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

Fenna Bergsma

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Syntax colloquium
April 27, 2020

DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

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

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'You are painting with a brush.'

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

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(3) *__Met wat__ schilder jij?
with what paint you
'What are you painting with?'

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what see you
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(3) *__Met wat__ schilder jij?
with what paint you
'What are you painting with?'

(4) **Waarmee** schilder jij?
where with paint you with
'What are you painting with?'

(5) Womit malst du?
where with paint you
'What are you painting with?'

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where with paint you
'What are you painting with?'

(6) Waa**r**mee schilder jij?
where with paint you with
'What are you painting with?'

(7) Worauf kletterst du?
where on climb you
'What are you climbing onto?'

(8) Wo bist du **(d)r**auf geklettert?
where are you on climbed
'What did you climb on?'

(7) Worauf kletterst du?
where on climb you
'What are you climbing onto?'

(8) Wo bist du **(d)r**auf geklettert?
where are you on climbed
'What did you climb on?'

(9) Waa**r** ben jij op geklommen?
where are you on climbed
'What did you climb on?'

(10) *Ik schilder **met t**.
I paint with it
'I am painting with it.'

(10) *Ik schilder **met t**.
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'I am painting with it.'

(11) Ik schilder **r -mee**.
I paint R -with
'I am painting with it.'

Why **met wat*?

(van Riemsdijk, 1978)

*met wat | waar-mee

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- positions are reversed

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*met wat | waar-mee

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- *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

(12) 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.'

(13) 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.'

(13) 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.'

(14) [[jij] [[schilder] [**waar-mee**]]]

(15) 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.'

(15) a. Ik heb gekocht **waar -mee** jij schildert.
I have bought where with you paint
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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.'

(16) 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.'

(17) 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
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I paint with a brush
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(18) Ik heb gekocht [**waar -mee** jij schildert].
I have bought where with you paint
'I bought what you are painting with.'

(19) Ik schilder **met** [**wat** jij hebt gekocht].
I paint with what you have bought
'I paint with what you bought.'

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

(20) [**Met** [**wat** [voor [potloden]]] teken jij?
with what for pencils draw you
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(21) Ik wil graag thee [**met** [**wat** [suiker]]].
I want please tea with some sugar
'I would like to have tea with some sugar.'

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

(21) Ik wil graag thee [**met** [**wat** [suiker]]].
I want please tea with some sugar
'I would like to have tea with some sugar.'

(22) a. [[met] [wat]] ⟶ [waar-mee]
b. [met [wat [X]]]
c. [met [[wat] [X]]]

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

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

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- late insertion (phonology after syntax)

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

- late insertion (phonology after syntax)
- individual features (no feature bundles)

(25) wP $\Longleftrightarrow$ *w*

W

(Hachem, 2015)

(25) $\text{wP} \iff w$

W

(Hachem, 2015)

(26) $\textsc{deix}\text{P} \iff a$

DEIX

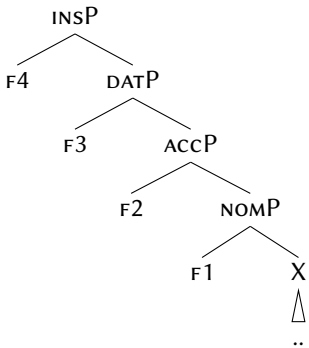
(cf. Lander, 2016)

(27) 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.'

(28)



(Caha, 2009)

(29) 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
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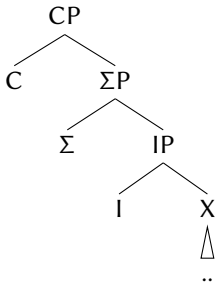

(Cardinaletti and Starke, 1996)

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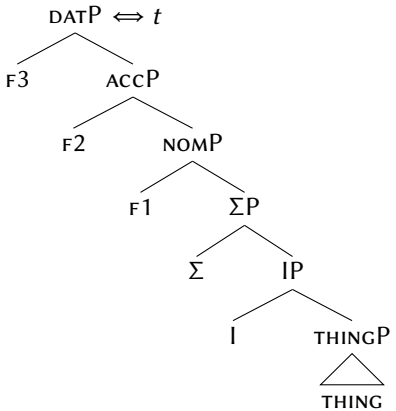
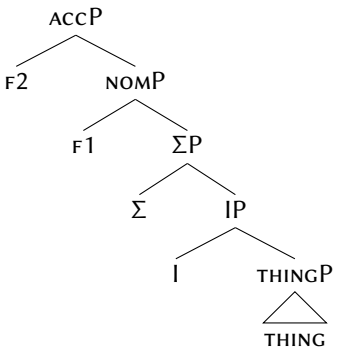


(Cardinaletti and Starke, 1996; Kayne, 2005; Caha, 2009)

(33) **The Superset Principle** (Starke, 2009):
A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node.

