One Probe - Two Goals:
Aspects of agreement in Dutch dialects

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Aspects of agreement in Dutch dialects

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Abbreviations

Probe	element with unvalued features
Goal	element with valued features
CA	Complementizer Agreement
FCA	First Conjunct Agreement: agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated phrase
FA	Full Agreement: agreement with the coordinated phrase as a whole
DA	Double Agreement: agreement morphology on the finite verb differs according to the position of the finite verb
SpeechPart	feature bundle denoting the role of the speech participant
phi-features	person and number features
1P	first person
2P	second person
3P	third person
SG	singular
PL	plural
F	feminine
M	masculine
N	neuter
*u*phi	unvalued phi-features
*i*phi	valued phi-features
*u*F	unvalued features
*i*F	valued features
CL	clitic pronoun
STRONG	strong pronoun
PART	Particle
DAT	dative
EXPL	expletive
FocPart	Focus particle

Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to show that agreement is the result of a complex interplay between the syntactic and the phonological component. More in particular, the main claim is that Syntax establishes agreement relations on the basis of hierarchy and the phonological component subsequently translates these relations into agreement morphology. I show that the configuration can arise in which Syntax relates a Probe for agreement to two Goals instead of one: the Probe entertains two agreement relations. I show that in this case the phonological component spells out just one of these two relations, namely the one that results in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe.

Introductory remarks on agreement

I assume, following Chomsky (1995:277-279), that agreement relations are inherently asymmetric[1]: nouns define the agreement on adjectives and determiners and the subject determines the agreement on the finite verb. I refer to the element that seeks to be determined in the agreement relation as the *Probe* (following Chomsky 2000). The element that determines the features of the *Probe* I call the *Goal* (again following Chomsky 2000). Consider the example in (1).

(1) **De poez-en** **slap-en** op het bed.
the cat-$_{PL}$ sleep-$_{PL}$ on the bed
'The cats are sleeping on the bed.'

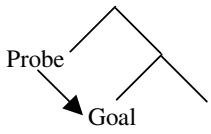
[standard Dutch]

In this example the finite verb *slapen* 'to sleep' appears in the plural, just like the subject *de poezen* 'the cats'. In this case, the finite verb *slapen* 'to sleep' is the Probe, as its phi-features are defined by those of the subject *de poezen* 'the cats'. The subject is the Goal in this example, it defines the phi-features of the Probe. Put

[1] Cf. HPSG-accounts of agreement as provided by amongst others Barlow (1992), Pollard & Sag (1994) and Kathol (1999) for a different view. In this framework it is assumed that both the controller for agreement (i.e. the subject) and the target (i.e. the finite verb) are specified for certain features. The feature bundles of the controller and the target have to correspond (cf also Chung 1998 for such an account). The crucial difference between an HPSG-account of agreement and the account discussed in the main text is that in the HPSG-account agreement is not directional (cf. Corbett 2001:192): the features of the controller are not copied onto the target, but the controller's feature bundle and the target's feature bundle match.

differently, the fact that the Probe carries a plural affix is the result of the Goal being plural. I assume that the Probe and the Goal enter into an agreement relation in the syntactic component.[2] This crucially means that the relation between Probe and Goal is established on the basis of hierarchical considerations. This is schematically represented in (2).

(2)



There are varieties of Dutch in which there are two clausal Probes for agreement, rather than just one. In these varieties, not only the finite verb but also the complementizer agrees with the subject. This latter phenomenon is known as Complementizer Agreement (henceforth CA) (see amongst others Van Haeringen 1939, 1958; Haegeman 1992; Zwart 1993; Goeman 1997; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b; Carstens 2003). This is exemplified for the dialect of Tegelen in (3a) and for the dialect of Lapscheure in (3b) (from Haegeman 1992:61).

(3) a. Ich dink **de-s** doow **kum-s**.
I think that-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ come-$_{2P.SG}$
'I think that you will come.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

b. Kpeinzen **da-n** zunder **goa-n** kommen.
I.think that-$_{PL}$ they go-$_{PL}$ come
'I think that they are going to come.'
[Lapscheure Dutch]

In these examples, both the inflection on the verb and the inflection on the complementizer are dependent on the phi-feature specification of the subject. This means that there are two clausal Probes for agreement, the finite verb and the complementizer, and one Goal, the subject.

The topic of this thesis

In this thesis, the configuration is explored in which a Probe for agreement (either the finite verb or the complementizer) encounters not one but two Goals. I show that this configuration arises when these two Goals are hierarchically equally local with respect to the Probe. I show that this situation arises when the complementizer or the finite verb agrees with a coordinated subject or with a pronominal subject. Consider the examples in (4), in which the complementizer agrees with a coordinated subject.

[2] I refine this statement in section 2.1.3 of chapter 1. There, I put forward the assumption that the operation Agree takes place at the Spell-Out point to PF.

(4) a. Ich dink **de-s** **doow** en ich ôs kenne treffe.
I think that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ can-$_{PL}$ meet
'I think that you and I can meet.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

b. Kpeinzen **da-n** **Valère** **en** **Pol** morgen goa-n.
I.think that-$_{PL}$ [Valère and Pol]$_{3P.PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'I think that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

There is a significant difference between the example in (4a) from Tegelen Dutch and the one in (4b) from Lapscheure Dutch. The complementizer in Tegelen Dutch agrees with the first conjunct *doow* 'you$_{SG}$' of the coordinated subject. The complementizer in Lapscheure Dutch on the other hand, agrees with the coordinated subject as a whole.[3] Apparently, there are two possible Goals for the complementizer: its feature specification is either determined by the coordination as a whole (as in Lapscheure Dutch) or by the first conjunct of the coordinated subject (as in Tegelen Dutch). Moreover, I show that a similar situation appears in agreement relations between the complementizer and pronominal subjects: when an agreeing complementizer is confronted with a pronominal subject, there are also two equally local Goals for it. More specifically, I show that pronouns are internally complex. For instance, the pronoun *we* can be split in a part that denotes that the pronoun has the speech participant role of speaker and a part that signals that the pronoun is plural. The feature specification of the pronoun as a whole is [SPEAKER, PLURAL]. I show that a Probe can either agree with the part of the pronoun that denotes its speech particpant role, or the part that contains the feature specification of the pronoun as a whole. Consider the examples in (5).

(5) a. … **daβ-st** **du** komst.
that-$_{HEARER.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ come
'…that you will come.'

[Bavarian]

b. … **darr-e** **wiej** komt.
that-$_{SPEAKER}$ we come
'…that we will come.'

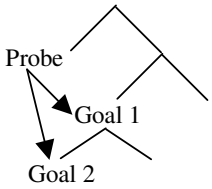
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

Although it is not as straightforward as the examples concerning coordination in (4), I show that the *st*-affix on the complementizer in the a-example from Bavarian reflects a relation with this complete set of features. In other words, it signals both

[3] A potential way to analyse these data is to assume that agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject is related to linear adjacency: whenever a Probe is linearly adjacent to the first conjunct of a coordinated subject, FCA can appear. In the chapters to follow, I argue that FCA cannot be analysed this way. I show that a Probe can only agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject when it is HIERARCHICALLY local enough to the Probe. In particular, I refer the reader to section 4.3 of chapter 4.

the fact that the second person singular subject has the speech participant role of hearer and that it is singular. I argue that the schwa-affix on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch, on the other hand, does not spell out the feature specification of the pronoun as a whole, [SPEAKER, PLURAL]. Rather, it just spells out the relation with the part of the pronoun that signals its speech participant role, in this case [SPEAKER]. This means that also in these examples, there are two potential Goals for the complementizer: the feature set of the pronoun as a whole, and the set of speech participant features. More generally, the configuration in which there is one Probe with two equally local Goals can be schematically represented as in (6).[4]

(6) **One Probe – Two Goals**



In the configuration in (6), it is not immediately clear which Goal will define the feature specification of the Probe. There are several logical possibilities: (i) the features of Goal 1 are spelled out on the Probe, (ii) the features of Goal 2 are spelled out on the Probe, (iii) a combination of the features of Goal 1 and Goal 2 are spelled out on the Probe, (iv) both the features of Goal 1 and the features of Goal 2 determine the feature specification of the Probe or (v) no features are spelled out on the Probe.[5] The answer to this question is of an empirical nature. I demonstrate that – at least in the dialects and languages I discuss in this thesis – either the features of Goal 1 or the features of Goal 2 are spelled out on the Probe. The configuration in (6) raises two important questions: (i) What component of the grammar decides which one of these two Goals eventually determines the feature specification of the Probe? (ii) How does this component decide which Goal determines the feature specification of the Probe?

I propose that although the configuration in which a Probe enters into a relation with two Goals arises during the syntactic derivation, Morphology determines which one of these two relations results in an affix on the Probe.[6] Put differently, the syntactic component provides the configuration in which two Goals are available,

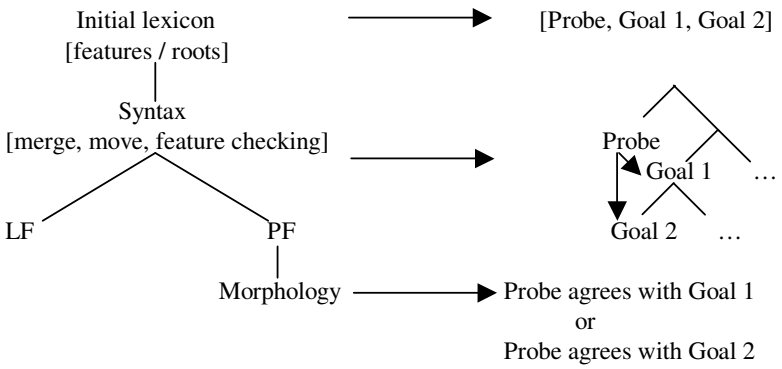
[4] I come back in detail to the tree structures in (2) and (6) in the first chapter. Here, they only serve to show the difference between the unmarked situation, in which there is one Probe and one Goal, and the one discussed in this thesis, in which there is one Probe and two equally local Goals.

[5] At this point, one might wonder how the agreement between a Probe and two Goals is related to the frequently discussed agreement patterns of coordinated subjects (cf. Corbett 1983): in this case too, the agreement on the Probe can reflect the features of Goal 1, Goal 2 or a combination of both. I will not go into this issue here, but I return to it in detail in section 1 of chapter 2.

[6] I assume Morphology to be a subcomponent of the PF-branch (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993, Harley & Noyer 1999). At the level of Morphology feature bundles are replaced with Vocabulary Items. Agreement features are replaced with affixes. I come back to this in detail in section 2 of chapter 1.

and Morphology chooses which one of these Goals eventually defines the agreement morphology on the Probe. This interaction between the syntactic component and the morphological component is schematically represented in (7).

(7) **Interaction between the syntactic and the morphological component**

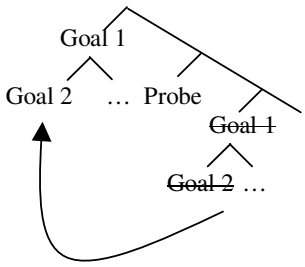


The schematic representation in (7) should be interpreted as follows. The initial lexicon contains the Probe, Goal 1 and Goal 2. The syntactic component establishes a hierarchical ordering between these feature bundles. When the derivation is completed, the Probe finds itself in a configuration in which it has two equally local Goals (as indicated by the arrows). The morphological component decides whether Goal 1 or Goal 2 determines the feature specification on the Probe. I show that Morphology systematically chooses to spell out the relation with that Goal that results in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe. More concretely, I show that if, for example, the features of Goal 1 result in no agreement morphology on the Probe, whereas the features of Goal 2 do result in agreement morphology, the features of the latter will be spelled out on the Probe. If, on the other hand, the situation is reversed and Goal 1 results in an agreement affix on the Probe, whereas Goal 2 does not, the features of the former will be spelled out as an agreement affix on the Probe.[7] Several other possible situations will be discussed in chapter 1.

Furthermore, I show that movement of Goal 1 to a position c-commanding the Probe affects the possibilities of the Probe with respect to agreement: when Goal 1 in the structure in (6) moves past the Probe as in (8), the Probe can no longer agree with Goal 2, which is part of the internal structure of Goal 1.

[7] Note that I assume that there are zero-affixes. This means that 'no agreement morphology' should literally be taken to mean 'no agreement morphology' and not the absence of overt agreement morphology.

(8)



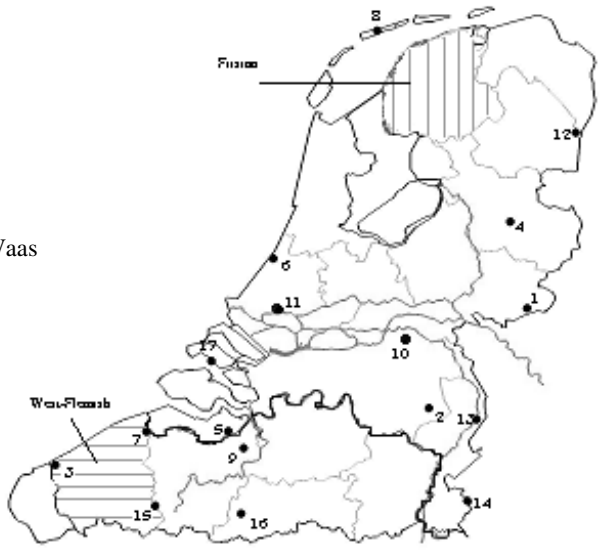
In the configuration in (8), the constituent Goal 1 which contains Goal 2, has moved past the Probe. I show that in this case the affix on the Probe is obligatorily dependent on the feature specification of Goal 1 and cannot be determined by Goal 2. This has already been observed in the literature on agreement with coordinated subjects by among others Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche (1994), Munn (1999) and Doron (2000) (for a more complete overview of this literature, see section 4 of chapter 2). They show that when a coordinated subject moves to a position c-commanding the Probe, the Probe can no longer agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. I show that this generalisation does not only hold for agreement with coordinated subjects but also for agreement with pronominal subjects.

The empirical focus of this thesis

Agreement phenomena in Dutch dialects form the empirical focus of this thesis. It should be clear that it is not the objective of this thesis to describe the full range of variation concerning agreement in Dutch dialects. Rather, I show that certain instances of variation provide a tool to gain insight into both syntactic and morphological agreement and into the interaction between Syntax and Morphology. Furthermore, I show that an indepth investigation of certain agreement phenomena in these closely related languages confirms once more the idea that the locus of microparametric variation is the lexicon (cf. Chomsky 1995). The geographic distribution of the Dutch dialects (spoken in the Netherlands and Flanders/Belgium) under discussion in this thesis is represented in the map in (9).

(9) Dialects discussed in this thesis

1 Aalten
2 Asten
3 De Panne
4 Hellendoorn
5 Hulst
6 Katwijk
7 Lapscheure
8 Lies
9 Nieuwkerken-Waas
10 Oss
11 Rotterdam
12 Roswinkel
13 Tegelen
14 Waubach
15 Waregem
16 Wambeek
17 Zierikzee



The research reported in this thesis is part of a larger project investigating syntactic variation in dialects of Dutch, i.e the SAND-project (Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten – Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects)[8]. This project started in January 2000, with the objective to map syntactic variation concerning pronominal reference, negation and quantification and the left and right periphery of the clause. The SAND-project resulted in two databases for microparametric research. The first one provides an overview of the literature on variation in Dutch dialects. The second one contains data of the fieldwork conducted for this project in 266 Dutch dialect communities in the Netherlands and Flanders (Belgium).

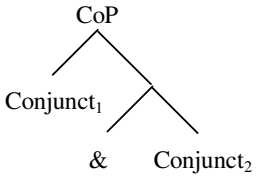
Outline of the thesis

In chapter 1, I provide a detailed discussion of the configuration discussed above in which a Probe has two equally local Goals to agree with. I show how this configuration comes about in the syntactic component and how the morphological component deals with it. In this chapter, I also make explicit my assumptions about the syntactic and the morphological component.

[8] For more information concerning the SAND-project, the reader is referred to the website of this project: http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/projecten/sand/sandeng.html

Chapter 2 contains the first case study of a Probe encountering two Goals, namely agreement with coordinated subjects.[9] I assume that coordinated phrases have the structure in (10) (for argumentation in favour of this structure cf. among others Munn 1993, Kayne 1994, Johannessen 1998, Progovac 1998). The conjunction constitutes the head of the coordination phrase. The second conjunct forms the complement of the conjunction. The first conjunct is situated in its specifier.

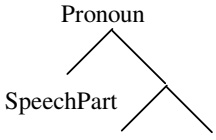
(10) **Structure of coordination**



I show that during the syntactic derivation the configuration arises in which CoP and the conjunct in Spec,CoP are equally local with respect to the Probe, and that they are both suitable Goals for the Probe. At the level of Morphology, one of these two agreement relations has to be spelled out as an agreement affix on the Probe. Either the features of CoP are spelled out on the Probe, resulting in agreement either with the coordinated subject as a whole, henceforth referred to as Full Agreement (FA) or with those of the first conjunct in Spec,CoP, resulting in First Conjunct Agreement (FCA) on the Probe. Both situations are attested in Dutch dialects, as was already shown in the examples in (4). Furthermore, I show that when the coordinated subject moves out of the c-command domain of the Probe, the Probe can no longer agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject.

Chapter 3 contains the second case study of a Probe with two Goals, namely agreement with pronominal subjects. I assume that pronouns are internally complex (cf. among others Haegeman 1993; Cardinaletti & Starke 1994; Rooryck 1999, to appear; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). I argue that the specifier of the pronominal projection contains the speech participant features of the pronoun. This is illustrated in (11).

(11) **Internal structure of pronouns**



[9] Another potential case study of the configuration in (6), is agreement with a DP which contains a possessor. This possessor could be assumed to be in Spec,DP. The Probe could then be expected to agree with either the possessor or the DP as a whole. I return to this case in detail in section 2.4 of chapter 5.

I show that during the syntactic derivation the configuration arises in which both the maximal projection of this pronominal structure and the speech participant features (SpeechPart) of the pronominal structure are equally local Goals with respect to the Probe. The Probe enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals simulataneously. At the level of Morphology, the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out as an affix on the Probe. I demonstrate that the situation in which there is agreement with the speech participant features of a pronoun arises in the dialect of Hellendoorn. In other varieties of Dutch, for instance in Tegelen Dutch, the relation between the Probe and the pronoun as a whole is spelled out. Once again, I show that movement of the pronominal projection out of the c-command domain of the Probe results in a situation in which agreement with SpeechPart, the Goal internal to the pronominal projection, is impossible.

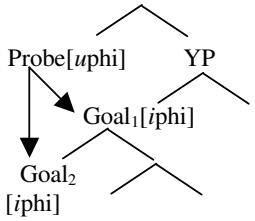
In Chapter 4, I discuss the implications of the data and analysis provided in chapters 2 and 3 for previous analyses of Complementizer Agreement, Double Agreement and First Conjunct Agreement. Finally, chapter 5 highlights the most important conclusions of this thesis and suggests avenues for future research.

Chapter One Theoretical background

1. Introduction

As I have discussed in the general introduction to this thesis, this thesis investigates the configuration in which a Probe encounters two equally local Goals instead of one. This configuration is schematically represented in the structure in (1).

(1)



In this chapter, I show how this configuration comes about and what the consequences of this configuration are for the agreement morphology on the Probe. In order to do so, I first have to discuss some of the assumptions I make concerning the computational system. Section 2 introduces the framework I adopt in this thesis. The third section further explores the configuration sketched in (1). I argue that the configuration in (1) arises during the syntactic derivation. At the level of Morphology, it is determined whether the feature specification of Goal 1 or that of Goal 2 is spelled out as agreement morphology on the Probe. I make explicit the mechanism on the basis of which this decision is made.

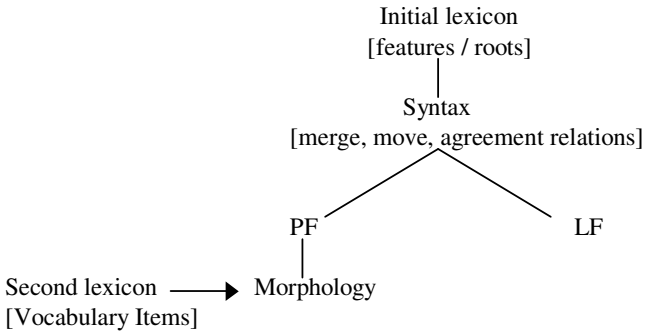
2. The framework

I assume a model of the grammar that combines a Minimalist view on Syntax (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001a,b) with Distributed Morphology (cf. among others Halle & Marantz 1993). Syntax is considered to be a purely derivational system. Furthermore, one of the objectives of the Minimalist Program is to reduce the number of theoretical primitives. For example, it is no longer assumed that there is

an X'-schema available in Syntax. Rather, there are Generalized Transformations: *Merge* and *Move*. Merge takes two items out of the lexicon and combines them. Move remerges an item that is already present in the derivation. The result of dispensing with the X'-schema is that configurational notions that make use of it, such as Government and Spec,Head-agreement are no longer assumed to be part of the system. The objective of the syntactic derivation is to establish hierarchical relations between terminal elements and to make sure that the derivation is legible at the interfaces.

Adopting the framework of Distributed Morphology implies that Syntax only operates on roots and feature bundles, not on fully specified lexical items (for an indepth discussion of this framework see among others Halle & Marantz 1993; Halle 1997; Harley & Noyer 1999). These feature bundles are extracted out of the initial lexicon which consists solely of roots and features. Once merged into the syntactic derivation, the feature bundles can be modified (checked or valued) and in a subset of cases they are moved. At the level of Morphology, the feature bundles are replaced by Vocabulary Items that are extracted out of a second lexicon. This view on the computational system is schematically represented in the figure in (2).[1]

(2) **The computational system**



As this thesis is mainly concerned with agreement, I will not go into all the ins and outs of either Minimalism or Distributed Morphology. Rather, I focus on the main characteristics of these theoretical frameworks with respect to agreement.

[1] There are several other conceptions of the interaction between Syntax and Morphology. I refer the reader to Borer (2001) for an overview and for arguments *pro* and *contra* these ideas.

2.1 Agreement in Syntax

As I have already discussed in the general introduction to this thesis, I assume the agreement relation between a Probe and a Goal to be asymmetric.[2] It is the Goal that determines the phi-feature values of the Probe and not vice versa. I make this asymmetry between Probe and Goal explicit on the basis of the example in (3).

(3) De honden spel-en met de bal.
the dogs play-$_{PL}$ with the ball
'The dogs are playing with the ball.'
[standard Dutch]

In this example, the Probe *spelen* 'to play' receives its feature specification from the Goal, in this case the subject *de honden* 'the dogs'. If the Goal is plural, as it is in (3), the Probe is also plural. If on the other hand the Goal is singular, the Probe will also become singular. Put differently, the Probe does not have a phi-feature specification of its own, but adapts its phi-feature specification to that of the Goal.

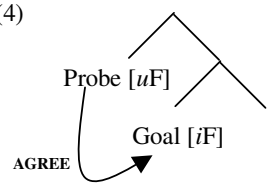
This dichotomy between Probe and Goal is implemented in the theory by the stipulation that there is a difference between interpretable and uninterpretable features.[3] Interpretable features are, for instance, phi-features on nominals. Uninterpretable features are their counterparts on, for instance, finite verbs. Probes enter the derivation with uninterpretable features. These features have to be related to their interpretable counterparts on a Goal. Chomsky (2000, 2001a) introduces the hypothesis that uninterpretable features do not have a value when they enter the derivation, whereas interpretable ones do. I follow the proposal of Chomsky (2000, 2001a) and assume that syntactic agreement between a Probe and a Goal is triggered by the presence of unvalued features on the Probe.

These unvalued features seek to be valued. In order to be valued the unvalued features have to be related to their valued counterparts. This is what I refer to as *syntactic agreement*.[4] I assume that syntactic agreement is regulated via the mechanism *Agree* (Chomsky 2000). I assume, following a suggestion of Chomsky (2001b:13-14), that the operation Agree is part of Spell-Out: Agree takes place when

[2] But cf. footnote 1 of the introduction to this thesis for alternative views.
[3] Zwart (2002) provides a different way to implement the asymmetry of the agreement relation. He argues that there are only interpretable features present on DPs, i.e. that there are no uninterpretable features on functional heads that require checking. The DP's (interpretable) features are passed on to the projection it is merged with via sisterhood. These features are spelled out on a suitable terminal element of the 'sister-projection'.
[4] Chomsky (2000) assumes that syntactic agreement is a two-way operation. The Probe searches a Goal with matching features, but the Goal in turn has to be active in order to value the unvalued features of the Probe. The Goal is active when it has an unvalued Case feature. The Probe can value this unvalued Case feature if the Probe is phi-complete, i.e. if the Probe has both person and number features. I come back to the issue of the Goal having to be active in order to participate in a syntactic agreement relation in chapter two. López (2002:168-169) discusses some empirical problems for the hypothesis that Goals are only active if they have unvalued Case and also for the hypothesis that Agree is sensitive to the phi-completeness of Probes.

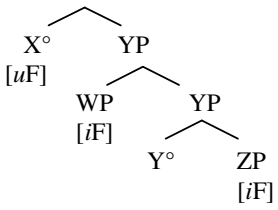
the syntactic derivation is transferred to PF. The operation Agree operates as follows. Agree searches the c-command domain of the Probe and identifies an element as a suitable Goal when it meets certain requirements: it has to be local and it has to have matching features[5] (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b). Agree establishes a relation between the Probe and the Goal. This is illustrated in the structure in (4).

(4)



It is possible that the c-command domain contains more than one Goal with features matching those of the Probe. In this case, Agree relates the Probe to the most local Goal available (Chomsky 2000). I will make this explicit on the basis of the configuration in (5).[6]

(5)



In this structure, X° is a Probe with unvalued features. The c-command domain of X° contains two potential Goals with matching features, i.e. WP and ZP. Although both Goals match the features of the Probe, the Probe ends up agreeing with WP and not with ZP, as the former Goal is more local to X°. I define locality in terms of c-command. The definitions of 'equally local' and 'more local' are provided in (6) and (7) respectively.

(6) **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.

[5] 'Matching features' are features that are of the same type. They do not necessarily have to have the same values. So, for instance, a number feature with the value plural matches another number feature with the value plural, but it also matches a number feature without a value or with the value singular.
[6] I assume that specifiers are adjoined phrases (cf. Kayne 1994).

(7) **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.

The definition of c-command is given in (8).

(8) **c-command**
X c-commands Y, iff
(i) X excludes Y[7]
(ii) the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y.

For the tree structure in (5), this means that WP is more local to X° than ZP, as WP is c-commanded by a subset of the nodes that c-command ZP. WP is only c-commanded by X°, whereas ZP is c-commanded by X° , WP and Y°.

To summarise, in this section I have outlined my assumptions concerning syntactic agreement. I assume that Agree operates at Spell-Out, on the hierarchical structure derived in the syntactic component. Agree establishes a relation between the Probe and the most local Goal in the c-command domain of that Probe.

2.2 Agreement in Morphology

In the previous subsection I have discussed syntactic agreement. I have shown that in Syntax, or more precisely at the Spell-Out point to PF, a relation is established between a Probe with unvalued features and a Goal with the valued counterparts of these features. At the level of Morphology, this agreement relation has to be spelled out. As I already discussed in the introduction, I assume that the syntactic component only operates on feature bundles. These feature bundles are replaced by Vocabulary Items in the morphological component. Replacing feature bundles with Vocabulary Items is what I refer to as *morphological agreement*. In this section, I briefly go into the question how the Vocabulary Items replacing the feature bundles are selected. Halle (1997) argues that the insertion of affixes is regulated via the Subset Principle. The definition of this principle is provided in (9) (Halle 1997: 428, cf. also Harley & Noyer 1999:5).

[7] X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.

(9) **Subset Principle**
The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a morpheme in the terminal string of the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary Item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary Items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen.

I clarify the Subset Principle on the basis of the verbal agreement paradigm of Roswinkel Dutch. Consider the verbal agreement paradigm in the present tense of this dialect in the table in (10).[8]

(10)

feature specification subject	affix on the finite verb
1P.SG	-0
2P.SG	-st
3P.SG	-t
1P.PL	-n
2P.PL	-n
3P.PL	-n

The affixes in this dialect can be represented as follows.

(11) [1P.SG] → -0
[2P.SG] → -st
[3P.SG] → -t
[PL] → -n

Suppose that in this dialect a phi-feature bundle specified [2P.PL] has to be replaced with a Vocabulary Item. In the list of insertion conditions for affixes provided in (11) there is only one Vocabulary Item that qualifies, namely the affix *–n*. This affix contains a subset of the feature bundle's specifications, namely the specification [PL]. The *st*-affix cannot be inserted, as it has the specification [SG] which is not present in the feature bundle it is supposed to replace.

In principle, it is possible that one feature bundle can be replaced by two affixes, i.e. there is more than one affix that matches all the feature bundle's specifications or a subset thereof. According to the Subset Principle, the Vocabulary Item that matches the largest number of features of the feature bundle should be inserted in this case. An example of competing Vocabulary Items can be found in the paradigm of adjectival inflection in standard Dutch (Sauerland 1996:27).

[8] The examples provided in this subsection only serve to illustrate the Subset Principle and do not necessarily provide the correct feature inventory of dialects discussed. I assume that the feature value singular is present as a value, although it is usually assumed to be the unmarked feature specification for number. I return to this issue in section 3.2 of chapter 2.

(12)

	[-neuter]	[+neuter]
[-PL]	-e	0
[+PL]	-e	-e

Adjectives modifying a noun in standard Dutch always carry a schwa-ending with one exception: if the noun is singular neuter, no schwa-ending appears. Sauerland (1996) interprets this pattern as follows. He argues that the Dutch adjectival agreement paradigm has two affixes: an elsewhere-affix[9] and an affix belonging to a specific feature specification. The schwa-ending is the elsewhere-affix and can appear in any context. Furthermore, there is a zero-affix which is specified for singular neuter.[10] If a singular neuter feature bundle on an adjective has to be replaced by a Vocabulary Item, both affixes could in principle be used, as both contain (a subset of) the feature bundle they should replace. Elsewhere-affixes can, by definition, be inserted in all contexts (cf. also footnote 9). This means that the elsewhere-affix can also be insterted in the singular neuter context, as it's unspecified feature specification is also consistent with a singular neuter feature specification. The zero-affix matches all features of the singular neuter feature bundle and therefore can also be inserted. In this case, the zero-affix is inserted, as it matches more features of the feature bundle than the elsewhere-affix. In the case of adjectival agreement in standard Dutch an elsewhere-affix and a specific affix (i.e. an affix expressing a particular person/number combination) compete to replace the same feature bundle. In this case, it is the specific affix that takes precedence over the elsewhere-affix, because the feature specification of the specific affix matches more values of the feature bundle that should be replaced than the elsewhere-affix. It can also occur that two specific affixes are competing for the same entry. This is for instance the case in the present tense agreement paradigm of inverted finite verbs in the Dutch dialect of Asten. Consider the verbal agreement paradigm of this dialect in (13).[11]

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[9] An elsewhere-affix is an affix without a feature specification. This means that an elsewhere-affix can be inserted in any context according to the Subset Principle, as it always contains a subset of the features of the terminal item it replaces: namely no features of the terminal item.

[10] Adjectives followed by the schwa-ending allow for NP-ellipsis (cf. example (i)), whereas adjectives that are not overtly inflected do not allow for noun-ellipsis (cf. example (ii)).

(i) Ik heb een rooi-e fiets gekocht en een groen-e ____
I have a red-e bike bought and a green-e
'I have bought a red bike and a green one'

(ii) * Ik heb een rood boek gekocht en een blauw ____
I have a red book bought and a blue [standard Dutch]

If NP-ellipsis in Standard Dutch is licensed by the presence of agreement morphology (as proposed by among others Bennis & Hoekstra 1989:33), the example in (ii) shows that the agreement morphology on the non-overtly inflected adjective is absent rather than zero.

[11] For argumentation that the *de*-element is indeed an affix in this dialect rather than a clitic pronoun, cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002-2003:71-72).

(13)

feature specification subject	affix on the finite verb
1P.SG	-0
2P.SG	-de
3P.SG	-t
1P.PL	-n
2P.PL	-de
3P.PL	-n

The feature specification of the affixes in this dialect can be represented as in (14).

(14) [1P.SG] → -0
[2P] → -de
[3P.SG] → -t
[PL] → -n

Suppose that in this dialect a feature bundle with the specification [2P.PL] has to be replaced by a Vocabulary Item. In this case there are two affixes with matching features: *-de* and *-n*. The question arises which of the two available affixes is inserted here. Noyer (1992) argues that if two specific affixes compete to replace the same feature bundle, the affix expressing the more highly ranked feature takes precedence over the other affix. This universal feature hierarchy states that a feature specification for [person] is ranked higher than a specification for [number]. For the situation at hand, this means that the *de*-affix, which expresses person, takes precedence over the *n*-affix, which expresses number.

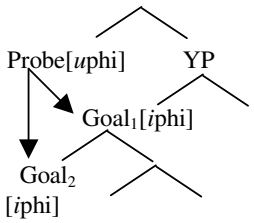
To summarise, at the level of Morphology feature bundles are replaced by Vocabulary Items. Vocabulary Insertion takes place via the Subset Principle (Halle 1997). A Vocabulary Item has to match either the complete set or a subset of the values of the feature bundle it replaces. A Vocabulary Item cannot replace a feature bundle when it has feature specifications that are not present on that feature bundle. If two items compete for insertion, the most specific one takes precedence over the less specific ones. Furthermore, if there is competition among specific affixes, the affix with the feature specification ranked higher on the universal scale of features is selected.

3. The topic of this thesis: One Probe – two Goals

3.1 The syntactic part of the derivation

In the previous section, I have outlined my assumptions about the syntactic and the morphological component. I have adopted the idea that syntactic agreement is regulated via the mechanism *Agree*. Furthermore, I have shown how the feature bundles that result from syntactic agreement are replaced by Vocabulary Items. At this point, I can return to the main topic of this thesis. As discussed in the introduction, the objective of this thesis is to investigate the situation in which a Probe for agreement is related not to one, but rather to two Goals simultaneously. Reconsider the tree structure in (1), repeated here as (15).

(15)



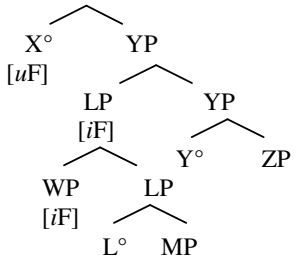
In this structure, the Probe has unvalued phi-features. These features have to be related to matching, valued features in order for the derivation to converge. In the situation sketched in (15), the Probe encounters two potential Goals. As I already discussed above, the c-command domain of a Probe can contain more than one Goal. When these Goals are not equally local to the Probe, only one of them, namely the one that is more local to the Probe, will enter into an agreement relation with that Probe. In the configuration in (15) however, the Goals are equally local to the Probe, given the definitions of locality and c-command in (6)-(8), repeated here as (16)-(18).

(16) **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.

(17) **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.

(18) **c-command**
X c-commands Y, iff
(i) X excludes Y[12]
(ii) the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y.

(19)



In the structure in (19), the c-command domain of Probe X° contains two matching Goals with valued features, namely LP and WP. Both are potential Goals, as they both have a set of matching features and they both are c-commanded by X°. Furthermore, they are equally local to X° as the set of nodes c-commanding LP is identical to the set of nodes c-commanding WP: both are c-commanded by X° and by X° alone.[13]

The question arises what happens if the c-command domain of the Probe contains two equally local Goals.[14] In order to answer this question, I first have to be a bit more specific about the Agree-mechanism. I would like to propose that Agree identifies which element is a potential Goal for the Probe and establishes a relation between the Probe and this Goal. I assume that it is the relation between Probe and Goal that takes care of 'feature valuation', rather than for instance copying of the values of the Goal's features onto the Probe. More specifically, I assume that the problem caused by the presence of unvalued features for the derivation is eliminated by the fact that the Probe is related to a Goal. This conception of Agree is in a sense similar to 'feature sharing' as proposed by Frampton & Gutmann (2000) and also to

[12] X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.
[13] WP is only c-commanded by X° and not by Y°, or YP. Y° does not c-command WP as the first node that dominates Y°, namely the lower YP, does not dominate WP. YP does not c-command WP, as YP does not exclude WP: there is a segment of YP dominating WP. X° does c-command WP, as X° excludes WP and the first node that dominates X°, dominates WP. The same reasoning holds for LP.
[14] At this point, a comparison with the work of Susana Bejar (cf. in particular Bejar 2003) on agreement phenomena in so-called Context-Sensitive Agreement languages (i.e. languages in which the agreement on the Probe signals the phi-feature specification of either the subject or the object depending on the phi-feature specifications of these arguments) would be interesting. I compare her analysis of agreement phenomena to the one developed here for Dutch dialects in section 2.3 of chapter 5.

the conception of agreement as adopted in HPSG-accounts of agreement (cf. for instance Pollard & Sag 1994, Kathol 1999). According to this literature, a Goal shares its features with the Probe when it is in an agreement relation with the Probe. The agreement mechanism as proposed in the HPSG-model differs in one crucial aspect from the mechanism adopted here. In HPSG-models it is assumed that the Probe and the Goal in effect share the same set of features. This means that the Probe cannot entertain an agreement relation with two Goals with different features, as in this case the Probe potentially contains conflicting features. In my conception, the feature values of the Goal stay on the Goal, but the Probe has access to these feature values by virtue of being in a relation with that Goal.

Agree identifies an element as a suitable Goal when it meets certain requirements: it has to be local and it has to have matching features (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b).[15] In the configuration in (15), there are two potential Goals. They are equally local to the Probe and they both have matching features. If they are not equally local, the more local Goal is selected over the other available Goal(s) (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b). There are two ways to interpret this statement: either Agree 'sees' all available Goals in the c-command domain of the Probe, but only relates the most local Goal to the Probe or Agree only 'sees' the most local Goal with respect to the Probe. Although nothing really hinges on it, I assume that the latter interpretation of this statement is correct: Agree only 'sees' the most local Goal in the c-command domain of the Probe. When two Goals are equally local, they are found in the same application of the operation Agree. I assume that as they are found simultaneously, Agree simultaneously identifies them as suitable Goals and simultaneously establishes a relation between these two Goals and the Probe.

Crucially, as I already pointed out in section 2.1 of this chapter, I assume that Agree is sensitive to hierarchical structure (*contra*, among others, Ackema & Neeleman (to appear) who assume that certain agreement relations are solely sensitive to linear adjacency). The operation Agree operates on the hierarchical structure established during the syntactic derivation. In the chapters to follow, I show that hierarchical structure does indeed have an influence on agreement relations (cf. in particular section 3.5 of chapter 2, section 3.4 of chapter 3 and section 2.3.4 of chapter 4).

[15] Cf. Bejar (2003) for an interesting expansion of the requirement that the Probe and the Goal have to have matching features.

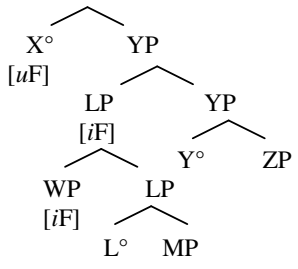
3.2. The morphological part of the derivation

In the default case, i.e. the one in which a Probe for agreement has only one Goal, the features expressed on the Probe are determined by this Goal. Put differently, the agreement affix on the Probe reflects (a part of) the feature specification of the Goal. In the configuration investigated in this thesis, the Probe is not related to just one Goal, but to two Goals. The question arises how Morphology selects the agreement affix on the Probe in this case. There are several logical possibilities:

(i) Both agreement relations are spelled out, resulting in two affixes on the Probe. Each affix reflects the feature specification of one Goal.
(ii) One of the agreement relations is spelled out, resulting in one affix on the Probe. The feature specification of only one of the two Goals is spelled out on the Probe.
(iii) Both agreement relations are spelled out, resulting in one affix expressing (a subset of) the features of both Goals at the same time.
(iv) None of the agreement relations is spelled out, resulting in either a crashing derivation (Morphology is not able to cope with the situation), in no agreement affix on the Probe or in a default agreement affix on the Probe.

In chapters 2 and 3, I show that when the situation in (19) arises in the languages and dialects discussed in this thesis, only one of the two agreement relations is spelled out: Morphology chooses one of the two available Goals to define the agreement morphology on the Probe.[16] When there are two Goals available to a Probe, the Goal that determines the affix spelled out on the Probe is not selected randomly. Rather, I show that the relation between the Probe and the Goal that results in the more specific agreement morphology will be spelled out. For the structure in (19), repeated here for convenience as (20), this means that the relation between X° and LP is spelled out on the Probe and not that between X° and WP if the former relation results in more specific morphology on Probe X° and *vice versa*.

(20)



[16] I do not want to exclude the possibility that other languages choose different strategies to resolve the problem for Morphology caused by the situation in (19).

The question is how 'more specific morphology' should be defined. In the preceding section, I have indicated that there are affixes in the Vocabulary Item lexicon (i.e the second lexicon in figure 2) which belong to a particular combination of phi-features. I refer to those affixes with the term 'specific affixes'. Furthermore, there are affixes that do not contain any information concerning phi-features.[17] To those I refer with the term 'elsewhere-affixes'. I assume that when Morphology can choose to spell out either a specific affix or an elsewhere-affix, it opts for the former. Furthermore, if one of the relations does not lead to agreement morphology while the other one does, Morphology chooses to spell out the relation resulting in agreement morphology on the Probe.[18] The rational behind this assumption is that Morphology will always choose to spell out the affix that provides the most specific information. A specific affix provides information concerning phi-features, an elsewhere-affix at the least indicates that there is an agreement relation, whereas the absence of an affix also means the absence of information. This means that a specific affix provides more specific information than an elsewhere-affix, while an elsewhere-affix in turn provides more specific information than no affix.

At this point the question arises what happens when the Probe entertains two agreement relations and both these relations result in a specific affix. As far as I can see, there are two possible scenario's. The first one is that there is a real difference between elsewhere-affixes and specific affixes. Specific affixes are ranked with respect to elsewhere-affixes, but they are not ranked with respect to each other. This means that when two specific affixes compete for insertion, Morphology cannot choose one over the other as both provide specific information concerning phi-feature specification. It cannot be determined which affix is 'more specific', as both single out a particular person/number combination. As a consequence, the affixes are inserted randomly. The second, more favourable, option is that specific affixes are ranked with respect to one another, just as specific affixes and elsewhere-affixes are. There is no difference between specific affixes and elsewhere-affixes: specificity can be seen as a sliding scale with on the one end the most specific, specific affix and on the other end an elsewhere-affix. In this view, it is the case that when two specific affixes are competing for insertion, the one providing the more specific information is choosen to be spelled out on the Probe. It is clear that when a specific affix competes with an elsewhere-affix, the former is more specific as it is the only one with a phi-feature specification. When, on the other hand, two specific affixes are competing for insertion, both contain a certain phi-feature specification. The question arises how it can be determined which of these two affixes and hence which of these two phi-feature specifications is more specific. One possibility is that it is the number of features that is relevant: the more specific affix is the affix that

[17] Although elsewhere-affixes contain no information concerning phi-features, tense etcetera, they do presumably contain categorical features (V, N, A), restricting the affix to a certain domain. I abstract away from these categorical features for convenience.

[18] At this point it is crucial to make a distinction between zero affixes and the absence of an affix. I assume, following among others Halle & Marantz (1993:133), that zero affixes are real in the sense that there are indeed affixes that have no phonological content (for a different view cf. among others Anderson 1992).

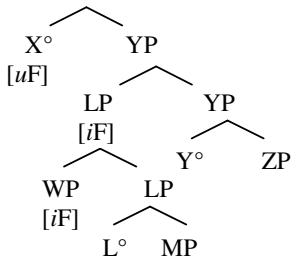
expresses most features. This means, for instance, that when there are two potential affixes, one with the feature specification [2P] and the other with the feature specification [2P.PL], the latter one is selected as it expresses more features. Alternatively, the universal feature hierarchy provided by Noyer (1992), discussed in section 2.2 of this chapter, could also be crucial here. According to this hierarchy, person features are ranked higher than number features. If this mechanism is also at work when two specific affixes are available for insertion, it is expected that the relation resulting in an affix expressing person is selected over a relation that results in an affix expressing number. I return to competition between two specific affixes in section 3.2 of chapter 2 and in section 5 of chapter 3. As long as there is no evidence to the contrary, I assume that the latter option is right and that there is no real difference between specific affixes and elsewhere-affixes: when there is a choice, Morphology chooses the affix that provides the most specific information. I will continue to use the terminology specific affix and elsewhere-affix for convenience.

Another question arising at this point is how Morphology searches the lexicon when confronted with a configuration discussed here in which a Probe entertains two agreement relations with just one slot for spelling out agreement. There are two potential views. The first one is that Morphology searches the lexicon and selects the most suitable affix for each agreement relation according to the Subset Principle discussed in section 2.2 of this chapter. Subsequently, Morphology compares these two affixes and selects the more specific affix and inserts this more specific affix. Another view on this selection process is that Morphology searches the Vocabulary Item lexicon on the basis of the two different feature specifications at the same time. As soon as it finds a suitable affix for one of the two relations, it inserts this affix. On the basis of the assumption that affixes are ordered according to their specificity, the most specific affix emerging firstly, it is always the most specific affix that is selected by Morphology. Which one of these views is correct is again an empirical question. As I do not know of a way to differentiate between these two possibilities, I leave this question open for further research.

Finally, I would like to introduce one important caveat: it is not necessarily the case that the GOAL with the most specific feature specification determines the agreement morphology on the Probe in case there are two Goals. It is crucially the Goal whose FEATURE SPECIFICATION results in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe. Let me illustrate this on the basis of a(n imaginary) example. Suppose there are two Goals. The first one is specified for first person plural, the second one has the specification singular. By standard assumptions concerning underspecification, the feature specification of the first Goal is more specific than that of the second Goal: the first Goal is specified for person, while the second one is not, the first one expresses more features than the second one, and finally the second one in contrast to the first one has the underspecified value for the feature number. When the second Goal leads to a specific affix, whereas the former leads to no affix at all, I show that it is the second Goal with the less specific feature specification, that results in agreement morphology on the Probe.

With all this in mind, reconsider the tree structure in (19), repeated here for convenience in (21).

(21)



If the relation between X° and LP results in a specific affix and that between X° and WP in an elsewhere-affix, Morphology will spell out the relation between X° and LP. If the situation is reversed, Morphology spells out the relation between WP and X° rather than that between LP and X°. Given the configuration in (19), there are nine logical possibilities, represented in the table in (22).

(22)

LP	**WP**	**result**	**chapter**	**section**
specific	specific	specific	2 3	3.2 5.2.1
specific	elsewhere	specific, LP	2 3	3.3 5.2.2
specific	no affix	specific, LP	2 2 3 3	3.3 3.2 3.3 5.2.3
elsewhere	specific	specific, WP	2 3 3 3	3.4 3.2 5.3.1 5.3.2
elsewhere	elsewhere	elsewhere	-	-
elsewhere	no affix	elsewhere	3	3.3
no affix	specific	specific, WP	2 2 2	3.1 3.2 3.4
no affix	elsewhere	elsewhere	2	3.4
no affix	no affix	no affix	-	-

This table should be interpreted as follows. The first column specifies what type of affix will appear on Probe X° if the agreement relation between X° and LP is spelled out. The second column does the same, but now for Goal WP. In the third column it

is indicated which affix is spelled out on the Probe under the assumption that the more specific agreement affix takes precedence over the less specific one. Columns four and five show where the relevant combination is discussed in this thesis.

4. Summary

To summarise, I assume that the syntactic component extracts feature bundles from the initial lexicon. Some of these feature bundles contain unvalued features, Probes. At the point that the syntactic derivation is sent off to PF, these Probes are related to their valued counterparts, Goals, by the operation Agree. Agree crucially makes use of the hierarchical structure derived at during the syntactic derivation. More specifically, Agree searches the c-command domain of the Probe looking for the hierarchically most local Goal for this Probe. Agree establishes a relation between this Probe and the Goal. At PF, and more precisely at the level of Morphology, this relation is spelled out with an agreement affix on the Probe.

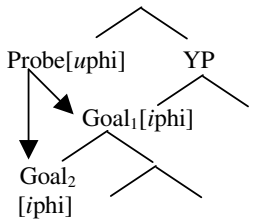
This thesis investigates the configuration in which Agree searches the c-command domain of the Probe and finds two equally local Goals in its c-command domain instead of one local Goal. Agree establishes a relation between the Probe and each of these Goals. At the level of Morphology, only one of these relations can be spelled out on the Probe. This means that a decision has to be made as to which of these two relations qualifies best. I assume that the relation resulting in the more specific agreement affix on the Probe gets spelled out.

Chapter Two Agreement with coordinated subjects

1. Introduction

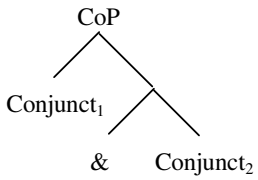
In the preceding chapter, I have introduced the main topic of this thesis. I have shown that during the syntactic derivation the configuration can arise in which a Probe for agreement does not have one, but two equally local Goals in its c-command domain. This is schematically represented in (1).

