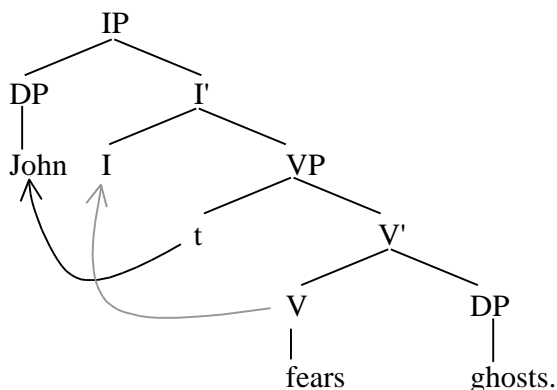


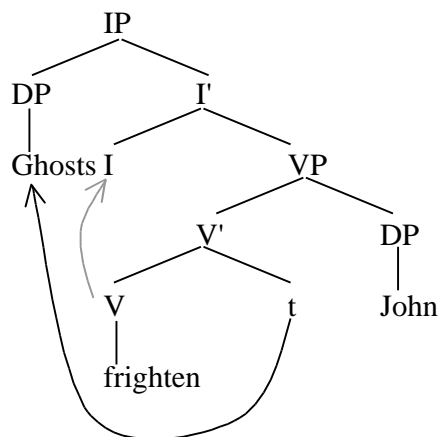
## 1. Pesetsky: Linking problems with experiencer predicates

1. Arguing against modern linking principles: the UAH and UTAH  
 "The more regular the correspondences between sound, structure and meaning, the less there is for the child to learn."  
 UTAH: Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at D-structure.
2. 3 types of solutions to linking problems (usually alternations):
  - a. Finer syntax: there's more syntax going on here than meets the eye.
  - b. Finer semantics: there's more semantics going on here than meets the eye.
  - c. Linking principles are less principled than we think.
3. Examples of these types of solutions:
  - a. Unaccusative hypothesis: same D-structure, different S-structure
  - b. Figure/object vs. ground/object alternating verbs: different semantics
  - c. Experiencer object verbs?? hopefully not.
4. Experiencer predicate linking problems:
  - a. Bill was very angry at the article in the Times.
  - a'. The article in the Times angered Bill.
  - b. Bill was content with the Chinese dinner.
  - b'. The Chinese dinner contented Bill.
  - c. Sue grieved over the court decision.
  - c'. The court decision grieved Sue.
  - d. Bill fears ghosts.
  - d'. Ghosts frighten Bill.
5. x: Experiencer, Theme.  
 x': Theme, Experiencer.
6. Belletti&Rizzi: type 1 solution.  
 Experiencers are always projected higher than Themes at D-structure. Object-experiencer structure are derived by movement of the Theme to subject position at S-structure.

### Subject Experiencer



### Object Experiencer



7. Pesetsky's proposal: 2 subclasses of Obj. experiencer verbs.
  - a.. Group I: Syntactic solution Obj. Exp. verbs a la B&R: *piacere*, 'please' (take *essere* auxiliary)
  - b. Group II: Combined syntax/semantic solution: *preoccupare*, 'worry' (take *avere* auxiliary).
  - c. Group I verbs have a genuine "Theme" subject, group II a "Causer" subj.
  
8.
  - a. Unaccusative verbs may not occur with passive morphology (even in languages where impersonal passives are allowed).
  - b. \*It was melted (by the ice) (German, Dutch)
  
9. Many Object Experiencer verbs passivize freely:
  - a. Bill was angered by Mary's conduct.
  - b. Harry was grieved by the court's decision.
  - c. Sue was frightened by strange noises.
 Also in Italian, as long as they take *avere* as an auxiliary:
  - d. Gianni è disgustato dalla corruzione de questo paese  
Gianni is disgusted by-the corruption of this country
  - e. Gianni è affascinato da questa prospettiva  
Gianni is fascinated by this prospect
  
10. B&R have a reply to this: these are adjectival passives, not verbal ones. Adjectival passives can apparently be formed from unaccusatives:
  - a. elapsed time
  - b. capsized boat
  - c. fallen tree
  
11. But wait... many unaccusative verbs don't allow adjectival passives either:
  - a. \*an already occurred event
  - b. \*a recently grown interest

