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Why *GIVE* Does Not Incorporate in Denominal Verbs

1. Aim

The aim of this paper is to take a look at denominal verbs which can be paraphrased by means of the verb *give*, and argue that the verb *GIVE* cannot incorporate[1].

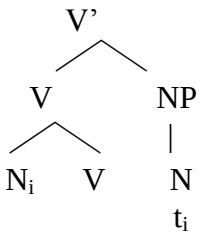
I argue that the reason for this is that it is not a primitive in the lexico-semantic representation of verbs, and incorporating a noun into the null verb *GIVE* would generate both syntactic and semantic problems.

The paper takes the non-primitivity of *GIVE* as support in favour of the view that that one needs to clearly distinguish between paraphrases, which are merely useful tools in capturing the approximate meaning of verbs, and the actual lexical semantic representation of denominals.

2. On Incorporation

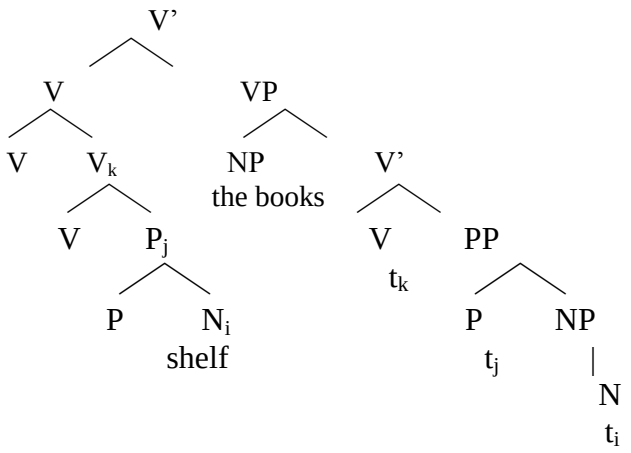
According to incorporation/ conflation accounts (Hale & Keyser 1998, 2000, Mateu 2000, 2002), denominal verbs are the result of incorporation (i.e. of the movement of N into V, or of the movement of N into P, and then of the whole thing into V) or conflation (i.e. of the merge/ copy of the signature of N into V, or of the merge/ copy of the signature of N into P, and then of everything into V):

(1) (a) for a verb such as *dance*:



[1] In the paper, I will use *give* to refer to the lexical verb and *GIVE* to refer to the light verb that occurs in paraphrases. While the lexical verb has phonological content, the light verb does not.

(b) for a verb such as *shelve the books*:



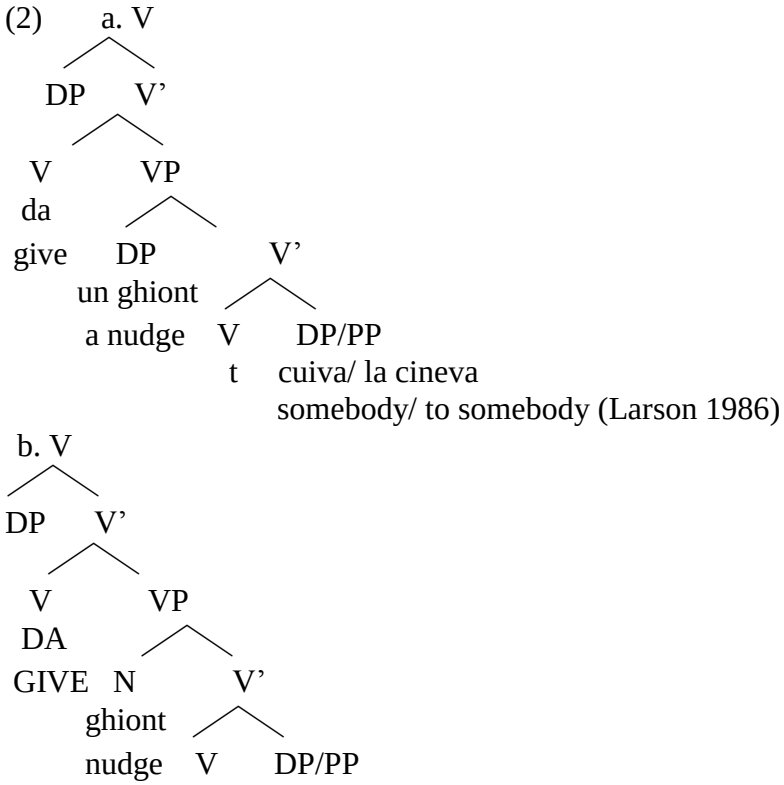
These accounts rely heavily on paraphrases (hence, null/ silent items): *dance*= 'DO dance', *shelve the books*= 'PUT the books ON shelf' a.o. and establish a lexico-semantic representation of the verb, representing ground for incorporation. The question would be if the paraphrase and the lexico-semantic representation are the same thing.

