

# From Manner Cognate Object to Predicate Nominal: A Syntactic Change in the History of English

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## 1. Introduction

The syntactic status of cognate objects has long been widely discussed. Jones (1988) argues that cognate objects are adjuncts because they are not allowed to undergo passivization, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. John died a gruesome death.
- b. \* A gruesome death was died by John.
- c. Harry lived an uneventful life.
- d. \* An uneventful life was lived by Harry.

(cf. Jones (1988: 91))

Moltmann (1989) suggests that cognate objects are predicate nouns, based on her observation that they exhibit the indefiniteness effect, as in (2).

- (2) \* John screamed this scream / every scream we heard today.

(Moltmann (1989: 301))

As shown in (2), cognate objects cannot be preceded by demonstratives, determiners, or strong quantifiers.

On the other hand, Massam (1990) and Macfarland (1995) propose that cognate objects are always arguments, showing that they allow passivization and co-occur with the definite article, as in (3).

- (3) a. The big cheery smile, Fran smiled; it was Elsie who smiled the insipid smirky smile.

(Massam (1990: 181))

- b. Life here had been lived on a scale and in a style she knew nothing about. (Macfarland (1995: 112))

Matsumoto (1996) also suggests that cognate objects are arguments, positing that the possibility of passivization depends on their referentiality and reading. According to Matsumoto (1996), cognate objects have two readings, namely a result reading and a manner reading. Regarding the result reading, cognate objects are seen as products of the action denoted by the verb, whereas regarding the manner reading, they modify the action like manner adverbs do. Further, cognate objects are referential on the former reading, but not on the latter. Matsumoto follows the notion of referentiality proposed by Borer (1994). Borer divides nouns into three types: specifics, referential non-specifics, and non-referential non-specifics.

- (4) a. Anna collected the sand.  
 b. The sand was collected (by Anna).  
 c. Anna collected some sand.  
 d. Some sand was collected (by Anna).  
 e. Anna collected sand.  
 f. \* Sand collected (by Anna). (Borer (1994: 41))

*The sand* in (4a), *some sand* in (4c), and *sand* in (4e) correspond to specifics, referential non-specifics, and non-referential non-specifics, respectively. The examples in (4a) and (4c) can be passivized, while (4e) cannot. Borer suggests that the ungrammaticality of (4f) lies in the non-referentiality of *sand*.

Let us consider the examples in (5).

- (5) a. Mary smiled a beautiful smile.  
 b. Mary smiled a sudden smile.  
 c. ?A beautiful smile was smiled.  
 d. \* A sudden smile was smiled. (cf. Matsumoto (1996: 205))

In (5a), *a beautiful smile* can be passivized because it is a referential cognate object with a result reading (a smile as a result of the action of smiling), whereas in (5b), *a sudden smile* does not allow passivization because it is a

non-referential cognate object interpreted like a manner adverb (cf. *Mary smiled suddenly*). Matsumoto's (1996) analysis is important because she associates the (im)possibility of passivization of cognate objects with the difference of reading and referentiality although there remain some empirical and theoretical issues to be resolved (see Kume (2015) for a detailed discussion).

The main goal of the present paper is to clarify the status of cognate objects in present-day English by showing the historical development of cognate object constructions based on the data analyzed in Kume (2015). I build on the adjunct analysis proposed in previous studies (Nakajima and Ikeuchi (2005) and Kume (2015)) by suggesting that cognate objects are predicate nominals in the complement position of a functional head, namely the RELATOR proposed by Den Dikken (2006). The present paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the development of the result and manner cognate object construction based on the data analyzed in Kume (2015), which were collected from historical corpora, and reveals that the adjunct analysis proposed by Kume (2015) is insufficient to explain the licensing of manner cognate objects. Section 3 modifies Kume's (2015) adjunct analysis and proposes that manner cognate objects became predicate nominals during the Middle and early Modern English period. Section 4 indicates that the predicate nominal analysis can clearly account for expressions such as *die a coward*. Section 5 presents a brief conclusion to the present paper.

