

Unaccusativity, ditransitives and extra-argumentality

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1. Introduction

- The unaccusative hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986):
 - a. There are two kinds of intransitives: An unaccusative has an (underlying) internal argument [object] but no external argument [subject], while the unergative has an external argument but no internal argument.
 - b. An unaccusative transitivizes by adding an external argument, whereas an unergative is made transitive with the addition of an internal argument.
- (1)
 - a. The unergative series: *dasheng* ‘win (over)’
 One-place: [Agent V] (‘intransitive’)
 Two-place: [Agent V Theme] (‘transitive’)
 - b. The unaccusative series: *dabai* ‘get (NP) defeated’
 One-place: [V Theme] (‘inchoative’) (→ [Theme V t])
 Two-place: [Causer V Theme] (‘causative’)
 - (2)
 - a. Yangjidui dasheng-le Hongwadui. [洋基队打胜了红袜队。]
 Yankees win-over-Perf Red Sox
 The Yankees defeated the Red Sox.
 - b. Yangjidui dasheng-le. [洋基队打胜了。]
 Yankees win-Perf
 The Yankees won.
 - (3)
 - a. Yangjidui dabai-le Hongwadui. [洋基队打败了红袜队。]
 Yankees defeat-Perf Red Sox
 The Yankees defeated the Red Sox.
 - b. Hongwadui dabai-le. [红袜队打败了。]
 Red-Sox defeat-Perf
 The Yankees lost. (cf. 吕叔湘 1987)
 - (4) Argument reduction: a 2-place unergative intransitivizes by losing its internal argument; a 2-place unaccusative intransitivizes by losing its external argument.

Goals of today's talk:

- To establish the claim: the unaccusative-unergative distinction applies not only to 1-place and 2-place predicates *but also* to 3-place predicates: thus 6 different patterns will fit under this scheme.

(5)

	I: Unaccusative series	II: Unergative series
a. 1-place	Ia: V Theme	IIa: Agent V
b. 2-place	Ib: Experiencer V Theme	IIb: Agent V Theme
c. 3-place	Ic: Causer Experiencer V Theme	IIc: Agent V Affectee Theme

To wit: The unaccusative-unergative dichotomy groups events/situations into two types: An unaccusative describes a patient-centered state or situation that may optionally involve an experiencer and a causer (in that order), whereas an unergative describes an agent-centered event or activity that may optionally involve a patient and an affectee (in that order).

- To show that this scheme nicely accommodates two 'problematic' sentence patterns in Mandarin. (Sections 2-3)
- To defend this view against known or potential alternatives. (Section 4)
- To address some empirical questions that arise from the proposed analyses, and broach theoretical issues concerning extra-argumentality, syntax-semantics interface, lexical decomposition, and parametric variations. (Section 5)

(6) The unaccusative series [4-I]:

Ia: lai-le san-ge keren came 3-CL person There came three guests.	来了三个客人。
Ib: Wangmian qi sui si-le fuqin Wangmian 7 yr die-Perf father Wangmian 'died [his] father' at 7.	王冕七岁死了父亲。
Ic: Zhangsan gei-le Lisi liang-ben shu Zhangsan give-Perf Lisi two-CL book Zhangsan gave Lisi two books.	张三给了李四两本书。

(7) The unergative series [4-II]:

IIa: Zhangsan chi-guo le. Zhangsan eat-Exp Perf Zhangsan has eaten.	张三吃过了。
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IIb: Zhangsan chi-le liang-wan mian. 张三吃了两碗面。
 Zhangsan eat-Perf 2-bowl noodle
 Zhangsan ate two bowls of noodles.

☞ IIc: Zhangsan chi-le Lisi liang-wan mian. 张三吃了李四两碗面。
 Zhangsan eat-Perf Lisi two-bowl noodle
 Zhangsan ‘ate Lisi of’ two bowls of noodles.

- Of the above 6 frames, two (**I-b** and **II-c**) are of special interest and have been the subject of much discussion.

I-b: The so-called double unaccusatives (Chappel’s terminology) seem to involve one extra argument per sentence.

II-c: Sometimes called the ‘non-canonical DOC’ of the ‘receive’ type (as opposed to the ‘give’ type), or the ‘source DOC’ (as opposed to the ‘goal DOC’)

→ Sometimes referred to as ‘external possession’ constructions, with each sentence apparently containing one-too-many argument to be accommodated by the argument structure of the predicate.

→ Shall argue that these fit readily under the normal argument structure scheme as above, under the assumption that theta-roles are compositionally assigned.

