

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

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Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Syntax colloquium

April 27, 2020

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

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what see you
'What do you see?'

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with what paint 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) Waarmee 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)**rauf geklettert?
where are you on climbed
'What did you climb on?'

- (7) Worauf kletterst du?
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'What are you climbing onto?'
- (8) Wo bist du **(d)**rauf geklettert?
where are you on climbed
'What did you climb on?'
- (9) Waar 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**.
I paint with it
'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*

**met wat | waar-mee*

- positions are reversed

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- *met* becomes *mee*

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* *met wat* | *waar-mee*

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- *met* becomes *mee*
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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
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- (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
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- (15) 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.'
- (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 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
'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.'

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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)

$$(25) \quad wP \iff w$$



(Hachem, 2015)

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W

(Hachem, 2015)

$$(26) \quad \text{DEIXP} \iff a$$

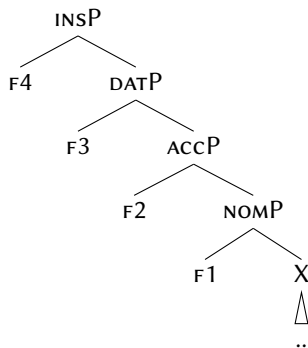


DEIX

(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)

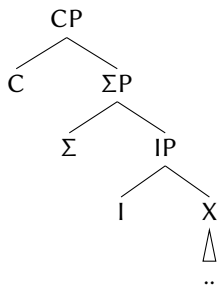


(Caha, 2009)

- (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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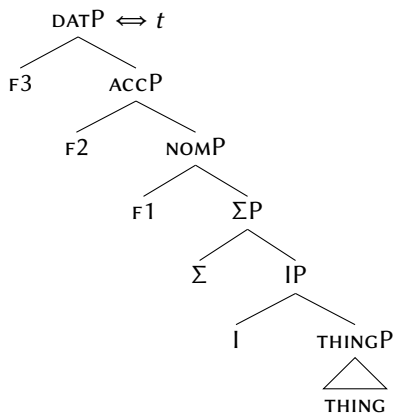
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(31)



(Cardinaletti and Starke, 1996)

(32)

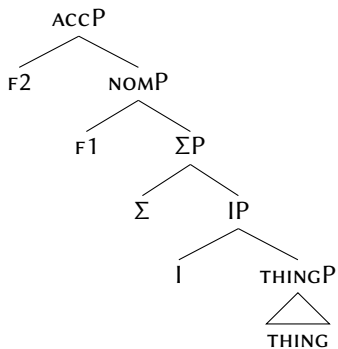


(Cardinaletti and Starke, 1996; Kayne, 2005; Caha, 2009)

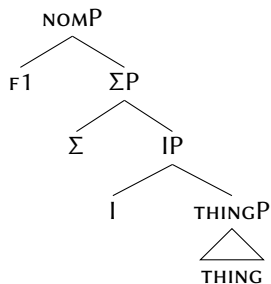
(33) **The Superset Principle** (Starke, 2009):

A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node.

(34)

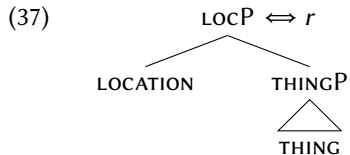


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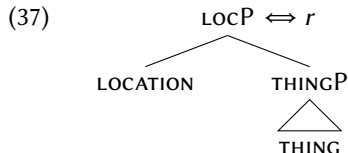
- (36) Ik ben er al geweest.
I am there already been
'I have already been there.'

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(Baunaz et al., 2018)

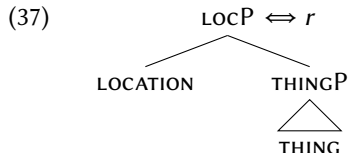
- (36) Ik ben r al geweest.
 I am there already been
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(Baunaz et al., 2018)

