

Distributed Morphology: *have* in English

March 20, 2003

Most of this is taken from my paper, "Aspects of *have*," which is available on my website. It appeared in an obscure French book in 1998, in which most of the papers are in French. That may explain why it has so many weird typos in it, although I certainly did have the opportunity to proof it... hmm.

1.0 Introduction: Some uses of *have*

1. a) Getafix had [_{DP} a golden sickle].
possession (alienable)
- b) The oak tree has [_{DP} many branches].
possession (inalienable)
- c) The oak tree_i has [_{DP} a nest] in it_i.
location
- d) Asterix had [_{VP} Obelix deliver a menhir to Getafix].
causative (bare infinitive)
- e) Asterix_i had [_{VP} Obelix drop a menhir on him_i].
experiencer (bare inf)
- f) Asterix had [_{VP (ppl)} Obelix running errands for him.].
causative (prog. ppl.)
- g) Asterix had [_{AdjP} Obelix red in the face with rage].
causative (adjective)
- h) Asterix had [_{VP (ppl)} Obelix locked in his hut].
causative (passive ppl.)
- i) Asterix had [_{PP} Obelix in a rage].
causative (PP)

The structure of *have*, more or less:

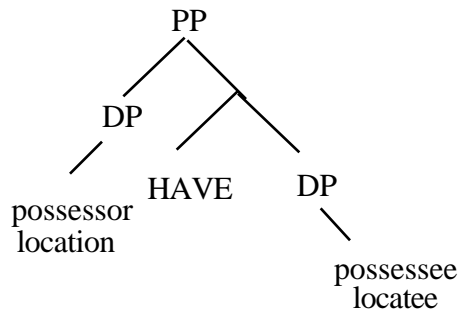
→ It's a relational element; it usually relates a DP to something else:

[_{HaveP} DP [_{Have'} *have* XP]

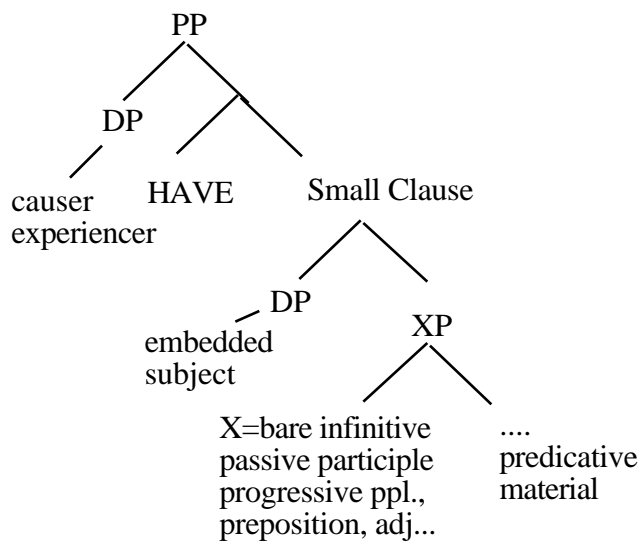
XP = DP: possessive or locative (1a, b, c)

XP = predication: causative or experiencer (1d-i)

2. a) **possessor** or **location** reading



- b) **causative** or **experiencer** reading



2.0 *Have*: the causative and experiencer readings

Causative reading

3. a) #Calvin had John trip on the stairs. (except on "director's reading")
 b) #Calvin had the water boil.

Compare:

4. a) Calvin made John trip on the stairs.
 b) Calvin made the water boil.

but:

5. a) Calvin had Hobbes tripping on the stairs, because he was so flustered.
 b) Calvin had the water boiling in no time at all.

Experiencer reading:

6. a) Asterix_i had the Romans capture Obelix on him_i.
 b) Asterix_i had Obelix step on his_i foot.

Not under discussion: 'sexual' have and 'con-man' have'

7. a) The hero had the heroine before the movie was half over!
b) You really had me that time, but I won't fall for that again.

As we'll see later, causative and experiencer have cannot be passivized, nor can locative or possessive have. But con-man and sexual have can be:

8. a) The heroine was had by her leading man before the movie was half over.
b) I thought I was getting a deal on this car, but it turns out I was had!

2.1 *Have and binding: distinguishing the readings for each syntax*

Experiencer *have* requires a pronominal coindexed with the subject in it:

9. a) Hobbes_i had the pile of snow fall *(on him_i).
b) Hobbes_i had his_i/*the stack of books fall.
c) Hobbes_i had the tuna fish rot *(on him_i).

Coindexed pronoun = "ethical dative":

The experiencer reading is marginally available when the consequences are obviously adverse for the subject. Analysis: 'understood' ethical dative

10. a) The provost had all the alumni retract their donations today.
b) The Speaker of the House had the congressmen walk out yesterday.

More examples:

13. a) **experiencer**
Pinochio_i had Gepetto building other puppets on him_i
b) **causative**
Pinochio had Gepetto building other puppets on the workbench.
14. a) **experiencer**
Pinochio_i had Gepetto step on his_i leg.
b) **causative**
Pinochio had Gepetto step on a wood-boring beetle.

The connection with the location and alienable possession readings:

11. a) The slide_i has 8 children *(on it_i).
(only location reading)
b) Calvin_i has a bee on his_i back.
(location reading)
c) Calvin has a bee.
(only alienable possession reading is available)

12. a) Calvin_i has a pretty blanket on him_i.
 b) Calvin has a pretty blanket on the table.

