

The R-pronoun and postposition *waar-mee* in Dutch

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Nanolab
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- (1) Jij schildert **met een kwast**.
you paint with a brush
'You are painting with a brush.'

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- (2) **Wat** zie jij?
what see you
'What do you see?'

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- (3) ***Met wat** schilder jij?
with what paint you
'What are you painting with?'
- (4) **Waar -mee** schilder jij?
where with paint you with
'What are you painting with?'

- (5) *Ik schilder **met t**.
I paint with it
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(6) Ik schilder **r -mee**.
I paint R -with
'I am painting with it.'

Why **met wat*?

(van Riemsdijk, 1978)

* *met wat* | *waar-mee*

**met wat | waar-mee*

- positions are reversed

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- *met* becomes *mee*

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- positions are reversed
- *met* becomes *mee*
- *wat* becomes *waar*, which is syncretic with locative (Koopman, 1994)

R-pronouns are the result of regular spellout mechanisms
as long as all features form a proper constituent

- (7) a. Ik koop de kwast **waar** -**mee** jij schildert.
I buy the brush where with you paint
'I buy the brush that you are painting with.'
- b. *Ik koop de kwast **met** **wat** jij schildert.
I koop the brush with what you paint
'I buy the brush that you are painting with.'

- (8) a. **Waar -mee** schilder jij?
where with paint you with
'What are you painting with?'
- b. Ik koop de kwast [**waar -mee** jij schildert].
I buy the brush where with you paint
'I koop the brush that you are painting with.'

- (8) a. **Waar -mee** schilder jij?
where with paint you with
'What are you painting with?'
- b. Ik koop de kwast [**waar -mee** jij schildert].
I buy the brush where with you paint
'I koop the brush that you are painting with.'
- (9) [[jij] [[schilder] [**waar-mee**]]]

- (10) a. Ik heb gekocht **waar -mee** jij schildert.
I have bought where with you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'
- b. *Ik heb gekocht **met wat** jij schildert.
I have bought with what you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'

- (10) a. Ik heb gekocht **waar -mee** jij schildert.
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- b. *Ik heb gekocht **met wat** jij schildert.
I have bought with what you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'
- (11) a. *Ik schilder **waar -mee** jij hebt gekocht.
I paint where with you have bought
'I paint with what you bought.'
- b. Ik schilder **met wat** jij hebt gekocht.
I paint with what you have bought
'I paint with what you bought.'

- (12) a. Ik koop **het schilderij**.
I buy the painting
'I am buying the painting.'
- b. Ik schilder **met een kwast**.
I paint with a brush
'I am painting with a brush.'

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- (13) Ik heb gekocht [**waar -mee** jij schildert].
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- (13) Ik heb gekocht [**waar -mee** jij schildert].
I have bought where with you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'
- (14) Ik schilder **met** [**wat** jij hebt gekocht].
I paint with what you have bought
'I paint with what you bought.'

- (15) [**Met** [**wat** [voor [potloden]]]] teken jij?
with what for pencils draw you
'What kind of pencils are you drawing with?'

- (15) [**Met** [**wat** [voor [potloden]]]] teken jij?
with what for pencils draw you
'What kind of pencils are you drawing with?'
- (16) Ik wil graag thee [**met** [**wat** [suiker]]].
I want please tea with some sugar
'I would like to have tea with some sugar.'

- (15) [**Met** [**wat** [voor [potloden]]]] teken jij?
with what for pencils draw you
'What kind of pencils are you drawing with?'
- (16) Ik wil graag thee [**met** [**wat** [suiker]]].
I want please tea with some sugar
'I would like to have tea with some sugar.'
- (17) a. [[met] [wat]] → [waar-mee]
b. [met [wat [X]]]
c. [met [[wat] [X]]]

(18) w -aa -**r** -**mee**

(19) **met** w -a -**t**

$$wP \iff w$$



W

(Hachem, 2015)

$$wP \iff w$$



W

(Hachem, 2015)

$$DEIXP \iff a$$



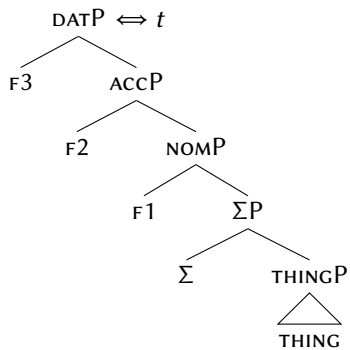
DEIX

(cf. Lander, 2016)

- (20)
- a. T staat in de hal.
3SG.N.NOM stands in the hallway
'It is standing in the hallway.'
 - b. Ik zie t.
I see 3SG.N.ACC
'I see it.'
 - c. Ik heb t een klap gegeven.
I have 3SG.N.DAT a hit given
'I gave it a hit.'