- (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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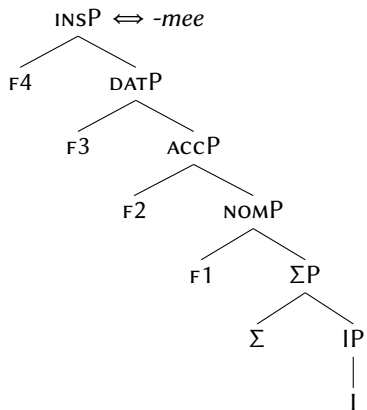
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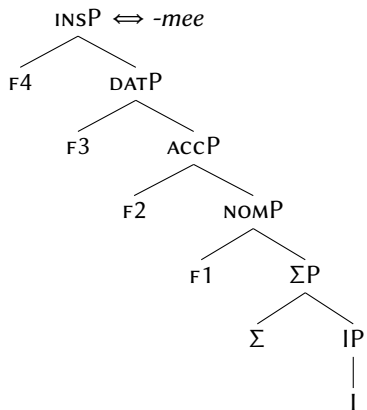


N.SG	
NOM	t
ACC	t
DAT	t
INS	r -mee

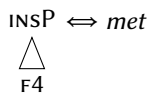
(40)



(40)



(41)



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

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

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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.

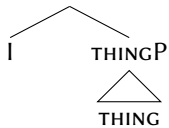
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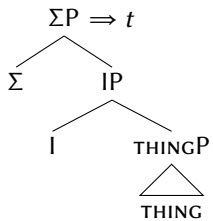
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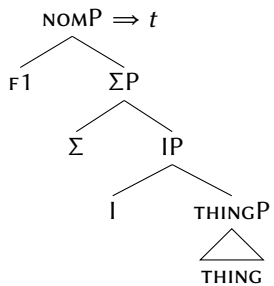
(47) $\text{IP} \Rightarrow t$



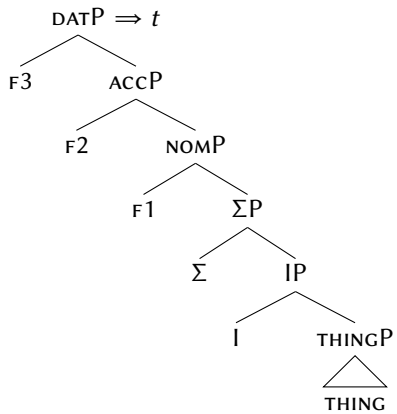
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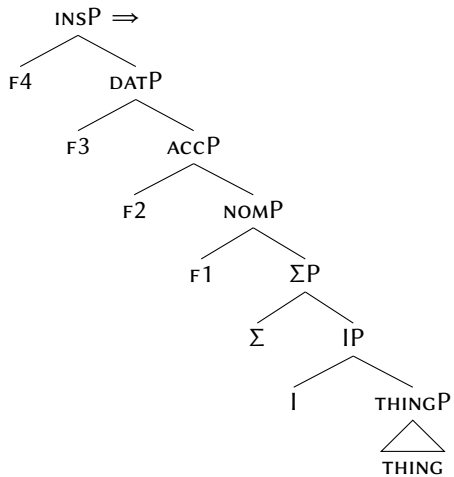
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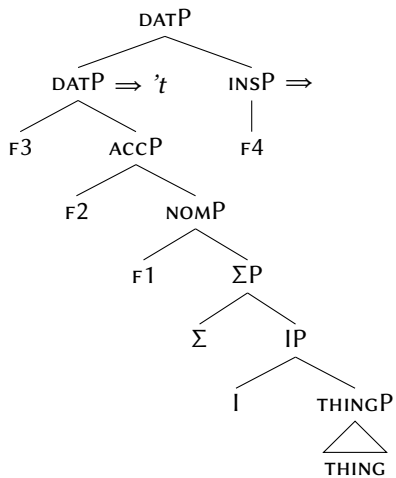
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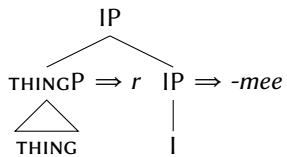
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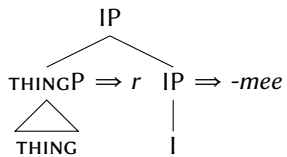
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(53)

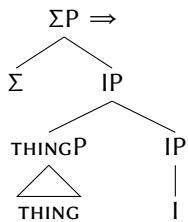


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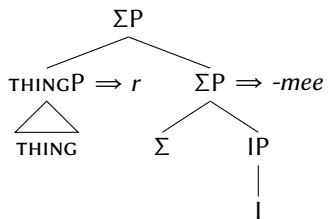


