



On the Correlation between Subject Doubling and Demonstrative Doubling

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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



Research

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).

Goals

- Find clusters of correlating properties.
- Model properties and variation theoretically.
- Reduce clusters to abstract building principles
- Put grammars on the map, instead of individual properties
- Project: Maps and Grammar (ifarm.nl/maps/)



Geographic distribution and grammar

Some questions

What changes when we move from one grammar to the next on the map?

Should these changes be characterized in terms of parameters, morphosyntactic features, constraints?

What happens in transition zones, i.e. contact situations? E.g. (i) separate grammar; (ii) grammar with mixed properties (ungrammatical but realized?); (iii) multilectal speakers



Case study

Correlation between subject doubling and demonstrative doubling

North-Brabantish

(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)**

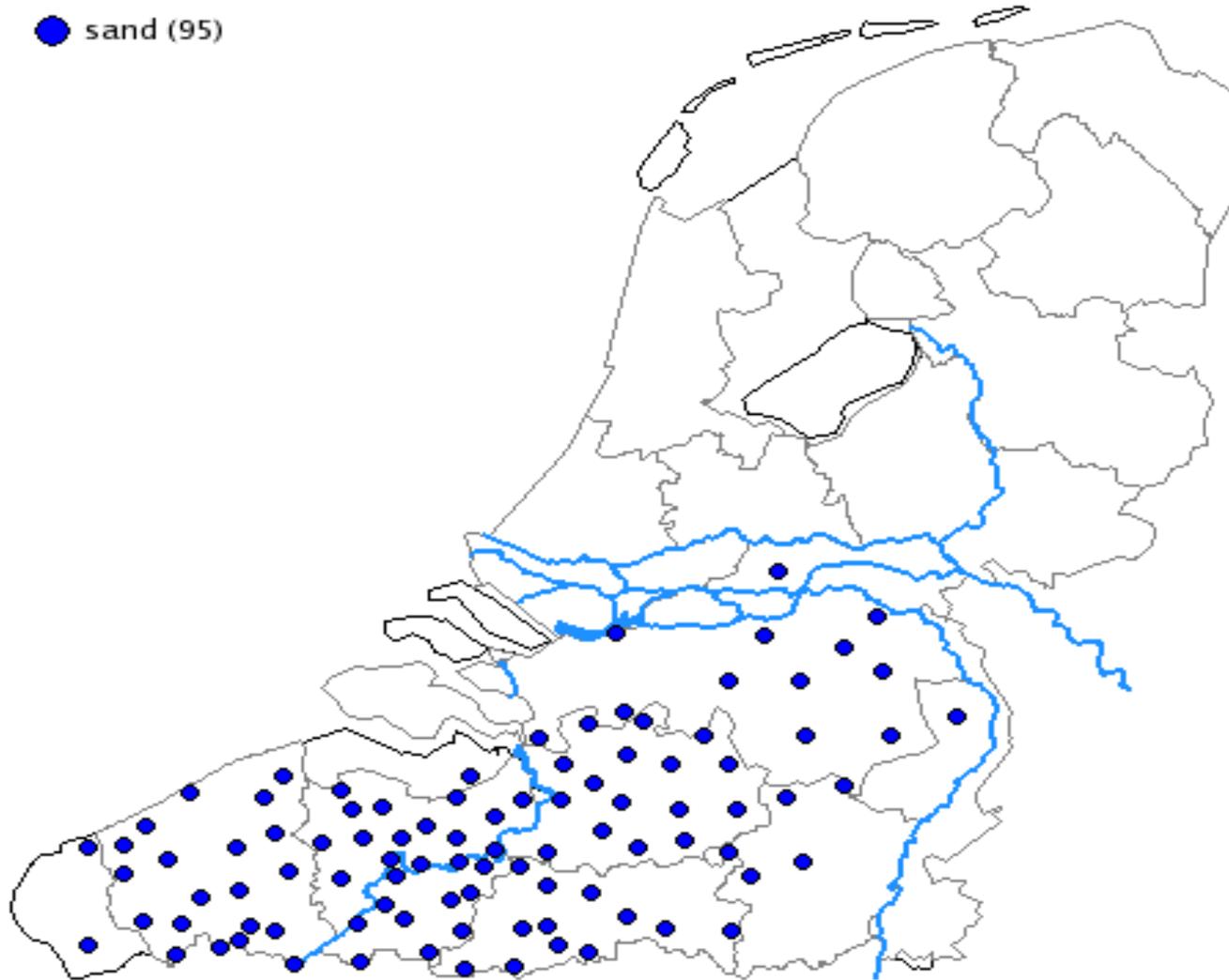
Ik zag *de* dieje.

