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“Complementiser Agreement –  
New Evidence from the  
Upper Austrian Variant of Gmunden”

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*We should not let our fears hold us back from pursuing our hopes.*  
John F. Kennedy



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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Aim

Complementiser Agreement (CA) is an already well-studied phenomenon of West Germanic V2-languages. Generally speaking, this phenomenon displays agreement with the subject in the C-domain of embedded clauses (cf. Haegeman 1990, 1992, Hoekstra and Maràcz 1989, Zwart 1993a,b, 1997, Hoekstra and Smits 1999 amongst others; particularly for Bavarian cf. Bayer 1984, Weiß 2002, Weiß 2005 amongst others). The aim of the thesis at hand is twofold:

- (i) Contrary to e.g. Dutch dialects, up until now no particular dialect of the Bavarian continuum has been thoroughly discussed with respect to CA. Hence, the first major aim of the thesis at hand is to provide a solid body of data of one specific Bavarian variant, namely the Upper Austrian dialect of Gmunden.
- (ii) The data collected shed new light on the phenomenon and cast doubt on an analysis as verbal inflection in the Gmunden dialect (GD), which shall be discussed in detail in this thesis. Ultimately, the new findings shall be integrated in a syntactic analysis of the phenomenon.

The GD data provide new insight into diachronic syntactic processes and lead towards a more finegrained picture of Bavarian varieties.

In this chapter, I am going to introduce some basic ideas, the methodology as well as the core data of the phenomenon in GD. Chapter 2 presents a number of previous analyses of CA. I will point out a number of problems for each of them partly on conceptual grounds, partly with respect to GD data. Chapter 3 is particularly concerned with the categorial status of the CA morphemes in GD as well as the question of locality between C and the subject. It will be shown that the standard analysis of CA as verbal agreement cannot be applied, but that we are in fact dealing with an intermediate category between clitics and inflection. Additionally, I will present data illustrating that locality conditions in GD do not apply. Chapter 4 discusses the issues of GD being a partial pro-drop language and proposes a tentative analysis of the data. I argue that the categorial status of the CA morphemes is reflected in the syntax by them being generated in a doubling structure together with the subject. Their  $\varphi$ -features are uninterpretable and thus the morphemes do not add an additional set of  $\varphi$ -features to the structure. Due to them being marked [+finite] they are being attracted to C. Finally, in chapter 5 I conclude.

## 1.2 Dialect syntax

The conceptual basis of generative linguistics is an innate faculty of language, which enables children to acquire the language(s) they are exposed to in an astonishingly fast fashion. *Universal Grammar* (UG) constitutes the (theoretic) basis of this faculty and is the necessary prerequisite for the acquisition of any given human language. Put differently, this means that all human languages share the same common core that determines the set of possible natural languages. Furthermore, the theory implies that those languages only differ with respect to a finite set of variables, which are part of UG. Consequently, comparative syntactic research will lead to a better understanding of UG in general and of the set of variables leading to linguistic variation in particular.

In principle, there are two levels for comparative research: the macro- and the micro-level. A clear instance of working on the macro-level would be comparing e.g. Japanese with German. However, there is no sharp line that can be easily drawn between macro- and microvariation as soon as one enters the realm of a specific language family, e.g. Indoeuropean languages. Then the shift from macro- to microvariation is rather a gradual approximation from the first towards the latter, i.e. towards dialectal variation. Over the past years, research into dialect syntax has proven to open a particularly insightful window on the factors involved in language computation. Languages closely related to each other – such as dialects and the corresponding standard languages – only exhibit a limited number of differences. Thus, contrary to macrovariation, microvariation enables linguists to get as close as probably possible to the determining factors of language variation: whereas the former involves a – mostly large – number of variables, the latter is reduced to minimal differences and is hence much more likely to reveal interdependencies between variables. Consequently, it will bring us closer to the innate properties of the language faculty.

### 1.2.1 Gmunden dialect

The dialect discussed in this thesis is an Austrian variant of Bavarian spoken in the area of Gmunden. The town itself is located in the south of the federal state of Upper Austria and has approximately 14,000 inhabitants. Typologically, the dialect spoken in this area is a Middle Bavarian variant.

### 1.2.2 Data collection

As made clear in Cornips and Poletto (2005), collecting significant empirical data on dialects is a delicate task. Since we are looking for sometimes subtle syntactic differences, a number of factors need to be carefully controlled for: first of all, one has

Figure 1.1: The location of Gmunden



to bear in mind that when collecting dialectal data the researcher usually finds herself in a (minimally) bilingual environment. Apart from what is taught in schools, the influence of the standard language has become increasingly higher in times of mass media. From this follows that younger generations are more likely to be influenced by the standard than older generations. Furthermore, sociolinguistic factors must not be forgotten either. Dialects are often regarded as having less prestige than the standard, which can also lead to informants rather using explicit knowledge (e.g. acquired at school) than giving implicit judgments (cf. Labov 1996). Another important issue concerns the question what actually leads to an unacceptability judgment: phonological, morphological or lexical factors might be the reason for an ungrammaticality judgment while the syntactic structure of the sentence may very well be fully grammatical. (cf. Cornips and Poletto 2005:952)

Bearing this in mind, the data collection for this thesis was carried out in four main steps<sup>1</sup>.

- (1) i. Written questionnaires
- ii. Interview 1
- iii. Interview 2
- iv. Follow-up

Written questionnaires were sent out to ten people of various age groups to get a first impression of the phenomenon in GD. The data were transcribed in dialect<sup>2</sup> and possible answers were OK, ? or \*. After the first questionnaire, it became clear that some sentences contained words that were not part of the GD lexicon or would not be used in the given contexts. Consequently, a second questionnaire was prepared, which also contained additional data, and was sent to the same group of informants.

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<sup>1</sup> A complete list of all the data collected can be found in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> There exists no writing convention for GD. The data for the questionnaires as well as this thesis were transcribed intuitionally on the basis of Standard German orthography, trying to to be as true as possible to the actual pronunciation.

Based on the data gathered with the questionnaires, the first interview was prepared. The informants, i.e. the informant and the assistant (see below), were both female and chosen according to the standards put forward in Cornips and Poletto (2005:946):

- (2)
  - i. all subjects are native speakers of the local dialect
  - ii. both the subject and their parents were born in the same community and have lived there until adulthood
  - iii. the subjects did not leave their community for longer than seven years
  - iv. the subjects speak their local dialect in several functional domains
  - v. the subjects belong to middle-low level employees and
  - vi. the subjects are aged between 55 and 70 years

The interview contained three different tasks: one included two or three different sentences, from which the interviewee had to choose the one that was most likely to occur in GD, during the second – and most extensive – task the interviewee was asked whether a given sentence occurs in the dialect or not<sup>3</sup> and last but not least, three different short stories were presented, each ending with a sentence the interviewee had to complete according to the context. Again following Cornips and Poletto (2005), the actual interview was carried out by an assistant<sup>4</sup> who was presented with the data and instructed accordingly a couple of hours beforehand.<sup>5</sup>

The second interview took place a couple of months after the first one and specifically aimed at a more finegrained picture of the locality conditions for CA in the Gmunden variant. It was shorter than the first interview and construed as a repetition task, i.e. the informant repeated the utterances she was presented with in the local dialect. This interview also contained sentences not relevant for the thesis at hand randomly mixed with the CA data.

The follow-ups were mostly carried out via telephone but occasionally also via e-mail and basically took place after every single step, i.e. after the written and oral tests. They were mainly used to complete the data and to check various hypotheses that came up during research. They were performed as either repetition, translation or completion tasks varying according to the respective focus. These additional data were not only checked with the assistant but also with an additional male informant

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<sup>3</sup> Eventually, this task not only included yes/no answers but in most of the cases the informant uttered the relevant sentence herself. This proved highly valuable as it made the judgments more spontaneous and intuitive.

<sup>4</sup> Even though I am a native speaker of the dialect, I decided to use an assistant as I am already highly influenced by other Austrian varieties.

<sup>5</sup> The three completion task stories were also created together with the assistant. The stories reflected everyday situations, which both subjects encountered on a regular basis.

who meets all the standards in (2) apart from being a middle-high level employee in his forties.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.3 General observations

Very roughly put, CA displays a subject agreement affix on the complementiser in embedded clauses with the verb in final position. For the time being, the term *Complementiser Agreement* will be used following traditional generative terminology. However, it is important to note that the relevant morpheme in GD cannot only be observed on complementisers as such but basically on any element<sup>7</sup> introducing the embedded clause (cf. also Weiß 2005). Hence, *complementiser* is to be understood as denoting the C-domain rather than referring to a certain class of elements. Being aware of this inaccuracy, I will for the time being nevertheless continue to use the term CA with respect to the data presented, as linguists are familiar with the notion and hence able to connect it to the relevant phenomenon.

The following very stable facts can be observed in verb-final clauses:

- (3)
- i. A morpheme obligatorily attaches to the right edge of the C-domain if the subject is either second person singular or plural.
  - ii. In the second persons only, the subject pronoun may either cooccur with CA or be omitted.<sup>8</sup>
  - iii. The morpheme that attaches to C in the singular is phonologically identical to the second person singular verbal inflection.
  - iv. The morpheme that attaches to C in the plural is *not* phonologically identical to the respective verbal inflection.

#### 1.3.1 Core data

The corresponding core data illustrating *Gmunden Complementizer Agreement* (GCA) are the following:

- (4) a. I woas net, **ob-st** du des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> that do can-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’

<sup>6</sup> However, this informant consistently uses the local dialect in any functional domain. His judgments were highly valuable and did not show any serious deviations from the informant meeting all the standards in (2).

<sup>7</sup> This will be discussed in detail in section 3.1.1.

<sup>8</sup> As will be shown, the full second person subject pronoun may also not occur in non-subject initial main clauses with V2.

- b. I woas net, **ob-st** des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG that do can-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- c. \*I woas net, **ob** du des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if you<sub>SG</sub> that do can-2.SG*
- (5) a. I woas net, **ob-s** es des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- b. I woas net, **ob-s** ia des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- c. I woas net, **ob-s** des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL that do can-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- d. \*I woas net, **ob** es des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*
- e. \*I woas net, **ob** ia des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*

Examples (4a) and (4b) show the two grammatical examples with singular agreement on the complementiser and exemplify that the full pronoun may either occur in addition to CA or may also be omitted<sup>9</sup>. The same holds for the plural examples as shown in (5a), (5b) and (5c). These examples also show another peculiarity of GD<sup>10</sup>: the second person plural pronoun can either be *es* or *ia* depending on the speaker’s personal preferences.<sup>11</sup> The pronoun *es* comes from the old dual, which lost its dualis semantics in Bavarian, *ia* is the dialectal version of the Standard German second person plural *ihr*. Speakers generally show a consistent use of one of the two but the choice of pronoun does not have any effect on the grammaticality judgements. Examples (4c), (5d) and (5e) show that lack of GCA leads to ungrammaticality.

In order to illustrate the fact that the second persons display a different behaviour than first and third persons, it is necessary to take a look at the pronominal

<sup>9</sup> In any case, the full pronoun has to appear when focused, i.e. stressed. However, there are also cases of unstressed pronouns. The exact distribution of those is subject to further research. Cf. also footnote 8.

<sup>10</sup> In fact, this is not confined to GD but has also been observed for Bavarian in general (cf. Bayer 1984:Footnote 29).

<sup>11</sup> The assumption that this is subject to the speaker’s personal preferences follows from the data collected during the interviews. The interviewee explicitly insisted on using *ia* even though the assistant consistently used *es*. This is particularly interesting as the interviewee is eleven years older than the assistant (and around 30 years older than an additional informant who also only uses *es*). For details on the methodology used for the interviews see section 1.2.2.

system<sup>12</sup> of the Gmunden variant. The system has full pronouns as well as clitic pronouns as is shown in the table below<sup>13</sup>:

Table 1.1: Gmunden nominative pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
	Full pronoun	Clitic pronoun	Full pronoun	Clitic pronoun
1. Person	i	-ə	mia	-ma
2. Person	du	(-st)	ia/es	(-s)
3. Person m.	ea	-a	se	-s
3. Person f.	sie	-s	-	-
3. Person n.	es	-s	-	-

The relevant corresponding examples are the following, now illustrating the whole paradigm<sup>14</sup>:

- (6) I woas net, **ob-ə** (**\*i**) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-I.CL (\*I) that do can*  
 ‘I don’t know if I can do that.’
- (7) I woas net, **ob-st** (**du**) des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG (you<sub>SG</sub>) that do can-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- (8) a. I woas net, **ob-s** (**\*sie**) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-she.CL (\*she) that do can-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if she can do that.’
- b. I woas net, **ob-a** (**\*ea**) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-he.CL (\*she) that do can-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if he can do that.’
- c. I woas net, **ob-s** (**\*es**) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-it.CL (\*it) that do can-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if it can do that.’
- (9) I woas net, **ob-ma** (**\*mia**) des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if-we.CL (\*we) that do can-1.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if we can do that.’
- (10) I woas net, **ob-s** (**ia/es**) des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL (you<sub>PL</sub>) that do can-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’

<sup>12</sup> As CA only occurs with subjects, this will be limited to the nominative. The notion *pronominal system* will henceforth only refer to nominative.

<sup>13</sup> Second person morphemes are shown as clitics but put in parentheses as their status within the paradigm is yet to be discussed in detail. For the sake of completeness, they are stated nevertheless.

<sup>14</sup> For illustration purposes, the sentences are presented in the same fashion as the GCA data in (4)-(5), i.e. the full pronoun is put in parentheses. The data will be explained in detail further down.

- (11) I woas net, **ob-s** (\*se) des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if-they.CL (they) that do can-3.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if they can do that.’

As those examples show, the full forms and the clitics cannot be combined within one clause in first and second persons, i.e. pronominal doubling phenomena do not occur there. If the full pronoun is to be used – for instance if focalised – then it can only appear instead of the clitic pronoun. Hence, the following are the only options for first and third persons (illustrated on the basis of third person plural):

- (11') a. I woas net, **ob-s** des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if-they.CL that do can-3.PL*  
 b. I woas net, **ob se** des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if they that do can-3.PL*

As already mentioned, the second person agreement morphemes do not only appear on (the lexical class of) complementisers but on any phrase that introduces a subordinate clause with the finite verb in final position. The following examples serve to exemplify but a few – WH and relative subordinate clauses<sup>15</sup>:

- (12) a. **Warum-st** (du) uns dein Freund net vorgstöht ho-st,  
*Why-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> us your friend not introduced have-2.SG*  
 vasteh i a net.  
*understand I too not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t introduce your friend to us, I don’t understand either.’  
 b. I woas net, **wia weit-s** (es) kum-ts.  
*I know not how far-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> come-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how far you’ll come.’
- (13) a. De Frau, **de-st** (du) gseng ho-st, kenn i.  
*The woman who-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> seen have-2.SG, know I*  
 ‘I know the woman who you saw.’  
 b. Nau, der Mau, **mit den-s** (es) do gred hob-ts.  
*Well the man with who-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> here spoken have-2.PL*  
 ‘Well, the man you spoke to here.’

Another interesting fact has already been noted by Bayer (1984:269), namely that the second person morpheme in C is contingent on the presence of an inflected verb in clause-final position. This is illustrated for GD by the following comparatives for singular and plural respectively:

- (14) a. D’Verena is jinga ois **wia-st** du bist.  
*The-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> are*  
 ‘Verena is younger than you are.’

<sup>15</sup> This matter will be discussed in further detail in section 3.1.1.



- b. \* D'Verena is jinga ois **wia-st** du.  
*The-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub>*
- c. D'Verena is jinga ois **wia** du.  
*The-Verena is younger than as you<sub>SG</sub>*
- (15) a. Da Sebastian is frecha ois **wia-s** es sads.  
*The Sebastian is cheekier than as-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> are*  
 'Sebastian is cheekier than you are.'
- b. \* Da Sebastian is frecha ois **wia-s** es.  
*The Sebastian is cheekier than as-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub>*
- c. Da Sebastian is frecha ois **wia** es.  
*The Sebastian is cheekier than as you<sub>PL</sub>.*

The examples so far show that the additional second person morpheme is connected with the C-domain. However, in main clauses this is where the finite verb moves to. In those cases, no additional morpheme appears as illustrated by the following examples. (16) shows a main clause with the verb in C and (17) illustrates two versions of one subordinate clause – one with complementiser, the other without and hence the verb again in C.

- (16) a. Morgn **geh-st** (du) in d'Stadt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 'Tomorrow you'll go downtown but he'll stay at home.'
- b. \* Morgn **geh-st-st** (du) in d'Stadt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.SG-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> in the-city but he stays at-home*
- (17) a. I glaub, **dass-st** (du) des net schoff-st.  
*I think that-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> that not make-2.SG*  
 'I think that you won't make it.'
- b. I glaub, du **schoff-st** des net.  
*I think you<sub>SG</sub> make-2.SG that not*  
 'I think you won't make it.'

Furthermore, it can be shown that the phenomenon is not connected to the status of the clause, i.e. subordinate versus main, as the morpheme on C also appears in main clauses with the verb in final position:

- (18) **Waun-st** doch nur endlich vaschwindn tat-st!  
*If-2.SG EMPH only finally disappear do-2.SG*  
 'If only you would disappear.'

## 1.4 Summary

So far it has been shown that GCA is obligatory for second persons and allows for the full pronoun to be either not realised at all or to occur in addition to the sec-

ond person morpheme on C. Furthermore, the data for second persons have been compared to those of the rest of the paradigm. These data illustrated the different behaviour of the second persons versus all the other persons, i.e. the latter show complementary distribution of clitics and full pronouns. On the basis of comparatives it was demonstrated that the second person morpheme on C is dependent on the presence of the inflected verb in clause-final position. Finally, GCA cannot be connected to the subordinate function of embedded clauses. In short, whenever there is a verb final clause with a second person subject, an additional subject agreement morpheme obligatorily appears in the C-domain.

## 2 Previous Analyses

In what follows, six analyses of CA will be outlined<sup>1</sup>: First of all, Bayer (1984) will be discussed – an analysis, which represents the basis for most of the work on Bavarian CA that followed. Due to this paper and the reasoning presented therein, Bavarian CA has been analysed as an instance of verbal inflection ever since. Furthermore, his analysis is directly connected to the claim that Bavarian is a partial pro-drop language. Secondly, Shlonsky (1994) will be presented. He suggested an analysis in terms of a spec-head-relation. Then follows Zwart (2001), an approach based on his highly influential work on V2-languages published in Zwart (1993b, 1997). Next is the analysis of Fuß (2004, 2005), which includes a number of diachronic facts in connection with CA. The final two analyses are those of Carstens (2003) and van Koppen (2005), which – together with Fuß (2005) – constitute the most recent available analyses of the phenomenon. Both their works deal with CA as a crosslinguistic phenomenon of West Germanic V2-languages. In their presentation I will, however, always pay particular attention to how Bavarian varieties are addressed.

### 2.1 Bayer (1984)

Starting from the point that “Bavarian has a tendency to attach clitic pronouns to the COMP1-position”<sup>2</sup> (Bayer 1984:232), Bayer poses the question whether the affix appearing in the C-domain in the second persons could also be analysed as a clitic.

He commences with an overview of the pronominal system in Bavarian shown below in a slightly modified version (cf. Bayer 1984:232):

Table 2.1: Bavarian nominative pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
	Full pronoun	Clitic pronoun	Full pronoun	Clitic pronoun
1. Person	i	-e/-Λ	mir	-mΛ
2. Person	du	-st	ir, εs	-ts
3. Person m.	er	-Λ	si	-s
3. Person f.	si	-s	-	-
3. Person n.	es	-s	-	-

Following Bayer, this pronominal system poses two problems concerning an

<sup>1</sup> As the discussion of CA has a longstanding tradition in generative linguistics, the following only presents a limited selection of previous analyses. They have been chosen on the basis of their particular impact on the analysis of CA and recentness.

<sup>2</sup> Bayer assumes there to be two COMP-positions in Bavarian. This is due to the fact that extraction from an embedded clause with a complementiser is possible in the variant he discusses and due to the fact that this variant allows for doubly filled COMP.

analysis of the second person affixes in the C-domain as clitics. First of all, he addresses the *syntax-problem* illustrated by the following examples, in which the full pronoun is left-dislocated from the embedded clause<sup>3</sup>:

- (19) a. [[I<sub>i</sub>] [bis dass] [t<sub>i</sub> kumm]] is d'Suppn scho koid.  
*I until that come is the-soup already cold.*  
 'Until I arrive the soup will already be cold.'
- b. [[Du] [bis dass] [-st kummst]] ...  
*You until that 2.SG-CL come ...*

(Bayer 1984:231)

The structure represented in (19a) holds for first and third persons singular and plural, i.e. the left-dislocated subject leaves a trace behind in its extraction site. (19b), on the other hand, represents sentences with second person singular and plural. If *-st* was analysed as a clitic – as shown in (19b) –, it would occupy the same position as the trace in (19a). Hence, an analysis as a clitic would give rise to a different syntactic structure compared with the other persons. Crucially, leaving out the 'clitic' in the latter example leads to ungrammaticality. Given this varying evidence, one would expect there to be overgeneralisations in language acquisition. Bayer admits that this is merely a hypothesis, which is hard to prove but which can be excluded from the start once the analysis is different:

It is not possible to present a hard argument from language acquisition, because [...] there are no relevant studies on Bavarian. [...] We will see [...] what an alternative analysis might look like, which in fact predicts that they not [sic!] occur. (Bayer 1984:232)

Secondly, Bayer addresses the *phonology-problem*: the phonological relation between the full pronouns and the corresponding clitics is easy to depict for first and third persons as can be seen in table 2.1. However, this is not possible for the second persons. Bayer concludes that “the 2nd person forms are in fact synchronically unrelated” (Bayer 1984:233) even though they are related diachronically.<sup>4</sup> In addition, he observes that the affix appearing in COMP in the second persons is identical to the respective verbal inflection.

Therefore, Bayer assumes that for the second persons no clitic pronouns exist at all and he suggests the following structure for second persons embedded clauses:

- (20) a. [[du<sub>i</sub>] [bis **dass-st**] [t<sub>i</sub> kummst]] ...  
 b. [[ihr/es<sub>i</sub>] [bis **dass-ts**] [t<sub>i</sub> kummts]] ...

<sup>3</sup> The citations of these and the following examples from Bayer (1984) have been slightly simplified by the author, emphases added.

<sup>4</sup> This issue will be discussed in further detail in section 2.4.1.

The assumption is that “COMP1 is obligatorily specified for 2nd person singular and plural” (Bayer 1984:237). Thus, he solves the phonology-problem – by not analysing the affix as a clitic but as an instance of verbal inflection – as well as the syntax-problem – by assuming the same structure as in (19a). Crucially, the inflection is associated with what Bayer refers to as COMP1 – being the lower of the two COMP-positions he identifies. As a consequence, the inflection cannot only appear on complementisers as such but on any element that appears in that position. This is borne out by Bavarian data such as the following: the inflection either appears on a *wh*-phrase, (21a), or on the complementiser inserted in COMP1 right after the *wh*-phrase, (21b):

- (21) a. Du sollst song [[ $\emptyset$ ] [[an wäichan Schuah]<sub>i</sub> -st] du t<sub>i</sub> wui-st]  
*you should say the which-one shoe 2.SG you want-2.SG*  
 ‘You should say which one of the shoes you want.’
- b. Du sollst song [[[an wäichan Schuah]<sub>i</sub>] [dass -st] [du t<sub>i</sub> wui-st]]  
*You should say the which-one shoe that 2.SG you want-2.SG*  
 ‘You should say which one of the shoes you want.’

(Bayer 1984:235)

Another interesting fact of Bavarian can consequently be captured by this analysis: in the second persons only, the subject pronoun may be omitted. This follows directly from the obligatory specification of COMP1 for second person. As he points out, the examples in (21) are the marked counterparts to the corresponding sentences without the subject pronoun *du* in the embedded clause. He assumes that in the unmarked cases *pro* occurs in the subject position giving rise to the following structure:

- (22) ob-st *pro* noch Minga kumm-st  
*if-2.SG to Munich come-2.SG*  
 ‘if you come to Munich’

(cf. Bayer 1984:240)

Ultimately, Bayer concludes that Bavarian is a partial *pro*-drop language. A tentative explanation for *pro* only occurring in second persons could be that only those are uniquely marked within the inflectional paradigms of the indicative, imperative and honorific together<sup>5</sup> – thus they are able to identify the subject (cf.

<sup>5</sup> CA-Paradigms are defective in most languages. Hoekstra and Smits (1999) observed that only those persons displayed CA where the verbal inflection of the inverted auxiliary in the present tense and the preterite are identical, i.e. the agreement morpheme in C does not display tense information. However, as Bavarian does not use the preterite to express past tense but the analytic perfect tense, which is formed by the auxiliary in the present plus the past participle, this generalisation cannot be extended to Bavarian.

Bayer 1984:239). However, as Bayer points out, this kind of argument does not fully hold crosslinguistically for pro-drop languages. It is a known fact that the verbal paradigm of pro-drop languages does not always uniquely identify the subject.

The underlying reason for the agreement appearing in the C-domain is a linking rule Bayer postulates between C and the verbal inflection<sup>6</sup>. This rule basically says, whenever the verb is specified for second person singular or plural, then the complementiser will also be specified alike. Thus, inflectional morphology appears in C in the second persons and ultimately it is a proper governor for *pro*.

Summarising, the core ideas of Bayer – which consequently became the basis of any syntactic analysis of CA thereafter – are: second person agreement in C is an instance of verbal inflection licencing *pro* in subject position in Bavarian.

### 2.1.1 Remarks

Regarding the syntax problem, Bayer claims that different syntactic structures for second persons vs. the other persons were a problem for language acquisition. They would predict overgeneralisations in child language. It is not only hard to proof that there are indeed overgeneralisations during language acquisition (as already mentioned by Bayer himself), but it also remains an open question why this should pose a problem at all. Overgeneralisations are a well-known fact of the acquisition process and they never inhibit reaching the correct target grammar. Furthermore, we know from Northern Italian dialects that clitic doubling can very well be restricted to certain persons (cf. Poletto 2000) or from Rumanian that doubling can even be restricted to certain wh-pronouns (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990) – thus giving rise to different syntactic structures within the paradigm. However, the acquisition of the correct target grammar is never blocked in any of those cases. Thus, even though structurally Bayer’s solution appears to be much more elegant, it does not solve a real problem.

As examples 21 show, Bayer explicitly draws the attention to phrases other than verbs bearing the agreement morpheme. This rather casts doubt on an analysis as inflectional material than supporting this idea. The ability to (more or less) freely adjoin to any phrase is clearly a characteristic of clitics and not of inflection.

As for the linking rule between C and V, it is a non-trivial task restating it in minimalist terms<sup>7</sup>. Agree cannot be assumed as  $\varphi$ -features are taken to be uninterpretable on the verb – this exactly being the trigger for verb-subject agreement. It is thus highly implausible that another element of the clause could enter an Agree relation with the verb. Another option would be movement of the inflection to C.

<sup>6</sup> More precisely in Bayer’s terms: between COMP1 and V/INFL.

<sup>7</sup> Thanks to Cecilia Poletto for drawing my attention to this point.

This implies on the one hand that both copies are being spelt out and on the other hand that inflection could move individually – just like a clitic. Even if we accept spell out of each copy, we would still be left with the puzzle of one and the same element behaving like inflection at one point and like a clitic at another point of the derivation. Furthermore, this would also predict that the verbal inflection and the agreement on C would be identical. This is clearly not corroborated by a number of data, one of which is the following:

- (23) I bin ma net sicha, **ob-st** [du und d'Susi]<sub>2.PL</sub> des wissn derf-ts.  
*I am myself not sure if-2.SG you and the-Susi that know may-2.PL*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi may know that.'

