



Pronominal Syntax in French and Danish

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Exemplification:

> Danish:

- > Marie køber ikke **din bil**.
- > Marie køber **den** ikke.

"Marie buys not your car".

"Marie buys it not".

> French:

- > Marie n'achète pas **ta voiture**.
- > Marie ne **l'**achète pas.

"Marie NEG.PART. buys not your car".

"Marie NEG:PART. it buys not".



Summary:

- › Object pronouns in Danish
→ Object Shift
- › Object pronouns in French
→ Cliticisation.
- › Comparative analysis
→ Degree of cliticisation.



Object pronouns in Danish:

| | Unstressed pronouns: | Stressed pronouns: |
|---------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1st sg: | Mig | Mig |
| 2nd sg: | Dig | Dig |
| 3rd sg: | Ham, hende, den, det, sig | Ham, hende, den, det, sig |
| 1st pl: | Os | Os |
| 2nd pl: | Jer | Jer |
| 3rd pl: | Dem, sig | Dem, sig |



Object Shift:

- > Applies to main clauses with a simple verb:
 - > Han så **hende** ikke "He saw her not" .
 - > Jeg ved, at han ikke så **hende**. "I know that he not saw her".
 - > Han har ikke set **hende**. "He has not seen her".
- > Prepositional phrases:
 - > Marie taler aldrig med **ham**. "Marie talks never with ham".
- > Indirect objects:
 - > Marie giver ikke Martin **det**. "Marie gives not Paul it".



Object pronouns in French:

| | Unstressed pronouns: | Stressed pronouns: |
|---------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1st sg: | Me | Moi |
| 2nd sg: | Te | Toi |
| 3rd sg: | Le, la, lui, se | Lui, elle, soi |
| 1st pl: | Nous | Nous |
| 2nd pl: | Vous | Vous |
| 3rd pl: | Les, leur, se | Eux, elles, soi |



Pro- and encliticisation

› Procliticisation in both main clauses and subordinate clauses with both simple and compound verbs:

› Il l'a mangée.

"He it has eaten"

› Je sais qu'il l'a mangée.

"I know that he it has eaten"

› Il veut l'acheter, la voiture.

"He wants it-buy, the car"

› Procliticisation with infinitives and negative imperatives:

› Tu fais bien de me le dire.

"You do good to me it say"

› Ne me le donne pas.

"NEG.PART me it give not"

› Encliticisation with affirmative imperatives:

› Demandez-le à votre pharmacien.

"Ask-it to your pharmacist"

› Donne-le-moi.

"Give-it-me"

› Passe-moi le sel.

"Pass-me the salt"

› Subject pronouns are enclitic in inverted constructions:

› Viendra-t-il?

"Comes-he"



Comparison



Similarities (1):

- › The pronouns constitute the only word class displaying residual case-marking in both languages.
- › The object pronouns show deviant syntactic patterns (compared to full nouns) in both languages.
- › A general language-independent tendency to place "light" elements further left in the sentence in accordance with the principle of increasing complexity from left to right.



Similarities (2):

- > Danish object shift and French cliticisation concern the same categories:
 - > Personal pronouns (including reflexive use).
 - > Pronominal adverbs: *en, y, her, der*. (although not objects, they behave in the same way as unstressed object pronouns).
- > Clitic cluster orders:
 - > Da.: IO-DO
 - > Fr.: IO-DO / DO-IO
- > Hans gav **dem** ikke brevene. "Hans gave them not the letters"
- > Hans gav **dem dem** ikke. (IO-DO) "Hans gave them them not"
- > Il **me** l'a dit hier. (IO-DO) "He me it has said yesterday"
- > Il **le lui** a dit hier. (DO-IO) "He it him has said yesterday"



Similarities (3):

> Ethical datives in French:

- > Regarde-**moi** ça! "Look me that"
- > Ton rhume, tu **te** le garde! "Your cold, you you it keep"
- > Tu vas **me** la lui écrire. (Ans de Kok 1985 :551) "You will me it him write "
- > Au Mont St. Michel, la mer **te vous** monte à une de ces vitesses ! (Ans de Kok 1985 :551) "At Mont St. Michel, the sea you you rises very fast!"

> Ethical datives in Danish (Diderichsen 1946:173-74 and others) :

- > Han er **mig** en net Fyr. "He is me a nice fellow"
- > Du maa ikke ødelægge **mig** Slaamaskinen. "You must not break me the lawn mower"
- > Tag **mig** min frakke. "Take me my coat"
- > Tag **mig** det ikke ilde op. "Take me it not amiss"
- > Det er **mig** en stor glæde. "It is me a great pleasure"
- > Jeg vil have **mig** en øl. "I will have me a beer"



Differences (1):

> In French cliticisation is marked:

- > In writing by means of an apostrophe or a hyphen:
 - > Je l'achète. "I it buy".
 - > Pierre vient-il? "Pierre comes he?"
- > Phonetically by means of liaison:
 - > Ils_ont acheté une voiture. "They have bought a car".

