

DATIVES CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY

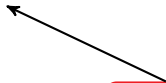
PAVEL CAHA AND MARINA PANTCHEVA

CASTL

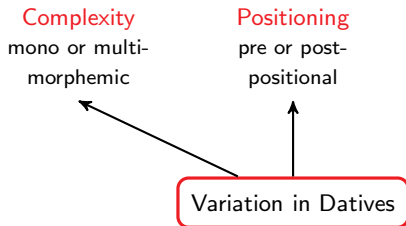
October 23, 2012

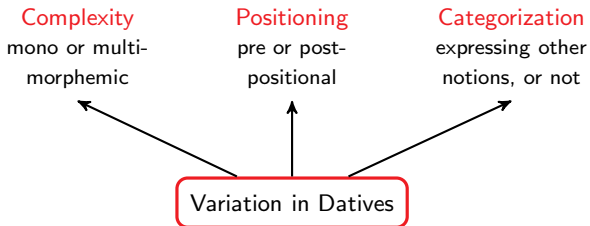
Variation in Datives

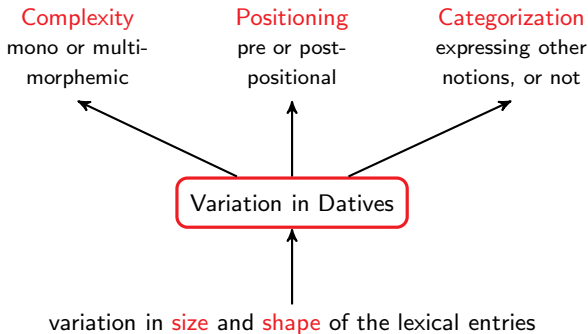
Complexity
mono or multi-
morphemic



Variation in Datives







Environments of Dative

Dative is a recipient case (second object of *give*)

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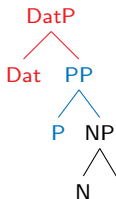
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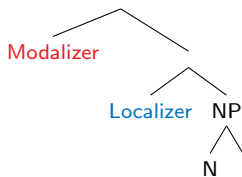
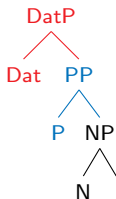
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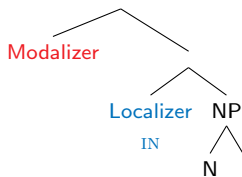
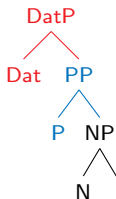
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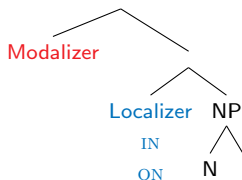
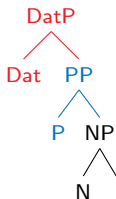
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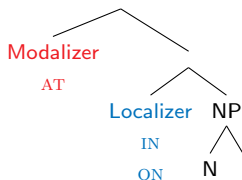
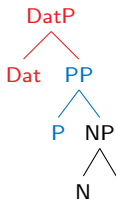
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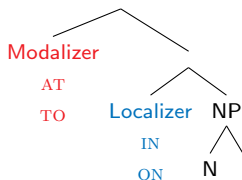
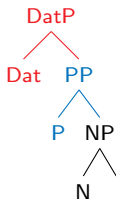
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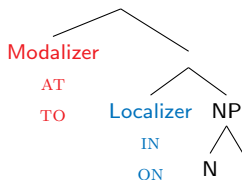
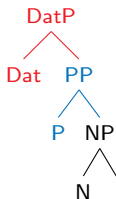
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We focus first on cases where Dative markers appear in Goal expressions.

Dative as a Goal marker

Dative as a Goal marker

Type 1 languages

NP-P-DAT

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NP-P-DAT

- (3) kəatlu-vu-n
house-in-DAT
'into the house'
(Lak, Murkelinskij 1967)

Dative as a Goal marker

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Type 2 languages

NP-DAT

Dative as a Goal marker

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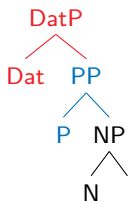
Type 2 languages

NP-DAT

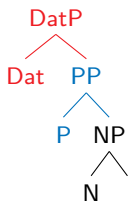
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The underlying syntactic structure is:

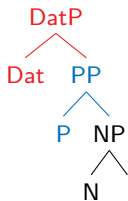
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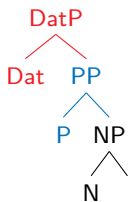


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Where is P in Type 2 languages?

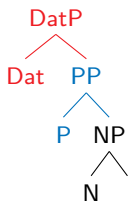
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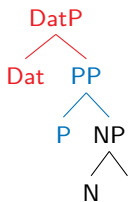
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Where is P in Type 2 languages?

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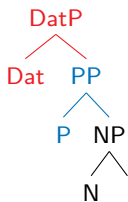
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Uniformity Principle (Chomsky 2001)

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

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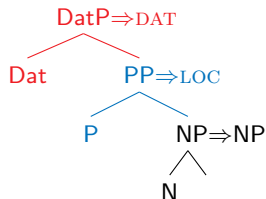
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Phrasal Spell-out

Lexical entries can spell out phrasal nodes.