Clearly in this case the morpheme on C and the verbal inflection express different sets of features and one cannot be the copy of the other.

Additionally, it remains unclear why C should only be specified for second but neither for first nor for third person. Bayer tentatively links second person *pro* to the inflectional paradigm and the distinctiveness of the respective verbal inflection. Even though the option of omitting the second person pronoun seems to be somehow linked to CA, this still does not provide any explanation for the restriction of CA to second persons.

## 2.2 Shlonsky (1994)

Shlonsky (1994) primarily bases his account on West Flemish, where a clitic pronoun following the agreement marker in C can either optionally double the full pronoun as in (24a) or is obligatory if there is no full pronoun present as in (24b):

- (24) a. da-t (-ze) zie werk-t  
*that-3.SG.F she she work-3.SG*  
 b. da-t \*(ze) werk-t  
*that-3.SG.F she work-3.SG*

(Shlonsky 1994:354)

Shlonsky suggested a separate Agreement Projection associated with CP, namely AgrCP. Hence, the structure of the left periphery looks as follows:

- (25) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> C [<sub>AgrCP</sub> [<sub>AgrC'</sub> AgrC [<sub>IP</sub> ... ] ] ] ] ]

The head of this projection is the agreement marker, which is valued by spec-head agreement with the clitic pronoun in its specifier and then moves higher up to attach to the complementiser in C°. Both the agreement and the clitic are base-generated within the AgrCP and, furthermore, Shlonsky assumes Spec-AgrCP to be an A-position neither receiving a  $\theta$ -role nor case. As already shown, subject clitics in

West Flemish are optional when a full pronoun is present. In cases in which it is not inserted, the subject moves to Spec-AgrCP in order to licence the agreement marker. As for Bavarian – and also Frisian, for that matter – Shlonsky assumes *pro* along the lines of Bayer (1984). In Shlonsky’s account *pro* in spec-IP is licenced by the agreement affix in AgrC°. In turn, as licencer for the agreement affix in AgrC°, he tentatively suggests a subject clitic, which does not get realised phonetically (cf. Shlonsky 1994:362).

### 2.2.1 Remarks

Assuming a spec-head relation between the agreement affix and a subject clitic first of all poses the problem that this relation is in fact never overtly realised in any of the languages under discussion. The affix gets licenced by the subject (clitic) in its specifier and only then moves up to attach to its actual host. Furthermore, the approach is particularly problematic when it comes to Bavarian: subject clitics for the second persons, i.e. those which do show agreement on C, do not even exist. The idea of a phonologically unrealised clitic only to licence the affix, which in turn licences *pro*, is a mere stipulation on theoretical grounds. Considering the restrictions to second persons, one would in fact much rather expect first and third persons, which do have a subject clitic, to show complementiser agreement.<sup>8</sup>

On top of that, the trigger for movement of the affix to C remains entirely open. In principle, nothing should prevent the affixal head adjoining to the pronoun or clitic in Spec-AgrCP – particularly considering that it is standardly assumed that the lexical item itself moves to pick up its affix, not the other way round as suggested by Shlonsky.

Another point, already discussed by Zwart (1994), is subject agreement. Undoubtedly, CA constitutes a form of subject agreement. However, following Shlonsky (1994), this can only be stipulated. The subject clitic licences the agreement affix but this clitic is not always obligatory. Therefore the subject has to move to the relevant position in sentences lacking the clitic. The only way to ensure that only the subject phrase can move to Spec-AgrCP, is to assume further restrictions, which do by no means follow straightforwardly.

Generally can be said that Shlonsky’s analysis involves too many stipulations to provide a feasible analysis for CA.

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<sup>8</sup> Both these problems have also already been noticed by Fuß (2005).



### 2.3 Zwart (2001)

Subsequently to Zwart (1993b, 1997), Zwart (2001) proposes an analysis of CA based on the idea of  $C^\circ$ ,  $\text{Infl}^\circ$  and  $V^\circ$  being related via a chain of formal features. This proposal stems from his analysis of verb placement in Continental West Germanic languages (CWG).

According to Zwart, CWG display the following possible sentence structures (cf. also Zwart 1993b, 1997):

- (26) a. subject initial main clauses, subject – verb – ...  
 $[\text{Infl} \text{ subject } [\text{Infl}' [\text{Infl}^\circ \text{ verb } \dots]]$
- b. inversion main clauses, (XP) – verb – subject – ...  
 $[\text{CP} \text{ XP } [\text{C}' [\text{C}^\circ \text{ verb } \dots]]$
- c. embedded clauses, complementiser – subject – ... – verb  
 $[\text{CP} [\text{C}' [\text{C}^\circ \text{ complementiser } \dots [\text{VP} [\text{V}' [\text{V}^\circ \text{ verb}]]]]]$

As can be seen, the structures do not only differ in where the verb gets spelt out, but also in what is projected as a whole. Only inversion and embedded clauses dispose of a CP, whereas subject initial main clauses are only projected up to  $\text{IP}^9$ .

The underlying mechanism is one that links syntax and phonology, i.e. PF. Syntax operates on features (or feature bundles). Those can be either lexical features (“LEX-features”) or formal features (“F-features”). Whereas the first determine the paradigm a lexeme gets chosen from at PF (more precisely, at the level of Morphology), the latter determine the lexeme from that specific paradigm that corresponds to the morphosyntactic features and thus gets inserted. *Went* therefore consists of the LEX-feature referring to the paradigm of *go* and the F-feature *past*.

Along with Chomsky (1995), Zwart (2001) assumes syntactic movement to be triggered by the requirement of feature valuation. He thus proposes the following:

- (27)  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are *F-related* if  $\alpha$  is involved in a feature valuation operation involving F, where F is a formal feature of  $\beta$ .
- (28) Let  $\gamma$  be a chain of F-related elements ( $\alpha, \dots, \beta$ ), where  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$ . Then  $\alpha$  must contain LEX-features, and  $\beta$  is spelled out in the highest position of  $\gamma$  containing LEX-features of  $\beta$ .

(Zwart 2001:4)

On the assumption that movement is last resort, two scenarios are predicted by (28): if  $\alpha$  itself has LEX-features, then those of  $\beta$  need not move and get spelt out in their lowest position. If, however,  $\alpha$  does not have LEX-features, then those of

<sup>9</sup> This has already been proposed by Travis (1984).

$\beta$  move to  $\alpha$  and get spelt out in the highest position of the chain. Furthermore, (28) implies that movement of LEX-features is triggered by a phonological, not a syntactic, requirement.

Applied to the verb placement patterns of CWG and their structural analysis shown in (26), one of the following F-chains is involved:

- (29) a. {C, Infl, V}  
 b. {Infl, V}

Whereas subject initial main clauses only involve the chain {Infl, V}, all other sentences involve the chain including C. If an XP other than the subject heads the clause, the LEX-features of the verb have to move to  $C^\circ$  to fulfil the requirement of spell-out. In embedded clauses, however, the LEX-features of the verb stay low in  $V^\circ$  as  $C^\circ$  already contains LEX-features, namely those of the complementiser.

Under this account, CA can be explained as an overt reflex of the verb's F-feature movement: they combine with the LEX-features of the complementiser and get spelt out. Thus, CA is taken as evidence for the F-relation between C and  $V^{10}$ . It overtly instantiates the movement of the verb's F-features.

### 2.3.1 Remarks

According to Zwart's approach, the F-features of the verb always move to  $C^\circ$  in CSOV orders. This does not explain why CA is limited to some languages/dialects. Quite the contrary, one would expect CA to be much more pervasive throughout V2-languages than it actually is as the F-chain between C, I and V always holds. Additionally, this analysis cannot capture why CA-paradigms are mostly defective. It rather predicts CA to occur for all persons than only for a limited number.

Van Koppen (2005) points out another shortcoming of such an analysis: in certain dialects, complementisers agree with the first conjunct of a conjoined noun phrase whereas the verb agrees with the whole conjoined phrase.<sup>11</sup> Waubach Dutch is an example of such a dialect as illustrated by the following example:

- (30) ...**de-s**     **doe**    en Marie     uch             ken-t.  
 ... *that-2.SG* [*you<sub>SG</sub> and Marie*]<sub>2.PL</sub> *each.other*<sub>2.PL</sub> *know-2.PL*  
 '... that you and Marie know each other.'

(van Koppen 2005:63)

Zwart cannot account for those differences as the F-features of  $C^\circ$  clearly differ from those of the verb. Simple movement of the verb's F-features can thus not be the reason for CA.

<sup>10</sup> Another indication is the finite/non-finite distinction of complementisers.

<sup>11</sup> See sections 2.6 and 3.2 for further discussion of CA with conjoined noun phrases.

Returning to the fact that most CA paradigms are defective, i.e. CA does not occur in all persons, those languages would then be another instantiation of different agreement forms – less obvious than in example (30), but still existent: given that the verbal F-features are present on C according to Zwart, one would then have to assume zero-morphology in the cases that do not exhibit agreement. However, as opposed to (30), features of the verb and the complementiser would be identical – therefore leading to two different exponents: zero on the complementiser and inflection on the verb. As PF cannot be sensitive to syntactic categories, it remains open how this asymmetry can be explained. A possible solution can be the strict lexicalist approach: according to this, inflected items are stored in the lexicon individually and at the point of insertion during Morphology the matching item gets chosen. Following Zwart (2001), the choice is based on the combination of LEX-features and F-features. This could instantly explain different morphemes on the verb on the complementisers. However, this account faces a serious problem in all those languages, in which not only complementisers but also phrases display agreement<sup>12</sup>.

To conclude, even though CA is taken to second Zwart’s analysis, it falls short of explaining some of the most consistent facts of CA: limitation to some varieties and defective paradigms. Additionally, it cannot capture agreement on more than just complementisers.

## 2.4 Fuß (2004, 2005)

Fuß (2004) follows Bayer (1984) in analysing the second person morphemes in the C-domain as agreement affixes due to the reasons already outlined in section 2.1. Namely, the particular behaviour of the second person markers in C in Bavarian with respect to their being obligatory, their licencing of pro-drop, their phonological unrelatedness to the relevant pronominal full forms and their identity with the respective verbal agreements. Hence, he also assumes – along the lines of Bayer (1984) – Bavarian to be a partial pro-drop language.

### 2.4.1 Diachronic account

However, as Fuß notes, the restriction to second persons is not at all immediately clear. On the assumption that distinctiveness of verbal agreement may play a role for pro-drop, Fuß also takes a look at the verbal paradigm. Contrary to Bayer (1984), who included the imperative and honorific inflectional paradigm in his comparison of the verbal agreement, Fuß (2004) only looks at the present indicative: here the

<sup>12</sup> See sections 1.3.1 and 3.1.1 for further discussion.

second person endings are not the only distinct ones. First and third person singular are just as well uniquely specified for person and number and could thus – under the given hypothesis – also be able to identify the subject:

Table 2.2: Verbal agreement paradigm (pres. indic.) of Bavarian (Fuß 2004:62)

Verbal agreement	
1 Singular	-Ø
2 Singular	-st
3 Singular	-t
1 Plural	-an
2 Plural	-ts
3 Plural	-an

Given that not only the second person inflection would be able to uniquely identify the subject – and of course also given the crosslinguistic evidence Bayer (1984) (cf. section 2.1) already pointed out – the connection between inflection and pro-drop in Bavarian is not an immediately clear one. However, on the assumption that verbal inflection and pro-drop are connected with each other, Fuß (2004) takes a closer look at the diachronic development of the relevant forms. It can be shown that the second person agreement suffixes in fact evolved through a reanalysis of pronominal clitics and existing verbal inflection as depicted below (Fuß 2004:63)<sup>13</sup>:

Table 2.3: Old vs. new second person verbal agreement

	‘Old’ inherited ending	‘New’ enlarged ending	Lexical source
2 Singular	-s	-s+t	t(hu)
2 Plural	-t	-t+s	(ē)s

Crucially, Fuß (2004) points out that these ‘new’ endings originally seemed to be directly connected to a specific syntactic environment:

[T]he historical development of the new 2nd person agreement morphemes affected first finite verbs in C and spread later to other verbal positions. (Fuß 2004:64)

For the second person singular this transition from the pronominal clitic to becoming part of the verbal inflection probably took place during the ninth century AD. It eventually not only affected Bavarian but all German varieties. The key-finding is that verbs in C carry the reanalysed inflection whereas finite verbs in final position still bear the original second person inflection. This is illustrated by the following example from the Old High German *Tatian*<sup>14</sup>:

<sup>13</sup> This view is in fact not new. See also Brinkmann (1931), Braune (1950), Bayer (1984), Sommer (1994), Weiß (1998).

<sup>14</sup> Emphases in this and all the other examples from Fuß (2004, 2005) added by author.

- (31) Ih forahata, [<sub>CP</sub> uuanta thu grim man bist, [<sub>C'</sub> **nimi-st** [<sub>IP</sub> thaz thu  
*I feared since you grim man are take-2.SG that you*  
 ni **szto-s**]] inti [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>C'</sub> **arno-st** [<sub>IP</sub> thaz thu ni **sto-s**.]]]  
*NEG plant-2.SG and earn-2.SG that you not sow-2SG*  
 ‘Since you are a grim man, I feared that you take what you haven’t planted  
 and earn what you haven’t sowed.’

(Tatian ζ 151,7; Fuß 2004:64)

As for the second person plural agreement marker, the transition presumably took place in the 13th century in Bavarian only. Fuß (2004) draws the attention to northern Bavarian dialects where the *-ts* agreement can still (or at least could still in 1918, according to the data) only be found on conjunctions and verbs in C illustrated by the following example:

- (32) **wei-ts** iwə t’pruk **khunt-Ø** **sea-ts** s’wiətshaus  
*when-2.PL over the-bridge come see-2.PL the-tavern*  
 ‘When you cross the bridge, you will see the tavern.’

(Pfalz 1918; Fuß 2004:65)

These data provide a possible explanation for the confinement of CA to second persons in Bavarian as only those verbal endings evolved via C°. Furthermore, Fuß links the reanalysis of enclitic subject pronouns as part of the verbal inflection to the V2-property of Bavarian. This link is based on the fact that the reanalysis of the enclitic subject pronoun in Spec-TP is contingent on structural adjacency to the verb in C°, which is only the case in V2-contexts. With this reanalysis the speaker is further forced to assume *pro* in subject position (cf. section 2.1) in order to preserve the argument structure. This analysis can then be extended to the CA-phenomenon where an element other than a verb bears inflection presumably because in V2-languages C° is capable of hosting agreement markers.

## 2.4.2 Synchronic account

For the synchronic account for CA, Fuß adopts Minimalist syntax together with *Distributed Morphology* (DM) where morphophonological operations apply post-syntactically at the level of *Morphological Structure* (MS). The process *Vocabulary Insertion* adds phonological content to the syntactic terminal nodes that consist of bundles of morpho-syntactic features that have been valued in the syntax. Crucially, this analysis makes use of the *Late Linearization Hypothesis* (Embick and Noyer 2001:562):

- (33) *Late Linearization Hypothesis*

The elements of a phrase marker are linearized at Vocabulary Insertion.

Essentially, this means that the hierarchical syntactic structure of a sentence is mapped into linear ordering and interpreted by MS. Fuß' analysis is mainly based on the following examples:

- (34) **dat/\*datt-e** op den wärmsten dag van't joar **wiej** tegen oonze wil  
*that/that-1.PL on the warmest day of-the year we against our will*  
 ewärkt heb-t.  
*worked have-1.PL*  
 'that on the warmest day of the year we have worked against our will.'

(Carstens 2003:398; Fuß 2004:69)<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Carstens actually cites a Manuscript by Ackema & Neeleman (2001), which unfortunately is not available anymore.

- (35) a. D'Resl is gresser [als **wia-st** du **bist**]  
*the-Resl is taller than what-2.SG you are*  
 'Resl is taller than you are.'
- b. \*D'Resl is gresser [als **wia-st** du]  
*the-Resl is taller than what-2.SG you*
- c. D'Resl is gresser [als **wia** du]  
*the-Resl is taller than what you*

(Bayer 1984:269; Fuß 2004:70 f.)

Example (34) from the East Netherlandic dialect Hellendoorn shows that an intervening adjunct blocks CA in this variant. Therefore, Fuß concludes:

The fact that complementizer agreement is sensitive to an adjacency requirement suggests that this form of agreement is not a purely syntactic phenomenon, but at least partially determined by properties of PF (or MS) [...] (Fuß 2004:70)

The comparatives in (35) show that CA is contingent on the presence of a finite verb as the absence of it leads to ungrammaticality of CA (35b) (cf. 1.3.1). Further evidence for postsyntactic operations being involved is based on the fact that comparatives are standardly analysed “as the result of post-syntactic PF-operations that delete the inflected verb in the second clause” (Fuß 2004:71). Fuß concludes that if CA was to take place in syntax, there would be no account for the data in (35b) as the finite verb would be present throughout the whole syntactic derivation and there would be no apparent reason for CA not being obtained. He therefore proposes the following model (cf. Fuß 2004:72, Fuß 2005:116):

- (36) a. The syntactic operation *Agree* values agreement morphemes that enter the syntactic derivation already attached to T via relating its uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features to the subject in *v*P. Hence, subject agreement takes place during the syntactic derivation.
- b. CA, however, results from the post-syntactic insertion of a dissociated agreement morpheme to C at the level of MS. Crucially, this is contingent on the presence of an agreement morpheme already valued in the syntax.

As already hinted at, an important key to this kind of late insertion is *structural adjacency* – the linearised syntactic closest c-command between C and the syntactically valued agreement morpheme in T. Adopting this framework, Fuß is able to account for the ungrammaticality of CA in (34) as an adjunct blocks the necessary adjacency requirement. He reproduces these facts for Bavarian with the following example:

- (37) \* **obwoi-st** gesdan **du** ins Kino ganga bist.  
*although-2.SG yesterday you to-the movies gone are*  
 ‘although you went to the movies yesterday’

(Fuß 2004:75)

However, as he also states and illustrates with examples, modal particles such as *aber*, *halt*, *ja* as well as clitic object pronouns may very well intervene between C° and Spec-TP.<sup>16</sup> The assumption is that modal particles are base-generated adjuncts that have no effect on structural adjacency. For object clitics, on the other hand, Fuß assumes that late MS-processes determine their surface position, that is after the dissociated CA-morpheme has been inserted.

Summing up, the correct generalization seems to be that only XPs that have undergone syntactic movement to a topic or focus position between C° and TP block the realization of complementizer agreement [...]

(Fuß 2004:75)

### 2.4.3 Combining synchrony and diachrony

Fuß continues his analysis by extending the synchronic account for CA to the diachronic development of the new verbal agreement. He states four syntactic conditions for the structural reanalysis outlined in section 2.4.1 (Fuß 2005:140 f., 168):

- (38) *Structural simplification*

The resulting structure must be less complex than the target structure.

- (39) *Preservation of argument structure*

The reanalysis of a pronoun as an agreement marker must preserve the predicate’s argument structure.

- (40) *Identification of feature content*

The reanalysis of a clitic pronoun is licit only if the resulting agreement morpheme is licenced

- i. in the syntax by a local Agree relation with a matching set of interpretable  $\varphi$ -features, or
- ii. at MS as a dissociated morpheme under structural adjacency with a syntactically licenced Agr-morpheme

- (41) *Word building constraint*

The reanalysis of a clitic adjacent to the verb as a (bound) verbal agreement marker on a functional head X requires that X combines with the verb prior to Vocabulary Insertion.

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<sup>16</sup> This will be discussed in further detail in section 3.2.



For the Bavarian data in question, (38) and (39) are both met by the insertion of *pro* in Spec-*vP*. This structure is presumably simpler than the original one because no matter if movement of *pro* is part of the theory, clitic movement to C is in any case no longer necessary. Furthermore, the predicate's argument structure is preserved as the  $\theta$ -role of the subject clitic is now assigned to *pro*. Condition (40) is met by the fact that the now dissociated agreement morpheme can be licenced under structural adjacency with agreement in T. (41) is fulfilled as in the inversion contexts under consideration here, the subject clitic will always be adjacent to the verb and therefore also combine with it prior to Vocabulary Insertion.

Therefore, Fuß claims that the reanalysis of the subject clitic as a verbal agreement marker took place via an interim stage of the agreement marker on C being interpreted as a dissociated agreement morpheme – i.e. an agreement morpheme that is not present during syntactic derivation and only reflects syntactic configurations. Support for this is drawn from the fact that the difference between clitics and dissociated agreement morphemes is a rather subtle one, thus facilitating the reanalysis of the first as the latter. Fuß suggests that once the subject clitic has been reinterpreted as an instance of agreement, its phonological exponent can develop into the canonical subject-verb agreement and spread onto T due to the fact that agreement on C (on verbs) may be reinterpreted as an instance of agreement on T. In Bavarian, the original dissociated agreement in C has been preserved as CA. This is in line with his synchronic account for CA.

[T]he diachronic development in Bavarian has been shown to proceed via a stage where the learner assumes the existence of a dissociated Agr-morpheme which is initially confined to C (Agr-on-C). In a subsequent change, the phonological exponent of Agr-on-C is reanalyzed as the exponent of the canonical subject agreement morpheme, Agr-on-T, and spreads to other verbal positions. (Fuß 2005:178)

#### 2.4.4 Remarks

According to Fuß, the reanalysis of the subject clitic in Spec-TP as an agreement marker could only take place via the interim stage of the clitic being interpreted as a dissociated agreement morpheme. But here we stumble into a number of problems: first, the verb displays canonical subject agreement that must have already been established before it reaches C°. Now, the subject clitic is interpreted as a dissociated agreement morpheme – hence, the verbal agreement in those cases must consist of canonical agreement *plus* dissociated agreement. Following Fuß' reasoning, the clitic must then be interpreted as part of the canonical agreement because it consequently spread from C° to verb final positions, only to entirely become a dissociated agree-

ment morpheme on C again. To make this slightly clearer, the following illustrates this process on the basis of second person singular:

- (42) V2 Agr-on-T: -s & subject clitic: t  $\Rightarrow$   
 V2 Agr-on-T + diss.Morph.: -s+t  $\Rightarrow$   
 Vfin Agr-on-T: -st & diss.Morph. on C: -st

Overall, this seems to be highly challenging for the computation especially regarding Fuß' assumption that language change leads to simplification rather than to complication.

Second, the insertion of a dissociated agreement morpheme is contingent on the presence of a syntactically already valued agreement morpheme. However, Fuß claims that the subject clitic is being reinterpreted as a dissociated morpheme. Now, during the stage of the reinterpretation there is only one agreement morpheme present altogether and the subject clitic never encounters a syntactically valued counterpart as it itself is the only morpheme of this kind present.

Third, the dissociated agreement morpheme is clearly not interpretable at LF as it is inserted at PF. At the same time – whilst the reanalysis takes place – the verbal ending plus the dissociated agreement morpheme render *pro* possible under the given analysis. However, if the dissociated morpheme is neither present in the syntax nor at LF, it remains open how *pro* should be licenced in the first place.

Fourth, recall that Fuß explicitly refers to C being the position, at which the morpheme gets inserted. He also states that XPs intervening between C and T prevent the morpheme from being inserted. This, however, implies that Morphology must in some way be able to *read* and interpret syntactic labels and/or functions – clearly something that PF should not be concerned with.<sup>17</sup>

The analysis faces another problem concerning the morphological form of the agreement morpheme. Following Fuß' definition, the dissociated morpheme and the matching canonical agreement should always be identical. However, this is certainly not the case. A clear instance of diverging agreement morphemes is the following example from GD<sup>18</sup>.

- (43) I bi ma net sicha, **ob-st** du und d'Susi des **gwing-an**.  
*I am myself not sure if-2.SG you and the-Susi that win-3.PL*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi will win that one.'

Clearly, the complementiser only agrees with the first conjunct and not with the whole phrase, let alone does it reduplicate the verbal agreement, which in this case

<sup>17</sup> Thanks to Cecilia Poletto for pointing this out to me.

<sup>18</sup> For further discussion of CA with conjoined noun phrases see section 2.6.

is third person plural<sup>19,20</sup>. This question is merely touched in Fuß (to appear) where he tentatively concludes that the difference could be due to the copied agreement being overwritten by the  $\varphi$ -features of the first conjunct. Altogether, the burden on PF becomes increasingly high by such an operation.

Summarising, I have shown this analysis faces a number of serious problems both on conceptual grounds as well as regarding actual data.

## 2.5 Carstens (2003)

Carstens bases her analysis on the Probe-Goal mechanism developed in Chomsky (2000, 2001a,b). She assumes  $\text{Fin}^{\circ 21}$  to carry uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features<sup>22</sup>, thus seeking for interpretable counterparts. She assumes that an Agree relation marks case on a DP for deletion but, contrary to Chomsky, that Case is in fact not deleted until the next strong phase. Hence, the subject is able to render two sets of uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features interpretable, namely those of  $\text{T}^{\circ}$  and those of  $\text{Fin}^{\circ}$ . Crucially, these Agree relations can only be established under closest c-command, i.e. intervening XPs disrupt the Probe-Goal relation between  $\text{C}^{\circ}$  and the subject in  $\text{Spec-TP}^{23}$ . Furthermore, fronted objects cannot value  $\text{C}^{\circ}$ 's  $\varphi$ -features as they count as defective interveners (as in Chomsky 2000), i.e. their Case feature is rendered inactive immediately as this deletion marking takes place within a strong, i.e.  $v^*P$ , phase. This is illustrated by the following Dutch dialectal example, which shows that the complementiser cannot agree with the object even if it is within its closest c-command domain:

- (44) Ik dèènke dat/\*datte oons zölfs Jan nie mag.  
*I think that/that-1.PL us even Jan not likes*  
 ‘I don’t think even Jan likes us.’

(Carstens 2003:399)

<sup>19</sup> Displaying third person plural agreement where second person would be expected is a peculiarity of German also reflected in GD. Tentatively, this could be attributed to the fact that first and third person plural are identical and thus the salient plural form in German (cf. Corbett 2006).

<sup>20</sup> These findings are contrary to those stated in Mayr (to appear). According to him, examples like (43) do not show Agreement in C.

<sup>21</sup> She follows Rizzi (1997) in splitting the CP in several layers and placing agreement in  $\text{Fin}^{\circ}$ . The complementiser presumably sits in  $\text{Force}^{\circ}$ .

<sup>22</sup> Crucially, this means that CA is neither the result of C-to-T movement as suggested for instance in Zwart (1993b) nor is it the case that the  $\phi$ -features of  $\text{T}^{\circ}$  are inherited from  $\text{C}^{\circ}$  as suggested in Chomsky (2005, 2006).

<sup>23</sup> The subject moves from  $vP$  to  $\text{Spec-TP}$  after having entered into an Agree relation with  $\text{T}^{\circ}$  due to the EPP feature of  $\text{T}^{\circ}$ .

As already shown in section 2.4.2 in example (34) (repeated below for convenience), intervening adverbs also block agreement on C.

- (45) dat/\*datt-e op den wärmsten dag van't joar wiej tegen oonze wil  
*that/that-1.PL on the warmest day of-the year we against our will*  
 ewärkt heb-t.  
*worked have-1.PL*  
 'that on the warmest day of the year we have worked against our will.'

(Carstens 2003:398<sup>24</sup>)

Carstens explains this by assuming that adverbs carry an abstract Case feature, which is however inactive thus rendering the AdvP a defective intervener and blocking CA.