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 16. | DP complement | Predicative structure complement |
| No binding | Alienable possession interpretation | Causative interpretation |
| Binding | Locative interpretation | Experiencer interpretation |

2.2 Intentionality, logophors and the experiencer reading

An interesting fact (originally notice by Andrew Carnie):

17. a) Pinnochio had milk poured on him. causative or experiencer
 b) Pinnochio had milk poured on himself. ONLY causative:
 ***experiencer reading**

himself is not an anaphor here, as it does not obey principle A
himself is a logophor, as in "John_i fully expected that the queen would invite his wife and himself_i to tea".

Logophors are normally interchangeable with pronouns. BUT, in 17, it's not! why?

Harley 1997: Reinhart and Reuland distinguish between logophors and pronouns by virtue of a [+R] feature: pronouns are [+R], logophors are [-R].

Hypothesis: the experiencer interpretation is licensed only by a binding relation between the subject and a [+R] element -- a pronoun or understood pronoun. The logophor in 17b is a [-R] element, hence the binding relation in 17b does not allow the experiencer interpretation.

I was wrong:

18. a) (Poor Clinton!) He_i had the Campaign Finance subcommittee subpoena his_i vice president today.
 b) (Poor Clinton!) He_i had the Campaign Finance subcommittee subpoena his_i vice president and himself_i today. ***experiencer reading**

Interestingly, the same thing is true for the locative reading! (support for calling these *self*-elements logophors, not anaphors)

19. a) *The oak tree has a nest on itself.
 b) Calvin has a bee on himself **??locative reading**

20. Calvin has a bee on his arm and several more buzzing around him*(self).

This is not the case when *have* receives an alienable possession interpretation, however:

21. Calvin has a fancy red Porsche which comfortably seats both Mary and himself.

2.3 Inalienable possession, having colds, etc.

Inalienable possession: waitaminute! Inanimate things *can* "have" inalienably possessed elements!

- 22. a) The slide has rusty steps.
- b) The oak tree has a twisted branch.
- c) Calvin has a large red nose.

(Vergnaud & Zubizarreta): inalienably possessed Ns have an empty category inside them, bound by the inalienable possessor.

Hypothesis: this binding relation, between the subject and the empty category in inalienable possession, licenses a 'locative' interpretation for the 'have' structure.

- 23. a) John has an large red nose which is exaggerated in the picture of him /??himself hanging in the entrance hall
- b) John has a terrible cold, and everyone is avoiding both his wife and him/??himself.

Inalienably possessed nouns license an experiencer interpretation too:

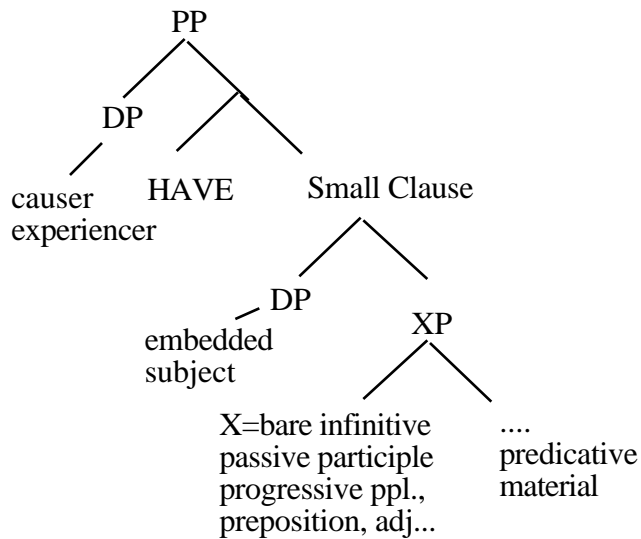
- c) The tree had a branch break off in the storm.

| 24. | DP complement | Predicative structure complement |
|-------------------|--|---|
| No binding | Alienable possession interpretation | Causative interpretation |
| Binding | Locative interpretation Inalienable possession interpretation | Experiencer interpretation |

- 25. Aside: note difference in interpretation:
 - a. John has a 97 Chevy.
 - b. John has the 97 Chevy.

3.0 Causative vs. Experiencer *have*: event type

25.



3.1 Passive

26. a) **causative**
 active: Reynard had Pinnochio trick Gepetto
 passive: *Pinnochio was had *(to) trick Gepetto by Reynard
- b) **experiencer**
 ‘active’: Pinnochio had Gepetto accidentally pour paint on him.
 passive: *Gepetto was had (to) pour paint on him by Pinnochio.
- c) **possessive**
 ‘active’: Pinnochio had six balloons.
 passive: *Six balloons were had by Pinnochio
- d) **locative**
 ‘active’ The oak tree had a nest in it.
 passive: *A nest was had in it by the oak tree.
27. a) active: Mary caused John to cry.
 passive: John was caused to cry by Mary
- b) active: Mary made John cry.
 passive: John was made to cry by Mary.¹

¹ Interestingly, “get” causatives (which I argued earlier to be similar to the “faire” construction in Romance) do *not* passivize:

i) John got Mary to bake a cake.

3.2 Pseudoclefts, progressive

28. bare infinitive

a) Pseudocleft:
What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto step on him].
(*experiencer reading, causative ok)

b) Progressive:
Pinnochio is having [Gepetto step on him].
(*experiencer reading, causative ok)

passive participle

c) Pseudocleft:
What Reynard did was have [Pinnochio beaten to a pulp by his henchmen].
(*experiencer reading, causative ok)

d) Progressive:
Reynard is having [Pinnochio robbed by his confederates].
(*experiencer reading, causative ok)

progressive participle

e) Pseudocleft:
*What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto stepping on him].

f) Progressive:
*Pinnochio is having [Gepetto stepping on him].

