4 Direct and indirect objects
4.0 Basics

- Subject: external
- Object: internal
- PC: internal

- direct object (DO):
with monotransitive and multitransitive predicates
- indirect object (IO):
only with multitransitive predicates
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.0 Basics

- **DO**: canonically expresses the *patient* role with agent-patient verbs (If it expresses other roles than the patient one, it has the same grammatical properties as the NP expressing the patient)
- **IO**: canonically expresses the *recipient* (also other semantic roles possible)
- The direct object-argument is more directly affected or involved in the relation denoted by the predicate than the indirect one.

  1. Pat gave Kim the key

  | S | P | IO | DO |

- The DO in ditransitives is obligatory while the IO is omissible – cf. clauses with *lend, offer, ...*
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.0 Basics

• Difference between DO and IO in German and English?

 Compare the subject of passive constructions in E and D:

(2) Pat saw the girl → The girl was seen by Pat

S |P |DO

Pat gave the girl the key → The key was given to the girl by Pat

S |P | IO | DO

The girl was given the key by Pat

(3) Frank sah das Mädchen → Das Mädchen wurde von Frank gesehen

S |P | DO

Frank gab dem Mädchen den Schlüssel → Der Schl. wurde dem M. gegeben

S |P | IO | DO

*Das M. wurde den Schl. gegeben
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.1 The object in canonical monotransitive clauses

Syntactic category: NP

• What are core complements (subjects or objects), what are oblique arguments (adjuncts) ?

(4) He [climbed |the mountain.]
S P DO
He [climbed |up the mountain]
S P ?A
He [supplied |eggs | to them]
S P DO ?A
He supplied [them with eggs]

• How are core and oblique arguments represented syntactically?
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.1 The object in canonical monotransitive clauses

- category of objects in monotransitive clauses
  normally NP
  function of NP: S, O, PC (core complements)

?subordinate content clauses
they are complements but no objects
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.1 The object in canonical monotransitive clauses

• **selective obligatoriness**

Obligatory Os:

(4)  
  a. He accosted her.
  b. We kept the old battery.
  c. This entailed a considerably delay.
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.1 The object in canonical monotransitive clauses

- **correspondence to passive subject**

(5)  
(a) His uncle owned two yachts.  
   a'. Two yachts were owned by his uncle.  
(b) His uncle had two yachts.  
   b'. *Two yachts were had by his uncle.  
(c) He has drunk out of this glass  
   c'. This glass has been drunk out of.

passive test:  
if the element corresponds to a passive subject, it is an object
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.1 The object in canonical monotransitive clauses

• *position*
  normally after P

(6)  a. She saw John often
     b. She often saw John
     c. *She saw often John

But:

(7)  a. He brought the clothes in
     a'. He brought it in
        *in* is a particle – cf. §6.2
        particles strand in the final position
     b. He brought in the clothes
        *extraposition* of the heavy DP
     b'. *He brought in it
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.1 The object in canonical monotransitive clauses

(8) a. I returned the books to Jo
   b. I returned to Jo all the books I borrowed

   extraposition of the heavy DP all the books I borrowed

   b'. *I returned to Jo the books

(9) a. She rejected the others
   b. The others she rejected

   object preposing

   b'. *It she rejected.
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.2 Object and extraposed object

(10) To postpone the meeting was necessary

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{S} & \text{P} \\
\hline
\text{It} & \text{was necessary} & \text{to postpone the meeting} \\
\text{S} & \text{P} & \text{A}
\end{array}
\]

*subject extraposition*
**4 Direct and indirect objects**

**4.2 Object and extraposed object**

**object extraposition and PC**

(11) *We | thought | to postpone the meeting | necessary

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{O}^d & \text{PC} \\
\end{array} \]

**object extraposition**

We | thought | it | necessary | to postpone the meeting

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{O}^d & \text{PC} & \text{A} \\
\end{array} \]

**passivation**

To postpone the meeting | was thought | necessary

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{S} & \text{P} & \text{PC} \\
\end{array} \]

**subject extraposition**

It was thought necessary to postpone the meeting

(12) *To postpone the meeting was thought it necessary
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.2 Object and extraposed object

*object extraposition and ditransitive constructions*

\[(13)\]

I | put | that you know what the consequences would be | to you

\[P \quad O^d \quad A\]

I | put | it | to you | that you know what the cons. would be

\[P \quad O^d \quad A \quad A\]
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

*alternation with prepositional construction*

(14) ditransive: S – P – DO – IO

a. I sent *Sue a copy*

a'. I sent *a copy to Sue*

monotransitive: S – P – DO – A

b. I ordered Sue a copy

b'. I ordered *a copy for Sue*
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

*order of DO and IO*

S – P – IO – DO

*DO – IO

– cf. S – O

*O – S

(15) They offered all the students one of the tutors

They offered one of the tutors all the students

(16) He gave Sue the key

He gave the key Sue
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

• object preposing


(17)
a. The key he gave Sue the key
a’ ??Sue he gave Sue the key
b. The key which he lent me which | didn't fit
b’. ??The one | which I lent which the key | didn't return it
c. He asked | what I bought her what
c’. He asked | whom I bought whom presents
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

*ditransitives and related passives*

(18) First passive (IO-passive) strongly preferred
    a. Sue was sent a copy
    b. ?Sue was ordered a copy

(19) Second passive (DO-passive)
    a. ?A copy was sent Sue
    a'. A copy was sent to Sue
    b. *A copy was ordered Sue
    b'. ??A copy was ordered for Sue

• ?Because of the data in (18), is the IO rather a DO in ditransitives?
4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

a. **Passives**
   
   cf. (18b)

b. **Post-verbal position**
   
   IO is in post-verbal position and resistant to movement from this position

c. **Object postponing (extraposition)**
   
   Only heavy DOs can be postponed

(20)

a. He gave to charity everything he earned from the concert.

b. He gave Sue immediately all the spar keys he had had cut.

c. *He gave a second chance all those who had scored 40% or more.

