

1 **Microcomparative Morphosyntactic Research (MIMORE):**
2 **Mapping partial grammars of Flemish, Brabantish and Dutch**

3
4 **KEYWORDS:** Microvariation, microparameters, (Morpho-)syntax, subject
5 **doubling, demonstrative doubling, Dutch (dialects)**
6

7 **1. Introduction**

8 In recent years, the macro- and microcomparative syntax research community
9 increasingly has been building and using online databases and tools. Some examples
10 of microcomparative syntax research infrastructure can be found at
11 www.dialectsyntax.org. Some examples of macrocomparative research infrastructure
12 can be found at <http://language.link.let.uu.nl/tds/index.html>.

13 One of the central research questions motivating the building of these
14 infrastructures is: *Do we find clusters of correlating syntactic properties and if so, is it*
15 *possible to reduce such clusters to abstract underlying building principles that*
16 *explain the clusterings?* The hypothesis behind this question is that the syntax of a
17 language or dialect is not an accidental collection of syntactic constructions but a
18 system of interdependent interacting principles and/or constraints, as has been the
19 common assumption in structuralist linguistics (cf. Weinreich 1954) and in generative
20 grammar throughout.

21 Before the advent of linguistic databases and tools it was only possible to
22 investigate this question by looking at small sets of language varieties for which it
23 was hard to determine whether the attested correlations were accidental or systematic.
24 The online linguistic research infrastructure with data on large sets of language
25 varieties has changed this now. It is to be expected that its availability will enhance
26 the empirical basis of theoretical linguistic research considerably.

27 In this paper we discuss and analyze a set of correlations that we discovered using
28 two of the large-scale Dutch dialect syntax databases available in the online tool
29 MIMORE (the abbreviation of the MICROcomparative MORPHOsyntactic RESearch

30 tool) (www.meertens.knaw.nl/mimore), i.e. DiDDD and DynaSAND.¹ These
31 correlations lead to the identification of several larger dialect groupings, basically to a
32 typology of dialects. In particular, we will investigate the following four empirical
33 phenomena: subject doubling, demonstrative doubling, complementizer agreement
34 and D-pronoun fronting in imperatives. We have provided an example from each of
35 these phenomena in (1).

36

37 (1) a. Demonstrative doubling (from Brabantish)

38 Ik zag *de dieje*.

39 I saw the that

40 ‘I saw that one.’

41 b. Subject doubling (from Brabantish)

42 **He-de** **gij** da gezien?

43 have-you.w you.s that seen

44 ‘Have you seen that?’

45 c. Complementizer agreement (from Flemish)

46 **A-n** ze vur under werk leven, ...

47 **if-agr** they for their work live, ...

48 ‘If they live for their job, ...’

49 d. D-pronoun fronting (from Brabantish)

50 **Da** lees maar!

51 That read part

52 ‘Read that!’

53

54 The paper is organized as follows. We start with a brief description of MIMORE,
55 showing that such data collections and tools are indispensable if we want to discover
56 and investigate correlations such as the ones at hand. Then a description is provided
57 of the correlating morphosyntactic phenomena and their geographic distribution
58 which is illustrated with maps. Finally, a syntactic analysis is provided that explains
59 the typology that follows from these correlations. It turns out that the different
60 surface varieties do not differ with respect to their underlying structures and the

¹ DiDDD is an abbreviation of Diversity in Dutch DP Design, see Author et al. (2013) for more information. DynaSAND is short for Dynamic Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects, see www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand.

61 corresponding derivations. The differences are due to lexical properties, i.e. the
62 possibility to spell out a head, a full projection or neither, and the specification of C as
63 a generalized φ -Probe. On the basis of this analysis, South-Brabantish (i.e. the
64 dialects spoken in the Belgian provinces of Antwerp and Belgian Brabant) can be
65 characterized as a transitional zone between the dialects of Flemish and those of
66 North-Brabant. In turn, the whole Brabantish area can be characterized as a transition
67 zone between Flemish and Dutch.

68 **2. MIMORE**

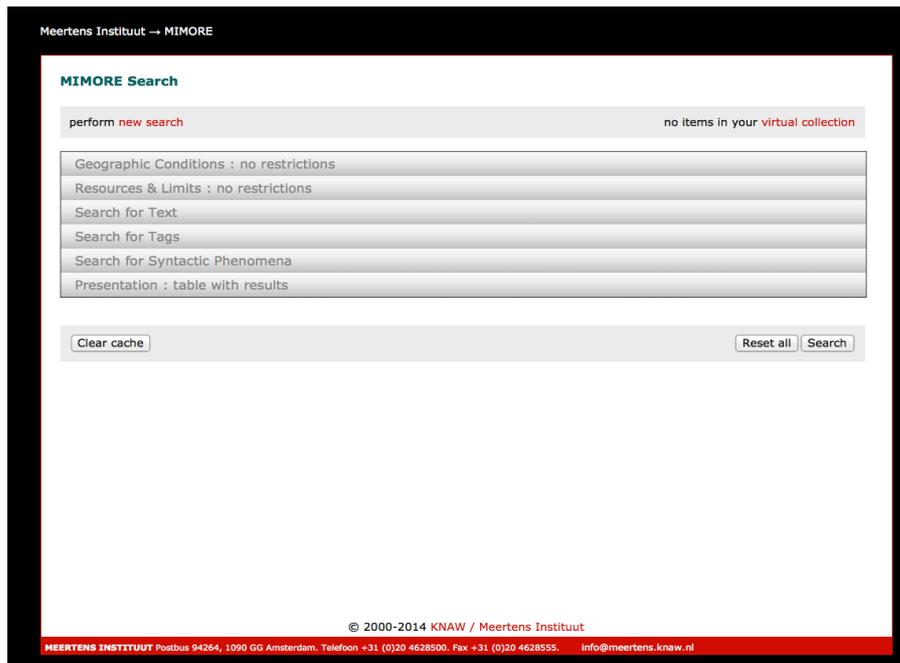
69 **2.1 MIMORE**

70 MIMORE was developed to enable the researcher to search three Dutch dialect
71 databases, GTRP, DiDDD, DynaSAND, at once and in a uniform way. In this way
72 phonological and morphological properties (GTRP database), (morpho-)syntactic
73 properties at the level of the nominal group (DiDDD database) and (morpho-
74)syntactic properties at the clausal level (DynaSAND database) can be related to each
75 other. We will first describe the general functionality of MIMORE and then each of
76 the individual databases.²

77 The opening screen of MIMORE (figure 1) provides the following functions from
78 top to bottom. It is possible to restrict a search to one or more locations, regions,
79 provinces or countries. One can select one or more of the dialect databases to be used
80 for the search. It is also possible to restrict the number of search results. This may be
81 useful when the number of search results make the program too slow.

82

² The MIMORE Educational Module (Pots, Wiedenhoff and Barbiers 2014; http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/mimore/educational_module/ gives an extensive description of the background and functionality of MIMORE, instructions and a number of exercises.



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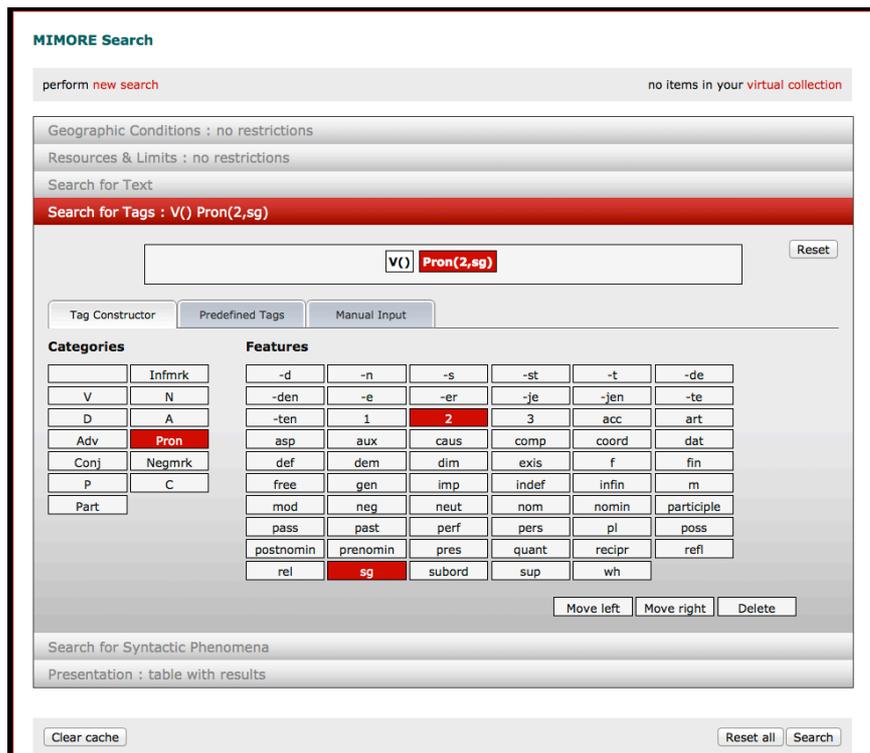
84 Figure 1: The MIMORE search tool

85

86 MIMORE allows for three types of searches: with character strings (max. one word),
 87 tag strings and syntactic phenomena. The tag search function comes with a tag
 88 constructor with which one can construct a complex tag by combining primitive
 89 syntactic categories and features (figure 2). It is also possible to use a list of
 90 predefined complex tags. All categories and features have been registered in the data
 91 category registry Isocat (www.isocat.org) such that their definitions are explicit and to
 92 ensure standardization and interoperability with other databases. This was all done in
 93 the framework of the research infrastructure program CLARIN (www.clarin.nl), of
 94 which the MIMORE project is a part. MIMORE and its databases have been
 95 integrated in the CLARIN research infrastructure.³

96 The third way of searching is by syntactic phenomenon. This is a bit of a misnomer,
 97 as only DynaSAND and DiDDD provide lists of syntactic phenomena to search with.
 98 In the case of GTRP, a list of test items is provided, i.e. individual words, e.g., *diep*
 99 ‘deep’, phrases, e.g. *ik dacht* ‘I thought’ and short clauses. The informants translated
 100 these test items into their local dialect during the GTRP interviews. In the future, this
 101 search function will be split into two for all three databases: (i) search with syntactic
 102 phenomenon; and (ii) search with test item.

³ Cf. CLAPOPOP (<https://dev.clarin.nl/>) for an inventory of data, tools and service provided by CLARIN. The data in MIMORE can also be accessed through the CLARIN Virtual Language Observatory (VLO); <http://catalog.clarin.eu/vlo/?4>.



104

105 Figure 2: Search for tags: a verb followed by a second person singular pronoun

106

107 The result of a search is a list of geo-referenced sentences or sentence fragments with
 108 their POS-tags, English glosses and translations and the corresponding sound
 109 fragments, if available (figure 3). Geo-referencing is by location or location code.
 110 There are also options to show longitude and latitude, context and the test sentence
 111 corresponding to the search result. In the case of search results from GTR, phonetic
 112 representations are given as well, which is relevant for researchers who need to
 113 compare pronunciation in detail. Geographic maps are an alternative way of
 114 presenting search results.

115 Selections of search results can be exported to Excel, CSV or PDF. Selections of
 116 search results can also be exported to a so-called virtual collection which makes
 117 further operations possible (figure 4).⁴ It is possible to derive the intersection, union
 118 and complement set of sets of selected search results (i.e., of their locations). This
 119 way potential correlations between two or more phenomena can be investigated. Sets
 120 of search results can also be presented on geographic maps. The cartographic tools in

⁴ By the time this paper will be published it will be possible to register these virtual collections in CLARIN's virtual collection registry, along with the assignment of CMDI metadata and PIDs. This is necessary to enable other researchers to evaluate claims based on databases and tools such as the ones provided by MIMORE.

