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**Passivization of ditransitive verbs *give* and *buy***

**Pasivizace ditranzitivních sloves *give* a *buy***

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## Abstract

The subject of the present thesis is the analysis of two ditransitive verbs *give* and *buy* as regards the options of their passivization. Ditransitive verbs: verbs that are complemented by two objects form two types of passive constructions depending on which object becomes the passive subject. The indirect object of the verb *give* alternates with a prepositional object with preposition *to* and the indirect object of *buy* alternates with a prepositional object with preposition *to*. It is assumed, that ditransitive verbs with the indirect object having the role of an actual recipient (verbs alternating with prepositional object with preposition *to*) form passive constructions more easily than those with the indirect object having the role of a beneficiary (verbs alternating with prepositional object with preposition *to*). The approaches to the acceptability of the latter ditransitive verbs differ.

The analytical part is a corpus based analysis of 100 examples excerpted from the British National Corpus and Corpus of Contemporary American English. The analysis included only examples of passive constructions where both passive subject and passive object were realized. The examples were divided according to the type of passive and they were analyzed as for their frequency and the factors influencing the choice of the type of passive. The factors that influenced the choice of the type of passive were mostly: principle of end-weight, the semantics of the indirect object and most importantly FSP, as the thesis attempted to find out whether the passive constructions are formed in accordance with the general assumption that the thematic active object becomes the passive subject.

## Abstrakt

Předmětem této práce je analýza dvou ditranzitivních sloves, slovesa *give* a *buy* z hlediska možnosti jejich pasivizace. Ditranzitivní slovesa, tedy slovesa, která jsou doplněna dvěma předměty, tvoří dva druhy pasivních konstrukcí, rozlišených na základě toho, který z předmětů se stává podmětem pasíva. Nepřímý předmět slovesa *give* alternuje s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *to* a nepřímý předmět slovesa *buy* alternuje s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *for*. Obecně se uvádí, že ditranzitivní slovesa, jejichž nepřímý předmět má roli skutečného recipienta (slovesa alternující s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *to*) připouštějí pasivizaci snáze než slovesa, jejichž nepřímý předmět má roli zamýšleného recipienta (slovesa alternující s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *for*). Přístupy jednotlivých gramatik k pasivizaci těchto sloves se liší.

Analytická část práce představuje analýzu 100 příkladů získaných z Britského národního korpusu (BNC) a Korpusu současné americké angličtiny (COCA), přičemž zahrnuje pouze příklady ve kterých je vyjádřen jak pasivní podmět, tak pasivní předmět. Příklady jsou roztržiděny podle typu pasíva a je zkoumána frekvence výskytu jednotlivých typů z hlediska různých faktorů, které ovlivňují jejich volbu. Těmito faktory se míní zejména princip říkající, že rozvitější a komplexnější větné členy jsou v angličtině umístovány na konec věty, dále sémantická role nepřímého předmětu a hlavně aktuální členění větné. Práce má také za cíl zjistit, zda jsou příklady v souladu s předpokladem, že tematický předmět aktiva se častěji stává podmětem pasíva.

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## List of abbreviations

AmE	American English
BNC	British National Corpus
BrE	British English
CD	Communicative dynamism
CGEL	Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
dep	Context-dependent
DSF	Dynamic semantic function
FSP	Functional sentence perspective
indep	Context-independent
LGSWE	Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English
NP	Noun phrase
O	Object
O <sub>d</sub>	Direct object
O <sub>i</sub>	Indirect object
O <sub>pass</sub>	Passive object
O <sub>prep</sub>	Prepositional object
S	Subject
S <sub>pass</sub>	Passive subject
V	Verb

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is concerned with passive constructions formed by ditransitive verbs i.e. verbs that are complemented by two objects: direct object and indirect object. Ditransitive verbs in general form two types of passive constructions as both the direct and the indirect object can become the subject of the passive construction. In the passive construction where the direct object becomes the passive subject, the indirect object typically alternates with a prepositional object introduced by prepositions *to* or *for* having the role of recipient or beneficiary respectively.

The theoretical part briefly describes passive constructions in general and constraints in their formation and then moves on to summarizing the different approaches to the passivization of ditransitive verbs of representative grammars. Finally it attempts to outline the principles affecting the choice of passive constructions such as end-weight and FSP.

The aim of the present analysis is to analyze 100 examples from the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English of two verbs: *give* and *buy* (50 examples of each verb) as two typical representatives of the two groups of ditransitive verbs forming passive constructions with *to* and *for* respectively, and find out which passive construction is more frequent for each of the verbs, and which factors affect the choice of the passive construction paying attention to semantics of the objects, principle of end-weight and FSP. It is expected that the passive constructions are formed according to the principle of end-focus i.e. that the object with a lower degree of communicative dynamism (thematic object) becomes the passive subject; hence the analysis shall attempt to verify, whether there can be a rhematic passive subject as well.

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### 2.1. Passive voice

According to Quirk et al. (1985, 159), verbal voice is a grammatical category which makes it possible to view the action of a sentence in either of two ways, without change in the facts reported. Passive is formed by transitive verbs with several exceptions such as *have*, *get*, *resemble*, etc. Formally it is formed by either an auxiliary verb *be* or *get* + past participle where the auxiliary takes on the inflection of the active verb (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 1429). The *be*-passive is more frequent than *get*-passive, as it is according to Biber et al. a recent innovation in English and it is found almost exclusively in spoken language (Biber et al. 1999, 477). Quirk et al. claim that *get* tends to be limited to constructions without an expressed animate agent (e.g. *the cat got run over*) and it places an emphasis on the subject referent's condition; therefore the agent is expressed less frequently. The *get*-passive also usually reflects an unfavourable attitude towards the object (e.g. *How did that window get opened?*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 161). Huddleston & Pullum further assess another type of passive: the bare passive, i.e. passive not containing an auxiliary verb (e.g. *He saw Kim mauled by our neighbour's dog* or *The guy mauled by our neighbour's dog is in intensive care*) *be* and *get*-passive is then regarded by them as 'expanded passive' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 1430).

The active object corresponds to the passive subject and the active subject becomes the passive agent, which can be expressed by an agentive by-phrase. Dušková et al. claim the passive construction with agentive by phrase to be less frequent as it goes against the main function of the passive: the omission of the agent (Dušková 2009, 8.84.22). The agentive by-phrase is syntactically considered as a complementation: an adverbial of source and origin (Quirk et al. 1985, 59). Passive constructions lacking the agentive by-phrase often imply general human agent such as in *it is believed that the method yields safe results* (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.22). A very frequent type of the use of passive without agentive phrase is the authorial passive, where the content is accentuated over the author (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.22); the non-agentive passive conveys a formal detachment from what is being said in correspondence with the Western academic tradition (Biber et al. 1999, 477). The implied agent can also be any identifiable or unidentifiable entity not relevant for the action expressed or deliberately omitted by the author of the text (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.22). Several passive constructions without agentive by-phrase do not imply any agent and resemble

intransitive constructions, which leads to coexistence of active and passive construction without any significant difference and the active and passive construction can alternate freely such as in *the village is situated on the bank of a lake/the village lies...* (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.22).

Relations between active and passive correspondences are as follows:

Type SVO		
$SVO_d \sim$	A number of people saw the accident	
$S V_{pass} A$	$\sim$ The accident was seen (by a number of people)	
Type SVOO		
$S V O_i O_d \sim$	My father gave me this watch	
{	$S V_{pass} O_d (A)$	{ (1) $\sim$ I was given this watch (by my father)
	$S V_{pass} O_i (A)$	
Type SVOC		
$S V O_d C_o \sim$	Queen Victoria considered him a genius	
$S V_{pass} C_s (A)$	$\sim$ He was considered a genius (by Queen Victoria)	
Type SVOA		
$S V O_d A_o \sim$	An intruder must have placed the ladder there	
$S V_{pass} A_s (A)$	$\sim$ The ladder must have been placed there (by an intruder)	

**Table 1 Relations between active and passive clause types (Table adopted from Quirk et al. 1985, 59)**

## 2.2. Functions of the passive

The main function of the passive is, as already mentioned, not to express the agent of the verbal action (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.22), or in the terms of LGSWE demoting the agent of the verb while giving topic status to the affected patient (Biber et al. 1999, 477). Furthermore, as the passive construction allows for a different ordering of clause elements, it can become a means of FSP in terms of the distribution of elements allowing for linear increase in communicative dynamism and emphasizing certain elements. As passive constructions are frequently used in academic and formal writing, here the function is, as mentioned, a formal detachment from what is being said (Biber et al. 1999, 477).

## 2.3. Constraints in forming passive constructions

There are several types of constraints to forming passive constructions, besides verbal constraints i.e. passive constructions are not formed by intransitive verbs such as *die*, *rain* etc. and by some transitive verbs such as *resemble*, *lack* etc., there are also constraints as for the type of object and semantic ones.

### 2.3.1. Object constraints

Further constraints to forming passive construction are caused by the type of object; the first of these is that the object cannot be realized by a non-finite verb form (i.e. gerund and infinitive) such as in *Kim loved wearing beautiful clothes* and *I hate to contradict you*. Quirk et al. (1985, 164) however accept that infinitive clause can occur in a passive construction with anticipatory *it* (e.g. *It was desired to have the report delivered here*). Furthermore, passive construction cannot be formed when the object is realized by a reflexive pronoun (e.g. *Robert killed himself by drowning*) or by a reciprocal pronoun (e.g. *Both parents support each other*). Passive construction with a reciprocal pronoun is acceptable only when the pronoun is split into two parts: *Each parent is supported by the other* (Quirk et al. 1985, 164). Passive is not formed, when the object is realized by a noun co-referential with the subject (e.g. *She closed her eyes*). Furthermore, clausal objects occur infrequently in passive clauses such as in *that such a possibility exists has been suggested before* (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.22). In addition, verbs with locative object do not form passive constructions. Quirk et al. further assess, that passive cannot be formed by many idiomatic expressions such as *The ship set sail* ~ *\*Sail was set* (Quirk et al. 1985, 164).

### 2.3.2. Semantic constraints

Despite syntactic constraints towards forming passive constructions, there are also semantic ones. As Quirk et al. (1985, 165) observe; the active and the passive sentences do not always have the same propositional meaning such as in:

*Every schoolboy knows one joke at least*  
~ *One joke at least is known by every schoolboy.*

The interpretations of the active and passive sentence are quite different. Furthermore, there frequently occurs a shift in modal meanings in passive constructions containing a modal verb such as in *John cannot do it.* ~ *It cannot be done (by John)* or in *John can't be taught.* (It's

impossible to teach him or he is unable to learn) ~ *She can't teach John* (She is unable to teach John) (Quirk et al. 1985, 166). The shift in meaning is not valid only for modal verbs; it applies also in some cases with perfective aspect:

- a. *Winston Churchill has twice visited Harvard.*
- b. *Harvard has twice been visited by Winston Churchill.*

In this case, the active construction (a.) could only be used correctly during the lifetime of Winston Churchill, whereas the passive one (b.) could be appropriately said now, after his death, nevertheless, the intuitions of speakers on this difference vary (Quirk et al. 1985, 166). Quirk et al. also note that there is a certain variation in meaning when both object and subject have a generic meaning such as in *Beavers build dams* and *Dams are built by beavers*, where the subject tends to be interpreted universally, which would be valid only in the active sentence (ibid., 166).

