# The syntax of *d*- and *w*-elements & the nature of pseudo-resumptives in Pennsylvania Dutch

## CGSW 35

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(standard) German licenses *da-* and *wo-*Komposita:

(1)  Ich warte **auf** den     Bus.
     I   wait  P    the.ACC bus
     'I wait on the bus.'

(2)  Ich warte **da**rauf.
     I   wait  da-r-P
     'I wait on it.'

(3)  **Wo**rauf wartest du?
     wo-r-P  wait    you
     'What are you waiting for/on?'

# Related data - splitting & doubling

- In dialectal & colloquial speech, German allows *d*-doubling and splitting (Paul, 1919; Behaghel, 1932; Fleischer, 2002, 2008; Spiekermann, 2010; Negele, 2012; Jürgens, 2013; Otte-Ford, 2016)

**Splitting**

(4)   **Da**   denke ich nicht **(r)an**.
      that think I   not   on
      'I'm not thinking about that.'

**Distance doubling**

(5)   **Da**   weiß ich nichts   **da**von.
      that know I   nothing that-of
      'I don't know nothing 'bout that.'

# Related data - splitting & doubling

**P w/o overt complement**

(6)　Ich weiß nichts **von**.
　　I　know nothing about
　　'I don't know nothing 'bout that'

**Important points:**

- Although partial *wh*-movement exists (McDonald, 1989, 1995), *w*-doubling involving *wo*-Komposita is unattested
- These sorts of splitting & doubling examples are not attested in PD
- We don't find 'mixed'-chains doubling; i.e, of *w*- and *d*-elements ... at least in German ...

# The empirical puzzle: Penn Dutch *pseudo-resumptives*

- Pennsylvania Dutch lacks *wo*-Komposita
- To compensate, *d*-resumption is required in 'regular' questions

(7) **Was** sin(d) die Schtanne g'macht **de**vun?
what are the stars made it-from
'What are the stars made out of/from?' [PD: default]

(8) **Von was** sin(d) die Schtanne g'macht?
from what are the stars made
'What are the stars made out of/from?' [PD: topicalization]

(9) \***Was** sin(d) die Schtanne g'macht vun?
what are the stars made it-from
'What are the stars made out of/from?' [PD: P-stranding]

# Road map

- **Objectives:**
  - Provide a (working) analysis of pseudo-relatives in Penn Dutch, which
  - Contributes to our understanding of the syntax of *d*- & *w*-elements in Germanic
- **Nanosyntax:**
  - One Head-One Feature architecture (Kayne, 2005; Starke, 2009, 2011, 2014, et seq.)
  - Traditional 'lexical' items & categories have a complex underlying syntax (Noonan, 2005, 2010, 2017; Cinque & Rizzi, 2010; den Dikken, 2010, Leu, 2015; Taraldsen, 2018)

# The gist of the analysis

- Adpositions also have a complex underlying decompositional structure
- Pseudo-resumptives in PD bear a striking resemblance to *wo*-Komposita in Dutch & German
- The tentative analysis developed and pursued here can be extend to related phenomena in PD and Germanic more generally

# What is Pennsylvania Dutch (PD)? (and why is it so important?)

- PD is a language that has "outgrown its name" (Keiser, 2012:1).
  - +300 years spoken on North American soil (and now in South America!)
  - Started in SE Pennsylvania, now spoken throughout the Midwest and Ontario
  - ≈ 400,000 L1 speakers of PD today
  - Predominantly spoken as the L1 of the Old Order Amish (OOA) and other conservative Mennonite groups
  - NB: For an easily accessible history of the language, see Louden (2016)
- PD ain't going nowhere anytime soon...
  - The Amish population doubles in every generation (average family size 8.6 members)
  - If they keep this pace, by 2315 there will be more Amish in the US than any other ethnic or religious group!

# Diglossic bilingualism & 'shared' syntax

- There are no exclusively monolingual speakers of PD
- The OOA exist in a state of **diglossic bilingualism** (Grosjean, 2001, 2008)
  - Although the vast majority of OOA are sequential bilinguals (acquiring PD first), English is omnipresent in their daily lives
  - Bifurcation of modes and sociolinguistic domains:
    - **PD:** home, family, church, local community
    - **English:** non-Amish neighbors, work (outside of the home), 'worldly' topics
- Thus, PD speakers are "deep bilinguals" (to quote López, 2020)
  - It makes little sense to attempt to distinguish between *loanwords* and *borrowings* (a la Poplack (2018) and related work) in PD
  - Their syntax, as well as their lexicon, is truly hybrid

