

English Verb-Particle Constructions : A Telicity-Based Account*

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1. Introduction

In Generative Grammar, it has been widely acknowledged that there are two types of analyses concerning verb-particle constructions (henceforth, VPCs) in English. One is that the verb and the particle form a constituent (e. g., Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1993)). The other is that the particle is a head forming a small clause (e. g., Den Dikken (1995), Guéron (1990), Kayne (1985, 1994)). In current linguistic research, a new approach has emerged, holding that the English VPCs can count as both constituents and small clauses (e. g., Williams (1997), Yoshida (1998)). In this paper, we will see the argumentation in favor of the third approach.

The aim of this paper is to show how the verb with a particle and the one with a preposition should be treated within the framework of Generative Grammar, and advance an alternative approach to the English VPCs. As is well known, while a directional adverb particle can either precede or follow an object, a preposition must precede an object :

- (1) a. She called on her friends. (Verb + Preposition)
- b. *She called her friends on.
- c. She switched on the light. (Verb + Particle)
- d. She switched the light on.

We will see that the difference in (1) lies in (i) the feature strength of a

particle and a preposition and (ii) the different internal structures between them.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we will see the event structure of VPCs, and it will be shown that VPCs carry a telic interpretation, indicating the endpoint of an action. In section 3, together with the telic aspect argued in section 2, it will be concluded that the internal structure of a particle is different from that of a preposition. In section 4, we will see how the analysis advanced in section 3 interacts with the English double object constructions.

2. Particle as a Telic Marker

In this paper, I assume that following Brinton (1988) and Solá (1996), particles convey a telic interpretation, as shown in (2).:

- (2) a. "The particles which most frequently indicate the endpoint of an action *up*, *down*, *out*, and *off*; less frequently are *through*, *over*, and *away*." (Brinton (1995: 169))
- b. "Telicity (Aktionsart): particles such as *up*, *down*... seem to have a telicity import (they convey a telic interpretation). I will later suggest that, since objects play a role for telicity, the Telic functional category as what would correspond to Chomsky's AgrO." (Solá (1996: 227))

The first important to note is that a telic verb phrase "contain[s] a reference to a terminal point, where the action or process comes to an end" (Dahl (1981: 80)).

Even more important is that a telic verb phrase cannot occur with durative adverbials, but with frame adverbials. This should be the case, if

a particle has a telic interpretation, as shown below :¹

- (3) a. Look up a name in the phonebook in an hour/*for an hour
Look a name up in the phonebook in an hour/*for an hour
b. Look over an article in an hour/*for an hour
Look an article over in an hour/*for an hour
c. Think up an answer in an hour/*for an hour
Think an answer up in an hour/*for an hour
d. Think through a problem in an hour/*for an hour
Think a problem through in an hour/*for an hour
e. Eat up an apple in an hour/*for an hour
Eat an apple up in an hour/*for an hour (Tenny (1994 : 148-149))

From examples in (3), it is plausible to suppose that VPCs exhibit telicity.

With this in mind, let us consider the event structure of the particle verbs. Vendler (1967) distinguishes four basic categories of verbs according to their aspectual properties: activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states. Brinton (1988) makes a chart of Vendler's (1967) classified verb phrases. Both activity and state verb phrases are referred to as unlimited duration. Accomplishment verb phrases are referred to as limited duration, while achievement ones as punctual, as illustrated in (4):

- (4) achievement, e. g. *strike* •
activity, e. g. *read*
state, e. g. *live* } —————→
accomplishment, e. g. *read a novel* ————| (Brinton (1988 : 195))

It can be seen from (4) that achievements and accomplishments are telic, since they both have an endpoint in time. Activities and states are, on the other hand, atelic, because they do not indicate an endpoint in time. A question arises as to whether the English particle verbs are accomplish-

ments or achievements. According to Pustejovsky (1991), one of the tests for distinguishing activities from accomplishments involves entailments. Let us apply this test to the English VPCs, as illustrated in (5):

- (5) a. Mary is eating.
b. Mary is eating up an apple.

Eat in (5a) is only an activity verb, entailing *Mary has eaten*. The verb phrase in (5b), on the other hand, does not entail *Mary has eaten up an apple*, since Mary is in a process of eating up an apple to the end. If this is on the right track, it can be concluded that the verb with a particle is an accomplishment verb.

To sum up this section, verbs with particles can be regarded as accomplishments, conveying a telic reading. Notice, however, that the telicity itself is not sufficient, but necessary, in order to explain the structure of the English VPCs, as the following examples show:

- (6) a. Mary walked to the room. (V + Preposition)
b. *Mary walked the room to.
c. Mary ate up an apple. (V + Particle)
d. Mary ate an apple up.

Sentences in (6a, c) convey a telic interpretation. Example (6b) is, however, ungrammatical. What makes (6b) deviant? As we will see in the next section, the difference between (6b) and (6d) lies in the feature strength and the internal structure between a particle and a preposition.

3. The Structure of Verb-Particle Constructions

3.1. Small Clause and Constituent Analyses

There are advocates who claim that a verb and a particle form a

constituent (e. g., Johnson (1991) and Koizumi (1993) among others). Different from this analysis, some advocates claim that a particle is a head of an SC. Each of the analyses seems to be correct in one sense. It should be noted, however, that as argued in Williams (1997) and Yoshida (1998), English particle verbs can be considered as both lexical complex predicates (a term from Williams (1997)) and small clauses with objects. In order to make this point more explicit, consider the following contrasts in meaning:

(7) a. Take off your hat.

b. Take your hat off.