→ What is relevant here is not external *possession* per se, but the naturalness of construing a given participant as an intermediate argument of a partially composed event.

- The analysis
 - The “double unaccusatives” as an experiential construction (involving an ‘internal subject’)
 - The non-canonical DOC as an Affectee construction (involving an ‘external object’, or outer object)

2. The two-place predicates

- The unaccusative series: I-b
- The unergative series: II-b [will have nothing to talk about]

2.1. External, internal and intermediate arguments

(8) a. (等了半天) 終於來了一碗麵。 (客體或受事)
 (deng-le ban-tian) zhongyu **lai**-le yi-wan mian.
 (wait-Perf half-day) finally come-Perf one-bowl noodle (noodles = Theme)
 (After waiting a whole half day), finally there **came** a bowl of noodles.

b. 我已經來過兩碗面了, 吃不下了。 (我 = 历事)
 wo yijing **lai**-guo liang-wan mian le, chi-bu-xia le. (I = Experiencer)
 I already come-Exp two-bowl noodle Perf, eat-not-down Perf
 I already **had** two bowls of noodles, cannot take any more.

- c. 小二，給我來碗炸醬麵。 (小二 = 致事)
 xiao er, gei wo **lai** wan zhajiangmian.
 Waiter, for me come bowl zhajiang-noodles (waiter = Causer)
 Waiter, please **bring** me a bowl of zhajiang noodles.

2.2. The “transitive unaccusatives” or “double unaccusatives”

- The Experiencer to be distinguished from the Causer [as seen in (8) above].
- The Experiencer may be the subject of light verb BECOME or HAVE

- (9) a. 王冕七歲死了父親。 (= 5Ab)
 Wang Mian qi sui si-le fuqin
 WM 7-years-old died father
 [Lit.] WM ‘died [his] father’ when he was 7.
- b. 張三又瞎了一隻眼睛。
 Zhangsan you xia-le yi-zhi yanjing.
 Zhangsan again blind-Perf one-CL eye
 Zhangsan again had a blind eye.
- c. 看守又逃了三個犯人了。
 Kanshou you tao-le san-ge fanren.
 Guard again escape-Perf 3-CL prisoner
 The guard again had 3 prisoners escape (on him)
- d. 昨天他們發生了一件車禍。
 Zuotian tamen fasheng-le yi-jian chehuo.
 [Lit.] Yesterday they happened an accident.
- e. 他們公司又沉了一艘船，恐怕要撐不下去了。
 Their firm again sank a boat [=had a boat sinking],
- (10) a. 他家来了许多要饭的。
 ta-jia lai-le xuduo yaofan-de.
 [Lit.] His home arrived many beggars.
- b. 中国出了一个毛泽东。
 Zhongguo chu-le yi-ge Mao Zedong.
 [Lit.] China emerged a Mao Zedong.
- c. 张三的儿子长出了两颗门牙。
 Zhangsan de erzi zhang-chu-le liang-ke menya.
 Zhangsan’s son grew two front teeth.

- d. 他起了一身鸡皮疙瘩。
 ta qi-le yi-sheng jipigeda
 [Lit.] He rose a whole body-ful of goose pimples.

→ Important points:

- The subject in each case is merged in situ receiving a (compositional) theta role as Experiencer (历事). Many previous works have assumed a possessive raising [or ‘ascension’] or lowering analysis [references omitted], or a binding analysis relation (cf. Hole 2005, etc.) (Huang 1989, Chappel 1999, Wu and Sun 2003.) Such views are highly unsatisfactory:
 - Proposed movement excluded on theoretical grounds. (e.g., LBC)
 - A possessive relation cannot always be established.
 - The subject is more than a possessor even if a possession relation is there: the experiencer requirement.
 - Evidence for experiencer-hood: e.g., the ‘live-subject’ requirement. (Hole 2005, also Chappel 1999, Teng 1974: *孔子死了后裔 *Kungzi si-le houyi*. Lit. Confucius died [his] offspring. [Very strong argument against possessive-raising])

(11) Scenario: Zhangsan died two years ago. Then his father died last month.

- a. *Zhangsan shang-ge yue si-le fuqin.
 Zhangsan last-CL month died father.
 b. Zhangsan de fuqin shang-ge yue si-le.
 Zhangsan’s father died last month.