#### **2.4. Passive constructions of monotransitive verbs**

Both monotransitive verbs with a direct object (e.g. *they often neglect the aspect* ~ *the aspect is often neglected*) and monotransitive verbs with a prepositional object (e.g. *we should send for the doctor at once* ~ *the doctor should be sent for at once*) form passive constructions (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.11, 8.84.12). The direct object of the active clause becomes the subject of the passive clause (see Table 1 Type SVO). The verb with a prepositional object acts as a single-word verb; the active object becomes the passive subject and the preposition remains in the adjoining position (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.12). The capacity for forming passive construction with prepositional verbs depends on the relation between the preposition and the verb, i.e. free combinations of verbs and prepositions (especially having adverbial meaning) do not form passive constructions (e.g. *\*she was agreed with*) (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.12). The adverbial or prepositional meaning of the verb complementation can correlate with whether the verb has an abstract or concrete meaning; *go* and *arrive* do not form passive constructions in their concrete meaning (e.g. *they went into the hall, they arrived at the station*), however the abstract meaning allows for passive constructions (e.g. *the matter will be gone into*) (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.12).

Another subclass of verbs which form passive constructions are (transitive) phrasal and phrasal prepositional verbs, both of which form passive constructions (e.g. *the offer was turned down* and *such conduct can't be put up with*) (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.13).

## 2.5. Passive constructions of ditransitive verbs

### 2.5.1. Ditransitive verbs

Formally, ditransitive verbs form active clause patterns with a subject and two objects; the former object is usually indirect and the latter direct. A typical example of a ditransitive construction as provided by Dušková et al. (2009, 12.22.3) is *he sold me his bicycle*; where both objects are realized by noun phrases. The approaches in regard to the forms of realization of different grammars nonetheless vary. Huddleston & Pullum (2002, 284) consider as SVOO type exclusively those constructions where both objects are realized by noun phrases (see also section 2.5.1.3) Mukherjee (2005, 65) defines the ditransitive construction as containing a ditransitive verb which requires a subject, direct and indirect object, where all the constituents are realized by noun phrases. Biber et al. (1999, 150) consider the SVOO pattern primarily as that, where both objects are realized by noun phrases, however, they state that most ditransitive verbs have also a ditransitive prepositional use. Quirk et al. differ from other grammars in accepting more realizations of objects:

Type SVOO		
(1)	Noun phrases as O <sub>i</sub> and O <sub>d</sub>	<i>They offered her some food.</i>
(2)	With prepositional O	<i>Please say something to us.</i>
(3)	O <sub>i</sub> + <i>that</i> clause	<i>They told me that I was ill.</i>
(4)	O <sub>i</sub> + <i>wh</i> -clause	<i>He asked me what time it was.</i>
(5)	O <sub>i</sub> + <i>wh</i> -infinitive clause	<i>Mary showed us what to do.</i>
(6)	O <sub>i</sub> + <i>to</i> -infinitive	<i>I advised Mary to see a doctor.</i>

Table 2 Ditransitive clause patterns (adopted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1171)

In the case of (2), we can further distinguish two sub-patterns; that is pattern SVO<sub>i</sub>O<sub>prep</sub> and SVO<sub>d</sub>O<sub>prep</sub> (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208). Some ditransitive verbs occur in three patterns (e.g. *tell*: O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>d</sub>, O<sub>d</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>, O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>,) some allow two (e.g. *offer*: O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>d</sub>, O<sub>d</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>, *envy*: O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>d</sub>, O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>, *blame*: O<sub>d</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>, O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>), others only one (e.g. *wish*: O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>d</sub>, *say*: O<sub>d</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>, *warn*: O<sub>i</sub>+O<sub>prep</sub>). In terms of semantics, ditransitive verbs imply two participants of an action, the object and the goal towards which the action is aimed (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.62.4.).

### 2.5.1.1. Direct object: realization and semantic roles

The direct object is a verb complementation, which typically stands in a postverbal position and is usually in the nominative or accusative case (Biber et al. 1999, 126). The direct object can be either an obligatory or optional element depending on the nature of the verb (Dušková et al. 2009, 13.3). The direct object of ditransitive verbs can be realized by various means; the most frequent are the noun and pronoun. Further, it can be realized by predicative pro-forms (e.g. *They told us so*) and non-finite verb forms such as in *I advised Mary to see a doctor* (see Table 2 ex. 6). In addition, the direct object can also be realized by a subordinate clause (see Table 2 ex. 3 and 4). The direct objects of ditransitive verbs can take on various semantic roles, of which the most common is the affected role: the participant of the verbal action is directly affected by it (e.g. *Give me that key*) (Dušková et al. 2009, 13.31.11). Another role of the direct object is the eventive role (e.g. *He gave me a kiss*) and the resultant role (e.g. *He wrote me a letter*). Furthermore, the direct object can have a role of a cognate object such as in *He sang me a song*.

### 2.5.1.2. Indirect object: realization and semantic roles

The indirect object of ditransitive verbs or the ‘dative object’ stands formally before the direct object in a clause and it can be transformed into a passive subject. From the two objects, the indirect one is more likely to be left out (Dušková et al. 2009, 13.32). It is realized by either a pronoun (e.g. *She gave me a book*) or a noun phrase (*Pat gave Kim a key*). When both the direct and the indirect objects are realized by a pronoun, there are three options as to the ordering of the objects (Dušková et al. 2009, 13.32):

- a) *Give it to me.* (Prepositional O<sub>i</sub> precedes O<sub>d</sub>, see 2.5.1.3)
- b) *Give me it.* (ordinary word order without a preposition, more typical in AmE)
- c) *Give it me.* (reversed order of the two objects – more typical in BrE)

The third construction (c) is considered by Brůhová (2010, 46) anomalous, as it is not normally found with noun phrases. In the cases where the indirect object alternates with the prepositional object the choice of preposition is connected to the semantic role as discussed later. As Dušková et al. (2009, 12.22.3) point out, it is possible to leave out the indirect object in most clauses with SVOO pattern such as in *everybody gave something* or *they grant loans*.

Both Quirk et al. and Dušková et al. share the same viewpoint on the semantic roles of indirect object. It functions either as the intended recipient or as the actual recipient (Dušková



et al. 2009, 13.32); (Quirk et al. 1985, 597). This is closely related to the alternation with prepositional object, where the indirect object alternating with a prepositional object introduced by *to* (e.g. *Kim gave the key to Pat*) acts as an actual recipient and the one introduced by *for* (e.g. *He bought me a present*) acts as an intended recipient (Quirk et. al 1985, 579). Mukherjee (2005, 15) distinguishes between the two roles as the former (i.e. the actual recipient) having a concrete transfer linked to it whereas the latter (i.e. the benefactive) having an abstract transfer associated with it. These two roles are differentiated by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 310) as the recipient and beneficiary role respectively; the beneficiary role is further divided into the beneficiary of:

- A) Goods: e.g. *I'll do a quiche for you.*
- B) Services: e.g. *I'll do the washing up for you.*

Few verbs can take either of these roles. In the case of oblique complementation<sup>1</sup>, the roles are differed by the preposition; however, in the case of a double-object construction<sup>2</sup> the distinction is not encoded (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 311):

*Could you rent me your cottage for the weekend?* (to me = recipient)

*Could you rent me a car?* (to me = recipient, for me = beneficiary)

In addition, the indirect object can have one more role: that of a malefactive participant (e.g. *I robbed him of money.*), which is in direct opposition to the benefactive role, the object is a source of something for the subject (Haspelmath et al. 2007, 46). Another semantic role of indirect object is conditioned by the semantic role of the direct object; when the direct object is eventive, the indirect object has a role of the affected participant (Quirk et al. 1985, 753) such as in *He gave me a push.*

### **2.5.1.3. Dative alternation**

As stated earlier, the indirect object of certain ditransitive verbs alternates with a prepositional phrase, which is in most cases introduced by prepositions *to* or *for*. Indirect object alternating with preposition *to* occurs with verbs such as: *give, sell, bring* etc. The prepositional phrase with *for* alternates with indirect objects of verbs such as: *buy, make* etc. Some verbs are followed by other prepositions such as *with* and *of*, however, these are not relevant for the

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<sup>1</sup> In Huddleston & Pullum's terminology, the oblique object is the prepositional complementation which alternates with indirect object (e.g. *give something to somebody*)

<sup>2</sup> Double-object construction here refers to the ditransitive construction where both objects are realized by NP.

purposes of this thesis, therefore they will be left aside. There are certain verbs that do not alternate between indirect and prepositional object such as *forbid*, *forgive*, *refuse*, *strike*, etc. Various grammars differ in the approach towards classifying the prepositional complementation of ditransitive verbs. Huddleston & Pullum do not consider the *to* and *for* complementation as an object, in spite of still having the same prepositional meaning as an equivalent NP (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 53). Quirk et al. consider these prepositional phrases first as adverbials (Quirk et al. 1985, 59) in an example of alternation of clause patterns:

*She sent Jim a card.* (SVOO) ~ *She sent a card to Jim.* (SVOA)

In the latter chapters, these prepositional phrases are seen as prepositional objects and they later revise this statement by establishing that when the *for*-phrase denotes an intended recipient (e.g.: *She made a beautiful doll for her daughter*) or when the *to*-phrase denotes an actual recipient (e.g.: *She gave a beautiful doll to her daughter*), the prepositional phrase can be equated with indirect object (Quirk et al. 1985, 697). In LGSWE, the alternation between indirect and prepositional object is fully acknowledged (Biber et al. 1999, 14) and the prepositional object is stated as a proper clause element equivalent to an indirect object, however, it is added that the prepositional object can alternatively be analysed as a recipient adverbial (Biber et. al. 1999, 130). In Allerton's view, indirect object and prepositional object should be recognized as two representations of one clause pattern as structures transformationally related with real regularity (Allerton 1982, 31). He elaborates on this problem by stating that in comparison to the relationship of active and passive, the relation of prepositional and indirect object has rather the nature of a minor stylistic difference (Allerton 1982, 75). Finally, Goldberg's treatment of the difference between indirect object realized by NP and the alternating prepositional object should be taken into account, as she states that the prepositional paraphrase implies an uncertainty as to whether the transfer was successful or not, whereas the NP variant implies the recipient or beneficiary successfully obtaining the patient (Goldberg 1995, 32).

### **2.5.2. Passive constructions**

English ditransitive verbs form two types of passive constructions depending on whether the direct or the indirect object becomes the passive subject. Based on this principle, the first and second passive are distinguished by both Quirk et al. and Huddleston & Pullum. The first passive is the passive construction where the passive subject corresponds to the first object i.e.

indirect object such as in *the girl was given a doll* and in the second passive construction passive subject corresponds to the second object i.e. direct object such as in *a doll was given the girl* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208) (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 248). In the second passive, the passive object alternates with a prepositional object typically introduced by prepositions *to* or *for* (i.e. *A doll was given to the girl.* / *A doll was bought for the girl.*). As Goldberg (1995, 28) claims, that certain authors claim that only ditransitive verbs with paraphrases with *to* can be passivized and that these ditransitive verbs can be passivized more easily than those with paraphrases with *for*. A special case would be that of ditransitive verbs such as *take notice of*, where the direct object forms a part of an idiomatic unit with the verb and preposition; these verbs take both prepositional passive (e.g. *The matter was taken little notice of*) and a passive construction, where the idiomatically-fixed direct object becomes the passive subject (e.g. *Little notice was taken of the matter*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1212). However, there are ditransitive verbs, which carry an idiomatic meaning and they only form passive with the prepositional object becoming the subject of the passive clause (Quirk et al. 1985, 1159) e.g.:

*Suddenly we caught sight of the lifeboat.*

*~ The lifeboat was suddenly caught sight of.*

In general terms, the idiomatic meaning causes that the regular passive construction is less acceptable than the passive construction with the active prepositional object becoming the passive subject. Let us now discuss the views of different grammars on the issue of passivization of ditransitive verbs.

