

Grammars on the Map Flemish, Brabantish and Dutch

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1. Introduction

- a. General research goals and methodology
- b. Empirical phenomena

2. Discovering the correlation

- a. Full person paradigm vs 2nd person
- b. Word order: VS versus CS/VS

3. Analyzing the correlation

- a. Two parameters
- b. Derivations

4. Conclusion: interaction of the parameters

Introduction

Assumption

A language or dialect is not an accidental set of syntactic constructions but a system of interdependent interacting elements/principles/rules/constraints (cf. Weinreich 1954).

Main research goals

- Find clusters of correlating properties.
- Model properties and variation theoretically.
- Reduce clusters to abstract building principles
- Put grammars on the map.

Introduction: methodology

MIMORE

Microcomparative MORphosyntactic REsearch tool

www.meertens.knaw.nl/mimore/ (CLARIN.EU)

Databases

SAND (morphosyntax)

GTR (MAND/FAND; morphophonology)

DIDDD (morphosyntax of nominal groups)

Tools

Search (text and tag strings, glosses, properties)

Analysis (set theoretic operations, export)

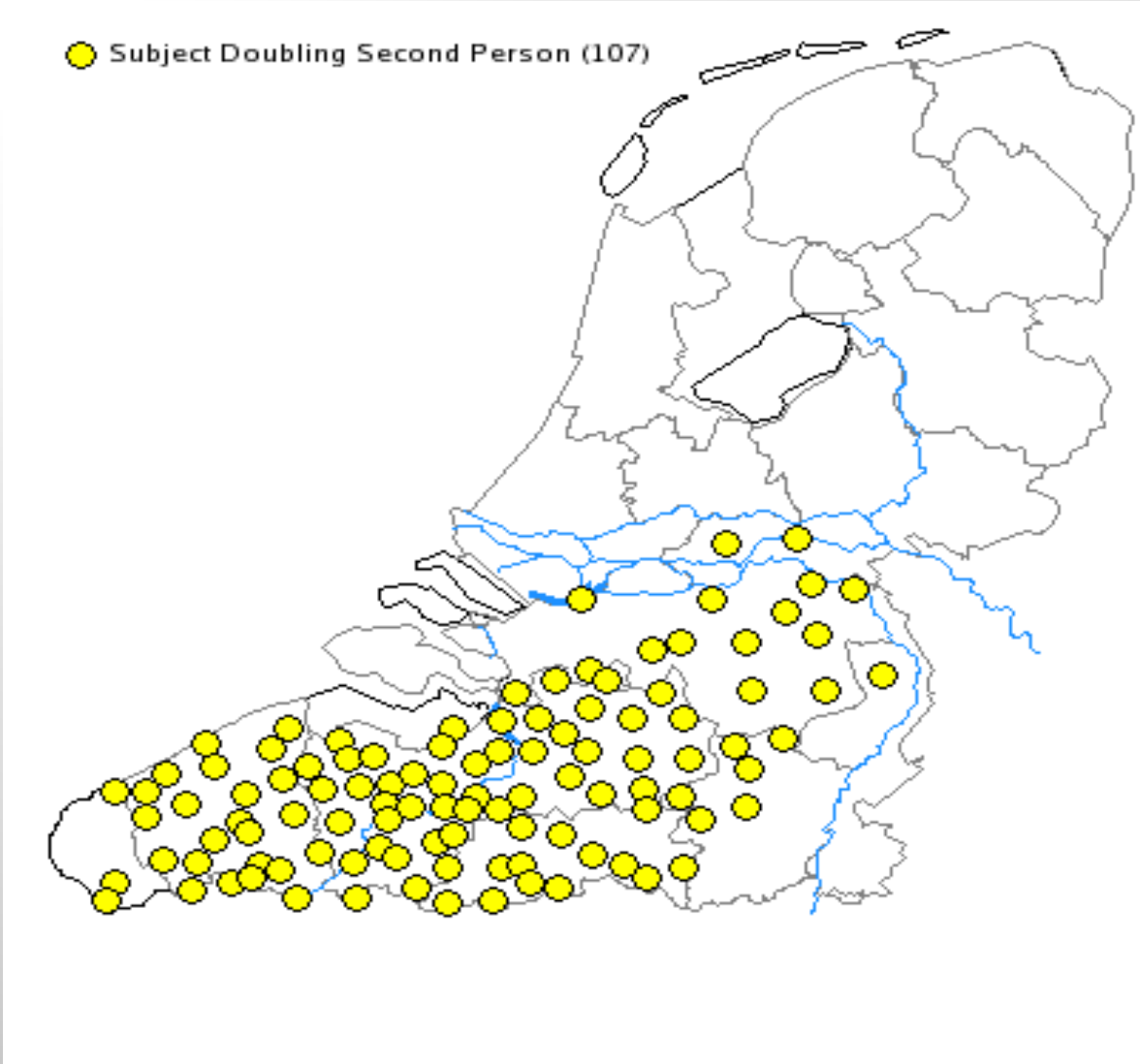
Cartography

Introduction : Empirical phenomena

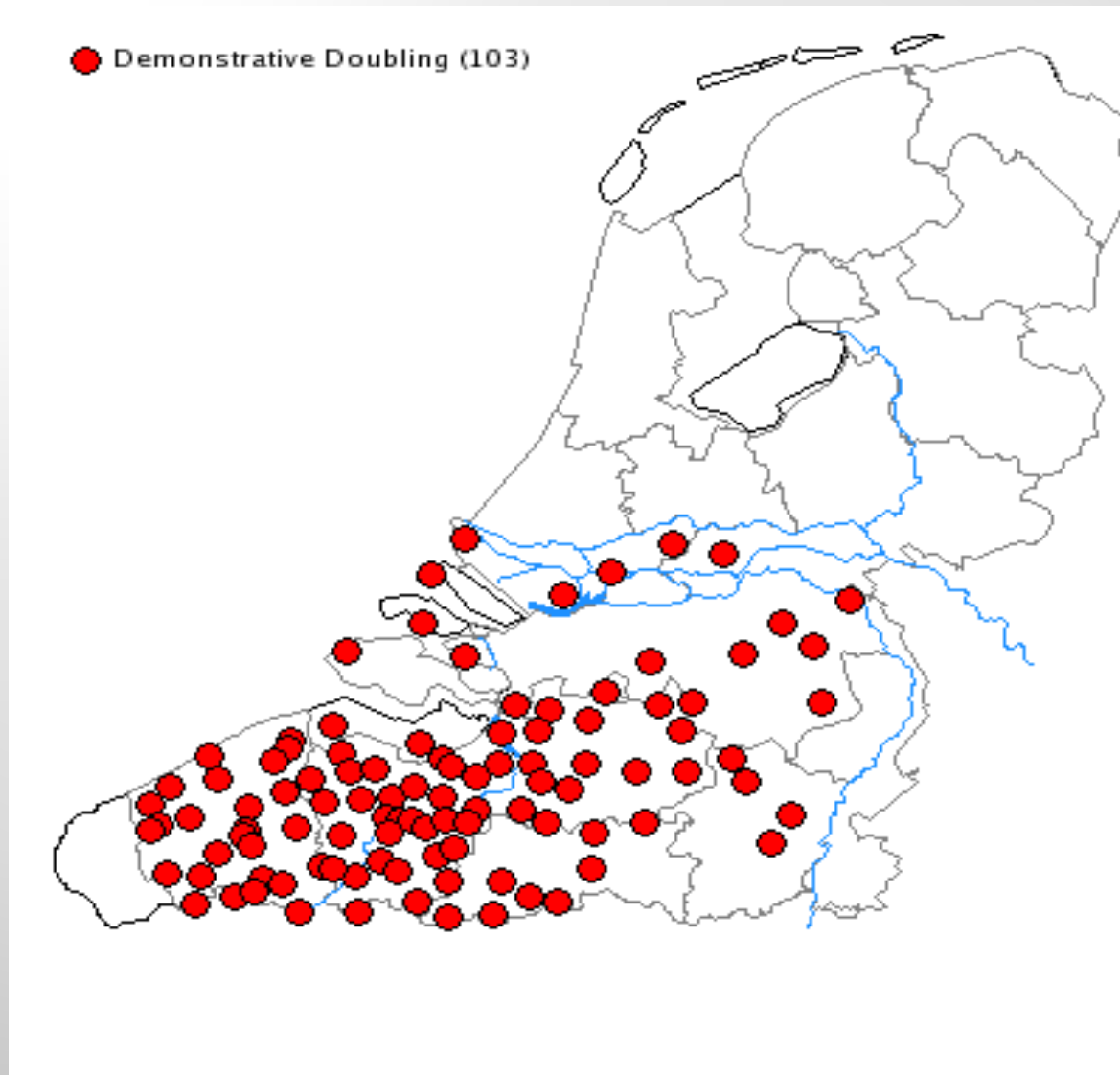
- (1) a. **Subject doubling (CP level)**
He-de _____ gij da gezien?
have-you.w you.s that seen
'Did you see that?'
- b. **Demonstrative doubling (DP level)**
Ik zag de dieje.
I saw the that
'I saw that one.'



Subject Doubling Second Person



Demonstrative Doubling



1.Introduction

- a. General research goals and methodology
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2.Discovering the correlation

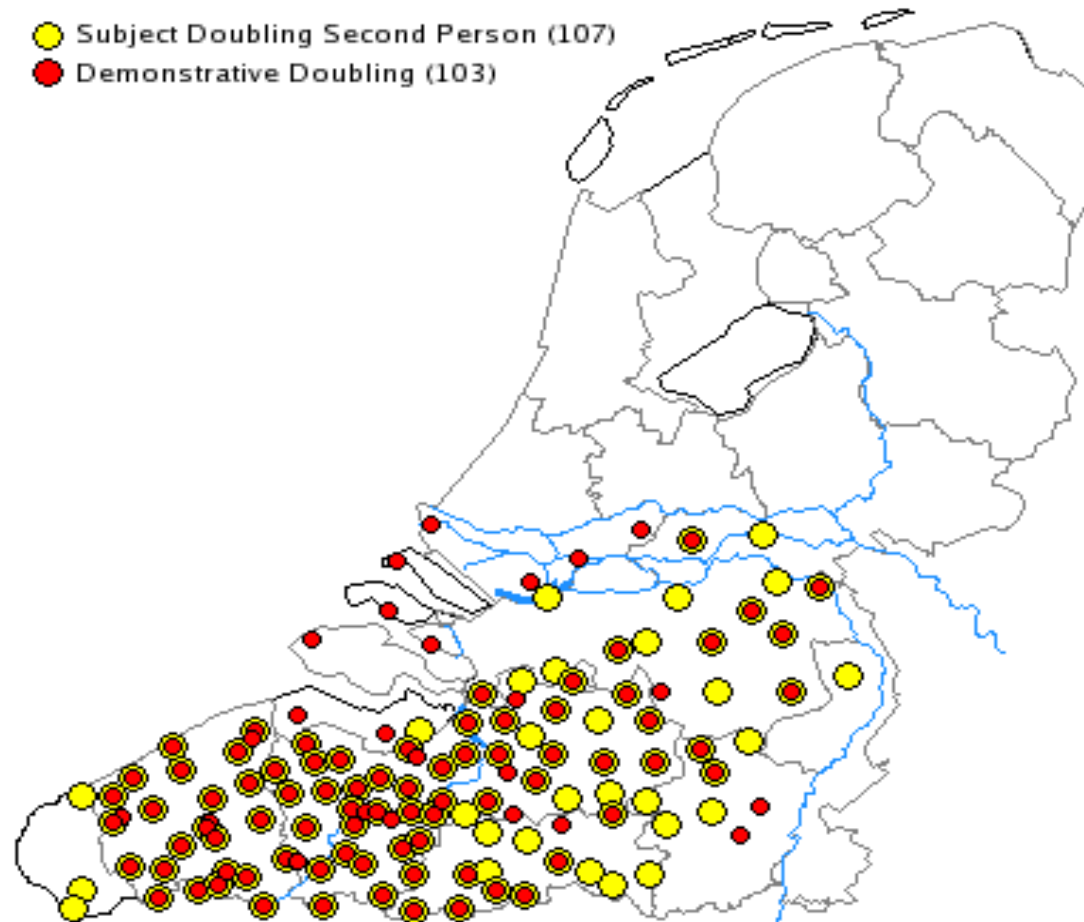
- a. Full person paradigm vs 2nd person
- b. Word order: VS versus CS/VVS