Carstens's analysis also predicts that in principle two different agreement endings could occur on T° and Fin° as they both bear uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features. This is in fact borne out by Lower Bavarian data already discussed in Bayer (1984)<sup>25</sup>. This variant shows agreement on C also for first person plural<sup>26</sup>. However, in these cases CA is different from the respective verbal agreement. Interestingly, if the verb moves to C, it also bears the agreement marker appearing on complementisers and not the verbal inflection it carries in sentence final position<sup>27</sup>. These facts are illustrated by the following data:

- (46) a. ... das-ma mir noch Minga fahr-n/\*-ma.  
*... that-1.PL.CA we to Munich go-1.PL/1.PL.CA*  
 '... that we go to Munich.'
- b. Mir fahr-ma/\*-n noch Minga.  
*we go-1.PL.CA/-1.PL to Munich*  
 'We go to Munich.'

(Carstens 2003:408 f.; Bayer 1984)

<sup>24</sup> Carstens actually cites a Manuscript by Ackema & Neeleman (2001) which unfortunately is not available anymore.

<sup>25</sup> See also example (43) where the verb bears third person plural agreement whereas second person singular can be observed on the complementiser.

<sup>26</sup> This has been left out of the previous discussion of Bavarian CA as first person plural agreement on C is confined to some Lower Bavarian variants (cf. Bayer 1984, Weiß 1998) and does not appear in GD.

<sup>27</sup> The fact that CA and verbal inflection differ in this variant are reminiscent of the second person plural data of GD. Especially, as in those cases the CA morpheme is identical to the first person plural clitic in other Bavarian variants. It appears that in those dialects the transition from clitic to inflection is just happening (cf. Fuß 2005). Further evidence for this transition can be found in Weiß (2002) who reports Middle and Southern Bavarian variants where *-ma* even appears on auxiliaries in final position. In GD, however, the second person verbal inflection never changes – no matter which syntactic position the verb appears in it consistently is *-ts*.

### 2.5.1 Remarks

Carstens assumes C to carry uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features, which need to be rendered interpretable via agreement with matching counterparts. Crucially, within the Minimalist framework she adopts, a derivation does not converge if uninterpretable features reach LF, i.e. they have to be rendered interpretable and eliminated before the derivation is being transferred to LF. It then remains open how sentences such as (45) could be grammatical when the necessary relation is blocked by a defective intervener: C's  $\varphi$ -features cannot be eliminated at all – which is shown by the ungrammaticality of CA in those cases. However, by definition the derivation should then have to crash at LF, which it clearly does not. The only conceivable way to avoid this is to also allow complementisers without  $u\varphi$  in the numeration. This, however, poses a problem for all languages where CA is obligatory as in this case the derivation would always converge – even without CA when there is no intervener present at all.

## 2.6 Van Koppen (2005)

### 2.6.1 General outline

Like Fuß, van Koppen (2005) bases her analysis of CA on Minimalist Syntax together with Distributed Morphology. Essentially, this means that the hierarchical syntactic component operates on feature bundles and roots, which are subsequently filled with phonological content at the linear postsyntactic level of PF, more precisely the level of Morphology. Like Carstens, she follows Chomsky (2000) in assuming that an agreement relation is established via a Probe-Goal mechanism. Agree can only take place when the Probe encounters a *local* Goal, i.e. in its c-command domain, with *matching features*. Van Koppen assumes that this Agree relation is established when the syntactic derivation is mapped to PF, that is it is part of Spell-Out.<sup>28</sup> Then, during Vocabulary Insertion in the morphological component, the item that matches the whole set or a subset of the values of the feature bundle will be inserted – thus spelling out the relation established during the syntactic derivation. If more than one item compete for insertion, the one with the greatest number of matching features will be chosen. This is essentially what has been put forward by Halle (1997) as the *Subset Principle* (van Koppen 2005:16).

Van Koppen is mainly concerned with instances of agreement with coordinated subjects illustrated by the following examples:

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<sup>28</sup> Note that van Koppen (2005) explicitly assumes Agree to be sensitive to hierarchical structure and not simply to linear adjacency present at PF (cf. van Koppen 2005:21).

- (47) Kpeinzen **da-n** **Valère en Pol** morgen goa-n.  
*I.think that-PL [Valère and Pol]<sub>3.PL</sub> tomorrow go-PL*  
'I think that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'

(Lapscheure Dutch; van Koppen 2005:3)

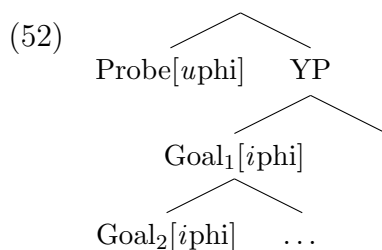
- (48) ... **de-s**      **doe**    en Marie      uch                      ken-t.  
 ... *that-2.SG* [*you<sub>SG</sub>* and *Marie*]<sub>2.PL</sub> *each.other*<sub>2.PL</sub> *know-2P*  
 ‘... that you and Marie know each other.’

(Waubach Dutch; van Koppen 2005:63)

As can be seen, CA-languages differ with respect to the phrase they agree with: it could be either the whole conjoined noun phrase (CoP) as in example (47) or the first NP as in example (48). The first option is referred to as “*Full Agreement*” (FA), whereas the latter is called “*First Conjunct Agreement*” (FCA). Considering these examples, the question of *locality* becomes eminent. In van Koppen’s approach, it is defined as follows (van Koppen 2005:14 f.):

- (49) *Equally local*  
 Y and Z are equally local to X iff
- i. X c-commands both Y and Z
  - ii. the set of nodes that c-command Y is identical to the set of nodes that c-command Z.
- (50) *More local*  
 Y is more local to X than Z iff
- i. X c-commands both Y and Z
  - ii. the set of nodes that c-command Y is a proper subset of the set of nodes that c-command Z.
- (51) *c-command*  
 X c-commands Y iff
- i. X excludes Y (that is if no segment of X dominates Y)
  - ii. the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y.

Consequently, this definition implies that configurations are to be expected where a Probe finds two possible goals, which is demonstrated in the following syntactic structure (van Koppen 2005:19):



According to the definitions given above, both Goal<sub>1</sub> and Goal<sub>2</sub> are equally local to the Probe and hence qualify for establishing the necessary Agree relation. The point of selecting one of the two is where the Morphological Component comes in:



only the most specific agreement affix will be spelt out. In order to implement this mechanism, van Koppen assumes affixes to be ranked with respect to one another. Apart from *elsewhere affixes*, which are not specified for  $\varphi$ -features, and *specific affixes*, which are specified for  $\varphi$ -features, the latter are also ranked following the universal feature hierarchy proposed by Noyer (1992). Following him, van Koppen assumes person features to be ranked higher than number features. Along this hierarchy, the most specific affix will be chosen for insertion. Crucially, it is the feature specification of the affix that determines the choice, not the specification of the goal (cf. van Koppen 2005:24).

As discussed in Corbett (1983) (and subsequently also in Corbett 2006), the feature specification of the whole CoP (Goal<sub>1</sub> in example (52)) follows what he calls *resolution rules*. For person and number – that is the features van Koppen is concerned with – these are the following (van Koppen 2005:28):

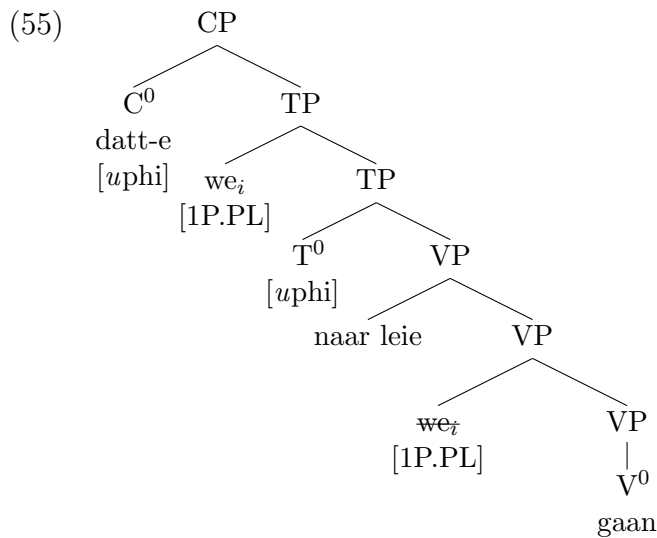
- (53)
- i. If one of the conjuncts is first person, the resolved feature bundle is first person,
  - ii. if one of the conjuncts is second person, the resolved feature bundle is a second person
  - iii. coordinated noun phrases are in principle plural.

In case there is a conjoined noun phrase with first and second person, first person will be ranked higher and hence the resolved feature bundle will be first person. Therefore it is clear that the feature specifications of Goal<sub>1</sub> and Goal<sub>2</sub> will be different, hence also FA versus FCA.

## 2.6.2 Complementiser Agreement

The main idea concerning the agree relations between C/T and the subject concerns the fact that – as in Carstens (2003) – both C<sup>o</sup> and T<sup>o</sup> have unvalued  $\phi$ -features. The following example from Katwijk Dutch – which shows agreement only for number – and the corresponding tree (van Koppen 2005:33 ff.) illustrate CA and the relevant syntactic derivation:

- (54) ... **datt-e we** naar Leie gaan.  
 ... *that-PL we to Leiden go*  
 ‘... that we are going to Leiden’



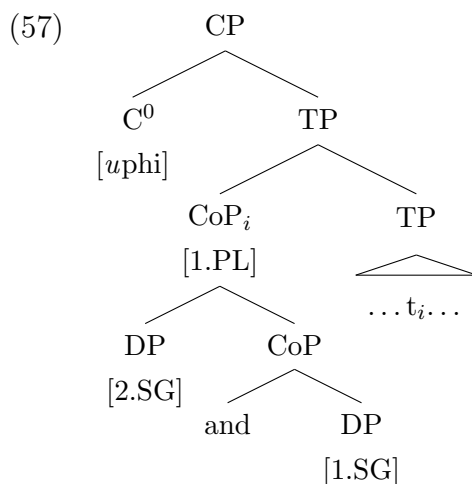
The subject moves to Spec-TP in order to fulfil the EPP-requirement of  $T^\circ$ . Both,  $C^\circ$  and  $T^\circ$  have unvalued  $\varphi$ -features making them a Probe for interpretable counterparts. At the point of transfer to PF, the matching Goals have to be found:  $T^\circ$  enters a relation with the subject copy in Spec-VP and  $C^\circ$  with the actual subject in Spec-TP. Therefore, both carry the feature specification first person plural. On both the complementiser and the verb these feature bundles are replaced by plural agreement morphology at the level of morphology.

As for coordinated subjects, the mechanism can be illustrated by the following example from Tegelen Dutch, a dialect with CA for second person singular only.

- (56) ... **de-s**      **doow**    en    ich    ôs                      treff-e.  
 ... *that-2.SG* [*you-SG and I*]<sub>1.PL</sub> *each.other-1.PL* *meet-PL*  
 ‘... that you and I will meet.’

(van Koppen 2005:40)

As can be seen, the complementiser only agrees with the first conjunct of the coordinated phrase whereas the finite verb agrees with the entire CoP. The corresponding syntactic structure looks as follows (cf. van Koppen 2005:41):



Following van Koppen’s definition of Locality, the Probe in  $C^\circ$  finds two suitable goals: namely the whole CoP as well as the first DP in Spec-CoP. Thus, the Probe enters an Agree relation with *both* goals at the point of mapping to PF. At the level of Morphology, this relation has to be spelt out – in this case, either as second person singular or as first person plural. Recall that the most specific affix will be inserted. As agreement with the entire CoP does not lead to any affix at all and as agreement with the DP in Spec-CoP leads to a specific affix, it is the latter that gets spelt out. This analysis predicts that agreement with the whole CoP is ungrammatical, which is in fact borne out by the Tegelen Dutch data (cf. van Koppen 2005:42).

Tegelen Dutch is therefore an instance of FCA. It follows that in case agreement with CoP leads to a more specific affix this will be the relation that gets spelt out, thus displaying FA with the whole coordinated phrase.

### 2.6.3 Bavarian

Bavarian displays CA for second person singular and plural.<sup>29</sup> Van Koppen’s analysis of Bavarian CA with coordinated phrases is based on the following sentences:

- (58) a. ... **dass-sd du** und d’Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna  
 ... *that-2.SG [you<sub>SG</sub> and the-Maria]<sub>2.PL</sub> the first.prize won*  
 hab-ds.  
*have-2.PL*
- b. ... **dass-ds du und d’Maria** an Hauptpreis gwunna  
 ... *that-2.PL [you<sub>SG</sub> and the-Maria]<sub>2.PL</sub> the first.prize won*  
 hab-ds.  
*have-2.PL*
- ‘... that Maria and you have won the first prize.’

(van Koppen 2005:43)

Both examples are stated as equally grammatical in Bavarian, i.e. according to van Koppen Bavarian has the option of both FA and FCA. Within her framework, this means that both affixes have to be equally specific<sup>30</sup>, which is shown by the following representations (van Koppen 2005:45):

- (59) [2P.SG]  $\Rightarrow$  -st  
 [2P.PL]  $\Rightarrow$  -ts

<sup>29</sup> As already pointed out, some Lower Bavarian variants also show CA for first person plural. However, these cases are not subject to the discussion at hand.

<sup>30</sup> In this context, van Koppen discusses two possibilities for defining *more specific*: it can either mean that one of the two affixes is specified for more features than the other or that they are ranked with respect to one another (cf. page 33). This discussion involves a number of technicalities concerning the feature specification. As both approaches lead her to the same conclusion, i.e. that in Bavarian both affixes are equally specific, I will not go into further detail of this discussion.

A prediction made by this theory is the following: if the first conjunct of a coordinated phrase does not lead to CA whereas the whole CoP results in CA, the latter should be the only grammatical configuration. However, this is not entirely borne out by the data as the following examples show:

- (60) a. ?... **dass-ds d'Maria und du** an Hauptpreis gwunna  
 ... *that-2.PL [the-Maria and you<sub>SG</sub>]<sub>2.PL</sub> the first.prize won*  
 hab-ds.  
*have-2.PL*  
 '... that Maria and you won the first prize.'
- b. ... **dass da Sepp und du** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.  
 ... *that [the Joe and you<sub>SG</sub>]<sub>2.PL</sub> the first.prize won have-2.PL*  
 '... that Joe and you have won the first prize.'

(van Koppen 2005:47)

According to van Koppen's informants, example (60a) is only marginally grammatical, moreover example (60b) is the preferable one. Van Koppen does not have any account for these facts. However, what she can account for is the second prediction: namely that FCA occurs in cases, in which FA would not lead to a more specific agreement affix<sup>31</sup>:

- (61) ... **ob-sd du** und i an Hauptpreis gwingan.  
 ... *if-2.SG [you<sub>SG</sub> and I]<sub>1.PL</sub> the first.prize win-1.PL*  
 '... if you and I will win the first prize.'

(van Koppen 2005:47)

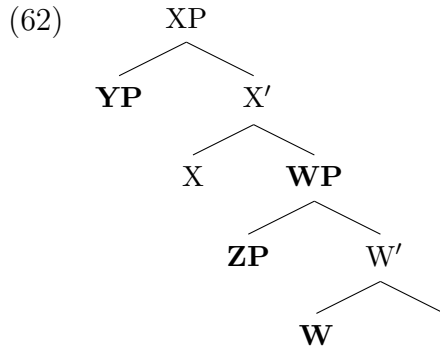
To summarise, van Koppen (2005) shows that Bavarian CA with conjoined second person noun phrases is an instance of FA and FCA simultaneously as for second person singular and plural both affixes are equally specific.

## 2.6.4 Locality

For the thesis at hand, an important issue of van Koppen's analysis has got to do with the definition of the domain, in which agreement can take place. Van Koppen (2005) does not go into detail on the general question of locality, i.e. on how local the subject has to be with respect to the complementiser. However, first of all she explicitly bases her dissertation on van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen

<sup>31</sup> This example is actually presented with % in van Koppen (2005): one of her informants rated it as the only grammatical option whereas the other preferred it without CA. She notes that this could tentatively be attributed to the fact that the latter informant speaks a dialect which also displays CA for first person singular. Note that in the Gmunden dialect example (61) is the only grammatical option.

(2002) (van Koppen 2005:33) where it is claimed that CA can only take place if the agreement relation is established in the *local domain* of  $C^\circ$ . The local domain of a head X includes Spec-XP, the complement WP, Spec-WP and the head W as depicted below:



Secondly, she discusses the following data from Ackema and Neeleman (2002) again referring to van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002) as a possible solution for retaining the approach she is pursuing. With the definition of *local domain* shown in (62), van Koppen (2005) is able to account for these examples from the dialect De Panne Dutch:

- (63) a. ... da-n        zunder op de warmste dag gewerkt en.  
       ... *that-3.PL they    on the hottest day worked have*
- b. ... da / \*da-n    op de warmste dag zunder gewerkt en.  
       ... *that / that-3.PL on the hottest day they    worked have*  
       ‘... that they worked on the hottest day.

(van Koppen 2005:56)

In example (63b) an intervening adverbial phrase blocks CA because the potential goal is no longer in the local domain of  $C^\circ$ .

### 2.6.5 Remarks

As already pointed out in the remarks on Carstens’s theory on page 30, an analysis based on the idea that C carries  $u\varphi$ -features runs into serious problems: as soon as CA is obligatory and subject to adjacency requirements as for instance shown for Bavarian by Fuß (2004, 2005) or as it is also the case in Frisian. Even though this is not addressed in van Koppen (2005), there is earlier work by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002) dealing with this question: they pursue the idea that agreement is always checked, however, it only gets spelt out in cases where the necessary locality configurations are given (see section 2.6.4).

Concerning Bavarian, which according to van Koppen has the option of either FCA or FA, it remains open how and when speakers decide for one of the two. Both

affixes being equally specified creates a conflict at PF and the mechanism ultimately leading to spell-out remains entirely unclear.

## 2.7 Summary

In this section I have outlined six approaches to CA. They all have in common that the affix in C is analysed as an instance of subject agreement. It was shown how Bayer (1984) developed his line of argumentation for Bavarian: He solved the *phonology problem* as well as the *syntax problem* by analysing the affix as verbal agreement in C instead of analysing it as a clitic. Furthermore, Bayer concluded that Bavarian is in fact a partial pro-drop language, which can omit the second person pronoun as the subject is sufficiently determined by the verbal inflection in C. Shlonsky (1994) accounted for CA in terms of Spec-Head-Agreement introducing a separate agreement projection as part of the CP. For Bavarian, he assumed a silent subject clitic licencing the agreement morpheme in AgrC. Zwart (2001) developed an idea of formal feature chains (F-chains) and the PF requirement that the highest member of the chain has to contain lexical features. Thus, he accounts for verb placement patterns in CWG. CA is taken to be a reflex of C being the highest member of the F-chain that involves C, I and V in embedded clauses. Fuß (2004, 2005) develops a diachronic account for the fact that CA in Bavarian only occurs in second persons. He shows that historically the verbal inflections of the second persons evolved through an interim stage via C°. A reanalysis of the enclitic subject pronoun as part of the verbal inflection could only take place in cases where the verb was found in C°. The reanalysed verbal inflection then spread from C° to clause final verbs but was retained as CA in Bavarian. His synchronic account of CA involves the postsyntactic insertion of a dissociated agreement morpheme in the morphological component, which is part of PF. Crucially, this is contingent on strict adjacency configurations between C° and the subject in Spec-TP. Topicalised phrases would intervene between these two positions and hence they block CA. Carstens (2003) as well as van Koppen (2005), both apply a syntactic Agree mechanism that values uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features located in C. Therefore, closest c-command is the necessary locality requirement for CA.

### 3 Gmunden dialect

Even though the GCA data do correspond to the Bavarian data discussed so far in some important respects, they also exhibit some crucial differences. The most outstanding correspondences are the following, exemplified by second person singular GCA sentences:

- (64) i. The morphemes in C are obligatory in second person singular and plural, i.e. their absence leads to ungrammaticality:
- a. I woas net, **ob-\*(st)** du des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG you that do can-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- ii. Second persons are the only ones that allow for a full pronoun to either cooccur with a second person marker on C or to be absent:
- a. Morgn **geh-st** (du) in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt da hoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- b. Morgn **geh-t** \*(sie) in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt da hoam.  
*Tomorrow go-3.SG she in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow she’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- iii. GCA is dependent on the presence of an inflected verb in clause final position.
- a. D’Verena is jinga ois **wia-\*(st)** du.  
*The-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub>*

The two most obvious differences between Bavarian and GD are the following:

- (65) i. The second person plural morpheme appearing in C is *not* identical to the respective verbal inflection. Furthermore, it can directly be phonologically related to (one of) the corresponding full pronoun(s), i.e. *es*.
- a. I woas net, ob-**s** (es) des mocha kin-**ts**.  
*I know not if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- ii. Locality requirements, which according to the literature (cf. Fuß 2004, 2005, Carstens 2003, van Koppen 2005) hold for CA-languages, are not a necessary prerequisite in GD.
- a. **Waun-st** beim ärgstn Regn in Gmunden **du** oiwei ausse geh  
*If-2.SG at worst rain in Gmunden you always out go*  
 mua-st, daun kaun i da a net höfn.  
*must-2.SG, then can I you also not help*  
 ‘If you always have to go to Gmunden during the worst rain, then I cannot help you either.’

The first difference immediately gives rise to questioning the analysis as verbal inflection for GD. This will be discussed in detail in section 3.1. Data for the second part will be presented in section 3.2.

### 3.1 Inflection versus clitic

The literature on CA in West Germanic languages generally treats this phenomenon as an instance of inflection. However, GCA data cast doubt on this analysis for GD and suggest that this subject is worth being rediscussed. It is not instantly clear that the morpheme in the C-domain indeed is an inflectional affix. In what follows, a number of criteria that have been suggested in the literature as tests for the distinction between inflection and clitics will be discussed with respect to GD. Additionally, some further reasons, which are confined to the Gmunden variant, will be presented.

#### 3.1.1 Morphological criteria

The criteria (66i)–(66vi) have been put forward by Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and shall now serve as a first testing ground for the GCA data.<sup>1</sup>

- (66)
- i. Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
  - ii. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
  - iii. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
  - iv. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
  - v. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups.
  - vi. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics but affixes cannot.

(Zwicky and Pullum 1983:503f.)

##### 3.1.1.1 Degree of host selection

Concerning (66i), GCA clearly does not show a high degree of selection with respect to the host. The second person morpheme can appear on any element or phrase

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<sup>1</sup> These tests are also mentioned in Bayer (1984:266f.) in a footnote but not taken to be decisive. We will see that this is indeed the case, but the conclusion drawn will differ from Bayer's.



introducing a verb final clause, i.e. on any element that in principle can occur in the relevant syntactic position. A few of the cases are illustrated by the following examples:

- (67) a. I woas net, **wia-st** (du) des moch-st.  
*I know not how-2.SG you that do-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- b. I woas net, **wia weit-st** (du) kum-st.  
*I know not how far-2.PL you come-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how far you’ll come.’
- (68) a. De Frau, **de-s** (es) gseng hob-ts, kenn i.  
*The woman who-2.PL you seen have-2.PL, know I.*  
 ‘I know the woman who you saw.’
- b. Da Bernhard, **dem sei Schwester-st** (du) gestern troffn  
*The Bernhard who-DAT his sister-2.SG you yesterday met*  
 host ...  
*have-2.SG*  
 ‘Bernhard whose sister you met yesterday ...’
- (69) I woas a net, wöche Frau aus Gmunden **dass-st** (du) troffn  
*I know also not which woman from Gmunden that-2.SG you met*  
 host.  
*have-2.SG.*  
 ‘I don’t know either which woman from Gmunden you met.’
- (70) **Je mehr-st** (du) les-st, umso gscheida wirst.  
*The more-2.SG you read-2.SG the cleverer become-2.SG*  
 ‘The more you read, the cleverer you become.’

As we can see, GCA cannot only appear on complementisers as the term *Complementiser Agreement* suggests, but also on: wh-words (67a), wh-phrases (67b), relative pronouns (68a), pied piped phrases (68b), complementisers after wh-phrases (69) and even on comparatives (70).

To give a better idea of how far-reaching this is, the following provides an overview of the elements the morpheme can attach to in GD<sup>2</sup>:

- (71) i. **Complementisers**  
 wia, während, dawoi, seit, seitdem, solaung, soboid, bevor,  
*how while while since since as-long-as as-soon-as before*  
 waun, fois, weil, obwoi, (ohne) dass, damit, indem  
*if in-case because although (without) that so-that by*
- ii. **Relative pronouns**

<sup>2</sup>For the phrases, the element the morpheme attaches to is indicated in bold.

der,            de,            des,            den,  
*who-M.NOM who-F.NOM/ACC that-N.NOM/ACC that-M./N.ACC*  
 dem,            dera  
*to-whom-M./N.DAT to-whom-F.DAT*

iii. **Pied-piped phrases**

dem            sei **NP (dass)**, dera            ihr **NP (dass)**  
*who-M./N.DAT his NP (that), who-F.DAT her NP (that)*

iv. **Wh-pronouns**

wo,    wohin,    wer,            wem,            wen,            was, warum, ob, waun,  
*where where-to who-NOM who-DAT who-ACC what why if when*  
 wöchn,            wöche,            wöches,            wia  
*which-M.ACC which-F.ACC which-N.ACC how*

v. **Wh-phrases**

fia **wos**, fia **wen**, von **wo**,    wia **AP**, wöchn **NP**, wem            sei **NP**  
*for what for whom from where how AP which NP who-DAT his NP*  
**(dass)**  
*(that)*

vi. **Comparatives**

je **Compar**, Compar ois **wia**  
*the Compar, Compar than as*

As can be seen, the morpheme attaches to anything that introduces an embedded verb-final clause. Moreover, whenever whole phrases introduce the subordinate clause it always attaches to its rightmost element. This argument is particularly important with respect to CA as it is said to be verbal inflection. However – as the term already suggests – this is exclusively confined to verbs, i.e. on specific class of lexical elements. The same argument holds for other inflectional material such as plural affixes: for instance, the English plural marker *-s* only attaches to nouns, never to adjectives (*\*big-s*), determiners (*\*the-s*) or prepositions (*\*to-s*).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the fact that the second person morpheme can basically adjoin to anything, which is expected to occur at the very left periphery of an embedded clause, sheds serious doubt on the analysis as genuine inflection.

### 3.1.1.2 Arbitrary gaps

Regarding arbitrary gaps as stated in (66ii), the answer is not as straightforward for GCA. Consider examples (68b) and (69) repeated below for convenience:

- (68b) Da Bernhard, **dem**            sei **Schwester-st** (du) gestern    troffn  
*The Bernhard who-DAT his sister-2.SG    you yesterday met*  
 host            ...  
*have-2.SG*

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Cecilia Poletto for bringing up this comparison.

‘Bernhard whose sister you met yesterday ...’

- (69) I woas a net, wöche Frau aus Gmunden **dass-st** (du) troffn  
*I know also not which woman from Gmunden that-2.SG you met*  
 host.  
*have-2.SG.*

‘I don’t know either which woman from Gmunden you met.’

Both are grammatical but speakers clearly prefer (69) where the complementiser *dass* is inserted and carries the second person morpheme. Sentence (68b) will only be produced if the speaker is explicitly asked to leave out *dass*, but also in this case the following variant will be preferred:

- (72) Da Bernhard, dem sei Schwester **dass-st** (du) gestern troffn  
*The Bernhard who-DAT his sister that-2.SG you yesterday met*  
 host ...  
*have-2.SG*

‘Bernhard whose sister you met yesterday ...’

(69) on the other hand – wh-phrase with a locative adjunct – could not even be produced without *dass* when the speaker was asked to leave it out.