### **2.5.2.1. Huddleston & Pullum**

The first difference that we encounter in Huddleston & Pullum's view on passivization of ditransitive verbs is their classification of objects, which differs from other grammars such as Quirk et al. in terms of acceptability of prepositional phrase as an indirect object (e.g. *give sth. to sb.*). As mentioned earlier, the prepositional *to* or *for* phrase is classified syntactically as an oblique<sup>3</sup>. (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 249), therefore clauses such as *I sent a copy to Sue* or *I ordered a copy for Sue* are regarded as monotransitive constructions with a direct object and prepositional complementation. The authors of this grammar share the notion of first and second passive with Quirk et al. and they also agree with them in claiming that first passive is

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<sup>3</sup> Oblique is according to Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 216) a NP related to the verb by a preposition in position of a core complement (object) such as *Pat* in *Kim gave the key to Pat*.

more frequent (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 249) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208). The vast difference lays in the acceptability of these two passive constructions.

	A	B
i. Active	I sent Sue a copy.	I ordered Sue a copy.
ii. First passive	Sue was sent a copy	Sue was ordered a copy.
iii. Second passive	A copy was sent Sue.	A copy was ordered Sue.

**Table 3 Huddleston & Pullum’s classification of ditransitive passive constructions**

Huddleston & Pullum claim that in general, when the indirect object corresponds to the complement of *to* in a corresponding prepositional construction, characteristically having the role of a recipient, the first passive is fully acceptable (such as in ii. A). The acceptability of the second passive (iii. A) is said to be disputable and textually quite rare with the exception of the object being followed by an agentive by-phrase. In the case of example B, Huddleston & Pullum claim that neither passive construction (neither ii. B nor iii.B) is fully acceptable, however some speakers find the first marginally possible (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 248).

#### **2.5.2.2. Quirk et al.**

We have already established that the distinction of first and second passive is to a great extent shared by Quirk et al. and Huddleston & Pullum, therefore both direct and indirect active object can become the passive subject; however, both grammars differ in classification of verb complementation, particularly the acceptability of prepositional objects as has been discussed earlier. In CGEL, the alternative form of an indirect object: the prepositional, typically *to* or *for* object is acquiesced and in addition, as opposed to Huddleston & Pullum we encounter a statement, that in case of the second passive, the prepositional paraphrase is more usual e.g. *The doll was given to the girl* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1208) and that in both AmE and BrE, the prepositional form in the case of the second passive alternating with a *for* phrase is more acceptable with the prepositional object (*Some flowers have been brought [for] him*) in some cases, the construction without preposition is according to them unacceptable altogether (e.g. *\*Some fish had been caught/bought/cooked us.*) (ibid., 58). In connection to this issue, Quirk et al. state that speakers vary in their opinions on acceptability of retained objects<sup>4</sup> in passive constructions such as in:

? No reply has been given *me*. ~ No reply has been given *to me*.

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<sup>4</sup> i.e. objects in passive constructions identical to their corresponding active form

Quirk et al. assume that the prepositional construction is more acceptable in the case where the retained indirect object is alternated by a prepositional *to*-phrase, while this construction is less acceptable with other correspondences such as *for*-phrases (ibid., 728). Despite the constraints already mentioned in section 2.2, a few more restrictions as to when ditransitive verbs do not form passive constructions are suggested by Quirk:

- A) When the direct object is realized by a clause, the second passive is unacceptable (Quirk et al. 1985, 1212) :

*John convinced me that he was right*

*I was convinced (by John) (that) he was right. (1<sup>st</sup> PASSIVE)*

*\*That he was right convinced me. (2<sup>nd</sup> PASSIVE)*

- B) In the case where a *wh*-clause object follows an indirect object, the second passive is also not acceptable, this is primarily valid for the verb *ask* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1214)

*John asked me what time the meeting would end. (ACTIVE)*

*I was asked (by John) what time the meeting would end. (1<sup>st</sup> PASSIVE)*

- C) The first passive is also possible exclusively in the case where the indirect object is followed by an *wh*-infinitive clause object (Quirk et al. 1985, 1215)

*The instructor taught us how to land safely.*

*We were taught (by the instructor) how to land safely. (1<sup>st</sup> passive)*

### **2.5.2.3. Allerton**

Allerton gives us yet another analysis of the problem of passive with respect to the active-passive correspondence as he claims, these two structures should be regarded as one following from the other, not as corresponding sentences (Allerton 1982, 31). Furthermore, he questions the assumption of Quirk et al. concerning the distinction between construction with a direct and an indirect object and with a direct and a prepositional object, which are distinguished as two separate valency structures and he claims it would be only economic and realistic to realize, they are related transformationally and regularly<sup>5</sup> (ibid., 31).

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<sup>5</sup> i.e. that there is an underlying structure from which are both the active and the passive construction derived and also an underlying structure from which is derived the first and second passive.

#### 2.5.2.4. Biber et al.

Biber et al. (1999, 935) concentrate rather on the distinction between short and long passive, which is distinguished on the basis of whether the *by*-agent phrase (i.e. the active subject) is present in the corresponding passive construction.<sup>6</sup>

*The girl was given a doll.* (short passive)

*The girl was given a doll by her mother.* (long passive)

Furthermore, Biber et al. distinguish between bare and expanded passives as has been mentioned in section 2.1.

#### 2.5.2.5. Dušková et al.

Dušková et al. (2009, 8.84.14) also introduce two passive constructions of ditransitive verbs dependent on which of the two objects becomes the passive subject. Nevertheless, they share the view that indirect object tends to occur more often with preposition *to* such as in: *a reward was given to him* rather than without it e.g. *a reward was given him*. They elaborate on this by stating that both animate and inanimate indirect object can become a subject of passive clause e.g.:

*The proposal will be given consideration.*

Nonetheless, the inanimate passive object is usually that having a role of eventive object, therefore the clause then involves only two actants and the indirect object cannot be considered as having a role of a recipient. Furthermore, Dušková et al. list two cases, where only the indirect object can become the passive subject; firstly, when the direct object has the form of an infinitive or a subordinate clause (e.g. *I was given to understand that....*) and secondly, cases such as *I was charged an exorbitant price* (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.14).

The approaches to the passive of ditransitive verbs differ in each grammar slightly, for the purposes of the present thesis, the terms of first and second passive shall be used and we shall consider the prepositional construction in the second passive as a prepositional object.

#### 2.5.3. Principles affecting the choice of passive construction

There are several factors affecting the choice between the first and second passive. Arnold and Wasow suggest that constituent ordering and dative alternation are influenced by the

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<sup>6</sup> The distinction between short and long passive is used also by Huddleston & Pullum (2002, 1428).

principle of heaviness and newness (Arnold and Wasow 2002, 28). Heaviness is in their view equal to the complexity and length of a phrase and the heavier constituent is more likely to be placed at the end of a clause such as in example *b.*, where it serves to better comprehension on the side of the listener and is a result of the planning process on the side of the speaker<sup>7</sup>.

a) *The story is told of her phenomenal success in Australia. [1]*

b) *(?) The story of her phenomenal success in Australia is told.*

(Quirk et al. 1985, 1398)

Newness is a principle according to which a new piece of information tends to come after the old 'given' one. The concept therefore correlates with the notion of FSP as introduced for example by Firbas and Dušková et al. (as discussed later). These notions of heaviness and newness also conform to what Quirk et al. subsume under the notions of end-weight and end-focus (Quirk et al. 1985, 1357). Both Quirk et al. and Arnold & Wasow see the two principles as highly interacting (Quirk et al. 1985, 1352); (Arnold & Wasow 2002, 34), as new information tend to be more complex than given information. From a corpus analysis that Arnold and Wasow conducted looking at dative alternation with the verb *give*, they found out firstly, that speakers tend to use double object construction<sup>8</sup> more when the theme<sup>9</sup> of a particular clause was newer than the goal<sup>10</sup> and secondly, when the theme was heavier than the goal; nevertheless, the corpus study also proved that heaviness accounted for more variation than newness in the particular data set they used, but that newness was more prominent where two constituents were closer in length (Arnold & Wasow 2002, 38).

### 2.5.3.1. FSP

As has been stated earlier, the choice of type of passive construction depends partially on the functional sentence perspective. We shall therefore introduce this concept which is based primarily on Jan Firbas's monograph *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication* (1992). The concept is based on the notion of communicative dynamism (henceforth CD), which is defined by Firbas as the „extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication“ (Firbas, 1992, 8). Firbas claims (ibid., 10-11) that the distribution of degrees of CD is determined by the interplay of the following three factors: 1. linear modification of the sentence, 2. the semantic content of

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<sup>8</sup> Construction with direct and indirect object realized by noun phrases

<sup>9</sup> The direct object

<sup>10</sup> The indirect object

its individual elements as well as the character of semantic relations between those elements, and 3. the surrounding context.<sup>11</sup>

Linear modification is what Quirk et al. (1985, 1357) or Biber et al. (1999, 897) refer to as the principle of end-focus. In clauses with linear modification the least dynamic element (the element carrying the lowest amount of information) is placed before more dynamic elements (elements carrying the greatest amount of information). Therefore the last position in the clause is occupied by the element towards which the communication is perspectived. The two remaining factors (semantic and contextual) may operate counter the linear modification.

The semantic factor includes the semantics of an element and its semantic relations that influence the distribution of degrees of communicative dynamism. Several elements carry a higher degree of communicative dynamism: the object, the subject complement, the object complement and the adverbial. These must be context-independent to compete in this respect with the verb.

The second factor that may act counter the linear modification is the context surrounding context, particularly what Firbas refers to as “the retrievability/irretrievability from the immediately relevant context” (Firbas 1992, 21). Context dependent clause element carry smaller amount of new information and subsequently a lower degree of CD, thus they are placed towards the end of the clause. There are several devices that signal the retrievability from the context e.g.: anaphoric devices (i.e. devices referring to the preceding text) including personal, demonstrative, possessive, relative pronouns; articles; repetition of a lexical expression; use of synonyms; use of ellipsis etc.

The verb has the FSP function of transition, as it typically stands between elements with a low and a high degree of CD creating a boundary. The least dynamic elements are referred to as the theme, while the most dynamic elements (i.e. the elements which develop the communication beyond the transitional element) function as the rheme.

The basic principle of passive constructions in connection is that the active object becomes a passive subject and the active subject becomes the passive agent, which causes a change in the progression of communicative dynamism within a clause. As Dušková et al. (2009, 8.84.14) claim in accordance to Firbas’ concept of FSP, the object with a lower degree of

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<sup>11</sup> Firbas adds one more concept for spoken utterances: intonation.



communicative dynamism usually becomes the subject of the passive construction: in other words, the thematic object usually becomes the subject of the passive clause as in example c.

*a. I was given no choice.*

*b. ? No choice was given (to) me.*

In terms of the influence of FSP, Arnold and Wasow share a common view with Dušková et al. in stating that theme i.e. the given information, tends to precede rhematic information (Arnold & Wasow 2003, 130) and that passivization occurs when the subject does not bring new information – and the rheme is represented by the object (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.14). Quirk et al. observe that making an indirect object the passive subject facilitates a gradual rise of the communicative dynamism (Quirk et al. 1985, 1391).

