

Syntax II Handout: VP Shells and Dative Shift

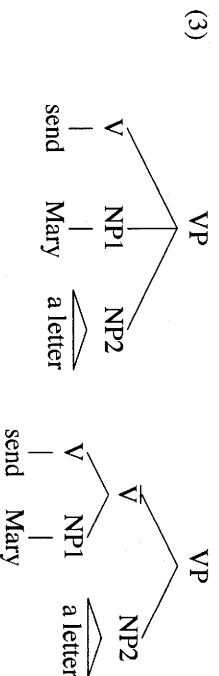
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April 13, 2004

1 Big Picture

- (1) The UNIVERSAL ALIGNMENT HYPOTHESIS (UAH; Perlmutter and Postal 1984, 97)
There exist principles of universal grammar which predict the initial relation borne by each nominal in a given clause from the meaning of the clause.
- (2) The UNIFORMITY OF THETA ASSIGNMENT HYPOTHESIS (UTAH; Baker 1988):
Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

2 Larson 1988



Asymmetries from Barss and Lasnik (1986) (L3):

(4) Reflexives

- a. I showed Mary herself.
- b. * I showed herself Mary.

(5) Variable binding

- a. I gave every worker_i his_i paycheck.
- b. * I gave its_i owner every paycheck_i.

(6) WCO

- a. Which man_i did you send *t* his_i paycheck?
- b. * Whose_i pay did you send his_i mother *t*?

(7) Superiority

- a. Who did you give *t* which paycheck?
- b. * Which paycheck did you give who *t*?
each...the other

(9) NPIs

- a. I showed no one anything.
- b. * I showed anyone nothing.

Also hold with prepositional variant (L5):

negative NPI

Squibb just shows every (second) relation that we know

(10) Reflexives

- a. I showed Mary to herself.
- b. * I showed herself to Mary.

(11) Variable binding

- a. I gave every check₁ to its₁ owner.
- b. ?? I gave his₁ paycheck to every owner₁.

(12) WCO

- a. Which check₁ did you send *t* to its₁ owner?
- b. * Which worker₁ did you send his₁ check to *t*?

(13) Superiority

- a. Which check did you send *t* to who?
- b. * Whom did you send which check to *t*? *we shd answer by saying to b*
- c. * To whom did you send which check? *more by saying to b*

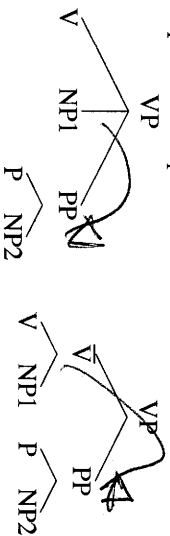
(14) each...the other

- a. I sent each boy to the other's parents.
- b. * I sent the other's check to each boy.

(15) NPis

- a. I sent no presents to any of the children.
- b. * I sent any of the packages to none of the children.

(16) No problem for previous structures:

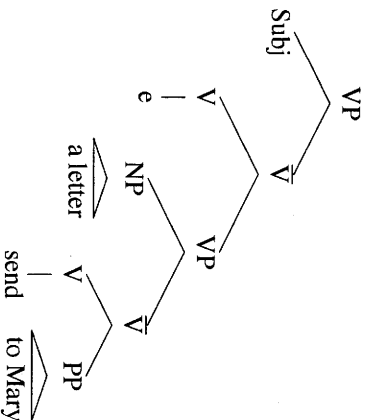


not give answers
 proven yet are they there
 can't be possible
 I sent the book that went to every student
 he added to my book
 so we get WCO if his
 John can't answer if no-covard

