

Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Theoretical Analysis
- 3 Swedish Data
- 4 Historical English Data
- 5 Conclusions and Questions

Theory Outline

- What is a recipient?
- What is a dative PP?
- Where is the specifier of an applicative phrase?
- What syntactic mechanisms do we need to posit for empirical coverage?
- Why should we prefer this analysis **on conceptual grounds**?

Theta Role Theory

- Recipient is one of a number of theta roles
- Building on Dowty (1991):
 - Theta roles are morphosyntactic categories (like singular/plural)
 - Each role is associated with prototypical features
 - Prototypes **guide** assignment of theta roles to arguments
 - Ambiguous cases are determined by local cultural/linguistic norms

Recipients

- Recipients are the endpoint of a transfer of possession event (that may or may not involve movement)
- GIVE is the prototypical recipient action (an AGENT transfers a THEME to a RECIPIENT)

- The preposition that introduces an argument (or adjunct) is **syntactically** associated with the thematic role of the argument
- All recipients are introduced with a recipient P
- Dative case is the syncretic realization of multiple different P heads (or DP concord with a governing P head)
- Example: [$P_{recipient}$ [DP Recipient]]

Structural cases

- Nominative and accusative (structural cases) are features of ungoverned DPs (i.e., not embedded in PPs)
- DPs under prepositions do **not** receive syntactic structural case (although the reflexes of non-structural case may be morphologically syncretic with structural cases)

Properties of Analysis

- Applicatives do **not** assign thematic roles (prepositions do)
- Applicatives only provide a syntactic position for applied arguments to enter the derivation
- Completely exchangeable with a Larsonian VP-shell analysis (Larson, 1988)

Five morphosyntactic operations

- 1 Contextual allomorphy
- 2 VP-internal scrambling
- 3 Cliticisation
- 4 P-incorporation
- 5 Locality/intervention effects

English Examples

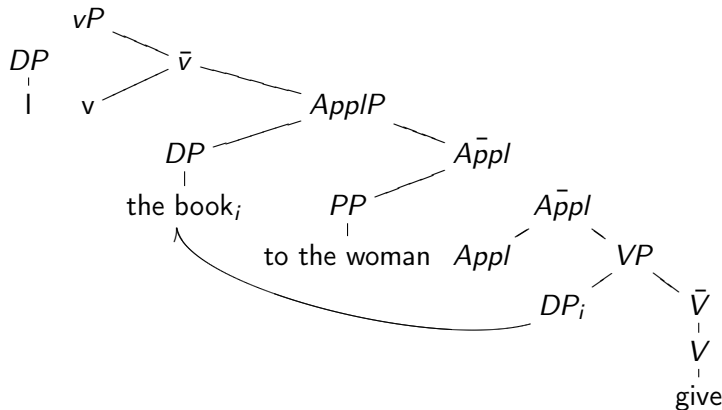
(1) Active

- I gave the woman the book.
- I gave the book to the woman.
- I gave it the woman

VP-internal scrambling

- Many languages allow two word orders for recipients and themes (RT vs TR)
- RT word order is base generated; TR derived by VP-internal scrambling (Takano, 1998; Lenerz, 1977)
- Theme moves to a higher specifier of the ApplP (McGinnis, 1998)

Scrambling Analysis:



(2)

Cliticisation

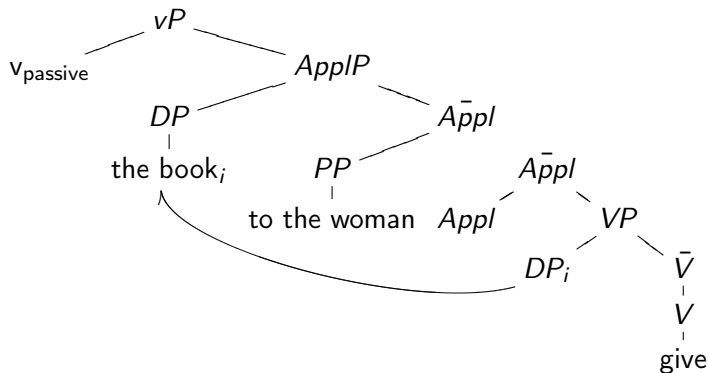
- For the purposes here, can be treated as head movement of a pronoun into a higher element
- Allows two constructions (“violating” locality):
 - 1 Theme cliticisation: John [gave it] \emptyset him.
 - 2 Recipient cliticisation: The book was [given \emptyset him].

English Examples

(3) Active

- The woman was given the book.
- To the woman was given the book.
- The book was given to the woman.
- The book was given the woman.