(1)



In the preceding chapter, I have argued that a Probe encountering two equally local Goals as in (1), enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals simultaneously. This means that the Probe ends up entertaining two agreement relations instead of one. At the level of Morphology, one of these two relations has to be spelled out as agreement morphology on the Probe. I have put forth the hypothesis that it is the relation that results in the more specific agreement morphology on the Probe that is spelled out. In this chapter, I present the first case study of the configuration sketched in (1), namely agreement with coordinated subjects in Dutch dialects. As I have already discussed in the introduction to this thesis, I assume that coordinated DPs should be structurally represented as in (2) (for argumentation in favour of this structure cf. among others Munn 1993, Kayne 1994, Johannessen 1998, Progovac 1998).

(2)



Conjoined noun phrases do not necessarily carry the same set of person, number and gender features. This means that when a verb agrees with these conjoined noun phrases, it is not apparent with which set of features it should agree, i.e. with the features of the first noun phrase or with those of the second one. There are several ways to resolve this situation (cf. Corbett 1983, 1991, 2000, 2003), one of which is to avoid coordinations of conjuncts with different or even conflicting feature specifications altogether. Another way discussed extensively by Corbett (1983) is to make use of so-called *resolution*. He shows that in many languages the agreement on the finite verb carries a set of features reflecting a combination of the features of the conjuncts. Corbett (1983) refers to the rules that establish this combination as *resolution rules*. The resolution rules for person and number are universal and provided below (Corbett 1983:176).

(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[1,2]

The rules for person resolution are ordered with respect to one another.[3] This means that if a coordinated phrase contains a first and a second person conjunct, the resolved feature bundle act as a first person. I assume that the resolved feature bundle belongs to the coordinated subject as a whole.

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[1] In this thesis, I will only be concerned with the coordination of definite DPs. The feature specification of, for instance, a coordination of indefinite DPs or of mass nouns is calculated differently. Consider for instance the examples in (ia) and (ib), in which the agreement morphology on the finite verb is singular rather than plural.

(i) a. Er is een bus en een tram voorbijgekomen.
there is a bus and a tram past.come
'A bus and a tram came past.'
b. Koffie en suiker ligt op de straat.
coffee and sugar lies on the street
'There is coffee and sugar on the street.' [standard Dutch]

For an indepth discussion of plurality and singularity with these types of coordination, I refer the reader to Cremers (2001) and Sauerland (2004) among others.

[2] In languages with more than one grammatical number this rule is a bit more complicated (cf. Corbett 1983:177; Corbett 2000:198).

[3] Apart from person and number resolution rules, Corbett (1983, 1991) also discusses resolution rules for gender. These latter resolution rules appear to be much less predictable than the former. As agreement for gender is not attested on the finite verb or the complementizer in Dutch dialects, I will not pursue this issue here.

Another way to handle agreement with coordinated phrases is to agree with just one of its conjuncts.[4] In this chapter, I show that agreement with just one of the conjuncts of a coordinated subject or agreement with its resolved features are not just strategies that exist side by side, but rather that the choice for one or the other strategy is made systematically on the basis of which option results in more specific agreement morphology on the Probe.

The resolution rules provided above are also at work in (standard and dialectal) Dutch. Consider the examples in (3).[5]

(3) a. Britt en ik scham-en ons voor dat verhaal!
[Britt and I]$_{1P.PL}$ shame-$_{PL}$ us$_{1P.PL}$ for that story
'Britt and I are ashamed of that story.'

b. Jij en ik wass-en ons dagelijks, maar Britt en Giel niet!
[you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ wash-$_{PL}$ us$_{1P.PL}$ daily, but Britt and Giel not
'You and I wash daily, but Britt and Giel don't'

c. Scham-en jij en Giel je voor dat verhaal?
Shame-$_{PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and Giel]$_{2P.PL}$ you$_{2P}$ for that story
'Are you and Giel ashamed of that story?'

[standard Dutch]

In examples (3a) and (3b), the coordinated phrase contains a first person singular pronoun, turning the coordination as a whole into a first person. This is illustrated by the feature specification of the reflexive pronoun *ons* 'us' which is also first person. The c-example contains a second person singular conjunct, which provides the coordination with the feature specification second person. Again the feature specification of the coordinated subject is reflected in the reflexive pronoun, in this case *je* 'you', which is also second person. The coordinated subjects in example (3) all act as plural subjects, as is shown by the fact that in all these senteces the finite verb is plural. I assume that the maximal projection dominating the conjuncts, CoP,

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[4] Corbett (1983) also discusses what he calls 'closest conjunct agreement'. He shows that some languages agree with the first conjunct, whereas others agree with the second conjunct depending on which conjunct is linearly adjacent to the Probe. In this thesis, I will restrict myself to instances of agreement with the first conjunct. I come back to second conjunct agreement in section 4.4 of chapter 4 and to both second conjunct agreement and closest conjunct agreement in chapter 5. Furthermore, I show in section 4.3 of chapter 4 that an approach of agreement with coordinated subjects in terms of linearly adjacency is unable to account for the full range of data discussed in this thesis (cf. also footnote 3 of the introduction)

[5] Hans Bennis p.c. provides the following data involving the politeness form *u* 'you$_{POLITE}$'.

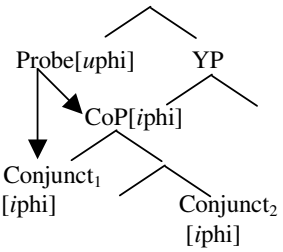
(i) U wast u / zich toch wel?
You$_{POLITE}$ wash you$_{POLITE,REFLEXIVE}$ / REFL PART PART
'You do wash yourself, don't you?'

(ii) U en uw vrouw wassen *u / zich toch wel?
You$_{POLITE}$ and your$_{POLITE}$ wife wash you$_{POLITE,REFLEXIVE}$ / REFL PART PART
'You and your wife do wash yourselves, don't you?' [standard Dutch]

The reflexive in example (i) can be either the polite reflexive pronoun *u* or the neutral reflexive pronoun *zich* with a non-coordinated subject, but it has to be the neutral reflexive *zich* when the polite pronoun is embedded in a coordinated subject,as is shown in (ii). Apparantly, the politeness feature is not present on the coordinated phrase.

carries the 'resolved features', i.e. the feature bundle that results from the application of resolution rules over the conjuncts (cf. also Soltan 2004).[6] So, apart from the conjuncts, the maximal projection also carries a set of phi-features.[7] Now consider what happens when a Probe for phi-features encounters a coordinated subject.

(4)



The phi-feature Probe searches its c-command domain for a Goal with matching phi-features. CoP and Conjunct$_1$ in Spec,CoP are matching and equally local Goals, according the definition of locality provided in chapter 1 and repeated here as (5).

(5) **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

In the configuration in (4), both Goals are c-commanded by the Probe. Furthermore, both Goals are only c-commanded by the Probe. This means that the set of nodes that c-command CoP is identical to the set of nodes that c-command the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. Given the definition in (5), CoP and the conjunct in Spec,CoP in the configuration in (4) are equally local to the Probe. As a result, the Probe encounters these two Goals simultaneously. Given the assumptions in section 3 of chapter 1, the Probe enters into an agreement relation with both CoP and Conjunct$_1$ in Spec,CoP simultaneously, as depicted in (4) by the arrows. At the level of Morphology, one of these relations has to be spelled out on the Probe. If the relation

[6] Johannessen (1998) has a different analysis of the feature specification on the various parts of CoP. She assumes that the first conjunct determines the features of the head of the projection via Spec,Head agreement. The resolved features of the conjuncts are not present on CoP. I come back to Johannessen's (1998) analysis of first and second conjunct agreement in chapter 4.

[7] The question arises how feature resolution should be implemented in the theory, i.e. the question arises how the resolved features end up on the maximal projection of the coordinated subject. Dalrymple & Kaplan (1997) provide a possible answer to this question. They show that the resolved features constitute the union of the feature sets of the conjuncts (but cf. Sag et al. 1985 for the claim that the resolved features constitute the intersection of the feature sets of the conjuncts). If the resolved features indeed constitute a union of these sets, it might be possible to show that the resolved set of features emerges derivationally: when the two sets of features of the conjuncts are merged, they get united. I leave this issue open as a subject for further research.

between the Probe and CoP is spelled out, it results in Full Agreement (henceforth FA, agreement with the coordinated phrase as a whole) on the Probe. If the relation with $Conjunct_1$ is spelled out, the Probe shows First Conjunct Agreement (henceforth FCA).[8,9] In this chapter, I show that both options are attested in dialects of Dutch.

In standard Dutch, there is only one Probe for phi-features in the clausal domain, namely T°. The phi-features of T° are spelled out on the finite verb. As I have already discussed in the introduction, in several Germanic dialects not only carries the finite verb phi-features, but also the complementizer introducing finite clauses. These dialects exhibit so-called Complementizer Agreement (henceforth CA) (cf. among others Van Haeringen 1938, 1958; Bennis & Haegeman 1984; Haegeman 1992; Zwart 1993). In section 2, I provide a short introduction to this phenomenon. I discuss some data and provide an analysis of CA (basically following Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b and Carstens 2003). The remainder of this chapter is split into two large sections, i.e. sections 3 and 4. The first one focuses on agreement between the complementizer and a coordinated subject. I show that the agreement morphology on the complementizer reflects either the agreement relation of C° with CoP or that of C° with $Conjunct_1$ in Spec,CoP.

The second large section (i.e. section 4) deals with agreement between the finite verb and the coordinated subject. In this section, I show that the agreement morphology on the finite verb, in contrast to that on the complementizer, can only reflect the agreement relation with CoP and not that with $Conjunct_1$ in Spec,CoP. I show that this is unexpected given the assumptions on agreement I discussed in the previous chapter. I propose an analysis for these data which makes crucial use of the idea introduced in chapter 1 that Agree takes place at the Spell-Out point to PF.

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[8] In this thesis I will only be concerned with coordination of two DPs. Agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject has been analysed as IP-coordination in Arabic (Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche 1994). The most important argument they provide in favour of this analysis is that the subject does not act as a plural entity: it cannot bind reciprocals and it cannot combine with predicates that need plural subjects, like *meet* (but cf. Munn 1999 for a different perspective on these data). This analysis cannot be maintained for agreement with the first conjunct of a subject in the dialects of Dutch, as coordinated subjects in these varieties do act as a plural entities. For instance, they license reciprocals and can be combined with predicates like 'meet' that need a plural subject.

[9] There is a vast literature on FCA. I refer the reader to Johannessen 1998 for a general overview of FCA. Furthermore, there is literature concerning this phenomenon for a wide variety of languages: for Arabic cf. among others Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche 1994, 1999; Munn 1999; Soltan 2004, for Irish cf. among others McCloskey & Hale 1984; McCloskey 1986; Legate 1999, for Welsh cf. among others Sadler 2002, for Modern Hebrew and Biblical Hebrew cf. among others Doron 2000, for the Slavic languages cf. among others Corbett 1983, 1991, 2000; Citko 2003; Babyonyshev 1996.

2. Prerequisite: the analysis of Complementizer Agreement

As I already pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, in certain varieties of Dutch the complementizer agrees in phi-features with the embedded subject. In this section, I give a brief overview of CA in the dialects of Dutch. Furthermore, I discuss an analysis for this construction, which provides the basis for the discussion of CA with coordinated subjects. This section is organised as follows. In the first subsection, I introduce the phenomenon of CA. Subsection 2 provides an analysis for CA, basically following Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b) and Carstens (2003). The final subsection addresses the question as to why CA-paradigms are often defective.

2.1 Complementizer Agreement: an overview

In many Germanic dialects spoken in the Netherlands, Friesland, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, the phenomenon of CA is attested (cf. among others Van Haeringen 1938, 1958; Bennis & Haegeman 1984; Haegeman 1992; Zwart 1993; Weiss 2003).[10] In these dialects, a complementizer agrees with the subject of the subordinate clause it introduces.[11] This agreement can be either for number, as in Katwijk Dutch (cf. example (6)) or for person and number, as in Aalten Dutch (cf. example (7)) (data from the SAND-project).[12]

(6) a. … dat ik zuinig leef.
that I economical live$_{SG}$
'…that I live economically.'

b. … datt-e we / jullie / hullie gewoon lev-e
that-$_{PL}$ we / you$_{PL}$ / they normal live-$_{PL}$
'…that we / you / they live normally.'

[Katwijk Dutch]

[10] There is an extensive literature on CA. I refer the reader to the bibliography compiled by Goeman (1997).

[11] CA is not only attested on complementizers introducing subordinate clauses, but also on wh-words and wh-phrases introducing these clauses and on relative pronouns. Furthermore, Cremers & Van Koppen (forthcoming) show that agreement is also possible on Boolean coordinative conjunctions in the dialect of Tegelen.

[12] In the literature, several other types of CA are discussed. For instance, McCloskey (1996) and Cottel (1995) show that the tense specification of the embedded clause is reflected on the complementizer in Irish. In other words, Irish shows CA for tense rather than for phi-features. Furthermore, in French the complementizer shows inflection when the subject of the embedded clause is extracted (cf. among others Kayne 1972, Rooryck 2000a). In Standard Dutch, the complementizer agrees in finiteness with the embedded clause, which could also be regarded as a case of CA (cf. for instance Haegeman 1992:52-53 for such a proposal). Furthermore, Reintges et al. (to appear) discuss a potential case of wh-agreement in the complementizer position. I will not go into these types of CA in this thesis, but restrict my attention to phi-agreement on the complementizer in Germanic dialects.

(7) a. … as ieleu zo losbandig leef-t
if you$_{PL}$ so lawless live-$_{PL}$
'…if you live so lawlessly.'
b. … azz-e wie sober leef-t
if-$_{1P.PL}$ we sober live-$_{PL}$
'…if we will live soberly.'

[Aalten Dutch]

In example (6b) from Katwijk Dutch, the complementizer is inflected with a schwa. This schwa only appears with a plural subject, as is illustrated by the contrast between the a- and the b-example. In the dialect of Aalten, the complementizer is also inflected with a schwa. The schwa-affix in this dialect only appears when the subject is first person plural (cf. example (7b)). If the subject does not have the feature specification first person plural, but for instance second person plural, as in example (7a), the schwa-affix cannot appear on the complementizer. Apart from the agreement relation with the complementizer, the subject is also involved in an agreement relation with the (clause-final) finite verb. This can also be observed in examples (6) and (7).[13]

2.2 Complementizer Agreement: analysis

In the literature, there are several analyses of CA (cf. among others Haegeman 1992, Zwart 1993, 1997, 2001, Shlonsky 1994). At this point, I will not go into these analyses; I discuss them in chapter 4.

The analysis I adopt for CA is based on the operation *Agree* (cf. Chomsky 2000, *supra* chapter 1, section 2). I basically follow the one provided by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b) and Carstens (2003). Consider the example in (8).

(8) … **datt-e** **we** naar Leie gaan.
that-$_{PL}$ we to Leiden go
'…that we are going to Leiden.'

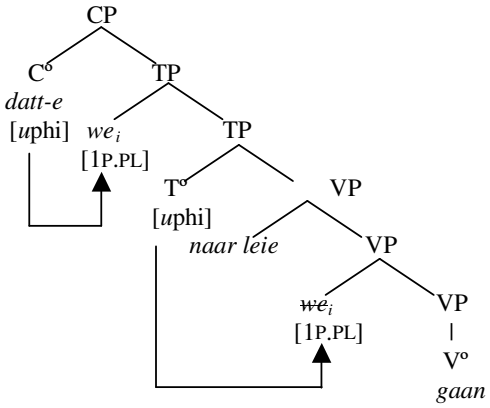
[Katwijk Dutch]

In example (8) the complementizer *dat* 'that' agrees with the plural subject pronoun *we* 'we', as is shown by the presence of a schwa-affix on the complementizer. The minimal assumption is that the presence of inflection on a head indicates the presence of phi-features on that head. As the complementizer resides in C° and shows inflection, the minimal assumption is that C° has phi-features (cf. Bennis &

[13] The *t*-ending on the finite verb in Aalten Dutch also appears on the clause-final finite verb in the singular paradigm. I come back to this type of paradigm in chapter 3 when I discuss the agreement pattern of Hellendoorn Dutch.

Haegeman 1984 and Haegeman 1992, who reach a similar conclusion).[14] The question arises whether these features are interpretable or not (cf. also the discussion in section 2 of chapter 1). Chomsky (1995:277) argues that only categorial features and phi-features on nominals are interpretable. This means that phi-features on C° are not interpretable and hence unvalued as they enter the derivation (cf. *supra* chapter 1, section 2). As they are unvalued, they have to be linked to a valued set of phi-features. The derivation of the example in (8) is given in (9).

(9)



The derivation of the sentence in (8) proceeds as follows: T° with unvalued features is merged with VP.[15] T° is a Probe for phi-features. The subject has to move to Spec,TP in order to fulfil T°'s EPP-requirement. After this movement, C° is merged with TP. C° also has unvalued phi-features. This means that C°, just like T°, is a Probe for phi-features. At Spell-Out, the derivation is transferred to PF. At this point, Agree has to find a suitable Goal for both T° and C°. T°'s unvalued features are related to the copy left behind by the subject in Spec,VP. The subject in Spec,TP is a suitable Goal for C°, as it carries valued phi-features. C°'s unvalued features enter into an agreement relation with the subject in Spec,TP.[16] As a result of this, C°'s unvalued feature bundle now has the specification [1P.PL]. At the level of Morphology, the feature bundles have to be replaced by Vocabulary Items. The

[14] Some independent evidence for the hypothesis that C° carries phi-features is provided by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b).

[15] As I am not concerned with the internal structure of the VP in this thesis, I do not depict all the potentially present VP-shells in the tree-structures I provide. For the tree-structure in (9), this means that the subject is presumably in Spec,vP although this is not represented here.

[16] A potential question that arises at this point is whether the direct object could also be a Goal for C°'s phi-features in the right circumstances. The direct object, as far as I know, never triggers CA, not even when it is local enough. Carstens (2003:399) provides an example with a topicalized direct object which is local enough to C° in order for C° to agree with it, yet it cannot trigger CA. The explanation for this fact provided by Carstens (2003) is that the case feature of the object is deleted in the strong vP-phase. As a consequence, the object is no longer active and hence cannot agree with C° (but cf. Nevins to appear for argumentation against the 'activity condition' and other ways to deal with effects of the activity condition). I come back to this issue in section 2.3.2 of chapter 4 and in section 2.4 of chapter 5.

feature bundle of T° is spelled out as plural agreement morphology on the finite verb.[17] The agreement relation between C° and the subject is spelled out as plural agreement morphology on the complementizer.

To summarise, the present analysis accounts for the fact that the subject agrees with two different heads within one clause by assuming two different agreement relations, namely one between T° and the subject and one between C° and the subject. Both relations are dependent upon the same syntactic agreement mechanism, namely *Agree*.

2.3 The defectivity of Complementizer Agreement paradigms

CA-paradigms are usually defective.[18] By this, I mean that in most dialects complementizers agree overtly with a more limited set of subjects than finite verbs do. I make this explicit on the basis of Frisian. Consider the verbal agreement paradigm based on the inflection of the verb *gaen* 'to go' and the CA-paradigm of Frisian in (10).[19]

(10)

	comp. agreement	**verbal agreement**
1P.SG	-0	-n
2P.SG	-st	-st
3P.SG	-0	-t
1P.PL	-0	-e
2P.PL	-0	-e
3P.PL	-0	-e

[17] The agreement morphology on the finite verb is dependent on the feature specification of T°. However, it is not so clear that the finite verb is in T° in all word orders. If the finite verb is in T° and Dutch is strictly head initial (cf. Zwart 1993, 1997, 2001; Kayne 1994), embedded clauses are predicted to have an SVO-word order, *quod non*. In Dutch embedded clauses, the finite verb is usually in clause-final position. Several solutions to this problem are available: Den Besten (1989) suggests that Dutch is not strictly head-initial (cf. also Bennis & Hoekstra 1989, Bennis 2000): TP is head-final and the verb moves from V° to T°, still ending up in clause-final position. Zwart (1993) on the other hand argues that TP in Dutch is head-initial, like all other projections. In his analysis, the finite verb does not move from V° to T° in embedded clauses. Rather, he proposes that the feature values of T° end up on V° via a chain between V° and T°. Another possible solution to this problem involves a combination of V°-to-T°-movement followed by remnant VP-movement (cf. among others Haegeman 2001). I will not go into this debate here.

[18] One exception to this seems to be the CA-paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch (cf. Haegeman 1992, De Vogelaer et al. 2003). I come back to this paradigm in section 3.3 of this chapter.

[19] When I compare CA-paradigms with verbal agreement paradigms in this thesis, I will use the agreement paradigm of the monosyllabic verb *gaan* 'to go' for this comparison. The reason for this is that Goeman (2000) shows that the agreement morphology on the complementizer is usually more parallel to the agreement morphology on finite monosyllabic verbs than to that on other verbs. This is confirmed by the data from the SAND-project (cf. Barbiers et al. to appear).

This table illustrates that the complementizer in Frisian only shows overt agreement morphology when the embedded subject is second person singular. The finite verb on the other hand shows overt inflectional endings with a much larger set of subjects. However, it seems to be the case that the affixes appearing on the complementizer originate from the same inventory as the affixes appearing on the finite verb (cf. among others Goeman 2000, Hoekstra & Smits 1999). The question arises why the CA-paradigm is defective whereas the verbal agreement paradigm is not. A potential answer to this question can be found in the generalizations concerning CA first discovered by Hoekstra & Smits (1997, 1999). They show that in dialects with CA, the complementizer only carries an agreement ending for a certain person/number combination when the inflectional endings on the finite verb for this particular person/number combination are identical in the present and the past tense. This seems to imply that agreement affixes can only appear on the complementizer when the affix does not express tense, but just phi-features. The two empirical generalizations that reflect this are represented in (11) (Hoekstra & Smits 1999: their example 16) and (12) (Hoekstra & Smits 1999: their example 21).

(11) **PNT (Person Number Tense)-condition**
CA can be agreement for person and number but it may not express tense.

(12) **The Identity Generalization**
Complementizer Agreement only occurs when the agreement ending of the inverted auxiliary in the present tense is identical to the agreement ending of the inverted auxiliary in the preterit.

On the basis of these generalizations, it becomes clear why the CA-paradigm in Frisian, for instance, lacks a schwa-ending in the plural. Consider example (13).

(13) a. gaen-e wy
go-*e* we
'do we go'
b. gong-en wy
went-*en* we
'did we go'

[Frisian]

The affix expressing plural on the verb *gaen* 'to go' in the present tense (cf. the example in (13a)) is not the same as the plural-affix on this verb when it appears in the preterit, as in the example in (13b).[20] In the a-example the plural features of the

[20] Note that in Hoekstra & Smits' (1999) definition auxiliaries are assumed to be crucial. I do not use the - so tot say - more standard auxiliaries like *to be* or *to have* but the monosyllabic verb *to go* which is not unambiguously an auxiliary to test the generalization. Although it can be used as an auxiliary, it is usually used as a main verb. The reason that I use this verb is that Goeman (2000) shows that the agreement morphology on monosyllabic verbs matches that on complementizers best (cf. also footnote 19).

finite verb are reflected by a schwa-ending, whereas in example (13b) the *en*-affix expresses plurality. CA, according to the PNT-generalization in (12), should express pure phi-agreement. As the schwa-ending does not appear in both the present tense and the preterit, it arguably expresses tense information: it signals present tense information. Now the question arises whether the feature specification present tense is available as a value for tense. Present tense is arguably the default specification for tense. The question arises whether or not a default value is represented as a value. If not, the absence of a value for Tense implies that there is a default value for Tense, namely present tense. In this thesis, I assume that present tense is represented with as a value for tense. This means that the schwa-ending in (13a) is specified for both tense and phi-features and therefore, this ending cannot appear on the complementizer (cf. Carstens 2003 for a similar approach). In light of this discussion, consider the examples in (14).

(14) a. gie-st do
go-*st* you
'do you go'
b. gong-st do
went-*st* you
'did you go'

[Frisian]

This example shows that the *st*-affix appearing with [2P.SG]-subjects, does appear both in the present tense and in the preterit. This means that this affix does not provide tense information at all. Put differently, the *st*-affix is not specified for tense, but only for phi-features. Therefore, this affix can appear as an affix on the complementizer.

The fact that affixes expressing both tense and phi-features are unable to appear on the complementizer is expected under the Subset Principle of affix insertion discussed in section 2 of chapter 1. There, I have shown that an affix expresses all or a subset of the features of the feature bundle they replace, but they crucially cannot express more features. If the feature bundle present on C° expresses pure phi-agreement, then agreement affixes with tense information cannot replace the phi-features of C° as they contain a superset of the features of the feature bundle they replace. This means that there are cases in which C° has a set of phi-features that cannot be spelled out on the complementizer as there is no suitable affix to do so. In this case, the phi-features that are underlyingly present do not get spelled out. Furthermore, the analysis of CA and the implementation of the generalizations put forth by Hoekstra & Smits (1999) discussed above make the prediction that when a dialect has CA, it is expected that for every person/number combination for which there is a tenseless affix, this affix gets expressed on the complementizer.[21] In the

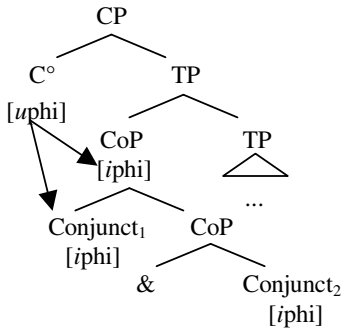
[21] I would like to thank Hans Bennis for pointing this out to me.

remainder of this thesis, I show that these predictions are borne out by the dialects I discuss.

3. CA with coordinated subjects: two Goals for one Probe

In the introduction to this chapter, I have shown that agreement between a Probe and a coordinated subject constitutes a case of a Probe agreeing with two Goals simultaneously. In this section, I explore the configuration in which C° is the Probe for agreement and the agreement features of C° are expressed on the complementizer. This configuration is represented in (15).

(15)



In this structure the subject occupies the specifier position of the inflectional projection, which I assume to be TP. C° is merged with unvalued phi-features, and as a result C° is a Probe, searching its c-command domain for a Goal with matching features. The Probe encounters CoP and $Conjunct_1$ in Spec,CoP at the same time, as both are equally local to C° according to the definition of locality and c-command discussed in chapter 1, section 2. Agree establishes a relation between C° and CoP on the one hand and between C° and $Conjunct_1$ on the other.[22]

At the level of Morphology, one of these two agreement relations has to be spelled out as agreement on the complementizer. As I have discussed in section 3 of chapter 1, whether the features of CoP are spelled out or those of $Conjunct_1$ is determined on the basis of which of these two agreement relations results in more specific agreement morphology. I have argued that specific affixes (affixes which belong to a certain person/number combination) take precedence over elsewhere-affixes. The latter, in turn, are preferred over the absence of an affix all together. For

[22] At this point the question arises if apart from CoP and DP_1, TP is also a possible Goal for agreement features. If TP contains the same set of features as T°, TP might also contain a set of uninterpretable phi-features. I leave this option aside for the moment, and I return to the influence of the phi-features of T° on those of C° in section 5 of chapter 3.

the configuration in (15), this leads to nine different possibilities, provided in the table in (16).

(16)

	CoP	**Conjunct$_1$**	**result**	**dialect**	**section**
1	specific	specific	specific, CoP	Bavarian	3.2
			specific, Conjunct$_1$	Bavarian	3.2
2	specific	elsewhere	specific, CoP	Lapscheure?	3.3
3	specific	no affix	specific, CoP	Lapscheure?	3.3
				Bavarian	3.2
4	elsewhere	specific	specific, Conjunct$_1$	Waubach	3.4
5	elsewhere	elsewhere	Elsewhere	-	-
6	elsewhere	no affix	Elsewhere	Waubach	3.4
7	no affix	specific	specific, Conjunct$_1$	Tegelen	3.1
			specific, Conjunct$_1$	N.-Waas	3.3
			specific, Conjunct$_1$	Bavarian	3.2
8	no affix	elsewhere	elsewhere	Waubach	3.4
9	no affix	no affix	no affix	-	-

This table should be interpreted as follows. The first column shows the type of affix the agreement relation with CoP will result in when it gets spelled out on the complementizer. The second column does the same, but now for the agreement relation of C° with Conjunct$_1$. This leads to nine different combinations. The third column indicates which of the two agreement relations is more specific and hence which one is expected to be spelled out on the complementizer. The fourth column shows in which dialect the particular combination is attested. In the fifth column it is specified in where in the thesis that combination is discussed. All nine logical possibilities are attested in varieties with CA. The possibilities depicted in rows 5 and 9 are cases in which the agreement relation of C° with CoP and that of C° with Conjunct$_1$ do not lead to different agreement morphology on the complementizer. These possibilities will not be discussed in this section, as they are not of interest to the topic of this thesis. Lapscheure Dutch provides a case study of either the situation depicted in the second or the third row depending on the analysis of the CA-paradigm in this dialect. In this section, I discuss seven of the nine logical possibilities displayed in the table in (16). I show that the complementizer can either agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject (i.e. with Conjunct$_1$ in the structure in (15)), resulting in First Conjunct Agreement (FCA) or with CoP, resulting in Full Agreement (FA) on the complementizer. I show that the decision for FCA or FA is made systematically on the basis of the specificity of the agreement affix on the complementizer. This shows that FCA and FA are more than two strategies to deal with agreement with coordinated subjects: they can be reduced to two different overt manifestations of an underlying identical configuration. Finally, I discuss several predictions of this analysis.

3.1 FCA on the complementizer: Tegelen Dutch

The complementizer in Tegelen Dutch agrees with second person singular subjects. This is illustrated in (17).

(17) Ich dink **de-s** **doow** morge kum-s.
I think that-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ tomorrow come-$_{2P.SG}$
'I think that you will come tomorrow.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

The complementizer *det* 'that' is inflected with an *s*-affix. This affix represents the agreement relation between C° and the second person singular subject *doow* 'you$_{SG}$'. This variety of Dutch does not show agreement on the complementizer for any other person/number combination. Consider the table in (18), representing both the CA-paradigm of this dialect and the present and past tense paradigm of the verb *gaan* 'to go'.

(18)

	CA	**Present Tense**	**Past Tense**
1P.SG	det	goan	ging
2P.SG	de-s	gei-s	ging-s
3P.SG	det	gei-t	ging
1P.PL	det	goan	ging-e
2P.PL	det	goa-t	gingk
3P.PL	det	goan	ging-e

This table shows that only in the second person singular the agreement ending in the past tense is similar to that in the present tense. This means that only in the second person singular the agreement affix is not marked for tense and therefore only in the second person singular the complementizer shows agreement morphology.

Now consider the example in (19), in which the second person singular subject *doow* constitutes the first conjunct of a coordinated subject.

(19) … **de-s** **doow** en ich ôs treff-e.
… that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ meet-$_{PL}$
'… that you and I will meet.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

In this example, the coordinated subject as a whole is first person plural. This is illustrated by the reciprocal *ôs* 'each other', which is also first person plural. Furthermore, the finite verb *treffe* 'meet' also carries plural morphology.

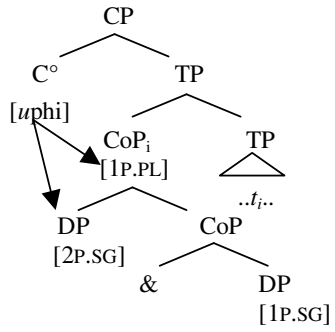
Interestingly, the complementizer does not agree with the coordination as a whole, but rather with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject.[23]

In section 2, I have introduced the analysis of CA I adopt in this thesis. To recapitulate, the main ingredients of this analysis are:

(i) The presence of agreement on the complementizer reflects the presence of phi-features on C°;
(ii) These phi-features are unvalued;
(iii) C° is a Probe and Agree has to find a suitable Goal to value C°'s features.

With this in mind, consider the representation of the relevant part of the syntactic derivation in (20) of the Tegelen Dutch example in (19).

(20)



This tree structure represents the stage of the derivation when the subject is merged with T° to check T°'s EPP-feature, and C° is merged with TP. Tegelen Dutch is a dialect with CA, which means that C° has unvalued phi-features. The derivation is transferred to the interfaces, at which point Agree takes place. Agree searches C°'s c-command domain for a suitable Goal. Agree is confronted with the configuration outlined in the first chapter of this thesis: instead of finding one suitable Goal, it finds two potential Goals simultaneously: CoP and the pronoun in Spec,CoP. Recall from section 2 of chapter 1 that locality is determined in terms of c-command. For both CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP, it holds that (i) both are potential Goals (as both carry a set of valued phi-features), (ii) both are c-commanded by Probe C° and (iii) both are *only* c-commanded by Probe C°. This means that CoP and the pronoun in Spec,CoP are equally local with respect to C° and as a consequence that Probe C° encounters both Goals at the same time. As I have argued in section 3 of chapter 1, C° enters into an agreement relation with both CoP and the conjunct in Spec,CoP. At the level of Morphology one of these relations has to be spelled out.

[23] Parallel data can be obtained from dialects spoken in the same area, and also from Frisian, although not all Frisian speakers allow the complementizer to agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. According to one of my consultants, FCA is restricted to a certain register. I leave the topic of agreement between the complementizer and coordinated subjects in Frisian open as a topic for further research. Martin Salzmann p.c. informs me that similar data can also be obtained from Zürich German.

To see which relation results in the more specific agreement morphology, consider the CA-paradigm of this dialect in the table in (21).

(21)

Feature specification subject	Form of the complementizer
1P.SG	det
2P.SG	de-s
3P.SG	det
1P.PL	det
2P.PL	det
3P.PL	det

This table shows that only with a second person singular subject does the complementizer carry an overt agreement affix. Either the relation between C° and a second person singular Goal, or the relation between C° and a first person plural Goal has to be spelled out. The former relation leads to a specific agreement affix on the complementizer, whereas the latter does not lead to an agreement ending at all. Confronted with the agreement relations available to C° in the derivation in (20), Morphology will spell out the relation between C° and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, resulting in FCA on the complementizer as this relation leads to more specific agreement morphology than the other available relation.

Given the assumptions on the order of affix insertion, the configuration in (20) should not be able to lead to agreement on the complementizer with the coordinated subject as a whole. The reason for this is that this relation leads to less specific agreement morphology than the relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP. This prediction is borne out by the ungrammaticality of the example in (22).

(22) * … det doow en ich ôs treff-e.
that [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ meet-$_{PL}$
[Tegelen Dutch]

This example illustrates the situation in which it is not the relation between C° and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP which is spelled out, but rather the one in which the relation between C° and CoP is realised. In this case, the complementizer does not show any inflectional morphology.

To summarise, Tegelen Dutch provides a case study of the configuration represented in row seven of the table in (16): agreement with the first conjunct leads to a specific agreement affix on the complementizer, whereas agreement with the coordination as a whole does not lead to agreement morphology on this Probe. This means that although both relations are available at the level of Morphology, the one resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out: in this case the relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP, resulting in FCA on the complementizer.

3.2 Either FCA or FA on the complementizer: Bavarian

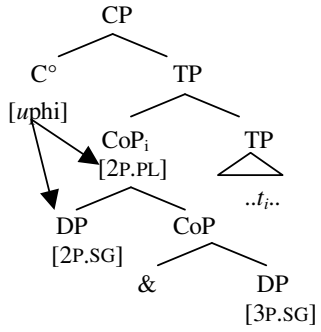
Bavarian, like Tegelen Dutch, has CA with second person singular subjects. Moreover, this German dialect also displays CA with second person plural subjects. This is illustrated in example (23) (cf. Bayer 1984:233).[24]

(23) a. … **daβ-st** **du** kumm-st.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you are coming.'
b. … **daβ-ts** **ihr** kumm-ts.
that-$_{2P.PL}$ you$_{PL}$ come-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that you are coming.'

[Bavarian]

In Bavarian, the subject can also be coordinated, resulting in the same configuration as discussed above for Tegelen Dutch, in which the C°-Probe has both CoP and the first conjunct of the coordination as its Goals. As this dialect not only shows agreement with second person singular subjects, but also with second person plural subjects, it is particularly interesting for the current investigation. It provides a case in which both the relation between C° and CoP and the one between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP result in CA. This is represented in the structure in (24) and the accompanying example in (25).

(24)



(25) a. … **daβ-sd** **du** und d'Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
b. … **daβ-ds** **du** **und** **d'Maria** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that Maria and you have won the first prize.'

[Bavarian]

[24] Lower Bavarian also has CA for the first person plural, in addition to CA for the second person singular and plural (cf. Bayer 1984). One of my consultants also speaks this Lower Bavarian variety apart from the variety of Bavarian discussed in the main text. This appears to have some influence on his judgements, as will become clear in footnote 30.

Probe C° in the structure in (24) encounters a Goal with second person singular features (the first conjunct) and one with second person plural features (the maximal projection CoP). These Goals are equally local with respect to the Probe. This means that the Probe enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals simultaneously. When this structure reaches the level of Morphology, one of these relations has to be spelled out as agreement on the complementizer. The example in (25) shows that the complementizer can either agree with the coordinated subject as a whole, resulting in FA on the complementizer or with just the first conjunct, resulting in FCA. This means that both relations can be spelled out equally well. On the basis of the discussion about Tegelen Dutch in the preceding section, it might be expected that only one of the relations can be spelled out, namely the one resulting in the more specific agreement morphology. In section 3.2 of chapter 1, I have discussed the configuration in which a Probe entertains two agreement relations, both resulting in a specific affix on the Probe. There, I have argued that when two specific affixes compete for insertion, two scenario's are possible: (i) specific affixes are not ranked with respect to one another, which means that both affixes can be inserted equally well, (ii) specific affixes are ranked with respect to one another and the more specific affix is inserted. Recall that the latter scenario's is favourable over the former, as it does not have to stipulate a difference between specific and elsewhere-affixes (cf. section 3.2 of chapter 1). The structure in (24) illustrates a configuration in which a Probe agrees with two Goals, each resulting in a specific affix (as I will show below). This means that given the two possible scenario's discussed above, the fact that both affixes can appear on the complementizer in example (25) can mean two things. Either specific affixes are not ranked with respect to one another, or specific affixes are ranked with respect to one another, but the Bavarian affixes are equally specific.

With all this in mind, consider the table in (26) displaying the CA-paradigm in Bavarian (cf. Bayer 1984:233).[25]

(26)

feature specification subject	affix on the complementizer
1P.SG	
2P.SG	-st
3P.SG	
1P.PL	
2P.PL	-ts
3P.PL	

This table shows that there are only two agreement affixes in the CA-paradigm; one appears with second person singular subjects, the other with second person plural subjects. This means that in this case we are dealing with two specific affixes: both affixes single out a particular person/number combination. The question arises what

[25] Unfortunately, it is not possible to test Hoekstra & Smits' (1999) generalizations in this dialect, as Bavarian has undergone so-called *Präteritumschwund* (Helmut Weiss p.c.), which means that the past tense is not expressed with a past tense form of the verb, but rather with an auxiliary and a participial.

the feature specifications of these two specific affixes are. The answer to this question mainly depends on the assumptions concerning the representation of feature values and especially of default or underspecified values of features. Harley (1994) and Harley & Ritter (2002) argue that underspecification should be captured by the absence of a certain feature value. For instance, the underspecified feature value for number, i.e. singular, is not represented as a value, but the absence of a value for number indicates that the value is singular.[26] Another way to deal with feature values is to claim that both the underspecified value and the specified value are present as feature values. This means that the feature number can both have the value singular and plural. The drawback of this approach is that the underspecification of one of the values is not captured, as both values are present. A final way to capture underspecification is to assume that only one value is present, but that this value can also be negative: so, to take the example with the number feature again: the value for number can be plus or minus plural (cf. amongst others Noyer 1992 and Vanden Wyngaerd 1994). Rooryck (2000b) provides yet another way to capture underspecification formally, by drawing a parallel between underspecification in phonology and syntax. He argues that underspecified features are not simply absent, but that rather than having the negative value of a certain feature, it has a zero value for that particular feature.

When the underspecified feature values are not represented as values, the affix inventory of Bavarian can be represented as in (27).

(27) [2P.PL] → -ts
[2P] → -st

The *st*-affix is singular by virtue of the fact that it is not specified for number. When this is the correct feature specification of the CA-affixes in Bavarian, then both scenario's concerning the competition between specific affixes discussed above are maintainable. When the specific affixes are not ordered with respect to one another, it is expected that both affixes are inserted irrespective of their feature specifications. When specific affixes are ordered with respect to one another, the question has to be answered why both affixes can be inserted, as only the more specific affix is expected to be able to occur. The answer to this question should be: because the two affixes are equally specific. In order to determine whether these two affixes are equally specific, the term more specific has to be defined. In section 3.2 of chapter 1, I already suggested that a specific affix can be more specific than another specific affix when it expresses more features. If this is the case, then the *ts*-affix is more specific than the *st*-affix given the affix inventory in (27): the *ts*-affix does not only express person, as the *st*-affix, but also number. This definition of more specific clearly makes the wrong prediction, as not only the *ts*-affix can be inserted in the example in (25), but also the *st*-affix. On the other hand, if it is Noyer's universal feature hierarchy that determines which affix is more specific,

[26] For argumentation that plural rather than singular is the underspecified feature value for number, cf. Sauerland, Anderssen & Yatsushiro (2004), Sauerland (2004).

than both affixes are equally specific, as both express the most highly ranked feature, person.

When the other way of representing features is utilized, the affix inventory of Bavarian can be represented as in (28).[27]

(28) [2P.SG] → -st
[2P.PL] → -ts

This affix inventory is also consistent with both views concerning the competition between specific affixes. When specific affixes are not ranked with respect to one another, both affixes are expected to appear equally well. When, on the other hand, specific affixes are ranked with respect to one another, then both affixes are equally specific. They both consist of person and number features. And, if it is Noyer's (1992) feature hierarchy that is crucial in determining which feature is more specific, they both express person, which makes them also equally specific. In other words, the Bavarian data displaying the competition between specific affixes does not differentiate between the two scenario's discussed above concerning competition between specific affixes. This means that they do also not falsify the hypothesis that competition between specific affixes does not differ crucially from competition between specific affixes and elsewhere-affixes.

I take the affix inventory provided in (28) to be the correct one, as I have to assume the presence of underspecified features anyway in other parts of this thesis (cf. *supra* section 2.3 of this chapter and section 3.2 of chapter 3).[28]

This analysis makes the prediction that if the agreement relation with the first conjunct does not lead to an agreement affix on the complementizer and that with the coordinated subject as a whole does, the complementizer should always show FA.[29] Consider the data in (29).

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[27] From now on, I abstract away from the differences between the analyses that assume the presence of both the underspecified and the specified feature values discussed above. I represent the underspecified feature value as if it is present itself, for convenience. This means that I represent the underspecified feature value for number, for instance, as *singular*, without wanting to commit myself to one of these analyses.

[28] Apart from Bavarian, there is one other dialect in which CA only appears with second person singular and second person plural subjects, namely Waubach Dutch. In this dialect, in contrast to Bavarian, the agreement morphology on the complementizer in the configuration discussed in the main text reflects the agreement relation with the second person singular first conjunct and not the one with the second person plural CoP. I return to this dialect in section 3.4 of this chapter.

[29] Unfortunately, these predictions are hard to test in this dialect, as the consultants seem to prefer avoiding coordinate constructions altogether in these examples. This might also explain why the judgements are not as solid and uniform as expected. Interestingly, similar examples cause problems in Waubach Dutch (cf. footnote 28 of this chapter). In this dialect too, second person plural agreement on the complementizer with coordinated subjects leads to unexpected and unstable judgements. I have no account for this, other than to attribute the variation in judgements to some (yet to be explained) property of the coordinations involved.

(29) ? … **daβ-ds d'Maria und du** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.PL}$ [the Maria and you$_{SG}$]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'… that Maria and you won the first prize.'
[Bavarian]

In this example, the feature specification of the first conjunct is [3P.SG], while the feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole is [2P.PL]. As can be deduced from the table in (26), the feature specification of the first conjunct does not lead to agreement morphology on the complementizer. The feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole does lead to an affix on C°. In this example, it is the agreement relation with the latter Goal that is spelled out on the Probe. The second part of the prediction is that the example should be ungrammatical without overt agreement morphology. This part of the prediction is not borne out, however. One of my consultants notes that the following example is also grammatical and even preferred over the example in (29). At present, I have no account for these data.

(30) … daβ da Sepp und du an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that [the Joe and you$_{SG}$]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that Joe and you have won the first prize.'
[Bavarian]

A second prediction the analysis makes is that if the agreement relation with the first conjunct leads to an agreement affix on the complementizer, but the relation with the coordination as a whole does not, FCA on the complementizer is expected to occur. This prediction is borne out by the data in (31).

(31) % ... **ob-sd du** und i an Hauptpreiss gwingan
if-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ the first.prize win-$_{1P.PL}$
'…if you and I will win the first prize.'
[Bavarian]

In this example, the complementizer agrees with the first conjunct and displays second person singular inflection.[30, 31]

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[30] The consultants do not agree on the grammaticality of this example: one of the consultants notes that if a second person subject follows the complementizer, it always has to show agreement, whereas the other consultant, the same one who accepts the example in (30), suggests that with this particular example CA for the second person singular is not preferred. This speaker prefers the example in (i), in which the complementizer is followed by the element *–ma*. Bayer (1984) argues extensively that this element is a clitic in the variety of Bavarian discussed in the main text, but should be regarded an affix in Lower Bavarian. The consultant accepting the example in (i) speaks the Lower Bavarian variety in addition to the variety discussed in the main text.

(i)...ob-**ma** du und i an Hauptpreiss gwingan
if-$_{1P.PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ the first.prize win-$_{1P.PL}$
'…if you and I will win the first prize.' [Bavarian]

It is clear that more research has to be conducted in order to provide a complete picture of agreement with coordinated subjects in this dialect. The example in (i) shows that the consultants might speak different variants of the Bavarian dialect. I leave this as a topic for further research.

To summarise, Bavarian provides a case study of the configuration depicted in the first row of the table in (16): both the relation between C° and CoP and the one between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP result in a specific agreement affix on the complementizer. I have shown that in this case both affixes can appear on the complementizer. Furthermore, Bavarian provides a testing ground for the situations sketched in rows three and seven of the table in (16). In example (29), I have illustrated that the complementizer agrees with the coordination as a whole when the first conjunct leads to no agreement affix on the Probe. Example (31) on the other hand shows that if the relation between C° and CoP results in a specific agreement affix and that between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP in no agreement affix at all, the former relation is spelled out.

3.3 Full Agreement on the complementizer: Lapscheure Dutch

3.3.1 Introduction

In the preceding subsections, I have shown that a complementizer can either agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject (in Tegelen Dutch) or with both the first conjunct and the coordinated subject as a whole (in Bavarian). In this section, I discuss agreement with coordinated subjects in the dialect of Lapscheure. Lapscheure Dutch provides a case study of the situation in which the agreement relation between the Probe and CoP results in a specific affix, whereas the relation between the Probe and the first conjunct results in either an elsewhere-affix or no affix at all. Consider the example in (32) (from Haegeman 1992:49).

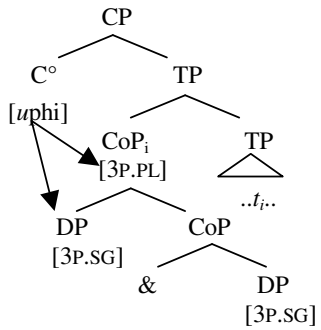
(32) Kpeinzen da-n [Valère en Pol] morgen goa-n.
I.think that-$_{3P,PL}$ [Valère and Pol]$_{3P,PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'I think that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'
[Lapscheure Dutch]

The complementizer in (32) shows third person plural agreement, matching the feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole. The inflection cannot be left out (cf. Haegeman 1992:51), indicating that it is obligatory for the

[31] The consultant accepting the example in (31) notes that although inflection on the complementizer cannot be left out when followed by a second person subject, this sentence is awkward. He comments that the example in (31) would not be uttered by any native speaker, but rather that the example in (i) would be used in Bavarian.
(i) daβ/ob /wenn mia zwoa an Hauptpreis gwingan
that /if /when we two the first.prize win
'…that/if/when we win the first prize.' [Bavarian]
This is a pattern that is also discussed by Corbett (2003): in some cases a completely different construction altogether is preferred over coordination.

complementizer to agree with the coordinated subject as a whole. Consider the relevant part of the derivation of the example (32) in the tree structure in (33).

(33)



The derivation in (33) of example (32) runs parallel to those discussed before for Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian. The subject is merged with T°, after which C° is merged. C° has unvalued phi-features, since Lapscheure Dutch is a dialect with CA (cf. Haegeman 1992). This means that C° is a Probe and Agree searches its c-command domain for a suitable Goal. Just as in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian, CoP and the Goal in Spec,CoP are equally local with respect to C°. C° enters into a relation with both these Goals. At the level of Morphology, it has to be decided which of the two relations gets spelled out on the complementizer. Following the assumptions outlined in the first chapter, it is expected to be the relation resulting in the more specific agreement morphology that is spelled out. Consider the paradigm of agreement morphology on the complementizer in Lapscheure Dutch in (34) (Haegeman 1992:49).

