

Quantity and quality in linguistics

(Or: Tackling a microvariationist's frustrations)

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CRISSP 10

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Outline

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

Two case studies

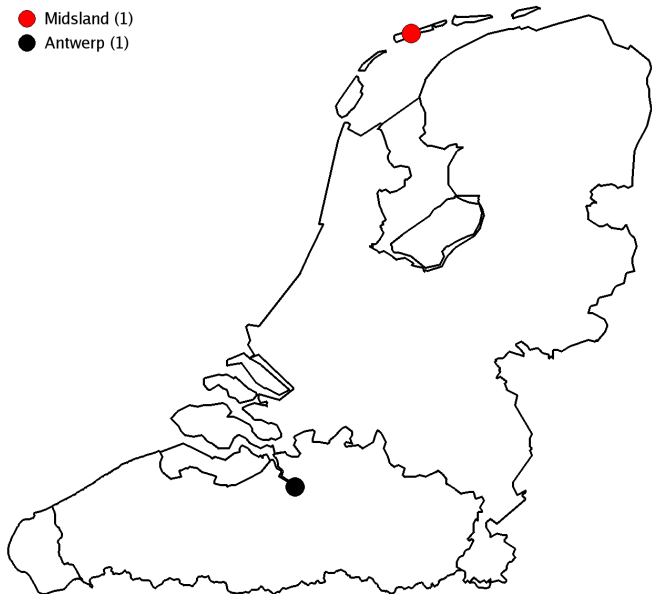
Case study #1: Verb clusters

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

Conclusion & future prospects

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

- Midsland (1)
- Antwerp (1)



A tale of a village and a city (and then some)



A tale of a village and a city (and then some)



A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

(1) Midsland

- a. Ze weet niet dat Marie gister doad gaan is.
she knows not that Mary yesterday dead gone is
'She doesn't know Mary died yesterday.'
- b. *Ze weet niet dat Marie gister doad is gaan.
she knows not that Mary yesterday dead is gone

(2) Antwerp

- a. Ge weet nie da Marie dood is gegaan.
you know not that Mary dead is gone
'You don't know Mary died.'
- b. *Ge weet nie da Marie dood gegaan is.
you know not that Mary dead gone is

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

(3) Midsland

- a. Ik fien dastou 't niet **zien** mag.
I find that.you it not see may
'I feel you shouldn't see it.'
- b. *Ik fien dastou 't niet **mag** **zien**.
I find that.you it not may see

(4) Antwerp

- a. Ik vin dagij dat nie **meug** **zien**.
I find that.you that not may see
'I feel you shouldn't see that.'
- b. *Ik vin dagij dat nie **zien** **meug**.
I find that.you that not see may

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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- a. Ik vin dagij dat nie **meug** **zien**.
I find that.you that not may see
'I feel you shouldn't see that.'
- b. *Ik vin dagij dat nie **zien** **meug**.
I find that.you that not see may

- Midsland Dutch is consistently head-final in its (two-verb) clusters, while Antwerp Dutch is consistently head-initial

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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- ▶ orders that are not strictly head-initial are derived via VP-intraposition (Barbiers 2005), implemented via an [EPP]-feature on V

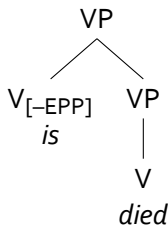
A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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- ▶ orders that are not strictly head-initial are derived via VP-intraposition (Barbiers 2005), implemented via an [EPP]-feature on V
- ▶ the parameter distinguishing Midsland Dutch from Antwerp Dutch is the feature specification of V: [+EPP] in Midsland, [-EPP] in Antwerp

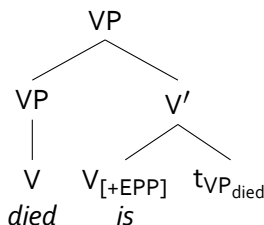
A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

- ▶ let's assume all orders are derived from an underlying (universal) head-initial structure
- ▶ orders that are not strictly head-initial are derived via VP-intrapolation (Barbiers 2005), implemented via an [EPP]-feature on V
- ▶ the parameter distinguishing Midland Dutch from Antwerp Dutch is the feature specification of V: [+EPP] in Midland, [-EPP] in Antwerp

(5) Antwerp



(6) Midland



A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	$V_{[-EPP]}$	$V_{[+EPP]}$
IS_DIED	✓	*
DIED_IS	*	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Midland

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	V _[-EPP]	V _[+EPP]
IS_DIED	✓	*
DIED_IS	*	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Midland

however this neat picture breaks down once more dialects are taken into account

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	V _[-EPP]	V _[+EPP]
IS_DIED	✓	*
DIED_IS	*	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Midsland

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IS_DIED	*
DIED_IS	✓
MAY_SEE	✓
SEE_MAY	*
DIALECT	Lovendegem

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	V _[-EPP]	V _[+EPP]
IS_DIED	✓	*
DIED_IS	*	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Midsland

however this neat picture breaks down once more dialects are taken into account

IS_DIED	*	✓
DIED_IS	✓	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	✓
SEE_MAY	*	*
DIALECT	Lovendegem	Hoek

