

Clause-typing by [2]

Flavors of main clause subjects in Frisian, Limburgian, Flemish and Dutch dialects

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Rise of single subject position

- double subject position $\rightarrow$ single subject position
 $SU_2 \dots SU_1$ SU_1
- $du \rightarrow \emptyset$
- $\begin{array}{c} SU_2 \\ | \\ du \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset$

Scheme

- 1. Theoretical background - Den Besten's versus Zwart's V2
- 2. Position dependent spell-out of φ -features
- 3. Hypothesis: Den Besten vs Zwart as describing two language variants
- 4. Evidence: loss of MDutch *du* 'thou' being replaced by *gij/jij* 'you'
- 5. A problem: [3]
- 6. Theory: the feature [2] behaves similar to WH
- 7. Extra evidence: AGR intrusion effects in border dialects

1. V_2 -theories

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' | |

Zwart 1992's V_2 Theory

a [IP Jan loopt op straat t] (V2 in IP)

b [CP Daarom loopt [IP Jan t op straat t]] (V2 in CP)

Zwart 1992's V₂ Theory

Double paradigms

a	[_{IP} wi speult op straat t]	(V ₂ in IP)
b	[_{CP} - speul-e [_{IP} wi t op straat t]]	(V ₂ 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

2. Positional Spellout of Φ -features

Positional Φ -spellout - double paradigms

- je loop-**t** - dan loop- $\emptyset$ je Standard Dutch
- jullie loop-**t** - dan loop-**en** jullie 19th century Dutch
(Buitenrust Hettema 1891)
- wi leupt -dan leupe wi Eastern Dutch
(Van Haeringen 1939)
- gij leeft - dan leefde gij Southern Dutch

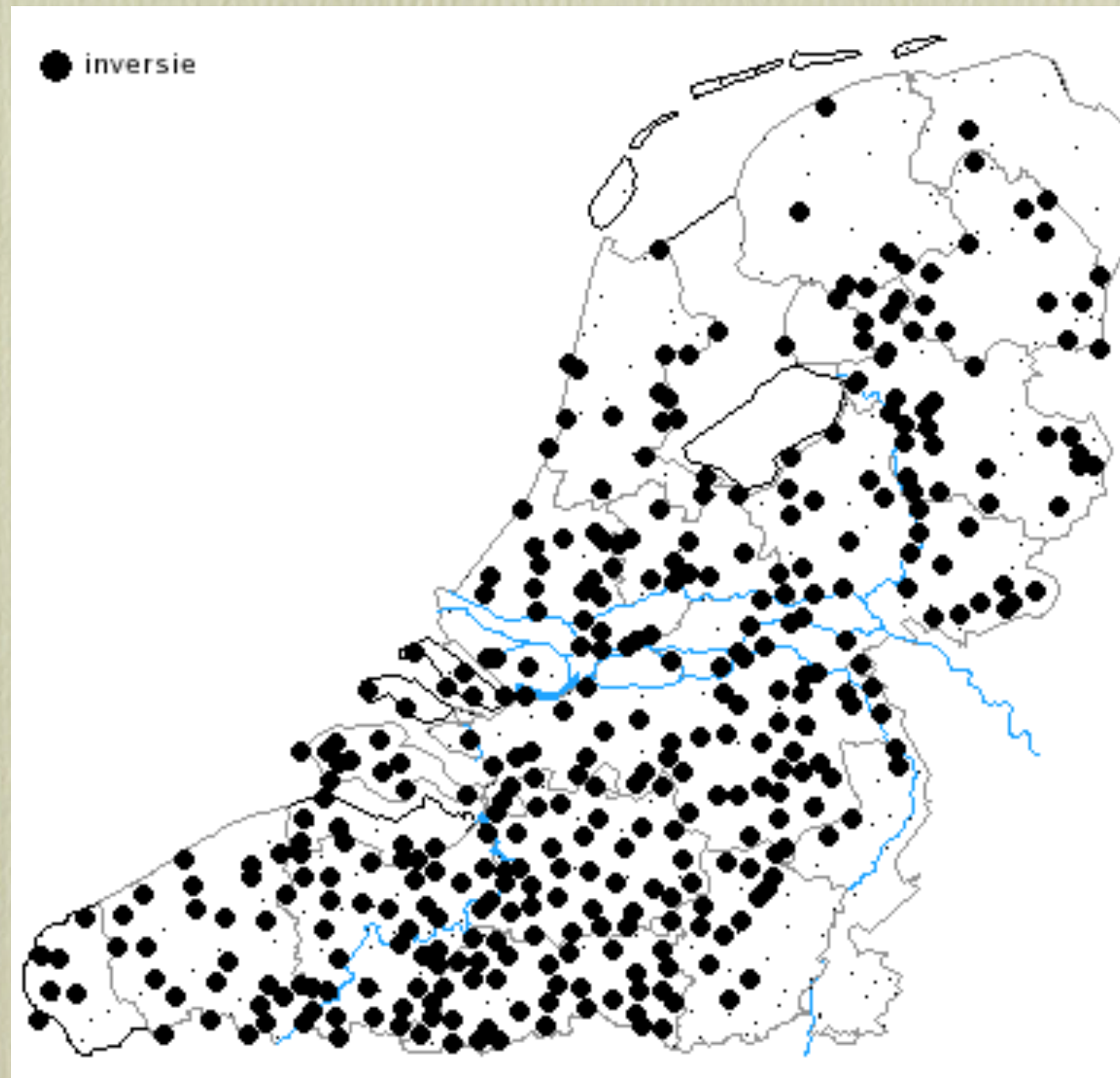
Double paradigms

Dutch dialects	double paradigms present	example	Postal-features	permitted readings
1sg	-	-	1	[1]
2sg	+	je leeft/leef je	2	[2]
3sg	-	-	3	[3]
1pl	+	wi leeft/leve wi	1+2 of 1+3	[1][2][3]
2pl	+	ge leeft/leefde ge	2+3	[2][3]
3pl	-	-	3	[3]

Double paradigms

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| a | Dan gane we erheen
then go.AGR ₂ we thereto
'I and you go there' | AGR ₁ =gaan |
| b | Dat doene we
that do.AGR ₂ we
'I and you will do that together' | AGR ₁ =doen |
| c | Dat doen jullie misschien zo, maar dat doen/*?doene WIJ niet zo
that do you.pl perhaps so, but that do.AGR ₁ /do.AGR ₂ net so
'you guys may do it perhaps that way, but we don't' | |

Varieties with double paradigms



Den Besten's V₂-theory

Double Φ -spellout in pronouns

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| a | {dou/*ou/* $\emptyset$ } | giest der hinne | (Fries) |
| b | dan giest { $\emptyset$ /-ou} | der hinne | |

- | | | | |
|---|--|--------------------|---------------|
| a | du [—] löps | drèèr [—] | (Maasbrachts) |
| b | dæn [—] {löps-e/ löps-tich/*du [—] } | drèèr [—] | |
| c | ...dæts-e drèèr [—] löps/*löpse | | |

A prediction:

Multiple spell-out in pronouns is not positional in Zwart

- [jij/je loopt op straat]
'you walk on the street'
- [Dan loop [jij/je op straat]]
'then walk you on the street'