- (21)
- a. *Hij en t staan in de hoek.
he and it stand in the corner
'He and it are standing in the corner.'
 - b. Hij en dit/dat staan in de hoek.
he and this/that stand in the corner
'He and it are standing in the corner.'

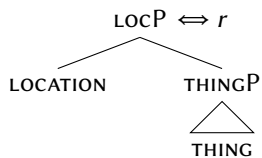
- (21) a. *Hij en t staan in de hoek.
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'He and it are standing in the corner.'
- b. Hij en dit/dat staan in de hoek.
he and this/that stand in the corner
'He and it are standing in the corner.'
- (22) T staat in de hal.
3SG.N.NOM stands in the hallway
'It is standing in the hallway.'



(Cardinaletti and Starke, 1996; Kayne, 2005; Caha, 2009)

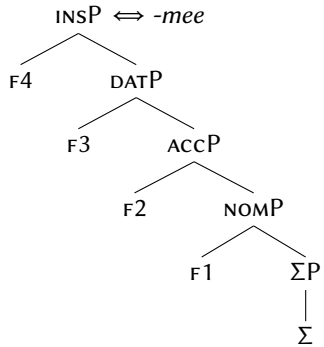
- (23) Ik ben er al geweest.
I am there already been
'I have already been there.'

- (23) Ik ben r al geweest.
I am there already been
'I have already been there.'



(Baunaz et al., 2018)