## 2. Kume (2015)

Kume (2015) analyzes the data concerning the cognate objects of the verbs *live* and *die* from some historical corpora: *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE), *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition* (PPCME2), and *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME).<sup>1</sup>

## 2.1 Old English

In Old English (OE), the cognate object of the unergative verb *live* appeared in three forms: the accusative case form, the dative case form without any preposition, and the dative case form mainly with the preposition *on*, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. ah he hwæðre unæðelice his *lif* *lifde*  
 and he whether basely his *life-Acc* *lived*  
 ‘and whether he basely lived his life’  
 (cobede, Bede\_5: 15. 442. 11. 4443)

- b. he her on eorþan engelice *life* *lifde*  
 he here on land angelic *life-Dat* *lived*  
 ‘he lived an angelic life here on the land’  
 (coblick, LS\_12\_[NatJnBapt [BlHom\_14]]: 167. 132. 2133)

- c. heora sawla *lybban on* þam ecan *life*  
 his soul *lived on* that ever *life-Dat*  
 buton geswince  
 without trouble  
 ‘his soul lived on that ever life without any trouble’  
 (coaelhom, ÆHom\_6: 145. 950)

(Kume (2015: 27))

Kume (2015), following Yamakawa (1980) and Osaki (1998), assumes that cognate objects in the accusative form, as in (6a), have the result reading while cognate objects in the dative case form, as in (6b), have the manner reading based on Ono and Nakao’s (1980) description that adverbial datives usually bear instrumental and manner meanings. Accusative cognate objects cannot be interpreted like manner adverbs because adverbial accusatives show only spatial and temporal meanings. This is corroborated by the fact that manner *hu* co-occurs with accusative cognate objects without a conflicting meaning, as in (7).

- (7) *hu* hi heora *lif* *leofodon*  
*how* he his *life-Acc* *lived*

‘how he lived his life’

(cf. Osaki (1998: 16))

As pointed out by Yamakawa (1980), dative cognate objects with *on*, as in (6c), also serve as manner adverbs, and the presence or absence of the preposition is a mere stylistic difference.

Table 1 shows the incidence of each of the three types of cognate objects of *live* attested in YCOE.

**Table 1.** Incidence of cognate objects of *live* in YCOE

	V + Acc	V + Dat	V + P + Dat
live + life	33	7	24

(Kume (2005: 28))

As shown in table 1, there are 33 accusative cognate objects of *live* (approximately 51.6 percent) attested in YCOE, seven dative ones (approximately 10.9 percent), and 24 with prepositions (approximately 37.5 percent). Table 2 shows the incidence of various prepositions occurring with *live* in YCOE.

**Table 2.** Incidence of various prepositions in YCOE

	on	in	for	of	by	before
live + P + life	20	3	1	0	0	0

(Kume (2015: 28))

It should be noted that there are 20 instances of *on*, constituting approximately 83.3 percent of all the 24 prepositions attested. There are only three cases of *in* (approximately 12.5 percent) and just one of *for* (approximately 4.2 percent). This means that there is a predominance of *on* in the cognate construction with prepositions in OE, which leads to a rapid decline of the construction in the next period.

2.2 Middle English

In Middle English (ME), the unaccusative verb *die* began to take its cognate object *death* either with or without a preposition, as in (8). Although it is well known that the morphological distinction between accusatives and datives became vague via the leveling of case inflections during this period, some examples like (8b) are attested in PPCME2, in which cognate objects of *die* still display the dative case marker.

- (8) a. & so he *dyde* in evill *deth* (CMBRUT3, 11.284)
- b. ... shall neuer *dey* euell *depe* (CMMIRK, 123. 3322)
- (Kume (2015: 29))

Table 3 presents the incidence of cognate objects of *live* and *die* in PPCME2, with the numbers in brackets indicating instances with the dative case marker. The incidence of various prepositions followed by cognate objects in PPCME2 is shown in table 4.

Table 3. Incidence of cognate objects of *live* and *die* in PPCME2

	V + CO (Dat)	V + P + CO
live + life	10 (1)	3
die + death	3 (3)	13

(Kume (2015: 29))

Table 4. Incidence of various prepositions in PPCME2

	on	in	for	of	by	before
live + P + life	0	3	0	0	0	0
die + P + death	2	4	0	4	2	1

(Kume (2015: 29))

As shown in table 3, three of the 13 cases of the cognate object of *live* occur with a preposition (i.e., approximately 23.0 percent), which is lower than the approximately 37.5 percent in YCOE. As the bracketed number

shows, there is only one instance with the dative case marker (i.e., approximately 7.7 percent), which is slightly lower than the 10.9 percent in YCOE. In contrast, 13 cognate objects of *die* occur with a preposition (approximately 81.2 percent), and they outnumber those without prepositions (only three, or approximately 18.8 percent), all of which continue to retain the dative marker. These data show the decline of cognate objects of *live* occurring with prepositions and the dative case marker. However, cognate objects of *die* with prepositions are more productive, and they still occur in their dative form. Therefore, it is possible to assume that the decrease in the occurrence of prepositions is associated with that of the dative case marker in cognate object constructions. As shown in table 4, the cognate objects of *live* in PPCME2 are all preceded by *in*, whereas various prepositions precede cognate objects of *die*. Given the data reviewed so far, it is reasonable to conclude that the decline of prepositions in the *live* type may be due to the loss of *on*, which previously appeared in more than 80 percent of the prepositional phrases following the *live* type, according to the YCOE data above. Note that an indefinite article also began to appear in cognate object constructions during the same period, as demonstrated in (9).

