

An extraction restriction with complement-less prepositions in British English but not dialectal German

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1. Overview

This talk explores a potential parallel between two Germanic dialects with regard to complement-less prepositions, by which we mean in each case a very specific construction: British English “Prepositional Object Gaps” and Northern German “da-drop”.

In British English [BrEng], inanimate pronominal complements of certain locative prepositions can be omitted under certain circumstances:

- (1) a. This box has papers in (it). BrEng
 b. Your tie has a stain on (it).

In other varieties, e.g. North American English [NAmEng], the pronoun is obligatory:

- (2) a. The box has papers in *(it). NAmEng
 b. Your tie has a stain on *(it).

We will see that BrEng has not simply reassigned *in* and *on* to the class of optionally transitive prepositions, e.g. *inside*, where such omission is possible for all speakers of English:

- (3) This box has papers inside (it). AllEng

Rather, the omission of the pronouns in (1) is restricted in ways that the omission in (3) is not. It thus cannot simply be a case of optional phonological omission.

Similarly, in Low- and Middle-German Dialects (for simplicity, Northern German/Niederdeutsch [NGer]), inanimate pronominal complements of certain prepositions can sometimes be omitted; namely the *da(r)*- proclitic of “Pronominaladverbien”:

- (4) a. Heute habe ich die Zeit nicht (**da**)zu gehabt. NGer
today have I the time not (DA).for had

- b. Im Sommer sollte man auch gelegentlich einen Wassernapf (**da**)neben stellen.
in summer should one also occasionally a water.bowl (DA).next.to put

- *da* is homophonous with locative ‘there’ but in this context means *it/ them*; see §3.

There is strong agreement that “*da*-drop” is likewise not simply a case of phonologically dropping *da*, or acquiring a new lexical item with the same content but missing the first syllable.¹

After reviewing the basic patterning of these two phenomena, we present novel experimental evidence designed to further explore their syntactic structures. We then discuss the implications of our results for the question of whether the two complement-less P phenomena call for similar syntactic analyses.

Outline:

- 2. Background on BrEng complement-less Ps
- 3. Background on NGer *da*-drop
- 4. Comparison of the two constructions
- 5. Object extraction in BrEng complement-less Ps: new data
- 6. Object extraction with NGer *da*-drop: new data
- 7. Towards an analysis of the extraction facts
- 8. Further directions

Acknowledgments

References

Appendix: *Mit* (A different kind of *da*-drop)

2. Background on BrEng complement-less prepositions

The British English (BrEng) complement-less locative prepositions we are concerned with were first analysed² by Griffiths & Sailor (2015a,b, 2017; Sailor & Griffiths 2017) (G&S) under the moniker “Prepositional Object Gaps” (POGs).

As in (5), the pronoun (a) or gap (b) obligatorily corefers with an overt DP. In BrEng, (a) and (b) are synonymous:

- (5) a. This film_i has monsters in it_{i/*j}. AllEng
 b. This film_i has monsters in _____{i/*j}. BrEng

¹ This has happened with one preposition, *mit*, and the results look completely different in terms of their syntactic and dialectal distribution—see Appendix.

² This phenomenon has been observed in the descriptive literature (Swan 1995, Algeo 2006:197) and (foot)noticed by syntacticians (Belvin & den Dikken 1997:168, fn. 17, McIntyre 2005:5).

2.1. Licensing predicates: Locative have, with

POGs require a predicate like locative *have* (5) or *with* (6) (Swan 1995:433):

- (6) the film_i with monsters in (it_i)

Thus in (7) the existential is bad (a), despite the apparent synonymy of (b) and (c) (G&S):

- (7) a. Don't watch that film_i—there's a monster in *(it_i)!
 b. There's a monster in that film.
 c. That film_i has a monster in (it_i).

Verbs that can be roughly synonymous with *have* do not license POGs (Stockwell & Schütze 2019) (8):

- (8) a. This lift_i can have up to 14 people in (it_i).
 b. This lift_i can hold/accommodate up to 14 people in *(it_i).

Nor do non-locative uses of *have* (Ritter & Rosen 1997, Harley 1998, Myler 2016) (9):³

- (9) a. For a film_i to be successful, monsters have (got) to be in *(it_i)! [modal *have* (*got*) *to*]
 b. The boiler_i had its_i tank collecting water in *(it_i). [experiencer *have*]
 c. The film_i's director had there be lots of monsters in *(it_i). [causative *have*]

2.2. Prepositions

POGs are possible with *in* (above) and *on* (10) in all BrEng:

- (10) a. This box_i has spots on (it_i).
 b. a package_i without enough stamps on (it_i)
 c. pictures_i with coffee stains on (them_i)

The availability of POGs with other locative Ps is subject to interspeaker variation (G&S).⁴ We limit ourselves to *in* and *on* here.

2.3. Restriction on the pronoun

The pronoun must be inanimate. Thus, *it* and inanimate *them* (11) are possible, while 1st and 2nd person pronouns (12) and 3rd person animate pronouns (13) are impossible (G&S):

- (11) These boxes_i have papers in (them_i).
 (12) I/You have {poison/radioactive chemicals} in *(me/you).
 (13) That guy_i looks like he has ten pints of beer in *(him_i).

³ Additional licensing verbs are plausibly built from *have* (cf. Sailor & Griffiths 2017:10): *need* (i), which has been argued to contain possessive *have* (Harves & Kayne 2012); and *get* (ii), which has been claimed to be the inchoative of *have* (Kimball 1973, Emonds 1994:164, i.a.). Again, roughly synonymous verbs fail to license OLPs:

(i) This film_i {needs/??requires/??demands} more monsters in (it_i).

(ii) The guestbook_i {got/*obtained/*acquired} so many rude entries in (it_i) last year that it had to be thrown away.

⁴ G&S (2017) assert that POGs are also licensed—with interspeaker variation—by *behind*, *inside*, *below*, *above*, *beyond*, *around*, *through*, *across*, *along*, *over*, *under*, *between*, *up* and *down*.

2.4. POGs vs. other complement-less Ps

In other environments (beyond *have/with*-frames), all Englishes (not just BrEng) allow a preposition with no overt complement (14); e.g. ‘projective’ Ps (Svenonius 2010) (a); directional particles (b); and predicates of wearing (c):

- (14) a. There was a box on the table. Inside ((of) it) was fine Swiss chocolate.
b. They fell in (the hole).
c. John had a hat on. [N.B. \neq John_i had a hat on him_i.]

