

Constraining Local Dislocation dialect-geographically

V-T-AGR versus V-AGR-T in Dutch dialects



Gertjan Postma
Meertens Instituut Amsterdam

gertjan.postma@meertens.knaw.nl
GLOW-36, Lund, 3-5 April 2013



Structure

- The problem: order reversal - syntax or postsyntax?
- The role of dialectology
- Deviant structures V-pron-T and V-AGR-T in Dutch
- A fundamental isogloss cuts the Dutch dialectal space
- Theory
- Excited states at isoglosses

Order reversal - syntax or postsyntax?

AGR-Clitic reversal

- SE may acquire verbal agreement in imperatives in Spanish dialects

- Siénten-se ustedes (Spanish)

Sit-down.3pl-SE-3pl you-hon

'Please sit down'

- Siénten-sen ustedes (Judeo-Spanish, Luria 1930:146)

Sit-down.3pl-SE-3pl you-hon

'Please sit down'

AGR-Clitic reversal in Spanish dialects

- SE may acquire verbal agreement in imperatives in Spanish dialects
(when V in C)
- Siénten-se ustedes (Spanish)
sit-down.3pl-SE you-hon
- Siénte-se-n ustedes (dialectal)
sit-down-SE.3pl
- Siénten-sen ustedes (Judeo-Spanish, Luria 1930:146)
Sit-down.3pl-SE-3pl you-hon
'Please sit down'

DM: doubling and metathesis are related

(Harris & Halle 2004)

- venda-**n**-lo standard Spanish
 - venda-lo-**n** metathesis
 - venda-**n**-lo-**n** reduplication (partial)
 'sell.pl it!'
-
- metathesis is a special case of reduplication

DM: postsyntactic mechanism

- symmetric reduplication brackets $[[XY]] = XYXY$ +
- asymmetric deletion brackets $X>$ and $<Y$

- venda- $[[n<lo]] = \text{venda } (n \text{ lo}) (n \text{ } \emptyset)$ vendan-lon
- venda- $[[n><lo]] = \text{venda } (\# \text{ lo}) (n \text{ } \emptyset)$ venda-lon

Dialectal cline

- se
 - se me
 - se me le
 - se me le lo
 - se me le lo la
-
- inclusion relation of dialectal varieties

DM: observation

(Harris & Halle 2004)

- arbitrary dialectal variation scattered around dialects
- it is not syntactic but late in the derivation

Arguments against postsyntax

Redundancy

(Kayne 2009)

- we have already copy mechanisms in the syntax
- venda-**n** -lo-**n**
- Juan **lo** quiere hacer**lo**
- Maria è stata lodata

Overgeneration

(Kayne 2009)

- venda- n lo base
- venda- $[[n\ lo]]$ = venda (n lo) (n lo) *vendanlonlo
- venda- $[[n<lo]]$ = venda (n lo) (n ~~lo~~) vendan-lon
- venda- $[[n<lo]]$ = venda (~~n~~ lo) (n lo) *venda-lonlo
- venda- $[[n><lo]]$ = venda (~~n~~ lo) (n ~~lo~~) venda-lo-n

It misses a generalization (Kayne 2009)

- se
 - se me
 - se me le
 - se me le lo
 - se me le lo la
-
- inclusion relation of dialectal varieties
 - hierarchy is identical to the left-right order/hierarchy in clitic clusters

Application of $\llbracket \dots \rrbracket$ is arbitrary

- $\text{venda- } n \text{ lo} \qquad \text{base}$
- $\text{venda- } \llbracket n < lo \rrbracket = \text{venda } (n \text{ lo}) (n \text{ lo}) \qquad \text{vendan-lon}$

- what is the **trigger** of applying $\llbracket \dots \rrbracket$?

Split clitics

(Kayne 2009)

- **T'an-të prèdzà-nen?** (when V sits in C)
you.dat have-they spoken of-it
'Have they spoken to you of it?'
- **T'an-të deut-lo?**
you.dat have-they said it
'have they said it to you?'

Split clitics (Kayne 2009)

- lo AUX- n venda- n \Rightarrow raising of V past AUX to C
- [venda n]_i lo AUX- n t_i
- How can the HMC be circumvented?

It violates modularity

Metathesis in Spanish imperatives (Harris and Halle 2005:203–204)

- a. Structural description: $X \ n_{pl} \ Cl \ Y$
- b. Structural change:
 - (i) Insert \llbracket to the immediate left of n_{pl} , and \rrbracket to the immediate right of Cl .
 - (ii) Insert $\rangle\langle$ to the immediate left of Cl .

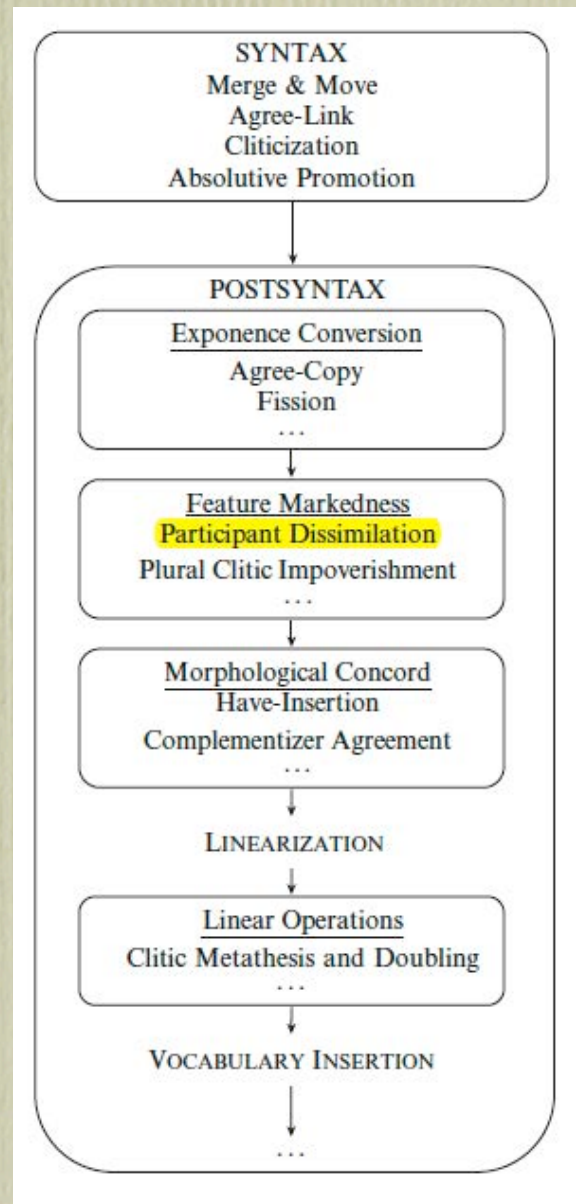
(Partial) reduplication is sensitive to a combination of