I saw the that

‘I saw that one.’

Subject doubling 2p.sg

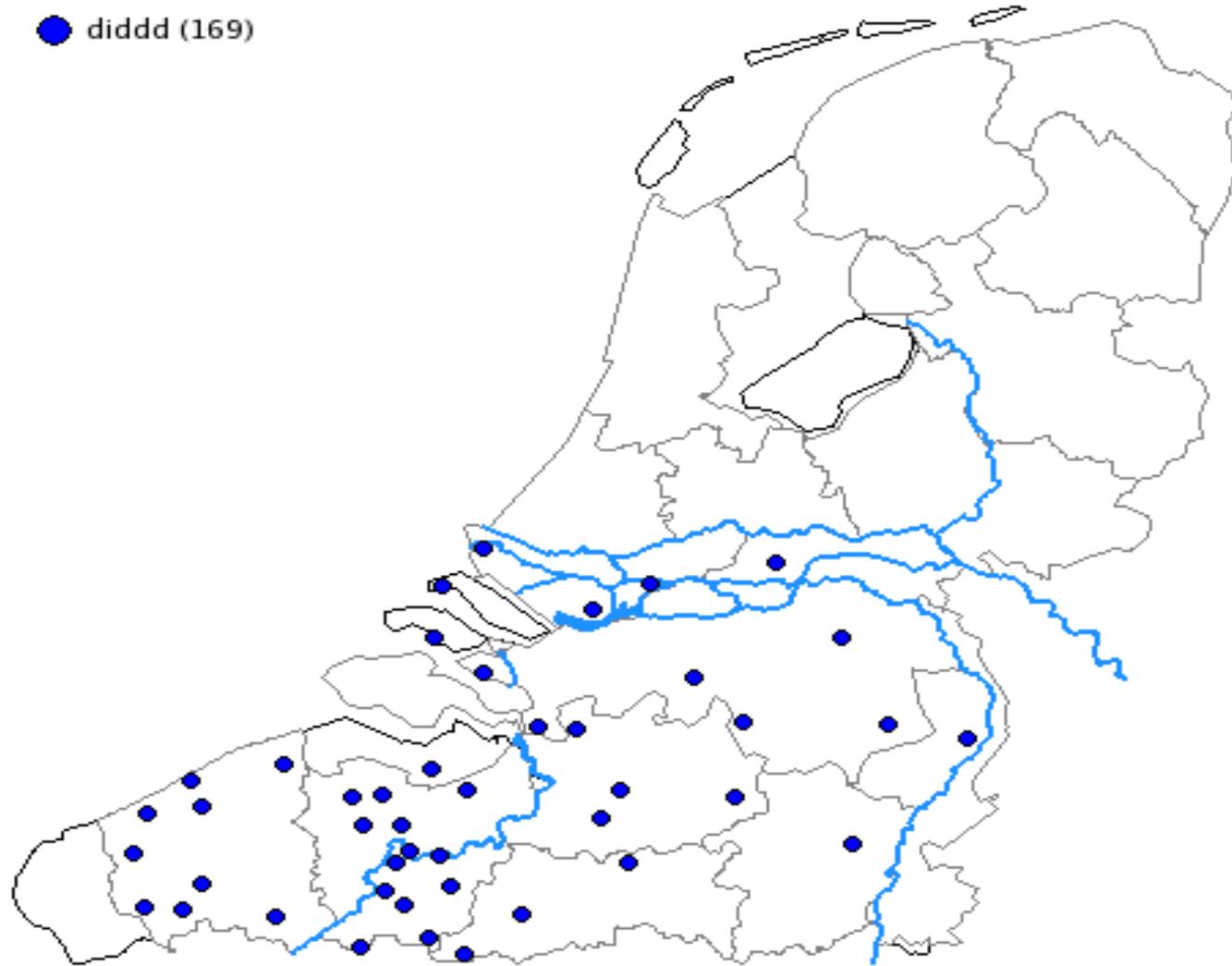
● sand (95)