3.Analyzing the correlation

- a. Prerequisites of the analysis
- b. Two parameters
- c. Derivations

4.Conclusion: interaction of the parameters

2. Discovering the correlation



Full person paradigm vs 2nd person

(4) Brabantish: Asten

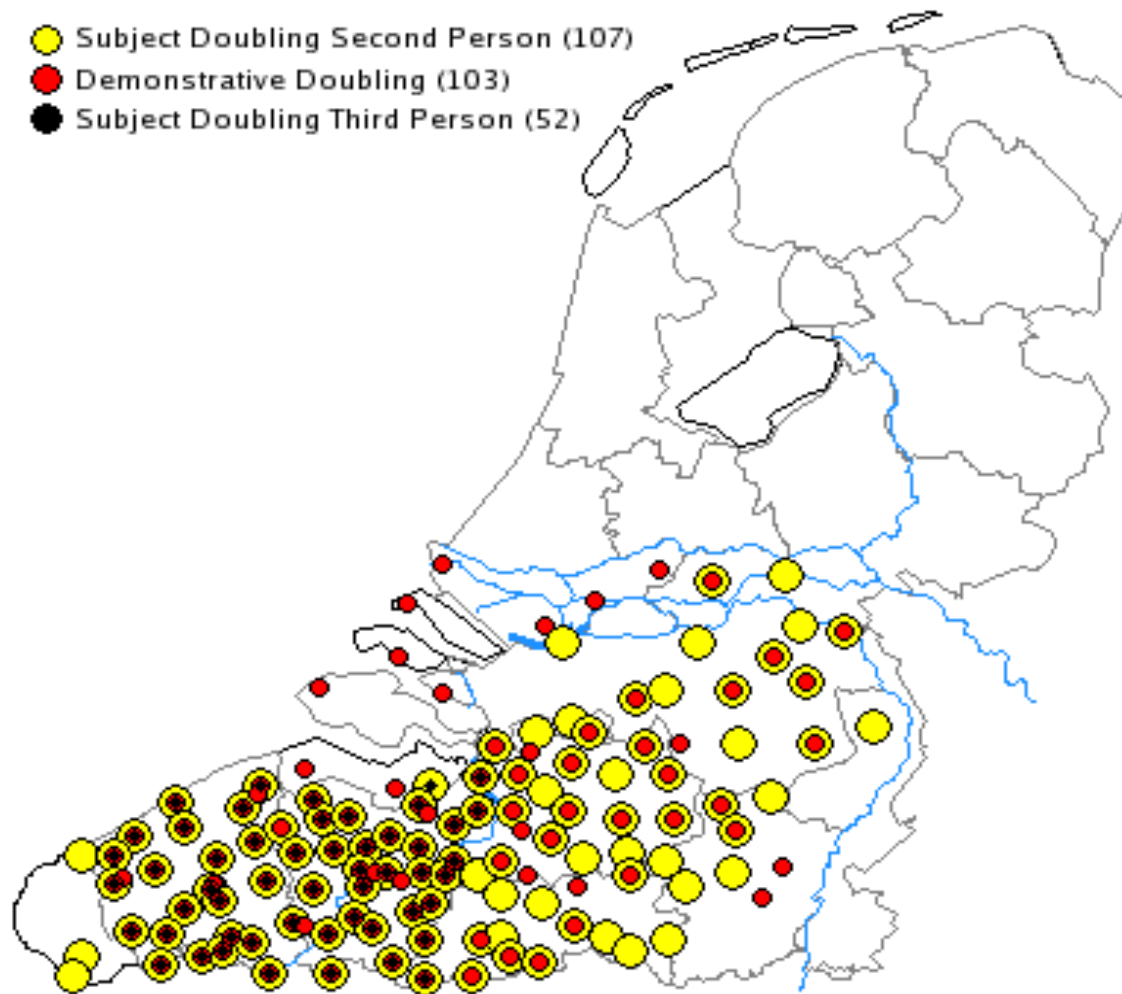
- | | | |
|----|----------------|---------------|
| a. | Leef | ik |
| | live | I |
| b. | Leef de | gij |
| | live-you | you |
| c. | Leeft | ze |
| | live | she |
| d. | Leve | we |
| | live | we |
| e. | Leef de | gullie |
| | live-you | you |
| f. | Leve | ze |
| | live | they |

(5) Flemish: Lokeren

- | | | |
|----|---------------|---------------|
| a. | Peizek | ik |
| | think-I | I |
| b. | deed e | gij |
| | did-you | you |
| c. | deese | sij |
| | did-she | she |
| d. | deeme | wij |
| | did-we | we |
| e. | deed e | gulder |
| | did-you | you |
| f. | deenze | zulder |
| | did-they | they |

Full person paradigm vs 2nd person

- Subject Doubling Second Person (107)
- Demonstrative Doubling (103)
- Subject Doubling Third Person (52)



Word order: VS vs CS/VS

(6) Brabantish: Asten

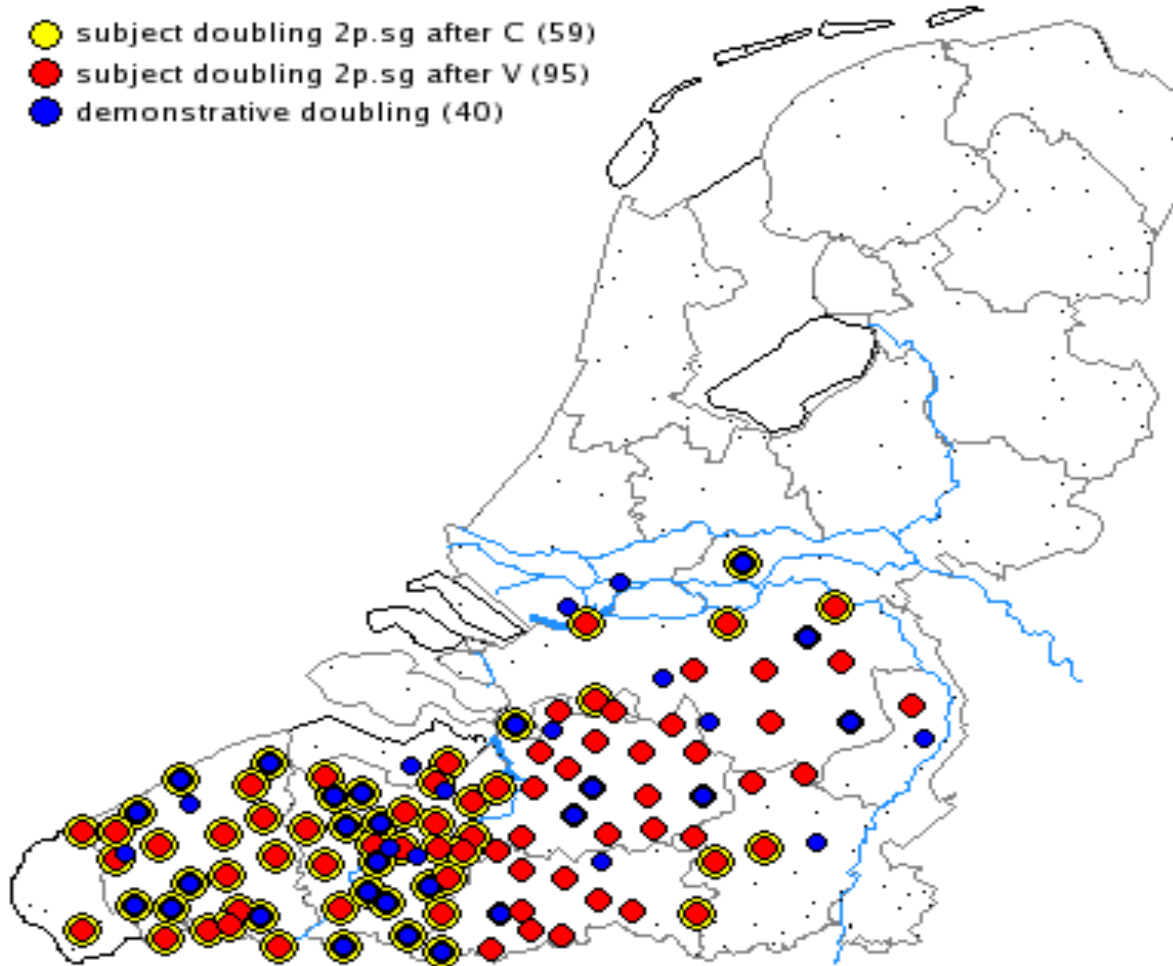
As ge gezond leeft dan **leefde ge** langer.
If you healthy live then live-you you longer
'If you live healthy, you will live longer.'