# PD: Key elements of grammar

**Key traits:**

- Verbklammer (exception: extraposed PPs)
- Asymmetric V2 (largely) intact
- Reduction in case system:
    - Older generations exhibit a 3-case distinction: Nom, Acc, Dat
    - Younger generations exhibit a 2-case distinction: Nom, Acc/Oblique

## *Brief* overview of pseudo-resumptives

- In the following section we'll (briefly) review the general properties of pseudo-resumptives in PD
- These data have been collected through a variety of methods, i.e., anecdotal evidence, translation requests, judgment tasks, analysis of recorded narratives & free speech, over the course of several years
- There are notable ways in which they differ from German, its dialects, and other West Germanic languages

## Not all Ps behave the same...

**mit** *'with'*

(10)   **Wer**   hot er gechwetzt mit?
       who(m) has he talked    with
       'Who did he talk with?'

(11)   **Mit wer**   hot er geschwetzt?
       with who(m) has he talked
       'Who did he talk with?'

(12)   *****Wer** hot er geschwetzt **da**mit?

- **Mit** appears to allow P-stranding (and bans the pseudo-resumptive)
- Fleischer (2008; §3.4) highlights the exceptional behavior of *mit* in a number of German dialects (incl. High & Low Alemannic and Swabian; see also van Riemsdijk (1975))

# Not all Ps behave the same...

**auf** *'on'*

(13)  **Wer**    hoscht du  gewart **d**ruff?
      who(m) have   you waited it-on
      'Who did you wait on/for?'

(14)  **Auf wer** hoscht du gewart?

(15)  **\*Wer** hoscht du gewart uff?

- The pattern of **auf** contrasts with **mit** by not allowing p-stranding
- **mit** exhibits exceptional behavior

## Animacy

(16)  **Was** warscht du n warte **d**ruff?
      what were you PROG it-on
      'What were you waiting on?

(17)  **Wer** warscht du n warte **d**ruff?
      who(m) were you PROG it-on
      'Who(m) were you waiting on?

(18)  **[Auf wer/was]** warscht du n warte?
      on who(m)/what were you PROG wait
      'Who(m) were you waiting on?

- German requires pied-piping here with animates (**Auf wen**)....
- No animacy effects in PD (for **auf**, at least)
- The topicalized *w*-element allows pied-piping with both animates and inanimates (18)

# PD: Complex *w*-elements

(19)     **[Welle Schtann]** hot er gedraumt **de**wege?
which     star        has he dreamed   it-of/about
'Which star did he dream about?'

(20)     **[Wege welle Schtann]** hot er gedraumt?
about   which star        has he dreamed
'Which star did he dream about?'

(21)    **\*[Welle Schtann]** … wege? (P-stranding)

## PD: D-linked *w*-elements

(22)    **[Welli Gael]** hat er geschwetzt zu die    Sally **de**wege?
which   horses has he talked     to (the) Sally it-about
'Which horses did he talk to Sally about?'

(23)    **[Weller Mann]** hat er argued mit?
which   man    has he argued with
'Which man did he argue with?'

(24)    **[Weller Mann]** war er n    argue-a mit?
which   man    was he PROG argue   with
'Which man was he arguing with?'

# PD: Relative clauses/Clefts

(25) Des sin(d) die Schtanne, **as** der Himmel gemacht is
these are the stars RP/C the sky made is
**de**vun.
it-of
'These are the stars that the sky is made out of.'

(26) Des sin(d) die Schtanne, *\*vun die ...* (no pied-piping)

(27) Des sin(d) die Schtanne, *\*die ... vun* (no P-stranding)

# PD: Relative clauses/Clefts

(28)    Es iss die Frau,   as     mir gedraumt henn dewege.
         it is the woman RP/C we dreamt    have it-about
         'She is the woman that we have dreamt about.'

(29)    **\*wege** as ... (no pied-piping)

(30)    **\*as** ... **wege** (no P-stranding)

**...but...**

(31)    Er iss da Mann, **as**     mir geschwetzt hen **mit** gestern
         he is the man    RC/P we talked       have with yesterday
         Owet.
         evening
         'He's the guy that we talked with last night.'

(32)   **Was** denkscht (du)  hot er gedraumt **de**wege?
       what think    (you) has he dreamt   it-about
       'What do you think he dreamt about?'

(33)   ?**Wege**/**weeich was** denkscht (du) hot er gedraumt?

(34)   *****Was** denkscht (du) hot er gedraumt wege?

**Worth noting:** PD also does not allow intermediate (i.e., partially moved) *wh*-items as found in other varieties of German.

# PD: Adjunct vs. argument distinction

**Adjunct *wh*-items do not license pseudo-resumptives**

(35)   **Ferwas** bischt   sell   an   duh?
        why     are(you) that PROG do
        'Why are you doing that?'