V₂-theories for [2]-constructions

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

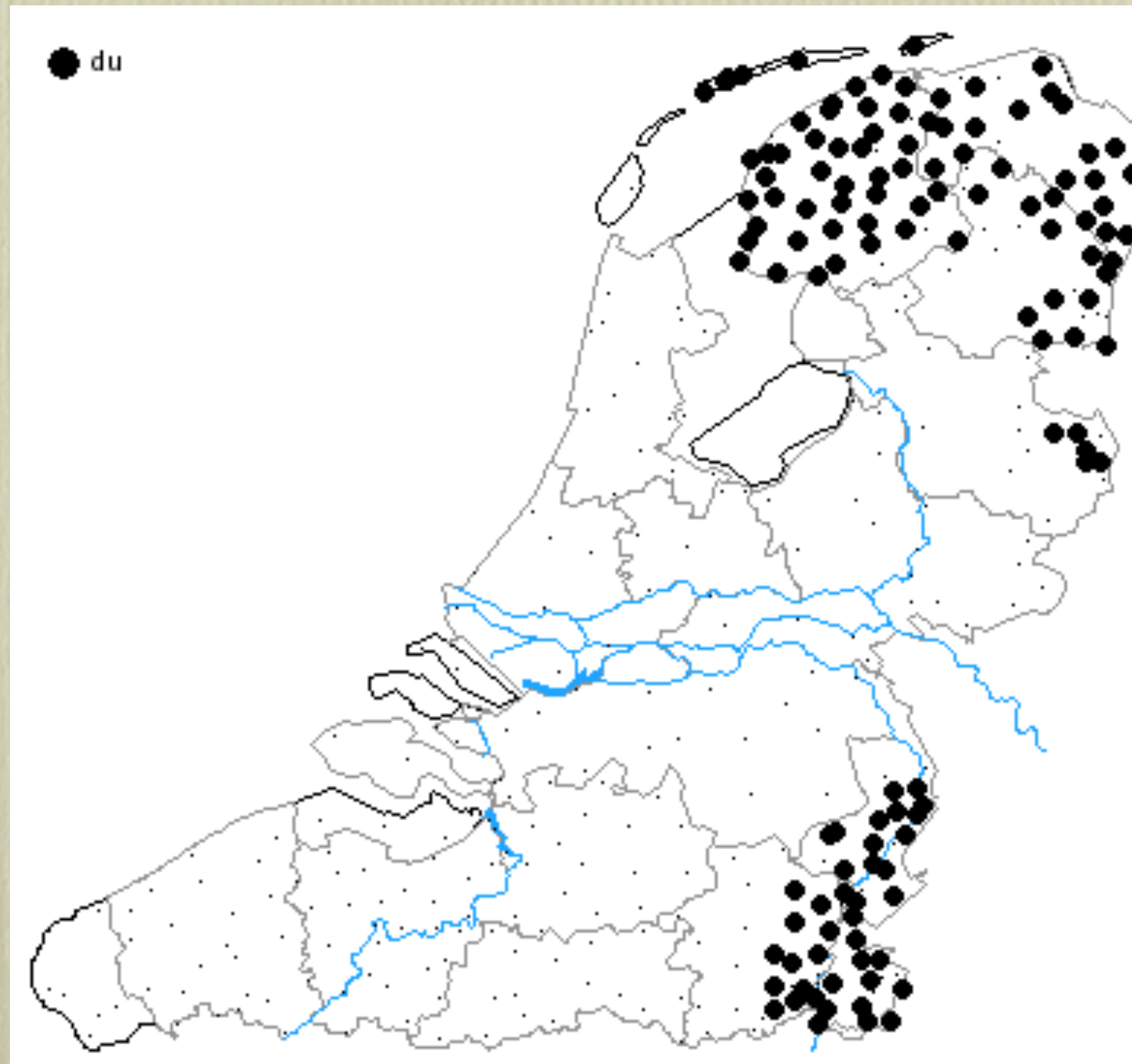
3. V₂-theories for [2]-constructions

- Den Besten and Zwart are not two competing theories of V₂ but describe two types of dialects with positional spellout in pronouns and verbs respectively

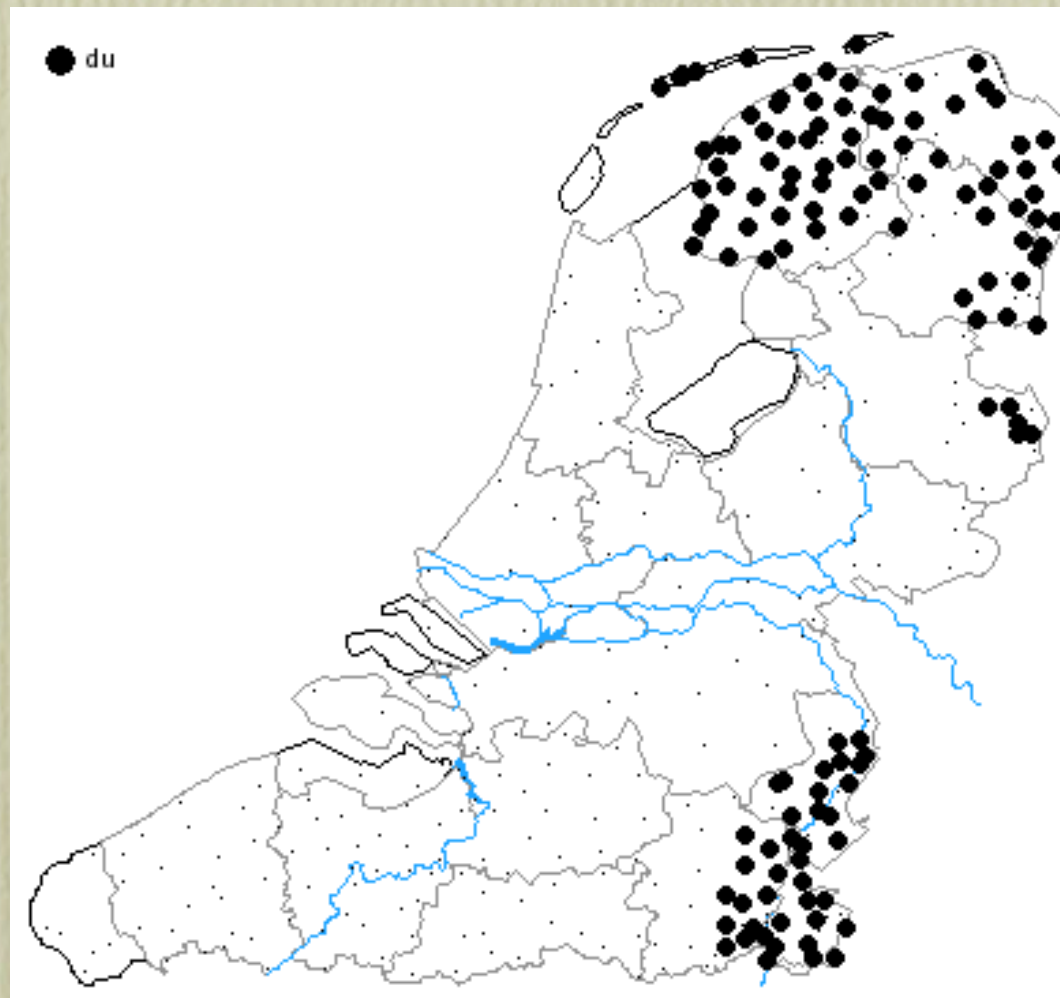
4. Pronoun loss: *du* 'thou' -> *ghi/jij* 'you'

- du coors die doodt, du liets mi tleven (Egidiuslied, 14de eeuw)
you chose the death, you left to-me the-life
- O Lustelike mey, ghi zyt nu in saisoene (Een nyeu liedeken, 1544)
Ah, Pleasant May, you are now in season