- 1. imperative (or a position in syntax, C)
- 2. labelling (PL en Cl)
- 3. spellout -n (not -s) as a plural morpheme
- 4. ordering

Arregi & Nevins 2012

- Cl,AGR metathesis in Spanish
- Force,X metathesis in Irish
- Ergative metathesis in Basque

Arregi & Nevins 2012



Dialectological Prediction

(modified after Arregi & Nevins 2012)

From the DM-model, 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. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that variation in the application of Metathesis/LD correlates with an undoubtedly syntactic dimension, it will be an argument for situating the phenomenon higher up in the derivation.

Intermediate Summary

- The discussions on "metathesis" constructions all invoke arguments from dialectology
- 1. Harris & Halle 2005: the dialectal variability indicates 'late' processing
- 2. Kayne 2009: the dialectal variability patterns with syntactic hierarchy of clitics and clitic climbing
- 3. Arregi & Nevins make a dialectological prediction: dialectology might distinguish between syntactic and 'late' effects
- 4. Reported cases of metathesis in the verbal domain **involve C**

...however...

- A serious dialect-geographical analysis of any instance of morpheme metathesis has never been executed

Deviant V-**pron**-T and V-**AGR**-T
structures in Dutch

Pronoun Intrusion in Dutch verbs

(Barbiers & Van Koppen 2006)

- Gisteren *wandel-de hij* door het park (Standard; V-T pron)
yesterday walk-T pron_{3s} through the park
'yesterday, he walked through the park'
- Gisteren *wandel-de die* door het park (Colloquial; V-T Dpron)
- Gistere *wandel-die-de* door het park (Strijen – SAND; V-Dpron-T)
V-pron-T

Pronoun Intrusion in Dutch verbs

(Barbiers & Van Koppen 2006)

- Gistere *wandel-die*-de door het park (3sg, topic pronoun; SAND)
- *Gistere wandel-*ie*-de (3sg.masc, personal pronoun)
- *Gistere wandel-*ze*-de (3sg.fem, personal pronoun)
- *Gisteren wandel-*ze*-de(n) (3pl, personal pronoun)
- Dan noem-*ik*-te hem Sinterklaas (1sg; Child Language)

Pronoun Intrusion in Dutch verbs

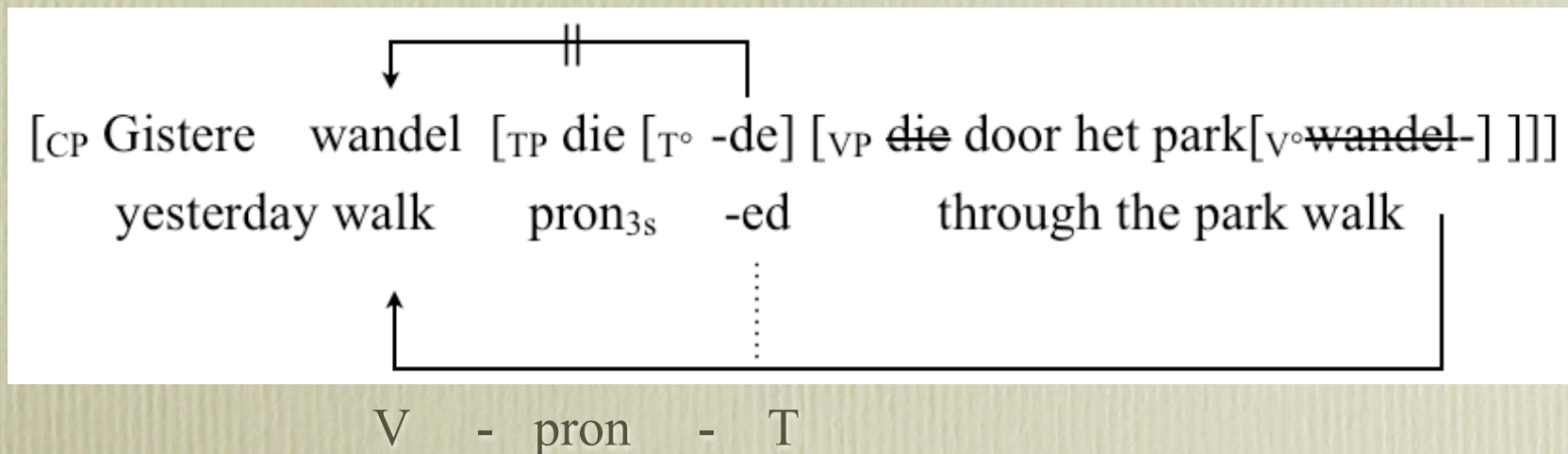
(Barbiers & Van Koppen 2006)

- V-**pron**-T orders in Dutch dialects (scattered within Northern Dutch)
- Not with bona fide personal pronouns
- V-**pron**-T orders with 1sg in Dutch child language
- Only in inversion contexts (or: when V sits in C)

Pronoun Intrusion in Dutch verbs

(Barbiers & Van Koppen 2006)

B&vK opt for a syntactic approach, not for a late approach:



Pronoun Intrusion in Dutch verbs



Pronoun Intrusion in Dutch verbs

'Late' H&H -approach would be:

noem- [de ik] standard

noem- [de > < ik] dialect

New case of metathesis

AGR Intrusion in Dutch verbs

- du klöp-de-s an (common pattern, general Limburgian)
thou knock-T-AGR_{2sg} PRT
'you knocked on the door'
- du klöp-z-de an (AGR intrusion, dialect of Venlo)
thou knock.AGR_{2sg}.T PRT