Order is the primary factor distinguishing IO from DO as well as S from O.
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

d. *Prenuclear position* (object preposing)
   Preposed IOs are of low acceptability – cf. (17).

e. *Predicand*
   Unlike monotransitive DO and ditransitive DO, IO cannot be a predicand for a predicative adjunct

(21) She ate the steak almost raw.
    He served the steak almost raw.
    *He offered her the steak fiendishly hungry.*
4 Direct and indirect objects
4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

f. *Control in infinitival purpose clauses*

DOs can be controller of "hollows", but not IOs

(22) He wanted _ it to spend _ on his children
    She gave him _ it to spend _ it on his children
    *She sent _ him it to prove _ wrong

Conclusion:

Ditransitive DO has a greater syntactic affinity with monotransitive DO than does ditransitive IOs.
4 Direct and indirect objects

4.3 Ditransitive clauses (double object constructions)

No IOs without DOs

1 O : DO
2 O : IO + DO

• As canonical clauses, the semantic role of a constituent remains stable independently of
the syntactic function of the constituent

(23) She teaches | the first-year students | introductory logic.
    IO [recipient]           DO [theme]
She teaches | introductory logic.
    DO [theme]
She teaches | the first-year students
    DO [recipient]
These students | she has never taught
DO preposing
5 Predicatives and related elements

5.0 Basics

- complex intransitive and transitive constructions

(1) Kim seemed uneasy

S [predicand] P PC

complex intransitive

(2) He found Kim intolerant

S P DO[predicand] PC

complex transitive
3 Predicatives and related elements

3.0 Basics

- depictives, resultatives

(3) a. Kim seemed uneasy
   b. He found Kim intolerant

(4) a. Kim became angry
   b. He made Kim happy
3 Predicatives and related elements

3.0 Basics

(3) a. *Kim seemed uneasy*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & P & PC \\
\text{intransitive} & \text{depictive} \\
\end{array}
\]

A *depictive PC* gives a property of the predicand argument at the time of the situation under consideration

b. *He found Kim intolerant*

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & P & DO & PC \\
\text{transitive} & \text{depictive} \\
\end{array}
\]
3 Predicatives and related elements

3.0 Basics

(4) a. Kim became angry

S     P     PC

intransitive

resultative

A *resultative PC* typically occurs with verbs that denote a change of state. The PC denotes the state of the predicand argument at the end of the process.

b. He made Kim happy

S     P     DO     PC

transitive

resultative
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.0 Basics

category of PC

(5) a. Kim | became | angry
   AdjP
   b. Kim | remained | a keen teacher
   NP (used non-referentially)
   c. The publicity | made | Kim | a liability
   NP
3  Predicatives and related elements
3.0 Basics

- **PCs and predicators**

(6) Kim | remained | a keen teacher
He  | is     | fond of animals
He  | made   | Kim    | happy
S    P    DO    PC

- Applies to the subject
- Carries temporal, modal, agreement features
- Applies to the predicand
- No agreement features
- Needs a verbal head and is hence a complement
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.0 Basics

**Kim**  | **became**  | **angry**
---|---|---
syn: S  | P  | PC
sem: arg (=predicand)  | predicate

angry (x) → angry (kim)

become (p) → become [angry (kim)]

**Kim**  | **considered**  | **J’s departure**  | **wrong**
---|---|---|---
syn: S  | P  | DO  | PC
sem: arg  | predicate  | arg  | predicate

wrong (p) → wrong (j’s_departure)

consider (P), (y), (x) → cons (wrong (j’s_departure)), (kim)
3 Predicatives and related elements

3.0 Basics

- **verbal heads of PC**
  - proper semantic predicates: *seem, find, consider, appoint*, ...
  - empty semantic predicates: *be, remain, become*, ...
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.0 Basics

- **extraposed predicands**

(7) It is unfortunate that it rained

S P PC S’

pred arg

unfortunate (p) → unfortunate (that it rained)

(8) Kim finds it easier to go by bus

S P DO PC DO’

arg pred pred arg

easy (p) → easy (go_by_bus)

find (P), (y), (x) → find (easy (go_by_bus)), (kim)
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.1 Syntactic properties of PCs

- **Category**
  - AdjP, bare role NP
    - unlike Os

- **Passive**
  - cannot be S in passives
    - unlike Os

(9) They appointed John president
    John was appointed president
    *President was appointed John
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.1 Distinctive syntactic properties of PCs

- **Case**
  - nominative case possible (in formal style)
  - unlike w.r.t. Os
  - (10) It | is | he who wrote it
    - S    P    PC

- **Number agreement**
  - (11) She seems a reliable witness
  - They seem reliable witnesses
  - They considered him a fool
  - They considered them fools
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.1 Distinctive syntactic properties of PCs

➢ **Predicative obliques**

PCs may occur as complements of prepositions

(12) I regard her as indispensable
She served as treasurer
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.2 Location, goal, and source

» *locative and PCs*

(13) PC

Sue remained calm
I kept it handy

(14) Locative

Sue remained outside
I kept it in the drawer
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.2 Location, goal, and source

– *Is the locative PC distinction necessary?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preds with PCs and locatives</th>
<th>Preds with only PCs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>get, go, stay, drive, get,</em></td>
<td><em>become, seem, sound, call,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>leave</em></td>
<td><em>make, render</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) He got angry
     He got into the car
(16) He became angry
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.3 Obligatory and optional PCs

- **obligatory and optional PC**

(17) *become*

- Kim became ill
  - obligatory
- look, get, ...

