

Local persons in tri-valent scenarios: corpus perspectives from English and Polish

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Between you and me: local pronouns
across modalities



Structure of talk

1. Introduction: LPs as Ts & Rs in ditransitive clauses
2. Languages & corpus data
3. LPs in ditransitive clauses in English
4. LPs in ditransitive clauses in Polish
5. LPs in other 3-participant scenarios
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1. Introduction



LPs & the verbal arguments

- The majority of all animate arguments of verbs in conversation are expressed by local persons (LPs) (Dahl 2000:37)
- The percentage varies quite considerably between different types of subject and between subjects and objects

Dahl's Swedish corpus data

	All cases	Animates
■ A=LP	36%	54%
■ S=LP	30%	35%
□ Non-copular	57%	
□ Copular	10%	
■ P =LP	2%	20%

LPs in ditransitive clauses

- In prototypical ditransitive clauses
 - 2 non-agentive macro-roles
 - Theme (T): inanimate; Recipient (R): human
- Therefore
 - T: not LP
 - R: likely to be and perhaps preferentially is LP

Dispreference for LP Ts

- The ditransitive person-role constraint (DPRC); constraint against LP Ts as bound person markers Permutter (1971); Bonet (1991, 1995); Siewierska (2003); Haspelmath (2004, 2007); Ormazabal & Romero (2007); Anagnostopoulou (2005); Cardinaletti (2008); Simonenko (2008)
 - Weak version: unless the R is also an LP
 - o.k. if you to me or me to you
 - but not if you to him or me to him
 - Strong version: under any circumstances

Beyond bound pronoun Ts

- While the DPRC may apply in individual languages to bound pronouns as an absolute constraint, it holds cross-linguistically, universally as a **preference** for all types of person forms (Haspelmath 2004)
- This is a consequence of the infrequency of LP Ts
- But given the idiosyncracies of the workings of analogy,
 - not all ditransitive verbs in a language need follow suit
 - not all person/ number combinations need follow suit

Questions

- How strong is the dispreference for LP Ts as opposed to LP Ps (cf Dahl's data for LP Ts)?
 - Is the DPRC in fact part of a more general constraint embracing both Ts and Ps?
- To what extent do we indeed find differences in the frequency of LP Ts across ditransitive predicates and constructions?
- Are LP Ts rare only in proto-typical transfer events or generally in tri-participant events?
- Are there any differences in the frequencies of 1st vs. 2nd person forms in this regard?
 - If so are the differences great enough to lead to differences in the conventionalized restrictions involving 1st as opposed to 2nd person?

Preference for LP Rs

- Rs are prototypically human
- That they should be preferentially LPs is not as firmly established as in the case of the DPRC for Ts
- Often taken for granted
- Some supporting corpus data for LP Rs
 - In Dahl's Swedish conversational corpus, only 9 instances and all but one were LPs; Dahl concludes that Rs in ditransitives favour LPs but are not frequent enough in the corpus to allow a meaningful investigation
 - In the online COSMAS corpus of Goethe's prose mentioned in Hasplemath (2004) 61% of the Rs in ditransitives with two pronouns were LPs

Questions

- How strong is the posited preference for LP Rs?
- To what extent does it hold across different ditransitive predicates and constructions?
- Is it in fact a feature of the prototypical ditransitive
 - Actual physical transfer, e.g. *give, hand, lend, sell*
 - Mental transfer, e.g. *show, tell*
 - Future transfer, e.g. *offer, bequeath, promise*
- How does it compare to 3rd participants in other trivalent scenarios?

Ts & Rs

- How distinctive are the LP properties of Ts and Rs for ditransitive clauses as opposed to those manifesting other trivalent scenarios?
- Dahl (2000:37) suggests that the presence of an LP or animate argument may be essentially a more fundamental distinction for a taxonomy of predication types than transitivity
- Could this also be extended to trivalent scenarios?



2. Data



Languages

- English vs. Polish
- Different morpho-syntactic encoding
 - absence vs. presence of morphological case on lexical NPs
- Different encoding of proto-typical ditransitives
 - order vs. case marking

Corpora

- English: British National Corpus (BNC):
100 mln words (spoken & written of
different genre)
- Polish: IPI PAN 250 mln words (spoken &
written of different genre);
 - PELCRA 14 mln
- Concentrating on constructions in which
both the T & R are person forms



Person forms

- English: stressed or unstressed accusative personal pronouns
- Polish:
 - clitics: accusative and dative
 - free forms



Data extraction

- Search: two non-agentive person forms in sequence
- Identifying the ditransitive ones: manually