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	V _[-EPP]	V _[+EPP]
IS_DIED	✓	*
DIED_IS	*	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Midland

however this neat picture breaks down once more dialects are taken into account

IS_DIED	*	✓	*
DIED_IS	✓	✓	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	✓	✓
SEE_MAY	*	*	✓
DIALECT	Lovendegem	Hoek	Sliedrecht

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	V _[-EPP]	V _[+EPP]
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DIED_IS	*	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Midland

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IS_DIED	*	✓	*	✓
DIED_IS	✓	✓	✓	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	✓	✓	*
SEE_MAY	*	*	✓	✓
DIALECT	Lovendegem	Hoek	Slidrecht	Monster

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

	V _[-EPP]	V _[+EPP]
IS_DIED	✓	*
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MAY_SEE	✓	*
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DIALECT	Antwerp	Midland

however this neat picture breaks down once more dialects are taken into account

IS_DIED	*	✓	*	✓	✓
DIED_IS	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
MAY_SEE	✓	✓	✓	*	✓
SEE_MAY	*	*	✓	✓	✓
DIALECT	Lovendegem	Hoek	Slidrecht	Monster	Amsterdam

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

- ▶ and the picture becomes even more messy in the case of three-verb clusters

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(7) Ik vind dat iedereen moet kunnen zwemmen.
I find that everyone must can swim.
'I think everyone should be able to swim.'

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MUST_CAN_SWIM

MUST_SWIM_CAN

CAN_MUST_SWIM

CAN_SWIM_MUST

SWIM_MUST_CAN

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MUST_CAN_SWIM	✓
MUST_SWIM_CAN	*
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*
SWIM_CAN_MUST	*
DIALECT	Antwerp

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MUST_CAN_SWIM	✓	*
MUST_SWIM_CAN	*	*
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*	*
SWIM_CAN_MUST	*	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Lies

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MUST_CAN_SWIM	✓	*	*
MUST_SWIM_CAN	*	*	✓
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*	*	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*	*	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*	*	*
SWIM_CAN_MUST	*	✓	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Lies	Midland

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MUST_SWIM_CAN	*	*	✓	*
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*	*	*	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*	*	*	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*	*	*	✓
SWIM_CAN_MUST	*	✓	✓	✓
DIALECT	Antwerp	Lies	Midland	Bakkeveen

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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MUST_CAN_SWIM	✓
MUST_SWIM_CAN	✓
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*
SWIM_CAN_MUST	✓
DIALECT	Hippolytushoef

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MUST_CAN_SWIM	✓	✓
MUST_SWIM_CAN	✓	*
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*	✓
SWIM_CAN_MUST	✓	*
DIALECT	Hippolytushoef	Langelo

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MUST_SWIM_CAN	✓	*	✓
CAN_MUST_SWIM	*	*	*
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*	*	*
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*	✓	✓
SWIM_CAN_MUST	✓	*	✓
DIALECT	Hippolytushoef	Langelo	Beetgum

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CAN_MUST_SWIM	*	*	*	...
CAN_SWIM_MUST	*	*	*	...
SWIM_MUST_CAN	*	✓	✓	...
SWIM_CAN_MUST	✓	*	✓	...
DIALECT	Hippolytushoef	Langelo	Beetgum	...

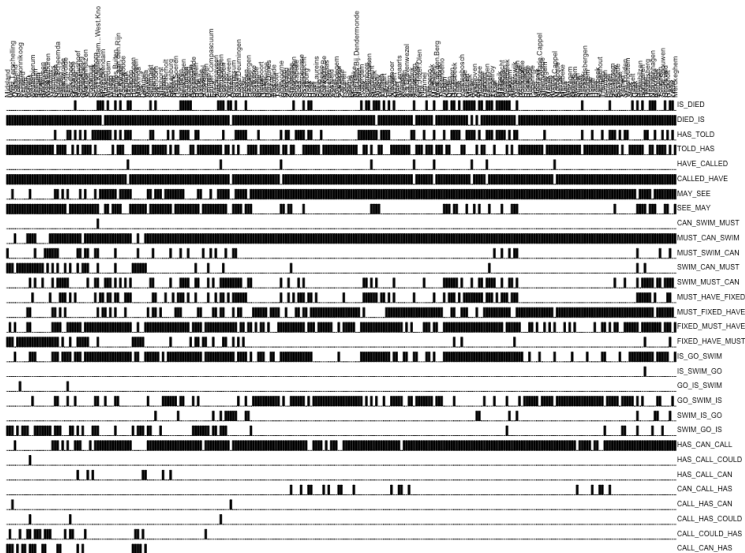
A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

- ▶ in the SAND-project (Barbiers et al. (2006), Barbiers et al. (2008)) we looked at 31 cluster orders in 267 dialects of Dutch

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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- ▶ when taken together these data look as follows:

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The microvariationist's frustration

Recent dialect projects have made available large amounts of microvariational data, but our current theoretical tools and methodologies are ill-suited to make sense of those data.

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A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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 - ▶ **No:** even a cursory glance reveals that there are patterns in the data, that it's not just random chaos.