Phrasal Spell-out

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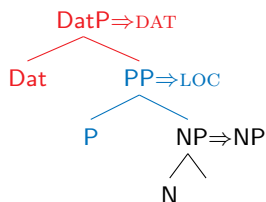
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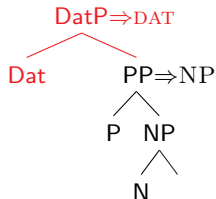
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Type 1



Type 2a



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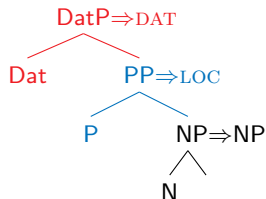
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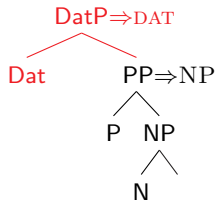
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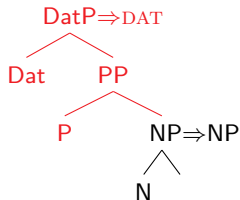
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Type 2a



Type 2b



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Phrasal Spell-out

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Predictions

According to the theory, the NP-DAT type is the result of the P head being spelled out together with NP or with Dat.

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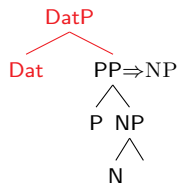
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We expect consequences from the different lexicalizations.

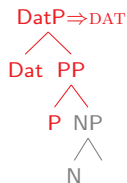
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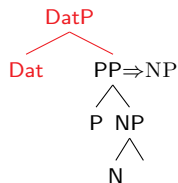


Type 2b

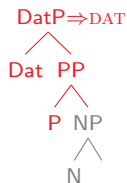
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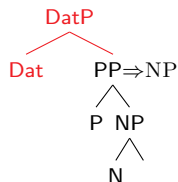
Type 2b

- sensitivity to the type of nouns

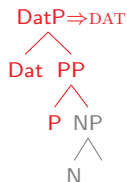
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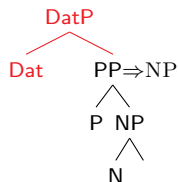
- sensitivity to the type of nouns

- no sensitivity to the type of nouns

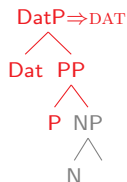
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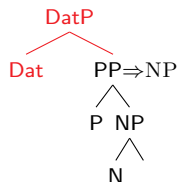
Type 2b

- sensitivity to the type of nouns
- AP intervention effect
- no sensitivity to the type of nouns

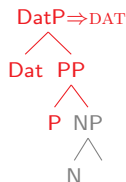
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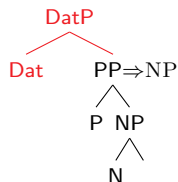
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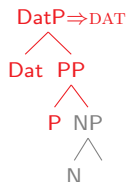
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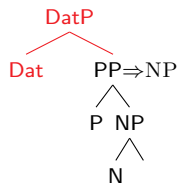
Type 2b

- sensitivity to the type of nouns
 - AP intervention effect
 - no sensitivity to dative allomorphs
- no sensitivity to the type of nouns
 - no AP intervention effect

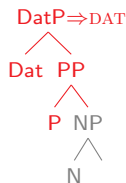
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Type 2a



Type 2b

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
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| ● AP intervention effect | ● no AP intervention effect |
| ● no sensitivity to dative allomorphs | ● sensitivity to dative allomorphs |

Noun dependency in Type 2a

- (6) naan tɪffuʊr-**kkə** pooyi
I Trichur.DAT went
'I went to Trichur.'
(Malayalam, Asher and Kumari 1997)

Noun dependency in Type 2a

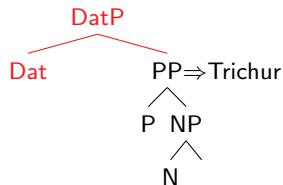
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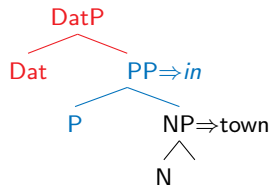
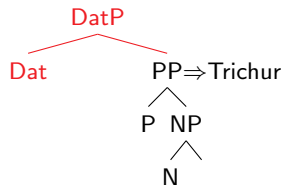
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No noun dependency in Type 2b

data from North Saami, Ritva Nystad p.c

- (8) Mun manan Kárášjohk-**ii**
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No noun dependency in Type 2b

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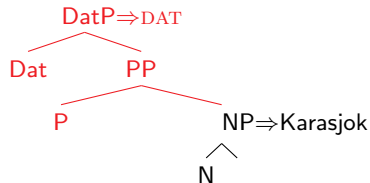
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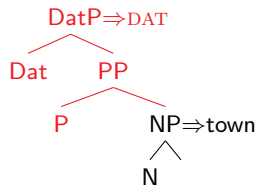
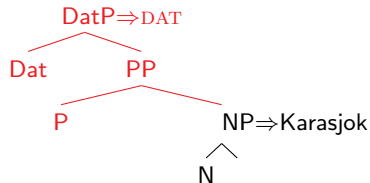
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- (11) *naan **nammuDe aa pazhaya** tɪʃʃuur-**kkə** pooyi
I our that old Trichur-DAT went
'I went to our old Trichur.'

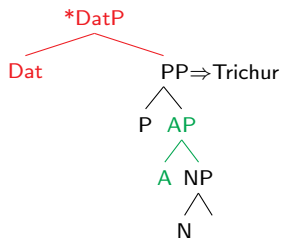
Intervention effect in Type 2a

(data from K. Jayaseelan, p.c.)