### 3. MATERIAL AND METHOD

#### 3.1. Material

The present analysis is a corpus based analysis of passive constructions formed by two ditransitive verbs: *give* and *buy*. The examples are extracted from the British National Corpus and complemented by several examples from the Corpus of Contemporary American English for the verb *buy* as there were not enough instances in BNC. BNC contains over 100 million words from a variety of texts. It includes both written and spoken texts, although the written texts form the majority (90%) and spoken texts form only 10% of the contents. COCA comprises over 450 million words that are equally divided between spoken texts and a variety of genres of written texts. It maps the contemporary American use of language. It was founded in 1990 and each year 20 million words were added.

The two verbs: *give* and *buy*, were chosen for analysis primarily for the reason that as typical ditransitive verbs they form two types of passive: the first passive (*sb* was given/bought *sth*) and the second passive, where the indirect object is alternated by a prepositional phrase; for *give* the preposition that is used is *to* and for *buy* it is the preposition *for*. In addition, there is a difference in the semantics of indirect object. In the theoretical part of the present thesis, the different semantic roles have been divided into four categories, the usual semantic roles of indirect object of *give* is an actual recipient, whereas the indirect object of *buy* is usually intended recipient i.e. beneficiary.

The present analysis is concerned with 50 examples for each of the two verbs. Both verbs have been assigned an abbreviation: G for *give* and B for *buy* and the examples were numbered from 1 to 50. Furthermore, the BNC reference codes are also provided<sup>12</sup>. Examples extracted from COCA are not assigned with a code in the Corpus; therefore they are numbered only for the purposes of the present thesis. In addition, the examples were divided into tables according to the type of passive construction (first and second passive). Instances that were not included in the 100 examples are referred to by their BNC reference code only.

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<sup>12</sup> BNC reference code includes textname code and S-unit number.

### 3.2. Method

Examples of passive constructions of the two verbs in view were excerpted from BNC and COCA and subsequently, 50 examples were selected for each verb. Only those examples where both passive subject and passive object are present were selected for the analysis. Examples of excluded instances are given in the respective sections for each verb as there were some specific features that affected the selection for each of them. As has already been stated, examples of the verb *buy* had to be complemented from COCA. The examples of the verb *give* are extracted solely from BNC and randomized so that they come from as many different types of texts as possible.

The present analysis will attempt to break down the frequency of ditransitive passive constructions of both analyzed verbs. Then it shall proceed with the analysis of each verb separately paying attention to different aspects affecting the choice of passive construction e.g. presence of agentive phrase, principle of end weight, and FSP.

## 4. ANALYSIS

The two verbs chosen for the present analysis are of a different nature as regards their ditransitivity. *Give* is considered a “typical” ditransitive verb (Mukherjee 2005, 200) as its use is much more frequently ditransitive than other uses. *Buy* on the other hand, is considered a “peripheral” ditransitive verb (ibid., 200) as it is very frequently used in other clause patterns. The table of frequency below is in accordance with these statements as many more concordance lines had to be gone through to find examples for the analysis with *buy* than with *give*:

	GIVE			BUY	
		Comparison Buy BNC	Comparison Buy COCA	BNC	COCA
<b>Number of clauses needed for extraction of the data</b>	296	152	70	1409	978
<b>Number of passive ditransitive constructions</b>	50	31	19	31	19
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>16,9%</b>	20,4%	27,14%	<b>2,2%</b>	<b>1,9%</b>

Table 4 Frequency of passive ditransitive constructions of *give* and *buy*

### 4.1. GIVE

According to Mukherjee (2005, 92) *give* is the most frequent ditransitive verb in English. In the present analysis, it took only 296 hits to find 50 examples of *give* in a ditransitive construction. Mukherjee (2005, 50) classifies *give* as a ditransitive verb of central sense, which is that of the agent successfully causing recipient to receive patient.

A number of instances found in the corpus had to be excluded from the analysis. Firstly, examples where *give* was used monotonitively had to be left out such as:

- (1) Figures for 1971 are available on both bases and are given **to indicate the potential disparity.**  
[F9G 1095]

Only those instances where both direct and indirect object were present were analyzed, therefore examples where the indirect object was omitted had to be left out e.g.:

- (2) In previous years **the lecture has been given** by John McGrath (1988), Simon Frith (1989) and Judith Williamson (1990). [A0E 589]

A particularly problematic task was to exclude examples where *give* acts as a light verb, which formed a large portion of examples. As discussed in 2.5.1.1., the semantic roles of direct object can be besides affected also eventive. These would be the cases where *give* functions as the so called light verb, which is according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 292) the use where the contribution of the verb to the meaning is considerably smaller than that of its complements. According to the classification of such objects as carried out by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 293), two groups of light uses of *give* were excluded from the used examples:

- (3) **Full-strength Cardiff, who include League top scorer Adrian Davies at outside half, are given a lift** by the news that Swansea will be without two of their key performers. [CBG 5603]
- (4) It would have helped him if **the two most awkward customers in the political equation -- Sinn Fein and the DUP -- had been given a drubbing** by the SDLP and the Ulster Unionists respectively. [HJ4 6666]
- (5) In the context both of the discussion of devolution to Scotland and Wales and of the consideration of the reorganization of local government, *some attention has been given to the case for regional government in England*. [FS7 918]<sup>13</sup>

These examples seem to introduce an inanimate recipient in many cases; however, as Dušková et al. (2009, 13.32) state, the construction includes only two actants<sup>14</sup>: the subject and the indirect object, therefore it creates a particular semantic structure that is not typical for any other ditransitive verbs and thus it is not suitable for the purposes of the present analysis.

Furthermore, examples where *give* formed a part of a phrasal verb had to be excluded as well:

- (6) **One of its rooms was given over** to chess-playing, a pastime enjoyed by Rosengarten and Leonard. [A0P 870]
- (7) **Nothing could be willingly given up**, and nothing once given up could be expected to be restored. [CKR 284]

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<sup>13</sup> Examples 3,4 are examples of the first type of light use of *give* as in *She gave him a kiss*, Where the O<sub>i</sub> of *give* semantically corresponds to the O<sub>d</sub> of associated verb (*to kiss* in this case). Semantically, O<sub>d</sub> is an eventive object and O<sub>i</sub> is patient. The noun is countable and the verb-noun combination does not allow alternation with a *to*-phrase.

Example 5 is a representative of another type of light use of *give* along the model: *She gave him advice*. Where the O<sub>i</sub> of *give* semantically corresponds to the O<sub>d</sub> of associated verb (*to advise*). This construction allows for alternation with a *to*-phrase when the O<sub>d</sub> is an uncountable noun (*consideration, attention, advice* etc.) or it is countable but does not imply a physical motion as nouns in group *a*).

<sup>14</sup> According to Dušková et al. (2009, 13.32) the construction suggests a dissociation of a single lexical verb to the formal unit (verbum finitum) and semantic unit (noun) which takes on the form of an indirect object.

Another type of examples that had to be eliminated were those where *give* occurred as a part of an idiomatic expression:

- (8) Jay was **given to grandiloquent rambling**, and had to check herself. [AOL 1480]

Examples where *give* occurred in a SVOA pattern were also excluded from the analysis such as in (9), where *give* is complemented by an adverbial of place:

- (9) Examples are given **in Figure 5.2**. [EVV 1235]

Only examples where *give* occurred as a ditransitive verb complemented by both active  $O_i$  and  $O_d$  in the roles of passive subject and passive object were analysed.

#### 4.1.1. Agentive vs. agentless passives

In the present analysis, two examples of agentive passive were found for the verb *give* i.e.:

- (10)G12 Welcome back: **Cancer patients have been given new hope** by the development of a drug to prevent tumours spreading through the body.  
(11)G47 As payment for this help Sisenand promised a **gold dish**, weighing five hundred pounds, **which had been given** by Aëtius to **king Thorismund** in the fifth century.

According to Dušková et al. (2009, 8.84.22) the inclusion of *by*-agent creates a tendency for a gradual rise in communicative dynamism which is true for both examples. In ex. 11 the *by*-agent occurs in a non-typical position i.e. before the prepositional object. In this particular case it is caused by the FSP, as both *by*-agent and prepositional objects are rhematic, therefore their position is variable. Dušková (2008, 74) further claims that “expressed agents are as a rule context-independent, and hence perform the FSP function of the rheme or (one of) its component”. As has been established earlier, according to Dušková et al. the agentive passive is not as frequent as the agentless, as the omission of the agent is one of the main functions of the passive (Dušková, 2009, 8.84.22). This idea is proven in the present analysis. The agentive phrase is syntactically considered as a complementation: an adverbial of origin or source (ibid., 8.84.22). Passive constructions lacking the agentive phrase often imply general human agent (ibid., 8.84.22) such as in:

- (12)G46 Sports groups said it would mean the loss of **open space that could be given to the public**.  
(13)G35 **He should have been given a medal** for trying to catch a car vandal.

#### 4.1.2. First passive

Type of passive	Number of examples	Percentage
First passive	<b>39</b>	<b>78%</b>
Second passive	<b>11</b>	<b>22%</b>

Table 5 Number and percentage of occurrences of the first and the second passive of *give*

The present analysis has shown that *give* primarily forms passive constructions where the active  $O_i$  becomes the passive subject and the active  $O_d$  becomes the passive object, i.e. first passive, as 39 of 50 examples (G1 – G39) show. This tendency is connected with the semantic role of the indirect object as the recipient, which becomes more often the passive subject.

In some cases the choice of passive construction was affected by the principle of heaviness established by Arnold and Wasow (2002, 28) as length and complexity of a clause element. In these examples the passive object was longer and/or more complex than the first element. 14 examples are showing this tendency (i.e. G2, 6, 8, 14, 20, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39). In 12 of them, the principle of end-weight correlates with the principle of end-focus or FSP and reinforce one another; however, in two particular instances, both the passive subject and object are fully context-independent, therefore the principle of heaviness has an influence on the choice of passive as the modification realized by an adjectival relative clause which makes the passive object heavier:

(14)G20 **AIDS patients are being given a new vaccine which could slow down the effects of the disease.**<sup>15</sup>

(15)G8 Indeed it may be ( as in my case ) because one deeply cares that there should be good and equal relations between men and women that one is adamant that no **one human being can be given the kind of status which Christians give to Christ .**

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<sup>15</sup>The sentence is the first sentence in the article from which it was excerpted; therefore both  $S_{pass}$  and  $O_{pass}$  are rhematic.

#### 4.1.2.1. Context dependence/independence of elements in the first passive of *give*

	S <sub>pass</sub> : dep O <sub>pass</sub> : dep	S <sub>pass</sub> : indep O <sub>pass</sub> : indep	S <sub>pass</sub> : indep O <sub>pass</sub> : dep	S <sub>pass</sub> : dep O <sub>pass</sub> : indep	Total
Number	3	3	1	32	39
Percentage	7,7%	7,7%	2,6%	82%	100%

Table 6 Context dependence/independence of S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> in examples of 1st passive of *give*

The examples of the first passive of *give* are mostly gradually rising as regards the distribution of communicative dynamism as 32 examples of 39 have a thematic passive subject and a rhematic passive object; therefore the rise of CD within them is linear. This corresponds to Arnold and Wasow's observation that theme (i.e. the given information), tends to precede rhematic information (Arnold & Wasow 2003, 130) as well as with the assertion of Quirk et al. that making an indirect object the passive subject facilitates a gradual rise of communicative dynamism within the clause (Quirk et al. 1985, 1391). However, there are several cases, which are not in accordance with the assumption of Dušková et al. that the passive subject is usually thematic and the passive subject rhematic.

There are three instances (G1, 16, 37) where both S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> are thematic and the rhematic element is realized by another clause element. In ex. 16, the adverbials of time and place form the rheme<sup>16</sup>. In ex. 17, the rheme is expressed simply by *also* which functions as an additive focusing subjunct.

