

# Double objects again... but in Icelandic

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## 1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the ways in which Icelandic might inform the larger debate about the nature and structure of ditransitives. The discussion in the literature on ditransitives generally has two veins—one centered around argument structure and word order and the other centered around the Person Case Constraint, the restriction on first and second person (in)direct objects that many languages display. I focus on the former and have the following three goals:<sup>1</sup> (1) outline the facts with respect to the allowable word orders in Icelandic ditransitives; (2) summarize the debate about the structure of English ditransitives and highlight the ways in which the analysis for English proposed in [Harley 2002](#) aligns with the analysis for Icelandic proposed in [Collins & Thráinsson 1996](#); and (3) illustrate how parallels between the word order in Icelandic ditransitives and the word order in other constructions in Icelandic suggest a unified analysis. I ultimately propose that the analysis in [Collins & Thráinsson 1996](#) be amended to account for these parallels. Throughout this brief paper, I ask more questions than I answer. What is written here is not intended to be a definitive analysis in any way. Rather, this paper is a short collection of intriguing facts that have theoretical import.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the debate surrounding ditransitives in English. Section 3 outlines the range of complement frames and word order options in Icelandic and explores whether [Harley's \(2002\)](#) analysis of English plausibly extends to Icelandic. Section 4 illustrates the ways in which [Collins & Thráinsson's \(1996\)](#) analysis of Icelandic parallels that in [Harley 2002](#), even though [Collins & Thráinsson \(1996\)](#) are attempting to account for a different set of facts. I argue against drawing this parallel. Section 5 concludes.

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<sup>1</sup> [Collins & Thráinsson \(1996\)](#) propose a variation of the PCC based on the feature composition of various heads in order to account for the allowable word orders with object shift in ditransitives. Also, some research links PCC effects in other languages with the restriction on first and second person nominative objects in Icelandic transitive constructions. (See, for instance, [Rezac 2007](#) and [Boeckx 2008](#) for discussion.)

## 2 Overview of approaches to English ditransitives

English allows both the DP–DP and DP–PP variants shown in (1) and there has been a great deal of debate about the interpretation and structure of these two complement frames.

- (1) a. The announcer presented the wrong actor the Oscar. DP–DP  
 b. The announcer presented the Oscar to the wrong actor. DP–PP

In the syntax literature, this debate has been waging in earnest since [Larson 1988](#), where it is argued that the DP–PP structure is basic and the DP–DP variant is derived via passive-like movement of the indirect object. Much subsequent work has taken issue with this approach and argues that the interpretation of these two structures is fundamentally different, and consequently, neither is derived from the other.<sup>2</sup> Given this general consensus, the debate now largely centers around the degree to which the interpretation of each frame is encoded in the syntactic structure.

As articulated in [Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2008](#), there are two general approaches, the “unified multiple meaning” approach and the “verb sensitive” approach. On the unified multiple meaning approach, the DP–DP variant necessarily encodes a transfer of possession while the DP–PP variant necessarily encodes motion. This approach builds on some initial observations put forth in [Green 1974](#) and [Oehrle 1976](#), which propose an asymmetry in the interpretation of the two different frames. The guiding intuition, then, is that in sentences such as (1a), the wrong actor necessarily has the Oscar (even momentarily), while in (1b), the wrong actor is the intended endpoint of the Oscar, but the actor need not actually ever possess the Oscar. Crucially, on the unified multiple meaning approach, the meaning of each complement frame is the same irrespective of the individual verb. There are numerous proposals which adopt some form of the unified multiple meaning approach,<sup>3</sup> though the technical implementation varies and we will see that the analyses articulated in [Harley 2002](#) and in [Collins & Thráinsson 1996](#) follow this line of thinking.

Unlike the unified multiple meaning approach, on the verb sensitive approach there is not a one-to-one mapping between structure and meaning. Rather, the interpretation of the complement frame depends on the meaning of the verb. This approach is argued for in [Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2008](#), some elements of which are extended in [Hallman 2015](#). Proponents of both the multiple meaning and the verb sensitive approaches agree that there is always a possession interpretation associated with the DP–DP frame. The issue, though, lies with the DP–PP frame, which the verb sensitive approach argues has either a possession interpretation or

<sup>2</sup> Though see [Hallman 2015](#) for a derivational approach which argues that the DP–DP frame is basic and that the DP–PP frame can either be base generated or derived from the DP–DP frame.

<sup>3</sup> Including [Beck & Johnson 2004](#).