(18) *He made Kim angry*

- keep, get, ...

**He washed it clean**

- paint, eat
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.3 Obligatory and optional PCs

- **ambiguities**

(19) They served the coffee black
    They served the coffee blindfolded

  - S-orientation or O-orientation only possible if the PC is optional and depictive

(20) She chopped the wood tired.

  - does not mean that she got tired by chopping the wood
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.3 Obligatory and optional PCs

- **optional depictives as adjuncts**
  - obligatory PCs are clearly complements
    - *Kim became ill*
    - *He made Kim furious*
  - resultative optional PCs are complements
    - He painted the fence blue
  - depictive optional PCs are adjuncts
    - *He ate the steak raw*
      - since they can have S or DO as predicand
      - since they can occur with an obligatory PC
      - since they can occur in ditransitive constructions
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.3 Obligatory and optional PCs

• depictive optional PCs with S or DO as predicands
  (21) *They served the coffee black*
  *They served the coffee blindfolded*

• depictive optional PCs with an obligatory PC
  (22) *They look even more fantastic naked*

• depictive optional PCs occurring in ditransitive constructions
  (23) *They served us the coffee black*
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.3 Obligatory and optional PCs

- **functions of PC-adjuncts**
  - modifier
  (24) They left empty-handed
  He died young
  He was born rich
  - supplement
  (25) Angry at this deception, Kim stormed out of the room
  (26) He was happy as a junior assistant
  As a your friend, I offer you both the following advice
3 Predicatives and related elements
3.4 Copular clauses

- ascriptive and specifying be

(27) ascriptive
    *His daughter is very bright*
    ascribes a property to the S-argument

(28) specifying
    *The chief of culprit was Kim*
    specifies S refers to
3 Predicatives and related elements

3.4 Open issues

1. Are there resultative predicative constructions with semantically empty predicators?

   *be, remain, become, ...*
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

• Kim referred to the book
• She put in her application
• I gave up the struggle
• This gave the lie to her critics
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **transitive preposition**
  selected by the verb
  Kim referred to the book

- **intransitive preposition**
  selected by the verb
  She put in her application

- **idioms** with transitive and intransitive Ps
  a. I gave up the struggle
  b. This gave the lie to her critics
     [showed to be wrong]
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **transitive preposition**
  - **specified preposition** (selected by the verb)
    Kim referred \([_{pp} \text{to} \text{the book}])
  - **unspecified preposition** (not selected by the verb)
    Kim flew \([_{pp} \text{to/over/round/} \text{Boston}])

- **prepositional verbs**
  - verbs which select a specified preposition
    also:
    PP as third argument
    [He] congratulated [_{her}] \([_{pp} \text{on} \text{[_{np} \text{her promotion}]}])

**predicative P-arguments**
That counts \([_{pp} \text{as} \text{[_{adjp} \text{satisfactory}]}])
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **intransitive preposition** selected by the verb
  She put [in] [her application]
  they occur between the direct object and the verb
  prepositions between DO and the verb are called *particles*
    - **particle verbs**
      verbs that select particles
  also
  We cut [short] [the debate]
  ?particle as adjective, ?secondary predication
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **idioms and verbal idioms**
  An **idiom** is an expression larger than a word whose meaning cannot be systematically derived from meanings that the parts have when used independently of each other.
  - verbal idioms are idioms where the major element is a verb
    - with intransitive Ps
      - I gave [up] [the struggle]
    - with transitive Ps
      - This gave the lie [to her critics]
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

verbs and prepositions do not form constituents

• Kim referred to your book
  [To what book] did Kim refer _?
  Kim referred [_{pp to your book}]

• He took off the label
  He took the label off
  He took [_{PART off} [the label]]

• I look forward to seeing you
  [to what] are you looking forward _?

• He paid tribute to his parents
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

❖ prepositional verbs (transitive prepositions)

- **PP-fronting**
  - relative
  - open interrogative
  - it-cleft

**mobile specified Ps**
- I referred to her book
  - the book to which I referred
  - To which book did you refer?
  - It was to her book that I referred

**unspecified Ps**
- I flew to Boston
  - the city to which I flew
  - To which city did you fly
  - It was to Boston that I flew

**fixed specified Ps**
- I came across some old letters
  - the letters across which I came
  - Across which letters did you come?
  - It was across these letters that I came
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **PP-coordination**
  - I flew to Boston and to New York
  - I referred to her book and to John’s
  - I came across these letters and across some odd books

- **adjunct position**
  - I flew regularly to Boston
  - I referred repeatedly to her book
  - I came eventually across these letters
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

¬ transitive clauses

- He brought Mary to Boston
  To which city did he bring Mary?
  He brought Mary to Boston and to New York

- He referred me to a specialist
  the specialist to whom he referred me
  He referred me to an optometrist, but not to an ophthalmologist

- He got Kim through the biology test
  It wasn’t through the biology test he got her
  He got Kim through the biology test, but not through the anatomy one
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **prepositional passives**

  **a. unspecified Ps**

  They flew to Boston next  
  He slept in this bed

  **b. mobile specified Ps**

  They stood for such principles  
  He referred to her book

  **c. fixed specified Ps**

  He came across some books  
  They must see to these matters

- passivation is independent on a-c, it depends on the verb

  Boston was flown to next
  This bed has been slept in
  Such principles were stood for
  Her book was referred to
  These matters must be seen to
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **Constituent structure**
  - *mobile specified P*
  
    - [v referred] [pp to her book]
  - *fixed specified P*
  
    - [v came] [pp across some old letters]  
      - Why fossilised V-PP structure and not P-incorporation into V? – cf.:

      - He came **across** later that morning a letter she wrote just before her marriage.

