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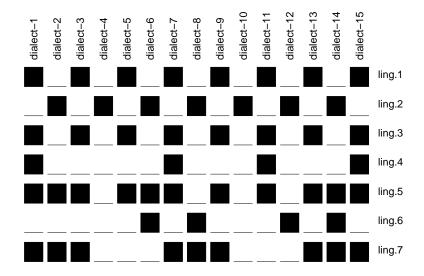
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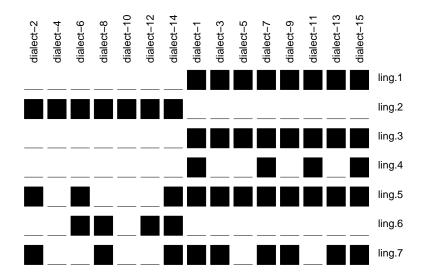
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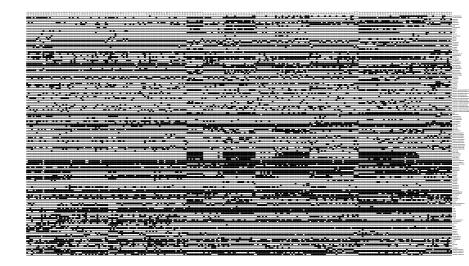
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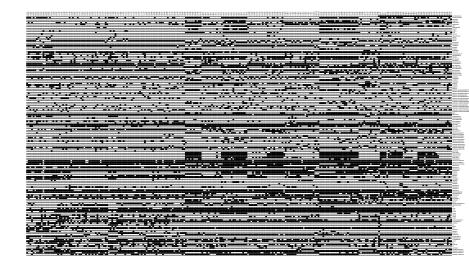
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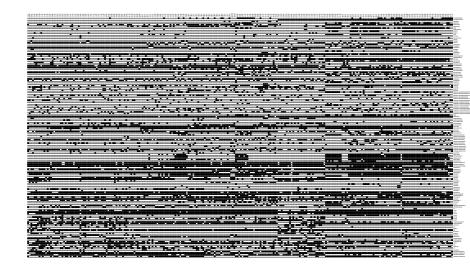
"If it were possible to experiment on languages, a syntactician would construct an experiment of the following type: take a language, alter a single one of its observable syntactic properties, examine the result to see what, if any, other property has changed as a consequence of the original manipulation."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











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- use quantitative-statistical means to identify patterns in the data
- use qualitative-theoretical means to interpret those patterns

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- 3. **Cluster Description:** identify the linguistic phenomena that are characteristic for those clusters

## Quantitative analysis: Correspondence Analysis

#### Correspondence Analysis:

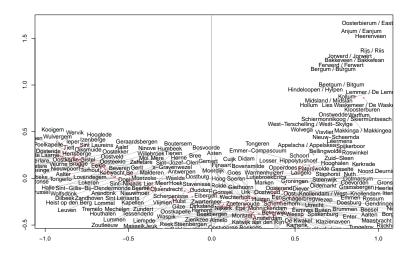
1. We start from the raw data table:

	AUXDOUBL	AUXSEL	GERUND	ABSWITH	PERPASS	
Midsland	0	1	0	0	0	
Lies	0	1	0	0	1	
West-Terschelling	0	1	0	0	0	
Oosterend	0	0	0	0	1	
Hollum	0	1	0	0	0	
Schiermonnikoog	0	0	0	0	0	
Ferwerd	0	1	0	0	0	
Anjum	0	1	0	0	0	
Kollum	0	1	0	0	0	
Visvliet	0	1	0	0	0	

## Quantitative analysis: Correspondence Analysis

Correspondence Analysis:

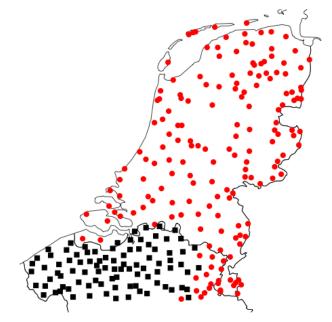
2. which then undergoes dimension reduction:

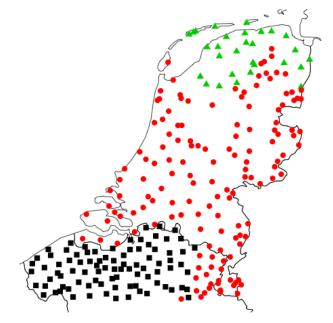


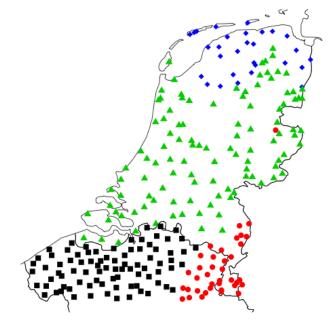
 Cluster Analysis is a technique for combining observations into groups (clusters)

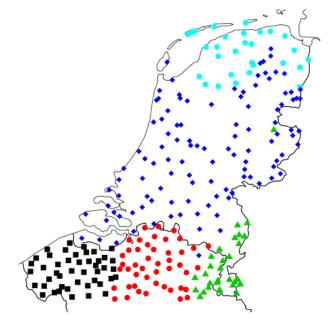
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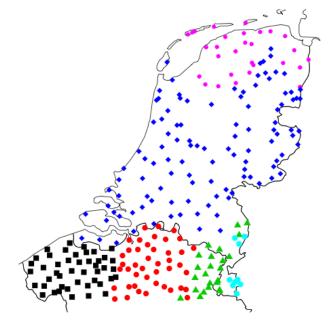
- Cluster Analysis is a technique for combining observations into groups (clusters)
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- varying the number of clusters is a way of varying the granularity of the morphosyntactic variation patterns we are looking at

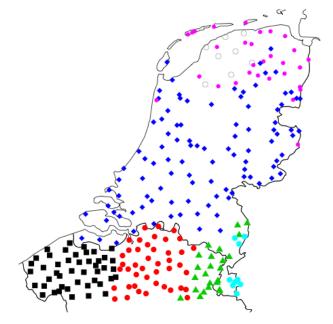


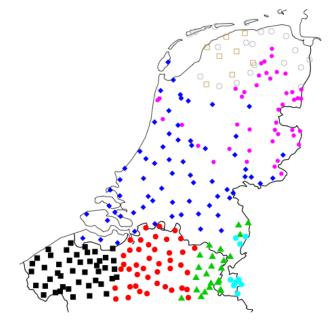


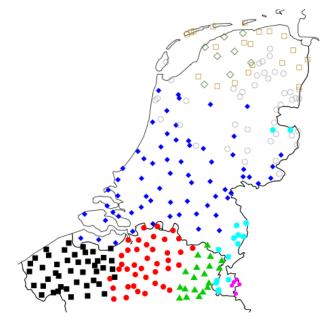




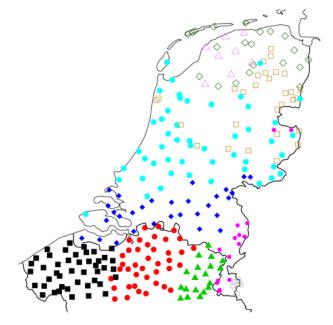








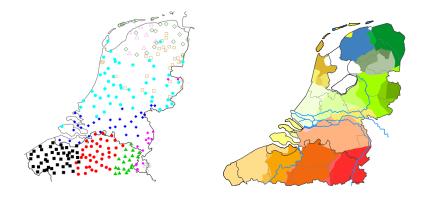
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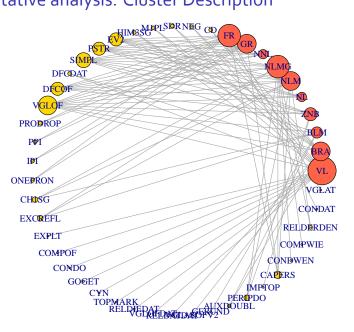
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- in other words, which linguistic features are characteristic for which dialect area?