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a motion interpretation, depending on the verb. Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2008) propose that *throw* is such a verb in English. Just as with English, we will see that Icelandic does not conclusively decide between the two approaches.

### 3 Overview of Icelandic ditransitives: case, meaning, and word order

The situation in Icelandic is more complex than the one in English due to a variety of factors. As is well known, Icelandic has a rich morphological case system. While the subject in a ditransitive is always nominative, the indirect and direct objects can appear in several different case combinations, as shown in (2).<sup>4</sup>

- |     |    |   |         |
|-----|----|---|---------|
| (2) | a. | Ég sagði þér söguna.<br>I told you.DAT a story.ACC<br>'I told you a story.'                                       | Dat–Acc |
|     | b. | Þeir leyndu Ólaf sannleikanum.<br>they concealed Olaf.ACC the truth.DAT<br>'They concealed the truth from Olaf.'  | Acc–Dat |
|     | c. | María óskaði Ólafi alls goðs.<br>Maria wished Olaf.DAT everything good.GEN<br>'Mary wished Olaf everything good.' | Dat–Gen |
|     | d. | Ólafur lofaði Maríu þessum hring.<br>Olaf promised Mary.DAT this ring.DAT<br>'Olaf promised Mary this ring.'      | Dat–Dat |
|     | e. | Jón bað mig bónar.<br>Jon asked me.ACC a favor.GEN<br>'Jon asked me a favor.'                                     | Acc–Gen |
- (Zaenen et al. 1985: (37))

The cross-linguistically canonical dative-accusative pattern is shown in (2a), and the overwhelming majority of ditransitives in Icelandic exhibit this pattern.<sup>5</sup>

Interestingly, only some of the above case patterns allow for the DP–PP variant, and there are additional restrictions. Within the Dat–Acc case frame, DP–PP is only allowed with verbs that express physical movement of the direct object, the accusative argument (Thráinsson 2007: 174). For instance, while *gefa* 'give,' *sýna*

4 Thráinsson (2007) also lists the two verbs for which both objects are accusative — *kosta* 'cost' and *taka* 'take.' As discussed in Zaenen et al. 1985, these might be instances of cognate object constructions as opposed to true ditransitives. Thráinsson (2007: 178) states that the second object is a measure phrase.

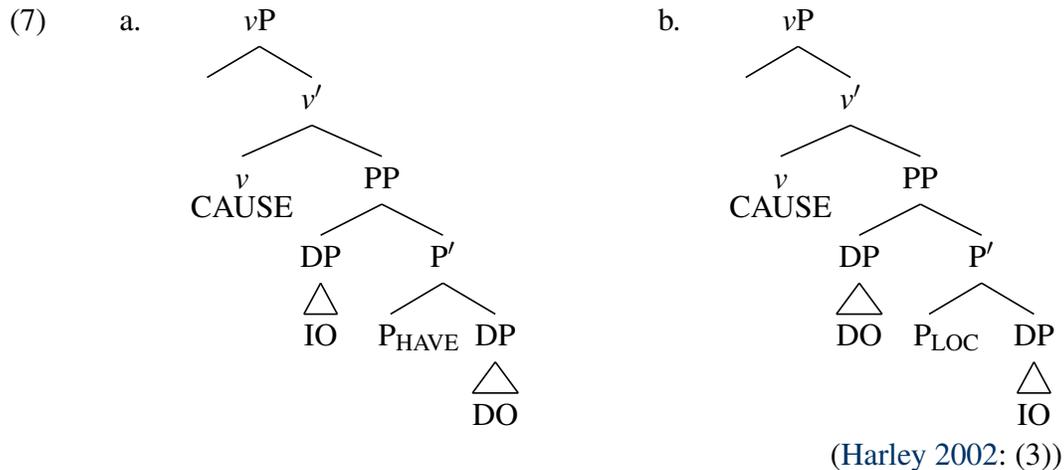
5 As reported in Thráinsson 2007: 173 (among others), the number of verbs exhibiting each case pattern is: Dat–Acc (at least 220); Acc–Dat (40); Dat–Gen (30); Dat–Dat (30); Acc–Gen (20).

‘show,’ *senda* ‘send’, and *fax* ‘fax’ all have the Dat–Acc frame, only ‘send’ and ‘fax’ allow for the DP–PP variant, as shown in (3)–(6).