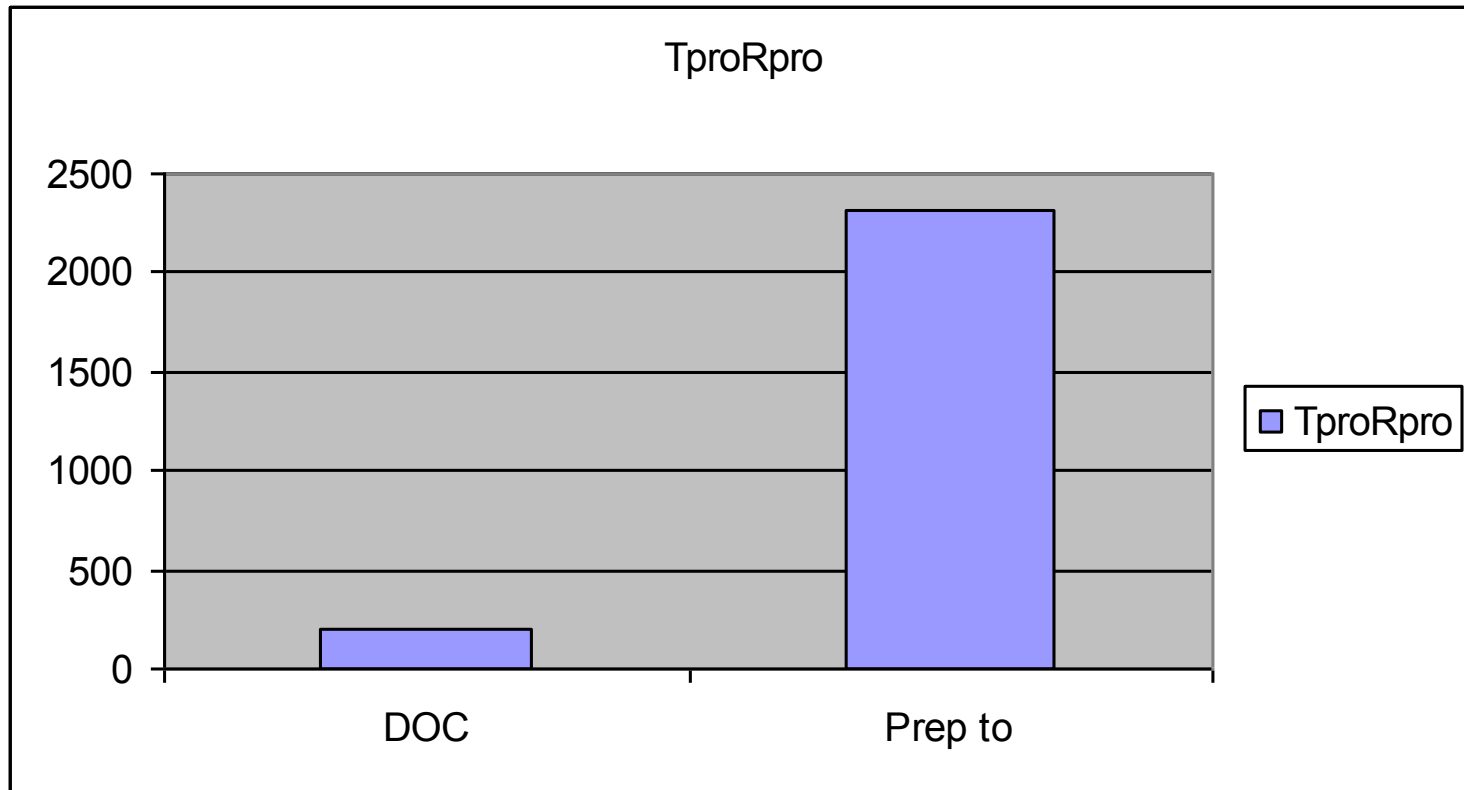


3. English

Dtr-constructions in English

- Widely discussed (see references)
- Two DTR constructions
 - Double Object Construction (DOC)
 - John gave Mary a book.
 - Prepositional Construction (Prep=to)
 - John gave a book to Mary.
- Well known difference in the distribution of 2 pronouns in the two constructions (for summary see. Siewierska & Hollmann 2007)
 - DOC a strong dispreference for both T & R pro
 - Of the **2309** instances of 2 pro NAA 8% (208) in DOC vs. 92% in Prep