(34)



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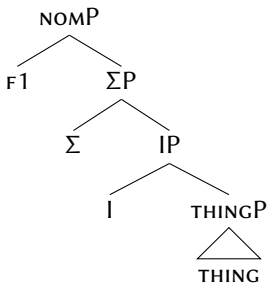

(36) Ik ben r al geweest.
I am there already been
'I have already been there.'

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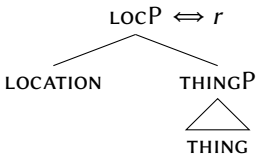
(37)



(Baunaz et al., 2018)

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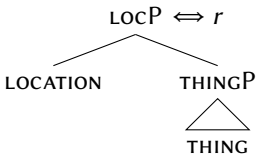

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(38) **The Elsewhere Condition** (Kiparsky 1973, formulated as in Caha 2020): When two entries can spell out a given node, the more specific entry wins. Under the Superset Principle governed insertion, the more specific entry is the one which has fewer unused features.

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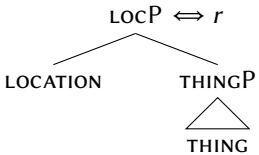
(37) 

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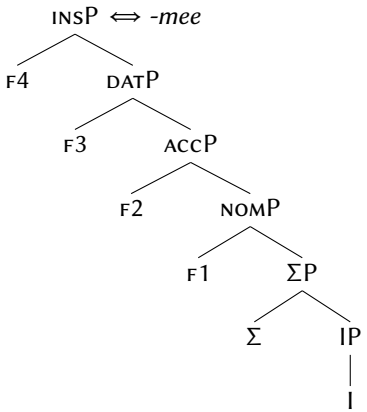
(39)

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

(40)



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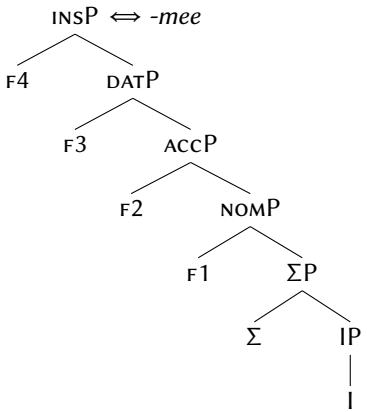

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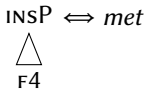

[W [DEIX [F4 [F3 [F2 [F1 [Σ [I [THING]]]]]]]]]

(42) Merge F and

a. Spell out FP.
b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a).
c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a).

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Lexicalisation at a node XP overrides any previous match at a phrase contained in XP.

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When spellout fails, go back to the previous cycle, and try the next option for that cycle.

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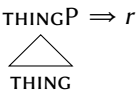
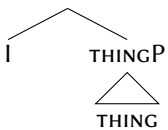
(45) **Spec Formation** (Starke, 2018):
If Merge F has failed to spell out (even after backtracking), try to spawn a new derivation providing the feature F and merge that with the current derivation, projecting the feature F at the top node.

(46) 

(46) THINGP $\Longrightarrow$ *r*

(47) IP $\Longrightarrow$ *t*



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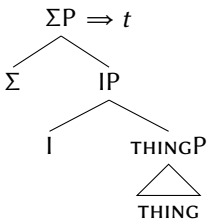

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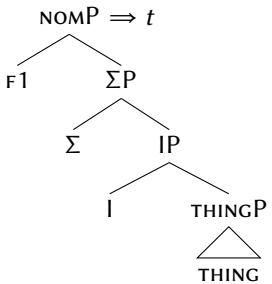