- (9) a. And there he *levyd a* full gode *lyve* (CMEDMUND, 170. 207)  
 b. for I shall *dye a* shamefull *dethe* (CMMALORY, 35. 1118)  
 (Kume (2015: 30))

Based on this observation, Kume (2015) suggests that the decline of prepositions, the loss of the dative case marker, and the emergence of an indefinite article were interacting processes.

### 2.3 Early Modern English

In Early Modern English (EME), the dative marker and preposition no longer occurred in the cognate object construction, as shown in (10) and table 5.

- (10) a. for it's sinfull to *live* an Idle *life* & dangerous.

(JOPINNEY-E3-P2, 48.8)

b. If you find a man there, he shall *dye* a Fleas *death*.

(SHAKESP-E2-H, 55. C1. 672)

(Kume (2015: 30))

**Table 5.** Incidence of cognate objects of *live* and *die* in PPCEME

	V + CO	V + P + CO
live + life	6	0
die + death	6	0

(Kume (2015: 31))

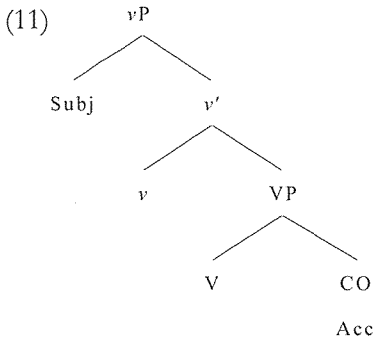
The loss of the dative form and preposition signifies the establishment of the contemporary cognate object construction. Kume (2015) argues that the time lag between the establishment of the cognate objects of *live* and *die* is due to the differences in the preposition selection by these verbs in OE and ME. More precisely, a range of prepositions co-occurred with the cognate object of *die* in ME, whereas the cognate object of *live* was most often preceded by *on* in OE. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), as well as Visser (1963) and Osaki (1998), *on* was replaced by an indefinite article in the cognate object construction due to the morphological and phonological similarities between them. This proposal is supported by the fact that the loss of *on* and the emergence of *a(n)* in the construction occurred around the same time. Thus, Kume (2015) concludes that the development of the cognate object construction of *live* affected that of *die*.

2.4 The Development of Cognate Object Constructions

As noted in 2.1, there were three types of cognate objects in OE: the accusative, the dative with a preposition, and the dative without a preposition. Kume (2015) assumes that the resulting cognate object of an

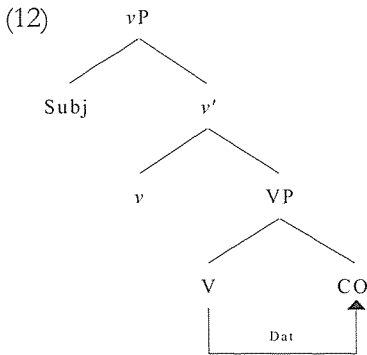


unergative verb is merged in the complement position of V, and assigned the accusative case by  $v$ , as illustrated in (11).<sup>2</sup>



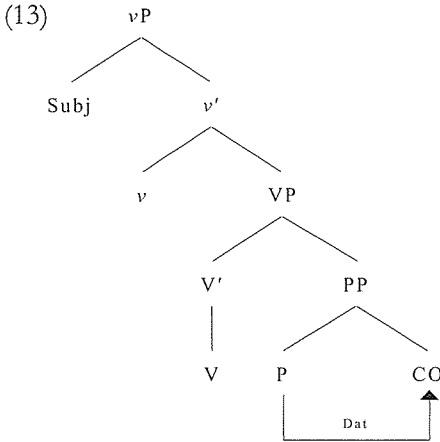
(cf. Kume (2015: 32))

Following Chomsky's (1986) uniformity condition, I assume that the dative or instrumental case (inherent case) is assigned to manner cognate objects of unergative and unaccusative verbs based on the instrument  $\theta$ -role assigned by V, as in (12).



(Kume (2015: 33))

I further assume that the dative case is also assigned to cognate objects by prepositions, and the manner reading is due to a structure in which the PP adjoins to V', as in (13).