- Experiencer, to be differentiated from Affectee [below]. The subject’s denotation need not be adversely affected or sustain any loss. (e.g. 10b-d; also 我们来了这么多客人, 真好 Lit. ‘We have arrived so many guests, [it’s] really great.’). It’s rather neutral (compare the ‘outer object’ to be discussed below), and may often be paraphrased as a subject of *have* or *experience*. (cf. Chappel, Hole, Shen)
- There need not be any possession relation at all (e.g., 9d = They had an accident). And so neither raising nor binding needs to play a role. (Cf. Hole 2005, who proposed the binding analysis.) ‘External possession’ just happens to be the most natural relation, the relevant point is the cognitive plausibility of an Experiencer of an event denoted by a VP. In English the subjects of these constructions are often naturally rendered as object of “happen to”.
- Cf. Shen (2006):

→ Two questions (to be addressed later):

- If Experiencer and Causer are distinct theta roles, why don’t they seem to co-occur within the same sentence? Corresponding to the grammatical ‘They happened an accident’ meaning they had an accident, why can’t we have ‘We happened them an accident’ meaning ‘We caused them to have an accident’? [*我

们发生了他们一起车祸], nor ‘The waiter came me a bowl of noodles’ meaning he brought me a bowl of noodles [*小二来了我一碗面]. (8c) above has the form of “The waiter brought a bowl of noodles to me.” An answer to this will necessarily involve syntactic explanation, not semantic. → Call this Q1

- Distribution of the construction is clearly much more robust in Chinese (and possibly in German?) than in English. Why? → Call this Q2

→ Some examples from English (Hole 2005) [corresponding examples ok too in Mandarin]:

- (12)
- The ship tore a sail.
 - The boy grew breasts.
 - The car burst a tire.
 - The athlete tore a muscle.

Seems limited to ‘unaccusativized’ verbs, though this may be somewhat murky. The examples in (11) involve verbs that do assign Accusative Case to their objects. These cannot be passivized, however: **A sail was torn by the ship*, reflecting an unaccusative flavor, but experiential sentences like *John had a good haircut, a good friend*, etc. also cannot be passivized.

What makes (11) ok in English but not **John arrived a guest, *They happened an accident, *John died father?* → Part of Q2

3. The 3-place series: Two types of double-object construction

- The *give*-type (I-c) belongs to the unaccusative series: involving verbs like *gei* ‘give’, *song* ‘send’, *shang* ‘award’, etc.
- The *rob*-type (II-c) belongs to the unergative series: involving not only verbs like *qiang* ‘rob’, *tou* ‘steal’, *na* ‘take’, but practically any transitive action verb: *chi* ‘eat’, *da* ‘do’, *ti* ‘kick’, *daduan* ‘break’, etc.

3.1. The unaccusative DOC: the *give* type

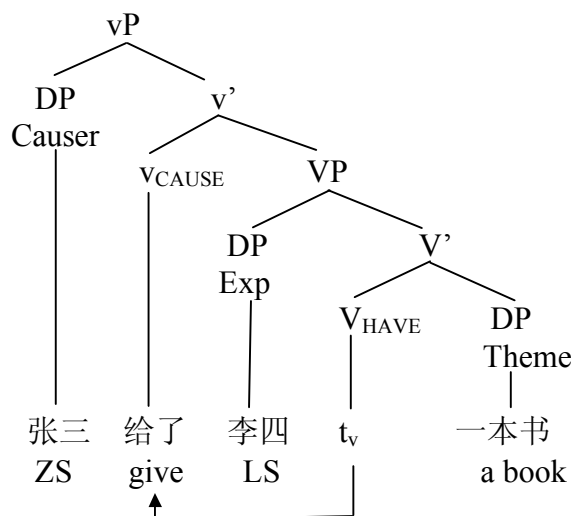
- The canonical *give*-type DOC involves a 3-place predicate in the *unaccusative* series.

- (13)
- 张三给了李四一本书。
Zhangsan gei-le Lisi yi-ben shu
Zhangsan give-Perf Lisi one-CL book
Zhangsan gave Lisi a book.
 - 我卖了李四两辆汽车。
wo mai-le Lisi liang-liang qiche.
I sell-Perf Lisi two-CL car
I sold Lisi two cars.

- c. 李先生租 (给)了我一间办公室 (却从来没收房租)。
 Li Xiansheng zu(gei)-le yi-jian bangongshi.
 Mr. Li rent(-to)-Perf me an office (. . .)
 Mr. Li rented me an office.
- d. 他借了我两万块钱 (还说我可以不还)。
 Ta jie-le wo liangwan-kuai qian
 He loan-Perf me \$20,000 money
 He loaned me \$20,000 (...).