(Abels, 2003)

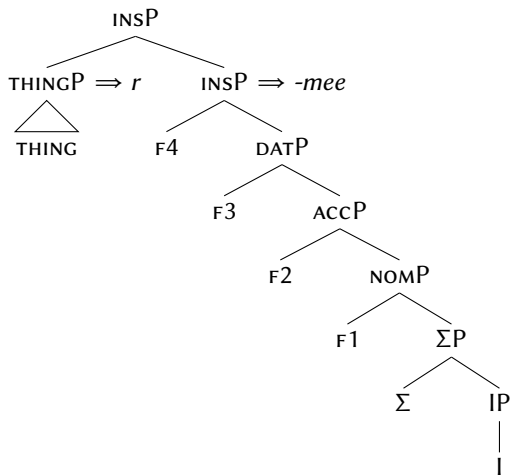
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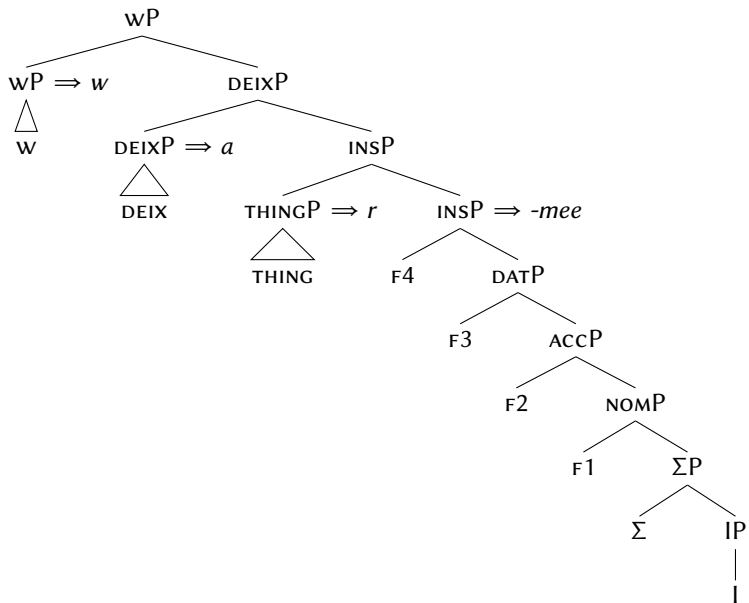
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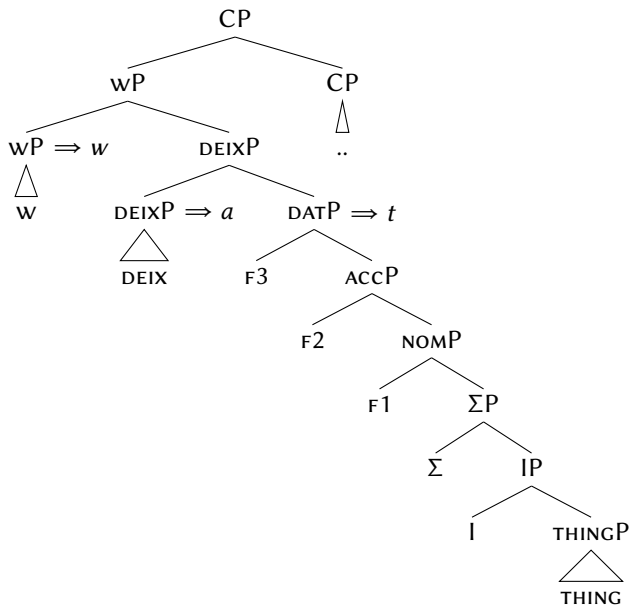
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(57)



(58)



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- *r* is ambiguous between location and (caseless) thing

- R-pronouns are nothing special, but just a result of regular spellout
- *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

- (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
'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.'
- (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.'

- (59) Ik zie **t**.
I see it
'I see it.'
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I paint with it
'I am painting with it.'
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I paint where-with
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I paint together with her/him
'I am painting together with her/him.'
- (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.'

