Syntactic Coping Strategies for Morphological Deficiencies

GLAC-28

Erin Pretorius & Mike Putnam

University of the Western Cape & Penn State University

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Roadmap

1. Introduction
2. Data
3. Tentative analysis
4. Conclusion
Main observation: Afrikaans (Afr) & Pennsylvania Dutch (PD), two extraterritorial Germanic languages, do not employ the same strategies as either German or Dutch to express direction in PPs.

Main aim: Demonstrate the potential of a spanning approach (Blix, 2021; Svenonius, 2012, 2016) to capture the Afr & PD facts.

Main claim: On a spanning approach, the Afr/PD strategy is an ‘extension’ of the German & Dutch strategies.
Den Dikken (2010) describes a certain class of adpositions as ‘non-inherently directional’, e.g. *in, on*. These can be ambiguous:

(1) John climbed **on** the hill

- *John climbed (while) on the hill.* (LOCative)
- *John climbed onto the hill.* (DIRectional)

Indo-European languages may employ (one of) various strategies to differentiate locative and directional meanings.
Case alternation

One strategy utilizes dative (or some oblique)-accusative case alternation to express locative-directional meaning differences (Caha, 2010):

(2) Alex tanzte [in dem Zimmer].
    A. danced in the.DAT room
    ‘Alex danced in the room.’

(3) Alex tanzte [in das Zimmer].
    A. danced in the.ACC room
    ‘Alex danced into the room.’

[German; Zwarts 2006, 1]
Word order alternation

Many Germanic languages, past and present, exhibit a paradigmatic reduction of case inflection (Fulk, 2018). Dutch is an example:

(4) Willemijn zwom [in het meer].
    W. swam in the lake
    ‘Willemijn swam in the lake.’
    [LOC = prepositional order]

(5) Willemijn zwom [het meer in].
    W. swam the lake in
    ‘Willemijn swam into the lake.’
    [DIR = postpositional order]

[Caha (2010): Dutch word order alternation is a formally equivalent strategy for German case alternation to express LOC-DIR changes.]
Neither case nor word order alternation

Some Germanic languages seem to not make use of either strategy.

To express LOC-DIR differences, Afrikaans (Afr) and Pennsylvania Dutch (PD):

(i) do not use case alternations, and
(ii) disprefer postpositional word order
Afrikaans

(6) Jan swem [in die see].
J. swims in the sea
‘Jan is swimming in the sea.’  [LOC / *DIR]

(7) ?/% Jan swem [die see in].
J. swims the see in
‘Jan is swimming into the sea.’  [DIR / *LOC]

- No case marked on the Ground, and
- Locative expressions are prepositional (6), but
- Postpositional directional expressions are marked (7).
Afrikaans Directed Motion

Two strategies:

- Circumpositions (closed class; Pretorius 2021); see (8)
- Particle verb + locative PP combination (productive); see (9)

(8) Jan gaan [in die huis in].
J. goes in the house in
‘Jan is going into the house. [DIR/*LOC]

(9) Jan gaan [by die trappe] op.
J. goes at the stairs up
‘Jan is going up the stairs.’ [DIR/*LOC]
Various diagnostics distinguish the two strategies, e.g. extraposition:

(10) *Jan gaan in [in die huis].
    J. goes in in the house
    Intended: ‘Jan is going into the house.’ [circum-PP]

(11) Jan gaan op [by die trappe].
    J. goes up at the stairs
    ‘Jan is going up the stairs.’ [PRT verb + PP]

See Pretorius (2021) for more diagnostics and further discussion.
Pennsylvania Dutch

(12) Bill iss n dance-a [in das Haas] B. is PROG dance-NF in the.ACC house ‘Bill is dancing in the house.’

(13) Bill iss *(nei) in das Haas] gange. B. is Part P the.ACC house gone ‘Bill went into the house.’

(14) *Bill iss [das Haas in] gange. B. is the.ACC house in went Intended: ‘Bill went into the house.’

- Ground always receives accusative/oblique case,
- Locative expressions are prepositional (12),
- PPs w/o directional particles are locative (13), and
- Postpositional expressions are ungrammatical (14)
Pennsylvania Dutch Directed Motion

Two strategies (possibly only one?):

- Particle verbs with ‘double particles’; see (15)
- Particle verb + PP combination; see (16)

(15) Er iss n [nunnergeh in der Basement.]
    he is  PROG N-down-go  in the basement
    ‘He is going down (in)to the basement.’

(16) Der Snail iss [nuch uff der Dach gegraddelt].
    the snail is upon on the roof crawled
    ‘The snail crawled up upon the roof.’
Pennsylvania Dutch Directed Motion

Double particles consist of a P element and a prefix, i.e. \textit{n-} (< Std German \textit{hin-}) or \textit{r-} (< Std German \textit{her-}).