This phenomenon is known as *doubly filled Comp* (DFC) and has already been widely discussed in the literature (cf. e.g. Weiß 1998, Bayer 1984, Bayer 2004, Bayer and Brandner to appear, Bayer and Brandner 2008). The most recent proposal for an analysis of DFC in Bavarian has been put forward in Bayer and Brandner (to appear). They show that DFC can only occur with a specific type of wh-elements whereas it can never be observed with certain other wh-elements. The distinction they make is the following: some wh-words such as *wer* or *was* are not solely wh-words but also function as complementisers. Following Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995), these elements are analysed as minimal and maximal at the same time. Only wh-elements that are solely maximal allow for DFC as they project an entire CP with a head and a specifier position, thus creating a possible landing site for the complementiser *dass*. The hierarchy they observe is the following (Bayer and Brandner to appear):

Table 3.1: Hierarchy of wh-elements w.r.t. DFC

X-bar status	Subtype	DFC-restriction
wh-phrase	Wh-DPs, WH-PPs	best with overt C
wh-word I	warum, wieviel, wem	
wh-word II	wer, wen, was, wie, wo	worst with overt C

As for GD, we have already seen that DFC only occurs with (wh-)phrases and particularly those that also involve NPs – which basically is in line with Bayer’s and Brandner’s general observation that DFC is linked to the phrasal status of the

wh-element. Furthermore, as the terms *best* and *worst* in table 3.1 suggest, DFC is never obligatory but rather a tendency or preference that can be observed. Again, this mirrors the GD data, in which DFC seems to be much less common than e.g. in other Bavarian dialects discussed by Bayer and Brandner<sup>4</sup>. Recall at this point that many wh-elements that clearly have phrasal status (e.g. *wie weit* – ‘how far’) do not trigger *dass*-insertion in GD. Additionally, this suggests that the insertion of *dass* – though contingent on the presence of an available syntactic position as suggested by Bayer and Brandner – possibly involves further factors that will yet have to be determined.

Returning to the original starting point of Zwicky and Pullum’s observation that clitics usually do not display arbitrary gaps with respect to certain hosts, I will therefore conclude that this is not an arbitrary gap and that no expected clitic-host combination fails to occur. Along the lines of Zwicky and Pullum, this is yet another argument in favour of their analysis as a clitic.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.1.1.3 Phonological form of host

Generalization (66iii) refers to the observation that clitics do not affect the phonological form of their host. Inflectional affixes, however, may very well give rise to idiosyncrasies. A well-known instance of this effect is for example German Umlaut induced by the plural affix as in *Buch* - *Bücher* (book - books). This is not at all the case with GCA where the second person morpheme does not have any influence on the morphophonological form of the element it attaches to. This is exemplified with but a few hosts in the following table:

Table 3.2: Morphophonological form of hosts

Host	Second person singular	Second person plural
wia (how)	wia-st	wia-s
während (while)	während-st	während-s
seit (since)	seit-st	seit-s
ob (if)	ob-st	ob-s
den (that-M./N.ACC)	den-st	den-s
dem (to.whom-M./N.DAT)	dem-st	dem-s
dera (to.whom-F.DAT)	dera-st	dera-s
wo (where)	wo-st	wo-s
wia laung (how long)	wia laung-st	wia laung-s

Certainly, this can merely be taken as a hint and not as a decisive criterion for one or the other analysis.

<sup>4</sup> Bayer and Brandner (to appear) specifically discuss Lake Constance Alemannic and a Middle Bavarian variant, which is not further specified.

<sup>5</sup> This argument will be relativised in section 3.1.4.

### 3.1.1.4 Idiosyncratic semantics

(66iv) essentially means that

[i]nflexional formations [...] do occasionally show idiosyncratic semantics: the meaning of the whole word is not always composed regularly from the meanings of its parts. (Zwicky and Pullum 1983:505)

This is certainly not the case with GCA. Idiosyncratic semantics cannot be observed. Sticking to Zwicky and Pullum's argumentation this would be further evidence for the morpheme in question being a clitic.<sup>6</sup>

### 3.1.1.5 Syntactic operations

Criterion (66v) concerns the fact that syntactic operations regularly apply to the unit of word and affix, whereas word and clitic are never treated as a unit in syntactic derivation. First of all, this argument cannot be tested for the CA data as no further (visible) syntactic operation is expected to occur with the complementiser. Secondly, the argument is simply not true as Italian or French object clitics show, which always move together with the verb in interrogatives and thus form a single unit with it (cf. eg. for French: Kayne 1969). Therefore, this argument will simply not be taken into account.

### 3.1.1.6 Attachment to clitics

As for (66vi), the second person morpheme can never attach to another clitic but always directly follows the phrase introducing the embedded clause. This is demonstrated by the following sentences with an additional third person object clitic where the only grammatical version is complementiser + second person morpheme + object clitic as in (73a) :

- (73) a. **Ob-st-n** (du) gsegn host, woas i net.  
*if-2.SG-3.M.ACC you seen have know i not*  
 'I don't know if you saw him.'
- b. \***Ob-n-st** du gsegn host, woas i net.  
*if-3.M.ACC-2.SG you seen have know i not*
- c. \***Ob-n** du gsegn host, woas i net.  
*if-3.M.ACC you seen have know i not*

Crucially, it is not the form *obn* in itself that is ungrammatical, but it is the second person context, in which only *obstn* is licit. However, given the hypothesis that we might be dealing with subject clitics, this is no surprise at all as the subject is

<sup>6</sup> This argument will be relativised in section 3.1.4.

expected to appear before the object in unmarked structures. As marked structures, i.e. with topicalisation, usually involve some kind of special focus – which a clitic can never bear – the attachment behaviour to other clitics cannot really be tested as it is expected to always occur first (cf. Weiß 1998:88ff.).

### 3.1.2 Syntactic criteria

In what follows, a number of syntactic indications for the distinction between clitics and inflection will be presented. This discussion basically follows the tests summarised in Fuß (2005:135)<sup>7</sup>:

- (74) Indications for an analysis of clitics as agreement markers
- i. The clitic is obligatory (doubling is not contextually restricted).
  - ii. The double in clitic doubling structures may be indefinite/non-specific.
  - iii. The clitic shows up in subject gap environments.

#### 3.1.2.1 Being obligatory

(74i) actually contains two parts that have to be dealt with separately for GCA. First of all, the second person morpheme – and only the second person morpheme – is obligatory in the Gmunden variant. The second part of the criterion refers to Fuß' hypothesis that only if the clitic double has become obligatory, the first morpheme should be analysed as an agreement marker. If, however, doubling is restricted to certain contexts, e.g. focalisation, it is indeed a pronominal element that has not (yet) turned into a true agreement marker. As already shown in a number of examples, the full pronominal form may or may not cooccur with GCA. However, the full subject pronoun may also be omitted in non-subject initial main clauses:

- (75) Des glaub-st oba söwa net!  
*That believe-2.SG but self not*  
 'You don't believe that, do you?'

- (76) Morgn geh-ts in d'Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.PL in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 'Tomorrow you'll go downtown but he'll stay at home.'

- (77) Kum-st a mit in d'Stod?  
*Come-2.SG too with in the-city?*  
 'Will you come along downtown?'

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<sup>7</sup> Fuß (2005) also states a fourth criterion, namely that anti-agreement is only possible if the clitic has already turned into an agreement marker. However, as we are only concerned with second persons, this cannot be tested for the Gmunden dialect.

The same has also been observed by Bayer (1984:211) for Bavarian in general:

- (78) Kummst  $[_{NP} e]$  noch Minga, dann muaßt  $[_{NP} e]$  me b'suacha.  
*come-2.SG to Munich then must-2.SG me visit*  
 'If you come to Munich you must visit me.'

One could, of course, assume that in those cases the pronoun is actually phonologically absorbed by the inflection, i.e. the sentence would in fact look as follows:

- (79) Kum-st-d a mit in d'Stod?  
*Come-2.SG-CL too with in the-city?*  
 'Will you come along downtown?'

However, given the parallel patterns of main and subordinated clauses, assuming different structures seems neither economic nor plausible<sup>8</sup>. Additionally, as has already been shown in example (18) – repeated below –, the appearance of the agreement morpheme in C is not dependent on the status of the clause:

- (80) **Waun-st** doch nur endlich vaschwindn tat-st!  
*If-2.SG EMPH only finally disappear do-2.SG*  
 'If only you would disappear.'

Again, one could assume that in any case the clitic subject pronoun fuses with the preceding agreement morpheme – be it in verb second or in verb final clauses. Indeed, that this kind of fusion has taken place at one point is exactly what diachronic facts hint at – see section 2.4. However, it is also immediately clear that this then constitutes a textbook example for structural reinterpretation: if this fusion is the input children get, both in embedded and in matrix clauses, preserving an interpretation as *-st-d* and *-ts-s* respectively over centuries seems problematic. Consequently, not assuming the phonological absorption (synchronically) and attributing the same syntactic structure to verb second and verb final clauses is both theoretically and historically more feasible.

Returning to Fuß' criterion, I will thus conclude that it is not decisive at all in the cases at hand. Remember that the criterion suggests that only an obligatory 'double' allows the conclusion that the 'clitic' has turned into agreement marking – so we would then have to conclude that not even the verbal inflection in inversion contexts is true agreement marking – an idea that can certainly be immediately discarded.

### 3.1.2.2 Definite interpretation

(74ii) follows the observation made by Uriagereka (1995) that clitics are usually interpreted as definite or specific and that hence also their double must be definite or

<sup>8</sup> This will be discussed in detail in section 4.1.

specific. If, however, they can double an indefinite, they should rather be interpreted as agreement marking (also cf. Brandi and Cordin 1989). As we are only dealing with second persons in GCA, this claim cannot be tested with indefinite noun phrases. However, the following examples still shed some light on this particular point:

- (81) a. **Waun-st** im Winta ausse gehst, daun muast di woarm auziagn.  
*If-2.SG in winter out go then must yourself warm put-on*  
 ‘If you go out in the winter, you have to put on something warm.’  
 also: ‘If somebody goes out in the winter, ...’
- b. **Waun-st** du im Winta ausse gehst, daun muast di woarm  
*If-2.SG you in winter out go then must yourself warm*  
 auziagn.  
*put-on*  
 ‘If you go out in the winter, you have to put on something warm.’  
 not: ‘If somebody goes out in the winter, ...’

As example (81a) shows, the sentence without the full pronominal form can also receive a generic interpretation, whereas this is impossible in (81b). Following Fuß’ claim that the clitic can only be interpreted as an agreement marker if the double may also be indefinite, this would lead to the conclusion that GCA is not an instance of agreement but rather still a clitic. However, the first example shows that in GCA the morpheme does not necessarily receive a definite or specific interpretation, therefore contradicting Uriagereka’s observations thus supporting an analysis as an inflectional element.

On the other hand, it also has to be noticed that a generic interpretation of second person does not come as a surprise at all. Second person singular can often have a generic interpretation: for instance English *you* or German *du* can also be used instead of the impersonal *one* or *man* respectively. And full pro-drop languages, such as e.g. Greek, also make use of the generic second person singular<sup>9</sup>. The Greek equivalent to the sentence in (81a) would be the following (Effrosyni Tiganelu, p.c.):

- (82) ama vg-is ekso to himona, prepi na val-is kati zesto (pano  
*if go-out-2.SG out the winter must to put-2.SG on warm (on*  
 su).  
 you)

Interestingly, Greek could also use the overt pronoun in order to stress the reference to the addressee. With the overt pronoun, the interpretation cannot be generic, which again is entirely parallel to the GD data in (81b). This is shown in the following example<sup>10</sup>:

<sup>9</sup> Just like German, Greek also has other means of expressing generics. In the case of Greek, this would be either using first person plural or the quantifier *kanis*.

<sup>10</sup> The subject pronoun *esi* could appear in any of the indicated positions.



- (83) (esi) ama (esi) vg-is ekso (esi) to himona, prepri na val-is  
 (you) if (you) go-out-2.SG out (esi) the winter must to put-2.SG  
 kati zesto (pano su).  
 on warm (on you)

The only real difference is that the contexts, in which GD would show the overt pronoun, are freer than in Greek. The latter only allows an overt subject if the reference needs to be explicitly stressed. However, given that Greek is a null-subject language, this contrast to Bavarian is not surprising.

As already mentioned, Standard German can also make use of the second person for generic readings. However, entirely lacking pro-drop, the distinction can only be made contextually and never syntactically.

The examples in (81) do thus not provide any clear evidence. One could either argue that the GD facts in (81a) mirror the Standard German data and that the interpretation of the sentence could be further restricted with a doubling pronoun as in (81b). On the other hand, the patterning with the Greek data rather suggest that this can be attributed to the (partial) pro-drop option of Bavarian.

### 3.1.2.3 Subject gaps

(74iii) refers to the fact that the subject is not expected to occur under certain circumstances such as in subject relative clauses. Hence, if the morpheme in question appears in exactly those cases then it should be analysed as inflection rather than a clitic. The following examples illustrate what happens in those contexts in the Gmunden dialect:

- (84) a. Er, der Germknedl so gern mog, hot heit koan  
*He who yeast-dumplings so much like-3.SG have-3.SG today no*  
 oanzing gessn.  
*single-one eaten.*  
 ‘He, who likes yeast dumplings so much, hasn’t eaten a single one today.’
- b. Es, de-s (es) Germknedl so gern meg-ts, hob-ts  
*You<sub>PL</sub> who-2.PL (you) yeast-dumplings so much like-2.PL have-2.PL*  
 heit koan oanzing gessn.  
*today no single-one eaten.*  
 ‘You, who like yeast dumplings so much, haven’t eaten a single one today.’

As we can see, the expected subject gap appears with third person singular. In the second person, the CA morpheme appears on the relative pronoun. However, Cecilia Poletto pointed out to me that this is also exactly what happens in Standard German: subject gaps do not appear with second persons:

- (85) a. Du, die \*(du) Germknödel so gerne mag-st, ha-st heute  
*You<sub>SG</sub> who you yeast-dumplings so much like-2.SG have-2.SG today*  
 keinen einzigen gegessen.  
*no single-one eaten*
- b. Ihr, die \*(ihr) Germknödel so gerne mögt, habt  
*You<sub>PL</sub> who you-PL yeast-dumplings so much like-2.PL have-2.PL*  
 heute keinen einzigen gegessen.  
*today no single-one eaten*

Rather than taking these facts as clear indications for the identification of the element, it seems feasible not to view them as decisive for either one of the two options. One could just as easily argue that the element is a subject clitic – thus giving a parallel pattern to the Standard German data – as one could argue that it is inflectional material licensing the subject gap. Given that we know that Bavarian does behave differently from Standard German – particularly when it comes to second person data –, the latter assumption seems to be even more likely than the first one. In addition, it has to be noted that speakers’ judgments on subject gap examples in Standard German are not entirely clear either. As a quick written survey showed, there are also speakers who accept a second person subject gap even though the majority prefers the subject present in the relative clause.

### 3.1.3 Further criteria

As already discussed in section 2.1, clitics can be phonologically related to their corresponding full forms. If this is not possible synchronically, then it should at least be possible on a diachronic level<sup>11</sup> as we know that the standard development goes from tonic pronouns to weak pronouns to clitics to affixes. As Bayer (1984) showed, this is not the case for the second person singular morpheme that appears in the C domain in Bavarian. He also claimed the same for the second person plural. However, the latter is not the case in the Gmunden variant where the relevant morpheme is solely *-s* as opposed to *-ts* in other Bavarian varieties. It can therefore be related to the pronoun *es*, which is in any case the older version of the second person plural pronoun and still widely used in GD. This is depicted in table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Gmunden paradigm

	Full pronoun	Verbal inflection	Complementiser
2. Singular	du	-st	-st
2. Plural	es, ia	-ts	-s

<sup>11</sup>Thanks to Anna Cardinaletti who made this point particularly clear to me.

### 3.1.3.1 Identity with verbal agreement

Another reason that led Bayer (1984) to the conclusion that CA is an instance of verbal inflection was the identity of the relevant morpheme to the verbal inflection. Again, in the Gmunden variant this is not true for second person plural as is also shown in table 3.3. It becomes very clear now that Bayer's phonological reasoning can at least not be applied to the second person plural in the Gmunden variant<sup>12</sup>.

Helmut Weiß (p.c.) suggested that the difference between CA and verbal inflection in the second person plural could tentatively be attributed to some sort of phonological reduction.<sup>13</sup> However, pursuing a government-phonological approach, the main underlying principle of phonological processes is the principle of non-arbitrariness within a given language: "There is a direct relation between a phonological process and the context in which it occurs." (Kaye et al. 1990:190) Crucially, with respect to a possible alternation between *-ts* and *-s* no such phonological environment can be determined. If it could be attributed to a specific environment, one would expect the same reduction process to also occur elsewhere. The first locical environment where this could happen should therefore be verbs showing the same phonological structure as one of the complementisers. However, this is clearly not the case as the following examples illustrate:

- (86) a. waun-s – spaun-ts  
       *if-2.PL – span-2.PL*
- b. wei-s – obsei-ts  
       *because-2.PL – abseil-2.PL*
- c. ob-s – lob-ts  
       *if-2.PL – praise-2.SG*
- d. wer-s – vamer-ts  
       *who-2.PL – increase-2.PL*

A further assumption might be that the 'alternation' is connected to stress. However, as complementisers in German are able to bear contrastive stress, it can be easily shown that stress does not have any influence on the shape of the morpheme:

- (87) I woas net, WAUN-s kuma sa-ts, oba DASS-s kuma sa-ts.  
       *I know not when-2.PL come are-2.PL but that-2.PL come are-2.PL*  
       'I don't know at what time you came but I know that you did come.'

<sup>12</sup> See also footnote 30 in Bayer (1984) where he addresses the fact that second person plural CA is only *-s* in some dialects.

<sup>13</sup> In footnote 53, Weiß (1998:127) notes that there are varieties (such as his own), which only show *-s* as CA. However, at least ever since Bayer (1984) second person plural CA is usually cited as *-ts* for Bavarian. To my knowledge, there is no discussion on CA being solely *-s* available even though it is likely to be wider spread than the literature suggests (cf. also Weiß 1998:88).

Therefore, *-s* and *-ts* cannot be phonologically related and the explanation for the difference has to be sought somewhere else.

### 3.1.3.2 Diachronic evidence

Another factor to be considered is the diachronic evidence outlined in section 2.4.1. If in fact the second persons verbal inflections evolved via an intermediate stage where they were only available in  $C^\circ$ , this can count as strong evidence for the inflectional nature of the morpheme in  $C$ . Again, this is especially clear in case of the singular where the relevant morpheme cannot possibly be linked to the full pronoun *du*. However, this is by far not as clear for the second person plural in the Gmunden dialect where the verbal inflection and the morpheme related to  $C$  differ as already shown in table 3.3. Crucially, the pronoun *es* is the old dual, preserved as (one of) the second person plural pronoun(s) in Bavarian without the dualis semantics. Given that singular and plural verbal inflection are based on the same process of reanalysis, it is not clear at all why the whole verbal agreement was preserved in  $C$  in the singular whereas this apparently is not the case in the plural.

### 3.1.4 Summary

The following table summarises the criteria discussed so far and shows their effect on the analysis of GCA data:

Table 3.4: Clitic vs. inflection

criterion	2.SG		2.PL		criterion	2.SG		2.PL	
	Cl	Infl	Cl	Infl		Cl	Infl	Cl	Infl
degree of selection	x		x		indef. semantics		x		x
arbitrary gaps	x		x		indef. double	x		x	
morphophon. idios.	x		x		subject gaps	?	?	?	?
semantic idios.	x		x		identity CA–VA		x	x	
clitic attachment	?	?	?	?	relatedness		x	x	
obligatory		x		x	diachrony		x	?	?

As we can see, no precise line between clitic or inflection can be drawn at any point. For second person singular there are more arguments in favour of the standard analysis as inflection, but the facts for second person plural blur the picture even further.

So far, the discussion followed the lines of argumentation presented in the cited literature. However, two arguments that at the first glance seem to support an analysis as a clitic have to be relativised due to the hypothesis that we are dealing with an instance of verbal inflection: arbitrary gaps are never observed with verbs

and their inflection and neither are idiosyncratic semantics. Therefore those two will be discarded for the discussion at hand. Additionally, the subject gap argument as well as the clitic attachment behaviour do not provide any clear evidence and will therefore also be excluded from the overview. The picture now changes slightly as shown in table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Clitic vs. inflection revised

criterion	2.SG		2.PL		criterion	2.SG		2.PL	
	Cl	Infl	Cl	Infl		Cl	Infl	Cl	Infl
degree of selection	x		x		indef. semantics		x		x
morphophon. idios.	x		x		indef. double	x		x	
obligatory		x		x	identity CA–VA		x		x
diachrony		x	?	?	relatedness		x		x

We are now left with three arguments supporting the analysis of both the singular and plural morpheme as a clitic, and at least two further arguments suggesting that the second person plural is in fact a clitic.

In the next section we will take a look at another striking property of GCA, which has got to do with the question of locality.

## 3.2 Locality

Specific locality requirements play a crucial role in all the recent analyses of the CA phenomenon. As was already shown in section 2.4, Fuß (2004, 2005) assumes strict adjacency at PF to be necessary for the relevant agreement morpheme to be inserted. Carstens (2003) and van Koppen (2005) on the other hand make use of the Probe-Goal mechanism based on closest c-command. In other words, any topicalised phrase that intervenes between the complementiser and the subject is expected to block agreement. This is in fact borne out by the data provided in the respective literature<sup>14</sup>.

Fuß (2004, 2005) and van Koppen (2005) both address the issue of intervening modifiers, which do not necessarily prevent agreement:

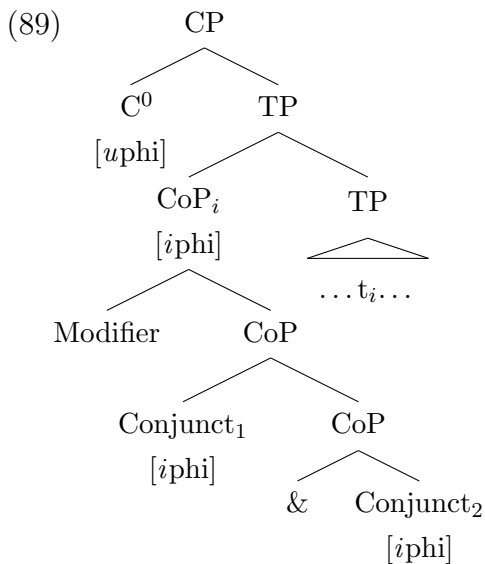
- (88) **dass-st** oaba du ibaroi dabei bis.st.  
*that-2.SG PRT you everywhere with-it are*  
 ‘that you really are involved everywhere’

(Altmann 1984:205; Fuß 2004:75)

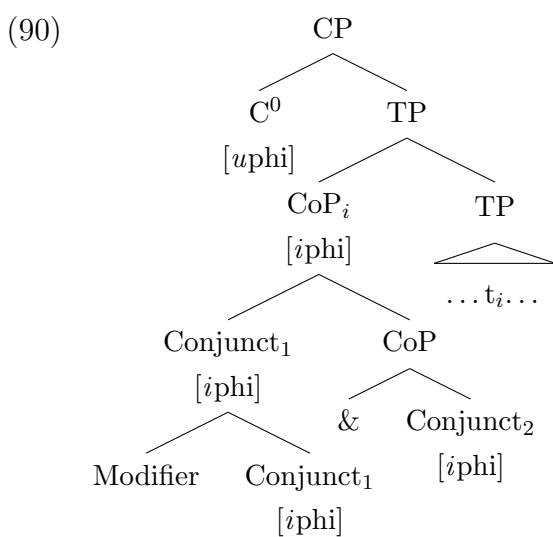
<sup>14</sup> See, however, van Koppen (2005:56), Footnote 41, where she presents a sentence with CA despite an intervening adverb. For this, she cannot account.

Fuß assumes that those kinds of modifiers are base-generated adjuncts that do not require the projection of a separate phrase and hence that they do not interrupt adjacency. This is also the line followed by van Koppen who shows that depending on the adjunction site with respect to a conjoined noun phrase the outcome differs.

This is directly predicted by the Minimalist approach she follows (cf. section 2.6). As soon as a subject modifier<sup>15</sup> enters the picture, the c-command relations change as can be seen in the following tree (van Koppen 2005:71):



Now the whole CoP and the first conjunct are no longer equally local to the Probe in C<sup>o</sup>. The entire CoP is more local to the Probe and thus able to value its  $\varphi$ -features. In the case depicted in the tree in (89) the whole CoP is modified. However, a second configuration is also conceivable. Consider the following tree (cf. van Koppen 2005:72):



Here, only the first conjunct of the CoP is modified – CoP and Conjunct<sub>1</sub>, thus, again both equally local to C<sup>o</sup>. These theoretical assumptions are actually borne out by

<sup>15</sup> Van Koppen (2005) assumes, like Fuß, focus particles to be adjuncts and not clausal adverbs.

the data presented in van Koppen (2005): Tegelen Dutch is an FCA dialect that shows CA for second person singular only. Now consider the following sentence:

- (91) ...**det** / ?**de-s** auch doow en Anna komm-e  
 ...*that* / *that-2.SG also [you<sub>SG</sub> and Anna] come-PL*  
 ‘... that you and Anna will also be coming.’

(van Koppen 2005:71)

As can be seen, the variant with CA is not ungrammatical but only slightly degraded. However, this degradation can easily be overcome as follows:

- (92) Context: I think that not only HE and Mary will have to dance, but  
 ...**de-s** auch **DOOW** en Marie zulle moete danse.  
 ...*that-2.SG also [YOU<sub>SG</sub> and Marie] will have-to dance*  
 ‘... that YOU and Marie also have to dance.’

(van Koppen 2005:73)

Under the given context, the scope of the focus particle is reduced to the first conjunct – hence CA is fully grammatical again and the predictions are borne out.

As already mentioned in section 2.4.2, Fuß also addresses the subject of object clitics, which also do not interrupt adjacency:

- (93) **wia-sd-n** du gseng hoast  
*when-2.SG-CL.3.SG you seen have-2.SG*  
 ‘When you saw him’

(Pfalz 1918:231; Fuß 2004:75)

In those cases, he assumes that the clitic placement takes place at PF, too, but *after* the dissociated agreement morpheme has already been inserted.

Both the data with modifiers as well as with object clitics can easily be reproduced for GD<sup>16</sup>:

- (94) a. **Warum-st** grod **DU** mein Freund net griasst ho-st, vasteh i  
*Why-2.SG PRT you my friend not greeted have-2.SG understand I*  
 a net?  
*too not*  
 ‘Why you of all people didn’t greet my friend, I don’t understand either.’  
 b. **Waun-st** jo eh **DU** morgn sicha kum-st, daun kina ma  
*If-2.SG PRT anyway you tomorrow surely come-2.SG then can we*  
 glei mitanaunda kocha.  
*PRT together cook*  
 ‘If you’ll definitely come tomorrow anyway, then we can also cook together.’

<sup>16</sup> Necessarily focused subject pronouns are capitalised.

- (95) a. **Warum-st-n**      **du** net mitgnumma ho-st,      vasteh      i net.  
*Why-2.SG-him.CL you not with-taken have-2.SG understand I not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t bring him along, I don’t understand.’
- b. **Warum-s-n**      **es** net mitgnumma hob-ts,      vasteh      i net.  
*Why-2.PL-him.CL you not with-taken have-2.PL understand I not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t bring him along, I don’t understand.’

As example (94b) demonstrates, not only one modifier as in (94a) can intervene, but also two modifiers. The sentences in (95) show the GD facts with object clitics attaching to second person singular as well as plural. It has to be borne in mind though, that the analyses of Fuß and van Koppen are based on the assumption that the relevant morphemes are indeed inflectional material. As has already been shown, this cannot fully be extended to GD.