- (10) naan tɪffjuur-**kkə** pooyi
I Trichur.DAT went
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(Malayalam, Asher and Kumari 1997)

- (11) naan **nammuDe aa** pazhaya tɪffjuur-**il-eekkə** pooyi
I our that old Trichur-in-DAT went
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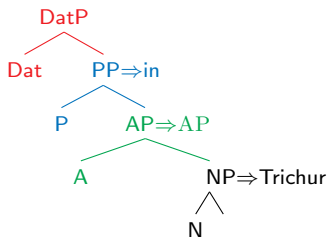
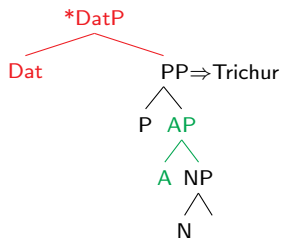
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No intervention effect in Type 2b

data from North Saami, Ritva Nystad p.c

- (12) Mun manan Kárášjohk-**ii**
I go.1SG Karasjok-**DAT**
'I go to Karasjok.'

No intervention effect in Type 2b

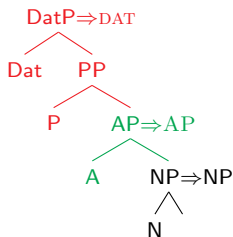
data from North Saami, Ritva Nystad p.c

- (12) Mun manan Kárášjohk-**ii**
I go.1SG Karasjok-**DAT**
'I go to Karasjok.'
- (13) Mun manan čáppa Kárášjohk-**ii**
I go.1SG pretty Karasjok-**DAT**
'I go to the pretty Karasjok.'

No intervention effect in Type 2b

data from North Saami, Ritva Nystad p.c

- (12) Mun manan Kárášjohk-ii
I go.1SG Karasjok-DAT
'I go to Karasjok.'
- (13) Mun manan čáppa Kárášjohk-ii
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'I go to the pretty Karasjok.'



Sensitivity of Dative allomorphs in Type 2b

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Bulgarian *na* ⇔ [DatP Dat [PP P]]

Sensitivity of Dative allomorphs in Type 2b

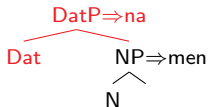
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- (14) Dade knigata *na* men.
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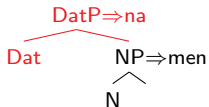


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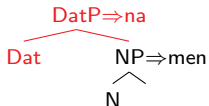
(15) Slozhi knigata *na* men.
put.3SG book.the DAT me
'He put the book on me.'



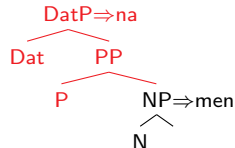
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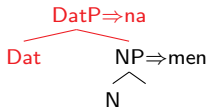
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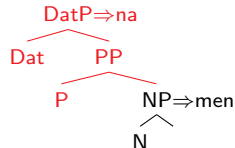
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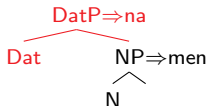


Bulgarian *-i* ⇔ [DatP Dat]

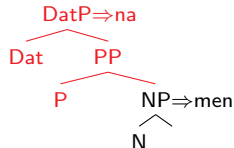
Sensitivity of Dative allomorphs in Type 2b

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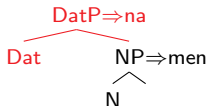
Bulgarian *-i* ⇔ [DatP Dat]

- (16) Dade m-*i* knigata.
gave.3SG 1SG-DAT book.the
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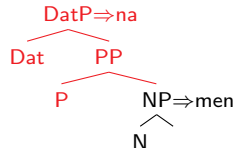
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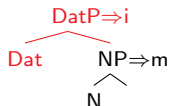


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Bulgarian *-i* ⇔ [DatP Dat]

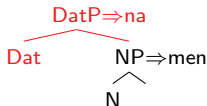
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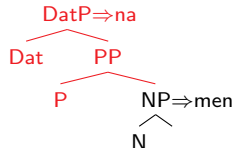
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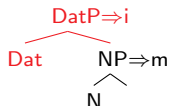


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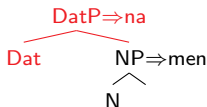


- (17) Slozhi m-*i* knigata.
put.3SG 1SG-DAT book.the
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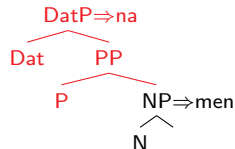
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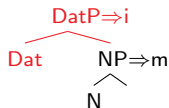


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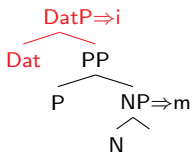


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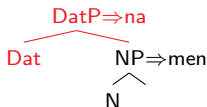
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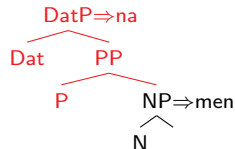
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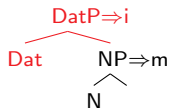


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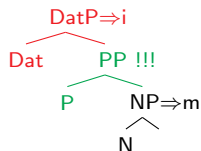


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Positioning

Variation in the markers' position with respect to the NP:

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- Prepositional language:

(18) *na kaj parkot*
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(Macedonian, Eva Piperevska, p.c)

Positioning

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- Postpositional language:

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- Mixed language:

- (20) *xlán gbó jí*
 DAT trash on
 'onto the dumpster'
 (Gungbe, Aboh 2010)

Spell-out driven movement

The underlying structure is universal.