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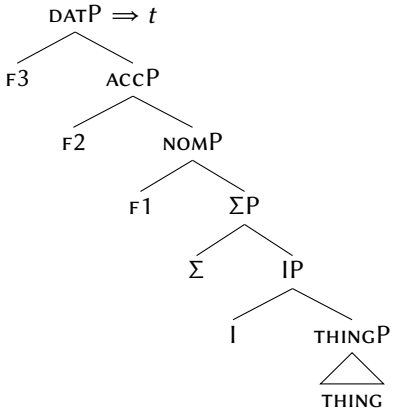

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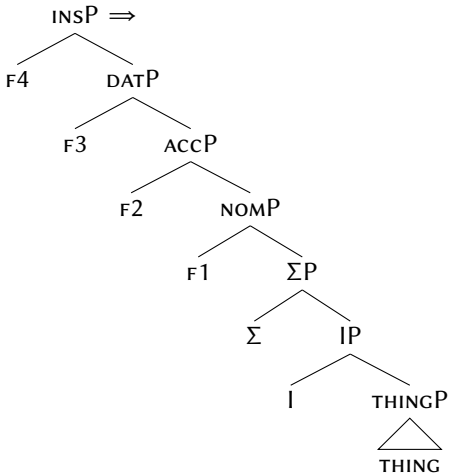

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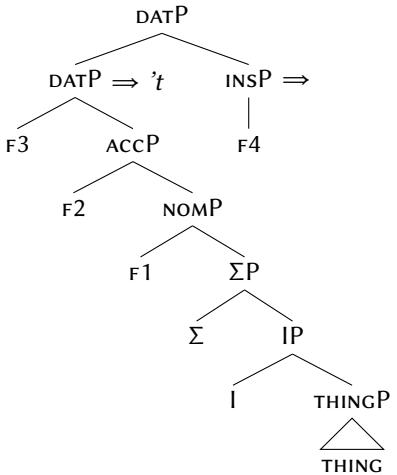

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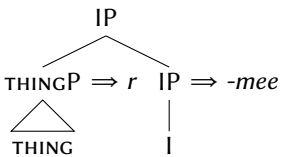

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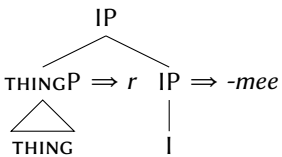
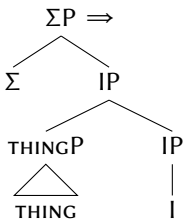


(Abels, 2003)

(54)



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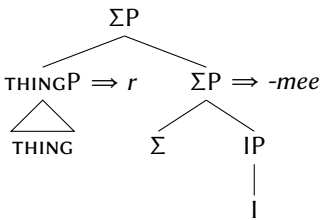

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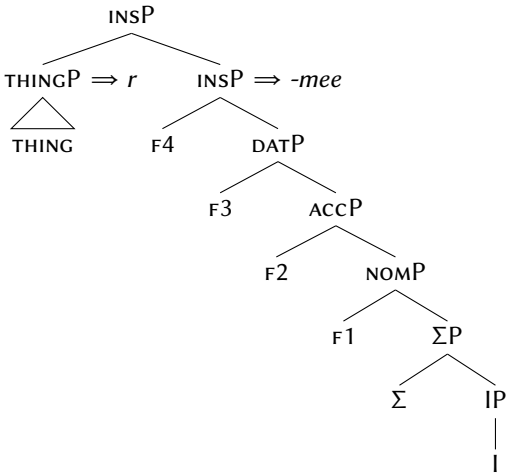