→ The analysis:

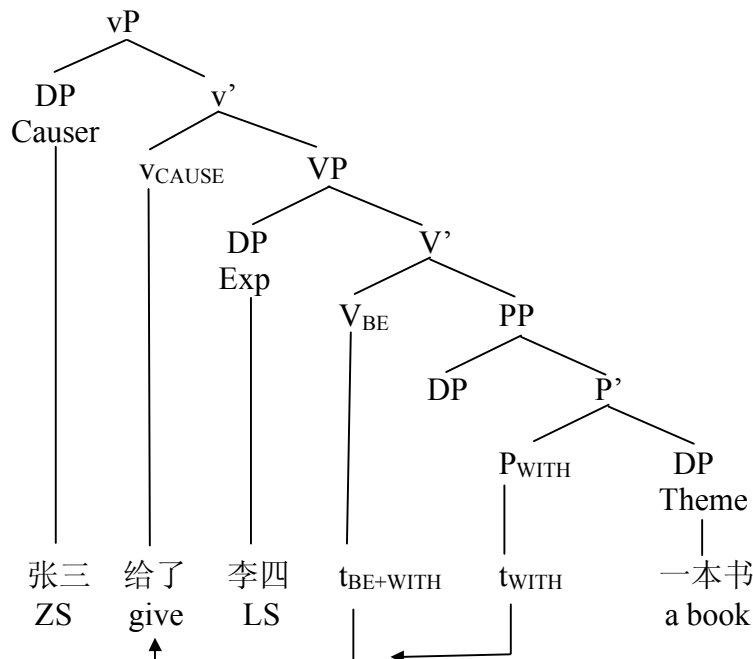
(14)



→ Important points:

- A structure with one object (Theme) and two subjects (Causer, Experiencer).
- The *give*-type DOC involves a 3-place predicate of the unaccusative type. The lower VP is a 2-place unaccusative structure (I-b) of the sort represented by 王冕死了父亲 ‘Wang Mian died father’ or others in (9). And this structure is embedded under a causative light verb.
- The lower structure with light verb HAVE can be further decomposed into two layers involving light verbs BE and the preposition WITH (following Harley 2002, Hale and Keyser 2002, 2005). Earlier references: Oerhle (1976), cf. Larson (1988, 1990), Pesetsky (1995), etc.

(15)



- NB: ‘to be with’ = ‘to have’. *With* is a ‘preposition of central coincidence’ (Hale and Keyser 2002) as opposed to *to*, a ‘preposition of terminal coincidence’.
- Evidence for this structure: French (Kayne 1993, Gueron 1995)
- Evidence for decomposition A: Strong evidence from Chinese dialects and Classical Chinese:
 - Classical Chinese *yu* means ‘give’, commitative ‘with’ and conjunction ‘and’. 与=参与 be with. [予 ‘give’ is a different rendition, which does not have the *with* meaning.]
 - Taiwanese *ho* means ‘give, cause, or undergo/passive’. Cheng, et al (1999), Mei (2006); cf. also Chappel, Peyraube and Wu (2007), Liu and Peyraube (1999) and Wu (2003). Taiwanese *ho* = 与 = ‘causative’, ‘undergo/passive’, ‘give’.
- Evidence for decomposition 2: *gei* in Northern Chinese, meaning ‘give’ or ‘happen/exist’, as seen below:

- (16)
- a. ta you gei pao-le. 他又给跑了。
he again give run-Perf
‘He ran away again.’
- b. ni you rang ta gei pao-le. 你又让他给跑了。
You again let him give escape-Perf
‘You again let him run away.’
- c. ta ba pingguo dou gei chi-diao-le. 他把苹果都给吃掉了。
ta BA apples all give eat-up-Perf

‘He ate up all the apples.’

- d. Xi’an dialect (cf. Gu Yang, p.c.):
 ta gei kai che.
 he give drive car
 ‘He is driving.’

Analysis: *gei* = ‘happen’ (an existential verb) = a raising verb that takes an event (clausal) complement whose subject raises:

- (17) a. The two-place *gei* ‘let, experience’: (< cause):
 ni you gei [ta pao le].
 you again give he run-away Perf
 ‘You again let him run away.’
- b. Subject is dethematized:
 [e] you gei [ta pao le].
 [It] again give he ran-away Perf.
 ‘[It] again happens that he ran away.’
- c. Subject-raising:
 ta_i you gei [t_i pao le]
 he again give run-away Perf
 ‘He again ran away.’

→ Cf. German: *Was gibt es?* ‘What is there?’

