

Complementizer variation in the Dutch dialects

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Outline

Setting the stage

The data

Step 1: cluster analysis

Step 2: interpretation of the cluster analysis

Step 3: from description to analysis

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

Conclusion

Setting the stage

- ▶ **CENTRAL DATA:** patterns of complementizer variation in the Dutch dialects
- ▶ **METHODOLOGICAL GOAL:** develop a quantitative-qualitative methodology for studying and analyzing syntactic microvariation patterns
- ▶ **EMPIRICAL GOAL:** describe and correlate variation patterns in Dutch dialects
- ▶ **THEORETICAL GOAL:** analyze the variation patterns, identify the relevant parameters

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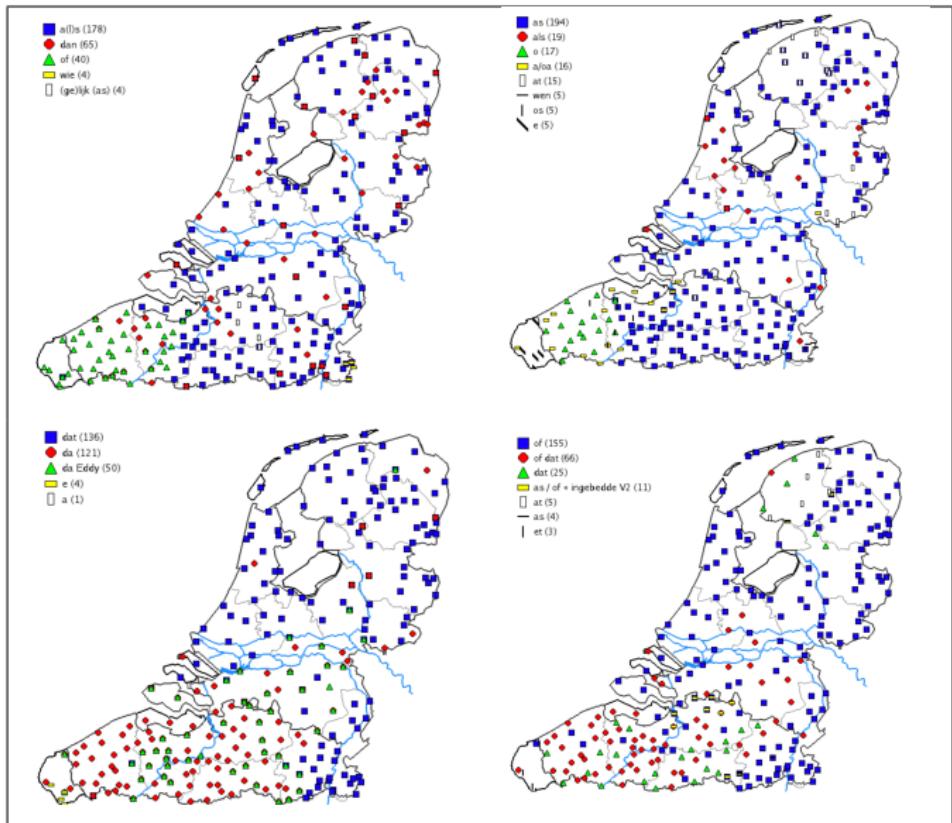
The data

- (1) Ik denk **dat** Eddy komt.
I think that Eddy comes
'I think that Eddy will come.' (declarative)
- (2) Het lijkt wel **of** er iemand in de tuin staat.
it looks PART if there someone in the garden stands
It looks as if there is someone in the garden. (as-if clause)
- (3) **Als** we zo lang leven, leven we gelukkig.
if we so long live, live we happy
'When we will live that long, we will live happily' (conditional)
- (4) Ik denk dat hij eerder thuis is **dan** jij.
I think that he sooner home is than you
'I think he will be home sooner than you.' (comparative)

The data

- (5) Vertel maar niet wie **dat** ze had kunnen roepen.
tell but not who that she had can call
'Tell me who they could have called.' (embedded WH)
- (6) Dat is de man die **dat** ze hadden kunnen roepen.
that is the man who that they had can call
'That is the man they could have called.' (Rel)

The data



The data

	Warmenhuizen	Oosteklo	Liempde	Kortrijk	Genk	...
DECL_dat	1	0	0	0	1	...
DECL_a	0	0	0	0	0	...
AS_IF_of	1	0	0	0	1	...
AS_IF_dat	0	1	0	0	0	...
COND_als	0	0	0	0	0	...
COND_at	0	0	0	0	0	...
COMP_of	0	1	0	1	0	...
WH_dat	0	NA	0	1	0	...
...

