# *Are adpositional phrases any other than adjuncts?*

## *A case study on the argument structure of Basque motion verbs*

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**Jürgen Etxeberria Gonzalez**
**Gogo Elebiduna – The Bilingual Mind Research Group**
**University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)**

*jurgen.etxeberria@ehu.eus*

eman ta zabal zazu

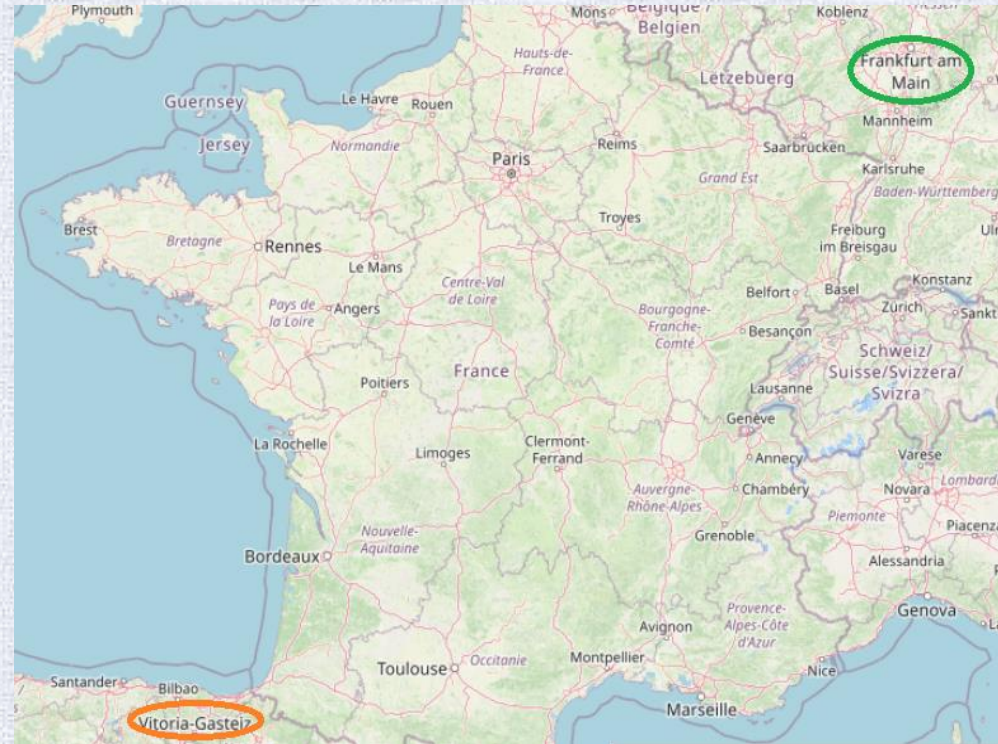Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea

# A brief personal Introduction

**Education programs**

- **Basque Studies & Philology (BA) (EHU) 2016-20 in Vitoria-Gasteiz**

- **Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics (MA) (EHU) 2020-21**

- **Doctorate program in Linguistics (EHU) 2022-**

**Research topics**

- **Morphosyntax of P**

- **Source-Goal asymmetries**

- **Word order in motion verbs**

- **Argument structure in motion V**

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# Are adpositional phrases adjuncts? Arguments?

(1) a. She gave a talk.

    b. She gave a talk in the library.

    c. *She gave in the library.

NP/DP  > Arguments

PP       > Adjuncts

# Are adpositional phrases adjuncts? Arguments?

(1) a. She gave a talk.

   b. She gave a talk in the library.

   c. *She gave in the library.

**NP/DP > Arguments**
**PP      > Adjuncts**

**S V (PP)**          Intransitive V
**S V   O   (PP)**      Transitive V
**S V   DO  IO  (PP)**   Ditransitive V

- Leaving aside applicatives, passives, antipassives...

# Are adpositional phrases adjunct? Arguments?

(2) a. I cut the bread thin.

    b. I cut the bread into slices.

    c. I cut the bread slowly.

# Are adpositional phrases adjunct? Arguments?

(2) a. I cut the bread thin.