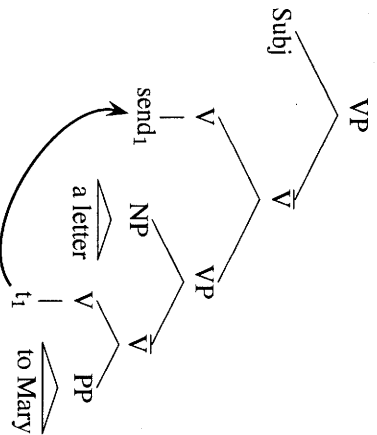
3 Larson's Proposal

Structure underlying both variants:

(17)

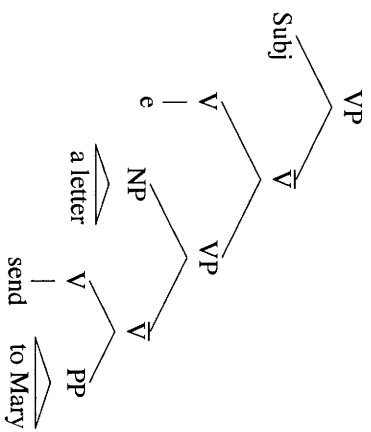


(18)

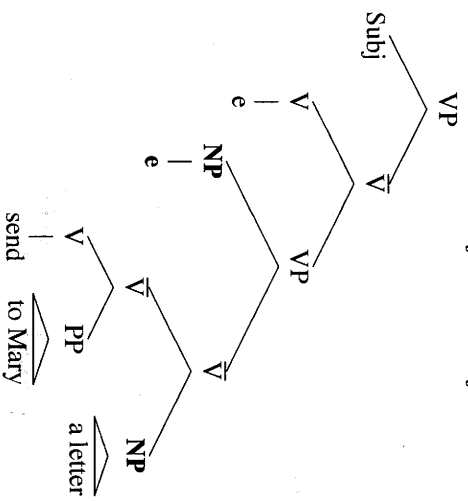


3.1 Dative Shift

(19) a.



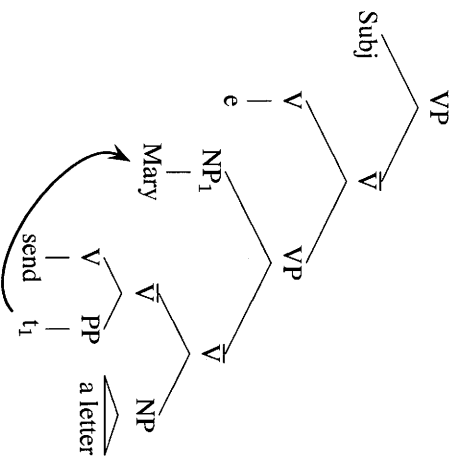
b. Demotion of "inner subject" to \bar{V} adjunct:

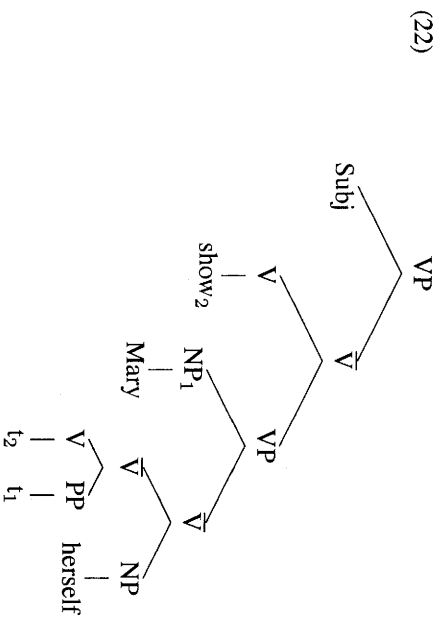


(20) Argument Demotion

If α is a theta-role assigned by X^i , then α may be assigned (up to optionally) to an adjunct of X^i .