PP

g) Pseudocleft:
*What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto in his bed for days]

h) Progressive
*Pinnochio is having [Gepetto in his bed for days]

AdjP

i) Pseudocleft:
*What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto sick as a dog]

j) Progressive
*Pinnochio is having [Gepetto sick as a dog]

*Mary was gotten to bake a cake by John
Also, it's worth noticing that the bare infinitive complement of "make" becomes a full infinitive in the passive, possibly for historical reasons (c.f. Heycock & Santorini 1992).

3.3 True present tense

29. bare infinitive

- a) causative²:
*Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto carve him a new nose]!
- b) experiencer:
*Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto step on him]!

passive participle

- c) causative:
Look! Reynard has [Pinnochio beaten to a pulp]!
- d) experiencer:
Look! Pinnochio has [paint spilled all over him]!

progressive participle

- e) causative:
Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto carving him a new nose]!
- f) experiencer
Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto spilling paint all over him]!

PP

- g) causative:
Look! After all his escapades, [Pinnochio has Gepetto in bed]!
- h) experiencer
Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto on his foot]!

AdjP

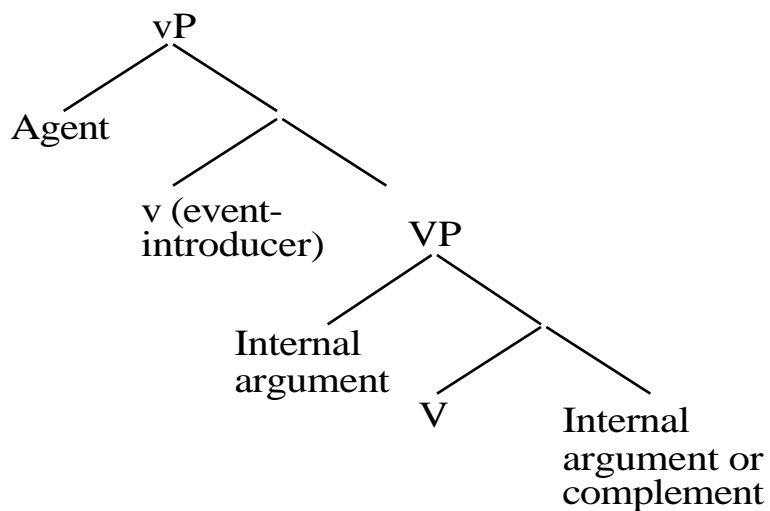
- i) causative:
Look! After all his escapades, [Pinnochio has Gepetto sick as a dog]!
- j) experiencer
??Look! Just when he's in trouble, Pinnochio has [Gepetto crazy on him]!

²This is actually fine on the "director's reading", which we will argue below is universally stative. See discussion in section 4.3.

| 67. | Eventive? (Pseudocleft, progressive) | Stative? (True present tense) |
|------------------------|--|---|
| bare infinitive | | |
| causative | yes | no |
| experiencer | no | no |
| passive ppl | | |
| causative | yes | yes |
| experiencer | no | yes |
| progressive ppl | | |
| causative | no | yes |
| experiencer | no | yes |
| PP | | |
| causative | no | yes |
| experiencer | no | yes |
| AdjP | | |
| causative | no | yes |
| experiencer | no | n/a |

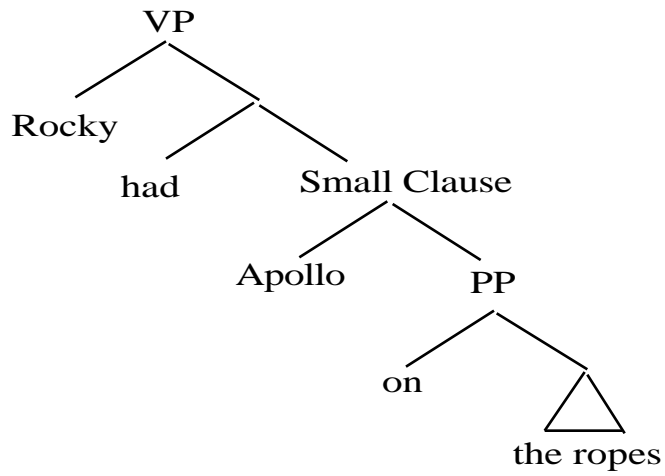
4.0 Representing Eventiveness

30. VP Syntax

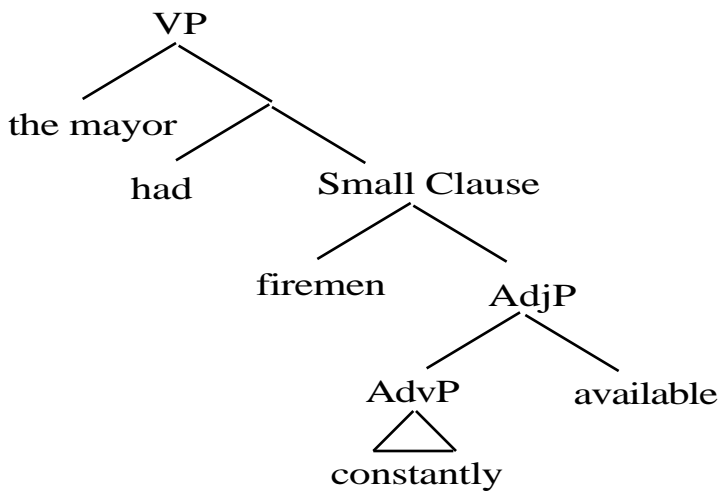


4.1 PP, AdjP and ProgP Small Clauses

31. a)



b)



