

A morphosyntactic account of the 'Latinate' ban on dative shift in English¹

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UCSC, May 15, 2009

1. The Puzzle: A morphophonological constraint on dative shift

⇒ English ditransitive verbs can often productively 'dative-shift'.

- (1) a. Mary showed the procedure to the class
a'. Mary showed the class the procedure
- b. Mary gave a book to her son
b'. Mary gave her son a book

⇒ But a robust class of English ditransitive verbs cannot dative shift. Diachronically speaking, they're usually the ones of Latinate origin:

- (2) a. Mary demonstrated the procedure to the class
a'. *Mary demonstrated the class the procedure
- b. Mary presented the award to the author.
b'. *Mary presented the author the award.

⇒ What's up with that?

2. Plan of the talk

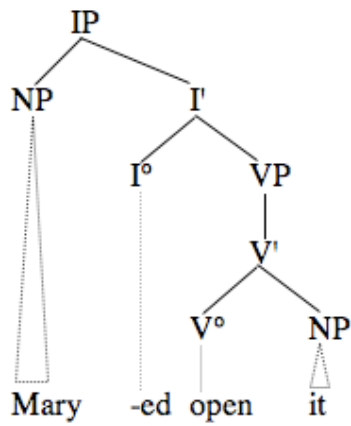
- I. All verbs are morphosyntactically complex, visibly or invisibly (§3)
- II. English has both kinds (visibly and invisibly complex) (§4)
- III. 'Dative shift' involves a lexical-item alteration in complex verbal morphosyntax (§5)
- IV. The verbs which forbid dative shift are **synchronically** treated as morphologically complex. (§6) To dative shift, these verbs' visible subparts would have to change, hence, no dative shift
- V. But there are some issues (§7)

¹ Thanks to audiences at MIT, Tromsø, ABRALIN 2007, GLAC 2008 for valuable feedback. Thanks especially to Elly van Gelderen and David Basilico for problematic examples. All shortcomings, including especially the failure to have anything much to say about problematic examples, are of course my own.

3. Bipartite verbs

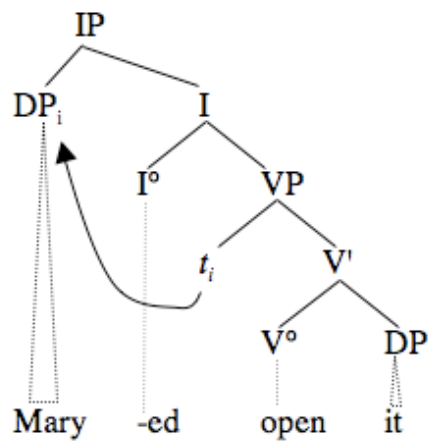
3.1 *Not long ago, in a galaxy not far away:*

(3)



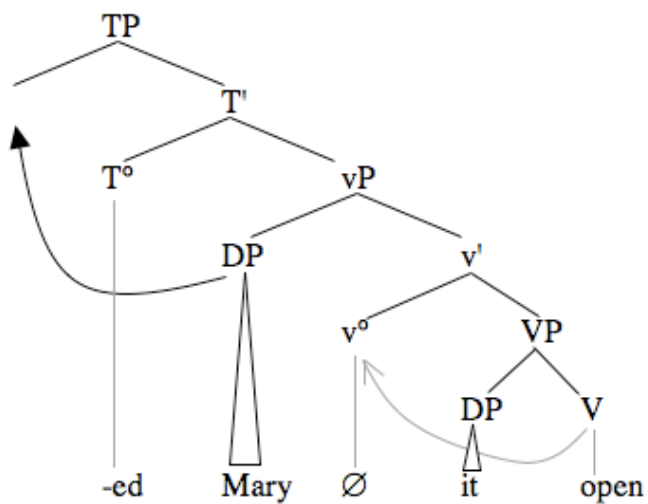
⇒ And then... VP-internal subjects:

(4)



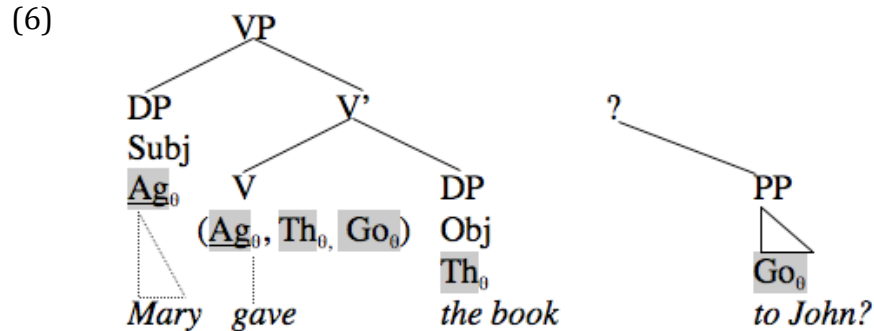
⇒ And then: Split VP:

(5)



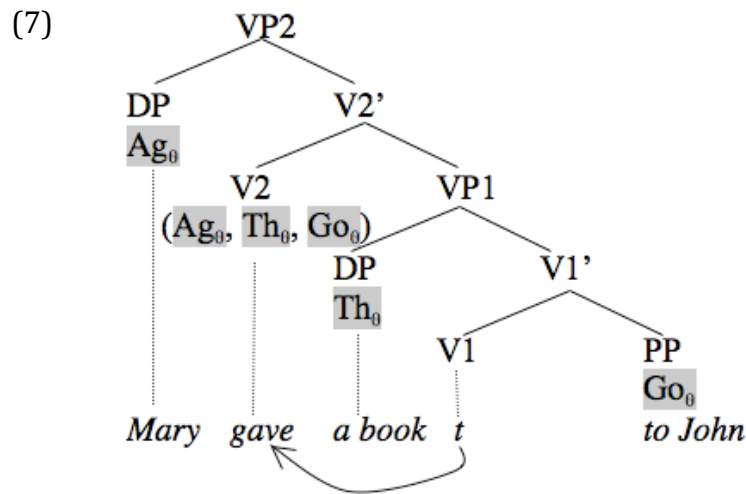
3.2 Syntactic arguments for split-vP

⇒ Given the VP-internal subject hypothesis, ditransitive verbs suddenly become problematic at DS:



⇒ Can't adjoin PP to V' or VP, as gives wrong c-command relations between Theme and Goal (Barss and Lasnik 1986)

⇒ Larson's solution: Split VPs:



⇒ QUESTIONS.

