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Plural inflection in varieties of Dutch: Patterns of restructuring and geographical redistribution

Despite their close genetic affiliation, the Northern West Germanic languages, i.e. Dutch, Frisian, English and Low German, followed partly divergent paths with respect to the development of their nominal inflection. Although the overall diachronic tendency towards gradual reduction in the declensional diversity (inherited from the common ancestor) is discernible in all of them, the outcome of the extensive analogical developments varies across individual languages and dialects. The divergent restructuring patterns found in the earliest material from English and Frisian on the one hand, and from early Low German and early Dutch on the other, can be attributed to different phonological developments in these languages. Two major phonological processes and the dynamics of interactions between them played a decisive role in the restructuring of the nominal inflection in the mentioned languages: (a) *i*-mutation, with its different scope and chronology across West Germanic; and (b) apocope and weakening (reduction) of final vowels, in particular /i/ > /ə/.

The present study explores the variation in the plural inflection of modern Dutch varieties, focusing on its diachronic development. The aim of the study is to identify and assess the significance of the factors which contributed to the emergence of variation in the examined dialects, especially when seen in the broader Northern West Germanic context. The original diversity of declensional classes, which can be found in the earliest attested stage of Germanic languages (e.g. *a*-stems, *ō*-stems, *s*-stems, *n*-stems, root nouns), is reflected in a varied inventory of plural morphemes in present-day varieties, whose distribution is highly lexical. The gradual confusion and merger of class-specific inflectional markers contributed to a reduction in the diversity of the inherited inflectional plural exponents. With time, the distribution of plural markers tended to become increasingly determined by phonology and gender or was guided by semantics (as in the case of the *s*-stems, representing predominantly agrarian vocabulary, cf. Dammel, Kürschner & Nübling 2010).

Factors that have earlier been recognised as relevant for the variation in plurality patterns in Dutch are primarily phonological in nature and include: *i*-mutation (primary vs. secondary), apocope of schwa and of *-n* following schwa, as well as the emergence of accent (tone) as a contrastive feature (Goossens 1987: 148). The morphologisation of *i*-mutation in early Dutch occurred in compliance with the developments in early High German rather than in Anglo-Frisian. However, in contrast to High German, the effects of *i*-mutation were eliminated from the nominal inflection in the thirteenth century, and consequently they are nearly absent from the present-day Dutch nominal system, except for residues in some (south)eastern dialects of modern Dutch (e.g. Limburgian, Twente dialects), e.g. *voet: vuut* 'feet', *boom*: *beum* 'trees' (Marynissen 1996). This irregular development of *i*-mutation in Dutch has been viewed as an essential feature rendering Dutch distinct from the rest of West Germanic (e.g. Goossens 1988; Buccini 2010; de Vaan 2018), and the germs of this difference can be identified already in the earliest stage of Dutch.

A systematic comparison of the earliest material from Dutch (Old Low Franconian; Adamczyk 2018) with selected modern varieties of Dutch (Limburgian, Hollandish, Twente-dialect; De Schutter et al. 2005) reveals that the retention and emergence of irregular plural patterns is determined by a combination of phonological and non-phonological factors: apart from the extent and chronology of *i*-mutation and the scope of phonological developments in unstressed syllables, the functional strength and salience of inflectional markers as well as frequency of use (lemma frequencies) emerge as relevant. As these factors account for most of the variation in plurality patterns in other Northern West Germanic languages, their validity for Dutch will be evaluated in a comparison with the patterns found in early English, Frisian and Low and High German.

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Relative features and lower complementisers in West-Germanic comparatives

My talk investigates the different distribution of the complementisers *that*/*dass*/*dat* in comparative constructions in English, German, and Dutch, arguing that it is primarily tied to the differences in the relative feature that may or may not be present on these elements.

The occurrence of *dat* in Dutch comparatives is shown in (1):

(1) a. *Emma is even oud **als dat** Peter is.* 'Emma is as old as Peter.'
b. *Emma is ouder **dan dat** Peter is.* 'Emma is older than Peter.'

The constructions in (1) are regular degree comparatives: (1a) expresses equality and (1b) expresses inequality. Such patterns are not attested either in English or in German. German allows *als dass* in cases like (2):

(2) a. *Sie geht lieber ins Kino **als dass** sie zu Hause studiert.*
'She rather goes to the cinema than studies at home.'
b. *Es ist zu schön, **als dass** es wahr sein könnte.*
'It is too nice to be true.'

As seen in (2a), German *als dass* is not tied to a proper degree construction: here the subclause is taken by the adverbial *lieber* and there is no gradable adjective (unlike *oud* in (1) above). Likewise, (2b) does not contain the regular comparative marker *-er*, which normally takes *als*-clauses.

The differences can be attributed to the featural requirements on lower complementisers in constructions like (1), if any. Degree comparatives regularly contain a double CP for semantic reasons, whereby the lower CP hosts the comparative operator that moves up there via ordinary relative operator movement: this CP is marked as [rel] and it may therefore host certain relative complementisers (Bacskai-Atkari 2016). The German complementiser *dass*, which does not appear in ordinary relative clauses (not to be confused with the relative pronoun *das*), is [–rel] and hence incompatible with this: it types clauses that are complete propositions, which do not contain a gap necessary for a relative clause. This condition is met in (2), which I will show to lack comparative operator movement, as opposed to (1). Dutch *dat* is underspecified for [±rel]: unlike in English, *dat* is not a regular relative complementiser in Dutch but it is attested as a complementiser alongside relative operators in various dialects (Bennis & Haegeman 1986) and it can marginally even occur on its own in a few dialects (Boef 2013). By contrast, English has no underspecified *that*: there are two lexical items, a [–rel] declarative and, as in (3), a [+rel] relative complementiser:

(3) *I know the man **that** lives next door.*

I argue that the inherent [+rel] specification of *that* types the clause as relative proper and does not allow a higher clause-typing projection (e.g. comparative) but requires immediate association with the lexical head in the matrix clause. This is also tied to *that* being a demonstrative-based relative complementiser rather than an interrogative-based one, which are also underspecified for [±rel] and may appear as lower complementisers (as in certain Slavic languages, Bacskai-Atkari 2016). The syntactic differences concerning the availability of a lower complementiser in West Germanic are hence due to a minimal lexical difference on the complementiser in question and they are in line with the more general distribution of *that*/*dass*/*dat* in the respective languages.

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Abstract Germanic Sandwich

On the development of *blijken* and 'turn out': how did these verbs become linguistic markers of surprise?

By: Cas Bomans, MA student Dutch language & culture at the University of Amsterdam.

In my research I will argue that the Dutch verb *blijken* (contra Vliegen, 2011), is a marker of mirativity, i.e. a linguistic expression of surprise or the fact that the conveyed information is new either to the speaker or the addressee (Hengeveld & Olbertz, 2012), just as its English counterpart 'turn out' (Serrano-Losada, 2017). If we compare the following two sentences, we see that both 'turn out' and *blijken* show a certain degree of unexpectedness when it comes to the proposition.

1. It **turns out** that elephants have an advanced sense of self (Serrano-Losada, 2017)
2. *Het **blijkt** dat die toch opmerkelijk veilig zijn*.

   'It **turns out** that these are remarkably safe' (context.reverso.net)

Especially in the Dutch example we see that the proposition 'These are safe' is not expected by the speaker; the speaker uses *opmerkelijk* (remarkably) and *toch* (a particle that expresses counter expectation in Dutch) to emphasize that this piece of information is somehow unexpected.

I will give a historical account on the emergence of the mirative use of *blijken* and 'turn out'. Although they started out as two seemingly different main verbs (the verb *blijken* used to mean 'to light up, to glitter', where 'turn out' used to mean 'to go away, to depart'), the historical development of the two verbs seems to be similar: both verbs got their mirative meaning through the process of subjectification, i.e. the diachronical process whereby verbs increasingly start to express the speaker's attitude toward a claim (cf. De Haan, 2007).