West and East Flanders; Belgian and Dutch Brabant

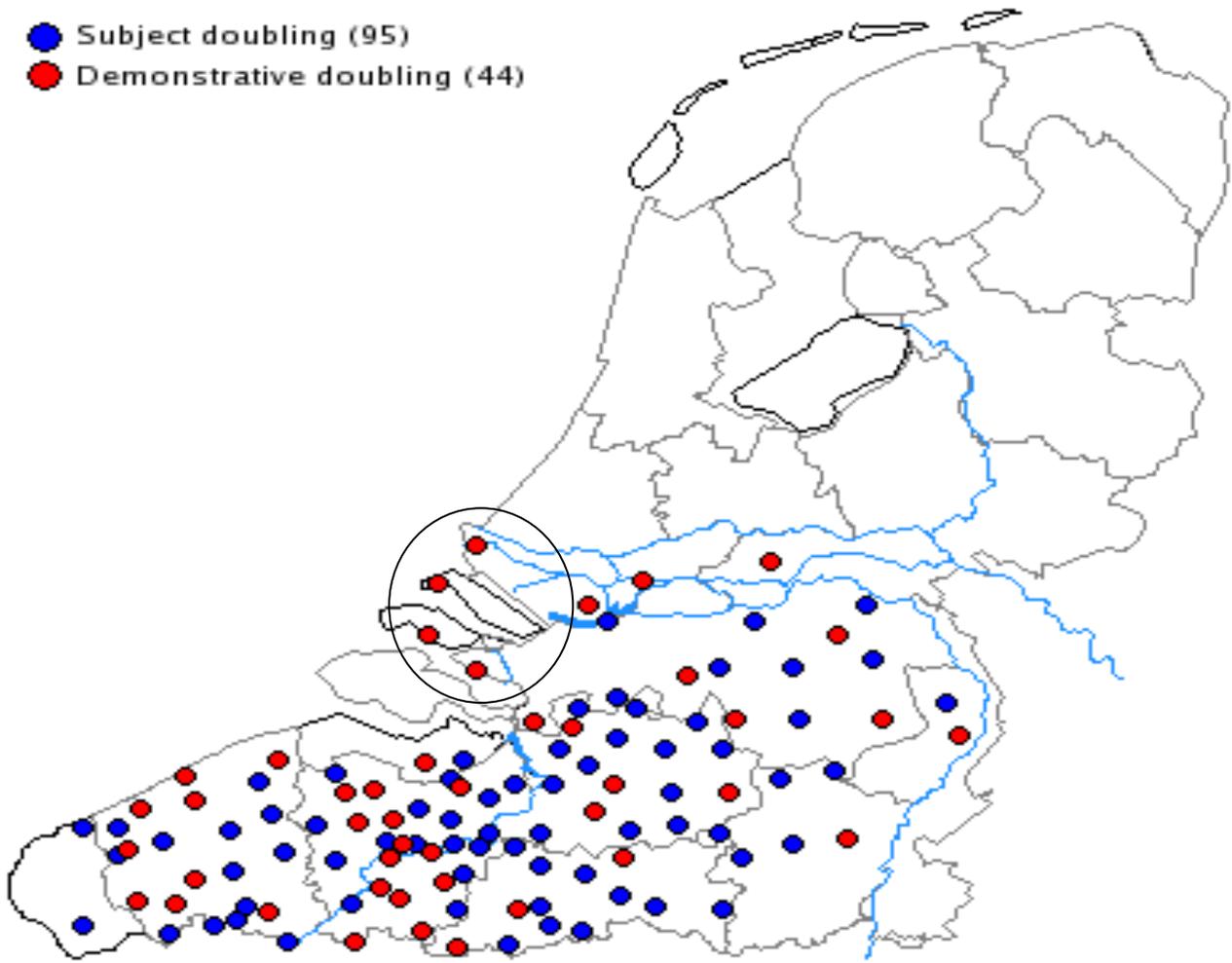
Demonstrative doubling

● diddd (169)



