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A Diachronic Study of Passives in English

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Shoko Honda

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Abstract

In languages, there are not only core constructions but also peripheral ones. Many linguists have proposed various approaches to the core constructions and brought us certain theoretical and empirical contributions, whereas peripheral passives have received little attention, especially from a historical perspective. This thesis explores the development of peripheral passives in the history of English and provides an account for it within the framework of generative grammar.

Chapter 2 clarifies the origin and development of the *get*-passive by conducting detailed surveys based on historical corpora, arguing that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective” and its development is accounted for in terms of the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb, in accordance with the principle of Late Merge proposed by Gelderen (2004). The proposed analysis can also provide new evidence that the generative grammar can be useful in accounting for diachronic as well as

synchronic changes. Empirically, this analysis can neatly explain the peculiar characteristics of the *get*-passive.

Chapter 3 focuses on the diachronic aspects of the recipient passive and gives a syntactic analysis of its appearance and development by using two kinds of ApplP proposed by Pylkkänen (2008) within the framework of generative grammar. The theoretical contributions of this analysis are that it can clarify the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive and that it can provide new evidence that the framework of generative grammar can be useful in accounting for diachronic changes. In addition, this analysis properly address the development of other constructions, the double object construction and the direct passive.

Chapter 4 clarifies the appearance and development of the pseudo-passive in the history of English and proposes a syntactic and semantic analysis by using syntactic reanalyses and a semantic or a pragmatic restriction. It is also demonstrated that this analysis can make explicit the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive. In addition, it is implied that this analysis may provide a theoretical support for the linguistic fact that most verbs included in the pseudo-passive are unergative verbs, not unaccusative ones.

Chapter 5 focuses on the indirect passive named by Emonds (2003), which has rarely been dealt with, synchronically and diachronically, and presents a syntactic analysis of its development in terms of degrammaticalization. It is also argued that some peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive can be accounted for in this analysis. In addition, our elaborate investigation by using historical corpora seems to present a firm empirical basement for further study.

Chapter 6 discusses the relativization of the peripheral passives addressed in this thesis under the unified system of English passives. As the first approximation, we attempt to construct the system of English passives between the core one (the *be*-passive) and peripheral

ones. Furthermore, it is also discussed how this system is related to the development of peripheral passives.

Finally, chapter 7 is the conclusion of this thesis and summarizes our arguments in the preceding chapters.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this thesis:

ACC	accusative case	intrans	intransitive
Adv(P)	adverb (phrase)	LF	logical form
A(P)	adjective (phrase)	LModE	Late Modern English
Appl(P)	applicative (phrase)	M	Mood
appl(P)	small applicative (phrase)	ME	Middle English
ApplE(P)	E-applicative (phrase)	ModE	Modern English
ApplI(P)	I-applicative (phrase)	NOM	nominative case
AR	alternative realization	N(P)	noun (phrase)
Asp(P)	aspect (phrase)	OBJ	object case
C(P)	complementizer (phrase)	OE	Old English
DAT	dative case	OED	Oxford English Dictionary
DO	direct object	PASS	passive
D(P)	determiner (phrase)	PE	Present-day English
D-structure	deep structure	PERF	perfect
EModE	Early Modern English	PF	phonological form
EPP	Extended Projection Principle	P(P)	preposition (phrase)
FOC	focus	<i>p</i> (P)	small preposition (phrase)
FV	final vowel	PRES	present
GB	government-binding	Pro	pronoun
GEN	genitive case	PROG	progressive
IO	indirect object	REC	recipient
I(P)	Inflectional (phrase)	refl	reflexive

RP	resultative (phrase)
SC	small clause
SG	singular
Spec	specifier
S-structure	surface structure
TH	theme
TOP	topic
trans	transitive
T(P)	tense (phrase)
V(P)	verb (phrase)
v(P)	small verb (phrase)
1	person; noun class markers (Chaga)

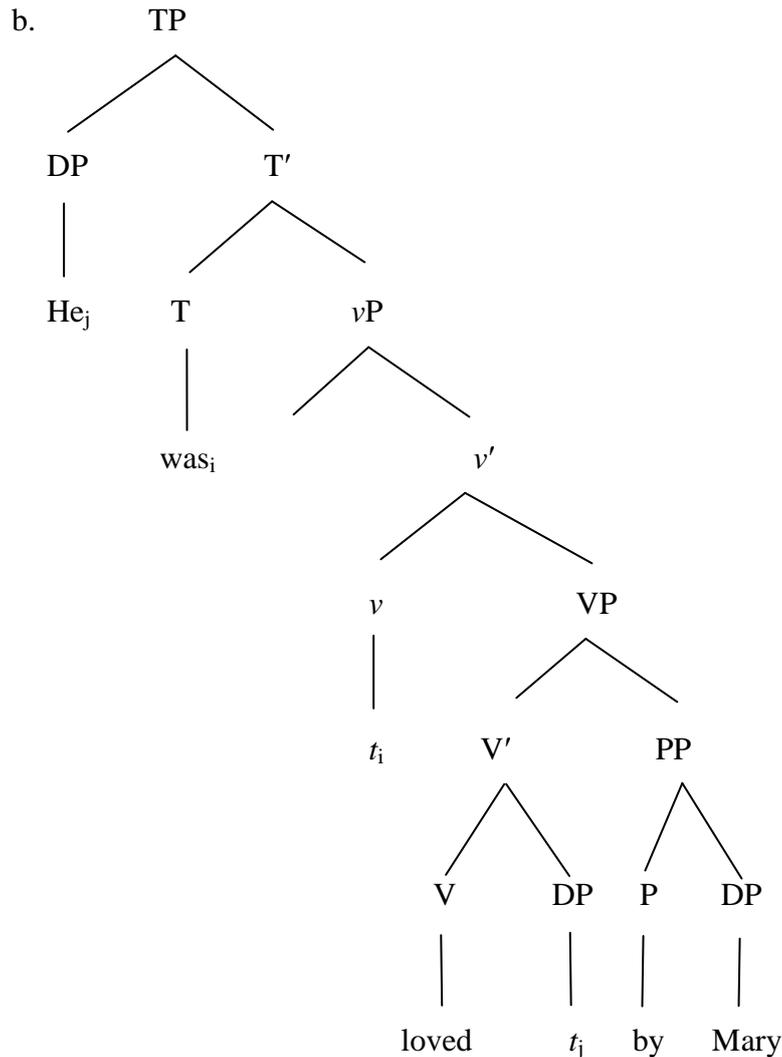
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The Aim of This Thesis

Passive sentences are observed cross-linguistically and many linguists have attempted to clarify the characteristics and structures since traditional grammar was introduced, and their works have brought us numerous noticeable contributions. In fact, there are many previous studies on the *be*-passive in PE, the most typical passive construction, and they have almost revealed its characteristics and syntactic structure.¹ (1a) is an example of the *be*-passive in PE and (1b) is its syntactic structure.

(1) a. He was loved by Mary.



In (1b), v does not have the ability to assign an accusative case, and therefore V cannot inherit this ability from it. The DP in the complement of V moves to Spec of T so as to receive a nominative case because it cannot receive any case in its base-generated position. As shown in (1), a suppressed subject (e.g. *Mary* in (1)) sometimes appears as a *by*-phrase. In this thesis, the *be*-passive is referred to as the core passive. The core passive can be observed universally and has received much attention by linguists.

However, they have not yet provided an explicit explanation for characteristics of all passive constructions. One of the obstacles for such explanation is the diversity of passive constructions between languages. For instance, in PE, there are various passive

constructions in addition to the above *be*-passive. These include the *get*-passive in (2), the recipient passive in (3), the pseudo-passive in (4), and the indirect passive in (5).

- (2) He got run over. (Hatcher (1949: 435))
- (3) Mary was given a book. (Aoun and Li (1989: 165))
- (4) John was talked about. (Hornstein and Weinberg (1981: 65))
- (5) The players had/heard many insults [shouted at them (by irate fans)].
(Emonds (2013: 59))

These passive constructions are referred to as peripheral passives and distinguished from the core passive. Passives like (2)-(5) can only be observed in some languages, in contrast to the core passive. There are a small number of studies which make explicit the characteristics and structures of these peripheral passives, compared with the large number of studies on the core-passive.

Not only in the passive, but also in other constructions, core ones have been more focused on than peripheral ones. We cannot doubt reasonably that many approaches focusing on core constructions have been successful and brought us certain theoretical and empirical contributions, and much less are inclined to do so. On the other hand, there is an indisputable linguistic fact that, in languages, there are not only core constructions but also peripheral ones. Therefore, it is also obvious that we will need to propose an explicit explanation to the peripheral constructions, as well as the core ones, in future so as to describe linguistic facts properly. We should begin turning our attention to peripheral constructions from now on. To the first approximation, this thesis attempts to explain representative peripheral passives in English with respect to generative grammar.

Turning now to the differences between the core passive and peripheral passives, there

are also some diachronic differences between them. The core passive was already observed in OE and has been used until PE, whereas some peripheral passives (the pseudo-passive, the recipient passive and the indirect passive) began to appear in ME (for the *get*-passive, in ModE), not OE. In other words, these peripheral passives seem to have developed recently. To capture the characteristics of the peripheral passives exactly, we need to focus on diachronic aspects. In fact, diachronic studies (Hopper and Traugott (2003), Roberts and Roussou (2003), Gelderen (2004), and so on) have revealed significant linguistic facts and provided many theoretical and empirical contributions to generative grammar. On the other hand, diachronic studies have not reached a consensus with respect to how some constructions have developed because the studies are based on very limited data. To solve this problem, in this thesis, we will conduct a comprehensive and statistical survey by using large-scaled historical corpora.

This thesis aims to explore the development of peripheral passives in the history of English and give an account for it within the framework of generative grammar.

1.2. The Organization of This Thesis

The body of this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 aims to clarify the origin and development of the *get*-passive, one of peripheral passives, by conducting a corpus-based research in the history of English. It has often been said that the approaches to the origin of the *get*-passive are classified broadly into two types: One assumes that the origin of the *get*-passive is the *get*-causative, while the other assumes that its origin is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective.” Both approaches are problematic since they are based on very limited data. To solve their problems, this thesis explores the origin and development of the *get*-passive by conducting detailed surveys based on historical corpora and proposing a syntactic analysis within the framework of generative grammar. The results of the survey

show that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective” as suggested by Fleisher (2006), and newly subclassified *get*-passives, “*get*-passives with ambiguous passive participles,” were the initial locus of the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb. On the basis of these results, we give an account for the origin and development of the *get*-passive in terms of the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb, in accordance with the principle of Late Merge proposed by Gelderen (2004). The consequences are that it can clarify the origin and development of the *get*-passive by assuming the grammaticalization of *get* and that it can provide new evidence that the framework of generative grammar can be useful in accounting for diachronic as well as synchronic changes. The empirical contribution is that the peculiar characteristics of the *get*-passive can be neatly explained in the proposed analysis.

Chapter 3 attempts to clarify the appearance and development of the recipient passive, another kind of peripheral passives. With regard to the recipient passive, many linguists have done their synchronic and diachronic research and, especially in describing empirical facts, they have been successful. However, in terms of their theoretical explanation, there seem to remain many tasks to be handled. This thesis especially focuses on the diachronic aspects of the recipient passive and gives an account for its appearance and development within the framework of generative grammar. Reviewing several synchronic and diachronic previous studies, we point out problems with them. We provide a syntactic analysis by using two kinds of ApplP proposed by Pykkänen (2008). The theoretical contributions of this analysis are that it can clarify the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive in terms of generative grammar and that it can provide new evidence that the framework of generative grammar can be useful in accounting for diachronic changes.

Chapter 4 aims to clarify the appearance and development of the pseudo-passive in the history of English. The pseudo-passive is a peripheral passive in that a DP in the

complement of PP, not VP, becomes the subject of the passive. Its unique characteristics attract many linguists' attention, and their studies on the characteristics bring us a number of insights. However, so far, neither have they given a plausible account for the differences between “*The report was looked into by Barack Obama/by him.*” and “*The bed was slept in by Napoleon/??by him.*” nor clarified the exact path of the development of both passives. This thesis proposes a syntactic and semantic analysis. We observe that the present analysis can clarify the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive, as in the *get*-passive and the recipient passive.

Chapter 5 focuses on the indirect passive named by Emonds (2003) and presents a syntactic analysis of its development in terms of degrammaticalization. Although there are a number of studies on the indirect passive in other languages (such as Japanese, Chinese and so on), for the English indirect passive, few linguists except Emonds deal with it. Even Emonds only sheds light on the synchronic aspects of the indirect passive and does not refer to the development of the indirect passive through the history of English at all. Historical data related to the indirect passive are only provided as part of the results of Visser's (1963-1973) exhaustive observation, as far as I know. However, a significant fact can be observed there. The fact is that there were indirect passives such as (6), which cannot be allowed in PE.

- (6) a. Moni man þurh his strengðe and hardschipe ek makes him lued and
 Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
 zerned
 desired
 “Many men through his strength and hardship etc. have him believed and
 desired.” (c1225 Wooing of Our Lord (in O. E. Hom. i, ii, ed. Morris) 271)

- b. You should have shown yourself a respectable man, and have let him been sent to prison. (1846 Douglas Jerrold, Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures, Lecture IV)

(Visser (1963-1973: 2385 (§ 2115)))

This seems to imply the possibility that the development of the indirect passive has undergone some syntactic change. Then, a plausible possibility is that, as in the *get*-passive, the peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive may be naturally derived from its development. This thesis, as the first approximation, attempts to pursue this possibility.

Chapter 6 discusses the relativization of the peripheral passives addressed here under the unified system of English passives. In fact, there is an indisputable linguistic fact that, in individual languages, there are not only core constructions but also peripheral ones. Therefore, it is also obvious that we will need to propose an explicit explanation to the peripheral constructions, as well as the core ones, in future so as to describe linguistic facts properly. Moreover, we will have to somehow capture the insights derived from the analysis that distinguishes both the core and the peripheral constructions, in order to account for their learnability within a relatively short period, Plato's problem referred to by Chomsky.² Some linguists begin to focus on this issue, but, except particular constructions such as the English resultative, few ones have been addressed on this topic. Especially, we will pursue this issue in passive constructions. As the first approximation, we attempt to construct the system of English passives between the core one (the *be*-passive) and peripheral ones discussed in this thesis.

Finally, chapter 7 is the conclusion of this thesis and summarizes our arguments in the preceding chapters.

Notes to Chapter 1

1 Here are the historical periods of English standardly assumed: Old English (OE: 450-1100), Middle English (ME: 1100-1500), Modern English (ModE: 1500-1900) (Early Modern English (EModE: 1500-1700), Late Modern English (LModE: 1700-1900), and Present-day English (PE: 1900-).

2 As for Plato's problem, see also Chomsky (1986b, 1988).

Chapter 2

The Origin and Development of the Get-Passive in the History of English

2.1. The General Definition and Peculiar Characteristics of the *Get*-Passive

Passives like (1) are referred to as the *get*-passive, where *get* is used instead of *be*.

- (1) He got run over. (Hatcher (1949: 435))

The *get*-passive shows many peculiar characteristics which the *be*-passive does not. The most well-known one is that, in the *get*-passive, the referent of its subject is often responsible for the event denoted by the whole predicate, as exemplified in (2a).

- (2) a. He got shot by the riot police.
b. He was shot by the riot police. (Toyota (2008: 156))

Both sentences mean that the riot police shot someone, but (2a) has the most normal interpretation that he bore some responsibility for the shooting, whereas (2b) has the possible reading that the riot police deliberately took a shot at him. This difference can be made more explicit by the following sentences with the agent-oriented adverbial *on purpose*.

- (3) a. Mary got shot on purpose.
b. Mary was shot on purpose. (Lakoff (1971: 156))

It modifies the surface subject in the *get*-passive, but the implicit agent in the *be*-passive: The referent of the subject in the *get*-passive is agentive and hence takes on the responsibility for the event expressed by the whole predicate.

In addition to the characteristic shown in (2) and (3), there are other properties in the *get*-passive which the *be*-passive does not possess. They are illustrated in the following examples.

- (4) a. Negation, i.e., *He was not caught*, but **He got not caught*.
- b. Interrogative, i.e., *Was he caught?*, but **Got he caught?*
- c. Stranding by deletion of the verb, i.e., *He was caught and so was his friend*, but **He got caught, so got his friend*.
- d. Position of adverbs, i.e., *He was never caught*, but **He got never caught*.
- e. Position of a quantifier, i.e., *The boys were all caught*, but **The boys got all caught*.
(cf. Toyota (2008: 151))

As shown in (4), *get* behaves as a lexical verb in the relevant respects unlike *be*.¹

These unique behaviors of the *get*-passive have drawn many linguist' attention and brought many previous works.² Later, we will overview some syntactic approaches to the *get*-passive.

The purpose of chapter 2 is to clarify the development of the *get*-passive, which has peculiar properties like (2)-(4). Our approach is based on the framework of generative grammar.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 2.2 overviews some syntactic previous approaches to the *get*-passive and explores what the syntactic structure of the *get*-passive is. Section 2.3 refers to the possibility of subclassification of the *get*-passive.

Section 2.4 discusses the relation between the characteristics of the *get*-passive and its development, and overviews its representative diachronic studies. Section 2.5 investigates the diachronic linguistic data by using large-scaled historical corpora, *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (henceforth, PPCEME) and *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (henceforth, CLMET), and reveals the exact path of the development of the *get*-passive. Section 2.6 provides a syntactic analysis of the *get*-passive in terms of the grammaticalization of *get*, in accordance with the principle of Late Merge. Section 2.7 is the conclusion of this chapter.

2.2. The Syntactic Structure of the *Get*-Passive

One of points which linguists have most often discussed in the *get*-passive is on its syntactic structure. Despite its discussion over many decades, they have reached no consensus yet. The following overviews representative studies on the syntactic structure of the *get*-passive. Especially, we focus on the syntactic status of *get* and passive participles.

2.2.1. The Syntactic Status of *Get*

As for the syntactic status of *get*, previous studies are classified broadly into two types: One is those that analyze *get* as an auxiliary verb, while the other is those that analyze it as a lexical verb. The following subsections overview representative studies of each type.

2.2.1.1. *Get* is an Auxiliary Verb

Quirk et al. (1972) initially assume that *get*-passives are simple structural variants of *be*-passives based on the parallelism observed in (5) and (6), which are cited from Reed's (2011) reference to Quirk et al. (1972).

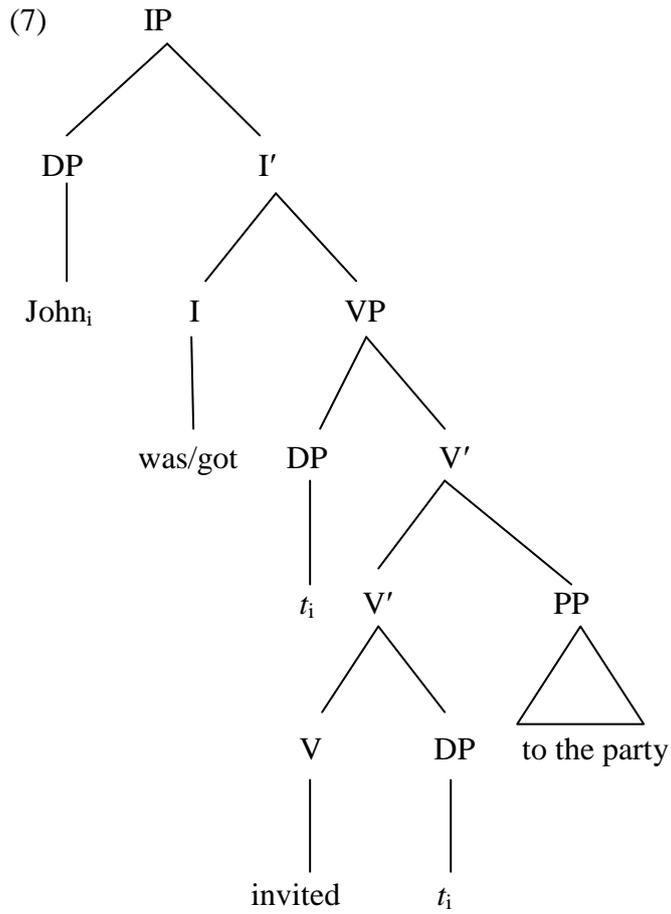
- (5) a. If we stay out in this field, we're sure to get struck by lightning.
b. They got arrested by the police last night.
c. Poor John got run over by a truck while crossing the road yesterday.

(Reed (2011: 42))

- (6) a. If we stay out in this field, we're sure to be struck by lightning.
b. They were arrested by the police last night.
c. Poor John was run over by a truck while crossing the road yesterday.

(Reed (2011: 43))

They are replaceable with each other, on the basis of which Quirk et al. propose that *get* is an auxiliary verb like *be*. (7) is the syntactic structure of the *get*-passive expected by Reed (2011), along the lines of Quirk et al. (1972).



In (7), *get/be* is base-generated in the head I of IP and functions as an auxiliary verb.

However, by considering (4) in section 2.1, which is repeated here in (8), their argument on the status of *get* is easily falsified.

- (8) a. Negation, i.e., *He was not caught*, but **He got not caught*.
 b. Interrogative, i.e., *Was he caught?*, but **Got he caught?*
 c. Stranding by deletion of the verb, i.e., *He was caught and so was his friend*, but **He got caught, so got his friend*.
 d. Position of adverbs, i.e., *He was never caught*, but **He got never caught*.
 e. Position of a quantifier, i.e., *The boys were all caught*, but **The boys got all caught*.
- (cf. Toyota (2008: 151))

Based on the linguistic facts shown in (8), we argue that the *get*-passive does not have a syntactic structure similar to that of the *be*-passive.

2.2.1.2. *Get* is a Lexical Verb

Haegeman (1985) provides clear counter-evidence shown in (9) to Quirk et al. (1972) and suggests that *get* is a lexical verb, not an auxiliary verb.

(9) Negative Contraction

- a. He wasn't killed.
- b. He hasn't left the house.
- c. *He gotn't killed. (cf. Haegeman (1985: 54))

(10) Subject-Aux Inversion

- a. Was he killed?
- b. Has he left the house?
- c. *Got he killed? (cf. Haegeman (1985: 55))

(11) VP-Deletion

- a. John was killed in an accident and Bill was too.
- b. John has left the house and Mary has too.
- c. *John got killed in an accident and Bill got too. (cf. Haegeman (1985: 55))

In these examples, we can observe clear difference in grammaticality between the *be*-passive and the *get*-passive. Therefore, *get* does not seem to be an auxiliary verb.

Moreover, Haegeman argues that *get* should be treated as a raising verb such as *seem*. Unfortunately, Haegeman does not show concrete examples which support her argument. Such examples are provided by Reed (2011: 44) as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) a. (After we left the faucet on for an hour) there (finally) got/seemed to be enough water to take a bath.

b. There (finally) got/seems to be a lot of room in this house.

(cf. Reed (2011: 44))

(13) a. *She seemn't tired. (cf. *She gotn't killed.)

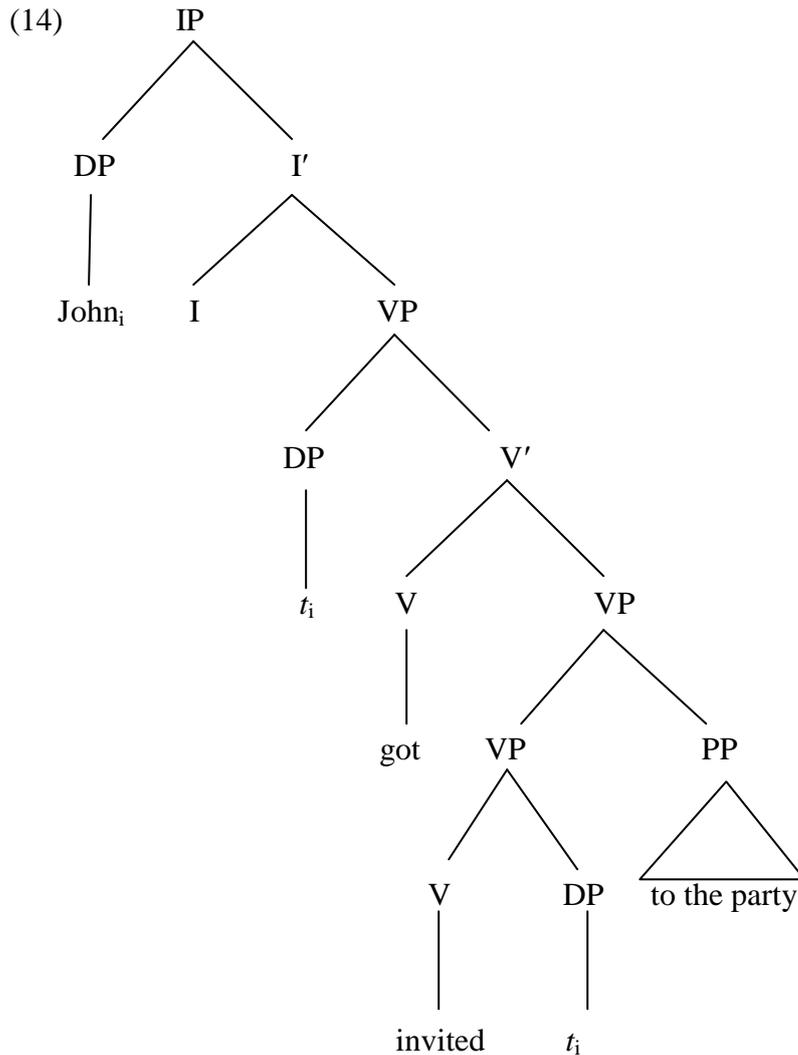
b. *Seemed she tired? (cf. *Got she killed?)

c. *She seems tired and he seems too.

(cf. *She got killed in that accident and her husband got too.)

(cf. Reed (2011: 44))

Moreover, Reed, along the lines of Haegeman (1985), expects the following structure of the *get*-passive.



(cf. Reed (2011: 45))

However, if we adopt the structure in (14), there remains a serious problem. The problem is that only it cannot provide an explanation for both *get*-passives with adjectival passive participles such as (15) and ones with “ambiguous” passive participles such as (16).

(15) He got drunk at the bar.

(16) He got involved a big project.

“An implicit agent made him involved a big project./He was just involved a big project without referring to an implicit agent.”

For these examples, Haegeman does not provide any explanation. A similar problem also applies to Quirk et al. (1972) summarized in section 2.2.1.1. We will discuss this in detail in the next subsection.

Although both Quirk et al. (1972) and Haegeman (1985) have the above-mentioned problem, from other empirical facts of the *get*-passive in PE, as shown in (9)-(11), Haegeman's (1985) structure in (14) seems to be more plausible than Quirk et al.'s (1972) in (7).

So far, we have focused on the syntactic structures of the *get*-passive proposed by some previous studies, in terms of the characteristics of *get*. The next subsection will discuss the syntactic status of passive participles as the complement of *get*.

2.2.2. The Syntactic Status of Passive Participles as the Complement of *Get*

As for the syntactic status of passive participles in the *get*-passive, as shown in the subsection above, previous studies are also classified broadly into two types: One regards the complement of *get* as verbal passive participle, while the other regards it as adjectival passive participle. The following subsections overview representative studies of these two groups.

2.2.2.1. Passive Participles in the *Get*-Passive are Verbal

As already shown above, both Quirk et al. (1972) and Haegeman (1985) assume that, in the *get*-passive, the complement of *get* is verbal passive participle.

(17) [IP John_i was/got [VP *t*_i invited *t*_i to the party]]

(18) [IP John_i [VP *t*_i got [VP invited *t*_i to the party]]

An immediate question here is how we guarantee the existence of adjectival

get-passives and ambiguous *get*-passives. Especially, as revealed below, in EModE, when the *get*-passive began to appear, its passive participle was adjectival, not verbal. Adopting Quirk et al. or Haegeman, we could not account for adjectival and ambiguous *get*-passives as it stands.

2.2.2.2. Passive Participles in the *Get*-Passive are Adjectival

Alexiadou (2005: 17) argues that, unlike Quirk et al. (1972) and Haegeman (1985), the *get*-passive is a construction with adjectival passive participles. As evidence for this view, she presents the examples in (19)-(21), explaining as follows.

- (19) a. The salesman sold the customer a car.
b. The recently sold car
c. *The recently sold customer (Alexiadou (2005: 16))
- (20) a. The car was sold to the customer.
b. The customer was sold a car. (Alexiadou (2005: 16))
- (21) a. The car got sold to the customer. (Siewierska (1984:132))
b. ??The customer got sold a car. (Alexiadou (2005: 16))

(19) shows that adjectival passive participles do not allow goal externalization, whereas, in (20), verbal passive participles allow externalization of both arguments. Since *get*-passives such as (21) behave similarly to (19), she suggests that the *get*-passive is a construction with adjectival passive participles.

The following is the structure of the *get*-passive proposed by her. RP is an abbreviation for resultative phrase and characterized as a kind of adjectival phrase. (22a) is an example of adjectival *get*-passives and (22b) is its syntactic structure.

(22) a. He got pushed.

b. John_i got [_{RP} t_i pushed].

(Alexiadou (2005:20))

Her analysis is noticeable in that she points out the existence of *get*-passives with adjectival passive participles and focuses on them. However, she cannot explain the fact that there are examples, such as *get run over* and *get cut*, only interpreted as verbal *get*-passives. Then, there seems to remain a problem: How do we provide an explanation for the ambiguity of ambiguous *get*-passives, such as *get married*?

2.3. The Possibility of Subclassification of the *Get*-Passive

We have overviewed representative previous studies on the syntactic structure of the *get*-passive through sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. It was revealed there that it is difficult to give a single syntactic structure to the *get*-passive including many peculiarities. To properly describe empirical linguistic facts of the *get*-passive, we should resort to subclassification of the *get*-passive and provide different syntactic structures for subclassified *get*-passives. In section 2.3.1, we subclassify the *get*-passive into three types: the adjectival, verbal, and “ambiguous” one (“*get* + ambiguous passive participle”), which we propose and regard as a medium between the first two. In fact, as we will see below, the ambiguous *get*-passive played an important role in the grammaticalization of *get*, as well as the reanalysis of adjectival passive participles as verbal passive participles. In other words, by assuming the ambiguous *get*-passive, we can show the exact path of the development of the *get*-passive.

2.3.1. The Definition of the *Get*-Passive in Our Analysis

We subclassify the *get*-passive into three types and define them as follows:³

- (23) a. the adjectival *get*-passive: “*get* + adjectival passive participle”
 e.g. I got drunk and haven't the faintest recollection of what I did.
- b. the verbal *get*-passive: “*get* + verbal passive participle”
 e.g. It's in the nature of things that if you do something bad, you get punished.
- c. the ambiguous *get*-passive: “*get* + ambiguous passive participle”
 e.g. John got involved in the project very quickly.
 “An implicit agent made John involved in the project/John simply became involved in the project without reference to an implicit agent.”

(23a) and (23b) have already been referred to in sections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2, respectively, whereas (23c) has not been discussed so far.⁴ By subclassifying the *get*-passive into the three types of (23), we can properly address more linguistic facts of the *get*-passive. Moreover, we also clarify the exact path of the development of the *get*-passive as we will see below.

2.3.2. The Classification of *Get*

An immediate question here is whether *get* in the three types of (23) has the same syntactic property or not. The answer is that we should make a distinction between *get* of the adjectival passive and that of the verbal passive. *Get* in the former is a lexical verb and has inchoative meaning. It can also take predicative adjectives including adjectival passive participles, as illustrated in (24).

- (24) He got well again.

We will call it “inchoative *get*” as below. Hence, (23a) should be modified as follows.

- (25) the adjectival *get*-passive: “inchoative *get* + adjectival passive participle”
e.g. I got drunk and haven’t the faintest recollection of what I did.

Get of the verbal *get*-passive is a light verb (or an auxiliary verb in Quirk et al. (1972)) and does not have any lexical meaning. It is distinct from inchoative *get* in that it only takes eventive complements. We will call it “passive *get*” as below. Thus, (23b) should be modified as follows.

- (26) the verbal *get*-passive: “passive *get* + verbal passive participle”
e.g. It’s in the nature of things that if you do something bad, you get punished.

In the following section, we will deal with passive participles of the *get*-passive with special attention to “ambiguous passive participles.”

2.3.3. The Classification of Passive Participles

Returning now to (23c) in section 2.3.1, which is repeated here in (27), we need to make explicit what “ambiguous passive participle” is.

- (27) the ambiguous *get*-passive: “*get* + ambiguous passive participle”
e.g. John got involved in the project very quickly.
“An implicit agent made John involved in the project/John simply became involved in the project without reference to an implicit agent.”

As illustrated in (27), sentences including ambiguous passive participles have two readings: One is the reading in which an implicit agent made John involved in the project, while the

other is the reading in which John simply became involved in the project without reference to an implicit agent. Only in the former reading can we say that the sentence involves passive *get* taking a verbal passive participle, while the latter reading instantiates inchoative *get* taking an adjectival passive participle. The categorial status of the passive participle included in (27) is ambiguous between verb and adjective. Therefore, it is referred to as the ambiguous passive.

We will observe below that the ambiguous *get*-passive played an important role in the grammaticalization of *get*, as well as the reanalysis of adjectival passive participles as verbal passive participles.

2.4. The Relation between the Characteristics of the *Get*-Passive and Its Development

Several linguists have argued that peculiarities of the *get*-passive follow from its origin and development, which are different from those of the *be*-passive. Their analyses are classified broadly into two types: One is that the origin of the *get*-passive is the *get*-causative, while the other is that its origin is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective.” The following subsections overview representative studies on the origin and development of the *get*-passive.

2.4.1. Previous Studies on the Origin and Development of the *Get*-Passive

2.4.1.1. Toyota (2008)

Along the lines of Givón and Yang (1994), Toyota (2008) argues that the origin of the *get*-passive is the form “causative *get* + *oneself* + passive participle.” He assumes that there are three stages in the development of the *get*-passive, as shown in (28).⁵

(28) Stage IV: I cannot get such sum confiscated. (from 1500 onwards)

causative[get causee[such sum] goal[confiscated]]

Stage V: I got myself disliked.

causative[get causee[myself] goal[disliked]]

Stage VI: I got involved with the girl.

passive[get goal[involved with the girl]]

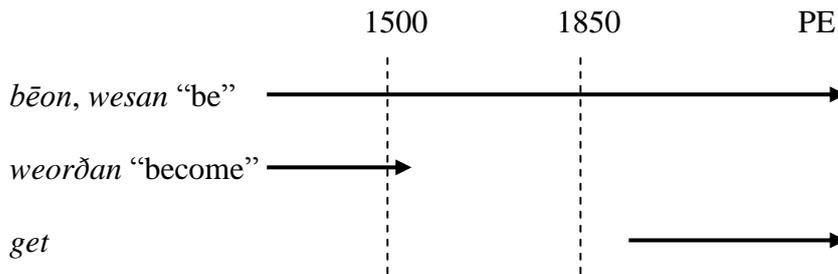
He indicates that passive participles started to appear in the *get*-causative and gained in frequency around 1500-1600, in Stage IV. In Stage V, the direct object was sometimes realized as a reflexive pronoun in *-self*, and the subject was still in control of the action denoted by the passive participle or was at least responsible for it. However, the subject's control became weakened, so that it was only responsible for the action denoted by the passive participle, and *oneself* began to be omitted, yielding the *get*-passive in Stage VI. Therefore, he argues that "causative *get* + *oneself* + passive participle" is the origin of the *get*-passive, and it has affected the subject's responsibility in the *get*-passive (see (2) and (3)). He also indicates that *get* is the locus of the syntactic change and undergoes grammaticalization.

Toyota's (2008) analysis seems to have five major problems. First, he does not discuss what caused the changes in (28), and therefore (28) only describes the development of the *get*-passive. Second, it is difficult to judge whether (28) is valid even as a descriptive statement, because he does not specify the periods of Stage V and VI, which are significant for the development of the *get*-passive. Third, he does not suggest the syntactic structure of the *get*-passive clearly, especially what the syntactic status of *get* is. Fourth, it is not discussed what phenomenon the grammaticalization is and how *get* changed its syntactic status. Fifth, he does not pay attention to the categorial status of passive participles, so he

fails to reveal the exact path of the development of the *get*-passive.

In addition, Toyota also discusses the development of passive auxiliaries in English, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Passive Auxiliaries in English



(cf. Toyota (2008: 152))

According to Figure 1, there are about three hundred years between the loss of *weorðan* "become" and the appearance of *get*. Therefore, Toyota (2008: 155) argues that it seems to be unlikely that the *weorðan*-passive is the direct origin of the *get*-passive.

2.4.1.2. Fleisher (2006)

Fleisher (2006) argues that the origin of the *get*-passive is the form "inchoative *get* + predicative adjective." He assumes that the process in the development of the *get*-passive from "inchoative *get* + predicative adjective" includes at least two stages. In Stage I, prior to 1760, passive participles occurring as complements to *get* were restricted almost entirely to those that could be interpreted as adjectives. Around 1760, this restriction was dropped, and verbal passive participles began to appear as complements to *get* in Stage II.

Then, Fleisher proposes that the change from inchoative *get* to passive *get* involves two types of reanalysis: morphosyntactic reanalysis and event-structural reanalysis, as shown in (29) and (30), respectively.

(29) Morphosyntactic Reanalysis

a. Stage I (prior to 1760)

Inchoative *get* He_i got [_{AP} t_i [_{A'} acquainted with them]]

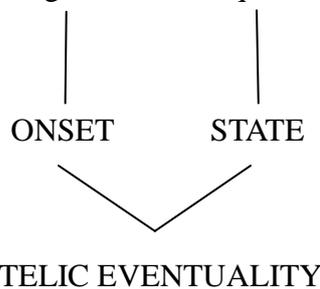
b. Stage II (after 1760)

Passive *get* He_i got [_{VP} acquainted t_i with them]

(30) Event-Structural Reanalysis

a. Stage I (prior to 1760)

Inchoative *get* He_i got [_{AP} t_i [_{A'} acquainted with them]]



b. Stage II (after 1760)

Passive *get* He_i got [_{VP} acquainted t_i with them]



As for the morphosyntactic reanalysis in (29), in Stage I, inchoative *get* is a raising verb taking an AP complement and the external argument of the adjectival passive participle raises to the matrix subject position. On the other hand, in Stage II, the complement to *get* is reanalyzed as VP and the internal argument of the verbal passive participle raises to the matrix subject position. Turning to the event-structural reanalysis in (30), the onset and the state comprising the telic eventuality are denoted by inchoative *get* and the adjectival passive

participle, respectively, in Stage I, whereas both of these event-structural elements are denoted by the verbal passive participle after the change from inchoative *get* to passive *get* in Stage II. Note that the former reanalysis counts on the syntactic ambiguity on the status of passive participles, while the latter reanalysis counts on the semantic ambiguity on the loci of ONSET and STATE.

One of the remarkable features in Fleisher's (2006) analysis is that it makes a distinction between adjectival and verbal passive participles, on the basis of which he argues that the origin of the *get*-passive is "inchoative *get* + predicative adjective." As we will see below, our analysis partly agrees with his analysis, but there are at least three problems with it. First, he does not make explicit when *get*-passives with adjectival passive participles appeared in their development from "inchoative *get* + predicative adjective." Second, he gives no motivation for the morphosyntactic reanalysis and event-structural reanalysis involved in the development of the *get*-passive. That is, he only assumes that two types of reanalysis depend on the syntactic and semantic ambiguity as mentioned above; he does not discuss why the latter forced the change from inchoative *get* to passive *get*. Third, he does not discuss why *get* undergoing no syntactic change (see (29) and (30)) has been forced to take a VP as well as AP complement since 1760.

