Inflectional economy and politeness: morphology-internal and morphology-external factors in the loss of second person marking in Dutch

Aalberse, S.P.

Publication date
2009

Document Version
Final published version

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
# Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction and outlook ................................................................. 1

1 Introduction ...................................................................................................... 1

2 Outlook ............................................................................................................. 8

Chapter 2 Sources of syncretism ........................................................................ 12

1 Introduction .................................................................................................... 12

2 Morphology-internally motivated syncretisms .............................................. 12

2.1 Some cross-linguistic tendencies in verbal inflection and syncretisms 15

2.2 Feature structure and learnability .......................................................... 24

2.3 The likelihood of feature structure driven deflection......................... 31

3 Grammar internal sources of syncretism ...................................................... 32

3.1 Grammar external sources of syncretism .............................................. 36

3.2 Defining politeness................................................................................. 38

3.3 Effects of politeness in the inflectional paradigm ............................... 39

3.4 Evidence for politeness induced syncretisms........................................ 41

4 Summary ......................................................................................................... 46

Chapter 3 Socio-pragmatic factors in the rise and fall of address terms.......... 49

1 Introduction.................................................................................................... 49

2 Developments in the Dutch address term system ........................................ 50

2.1 Stage I ..................................................................................................... 50

2.2 Stage II .................................................................................................... 51

2.3 Stage III .................................................................................................. 53

2.4 Stage IV .................................................................................................. 55

2.5 Stage V ................................................................................................... 63

2.6 Summary................................................................................................. 66

3 Cross-linguistic comparison of changes in address terms....................... 68

4 Socio-pragmatic variables in address term choice ....................................... 71

4.1 Interpersonal relations: status and solidarity ......................................... 71

4.2 Social characteristics of the speaker ...................................................... 80

5 Conclusion...................................................................................................... 84
**Table of contents**

### Chapter 4 The loss of *du* as a form of economy .................................................... 86
1. Introduction ........................................................................................................ 86
2. The likelihood of deflection via pronouns ..................................................... 87
3. Effects of the loss of *T* on the inflectional paradigm ......................... 91
4. Loss of *T* out of all domains and functions ........................................ 100
5. Independent empirical evidence for deflection via pronouns .............. 102
6. Conclusion ...................................................................................................... 107

### Chapter 5 Diachronic variation and the economy hypothesis ............... 109
1. Introduction .................................................................................................... 109
2. Data selection................................................................................................. 109
3. Predictions...................................................................................................... 113
   3.1 Subjects versus non-subjects ................................................................. 115
   3.2 High frequency verbs ............................................................................ 119
4. Results............................................................................................................ 119
   4.1 Subjects versus non-subjects ................................................................. 121
   4.2 High frequency verbs ............................................................................ 134
5. The economy hypothesis and English ..................................................... 136
   5.1 Subjects versus non-subjects ................................................................. 136
   5.2 High frequency verbs ............................................................................ 137
6. Summary ........................................................................................................ 139
# Table of contents

Chapter 6 Synchronic variation and the economy hypothesis .................. 140

1  Introduction .................................................................................................. 140

2  Selection and encoding of dialect data ........................................................ 141
  2.1  The Morphological Atlas of Dutch Dialects (MAND) .......................... 141
  2.2  Data selection for this chapter .............................................................. 143
  2.3  Encoding the data ................................................................................. 145

3  The geographical distribution of T .............................................................. 149
  3.1  Predictions on the geographical distribution of T ............................... 149
  3.2  The geographical distribution of T ..................................................... 155

4  Neutralisation of number in the context of person ...................................... 163
  4.1  Homophony between second person singular and second person plural.. 164
  4.2  Homophony between first person singular and first person plural .... 169
  4.3  Homophony between third person singular and third person plural... 173
  4.4  Summary ............................................................................................... 178

5  Conclusion .................................................................................................... 179

Chapter 7 Summary and discussion..................................................................... 181

1  Introduction .................................................................................................. 181

2  Cross-linguistic prevalence and learnability ............................................... 182

3  Independent empirical evidence for morphology-external sources .......... 185

4  The loss of second person singular as a case study ..................................... 187

5  Conspiracy in deflection .............................................................................. 189

Appendices............................................................................................................... 196

1  Appendix A Primary Sources ...................................................................... 196

2  Appendix B Text Overview ......................................................................... 197

3  Appendix C Search strings for subject and non-subject forms ................. 200

4  Appendix D Frequency of T and V .............................................................. 205

5  Appendix E Finite verbs in combination with T and V ......................... 230
# Table of contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Vitae</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>