Furthermore, the data presented up to now are by far not the end of the story. Consider the following sentences – which again are the only grammatical versions in GD:

- (96) a. Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, **wo-st** morgn **DU** mitbringa  
*What has the Hannes said, that-2.SG tomorrow you with-bring*  
 soid-st?  
*should-2.SG*  
 ‘What did Hannes say that you should bring along tomorrow?’
- b. **Waun-st** morgn auf d’Nocht **DU** eh mitkum-st, daun  
*If-2.SG tomorrow at the-night you anyway with-come-2.SG then*  
 gibst i da glei de Zwetschgn.  
*give I you PRT the plums*  
 ‘If you’ll come tomorrow night anyway, then I’ll give you the plums.’
- (97) **Waun-st** beim ärgstn Regn in Gmunden **DU** oiwei ausse geh  
*If-2.SG at worst rain in Gmunden you always out go*  
 mua-st, daun kaun i da a net höfn.  
*must-2.SG, then can I you also not help*  
 ‘If you always have to go to Gmunden during the worst rain, then I cannot help you either.’
- (98) **Waun-st**, wos aum Tisch liegt, **DU** jetzt wirklich essn wüst, daun  
*If-2.SG what on table lays you now really eat want-2.SG then*  
 explodierst.  
*explode-2.SG*  
 ‘If you now really want to eat what is on the table, you’ll explode.’
- (99) a. **Warum-st** sein Freund **DU** uns net vorgstöht ho-st, vasteh  
*Why-2.SG his friend you us not introduced have-2.SG understand*  
 i a net.  
*I too not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t introduce his friend to us, I don’t understand either.’



- b. **Warum-st** sein Freund uns **DU** net vorgstöht ho-st, vasteh  
*Why-2.SG his friend us you not introduced have-2.SG understand*  
 i a net.  
*I too not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t introduce his friend to us, I don’t understand either.’

What we can see here is that in principle any scrambled phrase, i.e. a whole XP, can intervene without blocking GCA. Temporal adverbs as in (96), whole prepositional phrases as in (97) or topicalised CPs as in (98) can all be inserted between the complementiser and the overt – and in all those cases focalised – pronoun. Also note that especially the sentences in (97) and (98) clearly proof that the often cited *phonological heavyness* cannot be part of the picture. The GD data becomes even more intriguing with example (99b): it demonstrates that not only one XP can be fronted, but that even two projections – in this case the direct and the indirect object – can intervene between the complementiser and the pronoun without any effect on the obligatory GCA.

However, there are also examples where locality does seem to play a role. If the subject is a conjoined noun phrase, agreement can only appear with the first noun phrase and never with the whole CoP. This is contrary to the Bavarian facts from van Koppen (2005), discussed in section 2.6, where it is claimed that Bavarian CA can either occur with the first conjunct or the whole CoP. The GD data are the following:

- (100) a. I bin ma net sicha, **ob-st** [du und d’Susi]<sub>2.PL</sub> des wissn  
*I am myself not sure if-2.SG you and the-Susi that know*  
 derf-ts.  
*may-2.PL*  
 ‘I am not sure if you and Susi may know that.’

- b. \*I bin ma net sicha, **ob-s** [du und d'Susi]<sub>2.PL</sub> des wissn  
*I am myself not sure if-2.PL you and the-Susi that know*  
 derf-ts.  
*may-2.PL*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi may know that.'
- c. \*I bin ma net sicha, **ob-s** [d'Susi und du]<sub>2.PL</sub> des wissn  
*I am myself not sure if-2.PL the-Susi and you that know*  
 derf-ts.  
*may-2.PL*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi may know that.'
- (101) a. I kum a mit, **waun-s** [es/ia und d'Mama]<sub>2.PL</sub> geh-ts.  
*I come too with if-2.PL you and the-mummy go-2.PL*  
 'I'll come along too if you and mummy go.'
- b. \*I kum a mit, **waun-s** [d'Mama und es/ia]<sub>2.PL</sub> geh-ts.  
*I come too with if-2.PL the-mummy and you go-2.PL*  
 'I'll come along too if mummy and you go.'
- c. I kum a mit, **waun** [d'Mama und es/ia]<sub>2.PL</sub> geh-ts.  
*I come too with if the-mummy and you go-2.PL*  
 'I'll come too if you and mummy go.'

As we can see, the complementiser cannot agree with the whole conjoined noun phrase but only with the first NP of the coordinated subject even though the whole CoP is specified for second person plural.

It also needs to be pointed out clearly that agreement with second person plural subjects in German is a non-trivial topic: as already mentioned in footnote 19 on page 27, even in Standard German the verb can show third person plural agreement with a second person plural coordinated subject and judgments concerning this issue are hardly ever really clear. This is why we can find GD sentences such as (43) repeated below:

- (102) I bi ma net sicha, **ob-st** du und d'Susi des gwingan.  
*I am myself not sure if-2.SG you and the-Susi that win-3.PL*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi will win that one.'

In this case, the agreement morpheme on the complementiser not only differs from verbal agreement in its morphological form, but also in its  $\varphi$ -feature specification. Crucially, these kind of examples show that any kind of copy-theory (cf. eg. Zwart 2001, Fuß 2005; but also Bayer's (1984) linking-rule) can clearly not account for the GD facts. Recall, however, that there is some sort of relation between Bavarian CA and the verb, as CA is contingent on the presence of an inflected verb in clause-final position. But clearly, the data in (102) hint on an entirely different underlying connection between CA and the finite verb than any kind of copy- or linking-mechanism.

### 3.2.1 Summary

Even though current theories on CA take specific locality (or adjacency at PF, depending on the theory) requirements to be a necessary prerequisite, it has been shown that these do not (entirely) hold in GD. On the one hand we can clearly see that strict locality between GCA and the subject does not seem to play a role in the licencing of the morpheme. Scrambling can freely take place and target any position between the C-domain and the focalised subject without inhibiting GCA. On the other hand, we can also see that agreement can only take place with the first conjunct of a coordinated phrase. Both facts together seem to present us with a puzzle, which has yet to be explained. Another striking fact are the data exhibiting different features on the verb and on the complementiser. They clearly show that any kind of copying – or linking, for that matter – cannot be part of the syntactic derivation in GD. Still, an analysis will need to capture the contingency on a finite verb in final position.

## 3.3 Conclusions

It has been shown that standard arguments that led to the analysis of Bavarian CA as an inflectional marker can only be partially attributed to GD. But at the same time an analysis as a subject clitic – at first glance the apparent alternative – does also not directly follow from the data. Crucially, both second person singular and plural show the very same syntactic behaviour. That is, they both are obligatory and can cooccur with a full pronoun whereas in all the other persons clitic and full pronoun show complementary distribution. I will therefore from now on refrain from the standard terminology – i.e. clitic, inflection, CA – and instead refer to the second person morphemes in GD as the *Gmunden Morphemes* (GM). Consequently, I suggest that we are dealing with a third category, i.e. neither clitic nor inflection but instead an intermediate category sharing properties with both clitics and inflection. Given that we have established a different categorial status than usually assumed by standard theories, reconsidering its syntactic status also seems to be in order and will follow in chapter 4.



## 4 Towards an analysis

After what has been discussed so far, the description of GCA provided in chapter 1, in (3) can now be refined as follows:

- (103)
- i. In the second persons, an obligatory second person morpheme attaches to the right edge of any introductory element of verb final clauses.
  - ii. Coordinated subject NPs only trigger agreement if the first NP is second person.
  - iii. The second person morpheme is contingent on the presence of an inflected verb in clause final position.
  - iv. XPs intervening between C and the subject do not inhibit the morpheme on C.
  - v. The full second person subject pronoun can cooccur with GM.

Crucially, it has been shown that the categorial status of the morpheme cannot be genuine inflection as it can in principle adjoin to anything that is expected to appear in the left periphery of a verb final clause – a characteristic that clearly reminds of clitics. However, given that grammaticalisation paths from pronouns to clitics to inflection are a well-known phenomenon (cf. amongst others Siewierska 1999, Fuß 2004, 2005, Roberts 2007), it is not surprising to come across a morpheme that fits in neither of the two categories. As for the argumental status of the morpheme, on the other hand, it is clear that it is in some way related to the subject. In section 4.1 we will therefore discuss the argumental status in more detail by taking a closer look at the claim that Bavarian is a partial pro-drop language<sup>1</sup>. This will be followed by a discussion of subject agreement in section 4.2. In the last part of the chapter, section 4.3, a tentative syntactic analysis will be proposed.

### 4.1 Partial pro-drop

The pro-drop phenomenon, i.e. the possibility of leaving out the pronominal subject, is probably best known and most widely discussed with respect to the Romance type of pro-drop. Languages like Italian or Spanish allow for the subject to be absent – be it an argumental DP or an expletive. Thus, those kind of languages are often also referred to as *Null Subject Languages* (NSL). However, there are also languages like Hebrew or Finnish that only allow for argumental subject drop in certain persons. Thus, those are called *partial pro-drop languages* (henceforth PPL).

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Martin Prinzhorn for clearly pointing this out to me.

Since Bayer (1984) it has been often assumed that Bavarian is – even if displaying different properties than e.g. Hebrew or Finnish – a PPL, as well.<sup>2</sup> Now, before reconsidering the evidence for *pro* in Bavarian, more specifically in GD, let us first explore what an alternative view could look like<sup>3</sup>.

#### 4.1.1 Contra Bavarian *pro*

Reconsider the following sentences:

(104) Des glaub-st oba söwa net!  
*That believe-2.SG but self not*  
 ‘You don’t believe that, do you?’

(105) Morgn geh-ts in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.PL in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’

As already discussed in section 3.1.2.1, the following structures would in principle be conceivable:

(104’) Des glaub-st-d oba söwa net!  
*That believe-2.SG-CL but self not*  
 ‘You don’t believe that, do you?’

(105’) Morgn geh-ts-s in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.PL-CL in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’

This would then be in line with first and third persons where the pronominal clitics attach to the verb in the same fashion, e.g. glaubt-a – *believe-3.SG-CL* (‘he believes’). In root clauses, therefore, the full second person pronoun would be in complementary distribution with the clitic pronoun, which cliticises onto the verbal inflection and is thus no longer phonologically perceivable. Conceptually, this yields a uniform structure for all non-subject initial main clauses:

(106) [<sub>CP</sub> [C V<sub>fin</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Clitic/Full Pronoun ...

As for embedded clauses, the picture is slightly different. Syntactically, GM, i.e. *-st* and *-s*, could be viewed as simply providing the features *second person*, *singular* and *plural*, respectively. Sentences such as the following would then basically correspond to Standard German, where the subject always needs to be identified in addition to the verbal inflection, i.e. the respective features are present twice<sup>4</sup>:

<sup>2</sup> Note that it has also been argued that Standard German is a partial pro-drop language, e.g. Safir (1985), Grewendorf (1990). For a different view see e.g. Cabredo Hofherr (2003).

<sup>3</sup> This discussion leaves aside approaches that deny *pro* in the first place, such as Manzini and Roussou (1999), Manzini and Savoia (2002), Platzack (2003) or Platzack (2004).

<sup>4</sup> Thanks to Martin Prinzhorn for pointing this out to me.

- (107) I woas net, **ob-st** des mocha **kaun-st**.  
*I know not if-CL that do can-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’

Again, this would also be in line with first and third person examples (cf. section 1.3.1). Crucially, in this view *-st* is the argument of the verb, i.e. the subject. What is then left to be explained in this approach is the actual occurrence of the second person full pronoun – because this would then be viewed as the only real deviation from the standard on the one hand (108b), and first and third persons on the other hand (108c):

- (108) a. I woas net, **ob-st du** des mocha **kaun-st**.  
*I know not if-CL you<sub>SG</sub> that do can-2.SG*
- b. Ich weiß nicht, **ob du** das machen **kann-st**.  
*I know not if you that do can-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- c. I woas net, **ob-a (\*ea)** des mocha **kaun**.  
*I know not if-CL he that do can-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if he can do that.’

Furthermore, this would amount to what is known as *clitic doubling* in the second persons, i.e. a full pronominal element occurs in addition to the corresponding clitic. In other words, the relevant  $\varphi$ -features of the subject are represented three times – instead of twice – in the structure.

Summarising, we would get the following two different structures in embedded clauses:

- (109) a. First and third persons  
 $[_{CP} [C \text{ Comp } [_{TP} \text{ Clitic/Full Pronoun } \dots$
- b. Second persons  
 $[_{CP} [C \text{ Comp } [_{TP} \text{ Clitic (Full Pronoun) } \dots$

#### 4.1.2 Pro Bavarian *pro*

Assuming Bavarian to be a PPL changes the above sketched picture considerably. First of all, let us briefly review the arguments in favour of *pro* leaving aside the reasoning contra *pro*, which we will get back to in the last part of this section.

The most prominent argument for *pro* concerns the categorial status of the Bavarian CA-morphemes and has already been discussed in section 2.1 and again in section 3.1.3.1: clitics are to be relatable to their full counterparts – if not on a synchronic level, then at least on a diachronic one. So far we do not know of any clitics that came into being in any other way than phonological reduction of a

full pronoun at a certain stage of language development. Such a kind of relation cannot be established for the Bavarian second person morphemes, which appear in the C-domain – this exactly being one of the crucial arguments of Bayer (1984) for not analysing them in the same fashion as first and third person clitics.

Accepting that the categorial status cannot be that of a clitic, a different argumental status does not seem to be too far fetched. However, if under this assumption the morpheme does not function as an argument, i.e. the subject, a different way of retaining the argument structure has to be ensured. A readily available option is adopting *pro*, i.e. a phonologically null element specified for  $\varphi$ -features<sup>5</sup> (cf. Holmberg 2005).

An advantage on theoretical grounds of this analysis is a uniform structure for root and embedded clauses: in both cases the subject is either *pro* or the full pronoun<sup>6</sup>.

- (110) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Des [<sub>C</sub> glaub-st [<sub>TP</sub> *pro* ...  
           *That*   *believe-2.SG*   *pro*
- b. [<sub>CP</sub> Des [<sub>C</sub> glaub-st [<sub>TP</sub> *du* ...  
           *That*   *believe-2.SG*   *you*
- c. [<sub>CP</sub> Des [<sub>C</sub> glaub-t [<sub>TP</sub> *a* ...  
           *That*   *believe-3.SG*   *he<sub>CL</sub>*
- d. [<sub>CP</sub> Des [<sub>C</sub> glaub-t [<sub>TP</sub> *ea* ...  
           *That*   *believe-3.SG*   *he*
- (111) a. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> ob-st [<sub>TP</sub> *pro* ...  
           *if*           *pro*
- b. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> ob-st [<sub>TP</sub> *du* ...  
           *if*           *you*
- c. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> ob [<sub>TP</sub> *a* ...  
           *if*           *he<sub>CL</sub>*
- d. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> ob [<sub>TP</sub> *ea* ...  
           *if*           *he*

Additional evidence for *pro* comes from the option of arbitrary interpretation outlined in section 3.1.2.2. Recall that in GD sentences with a full second person pronoun necessarily receive a definite interpretation, whereas structures lacking the

<sup>5</sup> Originally, in the Government & Binding framework, *pro* inherited its features from the verbal inflection. However, as in Minimalist terms verbal inflection is not interpretable per se but needs to be rendered interpretable via agreement with the subject, this view can not be retained in more recent approaches.

<sup>6</sup> The examples merely serve to illustrate the point and are yet to be discussed in further detail in section 4.3. Furthermore, the third person singular clitic naturally cliticises onto the preceding element.



full pronoun may also have a generic reading. Again, this not only holds for embedded clauses with the obligatory GM, as in (112a) and (113a), but also for root clauses where the finite verb precedes the subject position, as in (112b) and (113b):

- (112) a. Imma waun-st di rasierst, wirst gaunz rot im  
*Always when-2.SG yourself shave-2.SG, become-2.SG totally red in-the*  
 Gesicht.  
*face*  
 ‘Whenever you shave yourself, you get completely red in your face.’  
**also:** ‘Whenever someone shaves oneself, he gets completely red in his face.’
- b. Mim Auto bist imma schnölla.  
*with-the car are-2.SG always faster.*  
 ‘You are always faster with the car.’  
**also:** ‘One is always faster with the car.’
- (113) a. Imma waun-st du di rasierst, wirst gaunz rot  
*Always when-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> yourself shave-2.SG, become-2.SG totally red*  
 im Gesicht.  
*in-the face*  
 ‘Whenever you shave yourself, you get completely red in your face.’  
**not:** ‘Whenever someone shaves oneself, he gets completely red in his face.’
- b. Mim Auto bist du imma schnölla.  
*with-the car are-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> always faster.*  
 ‘You are always faster with the car.’  
**not:** ‘One is always faster with the car.’

As already mentioned earlier, this is a striking correlation with NSLs such as Italian or Greek: in those languages, the referential interpretation is forced with an overt pronoun, as well. Also note here that the overt pronoun is not necessarily emphasised – this is opposed to NSLs but in line with observations in other partial pro-drop languages such as Finnish and Hebrew<sup>7</sup>.

Further interesting data comes from Italian<sup>8</sup>. Although this is a NSL, the second person singular pronoun in the subjunctive needs to be expressed overtly and can therefore also appear without emphasis and receive both a referential as well as a generic interpretation. If, however, there is a second person object clitic, the subject pronoun does not have to be expressed. If it nevertheless appears overtly, it does not necessarily bear stress but still distinguishes between the referential versus generic reading. This is illustrated by the following examples:

<sup>7</sup> See section 4.2.1 for further discussion.

<sup>8</sup> Thanks to Cecilia Poletto for pointing this out to me and for helping with the data.

- (114) a. Credo che in questo lavoro ti ti faccia male spesso.  
*I-think that in this work yourself make bad often*  
 ‘I think that you often hurt yourself doing this job.’  
**also:** ‘I think that one hurts oneself often doing this job.’
- b. Credo che in questo lavoro tu ti ti faccia male spesso.  
*I-think that in this work you yourself make bad often*  
 ‘I think that you often hurt yourself doing this job.’  
**not:** ‘I think that one hurts oneself often doing this job.’

Given that Italian is a NSL, these data are particularly interesting and further corroborate the analysis of GD as a partial pro-drop language.

Furthermore, the examples (112a) and (113a) directly lead to another issue, namely binding: *sich rasieren* (to shave oneself) is used as a reflexive here and thus requires binding of the anaphor. Clearly, as example (112a) is grammatical, the required binding has taken place just like in sentence (113a), only that the binder is *pro* in the first and *du* in the latter case (cf. also Rizzi 1986a), both occupying the same structural position in Spec-TP.

Summarising, the empirical evidence that the categorial status of GM cannot be a clitic has also led to a different argumental status: whereas a clitic could function as the argument of a verb, GM cannot do so. However, given that the argument structure of the clause needs to be preserved, *pro* has been introduced. It has been shown that *pro* leads to a uniform clause structure for root and embedded clauses, that it can receive arbitrary interpretation and that it can function as a binder.

In the present discussion of pro-drop, the fact that the second person plural GM *-s* can directly be related to the full pronoun *es* – and thus contradicting the initial observation concerning its categorial status – has not been addressed yet. However, as already discussed at length in various parts of the thesis (see e.g. section 1.3.1), second person plural shows the exact same syntactic behaviour as second person singular, i.e. the morpheme and the corresponding full pronoun are *not* in complementary distribution. Additionally, it also shows the exact same behaviour as the corresponding *-ds* in many other Bavarian varieties. Even though at present I do not have any account for the morphophonological difference displayed in GD, I still suggest the same structural analysis of the singular and the plural.

### 4.1.3 Pro versus contra Bavarian *pro*

The view advocating an analysis without *pro* presented in section 4.1.1 could also be applied to the evidence presented in favour of such an analysis outlined in section 4.1.2. In any of the non-subject initial root clause examples one could postulate the cliticisation of a second person pronominal clitic, i.e. *-d* in the singular and *-s* in the

plural, onto the preceding verbal inflection<sup>9</sup> – thus also being attributed the argumental status of the subject. And in any of the embedded examples, GM could be the argument bearing the  $\theta$ -role and valuing the verbal  $\varphi$ -features. The pronominal system of GD would thus look as follows:

Table 4.1: GD pronominal paradigm without *pro*

	Singular		Plural		
	Full pronoun	Clitic pronoun	Full pronoun	Clitic pronoun	
1. Person	i	-ə	-	mia	-ma
2. Person	du	-d	-st	ia/es	-s
3. Person m.	ea	-a	-	se	-s
3. Person f.	sie	-s	-	-	-
3. Person n.	es	-s	-	-	-

Correspondingly, the syntactic structures would look as follows – the slash indicates obligatorily either-or, whereas brackets indicate optionality:

(115) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Des [<sub>C</sub> glaub-st [<sub>TP</sub> -d/du ...  
*That believe-2.SG pro*

b. [<sub>CP</sub> Des [<sub>C</sub> glaub-t [<sub>TP</sub> -a/ea ...  
*That believe-3.SG he<sub>CL</sub>*

(116) a. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> ob [<sub>TP</sub> \*(-st) (du) ...  
*if pro*

b. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> ob [<sub>TP</sub> -a/ea ...  
*if he<sub>CL</sub>*

Instead of now having no subject clitics for second person at all – as argued for in the approach assuming *pro* –, this system displays two clitics for second person singular. Additionally, we get a doubling structure in embedded clauses in second person only. As for the arbitrary interpretation, it would either be *-d* or *-st*, respectively, receiving it. Furthermore, the clitic would also function as the binder for reflexives – none of which is in principle excluded.

In my view, however, there are at least two strong arguments against this approach: the first has got to do with language acquisition and the second with scientific theory.

As for the first, it is well known that CA constitutes a long-standing phenomenon, well preserved over centuries. Also, as has been convincingly shown by Fuß (2004, 2005)<sup>10</sup> (cf. section 2.4), did the second person verbal inflection only come into

<sup>9</sup> In principle, this could also be assumed for embedded clauses, i.e. a structure like *wenn-st-d*. However, I leave this aside from the discussion for the sake of simplicity as the whole approach will be argued against further down.

<sup>10</sup> See also Brinkmann (1931), Braune (1950), Bayer (1984), Sommer (1994), Weiß (1998).

being via a reanalysis of the original verbal inflection plus the enclitic pronoun – a fact that is by no means still accessible to present day’s speakers. However, if we assumed a second person singular clitic *-d* still being there, this would amount to yet another reanalysis during which a priorily incorporated *-d* would have been assumed anew. Crucially, this clitic *-d* is not perceivable at all, i.e. no difference can be heard between the following verbal inflections, neither when followed by a consonant as in (117), nor by a vowel (118)<sup>11</sup>:

- (117) a. Warum bist [ned amoi du]<sub>subject</sub> vorbeikumma?  
*Why are-2.SG not once you<sub>SG</sub> pass-by*  
 ‘Why didn’t even you pass by?’
- b. Warum bist [<sub>subject</sub>] [ned amoi vorbeikumma]?  
*Why are-2.SG not once pass-by*  
 ‘Why didn’t you ever pass by?’
- (118) a. Warum host eam [grad du]<sub>subject</sub> des sogn miassn?  
*Why have-2.SG him PRT you that say must*  
 ‘Why did you of all the people have to tell him that?’
- b. Warum host [<sub>subject</sub>] eam des sogn miassn?  
*Why have-2.SG him that say must*  
 ‘Why did you have to tell him that?’

As there are no phonological differences between the two verbal endings, it remains unclear to me how a child could draw the conclusion that nevertheless it existed structurally – especially as the clitic *-d* cannot be encountered in any other environment than in the first postverbal position. “No matter how much innate linguistic knowledge [...] children are endowed with, language still must be acquired from experience [...]” (Yang 2002:6)

The second argument against this kind of analysis concerns *falsifiability*, a widely accepted requirement for scientific theories. Dating back to Popper, this principle means that for any scientific assertion there has to be a logically conceivable observation or experiment that proves the assertion false. However, as I hope to have shown, in the cases at hand one could in fact always argue for the second person clitic pronoun *-d* or *-s* to be there, even though it cannot be perceived: given that this particular subject clitic would always only appear directly after the verbal inflection (cf. Weiß 1998:87 ff.), there are no tests that could actually bring the clitic to surface.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to Friedrich Neubarth for example (118).

<sup>12</sup> As pointed out to me by Martin Prinzhorn, the falsifiability-problem could also arise with *pro* as assuming an empty category in the cases at hand might prove just as hard to argue against. However, given the proposal I sketch in section 4.3.2, *pro* will in fact play a crucial role.

One last theoretical point concerns the embedded structures displaying GM. Recall that in the approach without *pro*, it is GM that bears the  $\theta$ -role and serves as the verbal argument. It is thus being attributed the role of a syntactic clitic. However, as has been shown, this second person subject clitic can also be doubled by a full pronoun. Now, even if we adopted the view of GM being a syntactic clitic, theoretically nothing goes against *pro* in the non-doubling contexts – quite the contrary even, as this would enable us to assume a uniform structure for embedded clauses with *pro* and *du, es/ia*, respectively, in complementary distribution.

In fact, this approach to (Romance) clitics has already been argued for by Sportiche (1995, 1996, 1999) who proposes that clitics – be it subjects or objects – are always doubled, if not by a full DP then by *pro*.<sup>13</sup> He draws this conclusion from comparing two different approaches to clitics, one arguing for movement of the clitic (e.g. Kayne 1975 and subsequent work or Sportiche 1989), the other one advocating base-generation of the clitic (e.g. Strozer 1976, Rivas 1977, Jaeggli 1982, Roberge 1990 amongst others.). Whereas the first assume clitics to have moved from their argumental position to their final surface position, the latter argue against movement and for generation in the surface position. Based on French data, Sportiche (1996) shows that there are in fact arguments for both analyses. Movement is supported by locality conditions that hold between clitics and their argumental base-position, i.e. the specified subject condition, extraction from PPs and DPs as well as participle agreement. Arguments against movement involve ethical datives, inherent clitics, dative constructions and stranded quantifiers. Sportiche (1996) reconciles the two approaches by proposing the following: the clitic heads its own projection and is generated in its surface position. At LF, it must be in a spec-head relation with the corresponding XP, which moves from its argumental position (“XP\*” in Sportiche’s terminology) to the specifier of the clitic projection. Consequently, all clitic constructions are instances of doubling and “a silent XP\* is interpreted exactly as a pronoun would be. We therefore postulate that XP\* is *pro*.” (Sportiche 1996:25)

Returning to the initial discussion concerning Bavarian, I suggest to analyse GM as an instance of subject agreement<sup>14</sup> sharing categorial properties with both verbal inflection as well as with clitics, of which the latter allows it to cliticise onto any (possible) preceding element. Consequently and based on the above presented arguments, I will also assume the full second person pronoun to be in complementary distribution with *pro* in all non-subject initial clauses. In the next section we will now briefly take a closer look at subject agreement, its properties and its special status in partial pro-drop languages.

<sup>13</sup> But see also Rizzi (1986a,b), Brandi and Cordin (1989) and Poletto (1996) amongst others for approaches combining clitics and *pro*.

<sup>14</sup> But see section 4.3 for a slightly adopted view.