(36)   **\*Ferwas** bischt   sell   an   duh **de**foor?
        why     are(you) that PROG do   it-for
        Intended: 'Why are you doing that?'

(37)   **Was** bischt   sell   an   duh **de**foor?
        what are(you) that PROG do   it-for
        'What are you doing that for?'

- Based on the claim that adjunct *wh*-items are merged in the
  C-domain, we see that the connection between *w*- & *d*-elements
  involve a movement chain.

- PD lacks *wo*-Komposita
- A *da*-Komposita is required (for most Ps) when *wh*-movement out of this structure takes place
  - <span style="color:red">Spoiler alert! -</span> Some of the youngest 'heritage speakers' of PD allow P-stranding!
- Doubling of the *d*-element is unattested in PD
- Pied-piping is allowed (though marked) under certain conditions (topicalization)

# Architectural assumptions

(38)
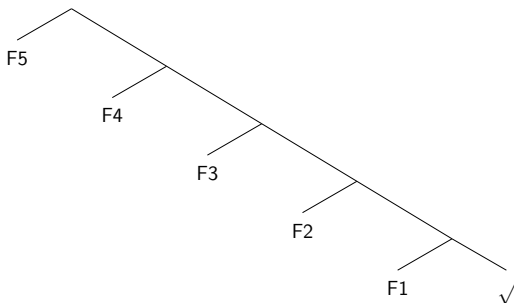


- One Feature-One Head (OFOH) Architecture (Kayne, 2005; Cinque, 2008; Putnam, 2020)
- Features are unary and additive

(39)

```
          CP
         /  \
        C    FinP
            /    \
          Fin     TP
                 /  \
                T    VP
```
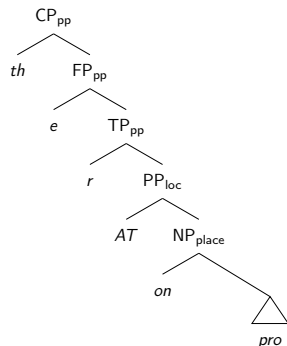
(40)

```
          CP_pp
         /    \
        d     FinP_pp
              /    \
             a     TP_pp
                  /    \
                 r      auf
```
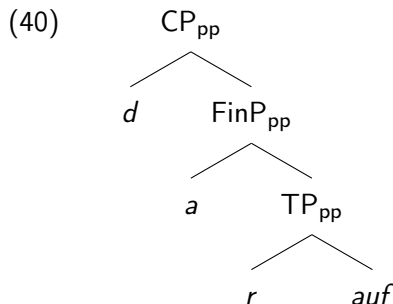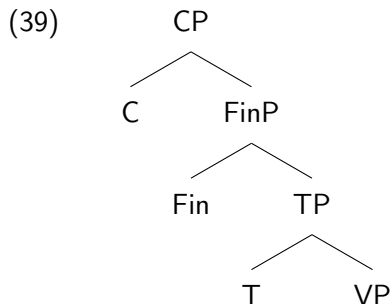
- Following Noonan (2005, 2010, 2017), Pretorius (2017), & Terzi (2010), I assume that the internal structure of adpositions is complex (Koopman, 1997; Svenonius, 2004; Cinque & Rizzi, 2010; Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014).

(41) **on the table**



(42) **thereon**

# Noonan (2017): R-stranding

(43)

```
              RP
            /    \
        da/wo     R′
                 /  \
                R    PP
                    /  \
                 auf   [DP e]
```
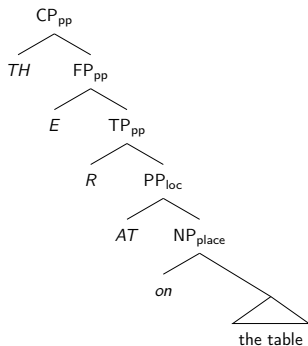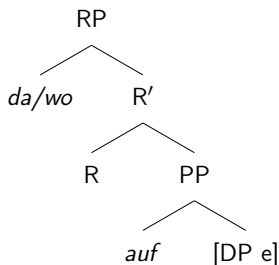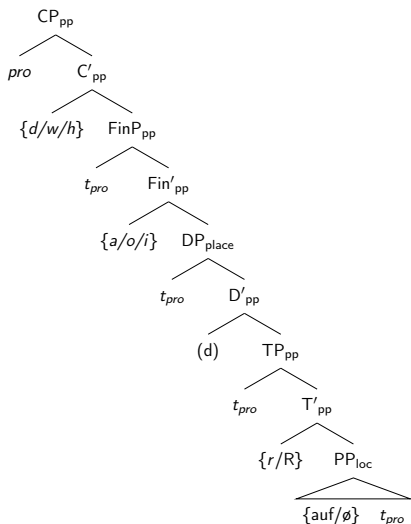
- Key distinction between Dutch & German:
  - Dutch: R-pronoun is pronounced iff Spec,RP is pronounced
  - German: R is pronounced (/r/) in the content of a right-adjacent vowel adposition (right-leaning)
- Noonan (2017) provides an excellent point of departure, but her study focuses exclusively on PP$_{LOC}$
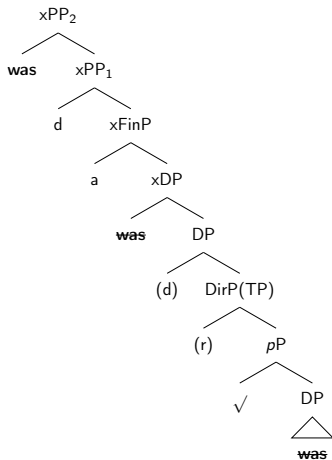
(44)

