## Seeking order in chaos <br> Morphosyntactic variation in Dutch dialects

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## Outline

Main goals for today
Introduction: Kayne's dream
Quantitative analysis
Correspondence Analysis
Cluster Analysis
Cluster Description
Conclusion
Qualitative analysis
Case study \#1: PolP
Case study \#2: split DP
Case study \#3: split Force/Fin
Combining the case studies: 7 parameters
The bigger picture: determinants of variation

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2. Advocate for the combined use of quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (formal-theoretical) methods as a way towards achieving such an analysis.
3. Consider the bigger implications of this one case study for understanding the properties of and mechanisms behind variation in natural language.

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## Introduction: Kayne's dream

"If it were possible to experiment on languages, a syntactician would construct an experiment of the following type: take a language, alter a single one of its observable syntactic properties, examine the result to see what, if any, other property has changed as a consequence of the original manipulation." (Kayne 1996:xii)

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- use qualitative-theoretical means to interpret those patterns


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2. Cluster Analysis: cluster the dialects into groups based on those tendencies
3. Cluster Description: identify the linguistic phenomena that are characteristic for those clusters

## Quantitative analysis: Correspondence Analysis

Correspondence Analysis:

1. We start from the raw data table:

AUXDOUBL AUXSEL GERUND ABSWITH PERPASS

| Midsland | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Lies | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | $\ldots$ |
| West-Terschelling | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| Oosterend | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | $\ldots$ |
| Hollum | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| Schiermonnikoog | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| Ferwerd | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| Anjum | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| Kollum | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| Visvliet | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\ldots$ |
| $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |

## Quantitative analysis: Correspondence Analysis

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2. which then undergoes dimension reduction:


## Quantitative analysis: Cluster Analysis

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- Cluster Analysis is a technique for combining observations into groups (clusters)
- we are performing the Cluster Analysis based on the results of the Correspondence Analysis
- varying the number of clusters is a way of varying the granularity of the morphosyntactic variation patterns we are looking at

Quantitative analysis: Cluster Analysis


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## Quantitative analysis: Cluster Analysis



## Quantitative analysis: Cluster Description

- we can now list, for any cluster (of any granularity) which linguistic phenomena are significantly more present in that cluster than would be expected by chance


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- in other words, which linguistic features are characteristic for which dialect area?


## Quantitative analysis: Cluster Description



## Quantitative analysis: Conclusion

- the quantitative analysis has allowed us to reduce the dataset from 260 dialect locations and 146 linguistic phenomena to (a maximum of) 10 dialect areas and 37 linguistic phenomena


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- the quantitative analysis has allowed us to reduce the dataset from 260 dialect locations and 146 linguistic phenomena to (a maximum of) 10 dialect areas and 37 linguistic phenomena
$\rightarrow$ they will serve as input for the qualitative analysis


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## Qualitative analysis

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1. a separate polarity phrase
2. a split DP-layer
3. a split Force/Fin-layer

Qualitative analysis


## Case study \#1: PolP



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- The following phenomena are characteristic of the South:
short do replies
(1) A:IJ zal nie komen. B: IJ doet.
he will not come he does
'A: He won't come. B: Yes, he will.'
negative clitic
(2) K en goa nie noar schole.

I NEG go not to school
'I'm not going to school.'
clitics on yes and no
(3) A: Wilde nog koffie, Jan? B: Ja-k.
want.you PART coffee Jan Yes-I
'A: Do you want some more coffee, Jan? B: Yes.'

## Case study \#1: PolP

the SPLIT C-POL Parameter
The CP-domain \{does/does not\} project a separate PoIP.

+ Split C-Pol-parameter

- Split C-Pol-parameter

Spec

## Case study \#1: PolP

(4) A: IJ zal nie komen. B: IJ doet. he will not come he does 'A: He won't come. B: Yes, he will.

- van Craenenbroeck (2010): short do replies only occur in non-embedded contradictory polar replies to declarative clauses $\rightarrow$ TP-ellipsis licensed by a left peripheral polarity head:


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- van Craenenbroeck (2010): short do replies only occur in non-embedded contradictory polar replies to declarative clauses $\rightarrow$ TP-ellipsis licensed by a left peripheral polarity head:
(5)



## Case study \#1: PolP

- supporting evidence: short do replies are only compatible with high left-peripheral adverbs:
(6) A: Jefzeit da gou veel geldj etj. B: K'en duu \{pertang Jef says that you much money have I.NEG doe however /* nie mieje. \} not anymore
'A: Jef says you have a lot of money. B: I don't, however/*anymore.'