121 MIMORE and DynaSAND provide a very easy and user-friendly way to visualize
 122 complex linguistic data and the relations between them.
 123

124
 125 Figure 3: Search results in MIMORE: a relevant result from Midsland
 126

127
 128 Figure 4: MIMORE Virtual Collection

129 **2.2 GTRP**

130 The GTRP database within MIMORE includes the results of a data collection project
131 carried out between 1979 and 2000 under the responsibility of the linguists Ton
132 Goeman, Johan Taeldeman and Piet van Reenen. Users who understand Dutch can
133 access the data at www.meertens.knaw.nl/mand/database/. Other users should use the
134 MIMORE tool. For GTRP, data were collected in 611 locations across The
135 Netherlands (including Frisia), Flanders (i.e. the Dutch speaking part of Belgium) and
136 French Flanders, a small part of North-West France. The informants in these locations
137 were asked to translate a list of 1876 items. These items were mainly individual words
138 and phrases and, sometimes, complete sentences. All informants had to meet the
139 following requirements: (i) The informant speaks the dialect of the community; (ii)
140 The informant is born in the place of residence and has lived there preferably his/her
141 whole life; the same goes for his/her parents; (iii) The informant is between 50 and 75
142 years old; (iv) The informant is preferably low educated but with considerably high
143 literacy skills.

144

145 Given the goal of the project, to chart phonological and morphological variation in the
146 Dutch language area, these informant requirements were necessary to ensure that
147 there was a relation between linguistic variable and geographic location and to reduce
148 the potential influence of other sociolinguistic variables such as social class and age.

149 Atlases resulting from this project include the phonological atlas of the Dutch
150 dialects FAND (three volumes; FAND I: Goossens et al. 1998; FAND II+III:
151 Goossens et al. 2000; FAND IV: de Wulf et al. 2005) and the morphological atlas of
152 the Dutch dialects MAND (two volumes: MAND I: de Schutter et al., 2005 and
153 MAND II: Goeman et al. 2008). Together the three FAND volumes give a detailed
154 overview of variation in the vowel and consonant systems of the Dutch dialects and
155 the geographic distribution of this variation. The two MAND volumes give an
156 overview of the variation in plural formation, diminutives, gender, comparatives and
157 superlatives, possessive pronouns, subject and object pronouns, verbal inflection,
158 participles and verb stem alternations.

159 **2.3 DynaSAND**

160 For an extensive description of DynaSAND and its background see Author et al.

161 (2007) and Author and Author (2007). DynaSAND can be accessed at
162 www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand and in MIMORE. The data in DynaSAND were
163 collected between 2000 and 2003 in 267 locations in The Netherlands, Flanders and
164 North-West France. The basis of the selection of locations was an even distribution
165 across the language area, with higher density in areas where the dialects are still very
166 strong and numerous, in transitional zones and in locations with special circumstances,
167 e.g. (former) islands. The goal of the project was to chart the geographic distribution
168 of (morpho-)syntactic variation at the clausal level. Therefore the informants in the
169 fieldwork stage had to meet more or less similar requirements as the GTRP
170 informants.

171 The methodology of data collection for DynaSAND was different from GTRP,
172 though. There were three stages, a postal pilot study, oral interviews and telephone
173 interviews. The atlases (SAND I, Author et al 2005; SAND II, Author et al 2008) are
174 based on the oral and the telephone interviews. In the oral interviews in The
175 Netherlands, there were two informants in each location and they did the interview
176 together in the local dialect without interventions by the field worker. This was to
177 reduce accommodation as much as possible and to avoid judgments based on phonetic
178 and lexical differences. As opposed to the Dutch interviews, the Flemish interviews
179 were carried out by linguists who spoke the dialect or regiolect of the area and there
180 were at least two informants in each location.

181 Around 150 different syntactic properties in 424 test sentences were investigated.
182 Most sentences were translation tasks that asked informants to translate standard
183 Dutch sentences into their dialect and concealed judgment tasks. The latter did not ask
184 for the grammaticality but for the commonality of a construction in a particular dialect,
185 to avoid influence of normativity on the judgments. Often translation and judgment
186 tasks were combined, also to check whether translation and judgment were consistent.
187 Other types of tasks include cloze tests, completion tasks and picture response tasks.

188 The data available in DynaSAND and the two SAND volumes include the left
189 periphery (complementizer system, complementizer agreement, Wh-questions,
190 relative clauses, other fronting constructions), subject pronouns, subject pronoun
191 doubling and cliticization, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, morphosyntax of verbal
192 clusters and auxiliaries, verb cluster interruption, negation and quantification.

193 With the DynaSAND software tool it is possible to search the database with text
194 strings, strings of POS tags, test sentences, syntactic phenomena, locations, areas. The

195 results of these searches are lists of geo-referenced sentences with tagging, English
196 glosses and translations and the corresponding sound fragments. This makes it
197 possible to check the validity of the data and to select the locations that have a
198 particular syntactic phenomenon. This selection can then be fed into a cartographic
199 tool that depicts the geographic distribution of the phenomenon and in the case of
200 multiple phenomena, the correlations between them. Most of the maps of the printed
201 volumes SAND I and II are also available in DynaSAND (by searching with
202 syntactic phenomenon).

203 **2.4 DiDDD**

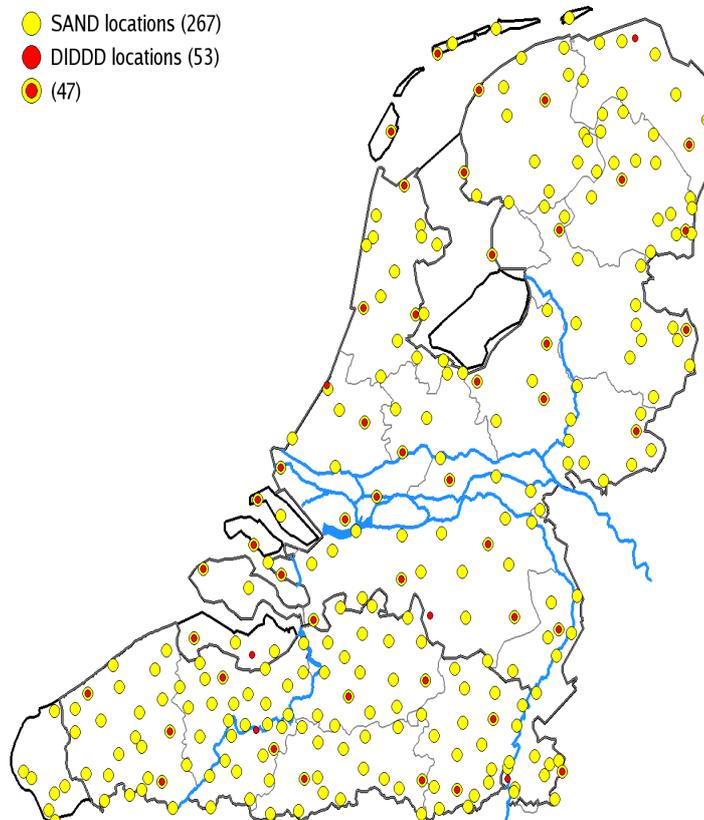
204 The data for the Diversity in Dutch DP Design database were collected between 2005
205 and 2009 in around 220 locations in various rounds and with a methodology
206 comparable to that of DynaSAND. For a more extensive description see Author et al.
207 (2013). The DiDDD data can be accessed through MIMORE. The goal of DiDDD
208 was to describe the variation in nominal groups in the Dutch dialects. Phenomena
209 investigated include noun phrase internal pronouns, substantivized pronouns,
210 combinations of definite articles, demonstratives and possessive pronouns/phrases,
211 number, negation, quantification. For an overview of attested variation, cf. Author et
212 al. (2013).

213 The fieldwork for the DiDDD-project consisted of two parts: a written
214 questionnaire that only contained translation questions which was sent out to a large
215 number of informants and 53 in depth interviews that were partly done orally and
216 partly written. We will use the data from both sources in this paper, but the data from
217 the translation questionnaire are mostly uninformative for the current purpose: if a
218 certain phenomenon is used in the questionnaire it shows that the phenomenon is part
219 of the grammar of the informants, but if it is not used, it does not tell us that it is not
220 part of their grammars, and that is crucial information to be able to establish the
221 correlations between certain phenomena. For that reason, we focus on the 53 in depth
222 interviews in this paper. For the SAND-project we make use of the data from the oral
223 interviews. The translatMap in (2) shows the distribution of SAND and DiDDD in
224 depth interview locations. 46 out of 53 DiDDD locations are also SAND locations,
225 which makes it possible to investigate correlations between phenomena at the clausal
226 level and phenomena at the level of the noun phrase. It will be clear that the number

227 of DIDDD locations is too small for statistical analysis.

228

229 (2) Map of SAND and DIDDD locations



230

231

232 3. Establishing dialect areas

233 This section explores the correlations between (i) pronominal doubling in the nominal
234 domain (DP), (ii) pronominal doubling in the clausal domain (CP), (iii)
235 complementizer agreement and (iv) fronting in imperatives, by searching for the first
236 phenomenon in the DiDDD part of MIMORE and for the latter three in the
237 DynaSAND part of MIMORE, constructing the intersection of the locations of the
238 four result sets and mapping them on a geographic map. This will lead to the
239 identification of four different dialect areas.

240 This paper will focus on Flemish (spoken in Belgium, in the provinces of West and
241 East Flanders), Brabantish (spoken in the Dutch province of North-Brabant and the
242 Belgian provinces of Antwerp and Brabant) and Northern Standard Dutch (the
243 standard language spoken in the Netherlands). For the convenience of readers who are

244 not familiar with the Dutch language area we provide a map below in (3) with the
245 names of the provinces that will be discussed in this paper.

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247 **(3) Map of provinces in the Dutch language area discussed in this paper**

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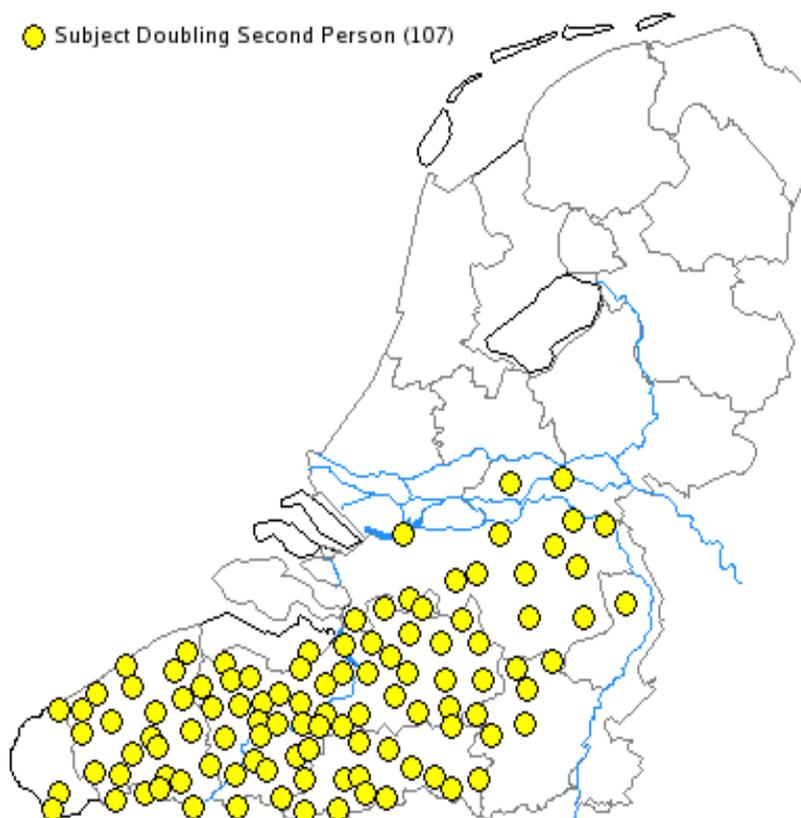
264 This section is organized as follows. We start out in sections 3.1. and 3.2 with the
265 properties of pronominal doubling in the DP and the CP domain. Section 3.3
266 discusses the empirical correlations between these two types of doubling. On the basis
267 of the correlating and non-correlating properties we reach the conclusion that there
268 are three major dialect areas, then we add the two other empirical phenomena to the
269 mix in section 3.4, showing that there are actually at least four distinct dialect areas.