2.4.1.3. Hundt (2001)

On the basis of a detailed survey using corpus data, Hundt (2001) assumes that the origin of the *get*-passive is the causative passive ("causative *get* + object + passive participle"), arguing for the grammaticalization.⁶ According to her survey, the causative passive decreased sharply between 1800 and 1859, when the frequency of the *get*-passive gradually increased, which leads her to assume that the grammaticalization of causative *get* is involved in the development of the *get*-passive from the causative passive.

Hundt's (2001) analysis is similar to our analysis provided in the following sections, in that it is a corpus-based study focusing on the grammaticalization of *get*, but there are at least three problems with it. First, she provides no motivation for the grammaticalization of *get*; she only points out that two phenomena above occurred at the almost same time, which gives no theoretical reason for relating each other. Second, she does not discuss how the grammaticalization of *get* proceeded with the relevant structural change(s) from the causative passive to the *get*-passive. Third, she does not distinguish between adjectival and verbal participles, so she fails to clarify the exact path of the development of the *get*-passive.

2.4.2. Remaining Questions

We have summarized some previous studies and pointed out the problems with them. The discussion has revealed that there still remained two unsolved questions on the development of the *get*-passive. First, which is the origin of the *get*-passive, the *get*-causative or “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective?” With regard to this, at least Toyota (2008) and Fleisher (2006) develop contradictory arguments and provide different structures of the *get*-passive. One cause of this contradiction may be that they have discussed the issue on the basis of very limited data. To solve this problem, we should investigate ample data from the large-scaled historical corpora minutely. In section 2.5, we conduct some corpus-based surveys, partly concurring with Fleisher's analysis. Second, where is the locus of syntactic change(s) of the *get*-passive, *get* or passive participle? Toyota (2008) and Hundt (2001) assume that the locus is *get* in terms of grammaticalization, whereas Fleisher (2006) supposes that it is passive participle. From the perspective of generative grammar, it is reasonable to assume that the former is on the right track because a head can have an influence on its complement, but not vice versa. Therefore, we agree that the locus of syntactic change(s) of the *get*-passive is *get*, as Toyota (2008) and Hundt (2001) propose.

2.5. Data from Historical Corpora

The previous section reviewed the analyses of the origin and development of the *get*-passive proposed by Toyota (2008), Fleisher (2006), and Hundt (2001), pointing out empirical as well as conceptual problems with them. In order to solve these empirical problems, it is necessary to clarify the whole path of the development of the *get*-passive, paying attention to the distinction between adjectival and verbal passive participles. In addition, the three authors argue for the different origins of the *get*-passive, so it must be determined which of the three is the most likely candidate for its origin, “causative *get* + *oneself* + (verbal) passive participle,” “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” or “causative *get* + object + (verbal) passive participle.”

Therefore, this section investigates the origin and development of the *get*-passive based on the data from PPCEME and CLMET.⁷ It focuses on the categorial status of passive participles as complements to *get*, as well as the frequency of the *get*-passive and related constructions.

2.5.1. The Category of Passive Participles in the *Get*-Passive

As is obvious from the review of Fleisher (2006) in section 2.4.1.2, the categorial status of passive participles is ambiguous between verb and adjective in the *get*-passive, and the distinction is closely related to its interpretation. In fact, there are examples of the “ambiguous” *get*-passive mainly discussed in section 2.3.3. One of them is illustrated in (31).

(31) Mary got excited.

The sentence in (31) has two possible readings: One is the reading in which an implicit agent

made Mary excited, while the other is the reading in which Mary simply became excited without reference to an implicit agent. In the former reading, we can say that the sentence involves passive *get* taking a verbal passive participle, while the latter reading instantiates inchoative *get* taking an adjectival passive participle. Despite of the existence of ambiguous *get*-passives like (31), Fleisher, as in Toyota (2008) and Hundt (2001), does not refer to their existence at all nor how it is related to the development of the *get*-passive. Adopting our analysis below, we can assume their existence as the initial locus of the grammaticalization of *get* and make an explanation to how. We will discuss it in detail in section 2.6.

On the other hand, we have an important question to be solved before the discussion. This question is to determine which is the origin of the *get*-passive, the *get*-causative or “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective.” In order to solve it, we need to show which of the following hypotheses is on the right track.

- (32) a. If the origin of the *get*-passive is “causative *get* + *oneself* (or object) + verbal passive participle,” then verbal passive participles should be the first to appear in the *get*-passive.
- b. If the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” then adjectival passive participles should be the first to appear in the *get*-passive.

Our first task is to investigate the nature of passive participles in the data of *get*-passives collected from PPCEME and CLMET, in order to establish when *get*-passives with adjectival/verbal passive participles appeared in the history of English. In determining the categorial status of passive participles, one of Wasow’s (1977) tests is adopted: Only adjectival passive participles can appear as complements to certain copular verbs, including *act*, *become*, *look*, *remain*, *seem*, and *sound*, as illustrated in (33).

- (33) a. John remained { *elated* / *faithful* to anarchism during the year's repression }.
- b. John seemed { *annoyed* at us / *vague* about his future plans }.
- c. John sounded { *convinced* to run / *defensive* }. (cf. Wasow (1977: 339))

I have checked whether instances of passive participles found in the data of *get*-passives in PPCEME and CLMET are also attested as complements to these copular verbs in the same corpora. If so, they are regarded as adjectival passive participles or ambiguous passive participles which can be either adjectival or verbal like *excited* in (31). In addition, I have also checked whether passive participles found in the data of *get*-passives in PPCEME and CLMET are listed as adjective and/or verb in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). If a passive participle is listed only as verb, then it is assumed to be a verbal passive participle; similarly, the one listed only as adjective is classified as an adjectival passive participle. Furthermore, if a passive participle is listed as both adjective and verb and both usages are dated before the relevant example in PPCEME and CLMET, it is assumed to be an ambiguous passive participle. On the other hand, if either of the two usages, say the verbal usage, is dated after the relevant example in PPCEME and CLMET, then it is regarded as an adjectival passive participle, because the verbal usage had not yet been established by the time it was attested. As a result, I have obtained the following classification of passive participles in the data of *get*-passives found in PPCEME and CLMET.

- (34) Adjectival passive participles
rid of, drunk, dressed, advanced, entangled, tired (of), interested, born

Verbal passive participles

introduced, delivered, paid, abolished, squeezed, decreed, punished, done, promoted, uttered, gathered, settled, cut, drowned, called (up), floored, carried, packed, divorced, taken, smashed, mixed up, left, saved, converted

Ambiguous passive participles

acquainted (with), married, engaged, seated, fixed, excited, melted, frightened, accustomed, involved, confused, caught, upset, lost

With this in mind, let us now turn to the frequency data of the *get*-passive in PPCEME and CLMET. First, Tables 1 and 2 show the overall frequency of the *get*-passive, followed by some examples from each period.

Table 1 Frequency of the *Get*-Passive in PPCEME (per 1,000,000 words)

E1	E2	E3
0	0	10.62

Table 2 Frequency of the *Get*-Passive in CLMET (per 1,000,000 words)

L1	L2	L3
25.35	65.22	139.19

(35) (...) for when this Fellow of mine gets drunk, he minds nothing.

(FAROUHAR-E3-H, 8.283)

(36) (...) and then they go together to the church, where they give good advice to young nymphs and swains to get married as fast as you can.

(goldsmith 1766 the vicarof wakefield.txt: L1)

(37) Because, when men get excited, they know not what they do.

(gaskell 1848 mary barton.txt: L2)

(38) She got saved, and our lasses prayed for him to get work.

(booth 1890 in darkness england and the way out.txt: L3)

Next, Tables 3 and 4 show the frequency of each type of passive participle after E3, when the *get*-passive became first attested. Figure 2 is a graph of Table 4, showing the frequency in LModE after verbal passive participles appeared in the *get*-passive.

Table 3 Frequency of the Three Types of Passive Participles in the *Get*-Passive

in PPCEME

(per 1,000,000 words)

	E3
Adjectival passive participles	10.62
Verbal passive participles	0
Ambiguous passive participles	0

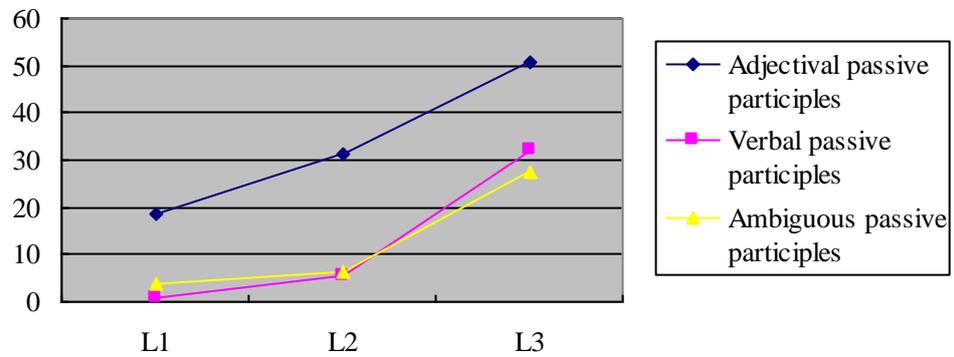
Table 4 Frequency of the Three Types of Passive Participles in the *Get*-Passive

in CLMET

(per 1,000,000 words)

	L1	L2	L3
Adjectival passive participles	18.76	31.21	50.67
Verbal passive participles	0.66	5.61	31.91
Ambiguous passive participles	3.62	6.31	27.28

Figure 2 Frequency of the Three Types of Passive Participles in the *Get*-Passive in CLMET



The (a) examples in (39)-(41) illustrate the earliest occurrence with each type of passive participle.

(39) adjectival passive participle

a. (...) because he intended nothing by them but to *get rid of* importunity, and to silence all further pressing upon him. (BURNETCHA-E3-H, 1.1, 166.9: E3)

b. (...) for when this Fellow of mine *gets drunk*, he minds nothing.

(FAROUHAR-E3-H, 8.283)

(40) ambiguous passive participle⁸

a. I would have you endeavor to *get acquainted with* Monsieur de Maupertuis, (...).

(chesterfield 1746-71 letters to his son.txt: L1)

b. Poor Lady A.F.- has not *got married*.

(byron 1810-13 letter 1810-1813.txt: L2)

(41) verbal passive participle

a. (...) you should *get introduced*.

(chesterfield 1746-71 letters to his son.txt: L1)

b. (...) Many people with worse stories *get called on*,” (...)

(galsworthy 1904 the island pharisees.txt: L3)

It is observed from these results that adjectival passive participles were the first to appear in the *get*-passive; (39a) is from the text which belongs to E3, written between 1683 and 1713. This implies that it is unlikely that the origin of the *get*-passive is the *get*-causative as Toyota (2008) and Hundt (2001) claim, because causative *get* typically takes verbal passive participles as its complement. Instead, the hypothesis suggested by Fleisher (2006) will be supported that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective”: The *get*-passive would have been derived by inserting adjectival passive participles as complements to inchoative *get* taking predicative adjectives.

Moreover, the investigation in this section, which distinguishes the three types of passive participles as in (34), has clarified the exact path of the development of the *get*-passive, overcoming the problem with all the previous studies pointed out in section 2.4. As just mentioned, *get*-passives first appeared with adjectival passive participles in E3 (between 1683 and 1713, to be more precise). Then, those with ambiguous passive participles began to be attested in L1; (40a) is from the text written between 1746 and 1771. The same text contains the earliest example of *get*-passives with verbal passive participles in (41a). This will indicate that “inchoative *get* + adjectival passive participle” was reanalyzed as “passive *get* + verbal passive participle” in this period, the precise mechanism of which will be discussed in section 2.6, paying attention to the role of ambiguous passive participles.

2.5.2. The Frequency of the *Get*-Passive and Related Constructions

As we saw in the previous section, the *get*-passive became first attested with adjectival passive participles in E3, which supports the hypothesis that its origin is “inchoative *get* +

predicative adjective,” but not the *get*-causative that typically involves verbal passive participles. In order to give further support to this hypothesis, I have investigated the frequency of the *get*-passive and some constructions that have been argued to be its direct origin in the literature, including those with inchoative *get* and causative *get*.⁹ The results of this investigation are summarized in the following tables and figures; Figures 3 and 4 are graphs of Tables 5 and 6, respectively.

Table 5 Frequency of Constructions with *Get* in PPCEME (per 1,000,000 words)

	E1	E2	E3
<i>get</i> -passive	0	0	10.62
inchoative <i>get</i> + predicative adjective	0	4.56	19.47
causative <i>get</i> + <i>oneself</i> + passive participle	1.74	0	3.54
causative <i>get</i> + object + passive participle	1.74	15.32	24.78

Table 6 Frequency of Constructions with *Get* in CLMET (per 1,000,000 words)

	L1	L2	L3
<i>get</i> -passive	25.35	65.22	139.19
inchoative <i>get</i> + predicative adjective	31.60	76.09	150.89
causative <i>get</i> + <i>oneself</i> + passive participle	1.65	3.86	10.02
causative <i>get</i> + object + passive participle	15.80	27.70	38.42

Figure 3 Frequency of Constructions with *Get* in PPCEME (per 1,000,000 words)

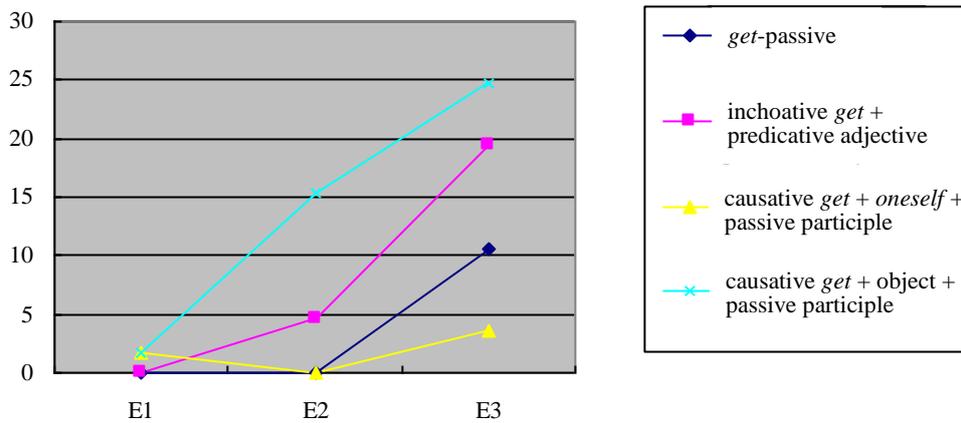
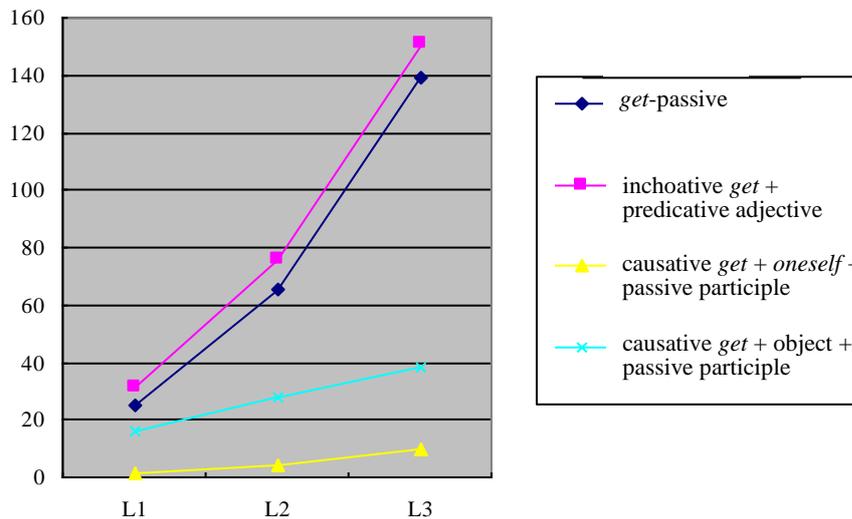


Figure 4 Frequency of Constructions with *Get* in CLMET (per 1,000,000 words)



It is observed that the *get*-passive appeared a little later than “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” which was first attested in E2, and the distribution of the two constructions is quite parallel in that they both increased rapidly in LModE. By contrast, no such parallelism is found between the distribution of the *get*-passive and that of the two constructions with causative *get*. In particular, it should be noted that “causative *get* + *oneself* + passive participle” was extremely rare in E3 and L1, when the *get*-passive was being established, which would imply that the former is not related to the origin of the *get*-passive,

contrary to Toyota's (2008) claim. Although it is quite difficult to prove the relevance of frequency data to the origin of a construction, it would follow from the above arguments, together with the data in the previous section, that "inchoative *get* + predicative adjective" is a more likely candidate of the origin of the *get*-passive than the *get*-causative. Then, a plausible scenario would be that the *get*-passive emerged by inserting adjectival passive participles as complements to inchoative *get*, which had already acquired the property of selecting predicative adjectives.

2.6. A Syntactic Approach to the Development of the *Get*-Passive

This section suggests a syntactic analysis of the development of the *get*-passive revealed by the investigation in section 2.5, in terms of the grammaticalization of *get*. It is argued that *get* was grammaticalized from a lexical verb generated in V to a light verb generated in *v* during LModE, which was driven by the principle of Late Merge proposed by Gelderen (2004).

Before discussing the syntactic structure(s) and development of the *get*-passive, let us make clear the definitions of grammaticalization and the principle of Late Merge.

2.6.1. Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is one of the most important apparatuses for diachronic studies, but no consensus is obtained in the literature even as to what is grammaticalization. Its definition was classified broadly into three types, one proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003), another proposed by Roberts and Roussou (2003), and the other proposed by Gelderen (2004).

Hopper and Traugott (2003: xv) define grammaticalization as "the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical

functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions.” In addition, (42) is a cline proposed by them.

(42) content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7))

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 6), “the term “cline” is a metaphor for the empirical observation that cross-linguistically forms tend to undergo the same kinds of changes or have similar sets of relationships, in similar orders.” Especially, they also state that “from a historical perspective, a cline is conceptualized as a natural “pathway” along which forms evolve, a schema which models the development of forms (see Andersen (2001)).” Grammaticalization gradually proceeds in accordance with the cline in (42). Note that such change co-occurs with some morphological or phonological one. This is supported by Amano (2006: 60), who points out that “grammaticalization is a historical process whereby analytic forms gradually change to synthetic ones, and phonological reduction of lexical items is the most transparent symptom of grammaticalization.” In other words, grammaticalization is a morphosyntactic or phonological change rather than syntactic one, and it proceeds gradually through the long period of time.

However, there are mainly two problems in this view. One is that, as an empirical fact, there are cases of grammaticalization without any morphosyntactic change or phonological change. The other is that they do not make explicit what motivates grammaticalization in accordance with the cline of grammaticality shown in (42).

Roberts and Roussou (2003: 2) propose a distinct definition of grammaticalization. The definition is that “grammaticalization is a regular case of parameter change not fundamentally different from other such changes.” In other words, they regard

grammaticalization as a syntactic change, not morphosyntactic or phonological one. The motivation of grammaticalization proposed by them is what is called “structural simplification,” which is defined as follows (cf. Roberts and Roussou (2003: 201-205)).

(43) Structural Simplification:¹⁰

A way of avoiding feature syncretisms, in accordance with the simplicity metric proposed by Longobardi (2001: 294))

(cf. Roberts and Roussou (2003: 201-205))

(44) Feature Syncretism:

The presence of more than one formal feature in a given structural position:

H [+F, +G ..] (Roberts and Roussou (2003: 201))

(45) The Simplicity Metric:

A structural representation R for a substring of input text S is simpler than an alternative representation R' iff R contains fewer formal feature syncretisms than R'. (Roberts and Roussou (2003: 201) and cf. Longobardi (2001: 294))

According to Roberts and Roussou, in structural simplification, the simplicity metric serves as a kind of economy principles.

Moreover, as shown in “parameter change” in their definition of grammaticalization, grammaticalization is not a gradual but abrupt change. However, this view is argued against by Nawata (2005) and Kume (2012). They point out that there are some differences between parameter change and grammaticalization. Especially, the most significant is that typical parameter changes cause an equal and rapid change in all members which belong to a certain class, whereas, in the process of grammaticalization, each individual word undergoes a gradual change, contrary to Roberts and Rousou’s (2003) assumption.

Finally, Gelderen (2004) defines grammaticalization in accordance with the principle of Late Merge, one of the universal economy principles. This principle provides enough motivation for grammaticalization proposed by her. In fact, Gelderen (2004) cites the well-known case of grammaticalization of modals as an instance of the change from a head to a higher head in accordance with the principle of Late Merge. If Gelderen (2004) is on the right track, then grammaticalization is a syntactic change clearly motivated by the principle of Late Merge. A number of linguists support this scenario theoretically and empirically by using Late Merge and giving a syntactic explanation of diachronic linguistic facts dealt with so far mainly from a semantic viewpoint.

This thesis supports Gelderen's (2004) definition as that of grammaticalization and argues that grammaticalization is syntax-driven by the principle of Late Merge. The following subsection focuses on this principle.

2.6.2. The Principle of Late Merge

The principle of Late Merge in (46) is proposed by Gelderen (2004), as one of the universal economy principles.

(46) *Late Merge*

Merge as late as possible.

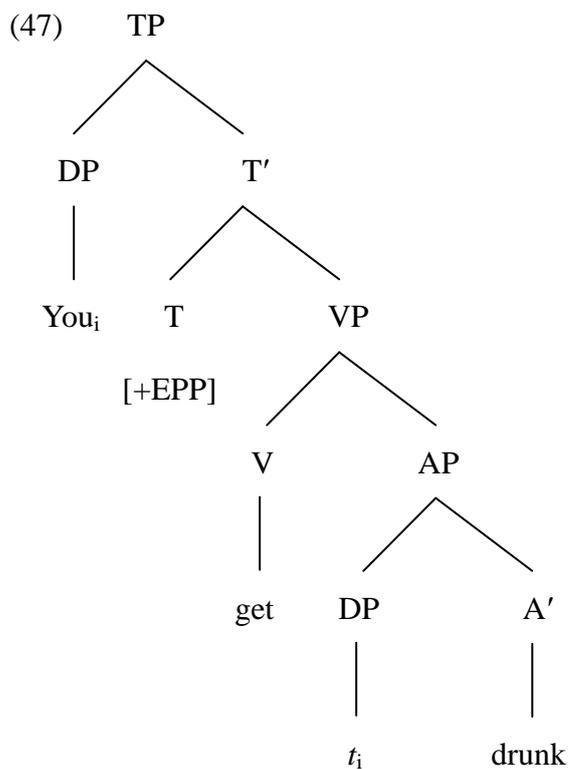
(Gelderen (2004: 28))

The principle of Late Merge indicates that it is more economical to wait as long as possible before merging than to merge early and then move.¹¹ Chomsky (2000, 2001) also proposes a similar principle, what is called Merge over Move.¹² This principle is adopted by numerous studies, both synchronic and diachronic, and has succeeded in providing a syntactic account of a number of linguistic phenomena. It is also adopted in this thesis, in order to give the

motivation of the grammaticalization of *get*. The following section provides a syntactic approach to the development of the *get*-passive.

2.6.3. The Syntactic Structures and Development of the *Get*-Passive

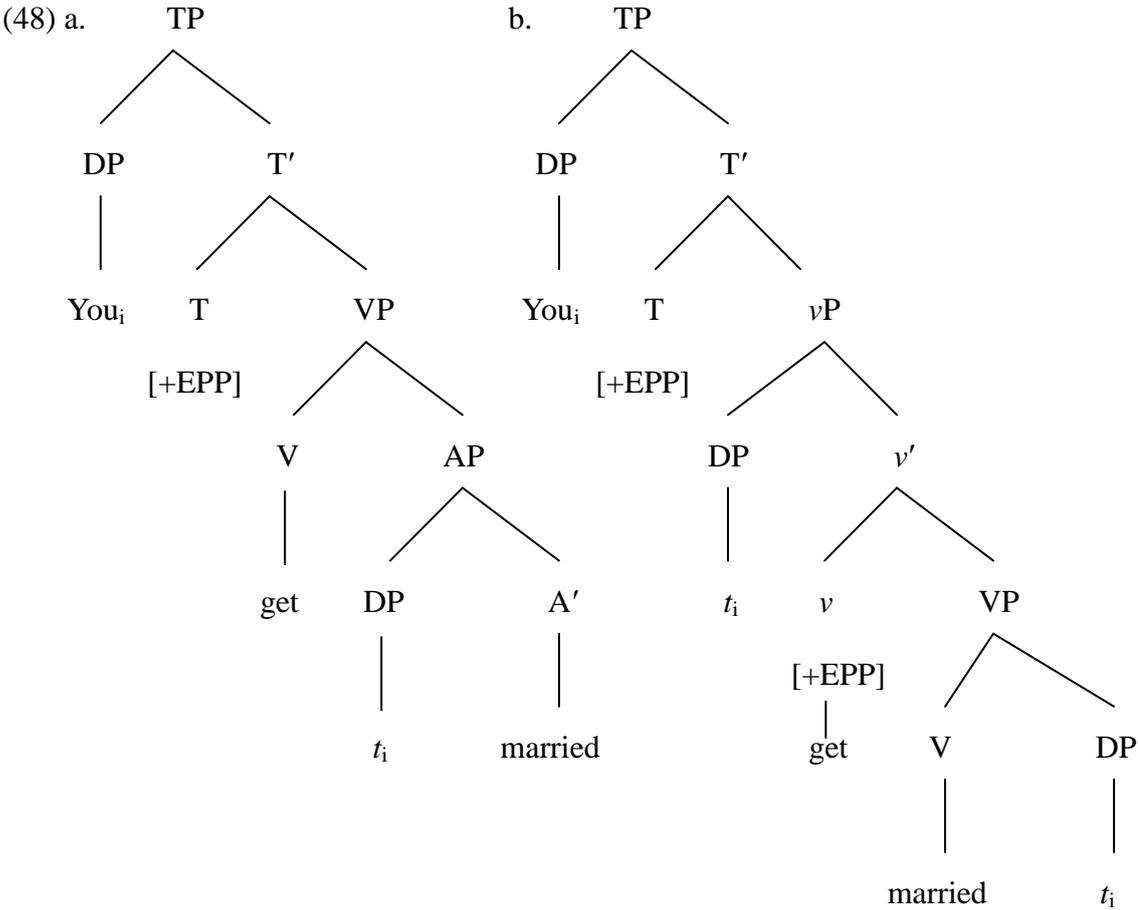
As discussed in section 2.5, this analysis basically follows Fleisher’s (2006) in assuming that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective” and its earliest examples involve adjectival passive participles. Therefore, when the *get*-passive was first attested in E3, its structure would have been as in (47).



In (47), *get*, which is generated in V as a lexical verb, retains its inchoative meaning, with the adjectival passive participle expressing the resultant state of the matrix subject.

Then, examples of *get*-passives with ambiguous passive participles began to be attested in L1 (see Table 4 and Figure 2 in section 2.5.1). This fact is overlooked by Fleisher (2006)

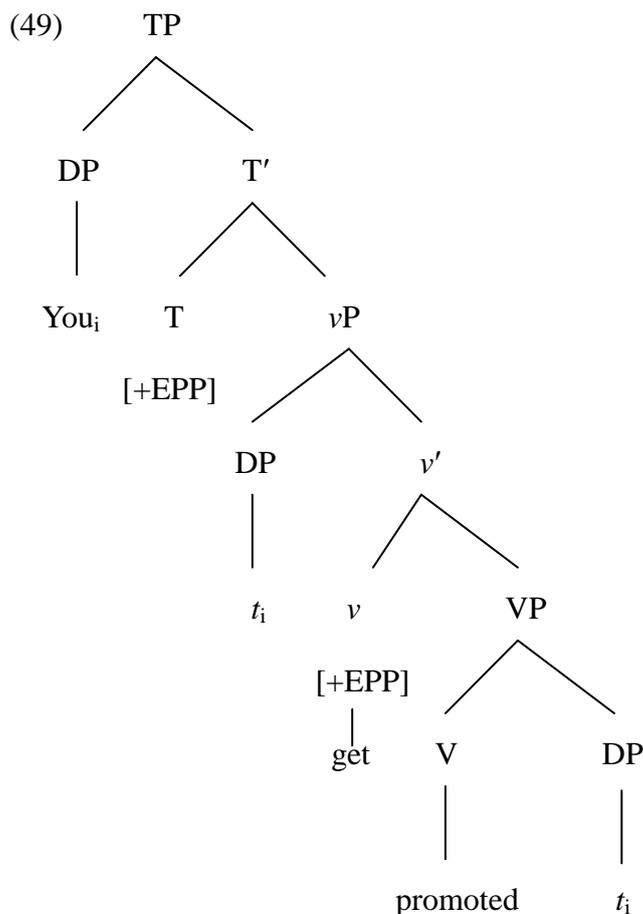
because he only classifies passive participles into two types, adjectival and verbal passive participles. Paying special attention to *get*-passives with ambiguous passive participles, we assume that they played an important role in the grammaticalization of *get*, as well as the reanalysis of adjectival passive participles as verbal passive participles, because their structure is ambiguous between (48a) and (48b). The former is identical with the structure in (47), while the latter is the structure of *get*-passives with verbal passive participles proposed here, where *get* is a light verb generated in *v* and the passive participle is a category of V taking an internal argument.¹³



According to Fleisher (2006), verbal passive participles express both the inchoative and resultative meanings of the *get*-passive, so it seems plausible to assume that passive *get* has

lost the inchoative meaning as a result of semantic bleaching (see (30)). This will support the view embodied in the structure (48b) that *get* has been grammaticalized into a light verb generated in *v*, distinguished from a lexical verb generated in *V*.¹⁴

If the above arguments are on the right track, then it would be inferred that *get*-passives with ambiguous passive participles were the initial locus of the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb, as well as the reanalysis of adjectival passive participles as verbal passive participles. This would have made it possible that *get*-passives with verbal passive participles appeared in L1 and became firmly established during LModE, as we saw in Table 4 and Figure 2. The following is the structure of *get*-passives with verbal passive participles, which is identical with the structure in (48b).



A main difference between Fleisher (2006) and our analysis is where the locus of syntactic changes of the *get*-passive is. Fleisher attributes it to passive participles as the complement of *get* and does not refer to the change of *get* at all. Rather, he focuses on the common syntactic property of inchoative *get* and passive *get* as raising verb. However, from the view of generative grammar, the head affects its complement, whereas not vice versa. It seems more plausible that, if complement undergoes some syntactic change, then its head also does. Our analysis assumes that the locus of syntactic changes of the *get*-passive is *get* and those of its complement are simply a by-product, which is in accordance with the above view of generative grammar and more desirable theoretically.

An immediate question here is what the motivation of the grammaticalization of *get* is; recall that a similar problem was raised for the analyses of Toyota (2008), Fleisher (2006), and Hundt (2001) in section 2.4 concerning the causes of the changes they propose. The answer pursued here is that Late Merge, proposed by Gelderen (2004) as one of the universal economy principles, played an important role in driving the grammaticalization of *get*.

(50) *Late Merge*

Merge as late as possible. (Gelderen (2004: 28))

Recall that the principle (46), repeated here as (50), indicates that it is more economical to wait as long as possible before merging than to merge early and then move. Gelderen cites the well-known case of grammaticalization of modals as an instance of the change from a head to a higher head in accordance with the principle of Late Merge. In her analysis, the base-generated position of modals, which functioned as lexical verbs in OE and ME, changed from V to Asp(ect) and later to M(ood).

Returning now to the grammaticalization of *get*, it should be noticed that the present

analysis is fully consistent with Late Merge in that the base-generated position of *get* changed from V to *v*, a functional head above VP. Therefore, the rise of “passive *get* + verbal passive participle” would be syntax-driven, with the concomitant change in the loci of the inchoative and resultative meanings of the *get*-passive. Of course, it is quite plausible that the change in the categorial status of *get* is closely related to its semantic bleaching, with the two events proceeding in parallel in L1.

Apart from Gelderen (2004), an economy-based approach to grammaticalization is also advocated by Roberts and Roussou (2003), and it has become one of the influential programs for diachronic syntax and has succeeded in providing a syntactic account of a number of phenomena studied so far mainly from a semantic viewpoint. Thus, this analysis contributes to this program by applying Late Merge to give an explanation for the development of the *get*-passive, thereby enhancing its explanatory power as well as increasing its empirical coverage.

Finally, the remainder of this section presents two consequences of the present analysis, both of which are related to the status of *get* as a light verb generated in *v*. First, recall from section 2.1 that the *get*-passive shows the characteristic that its subject is responsible for the event denoted by the whole predicate (see (2) and (3), repeated here in (51) and (52)).

(51) a. He got shot by the riot police.

b. He was shot by the riot police. (Toyota (2008: 156))

(52) a. Mary got shot on purpose.

b. Mary was shot on purpose. (Lakoff (1971: 156))

This characteristic can be accounted for in terms of the assumption embodied in the structure (48b)/(49) that *get* is a light verb generated in *v* and the internal argument of V moves through

Spec of v to satisfy the EPP feature of v . As for the functions of v in passives, this analysis partly follows Osawa (2001), and assumes that it has an EPP feature and assigns a secondary theta-role (Agent) to Spec of v ,¹⁵ though it does not take an external argument because of the lack of the ability to assign a primary theta-role.¹⁶ Then, the subject of the *get*-passive, which is assigned a primary theta-role (Theme) by V as its internal argument, moves through Spec of v to satisfy the EPP feature of v and is assigned a secondary theta-role (Agent) by v . Therefore, it is interpreted as a secondary agent that is responsible for the event denoted by the whole predicate, thereby accounting for the subject's responsibility in the *get*-passive.

Second, the present analysis provides a neat explanation of sentences like (4) in section 2.1, repeated here as (53), which illustrate a number of differences between *be*-passives and *get*-passives.

- (53) a. Negation, i.e. *He was not caught*, but **He got not caught*.
 b. Interrogative, i.e., *Was he caught?*, but **Got he caught?*
 c. Stranding by deletion of the verb, i.e., *He was caught and so was his friend*, but **He got caught, and so got his friend*.
 d. Position of adverbs, i.e., *He was never caught*, but **He got never caught*.
 e. Position of a quantifier, i.e., *The boys were all caught*, but **The boys got all caught*. (cf. Toyota (2008: 151))

These sentences indicate that *get* behaves as a lexical verb in the relevant respects unlike *be*. In the *be*-passive, *be* does not participate in either primary or secondary theta-role assignment, so it is generated outside vP and moves to T (then, to C in questions), exhibiting the same distribution as auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, given Pollock's (1989) influential proposal that lexical verbs cannot move to T in PE because T must not be occupied by

elements which assign a theta-role, it will follow that *get* cannot move to T (then, to C in questions) in the *get*-passive, because it is a light verb in *v* that assigns a secondary theta-role to Spec of *v*. Although *get* has been grammaticalized into a light verb, it still behaves syntactically as a lexical verb rather than as an auxiliary one, due to its property of assigning a secondary theta-role.

Based on the results of our investigation by using large-scaled historical corpora, this chapter suggests that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” not the *get*-causative, and the more exact path of its development is identified by examples (47)-(49) in terms of the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb, in accordance with the principle of Late Merge. The path is also supported empirically by the peculiar characteristics of the *get*-passive shown by (2)-(4) in section 2.1 (repeated as (51)-(53) in section 2.6).

However, linguists advocating the *get*-causative as the origin of the *get*-passive may contradict as follows: The *get*-passive often involves “negative connotations, conveying that the action of the verb is difficult or to the disadvantage of the subject (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 481)” and this property can be shared with the *get*-causative rather than the *get*-inchoative. Therefore, it cannot be explained by the present analysis. The adversative *get*-passive is illustrated in (54).

- (54) a. The kid got caught.
b. I got yelled at.

(54) has adversative meaning shared with the *get*-causative, which is apparently regarded as empirical evidence for the analysis that the “origin” of the *get*-passive is the *get*-causative, proposed by Toyota (2008). Here recall that this thesis argues only that the “origin” of the

get-passive is the *get*-inchoative and does not exclude the possibility that the *get*-passive relates to the *get*-causative through its own “development.” Also, (54) only indicates that some of the *get*-passives share adversative meaning with the *get*-causative, which implies only that the *get*-passive relates to the *get*-causative through its development. It is not necessary that the “origin” of the *get*-passive is the *get*-causative. That is, (54) cannot falsify our suggestion both theoretically and empirically.¹⁷

Some linguists argue that the *get*-passive has appeared and developed as the dynamic counterpart of the *be*-passive. For instance, Curme (1931) proposes that the *get*-passive illustrated in (55b) was developed in order to avoid the ambiguity of the *be*-passive shown in (55a).

(55) a. Our house is painted.

“An implicit agent made our house painted./Our house simply became painted without reference to an implicit agent.”

b. Our house got painted.

“An implicit agent made our house painted./*John simply became painted without reference to an implicit agent.” (cf. Curme (1931: 446))

(55a) is ambiguous in that it allows both stative and eventive interpretations, whereas (55b) only has an eventive interpretation.

Hatcher (1949) provides counter-evidence shown in (56) to Curme’s analysis.

(56) a. He was run over.

“An implicit agent made him run over./*He simply became run over without reference to an implicit agent.”

- b. He got run over.

“An implicit agent made him run over./*He simply became run over without reference to an implicit agent.” (cf. Hatcher (1949: 435))

Hatcher points out that, if the *get*-passive were developed in order to avoid the ambiguity of the *be*-passive between an eventive or a stative reading, then the existence of (56b) could not be explained, since (56a) is unambiguous and it is expected that the *get*-passive does not need to be developed. Therefore, she argues that there does not seem to be a simple connection between the development of the *get*-passive and that of the *be*-passive.

The present analysis supports the latter; it does not seem to be true that at least earlier examples of the *get*-passive served as the dynamic counterpart of the *be*-passive, because our analysis is that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” which is regarded as related to “stative” rather than dynamic meaning. In fact, even in PE, there are many *get*-passives with predicative adjectival passive participles (e.g. *get rid of*, *get tired*, *get drunk*, *get interested*, *get dressed* and so on). Therefore, this thesis argues that the development of the *get*-passive is basically independent of that of the *be*-passive.

2.7. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the origin and development of the *get*-passive in the history of English, based on the data from the two large-scaled historical corpora, PPCEME and CLMET. Along the lines of Fleisher (2006), it was argued that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” and therefore it originally involved adjectival passive participles as complements to *get*. Then, it was proposed that *get*-passives with verbal passive participles emerged via the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb, which was triggered by the principle of Late Merge proposed by Gelderen (2004).

Notes to Chapter 2

1 Toyota (2008: 151) points out another property in addition to the six listed in (4). This is shown in (i).

- (i) Existential there, i.e. *There was a plane hijacked*, but **There got a plane hijacked*. (Toyota (2008: 151))

However, Toyota admits that only (i), unlike (4), “is related to the presentative function of *be*, which may not be directly related to the auxiliary in the prototypical passive, since the passive is predominantly used for the function of the undergoer topicalisation.” Therefore, we do not include it into (4).

2 Among a number of diachronic studies on the *get*-passive, section 2.4.1 focuses on three of such recent studies dealing with its structural change and/or the grammaticalization of *get*, which are directly relevant for the discussion in this thesis.

3 In this thesis, we use the term “*get*-passive” to indicate constructions where *get* takes passive participles as its complements, regardless of whether the latter are adjectival, verbal, or ambiguous.

4 As for (23c), we will discuss it in more detail in section 2.3.3.

5 Before the stages in (28), Toyota (2008) assumes the following three stages in the development of causative *get*.

(i) Stage I: He gets her a present. (from 1300 onwards)

non-causative[get beneficiary[her] theme[a present]]

Stage II: He gets her some words to say. (from 1450 onwards)

non-causative/causative[get beneficiary/causee[her] theme[some words goal[to say]]]

Stage III: He gets her to say some words. (from 1600 onwards)

causative[get causee[her] goal[to say theme[some words]]]

(cf. Toyota (2008: 180))

6 Her survey is based on the following five corpora: ARCHER for ModE, as well as Brown, LOB, Frown, and FROB for PE.

7 The periodization of PPCEME and CLMET is E1 (1500-1569), E2 (1570-1639), E3 (1640-1710), L1 (1710-1780), L2 (1780-1850), and L3 (1850-1920).