     **S**  **V**     **O**           **AdjP**        **Resultative Adjuncts**

    b. I cut the bread into slices.

     **S**  **V**     **O**           **PP**

    c. I cut the bread slowly.

     **S**  **V**     **O**           **AdvP**         **(Baker, 2003: 313)**

**Same for all kind of verbs?**

# Are adpositional phrases adjunct? Arguments?

(2) a. I cut the bread thin.

      S  V    O        AdjP          **Resultative Adjuncts**

    b. I cut the bread into slices.

      S  V    O        PP

    c. I cut the bread slowly.

      S  V    O        AdvP         **(Baker, 2003: 313)**

**Same for all kind of verbs?**

(3) a. I read the report at home.                        **Action V**

    b. I read the report.

(4) a. The accident occurred in the corner.          **Event V**

    b. *The accident occurred.

(5) a. The stew is in the oven.                **Location & Event V**

    b. *The stew is.             **(Pullum & Huddleston, 2002: 680)**

# Cross-linguistic overview

- **Prepositional arguments vs prepositional adjuncts in English**

(6) a. Marianne sent a letter.                                      **Agent-Theme**

    b. Marianne sent a letter to Leipzig.                         **Agent-Theme-Goal**

    c. Marianne sent a letter for Martin.              **Agent-Theme-Benefactive**

    d. Marianne sent a letter to Lukas.                **Agent-Theme-Recipient**

    e. Marianne sent a letter to Lukas to Leipzig.        **A-Th-Recipient-Goal**

    f. Marianne sent Lukas a letter  to Leipzig.         **A-Recipient-Th-Goal**

    g. Marianne sent a [letter for Lukas] to Leipzig.    **A-[Th-Benefact]-Goal**

    h. ?Marianne sent a letter to Lukas to Leipzig for Martin   **A-Th-R-Goal-Ben**

    i. *Marianne sent to Leipzig/to Lukas/ for Martin.               ~~Theme~~

- **What is the argument structure for transference verbs & motion verbs?**

# Cross-linguistic overview

## German

(7) a. Ich bringe brot.                                              **Agent-Theme**

   b. Ich bringe brot nach hause.                    **Agent-Theme-Goal**

   c. Ich bringe brot für Laura.                     **Agent-Theme-Benefactive**

   d. Ich bringe <u>Laura</u> brot.                  **Agent-Theme-Recipient**

   e. Ich bringe Laura brot nach hause.              **A-Recip-Theme-Goal**

   f. Ich bringe Laura brot nach hause für Jan.      **A-Recip-Th-Goal-Ben**

   g.?? Ich bringe Jan zu Laura nach hause.          **Agent-Th-Goal-Goal**

   i. *Ich bringe nach hause.                        ~~**Theme**~~

- **What is the argument structure for transference verbs & motion verbs?**

# Argument structure in Basque

**Typological description**

- **Structurally head-final (postpositions), agglutinative and ergative language**

- **SOV word order > not free, but flexible**

**A** **O** **IO**
**A** **O**
**S**

# Argument structure in Basque

**Typological description**

- **Structurally head-final (postpositions), agglutinative and ergative language**

- **SOV word order > not free, but flexible**

**A O IO**
**A O**
**S**

**Agreement (argument-verb)**

(8) a.  Gu   kale-an        ga-bil-tza.
       1.PL  street-LOC     1-walk-PL                          **Subject-verb intransitive**
       'We walk on the street.'

  b.  Zu-e-k       ni          na-kar-zu-e.
      2-PL-ERG    1.SG.ABS    1.SG-bring-2-PL                  **S-DO-verb transitive**
      'You bring me.'

  c.  Zu-e-k    gu-ri       ogi-a          da-kar-ki-gu-zu-e.
      2-PL-ERG  1.PL-DAT   bread-DET    PR/3.SG-bring-1.PL-2-PL   **S-IO-DO-V transitive**
      'You bring us the bread.'

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# Canonical word order in Basque

**Non-focalised order:**

S   V
S   DO   V
S   IO   DO   V
S (PP) IO DO V

- There is not PP-Verb agreement, but certain Verbs require PPs

(9)  a.  Jone        haurtzaro-a-z       gogora-tzen   da.
         Jone.ABS   chilhood-DET-INST   remember-IMP   BE
         'Jone remembers about the childhood'

   b. *Jone gogoratzen da.


