# THE BIG PICTURE

1. In terms of quantifier scope, Russian is very much like English (contra Ionin 2001/2003, Stepanov and Stateva 2009 i.a.): Russian needs QR of the English kind to explain (a) the ambiguity of numerous constructions, and (b) to explain a number of syntactic phenomena (ILC, ACD, scope distribution in ellipsis contexts, etc)
2. Russian is like English in another respect: it allows scope freezing
3. Russian is *unlike* English in showing *many more* frozen scope constructions

## **The Focus Today:**

4. The **Scope Freezing Generalization**: Scope freezing always results from an instance of overt raising of one QP over another.
5. The SF Generalization can be used as a diagnostic tool to probe into Russian ditransitive argument structure.
6. **Results**: Russian ditransitives are not a homogeneous group, but are subdivided into three distinct Groups, with different base structures needed for each group.

# INTRODUCTION

At present, 3 main types of approaches to the structure of Russian ditransitives can be singled out:

- (1) a. **Dative Goal object originates in Spec, VP position**, assigned Dative case as sister to V' (see Harbert & Toribio 1991; Greenberg & Franks 1991; Franks 1995 Richardson 2007)
- b. **Accusative Theme object is generated in Spec, VP position**, with the Dative originating in the complement position (Bailyn 1995, 2009, 2012)
- c. **Dative Goal object is assigned case by an Applicative head** (Dyakonova 2005, 2007, following Pylkkänen 2002)

Antonyuk (2015): none of these accounts are fully correct, since Russian ditransitives are not a homogeneous class, they subdivide into three distinct Groups, schematized in (2).

# THE NON-HOMOGENEITY OF RUSSIAN DITRANSITIVES

## (2) Group 1:

- |    |                          |               |             |
|----|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| a. | V NP-ACC NP-OBL          | BASIC ORDER   | (ambiguous) |
| b. | V NP-OBL NP-ACC <NP-OBL> | DERIVED ORDER | (frozen)    |

## Group 2:

- |    |                          |               |             |
|----|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| a. | V NP-OBL NP-ACC          | BASIC ORDER   | (ambiguous) |
| b. | V NP-ACC NP-OBL <NP-ACC> | DERIVED ORDER | (frozen)    |

## Group 3:

- |    |                             |               |             |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| a. | V NP-CASE1 NP-CASE2         | BASIC ORDER   | (ambiguous) |
| b. | V [...NP-CASE2...] NP-CASE1 | DERIVED ORDER | (ambiguous) |

# THE NON-HOMOGENEITY OF RUSSIAN DITRANSITIVES

**How do we know? => Scope freezing distribution patterns!**

- (3) a. The teacher gave **a book** to **every student**. ( $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$ ) (Larson 1990)  
b. The teacher gave **a student every book**. ( $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$ )
- (4) a. The teacher gave **a different book** to **every student**. ( $\forall > \exists$ )  
b. #The teacher gave **a different student every book**. ( $* \forall > \exists$ )
- (5) a. Maud draped a (different) sheet over every armchair. (every > a)  
b. Maud draped a (#different) armchair with every sheet. \*(every > a)

**Russian shows a much wider range of constructions where scope is surface frozen:**

- (6)
- a. ditransitives
  - b. spray-load alternation
  - c. spray-load type verbs where scope freezing is the result of simple reordering
  - d. “reflexive monotonatives”
  - e. long-distance scrambling of QPs
  - f. local scrambling of QPs

# SCOPE FREEZING

**(7) The Big Question: what is so special about the constructions that show scope freezing?**

**My Answer: SF Generalization**

*SF Generalization: Scope freezing always results from overt raising of one QP over another to a c-commanding position as a result of a single instance of movement.*

## THE FINDING: 3 GROUPS OF RUSSIAN DITRANSITIVES

### Group 1

- (8) a. Maša našla [kakuju-to knigu] (každomu studentu) **ambiguous**  
 Masha found [some book]<sub>ACC</sub> [every student]<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘Masha found some book for every student’
- b. Maša našla (kakomu-to studentu) [každuju knigu] **frozen**  
 Masha found [some student]<sub>DAT</sub> [every book]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Masha found some student every book’

### Group 2

- (9) a. Maša obeskuraziła (kakim-to postupkom) [každogo opponenta] **ambiguous**  
 Masha discouraged [some act]<sub>INSTR</sub> [every opponent]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Masha discouraged with some act every opponent’
- b. Maša obeskuraziła [kakogo-to opponenta] (každym postupkom) **frozen**  
 Masha discouraged [some opponent]<sub>ACC</sub> [every act]<sub>INSTR</sub>  
 ‘Masha discouraged some opponent with every act’