(16)G1 **He was given the award** on Monday at the Sunday Times Literary Banquet.

(17)G16 When in January 1645 the French agreed to give the Dutch representatives the coveted title of "Excellency" this at once led to demands from the imperial electors that **theirs must be given it** also.

(18)G37 There was, of course, no such safety problem, as the safety inspector subsequently confirmed, and **the steward was given the first of the warning notes**, as planned.

Example 17 deserves special attention, as it is the only example of the passive of the verb *give* in the present analysis, where both S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> are realized by a pronoun. The choice of the passive construction is here given by the structure of the preceding clause and also by the subject being an independent possessive pronoun.

<sup>16</sup> 1st part of the rheme is the adverbial of time (i.e. on Monday) and the second is the adverbial of place (i.e. at the Sunday Times Literary banquet.)



Further, there occurs one instance of implementation of the presentation scale<sup>17</sup> as introduced by Dušková (2008, 74) of the verb *give* in ex. 19:

(19)G33 The **other woman** at the far end of the ward **had been given Daniel's tag**.

In this example, the function of the verb is introducing a new element on the scene, as although the subject is introduced by definite article, *the other woman* has not been mentioned in the previous context.

Another group of examples where the active thematic object did not become the passive subject consists of examples where both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  are context independent. This group has partly been already discussed in regards of the principle of heaviness in the preceding section. There are three examples that correspond to this distribution of CD (i.e. G8, 12, 20) e.g.:

(20)G12 Welcome back: **Cancer patients have been given new hope** by the development of a drug to prevent tumours spreading through the body.

In this example, the entire sentence is a newspaper headline, therefore all the information presented are new and context-independent, thus the choice of passive is influenced by textual reasons. In ex. 15 the passive construction forms a nominal content dependent declarative clause and it is a general statement therefore both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  are rhematic as the entire clause is an object as a complementation of an adjective and as an object it forms the rhematic part of the entire complex sentence. In the subordinate clause, the passive structure is then affected by the principle of end-weight along with ex. 14 as discussed in the previous section.

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<sup>17</sup> According to Dušková (2008, 71), the verb can have one of the following dynamic semantic functions: the DSF of presentation or quality. In order to have the DSF of presentation, the subject must be context-independent: it then has a function of an element presented on the scene. Dušková further assessed that passive of certain ditransitive verbs (e.g. *hand*, *bring*) can have the presentation function as they also present a new element on the scene. "The goal of the action, the expression of which is required by the ditransitive nature of these verbs, is conceivable as the scene and the passive verb as appearance of a phenomenon on it through some (unexpressed) external agency." (Dušková, 2008: 72)

### 4.1.3. Second passive

Type of passive	Number of examples	Percentage
Second passive	<b>11</b>	<b>22%</b>
First passive	<b>39</b>	<b>78%</b>

**Table 7** Number and percentage of occurrences of the first and the second passive of *give*

The second passive: a passive construction, where the active direct object becomes the subject of the passive clause and the active indirect object becomes the passive object, occurs in 11 examples in the analysis (G40 – 50). All of the passive objects are introduced by a preposition *to* although the examples where passive object is realized by a pronoun could stand alone without a preposition, according to Dušková et al. (2009, 8.84.14).

Among the second passive examples there occur only three where the principle of end-weight clearly applies:

- (21)G43 **Some were given** or sold **to favoured high-ranking officials and court favourites**, a practice developed by Constantius II.
- (22)G45 In conventional trials set up to to assess the efficacy of a new drug, **the drug is given to a group of patients suffering from a particular illness**, and the effects are compared with those obtained in a matched group of patients given a dummy (or placebo) drug.
- (23)G49 Present guidelines advise that you stick with breast or formula milk until at least six months, although some nutritionists feel that, because cow’s milk is low in iron and vitamin D, **it shouldn't be given to babies under a year**.

However, as all three of the passive objects are clearly context-independent, the principle of end weight correlates with the principle of end-focus i.e. FSP and reinforce each other.

#### 4.1.3.1. Context dependence/independence of clause elements in the second passive of *give*

	S <sub>pass</sub> : dep O <sub>pass</sub> : dep	S <sub>pass</sub> : indep O <sub>pass</sub> : indep	S <sub>pass</sub> : indep O <sub>pass</sub> : dep	S <sub>pass</sub> : dep O <sub>pass</sub> : indep	Total
Number	1	1	2	7	<b>11</b>
Percentage	9,1%	9,1%	18,2	63,6%	<b>100%</b>

**Table 8** Context dependence/independence of S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> in examples of 2<sup>nd</sup> passive of *give*

According to Dušková et al. (2009, 8.84.14) the object with the lower degree of communicative dynamism usually becomes the passive subject. In most of the examples (7),

the passive object was rhematic according to this statement, as it presented new information; however, there was one case where both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  were thematic i.e.:

- (24)G40 Thomas discussed the relationship between love and poetry much later in *Feminine Influence on the Poet*: [The love-poem is not for the beloved, for it is not worthy, as it is the least thing **that is given to her**, and none knows this better than she unless it be the lover.

The analysis of this example is rather complicated as the passive construction is a part of an adjectival relative clause and the  $S_{\text{pass}}$  is realized by a demonstrative pronoun which serves also as a relative pronoun; therefore the structure of the clause is given. The rheme in this case is the verb itself as it is the only context independent element in the clause structure.

Further there is one example where both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  are rhematic as they are both geographical names and they are not mentioned in the preceding context. The choice of passive construction is therefore affected by the fact that the  $O_{\text{pass}}$  is inanimate and it is also mirroring the structure of the previous clause.

- (25)G44 The Jews were given Galilee and Nager, and **Judea and the Rift Valley** (West Bank) **were given to Jordan**.

In addition, there were two instances (G41 and G42), where the passive object was thematic and the subject was rhematic e.g.:

- (26)G41 System operators and database producers provide various training courses for new and advanced users, where, in many cases, 'free' **search time is given to the participants**.

Example 26 again proves, that *give* has also the dynamic semantic function of presentation, as introduced by Dušková (2008, 74), as it presents a new phenomenon on the scene. In these cases the subject and the passive object is perceived as the setting. It can be assumed that the second passive was used for textual reasons in this case as a means of putting an emphasis on the passive subject by placing it at the beginning of the sentence, as Dušková claims that “since the rhematic subject is the only element that contains new information, it is expedient to introduce it as early as possible.” (Dušková 2005, 12)

## 4.2. BUY

According to Mukherjee (2005, 206), *buy* is in opposition to *give* a “peripheral ditransitive verb” as it is not as firmly grammatically institutionalized as a ditransitive verb because it occurs frequently in other clause patterns. It was selected for the present analysis on the basis of the fact that it forms  $SVO_iO_d$  clause patterns and more importantly  $SVO_iO_{\text{prep}}$  pattern where

the prepositional object is introduced by preposition *for*. As regards the objects, semantically, the indirect object has most frequently the semantic role of a benefactive i.e. intended recipient, as it expresses the goal of an “abstract transfer” (Mukherjee 2005, 15).

The extraction of examples from the corpora was much more challenging than in the case of *give*. A total of 1409 hits had to be gone through to find 31 examples, which were then complemented by 19 examples of COCA selected out of 978 instances. As in the case of the analysis of *give*, a considerable number of examples had to be left out for various reasons. The first and foremost were instances where the passive object was omitted, e.g.:

(27) A couple of papers were duly **bought** and after that we parted company. [A0F 2876]

Another type of examples that had to be excluded were instances with *buy* as a phrasal verb e.g.

(28) The whole **was then bought up** rich Australian gold trader named Campbell, who proceeded to pull things together. [AB4 602]

(29) THORN EMI Software, the computer services division of the electronics and entertainment group, **has been bought out** by its staff and management in an £82m deal and has taken a new name. [A0C 492]

Other instances that were excluded from the analysed examples were instances with a *for*-phrase complementation with the function of an adverbial of purpose (30) and exchange (31):

(30) The exchange assumed that 150,000 tonnes of cocoa **must be bought for delivery** to the holders of long positions. [A37 116]

(31) AN INKWELL **was bought** by the Victoria and Albert museum **for £13,200** (estimate £4,000-£6,000) at Christie's yesterday. [A49 387]

The adjunct of exchange as classified by Jackendoff (1990, 185) is connected with verbs of exchange which are along with *buy* also for example *pay*, *rent* or *sell*.

Another considerably large group of examples that had to be excluded were examples where there was an inanimate noun in the position of prepositional subject of the second passive. Seemingly it could be said to have a role of a beneficiary, however, as it is an inanimate entity and the nature of this element does not allow for another passive construction, it is not relevant for the present analysis and it shall be considered an adverbial of purpose in instances such as:

(32) This was bought **for the Scottish Postal Museum**. [KAP 86]

Furthermore, there were multiple occurrences where *buy* was complemented by a *from*-phrase, which had to be left out as well as the *from*-phrase was usually denoting an adverbial of origin such as in:

(33) All of these items can **be bought from department stores**. [A7N 1599]

Despite the mentioned instances, which were the most frequently occurring, there were also instances of adjuncts of other types that had to be excluded, such as adjuncts of place or reason.

#### 4.2.1. Agentive vs. agentless passives

In the examples of passive constructions of *buy* the agentive phrase occurs in 10 examples (B1, 2, 6, 11, 13, 27, 31, 36, 44, 47). Three of these are examples of the first passive (B1, 2, 6) and all of these instances include buying drinks which is a recurrent topic in the examples of the 1<sup>st</sup> passive of *buy* e.g.:

(34) B1 **He was bought a few drinks** by workmates then took off on his own, round various bars, to finish the job properly.

The agentive phrase is in most cases omissible; however, there are certain restrictions to the rule. In the preceding example (ex. 34), the *by*-phrase is rhematic; therefore it cannot be left out. Further, in ex. 35, the passive object is realized by a reflexive pronoun and hence it requires a referent in this case in the form of *by*-phrase, which is therefore also rhematic.

(35) B38 **Nearly all of them are bought** by adults **for themselves**.

In this particular example, the *by*-agent is in an unusual position, which is affected by the reflexive pronoun in the sentence structure, as it is an adverbial and usually it comes at the end of the sentence. The agentive passive occurs more frequently with *buy* as the semantics of the verb do not allow for a general human agent as with *give* which is associated with the fact that most of the *by*-agents are rhematic.

## 4.2.2. First passive

Type of passive	Number of examples	Percentage
First passive	<b>10</b>	<b>20%</b>
Second passive	<b>40</b>	<b>80%</b>

Table 9 Number and percentage of occurrences of the first and the second passive of *buy*

As opposed to the examples of *give*, the ditransitive verb *buy* forms less passive constructions of the first passive as the present analysis has proven. Only 10 examples of the total of 50 had the form of the first passive. Interestingly, only one of the 10 examples was found in COCA, which points to a difference in BrE and AmE use of passives. In five of the 10 examples, the choice of the passive construction is influenced by the principle of end-weight i.e. heaviness (B1, 3, 4, 6, 7) e.g.

(36)B7 And then I said, then **she'd been bought a hundred pound of leg waxing machine.**

However, in all of these examples, the principle of end-weight correlates with the principle of end-focus as they are in accordance with the basic distribution of CD.