3. Background on *da*-drop

3.1. Pronominaladverbien

In certain Germanic languages (illustrating with German), the weak neuter pronoun *es* ('it') cannot be the complement of spatial (or many other) Ps. Instead, an R-pronoun *da(r)* procliticizes to P—"Pronominaladverbien" (van Riemsdijk 1978, Gallmann 1997, Haider 2010, Koopman 2010, Abels 2012, Noonan 2017, i.a.):

- (15) Fritz hat gestern {daran /*an es} gedacht.
*Fritz has yesterday {DA.on/*on it} thought*
'Fritz thought about it [lit. thereon] yesterday.'

With other 3rd person pronouns, Pronominaladverbien alternate with canonical P-pronoun orders if the referent is inanimate, but are excluded if the referent is human (Müller 2000, 2002):

- (16) Maria mußte noch oft daran denken. vs. ... an sie denken.
M had.to still often DA.on think *on 3SG.F think*
 ‘Maria still had to often think about it/*her.’ ‘...think about it/her.’

3.2.Da-fronting

In NGer, *da(r)* is often displaced leftward from the preposition—Fleischer’s (2002) “Spaltungskonstruktion,” ‘split construction’. Proscribed in the standard language,⁵ *da(r)* frequently appears sentence-initially, as in (17a)/(18), but also in the Mittelfeld, as in (17b) and (19):

- (17) a. **Da** kommen sie viel billiger **bei** weg.
DA come.3PL they much cheaper by away
'They come away much cheaper thereby.'

b. Sie kommen **da** viel billiger **bei** weg.
they come.3PL DA much cheaper by away

⁵ „Heute gilt die Trennung der Pronominaladverbien nicht als hochsprachlich; sie ist umgangssprachlich, besonders norddeutsch:... *Da kann ich nichts für*. Hochsprachlich: *Dafür kann ich nichts.*“ (Berger et al. 1972: 532) [‘Today the separation of the pronominal adverbs is not considered high-level language; it is colloquial, especially northern German’]. “Ein weiterer Fehler, wieder vor allem in der gesprochenen Sprache, ist die Aufsplitterung des Pronominaladverbs” (Götze & Hess-Lüttich 2002: 301) [‘Another mistake, again especially in the spoken language, is the splitting of the pronominal adverb’].

- (18) North Saxon (Lindow et al. 1998:274)
(Dar) kaamt se veel billiger **bi** weg.
DA come.3PL they much cheaper by away
‘They come away much cheaper thereby.’
- (19) East Pomeranian (Stübs 1938:140)
Se sünd **doa** sehr besorgt **üm**.
they are DA very worried about
‘They are very worried about it.’

3.3. Da-drop

In NGer, the otherwise obligatory *da(r)* morpheme can disappear. Fleischer notes the optionality of *da(r)* in (20); the two examples are drawn from the same page of a dialectal German source:

- (20) North Saxon (Feyer 1939:27)
- a. Ja, aver Hinnerk, man dröögtsik doch de Han'n nich **drin** af!
yes but H one dries self yet the hands not DA.in off
‘Well, Hinnerk, but one does not dry off one’s hands in it!’
 - b. Dat hangt anne Wand un lett witt, un man dröögtsik de Han'n **in** af.
that hangs on=the wall and looks white and one dries self the hands in off
‘It hangs on the wall and looks white, and one dries off one’s hands in it.’

3.4. Contingency of da-drop on da-fronting

According to Fleischer, the regions where *da*-fronting and *da*-drop are attested are the shaded areas in Figures 1 and 2, respectively. As one can see, the regions are virtually co-extensive. (*Da*-drop and *da*-fronting are possible only with consonant-initial Ps in the lighter shaded areas, but with both vowel- and consonant-initial Ps in the darker shaded areas.)

This distribution invites the hypothesis that *da*-drop might depend on the ability of *da* to front (see §7).



Figure 1: Attestation of *da*-fronting (with all Ps in darker shading, with only C-initial Ps in lighter shading). Berlin & Potsdam are circled. From Fleischer (2002).



Figure 2: Attestation of *da*-drop (with all Ps in darker shading, with only C-initial Ps in lighter shading). Berlin & Potsdam are circled. From Fleischer (2002).

Fleischer's data are based on dialect atlases and dictionaries that rely on attested written examples, so the absence of a construction from a given source could always be accidental, and speech may (have) be(en) more liberal than writing. In other words, his maps are conservative.

By contrast, questionnaire studies, e.g. by Elspaß & Möller (2003ff.), while still showing a predominantly Northern distribution for *da*-fronting, find occasional attestations in even the southernmost states of Germany. It would thus be misleading to claim this is exclusively a Northern phenomenon. Oppenrieder (1991) states that not all speakers who accept *da*-fronting accept *da*-dropping.

Thus, there seems to be a one-way implication: all speakers who can *da*-drop can *da*-front, but not vice-versa.

As an initial causal link between *da*-drop and *da*-fronting, Fleischer (2002:408) points out that if *da* can be fronted to first position, then Topic Drop (= dropping of Spec-CP) could explain its disappearance from that position in a V2 clause, resulting in a V1 order as in (21).

- (21) A: Wie ist's mit Bruckner? B: Ø Kenn ich eigentlich nicht so viel **von**. (Negele 2012:119)
how is.it with B *know I actually not so much about*

But there remain many examples that exclude this analysis because the first position is filled.⁶

These include the standard German examples in (22) collected by Oppenrieder (1991) to make this point, and the dialect examples in (23) and (24) from Fleischer:

- (22) a. der Otto Flasnöcker kann ein Lied **von** singen
the O. F. can a song from sing.INF
 ‘Otto Flasnöcker can sing a song about it.’
- b. ...dann sind sie abends oft so müde, daß sie sich überhaupt nicht mehr
then are they evenings often so tired that they self at.all not more
zu auftraffen, dann sich auch noch mal um ihre Kinder zu kümmern
to bring then self also again about their children to care (Breindl 1989:146)
 ‘...then they are often so tired in the evenings that they no longer can bring themselves
 to do it at all: to also take care of their children once again.’
- (23) Hamburgish (Saltveit 1983: 323)
 Also büst du wedder nich **bi** wesen.
so are you again not at been
 ‘So you weren’t there again.’
- (24) Brandenburgish (Lademann 1956: 338)
- a. Der hät den janßen Noamiddach **bei** tuejeracht.
he has the whole afternoon at spent
 ‘He spent the whole afternoon at it.’
- b. Der hät lange **föä** jespäält.
he has long for played
 ‘He [an organ grinder] played [music] for a long time for it [a penny].’