(Konishi (1970 : 137-142))

The imperative sentence (7a) only means that *you should remove your hat*. In (7b), however, the speaker's attention is brought to the hat, and (7b) means that *you should remove your hat, or it is impolite*. Then, we can conclude from (7) that it is better to assume two different structures of the English VPCs.

In addition, Williams (1997) provides the following evidence in favor of this assumption, as shown below:

(8) a. John put the planes together.

(i) assemble

(ii) side-by-side

b. I kicked over the base.

c. *I picked right up the paper.

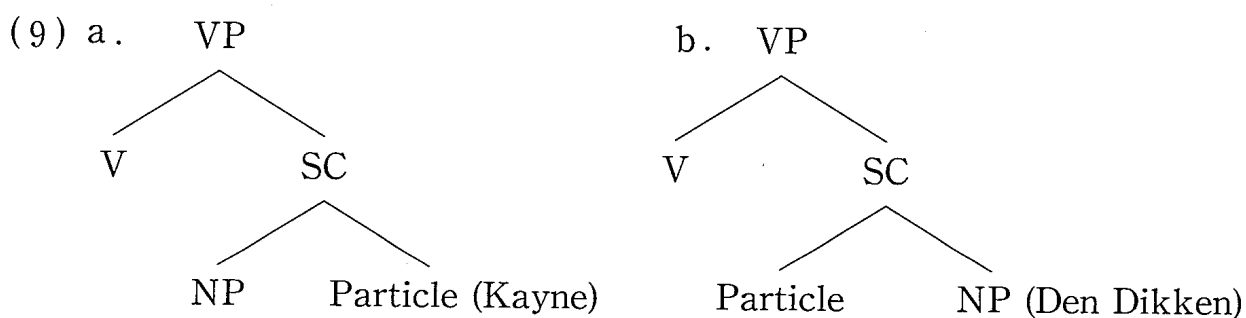
(Williams (1997 : 15))

The verb phrase in (8a) has a small clause whose head is a particle, *together*. In sentences such as (8b), the particle verb must form a constituent, since an intensifier *right* cannot be inserted between the verb and the particle, as shown in (8c). From (7) and (8), it is reasonable to assume that two different structures exist in the English VPCs. The main focus in this paper is on the structures of (7b) and (8a) rather than verbs such as *fall out*

(*quarrel*) and *give up* (*abandon*), in which the verbs and the particles are completely combined, as discussed in Konishi (1953,1964,1970).

3.2. Previous Analyses

Emonds (1976) argues that particles can count as prepositional adverbs. With this much as background, let us consider the structures with respect to the English particle verbs argued in Kayne (1985,1994) and Den Dikken (1995). In the former analysis, particles are taken as unergative, whereas ergative in the latter analysis:



In this paper, I will treat particles in the same fashion as that of Den Dikken (1995). It is reasonable to suppose that particles are ergative. Consider the following examples:

- (10) a. They made (*it) out that John is a liar.
 b. They find *(it) painful that John is a liar.

(Den Dikken (1995: 54))

In (10a), *that*-clause can be taken as base-generated in its complement position, showing that *it* cannot occur because CP is not extraposed. In (10 b), on the other hand, *painful* is an unergative adjectival SC predicate, and can take CP as an external argument. The CP extraposition is, therefore, obligatory in (10 b). We can see from (10) that particles are ergative. Bearing this in mind, consider the structures of Simplex Particle Construction (SPC) and Complex Particle Construction (CPC) advanced in Den

Dikken (1995) :

(11) a. ..._{[VP V [_{SC} [_{Spec SC} NP_i] Prt t_i]]} (SPC)

b. ..._{[VP V [_{SC1} [_{Spec SC} NP_i] Prt [_{SC2} t_i Predicate]]]} (CPC)

NP in (11a, b) raises to [Spec, SC] from the complement position of a particle because of the Case reason. It should be mentioned here that although I adopt the notion of Den Dikken (1995), I do not fully rely on it, since the analysis turns out to be dubious in sentences such as below :

(12) Mary _{[VP laughed [_{SC} [_{Spec SC} her fears_i] away t_i]}

It is obvious that unergative verbs such as *laugh* do not assign accusative Case. Then, a question arises whether *her fears* in (12) raises to [Spec, SC] for the Case reason. In this connection, the preceding discussion indicates that Den Dikken's (1995) approach to VPCs based on the Case-theoretic account of NP-raising is untenable and that his account turns out to be unsuccessful in the analysis of the English VPCs. In the following section, I will advance an alternative analysis of the English VPCs.

3.3. An Alternative Approach to Verb-Particle Constructions

It is a well-known fact that an NP can either precede or follow a particle unless the NP is a pronoun, as shown in (13a, b). Notice, however, that when the pronoun is stressed (i. e., (13e)), combined with a connective (i. e., (13f)), and a deictic (i. e., (13g)), it can be positioned after a particle :

(13) a. Mikey looked the reference up.

b. Mikey looked up the reference.

c. Mikey looked it up.

d. *Mikey looked up it.

e. Betsy threw out THEM!