Incompatibility with VP-internal scrambling



Consequences of T variation

PP Subjects

Two Arguments	DAT recipient subject and NOM theme object
One Argument	?DAT recipient subject and ACC theme object

No PP Subjects

Two Arguments	NOM theme subject and DAT recipient object
One Argument	Ungrammaticality

Swedish Introduction

- Swedish provides best evidence for prepositional analysis of recipient case
- Necessary facts about Swedish:
 - No remaining synthetic accusative–dative distinction
 - V2 language

Swedish Incorporation

- **Swedish shows P-incorporation overtly** (Holmberg and Platzack, 1995)
- Verbs without prepositional prefixes (e.g., *gav* 'give'):
 - Allow TR and RT orders
 - Allow overt prepositional marking on the recipient
 - Only allow theme passivisation (with prepositional marking on recipient)
- Verbs with prepositional prefixes (e.g., *er-bjod* 'offer'):
 - Only allow RT orders
 - Never allow prepositional marking on the recipient
 - Only allow recipient passivisation

Swedish Non-Particle Verbs: Active

(4) Swedish:

Jag gav Johan en bok.

I gave John a book.

'I gave John a book (Holmberg and Platzack, 1995).'

(5) Swedish:

Jag gav en bok *(til) Johan.

I gave a book to John.

'I gave a book to John (Holmberg and Platzack, 1995).'

Swedish Non-Particle Verbs: Passive

- (6) *Pelle gavs ett äpple
Pelle gave.PASS a apple
'Pelle was given an apple (Anward 1989, Lundquist 2006).'
- (7) Ett äpple gavs *(til) Pelle.
An apple gave.PASS *(to) Pelle.
'An apple was given to Pelle (Anward 1989, Lundquist 2006).'

Swedish Particle Verbs: Active

- (8) Han erbjöd Jan ett nytt jobb
 he.NOM offered John a new job
 'He offered John a new job'
- (9) ?? Han erbjöd ett nytt jobb til Jan
 he.NOM offered a new job to John
 'He offered a new job to John'
- (10) * Han erbjöd ett nytt jobb Jan
 he.NOM offered a new job John
 'He offered a new job to John'

Swedish Particle Verbs: Theme Passive (Take 1)

(12) Recipient clitic passive:

Ett nytt jobb erbjöds=honom.

A new job offered.PASS=him.OBL.

'A new job was offered to him (Anward 1989,Falk 1990,Lundquist 2006).'

(13) "Theme passive":

Jobbet erbjöds mannen med den långa svarta
 job.DEF offered.PASS man.DEF with the long black
 kappan.
 coat

'The job was offered to the man with the long black coat (Lundquist, 2004, ex 26).'

Problem!!!

- Theme passive with P-incorporation should be impossible (without recipient cliticization)
- But theme passives are reported grammatical with particle verbs in Swedish!!!

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- Theme passive with P-incorporation should be impossible (without recipient cliticization)
- But theme passives are reported grammatical with particle verbs in Swedish!!!
- Solution: In V2 languages, preverbal position is **not** an unambiguous subject position

Swedish Particle Verbs: Theme Passive Redo

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Linking Hypothesis

Shared historical behaviour **implies** shared syntactic representation

Technical Takeaway

Interaction term of zero **suggests** shared historical behaviour

Shared Property

- The existence of P-incorporation permitted two surface constructions:
 - ① Nominative recipient passives
 - ② Pseudopassives

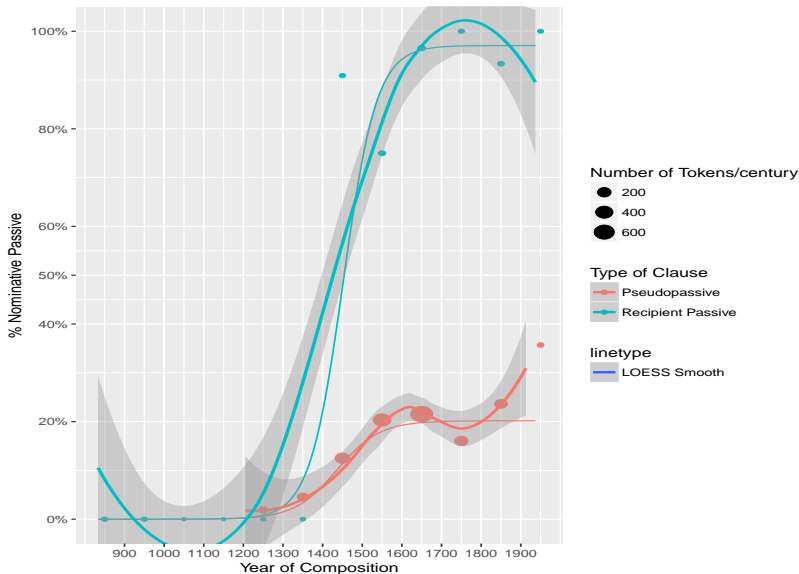
Recipient Passive

- (15) Middle English (Kroch and Ann Taylor, 2000) and Early Modern English (Kroch et al., 2004)
- a. to thy holy name be given laude and praise
(STOW-E2-P2,581.96)
 - b. the king Gurthym, that we clepteth Gurmundus, were
i-yeve the provinces of Est Anglia and Northumbria
(CMPOLYCH-M3,VI,377.2770)
 - c. for the prioress is given a matter to proud in the
beginning of her ordinance (CMBENRULE-M3,43.1346)

Pseudopassive

- (16) Pseudopassive:
- a. I slept in the bed.
 - b. The bed was slept in.

