A microparameter in a nanoparametric world

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck & Marjo van Koppen

KU Leuven, CRISSP & Utrecht University, UiL-OTS

jeroen.vancraenenbroeck@kuleuven.be & j.m.vankoppen@uu.nl

Raw data of five dialect phenomena

1. complementizer agreement (CA)

(1) da-n Pol en Jan goan kommen
     that-PL Pol and Jan go-PL come
     'that Pol and Jan will come.'

2. clitic doubling (CD)

(2) da-ze   zaaile   lachen.
     that-theyCLITIC theySTRONG laugh
     'that they are laughing.'

3. short *do* replies (SDR)

(3) A: Ie slaapt nie. B: **Ie doet**.
     he sleeps not   he does
     'A: He's not sleeping. B: Yes, he is.'

4. negative clitic (NEG)

(4) Hij en slaapt nie.
     he NEG sleeps not
     'He isn't sleeping.'

5. clitics on *yes* and *no* (CYN)

(5) A: Wil je nog koffie? B: **Jaa-k**.
     want you PART coffee   Yes-I
     'A: Do you want some more coffee? B: Yes.'

CA   CD   SDR   NEG   CYN

Step #1: statistical analysis of the aggregate data

- van Craenenbroeck (2014): convert the data table…

	Brugge	Nieuwpoort	Oostvoorne	Dirksland	…
CA	1	1	1	1	…
CD	1	1	0	0	…
SDR	0	1	0	0	…
NEG	1	1	1	0	…
CYN	1	0	0	0	…

- …into a distance matrix…

	CA	CD	SDR	NEG	CYN
CA	0				
CD	11.40	0			
SDR	10.19	7.34	0		
NEG	10.04	6.85	6.08	0	
CYN	10.63	6.08	4.79	6.63	0

- …and plot those (dis)similarities in a low-dimensional space:
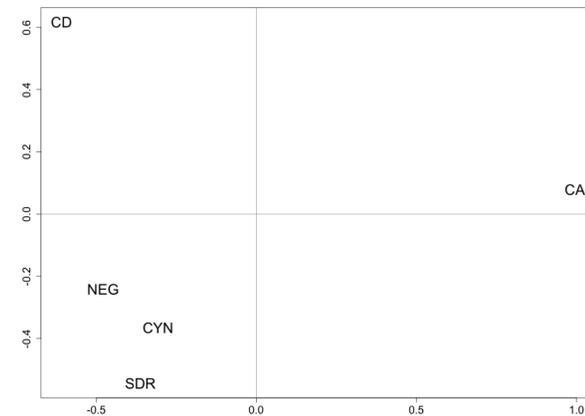
Step #2: three parameters
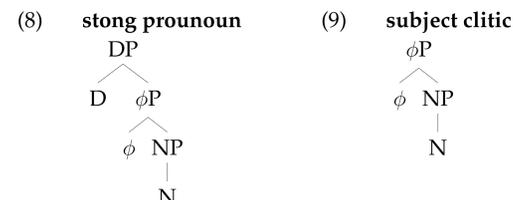
FIRST PARAMETER: setting apart CA

- van Koppen (2015) and references mentioned there: complementizer agreement is the overt reflex of unvalued ϕ-features on C undergoing Agree with the subject
- **supporting evidence:** the ϕ-feature specification of C(omplementizer agreement) can be different from—and is hence independent from—that of T (Haegeman and Koppen (2012); Koppen (2005)):

(6) Ich dink des   doow en ich ôs   treffe.
     I   think that-2SG you and I ourselves meet-PL
     'I think that you and I will meet.'

(7)   **the AgrC-parameter:**
   Dialects {have/don't have} unvalued ϕ-features on C.

SECOND PARAMETER: setting apart CD

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

(8) **stong pronoun**   (9) **subject clitic**
         DP ϕP
        / \   / \
       D ϕP ϕ NP
          / \ |
         ϕ NP   N
             |
             N

- **step two:** a clitic-doubled subject starts life as a big DP (see also Belletti (2005); Uriagereka (1995); Laenzlinger (1998); Grohmann (2000); Poletto (2008); Kayne (2005)); more specifically, clitics are the result of ϕP-movement to specDP:

(10)
         DP
        / \
       D'
      / \
     D ϕP
        / \
       ϕ NP
           |
           N
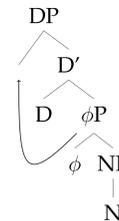
- **step three:** when the resulting structure is handed over to PF, the moved ϕP is spelled out as a subject clitic, while the remainder of the DP is realized as a strong pronoun

(11)   **the D-parameter:**
        Pronominal D {has/does not have} an edge feature.

THIRD PARAMETER: connecting CYN, NEG, and SDR

- **NEG:** van Craenenbroeck (2010); Haegeman and Breitbarth (2014): the negative clitic *en* occupies a high Pol-head in the left periphery
- **SDR:** van Craenenbroeck (2010): short *do* replies only occur in non-embedded contradictory polar replies to declarative clauses → they involve TP-ellipsis licensed by a left peripheral polarity head

(12)   A: Marie ziet Pierre niet graag. B: Ze doet.
       Mary sees Pierre not gladly   she does
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'

- **supporting evidence:** short *do* replies are only compatible with high left-peripheral adverbs:

(13)   A: Jef zeit da gou veel geldj etj. B: Ken duu
       Jef says that you much money have   I.NEG doe
       pertang / * nie mieje.
       however   not anymore
       'A: Jef says you have a lot of money. B: I dont, however/*anymore.'