- (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 have bought where with you paint

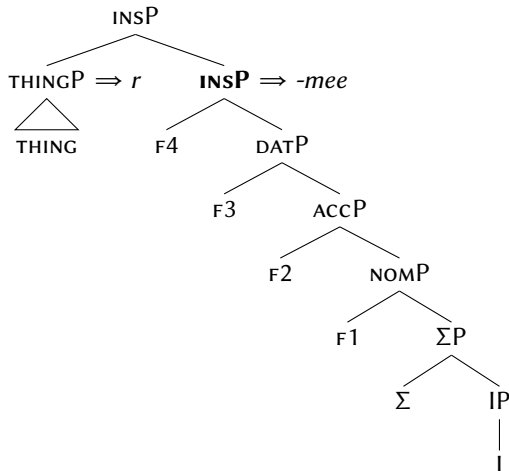
'I bought what you are painting with.'

(66) Ik heb gekocht waar jij mee schildert.

I have bought where you paint

'I bought what you are painting with.'

(67)



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’

- (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
'I am dancing in the forest.'
- b. Ik dans het bos in.
I dance the forest in
'I am dancing into the forest.'
- (69) Ik dans r -in.
I dance R in
'I dance it in.'
*'I dance into it.'

- (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.'
- (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.'

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*'I dance into it.'
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I am R in danced
'I dancing into it.'
- (71) Ik heb r -in gedanst.
I have R in danced
'I dancing in it.'

	DP	R
pre	LOC	*
post	DIR	LOC

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pre	LOC	*
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verbal particles in e.g. **meelopen** ‘walk along’, **meezingen** ‘sing along’

	DP	R
pre	LOC	*
post	DIR	LOC

verbal particles in e.g. **meelopen** ‘walk along’, **meezingen** ‘sing along’

	<i>mee</i>	<i>met</i>
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

- (72) Zij schrijft de brief **met** een potlood.
she writes the letter with a pencil
'She writes the letter with a pencil.'
- (73) Zij koopt **dat**.
she buys that
'She buys that.'

The data

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

The data

- (72) Zij schrijft de brief **met** een potlood.
she writes the letter with a pencil
'She writes the letter with a pencil.'
- (73) Zij koopt **dat**.
she buys that
'She buys that.'
- (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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met dat | daar mee

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

met dat | daar mee

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A: *daar mee* is the default, *met dat* only appears under special circumstances (morphological derivation, cf. *mice* and not *mouse-s*)

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2 Q: why does the adposition change form?

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A: *daar mee* is the default, *met dat* only appears under special circumstances (morphological derivation, cf. *mice* and not *mouse-s*)

2 Q: why does the adposition change form?

A: *mee* and *met* are stored as different forms in the lexicon

Questions and answers

met dat | daar mee

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A: *r* is ambiguous between THING and LOCATION

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Nanosyntax

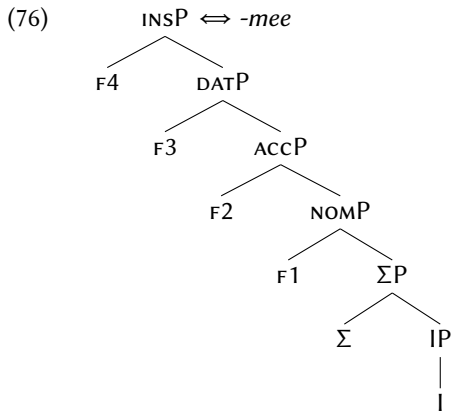
- functional sequence is constant
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- 1 spellout happens feature by feature and targets phrases
 - 2 phonological forms are stored in the postsyntactic lexicon
 - 3 postpositions are candidates for spellout before prepositions are
 - 4 ambiguity comes from containment relations