⁶ Such examples have been independently attested in corpus analyses by several authors: Breindl (1989), Negele (2012), Jürgens (2013), Otte-Ford (2016), Freywald (2017).

4. Comparison

The following table summarises the similarities and differences between BrEng POGs and NGer *da*-drop.

While the two phenomena share broad distributional and descriptive similarities, there look to be deeper syntactic and semantic differences, as our recent (experimental) work has led us to consider.

Conditions on omission of P complements

	BrEng	NGer
<i>Variability</i>		
Dialectally restricted	yes	yes
Interspeaker/regional variation in Ps	yes	yes
<i>Properties of proform & antecedent</i>		
Omission restricted to inanimates	yes	yes ⁷
Proform homophonous with locative	no	yes
Omission restricted to locative Ps	yes	no
Predicates built on <i>have/with</i> (⇒ presence of binder of pronoun)	required	marked/prohibited? (see (25))
<i>Interaction with movement</i>		
Option to separate pronoun from P	no (see (26))	yes (required?)
Omission blocks extraction of object?	yes (§5)	no (§6)

Direct counterparts of English complement-less P sentences are degraded in the relevant German dialects:

- (25) a. (?)Die Schachtel_i hat einen Kugelschreiber da_ineben.
the box *has a* *pen* *DA.next.to*
 ‘The box has a pen next to it.’

NGer

- b. ??Die Schachtel hat einen Kugelschreiber neben.
the box *has a* *pen* *next.to*

- c. *Die Schachtel_i hat da_i einen Kugelschreiber neben.
the box *has DA a* *pen* *next.to*
 (this string allows *da* to receive only the interpretation ‘there’, not ‘it’)

- we suspect that fronting *da* out of PP brings it too close to its antecedent in (25c), violating Binding Principle B; if fronting is a prequel to dropping, that would also explain why (25b) is degraded

⁷ Vacuously so, since *da* is restricted to inanimate antecedents.

Unlike NGer *da*-fronting, there is no option to separate the pronoun from P in POGs (26):

- (26) a. *Them_j, these boxes have papers in *t_j*.
 b. *These boxes <them_j> have <them_j> papers <them_j> in *t_j*.

5. Object extraction and POGs: New data

Based on native speaker intuitions, Stockwell & Schütze (2019) suggested that A-bar movement of the object is impossible with POGs (27):

- (27) What does this shirt have *t* on *(it)? BrEng

There is no such restriction with other complement-less Ps (28), cf. §2.4:

- (28) a. What_j does this box have *t_j* inside?
 b. What kind of hat_j does Mary have *t_j* on?

Here we report a pilot experiment confirming the intuition in (27) that A-bar movement of the object is impossible with POGs.

5.1 Method

- 18 speakers from the British Isles (skewed southeast)
- acceptability ratings on 1–7 Likert scale (7=best)
- target sentences containing $DP_i \text{ HAVE} \dots \text{in/on } \{it_i/\text{them}_i \text{ vs. } \emptyset\}$
- 2×3 design: i) pronoun vs. ii) \emptyset ;
 - a) declarative vs. A-bar extraction b) of direct object vs. c) of subject/adverb⁸
- types of A-bar extraction: *wh*-interrogative, restrictive relativization, topicalization
- 12 target 6-tuples, 8 fillers
- example paradigm:

(29) a. This shirt has stains on it/ \emptyset .	[declarative]
b. What _i does that shirt have <i>t_i</i> on it/ \emptyset ?	[object extraction]
c. Which shirt _j <i>t_j</i> has stains on it/ \emptyset ?	[subject extraction]

5.2 Results

- significant main effects of:
 - pronoun drop (ii vs. i)
 - object extraction (b vs. a)
 - not non-object extraction (c vs. a)
- POG ‘P \emptyset ’ is worse than ‘P *it*’
 object extraction worse than declarative
 subj/adv extraction not worse than declarative

⁸ The adverbs tested, *sometimes* and *usually*, were translation equivalents of some of the frequency adverbials used in the German experiment in §6.

- significant interaction between pronoun drop and fronted constituent:
 - object extraction in POGs is worse than the sum of its parts,
i.e., '*have t P Ø*' is worse than '*have t*' plus '*P Ø*'

TABLE 1: MEAN RATINGS BY CONDITION

Structure	pronoun overt	pronoun dropped	Difference
a) Declarative	6.61	5.52	1.09
b) Object extraction	5.47	3.14	2.33
c) Non-object extraction	6.64	5.58	1.06

TABLE 2: ANOVAs

Source	F_1	df	p	F_2	df	p
Non-obj vs. Decl.	< 1	1,17	ns	< 1	1,11	ns
Obj. vs. Decl.	21.43	1,17	.001***	30.01	1,11	.001***
<i>pronoun</i> vs. Ø	34.03	1,17	.001***	66.65	1,11	.001***
Interaction Non-obj/Decl. vs. pron/Ø	< 1	1,17	ns	< 1	1,11	ns
Interaction Obj/Decl. vs. pron/Ø	8.20	1,17	.011*	8.13	1,11	.016*

6. Object extraction and *da*-drop: New data

This section reports a second experiment, which finds no evidence for an analogous restriction on object extraction in NGer *da*-drop:

6.1 Method

- 34 speakers from the Berlin/Brandenburg region from the Uni Potsdam subject pool
- acceptability ratings on 1–7 Likert scale (7=best) of the final (**boldface**) sentence in a multi-sentence two-person dialog
- target sentences containing ...*da/Ø...{zu/bei/für/von/gegen/hinter/vor/neben}*⁹
- 2×2 design: i) *da* vs. ii) Ø;
A-bar fronting of a) direct object vs. b) subject/AdvP
- types of A-bar fronting: matrix topicalization (to 1st position in V2 declarative)
of direct object vs. AdvP
restrictive relativization of direct object vs. subject
- 16 target 4-tuples, 32 fillers

⁹ In these dialects, vowel-initial prepositions are strongly dispreferred in this construction, so we could not test the closest counterparts to British English *in/on* (*in/auf*). Also, *mit* was avoided—see Appendix.