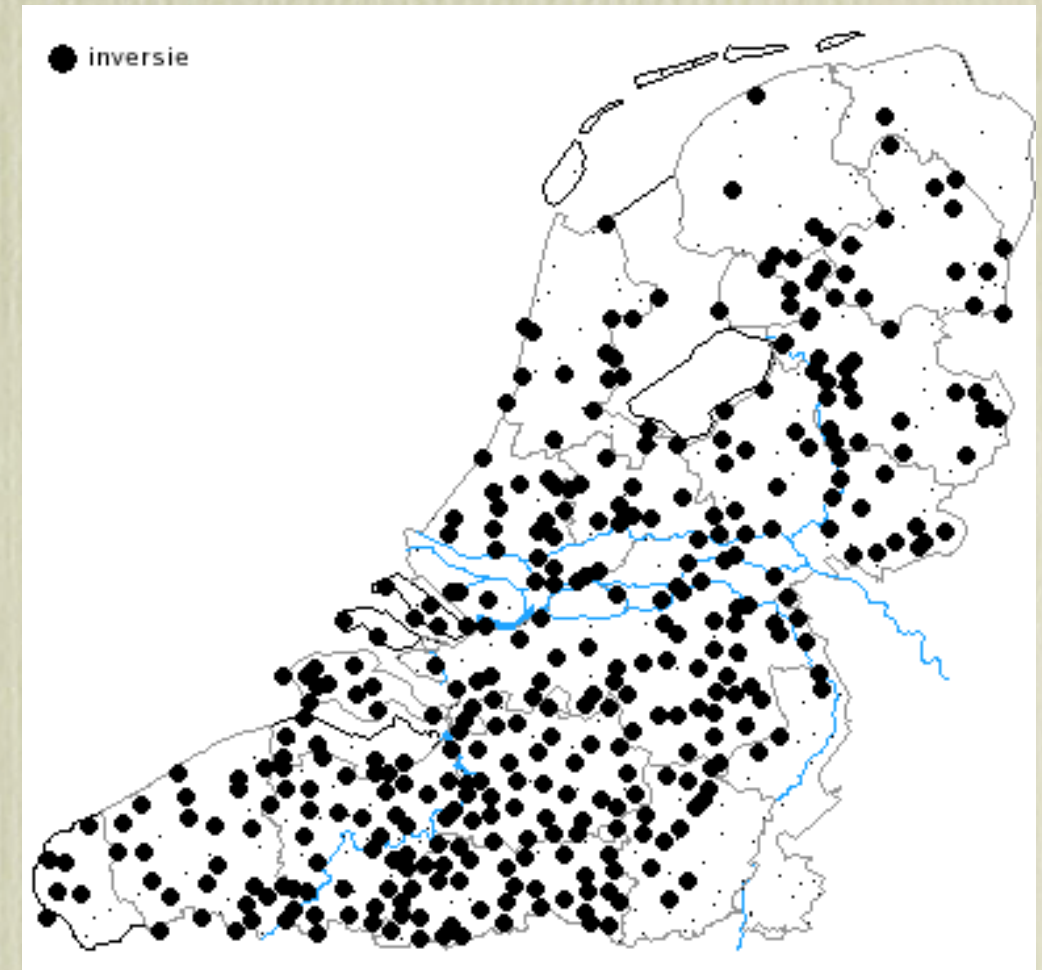
Languages varieties retaining *du*



du versus double paradigms



du

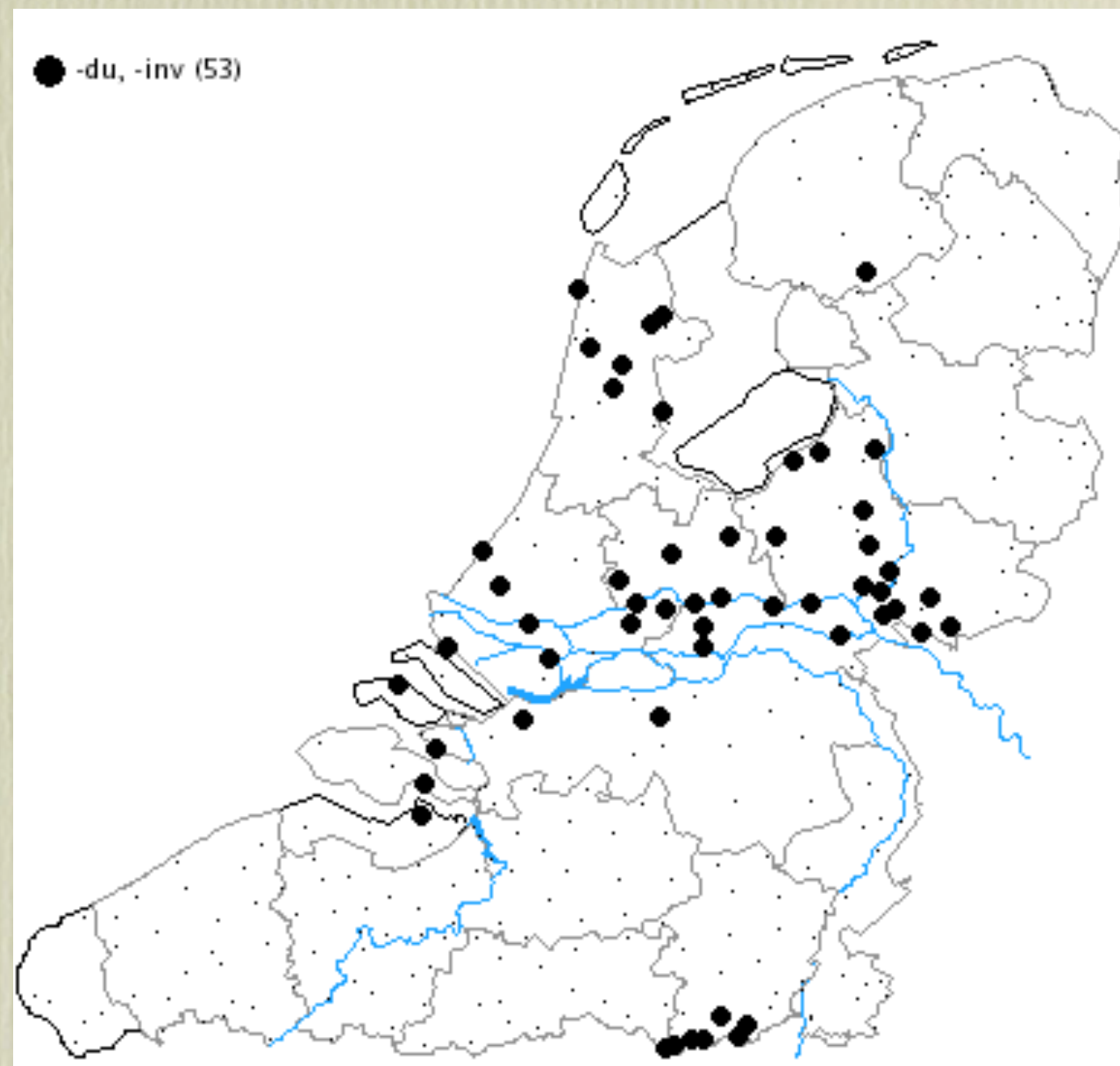
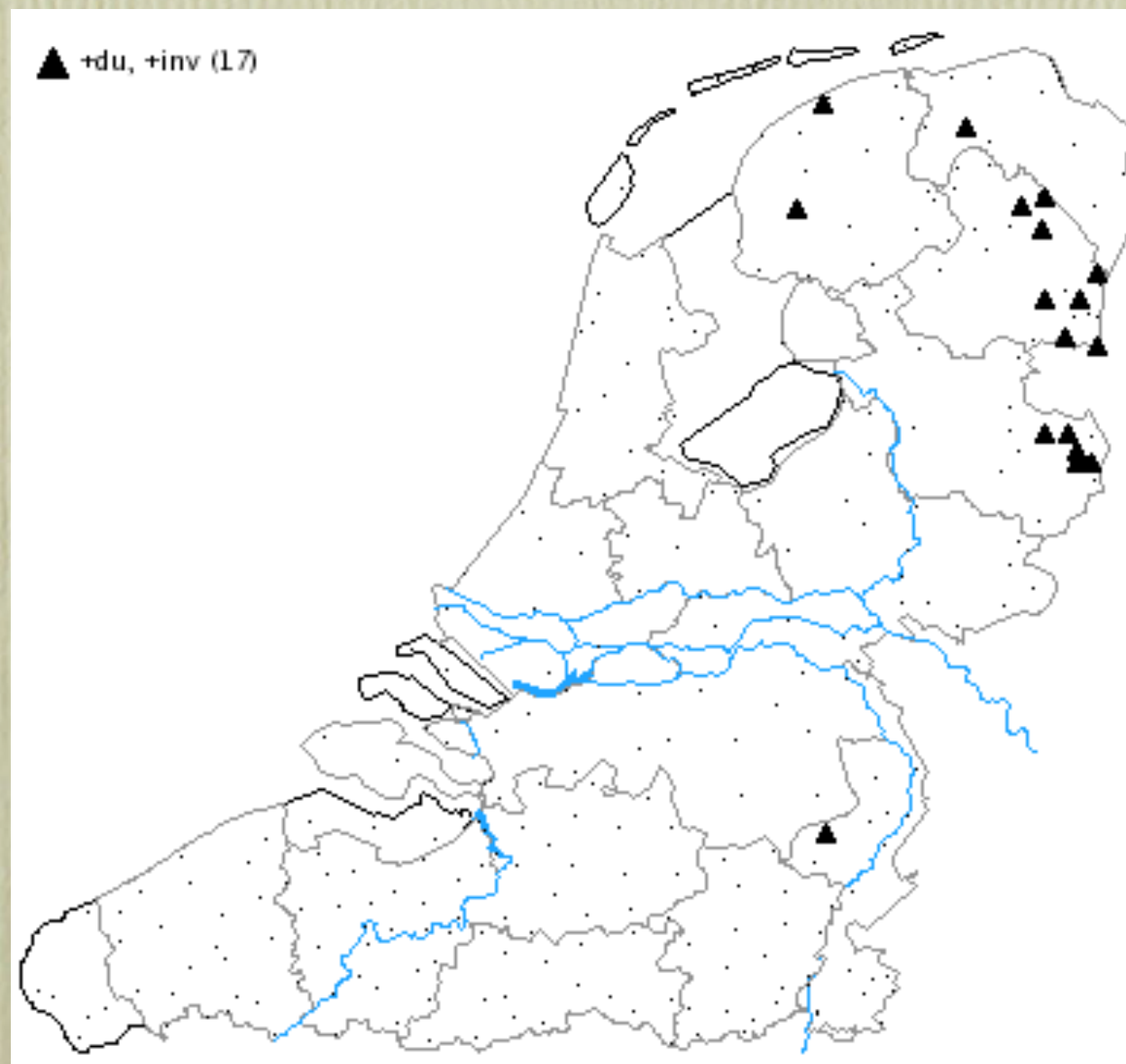


