

# I am taller than how you

A spanning analysis of standard markers in Kerkrade Dutch comparatives

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# Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Kerkrade Dutch
- 3 Standard markers
- 4 The data
- 5 The analysis: a spanning account
- 6 Vocabulary insertion
- 7 Conclusion

# Introduction

In Kerkrade Dutch three standard markers can be used to introduce comparative clauses: *dan* (1) 'than', *wie* 'how' (2) and a combination of both *dan wie* (3).

(1) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan** du kiek.  
 I watch more movies than you watch  
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(2) Ich kiek mieë filme **wietstu**.  
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- *Wie* occurs in phrasal and reduced clausal comparatives
- *Dan wie* only occurs in clausal comparatives
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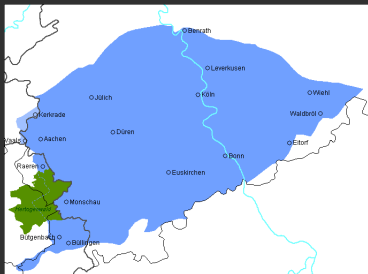
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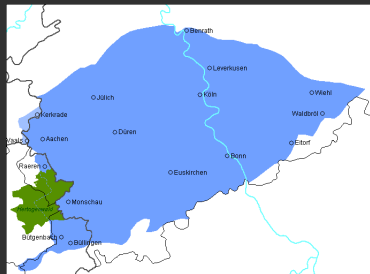
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  - Spoken in the Southeast of the Netherlands
  - German influences (Stichting Kirchröadsjer Dieksiejoneer 1987)



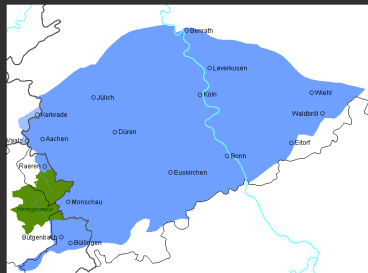
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  - Always lived in the area
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- Judgement task (Likert scale 1-5)
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# Definition

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

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

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# Dan 'than'

- Adverb of time (then)

- (5) Ich kiek e film e **dan** lejes ich e buch.  
 I watch a movie and then read I a book  
 'I watch a movie and then I'll read a book.'

- After conditional clauses (if...then)

- (6) Wen ich behoudend leef **dan** leef ich noa der wens  
 when I parsimoniously live then live I to the wish  
 van mien eldere.  
 of my parents  
 'If I live parsimoniously, I live according to my parents' wish.'

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*Dan* and *Da* are arbitrary variants



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## Wie 'how'

To introduce temporal clauses (when, as, that)

- (7) Het passeerde **wietse** voet gings.  
 it happened as.agr.you away went  
 'It happened at the moment you went away.'

Standard marker in equatives (as...as)

- (8) Et Lisa ist gerade zo schoon **wie** et Anna.  
 The Lisa is just as beautiful as the Anna  
 'Lisa is as beautiful as Anna.'

Standard marker in similatives (as, like)

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Manner wh-adverb (how)

- (10) **Wie** hant ze t jeluust?  
how have they it solved  
'How have they solved it?'

Standard marker (than)



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# Possible word orders

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- (11) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan** du kiek.  
I watch more movies than you watch  
'I watch more movies than you.'

## ■ *Wie*

- (12) Ich kiek mieë filme **wietstu**.  
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## ■ *Dan wie*

- (13) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan wietstu**.  
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*Dat* typically introduces finite clauses in the dialect.

- (15) Ich denk **dat**-s-e veul zols moese voet werpe.  
 I think that-agr-you much will have.to away throw  
 'I think that you will have to throw away a lot.'

■ *Dat* can combine with STM *Dan*

- (16) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan** datstu kiekt.  
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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

## ■ Phrasal comparative

- The standard consists of only one constituent, a DP.
- The standard is base generated.

## ■ Clausal Comparative

- The standard is a clause
- This clause can be reduced through ellipsis

(Lechner 2020, Merchant 2009)

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Some tests to discern the difference between phrasal and clausal comparatives (Lechner 2020, Merchant 2009)

I will apply these tests to attributive amount comparatives.

(19) I read more books than you.