270

271 **3.1 Pronominal doubling in CP**

272 The SAND project and the DiDDD project both identified pronominal doubling as a
273 point of variation between the Dutch dialects. The SAND project showed that
274 doubling of subjects is found in a subset of the Dutch dialects (see Author et al. 2005:
275 map 3.1.3.10), and the DiDDD project found DP internal doubling of demonstrative

294 **(5) Map of subject doubling in the second person singular and plural**



295

296 Doubling in Dutch dialects is only possible with subjects, not with objects (Author
297 2002). The type of subject doubling we are mainly concerned with in this paper shows
298 the pattern: finite verb - clitic subject pronoun - strong subject pronoun.⁶ More
299 specifically, the first element of the doubled subject is necessarily a clitic pronoun (i.e.
300 a phonologically reduced form of the pronoun that cannot be stressed), and the second
301 one is always a strong pronoun (i.e. a full form of the pronoun that can bear stress, see
302 Author 2002, 2008). Hence, doubling cannot target a proper name or a full DP, see for
303 instance the ungrammatical example in (6).

304

305

⁶ There are at least two other doubling patterns in clauses. The first involves doubling in which the doubled clitic pronoun appears on the complementizer in subordinate clauses (complementizer doubling); we will discuss this pattern below. The second involves doubling in subject initial main clauses. This type of doubling is significantly different from the pattern discussed in this paper in that it has different syntactic and semantic properties. We leave subject doubling in subject initial main clauses out of consideration in this paper. We refer the reader to Author (2008) for a detailed discussion of the differences between these two types of subject doubling.

306 (6) * Vandemergen ei-se dei doktores de patient gezien.
307 this.morning has-she that female.doctor the patient seen
308 Intended: 'this morning, that female doctor has seen the patient.'
309 [Wambeek Dutch]

310

311 To summarize: pronominal subject doubling is found in a subset of the Dutch dialects.
312 Doubling can only target pronouns and it always follows the same pattern where there
313 is one weak element, the clitic pronoun, followed by a strong subject pronoun.

314

315 3.2 Demonstrative Doubling in DP

316 Now let us consider demonstrative doubling in the DP domain. Consider the example
317 in (7).

318

319 (7) Die akkers zien beter dan **de deen** doar.
320 these fields are better than the those there
321 'These fields are better than those.' [Oostende Dutch]

322

323 This example shows that the demonstrative pronoun *deen* 'those' can be doubled by
324 the definite article *de* 'the'. This type of doubling resembles pronominal subject
325 doubling discussed in the previous section in a couple of respects.

326 One resemblance between subject doubling and demonstrative doubling concerns
327 the meaning of doubling. Demonstrative doubling, just like subject doubling, leads to
328 a focus interpretation of the pronoun (see Author and Author 2014).

329 Another similarity with subject doubling is that demonstrative doubling always
330 follows the pattern in which a weaker element (the definite article) precedes the
331 stronger pronominal form (the demonstrative pronoun). We could even go one step
332 further. Since definite articles are generally thought to have developed out of
333 demonstrative pronouns in Dutch (see van der Horst 2008 among others), it patterns
334 exactly the same as subject doubling: the strong version of the pronoun is doubled by
335 a weaker version of the same element. Moreover, demonstrative doubling is restricted
336 to pronouns and cannot take place with full DPs, as shown in (8) (from Author and
337 Author, 2014).

338 (8) (*de) dien opa
339 the that grandfather
340 ‘that grandfather’

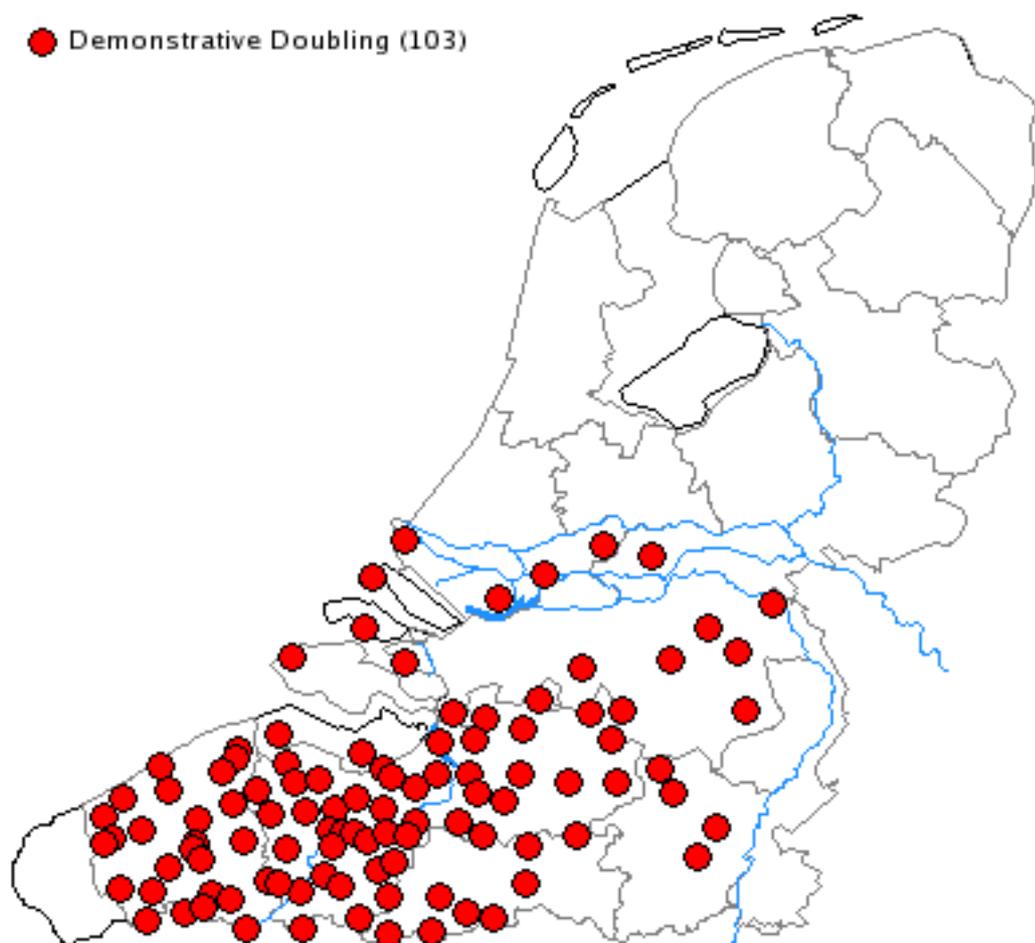
[Asten Dutch]

341

342 Investigating this phenomenon through the MIMORE database it turns out that the
343 geographic distribution is quite similar to the distribution of subject doubling.
344 Consider the map in (9).

345

346 (9) **Map of demonstrative doubling**



347

348 This map shows that demonstrative doubling occurs in the Dutch province of North-
349 Brabant, Sealand and South Holland and the Belgian provinces of West- and East-
350 Flanders, Antwerp and Flemish Brabant. There is a substantial overlap between the

351 geographical distribution of demonstrative doubling and subject doubling, i.e.
352 between the maps in (5) and (9) .

353 **3.3 Distinguishing three dialect areas: empirical correlations between subject** 354 **doubling and demonstrative doubling**

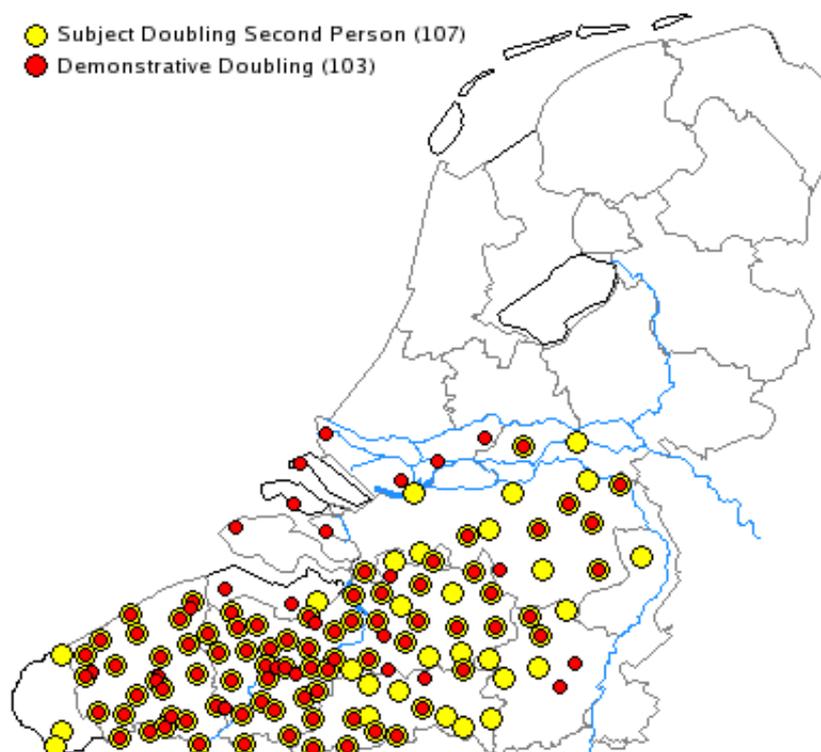
355 ***3.3.1 Introduction***

356 The previous subsection already showed that there are several empirical and
357 geographical similarities between pronominal doubling in the CP domain and
358 demonstrative doubling in the DP domain. This section shows how the MIMORE tool
359 can help to further our understanding about these similarities by combining data from
360 the different databases.

361 First of all, let us look at the map in (10) that combines demonstrative doubling in
362 DP and subject doubling in CP.

363

364 **(10) Map of subject doubling in the second person and demonstrative doubling**



365

366

367 This map shows that the geographical overlap of the dialect areas with demonstrative
368 doubling and subject doubling is almost perfect, including the Belgian provinces of
369 East- and West-Flanders, Brabant and Antwerp and the Dutch province of North-
370 Brabant.

371 There are dialects that do not show both properties on this map. First of all, there is
372 a rather large cluster of dialects in Sealand and South Holland that have demonstrative
373 doubling, but not subject doubling. We will come back to those dialects in the next
374 subsection. There is also quite a large group of dialects that seems to have subject
375 doubling but not demonstrative doubling. Closer inspection of these dialects reveals
376 however, that they were part of the investigations performed for the SAND-project
377 but not for the DiDDD-project. The DiDDD-project had a lot of translation and
378 judgment tasks in which demonstrative doubling was targeted. The SAND-project
379 only asked one question targeting demonstrative doubling, namely a judgment and
380 translation task of the sentence in (11) below. This probably explains why the dialects
381 that were only part of the SAND-project do not show a uniform pattern concerning
382 demonstrative doubling.

