

Ich bin grosser dan wietstu

A split CP-analysis of standard markers in Kerkrade Dutch
comparatives

Lena Heynen

Center for Research in Syntax, Semantics and Phonology
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

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Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Kerkrade Dutch
 - The dialect of Kerkrade
 - Participants
- 3 Standard markers
 - Definition
 - *Dan* 'than'
 - *Wie* 'how'
- 4 Analysis
 - Traditional single CP-analysis
 - Necessity of a Force-Fin split
 - Standard markers *dan wie*
 - Standard marker *dan*
 - Standard marker *wie*
- 5 Open question: phrasal vs. clausal comparatives
- 6 Conclusion

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- I show that a Force-Fin split (Rizzi 1997, Bennis 1997) for the complementizer domain of comparative clauses is more suited to account for the data of Kerkrade Dutch.
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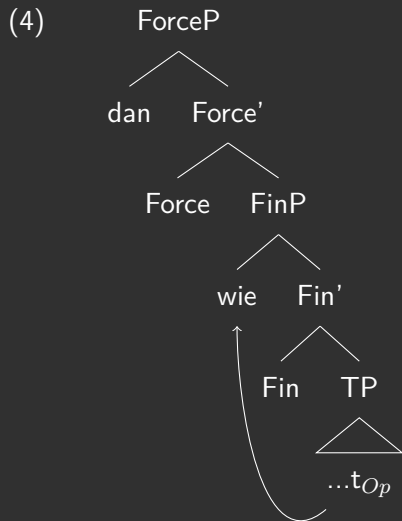
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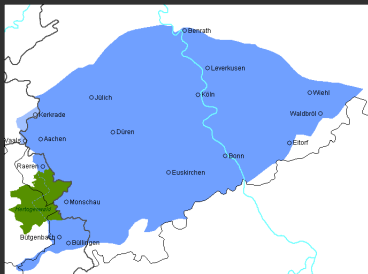
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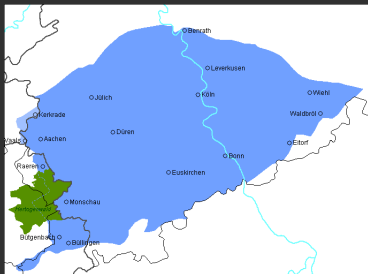
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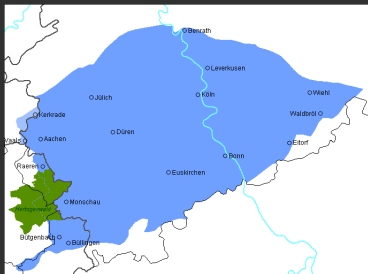
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- Three dialect speakers
 - Always lived in the area
 - Not living together with someone from another region
- Judgement task (Likert scale 1-5)
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Definition

A standard marker is the element introducing the standard of the comparative.

(5) Jill is taller **than** Fred.

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Similar functions as in standard Dutch

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- After conditional clauses (if...then)
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More German influences

- To introduce temporal clauses (when)
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One and the same element, but different semantic readings are a consequence of different structural environments (Corver 2021)

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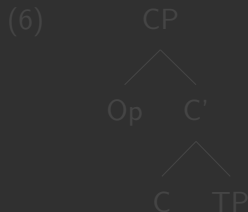
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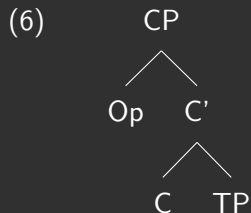
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Excursus: operators

(7) I wrote more letters than he wrote [x-many letters].

- The operator undergoes A-bar movement from within the degree phrase to the specifier of CP (Chomsky 1977)
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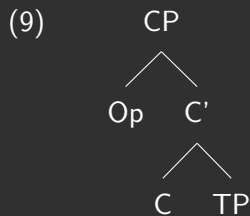
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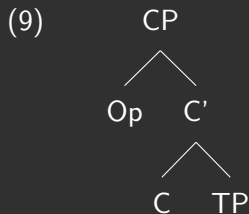
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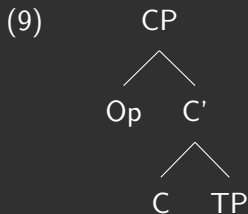
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1) *Wie* shows complementizer agreement

- Complementizer agreement: Complementizers agree in phi-features with the embedded subject in certain dialects of German and Dutch (Koppen 2017)
- *wie* shows agreement with subject of comparative clause when it is in 2nd person sg.