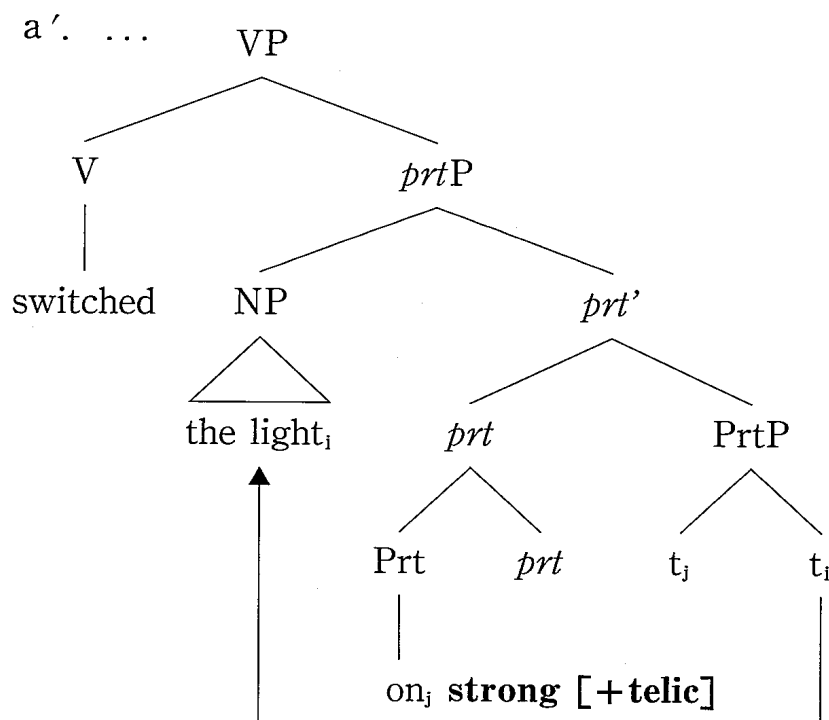
f. Mikey looked up him and her.

g. Brent dusted off that. (Johnson (1991 : 593-594))

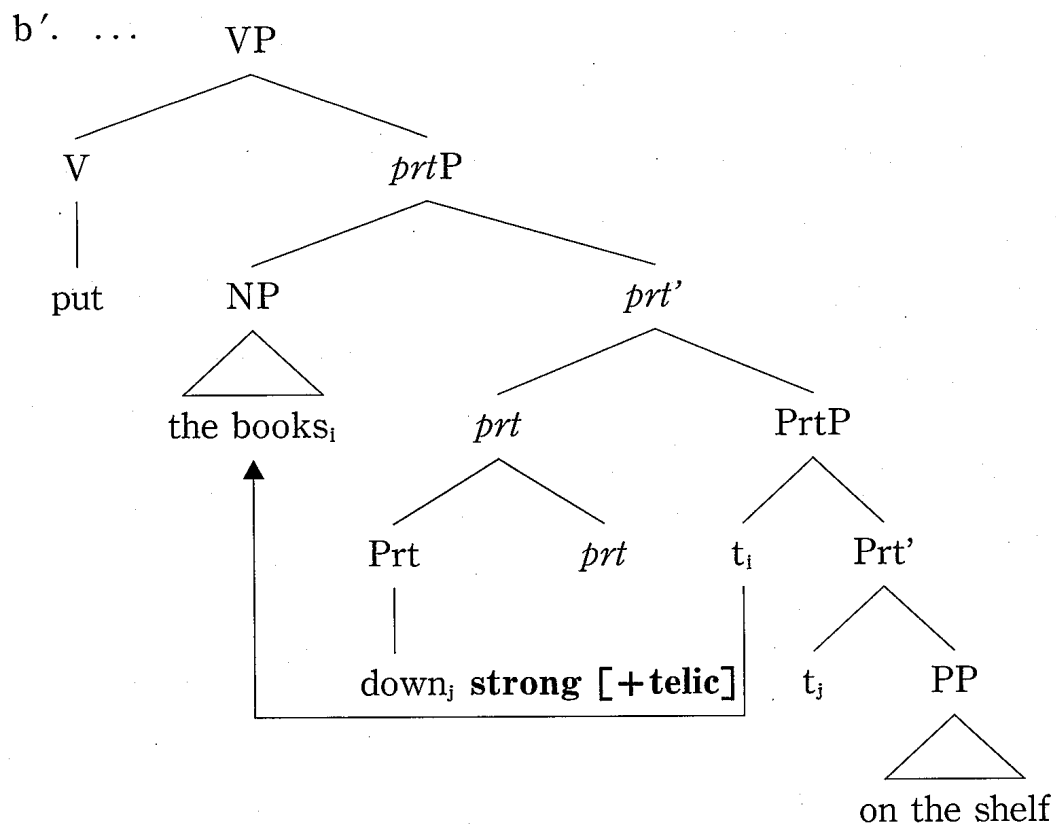
Following Williams (1997) and Yoshida (1998), I assume that particle verbs such as *look up* in (13b) form lexical complex predicates. The word orders in (13e-g) seem to be reducible to speaker's attention. The pronoun in (13d), however, does not bear any speaker's attention. Hence (13d) is deviant. Our main focus is, then, on the internal structure of (13a).²