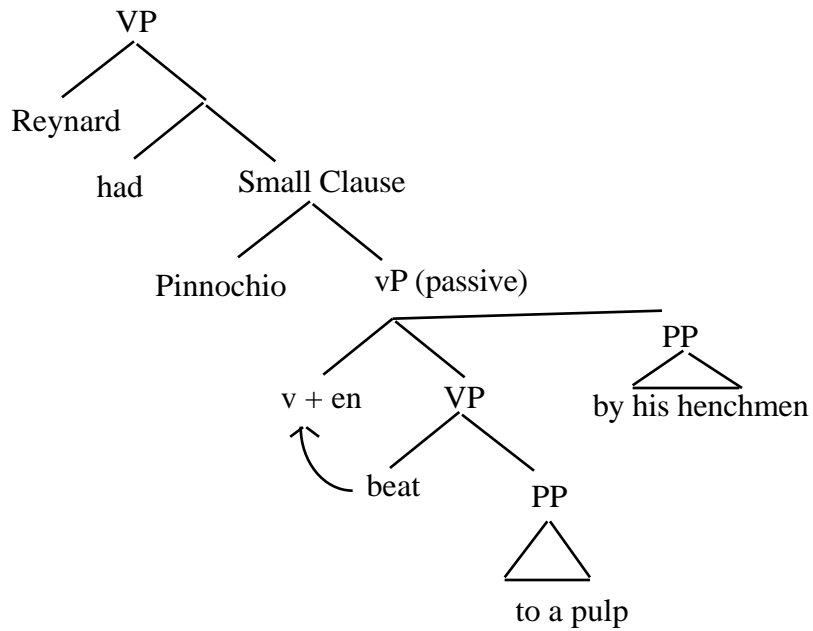
4.2 Passive Participle

32. a) Look! The paint is spilled!

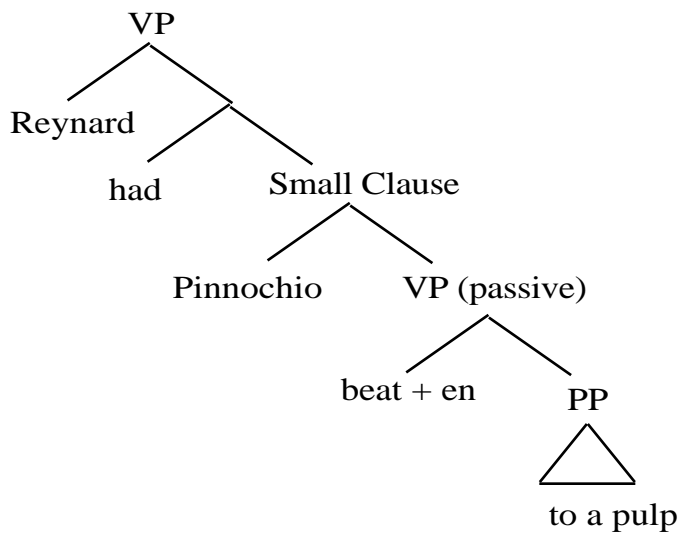
b) ??Look! The milk is spilled by Gepetto!

33. ??Look! Reynard has Pinnochio beaten to a pulp by his henchmen!

34. a)



b)



35. ??Pinnochio had milk spilled all over him by Gepetto.

4.3 The dual behavior of the bare infinitive

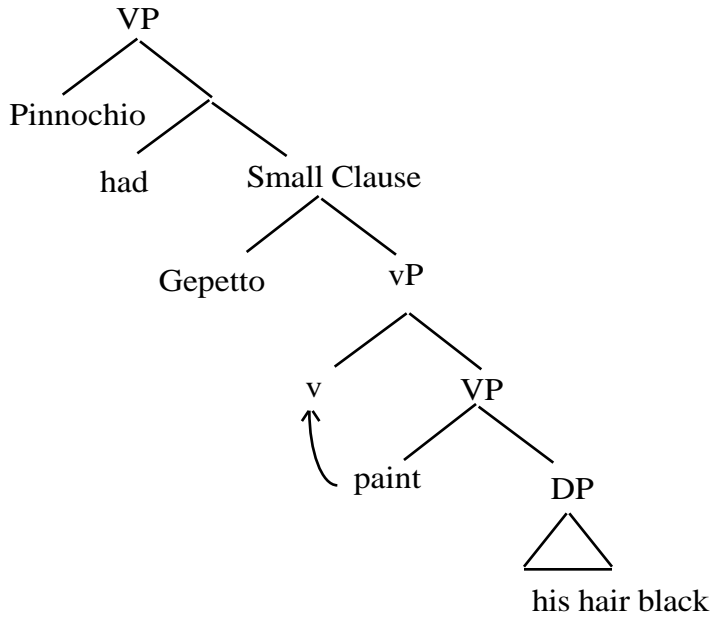
36. Pinnochio had [Gepetto step on his arm].

37.

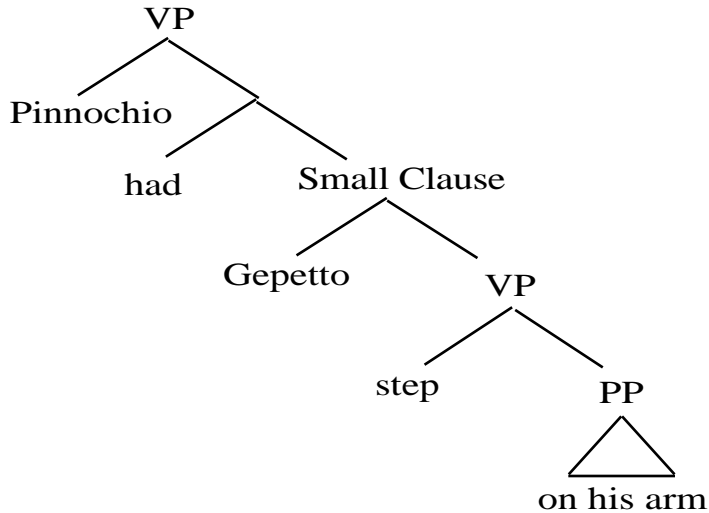
a) Pseudocleft:
 What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto paint his hair black].