double paradigms

New anti-correlation

- Dialects with *du* lack double paradigms

Exceptions



Varieties in the Netherlands

Cross table of loss of du and double paradigms

	+du	-du
+double paradigm	17	396
-double paradigm	121	53

$p < 0.000000001$

Exceptions type 1

- Exception of type 1 are transitional dialects, geographically
- Transitional dialects use
 - *du* in direct contexts
 - *jij* in inversion contexts

Exceptions type 2

- Exceptions of type 2 typically lay in the area with t-apocope.
- These exception realize around 1/8th of the 'jij' dialects.
- They may be considered was accidentally not realizing the possibility of double paradigms, neither in 2sg, nor in 1pl, nor in 2pl.

Varieties in the Netherlands

Cross table of loss of du and double paradigms

	+du	-du
+double paradigm	yes/no	yes
-double paradigm	yes	no

$p < 0.000000001$

Transition type A to type B

type A	→	type B
[_{CP} pron ₁ V [_{IP}		[_{IP} pron V ₁
[_{CP} X V [_{IP} pron ₂ [..]		[_{CP} X V ₂ [_{IP} pron [..]...]

Transition type A to type B

type A	→	type B
[_{CP} pron ₁ V [_{IP}		[_{IP} pron V ₁
[_{CP} X V [_{IP} pron ₂ [..]		[_{CP} X V ₂ [_{IP} pron [..]...]

A

B

- (16)
- | | |
|---|--|
| a | pron _{2sg} → du ₁ / [_{CP} — [_{C°} V] |
| b | V _{2sg} → verb ₁ / [_{C°} —] [_{IP} |
| c | pron _{2sg} → du ₂ / V [_{IP} — |
| d | V _{2sg} → verb ₂ / I°[—] |

- (17)
- | | |
|---|--|
| a | <i>pron</i> _{2sg} → <i>du</i> ₁ / [_{CP} — [_{C°} V] |
| b | V _{2sg} → verb ₁ / [_{C°} —] [_{IP} |
| c | pron _{2sg} → du ₂ / V [_{IP} — |
| d | V _{2sg} → verb ₂ / I°[—] |

Generalisation

- The specCP spellout of **du** disappears upon transition from type A to type B

Generalisation

- specCP spell-out of *du* **must** disappear upon transition of type A to type B
- specIP spellout (enclitic forms **/-u/-ich)** *may* survive in principle
/-ii/

Verdenius' Theory (1924)

- The new single pronouns *gij* (South), *jij* (North) emerged from the enclitic (pseudo-accusative) forms *-dig* (South), *-dii* (North)

regio 1		regio 2		regio 3		regio 4	
V du	→	V-dig	→	V-dze (gi)	→	V de (gi)	(Oost-Vlaams +Brabants)
						→ V je (gi)	(West-Vlaams)

5. The problem of [3]

- **Hy** giet nei Frankryk Frisian
- Dan giet **er** nei Frankryk
- **Hij** gaat naar Frankrijk Dutch
- Dan gaat **ie** naar Frankrijk

'(Then) he goes to France'

The problem of [3]

- The opposition is present in 1/2 but is absent in [3].
- The difference is between Type A (Den Besten) and Type B (Zwart) is construction dependent
- We need a construction dependent theory that blocks Den Besten-structures with [2] in Dutch dialects.

6. The role of [2]

5. The role of [2]

- The role of [2] in double paradigms
- The role of [2] in pronoun replacement

Double paradigms

Dutch dialects	double paradigms present	example	Postal-features	permitted readings
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2sg	+	je leeft/leef je	2	[2]
3sg	-	-	3	[3]
1pl	+	wi leeft/leve wi	1+2 of 1+3	[1][2][3]
2pl	+	ge leeft/leefde ge	2+3	[2][3]
3pl	-	-	3	[3]

[2] in pronoun replacement

pronoun replacement	Du	Eng	Fr	BP	Postal features
1sg	-	-	-	-	1
2sg	+	+	-	+	2
3sg	-	-	-	-	3
1pl	-	-	+	+	[1][2][3]
2pl	?	-	-	+	[2][3]
3pl	-	-	-	-	3

Generalization

- double paradigms correlate with the feature [2]
- pronoun replacement correlates with the feature [2]

The role of [2]

- The difference between Den Besten and Zwart is the obligatoriness of T-to-C
- Hence, [2] interacts with T-to-C
- How?