Recall that we have seen that in accordance with Den Dikken (1995), particles are ergative SC predicates. If this is on the right track, *the reference* in (13a) obligatorily raises to a higher position from inside the particle. As discussed in the previous section, however, an object NP cannot raise for its Case-theoretic reason. I suggest here that an object NP raises to the specifier of a light particle phrase whose head is a light particle, and further that it raises because of telicity, but not its Case. In other words, an object NP overtly raises for the strong telic feature of a particle :³

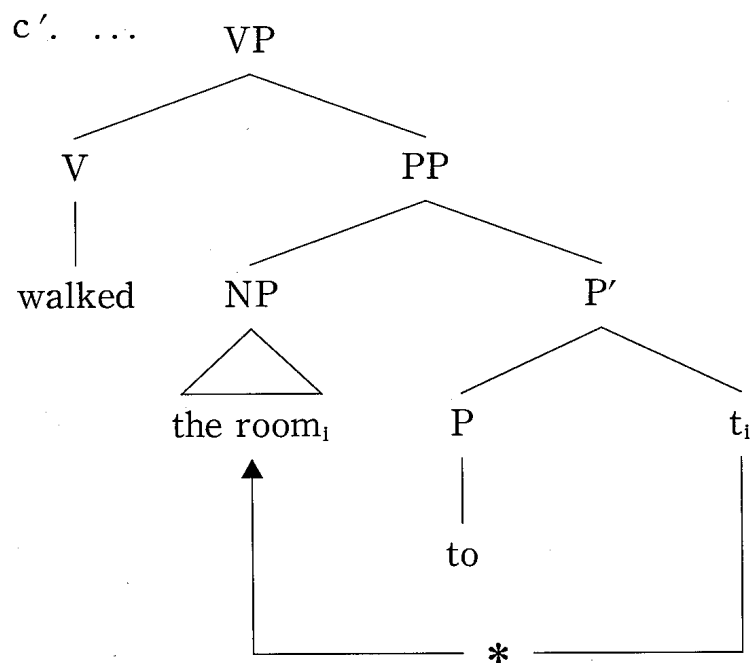
(14) a. She switched the light on. (SPC)



b. They put the books down on the shelf. (CPC)



c. *Mary walked the room to.



Let us consider (14a) first. In (14a), the strong telic feature within the particle attracts the object. The object NP in (14a) raises to [Spec, *prtP*] in order to check the strong telic feature.⁴ The CPC, (14 b), can be treated in the same manner as (14a). Particle, *down*, moves up to a light particle, and the object NP to [Spec, *prtP*].⁵ Recall that each NP in (14a, b) raises because of not its Case theoretic reason, but the strong telic feature inherent in a particle. It should be noticed that in sentences such as (6b) repeated as (14c), an NP does not raise overtly, since a preposition does not have any strong telic feature, but a weak Case feature, resulting in violation of Procrastinate, which states that covert movement is more economical than overt movement.^{6,7}

Let us now turn to the English particle verbs, in which particles are attached to unergative verbs as the following:

- (15) a. Mary slept her wrinkles away.
 b. John slept away his life.
 c. *Mary slept her wrinkles.
 d. *John slept his life.
 e. Becky laughed her fears away.
 f. They laughed away the evening.
 g. *Becky laughed her fears.
 h. *They laughed the evening.

As seen from (15c, d, g, h), unergative verbs do not assign accusative Case, exhibiting ungrammaticality. Then, how is each NP in (15a, b, e, f) assigned accusative Case? As we will see from the following section, it concerns transitivization inherent in particles.

3.4. Transitivity

In Burzio (1986: 185), unergative verbs are assumed to be potential accusative Case assigners. Then, each NP in (15c, d, g, h) can be assigned Case. As a result, they turn out to be grammatical. A wrong prediction results. Different from Burzio (1986), I assume in this paper that particles are concerned with Case assignment. One of the reasons for this assumption can be seen from the historical development of particles. The important to note here is that post-verbal particles have emerged from directional prefixes. Consider the following examples:⁸

- (16) a. *æeah hit ær up ahæfen wære*
 although it before up-raised was
 '... although it was raised up before...' (CP 34.6)
- b. *swa pœt se scinenda lig his locc up-ateah*
 so that the shinning flame his locks up-drew
 '... so that the shinning flame drew his locks up.'
 (ÆCHom ii. 514.2-3)

Particle *up* is left-adjoined to the verb as a prefix. According to Nakao and Koma (1990), one of the aspects that lead to transitivity since the period of Old English is a prefix. See the following pairs of OE verbs:

- (17) VT(ransitive) VI(ntransitive)
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ġerestan</i> (= give rise to) | <i>restan</i> (= repose) |
| <i>ġegrō wan</i> (= produce) | <i>grō wan</i> (= sprout) |
- (Nakao and Koma (1990: 100))

As seen from (17), intransitive verbs turn out to be transitive by way of *ġe* affixing. It is reasonable to suppose that particles, which are prefixes in Old English, work in the same fashion as *ġe*. This can be deduced from the fact that there exist such remnants as in *outgo* and *outlive* in Modern

English. Then, how are particles connected with transitivity?