8 In fact, there is an example in E3 of *get* followed by *acquainted*, which is listed as an example of ambiguous passive participles in (34), but this example is regarded as involving *acquainted* as an adjectival passive participle, because it was not until LModE that *acquainted* acquired its verbal usage, according to the OED.

9 Therefore, this investigation excludes constructions with *get* meaning “obtain,” “beget,” or “move.” See Yonekura (1999) for the development of other usages of *get* than those discussed in this thesis.

10 As for problems with the definition of structural simplification in (43), Amano (2006) points out the following.

- (i) “It is very difficult to evaluate the explanatory or descriptive adequacy of the metric in an appropriate way. A possible counterexample to the metric may be the historical reanalysis of the preposition *for* as a complementizer. Probably in ME or earlier, it obtained a new feature to become a complementizer, but it did not shed its old Case-checking feature as a preposition and has retained it until today. Thus it has been suffering from a feature syncretism for many centuries, and nobody knows when it will be cured of the grammatical disorder.” (Amano (2006: 65))

There are other problems we should point out. First, it cannot be clarified how the difference of structural simplicity between old and new structures is evaluated in our brain. Second, although it is postulated that there are both structures as “psychological realities” proposed by Chomsky (1980a), when their difference of structural simplicity is evaluated, it cannot be explained what makes a new structure a psychological reality.

11 In this thesis, we adopt the analysis supported by Hornstein (1995, 2009), that Move and Merge are distinguishable, rather than one advocated by Chomsky (2004, 2008) that Move is reformulated as Internal Merge. As for the discussion and criticism on Internal Merge, see Hornstein (2009) in detail.

12 Later, Gelderen (2008) reformulates Late Merge as Feature Economy without reference to the difference of economy between Merge and Move. However, whether her recent suggestion is on the right track has still been controversial. Therefore, I leave this sensitive issue for further study.

13 See below for the assumption that *v* has the EPP feature that triggers raising of the internal argument to Spec of *v* on its way to Spec of T.

14 See Alexiadou (2005) for a similar proposal that passive *get* is a light verb generated in *v*/Voice. Gronemeyer (1999) also characterizes passive *get* as a “semi-grammaticalized” verb whose meaning is largely determined by its syntactic context.

15 Indeed, Osawa (2001) argues that *v* assigns a secondary theta-role (Agent) to Spec of *v* in the *be*-passive, without taking the *get*-passive into consideration. However, recall from section 2.1 that the subject of the *be*-passive is typically not responsible for the event denoted by the whole predicate. Moreover, when an agent-oriented adverbial occurs in the *be*-passive, it cannot be associated with the surface subject, but with the implicit agent, as illustrated in (3), indicating that the latter cannot be interpreted as agentive. Therefore, the present analysis adopts the mechanism of secondary theta-role assignment proposed by Osawa (2001), but applies it only to the *get*-passive that has the property of the subject’s agentivity/responsibility.

16 Apart from (primary) theta-roles associated with the argument structure of a lexical item, some linguists assume secondary theta-roles to give an explanation for the agentivity of arguments that have already been assigned a primary theta-role. See Jaeggli and Hyams (1993) and Kume (2009) for the application of this assumption to “aspectual *come/go*” which requires an agentive subject; indeed, the analysis in this thesis has been inspired by Kume’s work, where it is argued that aspectual *come/go* is generated in *v* and assigns a secondary theta-role (Agent) to Spec of *v*. See also Roeper (1987) for the notion of “secondary agent.”

17 Needless to say, (54), which infers the relation between the *get*-passive and the *get*-causative, is significant for further elaboration of the path of the development of the *get*-passive. I leave this intriguing issue on its further elaboration open for further study.

Chapter 3

The Development of the Recipient Passive in the History of English

3.1. The Definition of the Recipient Passive

In standard PE, indirect objects in double object constructions such as (1) can be subjects of their passive counterparts as illustrated in (2).

(1) Double Object Construction

I gave Mary a book.

(2) Recipient Passive

Mary was given a book.

(3) Direct Passive

??A book was given Mary.

In (1), the indirect object, *Mary*, receives Recipient as a thematic role and its referent is regarded as the beneficiary of the event denoted by the verb. In (2), the subject is the indirect object of (1) whose referent is the recipient of the event, and passives like (2) are called “the recipient passive.”¹ On the other hand, at least in standard PE, (3), whose subject is the direct object in (1), is ungrammatical and only accepted peripherally in some English dialects (see Haddican (2010)).² Passives like (3) are called “the direct passive,” distinguished from the recipient passive in (2).³

From a diachronic perspective, the grammaticality of (2) and (3) in OE was opposite to

that in standard PE. Specifically, the possible passive sentence corresponding to (1) was only (3), which is unacceptable in standard PE, and there was no recipient passive such as (2). The only passive where indirect objects in double object constructions occupied sentence-initial positions, is called the impersonal passive. An example of the impersonal passive in OE is shown in (4).

(4) Impersonal Passive

and him wearð geseald an snæd flæsces and he sæp of ðæm calice
 and him-DAT was given a piece of flesh and he sipped of the chalice
 “and he was given a piece of flesh and he sipped of the chalice”

(COE) *ÆLS*(Basil)158 (Allen (1995: 53))

Note that although the sentences in (2) and (4) are apparently similar, they are distinct from each other with respect to case of their subjects. The sentence-initial element in (2) is assigned a nominative (structural) case, whereas that in (4) is assigned a dative (inherent) case. That is, in (4), *him* is only topicalized to sentence-initial position, but not affected by passivization. In fact, what receives a nominative case in (4) is *an snæd flæsces* (“a piece of flesh” in PE). Therefore, the nominative subject of the impersonal passive is a direct object in double object constructions, not an indirect object, and (4) is not regarded as an example of recipient passives.

According to Allen (1995), this situation had been continuing until the latter of the fourteenth century (as we will observe soon), when the recipient passive appeared. As for sentences such as (3), they had still been acceptable until the sixteenth century. In summary, during the period between the latter of the fourteenth century and the end of the sixteenth century, both passives like (2) and (3) were allowed, though there is a difference between their

markedness (i.e. (2) was clearly unmarked to (3)).

The above changes are summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1 The Appearance and Decline of the Direct Passive and the Recipient Passive

	OE	ME	EModE	LModE	PE
direct passive		—————			———
				▲ the 16 th century	
recipient passive		—————			
		▲ the latter of the 14 th century			

More concrete data related to this figure will be dealt with in section 3.3.1 focusing on diachronic aspects of the recipient passive and its related constructions.

Moreover, according to Allen’s (1995) investigation by using original Middle English texts, the appearance of the recipient passive is around the latter of the fourteenth century, and she sketches its development to a certain extent in terms of empirical facts. However, as far as I know, only some previous works attempt to provide some explanation of the development of the recipient passive theoretically.

The aim of chapter 3 is to clarify the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive. We provide a syntactic approach by supporting two types of ApplP, High ApplP and Low ApplP, proposed by Pylkkänen (2008).

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 3.2 overviews some representative previous studies on the syntactic structure of the recipient passive. Section 3.3 overviews some diachronic approaches to the development of the recipient passive and points out the problems with them. In section 3.4, I discuss the relation between the recipient passive and the double object construction. Especially, I focus on a syntactic

approach to the development of the double object construction by using ApplP and attempt to extend its coverage to that of the recipient passive. Section 3.5 investigates the empirical linguistic data in related to the development of the recipient passive by using the large-scaled historical corpora, *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition* (henceforth, PPCME2), and PPCEME. Section 3.6 provides a syntactic analysis of the development of the recipient passive. Section 3.7 is concluding remarks.

3.2. The Syntactic Structure of the Recipient Passive

This section overviews significant previous studies on the syntactic structure of the recipient passive at the synchronic level.

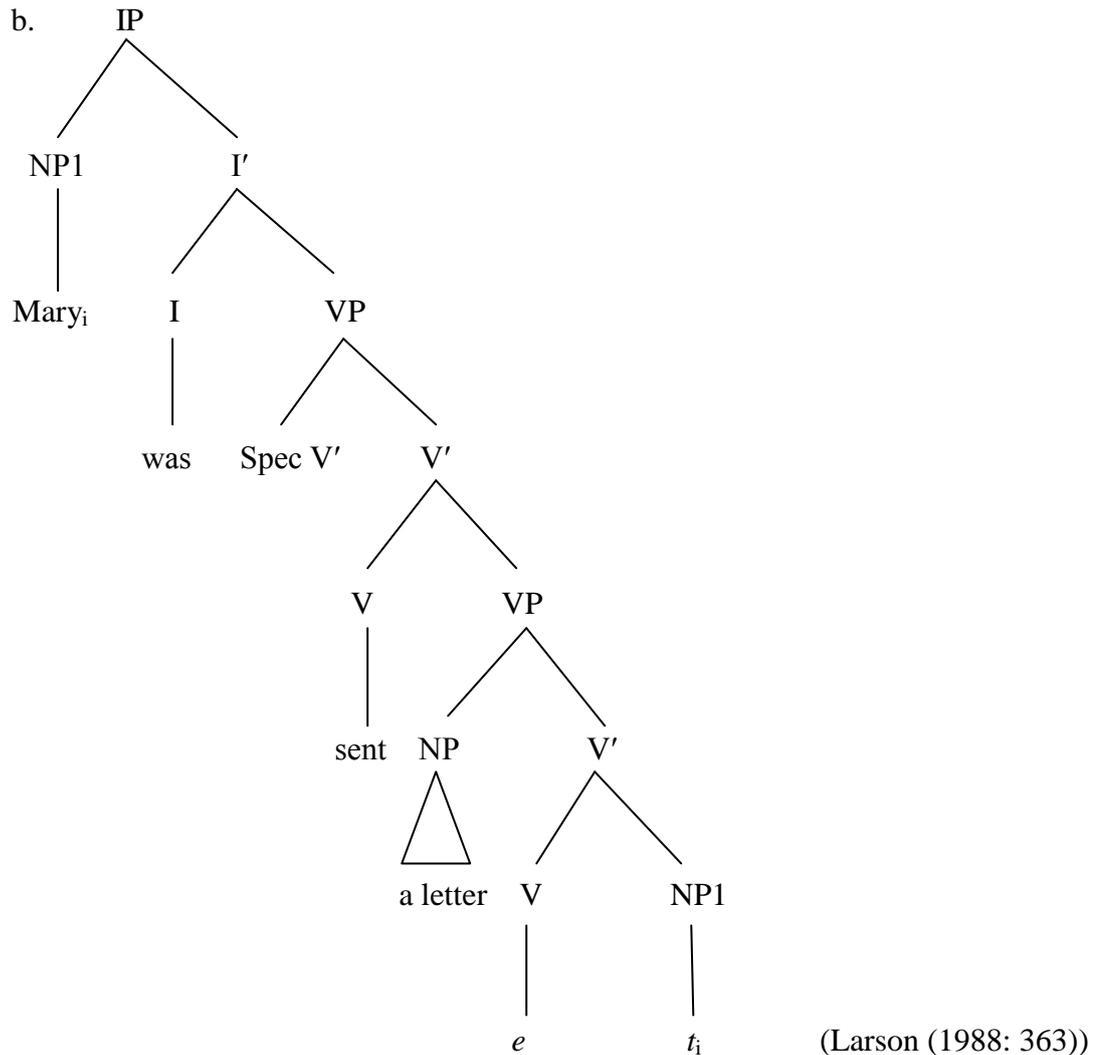
3.2.1. Larson (1988)

First, we overview Larson (1988), which is one of representative studies on the syntactic structure of the recipient passive.

Larson suggests a VP-shell analysis and provides the syntactic structure of (5b) for the recipient passive in (5a).

(5) a. Mary was sent a letter.

(Larson (1988: 362))



Larson presupposes two important assumptions. One is that there are two verbs, that is, a visible verb like *send* in (5b) and a null verb like *e* in the recipient passive. The other is that a direct object like *a letter* in (5b) is assigned an inherent case by the reanalysis of the lower V' to V.

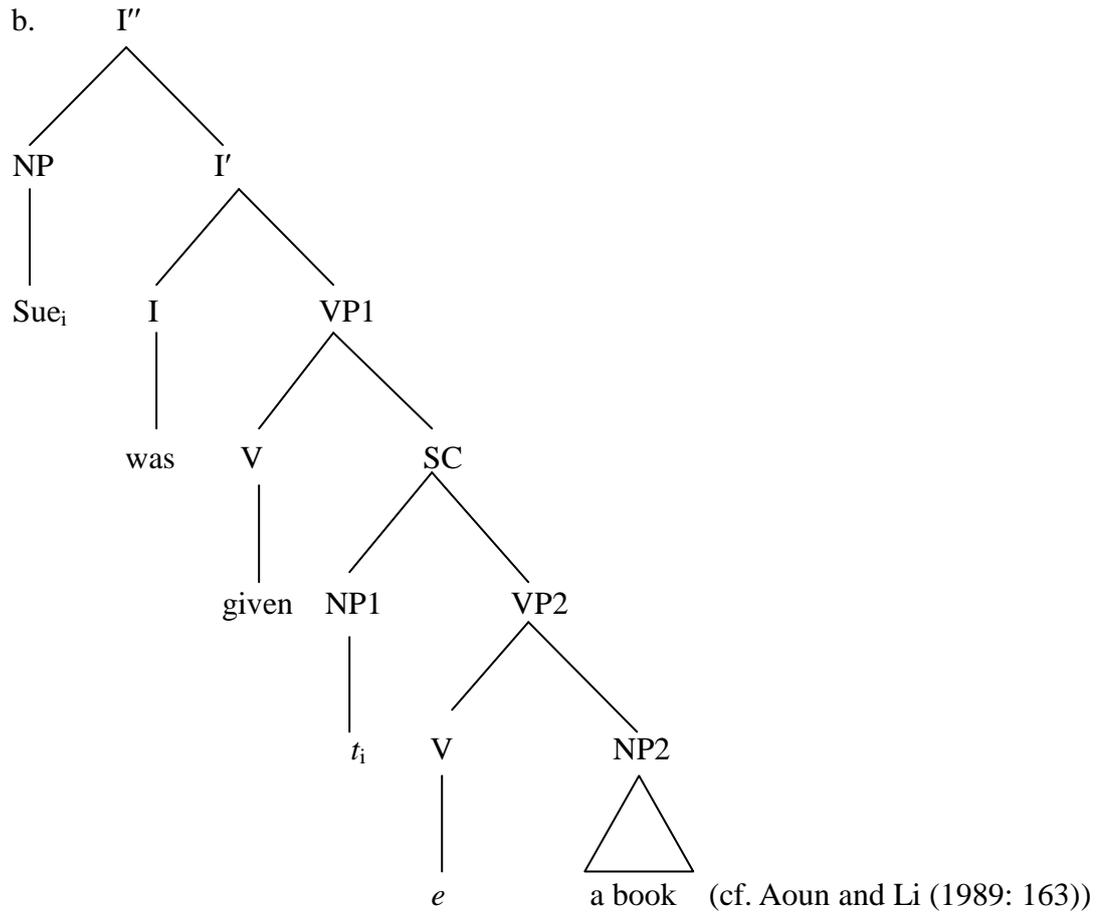
Larson's (1988) analysis is remarkable in that it attempts to provide a theoretical account for the fact that, in PE, an indirect object in the double object construction becomes a subject in the recipient passive. However, there are some theoretical or empirical problems involved. It seems that there are at least three main problems. First, he does not refer to what characteristics or functions a null verb *e* has at all. In other words, it is not made clear

how a null verb *e* functions semantically. On this point, assuming the existence of a null verb *e* seems to be only a description to explain empirical facts and need some independent endorsement. Worse, it may cause a serious theoretical issue by violating full interpretation principle as it stands. Second, there is no independent theoretical reason for supposing that, following the reanalysis of V' to V, a direct object in the adjunct position is assigned an inherent case. Third, the possessional relation between an indirect object and a direct object as a generally admitted entailment is not led from the syntactic structure proposed by Larson.

3.2.2. Aoun and Li (1989)

Another representative syntactic approach to the recipient passive is Aoun and Li (1989). (6a) and (6b), respectively, are an example and syntactic structure of the recipient passive, proposed by them.

(6) a. Sue was given a book.



Aoun and Li regard a null verb *e* as a verb with the possessional meaning and the ability for assigning an accusative. Therefore, unlike Larson (1988), they can account for the properties and functions of a null verb *e* or an entailment of the possessional relation between an indirect object and a direct object. Then, with the assignment of inherent case supposed by Larson (1988), there is no problem for Aoun and Li's (1989) analysis, because both objects have a structural case (for NP1 from the upper V (*given*), and for NP2 from the lower V (*e*)).

Thus, a syntactic approach with a small clause to the recipient passive as in Aoun and Li (1989) seems to be more plausible than one with two VPs as in Larson (1988). However, there remain two problems in (6). First, there is no theoretical necessity that upper V is always passivized in the recipient passive. That is, logically, it can be possible that lower V

is passivized in this construction, which is unacceptable in standard PE. Second, the structure does not make clear what syntactic category the small clause involved in it is.

3.2.3. Summary

Both Larson (1988) and Aoun and Li (1989) do not provide any syntactic structure of the recipient passive without any problem. Therefore, we need a different syntactic structure from them. In section 3.6, we propose it.

In addition to synchronic studies, there are some studies of the recipient passive from diachronic aspects, and empirical facts of its appearance and development are noticed. These facts clarify the whole path of its development and provide us with some important clues to present the syntactic structure of the recipient passive in PE. In section 3.3, we overview main diachronic studies on the recipient passive.

3.3. The Development of the Recipient Passive

This section focuses on some representative diachronic studies of the recipient passive and points out the problems with them. Before overviewing these previous works, we begin by organizing empirical linguistic facts of the recipient passive and its related constructions with their instances.

3.3.1. Empirical Data of the Recipient Passive and Its Related Constructions

Having already overviewed the line of the development of the recipient passive and its related constructions in section 3.1, here we provide empirical data of the recipient passive and its related constructions in the history of English.

From OE to the mid-thirteenth century, there were double object constructions and direct passives illustrated in (7) and (8), respectively. (7a) and (8a) are collected from OE,

and (7b) and (8b) from early ME.

(7) Double Object Construction

a. and him man win sealde,

and him-DAT man-NOM win-ACC gave

“Man gave him win.” (coaelhom,ÆHom_22:354.3487: OE)

b. He geoue þe sunne

he gives you suns

“He gives you suns.” (CMANCRIW, II. 231. 3337: M1)

(8) Direct Passive

a. & þær heofonic sige þam cinge seald wæs

and there heavenly victory-NOM the king-DAT given was

“and there victory from heaven was given to the king”

(Bede_3:1.156.8.1494: OE)

b. kallf wass offredd Godd

calf was offered Godd

“calf was offered God” (CMORM, I, 209. 1716: M1)

As pointed out in Allen (1995) and others, from OE to the mid-thirteenth English, in cases where double object constructions like (4) were paraphrased by passive constructions, we can only observe direct passives such as (5a) and there was no recipient passive, as far as we look into the results of our corpus-based investigation and related previous works.

From the mid-thirteenth century to the latter of the fourteenth century, there were also double object constructions and direct passives, as illustrated in (9) and (10), respectively.

(9) Double Object Construction

Zuych Ihordssip yefþ man grace and uirtue.

such hardship gives man grace and virtue

“Such hardship gives man grace and virtue.” (CMAYENBI. 84. 1638: M2)

(10) Direct Passive⁴

Ðe castel him were izolde.

The castle him were given

“The castle was given him.” (c1297 Rob. Glouc. (Rolls) 9223, Ar)

(Visser (1963-1973: 2153 (§ 1976)))

Also, there was no recipient passive at least until then.

From the latter of the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century, we can observe double object constructions, direct passives, and recipient passives like (11)-(13), respectively.

(11) Double Object Construction

a. and send vs þi wit.

and send us your wit

“and send us your wit” (CMBENRUL, 14.518: M3)

b. Ðu gif us grace

You give us grace

“You give us grace” (CMBENRUL, 3.73: M3)

(12) Direct Passive

a. But the longe nose [of glotony] was given me of my fader to that ende of Manhode. (c1450 Pilgrimage Lyf of Manhode 157)

(cf. Visser (1963-1973: 2153 (§ 1976)))

b. It was telde þe Erchebischop of hys mannys presonyng

“It was told the archbishop of his men’s prisoning”

(CMKEMPE, 130.3042: M4)

(13) Recipient Passive

þe prioresse is geuin a mater to be prowde

the prioress is given a matter to be tried

“The prioress is given a matter to be tried” (CMBENRUL, 43. 1346: M3)

As shown in (11)-(13), from the latter of the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century, in cases where double object constructions like (11) are passivized, both direct passives like (12) and recipient passives like (13) are acceptable.

According to Allen (1995), it was since the sixteenth century that the grammaticality of the double object construction, the direct passive, and the recipient passive became the same as that in PE.

Although this series of changes is interesting and unique, there are too few works to focus on it. In section 3.3.2, we will overview them and point out the problems with them.

3.3.2. Previous Studies

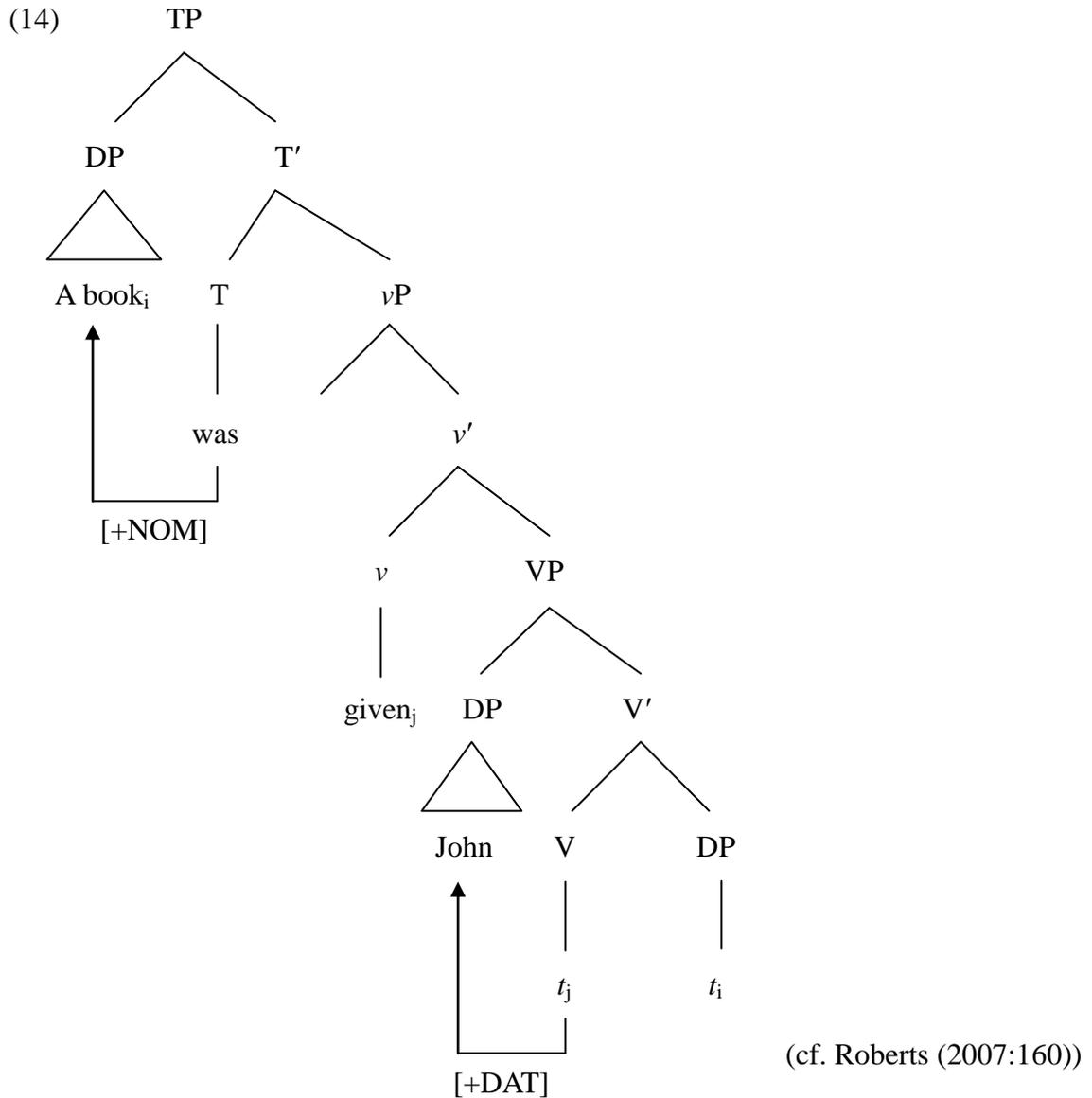
3.3.2.1. Kemenade (1987)

Kemenade (1987) argues that the recipient passive appeared around 1350 and it could be affected by the loss of the distinction between inherent and structural case in the early thirteenth century. Her analysis provides a clear reason why the recipient passive had not appeared until the early thirteenth century. As long as an indirect object was assigned an inherent case by V, it could not become a subject in passive (As for inherent case and its relation to passivization, see Chomsky (1981)).

Kemenade's (1987) approach is remarkable in that it provides a good reason why there had not been the recipient passive at least until the early thirteenth century. However, there are at least two problems to be solved. First, her analysis cannot explain the empirical fact that the recipient passive appeared around 1350, because there are about one hundred and fifty years between the time when the distinction between inherent and structural case was lost and when the recipient passive appeared. If the recipient passive occurred only because the case assigned to its indirect object had changed from an inherent case to a structural case, then we could find its earliest example from the data in the thirteenth or at latest early fourteenth century. In fact, a change from *Him was helped* to *He was helped* appeared in the almost same period due to this change (see Kemenade (1987)). In order to explain the empirical fact that the recipient passive appeared in the latter of the fourteenth century, we need to clarify at least another factor except for the loss of inherent case. Second, the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive is not made clear. Kemenade (1987) does not refer to the development of the recipient passive, with respect to the change of its syntactic structure.

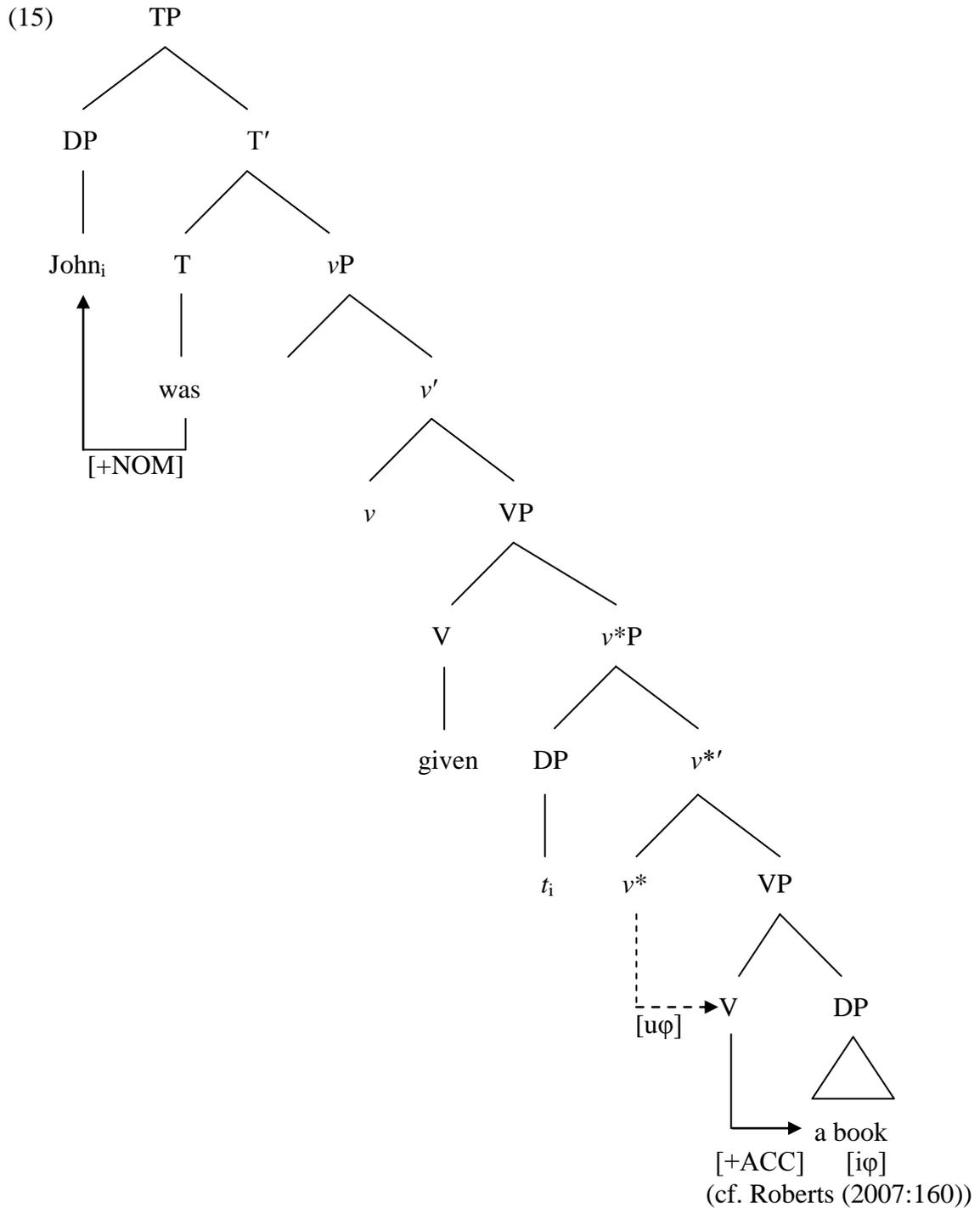
3.3.2.2. Roberts (2007)

Roberts (2007) supposes that the lag in the appearance of the recipient passive in the fourteenth century pointed out by Allen (1995) may be attributed to the fact that it features the second occurrence of *v*. It is easily expected that there was a single *v*P structure before the latter of the fourteenth century, including OE. The structure in OE is shown in (14).



Note that, in (14), the indirect object (*John*) is assigned a dative case, an inherent case, by V. If we adopt Chomsky's (1981) assumption that inherent case cannot be absorbed by passivization of V, the indirect object in (14) cannot become a subject in passive. It means that, at least until the loss of inherent case, the recipient passive could not appear, which is supported by corpus data from PPCME2 and observations in previous works.

Robert (2007) proposes that (15) is the syntactic structure of the recipient passive which occurred after the latter of the fourteenth century.



As in Roberts (2007), we should provide the lag in the appearance of the recipient passive with some syntactic motivation. However, there are three problems with Roberts (2007). First, the motivation supposed by Roberts is not sufficient because there is no theoretical reason to infer that it took a long time that the second v was introduced. If we

adopted Roberts' (2007) analysis, we should need to identify some independent reason for supporting it. Second, we cannot exclude the logical possibility that lower v^*P , instead of higher one, is passivized in the recipient passive. Therefore, the only introduction of the second v is necessary but not sufficient for the appearance of the recipient passive. Therefore, another theoretical apparatus is needed to provide enough explanation for this. Third, he cannot explain how the syntactic structures of the double object construction and its corresponding passive were derived from the early thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth century. Especially, it is not made clear how an accusative case was assigned to their indirect objects during this period. That is, he cannot clarify the whole path of the development of the double object construction and its corresponding passive.

3.3.3. Summary

In section 3.3, we have overviewed empirical linguistic data of the recipient passive and its related constructions, and some diachronic studies of them.

Especially, both Kemenade (1987) and Roberts (2007) reveal some interesting empirical facts of the recipient passive, whereas they cannot clarify the whole path of its development. Here, we should notice that the recipient passive has been often analyzed in relation to the double object construction, its active counterpart. In section 3.4, we overview syntactic analyses of the double object construction by using ApplP, proposed by Pykkänen (2008), McGinnis (2001) and Otzuka (2012), and suggest the possibility to extend coverage of their analysis to the recipient passive.

3.4. Relation to the Double Object Construction

The double object construction is a construction often related to the development of the recipient passive. A number of linguists argue that some syntactic change caused in the

double object construction affected the appearance of the recipient passive. Recently, for instance, McGinnis (2001) suggests the possibility that Pylkkänen's (2001) syntactic approach to the double object construction may extend its coverage to the recipient passive. This subsection overviews Pylkkänen (2008), McGinnis (2001) and Otzuka (2012) as some representative studies.

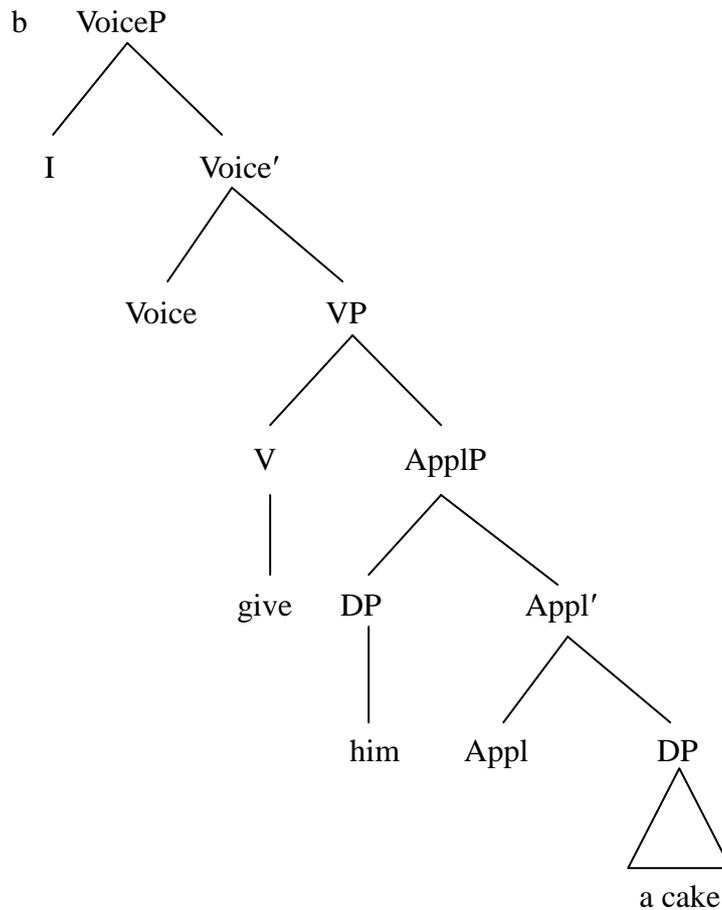
3.4.1. A Syntactic Approach to the Double Object Construction by Using ApplP

3.4.1.1. Pylkkänen (2008)

According to Pylkkänen, Appl is a functional category which shows a benefactive relation, and assigns a theta-role (Beneficiary) to its Spec. ApplP is divided into High ApplP and Low ApplP, which are structurally distinguished.

She also proposes a syntactic structure with ApplP of the double object construction in English. An example of double object constructions and its syntactic structure are illustrated in (16a) and (16b), respectively.

(16) a. I give him a cake.



(cf. Pylkkänen (2008: 13-14))

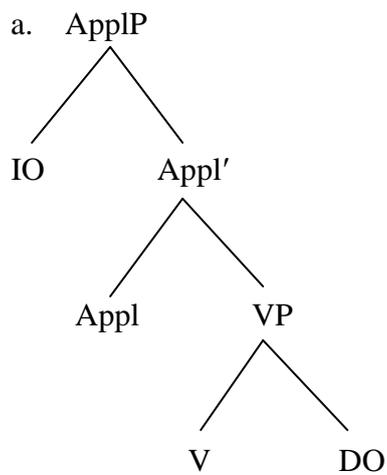
She assumes that the head *Appl* of the *ApplP* guarantees the possessional relation between the indirect object and the direct object. That is, in (16), the referent of *him* in *Spec* of *Appl* is the beneficiary of the event denoted by *VP* and the referent of *a cake* in the complement of *Appl* is the benefit of this event.

More interestingly, she regards *ApplP* in (16) as *Low ApplP* and points out that some languages have *High ApplP* for the double object construction as illustrated in (17). (17a) is an instance from Chaga, whose syntactic structure is shown in (17b).

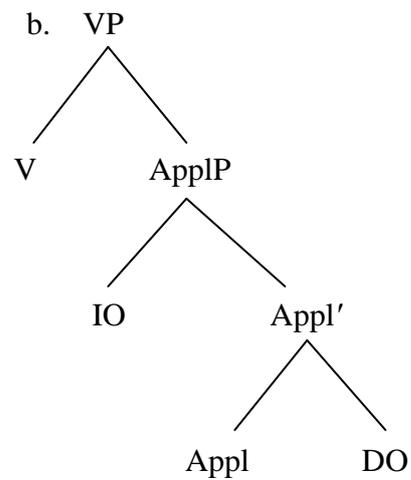
3.4.1.2. McGinnis (2001)

McGinnis (2001), along the lines of Pylkkänen (2001), focuses on the syntactic difference between High ApplP and Low ApplP (which are called ApplEP and ApplIP, respectively, by McGinnis). Their structures are shown in (18).

(18) High ApplP



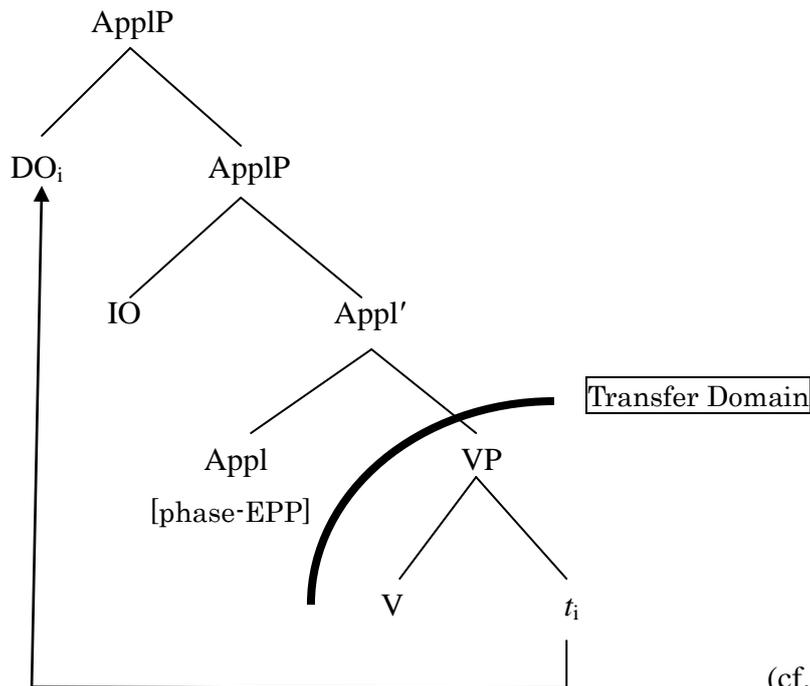
Low ApplP



(cf. McGinnis (2001: 333))

She proposes that High ApplP is a phase in addition to CP and v^*P , whereas Low ApplP is not.⁵ By this assumption, she attempts to explain whether a lower object can raise to a subject position or not. In a passive or raising construction with High ApplP, a lower object can raise to the subject position since High ApplP is a phase and a phase-EPP feature can be added to Appl in passive, allowing the lower object to move over the higher one, as in (19).⁶

(19) High ApplP

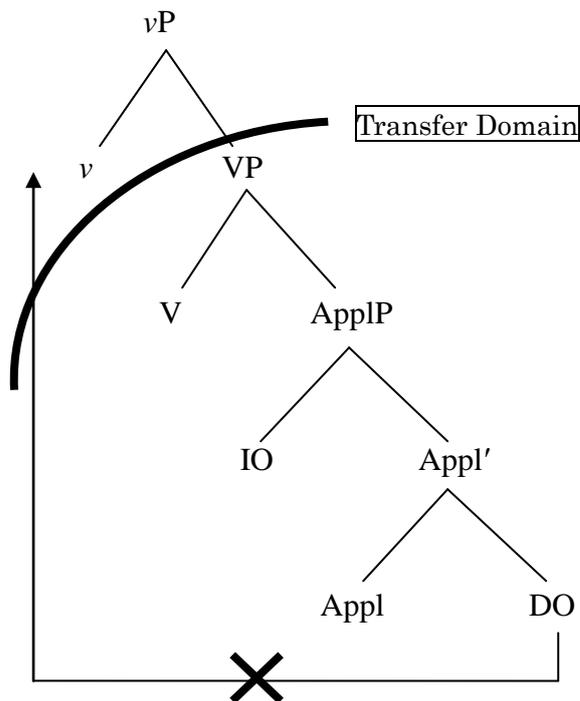


(cf. McGinnis (2001: 339))

Once the DO occupies outer Spec of Appl it is the closest DP to T, so it can move to Spec of T. Therefore, the direct passive is possible in constructions with High ApplP.