3. The Issue of Paraphrases

Within Hale and Keyser's (2002) theory of incorporation/ conflation, one would expect the 'paraphrase' of the denominal and the denominal verb to have the same selectional requirements, and this is indeed the case. Both *put on shelves* and *shelve* require an Accusative DP object (*put the books on shelves, shelve the books*). Also, both *hit/ do with hammer* and *hammer* require an Accusative DP object (*hit the table with a hammer, hammer the table*).

However, this is not always so. In my argumentation, I rely on examples from Romanian and English. In Romanian, *a înghionti* 'to nudge', for instance, has the lexical paraphrase 'a da (un) ghiont' ('to give (a) nudge'), as can be seen in (2a). If this paraphrase is considered the lexico-semantic representation, the verb *GIVE* cannot incorporate, as incorporating the noun into the light verb would lead to the formation of a denominal verb assigning Dative to its indirect object (2b). Since there is no such verb, but, instead, the verb *înghionti* requires an Accusative object, it seems to be the case that we are dealing with a clear contrast between lexical paraphrases and lexico-semantic representations:

(2) a. V



b. V

Similarly, there is a difference between *a bucura* ('to make someone happy'), requiring the Accusative 'pe cineva', literally 'on someone' (but 'pe' is actually differential object marker) and *a da bucurie* (lit. 'to give joy'), requiring a Dative object.

Also, although the verb *to pain* requires a DP in the Accusative (*to pain somebody*), the paraphrase *to give pain* takes a PP object (*to give pain to someone*), but the order *to give someone pain* is also possible. Similarly, although the verb *to gift* requires a DP in the Accusative (*to gift somebody*), the paraphrase *to give a gift* takes a PP object (*to give a gift to someone*).

Apart from denominals which only add the regular verbal suffix (*a, -e, -i, -u*) to the nominal root they derive from, there are also prefixed denominals such as *a îmbrânci* 'to push', for instance, which can receive the paraphrase *a da un brânci* 'to give a push', *a mitui* 'to bribe', which can be paraphrased as *a da mită* 'to give bribe' or *a îndurera* 'to pain', which can be paraphrased as *a da durere* 'to give pain' (although other common paraphrases are 'a provoca/ a cauza durere', i.e. 'to provoke/ to cause pain')[2]. Just like the previous examples, these verbs require the Accusative, while the paraphrases seem to require the Dative: *a da un brânci cuiva* ('to give a push to somebody') vs. *a îmbrânci pe cineva* ('to push somebody'), *a da durere cuiva*

[2] There is a difference between *a da durere* and *a îndurera.* While the first is generally used to refer to physical pain, the latter is used to refer to psychological pain. In this sense, *a da durere* may be argued not to be an appropriate paraphrase. In fact, there are other cases of meaning differences between the verb and the expression: *a da formă* ('to give form') vs. *a forma* ('to form'), *a da dovadă,* lit. 'to give proof' ('to be an example of') vs. *a dovedi* ('to prove'). This semantic contrast represents an additional argument for the non-identity of paraphrases with verbs and the necessity to tease apart the paraphrase from the lexico-semantic representation.

('to give pain to somebody') vs. *a îndurera pe cineva* ('to pain somebody'), *a da mită cuiva* ('to give bribe to somebody') vs. *a mitui pe cineva* ('to bribe somebody'). It thus seems to be the case that *a da* ('to give') can combine both with concrete objects (such as *brânci, mită* or *ghiont*), as well as abstract objects (such as *bucurie*), but, although there are corresponding denominal verbs in both cases, there is a difference in the case assignment of the object by the verb and the paraphrase.

This seems to point towards embracing the view that such denominal verbs are not the result of incorporation of the object noun into the null verb *GIVE*. There are several possible reasons for this:

(i) the different selectional requirements of the paraphrase and the denominal (as well as the existence of a meaning difference between them in some cases) suggest that the paraphrase is not a lexico-semantic representation that represents the starting point for the derivation of the denominal

(ii) from a semantic point of view, null *give*, i.e. *GIVE* is not a semantic primitive, but can in its turn be decomposed as CAUSE [x to HAVE y], expressing transfer of possession. According to Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1998), the predicates used in the lexical semantic representation of verbs (states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments) are ACT/ DO, BE <STATE>, BECOME and CAUSE, but GIVE is not among them. One could thus embrace the view that only primitive predicates can incorporate.