Aalberse 2009 - Subject-object asymmetry

*Word frequencies of 2^{de} pers. pronouns subj (du) versus non-subj (di/din)
(after Aalberse 2009:123).*

	13^{de} rhyme	13^{de} proze	16^{de} rhyme	16^{de} proze	Boogaart - written	
du	47%	60%	13%	14%	64%	jij
di(n)	53%	40%	87%	86%	36%	jou(w)

Intermediate Summary

- subject-object asymmetry in pronoun replacement (*du* but not *di/din*, Aalberse 2009)
- pronoun replacement tied to the rise of Zwart structures
- Zwart structures are tied to [2]
- [2] interacts with T-to-C

Is [2] like [WH]?

- There is subject-object asymmetry in WH extraction
- WH-extraction interacts with T-to-C (Pesetsky & Torrego)

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)

P&T 2001

- Nominative is uT
- T to C is result of probing between iT and uT
- *that/for* and *do* lexicalize T-to-C
- WH movement is result of probing between iWH and uWH
- Economy holds

Implementation

- A clause with a [2]-pronoun is a modifying clause to the addressee;

$$X_i^\circ \text{ [CP [pron}_i\text{] C [..... } \underset{i[2]}{\text{pron}}_i \text{---.....]]}$$

$$\qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \underset{u[2]}{\text{u[2]}}$$

- $i[2]_{-}$ in C attracts $u[2]_k$ on pronoun
- [2] may have $[\pm\text{EPP}]$ value
- The standard extraction restrictions hold

Consequence

- The context {specIP-to-specCP + I-to-C } is ungrammatical

Application to [2]

- C/T-trace violation (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001)
The context {specTP-to-specCP + T-to-C } is ungrammatical

wi speult	in T
dan speule wi	in C

WI speult	ok with T flection
*WI speule	*with C-flection

Theory

- [IP jij speelt [... subject in specIP, I° flektion
- [CP JIJ C [IP ~~jij~~ speelt [... focus
|
[+foc]
- *[CP JIJ speel [IP ~~jij speel~~- [... subject-extractie (in B-languages)
|
[+foc]
- [CP Dan speel [IP jij ~~speel~~- [... ... dan..... nonsubject-extractie

Theory

- *gij/jij* and *du* carry i_2
- *gij/jij* has a [2] feature that is -EPP
- *du* has a [2] feature that is +EPP

Theory

- Den Besten languages have VP-internal nominative with definite DPs
- uT on nominatives is -EPP

Pronoun classification

<i>zuivere [2] pronomina</i>	+EPP	-EPP
Fries/Limburgs/vroeg Middelnederlands (13de)	du/di/din	-u/-e/-ich/...
Oldenzaals/vroeg modern Nederlands (16de)	du/di/din	jij/jou/jouw
Modern Nederlands	-	jij/jou/jouw

Language scheme

Languages differ in their EPP features

uT $u2$	+EPP	-EPP
+EPP	*	Dutch (you)
-EPP	Frisian/Limburgian (du)	ok

Language varieties in de Netherlands

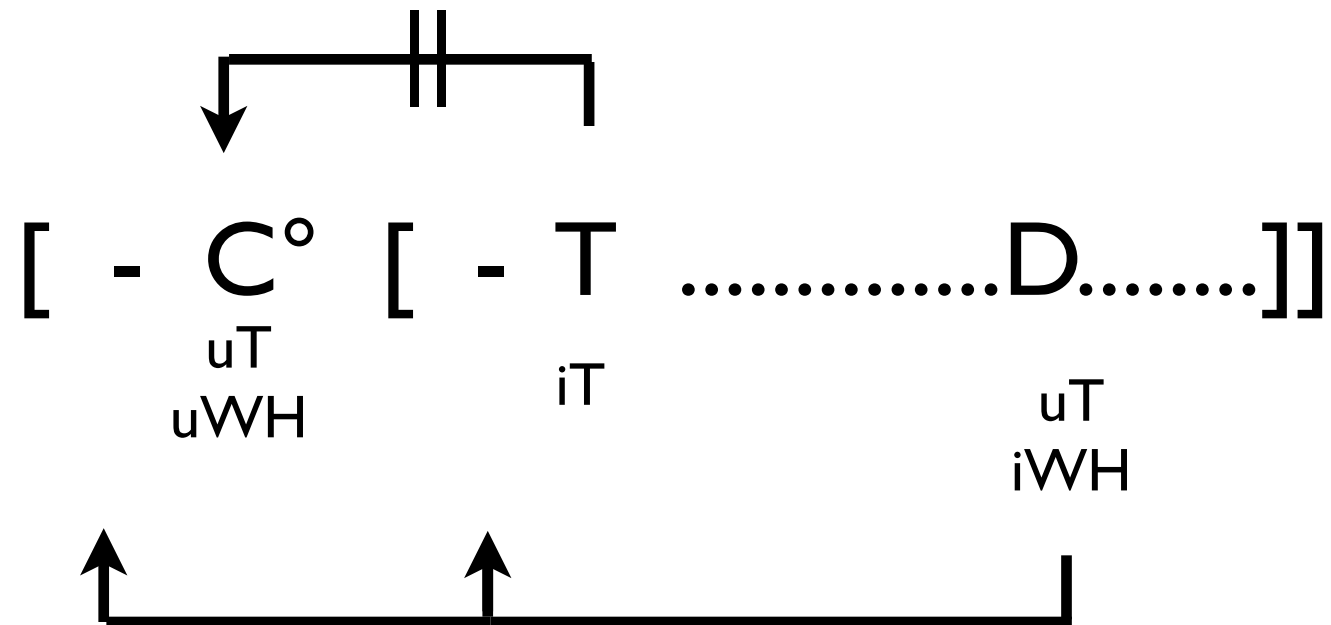
*Correlatiediagram van verlies van du
en het hebben van een dubbel presensparadigma*