383

384 (11) De die zou ik niet durven opeten.

385 the that would I not dare up.eat

386 ‘I wouldn’t dare to eat that one.’

387

388 Demonstrative doubling was not questioned as part of the SAND-project in French
389 Flanders, which explains that these dialects do not appear to have this type of
390 doubling on the map in (11). Moreover, a subset of the SAND-informants from the
391 other Flemish and Brabantish dialects indicated that this sentence is grammatical,
392 whereas another subset indicated that it is not. The ungrammaticality might very well
393 come from the context in which this sentence was asked, however. As already
394 indicated above, demonstrative doubling requires a strong contrastive context.
395 Confronting informants with this sentence without the required contrastiveness might
396 result in ungrammaticality for some speakers.

397 An indication that the correlation is robust and restricted to the Flemish and
398 Brabantish area comes from the data from the written questionnaire that served as a
399 pilot study within the SAND project. These data show that 21 dialects in North-
400 Brabant which are not on the map in (11) because they were neither part of the oral

401 interviews of SAND nor of the DIDDD project do have demonstrative doubling. For
 402 Antwerp the number of additional demonstrative doubling dialects is 11, for Belgian
 403 Brabant 5, East-Flanders 7 and West-Flanders 6.⁷

404 3.3.2. *Apparent exceptions to the correlation*

405 As was noted in the previous subsection, one group of dialects that have
 406 demonstrative doubling but not subject pronoun doubling (dialects with only red dots
 407 on map 11) cluster together to the north-west of the core doubling area, namely the
 408 Sealandic islands Schouwen-Duiveland and Tholen and the South Hollandic islands
 409 of Goeree-Overflakkee and Voorne Putten, including the dialects of Scherpenisse,
 410 Zierikzee, Ouddorp and Oostvoorne.

411 The demonstrative doubling pattern in these dialects differs from that in the core
 412 doubling area. More in particular, demonstrative doubling in these dialects appears to
 413 be a non-productive relict. To see this, we will compare a dialect from the core
 414 doubling area, the Northern Brabantish dialect of Asten in (12) with a representative
 415 dialect from the exceptional area, the Sealandic dialect of Zierikzee in (13).

416

- 417 (12) a. die-n /dizzen opa a'. de-n die-n / de-n dizze-n
 418 that-masc this-masc grandpa the-masc that-masc the-masc this-masc
 419 'that/this grandpa' 'that/this one'
- 420 b. die / dees tante b'. de die / de dees
 421 that-fem this-fem aunt the-fem that-fem the-fem this-fem
 422 'that/this aunt' 'that/this one'
- 423 c. da / di kind c'. da / di
 424 that-neut this-neut child that-neut this-neut
 425 'that/this child' 'that/this one' [Asten Dutch]

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⁷ The relevant data can be found at http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/zoeken/lijst_met_testzinnen.php?zins_id=317&sortering=nr_nieuw&testzin_tekst=de+die&en_of=en. It will be clear that a statistical analysis of the correlations is impossible given that the set of locations involved in SAND-written, SAND-oral and DIDDD only partly overlap. Although the written data are usually considered to be less reliable than the oral data, for many phenomena they show a very similar geographic distribution which is why we think it is important to mention them as additional support for the correlation.

429	(13)	a.	die / deze	opa	a'.	den	diejen / ??den	dizzen
430			that / this	grandpa		the / that	the / this	
431			'that/this grandpa'			'that/this one'		
432		b.	die / deze	tante	b'.	den	diejen / ??den	dizzen
433			that / this	aunt		the / that	the / this	
434			'that/this aunt'			'that/this one'		
435		c.	dat / dit	kind	c'.	den	diejen	
436			that _{-neut} / this _{-neut}	child		the / that		
437			'that/this child'			'that/this one'		[Zierikzee Dutch]
438								

439 The demonstrative pattern in the dialect of Asten is completely regular. There are
440 different forms of the demonstrative pronouns depending on gender (and number) on
441 the one hand and proximal/distal features on the other. The demonstrative pronouns in
442 attributive (i.e. modifying a noun) (12)a-c and substantive use (i.e. occurring without
443 a(n overt) noun) (12)a'-c' are exactly the same. The definite article in the substantive
444 use shows the same difference between masculine and feminine as the demonstrative
445 pronoun, namely an additional n-affix for the masculine form. This n-affix is also
446 found on definite articles in regular masculine DPs, like *den timmerman* 'the
447 carpenter'. In short, the demonstrative doubling pattern in this dialect is completely
448 transparent indicating that we are dealing with a true instance of doubling in this case
449 where feminine definite articles double feminine demonstrative proximate or distal
450 pronouns and masculine definite articles double masculine proximate or distal
451 demonstrative pronouns.⁸

452 The Zierikzee dialect, on the other hand, shows a different pattern. The
453 demonstrative pronouns in attributive contexts (13)a-c are not the same as the ones
454 used in substantive contexts (13)a'-c'. The attributive context makes a distinction
455 between neuter and non-neuter contexts, but not between masculine and feminine
456 gender, just as in Standard Dutch. The substantive forms of the demonstrative do not
457 seem to make a gender difference at all. They use the form *den diejen* both for
458 common and neuter nouns. This form shows an n-affix, as we also just saw in the
459 Asten paradigm. However, this n-form does not seem to signal gender (anymore).
460 There is no productive use of the n-form in this dialect, i.e. masculine singular words

⁸ There is no doubling in the neuter in this dialect. We refer the reader to Author and Author (2014) for a detailed discussion of this.

461 such as *timmerman* ‘carpenter’ do not get the form *den* as a definite article, but rather
462 the non-neuter definite article *de*. Furthermore, the informants are unsure about the
463 use of demonstrative doubling with proximate rather than distal demonstratives. This
464 all seems to suggest that we are not dealing with a case of doubling here, but rather
465 with a lexicalized relic form of the demonstrative pronoun that is used in all
466 substantive contexts, irrespective of the gender and proximal/distal features of the DP.

467 In short, we assume that the Sealandic dialects do not display demonstrative
468 doubling, but rather have a lexicalized substantive pronoun that has the appearance of
469 demonstrative doubling. We will leave these dialects out of consideration in the
470 remainder of this paper.

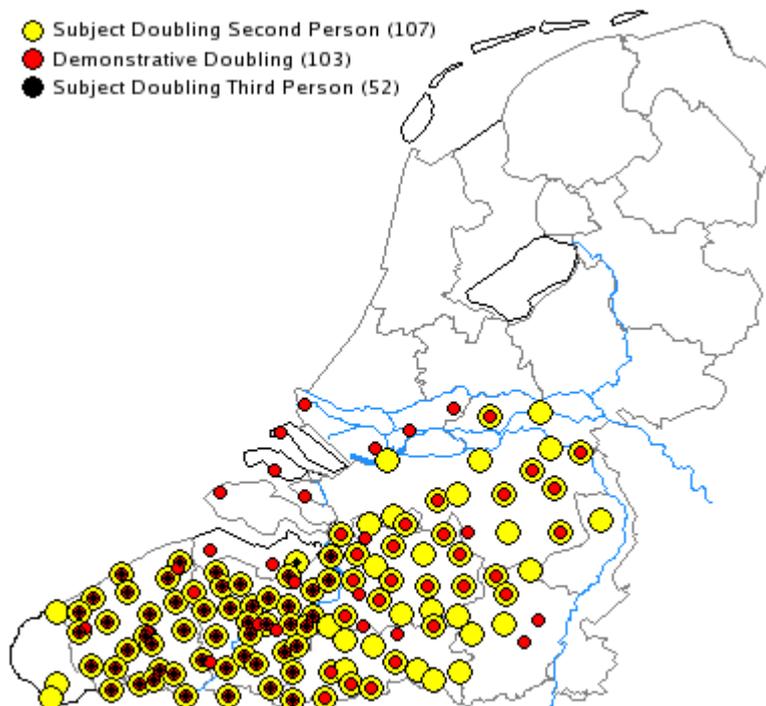
471 **3.3.3 Three dialect areas**

472 The map in (10) already shows that there is a geographical correlation between
473 subject doubling and demonstrative doubling. This leads us to a first split of dialect
474 areas: those that allow doubling and those that do not, like Northern Standard Dutch,
475 but also the Dutch dialects spoken in the other regions of The Netherlands and
476 Belgium. In this section we will show that we have to make the correlation more
477 precise. The doubling area should be split into two distinct areas.

478 First of all, dialects differ in the extent to which they allow subject doubling. More
479 precisely, it is not the case that all dialects allow subject doubling in all
480 person/number combinations. Consider the map in (14) that shows subject doubling in
481 the second person, the third person and demonstrative doubling.

482

483 (14) Map of demonstrative doubling and subject doubling in the second person
484 and third person plural



485
486 This map clearly shows that doubling in the third person plural is only possible in
487 East- and West-Flanders, whereas doubling in the second person and demonstrative
488 doubling cover a much wider area.⁹ In general it seems to be the case that Flemish
489 (spoken in East and West Flanders) has a complete subject doubling paradigm,
490 whereas Brabantish (spoken in North-Brabant, Antwerp and Brabant) only shows
491 doubling in the second person (see also Author 2014). We illustrate this with two
492 representative examples from the relevant dialect areas, i.e. the North-Brabantish
493 dialect of Asten in (15) and the Flemish dialect of Lokeren in (16).¹⁰

494
495
496
497
498

⁹ Recall that we are not looking at subject initial sentences in this paper (see footnote 6).

¹⁰ We are aware of the fact that the verbs in these examples are not minimal pairs. This is so because the SAND-project (where the data are from) does not provide us with minimal pairs in this case. We have no reason to think, however, that the lexical content of the verb has any bearing on the possibility of subject doubling.

499	(15)	a.	Leef ik	512	(16)	a.	Peize- k ik
500			live I	513			think-I I
501		b.	Leef- de gij	514		b.	dee- de gij
502			live-you you	515			did-you you
503		c.	Leeft ze	516		c.	dee- se sij
504			live she	517			did-she she
505		d.	Leve we	518		d.	dee- me wij
506			live we	519			did-we we
507		e.	Leef- de gullie	520		e.	dee- de gulder
508			live-you you	521			did-you you
509		f.	Leve ze	522		f.	deen- ze zulder
510			live they	523			did-they they

511

524

525 We identify a split within the doubling dialects between the Flanders dialects
526 (generalized doubling) and the others (second person doubling only). This means that
527 descriptively we can distinguish between two dialect areas within the region that
528 allows doubling: (i) the Brabantish area with demonstrative doubling and pronominal
529 doubling in the second person and the Flemish area with demonstrative doubling and
530 pronominal doubling in all person/number combinations.¹¹

531 The extent to which Flemish and Brabantish allow subject doubling is not the only
532 difference between these two dialect areas. The type of sentences that allow subject
533 doubling also differs. As we have seen subject doubling can take place after a finite
534 verb. However, subject doubling is also possible in subordinate clauses in which case
535 the clitic pronoun attaches to the complementizer. An example is given in (17).