(7) Flemish: Lokeren

Adde godder zo gevaarlijk leeft dan gade nooit zo lang nie
If-you you so dangerously live then go-you never so long not
leven **azzekikke**
live as-I-I
'If you live so dangerously, you will never live as long as me.'

Word order: VS versus VS/CS

- subject doubling 2p.sg after C (59)
- subject doubling 2p.sg after V (95)
- demonstrative doubling (40)



2. Summary

(i) Brabantish (i.e. Belgian and Dutch Brabant)

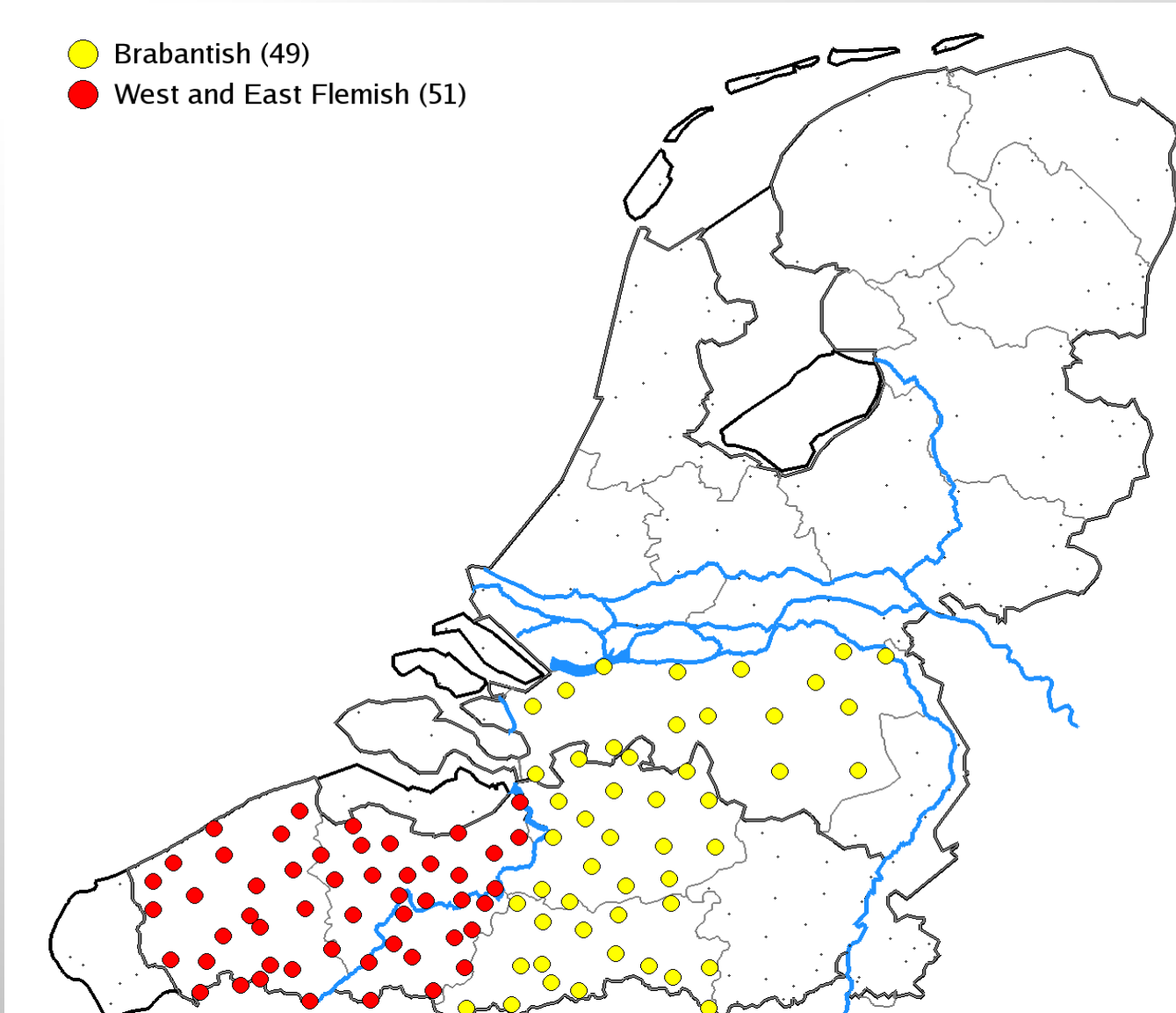
Demonstrative doubling correlates with **Second person subject pronoun doubling in clauses with subject-verb inversion**

(ii) Flemish (i.e. West and East Flanders)

Demonstrative doubling correlates with **subject pronoun doubling for all persons in clauses with subject inversion (VS) and after a complementizer (CS)**

Three areas

- Brabantish (49)
- West and East Flemish (51)



1.Introduction

2.Discovering the correlation

3.Analyzing the correlation

a. Two parameters

- Doubling parameter
- Fronting in imperatives
- Phi-probe parameter
- Complementizer agreement

b. Derivations

4.Conclusion: interaction of the parameters

3a. Doubling parameter: prerequisite

Base structure of pronouns

$[_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} [_{D} [_{\phi P}]]]]]]$

