Modifying the Hearer - The nature of the left periphery of main clauses in Frisian and Dutch

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Two influential proposals have been formulated on the structure of the left-periphery in strict V2-languages such as German and Dutch. Den Besten 1977[1983] locates the moved finite verb in a uniform position, C. In direct sentences, the subject moves to the first position, while in inversion structures some other constituent moves to it, leaving the subject below C.

(1)   a   Jan   loopt ~~Jan~~ op straat ~~loopt~~   (direct context)
              John   walks   on street
        b   Dan   loopt Jan op straat ~~loopt~~   (inversion context)
              Then walks John on street

Inspired by the structure for English, Zwart assumes a different position of the verb in direct and inversion contexts. The two structures are represented in (2).

(2)   a   [$_{IP}$ Jan loopt op straat   t]   (V2 in IP)
        b   [$_{CP}$ Dan loopt [$_{IP}$ Jan   t   op straat   t]]   (V2 in CP)

As yet, there has been no consensus which proposal is the correct one. Den Besten (p.c.) suggests that the two proposals may be a notational variants of one another: by not only considering the *position* of the landing site but also its *properties* (A vs A-bar), the two proposals may be unified: a specCP that maintains an agreement relation with φ-features with the verbal head in C as in (1a) might be indistinguishable from specIP: it might acquire A-properties.

   In this talk, we argue that Den Besten en Zwart are not two competing theories of V2 languages, but are two theories that describe *distinct types* of V2 with different observable properties. The basic ingredient is already present in Zwart's argumentation for (2). Dutch and its dialects show distinct spellouts (in 2nd and 1st person contexts only) when the verb is in I as in (2a), or in C as in (2b). If different, the spell-out of agreement in C is identical to the one in complementizer agreement, cf. (3).

(3)   a   wi speul-t   (Dedemsvaarts)
              we play-AGR$_I$
        b   dan speul-e wi
              then play-AGR$_C$ we
        c.   datt-e wi speul-t
   that-AGR$_C$ we play-AGR$_I$

Position-dependent spellout is Zwart's major morphosyntactic argument in favor of (2).

   The crucial step is now to observe that Den Besten's theory displays a mirror image in pronouns, for it is the *subject* that has two available positions in (1) (specCP or specIP), but a single position according to (2), namely always specIP. So, Den Besten can express more easily the position-dependent pronoun spellout as is observed in some dialects but not in others. Essentially, when we take a dialect such as Frisian or Limburgian with no positional verbal spellout, we observe position-dependent spellout in pronouns, e.g. the 2nd person pronoun *dou* in direct contexts versus *-ou/ø* in inversion contexts in Frisian. Similar effect in Limburgian in (5).

(4)   a   {dou/*ou/*ø} giest der hinne   (Frisian)
        b   dan giest {ø/-ou} der hinne
(5)   a   du¯ löps   drèèr¯   (Limburgian, Maasbracht)
        b   den¯ {löps-e/ löps dich/*du¯} drèèr¯

Significantly, if a dialect have a position-dependent spell-out in 1/2p pronouns, it does not have positional verbal spellout and vice versa. This indicates that Frisian and Limburgian can more readily be described by Den Besten's theory while standard Dutch with position-dependent verbs (in 1/2p contexts) and no position-dependent 1/2p pronouns by Zwart's theory. Further evidence for the fundamental distinction between Den Besten-dialects and Zwart-dialects can be extracted from a newly observed correlation

(taken from the GTRP database) between the presence of a unitary subject position and the loss of *du* 'thou' in favor of *jij* 'you' in the history of Dutch.

| Dialects with (variants of) *du* 'thou' | Dialects with double paradigms |
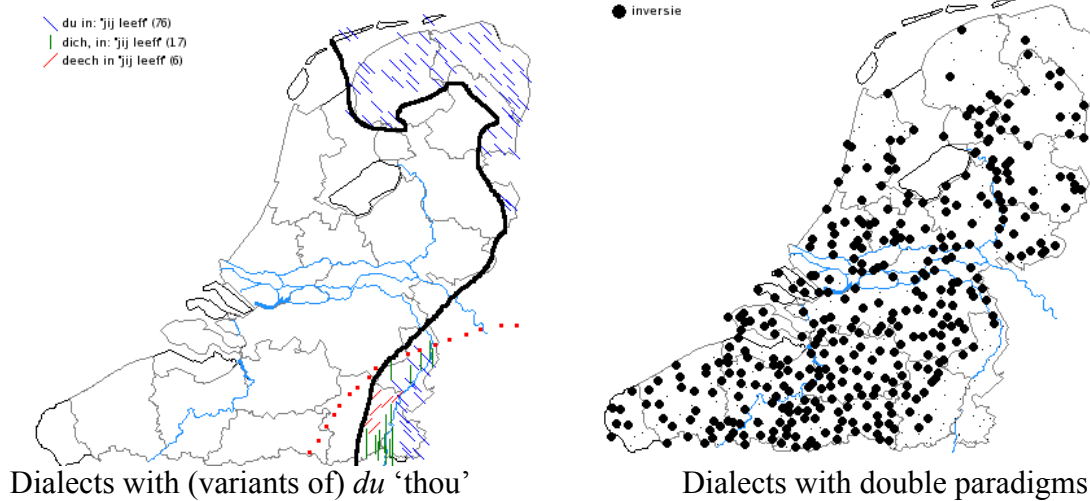
Only those dialects that has developed double verbal spell-out (i.e. a unitary subject-position specIP) lost the d-pronoun *du*, which was the typical specCP spellout. The correlation is significant ($p<0.000001$). We show that reanalysis with a bilingual stage can explain that a transition of a Den Besten-dialect to a Zwart-dialect necessarily loses *du* 'thou'. In the remainder of the talk, the following connected questions are addressed: why are double paradigms never observed with 3rd person pronouns? Why do dialects with double paradigms nevertheless show position dependent spellout in 3rd person pronouns? Apparently, Dutch 3rd *person* clauses should be analyzed according to (1) too. This can be generalized: the distinction between the two structures in (1) and (2) only show up with subjects with the 2nd person feature, such as 2sg, 2pl. The apparent counterexamples with 1pl concern inclusive readings, i.e. 1pl =1+2.

(6)   a   dan gaan we naar huis   neutral 1p plural reading
         b   dan gane we naar huis   inclusive reading
            then go.AGR_1/AGR_2 to home

Hence, only clauses with subjects that contain the *addressee* have Zwart's structure. The question, therefore, arises what is special to the 2nd person that makes it interact with C and forces the 2nd person agreement (i.e. subject + second person verb) to stay out of CP in the case of Dutch but allows it for Frisian and Limburgian. We argue that 2nd person, or rather the feature *A*(ddressee), is different from 3rd and 1st person in that it is interpretable on C rather than on the pronominal argument. *A* is interpretable, but unvalued in C (in the sense of Pesetsky & Torrego 2001), while it is uninterpretable but valued on the pronoun. *A* is therefore similar to WH and represents a kind of clause typing. *A* is an operator and subject to similar extraction restrictions as WH (generalized that-trace effects, cf. P&T 2001), provided that *A* has +EPP features. This blocks T-to-C and causes the verb to be excluded from CP if *A* has the wrong EPP-properties. This allows us to characterize *du/dou/thou* versus *gij/jij/you* in terms of EPP features of *A*. This syntactic discussion of i*A* on C suggests that main clauses are modifiers to an abstract head that represents the addressee.

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