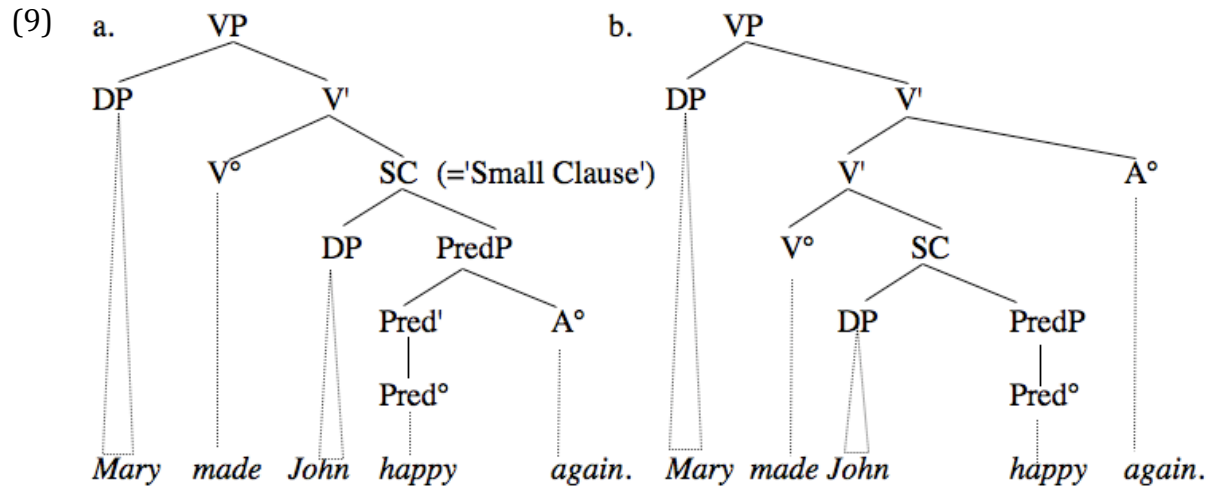
- How can one verb project two VPs?
- How can the verb assign its external theta role 'late', after movement?
- What is the nature of the upper VP?

⇒ Larson's answer: Upper VP is purely structural — scaffolding for the external argument, that's all. All semantic and other work is done by the lexical verb.

3.3 Semantic arguments for split-vP

⇒ Ling 101: Modification relations are structure; there are often constituency-based solutions to string-ambiguity problems

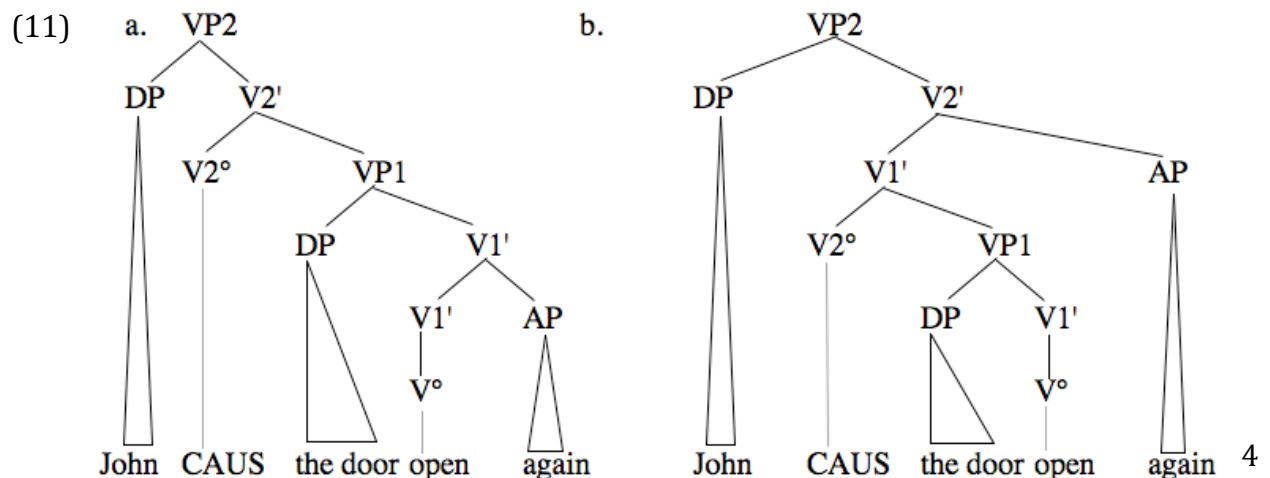
- (8) Mary made John happy again.
 a. [Mary made [[John happy] again]]
 b. [Mary [made [John happy] again]]



⇒ Same ambiguities are present in simple VPs denoting changes of state:

- (10) a. John opened the door again.
 i. The door was open before, and now it's open again
 ii. John opened the door before, and he did it again
 b. Mary gave the book to Sue again.
 i. Sue had the book before and now she has it again.
 ii. Mary had given the book to Sue before and now she gave it to her again.

⇒ von Stechow 1995: Generative-semantics style account, with null head containing CAUSE-like semantics taking a predicative complement



⇒ Upshot:

- Upper VP now associated with a semantics ('cause')
- Selects external argument on its own, assigns theta-role to it
- Lower VP denotes resultant state—endpoint of change-of-state predicate

⇒ If we map this proposal onto Larson's ditransitive structure:

(12) [VP1 [John] [V1' give_i [VP2 [a book] [V2' t_i [PP to Mary]]]]]

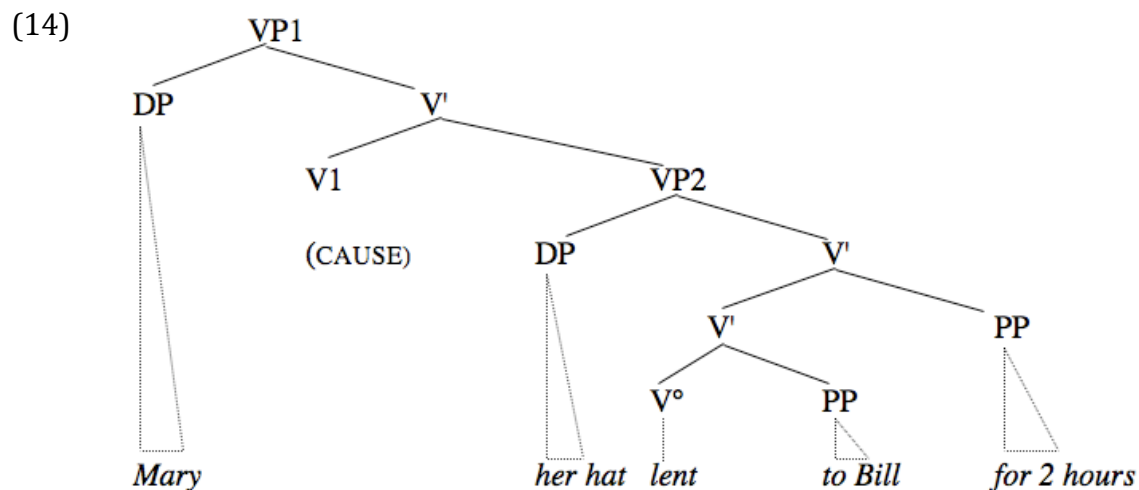
Upper V1° is (phonologically null) 'cause', VP2 is resultant state it selects
 Ditransitive verbs should exhibit two scopes like any change-of-state verb

⇒ Beck and Johnson (2004), again building on results from generative semantics, note that *again* has two scopes with ditransitives, just as with any other change-of-state verb.