T & R pro in BNC = 2309



Distribution of LPs

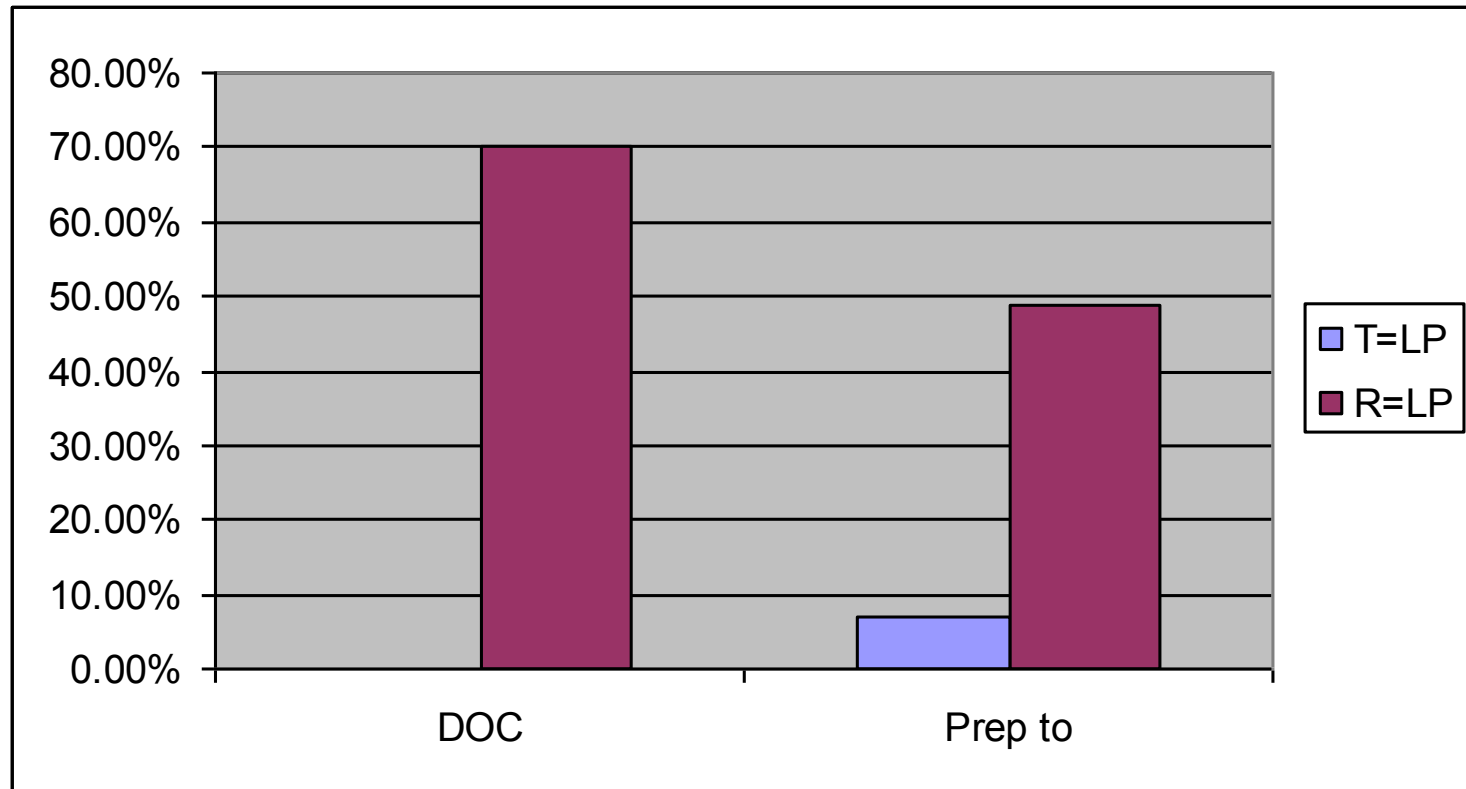
■ In DOC

- Ts: 0 or 1 (0.5%)
 - I couldn't forgive you him.
- Rs: 145 (69%)

■ In Prep

- Ts: 158 (7%)
 - DPRC weaker in Prep than in DOC
- Rs: 1129 (49%)
 - No preference for LP Rs

Distribution of LPs in 2 Pros



2 Human T & R Pros in BNC

■ In DOC

- 2 instances: in addition to previous only
 - I'll show **you** her anyway

■ In Prep: 279 instances involving 63 verbs

- If anyone protests refer them to me.
- Leave her to us my lord.
- So I gave her to him.
- There is nothing to link him to us.
- That would surely bind him to her forever.
- It was I who first introduced him to her.