I will also argue why it was that the focus of these two verbs has shifted toward the marking of surprise: because they both were resultative (change-of-state) verbs without any other similarities, I will maintain that this resultativity is the deciding factor for becoming a marker of surprise. This is a phenomenon that is also observed in other unrelated languages, where resultative constructions develop mirative overtones over time (Hengeveld & Olbertz, 2012).

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The Dutch "semi-passives" with *krijgen/zien* and their German and English counterparts

This paper presents a constructionist analysis of the Dutch "semi-passive" constructions with *krijgen* 'to get' and *zien* 'to see' illustrated in (1) and (2) below, respectively, comparing these to a number of formally and/or semantically similar non-canonical passives in English and German. All Dutch examples included below are from the SoNaR corpus.

The construction with *krijgen* has already attracted a fair share of linguistic attention, but there is no agreement on its syntactic status and its semantic range of application (see, e.g., Colleman 2016 vs. Broekhuis 2016). I will bring in new data from the SoNaR and NLCOW corpora which allow for a more fine-grained identification of the formal and semantic subclasses of ditransitive verbs accommodated by this *krijgen*-construction in present-day Dutch. On the basis of a set of over 2,000 attested *krijgen*-passive instances, it will be shown that, on the one hand, the construction is found with certain types of verbs that are not readily found in the active double object construction, whereas, on the other hand, other types can be shown to occur with *krijgen* far less frequently than might be expected on the basis of their occurrence in the double object construction, or even not at all. The posited lexical and semantic constraints will be compared to those identified for the German *bekommen/kriegen*-passive in Leirbukt (1997), Lenz (2016), Oya (2016), etc.

The construction with *zien* has not yet been the subject of extensive grammatical research. Interestingly, as illustrated in (3) below, the *zien*-pattern attracts verbs from a number of semantic classes that are less readily used with *krijgen*, such as dispossession and deprivation verbs. The examples in (3) also show that the construction comes in a reflexive and a non-reflexive variant. This *zien*-construction bears a degree of functional resemblance to the English construction with "Experiencer *have*" in (4), which, in Kirchner (1952) already, is analysed as an "Ausweichkonstruktion" that speakers resort to in cases where the regular English ditransitive passive is not an option (cf. * *I was stolen seven bitcoins*). The Dutch and English constructions in (3) and (4), though structurally quite different, can be argued to occupy similar beneficiary/adversative niches in the respective networks of passive constructions. I will also address the question to what extent German can be said to possess a similar *sehen*-passive.

(1) De SP.A-Spiritfractie krijgt één schepenzetel toegewezen.
(2) Het Football Experience Center ziet zich een subsidie van 299.000 euro toegewezen.
(3) a. Wie wil reserveren kan dat beter zes weken van tevoren doen. Tom Cruise en Nicole Kidman zagen zich onlangs een tafel geweigerd.
b. De schepen … die in afwachting van de resultaten van het gerechtelijk onderzoek al zijn bevoegdheden zag afgepakt, blijft ervan overtuigd dat…
(4) "I had seven bitcoins stolen from me through fraud," Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak said at the Times' Global Business Summit. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/26/>

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Complex perfects in Germanic

Complex perfects are fascinating constructions in the Germanic languages. The examples below illustrate how the perfect auxiliary *have* may combine with a modal and a lexical verb in Dutch and German respectively.

(1) *Ik heb kunnen komen.* (Dutch)
I have can.INF come.INF

(2) *Ich habe kommen können.* (German)
I have come.INF can.INF

Complex perfects in Dutch and German are first and foremost known for their intricate patterns of word order variation in the subordinate clause, especially in regional and historical varieties (e.g. Coupé 2015). Another prominent issue, studied since at least Grimm (1837), is the unexpected coding of the auxiliary directly embedded under *have.* This auxiliary appears as a bare infinitive instead of the expected past participle, a phenomenon known as *Erzatsinfinitiv* or *infinitivus pro participio.*

A similar but perhaps less well-known case of unexpected coding may be found in complex perfects in Swedish. Some regional varieties code the lexical verb as a supine, as in (4), instead of an infinitive, as in the case in the Standard Swedish example (3), giving rise to a so-called *double supine* (Larsson 2014).

(3) *Jag har kunnat komma.* (Swedish)
I have can.SUP come.INF

(4) *Jag har kunnat kommit*. (regional Swedish)
I have can.SUP come.SUP

These examples only scratch the surface of the cross-linguistic variation found in complex perfects in Germanic. This paper wants to further flesh out the divergent coding of complex perfects in Dutch, German and English (aka the 'Germanic sandwich') and Swedish (adding a northern perspective) and analyze it from a diachronic construction grammar perspective (e.g. Coussé et al. 2018).

The central idea of the analysis is that complex perfects result from the innovative integration of two periphrastive verb constructions. In the examples above this is the simple *have* perfect and a modal construction. These multiple source constructions may impose conflicting selectional restrictions and formal coding on the new more complex construction (cf. 'form-function friction' in De Smet & Van de Velde 2013). It will be argued that the languages under investigation have solved these conflicts in diverging ways in the course of their history giving rise to synchronic cross-linguistic variation.

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The vitality of syntactic gender agreement in 17th century Dutch

Research on so-called resemanticisation of Dutch pronominal gender challenges the diachronic account stating that out of an erstwhile triadic system distinguishing masculine, feminine and neuter gender, a binary system emerged in which the choice of anaphoric pronouns essentially followed the distinction between *de*-nouns and *het*-nouns, mainly because the n-suffix marking masculine gender was lost together with nominative-accusative distinction (Geerts 1966). Thus, not only has the distinction between highly and lowly individuated pronoun referents been shown to be a more important factor for the choice of a pronoun than the distinction between de- and het-nouns in present-day northern varieties of Dutch (Audring 2006, 2009), this state-of-affairs is also observed in southern varieties of Dutch in which the distinction between masculine and feminine *de*-nouns is preserved (De Vogelaer & De Sutter 2011, De Vos 2013). The clearest argument against the traditional account comes from Kraaikamp (2017), who attests a substantial proportion of semantic agreement, in particular of neuter pronouns referring to *de*-nouns indicating masses, in historical varieties of Dutch, some tracing back to the 16th century, an era in which the triadic system is believed to be by and large intact.

Ende dien clar-en ghesuiverd-en **zeem** doet in eenen pot. Aldus sal men-**t** orboren in den ipocras ende in den clareyt voerseyt.
and DET.SG.ACC.M clear-SG.ACC.M purified-SG.ACC.M honey put in a pot thus shall one-3SG.ACC.N use in the hippocras and in the claret aforementioned
'And put the clear, purified honey in a pot. As such, it will be used in the hippocras and in the aforementioned claret.'

Kraaikamp (2017: 105)

Despite challenging findings like Kraaikamp's, a study quantifying the role of both noun semantics and 'classic' parameters such as noun gender, case, and phonological environment triggering/inhibiting the appearance of the -n-suffix, is still lacking. In our talk, we aim at disentangling the role of all known factors in 17th century Dutch, using the Letters as Loot-corpus (Rutten & van der Wal 2014) as our main data source. We include both adnominal agreement, focusing on the role of *-n* as a case and/or gender marker, and pronominal agreement. Our findings show that both case and phonological environment have an effect on adnominal agreement. In contrast to Geerts' (1966) traditional account, lexical gender, including the distinction between masculine and feminine, is still strongly influencing pronominal agreement. Apart from providing a quantitative description of the 17th century Dutch agreement system, a comparison with Curzan's (2003) account of gender in Old and Middle English is used to evaluate different proposals regarding the timing and causes of resemanticisation of Dutch pronominal gender.