AGR Intrusion in Dutch verbs

- Only in direct contexts: $SU \ V-T \ AGR \Rightarrow SU \ V-AGR-T$
- Not in inversion contexts: $XP \ V-T-AGR \ SU_{encl} \ * \Rightarrow XP \ V-AGR-T \ SU_{encl}$
- * Dan klöp-z-de du an (but cf. Sevenum)
 then knock-AGR-T you PRT

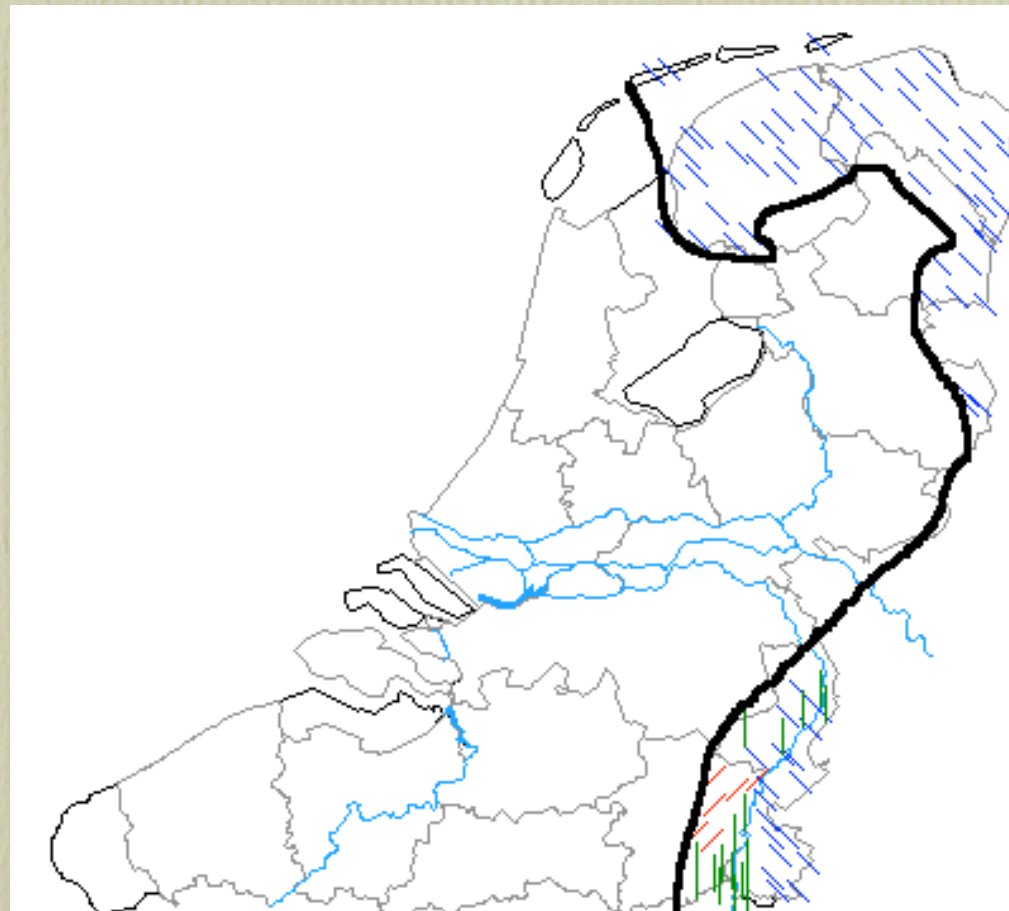
AGR Intrusion: formulation *pace* H&H

- Replace the context: $SU_{2s} \text{ V-T } \mathbf{AGR}_{2s} \Rightarrow SU_{2s} \text{ V- } [T \succ \mathbf{AGR}_{2s}]$
- However: preverbal subject is outside prosodic spellout domain, hence reference is needed to *absence* of SU_{2s} enclitically.
- Replace the context $V\text{-T-}\mathbf{AGR}_{2s}\text{-X}$ with $X \neq [2s] \Rightarrow V\text{- } [T \succ \mathbf{AGR}_{2s}] \text{ X}$