Outline

Setting the stage

The data

Step 1: cluster analysis

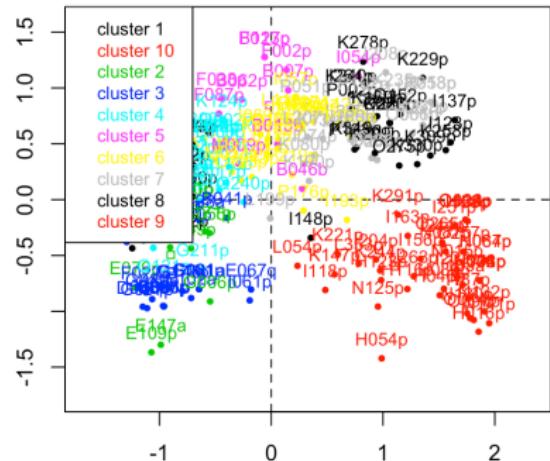
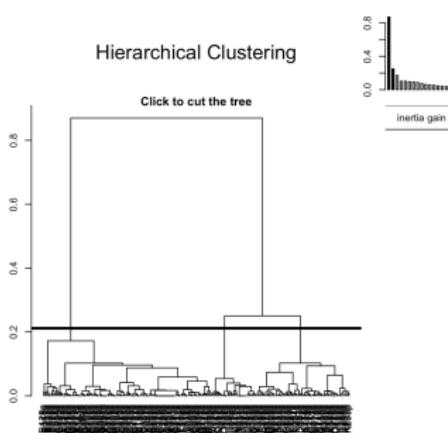
Step 2: interpretation of the cluster analysis

Step 3: from description to analysis

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

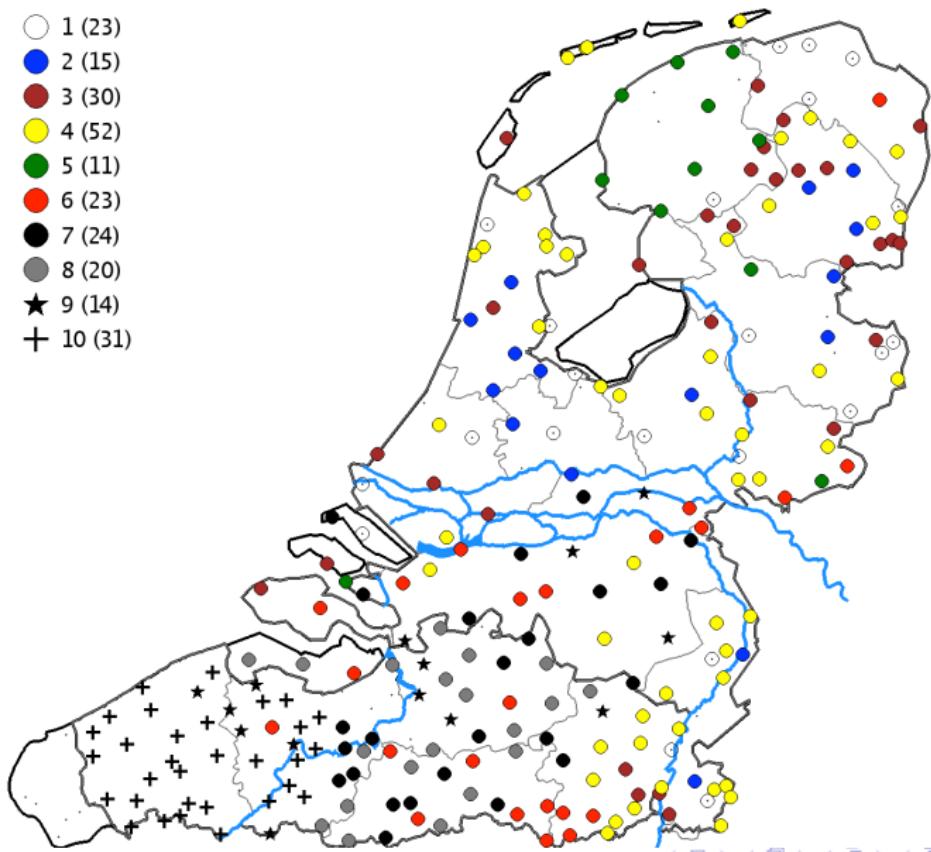
Conclusion

Step 1: cluster analysis



Step 1: cluster analysis

- 1 (23)
- 2 (15)
- 3 (30)
- 4 (52)
- 5 (11)
- 6 (23)
- 7 (24)
- 8 (20)
- ★ 9 (14)
- + 10 (31)