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Indringers in de werkwoordsgroep: het Afrikaans in vergelijking met het Nederlands en het Duits

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Het Binnengermaans wordt gekarakteriseerd door de vorming van werkwoordsgroepen op de tweede zinspool die gescheiden zijn van niet-verbale elementen. De constructies in (1), (2) en (4) bevatten een reguliere werkwoordsgroep in resp. Nederlands, Afrikaans en Duits. De werkwoordsgroep met *pseudocoördinatie* uit (3) treffen we enkel aan in het Afrikaans.

(1) NL … als iedereen vegetarisch **zou gaan eten** (OpenSoNaR)
(2) AF … dat hulle daar **kan gaan woon**. (Korpusportaal)
(3) AF … dat die werkers daar **staan en braai** met biere (Korpusportaal)
(4) DE … ob er den Schlüssel zum Haus nicht **hat finden können.** (Google)

Donaldson (1993), Ponelis (1993) en De Vos (2006) geven aan dat in het Afrikaans mogelijk is de werkwoordsgroep te onderbreken met niet-werkwoordelijke elementen, zoals in (5-6).

(5) AF Dat sy seker **moet** ’n woonstel **koop**. (Ponelis 1993)
(6) AF Daar sal altyd iemand **sit en** boeke **lees**. (De Vos 2006)

In de literatuur is er echter onenigheid over welke indringers de werkwoordsgroep kunnen doorbreken. Volgens Donaldson (1993) en De Vos (2006) is doorbreking enkel mogelijk door indringers die uit één woord bestaan, terwijl Ponelis (1993) en Robbers (1997) ook doorbreking door volledige NP’s en PP’s vermelden. Verder is het onduidelijk in welke mate doorbreking van de werkwoordsgroep optioneel of verplicht is in het Afrikaans.
Om een accuraat beeld te krijgen van mogelijke indringers in Afrikaanse werkwoordsgroepen hebben we een corpusonderzoek uitgevoerd. De resultaten tonen aan dat in geschreven Afrikaans scheidbare partikels, kale naamwoorden en predicatief gebruikte adjectieven in beide types werkwoordsgroepen de meest voorkomende indringers zijn. Verder blijkt er een belangrijk verschil te zijn tussen reguliere werkwoordsgroepen en clusters met pseudocoördinatie. Voor de eerste groep is doorbreking optioneel voor elk type indringer. Voor werkwoordsgroepen met pseudocoördinatie is clusterdoorbreking verplicht in een aantal gevallen, bijvoorbeeld indien er een direct object of een predicatief adjectief bij het werkwoord staat, en onmogelijk in andere gevallen.
In het Nederlands en het Duits wordt doorbreking van de werkwoordelijke eindgroep over het algemeen minder aanvaard, maar empirische studies hebben aangetoond dat in informeel taalgebruik doorbreking niet ongewoon is (Augustinus 2014, Hendriks 2014, Dubenion-Smith 2010). We vergelijken de resultaten voor het Afrikaans met die voor het Nederlands en het Duits.

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Prepositional object clauses in German and Dutch

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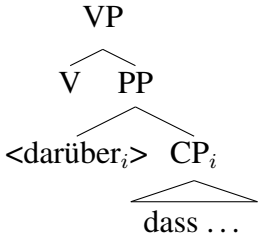
In this talk we compare Dutch (NL) and German (DE) prepositional object (=PO) clauses:

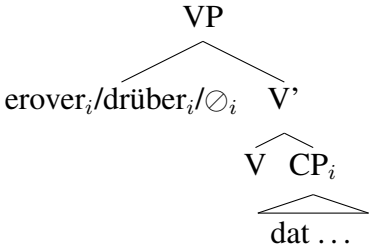
(1) a. dass Jan (**darüber**) klagte, [dass Maria ihn immer ärgert] DE
b. dat Jan (**erover**) klaagde [dat Marie hem steeds plaagt] NL
that Jan about.it complained that Marie him always teases
'that Jan complained about it that Marie teases him all the time'

Similarities: (D1) PO-clauses occur with a prepositional proform (DE: weak: *drunter*, *drüber* etc.; strong: *darunter*, *darüber*, etc.; NL: weak: *ervan*, *erover* etc., strong: *daarvan*, *daarover* etc.), which is optional with some verbs. (D2) The clause cannot precede the proform (Büring 1995; Vandeweghe & Devos 2003) (except in left dislocation structures, which we assume to be base-generated). (D3) With those verbs that allow the proform to be dropped, it can only be dropped, when the clause is extraposed (Webelhuth 1992). **Differences**: (D4) In DE the strong proforms can form a constituent with the clause and appear clause initially (Vorfeld=VF), in the middle field (=MF) or extraposed (Nachfeld=NF) (see Breindl 1989). This is impossible for DE weak forms (Eisenberg 2013) and for all NL forms (van Riemsdijk 1978; Haslinger 2007). (D5) In addition, Dutch generally allows for the extraction of the locative part of the proform.
Analysis: Following Haider (1997); Zwart (1993), we take extraposed complement clauses to be base-generated to the right as complement to the verb. DE allows for the two options in (2) and (3), whereas all forms in Dutch PO-clauses only allow for (3). In (2) the proform and clause form a constituent, but the proform can move into the MF. In (3) the proform is a true correlate and fills the argument position together with the clause (see Zifonun et al. 1997; Haider 2010 for ideas along this line).

(2) DE strong forms



(3) DE weak forms, NL proforms, all null forms



The clause cannot move across the proform on its own as a result of the co-indexation with the proform in both (2) and (3) (D2). This is in parallel to what we find with relative clauses or complement clauses to nouns, which cannot precede their head nouns either (Müller, 1995).
D3 is due to the availability of a null form, which has to be base-generated in front of the verb, so it only appears in (3). As a result, the clause cannot move across the correlate (as with D2) and is stuck in the NF. German strong forms appear in (2), which is not available in NL (D4). Finally, Dutch has a R-extraction rule which is absent in German (D5, van Riemsdijk 1978).

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**Collectivizing metaphors in English, Dutch, and German:
An exploration of corpus landscapes**

This paper presents a corpus-based contrastive analysis of collectivizing metaphors in English, Dutch, and German. We focus on compounds with the head constituents 'world' and 'landscape', e.g. English *media world*/*media landscape*, Dutch *mediawereld*/*medialandschap*, and German *Medienlandschaft*/*Medienwelt*. These uses of 'world' and 'landscape' are interesting for a variety of reasons: Firstly, they experience a steep increase in frequency across all three languages. Secondly, when used as compound constituents as in the examples above, they arguably show similarities to so-called affixoids, having undergone semantic bleaching. Thirdly, the compound patterns compete with syntactic variants such as *world of the media* across all three languages. As such, a comparison between the three languages also harks back to van Haeringen's (1956) question regarding synthetic vs. analytic patterns in the three languages.
In order to investigate these patterns in more detail, we use a number of both standard and non-standard corpora: For standard Dutch, the Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands (CHN), for English, the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), and for German, the DWDS Core Corpora of the 20th and 21st centuries. In addition, the COW corpora (Schäfer & Bildhauer 2012, Schäfer 2015) are used to account for innovative, low-frequency, non-standard uses. While our analysis focuses on compound patterns, we also take the syntactic variants like *world of* (*the*) N and *landscape of* (*the*) N into account. Drawing on these data, we address the following research questions: (a) Does the frequency of the patterns develop (roughly) in parallel across the three languages? If so, could this be explained by language contact? (b) Do the patterns develop in parallel across the three languages according to their semantics, or can language-specific tendencies be identified? (c) Which formal and semantic constraints can be observed in the individual languages? (d) Which factors drive the choice between the synthetic and analytic alternatives, and how do these factors intersect across the three languages? In line with the characterization of German as a language with a strong propensity towards compounding (Schlücker 2012), can we find a tendency towards synthetic patterns in German and analytic ones in English, which is traditionally considered more analytic (Nübling 2010), with Dutch being "in-between"? – In sum, our case study can contribute to a more thorough understanding of at least three areas that are highly relevant to a comparison of the "Germanic sandwich" languages English, Dutch, and German: The distribution of synthetic vs. analytic structures, the interaction between constructional variants (alternations) within and across languages, and the question of how these languages might influence each other in the emergence and spread of new constructional patterns.