LPs when T & R both H Pro

- DOC: As previously
 - Ts: Just the “forgive” example
 - Rs: Just the “show” example
- Prep
 - Ts: DPRC emerges as much weaker 22% (LP=60)
 - Rs: LP Rs 32% (LP=91) are in the evident minority

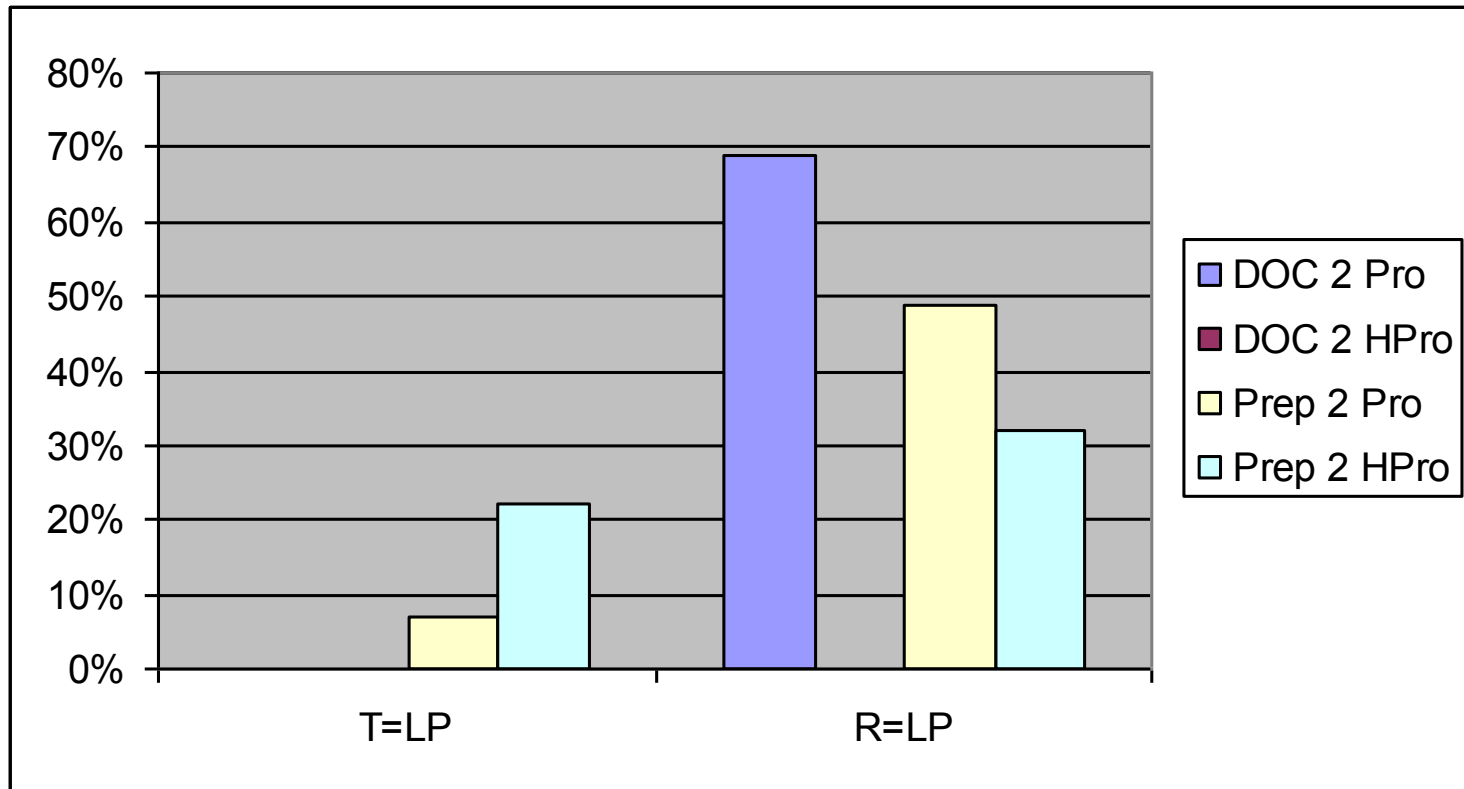
DPRC violations: T=LP

- Please take me to her.
- Please remember me to her.
- Will you venture to accompany me to him.
- I hope he would lead us to him.
- But I can introduce you to him.
- She can draw you to her with a single hair.
- I have promised to bring you to her.
- Just remember that your contract commits you to us for four years.