## Case study \#1: PolP

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not anymore
'A: Jef says you have a lot of money. B: I don't, however/*anymore.'
- the negative clitic en also fits this pattern: it too occupies a high Pol-head in the left periphery (van Craenenbroeck 2010).


## Case study \#1: PolP

- the occurrence of clitics on 'yes' and 'no' are derived from short do replies: they involve further (higher) ellipsis of an already truncated structure (van Craenenbroeck 2010)
(7)



## Case study \#1: PolP

## the SPLIT C-POL Parameter <br> The CP-domain \{does/does not\} project a separate PoIP.

- SOUTH: the CP-domain DOES project a separate PoIP
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## Case study \#1: PolP

## the SPLIT C-POL Parameter

The CP-domain \{does/does not\} project a separate PoIP.

- SOUTH: the CP-domain DOES project a separate PoIP
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|  | NEG | SDR | CYN |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SOUTH (FL) | + | + | + |
| SOUTH (BRA) | + | + | - |
| NORTH | - | - | - |

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| NORTH | - | - | - |

note: For CYN a SPLIT C-POL parameter is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. A further parameter is necessary to license CYN. This parameter is set to + in FL but not in BRA.

## Case study \#2: split DP



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- The following phenomena are characteristic of the South:
clitic doubling
(8) da-ze zaaile lachen.
that-they ${ }_{\text {clitic }}$ they strong laugh
'that they are laughing.'
m-form of 1.pl subject pronoun
(9) Me zijn doa nooit geweest.
we are there never been
'We have never been there.'
accusative 3.sg.masc pronoun in subject position
(10) Em is dood.
him is dead
'He is dead.'


## Case study \#2: split DP

- In addition: complex plural pronouns in the South (11) and simplex plural pronouns in the North (12):


## complex plural pronouns

(11) Gu-Ider gelooft toch nie da zu-Ider armer zijn you-people believe PART not that they-people poorer are dan wu-Ider.
than we-people
'You won't believe that they are poorer than us.'
simplex plural pronouns
(12) Jim gelove jammer genoeg net dat

Youpl-SIMPLEX believe unfortunately enough not that
sij it minderha dan wij
they-SIMPLEX it less have than we-sImpLex.
'Unfortunately you do not believe that they are less well off than we are.'

## Case study \#2: split DP

## the SPLIT-D Parameter

DP \{does/does not $\}$ have an extended left periphery.

+ Split D-parameter



## Case study \#2: split DP



- starting point: van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008)'s analysis of clitic doubling:


## Case study \#2: split DP

(13)
da-ze zaaile lachen.
that-theyclitic they
'that they are laughing.'

- starting point: van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008)'s analysis of clitic doubling:
- step one: strong pronouns in doubling dialects are pro-DPs, while subject clitics are pro- $\phi \mathrm{Ps}$ (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002)



## Case study \#2: split DP

- step two: a clitic-doubled subject is base-generated as a big DP; clitics are the result of $\phi \mathrm{P}$-movement into the extended left periphery of the DP
$\Rightarrow$ there has to be an additional layer above DP to host the movement of the clitic (FP) in order to avoid an anti-locality violation (Abels (2003)):



## Case study \#2: split DP

- step three: when the resulting structure is handed over to PF, the moved $\phi \mathrm{P}$ is spelled out as a subject clitic, and the DP as a strong pronoun
(17)



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|  | CD |
| :--- | ---: |
| SOUTH | + |
| NORTH | - |

## Case study \# 2: split DP

- supporting evidence: Barbiers et al. (2016) argue for a similar big DP+movement-analysis for another linguistic phenomenon that is characteristic of the South: demonstrative doubling.
(18) De die zou $k$ ik wiln op eetn. the those would $I_{\text {CLItic }} I_{\text {STRONG }}$ want up eat 'I would like to eat those.'


## Case study \#2: split DP

- step one: the definite article in demonstrative doubling pronominalizes $\phi$ P, i.e. the part of the DP-structure hosting the noun, numerals, and adjectives:
(19) a. de dien
the that 'that one'
b. (* de) dien opa the that grandfather 'that grandfather'
c. De dieje (*twee) (* rode) liggen op de tafel. the those two red are on the table 'Those are on the table.'