Step 1: cluster analysis

	Comp	Cond	As-if	Wh	Rel
1:	als dan	als	of of dat	of (dat) dat	dat
2:		als	of	of of dat	dat
3:	dan of/als	als	of of dat	nocomp	dat
4:	als/wie dan/of	wen o	of dat/of dat	nocomp dat/of dat	dat
5:	als	at	at/as/dat of	a/dat	dat
6:	als dan	als	of of dat		
7:	als dan	als	of dat of	dat	dat
8:	of	a/oa	dat of	dat	dat
9:	dan als		of dat of	dat	dat
10:	of als	o als	of dat of	dat	dat

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Step 2: interpretation of the cluster analysis

10 patterns: variation on 2 points

- ▶ **ALS-related:** Is the comparative complementizer the same as the conditional complementizer?
 - ▶ + same complementizer: patterns 1, 6, 7
 - ▶ - same complementizer: patterns 3, 4, 5, 10
- ▶ **DAT-related:** Can you combine the declarative complementizer with relative pronouns, wh-pronouns and the as-if complementizer *of*?
 - ▶ *dat* can combine: patterns 5, 7, 8, 9, 10
 - ▶ *dat* cannot combine: patterns 1-4, 6
- ▶ The ten dialect types can be reduced to four main patterns:
 - ▶ 1: COMP = COND and WH/REL/OF-dat
 - ▶ 2: COMP = COND and WH/REL/OF+dat
 - ▶ 3: COMP ≠ COND and WH/REL/OF-dat
 - ▶ 4: COMP ≠ COND and WH/REL/OF+dat

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Step 3: from description to analysis

General idea:

- ▶ syncretic complementizers = featural underspecification = same projection
- ▶ non-syncretic complementizers = different feature specification = separate projections
- ▶ **ALS/DAT**
 - ▶ Cond and *dat* never co-occur → they occupy the same head
- ▶ **COMP-COND:**
 - ▶ + same complementizer: Comp+Cond on the same head
 - ▶ - same complementizer: Comp projects its own projection
- ▶ **THAT:**
 - ▶ *WH/REL/OF+dat*: **dat** spells out Fin → it can combine with other elements that spell out Force.
 - ▶ *WH/REL/OF-dat*: **dat** spells out Force+Fin → it cannot combine with other elements which spell out Force.