## 4.2 Subject agreement

Generally speaking, *agreement* is a relation between two (or more) phrases of a clause. In its most obvious fashion, agreement results in overt morphology, the agreeing elements thus overtly showing the same set (or a subset) of features such as person, number and gender, generally referred to as  $\varphi$ -features. A well known case of agreement is subject-verb agreement, where the verb agrees with (a subset of) the subject's  $\varphi$ -features. The  $\varphi$ -features person, number and gender are inherent features of a noun phrase, i.e. they also exist and establish references outside syntactic contexts. Thus, they are said to be interpretable features on NPs. Consequently, they need to be present at LF as they contribute to the semantic interpretation of the sentence (cf. Adger 2003). Abstracting away from theory-specific assumptions, one can say that  $\varphi$ -features on verbs only come into existence in specific syntactic contexts, i.e. when the verb is actually *agreeing* with the subject. Consequently,  $\varphi$ -features on verbs are said to be uninterpretable. Crucially, uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features have no further impact on the semantic interpretation of the sentence. Consequently, they must not reach LF but need to be eliminated during syntax, otherwise the derivation crashes at LF. In the case of subject-verb agreement a syntactic relation is being established<sup>15</sup> by the Probe-Goal mechanism, i.e. the probe with uninterpretable features looks for interpretable counterparts on a goal in its c-command domain. Once the goal has been found, uninterpretable features get deleted on the probe. (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001b)

However, verbal inflection is not the only way subject agreement may be expressed in a sentence. Brandi and Cordin (1989) identified subject clitics in the Northern Italian dialects of Trentino and Fiorentin as actually being preverbal agreement markers. The same has also been advocated for spoken French, amongst others by Roberge (1990) or more recently by Miller and Monachesi (2003).<sup>16</sup>

Based on Siewierska (1999), de Vogelaer (2003) examines Dutch dialects with regards to their different means of subject agreement marking. Siewierska (1999) suggested the following tripartition, which was then further refined by de Vogelaer:

- (119) i. Anaphoric agreement markers  
are in complementary distribution with free nominal or pronominal arguments.

<sup>15</sup> This is not the case in all theoretic approaches. In standard Minimalist theories, for instance, no relation is established (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001b). The operation *Agree* merely eliminates uninterpretable features by valuing them through corresponding interpretable features via the *Probe-Goal* mechanism. The features then get deleted and the Probe-Goal relation is no longer transparent to any further operations or interfaces. See Pesetsky and Torrego (2004a) for a discussion and a slightly different approach, in which a relation is in fact established and accessible.

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of that matter and a different point of view see De Cat (2005).

- ii. Ambiguous agreement markers  
occur obligatorily in the presence as well as absence of free nominal or pronominal arguments.
- iii. Grammatical agreement markers  
occur obligatorily but require overt nominal or pronominal arguments.

Siewierska illustrates *anaphoric agreement markers*, (119i), with two examples of the Carib language Makushi (Siewierska 1999:226) where the subject may either be a full nominal expression or an affixal (i.e. verbal) anaphoric agreement marker. Apart from the affixal type, anaphoric agreement markers are much more often either pronouns or agreement clitics. From a diachronic point of view, anaphoric agreement markers represent the upper most level of a grammaticalisation process, of which *grammatical agreement markers*, (119iii), exhibit the last stage of the development from independent pronouns to affixes<sup>17</sup>. Grammatical agreement markers are easily illustrated with German:

- (120) a. Die Katze sitz-t auf der Fensterbank.  
*The cat sit-3.SG on the windowsill.*
- b. Sie sitz-t auf der Fensterbank.  
*She sit-3.SG on the windowsill.*
- c. \*Sitz-t auf der Fensterbank.  
*sit-3.SG on the windowsill.*

The third person singular agreement marker is clearly grammatical as it cannot occur without an overt referential expression – the agreement marker itself is not sufficiently referential to identify the subject of the clause. This immediately leads to the third – or rather intermediate – category of *ambiguous agreement markers*, (119ii), i.e. agreement markers that still bear a certain degree of referentiality and are thus able to identify a (discourse-present) subject but can also occur with an overt subject as illustrated by the following Italian examples:

- (121) a. Il gatto mangi-a il pesce.  
*The cat eat-3.SG the fish.*
- b. Mangi-a il pesce.  
*Eat-3.SG the fish.*

As already mentioned, de Vogelaer (2003) rediscussed this classification with respect to Dutch. He starts his line of argumentation from the following generalisations:

- (122) *Generalisations on person marking in Dutch dialects*

<sup>17</sup> This grammaticalisation is, of course, not always the case and also dependent on a number of other factors.

- a. There are no dialects that allow pro drop for all combinations of person and number.
- b. There are no dialects with less than 2 different grammatical agreement markers.

(de Vogelaer 2003:185)

However, the means of realising subject agreement varies across Dutch dialects. Although all dialects display grammatical agreement, not only the exponents differ from each other. There are also eastern Dutch dialects that allow for pro-drop in second persons – thus the respective agreement is ambiguous. This is clearly a parallel to the Bavarian and GD data already discussed.

Additionally, de Vogelaer (2003) observes two different kinds of ambiguous agreement markers: ordinary and fused ones. Whereas the first would be obligatory bound subject clitics (such as Dutch third person masculine *-ie*), the latter arose via a fusion of a weak pronoun and a grammatical agreement marker. Apart from Dutch dialectal data, de Vogelaer also mentions second person singular in German dialects. As already discussed in section 2.4, Bavarian *-st* arose via a reinterpretation of the grammatical agreement marker *-s* and the enclitic pronoun *t(hu)*. Just like in some eastern Dutch dialects and Frisian, this gave rise to pro-drop in second person.

With this further refinement, de Vogelaer establishes five different kinds of person marking: lexical subjects, anaphoric marking, ordinary ambiguous marking, fused ambiguous marking and grammatical agreement (cf. de Vogelaer 2003:192).

Applied to GD, this classification leads to the following picture:

Table 4.2: GD person marking

	Singular		Plural	
	Verb	Comp	Verb	Comp
1. Person	grammatical	-	grammatical	-
2. Person	fused ambig.	fused ambig.	fused ambig.	ambig.
3. Person	grammatical	-	grammatical	-

This classification now enables us to capture the similarities as well as the differences between the second person morphemes: singular and plural are both ambiguous, i.e. both still bear some sort of referentiality and are thus able to identify the subject. The plural, however, displays ordinary ambiguous person marking in the complementiser domain, but fused ambiguous marking on the verb.

However, there is one crucial difference in the GD data to what is suggested by de Vogelaer: his definition of ordinary ambiguous person markers, which says that they “occur exclusively in postverbal, enclitic positions” (de Vogelaer 2003:187).



This is clearly not true for second person plural *-s*, which occurs in the complementiser domain – thus, exclusively in a non-postverbal position.

With all this in mind, we will now briefly turn to a slightly different view particularly related to PPLs.

### 4.2.1 SA in partial pro-drop languages

We have already identified second person morphemes – on the verb as well as in C – as *fused ambiguous agreement markers* in the sense of de Vogelaer (2003) and established that this classification is exactly what enables them to identify the subject: partly consisting of pronominal material provides them with some sort of referentiality, which grammatical agreement otherwise lacks entirely.

A similar, albeit technically different, idea is outlined in Koenenman (2006). His discussion of the differences between full and partial pro-drop languages is based on the following three common properties that Finnish and Hebrew share with each other, but crucially not with full pro-drop languages of the Romance type (Koenenman 2006:79 ff.):

- (123) a. *Partial pro-drop*  
Both languages only exhibit pro-drop for first and second person.
- b. *Non-emphatic use of pronouns*  
Finnish and Hebrew also allow non-emphatic use of overt pronouns.
- c. *Morphological correlation between pronouns and agreement*  
Verbal agreement of the persons that allow for pro-drop exhibits striking similarities with the respective pronominal forms.

The idea then developed by Koenenman is based on the feature *pronominal*: the value of this feature determines whether a particular affix is able to fully identify the subject or not<sup>18</sup>. Verbal inflection may, thus, either be “*-pronominal*”, “*+pronominal*” or “*αpronominal*”. Whereas in full pro-drop languages like Spanish or Greek verbal inflection is always *+pronominal*, it is always *-pronominal* in non pro-drop languages like English or French. However, in PPLs the verbal inflection of the relevant persons is *αpronominal*, i.e. it can either be (+) or (-) depending on the numeration it starts out from. This system straightforwardly explains the possible use of non-emphatic pronouns in PPLs – the value of the inflection then is *-pronominal* and the pronoun takes over all the standard functions of an argument. Koenenman is thus able to not only account but also explain the differences between NSLs and PPLs: the syntactic differences we observe directly follow from lexical differences.

<sup>18</sup> See also Rizzi (1982) for the feature [+pronominal] or Borer (1989) for “anaphoric” agreement.

As cited in (123c), one of the key observations of this idea is the similarity between the verbal inflection and the respective pronouns. The assumption then is, that due to this similarity the relevant forms can take both possible values of the feature *pronominal*. It has already been discussed at length that this is precisely *not* the case in GD (and for that matter, Bavarian). But considering again the classification of de Vogelaer (2003) and its application to the GD data, it becomes clear that the central idea of Koenenman (2006) and de Vogelaer (2003) is the same: it is due to the relevant morphemes (still) bearing (pronominal) referentiality that they are able to identify the subject of the clause.

What still needs to be made clear, is another striking parallel between the PPLs Finnish and Hebrew and GD: all of them allow for non-emphatic use of full pronouns. One possible instance of a non-emphatically used full pronoun in GD has already been presented in example (81b) and again in (112) and (113): there it was shown that the use of an overt pronoun can disambiguate between a possible generic reading of a sentence without a pronoun. Crucially, the pronoun does not have to bear stress in this case.<sup>19</sup>

What also can be captured now is a link between the option to drop second person subjects and the occurrence of a high agreement marker in Bavarian. Recall the observations of Fuß discussed in section 2.4: it was shown that the second person verbal inflection evolved through a reanalysis of the subject pronoun together with the original grammatical agreement (to use Siewierska's term). Crucially for the question at hand, this could only take place in subject-verb inversion contexts, i.e. in exactly the same domain in which we now find GM. The interdependencies seem to be as follows:

- (124)
- i. Via a reanalysis of the second person subject clitics as part of the verbal inflection, new second person verbal agreement evolves at the border of CP and TP.
  - ii. New agreement marker bears referentiality, thus licences pro-drop.
  - iii. New agreement marker spreads to verb-final positions, referentiality is retained, pro-drop still licenced.
  - iv. Subject agreement marker at the border of CP and TP is retained in verb-final clauses.

Also note here that the connection between C and *pro* as described above has also been observed for Old French (OF) as convincingly shown by Roberts (1993) (fol-

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<sup>19</sup> As mentioned, disambiguation between a generic and a fully referential interpretation is but one instance of the possible occurrence of an unstressed pronoun. This being further corroborated by the observations in Finnish and Hebrew. However, the conditions on this choice between no full pronoun and an unstressed full pronoun are by far not clear yet and subject to further research.

lowing Adams 1987). Pro-drop in OF was only licit in V2-contexts where the verb occupied C° and thus allowed for a null-subject.

In the next section, we will now turn to a possible syntactic analysis reflecting the peculiar categorial status of GM and including *pro*.

### 4.3 A tentative proposal

After having established that the categorial status of GM is an intermediate one between clitics and inflection, we have also seen that the syntactic role cannot be an argumental one. Thus, in light of the observations made so far, a syntactic analysis needs to be able to answer the following questions:

- (125)
- i. How is the peculiar categorial status of GM being reflected in the syntax?
  - ii. How can we capture the relation between GM and the subject?
  - iii. Why do XPs intervening between the C-domain and a low subject not inhibit the occurrence of GM?
  - iv. How can we account for GM's contingency on a finite verb in clause-final position?

#### 4.3.1 A brief detour

As shown in chapter 2, a number of previous analyses directly connect CA with the C-domain, i.e. generation in C. The most recent ones being Carstens (2003) and van Koppen (2005), who both suggest that Agree takes place between C and the subject<sup>20</sup>. Put differently, both analyses assume that the morphemes are actually generated in their final surface position. In what follows I will take a fresh look on this general idea with respect to GD and the questions outlined in (125).

##### 4.3.1.1 The categorial status reflection

The first question addressing the syntactic reflection of the categorial status, (125i), involves two aspects concerning the above mentioned analyses. On the one hand, assuming subject agreement to take place is of course connected with inflection and would thus reflect this particular property of the morphemes. On the other hand, one could argue that the unusual point of insertion, i.e. C, reflects the peculiar status of the morpheme<sup>21</sup>, as inflectional material would be expected to stem from further

<sup>20</sup> Among the most recent analyses is, of course, also Fuß (2004, 2005), who assumes post-syntactic insertion of CA in the morphological component of PF. However, given the many problems with this approach outlined in section 2.4.4, I will mostly leave it aside here.

<sup>21</sup> Also see Shlonsky (1994) discussed in section 2.2 for an idea with an additional agreement projection in C.

below in the structure. We have already seen that subject clitics can also serve as agreement markers (cf. eg. Brandi and Cordin 1989) and we also know that German clitics generally target a position high in the structure (traditionally referred to as the *Wackernagel Position*) (cf. among many others Weiß 1998). With this in mind, one could probably implement the peculiar categorial status in such an approach. In what follows in section 4.3.2.1, I will, however, propose an alternative view, which reflects the categorial status in a different and more straightforward way.

#### 4.3.1.2 The relation to the subject

The answer to the second question, (125ii), directly follows from the suggested approaches implementing Agree between C and the subject: clearly, the relation between GM and the subject is established via this Agree operation. Consequently, if Agree takes place between C and the subject this would not pose a problem for the second issue<sup>22</sup>.

However, as shown at various points, GM can attach to more than just complementisers – in fact, it attaches to anything that is expected to introduce a verb-final clause. This was one of the strongest arguments against an analysis as inflectional material and sheds considerable doubt on the implementation of agreement between C and the subject.

Furthermore, as already discussed in section 2.6, data with conjoined noun phrases do not directly follow. It has been shown that GM is only triggered if the first conjunct is second person but crucially never if the whole CoP is second person. Under van Koppen’s approach, this is not expected at all. She proposes that at the point of mapping to PF an agree relation is established between both the first conjunct and the whole CoP and that the feature specification of the agreement morphemes is the decisive factor that ultimately leads to the insertion of one morpheme at PF (cf. section 2.6). But as the feature specification of second person singular and second person plural is equally specific in Bavarian – second person singular versus second person plural – it is expected that both FA (Full Agreement) and FCA (First Conjunct Agreement) occur<sup>23</sup>. A way out of this would be to assume that C can always only agree with the first conjunct. Then, however, we need to explain why the verb always only agrees with the entire CoP whereas C can only target the first conjunct. Therefore, this remains to be explained.

<sup>22</sup> Note here that in approaches assuming movement from T to C, the relation to the subject is not necessarily established directly but is a consequence of verb-subject agreement.

<sup>23</sup> Recall that this is exactly what van Koppen (2005) presents for Bavarian – data which display FA as well as FCA. However, this is clearly not corroborated by GD data.

### 4.3.1.3 Lack of intervention effects

As for the third question, (125iii), recall that XPs intervening between C and the subject inhibit CA in the variants presented in e.g. Carstens (2003) and van Koppen (2005). However, within the Minimalist framework, which both authors base their analyses on, only active goals are supposed to be capable of serving as a goal – where *active goals* are only those with an unvalued case-feature. If, however, a probe finds possibly matching features on an XP that is inactive, this counts as a *defective intervenor* where *defective* refers to the valued case-feature. What then happens is that the probe does not look further down for another suitable goal and thus the derivation crashes (cf. Chomsky 2000). Therefore, what we find in GD, i.e. scrambled XPs not inhibiting CA, is not expected under the given hypothesis. As can be seen from examples not even scrambled objects, which undoubtedly bear potentially suitable  $\varphi$ -features, inhibit agreement on C. But we have also seen that in some variants even adverbial phrases disallow agreement on C (cf. Carstens 2003, van Koppen 2005 and references therein). This was the motivation for Carstens (2003) to assume an *abstract case-feature* on adverbials such as *gestern* (yesterday), which then inhibits CA<sup>24</sup>. Crucially, this does not lead the derivation to crash, but to CA not to occur (see section 2.5.1 for discussion).

One conceivable option for explaining the GD data is to assume nominative to play a crucial role. As we can see in all CA-dialects, agreement on C only occurs with subjects – never with an object even if it is closer to C than the subject. One could therefore assume that in GD C does not only need to value its  $u\varphi$ -features via an active goal, but can only do so via an active *nominative* goal<sup>25</sup>. Then the subject would always be the only suitable goal within C's c-command domain.

However, Williams (1994) has already proposed that nominative is a tense feature<sup>26</sup>, an approach that has also been put forward by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004b) saying that nominative is the uninterpretable tense feature of D<sup>27</sup>. In a nutshell, their initial idea is based on the well-known distinction between wh-subjects and wh-objects in English, where only the latter but not the first induce do-support. Do-support checks an uninterpretable tense-feature on C. Under the assumption that nominative is a tense-feature of D (and stays active until completion of CP), the subject can check the tense feature of C by movement to its specifier and do-support

<sup>24</sup> Carstens suggests that case is the relevant feature rendering an adverbial a possible goal (Carstens 2003:399). It remains open why a case-feature should render a goal suitable for uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features.

<sup>25</sup> In fact, this is an attempt also Carstens (2003:399) makes but based on data in which fronted objects inhibit CA, which is not the case in GD. She disposes of the nominative-requirement by the approach presented above making use of defective intervenors.

<sup>26</sup> Thanks to Martin Prinzhorn for drawing my attention to this.

<sup>27</sup> A similar idea has also been proposed by Haeberli (1999).

is no longer necessary. In other words, nominative is agreement between the subject DP and the verb.

Returning to the initial idea, we have seen that a way around non-existing intervention effects could only be found by adding additional requirements to a possible goal, i.e. a tense feature on the subject along the lines of Pesetsky & Torrego. A consequence of this would also be that a feature that results in subject-verb agreement, i.e. a feature dependent on verbal inflection, is also the crucial factor for C-subject agreement.

#### 4.3.1.4 Contingence on the finite verb

As for the last question, (125iv), concerning the contingency on a finite verb in final position, this is left entirely unexplained in approaches assuming agreement between C and the subject. In fact, the first to my knowledge attempting to solve this puzzle was Fuß (2004, 2005), but I have shown in section 2.4.4 that there are a number of serious problems with his approach. The foremost issue for the discussion at hand being that Fuß assumes the dissociated agreement morpheme on C to be inserted at PF and to be contingent on a syntactically already valued agreement morpheme on the verb – thus, this basically involves copying of features, which can certainly not be applied to GD. Recall that the constructions in which GM is highly ungrammatical are all comparatives. Comparatives have already been widely discussed in the literature and there are various approaches available. To put it in a nutshell, the two basic ideas available either assume some sort of *ellipsis*, i.e. the whole structure was initially available but got deleted during derivation, or they assume a *direct analysis* in which no further structure was present at any stage of derivation. The deletion approach has been argued for convincingly in the literature, e.g. Bresnan (1973) and Lechner (1999) amongst others. Without going into further detail, I will follow these approaches and assume that comparative constructions do indeed involve deletion of further structure<sup>28</sup>. If then, however, C needs to agree with the subject due to unvalued  $\varphi$ -features, it remains open why this relation should not be established in comparatives. Recall the sentences under discussion introduced in section 1.3.1 and repeated below:

- (126) a. D'Verena is jinga ois **wia-st** du bist.  
*The-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> are*  
 'Verena is younger than you are.'
- b. \*D'Verena is jinga ois **wia-st** du.  
*The-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub>*

<sup>28</sup> Although it also needs to be noted that the problem of contingency on a finite verb does not arise under the assumption that phrasal comparatives do not involve any further syntactic structure.

- c. D'Verena is jinga ois **wia** du.  
*The-Verena is younger than as you<sub>SG</sub>*

As can be seen, the subject is present in any case, but GM is only licit when the finite verb is realised. Therefore nothing should in fact prevent C from agreeing with the subject, which presumably even occupies the same position in all three examples.

Interestingly, we can also observe generic comparatives such as the following<sup>29</sup>:

- (127) Du bist schnölla in da Hö, ois wia-st im Hümme bist.  
*you are faster in the hell than as-2.SG in-the heaven are*  
 'One is faster in hell than in heaven.'

This example shows that even without a subject pronoun, GM still appears as soon as the finite verb is realised in final position – thus it is clearly related to the VP in a way yet to be determined.

### 4.3.2 An alternative account

In light of the above outlined shortcomings of analyses advocating agreement between C and the subject with respect to the GD data, I will now sketch an alternative idea by again addressing each of the initially outlined questions and thereby introducing the basic ideas and derivational details. This idea is guided by the assumption that economy is an essential part of language design and that no superfluous information is included in a derivation.

#### 4.3.2.1 The categorial status reflection

Given that GMs share categorial properties with both inflection and clitics, we also expect this to have consequences on their status within the syntactic derivation. I thus propose the following: Just like inflection, GM has uninterpretable person and number features. Consequently, it does not add another set of  $\varphi$ -features to the information structure as uninterpretable features need to be deleted before mapping to LF. Furthermore, GM shares with inflection its being marked [+finite]. However, it is not generated as inflection, but in a doubling structure together with the subject. Due to its clitic properties it can, unlike inflection, adjoin to anything that precedes it and behaves like a syntactic and a phonological clitic. Summarising, GM has the following properties:

- (128) a. GM's person and number features are uninterpretable.  
 b. GM is marked [+finite].

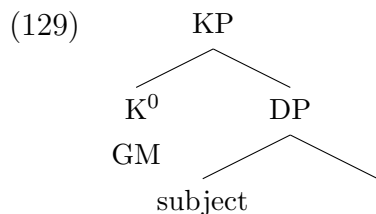
<sup>29</sup> Thanks to Martin Prinzhorn for making me aware of this and providing the example.

- c. GM is generated in a doubling structure together with the subject.
- d. GM cliticises onto its preceding element in the final surface position.

Thus we can pinpoint the exact properties GM shares with each category and the syntactic reflexes are a direct consequence thereof. Also note here that this is in line with the classification as fused agreement markers discussed in section 4.2. Cecilia Poletto suggested (p.c.) to push this idea even further: the two parts of the fused agreement marker, i.e. the verbal inflection and the clitic pronoun, each contribute to the current status resulting in the above proposed characteristics<sup>30</sup>, i.e. they still are being interpreted as actually consisting of the two different parts.

#### 4.3.2.2 The relation to the subject

With what I suggest in 4.3.2.1, the relation between GM and the subject follows straightforwardly. First of all, GM and the subject are both generated together in a doubling structure. More specifically, the structure I propose is based on Poletto (2006) (adapting ideas from Uriagereka (1995) and Kayne (1994)) and enters the derivation with the following configuration:



Poletto (2006) bases her analysis of doubling structures on the assumption that each feature of a DP, e.g. [addressee], [gender] or [plural], is represented in its own DP-internal projection. The basic idea is that clitics are the overt instantiation of one of the features of the DP and thus considered a proper subpart of the DP itself. Consequently, Poletto (2006:5) suggests the above introduced configuration.

In this account, the doubled element becomes the crucial factor in doubling structures, i.e. the more features are to be checked the more likely a doubling structure becomes. Languages displaying clitic-doubling differ from those without only in the fact that the first allow movement of the lexical DP to a higher DP-internal specifier, thus creating a remnant containing the initially highest feature of the whole DP, i.e. the clitic. Doubling structures enable a more economic computation as both the DP and the clitic can now move individually and thus check different features – each involving movement of less structure than movement of the whole DP would require. Based on data from Italian dialects, Poletto (2006) suggests that the clitic

<sup>30</sup> At least, this can be easily captured for second person singular *-st*. For the plural, this also holds for many Bavarian varieties displaying *-ts* in C. I do not yet have an account for the processes leading to solely *-s* in GD.



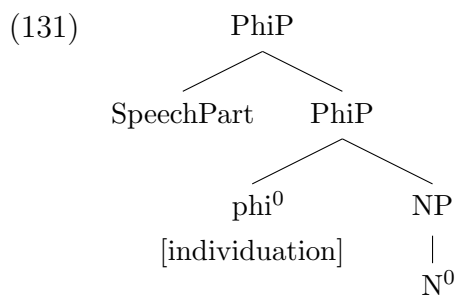
is the one to check the case feature and that DPs, which also display morphological case, are actually agreeing with the clitic, and not the other way around.

Applying this hypothesis to GD, yields an interesting correlation: given that GM shares properties with inflection, i.e. a purely functional element, this further corroborates Poletto’s analysis of doubling structures in which the clitic is the actual realisation of a functional projection. As already mentioned, Poletto argues that the difference between clitic-doubling languages and non-doubling languages lies in the option of moving the lexical DP to a DP-internal specifier creating a remnant as illustrated below (Poletto 2006:5):

$$(130) \quad [[_{XP} DP [_{X^{\circ}} [_{KP} [_{K^{\circ}} Cl] [DP]]]$$

However, GM is clearly not the type of clitic investigated by Poletto and certainly does not spell out case. I suggest that what it does spell out is in fact [+addressee].

Several approaches have already advocated the syntactic representation of the addressee, such as Sigurðsson (2004), Bianchi (2006), Poletto and Zanuttini (to appear) or Zanuttini (to appear). For the present purposes, I will discuss one that argues for second person pronouns having a [+addressee] feature represented in their internal structure: Van Koppen (2005), for instance, bases her analysis of Dutch pronouns on Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) and Harley and Ritter (2002) (H&R) and assumes the “Speech Participant” – in the sense of H&R – to be encoded in the specifier of a PhiP – in the sense of Déchaine and Wiltschko – dominating the pronoun NP. The head of the PhiP is related to *individuation*, again following H&R. The structure of Dutch pronouns thus looks as follows (van Koppen 2005:118):



Van Koppen assumes the SpeechPart to either encode first or second person, and the individuation, i.e. the head of the phrase, to encode singular or plural<sup>31</sup>. Consequently, she states that “[w]hen the speech participant role of the pronoun is that of addressee, I assume the features present on this head to be second person.” (van Koppen 2005:119)

<sup>31</sup> Recall van Koppen’s analysis of CA with conjoined noun phrases where C finds two possible goals (cf. section 2.6). Note that with the above presented pronominal structure the same configuration arises, i.e. with respect to CA the probe C encounters two equally local goals. Van Koppen (2005) shows that this is in fact reflected in some varieties, i.e. some show agreement with person and number whereas others only display agreement with person.

Furthermore, she also provides data of Dutch varieties in which the plural pronouns seem to overtly mark both the speech participant and the individuation: *wu-llie*, *ju-llie*, *zu-llie*, denoting first, second and third person plural respectively. She refers to Howe (1996) in analysing the morpheme *-llie* as short for the Dutch word *liede*, meaning *people* and consequently spelling out plural, i.e. the head of PhiP. The specifier, on the other hand, is occupied by the morphemes *wu* or *ju*<sup>32</sup>.

Returning to GD, I propose along the lines of Poletto (2006), that the [+addressee] feature is checked via attraction of the DP to its specifier – thus also creating a remnant containing GM. This also explains why we do not find doubling in other than second persons as first and third either entirely lack the addressee-feature or else are marked [-addressee] of which there is no morphological counterpart in GD. Furthermore, this analysis can also account for the seemingly surprising stability of the phenomenon over centuries. GM does not encode any superfluous information, it simply overtly encodes a feature present also in all other German varieties – namely [+addressee]. GD, however, has the option of a) morphologically marking this feature and b) raising of the lexical DP to an internal specifier.

As outlined in 4.3.2.1, I suggest that one property GM shares with inflection are uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features. This assumption is not only based on the commonalities with inflection, but also on the observation that GM does not add any additional information to the sentence as we could see in the examples with generic (*pro*) versus non-generic (overt pronoun) interpretation in section 3.1.2.2 and again in section 4.1.2. Therefore, I will tentatively suggest that via movement of the DP to the specifier these  $u\varphi$ -features of GM are rendered interpretable and consequently deleted.<sup>33</sup>

Summarising, the picture that emerges for GD looks as follows<sup>34</sup>.