⇒ Generative semanticists (McCawley 1968, 1974, Ross 1976) noticed another interesting modificational problem: The endstate of ditransitives can be independently modified by temporal adverbials of duration:

- (13) a. Mary opened the window for five minutes
(Window is open for 5 minutes)
 b. Mary gave the car to John until Sunday
(The car is with John until Sunday)

⇒ This again receives a natural structural account under the split-VP hypothesis:



⇒ So the syntax requires it, the semantics suggests it; can we ever see it?

(Note: There's something of a methodological moral about morphosyntax here. Would PRO be more plausible if we could find a language where it was pronounced out loud?)

3.4 Morphological arguments for split-VP

⇒ Hale and Keyser (1988...2002): Argue for a split-vP approach to denominal and deadjectival verbs, where the top V° is a verbalizing piece of derivational morphology, as well as a subject-selector.

⇒ Initial motivation is morphological and morphosyntactic: (Hale & Keyser 1998: 115):

(15)	Jemez unergatives		Basque unergatives
a.	záae-'a song-do	"sing"	g. lo egin sleep do
b.	hijil-'a laugh-do	"laugh"	h. barre egin laugh-do
c.	se-'a speech-do	"speak"	i. lan egin work do
d.	tɯ-'a whistle-do	"whistle"	j. negar egin cry do
e.	shil-'a cry-do	"cry"	k. eztul egin cough do
f.	sae-'a work-do	"work"	l. zurrunga egin snore do

⇒ Lots of examples of this kind from languages I am familiar with:

- Japanese, Hiaki—complex change-of-state verbs, with v° morphemes clearly related to the productive causative morpheme
- Persian—complex all kinds of verbs, like Basque—syntactically separate bits

(16) Japanese (Jacobsen 1992):

Class/# ²	√	Intr	Tr	Rough √ gloss
I: e/∅	hag	hag- e -ru	hag-∅-u	'peel off'
30 pairs	hirak	hirak- e -ru	hirak-∅-u	'open' ³
II: ∅/e	ak	ak-∅-u	ak- e -ru	'open'
44 pairs	hikkom	hikkom-∅-u	hikkom- e -ru	'draw back'
III: ar/e	ag	ag- ar -u	ag- e -ru	'rise'
71 pairs	aratam	aratam- ar -u	aratam- e -ru	'improve'
IV: ar/∅	hasam	hasam- ar -u	hasam-∅-u	'catch between'
8 pairs	husag	husag- ar -u	husag-∅-u	'obstruct (clog, jam?)'
V: r/s	ama	ama- r -u	ama- s -u	'remain'
27 pairs	hita	hita- r -u	hita- s -u	'soak'
VI: re/s	arawa	arawa- re -ru	arawa- s -u	'show (up)'

² The number of pairs does not include other pairs derived from a root already on the list even when these are not transparently semantically related; the number of items on each list, then, is actually somewhat larger.

³ Mamoru Saito and Yosuke Sato (p.c.) inform me that the forms listed as meaning 'open' here, *hirakeru~hiraku*, are not used (the pair from class II, *aku~akeru*, is the appropriate one). Some other particular items in Jacobsen's lists also seem to not currently be in use, for example *bakasu*, *dekasu*, and *nukumeru*.

18 pairs	hana	hana- re -ru	hana- s -u	'separate from'
VII: ri/s	ka	ka- ri -ru	ka- s -u	'borrow/(lend)'
2 pairs	ta	ta- ri -ru	ta- s -u	'suffice/(supplement)'
VIII: ø/as	hekom	hekom- ø -u	hekom- as -u	'dent'
38 pairs	her	her- ø -u	her- as -u	'decrease'
IX: e/as	bak	bak- e -ru	bak- as -u	'turn into/bewitch'
45 pairs	bar	bar- e -ru	bar- as -u	'come/bring to light'
X: i/as	ak	ak- i -ru	ak- as -u	'tire'
8 pairs	dek	dek- i -ru	dek- as -u	'come/bring into existence'
XI: i/os	horob	horob- i -ru	horob- os -u	'(fall to) ruin'
6 pairs	ok	ok- i -ru	ok- os -u	'get up'
XII: ø/se	abi	abi- ø -ru	abi- se -ru	'pour over (self/other)'
6 pairs	ki	ki- ø -ru	ki- se -ru	'put on (self/other)'
XIII: e/akas	obi	obi- e -ru	obi-(y) akas -u	'take fright/frighten'
4 pairs	hagur	hagur- e -ru	hagur- akas -u	'stray/evade'
XIV: or/e	kom	kom- or -u	kom- e -ru	'be fully present/fill'
2 pairs	nukum	nukum- or -u	nukum- e -ru	'warm'
XV: are/e	sut	sut- are -ru	sut- e -ru	'fall into disuse/discard'
3 pairs	wak	wak- are -ru	wak- e -ru	'divide'
XVI: Misc	nigiwa	nigiwa- ø -u	nigiwa- s -u	'(make) prosper'
25 pairs	nob	nob- i -ru	nob- e -ru	'extend'

(17) Hiaki: Jelinek (1997)

