

Contributions

- ① New analysis of recipient ditransitives: **Recipients are universally introduced as dative PPs in the specifier of an applicative phrase**
- ② Complete syntax framework: Complete set of additional syntactic machinery to explain Germanic recipient ditransitive data
- ③ Typological summary: Collection of all of the relevant data on Germanic recipient ditransitives in one place
- ④ New historical data: Collection of new data on the history of English from parsed corpora
- ⑤ New historical methods: Applications of new techniques to use historical data in theoretical syntax investigations

Question

What is a recipient?

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)

Question

What is a dative PP?

- Long history of a distinction between structural and non-structural case (Woolford (2006) gives a summary of arguments)
- Structural cases alternate, while non-structural cases do not
- Dative case (typical for recipients) has usually been regarded as non-structural

Prepositions, thematic roles, and case

- 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
- Example: [$P_{recipient}$ [DP Recipient]]

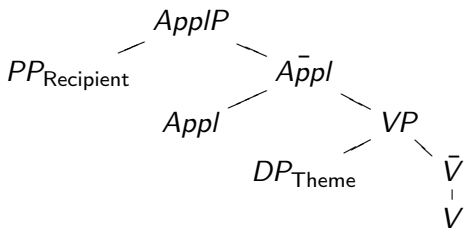
Structural cases

- 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)

Question

Where is the specifier of an applicative phrase?

Applicative Analysis



1

- 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)

Question

What syntactic mechanisms do we need to posit for empirical coverage?

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

1 5

Early Modern English: Analysis

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

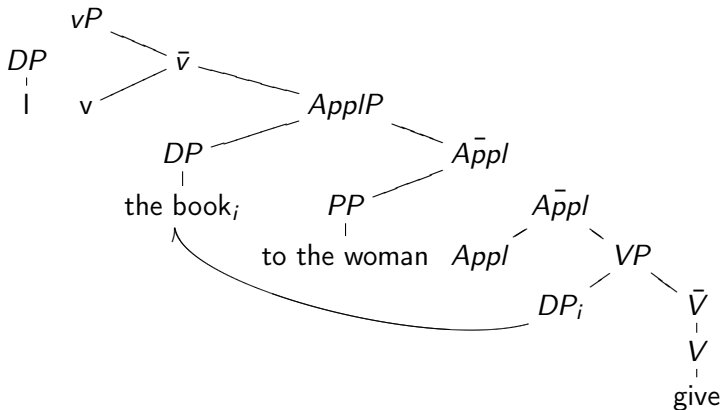
English

I gave \emptyset the woman the book

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:



(3)

Cliticisation

- Cliticisation is 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

(4) Active

- a. The woman was given the book.
- b. To the woman was given the book.
- c. The book was given to the woman.
- d. The book was given the woman.

P-incorporation

- P-incorporation allows dative-to-nominative conversion (Alexiadou et al., 2014)
- P-incorporation is a type of head movement

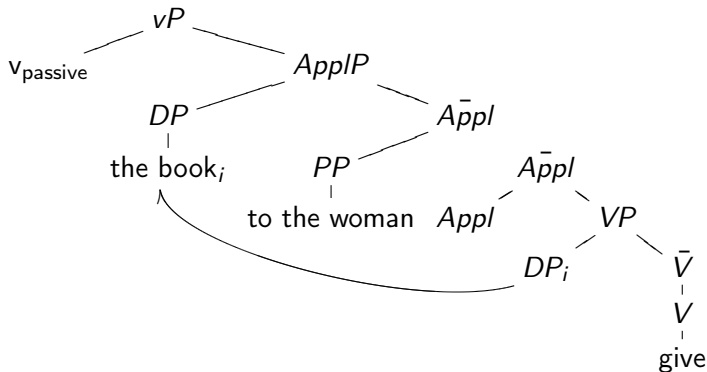
English

The woman was [given $P=\emptyset$] the book

Head Movement Targeting Condition

Head Movement Targeting Condition: When head movement is triggered, the head triggering the movement adjoins to the nearest head that asymmetrically c-commands the highest position of the triggering head.

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

Question

Why should we prefer this analysis **on conceptual grounds?**

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)
- **Non-Particle Verbs** (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)
- **Particle Verbs** (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

(5) Swedish:

Jag gav **Johan** en bok.
I gave John a book.

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

(6) 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

- (7) * **Pelle** gavs ett äpple
Pelle gave.PASS a apple
'Pelle was given an apple (Anward 1989, Lundquist 2006).'
- (8) **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

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

Swedish Particle Verbs: Recipient Passive

(12) Recipient passive:

Han erbjöds ett nytt jobb
he.NOM offered.PASS a new job

‘He was offered a new job (Anward 1989, Lundquist 2006).’

Swedish Particle Verbs: Theme Passive (Take 1)

- (13) Recipient clitic passive:

Ett nytt jobb erbjuds=honom.

A new job offered.PASS=him.OBL.

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

- (14) “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!!!

Swedish Particle Verbs: Theme Passive Redo

(15) Between auxiliary and participle:

- a. **DET jobbet** har Kalle tilldelats.
 that job.DEF has Kalle assigned.PART.PASS
 'THAT job, Kalle has been assigned (Lundquist, 2004, ex. 59).'
- b. ?? **DEN mannen** har **jobbet**
 that man.DEF has job.DEF
 tilldelats.
 assigned.PART.PASS
 'To THAT man, the job has been assigned
 (Lundquist, 2004, ex. 58).'

