

Particles: On the Syntax of Verb-Particle, Triadic, and Causative Constructions. By MARCEL DEN DIKKEN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. 288. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$24.95.

Reviewed by PETER SVENONIUS, *University of Tromsø*

D's book, a revision of his 1991 HIL (Leiden) dissertation, is a worthy addition to the handsomely produced and accessibly priced *Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax* series.

The main title of the book, *Particles*, is misleading; the book is not primarily concerned with particles themselves, but with a wide variety of constructions which the author has analyzed as involving a structure in which a 'particle' (of the Germanic, prepositional kind) is central — but as the particle in question may be abstract, many of the constructions at issue have never been listed under the particle rubric before. The subtitle is more to the point: *On the Syntax of Verb-Particle, Triadic, and Causative Constructions*. Verb-particle constructions are analyzed in detail, especially complex ones with ditransitive (triadic) verbs, and the analysis is extended to ditransitive constructions without (overt) particles. A detailed analysis of dative shift is developed, and Larson's 1988 account is discussed in some detail. Only a restricted set of causative constructions are taken up, mainly synthetic causatives with transitive verbs (examples are given from Dutch, Indonesian, Sanuma, and French), though there is also some discussion of the French *faire* causatives. The analysis is applied briefly to serial verb constructions in Yorùbà and other languages, and to applicative constructions in Chichewa and Indonesian and other languages; some constructions related to the applicative are also mentioned. Along the way, some arguments are developed for treating certain cases of A-bar movement (mainly in English) as involving null operators.

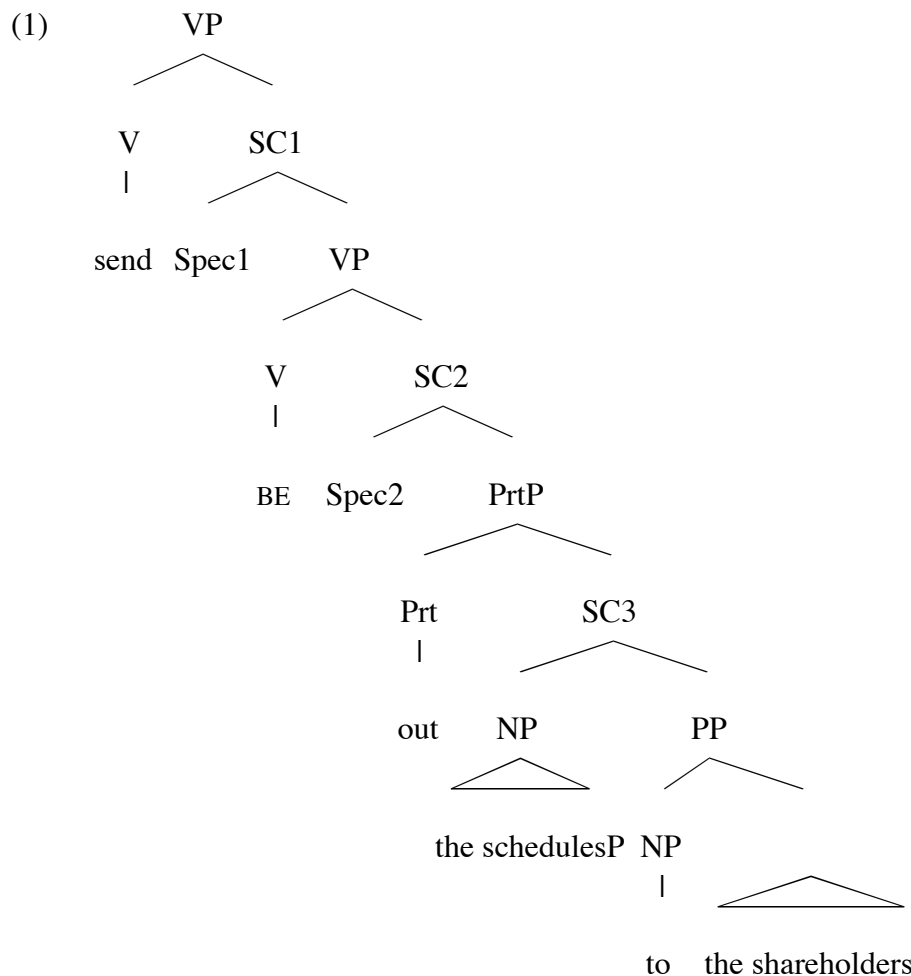
The analysis makes important use of the government and binding relations in the tree structures hypothesized, in a fairly orthodox GB fashion. Occasional references are made to 'minimalist' and 'antisymmetric' alternatives to the assumptions made.