    The adverbial cannot intervene between P and N
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

Complementation patterns with prepositional verbs

I. verb – [prep + O]
I referred to her book
I \([\text{VP} \ [\text{VP referred}] \ [\text{PP} to \ [\text{NP her book}]])\]
call for, come by (Fossilation), feel for (Passivation), get over (P, F)

II. verb – O – [prep + O]
I intended it for Kim
I \([\text{VP} \ [\text{VP intended} \ [\text{DP it}] \ [\text{PP} for \ [\text{Kim}]])\]
accuse ... of, entitle ... to, let ... into (F), get ... through (F)

He complained to Kim about Bill
he \([\text{VP}[\text{VP [VP complain]} \ [\text{PP to Kim}] \ [\text{PP about Bill}]])\]
agree with ... about, appeal to ... for ...
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

iv. verb – [prep + PC]
It counts as to short
It \([VP \ [VP \text{counts}] \ [PP \text{as} \ [\text{AdjP \ too \ short}]])\]
act, function, retire, serve, stand, ...

v. verb – O – [prep + PC]
They regard it as successful
They \([VP \ [VP \text{regard \ it}] \ [PP \text{as \ successful}]])\]
i. accept … as, condemn … as, regard …as , suggest … as, take … for
ii. appoint … (as), nominate … (as), consider …(as), elect (as), ...

vi. verb – [prep + O] – [prep + PC]
He thinks of it as indispensable
He \([VP[VP [VP \text{thinks}] \ [PP \text{of \ it}] ] \ [PP \text{as \ indispensable}]])\]
agree on … as, conceive of … as, refer to … as, ....
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

❖ **particle verbs**

❖ **particle**

phrase functioning as complement of a verb which can be positioned between the verb and an NP object (NP is a proper noun or a common noun)

*she brought down the bed*

*she brought the bed down*

❖ *she brought downstairs the bed*

*she brought the bed downstairs*

Extraposition:

*she brought _downstairs the bed that she had inherited*
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- particles
  usually uninflected words (?)
  - prepositions
    abord (Transitive), down (T), aside, up
    she brought down the price
  - adjectives (?)
    he made clear his intentions
    they cut short their holiday
  - verbs
    he let go his hand

free particles
idioms
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **contrast: particles and prepositions**
  - She took off the label
  - She jumped off the wall
  - **reversion with particles**
    - She took off the label
    - She took the label off
    - She jumped off the wall
  - She jumped the wall off
  - **P with unstressed pronoun**
    - she jumped off it
    - she took off it
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **PP-fronting**
  - the wall *off which* she jumped _
  - the label *off which* she took _

  but fixed transitive Ps:
  - He got me through the biology test
  - Through which test did he get you?

- **Ps can be repeated in coordination**
  - Did she jump off the wall or off the balcony?
  - Did she take off the red label or off the yellow one?

- **manner adverb insertion**
  - She jumped fearlessly off the wall
  - She took carefully off the label
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

➤ homonymous sequences

He shouted down his opponent
He shouted down the phone
They turned in the wrong direction
They turned in the fugitives
She ran off another copy
She ran off the road
He got over his disappointment quickly
He got over his message clearly
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

❖ verbal idioms
➢ with intransitive prepositions
The intransitive Ps that are found in verbal idioms are ones which in free combinations have locative meanings.
I jumped [down the wall]
   PP
I jumped down
   PP
I jumped down (from the wall)
   PP    PP’
PP’ specifies the PP down
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- further examples
  - She walked with us most of the way, and then suddenly ran ahead of us
  - I didn’t put sugar in your tea
  - I’ll take the tablecloth off the table
  - Don’t go away from me
  - Come back to this place
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

Verbal idioms with intransitive prepositions are an important feature of the English vocabulary. They are very frequent, especially in informal speech.

We’d better take in the children’s toys.

[move into the house]

They supplement their income by taking in students.

[renting to]

Grammar takes in syntax and morphology.

[includes]

I thought we might take in a show after dinner

[see]

– Lexicalisation may be accompanied in varying degrees by fossilisation, i.e. the loss of the ability to undergo manipulations found with comparable free combinations.
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **preposing**
  It went *down*
  Down it went
  It broke *down*
  Down it broke

- **adjunct insertion**
  She climbed *slowly up*
  She gave *slowly up*

- **order alternation**
  He carried *out the chairs*
  He carried *the chairs out*
  He carried *out his threat*
  ? He carried *his threat out*
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

• examples where the particle normally precedes the object

by in [food]
fork out [money]
let out [cry]
find out [discover]
give off [sound]
pour out [feelings]
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- Examples where the preposition must follow the object (unless the latter is not heavy)
  - His arrogance turned [people] off [make so. sick]
  - ?His arrogance turned off [people]

By definition, the preposition is not a particle
- answer back
- draw out [person]
- have on [tease]
- leave alone
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- construction types with intransitive prepositions
  i. verb – prep
  He gave in
  back down, climb down, grow up, sit down, take off, ...
  ii. verb – prep – O
  She mixed up [the tickets]  She mixed [the tickets] up
  beat up, bring about, bring up, call off, explain away, ...
  iii. verb – IO – prep – DO
  I ran [him] off [another copy]
  bring up, get in, give back, serve out, pay back, ...
iv. verb – prep – transitive PP

We look forward [to your visit]

We look forward eagerly [to your visit]
[To what] are you looking forward eagerly _?