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Linguïstische concepten ter verrijking van het grammaticaonderwijs in de alfavakken op middelbare scholen

Momenteel worden de curricula van Nederlands en de moderne vreemde talen in het Nederlandse voortgezet onderwijs inhoudelijk herzien vanuit de volgende visie:*"[Het talenonderwijs] heeft te weinig aandacht voor het bewuste gebruik van kennis over taal (...) de balans [moet] verschuiven van feitelijke kennis naar inzicht, begrip en toepassing (....) Het moet focussen op de ontwikkeling van taalbewustzijn. "* (Neijt et al., 2015).

Ondanks het feit dat grammatica in de Kerndoelen al werd beschreven als ondersteunende vaardigheid voor andere taalvaardigheden en voor de verwerving van moderne vreemde talen, laat de praktijk te wensen over. Het grammaticale inzicht van middelbare scholieren gaat niet veel verder dan het kunnen benoemen van een zinsdeel of woordsoort (Coppen, 2011) en er bestaat geen empirisch bewijs om de geclaimde transfereffecten te ondersteunen (Bonset, 2011). De huidige invulling van het grammaticaonderwijs is dan ook onderhevig aan sterke (inter-)nationale kritiek (Fontich & Camps, 2014; Van Rijt, 2017).

De moderne taalkunde kan helpen het traditionele grammaticaonderwijs te verrijken: veel van de bestaande begrippen kunnen misschien beter begrepen worden aan de hand van de achterliggende of overkoepelende taalkundige concepten. Ook kan de bewuste taalvaardigheid van een leerling wellicht verbeteren door middel van contrastieve bestudering van concepten in verschillende talen. Welke concepten lenen zich voor dergelijk onderwijs?

Van Rijt en Coppen stelden vast dat taalkundigen zeven van de drieëntwintig in hun onderzoek bevraagde taalkundige concepten nuttig achten voor het schoolvak Nederlands (2017). Hoe denken docenten Nederlands hierover en zijn er verschillen met docenten Duits en Engels? Zijn het dezelfde grammaticale concepten die relevant zijn voor het moedertaalonderwijs en het vreemdetalenonderwijs? Of juist niet? Ter beantwoording van deze vragen heb ik een digitale vragenlijst met een selectie van taalkundige concepten (Van Rijt & Coppen, 2017) bij docenten Nederlands, Engels en Duits afgenomen. Tijdens de presentatie ga ik in op de dataverzameling, de uitkomsten en de ontwerpprincipes die op basis van de vragenlijst zijn geformuleerd. Mede op grond van deze data zal een grammaticadidactiek ontwikkeld worden ter verbetering van de bewuste taalvaardigheid van leerlingen.

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(Traditionele) grammatica
Taalkunde
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Transfer
Linguïstische concepten
middelbaar onderwijs
de schooltalen Nederlands, Engels en Duits

Topics
Syntax, Applied Linguistics, L1 acquisition

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Luxembourgish within Western Germanic

Luxembourgish is a Mosel Franconian dialect within the Middle German dialect gropus. This statement is true in many ways, but there is a lack of qualitative research within the historical development of the Luxembourgish language, where the works of R. BRUCH (1953: *Grundlegung einer Geschichte des Luxemburgischen*. Luxembourg: Publications littéraires et scientifiques du ministère de l'éducation nationale, 1954 *: Das Luxemburgische im westfränkischen Kreis. Luxembourg*: Publications littéraires et scientifiques du ministère de l'éducation nationale.) are still deemed most important, even though highly outdated.

In the following presentation, Luxembourgish linguistic history will be analysed mostly relying on the inherited lexicon and morphological features to place it as a Middle German language inbetween Dutch and High German, and, within western Germanic context in general. Due to a lack of historic writing in Luxembourgish (with the appearance of writing in Luxembourgish only in the 19th century), reference is made to microtoponomastic data in order to enhance the possible historical analysis of the development of Luxembourgish and its linguistic placement.

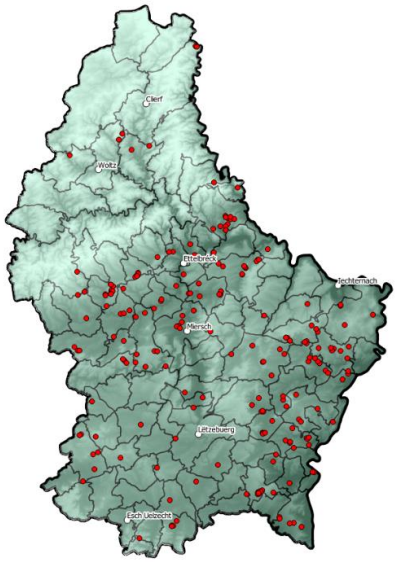

Fig. 1 - Distribution of names with *Griecht* 'trench'

Among the most prominent examples is the sound change of *-p/b-t-* > *- χ-t-* (later > *- ʃ-t-* before high front vowels, or loss of the fricative before mid to back vowels with compensatory lengthening of the vowel). A common example would be the word *Lucht* 'air, (day)light, lamp' (German *Luft*, Dutch *lucht*). A semantic shift can be attested (from 'air'to '(day)light') and later on, the High German word *Luft* was borrowed in the form *Loft* with the meaning 'air, wind'.

This soundchange can be traced in the earliest periods of siginificant sound changes for Luxembourgish and can almost exclusively be found in toponomastic data. Fig. 1 shows the distribution of the place name *griecht* 'trench' in Luxembourg, alternative spellings for this named place can be found in *gracht, graecht, gruecht*, simply representing different time periods of sound change. The name shows the exact morphological built as Dutch *Gracht*, but with the semantic difference, that in Luxembourgish it mostly denotates natural, and only sometimes man-made trenches. The man-made trenches are mostly referred to by the name *Gruef(/we)*. Compounding context and location of the place names suggest a later adoption, as the names very often hint to coal and iron industry. The location of the sparsely attested place name *Grouf(/we)* and the linguistic context suggest an earlier adoption of use than *Gruef(/we)*. Where as *Gruef(/we)* could be explained as a rebuilt from the verb *gruewen* 'to dig, scrape' or as a High German loan (< Graben 'trench'), the name *Grouf(/we)* has to be analysed as an older genuine Luxembourgish form.

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Universiteit Antwerpen

Semantic and constructional variation with verbs of seeming in English, Dutch and German

In my presentation, I want to address *seem*-type verbs in English (mainly *seem*, see e.g. Aijmer (2009)), German (*scheinen,* see e.g. Diewald 2001) and Dutch (*schijnen*, *lijken*, *blijken*, see e.g. Mortelmans 2017) from a contrastive perspective. All of them can express evidential (mostly inferential) meanings, as in the following example, taken from the Nicci French novel 'Sunday Morning Coming Down' and its translations in German and Dutch. It can be argued that EN *seem*, DU *lijken* and GE *scheinen* express a similar inferential meaning in (1): on the basis of the observable behaviour of the addressee, the speaker concludes (i.e. infers) that the addressee has a particular problem.

(1) EN You **seem** to have a problem answering any kind of questions. (NF, SMCD, 4, 15)
DU U **lijkt** sowieso moeite te hebben met het beantwoorden van vragen. (NF, ZBA, 4, 13)
GE Fragen zu beantworten **scheint** Ihnen überhaupt schwerzufallen. (NF, BS, 40)

At the same time, these verbs can be shown to exhibit a considerable amount of semantic and formal variability, i.e. with respect to the **constructional patterns** they can appear in, the actual **frequency** of these constructional patterns, the **degree of subjectivity** with which the speaker is construed, and the (types of) **meanings** they express (non-evidential, evidential (inferential, reportive), mirative). To give but one example: the Dutch verb *lijken* occurs remarkably more often than both other verbs as a matrix verb in constructions followed by *alsof* 'as if' (expressing a (non-evidential) unreal comparison); in English and especially in German, however, speakers seem to prefer different verbs or constructions here.