The prefixes \textit{n-} and \textit{r-} convey an orientation away from or towards a deictic center (d.c.), respectively:

\begin{align*}
(17) & \quad \textit{n-} \ uff- \ jumpe \\
& \quad \textit{N-} \ up- \ jump \\
& \quad \text{‘jump up (away from d.c.)’} \\
(18) & \quad \textit{r-} \ uff- \ jumpe \\
& \quad \textit{R-} \ up- \ jump \\
& \quad \text{‘jump up (towards d.c.)’}
\end{align*}
Intransitive particle verbs (19) can combine with a PP (20), but cannot combine with a DP internal argument (21).

(19) Der Snail hat (misse) ninnergraddle (must).
    the snail had must N-down-crawl must
    ‘The snail crept down (away from d.c.).’

(20) Der Snail iss nuch [PP uff der Dach] gegraddelt.
    the snail is N-up from the roof crawled
    ‘The snail crept up the roof (away from d.c.).’

(21) Der Snail iss nuch [PP *(uff) der Dach] gegraddelt.
    the snail is N-up from the roof crawled
    ‘The snail crept up the roof (away from d.c.).’
N/R-elements as ‘high’ particles

Although directional and temporal PPs can optionally appear extraposed (in the Nachfeld), n/r-elements (ninner & nuch) must appear at the leftmost edge of the Event Phrase)

(22) Der Snail iss nuch gegraddelt [PP uff der Dach].
    the snail is N-up crawled up the roof
    ‘The snail crept up the roof (away from d.c.).’

(23) *Der Snail iss gegraddelt nuch [PP uff der Dach].

Take home points:

- Morphophonological case exponents are no longer tied to DIR- or LOC-readings in PD
- DIR-motion with double particles can appear as verbal prefixes (15) or at the edge of an extended event domain (adjacent a LOC-P) (16)
Syntactic projections in the Event Domain

Basic structure of the Event Domain following Ramchand (2008, 2019):

(24)

Semantic content of functional heads:

- **InitP**: introduces the causation event and licenses the external argument
- **ProcP**: specifies the nature of change or process and licenses the entity undergoing change
- **ResP**: gives the ‘telos’ or ‘result state’ of the event and licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state
Functional sequence of the P-domain

We assume the span in (25):

(25)
Semantic content of P-domain heads

Definitions and references for the nodes in (25)

- **Dir**: Denotes the direction of goal or source paths (i.e., directed)
- **Path**: Expresses the path towards a goal/ground (in a non-directed sense) – direction is not inherent
- **Place**: Expresses the stative/ground place; i.e., it is the figure of a single location
- **AxPart**: References perceived axes of the ground (e.g., front, top, bottom, back, etc.)
German & Dutch

We will not focus on the German & Dutch strategies, but Caha’s (2010) analysis locates them ‘low-ish’ in the P-domain:

**German:**

```
YP
  \--- Y
  \  \--- PATHP
       \--- KP
           \--- PATH
               \--- PLACE
                   \--- KP
                       \--- PATH
                           \--- PLACE
                               \--- KP
                                   \--- PATHP
                                       \--- YP
                                           \--- KP
```

**Dutch:**

```
PATHP
  \--- KP
   \--- PATH
    \--- PLACE
     \--- KP
      \--- PATH
       \--- PLACE
            \--- KP
```

---

German: `das Zimmer`

Dutch: `het meer`
Afrikaans & PD lexicalize ‘higher’

In contrast, the strategy opted for by Afr and PD is ‘high-ish’. (NB: (26) is for the PD strategy in (15)):

(26)
The lexical item IN is the realization of a number of functional heads (e.g., ⟨RES,DIR,PATH,PLACE1,AXPART,GROUND⟩)
Interesting observation:

- It doesn’t appear that DIR appears in the traditional P-domain in PD
- ⟨DIR⟩ and ⟨PATH,PLACE⟩ are realized as separate lexical entries
Circumpositions in Afrikaans

(29)

- Similar to the previous PD derivation in that \(\langle\text{DIR}\rangle\) and \(\langle\text{PATH,PLACE}\rangle\) are separate lexical entries, but
- The GROUND appears to the left of \(in = \langle\text{PATH,PLACE}\rangle\) in Afrikaans
The lack of a morphological reflexive of dative (still found in German) leads to different syntactic ‘coping strategies’ in other Germanic languages:

- **Dutch**: Elements that appears as DAT-marked in German, are lexicalized as *postpositions*

- **Afrikaans & PD**: Whereas both Dutch & German lexicalize PATH & PLACE ‘lower’ in the P-domain, both of these languages carry this out ‘higher’ in the functional sequence
Thanks!

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References II