The first chapter, despite D's disclaimer, should probably not be skipped. It justifies some important assumptions which are not widely assumed (e.g. that incorporation is possible from a specifier position, or that A-movement is not subject to the ECP) and generally locates D in a theoretical and methodological space. D's general approach is to concentrate on developing an analysis for complex constructions first, and to allow that analysis to extend to simpler constructions as well; so, for example, ditransitives with particles (*send the schedules out to the shareholders*) are treated before either ditransitives without particles or simple transitives with particles, and causatives with transitive verbs (*make the children eat the candy*) are treated before causatives with intransitives. One result is that apparently simple constructions receive rather complex structures.

The book contains a good balance of data and theory. Much subtle and complex evidence is considered, and the data is analyzed at each point in a rigorous and explicit fashion. D treats the reported data with great care, attempting to accommodate even subtle gradations of acceptability as well as some cases of variation across speakers. The data considered is mainly from English and Dutch, but other languages are frequently introduced to back up a claim or to indicate that an analysis has broader application. But despite this attention to matters empirical, theoretical considerations are far from

neglected; D exhibits familiarity with the literature throughout and is careful to address problems raised when his assumptions contradict other recent or influential ones.

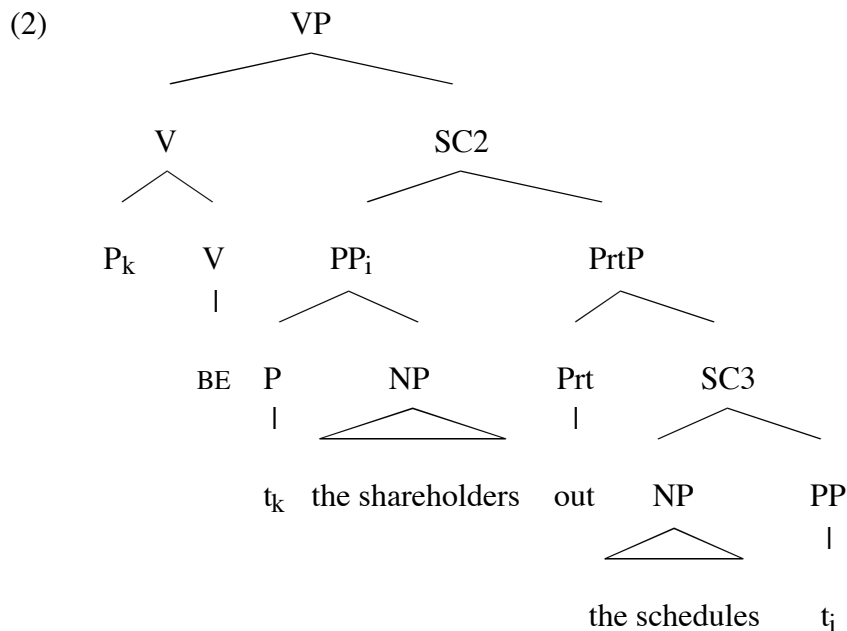
The central claim is that in a wide variety of constructions, the main verb takes a small clause complement in which the head of the small clause is a particle, possibly abstract, and in which the various elements traditionally analyzed as complements of the verb are located instead in another small clause, the small clause complement of the particle. Thus, the verb phrase *send out the schedules to the shareholders* has a structure like that in (1) (D argues that the ditransitive verb consists of two parts, pp. 126-32; the lower part is the abstract verb BE). Small clauses are adjunction structures, for D, the SC subject being adjoined to a maximal projection.



The order *send the schedules out to the shareholders* arises when the NP *the schedules* moves to the empty subject position in the higher SC (labeled SPEC2 in (1)) in order to get Case from the verb. However, the base order is also possible. In order to account for this, D assumes a kind of abstract reanalysis of the particle with the verb, licensed retrospectively by LF incorporation. This reanalysis allows the verb to assign Case to the NP in situ, on a certain interpretation of Baker's 1988 Government Transparency Corollary (GTC) (the moved particle still governs what it used to govern, and

since it is, at LF, part of a complex head including the Case-assigning verb, that head governs the NP and can assign Case to it). The analysis raises some questions about the level at which the Case Filter applies; if it applies at LF, then it seems that the NP should not ever move overtly, and if it applies at S-structure, then it seems that LF incorporation of the particle with the verb should not obviate overt NP movement. D suggests that reanalysis may be signalled by ‘co-superscripting’, licensed by abstract incorporation. Then the Case Filter may apply at S-structure, and the particle co-superscripted with the verb may assign Case. But this means that reanalysis is an additional piece of machinery in the analysis, and is not an automatic result of the possibility of abstract incorporation and rules of government (including Baker’s GTC).