West and East Flanders; Belgian and Dutch Brabant

Correlation





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

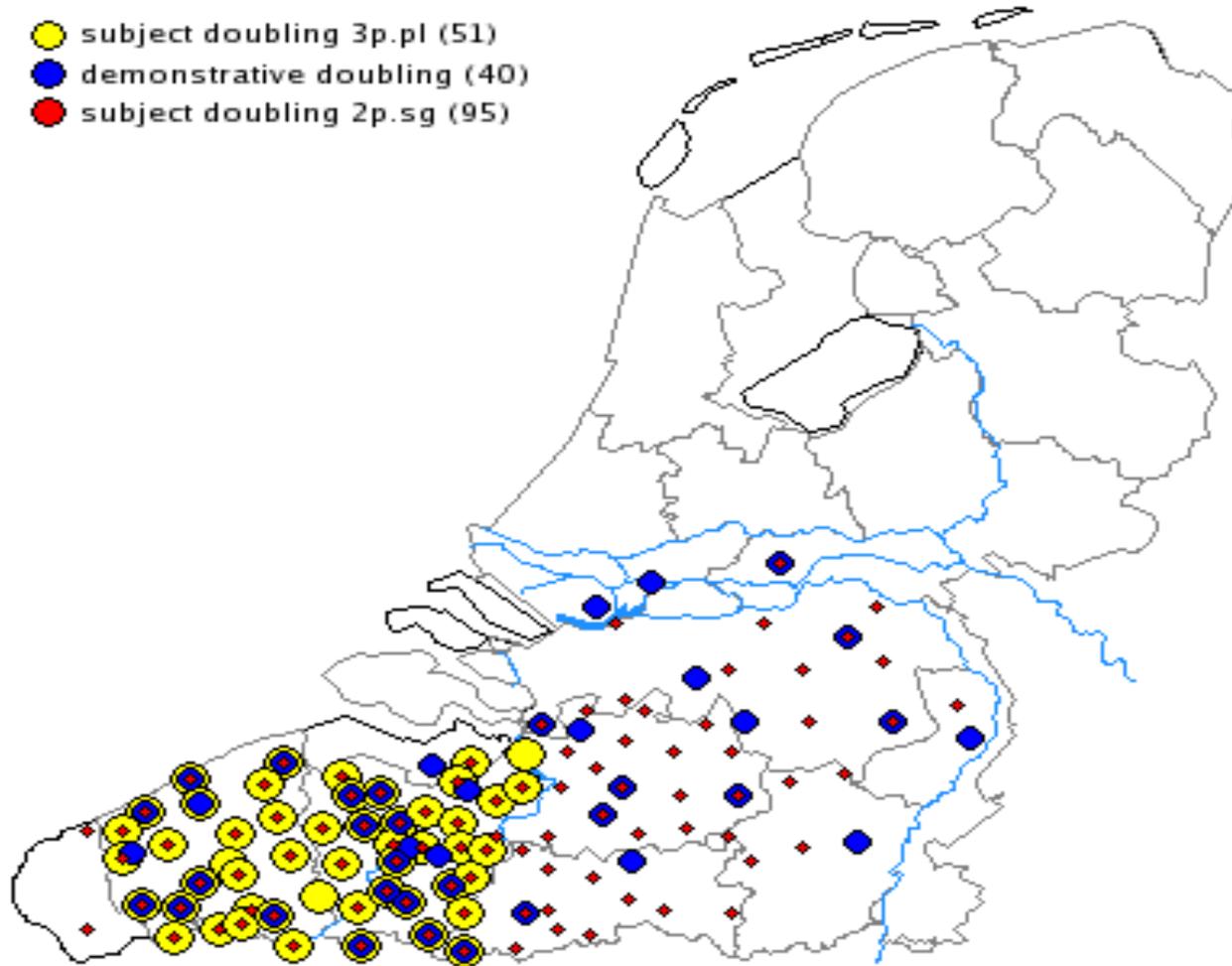
(3) Unproductive: Zeeuws (only distal)