On the other hand, in a passive or raising construction with Low ApplP, the only higher object can undergo A-movement to the subject position. The lower object cannot raise to it since Low ApplP is not a phase and there is no phase-EPP feature included in Appl in the passive, and therefore it does not allow the lower object to move over the higher one, as in (20).

(20) Low ApplP



(cf. McGinnis (2001: 339))

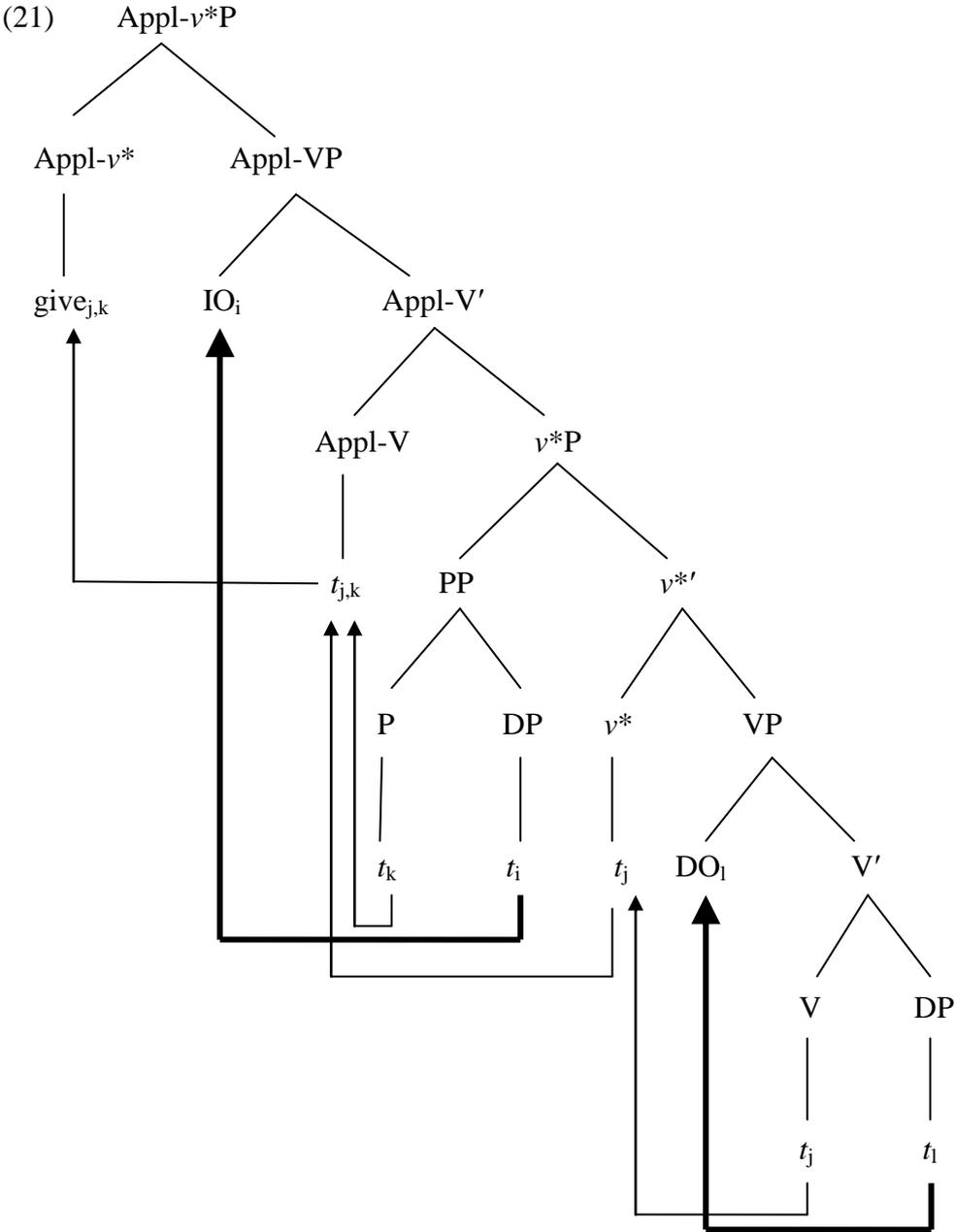
In (20), the higher object is the DP closest to T and prevents the lower one from undergoing A-movement to Spec of T. That is, the direct passive is impossible in constructions with Low ApplP. This exactly applies to the situation in standard PE, and double object constructions in PE seem to include Low ApplP.

I agree that there are two kinds of ApplP in natural language, but it does not seem to be plausible that High ApplP is a phase; if it were a phase like v^*P , an accusative case could not be assigned to the indirect object by Appl. The case could be only assigned to it by an upper phase head, probably v^* , directly, and I could not find any possible target of the inheritance. However, it is infeasible because of the timing of Transfer and Valuation.⁷

3.4.1.3. Otzuka (2012)

Otzuka (2012), following McGinnis (2001), proposes that Appl- v^*P (substantially High ApplP proposed by McGinnis) is a phase like CP or vP , whereas he assumes the structure of

the double object construction in standard PE involving High ApplP, rather than Low ApplP. This is illustrated in (21) with a phonologically null P.



(cf. Otzuka (2012: 147))

In (21), the DP-complement to V (i.e. DO) agrees with V, which has undergone feature inheritance from v^* , and at the same time, moves to Spec of V.⁸ Then, IO within PP agrees

with Appl-V, which has undergone feature inheritance from Appl-*v**, and is extracted and moves to Spec of Appl-V.⁹ On the other hand, (21) assumes the head movement of V to Appl-*v**, via *v** and Appl-V. Then, in Appl-V, the phonologically null P is incorporated into the head.¹⁰

His analysis is noticeable in that it indicates a theoretical possibility with syntactic approaches to the double object construction in PE. That is, it involves High ApplP, a phase.

However, there are mainly three serious problems with his analysis. First, as in (22), there are some cross-linguistic data which show that PE does not include High ApplP.

(22) *He ate the wife food.

As in (22), we cannot construe this sentence as the meaning “He is eating food for his wife,” though High ApplP languages such as Chaga and Luganda can (at least as far as I know). Therefore, there is cross-linguistic evidence which shows that the double object construction in PE does not include High ApplP.¹¹ Second, if High ApplP were a phase and the double object construction in PE included it, it would incorrectly expect that the A' movement of DO to outer Spec of High Appl was possible, and direct passives like (3), repeated here as (23), were grammatical.

(23) Direct Passive

??A book was given Mary.

Third, it is problematic that there was no independent evidence for the existence of a phonologically null P. Therefore, it seems to be implausible that the double object construction in standard PE includes High ApplP.

3.4.1.4. Summary

Section 3.4.1 has focused on some syntactic approaches by using ApplP. In addition, both McGinnis (2001) and Otzuka (2012) suggest that High ApplP is a phase. However, by theoretical and empirical evidence, it turns out to be implausible, at least in the double object construction in English.

3.5. Data from Historical Corpora

In this section, to clarify the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive, we show the results of our survey based on some historical corpora, focusing on the token-frequency of the recipient passive and the relative word order of double objects. The corpora used in this survey are PPCME2 and PPCEME.¹² In addition, the data of the recipient passive collected from this survey are limited to those of the recipient passive with generally called *Give-type* verbs (*give, send, tell* and so on) illustrated in (24), because many of the examples of the recipient passive include such verbs.

- (24) a. He {gave / sent / told} me a book.
b. He {gave / sent / told} a book *to* me.

As shown in (24), (24a) including *Give-type* verbs can be paraphrased by (24b), with a preposition *to*.

To begin with, we overview how the token-frequency of the recipient passive changes through the history of English. And then, we focus on the relative word order of double objects.

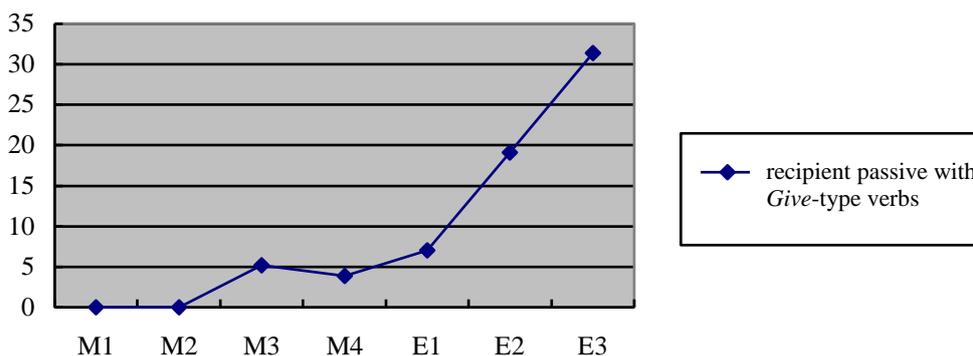
3.5.1. The Token-frequency of the Recipient Passive

First, we attempt to identify when the recipient passive appeared, by using the PPCME2. In fact, except Allen's (1995) investigation by using original Middle English texts, this has not been dealt with adequately. It is worth verifying whether there were examples of the recipient passive before the latter of the fourteenth century by employing large-scaled historical corpora. Moreover, even Allen (1995) does not make explicit how the token-frequency of the recipient passive changes through the history of English. This explication may contribute to clarify how the recipient passive has been established as one construction. The results are shown in Table 1 and Figure 2.

Table 1 The Token-frequency of the Recipient Passive (per 1,000,000 words)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
recipient passive with <i>Give</i> -type verbs	0	0	5.2	3.9	7.0	19.1	31.4

Figure 2 The Token-frequency of the Recipient Passive



These results show that the recipient passive began to appear around the M3 period (1350-1420). One of the earliest examples is (25).

- (25) þe prioresse is geuin a mater to be prowð
 the prioress is given a matter to be tried
 “The prioress is given a matter to be tried” (CMBENRUL, 43. 1346: M3)

These results are consistent with what is pointed out by Kemenade (1987) or Allen (1995). Therefore, this thesis also adopts the perspective that the recipient passive appears around the fourteenth century. Moreover, it also shows that the recipient passive had been established as a construction by E1.

Some previous studies relate the development of the recipient passive to the change of the relative word order of double objects. These hypotheses are verified in the next subsection.

3.5.2. The Relative Word Order of Double Objects

Some linguists such as Allen (1995) suggest that the fixing of the order “Indirect Object-Direct Object” in the double object construction strongly affected the appearance of the recipient passive. That is, they argue that, by making an indirect object fixed in the complement of V in the double object construction, it was regarded as similar to a direct object in the transitive construction and could become a subject in passive. The following is cited from Allen (1995). In table 2, only three literatures, *The Ælfric* (henceforth Ælfric, OE), *The Ancrene Wisse* (henceforth, AW, the early thirteenth century), and *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester* (henceforth, Rob.Glo., the early fourteenth century) are compared.

Table 2 Order of Two Nominal Objects

Order	REC TH	TH REC	% REC TH
Ælfric	60	74	45
AW	19	11	63
Rob.Glo	33	9	79

(Allen (1995: 418))

This investigation does not seem to be enough to assure her hypothesis, in terms of quantity. Moreover, she shows another statistics on orders of double objects found in the early fourteenth century, as shown in table 3.

Table 3 Orders of Double Objects Found in the Early Fourteenth Century¹³

Order	REC	TH	
	Pro	N	Most common
	N	N	Fairly common
Order	TH	REC	
	Pro	N	Unusual
	N	N	Rare

Note: TH = Theme, REC = Recipient

(Allen (1995: 419))

In her Appendix B, she states that this investigation related to Table 3 was conducted to some early fourteenth century texts arbitrarily chosen, and on the basis of the results, the loss of the order “N_{TH}-N_{REC}” strongly affected the appearance of the recipient passive. Although her hypothesis can shed new light on studies of the development of the recipient passive, it needs adequate empirical data in terms of quantity and quality, so as to assure its plausibility. Therefore, we should verify the plausibility by employing some large-scaled historical corpora. The results of our survey are summarized as follows.

Table 4 The Relative Word Order of Double Objects (percent)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
Indirect Object-Direct Object	76.53	82.57	93.07	95.13	97.43	96.88	98.00
Direct Object-Indirect Object	23.47	17.43	6.93	4.87	2.57	3.12	2.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Figure 3 The Relative Word Order of Double Objects

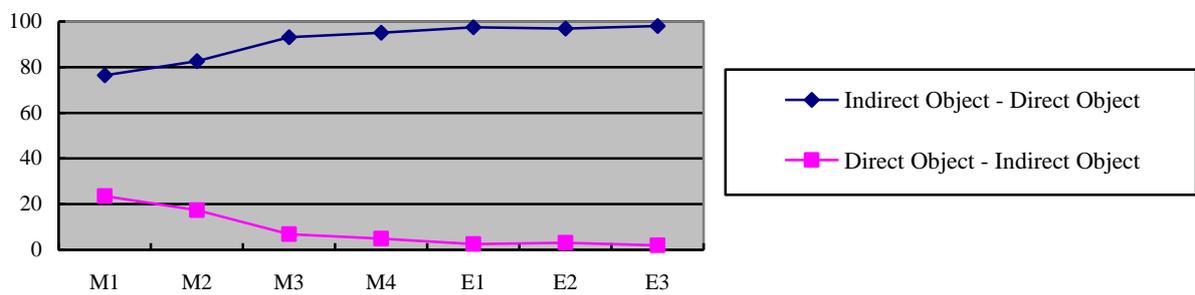
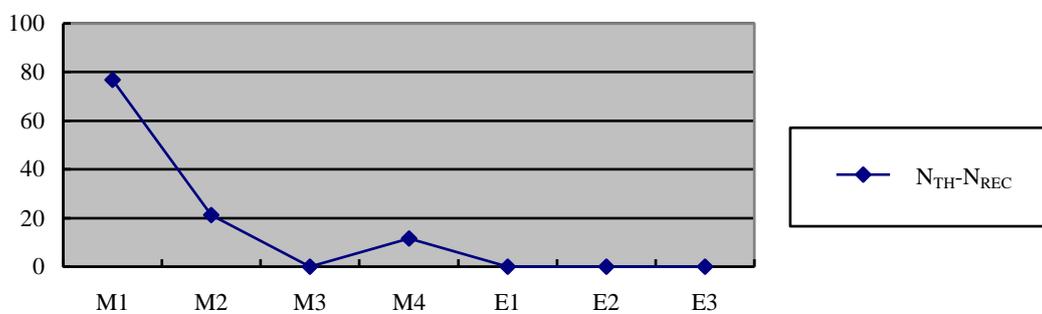


Table 5 The Token-frequency of the Word Order “N_{TH}-N_{REC}”

(per 1,000,000 words)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
N _{TH} -N _{REC}	76.73	21.28	0	11.53	0	0	0

Figure 4 The Token-frequency of the Word Order “N_{TH}-N_{REC}”



Compared with Table 2, both Table 4 and Figure 3 show that, at least in ME, the tendency

pointed out by Allen exists as general. Especially, it is M3 (1350-1420) that the percentage of the order “Indirect Object-Direct Object” began to be over 90%. Regarded as the fixed consistent order, this could be a trigger of the appearance of the recipient passive.¹⁴ Moreover, the low-frequency of the order “N_{TH}-N_{REC}” had been kept from M3 to E3, as observed in Table 5 and Figure 4. This can assure that the results of Table 3 shown by Allen properly capture a tendency since then. However, only data in section 3.5 do not reveal how the appearance of the recipient passive and the relative word order of double objects are related. In order to make it clear, more data seem to be needed.

3.6. A Syntactic Analysis of the Development of the Recipient Passive

This section provides a syntactic analysis of the development of the double object construction and the recipient passive by using two kinds of ApplP overviewed in section 3.4.1.

3.6.1. From OE to the Mid-Thirteenth Century

The syntactic structure of the double object construction and the direct passive from OE to the mid-thirteenth century is accounted for with the assignment of inherent case. First, let us consider the double object construction in (26a).

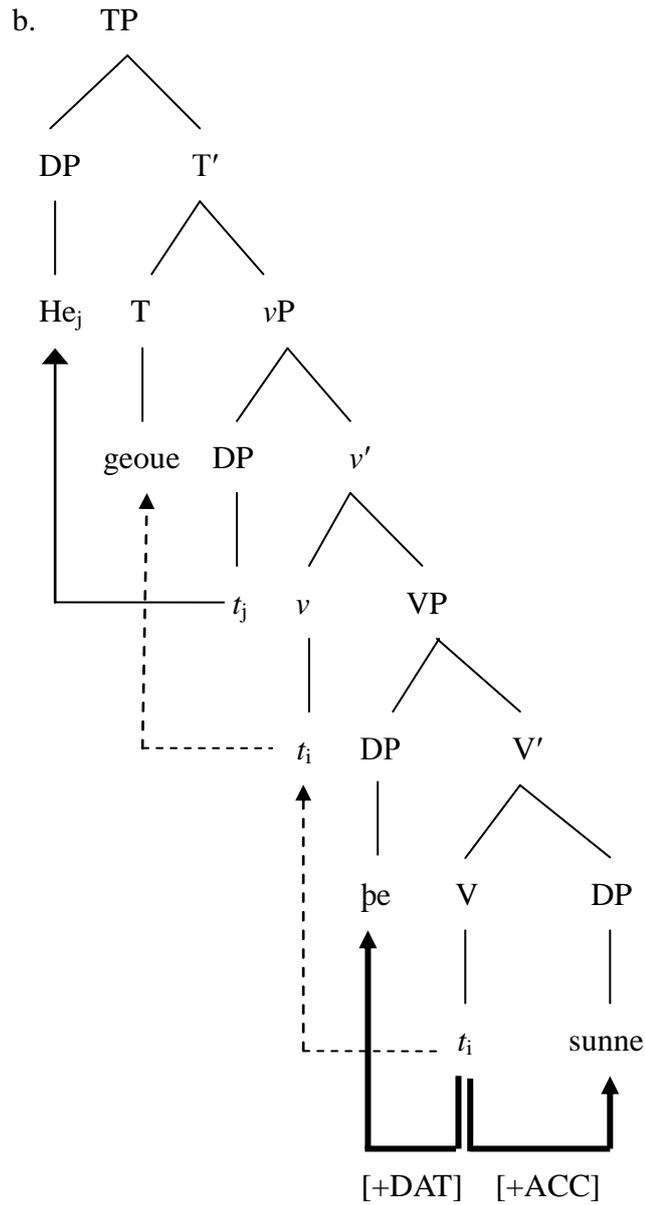
(26) Double Object Construction

a. He geoue þe sunne

he gave you suns

“He gave you suns.”

(CMANCRIW. II. 231. 3337: M1)



In (26b), the indirect object *pe* in Spec of V is assigned a dative case (an inherent case) by the V head and the direct object *sunne* in the complement of V is assigned an accusative case (a structural case) by the V head.

In turn, consider the direct passive illustrated in (27a).

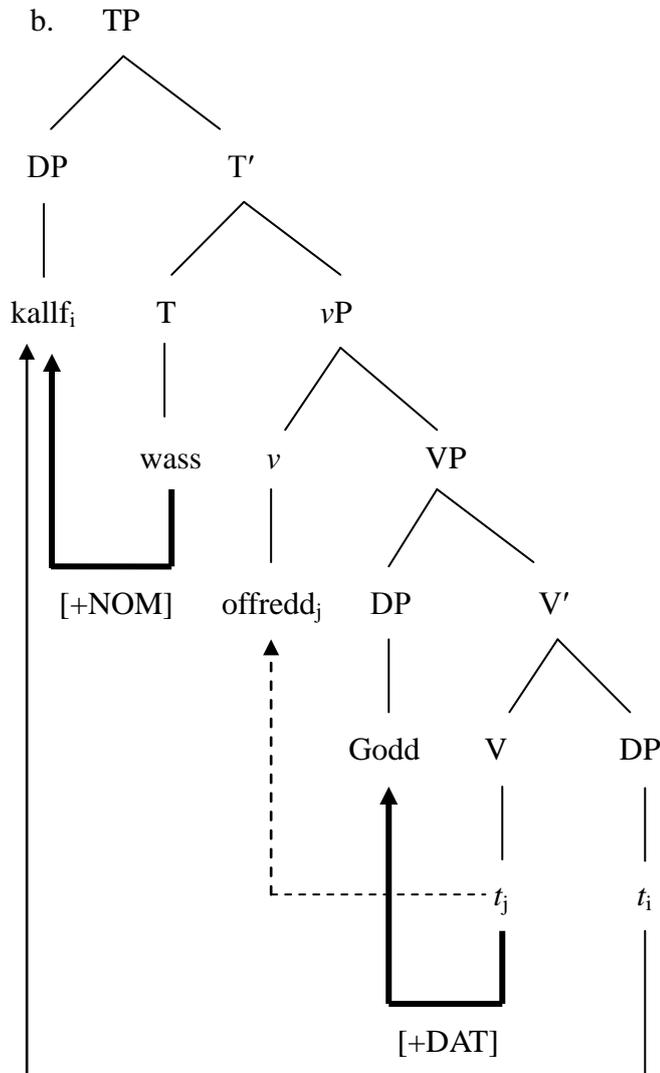
(27) Direct Passive

a. *kallf wass offredd Godd*

calf was offered Godd

“calf was offered God”

(CMORM, I, 209. 1716: M1)



In (27b), by passivization of V, an accusative case given to the direct object *kallf* in the complement of V is absorbed and its object moves to Spec of T to receive a nominative case. On the other hand, since the dative case which the indirect object *Godd* in Spec of V bears is an inherent case, following Chomsky (1981), the case is still retained even in passive. According to Chomsky (1981), it is only structural case that is absorbed by passivization, and

inherent case is not. Therefore, from OE to the mid-thirteenth century, only direct passives such as (27a) were grammatical.

3.6.2. From the Mid-Thirteenth to the Latter of the Fourteenth Century

In the mid-thirteenth century, inherent case was lost and an alternative case-assignment system to the indirect object in (26) or (27) was needed. It was High ApplP which was introduced as the mechanism.

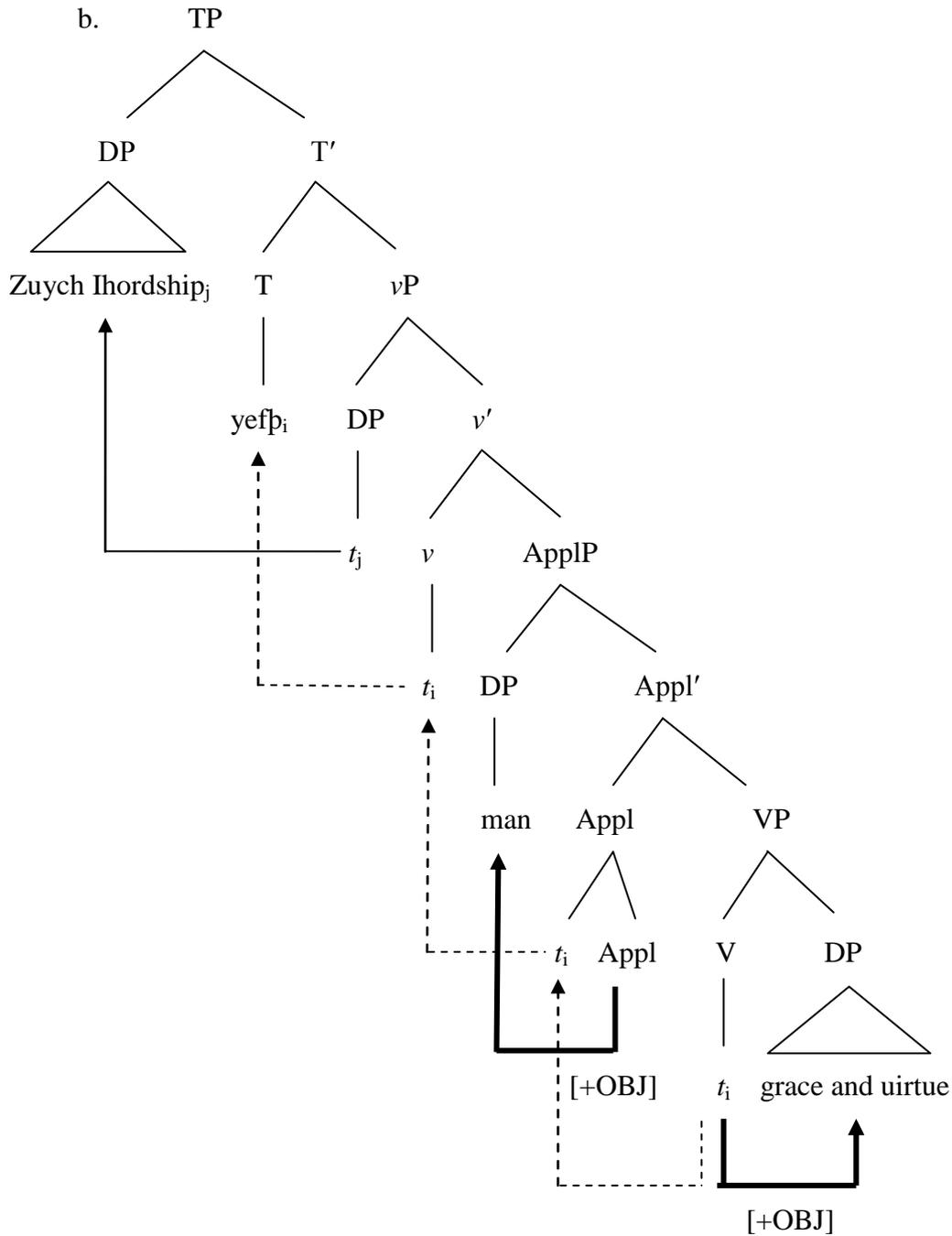
From the mid-thirteenth to the latter of the fourteenth century, double object constructions such as (28a) were observed. The syntactic structure of (28a) is shown in (28b).

(28) Double Object Construction

- a. Zuych Ihordssip yefþ man grace and uirtue.

such hardship gives man grace and virtue

“Such hardship gives man grace and virtue.” (CMAYENBI. 84. 1638: M2)



In (28b), we assume that the indirect object *man* in Spec of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the Appl head, and the direct object *grace and uirtue* in the complement of V is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the V head.

Next, consider the direct passive in (29a), whose structure is shown in (29b).

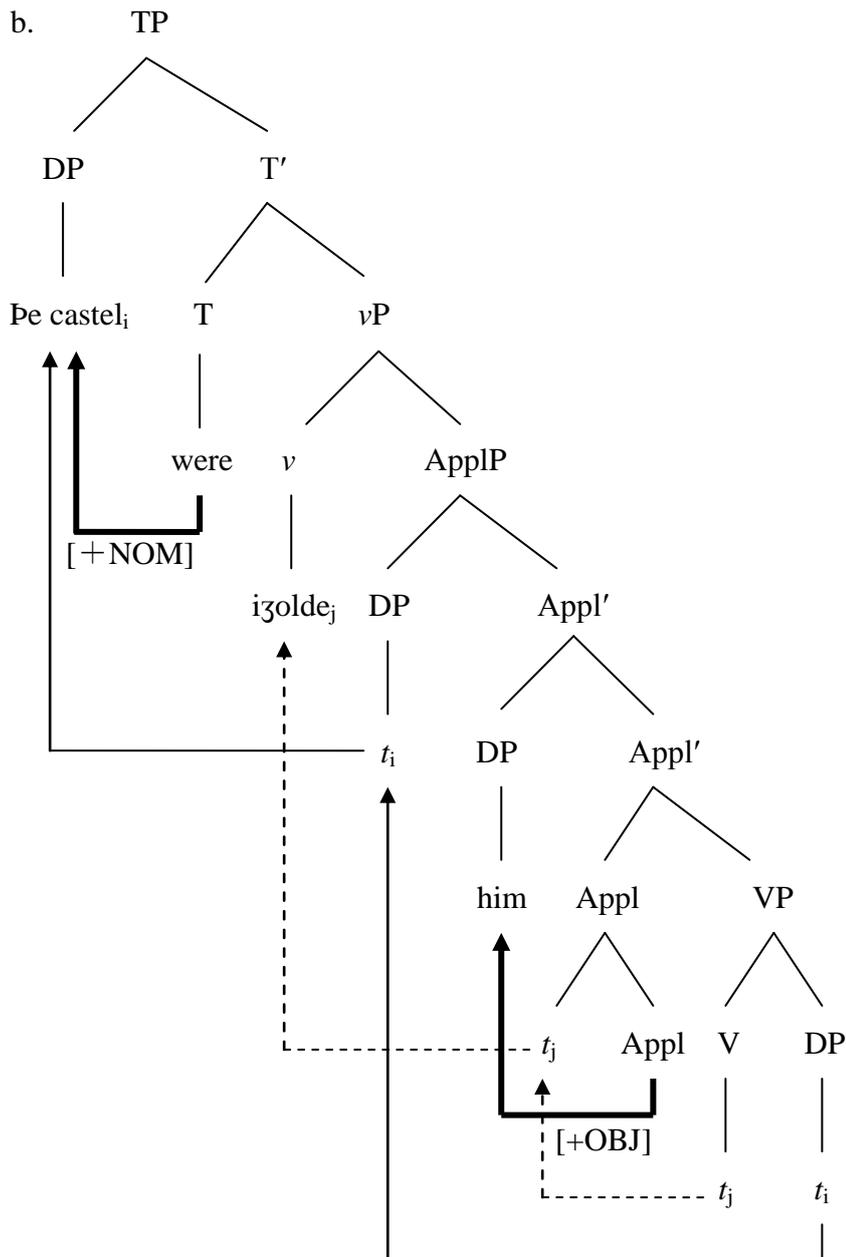
(29) Direct Passive¹⁵

a. *Ʒe castel him were iʒolde.*

The castle him were given

“The castle was given him.” (c1297 Rob. Glouc. (Rolls) 9223, Ar)

(Visser (1963-1973: 2153 (§ 1976)))



In (29b), the objective case given to the indirect object *him* in inner Spec of Appl has still

been retained. On the other hand, the direct object *Pe castel* in the complement of V moves to Spec of T via outer Spec of Appl to receive a nominative case. The movement to outer Spec of Appl is assumed to be short scrambling (A-movement).¹⁶ As evidence for assuming such movement, at that time, there were examples such as *I gave it Mary*, though their number was small.¹⁷ And this can be accounted for by considering that at that time, a direct object optionally moved to outer Spec of Appl by short scrambling.¹⁸ Therefore, from the mid-thirteenth to the latter of the fourteenth century, only direct passives such as (29a) were also grammatical.

3.6.3. From the Latter of the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century

In the syntactic structures of (28b) and (29b) shown in section 3.6.2, the semantic relation between indirect objects and direct objects cannot be captured structurally. In other words, mismatches between form and meaning were caused.¹⁹ Therefore, in order to make the semantic relation between them syntactically explicit, Low ApplP began to be introduced by the latter of the fourteenth century.²⁰ Low ApplP had competed with High ApplP earlier introduced, until the sixteenth century.²¹

(30a) is an example of double object constructions observed from the latter of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

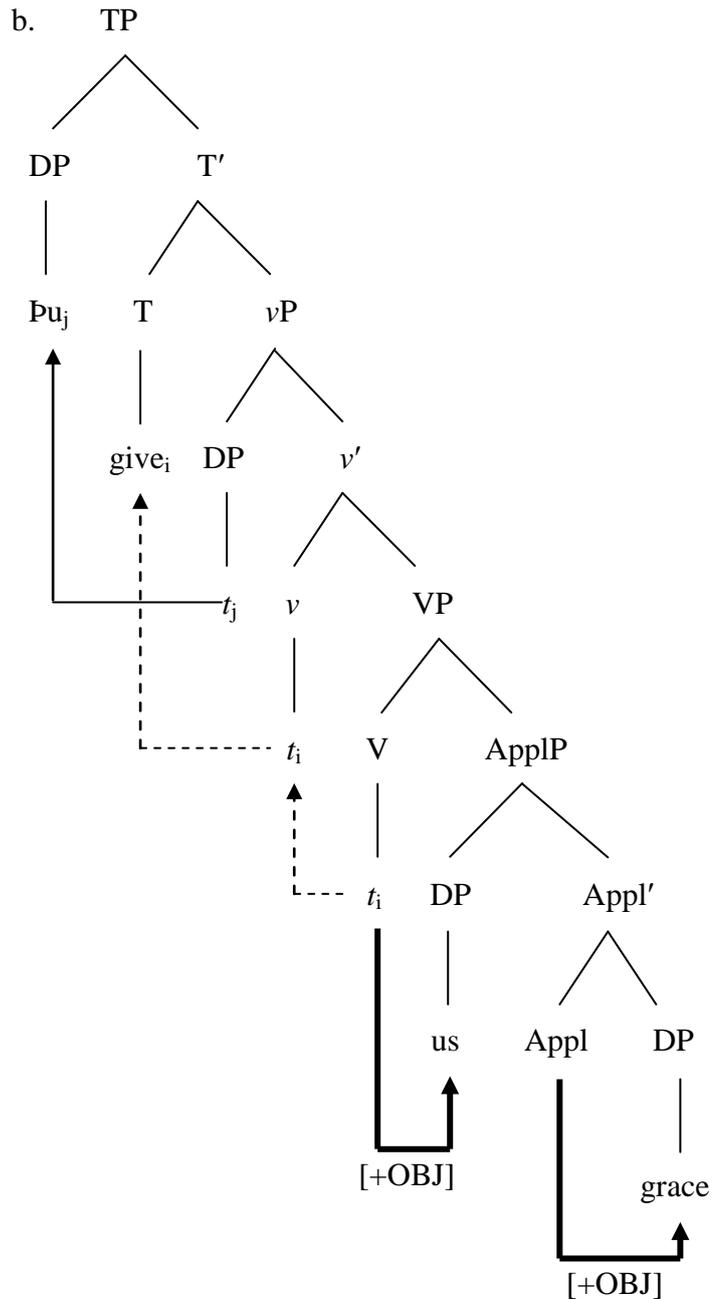
(30) Double Object Construction

a. Ðu gif us grace

You give us grace

“You give us grace”

(CMBENRUL, 3.73: M3)



In (30b), the indirect object *us* in Spec of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the V head, and the direct object *grace* in the complement of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the Appl head.

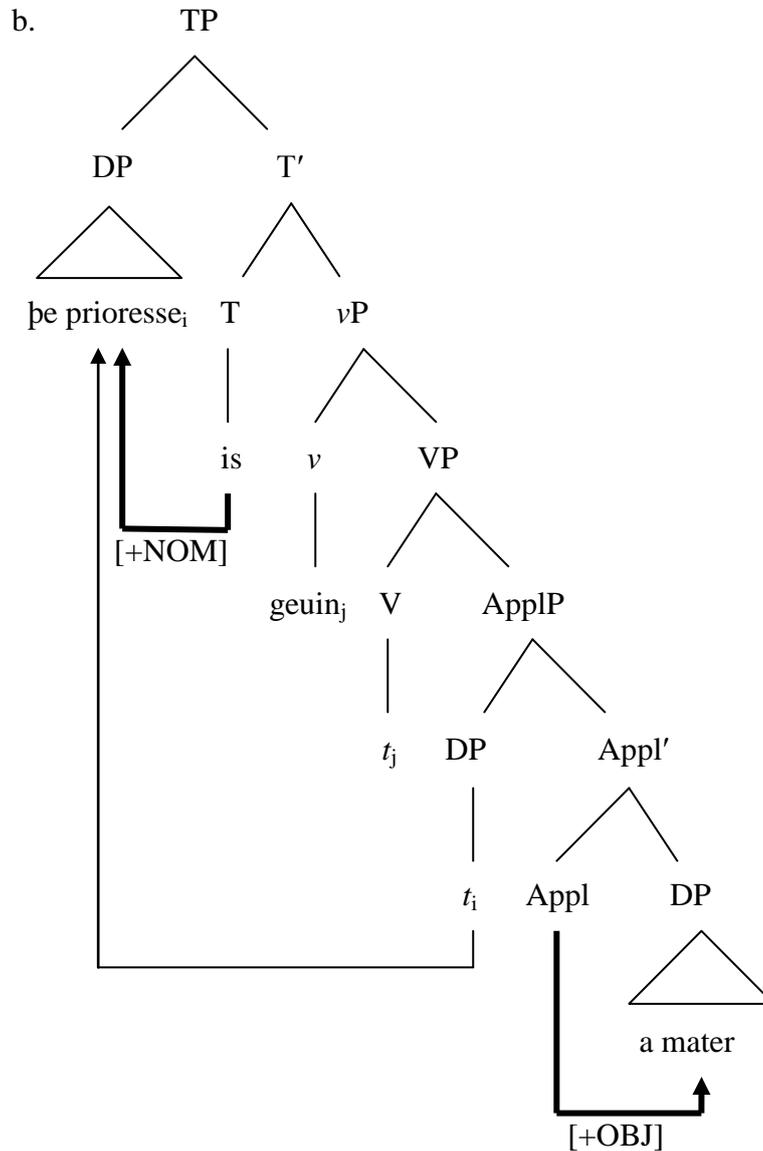
In turn, consider the recipient passive illustrated in (31a), which began to be possible in the latter of the fourteenth century.

(31) Recipient Passive

a. *be prioresse is geuin a mater to be prow d*

the prioress is given a matter to be tried

“The prioress is given a matter to be tried” (CMBENRUL, 43. 1346: M3)



In (31b), the direct object *a mater* in the complement of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the Appl head, but the indirect object *be prioresse* in Spec of Appl moves to Spec of T to receive a nominative case. Therefore, recipient passives such as (31a) were grammatical.

Here notice that from the latter of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, there were direct passives like (32) as well as recipient ones like (31a).

(32) Direct Passive

It was telde þe Erchebischof of hys mannys presonyng

It was told the archbishop of his men's prisoning

“It was told the archbishop of his men's prisoning”

(CMKEMPE, 130.3042: M4)

Since (32) cannot be explained by using only (31b), this appears to be problematic for the present analysis. However, this can be expected by assuming that, at that time, structures such as (28b) and (29b) still remained.

3.6.4. Since the Sixteenth Century

In the sixteenth century, High ApplP was completely lost and only recipient passives such as (31b) became acceptable and have continued to the present.

3.6.5. Theoretical and Empirical Consequences

We have proposed a syntactic approach to the development of the double object construction, the direct passive and the recipient passive with regard to the changes of their syntactic structures. The present subsection provides a number of theoretical and empirical consequences.

There are mainly two theoretical contributions.

First, the present syntactic analysis can make more explicit the development of the double object construction, the direct passive and the recipient passive. Recall the two

problems with Kemenade (1987): One is that her analysis cannot explain the empirical fact that the recipient passive appeared around 1350, just because of the loss of inherent case; the other is that she does not make clear the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive. If the present analysis is adopted, both problems will be solved, since we assume the introduction of Low ApplP as a new trigger of the appearance of the recipient passive and, as shown in sections 3.6.1-3.6.4, clarify the more exact path of the development of the recipient passive, the direct passive, and the double object construction.

