

Complications of complex left branches: Some observations on Dutch derived verbs

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NanoDays

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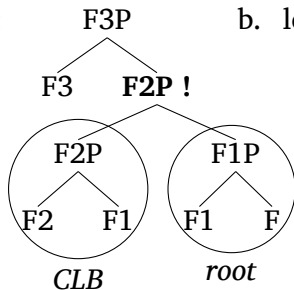
Introduction

- ▶ Problem of intervening prefixes, (1)

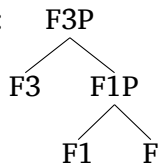
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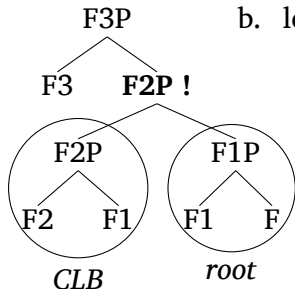
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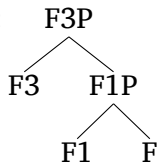
b. lexicon:



(2) a. syntax:

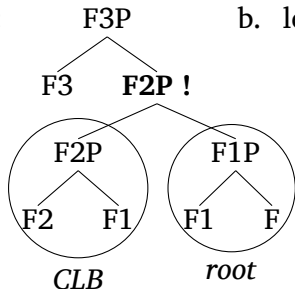


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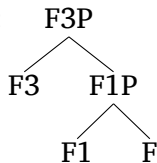


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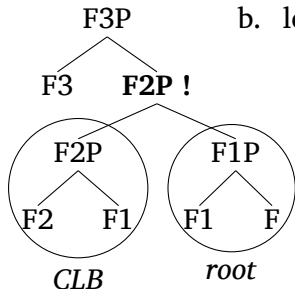


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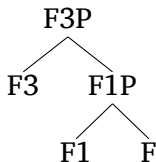


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- ▶ The complex left branch must project its feature into the main spine
- ▶ F2 is not a part of the lexical item in (2)
- ▶ F2 prevents the lexical item from lexicalising F3

- ▶ This issue is better known as the so-called ‘bracketing paradox’ (cf. Newell 2019; 2021 a.o.)

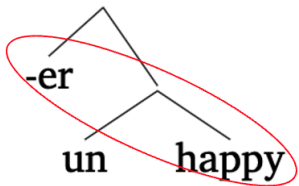
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(3) [[un-happy]-er] vs. [un[happy-er]]



(4)

Aims

- ▶ Present a case study of Dutch derived verbs

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- ▶ Discuss 3 solutions within this paradigm, using the tools available in Nanosyntax

Dutch derived verbs

Move the prefix

Pointers

Multiple Merge

Conclusion

Derived verbs

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- ▶ **Prefixation**

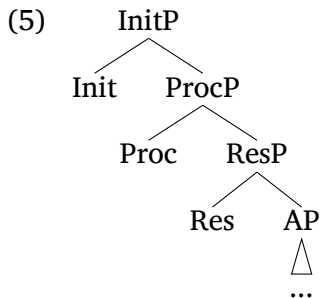
PFX	BASE		GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ver-	A	breed	‘wide’	ver-breed-(en)	‘widen’
	N	vel	‘skin’	ver-vell-(en)	‘molt’
	V	doe-n	‘do’	ver-doe-(n)	‘waste’
be-	A	vuil	‘dirty’	be-vuil-(en)	‘dirty’
	N	bos	‘forest’	be-boss-(en)	‘afforest’
	V	giet-(en)	‘pour’	be-giet-(en)	‘water’
ont-	A	hard	‘hard’	ont-hard-(en)	‘soften’
	N	bos	‘forest’	ont-boss-(en)	‘deforest’
	V	vriez-(en)	‘freeze’	ont-vriez-(en)	‘unfreeze’
P-	A	slank	‘slim’	af-slank-(en)	‘slim’
	N	burger	‘citizen’	in-burger-(en)	‘integrate’
	V	gooi-(en)	‘throw’	in-gooi-(en)	‘throw in’

BASE	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
heilig	‘holy’	ont-heilig	‘desecrate’
groen	‘green’	ont-groen	‘haze’
zilt	‘salty’	ont-zilt	‘desalinate’
rond	‘round’	ont-rond	‘unround’
menselijk	‘humane’	ont-menselijk	‘dehumanise’

V

- ▶ Structure of deadjectival verbs (cf. Ramchand (2008), Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2022), Caha et al. (2023) a.o.)