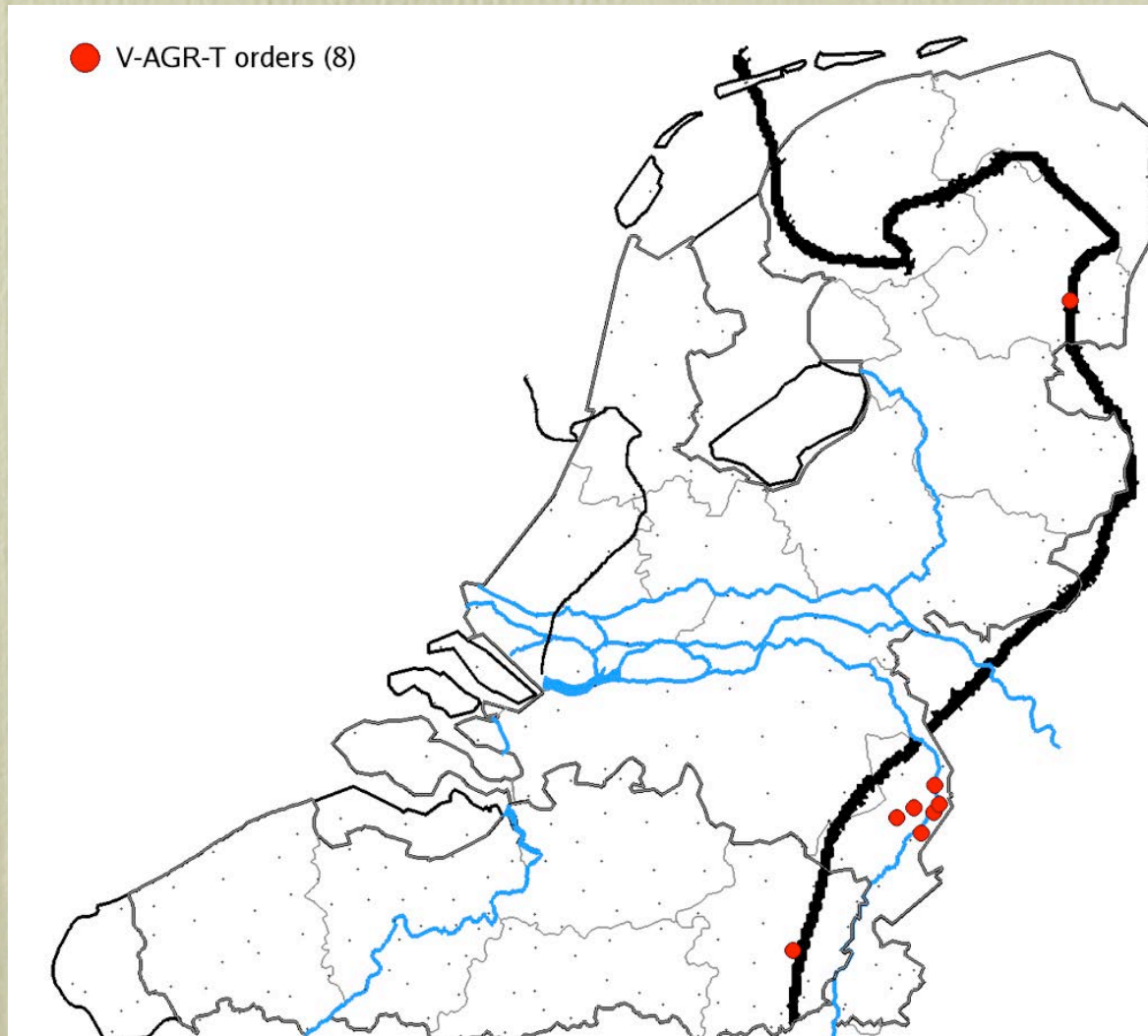
AGR Intrusion in Dutch verbs



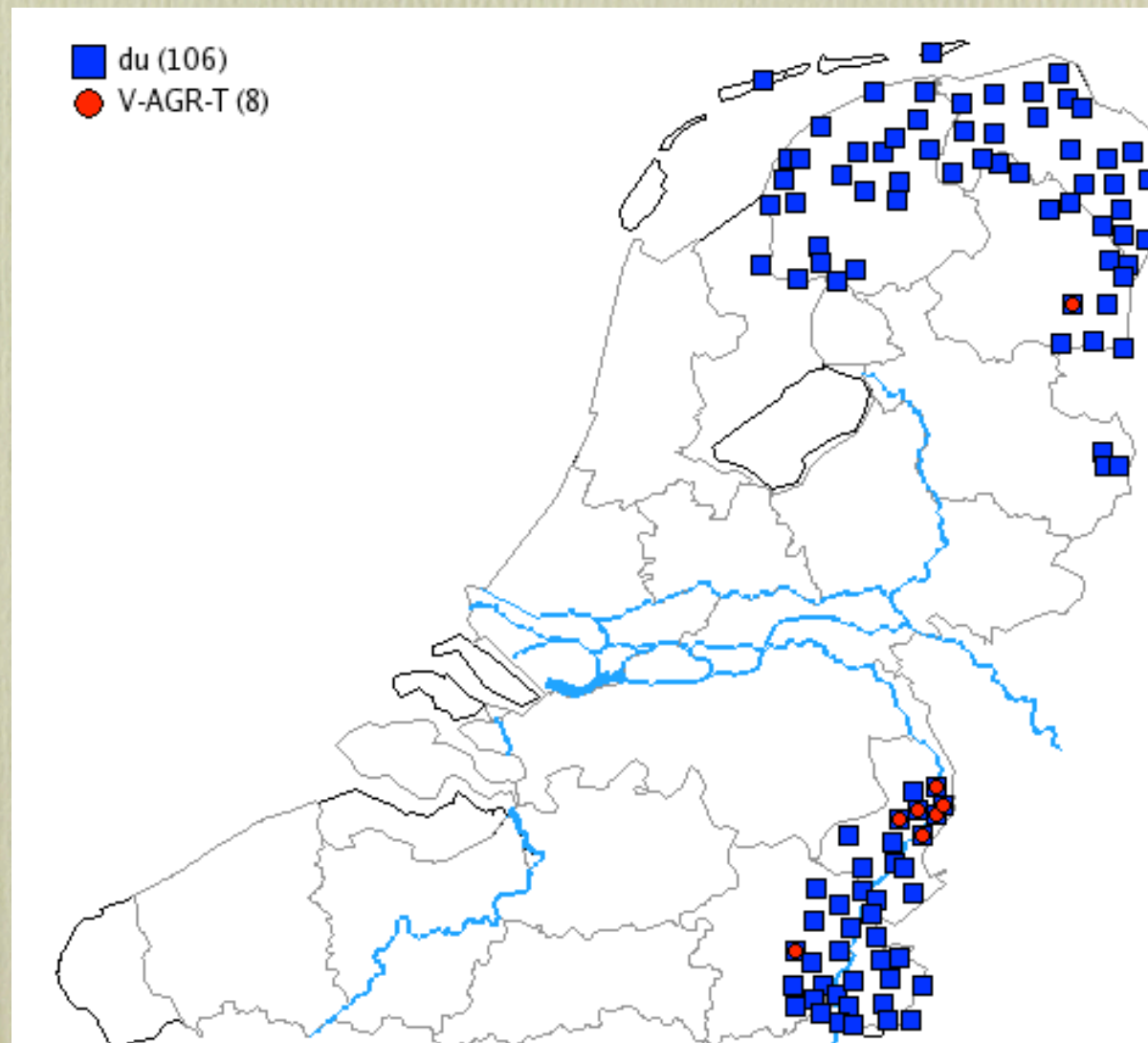
A main isogloss



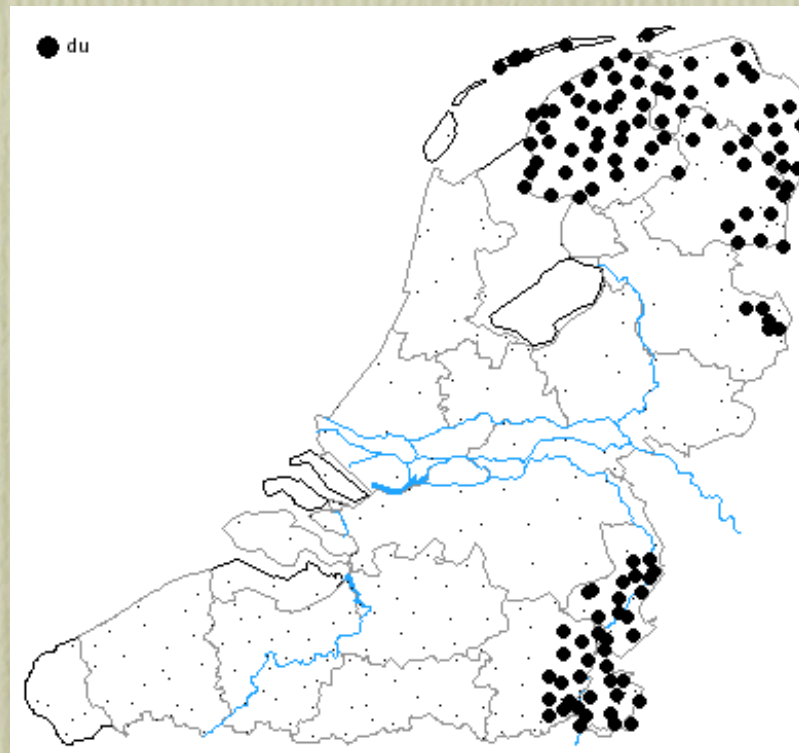
AGR Intrusion and the Zwart/Den Besten isogloss



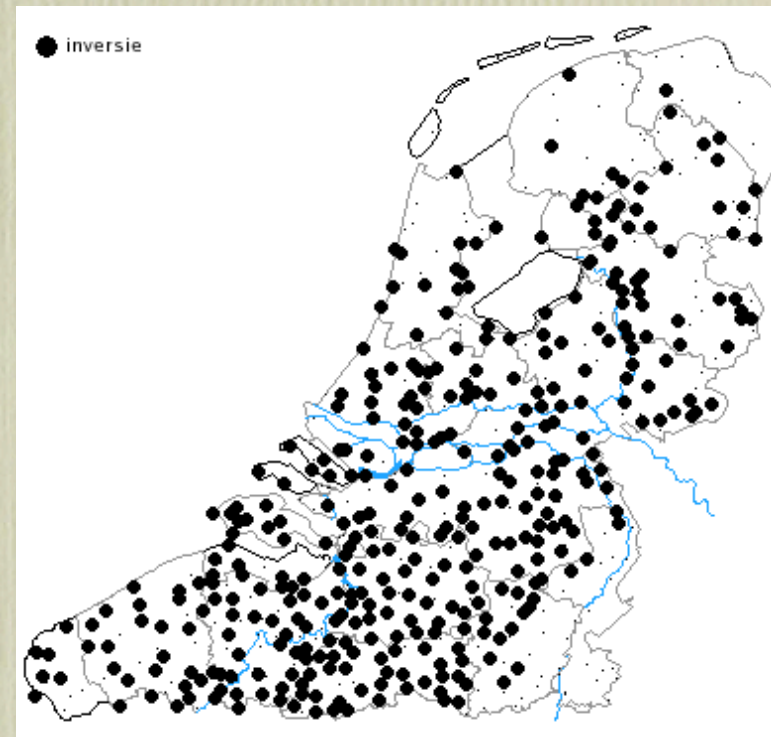
AGR Intrusion and the *du* isogloss



du versus double paradigms



dialects with *du* 'thou'



double paradigms

Questions

- Why does V-AGR-T exist at all?
- Why are V-AGR-T not pan-Dutch? Why is it a relatively rare phenomenon?
- Why does **AGR** intrusion occur only in direct contexts and with 2sg?
- Why does **pronoun** intrusion occur only in inverse contexts?
- Why does **pronoun** intrusion not occur with *bona fide* pronouns like *ie* 'he' and *ze* 'she'?
- Why does **pronoun** intrusion occur in child language with 1sg?
- Why does it occur where it occurs dialect-geographically?

Theory

Zwart 1992's V2 Theory

Double paradigms

a	[_{IP} wi speult op straat t]	(V2 in IP)
b	[_{CP} - speul-e [_{IP} wi t op straat t]]	(V2 in CP)
c	datt-e wi speul-t	
	'(that) we play on the street'	