536

537	(17)	...	da- de	gij	eerder	thuis	zult	zijn	dan	ikke.	
538			that-you _{clitic}	you _{strong}	sooner	home	will	be	than	I	
539			‘...that you will be home sooner than me.’								[Ossendrecht Dutch]

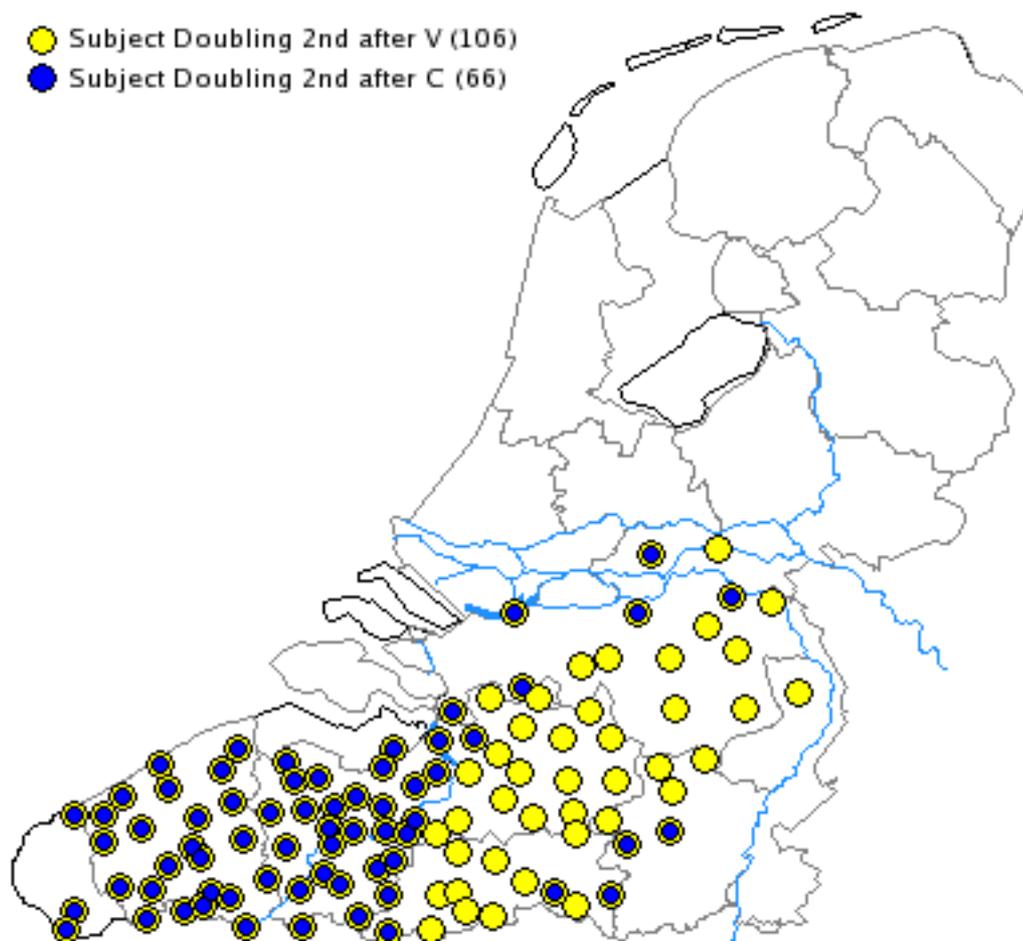
¹¹ De Vogelaer (2005 and references cited there; cf. also SAND I, map 52a) notes that the Brabantish dialects also seem to have doubling in the first person singular. However, closer inspection reveals that what looks like doubling on the surface can be argued to be a relict form of the pronoun, rather than an instance of doubling. De Vogelaer also discusses work by De Schutter (1997, 2005) who claims that doubling in the second person in Brabant are actually also relict forms of the pronoun rather than instances of true doubling. De Vogelaer (2005:253-258) shows that although this hypothesis might be justified for some Brabantish dialects, there are also clear cases of doubling in these dialects.

540

541 This type of subject doubling is similar to subject doubling in main clauses with
542 respect to meaning, order and the restriction to pronominal subjects (cf. section 3.1
543 above). However, here again we see a difference between East- and West-Flanders
544 and the rest of the doubling area, as is shown on the map in (18).

545

546 (18) **Map subject doubling after V and after C**



547

548 This map clearly shows that Brabantish has demonstrative doubling and subject
549 doubling in the second person singular in VS-sentences (i.e. Verb-Subject

550 sentences, main clauses in which the finite verb precedes the subject). Flemish,
551 on the other hand also allows subject doubling in embedded clauses.¹²

552 **3.3.4 Summary**

553 We have seen that there are three types of dialects. The first division is between
554 doubling dialects, displaying both doubling of the subject and doubling of the
555 demonstrative pronoun, and non-doubling dialects, such as standard Dutch and the
556 northern/eastern Dutch dialects. The doubling dialects can be further split up with
557 respect to their subject doubling behavior, into: (i) Brabantish where subject doubling
558 is restricted to the second person in inverted main clauses, (ii) Flemish with
559 generalized subject doubling (in all person/number combinations and both in inverted
560 main clauses and embedded clauses). Although there are differences between the two
561 doubling areas, we have also identified some empirical similarities between subject
562 doubling and demonstrative doubling that hold for all doubling dialects: (i) in both
563 cases there is a strong and a weak version of the same pronoun, (ii) the pronouns
564 appear in the order weak-strong, and (iii) subject doubling and demonstrative
565 doubling involve a focalized meaning.

566 **3.4 From three to four dialect regions: adding complementizer agreement and** 567 **fronting in imperatives**

568

569 This subsection will add two more empirical phenomena, independent from doubling,
570 that will further clarify the properties of the dialect areas under consideration: the first
571 is complementizer agreement and the second fronting in imperatives. The latter
572 property shows furthermore that the Brabantish dialect area should be further divided
573 into two dialect regions: North-Brabantish and South-Brabantish.

574 **3.4.1 Complementizer agreement**

575 Complementizer agreement, already illustrated in (1)c above and repeated here as
576 (19), is the phenomenon whereby the complementizer carries subject agreement
577 inflection, similar to the finite verb.¹³

¹² There are some exceptions in North Brabant and Belgian Limburg where there appears to be doubling in embedded contexts. We will leave the examination of these individual dialects for future research and concentrate on the more general pattern we can observe here.

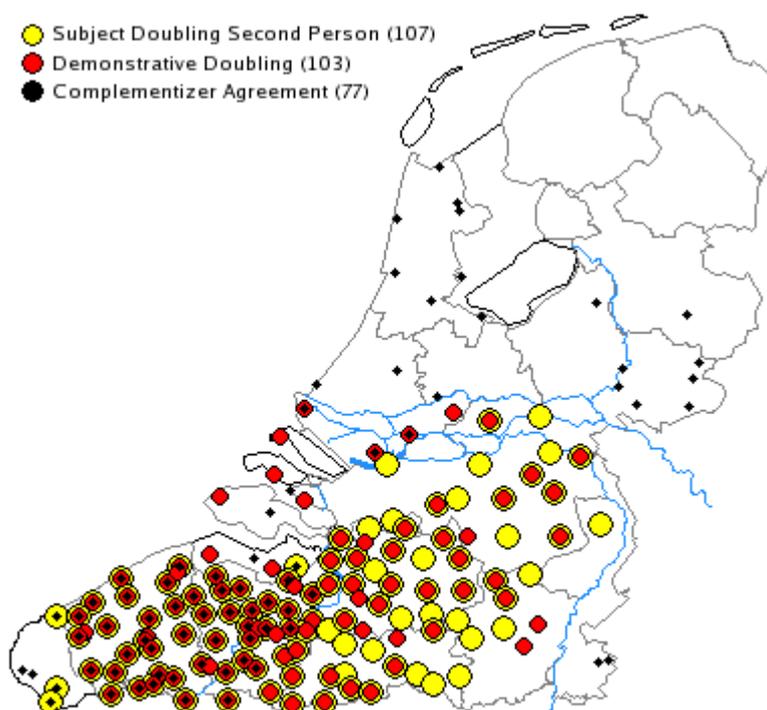
578 (19) **A-n** ze vur under werk leven, ...
 579 **if-agr** they for their work live, ...
 580 ‘If they live for their job, ...’ [Lokeren Dutch]

581

582 Complementizer agreement is found in several Dutch dialects, as is illustrated in the
 583 map in (20).¹⁴

584

585 (20) **Map of Complementizer Agreement**



586

587 This map shows the correlation between the doubling dialects and complementizer
 588 agreement in the third person plural: The Flemish doubling dialects display
 589 complementizer agreement, whereas the Brabantish dialects do not. This confirms our

¹³ For an in depth discussion of the properties of complementizer agreement in the Germanic dialects we refer the reader to Author (to appear).

¹⁴ This map provides complementizer agreement in the third person plural and not for the complete paradigm, because that would needlessly complicate the picture. Cf. De Schutter (1994) for a discussion of the potential correlation between complementizer agreement and subject doubling. As can be observed from the maps in Author (2005), the Brabantish dialects do not show complementizer agreement in any person/number combination.

590 earlier finding that the Flemish doubling dialects and the Brabantish doubling dialects
591 have slightly different properties.¹⁵

592 3.4.2 *D-pronoun fronting in imperatives*

593 The second property that we discuss concerns the possibility to front distal D-
594 pronouns in imperative clauses. Although this phenomenon appears to be unrelated to
595 pronoun doubling at first sight, we will demonstrate in section 5.2 that it is crucial for
596 the understanding of doubling from a theoretical perspective. Consider the data in
597 (21) (from Author 2013).

598

- 599 (21) a. Da/*Da boek lees maar!
600 That/that book read PARTICLE
601 ‘Read that!’ [North-Brabantish]
- 602 b. *Dat/Dat boek lees maar!
603 That//that book read PARTICLE [standard Dutch]
- 604 c. Das/Das Buch lies besser nicht!
605 That book/That reads better not
606 ‘You better not read that book.’ [German]

607

608 German generally allows fronting in imperatives, see (21)c. This means that it can
609 front DPs such as *Das Buch* ‘that book’ but also all sorts of other elements. This is
610 categorically ruled out in most varieties of Dutch, see (21)b. North-Brabantish and
611 some other Dutch dialects are in between German and the other varieties of Dutch in
612 this respect, because this dialect can front distal pronouns, see (21)a. The distribution
613 of this phenomenon correlated with subject doubling has been provided in the map in
614 (22) below. This map shows that the doubling dialects can be further divided into
615 those that do and those that do not show fronting in imperatives. In particular the
616 Brabantish doubling dialects should be split up into the North-Brabantish dialects
617 (spoken in the Dutch province of North-Brabant) that have doubling and fronting in