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- Complementizer agreement occurs on complementizers of finite clauses. In case of a lack of a complementizer, the agreement ending phonologically attaches to the wh-phrase (Haegeman 1992, Rizzi 1997, Koppen 2017).

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2) *Wie* can occur in non-comparative finite constructions.

- (13) Nu wie-ts-tu fertig bis darfstu jare
now how.Agr.you ready are can.Agr.you go
'Now that you are ready, you can go.'

Wie is responsible for finiteness rather than comparative status.

See Corver (2021): *Hoe* 'how', in the specifier of *C*, can behave like the conjunction *dat* 'that', which typically introduces finite clauses.

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3) The Fin-head can be overt as *dat* 'that'.

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(15) Ich bin grosser **wie** dat-s-tu bis.
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Dat typically introduces finite clauses in the dialect.

(16) Ich denk dat-s-e veel zols moese voet werpe.
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- (17) Et sieht hem hofter dan wie *(dat) sie dich ziet.
she sees him more.often than how *(that) she you sees
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Doubly filled COMP effect (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977)

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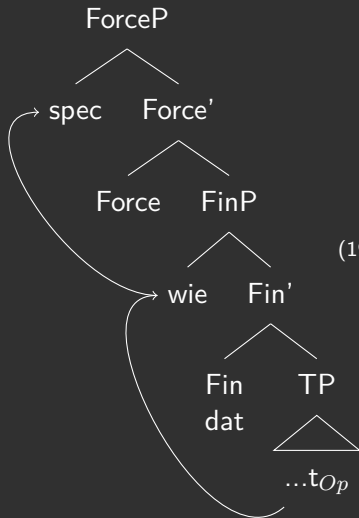
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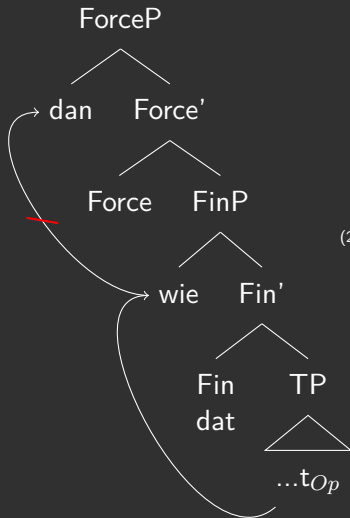
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Wie dat

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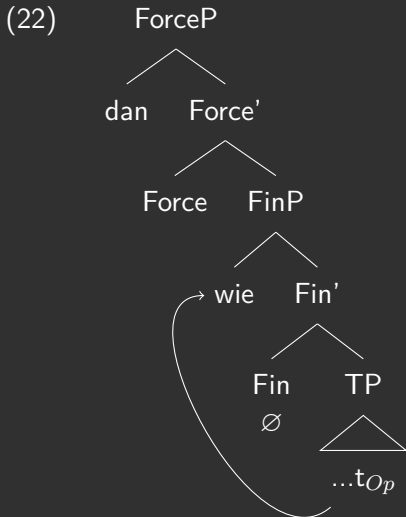
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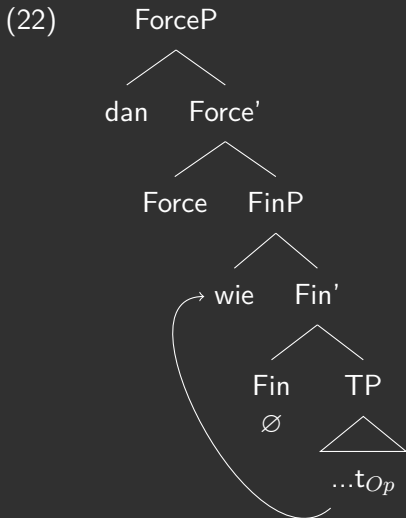
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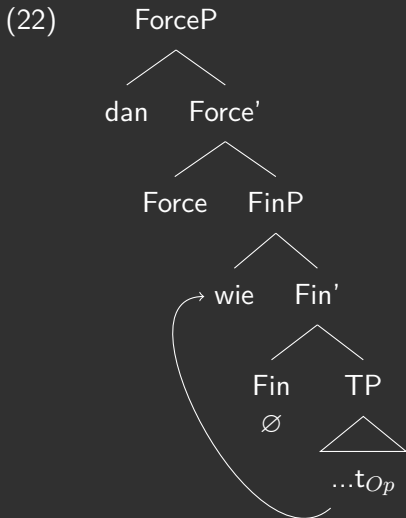
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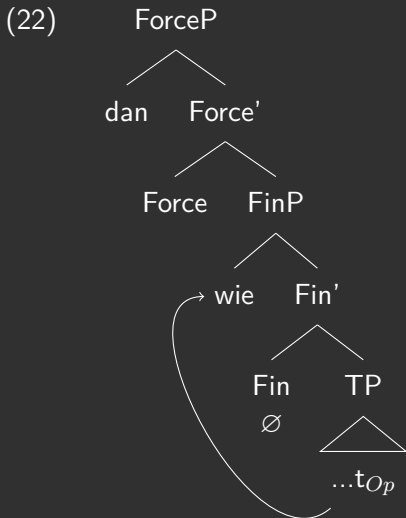
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Standard markers *dan wie*