- b) Progressive:
Pinochio is having [Gepetto paint his hair black]

38. a) Eventive, causative



- b) Stative, experiencer



39. **causative:**
*Look! Pinochio has [Gepetto carve him a new nose]!

40. a) Pinochio had the water boil.
b) Reynard had Pinochio trip on the stairs.

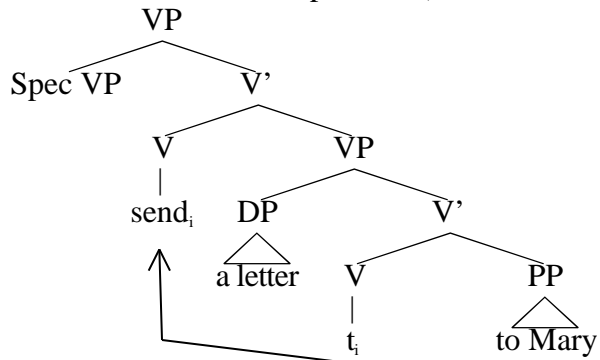
41. a) What John did was have a party.
b) John is having a party.
c) *Look! John has a party!

2 Possession and the double object construction: Harley 2002

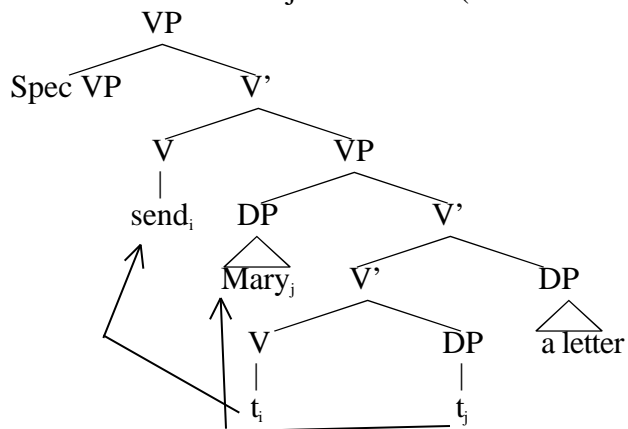
1. Introduction

(1) Larson (1988): 'Transform' approach

a. double complement (Larson's example 13)

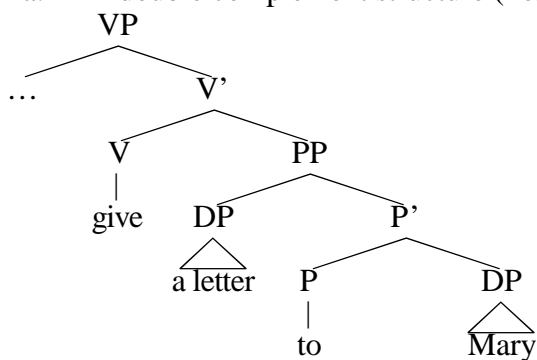


b. double object structure (Larson's example 26)

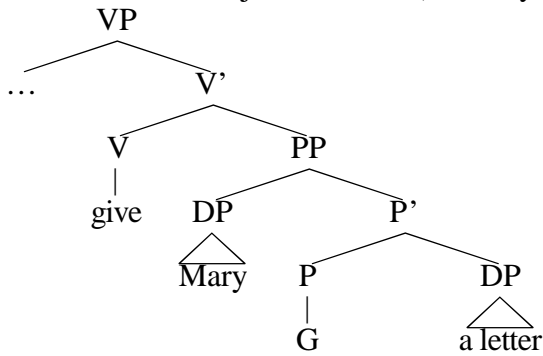


(2) Pesetsky (1995): 'Alternative Projection' approach

a. double complement structure (Pesetsky's example 456)

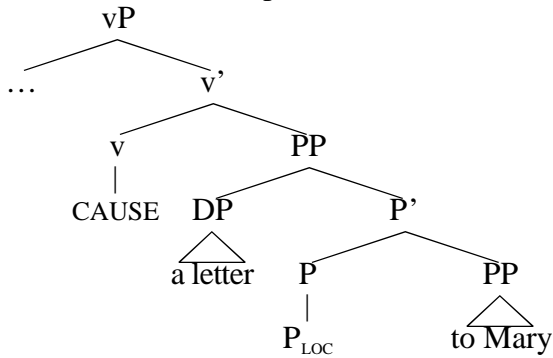


b. double object structure (Pesetsky's example 511)

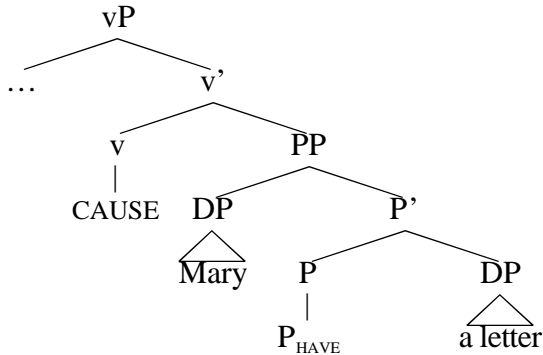


(3) Alternative Projection: P_{HAVE}, P_{LOC}

a. double complement structure



b. double object structure



2. Different structure, different meaning

The relevant version of UTAH is articulated in Larson (1990):

(4) *Relativized UTAH*

Identical thematic relationships are represented by identical relative hierarchical relations between items at D-Structure.