Totaal	+du	-du
+dubbel paradigma	17	396
-dubbel paradigma	121	53

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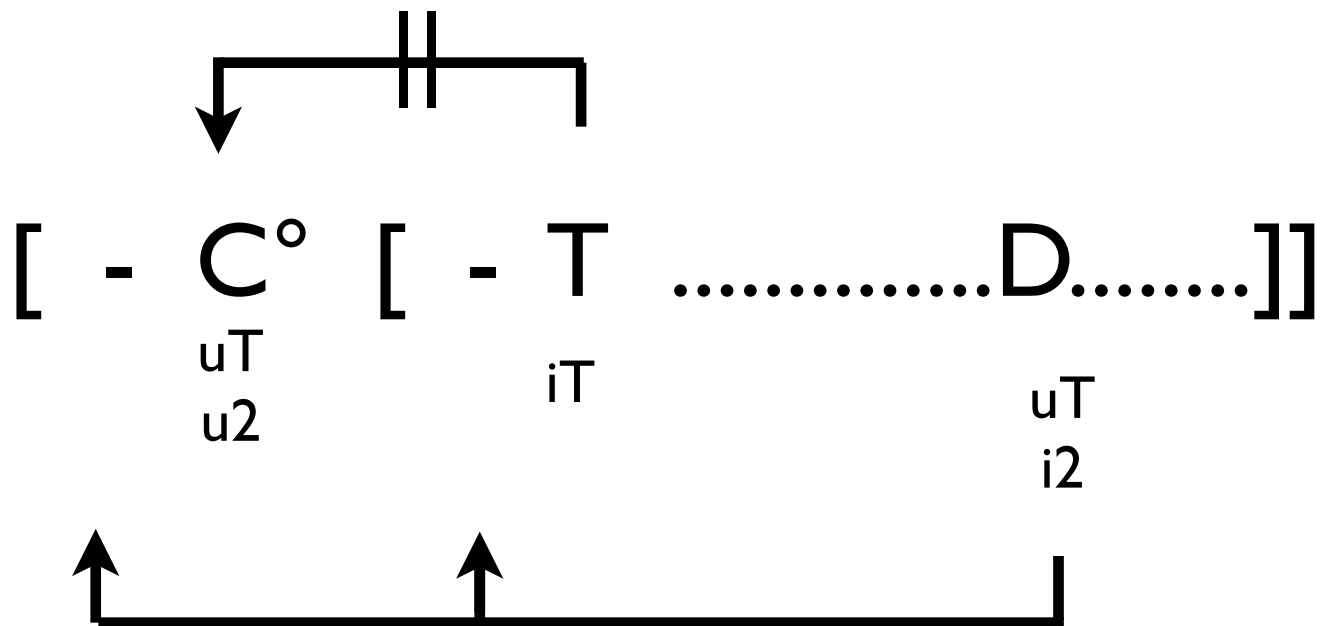
Evidence: intrusion effects

- **V-AGR-T**



Pesetsky & Torrego

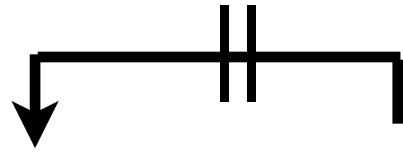
T and WH interact since they form a *bundle*



application to 2 in Dutch

T and 2 interact since they form a *bundle*

Den Besten's and Zwart's configurations



[- C° [- TD.....]]

Zwart structure

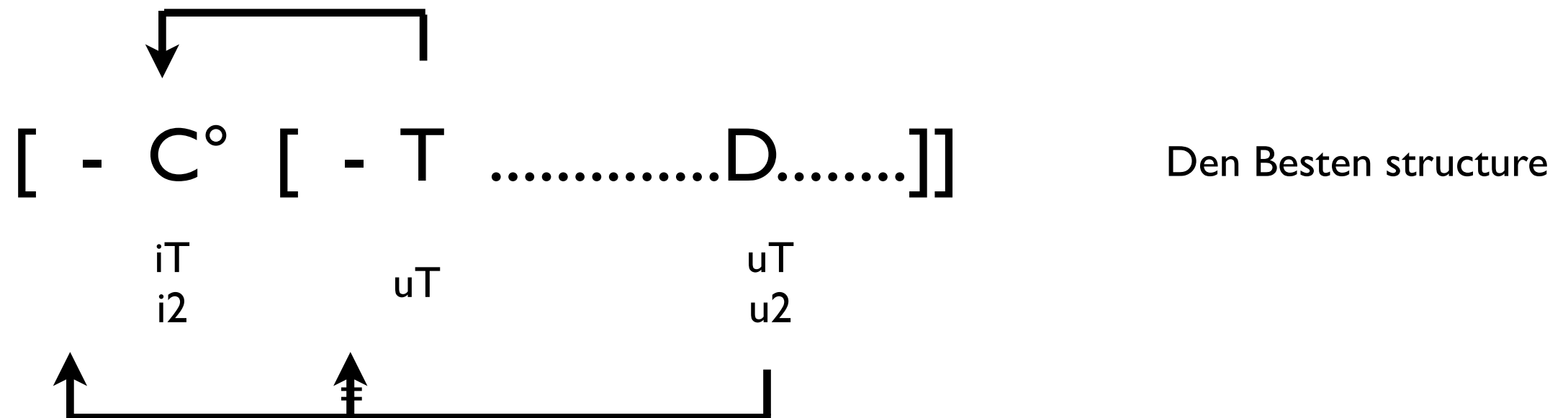
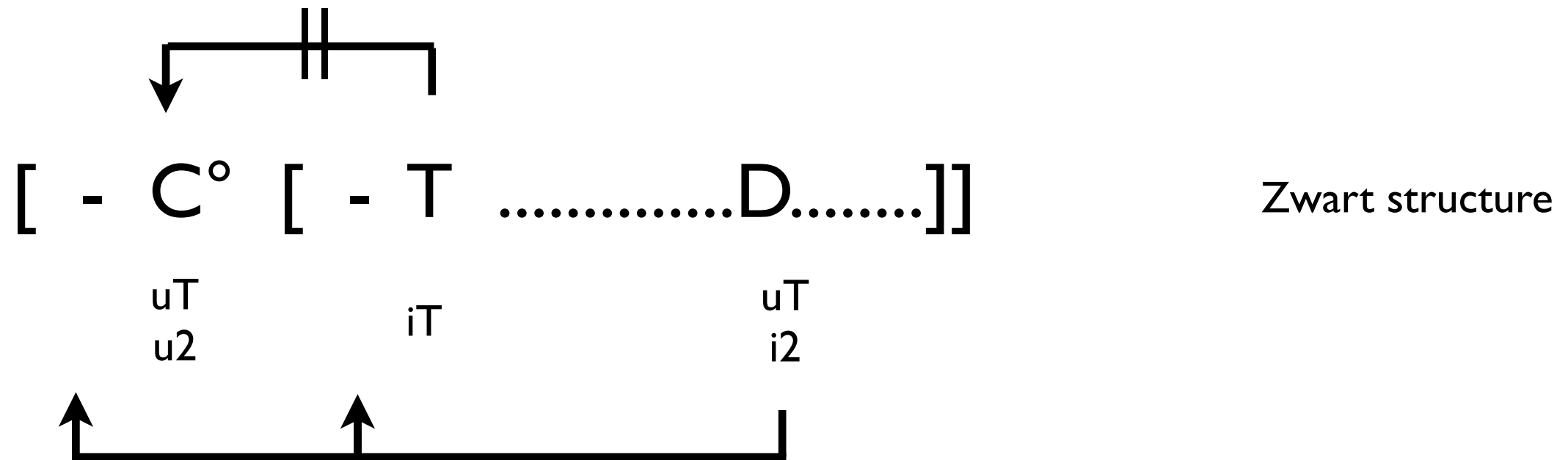


[- C° [- TD.....]]