(23) Ich bin grosser **dan** wie-ts-tu.
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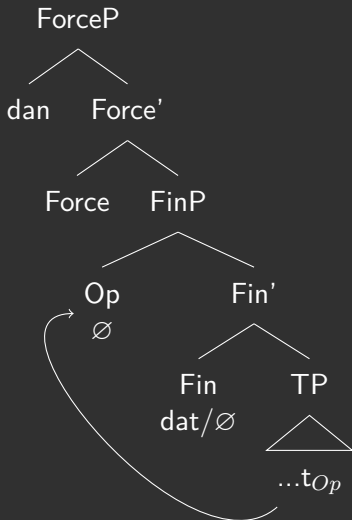
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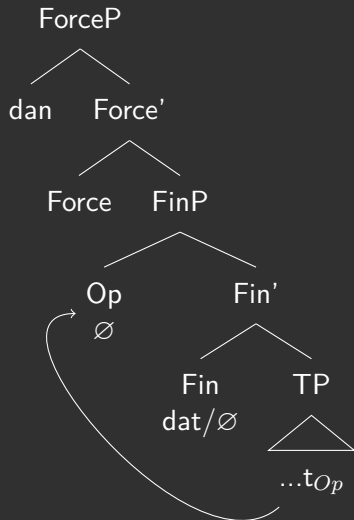


(25) Ich bin grosser **dan** du.
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 'I am taller than you.'

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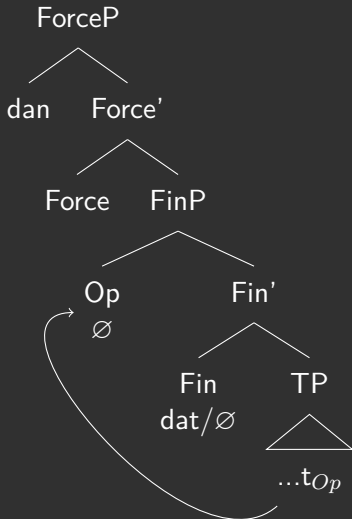


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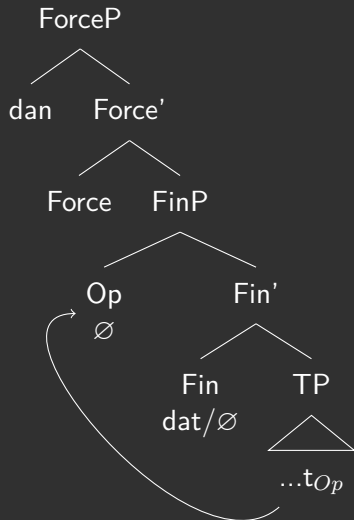


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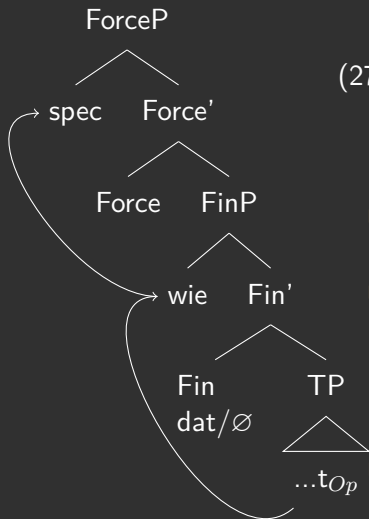


