

Derivations, constructions, and the word order of Dutch

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1. Head position in Dutch

(1) *head position in Dutch: initial*

- a. CP **dat** Jan een boek koopt
that John a book buys
- b. DP **het** boek
the book
- c. NP **poging** tot omkoping
attempt at bribery
- d. AP **dol** op bananen
crazy for bananas (likes to eat bananas)
- e. PP **zonder** bananen
without bananas
- f. NumP **drie** bananen
three bananas
- g. DegP **erg** leuk
very funny
- h. VP **beweren** dat het regent
claim:INF that it's raining

(2) *head position in Dutch: final*

- a. VP; nonspecific object iets **beweren**
something claim:INF (to claim something)
- b. VP; verbal particle op **bellen**
up call:INF
- c. VP; predicate rood **verven**
red paint:INF
- d. VP; stranded P *ergens* nooit over **praten**
INDEF:LOC never about talk:INF (never talk about sth.)

(3) *no decision*

- a. VP; verb-second Jan **koopt** een boek (cf. (1a))
> *verb moved* John buys a book
- b. VP; specific object dat Jan dat boek niet **koopt** (cf. (2a))
> *object moved* that John that book not buys

- (4) a. Dutch looks very head-initial, except for the VP (with nonspecific objects etc.)
b. The Dutch VP looks head-final, except for clausal complements

(5) *movement solutions?*

- a. Ad (4a): leftward movement of nonspecific objects etc. to "PredP" (Zwart 1993)
- b. Ad (4b): rightward movement of clauses (Evers 1975)

2. A typological perspective

(6) *Two generalizations*

- a. Compounds are head-final (Righthand Head Rule; Williams 1981)
- b. Coordinations are head-initial (Zwart 2005, to appear)

(7) *It follows that*

- a. Head-initial languages have head-final compounds
- b. Head-final languages have head-initial coordinations

(8) *head-final compounds in a head-initial language*

English: [truck [**driver**]] cf. to drive a truck

(9) *head-initial coordination in a head-final language*

Kinnauri: əñ rəñ doː chañ due (Sharma 1988:91)
 1sg:gen with 3sg:gen son be:3past
 'His son was with me.'

gə **rəñ** **ki** bi-tič (Sharma 1988:182)
 1sg:dir and you:hon go-fut:1du.incl.hon
 'I and you will go.'

(10) *NB: head-initial conjunction*

[A [& B]] (* [& [A B]])

(11)

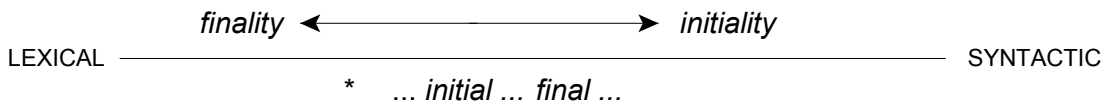
214 LANGUAGE SAMPLE	INITIAL	FINAL
HEADS	96	91
CONJUNCTIONS	135	(at best) 12

(Zwart, to appear)

(12) *Hypothetical generalizations*

- a. Head-finality in a head-initial language is **lexical**
- b. Head-initiality in a head-final language is **syntactic**

(13) *Assume a continuum*



(14) *cf. Croft 2001:17*

word < syntactic category < idiom < syntax

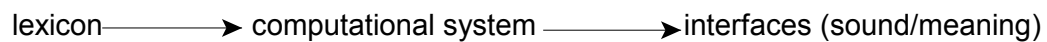
atomic	✓	✓		
specific	✓		✓	
schematic		✓		✓
complex			✓	✓

3. Constructions

- (15) *Construction*
Learned pairing of form with semantic or discourse function (Goldberg 2006:5)
> idiosyncratic form/meaning pairing
- Objects of syntactic representation that also contain semantic and even phonological information (Croft 2001:16)
- (16) Constructions can be more or less atomic/complex and specific/schematic
- (17) Schematic: involving variables (e.g. *pull X's leg*)
- (18) *Construction grammar* (cf. Goldberg 2006)
- a. everything is a construction
 - b. language acquisition is generalization of construction schemata
 - c. does not deny that constructions have structure
- (19) To be able to use the continuum, I will say that things can be “more a construction”, meaning they are characterized by *idiosyncratic* form/meaning pairing, and/or by *reduced* schematicity/complexity.
- (20) *Question*
Is head-finality in Dutch a function of the relevant structures being “more a construction” ?