(34)

Feature specification subject	Form of the complementizer
1P.SG	da-n-k
2P.SG	da-j
3P.SG	da-(se)
1P.PL	da-me
2P.PL	da-j
3P.PL	da-n-(ze)

The agreement morphology appearing on the complementizer in this dialect consists of two parts. The first part can be classified as inflectional morphology, which expresses at least agreement for number. The second part can be interpreted as a clitic pronoun, which expresses the person, number and gender information of the subject (cf. Haegeman 1992:68-69). If the clitic pronoun is left out of consideration, the CA-paradigm can be represented as in the table in (35).

(35)

Feature specification subject	Form of the complementizer
1P.SG	da-n
2P.SG	da-
3P.SG	da-
1P.PL	da-n
2P.PL	da-
3P.PL	da-n

The *n*-affix in the first person plural in the paradigm in (35) is not visible in the paradigm reflected in (34), as the affix is adjacent to the pronoun *me* (cf. Haegeman 1992:68 for an example where the *n*-affix is visible on the complementizer with a first person plural subject pronoun). The complementizers that appear without overt agreement morphology are specified for phi-features according to Haegeman (1992:53). The agreement morphology on the complementizer at first sight seems to be non-overt. However, in all these three person/number combinations, there appears to be an underlying *t*-element (cf. Haegeman 1992:218, fn.5, Liliane Haegeman p.c.). De Vogelaer et al (2002) and Liliane Haegeman p.c. suggest that this *t*-element is an agreement affix in at least the third person singular.[32] If there is a *t*-affix present, the CA-paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch can be represented as in the table in (36).

(36)

Feature specification subject	Form of the complementizer
1P.SG	da-n
2P.SG	da-t
3P.SG	da-t
1P.PL	da-n
2P.PL	da-t
3P.PL	da-n

When the derivation in (33) is sent off to PF, one of the two agreement relations has to be spelled out. The agreement relation between C° and CoP results in an *n*-affix on the complementizer. The agreement relation between C° and the third person singular Goal in Spec,CoP results in a *t*-affix.

The question arises which one of these two agreement affixes is more specific. In view of the argumentation developed so far, one would expect that the *n*-affix to be

[32] One of the reasons to question the presence of a *t*-affix in both the third person singular and the second person is formed by the data in (i) (from Haegeman 1992:60 and 221:note 20d), in which it becomes clear that the *t*-element on the finite verb *goan* 'to go' disappears when followed by the clitic pronoun *je* in the second person singular, but not when followed by the clitic pronoun *j* in the third person singular. This means that the *t*-element in the second person does not seem to follow the same phonological rules as the *t*-element in the the third person singular. At present, it is unclear if this is due to the (status of the) *t*-element or to the clitic pronoun.

(i) a. goa-j (gie)
go-you$_{CL}$ (you$_{STRONG}$)
b. je goat-j ie/ij
he$_{CL}$ goes-he$_{CL}$ he$_{STRONG}$ [Lapscheure Dutch]

more specific than the *t*-affix, as it is the *n*-affix that is spelled out in the example in (32). In the following subsection, I show that there is some evidence in support of this idea. First of all, I cast doubt on the claim that the *t*-element found on the complementizer is indeed an agreement affix. I show that this element cannot unambiguously be identified as an agreement affix. When there is no *t*-affix present, the *n*-affix is expected to appear on the complementizer in the configuration in (33), as, by assumption, a relation resulting in an agreement affix takes precedence over a relation not resulting in an agreement affix. Furthermore, I show that if there is indeed a *t*-affix present on the complementizer in the second person and third person singular, this affix is less specific than the *n*-affix. In this case too, the *n*-affix is expected to occur on the complementizer.

3.3.2 The Complementizer Agreement paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch

The aim of this subsection is twofold: on the one hand, I question the claim that the *t*-element is an inflectional affix in Lapscheure Dutch in the third person singular. On the other hand I show that if this *t*-element is indeed an affix, it is less specific than the *n*-affix.

3.3.2.1 The first possibility: the *t*-element is not an affix

I start by arguing that although the argumentation for the presence of a [t] at the end of the complementizer in the second person and the third person singular seems to be rather strong, the argumentation for this [t] to be analysed as an agreement affix is scarce. Moreover, I provide one argument in favour of the hypothesis that the *t*-element under discussion is part of the complementizer and a second one that shows that it does not behave as an agreement affix.

First of all, let us examine in detail the combination of the complementizer *dat* 'that' and subjects of the second person and the third person singular. The first thing that has to be noted is that the *t*-element hardly ever surfaces in this dialect. Consider the examples in (37) (cf. Haegeman 1992:49).

(37) a. … da-j morgen goa-t
that-you$_{SG}$ tomorrow go-*t*

b. … da-se morgen goa-t
that-she tomorrow go-*t*

c. … da-j morgen goa-t
that-you$_{PL}$ tomorrow go-*t*

'…that you/she/you will go tomorrow.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

In all these sentences, a *t*-ending should occur on the complementizer, as in all cases the subject is either third person singular or second person. The absence of the *t*-ending can be explained because the dialect under discussion, like many other West-

Flemish dialects, has extensive *t*-deletion (cf. De Vogelaer et al. 2002). A [t] is only pronounced at the end of a sentence, before a pause or in between vowels. This means that the *t*-ending does surface when followed by a third person singular subject starting with a schwa. This is illustrated in the example in (38) (from Haegeman 1992:50).

(38) … da-**t** er nie vee volk was.
that-*t* there not much people was
'…that there were not many people.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

Haegeman (1992) and De Vogelaer et al. (2002) argue that there is also a *t*-ending present in the examples in (37) and that it can be detected through the devoicing of the first consonant of the subject in example (37b). Consider in this respect also the examples in (39) (Liliane Haegeman p.c.).

(39) a. … da *Valère / Falère goat.
that [**V**]alère / [**F**]alère goat
'... that Valère will go.'
b. … da**d** Anna goat.
that Anna goat
'…that Anna is going.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

These examples show that the proper name *Valère* starts with a voiceless [f] and not with the underlying voiced /v/ when it follows the finite complementizer *da*. This devoicing process arguably takes place under the influence of the adjacent, voiceless *t*-affix on the complementizer, which is deleted after assimilation. Furthermore, the b-example illustrates that when a proper name starting with a vowel follows the complementizer, a voiced alveolar [d] surfaces. In this case, the underlying voiceless alveolar /t/ gets voiced under the influence of the vowel the proper name starts with.[33] This all provides evidence for an underlying voiceless consonant, but it crucially does not provide evidence for the status of this consonant. In all these examples, it is very well possible that the underlying /t/ is not an affix, but just the last consonant belonging to the complementizer *da* 'that', which in standard Dutch can be pronounced as *dat* 'that'. As far as I can see, there is no way to distinguish between an analysis of this /t/ as a phonological part of the complementizer *da* 'that' or as a distinct agreement affix added to the complementizer.[34] The strongest piece

[33] The question arises why there is no voiced consonant between the vowel and the schwa in the example in (38). A potential answer to this question is that the expletive pronoun in this dialect is not *er* as suggested by Haegeman (1992), but rather that it is *der*. The underlying /d/ of the expletive pronoun becomes devoiced under influence of the voiceless /t/ of the complementizer, and surfaces as a [t].

[34] One piece of evidence in favour of this /t/ being part of the complementizer would come from its appearance in one of the other person/number combinations than the second person or third person

of evidence De Vogelaer et al. (2002) present in support of the claim that this /t/ is an affix on the complementizer is that the same examples can be produced with the complementizer *oa* 'if'. This is illustrated on the basis of the examples in (40) from the Lapscheure dialect (Liliane Haegeman p.c.).

(40) a. … oa**t** er entwine tus is.
if there someone home is
'… if there is someone at home.'
b. … oa**d** André da weet.
if André that knows
'…if André knows that.'
c. … oa **F**alère komt.
if Valère come
'…if Valére will come.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

In these examples, the same pattern appears with the complementizer *oa* 'if', as with the complementizer *da* 'that' in example (39). In the a-example, the *t*-element occurs with a third person singular subject starting with a schwa. It is not deleted in this context. The b-example shows that a voiced alveolar [d] surfaces when the subject starts with a vowel. In the c-example, the /t/ is deleted, but its underlying presence can be deduced from the devoicing process that applies to the initial consonant of the subject. De Vogelaer et al. (2002) argue that in the examples in (40) the /t/ cannot be a part of the complementizer, which according to De Vogelaer et al. (2002) has the form *oa* rather than *oat*. They argue that as this *t*-element is not part of the complementizer, it has to be an agreement affix.[35] I do not agree with this point of view. First of all, the fact that it cannot be part of the complementizer does not automatically imply that it has to be an agreement affix.[36] Secondly, to conclude that the *t*-ending does not belong to the complementizer is somewhat premature.

In particular, it is not so clear what the underlying form is of the complementizer that surfaces as *oa*. It might be *oa* as De Vogelaer et al. (2002) claim, but it could just as well be *oat*. If *oat* is the form of the complementizer, it is expected to occur with other person/number combinations as well. Consider the paradigm of the complementizer *oa* in (41).

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singular. Unfortunately, this is not testable, as all other subject pronouns start with a consonant, so *t*-deletion is expected to occur, or they show an(other) agreement affix that also induces *t*-deletion.

[35] One other circumstantial argument De Vogelaer et al. (2002) provide is that the *t*-affix also appears on the finite verb with third person singular subjects. In the inversion paradigm, the *t*-affix behaves in exactly the same way as the *t*-element on the complementizer. This does not necessarily constitute an argument in favour of the idea that the [t] found on the complementizer is an affix; it only shows that the *t*-deletion process is not necessarily sensitive to the status of the *t*-element.

[36] There are several other ways to interpret the *t*-element. One potential interpretation would be that it is an abbreviation of the complementizer *dat* 'that'. This would mean that the complementizer *oa* 'if, whether' is always followed by the complementizer *dat* abbreviated as *t*. This weakened form of *dat* then agglutinates to the preceding complementizer *oa.* I will leave this other option out of consideration here.

(41)

feature specification subject	form of the complementizer
1P.SG	oa-n
2P.SG	oa-j
3P.SG	oa-(t)
1P.PL	oa-me
2P.PL	oa-j
3P.PL	oa-n

If this paradigm is examined carefully, the only position wheare a final [t] is expected to surface is in the third person singular. Only in this case, the subject can start with a vowel, creating an environment where the *t*-ending can surface. In all other cases *t*-deletion will apply, as the complementizer is followed by either a consonant that constitutes the initial phoneme of the subject pronoun (second person, first person plural) or a consonantal agreement affix (first person singular, third person plural). The preceding discussion makes clear that De Vogelaer et al. (2002) only provide arguments to show that an underlying /t/ is present in the sequence of complementizer plus third person singular subject in Lapscheure Dutch. Crucially, they do not supply evidence to show that this /t/ is an agreement affix rather than, for instance, the final consonant of the complementizer.

In the remainder of this subsection, I show that a comparison between Lapscheure Dutch and Frisian indicates that the complementizer *oa* 'if' in Lapscheure Dutch underlyingly has the form *oat*. Furthermore, I show that the data of another West-Flemish dialect, namely the dialect of De Panne, also challenges the hypothesis that the *t*-element is an agreement affix. Before I can present the supporting evidence for the hypothesis that the *t*-element under discussion is part of the complementizer, some remarks on this complementizer are in order. The complementizer under discussion, *oat* or *oa*, not only has the function of standard Dutch *als* 'if', but it also functions as standard Dutch *of* 'whether' in West-Flemish (cf. De Rooij 1965) and also in the West-Flemish dialect of Lapscheure (Liliane Haegeman p.c.). According to De Rooij (1965), this complementizer should not be viewed as an abbreviation of either standard Dutch *of* 'whether' or *als* 'if', but rather as a different, non-related complementizer. There is some – albeit circumstantial – evidence in support of the hypothesis that the underlying form of this complementizer is *oat* and not *oa*. This evidence comes from a comparison between Frisian and the West-Flemish dialects under discussion. De Rooij (1965:172) notes that it not only appears in the West-Flemish dialects discussed here, but that a complementizer with the same distribution is also found in Frisian. The Frisian complementizer *at* is also used for both standard Dutch *of* 'whether' and standard Dutch *als* 'if' (cf. also Tiersma 1985:98).[37] However, the important difference between Frisian and West-Flemish is that the former variety does not have massive *t*-deletion. In Frisian, this complementizer surfaces with a final [t] in all person/number combinations. Consider the example in (42) from the dialect of Lies,

[37] The Frisian complementizer surfaces with the vowel [a] rather than with the vowel [o] or [oa] as in West-Flemish.

a Frisian dialect spoken on the island of Schiermonnikoog (data from the SAND-project).[38]

(42) a. … **at ik** et een beetje anders uut sprek
if I it a bit different out speak
'…if I pronounce it somewhat differently.'
b. … **at je** t nou om draaie.
if you$_{SG}$ it PART PART turn
'…if you turn it around.'
c. … **at hy** nog trij jaar libbet.
if he PART three year lives
'…if he lives another three years.'
d. … **at we** Piet er nou even uitgooien
if we Piet there PART PART out.throw
'…if we throw out Piet.'
e. … **at Pieter en Liesje** in het paradijs leven
if Pieter and Liesje in the paradise live
'…if Pieter en Liesje live in paradise.'

[Lies Frisian]

Frisian and the West-Flemish dialects under discussion appear to have the same complementizer. Frisian *at* and West-Flemish *oat* are used in the same context: both varieties of Dutch use this complementizer to express the meaning of standard Dutch *als* 'if' and 'of' *whether*. Furthermore, they have more or less the same phonological shape. The difference between these two varieties is that Frisian does not display *t*-deletion to the extent that West-Flemish does. The fact that it surfaces as *at* in other persons than the third person singular and the second person in Frisian can be taken as an argument supporting the hypothesis that the West-Flemish complementizer underlyingly also ends in a [t], and as a consequence, that it has the form *oat*. Both complementizers can then be assumed to have the same origin.

The second piece of evidence I want to discuss here, compares the *t*-element with an unambiguous instance of a CA-affix. Consider the example in (43) from the West-Flemish dialect of De Panne (Peter Vermeulen p.c.).

(43) … at een vrouw naar het strand gaat.
if a woman to the beach goes
'…if a woman goes to the beach.'

[De Panne Dutch]

In this dialect, just like in Lapscheure Dutch, a [t] occurs on the complementizer if it is followed by a third person singular subject. Now let us compare the behaviour of this [t] with the behaviour of the *n*-affix in this dialect (cf. Ackema & Neeleman

[38] The corpus from the SAND-project does not contain an example with a second person plural subject.

2002:181). Ackema & Neeleman (2002:181) show that in the West-Flemish dialect of De Panne the agreement ending on the complementizer disappears when an adverbial phrase intervenes between the subject and the complementizer. This is illustrated in (44) (Ackema & Neeleman 2002:181, their example 9). [39,40]

(44) a. … da-n zunder op de warmste dag gewerkt en.
that-$_{3P.PL}$ they on the hottest day worked have
b. … da / *da-n op de warmste dag zunder gewerkt en.
that / that-$_{3P.PL}$ on the hottest day they worked have
'… that they worked on the hottest day.'

[De Panne Dutch]

The *n*-affix disappears when the adverbial clause *op de warmste dag* 'on the hottest day' intervenes between the complementizer and the subject. If the *t*-element is also an agreement affix, one would expect it to behave in the same way as the *n*-affix. This expectation is not borne out by the data. Consider the example in (45) (Peter Vermeulen p.c.).[41]

(45) … at op de zonnigste dag mijn vrouw naar het strand gaat.
if on the sunniest day my wife to the beach goes
'…if my wife goes to the beach on the sunniest day.'

[De Panne Dutch]

If in the sentence in (45) an adverbial phrase intervenes between the complementizer *at* and the third person singular subject, the *t*-element remains. This means that the *t*-element does not behave in the same way as the *n*-affix. As such, these data cast doubt on the status of the *t*-element as an agreement affix.

To summarise this excursion into the CA-paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch, I have shown that there is indeed ample evidence to assume that a *t*-element is present on the complementizer with third person singular subjects. However, there do not seem to be any arguments that unequivocally show that this element is an agreement affix. On the contrary, I gave one piece of evidence that seems to point in the direction that it is part of the complementizer itself. Furthermore, I have presented evidence

[39] Unfortunately, these data cannot be checked for Lapscheure Dutch, as this dialect – just like many other West-Flemish dialects – does not allow adverbs to intervene between the complementizer and the subject of the embedded clause (cf. Haegeman 1992).

[40] I have abbreviated the original example provided by Ackema & Neeleman (2002) somewhat for reasons of space.

[41] Strangely enough, in another context with adverb intervention, Peter Vermeulen p.c. indicates that the agreement affix in De Panne Dutch can be maintained. Consider the example in (i)

(i) … an een enkele keer de aardappels overkoken, is dat niet zo erg.
if a single time the potatoes over.boil is that not so bad
'…if once in a while the potatoes boil over, it is not that bad.' [De Panne Dutch]

I have no explanation for the difference in grammaticality between this example with adverb intervention and the one in the main text. It only stresses once more that the intervention effects with adverbs are not yet fully understood and that more research concerning these effects has to be undertaken.

contra the hypothesis that the *t*-element is an agreement affix. When the *t*-element is indeed not an agreement affix, the paradigm of CA in Lapscheure Dutch can be depicted as in (46).

(46)

feature specification subject	affix on the complementizer
1P.SG	-n
2P.SG	
3P.SG	
1P.PL	-n
2P.PL	
3P.PL	-n

According to this table, the only forms that show agreement morphology are the first person singular and plural and the third person plural. The paradigm is defective, in that the other person/number combinations do not lead to agreement morphology.

3.3.2.2 The second possibility: the *t*-element is an elsewhere-affix

Given that the argumentation for the idea that the *t*-element is not an affix to the complementizer is not fully airproof, I will now discuss the possibility that the *t*-element is an agreement affix. There is actually one argument in favour of this hypothesis. Recall from section 2 of this chapter that an agreement affix can only appear on the complementizer when this agreement affix is identical in the past and present tense on the finite verb: an agreement affix can only appear on the complementizer when it is not specified for tense, i.e. it has to be a pure agreement affix. Consider the verbal agreement paradigm of the monosyllabic verb *goan* 'to go' in Lapscheure Dutch (from Haegeman 1992:48, Liliane Haegeman p.c.).

(47)

	present tense	past tense
1P.SG	goa-n-k	ging-en-k
2P.SG	goa-j	ging-ej
3P.SG	goa-t-je	ging-t-je
1P.PL	goa-me	ging-e-me
2P.PL	goa-j	ging-ej
3P.PL	goa-n-ze	gingen-ze

This table shows that the *t*-element appears on the finite verb both in the present and in the past tense. The analysis of the defectivity of CA-paradigms provided in section 2 of this chapter makes a prediction that becomes crucial at this point. A dialect which has CA with a certain person/number combination is expected to have CA with all other person/number combinations in which the agreement affix does not express tense. In other words, when there is reason to assume that a dialect has phi-features on C°, it is expected to show CA in all person/number combinations for

which there is an agreement affix that expresses pure phi-features.[42] As Lapscheure Dutch is a dialect with phi-features on C^{o} and the *t*-affix on the finite verb appears both in the present tense and in the preterit, it is also expected to occur on the complementizer. This means that, given these assumptions, the *t*-element appearing on the complementizer in this dialect should indeed be an agreement affix.

Under the assumption that the *t*-element is an agreement affix, the CA-paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch can be represented as in the table in (48).

(48)

Feature specification subject	**affix on the complementizer**
1P.SG	-n
2P.SG	-t
3P.SG	-t
1P.PL	-n
2P.PL	-t
3P.PL	-n

This paradigm raises the question under what conditions the *t*-affix and the *n*-affix are inserted. This question is particularly intricate given that neither the *n*-affix nor the *t*-affix seems to select a particular well-defined subset of the available person/number combinations. As such, they both seem to qualify as so-called elsewhere-affixes, i.e. affixes that are inserted in environments where no other, more specific agreement affix is available. However, the situation in which two elsewhere-affixes are available obviously cannot arise. This means that at least one of these affixes has to be a non-elsewhere-affix. I show that there is some evidence in favour of the idea that the *n*-affix is the non-elsewhere-affix.

The *t*-affix appears with second and third person singular and second person plural subjects. It is impossible to come up with a feature specification for this *t*-affix that is applicable both to the second person singular and plural entries and also to the third person singular entry. A similar problem arises with the *n*-affix: at first sight it also seems to be impossible to find a person/number combination applicable to all entries the *n*-affix appears with: first person singular and plural, and third person plural.[43] However, there is a way to handle this problem. There is some support for the idea that the *n*-affix in the first person singular on the one hand and in the first and third person plural on the other is not the same element. More specifically, there seems to be an *n*-affix that can only be inserted in the first person singular and another *n*-affix that is inserted with plural subjects. The reasoning supporting this idea is based on inter-dialectal variation. In the Flemish dialects of West-Flanders and Zeeuws-Flanders, (at least) three types of CA-paradigms are

[42] Note that the reverse is not true. It is not enough for a dialect to have pure phi-agreement affixes to show CA. The dialect should also have phi-features on C°.

[43] Postma (1993) proposes a different view on paradigms. He argues that paradigms should be represented as circles; the different person-number combinations all represent a different piece of the circle. He shows that the feature combinations [1P.SG], [1P.PL] and [3P.PL] are adjacent pieces and as such show the same inflection. Furthermore, he shows that the pattern that is attested in West-Flemish (in which the first person has the same affix as the third person plural) is also found in Latin.

attested (the *t*-affix has been left out of the table). Consider the paradigms in the table in (49).

(49)

	Lapscheure	**Hulst**	**Waregem**
1P.SG	-n	-n	
2P.SG			
3P.SG			
1P.PL	-n	-n	-n
2P.PL		-n	
3P.PL	-n	-n	-n

This table shows that there are three types of Flemish CA-dialects, represented by Lapscheure Dutch (Haegeman 1992), Hulst Dutch (SAND-project) and Waregem Dutch (Vicky VandenHeede p.c.) respectively. In the first type of dialect the nasal affix appears in the first and the third person plural and in the first person singular. In the second one, it appears in the first person singular and in the plural. In the third type of dialect, it only appears in the first and third person plural. A comparison of these dialects leads to the following generalizations:

(i) in all three dialects an *n*-affix appears on the complementizer in the [1P.PL] and [3P.PL];

(ii) only in a subset of the dialects under consideration does an *n*-affix appear on the complementizer with [1P.SG]-subjects;

(iii) in a subset of the dialects the *n*-affix appears with all plural subjects.

A comparison between the paradigms of Lapscheure Dutch and Waregem Dutch suggests that there are actually two *n*-affixes, namely one that is inserted with first person plural and third person plural subjects. This affix appears both in Waregem Dutch and in Lapscheure Dutch. The other one is inserted with first person singular subjects. This affix is not present in Waregem Dutch, but it is in Lapscheure Dutch. For, if there would be only one *n*-affix in Lapscheure Dutch, it is also expected to occur in Waregem Dutch in the first person singular, under the assumption that the *n*-affix has the same insertion conditions in these two (closely related) dialects. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that there are two *n*-affixes in Lapscheure Dutch, one occurring with [1P.SG]-subjects and another one with [1P.PL] and [3P.PL] subjects, Waregem Dutch only has the latter *n*-affix and lacks the former. The comparison of the paradigms of Lapscheure Dutch and Hulst Dutch show that the *n*-affix appearing in the [1P.PL] and the [3P.PL] in Lapscheure Dutch, appears with all plural subjects in Hulst Dutch. It is therefore plausible to assume that this *n*-affix actually represents the feature specification [PL] rather than [1P.PL] or [3P.PL]. The [2P.PL] in Lapscheure Dutch seems to behave similar to the [2P.SG] in this dialect, a common phenomenon in varieties of Dutch (cf. among others Goeman 1999:250 for an overview of the literature on the second person plural in Dutch dialects).[44] The

[44] The question arises at this point how the fact that the second person plural behaves like a second person singular should be implemented in the system. One way of implementing it would be to stipulate an impoverishment rule (cf. Bonet 1991) that states that in the environment of the feature specification

comparison of these three Flemish dialects strengthens the claim that there are two *n*-affixes in Lapscheure Dutch: one specified for first person singular features[45] and the other for plural features. On the basis of this, the following classification for agreement affixes in Lapscheure Dutch arises.[46]

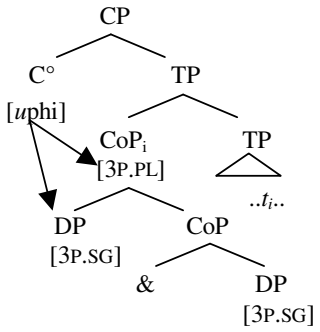
(50) [1P.SG] → -n
[PL] → -n
[elsewhere] → -t

To summarise, in this section I started with the assumption that the *t*-element found on the complementizer in the dialect of Lapscheure is indeed an agreement affix, as argued by De Vogelaer et al. (2002). I have provided arguments to the effect that in this scenario, the *t*-affix should be regarded as the elsewhere-affix, whereas the *n*-affix is the higher ranked specific affix.

3.3.3 Analysis of FA in Lapscheure Dutch

With all of this in mind, let us return to the issue raised at the beginning of this subsection, namely which of the two potential agreement relations represented in (33), repeated here as (51), results in more specific agreement morphology: the one between C° and CoP or that between C° and the DP in Spec,CoP.

(51)



second person, plural is not active. In order to be able to evaluate the effect of such a rule, a closer investigation of these and other dialects which exhibit this phenomenon, is necessary. I will therefore leave this issue as a topic for further research.

[45] Again the issue arises whether the default feature specification for number, namely 'singular' should be represented in the feature specification of the affixes. As I have already discussed in section 3.2 of this chapter, I assume that the value 'singular' is present. In this case, however, it could also be assumed that the feature specification of the *n*-affix is [1P], without making a difference for the analysis of the agreement paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch.

[46] It could also be the case that not only the *n*-affix, but also the *t*-affix is a specific affix. I will not develop this line of reasoning here, as this results in a less elegant description of the data.

Recall from the beginning of this section that the analysis proposed here predicts that the relation between C° and CoP results in more specific agreement morphology in this dialect than the relation between C° and the DP in Spec,CoP. The reason for this is that the relation with CoP is spelled out on the complementizer in example (32), repeated here as (52).

(52) … da-n / *da [Valère en Pol] morgen goa-n.
that-$_{3P.PL}$ / that [Valère and Pol]$_{3P.PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'…that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'
[Lapscheure Dutch]

The relation between C° and CoP results in an *n*-affix, whereas the one between C° and the proper name in Spec,CoP results in a *t*-affix on the complementizer. In the preceding subsections, I have shown that it is not so clear that this *t*-element is indeed an affix. Furthermore, I have argued that if it is an affix, it is arguably less specific than the *n*-affix. This means that the *n*-affix is indeed expected to occur on the complementizer given the configuration in (51).

This analysis of agreement with coordinated subjects in Lapscheure Dutch makes several predictions. First of all, if the coordinated subject contains a first person singular subject pronoun, the complementizer is always inflected with an *n*-affix, as the coordination as a whole is always first person plural in that case. Consider the examples in (53) (Liliane Haegeman p.c.).[47]

(53) a. … da-n Pol en ik mekoar a lange kenn-en.
that-*n* [Pol and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other PART long know-$_{PL}$
'…that Pol and I have known each other a long time.'
b. … da-n k-ik en Pol mekoar a lange kennen.
that-*n* [I$_{CL}$-I and Pol]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other PART long know-$_{PL}$
'…that Pol and I have known each other a long time.'
[Lapscheure Dutch]

In the a-example, the feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole is first person plural. The feature specification of the first conjunct is third person singular. The relation with the coordination as a whole results in an *n*-affix on the complementizer, whereas an agreement relation with the first conjunct results in a *t*-affix or in no affix at all, depending on the analysis of the CA-paradigm of Lapscheure Dutch. As expected, it is the former relation, resulting in the more specific agreement morphology, that is spelled out on the complementizer. In the example in (53b), the situation is a bit more complex. Both the first conjunct and the coordinated subject as a whole result in an *n*-affix on the complementizer. The first conjunct has the feature specification [1P.SG] and the coordination as a whole

[47] Liliane Haegeman p.c. indicates that the example in (53b) sounds somewhat peculiar and would be avoided in the dialect when possible. This presumably has something to do with the order of the conjuncts.

[1P.PL]. In this case it is not clear which Goal determines the agreement morphology on the complementizer.

Secondly, if the coordinated subject as a whole has the feature specification [2P.PL], but the first conjunct has the feature specification [3P.PL], agreement with the first conjunct is expected to arise in this dialect. The reason for this is that second person plural subjects trigger the appearance of the elsewhere-affix *-t*, whereas the third person plural features result in the specific *n*-affix on the complementizer. Unfortunately, coordination of a second person plural and a third person plural subject does not appear to be an option for my consultant of Lapscheure Dutch and therefore this prediction cannot be tested in this dialect.[48] It can be tested in another West-Flemish dialect, namely that of Nieuwkerken-Waas. The CA-paradigm of Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch does not differ significantly from the one of Lapscheure Dutch (cf. De Vogelaer et al. 2002). In both cases the affix on the complementizer belonging to second person plural features is either the *t*-affix or no affix at all (cf. the discussion of Lapscheure Dutch in subsections 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.2). Third person plural subjects trigger the specific *n*-affix on the complementizer.[49] Consider the example in (54), which is parallel to the Lapscheure Dutch example in (52).

(54) … da-n Bart en Jan mekaar wel kunne verdraagn.
that-$_{PL}$ [Bart and Jan]$_{3P.PL}$ each.other PART can-$_{PL}$ stand
'…that Bart and Jan tolerate each other.'
[Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch]

This example shows that in Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch, just as in Lapscheure Dutch, the complementizer agrees with the coordinated subject as a whole, showing plural agreement when the coordinated subject contains two third person singular subjects. Now consider the example in (55).[50]

(55) ? …da-n ze zulder en gij mekaar wel kunne verdraagn.
…that-$_{PL}$ [CL.they and you$_{SG}$]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other PART can-$_{PL}$ stand
'…that you and they can stand each other.'
[Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch]

Second person plural subjects do not trigger an *n*-affix on the complementizer in this dialect (cf. De Vogelaer et al. 2002), indicating that the complementizer in this

[48] The question arises why consultants refuse certain combinations of conjuncts. I have no answer to this question at present. See also footnote 29 of this chapter.
[49] One difference between Lapscheure Dutch and Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch is that in the latter dialect the agreement affix on the complementizer in the third person plural appears optionally, whereas in Lapscheure Dutch it is obligatory.
[50] Again, the order of the conjuncts influences the grammaticality of this example. The consultants clearly prefer the reversed order.

example agrees with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject.[51,52] The example in (55) therefore shows that in Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject is possible. The examples in (54) and (55) show that the West-Flemish dialect of Nieuwkerken-Waas either has FCA or FA on the complementizer depending on the feature specification of the coordination as a whole and of the first conjunct. If the former leads to more specific agreement morphology, the complementizer shows FA (cf. 54). If, on the other hand, the latter results in more specific agreement morphology, then the complementizer shows FCA (cf. 55).

3.4 FCA on the complementizer: Waubach Dutch

In the preceding subsections, I have demonstrated that the complementizer agrees with either the first conjunct of a coordinated subject or with the coordinated subject as a whole. The choice for either FCA or FA on the complementizer depends on which of the two available relations results in more specific agreement morphology. In this subsection, I discuss the relation between the complementizer and coordinated subjects in the dialect of Waubach. Just like Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian, Waubach Dutch has CA with second person singular subjects. An example is provided in (56).

(56) … **de-s** **doe** kum-s.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you will come.'
[Waubach Dutch]

Moreover, when the subject is coordinated and the first conjunct has the feature specification [2P.SG], the complementizer agrees with this first conjunct. This is illustrated in the example in (57).

(57) … **de-s** **doe** en Marie uch ken-t.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P}$
'…that you and Marie know each other.'
[Waubach Dutch]

[51] It has to be noted that it is not completely clear if the feature specification of the coordinated subject is second person plural or rather just plural, as the finite verb does not show the second person plural *t*-affix in this example, but rather the regular plural *n*-affix. If the feature specification of the coordinated subject is indeed plural rather than second person plural, the example at hand is of no interest to the current discussion.

[52] The example in (55) can also occur without the nasal affix on the complementizer. This is expected, as this dialect does not obligatorily have CA with third person plural subjects. This means that the example indicates that FCA is possible, not that FA is impossible.

Also comparable to the situation in Tegelen Dutch is the fact that the complementizer cannot appear without inflection in this example. This is exemplified by the ungrammaticality of the example in (58).

(58) * … **det** doe en Marie uch ken-t.
that [you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P.PL}$
[Waubach Dutch]

So far, Waubach Dutch seems to behave exactly parallel to Tegelen Dutch. However, there is one interesting difference between these two dialects: the complementizer in Waubach Dutch not only shows agreement with second person singular subjects, but also with second person plural subjects. This is illustrated in the example in (59).

(59) … **of-t** **ier** koom-t
if-$_{2P.PL}$ you$_{PL}$ come-$_{2P.PL}$
'…if you will come.'
[Waubach Dutch]

In this example, the complementizer *of* 'if' is inflected with a *t*-affix. This affix only appears on the complementizer with second person plural subjects. It is only visible on complementizers that do not end in a [t] themselves. In other words, the *t*-affix is visible on the complementizer *of* 'if', but not on the complementizer *det* 'that'. The CA-paradigm of this dialect can be represented as in the table in (60).

(60)

Feature specification subject	affix on the complementizer
1P.SG	
2P.SG	-s
3P.SG	
1P.PL	
2P.PL	-t
3P.PL	

Recall from section 2 of this chapter that the agreement on the complementizer can only occur when the agreement on the finite verb is identical in the present and the past tense. The table in (61) with the agreement paradigm of the verb *goon* 'to go' in the present tense and the preterit shows that this generalization also holds for this dialect.

(61)

	present tense	**past tense**
1P.SG	goon	goong
2P.SG	gee-s	goong-s
3P.SG	gee-t	goong
1P.PL	goon-t	goong-e
2P.PL	goo-t	goong-t
3P.PL	goon-t	goong-e

As this table shows, the agreement morphology on the finite verb in the present and the past tense is only identical in the second person singular and plural. With these paradigms in mind, the question arises why the examples in (58), repeated here as (62a), and in (62b) are ungrammatical, whereas the example in (57), repeated here as (62c) is grammatical.

(62) a. * … **det** doe en Marie uch ken-t.
that [you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P.PL}$

b. * … **of-t** **doe** **en** **Marie** uch ken-t.
if-$_{2P.PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P.PL}$

c. … **de-s** **doe** en Marie uch ken-t.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P.PL}$

'…that you and Marie know each other.'

[Waubach Dutch]

In the a-example it is unclear whether or not the complementizer is inflected, as the final consonant of the complementizer is identical to the affix. In the b-example, on the other hand, the *t*-affix is clearly present. The comparison between the sentences in (62) shows that the complementizer cannot agree with the [2P.PL]-features of the coordinated subject as a whole, but it has to agree with the [2P.SG]-first conjunct.
The most obvious explanation for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (58) and (62) in light of the discussion in the previous sections would be that the *t*-affix is less specific than the *s*-affix. However, when the insertion conditions for these affixes on the complementizer are examined more closely, this might not appear to be the most apparent conclusion. The *s*-affix is inserted with [2P.SG]-subjects and the *t*-affix with [2P.PL]-subjects. On the basis of this, the most straightforward assumption concerning the feature specification of these two affixes is represented as in (63).

(63) [2P.SG] → -s
[2P.PL] → -t

This affix inventory of CA-affixes is similar to the one in Bavarian (see section 3.2 of this chapter). In this dialect too, there is an affix with the feature specification second person singular and one with the specification second person pural. In Bavarian however, both affixes appear on the complementizer in the situation described above. This is clearly not the case in Waubach Dutch: in this dialect only

the affix expressing second person singular can appear on the complementizer. This casts doubt on the assumptin that the affix inventory of Waubach Dutch is similar to the one in Bavarian. More than that, when the analysis of affix insertion in the configuration where the Probe entertains two agreement relations advocated in this thesis is correct, the affix inventory of Waubach Dutch cannot be represented as in (63). Given the data in (62), the *s*-affix has to be more specific than the *t*-affix.

Consider the verbal agreement paradigm in (61) more closely. In this dialect, the *t*-affix does not only appear in the second person plural, but also in several other paradigm slots: third person singular present tense, first person plural present tense, third person plural present tense, second person plural past tense. The fact that the *t*-affix appears in a large set of unrelated person/number combinations throughout the paradigm might be interpreted as an indication that the *t*-affix in this dialect is the elsewhere-affix. The *s*-affix on the other hand, exclusively appears in the second person singular, indicating that the *s*-affix should be regarded as a specific affix, singling out a particular person/number combination. When this is indeed the case, it is clear why the *s*-affix in (62) takes precedence over the *t*-affix when it comes to insertion: the *s*-affix is more specific than the *t*-affix, as the first one is a specific affix and the second one an elsewhere-affix. Although more carefull investigation of this dialect and its inflectional system is necessary, I assume that this is the correct analysis for Waubach Dutch. With respect to this analysis, the question arises why the elsewhere-affix does not appear on the complementizer in the other person/number combinations in which it appears in the verbal paradigm. Put differently, why can the *t*-affix not appear on the complementizer in for instance the third person singular or the first person plural. Although it is not directly clear how to implement it, this behaviour of CA is predicted by the generalizations put forth by Hoekstra & Smits (1999). It is only in the second person plural that the *t*-affix appears both in the present tense and in the preterit, as can be seen in the table in (61).

The analysis for the ungrammaticality of the Waubach Dutch example in (58) makes two predictions. First of all, if the first conjunct is second person plural and the coordination as a whole is first person plural, the *t*-affix should be able to occur on the complementizer. In this case, the agreement relation with the first conjunct leads to a *t*-affix on the complementizer, but the agreement relation with CoP does not lead to an affix at all. This prediction is borne out by the example in (64), although it is – for reasons unclear to me – only marginally acceptable.[53]

(64) ?? … of-t ier en vier goont.
if-$_{2P.PL}$ [you$_{PL}$ and we]$_{1P.PL}$ go-$_{PL}$
'…if you and we are going.'

[Waubach Dutch]

[53] The deficiency of this example is presumably related to the fact that the consultant has some reservations when it comes to judging examples involving coordination, regardless of whether or not there is agreement on the complementizer.

The second prediction the analysis makes is that if the coordination as a whole is second person plural and the first conjunct is for instance third person singular, the *t*-affix appears on the complementizer. However, this prediction is not borne out by the data.[54] Consider the example in (65).

(65) * … of-t Marie en doe uch ken-t.
if-$_{2P.PL}$ [Marie and you$_{SG}$]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P.PL}$
'…if Mary and you know each other.'
[Waubach Dutch]

I have no account for the ungrammaticality of this example. However, the same sentence without the inflection on the complementizer, provided in (66), is also only marginally acceptable for my consultant. This implies that the example in (65) might be ungrammatical for independent reasons.

(66) ?* … of Marie en doe uch ken-t.
if [Marie and you$_{SG}$]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ know-$_{2P.PL}$
'…if Mary and you know each other.'
[Waubach Dutch]

Another possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of the example in (65) is that the *t*-affix, for some reason, can only occur with pronominal subjects, a phenomenon that has been described by Vanacker (1949:38) for some dialects in the Belgian province of East Flanders. These examples make clear that more research into this dialect is needed in order to be able to account for the full range of data.

3.5 Predictions of the analysis

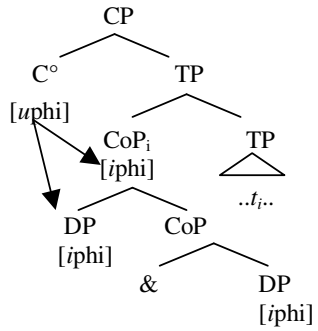
The analysis of FCA I have put forth in this section makes several predictions. I discuss three of them in this section. Firstly, I go into the issue of Second Conjunct Agreement. Next, I discuss the possibility of agreement with the specifier of the first conjunct of a coordinated argument. In the final subsection, I focus on the effect of modification of the coordinated subject on agreement.

[54] It has to be noted that the examples that lead to unexpected judgements in this dialect are similar to the examples leading to infelicitous results in Bavarian. This suggests there is some as yet undiscovered generalisation behind these data. I hope to return to this issue in future research.

3.5.1 Second Conjunct Agreement

First of all, the analysis put forth in the previous subsection predicts that it is impossible for the complementizer to agree with the second conjunct of a coordinated subject. Consider again the configuration which induces FCA on the complementizer in (67).

(67)



The c-command domain of C° in (67) contains three matching feature bundles: the feature bundle of CoP, the one of the first conjunct and the one of the second conjunct. In the preceding subsections, I have already shown that the first conjunct and CoP can both determine the feature specification of the complementizer. However, the complementizer never agrees with the second conjunct in Dutch dialects. This is exemplified in the example in (68) for the dialect of Tegelen.

(68) … **det/*de-s** Marie en doow uch treff-e.
that/that-$_{2P.SG}$ [Marie and you$_{SG}$]$_{2P.PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$ meet-$_{PL}$
'…that Marie and you will meet each other.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

In this example, the feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole is second person plural. The second conjunct is the second person singular subject pronoun *doow* 'you'. As the example in (68) illustrates, the complementizer cannot agree with this conjunct. Although the second conjunct has a bundle of features matching those of the Probe and it is c-commanded by the Probe, the second conjunct is not local enough to Probe C° to value its features. Consider again the definitions of locality provided in the first chapter.

(69) **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

(70) **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

CoP and the Goal in Spec,CoP are more local to C° than the Goal which constitutes the complement of Co°. CoP, the Goal in Spec,CoP and the complement of Co° are all c-commanded by C°, but whereas CoP and the Goal in Spec,CoP are only c-commanded by C°, the complement of Co° is also c-commanded by the DP in Spec,CoP and by Coº. This means that CoP and the Goal in Spec,CoP are c-commanded by a proper subset of the elements that c-command the complement of Co°. As there are Goals that are more local to C° than the complement of Co°, the second conjunct is not a possible Goal for Probe C°. This complement cannot share its phi-features with C°'s unvalued features and therefore second conjunct agreement is unavailable in these dialects.[55]

3.5.2 Agreement with the specifier of the first conjunct

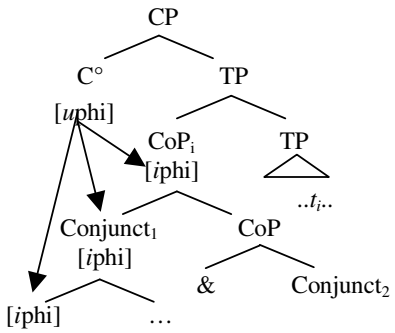
The analysis of FCA on the complementizer provided in this section is based on a definition of c-command under which the Goal situated in the specifier of CoP is just as local to C° as CoP itself. Reconsider the definition of c-command provided in chapter 1 in (71).

(71) **c-command**
X c-commands Y, iff
(i) X excludes Y[56]
(ii) the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y

Consider the configuration in (72). Given the definition of c-command adopted in this thesis, not only the specifier of CoP, but also the specifier of the specifier of CoP is c-commanded by C° and by Cº alone. This means that a Goal occupying this position should also be able to trigger Complementizer Agreement.

[55] Second Conjunct Agreement is available in languages like Swahili, cf. Johannessen (1998). I return to this issue in chapters 4 and 5.
[56] X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.

(72)



When the only Goal triggering the presence of agreement morphology on the complementizer is situated in the specifier of the specifier of CoP, CA should appear. This prediction is borne out by the data in (73) from Tegelen Dutch.[57]

(73) … **de-s** / *det **doow** en Marie en Jan en Piet morgen komm-e.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that [[you$_{SG}$ and Marie] and [Jan and Piet]] tomorrow come-$_{PL}$
'…that you and Marie and Jan and Piet will come tomorrow.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

In this example, the first conjunct of the coordinated subject consists of a coordination. The first conjunct of this coordination, which is arguably situated in the specifier of the specifier of CoP, is the second person singular pronoun *doow* 'you'. This is the only Goal in the example in (73) that results in agreement morphology on the complementizer: the feature specification of the first conjunct as a whole is second person plural and the feature specification of the coordination as a whole is also second person plural. This feature specification does not lead to agreement morphology on the complementizer, as I have shown in section 3.5.1 and section 3.1 of this chapter. This means that the s-affix on the complementizer in the example in (73) spells out the agreement relation between C° and the second person singular pronoun *doow* 'you' occupying the specifier of the specifier of CoP.

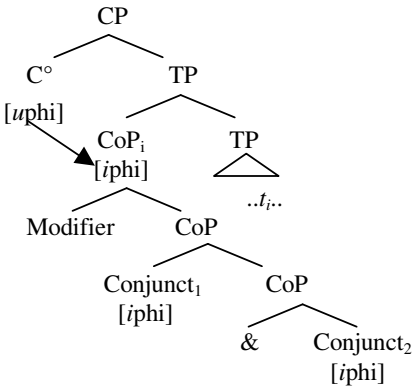
3.5.3 Modification of the coordinated subject

The final prediction I would like to discuss here concerns the effect of modification of the coordinated subject on CA. The analysis under consideration makes the prediction that when the coordinated subject is modified, the Goal occupying the specifier of CoP is no longer equally local to C° as CoP. As a consequence,

[57] These data are only checked for Tegelen Dutch. I will leave it as a topic for further research to test if this prediction is also borne out in the other dialects discussed in this section.

agreement with the first conjunct should no longer be possible. Consider the schematic representation of this configuration in (74).[58]

(74)



In this configuration, the first conjunct in Spec,CoP is c-commanded by both the modifier and C°. CoP on the other hand, is only c-commanded by C°. This means that CoP is more local with respect to C° than the first conjunct. In other words, the first conjunct is a potential Goal for C°, but as it is not local enough, C° cannot enter into an agreement relation with this Goal. This means that when there is an element modifying CoP, CA reflecting the features of the Goal in Spec,CoP should be impossible. With this reasoning in mind, consider the data in (75) from Tegelen Dutch.[59]

(75) … **det** / **?de-s** auch doow en Anna komm-e
that / that-$_{2P.SG}$ also [you$_{SG}$ and Anna] come-$_{PL}$
'… that you and Anna will also be coming.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

Two things have to be noted about this example. First of all, both the complementizer with CA and the complementizer without CA are possible in this example. This is remarkable as in example (22) from Tegelen Dutch, repeated here as (76), only the variant with the inflected complementizer is possible.

(76) … **de-s** / ?***det** doow en ich ôs treff-e.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ meet-$_{PL}$
'…that you and I will meet each other.'

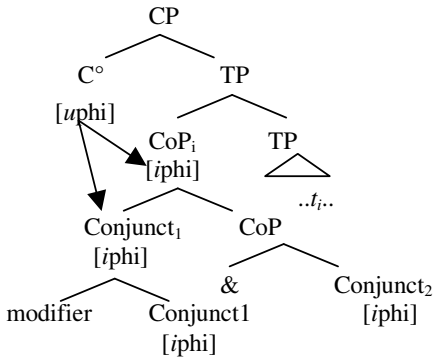
[Tegelen Dutch]

[58] For argumentation in favour of the claim that focus particles are adjuncts, rather than projecting their own category, cf. Barbiers 1995:71. Furthermore, I refer the reader to Barbiers 2003 for argumentation in support of the idea that focus particles are adjuncts attached to the projection they are modifying, rather than being clausal adverbs as argued for by Büring & Hartmann 2001.

[59] These data are only checked for Tegelen Dutch and not for the other dialects discussed in this thesis.

The second thing that has to be noted about the example in (75) is that the use of the complementizer with CA results in a more degraded sentence than the use of the non-inflected complementizer. This means that the prediction is not entirely met by the data. In the example from Tegelen Dutch, CA reflecting the agreement relation with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject only leads to a degraded but not to a fully ungrammatical result. I would like to argue that this is due to the fact that the modifier, in this case the focus particle *auch* 'also', can modify either the coordinated subject as a whole or just the first conjunct. When it modifies the coordinated subject as a whole, it modifies CoP and in this case the focus particle c-commands the Goal occupying the specifier of CoP. If, on the other hand, the focus particle modifies just the first conjunct, then the first conjunct is still equally local to C° as CoP and hence the agreement morphology on the complementizer can reflect the agreement relation between C° and this first conjunct. The latter configuration is reflected in the structure in (77).