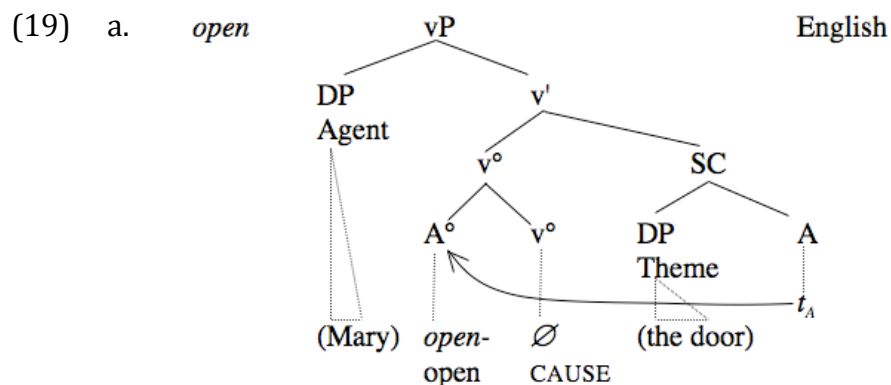
bwasa	"cook"	bwase	"cook, ripen"
chakukta	"bend"	chakukte	"bend"
chakta	"drip"	chakte	"leak"
chihakta	"smash"	chihakte	"shatter"
hamta	"break"	hamte	"break"
heokta	"melt"	heokte	"melt"
chu'akta	"stick on"	chu'akte	"adhere"
chukta	"cut loose"	chukte	"come loose"
chupa	"finish"	chupe	"come to end"
ko'okta	"pull apart"	ko'okte	"come undone"
kowiikta	"make crooked"	kowiikte	"get crooked"
kitokta	deform"	kitokte	"shriveled"
kotta	"break"	kotte	"break"
kutta	"tighten"	kutte	"get tight"
kuuta	"stir"	kuute	"mix"
luuta	"use up"	luute	"run out"
mana	"place before"	mane	"be before"
mohta	"grind"	mohte	"break up"
mohakta	"take apart"	mohakte	"crumble"
nasonta	"damage"	nasonte	"get damaged"
patta	"shut"	patte	"shut"
pesta	"burst"	peste	"burst"
pitta	"press"	pitte	"settle down"
pohta	"boil"	pohte	"boil"
potta	"stretch out"	potte	"rise, expand"
rauta	"rinse"	raute	"rinse"
resta	"spread out"	reste	"spread out"
revekta	"break apart"	revekte	"come apart"
riuta	"split"	riute	"split"
ropta	"sink"	ropte	"sink"

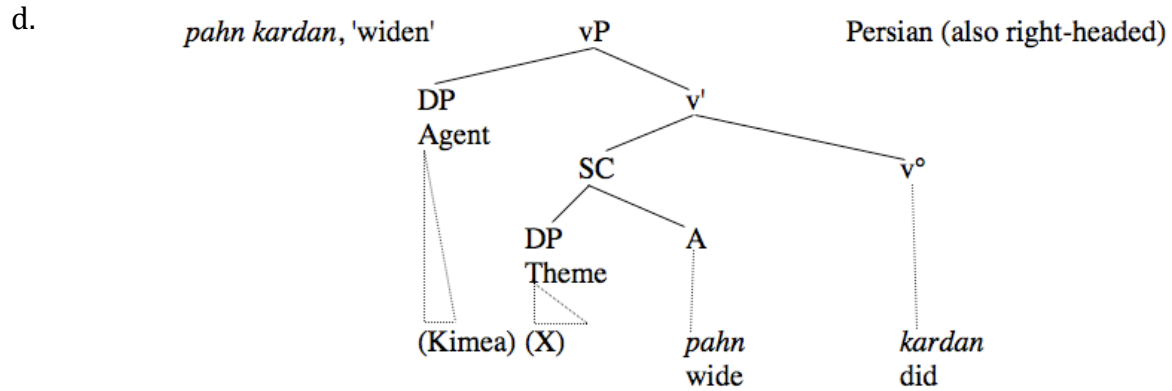
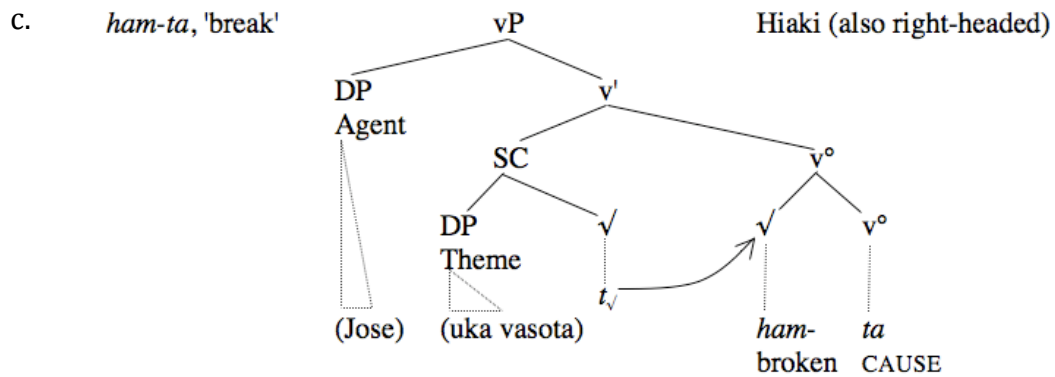
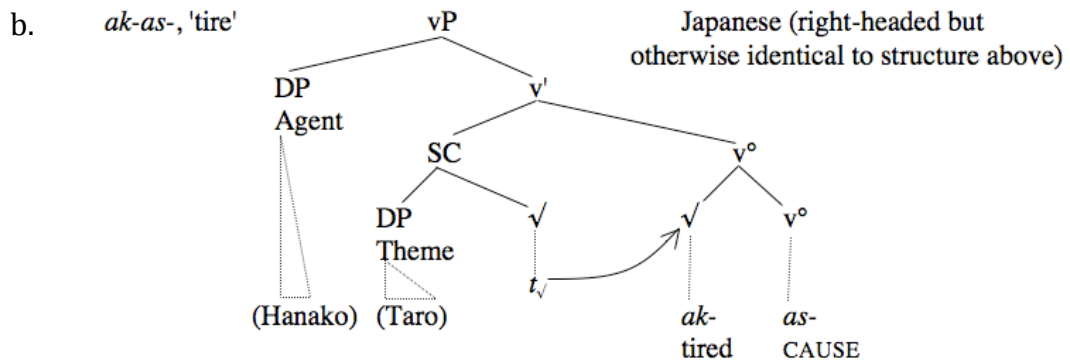
ro'akta	"roll over"	ro'akte	"roll along"
sihho'ota	"sprinkle"	sihho'ote	"drizzle"
sipa	"cool"	sipe	"cool"
siuta	"tear"	siute	"tear"
teita	"trip"	teite	"trip"
tohta	"discolor"	tohte	"fade"
topakta	"turn over"	topakte	"flip over"
totta	"bend"	totte	"collapse"
tuhta	"press"	tuhte	"settle"
tuucha	"put out (fire)"	tuuke	"go out"
veeta	"burn"	veete	"burn"
vi'ita	"twist"	vi'ite	"twist"
vohta	"pour out"	vohte	"drop out"
vutta	"undo"	vutte	"come undone"
weeyya	"carry"	weeye	"move"
wiokta	"untangle"	wiokte	"untangle"
wiuta	"spend"	wiute	"run out"
wohokta	"dig up; puncture"	wohokte	"get a hole in"
woita	untie	woite	"come untied"
wo'ota	spill	wo'ote	"spill"
yohta	"drop"	yohte	"drop"
yooka	"paint"	yooke	"change color"