- (3) a. Haraldur sendi mér ost.  
Harold.NOM sent me.DAT cheese.ACC  
‘Harold sent me (some) cheese.’  
b. Haraldur sendi ost til mín.  
Harold.NOM sent cheese.ACC to me.GEN  
‘Harold sent (some) cheese to me.’
- (4) a. Þeir föxuðu mér samninginn.  
they.NOM faxed me.DAT the contract.ACC  
‘They faxed me the contract.’  
b. Þeir föxuðu samninginn til mín.  
they.NOM faxed the contract.ACC to me.GEN  
‘They faxed the contract to me.’
- (5) a. María gaf Haraldi bókina.  
Mary gave Harold.DAT the book.ACC  
‘Mary gave Harold the book.’  
b. \*María gaf bókina til Haraldar.  
Mary gave the book.ACC to Harold.GEN
- (6) a. Hann sýndi strákunum bátinn.  
he.NOM showed the boys.DAT the boat.ACC  
‘He showed the boys the boat.’  
b. \*Hann sýndi bátinn til strákanna.  
he.NOM showed the boat.ACC to the boys.GEN  
(Thráinsson 2007: 173–174)

These facts can be taken as supporting a unified multiple meaning approach for Icelandic, since there is a clear correspondence between the complement frame and meaning: the DP–PP variants in (3) and (4) necessarily encode movement along a path. One analysis that might be extended to Icelandic is found in Harley 2002, with some aspects further defended in Harley & Jung 2015.<sup>6</sup> This proposal argues for a small clause approach to both DP–DP and DP–PP variants. In both frames, a causative *v* head selects for a PP complement headed by a null P. The difference lies in the semantics of this head. As schematized in (7), in the DP–DP variant, the head encodes possession and selects for a DP, while in the DP–PP variant, the null P encodes a path and selects for a PP.

<sup>6</sup> Responding to the proposal in Bruening 2010, Harley & Jung (2015) reject the analysis in (7b) and defend the analysis in (7a). Even still, the structure in (7b) makes for a useful comparison with Collins & Thráinsson’s (1996) analysis for Icelandic.



The derivation in (7a) would, therefore, be available for the (a) examples in (3)-(6), while the derivation in (7b) would only be available for (3b) and (4b). The question, then, is whether the semantics of the two structures in (7) actually extend across the range of ditransitives in Icelandic. An initial look proves inconclusive.

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008),<sup>7</sup> among others, challenges analyses such as the one above for English, with one argument being that the DP–DP frame need not entail possession. For instance, the possession interpretation ostensibly inherent in (1a) can be cancelled, as shown in (8a).

- (8) a. The announcer presented the wrong actor the Oscar, but she didn't actually accept it.  
 b. The announcer presented the Oscar to the wrong actor, but she didn't actually accept it.

Harley & Jung (2015) adopt an analysis proposed in Beavers 2011, which argues that there need only be “prospective possession” in the DP–DP variant. As such, the classic contrast (discussed in early work such as Green 1974 and Oehrle 1976) between examples such as (9b) and (9d) arises because Philadelphia cannot possess the article in any possible world, unless Philadelphia is animate because it is representative of a group of people.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) argues that both objects in the DP–DP frame are merged inside of a low Applicative Phrase. Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) also contrasts the behavior of depictives in other small clauses with the behavior of depictives in DP–DP constructions to argue against the small clause analysis for ditransitives. Wood (2015) also assumes an Applicative Phrase approach for the DP–DP frame in Icelandic.

<sup>8</sup> To be clear, Harley & Jung (2015) do not discuss these particular examples. They appear in the earlier Harley 2002.

- (9) a. The editor sent the article to Sue.  
 b. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.  
 c. The editor sent Sue the article.  
 d. ??The editor sent Philadelphia the article.

(Harley 2002: (7))

Many of the examples that appear in the literature suggest that Icelandic imposes the same animacy restrictions on the indirect object in the Dat–Acc case pattern, and if we assume that the possession can be real or prospective, it seems as if the analysis in (7) could be extended.<sup>9,10</sup> The proposal gains further traction when we look at other case frames. For instance, Dat–Dat verbs also allow the DP–PP variant when there is motion, as shown in the contrast between (10b) and (11b).

- (10) a. *Ég lofaði henni því*  
 I.NOM promised her.DAT it.DAT  
 ‘I promised her it.’  
 b. \**Ég lofaði því til hennar.*  
 I.NOM promised it to her.GEN  
 ‘I promised it to her.’ (Thráinsson 2007: 177–178)
- (11) a. *Hún skilaði mér bókinni.*  
 she.NOM returned me.DAT the book.DAT  
 b. *Hún skilaði bókinni til mín.*  
 she.NOM returned the book.DAT to me.GEN  
 ‘She returned the book to me.’ (Thráinsson 2007: 177–178)

We run into problems, however, with the Acc–Dat case pattern.<sup>11</sup> The DP–PP variant is allowed with some verbs even when there is not a locative interpretation, as shown in (12b).