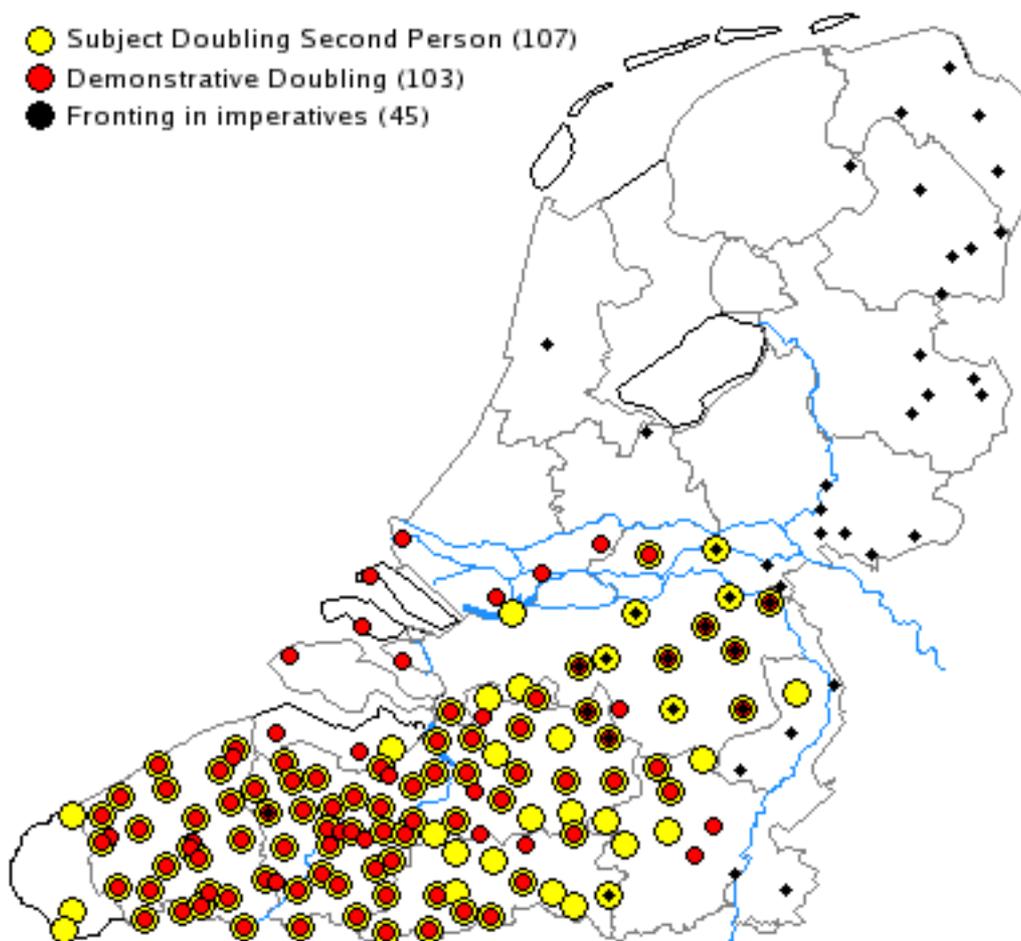
¹⁵ As map 20 shows, we also find complementizer agreement outside of the core dialect area under consideration in this paper, for example in dialects spoken in South Holland and the dialects spoken on the border with Germany.

618 imperatives and the South-Brabantish dialects (spoken in the Belgian provinces of
619 Antwerp and Brabant) that have doubling but do not allow fronting in imperatives.¹⁶

620

621 **(22) Map of Fronting in imperatives and subject doubling**

622



623

624

625

626

627

628

629

630

631

632

¹⁶ Cf. Author 2013 for the status of the eastern and north-eastern dialects on map 21 outside the doubling area that have distal D-pronoun fronting in imperatives.

633 **3.5 Summary**

634 To summarize, we have identified four different dialect areas, with the following
635 properties:

636

637 **Dutch**

- 638 • No subject doubling
- 639 • No demonstrative doubling
- 640 • No fronting in imperatives
- 641 • No complementizer agreement

642

643 **Flemish**

- 644 • Generalized subject doubling
- 645 • Demonstrative doubling
- 646 • No fronting in imperatives
- 647 • Complementizer agreement

648

649 **South-Brabantish**

- 650 • Only subject doubling in the second person
- 651 • No subject doubling after a complementizer
- 652 • Demonstrative doubling
- 653 • No fronting in imperatives
- 654 • No complementizer agreement

655

656 **Northern Brabantish**

- 657 • Only subject doubling in the second person
- 658 • No subject doubling after a complementizer
- 659 • Demonstrative doubling
- 660 • Fronting in imperatives
- 661 • No complementizer agreement

662

663 The remainder of this paper aims to provide an explanation for the variation between
664 these dialects by proposing two parameters. The first parameter, introduced in section
665 4, distinguishes the doubling dialects, Flemish and Brabantish, from the dialects that

666 do not allow doubling at all, i.e. for instance standard Dutch. This parameter also
667 accounts for the fact that only the North-Brabantish dialects have fronting in
668 imperatives. The second parameter, discussed in section 5, differentiates between the
669 dialects with a generalized doubling pattern, i.e. Flemish, and the dialects with the
670 more restricted pattern, i.e. Brabantish.

671 **4. The Doubling Parameter**

672 In the previous section we reached the conclusion that there is a correlation between
673 dialects that allow doubling of the demonstrative pronoun and dialects that allow
674 subject doubling in the second person singular. But we also saw that subject doubling
675 comes in two flavors: (i) the Flemish type, i.e. generalized subject doubling in all
676 person/number combinations and sentence types and (ii) the Brabantish type, i.e.
677 subject doubling restricted to the second person and to inverted main clauses. This
678 section will provide an account for this variation pattern. However, before we can go
679 into the exact nature of the variation, we first have to establish our view on the
680 internal structure of DPs in general and doubled demonstrative and subject pronouns
681 in particular.

682 **4.1 Prerequisite of the analysis: the internal structure of doubling**

683 Before we provide the parameters underlying the variation discussed in this paper, we
684 will first discuss our view on the internal structure of pronouns. We basically follow
685 among others Dechaine and Wiltschko (2002), Author (2008, 2009), Author (2008) in
686 assuming that pronouns are complex and consist of the following layers: DP, ϕ P and
687 NP.¹⁷ We furthermore assume that the DP is dominated by a CP level, basically
688 proposing a complex left periphery in the nominal domain parallel to the clausal
689 domain (cf. Szabolcsi 1994). To avoid confusion and to distinguish this CP from the
690 CP at the clausal level we will speak of nominal vs. clausal CPs, or CnP vs CP. This
691 leads to the pronoun structure in (23).

692

693

¹⁷ ϕ refers to the set of pronominal features, such as person, number and gender. ϕ P is the projection that contains those features in a nominal phrase. NP, with the base position of the noun as its head, is embedded in ϕ P.

694 (23) **Base structure of pronouns**

695 [C_{NP} [C_n [DP [D [φP [φ[NP]]]]]]]

696

697 One function of the C_nP layer in nominal groups is similar to the CP layer in the
698 clausal domain, namely for focus, topic and ellipsis (cf. Szabolcsi 1994; Giusti 1996;
699 Bernstein 1997, 2001; Author et al. 1998; Haegeman 2004; Aboh 2004; Aboh et al.
700 2010).

701 Following Author (2008) we assume that the internal base structure of a clitic
702 doubled pronoun is as in (24). The weak pronominal *de* is a spell out of the
703 pronominal features in φP and the strong pronoun *gij* is generated in SpecDP.

704

705 (24) **Base structure of doubled subjects**

706 [C_{NP} [C_n [DP *gij* [D [φP [φ *de* [NP]]]]]]]]

707

708 Given that subject doubling implies focus of the subject (see section 3), part of the
709 doubled subject should be moved into the C_nP. We will argue below that it is either φ
710 or φP that moves into the left periphery of the nominal domain.

711 In regular nominal projections with a lexical noun and modifiers, φP contains the
712 projections for the noun and attributive modifiers and DP contains the determiners.
713 This means that in a normal attributive construction, the demonstrative pronoun is in
714 SpecφP and the noun and adjectival modifiers are within φP. This is illustrated in (25).

715

716 (25) **Base structure of ‘regular’ DPs**

717 [DP [D [φP *die* [φ [NP *leuke opa*]]]]]

718 *that nice grandfather*

719

720 Now let us consider the internal structure of doubled demonstratives. As already
721 introduced above, the demonstrative doubling construction is only possible when
722 there is no overt noun in the nominal group. Dialects that do not have this
723 construction (such as Standard Dutch) use a bare demonstrative in such cases. This is
724 illustrated in (26) and (27).

725

726

- 727 (26) a. Die man gaat naar huis.
 728 that man goes to house [All Dutch dialects]
 729 ‘That man is going home.’
- 730 b. * De die man gaat naar huis.
 731 the that man goes to house [All Dutch dialects]
 732
- 733 (27) a. De dieje gaat naar huis.
 734 the that goes to house
 735 ‘That one is going home.’ [Doubling dialects]
- 736 b. (*De)die gaat naar huis
 737 the that goes to house
 738 ‘That one is going home.’ [Non-doubling dialects]
 739

740 The information structure of the sentences in (27) is such that the noun is silent and
 741 will be interpreted through contextual information only. The demonstrative doubling
 742 construction in (27)a does not allow nominal modifiers such as numerals and
 743 attributive adjectives (28)a. On the other hand, *die* ‘that’ without *de* (27)b does allow
 744 the presence of numerals and adjectives, as is shown in (28)b.

- 745
- 746 (28) a. De dieje (*twee) (*rode) liggen op de tafel.
 747 the those two red are on the table
- 748 b. Die (twee) (rode) liggen op de tafel.
 749 those two red are one the table

750

751 Following Author and Author (2009, 2014) we take this to mean that *de* replaces the
 752 functional and lexical structure that host numerals, adjectives and nouns, capturing the
 753 observations in (26) - (28). This leads to the structure in (29).

754

755 **(29) Base structure of demonstrative doubling**

756 [C_{nP} [C_n [DP die [D [_{φP} de]]]]]

757

758 **(30) Base structure of doubled subjects**

759 [C_{nP} [C_n [DP gij [D [_{φP} de]]]]]

760

790

(ii) ϕ P to SpecCnP

791

[CnP [ϕ P *de*] [Cn [DP *die/gij* [D [ϕ P-~~*de*~~]]]]]

792

(iii) ϕ P extraction from nominal CnP (subject doubling only)

793

[CP [ϕ P *de*] [TP [VP ... [CnP [ϕ P-~~*de*~~] [Cn [DP *gij* [D [ϕ P-~~*de*~~]]]]]]]]]

794

795 The crucial step is the movement of ϕ P (*de*) to SpecCnP in (32)ii. This derives the *de-*
796 *gij* and the *de-die* order.¹⁹ We need one additional step, however. We know from
797 previous work (see Author 2008 and references cited there) that the clitic and the
798 strong pronoun in subject doubling do not form one constituent at the end of the
799 derivation, as the two pronouns can be separated from each other by an object clitic
800 implying that the subject clitic *de* has been moved into the clausal CP-domain, see the
801 example in (33). We therefore assume that ϕ P is extracted from CnP, moving into
802 some clausal position (e.g. clausal CP). We will return to this issue below.

803

804

(33) *da se t zaai nie geduin eit.*

805

that *she*_{clitic} *it*_{clitic} *she*_{strong} not done has

806

‘that she hasn’t done it.’

807

[Wambeek Dutch]

808

809 Now let us turn to the bare demonstrative construction in (27)a, repeated here as
810 (34).

811

812

(34) (**De*) *dieje gaat naar huis*

813

the that goes to house

814

‘That one is going home.’ [Non-doubling dialects]

815

816 This is the only option in varieties of Dutch that do not have *de-gij* and *de-die*. The
817 derivation of this example is provided below:

¹⁹ Note that the movement of the subject clitic *de* into the left periphery is motivated by the later movement operation from this clitic into the clausal left periphery (for reasons that are orthogonal to this paper, but see Author (2008)). The movement of the demonstrative *de* to the left periphery of CnP is not followed by a later step into the left periphery. As a result one might expect that dialects differ in whether they move the clitic or the demonstrative to the nominal left periphery. If the demonstrative would move, rather than the clitic, we expect demonstrative forms of the type *die-de*. There are indeed dialects, as Author & Author (to appear) show where the demonstrative precedes the definite article, resulting in exactly this form.