A similar thing applies to Roberts (2007). There are mainly three problems in his analysis. The most crucial one is the accusative case assignment to an indirect object. If an indirect object received an inherent case by V from OE to the mid-thirteenth century and an alternative system had not been introduced until the latter of the fourteen century, then how did an indirect object receive an accusative case during the period between the mid-thirteenth century and the latter of the fourteenth century? The other problems are about the introduction of the second *v*. However, the present analysis will solve all these problems. As shown in section 3.6.2, an indirect object was assigned an accusative case by Appl even from the mid-thirteenth century to the latter of the fourteenth century. The other problems about the introduction of the second *v* will not arise at all to the present analysis, since we adopt ApplP rather than secondary *v*(*)P.

Second, previous studies argue that the grammaticality of sentences such as *I gave a ball Mary* necessarily agrees with that of sentences such as *A ball was given Mary*. Under the present analysis, the fact can be expected because both are derived only from syntactic structures including High ApplP and short scrambling.

There is also an empirical contribution. I have carefully investigated empirical linguistic facts by using large-scaled historical corpora. Analyzing the results, I have constructed the present syntactic and diachronic approach. Even if (as in theoretical changes

from GB theory to the Minimalist Program) the present theoretical framework has changed, at least empirical facts observed here will still retain their value.

3.6.6. Remaining Problems

This section is devoted to some still unsolved problems here.

The first is what motivated the introduction and the loss of High ApplP. Specifically, we need to account for why High ApplP, not Low ApplP, had to be introduced when the loss of inherent case happened and why syntactic structures including High ApplP were lost in the sixteenth century. One possible solution to this problem is to provide an explanation by analogy to other dative constructions such as dative of interest and so on. Dative of interest is a dative pronoun or noun attached to verb, in order to show that its referent is benefactive for the predication. The motivation of the introduction of High ApplP is that, then, syntactic structures of other dative constructions such as dative of interest had already included High ApplP and by analogy to them, syntactic structures of the double object construction and the direct passive, were analyzed as one including High ApplP. On the other hand, the motivation of the loss of High ApplP is that, by the sixteenth century, other dative constructions including High ApplP declined or lost and along these lines, the double object construction and the direct passive including High ApplP were also lost. In fact, according to a description by Kondo and Fujiwara (1993), Mizutori and Yonekura (1997) and so on, at least as for dative of interest, it was often observed in OE and ME, whereas began to decline in ModE and it is rare in PE. The examples in (35) involve ones including dative of interest in OE, ME and ModE, respectively.

(33) a. Nu hie Drihtne synt wurðran micle, and moton him.

Now they to the Lord are dearer much, and may for themselves

þone welan agan

the riches own.

“Now they are much dearer to the Lord, and may own the riches for themselves.” (Genesis B, II. 421b-2 cited by Kondo and Fujiwara (1993): OE)

b. That is my nece, and called is Criseyde, Which some men wolden don

That is my niece and called is Criseyde, to whom some men would do
possessioun;

injustice.

“That is my niece and is called Criseyde, to whom some men would do
injustice.”

(Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde 2.1417-8 cited by Mizutori and Yonekura
(1997): ME)

c. I'll do you your master what good I can.

(The Merry Wives of Windsor 1.4.87: ModE)

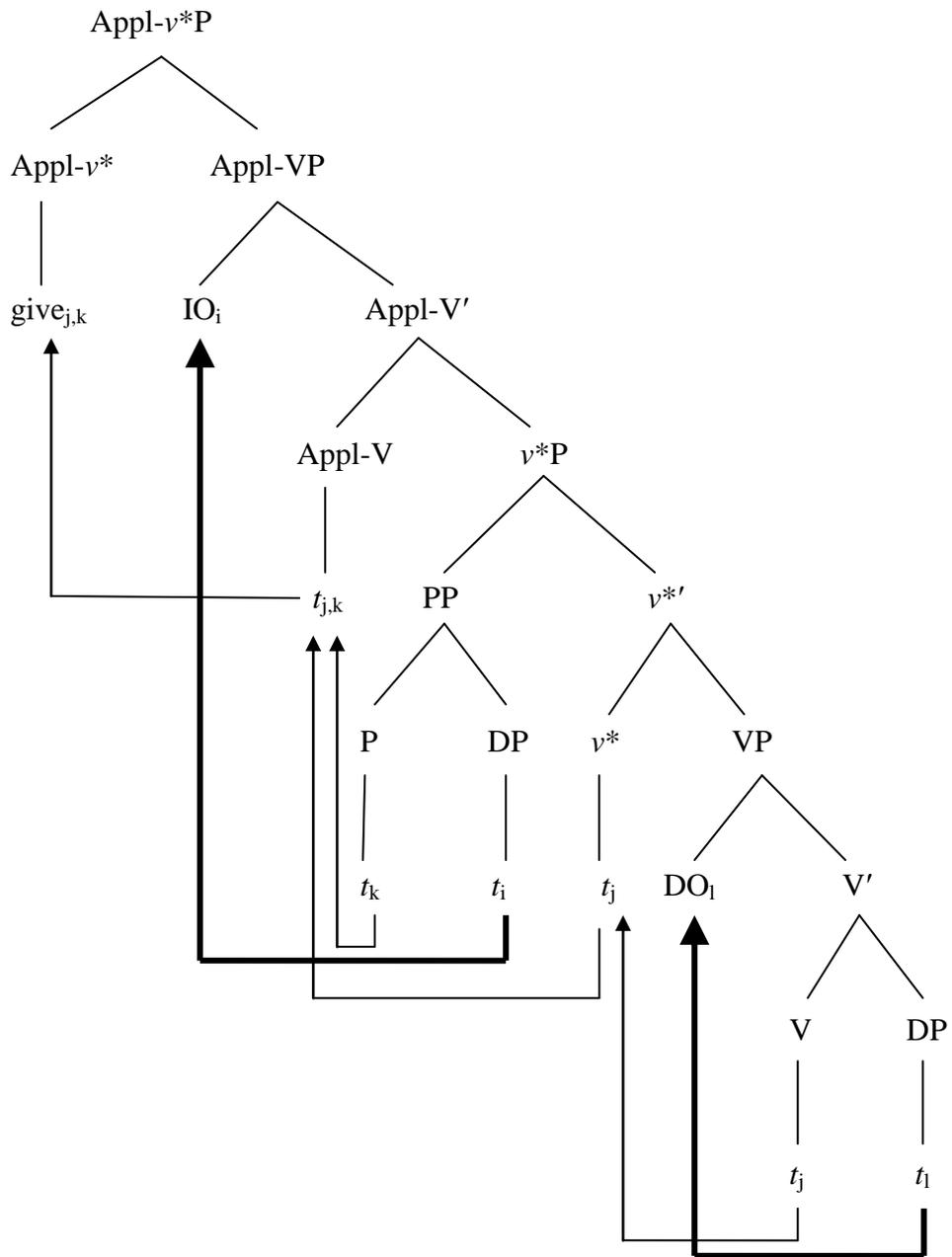
It is one of further important tasks whether the introduction or loss of High ApplP shown in subsections 3.6.2 and 3.6.4 can be accounted for by analogy to other dative constructions such as dative of interest.

The second is that, as shown in sections 3.6.1-3.6.4, the present analysis is within the GB framework, rather than the minimalist framework. This completely goes against the theoretical shift from GB to minimalism; considering the present situation where many fundamental conceptions and principles (for example, D-structure, S-structure, projection principle and so on) have been abolished one after another, it seems to be hopeless that our

analysis depends on the GB framework. Thus, in Honda (in print), I have tried to manage to provide a minimalist approach as an alternative for the development of the recipient passive. However, so far, any minimalist approach causes, more or less, serious theoretical problems, being infeasible.²² Therefore, although the present analysis may not be the best (at least for minimalists), we propose it as a “tentative” one. Proposing some analysis within the minimalist framework for the development of the recipient passive is left open for further study.

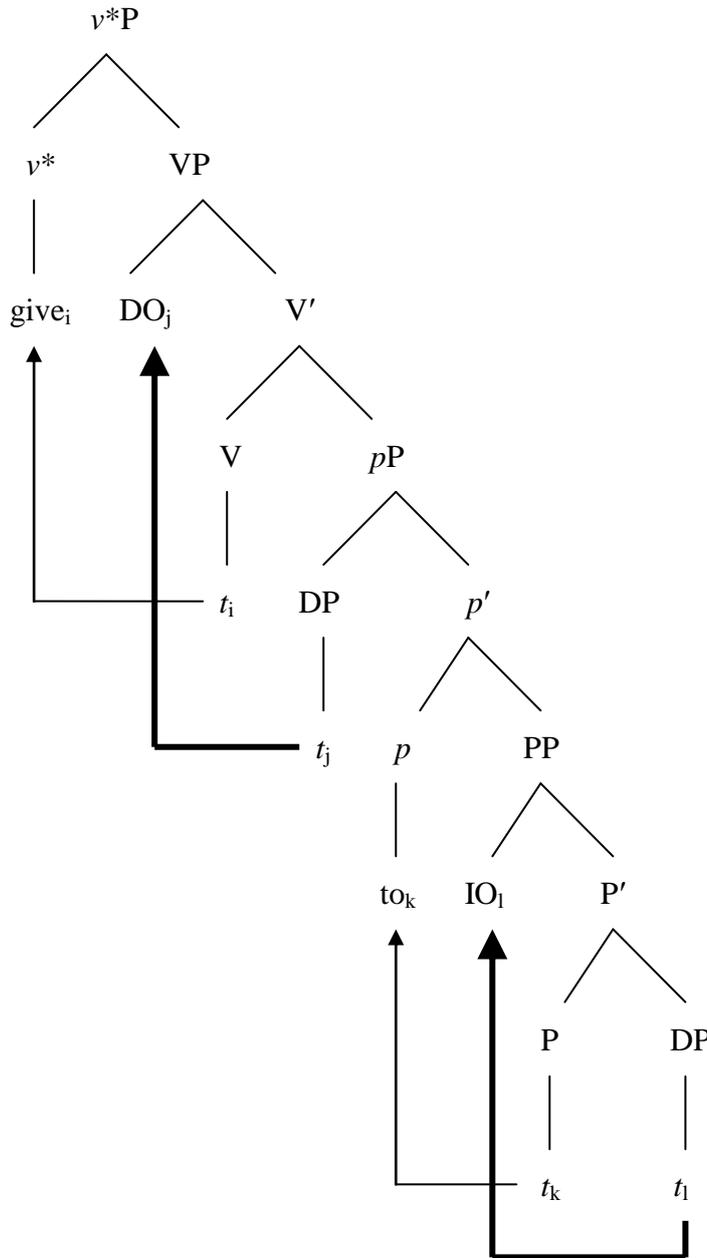
The Third is whether or not (the development of) the dative prepositional construction can be related to (that of) the double object construction. As for this, there is still much controversy among linguists. Some linguists like Bresnan (2007) argue that both are related to each other, but others like Breuning (2010) and Otzuka (2012) argue that they are independent. Bresnan (2007) attempts to prove with regard to statistics that the dative prepositional construction is related to the double object construction.²³ On the other hand, Otzuka (2012) provides an independent syntactic structure for each, as shown in (34) and (35). In (34), P involves a phonologically null preposition.

(34) Double Object Construction



(cf. Otzuka (2012: 147))

(35) Dative Prepositional Construction



(cf. Otzuka (2012: 147))

However, Bresnan (2007) does not propose any structure and development of the double object construction and the dative prepositional construction, and, as for Otzuka (2012), the structure in (34) is unavailable, as already shown in section 3.4.1.3. As far as their analyses are concerned, it seems to be difficult to decide whether or not (the development of) the dative prepositional construction can be related to (that of) the double object construction.

Even for each construction, we have not determined its structure and development yet, much less whether they are related or not. These need further study and a number of empirical linguistic data.

3.7. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has suggested a syntactic approach to the development of the recipient passive, by supporting two kinds of ApplP, i.e. High ApplP and Low ApplP, proposed by Pylkkänen (2008). We have also shown mainly two theoretical consequences with this approach. First, the present syntactic analysis can make more explicit the development of the double object construction, the direct passive and the recipient passive. Second, the present analysis correctly expects that the grammaticality of sentences such as *I gave a ball Mary* necessarily agrees with that of sentences such as *A ball was given Mary*, because both are derived only from syntactic structures including High ApplP and short scrambling.

Notes to Chapter 3

1 Some linguists refer to (2) as the indirect passive, since the subject of (2) is the indirect object of (1). However, we will adopt the term “the recipient passive,” for the following reasons: (I) as the term for (2), the recipient passive is more generally used than the indirect passive and (II) other linguists call a sentence such as *I have my hair cut* the indirect passive.

2 According to Haddican (2010), for most speakers in the dialect area he focuses on (Greater Manchester), the direct passive (called the theme passive by Haddican (2010)) is accepted. Haddican argues that its grammaticality depends on whether a speaker accepts sentences like *I gave a ball his son*. Furthermore, sentences such as *she sent them me* (cited from *Tempest*, II, i, 92-93 by Shakespeare: Haddican (2010: 2424)) are most easily accepted by speakers in North western and western dialects of England from Lancashire through Gloucestershire, including parts of Midlands and West Yorkshire. They are also sometimes regarded as grammatical by speakers in Wales and from dialects further South including London and Cornwall. On the other hand, he points out that speakers of North Eastern English dialects and Scots typically do not accept theme-goal ditransitive constructions.

3 Haddican (2010) and Yanagi (2012) refer to (3) as the theme passive in contrast to the recipient passive, but many linguists generally call it the direct passive. Thus, we also do so in accordance with the custom, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion.

4 This example is cited from Visser (1963-1973), not PPCME2, since there are extremely few data from M2 in PPCME2. According to its wordcount summary, M2 only includes 93,999 words, in contrast to M1 (195,494), M3 (385,994), and M4 (260,116).

5 Here, we will adopt the definition of phases proposed by Chomsky (2008); phases are CP and v^*P . However, some minimalists argue that DP or pP is also a phase. Since this analysis is not affected by whether they are phases or not, we will not discuss it further in this thesis.

6 An immediate question here is whether the movement caused by a phase-EPP feature is A- or A'-movement. One may propose that, following Chomsky (2007), this must be A'-movement because it is driven by a phase-EPP (or edge) feature. However, this will cause a serious violation for the derivation of the direct passive since A-movement to Spec of T applies to the moved position by the above A'-movement, and therefore, a series of movements is regarded as improper movement. We will adopt Mahajan's (1990) analysis, which points out that clause-internal scrambling has A-movement properties while long-distance scrambling has A'-movement ones.

7 As for more detailed accounts of the timing of Valuation and Transfer, see Chomsky (2007, 2008) and Richards (2007). In summary, they argue that an uninterpretable feature with a phase head must be inherited by a non-phase head which the phase head selects in accordance with the timing of Valuation and Transfer.

8 Otsuka (2012) does not make clear how this movement is related to Agree, much less even what feature causes this movement.

9 It is not clarified why Appl- v^* has to agree with IO and how feature enables only a part of its Spec to be the target of this movement. As for the latter, there may be a possibility by using smuggling in Collins (2005a, b).

10 It has not been explained yet why P needs to be incorporated into another head and what concrete mechanism enables P to be incorporated.

11 Note that (23) is evidence that double object constructions in standard PE do not include High ApplP. In other words, such evidence cannot deny the existence of the structure with High ApplP of the double object construction in the history of English (see (28b) in section 3.6.2).

12 The Periodization of PPCME2 is M1 (1150-1250), M2 (1250-1350), M3 (1350-1420) and M4 (1420-1500). The periodization of PPCEME is E1 (1500-1569), E2 (1570-1639) and E3 (1540-1710).

13 In PE, as well as in the early fourteenth century, as shown in Table 3, Hughes et al. (2006) and Haddican (2010) point out that, as for theme-goal ditransitives, those with a pronominal theme and full DP goal (*She gave it the boy*) is more acceptable than those with both full DPs (*She gave the ball the boy*) by speakers of some British dialects.

14 Although the timings of both phenomena were so close, the loss of the order “N_{TH}-N_{REC}” is not always a factor of the appearance of the recipient passive. That is, it may be a by-product rather than a factor. This distinction often causes a typical and delicate problem for diachronic studies: Which one is cause and which one is effect? We will return to this problem later, in section 3.6.2.

15 See note 3.

16 See Mahajan (1990), who points out that clause-internal scrambling has A-movement properties while long-distance scrambling has A'-movement ones.

17 See Allen (1995: 422) for the loss of the order $NP_{TH}-NP_{REC}$. She points out that the order “ $N_{TH}-N_{REC}$ ” disappeared in the mid-fourteenth century and the order “ $Pro_{TH}-N_{REC}$ ” disappeared in the latter of the fifteenth century.

18 Even in passive, this short scrambling itself optionally happens. However, the derivation including no short scrambling must be crashed, because, in DP-movement from the complement of V to Spec of T, there is an indirect object, a DP in Spec of Appl, between T and a direct object, and it becomes an obstacle in terms of relativized minimality proposed by Rizzi (1990).

19 As for the correspondences between form and meaning, including their mismatch, see Jackendoff (1990, 2002), and Culicover and Jackendoff (2005).

20 An immediate question here is why the introduction of Low ApplP did not happen when inherent case was lost. We assume that, since the accusative case assignment from V to a direct object still remained then, this system was retained and, in addition to it, an auxiliary system (i.e. the accusative case assignment from Appl to an indirect object within High ApplP) was introduced to avoid a syntactic problem for the moment. In the latter of the fourteenth century, to eliminate a problem other than a syntactic one (here, a semantic one) totally, the large-scale change of linguistic systems, including a syntactic one, was caused. And there, a kind of economy seems to have work that requires that the change of linguistic systems to adapt to a new situation should be as local (in terms of global economy) as

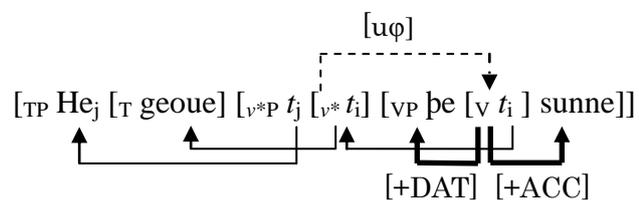
possible. As for more detailed accounts of global economy, including the difference to local economy, see Collins (1997).

21 The term “compete” is based on “grammatical competition in the Double Base Hypothesis” proposed by Pintzuk (1999).

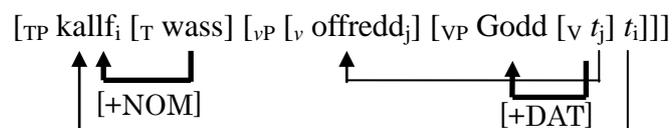
22 We could assume the following analysis by using phases and feature inheritance within the recent minimalist framework, instead of our approach proposed in the text, if we could ignore some crucial theoretical problems (For phases, see Chomsky (2001, 2008) and for feature inheritance, see Chomsky (2007, 2008)).

(i) (I) From OE to the Mid-Thirteenth Century

a. Double Object Construction

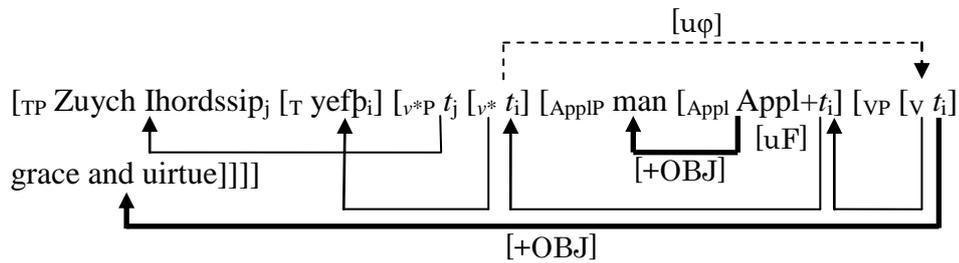


b. Direct Passive

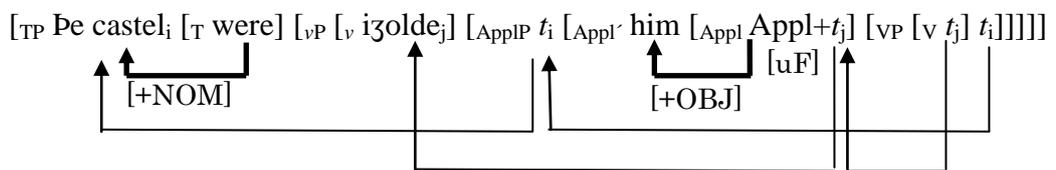


(II) From the Mid-Thirteenth to the Latter of the Fourteenth Century

a. Double Object Construction

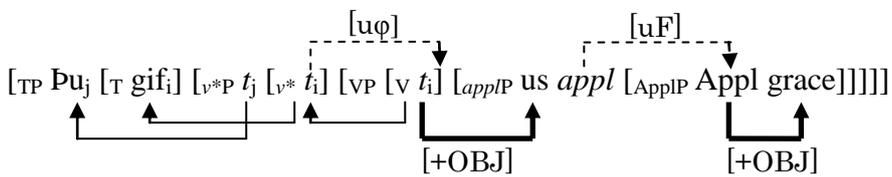


b. Direct Passive

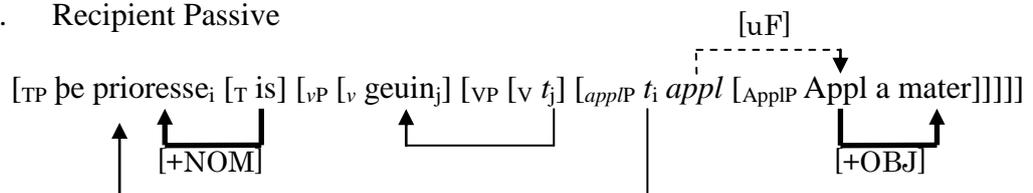


(III) From the Latter of the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century

a. Double Object Construction



b. Recipient Passive



(Note: (IIa, b) still remained)

(IV) Since the Sixteenth Century

(IIa, b) were lost and only (IIIa, b) remains.

In (Ia), the indirect object *pe* in Spec of V is assigned a dative case (an inherent case) by the V head and the direct object *sunne* in the complement of V is assigned an accusative case (a structural case) by the V head which inherits a [u ϕ] feature from v^* . (Ib) is substantially similar to (28b) in the text. In (IIa), we assume that v^* bears an uninterpretable feature, i.e. [u ϕ] and the feature is inherited by V, and that Appl bears some uninterpretable feature, i.e. [uF]. And as the result of (inverse) Agree with these features, the indirect object *man* in Spec of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the Appl head, and the direct object *grace and uirtue* in the complement of V is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the V head (for inverse Agree, see Roberts (2007)). In (IIb), because of a [uF] feature Appl bears, an objective case given to the indirect object *him* in inner Spec of Appl is still retained. On the other hand, the direct object *Pe castel* in the complement of V moves to Spec of T via outer Spec of Appl to receive a nominative case. The movement to outer Spec of Appl is assumed to be short scrambling (A-movement). In (IIIa), we assume that Low ApplP is a phase headed by *appl*, which only bears a [uF] feature to be inherited by Appl. This seems to be implied by the fact that, in many cases, there is a semantic relation (i.e. possessional relation) between an indirect object and a direct object. The indirect object *us* in Spec of *appl* is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the V head which inherits a [u ϕ] feature from v^* , and the direct object *grace* in the complement of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the Appl head. In (IIIb), because of a [uF] feature inherited by Appl, the direct object *a mater* in the complement of Appl is assigned an objective case (a structural case) by the Appl head, but the indirect object *pe prioresse* in Spec of *appl* moves to Spec of T to receive a nominative case.

However, there are mainly four serious theoretical problems with this minimalist approach. First, without inverse Agree, a debatable operation, we cannot account for how Appl agrees with an indirect object in High ApplP. Second, in High ApplP, we assume

feature inheritance by V from v^* , though there is Appl between them. Third, there is no strong theoretical evidence for *applP* as a phase. Finally, we cannot make clear what [uF] is.

Therefore, we adopt the GB approach proposed in this thesis. It is left open for further study to provide some minimalist approach like (i) and solve the above problems.

23 Bresnan (2007) does not mention how to relate the dative prepositional construction and the double object construction at all. As for this, Bresnan and Nikitina (2009) adopt Stochastic Optimal Theory.

Chapter 4

The Development of the Pseudo-Passive in the History of English

4.1. The Definition and Characteristics of the Pseudo-Passive

This chapter provides a diachronic and syntactic approach to the development of the pseudo-passive. The pseudo-passive is illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. A child was looked after by his grandmother.
- b. I was spoken to by a stranger.
- c. He was laughed at by everyone.

In sentences in (1), the subjects correspond to the prepositional objects of their active counterparts. This does not appear to be accounted for within the minimalist framework, since a prepositional object generally receives an accusative case from a preceding preposition, regardless of a verb, and it is expected that a prepositional object was not affected at all by passivization of V, contrary to the fact. In order to eliminate such a problem, a number of linguists propose various approaches to pseudo-passives like (1).

There are more problematic cases. Although in all sentences in (1) a verb and a preposition are adjacent, some pseudo-passives such as (2) involve a syntactic unit consisting of a verb, a noun and a preposition.

- (2) a. John was taken advantage of by Bill.¹

- b. The man was lost sight of in the crowd.

The sentences in (2) are called “idiomatic pseudo-passives,” distinguished from (1). It has often been discussed what the syntactic structures of pseudo-passives like (1) and (2) are. And some linguists have also discussed how the pseudo-passive has developed in the history of English. This thesis focuses on these topics from a syntactic and semantic perspective.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 overviews some synchronic studies of the pseudo-passive. Section 4.3 summarizes diachronic approaches to the pseudo-passive and points out problems with them. In section 4.4, “exceptional pseudo-passives” like *the bed was slept in by Napoleon* are dealt with. In section 4.5, we call “more typical pseudo-passives” like (1) and (2), syntactic pseudo-passives, and “exceptional ones” like *the bed was slept in by Napoleon*, discourse pseudo-passives. Section 4.6 investigates the empirical linguistic data in relation to the development of the pseudo-passive by using the large-scaled historical corpora, PPCME2, PPCEME and *The Penn-Parsed Corpus of Modern British English* (henceforth, PPCMBE). Section 4.7 provides a syntactic and semantic approach to the development of the pseudo-passive. Section 4.8 is concluding remarks.

4.2. Synchronic Approaches to the Pseudo-Passive

4.2.1. Hornstein and Weinberg (1981)

Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) discuss the pseudo-passive construction containing strings of words, “V + DP + PP” pattern, as well as preposition stranding in *wh*-question. They assume that the predicates are regarded as syntactic units when they are semantic words.² These units function as a transitive verb and assign a structural case to DPs which follow them. It is confirmed whether or not a unit is a semantic word by the following two

tests. One is whether the meaning of a unit is noncompositional. “Compositional” indicates that the whole predicate is a function of the meaning of its part.³ The meaning of a semantic word is noncompositional. The other is whether subparts of (most particularly arguments contained in) a unit do not have referential meaning.⁴ Specifically, they cannot be values of a variable. Therefore, one cannot ask *what was kept on Bill*. Subparts of a semantic word do not have referential meaning. The only units passing both tests can be semantic words and allow for their objects to be the subject of the passive.⁵

As another factor causing the reanalysis, Hornstein and Weinberg refer to the basic word order. Note that, as for second factor, they consider pseudo-passives like (1), not (2). They argue that the reanalysis is only allowed in SVO word order but not in SOV. For example, Dutch and German, which are SOV languages, would not form a sequence “V + P + DP” but rather “P + DP + V,” where the verb and preposition are not contiguous and the reanalysis is not applicable. Therefore, they do not permit the pseudo-passive. In contrast, according to Takami (1992), Danish and Swedish, which are SVO languages, permit the pseudo-passive.

Furthermore, these units bear a kind of transitivity. As evidence for this, they refer to affectedness of DPs which follow the units.^{6,7} The DPs must be affected in some way by the action shown in the units.

Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) are noticeable in that they provide some syntactic or semantic motivations for the reanalysis. However, there are mainly two problems with their analysis. First, it does not make explicit where and how the above constraints affect syntactic derivation in the pseudo-passive. Second, they do not provide enough empirical data to support their analysis. As in Hornstein and Weinberg (1981), the syntactic derivation of the pseudo-passive is often associated with the reanalysis from (3a) to (3b).

- (3) a. [VP V [PP P DP]]
 b. [VP [V V + P] DP]

A reanalysis similar to (3) is proposed in some diachronic studies on the pseudo-passive. Section 4.3 overviews them and points out the problems with them.

4.3. Diachronic Approaches to the Pseudo-Passive

4.3.1. Van der Gaaf (1930)

Van der Gaaf (1930) claims that the sequence “V+P” in the pseudo-passive serves as a transitive verb. This is shown by the fact that (4a) can be paraphrased by (4b).

- (4) a. Nobody spoke to him.
 b. Nobody addressed (accosted) him.

He argues that the relative order between V and P was rather free in OE and early ME (1100-1250); it began to fix in the mid-thirteenth century. This made V and P adjacent. Therefore, in expressions like (4a), V and P can be easily combined. The syntactic unit “V + P” is regarded as a “transitive verb,” and an object which immediately follows the unit is regarded as a direct object of a “transitive verb.” Thus, it can be passivized.

Van der Gaaf’s (1930) analysis apparently can account for data like (4). However, there are at least three problems. First, the sequence “V + P” cannot always be a syntactic unit. For example, in PE, without special context, sequences like *sleep in* cannot be passivized even though V and P are adjacent.⁸ Such cases do not seem to be accounted for by his analysis. This implies that another factor affects the reanalysis in (4a). Second, his analysis cannot explain instances like *Mary was taken advantage of*. Third, he does not

provide ample empirical data to support his analysis.

4.3.2. Denison (1985)

Denison (1985) follows Van der Gaaf (1930) in that the pseudo-passive has arisen because the sequence “V + P” has come to be reanalyzed as a transitive verb. However, he differs from Van der Gaaf as to the factor which caused the reanalysis. Denison proposes that there are many possible factors like (5).

- (5) a. Preposition Stranding
 - b. Decay of OE case system
 - c. Obsolescence of OE prefixal system
 - d. Increased use of prepositions
 - e. Lexicalization and semantic function
 - f. Obsolescence of indefinite pronoun (cf. Denison (1985: 191-195))

As for (5a), he argues that preposition stranding in relative or infinitival clauses, such as (6), produced a positional association of P and V, and helped the reanalysis between them.

- (6) a. ChronA 84.1 (893)
se micla here. Ðe we gyfyrn ymbe spræcon
“The great army that we were speaking about previously.”
- b. Bo 11.24.15
þeah he nu nanwuht elles næbbe ymbe to sorgienne
“Though he now have nothing else to grieve about.” (Denison (1985: 192))

As for (5b), at surface level, accusative/dative syncretism is not a necessary condition for reanalysis and passivization, though it helped collocations consisting of V and P increase. Among them, many collocations which reanalysis could easily apply to were included. As for (5c), because of the obsolescence of OE prefixal system, the sequence “V + P” inherited the function that verbal prefix had changed intransitive verbs into transitive complex verbs. This enabled “V + P” to be reanalyzed as a transitive verb. As for (5d), the frequency of the use of prepositions increased in ME; therefore, collocations “V + P” increased. Furthermore, these collocations included idiomatic ones, which are easy to be reanalyzed. As for (5e), Denison claims that the pseudo-passive spread via lexical diffusion, which will also be implied in section 4.6.2. As for (5f), active sentences with *man* as an infinitive pronoun and passives were functionally redundant. He proposes that they show complementary distribution.

Although Denison (1985) provides syntactic or semantic motivations for the reanalysis, there are many problems with it. First, as for (5a), it is difficult for the pseudo-passive and (6) to be related because the pseudo-passive includes A-movement, whereas (6) includes A'-movement. Many studies assume that both movements have a different and independent system from each other. It seems to be drastic that both movements are directly related, regardless of their difference. Second, as for (5b), it does not seem to be the case that accusative/dative syncretism helped collocations consisting of V and P increase, since not all dative objects became “P + DP,” which could make collocations with V. It seems to be difficult that we evaluate how much accusative/dative syncretism affected increase of collocations, such as “V + P.” Third, as for (5c), he assumes that the sequence “V + P” inherited a function, i.e. transitivization of intransitive verbs, from verbal prefix but he provides no account for why verbal prefix selected “V + P” as the target of this inheritance and what mechanism could make such an inheritance possible. Therefore, it seems to be

doubtful whether his assumption for (5c) is plausible. Another problem is that it does not make explicit how factors proposed as for (5) caused the development of the pseudo-passive. Denison only describes the existence of the reanalysis between V and P and some factors causing it. He does not reveal what syntactic change was caused by the reanalysis and how some factors affected it. That is, he seems to fail to clarify the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive in the history of English. Finally, he does not provide ample empirical data which support his analysis. Although he assumes factors proposed in (5), he does not show data to support their existence except (6), which supports only (5a).

4.3.3. Kemenade (1987)

Kemenade (1987) argues that the earliest examples of the pseudo-passive appeared in the early thirteenth century. She also points out that there are mainly two factors affecting its appearance. One is a word order change between V and P. She assumes that, because OV changed into VO in early ME, the word order with a preposition, “POV,” changed into “VPO” then. In the former word order, V and P could not be adjacent, whereas, in the latter, they could be. Therefore, V and P seem to have been easier to be reanalyzed in the latter. She proposes that this encouraged “V + P” to be regarded as a syntactic unit through reanalysis. Another factor is the loss of oblique case assignment by preposition in the early thirteenth century. In OE or early ME, a DP which immediately follows a preposition was assigned an oblique case, an inherent case, by it. However, in the mid-thirteenth century, prepositions did not have its ability to assign its object an oblique case. This may provide some account by assuming that, since the mid-thirteenth century, a preposition and a verb which have been adjacent, have made a syntactic unit and this has assigned a structural case to a DP following the unit. This implies that the unit functions as a transitive verb and can be passivized. In passive, a DP which has followed the unit, has not been able to be assigned a structural case

because of passivization, and it has raised to the subject position to receive a nominative case, as in (7).

- (7) It_i schal be spoken of t_i.
It shall be spoken of
“It shall be spoken of.” (CMCLOUD, 114.557: M3)

One of the remarkable features in Kemenade’s (1987) analysis is that it provides the reanalysis between V and P with some syntactic motivations and clarifies the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive in the history of English. However, there are three problems to be solved. First, as discussed in section 4.3.1, it is difficult to argue that the sequence “V + P” was easy to become a syntactic unit only because of their adjacency. That is, “*sleep + in*” cannot be a syntactic unit in ordinary context, despite their adjacency. Her analysis, as in Van der Gaaf (1930), provides no explanation for this. Second, it does not seem to account for why a preposition does not assign a structural case by itself when inherit case was lost. Third, she does not provide enough empirical data to support her analysis. That is, her analysis only describes the development of the pseudo-passive.

In addition, she also refers to pseudo-passives where a DP interferes between V and P. She assumes that, in these cases, the sequence “V + DP + P” was lexically specified. This is illustrated in (8).

- (8) a. John was taken advantage of.
b. *The table was put the mouse on. (Kemenade (1987: 215))

(8a) is grammatical because *take advantage of* is an idiom and functions as a transitive verb,

while (8b) is ungrammatical because *put the mouse on* is not an idiom nor functions as a transitive verb. However, she does not make explicit why and how idioms like (8a) but not (8b) are lexically specified. In this point, her analysis is only a description.

4.4. More Idiosyncratic Pseudo-Passives

As shown above, there are some pseudo-passives such as (9a) which are exceptionally allowed, though the sequence “V + P” does not function as a transitive verb.

(9) a. The bed was slept in by Napoléon.

b. *The bed was slept in by John.

More interestingly, passives like (9a) are always grammatical but ones like (9b), with ordinary agents (by *John* etc.), are regarded as ungrammatical. This seems to reflect on the more peripherality of (9a) than that of “typical” pseudo-passives like (1). Although many linguists discuss typical pseudo-passives, there are few previous studies focusing on passives such as (9), and rather fewer referring to both.

Bolinger (1975) attempts to explain pseudo-passives like (9a) with regard to semantics by using a concept of “affectedness.” For “affectedness,” Bolinger (1975: 67) argues that “the subject in a passive construction is conceived to be a true patient, i.e. to be genuinely affected by the action of the verb.” In (9a), the event of Napoléon’s sleeping causes the bed to get some value, such as historical one. On the other hand, the event of John’s sleeping does not provide the bed with any special status because John is an ordinary person. However, there are some serious problems with his analysis, as mentioned by Takami (1992). First, an empirical one is that he cannot explain the grammaticality of the following sentences.

(10) a. The terrible storm last night was slept through by all the children.

b. Dinner was sat through by all in stony silence. (Takami (1992: 114))

He points out that it is obvious in (10a) that the terrible storm last night was not affected at all by the fact that all the children slept through it. Similarly, *dinner* in (10b) is not interpreted as affected by the action of the verb. Nonetheless, (10a, b) are well-formed.⁹

Basically along the lines of Bolinger (1975), Takami (1992), Takami and Kuno (2002) and Kuno and Takami (2004) propose a concept of “characterization” with regard to functional sentence perspective.¹⁰ They mainly suggest the following hypotheses for characterization.

(11) Subject Preference for Characterizational Sentences:

Characterizational sentences normally place what they characterize in subject position. (Kuno and Takami (2004: 151))

(12) Characterizational Property of Passive Sentences with Inanimate Subjects:

Passive sentences with inanimate subjects and human *by*-agentives are acceptable to the extent that they can be interpreted as sentences that define or characterize the subjects. (Kuno and Takami (2004: 151))

As for the association of characterization with the grammaticality of the pseudo-passive, they also point out the existence of the following requirement.

- (13) The Characterization Requirement on the Pseudo-Passive Construction (to be revised):

The pseudo-passive construction is acceptable if passivization can be justified by the Subject Preference for Characterizational Sentences.

(Kuno and Takami (2004: 151))

However, there are mainly three problems in Takami and Kuno (2002) and Kuno and Takami (2004). First, they strictly do not make explicit what characterization is, since characterization is defined by using “characterize,” as shown in (11) and (12). In other words, characterization by definition includes a recursion, and therefore makes a great sacrifice of its own clarification. For linguistics as one of empirical sciences, including generative grammar, not only the exact description of empirical facts but also the clarification of its theoretical explanation is significant. The similar problem applies to (13). Even though (13) states the licensing condition of the pseudo-passive, there is a proposition “passivization can be justified,” where it must be determined whether it is true or not, in the conditional clause. This also causes a recursion problem in that there is a variable included in the conditional clause. Second, their hypotheses even lose their falsifiability as well as their theoretical clarification. That is, they are not falsified since we cannot explain what characterization as a concrete operation is and how it justifies passivization in the pseudo-passive. Third, there is an empirical problem as well as a theoretical one. Their analysis cannot account for the grammaticality of sentences like (10), repeated here in (14).

(14) a. The terrible storm last night was slept through by all the children.

b. Dinner was sat through by all in stony silence. (Takami (1992: 114))

Originally, (14a) is used by Takami as a counterexample to Bolinger's (1975) analysis with affectiveness in that "the terrible storm last night was not affected at all by the fact that all the children slept through it." His criticism is clearly plausible. However, ironically, the similar also seems to apply to Takami (1992) itself, Takami and Kuno (2002) and Kuno and Takami (2004). That is, *the terrible storm last night* is not characterized at all by the fact (or event) that all the children slept through it. (14b) is also caught in such a dilemma in that *dinner* is not affected, nor characterized at all, by the fact that all relevant members sat through (in stony silence), since we will have many opportunities to be invited on a "stand-up" dinner party, such as some after-conference reception.