This is actually a very important issue that requires discussion: why is it that certain verbs can incorporate, while others do no? Hale & Keyset (2002) assume that verbs such as DO or PUT incorporate. While DO is a primitive verb, PUT is a case that requires discussion, as it could tentatively be decomposed as CAUSE [x to BE somewhere]), so it would not qualify as primitive in that sense.

If this hypothesis does not seem to work, the reason might be related to the type of object, more specifically:

(iii) from a syntactic viewpoint, it has been argued that the incorporated item has to be governed by the verb that incorporates it (Baker 1988).

According to Baker's (1988) condition on incorporation, incorporation is available to lexical items which, when in their un-incorporated basic positions, are governed by the host of incorporation. This basically prevents agents and adjuncts from incorporating, a view very problematic given the existence of instrument verbs such as *to hammer*. It thus seems to be the case that the formulation is either a too strong or, in fact, in the *hammer* example, the instrument is not projected as an instrument.

In any case, the condition on incorporation should not affect the verb *GIVE*, as the verb requires two arguments, both of which are governed by the verb. In what follows, I will take a look at the structure from a syntactic point of view.

4. The Syntax of *Give* Constructions

A verb such as *give* can combine with its arguments in two ways:

(3) a. I gave a book (Theme) to Mary (Goal). -Prepositional Object Construction (POC)
b. I gave Mary (Goal) a book (Theme). -Indirect Object Construction (IOC)

The sentences in (3) exemplify the Dative Alternation:

(4) a. NP_1 V NP_2 *to* NP_3
b. NP_1 V NP_3 NP_2

In the literature, the Dative Alternation has mainly been analyzed by resorting to two kinds of approaches: (i) derivational approaches/ transform approaches (Larson 1988, 1990)
(ii) non-derivational approaches- associated with a different meaning (Pesetsky 1995)

A fundamental issue that these approaches have tried to capture is the asymmetry between the objects:

(5) a. I showed Mary herself.
b. *I showed herself Mary.

In (5), the anaphor *herself* has to be bound, the Goal has to bind the Theme, and the analysis one proposes must capture this fact. The reason for this is the version of UTAH espoused by Larson (1990):

(6) *Relativized UTAH:*

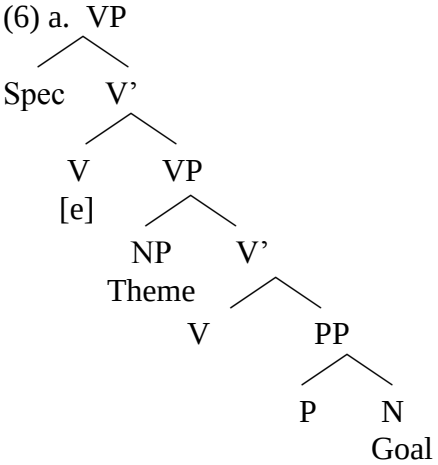
Identical thematic relationships are represented by identical relative hierarchical relations between items at D-structure.

In other words, if the theta role of argument 1 is higher on the thematic hierarchy (AGENT> THEME> GOAL> OBLIQUE) than the theta role of argument 2, argument 1 must c-command argument 2 at D-structure. Both analyses must take this into account.

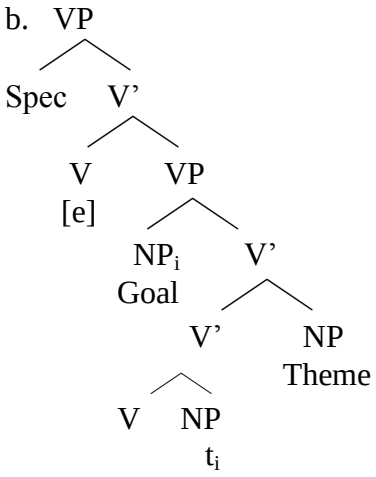
From a structural point of view, the transform analysis and the derivational analysis propose different representations for the Dative alternation:

(i) Non-derivational analysis (Larson 1988, 1990)

(6) a.

