

Constraining Local Dislocation dialect-geographically: V-T-AGR versus V-AGR-T in Dutch dialects

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Theoretical frameworks that describe natural language often make a difference between phenomena that are central to the grammar and phenomena that are more peripheral, for instance the "exceptions" in traditional grammar. Chomsky (1981), for instance, uses the "core grammar" versus "peripheral rules" opposition to validate linguistic data. In articulated derivational models, such as Distributed Morphology, an elaborated post-syntactic sequence of ordered modules is assumed, which helps us to situate the "exceptions" or the "periphery" within the theory itself: the later in the derivation, the more peripheral in the Chomskyan sense. Especially, the post-linearization part of these morphological modules are assumed to be ridden with arbitrary phenomena.

This DM-model makes a prediction. It is expected that the later in the derivation a phenomenon is ordered, the more arbitrary its variation will be, across languages or the more arbitrary and scattered in a dialect geographical continuum (Arregi & Nevins 2012:342). For instance, a typical post-linearization phenomenon such as Basque Ergative Metathesis, a case of Local Dislocation (LD), only shows up in some dialects and is assumed not to correlate with deep syntactic phenomena. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that variation in the application of LD correlates with an undoubtedly syntactic dimension, it will be an argument for situating the phenomenon higher up in the derivation.

In this talk we study a LD phenomenon in Dutch dialects, illustrated in (1), where the standard V-Tense-AGR ordering of morphemes occasionally realizes as V-AGR-Tense. We call this effect *AGR-intrusion*, as a parallel term to *pronoun-intrusion* (Barbiers & Van Koppen 2006, B&vK), where V-pronoun-Tense-AGR is realized instead of the standard V-Tense-AGR-pronoun, cf. (2).

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|-----|----|----------------------------|---|
| (1) | a | du klöp-z-de an | (AGR intrusion, dialect of Venlo) |
| | | you knock.2sg.past PRT | |
| | b | du klöp-de-s an | (common pattern, general Limburgian) |
| | | you knock-past-2sg PRT | |
| | | 'you knocked on the door' | |
| (2) | a | Dan wandel-die-de er heen | (pronoun intrusion, dialect of Rotterdam) |
| | | then walk-PRON-ed there to | |
| | b. | Dan wandel-de hij er heen | (common pattern, general Dutch) |
| | | then walk-ed PRON there to | |
| | | 'Then he walked to it' | |

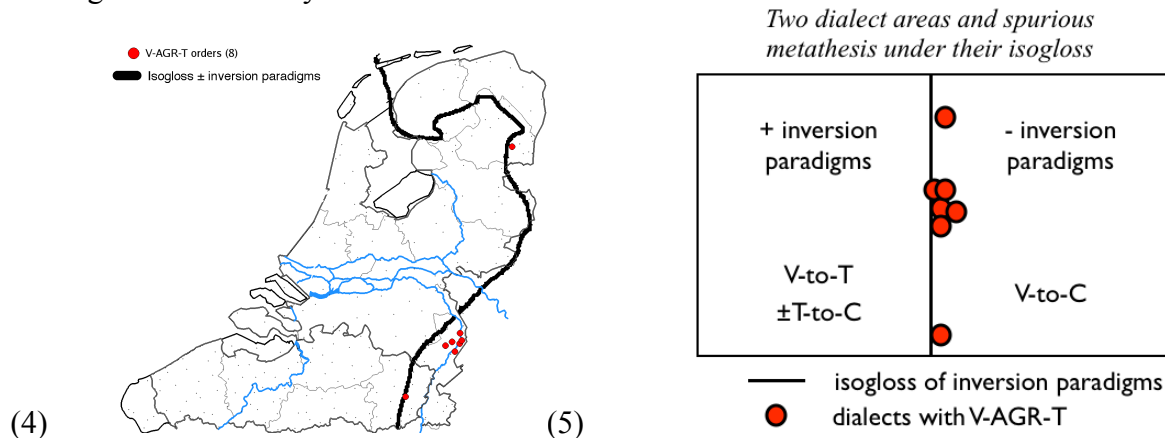
B&vK opt for a syntactic analysis, by assuming that V strands T in its way to C, cf. (3).

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|-----|--|---------------|
| (3) | [_{CP} XP V [_{TP} pron [_T -de] [_{VP} V]]] | (T-stranding) |
| | ↑ _____ _____ | |

The strict locality of pronoun intrusion in (2) still allows that it be situated after linearization, i.e. as Local Dislocation. Indeed, in direct contexts, where the subject precedes the verb, no pronoun intrusion shows up, i.e. we do not see any kind of doubling effect SU + V-SU-T-AGR in those cases. Pronoun intrusion, therefore, does not provide a compelling argument that favors a syntactic approach over and above a 'late' LD approach.

In this talk, we discuss language-internal and language-external properties of AGR-intrusion structures. First, the V-AGR-Tense orderings in (1) are only present in direct contexts, never in inverted contexts. As nothing in the V-Tense-AGR string distinguishes these contexts, we must add a diacritic that it sits in C. If these structures also sit in C in inversion structures, we have to add more of the syntactic environment. This is problematic

for LD. Secondly, they seem to be dialectologically rare. In (4), the red dots display the scattered nature of the AGR-intrusion effect, based on the MAND database. At first glance, this scattered distribution is predicted by A&N's Hypothesis if we assume a post-linearization explanation along the lines of AGR-Tense Metathesis. Closer dialect-geographical investigation shows they are far from random.



Dutch dialects can be divided into a dialect area with $AGR_{T/C}$ (inversion paradigms), and dialects with uniform AGR_C (Postma 2012). Curiously, AGR intrusion typically occurs on the borderline of these two dialect areas, schematized in (5).

Dutch dialects with AGR_C and AGR_T are dialects in which T-to-C is not generalized, e.g. T-to-C is absent in (some) direct SV clauses. We, therefore, assume that intrusion dialects combine properties of both dialect areas: they realize V-to-C (generalized V2, German-type dialects) **and** block T-to-C (Dutch-type dialects), providing the structure as in (6).

(6) $[_{CP} du \ V-AGR \ [_{TP} \text{du} \ [_{T-de} \ [_{VP} \ V]]]]$ T-stranding

↑ _____|_____

This is a T-stranding structure just as in (3). However, application of B&vK's approach to AGR-intrusion allows us to construct the language-contact argument in favor of a syntactic account. We then present a minimalistic calculus of this structure that explains 1. why AGR-intrusion only occurs in direct contexts, 2. the syntactic ingredients that are combined (uniform V2 and T-to-C blocking): T-to-C is blocked if a subject passes through specTP on its way to specCP. It creates an economy violation, very similar to the *that*-trace effects in WH extraction: $\ast\{T\text{-to-C} + \text{specTP-to-specCP}\}$, cf. Pesetsky & Torrego (2001). This causes V to strand T in its way to C. If another constituent moves to specCP, the subject sits in specTP and no *that*-trace violation looms, i.e. no AGR intrusion. The calculus also explains why B&vK's pronoun intrusion only occurs in inversion contexts. The idea is that the post-verbal pronoun in (3) moves covertly to CP because of discours features, thus creating a *that*-trace configuration. That is why *bona fide* 3 personal pronouns, like *zij/ze* 'she' do not intrude:

(7) \ast dan wandel-ze-de er heen 'then she walked to it'

We conclude that AGR intrusion is a syntactically motivated process that combines syntactic properties of two dialect areas. The enterprise illustrates the relevance of dialect geographical variation for grammatical analysis.

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