## Case study \#2: split DP

- step two: $\phi \mathrm{P}$ moves into the left periphery of the DP; anti-locality again requires that the left periphery of DP be complex.
(20)



## Case study \#2: split DP

Further supporting evidence from possessive structures:

1. dialects with a negative setting for the D-parameter lack demonstrative doubling because they lack the additional DP-layer (no landing site for the definite article)

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1. dialects with a negative setting for the D-parameter lack demonstrative doubling because they lack the additional DP-layer (no landing site for the definite article)
2. these dialects (as well as the dialects with a positive setting for the D-parameter) do have THE+possessive pronoun:
(21) Ikvin de zaine ech geweldig.

I find the his really great
'I find his really great.'

## Case study \#2: split DP

(22)


## Case study \#2: split DP

3. however, only dialects with a positive setting of the D-parameter allow doubling in THE+possessive pronoun:

## Case study \#2: split DP

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(24) Toin de zijnen is geweldig. Teun the his is great 'Teun's is great.'

## Case study \#2: split DP

3. however, only dialects with a positive setting of the

D-parameter allow doubling in THE+possessive pronoun:
(24) Toin de zijnen is geweldig.

Teun the his is great
'Teun's is great.'
(+SPLIT DP-Parameter)
(25) Ikvin (* Teun) de zaine ech geweldig.

I find Teun the his really great
'I find his really great.'
(-SPLIT DP-Parameter)

## Case study \#2: split DP

3. however, only dialects with a positive setting of the D-parameter allow doubling in THE+possessive pronoun:
(24) Toin de zijnen is geweldig. Teun the his is great 'Teun's is great.' (+SPLIT DP-Parameter)
(25) Ikvin (* Teun) de zaine ech geweldig. I find Teun the his really great
'I find his really great.'
$\rightarrow$ this can be explained by the presence of an additional layer in the +Split D-dialects:

## Case study \#2: split DP



## Case study \#2: split DP

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|  | CD | DD | THE POSS | POSS THE POSS |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SOUTH | + | + | + | + |
| NORTH | - | - | + | - |

## Case study \#2: split DP

- Can this analysis also give us a handle on the variation concerning pronouns?
m-form of 1. pl subject pronoun
(27) Mezijn doa nooit geweest.
we are there never been
'We have never been there.'
accusative $\mathbf{3}$.sg.masc pronoun in subject position (28) Em is dood.
him is dead
'He is dead'
complex plural pronouns
(29) Gu-Ider gelooft toch nie da zu-lder armer zijn dan
you-people believe PART not that they-people poorer are than
wu-Ider.
we-people
'You won't believe that they are poorer than us.'


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin



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## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

- The following phenomena are characteristic of the South:
doubly filled comp with dat 'that'
(30) Zeg ma nie wien da-se zie hadde wiln roepn.
tell but not who that-they clitic they $_{\text {strong }}$ had want call
'Don't tell me who they planned to call.'
of 'if' + dat 'that' in an 'as if'-clause
(31) T is juist lijk of dat-er etwien in dn hof stoat.
it is just like if that-there someone in the garden stands
'It looks as if there is someone in the garden.'
of 'if' + embedded $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ in an 'as if'-clause
(32) $T$ is precies of $d^{\prime} r$ staat $d^{\prime} r$ enen indenhof. it is exactly if there stands there someone in the garden 'It looks as if there is someone in the garden.'


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## the Split Force/Fin-Parameter the CP-domain \{does/does not\} have a split Force/Fin.

+ Split Force/Fin-parameter
- Split Force/Fin-parameter



## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## SOUTH: Split Force/Fin

(33)


Assumptions about the left periphery:

1. FinP has to contain overt material (every sentence has to be marked as finite).
2. wh-phrases are merged in specForceP
3. Generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter (GDFCF): A feature cannot be spelled out twice

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

(34) ... wien da-se zie hadde wiln roepn. who that-they $y_{\text {clitic }}$ they $y_{\text {strong }}$ had want call
'... who they planned to call.'
(35)


- feature specification of dat: +Fin
- dat has to be spelled out to realize FinP


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

(36) T is juist lijk of dat-er etwien in dn hof stoat. it is just like if that-there someone in the garden stands 'It looks as if there is someone in the garden.'
(37)


- feature specification of the complementizers: dat:+Fin, of:+Force
- dat has to be spelled out to realize FinP.