2.1 Oehrle's generalization

(5) a. John blamed the accident on Max.

- b. John blamed Max for the accident.
- (6) a. John blamed his bad luck on the weather.
b. ??John blamed the weather for his bad luck.
- (7) 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.
- (8) a. Susan sent Harry to Max/down the hall/to his room/away.
b. Susan sent Max/*the hall/*his room/*away Harry.
c. Susan kicked the ball to Max/down the hall/out the window/upward.
d. Susan kicked Max/*the hall/*upward/*the window the ball.
- (9) a. John taught the students French
b. John taught French to the students
- (10) a. I knitted this sweater for our baby.
b. I knitted our baby this sweater.

2.2 *Idiom chunks and the Transform hypothesis*

- (11) a. Lasorda *sent* his starting pitcher *to the showers*.
("Lasorda took his starting pitcher out of the game")
b. Mary *took* Felix *to task*.
("Mary upbraided Felix").
c. Felix *threw* Oscar *to the wolves*.
("Felix sacrificed Oscar.")
d. Max *carries* such behavior *to extremes*.
("Max goes to the limits with such behavior.")
- (12) Idioms:
 - a. John let the cat out of the bag.
 - b. The experimenter stacked the deck against his hypothesis.
 Passive:
 - c. The cat was let out of the bag.
 - d. The deck was stacked against the hypothesis.
 Raising:
 - e. The cat seems to have been let out of the bag.
 - f. The deck seems to be stacked against the hypothesis.
 *Control
 - g. *The cat wants to have been let out of the bag.
- (13) a. *Lasorda sent the showers his starting pitcher.
b. *Mary took task Felix.

- c. *Felix threw the wolves Oscar.
 - d. *Max carries extremes things
- (14) a. I sent the salesman to the devil.
- b. *I sent the devil the salesman.

3. *Alternative Projection: G vs. CAUSE + P_{HAVE}*

3.1 *Non-alternating double object constructions*

- (15) a. Mary gave John a kick.
- b. *Mary gave a kick to John.
 - c. Bill threw Mary a glance.
 - d. *Bill threw a glance to Mary.
- (16) a. The war years gave Mailer a book
- b. *The war years gave a book to Mailer
 - c. The absence of competition guaranteed Scorsese the prize money.
 - d. *The absence of competition guaranteed the prize money to Scorsese.
- (17) a. John gave Mary a child.
- b. John gave a child to Mary.

3.2 *Idioms revisited and the Alternative Projection approach*

- (18) a. Larson:
[_{VP} The coach [_V V_{empty} [_{VP} Mary [_V sent [_{PP} to the showers]]]]]]
- b. Pesetsky:
[_{VP} The coach [_V sent [_{PP} Mary [_P to [_{DP} the showers]]]]]]
- (19) a. Max *gave his all* to linguistics.
- b. Alice *gives hell* to anyone who uses her training wheels.
 - c. Oscar will *give the boot* to any employee that shows up late.
 - d. The Count *gives the creeps* to everyone.
 - e. Phyllis should *show her cards* to other group participants.
- (20) a. Linguistics gets [my all]
- b. I caught/got [hell] from Alice
 - c. Peter got [the boot]
 - d. Geez, you get [the creeps] just looking at him.

3.3 *Idioms as constituents and P_{LOC}*

- (21) [_{VP} Agent [_V CAUSE [_{PP} Goal [_P P_{HAVE} [_{DP} Theme]]]]]]
- (22) a. His advisor really gave John a kick in the pants.

- b. *His advisor really gave a kick in the pants to John.
- c. Susan gave Bill a piece of her mind.
- d. ??Susan gave a piece of her mind to Bill.
- e. Nancy showed Ronald the error of his ways.
- f. ??Nancy showed the error of his ways to Ronald.

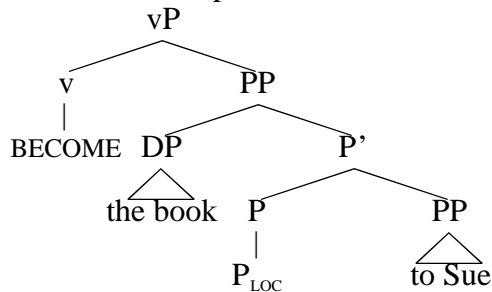
(23) [vP Agent [v' CAUSE [PP Theme [P' P_{LOC} [PP to Goal]]]]]

- (24)
- a. Max gave linguistics his all.
 - b. Alice gives everyone hell.
 - c. Oscar will give John the boot.
 - d. The Count gives everyone the creeps.
 - e. Phyllis should show everyone her cards.

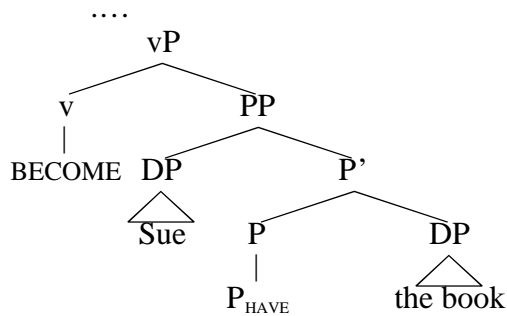
- (25)
- a. ?*Max gave his all to it. s
 - b. ??Alice gave hell to him.
 - c. ??Oscar gave the boot to Susan
 - d. ??*The Count gave the creeps to Joe.