### Quantitative analysis: Cluster Description



### Quantitative analysis: Conclusion

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- ightarrow they will serve as input for the qualitative analysis

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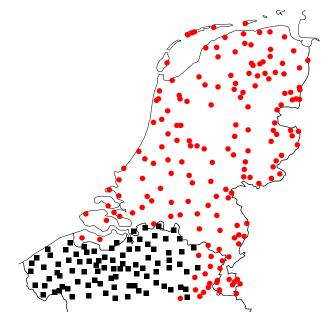
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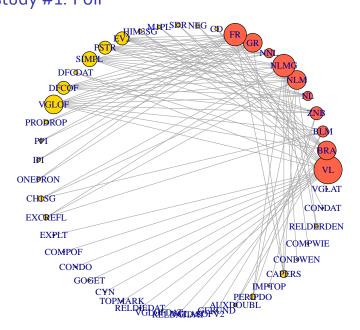
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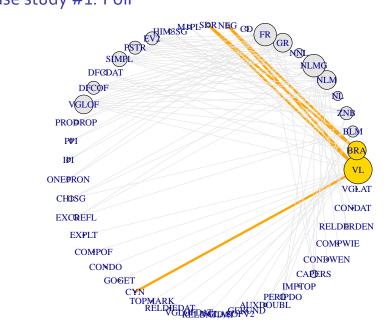
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  - 2. a split DP-layer
  - 3. a split Force/Fin-layer







> 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.'

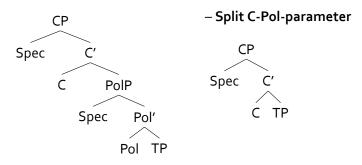
#### clitics on yes and no

(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.'

#### the SPLIT C-POL Parameter

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

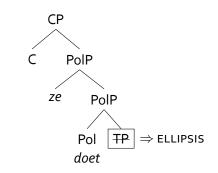
+ Split C-Pol-parameter



- (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 → TP-ellipsis licensed by a left peripheral polarity head:

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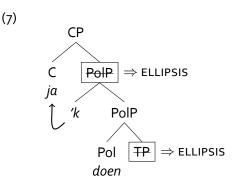
(5)



- supporting evidence: short do replies are only compatible with high left-peripheral adverbs:
- (6) A: Jef zeit 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
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  - the negative clitic en also fits this pattern: it too occupies a high Pol-head in the left periphery (van Craenenbroeck 2010).

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)



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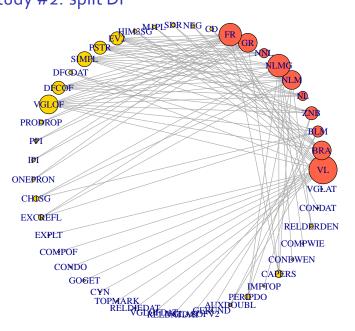
	NEG	SDR	CYN
SOUTH (FL)	+	+	+
SOUTH (BRA)	+	+	-
NORTH	-	-	-

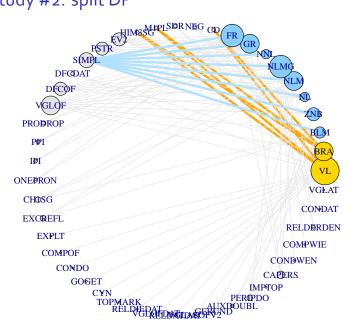
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SOUTH (FL)	+	+	+
SOUTH (BRA)	+	+	-
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note: For CYN a SPLIT C-POL parameter is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. A further parameter is necessary to license CYN. This parameter is set to +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





The following phenomena are characteristic of the South:

#### clitic doubling

(8) da-**ze zaaile** lachen. that-they<sub>CLITIC</sub> they<sub>STRONG</sub> 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.'

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

#### complex plural pronouns

(11) **Gu-lder** gelooft toch nie da **zu-lder** armer zijn you-people believe PART not that they-people poorer are dan **wu-lder**.

than we-people

'You won't believe that they are poorer than us.'