- double paradigms realize a position-dependent spell-out of verbal forms

Den Besten's V₂ Theory

a	Jan loopt Jan daarom op straat loopt	(direct context)
b	Daarom loopt Jan op straat loopt	(inversion context)
c	- dat Jan op straat loopt	
	'For that reason, John walks on the street'	

- Strict C-V₂ realize a position-dependent spell-out of pronominal forms in Dutch

V2-theories

a	[_{CP} dou rinst - [_{CP} dan rinst [-ou...]]	type A
b	[_{IP} jij loopt] - [_{CP} dan loop [_{IP} jij] ...]	type B

Type A

- double pronoun spell-out, single verbal spell-out

Type B

- single pronoun spell-out, double verbal spell-out

Pesetky & Torrego 2001

- [uWH] and [uT] interact (through "economy")
- The context {specTP-to-specCP + T-to-C } is ungrammatical with WH

Pesetsky & Torrego 2001

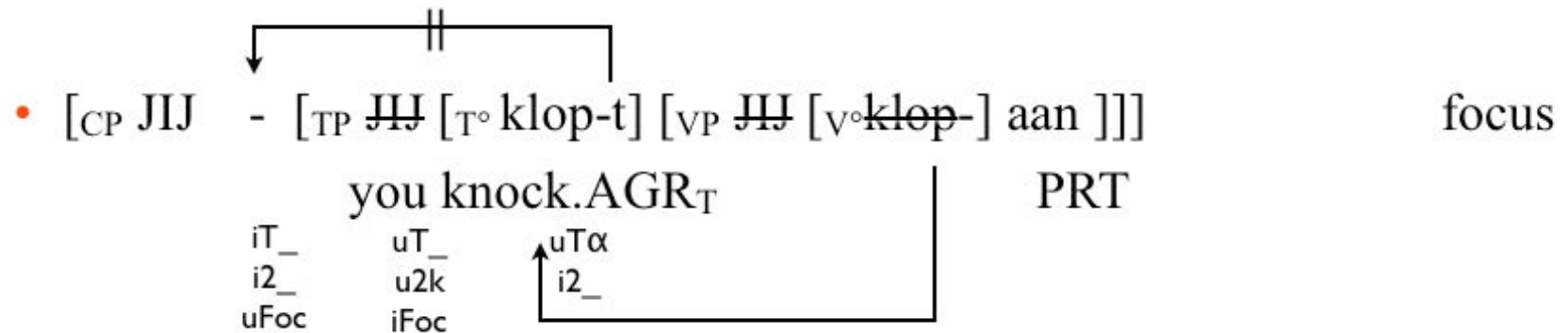
a	*Who do you think that t	saw Mary	subject-extractie
b	Who do you think that Mary	saw t	object-extractie
c	Who do you think -	t saw Mary	subject-extractie zonder <i>that</i>

a	*Who did t	see Mary	subject-extractie (I→C + subject→specCP)
b	Who did Mary	see t	object-extractie (I→C + object→specCP)