- example paradigm:

- (30) A: Was sind die Nebenwirkungen der Tabletten?
what are the side.effects of.the tablets

B: Das ist bei jedem unterschiedlich. ...
that is for everyone different

- a. **Aber einen Ausschlag; kann man da/Ø häufig t_i von bekommen.** [object top.]
but a rash can one DA/Ø often from get
- b. **Aber häufig; kann man da/Ø t_j einen Ausschlag von bekommen.** [AdvP top.]
but often can one DA/Ø a rash from get

- the stimuli were presented in Standard German orthography, rather than attempting to represent dialectal pronunciation (as in Henneberg 2017), since people are not accustomed to reading the latter

6.2 Results

- significant main effects of:

- *da*-drop (ii vs. i)
 - object vs. nonobject extraction (b vs. a)¹⁰
- Ø* is worse than *da*
 object topicaliz. worse than adjunct topicaliz.
 object relativiz. worse than subject relativiz.

- no significant interactions¹¹

Cautionary Note: The stimuli were long sequences of sentences where the judgement hinged on the presence/absence of the same very short word. It would be desirable to conduct a follow-up experiment where participants read the sentences out loud to verify that they are not skipping *da* when it is present, nor inserting it when it is absent.

TABLE 3: MEAN RATINGS BY CONDITION:
 MATRIX TOPICALIZATION

Structure	<i>da</i> overt	<i>da</i> dropped	Difference
Object fronted	4.56	3.13	1.43
AdvP fronted	4.71	3.68	1.03

TABLE 4: MEAN RATINGS BY CONDITION:
 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Structure	<i>da</i> overt	<i>da</i> dropped	Difference
Object relativized	3.56	2.65	0.91
Subject relativized	4.28	2.70	1.58

¹⁰ Significant by subjects; marginal or ns. by items.

¹¹ The marginal interaction (by subjects only) in relative clauses, such that subject relativization plus *da*-drop is rated especially bad, is opposite to the pilot result reported in our abstract, where object relativization plus *da*-drop produced exceptionally low scores. The items in the current experiment were much more tightly controlled than in the pilot, so the discrepancy is not surprising. Before making anything of this potential effect, we would want to see if it replicates, and approaches significance in the items analysis, with more (than 8) items; see also the Cautionary Note.

TABLE 5: ANOVAs (MATRIX TOPICALIZATION)

Source	F_1	df	p	F_2	df	p
AdvP vs. Obj. Top	5.43	1,33	.026*	3.76	1,7	.094
da vs. Ø	27.14	1,33	.001***	19.94	1,7	.003**
Interaction AdvP/Subj vs. da/Ø	<1	1,33	ns	1.04	1,7	.34

TABLE 6: ANOVAs (RELATIVE CLAUSES)

Source	F_1	df	p	F_2	df	p
Subj vs. Obj. Rel	5.92	1,33	.021*	1.62	1,7	.24
da vs. Ø	35.59	1,33	.001***	28.21	1,7	.001***
Interaction Obj/Subj vs. da/Ø	3.73	1,33	.062	1.37	1,7	.28

7. Towards an analysis of the extraction facts

In this section, we present an idea for how to derive the difference between English POGs and German *da*-drop with respect to object extraction.

7.1 The object extraction restriction with BrEng POGs

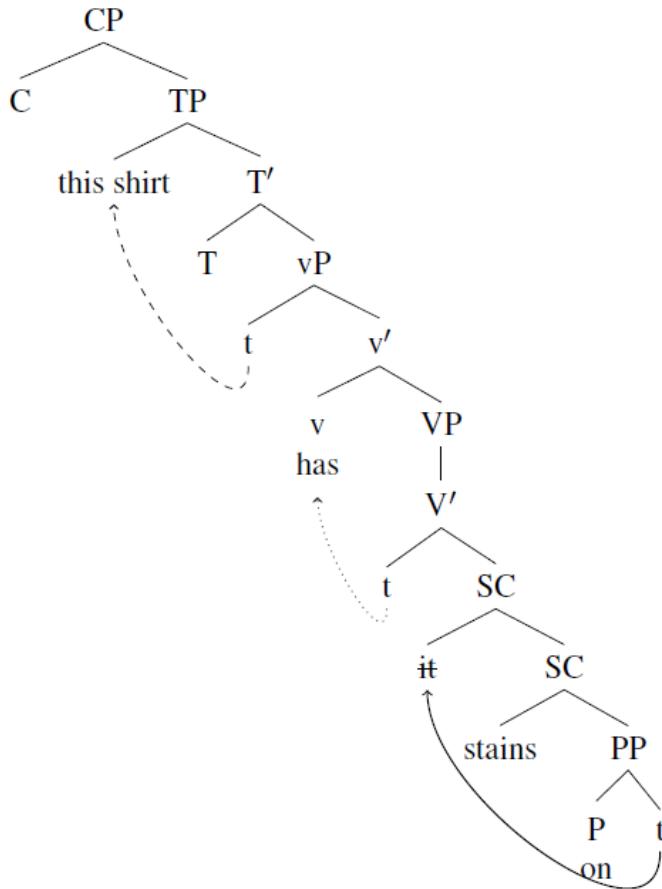
First, we assume that the pronominal complement of P needs to move in order to be silenced.

Compare the co-extension of *da*-drop and *da*-fronting in NGer, which suggests that *da*-drop may be contingent on *da*-fronting.

There are precedents for the claim that certain elements must move in order to delete; e.g., Chomsky's (1973, 1977) classic analysis of Comparative Deletion; Johnson (1991); Fitzpatrick (2006); Schirer (2008)

More precisely, we stipulate that *it* A-bar moves to the edge of the small clause (SC) complement of locative *have* (31) in order to be silenced:

- (31) This shirt has stains on.



Second, we assume that crossing A-bar dependencies are ungrammatical—Pesetsky's (1982) Path Containment Condition.