Interim summary

- Strong support for DPRC
 - Categorical in DOC
 - Weaker in Prep especially if R is also a Human pro
- LP preference of Rs
 - strong support in DOC
 - no clear preference in Prep C
 - a dispreference when T & R both human

Distribution of LPs summary



Different predicates

- DOC: 2 Pro: 30 predicates
 - give (112); show (17), tell (17), give back (12), send (8), buy (6)
- Prep (to): 2 Pro: 167 predicates
 - give (592), leave (205), hand (120), send (100), show (83), explain (68), bring (62), do (69), put (64), return (63), mention (57)
- Overlap: 22 predicates



LP Ts

- Ts disfavour LPs but
- Which predicates are the most likely to have LP Ts

T LPs with different predicates

VERB	Ts in PrepC
<i>beat</i>	56% (23)
<i>introduce</i>	36% (9)
<i>take</i>	34% (11)
<i>bind</i>	30% (3)
<i>leave</i>	25% (52)
<i>hold</i>	14% (3)
<i>bring</i>	11% (7) -
<i>send</i>	6% (6)
<i>show</i>	2% (2)
<i>give</i>	0.2% (1)

leave & beat

■ Leave

R human

- I felt like leaving you to him.

R inanimate

- I'll leave you to it.
- He just left me to it.

■ Beat

R inanimate only

- I'll beat you to it.
- He beat me to it.

R LPs with different predicates

VERB	Rs in PrepC	Rs in DOC
<i>return</i>	83% (52)	-
<i>send</i>	78% (78)	100% (8)
<i>do</i>	74% (51)	-
<i>explain</i>	62% (42)	-
<i>give</i>	58% (346)	67% (75)
<i>put</i>	55% (35)	-
<i>offer</i>	50% (13)	100% (2)
<i>show</i>	46% (38)	76% (13)
<i>pass</i>	46% (11)	-
<i>bring</i>	42% (26)	100% (2)
<i>leave</i>	36% (74)	100% (3)
<i>hand</i>	25% (31)	0% (1)

1st vs. 2nd

- 2nd person typically under represented in written corpora
- BNC & IPI PAN have a spoken component
- Nonetheless 2nd person may still be underrepresented
- Therefore interesting if 2 person more common than 1 person rather than vice versa

1s vs. 2nd

- R no significant differences
 - Relatively high incidence of 2p with “explain”
- T
 - More 2s than 1s in
 - leave 40 vs. 12
 - send 5 vs. 1
 - take 7 vs. 1
 - show 2 vs. 0



4. Polish

Ditransitive constructions in Polish

- Not as widely discussed as in English, but Dąbrowska (1997); Rudzka-Ostyn (1996)
- With prototypical ditransitive verbs essentially DOC with Recipient in dative case and Theme in the accusative
 - A wide range of uses of DOC with Acc & Dat
 - Excluded as ditransitive
 - ethical dative and sympathicus dative

Ethical & Sympathicus

- Ethical (dative = 1st or 2nd person)
- Tylko mi się nie przezięb.
only I:dat refl not catch.cold
'Don't you dare catch cold on me.'
- Sympathicus
- Uciekł mi pies.
run away I: dat dog:nom
'My dog has run away.' (and I am affected by this.)'

Prepositional Constructions

- Some prepositional ditransitives with
 - do `to'
 - dla 'for';
 - od 'from'
 - ku 'towards';
 - u 'at'
 - z 'with';
 - o 'about'
- Often some meaning differences

Alternating

- DOC

- Przysyłają **nam** posłów.

send:3pl us:dat representatives:acc

‘They are sending representatives to us.’

- Prep

- Przysyłają **do nas** posłów.

send:3pl to us:acc representatives:acc

‘They are sending representatives to us.’

T & R Pro in IPI PAN

- DOC = 1676
- Prep = 374
- Why so few 2 Pro (2050)
 - 3rd person inanimate often demonstrative
 - only overt arguments; Polish has object drop
 - included only sequences of pronouns

Object drop

- Napisała czek i dała Markowi
wrote:3sg cheque and gave Markowi
`She wrote the cheque and gave (it) to Mark.'
- O co chodzi w tym liście? Czy możesz
about what goes in this letter Q can:2sg
mi wytłumaczyć.
I:dat explain:inf
`What is this letter about. Can you explain (it) to me?'

Distribution of LPs in DOC: Ts

- 30 counter to the DPRC (1.8%)
- 21 involving LPs for T & R
- 9 T = LP & R = 3

Counter DPRC

- 1/2 on 1/2
- Nikt **mi** **cię** nie odbierze.
no one me:dat you:acc not take way:3sg:fut
'No one will take you away from me. '
- 1/2 acc & 3 dat
- [Mój trener w Stalowej Woli to kolega ze studiów Leszka Salamonowicza i w pewnym sensie]
mnie **mu** polecił
me:acc him:dat recommend
'He recommended me to him.'