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

(38) $T$ is precies of $d^{\prime} r$ staat $d^{\prime} r$ enen in den hof. it is exactly if there stands there someone in the garden 'It looks as if there is someone in the garden.'
(39)


- feature specification of of: +Force
- the verb realizes FinP


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. Doubly filled сомP should be obligatory in embedded wh-clauses in the South $\rightarrow$ confirmed

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. Doubly filled сомP should be obligatory in embedded wh-clauses in the South $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(40) ... wien *(da ) se zie hadde wiln roepn.
who that they clitic they
.... who they planned to call.'

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. Doubly filled comp should be obligatory in embedded wh-clauses in the South $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(40) ... wien *(da ) se zie hadde wiln roepn. who that theyclitic they $y_{\text {strong }}$ had want call
'... who they planned to call.'
2. No doubly filled comp with of 'if' in the South $\rightarrow$ confirmed

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. Doubly filled comp should be obligatory in embedded wh-clauses in the South $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(40) ... wien *(da ) se zie hadde wiln roepn. who that theyclitic they $y_{\text {strong }}$ had want call
'... who they planned to call.'
2. No doubly filled comp with of 'if' in the South $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(41) *... wien of se zie hadde wiln roepn.
who if they clitic they $_{\text {strong }}$ had want call
'... who they planned to call.'

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

- The following phenomena are characteristic of the North: doubly filled COMP with of 'if' (42) Vertel mie eens wel of ze had kenn roepn.

Tell me PART who if she had can call
'Tell me who she could have been calling.'
embedded $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ with complementizer drop
(43) Ik geloof deze jongens vindt ze allemaal wel aardig.

I believe these guys finds she all PART nice
'I believe that she likes all of these guys.'
preposition stranding
(44) Die rare jongen ben ik mee naar de markt west. that strange boy am I with to the market been 'With that strange boy I went to the market.'

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## NORTH: NO Split Force/Fin

(45)


Assumptions about the left periphery:

1. FinP has to contain overt material (every sentence has to be marked as finite).
2. wh-phrases are merged in specForceP
3. Generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter (GDFCF): A feature cannot be spelled out twice

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

(46) Vertel mie eens wel of ze had kenn roepn. Tell me PART who if she had can call 'Tell me who she could have been calling.'
(47)


- feature specification of the complementizers: dat:[+Force,+Fin], of:[+Force,+Fin]
- doubly filled COMP: dat has the wrong value for Force, of is allowed if it spells out Fin (GDFCF).


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

(48) Ik geloof deze jongens vindt ze allemaal wel aardig.

I believe these guys finds she all PART nice
'I believe that she likes all of these guys.'
(49)


- the finite verb realizes FinP


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. No doubly filled comp with dat 'that' in the North $\rightarrow$ confirmed

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. No doubly filled сомP with dat 'that' in the North $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(50) *Vertel mie eens wel dat ze had kenn roepn. Tell me PART who that she had can call 'Tell me who she could have been calling.'

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. No doubly filled сомP with dat 'that' in the North $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(50) *Vertel mie eens wel dat ze had kenn roepn. Tell me PART who that she had can call 'Tell me who she could have been calling.'
2. Doubly filled comp should be optional in the North $\rightarrow$ confirmed

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## Predictions:

1. No doubly filled сомP with dat 'that' in the North $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(50) *Vertel mie eens wel dat ze had kenn roepn. Tell me PART who that she had can call 'Tell me who she could have been calling.'
2. Doubly filled comp should be optional in the North $\rightarrow$ confirmed
(51) Vertel mie eens wel (of) ze had kenn roepn. Tell me PART who if she had can call
'Tell me who she could have been calling.'

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## the Split Force/Fin-Parameter <br> the CP-domain \{does/does not\} have a split Force/Fin.