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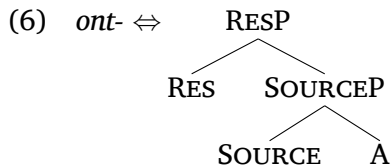


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Source

- (7) a. Het volk ontthront de koning.
‘The people dethrones the king.’
- b. The king_F is being removed *from* the throne_G. (ab-
lative)
- (8) a. Het bedrijf ontbost het Amazonewoud.
‘The company deforests the Amazone.’
- b. The forest_F is being removed *from* the Amazone_G.

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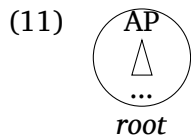
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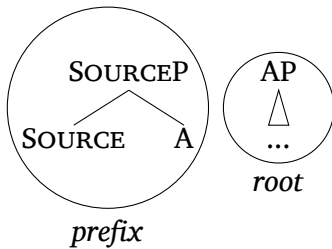
- (9) a. Het Gentse Milieufrent onthardt de voetpaden.
‘The Ghent Environmentfront softens the pavements’
b. The pavements_F are changed from being hard_G (to being soft).

- (10) a. Zijn wangen kleurden rood
‘His cheeks coloured red’
- b. *Zijn wangen ontkleurden bleek
‘His cheeks decoloured pale’
- c. *Men onthardde de voetpaden zacht
‘They un-hardened the pavements soft’

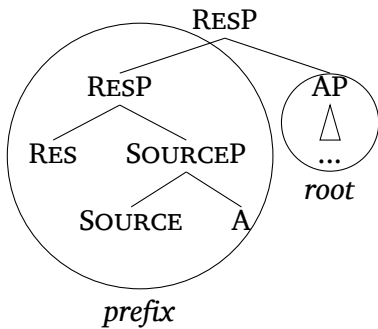
Derivation



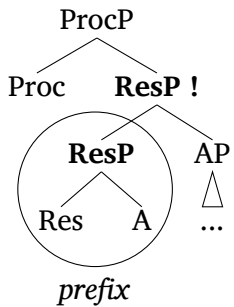
(12)



(13)



(14)



Dutch derived verbs

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Pointers

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Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2022)

- (15) De bloemen zijn (*kapot) ver-droogd.
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graph TD; RESP[RESP] --- RES[RES]; RESP --- A[A];
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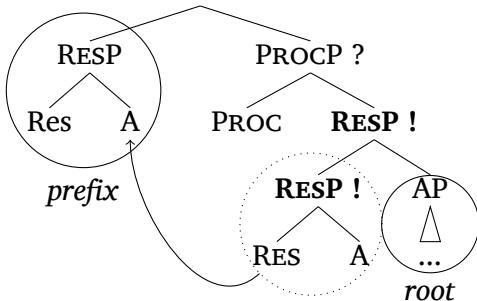
- (17)
-
- PROCP
 / \
 PROC RESP
 / \
 RESP AP
 / \
 RES A △
 ...
ver- *droog*

- ▶ They allow the prefix to evacuate by means of ‘spec-movement’

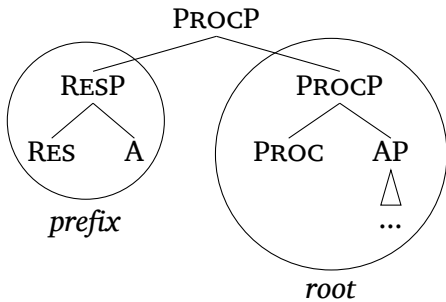
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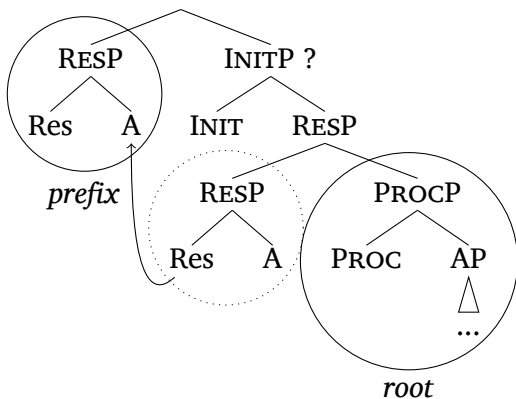
(18)