### Group 3

- (10) a. Maša zaveščala [\*(kakoe-to imenie)] [\*(každomu drugu)] **ambiguous**  
 Masha bequeathed [some estate]<sub>ACC</sub> [every friend]<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘Masha bequeathed some estate to every friend’
- b. Maša zaveščala [\*(kakomu-to drugu)] [\*(každoe imenie)] **ambiguous**  
 Masha bequeathed [some friend]<sub>DAT</sub> [every estate]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Masha bequeathed to some friend every estate’

## EVIDENCE: THE ACD TEST

### Group 1

- (11) a. Maša našla [kakuju-to knihu] [každomu studentu, što i ja] **ambiguous**  
 Masha found [some book]<sub>ACC</sub> [[every student]<sub>DAT</sub> that also I]  
 ‘Masha found some book for every student I did’ **(some > every), (every > some)**
- b. Maša našla [kakomu-to studentu] [každuju knihu, što i ja] **frozen**  
 Masha found [some student]<sub>DAT</sub> [[every book]<sub>ACC</sub> that also I]  
 ‘Masha found some student every book I did’ **(some > every), \*(every > some)**

### Group 2

- (12) a. Maša obeskurazila (kakim-to postupkom) [každogo opponenta, što i ja] **amb**  
 Masha discouraged [some act]<sub>INSTR</sub> [[every opponent]<sub>ACC</sub> that also I]  
 ‘Masha discouraged with some act every opponent I did’  
**(some > every):** Masha discouraged every opponent with some act x, such that I also discouraged every opponent with x.  
**(every > some):** for every opponent x that I discouraged with some act, Masha discouraged x with some act or other.
- b. Maša obeskurazila [kakogo-to opponenta] [(každym postupkom), što i ja] **frozen**  
 Masha discouraged [some opponent]<sub>ACC</sub> [[every act]<sub>INSTR</sub> that also I]  
 ‘Masha discouraged some opponent with every act I did’  
**(some > every):** for some opponent x, Masha discouraged x with every act I discouraged x with.  
**\*(every > some):** for every act x, such that I discouraged some opponent y with, Masha discouraged y with x.

# EVIDENCE: THE ACD TEST

## Group 3

- (13) a. Maša zaveščala [\*(kakoe-to imenie)] [\*(každomu drugu), što i ja] **ambiguous**  
Masha bequeathed [some estate]<sub>ACC</sub> [every friend]<sub>DAT</sub> that also I  
'Masha bequeathed some estate to every friend I did'
- b. Maša zaveščala [\*(kakomu-to drugu)] [\*(každoe imenie), što i ja] **ambiguous**  
Masha bequeathed [some friend]<sub>DAT</sub> [every estate]<sub>ACC</sub> that also I  
'Masha bequeathed to some friend every estate'

# EVIDENCE: THE CONTRASTIVE FOCUS TEST

## Group 1

- (14) a. Vanja prines [kakuju-to novost'] (KAždoj sem'e) F>  
 Vania brought [some news]<sub>ACC</sub> [every family]<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'Vania brought some piece of news to every family'
- b. Vanja prines (kakoju-to sem'e) [KAžduju novost'] F<  
 Vania brought [some family]<sub>DAT</sub> [every news]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 'Vania brought some family every piece of news'

## Group 2

- (15) a. Maša obozvala (kakim-to prozviščem) [KAždogo mal'čika] F>  
 Masha called [some nickname]<sub>INSTR</sub> [every boy]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 'Masha called every boy by some nickname'
- b. Maša obozvala [kakogo-to mal'čika] (KAždym prozviščem) F<  
 Masha called [some boy]<sub>ACC</sub> [every nickname]<sub>INSTR</sub>  
 'Masha called some boy by every nickname'

## EVIDENCE: THE CONTRASTIVE FOCUS TEST

### Group 3

- (16)a. Maša napisala [kakoj-to slogan] (na **KA**ždoj stene) **F>**  
Masha wrote [some slogan]<sub>ACC</sub> [PP on every wall]<sub>DAT</sub>  
'Masha wrote some slogan on every wall'
- b. Maša napisala (na kakoj-to stene) [**KA**ždyj slogan] **F>**  
Masha wrote [PP on some wall]<sub>DAT</sub> [every slogan]<sub>ACC</sub>  
'Masha wrote every slogan on some wall'