(10)  a.  Zu         unibertsitate-ra    z-oa-z.
          You.ABS    university-ALL      2-go-PL
          'You go to the university'

   b. *Zu zoaz.

# Argument structure in Basque

- Certain Goal PPs are preferred closer to V over DO & IO arguments

(11)  a.  Jone-k      gutuna-a      <u>Bilbo-ra</u>   bidali  du.
            Jone-ERG    letter-DET      Bilbao-ALL   send    has
            'Jone has sent a letter to Bilbao'

    b. !Jone-k gutuna bidali du.

    c. *Jone-k Bilbo-ra bidali du.

- Goal PPs vs Goal IO in dispute

(12)  a.  Jone        Mikel-i    <u>etxe-ra</u>    gerturatu  za-i-o.
            Jone.ABS   Mikel-DAT   house-ALL    approach  2-BE-3.SG
            'Jone approached to Mikel to home'

    b. Jone etxera gerturatu zaio Mikeli.                    [Preferred]

    c. Jone Mikeli gerturatu zaio.

    d. Jone etxera gerturatu zaio.

# Assigning theta-roles

- **Baker's (1988) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis*:** *if both express the same thematic relations, they have to share the same representation level in structure.*

| Original argument order (PPs) | Derived argument order (Dative IOs) |
|:---:|:---:|
| Theme > Goal/Benefactive | Goal/Benefactive > Theme |

**(Arregi & Ormazabal, 2003: 125)**

- **Basque displays 1) Dative IO *-ri*  2) Allative PP *-ra*  3) Destinative PP *-entzat***

| Goal | Goal | Recipient |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| Recipient | | Benefactive |
| Benefactive | | |

(13)  a.  Joni     <u>haurr-en-tzat</u>   bixkotx-ak  egin     d-i-zki-o-t.
         Jon-DAT  children-PL-DEST  biscuit-PL   make    3-HAVE-PL-3.DAT-1.ERG
         'I made Jon biscuits for children'

         b. <u>Joni</u> bixkotxak egin dizkiot <u>haurrentzat</u>.                **(Oyharçabal, 2007)**

# Goal-Source asymmetries

- Certain verbs express a displacement to a given endpoint (Goal-Oriented)
  *jaurti* 'throw', *bidali* 'send', *eraman* 'carry'

- Other verbs express a displacement from a starting point (Source-Oriented)
  *jaso* 'receive', 'catch', 'collect', *ekarri* 'bring'

- Goal-oriented PPs are cognitively easier to process (Landau & Lakusta, 2005).

- A higher use of  Goal-oriented V and PPs than Source-Oriented ones in children (3-4) and adult speech (Landau & Lakusta, 2005).

| Goal-Oriented | Frequency | Source-Oriented |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| *Give the flowers <u>to</u> the woman* | > | *Receive the flowers <u>from</u> the man* |
| (*give, throw*) | | (*get, catch*) |

(Lakusta, 2010)

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# Research Questions

- **What is the argument structure for transference verbs & motion verbs?**

- **Why PPs without verb agreement are preferred closer to V than objects?**

- **If there are argument PPs in motion verbs, which theta-roles can they express?**

- **How many interrelated theta-roles (Goal, Benefactive, Recipient) can co-occur?**

- **Why can the same adposition be?**

  - **Obligatory: *Ni etxe-an nago* 'I am at home' (vs \*Ni nago)**
  - **Optional: *Nik (goiz-ean) ogia erosi dut* 'I bought bread (this morning)'**

# Experiment I

- **Choice task experiment (item ordering task)**

- **Conducted Online in IbexFarm & Google Forms (Jul-Aug 2021)**

- **Hypothesis I: Goal PPs (*to*) are more likely placed in argument position than Source PPs (*from*), in peripheral positions.**

- **Hypothesis II: In complex ditransitive motion verbs there is a dispute for the argument position between DO, IO and Goal PPs.**