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



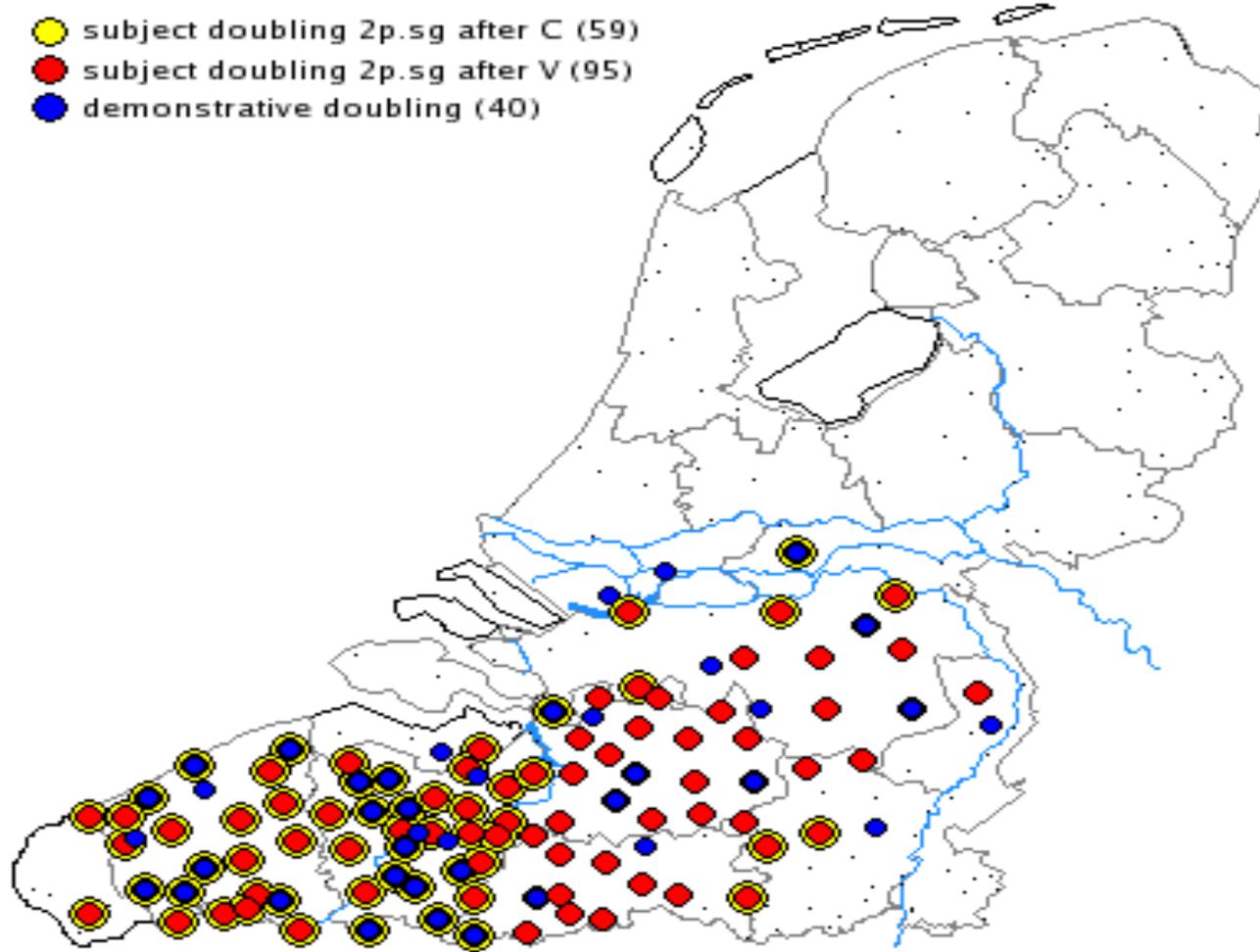
Making the correlation precise (i): 2p

- subject doubling 3p.pl (51)
- demonstrative doubling (40)
- subject doubling 2p.sg (95)