Some languages such as Finnish, Scottish Gaelic and Spanish are reported exhibiting different morphological cases depending on whether VPs are telic or atelic, as shown below:

- (18) a. Maria kantoï kirjan (Finnish)
 Maria carried book-ACC
 "Maria carried the book"
- b. Maria kantoï kirjaa
 Maria carried book-PART
 "Maria was carrying a book" (Tenny (1994: 142))
- c. Bha Calum air am balach (a) fhaicinn (Scottish Gaelic)
 Be-PAST Calum *air* the boy-DIR (a) see-VN
 "Calum had seen the boy"
- d. Bha Calum a'faicim a'bhalaich
 Be-PAST Calum *ag* see-VN boy-GEN
 "Calum saw the boy" (Ramchand (1997: 51-52))
- e. la policia encrarceló *(a) varios ladrones (Spanish)
 the police jailed several thieves
 "The police jailed several thieves"
- f. escondieron (a) varios prisioneros
 hid several prisoners
 "They hid several prisoners" (Torrego (1998: 17))

According to Tenny (1997), a verb phrase with an object NP in accusative Case describes a telic event in Finnish. Only (18a), therefore, indicates that *Maria carried the book to some endpoint*. If the object is in the partitive Case as in (18b), the event is atelic. Likewise, Ramchand (1997) argues that two different Case-marking exist in Scottish Gaelic, as illus-

trated in (18c, d). In (18c), the particle *air* exhibits telicity, and the object is assigned a direct (accusative) Case. In (18d), on the other hand, since *ag* does not show telicity, the object is assigned genitive Case. As pointed by Torrego (1998), the same observation with respect to the different accusative Case-marking holds true for Spanish examples. In (18e), the verb *encarceló* is regarded as telic. Thus, the object must appear in marked accusative realized as *a varios ladrones*. In (18f), on the other hand, the verb is not telic. As a result, the object is not necessarily marked as *a*.⁹

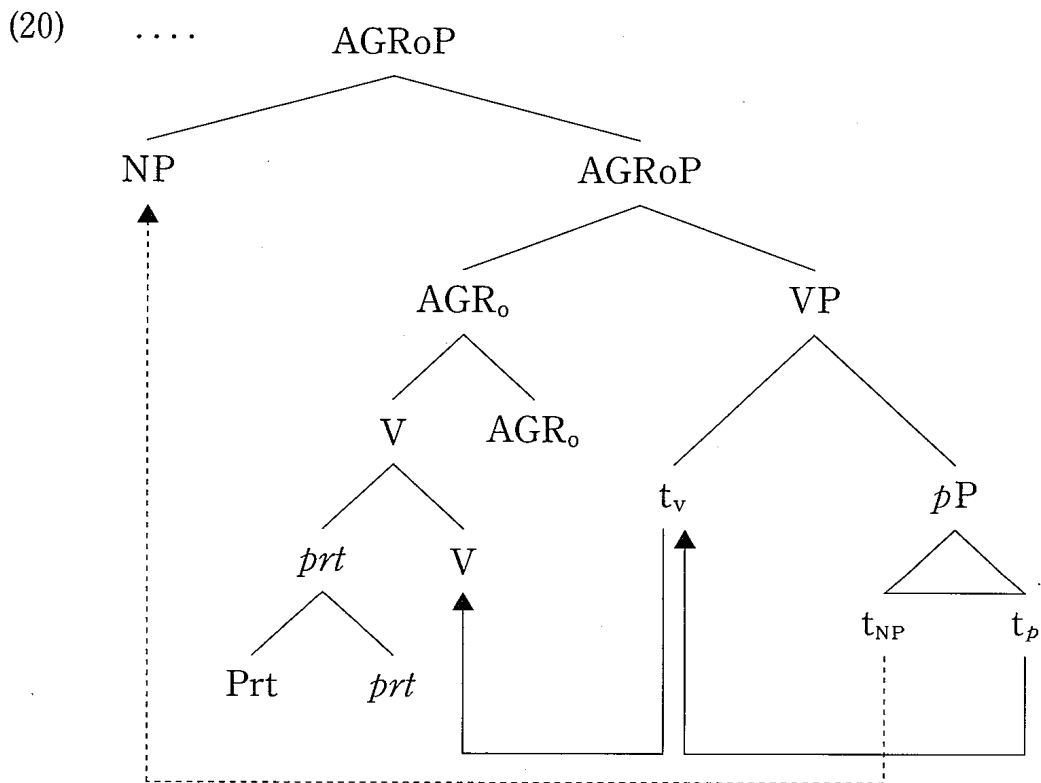
It can be seen from (18) that an object NP is assigned accusative Case provided that the VP or the sentence carries a telic interpretation. Although in English, accusative Case does not alter morphologically depending on the telicity of VP as observed in Finnish, Scottish Gaelic and Spanish, we can conclude that particles function as a means of transitivization, since they express a telic interpretation.

Let us consider accusative Case assignment of (15), which is repeated here as (19):¹⁰

- (19) a. Mary slept her wrinkles away.
b. John slept away his life.
c. *Mary slept her wrinkles.
d. *John slept his life.
e. Becky laughed her fears away.
f. They laughed away the evening.
g. *Becky laughed her fears.
h. *They laughed the evening.