Step 3: from description to analysis

Recall: 4 possible patterns

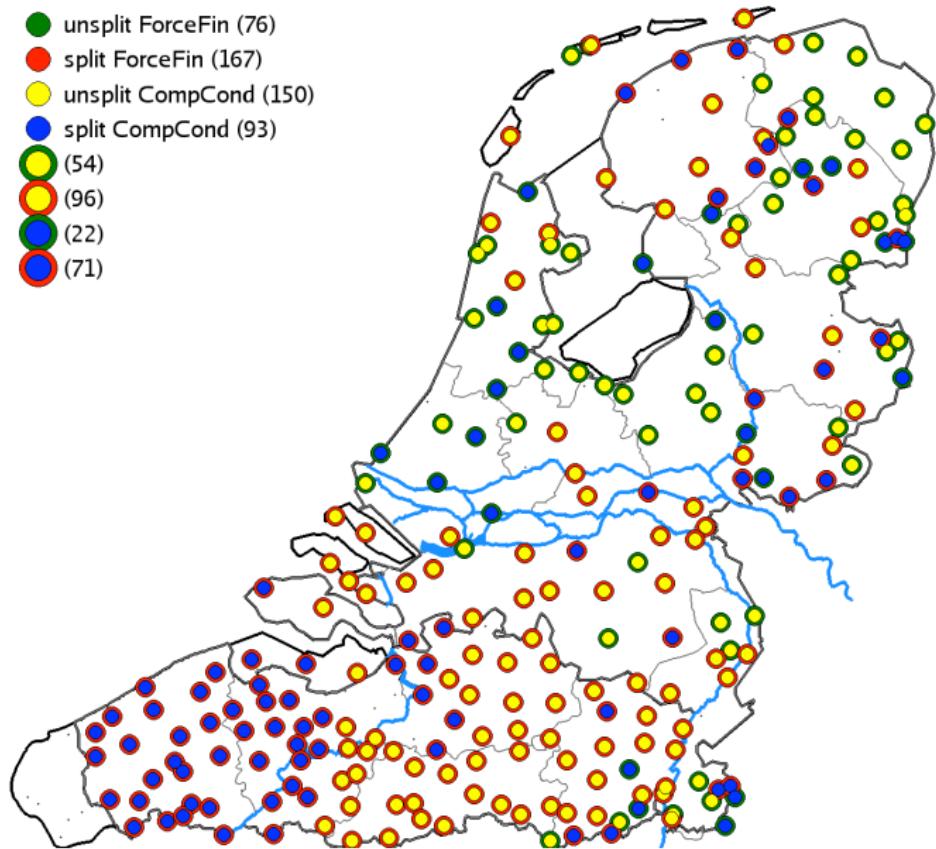
1. COMP = COND and WH/REL/OF-dat
2. COMP = COND and WH/REL/OF+dat
3. COMP ≠ COND and WH/REL/OF-dat
4. COMP ≠ COND and WH/REL/OF+dat

Analysis of these patterns:

1. Unsplit CompCond, Unsplit ForceFin
2. Unsplit CompCond, Split ForceFin
3. Split CompCond, Unsplit ForceFin
4. Split CompCond, Split ForceFin

Step 3: from description to analysis

- unsplit ForceFin (76)
- split ForceFin (167)
- unsplit CompCond (150)
- split CompCond (93)
- (54)
- (96)
- (22)
- (71)



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Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

Assumption 1

FinP has to contain overt material, every sentence has to be marked as finite.

Assumption 2

WH/Rel are merged in Spec, ForceP

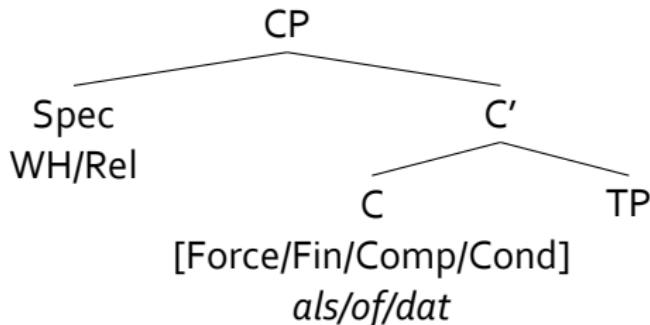
Assumption 3

Generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter (GDFCF): A feature cannot be spelled out twice

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

Pattern 1: Unsplit CompCond, Unsplit ForceFin

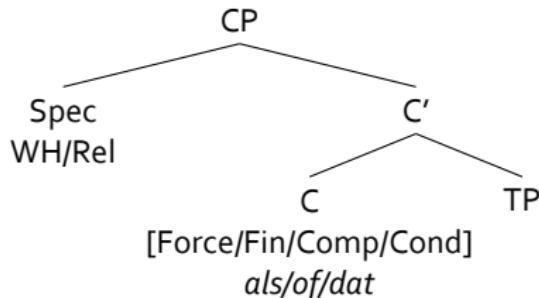
(7)



	Comp	Cond	As-if	Wh	Rel
1:	als dan	als	of of dat	of (dat) dat	dat
2:		als	of	of of dat	dat
6:	als dan	als	of of dat		

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

(8)