We had run up [against the difficulty]
?[the difficulty against which] we had run up _
Fossilisation

cash in on, look out for (F), come down on (F), stand up to, ...
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

**v. verb – O – prep – transitive PP**
I let [her] in [on a little secret]
[let so. into a secret]

but
He played off [Bill] [against Kim]

Kim [[against whom] he played off [Bill] _]
He intended to let [me] in [for a shock]
[get so. into a real fix]
*the shock [[for which] he intended to let [me] in _]

bring ... in on (F), give ... up to, take ... out on, ...
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

vi. verb – prep – (as) PC
She ended up [(as) captain]
come across (as), come over (as), turn out, wind up (as)

vii. verb – O – prep – [as + PC]
This showed [him] up [as spineless]
come across as, come over as, step down as, end up (as), ...
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **verbal idioms with transitive prepositions**
  i. *neither ordinary nor prepositional passive*
  She lost patience [with the secretary]
  *patience was lost with the secretary
  *the secretary was lost patience with
give birth to, make friends with, ...

ii. *ordinary but no prepositional passive*
They cast doubt [on his motives]
doubt was cast on his motives
*His motives were cast doubt on
do justice to, give credence to, raise an objection to, ...
4 The clause: complements

6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

iii. prepositional passive but no ordinary passive

We lost sight [of our goal]
our goal was lost sight of
*sight was lost of our goal
catch sight of (F), give the lie to, give way to, ...

iv. either type

They made good use [of the extra time]
good use was mad of the extra time
the extra time was made good use of
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- **verbal idioms with other types**
  - **verb +adjective**
    - He cut \[PART\] short [the debate]
    - He cut [the debate] short
cut open, make clear, put right, put straight
I’ll make \[PART\] sure [CP it’s ready]
She didn’t think it necessary \[CP\] to respond
I’ll make it obvious \[CP\] that I’m dissatisfied
He made (it) clear \[CP\] that he meant business
  - it is an correlate

but:

- \(S – P – PC\) complex intransitive
  - this prediction became \[AdjP\] true
  - no verbal idiom
4 The clause: complements
6. Special verb + preposition combination and related types of complementation

- *verb + verb*
  Kim gave Bill to understand [to leave her]

- *verb + noun*
  He bought a pup [be cheated]
  I’ll put it on the back burner [postpone sth.]
  I’ve half a mind [to accept your offer] [tend to believe]

- *verb + PP*
  He had in mind [to change his will]
  It brought to light [how devious he had been]
4 The clause: complements
7 Light verbs

> **General issues**

Light verbs are semantically ‘light’

She *gave* him a kiss  
She *kissed* him

I *made* a calculation of the costs  
I *calculated* the costs

He *had* a look at my draft  
He *looked* at my draft

We *took* a rest  
We *rested*

She *did* a dance  
She *danced*
4 The clause: complements
7 Light verbs

➢ Ambiguities

I had a bath
  I bathed (in a bath)
  I owned a bath
I had a shave
  I shaved (myself)
  I had someone shave me
He gave him a lick
  He licked him
He allowed him to have a lick (of his ice cream)
4 The clause: complements
7 Light verbs

- **Syntactic and semantic differences between light verb and their associated constructions**
  - She gave him an unusually passionate kiss
    - ≠ She kissed him unusually passionately
  - We took a well-earned rest
    - ≠ We rested
  - I’ve already had two showers today
    - o I already showered twice today
  - She made three very astute comments on his suggestion
    - ≠ She commented three times very astutely on his suggestion
  - He made a scream
    - ≠ He screamed
4 The clause: complements
7 Light verbs

- He had a drink of my milk
  - ≠ He drank my milk
  - He drank only part of the milk vs. He drank it all
- He had a walk in/*to the park
  - ≠ He walked in/to the park
  - recreational activity vs. accomplishment
- He had a lie down
  - ≠ He lay down
  - the purpose of lying down is to rest vs. a non specified purpose
- He had/took pity on them
  - ≠ He pitied them
  - dynamic: he felt pity and did sth. for them vs. description of a state
## 4 The clause

### 8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

#### I. transitive/intransitive contrast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>y, x</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>y, x</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radiate</td>
<td>y, x</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>A, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>y, x</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **S**<sub>intr</sub> = **S**<sub>trans</sub>
- **S**<sub>intr</sub> = **O**<sub>trans</sub>

- They shot him
- They shot at him
- She drank some water
- She drank
- The sun radiates heat
- Heat radiates from the sun
- He broke the vase
- The vase broke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O compl.</th>
<th>PP compl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+O</td>
<td>-O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

II. ditransitive/monotransitive contrast

\[
\begin{align*}
DO_{\text{mono}} &= DO_{\text{ditrans}} \\
I \text{ gave her the key} &\quad I \text{ gave the key to her}\\
I \text{ envied him his freedom} &\quad I \text{ envied him for his freedom}\\
\text{They offered us } $100 &\quad \text{They offered } $100\\
\text{They fined us } $100 &\quad \text{They fined us}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{give } z, \ y, \ x &\quad \text{envy } z, \ y, \ x &\quad \text{offer } z, \ y, \ x &\quad \text{fine } z, \ y, \ x \\
DO \ IO \ S &\quad DO \ IO \ S &\quad DO \ IO \ S &\quad DO \ IO \ S \\
z, \ x &\quad z, \ x &\quad z, \ x &\quad y, \ x \\
DO \ S &\quad DO \ S &\quad DO \ S &\quad DO \ S \\
z, \ y, \ x &\quad z, \ y, \ x &\quad z, \ y, \ x &\quad \text{DO} \ S
\end{align*}
\]

IO compl.
PP compl.