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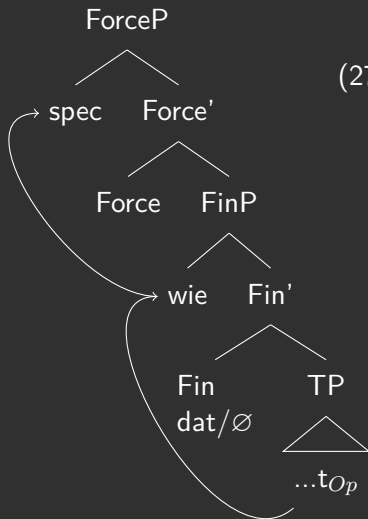


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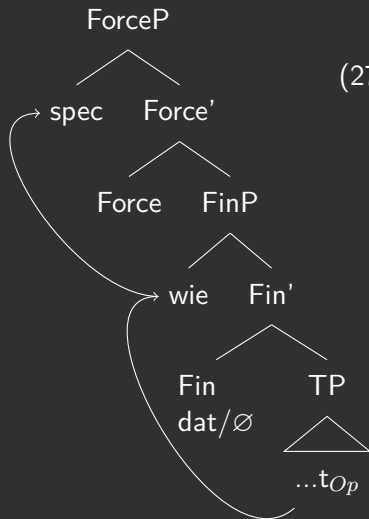


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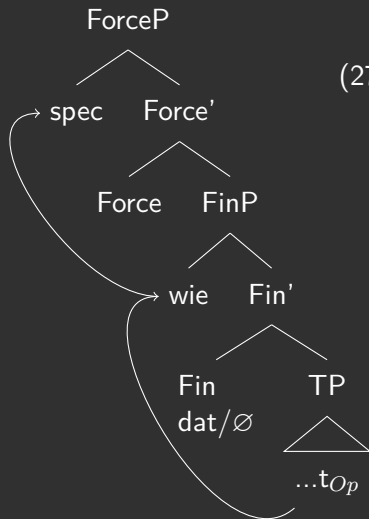


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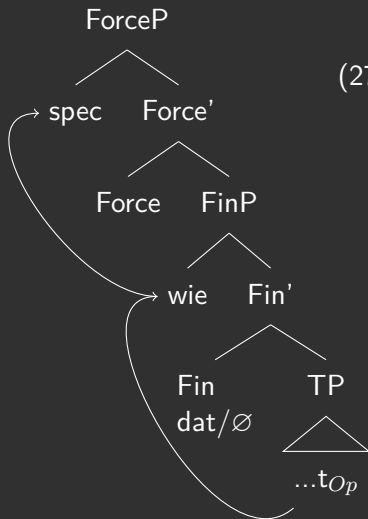


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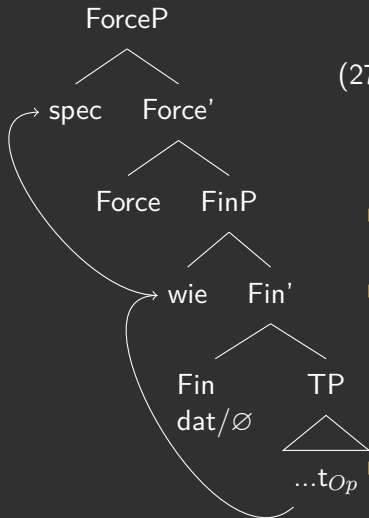


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■ Phrasal comparative

- The standard consists of only one constituent
- The standard marker is preposition-like

■ Clausal Comparative

- The standard is a clause
- This clause can be reduced (blurs distinction phrasal vs. clausal)
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(Lechner 2020, Merchant 2009)

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Some tests to discern the difference between phrasal and clausal comparatives (Lechner 2020)

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Accusative case	✓	X
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The result of the tests for Kerkrade Dutch cannot really be accounted for by the proposal I have sketched.

- *Dan* always introduces clausal comparatives
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- *Dan wie* always introduces clausal comparatives

Suggestions are very welcome

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