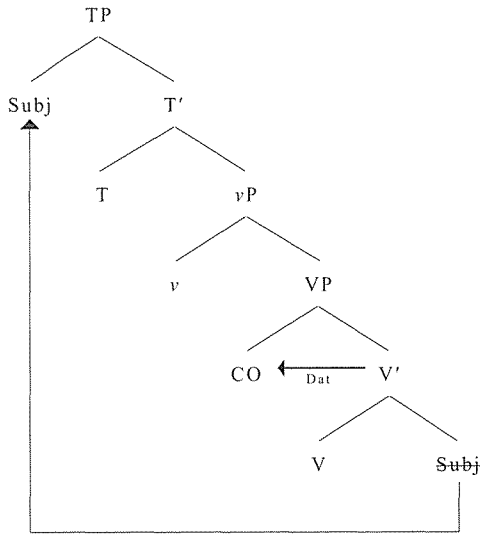


(Kume (2015: 34))

In this analysis, the stylistic difference between dative cognate objects with and without prepositions, as indicated by Osaki (1998) is in fact associated with the way in which the manner reading is expressed. In the former case, the manner reading is expressed through the instrument  $\theta$ -marking, and in the latter through the adjunction.

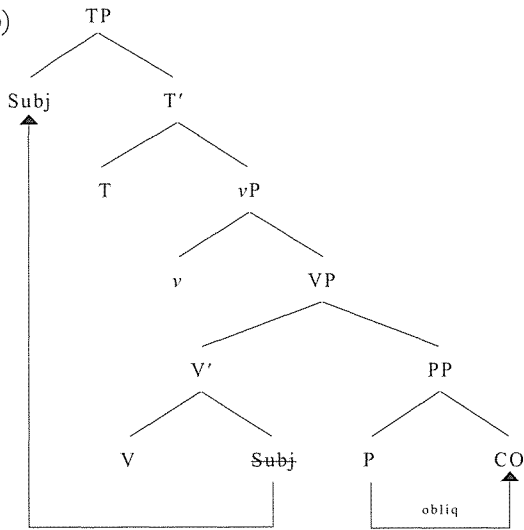
As shown in 2.3, the unaccusative *die* also took *death* as its cognate object, either with or without prepositions, in ME. Based on the observation in table 3 that all the cognate objects of *die* in the data still bear the dative case marker and various prepositions frequently occur in the construction, Kume (2015) assumes that these cognate object constructions are derived as in (14) and (15), respectively.

(14)



(cf. (Kume (2015: 36))

(15)

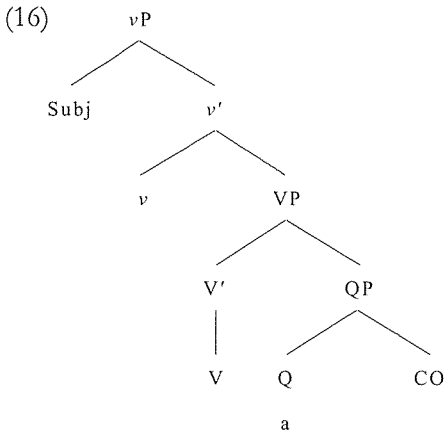


(cf. (Kume (2015: 36))

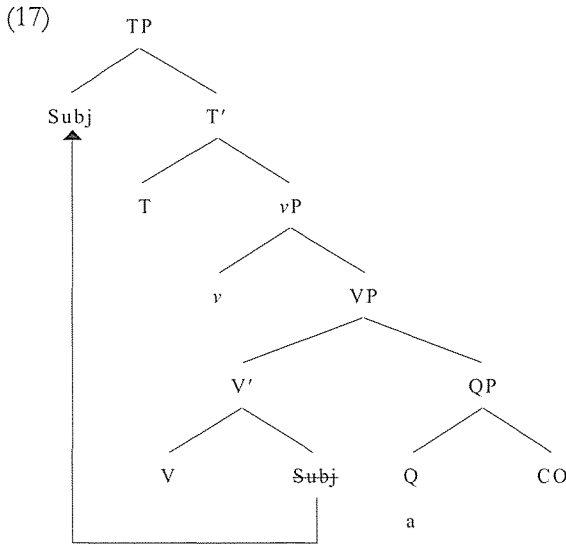
In both (14) and (15), the subject is merged with the unaccusative verb in the complement position and moves to Spec TP for nominative case

assignment.<sup>3</sup> In (14), the dative case is inherently assigned to the cognate object in Spec VP via V'; the source of the manner reading is the instrument  $\theta$ -role. In (15), the manner reading emanates from the PP adjunction to V'.