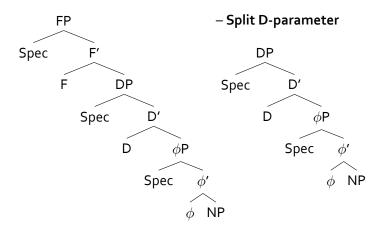
#### simplex plural pronouns

(12) Jim gelove jammer genoeg net dat
 You<sub>pl</sub>-SIMPLEX believe unfortunately enough not that
 sij it minder ha dan wij
 they-SIMPLEX it less have than we-SIMPLEX.
 'Unfortunately you do not believe that they are less well off
 than we are.'

#### the SPLIT-D Parameter

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

+ Split D-parameter

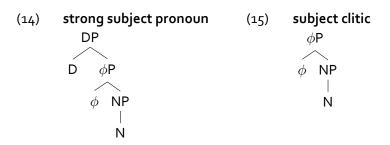


(13) da-**ze zaaile** lachen. that-they<sub>CLITIC</sub> they<sub>STRONG</sub> laugh 'that they are laughing.'

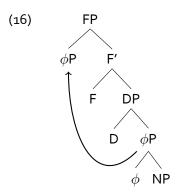
starting point: van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008)'s analysis of clitic doubling:

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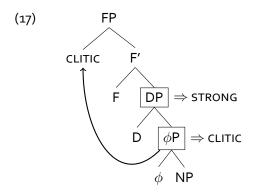
- starting point: van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008)'s analysis of clitic doubling:
- step one: strong pronouns in doubling dialects are pro-DPs, while subject clitics are pro-φPs (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002)



- step two: a clitic-doubled subject is base-generated as a big DP; clitics are the result of φP-movement into the extended left periphery of the DP
- ⇒ 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)):



step three: when the resulting structure is handed over to PF, the moved \u03c6 P is spelled out as a subject clitic, and the DP as a strong pronoun



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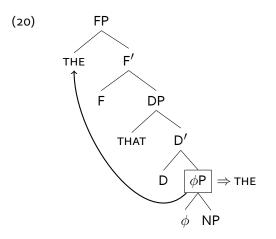
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	CD
SOUTH	+
NORTH	-

- 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<sub>CLITIC</sub> I<sub>STRONG</sub> want up eat 'I would like to eat those.'

- step one: the definite article in demonstrative doubling pronominalizes \u03c6P, 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.'

step two: \u03c6 P moves into the left periphery of the DP; anti-locality again requires that the left periphery of DP be complex.

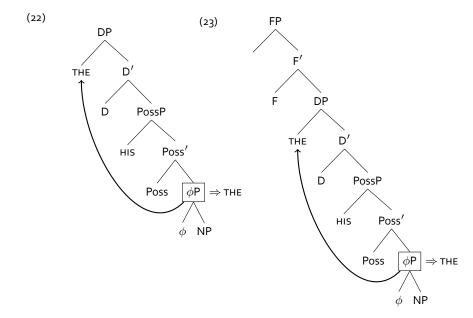


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- dialects with a negative setting for the D-parameter lack demonstrative doubling because they lack the additional DP-layer (no landing site for the definite article)
- 2. these dialects (as well as the dialects with a positive setting for the D-parameter) do have THE+possessive pronoun:
- (21) Ik vin de zaine ech geweldig.
  I find the his really great
  'I find his really great.' (-split DP parameter)



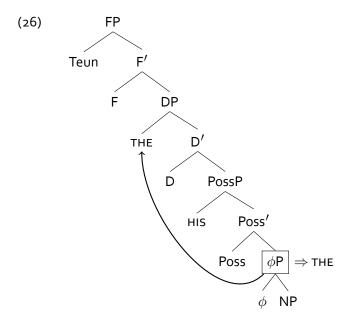
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(+SPLIT DP-Parameter)

- 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) Ik vin (\* Teun) de zaine ech geweldig.
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- (25) Ik vin (\* Teun) de zaine ech geweldig.
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  - $\rightarrow\,$  this can be explained by the presence of an additional layer in the +Split D-dialects:



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

Can this analysis also give us a handle on the variation concerning pronouns?

#### m-form of 1.pl subject pronoun

(27) **Me** zijn doa nooit geweest. we are there never been 'We have never been there.'