(18) Persian (Karimi 1997, Folli, Harley and Karimi 2005)

a. N+LV		
kotak zadan/xordan	(beating hitting/colliding)	'to beat, to get beaten'
xar kardan/shodan	(donkey doing/becoming)	'to fool, become fooled'
dust dâshtan	(friend having)	'to love'
b. A+LV		
sabok kardan/shodan	(light making/becoming)	'to degrade' (tr & intr)
pahn kardan/shodan	(wide making/becoming)	'to widen' (tr & intr)
derâz keshidan	(long pulling)	'to lie down, to take a nap'
c. Particle+LV		
birun kardan	(out doing)	'to dismiss, to fire (someone)'
bâlâ âvardan	(up bringing)	'to vomit'
bâlâ keshidan	(up pulling)	'to steal'
d. PP+V		
be yâd dâshtan	(to memory having)	'to have in memory'
bejâ âvardan	(to place bringing)	'to recognize'
be bâd dâdan	(to wind giving)	'to waste'

⇒ Change of state predicates in all these languages admit of the same morphosyntactic analysis, based on the bipartite structure described above, modulo independently-motivated differences in the structures, like headedness:





4. English bipartite verbs

⇒ English has some bipartite change-of-state verbs of the Japanese type:

- (20) a. Mary color**ized** the movie.
 b. Mary clar**ified** the issue.
 c. Mary **end**angered the crew.

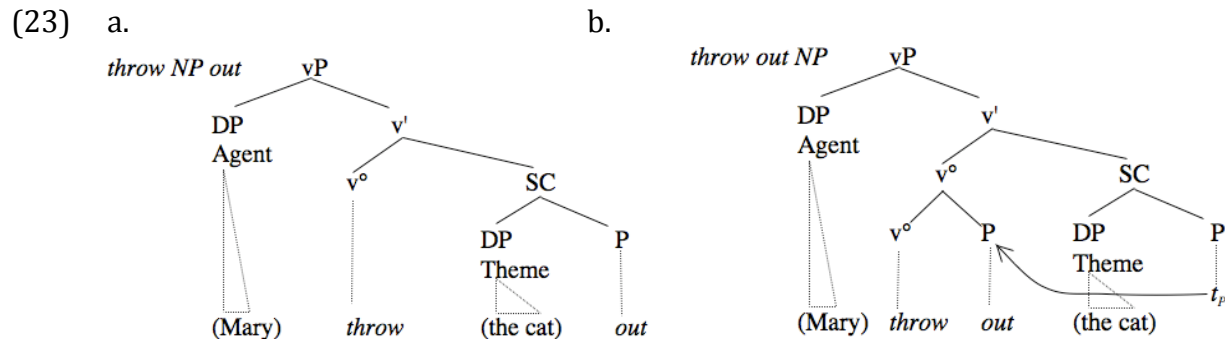
⇒ The truly 'native' type of bipartite verb, however, are verb-particle constructions:

- (21) a. *throw the garbage out* *throw out the garbage*
 b. *pick the paper up* *pick up the paper*
 c. *push the needle in* *push in the needle*
 d. *pass the dish around* *pass around the dish*
 e. *fight the attackers off* *fight off the attackers*
 f. *paste the stamp on* *paste on the stamp*
 ...cf. Persian ex in (18c)

⇒ Particle, not verb root, represents endstate (when semantically independent, at least):

- (22) a. (After letting him in only an hour before,) Mary threw the cat out again.
 b. Mary threw the cat out for two hours (then she let him in again).

⇒ Particle shift can be (partially) analyzed as incorporating head-movement of lower SC P into upper v° .



⇒ Note: Moral of (22) and (23): The verb *root*, in English, can be base-generated in v° , unlike what we have seen above in other languages. I assume this is "Manner Incorporation" (Harley 1999, 2005, Zubizarreta and Oh 2008, McIntyre 2002).

⇒ Particle+V combinations often have idiosyncratic, 'lexicalized' semantic interps:

- (24) a. *see NP through* 'to persevere with NP'
 b. *chew NP out* 'to scold NP'
 c. *piss NP off* 'to anger NP'
 d. *fill NP in* 'to brief NP'
 e. *work NP over* 'to beat NP'
 f. *while NP away* 'to pass NP(=time)' ...

⇒ Same structure for English adjectival resultatives:

- (25) a. open the door wide
 b. hammer the metal flat
 c. wipe the table clean
 d. sand the toy smooth

- e. shake the man awake
- f. shoot the attacker dead
- g. stuff the suitcase full

⇒ Same semantics, too:

- (26) a. Mary opened the door wide **again**.
 1. Mary had opened the door wide before, did it again
 2. The door had been open wide, had become closed to some degree, and Mary opened it wide again
- b. Mary wiped the table clean **again**
 1. Mary had wiped the table clean before, did it again.
 2. The table was clean; it got messy; she wiped it, made it clean again.

⇒ English resultative constructions involve an overt, independent SC predicate (the particle or adjective), and a manner-identifying lexical verb in the v° position

⇒ Keyser and Roeper 1987 noted that *re*-affixation applies only to change-of-state verbs—but not to verb-particle or resultative constructions, though semantically they are change-of-state:

- (27) a. Mary reopened the door.
 b. *Mary reopened the door wide.
 c. *Mary reopened the door up.

⇒ This can be analyzed in the current framework in the following way:

- *re-* must modify the SC predicate (has 'again' meaning, attaches to lower VP)
- In *Mary opened the door*, 'open' is the SC predicate
- Hence *Mary reopened the door* is fine
- In *Mary opened the door wide*, 'wide' is the SC predicate (*open* is in v°).
- So *Mary reopened the door wide* is out.

⇒ A robust observation about verb-particle and resultative constructions in English: They don't occur with Latinate verbs:

(28) Verb-particle constructions fine with Anglo-Saxon-type verbs but not Latinate ones

write it up	*compose it up/*arrange it up
eat it up	*consume it up
finish it up	*complete it up
throw it out	*discard it out
lie down	*recline down
hand it out	*distribute it out
show it off	*exhibit it off / *reveal it off
fire it up	*ignite it up
slice it off	*incise it off

tidy it up	*arrange it up
hide it away	*conceal it away
cut it apart	*dissect it apart
figure it out	*calculate it out
move it over	*displace it over
go away	*depart away
clear it up	*clarify it up
write it up	*compose it up
cast it off	*release it off
dig it up	*excavate it up
swell up	*expand up
trade it in	*exchange it in

(29) Resultatives fine with Anglo-Saxon verbs, not many Latinate ones

cut it apart	*divide it apart
fill it full	*inflate it full
walk yourself tired	*perambulate yourself tired
work yourself ragged	*decide yourself ragged
squeeze it empty	*compress it empty
stab it dead	*impale it dead
train yourself fit	*condition yourself fit
freeze solid	*congeal solid
dance yourself pink	*exert yourself pink
eat yourself sick	*devour yourself sick
drink yourself unconscious	*imbibe yourself unconscious
scrape it raw	*abrade it raw
break it short	*divide it short
grow big	*expand big
burn black	*combust black

⇒ How can the bipartite analysis of resultative complex predicates help here?