- SOUTH: the CP-domain DOES have a split Force/Fin
- NORTH: the CP-domain DOES NOT have a split Force/Fin


## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

## the Split Force/Fin-Parameter <br> the CP-domain \{does/does not\} have a split Force/Fin.

- SOUTH: the CP-domain DOES have a split Force/Fin
- NORTH: the CP-domain DOES NOT have a split Force/Fin

|  | WH-DAT | WH-OF | WH-EMPTY | EV2 | VGLOFV2 | VGLOFDAT |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SOUTH (FL) | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| SOUTH (BRA) | + | - | - | - | + | - |
| NORTH | - | + | + | + | - | - |

## Case study \#3: split Force/Fin

- Can this analysis also give us a handle on the variation concerning P -stranding?
(52) Die rare jongen ben ik mee naar de markt west. that strange boy am I with to the market been 'With that strange boy I went to the market.'

NORTH
(53) *Die rare jongen ben ik mee naar de markt west. that strange boy am I with to the market been 'With that strange boy I went to the market.'

SOUTH

## Combining the case studies: 7 parameters



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- We can bring back these 37 linguistic phenomena to 7 parameters:

|  | VL | BRA | BLM | ZNB | NL | NLM | NLMG | NNL | GR | FR |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SPLIT C-POL | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| SPLIT D | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| SPLIT Force/FIN | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| SPLIT TP | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - |  |
| SPLIT C3 | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - |  |
| AGR C-num | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| AGR C-pers | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + |  |

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| SPLIT C-POL | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| SPLIT D | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| SPLIT Force/FIN | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| SPLIT TP | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - |  |
| SPLITC3 | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - |  |
| AGR C-num | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
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| SPLIT C-POL | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT D | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT Force/FIN | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT TP | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - |
| SPLIT C3 | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| AGR C-num | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| AGR C-pers | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + |

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| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SPLIT C-POL | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLITD | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT Force/FIN | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT TP | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - |
| SPIT C | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| AGR C-num | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| AGR C-pers | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + |

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- AGR C-num-parameter: C \{does/does not\} bear an unvalued number feature.


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| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SPLIT C-POL | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPITD | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT Force/FIN | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SPLIT TP | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - |
| SPIT C3 | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| AGR C-num | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| AGR C-pers | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + |

- Split TP-parameter: The TP-domain \{is/is not\} split.
- Split C3-parameter: The CP-domain \{does/does not\} have separate projections for comparatives and conditionals.
- AGR C-num-parameter: C \{does/does not\} bear an unvalued number feature.
- AGR C-pers-parameter: C \{does/does not\} bear an unvalued person feature.


## Combining the case studies: 7 parameters



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## Outline

Main goals for today
Introduction: Kayne's dream
Quantitative analysis
Correspondence Analysis
Cluster Analysis
Cluster Description
Conclusion
Qualitative analysis
Case study \#1: PolP
Case study \#2: split DP
Case study \#3: split Force/Fin
Combining the case studies: 7 parameters
The bigger picture: determinants of variation

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$\rightarrow$ reminiscent of Longobardi (2005)'s Principles \& Schemata:
(54) Parameter Schema:
a. Is F, F a functional feature, grammaticalized?
b. Is F, F a grammaticalized feature, checked by $\mathrm{X}, \mathrm{X}$ a lexical category?
c. Is F, F a grammaticalized feature, spread on Y, Y a lexical category?
d. Is F, F a grammaticalized feature checked by X, strong (i.e. overtly attracts X )?

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$\rightarrow$ and of Biberauer and Roberts (2013)'s parameter hierarchies:

## Parameter Hierarchy

For a given value $v_{i}$ of a parametrically variant feature $F$ :

- Macroparameters: all heads of the relevant type share $v_{i}$
- Mesoparameters: all heads of a given naturally definable class, a subset of the full class of heads of the relevant type, e.g. [+V], share $v_{i}$
- Microparameters: a small subclass of functional heads (e.g. modal auxiliaries, pronouns) shows $v_{i}$
- Nanoparameters: one or more individual lexical items is/are specified for $v_{\mathrm{i}}$


## The bigger picture: determinants of variation



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## To sum up

1. We have developed a parametric analysis for a large data set of morphosyntactic variation in Dutch dialects and have reduced the core tendencies in that variation to seven grammatical parameters.
2. In identifying those core tendencies we have crucially relied on quantitative-statistical means, but in identifying the grammatical parameters we started from formal-theoretical analyses.
3. At a more general level, these dialects seem to differ from one another in the choice of the morphosyntactic features that are grammaticalized and the degree to which they are.

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