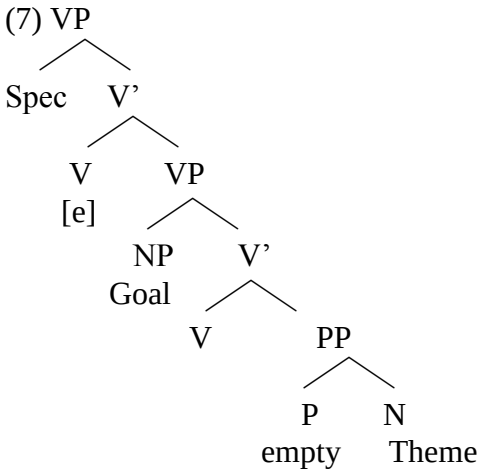


b. VP



(ii) non-derivational analysis (Pesetsky 1995)

(7) VP



While in the derivational analysis, the IOC is derived from the DOC, in the non-derivational analysis, the Goal is simply generated above the Theme, and there is an empty preposition before it. The second analysis is problematic for the UTAH, but it solves the binding requirements at S-structure, through movement. Also, it receives evidence from the existence of idioms that involve the IO such as *send to the wolves* or *take to task*.

The non-derivational analysis is supported by Harley (1997) in the article 'If you *have*, you can *give*', although for her the preposition is not empty, but P_{HAVE}. Interestingly, there are languages (such as Irish) that lack possessive *have* and, consequently, they also lack a double object construction (in other words, (3b) is not possible).

One very important question is whether there is a Dative Alternation in Romanian.

(8) a. I- am dat cartea Mariei.
Cl 3rd, sg, DAT have-1st sg given book-Def Art Fem,3rd sg Mary-DAT
'I showed the book to Mary'
b. I- am dat Mariei cartea.
Cl 3rd, sg, DAT have-1st sg given Mary-DAT book-Def Art Fem,3rd sg

Is it the case that (8b) is derived from (8a)? The answer is no, there no Dative Alternation, as there is no POC. One can have differential object marking:

(9) Am dat cartea la cineva/ la niște copii.
have-1st sg given book-Def Art Fem,3rd sg to somebody/ to some kids

However, this is not a case of POC, as one can clearly see there is no binding requirement:

(10) a. I- am arătat Mariei pe ea însăși.
Cl 3rd, sg, DAT have-1st sg shown Mary-DAT +preposition +pron-Def Art Fem,3rd sg + strengthening pronoun
'I showed Mary herself.'
b. I-am arătat pe ea însăși Mariei.
Cl 3rd, sg, DAT have-1st sg shown prep+ pron-Def Art Fem,3rd sg + strengthening pronoun+ Mary-DAT
'I showed herself to Mary.'

This makes matters easier for Romanian, where one could easily assume either a non-derivational analysis or a derivational one. The first analysis would be less costly, from the point of view of economy of the system, as there would be no need for movement in order to generate the basic construction. According to the first analysis, the Theme is base-generated above the Goal. In the verbs discussed (*a înghionti*, *a bucura*, *to pain)*, incorporation would result in a different case-marking of the argument of the resulting denominal verb. However, from a purely structural point of view, the Theme can undergo incorporation. While in the first analysis, it incorporates directly, in the second one, it first incorporates into P, and then the P-N complex incorporates into V. Unfortunately, this fails to explain the absence of incorporation in the case of *GIVE*.

Another issue requiring attention is whether there are cases where the lexical verb *give* incorporates, thus resulting in a compound. In Romanian, this is not the case, nor is it the case in English. However, in a language such as Warray, for instance, the fifth-most-spoken native regional language of the Philippines, there seems to be such a *give*-incorporation phenomenon, as can be seen in the 'give' compound *nyi-woy*. This compound is not translatable as merely *give a name* but has to do with transferral of names, *ngirrwart*, an important feature of Warray social organization (Chappell & McGregor 1996). The fact that very few cases of *give*-incorporation seem to exist makes it debatable whether the verb *give* is actually at stake here, or perhaps one deals with a causation or creation meaning rather. This idea would also support the absence of incorporation into the light verb *GIVE*.

It would thus be the case that neither *GIVE* nor *give* can incorporate, a prediction which would thus be confirmed if one thinks of light verbs as lexical verbs deprived of certain features.