#### accusative 3.sg.masc pronoun in subject position

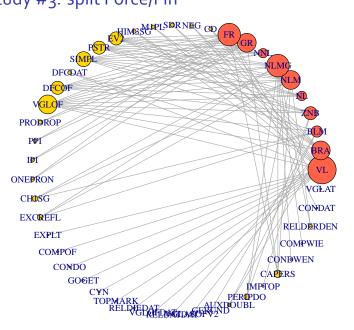
(28) **Em** is dood. him is dead 'He is dead'

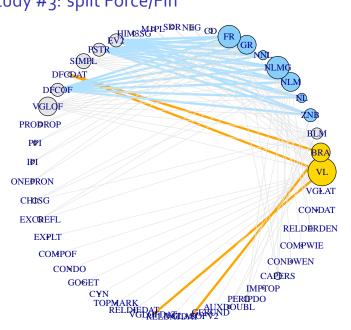
#### complex plural pronouns

(29) **Gu-Ider** gelooft toch nie da **zu-Ider** 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.'





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<sub>clitic</sub> they<sub>strong</sub> 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 V2 in an 'as if'-clause

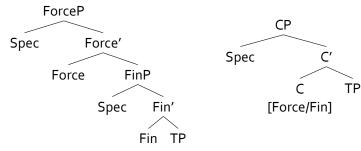
(32) T is precies **of** d'r **staat** d'r enen in den hof. it is exactly if there stands there someone in the garden 'It looks as if there is someone in the garden.'

#### the Split Force/Fin-Parameter

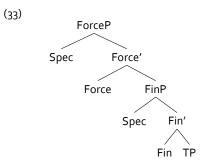
the CP-domain {does/does not} have a split Force/Fin.

+ Split Force/Fin-parameter

- Split Force/Fin-parameter



#### SOUTH: Split Force/Fin

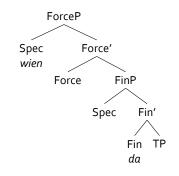


#### Assumptions about the left periphery:

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

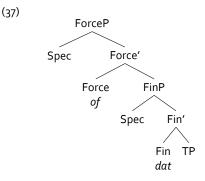
(34) ... wien da-se zie hadde wiln roepn. who that-they<sub>clitic</sub> they<sub>strong</sub> had want call `... who they planned to call.'

(35)



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

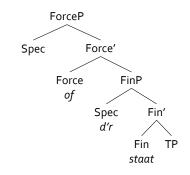
(36) T is juist lijk **of dat**-er etwien in dn hof stoat. it is just like if that-there someone in the garden stands 'It looks as if there is someone in the garden.'



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

(38) T is precies of d'r staat d'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.'





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

#### Predictions:

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

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  - (40) ... wien \*(da) se zie hadde wiln roepn.
     who that they<sub>clitic</sub> they<sub>strong</sub> had want call
     `... who they planned to call.'

- 1. Doubly filled COMP should be obligatory in embedded wh-clauses in the South  $\rightarrow$  confirmed
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     '... who they planned to call.'
- 2. No doubly filled COMP with  $\mathit{of}$  `if' in the South ightarrow confirmed
  - (41) \*... **wien of** se zie hadde wiln roepn. who if they<sub>clitic</sub> they<sub>strong</sub> had want call `... who they planned to call.'

• 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.'

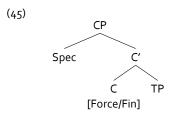
#### embedded V2 with complementizer drop

(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.'

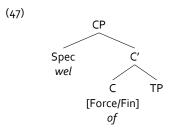
#### NORTH: NO Split Force/Fin



#### Assumptions about the left periphery:

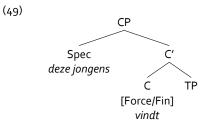
- 1. FinP has to contain overt material (every sentence has to be marked as finite).
- 2. wh-phrases are merged in specForceP
- 3. Generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter (GDFCF): A feature cannot be spelled out twice

(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.'



- 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).

(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.'



the finite verb realizes FinP

(EV2)

#### Predictions:

1. No doubly filled COMP with dat 'that' in the North ightarrow confirmed

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  - (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.'