# EVIDENCE: PASSIVIZATION TEST

## Group 1

- (17) a. Maša potrebovala [kakoj-to document] (s každygo posetitelja) **ambiguous**  
Masha demanded [some document]<sub>ACC</sub> [from every visitor]<sub>GEN</sub>  
'Masha demanded some document from every visitor'
- b. Maša potrebovala (s kakogo-to posetitelja) [každyj document] **frozen**  
Masha demanded [from some visitor]<sub>GEN</sub> [every document]<sub>ACC</sub>  
'Masha demanded from some visitor every document'
- c. [Kakoj-to document] byl potrebovan [s každygo posetitelja] amb **inverse pref.**  
[Some document]<sub>NOM</sub> was demanded [from every visitor]<sub>GEN</sub>  
'Some document was demanded from every visitor'
- d. [S kakogo-to posetitelja] byl potrebovan [každyj document] **frozen**  
[From some visitor]<sub>GEN</sub> was demanded [every document]<sub>NOM</sub>  
'From some visitor was demanded every document'

## EVIDENCE: PASSIVIZATION TEST

### Group 2

- (18) a. Maša obeskuražila (kakim-to postupkom) [každogo opponenta] **ambiguous**  
 Masha discouraged [some act]<sub>INSTR</sub> [every opponent]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Masha discouraged by some act every opponent’
- b. Maša obeskuražila [kakogo-to opponenta] (každym postupkom) **frozen**  
 Masha discouraged [some opponent]<sub>ACC</sub> [every act]<sub>INSTR</sub>  
 ‘Masha discouraged some opponent by every act’
- c. (Kakim-to postupkom) byl obeskuražen [každyj opponenta] **ambiguous**  
 [Some act]<sub>INSTR</sub> was discouraged [every opponent]<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘Every opponent was discouraged by some act’
- d. [Kakoj-to opponenta] byl obeskuražen (každym postupkom) **frozen**  
 [Some opponent]<sub>NOM</sub> was discouraged [every act]<sub>INSTR</sub>  
 ‘Some opponent was discouraged by some act’

## EVIDENCE: PASSIVIZATION TEST

### Group 3

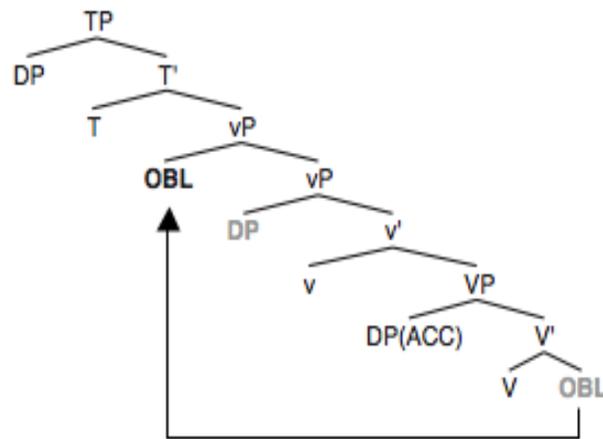
- (19) a. Maša porekomendovala [kakuju-to proceduru] [každoj pacientke] **ambiguous**  
 Masha recommended [some procedure]<sub>ACC</sub> [every patient]<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘Masha recommended some procedure to every patient’
- b. Maša porekomendovala [kakoj-to pacientke] [každuju proceduru] **??frozen**  
 Masha recommended [some patient]<sub>DAT</sub> [every procedure]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Masha recommended some patient every procedure’
- c. [Kakaja-to procedura] byla rekomendovana [každoj pacientke] **ambiguous**  
 [Some procedure]<sub>NOM</sub> was recommended [every patient]<sub>DAT</sub>  
 ‘Some procedure was recommended to every patient’
- d. [Kakoj-to pacientke] byla rekomendovana [každaja procedura] **ambiguous**  
 [Some patient]<sub>DAT</sub> was recommended [every procedure]<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘To some patient was recommended every procedure’

# PROPOSED STRUCTURES FOR THE THREE GROUPS

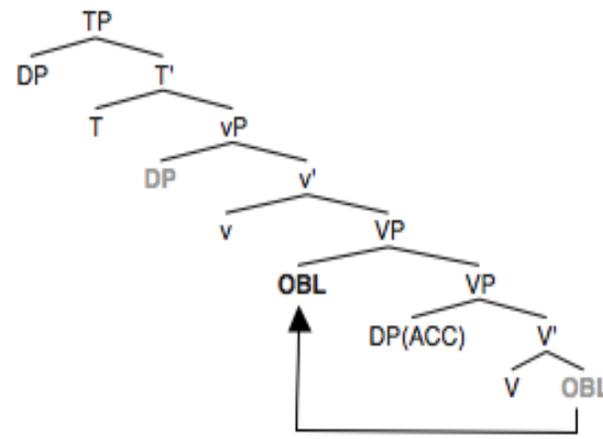
## Possible Structures for Group 1 Predicates:

- (20) (a) OBL has been topicalized to an adjoined position.
- (b) OBL has been raised to spec of an applicative head.