Crossing, in contrast to nested, A-bar dependencies yield ungrammaticality in a range of structures; e.g., *tough*-movement plus wh-movement (32):

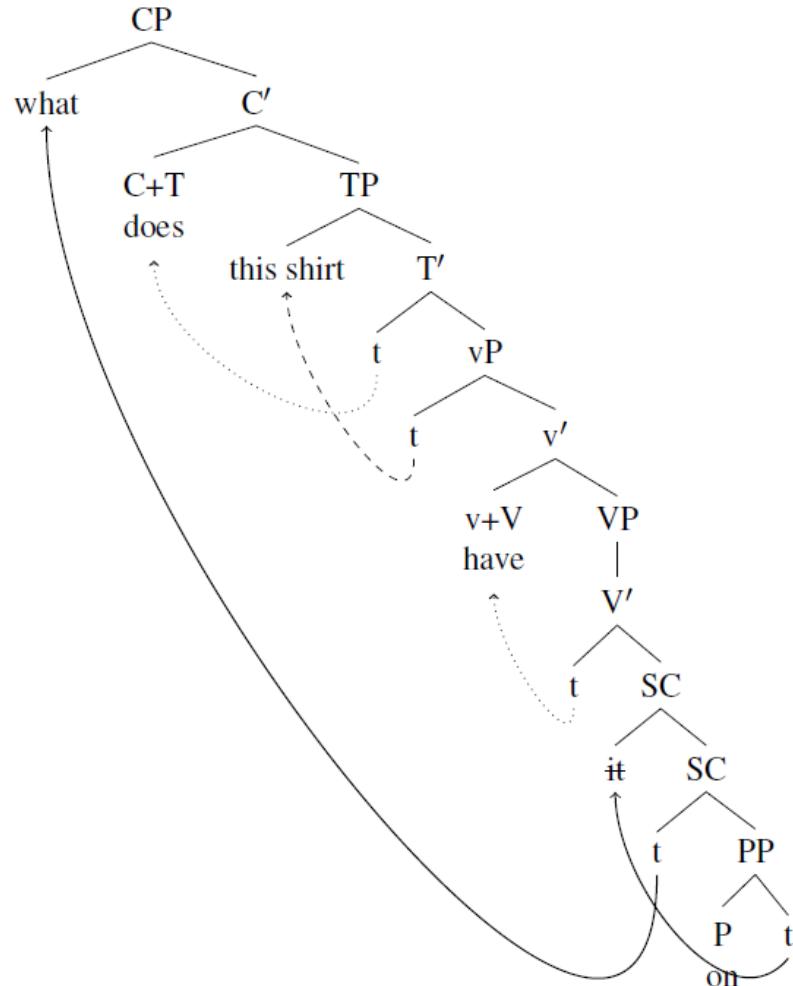
- (32) a. *[Which sonata]_i is [this violin]_j easy [OP_j PRO to play t_i on t_j]? *crossing*
 b. [Which violin]_j is [this sonata]_i easy [OP_i PRO to play t_i on t_j]? *nested*

Compare also the relative acceptability of the nested vs. crossing wh-island violations in (33):

- (33) a. *Who_i do you know [_{CP} what subject_j PRO to talk to t_i about t_j]? *crossing*
 b. ?What subject_j do you know [_{CP} who_i PRO to talk to t_i about t_j]? *nested*

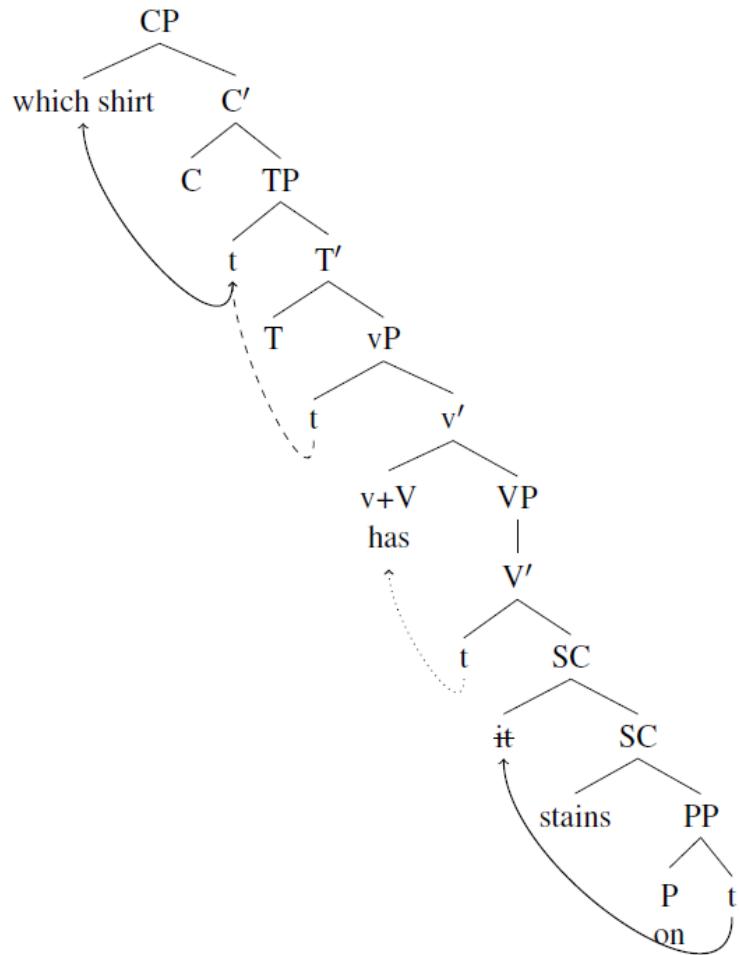
Combined with A-bar movement of *it*, A-bar movement of the “object” from the specifier of SC creates crossing A-bar dependencies, hence ungrammaticality (34):

- (34) *What does this shirt have on?



A-bar movement of subjects and adverbs from above SC does not interact with A-bar movement of *it*, hence is grammatical (35):

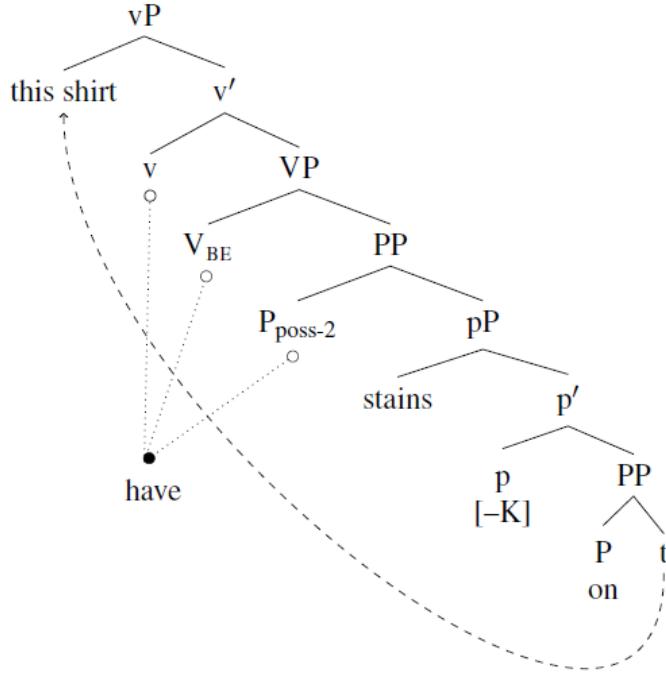
- (35) Which shirt has stains on?