→ English: *What gives?* ‘What happened?’

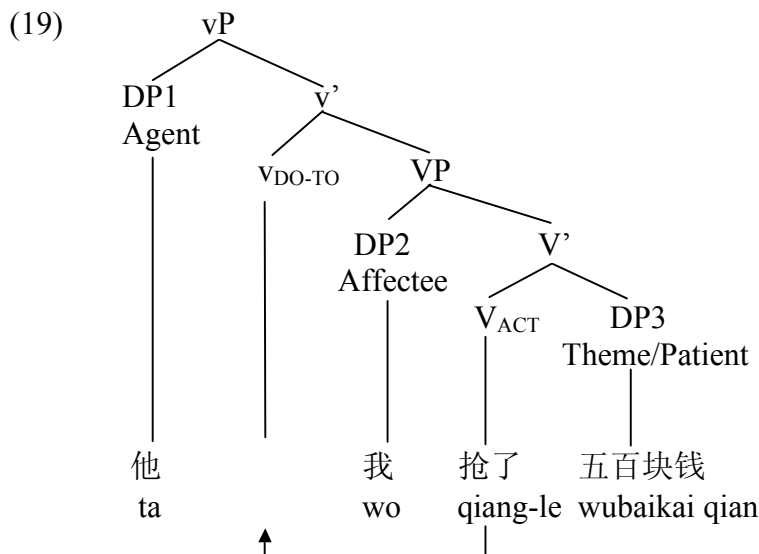
- Summary
 - The *give*-type DOC is a 3-place unaccusative construction, which fits well in the decompositional causative analysis (from Oerhle to Harley and more).
 - Chinese offers interesting evidence for decomposition as the same verb can have meanings that directly correspond to the hypothesized components.

3.2. The unergative DOC: the *rob* type

- This type of DOC involves an unergative verb with 3 arguments.

- (18) a. 他抢了我五百块钱。
 Ta qiang-le wo wubaikuai qian.
 he rob-Perf me 500-dollar money
 Lit.: He robbed me \$500.
- b. 我只听了他两堂课。
 Wo zhi ting-le ta liang-tang ke.
 I only hear-Perf him two-CL class
 Lit.: I only attended him two classes.

- c. 你吃了人家两碗面，怎么拍拍屁股就走？
 Ni chi-le renjia liang-wan mian, zenme paipai pigu jiu zou?
 you eat-Perf them two-CL noodle, how-come pat-pat butt go
 Lit.: You ate them two bowls of noodles, how come left like that....
- d. 他租了我一间公寓，一直没付我房租。
 Ta zu-le wo yi-jian gongyu, yizhi mei fu wo fangzu.
 He rent-Perf me one-CL apartment, straightly not pay me rent
 Lit.: He rented [from] me an apartment, but never paid me rent. [ta = tenant]
- e. 他借了我两万元，从来没付过利息。
 Ta jie-le wo liang-wan yuan, conglai mei fуго lixi.
 He borrow-Perf me 2-wan \$, ever not paid interest
 Lit.: He borrowed me \$20k, never paid interest.



→Important points:

- These structures are of the unergative type, with verbs from the unergative series. Each has one subject (Agent) with two objects: DP3 = inner object (Theme), DP2 = outer object (Affectee). Verb movement across the outer object gives rise to the surface double-object pattern.
- The DP2 has object properties, is minimally an Affectee (a neutral Experiencer is not sufficient).
- This pattern admits any action verb + complement combination whose meaning is 'sufficiently transitive' so as to be able to take an outer object.
 - In many cases the Affectee happens to be a source from which things are taken, robbed, rented, borrowed. Like the 'transitive unaccusatives' many authors capitalize on this and try to derive this by assuming a direct possessive relation between DP2 and DP3.