(77)



In this configuration the modifier is not c-commanding the first conjunct. CoP and Conjunct$_1$ are equally local to C° as the set of nodes c-commanding CoP is identical to the set of nodes c-commanding Conjunct$_1$. This means that C° entertains an agreement relation with both CoP and the first conjunct and hence that the complementizer can show FCA. It is expected that both the inflected and the non-inflected complementizer can occur in the example in (75). When the non-inflected complementizer is used, the focus particle modifies the coordinated subject as a whole, whereas when the inflected complementizer is used, it modifies just the first conjunct. The most natural interpretation is the one in which the focus particle modifies the coordinated subject as a whole, which might explain why the variant with the inflected complementizer is slightly degraded. With this in mind, consider the example in (78).

(78) Context: I think that not only HE and Mary will have to dance, but
… **de-s** auch **DOOW** en Marie zulle moete danse.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ also [YOU$_{SG}$ and Marie] will have.to dance
'…that YOU and Marie also have to dance.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

In this example, stress is put on the first conjunct, forcing the interpretation in which the focus particle modifies just the first conjunct. When the focus particle modifies the first conjunct, this conjunct is equally local to C° as CoP and hence FCA on the complementizer should appear. In this case, my consultant notes that although the non-inflected complementizer can occur in this example, the use of the inflected complementizer also results in a fully grammatical sentence. This shows that when the context is such that the reading in which the focus particle modifies just the first conjunct of the coordinated subject is possible, as in (78), the sentence is grammatical with the inflected complementizer.

This analysis makes two important predictions. First of all, modification of the subject by a focus particle should not have this effect when the subject is not coordinated. In this case, the focus particle is merged with the maximal projection of the pronominal projection. However, this does not have an influence on the locality of the phi-features of the pronominal projection to C°. As a consequence, the complementizer should be able to agree with a modified subject pronoun. This prediction is borne out by the example in (79).

(79) … **de-s** / ?*det auch **doow** kum-s.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that also you$_{SG}$ come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you too will come.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

Secondly, in a configuration in which CA reflects the agreement morphology of CoP as a whole, rather than of the first conjunct, modification of the subject should not have any influence on the appearance of CA. The reason for this is that no matter where the focus particle attaches, CoP will always be local enough to the Probe in order to value the Probes features. Recall from section 3.3, that in Lapscheure Dutch, the configuration occurs in which the complementizer agrees with CoP, rather than with the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. Consider the example in (80).

(80) … da-n / *da Valère en Pol morgen goa-n.
that-$_{3P.PL}$ / that [Valère and Pol]$_{3P.PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'…that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

As expected, CA has to appear when the coordinated subject is modified by a focus particle, as is illustrated by the example in (81).

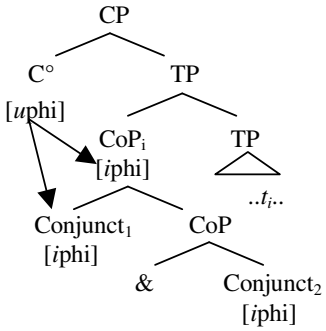
(81) … da-n / *da zelfs Valère en Pol morgen goa-n.
that-$_{3P.PL}$ / that even [Valère and Pol]$_{3P.PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'…that even Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'
[Lapscheure Dutch]

Although a more thorough investigation into modification of coordinated subjects and the appearance of FCA on the complementizer should be carried out, the data support the analysis of FCA on the complementizer provided in the previous subsections.

3.6 Summary

In this section, I have provided four case studies of a C°-Probe agreeing with a coordinated subject. This situation is schematically represented in (82).

(82)



I have argued that in this structure C° enters into an agreement relation with both CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. At the level of Morphology, one of these relations is spelled out by an agreement affix on the complementizer, namely the one resulting in the most specific agreement morphology on the complementizer. This analysis can be successfully applied to five different dialects: Tegelen Dutch, Bavarian, Lapscheure Dutch, Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch and Waubach Dutch. I have shown that in these dialects the agreement morphology on the complementizer does not randomly spell out the features of either one of the available Goals. Rather the features of the Goal resulting in the most specific agreement morphology are spelled out on the complementizer. I have shown that FCA and FA are not just two strategies that are used to deal with agreement with coordinated subjects. Rather, I have argued that FCA and FA are two sides of the same coin: FCA and FA result from the same underlying configuration. The choice for one or the other is made systematically on the basis of the affix inventory of a particular dialect. FCA is used when agreement with the first conjunct leads to more specific agreement

morphology, whereas FA is used when the agreement relation with CoP results in more specific agreement morphology.

In the introduction to this section, I have shown that the relations between CoP and C° and that between the first conjunct in Spec,CoP and C° can each result in three different realizations on the complementizer: a specific affix, an elsewhere-affix or in no affix at all. This leads to nine different possible combinations. These combinations are depicted in the table in (16), repeated here as (83).

(83)

	CoP	**Conjunct$_1$**	**result**	**dialect**	**section**
1	Specific	specific	specific, CoP specific, Conjunct$_1$	Bavarian Bavarian	3.2 3.2
2	Specific	elsewhere	specific, CoP	Lapscheure?	3.3
3	Specific	no affix	specific, CoP	Lapscheure? Bavarian	3.3 3.2
4	Elsewhere	specific	specific, Conjunct$_1$	Waubach	3.4
5	Elsewhere	elsewhere	elsewhere	-	-
6	Elsewhere	no affix	elsewhere	Waubach	3.4
7	no affix	specific	specific, Conjunct$_1$ specific, Conjunct$_1$ specific, Conjunct$_1$	Tegelen Nieuwk.-Waas Bavarian	3.1 3.3 3.2
8	no affix	elsewhere	elsewhere	Waubach	3.4
9	no affix	no affix	no affix	-	-

I have shown that in the dialect of Tegelen the relation between C° and CoP does not result in overt agreement morphology on the complementizer, since this dialect does not have a CA-affix expressing plural features. The relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP does result in a specific agreement affix on the complementizer, when this specifier contains a second person singular pronoun.

Bavarian provides a case study in which both the relation between C° and CoP and that between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP leads to a specific agreement affix. The examples from Bavarian illustrate that either one of the two affixes can appear on the complementizer. Furthermore, I have provided examples showing that when the relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP results in more specific agreement morphology than the relation with CoP, the complementizer shows FCA. The reverse is also true: when the relation between C° and CoP leads to more specific agreement morphology than the relation with the Goal Spec,CoP the complementizer ends up showing FA.

Lapscheure Dutch constitutes the third case study of this section. I have shown that if a coordinated subject contains two third person singular conjuncts, the complementizer carries an *n*-affix, representing third person plural inflection: the feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole. Apart from the *n*-affix, there might also be a *t*-affix present in this dialect, appearing in the second person

singular and plural and the third person singular. I have provided several arguments that seem to point to the conclusion that this *t*-element is not an affix, but rather a part of the complementizer. As these arguments are not airproof, I have assumed that it is an affix however. This means that the third person singular first conjunct also leads to an agreement affix on the complementizer, namely the *t*-affix. The former relation is spelled out, as the *n*-affix is more specific than the *t*-affix. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that in the West-Flemish dialect of Nieuwkerken-Waas, FCA can appear on the complementizer when the relation between C° and and the Goal in Spec,CoP leads to more specific agreement morphology than the relation between C° and CoP. Finally, Waubach Dutch arguably provides a case study of rows 4, 6 and 8 of the table in (83). More research into this dialect is necessary however.

One major advantage of the analysis of agreement with coordinated subjects put forth in this section, is that the syntactic part of the analysis is exactly the same for all dialects under consideration here. A Probe encounters two Goals at the same time and enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals. The question of whether a Probe ends up showing FCA or FA is entirely dependent on which of these two agreement relations results in more specific agreement morphology. The differences between these five dialects with respect to agreement between a complementizer and a coordinated subject are thus reduced to differences in the Vocabulary Item-lexicon. This result is in line with the assumptions about the locus of micro-variation advocated in the Minimalist Program: micro-variation should be reduced to variation in the lexicon (cf. Chomsky 1995:169-170).

4. Verbal agreement with coordinated subjects: one Probe, one Goal?

In the preceding section, I have discussed agreement between a complementizer and a coordinated subject. The focus of this section will be on the agreement between a finite verb and a coordinated subject. Before I can go into this issue, I first have to provide some basic facts about verb placement in (varieties of) Dutch.

In (varieties of) Dutch, there are (at least) three positions of the finite verb with respect to its main arguments.[60] The subject can precede the verb, resulting in the SVO-order, and it can follow the verb in the (XP)VSO-order. Finally, the verb appears in clause-final position in embedded clauses, resulting in a CSOV-order. Consider the examples in (84), representing these three possible word orders in standard Dutch.

(84) a. De kat drinkt melk. **SVO**
the cat drinks milk
'The cat is drinking milk.'

b. Waarom drinkt de kat melk? **(XP)VSO**
why drinks the cat milk
'Why is the cat drinking milk?'

c. Ik zie dat de kat melk drinkt. **CSOV**
I see that the cat milk drinks
'I see that the cat is drinking milk.'

[standard Dutch]

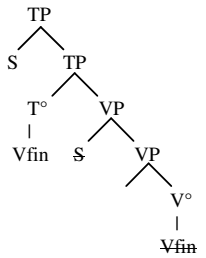
There are two major analyses of these word orders. Proponents of the first argue that the verb occupies the C°-position in both (84a) and (84b) (cf. Den Besten 1989, Bennis & Hoekstra 1989). The subject on the other hand finds itself in a different position in (84a) and (84b). In (84a) it occupies Spec,CP, whereas in (84b) it does not move to Spec,CP, but rather stays in the specifier of the inflectional projection. The finite verb in the c-example is assumed to occupy the head position of the head-final inflectional projection.

The second analysis starts out from the idea that the subject is in the same position in both (84a) and (84b), namely the specifier of the inflectional projection, and that it is the finite verb that occupies a different position in these clauses. In (84a) it stays in T°, whereas in (84b) it moves through to C° (cf. Travis 1984, Zwart 1993). The verb in example (84c) is assumed to stay in its base position, namely V°. Although nothing really hinges on this, I will adhere to the second analysis in this thesis. In tree structures (85)-(87), the schematic representations of these three

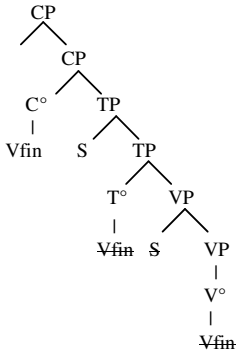
[60] There are dialects which allow for more word orders. Frisian, for instance, also has the word order CSVO. I will not go into these word orders in this thesis. I briefly return to the CSVO-order in Frisian in section 2.3.2 of chapter 4.

different word orders are given from the point of view of the latter analysis.[61] I assume the inflectional projection to be TP.

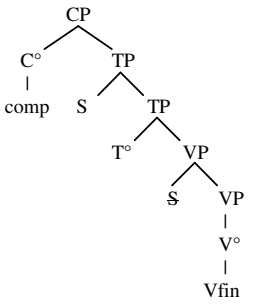
(85) Subject-initial main clauses
SVO



(86) Inverted main clauses
(XP)VSO



(87) Subclauses
CSOV



Verbal agreement morphology is dependent on the phi-features of T° (cf. Chomsky 1995). In the standard case, T° is the only functional head in the extended verbal projection carrying phi-features. In dialects with CA, however, C° also has phi-features (cf. *supra* section 2 of this chapter). The fact that two functional heads within the verbal projection carry phi-features potentially influences the verbal agreement morphology. Let us examine in detail for each word order discussed above if the presence of phi-features on C° has an effect on the agreement morphology of the finite verb.

In a dialect with phi-features on C°, these features are not present in SVO-clauses, as they are not projected. This means that the verbal agreement morphology in subject-initial main clauses (cf. the structure in (85)) is solely dependent on the phi-features of T°. In embedded clauses, C° is present as is shown in (87). If C° has phi-features, these features get spelled out on the complementizer. This means that in embedded clauses the agreement morphology on the finite verb is also entirely dependent on T°' s phi-features. Inverted main clauses (depicted in (86)) provide an interesting case. In the VSO-word order, C° is projected and the verb moves from T° to C°. This means that if C° has phi-features, these features potentially interfere with the features that the verb 'picked up' in T°.[62] In this type of clause, the agreement morphology of the finite verb is not just dependent on T°'s phi-features as in the other two clause types, but also on those of C°.

In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss verbal agreement in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. I show that under no circumstances does the finite verb show FCA in these word orders: it obligatorily shows FA. In chapter 3, I discuss agreement between the

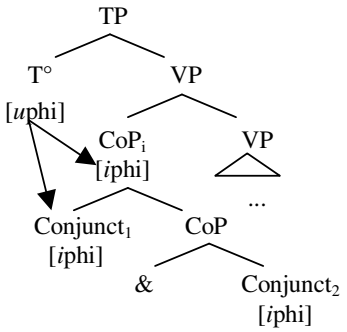
[61] In the structures (85)-(87) the position of the object is left out. The object is presumably situated in a projection in between VP and TP.
[62] I refine this view on verb movement in section 5 of chapter 3.

finite verb and coordinated subjects in the VSO-word order. There, I show that this word order allows for the occurrence of FCA on the finite verb.

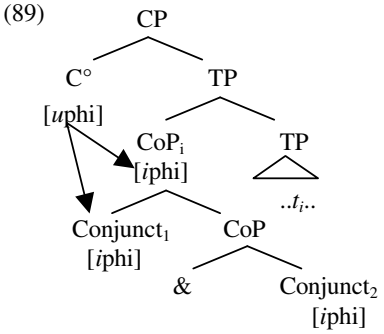
4.1 The absence of FCA on the finite verb: a paradox

In section 3, I have shown that when the subject is a coordination, C° enters into an agreement relation with both the first conjunct in Spec,CoP and CoP itself. One of these relations gets spelled out on the complementizer, depending on which relation results in more specific agreement morphology. As I have discussed in the introduction to this section, varieties of Dutch have also another clausal Probe for phi-features, namely T°. Just like C°, T° agrees with the subject. The question arises if this latter Probe also agrees with the coordinated subject as whole as well as with the first conjunct of this subject, resulting in either FA or FCA on the finite verb. In this section, I show that under my current assumptions of syntactic and morphological agreement, T° is expected to enter into an agreement relation with both Goals, resulting in either FCA or FA on the finite verb. I show that contrary to these expectations the finite verb cannot agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject in the SVO- and the CSOV-order. Consider the structures in (88) and (89), representing the stage of the derivation at which C° and T° are merged respectively.

(88)



(89)



The structure in (88) represents the stage of the derivation at which T° with unvalued phi-features is merged. T° probes down into its c-command domain and encounters two equally local Goals: CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. A similar situation is depicted in the tree structure in (89). This structure represents the stage of the derivation at which C° with unvalued phi-features is merged. The unvalued phi-features of C° also have to be related to their valued counterparts on a Goal in the c-command domain of C°. If the subject is coordinated, C° also encounters the two equally local Goals CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. The

agreement relation between C° and the coordinated subject is thus completely parallel to that between T° and the coordinated subject.

In the preceding section, I have shown that the complementizer (on which the features of C° are spelled out) can agree either with the coordinated subject as a whole or with the first conjunct of the subject. As a consequence, one would expect that the finite verb (on which the features of T° are spelled out) can also either show agreement with the first conjunct of the subject or with the coordinated subject as a whole. This expectation is not borne out by the data, however. In the dialects of Dutch and German discussed in this thesis, the finite verb cannot agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject in the SVO- and CSOV-word order. This is exemplified by the examples in (90) and (91) for Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian respectively.

(90) Doow en Marie *ontmoet-s / ontmoet-e uch.
[you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ meet-$_{2P.SG}$ / meet-$_{PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$
'You and Marie will meet each other.'

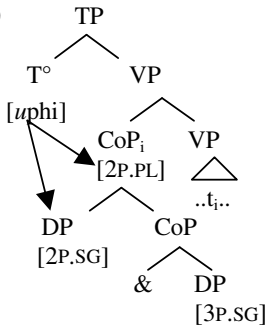
[Tegelen Dutch]

(91) Du und d'Maria *ho-sd / hab-ds an Hauptpreis gwunna.
[you$_{SG}$ and the.maria]$_{2P.PL}$ have-$_{2P.SG}$ / have-$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won
'You and Maria have won the first prize.'

[Bavarian]

In view of the fact that the agreement relations of T° and C° are configurationally completely parallel under the view of syntactic agreement adopted in this thesis, this is an unexpected result. Consider the crucial part of the derivation of the examples in (90) and (91) in (92).

(92)



Given the assumptions made so far, T° enters into an agreement relation with both CoP and the pronoun in Spec,CoP. It is expected that at the level of Morphology either the features of the first conjunct or those of the coordinated subject as a whole are spelled out on the finite verb, depending on which relation results in more

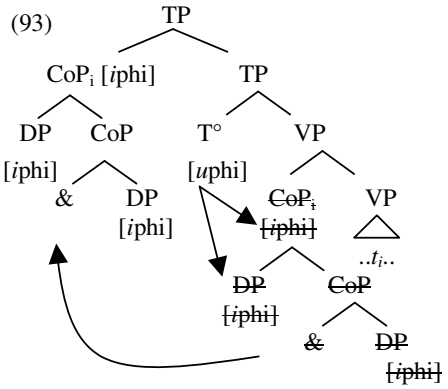
specific agreement morphology. The verbal paradigm of Tegelen Dutch contains both an affix expressing plural features and an affix expressing second person singular features, as is illustrated by the example in (90). The question arises which one of these two affixes is more specific. Recall from the discussion in section 3.2 of chapter 1 and section 3.2 of this chapter that it is unclear what happens when two specific affixes compete for insertion. In section 3.2 of this chapter, I have provided two scenario's: (i) specific affixes are not ranked with respect to one another and hence both affixes can be inserted equally well, (ii) specific affixes are ranked with respect to one another and the more specific affix is inserted. If the first scenario is the correct one, it makes the wrong predictions for the situation at hand: only one of the affixes can appear on the finite verb, namely the affix spelling to the relation between T° and CoP and not both affixes, as predicted. But, also when the second – more favourable – scenario is correct, it makes the wrong predictions: under any analysis of more specific features, the second person singular affix is more specific than the plural affix: it spells out more features and it expresses the feature person. The same problem arises in the Bavarian example in (91). One would expect that the finite verb can show both FCA and FA just like the complementizer in this particular situation in Bavarian does.

To summarise, under the assumptions about syntactic agreement adopted in this thesis, it is expected that T° and C° behave exactly the same with respect to phi-feature agreement. Both Probes entertain an agreement relation with both CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. This means that one would expect that the features of the finite verb, just like those of the complementizer, can agree with either CoP or the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. The fact that the features of the first conjunct never get realised on the finite verb indicates that these features are not accessible to T° at the level of Morphology. It is clear that the assumptions about syntactic agreement adopted in this thesis have to be adapted in order to account for data such as those in (90) and (91).

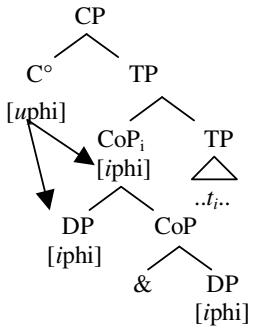
4.2 The solution

The question that has to be answered is why C° entertains a relation with the Goal in Spec,CoP at the level of Morphology, whereas T° does not. The only property distinguishing T° from C° when it comes to the relation with the subject is that the coordinated subject moves out of the c-command domain of T° during the syntactic derivation, while it does not (necessarily) move out of the c-command domain of C°. This is depicted in the structures in (93) and (94), respectively.

(93)



(94)



In (93), the coordinated subject containing C°'s Goals, CoP and the DP in Spec,CoP, does not move out of the c-command domain of Probe C°. In (94) on the other hand, the coordinated subject does move out of the c-command domain of T°, to Spec,TP in order to fulfill T°'s EPP-requirement. The fact that movement of the coordinated subject past the Probe leads to a lack of FCA on that Probe has also been observed for other languages. Consider, for instance, the data in (95) from Polish (cf. Citko 2004:1-2).

(95) a. Do pokoju **weszła** **młoda** **kobieta** i chłopiec
to room entered$_{F.SG}$ [young woman and boy]
'Into the room walked a young woman and boy.'

b. młoda kobieta i mały chłopiec weszli / *weszła do pokoju
[young woman and small boy] entered$_{PL}$ / entered$_{F.SG}$ to room
'A young woman and a small boy entered the room.'

[Polish]

In this example, the finite verb agrees with the first conjunct of a coordinated post-verbal subject, but it cannot agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated pre-verbal subject. This effect has not only been noted for Polish, but – for instance – also for Arabic (cf. Soltan 2004, Aoun et al. 1994, Munn 1999), Russian (cf. Babyonyshev 1996), modern Hebrew and biblical Hebrew (cf. Doron 2000) and Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Munn 1999).[63] The impossibility of FCA once the coordinated subject moves past the verb thus seems to be a rather common characteristic. The question is how movement of the coordinated subject out of T°'s c-command domain affects the agreement relations T° entertains. There are several ways to approach this issue. It can be attributed to the various components of the movement

[63] Inversion of subject and verb seems to have a more general effect on agreement. Samek-Lodovici (2002), among others, argues that agreement impoverishes under subject inversion. He provides examples from among other languages like standard Arabic (cf. also Bahloul & Harbert 1992, Benmamoun 2000 for similar observations), Trentino and Fiorentino (cf. also Brandi & Cordin 1989).

operation: the landing site of the moving coordinated subject, the copy left behind in the base position of the coordinated subject or the movement operation itself. In subsection 4.2.1, I present an analysis that attributes the bleeding of FCA in these contexts to the movement operation itself. In subsection 4.2.2, I discuss why I will not pursue the most straightforward approach, which makes use of the fact that the subject is in a Spec,Head-relation with the Probe in (94), but not in (93). Finally, in subsection 4.2.3 the analysis I adopt in this thesis is discussed. I do not assume that FCA is impossible under movement because of the landing site of the moving coordinated subject, or because of the movement operation. Rather, I assume that it is the copy left behind by movement that makes FCA impossible. In this section, I introduce the idea of inaccessible copies.

4.2.1 Move = Agree + Merge

The first potential way to resolve the puzzle posed above is to make use of Chomsky's (2001a) suggestion that the operation Move is crucially linked to the operation Agree: in order to move an item into the specifier of a certain Probe, this Probe first has to agree with it. If a Probe with an EPP-feature agrees with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject, it should be able to attract the first conjunct to its specifier, resulting in a Coordinate Structure Constraint-violation (henceforth CSC-violation). Therefore, a Probe with an EPP-feature cannot agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject (cf. Soltan 2004 for such an approach).[64,65]

An apparent problem with this account is internal to the analysis proposed in this thesis. I assume that Agree takes place at the interface to PF. As movement takes place during the syntactic derivation, it occurs before agreement.[66] Moreover, there is a second theory-internal reason to discard this analysis for the lack of FCA in the contexts under discussion. In the preceding section, I have analysed the difference between CA with coordinated subjects in, for instance, Tegelen Dutch and Lapscheure Dutch as a result of a choice made at the level of Morphology. Reconsider the examples in (19) and (32), repeated here as (96) and (97).

(96) … *det / **de-s** **doow** en ich ôs treff-e.
… that / that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ meet-$_{PL}$
'… that you and I will meet.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

[64] I would like to thank Jonathan Bobaljik and Masashi Nomura for suggesting this analysis to me.
[65] The analysis provided by Doron (2000) for Modern Hebrew and Biblical Hebrew also proceeds along these lines. When T° has an EPP-feature, the coordinated phrase as a whole has to move to Spec,TP. If T° does not have an EPP-feature it suffices that T° agrees with the highest D°-head in the coordinated phrase, i.e. the D°-head belonging to the first conjunct.
[66] Cf. also Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2003) for argumentation supporting the idea that Move and Agree are distinct operations that are not dependent upon one another.

(97) … *da / **da-n** **[Valère** **en** **Pol]** morgen goa-n.
that / that-$_{3P.PL}$ [Valère and Pol]$_{3P.PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'… that Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

In Lapscheure Dutch, CA cannot reflect the features of the first conjunct in this example, whereas in Tegelen Dutch the situation is the reverse: only CA with the first conjunct leads to a grammatical sentence. I have argued that in both cases the syntactic derivation is the same. The configuration arises in which C° can agree with both CoP and the first conjunct occupying Spec,CoP, as both are equally local with respect to C°. At the level of Morphology, the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out on the complementizer. In the case of Lapscheure Dutch this is the relation with CoP, in Tegelen Dutch it is the one with the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. In other words, for the analysis of agreement with coordinated subjects advocated in this thesis it is crucial that a Probe encounters two Goals simultaneously. But when Probe Cº can encounter two Goals simultaneously, there is no *a priori* reason why Probe Tº would not.

Finally, the analysis put forth in this subsection makes a clear prediction. Recall that in this analysis FCA cannot be combined with movement of the subject past the Probe because movement is linked to agreement. Agreement between a phi-Probe with an EPP-feature and the first conjunct of a coordinated subject potentially leads to a CSC-violation. Therefore, agreement between a phi-Probe with an EPP-feature and the first conjunct of a coordinated subject should be prohibited. This analysis predicts that agreement with the first conjunct of a preverbal coordinated subject should be possible when the EPP-feature of the phi-Probe is checked by other means, for instance by an expletive. In this case, agreement is not linked to movement. Agreement with the first conjunct cannot lead to a CSC-violation and hence should be possible. This prediction is not borne out by the data, however. I demonstrate this on the basis of data from Modern Hebrew and Finnish. First consider the following example from Modern Hebrew (from Doron 2000:76, Edit Doron p.c.).

(98) a. **Hayta** li **sifriya** ve- xadar maxsevim.
was$_{3P.SG.F}$ me$_{DAT}$ [library$_F$ and room computers]
b. ?? **Hayu** li **sifriya** **ve-** **xadar** **maxsevim**.
was$_{3P.PL}$ me$_{DAT}$ [library$_F$ and room computers]
c. Haya li sifriya ve- xadar maxsevim.
was$_{3P.SG}$ me$_{DAT}$ [library$_F$ and room computers]
'I had a library and a terminal room.'

[Modern Hebrew]

This example shows that in Modern Hebrew expletive constructions the finite verb can agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject (98a), with the coordinated subject as a whole (98b) or with the empty expletive as in example (98c) (Edit

Doron p.c.).[67] In other words, the specifier position of the inflectional projection is filled with expletive *pro*. This means that the phi-Probe's EPP-feature is checked by this expletive. The analysis discussed above predicts that when the associate of the expletive moves past the Probe, the phi-Probe should be able to agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. The movement of the coordinated subject is not triggered by the phi-Probe, as the phi-Probe's EPP-feature is already checked by the empty expletive. This means that agreement with the first conjunct in this case can not result in a CSC-violation and hence should be possible. This prediction is not borne out by the data (Edit Doron p.c.).[68]

(99) a. * **Sifriya** ve- xadar maxsevim ani xoSev Se **hayta** li.
[library$_F$ and room computers] I think that was$_{3P.SG.F}$ me$_{DAT}$
b. ?? **Sifriya** **ve-** **xadar** **maxsevim** ani xoSev Se **hayu** li.
[library$_F$ and room computers] I think that were$_{3P.PL}$ me$_{DAT}$
c. Sifriya ve- xadar maxsevim ani xoSev Se haya li.
[library$_F$ and room computers] I think that were$_{3SG.M}$ me$_{DAT}$
'A library and a terminal room, I think I had.'

[Modern Hebrew]

These examples show that when the subject is extracted, both agreement with the coordinated subject as a whole (99b) and with the empty expletive (99c) are possible. Only agreement with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject is not an option, contary to the predictions made by the analysis outlined at the beginning of this section. This prediction can also be tested for Finnish. Consider the example in (100) (from Holmberg 2003:6).

(100) Sitä olen minä-kin känyt Pariisissa.
EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ I-too visited Paris
'I have been to Paris, too

[Finnish]

This is a construction used in colloquial Finnish. The subject *minä-kin* 'I too' can move to the first position of the clause, inducing a focus reading on the subject. This is shown in the example in (101) (from Holmberg 2003:6).

(101) Minä sitä olen känyt Pariisissa.
I EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ visited Paris
'I am the one who has been to Paris.'

[Finnish]

[67] For argumentation in favour of the presence of expletive *pro* in these contexts, see Shlonsky (1997).
[68] Dafna Graf p.c. notes that for her the example in (99b) is fully grammatical. This means that there appears to be some disagreement concerning these judgements among speakers of Modern Hebrew. I leave this open as a topic for further research.

Interestingly, FCA is possible in the configuration provided in (100), but not in the one in (101). This is illustrated in (102) and (103) (Anders Holmberg p.c.).[69]

(102) % Sitä **olen** **minä** ja sinä-kin käyneet Pariisissa.
EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ [I and you$_{SG}$-too] visited-$_{PL}$ Paris
'Me and you have been to Paris, too.'
[Finnish]

(103) a. * **minä** ja sinä-kin sitä **olen** käyneet Pariisissa.
[I and you$_{SG}$-too] EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ visited-$_{PL}$ Paris
b. ? **minä** **ja** **sinä-kin** sitä **olemme** käyneet Pariisissa.
[I and you$_{SG}$-too] EXPL have$_{1P.PL}$ visited-$_{PL}$ Paris
'Me and you have been to Paris, too.'
[Finnish]

These examples point to the same conclusion as the Modern Hebrew ones: when the movement of the coordinated subject is not forced by the phi-Probe, FCA is still not possible on the finite verb. The analysis that links the lack of FCA under movement of the coordinated subject past the Probe to CSC-violations is therefore untenable.

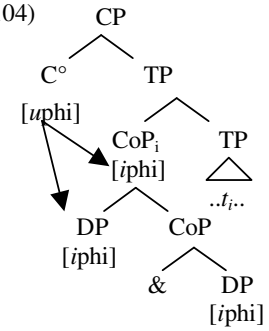
4.2.2 Specifier-Head agreement

The most obvious route to take in order to account for the impossibility of FCA when the subject moves past the phi-Probe would be to follow a broad range of literature and assume that the structures in (93) and (94), repeated here as (104) and (105), show that the Spec,Head-configuration has a special status when it comes to agreement (cf. among others Koopman 2001; Munn 1999; Chung 1998).[70]

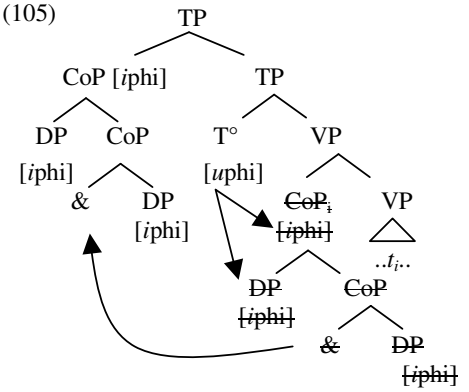
[69] Not all Finnish speakers agree on the judgement of the example in (102), although all speakers agree that the example in (103a) is fully ungrammatical. One of my consultants notes that although she agrees with the relative judgements of the examples in (102) and (103), she finds the example in (102) 'rather questionable'. One of the problems with the examples provided above pointed out to me by Anders Holmberg p.c. and Elsi Kaiser p.c. is that the expletive construction is used in colloquial Finnish, while the type of agreement used in these examples has more of a standard Finnish flavour.

[70] For arguments in favour of the idea that Agree and not Spec,Head-agreement is the relevant agreement mechanism, cf. among others Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2003), Wurmbrand (2004). On the other hand, for arguments in favour of the idea that Spec,Head-agreement and not Agree is the relevant agreement mechanism, cf. Koopman (2001).

(104)



(105)



The movement of the subject out of the c-command domain of T° into T°'s specifier can be argued to be special, as this movement creates a Spec,Head-configuration between Probe and Goal. Spec,Head-configurations by assumption always result in FA on the Probe. This is the route taken by Bahloul & Harbert (1992), Harbert & Bahloul (2002) and Munn (1999) when they analyse FCA in VSO-structures and the impossibility of FCA in SVO-structures in Arabic. They argue that the impossibility of FCA in SVO-contexts shows that a distinction has to be made between agreement taking place in a Spec,Head-configuration and agreement taking place under Government. Spec,Head-agreement obligatorily leads to FA on the Probe, whereas Government (or Agree) potentially leads to FCA. I will not pursue this line of thought here for various reasons.

First of all, there are several theory-internal objections: stipulating that Spec,Head-configurations are special does not solve the problem, but merely raises a new one. Specifically, one might wonder why Spec,Head-configurations should have such a special status in the first place and why this configuration leads to different agreement morphology than agreement relations that do not involve a Spec,Head-configuration. Most importantly, assuming that a Spec,Head-relation is involved does not explain the fact that FCA cannot occur on the finite verb. It is merely a stipulation that Spec,Head-configurations have this effect. Furthermore, it would imply that there is not one mechanism to check agreement features, but rather two. The first one, Spec,Head-agreement, never leads to agreement with the first conjunct, whereas the second one, Agree or agreement under Government, can lead to FCA. I will take another route in order to account for the difference between T° and C°, in which the idea is maintained that there is only one operation that regulates agreement, namely *Agree*.

More importantly, there are empirical reasons to abandon the Spec,Head-analysis for FCA. Reconsider the examples in (102)-(103) from Finnish provided in the previous subsection, repeated here as (106)-(107).

(106) % Sitä **olen** **minä** ja sinä-kin käyneet Pariisissa.
EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ [I and you$_{SG}$-too] visited-$_{PL}$ Paris
'Me and you have been to Paris, too.'
[Finnish]

(107) a. * **minä** ja sinä-kin sitä **olen** käyneet Pariisissa.
[I and you$_{SG}$-too] EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ visited-$_{PL}$ Paris
b. ? **minä** **ja** **sinä-kin** sitä **olemme** käyneet Pariisissa.
[I and you$_{SG}$-too] EXPL have$_{1P.PL}$ visited-$_{PL}$ Paris
'Me and you have been to Paris, too.'
[Finnish]

These examples, like the examples from Modern Hebrew in (98)-(99), show that although FCA is possible when the subject does not move, it is not when the subject moves to a position c-commanding the Probe in this construction. Crucially, in these examples, however, is the fact that the subject has not moved through the specifier of the inflectional projection, as this position is already occupied by the expletive. This means that agreement has not taken place via Spec,Head-agreement, but via the other agreement mechanism, either Government or Agree. When agreement has not taken place via Spec,Head-agreement, but via Government or Agree, FCA should at least be a possibility, as it is the Spec,Head-configuration that is responsible for the impossibility of FCA with moved coordinated subjects. As the finite verb never shows FCA in these examples, however, it is not the Spec,Head-configuration that is responsible for the lack of FCA in this case. This raises the question of whether it should be assumed to be responsible in any of the other cases. At the very least, a solution that accounts for the lack of FCA in this case and in all other cases in which the subject moves to a position c-commanding the phi-Probe should be favoured over this account. In the next subsection, I provide such an analysis.

4.2.3 Inaccessible copies

When the subject moves out of the c-command domain of T°, it leaves behind a copy. This copy finds itself inside the c-command domain of T°. Given the assumption that Agree takes place at the interface from the narrow syntactic derivation to PF, Agree relates Probe T° to the copy of the moved subject. Cº on the other hand, agrees with the coordinated subject itself. I want to suggest that the fact that Tº agrees with a copy, whereas Cº does not causes the difference between Tº and Cº when it comes to FCA. In this section, I argue that the agreement relation between T° and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject cannot be spelled out, as there is no agreement relation between Tº and this first conjunct. I assume that the internal structure of the copy, and hence the first conjunct, is not accessible for the operation Agree.

There are (at least) two ways to implement the idea that the internal structure of copies is not available for these kinds of relations. The first one is to say that copies

do not have any internal structure at all, but rather only contain the features present on the maximal projection of the moved item. I refer to this type of copies as *reduced copies*. Reduced copies are very much comparable to traces, i.e. items left behind by the moved item that only serve as a placeholder or a marker of the moved item. As the copy does not have any internal structure, there cannot be a relation with an item that is part of this internal structure. This way of looking at copies of movement has several additional advantages. First of all, assuming reduced copies provides a potential way to solve the problem caused by full copies of movement in the analysis of Antecedent Contained Deletion (henceforth ACD, cf. Fox 2002, Rezac 2004 for discussion). Consider the example in (108) (from Fox 2002:64).

(108) John [likes every boy Mary does [likes *t*]].
Elided VP
Antecedent VP

[English]

The example in (108) provides a case of ACD. The antecedent VP of the elided VP in this example contains the elided VP, which means that the antecedent VP is not identical to the elided VP. In order to elide the most deeply embedded VP in this example, it has to be identical to the antecedent VP however. The standard solution for this dilemma is that the object *every boy Mary likes* is moved to a VP-external position via Quantifier Raising, resulting in the example in (109).

(109) [every boy Mary does [likes *t*]] John [likes *t*]

In (109), the antecedent VP contains a trace of the moved object, as does the elided VP. Fox (2002:65) notes that this analysis only works when items left behind by movement are impoverished. When they are exact copies of the moved item, the problem is not solved. Consider the example in (110).

(110) [every boy Mary does [likes ~~every boy~~]] John [likes ~~every boy Mary likes~~]

When copies are identical to the moved item, movement of the object *every boy Mary likes* to a position external to VP does not solve the ACD-conflict discussed above, as the antecedent VP still contains (a copy of) the elided VP and hence the elided VP and the antecedent VP are not identical. Reduced copies potentially provide an answer to this problem. The reduced copy only contains the features of the maximal projection of the moved item. This means that the example in (109) can be represented as in (111) (F represents the feature bundle of the maximal projection).

(111) [every boy Mary does [likes $F_{\text{EVERY BOY}}$]] John [likes $F_{\text{EVERY BOY}}$]

The antecedent VP and the elided VP are identical, as both contain a reduced copy with the features of the head of the relative clause, *every boy*. Although this analysis has to be worked out in detail, it is clear that reduced copies provide an interesting and elegant way to solve this particular problem of the analysis ACD-constructions.

Secondly, reduced copies offer a straightforward analysis for the fact that copies that get spelled out are always reduced in the sense that they spell out only the functional features of the moved item (cf. Nuñes 2003). Consider the example in (112) (from Nuñes 2003:70).

(112) **Wen** glaubt Hans **wen** Jakob gesehen hat?
who thinks Hans who Jakob seen has
'Who does Hans think Jakob saw?'
[German]

In the literature, examples like the one in (112) have been analysed as involving copy spell-out (cf. among others Nuñes 2003, Van Kampen 1997). The second instance of the wh-phrase *wen* is assumed to be a lower copy of the wh-phrase that is spelled out. When the copy theory of movement is on the right track, copies are identical to the moved item. This means that when a complex wh-phrase moves and one of its lower copy gets spelled out, it is expected to be identical to the moved complex wh-phrase. This prediction is not borne out, however. Consider the examples in (113) and (114) (from Nuñes 2003:33 and Fanselow & Ćavar 2001 respectively)

(113) * **Wessen Student** glaubst du **wessen Student** wir kennen?
which student think you which student we know
[German]

(114) **Welchem Mann** glaubst du **wem** sie das Buch gegeben hat?
which man think you who she the book given has
'Which man do you think that she has given the book to?'
[dialectal German]

When the lower copy of a complex wh-phrase is pronounced, it does not have the same structure as the moved wh-phrase, *contra* the predictions of the copy theory of movement (but cf. Nuñes 2003 and Grohmann 2002 for accounts of these data). Given the assumption of reduced copies, the analysis of these examples is straightforward: the copy left behind by movement of the complex wh-phrase is not identical to the moved wh-phrase, as the copy left behind by movement is not an exact copy of the moved wh-phrase. It only contains the features of its maximal projection and hence it is spelled out as a reduced item.

The major problem for reduced copies or traces concerns reconstruction: one of the advantages of the copy theory of movement is its elegant way to capture reconstruction effects. Consider the example in (115).

(115) a. [Which ~~pictures of herself~~] did Anne show her father [~~which~~ pictures of herself]?
b. # [Which pictures of herself] did Anne show her father [~~which pictures of herself~~]?

[English]

The phrase *pictures of herself* has to be interpreted within its base position as in (115a), as the reflexive *herself* has to be bound by the antecedent *Anne*. It cannot be interpreted in the derived position, as in (115b), because that results in a condition-A violation: the reflexive cannot be bound by the antecedent *Anne*. The copy theory of movement provides an elegant way to deal with the fact that *pictures of herself* has to be interpreted in its base position: the moved item leaves behind a copy which can be used for interpretation later on. The reduced copy theory of movement, on the other hand, starts with the assumption that copies do not contain internal structure. This means that in the example in (115) the phrase *pictures of Anne* is not present in the base position of the moved wh-phrase. The copy left behind in that position only contains the features of the maximal projection of the moved item. As a consequence, another analysis of reconstruction is necessary. Although there are ways of dealing with reconstruction without making use of copies of movement[71], I will leave this hypothesis as a subject for further research.

Another somewhat less controversial way to implement the idea that the internal structure of copies is not accessible for agreement relations, is to assume that copies of moved items are in fact similar to these moved items, but that they are for some (yet to be uncovered) reason opaque for agreement relations.[72] As copies of movement are similar to the moved item, reconstruction can be analysed via the by now standard way, making use of the copy theory of movement (cf. among others Sauerland 1998). Extending the copy-metaphor, one could think of copies as PDF-documents: the internal structure of the document is visible, but not accessible. The copy is so to say 'frozen'. The internal structure is present, but cannot be accessed. This conception of 'frozen' is very much comparable to that notion introduced by Uriagereka (1999) in his multiple Spell-Out system. He argues that so-called

[71] First of all, the question should be raised if reconstruction should get a syntactic analysis at all. In the literature (cf. among others Sharvit 1999; Sharvit & Guerzoni 1999; Van Craenenbroeck 2004) it has been argued that reconstruction does not always involve a lower copy of movement. In these cases a syntactic analysis of reconstruction does not suffice to account for the data. These constructions raise the question if reconstruction should be given a syntactic analysis at all. If reconstruction should nonetheless be given a syntactic analysis, there are other analyses available that do not make crucial use of the copy-theory of movement. Epstein et al. (1998), for instance, argue that LF looks into the derivation after every Merge operation, immediately establishing the semantic relations. This means that copies of movement do not have to be accessed in order to account for reconstruction.

[72] Note that both modifications of the copy theory of movement discussed in the main text view the moved item and the copy as separate items, as the characteristics of the copy are different from those of the moved item (one is inaccessible to agreement relations, the other one is not). Another interpretation of the copy theory of movement is that a copy and the moved item are actually two occurrences of one and the same entity appearing in two places (cf. among others Gärtner 2002). As these items are actually one item, they have the same characteristics. This latter interpretation of the copy theory of movement is not compatible with the analysis discussed in the main text.

command units are merged separately from the main phrase marker. These command units are Spelled Out and subsequently merged with the main phrase marker. A consequence of the fact that these command units are Spelled Out is that they are 'frozen'. The unit behaves like a compound word. Their internal structure is no longer accessible for movement and ellipsis. It is the same notion of 'frozen' I would like to utilize here: the copy of the moved item is 'frozen' in that its internal structure is not accessible for syntactic operations, among which the syntactic agreement mechanism *Agree*. In the remainder of this thesis, I assume that copies of movement are inaccessible for agreement relations.

Crucially, this analysis accounts for the data that where problematic for the other two analyses discussed in this section. Consider the examples in (98) and (103), repeated here as (116) and (117) respectively.

(116) a. **Hayta** li **sifriya** ve- xadar maxsevim.
was$_{3P.SG.F}$ me$_{DAT}$ [library$_{F}$ and room computers]

b. ?? **Hayu** li **sifriya** **ve-** **xadar** **maxsevim**.
was$_{3P.PL}$ me$_{DAT}$ [library$_{F}$ and room computers]

c. Haya li sifriya ve- xadar maxsevim.
was$_{3P.SG}$ me$_{DAT}$ [library$_{F}$ and room computers]

'I had a library and a terminal room.'

[Modern Hebrew]

(117) a. * **minä** ja sinä-kin sitä **olen** käyneet Pariisissa.
[I and you$_{SG}$-too] EXPL have$_{1P.SG}$ visited-$_{PL}$ Paris

b. ? **minä** **ja** **sinä-kin** sitä **olemme** käyneet Pariisissa.
[I and you$_{SG}$-too] EXPL have$_{1P.PL}$ visited-$_{PL}$ Paris

'Me and you have been to Paris, too.'

[Finnish]

Recall that these examples show that FCA is not possible when the subject moves to a position c-commanding the finite verb. The lack of FCA in these examples follows from the assumption that copies of moved items are not accessible for agreement relations: the coordinated subject moves past the phi-Probe to a position c-commanding the phi-Probe, leaving behind a copy in the c-command domain of the phi-Probe. When the derivation is transferred to PF, Agree takes place. The internal structure of the copy of the coordinated subject is not available for agreement relations.[73] This means that Agree cannot relate the Probe to the first conjunct of the

[73] Depending on one's assumptions concerning the architecture of the grammar, there are several predictions related to inaccessibility of copies. Let us assume that all syntactic movement takes place in Syntax (cf. Bobaljik 2002) and that PF-movement exists (cf. Elbourne & Sauerland 2002). Given these assumptions, the inaccessibility of reduced copies makes several predictions: (i) if a phrase moves at PF, then agreement with the internal structure of the 'copy' of the moved phrase should be possible, as at the Spell-Out point to PF this copy was not yet a copy and hence available for Agree, (ii) if a phrase moves covertly, i.e. if it is the lower copy that gets spelled out, agreement with the internal structure of the copy

coordinated subject, as it is contained within the internal structure of the coordinated subject. The only available Goal is the feature bundle on the maximal projection of the coordinated subject. As a consequence, the Probe always agrees with the coordinated subject as a whole. The lack of FCA when the subject moves to a position c-commanding the Probe is related to the fact that the subject has moved out of the c-command domain of the Probe, rather than to the position the subject has moved to.

4.2.4 Summary

In this subsection, I have discussed three ways to analyse the fact that the finite verb cannot agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, whereas the complementizer can. All three analyses make crucial use of the fact that the coordinated subject moves out of the c-command domain of T°, but not out of the c-command domain of C°. Firstly, I have explored the analysis that states that movement is crucially linked to agreement. When a Probe with an EPP-feature agrees with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject, a CSC-violation could occur, as the Probe can attract just the first conjunct of the coordinated subject to its specifier. On the basis of data from Modern Hebrew and Finnish, I have discarded this analysis. The second analysis stipulates that Spec,Head-configurations have a special status in the grammar. Under this analysis, it has to be stipulated that if a Probe and a Goal enter into a Spec,Head-configuration at a certain point in the derivation, agreement with the first conjunct is no longer possible. I discarded this analysis on the basis of several arguments. The strongest argument against this approach again comes from data from Modern Hebrew and Finnish. In these languages it can be shown that the coordinated subject moves past the Probe but not to the specifier of the Probe. This means that the agreement relation is not dependent on a Spec,Head-relation in this case, which in turn means that FCA should be possible, *quod non*. I have proposed that the difference between T° and C° can be explained if it is assumed that the internal structure of the copy of the coordinated subject left behind by movement is inaccessible for agreement relations. Agree cannot establish a relation between T° and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, as this conjunct is part of the internal structure of the copy. I assume that the internal structure of copies of movement is unavailable for agreement relations.

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of the covertly moved phrase, i.e. the spelled out phrase, should not be possible, etc. I leave this issue open for future research.

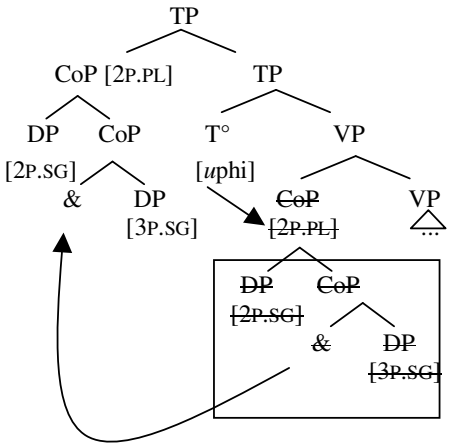
4.3 The absence of FCA on the verb: inaccessible copies

In the introduction to this section, I have shown that FCA on the finite verb in subject-initial main clauses is impossible.[74] Consider again the example in (90) from Tegelen Dutch, repeated here as (118).

(118) Doow en Marie *ontmoet-s / ontmoet-e uch.
[you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ meet-$_{2P.SG}$ / meet-$_{PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$
'You and Marie will meet each other.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

In section 4.1, I have demonstrated that under the standard view of how the syntactic agreement mechanism *Agree* works (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001a), it is unexpected that the finite verb cannot show FCA, whereas the complementizer can. In this subsection, I provide an analysis for this fact, which makes use of the idea introduced in the preceding subsection that copies of movement are inaccessible for agreement relations. Consider the analysis in (119) of the example in (118).