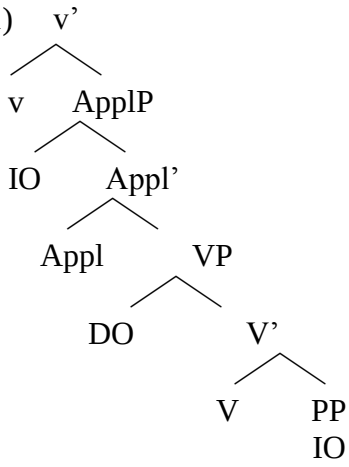
5. No Incorporation in the case of *GIVE*

The data seems to suggest that the PP/ IO cannot be incorporated into GIVE. The reason for this may be related to the IO being [+animate] (Animacy Constraint), and it representing the Possessor. While Themes, Instruments incorporate, it is not the case that we find denominal verbs which have incorporated Agents or Possessors. There is a real animacy bias at stake thus, and when looking at verbs that have incorporated 'animate' entities, they are actually incorporated as manner or predicates, not as agents or possessors (see *to spy, to cook, to nurse*).

Interestingly, when the PP is [-animate], it can apparently incorporate sometimes, as in *a da în clocot*, lit. 'to give in boiling', a paraphrase of *a clocoti* 'to boil', where one can detect a resultative meaning. This is not always the case, though: *a da de bucluc,* 'to give of/to trouble', meaning 'to run into trouble' does not give rise to *a bucluci*, *a da în vileag*, lit.'to give in public', having the meaning 'to reveal in public' does not give rise to the verb *a vilegi.* It might simply be a case of lexical blocking by other items already existent in the lexicon, although *vileag* could be argued to be animate. There are many other such expressions which do not give rise to verbs although the PP the *give* verb selects a PP that is [-animate]: *a da la iveală,* lit. 'to give to public'('to reveal'), *a da la ziar,* lit. 'to give to newspaper'('to send to the newspaper'), *a se da în stambă/ spectacol*, lit. 'to CL give in show' ('to make a fool of oneself'), *a se da de ceasul morții*, lit. 'to CL give of hour-DEF ART death-GEN' ('to try one' best'), *a da de necaz*, lit. 'to give of trouble' ('to run into trouble'), *a da în gropi*, lit. 'to give in holes' ('to behave in a very stupid manner'). While some are transitive (*a da în vileag, a da la iveală, a da la ziar*), others are intransitive (*a da în clocot, a da de necaz, a da de bucluc, a se da în stambă/ spectacol, a se da de ceasul morții*). The question would be why no incorporation occurs. While it could be argued that, in some cases, this does not happen because XPs cannot be incorporated, only heads (*a da în mintea copiilor*), in the other cases, the same explanation cannot hold. One possible reason could be related to the light/ heavy nature of *da*: in many of these expressions, *da* may not count as a light verb, it may be considered semantically richer (e.g. *a da la ziar*).

Nevertheless, the direct object should be able to incorporate. I argue that the reason why it cannot is because it is prevented to do so by the IO. According to MacDonald (2015), double object constructions with *give* involve an Applicative Phrase, as in Pylkkänen (2008), and the IO has to move to its specifier always, as it is the Possessor. Unlike Pylkkänen (2008), however, or Pesetsky (1995), who claim that the direct object construction and the prepositional dative construction have different underlying structures, MacDonald (2015) adopts a transform approach, according to which the DOC is derived from the PDC:

(11)



(MacDonald 2015)

The Applicative P is a projection constructed by Pylkkänen (2008) to deal with two different types of applicative heads:

(i) high applicatives, which denote a relation between an event and an individual
(ii) low applicatives, which denote a relation between two individuals

While high applicative heads attach above the Root, low applicative heads attach below the Root. They modify the direct object and are interpreted as directional possessive relations (*I baked him a cake*= '[him[TO-THE-POSSESSION OF[cake]]]'.The English double object construction illustrates only one type of low applicative: crosslinguistically, we find not only the *to-the-possession-of* relation but also a *from-the-possession-of* relation.
(12), on the other hand, is an example of a high applicative phrase:

(12) N-a-i-lyi-i-a m-ka k-elya
FOC-I s-PR-eat-APPL-FY 1-wife 7-food
'He is eating food for his wife' (Bresnan and Moshi 1993: 49-50, taken from Pylkkänen 2008)

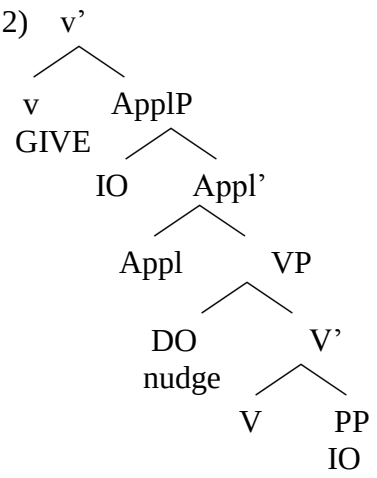
The semantic similarity between the English and the Chaga benefactives is only apparent. In Chaga, the applicative head relates an individual to the event described by the VP, following Marantz (1993), while in English, the applicative head relates an individual to the direct object (Pesetsky 1995).