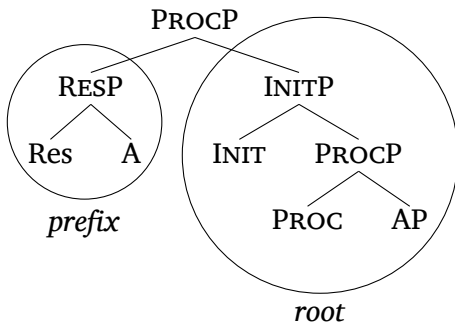
(19)



(20)



(21)





In favour of a movement-account:



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- ▶ Root suppletion under Tense



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- ▶ Root suppletion under Tense
- ▶ Syncretic verb forms

Tense

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PRESENT	PAST	GLOSS
ont-loop	ont- liep	'avoid'
ont-neem	ont- nam	'take away'
ont-doen	ont- deed	'undo'
ont-gaan	ont- ging	'elude'

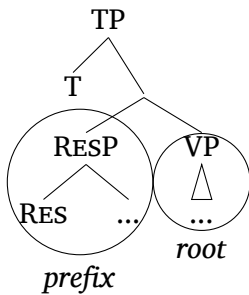
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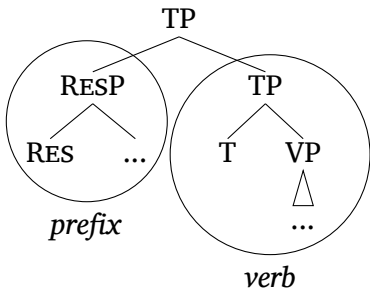
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- ▶ The root is updated at Tense, meaning T and V again need to form a constituent to the exclusion of *ont*-

(22)



(23)



Syncretisms

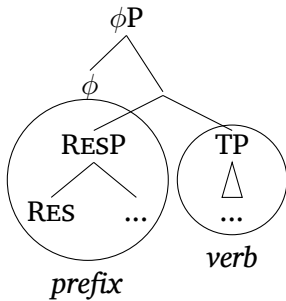
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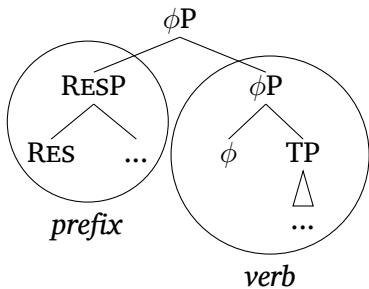
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	<i>ontgroen</i>	<i>onthard</i>	<i>ontnam</i>
1	ontgroen	onthard	ontnam
2	ontgroen-t	onthard-?	ontnam
3	ontgroen-t	onthard-?	ontnam

(24)



(25)



Contra movement:

- ▶ Projecting complex left branches cannot be moved out without altering the fseq
- ▶ ...

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- ▶ Circumventing technical issues with no-movement solutions

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“Ont- [ɔnt] is a Germanic prefix that derives verbs from other verbs, nouns or adjectives. This process is productive for nouns, **though not for verbs or adjectives.**”

(Taalportaal)

- ▶ Low/non-productivity of *ont-*

“The strongest argument for a denominal analysis is the consideration that **deverbal derived *ont*-verbs are unproductive in general.**”

(translated from Baayen 1990)

- ▶ Low/non-productivity of *ont-*

“Un- also occurs in derivations that have the meaning in (4) [e.g. loss: unbalance, unriddle, unsex], but definitely not as productively. This is in stark contrast to Dutch and German, **where (4) forms the productive group.**”

(translated from Hendriks et al. 1994)

- ▶ Counterexamples are attested, however (especially in creative contexts):

