

## You only need to give once

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In order to analyze the familiar problem of the dative PP and double-object constructions, we employ an approach to the lexicon-syntax connection in which a minimal lexical entry projects a syntactic structure with maximum yield. When combined with a theory of information structure, this approach accounts for the syntactic frames possible for dative verbs as well as for extraction and pronoun possibilities.

We adopt the approach of Hale & Keyser (e.g. 1993, 2002, 2005; henceforth HK), in which lexical entries project a highly-constrained set of possible structures. These structures translate into activities, changes (of state or location), or cause + changes, according to the notional-categorial type of the elements merging them.

In our analysis, the elements projecting the HK structures are the atomic meaning components of a verb's lexical entry. These independent semantic morphemes are taken from a universal inventory consisting of only two types: manners (instruments, means) and results (states or locations).

We depart from HK's analysis of the derivation of verbs, while assuming their view that any particular verb has one lexical entry from which its various uses (including syntactic frames) are derived. Here, a lexical entry of a verb consists solely of the combination of meaning atoms with an independent morpho-phonological verbal form. Each atom can merge in syntax as either a complement or a modifier of a predicate structure, thus deriving a variety of syntactic frames from one lexical entry. In such a system, the burden of constraining verb use is on a principle of Full Interpretation rather than on lexical listings.

A verb like *give* has a lexical entry consisting of a Manner atom and a Location atom. These atoms, together with the verbal morphophonemic head, are what project one of the dative frames: *Mary gave the book to John*, in which the Location atom is identified with the *to*-PP. The same two atoms can project an alternate frame: *Mary gave John the book*, in which the Location atom is identified with the lower subject *John*. Full Interpretation allows this output while restricting that of other possession constructions, for example: *\*Mary put the shelf with books* vs. *Mary smeared the wall with paint*.

A combination of Manner atom content and interpretation within the constrained set of possible structure types also explains differences such as *Mary sent the letter* vs. *\*Mary gave the book*.

The same combination of atom and structure also constrains information structure assignment. In the case of the dative constructions, this accounts for the different extraction possibilities: *Who did Mary give a book to?* vs. *\*Who did Mary give a book?* as well as the distinctions found with sentence-final pronouns: *\*John gave Mary/her it.* vs. *John gave it to Mary/her.*

### References

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