Hypothesis

- The context {specTP-to-specCP + T-to-C } is ungrammatical with [2]
- [u2] and [uT] interact (through "economy")

T-to-C blocking



Consequence

- Den Besten variants (with *du* 'thou') have V-to-C;

$du=[2]_{[+EPP]}$, $-ou=[2]_{[-EPP]}$

- Zwart-type variants (with *gij/jij* 'you' have T-to-C blocking in inversion.

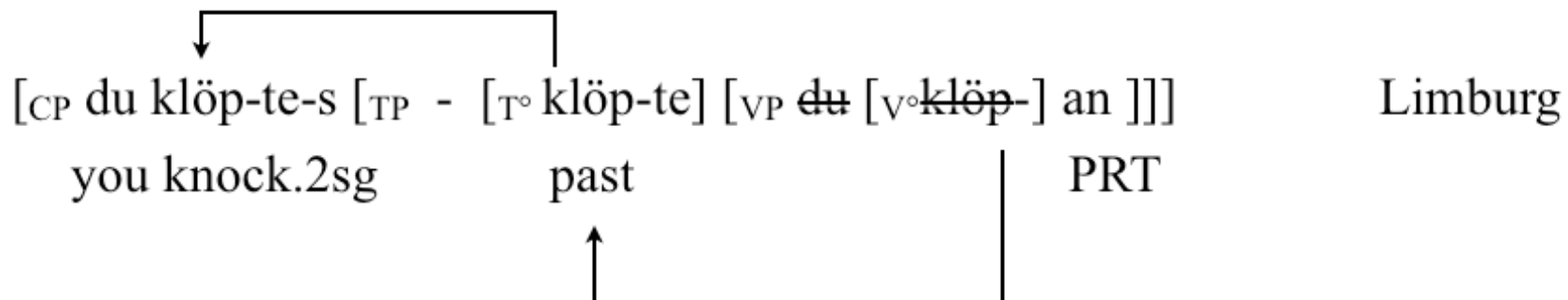
$jij=[2]_{[-EPP]}$

Hypothesis

- V-**AGR**-T orders occur under the Den Besten-Zwart isogloss
- V-**AGR**-T orders occur on the borderline of an area with generalized V-to-C (Den Besten) and an area with T-to-C blocking (Zwart) in subject initial clauses
- V-**AGR**-T orders correlate with a **change** in a deep syntactic parameter

Generalized C-V₂ in Limburgian

- du klöp-de-s an (common pattern, general Limburgian)
you knock-past-2sg PRT
'you knocked on the door'



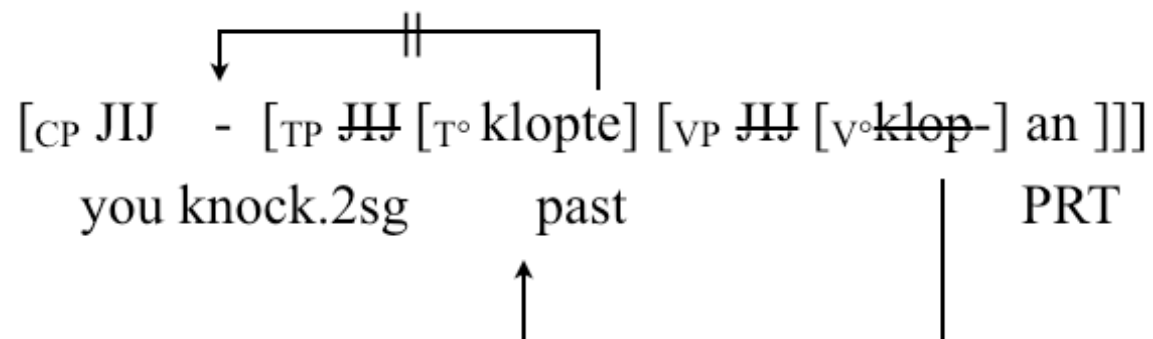
No T-to-C in subject initial clauses in Dutch

- jij klop-te-ø aan

(general Dutch)

you knock-past-2sg PRT

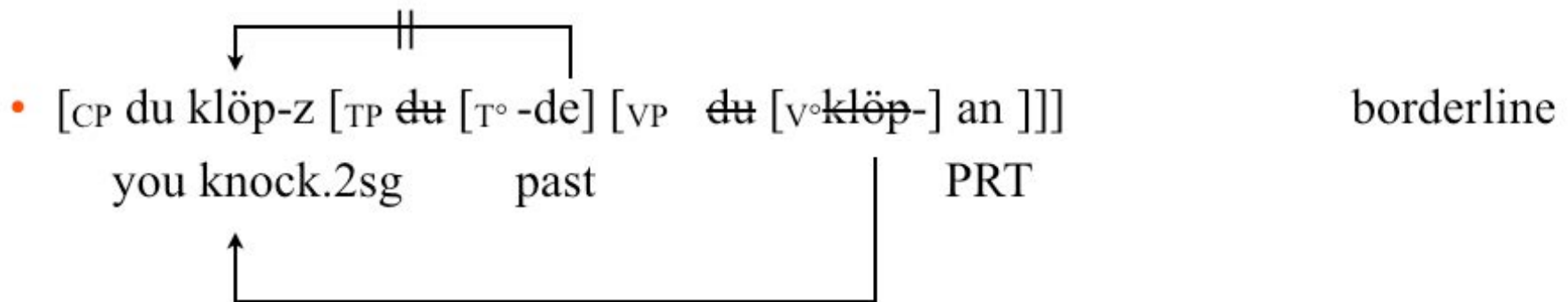
'you knocked on the door'