**Method**

**Participants (32) Basque-other L bilinguals aged 20-50 (*Me*= 23)**

- **Basque-Spanish early bilinguals (14)**
- **Basque monolingual childhood   (11)**
- **Basque-French early bilinguals    (3)**
- **Basque-Spanish-French multilinguals (3)**
- **Spanish monolingual childhood (1)**

# Experiment I

**Materials**

- **Transitives**

  8 sentences including a Goal PP     [S, V, DO, GPP]
  8 sentences including a Source PP   [S, V, DO, SPP]

- **Ditransitives**

  8 sentences including either a Goal or a Source PP     [S, V, IO, DO, GPP/SPP]
  8 sentences including Goal & Source PPs     [S, V, IO, DO, GPP, SPP]

# Experiment I

**Materials**

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   8 sentences including a Source PP   [S, V, DO, SPP]

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   8 sentences including either a Goal or a Source PP      [S, V, IO, DO, GPP/SPP]
   8 sentences including Goal & Source PPs                     [S, V, IO, DO, GPP, SPP]

**Stimuli**

- **Sentences one by one, S _ _ _ _ other elements presented randomly**

- **Participants were asked to order the elements and place them in "natural" order**

# Results

## Transitives



Jonek ogia etxera darama  25 (75,8 %)
**S  DO GPP V**

Jonek etxera ogia darama  4 (12,1 %)
**S  GPP DO V**

Jonek darama ogia etxera  4 (12,1 %)
**S    V  DO GPP**
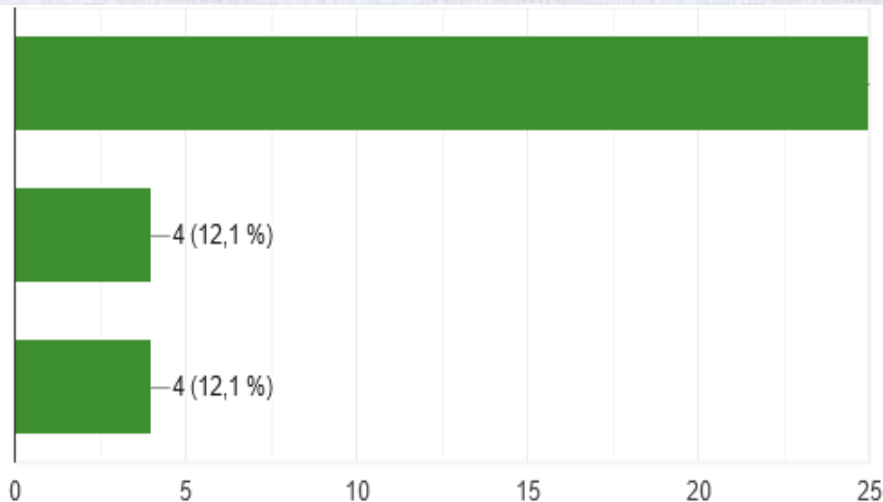
**DO-Goal PP-V**

**24/32  75%**

Anek ekarri du dendatik ogia  3 (9,1 %)
**S    V  SPP  DO**

Anek ogia dendatik ekarri du  8 (24,2 %)
**S  DO  SPP    V**

Anek dendatik ogia ekarri du  22 (66,7 %)
**S    SPP DO  V**
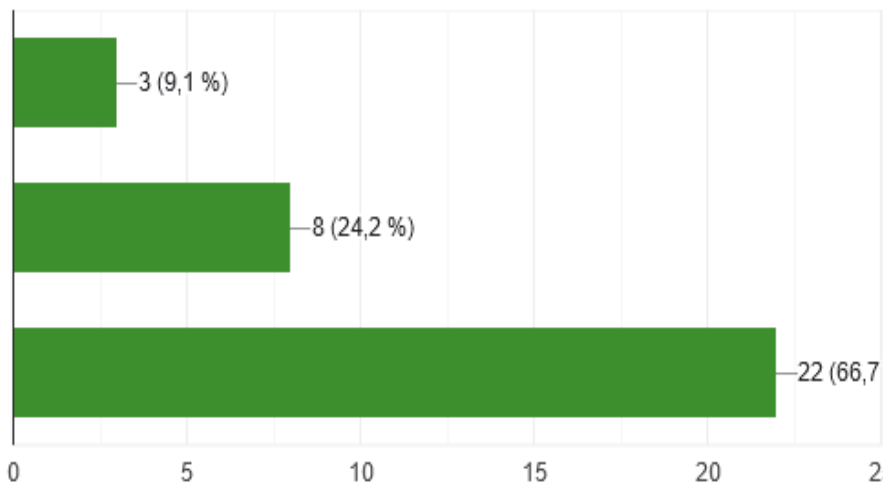
**DO-Source PP-V**