- (26)
- a. The book got to Sue.
 - b. Sue got the book.
 - c. The book got to France.
 - d. *France got the book.

- (27) a. double complement structure for *The book_i got t_i to Sue.*



- b. double object structure for *Sue_i got t_i the book.*

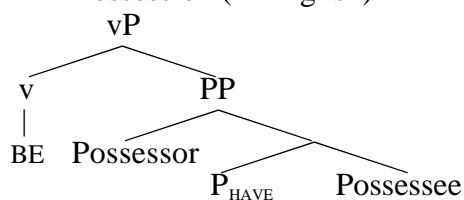


This unaccusative analysis is supported by the fact that *get* can't passivize:

- (28) a. *Sue was got to by the book.
 b. *The book was got to by Sue.
- (29) a. *His all got to linguistics.
 b. *Hell got to me.
 c. *The boot got to Peter.
 d. *The creeps gets to you just looking at him.

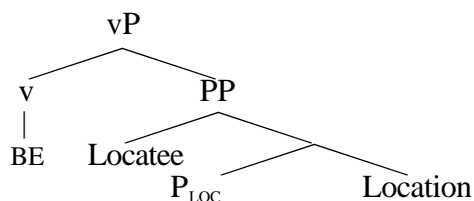
4. Prepositional HAVE cross-linguistically

- (30) a. Possession (in English)



‘Mary has a book.’

- b. Location



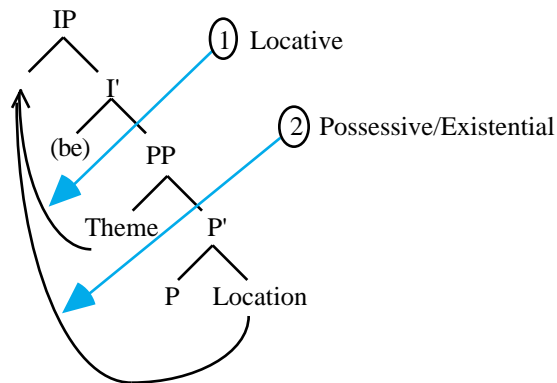
‘Mary is in the garden.’

4.1 The decomposition of verbal have

- (31) HAVE as a preposition: Freeze 1992

- a. Locative *maNiN hindustaan-meNeN thaa*
 I India-in BE.SG.MSC.PST
 Theme Location V
 “I was in India”
- b. Existential *kamree-meNeN aadmii hai*
 room-in man BE.3SG.MSC.PRES
 Location Theme V
 “In the room is a man” (‘There is a man in the room’)
- c. Possessive *larkee-kee paas kattaa hai*
 Boy-OBL-GEN near dog BE.3SG.MSC.PRES
 Location(Possessor) Theme V
 “The boy has a dog. (Lit, “Near the boy is a dog”).

(32) Freeze 1992: same structure, different derivations:



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

4.2 HAVE-not languages

- (34) a. Locative *Tá* *an mhin* *sa phota.*
 BE the (oat)meal in.the pot
 “The oatmeal is in the pot.”
V Theme Location
- b. Existential *Tá* *min* *sa phota*
 BE oatmeal in.the pot
 “There is oatmeal in the pot”
V Theme Location
- c. Possessive *Tá* *an peann ag Máire*
 BE the pen at Mary
 “Mary has the pen”
V ThemeLocation
- d. Possessor cannot c-command possessee:
 **Tá* *aj pheann-fhéin* *ag chuilej bhuachail*
 Is his pen-self at every boy
 “Every boy has his pen”

- (35) *Double object constructions in Irish:
 a. *Thug* *Míleó caisearbhán* *do Bhinlí*
 Gave Milo dandelion to Binkley
 “Milo gave a dandelion to Binkley”

- b. **Thug Míleó do Bhinclí caisearbhán*
 Gave Milo to Binkely a dandelion
 “Milo gave to Binkley a dandelion”
- c. **Thug Míleó caisearbhán Bhinclí*
 Gave Milo dandelion Binkley
- **Thúg Míleó Bhinclí caisearbhán*
 Gave Milo Binkley dandelion
 “Milo gave Binkley a dandelion”
- d. Goal cannot c-command Theme.
 **Thug Míleó a_i pheann-fhéin do chuile_j bhuachaill*
 Gave Milo his pen-self to every boy
 Milo gave every boy his pen.

(36) Diné possessive:

Diné h́ívív' b-ee hólóv
 man horse he-with exists
 “The man has a horse” (Lit. “The man, a horse is with him”).

(37) a. **Diné h́ívív' y-ee hólóv*
 man horse he-with exists
 “The man has a horse.”

b. **h́ívív' shi-zhé'é y-ee hólóv*
 *horse my father he-withexists
 “My father has a horse.”

(38) *Shizhé'é sítisilí tʃóót yi-chʔiv? hada-y-í-t-déél*
 My father my little brother rope him-to down-it-PERF-TR-handle
 My father tossed the rope to my little brother

(39) *Sítisilí shizhé'é tʃóót bi-chʔiv? hada-y-í-t-déél*
 My little brother my father rope him-to down-it-PERF-TR-handle
 My father tossed the rope to my little brother

(40) **Shizhé'é sítisilí tʃóót hada-yi-y-í-t-déél*
 My father my little brother rope down-him-it-PERF-TR-handle
 My father tossed my little brother the rope.

4.3 HAVE languages

(41) C-command in possessives:

- a. Every girl_i has her_i test paper.
 b. *Its_i owner now has every dog_i.