Holland

AGR Intrusion in border dialects

- du klöp-z-de an (AGR intrusion, dialect of Venlo)
you knock.2sg.past PRT



Language Contact

- V-**AGR**-T orders are a result of syntactic language contact
- The contact variety complies with requirements of two dialect areas
- Apparent 'late' metathesis is accounted for by deep syntax

Questions

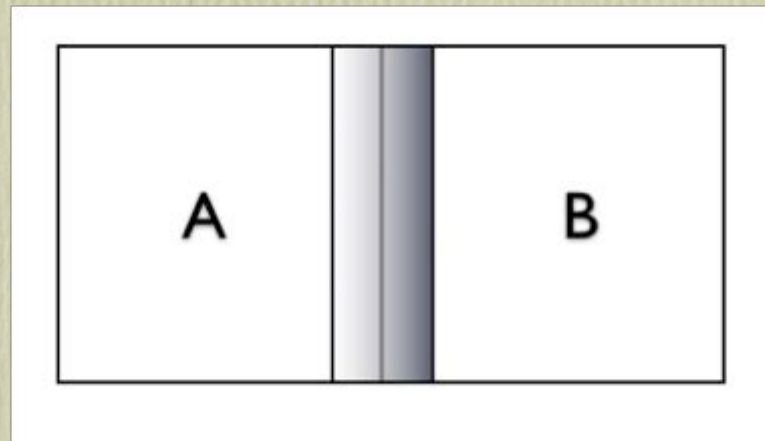
- Why does V-AGR-T exist at all?
- Why are V-AGR-T not pan-Dutch? Why is it a relatively rare phenomenon?
- Why does AGR intrusion occur only in direct contexts and with 2sg?
- Why does pronoun intrusion occur only in inverse contexts?
- Why does pronoun intrusion not occur with *bona fide* pronouns like *ie* 'he' and *ze* 'she'?
- Why does pronoun intrusion occur in child language with 1sg?
- Why does it occur where it occurs dialect-geographically?

Extension to the other cases

- **T-to-C blocking and V to C instead (past T)**
- Siénten-se-n ustedes (dialectal)
sit-down-SE.3pl
AGR SE ustedes siénte(n)
- lo AUX-n [venda-n] => raising of V past AUX to C
- [venda n]_i lo AUX-n [~~venda-n~~]_i
- Force,X metathesis in Irish
- Ergative metathesis in Basque

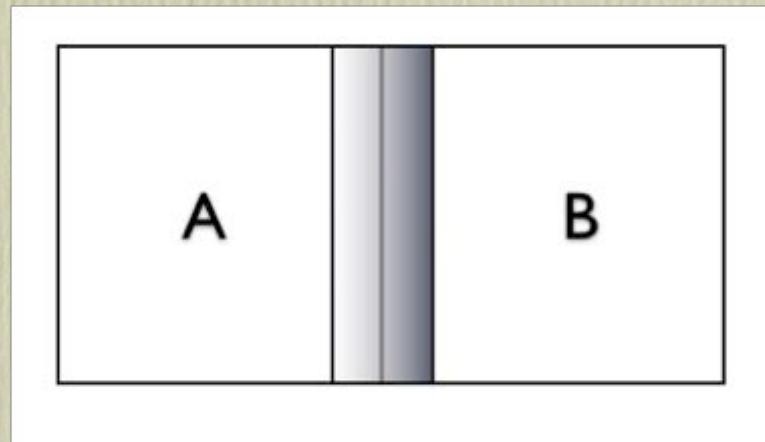
Excited States under Contact

Language Contact: surface accomodation (L_1+L_2)



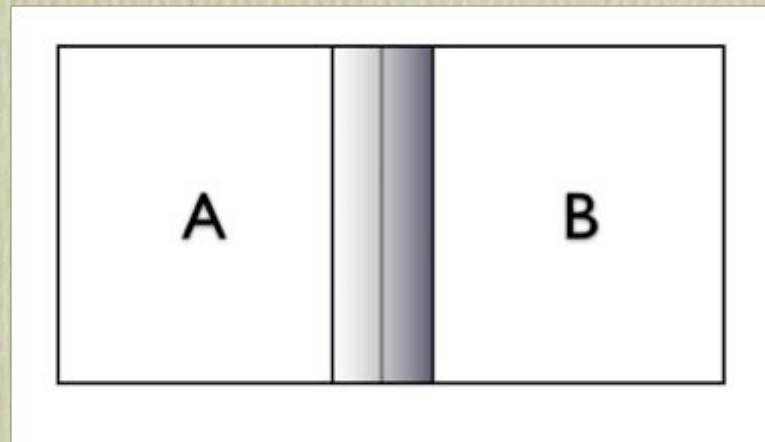
- (Try to) produce with Grammar A + peripheral rules the output of Grammar B
- (Try to) produce with Grammar B + peripheral rules the output of Grammar A

Language Contact: deep accomodation (2L1)