7.2 Comparison with G&S's analysis of POGs

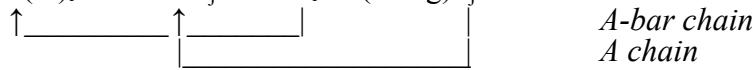
G&S propose that POGs are derived by A-movement of the complement of P to subject position (36):¹²

- (36) This shirt has stains on. [G&S analysis]



The object restriction would not be expected on an A-movement analysis. Crossing of an A-chain and an A-bar chain is not excluded (37):¹³

- (37) Who(m)_i does John_j strike t_i as (being) t_j selfish?



7.3 No object extraction restriction with NGer da-drop

We argue that the availability of scrambling is the reason why there is no analogous object extraction restriction with NGer *da*-drop.

We assume that German local scrambling does not count as A-bar movement, since it has several A-movement properties. As in (38) and (39), scrambling creates new binding relationships (Haider 2010):

¹² In other words, for G&S POGs are in a Case alternation with the existential: *There are monsters in this film*.

¹³ Stockwell & Schütze (2019) argue further that the structure in (36) makes incorrect predictions regarding variable and anaphor binding. For example (i), since Principle A should be satisfiable prior to A-movement, (ib) should be able to mean the same (trivial) thing as (ia); instead, it is as bad as (ic) with an overt pronoun:

- (i) a. Of course [my car]_i is in the picture of itself_j.
- b. *Of course [the picture of itself_i]_j has [my car]_i in t_j .
- c. *Of course [the picture of itself_i]_j has [my car]_i in it_j.

- (38) a. *dass man Peter_i Peters Vater _{t_i} nicht übergeben hat
that one Peter(ACC) Peter's father(DAT) not surrendered has
 ('that one has not surrendered Peter to Peter's father')
 [scrambled DP triggers Cond C violation]
- b. dass man [den Hut des Polizisten]_i dem Polizisten _{t_i} nicht übergeben hat
that one [the hat of.the policeman](ACC) [the policeman](DAT) not surrendered has
 'that one has not surrendered the policeman's hat to the policeman'
 [scrambling rescues D-structure Cond C configuration]
- (39) a. dass wer den Schülern einander zeigen wird
that someone the students(DAT) each.other(ACC) show will
 'that someone will show the students each other' [base order, IO > DO]
- b. dass wer die Schüler_i einander _{t_i} zeigen wird
that someone the students(ACC) each.other(DAT) show will
 'that someone will show the students to each other' [scrambled order, DO > IO]

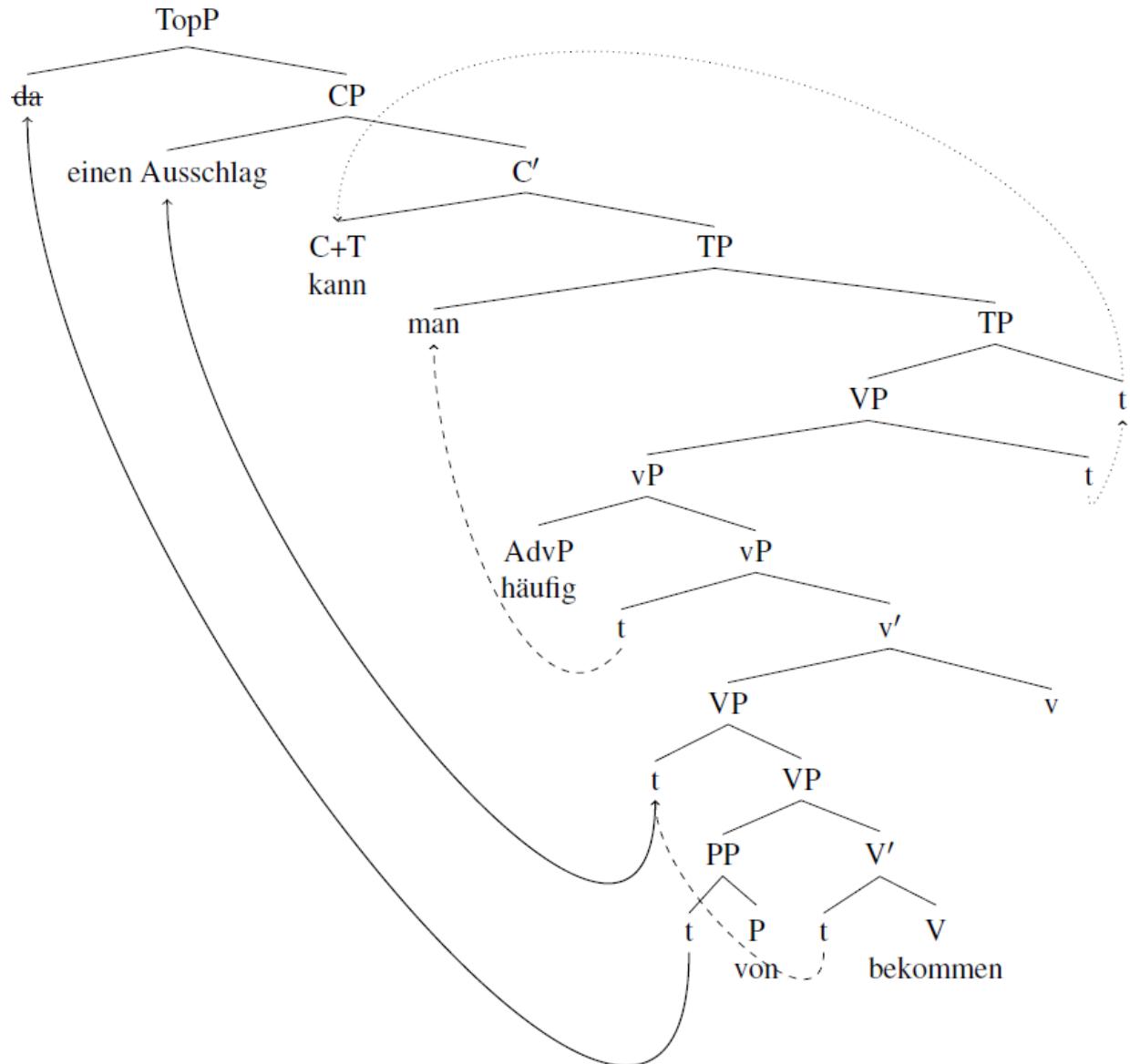
The option of scrambling the object will avoid crossing A-bar dependencies.