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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- ▶ **Should we just give up?**
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- ▶ e.g. in the case of two-verb clusters, there is no dialect that is obligatorily head-final in modal+infinitive, but obligatorily head-initial in the case of auxiliary+participle

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IS_DIED	✓
DIED_IS	*
MAY_SEE	*
SEE_MAY	✓
DIALECT	

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

- ▶ and in three-verb clusters of the type “must can swim”, two orders are systematically lacking:

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MUST_SWIM_CAN

CAN_MUST_SWIM ✓ * ✓

CAN_SWIM_MUST * ✓ ✓

SWIM_MUST_CAN

SWIM_CAN_MUST

DIALECT



A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

- ▶ and in three-verb clusters of the type “must can swim”, two orders are systematically lacking:

MUST_CAN_SWIM

MUST_SWIM_CAN

CAN_MUST_SWIM ✓ * ✓

CAN_SWIM_MUST * ✓ ✓

SWIM_MUST_CAN

SWIM_CAN_MUST

DIALECT

- ▶ and even a zoomed in version of the Bertin-plot suggests that there is more structure to the data than there seems to be at first glance

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

Oostvond	Lutjebroek	Schiermon	Oost-Kroonland...West.k	Beverwijk	Morriekendam	Marken	Amsterdam	Weesp	Huizen	Eemnes-Bullen	Katwijk-aan-den-Rijn	De-Kruis	Zoeterwoude	Kamerik	Utrecht	Boskoop	Hindeloopen	Heerenveen	Makkinga	Rijs	Lemmer	
																						IS_DIED
																						DIED_IS
																						HAS_TOLD
																						TOLD_HAS
																						HAVE_CALLED
																						CALLED_HAVE
																						MAY_SEE
																						SEE_MAY
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																						SWIM_CAN_MUST
																						SWIM_MUST_CAN
																						MUST_HAVE_FIXED
																						MUST_FIXED_HAVE
																						FIXED_MUST_HAVE
																						FIXED_HAVE_MUST
																						IS_GO_SWIM
																						IS_SWIM_GO
																						GO_IS_SWIM
																						GO_SWIM_IS
																						SWIM_IS_GO
																						SWIM_GO_IS
																						HAS_CAN_CALL
																						HAS_CALL_COULD
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A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

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 1. **quantitative work** on dialectal variation that is not very theoretical in nature (e.g. Heeringa (2004), Spruit (2008), Heeringa and Nerbonne (2013), Wieling and Nerbonne (2015))

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 2. **theoretical work** on dialectal variation that is not very quantitative in nature (e.g. Bayer (1984), Haegeman (1992), Hoekstra (1993), Penner (1994), Poletto (2000), Benincà and Poletto (2004))

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 2. **theoretical work** on dialectal variation that is not very quantitative in nature (e.g. Bayer (1984), Haegeman (1992), Hoekstra (1993), Penner (1994), Poletto (2000), Benincà and Poletto (2004))

The goal of the current research project

To bring these two traditions together, and analyze dialectal variation from a perspective that is both quantitative and qualitative in nature.

Outline

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Two case studies

Case study #1: Verb clusters

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

Conclusion & future prospects

Case study #1: Verb clusters

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #1 Correspondence Analysis

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- ▶ = a technique for exploring and visualizing categorical data, “useful for identification of systematic relationships between variables and capturing the main tendencies” (Levshina (2015:369))

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #1 Correspondence Analysis

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- ▶ starting point: raw data table

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #1 Correspondence Analysis

- ▶ = a technique for exploring and visualizing categorical data, “useful for identification of systematic relationships between variables and capturing the main tendencies” (Levshina (2015:369))
- ▶ starting point: raw data table

	Midland	Lies	West-Terschelling	...
IS_DIED	no	no	no	...
DIED_IS	yes	yes	yes	...
HAS_TOLD	no	no	no	...
TOLD_HAS	yes	yes	yes	...
MAY_SEE	no	no	yes	...
SEE_MAY	yes	yes	yes	...
CAN_SWIM_MUST	no	no	no	...
MUST_CAN_SWIM	no	no	yes	...
MUST_SWIM_CAN	yes	no	no	...
...		

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #1 Correspondence Analysis

- ▶ which is converted into a distance matrix

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #1 Correspondence Analysis

- ▶ which is converted into a distance matrix

	IS_DIED	DIED_IS	HAS_TOLD	TOLD_HAS	
DIED_IS	14.28				
HAS_TOLD	8.24	13.26			
TOLD_HAS	14.42	8.36	15.68		
MAY_SEE	12.60	7.68	11.53	10.72	
SEE_MAY	10.77	12.16	11.04	12.08	
CAN_SWIM_MUST	8.42	16.03	9.84	13.74	
MUST_CAN_SWIM	13.34	5.09	12.32	9.79	
MUST_SWIM_CAN	9.27	15.03	10.19	13.26	
...