(21)

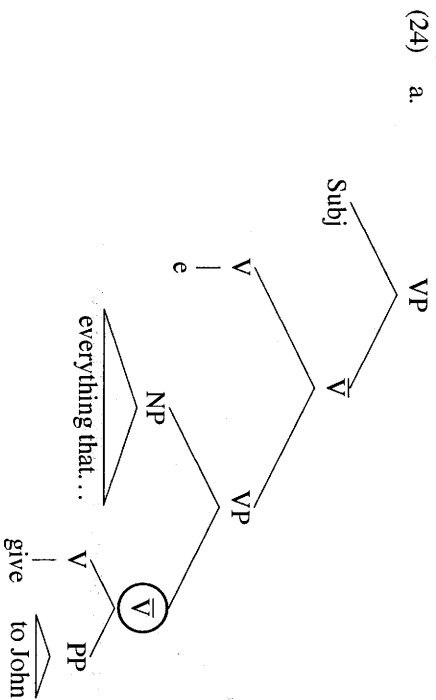




3.2 V-Bar Reanalysis

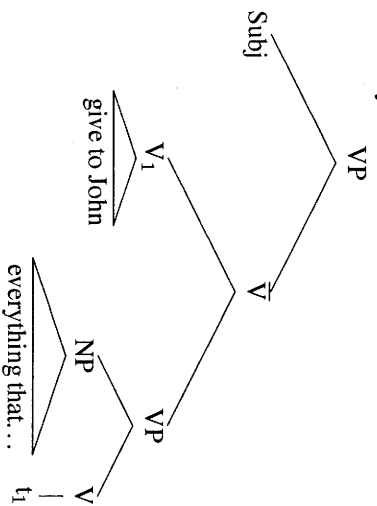
(23) (L20)

- a. I gave to John everything that he demanded.
- b. Max sent to me the longest letter anyone had ever seen.



light predicate raising
head movement

b. \bar{V} Reanalysis + Head Movement:

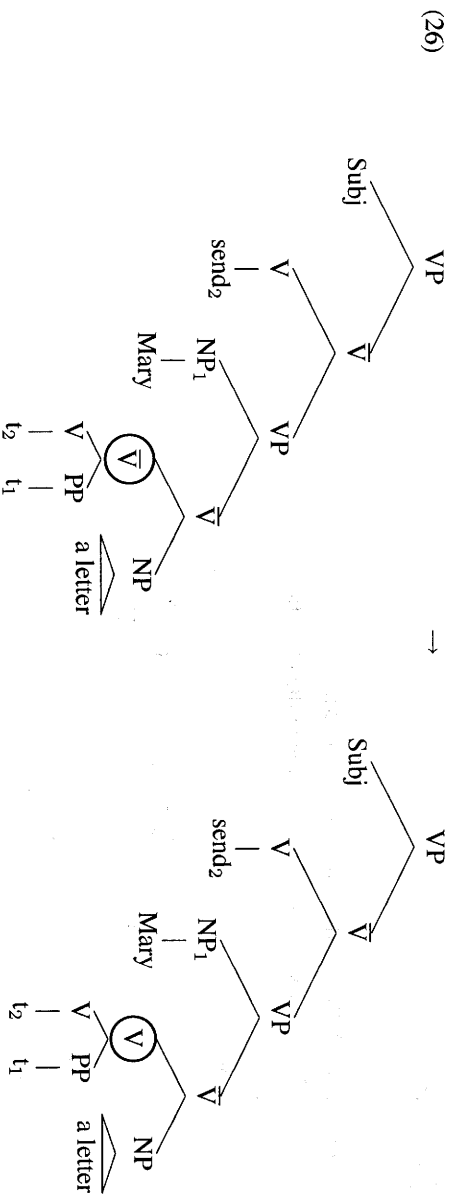


(25) \bar{V} Reanalysis

Let α be a phrase $[\bar{V} \dots]$ whose theta-grid contains one undischarged internal theta-role. Then α may be reanalyzed as $[V \dots]$.

uses for case assignment

3.3 Case Assignment in Dative Shift



3.4 Is Dative Shift Really Like Passive?

- (27) No contrast for ECP:
- a. ? What are you wondering whether Mary sent Bill *t*?
 - b. ? What are you wondering whether Mary sent *t* to Bill?
- (28)
- a. * Who are you wondering whether Mary was hit by *t*?
 - b. * By whom are you wondering whether Mary was hit *t*?