Den Besten structure

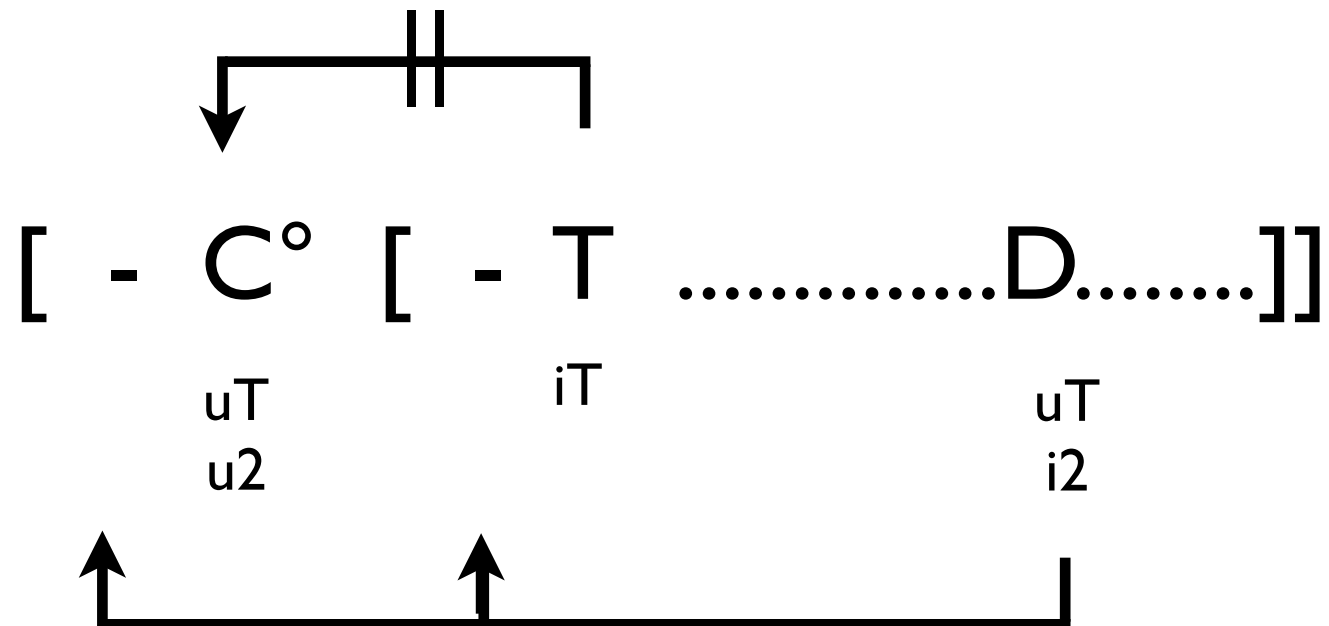


Upon Boskovic's EPP implementation



upon closure of phase

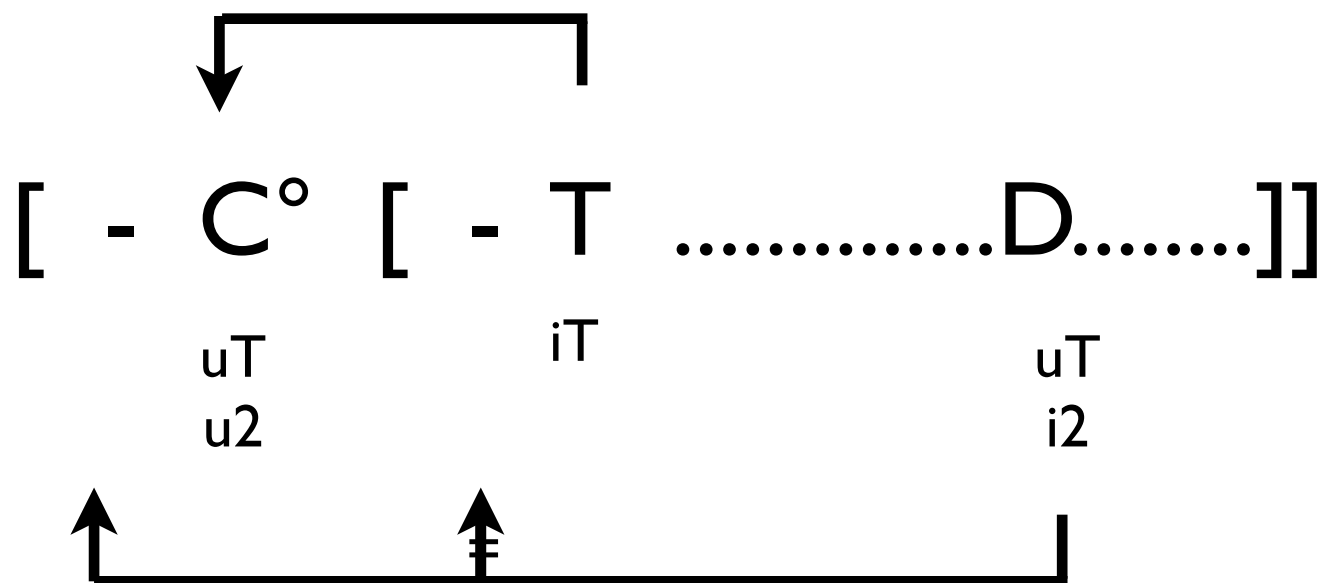
$\phi = IP, CP$



"gij/jij/you"

Zwart

$\phi = CP$



"du"

Den Besten

T and 2 interact since they form a *bundle*

Transitional effects on the isogloss (1)