Complex phrase: a.o. Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, Barbiers, Koenenman and Lekakou 2008, van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2008; CnP: a.o. Szabolcsi 1994, Cardinaletti and Starke 1994, Giusti 1996. Bernstein 1997, Bennis et al 1998)

Doubling parameter = lexical parameter

Dialects differ in

- (i) whether they can spell out part of this pronominal structure via subextraction and
- (ii) whether the spelled out part moves as XP or X

3a. Doubling parameter

Base structure of doubled pronouns

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de/ge}]]]]]]$

Base structure of regular DPs

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die} [_{\text{D}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{leuke opa}]]]]]]$
that nice grandfather

Base structure of demonstrative doubling

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die} [_{\text{D}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]]$

3a. Doubling parameter

- (8)a. Die man gaat naar huis.
that man goes to house [All Dutch dialects]
'That man is going home.'
- b.* De die man gaat naar huis.
the that man goes to house
[All Dutch dialects]
- c. De dieje gaat naar huis.
the that goes to house
'That one is going home.' [Doubling dialects]
- d. De dieje (*twee) (*rode) liggen op de tafel.
the those two red are on the table

3a. Doubling parameter

Assumption:

Dutch:	no spell-out of φ P
Flemish:	spell-out of φ P + phrasal movement
Belgian Brabantish:	spell-out of φ P + phrasal movement
Dutch Brabantish:	spell-out of φ + head movement

Corroborating evidence: Fronting in imperatives (based on Barbiers 2013) → Phrasal subextraction from subject pronouns to the clausal C-domain blocks fronting in imperatives.

3a. Fronting in imperatives

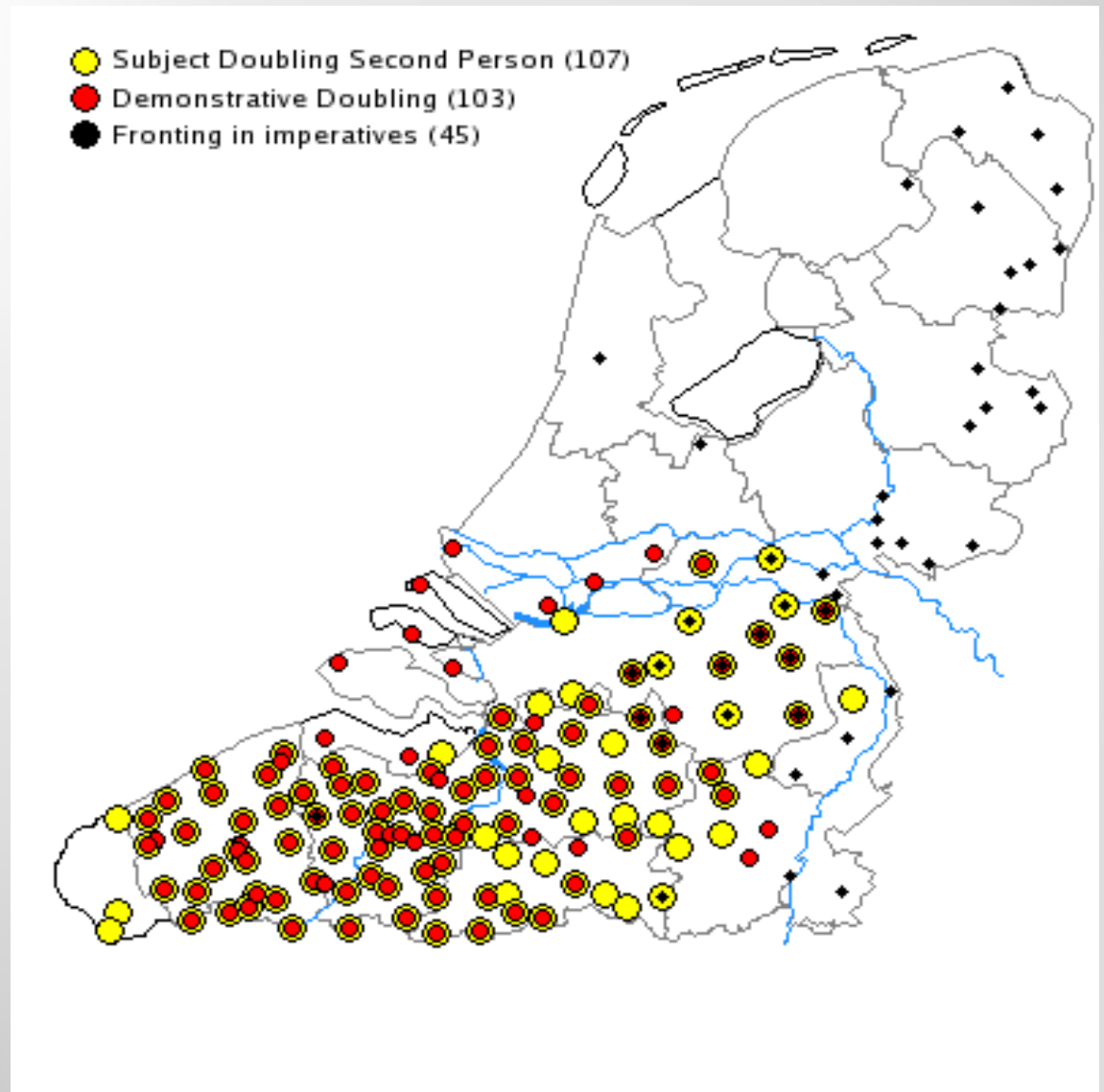
- (i) German allows constituent fronting in imperatives
- (ii) Modern Dutch, Flemish, Belgian Brabantish do not allow constituent fronting in imperatives
- (iii) A set of Netherlandic dialects, among which Northern Brabantish, allows fronting in imperatives, but this is restricted to distal D-pronouns

3a. Fronting in imperatives

- (9) a. Da/*Da boek lees maar!
That/That book read PART
'Just read that/that book!'
[North-Brabantish]
- b. * Dat/Dat boek lees maar!
That/That book read PART
[standard Dutch]
- c. Das/Das Buch lies besser nicht!
That/That book reads better not
'You better not read that/that book.'
[German]

3a. Fronting in imperatives

Difference
between
Northern-
Brabantish and
standard
Dutch: clitic *de*
in second
person



3a. Fronting in imperatives

Assumptions:

- Second person pronouns have [distal, person]
- Imperatives contain a second person *pro*

- (10) a. Bekijk jezelf!
 examine yourself
- b. *Ik bekijk jezelf.
 I examine yourself

- C(P) needs to be marked for second person, hence for [distal, person]:

3a. Fronting in imperatives

The [distal, person]-features are checked by:

(i) Movement of *pro* with these features to Spec,CP (Dutch)

(11)	Spec,CP	C	Spec,IP
Dutch	<i>pro</i>	V	<i>pro</i>
	<i>[distal, person]</i>		

(ii) An imperative verb with [distal, person] → German

(12)	Spec,CP	C	Spec,IP
German	—	V	<i>pro</i>
		<i>[distal, person]</i>	
		Nimm!	
		'Take!'	
German	Das Buch	lies	mal!
	that book	read	PART
	'Read that book'		

3a. Fronting in imperatives

(13) **German (paradigm of *nehmen* 'take')**

ich nehm-e / du nimm-st / sie nimm-t / wir nehm-en / ihr nehm-t / sie nehm-en / nimm!