Conclusion

Swedish verbs show P-incorporation overtly

Historical Outline

- 1 Background on Technique
- 2 Case #1: Introduction of P-incorporation
- 3 Case #2: Introduction of recipient "to"

Linking Hypothesis

Shared historical behaviour **implies** shared syntactic representation

Technical Takeaway

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

Case 1: P-incorporation

Case #1: P-incorporation

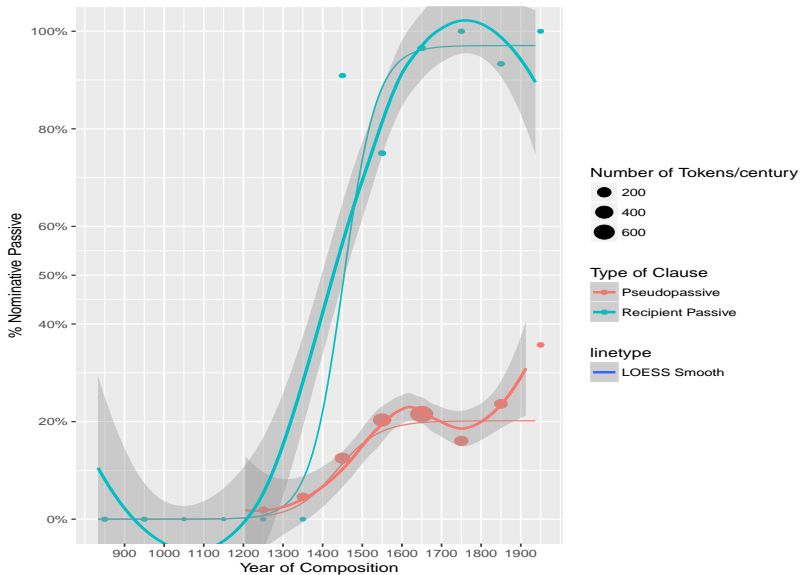
Shared Property

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

Pseudopassive

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

Graph

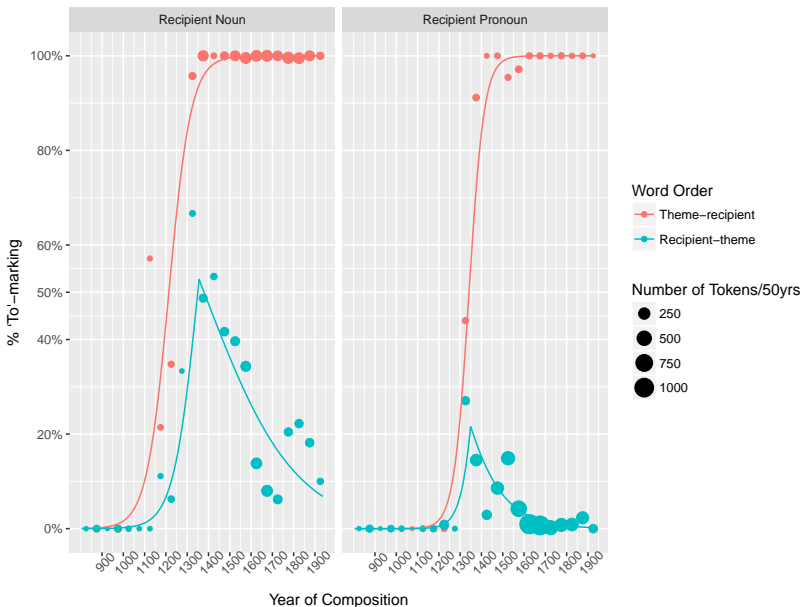


Parameter Estimates

	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

English 'to' Graph



◀ ◻ ▶ ◀ ◻ ▶ ◀ ≡ ▶ ◀ ≡ ▶ ≡ ↺ 🔍 ↻

References I

- Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Christina Sevdali. 2014. Opaque and transparent datives, and how they behave in passives. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 17(1):1–34.
- Anward, Jan. 1989. Constraints on Passives in Swedish and in English. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax* 44:15–29.
- Asbury, Anna. 2005. Adpositions as case realisations: Structures and consequences. *Leiden Papers in Linguistics* 2(3):69–92.
- . 2007. Towards a typology of morphological case. *Nordlyd* 33(1).
- Bayer, Josef, Markus Bader, and Michael Meng. 2001. Morphological underspecification meets oblique case: Syntactic and processing effects in German. *Lingua* 111(4-7):465–514.

References II

- Bittner, Maria, and Ken Hale. 1996. The structural determination of case and agreement. *Linguistic inquiry* 1–68.
- Caha, Pavel. 2009. The nanosyntax of case. Ph.D. thesis, Universitetet i Tromsø.
- Dowty, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 547–619.
- Falk, Cecilia. 1990. On double object constructions. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax* 46:53–100.
- Gerwin, Johanna. 2013. Give it me! pronominal ditransitives in English dialects. *English Language and Linguistics* 17(03): 445–463.
- Haddican, William, and Anders Holmberg. 2012a. Object movement (a) symmetries in British English dialects. In *Proceedings of WCCFL 29*.

References III

- . 2012b. Object movement symmetries in British English dialects: Experimental evidence for a mixed case/locality approach. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 15(3):189–212.
- Holmberg, Anders, and Christer Platzack. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kroch, Anthony, and Ann Taylor. 2000. The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2).
- Kroch, Anthony, Beatrice Santorini, and Lauren Delfs. 2004. The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME).
- Kroch, Anthony S. 1989. Function and grammar in the history of English: Periphrastic do. *Language change and variation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins 133–172.

Woolford, Ellen. 2006. Lexical case, inherent case, and argument structure. *Linguistic inquiry* 37(1):111–130.