Making the correlation precise (ii): inversion contexts

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





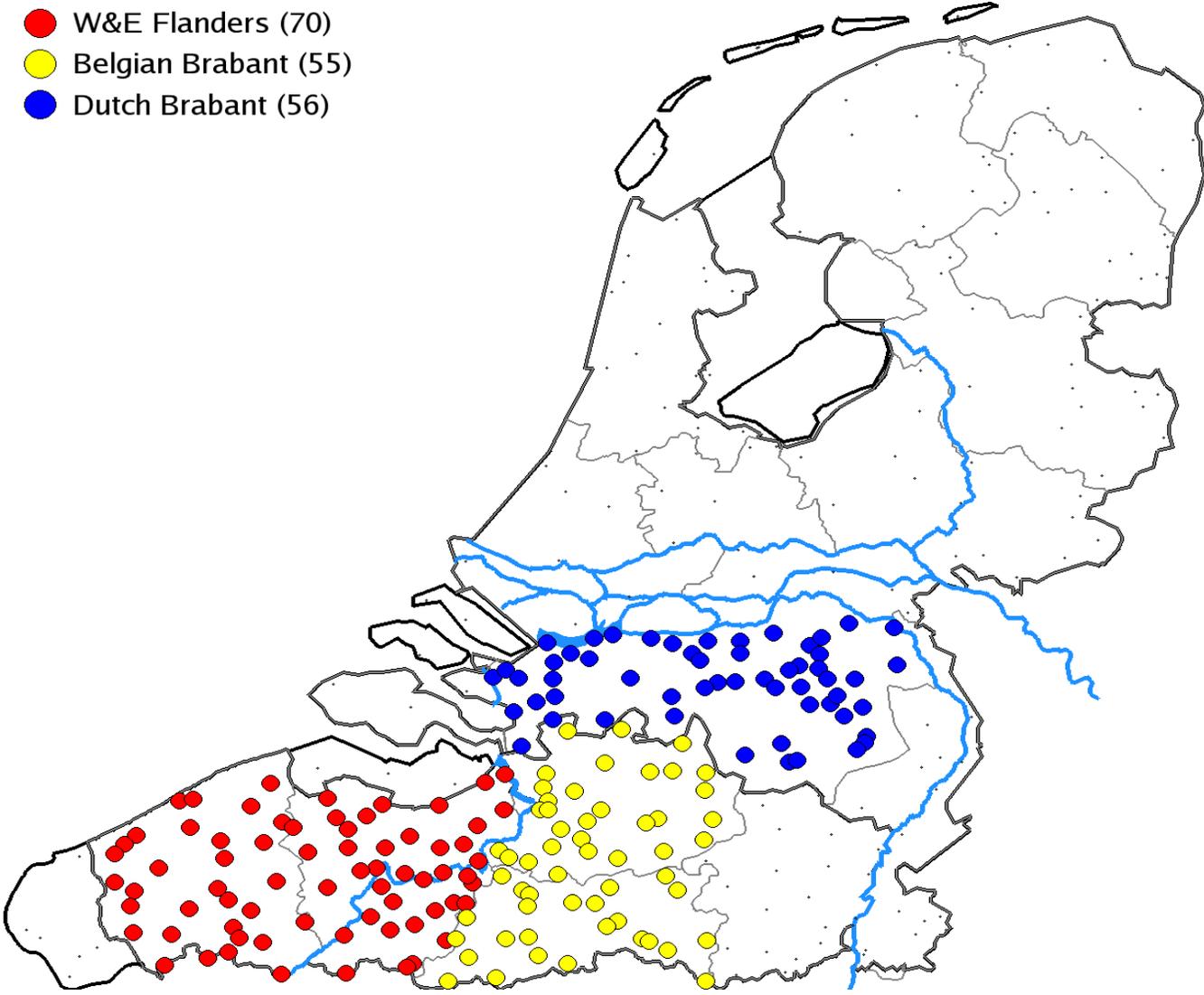
Correlations

- (i) Flemish and Brabantish (i.e., West and East Flanders, Belgian and Dutch Brabant)
Second person subject pronoun doubling in clauses with subject-verb inversion correlates with demonstrative doubling.

- (ii) Flemish (i.e. West and East Flanders)
Subject pronoun doubling in all clause types correlates with demonstrative doubling.

Three grammars

- W&E Flanders (70)
- Belgian Brabant (55)
- Dutch Brabant (56)





Three grammars

North-Brabantish

- only subject doubling in the second person
- only subject doubling in VS-clauses
- demonstrative doubling
- distal D-pronoun fronting in imperatives
- no complementizer agreement

Belgian Brabantish

- only subject doubling in the second person
- only subject doubling in VS-clauses
- demonstrative doubling
- no (distal D-pronoun) fronting in imperatives
- no complementizer agreement

Flemish

- subject doubling in all person/number combinations
- subject doubling in VS-clauses and in embedded clauses
- demonstrative doubling
- no (distal D-pronoun) fronting in imperatives
- complementizer agreement