An asymmetry: 1s vs. 2s

- T : 1p = 3% (5) vs. 2p = 15% (27)
- All instances of 1p T when R is 3p
- No instances of T1 & R2
 - Polish similar to Spanish and Rumania in allowing (*te me*) and (*mi te*). respectively
 - Polish unlike Italian which allows *mi ti* but not *ti mi*

Distribution of LPs in DOC: Rs

- LP = 58% (vs. 69% in English)
- Lower level of LPs attributable to wider range of predicates
- DOC in Polish 185 predicates vs. English 30
 - dac 'give' (139), odebrac 'take back' (122), pokazac 'show' (49), wreczyc 'hand' (46), przeslac 'send' (19), przyniesc 'bring' (15)
- Many predicates corresponding to predicates requiring Prep in English;
 - oddac 'return' (69), przekazac 'convey' (69), przedstawic 'introduce' (43), dostarcyc 'supply' (30), polecic 'recommend' , ukrasc 'steal' (23), (20), przypomniec 'remind' (19)

R LPs with different predicates

VERB	Rs in DOC
<i>pokazac</i> <i>show</i>	96% (47)
<i>przedstawic</i> <i>introduce</i>	81% (35)
<i>przekazac</i> <i>convey</i>	70% (48)
<i>zabrac</i> <i>take away</i>	64% (36)
<i>podac</i> <i>pass</i>	62% (30)
<i>dac</i> <i>give</i>	57% (74)
<i>oddac</i> <i>return</i>	55% (38)
<i>wreczyc</i> <i>hand</i>	35% (16)
<i>odebrac</i> <i>take back</i>	28% (34)

T LPs with different predicates

VERB		Ts in DOC
<i>dac</i>	<i>give</i>	4% (5)
<i>oddac</i>	<i>return</i>	3% (2)
<i>odebrac</i>	<i>take back</i>	3% (3)
<i>przedstawic</i>	<i>introduce</i>	2% (1)

2 H T & R Pros in IPI PAN

- In DOC: 186 instances with 132 verbs
 - T LPs =18%; high vis a vis 2 Pro (1.8%)
 - R LPs =74%; high vis a vis 2 Pro (40%)
- Restriction to two H Pro increase the likelihood of LP T and R
 - With respect to T, like in English Prep C
 - With respect to R, unlike in the English Prep C