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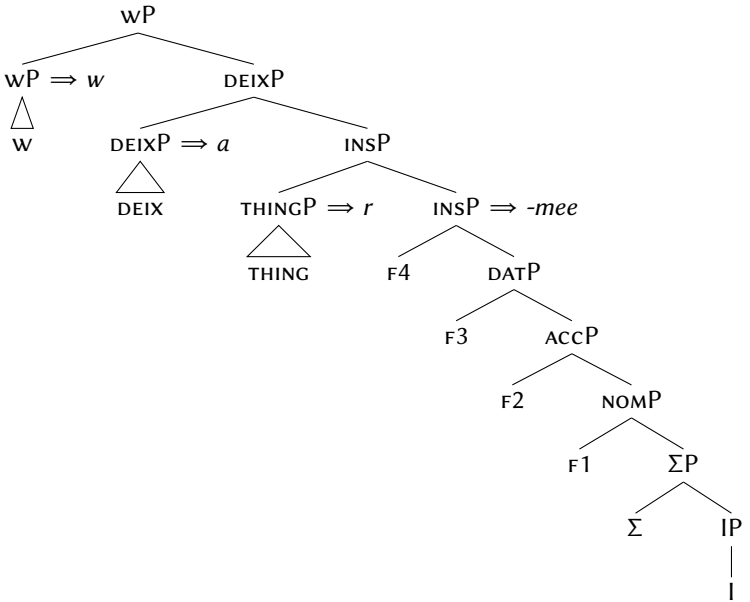
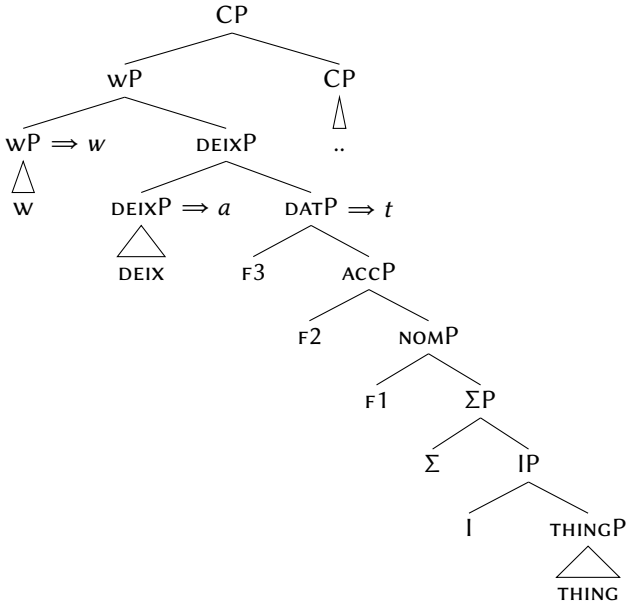

wP
wP ⟹ w
w
DEIXP
DEIXP ⟹ a
DEIX
INSP
THINGP ⟹ r
THING
INSP ⟹ -mee
F4
DATP
F3
ACCP
F2
NOMP
F1
ΣP
Σ
IP
I

(58)


CP
wP
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wP ⇒ w
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DEIXP ⇒ a
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DEIX
F3
ACCP
F2
NOMP
F1
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Σ
IP
I
THINGP
THING

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- *r* is ambiguous between location and (caseless) 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 between being pre and post

(59) Ik zie **t**.
I see it
'I see it.'

(60) *Ik schilder **met t**.
I paint with it
'I am painting with it.'

(61) Ik schilder **r -mee**.
I paint where -with
'I am painting with it.'

(59) Ik zie **t**.
I see it
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(60) *Ik schilder **met t**.
I paint with it
'I am painting with it.'

(61) Ik schilder **r -mee**.
I paint where -with
'I am painting with it.'

(62) Ik zie **haar/hem**.
I see her/him
'I see her/him.'

(63) Ik schilder samen **met haar/hem**.
I paint together with her/him
'I am painting together with her/him.'

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(64) [F4 [F3 [F2 [F1 [**phi** [Σ [I [THING]]]]]]]]

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

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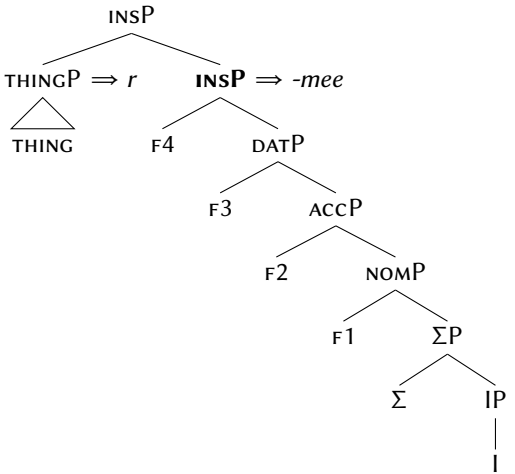
'I bought what you are painting with.'