818

819 **(35) Derivation of the bare *die/gij* constructions in varieties of Dutch**

820 (i) **base structure**

821 [C_{nP} [C_n [DP *die/gij* [D [φ ∅]]]]]

822 (ii) **φ to C_n**

823 [C_{nP} [C_n φ [DP *die/gij* [D [φ-∅]]]]]

824 (iii) **Pronoun movement from SpecDP to SpecC_{nP}**

825 [C_{nP} [DP *die/gij*] [C_n ∅ [DP ~~*die/gij*~~ [D [φ-∅]]]]]

826

827 We assume that the non-doubling dialects have basically the same structure as the
828 doubling dialects. The difference is that the doubling dialects have a spell-out for φP,
829 in contrast to the non-doubling dialects. We assume that the non-doubling dialects
830 have movement of φ to C_n, as in (35)ii.²⁰ Movement of φ to C_n does not take place in
831 the derivation of pronoun doubling in Flemish because there is phrasal spell out of φP.
832 As a consequence, φ is not available for movement in Flemish and φP must move as
833 whole (as in (32)ii). Finally, we assume that the demonstrative and the strong pronoun
834 move into the C_{nP}-domain in the non-doubling varieties of Dutch (35)iii. It is
835 generally assumed that a focalized meaning is the result of the movement of the
836 focalized phrase into the left periphery of a clause. This is established in doubling
837 dialects by movement of the weak pronoun (*de*) to the C_n-domain, whereas it is the
838 result of the movement of the (strong) pronoun to SpecC_{nP} in non-doubling dialects.

839 In short, the difference between the doubling and the non-doubling dialects has
840 been brought back to a parameter related to the functional lexicon: dialects that have a
841 lexical realization of the φP, and dialects that have no lexical item to express the
842 feature set in φ. This is in line with the Minimalist ideas that variation is encoded in
843 the lexicon, i.e. the so-called Borer-Chomsky conjecture (see Borer 1984, Chomsky
844 2000).

²⁰ The exact formulation is that φ moves to D and subsequently to C_n. We abstract away from this intermediate step since it is not crucial for our analysis here.

845 5. Parametric variation within the Doubling dialects

846 5.1 Introduction

847 In this paragraph we discuss the occurring varieties of doubling in the southern
848 dialects in Dutch language area: North-Brabantish, South-Brabantish and Flemish,
849 with the following properties:

850

(36)	North-Brabantish	South-Brabantish	Flemish
Subject doubling	Restricted	Restricted	Non-restricted
Comp agreement	-	-	+
D-fronting imperatives	+	-	-

851

852 South-Brabantish has properties in common with both North-Brabantish (restricted
853 subject doubling and the absence of complementizer agreement) and with Flemish (no
854 distal D-pronoun fronting in imperatives). We will argue that the difference between
855 these dialects boils down to (i) the type of movement that the *de* element undergoes
856 and (ii) the trigger for this movement. In particular, we argue that *de* undergoes head
857 movement in North-Brabantish, but phrasal movement in South-Brabantish and
858 Flemish, explaining the option of fronting in imperatives in the former.²¹ Furthermore,
859 we argue that the Flemish dialects have a generalized requirement for the left
860 periphery of the clause to be specified for the φ -features of the subject – a generalized
861 φ -Probe in the CP-domain –, whereas the Brabantish dialects have the verb as a
862 trigger for clitic movement, restricting the movement to clauses with verb-subject
863 order and second person contexts.

864 The variation between Flemish on the one hand and Brabantish on the other will be
865 discussed in section 5.3. The remainder of this paragraph discusses the split between
866 North-Brabantish on the one hand and Flemish and South-Brabantish on the other.
867 We argue that North-Brabantish distal pronoun fronting in imperatives and subject
868 clitic doubling can be tied together if we assume that the subject clitic moves from the
869 nominal left periphery into the clausal left periphery via head movement rather than
870 XP-movement.

²¹ Recall that we have argued above in 4.2. that the φ -features of northern Dutch dialects, which do not have a lexical spell out of φ , move to the C_n position as an instance of head movement as well. We thus observe a distinction between dialects in the Netherlands and Belgian dialects in the type of movement to the C-domain: head movement in the Netherlands and phrasal movement in Belgium.

871 **5.2 Specifying the doubling Parameter: Fronting in imperatives**

872 In this subsection we will make the doubling parameter more specific by
873 incorporating the data from *distal pronoun fronting in imperatives*, discussed in
874 section 3.4.2. above. Reconsider the data in (21), repeated here as (37).

875

- 876 (37) a. {Da/*Da boek} lees maar!
877 That/that book read PARTICLE
878 ‘Read that!’ [North-Brabantish]
- 879 b. *{Dat/Dat boek} lees maar!
880 That//that book read PARTICLE [standard Dutch]
- 881 c. {Das/Das Buch} lies besser nicht!
882 That book/That reads better not
883 ‘You better not read that book.’ [German]

884

885 Recall that German allows fronting in imperatives, standard Dutch does not and
886 North-Brabantish is in between these languages, only allowing a subset of elements to
887 undergo fronting in imperatives, namely distal pronouns. The explanation for these
888 contrasts is based on the idea that an imperative clause must be marked for second
889 person (cf. Portner 2004, Zanuttini 2007, Author 2007) and the idea that second
890 person must be analyzed as a combination of the interpretable variants of the features
891 [Distal] and [Person] (Author 2013).

892 Author (2013) provides the following analysis for the difference between Dutch,
893 German and North-Brabantish. The imperative C-position has to be marked for
894 second person, hence it has to acquire the feature set [iPerson, iDistal] (i.e.
895 interpretable Person and Distal features) in the course of the derivation. There are
896 various ways to accomplish that. There are, for instance, languages where the verb
897 has the features [iPerson, iDistal] and moves to C. Such languages have unique forms
898 for the imperative in the verbal paradigm. German is such a language, as is illustrated
899 in (38).

900

- 901 (38) a. ich nehme
902 I take
- 903 b. du nimmst
904 you take

- 905 c. sie/er nimmt
906 she/he takes
907 d. wir nehmen
908 we take
909 e. ihr nehmt
910 you take
911 f. sie nehmen
912 they take
913 g. nimm!
914 take!

915

916 In these languages, SpecCP is still available and as a result fronting is freely available.
917 In languages that do not have unique forms for the imperative, however, such as
918 Dutch and most of its varieties, movement of the finite verb into C is not enough to
919 provide C with the relevant feature set. Consider the paradigm of the Dutch verb
920 *nemen* ‘to take’ in (39) which clearly illustrates this point.

921

- 922 (39) a. ik neem
923 I take
924 b. jij neemt
925 you take
926 c. zij/hij neemt
927 she/he takes
928 d. wij nemen
929 we take
930 e. jullie nemen
931 you take
932 f. zij nemen
933 they take
934 g. Neem!
935 take!

936

937

938 As a consequence, the second person *pro* subject, i.e. a silent pronoun with the
 939 feature bundle [*iPerson*, *iDistal*], must move to SpecCP. SpecCP shares its features
 940 with the C-head and consequently C will be marked for second person. As a result,
 941 SpecCP is unavailable in these dialects and hence fronting of other constituents is
 942 blocked. We have schematically represented the difference between German and
 943 standard Dutch in (40).

944

945 **(40) Schematic representation of imperative fronting in German and Dutch**

		Spec,CP	C	Spec,IP	I
a.	German no fronting		V { <i>iPerson</i> , <i>iDistal</i> } nimm	<i>pro</i>	∅
b.	German with fronting	Das Buch	<i>lies</i>	<i>pro</i>	
c.	Dutch	<i>pro</i> { <i>iPerson</i> , <i>iDistal</i> }	V <i>neem</i>	<i>pro</i>	∅

946

947 In North-Brabantish, there is no specific form of the verb for imperative clauses either.
 948 However, as illustrated in (17) above, the North-Brabantish dialects have the clitic
 949 pronoun *de* in the second person. Now, if we assume that this clitic moves into the
 950 CP-domain (see below)²² in these dialects, we can explain why North-Brabantish has
 951 fronting in imperatives. Recall that the only category that can be fronted in North-
 952 Brabantish is a distal D-pronoun (37)b. Another option is that nothing is fronted.
 953 Author (2013) takes this to mean that there are two possible scenarios, capturing the
 954 fact that distal D-pronoun fronting is optional in North-Brabantish and fronting of
 955 other constituents is impossible. The first derivation is exactly the same as that of
 956 standard Dutch, resulting in a structure without a fronted constituent. In this case *pro*
 957 with the bundle [*iPerson*, *iDistal*] moves to SpecCP correctly marking the clause as
 958 second person, and no further fronting is available. The second derivation is that a

²² In this paper we will leave the question open why *de* is not spelled out overtly in North-Brabantish imperatives.

959 distal D-pronoun moves up to SpecCP. As a result we have the feature [iDistal] in
 960 SpecCP. This means that the clitic pronoun *de* must have the feature [iPerson] in C.
 961 Together they are able to mark the imperative clause as [iPerson, iDistal], i.e. as
 962 second person. These analyses are summarized by the derivations in (41).

963

964 **(41) Schematic representation of imperative fronting in North-Brabantish**

		Spec,CP	C	Spec,IP
a.	NB no fronting	<i>pro</i> {iPerson,iDistal}	V {iPerson} <i>lees</i>	<i>pro</i>
b.	NB with fronting	<i>Da</i> {iDistal}	<i>lees</i> {iPerson}	pro

965

966 The conclusion is that Fronting in imperatives is possible in Brabantish because the
 967 *de*-pronoun has the feature specification [iPerson] and moves to C via head movement.
 968 The other dialects with subject doubling do not have head movement of the second
 969 person clitic pronoun, but XP-movement, preventing fronting in imperatives.

970 To summarize, we can formulate the following parameter:

971

972 **(42) Doubling parameter**

973 a. Dialects do or do not have a spell-out for the clitic part of the
 974 (demonstrative or personal) pronoun

975 B. If they have a spell-out, the clitic moves via X° or via XP movement

976

977 The table below summarizes what the settings for this parameter are in the dialects
 978 under discussion :

979

980 **(43) Table summarizing the relation between doubling parameter and**
 981 **dialect regions**

No doubling	standard Dutch, South Hollandic, Sealandic
Doubling + XP movement	Flemish, South-Brabantish
Doubling + X° movement	North-Brabantish

982 **5.4 The C-agreement parameter**

983 The doubling parameter captures a substantial part of the behavior of the dialects
984 under discussion: the fact that they have doubling or not and the way in which they
985 behave in imperative clauses. The set of data we have not accounted for at this point
986 is the way these dialects behave with respect to subject doubling (generalized in
987 Flemish or restricted in Brabantish) and with complementizer agreement (possible in
988 Flemish and impossible in Brabantish). We propose that the presence of
989 complementizer agreement in a dialect signals the presence of a generalized φ -Probe
990 in the CP-domain. For argumentation that this agreement Probe is in the CP domain
991 and that it is different from the one resulting in verbal agreement, see Author 2005,
992 Haegeman and Author 2012). Flemish dialects have complementizer agreement and
993 consequently also this φ -probe, Brabantish dialects do not have complementizer
994 agreement, and hence they do not have a generalized φ -Probe in the left periphery (for
995 a similar suggestion see Author 2014).

996 We formalize this by introducing the φ -in-C parameter provided below.

997

998 **(44) φ -in-C parameter**

999 Dialects do or do not have a φ -Probe in C.

1000

1001 **(45) Table summarizing the relation between φ -in-C parameter and**
1002 **dialect regions**

+ φ -in-C	Flemish
- φ -in-C	Brabantish, standard Dutch

1003

1004 How this parameter explains the differences with respect to subject doubling in these
1005 dialects will become clear in the next section.