12. And, some verbs that do form adjectival passives don't when the subject is inanimate!
- The desk was sat on by the gorilla
  - \*The desk was sat on by the lamp.
  - The closet was slid into by Ted.
  - \*The closet was slid into by the soap.
- (Not a ban on adjectival pseudopassives: the much talked-about opening. Also, the x examples above are good adjectivally: the often leaned-against tree)
13. B&R's arguments that *preoccupare* ObjExp verbs are unaccusative:  
I: in general, clitic attachment to adjectival participles is impossible:
- la notizia che gli è stata comunicata  
the news that to-him was communicated
  - la notizia comunicatagli
  - ... che gli è ignota  
that to-him was unknown
  - \* la notizia ignotagli
- ne*-cliticization to *preoccupare* participles is banned  
hence these participles are adjectival
- ?la sola persona che *ne* è affascinata  
the only person that by-it is fascinated
  - \*la sola persona affascinatane
14. But: *ne*-cliticization to reduced relatives is banned no matter what:
- la sola persona che *ne* è stata uccisa  
the only person that by-it was killed
  - \*la sola persona uccisane
15. II: In general, when *vinire* 'come' replaces *essere* as the auxiliary, only eventive readings are allowed, hence only verbal passives may occur.
- La porta è/viene chiusa alle cinque. (stative or eventive with *è*,  
only eventive with *viene*)
- viene* is impossible as the auxiliary with a *preoccupare* participle
- \*Gianni viene affascinata da questa prospettiva  
Gianni comes fascinated by this perspective
- therefore, *preoccupare* participles are stative, hence adjectival
16. But: some verbal passives are stative, too. Further, the more eventive the context, the better the *viene* auxiliary:  
Il pubblico venne affascinato dalla conclusione di quel concerto  
the public came fascinated by the conclusion of that concerto (speso)

17. Can object experiencer participles be shown to be definitely verbal? Perhaps not in Italian. But in English and Dutch, yes, which are otherwise similar to Italian in permitting reverse binding and auxiliary selection (Dutch).

18. Adjectival passives are stative, and allow modification by intensifiers: *very*  
a. This idea was much discussed in the 70s

Obj.Exp passives seem like this too:

a'. Bill was much frightened by my remark.

But, homophonous verbal passives don't permit modification by intensifiers.

Controlling for verbal passive with the progressive, we can see this effect:

b. This idea was being (\*much) discussed in the 70s.

This same effect shows up with ObjExp. passives

b'. Bill was being (\*much) frightened by one thing or another in those days.s

Hence, the passives of ObjExp. verbs can be adjectival, but are happily verbal too.

19. Grimshaw argued that ObjExp passives showed this stative behavior:

a. \*??Sue was continually being depressed by odd noises.

b. ??Bill was sitting around happy as a lark when suddenly he was depressed by an unexpected groan from the next room.

20. Pesetsky: *depress* is stative even in its active form, so 19ab are unsurprising:

a. ??Odd noises continually depressed Sue.

b. ??Bill was sitting around happy as a lark when suddenly a loud groan from the next room depressed him.

Further, when you take an ObjExp verb that is happily eventive, so is its passive:

a. Odd noises were continually scaring/frightening Sue.

b. Sue was continually being scared/frightened by odd noises.

21. Grimshaw: aha, but ObjExp passives don't allow the progressive, even though their active forms do:

a. The situation was depressing Mary

b. \*Mary was being depressed by the situation.

22. Pesetsky: other actives which are clearly stative allow the progressive too, on certain readings:

a. Karen is finally understanding this proof.

b. Bill is really liking the performance.

This use is the different from the "iterative" progressive used as a test above (20), rather, it's an "interrupted transition" coercion.

23. What is especially important is that the 21b fact holds for the passives of 22, too - which are *not* analysed as unaccusative (though perhaps they should be!):
- a. \*This proof is finally being understood by Karen.
  - b. \*The sea-urchin sushi is really being loved by Art.
  - a'. This proof was understood by Karen.
  - b'. The sea-urchin sushi was loved by Art.

