

From clitic to affix: nanoparameters and grammaticalization in Western Iberian

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1. Introduction

“... associating parameter values with lexical entries reduces them to the one part of a language which clearly must be learned anyway: the lexicon.” (Borer, 1984: 29)

Many approaches to parameters have been proposed in recent Minimalist theory (ReCos project, Biberauer, et al. 2014; Parameters & Schemata, Longobardi 2005, 2017— cf. Manzini 2019).

I claim that, along with diachronically motivated nanoparameters, emergent nanoparameters exist, as well.¹ These may be provoked by phonological and/or grammar change, resulting in brief periods of grammatical ‘chaos’ within an otherwise stable synchronic system. In turn, subsequent change must take place in order to return order to the system.

2. Nanoparameters

2.1. Parameter hierarchies

Beginning with Roberts (2012) & Biberauer & Roberts (2012), the parameter hierarchy may be described as:

Macroparameters: all heads of the relevant type share v_i

Mesoparameters: all heads of a given naturally definable class share v_i

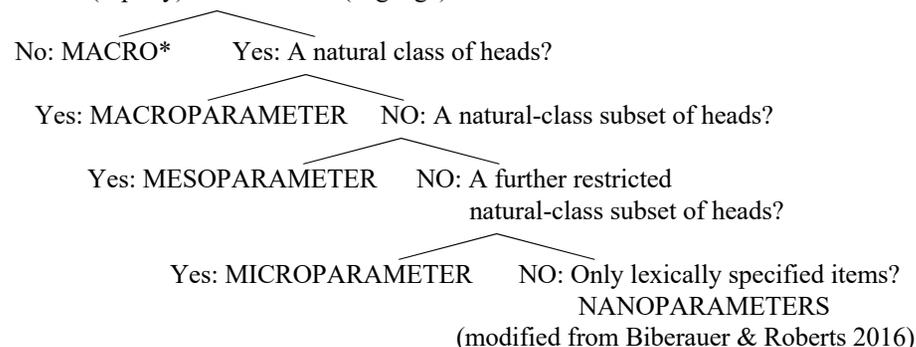
Microparameters: a small, lexically definable subclass of heads shows v_i

Nanoparameters: one or more individual lexical items is/are specified for v_i

2.2. ‘Trickle-down’ parameters

Biberauer & Roberts (2015) speak of a ‘trickle-down’ system that may show solid diachronic pathways:

Does P(roperly) characterize L(anguage)?



Example: Conditional inversion in English (Biberauer & Roberts 2017b)

2.3. The characteristics of nanoparameters

- Diachronically unstable
- Peripheral to overall grammatical system
- Not to be confused with ‘lexical fossils’
- Individual language idiosyncrasies

3. Galician presentative complementizers (PCs)

3.1. Synchronic observations

- *Velaquí* and *velaí* are considered presentative ‘adverbs’ in traditional grammar (Freixeiro 2006)
 - However, they show properties that should distinguish them from adverbs

- (1) a. *Velaquí* te-las chaves
Here have.2SG.PRS-CL.PL.FEM keys
‘Here are your keys.’
b. *Velaí* anda o rapaz
There walk.3SG.PRS the.MASC boy
‘There goes the boy!’
- (2) *Onte* *vímo-la* aí/*velaí
Yesterday see.1PL.PST-CL.SG.FEM.ACC there
‘Yesterday we saw her there.’
- (3) *Aquí/*Velaquí* é onde a atopaches?
Here be.3SG.PRS where CL.SG.FEM.ACC find.2SG.PST
‘Is here where you found her?’

- I claim that Galician PCs are base generated in C° (specifically, Force°)

¹ This should not be confused with the concept that all parameters are emergent as proposed by Biberauer & Roberts (2017a), et seq.

3.2. Diachronic steps

Gravely (2017) proposed that *velai* and *velaqui* passed through four stages of reanalysis:

<u>Step 1:</u> Vé-lo aí vai	(Biclausal, prosodically divided)	Modern-day constructions
<u>Step 2:</u> Vé-lo aí vai	(Biclausal, not prosodically divided)	
<u>Step 3:</u> Velaí vai	(Monoclausal; grammaticalization of PCs)	
<u>Step 4:</u> Velaí o vai	(Monoclausal; emergent C-AGR system)	

My focus: To account for the derivational differences between Step 1 & Step 2 from an emergent nanoparametric view

4. Enclisis and proclisis in Western Iberian

4.1. Raposo & Uriagereka (2005)

Enclisis on the verb

- Preverbal subjects/Topicalization (CLLD)
- V1 orders

(4) O can colleuno.
 the.MASC dog catch.3SG.PST-CL.SG.MASC.ACC
 ‘The dog caught it.’