+IO
- IO
### 4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

#### III. Further core/non contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O vs. Non-Core Compl</th>
<th>S vs. Non-Core Compl</th>
<th>Constant Valency</th>
<th>Different Valency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He supplies arms to</strong></td>
<td>He supplies the rebels with arms</td>
<td>Bees are swarming in the garden</td>
<td>The garden is swarming with bees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the rebels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>constant valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wiped the marks off</td>
<td>We covered the grave with leaves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>different valency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the wall</td>
<td>I wiped the wall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| supply z, y, x       | swarm y, x            | wipe z, y, x         | cover z, y, x    |
| O A S                | A S                   | O A S                | O A S            |
| y, z, x              | x, y                  | y, x                 | z, y             |
| O A S                | A S                   | O S                  | O S              |
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

IV. Separate complements vs combined complements

*separate complements*
She kissed [him] [on the cheek]

*combined complements*
She kissed [his neck]
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

❖ **transitive/intransitive contrasts**
  ➢ *they shot him vs they shot at him* (see slide 1)
  • **conative intransitives**
    The horse kicked me
    ⇒ success
    The horse kicked at me
    ⇒ endeavour of kicking (= conative)
    *shoot (at), cut (at), sniff (at), push (at), nibble (at/on)*...
  • **directional movement**
    She climbed the tree
    She climbed up the tree
    They fled the building
    They fled from the building
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

• consultation and contest
  Kim met the dean
  more general, rather symmetric (she met him in a bus)
  Kim met with the dean
  for a particular purpose, e.g. consultation
  battle, box, consult, fight, visit

• emission
  He was dripping blood
  He was dripping with blood

• others
  They were speaking English
  They were speaking in English
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- *the such radiates heat* vs *heat radiates from the sun* (see slide 1)
  - Emission of some substance or quality
  - His wound was oozing blood
  - Blood was oozing form his wound
  - The reforms will benefit women
  - Women will benefit from the reforms
  - *dribble, drip, emanate, leak, spurt, ...*
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- *He drank some water vs He drank*
  
  i. *basically transitives used intransitively*
  
  The intransitive is interpreted as having an unexpressed object
  He is reading a book
  He is reading
  We had met before one another
  We had met before
  She drinks a glass of beer
  She doesn’t drink

  ii. *basically intransitives used transitively*
  
  They were talking nonsense
  He died a long and agonising death
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- He broke the vase vs The vase broke  (see slide 1)

- non-agentive dynamic intransitive
  The intransitive denotes a change of state
  I broke the vase
  The vase broke
  The vase is broken
  I opened the door
  I widened the gap
  I tore my shirt

  bend, change, crack, divide, drop, freeze, improve, vary, ...
  construct (*Intransitive), destroy(*I), touch(*I), ...
  die (*Transitive), emerge (*T), fall (*T), ...

  Agent is S
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- **non-agentive static intransitive**
  The intransitive denotes a state
  *The ladder leant against the wall* (cf. slide 9)
  *I leant the ladder against the wall*
  *hang, rest, sit, stand, hurt, ...*

- **agentive intransitives**
  The S of the intransitive is an Agent combined with that of a Theme. The transitive involves getting the person or whatever to act in the given way:
  *The dog walked*
  *We walked the dog*
  *canter, gallop, run, walk, jump*
  *jog, meander, saunter, ...*
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- ‘Middle’ intransitives
  
  *She doesn’t frighten easily*
  
  *(Someone or something does not frighten her easily)*
  
  i. The causer cannot be expressed by a by-phrase
  ii. The clause is concerned whether and how the subject referent undergoes the process expressed in the verb.
  iii. The clause is negative, or is headed by a modal auxiliary
  iv. The clause expresses a general state.
  
  - They differ from passive constructions:
    
    *The shirt irons well*
    
    *The shirt was ironed well*
    
    a. *alarm, amuse, offend, please, shock, ...*
    b. *clean, cut, hammer iron, read, wash*
    
    *(allow single event interpretations)*
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

Ditransitive/monotransitive contrasts (cf. slide 2)

- I gave her the key vs I gave the key to her
  i. DI + DO and O + A[to]
     award, bring, show, promise, tell, ...
  ii. only O + A[to]
     confess, donate, explain, refer, say, ...
  iii. DI + DO and O + A[for]
     bake, cook, find, hire, order, rent, ...
  iv. only O + A[for]
     acquire, borrow, collect, recover, spare
  v. only DI + DO
     allow, bet, cost, fine, refuse, wish, ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>give</th>
<th>z, y, x</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme R(ecipient)/ Agent B(eneficiary)/ S(source)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO IO if R or S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO A[to] if R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO A[for] if B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

? DI or A[for] in iii and iv are rather adverbials, i.e. no complements (cf. H & P 2002:313)
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- *I envied him this freedom vs I envied him for his freedom* (cf. slide 2)
  