Case study #1: Verb clusters

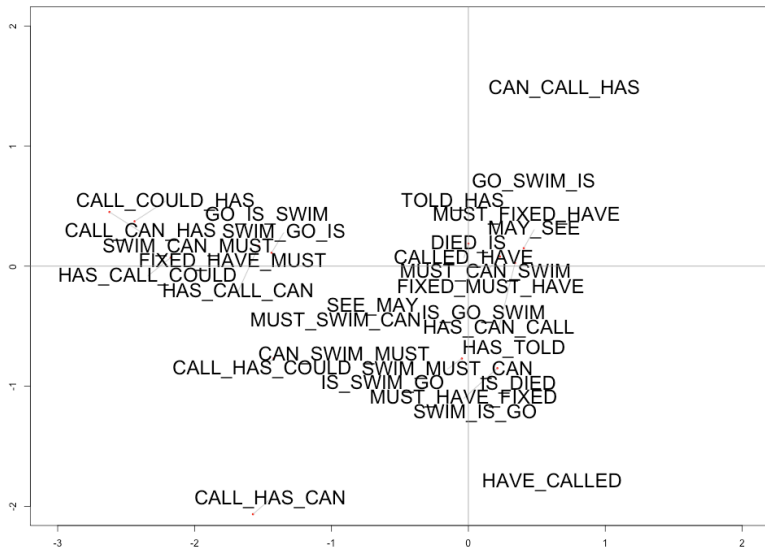
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MUST_CAN_SWIM	13.34	5.09	12.32	9.79
MUST_SWIM_CAN	9.27	15.03	10.19	13.26
...

- ▶ the elements in the distance matrix are represented as points in a lower-dimensional space whereby geographical distance between points corresponds (as closely as possible) to distance recorded in the distance matrix

Case study #1: Verb clusters



Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #2 linguistic analyses as supplementary variables

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- ▶ supplementary variables are additional columns that are added to the data table

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #2 linguistic analyses as supplementary variables

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Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #2 linguistic analyses as supplementary variables

- ▶ supplementary variables are additional columns that are added to the data table
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- ▶ the supplementary variables used in this analysis are decomposed theoretical analyses of verb cluster orders

Case study #1: Verb clusters

step #2 linguistic analyses as supplementary variables

- ▶ supplementary variables are additional columns that are added to the data table
- ▶ they do not contribute to measuring the degree of correspondence between the rows (i.e. cluster orders), but can be used to interpret the data
- ▶ the supplementary variables used in this analysis are decomposed theoretical analyses of verb cluster orders
- ▶ example: Barbiers (2005)

Case study #1: Verb clusters

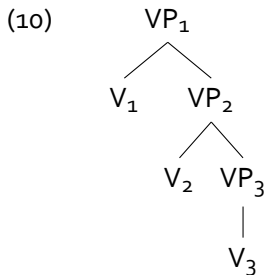
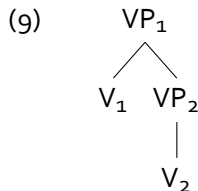
- ▶ Barbiers (2005) derives verb cluster orders as follows:

Case study #1: Verb clusters

- ▶ Barbiers (2005) derives verb cluster orders as follows:
 - ▶ base order is uniformly head-initial → derives 12 and 123

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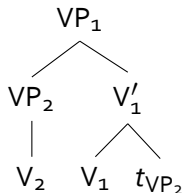
Case study #1: Verb clusters

- ▶ Barbiers (2005) derives verb cluster orders as follows:
 - ▶ movement is VP-intrapolation → derives 21 and 231, 312 and 132, and fails to derive 213

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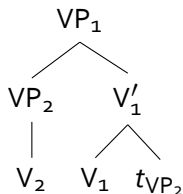
(11)



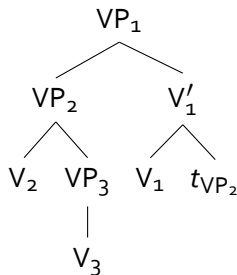
Case study #1: Verb clusters

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(11)



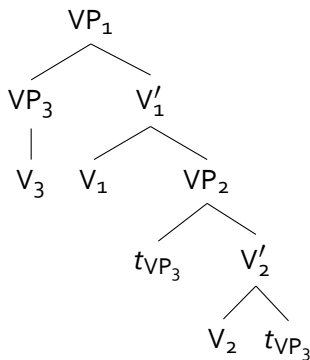
(12)



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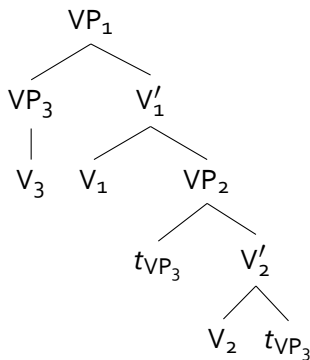
(13)



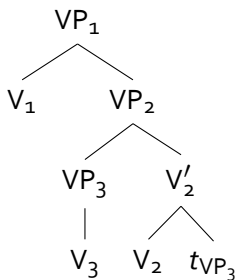
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(14)



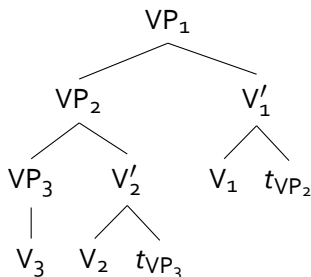
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	BASE-GENERATION	MOVEMENT	PIED-PIPING	...
IS_DIED	yesBase	noMvt	noPiedP	...
DIED_IS	noBase	yesMvt	noPiedP	...
HAS_TOLD	yesBase	noMvt	noPiedP	...
TOLD_HAS	noBase	yesMvt	noPiedP	...
MAY_SEE	yesBase	noMvt	noPiedP	...
SEE_MAY	noBase	yesMvt	noPiedP	...
CAN_SWIM_MUST	noBase	yesMvt	noPiedP	...
MUST_CAN_SWIM	yesBase	noMvt	noPiedP	...
...