Da is topical in our examples in the sense that it finds its antecedent in a preceding sentence. The antecedent must presumably be sufficiently prominent in order for the discourse to be coherent. The topicality of *da* may mean that it has to reach the left periphery (e.g. Rizzi's (1997) TopicP) in order to be silenced. We consider this movement to be A-bar movement.

The assumption that *da* needs to move in order to be silenced is supported by the fact that only speakers who can *da*-front can *da*-drop.

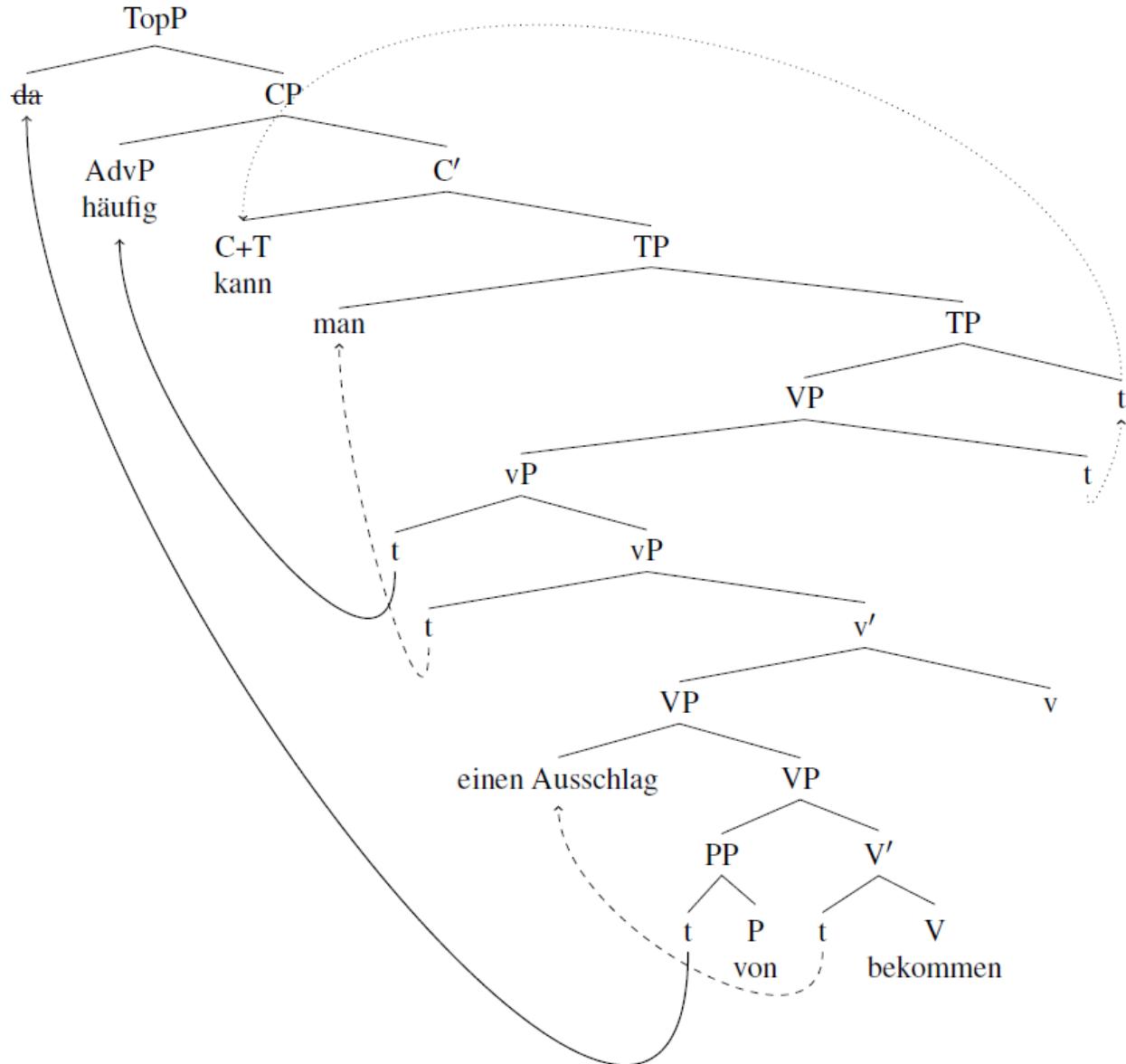
Still, such *da*-topicalization need not involve any crossing A-bar dependencies. For example (40), the object can scramble past *da* before A-bar moving, creating nested A-bar dependencies:

- (40) Einen Ausschlag kann man häufig von bekommen.
a *rash* *can one often from get*



For subject and adjunct extraction, we assume *da* could likewise A-bar move directly from its base position, e.g. (41):

- (41) Häufig kann man einen Ausschlag von bekommen.
often can one a rash from get



7.4 Summary

In BrEng, object extraction is ungrammatical with POGs.

In NGer, object extraction is grammatical with *da*-drop.

Our analysis assumes that:¹⁴

- i) crossing A-bar dependencies cause ungrammaticality;
- ii) in BrEng, the pronoun A-bar moves to the edge of *have*'s Small Clause complement;
- iii) in NGer, *da* A-bar moves to Spec-TopP.

In BrEng, object extraction would cross movement of the pronoun, so it is ruled out.

In NGer, scrambling obviates any potential crossing A-bar dependencies.

8. Further directions

Overall, it seems clear that BrEng POGs and NGer *da*-drop require different syntactic analyses.

Still, their (modest) similarities beg the question whether common properties of the related languages have facilitated their emergence.

We conclude with some scattered diachronic and synchronic observations regarding potentially relevant phenomena in other related languages, and invite suggestions for more.

8.1. Diachrony

The history of complement-less Ps could shed further light on their analysis.