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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

## Phrasal comparatives allow for only-modification

- (20) Zie hant micë lü i-jelane da alling mer d'r Karel en  
 they have more people invited than only but the Carl and  
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 Peter  
 'They had invited more people than just Carl and Peter.'
- (21) \*Zie hant micë lü i-jelane wie alling mer d'r Karel en  
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## Phrasal comparatives cannot have a full clausal standard

- (25) D'r Arne hat mieë bucher jeleëze da iech d'r jeleëze han,  
 the Arne had more books read than I there read have  
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- (26) \*D'r Arne hat mieë bucher jeleëze wie iech d'r jeleëze han.  
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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

Phrasal comparatives cannot have a non-DP standard.

(30) \*Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **da** in Amerika.  
 there live more people in Russia than in America  
 'More people live in Russia than in America'

(31) Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **wie** in Amerika.  
 there live more people in Russia how in America  
 'More people live in Russia than in America.'

(32) Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **da wie** in Amerika.  
 there live more people in Russia than how in America  
 'More people live in Russia than in America.'

(33) \*Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **da dat** in Amerika.  
 there live more people in Russia than that in America  
 'More people live in Russia than in America.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

Phrasal comparatives cannot have a non-DP standard.

(30) \*Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **da** in Amerika.  
 there live more people in Russia than in America  
 'More people live in Russia than in America'

(31) Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **wie** in Amerika.  
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 'More people live in Russia than in America.'

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 there live more people in Russia than how in America  
 'More people live in Russia than in America.'
- (33) \*Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **da dat** in Amerika.  
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 there live more people in Russia than that in America  
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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (34) \*Doa woenne mieë lü i Roesland **wie dat** in Amerika.  
there live more people in Russia how that in America  
'More people live in Russia than in America.'

## Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

The standard of phrasal comparatives cannot consist of more than one constituent

- (35) \*Mieë lü sjprooche mit 't Sofie óp mitwoch da  
 more people spoke with the Sophie on wednesday than  
 mit 't Frederik óp donnesjdieg.  
 with the Frederik on thursday  
 'More people spoke with Sophie on wednesday than with Frederik  
 on thursday.'
- (36) \*Mieë lü sjprooche mit 't Sofie óp mitwoch wie  
 more people spoke with the Sophie on wednesday how  
 mit 't Frederik óp donnesjdieg.  
 with the Frederik on thursday  
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## Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

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 on thursday.'
- (36) \*Mieë lü sjprooche mit 't Sofie óp mitwoch **wie**  
 more people spoke with the Sophie on wednesday how  
 mit 't Frederik óp donnesjdieg.  
 with the Frederik on thursday  
 'More people spoke with Sophie on wednesday than with Frederik  
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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (37) Mieë lü sjprooche mit 't Sofie óp mitwoch **da**  
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 how with the Frederik on thursday  
 'More people spoke with Sophie on wednesday than with Frederik  
 on thursday.'
- (38) \*Mieë lü sjprooche mit 't Sofie óp mitwoch **da**  
 more people spoke with the Sophie on wednesday than  
**dat** mit 't Frederik óp donnesjdieg.  
 that with the Frederik on thursday  
 'More people spoke with Sophie on wednesday than with Frederik  
 on thursday.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (37) Mieë lü sjprooche mit 't Sofie óp mitwoch **da**  
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 that with the Frederik on thursday  
 'More people spoke with Sophie on wednesday than with Frederik  
 on thursday.'

## Phrasal comparatives can have accusative case on the standard

- (39) Elke kiek mieë filme da hun  
 Elke watches more movies than them.ACC  
 'Elke watches more movies than them.'
- (40) Elke kiek mieë filme wie hun  
 Elke watches more movies how them.ACC  
 'Elke watches more movies than them.'
- (41) \*Ich kiek mieë filme dan wie hun.  
 I watch more movies than how they.ACC  
 'I watch more movies than them.'
- (42) \*Ich kiek mieë filme dan dat hun.  
 I watch more movies than that they.ACC  
 'I watch more movies than them.'
- (43) \*Ich kiek mieë filme wie dat hun.  
 I watch more movies how that they.ACC  
 'I watch more movies than them.'

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 I watch more movies how that they.ACC  
 'I watch more movies than them.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

Phrasal comparatives cannot have nominative case on the standard.