(2) DU Het **leek** net alsof hij ermee in gevecht was. (EN, NF 34)
EN He **looked** as if he was doing battle with it. (EN, NF 34)
GE Crawford **sah aus**, als würde er mit dem Ding kämpfen. (EN, NF 34)

This variation will be uncovered by means of a new corpus analysis on the basis of a self-compiled parallel German-Dutch-English corpus that consists of present-day literary crime novels written in either Dutch, German or English and their translations. The main aim of my presentation will consist in describing the different dimensions of variation and showing there is a correlation between (a preference for) particular constructional patterns and the meanings these verbs express. Furthermore, it will be shown that the evidential meaning is least conventionalized in Dutch *lijken*, somewhat more strongly conventionalized in English *seem* and most strongly present in German *scheinen*, which (of the three verbs) patterns most often as a (semi)-auxiliary with inferential meaning.

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Sentence-internal capitalization in German, English, and Dutch: Historical parallels and divergent development

Sentence-internal capitalization is a distinctive feature of the German graphemic system: In present-day German orthography, all heads of noun phrases are written in uppercase (<das Haus> 'the house', <das große Aber> 'the big but'). While the historical development of this system in German has been investigated quite extensively (e.g. Moulin 1990, Labs-Ehlert 1993, Bergmann & Nerius 1998, Barteld et al. 2016) – possibly because it is one of only two languages where it persisted, the other one being Luxemburgish – it is often overlooked that historically, numerous other languages had developed a very similar system (but see Osselton 1984 for an analysis of capitalization in historical English and Dollinger 2003 on capitalization in Early Canadian English). In this poster, we present a contrastive analysis of the historical development of sentence-internal capitalization in the "Germanic sandwich" languages English, Dutch, and German. We combine findings from both previous research and our own corpus-based investigations on the basis of Early New High German handwritten texts with a new study of sentence-internal capitalization in English and Dutch on the basis of the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) corpus and the *Compilatiecorpus Historisch Nederlands* (Coussé 2008) as well as a selection of historical Bible translations from all three languages. The data from these corpora and from previous studies show that sentence-internal capitalization experiences a clear surge in German (between 1400 and 1600) and English (between 1400 and 1700). While the increase in frequency is quite steep in German, it is much slower in English and never spreads to all nouns. In Dutch, by contrast, the patterns are less clear and we see some ups and downs in the frequency data. In the present study, we investigate whether the cognitive-semantic and syntactic factors that have been identified as driving the use of sentence-internal capitalization in its earliest stages in German (especially pragmatic factors such as reverence and semantic ones such as animacy, but also e.g. syntactic functions) also hold for the use of uppercase letters in historical English and Dutch.

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Title: STAND and LIE in expressing the location of buildings and landforms
Keywords: posture verbs, contrastive linguistics between Dutch and German, corpus, location

Nutshell. The location of buildings and landforms can be expressed both by *staan*/*stehen* and *liegen*/*liggen* in Dutch and German. However, this does not mean that the verbs are identical in terms of their use. I will present the difference between the verbs by analyzing corpus data statistically and demonstrate what leads to the verb distinction.

Background. Literature has proposed a number of factors regarding verb distinction between *stehen*/*staan* and *liegen*/*liggen* in locative expressions about buildings and landforms, which appear to be not determinative but only influential (Serra Borneto (1996) for German and Lemmens (2002) for Dutch among others). In consequence, previous studies have yielded a list of factors which allegedly affect the verb distinction to some unknown degree. I examined this list of factors in a quantitative way to evaluate whether the factors can be verified using a statistical method. Moreover, there has not been a discussion on the extent to which Dutch and German posture verbs share the same semantic features in this domain. Accordingly, language comparison is the other goal of this research.

Data. I have used data from two corpora, namely 'Das Deutsche Referenzkorpus' (via COSMAS II) and 'Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands' (via BlackLab). The extracted data amount to 477 hits in Dutch and 402 hits in German. The data were analysed in terms of sixteen parameters, each corresponding to a factor proposed in the literature. The parameters are classified into three categories: (a) a category related to the perspective of the writer (e.g. immediately visible or not); (b) that of parameters indicating the verticality and horizontality of the located entity and the location; and (c) that of linguistic parameters, such as word order and the presence of temporal adverbs.

The analysis using Fisher's exact test suggests that the linguistic parameters in category (c) play a most prominent role at verb distinction between *stehen*/*staan* and *liegen*/*liggen*. For example, the presence of the temporal adverbs (like *nog*/*noch*, *nu*/*nun*) significantly correlates with the use of *stehen*/*staan*. Regarding language difference, no crucial difference has been detected in this study.

Discussion. Compared to the parameters proposed in the literature, less than half of them proved to be relevant to the verb distinction. The statistically significant parameters do not necessarily indicate the physical features of the locative situation; rather they show how the writer construes the situation in question. Accordingly, the writer seems to use either verb which fits his/her construal the most. In other words, the construal of the writer affects the tendency to use either verb.

Conclusion. In conclusion, the results suggest that the linguistic parameters, which reflect the writer's construal of the locative situation, correlate the most with the distinction between the verbs in both languages. Considering the fact that English has a different pattern of usage in this domain (Newman 2009), Dutch and German seem to form a unity against English.

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The pronoun interpretation problem in bilinguals: evidence from Dutch/German speaking children

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Background Dutch-speaking children, like English-speaking children, make mistakes in the interpretation of pronouns until age 7 (Pronoun Interpretation Problem or PIP, Baauw et al., 2011; also called Delay of Principle B Effect, Chien & Wexler, 1990), whereas German-speaking children already interpret pronouns correctly from age 4 (Ruigendijk et al, 2010). This cross-linguistic difference is not yet fully understood. Explanations are sought in differences in the pronominal systems of the languages. We address the question: what happens if a bilingual child acquires a language with (Dutch) and one without (German) the PIP? There are in principle four logical possible outcomes: Dutch influences German: a PIP in both languages; German influences Dutch: no PIP in either language; bidirectional influence: smaller PIP in Dutch, increased PIP in German; no influence: a PIP in Dutch, no PIP in German. The aim of this study is to further our understanding of the PIP and its cross-linguistic differences.

Experiment We tested 21 Dutch-German bilingual children, age 3;8–6;11 (M = 5;7, 10 girls) that were recruited from the areas of Groningen (NL) and Oldenburg (DE) with a picture selection task (see Ruigendijk et al., 2010). The test consisted of transitive and ECM sentences with a reflexive or a personal pronoun. All started with an introduction sentence 'first the woman and girl VERB and then…' (8 items per condition, 32 in total, see (1) and (2) for examples). Each item was presented with three pictures: one depicting the pronoun interpretation, one the reflexive and one as a distractor depicting a different verb. Each child was tested in both languages, in separate sessions, with at least 1 week in between.

(1) Dutch… en daarna heeft de vrouw zichzelf/haar gekieteld
German**: …**, und dann hat die Frau sich/sie gekitzelt
'..., and then the woman tickled herself/her'

(2) Dutch: ... en daarna zag de vrouw zichzelf/haar applaudisseren
German**: ...** und dann sah die Frau sich/sie klatschen
'..., and then the woman saw herself/her applauding'

Results Whereas the children did not show a clear difference in performance on pronouns versus reflexives in transitive sentences in German, the same children did so in Dutch (Table 1). Furthermore, performance on pronouns in ECM sentences drops considerably in both languages (as has been reported before for monolinguals, e.g. Baauw et al. 2011). Finally, these bilingual children perform lower than monolingual children of the same age from earlier studies, in fact, in German they perform more like monolingual 3-4 year olds (Ruigendijk et al. 2010).