# *wo*-Komposita in German

(45)    **Wo**rauf hast du gewartet?
      w-on     have you waited
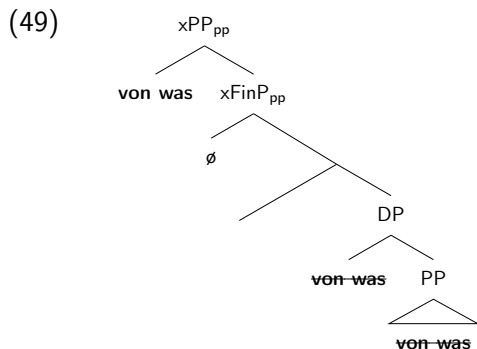      'What did you wait on?'

(46)

# Analysis of PD pseudo-resumptives
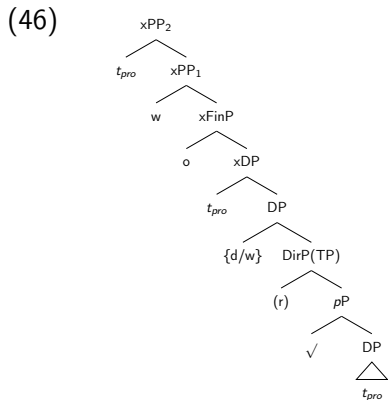
(47)

- $xPP_1$ cannot lexicalize {w} in PD
- *was* (or *wer*) is phonologically realized (not as *pro*)
- *w*-elements have a complex internal structure, too (Hachem, 2015)

## Pied-piping

(48) **Von was** sin(d) die Schtanne g'macht?
from what are the stars made
'What are the stars made out of/from?' [PD: topicalization]

(49)

(50)   **Wer**   hot er gechwetzt mit?
       who(m) has he talked     with
       'Who did he talk with?'

**Preliminary idea:** Internal structure of *mitP* contains an extra projection (xmitP) that permits 'stranding'

- This proposal needs to be exhaustively fleshed out, and could be applied beyond PD (Fleisher, 2008)
- NB: See Walkden (2018) for a similar proposal re: prepositional stranding in Old English and early West Germanic

(51)  Des  sin(d) die Schtanne, **as**    der Himmel gemacht is
      these are     the stars    RP/C the sky       made     is
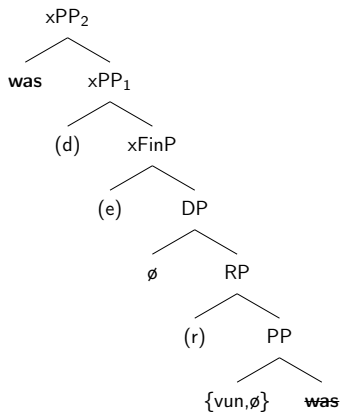      (**de**)vun.
      it-of
      'These are the stars that the sky is made out of.'

- Younger 'heritage' speakers of PD, i.e., those who are no longer actively using PD on a regular/daily basis, show optional behavior
- On the surface, this resembles P-stranding (which we can interpret as R-stranding, following Noonan (2017))

(52)

# Summary

- PD compensates for its lack of of *wo*-Komposita w/ pseudo-resumptives (*w*-element + *da*-P)
- This corresponds to a complex series of functional heads
- PD licenses a more complex left periphery of xPP than standard German
- Recent development: Younger 'heritage' speakers of PD have reduced the left periphery of xPP, producing structures that (optionally) resemble R-stranding
  - Economy of structure arguments? (Scontras et al., 2018; Putnam, 2019, 2020)

- Re PD: More detailed analysis of individual adpositions and environments
- Beyond PD: Integrate these findings into work on dialectal German and Germanic more generally re: the syntax of *d-* & *w-*elements

- My informants!
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