**8/32  25%**

**Source PP-DO-V**

**22/32 68%**

**16**

# Results

## Ditransitives



57,6%

39,4%
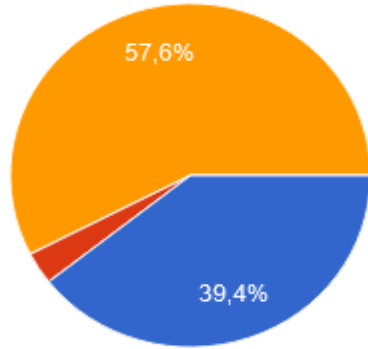
● Olatzek Joni Santurtzitik Bilbora sardinak ekarri dizkio.  **IO-Source-Goal-DO**

● Olatzek Santurtzitik Bilbora Joni sardinak ekarri dizkio.  **Source-Goal-IO-DO**

● Olatzek Joni sardinak Santurtzitik Bilbora ekarri dizkio.  **IO-DO-Source-Goal**

OLATZ

JON

## Conclusions

- **Hypothesis I: Goal PPs are placed next to V 3/4 times, while Source PPs 1/4 times > Goal PPs are part of argument structure in transitive motion verbs**

- **Hypothesis II: In complex ditransitive motion verbs:**
  - **To solve IO (Benefactive) & Goal PP dispute, IO next to S; GPP closer to V**
  - **Goal PPs part of the argument structure**

# Experiment II

- **Preference task experiment (multiple choice task)**

- **Conducted online using IbexFarm (Jan 2022)**

- **Hypothesis I: Goal PPs are as fundamental as Themes in the argument structure of motion & displacement verbs > _V**

- **Hypothesis II: if Source & Goal PPs co-occur, Goal attracts Source to _V and DO will not be placed next to the verb .**

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**Method**

**Participants (28) Basque bilinguals, 16 F & 12 M, aged 21-62 (*Me*= 24)**

- **Basque-Spanish early bilinguals (6)**
- **Basque monolingual childhood (16)**
- **Spanish monolingual childhood (6)**

# Experiment II

**Materials**

- 48 sentences in 24 pairs, A word-order vs. B word-order

|  | Type I | Target sentences | Fillers |
|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | 4 Goal+DO pairs | 4 Source + Goal pairs intr. V |
|  |  | 4 Source+DO pairs | 4 IO-DO [-motion] pairs |

Type II   Target sentences
4 Source+Goal+DO pairs   4 Adv PP +IO+DO pairs

*goiz-(e)an*
morning-LOC   'in the morning'

# Experiment II

**Materials**

- 48 sentences in 24 pairs,  A word-order  vs.  B word-order

|  | Type I | Target sentences | Fillers |  |
|--|--------|------------------|---------|--|
|  |        | 4  Goal+DO pairs | 4 Source + Goal  pairs | intr. V |
|  |        | 4  Source+DO pairs | 4 IO-DO [-motion]  pairs |  |

|  | Type II | Target sentences |  |
|--|---------|------------------|--|
|  |         | 4 Source+Goal+DO pairs | 4 Adv PP +IO+DO pairs |

*goiz-(e)an*
morning-LOC    'in the morning'

**Stimuli**

- Participants were asked to carefully read the sentences and then, to select the sentence with the most natural word order.

- Trial sentences (3) before starting with the task.