(119)



In this structure, the coordinated subject has moved from Spec,VP to Spec,TP, leaving behind a copy in Spec,VP. Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF. As a consequence, the agreement relations of T° are established with the copy of the moved subject and not with the moved subject itself. The internal structure of the copy of the moved item is inaccessible for agreement relations. This means that T° can only agree with CoP and not with the Goal in Spec,CoP . This is made visible in the structure in (119) by the box that encapsulates CoP's internal structure. This

[74] Recall that I only discuss SVO- and CSOV-clauses in this section, i.e. clauses in which the verbal agreement is dependent on T° alone. I return to (XP)VSO-clauses in the next chapter.

means that there is no agreement relation between T° and the Goal in Spec,CoP at the level of Morphology. There is only one relation that Morphology can spell out on the finite verb, namely the one between T° and CoP. As a consequence, the finite verb always shows FA. In sum, this analysis does not only explain the lack of FCA on the finite verb in Finnish and Modern Hebrew where the subject moves past the phi-Probe in expletive constructions, it also explains the lack of FCA on the finite verb in SVO and CSOV-clauses in Dutch dialects. In the next subsection, I show that this analysis captures even more constructions.

4.4 Predictions of the analysis

The analysis provided in this chapter for the difference between agreement with C° and agreement with T° makes a number of interesting predictions. First of all, if a coordinated subject does not move out of VP, and hence stays inside the c-command domain of T°, FCA is expected to occur on the finite verb. Given the assumptions about locality and agreement put forth in this thesis, this prediction should not only hold for the dialects of Dutch discussed here, but it should be a more general characteristic of language. When it is indeed the case that a Probe can agree with both CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP because both are equally local, FCA is expected to occur in the VS-order in more languages than Dutch dialects. However, there are two requirements a language has to meet in order for FCA to appear on the finite verb in the VS-order: first of all, it has to be the case that the VS-order is the result of the subject staying lower than the inflectional head whose phi-features will be spelled out on the finite verb. In other words, when the VS-order is derived by movement of the subject to the specifier of the inflectional head and concomitant movement of the inflectional head to a higher functional head, FCA is not expected to occur on the finite verb. The reason for this is that in the latter case the subject has moved out of the c-command domain of the phi-Probe and hence that the phi-Probe agrees with the copy of the moved item. As a consequence, FCA is impossible. Secondly, given the assumption that the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out on the Probe, the agreement paradigm has to be such that the relation with the first conjunct results in more specific agreement morphology on the verb. When this is not the case, FA rather than FCA is expected to appear on the finite verb. As I have already mentioned in section 4.2, there are indeed many languages that allow for FCA in the VSO-order but that do not have FCA in the SVO-order. In this section, I demonstrate this on the basis of agreement between coordinated subjects and finite verbs in VSO-languages like Irish and Arabic.[75] A second prediction is that FCA on the complementizer is not compatible

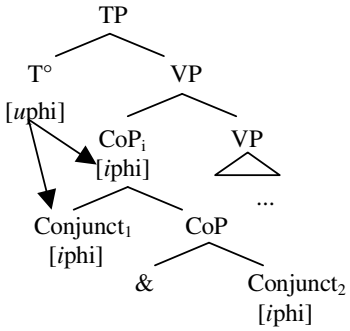
[75] This prediction cannot be tested in varieties of Dutch, as in these varieties the subject usually moves to Spec,TP (i.e. it moves across the Probe). The only context in which the subject does not move across the inflectional head is in expletive constructions. However, given that these constructions usually have indefinite subjects, and given that the agreement on the finite verb with coordinated indefinite DPs differs

with extracted subjects, whereas FA on the complementizer is. I show that this prediction is borne out by data from Lapscheure Dutch, Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch.

4.4.1 First conjunct agreement in Irish and standard Arabic

I have proposed that the absence of FCA on the finite verb on SVO- and CSOV-clauses in Dutch dialects is the result of movement of the coordinated subject out of the c-command domain of T°. The subject leaves behind a copy of movement. The internal structure of this copy is not accessible for agreement relations. As a consequence, the agreement relation between T° and the Goal in Spec,CoP cannot be established by the operation Agree. If the subject does not move out of this domain, however, the situation arises in which FCA on the finite verb is expected to occur. In this case the subject is not a copy of movement, it is not inaccessible and the agreement relation between T° and the Goal in Spec,CoP can be established and spelled out on the finite verb. This situation is schematically represented by the tree structure in (120).

(120)



When the coordinated subject in (120) does not move any further than Spec,VP, i.e. when it remains *in situ*, the agreement relation between T° and the Goal in Spec,CoP is available at the level of Morphology, as is the agreement relation between T° and CoP. In this case, one of these two relations has to be spelled out as agreement morphology on the finite verb. When the relation between T° and the Goal in Spec,CoP is spelled out, FCA appears on the finite verb. I argue that this is exactly what happens in Irish and standard Arabic. First consider the example in (121) (from McCloskey 1986: 248).[76]

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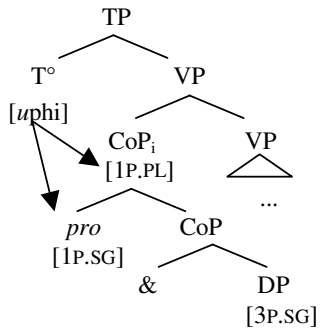
from that with coordinated definite DPs (cf. also *supra* fn. 1 of this chapter), it is not so clear what predictions the current analysis would make.

[76] Abbreviations: EMPH = emphatic, PROG = progressive, PAST = past tense.

(121) Bhíos *pro*-féin agus Tomás ag caint le chéile
was$_{1P.SG}$ [*pro*-EMPH and Thomas] talk PROG with each.other
'Thomas and I were talking to one another.'
[Irish]

This example shows the customary VSO-word order in Irish: the finite verb precedes the subject which in turn precedes the rest of the clause. McCloskey (1996) argues convincingly that in the VSO-order in this language the verb is in T° and the subject stays in a lower position, for instance Spec,VP.[77] What is striking about this example, is that the finite verb *bhíos* 'was' does not show agreement morphology reflecting the phi-features of the coordinated subject as a whole (first person plural), but rather, that it agrees with the first conjunct of this coordinated subject, showing first person singular morphology. As such, this example from Irish corroborates the prediction made by the analysis for the absence of FCA on the finite verb in varieties of Dutch discussed in the previous section: it shows that FCA can occur on the finite verb if the subject does not move out of the c-command domain of T°. Furthermore, a closer inspection of the Irish agreement pattern shows that the appearance of FCA on the finite verb instantiates another case in which the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out. To see this, consider the derivation in (122) of the example in (121).

(122)



Just as in the varieties of Dutch discussed above, a Probe has unvalued phi-features and is confronted with two potential Goals, CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. At the level of Morphology, one of these two available relations has to be spelled out on the finite verb. In order to see which relation results in richer agreement morphology on the finite verb, a closer look at the agreement system of Irish is

[77] A question that arises concerning this analysis is how the fact that the subject stays in Spec,VP relates to the generalization that only non-specific indefinites can remain in the VP-domain (cf. Diesing 1992). In view of this generalization, it is unexpected that subject pronouns can remain inside the VP. A potential way to solve this problem is to assume that Irish has a split IP (along the lines of Bobaljik & Thràinsson 1998) and that the verb moves, for instance, to the higher AgrS°, whereas the subject remains in the lower Spec,TP (cf. Bobaljik & Carnie 1996 for such an analysis). For evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the subject does not remain in Spec,VP, cf. also Haegeman (to appear).

required. As McCloskey & Hale (1984) show, Irish has two verbal forms: (i) an analytic form which is invariant and used with overt subjects and (ii) a synthetic form that inflects for person and number, but that is not compatible with overt subjects. These two forms are in complementary distribution: either the analytic form is used with an overt pronoun, or the synthetic form is used without an overt pronoun. If there is a synthetic form available, then this form has to be used. The analytic form results in ungrammaticality in that case. This is illustrated in the examples in (123) (from McCloskey & Hale 1984:490-491).

(123) a. Chuirfinn isteach ar an phost sin.
put$_{\text{CONDIT.1P.SG}}$ in on the job that
'I would apply for that job.'

b. * Chuirfinn mé insteach ar an phost sin.
put$_{\text{CONDIT.1P.SG}}$ I in on the job that

c. * Chuirfeadh mé insteach ar an phost sin
put$_{\text{ANALYTIC}}$ I in on the job that

d. Chuirfeadh Eoghan insteach ar an phost sin
put$_{\text{ANALYTIC}}$ Owen in on the job that
'Owen would apply for that job.'

[Irish]

The contrast in grammaticality between the example in (123a) and the one in (123c) shows that if there is a synthetic form available, it has to be used: using the analytic form leads to ungrammaticality. In (123d) the analytic verb form can occur, as there is no synthetic form available for this particular person/number combination. Furthermore, comparison between the example in (123a) and the one in (123b) shows that a synthetic form is not compatible with an overt subject pronoun. In the derivation in (122), Morphology is confronted with an inflectional head T° that entertains two agreement relations, one with CoP and one with *pro* in Spec,CoP. If the relation between T° and CoP would be spelled out, the verb would show up in its analytic or non-inflected form, as the coordination as a whole is an overt subject and hence cannot be combined with a synthetic verb form. If on the other hand the relation between T° and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP is spelled out, the verb appears in the synthetic form, as the first conjunct of this subject is the non-overt *pro*. So, as the relation between T° and the Goal in Spec,CoP results in more specific agreement morphology on the finite verb, it is this relation which is spelled out.

A prediction this analysis makes is that FCA on the finite verb in Irish is not possible when the subject is extracted, as in this case the subject is no longer within the c-command domain of T°. In this case, T° agrees with the copy of the coordinated subjct. The internal structure of this copy is inaccessible, so that the relation between T° and the first conjunct of the subject cannot be established. Unfortunately, this prediction cannot be tested, as synthetic verbs cannot be combined with subject extraction. Consider the examples in (124) and (125) (from Brian O'Curnáin p.c.).

(124) Tú-féin aL bhí mé ag ceapadh aL *chuirfeá / chuirfeadh
you-EMPH that was I think that $put_{2P.SG}$ / $put_{ANALYTIC}$
isteach ar an bpost sin.
in on the job that
'It was you that I was thinking would apply for that job.'

[Irish]

(125) Mé-féin agus Tomás a deir tú a bhí ag
[me-EMPH and Tomás] that say you that $were_{ANALYTIC}$ at
caint le chéile.
talking with each.other
'Me and Thomas you said that were talking to one another.'

[Irish]

In (124) a non-coordinated subject pronoun is extracted and the embedded verb has to appear in the non-inflected analytic form. The same holds for the coordinated subject in (125). The coordinated subject is extracted and the verb in the embedded clause does not show FCA. In both cases the pronominal subject has to appear as an overt pronoun: it cannot appear as a pro-subject. The fact that the embedded finite verb does not show FCA in this case is no argument in favour of the analysis provided in this thesis, as the appearance of an inflected verb form is impossible in this case for independent reasons.[78]

The same reasoning applies to standard Arabic. Consider the examples in (126) (from Harbert & Bahloul 2002:50-51).

(126) a. **xaraj-at al-bintu** wa ?al-waladu
left-$_{3P.SG.F}$ [the girl and the boy]
'The girl and the boy left.'
b. **xaraj-a ?al-waladu** wa al-bintu
left-$_{3P.SG.M}$ [the boy and the girl]
'The boy and the girl left.'

[standard Arabic]

These examples show that in the VSO-order in standard Arabic, the verb agrees with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. The example in (126a) shows that when the first conjunct is feminine, the agreement on the finite verb is also feminine. When the first conjunct is masculine – as in the example in (126b) – the agreement on the finite verb is also masculine.[79] The general assumptions concerning VSO-

[78] It would be interesting to take agreement with coordinated subjects in Welsh into account at this point, as this language crucially differs from Irish in that it does combine overt pronouns with agreement (cf. among others Sadler (2004). I leave this extension of the analysis open as a topic for future research.

[79] Mohammad (2000) and Van Gelderen (1996) argue that the agreement morphology on the finite verb in VSO-clauses in Arabic is the result of agreement between an empty expletive in the specifier of the inflectional projection and the inflectional head, rather than between the inflectional head and the subject in VP. Following among others Fassi-Fehri (1993), Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche (1994) and Soltan

clauses in Arabic are that the finite verb occupies the head of the inflectional projection and that the subject stays inside the VP (cf. among others Fassi-Fehri 1993, Bahloul & Harbert 1992, Harbert & Bahloul 2002, Mohammad 2000, Soltan 2004).[80,81] The situation in standard Arabic is therefore parallel to that in Irish. The verb is in the inflectional projection. It searches its c-command domain and finds two equally local suitable Goals to agree with, i.e. CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP. It agrees with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject.[82] Interestingly, in standard Arabic, in contrast to Irish, the coordinated subject can move past the finite verb, resulting in an SVO-clause. In these types of clauses FCA is not possible to appear on the finite verb, as predicted by the analysis. Consider the examples in (127) (from Harbert & Bahloul 2002:50-51).

(127) a. **al-waladu wa ?al bintu** xaraj-aa / *xaraj-at
[the boy and the girl] left-$_{M.DUAL}$ / left-$_{3P.M.SG}$
'The boy and the girl left.'

b. **al bintu wa ?al-waladu** xaraj-aa / *xaraj-a
[the girl and the boy] left-$_{M.DUAL}$ / left-$_{3P.F.SG}$
'The girl and the boy left.'

[standard Arabic]

The agreement on the finite verb in these examples necessarily reflects masculine dual features, regardless of the order of the conjuncts. It cannot show FCA. This is expected under the analysis of FCA put forth in the previous subsection. The subject in these examples moves to the specifier of the inflectional projection, out of the c-command domain of the inflectional head. The internal structure of the copy left behind by the coordinated subject is inaccessible for agreement relations. This means that when Agree takes place, the inflectional head has no other option than to agree with CoP. This results in FA on the finite verb.

(2004) I assume that agreement in these examples is not mediated by an empty expletive in the specifier of TP.

[80] Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche (1994) argue that the finite verb in VSO-clauses actually moves to a higher postion than the inflectional head. The main reason for this is that they assume that agreement always takes place via the Spec,Head-configuration.

[81] Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche (1994) argue that FCA in Moroccan, Lebanese and standard Arabic is actually not the result of agreement between the finite verb and the first conjunct of a DP-coordination. Rather, they argue that in these cases there is clausal coordination with conjunction reduction. The finite verb agrees with only one of the conjuncts as it is in a clause with only one of the conjuncts. The structure they propose for the example in (126b) can be represented as in (i).

(i) [left$_j$-$_{3P.SG.M}$ [$_{IP}$ the boy …]] and [e$_j$ [$_{IP}$ the girl …]].

In the literature, many arguments against this point of view can be found (see among others Munn 1999, Soltan 2004). Furthermore, Harbert & Bahloul (2002) argue that at least for standard Arabic the arguments of Aoun et al. (1994) do not seem to hold.

[82] More research into the verbal paradigm of standard Arabic is needed in order to establish that in this language too it is the relation with the Goal resulting in the most specific agreement morphology that is spelled out. Moreover, it has to be noted at this point that in other dialects of Arabic, like Moroccan Arabic and Lebanese Arabic not only FCA but also FA is possible in these contexts. It is clear that more research is needed in order to capture the complex agreement system of the different varieties of Arabic. This research does not fall within the scope of this thesis.

To summarise, finite verbs in Irish and standard Arabic agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. FCA on the finite verb in these languages is available because - in contrast to the varieties of Dutch - the coordinated subject does not necessarily have to move out of the c-command domain of T°. As predicted, movement of the coordinated subject out of the c-command domain in standard Arabic leads to the lack of FCA on the finite verb in this language. In other words, FCA in Irish and standard Arabic can be analysed in exactly the same way as FCA on the complementizer in varieties of Dutch. In all cases, a Probe is confronted with two equally local Goals. The Probe shares its features with both Goals. Morphology has to spell out one of these feature sharing relations. The features of the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology are spelled out on the Probe.

4.4.2 Subject extraction in Tegelen Dutch and Lapscheure Dutch

I have argued that FCA cannot occur on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses due to movement of the coordinated subject out of T°'s c-command domain. The prediction this analysis makes is that when the coordinated subject moves out of C°'s c-command domain, FCA should no longer be a possibility on the complementizer either. When the subject moves out of the c-command domain of C°, it leaves behind a copy. The internal structure of this copy is not available for agreement relations. This means that the relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP cannot be established. As a consequence, there is no agreement relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP at the level of Morphology and hence this relation cannot be spelled out: FCA cannot occur on the complementizer. This prediction is borne out by the example in (128) from Tegelen Dutch.[83]

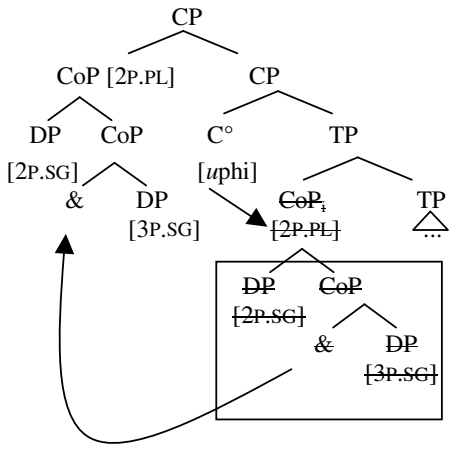
(128) Doow en Marie denk ik,
[you$_{SG}$ and Marie] think I
a. * … **de-s** het spel zull-e winnen.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ the game will-$_{PL}$ win
b. ? … det het spel zull-e winnen.
that the game will-$_{PL}$ win

[Tegelen Dutch]

The examples in (128) show that the complementizer cannot be inflected when the subject is extracted. The relevant part of the derivation of the example in (128b) is represented by the tree structure in (129).

[83] The example in (128b) is somewhat degraded, due to the fact that the consultants find subject extraction, especially of coordinated subjects, not fully acceptable.

(129)



The subject CoP has moved from Spec,TP to Spec,CP in the derivation represented in (129). Specifically, it has moved to the edge of the strong CP-phase so that it is available for further movement. By moving, it has left behind a copy in Spec,TP. The internal structure of this copy is inaccessible for agreement relations. Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF. As a consequence, the agreement relations of C° are established with the copy of the moved subject and not with the subject itself. In other words, when Agree takes place, no agreement relation between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP can be established. Agree relates the unvalued features of C° to those of CoP. This relation has to be spelled out on the complementizer. As the second person plural features of this Goal do not correspond to an agreement affix that can appear on the complementizer, the non-inflected complementizer has to be inserted.

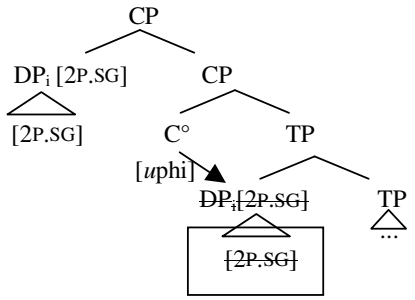
This analysis in turn makes two further predictions concerning CA with extracted subjects. First of all, if a non-coordinated second person singular subject moves into the matrix clause, CA is expected to be maintained. Secondly, if a coordinated subject is extracted in a dialect that agrees with the coordinated subject as a whole, like in Lapscheure Dutch, CA is also expected to be possible. The first prediction is borne out by the example in (130) from Tegelen Dutch (for similar data from Frisian cf. De Haan 1997).

(130) **Doow** denk ik **de-s** de wedstrijd zal-s winnen.
You think I that-$_{2P.SG}$ the game will-$_{2P.SG}$ win
'YOU, I think will win the game.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

This example shows that when a simplex second person singular subject is extracted, the complementizer is inflected. The relevant part of the derivation of this example is given in (131).

(131)



The subject of the embedded clause *doow* 'you' has moved to Spec,CP, the edge of the strong phase level. It has left behind a copy in Spec,TP. The internal structure of this copy is not available for agreement relations. When the subject does not move out of the c-command domain of C°, Morphology spells out the relation between C° and the maximal projection of this pronoun. When the subject has moved, Morphology can still spell out this relation, as the maximal projection of the copy of the moved pronoun is available for agreement relations, although its internal structure is not.[84] So, as expected, the complementizer shows CA even when the second person singular subject is extracted in this dialect.

The second prediction is corroborated by the example in (132) from Lapscheure Dutch (Liliane Haegeman p.c.).[85]

(132) ? **Pol en Valère** peinzen-k **da-n** morgen goa-n kommen
[Pol and Valère]$_{3P.PL}$ think-I that-$_{3P.PL}$ tomorrow go-$_{PL}$ come
'Pol and Valère, I think that will come tomorrow.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

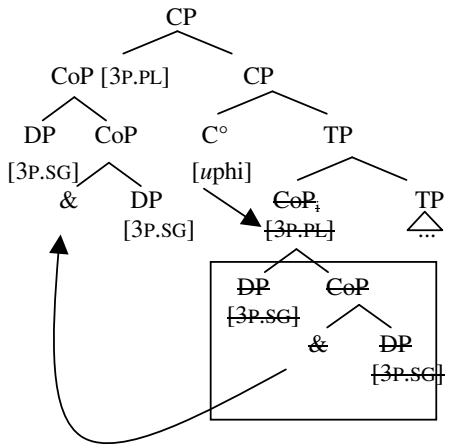
In section 3.3, I have shown that in Lapscheure Dutch the complementizer does not agree with the first conjunct *Pol* 'Pol' of the coordinated subject *Pol en Valère* 'Pol and Valère', but with the coordinated subject as a whole. In particular, it exhibits third person plural agreement morphology. When the coordinated subject is extracted, as in (132), the agreement on the complementizer is not expected to disappear. The crucial part of the derivation of this example is given in (133).

[84] This analysis makes the prediction that when agreement on the complementizer reflects the phi-features of a head internal to the pronominal projection, CA cannot occur when this subject is extracted. In the next chapter, I show that this is exactly what happens in Hellendoorn Dutch.

[85] Although the consultant accepts this sentence, she indicates that she would prefer the parenthetical structure in (i). This probably explains the mild deviance of the example in (132).

(i) Pol en Valère peinzen-k goan morgen kommen.
[Pol and Valère]$_{3P.PL}$ think-I go tomorrow come
'Pol and Valère I think will come tomorrow.' [Lapscheure Dutch]

(133)



The coordinated subject has moved from Spec,TP to the edge of the strong CP-phase, in order to move further into the matrix clause. Suppose the coordinated subject does not move. In that case, Agree establishes an agreement relation between C° and CoP and one between C° and the Goal in Spec,CoP. At the level of Morphology the agreement relation between C° and CoP is spelled out, resulting in plural morphology on the complementizer (cf. *supra* section 3.3). When the subject has moved out of the c-command domain of C°, as in the configuration in (133), the Goal in Spec,CoP is no longer available for agreement relations, as the internal structure of the copy of the moved subject is opaque for these types of relations. Agreement has to take place with CoP. This means that Morphology does not have to choose, but spells out this latter feature sharing relation as agreement on the complementizer. Both when the subject moves out of the c-command domain of C° and when it does not move, the relation with CoP is spelled out on the complementizer. Extraction of the subject out of the c-command domain of C° has no effect on the agreement morphology appearing on the complementizer.

4.4.3 Subject extraction in Bavarian

In the previous subsection, I have demonstrated that FCA cannot appear on the complementizer when the embedded coordinated subject is extracted. This is predicted under the assumption that moved items leave behind copies of which the internal structure is not accessible for agreement relations. The arguments in favour of the analysis proposed in this section can be made even stronger when Bavarian is taken into account. Recall from subsection 3.2 that Bavarian complementizers inflect for both the second person singular and the second person plural. Agreement between a complementizer and a second person plural coordinated subject with a

second person singular first conjunct can result in either FCA or FA on the complementizer. This is illustrated in the examples in (25), repeated here as (134).

(134) a. … **das-sd** **du** und d'Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
b. … **das-ds** **du** **und d'Maria** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds
that-$_{2P.PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that Maria and you won the first prize.'

[Bavarian]

If the analysis provided in section 4.2 is on the right track, the complementizer in Bavarian should still show second person plural agreement after extraction of the coordinated subject, but not second person singular agreement. Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF. As a consequence, the agreement relations of C° are established with the copy of the moved subject and not with the moved subject itself. The first conjunct is no longer available for agreement relations when the subject has moved to a position c-commanding C°. This prediction is borne out by the data in (135).

(135) **Du** und d'Maria glaub'e
[you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ believe.I
a. * **das-sd** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds
that-$_{2P.SG}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
b. **das-ds** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds
that-$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'You and Maria I think that have won the first prize.'

[Bavarian]

This example shows that when the coordinated subject is extracted, FCA is no longer possible, while FA is, as expected.

4.5 Summary

In this section, I have shown that under the standard assumption about syntactic agreement (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001a), the fact that FCA can appear on the complementizer in dialects of Dutch, but not on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses cannot be explained. I have argued that in order to account for these data, a modification of the theory is required. I have demonstrated that the absence of FCA on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses can be explained by assuming that the internal structure of copies left behind by movement is inaccessible for agreement relations. As a consequence, Agree cannot establish an agreement relation between T° and the first conjunct of a coordinated subject and hence FCA is impossible in

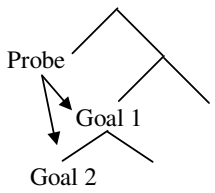
the word orders under discussion. The only Goal available to T° after movement of the subject is CoP. This relation is spelled out and results in FA on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. The difference between the finite verb and the complementizer in the dialects under discussion boils down to the fact that in an embedded clause without extraction, the coordinated subject moves out of the c-command domain of T°, but not out of the c-command domain of C°. Put differently, the c-command domain of T° contains only a copy of the subject, whereas that of C° contains the subject itself. If the subject is extracted out of the embedded clause and thus moves out of the c-command domain of C°, FCA on the complementizer is also impossible. Empirically, I have shown in this section that the analysis of agreement between a complementizer and a coordinated subject in Dutch dialects can be succesfully applied to a range of other data, in particular agreement with coordinated subjects in expletive constructions in Finnish and Modern Hebrew and agreement with coordinated subjects in VSO-clauses in Arabic and Irish.

Chapter Three Agreement with pronouns

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide the second case study in Dutch dialects of the configuration in which there are two equally local Goals available for a single phi-Probe. In chapter 1, I have argued that Agree takes place at the Spell-out point to PF. At this point, a Probe searches its c-command domain and finds two Goals that are equally local with respect to this Probe. This configuration is depicted in (1).

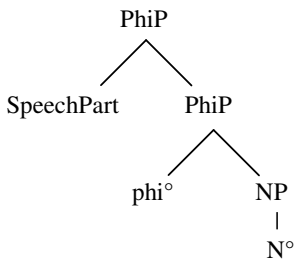
(1)



The Probe enters into an agreement relation with both Goals simultaneously. At the level of Morphology, one of these two agreement relations, namely the one resulting in the most specific agreement morphology, is spelled out on the Probe.

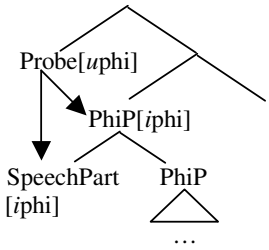
The case study of the configuration depicted in (1) discussed in this chapter involves agreement between a Probe and a (subject) pronoun. I assume, following a large body of literature, that pronouns are internally complex (cf. a.o. Cardinaletti & Starke 1994; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002; Haegeman 1993; Harley & Ritter 2002; Rooryck 1999, to appear) and that their internal structure is accessible for syntactic operations. The analysis of the internal structure of pronouns adopted here is based on the structure proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) and is depicted in (2) (cf. *infra* section 2 for motivation of this structure).

(2)



In section 2 of this chapter, I argue that the phi-features of pronouns can be split up in two feature bundles. One feature bundle provides the speech participant features (SpeechPart) of the pronoun (for instance the features *speaker* or *hearer*), the other specifies the number information of the pronoun, i.e plural or singular. I assume the former feature bundle to occupy Spec,PhiP in the structure in (2) and the latter the head of PhiP. Together, these feature bundles provide the feature specification of the pronoun as a whole, present on the maximal projection of the pronominal projection, PhiP. With this in mind, consider the configuration in (3).

(3)



In this structure, a Probe for phi-features is merged with a structure containing a pronominal projection. The Probe searches its c-command domain in order to find a Goal with matching features. As the c-command domain of the Probe in (3) contains a pronoun, it encounters two Goals simultaneously: the maximal projection of the pronoun and the pronoun's speech participant features (henceforth *SpeechPart*) in Spec,PhiP. This means that either the relation between the Probe and SpeechPart or that between the Probe and PhiP can be spelled out on the Probe.

These two Goals are equally local with respect to the Probe, as both are only c-commanded by the Probe. Recall the definitions of locality and c-command provided in section 2 of chapter 1, repeated here as (4)–(6) respectively.

(4) **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

(5) **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

(6) **c-command**
X c-commands Y, iff
(i) X excludes Y[1]
(ii) the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y

In the configuration sketched in (3), the Probe c-commands PhiP, as
(i) The first node that dominates the Probe, dominates PhiP
(ii) The Probe excludes PhiP

The same holds for SpeechPart in (3): the Probe c-commands SpeechPart, as
(i) The first node that dominates the Probe, dominates SpeechPart
(ii) The Probe excludes SpeechPart

Neither SpeechPart nor PhiP are c-commanded by any other category than the Probe. This means that the set of nodes that c-command SpeechPart is identical to the set of nodes that c-command PhiP. Both SpeechPart and PhiP are c-commanded by the Probe. As a consequence, SpeechPart and PhiP are equally local with respect to the Probe, according to the definition in (5).

Below, I show that agreement with SpeechPart potentially results in different agreement morphology than agreement with PhiP. More specifically, I argue that a first person plural pronoun is plural only at the PhiP level, while it's SpeechPart value is always singular, referring to a unique speaker. The Probe searches its c-command domain and finds these two Goals simultaneously. At the level of Morphology, one of these two relations has to be spelled out as an agreement affix on the Probe. I show that just as in the previous chapter, the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology will be spelled out as an agreement affix on the Probe. This means that either the relation between the Probe and PhiP is spelled out, resulting in agreement with the pronoun as a whole, or the relation between the Probe and SpeechPart is spelled out, reflecting just the speech participant features of the pronoun. I show that both possibilities occur in varieties of Dutch.

As I have already shown in section 2 of the previous chapter, there are varieties of Dutch in which there is not one clausal Probe for phi-features, namely T°, but two: in these varieties both T° and C° carry unvalued phi-features, which means that in these varieties both T° and C° are Probes. Apart from agreement on the finite verb, these dialects also exhibit so-called Complementizer Agreement (henceforth CA). An example of such a variety of Dutch is provided in (7).

[1] X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.

(7) … azz-e wie sober leef-t.
if-$_{1P.PL}$ we sober live-$_{PL}$
'…if we will live soberly.'

[Aalten Dutch]

In this example from the dialect of Aalten, both the finite verb and the complementizer agree with the subject *wie* 'we'. The agreement affix on the complementizer is a reflex of the agreement relation between C° and the subject, whereas the agreement ending on the finite verb spells out the agreement relation between T° and the subject (cf. *supra* chapter 2, section 4).

Empirically, this chapter mainly focuses on so-called *Double Agreement* (terminology from Zwart 1993) in the dialect of Hellendoorn (cf. Van Haeringen 1958, Zwart 1993). The term *Double Agreement* (henceforth DA) refers to the phenomenon in which the agreement affix on the finite verb corresponding to a certain person/number combination has a different realization depending on the structural position the verb occurs in. This pattern is exemplified in (8)-(10).

(8) a. Wiej **bin-t** den besten!
we are-$_{AGR1}$ the best
'We are the best!'
b. * Wiej **binn-e** den besten!
we are-$_{AGR2}$ the best

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(9) a. * **Bin-t** wiej den besten?
are-$_{AGR1}$ we the best
b. **Binn-e** wiej den besten?
are-$_{AGR2}$ we the best
'Are we the best?'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(10) … **darr-e** / ***dat** wiej den besten **bin-t** / ***binn-e**!
that-$_{AGR2}$ / that we the best are-$_{AGR1}$ / are-$_{AGR2}$
'… that we are the best!'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

These examples show that there are two agreement affixes associated with first person plural subjects; namely *–e* (AGR2) and *–t* (AGR1). The schwa-ending can only appear on the complementizer and on the finite verb when it is inverted with the subject. The *t*-ending is restricted to contexts in which the finite verb is not inverted with the subject, i.e. in SVO- and CSOV-word orders. In this chapter, I provide an analysis that captures this pattern.[2,3] More specifically, I show that the *e*-ending

[2] I postpone the discussion of previous analyses of the DA-pattern to chapter 4, section 3.
[3] Zwart (1993) shows that apart from Hellendoorn Dutch, a DA-pattern can also be found in Lower Bavarian and dialects spoken in the Dutch province of Brabant and in the West Flemish dialect area. I return to these dialects in chapter 4, section 3.

reflects the agreement relation between the Probe and SpeechPart, whereas the *t*-ending spells out the relation between the Probe and PhiP. I show that the analysis that could be applied succesfully to agreement with coordinated subjects in a whole range of languages discussed in the previous section, also captures the complex agreement patterns with pronominal subjects in the varieties of Dutch and German discussed in this chapter.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 makes explicit my assumptions concerning the internal structure of pronouns. In section 3, I show that during the syntactic derivation the configuration arises in which a Probe has two equally local Goals in its c-command domain: PhiP and SpeechPart. One of these two relations is spelled out as agreement morphology on the complementizer. I argue that there are dialects in which the complementizer carries agreement morphology reflecting the relation between C° and SpeechPart, and that there are dialects in which the relation between C° and PhiP is spelled out as an agreement ending on the complementizer. In this section, I also discuss verbal agreement morphology in the SVO- and CSOV-word orders. The agreement morphology on the finite verb in these word orders is solely dependent on the agreement relations entertained by Probe T° (cf. *supra* section 4 of chapter 2). The agreement morphology on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses cannot reflect the relation between T° and SpeechPart. I show that this can be analysed in exactly the same way as the absence of First Conjunct Agreement (henceforth FCA) on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses discussed in the previous chapter. I show that T° agrees with the copy of the moved pronoun, rather than with the pronoun itself. By assumption, the internal structure of this copy is not accessible for agreement relations. As a consequence, Agree cannot establish an agreement relation between T° and SpeechPart and the agreement morphology on the finite verb obligatorily reflects the relation between T° and PhiP. Put differently, I show that a DA-pattern comes about when C° agrees with the speech participant features of the pronoun, whereas T° agrees with PhiP as a whole.

Section 4 discusses the configuration in which there are not just two equally local Goals for agreement, but rather three. I show that in the dialect of Hellendoorn the complementizer can show agreement with the Specifier of the Specifier of the Specifier of the complement of C°.

In section 5, I go into the more complex situation in which the agreement morphology on the finite verb not just reflects the agreement relations T° entertains, but also those of C°: this configuration is found in the VSO-word order. In this section, I not only discuss agreement with internally complex pronouns, but also with coordinated subjects. I show that the finite verb in the VSO-order – in contrast to the finite verb in the SVO- and CSOV-order – does have the ability to agree with a Goal that is part of the internal structure of the subject.

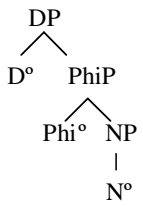
2. The internal structure of pronouns

In this section, I make explicit my assumptions concerning the internal structure of pronouns. In the literature, there are various proposals arguing that pronouns (or at least plural pronouns) are not simple heads (cf. among others Abney 1987), but that they are internally complex (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke 1994; Den Dikken et al. 2001; Rooryck 1999, to appear; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002; Harley & Ritter 2002; Vassilieva & Larson 2002). In this thesis, I adopt the structure of pronouns provided by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002). I combine their view on the structure of personal pronouns with the assumptions on the phi-feature specification of pronouns put forth by Harley & Ritter (2002).

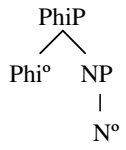
2.1. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002)

Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) (henceforth D&W) propose that there are three types of pronouns: pro-DPs, pro-PhiPs and pro-NPs. These pronouns can be structurally represented as in (11) – (13) (cf. D&W:410).

(11) pro-DPs



(12) pro-PhiPs



(13) pro-NPs

These three types of pronouns have different characteristics, summarised in the table in (14) (cf. D&W:410).

(14)

	pro-DP	**pro-PhiP**	**pro-NP**
Internal syntax	D-syntax	D-syntax N-syntax	N-syntax
Distribution	argument	argument predicate	predicate
Semantics	definite	-	constant
Binding theory	R-expression	variable	-

D&W show that pro-DPs differ from pro-PhiPs and pro-NPs in that they have D-syntax: they cannot be used in predicate positions and they behave like R-

expressions. Pro-NPs on the other hand, have an unambiguous N-syntax: they can only be used in predicate positions. The behaviour of pro-PhiPs can be positioned somewhere in between that of pro-DPs and pro-NPs.

I would like to argue that pronouns in Dutch are pro-PhiPs. First of all, they can be used both in argument position, i.e. they can be the subject of a clause, and in predicate position, i.e. they can be used in word formation and denote a property of the head noun of the compound. This is shown in the examples in (15)–(17) from standard Dutch.[4,5]

(15) **First person**

a. Ik loop op straat.
I walk on street
'I am walking on the street.'

b. ik-figuur, wij-gevoel
I-figure we-feeling
'first-person narrator, the feeling of us belonging together'

(16) **Second person**

a. Jullie lopen op straat.
You_{PL} walk on street
'You are walking on the street.'

b. jij-bak
you-joke
'response to an addressee as a reaction on mockery of the addressee'

(17) **Third person**

a. Hij / zij / het loopt op straat.
he / she / it walks on street
'He/she/it is walking on the street.'

b. hij-perspectief
he-perspective
'perspective of a third person narrator'

Furthermore, it appears to be the case that first, second and third person pronouns can be used as bound variables under ellipsis. D&W argue that if pronouns are pro-DPs, they cannot be used as bound variables: they cannot induce a sloppy reading under ellipsis.[6] Consider the example in (18).

---

[4] It is interesting to note that in Dutch it is fairly easy to use first and second person pronouns in word formation, whereas this appears to be impossible in English (D&W:426).

[5] Word formation with first and second person pronouns is far more productive than with third person pronouns. Furthermore, I have not been able to find word formations with second person plural pronouns.

[6] D&W argue that English first and second pronouns cannot be used as bound variables. The judgements do not seem to be as firm as they present them, however. Rullman (2004) shows that first and second person pronouns in English can easily be used as bound variables in a host of different constructions. This suggets that in English, just as in Dutch, the first and second person pronouns are pro-PhiPs.

(18) Ik voelde dat de vijand Piet zag en jij ook.
I felt that the enemy Piet saw and you too
'I felt that the enemy saw Piet and you did too.'

[standard Dutch]

This example only has a strict reading: I felt that the enemy saw Piet and you too felt that the enemy saw Piet. This example cannot mean that I felt that the enemy saw Piet, whereas you felt that the enemy saw you. Now, consider the examples in (19).[7]

(19) a. Ik voelde dat de vijand mij zag en jij ook.
I felt that the enemy me saw and you too
'I felt that the enemy saw me and you did too.'

b. Wij voelden dat de vijand ons zag en zij ook.
we felt that the enemy us s aw and they too
'We felt that the enemy saw us and they did too.'

c. Jullie voelden dat de vijand jullie zag en wij ook.
you_{PL} felt that the enemy you_{PL} saw and we too
'You felt that the enemy saw you and we did too.'

d. Jij voelde dat de vijand je zag en ik ook.
you_{SG} felt that the enemy you_{SG} saw and I too
'You felt that the enemy saw you and I did too.'

e. Hij voelde dat de vijand hem zag en ik ook.
He felt that the enemy him saw and I too
'He felt that the enemy saw him and I did too.'

f. Zij voelden dat de vijand hun zag en wij ook.
They felt that the enemy them saw and we too
'They felt that the enemy saw them and we did too.'

[standard Dutch]

All these examples can have both a strict and a sloppy reading. In other words, first, second and third person pronouns can be used as bound variables in Dutch. This means that according to the classification of D&W, Dutch personal pronouns are pro-PhiPs. Rullman (2004) provides several other cases in which pronouns act as bound variables. I will provide one of his examples and show that the same examples can be construed for Dutch. First, consider the example in (20).

(20) We all think we are smart.

[English]

This example can have two meanings, represented in (21)

[7] Rullman (2004) notes that these examples are not equally grammatical with a bound variable interpretation for all speakers of English. D&W note the same for French. This also seems to be true for Dutch.

(21) a. $\forall x[x \in WE \rightarrow$ x thinks that WE are smart]
b. $\forall x[x \in WE \rightarrow$ x thinks that x is smart]

In the first interpretation of the example in (20), provided in (21a), the embedded pronoun has a non-variable reading. The second interpretation of the example in (20) on the other hand yields a variable reading of the pronoun. In other words, under the second interpretation, the embedded pronoun is a bound variable. Rullman (2004) provides a way to force the bound variable reading of the embedded pronoun. Consider the examples in (22) (from Rullman 2004:161).

(22) a. We all think we're the smartest person in the world.
b. # We are the smartest person in the world.
c. Al and I both believed we were going to be elected president.
d. # Al and I were going to be elected president.

[English]

In the a- and the c-example, the embedded pronoun necessarily has a bound variable reading. It cannot have a non-variable reading, as the example with the deictic, non-variable reading of the pronoun leads to an infelicitous sentence, as can be seen in the examples (22b) and (22d). These examples are infelicitous because the pronoun is plural and the predicate needs a singular subject. These examples can also be used in Dutch, showing that Dutch plural pronouns can also be used as bound variables. Consider the examples in (23).

(23) a. We denken allemaal dat we het slimste jongetje van de klas zijn.
we think all that we the smartest boy of the class are
'We all think we are the smartest kid of the class.'

b. # Wij zijn het slimste jongetje van de klas.
we are the smartest boy of the class
'We are the smartest kid of the class.'

c. Jullie denken allemaal dat jullie het slimste jongetje van de klas zijn.
you$_{PL}$ think all that you$_{PL}$ the smartest boy of the class are
'You think you are the smartest kid of the class.'

d. # Jullie zijn het slimste jongetje van de klas.
you$_{PL}$ are the smartest boy of the class
'You are the smartest kid of the class.'

e. Zij denken allemaal dat zij het slimste jongetje van de klas zijn
they think all that they the smartest boy of the class are
'They think they are the smartest kid of the class.'

f. # Zij zijn het slimste jongetje van de klas.
they are the smartest boy of the class
'They are the smartest kid of the class.'

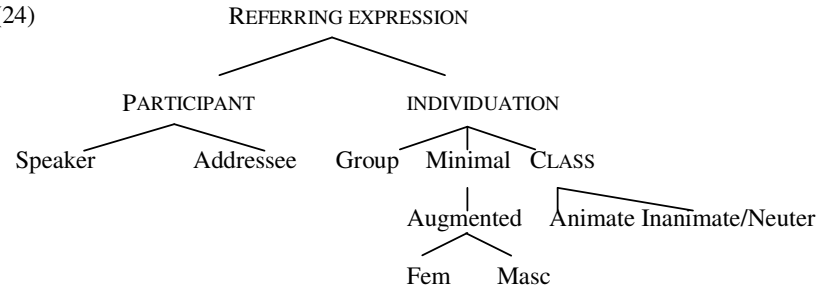
[standard Dutch]

To sum up, personal pronouns in Dutch can be used as bound variables and they can occur both as predicates and as arguments. This means that according to the classification of D&W, they are pro-PhiPs. I adopt the structure D&W propose for pro-PhiPs. In the following subsections, I show which features are present in this structure.

2.2 Harley & Ritter (2002)

Now that it is established what the internal structure of pronouns in Dutch looks like, the question arises which phi-features are present in the pronominal projection and which positions these features occupy. I assume that the phi-features present in PhiP are those Harley & Ritter (2002) (henceforth H&R) argue to be present in pronouns. They suggest that these features do not form an unordered set of features, but rather that they are ordered in a feature-geometry. The geometry groups together natural classes of morphological features and defines the hierarchies amongst these classes of features. Rather than taking the notions 'person', 'number' and 'gender' as their basic concepts, H&R propose to start from the basic conceptual categories 'speech participant', 'Individuation' and 'Class'. I will follow this proposal and also use these more basic conceptual categories as the relevant primitives. With this geometry, they are able to analyse the pronominal systems of a large sample of (typologically unrelated) languages. Furthermore, their proposal captures several universals concerning pronouns. Finally, it enables them to explain the data concerning first language acquisition of personal pronouns. I will not recapitulate their argumentation here; I refer the reader to the original paper for further details. The geometry put forth by H&R is depicted in (24) (cf. H&R:486).

(24)



H&R show that pronouns consist of three phi-feature categories: Participant, Individuation and Class. These categories can have various dependents. For instance the category 'Participant' can have either the dependent Speaker or the dependent Addressee. H&R assume that there is no dependency between the Participant

features and the Individuation features. This way, they are able to implement the longstanding idea that first and second person pronouns on the one hand and third person pronouns on the other do not have the same properties (cf. among others Benveniste 1966, Forchheimer 1953). Third person pronouns are not sensitive to the discourse in the same way as first and second person pronouns are. For instance, their referent does not shift during a conversation, as does the referent of first and second person pronouns. The feature geometry of first and second person pronouns is assumed to have a Participant node and, when necessary, an individuation node. The geometry of third person pronouns on the other hand only consists of the individuation node, and thus lacks the node that contains the discourse-dependent features.

Given the assumption that participant features and individuation features are not hierarchically linked to one another, it is expected that there are languages in which only the Participant node is present and others in which only the Individuation node is used. H&R show that such languages indeed exist. An example of such a language is Pirahã (H&R cite data from Thomason & Everett 2002). This Amazonian language provides an example of the former situation. It only has singular pronouns in the first, second and third person. It does not have number or gender in its pronominal system, indicating that it has not activated the Individuation node. The second predicted situation can be found in Japanese. H&R argue that there are no personal pronouns in this language. Rather, first and second person is expressed by making use of kinship terms or other nouns that refer to discourse participants. Noguchi (1995) (cited by H&R) argues that there are demonstratives, which act as pronouns. This seems to indicate that in Japanese the Individuation node is activated, but the Participant node of the pronominal feature geometry is not.

The proposal of H&R does not explicitly state at which level of representation the morphological feature geometry is present.[8] It is not clear in H&R's article whether the geometry is part of the pronominal vocabulary item or rather of the syntactic entity that is spelled out as a pronoun at the level of Morphology, or of both. As there is no *a priori* reason to assume that the geometry is only present in one of these two domains (as pointed out by Susana Bejar in the discussion referred to in footnote 8 of this chapter), I assume it is present in both. If the geometry is indeed present in the syntactic entities making up personal pronouns, the question has to be answered how this geometry can be translated to syntactic struture. I answer this question in the following subsection

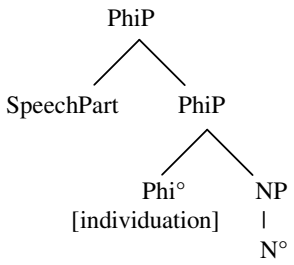
2.3 The internal structure of Dutch pronouns

I assume that Dutch pronouns are pro-PhiPs (in the sense of Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, hencforth D&W). Furthermore, I assume that the phi-features present in

[8] On the Distributed Morphology discussion forum, there has been a discussion concerning the locus of this geometry (cf. http://listserv.linguistlist.org/archives/dm-list.html).

personal pronouns are ordered in accordance to the geometry put forth by Harley & Ritter (2002) (henceforth H&R). The question arises how the view of D&W can be combined with that of H&R. I would like to propose that (at least for Dutch pronouns), the speech participant features occupy the Specifier position of PhiP, whereas the individuation features are in Phi°, the head of PhiP.[9] This is represented in the structure in (25).

(25)



There are some indications that this structure is indeed the correct representation of Dutch personal pronouns. First of all, in this structure the Participant node does not dominate the Individuation node. This way, this structure captures the fact that there is no dependency relation between the Participant node and the Individuation node and *vice versa*, as proposed by H&R. Secondly, it has frequently been suggested that the evidence in favour of the presence of certain syntactic positions can be obtained from the fact that these positions get phonologically realised in certain languages. On the basis of this, it is predicted that the speech participant features and the individuation head get spelled out separately in certain languages. This indeed appears to be the case in older stages of Dutch and in several dialects of Dutch (cf. also Haegeman 1993:88-89). In these varieties, the plural pronouns are bimorphemic. Consider, for example, the pronominal paradigm of Zierikzee Dutch in (26).

(26)

feature specification	form of the pronoun
1P.SG	ik
2P.SG	jie
3P.SG	ie
1P.PL	wu-llie
2P.PL	ju-llie
3P.PL	zu-llie

[9] Translating hierarchies into syntactic terminology making use of relational notions like c-command and domination is not without its precedents. Baker (1988) for instance proposes to incorporate hierarchies involving theta roles into syntax by making use of c-command: arguments that have high theta-roles with respect to the universal theta-role hierarchy, c-command arguments with low theta-roles.

According to among others Howe (1996), the morpheme *lie* is an abbreviated form of the Dutch word *liede* 'people'. These pronouns look like compounds of a pronoun with a plural morpheme. In other words, it appears that this paradigm provides a case in which the specifier position of PhiP and the head of PhiP are realised separately.[10]

Now the question arises which feature specifications the different heads in the structure in (25) can have. According to H&R, the category speech participant can have the dependents 'speaker' or 'addressee'. The individuation category has the dependents 'group' and 'minimal'. The final category for class features has the dependents 'animate' and 'inanimate'. As the final category does not play any role of significance in this thesis, I will leave it out of the discussion from now on.