In (19a, e), I assume that the particles raise to the verbs at LF, assigning telicity to the verbs. As a result, *sleep* and *laugh* in (19a) and (19e) turn out to be transitivized and can assign accusative Case to the NP. In (19b) and

(19f), on the other hand, *sleep away* and *laugh away* can count as transitive verbs, because they are constituents themselves, and the particles deliver telicity to the verbs. See the following configuration concerning accusative Case checking:



In (20), the particle raises to the verb and finally to AGRo. Accusative Case can be checked under Spec-Head Agreement.¹¹ A question arises here as to why sentences (19c, d, g, h) are deviant. It is important to note that since a particle, which delivers telicity to a verb, does not appear, each NP in (19c, d, g, h) is remained unassigned Case, resulting in violation of the Case filter. Bearing the analysis argued in this section, we will proceed to the relation between particles and the English double object constructions in the next section.

4. Particle and Double Object Constructions

The impossibility of Dative Shift under some circumstances is supported by evidence from the behavior of the English particle constructions, as illustrated below :¹²

- (21) a. I gave away money to charity.
b. *I gave charity away money.
c. *I gave away charity money.
d. I gave out apples to the children.
e. *I gave the children out apples.
f. *I gave out the children apples. (Larson (1988 : 371))
g. They sent out schedules to the stockholders.
h. *They sent the stockholders out schedules.
i. *They sent out the stockholders schedules.

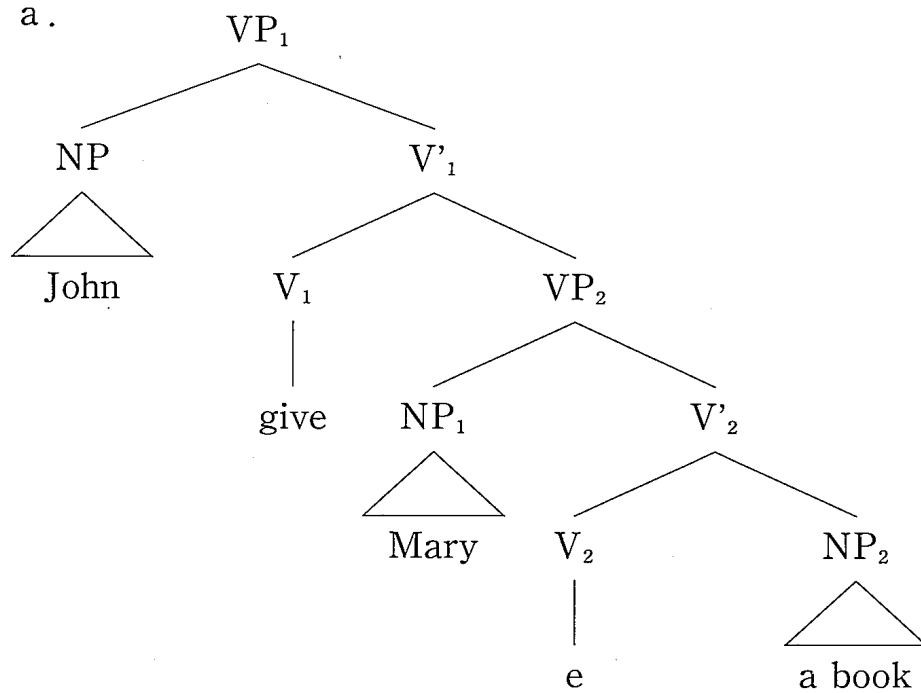
It is obvious that dative constructions allow particles to appear, but double object constructions do not. Let us consider verbs, which take double objects. Green (1974) argues that double object constructions involve the *have* relation between the indirect objects and the direct objects. See the following examples.

- (22) a. Mary will bring Bill a lollipop.
b. Mary will sell Bill a lollipop.
c. Mary will mail Bill a lollipop.
d. Mary will offer Bill a lollipop. (Green (1974 : 98))

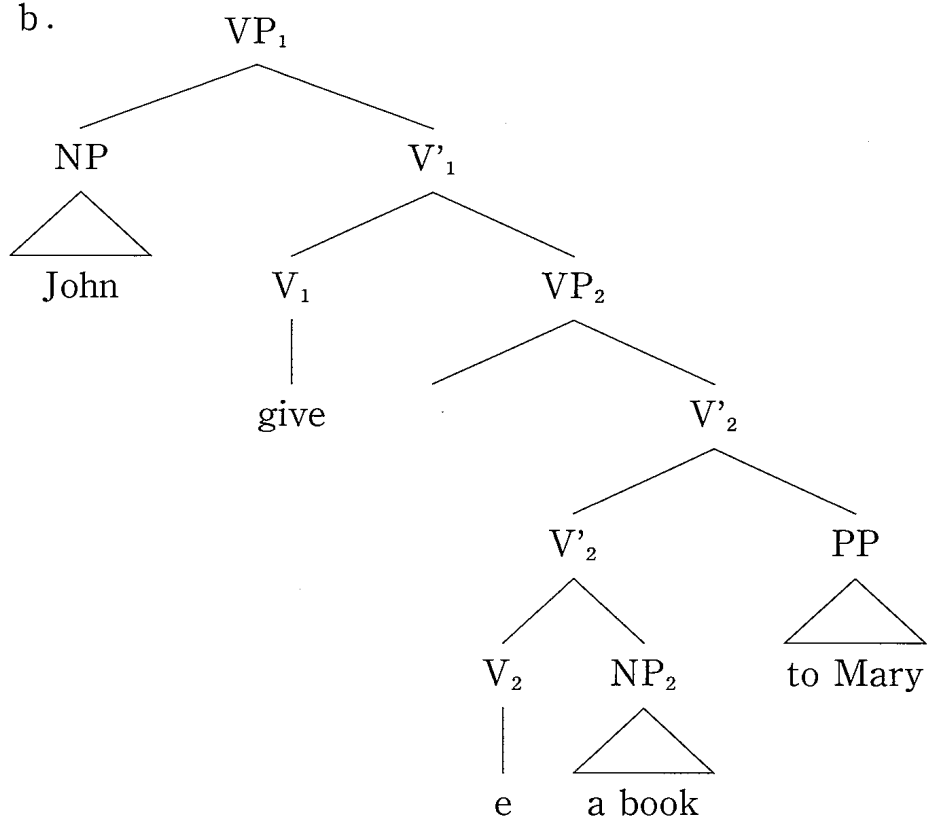
In (22a-d), it is predictable that *Bill will have a lollipop*.