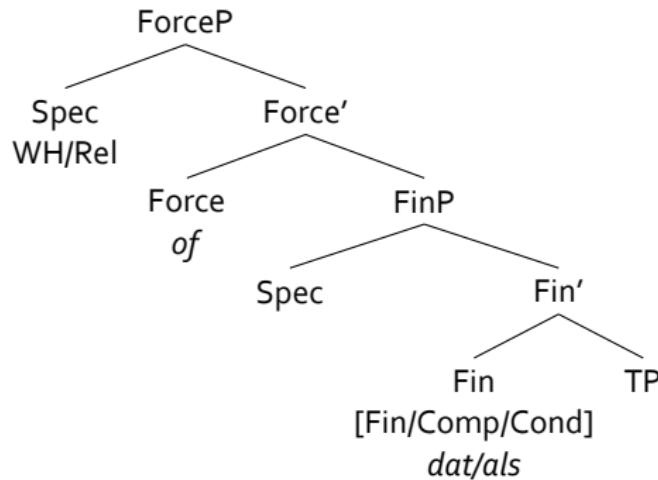


- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Force,+Fin, *of*:+Force,+Fin, *als*:+Force,+Fin
- ▶ Wh+C: *dat* and *als* have the wrong value for Force, *of* is allowed if it spells out Fin (GDFCF)
- ▶ REL+C: no complementizer has the correct value for Force.
- ▶ FinP is always realized: either by a complementizer or by an element in the Spec, WH/REL

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

Pattern 2: Unsplit CompCond, Split ForceFin

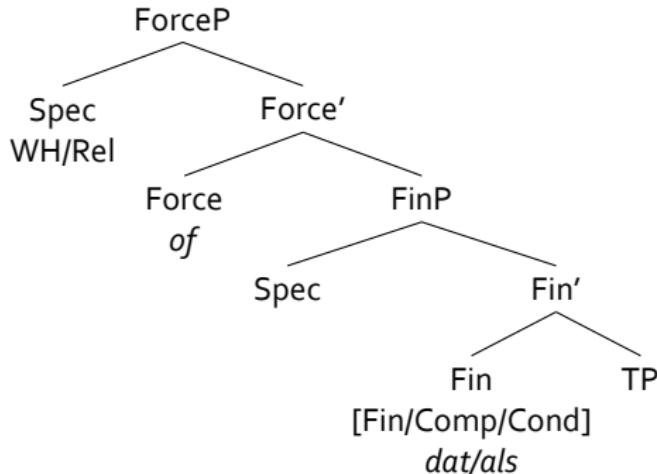
(9)



	Comp	Cond	As-if	Wh	Rel
7:	als dan	als	of dat of	dat	dat
8:	of	a/oa	dat of	dat	dat

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

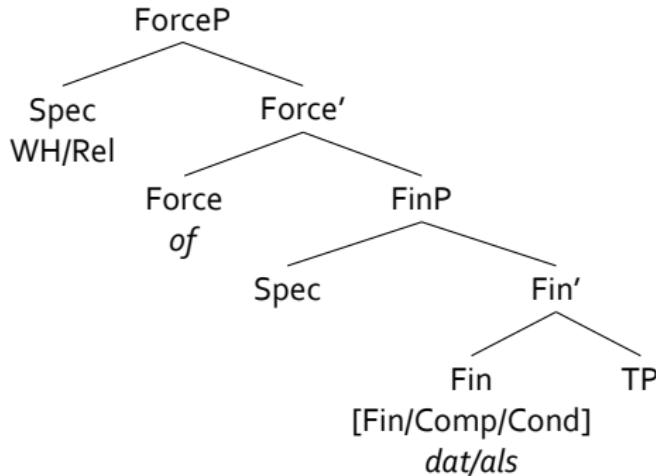
(10)



- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Fin, *of*:+Force, *als*:+Force,+Fin
- ▶ Wh+C:
 - ▶ *dat* has to be spelled out, to realize Fin
 - ▶ *als* has the wrong value for Force
 - ▶ *of* only spells out Force, WH+of violates GDFCF

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

(11)