I assume that when the speech participant role of the pronoun is that of the speaker, the phi-features of the speech participant are first person singular.[11] This means that both the plural and the singular first person pronoun contain a singular part: the speech participant features are always first person singular. The rational behind this assumption becomes clear when the meaning of the first person plural pronoun is taken into account. A first person plural pronoun does not constitute the plural of a singular first person pronoun. Rather, the meaning of a first person plural pronoun is that there is one speaker that is not necessarily alone. When the speech participant role of the pronoun is that of addressee, I assume the features present on this head to be second person. The addressee features are not specified for number, as the addressee role, in contrast to the speaker role, is not necessarily singular or plural (cf. Cysouw 2001:70-71). A second person plural pronoun can refer to one addressee or to more than one addressee: put differently, it can be the case that the addressee is embedded in a group of non-addressees or it can be the case that there is a group of more than one addressee.

The individuation head specifies whether or not the pronoun refers to a minimal group. In the former case, I assume that the feature specification is singular. In the latter, I assume it to be plural.[12] The maximal projection of the pronominal projection contains the complete set of feature specifications. In order to make these assumptions explicit, I have provided the internal structures of the first and second

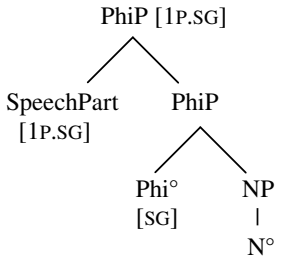
[10] Jonathan Bobaljik p.c. notes that, given the assumption of the Distributed Morphology-framework that terminal elements are replaced by Vocabulary Items, one might expect that it would be the rule, rather than the exception, that pronouns are transparent for speech participant and individuation features, as these sets of features constitute a separate terminal item. This does not appear to be the case however. I leave this issue as a topic for further research.

[11] Although in all cases the speaker is singular, there appears to be one exception. Cysouw (2001, quoting Mühlhäuser & Harré 1990) shows that there is one usage in which the speaker appears to be plural, namely in so-called *mass speaking*. An example of this is a crowd chanting 'we are the champions'. The question arises if the speaker is indeed plural in this case or whether it is a set of individuals acting as a singular group.

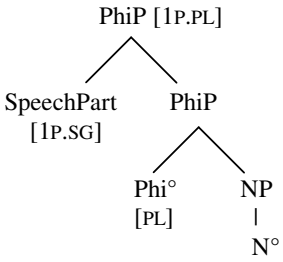
[12] As I already noted in section 3.2 of chapter 2, I assume that the feature value singular is present, although it appears to be generally assumed that it is the unmarked specification for number (cf. Corbett 2000, Harley & Ritter 2002). I will come back to this assumption in section 3.2.1.

person pronouns in the tree structures represented in (27) – (30).[13] As third person pronouns do not play a role in the remainder of this thesis, I will leave them out of the discussion.

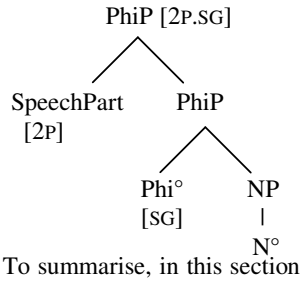
(27) **First person singular**



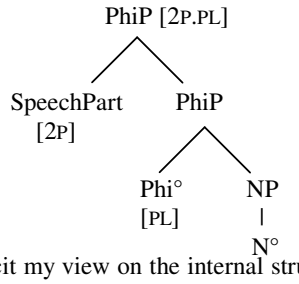
(28) **First person plural**



(29) **Second person singular**



(30) **Second person plural**



To summarise, in this section I have made explicit my view on the internal structure of pronouns. I have argued that pronouns in Dutch are PhiP's in the sense of Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002). The phi-features present in the pronominal projection are ordered as argued for by Harley & Ritter (2002). The speech participant features in Dutch occupy Spec,PhiP, whereas the Individuation features are situated in Phi°.

3. CA with internally complex pronouns: two Goals for one Probe

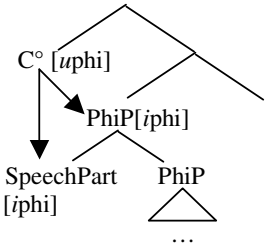
3.1 Introduction

In this section, I explore the configuration in which C° is a Probe for phi-features with an internally complex pronoun in its c-command domain. In this section, I will

[13] In the structure in (28), the specifier of the PhiP is singular, whereas the head of this projection is plural. This structure captures the meaning of first person plural pronouns: there is a singular speaker embedded in a group.

only be concerned with instances of this configuration in which the phi-features of C° are spelled out on the complementizer at the level of Morphology. The phi-features of C° can also be spelled out on the finite verb in VSO-clauses. I come back to this in section 5 of this chapter. Consider the configuration in (31).

(31)



In (31), Probe C° is a Probe for phi-features. When Agree takes place, it finds two equally local Goals in the c-command domain of C°: the maximal projection of the pronominal projection (henceforth PhiP) and the speech participant features (henceforth SpeechPart). C° enters into an agreement relation with both Goals in (31). At the level of Morphology, the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe is spelled out. In the preceding chapters, I have shown that an agreement relation results in either a specific affix, an elsewhere-affix or in no affix at all.[14] These three possibilities are ranked with respect to one another. The hierarchy is repeated in (32).

(32) specific affix > elsewhere-affix > no affix

When a Probe entertains two agreement relations and one relation results in a specific affix, whereas the other results in an elsewhere-affix or no affix at all, the former relation will be spelled out on the Probe. A relation resulting in an elsewhere-affix in turn takes precedence over a relation that does not result in agreement morphology on the Probe at all. For the configuration in (31), this leads to nine different possibilities, provided in the table in (33).

[14] Recall from section 3.2 of chapter 1 and section 3.2 of chapter 2 that I assume – as long as there is no evidence to the contrary – that there is no real difference between specific affixes and elsewhere-affix, other than that the former single out a particular person/number combination and the latter do not.

(33)

	PhiP	SpeechPart	result	dialect	section
1	specific	specific	specific,PhiP specific,SpeechPart	NA	-
2	specific	elsewhere	specific,PhiP	NA	-
3	specific	no affix	specific,PhiP	Bavarian Tegelen Dutch	3.3
4	elsewhere	specific	specific,SpeechPart	Hellendoorn Dutch	3.2
5	elsewhere	elsewhere	elsewhere	-	-
6	elsewhere	no affix	elsewhere	NA	-
7	no affix	specific	specific,SpeechPart	NA	-
8	no affix	elsewhere	elsewhere	NA	-
9	no affix	no affix	no affix	-	-

This table, which is in all relevant respects identical to the one discussed in section 3 of chapter 2, shows which configurations can arise at the level of Morphology when a Probe enters into an agreement relation with both PhiP and SpeechPart during the syntactic derivation. One of these two relations has to be spelled out on the Probe. Either the relation between the Probe and PhiP or the one between the Probe and SpeechPart results in a more specific affix, an elsewhere-affix or no affix on the Probe. This is reflected in the second and third column of the table in (33). The fact that there are three possible realisations for each of the agreement relations the Probe entertains, leads to nine possible combinations, provided in rows one through nine in table (33). The relation resulting in more specific agreement morphology is spelled out on the Probe. For each of the nine logical combinations provided in rows one through nine, the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe is reflected in the fourth column. The fifth column displays for each of the nine possible combinations in which dialect that particular combination is attested. The sixth and last column shows in which section that particular combination will be discussed.

Of the nine logical possibilities, only two are attested in varieties of Dutch with CA. The combinations in rows 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 are not attested in the varieties of Dutch I have studied (marked by NA in the fifth column in table (33)). Two of the nine possibilities, reflected in rows 5 and 9, are not interesting, as the agreement relations between the Probe and the two Goals lead to the same agreement morphology on the Probe and hence do not provide any information on the interaction between Syntax and Morphology.

The configurations in table (33) that are particularly interesting for this thesis are those in which it can be demonstrated that it is the agreement relation between the Probe and SpeechPart that is spelled out, rather than the relation between the Probe and PhiP. However, this configuration only occurs under very specific circumstances. Let us consider which feature specifications the maximal projection of the pronoun and the speech participant features in its specifier can have. As I

discussed in section 2 of this chapter, the speech participant can be either Speaker or Addressee, which means that the head carries first person singular or second person features respectively. The maximal projection of the pronoun, containing the features of the pronoun as a whole, can have four person number combinations (leaving aside third person pronouns). This leads to the four combinations represented in the table in (34).[15]

(34)

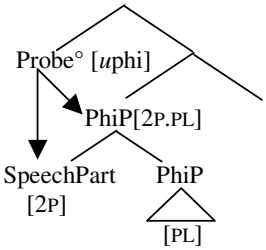
	PhiP	**SpeechPart**
1	1P.SG	1P.SG
2	2P.SG	2P
3	1P.PL	1P.SG
4	2P.PL	2P

Either the features of the pronoun as a whole are identical to those of the speech participant, as in row 1, or the features of the pronoun as a whole are different from those of the speech participant, as in rows 2 through 4. In the former situation, the agreement relation between the Probe and PhiP and the one between the Probe and SpeechPart results in the same agreement morphology on the Probe, as both have the same feature specification. In this situation, it is not possible to determine which of the two syntactic agreement relations is spelled out at the level of Morphology. In the latter case, however, the relation between the Probe and PhiP does not necessarily result in the same agreement morphology on the Probe, as the feature specification of these two Goals is not the same. In this case it can be determined which one of the two agreement relations gets realised as an agreement affix on the Probe.

If we look closely at rows 2, 3 and 4 of table (34), another complication arises. Consider rows 2 and 4: here the features of the speech participant form a proper subset of the features of the pronoun as a whole. The pronoun as a whole has the feature specification [2P.SG] or [2P.PL], whereas SpeechPart has the feature specification [2P]. The problem with these two combinations is the following. Suppose a Probe in a certain dialect encounters a second person plural pronoun. This configuration is represented in (35).

[15] I do not make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. Harley & Ritter (2002) propose that the first person inclusive form contains both the value speaker and hearer. Assuming that the speech participant contains both the feature specification [1P.SG] and [2P] makes an interesting prediction, namely that in an inclusive contexts, second person agreement might appear on the Probe, not only in the Dutch dialects under discussion here, but also in other languages. I do not know of such a case in Dutch dialects. Cysouw (2001:142) does provide an example of a language in which the first person inclusive morphology is similar to the second person morphology, but different from the first person exclusive morphology, namely Southwestern Ojibwa (an Algonquian language). Although more research, the agreement pattern this language displays is predicted to occur under the assumptions provided above.

(35)

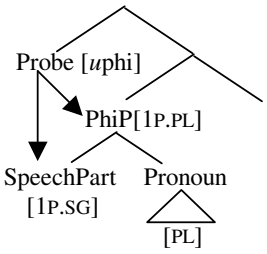


When Agree takes place, this Probe enters into an agreement relation with both the second person plural features of the maximal projection and with the second person features of SpeechPart. At the level of Morphology, one of these relations has to be spelled out. Suppose the dialect under consideration has an affix expressing [2P] but no affix expressing [2P.PL]. At the level of Morphology, the affix expressing second person features is inserted as an agreement affix on the Probe. The problem with this configuration is the following. On the one hand, it can be the case that the affix spells out the relation between the Probe and the second person features of SpeechPart. On the other hand, however, due to the Subset Principle (cf. section 2 of chapter 1), another possibility is that this affix spells out the relation between the Probe and the second person plural features of PhiP. The latter feature bundle constitutes a superset of the feature bundle of the affix, and hence this affix is suitable to replace this particular feature bundle. In the former case, the feature specification of the affix is identical to the feature specification it realizes. In the latter case, the affix contains a subset of the features it realizes. To put it into more general terms, an affix that can be inserted to spell out the second person features of the agreement relation between a Probe and SpeechPart can also replace the second person plural or singular features of the agreement relation between a Probe and PhiP, due to the Subset Principle. This makes the contexts in which the agreement morphology on the Probe unambiguously spells out the agreement relation of the Probe with SpeechPart rather than the one with PhiP even smaller.[16]

The third configuration in which the relation between a Probe and SpeechPart potentially leads to a different affix than the relation between a Probe and PhiP is the one represented in row 4 of table (34). This configuration is depicted in the structure in (36).

[16] The reverse situation does provide information about the agreement relation that is spelled out. If the dialect has an affix with the feature specification second person singular or second person plural, then this affix can only be used to replace the agreement relation between the Probe and PhiP. This affix cannot spell out the relation between the Probe and SpeechPart, as the feature specification of the affix constitutes a superset of the feature specification of the features present on SpeechPart. I show several instances of this situation in section 3.3 of this chapter.

(36)



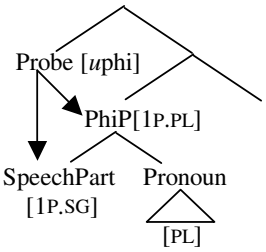
The Probe in this structure can agree either with the features of SpeechPart or with those of PhiP. In this case, the features of the speech participant are [1P.SG], the features expressing the Speaker role, while the feature specification of the maximal projection is [1P.PL]. An affix with the feature specification [1P.SG] cannot be substituted for the feature bundle [1P.PL], as there are features present on the affix that are not present on the feature bundle. This means that in this case it is the relation between the Probe and SpeechPart that is spelled out. In section 3.2, I show that this latter situation is found in the dialect of Hellendoorn.

This section is organised as follows. In section 3.2, I discuss agreement on the complementizer and the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses in Hellendoorn Dutch. I show that the agreement on the complementizer in the first person plural in this dialect reflects the phi-features of SpeechPart. Furthermore, I show that the speech participant features cannot be expressed on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses, for the same reason that FCA is not possible on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses (cf. *supra* section 4 of chapter 2). Section 3.3 discusses agreement with pronouns in Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch. The affix on the complementizer in these dialects expresses the features of the relation between C° and PhiP, rather than those of the relation between C° and SpeechPart. In these dialects, the agreement on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses is identical to the agreement on the complementizer, as in both cases the features of PhiP are expressed. Finally, in subsection 3.4, I show that on the basis of the analyses provided in the previous sections, it has to be concluded that there are two types of CA with pronominal subjects. In the first type, the agreement morphology on the complementizer expresses the features of PhiP, in the second type it spells out the features of SpeechPart. I provide data concerning subject extraction and subject modification that confirm this view. Section 3.5 summarises this section.

3.2 Hellendoorn Dutch

In this subsection, I discuss a case study of the configuration represented in (36), repeated here as (37). The Probe encounters a first person plural pronoun, containing two potential Goals: PhiP and SpeechPart.

(37)



I show that the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch agrees with SpeechPart rather than with the pronominal subject as a whole. This subsection is organised as follows. I first discuss the agreement pattern of Hellendoorn Dutch. In subsection 3.2.1, I introduce this agreement pattern in detail. Section 3.2.2 provides an indepth analysis of the CA-paradigm and the verbal paradigm in this dialect. Subsection 3.2.3 provides the analysis for the first part of this pattern. The remaining part of this agreement pattern will be discussed in section 4 of this chapter.

3.2.1 Double Agreement in Hellendoorn Dutch

The agreement pattern of Hellendoorn Dutch is a much debated issue in the Dutch dialectological literature (cf. among others Van Haeringen 1958; Zwart 1993, 1997, 2001; Hoekstra & Smits 1997; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b; De Vogelaer et al. 2002). Consider the examples of DA in (38)-(40).

(38) a. Wiej bin-t den besten!
we are-$_{AGR}$ the best
'We are the best!'

b. * Wiej **binn-e** den besten!
we are-$_{AGR}$ the best

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(39) a. * Bin-t wiej den besten?
are-$_{AGR}$ we the best

b. **Binn-e** wiej den besten?
are-$_{AGR}$ we the best
'Are we the best?'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(40) … *dat / darr-e wiej den besten bin-t / *binn-e!
that / that-$_{AGR}$ we the best are-$_{AGR}$ / are-$_{AGR}$
'…that we are the best!'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

The examples in (38) and (39) show that there are two different verbal affixes associated with the first person plural in this dialect. The first one, the *t*-affix, only appears in the SVO-word order (cf. example 38a) and not in the VSO-word order (cf. example 39a). The schwa-affix is the second affix that reflects the agreement relation between the finite verb and a first person plural subject. This affix is in complementary distribution with the *t*-affix. It occurs on the finite verb in the VSO-order (cf. example 39b), but not in the SVO- and CSOV-order (cf. example (38b) and (40)). Hellendoorn Dutch is a language with CA. The agreement on the complementizer is identical to the agreement on the finite verb in VSO-sentences, and not to that in SVO-sentences. When the complementizer agrees with a first person plural subject, the schwa-affix appears on the complementizer, as is illustrated by the example in (40).[17]

As I pointed out in section 4 of chapter 2, Zwart (1993) argues that the SVO-clauses in (38a) and (38b) do not project a CP-layer, whereas the VSO-clauses in (39a) and (39b) and the embedded clause in (40) are CPs. On the basis of this analysis, the examples in (38) – (40) can be represented with labelled bracketings as in (41) – (43).

(41) a. [$_{TP}$ Wiej [$_{T°}$ bin-t] den besten!]
we are-$_{AGR}$ the best
'We are the best!'
b. * [$_{TP}$ Wiej [$_{T°}$ **binn-e**] den besten!]
we are-$_{AGR}$ the best

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(42) a. * [$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ Bin-t] [$_{TP}$ wiej den besten?]]
are-$_{AGR}$ we the best
b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ **Binn-e**] [$_{TP}$ wiej den besten?]]
are-$_{AGR}$ we the best
'Are we the best?'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

[17] The final consonant of the inflected complementizer surfaces as an [r], rather than as a [t] like the final consonant of the non-inflected complementizer in this dialect. Nijen Twilhaar (1990, p.c.) and Goeman (1999) argue that this [r] is a surface form of the underlying /t/, which is also found with the non-inflected complementizer. The inflection on the complementizer creates an environment where the final consonant of the complementizer, a /t/, finds itself in an intervocalic position. This turns the underlying /t/ into a /d/ in this dialect. Subsequently, this /d/ is weakened and turns into the surface [r]. This process not only takes place with inflected complementizers, but also, for instance, with inflected verbs .

(43) … [$_{CP}$[$_{C°}$ darr-e] [$_{TP}$ wiej den besten bint!]]
that-$_{AGR}$ we the best are
'… that we are the best!'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

These examples seem to suggest that the schwa-ending is associated with the C°-position and the *t*-ending with the T°-position. I show in this section that the schwa-ending does not signal a certain structural position of the complementizer or the finite verb.[18] Rather, I argue that the appearance of the schwa-affix is dependent on the position of the subject. More specifically, I demonstrate that the schwa-ending is a reflex of the agreement relation between Probe C° and SpeechPart, rather than between Probe C° and PhiP. The affix on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses cannot reflect the features of SpeechPart. This Goal (together with the rest of the internal structure of the pronominal projection) is not available to Probe T°, because the pronominal projection has moved out of the c-command domain of this Probe. I make this analysis explicit in subsection 3.2.3.

3.2.2 The agreement paradigm of Hellendoorn Dutch

In the preceding subsection, I have introduced the agreement pattern of Hellendoorn Dutch. I have shown that when the subject is first person plural the agreement on the finite verb in VSO-clauses and on the complementizer differs from that on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. In this subsection, I show which feature specifications result in a schwa-affix on the Probe and which ones in a *t*-affix. I argue that the schwa-affix in this dialect has the feature specification [1P.SG], whereas the *t*-affix is the elsewhere-affix. First consider the agreement paradigm in Hellendoorn Dutch represented in table (44).[19]

(44)

features subject	**complementizer**	**verb VSO-order**	**verb SVO/ CSOV-order**
1P.SG	Ø	Ø	-e
2P.SG	Ø	Ø	-t
3P.SG	Ø	-t	-t
1P.PL	-e	-e	-t
2P.PL	Ø	-t	-t
3P.PL	Ø	-t	-t

This table represents three agreement paradigms in Hellendoorn Dutch. The first one, in the second column of this table, provides the paradigm of CA. This paradigm

[18] Zwart's (1993) analysis of DA proceeds along these lines. I come back to this analysis in detail in chapter 4, section 3.

[19] The alternation between the zero and the *t*-affix in the second person singular on the verbal paradigm is attested in more dialects of Dutch, among which Standard Dutch. This means that this alternation is not specific for Hellendoorn Dutch. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002-2003) show that this alternation is not comparable to the DA-pattern displayed in the first person plural.

has only one overt affix, namely the schwa-ending in the first person plural. The third column shows the agreement paradigm of finite present tense verbs in the VSO-word order. In the fourth column the agreement paradigm of finite verbs in the present tense in the SVO- and CSOV-order is provided. Recall from section 2 of the previous chapter that I have argued on the basis of the generalizations put forth by Hoekstra & Smits (1999) that the complementizer can only show CA when the agreement affix does not provide information for tense. This also holds for Hellendoorn Dutch. Consider the paradigm in (45) of the finite verb *gaan* 'to go' in the present and past tense in inversion contexts in this dialect.

(45)

	CA	**present tense**	**past tense**
1P.SG	dat	goa	gong
2P.SG	dat	goa	gong
3P.SG	dat	gie-t	gong
1P.PL	darr-e	goar-e	gong-e
2P.PL	dat	goa-t	gong-en
3P.PL	dat	goa-t	gong-en

As this paradigm shows, only in the first person plural is the agreement morphology on the finite verb identical in the present and the past tense. This means that only the schwa-affix signals pure phi-agreement and is not a fused morpheme for tense and agreement.[20]

The agreement paradigm of Hellendoorn Dutch has three overt agreement affixes: a schwa-affix, a *t*-affix and an *en*-affix.[21] The *t*-affix appears to be the elsewhere-affix, as it is used in an unrelated set of person/number combinations: second person singular, third person singular and all plural persons in the non-inverted verbal present tense paradigm. The *en*-affix appears only in the past tense with the second and third person plural. The schwa-affix occurs with first person singular subjects and with first person plural subjects. This means that there are three potential feature specifications for this affix: first person, first person singular or first person plural. As this affix appears in both the first person singular and the first person plural, it is natural to assume that the feature specification of this affix is first person (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b for such an analysis). However, there is a problem with this assumption. Consider the examples in (46).

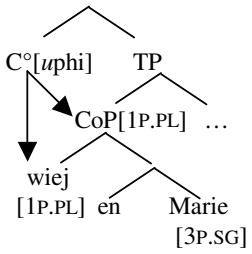
[20] The first and second person singular are arguably also candidates for CA, depending how the absence of an affix is interpreted in these cases. When there is a zero-affix present, then there is arguably also a zero-affix on the complementizer. Below, I argue that this is the case in the first person singular.

[21] I argue in section 4 of this chapter that there is also a zero-affix present in this dialect. More specifically, I show that in the first person singular, the zero-affix is an allomorph of the schwa-affix.

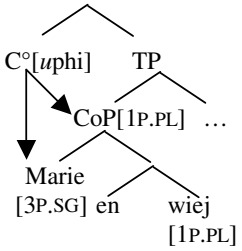
(46) a. … darr-e wiej en Marie oonszelf in de spiegel ziet.
… that-$_{AGR}$ [we and Marie]$_{1P.PL}$ ourselves in the mirror see
'…that we and Marie see ourselves in the mirror.'
b. …*darr-e / dat Marie en wiej oonszelf in de spiegel ziet.
… that-$_{AGR}$/that [Marie and we]$_{1P.PL}$ ourselves in the mirror see
'…that we and Marie see ourselves in the mirror.'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

In this example, the first person plural pronoun is coordinated with a third person singular proper name. In the a-example, the first person plural pronoun constitutes the first conjunct of the subject, whereas in the b-example it is the second conjunct of the coordinated subject. The feature specification of the coordination as a whole is first person plural, as is shown by the first person plural reflexive in both (46a) and (46b). Consider the tree structures in (47) and (48) representing the relevant stages of the derivation of examples (46a) and (46b) respectively.

(47)



(48)



In both (47) and (48), C° is a Probe for phi-features that encounters two equally local Goals: CoP and the first conjunct in Spec,CoP (cf. *supra* section 3 of chapter 2). One of these two agreement relations has to be spelled out as agreement on the complementizer. The difference between the structure in (47) and (48) is that in the former both CoP and the Goal in Spec,CoP carry the feature specification [1P.PL], whereas in the latter only CoP carries [1P.PL]. Interestingly, only in the former derivation, i.e. in the one depicted in (47) does the complementizer end up showing a schwa-affix. In the latter case, the complementizer is not inflected.[22] If the feature specification of this schwa-affix is first person, it is expected to occur in both the a- and the b-example, as in both cases the Probe agrees with minimally one Goal with the feature specification first person plural.

The same reasoning holds if it is assumed that the feature specification of the schwa-affix is first person plural. Again, for the configuration in both (47) and (48)

[22] A possible explanation for the absence of the schwa-affix in example (46b) that is not discussed in the main text is that the relation that is spelled out in this case is the one between C° and the proper name Spec,CoP, resulting in a complementizer that does not carry overt inflectional morphology. In view of the argumentation provided in the previous chapter this is highly unlikely. It is expected on the basis of the behaviour of the dialects discussed in chapter 2 with respect to agreement between a Probe and a coordinated subject that the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out as an affix on the complementizer. The schwa-affix is more specific agreement morphology than the absence of agreement morphology. Therefore, the schwa-affix is expected to occur in this example.

it holds that the feature specification of minimally one of the Goals is first person plural. The schwa-affix, which is arguably the most specific affix available, would therefore be expected to appear in both examples under consideration. These examples show that the assumption that the feature specification of the schwa-affix is first person and the assumption that it is first person plural lead to predictions that are not corroborated by the data, as in both cases the example in (46b) would be expected to show this affix, *quod non*. We are left with only one logical possibility and that is that the feature specification of the schwa-affix is first person singular. Although this seems to be an even more problematic assumption than assuming that it has the feature specification [1P] or [1P.PL], I show that by making this assumption the full range of data from Hellendoorn Dutch can be accounted for. I argue that the schwa-affix in (46a) reflects the agreement relation between C° and the speech participant features of the first person plural pronoun. As I discuss in section 4 of this chapter, the schwa-affix cannot occur on the complementizer in example (46b), because in this case SpeechPart is not local enough to Probe C°. In the following subsection, I provide an analysis of the DA pattern in Hellendoorn Dutch based on this assumption.

A question that remains to be answered at this point is why the schwa-affix does not appear on the complementizer and the finite verb in inversion with first person singular subjects. As the table in (44) shows, the schwa-affix only occurs on the finite verb in the SVO-order in the first person singular. The complementizer and the finite verb in inversion do not carry overt inflectional morphology. This is unexpected as the first person singular pronoun also has a first person singular SpeechPart and hence is expected to induce the presence of a schwa-affix on the finite verb and the complementizer. I argue in section 4 of this chapter – when I discuss the agreement morphology on inverted main verbs – that the schwa-affix has a zero-allomorph that is used when the first person singular subject follows the complementizer or the finite verb. The idea that the schwa-affix has a zero-allomorph is not unreasonable given the fact that the schwa-affix is followed by the first person singular pronoun *ik* which starts out with a vowel. The process in which a schwa is reduced to zero under the influence of an adjacent vowel is frequently attested (cf. Van Oostendorp 1998 and references cited there). Even more so, in several other dialects spoken in the same region as Hellendoorn Dutch, the schwa-affix not only disappears on the finite verb in the VSO-order, but also in the SVO-order. Although this schwa-affix is absent in this case, its underlying presence can still be deduced from the phonological effects it has on its environment (cf. among others Goeman 1999, Van Oostendorp 2003, Schoemans & Van Oostendorp 2004).[23] This shows that there is a more general tendency to delete the schwa-affix with first person singular contexts in these dialects.

[23] It is expected that the schwa alternating with the zero-affix in the first person singular appears when it is not followed by the vowel of the first person singular pronoun *ik*, but rather by a consonant, for instance the initial consonant of a modifier or adjunct preceding the first person singular pronoun. This is not the case, however. In this context, the schwa-affix can also not appear on the complementizer. This might be related to the fact mentioned in the main text that in dialects related to Hellendoorn Dutch the schwa-affix in the SVO-word order also is replaced by a zero-affix. Loss of the schwa-affix seems to be a more general process in these dialects.

To summarise, in this dialect the *t*-affix acts as an elsewhere-affix: it is inserted in all cases in which the schwa-affix and the *en*-affix cannot appear. The schwa-affix (together with its zero-alternate) is the only specific affix expressing pure phi-agreement in this dialect. I assume this affix to carry the phi-feature specification first person singular, the features representing the speech participant role of speaker. These rules for affix insertion can be represented as in (49).

(49) [1P.SG] → -e / -ø
[PL, past tense] → -en
[elsewhere] → -t

3.2.3 Double Agreement in Hellendoorn Dutch: analysis

In this section, I provide an analysis for the data in (38) and (40), repeated here as (50) and (51) respectively. I do not go into the analysis of the examples in (39) at this point. I come back to these examples in section 5, where I discuss agreement in VSO-clauses.

(50) a. Wiej bin-t den besten!
we are-$_{ELSEWH.}$ the best
'We are the best!'
b. * Wiej **binn-e** den besten!
we are-$_{1P.SG}$ the best
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(51) Ik dèènke darr-e wiej den besten bin-t!
I think that-$_{1P.SG}$ we the best are-$_{ELSEWH.}$
'I think that we are the best!'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

Both in example (50) and in example (51), the finite verb is inflected with the *t*-affix. This affix is the elsewhere-morpheme which is inserted when there is no specific affix available. The complementizer in example (51) carries a schwa-affix. According to the assumptions in the previous subsection, this affix reflects first person singular features, the features belonging to the speech participant role of speaker. Note that this is a rather peculiar situation: the complementizer agrees with a first person PLURAL subject, while the inflection on the complementizer reflects first person SINGULAR features. In this section, I first show how an affix with first person singular features ends up on a complementizer that agrees with a first person plural subject. Secondly, I make clear why this affix cannot appear on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. For this latter analysis, I make crucial use of the assumptions underlying the analysis provided in section 4 of chapter 2 for the absence of FCA on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses.

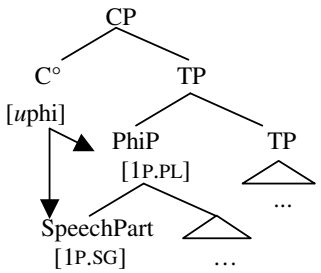
3.2.3.1 Complementizer Agreement in Hellendoorn Dutch

Reconsider the example in (51), repeated here as (52).

(52) Ik dèènke darr-e wiej den besten bin-t!
I think that-$_{1P.SG}$ we the best are-$_{ELSEWH.}$
'I think that we are the best!'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

The relevant part of the derivation of the example in (52) is provided in the tree structure in (53).

(53)



This structure represents the derivation from the point where C° is merged with TP. The subject, a first person plural pronoun, occupies the specifier position of TP. The pronoun is internally complex, as I have argued in section 2 of this chapter. The maximal projection of the pronoun contains the feature specification of the pronoun as a whole: first person plural. The specifier contains the feature specification associated with the speech participant role of speaker, namely first person singular. In Hellendoorn Dutch, C° has unvalued phi-features. This means that C° is a Probe. Searching its c-command domain it encounters two equally local Goals for phi-agreement: PhiP and SpeechPart. Both are equally local to C° as both are c-commanded by C° and only by C°. I assume that the Probe enters into an agreement relation with both Goals at the same time (cf. *supra* chapter 1, section 3 and chapter 2, section 3 for argumentation). At the level of Morphology, one of these two relations has to be spelled out.

The only available affix in the CA-paradigm is the schwa-affix. This affix has the feature specification first person singular. PhiP has the feature specification first person plural. However, the specifier of PhiP, SpeechPart, has the feature specification first person singular. This means that it is not the relation between C° and PhiP that leads to agreement morphology on the complementizer. Rather, it is the relation between C° and SpeechPart that results in the presence of a schwa-affix on the complementizer.

In section 3.4 and in section 4 of this chapter, I provide additional evidence for this analysis. I show that CA in Hellendoorn Dutch, which spells out the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart, behaves differently with respect to modification and subject extraction from CA in, for instance, Tegelen Dutch, which

reflects the agreement relation between C° and PhiP. Furthermore, in section 4, I show that the analysis presented in this section provides a straightforward account for the data provided in (46).

3.2.3.2 Verbal agreement in SVO- and CSOV-clauses in Hellendoorn Dutch

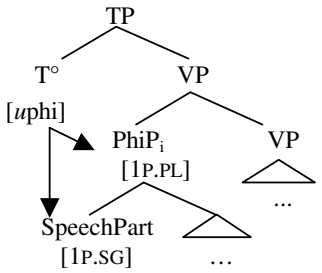
In the preceding subsection, I have argued that the agreement on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch is a reflex of the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart. In this subsection, I provide an analysis for the absence of this schwa-affix on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses in this dialect. The analysis I provide for this pattern is parallel to the analysis I have given in the previous chapter for the absence of FCA on the finite verb in, for instance, Bavarian or Tegelen Dutch in these two word orders (cf. chapter 2, section 4). I show that the predictions of the analysis provided there for these data, can be transferred to the analyses of the data discussed in this subsection. I come back to these predictions in section 3.4 of this chapter. First consider the ungrammatical example in (54).

(54) * Wiej binn-e den besten!
we$_{1P.PL}$ are-$_{1P.SG}$ the best

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

This example shows that the finite verb cannot be inflected with a schwa-affix in the SVO-order when it agrees with a first person plural subject pronoun. As was illustrated in examples (38) and (40), this schwa-ending does appear on the finite verb in VSO-clauses (for which I provide an analysis in section 4 of this chapter) and on the complementizer. In the previous subsections, I have argued that the schwa-ending reflects first person singular features. The question that arises concerning the example in (54) is why this affix is not available on the finite verb in the SVO- and CSOV-word order. Recall from section 4 of chapter 2 that the agreement morphology on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV- clauses spells out the agreement relations of Probe T°. Consider the tree-structure in (55).

(55)

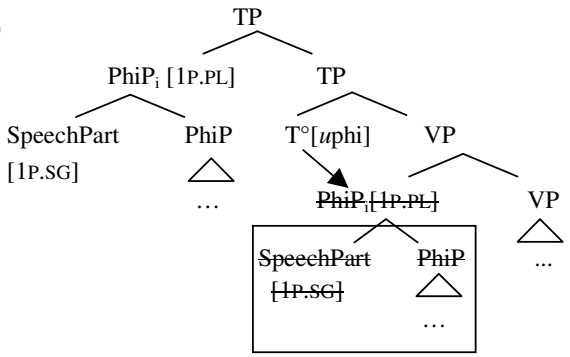


At the stage of the derivation represented in (55), T° is merged into the structure. T° has unvalued phi-features which makes it a Probe for phi-features. The c-command domain of T° contains a first person plural subject pronoun. If the derivation would end here, and the structure would be sent off to Spell-Out, then Agree, taking place

at Spell-Out would find the same Goals for Tº as it does for Cº: PhiP and SpeechPart. Both Goals are equally local to T°, which means that they appear to T° simultaneously (cf. section 2 of chapter 1 for discussion). In that case, the schwa-affix representing the agreement relation between T° and SpeechPart is also expected to appear on the finite verb. This expectation is not borne out by the data, as is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the example in (54). The question arises what constitutes the difference between Probe C° and Probe T°: why can the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart be spelled out as a schwa-affix on the complementizer, whereas the agreement relation between T° and SpeechPart cannot be spelled out on the finite verb?

In the previous chapter (cf. section 4 of chapter 2), I have shown that the relation between T° and the specifier of the coordinated subject, i.e. the first conjunct of the subject, cannot be spelled out. I have put forth the hypothesis that this was caused by the movement of the subject out of the c-command domain of Probe T°. The subject leaves behind a copy in the c-command domain of T° and, by assumption, the internal structure of this copy is inaccessible for agreement relations.[24] As a consequence, the agreement relation between T° and a Goal inside the internal structure of the copy cannot be established and hence it cannot be spelled out. The same analysis can be applied here in order to explain the ungrammaticality of the example in (54). Consider the derivation in (56) of the example in (54) after the subject has moved out of the c-command domain of T°.

(56)



The pronominal projection moves from its VP-internal subject position to the specifier position of TP. When the pronominal projection moves, it leaves behind a copy in the specifier of VP. By assumption, the internal structure of this copy is inaccessible for agreement relations (indicated by the box in the structure in (56)). Only the features of its maximal projection are visible at this level. Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF. As a consequence, the agreement relations of T° are established with the copy of the moved subject and not with the

[24] For other analyses of this pattern and arguments against these analyses, cf. section 4.2 of chapter 2.

moved subject itself. This means that the relation between T° and SpeechPart cannot be established as the internal structure of the copy is inaccessible. As a consequence, the only relation that is available, i.e. the relation between T° and PhiP, has to be spelled out as agreement morphology on the finite verb. This relation does not result in the specific schwa-affix on the finite verb, but in the elsewhere-affix *-t*, as is shown in example (57).

(57) Wiej bin-t den besten!
we$_{1P.PL}$ are-$_{ELSEWH.}$ the best
'We are the best!'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

To summarise, the difference between the agreement morphology dependent on T° and the one dependent on C° can be reduced to the fact that the subject moves out of the c-command domain of T°, but not out of that of C°. As Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF, the unvalued phi-features of T° are related to those of the copy of the moved subject, whereas those of C° are related to those of the subject itself. As a consequence, the features of SpeechPart are available to C° at the level of Morphology, but not to T°. The agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart is spelled out as agreement on the complementizer. As there is no relation between T° and SpeechPart, it cannot be spelled out on the finite verb. The schwa-affix can appear on the complementizer, but not on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses.

3.2.4 Summary

In this subsection, I have argued that agreement with first person plural pronouns in Hellendoorn Dutch constitutes a case study of a Probe agreeing with two Goals. Probe C° agrees both with PhiP and SpeechPart. I have shown that in this dialect the agreement on the complementizer reflects the features of the latter relation, as this relation results in more specific agreement morphology on the complementizer. Furthermore, I have shown that the schwa-affix cannot be spelled out on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. I have argued that the analysis for this is similar to the one for the absence of FCA on the finite verb in the SVO- and CSOV-word order discussed in section 4.2 and 4.3 of chapter 2. The subject moves out of the c-command domain of T°, but crucially not out of the c-command domain of C°. Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF. As a consequence, the agreement relations of T° are established with the copy of the moved subject and not with the moved subject itself. The internal structure of the copy left behind by movement is, by assumption, not available for agreement relations. As a result, the agreement on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses, cannot reflect the relation between T° and SpeechPart as there is no such relation.

3.3 Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch

3.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I show that in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian the agreement morphology on the Probe reflects the agreement relation with PhiP. In subsection 3.3.2, I discuss the configuration in with C° as Probe. Subsection 3.3.3 examines this configuration with T° being the Probe for agreement.

3.3.2 Complementizer Agreement

As I have already demonstrated in section 3 of chapter 2, both Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian are dialects with CA. Tegelen Dutch shows inflection on the complementizer with second person singular subjects and Bavarian with both second person singular and second person plural subjects. Consider the example in (58) from Tegelen Dutch and those in (59) from Bavarian (from Bayer 1984:233).

(58) Ich denk de-s doow Marie ontmoet-s.
I think that-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{2P.SG}$ Marie meet-$_{2P.SG}$
'I think that you will meet Marie.'

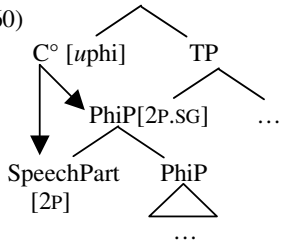
[Tegelen Dutch]

(59) a. … **daβ-st** **du** kumm-st.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you are coming.'
b. … **daβ-ts** **ihr** kumm-ts.
that-$_{2P.PL}$ you$_{PL}$ come-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that you are coming.'

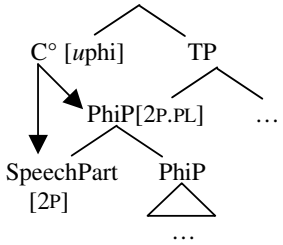
[Bavarian]

In light of the discussion of CA in Hellendoorn Dutch, the question arises how the examples in (58) and (59) should be analysed. In the previous subsection, I have argued that in Hellendoorn Dutch the agreement morphology on the complementizer does not reflect the agreement relation between C° and the pronominal projection as a whole, but rather the relation between C° and the speech participant features of the pronoun. The question arises which agreement relation the inflectional morphology on the complementizer in these two dialects reflects. First consider the structural representation of the relevant stages of the derivation in (60) of the examples in (58) and (59a) and the one in (61) of the example (59b).

(60)



(61)



Both in the derivation represented in (60) and in the one in (61), the c-command domain of C° contains a second person pronoun. The one in (60) is singular, the one in (61) plural. C° has both in Tegelen Dutch and in Bavarian unvalued phi-features, which means that in both varieties C° is a Probe. In both (60) and (61), C° encounters two equally local Goals: PhiP and SpeechPart. At the level of Morphology, one of these Goals has to determine the agreement morphology on the complementizer. In order to see which relation results in more specific agreement morphology, consider the CA-paradigm of Tegelen Dutch in (62).

(62)

feature specification subject	affix on the complementizer
1P.SG	-0
2P.SG	-s
3P.SG	-0
1P.PL	-0
2P.PL	-0
3P.PL	-0

As I have already illustrated in section 3.1 of the previous chapter, Tegelen Dutch only shows CA with second person singular subjects. This means that the affix insertion rules for CA in this dialect can be represented as in (63).

(63) [2P.SG] → -s

When the derivation in (60) reaches PF, and Morphology has to spell out one of the available agreement relations as an affix on the complementizer, the relation between C° and PhiP will be spelled out. The other agreement relation C° entertains, i.e. the one with SpeechPart, does not result in overt agreement morphology.[25] If it is the agreement relation with SpeechPart that is spelled out in this case, the *s*-affix is also expected to occur on the complementizer with second person plural features.

[25] The question arises if PhiP and SpeechPart are equally suitable Goals for the Probe in this case. As, by assumption, SpeechPart only contains person features and no number features. This means that the features of SpeechPart do not match all of the features of the Probe, which presumably has person and number features. It might be the case that in this configuration the principle of Maximize Match (cf. Chomsky 2000) decides that PhiP is the only available Goal, as it matches all the features of the Probe, whereas SpeechPart does not.

The feature specification of SpeechPart of this subject pronoun, on a par with that of the second person singular subject pronoun, is specified only for second person and not for number. When the *s*-affix is specified for [2P] rather than for [2P.SG], it is also expected to appear on the complementizer with second person plural subjects. In other words, in Tegelen Dutch there appears to be an affix with the feature specification second person singular, but there is no affix with the feature specification second person. To summarise, in Tegelen Dutch it is the relation between C° and PhiP that is spelled out as an agreement affix on the complementizer, rather than the relation between C° and SpeechPart.

The same reasoning applies to Bavarian. First consider the CA-paradigm in this dialect.

(64)

feature specification subject	affix on the complementizer
1P.SG	-0
2P.SG	-st
3P.SG	-0
1P.PL	-0
2P.PL	-ts
3P.PL	-0

As I have argued in section 3.2 of chapter 2, Bavarian has two specific affixes in the CA-paradigm. One corresponding to second person singular features, *-st*, and one to second person plural features, *-ts*. In section 3.2 of chapter 2, I have argued that the affix insertion rules for CA in this dialect should be represented as in (65).

(65) [2P.SG] → -st
[2P.PL] → -ts

At the level of Morphology, one of the two agreement relations C° entertains in (60) has to be spelled out on the complementizer. As the relation between C° and SpeechPart, which has second person features, does not lead to an overt agreement affix in Bavarian, the relation between C° and PhiP with second person singular features will be spelled out. The complementizer is inflected with the specific *st*-affix. The same holds for the derivation represented in (61). At the level of Morphology, either the relation between C° and PhiP, or the one between C° and SpeechPart has to be spelled out. The former relation results in the specific *ts*-affix, whereas the latter relation does not result in an overt agreement ending on the complementizer. In Bavarian, just as in Tegelen Dutch, the agreement morphology on the complementizer reflects the agreement relation between C° and PhiP.

3.3.3 Agreement on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses

As I have shown in the previous section, the agreement morphology on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses necessarily reflects the agreement relation between T° and PhiP. This means that in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian both the agreement on the complementizer and the agreement on the finite verb reflect an agreement relation with PhiP. In Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian it is therefore not expected that the agreement morphology on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses differs from that on the complementizer. This expectation is met.

(66) **Doow kum-s** merge.
you$_{SG}$ come-$_{2P.SG}$ tomorrow
'You will come tomorrow.'

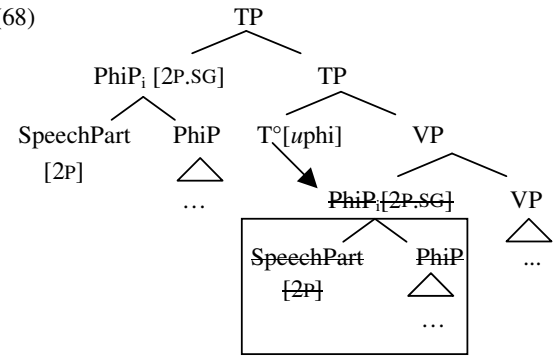
[Tegelen Dutch]

(67) a. **Du ha-st** an hauptpreis gwunna.
you$_{SG}$ have-$_{2P.SG}$ the first.prize won
b. **Ihr hab-ds** an hauptpreis gwunna.
you$_{PL}$ have-$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won
'You have won the first prize.'

[Bavarian]

The derivation of the examples in (66) and (67a) is provided in the structure in (68). As the derivation of the example in (67b) is parallel to the derivation of the examples in (66) and (67a), apart from the fact that the pronoun is plural instead of singular, I will not explicate it here.

(68)



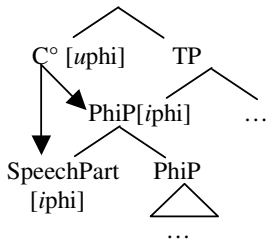
The derivation represented in this structure proceeds as follows. T° is merged with VP. The subject, PhiP, is merged in the specifier position of VP. The subject pronoun does not stay in Spec,VP however, but moves out of the c-command domain of T°, leaving behind a copy. Agree takes place when this derivation is

transferred to PF. By assumption, the internal structure of this copy is inaccessible for agreement relations. This is indicated by the box encapsulating the internal structure of the copy in the structure in (68). Agree can only establish a relation between T° and PhiP. This means that at the level of Morphology only this agreement relation can be spelled out as agreement morphology on the finite verb. In Bavarian, this relation is realised by an *st*-affix on the finite verb, whereas Tegelen Dutch expresses this agreement relation with an *s*-affix on the finite verb. The agreement morphology on the finite verb is identical to the agreement morphology on the complementizer, as both affixes reflect an agreement relation with PhiP.

3.4 Two types of Complementizer Agreement: predictions of the analysis

If the analyses of CA in Hellendoorn Dutch on the one hand and in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian on the other provided in the preceding subsection are correct, then there are two types of CA with pronominal subjects. Consider the configuration in (69).

(69)



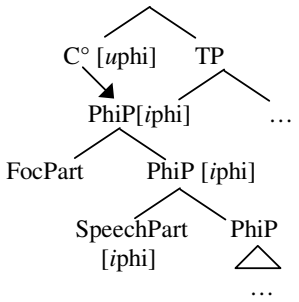
The first type of CA reflects the features of a Goal internal to the pronominal projection, namely SpeechPart. In the second type, CA spells out the features of the relation between C° and PhiP. In the previous subsection, I have argued that the former type of CA is attested in Hellendoorn Dutch and the latter in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian. In this subsection, I demonstrate that this difference between the analysis of CA in Hellendoorn Dutch and the analysis of CA in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian is supported by previously undiscussed data concerning modification of the subject by a focus particle and movement of the subject.

3.4.1 Modification of the subject

CA in Hellendoorn Dutch reflects the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart. This analysis makes the prediction that when the specifier containing the speech participant features is less local to C° than PhiP, C° can no longer enter into an agreement relation with SpeechPart. In this case, C° only agrees with PhiP. As this relation does not result in overt agreement morphology, the complementizer

is not expected to show agreement. In other words, when SpeechPart is not equally local to C° as PhiP, the complementizer is supposed to remain uninflected. When SpeechPart is less local to C° than PhiP in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian, on the other hand, this does not have any influence on the presence of CA. In these varieties, CA spells out the relation between C° and PhiP. As a consequence, the locality of SpeechPart with respect to C° is not expected to have an influence on CA. In this subsection, I demonstrate that when the pronominal projection is modified by a focus particle (like *zelfs* 'even' or *ook* 'also'), the situation arises in which SpeechPart is no longer equally local to C° as PhiP. I show that when a subject pronoun is modified in Bavarian or in Tegelen Dutch, this does not have an effect on the presence of CA, whereas if it is modified in Hellendoorn Dutch, it does have such an effect. Consider the structure in (70).