A crucial proposal offered by Kume (2015) is that no change occurred between OE and ME in the structure of the result cognate object constructions, such as that in (11). However, Kume (2015) does propose that manner cognate object constructions, such as those in (12), (13), (14), and (15), have undergone remarkable changes in syntactic structure due to inflection leveling and the replacement of the preposition by an indefinite article. Specifically, these two morphological changes led to the reanalysis of (12) and (13) as (16), and of (14) and (15) as (17).



(Kume (2015: 35))



(cf. (Kume (2015: 37))

In (16) and (17), the QP dominating the manner cognate object, which previously displayed the dative case maker in Comp or Spec VP, or followed the preposition, adjoins to V' as a result of the reanalysis because it can no longer be licensed through inherent case marking by V or the preposition. Here, it is assumed that manner cognate objects are preceded by Q, following Radford (2009), in which an indefinite article is categorized as Q. The absence of D reflects Matsumoto's (1996) suggestion that manner cognate objects are regarded as NP, lacking referentiality.

## 2.5 A Remaining Issue for the Adjunct Analysis in Kume (2015)

However, the following two questions remain. Is it possible to conclude that manner cognate objects are licensed in the adjunct position? If so, what theoretical framework can capture this possibility? Matsumoto (1996) argues that it is unnecessary to license manner cognate objects by

case assignment because they are NPs, and not DPs, although she regards all cognate objects as arguments. Like bare NP adverbs such as *that moment* and *the previous April*, manner cognate objects would also be assigned the oblique case as a default case (see Larson (1985)). Considering the argument of Bresnan and Grimshaw (1978), Emonds (1987), and McCawley (1988) that bare NP adverbs are licensed by a null preposition, it is possible to assume that manner cognate objects are licensed in the same way. However, these assumptions are not supported by any empirical evidence, and do not offer a comprehensive explanation of the status of manner cognate objects.

### 3. The Status of Manner Cognate Objects

In this section, I present a modification of the adjunct analysis reviewed above in an attempt to clarify the gradual change in the status of manner cognate objects, arguing that they are predicate nominals in present-day English, as suggested by Moltmann (1989).

### 3.1 Empirical Facts

This section presents certain empirical facts that support the assumption that manner cognate objects in present-day English are like predicate nominals. First, as pointed out in Kitahara (2011) and section 1 above, the indefiniteness effect is observed in manner cognate objects as well as predicate nominals within a small clause, as shown in (18) and (19).

- (18) a. We consider John a genius.  
b. ?They thought / believed him the lawyer.  
c. \*They believed John and Mary every friend.  
(Rothstein (2004: 57))
- (19) a. John lived a happy life.  
= John lived happily.  
(Ando (2005: 38–39))

- b. Sam smiled the / every beautiful smile.  
 ≠ Sam smiled beautifully.

(Kitahara (2011: 33))

According to Rothstein (2004), nouns with an indefinite determiner can occur within a small clause, as in (18a), whereas the degradedness of (18b) and ungrammaticality of (18c) are due to the definite article and strong quantifier, respectively. This implies that *a genius* in (18a) is a predicate nominal, but *the lawyer* in (18b) and *every friend* in (18c) are not. Likewise, according to Kitahara (2011), a cognate object with a definite article or strong quantifier, as in (19b), does not allow a manner reading, implying that it is the argument of *smile* in (19b) that leads to the result reading whereas cognate objects with indefinite articles, as in (19a), can be predicate nominal, and can be interpreted like manner adverbs.

Second, similar to a predicate nominal, a cognate object with an indefinite article does not allow passivization, as exemplified in (20), where (5d) is repeated as (20b).

- (20) a. \* A man was become / remained by John.

(Moltmann (1989: 302))

- b. \* A sudden smile was smiled.

This is in agreement with the well-known observation that manner cognate objects are usually indefinite, and with the assumption in the previous section that they are not arguments. As noted in Rothstein (2004), the (non)predicate status of nouns is related to their determiners. She assumes that DPs cannot appear as a predicate because the projection of D binds the open position in the NP, and forces them to be an argument.

Third, neither predicate nominals nor manner cognate objects pick out an independent individual. According to Jackendoff (2002), in *Eva became a doctor*, there are not two separate individuals, *Eva* and *the doctor*. There is only one individual, *Eva*, of whom doctorhood is predicated in the sentence. Therefore, the semantic meaning of the sentence is that *Eva* has come to be describable as a doctor. Likewise, manner cognate objects

have no referential entity. This is supported by the fact that manner cognate objects cannot be a possible antecedent of the pronominal *it*. Matsumoto (1996) claims that, in (21), *it* can refer to the whole sentence *Mary smiled a sudden smile*, but not exclusively to the phrase *a sudden smile*.