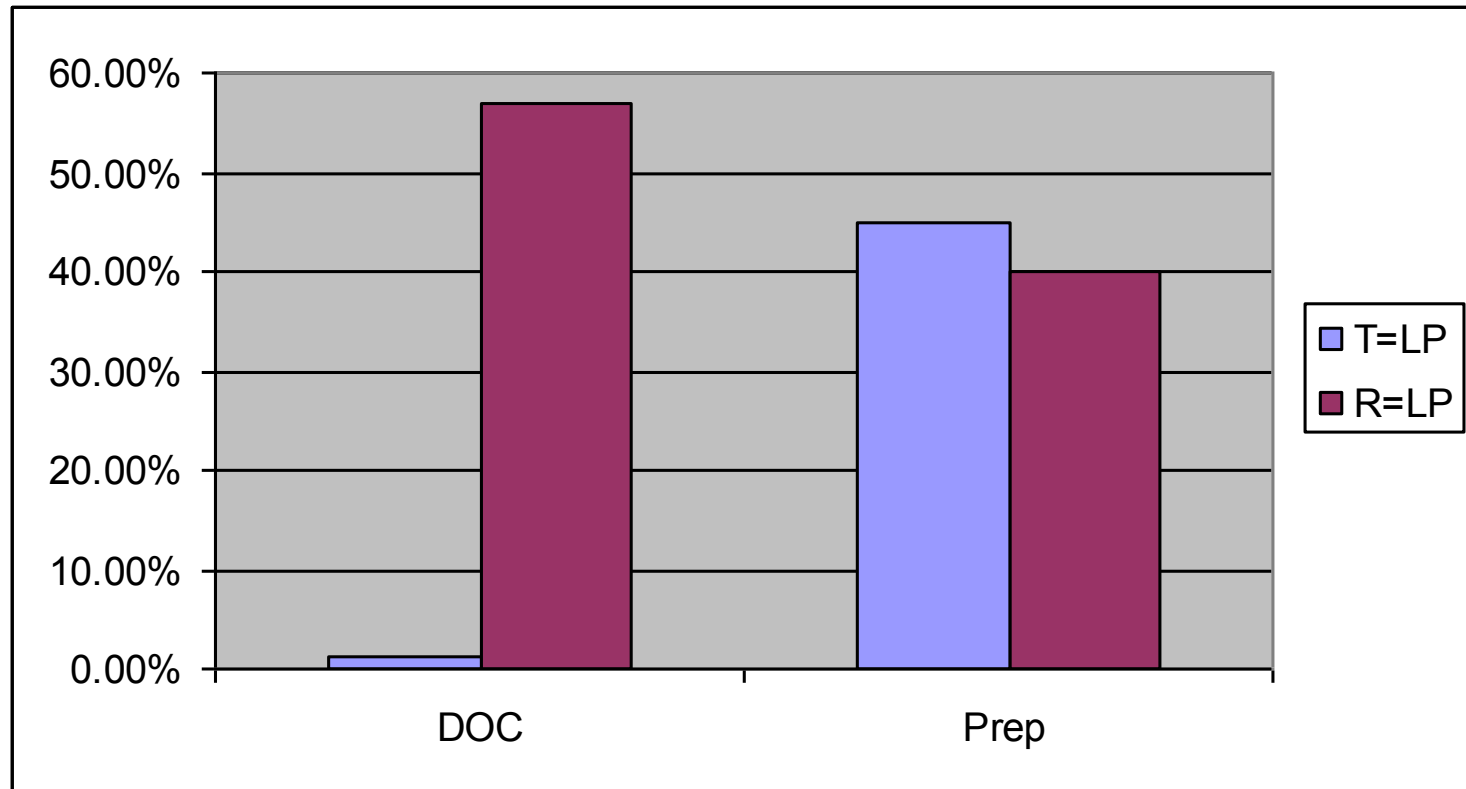
A comparison: Polish vs. English

- Difficult
- DOC
 - LP Ts strongly disfavoured in Polish but not as strongly as in English (2% vs. 0.5%)
 - LP Rs weaker in Polish than in English
 - No predicate in Polish corpus has 100% LP Rs as opposed to 100% with, bring, leave offer, send in English (small number)

A comparison: Polish vs. English

- Prep
- Also difficult
 - English : to
 - Polish: a range of preps: do, dla, ku, od etc.
- Distribution of LPs in Prep
 - In Polish T LP very high = 45% vs. 7% in English
 - In Polish R LP relatively low = 40% vs. 49% in English

Distribution of LPs in IPI PAN 2Pro



Distribution of LPS in 2 H Pro

- Both T and R LPs very high
 - T = 85%
 - R = 89%

LPs & Prep Cs

- To what extent is the distribution of LPs in the Prep Cs in Polish attributable to the formal encoding as opposed to the semantic import of the individual preps or the semantic import of the respective prep “constructions” as a whole (Goldberg 1992)
- Impossible to provide clear answer but perhaps a better understanding by considering the distribution of LPs in a range of 3 participant prep-constructions



Other 3-participant scenarios

Distinctiveness

- How distinctive is the distribution of LP properties of Ts and Rs for Prep-to constructions as opposed to constructions involving other 3-participant scenarios?
- Again adopting the perspective of 2 Pros and especially 2 Pro Human NAAs

2 Human NAAs

- Not confined to DO + Prep **to**
- Also
 - DO + for
 - DO + against
 - DO + from
 - DO + towards
 - DO + with
 - DO + about
 - DO + at
 - DO + off



Some examples

- He had no right to discuss me with you.
- Please take me with you.
- He's going to leave me for you.
- Tell me about him.
- He pulls me towards him.
- Do not let him prejudice you against me.
- Nothing could take you from me.
- I'm sending you with him.
- Please thank her for me.
- Why do you keep throwing her at me.
- Get her off me.

Frequency of 2 HNAAAs in BNC

Prep	Nr predicates	2HPro		3-Part with 2 Pro
<i>to</i>	66	281	(12%)	2309
<i>with</i>	27	200	(31%)	642
<i>about</i>	8	120	(25%)	484
<i>against</i>	27	83	(73%)	120
<i>for</i>	26	63	(7%)	944
<i>towards</i>	15	56	(64%)	87
<i>from</i>	17	33	(12%)	275
<i>all</i>		836	(17%)	4861
<i>without to</i>		555	(22%)	2552

LPs in Ts & Rs

- Important contribution of prep
- For all the 7 prep- constructions
 - LP Ts 33% (280) (in Polish 45%)
 - LP Rs 39% (324) (in Polish 40%)
- For each Prep-construction
 - enormous variation in LP levels of Ts and Rs