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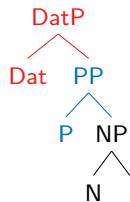
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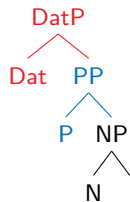


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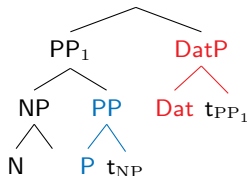
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Prepositional:



Postpositional:

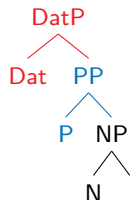


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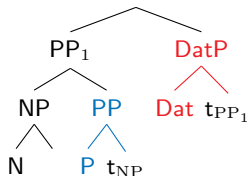
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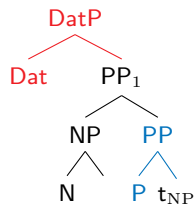
Prepositional:



Postpositional:



Mixed:

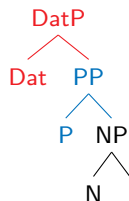


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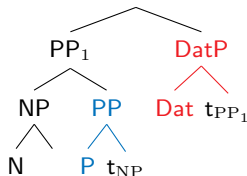
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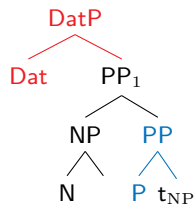
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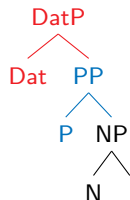
What triggers these movements?

Spell-out driven movement

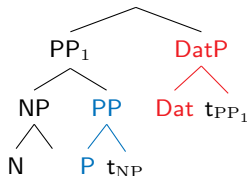
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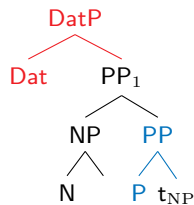
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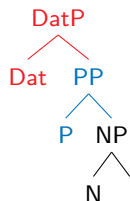
Evacuation movement creating the right configuration for lexical insertion

Spell-out driven movement

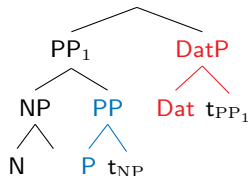
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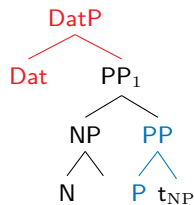
Prepositional:



Postpositional:



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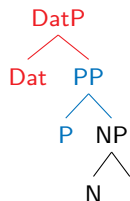
Trigger?

Spell-out driven movement

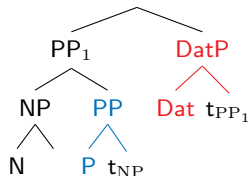
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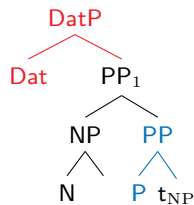
Prepositional:



Postpositional:



Mixed:



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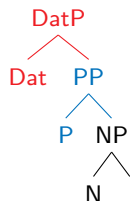
Trigger? The particular shape of the lexical entry

Spell-out driven movement

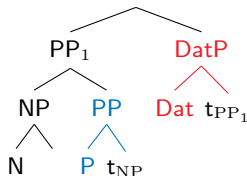
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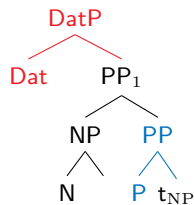
Prepositional:



Postpositional:



Mixed:



What triggers these movements?

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Evacuation movement creating the right configuration for lexical insertion

Trigger? The particular shape of the lexical entry

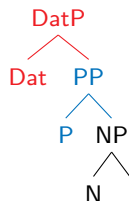
Timing?

Spell-out driven movement

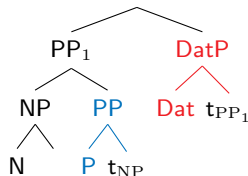
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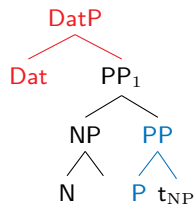
Prepositional:



Postpositional:



Mixed:



What triggers these movements?

Spell-out driven movement

Evacuation movement creating the right configuration for lexical insertion

Trigger? The particular shape of the lexical entry

Timing? Lexical access after each Merge (Cyclic Spell-out)

Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Prepositional order

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Prepositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow <Dat>

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Prepositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow <Dat>

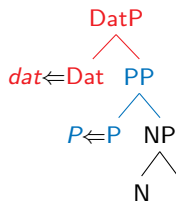
P \Leftrightarrow <P>

Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Prepositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow <Dat>

P \Leftrightarrow <P>



Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Postpositional order

Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Postpositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow < DatP >
|
Dat

Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Postpositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow \langle DatP \rangle
|
Dat

P \Leftrightarrow \langle PP \rangle
|
P

Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Postpositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow \langle DatP \rangle
|
Dat

P \Leftrightarrow \langle PP \rangle
|
P

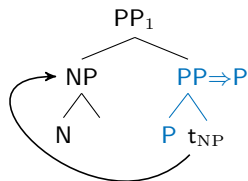


Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Postpositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow \langle DatP \rangle
|
Dat

P \Leftrightarrow \langle PP \rangle
|
P

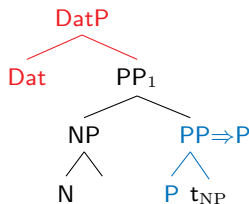
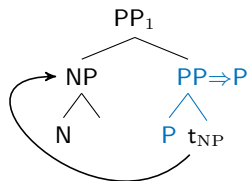