- (44) Elke kiek mieë filme **dan** sie kieke.  
 Elke watches more movie than they.NOM watch  
 'Elke watches more movies than they watch'
- (45) Elke kiek mieë filme **wie** sie  
 Elke watches more movies how they.NOM  
 'Elke watches more movies than them.'
- (46) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan** wie sie  
 I watch more movies than how they.NOM  
 'I watch more movies than them.'
- (47) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan dat** sie kieke  
 I watch more movies than how they.NOM watch  
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 'I watch more movies than them.'
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 I watch more movies than how they.NOM watch  
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 I watch more movies than how they.NOM  
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 I watch more movies than how they.NOM  
 'I watch more movies than them.'
- (47) Ich kiek mieë filme **dan dat** sie kieke  
 I watch more movies than how they.NOM watch  
 'I watch more movies than them.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (48) Ich kiek mieë filme **wie dat** sie kiek  
I watch more movies how that they.NOM watch  
'I watch more movies than them.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

Phrasal comparatives are sensitive to island effects.

- (49) \*T Frederik en ich roane d'r Tim jerejeld filme aa.  
 The Frederik and I suggest the Tim frequently movies PRT  
 D'r Tim kiekte mieë filme wen 't Frederik ut aaroant  
 the Tim watches more movies when 't Fredrik it suggests  
 da ich/mich.  
 than I.NOM/ACC  
 'Frederick and I both frequently suggest movies to Tim. Tim  
 watches more movies when Frederik suggest them than when I  
 suggest them.'



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 watches more movies when Frederik suggest them than when I  
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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (50) 'T Frederik en ich roane d'r Tim jerejeld filme aa.  
 The Frederik and I suggest the Tim frequently movies PRT  
 D'r Tim kiekt mieë filme wen 't Frederik ut aaroant  
 the Tim watches more movies when the Fredrik it suggests  
**wie** ich/\*mich.  
 how I.NOM/ACC  
 'Frederick and I both frequently suggest movies to Tim. Tim  
 watches more movies when Frederik suggest them than when I  
 suggest them.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (51) 'T Frederik en ich roane d'r Tim jerejeld filme aa.  
 The Frederik and I suggest the Tim frequently movies PRT  
 D'r Tim kiekt mieë filme wen 't Frederik ut aaroant  
 the Tim watches more movies when the Fredrik it suggests  
**da wie** ich.  
 than how I.NOM  
 'Frederick and I both frequently suggest movies to Tim. Tim  
 watches more movies when Frederik suggest them than when I  
 suggest them.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (52) \*'T Frederik en ich roane d'r Tim jerejeld filme aa.  
 The Frederik and I suggest the Tim frequently movies PRT  
 D'r Tim kiekt mieë filme wen 't Frederik ut aaroant  
 the Tim watches more movies when the Fredrik it suggests  
**dan dat** ich/mich.  
 than that I.NOM  
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 watches more movies when Frederick suggest them than when I  
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# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (53) \*'T Frederik en ich roane d'r Tim jerejeld filme aa.  
 The Frederik and I suggest the Tim frequently movies PRT  
 D'r Tim kiekt mieë filme wen 't Frederik ut aaroant  
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 watches more movies when Frederik suggest them than when I  
 suggest them.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

## Phrasal comparatives allow for preposition stranding

- (54) \*Mien kleng bruurke has er selfst micë **dan**  
my little brother has there even more than  
'My little brother even has more.'
- (55) \*Mien kleng bruurke has er selfst micë **wie**.  
my little brother has there even more how  
'My little brother even has more.'
- (56) \*Mien kleng bruurke has er selfst micë **dan wie**  
my little brother has there even more than how  
'My little brother even has more.'
- (57) \*Mien kleng bruurke has er selfst micë **dan dat**  
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 my little brother has there even more than how  
 'My little brother even has more.'
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 my little brother has there even more than that  
 'My little brother even has more.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (58) \*Mien kleng bruurke has er selfst mieë **wie dat**  
my little brother has there even more how that  
'My little brother even has more.'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

## Phrasal comparatives allow for pied piping

- (59) \***Dan** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
than who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'
- (60) \***Wie** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
how who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'
- (61) \***Dan wie** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
than how who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'
- (62) \***Dan dat** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
than that who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

Phrasal comparatives allow for pied piping

- (59) \***Dan** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
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Phrasal comparatives allow for pied piping

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than how who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'
- (62) \***Dan dat** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
than that who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'



# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

- (63) \***Wie dat** wer hat Arne mieë bucher jeleëze?  
How that who had Arne more books read  
'Than whom has Arne read more books?'