- **CYN:** 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
- **supporting evidence:** *there*-expletives in short *do* replies and yes/no+clitics:
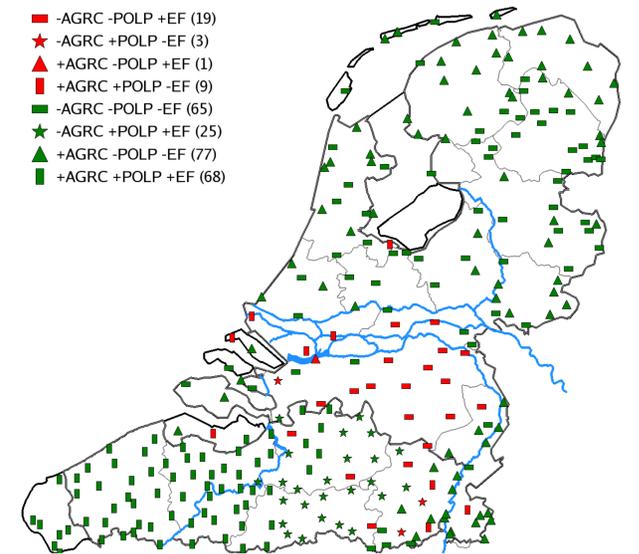
(14)   a. Dui stui ne vantj inn of.
           there stands a man in.the garden
           'Theres a man standing in the garden.'
       b. {* Dui / T} en duut. // Jui { * d'r / t}.
           there / it NEG does.   yes there it
           'No, there isnt. // Yes.'

(15)   **the PolP-parameter**
        Dialects {have/do not have} a PolP in the clausal left periphery.

Step #3: parameter interactions

	+AGRC		−AGRC	
	+POLP	−POLP	+POLP	−POLP
−D$_{[EF]}$	9 (3%)	77 (28%)	3 (0.01%)	65 (24%)
+D$_{[EF]}$	68 (25%)	1 (0.003%)	25 (9%)	19 (7%)

- 86% of the dialects have the same value for the D-parameter and the PolP-parameter
- moreover, all the non-matching dialect locations (red on the map below) are situated in the transition zone between Flemish and Netherlandic Dutch

■ -AGRC -POLP +EF (19)
★ -AGRC +POLP -EF (3)
▲ +AGRC -POLP +EF (1)
■ +AGRC +POLP -EF (9)
■ -AGRC +POLP -EF (65)
★ -AGRC +POLP +EF (25)
▲ +AGRC -POLP +EF (77)
■ +AGRC +POLP +EF (68)

[SIDE NOTE: the geographically coherent [−AGRC,−POLP,+EF]-region in North Brabantic has a limited type of clitic doubling triggered by head movement to D, cf. Barbiers et al. (2016)]

Conclusion

While the AgrC-parameter is a true **nanoparameter** (i.e. dependent on the feature specification of a single head), the interaction between the D-parameter and the PolP-parameter suggest an underlying, bigger, **microparameter** connecting the two.

References

Barbiers, Sjef, Marjo van Koppen, Hans Bennis, and Norbert Corver. 2016. Microcomparative MOrphosyntactic REsearch (MIMORE): Mapping partial grammars of Flemish, Brabantish and Dutch. *Lingua* .
Belletti, Adriana. 2005. Extended doubling and the VP periphery. *Probus* 17:1–35.
van Craenenbroeck, Jeroen. 2010. *The syntax of ellipsis. Evidence from Dutch dialects.* New York: OUP.
van Craenenbroeck, Jeroen. 2014. *The signal and the noise in Dutch verb clusters. A quantitative search for parameters.* Ms. KU Leuven. Downloadable at http://jeroenvancraenenbroeck.net/publications/.
van Craenenbroeck, Jeroen, and Marjo van Koppen. 2008. Pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects: big DPs and coordinations. In *Microvariation in syntactic doubling*, ed. Sjef et al. Barbiers, volume 36 of *Syntax and Semantics*, 207–249. Bingley: Emerald.
Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko. 2002. Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33:409–442.
Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2000. Prolific peripheries: a radical view from the left. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Maryland.
Haegeman, Liliane, and Anne Breitbarth. 2014. The distribution of preverbal *en* in (West) Flemish: syntactic and interpretive properties. *Lingua* 147:69–86.
Haegeman, Liliane, and Marjo van Koppen. 2012. Complementizer agreement and the relation between T and C. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43:441–454.
Kayne, Richard. 2005. Pronouns and their antecedents. In *Movement and silence*, 105–135. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
van Koppen, Marjo. 2015. Complementizer agreement. Ms. Utrecht University, UiL-OTS.
Koppen, Marjo van. 2005. One probe, two goals: aspects of agreement in Dutch dialects. Doctoral Dissertation, Universiteit Leiden.
Laenzlinger, Christopher. 1998. *Comparative studies in word order variations: pronouns, adverbs and German clause structure.* Number 20 in Linguistics Today. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Poletto, Cecilia. 2008. Doubling as a spare movement strategy. In *Microvariation in syntactic doubling*, ed. Sjef et al. Barbiers, volume 36 of *Syntax and Semantics*, 36–68. Bingley: Emerald.
Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26:79–124.