(14) **Dutch (paradigm of *nemen* 'take')**

ik neem / jij neem-t / zij neem-t / wij neem-en / jullie neem-en / zij neem-en / neem!

(15) **Middle Dutch:** 1s neem-e + fronting in imperatives

3a. Fronting in imperatives

(iii) Movement of a distal pronoun to Spec,CP + incorporation of a person feature in C

(16)	Spec,CP	C	Spec,IP
North Brabantish	distal <i>[distal]</i> Da that 'Do that!'	V <i>[person]</i> doe do	pro maar but
North Brabantish	pro <i>[distal, person]</i> pro that 'Do that!'	V <i>[person]</i> doe do	pro da that

3a. Fronting in imperatives

Conclusion:

de has [iPerson], but not [iDistal]

de incorporates into C in Northern Brabantish, but not in Flemish, Dutch and Belgian Brabantish

3a. Phi-Probe parameter

The dialect does/does not have a phi-probe in the left periphery = lexical parameter

(Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2014, Van Koppen 2005)

Independent evidence, complementizer agreement in Flemish (Lokeren):

(17) **A-n** ze vur under werk leven leveze nie

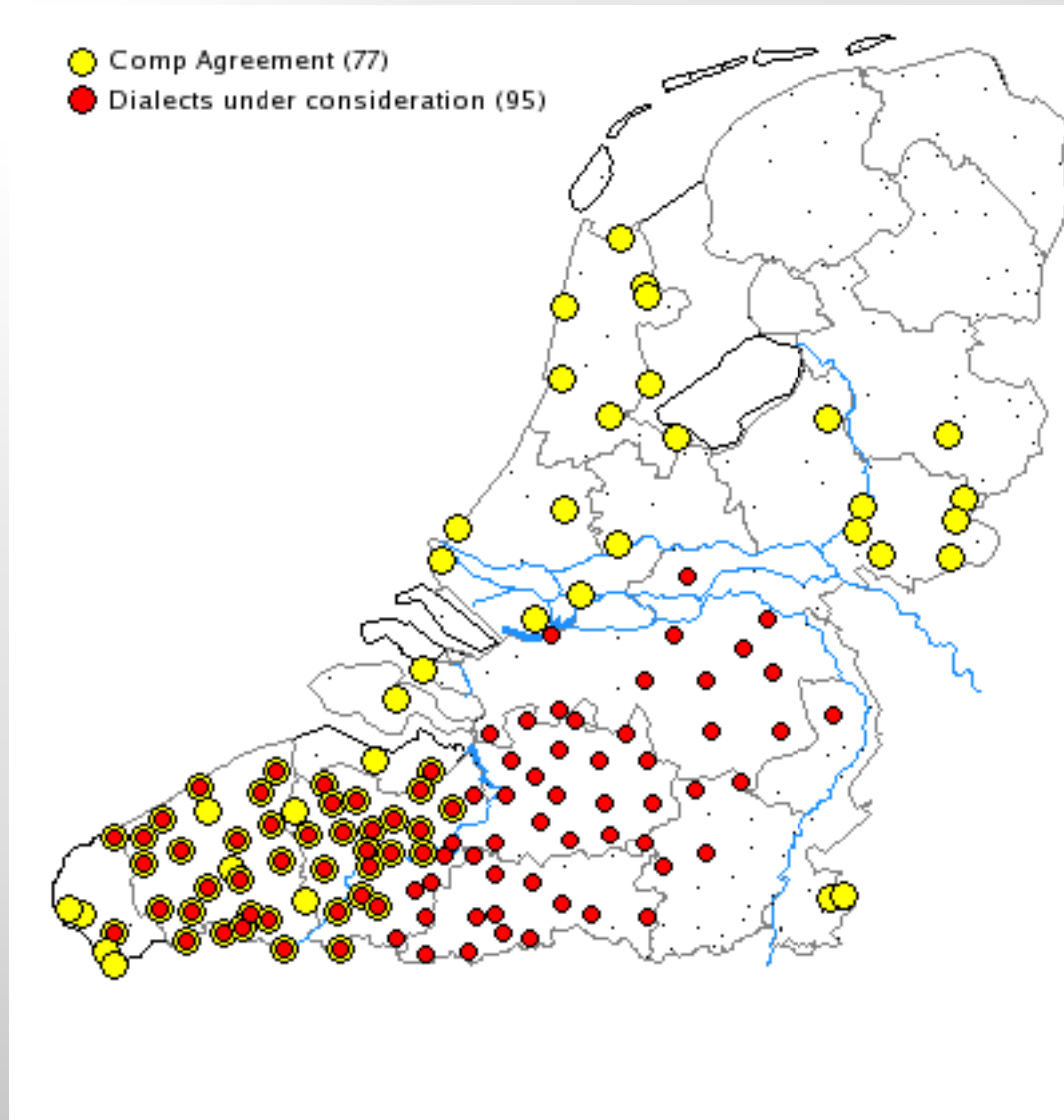
if-PL they for their work live live-they not

vur under kindern

for their children

'If they live for their job, they do not live for their children.'