⇒ Hypothesis: Usual complementary distribution conclusions:

⇒ Relationship is clear for the *clarify/calculate* type, where the *-ify / -ate* is clearly a verbalizing suffix (a v°), and the verb roots are semi-compositional

⇒ **Clarify it up* would be bad for the same reason that **wipe it clear up* is

⇒ But what about the *consume/exhibit* type?

⇒ Diachronically, of course, many were once V+P constructions themselves, with incorporated P: *con+su#me(re...*

⇒ Could they be synchronically behaving this way in English?

⇒ Then **consume up* would be bad for the same reason that **throw up out* is bad...

5. Dative Shift as a verb+covert particle construction

⇒ A parallel restriction exists w/r to dative shift and Latinate verbs

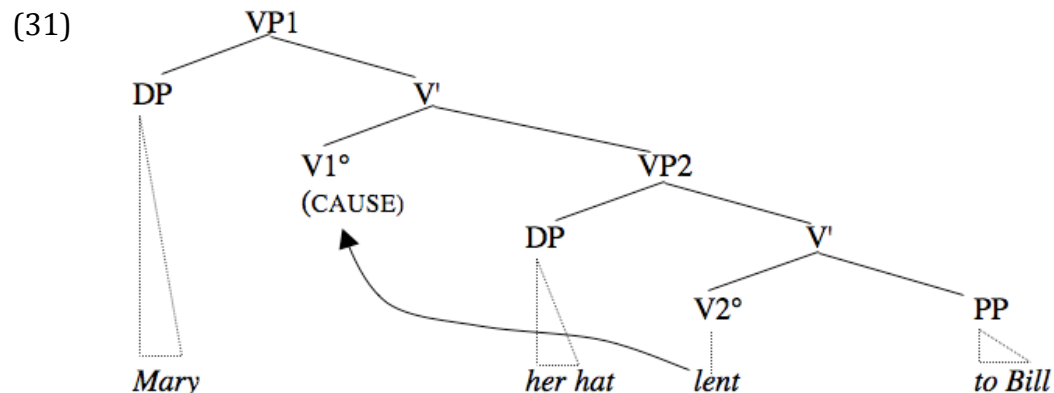
⇒ Anglo-Saxon type verbs usually participate freely, given the right semantics; Latinate ones don't

- (30)
- a. Susie gave Oxfam some canned food.
 - a'. Susie gave some canned food to Oxfam.
 - b. *Susie donated Oxfam some canned food.
 - b'. Susie donated some canned food to Oxfam.
 - c. Bill sent Sue his regards.
 - c'. Bill sent his regards to Sue.
 - d. *Bill conveyed Sue his regards.
 - d'. Bill conveyed his regards to Sue.
 - e. Mary showed the committee her findings.
 - e'. Mary showed her findings to the committee.
 - f. *Mary displayed the committee her findings.
 - f'. Mary displayed her findings to the committee.
 - g. Tom told Ben the story.
 - g'. Tom told the story to Ben.
 - h. *Tom recounted Ben the story.
 - h'. Tom recounted the story to Ben.
 - i. *Nikki described Lauren the picture.
 - i'. Nikki described the picture to Lauren.
 - j. Sydney found Meleeya the money.
 - j'. Sydney found the money for Meleeya.
 - k. *Sydney collected Meleeya the money.
 - k'. Sydney collected the money for Meleeya.

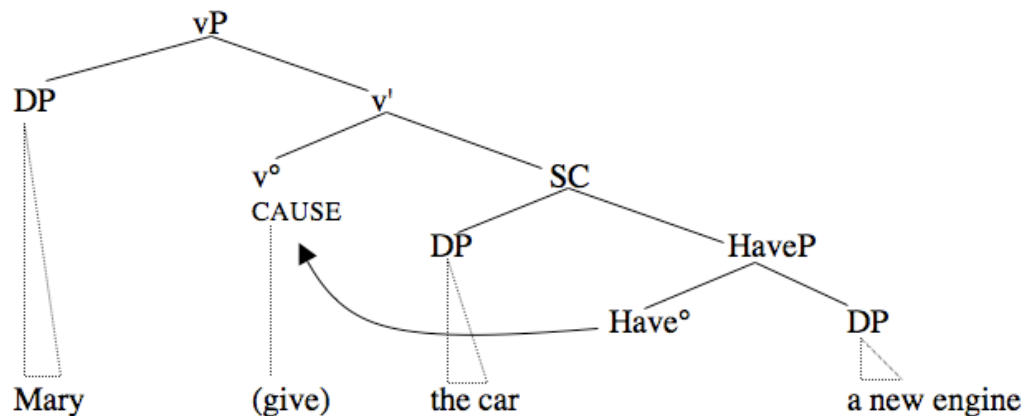
⇒ If dative shift involves a null particle in the SC predicate position, and inserting the verb root into v° , then we expect the restriction to be parallel between the two cases.

⇒ How does the dative alternation happen?

Harley 2003:



(32)



⇒ Oehrle's generalization (Oehrle 1976, Green 1974): Animate possessor restriction—two structures don't have same theta-roles

- (33) 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.
e. Susan sent Harry to Max/down the hall/to his room/away.
f. Susan sent Max/*the hall/*his room/*away Harry.
g. Susan kicked the ball to Max/down the hall/out the window/upward..
h. Susan kicked Max/*the hall/*upward/*the window the ball.

⇒ Inanimate possessors only allowed when possession is inalienable; effect is parallel for 'have' and double-object 'give'

- (34) a. The car has an engine.
b. #The car has a sweater.
(ok: The car has a sweater in it)
c. Mary gave the car a new engine.
d. #Mary gave the car a sweater

⇒ Other differences too:

- (35) a. John taught the students French
b. John taught French to the students
- (36) a. I knitted this sweater for our baby.
b. I knitted our baby this sweater.

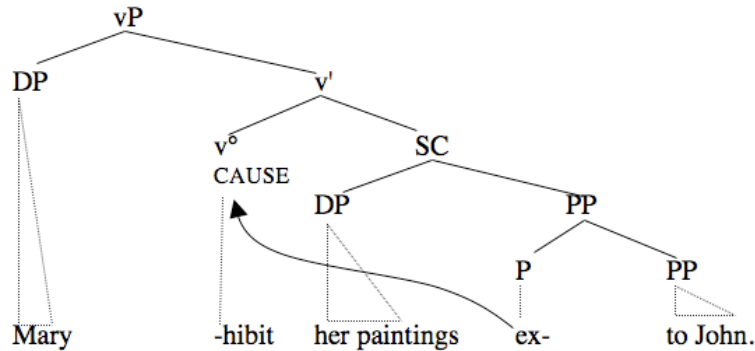
⇒ Also idioms, licensing of inanimate causers, non-alternating verbs in both directions, etc.; leads lots of people (Green 1974, Richards 2001, Beck and Johnson 2004) to posit covert 'have' relation.