- (12) a. *Þeir leyndu hana sannleikanum.*  
 they.NOM concealed her.ACC the truth.DAT  
 b. *Þeir leyndu sannleikanum fyrir henni.*  
 they.NOM concealed the truth.DAT from her.DAT  
 ‘They concealed the truth from her.’ (Thráinsson 2007: 174)

<sup>9</sup> Exploring whether the possession presupposition is defeasible in Icelandic as it is in English is an issue for future research.

<sup>10</sup> See Maling 2002 for a detailed discussion of verbs that have dative objects.

<sup>11</sup> 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).

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(12a) could be accommodated if we allow for the P in (7a) to encode HAVE or NOT-HAVE (an idea briefly mentioned in Beck & Johnson 2004, fn. 4). However, we are left with the problem that *leyna* ‘conceal’ does not signify physical movement, yet (7b) is allowed. What we see, then, is that *leyna* patterns like *skila* ‘return’ not like *lofa* ‘promise.’ It is likely not insignificant that the preposition ‘from’ is used instead of ‘to.’ Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2008) discuss the ways in which prepositions interact with verbs in the DP–PP variant in English. Recall that on the verb sensitive approach, the meaning of the DP–PP variant can vary according to the verb, and the pattern above provides some basis for this approach to Icelandic. Additionally, some Icelandic examples might challenge the idea that the DP–DP variant necessarily has a (not) possession meaning, as evidenced by the animacy restriction in English. The sentence in (13) has an Acc–Dat case frame and the indirect object has conditional animacy in the same way that ‘Philadelphia’ does in (9).

- (13) Meiriihlutinn varði stjórnina falli.  
the majority.NOM protected the government.ACC fall.DAT  
‘The majority protected the government from falling.’  
(Thráinsson 2007: 174)

More research is needed in order to determine when seemingly inanimate indirect objects are allowed and to determine if the DP–DP variant always encodes (not) possession.

Some answers may be found in the observations discussed in Jónsson 2000. This work explores the relationship between case and theta roles in Icelandic ditransitives, focusing mostly on the DP–DP variant. Jónsson (2000) proposes a three-way distinction between the theta roles that indirect objects can bear. Recipient and benefactive indirect objects have dative case, while indirect objects that are targets can have either dative or accusative case. Though a target is only defined as a DP which is neither a recipient nor a benefactive, Jónsson (2000) states that targets may be abstract entities. While *stjórnina* ‘the government’ in (13) is a target, the question remains as to whether abstract entities can be possessors.

We see, then, that it is not clear if the unified multiple meaning approach, the verb sensitive approach, or some other approach is best for Icelandic. Perhaps the unified multiple meaning approach applies to verbs that have either the Dat–Acc or the Dat–Dat case frame, while another approach is needed for the Acc–Dat case frame. In the next section, we explore a conundrum which has less to do with argument structure than with word order.

#### 4 Object inversion

The facts in Icelandic are further complicated by the phenomenon of object inversion, in which the direct object precedes the indirect object and yields an Acc–Dat surface pattern. This is a marked order that is only allowed with verbs that normally have a Dat–Acc case pattern.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, some verbs which do not allow the DP–PP variant do allow the inverted order. Even though we saw in (6b) that *sýna* ‘show’ bans the DP–PP variant, both the Dat–Acc and the Acc–Dat orders are allowed in (14).

- (14) 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 & Thráinsson 1996: (44))