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

	<b>PC</b>	<b>CC</b>	Dan	Wie	Dan wie	Dan dat	Wie dat
Only-modif	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X
Full clause	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
PP-standard	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X
>1 constituent	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X
Accusative	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	X
Nominative	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
island effects	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	X
P stranding	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pied-piping	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X

# Phrasal vs clausal comparatives

## *Dan*

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- 1 Introduction
- 2 Kerkrade Dutch
- 3 Standard markers
- 4 The data
- 5 The analysis: a spanning account
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# Theoretical assumptions

- **Spanning:** a single morpheme can spell out a sequence of adjacent heads in head-complement relations in a single extended projection
- A Brodyan (2000) tree representation (telescope) gives a straightforward representation of head-complement relations
- Lexical insertion happens in two steps (Svenonius 2012)
  - L-match: associate syntactic features on syntactic node(s) with the syntactic features of a lexical item
    - L-match proceeds bottom-up (Svenonius 2016)
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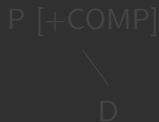
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Inspired by Den Besten (1978), Hazout (1995), Merchant (2006), Arregi (2010), Lindenbergh (2016), Bacskai-ATkari (2017)



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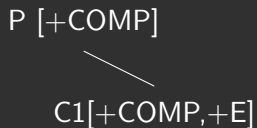
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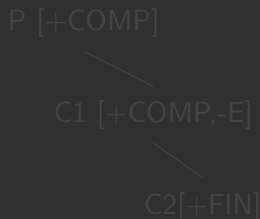
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## Reduced clausal comparatives



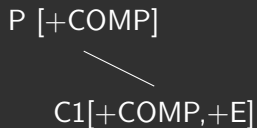
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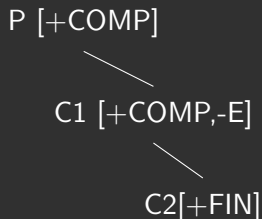


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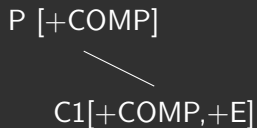


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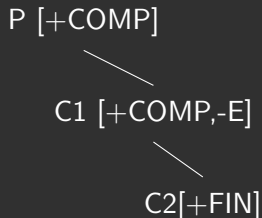


# Clausal comparatives

## Reduced clausal comparatives



## Non-reduced clausal comparatives



# The lexical items

*Dan* [+COMP][-E]

*Wie* [+COMP][+FIN][+E]

1) *Wie* shows complementizer agreement

- Complementizer agreement: Complementizers of finite clauses agree in phi-features with the embedded subject of the clause in certain dialects of German and Dutch (Koppen 2017) (Haegeman 1992, Rizzi 1997, Koppen 2017).
- *wie* shows agreement with subject of comparative clause when it is in 2nd person sg.

(64) Ich kicke mieö filme wietstu.  
 I watch more movies how.agr.you  
 'I watch more movies than you.'

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

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# The lexical items

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

Dat [+FIN]

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# Phrasal comparatives

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D

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*Wie* [+COMP] [+FIN] [+E]

*Dat* [+Fin]

✓ *Dan*

✓ *Wie*

\**Dan wie*

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*Wie* [+COMP] [+FIN] [+E]

*Dat* [+Fin]

✓ Dan

✓ Wie

\*Dan wie

\*dan dat

\*wie dat

\*dan wie dat

\*wie dan

# Phrasal comparatives

P [+COMP]

↙  
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# Clausal comparatives

## Reduced clausal comparatives

P [+COMP]

C1 [+COMP, +E]

*Dan* [+COMP] [-E]

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\*wie

✓ Dan

wie

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Problems:

\*dan:

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# Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Kerkrade Dutch
- 3 Standard markers
- 4 The data
- 5 The analysis: a spanning account
- 6 Vocabulary insertion
- 7 Conclusion

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  - Standard markers do not only differ in allowing for phrasal vs clausal comparatives but also in allowing for ellipsis or not
  - *Dan* cannot occur in reduced clausal comparatives, but it can occur in phrasal comparatives, showing that these are really base-generated
- Spanning analysis for comparatives in Kerkrade Dutch
- Some unresolved issues
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(66) 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)
- Operators are often *wh*-items, such as *how* and *what* (Bacskai-Atkari 2018).

(67) I wrote more letters than **how** many letters he wrote.

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