So, if we have to diagnose unaccusativity because of the facts in 21, then we have to diagnose unaccusativity because of the facts in 23 -- which seems unreasonable because the other unaccusativity tests do not pattern this way in Dutch or Italian. 23 isn't unaccusative, hence 21, the Obj. Exp verbs, aren't either.

24. Further, if all ObjExp passives are adjectival, how to account for the following?
- a. Sue was scared of sudden noises.
  - b. Sue was scared by sudden noises.
  - c. \*Sue was continually being scared of sudden noises.
  - d. Sue was continually being scared by sudden noises.

25. Arguments from Dutch verb raising.
- a. Verb raising is optional in the perfect:
    - dat hij gelachen heeft
    - that he laughed has
  - b. dat hij heeft gelachen
  - that he has laughed
  - c. Verb raising is also optional in the passive:
    - dat hem de P.C. Hooft-prijs toegekend werd
    - that to him the P. C. Hooft prize awarded became.
  - d. dat hem de P.C. Hooft-prize werd toegekend
  - e. Verb raising (because it's *verb* raising) doesn't work with adjectives
    - dat Jan de hele dag (\*was) boos was
    - that John the whole day (\*was) angry was.
  - f. (leaving out a step) Verb raising is fine with Obj.Exp. verb passives:
    - dat ik door het college (werd) geboeid werd
    - that I by the classes (became) fascinated became.
  - g. Dutch does not form verbal passives from unaccusatives
    - \*Er wodt door veel patienten in dat ziekenhuis gestorven
    - \*there were by many patients in that hospital died
  - h. Hence Obj.Exp verbs are not unaccusative.

26. Reconsider B&R's structure for ObjExp verbs (6). The c-command relations at s-structure and d-structure are reversed. They claim that because the obj. exp. c-commands the theme at d-structure, the famous backwards-binding phenomena are explained:
- a. Questi pettigolezzi su di sè preoccupano Gianni più di ogni altra cosa
  - these rumors about himself worry Gianni more than anything else.
  - b. I propri sostenitori preoccupano Gianni
  - His own supporters worry Gianni

- c. Each other's remarks annoyed John and Mary.
  - d. (\*Each other's bookbags hit John and Mary).
27. What about these periphrastic causatives, though?
- a. Questi pettegolezzi su di sè hanno persuaso Gianni a partire  
These rumors about himself persuaded Gianni to leave.
  - b. Pictures of each other make us happy.
28. And, of interest given the data in 12 above:
- a. ?Each other's remarks hurt John and Mary
  - b. \*Each other's parents hurt John and Mary.

Final moral: B&R are *half* right:

Class I: *essere* ObjExp verbs

No verbal passives:

- a. A Gianni piace questo libro  
to Gianni pleases this book
- b. \*Questo libro è stato piaciuto (da Gianni)  
this book was pleased (by Gianni).

Ne-cliticization ok:

- a. Ne sono piaciuti a Maria [solo due \_\_\_\_]  
ofthem pleased to Maria only two.

Class II: *avere* Obj. Exp verbs

Verbal passives ok, cf. 9d,e

Ne-cliticization bad

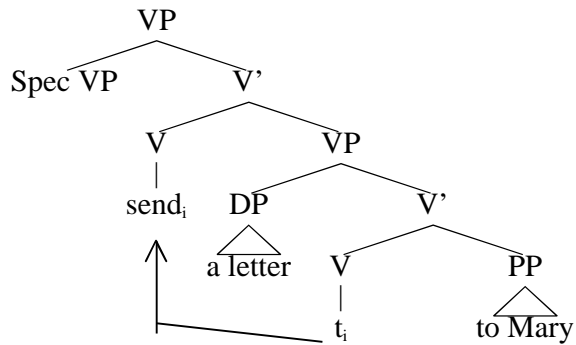
- a. \*ne hanno preoccupato Gianni [solo due \_\_\_\_]  
ofthem worried Gianni only two

So: what about those Class II Obj. Exp. verbs? c.f. rest of book.