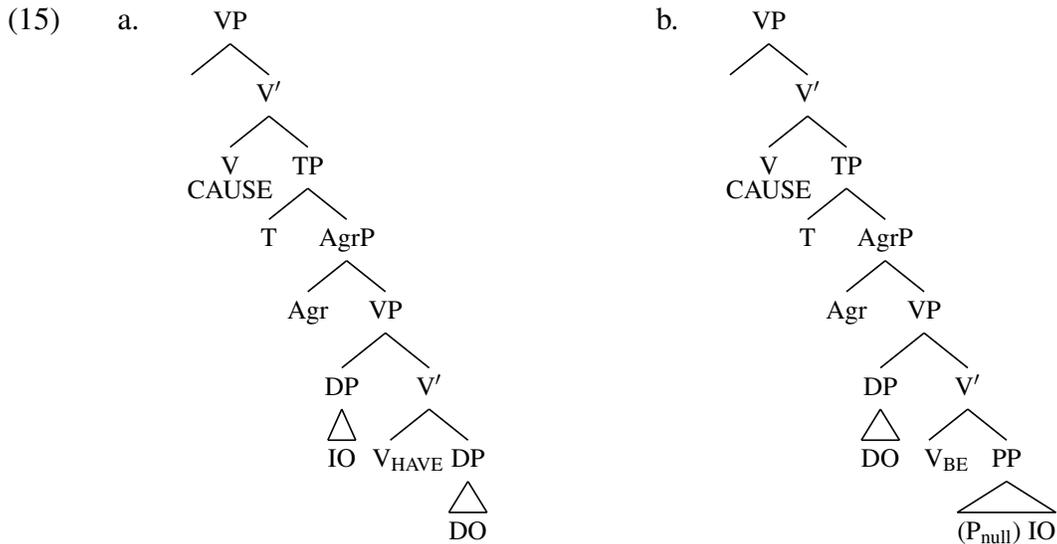
Crucially, the interpretation of the inverted order is the same as the interpretation if there were a DP–PP variant, even though there is no preposition in (14b).

Collins & Thráinsson’s (1996) analysis of constructions such as (14) predates the adoption of *v*P as a standard component of syntactic derivations, but the fundamental principles are the same as those in Harley (2002). Building on Falk 1990, Collins & Thráinsson (1996) argue that the inverted order is not derived by movement. Rather, the two structures are base generated. As in the analysis in (7), for Collins & Thráinsson (1996), ditransitives have a causative interpretation. A null causative verb selects for a small clause — in their analysis, a TP. That TP contains a VP whose head decomposes into the ditransitive verb plus either HAVE or BE.<sup>13</sup> HAVE selects for a DP and BE selects for a PP, as shown in (15).

12 Other salient properties of inversion are that it isn’t rightward extraposition of the indirect object and the indirect object bears some stress (Collins & Thráinsson 1996: 416–418).

13 See the discussion in Section 5 of Collins & Thráinsson (1996) for a detailed explanation of the nature of the lexical decomposition of the verb.

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(based on Collins & Thráinsson 1996: (17) and (65))

While in (7) there is a null P head in both structures, only the inverted structure in (15b) has a null P head. Collins & Thráinsson (1996) do not explicitly address the DP–(overt) PP variant, but it seems as if (15b) would extend to some of these constructions, especially given the semantic restrictions of some DP–PP variants in Icelandic.  $V_{BE}$  can be seen as analogous to Harley’s (2002)  $V_{LOC}$ . The crucial point, though, is that Collins & Thráinsson (1996: 420) assume that the DP–PP variant and inversion have the same structure.

Collins & Thráinsson’s (1996) overall goal is to provide an account of object shift in Icelandic. In doing so, they illustrate that inversion of the sort shown in (14b) is not the same as object shift. Object shift in Icelandic generally obeys Holmberg’s Generalization and requires verb movement to T, which occurs in both constructions in (16). In (16a), both the verb and the object shift over negation. In (16b), only the verb moves and the object remains in-situ. The pattern in (16) contrasts with that in (17), in which the auxiliary occupies T, thus preventing the verb from moving there. Consequently, object shift is blocked in (17a) and in the ditransitive constructions in (18b) and (18c).

- (16) 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.’

(Collins & Thráinsson 1996: (2))

- (17) 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  
(Collins & Thráinsson 1996: (5d,e))
- (18) 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  
(Collins & Thráinsson 1996: (20) & (22))

If the main verb does move to T in a ditransitive, then the indirect object can shift alone or it can shift with the direct object. In both situations, though, the indirect object precedes the direct object in the grammatical versions of (18b) and (18c) (which would not have the auxiliary).

By contrast, inversion does not obey Holmberg's Generalization. The direct object precedes the indirect object and this order is allowed irrespective of whether the main verb moves to T, which it does not do in (19). The binding facts in (19) provide additional evidence that the indirect object c-commands the direct object in the standard word order in (19a) and the direct object c-commands the indirect object in the inverted order in (19b).