(70)



In this structure, there is a focus particle modifying the pronoun. This focus particle is adjoined to the pronominal projection.[26] In (70), C° is merged with the structure containing the modified pronominal projection. C° has unvalued phi-features and hence is a Probe. It searches its c-command domain for a matching Goal, but as the pronominal projection contains an adjunct, it does not encounter two equally local Goals as, for instance, in (69), but only one Goal, namely PhiP. SpeechPart is no longer equally local to C° as PhiP, as it is not only c-commanded by C°, but also by the focus particle which is adjoined to the pronominal projection. Reconsider the relevant definitions concerning locality and c-command in (71), (72) and (73).

(71) **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

[26] For argumentation in favour of the claim that focus particles are adjuncts, rather than projecting their own category, cf. Barbiers 1995:71. Furthermore, I refer the reader to Barbiers 2003 for argumentation in support of the idea that focus particles are adjuncts attached to the projection they are modifying, rather than clausal adverbs as argued by among others Büring & Hartmann 2001.

(72) **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

(73) **c-command**
X c-commands Y, iff
(i) X excludes Y[27]
(ii) the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y

The focus particle c-commands SpeechPart, as
(i) the focus particle excludes SpeechPart
(ii) the first node that dominates the focus particle, PhiP, also dominates SpeechPart.

The maximal projection of the pronominal projection is c-commanded by C° and by C° alone. SpeechPart on the other hand is c-commanded by both C° and the focus particle. This means that the set of nodes c-commanding PhiP is a proper subset of the set of nodes c-commanding SpeechPart. As a consequence, PhiP is more local to C° than SpeechPart. This means that when C° searches its c-command domain for a Goal with matching features, it encounters the maximal projection of the pronoun, and only this maximal projection, as SpeechPart is not local enough to C°.

CA in Hellendoorn Dutch reflects the features of the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart. Given the reasoning provided above, CA is predicted to be impossible in this situation. This prediction is borne out by the data in (74).

(74) a. … dat zölfs wiej de westrijd wint.
that even we the game win
'…that we even win the game.'
b. * … **darr-e** zölfs **wiej** de wedstrijd wint.
that-$_{1P.SG}$ even we the game win

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

These examples show that when the first person plural subject in Hellendoorn Dutch is modified by a focus particle, the complementizer has to appear in its bare, uninflected form, as predicted.

In Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian, the agreement morphology on the complementizer reflects the agreement relation between C° and PhiP, rather than the one between C° and SpeechPart. This means that when SpeechPart is no longer equally local to C° as PhiP, this is not expected to have an influence on the presence of CA. This expectation is borne out by the data in (75) and (76).

[27] X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.

(75) … **de-s** / *?det auch **doow** merge kum-s.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that also you$_{SG}$ tomorrow come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you too will come tormorrow.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

(76) a. … **das-st** / *daβ auch **du** an Hauptpreis gwunna ho-sd.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that also you$_{SG}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you too have won the first prize.'
b. … **das-ds** / *daβ auch **ihr** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.PL}$ / that also you$_{PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that you too have won the first prize.'
[Bavarian]

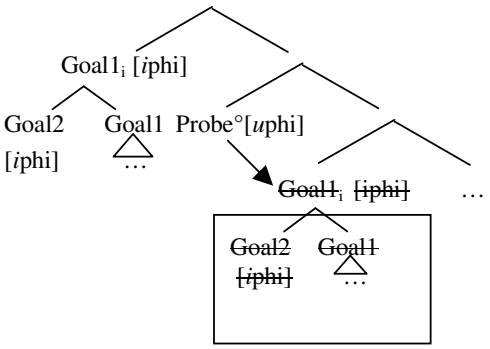
These data show that in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian the presence of CA is not blocked by modification of the subject pronoun.

To summarise, the analyses of CA in Hellendoorn Dutch on the one hand and in Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch on the other differ in one crucial aspect. In Hellendoorn Dutch the agreement on the complementizer reflects the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart, whereas CA in Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch spells out the relation between C° and PhiP. These two analyses make different predictions concerning the configuration in which the subject pronoun the complementizer agrees with is modified by a focus particle. In both types of CA-dialects, the effect of the focus particle on the configuration is that SpeechPart is no longer equally local to Probe C° as PhiP. For the former type of CA-dialect, the one in which CA reflects the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart, this results in the absence of CA. In the second type of CA-dialect, adding a focus particle does not have an influence on the presence of CA, as the agreement morphology on the complementizer spells out the relation between C° and PhiP, rather than the one between C° and SpeechPart.

3.4.2 Subject extraction

I have shown several times already that movement of the subject past the Probe has an effect on the agreement morphology of this Probe: it can no longer spell the phi-feature specification of Goals internal to the subject (cf. chapter 2, section 4 and this chapter, section 3.2). The crucial configuration is depicted in (77).

(77)

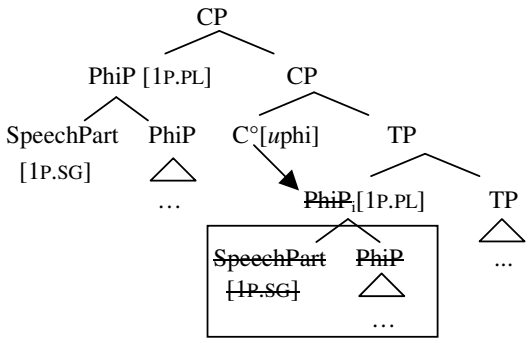


Agree takes place when the derivation is sent off to PF. As a consequence, the agreement relations of the Probe are not established with the subject itself, but rather with the copy it leaves behind. By assumption, the internal structure of the copy of the moved item is inaccessible for agreement relations. This means that Agree can relate the Probe to Goal 1, but not to Goal 2 in (77).

First consider the Hellendoorn Dutch example in (78) (from Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2001) and its derivation in (79).

(78) WIEJ denkt Jan dat /*darre die pries ewönnen hebt, nie ZIEJ
we think Jan that/that-$_{1P.SG}$ that prize won have not they
'WE John thinks won that prize, not THEY.

(79)



In (79), the subject pronoun has moved out of the c-command domain of C°, leaving behind a copy in the specifier of TP. Agree takes place when the derivation in (79) is transferred to PF. SpeechPart is not an available Goal, as the internal structure of the copy is inaccessible for agreement relations. This means that the only relation that can be spelled out is the one between C° and PhiP. This relation does not lead to agreement morphology on the complementizer in this dialect.

In Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian, extraction of the subject has no effect on the presence of CA. This is expected as these varieties show agreement with PhiP rather

than with a PhiP-internal Goal. Consider the examples in (80) and (81) (for similar data from Frisian, cf. De Haan 1997, and for similar data from Bavarian cf. Bayer 1984).

(80) DOOW denk ik de-s / *det de wedstrijd winnen zal-s.
you$_{SG}$ think I that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that the game win will-$_{2P.SG}$
'YOU, I think will win the game.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

(81) a. **DU** glaub'e **daβ-st** an Hauptpreis gwunna ho-sd.
you$_{SG}$ believe.I that-$_{2P.SG}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.SG}$
b. **ÖS** glaub'e **daβ-ds** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
you$_{PL}$ believe.I that-$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'YOU, I think have won the first prize.'

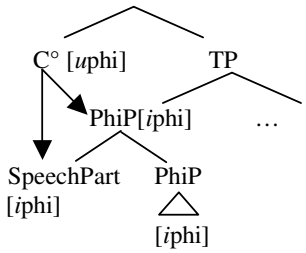
[Bavarian]

In both these dialects, the complementizer is inflected when the subject pronoun is extracted, as expected.

3.5 Summary

In this section, I have provided a second case study of a Probe encountering two Goals for agreement instead of one, namely agreement between C° and an internally complex pronoun. I have shown that Probe C° enters into an agreement relation with both PhiP, the maximal projection of the pronoun, and SpeechPart. This configuration is represented in (82).

(82)



The agreement morphology on the complementizer either reflects the agreement relation between C° and PhiP, as in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian, or the relation between C° and SpeechPart, as in Hellendoorn Dutch. One major advantage of the analysis I have proposed for CA with pronominal subjects in these dialects is that the syntactic analysis is exactly the same for all the dialects under consideration here. A Probe encounters two Goals at the same time and enters into an agreement relation with both of them. The question of whether a Probe ends up showing agreement with PhiP or with SpeechPart is entirely dependent on which one of these

two agreement relations results in more specific agreement morphology on the complementizer. The differences between these two types of dialects with respect to agreement between a complementizer and a pronominal subject are thus reduced to differences in the Vocabulary Item-lexicon. This result is in line with the assumptions about the locus of micro-variation advocated in the Minimalist Program: micro-variation should be reduced to variation in the lexicon (cf. Chomsky 1995:169-170).

One important result following from the analysis of CA with pronominal subjects is that agreement morphology on the complementizer does not reflect an agreement relation between C° and the pronoun as a whole in all cases. There are also dialects in which the agreement morphology on the complementizer reflects the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart.[28] That there are two types of CA is supported by the (previously undiscussed) different behaviour these two types of CA-dialects display with respect to modification of the pronominal subject and extraction of the pronominal subject. I have shown that when the subject pronoun is modified by a focus particle, SpeechPart is no longer equally local to Probe C° as PhiP. This means that when C° searches its c-command domain in this case, it only encounters PhiP as a matching Goal. In Hellendoorn Dutch, agreement on the complementizer reflects the relation between C° and SpeechPart. When the subject pronoun is modified by a focus particle, this agreement relation is not available. The complementizer has to appear in its uninflected form. In Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch on the other hand, CA spells out the relation between C° and PhiP. As a consequence, the fact that SpeechPart is no longer accessible to C° has no influence on the presence of agreement on the complementizer.

Furthermore, when the subject pronoun is extracted and moves out of the c-command domain of C°, C° agrees with the copy of the moved subject. By assumption, the internal structure of this copy is not accessible. As a consequence, one of the effects of movement of the subject pronoun out of the c-command domain of C° is that the relation between C° and SpeechPart cannot be established and hence, that it cannot be spelled out. In Hellendoorn Dutch, CA spells out the relation between C° and SpeechPart. As a consequence, CA cannot occur in this case. In Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian on the other hand, CA spells out the relation between C° and PhiP. Movement of the subject out of the c-command domain of C° does not affect this relation and hence CA is possible with subject extraction in these latter two dialects.

In this section, it has become clear that there is a – previously undiscussed – cluster of properties concerning Double Agreement (DA) and CA. Hellendoorn Dutch is a language with CA and DA. Furthermore, in Hellendoorn Dutch CA disappears under the influence of both subject extraction and subject modification.

[28] Theoretically, it is possible that there is a dialect in which the agreement morphology on the complementizer in one person/number-combination reflects an agreement relation with PhiP, and in another person/number-combination with SpeechPart. This means that one and the same dialect can have both types of CA with their own characteristics. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find such a dialect yet.

Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch on the other hand do have CA but they do not exhibit a DA-pattern. In these varieties, the presence of CA is not influenced by either subject modification or subject extraction.

4. One Probe – Three Goals: FCA in Hellendoorn Dutch

In the previous section, I have discussed the agreement pattern of Hellendoorn Dutch. On the basis of example (46) (repeated below as (83)), I have argued that the feature specification of the schwa-affix can neither be first person nor first person plural, as in both cases the schwa-affix is expected to occur on the complementizer in (83b).

(83) a. … darr-e wiej en Marie oonszelf in de spiegel ziet.
… that-$_{AGR}$ [we and Marie]$_{1P.PL}$ ourselves in the mirror see
'…that we and Marie see ourselves in the mirror.'
b. …*darr-e / dat Marie en wiej oonszelf in de spiegel ziet.
… that-$_{AGR}$ /that [Marie and we]$_{1P.PL}$ ourselves in the mirror see
'…that Marie and us see ourselves in the mirror.'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

In this section, I show how the analysis of CA in Hellendoorn Dutch accounts for these examples. I demonstrate that the example in (83a) provides a case study of a Probe that encounters three rather than one or two Goals for agreement. This section is organised as follows. In the first subsection, I discuss how the configuration in which there are three Goals for one Probe comes about. The second subsection discusses the analysis of the examples in (83).

4.1 One Probe, three Goals

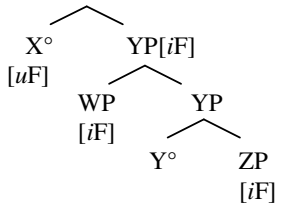
I have argued that a Probe can enter into an agreement relation with two Goals, when both these Goals are equally local to the Probe. I have defined locality in terms of c-command. Recall the definition of equal locality and of c-command provided in section 3 of chapter 1 and repeated here as (84) and (85) respectively.

(84) **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

(85) **c-command**
X c-commands Y, iff
(i) X excludes Y[29]
(ii) the first node that dominates X, also dominates Y

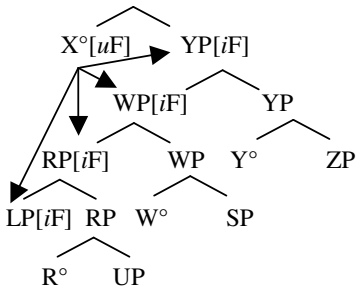
Consider the tree structure in (86).

(86)



In the configuration in (86), X° is a Probe with unvalued phi-features. It searches its c-command domain in order to find a Goal with matching features. Both YP and WP carry valued counterparts of X°s unvalued features. WP in the specifier position of Y° is equally local to X° as YP, as both are only c-commanded by X°. If WP contains a specifier with the interpretable counterparts of X°'s features, than this specifier is equally local to X° as WP and YP, as all these categories are only c-commanded by X°. If this category in turn contains a category with [*i*F] in its specifier, this element is also equally local to X° as YP, WP and the category in the specifier of WP, and so on and so forth. This latter configuration is depicted in (87), with each arrow indicating an equally local potential Goal for Probe X°.

(87)



This means that a Probe can agree with the Goal situated in the specifier of the specifier of the specifier of the complement of the Probe (cf. also section 3.5.3 of chapter 2). According to the definition of c-command adopted here, all these Goals are equally local with respect to Probe X°.

[29] X excludes Y if no segment of X dominates Y.

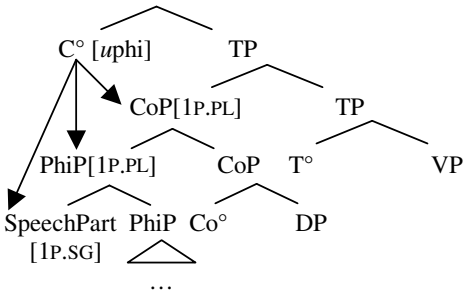
4.2 FCA in Hellendoorn Dutch

Reconsider the example in (83a) from Hellendoorn Dutch repeated here as (88) and its derivation in (89).

(88) … darr-e wiej en Marie oonszelf in de spiegel ziet.
that-$_{AGR}$ [we and Marie]$_{1P.PL}$ ourselves in the mirror see
'…that we and Marie see ourselves in the mirror.'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(89)



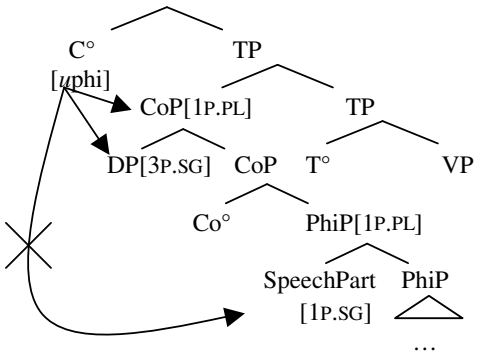
Probe C° is merged with TP. The subject occupies the specifier of TP. In this example, the subject is a coordination of a first person plural pronoun and a third person singular proper name. The feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole is first person plural. This is illustrated by the feature specification of the reflexive, which is also first person plural. The first conjunct of the coordinated subject also has the feature specification [1P.PL]. This first person plural pronoun is internally complex (cf. *supra* section 3 of this chapter). It contains a specifier hosting the speech participant features which are first person singular. Probe C° encounters three equally local Goals: CoP, PhiP and SpeechPart. At the level of Morphology, the agreement relation with one of these Goals has to be spelled out as an affix on the complementizer. As I have argued in subsection 3.2.2, there is only one affix available to appear on the complementizer, namely the schwa-affix. This affix has the feature specification [1P.SG]. This means that neither the agreement relation between C° and CoP nor the one between C° and PhiP leads to an agreement affix on the complementizer, whereas the agreement relation between C° and SpeechPart does lead to overt agreement morphology on the complementizer. The schwa-ending on the complementizer in the example in (88) represents the agreement relation between C° and the Goal that is most deeply embedded. At this point it is also clear why the example in (83b) with an inflected complementizer, repeated here as (90), is ungrammatical.

(90) …*darr-e / dat Marie en wiej oonszelf in de spiegel ziet.
that-$_{AGR}$/that [Marie and we]$_{1P.PL}$ ourselves in the mirror see
'…that we and Marie see ourselves in the mirror'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

Consider the derivation in (91) of the example in (90).

(91)



In this tree structure, C° is merged with TP. The coordinated subject occupies the specifier position of TP. The first conjunct of the coordinated subject does not contain the internally complex plural pronoun, but the DP that is spelled out as the proper name *Marie* at the level of Morphology. The internally complex pronoun is the second conjunct of the coordinated subject and as such constitutes the complement of Co°.

The schwa-affix on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch spells out the relation between C° and a Goal with first person singular features. In (91) there is only one potential Goal with first person singular features: the set of SpeechPart features occupying the specifier of PhiP. This Goal is not local enough to C° to enter into a relation with this Probe (as is indicated by the cross through the arrow connecting C° and SpeechPart) as there are two more local Goals to C°: CoP with first person plural features and the first conjunct of the subject with third person singular features. C° enters into a relation with these two Goals. As neither of these two relations results in overt agreement morphology on the complementizer, it appears in its uninflected form.

5. Two Probes – Three Goals: verbal agreement in the VSO-word order

Up until now, I have discussed agreement on the complementizer and on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. Agreement morphology on the complementizer is dependent upon the agreement relations C° entertains. The agreement morphology on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses is dependent upon the agreement relations of T°. In VSO-clauses the situation is somewhat more complex. The agreement morphology on the finite verb in this clause type is not just dependent up on the phi-feature specification of T°, but also upon that of C°.[30] The three basic word orders of Dutch and its dialects are exemplified by the sentences in (92).

(92) a. Ik zie dat de kat melk drinkt. **CSOV**
I see that the cat milk drinks
'I see the cat drinking milk.'

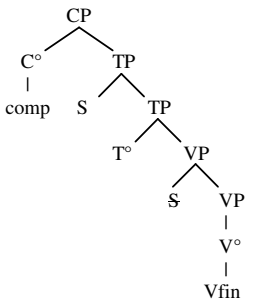
b. De kat drinkt melk. **SVO**
the cat drinks milk
'The cat is drinking milk.'

c. Waarom drinkt de kat melk? **(XP)VSO**
why drinks the cat milk
'Why does the cat drink milk?'

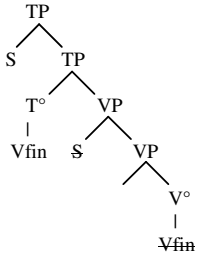
[standard Dutch]

Recall the configurations belonging to the three basic clause types of Dutch and its dialects provided at the beginning of section 4 of chapter 2 and repeated here as (93), (94) and (95).

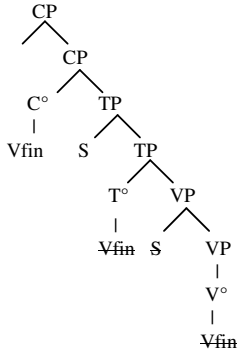
(93) subclauses CSOV



(94) subject-intial main clauses SVO



(95) inverted main clauses (XP)VSO



[30] Note that this only holds for varieties with CA. Other varieties do not have phi-features on C° (but cf. among others Zwart 1993 for a different view). This means that verb movement from T° to C° has no effect on the agreement morphology of the finite verb in varieties without CA.

In the configuration in (94), representing the SVO-word order, CP is not projected. This means that the features of C° cannot interfere with the agreement on the finite verb. In the CSOV-word order, represented by the structure in (93), CP is projected. However, the features of C° do not interfere with the agreement on the finite verb, as they get spelled out on the complementizer. In the VSO-word order, represented in the structure in (95), CP is projected. The finite verb ends up in the Cº-position. Both the phi-features of Tº and Cº have to be spelled out on the finite verb in this case, as the features of Cº cannot be spelled out on another head. When there is only one Goal available, T° and C° both agree with this one Goal. As a consequence, the agreement morphology on the finite verb spells out one feature bundle that reflects both the agreement relation between T° and the subject and the one between C° and the subject.

One of the questions that arises at this point is when verb movement takes place. There are two possible views: verb movement takes place in narrow syntax or it takes place at PF. If verb movement takes place in the narrow syntactic derivation (cf. among others Zwart 2001), the verb moves from V° to C°, pied piping T°. This means that in the head position of CP, there is a complex head, containing V°, T° and C°.[31] Another possibility is that head movement takes place at PF (cf. among others Chomsky 2000, Zwart 2003, Harley 2004). If head movement takes place at PF and Agree at the Spell-Out Point to PF, Agree takes place before verb movement. In other words, first T° and C° agree with their Goals and then movement of the finite verb takes place, piling up all heads in C° and replacing all of them together with one Vocabulary Item. I adopt the latter approach to verb movement here, mainly for expository reasons.

In this section, I discuss the configuration in which the agreement relation between C° and the subject does not necessarily lead to the same agreement morphology as the one between T° and the subject. This situation arises when the subject contains two Goals, rather than just one. In section 5.1, I make this configuration more explicit and I discuss which combinations are expected to occur in the dialects discussed in this thesis. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 discuss cases of the configuration mentioned above, in which the subject contains two Goals instead of one.

[31] At this point, the question arises if the higher instance of Tº, the one encapsulated in the complex Cº-head is also able to probe out of this complex head. If this is the case, then it might be so that this head Tº agrees with the subject in a structurally lower position, potentially resulting in agreement with a Goal internal to the subject in dialects without phi-features on the complementizer. This is arguably not the case as the c-command domain of the Tº-head in the complex head Cº does not involve anything outside that complex head. As a consequence, the features of Tº cannot be valued in that position which means that they have to be valued in the lower Tº-position.

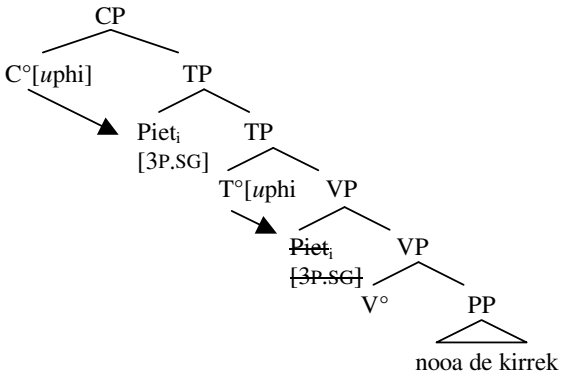
5.1 Introduction: Agreement on the finite verb in VSO-sentences

Before I turn to the more complex configurations, I first discuss in detail the derivation of a VSO-sentence in which T° and C° both have one and the same Goal for agreement. Consider the example in (96) from Waubach Dutch and its derivation in (97).

(96) Gee-t Piet nooa de kirrek ?
go-$_{3P.SG}$ Piet to the church
'Is Piet going to church?'

[Waubach Dutch]

(97)

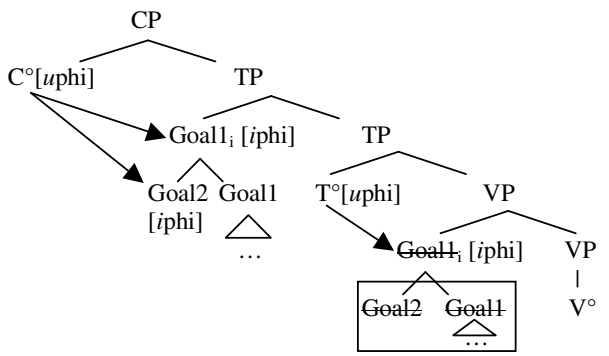


In the first step of the derivation, T° is merged with VP. The subject moves from the VP-internal subject position to the specifier of TP. In the next step of the derivation, C° is merged. Waubach Dutch is a dialect with CA. This means that both C° and T° have unvalued phi-features and are Probes for agreement. Agree takes place when the derivation in (97) is transferred to PF. C° searches its c-command domain and encounters the subject proper name which is a matching Goal as it has third person singular features. T° also has unvalued phi-features. The c-command domain of T° contains the copy of the moved subject. T° agrees with this copy. Both agreement relations have to be spelled out on the finite verb, but there is only one slot for agreement morphology on the finite verb. T° and C° agree with the same Goal, namely with the subject proper name. This means that an affix expressing third person singular morphology can spell out both the relation between T° and the subject and the one between C° and the subject. It is important to note at this point that it is unclear whether or not there is competition between the agreement relation of C° with the subject and that of T° with the subject concerning which relation will be spelled out on the finite verb, as these relations result in the same affix on the finite verb. Below, I will show that when the subject contains more than one Goal,

the agreement relations of Tº compete with those of Cº for realisation on the finite verb.

In this section, I focus on the configuration in which the subject does not contain one Goal for agreement, but rather two. This configuration is represented in (98).

(98)



In this structure, the subject contains two Goals for phi-agreement: Goal 1, the maximal projection and Goal 2, occupying its specifier position. The derivation of the structure represented in (98) proceeds as follows: T° is merged with VP. The subject is located in the VP-internal subject position. In the next step of the derivation, the subject moves from Spec,VP to Spec,TP, leaving behind a copy in Spec,VP. Next, C° is merged. The derivation is complete and transferred to PF. At this point, Agree takes place. Both T° and C° are Probes for phi-features. C° searches its c-command domain for matching Goals. It enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals, as both are equally local to it. T° on the other hand agrees with the copy of the moved subject. By assumption, the internal structure of the copy is not accessible for agreement relations. This means that T° cannot agree with Goal 2, but only with Goal 1. The agreement relations of T° and C° both have to be spelled out on the finite verb. These agreement relations do not necessarily result in the same affix on the finite verb, as Cº agrees with two Goals. There is, however, only one agreement slot available on the finite verb. I will show that also in this configuration the agreement relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out as an affix. These agreement relations can result in a specific affix on the finite verb, in an elsewhere-affix or in no affix at all. As discussed before, I assume that the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out. The hierarchy of specificity of affixes is provided in section 3 of chapter 1 and repeated here as (99).

(99) specific affix > elsewhere-affix > no affix

This hierarchy states that agreement relations resulting in specific affixes take precedence over agreement relations that result in either an elsewhere-affix or in no affix at all. The agreement relations resulting in elsewhere-affixes in turn take precedence over the agreement relations resulting in no affix at all.

At the level of Morphology, the relation between T° and Goal 1, the relation between C° and Goal 1, or the relation between C° and Goal 2 is spelled out. When the relation between T° and Goal 1 is spelled out, then the relation between C° and Goal 1 is also spelled out and *vice versa* as both Probes agree with the same Goal. When the relation between C° and Goal 2 is spelled out, then the agreement relations of Probe T° are not reflected in the agreement affix on the finite verb. I argue that this latter situation, in which the features of Probe T° are not reflected in the agreement morphology on the finite verb, can only arise when the affix spelling out the relation with Goal 1 is less specific than the one spelling out the relation with Goal 2. The table in (100) reflects the logical possibilities that can arise at the level of Morphology when there are two Probes each entertaining their own agreement relations and just one agreement slot to spell out these relations.

(100)

	T°	C°		Result	dialect	section
	Goal1	Goal1	Goal2			
1	S_1	S_1	S_2	S	Bavarian	5.2.1
2	S	S	E	S	Lapscheure Dutch	5.2.2
3	S	S	Ø	S	Tegelen Dutch	5.2.3
4	E	E	S	S	Hellendoorn Dutch	5.3.1 5.3.2
5	E	E	E	E	-	-
6	E	E	Ø	E	NA	-
7	Ø	Ø	S	S	NA	-
8	Ø	Ø	E	E	NA	-
9	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	-	-

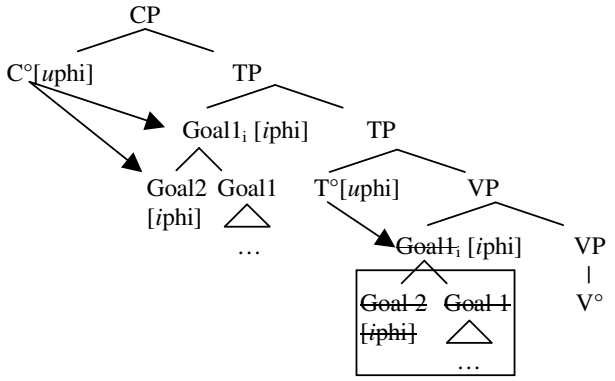
This table reflects the nine possibilities that can arise when the configuration in (98) is sent off to the level of Morphology. This table should be interpreted as follows. The second column indicates the possible morphological realisations the agreement relation between T° and Goal 1 can result in: a specific affix (represented by the symbol *S*), an elsewhere-affix (represented by the symbol *E*) or no agreement morphology at all (represented by the symbol *Ø*). The relation between C° and Goal 1 results in the same agreement morphology as the relation between T° and Goal 1. This is indicated by the fact that the second and the third column always have the same symbol in a given row. The agreement relation between C° and Goal 2 does not always result in the same agreement morphology as the agreement relations between C° and Goal 1 and T° and Goal 1. This relation also results in either a specific agreement affix (*S*), an elsewhere-affix (*E*) or no affix at all (*Ø*), represented

in column four. The fifth column indicates which affix is expected to appear on the finite verb. The agreement morphology on the finite verb can reflect either the agreement relation with Goal 1 or the agreement relation with Goal 2. If Goal 1 leads to more specific agreement morphology than Goal 2, the agreement relation with Goal 1 is spelled out and *vice versa*. Columns six and seven specify in which dialect the particular combination is attested and in which subsection this combination is discussed respectively. Of the nine logical possibilities, four are actually attested in the dialects under consideration and will be discussed in this section. Three possible combinations (represented in rows 6, 7 and 8) are not attested in the dialects under investigation in this thesis. The combinations provided in rows 5 and 9 are not interesting for the current study as they do not differentiate between agreement with Goal 1 and agreement with Goal 2. They will not be discussed.

5.2 Agreement with Goal 1

In this section, I discuss the configuration in (98), repeated here as (101).

(101)



I show that the agreement morphology on the finite verb in certain dialects reflects the agreement morphology with Goal 1. I discuss three different configurations summed up in (i)-(iii) below, in sections 5.2.1-5.2.3 respectively.

(102) (i) **section 5.2.1**: Agreement with Goal 1 leads to specific agreement morphology and agreement with Goal 2 also results in a specific affix.
(ii) **section 5.2.2**: Agreement with Goal 1 results in specific agreement morphology and agreement with Goal 2 results in an elsewhere-affix.
(iii) **section 5.2.3**: Agreement with Goal 1 results in specific agreement morphology and agreement with Goal 2 in no agreement at all.

5.2.1 Agreement with coordinated subjects in Bavarian

Recall from sections 3.1 and 3.2 of chapter 2 that the complementizer in Bavarian can agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject if this conjunct is a second person singular subject pronoun. This is illustrated in example (103).

(103) … **daß-sd** **du** und d'Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that Marie and you have won the first prize.'
[Bavarian]

The finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses cannot agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. This is exemplified in example (104).

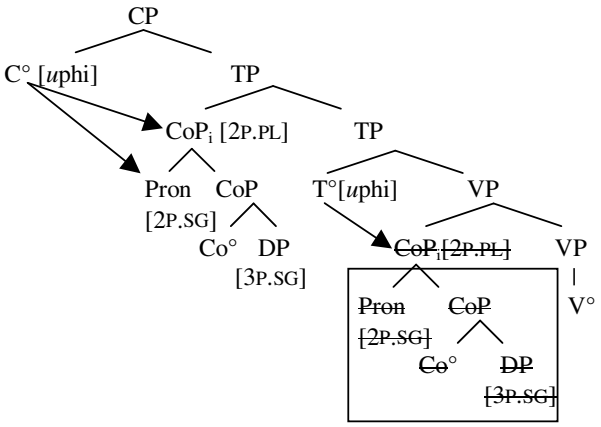
(104) Du und d'Maria *ho-sd / ?hab-ds an Hauptpreis gwunna.
[you$_{SG}$ and the.Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ have-$_{2P.SG}$ / have-$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won
'You and Maria have won the first prize.'
[Bavarian]

In the VSO-word order, it is also impossible for the finite verb to agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject in Bavarian, as is represented in (105).

(105) *Ho-sd / Hab-ds du und d'Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna?
have-$_{2P.SG}$ / have-$_{2P.PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the.Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won
'Did you and Maria win the first prize?'
[Bavarian]

Consider the derivation in (106) of the example in (105) in order to see why FCA is impossible in this case.

(106)



The derivation of the example in (105) proceeds as follows. T° is merged with VP. In the next step of the derivation, the coordinated subject moves to Spec,TP. C° is merged. The derivation is completed and transferred to PF. At this point, Agree takes place. Both C° and T° have unvalued phi-features, as Bavarian is a dialect with CA. The c-command domain of C° contains two equally local Goals: CoP and the Goal in Spec,CoP. The c-command domain of T° contains a copy of the moved subject. The internal structure of this copy is inaccessible for agreement relations and hence, T° in contrast to C° encounters one only Goal, namely CoP. In order to see which agreement relation leads to which affix, consider the verbal agreement paradigm of Bavarian in the table in (107).[32]

(107)

feature specification subject	affix on the finite verb
1P.SG	-0
2P.SG	-st
3P.SG	-t
1P.PL	-a(n)
2P.PL	-ts
3P.PL	-a(nt)

On the basis of the paradigm in this table, the rules for affix insertion concerning second person singular and second person plural subjects in this dialect can be represented as in (108). Recall that I assume 'singular' to be present as a value for number (cf. *supra* section 3.2 of chapter 2 and sections 3.3, 4 and 5.3 of this chapter for argumentation).

(108) [2P.SG] → -st
[2P.PL] → -ts

At the level of Morphology, either the affix expressing the agreement relation with Goal 1 is spelled out or the agreement relation with Goal 2 is. Both relations result in a specific affix on the finite verb: both express a specific person/number combination. The question arises what happens when two specific affixes compete for insertion.[33] In section 3.2 of chapter 2, I have already discussed this issue with respect to Bavarian. There, I have assumed that there is no difference between specific affixes and elswhere-affix in this respect: when specific affixes compete for insertion the most specific specific affix is choosen. In section 3.2 of chapter 2, I have shown that in Bavarian, either one of the two affixes under discussion here can be expressed on the complementizer, when C° agrees with a second person plural CoP and a second person singular first conjunct. The relevant examples are repeated in (109).

[32] This paradigm is taken from Bayer 1984:233 and represents the present tense paradigm of the verb *to come*.
[33] Cf. also the discussion about this issue in section 3.2 of chapter 1 and in section 3.2 of chapter 2.

(109) a. … **daβ-sd** **du** und d'Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
b. … **daβ-ds** **du** **und d'Maria** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
that-$_{2P.PL}$ [you$_{SG}$ and the Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ the first.prize won have-$_{2P.PL}$
'…that Maria and you won the first prize.'

[Bavarian]

As is illustrated in the examples in (105), this strategy is clearly not used when the agreement morphology on the finite verb in VSO-clauses is expressed. It is always the agreement with Goal 1 that is spelled out on the finite verb in this dialect. Spelling out either one of the two available affixes, as in the case of CA, is not an option in this situation. In other words, the agreement morphology on the finite verb in VSO-clauses is not determined in exactly the same way as the agreement morphology on the complementizer, although both heads occupy the same structural position. It appears to be the case that the agreement morphology on the finite verb in VSO-clauses is sensitive both to the agreement of T° and to that of C°. By spelling out the agreement relation with Goal 1, both the agreement relation of C° and the agreement relation of T° are spelled out. If, on the other hand, the agreement relation with Goal 2 is spelled out, then the agreement relations of T° do not get a morphological reflex. I would like to suggest that if there are two affixes that can be spelled out on the finite verb in the VSO-order and that are not ordered with respect to insertion, ie. when both are equally specific, the affix that expresses both the agreement relations of C° and the one of T° is selected.

5.2.2 Agreement with coordinated subjects in Lapscheure Dutch

The dialect of Lapscheure provides a second case study of the configuration provided in (101). I show that in this dialect the agreement morphology on the finite verb in the VSO-order also reflects the relation with Goal 1.

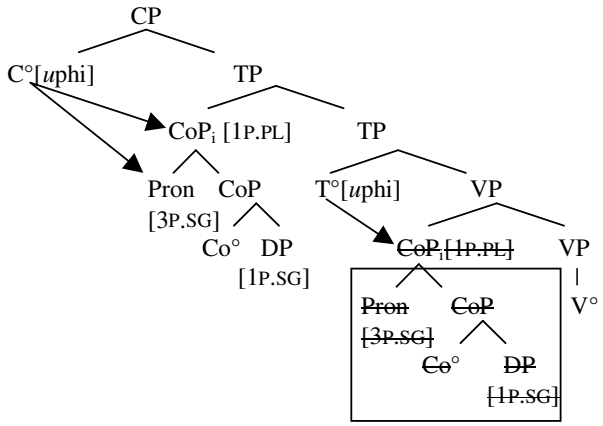
Recall from the discussion in section 3.3 of chapter 2 that Lapscheure Dutch arguably has two agreement affixes: *-n* and *-t*. The former affix appears with first person singular and first person plural subjects and with third person plural subjects. I have argued that this affix is the more specific affix, whereas the *t*-affix is an elsewhere-affix in this dialect. Consider the examples in (110).

(110) a. Kenn-en Pol en ik mekoar a lange?
know-*n* [Pol and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other PART long
'Do Pol and I know each other long?'
b. * Ken-t Pol en ik mekoar a lange?
know-*t* [Pol and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other PART long

[Lapscheure Dutch]

The structural representation of this example is provided in (111).

(111)



Both T° and C° agree with CoP. In addition C° agrees with the pronoun in Spec,CoP. Either the relation with CoP is spelled out on the finite verb, or the one with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject in Spec,CoP is. The relation with Goal 1 leads to the specific *n*-affix on the finite verb, whereas the relation with Goal 2 is spelled out as an elsewhere-affix. In this case, the specific affix expressing the agreement relation with Goal 1 is expected to take precedence over the elsewhere-affix. As the examples in (110) show, this is indeed the case. To summarise, Lapscheure Dutch provides a second case study of the configuration in (101) resulting in agreement with Goal 1 on the finite verb.

5.2.3 Agreement with pronouns in Tegelen Dutch

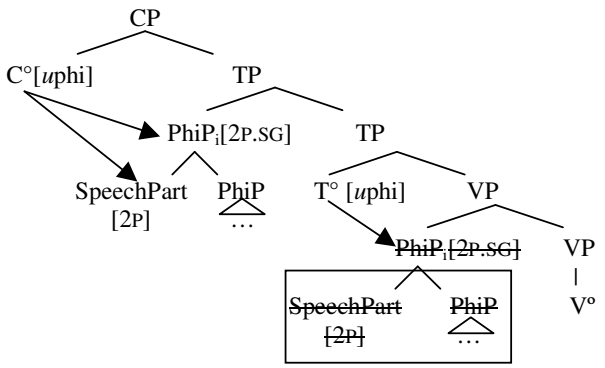
In this section, I discuss a final example of agreement on inverted finite verbs. In particular, I provide a case study of agreement of inverted finite verbs with pronouns in Tegelen Dutch. This agreement relation provides yet another case study of the situation in which the agreement morphology on the finite verb expresses the agreement relation with Goal 1 in the configuration in (101). This relation leads to specific agreement morphology, whereas spelling out the agreement relation with Goal 2 does not result in an affix on the finite verb at all. Consider the example in (112) from Tegelen Dutch.

(112) **Kum-s** **doow** merge?
come-$_{2P.SG}$ you$_{SG}$ tomorrow
'Are you coming tomorrow?'

[Tegelen Dutch]

The structural representation of this example is provided in (113).

(113)



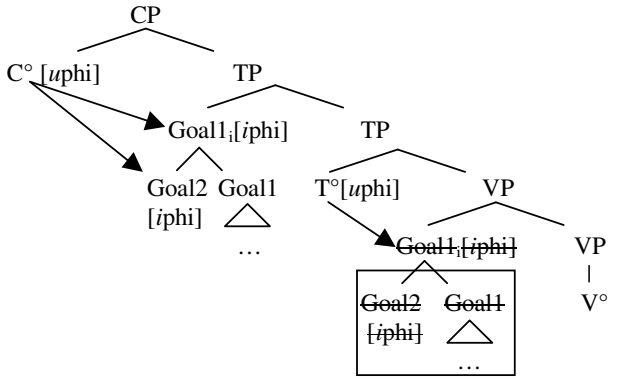
When the derivation is completed and transferred to PF, T° is in an agreement relation with PhiP. C° agrees with PhiP and with SpeechPart. One of these agreement relations has to be spelled out as an agreement affix on the finite verb. As I have already argued in section 3.3.2 of this chapter, Tegelen Dutch has a specific affix for second person singular subjects, but no affix with the feature specification second person. At the level of Morphology, either the relation with PhiP is spelled out, or the relation with SpeechPart is. The former relation results in a specific *s*-affix on the finite verb, the latter does not result in agreement morphology at all. As the relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology is spelled out on the finite verb, the relation with PhiP, resulting in the *s*-affix on the finite verb, is chosen.

To summarise, agreement with second person pronouns in Tegelen Dutch provides a case study of the situation in which the agreement morphology on the finite verb in VSO-clauses spells out the relation with Goal 1 in the structure in (113). In this case, the relation with Goal 1 leads to specific agreement morphology, whereas the agreement relation with Goal 2 leads to no agreement morphology at all, as there is no affix in Bavarian spelling out the feature specification [2P].

5.3 Agreement with Goal 2

In this section, I discuss the configuration in (98), repeated here as (114).

(114)



I show that the agreement morphology on the finite verb in inversion can also reflect the agreement relation with Goal 2. I discuss two instances of this in this section. The first one, discussed in section 5.3.1, concerns internally complex plural pronouns in Hellendoorn Dutch. I show that the agreement relation with Goal 1 leads to an elsewhere-affix, whereas agreement with Goal 2 results in a specific affix on the finite verb in an inversion context. In this case, the relation with Goal 2 is spelled out on the finite verb. Section 5.3.2 discusses agreement with coordinated subjects in Hellendoorn Dutch. I show that the agreement relation with Goal 2 results in more specific agreement morphology than the one with Goal 1. In this case it is also the relation with Goal 2 that is spelled out on the finite verb.

5.3.1 Agreement with internally complex pronouns in Hellendoorn Dutch

In section 3 of this chapter, I have shown that the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch agrees with the speech participant features of first person plural subjects. The speech participant features of a first person plural pronoun are first person singular. This agreement relation is reflected by a schwa-affix on the complementizer. This schwa-affix cannot appear on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses, as there is no agreement relation between T° and SpeechPart. The reason for this is that the c-command domain of T° contains a copy of the moved subject. The internal structure of the copy is, by assumption, not available for agreement relations. When Agree takes place, it can only establish a relation between T° and PhiP and not between T° and SpeechPart, as the latter Goal is contained within the internal structure of the copy of the moved subject. The relevant examples are repeated in (115) and (116).

(115) a. Wiej bin-t den besten!
we are-$_{\text{ELSEWH.}}$ the best
'We are the best!'
b. * Wiej **binn-e** den besten!
we are-$_{\text{1P.SG}}$ the best
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

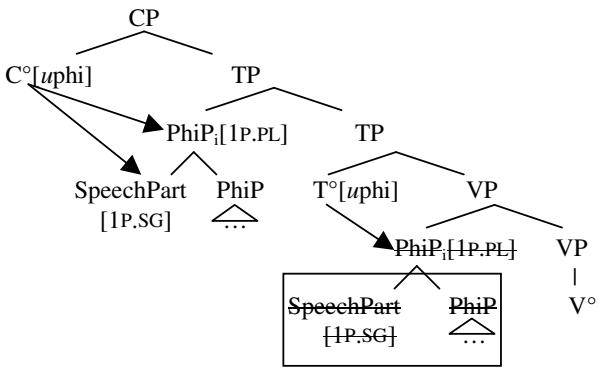
(116) Ik dèènke darr-e wiej den besten bint!
I think that-$_{\text{1P.SG}}$ we the best are
'I think that we are the best!'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

Interestingly, the schwa-affix can (and in fact must) appear on the finite verb in VSO-clauses. This is illustrated in the examples in (117).

(117) a. * Bin-t wiej den besten?
are-$_{\text{ELSEWH.}}$ we the best
b. **Binn-e** wiej den besten
are-$_{\text{1P.SG}}$ we the best
'Are we the best?'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

Consider the structural representation in (118) of the example in (117b).

(118)



The derivation of the example in (117b) proceeds as follows. T° is merged with VP. In the next step of the derivation, the subject pronoun moves to Spec,TP, leaving behind a copy in Spec,VP. C° is merged. The derivation is completed and transferred to PF. At this point, Agree takes place. C°, on a par with T°, has unvalued phi-features as Hellendoorn Dutch is a dialect with CA. The c-command domain of C° contains two equally local Goals: PhiP and SpeechPart. C° enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals. T°'s c-command domain on the other hand, contains just one Goal, PhiP. SpeechPart is not available as a Goal to T°, as

the internal structure of the copy of the subject is inaccessible for agreement relations. In order to see which agreement relation leads to which affix, consider the rules for affix insertion in (119) (cf. subsection 3.2.2 for discussion).

(119) [1P.SG] → -e
[elsewhere] → -t

The agreement relation between T° and Goal 1 and C° and Goal 1 leads to an elsewhere-affix on the finite verb. The agreement relation of C° with Goal 2 leads to a specific affix. The schwa-affix takes precedence over the elsewhere-affix when it comes to insertion, as the schwa-affix is more specific than the elsewhere-affix.

To summarise, agreement between a finite verb and a first person plural subject in Hellendoorn Dutch provides the first case study of an agreement affix expressing the phi-features of Goal 2 on the finite verb in the VSO-order.

5.3.2 Agreement with coordinated subjects in Hellendoorn Dutch

The second instance of an affix on an inverted verb representing the feature specification of Goal 2 in the configuration in (114) is also found in Hellendoorn Dutch. In section 3.2.2, I have argued that the schwa-affix in this dialect reflects first person singular features. In this section, I demonstrate that although there is no schwa-affix present on the finite verb in the VSO-order with first person singular subjects, there is a zero-affix on the finite verb in this clause type, which I will argue to be an allomorph of the schwa-affix (cf. also the discussion concerning the schwa-affix in section 3.2). First consider the SVO-clause in (120).

(120) Ik en Merie ken-t mekaer goed
[I and Marie]$_{1P.PL}$ know-$_{ELSEWH.}$ each.other good
'Marie and I know each other well.'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

In this example, the elsewhere-affix appears on the finite verb. This affix spells out the agreement relation between T° and the coordinated subject as a whole. It does not spell out the agreement relation with the first person singular first conjunct, as this relation would result in the (more specific) schwa-affix on the finite verb. The schwa-affix cannot appear on the finite verb, as T° cannot agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. The c-command domain of T° contains a copy of the moved subject. The internal structure of this copy, and hence the first conjunct, is inaccessible to agreement relations. In the VSO-word order, the finite verb does not inflect with the *t*-affix, indicating that the finite verb does not agree with the coordinated subject as a whole. Rather, it does not show overt agreement morphology at all. This is illustrated in the example in (121).

(121) Hoelange ken / *ken-t ik en Merie mekaer noe?
how.long know / know-$_{\text{ELSEWH.}}$ [I and Marie]$_{\text{1P.PL}}$ each.other now
'How long do Marie and I know each other?'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

In order to see how this example comes about, reconsider the paradigm of verbal agreement in Hellendoorn Dutch in (44), repeated here as (122).

(122)

features subject	**verb VSO-order**	**verb SVO/ CSOV-order**
1P.SG	Ø	-e
2P.SG	Ø	-t
3P.SG	-t	-t
1P.PL	-e	-t
2P.PL	-t	-t
3P.PL	-t	-t

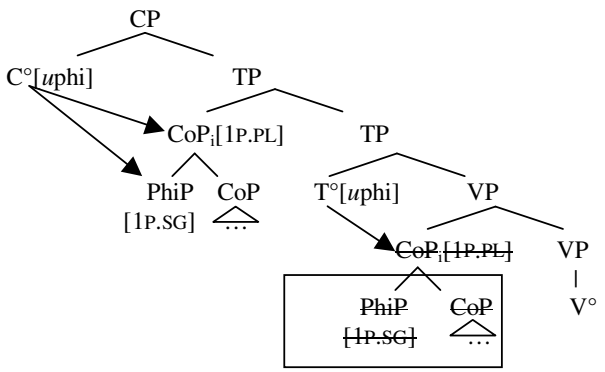
In inversion contexts, the agreement morphology on the finite verb with first person singular subjects is non-overt, just like in the example in (121). In other words, it appears to be the case that the finite verb agrees with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject in this case, rather than with the coordinated subject as a whole. This latter relation would have resulted in a *t*-affix on the finite verb, which, as is shown by the example in (121), is ungrammatical. This becomes even clearer when the example in (123) is taken into consideration.