With this observation in mind, let us consider the structures of dative and double object constructions advanced in Oba (1993) :

(23) a.



b.



(Oba (1993 : 108-109))

In (23), *e* is a head that represents the *have* relation, and VP₂ semantically represents that *Mary has a book*. What intrigues us here is that there exists different semantic representation between (23a) and (23b). It is clear that VP₂ in (23a) shows the *have* relation. On the other hand, as pointed by Larson (1988), there is no have relation between *a book* and *to Mary* in (23b), but rather VP₂ in (23b) conveys transferring interpretation to a goal, that is, *to Mary*.¹³ VP₂ in (23b) is, therefore, telic. This prediction is indeed borne out, as the following examples show :

- (24) a. I can give some money to the charity in two days.
 b. *I can give some money to the charity for two days.
 c. I can give the charity some money in two days.
 d. I can give the charity some money for two days.
 e. I can give some apples to the children in an hour.
 f. *I can give some apples to the children for an hour.
 g. I can give the children some apples in an hour.
 h. I can give the children some apples for an hour.
 i. They will send the schedules to the stockholders in five days.
 j. *They will send the schedules to the stockholders for five days.
 k. They will send the stockholders the schedules in five days.
 l. They will send the stockholders the schedules for five days.

It is important to note that while double object constructions can take both durative and frame adverbials, dative constructions cannot take durative adverbials, indicating that the VP expresses a telic interpretation.¹⁴

With this much as background, let us see how the argumentation in (24) can work in the English dative and double object constructions. Suppose that a particle adjoins to *e* in dative and double object constructions, as illustrated in (25) :¹⁵

- Let us consider (25a, c) first. Recall that while VP₂ in double object constructions conveys the *have* relation, showing that its event structure is atelic, the one in dative constructions exhibits telicity, since the VP has a goal phrase. If this is on the right track, since in (25a), VP₂ has an end point, *to the stockholders*, the event structure is telic. That is why particle, *out*, can appear. In (25c), in contrast, the event structure of VP₂ is atelic, resulting in feature conflict with the particle. We can treat (25b, d) in the same fashion as (25a, c). It should be noticed that in sentences such as (25b, d), the verb and the particle can count as a constituent, as argued above. The verb in (25b) can be taken as a constituent and convey a telic interpretation, since the particle delivers telicity to the verb. Even if *e* in (25 b), which is telic in our account, raises to V₁, feature conflict does not arise. Nevertheless, in (25d), feature conflict arises within VP₁. Note that *sent out* is telic as same as that in (25 b). However, *e* in (25d) is not telic, because the event structure of VP₂ shows the *have* relation. As a result,

feature conflict arises within VP₁. We can conclude from (25) that particles cannot occur within double object constructions.

5. Conclusion

To summarize, I have argued that the English particle verbs have a telic aspect, and that a particle has a strong telic feature in contrast to a preposition, which does not. An object NP in the English VPCs overtly raises to the specifier of the light particle phrase in order to check the strong telic feature. The suggested analysis allows us to account for the different word orders between the verbs with particles and the ones with prepositions. In the former constructions, an objective NP can overtly raise, but not in the latter constructions, since prepositions do not have a strong telic feature. Furthermore, I have suggested that particles transitive unergative verbs because of the telicity, showing that even unergative verbs can assign accusative Case to the objects. I have also demonstrated that the telic analysis with regard to the English particle verbs can account for the fact that particles cannot appear in double object constructions, because the VP does not exhibit telicity, resulting in feature conflict with particles.

If the preceding discussion is correct, it follows that there is clear difference between particle verbs and prepositional verbs with respect to the word order, and that the telicity-based analysis of VPCs can extend to the English dative and double object constructions.

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Notes

- 1 Tenny (1994) further provides another piece of evidence in favor of telicity of VPCs in English, as shown in (i):

(i) a. I ate the apple halfway.

b. *I ate the apple up halfway.