	Dutch		German	
	reflexive	pronoun	reflexive	pronoun
Transitive	79.9	63.6	78.6	74.4
ECM	82.6	48.4	79.2	63.7

Table 1: % correct

These results indicate that there is no cross-linguistic influence in pronoun interpretation. We find a PIP in Dutch, but not in German. The results also show that the PIP is not a task effect or a language-independent effect of processing or pragmatics (as has been argued before, Chien & Wexler, 1990; Conroy et al. 2009). Rather, the PIP seems to originate in the grammatical system of the specific language: the observed cross-linguistic difference may arise from the stronger ambiguity of Dutch pronouns compared to German pronouns.

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Sparkle, wobble, chatter. Affix reanalysis and semantic enrichment: Iteration in German, Dutch, and English

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The verbal suffixes *-el(e)n* and *-er(e)n* and their cognates represent a common feature of Germanic languages including German, Dutch, and English (GER *tröpfeln*, DUT *druppelen,* ENG *trickle*; GER *knattern,* DUT *knetteren*, ENG *clatter*). Being formally identical to diminutives, verbs derived with the suffix *-el(e)n* have also been referred to as "verbal diminutives". Semantically, the word formation products may display a diminutive or related meaning (e.g. attenuation, pejoration, cf. Jurafsky 1996, Weidhaas & Schmid 2015). However, there are many instances where diminutive semantics are absent and iterative meaning is predominant instead (GER *stammeln*, DUT *stamelen*, ENG *stumble*). How the derivational affix *-el(e)n* acquired an iterative meaning has remained unclear. The same holds true for iterative semantics of verbs ending in *-er(e)n,* mainly onomatopoetic words denoting sounds, particularly sounds of animals (GER *schnattern, zwitschern,* DUT *snateren*, *kwetteren,* ENG *chatter*, *twitter*). Sharing iterative semantics, both suffixes are partly competing (GER *schlittern*, Alemannic *schlitteln* 'to slither'; DUT *gaggelen*, *gakkeren* 'to cackle').

Whereas recent schema-based approaches (Weidhaas & Schmid 2015, Audring et al. 2017) have focused on modern languages, the present account aims at shedding new light on the rise of iterative semantics from a diachronic perspective. It is argued that, primarily, the suffixes *-el(e)n*, *-er(e)n* go back to verbs derived from *nomina instrumenti* ending in *-el*, *-er* (GER *Meißel*, *Stampfer*, ENG *chisel*, *stamper*, DUT *beitel*, *stamper*). After reanalysis (*-el+en* → *-elen*; *-er+en* → *-eren*) the word formation patterns became productive and gave rise to verb doublets (MLG *stōten – stotteren*) and onomatopoetic words (MLG *snapperen* 'chatter'), see (1)-(2):

(1) MHG *meiʒel* 'chisel' – *meiʒel-en* → *meiʒ-elen* 'to chisel'
(2) MLG *slenker* 'sling' – *slenker-en* → *slenk-eren* 'to dangle'

MHG *snitzen* 'to carve' – *snitz-elen* 'to cut into pieces'
MLG *stōten* 'to exhale' – *stot(t)eren* 'to stammer'

Building on data drawn from historical dictionaries, it is argued that the semantics of the word formation patterns result from "affix telescoping", i.e. formal and functional fusion of two derivational affixes (cf. Haspelmath 1995). In the cases in point, the semantics of *-el(e)n/-er(e)n*-derivatives go back to *-el/-er* of *nomina instrumenti* with inherent iterative meaning. Other than *l*-diminutives, *nomina instrumenti* ending in *-el*, *-er* represent a common feature of the Germanic languages. Other sources, in particular diminutives and adjectival/comparative *-er* (DUT *beteren*, GER *bessern* ENG *to better*), are also discussed on the basis of historical data. The paper considers all three languages, however, the main focus is put on German and Dutch.

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At the margins of grammar: Verb particles in first sentence position

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Certain linguistic phenomena are located at the boundaries of grammaticality. One example is the topicalization of the particle in German and Dutch particle verb constructions, as in (1) and (2). Such structures typically occur in highly specific environments, such as sarcasm, poetic or professional registers, literature, or as part of a fixed expression. They are therefore generally not accepted unconditionally by native speakers and hard to find in corpora. Still, they are not rejected at first sight either. Descriptions in the standard reference grammars of German and Dutch suggest that, as long as there is an appropriate context, these sentences are usually 'OK'.

(1) *Fest* steht momentan nur der Termin
fixed stands at.the.moment only the appointment (Duden 2005:892, item 131376)
(2) *Mee* gaan dit jaar alle leerlingen uit de vierde en de vijfde klas.
with go this year all students out the fourth and the fifth class (ANS, §21.3.4.3ii)

Factors identified in the linguistic literature to affect the acceptability of such structures include the distance between the particle and the verb (e.g. Zeller 2003), and the *semantic transparency* between them – defined as the extent to which the particle is semantically autonomous and contrastable (Trotzke et al. 2015). Trotzke et al. (2015) investigated the acceptability of particle verb structures in German in a rating task, manipulating the factors PARTICLE-VERB ADJACENCY and PARTICLE TRANSPARENCY. Participants indicated on a six-point scale how likely it was that the sentences were correct transcriptions of a conversation in a noisy bar. The authors find that semantic transparency plays a significant role, but must conclude that sentences in which the particle alone was fronted received likelihood ratings at the low end of the scale. Interestingly, they observe that "in case of non-transparent particle verbs occurring non-adjacently, the judgments vary considerably" (Trotzke et al. 2015: 418).

Although the Dutch prefield is rather flexible (Bouma 2008), it is less flexible than the German prefield (Abraham 2003; Jentges 2012; a small-scale corpus study of our own). In this talk we present a replication of the rating experiment for Dutch, using stimulus items as in (3).

(3) a. Alle leerlingen zijn *mee*gegaan. all students are with.gone (in situ, adjacent)
b. *Mee*gegaan zijn alle leerlingen. with.gone are all students (fronted, adjacent)
c. *Mee* zijn alle leerlingen gegaan. with are all students gone (fronted, non-adjacent)

On the basis of the literature we hypothesize that Dutch fronted verb particles are less acceptable than German ones. We reflect on the differences between these languages in acceptability of the paradigm in (3), and the variation between speaker intuitions about the fronted non-adjacent condition (3c). We will also discuss the difference between reference grammar descriptions and native speaker intuitions of a linguistic phenomenon at the margins of grammar.

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DP-internal modification: Ordering ordinals and superlatives in Dutch and German

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Ordinals are said to occur high in the DP-spine, before other adjectives (see a.o. Cinque 2010, Svenonius 2008, and the works cited in both). Dutch data from the Corpora from the Web (COW; Schäfer 2015, Schäfer & Bildhauer 2012) show that the ordinals and superlatives can occur in either order:

(1) a. *De tweede hoogste berg* 'the second highest mountain' (7,180 occurrences)
b. *De hoogste tweede berg* 'the highest second mountain' (1,807 occurrences)

How can we account for the cooccurrence of both these orders from a cartographic perspective? On the basis of Dutch corpus data and German compound distribution, I propose that further refinements are needed in the cartography of DP, for three reasons: (i) Superlatives and ordinals can occur in either order in Dutch; (ii) this is not the result of focus movement but rather an effect of scopal interaction; (iii) ordinals can modify not only nouns but also superlatives, and can be situated inside the superlative's extended projection. (2a,b) represent the readings for (1a,b) respectively:

(2) a. [second] [highest mountain] b. [highest] [second mountain]

An analysis for (2b) could be (3): *highest* originates lower but moves over *second* into a landing site for focused adjectives, call it Spec of KindP (see Svenonius 2008):

(3) $[_{KiP}$ highest $[Ki^0$ $[_{SortP}$ second $[Sort^0$ $[_{nP}$ ~~highest~~ $[n^0$ $[\sqrt{P}$ table$]]]]]]]$

However, there is no evidence to assume that either order is the result of focus movement: (i) there is no special focus intonation required; and (ii) focus movement would predict ambiguities to arise due to reconstruction possibilities. No such ambiguities arise.