Coming back to the structure in (11), the V-direct object-indirect object obtains when the IO is pronounced low, while the V-indirect object-direct object reading obtains when the IO is pronounced high.

The advantages of such an analysis are that such a theory can account for the role of the weight of the IO (e.g. *He gave a black eye to the kid with the German roots*), and also for the differences between *give*-constructions, which do not allow inanimate IOs and *throw* or *send*-constructions, which allow inanimate IOs (**He gave a book to London vs He sent a book to London*) and which do not involve an ApplP.

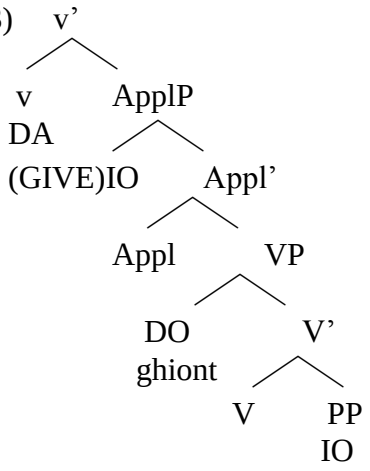
It can also account for the failure of the null verb GIVE to incorporate if one assumes such an underlying structure, as the IO intervenes between the v and the DO:

(12)



Moreover, it can neatly account for the data in Romanian as well, the failure of the noun to incorporate into the light verb and give rise to a verb that selects the Accusative, rather than the Dative:

(13)

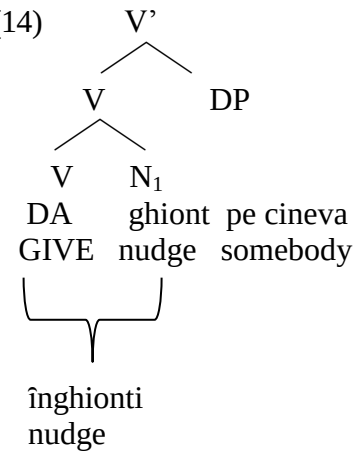


A possible alternative is to argue that, in the cases where the lexico-semantic representation of a verb makes use of the verb *GIVE*, the light verb *GIVE* simply combines with a nominal root[3], which it incorporates, and it is only the resulting verb which combines with an argument and has case-assigning ability. In other words, light verb GIVE is not a verb

[3] The idea that the formation of words (denominals included) is from roots is embraced by several linguists in the literature (Arad 2003, Embick & Marantz 2008, Levinson 2007, Panagiotidis 2014). Evidence comes from data from Hebrew (Arad 2003), where roots can be clearly isolated and from pseudoresultatives (Levinson 2007). For instance, in *He sliced the bread thin*, *thin* modifies the slices cut, not the bread, which suggests the existence of a nominal root. The necessity of having a categorized root rather than an uncategorized is theoretically grounded in the necessity to be read by the interfaces, in other words, uncategorized roots are not legible PF objects. Empirically, this claim also receives evidence from the non-compositional interpretation of words derived from roots (*revolution-revolve*, or *synteleia* ('end of the world') – *syntelo* ('contribute')) (Panagiotidis 2014), which is also the case with some Romanian examples discussed in this paper (*a da formă* 'to give form' vs. *a forma* 'to form').

selecting two arguments, as the lexical verb *give*. Rather, only in combining with a nominal root does it give rise to a full lexical verb:

(14)



6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the verb *GIVE* is not part of the lexico-semantic structure of denominal verbs, and this strengthens the need for a clear distinction between lexical semantic structure and paraphrases. In the paper, I have also adopted a syntactic analysis of *GIVE* constructions (MacDonald 2015) which further supports the empirical data at stake, namely, the absence of incorporation, and suggested instead nominal root incorporation before the selection of argument(s).

Acknowledgments

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