Is simple trans
both intrans

& Spec/obj

3.5 Constraints on Dative Shift

- (29) (L54)
- a. John donated the money to charity.
 - b. * John donated charity the money.
- (30)
- a. The judge spared John the ordeal.
 - b. * The judge spared the ordeal to John.
- (31) (L56)
- a. Klaus flew his dirigible to Helgoland.
 - b. Oscar bowed to the queen.
- (32)
- a. *give*: Beneficiary, Goal of motion along some path
 - b. *to*: Goal of motion along some path
- (33) Evidence: take away motion and *to* cannot be deleted (L58):
- a. I gave away money to charity.
 - b. * I gave away charity money. / I gave charity away money.
- (34) *give out*
- a. Spider-Man gave out apples to children and Daredevil did so to adults.
 - b. * Spider-Man gave apples to children and Daredevil did so to adults.
- (35) *donate*
- a. * Spider-Man donated money to the hospital and Daredevil did so to the blood bank.
 - b. Spider-Man donated money to the hospital and Daredevil did so too.
- (36)
- a. The judge spared John the ordeal.
 - b. * The judge spared the ordeal to John.

on L's
passive
by 130619
ditrans are 29 splits etc
restricted

Sometimes the trans verbs
assign over lap

linked to the
direct object by
generic verbs used
but in verbs that
work

if lang doesn't have the
right θ role, can't have
the sentence reordered!
only trans verbs is donate
no John can get case

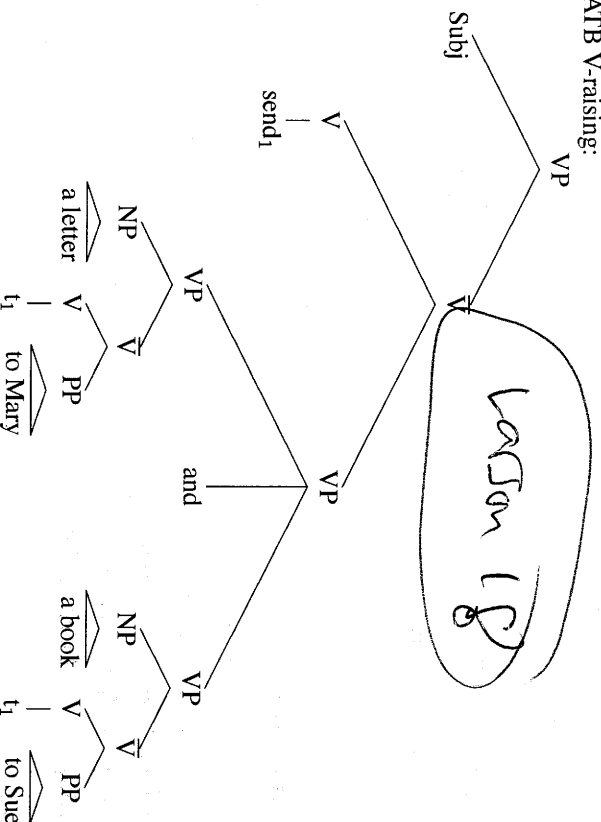
4 Evidence for Proposal

4.1 Conjunction

(37) (L17)

- a. John sent a letter to Mary and a book to Sue.
- b. I gave five dollars to Maxwell and three dollars to Chris.

(38) ATB V-raising:



4.2 Idioms

(39) (L9)

- a. Beethoven gave the Fifth Symphony to the world.
- b. Beethoven gave the Fifth Symphony to his patron.

(40) (L10)

- a. Lasorda *sent* his starting pitcher *to the showers*.
- b. Mary *took* Felix *to the cleaners/to task/into consideration*.
- c. Felix *threw* Oscar *to the wolves*.
- d. Max *carries* such behavior *to extremes*.