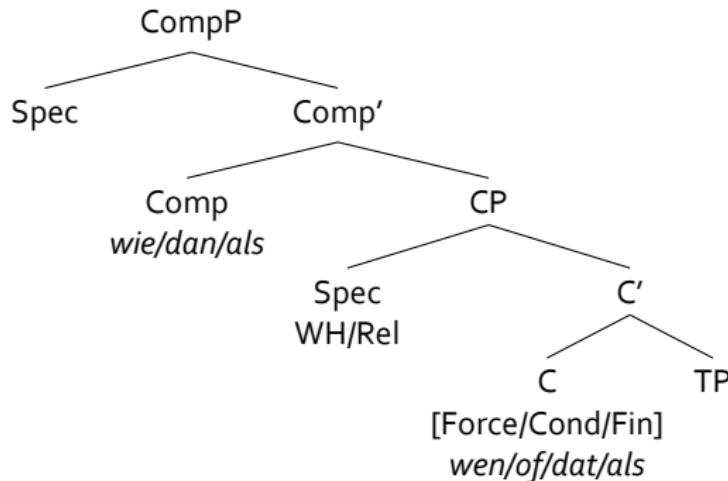


- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Fin, *of*:+Force, *als*:+Force,+Fin
- ▶ REL+C:
 - ▶ *dat* has to be spelled out, to realize Fin
 - ▶ *als* has the wrong value for Force
 - ▶ *of* has the wrong value for Force

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

Pattern 3: Split CompCond, Unsplit ForceFin

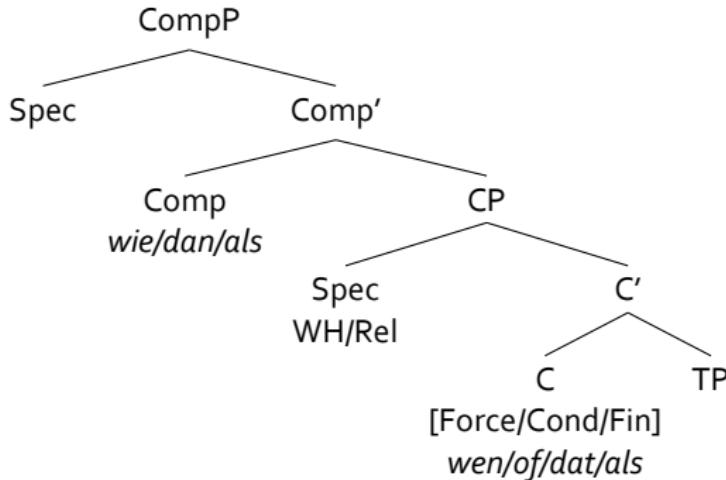
(12)



	Comp	Cond	As-if	Wh	Rel
2:		als	of	of of dat	dat
3:	dan of/als	als	of of dat	nocomp	dat
4:	als/wie dan/of	wen o	of dat/of dat	nocomp dat/of dat	dat

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

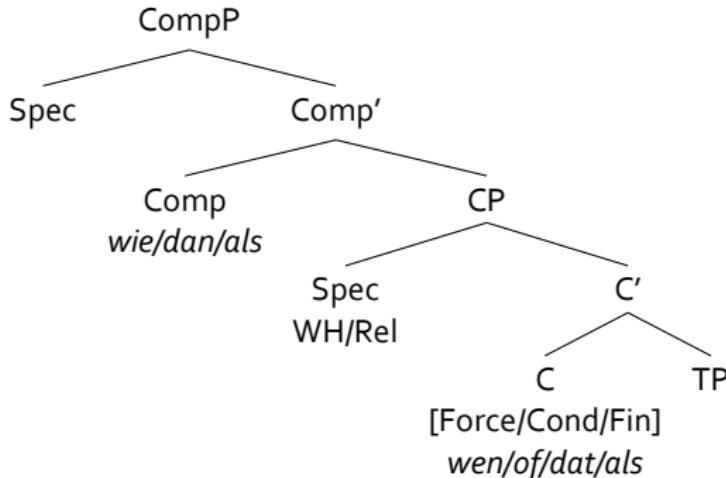
(13)



- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Force,+Fin, *of/wen/als*:+Force,+Fin, *wie/dan/als*:+Comp
- ▶ Wh+C: *dat*, *wen*, and *als* have the wrong value for Force, *of* is allowed if it spells out Fin (GDFCF)

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

(14)