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dat \Leftrightarrow \langle DatP \rangle
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|
P

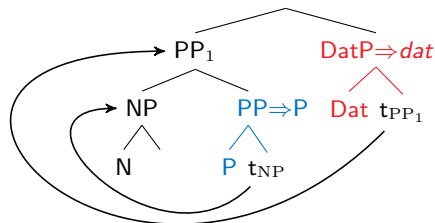
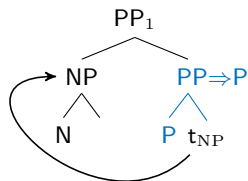


Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Postpositional order

dat \Leftrightarrow \langle DatP \rangle
|
Dat

P \Leftrightarrow \langle PP \rangle
|
P



Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

Mixed order

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Mixed order

dat \Leftrightarrow <Dat>

Different shapes of entries \Rightarrow different morpheme orderings

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dat \Leftrightarrow <Dat>

P \Leftrightarrow < PP >
 |
 P

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P \Leftrightarrow < PP >
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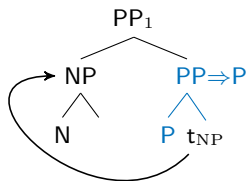


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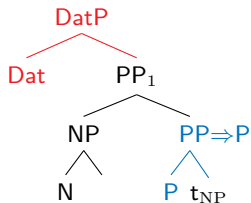
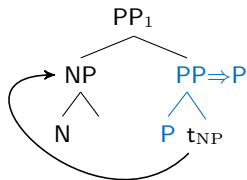


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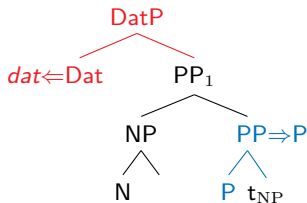
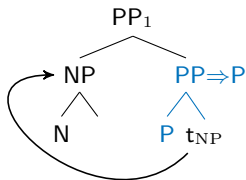


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Categorization

Dative = Allative

Categorization

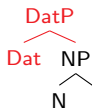
Dative = Allative (example from Bulgarian)

- (21) Dade knigata na men.
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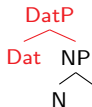


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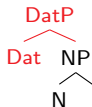
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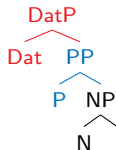
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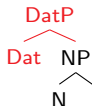
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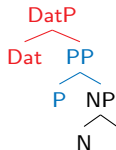
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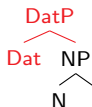


Dative = Genitive

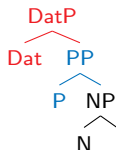
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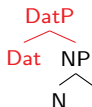
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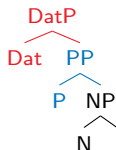
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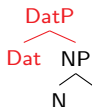
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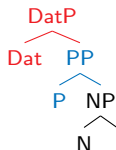
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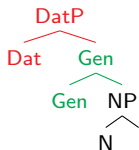


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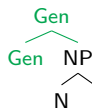


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NOM	†	t
GEN	†	s
DAT	?a-†	?a-s

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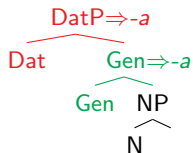
	COMMON	PROPER
NOM	†	t
GEN	†	s
DAT	?a-†	?a-s

Classical Arabic (Johnston 1996)

	thief (fs.sg.)	Mecca (fs.sg.)	queen (cs.pl.)
NOM	sāriq-u-n	makkat-u	malik-āt-u
ACC	sāriq-a-n	makkat-a	malik-āt-i
GEN	sāriq-i-n	makkat-a	malik-āt-i
DAT	li sāriq-i-n	li makkat-a	li malik-āt-i

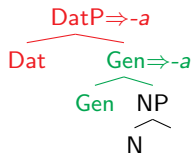
Mono- and multimorphemic Datives

In these languages, the Dative morpheme spells-out just the the Dative head, and the Genitive is spelled out by a separate entry.



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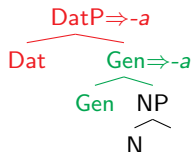
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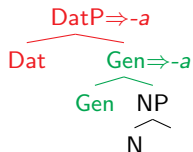


In languages where the Dative marker is monomorphemic, it spells out the entire structure.

- (25) Dal jsem to učitel-**i**
gave AUX it teacher-DAT
'I gave it to the teacher'

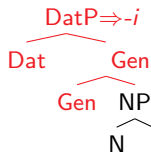
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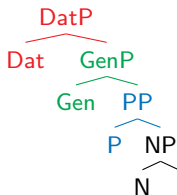
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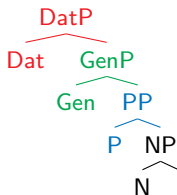
Back to space

The updated Allative:

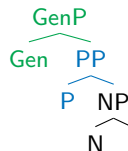


Back to space

The updated Allative:

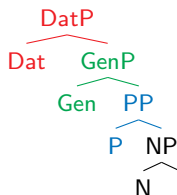


What does this structure correspond to?