We know almost nothing about the historical origins of POGs or *da*-drop and whether they happened independently in (earlier) German and English—we'd love to hear if anyone knows about this.^{15,16,17}

¹⁴ Additionally, we assume vP is not a phase (Grano & Lasnik 2018; Keine 2020a,b; Mendes & Ranero 2021). Although we show the subject *man* scrambling to adjoin to TP in (40) and (41), such 'Wackernagel' movement is generally thought to be restricted to weak, pronoun-like subjects, if it happens at all in German. Full DP subjects are usually assumed to stay in Spec-vP. If vP were a phase, the need for *da* to move through its edge to get to Spec-TopP could potentially create crossing A-bar dependencies when the subject is relativized. Since we found no significant degradation in that condition, we assume vP is not a phase.

¹⁵ The option of leftward displacement of *da(r)* apparently dates back at least to Old High German (Russ 1982).

¹⁶ Fleischer (2008) has sought to trace the history of *da*-drop. Putting aside examples with *mit*, he finds early attestations from the man who would become Frederick I of Prussia in 1670 (ia) and Goethe (in a letter to Sophe v. La Roche) in 1775 (ib):

(i) a. Ich habe nicht die Zeit zu gehabt. (Lasch 1928:306)
I have not the time to had
 'I didn't have the time for it.'

b. Ich weiß kein Wort von (Paul 1919:159)
I know no word of
 'I don't know a word about it'

¹⁷ Visser (1963:535) cites half a page of omitted P complements, but offers no discussion of what factors may have been licensing those omissions, or indeed whether the relevant Ps were simply optionally transitive at the time.

Allen (1980) shows that Old English had some properties in common with dialectal German: the locative proform ‘there’ could also serve as an inanimate 3rd person pronominal proclitic complement to adpositions (42), and in both functions it could strand those adpositions by moving leftward (43):

- (42) ...ðæt hi wære beon ðæs cwydes ðe **ðæræfter** gecweden is.
that they attentive be the.GEN sentence.GEN that thereafter said is
‘...that they be attentive to the sentence which is said after that.’

- (43) a. ...ðæt **ðær** wæs butan seo swaðu **on**
that there was but the mark on
‘that only the mark was on there’
- b. Be ðæm ðu meaht ongietan ðæt ðu **ðær** nane myrhðe **on** næfdest.
by that you may understand that you there no joy in not.had
‘By that, you may know that you had no joy in that.’

However—and perhaps more surprisingly—personal pronouns could also scramble (Allen’s analysis) away from the preposition of which they were the complement. This is different from what we saw with POGs in §2.3:

- (44) ða wendon hi **me** heora bæc **to**.
then turned they me their backs to
‘Then they turned their backs to me.’

We don’t know if there was ever a time when any P+pronoun combinations could be expressed only using *there*+P, such that P-complement drop would have been unambiguously *there*-drop. But if so, and if that is when dropping arose, then whatever analysis was posited for complement-less P sentences would have had to change once *there*+P ceased to be productive. It seems plausible that the counterparts of *it/ them*, true personal pronoun complements to P, were more restricted in their behaviour than *there*.¹⁸

This could have forced a reanalysis of the complement-less P construction that induced the additional restrictions found in modern BrEng but not NGer (e.g., the restriction to *have/with* etc.). The reanalysis may simply have failed in North American English.

¹⁸ Indeed, German is suggestive in this regard. In NGer, proform *da* can occupy 1st position in a V2 clause (cf. (18)), but referential *es* cannot:

(i) *Es habe ich gesehen.
it have I seen

8.2 Further dialectal variation

Further insights could come from further comparative analysis. We would love to hear whether complement-less Ps are attested in other Englishes or Germanic languages/dialects.¹⁹

Fleischer (2002) is hard-pressed to find any Germanic languages besides German that display (the counterpart of) *da*-drop. The only candidates he puts forward are Jutlandic Danish (45) and North Frisian (46):

- (45) sådan en stor stykke noget stiv gullig papir med en klat rød lak på (Jensen 1971:33)
such a big piece of some stiff golden paper with a blood red blob on
- (46) Ik hee en Dååler far deen, wen't ã wān weer (Grünberg n.d.)
I have.SBJV a dollar for given if=it not been was
 ‘I would have given a dollar for it, if it had not been (true).’

Intriguingly, there was one German dialect (spoken in Cattenstedt, Nordharz, Eastphalian) that was described by Damköhler (1927: 37) as dropping *da(r)* just in the presence of the verbs *have*, *give* and *get* (and only before the preposition *von*):

- (47) a. Jif mek wat fon.
give me some of
 ‘Give me some of it.’
- b. Ek wil wat fon hebn.
I want.to some of have
 ‘I want to have some of it.’
- c. Dû drist nischt fon.
you get nothing of
 ‘You get none of it.’

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¹⁹ A reviewer suggests that BrEng-style POGs are attested in Afrikaans, e.g.

(i) Die boks het papiere in.
the box has papers in

(We have not independently verified whether all the criteria discussed in §2 are met.) Like German, Afrikaans allows R-pronouns, but they are not compatible with *have*:

(ii) *Die boks het papiere daarin.
the box has papers DA.in

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Appendix: *Mit* (A different kind of *da*-drop)

Fleischer (2000) argues that some of the dialects where only *mit* allows *da(r)* omission show none of the other properties of dialects where *da(r)* is more generally ommissible (e.g., frontability of *da*) and are also geographically disjoint from them (e.g., Swabian, Alemannic, cf. (48)–(50)).

He concludes on this basis that these omissions call for a different analysis. (He even cites some dialect descriptions that suggest the form *damit* has virtually ceased to be used.)

The same point is made by data from Zurich Swiss German, as noted by van Riemsdijk (1975:196–7), where *mit* (and its negative *ooni* ‘without’) licenses omission of inanimate complements but no other prepositions do. (49) is a simple example from the *Idiotikon*. (50) is an example van Riemsdijk considers idiomatic, with the understood complement being context-dependent. In (49) but not (50), Standard German would use *damit*.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| (48) Colmarien (Alsatian) | (Muller 1983:260) |
| <i>i nimm d' ruet un schlâ- di mit.</i> | |
| <i>I take the rod and hit you with</i> | |
| ‘I take the rod and hit you with it.’ | |
| (49) <i>I^{ch} biⁿ mit z'frideⁿ.</i> | (Bachmann et al. 1901:560) |
| <i>I am with satisfied</i> | |
| ‘I am satisfied with it.’ | |
| (50) <i>iʒ daz mit (zərvɪs)?</i> | |
| <i>is that with service</i> | |
| ‘Is the tip included?’ | |