(41) Apparent counterevidence (L11):

- 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 anyone he's around long enough.
- e. Phyllis should show her cards to other group participants.

(42) Not noted by Larson:

- a. Max gave linguistics his all.
- b. Alice gave John hell.
- c. Oscar will give every late employee the boot.
- d. The Count gives everyone the creeps.

(43) (L12)

- a. Linguistics gets my all.
- b. I caught/got hell from Alice.
- c. Peter got the boot.

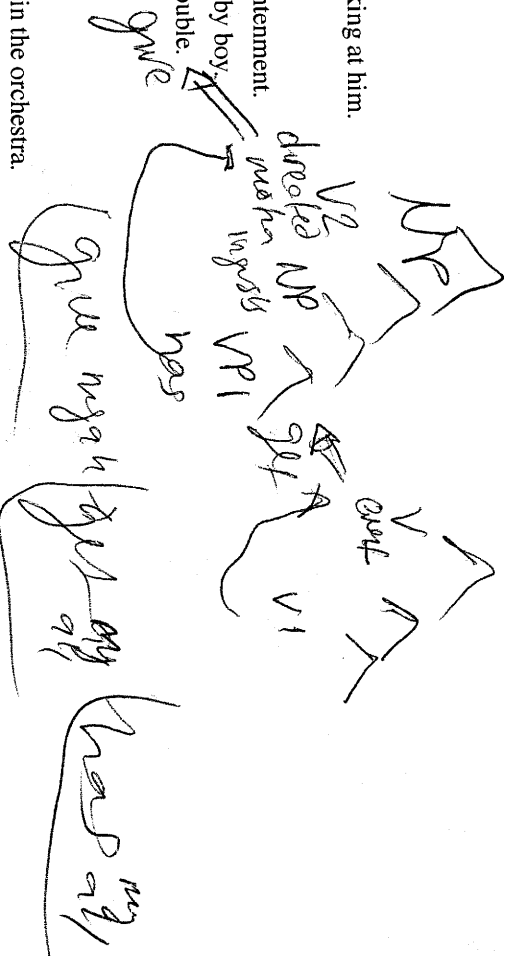
can use get Richard Allen
took agent for
Harry

he should have used prep like
there in 4/8

- d. Geez, you get the creeps just looking at him.
- (44) More counteridioms (footnote 4):
- Our ignorance gave way to enlightenment.
 - Mary gave birth to a bouncing baby boy.
 - This event gave rise to a lot of trouble.

4.3 Heavy NP Shift

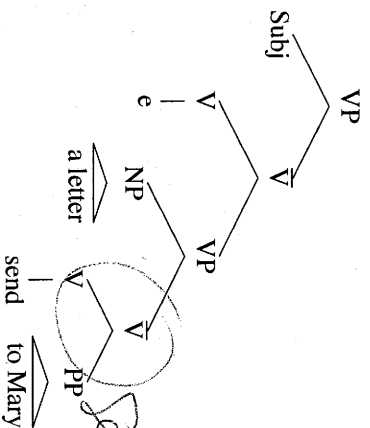
- (45) (L28)
- * John sent a letter every musician in the orchestra.
 - * Max gave a book about roses the tall man in the garden.
 - * Mary promised to win some spectator in the grandstands.