AGR- intrusion effects

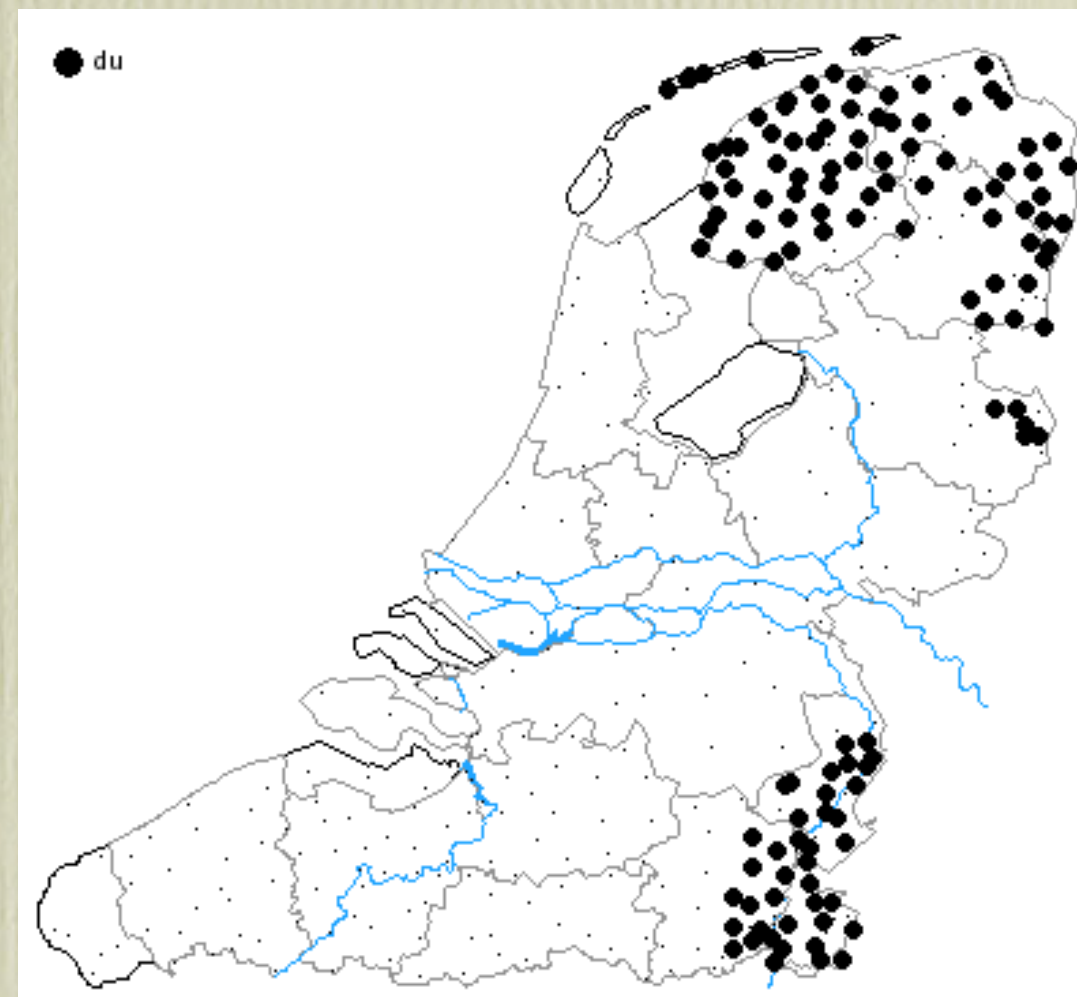
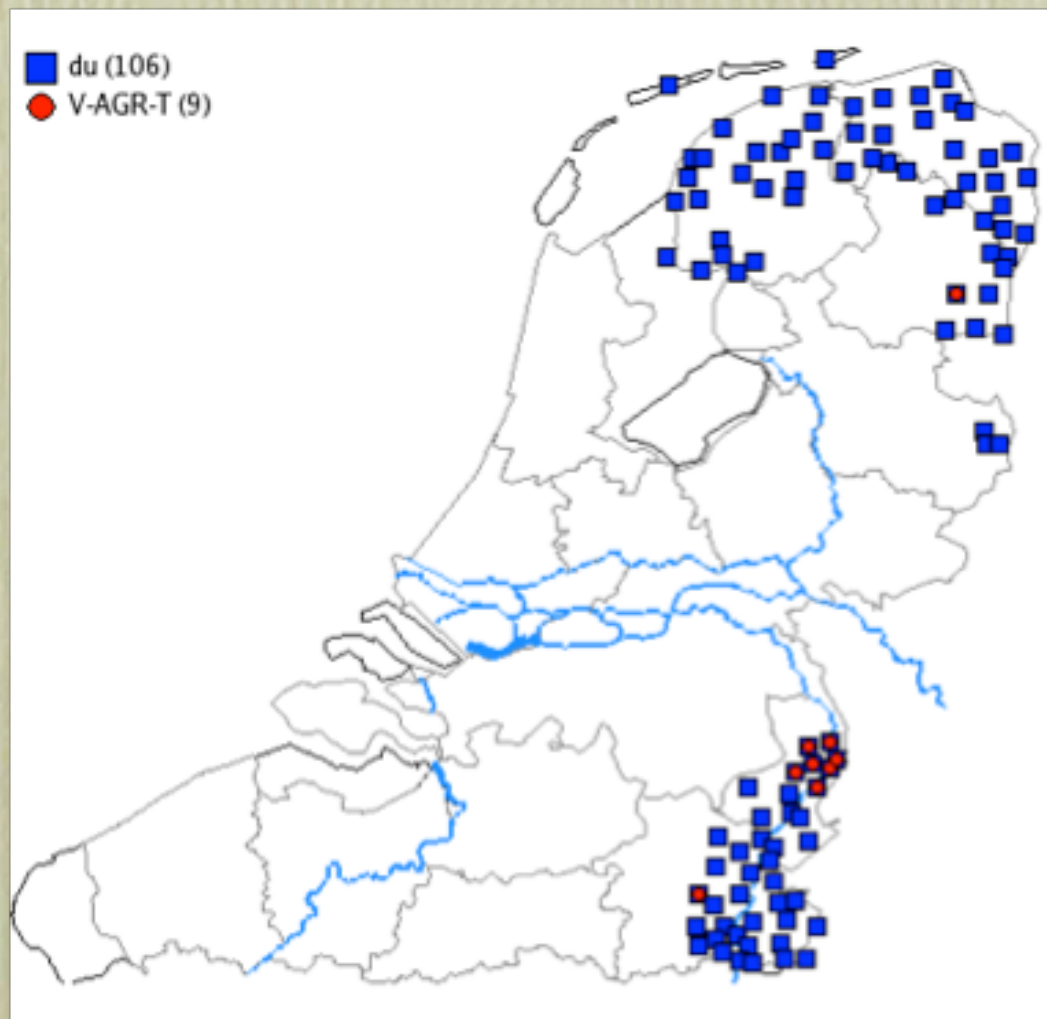
du klop-s-de
you_{2sg} knock-AGR_{2sg}.PAST
'you knocked'

du klop-de-s
you_{2sg} knock- PAST-AGR_{2sg}.
'you knocked'

Transitional effects on the isogloss (2)

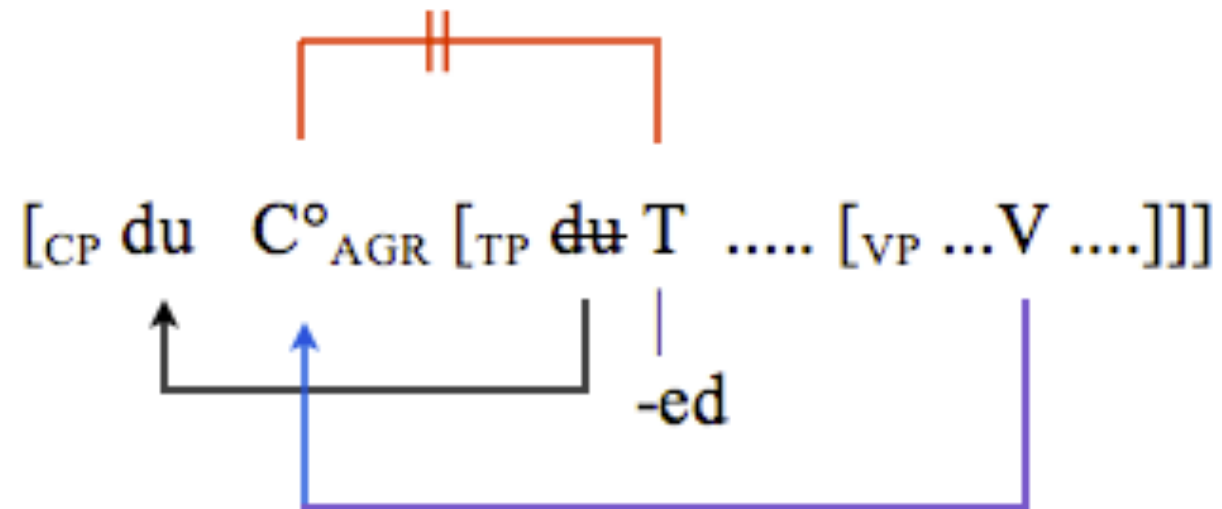
kloeke.	transcriptie (IPA)
G055p	du kɫɔpzdə
L249p	dɪx, klɔbzɔdə / klɔpstə - dɪx, klɔbzɔdə / klɔpstə --v
L267p	dɪxklɔbzɔdə
L270p	dɔ klɔbzɔdə - dɔ klɔbzɔdə --v
L271p	dɪx, kɫɔbɛzɔdə - dɪx, kɫɔbɛzɔdə -s -v
L290p	du' klɔbzɔdə - du' klɔbzɔdə -s -v
L299p	du kɫɔbzɔdə - du kɫɔbzɔdə -s -v
Q003p	dexklɔbzɔdə - dexklɔbzɔdə --v

Transitional effects on the isogloss (3)



Intrusion effects

V-AGR-T



Conclusions

- There is a Postal feature [2] which act as a quantifier
- The [2] feature on pronouns can be $\pm$ EPP
- [2] is similar to [WH] and interacts with uT
- Decay of Dutch *du* marks the various subjects positions

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