1006 **5.5 Summary**

1007 To summarize, we have reduced the properties described in section 3 above of the
1008 three dialects under discussion to two parameters: the doubling parameter and the φ -
1009 in-C-parameter. We have provided a table below showing how the dialects under
1010 discussion and the parameters interact:

1011

1012

1013

1014 **(46) Table summarizing the relation between the parameters**

1015 **and dialect regions**

	-doubling	+doubling	+doubling
		X-movement	XP-movement
+ ϕ-in-C	South Hollandic		Flemish
- ϕ-in-C	standard Dutch	North-Brabantish	South-Brabantish

1016

1017 The doubling parameter is provided in the horizontal dimension of this table, the ϕ -in-

1018 C-parameter in the vertical dimension. We have shown that standard Dutch has

1019 neither doubling (demonstrative or subject doubling) nor complementizer agreement

1020 and hence has a negative value for both parameter settings. South Hollandic has no

1021 doubling but it does have complementizer agreement. Therefore it has a positive

1022 setting for the ϕ -in-C-parameter but a negative setting for the doubling parameter.

1023 Flemish and South-Brabantish both have doubling and in subject doubling the clitic

1024 moves into the left periphery via XP-movement. This correlates with the fact that

1025 neither of these dialects have the option of fronting in imperatives. They differ with

1026 respect to complementizer agreement, however. Flemish does and (North- and

1027 southern) Brabantish do not have it. This means that the ϕ -in-C-parameter is set

1028 positively in Flemish, and negatively in Brabantish. There is one cell of the table not

1029 filled, namely the one in which there is a positive setting for doubling and subject

1030 doubling takes place via head movement and a positive setting for the ϕ -in-C-

1031 parameter. There are probably some individual dialects that belong in this cell, but we

1032 leave that for further research.

1033 **6. Derivations**

1034 This section discusses the derivation of the doubling configurations in Flemish

1035 (section 6.1) and North- and South-Brabantish (section 6.2). We will furthermore

1036 show how the ϕ -in-C-parameter explains the differences in doubling between Flemish

1037 and Brabantish.

1038 **6.1 Doubling in Flemish**

1039 We argue that the difference between Flemish and the Brabantish with respect to
1040 subject doubling, boils down to the fact that Flemish requires the left periphery of the
1041 clause (the C-domain) to contain a φ -probe (see also Author 2014). Recall that
1042 whereas subject doubling in Flemish is generalized to all clause types and all
1043 person/number combinations of the subject pronouns, Brabantish only allows
1044 doubling in the second person in inverted main clauses. This φ -Probe in the left
1045 periphery of the clause in Flemish is present in all sentence types and hence always
1046 attracts a subject clitic (see Author 2007). As argued for above, the subject clitic
1047 moves as an XP in these dialects. We have provided the derivation of subject
1048 doubling and demonstrative doubling in these dialects in (47).

1049

1050 **(47) Derivation for Flemish dialects**

1051 (i) **base structure (see also (35) above)**

1052 $[_{\text{CnP}} \quad [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die/gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}]]]]]$

1053 (ii) **φP to SpecCnP**

1054 $[_{\text{CnP}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{die/gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{-de}]]]]]$

1055 (iii) **φi extraction from nominal CnP (subject doubling only)**

1056 $[_{\text{CP}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}] [_{\text{TP}} [_{\text{VP}} \dots [_{\text{CnP}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{-de}] [_{\text{Cn}} [_{\text{DP}} \textit{gij} [_{\text{D}} [_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{-de}]]]]]]]]$

1057

1058 Flemish dialects do not have fronting in imperatives, because they does not allow the
1059 head movement of the [iPerson] features of the second person pronoun into C. This
1060 means that the only way in which the requirements of the imperative C can be
1061 fulfilled is by moving an empty subject into the SpecCP, thereby preventing fronting
1062 (see section 5.2 above).

1063

1064 **6.1 Doubling in North- and South-Brabantish**

1065 The derivation of *de-die* and *de-gij* in these dialects runs as follows. In line with
1066 general theoretical assumptions (cf. Chomsky 1995), there is a lexically determined
1067 option for the φ -features to move as a maximal projection $[_{\varphi\text{P}} \textit{de}]$ or as a head $[_{\varphi} \textit{de}]$.
1068 We assume, based on the behavior of North-Brabantish of fronting in imperatives,
1069 that Flemish and South-Brabantish take the first option and North-Brabantish takes

1070 the second. In the North-Brabantish area [φ *de*] moves to Cn, see (48)ii. This derives
1071 the surface orders *de-gij* and *de-die*.

1072

1073 **(48) Derivation for North-Brabantish dialects – to be continued**

1074 (i) **base structure**

1075 [_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [φ *de*]]]]]

1076 (ii) **φ to Cn**

1077 [_{CnP} [_{Cn} *de* [_{DP} *die/gij* [_D [φ ~~*de*~~]]]]]

1078

1079 As already mentioned above, the derivation of *de-gij* does not stop here. The next step
1080 of the derivation differentiates between *de-die* and *de-gij*. As was already noted (see
1081 (49)iii) *de* in subject doubling moves from the nominal CnP into the clausal domain.

1082

1083 (49) (iii) ***de* to clausal C**

1084 [_{CP}[_C V-*de* [_{TP} ... [_{CnP} [_{Cn} ~~*de*~~ [_{DP} *gij* [_D [φ ~~*de*~~]]]]]]] [_T ...

1085

1086 The question is what triggers the movement of *de* into the clausal domain.²³ It is clear
1087 that verb-subject orders are crucial for *de* to move out of the CnP. We suggest that
1088 this left peripheral Probe is made available by the movement of the finite verb into the
1089 clausal C-position. This verb contains an element with the feature [uPerson] (an
1090 uninterpretable feature Person) if it is second person. Let us explain that. In the
1091 second person, the person feature of the finite verb is uninterpretable – [uPerson] – as
1092 its form coincides with the third person in regular order and with the first person in
1093 inverted order. This is shown in (50)b.

1094

1095 (50) a. Ik loop / loop ik

1096 I walk / walk I

1097 b. Jij loopt / loop jij

1098 you walk-t / walk you

1099 c. Hij loopt-t / loopt-t hij

1100 he walk-t / walk-t he

²³ There appears to be a related issue. In subject doubling, the strong pronoun *gij* is optional, whereas the strong pronoun *die* is obligatory present in demonstrative doubling. In our view this difference is directly related to the fact that *de* moves out of the nominal CnP in subject doubling, but remains within the CnP in demonstrative doubling. We leave this issue for further research.

1101

1102 In order to allow [uPerson] in clausal C to become interpretable, V in C attracts
1103 [iPerson], i.e. *de*, from the nominal Cn position, giving rise to partial subject
1104 incorporation. This is shown in (51)iv.

1105

1106 (51) Derivation for North-Brabantish dialects – final step

1107 (iv) ***de* to clausal C (final)**

1108 [CP[C V_{uPerson} -*de*_{iPerson} [TP [CnP [Cn *de* [DP *gij* [D [_φ-*de*]]]]]] [T ...

1109

1110 We thus explain the properties of North-Brabantish that we presented in (36) above:
1111 the only context in which the C-domain contains a trigger (the finite verb with a
1112 [uPerson] feature) to attract *de* is found in verb-subject orders with a second person
1113 finite verb.

1114 Demonstrative doubling follows from the regular derivation of doubling in (48). The
1115 weak element *de* remains within CnP and is spelled out independent of clausal
1116 structure. Distal D-pronoun fronting in imperatives is also derived because this dialect
1117 (in contrast to the others), has [iPerson] incorporation into V when V is in the C-
1118 position.

1119 The South-Brabantish dialects, finally, have properties of both dialects. They do
1120 not have a generalized φ-probe in the C-domain (and consequently no
1121 complementizer agreement), which means that subject doubling is restricted to
1122 contexts in which the verb with a [uPerson] feature moves to C, i.e. in second person
1123 VS-clauses. However, since they have phrasal movement of the clitic *de* rather than
1124 head movement inside nominal CnP, the C-position will not be marked as [iPerson].
1125 Consequently, they do not allow distal D-pronoun fronting in imperative clauses. That
1126 would leave the imperative verb underspecified (only [iDistal]). These dialects thus
1127 have to resort to the general Dutch strategy for imperatives to move the silent pronoun
1128 [iPerson, iDistal] into SpecCP.

1129 **7. Conclusions**

1130 Using the databases in MIMORE, we discovered the correlation that Flemish, South-
1131 Brabantish and North-Brabantish dialects have both second person subject pronoun
1132 doubling and demonstrative doubling and that dialects outside of this area have

1133 neither. We propose an analysis in which both constructions are derived from the
1134 same underlying nominal structure [_{CnP} [_{Cn} [_{DP} die/gij [_D [_{φP/φ} de]]]]]. In
1135 Flemish and South-Brabantish, the order *de-dieje* and *de-gij* is the result of φP
1136 movement to nominal SpecCnP. Subsequently, φP (*de*) moves out of the nominal CnP
1137 into the left periphery of the clause in the case of subject doubling. In Flemish this is
1138 due to the requirement that the φP of the subject should show up in the C-domain of
1139 the clause (φ-Probe), in South-Brabantish because of the uninterpretable person
1140 feature of the second person verb. In North-Brabantish, doubling is the result of
1141 movement of φ to Cn, with subsequent movement of φ to the finite verb in the
1142 clausal C in the case of subject doubling, again due to the uninterpretable person
1143 feature of the second person verb.

1144 The syntactic base structures are identical in the three dialect groups and the
1145 derivations are highly similar. Parametrization arises at two points.

1146 a) lexical properties with respect to the spell out of φ

1147 - Flemish has phrasal spell out for φP for all persons.

1148 - South-Brabantish has spell out for φP in the case of second person only.

1149 - North-Brabantish has spell out for the head φ in the case of second person only.

1150 - Other varieties of Dutch, the fourth group of dialects under discussion, neither have
1151 spell out for φP nor for φ.

1152 These lexical differences cause syntactic differences, i.e. differences in movement
1153 patterns.

1154 b) trigger of subject doubling

1155 Flemish has a generalized φ-probe in C which attracts the subject clitic both in
1156 embedded clauses and in main clauses with and without inversion. This correlates
1157 with the fact that Flemish, but not Brabantish, has complementizer agreement. The
1158 Brabantish dialects do not have generalized subject doubling, so attraction of a subject
1159 clitic is generally absent, with the exception of second person singular inverted main
1160 clauses. We argued that this is due to a [uPerson] feature on the finite verb. When this
1161 verb moves to C it acts as an attractor for the head *de* in North-Brabantish and for the
1162 phrase *de* (φP) in South-Brabantish. In the former group of dialects, the head *de* with
1163 the feature [iPerson] incorporates into V in C, making fronting of distal D-pronouns
1164 in imperatives possible. In the latter group of dialects, the phrase *de* moves to a Spec
1165 position and therefore does not mark V in C as [iPerson]. Therefore fronting of distal

1166 D-pronouns in South-Brabantish imperatives is not sufficient to mark a clause as
1167 second person and therefore ruled out.

1168

1169 (52)	Formal property	Phenomenon
1170 Flemish	generalized ϕ -Probe	comp-agreement
1171	phrasal spell out of ϕ P	subject pronoun doubling
1172	ϕ P subextracts from CnP	no distal D-pron. fronting
1173		
1174 B-Brabantish	no generalized ϕ -Probe	no comp-agreement
1175	V-2p has [uPerson]	2p subj pronoun doubling
1176		only in inversion contexts
1177	phrasal spell out of ϕ P 2p	
1178	ϕ P subextracts from CnP	no distal D-pron. fronting
1179		
1180 N-Brabantish	no generalized ϕ -Probe	no comp-agreement
1181	V-2p has [uPerson]	2p subj pronoun doubling
1182		only in inversion contexts
1183	spell out of head ϕ 2p	
1184	ϕ subextracts from CnP	distal D-pron. fronting
1185		

1186 All together this paper has shown that the MIMORE databases and tools enable us to
1187 uncover intricate patterns of (morpho-)syntactic (anti-)correlations that can be
1188 reduced to a small set of lexical parameters.

1189

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