- ⇒ I identify this 'have' relation with the prepositional element P_{HAVE} proposed by Freeze 1991, Kayne 1993, as a subconstituent of verbal *have* (BE+ P_{HAVE}) and (for Kayne) present in possessive structures (*John's book*).
- ⇒ Common objection: Mary can bake John a cake even if the cake never gets to John—even if John never *has* the cake (say it burns, or the dog eats it, or whatever).
- ⇒ Duration of 'have' state with verbal *have*, deriving from *be*, makes this a misleading objection.
- ⇒ Possession is an abstract relation between entities which can spring into existence in a purely 'legal' sense: It was always *John's cake*, even though he never tasted a bite.
- ⇒ Similarly someone can will someone something even if the beneficiary is unaware of the bequest.
- ⇒ In sum:
- 'Dative shift' represents a change in the SC predicate
 - In *to*-dative, verb root starts in the SC and raises to v°
 - In double object construction, the SC is headed by the predicate HAVE and the verb root is inserted in v° directly
 - Like *open the door* vs *open the door wide*
 - That is, making a double-object construction, like adding a resultative particle or adjective, involves a) kicking the verb root upstairs to v° and b) putting a different predicate in the downstairs Small Clause
 - Like V-prt and resultative predicate constructions, double object constructions are ill-formed with Latinate verbs. Generally speaking.
 - And, verb-particle constructions, resultative constructions and double object constructions are ill-formed with each other. Generally speaking
- (37) a. Mary showed John her paintings.
 b. *Mary showed off John her paintings.
 (cf. *Mary showed off her paintings (to John)*)
 c. Mary passed the kids the potatoes.
 d. *Mary passed around the kids the potatoes.
 (cf. *Mary passed around the potatoes (to the kids)*)

6. Synchronic decomposition for Latinate verbs

⇒ The claim:

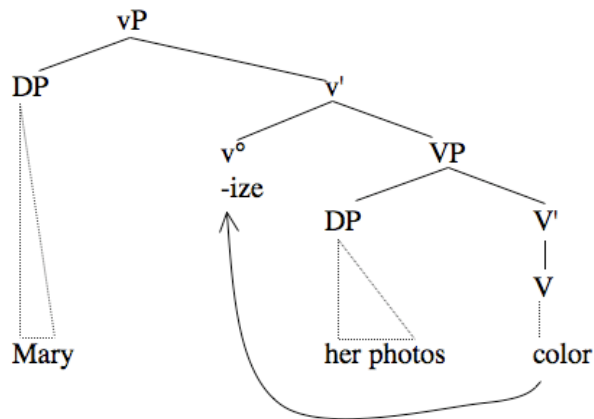
(38)



⇒ (And similarly for monotransitive Latinate verbs like *consume*, etc; in those cases the P has no complement).

⇒ For the Japanese-style verbs, the suffix is the upstairs predicate:

(39)



⇒ How can kids discover that these are bimorphemic? What could motivate a morpheme boundary between *con+sume*, or between *clar+ify*?

⇒ For the *con+sume* type, especially, there's no decompositional semantics correlating with morpheme parts to motivate decomposition (not like *happy ~ unhappy*)

⇒ For the *clarify* type, the semantics is there in many cases

⇒ The *-ify* and *-ize* and *-ate* morphs are frequent enough, have regular enough derivational behavior (*-ification/-ization/-ation*) and correlate strongly enough with word class, even impressionistically, to motivate decomposition by the acquiring child

⇒ Even without the semantics, though, there's lots of cues for the *consume* type:

- Aggressive segmentation?
- Phonotactic cues
- Allomorphic patterning
- Prosodic cues

6.1 Segmentation

⇒ LAD may be an aggressive segmenter (babies are structuralists, using discovery procedures!)

⇒ Identical sequences of segments in different contexts filed as potential morphemes

⇒ When appearing to combine with other filed sequences, even when semantics is noncompositional, morphemic analysis (e.g. Longtin et al. 2003):

- (40) a. re-ceive, de-ceive, con-ceive
b. re-fer, de-fer, con-fer
c. de-feat, con-geal, re-peat

6.2 Phonotactics

⇒ English phonotactics predicts morpheme boundaries between prefix and root in many cases (Hammond 1999, 2000); if no morpheme boundary, then an otherwise very clear generalization about English word-internal consonant cluster possibilities fails in cases like *adhere*, *inhibit*, *exhume*

6.3 Morphologically conditioned allomorphy

⇒ Some roots show morphologically conditioned allomorphy independently of which prefix is attached.

- (41) *-cieve~cept* conceive ~ conception
-sume~sumpt consume ~ consumption
-duce~duct reduce ~ reduction
-vene~vent convene ~ convention
-cede~cess concede ~ concession

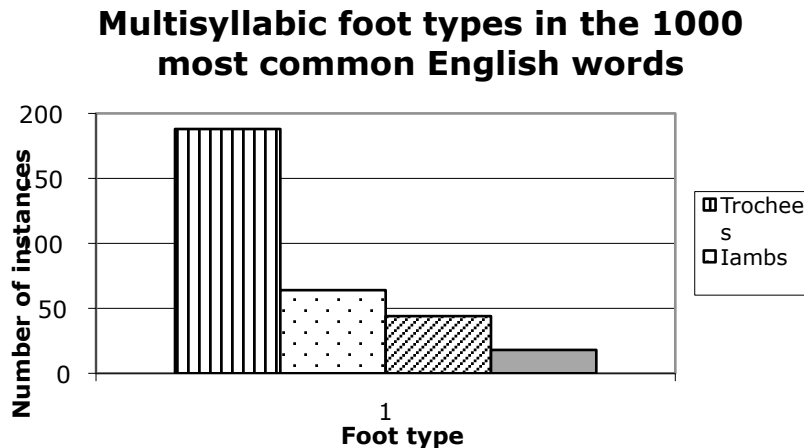
⇒ Also some derivational selection here too:

- (42) *-cept + -tion* *-pose + -ition* *-fer + -ence*
conception imposition inference
reception deposition conference
perception preposition deference
deception composition reference

6.4 Prosody

⇒ Prosody matters: Early English lexicon strongly trochaic (e.g. Jusczyk, Houston and Newcome 1999b)

(43)



⇒ Evidence that prosody is relevant to the constructions at hand:

(44) **confess up* but *'fess up!*
doNATE the library the book vs *DOnate the library the book*

⇒ Nearly all of the *consume* type of Latinate verb have wS stress patterns, some SS patterns, SwS (two feet, like *dissect* or *intervene*)

⇒ (Of course it's not literally 'Latinate' that matters: Plenty of Romance-borrowed trochees act like the Anglo-saxon vocabulary: *offer*, *train*, etc. are fine with particles, and, where relevant, in the double object construction.)