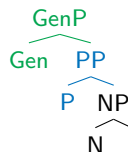


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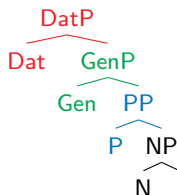


Abstract semantic roles applied to a NP and PP

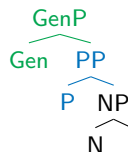
	PP	DP
STATE	?	Possessor
CHANGE	Goal Path	Recipient

Back to space

The updated Allative:



What does this structure correspond to?



Abstract semantic roles applied to a NP and PP

	PP	DP
STATE	Location	Possessor
CHANGE	Goal Path	Recipient

The final picture

We now have a paradigm involving two dimensions.

	PP	DP
STATE	Loc	Gen
CHANGE	All	Dat

Syncretisms

Linear syncretisms: within one dimension

Vertical syncretism

	PP	DP
STATE	Loc	Gen
CHANGE	All	Dat

Greek, Albanian, Romanian

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Horizontal syncretism

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	PP	DP
STATE	Loc	Gen
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Japanese

Diagonal syncretism

	PP	DP
STATE	Loc	Gen
CHANGE	All	Dat

none

What is wrong with Loc=Dat?

Contiguity

Syncretisms target contiguous cells in a paradigm.

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Some references: McCreight and Chvany (1991), Plank (1991), Johnston (1996), Wiese (2003), Trosterud (2004), Bobaljik (2007; 2012), Caha (2008; 2009), Starke (2009), Pantcheva (2010; 2011), Taraldsen (2010), Vangsnes (2011)).

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If Locative=Datative, then so must Allative.

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We will present a lexicalization system that preserves contiguity, but excludes the unattested syncretism.

Modeling vertical syncretisms

The Superset Principle

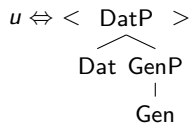
Lexical entries can spell out a subconstituent of the structure they are specified for. Starke (2005-2011), Caha (2009)

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Entry for Greek Gen=Dat *u*

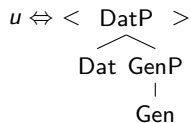


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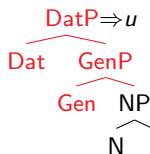
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Structures spelled out by u

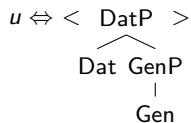


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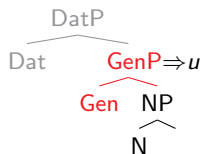
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Structures spelled out by u



The Elsewhere Condition

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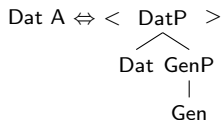
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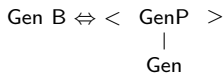
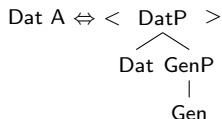
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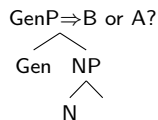
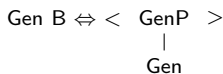
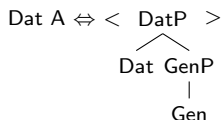
If Dative markers can spell out also the Genitive, why are there languages where $\text{Dat} \neq \text{Gen}$? They have a separate, more specific entry for the Genitive.

The competition between lexical entries is resolved by the Elsewhere Condition (reformulated from Kiparsky 1973).

The Elsewhere Condition

When two (or more) lexical entries compete for the lexicalization of a given structure, choose the lexical entry with the **smallest range of application**.

In other words, the most specific entry, i.e. the one which leaves fewest unused features wins.



The Elsewhere Condition

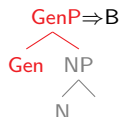
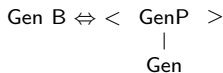
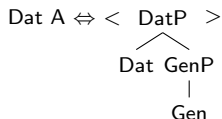
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Modeling horizontal syncretisms

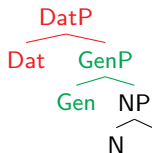
The structures of Dative

and Allative

Modeling horizontal syncretisms

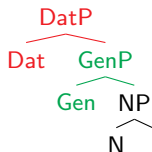
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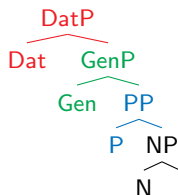


Modeling horizontal syncretisms

The structures of Dative

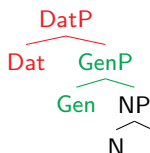


and Allative

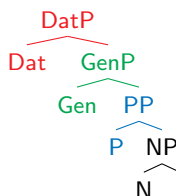


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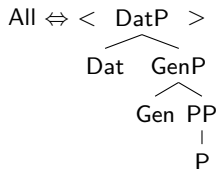
The structures of Dative



and Allative



An entry which can spell out the Allative structure must look like this:



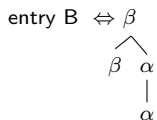
Problem: the Dative structure is not a subconstituent of the tree stored in All
We model the syncretism using **pointers**.

Pointers

Lexical entries can contain a **pointer** to an existing lexical entry (Starke 2011).