Graph



Parameter Estimates

	5%	Point Estimate	95%
Intercept	2.21	3.03	4.11
Recipient Passive	-0.97	0.41	2.14
Year of Composition (z-scored)	2.06	2.88	3.90
(*)Recipient Year Interaction	-0.68	0.72	2.57

Table: Parameter results from Bayesian Inference, (*) indicates rows relevant for the Constant Rate Effect

Stages of 'to'

- 1 Old English: Recipient P realised as null
- 2 Early Middle English: Spread of 'to' realisation
- 3 Early Modern English: Spread of null contextual allomorph

Old English: Data

(17) Examples using Both Word Orders:

- a. and sealde healfne dæl (*to) Ðam
and gave half portion.ACC to the.DAT
gesaeligan þearfan
blessed.DAT needy.DAT
'and gave a half portion to the blessed needy
(coaelive.03,+ALS_[Martin]:69.6009)'
- b. Man sceal eac syllan (*to) Ðam seocan
one should also give to the.DAT sick.DAT
men husel
man.DAT eucharist.ACC
'One should also give the sick man eucharist
(coaelhom.03,+AHom_11:177.1583)'

Old English: Analysis

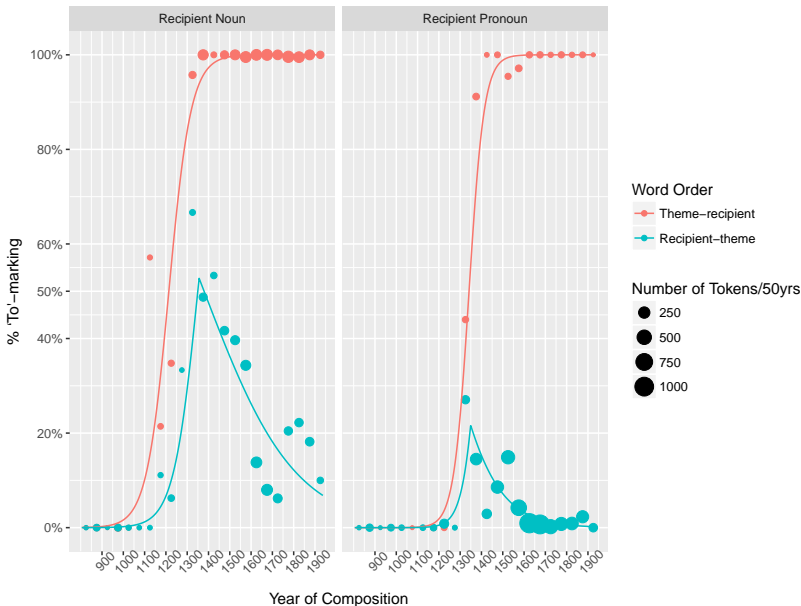
- a. Universal Null Item: $/\emptyset/ \leftrightarrow [\text{dative P}]$

Middle English: Data

(19) Examples using Both Word Orders:

- a. I have given **Purry** a gown (PASTON,I,232.2716)
- b. They gave **to the people** this bread
(CMWYCSER-M3,248.452)
- c. Thou givest thine aught (possessions) **God**
(CMVICES1-M1,37.437)
- d. Lord, in thy will, thou gave virtue **to my fairness**
(CMEARLPS-M2,32.1360)

English 'to' Graph



Early Modern English: Analysis

- (21) Vocabulary Items (14th–18th Centuries):
- a. (Null Allomorph Item: $/\emptyset/ \leftrightarrow [\text{dative P}] / \text{verb}^{\wedge} _)$
 - b. To Item: $/tu/ \leftrightarrow [\text{dative P}]$

Quantitative Results

	5%	Point Estimate	95%
Reanalysis (Nouns)	1334.43	1344.52	1382.89
Reanalysis Diff.	-38.37	-1.01	8.08
CH2 Interaction	-0.98	-0.73	-0.48
CH1 Interaction (a)	0.23	1.65	3.55
CH1 Interaction (b)	-1.69	-0.35	1.23
CH1 Interaction (c)	-0.64	1.25	4.06
CH1 Interaction (d)	-2.83	-0.40	2.66

Table: Parameter results from Bayesian Inference, CH2 Interaction shows the interaction between year and recipient type for the loss of *to*; CH1 Interaction (a) shows the interaction with year between "I gave the book (to) John" and "I gave the book (to) him"; CH1 Interaction (b) shows the interaction with year between "I gave the book (to) John" and "I gave (to) John the book"; CH1 Interaction (c) shows the interaction with year between "I gave the book (to) John" and "I gave (to) him the book"; CH1 Interaction (d) shows the interaction with year between "I gave the book (to) him" and "I gave (to) him the book".

Conclusions

- Recipients are base-generated as PPs in the specifier of an applicative phrase
- Historical data can provide independent evidence for syntactic theory

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