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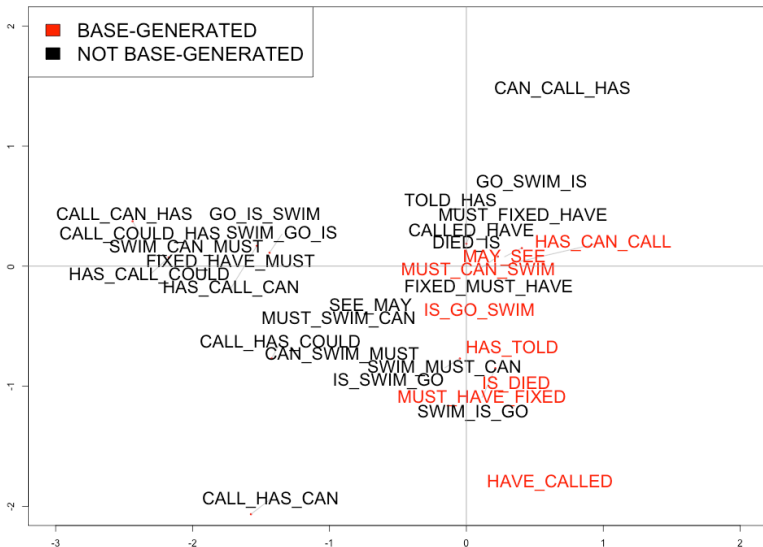
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- ▶ there are various ways of measuring/visualizing those correlations:
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 - ▶ by calculating the squared correlation ratio (η^2):

	dimension 1	dimension 2
Barbiers (2005) base generation	0.159	0.146

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 4. dialects do/do not allow for interruption of the cluster by non-verbal material (requires an adjectival participle or a nominal infinitive) → yields the order 132

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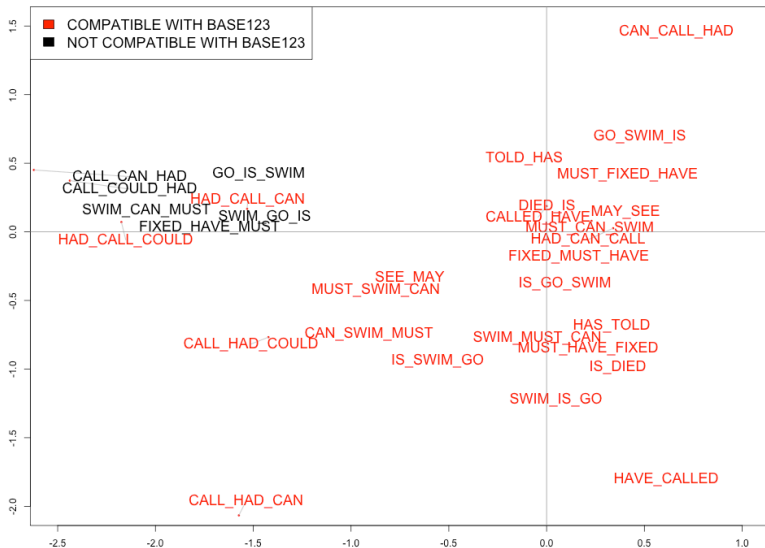
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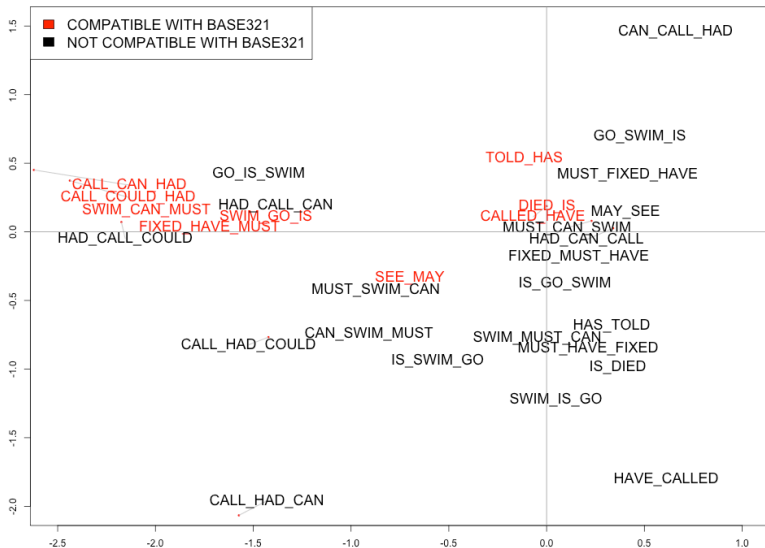
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 - ▶ [BASE123]: is the order compatible with an ascending base order?
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η^2	dimension #1	dimension #2
BASE123	0.706	0.009
BASE321	0.312	0.096
ADJPART	0.007	0.321
NOMINF	0.454	0.073
CLUSTINTERR	0.003	0.028