LPs as Ts in BNC

Prep	2H Pro	2 Pro
<i>towards</i>	11% (6)	8% (7)
<i>from</i>	15% (5)	5% (13)
<i>for</i>	18% (11)	12% (111)
<i>against</i>	18% (12)	11% (13)
<i>to</i>	22% (58)	7% (158)
<i>with</i>	48% (95)	22% (139)
<i>about</i>	80% (93)	67% (326)
<i>all</i>	33% (280)	16% (767)
<i>without to</i>	40% (222)	24% (609)

LPs as Preps in the BNC

Prep	2 H Pro	2 Pro
<i>towards</i>	5% (3)	15% (13)
<i>from</i>	45% (15)	46% (112)
<i>for</i>	75% (47)	57% (538)
<i>against</i>	13% (11)	25% (30)
<i>to</i>	32% (91)	49% (1129)
<i>with</i>	58% (115)	54% (348)
<i>about</i>	35% (42)	12% (56)
<i>all</i>	39% (324)	46% (2226)
<i>without to</i>	42% (233)	43% (1097)



Human pro vs. LP

- High level of human pro does not entail high level of LP

H Pro vs. LP for the T

Prep	T=HPro	T=LP
<i>towards</i>	74%	8%
<i>from</i>	23%	5%
<i>for</i>	27%	12%
<i>against</i>	73%	11%
<i>to</i>	22%	7%
<i>with</i>	43%	22%
<i>about</i>	95%	67%

H Pro vs. LP for Prep

Prep	Prep= H Pro	Prep= LP
<i>towards</i>	91%	15%
<i>from</i>	89%	46%
<i>for</i>	80%	57%
<i>against</i>	95%	25%
<i>to</i>	77%	49%
<i>with</i>	86%	54%
<i>about</i>	30%	12%

Frequency of 2 HNAAAs in IPI PAN

Prep	2HPro	3-Part with 2 Pro
<i>do</i> 'to'	69 (47%)	147
<i>z</i> 'with'	41 (64%)	64
<i>u</i> 'at'	24 (30%)	79
<i>O</i> 'about'	21 (46%)	46
<i>od</i> 'from'	14 (61%)	23
<i>dla</i> 'for'	3 (38%)	8
<i>ku</i> 'towards'	3 (43%)	7
	175	374

LPs in 2 H NAA Pros in IPI PAN

Prep	T		Prep O	
<i>ku</i> 'towards'	0%	(0)	14%	(1)
<i>u</i> 'at'	4%	(3)	78%	(62)
<i>dla</i> 'for'	25%	(2)	50%	(4)
<i>z</i> 'with'	39%	(25)	25%	(16)
<i>do</i> 'to'	42%	(62)	37%	(55)
<i>od</i> 'from'	56%	(15)	47%	(11)
<i>o</i> 'about'	89%	(41)	18%	(8)
<i>all</i>	85%	(148)	89%	(157)
<i>without do</i>	81%	(86)	96%	(102)

Comparison

- Big differences between the two languages
- Big differences in the contribution of the respective prepositions
- Distinctiveness of to/do- construction?
- Levels of LP
 - Highest level of LP Ts in both English and Polish: about - o
 - Lowest level of LP Ts in both English and Polish: towards – ku
 - Lowest level of LP Rs in both English and Polish towards- ku
 - Highest level of LP Rs in English for, in Polish u (at)

Some conclusions

- The controversial nature of the data: constructions with 2 Pro, 2 HPro
- The dispreference for LP Ts in dtrs is strong but dependent on the encoding in the construction, being strongest
 - word order > case > adposition
- In prep-constructions the level of LP Ts increases with a decrease in the level of LP Rs, e.g. English **beat**, **introduce**, **leave**
- In prep-constructions Ts (?) are more like Ps in exhibiting a wider range of referential statuses (?)

Some conclusions

- The likelihood of LP Rs is heavily dependent on encoding and the nature of the predicate
 - Encoding
 - word order > case > adposition
 - Predicate (e.g. Polish 96% to 28%)
 - **give** not the most likely to have LP R either in English or Polish in DOC or prep
 - Not just mental transfer > physical transfer
 - English DOC send > show > give
 - English Prep return > send > do > explain > give

Some conclusions

- High level of human pro does not entail high level of LP
 - Human Rs but not LP ones are characteristic of prototypical ditransitives
- The variation in LP Rs relative to predicates puts into question the status of generalizations with respect to the 3rd participant of tri-valent scenarios even of transfer events, comparable to those advanced for the A, S and P
- Prep encoding

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