(5) Fagámo-**lo** antes de chegaren
 do.1PL.IMP-CL.3SG.MASC.ACC before of arrive.3PL.INFL
 ‘Let’s do it before they arrive.’

Proclisis on the verb

- Base-generated complementizers
- Focused XPs ([+FOC], [+WH], *xa* ‘already’)
- ‘Affected phrases’ (*ninguén* ‘no one’, *alguén* ‘someone’, *todo o mundo* ‘everyone’)
- Negation (*non*)

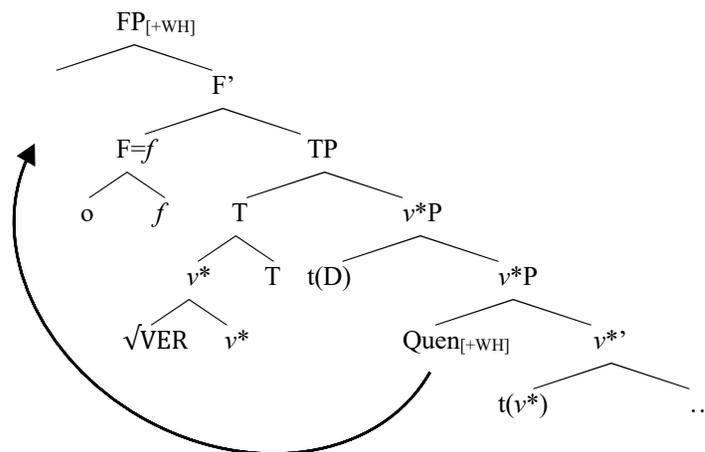
(6) Quero que **me** deas un bico
 want.1SG.PRS COMP CL.1SG.DAT give.2SG.SBJ a.MASC kiss
 ‘I want you to give me a kiss.’

(7) Xa **llo** dixeches?
 already CL.3SG.DAT-CL.3SG.MASC.ACC say.2SG.PST
 ‘Did you already tell him?’

Building off of the original work by Uriagereka (1995), R&U make the following proposals:

- Clitics move to a morphologically ‘active’ left peripheral head (*f*; equivalent to Fin (cf. Gupton 2014)).
- FP is a syncretic projection (able to host focused and topicalized XPs; cf. Fernández Rubiera (2013) for arguments against this).
- The enclisis-proclisis alternation is dependent on the locality of left peripheral material:
 - Any focused material ([Spec,FP]) or local left peripheral heads (i.e., complementizers) may serve as a host.
 - Otherwise, the derivation is saved by a Last Resort ‘verb swallowing’ movement.

(8) Quen **o** viu?
 who CL.SG.MASC.ACC see.3SG.PST
 ‘Who saw it?’



- The derivation detects an XP with a feature low in the phrase marker that needs checked, ultimately provoking movement to the left periphery and being able to serve as a host for the clitic; therefore, the verb complex remains in T.

6. Conclusions

- Considering Biberauer's (2017) NONE > ALL > SOME approach, the learner converges on the simplest parameter possible per the PLD given.
- Diachronically, it is plausible to see how a class of functional heads X_i may be specified for feature $[F_i]$ and, over time, diminish in number.
- Synchronically, these parameters must be set in a lexically individual, "bottom-up" fashion.
 - This is particularly telling when considering emergent grammar changes.
- The notion of 'emergent' nanoparameters gives insight into the idea of grammar change being one of two types of change (Hale 1998, 2007):

Innovation: abrupt grammar change

- » The target grammars that generate the PLD have properties X, Y, Z and properties X, Y, W.
- ⇒ The grammar acquired by the learner has properties X, Y, V.

Diffusion: grammar change gradually gaining a wider distribution in a speech community

- » The target grammars that generate the PLD have properties X, Y, Z and properties A, Y, W
- ⇒ The grammar acquired by the learner has properties X, Y, W

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