- Produce output that satisfies both grammar A and grammar B

Language Contact: deep accomodation



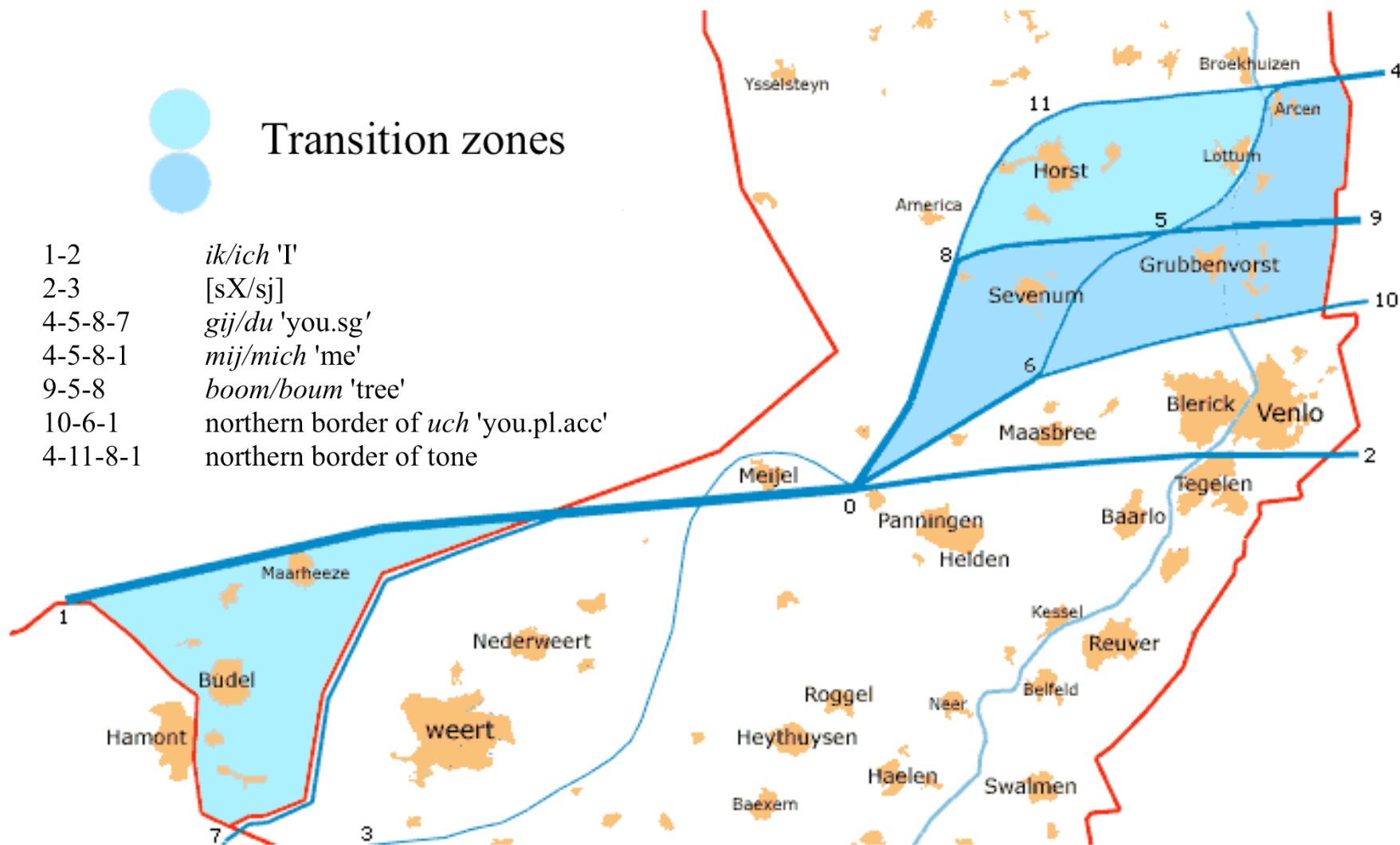
- Let $\alpha_{1\dots n}$ be outputs that satisfy Grammar A and let $\beta_{1\dots n}$ be outputs that satisfy Grammar B (ordered in increasing markedness), then -without contact- only α_1 and β_1 are realized
- In a deep contact situation, realizations with higher markedness might be available such that $\alpha_m = \beta_n$. This clarifies that in circumstances of Deep Accomodation more marked structures ("excited states") will show up.

References

- Arregi, Karlos & Andrew Nevins (2012). *Morphotactics - Basque Auxiliaries and the Structure of Spellout*. Springer: Amsterdam.
- Alvar, M. (1953). *El dialecto Aragones*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Barbiers, S. & M. van Koppen (2006). Een plaats voor tijd in het middenveld van het Nederlands. *Taal & Tongval*, 19, 24-39.
- Luria, M. (1930). *A study of the Monastir dialect of Judeo-Spanish*. New York: Inst. de las Españas en los Estados Unidos.
- Harris, James, and Morris Halle. 2005. Unexpected plural inflections in Spanish: Reduplication and metathesis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:192–222.
- Kayne, Richard S.(2009). *Toward a Syntactic Reinterpretation of Harris and Halle (2005)*. Talk presented at Université de Genève, February 23/24, 2009. Ms New York University.
- Postma, Gertjan (2010). The impact of failed changes. In: Anne Breitbarth et al. (eds). *Continuity and Change in Grammar*. Benjamins. 269-302.
- Postma, Gertjan (2012). Clause-typing by [2] – the loss of the 2nd person pronoun *du* ‘you’ in Dutch, Frisian and Limburgian dialects. In:Victoria Camacho Taboada et al. (eds.). *Information Structure and Agreement*. Benjamins. 217-254.
- Postma, Gertjan (1993). *The syntax of the morphological defectivity of BE*. Talk presented at GLOW 16 Colloquium, Lund (HIL Manuscripts 1.3)
- Rivero, M.L. & Terzi, A. 1995. ‘Imperatives, V-movement, and Logical Mood.’ In: *Journal of Linguistics* 31: 301-332.

Transition zones

- 1-2 *ik/ich* 'I'
- 2-3 [sX/sj]
- 4-5-8-7 *gij/du* 'you.sg'
- 4-5-8-1 *mij/mich* 'me'
- 9-5-8 *boom/boum* 'tree'
- 10-6-1 northern border of *uch* 'you.pl.acc'
- 4-11-8-1 northern border of *tone*



Potential problem

Sevenum dialect

- dich beleef-s-de/beleef-de-s-e
'you experienced/experienced you' SU V-**AGR**-T and V-T-**AGR** SU_{encl}
- dich bezék-s-de/bezék-de-s-e
'you cheated/cheated you' SU V-**AGR**-T and V-T-**AGR** SU_{encl}
- dich bestaey-de-s
'you invested' SU V-T-**AGR** (incidentally)
- blûy-s-de-s-e
'florished you'. X V-**AGR**-T-**AGR** SU_{encl}

Sevensum: formulation *pace* H&H

- Replace the context V-T-**AGR**_{2s}-X with $X \neq [2s]$ \Rightarrow V- $[[T \succ \mathbf{AGR}_{2s}]]$ X
(optional)
- Replace the context V-T-**AGR**_{2s}-X with $X = [2s]$ \Rightarrow V- $[[T > \mathbf{AGR}_{2s}]]$ X
(optional)

Evaluation: formulation *pace* H&H

- It makes a prediction: only in dialects that are not pro-drop: correct!
- It predicts other variants: **AGR-T-AGR** (correct!) and T-AGR-T (not correct)
- Reference to absence in a rule is possible but artificial

Generalized *du* forms in a Zwart dialect

- dan klöp-z-de-s-e an (AGR doubling, dialect of Sevenum)
 you knock.AGR_{2s}.T_{past}.AGR_{2s}-pron_{2s} PRT