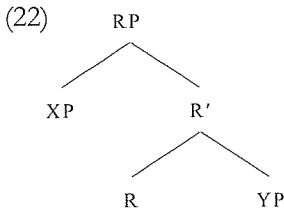
(21) \* Mary smiled a sudden smile, and *it*<sub>i</sub> was attractive.

(cf. Matsumoto (1996: 206))

Therefore, in *Mary smiled a sudden smile*, there are not two individual events of smiling; there is only one event, of which suddenness is predicated. Thus, the meaning of the sentence is that the event of Mary's smiling is describable as a sudden smile. This also indicates that manner cognate objects behave like predicate nominals.

### 3.2 Den Dikken's (2006) RELATOR Phrase Analysis of Predication

Den Dikken (2006) claims that all predication relationships are syntactically represented in a structure in which a functional head RELATOR connects a subject (XP) in the specifier position with a predicate (YP) in the complement, as illustrated in (22), where RP represents the RELATOR Phrase.



(Den Dikken (2006: 11))

Den Dikken assumes that the nature of the RELATOR head is never lexical, as described in (23).

- (23) a. A RELATOR is not a  $\theta$ -role assigner, hence  
 b. A RELATOR is a functional head.

(Den Dikken (2006: 22))

I apply the syntactic configuration in (22) to sentences including adjectival



and adverbial modification as predication in (24).

(24) a. Imogen is beautiful.

[<sub>RP</sub> [*Imogen*][RELATOR = *be* [*beautiful*]]]

b. Imogen's dancing is beautiful.

[<sub>RP</sub> [*Imogen's dancing*][RELATOR = *be* [*beautiful*]]]

(Den Dikken (2006: 29))

c. Imogen dances beautifully.

[<sub>RP</sub> [*Imogen dances*][RELATOR = *-ly* [*beautiful*]]]

(Den Dikken (2006: 30))

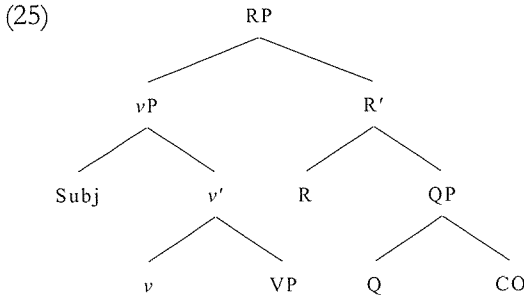
In (24), *beautiful* serves as the complement of the RELATOR. *Imogen* in (24a), *Imogen's dancing* in (24b), and the proposition constituted by the predication *Imogen dances* in (24c) are merged in the specifier position of the RELATOR's projection. In (24a) and (24b), *be* functions as the RELATOR and mediates between the subject and predicate, whereas in (24c) the adverbial suffix *-ly* is treated as the lexicalization of the RELATOR.<sup>4</sup>

Den Dikken (2006) suggests that not only adjectival but also adverbial modification is based on the predication relationship mediated by the RELATOR. More precisely, he proposes that the manner reading in (24c) arises from the predication between *Imogen dances* and *beautiful*, connected by *-ly*.

### 3.3 Proposal

In this section, I attempt to apply Den Dikken's (2006) RP analysis to the analysis of the historical development of manner cognate object constructions with unergative or unaccusative verbs. In ME, as shown in tables 3 and 4, *on* and the dative case marker gradually disappeared from the *live* type of cognate object construction. In such cases, as suggested in the previous section, manner cognate objects can no longer be licensed in the complement position of V via inherent case marking, nor by the preposition *on*, which was replaced by an indefinite article. This, in turn, leads to the unified reanalysis of the structures in (12) and (13) into (25),

which is proposed to replace Kume's (2015) original reanalysis of cognate objects as adjuncts in (16). Note that the structure proposed in (25) allows avoidance of the question regarding the licensing of manner cognate objects that arose in Kume's (2015) adjunct analysis (see section 2.5).