- But definitely this is just a subset of the possible outer-object constructions.
 - There is no real possessor requirement between DP2 and DP3, hence no raising nor binding analysis would be sufficient. (cf. Hole 2005) Consider examples like: 赢了他两次桥牌 ‘win *him* twice *the bridge game*’, 摸了他两次清一色 ‘draw *him* twice *straight-one-color*’ [=won the mahjiang game on him twice, by drawing a card that makes a straight suit], 连续进了他们两个三分球 ‘consecutively score *them* two *3-pointers*’ [=score two 3 pointers on them in a row], 欠了他一屁股的债 ‘owe *him* a *butt-ful of debt*’. There is no conceivable, natural, possessive or binding relation between DP2 and DP3.
 - Other more radical examples involve idioms like 我开了他一个玩笑、你敲他三次竹杠、李四幽了他一默、我们准备开他一刀 (and more!) also strongly resist a binding (not to mention raising) analysis for the outer object ‘him’ in each case.
- The outer object DP2 can exist only if DP3 position is somehow filled:
- (20) *他住了我
ta zhu-le wo
‘he lived me’
- (21) 他住了我三天三夜 (把我累死了)
ta zhu-le wo san tian san ye (ba wo lei-si le)
he live-Perf me 3 day 3 night (BA me tired-to-death)
He has lived 3 days and nights on me (and tired me to death)
- seems like the time expression serves to ensure that the Affectee is located at the outer object position (recalling Baker’s UTAH). That is, the inner object is the first option of an unergative series that must be taken before an outer object (as the second option) can be taken.
- Summary: according to our analysis: see PM (15) and (19)
 - The unaccusative type of DOC has one object and two subjects: one large (the Causer) and one small (the Experiencer)
 - The unergative type of DOC has one subject and two objects: one inner (the Theme) and one outer (the Affectee).

3.3. Against a ‘cause-to-lose’ type of DOC (a causative analysis of II-c)

- Since Zhu (1979) many scholars juxtapose the two types of DOC as if they should be analyzed in similar fashion. Certain authors (Zhang (1998), 张宁 (2000)、邓思颖 (2003) 与徐德宽 (2004) treat the Affectee (*rob*-type) construction as also involving a causative (hence unaccusative) template, except that the meaning of the *rob*-type construction is “X causes Y to lose Z”. Some functionally oriented scholars (e.g., 张伯江 1999, 张国宪 2001) try to relate the two types by the claim that one type represents a metaphorical or metonymic extension of the other.

→ Arguments against this alternative:

- Not all the unergative DOCs involve possession or loss thereof in any sense, however stretched, as noted above, with *ta* ‘him’ in DP2 and bridge games, a straight suit, two 3-pointers or a butt-ful of debt in DP3; or between ‘me’ and ‘3 days and 3 nights’.
- Under my proposal, the *give*-type IO is an inner subject (Experiencer) and the *rob*-type IO is an outer object (Affectee). This explains why only the Affectee may be passivized, *ba*-transformed, etc. (because it’s an object) but not the Experiencer (because it’s a subject). This distinction would be obscured by a causative (unaccusative) analysis of the *rob*-type.
- There is strong cross-linguistic, cross-dialectal, morphological and orthographical evidence for an unaccusative analysis of the *give*-type, but not for the *rob*-type. 授-受 *shou* = give or receive; 卖-买 *mai* = sell or buy; “假、租、借”与闽语“与” TS Min *yu* ‘give, cause, undergo, etc.’
- My proposal makes an important prediction that the alternatives do not: The ambiguity of (22) vs. the non-ambiguity of (23):

- (22) 张三租了李四一栋房子。
 Zhangsan zu-le Lisi yi-dong fangzi.
 Zhangsan rent-Perf Lisi one-CL house
 a. Zhangsan rented Lisi a house. (Zhangsan = landlord)
 b. Zhangsan rented a house from Lisi. (Zhangsan = tenant)
- (23) 李四租了一栋房子。
 Lisi zu-le yi-dong fangzi.
 Lisi rent-Perf one-CL house
 Lisi rented a house. (Lisi = ^{OK}tenant, *landlord)

Similarly, with *jie* which can mean ‘borrow’ or ‘lend’ when in the frame represented by *John jie Bill a book*. But it only means ‘borrow’ in the frame *John jie a book*.

The reason:

- (24) a. The unaccusative frame (Causer V Exp. Theme): the Causer is the secondoption to merge (after Exp). The unergative frame (Agent Affectee V Theme): the Affectee is the last option (after inner object).
 c. .Non-selection of the this last option will eliminate the Causer from the unaccusative frame, and the Affectee from the unergative frame. The result is that the subject is unambiguously the **tenant** (as an Agent or an Experiencer). [A tenant or borrower qua Experiencer if s/he acts under external causation, qua Agent otherwise.]

- Orthographical considerations: 授-受 *shou* = give or receive; 卖-买 *mai* = sell or buy. ‘give’ and ‘sell’ are marked (for the additional causative meaning). But there is no word of the type *rob* vs. *be robbed* with marking on *rob*.
- 张伯江 (1999), 张国宪 (2001): *give*-type \leftrightarrow *rob*-type by ‘extension’. Cf. Peyraube (1999), who shows that the *rob*-type clearly did not exist in Archaic Chinese. Also, typologically, languages often differ in having only one type but not the other type of DOC. (Cf. Harley, who argues that only languages that ‘have’ can ‘give’.)
- Peyraube (1999): the ‘rob-type’ was developed later than the ‘give-type’.