4. Derivations in minimalism

- (21) *Model of grammar*



- (22) computational system: *structure*
interfaces: *conversion to sound/meaning > potential idiosyncrasy*

- (23) *example*

manusje van alles
'Jack of all trades'

lexicon = { manusje, van, alles }

computational system 1. merge *van* + *alles*
 2. merge *manusje* + [*van alles*]

interfaces: assign idiosyncratic meaning

- (24) assignment of idiosyncratic meaning = (often) atomization
- (25) a. Hij is een manusje van alles
 he is a [jack of all trades]
- b. * Van alles is hij een manusje
- c. * Overall is hij een manusje van

- (26) As an atom, the output of a derivation can be part of a new lexicon (= recursion)
- (27) *Lexicon for (25a)*
 { hij, is, een, [manusje van alles] }
- (28) *Conclusions for the model of grammar*
 a. Derivations are layered (structures are networks of derivations like (21))
 b. The lexicon is not homogeneous (contains morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, etc.)
- (29) *NB on the term 'Lexicon'*
 I use the term here as "the set of elements used in a derivation (= (21))".
 That set is a subset of the class of elements that could be used in a derivation, which is infinite (containing words, phrases, etc.).
 I.e., there is a different lexicon for each derivation (layer).

5. Diagnostics

- (30) *How do we know that X is the output of a derivation layer?*
 a. configurational criteria (X could not be composed internal to a derivation layer)
 b. interpretive criteria (X shows effects of having passed through interface components)
- (31) *constructional loop*
 LEXICON1 → COMPUTATION → INTERFACES → LEXICON2 → COMPUTATION *etc.*
- (32) *Possible interpretive effects*
 a. conventionalization (the acquisition of conventional meaning: words, compounds, idioms)
 b. categorization (the determination of a syntactic category, with the possibility of reanalysis)
 c. morphological realization (spelling out of features acquired in the course of a derivation)
 d. interpretation (in terms of focus and discourse status)
 e. atomization (creating opacity)
 f. linearization (conversion of structure to linear order)
- (33) *Example: compounds*
 a. conventionalization: compounds often not compositional (*baseball*)
 b. categorization: compounds not always projecting category (*cutthroat*)
 c. morphological realization: realization of linking morphemes
 e. atomization: compounds are subject to the lexical integrity condition (parts not extractable)
 f. linearization: compounds often show deviating headedness (headfinal in English)
- (34) *Example: reanalysis*
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---|-----|------------|----------------|---------|---------|
| PP | bij de hand | > | A | cf. een | bijdehand-e | jongen | (d=[t]) |
| | at the hand | | | a | clever-AGR | guy | |
| PP | van die | > | D | cf. dol | op vandie | koekjes | |
| | of those | | | crazy | about those | cookies | |
| CP | dat je zegt | > | Deg | cf. hij is | niet datjezegt | slim | |
| | that you say | | | he is | not very | smart | |

- (35) *Definition*
1. A construction is a member a of a lexicon L for a derivation D^m such that a is the output of a derivation D^n , and $m \neq n$.
 2. a is “more a construction” if a has acquired more idiosyncratic properties at the interface separating two derivations (derivation layers)
- (36) *A note on language acquisition/learning*
 computational system (derivation): not usage based
 constructional loop (interface > lexicon): usage based

6. Dutch head-finality

(37) *verb cluster idioms*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|--------|----------------|----|-------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| a. | zien | zitten | | b. | zien | staan | |
| | see | sit | ‘appreciate’ | | see | stand | ‘respect’ |
| b. | laten | zitten | | b. | laten | vallen | |
| | let | sit | ‘forget about’ | | let | fall | ‘stop pursuing’ |
| | | | | c. | laten | stikken | |
| | | | | | let | suffocate | ‘leave to ones own devices’ |

- (38) a. Ik heb hem nooit zien zitten
 I have him never see:INF sit:INF ‘I never had confidence in him.’
- b. *Zitten heb ik hem nooit zien

- (39) argument structure: [zien [hem zitten]]
 idiom: [hem [zien zitten]]

- (40) layered derivation: 1. { zien, zitten } > [zien zitten]
 2. { ..., hem, [zien zitten], ... }

- (41) *NB: verb second is taken to be an interface reordering, not part of syntax*
 Ik zie hem niet zitten
 I see him not sit:INF ‘I have no confidence in him.’