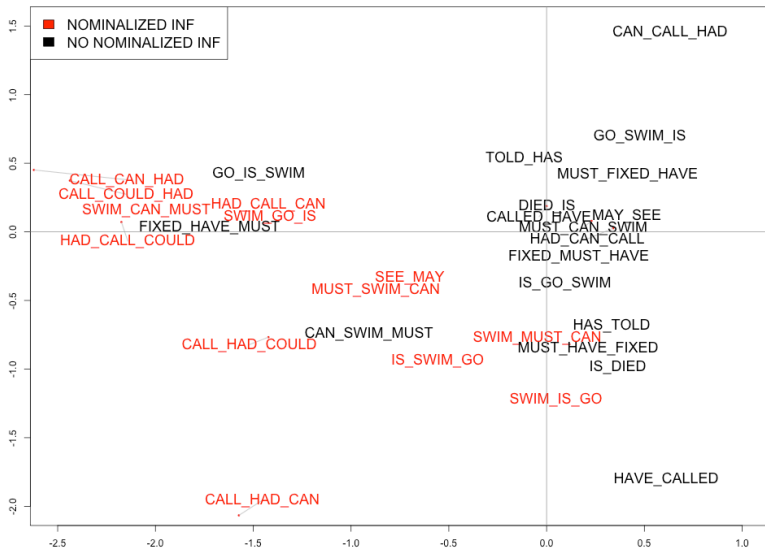
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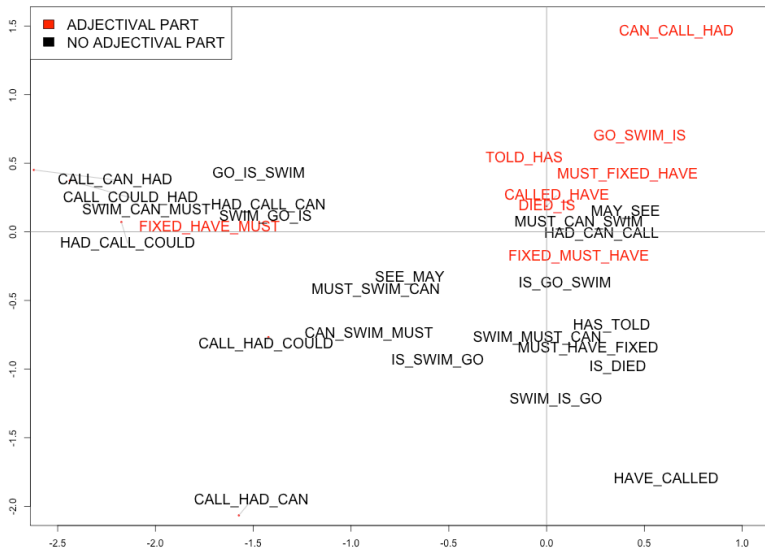
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 - ▶ what about the cluster interruption parameter of Barbiers et al. (2016a)?
 - ▶ the implicational relation between pre-auxiliary participles and pre-modal infinitives discussed above doesn't yet follow from Barbiers et al. (2016a)'s analysis

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

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(17) da-ze **zaaile** lachen.
 that-they_{CLITIC} they_{STRONG} laugh
 'that they are laughing.'
 (Wambeek)

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- (20) 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.'
(Malderen)

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- (23) dat ***(er)** in de fabrieke nen jongen werkte
that there in the factory a boy worked
'that a boy worked in the factory' (Lapscheure,
Haegeman (1986:3))

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► *go get* in imperatives (GO-GET)

- (25) **Gon haalt** die bestelling ne keer!
go_{INF} get_{IMP} that order a time
'Go get that order!' (Ghent)

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	Brugge	Hulst	Dirksland	Ossendrecht	...
CA	1	1	1	0	...
CD	1	1	0	1	...
SDR	0	0	0	0	...
NEG	1	0	0	0	...
CYN	1	1	0	0	...
EXPL-T	1	0	0	0	...
CMPR-IF	0	1	0	0	...
ER.OBL	1	0	0	0	...
THE+THAT	1	0	0	1	...
GO-GET	1	0	0	1	...

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	CA	CD	SDR	CYN	NEG	EXPL-T	CMPR-IF	...
CD	11.40							
SDR	10.14	7.28						
CYN	10.00	6.48	4.58					
NEG	10.63	6.08	4.69	5.56				
EXPL-T	10.04	8.30	4.24	5.56	6.16			
CMPR-IF	10.72	8.54	4.69	5.91	6.63	4.47		
THE+THAT	10.77	5.83	6.70	6.63	6.40	7.68	8.06	
ER.OBL	10.34	8.06	4.24	5.38	6.00	4.00	4.69	...
GO-GET	10.72	8.30	4.89	5.91	6.32	5.29	5.09	...