Dative Shift involves A-movement of the dative PP predicate of the lower small clause into the subject position of the higher small clause, and incorporation of an abstract dative preposition (much as in the analysis of Gruber 1965, chapter 7). The structure in (2) is truncated, only the lower verbal projection being shown; cf. D’s p. 132.



D shows that given some plausible assumptions about constraints on movement and so on, a wide range of facts can be accounted for, including some rather surprising extraction facts. For example, in the construction represented in (1), subextraction from the Goal PP is possible, whether the Theme NP has moved or not (p. 62):

- (3) a. Who did they send a schedule out to?
 b. Who did they send out a schedule to?

However, extraction of the entire Goal PP is only possible if the particle precedes the Theme:

- (4) a.*? To whom did they send a schedule out?
 b. To whom did they send out a schedule?

On D’s analysis, particles do not count as lexical heads and are therefore not proper head governors. In (4a), the trace of the fronted PP is not properly head

governed and therefore violates the ECP. In (4b), the particle has reanalyzed with the verb, and therefore counts as a proper head governor. In (3), the trace left by the moved wh-phrase is properly head-governed by the lexical preposition *to*, and satisfies the ECP regardless of whether the Theme NP has moved or the particle has incorporated.

The analysis is concerned throughout with structure and structural relations; issues of semantics and interpretation creep in in indirect ways, for example through Baker's 1988 Uniformity of Theta-role Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), or through the observation that a so-called causative morpheme can appear in non-causative constructions. The shallow treatment of the semantics of the particles may be the weak point of the analysis. For example, particles in simple (non-ditransitive) verb-particle constructions are frequently predicative (in *put the hat on*, the hat becomes on; cf. Bolinger 1971), and in some cases these particles have 'transitive' counterparts (e.g. in *put the hat on your head*; cf. Collins & Thráinsson 1993, who raise this point in reference to D's dissertation). This suggests that in some cases, the particle can take internal and external NP arguments, rather than the internal SC complement of D's analysis. In fact, it can be argued that particles in simple verb-particle constructions ALWAYS have an external argument (Svenonius 1994), the opposite of D's structure, where the particle is always 'ergative'.

The same problem reappears in the analysis of causative constructions: in order to capture the similarities between ditransitive Goals and causative Causees, D argues that the embedded verb takes a SC complement headed by a particle, and that all of the arguments of that embedded verb are contained within the SC complement of the particle. The structures of the ditransitive verb-particle construction and the causative are laid side by side in (5) (pp. 246-8).

- (5) a. They sent [_{VP}BE [_{SC} [_{PrTP} out [_{SC}the schedule [_{pp}to the stockholders]]]]]
 b. Jean fera [_{VP}manger [_{SC} [_{PrTP} PRT[_{SC}des bonbons [_{pp}à ses enfants]]]]]
Jean made eat the candies to his children

This means that the argument structure of a transitive verb like *manger* is very different when it appears as a main verb and when it appears under a causative. D addresses these questions (pp. 96-9, 251-3), but not conclusively. Of course, one must not throw out the baby with the bathwater. The book contains a large amount of useful data and insightful analysis, and manages to draw hitherto unnoticed parallels across a number of constructions in a number of languages.

Physically, the book is nicely put together, with proper fonts and formatting and extremely few typographical or language errors. It is written in a precise and clear style, well organized at each level. There is a detailed table of contents and there are numerous cross-references throughout (but no index). There are, however, too many footnotes, nearly one per page, some quite long. Most of them address peripheral challenges to the main line of argumentation, and could simply be skipped on a first reading, but a number should have been integrated into the main text, and others could have been dropped entirely.

REFERENCES

BAKER, MARK. 1988. *Incorporation*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- BOLINGER, DWIGHT. 1971. *The Phrasal Verb in English*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- COLLINS, CHRIS, and HÖSKULDUR THRÁINSSON. 1993. Object Shift in Double Object Constructions and the Theory of Case. *Papers on Case & Agreement II* (MIT Working Papers in Linguistics vol. 19), ed. by Colin Phillips, 131-74. [revised version to appear in *Linguistic Inquiry*]
- GRUBER, JEFFREY. 1965. *Studies in Lexical Relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation.
- LARSON, RICHARD. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19.335-91.
- SVENONIUS, PETER. 1994. *Dependent Nexus: Subordinate Predication Structures in English and the Scandinavian Languages*. Santa Cruz, CA: UCSC dissertation.

School of Languages and Literature (ISL)
Hus 2
University of Tromsø
9037 Tromsø, Norway
[sven@isl.uit.no]