4.5. Subclassification of the Pseudo-Passive

4.5.1. Syntactic Pseudo-Passives vs. Discourse Pseudo-Passives

In sections 4.1 and 4.4, we have focused on various characteristics of the pseudo-passive. On the basis of the discussion there, we should divide pseudo-passives into at least two types, syntactic and discourse pseudo-passives. We call passives like (1a), which is repeated here in (15), syntactic pseudo-passives, and ones like (9a), which is repeated here in (16), discourse pseudo-passives.

(15) A child was looked after by his grandmother.

(16) The bed was slept in by Napoléon.

In order to make clear their differences, we should refer to the differences between their Patients, grammatical Patients and discourse Patients proposed by Jackendoff (1990). Grammatical Patients "are assigned the Patient role by the verb of the sentence itself, requiring no surrounding story in order to be acceptable" and *a child* in (15) seems to be an

instance. On the other hand, discourse Patients are “elements that are considered “affected” by virtue of some surrounding context” and *the bed* in (16) seems to be an example. As mentioned above, *the bed* is licensed by *Napoléon* as a special surrounding context. The differences between two types of pseudo-passives may be localized into those between two types of Patients.

4.6. Data from Historical Corpora

This section investigates the development of the pseudo-passive based on the data from PPCME2, PPCEME and PPCMBE.¹¹ This section is devoted to clarify the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive. In the following subsections, we show the results of the survey based on some historical corpora focusing on the frequency of the pseudo-passive, as well as types of the sequence “V + (DP) + P.”

4.6.1. The Frequency of the Pseudo-Passive

The data of the pseudo-passive have been examined in PPCME2, PPCEME and PPCMBE by using the following query.

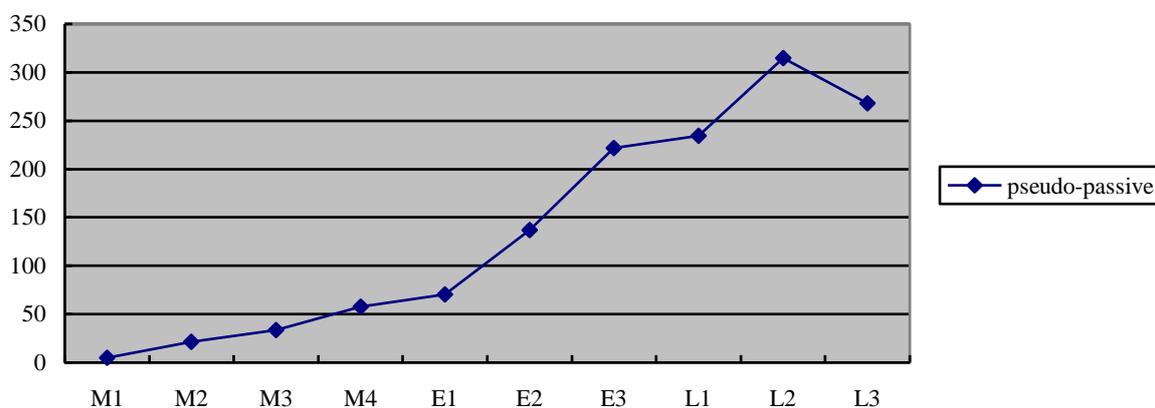
- (17) ((P iprecedes NP*)
AND (NP idominates Y*-.#))

The following is the results of this investigation in terms of the frequency of the pseudo-passive.

Table 1 Frequency of the Pseudo-Passive (per 1,000,000 words)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
pseudo-passive	5.12	21.28	33.68	57.67	70.45	136.84	221.57
	L1	L2	L3				
	234.20	314.89	268.19				

Figure 1 Frequency of the Pseudo-Passive



It is observed that the frequency per 1,000,000 words was more than 20 in M2 (1250-1350) and doubled in M4 (1420-1500). Moreover, it had rapidly increased from E1 (1500-1569) to L2 (1770-1839).¹² Note that, as argued in Allen (1995), the distinction between inherent case and structural case was almost lost in the early thirteenth century, in M2. Moreover, after the base word order changes from SOV to SVO in the fifteenth century, the frequency of the pseudo-passive had increased rapidly. These seem to imply that two changes may affect the development of the pseudo-passive.

Recall that the sequence “V + (DP) + P” cannot always be a syntactic unit. This implies that there is another factor to allow them to be syntactic units. In order to confirm it, we need to investigate the data of the pseudo-passive in terms of types of the sequence “V+ (DP) +P.” I will provide the results in section 4.6.2.

4.6.2. Types of the Sequence “V + (DP) + P”

As shown in section 4.3.3, most of the strings of words “V + (DP) + P” function as transitive verbs. First, consider what types of the “productive” sequence “V + (DP) + P” appeared in each period.¹³ As for ME, this is shown by (18).

(18)

M2	verbs of saying <i> speak of</i> (= comment)
----	--

M3	a. verbs of saying <i> speak of</i> (= comment), <i> send after</i> (= call), <i> say of</i> (= comment), b. verbs of external motion <i> come to</i> (= return)
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M4	a. verbs of saying <i> speak of</i> (= comment), <i> send for</i> (= call), <i> complain on</i> (= complain) b. verbs of social interaction <i> meet with</i> (= meet) c. verbs of perception <i> hear of</i> (= hear (a rumor))
----	--

As shown in (18), the type-frequency of “V + P” gradually increased from M2 to M4, with a focus on verbs of saying. Note that all these verbs stand for “external actions.” Specifically, the effects of the actions can be recognized by others. With regard to prepositions, “*of*” as a topic preposition is most frequently used.

As for EModE, the results are summarized in (19).

(19)

E1 a. verbs of saying

Speak of (= comment), *send for* (= call), *look to* (= note), *call for* (= call), *talk of* (= talk), *inquire of* (= ask), *Speak with* (= talk), *deal with* (= address), *agree upon* (= agree), *hear unto* (= agree), *account for* (= explain)

b. verbs of perception

hear of (= hear (a rumor)), *look onto* (= look out over)

c. verbs of exploring

seek for (= seek), *look for* (= seek), *search for* (= seek)

d. verbs of causing

bring about (= cause)

e. verbs of giving

provide for (= give)

f. verbs of obeying

hearken onto (= obey)

E2 a. verbs of saying

Speak of (= comment), *send after* (= call), *send for* (= call), *look to* (= note), *talk of* (= talk), *agree upon* (= agree), *inquire of* (= ask), *Speak with* (= talk), *deal with* (= address), *talk on* (= talk), *dispose of* (= address)

b. verbs of exploring

seek for (= seek), *look into* (= investigate), *look for* (= seek)

c. verbs of perception

look onto (= look out over)

d. verbs of giving

provide for (= give)

e. verbs of obeying

hearken onto (= obey)

f. verbs of attack

set upon (= attack)

g. verbs of helping

make use of (= utilize), *look after* (= care)

h. verbs of thinking

expect for (= expect), *think of* (= think)

i. verbs of request

call on (=request)

j. verbs of acquisition

attain onto (= acquire)

k. verbs of creating

yield to (= produce)

l. verbs of ending

conclude on (= conclude)

E3 a. verbs of saying

speak of (= comment), *send for* (= call), *talk of* (= talk), *inquire of* (= ask),

deal with (= address), *account for* (= explain), *dispose of* (= address),

complain of (= complain), *speak to* (= accost), *find fault with* (= criticize),

inquire after (= ask someone how he/she is feeling), *approve of* (= agree)

b. verbs of perception

look onto (= look out over)

c. verbs of exploring

seek for (= seek), *look into* (= investigate), *fish for* (= seek (underwater))

d. verbs of giving

provide for (= give)

e. verbs of helping

make use of (= utilize), *take care of* (= care)

f. verbs of thinking

seize on (= consider), *reflect on* (= consider)

g. verbs of request

seek after (= request)

h. verbs of ending

conclude on (= conclude), *done by* (= complete)

i. verbs of social interaction

take notice of (= concern)

j. verbs of obeying

prevail on (= persuade)

k. verbs of doubt

doubt of (= doubt)

l. verbs of trust

depend on (= trust), *impose on* (=trust), *rely on* (= trust)

Let us compare (19) with (18). There is a similarity in that the type-frequency of “V +

(DP) + P” increased, with a focus on verbs of saying. On the other hand, this change proceeded more rapidly, with the rise of the token-frequency of the pseudo-passive. These seem to imply the establishment of the pseudo-passive as a construction. In fact, most types of “V + (DP) + P” in EModE, as shown later, were observed in LModE, whereas there are only a handful of types introduced in LModE. In addition, since E2 (1570-1639), some cases including the sequence “V + DP + P,” more complicated than “V + P,” have been observed.¹⁴ Then, notice that most verbs listed in (19) stand for external action. Especially, some classes with higher type-frequency (i.e. verbs of saying, perception and trust) usually presuppose or imply the existence of others. In terms of prepositions, more varieties of prepositions can appear in the sequence “V + (DP) + P.” Most typical are *of*, *for* and *on* as topic/objective prepositions.

(20) shows types of the productive sequence “V + (DP) + P” in LModE.

(20)

L1 a. verbs of saying

speak of (= comment), *send for* (= call), *talk of* (= talk), *inquire of* (= ask),
dispose of (= address), *complain of* (= complain), *speak to* (= accost)

b. verbs of social interaction

meet with (= meet), *take notice of* (= concern), *attend to* (= participate)

c. verbs of perception

look onto (= look out over), *guard against* (= watch)

d. verbs of exploring

search for (= seek)

e. verbs of giving

provide for (= give)

f. verbs of obeying

prevail on (= persuade), *comply with* (= obey)

g. verbs of attack

set upon (= attack)

h. verbs of helping

look after (= care), *make use of* (= utilize), *take care of* (= care)

i. verbs of thinking

reflect on (= consider), *hit on* (= think)

j. verbs of request / desire

call on (=request), *seek after* (= request), *do without* (= do not need something),

insist on(= request), *sue for* (= request)

k. verbs of creating

yield to (= produce)

l. verbs of trust

impose on (= trust), *proceed upon* (= trust)

m. verbs of experience

go through (= undergo)

n. verbs of judgment

judge of (= evaluate)

o. verbs of blowing

blow on (= blow against, spray)

p. verbs of ridicule

make a fool of (= ridicule), *laugh at* (= ridicule)

L2 a. verbs of saying

speak of (= comment), *look to* (= note), *account for* (= explain),
 inquire after (= ask someone how he/she is feeling), *approve of* (= agree),
 persist in (= insist)

b. verbs of social interaction

meet with (= meet), *attend to* (= participate)

c. verbs of exploring

seek for (= seek), *look for* (= seek), *inquire into* (= investigate)

d. verbs of perception

look onto (= look out over), *listen to* (= listen), *lose sight of* (= miss)

e. verbs of obeying

prevail on (= persuade), *comply with* (= obey), *act on* (= obey)

f. verbs of helping

make use of (= utilize), *apply to* (= utilize)

g. verbs of thinking

think of (= think)

h. verbs of request / desire

call on (= request), *seek after* (= request), *do without* (= do not need something),
 sue for (= request), *wish for* (= hope), *dispense with* (= do not need something)

i. verbs of acquisition

attain onto (= acquire)

j. verbs of trust

impose on (= trust), *resort to* (= trust)

k. verbs of experience

go through (= undergo)

l. verbs of judgment

judge of (= evaluate)

m. verbs of blowing

blow on (= blow against, spray)

L3 a. verbs of saying

speak of (= comment), *send for* (= call), *deal with* (= address), *dispose of* (=address), *complain of* (= complain), *account for* (= explain), *approve of* (= agree), *persist in* (= insist), *refer to* (= mention)

b. verbs of social interaction

attend to (= participate)

c. verbs of perception

look onto (= look out over), *guard against* (= watch), *listen to* (= listen)

d. verbs of exploring

look for (= seek), *inquire into* (= investigate)

e. verbs of causing

bring about (= cause)

f. verbs of obeying

act on (= obey)

g. verbs of thinking

reflect on (= consider), *hit on* (= think)

h. verbs of request / desire

call on (= request), *wish for* (= hope), *dispense with* (= do not need something)

i. verbs of ending

done by (= complete), *get rid of* (= terminate)

j. verbs of trust

rely upon (= trust)

k. verbs of experience

go through (= undergo)

l. verbs of judgment

judge of (= evaluate)

m. verbs of ridicule

laugh at (= ridicule)

n. verbs of reaching

arrive at (= reach)

o. verbs of paying

pay for (= pay)

(20) reveals that verbs of saying and perception still showed high type-frequency, and in addition to them, verbs of request/desire increased their type-frequency. Note that most types of verbs in (20) have also shown in (19) and stand for “external actions.” As for prepositions, many types of prepositions are observed, and especially, *of*, *for*, and *on*, as in (19).

As clearly shown in (18)-(20), there are some typical types and type expansion in terms of semantics of verbs and prepositions included in the pseudo-passive through the history of English.¹⁵ Moreover, we should point out here that, as far as investigated, there is no discourse pseudo-passive such as *sleep in*.

4.7. A Syntactic Analysis of the Development of the Pseudo-Passive

To begin with, on the basis of the data in section 4.6, we provide a syntactic analysis of

the development of syntactic pseudo-passives. Furthermore, in section 4.7.2, we also discuss the development of discourse pseudo-passives mainly observed in PE.

4.7.1. The Development of Syntactic Pseudo-Passives

4.7.1.1. From OE to the Early Thirteenth Century

It is presumed that constructions including VP and PP in OE bear the following VP structure.

$$(21) \quad [_{VP} [_{PP} P DP] V]$$

$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ \boxed{} \\ [+Inherent] \end{array}$

Note that, in (21), an inherent case, not a structural, is assigned to the DP by P. According to Chomsky (1981), inherent case is not absorbed by passivization, and therefore no DP with an inherent case can be the subject of the passive. This naturally expects that, from OE to the early thirteenth century, the time when inherent case was lost, there was no pseudo-passive.

4.7.1.2. From the Early Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century

According to Allen (1995), in the early thirteenth century, the loss of inherent case occurred and, in PP, P began to assign a structural case to its DP complement, as shown in (22).

$$(22) \quad [_{PP} P DP] \longrightarrow [_{PP} P DP]$$

$\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ \boxed{} \\ [+Inherent] \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ \boxed{} \\ [+Structural] \end{array}$

Another significant change for the development of the pseudo-passive is the change of

the base word order from SOV to SVO. Kemenade (1987) states that this change occurred in the mid-thirteenth century. Furthermore, Ukaji (2000: 329-330) points out that the establishment of the SVO pattern happened in the fifteenth century, based on the results of a diachronic investigation on word order by Fries (1940a: 252; 1940b: 201). These results are summarized in (23) (cited from Ukaji (2000: 330)).

(23)		c1000	c1200	c1300	c1400	c1500
	Acc. O - V	52.5%	53.7%	40+%	14.3%	1.87%
	V - Acc.O	47.5	46.3	60-	85.7	98.13
						(Ukaji (2000: 330))

In each pattern, the syntactic structure of constructions including VP and PP is shown as follows.

- (24) a. SVO pattern
 [_{VP} V [_{PP} P DP]]
- b. SOV pattern
 [_{VP} [_{PP} P DP] V]

Note that, in (24a), V and P are adjacent. As pointed out by Van der Gaaf (1930) and Kemenade (1987), it seems to be plausible that such adjacency is one factor which caused the reanalysis in (25).¹⁶

- (25) Reanalysis 1
 [_{VP} V [_{PP} P DP]] → [_{VP} [_V V+P] DP]

Furthermore, the results of our corpus-based survey reveal that this reanalysis was not freely applied to the sequence “V+P.” Rather, there seem to have been a semantic restriction like (26).¹⁷

(26) Semantic Restriction

The reanalysis in (25) may be allowed if an event denoted by a unit such as “V+P” includes or implies the existence of something (as a topic) or other participant(s) except the speaker.

Some typical types of verbs which meet (26) are verbs of saying, social interaction and perception, and, in most cases, other people except the speaker can easily recognize the effect of these events denoted by verbs.¹⁸ It can be accounted for that other types of verbs are allowed by analogy to the above verbs and type extension.

These three factors seem to have affected the appearance of the pseudo-passive like (27a). Its syntactic structure is shown in (27b).

(27) a. Merlyn anone was sent after.

Merlyn at once was sent after

“Merlyn at once was sent after” (CMBRUT3, 66.1995: M3)

b. [TP Merlyn_i [T' [AdvP at once] [T was] [_{vP} v [_{VP} [V sent after] t_i]]]]

Except that V is a complex head, the pseudo-passive is more similar to the core *be*-passive than other peripheral passives. For relations between core and peripheral passives, we will discuss them in chapter 6.

4.7.1.3. Since the Fifteenth Century

In the fifteenth century, the SVO pattern in (24a) was established as the base word order. This enabled the reanalysis in (25) to more often apply to V and P. Therefore, the frequency of the pseudo-passive had rapidly increased from E1 to L2.

Moreover, the increase of collocations “V+P” as a syntactic unit caused another reanalysis like (28).

(28) Reanalysis 2

$$[_{VP} V DP [_{PP} P DP]] \longrightarrow [_{VP} [V V+DP+P] DP]$$

As a result of (28), a larger syntactic unit “V+DP+P” began to appear.¹⁹ This unit also has a semantic restriction similar to (26). Therefore, (26) should be modified into the following.

(29) Semantic Restriction (modified version)²⁰

The reanalysis in (21) or (24) may be allowed if an event denoted by a unit such as “V+(DP)+P” includes or implies the existence of something (as a topic) or other participant(s) except the speaker.

The following is an example with a syntactic unit “V+DP+P” and its syntactic structure.

(30) a. (...) that old Sentence (...) could have been made use of (...)

(RALEIGH-E2-P1, 1,228.510)

b. [TP that old Sentence_i [T could] [AspP [Asp have] [vP [v been] [VP [V made use of] t_i]]]]

4.7.2. The Development of Discourse Pseudo-Passives

Section 4.7.1 has proposed a syntactic and semantic approach to the development of syntactic pseudo-passives, on the basis of the results of our corpus survey. On the other hand, as some linguists point out, discourse pseudo-passives such as (31a) are observed in PE.

- (31) a. The bed was slept in by Napoléon.
b. *The bed was slept in by John.

Note that they are clearly distinguished from syntactic pseudo-passives in the following points. First, “*sleep in*” does not bear any transitive meaning. (31a) cannot be paraphrased with any transitive verb. Second, “*sleep in*” does not always allow the pseudo-passive. In fact, (31b) is unacceptable with an ordinary agent (*John*). Considering (31) alone, one may expect that discourse pseudo-passives are accepted only with some great man as agent. It appears to be plausible that an event by some special agent such as a great man affects (for example, provides some historical value for) something related to the event. However, this assumption is easily falsified by (32).

- (32) a. The house has not been lived in for twenty years.
b. The terrible storm last night was slept through by all the children.

(Takami (1992: 114))

Although (32) does not occur with any special agent, (32) is grammatical. Especially, a contrast between (31b) and (32b) implies that it is difficult to provide a syntactic analysis of discourse pseudo-passives. Here, note that (31a) and (32) seem to include an unusual context. As mentioned above, in (31a), the bed gets more historical value by Napoléon’s

sleeping than any other ordinary bed. Moreover, a situation in (32a) is rather odd in that, although a house is usually a place to live in, nobody lives in there. One may even wonder if there is some serious defect to live in there. As for (32b), although it is easily expected that a terrible storm prevents many people, especially children, from sleeping, it is not the case. In this way, the situation in (32b) is rather irregular. In other words, these examples seem to tell the listener something highly informative for him/her. They are also a kind of presentational sentences in that an unknown fact suddenly appears in a discussion on a well-known topic. On the other hand, (31b) is ungrammatical since an event of sleeping by an ordinary person does not seem to be informative enough to be referred to. This, as a pragmatic restriction, is defined as follows:²¹

(33) Pragmatic Restriction

The reanalysis from $[_{VP} V [_{PP} P DP]]$ to $[_{VP} [_V V+P] DP]$ may be allowed if combination of V and P under a particular context refers to an informative fact on the subject for the listener.

By applying (33) to discourse pseudo-passives like (31a), the following syntactic structure is provided.

(34) $[_{TP} \text{The bed}_i [_T \text{was}] [_{VP} v [_{VP} [_{V'} [_V \text{lived in}] t_i] [_{PP} \text{by Napoléon}]]]]$

Then, the above fact may be captured more systematically by information structure. In fact, some previous studies point out the relation between information structure and passive or presentational sentences. Although this topic is quite interesting, how discourse pseudo-passives are related to information structure is beyond the scope of this thesis. We

will leave this issue open for further study.

4.7.3. Theoretical and Empirical Contributions

In section 4.7.2, we have provided an analysis for the development of both syntactic and discourse pseudo-passives. Section 4.7.3 provides a number of theoretical and empirical contributions.

In order to clarify the theoretical contributions, compare the present analysis with other approaches.

First, recall that, in Van der Gaaf (1930), there are at least two problems. One is that his analysis cannot account for a syntactic unit like *slept in*. Since *slept* (V) and *in* (P) are adjacent, his analysis would expect that they are regarded as a syntactic unit and behave as a transitive verb. However, in fact, they cannot serve as a syntactic unit without special context. On the other hand, our analysis can naturally account for this fact by semantic and pragmatic restrictions. Second, his analysis cannot provide an explanation for sentences such as *Mary was taken advantage of*. By contrast, the present analysis, as shown in section 4.7.1.3, can apply to these cases.

The present analysis can also provide a solution for the problems with Denison (1985). First, some factors assumed by him seem to be debatable. The factors proposed by him are repeated here as (35).

- (35) a. Preposition Stranding
- b. Decay of OE case system
- c. Obsolescence of OE prefixal system
- d. Increased use of prepositions
- e. Lexicalization and semantic function

For example, as for (35a), it is difficult for the pseudo-passive and preposition stranding to be related in that the pseudo-passive includes A-movement, whereas preposition stranding includes A'-movement. A number of studies assume that both movements have a different and independent system from each other. It seems to be rather drastic that both movements are directly related, regardless of their difference. Then, in (35c), he assumes that the sequence "V + P" inherited a function, i.e. transitivization of intransitive verbs, from verbal prefix, but he provides no account for why verbal prefix selected "V + P" as the target of this inheritance and what mechanism could make such an inheritance possible. Because of these, it seems to be debatable whether (35c) is plausible.

Second, it cannot be clarified how these factors affected the syntactic change on the pseudo-passive. Therefore, he seems to fail to make clear the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive.

On the other hand, in our analysis, both problems seem to be solved by more correctly identifying factors which caused the development of the pseudo-passive and clarifying how they affected it.

Third, the problems with Kemenade (1987) can be properly addressed by the present approach. The first is that, as in Van der Gaaf (1930), it is difficult to argue that the sequence "V + P" was easy to become a syntactic unit only because of their adjacency. In other words, "*sleep + in*" cannot be a syntactic unit in ordinary context, despite their adjacency. This cannot be accounted for by her analysis. The second is that it does not seem to account for why a preposition does not assign a structural case by itself when inherit case was lost.

By contrast, our analysis can properly address the historical data without these

problems by assuming the pragmatic restriction in (33) and the change of case-assignment system in (22).

In addition, our analysis can account for the fact that most verbs included in the pseudo-passive are unergative verbs, not unaccusative verbs. Generally, verbs are broadly classified into two types: intransitive and transitive verbs, and then, intransitive verbs consist of unergative and unaccusative verbs. We should note that unergative verbs, like transitive verbs, take an external argument, which serves as agent or experiencer, in their subject position, whereas unaccusative verbs only have an internal argument, which raises to their subject position. In other words, unergative verbs are more similar to transitive verbs than unaccusative verbs in that they take a volitional external argument. Therefore, many unergative verbs, with a prepositional object, tend to be reanalyzed like (25).

There is also an empirical contribution. I have elaborately investigated and analyzed empirical linguistic facts by using large-scaled historical corpora. Even if the present theoretical framework has changed, at least empirical facts observed here will still contribute to further study.

4.8. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the development of the pseudo-passive in the history of English and its relation to the loss of inherent case and the establishment of the SVO pattern as the base word order. The process is summarized in the following. In the early thirteenth century, inherent case was lost and therefore, the change of the case-assignment system by a P head happened, that is, the head began to assign a structural case to its complement. Furthermore, in the fifteenth century, the SVO pattern is established as the base word order and therefore, VP constructions including V and PP are reanalyzed into those including complex verbs (such as *speak of*), taking a DP as its complement. On the basis of the results

of our corpus-based investigation, we have proposed a semantic restriction on the application of such reanalysis. Furthermore, in PE, complex units such as *slept in* license the discourse pseudo-passive, depending on a syntactic reanalysis and a pragmatic restriction related to informativity.

As a consequence of this analysis, it has been demonstrated that the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive can be naturally accounted for in terms of syntactic reanalyses and a semantic or a pragmatic restriction. Furthermore, we have implied that this analysis may provide a theoretical support for the linguistic fact that most verbs included in the pseudo-passive are unergative verbs, not unaccusative ones.

Notes to Chapter 4

1 (2a) can be paraphrased as follows.

- (i) Advantage was taken of John by Bill.

However, some linguists point out that (2b) cannot do so as shown in (ii).

- (ii) *Sight was lost of the man in the crowd.

The difference of their grammaticality after paraphrasing brings an interesting but complicated topic, how and what idiomatic pseudo-passive can be paraphrased like (i). It may be similar to how and what syntactic unit allows the pseudo-passive. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. We will leave it open for further works.

2 Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) do not clarify the definition of semantic words.

3 Here, the term “compositional” is used in terms of the “compositional” principle proposed by Fregeans.

4 The loss of the referentiality here may be related to the abstraction of a noun within an idiom. See Akimoto (2002), for such abstraction.

5 They do not explain why a syntactic unit becomes the target of passivization by being a semantic word (i.e. idiomatization). As for this, further theoretical elaboration is needed on

the basis of a more close observation for empirical linguistic facts.

6 We do not take affectedness as the only measure for transitivity. As for other measures, see Hopper and Thompson (1980), who propose ten formal and semantic features as measures for transitivity.

7 Note that the term “affectedness” here is used in a sense of “patientness,” proposed by Bolinger (1975), not in aspectual meaning, employed by Tenny (1987).

8 As for cases with some special context, see section 4.4 in the present thesis.

9 I suspect that problematic cases like (10) cannot also be dealt with by using Takami’s theory, since *the terrible storm last night* in (10a) cannot be characterized by all children’s sleeping through it. This also applies to (10b), and we cannot regard *dinner* as characterized by all people’s sitting during dinner time. We will have many opportunities to be invited on a “stand-up” dinner party, such as some after-conference reception. In addition, both a storm and dinner are events rather than individuals which allow for some characterization. Therefore, it is doubtful that Takami’s theory, instead of Bolinger’s, can deal with such problematic cases properly.

10 “Basically” implies that, as mentioned above, there are some empirical or theoretical problems with Bolinger’s (1975) analysis, which Takami (1992) points out.

11 The Periodization of PPCME2 is M1 (1150-1250), M2 (1250-1350), M3 (1350-1420) and M4 (1420-1500). The Periodization of PPCEME is E1 (1500-1569), E2 (1570-1639) and E3

(1640-1710). The original Periodization of PPCMBE is L1 (1700-1769), L2 (1770-1839) and L3 (1840-1914). However, for the convenience, the data are classified on the basis of the modified Periodization of PPCMBE, L1 (1710-1780), L2 (1780-1850) and L3 (1850-1920).

12 Here, we do not mention why the frequency suddenly decreased in L3, since even then it was high frequent, more than 260 per 1,000,000 words.

13 Here, the term “productive” means “non-sporadic.” Specifically, it indicates that there are more than one example including each unit through the period between M1 and L3.

14 This may be related to Idiomatization. See Akimoto (2002) for more details.

15 They may be well accounted for by a semantic hierarchy, which is family resemblance proposed by Jackendoff (1990) or Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004).

16 A reanalysis like (25) may follow structural simplification proposed by Roberts and Roussou (2003).

17 At what level, within the syntactic derivation or at the LF-Interface, this restriction applies has not been made clear so far. If the restriction is applied at the former level, it will serve as a constraint for input. On the other hand, at the latter level, it will serve as a filter for output. It is often difficult to identify when a theoretical operation or a constraint is applied, and it is beyond the scope of this thesis. In addition, whichever is the case, the present analysis is scarcely affected.

18 On the application of such semantic restriction, an immediate question here is what makes some verbs (i.e. verbs of saying, social interaction and perception) regarded as “typical.” In other words, why the semantic restriction in (26) could not apply to other verbs in ME, though it seems to be plausible that they could meet (26) in many cases. Here recall that some previous studies point out some relation between licensing of the pseudo-passive and transitivity a complex unit “V+P” bears. (26) may serve as a kind of measure on such transitivity. If this is on the right track, a possible solution is to assume a cline of transitivity and that, depending on this cline, the higher transitivity complex units show, the earlier (26) applies to them. See also Hopper and Thompson (1980).

19 An immediate question here is how a DP, a maximal projection, can be incorporated into a complex head. This may be accounted for in terms of idiomatization. We should notice that a DP included in a syntactic unit “V+DP+P” is almost used without any determiner. This seems to imply that the DP is “weak” enough to be easily incorporated into a complex head. In fact, Akimoto (2002) points out that weakening of nouniness is one of factors for idiomatization as shown in (i) and (ii) cited from OED.

(i) a. It was a foule shame for a phylosophier to *set his foote into* any house where
bawderie were kepte. (1542 UDALL Erasm. Apoph.46)

b. When I from France *set foot at* Rauenspurgh.
(1596. SHAKS. 1 Hen. IV, III.ii.95)

(ii) a. The seculars By secret incitation hearten’d up, Will *give their voices*.
(1824 Sir H. Taylor Edwin. iii. Iii)

b. Hail to the courage which *gave Voice to* its creed.
(1855 Arnold Haworth Churchyard v)

20 See note 17

21 Since pragmatics is related to linguistic performance rather than linguistic competence, a pragmatic restriction such as (33) seems to serve as a filter for outcome.

Chapter 5

The Development of the Indirect Passive in the History of English

5.1. The General Definition and Peculiar Characteristics of the Indirect Passive

Generally, passives in English are recognized as constructions containing “*be/get* + past participle.” However, Emonds (2007, 2013) points out that there is a subtype distinct from “*be/get* + past participle,” in that the verbs included there are not simply *be* or *get*, but transitive grammatical ones, in particular *have*, *get*, *want*, *need*, *see* or *hear*.¹ Here, along the lines of Emonds, this subtype is called “the indirect passive.”² Examples are illustrated in (1), contrasted with verbs which cannot occur with the indirect passive.

- (1) a. The players had/heard many insults [shouted at them (by irate fans)].
*The players let/found many insults [shouted at them (by irate fans)].
- b. We got/wanted the free samples [handed to us (personally)].
*We noticed/felt the free samples [handed to us (personally)].
- c. The treasurer may see/need the receipts [put into the right files (by a clerk)].
*The treasurer may notice/make the receipts [put into the right files (by a clerk)].
- d. She had/heard Mr. Smith [brought in to a judge].
*She felt/found Mr. Smith [brought in to a judge].

e. He {saw/wanted} Baghdad [approached], but didn't {see/want} it [handed over].

*He expected/liked Baghdad [approached], but didn't expect/like it [handed over]. (Emonds (2013: 59))

As clearly shown in (1), there are only a handful of verbs which allow this construction. The verbs seem to be divided into three types, causative verbs (*have* and *get*), desire verbs (*want* and *need*), and perception verbs (*see* and *hear*). All members included in these types, however, do not always allow the indirect passive, at least in PE.³

The indirect passive also includes some peculiar characteristics listed in (2); that is, indirect passives as in (1) are *not*:

- (2) a. reduced relative modifiers or small clause predicates internal to object DPs;
- b. null operator constructions with similarities to WH-movement (they rather have clear passive paradigms);
- c. adjectival passives;
- d. predicates inside small clause complements of *have*, *get*, *want*, etc.

(Emonds (2013: 59))

Although these unique behaviors of the indirect passive seem to be worth discussing, as far as I know, few linguists do so.

Visser (1963-1973) is one of few linguists referring to this construction, though he does not use the term “the indirect passive.” More interestingly, he observes historical development of the construction. He reveals that, in ME and ModE, there were many verbs which allowed this construction. Among them, *make* and *let*, which do not allow it in PE,

are included. Some examples are illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. Moni man þurh his strengðe and hardschipe ek makes him luued and
Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
zerved
desired
“Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
desired.” (c1225 Wooing of Our Lord (in O. E. Hom. i, ii, ed. Morris) 271)
- b. the Greek Synoun, with his false forswerynge... made the hors broght into
the Greek Synoun, with his false forswearing made the horse brought into
Troye.
Troy
“the Greek Synoun, with his false forswearing ... have the horse brought into
Troy.” (c1384 Chaucer, The House of Fame I, 152)
- c. I fear me, it will make me scandaliz’d.
I fear me, it will make me scandalized
“I fear myself, it will have me scandalized.” (1591 Shakesp., Gent. II, vii, 61)
- d. nothing else can make her forgiven.
“Nothing else can have her forgiven.” (1741 Recharadson, Pamela (Dent) I, 392)
- e. Abram let him tunde wel.
Abram let him guarded well
“Abram have him guarded well.” (c1250 Gen. and Ex. 863)

f. He had let me seene the misery I went to engage me in.

he had let me seen the misery I went to engage me in

“He had had me seen the misery I went to engage me in.”

(1636 tr. De Saint Sorlin’s Ariana p.30)

g. You should have shown yourself a respectable man, and have let him been sent to prison. (1846 Douglas Jerrold, Mrs. Caudle’s Curtain Lectures, Lecture IV)

(Visser (1963-1973: 2385 (§ 2115)))

The number of examples with them is not small, and these examples are not also written by a particular author, and therefore, they cannot be ignored. Moreover, as shown later, the results of our investigation by using some large-scaled historical corpora also reveal that a number of verbs such as *make* allowed the indirect passive in ME and ModE. Visser, as for at least the indirect passive, only describes empirical data and does not provide an analysis of them, and moreover, as far as I know, there is no other diachronic study.

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the development of the indirect passive and provide an analysis for it. In our analysis, it is argued that the development of the indirect passive is a case of degrammaticalization, a kind of “back-formation” at the syntactic level.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 5.2 overviews some previous studies on indirect passives in some languages including English and points out their problems. Section 5.3 shows the results of our investigation by using some large-scaled historical corpora. Section 5.4 provides a syntactic approach to the development of the indirect passive in terms of degrammaticalization. We conclude our discussion in section 5.5.

5.2. Previous Studies

The indirect passive is observed not only in English but also in Japanese and Chinese and so on.⁴ Especially, Japanese indirect passives are more seriously addressed than English ones by many linguists. Recently, some linguists point out that they are parallel to each other. In section 5.2, we will overview some previous studies on Japanese and English indirect passives, and discuss how similar English indirect passives are to Japanese ones. To begin with, in section 5.2.1, we will overview previous works on Japanese indirect passives.

5.2.1. On Japanese Indirect Passives

Some linguists point out that there are indirect passives such as (4) in Japanese and provide various analyses.

(4) a. Taroo-ga kodomo-ni nak-are-ta.

Taro-NOM child-by cry-PASS-PAST

“Taro was adversely affected by the child’s crying.”

b. Hanako-ga tonari-no gakusei-ni piano"-o

Hanako-NOM neighboring-GEN student-by piano-ACC

asa-made hik-are-ta.

morning-until play-PASS-PAST

“Hanako was adversely affected by the neighboring student’s playing the piano until morning.” (Ono (2003: 28-29))

According to Ono (2003), (4a) is an instance of the indirect passive based on an intransitive verb. In (4a), the intransitive verb *naku* (cry) can be passivized and a new participant (i.e. an “extra NP,” the syntactic subject) is added to the event denoted by the verb. On the other

hand, (4b) is an example of the indirect passive based on a transitive verb and contains the transitive verb *hiku* (play). The object (*the piano*) remains in its base-generated position. And the event denoted by the verb involves an extra participant, represented as the syntactic subject, which is not originally involved in the event.

Kageyama (1993, 1996) and Takami and Kuno (2002) attempt to provide a theoretical account for Japanese indirect passives (called “adversative passives” by themselves) in (4).

Kageyama (1993, 1996) argues that Japanese indirect passives depend on the following constraint on unergativity.

(5) Constraint on Unergativity in Japanese Indirect Passives

In Japanese indirect passives, only unergative (and transitive) verbs can appear but unaccusative verbs cannot. (cf. Kageyama (1993: 59-60, 1996: 31))

This constraint is attested by the following examples.

(6) a. Omochauriba-de kodomo-ni nak-are orooroshi-ta.

toy store-at child-by cry-PASS confuse-PASS-PAST

“I was adversely affected by the child’s crying and confused.”

b. Restoran-de tonari-no kyaku-ni nando-mo geppus-are

restaurant-at next to me customer-by many times belch-PASS

hukai-na omoi-wo shi-ta.

uncomfortable feel-PAST

“I was adversely affected by belching by a customer next to me and felt uncomfortable.” (cf. Takami and Kuno (2002: 234))

(7) a. *Nouka-no hitotachi-wa kaze-de ringo-ni ochir-are
 farmer-NOM wind-because of apple-by fall-PASS
 koma-teiru.

be troubled-PROG-PRES

“Farmers are adversely affected by apple’s falling because of wind.”

b. *Sakuya hu-ta yuki-ni kor-are kesa-wa
 last night fall-PASS-PAST snow-by freeze-PASS this morning
 abunaku-te tori-wo aruk-enai.

danger-because of street-at walk-cannot-PRES

“I am adversely affected by freezing of snow fallen last night, and cannot walk at a street because of danger this morning.”

c. *Anata-no nimotsu-ni konnatokoro-ni ar-are-tewa komar-imasu.

you-GEN baggage-by here exist-PASS be troubled-PRES

“I am adversely affected by existing of your baggage here.”

d. *Akari-ni totsuzen kier-are rousoku-wo sagashi-ta.

light-by suddenly turn off-PASS candle-ACC look for-PAST

“I was adversely affected by light’s sudden turning off and looked for candles.”

(cf. Takami and Kuno (2002: 235))

The examples in (6) are grammatical. On the other hand, the examples in (7) are ungrammatical. As far as we consider only (6) and (7), the constraint in (5) appears to be plausible.

However, there are clear counter examples to the constraint, as pointed out by Takami and Kuno (2002) with the following examples.

(8) a. Jyugyouin-ni taorer-are-te shigoto-no te-ga tari-nai.

employee-by fall down-PASS workforce-NOM be short-PRES

“We are adversely affected by employees’ falling down and therefore, our workforce is short.”

b. Kodomo-ni seichous-areru-nowa nakaba sabishii-monodesune.

child-by grow up-PASS-TOP partly lonely be-PRES

“It is partly lonely that I am adversely affected by child’s growing-up, isn’t it?”

c. Toutou musume-ni hatachi-ni nar-are-te kimono-wo

finally my daughter-by 20-years-old be-PASS kimono-ACC

tsukur-as-are-ta.

made-CAUSE-PASS-PAST

“Finally, I was adversely affected by my daughter’s being 20-years-old and caused to be made kimono.”

d. Kou tsugi-kara tsugi-to ka-ta bakari-no denkiseihin-ni

In such way one after another buy-PERF. recently electrical good-by

kowarer-are-tewa wagaya-wa hasan-shitesimau.

break-PASS.-if our household finances-NOM will be bankrupt

“We are adversely affected by breaking of electrical goods which we have recently bought, one after another in such way; if it continues, our household finances will be bankrupt.” (cf. Takami and Kuno (2002: 238))

All examples in (8) involve unaccusative verbs since they show a non-volitional event by the subjects. Therefore, if the constraint in (5) were correct, they would be incorrectly expected as ungrammatical.