### 4.2.2.1. Context dependence/independence of elements in the first passive of *buy*

	S <sub>pass: dep</sub> O <sub>pass: dep</sub>	S <sub>pass: indep</sub> O <sub>pass: indep</sub>	S <sub>pass: indep</sub> O <sub>pass: dep</sub>	S <sub>pass: dep</sub> O <sub>pass: indep</sub>	Total
Number	0	0	0	10	<b>10</b>
Percentage	0%	0%	0%	100%	<b>100%</b>

Table 10 Context dependence/independence of Spass and Opass in examples of 1st passive of *buy*

In all the examples of the first passive of *buy*, a gradual rise of communicative dynamism can be observed. All the subjects are thematic and the objects rhematic. In some of them there occurs a rhematic *by*-agent phrase, which contributes to the linear escalation of CD (B1, B6) e.g.:

(37)B6 The landmark case on negligence is Donoghue v Stevenson [1932], in which **the plaintiff had been bought a bottle of ginger beer** by a friend in a cafe.

### 4.2.3. Second passive

Type of passive	Number of examples	Percentage
Second passive	<b>40</b>	<b>80%</b>
First passive	<b>10</b>	<b>20%</b>

Table 11 Number and percentage of occurrences of the second and first passive of *buy*

Surprisingly, the second passive construction is much more frequent for the verb *buy* than the first one. 40 out of 50 examples in the present analysis have the discussed form. This contradicts the assertion of Huddleston & Pullum (2002, 249), that “the first passive tends to be quite strongly preferred over the second” and further that where the  $O_i$  occurs in the passive construction as a part of the *for* phrase having the semantic role of a beneficiary, neither first, nor the second passive are fully acceptable. A possible explanation for the significantly higher frequency of the second passive can be connected to Goldberg’s (1995, 32) assumption that the prepositional object as opposed to an object realized by a noun phrase implies uncertainty as to the success of the transfer. As the recipient of the action of buying is classified as an intended, not an actual recipient, it would explain the favouring of the second passive. In addition, Huddleston & Pullum find instances of second passive where the  $O_i$  is realized as an  $O_{pass}$  without a preposition textually quite rare and found unacceptable by the majority of speakers (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 249); however, in the present thesis one of these examples occurred:

(38) B16 **It, too, had been bought ex-Services.**

a. *It, too, had been bought for ex-Services.*

As regards the principle of heaviness, it applies in only five examples (i.e. B17, 28, 40, 45, 49) e.g.:

(39) B45 They said **some land was bought** somewhere **for people called the Navajo.**

In four of the five examples the principle of heaviness correlates with the principle of end-weight, however, in ex. 40, both  $S_{pass}$  and  $O_{pass}$  are rhematic, therefore the heaviness of the active indirect object caused the choice of the second passive.

(40) B40 Afterward, at bars all around Wrigley, **beers were bought for any man or woman wearing but one shoe.**

#### 4.2.3.1. Context dependence/independence of elements in the second passive of *buy*

	S <sub>pass</sub> : dep O <sub>pass</sub> : dep	S <sub>pass</sub> : indep O <sub>pass</sub> : indep	S <sub>pass</sub> : indep O <sub>pass</sub> : dep	S <sub>pass</sub> : dep O <sub>pass</sub> : indep	Total
Number	11	1	6	23	41
Percentage	29,2%	2,4%	14,6%	53,6%	100%

Table 12 Context dependence/independence of S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> in examples of 2nd passive of *buy*

In the examples of second passive constructions formed by *buy* a greater variety as to the distribution of communicative dynamism can be observed, although the majority of examples is in accordance with the basic distribution of CD, including instances of “disengagement [of the passive object] from context”<sup>18</sup> (Firbas 1995, 22), where both O<sub>pass</sub> and S<sub>pass</sub> are seemingly thematic as anaphoric reference is present and they have both been mentioned in the previous context e.g.:

(41) B42 Now there are charges, **the goods were bought for the army** but sold to line general’s pockets.

There are far more examples (11) where both S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> are context dependent and the rheme lies in another element (B14, 23, 24, 25, 31, 35, 36, 37, 43, 44, 47) e.g.:

(42) B14 **My duffle coat was bought for me** in Manchester.

(43) B23 It was erm **it was bought for us** in July ah July.

In these examples the adjunct of place (ex. 42) and the adjunct of time (ex. 43) is the rhematic element in the clause. In majority of the listed examples, both S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> are both realized by pronouns as in ex. 43 and the rheme therefore lies either in an adverbial as mentioned or in the *by*-agent (B31, 36, 44, 47). Further, in ex. 44, the rhematic information is expressed by a modal verb *should*:

(44) B 37 **It** should have **been bought for her**.

In ex. 40 both S<sub>pass</sub> and O<sub>pass</sub> are rhematic and the choice of passive is influenced by the principle of end-weight, as there is a heavy postmodification of the passive object.

<sup>18</sup> Firbas introduces the concept of disengagement from context dependence in cases where a piece of information is retrievable from the context, however “in regard to the immediately relevant communicative step to be taken”, proves to be unknown/new/irretrievable. (Firbas, 1995: 17). In the discussed example (ex. 41) the factor of contrast comes into play, as *the army* is contrasted with the *line general’s pockets*.



In addition, there are six examples (B12, 13, 30, 34, 41, 48) which go against the assertion of Dušková et al. that the object with a lower degree of communicative dynamism becomes the passive subject (Dušková et al. 2009, 8.84.14), where the subject is the rheme e.g.:

(45)B12 **A new dress is bought for it** and a new sari for the mother.

(46)B30 **A round-trip ticket was bought for him** as if he were alive.

(47)B41 She commented that what was most memorable about her own confirmation was that **“polished shoes were bought for her** and she wore a white embroidered dress”.

According to Dušková (2008, 74), ditransitive verbs, including *buy*, have the capability for the dynamic semantic function of presentation; they bring a new element to the scene through an unexpressed external agency, the new element being in this case the subject and the goal of the action (the  $O_{\text{pass}}$ ) being the setting. Among the examples of *buy*, this tendency occurs exclusively in the second passive constructions; it can be assumed that the construction is used in order to emphasize the rhematic element by placing it at the beginning of the sentence.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The subject of the present thesis is passivization of ditransitive verbs, namely: *give* and *buy*. The main focus of the analysis is the frequency of the first and second passive construction for each verb and the factors influencing their selection of a particular construction. The numbers of extracted examples for each verb differed vastly. The frequency of passive constructions where both passive subject and passive object were realized was 16,9 % for *give* in BNC, 2,2% for *buy* in BNC and 1,9% in COCA. This was caused by the different status of the verbs. While *give* is a central ditransitive verb, *buy* is peripheral, and hence it occurs less frequently in the respective clause pattern.

As the verb *give*, which expresses the transfer of a patient to an actual recipient, is one of the most frequent ditransitive verbs, the extraction of examples was much less demanding than for *buy*. For the second verb, *buy*, which expresses an “abstract transfer” with the intended recipient being the goal of the action, the extraction of examples was much more challenging, for the considerably smaller frequency of its occurrence in passives with both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  realized.

Regarding the agentive and agentless passives, the agentive constructions were less frequent among the examples of both verbs, which is in accordance with the basic function of the passive: the omission of the agent. The *by*-agent was much more frequently present in the examples of passive constructions of *buy*. With *give*, there occurred altogether only two instances; in both the *by*-agent was rhematic along with the passive object. The verb *buy* occurs much more in agentive passives. There were 10 such instances and in all of them, the *by*-agent was rhematic, therefore in concordance with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. The more frequent occurrence of agentive phrases in passive constructions of *buy* is affected by the semantics of the verb not allowing for a general human agent as *give* does.

As regards the frequency of types of passive construction used with the two verbs in view, they create what could be called a mirror image of one another. While *give* forms predominantly constructions of the first passive, as 39 of 50 examples prove, *buy* occurs in 40 examples in the form of the second passive. This is influenced by the semantics of the passive correspondences of the indirect objects. While the indirect object of *give* has the semantic role of the actual recipient, it is less likely to be expressed by a prepositional phrase, as the preposition indicates that the success of the transfer was uncertain, therefore *buy*, where the recipient is only intended is more likely to occur in second passive.

Among the most influential aspects that were assumed to influence the choice of the passive construction were the principle of end-weight and end-focus. These are very often in correlation as was also proven in the present analysis; 23 of the 27 examples considered influenced by the principle of end-weight were also affected by FSP. The principle of end weight applied exclusively only in four instances, where both the  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  were rhematic.

The present thesis has shown that the principle stating that the active object with lower level of CD (context-dependent object) usually becomes the passive subject as 39 examples of passive constructions of *give* and 33 of *buy* are in concordance with this assumption. From the two verbs, *buy* occurs in more passive constructions where the mentioned rule of thematic  $S_{\text{pass}}$  does not apply, however, these instances occur only among the examples of second passive. The instances of the first passive of *buy* (10) are all in accordance with the end-focus principle. The instances of second passive of *buy* were more varied in terms of the distribution of CD: 12 of the 40 examples had both objects context-dependent; in nine of them, both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  were realized by pronouns and the rheme was mostly expressed either by an adverbial clause (six cases) or the *by*-agent (four cases). In six examples, the subject was rhematic and the object thematic; they were classified as implementing the presentation scale, which influenced the choice of passive. Only one example had both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  rhematic and the form was influenced by the principle of end-weight. As mentioned earlier, examples of *give* were more in accordance with the escalating level of CD towards the end of the clause. Examples, which do not subject to the rule, were found among both first passive and second passive constructions. Among the first passive constructions, there were three instances where the  $O_{\text{pass}}$  and  $S_{\text{pass}}$  were both thematic. In these instances, the rheme was realized by adverbials mostly. Further, three examples where both  $O_{\text{pass}}$  and  $S_{\text{pass}}$  were rhematic were found. The structure of two of them was influenced by the principle of end-weight. Among the instances of the second passive of *give*, there was only one example where both  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and  $O_{\text{pass}}$  were rhematic and one where both of them were thematic. The former was influenced by the structure of the preceding clauses. In one of the two examples that included a rhematic  $S_{\text{pass}}$  and a thematic  $O_{\text{pass}}$  the presentation scale was implemented.

To conclude, the present thesis confirmed several assumptions; firstly, the first passive constructions are more frequent with *give* as it is a central ditransitive verb. Secondly, most of the instances of passives of both analyzed ditransitive verbs were in concordance with the assumption that the active thematic object becomes passive subject. In connection to this, it

can be assumed, that the principle of end-focus has the strongest influence on the choice of passive construction alongside with the principle of end-weight. Surprisingly, the analysis of passive constructions of the verb *buy* has shown that it forms second passive constructions far more frequently than in first passive constructions, which goes against the assumptions presented in the theoretical part. This is influenced by the semantics of the indirect object, as the intended recipient, therefore far more frequently occurring in the prepositional form and also by FSP. Further, the analysis has proven, that the passive constructions of both verbs are not always formed according to the basic distribution of communicative dynamism; counter to the assumptions introduced in the theoretical part, there were quite a few instances, where the subject was rhematic and majority of them pointed out that both of these ditransitive verbs have the capacity of implementing the presentation scale.

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## 7. RESUMÉ

Tématem této práce je pasivizace ditranzitivních sloves, tedy sloves, která vyžadují doplnění dvěma předměty: předmětem přímým a nepřímým. Tato slovesa typicky tvoří dva typy pasivních konstrukcí, protože oba předměty se mohou stát podmětem pasíva. Na základě toho, zda se podmětem pasíva stane předmět nepřímý nebo přímý rozlišujeme tzv. *first passive* a *second passive*. Práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat, které pasívum se vyskytuje častěji v běžném jazyce a jaké faktory ovlivňují jeho volbu. Teoretická část práce shrnuje různé přístupy k pasivním konstrukcím, zejména těm, která jsou tvořena ditranzitivními slovesy z pohledu několika významných anglických gramatik. Metodologicky je práce založena na získání 100 příkladů dvou typických ditranzitivních sloves *give* a *buy* (50 příkladů pro každé sloveso).