5 Consequences

5.1 Small Predicates and Inner Subjects

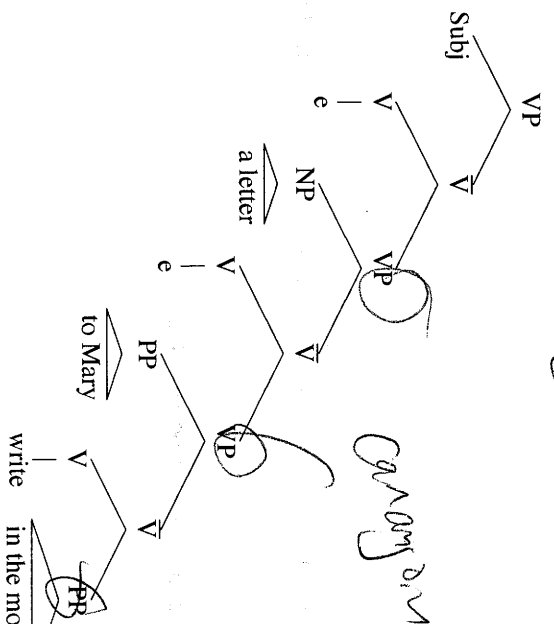
(46)



See ref. however, Jordan
external int. phrase argu
neighbours prod & subj. and

5.2 Inner Adverbs

- (47) I wrote a letter to Mary in the morning and a note to Max during the afternoon.
- (48)

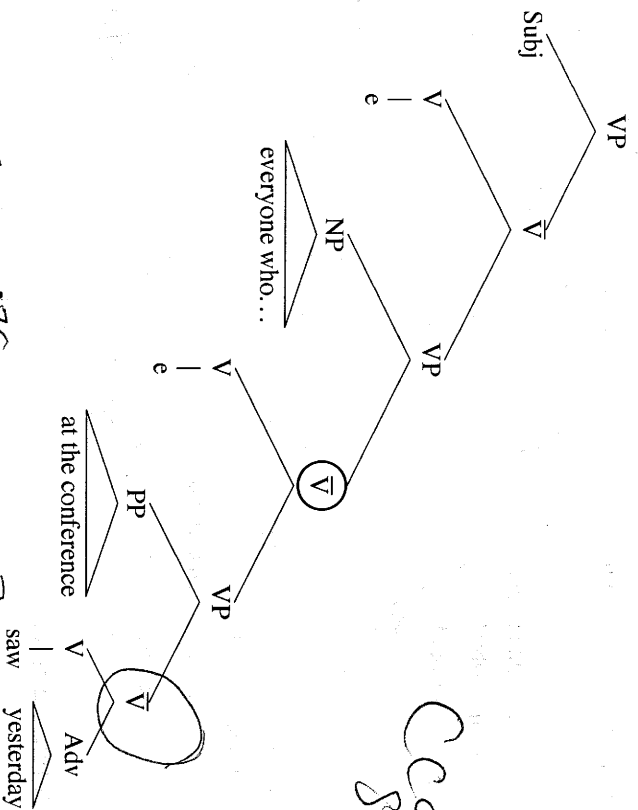


breaks the give
verb bearing
this means verbs
are innermost
complement verbs
be for objects
done

- (49) I saw at the conference yesterday [everyone who believes in UFOs]. (L22b)

Heavy NP shift

(50)



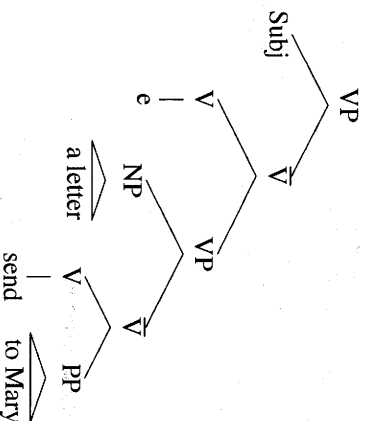
Command was
shown above
are low

(51)

- a. I wrote letters [to the children] on each other's birthdays.
b. I wrote a letter to every child [on her_i birthday]

5.3 The Single Complement Hypothesis

(52)



larsen gave paper
at Nels on this
shaky point scope of
c/ads showed the opposite

(53)

- a. $XP \rightarrow \text{Spec-}\bar{X} \bar{X}$
b. $\bar{X} \rightarrow X \text{ YP}$

5.4 VP Shells

(54) *PI*: If α is a predicate and β is an argument of α , then β must be realized within a projection headed by α .