In order to solve Kageyama’s (1993, 1996) problem, Takami and Kuno (2002) propose

a numerical approach based on four hierarchies. These are shown in (9).

- (9) a. Hierarchy on What We Attribute Some Harm to in Japanese Indirect Passives
 human > animal > natural force > inanimate
 (score) 2 1 0 -1
- b. Hierarchy on What the Event in the Passive Clause is Caused by in Japanese Indirect Passives
 by a nominal with *-ni*. > by an external cause like > by an external cause like
 inanimate or natural force human or animal
 (score) 2 0 -3
- c. Hierarchy on How the Context Preceding *-Rare* Shows Some Harm to the Referent of the Subject
 explicature > implicature > none
 (score) 2 0 -2
- d. Hierarchy on How the Context Following *-Rare* Shows Some Harm to the Referent of the Subject
 explicature > none
 (score) 1 -1 (cf. Takami and Kuno (2002: 257-258))

For convenience, we call these hierarchies as Hierarchies 1-4. They propose that the acceptability of Japanese indirect passives is determined by some interaction among the four factors in (9) and argue that, if there is an indirect passive sentence in Japanese and its total score based on the above factors in (9) is more than two points, it will be acceptable. They also state that their approach can theoretically account for (8), problematic for Kageyama (1993, 1996). For example, (8a) is evaluated as follows by the Hierarchies 1-4.

(10)

Hierarchy 1	2 (human)
Hierarchy 2	0 (by an external cause like inanimate)
Hierarchy 3	2 (explicature)
Hierarchy 4	1 (explicature)
Total score	5 (grammatical)

(cf. Takami and Kuno (2002: 261))

Both Kageyama (1993, 1996) and Takami and Kuno (2002) attempt to provide a theoretical approach to Japanese indirect passives, which depends on many empirical facts. What concerns us most here is whether their analyses cross-linguistically can be adapted to other languages, especially English, as well as Japanese. One may think that it seems to be natural that we attempt to provide a unified explanation for both indirect passives, on the basis of the grammaticality of (11).

(11) a. Japanese

Taro-wa kami-wo ki-rare-ta.

Taro-NOM his hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST

“Taro had his hair cut.”

b. English

Taro had his hair cut.

However, as will be shown immediately below, it seems to be rather difficult that their analyses naturally explain English indirect passives. This is shown by the fact that there is no counterpart in English indirect passives to the following sentence repeated here as (12).

(12) Japanese

Taro-ga kodomo-ni nak-are-ta.

Taro-NOM child-by cry-PASS-PAST

“Taro was adversely affected by the child’s crying.”

Therefore, it is implied that a different approach is needed to give an explanation for the grammaticality of English indirect passives. The following section overviews some previous studies on English indirect passives.

5.2.2. On English Indirect Passives

Compared with the number of studies on Japanese indirect passives, the number of studies on English indirect passives is small. We overview a synchronic study proposed by Emonds (2013), and a diachronic study by Visser (1963-1973).

5.2.2.1. Emonds (2013)

As mentioned above, the term “the indirect passive” referring to (1), has been introduced by Emonds (2003).⁵ Moreover, he continues to develop his own framework through Emonds (2007, 2013). Here, we overview his most recent study, Emonds (2013).

Emonds (2013) defines passives with extra NP like (1), repeated here in (13), as the indirect passive.

(13) a. The players had/heard many insults [shouted at them (by irate fans)].

*The players let/found many insults [shouted at them (by irate fans)].

b. We got/wanted the free samples [handed to us (personally)].

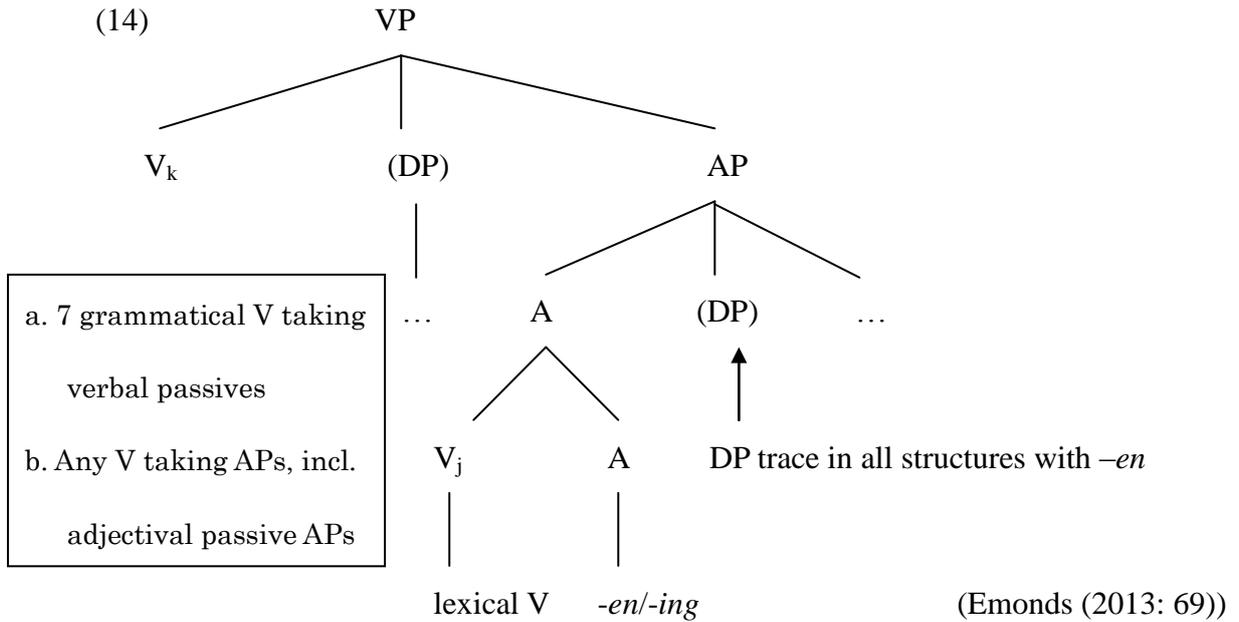
*We noticed/felt the free samples [handed to us (personally)].

- c. The treasurer may see/need the receipts [put into the right files (by a clerk)].
 *The treasurer may notice/make the receipts [put into the right files (by a clerk)].
- d. She had/heard Mr. Smith [brought in to a judge].
 *She felt/found Mr. Smith [brought in to a judge].
- e. He {saw/wanted} Baghdad [approached], but didn't {see/want} it [handed over].
 *He expected/liked Baghdad [approached], but didn't expect/like it [handed over]. (Emonds (2013: 59))

As shown in (13), note that there are some restrictions on verbs. He attempts to explain the restrictions by postulating “syntacticon” and assuming that *have*, *get*, *want*, *need*, *see* and *hear* are stored there. “Syntacticon” is the grammatical lexicon distinguished from the open class lexicon called the “dictionary” (for more details, see Emonds (2000)).

Furthermore, he also refers to peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive. They are (i) without reduced relative modifiers or small clause predicates internal to object DPs, (ii) without null operator constructions with similarities to WH-movement (they rather have clear passive paradigms), (iii) without adjectival passives, and (iv) without predicates inside small clause complements of *have*, *get*, *want*, etc.

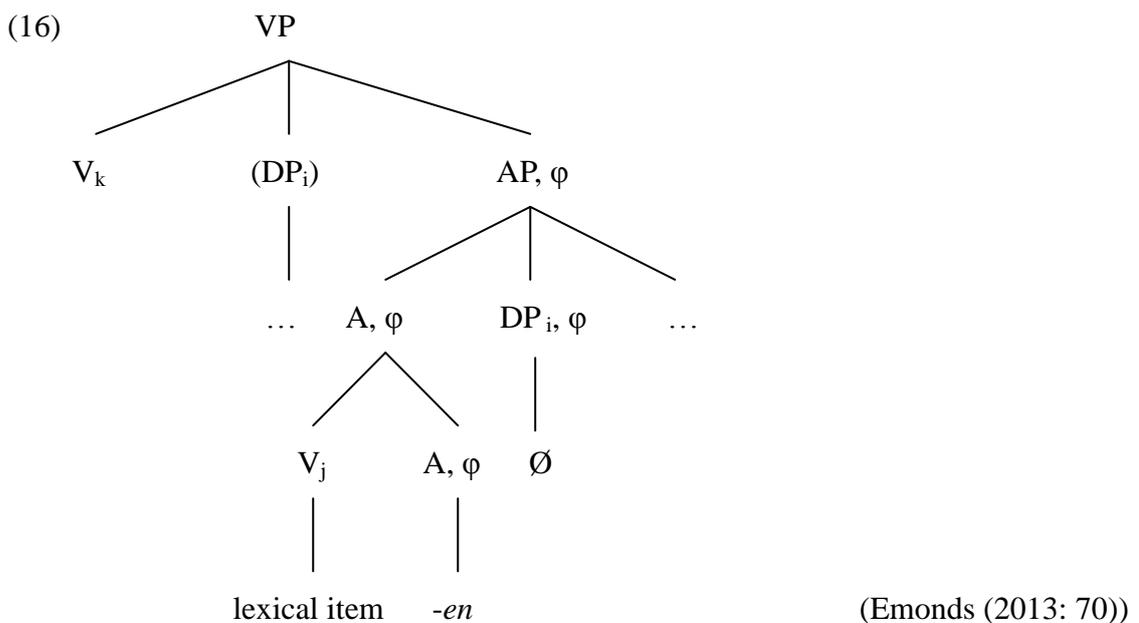
He assumes the following in order to capture the similarity and difference between the indirect passive and all analytic passives.



(15) Alternative Realization (“AR”)

A syntactic feature F that is interpreted in LF on a category α can be “alternatively realized” elsewhere in a closed class item under β , provided that some projections of α and β are sisters.

(Emonds (2013: 70))



He assumes that all participle heads have a syntactic form in PF such as (14) and that all analytic passives, in particular in English, have essentially the same form. Therefore, the similarity between the indirect passive and all analytic passives is well captured. He also argues that the difference between them can be described by (16). He states that, when the V_k in (16) is a verbal passive auxiliary, indirect passives include the higher DP and all analytic passives do not.⁶ The alternative realization of feature ϕ on A as DP's sister is licensed in LF by (15).^{7, 8}

Emonds (2013) is remarkable in that he sheds light on the indirect passive, reveals its peculiar characteristics, and attempts to construct a theory for it. However, there are at least three problems with it. First, he does not make clear how his analysis leads to an account for some peculiarities of the indirect passive. Second, he also does not clarify verb selection, after all. Specifically, it is left open why six verbs (*have*, *get*, *need*, *want*, *see* and *hear*) must be stored in syntacticon. Third, there is no independent theoretical evidence for the hypothesis in (15).

5.2.2.2. Visser (1963-1973)

Another significant study for the indirect passive is Visser (1963-1973). His observation reveals that, at least until the early nineteenth century, verbs such as *make* and *let* also allowed the indirect passive. Some examples in Visser (1963-1973) are illustrated in (17).⁹

- (17) a. Moni man þurh his strengðe and hardschipe ek makes him luued and
 Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
 zerned
 desired
 “Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
 desired.” (c1225 Wooing of Our Lord (in O. E. Hom. i, ii, ed. Morris) 271)
- b. the Greek Synoun, with his false forswerynge... made the hors broght into
 the Greek Synoun, with his false forswearing made the horse brought into
 Troye.
 Troy
 “the Greek Synoun, with his false forswearing ... have the horse brought into
 Troy.” (c1384 Chaucer, The House of Fame I, 152)
- c. I fear me, it will make me scandaliz’d.
 I fear me, it will make me scandalized
 “I fear myself, it will have me scandalized.” (1591 Shakesp., Gent. II, vii, 61)
- d. nothing else can make her forgiven.
 “Nothing else can have her forgiven.”(1741 Recharadson, Pamela (Dent) I, 392)
- e. Abram let him tunde wel.
 Abram let him guarded well
 “Abram have him guarded well.” (c1250 Gen. and Ex. 863)
- f. He had let me seene the misery I went to engage me in.
 he had let me seen the misery I went to engage me in
 “He had had me seen the misery I went to engage me in.”
 (1636 tr. De Saint Sorlin’s Ariana p.30)

- g. You should have shown yourself a respectable man, and have let him been sent to prison. (1846 Douglas Jerrold, Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures, Lecture IV)

(Visser (1963-1973: 2385 (§ 2115)))

As clearly shown in (17), then, past participles are not adjectival but verbal. In other words, “*make/let* + object + past participle” was not idiomatic but productive to some extent. This is supported by (18), which shows what past participles are included in the indirect passives with *make* or *let* cited from Visser (1963-1973).

- (18) a. with *make*: *luued* (believed), *zerned* (desired), *isauzt* (reconciled), *forspilt* (destroyed), *slayn* (struck), *brought*, *slone* (fastened), *believed*, *scandalized*, *killed*, *looked on*, *read*, *pronounced*, *foreseen*, *forgiven*, *felt*, *smitten*, *respected*
- b. with *let*: *tunde* (guarded), *seene* (seen), *gone*, *had*, *been sent*

Most past participles in (18) are verbal rather than adjectival.¹⁰

Visser (1963-1973) points out significant and curious linguistic facts, but does not provide any theoretical account for them at all.

An immediate question here is whether Emonds (2013) can account for the historical facts such as (17) and (18). The facts suggest that, if Emonds (2013) also applies to historical English data, then it will wrongly expect that all examples in (17) are ungrammatical, since *make* and *let* are not stored in syntacticon, as clearly shown in ungrammatical examples included in (13a) and (13c). Therefore, in order to account for the development of the indirect passive, an alternative analysis is needed. This issue will be dealt with in section 5.4. Before turning to this, it will be worth investigating historical data

of the indirect passive in more detail.

5.3. Data from Historical Corpora

The indirect passive has rarely been dealt with, synchronically and diachronically. Especially, as far as I know, there is no diachronic work focusing on the indirect passive alone. This section shows the results of our investigation based on some historical corpora to clarify the more exact path of the development of the indirect passive. The corpora used in this survey are PPCME2, PPCEME and PPCMBE.

5.3.1. The Token-frequency of the Indirect Passive

To begin with, we provide Tables 1-3 and Figure 1 to reveal the change of the token-frequency of the indirect passive.¹¹

Table 1 Token-frequency of the Indirect Passive in PPCME2 (per 1,000,000 words)

M1	M2	M3	M4
20.46	70.47	64.77	103.80

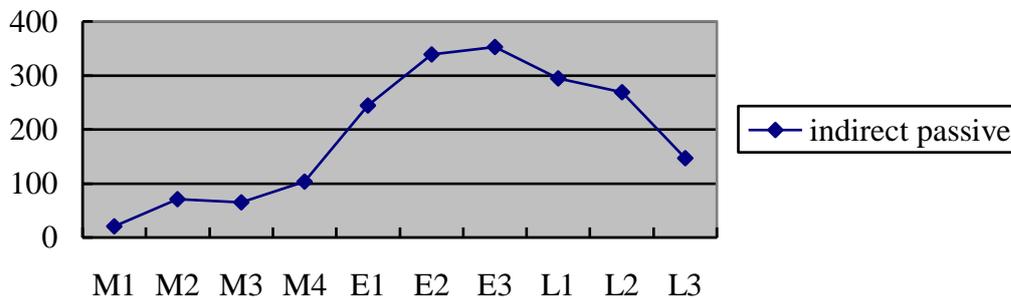
Table 2 Token-frequency of the Indirect Passive in PPCEME (per 1,000,000 words)

E1	E2	E3
244.81	338.92	352.66

Table 3 Token-frequency of the Indirect Passive in PPCMBE (per 1,000,000 words)

L1	L2	L3
294.59	268.84	146.95

Figure 1 Token-frequency of the Indirect Passive



It is observed that the frequency had increased to some degree since M1 (1150-1250) and, especially, rapidly through the period between M4 and E3. Therefore, according to Tables 1-3 and Figure 1, it seems to be plausible that the indirect passive began to appear in M1 and was established in M4.¹²

(19)-(28) are some examples from each period.

- (19) a. *ʒe eauer hereð Marie nome inempnet*
you ever heard Marie name named (CMANCRIW, I.58.158: M1)
- b. *Hwet makeð hit iluuet bituhhe beasteliche men*
What made it loved between beastly men, (CMHALI, 146.262: M1)
- (20) a. *hy makeþ man yblyssed ine þise wordle ase man may by ine þise lyue: and*
he made man blessed in this world as man may be in this live and
more yblyssed ine þe oþre
more blessed in the other. (CMAYENBI, 97.1909: M2)
- b. *Me ssel habbe þe earen opene / uor to hyere bleþeliche / þe guode wordes*
Men shall have the ear open for to hear blissfully the god words
/ þet byeþ worþ to þe help of zaule. and y-sset
that are worth to the help of soul, and set. (CMAYENBI, 257.2386: M2)

- (21) a. made ham accordede in þis maner, þat Elfride shulde horde al þe lande fram
made him accorded in this manner, that Elfride should hold all the land from
Humber vnto Scotlande, and Cadwalader shulde halde al þe lande at þis half
Humver unto Scotland and Cadwalader should hold all the lande at this half
Humber vnto þe South;
Humber unto the south; (CMBRUT3, 100.3019: M3)
- b. þou wilt haue me excusid;
thou will have me excused (CMCLOUD, 129.776: M3)
- (22) a. To shewe you this. ye must vnderstonde / that for the synnes of the Jewes it
To show you this, you must understand that for the sins of the Jewes it
pleysyd god. to haue them punysshed /
pleased god to have them punished. (CMFITZJA, A4V.63: M4)
- b. Than sir Brastias saw his felow yfared so withall, he smote the duke with a
Then sir Brastias saw his fellow feared, so withal, he smote the duke with a
spere, that horse and man felle downe.
spear, that horse and man fell down. (CMMALORY, 21.642: M4)
- (23) a. Order taken that whosoever had benefices given them shuld preach befor the
King in or out of Lent, (EDWARD-E1-H, 257.43: E1)
- b. (...), hopinge that he had gott himself discharged out of the parliament bill
(ROPER-E1-P1, 69.97: E1)
- (24) a. the same Pius Qvintus could not heare spoken with patience,
(BACON-E2-P1, 1,9R.97: E2)
- b. Namely, that some wise & experienced, would have children taught to call and
pronounce all their letters, and to spell any syllable before they know a letter
on the booke. (BRINSLEY-E2-P1, 18.133: E2)

- (25) a. nor had he, if the general who saw the arrow shot, and perceiving it aimed at the prince, had not bow'd his head between, on purpose to receive it in his own body, (BEHN-E3-P1, 152.83: E3)
- b. all others that please to send their children thither may have them taught at a reasonable rate, (HOOLE-E3-P1, 32.120: E3)
- (26) a. and therefore, if we hear nothing but Latin talk'd to us at first, we shou'd as easily and perfectly learn it as we do English. (ANON-1711, 8.70: L1)
- b. but next Morning I had a Ham and a Hare sent me, (DAVYS-1716, 23.15: L1)
- (27) a. The National Assembly has its very slumbers broken by the tramp of soldiery, (CARLYLE-1837, 1,144.196: L2)
- b. He wanted a paper printed, (WATSON-1817, 1,81.20: L2)
- (28) a. and at my request my father got me appointed as one to the Thames, Captain P. Hast, an old naval friend of his. (FAYRER-1900, 7.154: L3)
- b. We had some sails blown away, (FAYRER-1900, 9.202: L3)

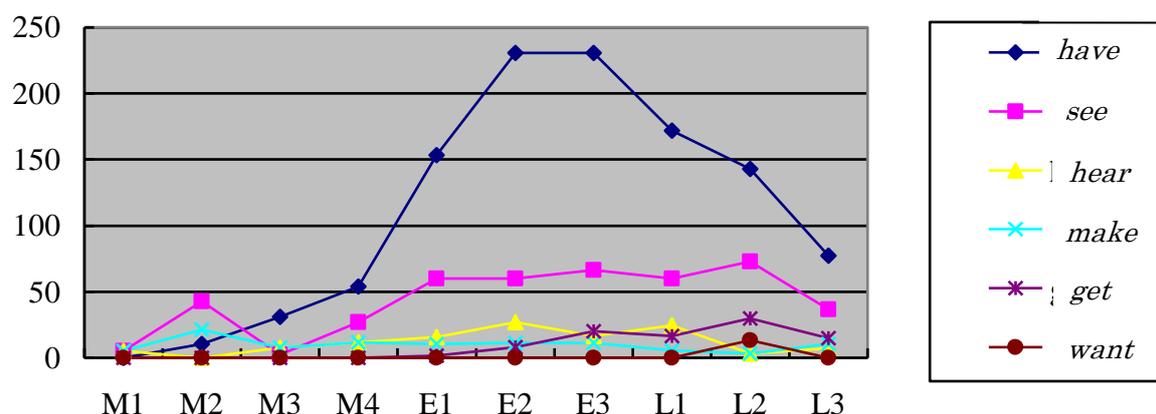
Furthermore, in order to reveal the more exact path of the development of the indirect passive, I have conducted a corpus-based study on token-frequency of six representative verbs (*have*, *see*, *hear*, *make*, *get*, and *want*) included in the indirect passive.¹³ The results are summarized in Table 4 and Figure 2.

Table 4 Token-frequency of Six Verbs Included in the Indirect Passive

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
<i>have</i>	0	10.64	31.09	53.82	153.22	230.72	230.80
<i>see</i>	5.12	42.55	2.59	26.91	59.88	58.87	66.47
<i>hear</i>	5.12	0	7.77	11.53	15.85	27.05	16.62
<i>make</i>	5.12	21.28	7.77	11.53	10.57	11.14	11.08
<i>get</i>	0	0	0	0	1.76	7.96	20.31
<i>want</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	L1	L2	L3
<i>have</i>	171.84	142.72	77.15
<i>see</i>	60.01	73.02	36.74
<i>hear</i>	24.55	3.32	7.35
<i>make</i>	5.46	3.32	10.66
<i>get</i>	16.37	29.87	14.70
<i>want</i>	0	13.28	0

Figure 2 Token-frequency of Six Verbs Included in the Indirect Passive



As made clear in Table 4 and Figure 2, all six verbs did not begin to appear at the same time: *see/hear/make* in M1, *have* in M2, *get* in E1, and *want* in L2. Especially, note that there are more than one hundred and fifty years between the appearance of indirect passives with *see/hear/make/have* and that of ones with *get/want*. This does not seem to be accounted for by Emonds' (2013) analysis which assumes that verbs such as *have/get/see/hear/want/need* are uniformly stored in syntacticon.

Furthermore, since M2, more than sixty-five percent of the indirect passive has involved *have* or *see*, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 The Distribution of Six Verbs Included in Indirect Passives: Percentage of Instances (percent)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
<i>have</i>	0	14.28	63.16	51.85	63.50	68.71	66.84
<i>see</i>	33.33	57.13	5.26	25.92	24.81	17.53	19.25
<i>hear</i>	33.33	0	15.78	11.10	6.56	8.05	4.81
<i>make</i>	33.33	28.57	15.78	11.10	4.38	3.31	3.20
<i>get</i>	0	0	0	0	0.72	2.37	5.88
<i>want</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	L1	L2	L3
<i>have</i>	61.76	53.74	52.62
<i>see</i>	21.56	27.49	25.06
<i>hear</i>	8.82	1.25	5.01
<i>make</i>	1.96	1.25	7.27
<i>get</i>	5.88	11.24	10.02
<i>want</i>	0	5.00	0

This seems to imply that indirect passives with *have* and *see* began to be prototypes of the indirect passive in M2. The reason is that *have* and *see* can easily occur with the “experiencer” subject involved in the indirect passive. Originally, *have* is a possessive verb and, by being related to events (i.e. *have an experience*), can bear some experiential meaning. On the other hand, *see*, one of perception verbs, means that someone perceives (or happens to be present at) the scene of an event. Therefore, it seems to be plausible for both verbs to occur with the indirect passive involving an “experiencer” subject.

More interestingly, the percentage of cases involving “*make* + object + verbal passive participle” had decreased from M1 to L2 whereas that of cases involving “*get* + object + verbal passive participle” had increased from when it appeared, E1, to L2. This seems to imply that *make* gradually lost its characteristics as a marker of the indirect passive, whereas

get has served as one since E1.

An immediate question here is why *make* gradually lost its characteristics as a marker of the indirect passive, though it began to serve as one in M1. We assume that it is because there were idiomatic expressions such as “*make* + object + *known/heard/acquainted/understood*.” Its token-frequency is shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Token-frequency of Idiomatic Expressions such as “*make* + object + *known/heard/acquainted/understood*” (per 1,000,000 words)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
<i>make</i> + object + <i>known/heard/acquainted/understood</i>	0	117.02	0	3.84	0	20.69	5.54

	L1	L2	L3
<i>make</i> + object + <i>known/heard/acquainted/understood</i>	13.64	6.64	3.67

Note that many relevant examples already appeared in M2. Furthermore, such idiomatic expressions are observed not only in M2 but also in other periods like M4, E2 and so on. The existence of such examples could affect the development of indirect passives with *make*. We will discuss this in more detail in the following section.

5.4. A Diachronic Approach to the Indirect Passive

Section 5.4 provides a diachronic approach to the indirect passive, based on historical data shown by Visser (1963-1973) and the results of our corpus-based study in section 5.3. We attempt to account for its development in terms of degrammaticalization. To begin with, the following should be focused on: the definition of degrammaticalization and how degrammaticalization has been addressed so far.

5.4.1. Degrammaticalization

Degrammaticalization is generally regarded as “the mirror image reversal of grammaticalization processes (see Wischer and Diewald (2002: 47))” and its existence is often denied by a number of linguists in terms of sporadic occurrences and unidirectionality (for grammaticalization in more detail, see also section 2.6.1 in chapter 2). One may point out that most phenomena understood as the cases of degrammaticalization are sporadic and therefore, they do not seem to be unified under a proper theory. Then, others may argue that, because of one property grammaticalization bears, i.e. its unidirectionality, there cannot be degrammaticalization theoretically. For the former, we will argue that they are certainly “sporadic,” but not “entirely zero.” That is, there are (some) phenomena which should be regarded as degrammaticalization. In fact, some linguists point out their existence (see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), Norde (2009) and so on). Only because they are sporadic, we should not ignore them. Although it may be rather difficult to clarify what degrammaticalization is, we should provide a theoretical account for them. Furthermore, recall that the similar difficulty is also applied to grammaticalization, as shown in section 2.6.1 in chapter 2. For the latter, we should note that “unidirectionality” is only a theoretical hypothesis formed by abduction. In other words, such hypothesis will be plausible iff it can account for all observed facts as far as we investigate. As some linguists point out, there are counterexamples for the “unidirectionality of grammaticalization,” and thus, it seems to be impossible to retain a hypothesis of the unidirectionality of grammaticalization just as it is. Thus degrammaticalization can be supported empirically by some linguistic facts.

As in grammaticalization, degrammaticalization is differently defined by a number of linguists. First, it is often regarded as “the mirror image reversal of grammaticalization processes and lexicalization is included as a part of them” (See Ramat (1992: 550)). Second, Norde (2009, 2010) provides more systematic definition of degrammaticalization. He

proposes that there are three clear distinguishable types of degrammaticalization as shown in (29).

- (29) (i) Content level: shift from grammatical context to lexical content (resemanticization).

Degrammaticalization at the content level is primary degrammaticalization and will be termed degrammation.

- (ii) Content-Synactic level: shift from “more grammatical” to “less grammatical,” or movement out of a paradigm accompanied by a change in grammatical content.

Degrammaticalization at the content-synactic level is the first subtype of secondary degrammaticalization and will be termed deinflectionalization.

- (iii) Morphosyntactic level: shift from bound morpheme (affix, clitic) to free morpheme.

This is the second subtype of secondary degrammaticalization and will be termed debonding. (Norde (2010: 137-138))

Some linguists identify degrammation in (29i) with lexicalization.

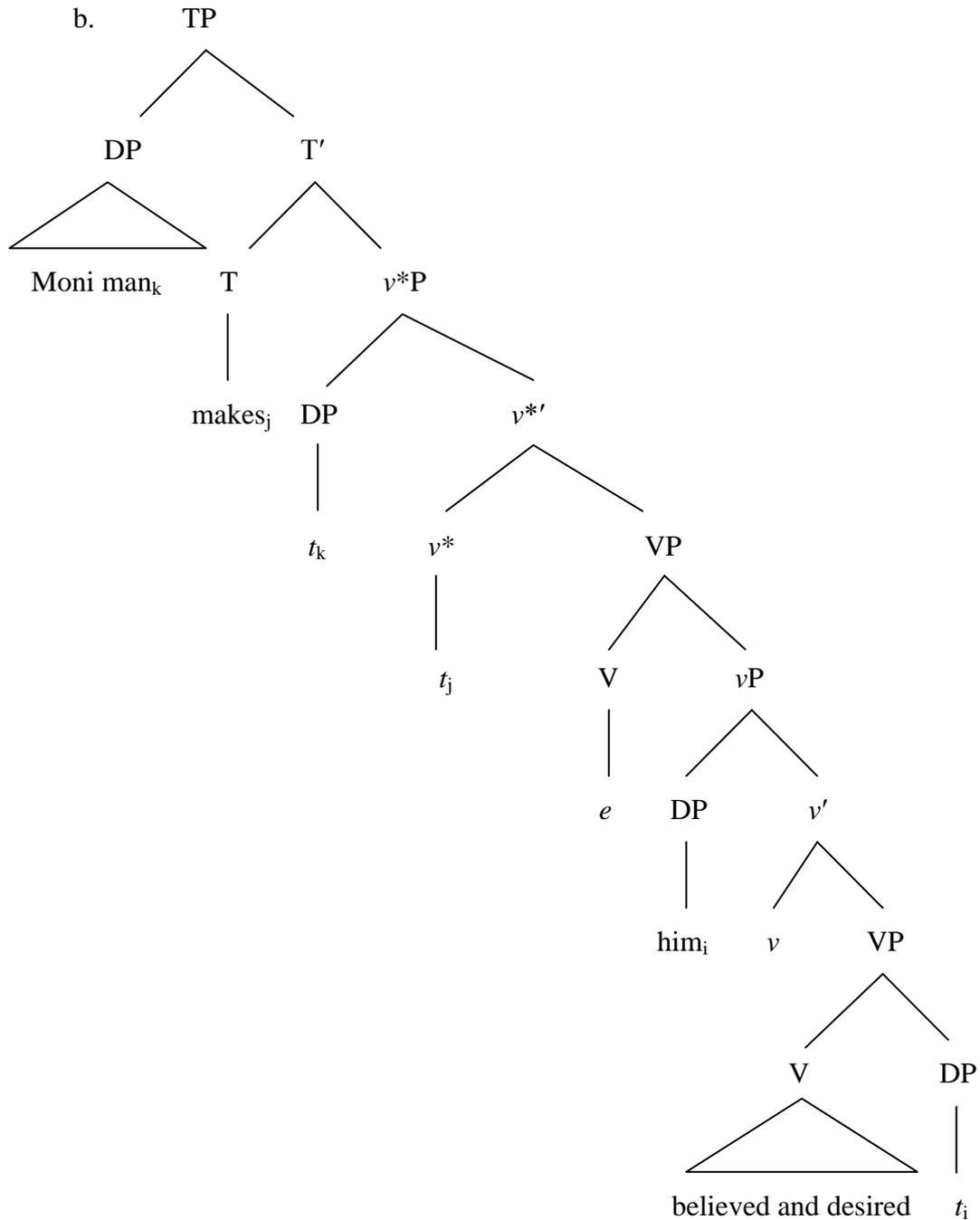
Here, we note that the contrast between grammaticalization and degrammaticalization is somehow similar to that between word formation and back-formation within the lexicon. In other words, degrammaticalization seems to be regarded as a kind of back-formation at the syntactic level. In fact, a number of previous works point out the relation between lexicon and grammar (see Jackendoff (2010) and so on). Section 5.4.2 will provide a syntactic approach for the development of the indirect passive with regard to degrammaticalization, a kind of back-formation at the syntactic level.

5.4.2. The Syntactic Structure and Development of the Indirect Passive

This section proposes a syntactic analysis for the development of the indirect passive in terms of degrammaticalization.

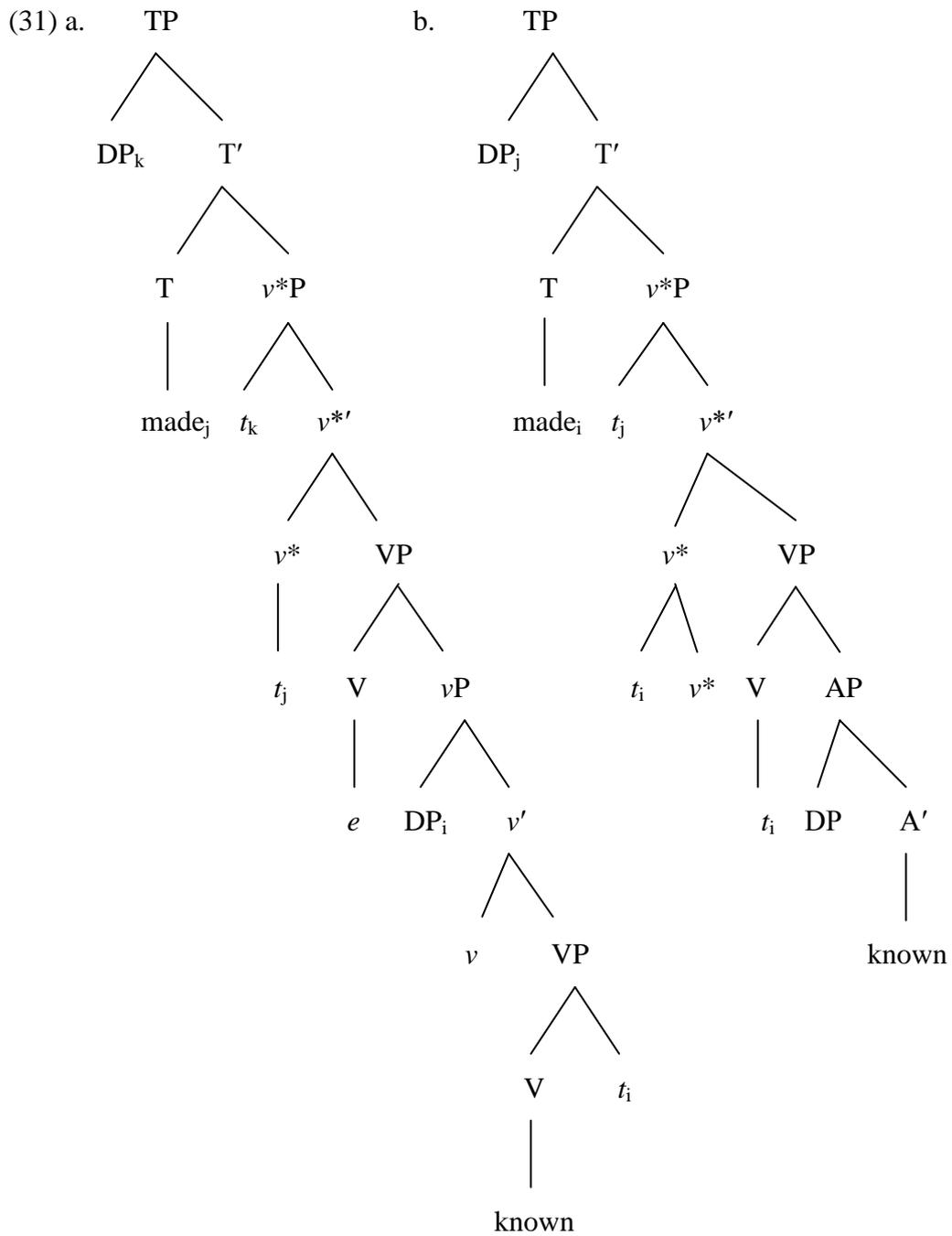
To begin with, we should consider the development of causative verbs such as *make*, included in the indirect passive. Iyeiri (2012) points out that causative *make* appeared in the Late ME. As shown in section 5.2.2.2, indirect passives with causative *make* or *let* were established at almost the same period, in the early thirteenth century. (30a) is one of their examples and its syntactic structure is shown in (30b).

- (30) a. Moni man þurh his strengðe and hardschipe ek makes him luued and
Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
zerned
desired
“Many men through his strength and hardship etc. make him believed and
desired.” (c1225 Wooing of Our Lord (in O. E. Hom. i, ii, ed. Morris) 271)
(Visser (1963-1973: 2385 (§ 2115)))



Here, we should notice the existence of indirect passives with ambiguous passive participles. As shown in section 5.3, these examples began to be observed in M2. Paying special attention to indirect passives with ambiguous passive participles, we assume that they played an important role in the degrammaticalization of *make*, as well as the reanalysis of verbal passive participles as adjectival passive participles, because their structure is

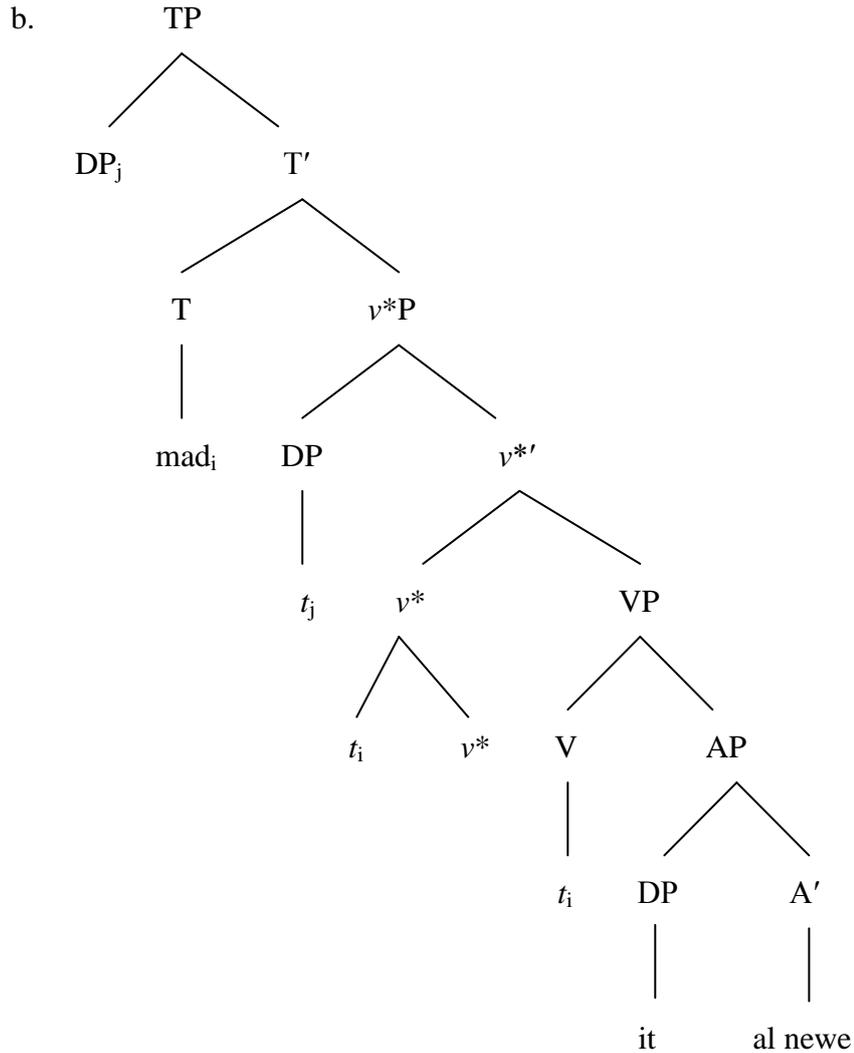
ambiguous between (31a) and (31b).



Note that the latter is rather similar to (32b), which is the syntactic structure of (32a).

(32) a. and aftirward mad it al newe.