> In Danish, the enclisis is only marked syntactically.

> Danish object pronouns are enclitic

→ Right periphery of the finite zone.

> French object pronouns are typically proclitic

→ Left periphery of the finite zone.



Differences (2):

> Pronominal reduplication and clitic doubling:

> Colloquial spoken French :

- > Moi **j'** suis pas allé à l'anniversaire de Paul.
- > Ma grand-mère **elle** est malade.
- > Pierre **il** aime la musique.

"Me I'm not gone to the birthday of Paul"

"My grandmother she is ill"

"Pierre he likes music"

> Colloquial spoken Danish :

- > Peter, **han** er bare en stakkel.
- > Ja, for Peter, er **han** ikke en undtagelse?
- > **Han** kommer snart, lægen.

"Peter, he is just a poor thing"

"Yes, because Peter, is he not an exception"

"He comes soon, the doctor."



Differences (3):

> An inherent tendency to cliticise?

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------|
| me [mə] | mig [ma] / [maj] |
| te [tə] | dig [da] / [daj] |
| le [lə] | sig [sa] / [saj] |
| se [sə] | hende [n] / [hin] / [hendə] |



Differences (4):

> Possible hosts for Danish object pronouns:

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| > Finite verb: | Marie så ham ikke. | "Marie saw him not" |
| > Infinitive: | Vil du se ham ? | "Want you see him" |
| > Perf.part: | Har Marie aldrig set ham ? | "Has Marie never seen him" |
| > Subject: | Så Marie ham ikke? | "Saw Marie him not" |
| > Ind.obj.: | Han gav ikke Marie den . | "He gave not Marie it" |
| > Prep.: | Marie troede ikke på ham . | "Marie believed not in him" |

> Possible hosts for French object pronouns:

- | | | |
|----------------|---|--|
| > Finite verb: | Il l' achète. | "He it-buys" |
| > Infinitive: | Il veut l' acheter. | "He will it buy" |
| > Pres. part.: | La voyant verser quelques larmes, il lui prit la main. | "Her seeing shed some tears, he her took the hand" |



| | Danish unstressed pronouns | French unstressed pronouns |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Unstressed | √ | √ |
| Focalised | * | * |
| Modified | * | * |
| Coordinated | * | * |
| "Special syntax" (Zwicky) | √ | √ |
| Clitic cluster order | √ | √ |
| Clitic doubling | * | √ |
| Degree of selection: | Low | High |
| - Verbal hosts: | √ | √ |
| -Nominal hosts: | √ | * |
| -Prepositional hosts: | √ | * |
| Paradigmatic idiosyncrasies | *(?) | √ |



Grammaticalisation

Lexical meaning → Grammatical meaning

Phrase → Clitic → Affix



Tentative hypothesis:

> The Danish pronouns seem to have evolved in the opposite direction.

> Cliticisation in older written Danish:

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| > Gøre th | gøre det, | "do it" |
| > Føen | få den, | "get it" |
| > Lodhen | lod den, | "let it" |
| > Føle th | føle det, | "feel it" |
| > Forlade th | forlade det, | "leave it" |
| > Gud giffu ^{et} | give det → gid, | "give it" |
| > Os ^{et} | os det, | "we it" |
| > Affu ^{et} | af det, | "of it" |
| > Tille ⁿ | til den, | "to it" |
| > Skøne ^t | skønne det, | "judge it" |
| > Har du set' ⁿ | set den, | "seen it" |
| > Nw æri th | er det, | "is it" |

(Skautrup 1947, Falk & Torp 1900)



The position of the pronouns in Middle Danish (Diderichsen 1941) :

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Middle Danish: (13th century) | (Foundation) | Pronominal and particle field | Nominal field |
| Modern Danish: | Foundation field | Nexus field | Content field |



Long Object Shift in Swedish (Josefsson 1992) :

| | | "LOS" Pos1 | | "OS" Pos2 | | In situ Pos3 |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|-------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Varför "Why" | hjälper "helps" | mig "me" | Helge | | inte? "not" | |
| Varför "Why" | hjälper "helps" | | Helge | mig "me" | inte? "not" | |
| Varför "Why" | hjälper "helps" | | Helge | | Inte "not" | mig? "me" |



Long Object Shift in Danish:

> Danish:

- > Dræpøer **þem** annær man. (13th century)
 - > "kills them another man"

- > da Roland kom nær slottet, møtte **hannem** en ridder. (16th century)
 - > "when Roland came near the castle met him a knight"

- > derfor forekommer **mig** maaske det hele mere betydningsfuldt. (19th century.)
 - > "therefore appears me perhaps the whole more important"



Conclusion:

- > French cliticisation is strongly grammaticalised.
 - > Cliticises systematically to a verbal form.

- > Object shift is subject to a number of restrictions:
 - > Only main clauses with a simple verb, no blocking constituents.
 - > Rather an exception than a rule.
 - > A relic of an older stage of Danish?

- > Degree of cliticisation:
 - > Phrasal status with clitic features.
 - > Clitic/affix status.



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