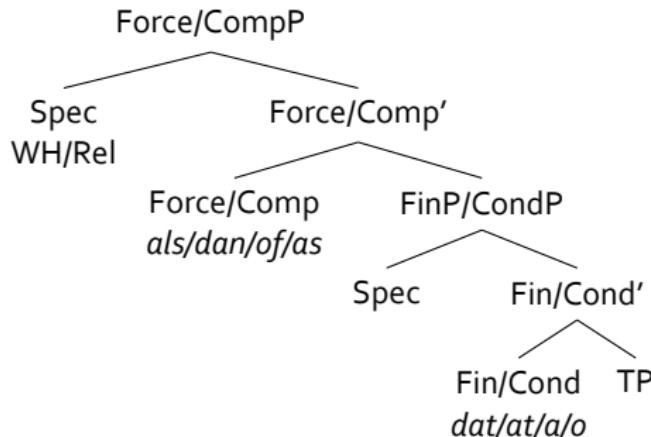


- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Force,+Fin, *of/wen/als*:+Force,+Fin, *wie/dan/als*:+Comp
- ▶ REL+C: no complementizer has the correct value for Force.
- ▶ FinP is always realized: either by complementizer or by an element in the Spec, WH/REL
- ▶ the comparative head has a specialized spell-out: *wie/dan/als*

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

Pattern 4: Split CompCond, Split ForceFin

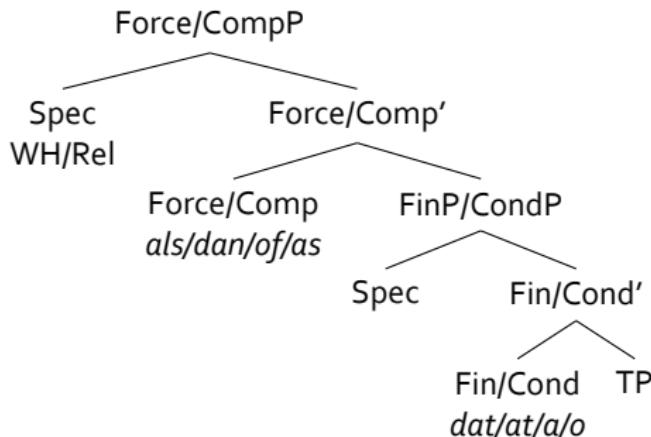
(15)



	Comp	Cond	As-if	Wh	Rel
5:	als	at	at/as/dat of	a/dat	dat
8:	of	a/oa	dat of	dat	dat
9:	dan als		of dat of	dat	dat
10:	of als	o als	of dat of	dat	dat

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

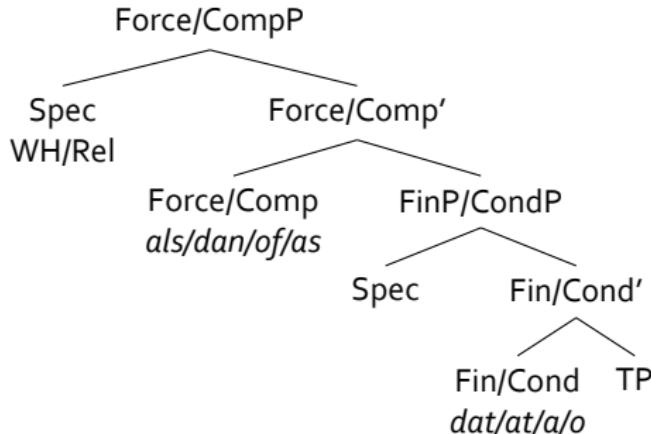
(16)



- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Fin, *als/dan/of/as*:+Force,+Comp, *at/a/o*:+Force,+Fin
- ▶ Wh+C:
 - ▶ *dat* has to be spelled out, to realize Fin
 - ▶ *at/a/o* have the wrong value for Force
 - ▶ *of* only spells out Force, WH+of violates GDFCF

Step 3: syntactic analysis of the patterns

(17)



- ▶ Feature specification complementizers
 - ▶ *dat*:+Fin, *als/dan/of/as*:+Force,+Comp, *at/a/o*:+Force,+Fin
- ▶ REL+C:
 - ▶ *dat* has to be spelled out, to realize Fin
 - ▶ *als/dan/of/as/at/a/o* have the wrong value for Force

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- ▶ a quantitative correlation between variation patterns can be translated into a qualitative analysis in terms of grammatical parameters
- ▶ variation in complementizer realization can be reduced to two parameters:
 - ▶ are the projections for comparative and conditional split?
 - ▶ are ForceP and FinP split?
- ▶ this leads to a four-fold typology of dialect types:
 1. Unsplit CompCond, Unsplit ForceFin
 2. Unsplit CompCond, Split ForceFin
 3. Split CompCond, Unsplit ForceFin
 4. Split CompCond, Split ForceFin

Conclusion