- 1. No doubly filled COMP with dat 'that' in the North ightarrow 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

- 1. No doubly filled COMP with dat 'that' in the North ightarrow 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 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

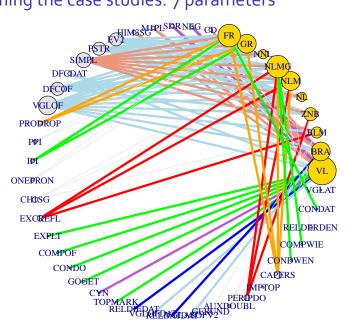
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	WH-DAT	WH-OF	WH-EMPTY	EV2	VGLOFV2	VGLOFDAT
SOUTH (FL)	+	-	-	-	-	+
SOUTH (BRA)	+	-	-	-	+	-
NORTH	-	+	+	+	-	-

### 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



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

**Split TP-parameter:** The TP-domain {is/is not} split.

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	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+

**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.

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	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+

**Split TP-parameter:** The TP-domain {is/is not} split.

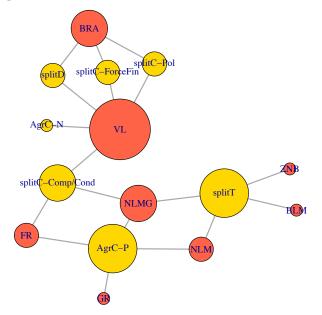
- Split C3-parameter: The CP-domain {does/does not} have separate projections for comparatives and conditionals.
- AGR C-num-parameter: C {does/does not} bear an unvalued number feature.

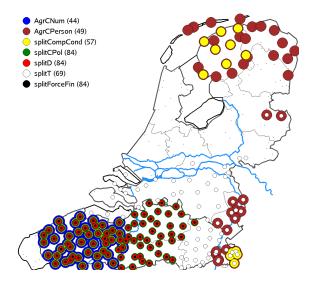
We can bring back these 37 linguistic phenomena to 7 parameters:

	VL	BRA	BLM	ZNB	NL	NLM	NLMG	NNL	GR	FR
SPLIT C-POL	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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SPLIT Force/FIN	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SPLIT TP	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
SPLIT 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.





## Outline

#### Main goals for today

Introduction: Kayne's dream

#### **Quantitative analysis**

Correspondence Analysis Cluster Analysis Cluster Description Conclusion

#### Qualitative analysis

Case study #1: PoIP Case study #2: split DP Case study #3: split Force/Fin Combining the case studies: 7 parameters

our ten dialect groups differ:

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  - 1. in whether or not a morphosyntactic feature heads its own projection (SPLIT)

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  - in whether or not a morphosyntactic feature heads its own projection (SPLIT)
  - 2. in the extent to which this happens
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- → reminiscent of Longobardi (2005)'s Principles & Schemata:

#### (54) Parameter Schema:

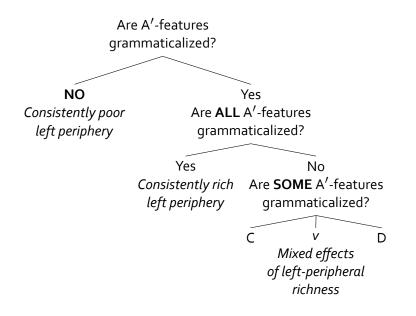
- a. Is F, F a functional feature, grammaticalized?
- b. Is F, F a grammaticalized feature, checked by X, X a lexical category?
- c. Is F, F a grammaticalized feature, spread on Y, Y a lexical category?
- d. Is F, F a grammaticalized feature checked by X, strong (i.e. overtly attracts X)?

- our ten dialect groups differ:
  - 1. in whether or not a morphosyntactic feature heads its own projection (SPLIT)
  - 2. in the extent to which this happens
  - 3. in whether or not a morphosyntactic feature triggers Agree (AGR)
- ightarrow 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<sub>i</sub>
- 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<sub>i</sub>
- Microparameters: a small subclass of functional heads (e.g. modal auxiliaries, pronouns) shows v<sub>i</sub>
- Nanoparameters: one or more individual lexical items is/are specified for v<sub>i</sub>



 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.

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- 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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