(21)



a. Oblique argument adjoins to vP

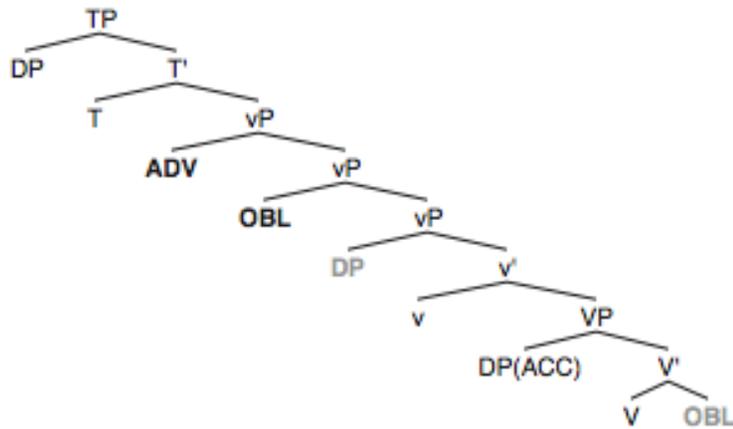


b. Oblique argument adjoins to VP

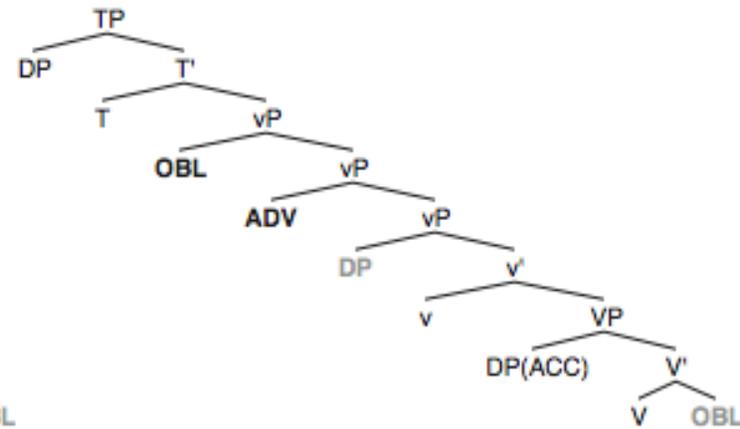
How do we choose between these structures?

# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 1 PREDICATES

(22) a.

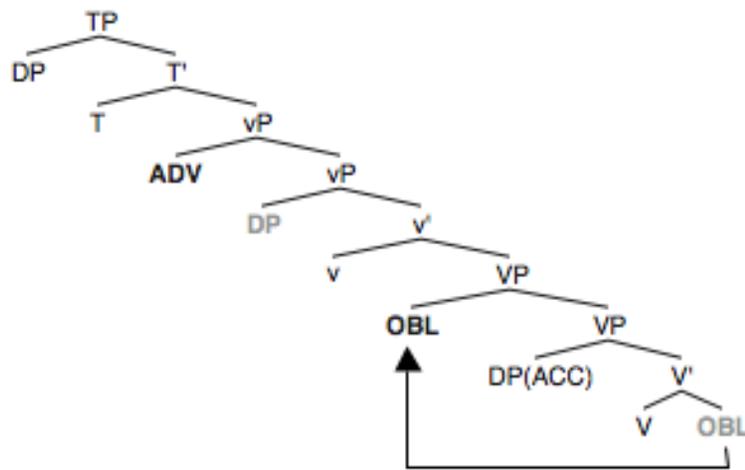


b.



# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 1 PREDICATES

(23)



## POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 1 PREDICATES

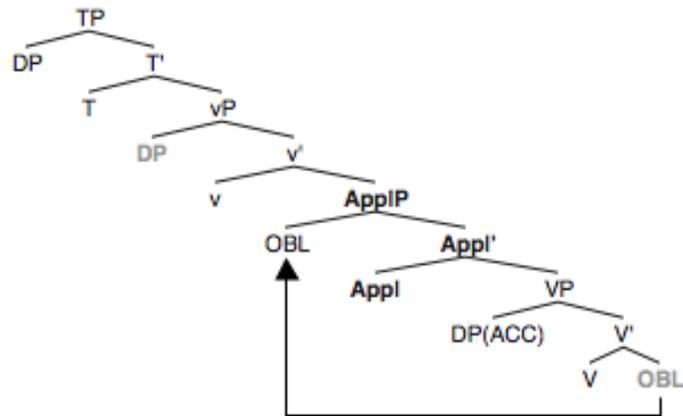
- (24)a. Maša special'no potrebovala s Ivana den'gi  
Masha purposefully demanded from Ivan<sub>(GEN)</sub> money<sub>(ACC)</sub>  
'Masha demanded money from Ivan'
- b. \*Maša potrebovala s Ivana special'no den'gi  
Masha purposefully from Ivan<sub>(GEN)</sub> demanded money<sub>(ACC)</sub>

=> evidence for (23)

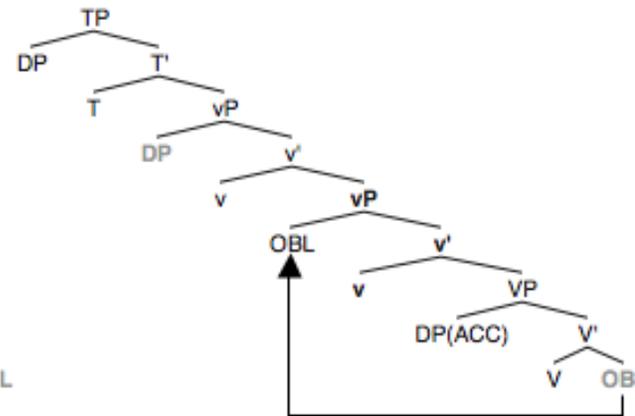
# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 1 PREDICATES

Another possibility for Group 1:

(25) a.



b.



## POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 2 PREDICATES

(26) non-derived applicative structure with a low direct object (Marantz (1993), Pytkkanen (2000), (2002), McGinnis (2001) i.a.)

- (27) (a) [PP P DP(ACC)] can be taken to raise over OBL and adjoin to VP  
 (b) [PP P DP(ACC)] can be taken to raise over OBL to the spec of ApplP or vP.

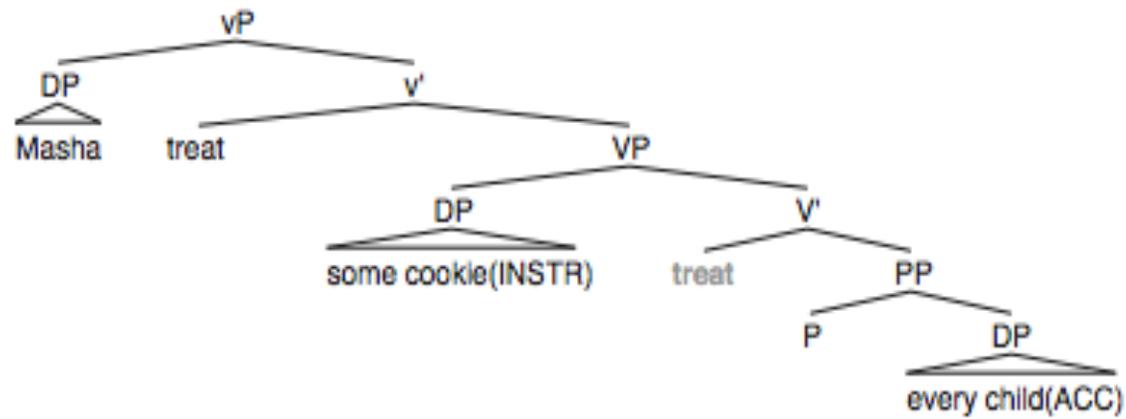
(28) V NP-ACC NP-OBL NP-ACC DERIVED ORDER (**frozen**)

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- |         |  |          |                                |                                 |                  |
|---------|--|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| (29) a. | Maša                                       | ugostila | (kakim-to pečenjem)            | každoga rebenka                 | <b>ambiguous</b> |
|         | Masha                                      | treated  | [some cookie] <sub>INSTR</sub> | [every child] <sub>ACC</sub>    |                  |
|         | ‘Masha treated every child to some cookie’ |          |                                |                                 |                  |
|         |  |          |                                |                                 |                  |
| b.      | Maša                                       | ugostila | [kakogo-to rebenka]            | (každym pečenjem)               | <b>frozen</b>    |
|         | Masha                                      | treated  | [some child] <sub>ACC</sub>    | [every cookie] <sub>INSTR</sub> |                  |
|         | ‘Masha treated some child to every cookie’ |          |                                |                                 |                  |