6.5 Psycholinguistic evidence

⇒ Coppock (2008) reports experiment on adults with nonce SS verbs and found that SS verbs are significantly less acceptable in the double object construction

⇒ Gropen et. al 1989 tested children with invented ditransitive verbs

- Half the verbs were 'Anglo-Saxon', half were 'Latinate'
- E.g. *norp*, *pell* vs *repetrine*, *orgulate*
- Taught the children the verbs in the *to*-dative frame (in one condition)
- Then elicited the verbs from kids
- The children dative-shifted more often with the invented "Anglo-Saxon" verbs than with the invented "Latinate" verbs
- ...though not significantly...but, significant results with adults in one grammaticality task

- ⇒ Further, a line of masked-priming work begun with Taft and Forster (1975) shows evidence for morphological priming ('affix stripping') across Latinate words with shared roots, such as *exhibit* and *inhibit*
- ⇒ They proposed that this effect can be most readily understood if speakers do in fact decompose these forms into their constituents, despite their semantic opacity.

6.6 *Maybe it's 'just' prosody/phonology/morphology, not syntax?*

- ⇒ Previous approaches to the prosodic restriction on dative shift:
 - Grimshaw: Dative shifting verbs must be a single prosodic foot. (But why? and why not in some other construction?)
 - Pesetsky: Null *G* morpheme in double object construction requires a certain shape for its host. (What about V-prt?)
- ⇒ Current account has most in common with Keyser and Roeper's "Abstract Clitic Hypothesis", but with the bonus of being grounded in semantic and syntactic as well as morphological motivation
- ⇒ But: What about the semantic noncompositionality? Doesn't that prove these are lexically indivisible units? At least particles have semantic content *outside* verb-particle constructions...
- ⇒ *Cran*-morphs and idioms say otherwise.
- ⇒ Consider what would happen if the SC predicate (*ex-*, e.g.) is replaced, by a particle, a resultative predicate, or HAVE
- ⇒ The verb root (*-hibit*), e.g., would be stranded in v^0 , uninterpretable without its mate.
- ⇒ Like trying to interpret *caboodle* without *kit*, *gamut* without *run the*, *cahoots* without *in*, *cran-* without *berry*...

7. Counterexamples

- ⇒ Overall account: There's more possible structure in the vP than meets the eye.

7.1 *Particles with dative-shifted ditransitives (Basilico 2008)*

- ⇒ Basilico: Benefactive ditransitives co-occur with particles; true dative ditransitives don't

- (45)
- a. The scientist wrote the committee up a report of his findings.
 - b. The mother fixed the children up a nutritious lunch.
 - c. I cooked her up something special.
 - d. The cub master built the scouts up a fire.

- e. The lawyer drew his client up a contract.
- (46) a. The clerk wrote us out a list of problems.
- b. The student printed his advisor out a copy of the first chapter.
- c. We poured our guests out some drinks.
- d. The mother picked her daughter out a nice dress.
- (47) a. Break me off a piece of that Kit-Kat bar!
- b. The baker tore the customers off some bread.
- (48) a. %I printed out my advisor a copy of the first chapter.
- b. %The mother picked out her daughter a nice dress.
- c. %I fixed up my mom a nice basket.
- (49) a. ??I'll draw my client a contract up.
- b. ?I'll print you a copy out

⇒ Consistent with the idea that benefactive arguments introduced by an Appl head or are in general in a different place in the structure than true double-object Possessors; Basilico provides evidence that when the particle is present, the caused-possession interpretation of the double-object construction disappears

7.2 *Particles with (iambic) Latinate verbs (van Gelderen 2006)*

- (50) We received it in for you (University librarian, ASU).
- (51) a. they .. did receive in such booties of catell or other things
(1607, Cowell, from the OED).
- b. Each grape to weep, and crimson streams to spin Into the Vate, set to
receive them in (1605, Sylvester, from the OED).
- (52) a. Elizabeth's accession allowed him to receive back his wife
(BNC-GTB938)
- b. a husband who changed his mind to receive his wife back without
ceremony (BNC-HTX2122).
- (53) evaporate out
dissipate away

⇒ van Gelderen offers a diachronic account whereby these particles begin life as adverbials adjoined to the SC predicate, become specifiers of a TelicP, and eventually become heads of Telic^o; at the same time, however, the adverbial syntax is still available for certain particles.

⇒ If particles can in certain circumstances (semantically contentful? phonologically heavy?) be adverbial, then in those circumstances, all bets are off.

7.3 Dative-shifting Latinate verbs (Levin 1993)

⇒ Levin lists verbs from different semantic classes which occur in the double object construction in her corpus search

⇒ I have bolded potentially problematic cases for discussion (most are not problematic), and bolded and underlined those which are intractable to my current understanding

(54) Levin's list of non-dative-shifting verbs
address, administer, **broadcast**, convey, contribute, delegate, deliver, denounce, demonstrate, describe, donate, elucidate, exhibit, express, explain, **forfeit**, illustrate, introduce, narrate, portray, **proffer**, recite, recommend, refer, reimburse, remit, restore, return, **sacrifice**, submit, surrender, transfer, transport.

(55) Levin's dative-shifting verbs:
sending: **forward**, hand, mail, post, send, ship, slip, smuggle, sneak
giving: feed, give, lease, lend, loan, pass, pay, peddle, **refund**, render, rent, **repay**, sell, serve, trade
throwing: bush, bat, bunt, **catapult**, chuck, flick, fling, flip, hit, hurl, kick, lob, pass, pitch, punt, shoot, shove, slam, slop, sling, throw, tip, toss
telling: ask, cite, pose, preach, quote, read, relay, show, teach, tell, write
instrument: cable, email, fax, modem, phone, radio, relay, **semaphore(??)** **satellite(??)**, sign, signal, **telephone**, **telecast**, **telegraph**, telex, wire, **wireless(??)**
future having advance, allocate, **allot**, **assign**, award, **bequeath**, cede, **concede**, **extend**, grant, guarantee, issue, leave, offer, owe, promise, **refuse**, vote, will, yield.

8. Conclusions

⇒ Verbs have a bipartite structure, even when they don't look like they do

⇒ This structure can help us to understand the crosslinguistically correlated distribution of verb-particle, resultative and double object constructions

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