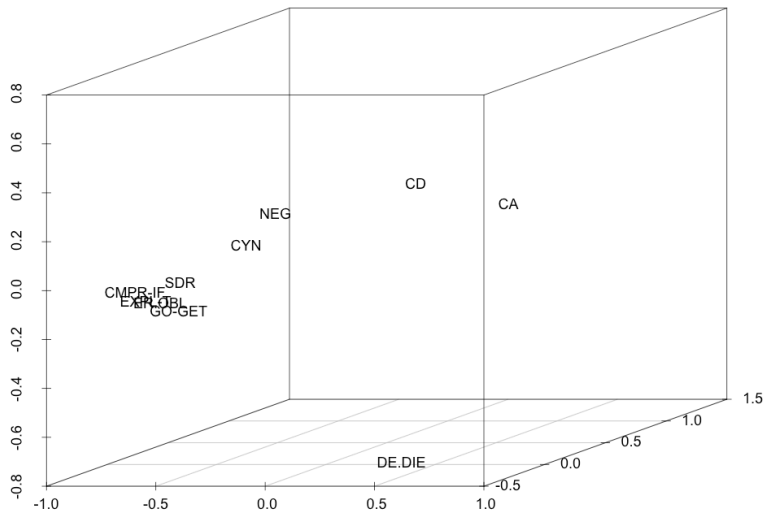
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CMPR-IF	10.72	8.54	4.69	5.91	6.63	4.47		
THE+THAT	10.77	5.83	6.70	6.63	6.40	7.68	8.06	
ER.OBL	10.34	8.06	4.24	5.38	6.00	4.00	4.69	...
GO-GET	10.72	8.30	4.89	5.91	6.32	5.29	5.09	...

- ▶ which is in turn converted into a lower-dimensional (here: 3D) representation

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

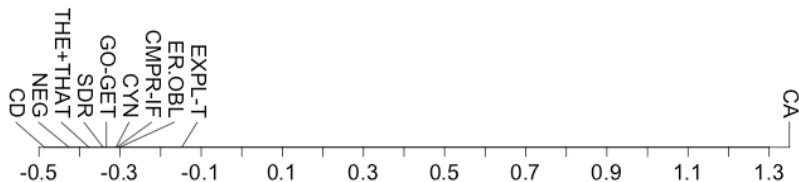


Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

- ▶ **First dimension:** sets apart complementizer agreement (CA) from all other phenomena:

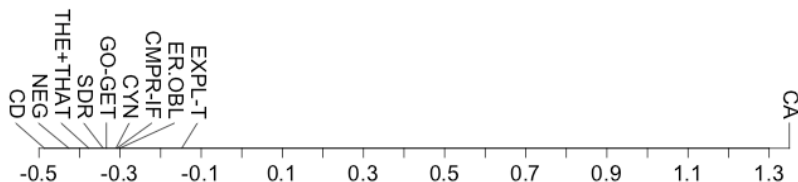
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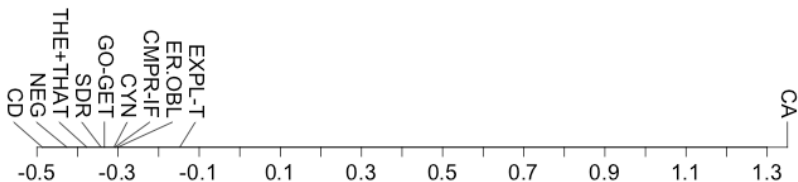
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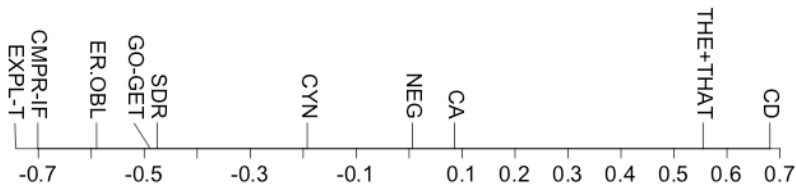
(26) **the AgrC-parameter:**
C {does/does not} have unvalued ϕ -features.

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

- ▶ **Second dimension:** sets apart CD and THE+THAT from all other phenomena (with CA no longer playing a role):

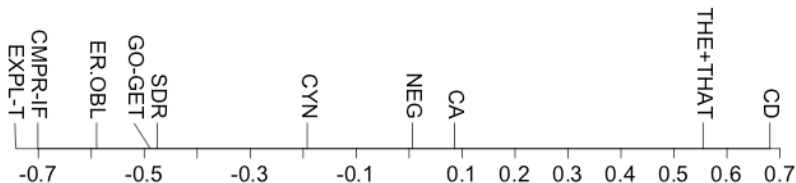
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- we propose that CD and THE+THAT are indicative of a **split D-domain**, while EXPL-T, CMPR-IF, ER.OBL, GO-GET, SDR, CYN, and NEG are indicative of a **split C-domain**

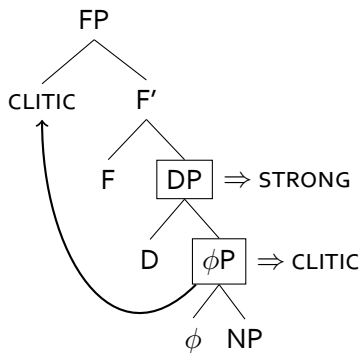
Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

- ▶ both CD and THE+THAT involve raising of a subpart of DP into the extended left periphery of D (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2008, Barbiers et al. 2016b):