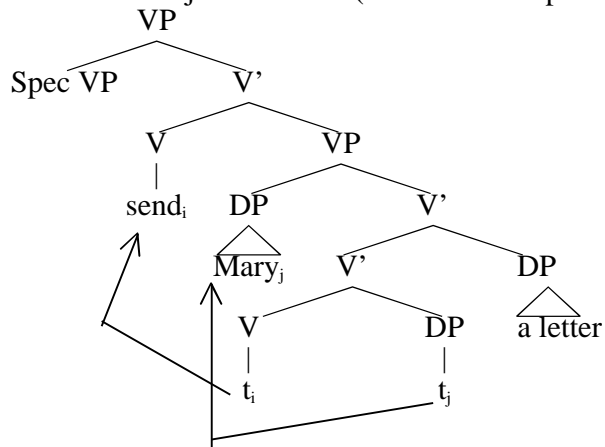
## 2 Harley 1999: GIVE<sub>1</sub> and GIVE<sub>2</sub>

Two competing hypotheses about dative shift:

1. "Transform" approach
  - a. double complement (Larson's example 13)

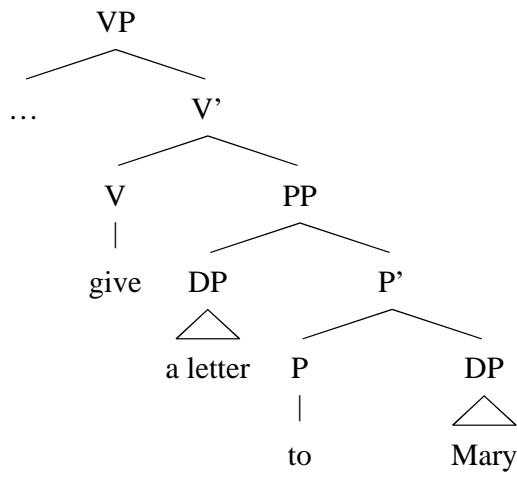


- b. double object structure (Larson's example 26)

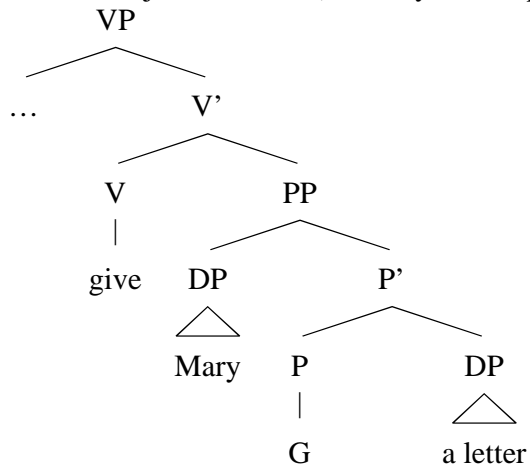


2. "Alternative Projection" approach

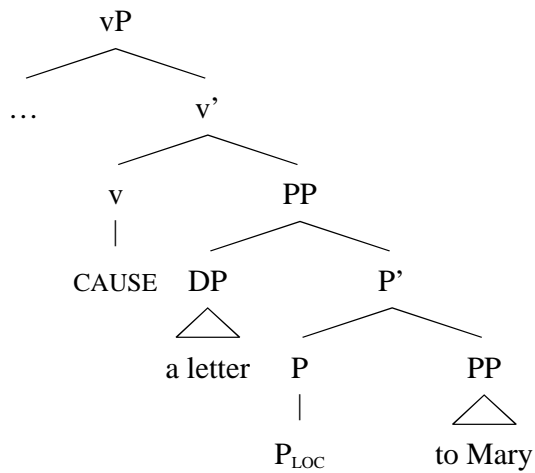
double complement structure (Pesetsky's example 456)



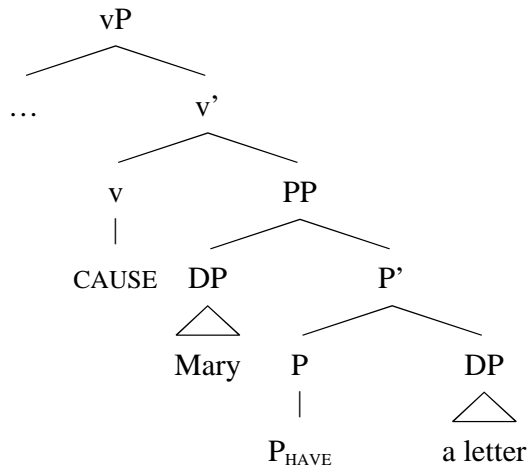
b. double object structure (Pesetsky's example 511)