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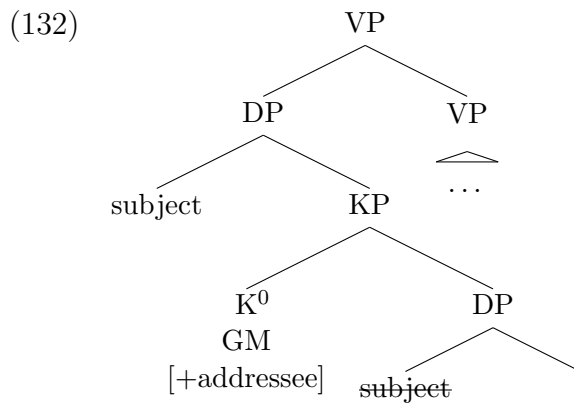
<sup>32</sup> Van Koppen (2005) explicitly leaves third person out of her analysis.

<sup>33</sup> Conceivable alternatives would be that

- i. GM either does not have any  $\varphi$  features at all, or
- ii. that they enter into an Agree-relation once the whole DP is merged with VP, or
- iii. that they do not have to be rendered interpretable as they are inherited from the lexical DP by virtue of GM being a proper subpart of the whole DP.

In any case, I will exclude option (iii) based on the above outlined assumptions that the morpheme is the morphological instantiation of a feature of the DP and thus not adding another set of  $\varphi$ -features to the computation. This can be captured in any of the other proposals, i.e. Spec-head, no features at all or Agree.

<sup>34</sup> I do not take a stand here with respect to the exact make-up of the verb phrase. For illustration purposes it suffices to indicate the VP without going into further detail of whether we assume a Larsonian shell analysis or not.



Now the pattern observed with conjoined noun phrases falls into place, as well. Recall that only if the first conjunct is second person, GM appears in C rendering the following picture:

- (133) a. [[-GM subject<sub>1</sub>] & [subject<sub>2</sub>]]  
 b. \*[[subject<sub>1</sub>] & [-GM subject<sub>2</sub>]]

Looking at the ungrammatical version, it becomes immediately clear that this configuration will never create a remnant allowing only GM to reach the left periphery<sup>35</sup> nor could the whole conjoined noun phrase be doubled by GM as the latter is a proper functional subpart of one of the conjoined phrases.

Furthermore, this approach also accounts for the fact that objects – even if second person – can never trigger GM as shown by the following examples<sup>36</sup>.

- (134) a. Warum-(*\*st*) DI de Buam net megn, bleibt ma a  
*Why-2.SG you<sub>SG.ACC</sub> the boys not like remains to-me a*  
 Rätsel.  
*mystery.*  
 ‘Why the boys don’t like you, remains a mystery to me.’
- b. Warum-(*\*s*) EICH de Buam net megn, bleibt ma a Rätsel.  
*Why-2.PL you<sub>PL.ACC</sub> the boys not like remains to-me a mystery.*  
 ‘Why the boys don’t like you, remains a mystery to me.’

Clearly, there is no subject pronoun present, i.e. the only lexical items, which GM is part of, does never enter the derivation in the first place.

<sup>35</sup> Clearly, this point is highly dependent on the structure for coordinated phrases one assumes. For the time being, I will presume that in any case the second configuration could never render the proper outcome allowing CoP and GM to move individually.

<sup>36</sup> This has also been observed for Dutch (cf. Carstens 2003). Note, however, that the object in these examples could only trigger agreement under the assumption that goals are not rendered entirely inactive until the next strong phase as assumed by Carstens (2003).

### 4.3.2.3 Lack of intervention effects

The lack of intervention effects in GD now follows straightforwardly. They are not expected to occur at all as nothing could possibly intervene between GM and the subject as they are generated together within the VP. We can go even further and establish in light of the alternative approach suggested here that the initial question was led by the wrong assumptions. Intervention effects are only expected if Agree is involved. This, however, is not the case – at least not between C and the subject.

Additionally, the other point the question hints at is the obligatory occurrence of GM. A fact that now also directly follows from the suggested approach as a subject DP – be it *pro* or a pronoun – is in any case always obligatory.

### 4.3.2.4 Contingence on the finite verb

As already mentioned, I assume comparatives to involve some sort of deletion of an initially present structure, i.e. at least the finite verb gets deleted in its base-position. What I am going to suggest is linked to the trigger of GM's movement out of the VP to C. I will attribute this to a finiteness feature of C. This assumption is in line with a number of proposals such as den Besten (1983) and – most prominently – Rizzi (1986b). The idea of C being linked to finiteness is not only motivated by V2-languages but also by the well know distinction between complementisers such as English *that* and *for* or German *dass* and *um*, each of which only the first but not the latter selects a finite complement. I tentatively propose that comparatives as the ones under discussion here do not involve a finiteness feature at all and thus also lack the ability to attract GM.

The idea that comparatives lack a finiteness feature is corroborated by the fact that the matrix clause and the embedded clause do not necessarily share the same time references<sup>37</sup> as illustrated by the following examples and their possible readings (with conceivable contexts):

- (135) Da Wönsittich woa schnölla ois wia da Hund.  
*The budgie was faster than as the dog.*
- a. 'The budgie (we once had) was faster than the dog (we once had) was.'
  - b. 'The budgie (we once had) was faster than the dog (we have now) is.'
- (136) I werd des bessa mochn ois wia du.  
*I will that better do be than as you.*
- a. 'I will do it better than you will do it.'
  - b. 'I will do it better than you did it.'
  - c. 'I will do it better than you do it.'

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<sup>37</sup> Thanks to Winfried Lechner for bringing this issue up.

In both cases the actual time reference is determined by the discourse (or, more generally, shared knowledge) but crucially it is not encoded in the syntax of the comparative phrase itself.

Consequently, with C entirely lacking the finiteness-feature, the morpheme will never be attracted out of the VP and will be deleted together with it.<sup>38</sup> As for the moment, I do not have a detailed account of the technicalities and will leave this for future research.

### 4.3.3 Further steps in the derivation

So far we have seen that GM enters the derivation in a doubling structure with the second person subject, that it is the morphological marker of an addressee-feature, that a remnant is created via movement of the DP to an internal specifier above GM as well as that it is marked [+finite] and bears  $\varphi$ -features, just like inflection.

What follows is extraction of the DP to TP, which I will attribute to an EPP-feature of T° along the lines of general assumptions. Consequently, GM is being attracted by the finiteness feature of C. This results then in the following structure:

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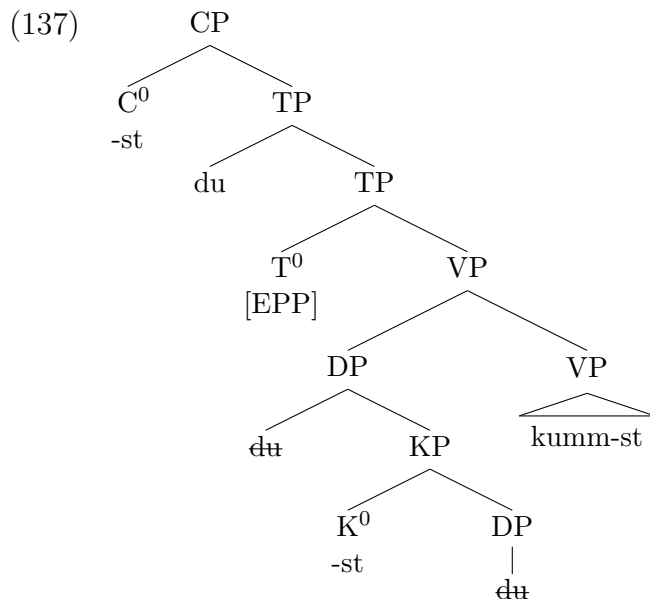
<sup>38</sup> Other interesting data involve resumptive pronouns resulting in the following contrast:

- i. Da Sebastian is lustiga ois wia-s **es** ia sads.  
*The Sebastian is funnier than as-2.PL it you<sub>PL</sub> are*
- ii. Da Sebastian is lustiga ois wia (**\*es**) ia.  
*The Sebastian is funnier than as it you<sub>PL</sub>*

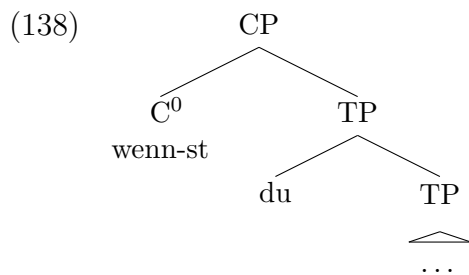
The resumptive pronoun *es* also seems to be connected to the occurrence of the finite verb. (Thanks to Winfried Lechner for pointing this out to me.) Data from the German dialect of Hesse display another phenomenon linked to the finite verb in comparatives where the element *wo* doubling the complementiser is no longer licit (Viola Schmitt, p.c.):

- i. ...grösser als wo du bist.  
*...taller than wo you are.*
- ii. ...grösser als (**\*wo**) du.  
*...taller than wo you.*

It appears as if the finite verb triggers different phenomena in comparatives, which might be linked to each other. I currently do not have any account for these facts.



Given GM's requirement for a host, it has so to speak an open slot which enables a complementiser to be merged in  $C^\circ$ .



In case there is no complementiser targeting  $C^\circ$ , the host requirement is fulfilled at PF where phonological cliticisation takes place on the mere basis of linear adjacency. Thus we can explain why GM can basically attach to anything that precedes it – be it a maximal projection or a head. The open slot simply needs to be filled for phonological reasons only.

As discussed in detail in section 4.1, I analyse GD as a partial pro-drop language assuming *pro* in second person contexts, which do not display an overt pronoun. What I suggest is that the derivation essentially looks just like outlined above, only that the pronoun is represented by *pro* – essentially an empty pronoun specified for  $\varphi$ -features (cf. Holmberg 2005).

Another more general outcome of this analysis also seems worth mentioning. The CP-domain is generally taken to be linked to clause-typing and to serve as a kind of interface between the inner and outer structure of the clause.

We can think of the complementizer system as the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the TP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause). As such, we expect the C system to express

at least two kinds of information, one facing the outside and the other facing the inside. (Rizzi 1997:283)

With the assumption that GM is the overt marker of an addressee-feature and that it also carries a finiteness-feature, it intuitively captures both the reference to the inner content, i.e. finiteness, and the outer, discourse-related property, namely, addressee. Clearly in this case, this relation to the outer context reaches further than simply to the associated matrix clause. In a way, C could probably be conceived as serving a three-dimensional purpose, namely linking the embedded clause to the matrix clause as well as to the discourse.

### 4.3.4 Open questions

An essential part of the analysis of GD as a partial pro-drop language is connected to the fact that the second person pronouns can also be omitted in non-subject initial root clauses<sup>39</sup>. Those are characterised by the V2-property, i.e. the finite verb moves to C and any other maximal projection of the clause has to be fronted in Spec-CP<sup>40</sup>. Pro-drop can only be observed in cases where a projection other than the subject precedes the verb, consequently leading to what is generally referred to as subject-verb inversion, i.e. the subject follows the verb. In the most simplest cases the subject will then be in Spec-TP directly dominated by the verb in C°. This immediately raises the question of what happens in main clauses under the proposed analysis. Recall that in this approach GM is viewed as part of the subject DP and is being attracted to C due to its finiteness-feature. We need to account for the fact that in main clauses the verb ends up in C and not GM – whereas the exact opposite happens in embedded clauses. There are at least two straightforward options: one is to assume different lexical entries for the pronoun, i.e. [[GM] [pronoun]] and [pronoun], and the other involves some sort of deletion of GM.

As for the first option, I consider it highly unlikely due to a number of reasons. First and foremost, if GM is indeed the marker of [+addressee], I do not see any reason whatsoever why the lexicon should contain two versions of the pronoun.

<sup>39</sup> As pointed out to me by Martin Prinzhorn, this is not only true for varieties displaying CA, but also for a number of other German dialects. However, given the diachronic link between the development of second person verbal agreement and the rise of *pro* this is not surprising. The question is then much rather why not all German varieties display CA – at least in the singular, where the reanalysis took place much earlier than in the plural and affected all German varieties including the Standard. In line with Poletto (2006) the difference would lie in the option of raising the lexical DP to an internal specifier. However, at the current stage of research, I do not have an answer as to why one variety would develop this option whereas others would not.

<sup>40</sup> As for subject-initial clauses it has also been argued that no CP is projected at all (cf. section 2.3). However, this point is not of importance for the issue at hand.

Even more, this would mean that the pronoun without GM would not include an addressee-feature<sup>41</sup> – something that seems very unlikely. Furthermore, I do not see how the choice between one or the other pronoun could be made in order to ensure that GM in verb-final clauses is always obligatory.

This leads us to the second idea, i.e. there is only one lexical entry for second person pronouns and each includes GM in its own functional projection. It therefore has to be made sure that the verb moves to C and that GM does not occur in the phonological form of the clause.

Recall that GM has an open slot, which eventually leads to cliticisation onto a preceding element. One conceivable idea for main clauses might be that GM is still attracted to C, but that the verb can attach to it in the syntax as well. However, due to the identity with the verbal inflection, GM is ultimately being deleted at PF. However, this raises the problem of the trigger of verb movement in root clauses. If the finiteness-feature in C is already satisfied by GM, we still need to account for the verb's movement to C. For the time being, I do not have a more straightforward account for root clauses and will leave this for future research.

Another open issue concerns extraction data exemplified by the following sentences.

- (139) a. ? Du und d'Verena, **waun-s** morgn in d'Stodt foar-ts,  
*You<sub>SG</sub> and the-Verena if-2.PL tomorrow in the-city drive-2.PL*  
 neh-m-ts ma Birn mit.  
*bring-2.PL me pears with*  
 'You and Verena, if you go downtown tomorrow, bring me pears.'
- b. \* Du und d'Verena, **waun-st** morgn in d'Stodt foar-ts,  
*You<sub>SG</sub> and the-Verena if-2.PL tomorrow in the-city drive-2.PL*  
 neh-m-ts ma Birn mit.  
*bring-2.PL me pears with*  
 'You and Verena, if you go downtown tomorrow, bring me pears.'
- c. **Waun-st** du und d'Verena morgn in d'Stodt foahr-ts,  
*If-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> and the-Verena tomorrow in the-city drive-2.PL*  
 neh-m-ts ma Birn mit.  
*bring-2.PL me pears with*  
 'If you and Verena go downtown tomorrow, bring me pears.'

As we can see in those examples, as soon as the coordinated subject is extracted out of the embedded clause, GM referring to the first conjunct of the CoP is ungrammatical. These kind of examples are repeatedly reported in the literature (cf. e.g. Weiß 1998, Bayer 2001, Mayr to appear) – in fact, the possibility to extract

<sup>41</sup> Note at this point that the Standard German *du* can receive a generic interpretation. However, intuitively generic interpretations also include the addressee but have an additional wider scope.



out of a fronted embedded clause is taken to be a particular property of Bavarian. However, from all the data I tested the above given example was the only one an informant reluctantly produced. Even more, a number of very similar examples were strongly rejected altogether by a number of informants – not only with coordinated phrases but also with single DPs and in all persons. This was highly unexpected and puzzling, especially as the data discussed in Mayr (to appear) stems from a region not far from where the data of this thesis was tested. As for now, I cannot account for these facts although I would like to mention that the above presented approach rather predicts the impossibility of agreement with a whole coordinated phrase. However, the real puzzle lies in the fact that extraction was not accepted at all – an issue that needs to be left for further research.

Ultimately, the question of how this approach can be extended to other varieties needs to be addressed. The first obvious issue here concerns other Bavarian varieties. CA in Bavarian has already been widely discussed in the literature. However, to my knowledge, up to now no specific variety has been tested as intensively as GD. As far as I can tell from what is reported, the basic findings in GD and Bavarian mostly coincide and it seems safe to assume that the categorial status of the agreement in C in other Bavarian varieties and in GD is alike, i.e. it is not purely inflectional material. What is foremost lacking is further testing of intervention effects as those examples are scarce in the literature but provide a cornerstone in the approach suggested here. Other varieties that should be looked at anew are then, of course, Dutch dialects and especially Frisian, which only displays CA in second person singular and also allows for pro-drop.

## 4.4 Summary

In this chapter, two main ideas have been argued for: first of all, a number of reasons for analysing GD – and Bavarian – as a partial pro-drop language have been presented. This approach is mainly based on the generalisation that second person pronouns can be omitted in any non-subject initial clause, main or embedded. Support is drawn from data with arbitrary *pro* and crosslinguistic evidence from Finnish, Hebrew and Italian subjunctive. In all three languages we can observe the occurrence of non-emphatic overt pronouns in potential pro-drop contexts – parallel to GD.

The second idea put forward concerns the actual analysis of GM. The driving force behind this approach was the question how the peculiar categorial status of GM, i.e. sharing properties with both clitics and inflection, could be reflected in the syntax. This led to the idea that GM is generated in a clitic doubling structure of the kind suggested by Poletto (2006). More precisely, GM is the morphologi-

cal instantiation of the subject DP internal [+addressee]-feature. Additionally, like inflection, its  $\varphi$ -features are uninterpretable and it is marked [+finite], which ultimately leads to its movement to  $C^\circ$ . From this approach it follows straightforwardly that intervention effects – which would be expected under the assumption of agreement between C and the subject – never occur. This approach thus enables us to pinpoint the syntactic effects of GM's categorial status and at the same time explain its obligatory occurrence. Additionally, it also explains the confinement to second persons and the immense stability of the phenomenon over centuries.

## 5 Conclusion

This thesis dealt with the well-known phenomenon of *Complementiser Agreement* in the West-Germanic V2 variety of Bavarian. In particular, it concentrated on a specific dialect, namely the Middle Bavarian variant of the town of Gmunden in Upper Austria (Gmunden Dialect, GD) thus providing the first detailed overview of the phenomenon in a well-defined Bavarian dialect. In chapter 1, I introduced the methodology used for the data collection as well as the core data. Essentially, CA in GD is obligatory in second person singular and plural. Both the second person singular and the plural display the exact same syntactic behaviour, which is opposed to first and third person. In the first, full subject pronouns can appear in addition to CA, whereas in the latter clitic pronouns and full pronouns are in complementary distribution.

Chapter 2 presented previous accounts, all of which are essentially based on the analysis of CA as inflectional material on C. For Bavarian, this analysis followed from Bayer's (1984) observation that CA morphemes are identical to verbal inflection and cannot be linked to the corresponding subject pronouns, i.e. could not be classified as subject clitics. Consequently, the nominative pronominal paradigm of Bavarian was analysed as not having subject clitics for second persons at all. Another outcome of this approach was then the assumption of *pro*, in cases in which the second person full pronoun is not present in the clause.

Primarily based on the fact that – contrary to other Bavarian varieties – the CA plural morpheme in GD is *not* identical to verbal inflection and *can* be related to the corresponding full pronoun, the categorial status of the morphemes was rediscussed in chapter 3. Based on a number of tests, it was concluded that the second person morphemes in GD fit neither in the category of clitics, nor in the category of inflection, but rather represent an intermediate stage between the two. Consequently the term *Complementiser Agreement* was dispensed with for GD, and the morphemes in question were henceforth referred to as the *Gmunden morphemes* (GM).

Chapter 4 then mainly presented two aspects of the phenomenon: on the one hand the analysis of Bavarian as a partial pro-drop language and the role of agreement was rediscussed. It was concluded that *pro* will be considered part of the GD – and Bavarian – syntax. The second part, on the other hand, introduced a first sketch of a tentative proposal for a new analysis of GM. The main idea put forward was that GM is generated in a (clitic) doubling structure along the lines of Poletto (2006). It represents the morphological marker of the [+addressee]-feature of the pronominal DP itself. As the pronoun is able to move to a DP internal specifier above GM, it creates a remnant leading to both the DP and GM being able to

move individually. The properties GM shares with inflection are attributed to its  $u\phi$ -features and its being marked [+finite]. The first ensures that no additional information is added to the structure, whereas the latter enables it to be attracted by C, which is also marked for finiteness.

This approach is able to account for the confinement to second persons as well as for the immense stability of the phenomenon over centuries. Furthermore, the initially puzzling fact that scrambled XPs intervening between C and the subject do not inhibit the occurrence of GM follows straightforwardly. GMs contingency on a finite verb in final position was tentatively attributed to the assumption that phrasal comparatives do not involve a finiteness feature in C. Consequently GM cannot be attracted and will be deleted from its base-position together with VP.

Due to a number of correlations between the phenomenon in GD and in other Bavarian varieties, there is substantial reason to believe that the analysis can be extended to Bavarian in general. However, this needs further testing of other dialects, particularly concerning the intervention of XPs between C and the subject.

Even though more details still need to be worked out in future research, I hope to have added a new perspective to existing theories, which might eventually lead to a reevaluation of CA in Bavarian and shed new light on the phenomenon as such and on micro-variation in general.

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# A Corpus

In the following, the entire corpus collected from GD is provided. It includes all the examples presented as well as those that are not part of the thesis itself.

- (1) I woas net, ob-st du des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> that do can-2.SG*  
'I don't know if you can do that.'
- (2) I woas net, ob-st des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG that do can-2.SG*  
'I don't know if you can do that.'
- (3) \*I woas net, ob du des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if you<sub>SG</sub> that do can-2.SG*
- (4) I woas net, ob-s es des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*  
'I don't know if you can do that.'
- (5) I woas net, ob-s ia des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*  
'I don't know if you can do that.'
- (6) I woas net, ob-s des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL that do can-2.PL*  
'I don't know if you can do that.'
- (7) \*I woas net, ob es des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*
- (8) \*I woas net, ob ia des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if you<sub>PL</sub> that do can-2.PL*
- (9) I woas net, ob-ə (\*i) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-I.CL (\*I) that do can*  
'I don't know if I can do that.'
- (10) I woas net, ob-st (du) des mocha kaun-st.  
*I know not if-2.SG (you<sub>SG</sub>) that do can-2.SG*  
'I don't know if you can do that.'
- (11) I woas net, ob-s (\*sie) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-she.CL (\*she) that do can-3.SG*  
'I don't know if she can do that.'
- (12) I woas net, ob-a (\*ea) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-he.CL (\*she) that do can-3.SG*  
'I don't know if he can do that.'

- (13) I woas net, ob-s (\*es) des mocha kau.  
*I know not if-it.CL (\*it) that do can-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know if it can do that.’
- (14) I woas net, ob-ma (\*mia) des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if-we.CL (\*we) that do can-1.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if we can do that.’
- (15) I woas net, ob-s (ia/es) des mocha kin-ts.  
*I know not if-2.PL (you<sub>PL</sub>) that do can-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if you can do that.’
- (16) I woas net, ob-s (\*se) des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if-they.CL (they) that do can-3.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know if they can do that.’
- (17) I woas net, ob-s des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if-they.CL that do can-3.PL*
- (18) I woas net, ob se des mocha kinan.  
*I know not if they that do can-3.PL*
- (19) I woas net, wia-st du des moch-st.  
*I know not how-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> that do-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (20) I woas net, wia-st des moch-st.  
*I know not how-2.SG that do-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (21) \* I woas net, wia du des moch-st.  
*I know not how you<sub>SG</sub> that do-2.SG*
- (22) I woas net, wia-ə (\*i) des moch.  
*I know not how-I.CL (\*I) that do*  
 ‘I don’t know how I do that.’
- (23) I woas net, wia-st (du) des moch-st.  
*I know not how-2.SG (you<sub>SG</sub>) that do-2.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (24) I woas net, wia-s (\*sie) des mocht.  
*I know not how-she.CL (\*she) that do-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how she does that.’
- (25) I woas net, wia-a (\*ea) des moch-t.  
*I know not how-he.CL (\*she) that do-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how he does that.’
- (26) I woas net, wia-s (\*es) des moch-t.  
*I know not how-it.CL (\*it) that do-3.SG*  
 ‘I don’t know how it does that.’

- (27) I woas net, wia-ma (\*mia) des moch-n.  
*I know not how-we.CL (\*we) that do-1.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how we do that.’
- (28) I woas net, wia-s (es/ia) des moch-ts.  
*I know not how-2.PL (you<sub>PL</sub>) that do-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (29) I woas net, wia-s (\*se) des moch-n.  
*I know not how-they.CL (they) that do-3.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how they do that.’
- (30) I woas net, wia-s es des moch-ts.  
*I know not how-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (31) I woas net, wia-s ia des moch-ts.  
*I know not how-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (32) I woas net, wia-s des moch-ts.  
*I know not how-2.PL that do-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how you do that.’
- (33) \*I woas net, wia es des moch-ts.  
*I know not how you<sub>PL</sub> that do-2.PL*
- (34) \*I woas net, wia ia des moch-ts.  
*I know not how you<sub>PL</sub> that do-2.PL*
- (35) Es hot ausgschaut, ois ob-s ia gwinga ta-ts.  
*It has looked as if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> win do-2.PL*  
 ‘It seemed as if you would win.’
- (36) Es hot ausgschaut, ois ob-s gwinga ta-ts.  
*It has looked as if-2.PL win do-2.PL*  
 ‘It seemed as if you would win.’
- (37) Es hot ausgschaut, ois ob-st du gwinga dad-st.  
*It has looked as if-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> win do-2.SG*  
 ‘It seemed as if you would win.’
- (38) Es hot ausgschaut, ois ob-st gwinga dad-st.  
*It has looked as if-2.SG win do-2.SG*  
 ‘It seemed as if you would win.’
- (39) Es hot ausgschaut, ob-s es gwinga da-ts.  
*It has looked if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> win do-2.PL*  
 ‘It seemed as if you would win.’

- (40) I woas net, wia weit-s ia kum-ts.  
*I know not how far-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> come-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how far you’ll come.’
- (41) I woas net, wia weit-s es kum-ts.  
*I know not how far-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> come-2.PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how far you’ll come.’
- (42) I woas net, wia weit-s kum-ts.  
*I know not how far-2.PL come-2PL*  
 ‘I don’t know how far you’ll come.’
- (43) De Frau, de-st (du) gseng ho-st, kenn i.  
*The woman who-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> seen have-2.SG, know I.*  
 ‘I know the woman who you saw.’
- (44) De Frau, de-s ia gseng hob-ts, kenn i.  
*The woman who-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> seen have-2.PL, know I.*  
 ‘I know the woman who you saw.’
- (45) De Frau, de-s es gseng hob-ts, kenn i.  
*The woman who-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> seen have-2.PL, know I.*  
 ‘I know the woman who you saw.’
- (46) Ob-st-n (du) gsegn host, woas i net.  
*if-2.SG-3.M.ACC you<sub>SG</sub> seen have know i not*  
 ‘I don’t know if you saw him.’
- (47) \* Ob-n-st du gsegn host, woas i net.  
*if-3.M.ACC-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> seen have know i not*
- (48) \* Ob-n du gsegn host, woas i net.  
*if-3.M.ACC you<sub>SG</sub> seen have know i not*
- (49) Waunst im Winta ausse gehst, daun muast di woarm auziagn.  
*If-2.SG in winter out go then must yourself warm put-on*  
 ‘If you go out in the winter, you have to put on something warm.’  
 also: ‘If somebody goes out in the winter, ...’
- (50) Waunst du im Winta ausse gehst, daun muast di woarm auziagn.  
*If-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> in winter out go then must yourself warm put-on*  
 ‘If you go out in the winter, you have to put on something warm.’  
 not: ‘If somebody goes out in the winter, ...’
- (51) Wia-s ia des wieda mocht-ts!  
*How-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that again do-2.PL*  
 ‘How you do that again!’
- (52) Wia-s es des wieda mocht-ts!  
*How-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that again do-2.PL*  
 ‘How you do that again!’