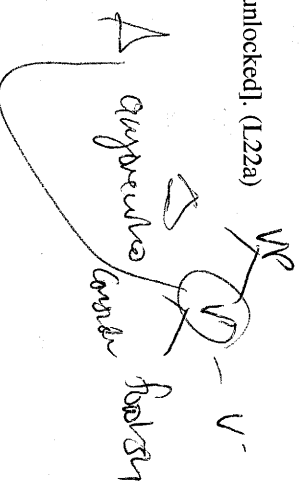
5.5 Reconsidering Analyses

(55)

I would consider foolish [anyone who leaves his doors unlocked]. (L22a)

(56)

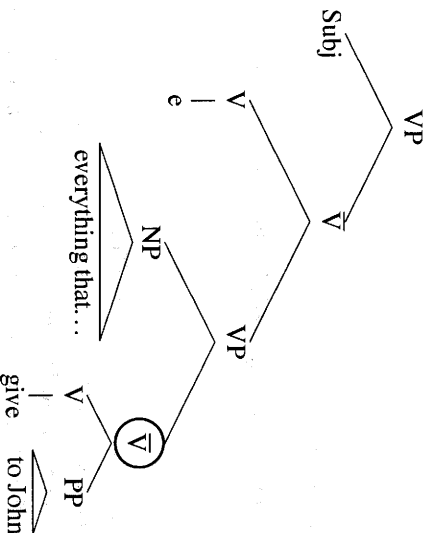
[_{VP} John [_V consider foolish]]



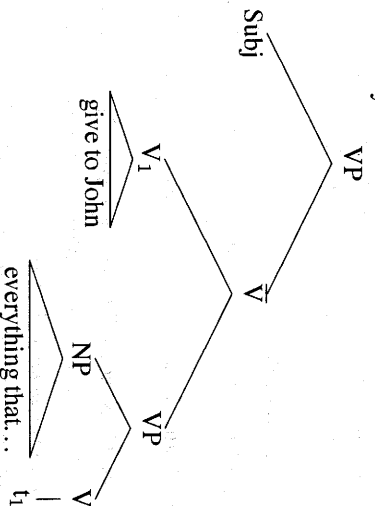
6 Comments

6.1 HNPS Reconsidered

(57) a.



b. \bar{V} Reanalysis + Head Movement:



(58) (Nissenbaum 2000, 59)

- a. Mary [claimed [that she liked e]] [in order to get me to rent e sometime] that movie with Fred Astaire and Audrey Hepburn.
 - b. * Mary [liked e] [in order to get me to rent e] that movie with Fred Astaire and Audrey Hepburn.
- (59)
- a. They'll [deny [that they once supported e]] [if we criticize e publicly] the ex-president who abolished welfare.
 - b. * They [once supported e] [if we criticize e publicly] the ex-president who abolished welfare.

6.2 The UTAH?

- (60) a. I taught them French. *they know French*
 b. I taught French to them. *may not know French*
- (61) a. I sent a letter to Paris. *About the city*
 b. * I sent Paris a letter. *can't be about the city*
- (62) a. The lighting gives me a headache.
 b. * The lighting gives a headache to me.

known for
Shouldn't be done from
concludes

6.3 Conclusion

1. Binary branching only
2. VP Shells (see, e.g., Hale and Keyser 1993)
3. Low adverbs/adjuncts (though see Lechner 2001)

7 Further Readings (Possible Squib Topics)

More on Larson Jackendoff 1990, Larson 1990, den Dikken 1995, Hale and Keyser 1997, Takano 1998
Datives, Idioms Harley 1997, Richards 2001

Heavy NP Shift Nissenbaum 2000

Applicatives Marantz 1993, Pytkäinen 2000 and references there

Asymmetries and Adverbs Pesetsky 1995; Phillips 1996, 2003; Bruening 2001; Lechner 2001

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