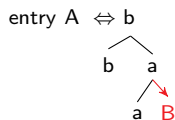
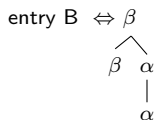
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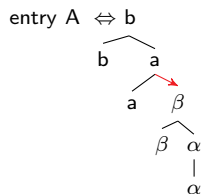
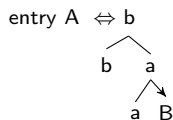
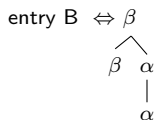
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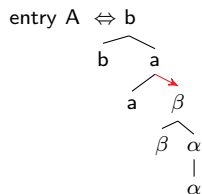
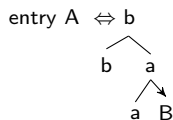
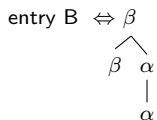
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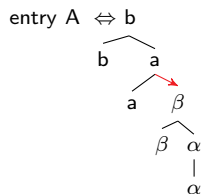
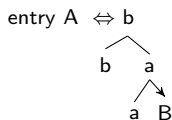
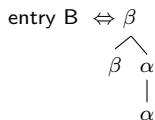
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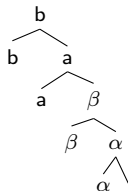
Entry A can lexicalize the following structures

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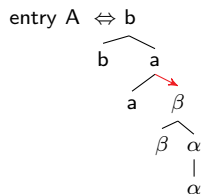
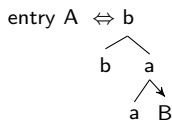
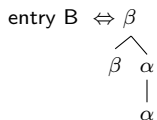


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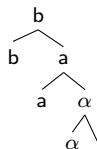
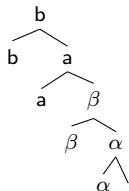


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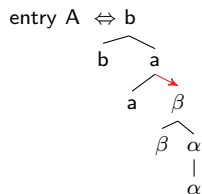
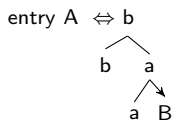
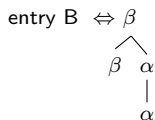


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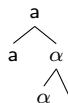
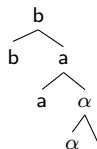
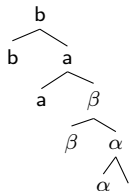


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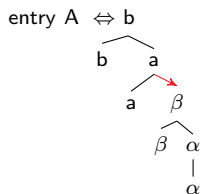
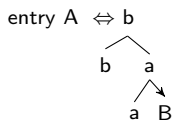
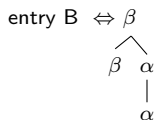


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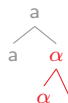
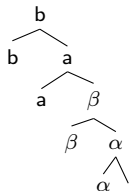


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Entry A can lexicalize the following structures



Pointers

Pointers allow for **cross-section** of two independent linear systems:

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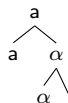
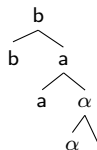
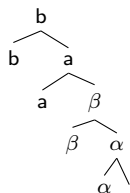
	I	II
X	$a \times \alpha$	$a \times \alpha, \beta$
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We already saw examples of three cross-sections:

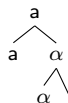
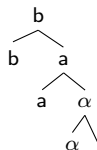
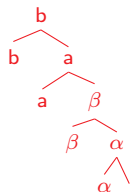


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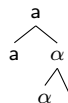
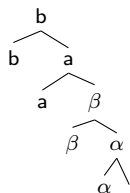


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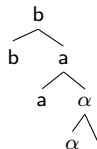
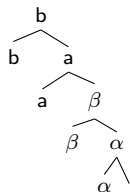


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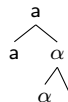
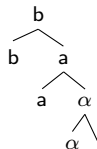
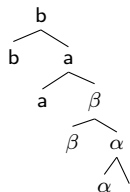


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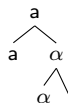
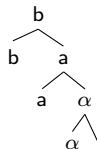
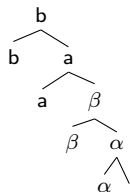


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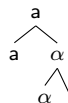
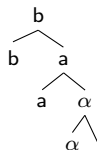
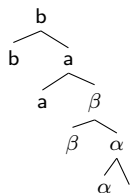


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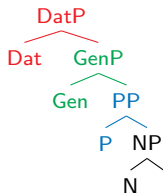


Pointers preserve contiguity in a non-linear paradigm.

Pointers and horizontal syncretisms

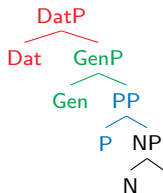
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Allative structure:

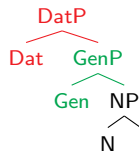


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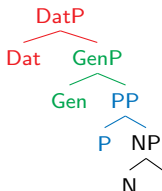


Dative structure:

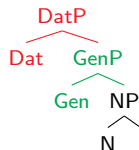


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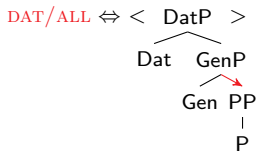
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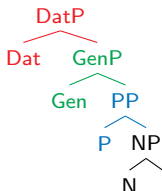


- In a language with the syncretism, there is just a single entry.

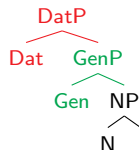


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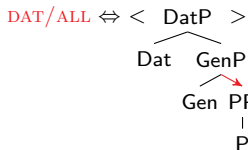
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Dative structure:



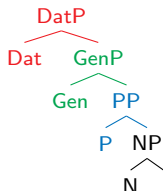
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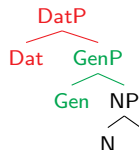
- In a language without the syncretism, there are two entries.