3. Modified Alternative Projection (Harley):
  - a. double complement structure



- b. double object structure

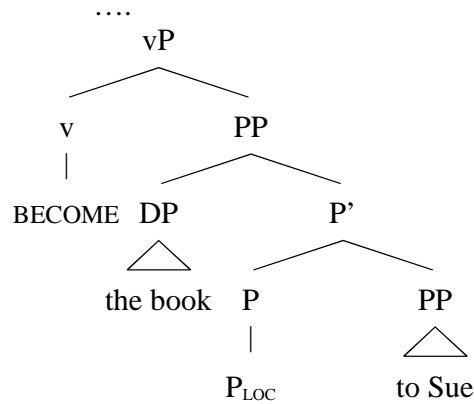


4. Motivation for Transform: Relativized UTAH (Larson)  
Identical thematic relationships are represented by identical relative hierarchical relations between items at D-Structure.
5. Jackendoff: but what about -
  - a. John blamed the accident on Max.
  - b. John blamed Max for the accident.
6. Larson's response: these are not identical thematic roles! Animacy restriction, hence two different base-projected structures:
  - a. John blamed his bad luck on the weather.
  - b. ??John blamed the weather for his bad luck.

7. Same restriction exists for double object verbs!
- The editor sent the article to Sue.
  - The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.
  - The editor sent Sue the article.
  - ??The editor sent Philadelphia the article.
8. Even more: different Goals in each:
- Susan sent Harry to Max/down the hall/to his room/away.
  - Susan sent Max/\*the hall/\*his room/\*away Harry.
  - Susan kicked the ball to Max/down the hall/out the window/upward.
  - Susan kicked Max/\*the hall/\*upward/\*the window the ball.
9. And more: different implications in each:
- John taught the students French
  - John taught French to the students
  - I knitted this sweater for our baby.
  - I knitted our baby this sweater.
10. Larson: Idiom chunks discontinuous, therefore V-movement:
- Lasorda *sent* his starting pitcher *to the showers*.  
("Lasorda took his starting pitcher out of the game")
  - Mary *took* Felix *to task*.  
("Mary upbraided Felix").
  - Felix *threw* Oscar *to the wolves*.  
("Felix sacrificed Oscar.")
  - Max *carries* such behavior *to extremes*.  
("Max goes to the limits with such behavior.")
11. But at least some idioms are a famous diagnostics for NP-movement:  
Idioms:
- John let the cat out of the bag.
  - The experimenter stacked the deck against his hypothesis.
- Passive:
- The cat was let out of the bag.
  - The deck was stacked against the hypothesis.
- Raising:
- The cat seems to have been let out of the bag.
  - The deck seems to be stacked against the hypothesis.
- \*Control
- \*The cat wants to have been let out of the bag.
12. But not these idioms:
- \*Lasorda sent the showers his starting pitcher.
  - \*Mary took task Felix.
  - \*Felix threw the wolves Oscar.
  - \*Max carries extremes things

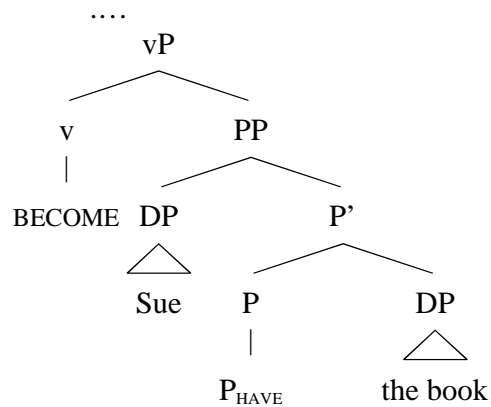
13. Even when the goal is animate:
- I sent the salesman to the devil.
  - \*I sent the devil the salesman.
14. Why not Pesetsky structures? for P, double object double complement. But:
- Mary gave John a kick.
  - \*Mary gave a kick to John.
  - Bill threw Mary a glance.
  - \*Bill threw a glance to Mary.
- 15.
- The war years gave Mailer a book
  - \*The war years gave a book to Mailer
  - The absence of competition guaranteed Scorsese the prize money.
  - \*The absence of competition guaranteed the prize money to Scorsese.
- 16.
- John gave Mary a child.
  - John gave a child to Mary.
- 17.
- John taught the students French
  - John taught French to the students
18. Discontinuous idioms:
- Larson:  
[<sub>VP</sub> The coach [<sub>V'</sub> V<sub>empty</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> Mary [<sub>V'</sub> sent [<sub>PP</sub> to the showers]]]]]]
  - Pesetsky:  
[<sub>VP</sub> The coach [<sub>V'</sub> sent [<sub>PP</sub> Mary [<sub>P'</sub> to [<sub>DP</sub> the showers]]]]]]
19. Discontinuous double object idioms!
- His advisor really gave John a kick in the pants.
  - \*His advisor really gave a kick in the pants to John.
  - Susan gave Bill a piece of her mind.
  - ??Susan gave a piece of her mind to Bill.
  - Nancy showed Ronald the error of his ways.
  - ??Nancy showed the error of his ways to Ronald.
20. Unaccusative *get*
- Linguistics gets [my all]
  - I caught/got [hell] from Alice
  - Peter got [the boot]
  - Geez, you get [the creeps] just looking at him.