(42) C-command in double object constructions:

- a. Susan sent every owner_i his_i dog.
- b. *Susan sent its_i owner every dog_i.

(43) Movement to subject position in passive:

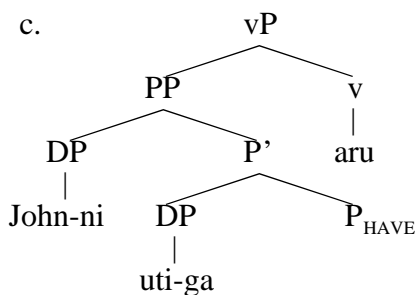
- a. Every owner was sent his dog.
- b. *Every dog was sent its owner.
- c. Every dog was sent to its owner.
- d. *To its owner was sent every dog.

4.4 A HAVE language without verbal have: Japanese

(44) *John-ga/ni zibun-no uti-ga aru*
 John-NOM/DAT self-GEN house-NOM exist
 “John has his house”
Possessor Theme V

(45) a. Subject Honorification
*Tanaka-sensei-ga/ni_i musume-san-ga_j oarini_{i/*j} naru*
 T-Prof-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM exist-hon.
 Professor Tanaka has his daughter”

b. Binding
 **Zibun_i-no musume-ni Tanaka_i-sensei-ga aru*
 self-GEN daughter Tanaka-Prof exist
 “His daughter has Professor Tanaka”



(46) a. *Bugs-ga Daffy-ni piza-o age-ta*
 Bugs-NOM Daffy-DAT pizza-ACC give-PAST
 “Bugs gave Daffy a pizza.”

b. *Bugs-ga piza-o Daffy-ni age-ta*
 Bugs-NOM pizza-ACC Daffy-DAT give-PAST
 “Bugs gave a pizza to Daffy.”

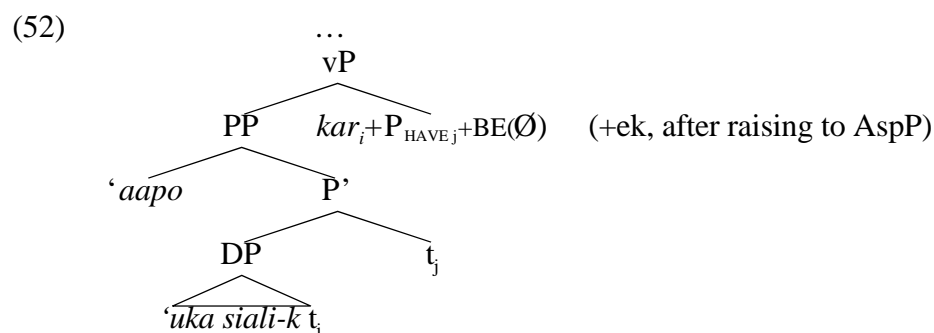
(47) a. *Bugs-ga tomodati-ni 2-ri piza-o age-ta*
 Bugs-NOM friends-DAT 2-CL pizza-ACC give-PAST
 “Bugs gave two friends pizza.”

- b. ???*Bugs-ga pizza-o tomodati-ni 2-ri age-ta*
 Bugs-NOM pizza-ACC friends-Prep 2-CL give-PAST
 “Bugs gave pizza to two friends”
- (48) a. *Taroo-ga hi-ni abura-o sosoida.*
 Taroo-NOM fire-DAT oil-ACC poured
 “Taroo made things worse”
 (Lit. “Taroo poured oil on the fire.”)
- b. #*Taroo-ga abura-o hi-ni sosoida.*
 Taroo-NOM oil-ACC fire-DAT poured
 “Taroo made things worse.”

4.5 A HAVE language without verbal have: *Hiaki*

- (49) a. *‘aapo livrom-ek*
 he book-PERF
 “He has a book” (Lit: “He is booked”)
- b. [_{IP} [_{DP} ‘aapo] [_{VP} [_{DP} t_i] [_V livrom_i]] [_I -ek]]
- (50) a. He is long-haired/brown-eyed/warm-hearted.
 b. She is talented/gifted/conceited.

- (51) *‘aapo* [_{DP} *‘uka siali-k t_i*] *kar_i-ek*
 he Det.ACC green-ACC t_i house_i-PERF
 “He has that green house”



- (53) a. *‘aapo Huan-tau ‘uka vachi-ta maka-k*
 he John-DAT Det.ACC corn-ACC give-PERF
 “He gave the corn to John”
- b. *‘aapo Huan-ta ‘uka vachi-ta miika-k*
 he John-ACC Det.ACC corn-ACC give(food)-PERF
 “He gave John the corn.”

- (54) a. 'aapo 'uka kava'i-ta ho'ara-ta vit-tua-k
 he Det.ACC horse-ACC house-ACC see-CAUSE-PERF
 "He showed the horse the house."
 b. 'aapo 'uka kava'i-ta ho'ara-u vit-tua-k
 he Det.ACC horse-ACC house-DAT see-CAUSE-PERF
 "He sent the horse to the house."

4.6 HAVE languages without double object constructions: Romance

- (55) a. *Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito Maria_i a se stessa_j*
 "A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria to herself"
 b. *Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito se stessa_i a Maria_a*
 "A long psychoanalytic therapy restored herself to Maria".

Similar data can be seen for French in (56) below.

- (56) a. *Marie a donné son_i crayon à chaque_i garçon.*
 "Mary gave every boy his pencil."
 b. *Jean a introduit chaque_i institutrice à ses_i élèves.*
 "Jean introduced every teacher to her students."

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