- (19) a. Ég hafði gefið konunginum<sub>i</sub> ambáttina sína<sub>i</sub>.  
I.NOM had given the king.DAT the maidservant.ACC his.REFL  
'I had given the king his maidservant.'  
b. Ég hafði gefið ambáttina<sub>i</sub> konungi sínum<sub>i</sub>.  
I.NOM had given the maidservant.ACC king.DAT her.REFL  
'I had given the maidservant to her king.'  
(Collins & Thráinsson 1996: (50))

Assuming that a more contemporary tree structure, which includes vP and does not include AgrP, is on the right track, we are left with the question of why inversion is sensitive to case frames, especially given current thinking that case need not be assigned in a strictly local configuration—if case is even assigned in the syntax at all. While the Dat–Dat and Acc–Dat frames allow the DP–PP variant, these frames do not allow inversion. It is also worth noting that with the Dat–Acc frame,

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either object can passivize, as shown in (20),<sup>14</sup> whereas only the indirect object can passivize with the other case frames.

- (20) 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 et al. 1985: 44, slightly modified)

What we see, then, is that only the Dat–Acc frame allows inversion and passivization of either object. Returning to the allowable case frames shown in (2) — Dat–Acc, Acc–Dat, Dat–Gen, Dat–Dat, Acc–Gen — the Dat–Acc frame is also the only pattern in which a non-structural case is followed by a structural case. A similar situation exists with transitive verbs that can have either a Dative subject and Nominative object or a Nominative subject and Dative object.

“Symmetric” verb constructions such as in (21) are discussed in detail in Wood & Sigurðsson 2014.<sup>15</sup>

- (21) 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 & Sigurðsson 2014: (2))

On their proposal, the Dat–Nom ordering is the underlying structure for both constructions in (21). The timing of various head movement operations either makes the Nominative equally distant from T or not. If the Nominative is equidistant, then either the Nominative or the Dative can raise to subject position.<sup>16</sup> Wood & Sigurðs-

14 The auxiliary and the passive participle agree with the nominative, irrespective of whether it is the subject or object. See Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008 and Ussery 2009, to appear for discussion of agreement with nominative objects in active sentences and Ussery 2015 for agreement with nominative objects in passives.

15 See also Barðdal et al. 2014 for an analysis couched within the Sign-Based Construction Grammar framework.

16 More technically, Wood & Sigurðsson (2014) propose that the Dative and Nominative are merged inside an Applicative Phrase which is complement to V. In symmetric constructions, the applicative head moves to V and the Appl–V complex moves to *v*. This movement causes the dative and the nominative to be equidistant from any c-commanding heads. As such, either the dative or the nominative can move to subject position. In asymmetric constructions, those in which only the structurally highest argument can move to subject position, the Appl head does not move to V, so the dative and the

son (2014) also discuss the inversion and passivization patterns illustrated above, and it seems like an approach which unifies these phenomena with symmetric verb constructions might be fruitful.

While it is clear that inversion should be treated separately from object shift, it is not clear that inversion should have the same analysis as the DP–PP variant. Collins & Thráinsson’s (1996) motivation for the two structures in (15) is based in part on the binding facts in (19), but perhaps something akin to Wood & Sigurðsson’s (2014) equidistance analysis could allow for the Acc–Dat structure to be derived from the Dat–Acc structure. This would mean that the binding relationship in (19a) is established before movement while the binding relationship in (19b) is established after movement and a fully-articulated analysis would have to explain this — but the Acc–Dat structure in (19b) is the marked option, after all. 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.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the undesirability of forcing a post-movement binding relationship contributes to the markedness of the Acc–Dat structure.

## 5 Conclusion and future directions

To summarize, I have illustrated that the argument structure and word order facts surrounding Icelandic ditransitives have theoretical import and should be further investigated. First, we have seen that while there are a variety of case combinations for direct and indirect objects, only some of these allow for the DP–PP variant. An initial evaluation suggests that a unified multiple meaning approach might capture the patterns for verbs that have either the Dat–Acc or Dat–Dat case frame, while another approach is needed for verbs that have the Acc–Dat case frame. The question remains, though, as to whether the DP–DP variant necessarily encodes possession. Second, I have shown that ditransitives which allow object inversion are similar to ditransitives that allow either object to passivize and similar to transitives that allow either argument to surface in subject position. In the underlying structure for all three of these constructions, a non-structurally case-marked argument is followed by a structurally case-marked argument. This suggests that movement operations are somehow sensitive to the structural/non-structural case distinction and challenges models in which syntactic operations do not make reference to case. I leave all of these questions for further research.

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nominative are not equidistant from T. Therefore, only the structurally higher dative can move to subject position.

<sup>17</sup> Dehé (2004) provides an Optimality Theory-based account which contrasts the ordering in Icelandic with that in German.

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