# Results

- **The total valide sample 312 answers: 215  DO-PP  (68.9%) 97 PP-DO (31.1%)**

**Type I**

- **DO-Goal PP 91.3% (95/104)**

  4.  A) **Arrantzaleak [uretara] [arrain txikiak] itzuli ditu. (5%)**
      B) **Arrantzaleak [arrain txikiak] [uretara] itzuli ditu. (95%)**
      **'The fisherman returned the small fishes to water'**

- **Source PP-DO 52% (55/106)  &  DO-Source PP 48% (51/106)**

  7. A) **Peruk kanika gorriak poltsikotik atera ditu. (64%)**
     B) **Peruk poltsikotik kanika gorriak atera ditu.  (36%)**
     **'Peru has taken the red marbles out of the pocket'**

# Results
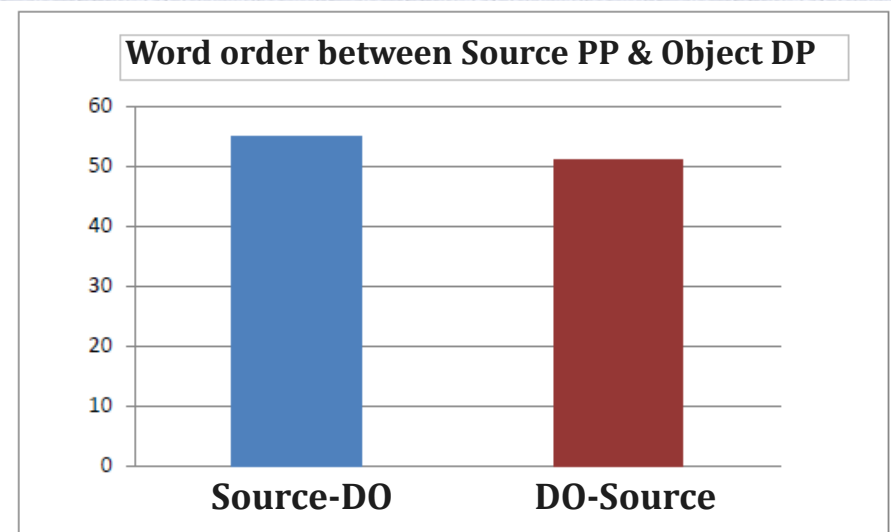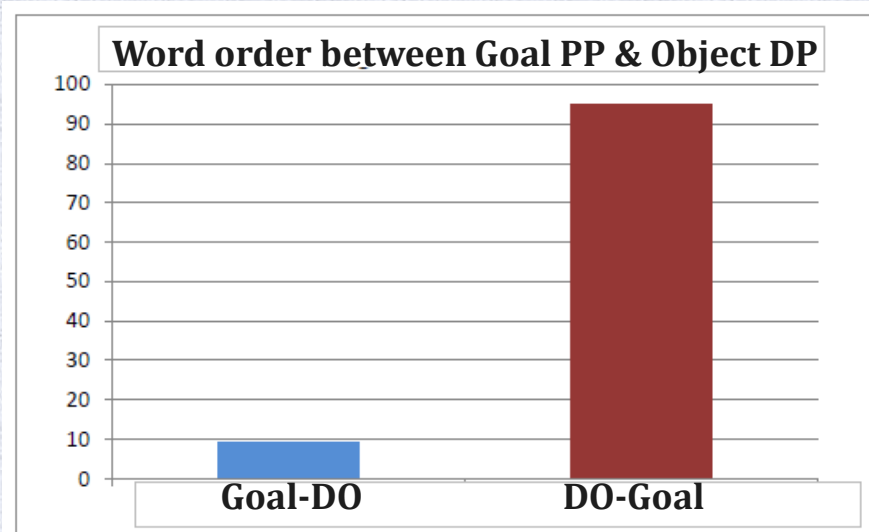


- **Hypothesis I confirmed for Goal PPs ($p > 0.001$)**

- **Not confirmed for Source PPs ($p = 0.59$)**

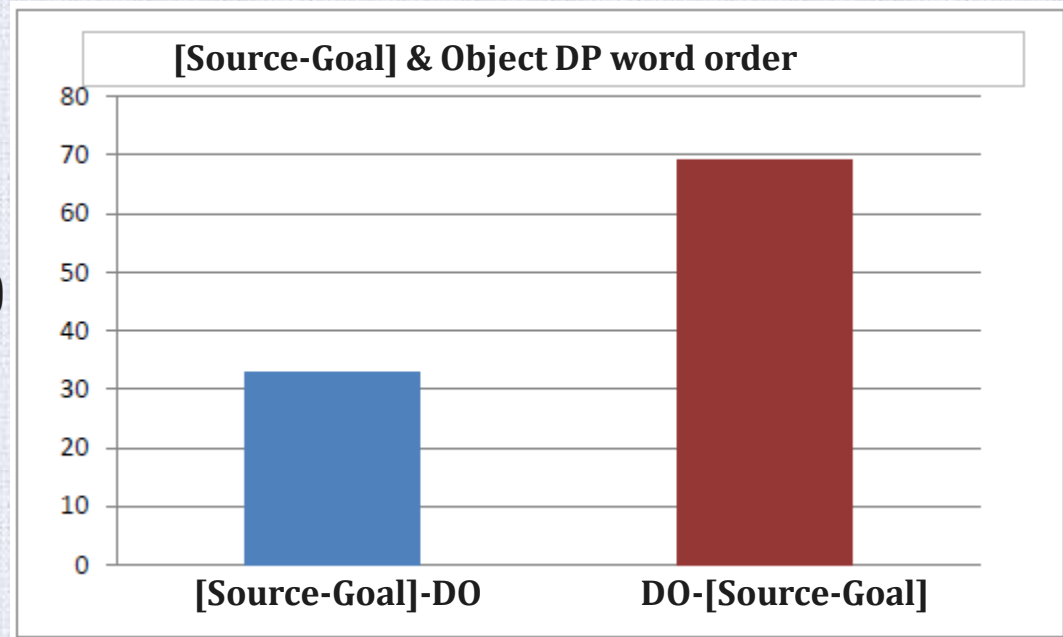- **In any case, these results reflect an assymetrical distribution.**

# Results

## Type II

-DO-[Source-Goal] 69/102(67.7%)

-[Source-Goal]-DO 33/102 (32.3%)

- 22A [Source-Goal]-DO 48%
  22B DO-[Source-Goal] 52%



[Source-Goal] & Object DP word order

- **Hypothesis II confirmed??: Source does not attract Goal to periphery, instead Goal attracts Source to O_V position.**

# Conclusions

| Argument PPs | | Adjunct PPs |
|---|---|---|
| **Intransitive motion verbs** | **Transitive motion verbs** | **[-motion] [-location] verbs** |
| (14) a. Ni kaletik nator. | (15) a. Nik ogia (<u>etxera</u>) dakart. | (16) a. Nik <u>goizean</u> ogia jan dut |