There is a **second** possible reading for (1a), which is unavailable for (1b):

(4) [second highest] mountain

In this reading, mountains are ranked according to their highness.[1] The superlative *highest* is thus directly modified by the ordinal. Along the lines of Corver (2005), for this reading I propose the structure in (5):

(5) $[_{DP}$ de $[_{FP}$ $[_{SupP}$ **tweede** $[_{Sup'}$ $[_{Sup}$ **hoog-ste**$]$ $[_{AP}$ hoog$]]]$ $[_{F'}$ F $[_{NP}$ berg$]]]]$

In (5), the superlative morpheme is the head of the SuperlativeP. The ordinal is in the specifier of this projection (the intensifier *aller-* also goes in this position). The ordinal has no such slot available and cannot be modified in the same way. The German equivalent of (1a), *der zweite höchste Berg*, can **only** have the reading in (2a). For (4), German requires compounding (see 6a), corroborating the close relation between the ordinal and the superlative in this reading. The reverse is not possible (6b).

(6) a. der zweithöchste Berg b. *der höchstzweite Berg

To conclude, any cartographic attempt at defining the predetermined locations for prenominal modifiers needs to take into account the following facts: (i) Superlatives and ordinals can occur in either order in Dutch; (ii) this word order alternation should not be analyzed in terms of focus movement but rather as the effect of scopal interaction between the different modifiers; (iii) not only can ordinals modify nouns, they can additionally occur as the modifier of a superlative and be located directly inside its extended projection, while the superlative cannot be located in the extended projection of the ordinal, as is corroborated by the distribution of German compounds.

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[1] There is another construction in Dutch: *op één na hoogste*, or more abstract, *op CARD na SUPL*. I will not consider this construction here.

(Non-)Ellipses in Dutch, English, and German: The case of *because* X

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In this paper, we offer an analysis of the *because* X construction (1) as non-elliptical structures. Beside English (1a), Dutch (1b), and German (1c), similar constructions exist in a number of other languages as well.

(1) (a) Who else does their makeup just to sit around in their room because ME.
(b) Ich hab Bauchweh weil lachen
(c) Links is opvallend stil, eigenlijk vinden ze het geen discriminatie, *want Jood*.
(van Oostendorp 2014)

Furthermore, there are also constructions (2), albeit formally similar and diachronically related to *because* X, that are ellipses because they can be reconstructed to a non-elliptical state.

(2) (a) een dure want goede boek/ *Het boek is duur want* [het is] *goed*.
(b) ein teures, weil gutes Buch/ *Das Buch ist teuer, weil* [es] *gut* [ist].

In our paper, we want to address the question of where and how to draw the line between *because* X (1) and the elliptical, formally similar constructions of the type (2). Focusing on the structural differences between ellipses and non-ellipses (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Temmerman 2019: 8), we argue against analysing *because* X in Dutch, English, and German as elliptical. Our main arguments are threefold.

Firstly, if we expect elliptical structures to be easily reconstructed to their original non-elliptical state, occurrences of *because X* and its Dutch and German equivalents do not follow this rule as reconstruction appears to be either implausible or impossible in many cases, as examples in (1) demonstrate. Secondly, traditionally *because* occurs followed by a clause containing a finite verb. In the *because* X construction, however, verbs are in general very rare and if they occur, they tend to occur as participles or infinitives. Finally, the German *because X* construction behaves unexpectedly in terms of case assignment. As shown by Stefanowitsch (2014), noun phrases appear in the nominative case instead of the expected accusative, dative or even genitive.

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Information Structure and OV-VO Variation in West-Germanic: A Comparative Perspective

Despite a close genetic relation, Dutch, German and English show a puzzling difference in one very fundamental syntactic respect: the order of the verb and the object. Present-day Dutch and German are classified as OV languages, while English is classified as a VO language. It is even more intriguing that these languages share a similar history: one with mixtures of OV and VO order. This raises the question if these languages were the same, but diverged or if these languages were different to begin with, and further diverged.

OV/VO variation has been studied most extensively for Old English (OE) (van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 2005, Biberauer & Roberts 2005, Taylor & Pintzuk 2012, Struik & van Kemenade 2018), but studies on Old Saxon (OS) and Middle Dutch (MD) are few and far between (but see Walkden 2014 on OS and Blom 2002 on MD) and there are no systematic comparisons of these languages. This paper will explore the influence of information structure on object position in a systematic way for the historical stages of these languages. It will replicate the methodology in Struik & van Kemenade (2018) on the HeLiPad corpus (Walkden 2015) and the minor OS texts in the Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch (Donhauser 2015), as well as the Dutch Historical Compilation corpus (Coussé 2010) to see if OE, OS and MD OV/VO variation is governed by IS in the same way. The database includes all subclauses with two verbs and a direct objects and is annotated for IS using a binary given-new distinction (based on Pentaset guidelines (Komen 2013)) and grammatical weight. The results are analysed by means of a multinominal logistic regression in a mixed model. The results indicate that OV/VO variation is still strongly governed by IS in OE, fitting an analysis of OE as a VO language, but that the effect of IS in OS and MD is not as strong, suggesting that these languages were different and further diverged in their histories.

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I-Mutation in West Germanic: Phonetic and geographical gradualness

I-mutation in the Germanic languages is one of the most debated issues in historical Germanic linguistics (e.g. Buccini 1995, Iverson & Salmons 2004, Salmons 2008). Variables of its complexity are:

1. the contrast between primary *i*-mutation, only affecting short **a*, and secondary *i*-mutation, affecting **u*, **ā*, **ō*, **ū*;
2. the relative order of *i*-mutation and apocope in Anglo-Frisian on the one hand and in Continental West Germanic; in Anglo-Frisian *i*-mutation became before apocope of **-i* after heavy syllables, in Continental West Germanic it was the other way around, hence English *men* < **mænni* < **manni*, against Old Saxon *mann* < **manni*.

The whole process is, however, even more complex and some patterns of its unfolding have so far not received any attention in the literature, as it seems. There are three historical *i*-mutation factors conditioning the operation of the process, namely the presence of /i/, /i:/ and /j/ in the unaccented syllable following the root vowel. The impact of these three factors turns out not to be homogeneous, but rather gradual – at least in North Sea Germanic. This gradualness is manifested in the following distributions of the effects of the process across West Germanic:

1. Old English corpus analysis shows stronger raising of **a* conditioned by /i:/ and /j/ than by /i/.
2. Old Frisian has various examples confirming the same contrast between /i/ and /i:/ in the *i*-stems: R. *stede* < **stædi*, *stidi* < **stædī*, B. *wald* < **waldi*, *welde* < **waldī*.
3. Coastal Dutch traditional dialects show *i*-mutation and unrounding of **u* only before /j/, hence in *-ja* and *-jō*-stems, but not in *i*-stems (De Vaan 2017: 304–305).
4. The implementation of *i*-mutation in Frisian conditioned by short *-i*, overlapped with the vowel's apocope, where high-frequency items were early adaptors of *i*-mutation and low-frequency words apparently lost the *-i* before *i*-mutation was fully established, e.g. OFri. nom.acc.pl. *fēt* 'feet', **kī* 'cows' vs. *mūs* 'mice', *bōc* 'books' < PWGmc. **fōti*, **kūi*, **mūsi*, **bōki* (cf. Old English *fēt*, *cȳ*, *mȳs*, *bēc*).
5. The impact of *i*-mutation of PGmc. **a* depended also on the quality of the intervening consonants, especially **a* before nasals (Siebs 1901: 1185, Hoekstra & Tigchelaar 2014, Kümmel 2014) or **-xt*, e.g. OFri. *bed* 'bed', *fane* 'peat', *frucht* 'fruit' < PWGmc. **badi*, **fani*, **fruxti*.