differing phonological forms

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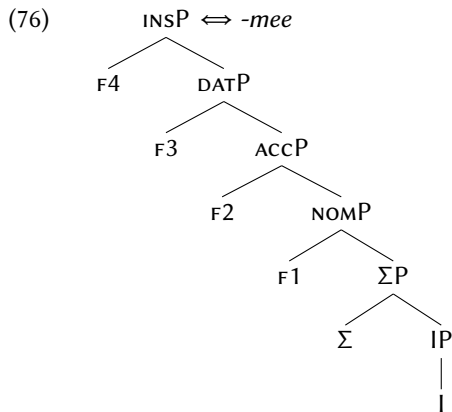
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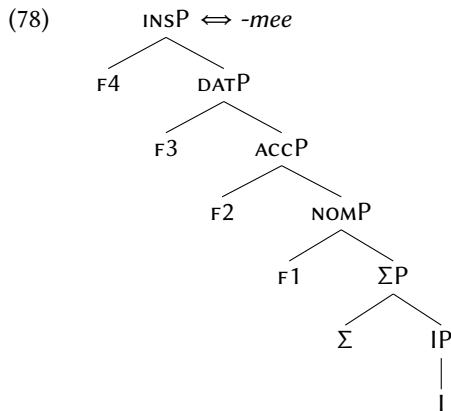
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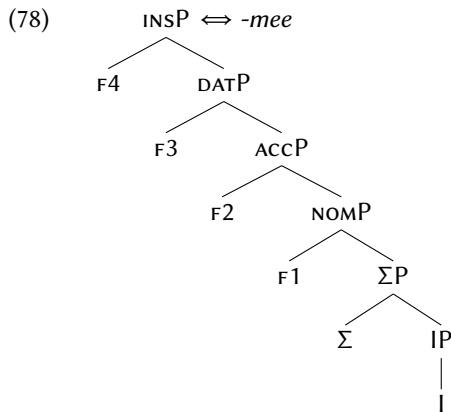
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pre vs. post

- (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

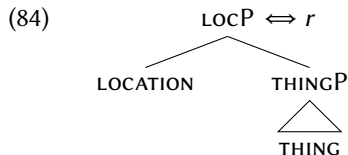
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r without location

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

(83) **The Superset Principle** (Starke, 2009):

A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node.



Derivational system

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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

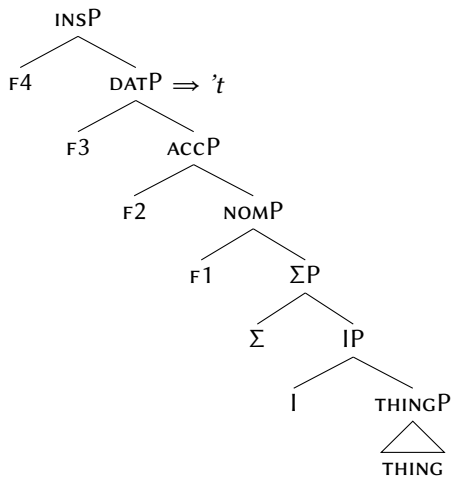
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there with has she the letter written
'With that she has written the letter.' topicalization
- (88) Ze heeft de brief **hier mee** en **daar mee** geschreven.
she has the letter here with and there with written
'She has written the letter with this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

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she has the letter here with and there with written
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- (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.'

met dat in a non-constituent

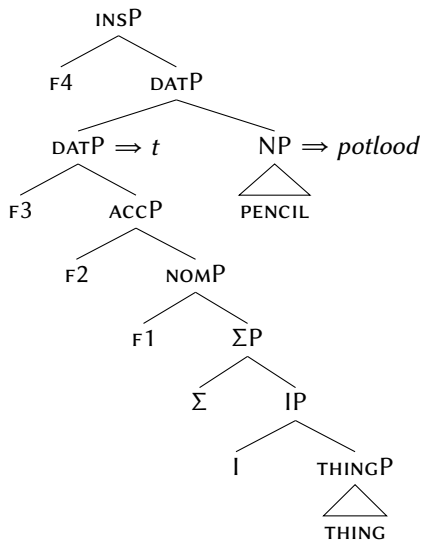
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with that has she the letter pencil written
'With that pencil she has written the letter.'
- b. **Met dat potlood** heeft ze de brief geschreven.
with that pencil has she the letter written
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with that pencil has she the letter written
'With that pencil she has written the letter.' topicalization
- (93) a. With what did she write the letter?
b. ***met dat**
with that
'with that'
c. **met dat potlood**
with that pencil
'with that pencil' fragment answer

(94)



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