(67)



PREP *what*	*where* POST	translation
aan wat	waar**aan**	‘on whom/what’
achter wat	waar**achter**	‘behind whom/what’
bij wat	waar**bij**	‘at whom/what’
door wat	waar**door**	‘by whom/what’
langs wat	waar**langs**	‘alongside whom/what
met wat	waar**mee**	‘with whom/what’
naar wat	waar**naar**	‘to whom/what’
op wat	waar**op**	‘on whom/what’
over wat	waar**over**	‘about whom/what’
tot wat	waar**toe**	‘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’

(68) a. Ik dans in het bos.
I dance in the forest
'I am dancing in the forest.'

b. Ik dans het bos in.
I dance the forest in
'I am dancing into the forest.'

(68) a. Ik dans in het bos.
I dance in the forest
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I dance the forest in
'I am dancing into the forest.'

(69) Ik dans r -in.
I dance ʀ in
'I dance it in.'
*'I dance into it.'

(68) a. Ik dans in het bos.
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(69) Ik dans r -in.
I dance R in
'I dance it in.'
*'I dance into it.'

(70) *Ik ben r -in gedanst.
I am R in danced
'I dancing into it.'

(68) a. Ik dans in het bos.
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(70) *Ik ben r -in gedanst.
I am R in danced
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(71) Ik heb r -in gedanst.
I have R in danced
'I dancing in it.'

	DP	R
pre	LOC	*
post	DIR	LOC

	DP	R
pre	LOC	*
post	DIR	LOC

verbal particles in e.g. **mee**lopen ‘walk along’, **mee**zingen ‘sing along’

	DP	R
pre	LOC	*
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verbal particles in e.g. **mee**lopen ‘walk along’, **mee**zingen ‘sing along’

	mee	*met*
pre	verb	noun
post	noun	*

The data

(72) Zij schrijft de brief **met** een potlood.
she writes the letter with a pencil
'She writes the letter with a pencil.'

The data

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'She writes the letter with a pencil.'

(73) Zij koopt **dat**.
she buys that
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(74) *Zij schrijft de brief **met dat**.
she writes the letter with that
'She writes the letter with that.'

(75) Zij schrijft de brief **daar mee**.
she writes the letter there with
'She writes the letter with that.'

Questions and answers

met dat | daar mee

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1. Q: why **met dat* (but *daar mee*)?

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Nanosyntax

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1. spellout happens feature by feature and targets phrases
2. phonological forms are stored in the postsyntactic lexicon
3. postpositions are candidates for spellout before prepositions are
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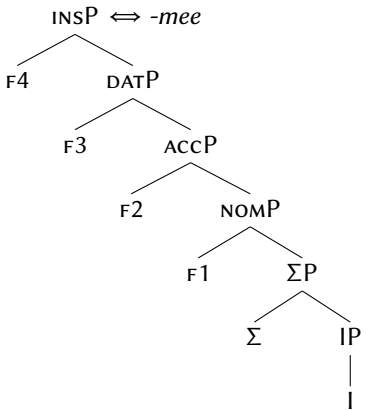
(76)



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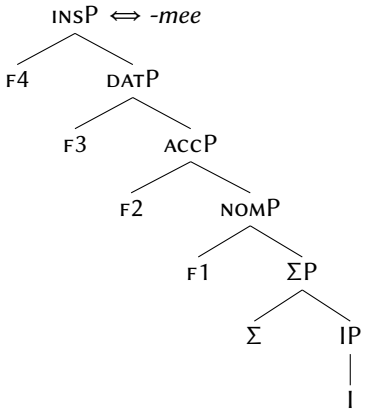

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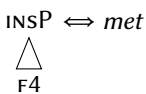

pre vs. post

- *mee* and *met* are stored as preposition or postposition in the lexicon

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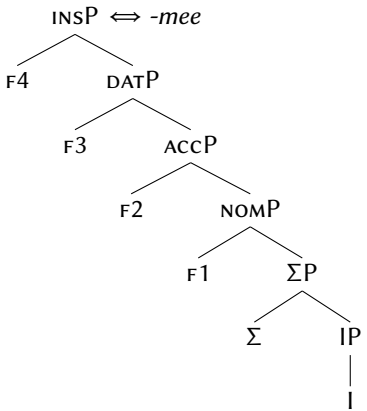

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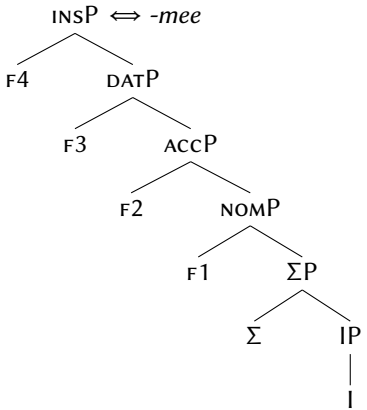

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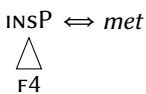

pre vs. post

(80) Merge F and

a. Spell out FP.
b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a).
c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a).