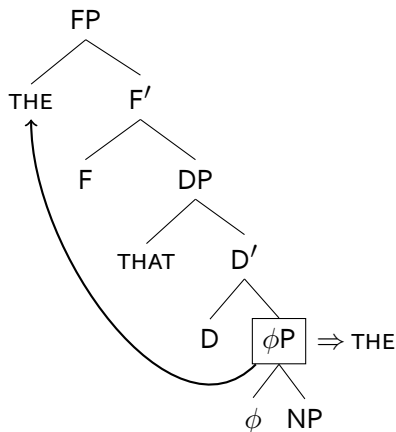
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(28)



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- ▶ CMPR-IF: dialects with CMPR-IF differ from dialects without CMPR-IF in that they have an unique form for the conditional complementizer → CMPR-IF dialects have two separate C-layers to express conditional and comparative information, whereas the other dialects bundle both features on one single head

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

- (29) **the D-parameter:**
DP {does/does not} have an extended left periphery.

- (30) **the C-parameter**
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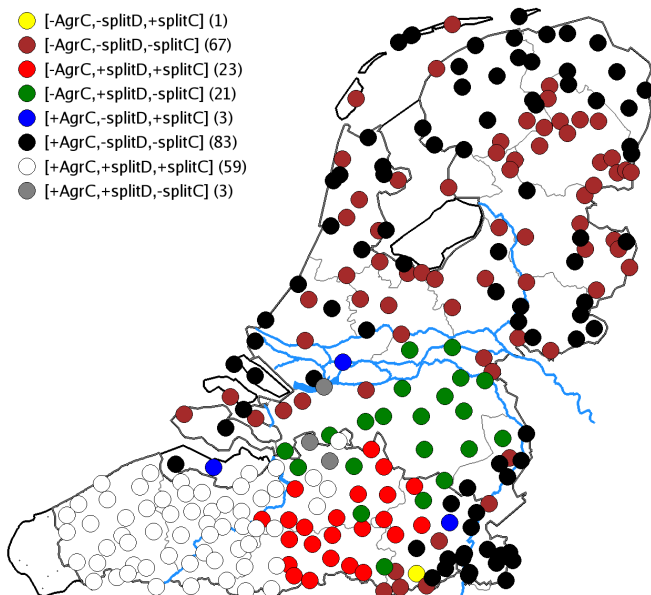
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→ we can now examine the interaction between the three parameters we proposed

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D



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	+AGRC	
	+SPLIT C	–SPLIT C
+split D	East & West Flanders (N=59)	Nieuwmoer, Sint Lenaarts, Moerdijk (N=3)
–split D	Opglabbeek, Sliedrecht, Hoek (N=3)	Holland, Limburg, Friesland, Groningen (N=83)
	–AGRC	
	+SPLIT C	–SPLIT C
+split D	Flemish Brabant & Antwerp (N=23)	North Brabant (N=21)
–split D	Borgloon (N=1)	Drenthe, Utrecht (N=67)

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

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Oosterend	56.35	60.60	48.77	
Hollum	39.71	35.25	47.82	93.54
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- ▶ and measure the correlation between geographical distances and linguistic distances (using a Mantel test)
- ▶ $r = 0.315$
- ▶ i.e. there is only a fairly weak correlation between linguistic distance and geographical distance in our data set

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

Digging a little deeper:

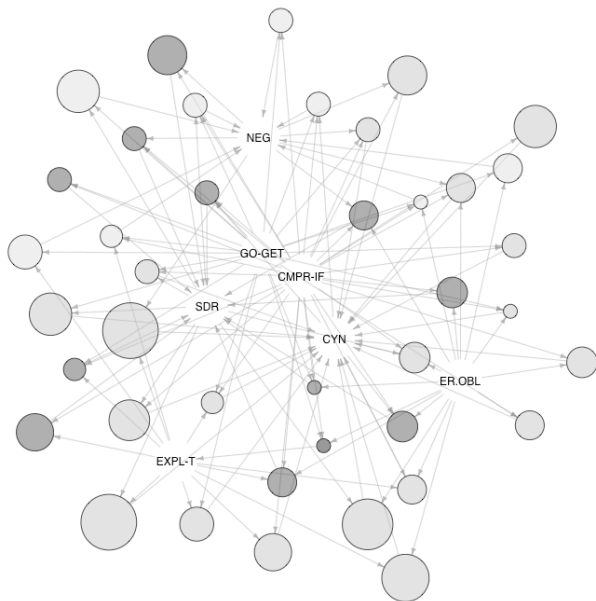
2. What is the relation between the 6 phenomena that are indicative of a split C-domain?

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

Digging a little deeper:

2. What is the relation between the 6 phenomena that are indicative of a split C-domain?
 - ▶ we can explore the internal relations between these phenomena using association rule data mining (Spruit 2008, Piatetsky-Shapiro 1991)

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- ▶ **IF** a dialect has one or more of the split C-phenomena, **THEN** it also always has one of the polarity-related phenomena
- ▶ we take this to mean that polarity acts as a cue for the language learner that she is acquiring a split C-dialect

Outline

A tale of a village and a city (and then some)

Two case studies

Case study #1: Verb clusters

Case study #2: Microvariation in C and D

Conclusion & future prospects

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 - ▶ find more ways of translating/adapting statistical methods (in)to theoretically relevant notions

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