21. a. double complement structure  
The book<sub>i</sub> got t<sub>i</sub> to Sue.



- b. double object structure

Sue<sub>i</sub> got t<sub>i</sub> the book.



22. Unaccusative *get*: no passive  
 a. \*Sue was got to by the book.  
 b. \*The book was got by Sue.
23. P<sub>HAVE</sub>, not P<sub>LOC</sub>  
 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.
24. Psych predicates and P<sub>HAVE</sub>  
 a. Tintin a faim  
 Tintin has hunger  
 “Tintin is hungry”, “Tintin hungers.”

- b. Tintin a peur (de q.q.ch.)  
 Tintin has fear (of sthg...)  
 “Tintin fears ..”, “Tintin is afraid of..”
25. a. Calvin has a deep-rooted fear of the dark.  
 b. Susan has a great love for thickly frosted cake.  
 c. Bill has at best an incomplete grasp of the issues.

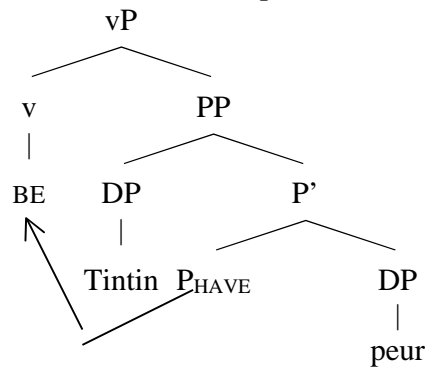
26. Irish: no P<sub>HAVE</sub>, no Subj. Exp verbs:  
 a. Tá peann ag Máire  
 BE pen at Mary  
 “Mary has a pen”.

b. Tá gaeilge ag Fliodhais  
 BE Irish at Fliodhas  
 “Fliodhais knows Irish.”

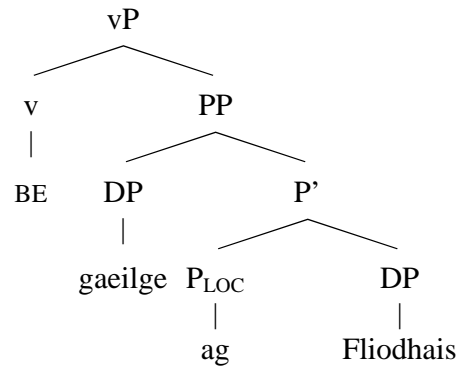
c. Tá eagla roimh an bpúca ag Ailill  
 BE fear before the Puca at Ailill  
 “Ailill fears the Puca.”

d. Tá meas ar Meadhbh ag Ailill  
 BE respect on Meadhbh at Ailill  
 “Ailill respects Meadhbh”

27. a. French: Tintin a peur (Lit: ‘Tintin has fear’)



- b. Irish: Tá gaeilge ag Fliodhais (Lit: 'Irish is at Fliodhais')



28. a. Calvin fears the weirdos from another planet.  
 b. Calvin has a deep-rooted fear of the weirdos from another planet.  
 c. Calvin is afraid of the weirdos from another planet.