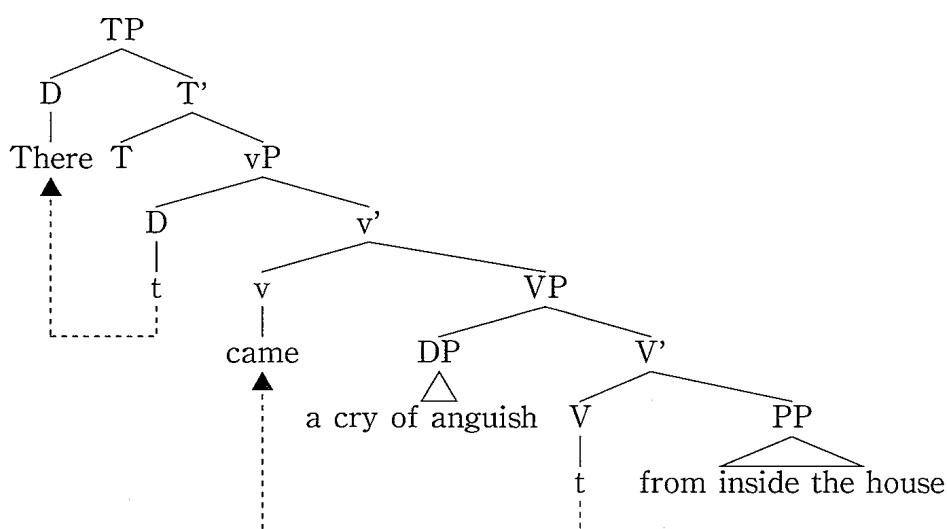
(Tenny (1994: 126))

Particles cannot occur with an adverb, *halfway*, because the activity of VPCs should be carried out to its end.

- 2 As for the derivation of (13 c), I assume that following Yoshida (1998), a pronoun can count as a clitic adjoining to a verb in the earlier derivation. See more details in Yoshida (1998).

- 3 In this paper, I adopt the structure of ergatives in Radford (1997), as shown in (i):

(i)



(Radford (1997: 400))

In (i), *a cry of anguish* is in the specifier of the lower VP, and the PP predicate in its complement position. It is important to note that in (i), a light verb appears even

though the verb is ergative.

- 4 At this moment, it is unclear whether an object NP has a telic feature or not. One possible explanation is that since in languages such as Finnish, Scottish Gaelic and Spanish, accusative Case is assigned to an object if VP expresses telicity, the telic feature must be related to an object. See the detailed discussion below. Another possibility is that a light particle attracts an N-feature of an NP. I leave the discussion open in this paper.
- 5 I assume that the light particle has a strong *p* feature and hence can attract the (lower) particle. On the contrary, prepositions do not have such strong features and therefore P does not raise.
- 6 It is questionable whether each objective NP in (14a') and (14b') is assigned a θ -role. Although the fuller study of the θ -role assignment lies outside of this paper, the following approach might shed light on the issue. Provided that as suggested by Bošković (1994) and Bošković and Takahashi (1998), θ -roles can be considered as formal features, the ones in (14a') and (14b') can be assigned at LF. Since θ -roles are formal features, they adjoin to V and check there. I leave the details for further study in this paper.
- 7 In this paper, accusative Case is checked in [Spec, AGRoP] at LF, as argued in Chomsky (1993). See the details for accusative Case checking below. Note that accusative Case feature is adjoined to V in Chomsky (1995). However, since this is not of major importance to our discussion here, I will use the notion of Chomsky (1993) for the explanatory purposes.
- 8 Examples (16a-b) are adapted from Pintzuck (1993 : 16).
- 9 According to Torrego (1998), the accusative marker *a* is in fact a dative preposition :
 - (i) Ana levantó a un niño
 Ana lifted to a child
 ‘Ana lifted a child’ (Torrego (1998 : 13))

The object *a un niño* is considered to be a marked accusative.
- 10 One might point out that resultative constructions involve in (19a) and (19e). Consider the following example :
 - (i) They painted the house red.

The adjective *red* is an unergative SC predicate. It, therefore, takes NP as an external argument. If particles are treated in the same manner as resultative phrases, particles should be regarded as unergative SC predicates.
- 11 The same accusative Case checking in (20) holds for sentences such as *Mary looked*

up the reference. Since *look up* is a constituent, the verb itself can count as a transitive verb.

12 Emonds (1976) indicates that some dialects find examples such as (21h, i) acceptable or marginal. My informants, however, regard them as unacceptable. I treat these sentences as deviant through this paper.

13 In (23b), *e* might be considered as representing *be* rather than *have*. This prediction is deduced from the following French examples.

(i) Ce livre est à Marie/ moi.

this book is to Mary/ me

(Green (1974 : 118))

In (i), the subject, *Ce livre*, is only transferred to the goal, *Marie*, or *moi*.

14 Additional piece of evidence in favor of this prediction is supported by the following example :

(i) a. He sent a letter to Mary, but she didn't receive it.

b. *He sent Mary a letter, but she didn't receive it. (Yoshikawa (1995 : 44))

In (ib), [*Mary a letter*] entails that *Mary has a letter*. Therefore, it follows that the interpretation, in which *Mary doesn't have the letter*, leads to a wrong prediction. The dative construction in (ia), however, conveys a transferring interpretation. Thus, in (ia), it makes no difference whether *Mary has a letter* or not.

15 According to Oba (1993), *e* is licensed by its head movement to V_1

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