(CMCAPCHR, 85.1618)



More interestingly, in (32b), adjectival passive participles can also be inserted as complements to *make* taking predicative adjectives.

An immediate question here is what motivates degrammaticalization. One possibility is that it is related to the token-frequency of “*make* + object + adjectivals (including adjectival passive participles).” Our investigation makes clear the token-frequency of “*make* + object + adjectivals,” as shown in Table 7, with contrast to that of indirect passives with *make*.

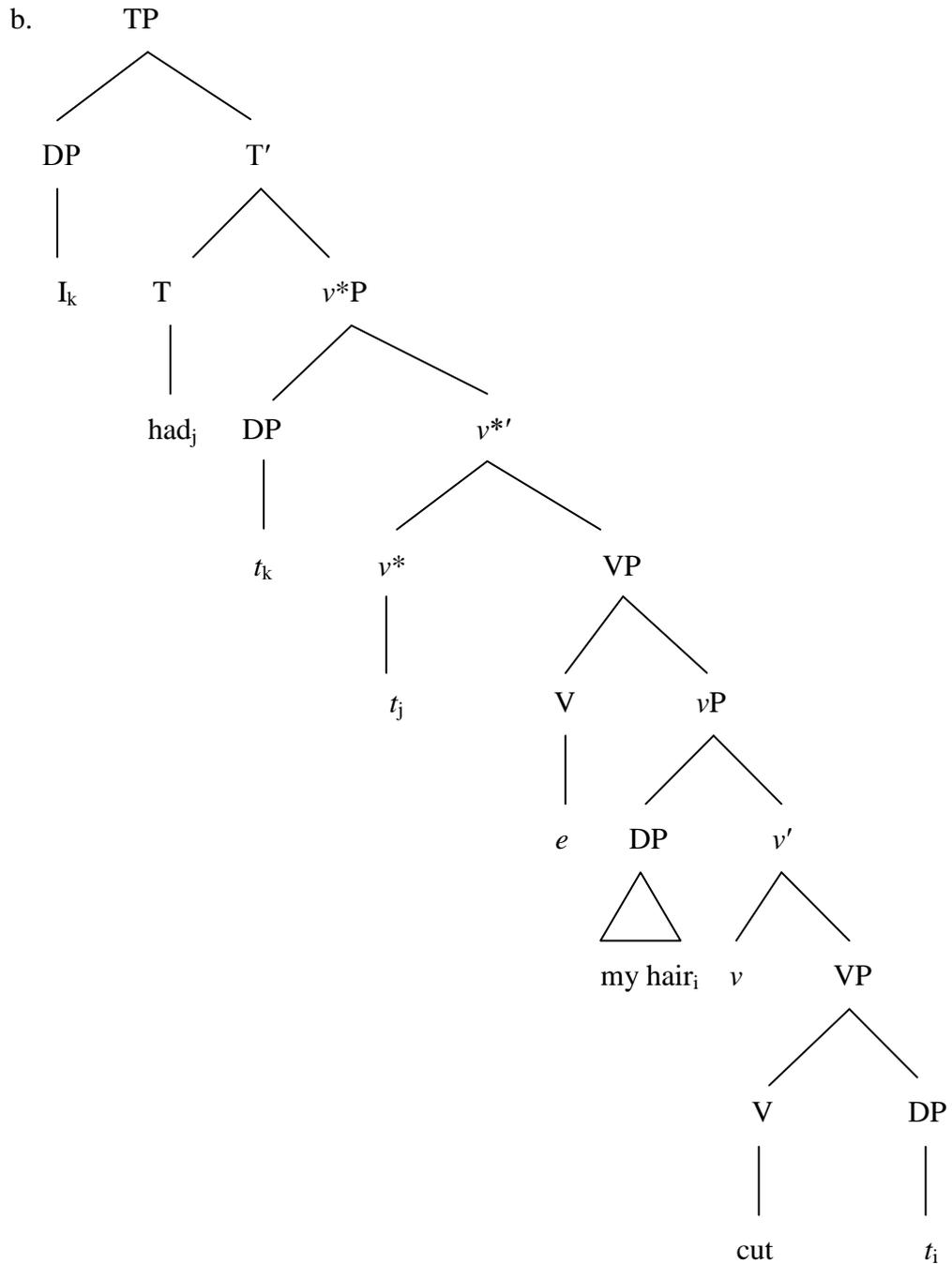
Table 7

	M1	M2	M3	M4
<i>make</i> + object + adjectivals (including adjectival passive participles)	286.45	1478.74	448.19	276.80
indirect passives with <i>make</i>	33.33	28.57	15.78	11.10

The token-frequency of “*make* + object + adjectivals” is much higher than that of indirect passives with *make*. We assume that the pattern “*make* + object + adjectivals” began to serve as a kind of template and excluded syntactic structures such as (30b). After all, by PE, indirect passives including *make* or *let* have completely disappeared.

On the other hand, indirect passives including causative *have* or *get*, as shown in Emonds (2013), still have been retained in PE. One of their examples is illustrated in (33a) and its syntactic structure is shown in (33b).

(33) a. I had my hair cut.



Interestingly, compared to *make/let*, there are only some cases where *have/get* takes an AP complement. Especially, there are much fewer cases where adjectival passive participles can also be inserted as complements to *have/get* taking predicative adjectives. In this way, (33) is unambiguous, and therefore, the degrammaticalization of *have/get* similar to (31) has not been caused. After all, this naturally expects the fact that indirect passives including

causative *have* or *get* still have been retained in PE.

5.4.3. Theoretical and Empirical Contributions

The present analysis has a number of theoretical and empirical contributions. One of its theoretical consequences is that it can clarify the development of the indirect passive which has not been shed light on so far, and provide a theoretical account with regard to degrammaticalization.

Another is that some of peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive in PE can be accounted for in the present approach. Specifically, in the indirect passive, the unacceptability of adjectival passives or predicates related to small clauses may be attributed to that of the small clause itself, shown in section 5.4.2.

In addition, our analysis can properly address the problems with Emonds (2013). Recall that there are at least three problems with it. First, he does not make clear how his analysis accounts for peculiarities of the indirect passive. However, in our analysis, some (unfortunately not all) of them can be derived from the proposed syntactic structures. Second, he does not clarify verb selection, after all. Specifically, it is left open why six verbs (*have*, *get*, *need*, *want*, *see* and *hear*) must be stored in syntacticon. However, our analysis can clarify the distinction between the six verbs and other verbs such as *make*, in terms of degrammaticalization, without syntacticon, as shown in section 5.4.2. Third, he does not provide independent theoretical evidence for assuming the hypothesis in (15), repeated here as (34).

(34) Alternative Realization (“AR”)

A syntactic feature F that is interpreted in LF on a category α can be “alternatively realized” elsewhere in a closed class item under β , provided that some projections of α and β are sisters. (Emonds (2013: 70))

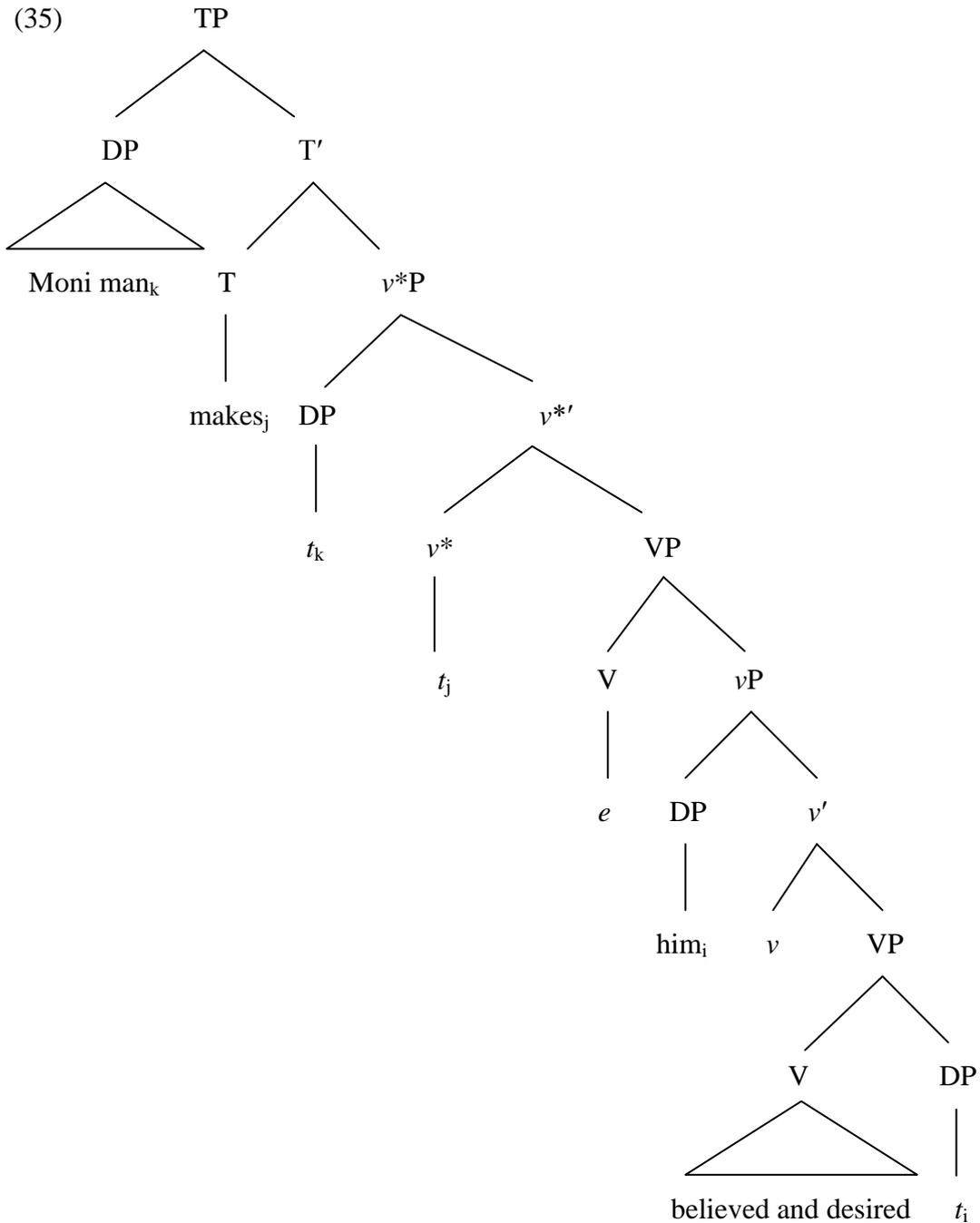
On the other hand, the present analysis does not have to depend on special mechanisms such as (34).

Then, an empirical contribution is the results of our corpus-based survey summarized in section 5.3. As mentioned above, there is no previous study in the development of the indirect passive alone, at least as far as I know. Our elaborate investigation seems to present a firm empirical basement for further study. Even if some serious theoretical problems are brought about, the availability of the data based on such an exhaustive observation will not be affected by them.

5.4.4. Remaining Issues

Section 5.4.4 is devoted to the discussion on some problems which will be still retained if we adopt the present analysis.

The first is how a case is assigned to an object in the indirect passive by using feature inheritance within the recent minimalist framework. To account for this, we assume that the above structure in (30b), repeated here in (35), includes higher V occupied by a null main verb, *e*.



Causative verbs are generally regarded as a light verb base-generated in v^* , not V. Without a null main verb e , the only V included in (35) would be verbal passive participles. Thus, under feature inheritance, a $[\text{u}\phi]$ feature would be inherited by V from v^* . This causes a serious problem since V should be able to assign an accusative case to the object in its base-generated position, contrary to the fact. This problem is properly addressed by

assuming a null main verb *e*. That is, a [u ϕ] feature will be inherited by higher V occupied by a null main verb *e* from *v**. This V properly assigns an accusative case to the object in its moved position. However, this auxiliary hypothesis may fall into a problem similar to Larson's (1988) in chapter 3. We have to admit that this hypothesis may not be the best option, but so far, no other choice has been better than it. This issue, including pursuing alternative approaches, has been left open for further study.

Second, our analysis has not accounted for why the indirect passive does not occur with (i) reduced relative modifiers and (ii) null operator constructions with similarities to WH-movement. Notice here that some linguists point out that the reduced relative includes a null operator. In other words, these characteristics are reduced into one. An immediate question here is why null operator constructions cannot co-occur with the indirect passive. Note that, in such a case, a null operator relates the following event to its antecedent DP. However, in order to be interpreted as the indirect passive, the antecedent DP must also be semantically connected with some event included in the main clause. To evade this semantic (event-structural) ambiguity, it seems to be plausible that they are in complementary distribution. It will be the best way to verify this hypothesis, to investigate relevant instances more carefully.

In addition, as far as the causative construction is concerned, some linguists point out a possibility that the acceptability of the indirect passive can be accounted for by some relation to the unacceptability of passives like (36a).

(36) a. *I was had (to) eat my spinach. (Baron (1974: 321))

b. I had her seen by John. (Givón (1975: 73))

Here, compare (36) with (37).

- (37) a. I was made to eat my spinach. (Baron (1974: 321))
b. *The treasurer may make the receipts [put into the right files (by a clerk)].
(cf. Emonds (2013: 59))

As far as shown in (36) and (37), this hypothesis appears to be plausible. However, as for perception and request verbs, this is not the case, as shown in the following examples.

- (38) a. Have you ever seen a person killed?
b. Julia was seen to enter the house.
- (39) a. I need my shoes mended.
b. ..., so a more fine-grained scale was needed to distinguish this otherwise socially homogeneous group. (Wagner (2008: 67))

Thus, the complementary distribution in (36) and (37) does not seem to affect the acceptability of the indirect passive itself.

Moreover, from the above syntactic differences shown in (36)-(39), it is implied that it is doubtful whether the six verbs belong to the same syntactic category. This problem, including why the differences illustrated in (36)-(39) have occurred, should be argued more.

Then, there is also a semantic difference between causative verbs like *have* or *get*, and perception or request verbs. Specifically, causative verbs have already undergone exhaustive semantic bleaching, whereas perception or request verbs do not seem to have been affected so much by semantic bleaching. For this reason, they cannot be uniformly accounted for.

5.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the development of the indirect passive in the history of

English and investigated empirical linguistic data from some historical corpora, PPCME2, PPCEME and PPCMBE. A significant consequence of this chapter is that we have clarified, to some extent, the development of the indirect passive which has not been shed light on so far, and provided a theoretical account for it in terms of degrammaticalization. Then, another consequence is that some of peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive in PE, i.e. the unacceptability of adjectival passives or predicates related to small clauses, can be accounted for in the present approach. Specifically, this may be attributed to the unacceptability of the small clause itself, shown in section 5.4.2.

Notes to Chapter 5

1 In PE, “*make + object + understood/heard/known*” appears to be similar, but this expression is regarded as a kind of idiom, and the passive participles are construed as adjectival rather than verbal one (as for types of passive participles, see the discussion on the peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive). Therefore, this type is not included as an example of (1). On the other hand, note that, in ModE, there are many cases including “*make + object + verbal passive participle*,” parallel to (1).

2 In Emonds (2013), the term “the indirect passive” is used for passives which involve an “extra NP” in the surface subject position, which benefits from or is adversely affected by the event in the passive clause. Emonds clearly admits that, in this respect, they parallel to Japanese indirect passives.

However, it seems to be doubtful whether all examples in (1), provided by Emonds, involve such NP. For example, the subject in (i) does not always receive some benefit or damage.

- (i) She heard Mr. Smith [brought in to a judge]. (cf. Emonds (2013: 59))

In (i), *she* may have nothing to do with Mr. Smith, and therefore, *she* may not be affected at all by the event in the passive clause. (To judge this, we will need more detailed context.) Therefore, it is debatable whether “the English indirect passive,” proposed by Emonds, strictly parallels to the Japanese indirect passive in postulating an extra NP, which benefits from or is adversely affected by the event in the passive clause.

We point out that some previous works on the Japanese indirect passive assume that an

extra NP in the surface subject position is the “experiencer” of the event in the passive clause, rather than the beneficiary or patient. If we adopt this assumption, (i) can be accounted for without any problem. Here, we will use the term “the indirect passive” in the latter sense: This means constructions with an extra NP as the “experiencer” of the event in the passive clause.

3 An immediate question here is why only six verbs allow the indirect passive in PE. This has attracted many linguists’ attention but has been difficult to be solved. A similar problem has been pointed out concerning the *get*-passive, whereas it has still been open. Then, such problems do not prevent theoretical approaches to the relevant construction itself. Therefore, similarly to various approaches to the *get*-passive, here this problem is left open for further study.

4. Simpson and Ho (2008) point out that there are also indirect passives in Chinese and Vietnamese, as shown in (i) and (ii).

(i) Chinese

a. Lao Zhang bei da-diao-le ya-chi.

old Zhang BEI hit-lose-ASP teeth

“Zhang had his teeth knocked out.” (Shi 1997)

b. Ta bei jingcha mo-shou-le zhi-zhao.

he BEI police confiscate-ASP driving license

“He had his driving license confiscated by the police.” (Shi 1997)

c. Zhangsan bei tufei da-si-le fuqin.

Zhangsan BEI bandit hit-dead-ASP father

“Zhangsan’s father was killed.” (Huang 1999) (Simpson and Ho (2008: 829))

(ii) Vietnamese

a. Tôi bị Nga làm gãy một ngón tay.

I BI Nga make snap 1 finger

“Nga broke one of my fingers.”

b. Nga bị Nam giật tóc.

Nga BI Nam pull hair

“Nga had her hair pulled by Nam.”

c. Nam bị cảnh sát tịch thu ra đồ của Nam.

Nam BI police confiscate radio of Nam

“Nam had his radio confiscated by the police.” (Le 1976)

(Simpson and Ho (2008: 830))

5 Also see note 2. Although some linguists such as Russom (1982) use the term “the indirect passive,” they refer to “the recipient passive” by this term, since, as shown in chapter 3, an “indirect” object is the subject of the recipient passive. Therefore, they are excluded from the discussion here.

6 As shown in the text, the formal difference between the indirect passive and all analytic passives seems to be captured. However, as for other differences shown in (i), it is dubious whether they are naturally led by his analysis.

- (i) a. without reduced relative modifiers or small clause predicates internal to object DPs;
- b. without null operator constructions with similarities to WH-movement (they rather have clear passive paradigms);
- c. without adjectival passives;
- d. without predicates inside small clause complements of *have*, *get*, *want*, etc.

(cf. Emonds (2013: 59))

In fact, he does not refer to how his proposal accounts for the peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive.

7 As for (15) and (16), Emonds clearly states that, for the case at hand, F is φ , α is D , and β is A . However, note that A , i.e. β , is generally regarded as a lexical (open-class) item, and therefore, it seems to violate the definition of β in (15). He does not refer to this at all and somehow applies (15) to (16).

8 Only by assuming (15) and (16), it seems to be wrongly expected that the indirect passive can take an AP complement. Emonds excludes this possibility by assuming a single syntactic feature $[\Phi]$ which the A head in the indirect passive bears:

- (i) An Absence of Content Feature: A lexical item's syntactic category B can be specified as $+\Phi$, which means that B is not part of the item's interpretation.

(Emonds (2013: 71))

He also claims that “In some still unpublished work, I find that “lack of interpretive content in

In (ia), *find* takes a small clause as its complement. However, the small clause is involved with an adjectival passive participle, and related to a state, rather than an event. Thus, such case is not regarded as one of the instances of the indirect passive. On the other hand, in (ib-e), causative *make* involves some particular passive participles (*known, heard, acquainted, and understood*). That is, the relevant examples are regarded as idiomatic expressions, rather than as the cases of the indirect passive.

12 Although the frequency has been over 100 per 1,000,000 words since M4, it has decreased since E3, not sporadically. What caused this change is an interesting issue and will need to be theoretically solved in future. However, for this pioneering study, this is beyond its scope, at least so far. Therefore, we will leave this for future works.

13 The representative verbs do not include *need* or *let*. This is because “*need* + object + (verbal/adjectival) passive participle” is not observed at all in our corpus-based survey, and, as for “*let* + object + passive participle,” there is only one example in M3, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) but þe kyng of Engelonde leet no trespas unpunsched,
but the king of Engelonde let no trespass unpunished

(CMPOLYCH, VIII, 107.3693)

Note that “*unpunsched* (unpunished)” is adjectival, not verbal. That is, we did not find any indirect passive with *let* from the results of our corpus-based survey.

Chapter 6

The System of English Passives

6.1 Building the System of English Passives: Correspondences between Passive Constructions

We have discussed the development of some peripheral passives: the *get*-passive (chapter 2), the recipient passive (chapter 3), the pseudo-passive (chapter 4) and the indirect passive (chapter 5). We have also clarified the more exact path of each development. One of their theoretical consequences is that we can provide explanations for when and how the syntactic structures of the peripheral passives were allowed in a particular language. Another consequence is that, by showing that we can deal with not only “core constructions” but also “peripheral constructions” within the framework of generative grammar, we can enhance its descriptive power.

As more is understood about the characteristics of both core and peripheral constructions, it is recognized that we will need to face with the clarification of correspondences between core and peripheral constructions, in order to accurately describe and explain relevant linguistic facts. Although some linguists begin to focus on this issue, there are still not many studies on it. In this chapter, we focus on correspondences between core and peripheral constructions.

The aim of this chapter is to cast light on correspondences between core and peripheral passives and propose the system of English passives.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 6.2 overviews some previous studies on correspondences between constructions. Section 6.3 provides our system of the core passive (the *be*-passive), and maps other peripheral passives into the system.

Furthermore, we also consider how this system is related to the development discussed in previous chapters.

6.2. Previous Studies

6.2.1. Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) and Jackendoff (2010)

Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) posit a number of related but distinct resultative constructions and propose the family of the resultative constructions, also called an inheritance hierarchy, as shown in Figure 1 partly cited from Jackendoff (2010: 316, note r).¹

- (b) Each type of resultative construction inherits properties from two sources: from being either a Path or Property resultative, and from being either simplex or causative. In turn, the relation between simplex and causative forms is the same as that between noncausative and causative forms of verbs such as *break*.
- (c) All four types can express a MEANS relations between the constructional subevent and the verbal subevent, but the noncausative Path resultative also has the possibility of a RESULT relation in the sound emission and disappearance constructions.
- (d) The causatives break into selected and unselected resultatives, depending on how the Full Argument Restriction is implemented.
- (e) The unselected resultatives permit the further possibility of a fake reflexive.
- (f) The simplex resultatives are typically intransitive, but the special case of subject host with verbs such as *follow* is transitive.
- (g) The causative resultatives are typically transitive, but the special case with an implicit Patient with verbs such as *bleed* is intransitive.

(cf. Jackendoff (2010: 317, note r))

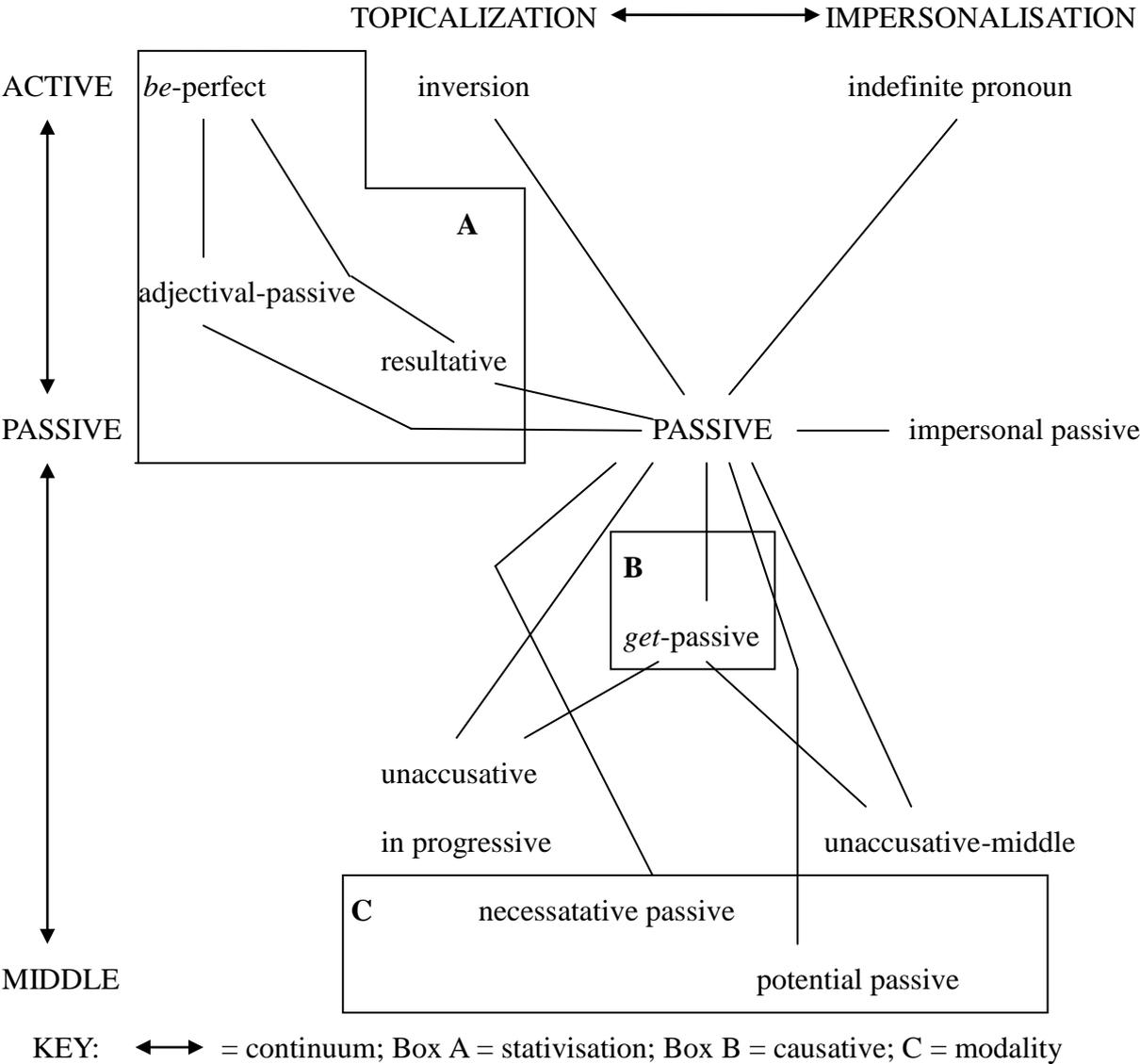
Both Figure 1 and (1) are noticeable in that they attempt to capture the relation among resultative constructions by inheritance. However, Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) and Jackendoff (2010) do not clarify what mechanism the inheritance includes. Then they do not make clear how core and peripheral constructions are distinguished in Figure 1.

6.2.2. Toyota (2008)

Toyota (2008) clarifies the development of some passive constructions including the

be-passive and the *get*-passive by using some historical corpora, and constructs the system of English passives by using what he calls “voice continuum,” with respect to cognitive linguistics (and historical data as clues). Figure 2 is the complete (as far as his analysis is concerned) conceptual space for the English voice continuum.

Figure 2 Conceptual Space for the PE Voice Continuum



(cf. Toyota (2013: 236))

His analysis is noticeable in that it attempts to construct a comprehensive system

including various passive constructions and that it makes use of historical data as clues for constructing the system. So far, most previous studies on the passive and its development have been limited to a particular passive construction, and there are few studies based on the whole system of passive constructions and its development. Therefore, it is worth recapturing the system of the whole passive voice and its development from such macro viewpoint. A remaining problem is that, as in Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), Figure 2 does not make clear the distinction between core and peripheral constructions. Besides, he argues that the origin of the *get*-passive is “causative *get* + object + past participle,” but, as shown in chapter 2, our corpus-based study by using large-scaled historical corpora has revealed that this is not the case. At least in this point, it is dubious whether Figure 2 is plausible.

6.2.3. Summary

In section 6.2, we have overviewed Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), Jackendoff (2010) and Toyota (2008) as previous works focusing on the relation between constructions. The most difficult issue with them to address is to make clear how the distinction between core and peripheral constructions is incorporated into their systems shown in Figures 1 and 2.

In section 6.3, as the first approximation, we attempt to construct the system of English passives.

6.3. The System of English Passives

In Section 6.3, we provide the system of English passives on the basis of the discussion in chapters 2-5. Especially, we focus on how core and peripheral passives are related to each other. The main characteristics of the *be*-passive as the core passive are shown in (2).

(2) *Be*-Passive

- a. Suppression of the subject
- b. Existence of *be* as a passive marker
- c. Raising of the direct object to receive a nominative case

Let us compare these properties to those of the peripheral passives discussed in the above chapters. The results are shown in (3)-(6).

(3) *Get*-Passive

- a. Suppression of the subject
- b. No existence of *be* as a passive marker
- c. Raising of the direct object to receive a nominative case

(4) Recipient Passive

- a. Suppression of the subject
- b. Existence of *be* as a passive marker
- c. No raising of the direct object to receive a nominative case

(5) Pseudo-Passive

- a. Suppression of the subject
- b. Existence of *be* as a passive marker
- c. Raising of the direct object to receive a nominative case (after a syntactic reanalysis)

(6) Indirect Passive

- a. Suppression of the subject
- b. No existence of *be* as a passive marker
- c. Raising of the direct object to receive a nominative case

A comparison between (2) and (3)-(6) shows that suppression of the subject is most widely observed in English passives, regardless of the distinction between core and peripheral passives. On the other hand, *be* as a passive marker is not observed in the *get*-passive and the indirect passive; raising of the direct object to receive a nominative case is not observed in the recipient passive. As for the pseudo-passive, all their characteristics are shared with those of the *be*-passive (though, only for (c), a condition “after a syntactic reanalysis” is added).

The above is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

	suppression of the subject	existence of <i>be</i> as a passive marker	raising of the direct object	the appearance in the history of English
<i>be</i> -passive	○	○	○	OE
pseudo-passive	○	○	△ (after reanalysis)	the early 13th century
recipient passive	○	○	×	the latter of the 14th century
<i>get</i> -passive	○	×	○	the latter of the 17th century
indirect passive	○	×	○	the latter of the 12th century

As shown in Table 1, except the indirect passive, it seems to be that passives whose characteristics are more similar to the main characteristics of the *be*-passive earlier appeared in the history of English. Then, the recipient passive, which bears characteristics similar to (2a) and (2b), seems to have appeared earlier than the *get*-passive, which bears characteristics similar to (2a) and (2c).² Considering the above facts, the main characteristics of the *be*-passive may serve as preference rules on licensing peripheral passives, with the following

hierarchy.

(7) (2a) > (2b) > (2c)

Here, let us consider the indirect passive in Table 1. This construction appears to behave unusually as far as we only consider surface manifestation. However, if we assume as follows, this can be led as a natural consequence. The assumption is that the indirect passive does not include *be* as a “morphological” passive marker but does include *be* as a “syntactic (non-overt)” passive marker. Based on this assumption, Table 1, only as for the indirect passive, will be modified as follows.

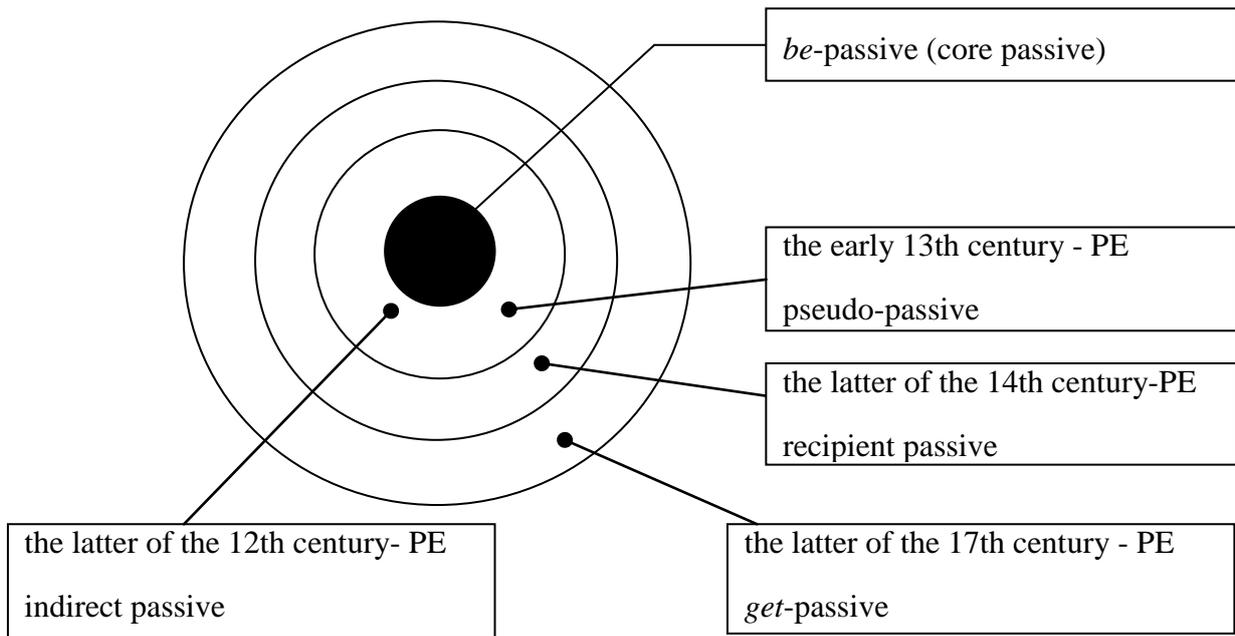
(8)

indirect passive	○	△ (only in syntax)	○	the latter of the 12th century
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Therefore, our analysis can describe the fact that the indirect passive, as in the pseudo-passive, earlier appeared than the recipient passive and the *get*-passive.

The system of English passives is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 The System of English Passives



In Figure 3, there are four layers from the center to the edge. They depend on the continuum of peripherality schematized in (9).

(9) core -----> more peripheral

In other words, in Figure 3, the further from the center a passive construction is, the more peripheral a construction is regarded as. An immediate question here is how the peripherality each construction bears is evaluated. One possibility is making use of redundancy rules (for redundancy rules, see also Jackendoff (2010)). Specifically, the more redundancy to the *be*-passive the relevant passive has, the less peripheral it is regarded as. As shown in Figure 3, the further from center a passive construction is, the later it appeared in the history of English. If we adopt the redundancy rules, one possible explanation will be that the more redundancy to the *be*-passive a construction has, the easier some analogy to it happens; and therefore the construction is more easily regarded as a new passive construction.

Needless to say, such a model as shown in Figure 3 is tentative and, in my further study, I will suggest a more elaborate model and confirm whether it can apply to other peripheral passives such as the *there*-passive.

6.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has focused on correspondences between core and peripheral passives. Although most of diachronic studies can make the development of a certain construction explicit, they have not discussed how it is related to the development of other constructions. In fact, as for English passives, the development of some kinds of passives has been clarified but the development of the whole system of English passives has not yet. This thesis has attempted to unify the results of the diachronic studies on some peripheral passives under a model of English passives. Then, it has suggested that our tentative model can be elaborated by using redundancy rules proposed by Jackendoff (2010).

Notes to Chapter 6

1 Note that Jackendoff (2010) assumes such family not only for resultatives, but also for other constructions.

2 Another possible reason why the *get*-passive appeared last in the history of English is that its development is independent from that of the *be*-passive.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In this thesis, we have shed light on the issues concerning the development of peripheral passives in the history of English and made their development explicit within the framework of generative grammar. Furthermore, we have also cast light on correspondences between core and peripheral passives and suggested the system of English passives.

Chapter 2 has discussed the origin and development of the *get*-passive in the history of English, based on the data from the two large-scaled historical corpora, PPCEME and CLMET. Along the lines of Fleisher (2006), it was argued that the origin of the *get*-passive is “inchoative *get* + predicative adjective,” and therefore it originally involved adjectival passive participles as complements to *get*. Then, it was proposed that *get*-passives with verbal passive participles emerged via the grammaticalization of *get* from a lexical verb to a light verb, which was triggered by the principle of Late Merge proposed by Gelderen (2004). Chapter 2 makes two main contributions to historical linguistics through researching the development of the *get*-passive. One is that we can make the more exact path of the development of the *get*-passive explicit theoretically. The other is that several characteristics of the *get*-passive in PE can be accounted for in terms of its development.

Chapter 3 has suggested a syntactic approach to the development of the recipient passive, by supporting two kinds of ApplP, i.e. High ApplP and Low ApplP, proposed by Pyllkkänen (2008). From OE to the mid-thirteenth century, the syntactic structures of the double object construction and the direct passive were derived with the assignment of inherent case. In the mid-thirteenth century, inherent case was lost and High ApplP was

introduced as an alternative case-assignment system. Therefore, from the mid-thirteenth to the latter of the fourteenth century, the syntactic structures of the double object construction and the direct passive were derived with High ApplP. Then, in the latter of the fourteenth century, to solve a problem of the correspondence between form and meaning, Low ApplP was introduced and a V head began to assign an objective case to an indirect object, instead of a direct one. Therefore, the syntactic structure of the recipient passive began to be derived at that time. In the sixteenth century, High ApplP was completely lost and only the recipient passive became acceptable. This situation has continued to the present. Chapter 3 has shown mainly two theoretical consequences with this approach. First, the present syntactic analysis can make more explicit the development of the double object construction, the direct passive and the recipient passive. Second, our analysis in chapter 3 correctly expects that the grammaticality of sentences such as *I gave a ball Mary* necessarily agrees with that of sentences such as *A ball was given Mary*, because both are derived only from syntactic structures including High ApplP and short scrambling.

Chapter 4 has discussed the development of the pseudo-passive in the history of English and its relation to the loss of inherent case and the establishment of the SVO pattern as the base word order. In the early thirteenth century, inherent case was lost and therefore, the case-assignment system by a P head changed, that is, the head began to assign a structural case to its complement. Furthermore, in the fifteenth century, the SVO pattern was established as the base word order and therefore, VP constructions including verbs with PP were reanalyzed into ones including complex verbs (such as *speak of*), taking a DP as their complement. We argue that these syntactic changes crucially affected the development of the pseudo-passive. Furthermore, on the basis of the results of our corpus-based investigation, we have also proposed a semantic restriction on the application of such reanalysis. Besides, in PE, complex units such as *slept in* license the discourse

pseudo-passive, depending on a syntactic reanalysis and a pragmatic restriction related to informativity. As a consequence of chapter 4, it has been demonstrated that the more exact path of the development of the pseudo-passive can be naturally accounted for in terms of syntactic reanalyses and a semantic or a pragmatic restriction. Furthermore, we have implied that this analysis may provide a theoretical support for the linguistic fact that most verbs included in the pseudo-passive are unergative verbs, not unaccusative ones.

Chapter 5 has discussed the development of the indirect passive in the history of English and investigated empirical linguistic data from some historical corpora, PPCME2, PPCEME and PPCMBE. A significant consequence of this chapter is that we have clarified, to some extent, the development of the indirect passive which has not been shed light on so far, and provided a theoretical account for it in terms of degrammaticalization. Then, another consequence is that some of peculiar characteristics of the indirect passive in PE, i.e. the unacceptability of adjectival passives or predicates related to small clauses, can be accounted for in the present approach.

Chapter 6 has focused on correspondences between core and peripheral passives. Although most of diachronic studies can make the development of a certain construction explicit, they have not discussed how it is related to the development of other constructions. In fact, as for English passives, the development of some kinds of passives has been clarified but the development of the whole system of English passives has not yet. This thesis has attempted to unify the results of the diachronic studies on some peripheral passives under a model of English passives. Then, it has suggested that our tentative model can be elaborated by using redundancy rules proposed by Jackendoff (2010).

This thesis makes two main contributions to historical linguistics. One is that it can clarify the more exact path of the development of peripheral passives. The other is that it can be a stimulus to invoke further research by reconsidering the results of diachronic studies

on each peripheral passive with respect to its relation to the core passive and clarifying the development of the larger system involving many passive constructions in English.

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