In (25),  $v$ P, whose head  $v$  mediates the predication of the subject in the specifier and VP in the complement position, is connected by the RELATOR (R) with the QP containing the cognate object. Manner cognate objects are preceded by Q and not D, because predicate nominals, as noted in section 3.1, show the indefinite effect. The manner reading of the cognate object arises in the same fashion as does *beautifully* in (24c), namely from the predication relationship mediated by the RELATOR. The difference is that the RELATOR in (25) has no phonological externalization, whereas the adverbial suffix *-ly* is the lexicalization of the RELATOR in (24c). As Den Dikken (2006) suggests, the RELATOR is not always spelled out, as can be seen in (26).

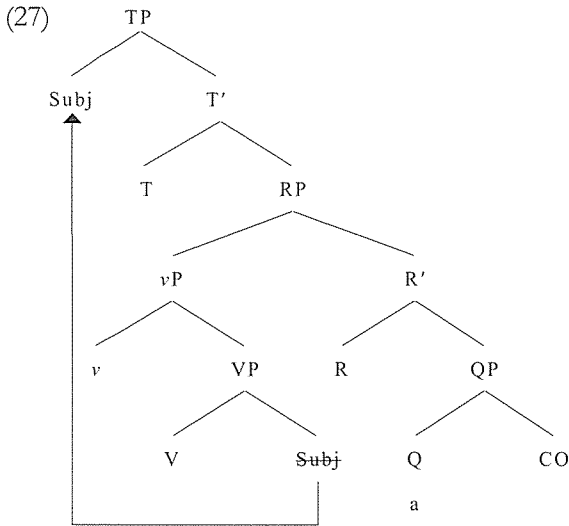
- (26) a. Imogen regards Brian \* (as) a nice guy.  
 b. Imogen considers Brian (as) a nice guy.  
 c. Imogen finds Brian (\* as) a nice guy.

(Den Dikken (2006: 34))

In (26a), the lexicalization of the RELATOR as *as* is obligatory, whereas it is optional in (26b) and not allowed in (26c).

Similarly, in EME, as shown in (10) and table 5, the loss of the dative case marker and preposition in the cognate object construction of the

unaccusative *die* leads to the reanalysis of (14) and (15) presented in (27), which is proposed to replace Kume's (2015) analysis in (17). Note that the reanalysis in (27) avoids the licensing problem of the adjunct analysis in (17).



In (27), as in the *live* type of cognate object construction in (25), the manner reading arises from the predication relationship between the  $\nu$ P and the QP containing the cognate object via mediation by the RELATOR (R). However, unlike in the unergative type, there is no predication within the  $\nu$ P in Spec RP because the  $\nu$ P's specifier position is not projected and the subject is merged as a complement of the unaccusative verb. Therefore, the predication relationship between the subject and the unaccusative verb is established after the subject moves to Spec TP for the purpose of nominative case assignment.

My proposal here accounts for the (im)possibility of the passivization of cognate objects in (5). The cognate object construction with a result reading has not undergone any structural change and has kept the structure shown in (11). Therefore, result cognate objects can be

passivized because they are still DPs assigned the accusative case by *v*. In contrast, the cognate object construction with manner reading has been reanalyzed as RP in (25) and (27), and manner cognate objects have become a predicate nominal via the deletion of D. Thus, manner cognate objects cannot be passivized because predicate nominals do not require accusative case assignment.

#### 4. Relevant Constructions

In this section, I show that my analysis is not an ad-hoc explanation for manner cognate object constructions by applying the syntactic structure proposed in (27) to relevant constructions.

As pointed out in Oba (2011), the unaccusative verb *die* can take an object other than *death*, such as *coward*, *virgin*, *recluse*, *man alone*, *millionaire*, *ruined man*, and *bachelor*, as in (28).

- (28) a. People would obviously conclude that I had *died a coward*.  
 b. He kept a diary of his sex dreams but *died a virgin*.

(Oba (2011: 113))

If the accusative case were assigned to these objects, it would derogate from Burzio's (1986) generalization noting that a correlation exists between the ability of a verb to assign a  $\theta$ -role to an external argument and its ability to assign structural case to its complement. It is generally assumed that *die* is a typical unaccusative verb because its subject is *theme* (and not *agent*), and does not take an external argument, nor is it able to assign a  $\theta$ -role to its subject and accusative case to the object. How are these objects licensed? Now, recall that the manner reading of cognate objects arises in the same fashion as for manner adverbials like *beautifully* in (24c), repeated here as (29a) for convenience. Den Dikken (2006) argues that the adverbial suffix *-ly* in (29a) is similar to *like* in (29b).

- (29) a. Imogen dances beautifully.

[<sub>RP</sub> [*Imogen dances*][<sub>RELATOR</sub> = *-ly* [*beautiful*]]]

b. Imogen dances like a beauty.