Jak již bylo řečeno, ditranzitivní slovesa tvoří dvě formy pasíva podle toho, který předmět se stane podmětem v pasívu. V případě, že se podmětem pasivní konstrukce stane předmět přímý, alternuje pasivní předmět (v aktivu nepřímý předmět) s předmětem předložkovým uvedeným typicky předložkou *to* nebo *for*. Nepřímý předmět uvedený předložkou *to* má roli skutečného recipienta, zatímco předmět uvedený předložkou *for* má roli recipienta zamýšleného. Obecně se uvádí, že slovesa, jejichž nepřímý předmět alternuje s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *to*, připouští pasivizaci snadněji než ta s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *for*. Někteří autoři (např. Huddleston a Pullum, 2002) nepovažují předložkové doplnění slovesa za předmět a považují tento typ konstrukce za monotranzitivní, a druhý typ pasíva, kde se podmětem pasíva stává přímý předmět aktiva, považují za přijatelný pouze okrajově. Teoretická část dále uvádí některé faktory, které ovlivňují volbu pasivní konstrukce. Prvním z nich je tzv. „principle of end-weight“, který říká, že v angličtině je obecná tendence umisťovat rozvitější a strukturně složitější větné členy ke konci věty. Druhý faktor je tzv. „principle of end-focus“, který uvádí stejnou tendenci u větných členů, jenž přináší nové informace. V souladu s druhým principem je i obecné mínění, že při tvoření pasíva ditranzitivních sloves se častěji stává pasivním podmětem předmět s nižším stupněm výpovědní dynamičnosti (tematický podmět).

Slovesa *give* a *buy* byla pro analýzu vybrána jako typická ditranzitivní slovesa, jejichž nepřímý předmět alternuje s předložkovým předmětem uvedeným předložkami *to* u *give* a *for* u *buy*. Dále byla vybrána také na základě sémantických rolí jejich nepřímých předmětů. Nepřímý předmět slovesa *give* má sémantickou roli skutečného příjemce (recipienta), zatímco nepřímý předmět slovesa *buy* má roli zamýšleného příjemce.

Do analytické části byly vybrány pouze příklady, ve kterých jsou slovesa doplněna jak pasivním podmětem, tak předmětem. Z analýzy byly vyloučeny příklady, kde se slovesa vyskytovala s neúplnou komplementací (s vynechaným předmětem) nebo ve formě sloves s adverbialní částicí (phrasal verbs).

Z analýzy vyplývá, že sloveso *give* tvoří pasivní konstrukce daleko častěji (16,9%) než sloveso *buy* (2,2%). Což je dáno jak všeobecnou frekvencí výskytu sloves v ditranzitivních větných vzorcích, protože *give* je považováno za primárně ditranzitivní sloveso, kdežto sloveso *buy* je spíše okrajové ditranzitivní sloveso.

Analytická část práce zkoumá také výskyt činitele ve formě adverbialního určení původce s předložkou *by*, které je ve většině případů fakultativní. V rámci analýzy bylo zjištěno, že činitel se vyskytuje častěji v příkladech pasivizace slovesa *buy* (v 10 případech) než v příkladech slovesa *give* (ve dvou případech). Ve všech případech byl činitel rematický, proto nebyl z pasivní konstrukce vynechán. V pasivních konstrukcích tvořených slovesem *give* se vyskytoval činitel méně, protože při jeho vynechání sloveso připouští konstrukci, kde je implikován tzv. všeobecný lidský konatel. Sloveso *buy* tuto sémantickou roli nepřipouští.

Zkoumaná slovesa se výrazně odlišují, co se týče frekvence tvoření jednotlivých typů pasíva. V 78% příkladů pasivních konstrukcí slovesa *give* je podmětem pasíva nepřímý předmět. U slovesa *buy* je poměr obrácený: v 80% příkladů je podmětem pasíva předmět přímý. Tento rozdíl je dán sémantikou podmětu, kdy přítomnost předložky implikuje nedokončený transfer, což je v souladu se sémantikou nepřímého předmětu slovesa *buy*, který má roli pouze zamýšleného a nikoliv skutečného příjemce jako v případě *buy*. Dále je zmíněný rozdíl dán i dalšími faktory jako je zmíněný „principle of end-weight“ a „principle of end-focus“. Vliv „principle of end-weight“ byl zjištěn celkem ve 27 případech, z toho ve 23 byl podpořen vlivem „principle of end-focus“. Ve čtyřech případech, kde byl jak pasivní podmět, tak předmět rematický, měl na volbu pasíva vliv pouze „principle of end-weight“.

Největší vliv na volbu pasíva mělo nepochybně aktuální členění větné, protože 39 příkladů slovesa *give* a 32 příkladů slovesa *buy* bylo v souladu s předpokladem, že podmětem pasíva se častěji stává předmět s nižším stupněm výpovědní dynamičnosti, tedy tematický předmět. U slovesa *buy* se obecně vyskytlo více příkladů, které se od předpokladu odlišovaly. Tyto příklady se ale vyskytovaly pouze v příkladech pasivní konstrukce, kde se podmětem pasíva stává přímý předmět. Ve 12 z těchto odlišných případů byl jak podmět, tak předmět pasíva tematický a rematická část byla vyjádřena příslovečným určením nebo činitelem (*by-agent*).



V šesti případech se vyskytl rematický podmět a tematický předmět, tedy obrácená struktura než bylo předpokládáno. Tyto příklady byly z většiny vyhodnoceny jako příklady tzv. prezentační funkce, kde je rematický podmět uveden na scénu, za kterou se považuje recipient. Mezi příklady tohoto typu pasíva slovesa *buy* se také objevil případ, kde byl předmět i podmět rematický, v tomto případě byla volba pasíva ovlivněna již zmíněným „principle of end-weight“.

V příkladech pasíva slovesa *give* se také vyskytlo několik případů odlišných od předpokladu, že pasivní podmět je tematický. Mezi příklady prvního typu pasíva se našly tři příklady s tematickým podmětem i předmětem. Mezi případy druhého pasíva se takový případ objevil pouze jeden. Volba pasíva zde byla dána většinou strukturou předcházející věty. Dále se objevily tři případy prvního typu pasíva a jeden případ druhého typu, kde byl předmět i podmět rematický, volba pasíva zde byla ve dvou případech ovlivněna textovými důvody a ve dvou „principle of end-weight“. Poslední případ odlišné distribuce výpovědní dynamičnosti, tedy případ, kdy podmět je rematický a předmět tematický se vyskytl jednou mezi příklady prvního typu pasíva a dvakrát mezi příklady druhého typu pasíva slovesa *give*. Dva ze tří těchto příkladů byly opět vyhodnoceny jako příklady tzv. prezentační funkce slovesa.

Pokud shrneme vše, co bylo doposud uvedeno, analýza z velké většiny potvrdila předpoklady uvedené v teoretické části, tedy předpoklad, že ditranzitivní slovesa alternující s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *to* tvoří pasívum snadněji než ta s předložkovým předmětem s předložkou *for*, jak je vidět s frekvence příkladů pasíva obou sloves. Dále se u obou sloves prokázalo, že tematický předmět aktiva se většinou stává podmětem pasíva, tedy že hlavním faktorem ovlivňujícím volbu příslušné pasivní konstrukce je aktuální větné členění a „principle of end-focus“, který je dále v mnoha případech podpořen „principle of end-weight“. Zmíněný „principle of end-weight“ se samostatně objevuje jen v několika případech. Analýza ale také představuje některé překvapivé závěry, například větší preferenci druhého typu pasíva u slovesa *buy*, což jde proti předpokladům uvedených v některých významných anglických gramatikách. Tento výskyt je dán sémantikou nepřímého předmětu a hlavně aktuálním větným členěním, jak již bylo zmíněno. Mezi příklady druhého typu pasíva slovesa *buy* se také více vyskytovaly příklady s netypickou distribucí výpovědní dynamičnosti, které byly zkoumány individuálně. Dalším překvapivým zjištěním bylo, že podmětem pasíva se u obou sloves může stát i rematický podmět a ve většině takových případů má pak příslušné sloveso prezentační funkci.

## 8. APPENDIX

### GIVE

First passive		
Number	BNC Code	Example
G1	FSV 1119	<b>He was given the award</b> on Monday at the Sunday Times Literary Banquet.
G2	ANL 2887	<b>I managed to pacify him and, in return, was given the benefit of his opinions</b> unsolicited, I might say!
G3	HXV 68	Due to the admitted negligence of a doctor, <b>the plaintiff was given excessive oxygen.</b>
G4	EE5 833	We were lying on the ground in a row, pointing our rifles to our fronts, as he walked past each of us and made us repeat the <b>different orders that we would be given</b> , such as "unload" or "cock your weapon".
G5	CP6 100	Sources said that <b>they have been given six weeks</b> to finish their assignments and another four weeks' severance pay.
G6	J6P 658	<b>Such administrators will be given titles</b> to match up to their responsibilities: "chief executive" is not unknown.
G7	BPB 520	On a normal day at home, <b>he is given his breakfast</b> , which he may or may not eat depending on his mood and Trish then rides him, unless she is competing in the evening, when she delays it until later.
G8	EF0 1264	Indeed it may be (as in my case) because one deeply cares that there should be good and equal relations between men and women that one is adamant that no <b>one human being can be given the kind of status which Christians give to Christ.</b>
G9	EW9 78	For this the four Wardens of the Company would receive 3s 4d each: there was also a "potation" which was to be held on the preceding evening (at a cost of 12s 6d) and after the service there was a dinner (15s 6d); finally, <b>twelve poor members of the Goldsmiths' Company were to be given a shilling each.</b>
G10	EW9 601	Academically, the School prospered: <b>Thomas Ashe was given a special Exhibition</b> at St. John's College, Cambridge (the other two were already taken up), and when Howell died in August 1858 Mr. C. E. Norris, an Old Boy and a previous Goldsmiths' Exhibitioner at St. John 's College, Cambridge, was appointed to take over.
G11	H8H 3186	She rang down to the reception, and asked tetchily whether <b>she had been given the correct room number.</b>
G12	K1S 2308	Welcome back: <b>Cancer patients have been given new hope</b> by the development of a drug to prevent tumours spreading through the body.
G13	HWT 2247	<b>All patients were given 0.625 mg</b> daily of oral conjugated oestrogen (Premarin, Wyeth).
G14	B0M 2536	<b>Each team was given a topic</b> of chemical interest on the previous evening and allowed to use their own facilities to research it and prepare a presentation.
G15	FYP 56	And then, after two years, we were allowed on to the wards in our white