  I can’t forgive him his lies
  I can’t forgive him *for* his lies

  *envy, excuse, …*

  He served us a sumptuous meal
  He served us *with* a sumptuous meal

  *issue* (only Br E with IO), *leave, ?provide, serve*

- *They offered us $100 vs They offered $100*
  
  In general, the IO is omissible except with *wish*
    
    – The omitted IO is understood as Recipient
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- They fined us $100 vs They fined us (see slide 2)
  fine
  tip
  charge, bet, cost, envy, excuse, forgive, refuse, show, teach, tell

fine z, y, x
T B A
y, x
* z, x

charge z, y, x
T B A
y, x
z, x
4 The clause
8 verbs with multiple patterns of complementations

- Further core/non-core contrasts
  - He supplies arms to the rebels vs He supplies the rebels with arms (see slide 3)
    - He presented a prize to Kim
    - He presented Kim with a prize
    - He blamed the accident on Kim
    - He blamed Kim for the accident
  - present, y, x
  - T R
  - O A[to]
  - A[with] O
  - to and with: credit, entrust, provide, supply, trust, ...  
  - only with: arm, equip, regale, reward, saddle
  - blame O A[on]
  - A[for] O

as for further types see H & P (2002:314-321)
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

❖ Preposition stranding

Prepositions that are left behind when a PP moves to the left periphery

- She was talking \([_{pp} to \{_{NP \text{whom}}\}]_i\)

**no P-stranding**

the man \([_{CP} \{_{PP to \{_{NP \text{whom}}\}}]_i\) she was talking \([_{PP \_}]_i\]

\([_{CP} \{_{PP to \{_{NP \text{whom}}\}}]_i\) was she talking \([_{PP \_}]_i\]

it was the man \([_{CP} \{_{PP to \{_{NP \text{whom}}\}}]_i\) was she talking \([_{PP \_}]_i\]

**P-stranding**

the man \([_{CP} \{_{NP \text{who(m)}}\}_i\) she was talking \([_{PP to \{_{NP \_}\}_i}]\]

\([_{CP} \{_{NP \text{who(m)}}\}_i\) was she talking \([_{PP to \{_{NP \_}\}_i}]\]

it was the man \([_{CP} \{_{NP \text{who(m)}}\}_i\) she was talking \([_{PP to \{_{NP \_}\}_i}]\]
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **Prepositional stranding and mobile and fixed prepositions**
  - **mobile prepositions**
    I referred to her book
    the book \([CP [pp to which]_i \text{ I referred } [pp _]_i ]\)
    \([CP [pp To which book]_i \text{ did you refer } [pp _]_i ]\)?
    It was \([NP \text{ the book } [CP [pp to which]_i \text{ I referred } [pp _]_i ]\]\)
  - **fixed prepositions**
    I came across some old letters
    *the letters \([CP [pp across which]_i \text{ I came } [pp _]_i ]\)
    *[\([CP [pp Across which letters]_i \text{ did you come } [pp _]_i ]\)?
    *It was \([pp across [NP \text{ these letters}]] [CP \text{ that I came } [pp _] ]\)
  
  \(\Rightarrow\) no PP-preposing possible with fixed prepositions
9 Prepositional stranding

- **P-stranding is obligatory with fixed prepositions**

  *the letters \( [_{\text{CP}} [_{\text{PP}} \text{ across which}]]_{i} \text{ I came } [_{\text{PP}} \_]_{i} ] \)
  
  *\( [_{\text{CP}} [_{\text{PP}} \text{ Across which letters}]]_{i} \text{ did you come } [_{\text{PP}} \_]_{i} ] \)?
  
  *It was \( [_{\text{PP}} \text{ across } [_{\text{NP}} \text{ these letters}]] [_{\text{CP}} \text{ that I came } [_{\text{PP}} \_] ] \)

the letters \( [_{\text{CP}} [_{\text{NP}} \text{ which}]]_{i} \text{ I came } [_{\text{PP}} \text{ across } [_{\text{NP}} \_]_{i} ] \]

\( [_{\text{CP}} [_{\text{PP}} \text{ Which letters}]]_{i} \text{ did you come } [_{\text{PP}} \text{ across } [_{\text{NP}} \_]_{i} ] \]

It was \( [_{\text{NP}} \text{ these letters}]_{i} [_{\text{CP}} \text{ that I came } [_{\text{PP}} \text{ across } [_{\text{NP}} \_]_{i} ] ] \)
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

distribution of P-stranding

There has been a long prescriptive tradition of condemning P-stranding as grammatically incorrect. ‘It is incorrect to end a sentence with a preposition’.

The ‘rule was apparently created ex nihilo in 1672 by the essayist John Dryden, who took exception to Ben Jonson’s Phrase the bodies that those souls were frightened from (1611). Dryden was in effect suggesting that Jonson should have written the bodies from which those souls were frightened, but he offers no reason for preferring this to the original.

But the construction has been used for centuries by the finest writers. Everyone who listens to Standard English hears examples of it every day.
4 The clause

9 Prepositional stranding

- distribution of P-stranding
  - preposing
    Your father I’m even more deeply indebted to.
  - open interrogative
    Who are they doing it for?
  - exclamative
    What a magnificent table the vase was standing on!
  - wh relative
    He’s the one who I bought it from.
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **non-wh relative**
  He’s the one (that) I bought it from.

- **comparative**
  Kim went to the same school as I went to.

- **hollow clause**
  His performance was easy to find fault with.