(81) **Backtracking** (Starke, 2018):
When spellout fails, go back to the previous cycle, and try the next option for that cycle.

(82) **Spec Formation** (Starke, 2018):
If Merge F has failed to spell out (even after backtracking), try to spawn a new derivation providing the feature F and merge that with the current derivation, projecting the feature F at the top node.

r without location

- *r* is ambiguous between THING and LOCATION
- ambiguity comes from containment relations

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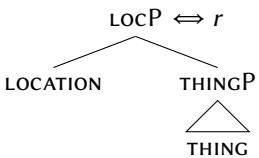
(83) **The Superset Principle** (Starke, 2009):
A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node.

(84)



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(85)
a. Ze heeft de brief **daar mee** geschreven.
she has the letter there with written
'She wrote the letter with that.'

b. Zij heeft de brief **met dat** potlood geschreven.
she has the letter with that pencil written
'She wrote the letter with that potlood.'

daar mee in a proper constituent

(86) Ze heeft de brief **daar mee** geschreven.
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she has the letter there with written
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(87) **Daar mee** heeft ze de brief geschreven.
there with has she the letter written
'With that she has written the letter.' topicalization

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(88) Ze heeft de brief **hier mee** en **daar mee** geschreven.
she has the letter here with and there with written
'She has written the letter with this and with that' coordination

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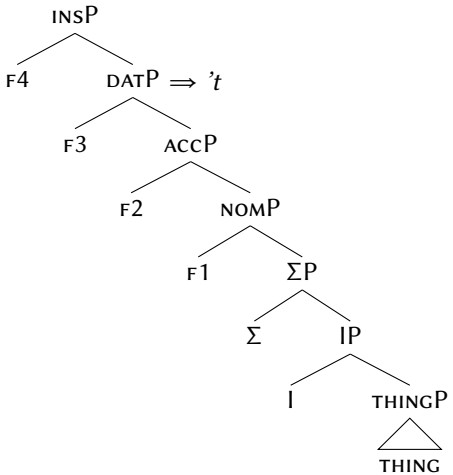
'She has written the letter with this and with that' coordination

(89) a. With what did she write the letter?
b. **daar mee**
there with
'with that' fragment answer

(90)



met dat in a non-constituent

(91) Ze heeft de brief **met dat** potlood geschreven.
she has the letter with the pencil written
'She has written the letter with that pencil.'

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(92) a. *__Met dat__ heeft ze de brief **potlood** geschreven.
with that has she the letter pencil written
'With that pencil she has written the letter.'

b. **Met dat potlood** heeft ze de brief geschreven.
with that pencil has she the letter written
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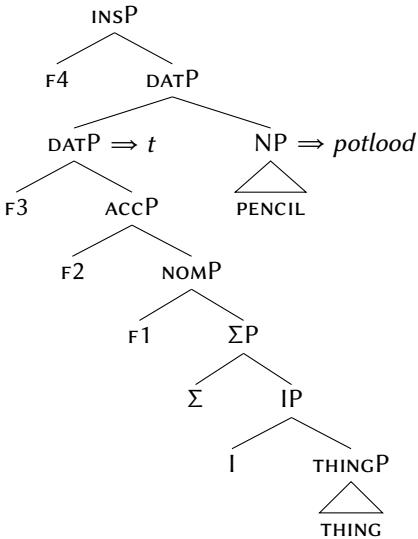
b. *__met dat__
with that
'with that'

c. **met dat potlood**
with that pancil
'with that pencil' fragment answer

(94)


INSP
F4
DATP
DATP ⟹ t
NP ⟹ potlood
F3
ACCP
PENCIL
F2
NOMP
F1
ΣP
Σ
IP
I
THINGP
THING

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