| 'I come from the street' | 'I bring bread home' | 'I ate bread this morning' |
| b. *Ni nator. | b. Nik kaletik ogia dakart. | b. Nik <u>gerora</u> egia jakin dut |
| '*I come' | 'I bring bread from the street | 'I knew the truth afterwards' |
| **Any locative PP (ALL, ABL, LOC)** | **Goal PPs** | **Any locative PP** |

# Conclusions

**Intransitive motion verbs**          **Transitive motion verbs**          **[-motion] [-location] verbs**

(14) a. Ni kaletik nator.          (15) a. Nik ogia (<u>etxera</u>) dakart.          (16) a. Nik <u>goizean</u> ogia jan dut
      'I come from the street'          'I bring bread home'                'I ate bread this morning'

        b. *Ni nator.                    b. Nik kaletik ogia dakart.          b. Nik <u>gerora</u> egia jakin dut
        '*I come'                      'I bring bread from the street         'I knew the truth afterwards'

**Any locative PP (ALL, ABL, LOC)**                **Goal PPs**                          **Any locative PP**

**Argument structure for ditransitive motion & displacement verbs**

**Subject  [ Recipient/Benefactive  <  Source  <  $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{Goal}\\\text{Theme}\end{smallmatrix}$  ]  Verb**

- **If Source & Goal co-occur  >   Benefactive-[Source-Goal] word order**

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# VIELEN DANK

# MILA ESKER

# THANK YOU

*jurgen.etxeberria@ehu.eus*