4. Remarks on extra-argumentality:

→ Do these sentences with inner subjects and outer objects contain ‘one argument too many’?

- Semantically, there is no reason why these are not arguments (compositional arguments on a par with subjects).
- Syntactically:
 - the experiencer subject of ‘die, happened an accident, etc.’ walks and talks like a real subject (extraction, VP coordination, etc., though such sentences are not easily passivized—perhaps a reflection of *get-passives*).
 - The affectee object walks and talks like an object (passive, *ba*-, etc.).
- One-argument-too-many is a problem of a theory that takes them to be non-arguments.
- From Chinese point of view, these guys are there because it is normal for arguments to be there. The question is not why Chinese allows so many arguments per sentence, but why English (for example) does **not** allow some.

5. Remaining issues and clarification:

- **Q2:** What accounts for the Chinese-English difference? Why doesn’t English allow for these constructions (as) freely?

(25) a. *John died a father. (cf. *there died a father)
 b. *They arrived many guests.
 c. *They happened an accident.

(26) a. *John robbed Bill \$500.
 b. *John rented Bill an apartment. (for John = tenant)
 c. *John ate Bill two bowls of noodles.

(Except: The court **fin**ed me \$300. This **cost** me a lot.)

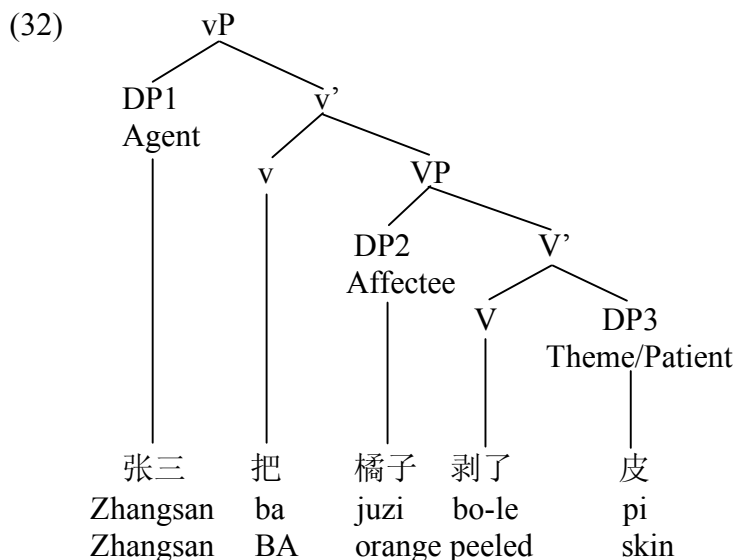
→ Proposal: Two possibilities

- (27) The EPP (for the “transitive unaccusatives”): English clausal heads have [+EPP] features that require their specifiers to be lexically filled. But (Modern) Chinese TP does not have [+EPP] of this sort.
- (28) The loss of EPP from OC to MnC. Peyraube (2005) shows that directional unaccusatives in AC always had their subjects filled (by the Theme), but in late MC, it became possible to leave the Theme postverbally.
- a. 孔子趋出、子路趋而出 (荀子) [OC]
Kongzi qu chu, Zilu qu er chu. [from *Xunzi* =OC]
Confucius hurried exited, Zilu hurried and exited.
 - b. 即便生出二甘蔗 (佛本行集经) [隋] MC
jibian sheng-chu er ganzhe [From *Fobenxing* = late MC]
then emerge-out two sugarcane
'Thus emerged two sugarcanes.'
- In other words, obligatory NP-movement was lost. In PPT terms: loss of a feature that triggers the movement.
- A special case of the synthetic → analytic change in the history
- Because the unaccusative predicate does not assign Acc to its object, the expletive *There* [which signals the EPP requirement] helps form a Case chain (a la Safir 1982)]. Otherwise, the object would need to raise to occupy the subject position. In both cases, an Experiencer is excluded from the subject position. Instead, it must be realized as a PP (*An accident happened to them, John's father died on him, etc.*).
 - This assumes that the unaccusatives like *die, arrive, happen* do not assign Case even in the presence of an experiencer argument.
 - The possibility of (28b) and other similar intransitives in MnC shows that T is without [+EPP] and suggests that the object may be assigned/checked by an Inherent Case (such as Partitive Case, re. Belletii 1988). This leaves the subject position free for the Experiencer argument, which may then receive Nominative Case there.
- (29) The Case theory: The inherent Case parameter (descriptive): In Chinese all verbs are able to assign an Inherent Case (Dative or Partitive) in addition to any structural case they may or may not have. In English, only a closed class of verbs have Inherent Cases including the *give*-type verbs (and a few exceptions of other classes: *fine, cost, etc.*).