Three parameters

1. **Generalized ϕ -probe in clausal C-domain**
(cf. van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2014)
 - + generalized subject doubling
all subjects, all clause types
complementizer agreement
2. **Spell out of nominal ϕ P**
 - (i) phrasal spell out: *de/ge*
 - + 2p pronoun doubling, demonstrative doubling, no fronting in imperatives
 - (ii) head
 - + 2p pronoun doubling, demonstrative doubling, fronting in imperatives
 - (iii) no spell out
 - + no doubling, no fronting in imperatives
3. **V.2p has uPerson**



V.2p has uPerson

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 |

- Max. one suffix on a finite verb in Dutch (dialects)
(e.g. no person in past tense)
- 3p = no person → -t is finiteness
- 1p is interpretable person (covert suffix blocks -t)
[iPerson]
- 2p is uninterpretable person
[uPerson]



de replaces [_φP (Num) (Adj) N]

- (4) 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) die gaat naar huis
the that goes to house
'That one is going home.' [Non-doubling dialects]
- e. De dieje (*twee) (*rode) liggen op de tafel.
the those two red are on the table
- f. Die (twee) (rode) liggen op de tafel.
those two red are one the table



Derivation for Flemish dialects

- (5) (i) **base structure: phrasal spell out of ϕ P**
[_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [_{ϕ P} *de*]]]]]
- (ii) **ϕ P to SpecCnP**
[_{CnP} [_{ϕ P} *de*] [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [~~_{ϕ P} *de*~~]]]]]
- (iii) **ϕ P extraction from nominal CnP (subject doubling only)**

[_{CP} [_{ϕ P} *de*] [_{TP} [_{VP} ... [_{CnP} [~~_{ϕ P} *de*~~] [_{Cn} [_{DP} *gij* [_D [~~_{ϕ}~~ *de*]]]]]]]]]]



Derivation for Belgian Brabantish

- (6) (i) **base structure: phrasal spell out of ϕ P**
[_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [_{ϕ P} *de*]]]]]
- (ii) **ϕ P to SpecCnP**
[_{CnP} [_{ϕ P} *de*] [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [~~_{ϕ P} *de*~~]]]]]
- (iii) **ϕ P extraction from nominal CnP iff V has [uPerson] (i.e. only in 2p; recall: no generalized ϕ -probe)**

[_{CP} *ga* [_{ϕ P} *de*] [_{TP} [_{VP} ... [_{CnP} [~~_{ϕ P} *de*~~] [_{Cn} [_{DP} *gij* [_D ~~_{ϕ} *de*~~]]]]]]]]



Derivation for Dutch Brabantish

- (7) (i) **base structure: ϕ spells out as a head**
[_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [_{ϕ} *de*]]]]]
- (ii) **ϕ to Cn**
[_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{ϕ} *de*] [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [_{ϕ} ~~*de*~~]]]]]
- (iii) **ϕ extraction from nominal CnP iff V has [uPerson] (i.e. only in 2p; recall: no generalized ϕ -probe)**

[_{CP} [_C *ga-de* _{ϕ}] [_{TP} [_{VP} ... [_{CnP} [_{Cn} ~~*de*~~] [_{DP} *gij* [_D ~~*de*~~]]]]]]]



Derivation for Dutch

(7)

(i)

base structure: no spell out of ϕ (P)

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

(ii)

DP to SpecCnP

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

→ No doubling



Fronting in imperatives

(Barbiers 2013)

- (i) Imperative C/CP must be marked 2p
- (ii) 2p = [person, distal]
- (iii) German: imperative verb has [person] [distal]
→ generalized fronting in imperative
- (iv) Dutch, Flemish, Belgian Brabantish: phrasal pro.2 moves to clausal SpecCP → no fronting in imperatives
- (v) North Brabantish: [iPerson] head incorporates into clausal C → distal D-pronoun fronting

Summary

	Formal property	Phenomenon
Flemish	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generalized φ-Probe - phrasal spell out of φP and mvt φP to SpecCnP - φP subextracts from CnP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> comp-agreement subject/demonstr. doubling no 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 SpecCnP - φP subextracts from CnP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no comp-agreement 2p subject doubling only in inversion contexts subject/demonstr. doubling no 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 Cn - φ iPerson subextracts from CnP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no comp-agreement 2p subj pronoun doubling only in inversion contexts subject/demonstr. doubling distal D-pron. fronting