

Outline

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

Question

What is a recipient?

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)

Question

What is a dative PP?

Structural vs. Non-structural case

- 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?

- 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

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

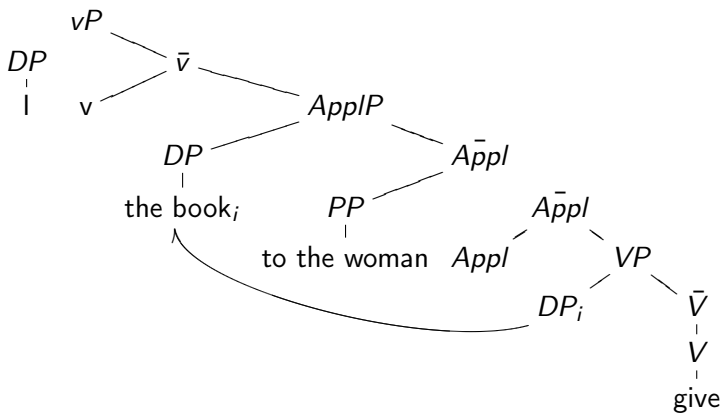
English

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

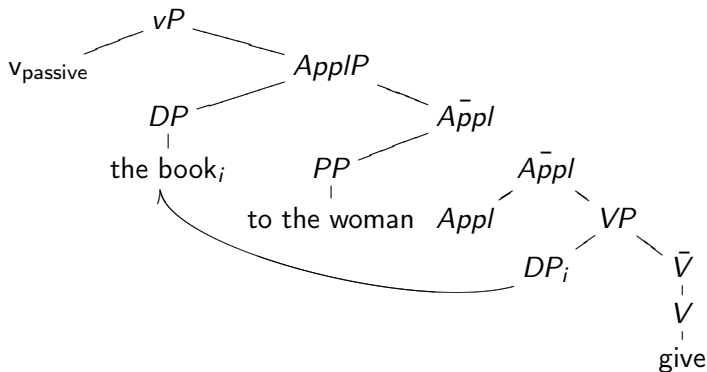
English

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?**

Answer

- Empirical coverage with smallest number of syntactic tools
- Almost all of the machinery is already necessary:
 - For other constructions (e.g., prepositions)
 - For non-English languages (e.g., VP-internal scrambling)

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).’

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

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

- 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

- (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).'

Cconclusion

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"

Background

- Syntactic variation is caused by “competing grammars” (Kroch, 1989)
- The choice between grammatical options can be modelled using logistic regression
- Time based regression models captures **diffusion** of a syntactic option

Linking Hypothesis

Shared historical behaviour **implies** shared syntactic representation

Technical Takeaway

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

Case 1: P-incorporation

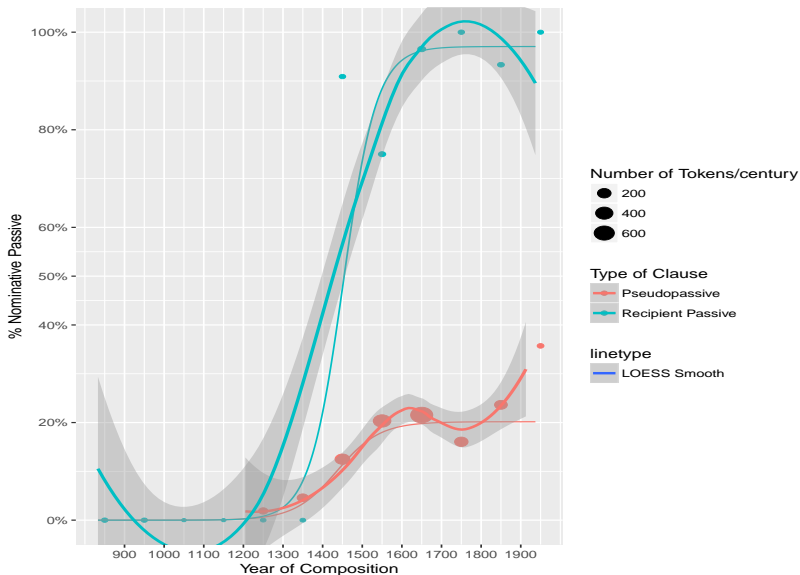
Case #1: P-incorporation

Shared Property

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

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Graph



For example, for the constants $\alpha = 0.001$ and $\beta = 0.0001$

Case 2: Rise and Fall of 'to'

Case #2: Rise and Fall of 'to'

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

(18) Examples using Both Word Orders:

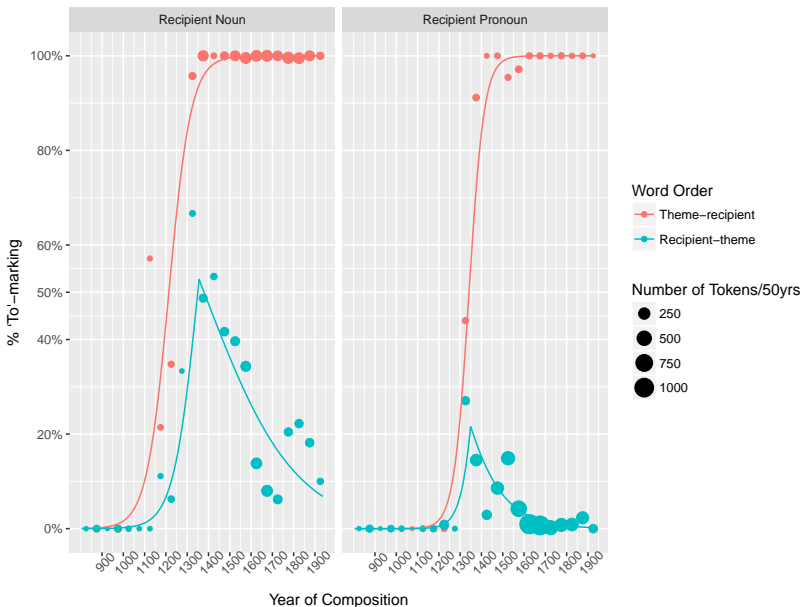
- a. and sealde healfne dæl (*to) Pam
and gave half portion.ACC to the.DAT
gesaeligan þearfan
blessed.DAT needy.DAT
'and gave a half portion to the blessed needy
(coaelive.03,+ALS_[Martin]:69.6009)'
- b. Man sceal eac sylfan (*to) Pam seocan
one should also give to the.DAT sick.DAT
men husel
man.DAT eucharist.ACC
'One should also give the sick man eucharist
(coaelhom.03,+AHom 11:177.1583)'

Old English: Analysis

- (19) Vocabulary Items (6th–11th Centuries):
a. Universal Null Item: $/\emptyset/ \leftrightarrow [\text{dative P}]$

- (20) 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



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"

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