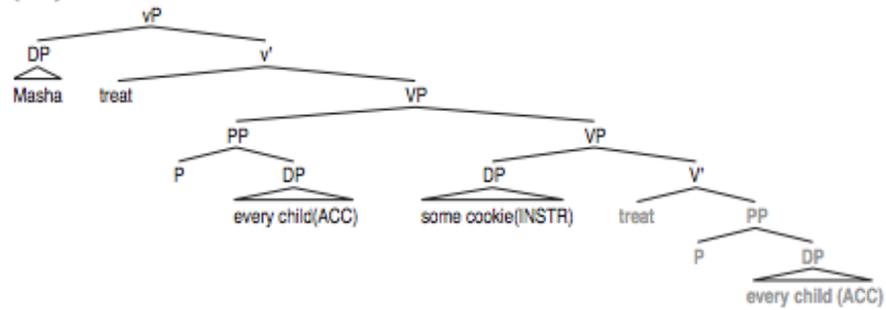
## POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 2 PREDICATES

(30)

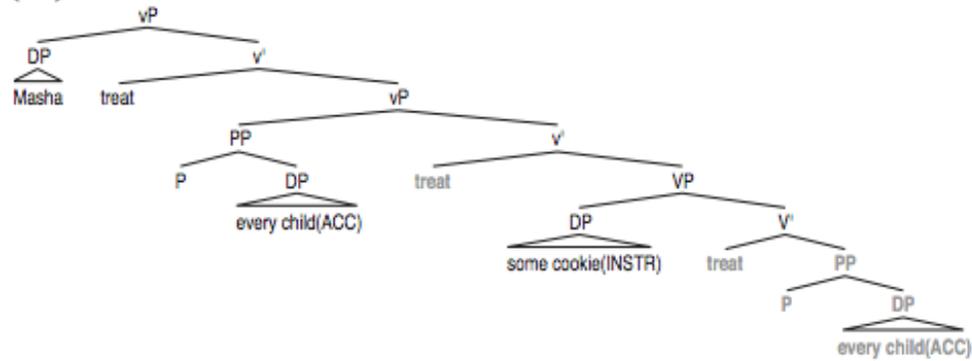


# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 2 PREDICATES

(31)



(32)



## POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 2 PREDICATES

- (33) a. Maša pobesedovala (na kakuju-to temu) [s každym drugom] ambiguous  
 Masha talked [PP on [some topic]<sub>ACC</sub>] [PP with [every friend]<sub>INSTR</sub>]  
 'Masha had a conversation on some topic with every friend'
- b. Maša pobesedovala [s kakim-to drugom] (na každyju-to temu) frozen  
 Masha talked [PP with [some friend]<sub>INSTR</sub>] [PP on [every topic]<sub>ACC</sub>]  
 'Masha had a conversation with some friend on every topic'
- (34) a. Maša porugala (za kakuju-to ošibku) [každogo druga] ambiguous  
 Masha scolded [PP for [some mistake]<sub>ACC</sub>] [every friend]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 'Masha scolded every friend for some mistake'
- b. Maša porugala [kakogo-to druga] (za každyju ošibku) frozen  
 Masha scolded [some friend]<sub>ACC</sub> [PP for [every mistake]<sub>ACC</sub>]  
 'Masha scolded some friend for every mistake'

## NON-OBJECT-LIKE PROPERTIES OF THE ACCUSATIVE OBJECT WITH GROUP 2 VERBS

### Ability to occur inside a distributive *po*-phrase (Pesetsky 1982)

(35) ??/\*Maša otrugala po drugu za každyju ošibku  
Masha scolded PO [friend]<sub>DAT</sub> [PP for [every mistake]<sub>ACC</sub>]  
'Masha scolded one friend for each mistake'

(36) \*Maša obesкураžila po [opponentu] (každym postupkom)  
Masha discouraged PO [opponent]<sub>DAT</sub> [every act]<sub>INSTR</sub>

### (cf. Group 1 predicates):

(37) Maša našla po knige každymu studentu  
Masha found PO [book]<sub>DAT</sub> [every student]<sub>DAT</sub>  
'Masha found one book for every student'

## NON-OBJECT-LIKE PROPERTIES OF THE ACCUSATIVE OBJECT WITH GROUP 2 VERBS

### Genitive of Negation Test (Babby 1980, Pesetsky 1982)

(38)a. Maša otrugala (za kakuju-to oshibku) kazhduju podругu  
Masha scolded [for some mistake]<sub>ACC</sub> [every friend]<sub>ACC</sub>

b. \*/??Maša ne otrugala podругi<sub>(GEN)</sub>  
'Masha didn't scold a friend'