3a. Complementizer agreement



3a. Phi-Probe parameter

Flemish has a Phi-Probe in the left periphery

Dutch and Brabantish do not have a Phi-Probe in the left periphery

Dutch and Brabantish do have a Phi-Probe in the left periphery in VS-orders, however:

3a. Phi-Probe parameter

lopen - to walk

1. ik loop loop ik
2. jij loop-t loop jij
3. hij/zij/het loop-t loop-t hij/zij/het

- In the second person, the person feature of the finite verb is uninterpretable – [uPerson] – as its form coincides with the third person in regular order and with the first person in inverted order

1.Introduction

2.Discovering the correlation

3.Analyzing the correlation: two parameters

a. Two parameters

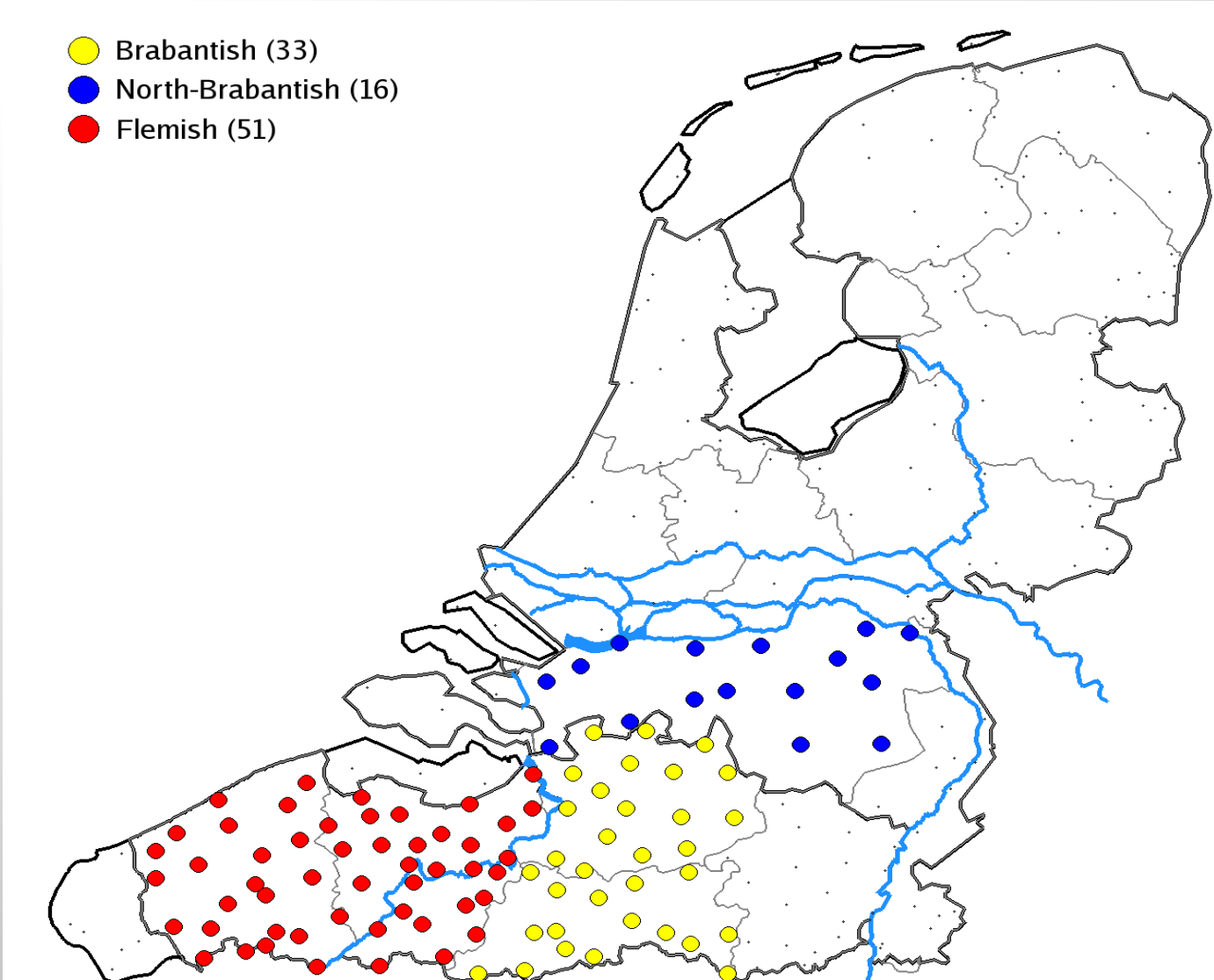
b. Derivations

- Flemish
- Belgian Brabantish
- Dutch Brabantish
- Dutch

4.Conclusion: interaction of the parameters

3a. Four areas

- Brabantish (33)
- North-Brabantish (16)
- Flemish (51)



3b. Derivation for Flemish

(i) **base structure**

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die/gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]$

(ii) **ϕP to SpecCnP**

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die/gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]$

(iii) **ϕP extraction from nominal CnP (subject doubling only)**

$[_{\text{CP}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{TP}} [_{\text{VP}} \dots [_{\text{CnP}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\phi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]]]]$

3b. Derivation for Belgian Brabantish

(i) **base structure**

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die/gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]$

(ii) **φP to SpecCnP**

$[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die/gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]$

(iii) **φP extraction from CnP iff V has [uPerson]
(i.e. only in 2p; recall: no generalized φ -probe)**

$[_{\text{CP}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{TP}} [_{\text{VP}} \dots [_{\text{CnP}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]]]]]]$

3b. Derivation for Northern Brabantish

(i) **base structure**

[_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [_φ *de*]]]]]

(ii) **φ to Cn**

[_{CnP} [_{Cn} *de* [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [_φ *de*]]]]]

(iii) **φ extraction from CnP iff V has [uPerson]
(i.e. only in 2p; recall: no generalized φ-probe)**

[_{CP} [_C *V-de* [_{TP} ... [_{CnP} [_{Cn} *de* [_{DP} *gij* [_D [_φ *de*]]]]]]] [_T ...

3b. Derivation for Dutch

(i) **base structure: no spell out of $\varphi(P)$**

$[_{CnP} \quad [_{Cn} \quad [_{DP} \textit{die/gij} \quad [_{D} \quad [_{\varphi P} \emptyset]]]]]$

(ii) **DP to SpecCnP**

$[_{CnP} \quad [_{DP} \textit{die/gij}] \quad [_{Cn} \quad [_{DP} \quad [_{DP} \textit{die/gij}] \quad [_{D} \quad [_{\varphi P} \emptyset]]]]]$

→ No doubling

3b. Some additional corroborating evidence

Northern Brabantic DP structure:

$[_{DP} [_D [_{NP} de]] \quad [_{\varphi P} die/gij \quad [_{\varphi} \quad [_{N} \textit{de}]]]]]$

Flemish/Belgian Brabantic DP structure:

$[_{DP} [_{NP} de] \quad [_D \quad [_{\varphi P} die/gij \quad [_{\varphi} \quad [_{NP} \textit{de}]]]]]$

→ In Northern Brabantic Spec,DP is available. This is corroborated by the following data from (some) Northern Brabantish dialects:

- (17) [**Door** den dieën] die zee dä ...
 there the that that said that ...
 'That one over there, he said that ...'