		coats and we had to erm find out about the patients and initially we were all very slow and <b>we were given two hours</b> to talk to a patient to find out all about them.
G16	HY5 328	When in January 1645 the French agreed to give the Dutch representatives the coveted title of "Excellency" this at once led to demands from the imperial electors that <b>theirs must be given it</b> also.
G17	KA1 87	<b>The Jews were given Galilee and Nager</b> , and Judea and the Rift Valley (West Bank) were given to Jordan.
G18	KCN 7108	<b>He was given a week.</b>
G19	HC1 120	He said: [ <b>The Sids of old have been given their share certificates</b> and they are reluctant to give them up.
G20	CBF 9056	<b>AIDS patients are being given a new vaccine which could slow down the effects of the disease.</b>
G21	A6A 1823	<b>Every member is given a free MU diary.</b>
G22	KBD 8238	I mean, the only way you could do that would be if you had a till at one end and <b>people</b> bought whatever they wanted and <b>were given a voucher</b> and you walked down the other end and exchanged.
G23	HU2 568	In December 1986 she had had a transient ischaemic attack for <b>which she had been given enteric coated aspirin</b> (ecotrin 300 mg).
G24	K3C 265	<b>All 48 people who took an active part in last night's exercise were given a New Brighton stick of rock.</b>
G25	K9M 43	It places a great responsibility upon us to ensure that <b>the children of Sunderland are given the very best possible value-for-money meals</b> , while also ensuring that public funds are used to the best effect.
G26	CCD 167	<b>She</b> occupied a well-furnished chamber close to the lady Anne's apartments, and <b>was given a wardrobe of new clothes</b> which was an especial delight.
G27	CG0 1598	There were rumours of anger among the grain farmers, <b>who were being given IOUs</b> instead of cash for their crops.
G28	K5D 4235	The spokesman said the Council of Mayors of Arab Towns and Villages refused to accept the Bosnians even after <b>it was given the text of a message from the vice president of Bosnia approving the flight.</b>
G29	AAX 97	Environmentalists have supported the miners against Pittston strip-mining and long-wall techniques, and <b>I was given a badge</b> which proclaimed 'I'm Pro-Union and Pro-Choice', linking the strike with the most inflammable issue in US politics today, abortion rights.
G30	A61 1897	<b>The tie of the white gown she had been given</b> to wear caught in her hair and pulled it.
G31	FYT 180	Some changes, however, were made in the draft to satisfy those who had challenged it in this way: <b>union republics were given eleven rather than seven seats each</b> in the Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities and ex officio places on the Committee of Constitutional Supervision, and changes of wording were made in order to remove what Gorbachev described as the [misunderstanding] that the rights of republics had been infringed.
G32	ECT 2066	<b>Each man was given a large hunting knife</b> and two smaller weapons known as okapi knives.
G33	CBF 5511	<b>The other woman</b> at the far end of the ward <b>had been given Daniel's tag.</b>
G34	EE0 1404	Within a few days of opening your account <b>you will be given your own</b>

		<b>cheque book.</b>
G35	CBF 1961	<b>He should have been given a medal</b> for trying to catch a car vandal.
G36	K54 2059	He added: <b>‘The operators should have been given at least another 12 months,</b> rather than having to face a judge and jury overnight decision by someone on the Intervention Board.’
G37	AC2 1012	There was, of course, no such safety problem, as the safety inspector subsequently confirmed, and <b>the steward was given the first of the warning notes,</b> as planned.
G38	G0T 905	<b>Some patients</b> who exhibit distress in ways interpreted by the nursing or medical staff as some kind of illness, mental or physical, are <b>given drugs</b> officially.
G39	GU9 199	<b>Each machinist was given virtually an entire garment</b> to produce as a more satisfying method of working than ‘production line’ techniques.
Total: 39		
<b>Second passive</b>		
Number	BNC Code	Example
G40	ABL 1011	Thomas discussed the relationship between love and poetry much later in <i>Feminine Influence on the Poet</i> : [The love-poem is not for the beloved, for it is not worthy, as it is the least thing <b>that is given to her,</b> and none knows this better than she unless it be the lover.
G41	B3D 634	System operators and database producers provide various training courses for new and advanced users, where, in many cases, ‘free’ <b>search time is given to the participants.</b>
G42	B2W 1130	It said that the governors ‘do not see the immediate necessity for applying to the Crown for a Royal Charter to be granted to this Institution’ but that <b>‘every facility’ would be given to the veterinary surgeons</b> ‘for procuring an Act of Parliament to prevent certain grievances complained of by the Memorial, which could not be relieved by a Charter.’
G43	EB7 618	<b>Some were given</b> or sold to favoured <b>high-ranking officials and court favourites,</b> a practice developed by Constantius II.
G44	KA1 87	The Jews were given Galilee and Nager, and <b>Judea and the Rift Valley (West Bank) were given to Jordan.</b>
G45	C9V 1266	In conventional trials set up to to assess the efficacy of a new drug, <b>the drug is given to a group of patients</b> <i>suffering from a particular illness,</i> and the effects are compared with those obtained in a matched group of patients given a dummy (or placebo) drug.
G46	K54 2920	Sports groups said it would mean the loss of <b>open space that could be given to the public.</b>
G47	HY0 1100	As payment for this help Sisenand promised a <b>gold dish,</b> weighing five hundred pounds, <b>which had been given</b> by Aëtius to <b>king Thorismund</b> in the fifth century.
G48	CN2 1227	A comprehensive report of the actual meteorological conditions must be drawn up and copies of the weather forecast <b>that were given to the crew</b> will be included.
G49	G2T 1914	Present guidelines advise that you stick with breast or formula milk until at least six months, although some nutritionists feel that, because cow's milk is low in iron and vitamin D, <b>it shouldn't be</b>

		<b>given to babies under a year.</b>
G50	EEE 117	<b>The latter had been given</b> only a month <b>previously to John lord Dudley</b> , and its transfer suggests that Gloucester's role in Wales was still evolving.
Total: 11		

## BUY

First passive		
Number	BNC code	Example
B1	AC3 317	<b>He was bought a few drinks</b> by workmates then took off on his own, round various bars, to finish the job properly.
B2	C8S 2679	Its clientele was almost entirely male, with just <b>a few women -- secretaries being bought a drink</b> by their bosses, presumably.
B3	CB0 941	<b>I was bought a large trunk</b> and Uncle Charlie came round one Saturday morning and sign-wrote my name on both ends, with my house number.
B4	FBN 2203	Last year <b>I was bought a tropical set-up</b> as a present.
B5	HGL 1317	I take off my jumper and stand in my tank top, sipping a <b>whiskey I have been bought.</b>
B6	HXD 1493	The landmark case on negligence is Donoghue v Stevenson [1932], in which the plaintiff <b>had been bought a bottle of ginger beer</b> by a friend in a cafe.
B7	KPV 3629	And then I said, then <b>she'd been bought a hundred pound of leg waxing machine.</b>
B8	KPV 5859	But I mean, my dad always invites his staff to have a drink at the end of the evening and I mean, <b>most of them have already been bought a drink</b> during the course of the evening, anyway, so they're entitled to it.
B9	KD8 1275	No they haven't, <b>they'd been [unclear] bought a car</b> [pause] that had been [pause] like, that it sort of been written off and rebuilt or [pause] something like that.
B10		Even the hated tourists <b>were bought</b> drinks.
Total: 10		
Second passive		
Number	BNC code	Example
B11	A25 41	Subsequently, <b>the apotheosis of Lodge's treatment of the comedy of Catholicism, How Far Can You Go? (1980) was bought for LWT</b> by its then head, John Birt, a lapsed Catholic.
B12	A6V 489	<b>A new dress is bought for it</b> and a new sari for the mother.
B13	A6V 832	In my own family in India, often enough <b>saris are bought for me</b> by my father or mother.
B14	A7P 573	<b>My duffle coat was bought for me</b> in Manchester.
B15	ACR 2290	Nor will he class them as novelties (which are exempt from the regulations) despite the fact <b>few are bought for children.</b>
B16	BPA 110	<b>It, too, had been bought ex-Services.</b>
B17	CBG 9466	<b>She was bought for a consortium of Arabs</b> and will stay in training next season.

B18	EE9 396	<b>Burial insurance was bought</b> also <b>for children</b> , and, given the high infant death rate, parents were accused of using the probability of a child's death as a means of accumulating a small nest-egg.
B19	FB3 198	For the first time, <b>most music is bought</b> , not made <b>for oneself</b> .
B20	FPH 2595	A great deal of my collection, of the jewellery that is, <b>was bought for Lady Firth.</b> ]
B21	HHW 10419	Except for the last Albanians in the Labour party, I do not believe that anyone seriously disputes that the process of competition is essential to maximise <b>what is bought for the taxpayer</b> .
B22	K97 10637	<b>Penny was bought</b> as a puppy <b>for Vicky</b> at Christmas four years ago and cost the family £250.
B23	KB8 7138	It was erm <b>it was bought for us</b> in July ah July
B24	KDW 8443	Because he went on so much and then <b>it was bought for him</b> .
B25	CDX 1502	<b>It was undoubtedly bought for me</b> .
B26	AM5 854	These can be made to measure if required, but <b>some</b> , such as spirals and the straight stairway, <b>can be bought</b> as kits <b>for you</b> to assemble yourself.
B27	BPJ 267	<b>Nearly all of them are bought</b> by adults <b>for themselves</b> .
B28	CM1 2085	Several of these items are specific to Tyrion and Teclis but <b>others can be bought for other High Elf characters</b> by paying the appropriate points cost.
B29	CM1 2104	The Fangsword is specific to Eltharion and only he may carry it but <b>the Talisman of Hoeth can be bought for other High Elf characters</b> by paying the appropriate points cost.
B30		<b>A round-trip ticket was bought for him</b> as if he were alive.
B31		<b>The home was bought for her</b> by Francis Ford and Eleanor Coppola, grandparents to Jacqui's now 20-year-old daughter, Gia Coppola.
B32		" <b>The boy I'd been bought for</b> went to school during the day," Preston wrote.
B33		If the twins see <b>the lovely dresses and pretty bowls that have been bought for them</b> , they will be content and have no reason to hurt their siblings.
B34		The simple people didn't have enough to eat, they didn't have rice, they were dying, and the leaders wanted <b>food to be bought for themselves</b> from all over the world.
B35		And Mary Rogers Pearson, beautiful, luminous, huddled up on the bed, her bare shoulders marbled in the wedding-night moonlight that was streaming down across those Smoky Mountains and on in through the cabin window, Mary Rogers Pearson, who was armed only with her honeymoon nightgown of Italian lace <b>which was bought for her</b> in Memphis at the Helen Shop, Mary held on.
B36		Since then, the young woman, Patricia Bowman, moved from Ohio to Florida, where she held jobs sporadically, took college classes occasionally, had a child and moved into a house near Palm Beach <b>that was bought for her</b> by her stepfather, Michael G. O'Neil, the former chairman of the General Tire and Rubber Company.
B37		<b>It should have been bought for her</b> .
B38		You know, I've never had any money of my own, <b>everything has always been bought for me</b> .
B39		<b>The fax had been bought for Mr Perholt</b> , an editorial consultant, to work

		from home when he was let go or made redundant in the banal sense, but its main user was Gillian Perholt, who received E-mail and story variants from narratologists in Cairo and Auckland, Osaka and Port of Spain.
B40		Afterward, at bars all around Wrigley, <b>beers were bought for any man or woman wearing but one shoe.</b>
B41		She commented that what was most memorable about her own confirmation was that ( <b>polished shoes were bought for her</b> and she wore a white embroidered dress).
B42		Now there are charges <b>the goods were bought for the army</b> but sold to line generals' pockets.
B43		As a matter of fact, <b>it was bought for him</b> because he didn't have the money at the time.
B44		<b>It was bought for them</b> by Ernest Thornton, who was using his forced guardianship of his sisters, mother and nephew as an opportunity to invest in the fading grandeur (and prices) of South London property.
B45		They said <b>some land was bought</b> somewhere <b>for people called the Navajo.</b>
B46		I don't have to be confirmed in homemade clothes, but rather <b>material for clothing was bought for me.</b>
B47		I mean, <b>it was bought for him</b> by me.
B48		<b>New clothes to wear home had been bought for me.</b>
B49		Your editor might ask you to reconsider wording, or if <b>your book is bought for a school book club</b> , they might ask you to take out certain words they find objectionable.
B50		If <b>one of his bears is bought for a child</b> , Weihert substitutes safe plastic eyes
Total: 40		