- The loss of Inherent Case in Middle English (Roberts 2007 among others)
ME: How him-DAT the victory-NOM pleased [gelicade ‘liked’ in form]
‘How the victory had pleased [liked] him. [him = Dative]’
MnE: How he liked the victory. [Nom, Acc]
- The availability of an inherent Case also makes possible the Affectee constructions. Since the Inherent Case is Dative, we predict that the Affectee argument is normally animate. An inanimate outer object is excluded from the DOC format, but must occur with *ba* (and carries Accusative).

- (30) a. *张三剥了橘子皮。
*Zhangsan bo-le zuji pi
Zhangsan remove-Per orange peel-skin
Zhangsan peeled the orange.
- b. *李四踢了纸门一个洞。
*Lisi ti-le zhimen yi-ge dong
Lisi kick-Perf paper-door one-CL whole
Zhangsan kicked a hole in the paper door.

- (31) a. 张三把橘子剥了皮。
Zhangsan ba juzi bo-le pi
Zhangsan BA orange peel-Perf skin
Zhangsan peeled the orange.
- b. 李四把纸门踢了一个洞。
Lisi ba zhimen ti-le yi-ge dong
Lisi BA paper-door kick-Perf one-CL whole
Zhangsan kicked a hole in the paper door.



- *ba* is the overt form of the light verb DO-TO or AFFECT.

→ Examples from German (Hole 2005 and Clemens Mayr, p.c.) :

- (33) a. Die Ärztin hat Paula zweimal Blut abgenommen.
The doctor has Paul twice blood taken
医生抽了保罗两次血。
- b. Er hat mir zweihundert Euro gestohlen.
He has me 200 Euro stolen
他偷了我两百块钱。
- (34) a. Ihnen ist ein Unfall passiert.
Them(dat) is an accident happened
An accident has happened to them.
- b. Ein Unfall ist (ihnen) passiert.
An accident is (them-dat) happened
An accident has happened to them.
- c. Es ist ein Unfall passiert.
There is an accident happened
There has happened an accident.
- (35) a. Dem Hans is der Vater verstorben.
The-Dat Hans is the-Nom father passed-away
'To Hans has died the father.'
- b. Den Hans ist ein Auge erblindet.
the-Dat Hans is an-Nom eye blinded
'To Hans has blinded an eye.'
- (36) Some questions:
- a. Ihnen ist ein Unfall passiert, and got home very late. ??
- b. Ihnen ist ein Unfall passiert, and smashed the new Toyota. ??
- c. Den Hans ist wieder ein Auge erblindet, und kann jetzt nichts sehen. ??
- d. 他们发生了一件车祸，很晚才回到家。
- e. 他们发生了一件车祸，把刚买的新车给撞坏了。

Q1: Why not “John came me a bowl of noodles” in Chinese meaning “John brought me a bowl of noodles”? Why not “They happened me an accident” meaning “They caused me to have an accident”?

- The *give*-type is strictly limited to sentences instantiating the CAUSE-BE-WITH event structure template. (In English as in Chinese)
- Chinese *give*-type verbs are extremely limited, except for a few, most other verbs that are used as *give*-type verbs in English (*bring, mail, cook, buy, throw, etc.*) would be rendered *bring-gei, mail-gei, cook-gei, buy-gei, throw-gei, etc.* Lexical analyticity of Chinese (compared to English). In other words, the meaning of *give* is already ‘conflated’ into *bring, cook, buy, mail* in English but not in Chinese.
- This is parallel to the English-Chinese difference w.r.t. ‘coercion’: *They began the book; He is a fast typist, etc.* (Lin and Liu 2005).

Summary:

- Two proto-event types with 1-, 2-, 3- yield 6 syntactic frames each of which is realized in Chinese—no extra-argumentality.
- The Chinese-English differences may be reduced to 3 parametric differences: (a) EPP, (b) Inherent Case, (c) lexical simplicity (non-conflation).
- (a) and (c) are special cases of the more general macro-parametric difference: the relative position on the analytic-parametric continuum.

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