The relevance of the gradualness of *i*-mutation as conditioned by the three factors, described under point (1-5), has – to the best of my knowledge – not been addressed by other scholars except by De Vaan (see point 3 above). Apocope of short *-i* before the application of *i*-mutation – as in (4) – is the rule in Continental West Germanic. The impact of consonantal blocking environments – as mentioned under (5) – is well known from Upper High German, e.g. *Innsbruck* (not **-brück*). Significantly, the Dutch language area seems to be on the cross-roads of these diversified tendencies. The paper will address the geographical configuration of this varied impact of *i*-mutation, with a special emphasis on the Low Countries, which have been the contact zone between North Sea Germanic Frisian and Continental (Low) Franconian.

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Comparing pronouns in Dutch and German: Can adults' object pronoun processing help explain cross-linguistic language acquisition differences?

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The way in which pronouns behave differently in Dutch (and English) compared to German points to a possible explanation for differences in language acquisition. For instance, a Dutch or English pronoun in a locative PP can refer back to the sentential subject, whereas a German pronoun cannot:

(1) De man$_i$ legt het boek naast *hem*$_i$ neer
The man$_i$ puts the book next to *him*$_i$
*Der Mann$_i$ legt das Buch neben *ihn*$_i$

This suggests that object pronouns in Dutch and English are functionally more ambiguous than in German, in the sense that the reference assignment of Dutch and English pronouns is not only based on a structural rule (i.e. 'pronouns cannot bind locally', cf. Principle B [1]), but also on discourse rules (e.g., Rule I [2]). In contrast, reference assignment of German object pronouns is more reliably based on this structural rule. Can this cross-linguistic difference explain why German children interpret object pronouns correctly [3], whereas Dutch (and English) children frequently incorrectly allow object pronouns like *him* in '*The hedgehog tickles him*' to refer to the sentential subject (Delay of Principle-B Effect (DPBE); e.g., [4])? We hypothesize that the difficulty for Dutch (and English) children in pronoun processing may be learning when an object pronoun can have a local referent and when not.

To examine this hypothesis, we investigate whether Dutch and German adults process object pronouns in different ways. In Dutch, Vogelzang et al. [5] found that more effort is needed to resolve pronominal compared to reflexive objects as measured by pupil size. They reason that this is due to reflexives being less ambiguous than object pronouns. Following this reasoning, we hypothesize that in German, where establishing object pronoun reference is argued to be more straightforward and therefore less ambiguous, there is no or less increased processing effort when resolving a pronominal compared to a reflexive object compared to Dutch.

We replicated the study of Vogelzang et al. in German, presenting German adults with auditory mini-stories (see the example in 2a-2c), of which the last clause contained either an **object pronoun** or a **reflexive**. Pupil size was recorded continuously during the sentence, and analyzed from the critical word in the last sentence (bold printed in 2c) onwards.

(2a) Der Igel hat ein Baumhaus gebaut.
The hedgehog has built a tree house.
(2b) Letzte Woche Freitag lief der Igel mit dem Panda durch den Wald nach Hause,
Last Friday the hedgehog walked home with the panda through the forest,
(2c) während der Igel **sich** / **ihn** über den dunklen Pfad beeilt / verfolgt hat.
*while the hedgehog hurried **himself** / followed **him** along a dark trail.*

Data collection and analysis is currently ongoing. Preliminary results show no differences between adults' processing of pronominal objects compared to reflexives in German. This suggests that in Dutch, traces of the DPBE, which only occurs in children, can still be seen in adults when sensitive, online measurements like pupil size are applied. In German, on the other hand, no DPBE occurs and thus no processing difficulties for object pronouns exist. We argue that these findings are a first step towards explaining why Dutch children have more problems interpreting object pronouns than German children.

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Perfect doubling in West Germanic: Not the sandwich it first seems

1. Introduction. Perfect doubling constructions consist of either two forms of the verb *have* combined with the participle of a transitive or unergative verb, like (1), or two forms of the verb *be* with the participle of an unaccusative verb. Whilst this paper will focus solely on *have* perfect doubling constructions, its conclusions should be equally applicable to the *be* variants.

(1) *Ik heb vandaag nog niet gerookt gehad.*
I have today still not smoked.PTCP had.PTCP
'I have not yet smoked today.' (South-eastern Dutch; Koeneman et al. 2011: 37)

Have perfect doubling is found in modern German (e.g. Rödel 2011; Zybatow & Weskott 2018) and Dutch dialects (Koeneman et al. 2011), but not attested in modern English or Dutch. These constructions have proven an analytical puzzle, none the least due to their semantic proximity to present perfects. In this talk, I present evidence for perfect doubling in the previously understudied *historical varieties of Dutch* (HVDs), and propose an analysis linking the possibility of perfect doubling to the varying properties of present perfects, modals and passives in Dutch, English and German.

2. Corpus study of HVDs. 512 instances of *have*-doubling were found in a large-scale corpus of approx. 83,000,000 word corpus covering 1050 to 1649. Firstly, based on syntactic characteristics, I show that these instances of *have*-doubling robustly include instances of perfect doubling, as opposed to other *have*-doubling variants found in, for instance, modern English. Secondly, based on an analysis of geographical distribution, I show that perfect doubling is crucially attested in Hollandic HVDs which formed the basis for modern Standard Dutch but where the construction is no longer attested.

3. Analysis. Adopting a Minimalist framework, my departure point is Brandner and Larsson's (2014) proposal that perfect doubling constructions are a combination of two semantically distinct present perfects. According to the standard typological classifications, I assume that one of these present perfects functions as a true perfect requiring current relevance whilst the other functions as a temporal past, lacking current relevance. I argue that the true perfect is found in English, German, Dutch dialects and modern Standard Dutch, whilst the temporal past is found in all varieties but English. Distancing the present analysis from Brandner et al.'s, I then propose a formal analysis based on Wurmbrand's (2001) restructuring account. Whilst primarily focusing on German infinitives, Wurmbrand does propose that present perfect *have* can merge in two distinct functional projections (ModP, AuxP) without any semantic distinction. In contrast, I argue that *have* merging in the lower projection (ModP) results in a true perfect, whilst *have* merging in a higher position, which I will argue to be TP rather than AuxP, results in a past. Supporting evidence for this proposal includes the differing interactions between modal verbs and present perfects in West Germanic varieties.

Whilst this analysis correctly rules out perfect doubling in English, it makes the seemingly problematic prediction that perfect doubling should be possible in modern Standard Dutch, a variety with both present perfects, i.e. the structural means. However, I make the novel claim that the lack of perfect doubling constructions in that variety is only apparent and results from a PF operation, blocking the spell out of the embedded participial form of *have.* This proposal is supported by parallel verbal constructions in modern Standard Dutch where a covert auxiliary has also been posited, like perfect passives (e.g. *het boek is verkocht* (**geworden*); van Bart et al. 1998) which feature only one overt auxiliary. In sum, I argue that perfect doubling is not the sandwich it first seems: whilst on the surface Dutch seems to parallel with English, it ultimately sides with German and Dutch dialects, namely in its structural means.

4. References. 1. Van Bart, P., J. Kerstens & A. Sturm. 1998. *Grammatica van het Nederlands. Een inleiding.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2. Brandner, E. & I. Larsson. 2014. *Perfect doubling and the grammaticalization of auxiliaries.* Abstract. DiGS16, 3–5 July 2014 Budapest. 3. Koeneman, O. N. C. J., M. Lekakou & S. Barbiers. 2011. "Perfect doubling." *Linguistic Variation* 11(1): 35-75. 4. Rödel, M. 2011. "New perspectives on double perfect constructions in German." *Tense across languages*, ed. by M. Rathert & R. Musan, 127-146. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 5. Wurmbrand, S. 2001. *Infinitives: restructuring and clause structure.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 6. Zybatow, T. & T. Weskott. 2018. "Das Doppelperfekt: Theorie und Empirie." *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 37(1): 83–124.