(39) \*/??Maša ne obeskuraziła opponentki  
Masha not discouraged [opponent]<sub>GEN</sub>

### (cf. Group 1 predicates):

(40) Maša ne našla knigi  
Masha not found [book]<sub>GEN</sub>

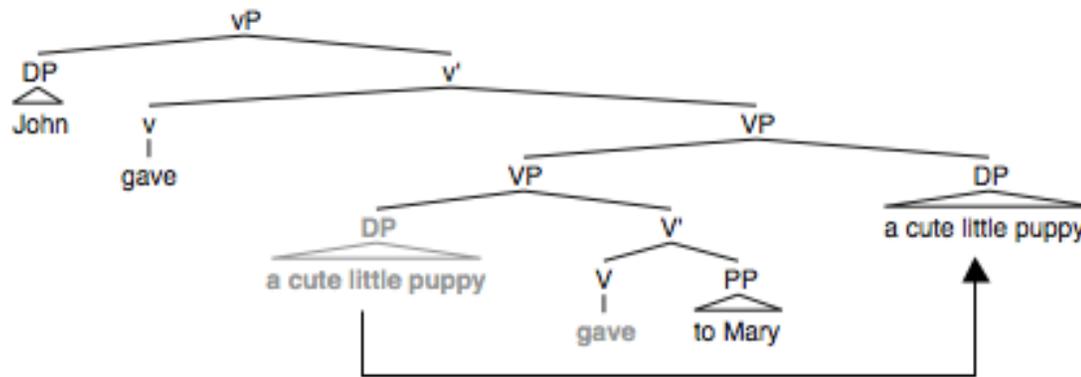
## POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 3 PREDICATES

**Two major possibilities: independent derivations or derived order**

- (41) a. Job blamed [God] [for his troubles] (Larson 1990)  
b. Job blamed [his troubles] [on God]
- (42) a. John blamed some employee for every mistake.  $\exists V, \forall E$   
b. John blamed some mistake on every employee.  $\exists V, \forall E$
- (43) a. John gave [a cute little puppy] [to Mary]  
b. John gave [to Mary] [a cute little puppy]

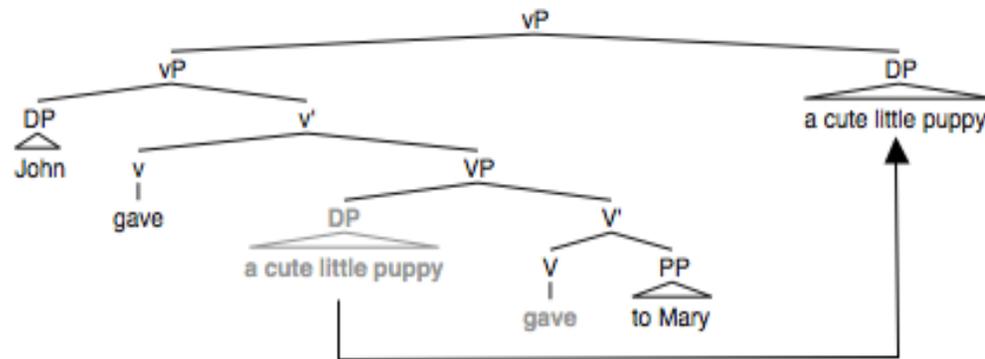
# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 3 PREDICATES

(44) a.



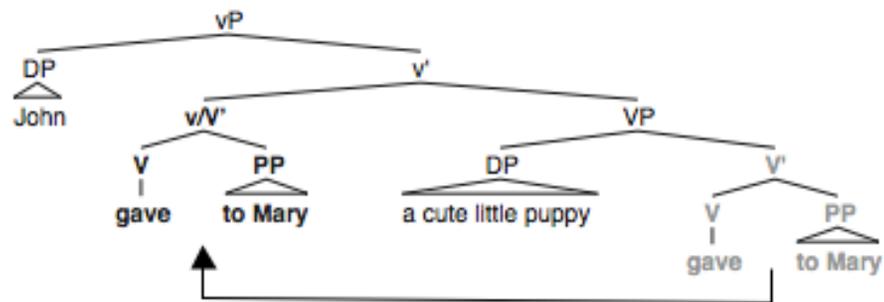
# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 3 PREDICATES

(44) b.



# POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 3 PREDICATES

(45)

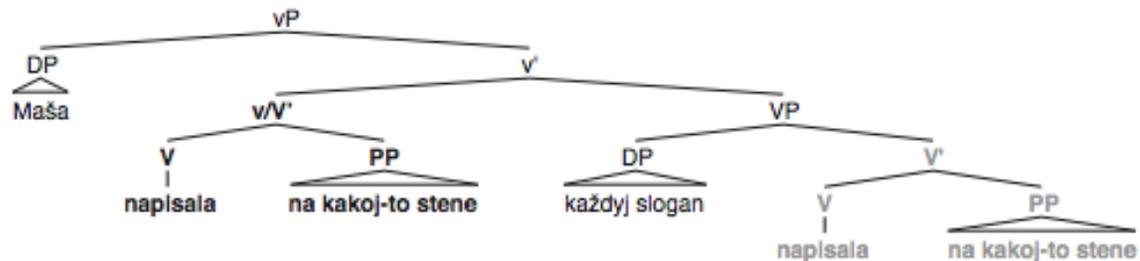


## POSSIBLE STRUCTURES FOR GROUP 3 PREDICATES

(46)a. Maša napisala [kakoj-to slogan] (na každoj stene) (amb)  
 Masha wrote [some slogan]<sub>ACC</sub> [PP on every wall]<sub>PREP</sub>  
 ‘Masha wrote some slogan on every wall’

b. Maša napisala (na kakoj-to stene) [každyj slogan] (amb)  
 Masha wrote [PP on some wall]<sub>PREP</sub> [every slogan]<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Masha wrote every slogan on some wall’

(47)



## CONCLUSIONS

Russian QP scope data doesn't just provide insights into how QR interacts with overt movement, it can also be used as a new diagnostic tool for probing into the argument structure of ditransitives.

The Scope Freezing Generalization based on Russian QP scope and scope freezing distribution data, used as a diagnostic tool, strongly suggests that Russian ditransitives make up 3 distinct Groups, with different syntactic properties and distinct scope behavior of each.

Additional syntactic tests show that we need to posit distinct structures for the three Groups.

The Russian scope data and SFG strongly suggest that while no single structure can be proposed for all Russian ditransitives, the account of Russian ditransitives is nevertheless distinctly derivational, providing support for Larson (2014) and partially for Bailyn (1995, 2012) accounts of ditransitives in English and Russian respectively.

Strong support for the claim that all languages show contexts of scope freezing and scope fluidity, that is, there is no QR Parameter (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012)

Implications for other languages showing scope freezing in ditransitives (English, Korean, Japanese, etc)

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# THANK YOU!

Contact info for questions and additional data requests: [syudina@gmail.com](mailto:syudina@gmail.com)

This PPT presentation as well as related papers can soon be downloaded at my web page:  
[www.lingoscope.org](http://www.lingoscope.org)

# The “What About Chinese” Question?

Yaobin Liu and Hongchen Wu (NACCL 28, May 2016):

## Empirical Findings:

Mandarin actives typically show fixed scope

Mandarin passives allow **flexible scope**

Mandarin double object constructions (DOCs) show fixed scope

Mandarin preposition datives (PPDs) allow **flexible scope**

Some PPDs even prefer **inverse scope**

Preverbal PPs show fixed scope

Post-verbal PPs allow **flexible scope**

**Aoun and Li (1993)**: (**The Scope Principle**: A quantifier A may have scope over a quantifier B iff A c-commands a member of the chain containing B)

- (1) a. QP1 x1 QP2 x2 (active)
- b. QP2 x2 QP1 x1 t2 (passive)

Incorrect predictions about scope contrasts between Preverbal and postverbal PPs;

Incorrect predictions about scope contrasts between DOCs and PP Datives.

# The “What About Chinese” Question?

**Yaobin Liu and Hongchen Wu (NACCL 28, May 2016):**

SFG (Antonyuk 2015) correctly predicts:

- Scope in Mandarin pre- and post-posed PPs
- Scope in Mandarin DOCs and PPDs
- Scope ambiguity in Mandarin passives

SFG does NOT predict the fixed scope of simple transitives.

Possibilities:

- Simple transitives involve movements in which subject and object cross (in keeping with SFG).
- Some additional factor is involved in simple transitives, e.g., information structure, favoring a wide scope interpretation of the subject (D-linking, definiteness, specificity, etc.)

# The “What About Chinese” Question?

Yaobin Liu and Hongchen Wu (NACCL 28, May 2016):

## Conclusions:

- Mandarin Chinese is not a strictly scope-rigid language.
- Striking similarities found between Mandarin and English with regard to scope phenomena in ditransitives.
- Parallel analyses can be applied cross-linguistically.