(De Bont 1958:414)

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3.Analyzing the correlation: two parameters

a. Two parameters

b. Derivations

- Flemish
- Belgian Brabantish
- Dutch Brabantish
- Dutch

4.Conclusion: interaction of the parameters

3a. Summary

	Formal property	Phenomenon
Flemish	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- generalized φ-Probe- phrasal spell out of φP and mvt φP to SpecDP- φP subextracts from DP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">comp-agreementsubject/demonstr. doublingno fronting in imperatives
B-Brabantish	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- no generalized φ-Probe- V-2p has [uPerson]- phrasal spell out of φP and mvt φP to SpecDP- φP subextracts from DP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">no comp-agreement2p subj doubling only in inversionsubject/demonstr. doublingno fronting in imperatives
N-Brabantish	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- no generalized φ-Probe- V-2p has [uPerson]- spell out head φ and mvt φ to D- φ iPerson subextracts	<ul style="list-style-type: none">no comp-agreement2p subj doubling only in inversionsubject/demonstr. doublingdistal D-pron. fronting from DP
Dutch	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- no generalized φ-Probe- no spell out of φP- no incorporation of iPerson into V	<ul style="list-style-type: none">no comp-agreementno doublingno distal D-pron fronting

4. Conclusion: interaction of Parameters

	Doubling parameter			
		XP	X	0
Phi Parameter	+	Flemish	??	For instance: South Hollandic
	-	Belgian Brabantish	Dutch Brabantish	Dutch

Note:

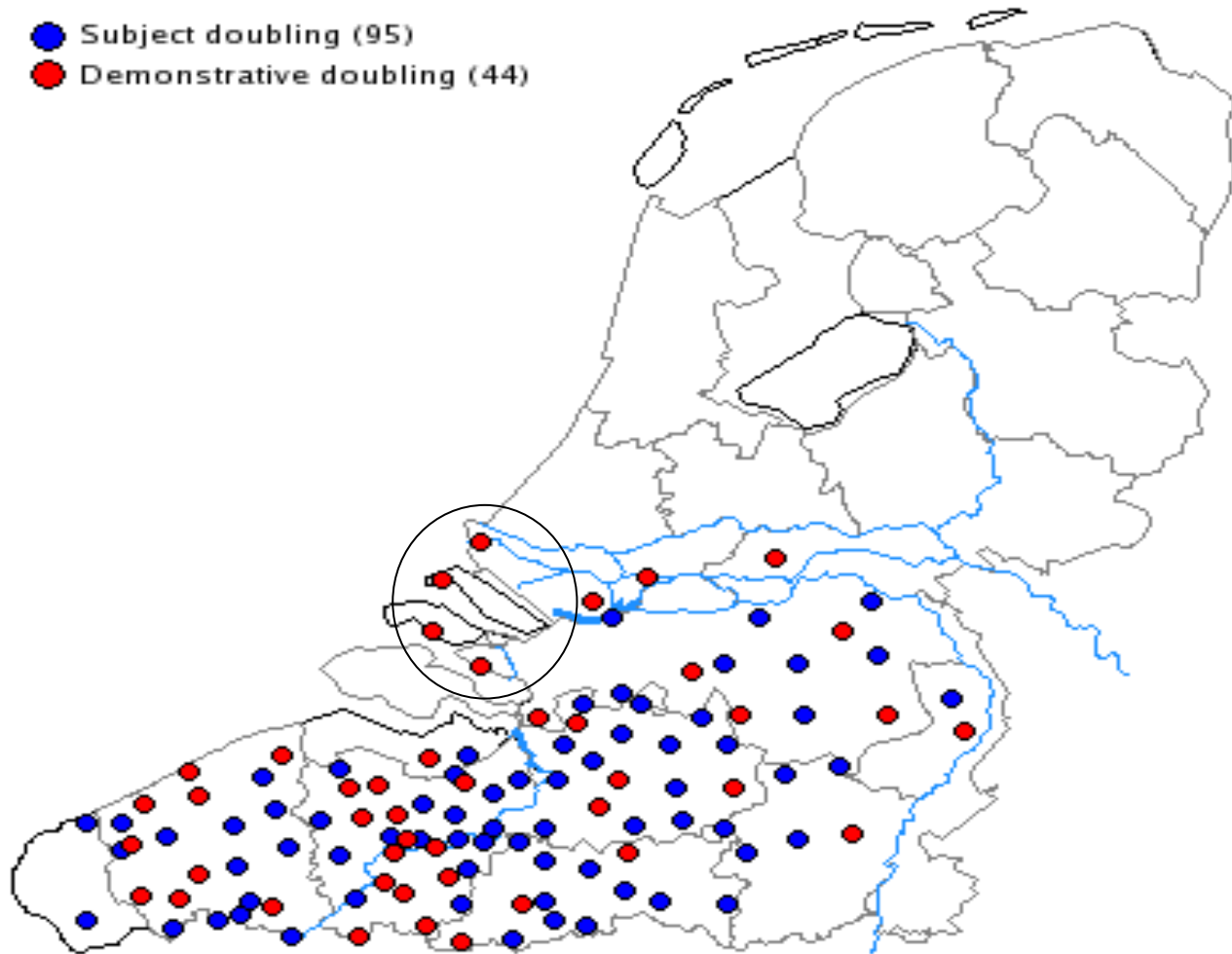
The dialects in the dark yellow cell have fronting in imperatives

South Hollandic (Monster), complementizer agreement:

- (18) ... datte me rijker benne dan hullie.
that-agr we richer are than they
'...that we are richer than they are.'

2. Apparent exception Zeeuws

- Subject doubling (95)
- Demonstrative doubling (44)



2a. Apparent exception: Zeeuws

- (2) **Productive: Brabantish (gender, distal, prox)**
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| M | a. die-n / dizze-n opa
that.m / this.m grandpa | a.' de-n die-n / dizze-n
the.m that.m/this.m |
| F | b. die / dees tante
that.f / this.f aunt | b.' de die / dees
the that.f / this.f |
| N | c. da / di kind
that.n / this.n child | c.' da / di
that.n / this.n |

- (3) **Improductive: Zeeuws (only distal)**
- | | | |
|---|---------------------|-------------------------|
| M | a. die / deze opa | a.'den diejen/??dizzen |
| F | b. die / deze tante | b.'den diejen /??dizzen |
| N | c. dat / dit kind | c.'den diejen//??dizzen |