[<sub>RP</sub> [*Imogen dances*][RELATOR = *like* [*a beauty*]]]

(Den Dikken (2006: 30))

If the structure of the predication relationship effected by *like* is also applied to cases such as those in (28), the relevant part of (28a) will have the structure in (30).

(30) I had died a coward.

[<sub>RP</sub> [*I had died*][RELATOR =  $\emptyset$  [*a coward*]]]

In (30), as in (25) and (27), the RELATOR has no phonological realization, and *a coward* is interpreted like an adverbial modifier via the predication relationship mediated by the null RELATOR with a function similar to that of *like* in (29b) (or possibly *as* in (26b)). Therefore, I conclude that NPs selected by the unaccusative verb *die* must be those that can enter into a predication relationship with an event denoted by *v*P in Spec RP, regardless of whether they are cognate to the verb.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

In this study, I indicated that the adjunct analysis proposed in Kume (2015) was insufficient to clarify the status of manner cognate objects. I then proposed a modification to this analysis within Den Dikken's (2006) theoretical framework for predication, assuming RP as headed by the RELATOR, according to which manner cognate objects were reanalyzed to predicate nominals during the Middle and early Modern English period. In addition, it was suggested that the predication analysis could be applied to other relevant constructions, such as *die a coward*.

## Notes

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<sup>1.</sup> The choice of verbs is motivated by previous research. Macfarland (1995) shows that, in a sample of approximately 2000 cognate object constructions collected from a corpus, the most frequent verb that selects its cognate object is *live* (420 cases), the second most frequent is *smile* (176), and the third *die* (113). In the present survey, there were insufficient examples of *smile* to analyze.

<sup>2.</sup> The present paper assumes a head movement of V to *v*. However, this movement is omitted from the tree diagrams for clarity of exposition.

<sup>3.</sup> One might argue that the movement of the subject from the complement position to Spec TP over the cognate object in Spec VP violates the minimal link condition. However, this is not the case, because the subject and the cognate object are equidistant from T, being in the same minimal domain.

<sup>4.</sup> In the course of the syntactic derivation, *beautiful* raises to *-ly*.

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## Synopsis

From Manner Cognate Object to Predicate Nominal:

A Syntactic Change in the History of English

Yusuke Kume

The syntactic status of cognate objects has long been widely discussed. Jones (1988) argues that cognate objects are adjuncts because they are not allowed to undergo passivization. In contrast, Massam (1990) and Macfarland (1995) propose that cognate objects are always arguments, showing that they allow passivization and co-occur with the definite article. Matsumoto (1996) also suggests that cognate objects are arguments, positing that the possibility of passivization depends on their referentiality and reading, including a result reading and a manner reading. The main goal of the present paper is to clarify the status of cognate objects in present-day English by showing the historical development of cognate object constructions based on the data analyzed in Kume (2015). I attempt to push the adjunct analysis proposed in previous studies one step further, and suggest that cognate objects are predicate nominals in the complement position of a functional head, namely the RELATOR proposed by Den Dikken (2006).

In ME, *on* and the dative case marker gradually disappeared from the *live* type of cognate object construction. In such cases, manner cognate objects can no longer be licensed in the complement position of V via inherent case marking, nor by the preposition *on*, which was replaced by an indefinite article. This, in turn, leads to the unified reanalysis of the structures, where *v*P is connected by the RELATOR (R) with the QP containing the cognate object. The manner reading of the cognate object arises in the same fashion as does *beautifully*.

Similarly, in EME, the loss of the dative case marker and preposition in the cognate object construction of the unaccusative *die* leads to the reanalysis of the structures, where the manner reading arises from the

predication relationship between the  $\nu$ P and the QP containing the cognate object via mediation by the RELATOR (R). However, unlike in the unergative type, there is no predication within the  $\nu$ P in Spec RP because the  $\nu$ P's specifier position is not projected and the subject is merged as a complement of the unaccusative verb. Therefore, the predication relationship between the subject and the unaccusative verb is established after the subject moves to Spec TP for the purpose of the nominative case assignment.

The unaccusative verb *die* can also take an object other than *death*, such as *coward*. Den Dikken (2006) argues that the adverbial suffix *-ly* is similar to *like*. If the structure of the predication relationship effected by *like* is also applied to *die a coward*, *a coward* is interpreted like an adverbial modifier via the predication relationship mediated by the null RELATOR with a function similar to that of *like*. Therefore, I conclude that NPs selected by the unaccusative verb *die* must be those that can enter into a predication relationship with an event denoted by the  $\nu$ P in Spec RP, whether or not they are cognate to the verb.