- (53) Wia-s des wieda moch-ts?  
*How-2.PL that again do-2.PL*  
 ‘How will you do that again?’
- (54) Wo-st des wieda her ho-st!  
*Where-2.SG that again from have-2.SG*  
 ‘Where from did you get that again!’
- (55) I kum a mit, waun-s ia geh-ts.  
*I come too with if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> go-2.PL*  
 ‘I’ll come too, if you go.’
- (56) I kum a mit, waun-s es geh-ts.  
*I come too with if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> go-2.PL*  
 ‘I’ll come too, if you go.’
- (57) I kum a mit, waun d’Mama und es geh-ts.  
*I come too with if the-mummy and you<sub>PL</sub> go-2.PL*  
 ‘I’ll come too if you and mummy go.’
- (58) \* I kum a mit waun-s d’Mama und es geh-ts.  
*I come too with if-2.PL the-mummy and you<sub>PL</sub> go-2.PL*  
 ‘I’ll come along too if mummy and you go.’
- (59) I kum a mit, waun-s ia und d’Mama geh-ts.  
*I come too with if-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> and the-mummy go-2.PL*  
 ‘I’ll come along too if you and mummy go.’
- (60) I kum a mit, waun d’Mama und ia geh-ts.  
*I come too with if the-mummy and you<sub>PL</sub> go-2.PL*  
 ‘I’ll come along too if mummy and you go.’
- (61) Je mehr-st lest, desto gscheida wirst.  
*The more-2.SG read the cleverer become-2.SG*  
 ‘The more you read, the cleverer you become.’
- (62) Je mehr-st du les-st, umso gscheida wirst.  
*The more-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> read-2.SG the cleverer become-2.SG*  
 ‘The more you read, the cleverer you become.’
- (63) Je mehr-s les-ts, desto gscheida werds.  
*The more-2.PL read-2.PL the cleverer become-2.PL*  
 ‘The more you read, the cleverer you become.’
- (64) Je mehr-s es les-ts, desto gscheida werds.  
*The more-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> read-2.PL the cleverer become-2.PL*  
 ‘The more you read, the cleverer you become.’
- (65) Je mehr-s ia les-ts, umso gscheida werds.  
*The more-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> read-2.PL the cleverer become-2.PL*  
 ‘The more you read, the cleverer you become.’

- (66) I bin ma net sicha, ob-st du und d'Susi des wissn derf-ts.  
*I am myself not sure if-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> and the-Susi that know may-2.PL*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi may know that.'
- (67) I bi ma net sicha, ob-st du und d'Susi des gwingan.  
*I am myself not sure if-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> and the-Susi that win*  
 'I am not sure if you and Susi will win that one.'
- (68) Jo moch-ts es des endlich!  
*PRT do-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that finally*  
 'Will you do that now!'
- (69) Treff ma uns, waun-st du da hoam bist.  
*Meet we us when-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> at-home are*  
 'Let's meet when you are at home.'
- (70) Treff ma uns, waun-st wieda do bist.  
*Meet we us when-2.PL again here are*  
 'Let's meet when you are back again.'
- (71) Gestan sads davau gaunga und hob-ts net gwoart.  
*Yesterday are-2.PL away went and have-2.PL not waited*  
 'Yesterday you went away and you didn't wait.'
- (72) Sads gestan davau gaunga und hob-ts net gwoart.  
*Are yesterday away went and have-2.PL not waited.*  
 'Yesterday you went away and you didn't wait.'
- (73) Waun-s es des tua-ts, daun kum-ts nima weg.  
*If-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do-2.PL then come-2.PL never away*  
 'If you do that, you'll never get away.'
- (74) Waun-s ia des tua-ts, daun kum-ts nima weg.  
*If-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> that do-2.PL then come-2.PL never away*  
 'If you do that, you'll never get away.'
- (75) Jo des woas i net, ob-st du de Blumen gossn host.  
*PRT that know I not if-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> the flowers watered have*  
 'Well, I don't know if you watered the flowers.'
- (76) Nau, der Mau mit den-s do gred hob-ts.  
*Well the man with who-2.PL here spoken have-2.PL*  
 'Well, the man you spoke to here.'
- (77) ? Du und d'Verena, waun-s morgn in d'Stodt foar-ts,  
*You<sub>SG</sub> and the-Verena if-2.PL tomorrow in the-city drive-2.PL*  
 nehm-ts ma Birn mit.  
*bring-2.PL me pears with*  
 'You and Verena, if you go downtown tomorrow, bring me pears.'

- (78) Waun-st du und d'Verena morgn in d'Stodt foahr-ts,  
*If-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> and the-Verena tomorrow in the-city drive-2.PL*  
 neh-m-ts ma Birn mit.  
*bring-2.PL me pears with*  
 'If you and Verena go downtown tomorrow, bring me pears.'
- (79) Du und da Hannes, waun-s nächstn Dienstag in Wien bleibts,  
*You and the Hannes when-2.PL next Tuesday in Vienna stay-2.PL*  
 kints a glei einkaufn gehn.  
*can-2.PL too PRT shopping go*  
 'You and Hannes, when you stay in Vienna next Tuesday, you can also go shopping then.'
- (80) Waun-st vielleicht du mit mir mitkuma kun-st, daun gangat-s  
*If-2.SG maybe you<sub>SG</sub> with me with-come could then would-go-it*  
 oafocha.  
*easier*  
 'If you could maybe come with me it would be easier.'
- (81) Waun-st beim ärgstn Regn du oiwei ausse geh mua-st, daun kaun  
*If-2.SG at worst rain you<sub>SG</sub> always out go must-2.SG then can*  
 i da a net höfn.  
*i you<sub>DAT</sub> too not help*  
 'If you always have to go outside during the worst rain, then I cannot help you either.'
- (82) Waun-st beim ärgstn Regn in Gmunden du oiwei ausse geh  
*If-2.SG at worst rain in Gmunden you<sub>SG</sub> always out go*  
 mua-st, daun kaun i da a net höfn.  
*must-2.SG, then can I you<sub>DAT</sub> also not help*  
 'If you always have to go to Gmunden during the worst rain, then I cannot help you either.'
- (83) Waun-s beim ärgstn Regn in Gmunden es oiwei ausse geh  
*If-2.PL at worst rain in Gmunden you<sub>PL</sub> always out go*  
 mias-ts, daun kaun i eich a net h"ofn.  
*must-2.PL, then can I you<sub>DAT</sub> also not help*  
 'If you always have to go to Gmunden during the worst rain, then I cannot help you either.'
- (84) Warum-st uns dein Freund net vorgstöht ho-st, vasteh i a net.  
*Why-2.SG us your friend not introduced have-2.SG understand I too not*  
 'Why you didn't introduce your friend to us, I don't understand either.'
- (85) Warum-st sein Freund du uns net vorgstöht ho-st, vasteh i  
*Why-2.SG his friend you<sub>SG</sub> us not introduced have-2.SG understand I*  
 a net.  
*too not*  
 'Why you didn't introduce his friend to us, I don't understand either.'

- (86) Warum-st sein Freind uns du net vorgstöht ho-st, vasteh i  
*Why-2.SG his friend us you<sub>SG</sub> not introduced have-2.SG understand I*  
 a net.  
*too not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t introduce his friend to us, I don’t understand either.’
- (87) Warum-st-n du net mitgnumma ho-st, vasteh i net.  
*Why-2.SG-him.CL you<sub>SG</sub> not with-taken have-2.SG understand I not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t bring him along, I don’t understand.’
- (88) Warum-s-n es net mitgnumma hob-ts, vasteh i net.  
*Why-2.PL-him.CL you<sub>PL</sub> not with-taken have-2.PL understand I not*  
 ‘Why you didn’t bring him along, I don’t understand.’
- (89) Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, das-st vielleicht du mitbring-st?  
*What has the Hannes said, that-2.SG maybe you<sub>SG</sub> with-bring-2.SG*  
 ‘What did Hannes say that maybe you would bring along?’
- (90) Wos hot d’Johanna gsogt warum-st jetzt sicha du mim Auto  
*What has the-Johanna said why-2.SG now surely you<sub>SG</sub> with car*  
 gfoarn bist?  
*driven are-2.SG*  
 ‘Why did Johanna say that you have definately driven the car?’
- (91) Waun-st jo eh du morgn sicha kum-st, daun kina ma  
*If-2.SG PRT anyway you<sub>SG</sub> tomorrow surely come-2.SG then can we*  
 glei mitanaunda kocha.  
*PRT together cook*  
 ‘If you’ll definately come tomorrow anyway, then we can also cook together.’
- (92) Waun-st morgn auf d’Nocht du eh mitkum-st, daun gib  
*If-2.SG tomorrow at the-night you<sub>SG</sub> anyway with-come-2.SG then give*  
 i da glei de Zwetschgn.  
*I you<sub>DAT</sub> PRT the plums*  
 ‘If you’ll come tomorrow night anyway, then I’ll give you the plums.’
- (93) Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, wo-st vielleicht du mitbringa  
*What has the Hannes said, that-2.SG maybe you<sub>SG</sub> with-bring*  
 soid-st?  
*should-2.SG*  
 ‘What did Hannes say that you should bring along tomorrow?’
- (94) Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, wo-st morgn du mitbringa  
*What has the Hannes said, that-2.SG tomorrow you<sub>SG</sub> with-bring*  
 soid-st?  
*should-2.SG*  
 ‘What did Hannes say that you should bring along tomorrow?’

- (95) Warum-st grad du mein Freind net griasst ho-st, vasteh i  
*Why-2.SG PRT you<sub>SG</sub> my friend not greeted have-2.SG understand I*  
 a net.  
*too not*  
 ‘Why you of all people didn’t greet my friend, I don’t understand either.’
- (96) Warum-st mein Freind grad du net griasst ho-st, vasteh i  
*Why-2.SG my friend PRT you<sub>SG</sub> not greeted have-2.SG understand I*  
 a net.  
*too not*  
 ‘Why you of all people didn’t greet my friend, I don’t understand either.’
- (97) Da Bernhard, dem sei Schwester-st gestern troffn host ...  
*The Bernhard who-DAT his sister-2.SG yesterday met have-2.SG*  
 ‘Bernhard whose sister you met yesterday ...’
- (98) I woas a net, wöche Frau aus Gmunden dass-st troffn host.  
*I know also not which woman from Gmunden that-2.SG met have-2.SG.*  
 ‘I don’t know either which woman from Gmunden you met.’
- (99) Waun-st, wos aum Tisch liegt, du jetzt wirklich essn wüsst, daun  
*If-2.SG what on table lays you<sub>SG</sub> now really eat want-2.SG then*  
 explodierst.  
*explode-2.SG*  
 ‘If you now really want to eat what is on the table, you’ll explode.’
- (100) Waun-st, ohne dass d’Mama di einglodn hot, du do  
*If-2.SG without that the-mummy you<sub>ACC</sub> invited has you<sub>SG</sub> there*  
 hikumst, spinnst völlig.  
*there-come-2.SG nuts-are completely*  
 ‘If you come there without mummy having invited you, you’re completely nuts.’
- (101) Des glaub-st oba söwa net!  
*That believe-2.SG but yourself not*  
 ‘You don’t believe that yourself, do you?’
- (102) Morgn geh-ts in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.PL in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- (103) Morgn geh-ts ia in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- (104) Morgn geh-ts es in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- (105) Morgn geh-st in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.SG in the-city but he stays at-home*

- ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- (106) Morgn geh-st du in d’Stodt, oba ea bleibt dahoam.  
*Tomorrow go-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> in the-city but he stays at-home*  
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll go downtown but he’ll stay at home.’
- (107) Kum-st a mit in d’Stod?  
*Come-2.SG too with in the-city?*  
 ‘Will you come along downtown?’
- (108) Jo moch-ts des jetzt endlich!  
*PRT do-2.PL that now finally*  
 ‘Will you do that now!’
- (109) I glaub, dass-st des net schoff-st.  
*I think that-2.SG that not make-2.SG*  
 ‘I think that you won’t make it.’
- (110) I glaub, dass-st du des net schoff-st.  
*I think that-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> that not make-2.SG*  
 ‘I think that you won’t make it.’
- (111) I glaub, du schoff-st des net.  
*I think you<sub>SG</sub> make-2.SG that not*  
 ‘I think you won’t make it.’
- (112) Waun-st doch nur endlich vaschwindn tat-st!  
*If-2.SG EMPH only finally disappear do-2.SG*  
 ‘If only you would disappear.’
- (113) D’Verena is jinga ois wia du.  
*the-Verena is younger than as you<sub>SG</sub>*  
 ‘Verena is younger than you.’
- (114) D’Verena is jinga ois wia-st du bist.  
*the-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> are*  
 ‘Verena is younger than you are.’
- (115) D’Mirjam is lustiga ois du.  
*The-Mirjam is funnier than you<sub>SG</sub>*  
 ‘Mirjam is funnier than you.’
- (116) \* D’Mirjam is lustiga oi-st du.  
*the-Mirjam is funnier than-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub>.*
- (117) \* D’Mirjam is lustiga oi-st du bist.  
*the-Mirjam is funnier than-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> are*
- (118) \* D’Verena is jinga ois wia-st du.  
*The-Verena is younger than as-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub>*
- (119) Da Sebastian is frecha ois wia es.  
*The Sebastian is cheekier than as you<sub>PL</sub>*

- ‘Sebastian is cheekier than you.’
- (120) \* Da Sebastian is frecha ois wia-s es.  
*The Sebastian is cheekier than as-2.PL you*
- (121) Da Sebastian is lustiga ois wia-s es ia sads.  
*The Sebastian is funnier than as-2.PL it you<sub>PL</sub> are*  
 ‘Sebastian is funnier than you are.’
- (122) Da Sebastian is lustiga ois wia (\*es) ia.  
*The Sebastian is funnier than as it you<sub>PL</sub>*  
 ‘Sebastian is funnier than you.’
- (123) Du bist schnölla in da Hö, ois wia-st im Hümme bist.  
*you are faster in the hell than as-2.SG in-the heaven are*  
 ‘One is faster in hell than in heaven.’
- (124) I woas net, obs des a kau.  
*I know not if-CL that too can*  
 ‘I don’t know, if it can do that too.’
- (125) Es gfreit mi, das-st kumm-st.  
*It am-glad me that-2.SG come-2.SG*  
 ‘I am glad that you are coming.’
- (126) ? Des gfreit mi, das-st kumm-st.  
*That am-glad me that-2.SG come-2.SG*  
 ‘I am glad that you are coming.’
- (127) Währendst du gschlofn host, hob i zsaumgramt.  
*While-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> slept have-2.SG have I tidied-up*  
 ‘While you slept, I tidied up.’
- (128) Seit-s es nimma do sads, is vü ruhiga im Büro.  
*Since-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> not-anymore here are, is much quieter in-the office*  
 ‘Since you aren’t here anymore, it is much quieter in the office.’
- (129) Seit-s ia nimma do sads, is vü ruhiga im Büro.  
*Since-2.PL you<sub>PL</sub> not-anymore here are, is much quieter in-the office*  
 ‘Since you aren’t here anymore, it is much quieter in the office.’
- (130) Seitdem-st in Venedig bist, mödst di goa nimma.  
*Since-2.SG in Venice are get-in-touch you<sub>ACC</sub> at-all not-anymore*  
 ‘Since you’ve been in Venice, you don’t get in touch anymore at all.’
- (131) Solaung-st ma net de gaunze Gschicht vazöhst, kaun i nix dazua  
*As-long-2.SG me not the whole story tell can I nothing to-it*  
 sogn.  
 say  
 ‘As long as you don’t tell me the whole story, I cannot say anything.’

- (132) Soboid-s wieda da hoam sads, gibt's a gscheits Gansl.  
*As-soon-as-2.PL again at-home are give-CL a good goose*  
 'As soon as you are back home again, we'll have a good goose.'
- (133) Richt erm an schen Gruass aus, foi-st erm siagst.  
*Pass him a nice greeting on in-case-2.SG him see.*  
 'Give him my regards in case you see him.'
- (134) Find i supa, das-st kumma bist, obwoi-st kraunk bist.  
*Think I super that-2.SG come are even-though-2.SG ill are*  
 'I think it is great that you came even though you are ill.'
- (135) Geh foahr a bisl fria weg, (?so) das-st boid gnuag do bist.  
*INT drive a bit earlier away so that-2.SG soon enough there are*  
 'Why don't you leave a bit earlier so that you'll be there soon enough.'
- (136) Geh foahr a bisl fria weg, damitst boid gnuag do bist.  
*INT drive a bit earlier away so-that-2.SG soon enough there are*  
 'Why don't you leave a bit earlier so that you'll be there soon enough.'
- (137) Es sads do aufegrennt, ohne dass-s owegfoin sads?  
*You<sub>PL</sub> are there up-run without that-2.PL down-fell are?*  
 'You ran up there without falling down?'
- (138) Dawoi-st du gschlofn host, hob i zsaumgramt.  
*While-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> slept have have I tidied-up*  
 'While you slept, I tidied up.'
- (139) De Heizungskosten kaun-st reduziern, indem-st endlich des Haus  
*The heating-costs can-2.SG reduce by-2.SG finally the house*  
 neich isolierst.  
*new insolate-2.SG*  
 'You can reduce the heating costs by finally renewing the house's insulation.'
- (140) Wohin-s geh-ts, is mia a a Rätsel.  
*Where-to-2.PL go-2.PL is me too a riddle*  
 'Where you are going to, remains a mystery to me too.'
- (141) Imma waun-st di rasierst, wirst gaunz rot im  
*Always when-2.SG yourself shave-2.SG, become-2.SG totally red in-the*  
 Gesicht.  
*face*  
 'Whenever you shave yourself, you get completely red in your face.'  
 also: 'Whenever someone shaves oneself, he gets completely red in his face.'
- (142) Imma waun-st du di rasierst, wirst gaunz rot  
*Always when-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> yourself shave-2.SG, become-2.SG totally red*  
 im Gesicht.  
*in-the face*  
 'Whenever you shave yourself, you get completely red in your face.'  
 not: 'Whenever someone shaves oneself, he gets completely red in his face.'



- (143) Mim Auto bist imma schnölla.  
*with-the car are-2.SG always faster.*  
 ‘You are always faster with the car.’  
 also: ‘One is always faster with the car.’
- (144) Mim Auto bist du imma schnölla.  
*with-the car are-2.SG you<sub>SG</sub> always faster.*  
 ‘You are always faster with the car. not: ‘One is always faster with the car.’
- (145) Warum bist ned amoi du vorbeikumma?  
*Why are-2.SG not once you<sub>SG</sub> pass-by*  
 ‘Why didn’t even you pass by?’
- (146) Warum bist ned amoi vorbeikumma?  
*Why are-2.SG not once pass-by*  
 ‘Why didn’t you ever pass by?’
- (147) Warum host eam grad du des sogn miassn?  
*Why have-2.SG him PRT you that say must*  
 ‘Why did you of all the people have to tell him that?’
- (148) Warum host eam des sogn miassn?  
*Why have-2.SG him that say must*  
 ‘Why did you have to tell him that?’
- (149) Er, der Germknedl so gern mog, hot heit koan  
*He who yeast-dumplings so much like-3.SG have-3.SG today no*  
 oanzing gessn.  
*single-one eaten.*  
 ‘He, who likes yeast dumplings so much, hasn’t eaten a single one today.’
- (150) Es, de-s (es) Germknedl so gern meg-ts, hob-ts  
*You<sub>PL</sub> who-2.PL (you) yeast-dumplings so much like-2.PL have-2.PL*  
 heit koan oanzing gessn.  
*today no single-one eaten.*  
 ‘You, who like yeast dumplings so much, haven’t eaten a single one today.’
- (151) Du de-st Germknedl so gern mog-st, ho-st heit koan  
*You<sub>SG</sub> who-2.SG yeast-dumplings so much like-2.SG have-2.SG today no*  
 oanzing gessn.  
*single-one eaten.*  
 ‘You, who like yeast dumplings so much, haven’t eaten a single one today.’
- (152) Es, de-s Germknedl so gern meg-ts, hob-ts heit koan  
*You<sub>PL</sub> who-2.PL yeast-dumplings so much like-2.PL have-2.PL today no*  
 oanzing gessn.  
*single-one eaten.*  
 ‘You, who like yeast dumplings so much, haven’t eaten a single one today.’
- (153) I woas net, WAUN-s kuma sa-ts, oba DASS-s kuma sa-ts.  
*I know not when-2.PL come are-2.PL but that-2.PL come are-2.PL*

- ‘I don’t know at what time you came but I know that you did come.’
- (154) Warum-(\*st) DI            de Buam net megn, bleibt    ma    a Rätsel.  
*Why-2.SG    you<sub>SG.ACC</sub> the boys    not like    remains to-me a mystery.*  
 ‘Why the boys don’t like you, remains a mystery to me.’
- (155) Warum-(\*s) EICH        de Buam net megn, bleibt    ma    a Rätsel.  
*Why-2.PL    you<sub>PL.ACC</sub> the boys    not like    remains to-me a mystery.*  
 ‘Why the boys don’t like you, remains a mystery to me.’
- (156) Da    Wönsittich woa schnölla ois    wia da Hund.  
*The budgie        was faster    than as    the dog.*
- a. ‘The budgie we once had was faster than the dog we once had.’
- b. ‘The budgie we once had was faster than the dog we have now.’

- (157) Da Papa woa mit 15 gressa ois wia du.  
*The daddy was with 15 taller than as you.*
- a. ‘When daddy was 15 he was taller than you were when you were 15.’
  - b. ‘When daddy was 15 he was taller than you are now.’



# B Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit dem Thema der sogenannten Komplementiererkongruenz (KK) im Bairischen im Rahmen der generativen Grammatiktheorie. KK in westgermanischen Verbzweitsprachen hat in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten bereits ein großes Maß an Beachtung in syntaktischen Analysen gefunden (cf. u.a. Bayer 1984, Haegeman 1990, 1992, Zwart 1993a,b, 1997, Weiß 2002, Weiß 2005). Kurz gesagt handelt es sich dabei um das Auftreten von Subjektskongruenz in der C-Domäne von Verbendsätzen. Dies wird im Allgemeinen mit einer Form von Verbalkongruenz am Komplementierer gleichgesetzt und daher in neueren, minimalistischen Ansätzen (cf. Carstens 2003, van Koppen 2005) als die Operation *Agree* zwischen Komplementierer und Subjekt analysiert.

Für diese Arbeit wurde erstmals eine umfangreiche Datenerhebung einer spezifischen Variante des Bairischen, genauer des mittelbairischen Dialektes von Gmunden in Oberösterreich, anhand von erprobten Richtlinien (cf. Cornips and Poletto 2005) durchgeführt. Dabei konnten folgende, teils neue Beobachtungen gemacht werden:

- (1) In verbfinalen Sätzen mit einem Subjekt der zweiten Person treten die Morpheme *-st* (Singular) beziehungsweise *-s* (Plural) obligatorisch an den rechten Rand der C-Domäne (terminologisch ab hier: Gmundener Morphem, GM).
- (2) GM tritt an alle Phrasen, die in der linken Peripherie eines subordinierten Satzes zu erwarten sind: Komplementierer, Relativpronomen, Interrogativpronomen und *-phrasen*, pied-piped Phrasen und Komparativeinleiter.
- (3) Während Klitika der ersten und dritten Personen nur in komplementärer Verteilung mit den entsprechenden Vollpronomen auftreten, können die Vollpronomen der zweiten Personen zusätzlich zu GM vorkommen.
- (4) GM im Singular (*-st*) ist ident mit der entsprechenden Verbalflexion (*-st*) und lässt sich nicht in direkte Verbindung mit dem korrespondierenden Vollpronomen (*du*) setzen.
- (5) GM im Plural (*-s*) ist nicht ident mit der entsprechenden Verbalflexion (*-ts*) und lässt sich in direkte Verbindung mit dem korrespondierenden Vollpronomen (*es*) setzen.
- (6) Es können beliebig viele Konstituenten zwischen Komplementierer und Subjekt auftreten, z.B. in Scramblingkonstruktionen, ohne dass das Auftreten von GM unterbunden werden würde.
- (7) GM ist abhängig von einem overtten, finalen finiten Verb, d.h. es ist in phrasalen Komparativen ungrammatisch.

- (8) Nur in den zweiten Personen ist das gänzliche Weglassen eines Pronomens (tonisch oder klitisch) in allen nicht-subjektinitialen Sätzen zulässig.

Aufgrund dieser Beobachtungen wurde der kategoriale Status von GM erneut hinterfragt und festgestellt, dass es sich dabei weder eindeutig um Flexion noch eindeutig um ein Klitikon handeln kann, sondern dass es Eigenschaften mit beiden Kategorien teilt. In der Tat ist das Auftreten derartiger Elemente sogar zu erwarten, da die diachrone Entwicklung von Vollpronomen über Klitika zu Flexion ein hinlänglich bekanntes Phänomen ist. Basierend auf diesen Beobachtungen ist somit auch feststellbar, dass GM keine Argumentrolle im Satz übernehmen kann. Infolgedessen wird für alle nicht-subjektinitialen Sätze, d.h. Haupt- und Nebensätze, in denen kein overt Pronomen vorhanden ist, *pro* angenommen und der Dialekt als partielle *pro*-drop-Sprache analysiert, einer weitverbreiteten Annahme für das Bairische generell (cf. Bayer 1984, Fuß 2005).

Wie bereits erwähnt, gehen neuere Analysen von einer Agree-Beziehung zwischen C und dem Subjekt in Spec-TP aus. Dies kann für den Gmundener Dialekt aber vor allem aufgrund der Tatsachen, dass GM an allen zu erwartenden Phrasen, die einen Nebensatz einleiten können, auftritt und abhängig von einem finiten Verb in finaler Position ist, angezweifelt werden. Ein weiteres Indiz, das gegen eine Agree-Beziehung spricht, ist die Beobachtung, dass Scrambling, das zwischen dem Komplementierer und dem Subjekt auftritt, GM nicht unterbindet.

In weiterer Folge wird eine alternative Analyse vorgeschlagen, die sowohl die flexivischen als auch die klitischen Eigenschaften syntaktisch reflektiert. Die Kernpunkte dabei sind, dass GM in einer Klitikdoppelungsstruktur wie bei Poletto (2006) gemeinsam mit dem Subjekt in der VP basisgeneriert wird. Es ist als morphologische Markierung des [+addressee]-features der pronominalen DP anzusehen, hat aber gleichzeitig nichtinterpretierbare  $\phi$ -features, die im Zuge der Derivation interpretierbar und somit gelöscht werden, und es trägt das Merkmal [+finit]. Letzteres ist der Auslöser für die Bewegung an C, das ebenfalls mit einem Finitheitsmerkmal (cf. u.a. Rizzi 1986b) ausgestattet ist und somit GM anziehen kann. Damit lassen sich in weiterer Folge die Inexistenz von Interventionseffekten, die Beschränkung auf die zweiten Personen, die immense Stabilität des Phänomens über Jahrhunderte sowie der Zusammenhang mit Verbzweit direkt ableiten. In Bezug auf phrasale Komparative wird angenommen, dass diese kein Finitheitsmerkmal besitzen und GM somit nicht aus der VP extrahiert, sondern mit dieser gemeinsam gelöscht wird.

Es besteht Grund zu der Annahme, dass diese Analyse auf Gesamtbairisch ausgeweitet werden kann, jedoch bedarf es hier weiterer Untersuchungen, v.a. in Bezug auf Interventionseffekte, deren Inexistenz im Gmundener Dialekt eine neue Beobachtung darstellt.

# C Curriculum Vitæ

## Persönliche Angaben

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2002 – 2004    ARGE Bildungsmanagement, Mediationsausbildung, Wien  
1994 – 1996    Europa Wirtschaftsschulen Wien  
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1985 – 1993    Bundesgymnasium Gmunden

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