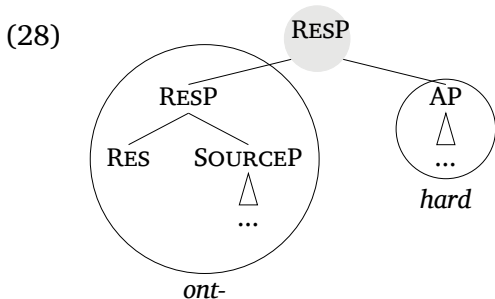
- ▶ Counterexamples are attested, however (especially in creative contexts):

BASE	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
N vriend	'friend'	ont-vriend	'unfriend'
N boek	'book'	ont-boek	'get rid of books'
V volg	'follow'	ont-volg	'unfollow'
V kook	'cook'	ont-kook	'uncook'
A lelijk	'ugly'	ont-lelijk	'make not ugly'

- ▶ But overall, productivity seems relatively limited

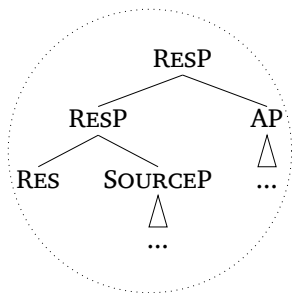
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(29) *onthard* ⇔



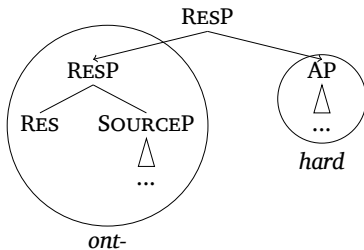
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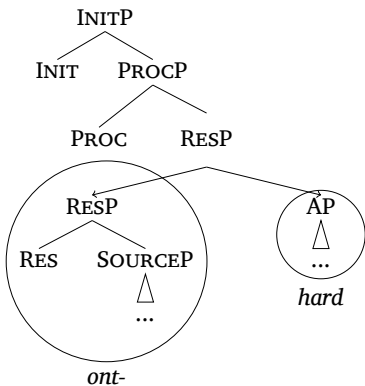
(33) *onthard* ⇔



- ▶ With INIT and PROC, the lexical item is updated as follows:

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(35)



+

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BASE	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
V moet	'must'	ont-moet	'meet'
V goochel	'perform magic'	ont-goochel	'disappoint'
V breek	'break'	ont-breek	'lack'
V werp	'throw'	ont-werp	'design'



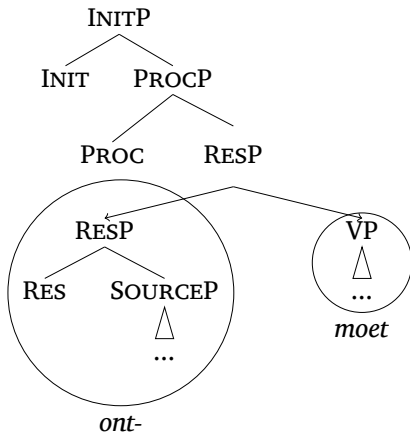
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?/A ferm	'?/solid'	(zich) ont-ferm	'care out of pity'
? beer	'?'	ont-beer	'endure'

- ▶ Following the example in (10), the lexical item for a lexicalised verb will also look like this:

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(37) *ont-moet* ⇔



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Russian dative

NOM	pjat'-∅	stol- ov
ACC	pjat'-∅	stol- ov
GEN	pjat'-i	stol- ov
DAT	pjat'-i	stol- am

Show where the derivation crashes, again bracketing issue

- ▶ To account for the case marking on both the numeral and the counted noun, Caha proposes to add the following step to the algorithm:

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(39) *Multiple Merge*

When backtracking reopens multiple workspaces, merge F in each workspace.

Show how this works

Other outcomes of Multiple Merge:

- ▶ Lexicalise F only in the complex left branch (numeral marking only)
- ▶ Lexicalise F in both the complex left branch and the main spine (concord)
- ▶ Lexicalise F only in the main derivation
- ▶ Spawn yet another new derivation

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Show what this means for ont-verbs

Dutch derived verbs

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For the time being:

1. Movement (spec)

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But none of these solutions solve everything and they each have their own challenges

Thank you!

References I

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