N.SG	
NOM	t
ACC	t
DAT	t
INS	r -mee



INSP \Leftrightarrow *met*



F4

$$[W [DEIX [F4 [F3 [F2 [F1 [\Sigma [THING]]]]]]]]$$

THINGP $\Rightarrow r$



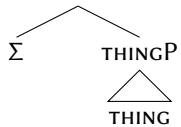
THING

$\text{THINGP} \Rightarrow r$



THING

$\Sigma P \Rightarrow t$

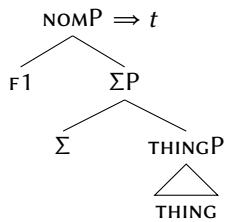


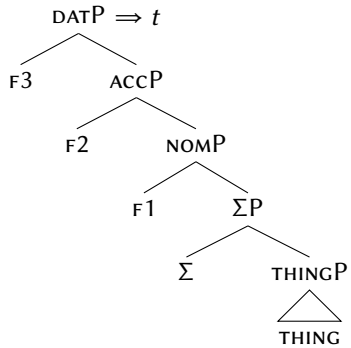
Σ

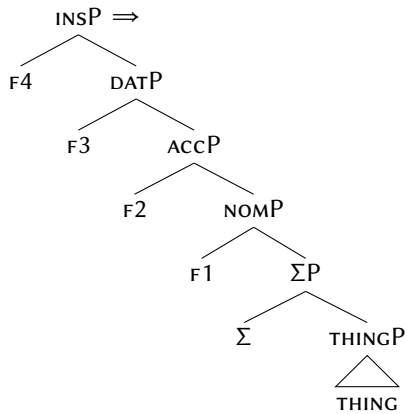
THINGP

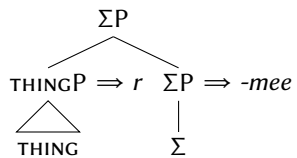


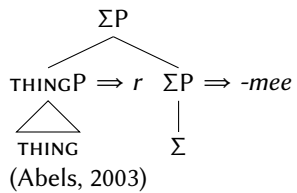
THING

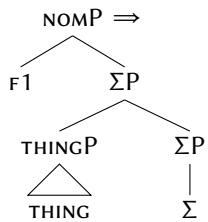


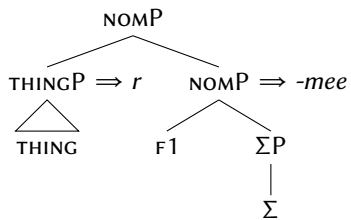


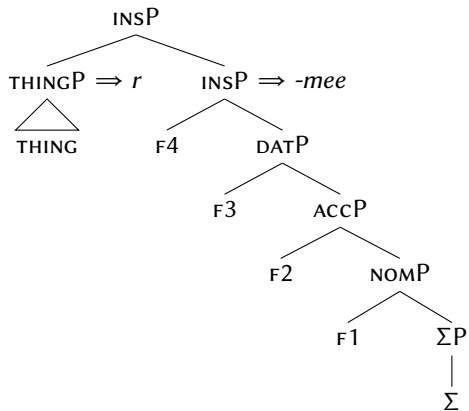


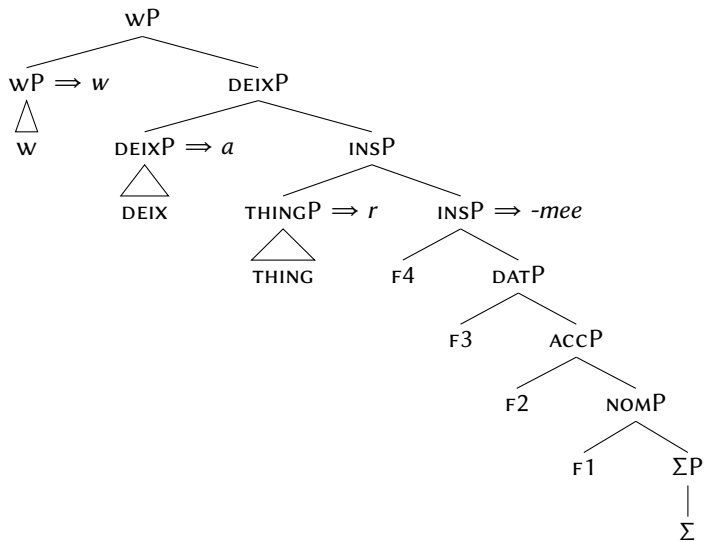


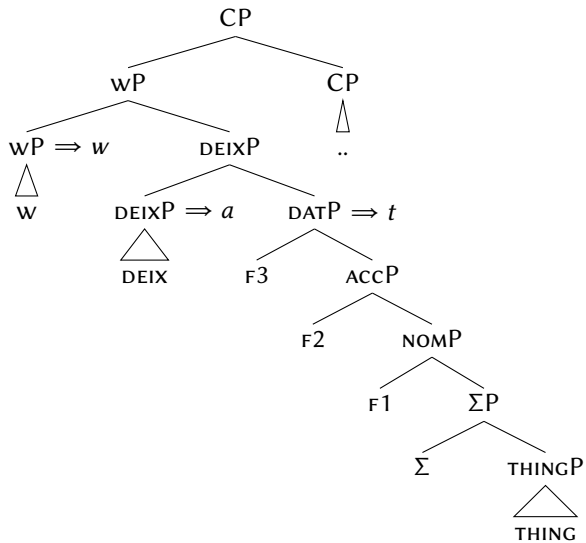












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- *r* is ambiguous between location and (caseless) thing
- *met* and *mee* are separate lexical entries
 - so their phonological realization can differ
 - so they can differ between being pre and post

- (24) Ik zie **t**.
I see it
'I see it.'
- (25) *Ik schilder **met t**.
I paint with it
'I am painting with it.'
- (26) Ik schilder **r -mee**.
I paint where -with
'I am painting with it.'

- (24) Ik zie **t**.
I see it
'I see it.'
- (25) *Ik schilder **met t**.
I paint with it
'I am painting with it.'
- (26) Ik schilder **r -mee**.
I paint where -with
'I am painting with it.'
- (27) Ik zie **haar/hem**.
I see her/him
'I see her/him.'
- (28) Ik schilder samen **met haar/hem**.
I paint together with her/him
'I am painting together with her/him.'

- (24) Ik zie **t**.
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'I see it.'
- (25) *Ik schilder **met t**.
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'I am painting with it.'
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$$[F4 [F3 [F2 [F1 [\mathbf{phi} [\Sigma [\text{THING}]]]]]]]$$

- (29) Ik heb gekocht waar mee jij schildert.
I have bought where with you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'

- (29) Ik heb gekocht waar mee jij schildert.
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- (29) Ik heb gekocht waar mee jij schildert.
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'I bought what you are painting with.'
- (30) Ik heb gekocht waar jij mee schildert.
I have bought where you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'

verbal particles in e.g. **meelopen** 'walk along', **meezingen** 'sing along' (Noonan, 2017)

PREP <i>what</i>	<i>where</i> POST	translation
aan wat	waaraan	‘on whom/what’
achter wat	waar achter	‘behind whom/what’
bij wat	waar bij	‘at whom/what’
door wat	waard oor	‘by whom/what’
langs wat	waar langs	‘alongside whom/what’
met wat	waar <u>mee</u>	‘with whom/what’
naar wat	waarnaar	‘to whom/what’
op wat	waar op	‘on whom/what’
over wat	waar over	‘about whom/what’
tot wat	waart <u>oe</u>	‘to whom/what’
uit wat	waar uit	‘out of whom/what’
van wat	waar van	‘of whom/what’
voor wat	waar voor	‘for whom/what’