- **passive**
  The bed looks s if it has been slept in.
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **preposing**
  \[
  [\text{CP } [\text{NP Your father }]_i | \text{I’m even more deeply indebted } [\text{PP to } [\text{NP—}]_i ]] 
  \]

- **open interrogative**
  \[
  [\text{CP } [\text{NP who}]_i | \text{are they doing it } [\text{PP for } [\text{NP—}]_i ]] 
  \]

- **exclamative**
  \[
  [\text{CP} [\text{NP What a magnificent table}]_i | \text{the vase was standing } [\text{PP on } [\text{NP—}]_i ]] 
  \]

- **wh relative**
  \[
  [\text{CP} [\text{NP the one}] [\text{CP } [\text{NP who}]_i | \text{I bought it } [\text{PP from } [\text{NP—}]_i ]]] 
  \]

⇒ The antecedent for the gap ‘_’ is in prenuclear (|) position (SpecCP)
Non-preposition stranding constructions are possible. They are called **PP fronting constructions**
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **corresponding PP fronting constructions**
  - **preposing**
    \[
    \text{[CP [NP Your father]_i | I’m even more deeply indebted [PP to [NP_]_i ]]} \\
    \text{[CP [PP to [NP Your father]]_i | I’m even more deeply indebted [PP_]_i]} \\
    \]
  - **open interrogative**
    \[
    \text{[CP [NP who]_i | are they doing it[PP for [NP_]_i ]] } \\
    \text{[CP [PP For [NP whom]]_i | are they doing it[PP_]_i]} \\
    \]
  - **exclamative**
    \[
    \text{[CP [NP What a magnificent table]_i | the vase was standing [PP on [NP_]_i ]] } \\
    \text{[CP [PP On [NP what a magnificent table]]_i | the vase was standing [PP_]_i]} \\
    \]
  - **wh relative**
    \[
    \text{[CP He’s [NP the one] [CP [NP who]_i | I bought it [PP from [NP_]_i ]] ]]} \\
    \text{[CP He’s [NP the one] [CP [PP from [NP whom]]_i | I bought it [PP_]_i ]]} \\
    \]
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **no corresponding PP fronting constructions**
  - **non-wh relative**
    He’s the one (that) I bought it from.
    $[\text{CP He’s } [\text{NP the one}] [\text{CP ([that]$_i$)} \mid \text{I bought it } [\text{PP from } [\text{NP}_i] ]]]$
    *$[\text{CP He’s } [\text{NP the one}] [\text{CP [PP from [NP that]}$_i$] \mid \text{I bought it } [\text{PP}$_i$] ]]]$
    $[\text{CP He’s } [\text{NP the one}] [\text{CP [PP from [NP whom]}$_i$] \mid \text{I bought it } [\text{PP}$_i$] ]]]$
  - **comparative**
    Kim went to the same school as I went to.
    Kim went to the same school as I did.
  - **hollow clause**
    His performance was easy to find fault with.
    It was easy to find fault with his performance
  - **passive**
    The bed looks as if it has been slept in.
    This bed looks as if someone has slept in it
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **style level of preposition stranding**
  There is a tendency for preposition stranding to be avoided in the most formal style.
  - 😊 To whom may we appeal?
  - 😊 Who can we appeal to?
  - 😊 A colleague we are so much indebted to ....
  - 😊 A colleague to whom we are so much indebted ....
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **inadmissible PP fronting**
  - *fused relative constructions*
    Somebody has to clean what grafitti artists write on.
    * Somebody has to clean on what grafitti artists write. (see Ch 12 §6)
  - *subord. interrogatives functioning as complement of a preposition*
    We can’t agree on which grant we should apply for.
    *We can’t agree on for which grant we should apply.
  - *complement of prepositional verb or verbal idiom*
    What are you asking for?
    ?For what are you asking
    My brother, you can certainly rely on.
    ?On my brother, you can certainly rely
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **inadmissible prepositional stranding**
  - **the gap precedes a content clause**
    To whom did she declare _ that she was not going to take any more abuse?
    *Who did she declare to _ that she was not going to take any more abuse?
  - **the PP is itself complement of a larger PP**
    From under which couch did you rescue the pen?
    *Under which couch did you rescue the pen from?
    *From which couch did you rescue the pen?
    
    **But:**
    Which account did you take the money out of? *(of is selected by out)*
    Out of which account did you take the money?
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- *elliptical interrogatives where the NP consist of more than one word*
  I’ve got an interview at 2, but I do not know who_i with _i
  I’ve got an interview at 2, but I do not know with whom
  I’ve got an interview at 2, but I do not know with which tutor.
  * I’ve got an interview at 2, but I do not know which tutor_i with _i.

- *the gap occurs at the end of the subject NP*
  To the left is a door to which the key has been lost.
  *To the left is a door which_i the key to has been lost. (see slide 29)

- *the PP is in adjunct function*
  Under what circumstances would you do a thing like that?
  *What circumstances would you do a thing like that under?
4 The clause
9 Prepositional stranding

- **the gap occurs at the end of the subject NP**
  
  To the left is a door to which the key has been lost.
  
  To the left is
  
  \[
  \text{[NP [NP a door [CP [PP to which]_i [NP the key [PP _]_i ] has been lost]]]}
  \]
  
  *To the left is a door which the key to has been lost.
  
  *To the left is
  
  \[
  \text{[NP [NP a door [CP [NP which]_i [NP the key [PP to [NP _]_i ]] has been lost]]]}
  \]