- (42) *Dutch ‘perfect’*
 dat hij al ge-get-en heeft
 that he already GE-eat-N have:3SG ‘that he already ate’

- (43) perfect: before reference point (*relative past*)
 past: simultaneous with prior reference point

- (44) how do we get from TREL + V to *have + participle*? (NB T = [±PAST])
 or: how do we get from *possessive V + participle* to RELATIVE TENSE?

- (45) constructional loop: *have + participle* is output of separate derivation
 relative past reading is conventionalization

- (46) layered derivation: 1. { hebben, gegeten } > [gegeten hebben]
 2. { ...dat, hij, al, [gegeten hebben], ... } > (42)
- (47) consistent with the idea that head-finality is a function of construction formation
- (48) *Problem: atomization not evident*
 Gegeten kan hij nog niet hebben
 GE-eat-N can he not yet have:INF 'He can't have already eaten.'
- (49) *verbal particles*
 highly idiomatic: op-bellen uit-vinden in-dikken aan-vallen voor-stellen
 up-ring out-find in-thick on-fall fore-put
 'phone' 'find out' 'thicken' 'attack' 'propose'
- (50) a. * Bellen kun je hem niet op
 ring can you him not up
 b. Op-bellen kun je hem niet
 phone can you him not 'You can't phone him.'
- (51) (Ik heb hem niet) a. kunnen op bellen
 b. op kunnen bellen
 'I couldn't phone him.'
- (52) (dat ik hem niet) a. op heb gebeld
 b. heb op gebeld
 'that I didn't phone him'
- (53) If PRT+V is a construction (derivation layer output), then so is PRT+V+AUX
- (54) *secondary predicates*
 a. iets rood verven
 sth red paint 'paint something red'
 b. zich suf piekeren
 REFL drowsy puzzle 'puzzle one's head off'
- (55) *possible interface effects*
 a. valency change: zich *(suf) piekeren
 b. unexpected auxiliary selection: hij is/*heeft zich rot geschrokken
 he is/has REFL rotten startled
 (unaccusatives don't take resultative complements; Levin & Rappaport 1995)
 c. development into degree marker: zich rot schrikken = be very startled
 d. idiom formation: iemand beet nemen
 someone bite take 'get someone'
- (56) *atomization?*
 a. * Verven moet je het niet rood
 paint:INF must you it not red
 b. Rood moet je het niet verven
 red must you it not paint:INF 'You shouldn't paint it red.'

- (57) *nonspecific objects*
 separation from the verb > you lose the nonspecific reading
- a. Hij wil altijd boeken lezen
 he wants always books read:INF 'He always wants to read books.'
- b. Hij wil boeken altijd lezen
 he wants books always read:INF
 'What he always wants to do to books is read them.'
- c. Boeken wil hij altijd lezen
 books wants he always read:INF (= b)
- d. Boeken worden altijd gelezen
 books PASS.AUX always GE-read-N
 'Books are such that they are always read.' (not 'People always read books.')
- (58) consistent with the idea that V+nonspecific object are created in a separate derivation
- (59) *problem: fusional negation*
 Hij wil geen/niet boeken lezen
 he wants NEG.INDEF/not books read:INF 'He doesn't want to read books.'
- cf. Hij wil niet/*geen lezen 'He does not want to read.'
- (60) *stranded preposition*
 can appear between {particle/secondary predicate/nonspecific object} and verb
 de kwast waar hij de kast rood mee verft
 the brush where he the chest red with paints
- (61) many mysterious aspects
 (locative morphology, alternative realization *met* > *mee*, freedom of placement)

7. Preliminary conclusion

- (62) No knock-down proof of "lexical" status of Dutch head-final XP-V combinations
- (63) Sufficient circumstantial evidence to pursue the question further

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