Pointers and horizontal syncretisms

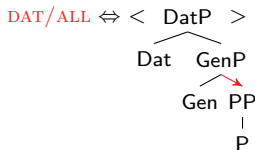
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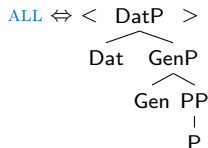
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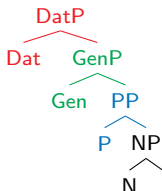


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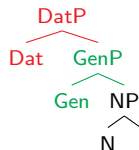


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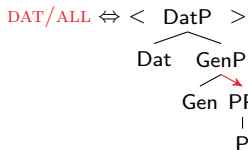
Allative structure:



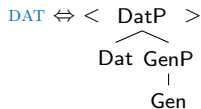
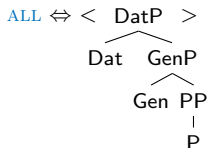
Dative structure:



- In a language with the syncretism, there is just a single entry.



- In a language without the syncretism, there are two entries.



Deriving straight L-syncretisms (L)

Japanese

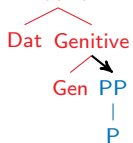
	P	NO P
STATE	Loc: <i>-ni</i>	Gen: <i>-no</i>
CHANGE	All: <i>-ni</i>	Dat: <i>-ni</i>

Deriving straight L-syncretisms (L)

Japanese

	P	NO P
STATE	Loc: <i>-ni</i>	Gen: <i>-no</i>
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Loc/All/Dat *-ni* ⇔ < Dative >

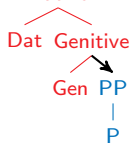


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Loc/All/Dat *-ni* ⇔ < Dative >



Gen *-no* ⇔ < Genitive >

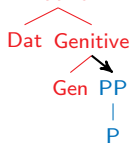
A simple tree diagram showing the derivation of the Japanese particle *-no*. The root node is "Genitive" (in red), which branches into "Gen" (in red).

Deriving straight L-syncretisms (L)

Japanese

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CHANGE	All: <i>-ni</i>	Dat: <i>-ni</i>

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Gen *-no* ⇔ < Genitive >



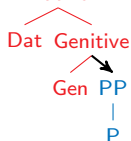
- *-ni* can spell out both spatial and non-spatial cases because of the pointer.

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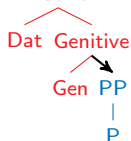
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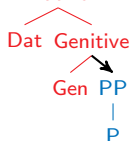
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- *-ni* spells out Allative, Locative, Dative.

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Loc/All/Dat *-ni* ⇔ < Dative >



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|
Gen

- *-ni* can spell out both spatial and non-spatial cases because of the pointer.
- *-no* can spell out just non-spatial cases and cannot spell out Dative.
- *-ni* spells out Allative, Locative, Dative.
- *-ni* loses the competition for the Genitive to *-no*, since *-no* is more specific.

Deriving inverted L-syncretisms (7): impossible

Impossible

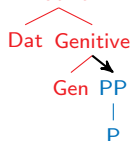
	P	NO P
STATE	Loc: A	Gen: A
CHANGE	All: B	Dat: A

Deriving inverted L-syncretisms (\neg): impossible

Impossible

	P	NO P
STATE	Loc: A	Gen: A
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Loc/Gen/Dat A \Leftrightarrow < Dative >

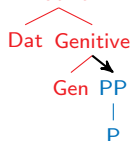


Deriving inverted L-syncretisms (7): impossible

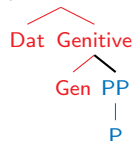
Impossible

	P	NO P
STATE	Loc: A	Gen: A
CHANGE	All: B	Dat: A

Loc/Gen/Dat A \Leftrightarrow < Dative >



All B \Leftrightarrow < Dative >

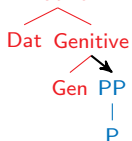


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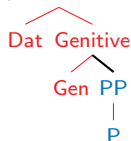
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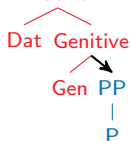
- A and B compete for the lexicalization of Locative.

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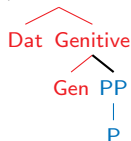
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Loc/Gen/Dat A \Leftrightarrow < Dative >



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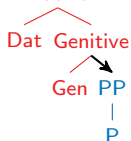
- A and B compete for the lexicalization of Locative.
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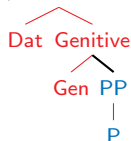
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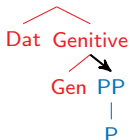
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- Thus, the system disallows Loc=Dat syncretism to the exclusion of All.

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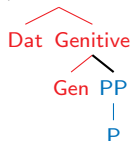
Impossible

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STATE	Loc: A	Gen: A
CHANGE	All: B	Dat: A

Loc/Gen/Dat A \Leftrightarrow < Dative >



All B \Leftrightarrow < Dative >



- A and B compete for the lexicalization of Locative.
- B wins by virtue of being more specific.
- Thus, the system disallows Loc=Dat syncretism to the exclusion of All.

Blansitt's (1988) Generalization

If Locative=Dative, then so must Allative.

Cross-linguistic variation of Datives

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“[D]escriptive linguists still have no choice but to adopt the Boasian approach of positing special language-particular categories for each language. Theorists often resist it, but the cross-linguistic evidence is not converging on a smallish set of possibly innate categories. On the contrary, almost every newly described language presents us with some “crazy” new category that hardly fits existing taxonomies.”

(Haspelmath 2007)

This is where we stand.

Universal structure, variable lexicon.

This is where we stand.

Universal structure, variable lexicon.

Language specific categories are distinct ways to cut up the same structure, restricted by the principles of Phrasal Spell-Out.

Thank you.

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