(123) Hoelange *ken / ken-t Merie en ik mekaer noe?
how.long know / know-$_{\text{ELSEWH.}}$ [Marie and I]$_{\text{1P.PL}}$ each.other now
'How long do Marie and I know each other?'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

In this example the order of the conjuncts is reversed. The agreement on the finite verb in inversion now has to be the *t*-affix and it can no longer be zero, indicating that the appearance of the zero-affix is crucially linked to the first person singular subject. Consider the structural representation in (124) of the example in (121).

(124)



The derivation of this example proceeds in a similar fashion as the derivation discussed in the previous subsections. T° is merged with VP. The subject moves to Spec,TP, leaving behind a copy in Spec,VP. The internal structure of the copy is inaccessible for agreement relations. As a consequence, only the relation between T° and CoP can be established. On the other hand, C° encounters two equally local Goals, CoP and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, and enters into an agreement relation with both of them simultaneously. Now consider again the verbal agreement paradigm of Hellendoorn Dutch in (122), repeated here as (125).

(125)

features subject	**verb VSO-order**	**verb SVO/ CSOV-order**
1P.SG	Ø	-e
2P.SG	Ø	-t
3P.SG	-t	-t
1P.PL	-e	-t
2P.PL	-t	-t
3P.PL	-t	-t

As I already indicated in section 3.2.2, it is unclear if the zero-agreement ending in the first person singular indicates the absence of an agreement ending or a zero-agreement affix. Throughout this thesis, I have assumed that when two agreement relations have to be spelled out in the same agreement slot, the agreement relation resulting in the most specific agreement morphology determines the affix on the Probe. Agreement relations resulting in specific affixes take precedence over agreement relations resulting in elsewhere-affixes, which in turn take precedence over agreement relations which do not lead to any overt agreement morphology at all. If this is correct, then the fact that the example in (166) shows no overt agreement morphology, rather than the elsewhere-affix *-t*, indicates that the absence of overt agreement morphology in this case should be interpreted as a zero-agreement affix that is more specific than the elsewhere-affix. This zero-affix spells out the agreement relation between C° and the first person singular pronoun in

Spec,CoP. I want to suggest that this zero-affix is an allomorph of the schwa-affix that appears on the finite verb with first person singular subjects in the SVO-order (cf. also *supra* section 3.2 of this chapter).

There is some additional evidence for the idea that the zero-affix on the finite verb in (121) spells out the agreement relation between C° and the first person singular pronoun in Spec,CoP. Recall from section 3.5 of chapter 2 that agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject is no longer possible if the coordinated subject is modified by a focus particle. Exactly the same data are found in this case. This is exemplified in (126).

(126) Allichte ken-t / *ken zölfs ik en Merie
Probably know-$_{\text{ELSEWH.}}$ / know$_{\text{1P.SG}}$ [even I and Marie]$_{\text{1P.PL}}$
mekaer niet goed.
each.other not good
'Probably even Marie and I do not know each other well.'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

If the coordinated subject is modified by a focus particle, the zero-affix can no longer appear on the finite verb. The first person singular pronoun in the specifier of the coordinated subject is not local enough, as it is not only c-commanded by C° in this case, but also by the focus particle. This means that CoP, which is only c-commanded by C°, is more local and hence the only available Goal to C°. CoP contains the features of the coordinated subject as a whole, leading to an elsewhere-affix on the finite verb.

When this situation is compared to the one in Bavarian discussed in section 5.2.1, two rules for insertion of an affix on inverted verbs in the configuration at hand can be formulated. Suppose the agreement morphology on the finite verb is dependent on two heads. The first head agrees with just one Goal, Goal X. The other head agrees with two equally local Goals X and Y. When Goal X leads to a more specific affix on the finite verb than Goal Y, Goal X defines the agreement morphology on the finite verb and vice versa. When, on the other hand, Goal X and Goal Y result in equally specific agreement morphology on the finite verb, Goal X, which reflects the features of both heads, defines the agreement morphology on the finite verb.

6 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed agreement between a Probe and internally complex pronouns. I have shown that CA with pronouns can either reflect the agreement relation between C° and the maximal projection of the pronominal projection or the one between C° and the speech participant features of the pronoun. I have argued that in Hellendoorn Dutch CA spells out the latter relation, whereas in Tegelen Dutch and Bavarian it spells out the former. An interesting side effect of this

analysis is that it provides a more fine-grained view on CA-dialects. More specifically, I have shown that there is a cluster of properties distinguishing these two types of CA with pronominal subjects. Hellendoorn Dutch exhibits a DA-pattern next to having CA. Furthermore, the type of CA found in this dialect is sensitive to subject modification and subject extraction. In the other type of CA-dialect, as found in for instance Bavarian and Tegelen Dutch, there is no DA-pattern and CA is not sensitive to subject modification and subject extraction.

Apart from discussing agreement between a complementizer and a pronoun, I also investigated the agreement relations between finite verbs and pronouns. I have shown that although the complementizer can agree with SpeechPart, the finite verb in the SVO- and CSOV-order cannot. The analysis for this is the same as the analysis for the absence of FCA on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. I have put forth the assumption that movement of the subject out of the c-command domain of T° makes the agreement relation between T° and the Goal internal to this subject inaccessible. As a result, T° only agrees with the maximal projection of the subject. As a consequence, the agreement morphology on the finite verb in SVO-clauses necessarily spells out this agreement relation. In the VSO-word order, it is not only the agreement relations T° entertains that define the agreement morphology on the finite verb, but also the agreement relations C° entertains. As the subject is in the c-command domain of C°, C° can agree with a Goal inside the subject. As a result, the agreement morphology on the finite verb potentially expresses the agreement relation with a Goal internal to the subject.

Chapter Four Previous analyses of CA, DA and FCA

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the implications of the data and analyses provided in the preceding chapters for the analyses of the three major empirical phenomena addressed in this thesis: Complementizer Agreement (CA), Double Agreement (DA) and First Conjunct Agreement (FCA). In the first section, I discuss CA. I provide a set of characteristics which an analysis of CA should be able to account for. Furthermore, I discuss several previous analyses of this phenomenon (i.e. Zwart 1993, 1997, 2001; Ackema & Neeleman to appear) and show to what extent they are compatible with the data provided in this thesis. The second section focuses on the phenomenon of DA. Apart from discussing two previous analyses of this phenomenon, I examine two other instantiations of DA that I have not discussed up until now, namely DA in Brabantish and in Lower Bavarian (cf. Zwart 1993, 1997). Finally, I examine the phenomenon of FCA (section 4). In this section, I discuss two previous analyses of FCA in Dutch dialects. Furthermore, I evaluate the analysis of FCA proposed by Johannessen (1998).

2. Complementizer Agreement

2.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I have unravelled several characteristics of CA. In this introductory section, I sum up these characteristics and briefly summarise how the analysis I have provided in this thesis accounts for them. First consider the example in (1) with CA (data from the SAND-project).

(1) … **datt-e** **we** naar Leie gaan.
that-$_{PL}$ we to Leiden go
'…that we are going to Leiden.'

[Katwijk Dutch]

In this example, the complementizer agrees with the subject pronoun *we* 'we', as does the finite verb. Recall that I have adopted the analysis of CA put forth by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b) and Carstens (2003) (cf. *supra* chapter 2, section 2 for an elaborate discussion of CA and the analysis of CA summarised here). This analysis starts from the idea that CA reflects the presence of phi-features on C°. These phi-features are unvalued. The syntactic agreement mechanism, *Agree* (Chomsky 2000, 2001a), relates the unvalued features of C° to a set of valued phi-features. Agree searches the c-command domain of C° in order to find a matching Goal: the embedded subject. The unvalued phi-set of C° is related to the valued phi-set of the subject. As a consequence, the complementizer agrees with the subject.

The first characteristic of CA, which has also been noticed in previous literature (cf. among others Zwart 1993, 1997, 2001; Ackema & Neeleman to appear), is that in a sentence with CA, not only the complementizer is inflected, but also the finite verb. The present analysis accounts for this characteristic by assuming that there are two clausal heads with phi-features: C° and T°. Both these heads agree with the subject. The agreement relation between C° and the subject is spelled out on the complementizer, the one between T° and the subject on the finite verb.

In addition to this characteristic, I have shown that the agreement morphology on the finite verb is not necessarily the same as that on the complementizer. For instance, the complementizer can agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject, while the finite verb agrees with the coordinated subject as a whole (cf. supra chapter 2, section 3). Or, to provide a different example, the complementizer can agree with the speech participant features of a pronominal subject, while the finite verb agrees with the pronominal subject as a whole (the so-called DA-pattern cf. *supra* chapter 3, sections 3 and 5).[1] The same assumption accounts for this characteristic: the agreement relation that results in CA is not the same as the agreement relation resulting in verbal agreement. Put differently, C° can agree with a different Goal than T°.

Thirdly, I have shown that CA with pronominal subjects is not a homogeneous phenomenon, in the sense that two types of CA can be distinguished: in the first one, CA disappears when the pronominal subject is modified or extracted. This type of CA goes together with a DA-pattern: the inflection on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses differs from that on the complementizer. In the other type of CA-dialect, extraction and modification of the subject do not have any influence on the presence of CA. Furthermore, there is no DA-pattern with this type of CA: the agreement morphology on the complementizer is identical to that on the finite verb. I have argued that this set of characteristics can be explained by assuming that the

[1] Note that this characteristic of CA poses a problem for analyses of CA in terms of analogy. Kathol (1999), for instance, argues that CA is not a real reflex of an agreement relation between the complementizer and the subject, but rather that the agreement on the complementizer in this case appears in analogy to the agreement on the finite verb in inversion: the heads occupy the same position and are both followed by the subject. This means that the syntactic context is similar and analogy is expected to occur. The fact that the agreement on the finite verb in inversion is not always similar to the agreement on the complementizer within one and the same dialect indicates that it cannot be solely analogy that causes CA.

complementizer agrees with the speech participant features of the pronoun in the first type of dialect, whereas it agrees with the features of the pronominal subject as a whole in the second type of dialect. In the remainder of this section, I discuss two previous analyses of CA and provide the implications of the data and analyses put forth in this thesis for these analyses. In section 2.2, I examine the analysis of CA provided by Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001). In section 2.3, I focus on the analysis of Ackema & Neeleman (to appear).[2]

2.2 The T°-to-C°-movement analysis of CA

One of the most influential approaches to CA has been put forth by Jan-Wouter Zwart in a series of publications (cf. Zwart 1993, 1997 and 2001, henceforth referred to as Zwart).[3] Zwart's main aim is to give an analysis of verb movement in Dutch and to show that Dutch is a head-initial language. He provides an analysis for the placement of the finite verb in the three major word-orders in Dutch. As I have already discussed in section 4 of chapter 2, Zwart - following Travis 1984 - argues that the CP-layer is not projected in the SVO-order. In the CSOV- and the (XP)VSO-order the CP-layer is projected, however. AgrS° moves to C° whenever C° is present.[4] When C° contains a complementizer, the finite verb normally does not move and stays in its (sentence-final) base position. When C° is present but does not contain a complementizer, V° has to move to C°. When C° is not present, the finite verb moves to AgrS°.

One argument in favour of the idea that AgrS° moves to C° is the presence of agreement on the complementizer in several dialects. These dialects provide a direct

[2] I do not discuss the analysis provided by Shlonsky (1994). I refer the reader to Zwart (1994) for an indepth discussion of this approach.

[3] The analysis provided by Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001) is similar to several other analyses of CA. I do not discuss these approaches here. The main argument I provide against Zwart's analysis of CA carries over to these other analyses. One of the analyses that is comparable Zwart's analysis has been put forth by Hoekstra & Maracz (1989). The difference between them is that Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001) assumes that AgrS°-to-C°-movement takes place in *all* Germanic dialects, whereas Hoekstra & Maracz (1989) argue that AgrS°-to-C°-movement only takes place in dialects with CA. I refer the reader to Zwart (1997:145-154) for extensive discussion of this analysis. Furthermore, Watanabe (2000) also provides an analysis of CA that differs only minimally from Zwart's analysis. Haegeman's (1992) account (but cf. also Bennis & Haegeman 1984 for a similar approach) is in a sense also similar to the one proposed by Zwart. She also argues that the [Agr]-featurs of the complementizer are similar to the [Agr]-features on the inflectional head. The difference between these two analyses is that Haegeman (1992) assumes that the features on C° are similar to those on the inflectional head because both agree with the subject. As these two feature bundles are coindexed, they have to be identical. Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001) on the other hand assumes that the features of the inflectional head move to C°. The result is in both cases the same: the feature bundle present on C° is identical to one of I°.

[4] The trigger for AgrS°-to-C°-movement differs in the analyses discussed here. In Zwart (1993), it is argued that AgrS° moves to C° in order to make the N-feature of AgrS° accessible. In this analysis, movement of AgrS° to C° takes place in order to satisfy a feature of AgrS° itself. Zwart (1997) on the other hand proposes that AgrS°-to-C°-movement is forced in order to check a feature of C°. C° has to be assigned a value for tense and hence attracts the complex head in AgrS° which also contains T°. Zwart (2001) suggests that V°, Infl° and C° are related via a chain of formal features.

indication that the features of AgrS° are supported by the complementizer in C°. In this analysis, CA is not a reflex of features that belong to C°, but rather of features that move to C° in the course of the derivation. One of the major advantages of Zwart's analysis is the fact that it is able to capture the generalization that CA is only attested with a CSOV-word order in embedded clauses. The movement of the finite verb to AgrS° does not take place in embedded clauses. In these clauses, then, AgrS° moves to C° and the phi-features of AgrS° get spelled out on the complementizer.[5]

The data discussed in this thesis present a major problem for this analysis. Recall from chapter 2 that there are dialects in which the agreement morphology on the complementizer expresses the features of the first conjunct of a coordinated subject, while the agreement morphology on the finite verb in the same clause spells out the feature specification of the coordinated subject as a whole. This is illustrated in the example in (2) from Tegelen Dutch.

(2) … de-s doow en ich ôs treff-e.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ know-$_{1PL}$
'…that you and I know each other.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

These data are unexpected from the point of view of Zwart's analysis. They show that the relation between the complementizer and the subject is crucially different from that between the finite verb and the subject. The agreement morphology on the finite verb expresses the features of the coordinated subject as a whole. The agreement morphology on the complementizer on the other hand, expresses the features of the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. Zwart assumes that the feature bundle of AgrS° is expressed both on the complementizer and on the finite verb. Put differently, according to his analysis there is only one set of phi-features that is expressed on two different clausal heads, the complementizer and the finite verb. This analysis predicts that the agreement morphology on the finite verb is identical to the agreement morphology on the complementizer. The example in (2) shows that this is not necessarily the case. As such, these data constitute a considerable counterargument against Zwart's approach to CA.[6]

[5] The analysis I have provided in this thesis cannot account for this generalization. However, there are some questions that arise concerning this generalization which cast doubt on its validity. First of all, there are non-Germanic languages with phi-agreement on the complementizer which lack the CSOV-word order, like, for instance, Igbo (cf. Goeman 1997 and references cited there). Secondly, this generalization only holds of languages with phi-agreement on the complementizer. The question arises, how it should be interpreted in view of the fact that many languages show some form of agreement on the complementizer (for tense or finiteness, which are arguably also IP-related), without necessarily showing the CSOV-order in embedded clauses.

[6] The analysis of CA is only one of the arguments Zwart provides in favour of his account of verb movement in Dutch. The fact that this analysis does not appear to be on the right track does not mean that the analysis of verb movement in Dutch provided by Zwart is not on the right track either. In fact, I adopt it in section 4 of chapter 2.

2.3 Ackema & Neeleman (to appear)

In this section I discuss the analysis of CA provided by Ackema & Neeleman (to appear) (henceforth A&N). The main ingredient of their account is that linear adjacency lies at the basis of certain agreement phenomena. The counterarguments to their account can therefore be interpreted as arguments against an analysis based on linear ordering more in general. Apart from providing an analysis for CA, they also give an account along similar lines for DA and FCA in Dutch dialects. I come back to these parts of their analysis in sections 3 and 4 respectively.

In this section, I first provide a general introduction to the framework of A&N. In section 2.3.2, I discuss the arguments they provide in favour of their account. Section 2.3.3 examines the arguments they give in order to show that the type of analysis for CA adopted in this thesis is on the wrong track. Finally, I provide data that constitute a counterargument to any analysis based on linear ordering and to their analysis in particular.

2.3.1 CA: the analysis of Ackema & Neeleman (to appear)

A&N assume that there are two ways of checking agreement features. The first one is to check features 'in the regular way', i.e. during the syntactic derivation. As a second option, they propose that features can be checked at PF, via so-called *prosodic checking*. Prosodic checking can take place when two sets of features are in one prosodic domain at PF. The general format of prosodic checking is provided in (3) (A&N: 356).

(3) {[A (F1) (F2) (F3)…] [B (F1) (F2) (F3)…]} → {[A ($F1_i$) ($F2_j$) ($F3_k$)…] [B ($F1_i$) ($F2_j$) ($F3_k$)…]}

This diagram should be read as follows: if A and B are in one prosodic domain (indicated by the braces), the uninterpretable features of A are related to the matching interpretable features of B and/or *vice versa*. A&N argue that CA is a typical example of prosodic checking. The complementizer and the subject are in one prosodic domain.[7] As a consequence, the uninterpretable features of the complementizer can be checked (or rather identified) by those of the subject.

2.3.2 Arguments in favour of A&N's approach to CA

A&N:364-368 provide four arguments in favour of their prosodic checking approach. First of all, they argue that their analysis explains why agreement on the complementizer reflects the features of the subject and not those of the object: The

[7] A&N (2002) argue that the initial prosodic phrasing (in the languages and dialects discussed here) alligns the right edge of an XP with the right edge of a prosodic phrase. For more detailed discussion, I refer the reader to the original work.

object is usually not in one and the same prosodic domain as the complementizer. As a consequence, the object cannot agree with the complementizer via *prosodic checking*. There are two problems with this argument. The first one is provided by A&N themselves. They show that topicalised objects can be in the same prosodic domain as the complementizer. Under their analysis of prosodic checking, it is expected that the complementizer agrees with the object in this case. This does not happen however. A&N suggest that the impossibility of object agreement in this case has to do with the fact that the topicalised object is in an A'-position. They assume that phi-features have to be checked against arguments in an A-position. With respect to this explanation, the question has to be raised why PF-mechanisms like prosodic checking would be sensitive to the A/A'-distinction. The second problem for this account is also caused by direct objects. Consider the example in (4) (from Haegeman 1992:50).

(4) Kpeinzen da-n-t Valère en Pol goa-n kuopen.
I.think that-$_{3P,PL}$-it Valère and Pol go-$_{PL}$ buy
'I think that Valère and Pol are going to buy it.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

In this example, a weak object pronoun intervenes between the subject *Valère en Pol* 'Valère and Pol' and the complementizer. Haegeman (1992:79-82) argues that this object pronoun only moves in between the complementizer and the subject at PF. Under the assumption that the A/A'-distinction is only relevant at the level of Syntax, this means that the object pronoun is not in an A'-position in this case. The complementizer should be able to agree with this object pronoun to which it is adjacent, as the object pronoun is in the same prosodic domain as the complementizer and the subject. Contrary to the predictions made by A&N's analysis, the complementizer in Lapscheure Dutch cannot agree with the object pronoun (cf. Haegeman 1992). Importantly, these data do not form a problem for a syntactic account of CA. As I have noted in footnote 4 of chapter 1, a Goal has to be active (i.e. it has to have a unvalued Case-feature) in order to partake in an agreement relation. The object has checked its Case features in the vP-phase. It is no longer active in the CP-phase and therefore cannot agree with C°. As a consequence, object agreement with the complementizer is always ruled out (cf. also Carstens 2003, *supra* footnote 16 of chapter 2). Bobaljik (2005) provides yet another perspective on these data. He shows that the Case of a certain element (rather than its grammatical function) determines whether or not it can serve as a Goal in a particular language. In other words, some languages only allow nominative elements to serve as Goals, whereas others also use accusative elements as Goals. There appears to be an implicational hierarchy: when a language takes accusative elements as Goals, it also takes nominative elements as Goals. In view of this, it can be argued that CA is impossible with direct objects, as these accusative elements are not recognized as Goals in the languages discussed here. I come back to this analysis in section 2.4 of chapter 5.

The second argument A&N provide is that the fact that the complementizer cannot carry tense features (cf. *supra* chapter 2, section 2) follows from their analysis. They argue that if the complementizer carries tense features, the derivation would crash. The reason for this is that the subject does not carry tense features and therefore cannot check the uninterpretable tense features of the complementizer. The assumption that the subject does not have tense features is not as straightforward as A&N put it in view of the fact that Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) argue at length that the subject does have tense features. If this is the case, this argument provided by A&N dissolves.

Thirdly, A&N point out that syntactic analyses of CA do not give an account for the fact that in Frisian CA and subject cliticisation are ruled out in the same context, namely in clauses with embedded verb second. Consider the example in (5) (from A&N:366).

(5) a. … dat-st-to soks net leauwe moat-st.
that-$_{2P.SG}$-you$_{CL}$ such not believe must-$_{2P.SG}$

b. … dat do / *dat-st-to / *dat-to moat-st soks net leauwe.
that you/ that-$_{2P.SG}$-you$_{CL}$ / that-you$_{CL}$ must-$_{2P.SG}$ such not believe

'…that you should not believe such things.'

[Frisian]

The example in (5a) shows that the second person singular subject cliticizes onto the inflected complementizer in CSOV-clauses. In the b-example the complementizer has to appear in its uninflected form and the subject cannot appear cliticized onto the complementizer. This example represents a case of embedded verb second in Frisian.

A&N argue that CA is unavailable in the example in (5b), because the subject and the complementizer do not form one prosodic domain: there is an intonation break between the complementizer and the subject pronoun in this case. Cliticization to the complementizer is ruled out for the same reason. A&N remark that although there are syntactic analyses of the absence of CA in clauses with embedded verb second (cf. among others Zwart 1993, 1997; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b; Carstens 2003, De Haan 2001), these analyses cannot account for the fact that cliticization to the complementizer is ruled out in exactly the same context. I briefly discuss De Haan's (2001) analysis of this phenomenon and show that this syntactic analysis of embedded V2-clauses provides a straightforward way to account for the lack of CA and cliticisation in these clauses, without referring to PF-checking. De Haan (2001) convincingly shows that embedded V2-constructions as the one in (5b) do not involve embedded clauses but should be analysed as coordination of root clauses.[8] Given this analysis of embedded V2-clauses in Frisian, the analysis for the lack of both CA and cliticisation to C^{o} becomes apparent. These phenomena are dependent on the presence of an embedded C^{o}-head: there is no such

[8] I refer the reader to the original paper for more details.

head in embedded V2-clauses. It is well-known that Germanic enclitic pronouns are Cº-related (cf. amongst others Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002c): they can only occur when Cº is present, namely in inverted main clauses and in embedded clauses. The complementizer *dat* in (5b) is not a subordinating complementizer as in (5a), and despite appearances does not signal the presence of Cº. Rather, the example in (5b) should be analysed as involving IP-coordination: coordination of subject-initial main clauses. As there is no Cº-head, the Cº-related clitic cannot occur either. Furthermore, the lack of CA in these examples can also be explained: CA is agreement on an embedded complementizer. The *dat*-complementizer in (5b), in contrast to that in (5a), is not a subordinating complementizer but a coordinating complementizer (cf. De Haan 2001) and hence CA is impossible. This means that a syntactic analysis can account for the lack of CA and cliticisation in the example in (5b), and hence that this example does not provide an argument in favour of prosodic checking.

Finally, A&N argue that prosodic checking provides an account for the fact that both the verb and the complementizer show agreement morphology reflecting the features of the subject. The verb agrees with the subject via the agreement mechanism that is active in the syntactic component, the complementizer via prosodic checking at PF. The analysis I have provided in this thesis also accounts for this fact, with the additional advantage that the agreement mechanism is the same in both contexts and hence that the presence of only one agreement mechanism in the computational system has to be assumed.

2.3.3 A&N's arguments against an Agree-based account of CA

A&N:372-373 provide three arguments against the type of analysis for CA used in this thesis. Their main argument concerns adverb intervention. They show that adverbs intervening between the subject and the complementizer block the presence of CA. This is expected under A&N's account. They show that when an adverb intervenes, the subject and the complementizer are not part of one and the same prosodic domain and hence, the complementizer cannot agree with the subject. The examples they provide are from the West-Flemish dialect of De Panne. Consider the examples in (6) (from A&N:362).

(6) a. **da /** **da-n** **zunder** op den warmste dag van 't jaar tegen
that/ that-$_{3P.PL}$ they on the hottest day of the year against
under wil gewerkt en.
their will worked have

b. **da /** ***da-n** op den warmste dag van 't jaar **zunder** tegen
that/ that-$_{3P.PL}$ on the hottest day of the year they against
under wil gewerkt en.
their will worked have
'…that they have worked against their will at the hottest day of the year.'
[De Panne Dutch]

In these examples, the complementizer only optionally shows inflectional morphology when the subject is adjacent to it. When an adverb intervenes between the complementizer and the subject pronoun, however, the agreement morphology on the complementizer is obligatorily absent.

Although an analysis in terms of syntactic agreement is perhaps not as straightforwardly equipped to account for these data as the one proposed by A&N, one could think of several options. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b), for instance, suggest that feature checking has to take place in a local domain. Carstens (2003) proposes that the adverb intervening between the complementizer and the subject pronoun is a defective intervener. It is not active, so it cannot value the features of the complementizer, but its features are visible to the complementizer so that it does not search for another (active) Goal. This means that there are purely syntactic ways to account for these data and hence that they do not constitute a convincing argument against Agree-based accounts of CA.

In addition, there are two problems with the analysis A&N provide for the data under discussion. First of all, the question arises how the features on the complementizer in (6b) get checked. They are not checked via prosodic checking, as the subject and the complementizer are not in the same prosodic domain. This means that the uninterpretable features on the complementizer remain unchecked and hence cause a problem at the LF-interface. Secondly, I have shown in section 3.3.2.1 of chapter 2 that the data concerning adverb intervention are somewhat more complex than they appear to be at first sight. Consider the examples in (7).[9]

(7) … a-n een enkele keer de aardappels overkoken.
if-$_{3P.PL}$ a single time the potatoes over.boil
'…if once in a while the potatoes boil over.'

[De Panne Dutch]

In this example, there is inflectional morphology on the complementizer despite the fact that there is an adverbial phrase intervening between the complementizer and the subject. This example is unexpected under the analysis A&N provide. These data show that more research is needed in order to get the complete picture of the effect of adverb intervention on CA. Furthermore, as I show in the following subsection, when a focus particle intervenes between the subject and the complementizer, the complementizer can be inflected in several dialects. In other words, it appears that the type of phrase intervening between the complementizer and the subject has a bearing on the presence of CA. This is unexpected in a linear order account of CA.

The second argument A&N provide against the type of analysis put forth in this section has to do with the phenomenon of DA. I return to this issue in section 3.3.

Finally, A&N argue that their analysis has the advantage of explaining not only CA, but also phenomena that are related to CA, namely subject cliticisation and pro-drop phenomena. This appears to be a rather subjective point of view. It could also

[9] These examples are from the same dialect A&N discuss and they are provided by the same consultant.

be argued that it is preferable that an analysis is able to account for as many agreement phenomena as possible. I have shown in this thesis that the analysis of agreement I adopt can be applied to various different agreement phenomena: CA in Dutch dialects and Bavarian, DA in Hellendoorn Dutch, subject agreement with the finite verb in Dutch dialects and Bavarian, FCA in Dutch dialects and Bavarian and FCA in Irish and Arabic. It is not so clear that these phenomena can be given a unified account under A&N's proposal.

In the next subsection, I show that there is one set of data that can be accounted for under the analysis of CA provided in this thesis, but that remains unexplained under the analysis of A&N.

2.3.4 A counterargument to a linear order approach of CA: modification

In this subsection, I discuss a set of data which make it clear that a linear order-account such as the one proposed by A&N is on the wrong track. Before I discuss the relevant data, it has to be noted that there appear to be some general problems with this account: it is somewhat infelicitous that two agreement mechanisms have to be stipulated, especially since these mechanisms are active in different components of the grammar. Additionally, it is unclear why the checking of certain features is postponed up until the level of PF, whereas other features get checked during the syntactic derivation. In particular, the features of C° are checked via prosodic checking. However, it is unclear why the features of C° cannot be checked in the syntactic component and what the effect of checking the features of C° during the syntactic derivation would be for CA.

Reconsider the data concerning modification of the subject provided in section 3.4.1 of chapter 3, repeated in (8) and (9).[10]

(8) … dat / *darr-e zölfs wiej de westrijd wint.
that / that-$_{1P.SG}$ even we the game win
'…that we even win the game.'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(9) … *?det / de-s auch doow merge kum-s.
that / that-$_{2P.SG}$ also you$_{SG}$ tomorrow come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you too will come tormorrow.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

These data show that in Tegelen Dutch the complementizer is inflected when the subject pronoun is modified by the focus particle *auch* 'also'. In the dialect of

[10] Jonathan Bobaljik p.c. suggests that the linear adjacency approach of A&N and the approach to CA in terms of hierarchical relations advocated in this thesis make different predictions when it comes to right adjoined modifiers. Right adjoined modifiers should act as interveners in a hierarchical approach to CA, but not in a linear adjacency approach. I have not been able to find modifiers that can unambiguously be characterised as right adjoined modifiers. Therefore, I leave this as a topic for further research.

Hellendoorn on the other hand, the complementizer cannot be inflected when the subject is modified by a focus particle. This is unexpected from the point of view of A&N's analysis. They argue that CA is the result of prosodic checking between the complementizer and the subject. The complementizer and the subject have to be in the same prosodic domain in order for CA to appear. The question arises whether a focus particle breaks up the prosodic domain or not. If it does, CA is expected to be blocked by a focus particle. If not, CA should not be blocked by a focus particle. The data in (9) show that the complementizer and the subject pronoun are in the same prosodic domain, as the complementizer is inflected. The data in (8) on the other hand, seem to illustrate that the complementizer and the subject are not in the same prosodic domain, as in this case the agreement morphology on the complementizer is necessarily absent. In other words, A&N's analysis does not provide a means to account for the discrepancy between (8) and (9) without having to stipulate that a focus particle does break up the prosodic domain in the dialect of Hellendoorn, whereas it does not in the dialect of Tegelen.

As I have shown in detail in section 3 of chapter 3, these data can be accounted for under an analysis of CA that makes use of the hierarchical relations established in Syntax. CA in Hellendoorn Dutch reflects the features of an agreement relation with a head internal to the pronominal projection. In Tegelen Dutch on the other hand, CA spells out the agreement relation between C° and the maximal projection of the pronominal projection. By adding a focus particle to the pronominal projection, the head internal to the pronominal projection becomes less local to C° and hence does not count as a possible Goal for C°. The maximal projection of the pronominal projection is still local enough to C° to enter into an agreement relation. As a consequence, CA in Hellendoorn Dutch is no longer possible when a focus particle modifies the pronominal subject, whereas in Tegelen Dutch it is.

3. Double Agreement

3.1 Introduction

In chapter 3 of this thesis, I have provided a new account for the phenomenon of Double Agreement in Hellendoorn Dutch. Consider the relevant examples in (38).

(10) a. Wiej b**in-t** / ***binn-e** den besten!
we are-*t* / are-*e* the best
'We are the best!'

b. ***Bin-t** / **binn-e** wiej den besten?
are-*t* / are-*e* we the best

c. Ik dèènke **darr-e** wiej den besten **bin-t** / ***binn-e**!
I think that-*e* we the best are-*t* / are-*e*
'I think that we are the best!'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

I have shown that DA in this dialect has the following characteristics. As was already noticed in previous literature (cf. among others Van Haeringen 1958; Zwart 1993, 1997, 2001), there are two affixes associated with the first person plural in Hellendoorn Dutch. As the examples in (38) show, the schwa-affix appears on the complementizer and on the finite verb in inversion contexts. The *t*-affix on the other hand, occurs on the finite verb in subject-initial main clauses.

Secondly, the schwa-ending that is associated with the first person plural also appears in the first person singular. I have taken this observation as a starting point for my analysis of DA. In section 3.2 of chapter 3, I have shown that the schwa-ending in this dialect represents first person singular features. This affix can also appear with first person plural subjects, as the speech participant features of such pronouns are first person singular. The speech participant features are situated in the specifier of the pronominal projection. The schwa-ending spells out the agreement relation between the Probe and this internal Goal of the first person plural subject.

The third characteristic of DA in this dialect, the fact that the schwa-ending cannot appear on the complementizer when the first person plural subject is modified by a focus particle also follows from this analysis. It cannot appear in this case, as the Goal containing the speech participant features is not local enough to the Probe. As a consequence, this relation cannot be established and the schwa-ending cannot appear on the finite verb (cf. *supra* chapter 3, section 3).

Fourthly, I have shown that the schwa-ending cannot appear on the complementizer when the first person plural subject is extracted. I have related this to the fact that the schwa-ending cannot appear on the finite verb in SVO-clauses. I have shown that in both cases the subject moves out of the c-command domain of the Probe. By assumption, the Goal containing the speech participant features which is internal to the pronominal projection is not available for Agree. As a consequence, the relation between the Probe, either T° or C°, and this Goal is unavailable, and the schwa-ending cannot appear on the finite verb or the complementizer respectively.

In this section, I discuss two previous analyses of DA, namely Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001) and Ackema & Neeleman (to appear).

3.2 Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001)

Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001) (henceforth Zwart) argues that the DA-pattern in Hellendoorn Dutch shows that there are two paradigms for inflection, one related to C° and one related to AgrS°.[11] A verb or a complementizer in C° that agrees with a first person plural subject is inflected with a schwa-affix. A verb in AgrS° that agrees with a first person plural subject on the other hand, is inflected with a *t*-affix.

I have shown in section 3.4.2 of chapter 3 that the complementizer does not show inflection when the first person plural subject is extracted. These data are

[11] The precise implementation of this idea differs somewhat in the analyses provided by Zwart (1993, 1997, 2001). The general idea is the same, however.

unexpected under Zwart's analysis, as the inflection on the complementizer is not dependent on the position of the subject but on the position of the complementizer. Both when the subject is in the embedded subject position and when it is extracted, the complementizer is in C° and therefore should carry the schwa-affix. These data show that the inflection on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch is not related to the position the complementizer is in, but rather to the position the subject is in. When the subject is in the c-commmand domain of C°, the complementizer is inflected. When it has moved out of the c-command domain of C°, the complementizer is not inflected.

One of the advantages of Zwart's analysis is the fact that it captures not only the DA-pattern of Hellendoorn Dutch, but also the DA-patterns of Lower Bavarian and Brabantish.[12] Consider the examples in (11) and (12) (from Zwart 1997:140).[13]

(11) a. … da-de gullie kom-t / *kom-de.
that-$_{2P}$ you$_{PL}$ come-$_{2P.PL}$ / come-$_{2P}$
'…that you will come.'

b. Gullie kom-t / *kom-de.
you$_{PL}$ come-$_{2P.PL}$ / come-$_{2P}$
'You will come.'

c. Wanneer kom-de / *kom-t gullie.
when come-$_{2P}$ / come-$_{2P.PL}$ you$_{PL}$
'When do you come?'

[Brabantish]

(12) a. … daβ-ma mir noch Minga fahr-n / *fahr-ma.
that-$_{1P.PL}$ we to Munich go-$_{1P.PL}$ / go-$_{1P.PL}$
'…that we are going to Munich.'

b. Mir fahr-ma / *fahr-n noch Minga.
we go-$_{1P.PL}$ / go-$_{1P.PL}$ to Munich
'We are going to Munich.'

[12] In section 3.2 of chapter 2, I already briefly discussed Lower Bavarian in footnotes 24 and 30. Both Lower Bavarian and non-Lower Bavarian have an element *–ma* appearing on the complementizer and the finite verb in inversion with first person plural subjects. According to Bayer (1984), the *ma*-element functions as a clitic in non-Lower Bavarian and as an agreement-affix in Lower Bavarian. One piece of supporting evidence Bayer provides for this claim is that the *ma*-element appears on the finite verb in the SVO-order in Lower Bavarian whereas it cannot appear on the finite verb in this word order in non-Lower Bavarian.

[13] Apart from Lower Bavarian and Brabantish, Zwart also discusses Lapscheure Dutch as a DA-dialect. In the second person singular, the *t*-affix is overtly realised on the finite verb in the SVO- and CSOV-word order, but not in the VSO-word order. It is not directly clear that this is a form of DA. Haegeman (1992) claims that the *t*-affix is underlyingly present in the VSO-word order. As the status of this pattern is unclear, I leave this dialect out of consideration here. Standard Dutch also has a DA-pattern, similar to the one found in Lapscheure Dutch. In the second person singular, the *t*-affix only appears on the finite verb in the SVO- and CSOV-order, but not in the VSO-order. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002-2003) show that this type of DA is not comparable to the DA-patterns discussed in the main text.

c. Fahr-ma / *fahr-n mir noch Minga?
go-$_{1P.PL}$ / go-$_{1P.PL}$ we to Munich
'Are we going to Munich?'

[Lower Bavarian]

The examples in (11) show that in the second person singular and plural in Brabantish a *de*-affix appears on the finite verb in inversion contexts and on the complementizer, but not on the finite verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. As is shown in (12), the affix on the finite verb in Lower Bavarian also seems to differ according to the position the finite verb is in. The complementizer and the finite verb in inversion show inflection with the *ma*-affix, as does the finite verb in the SVO-order. The finite verb in the CSOV-order on the other hand cannot inflect with this affix. Zwart argues that in Brabantish the *de*-affix is part of the C°-paradigm. Therefore, it only appears on the complementizer and the finite verb in inversion, but not on the verb in SVO- and CSOV-clauses. In Lower Bavarian on the other hand, the *ma*-affix is part of the AgrS° paradigm. Therefore, this affix appears on the complementizer and on the finite verb in VSO- and SVO-clauses, but not on the finite verb in CSOV-clauses.

At first sight, it appears to be an elegant result that the analyses of DA in Hellendoorn Dutch, Brabantish and Lower Bavarian can be unified. A closer look at these dialects however, reveals that the DA-patterns are not as similar to one another as might be expected on the basis of Zwart's account. Consider the examples in (13).

(13) a. … *darr-e / dat zölfs wiej de wedstrijd wint.
that-$_{1P.PL}$ / that even we the game win
'…that we even win the game.'

[Hellendoorn Dutch]

b. … dad-de / *dat zölfs gij de wedstrijd win-t.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ / that even you$_{SG}$ the game win-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that even you win the game.'

[Asten Dutch]

c. … daβ-ma / *daβ auch mir noch Minga fahr-n
that-$_{1P.PL}$ / that also we to Munich go-$_{PL}$
'…that we will also go to Munich.'

[Lower Bavarian]

These data show that the agreement morphology on the complementizer in Asten Dutch (a Brabantish dialect) and Lower Bavarian is not affected by the presence of a focus particle modifying the subject. In Hellendoorn Dutch on the other hand, CA is no longer possible when a focus particle modifies the subject. This is a first indication that the DA-patterns in these dialects are substantially different. Furthermore, the dialects do not behave alike when it comes to subject extraction either. Consider the examples in (14) (example (14a) is from Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2001, example (14c) is from Bayer 1984).

(14) a. WIEJ denkt Jan *darr-e / dat die pries ewönnen hebt.
we thinks Jan that-$_{1P.SG}$ / that that prize won have
'WE, John thinks won that prize.'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

b. GIJ denk ik dad-de / dat de wedstrijd wint.
you$_{SG}$ think I that-$_{2P}$ / that the game win
'YOU, I think will win the prize.'
[Asten Dutch]

c. MIR glaub-e daβ-ma / *daβ noch Minga fahrn.
we believe.I that-$_{1P.PL}$ / that to Munich go
'We, I think will go to Munich.'
[Lower Bavarian]

Again, Hellendoorn Dutch does not allow agreement on the complementizer when the subject is extracted, whereas Lower Bavarian and Asten Dutch do.

These data show that the DA-patterns in Lower Bavarian and Asten Dutch differ substantially from the one in Hellendoorn Dutch. As such, they cast doubt on the assumption that all DA-dialects have to get the same analysis.

3.3 Ackema & Neeleman (to appear)

In this section, I discuss the analysis of Ackema & Neeleman (to appear) (henceforth A&N) concerning DA. Recall from section 2.3 of this chapter, that A&N introduce the notion of *prosodic checking*. This is a feature checking mechanism that is at work in the PF-component and it is an additional mechanism to the feature checking mechanism that operates in Syntax.

A&N argue that Hellendoorn Dutch has the same rule at PF to regulate CA as, for instance, Lapscheure Dutch. This general rule is repeated in (15).

(15) {[A (F1) (F2) (F3)…] [B (F1) (F2) (F3)…]} →
{[A (F1$_i$) (F2$_j$) (F3$_k$)…] [B (F1$_i$) (F2$_j$) (F3$_k$)…]}

This rule states that when A and B with similar features are in one prosodic domain, the values of the features of A and B are checked. The difference between a DA-dialect like Hellendoorn Dutch and a non-DA-dialect like West-Flemish, is that Hellendoorn Dutch has an additional allomorphy rule. A&N argue that Hellendoorn Dutch has two affixes associated with agreement in the first person plural: a *t*-affix and a schwa-affix. The schwa-affix is regarded as an allomorph of the *t*-affix that is inserted when the structural description in (16) is met (cf. A&N:368).[14]

[14] Prt = Participant, Add = Addressee, Plr = Plural.

(16) {[C (Prt_i) (Add_j) (Plr_k)] [D (Prt_i) (Add_j) (Plr_k)]} → {[C (Prt_i) (Add_j) (Plr_k) *F*] [D (Prt_i) (Add_j) (Plr_k)]}

The *F* in the second line of this description represents the feature that requires the schwa-affix to be inserted. This means that when the complementizer checks its features against the subject via *prosodic checking,* the structural description in the first line of the rule in (16) arises. On the basis of this, the schwa-affix is inserted on the complementizer rather than the *t*-affix. The same holds when the verb precedes the subject. In this case, the verb and the subject are in one prosodic domain. The features of the verb match the features of the subject. Therefore, the linear string is similar to the first line of the rule in (16) and the schwa-affix appears on the finite verb. Furthermore, A&N show that when an adverb intervenes between the verb or the complementizer and the subject, the schwa-affix cannot appear, as expected under their analysis. In this case, the subject and the finite verb or the subject and the complementizer are not in one prosodic domain. The allomorphy rule does not apply, and hence the schwa-affix cannot appear.

The question arises how this analysis of DA can be distinguished from the analysis put forth in this thesis, in which agreement is based on hierarchical relations, rather than on linear adjacency. The same examples that differentiate between an analysis of CA in terms of linear adjacency and an analysis of CA making use of hierarchical relations can be used here (cf *supra* section 2.3.3 of this chapter). Reconsider the examples in (8) and (9), repeated here as (17) and (18).

(17) … dat / *darr-e zölfs wiej de westrijd wint.
that / that-$_{1P.SG}$ even we the game win
'…that we even win the game.'
[Hellendoorn Dutch]

(18) … *?det / de-s auch doow merge kum-s.
that / that-$_{2P.SG}$ also you tomorrow come-$_{2P.SG}$
'…that you too will come tormorrow.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

A&N argue that the schwa-affix appearing on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch is an allomorph, that appears when the condition in (16) is met, i.e a complementizer and a subject with identical features are in the same prosodic domain. CA occurs under similar circumstances: a complementizer with phi-features and a subject are in one and the same prosodic domain. It is expected that CA in a dialect like Tegelen Dutch and CA in Hellendoorn Dutch behave similarly, as the conditions for CA in Tegelen Dutch and for the allomorphy rule in Hellendoorn Dutch are similar. This does not appear to be the case, however. The allomorphy rule for Hellendoorn Dutch appears to be sensitive to the presence of a focus particle in between the complementizer and the subject, whereas CA in Tegelen Dutch is not. This is unexpected as the appearance of CA both in Hellendoorn Dutch and in

Tegelen Dutch is based on linear adjacency. When a focus particle blocks the effects of linear adjacency in the one case, it should also block this effect in the other case. This expectation is not met by the data. An analysis of DA making use of the idea that agreement relations are sensitive to hierarchical relations can account for these data, however, as I have demonstrated in section 3.2.3 of chapter 3. Again, the hierarchical approach to agreement appears to be preferable over the linear adjacency approach to agreement.

4. First Conjunct Agreement

4.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 of this thesis, I have focussed on the phenomenon of FCA in Dutch dialects. I have shown that in certain Dutch dialects the complementizer can agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. The agreement morphology on the complementizer spells out the features of the first conjunct of the coordinated subject or those of the coordinated subject as a whole, depending on which feature bundle results in more specific agreement morphology. Furthermore, the finite verb in SVO-clauses does not have the option of agreeing with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. I have related this to the fact that the complementizer cannot show agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject when it is extracted. In both cases, the subject moves out of the c-command domain of the Probe, either T° or C°. By assumption, the first conjunct is then no longer accessible for agreement, and hence FCA is not possible. In this section, I discuss two previous analyses of FCA in Dutch dialects, namely Van Koppen (to appear) and Ackema & Neeleman (to appear). Furthermore, I also focus on the analysis Johannessen (1998) provides for this phenomenon in various other languages.

4.2 Van Koppen (to appear)

The main aim of Van Koppen (to appear) is to explain the fact that FCA is not possible on the finite verb in Tegelen Dutch, whereas it is possible on the complementizer in these varieties (cf. *supra* section 4 of chapter 2 for a different analysis). Consider the examples in (19) and (20) from Tegelen Dutch.

(19) … de-s doow en ich ôs treff-e.
that-$_{2P.SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1P.PL}$ each.other$_{1P.PL}$ meet-$_{PL}$
'… that you and I could meet.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

(20) Doow en Marie *ontmoet-s / ontmoet-e uch
[you$_{SG}$ and Marie]$_{2P.PL}$ meet-$_{2P.SG}$ / meet-$_{PL}$ each.other$_{2P.PL}$
voor de kerk.
for the church
'You and Marie meet in front of the church.'
[Tegelen Dutch]

The agreement morphology on the complementizer is dependent on the agreement relation between C° and the subject. The agreement morphology on the finite verb on the other hand, is dependent on T°. Van Koppen (to appear) argues that the lack of FCA on the finite verb is caused by exactly this difference. The finite verb cannot agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, because the subject is dependent on the relation with T° for Case-assignment. It is assumed that nominative Case-assignment is dependent on the agreement relation with T°. If T° agrees with the first conjunct, rather than with the coordinated subject as a whole, only the first conjunct is assigned nominative Case. As a consequence, the second conjunct does not receive Case and the derivation crashes. On the other hand, if T° agrees with the coordinated subject as a whole, the coordination as a whole is assigned Case and the derivation converges. In other words, according to Van Koppen (to appear) the finite verb cannot agree with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject, because in that case the second conjunct does not receive Case and the derivation crashes. C° on the other hand, can agree with the first conjunct, as the subject is not dependent on this phi-feature Probe for Case-assignment.
The major problem with this analysis is that it is unable to correlate the fact that the finite verb does not show FCA with the fact that the complementizer also cannot show FCA when the subject is extracted. The analysis fails to capture the observation that in both cases the impossibility of FCA is related to the movement of the coordinated subject out of the c-command domain of the Probe, independently of the question of whether that Probe is a case-assigner or not.

4.3 Ackema & Neeleman (to appear)

A&N provide a tentative analysis of FCA in Dutch dialects based on the data presented in Van Koppen (2003). They argue that agreement between the complementizer and the first conjunct of a coordinated subject is facilitated by the fact that these items are in one prosodic domain at PF. This is illustrated in (21) (from A&N:373).

(21) [$_{CP}$ C° [$_{IP}$ [DP and DP] [$_{VP}$ ..]]] → {C DP} {and DP} {…}

As the complementizer and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject are in one domain, the first conjunct can check the features of this complementizer via prosodic checking. As a consequence, the complementizer shows agreement with

the first conjunct. A&N:374 account for the presence of FA on the complementizer in several dialects via the assumption that there is *an 'early' restructuring rule which erases the phi-boundaries* [VK: prosodic boundaries] *between conjuncts*.

A&N show that subject modification in Tegelen Dutch provides an argument in favour of their account. When a focus particle modifies the subject, the first conjunct of the coordinated subject and the complementizer are no longer in one domain. A&N propose that adding a focus particle to the subject forces both conjuncts of the coordinated subject to be interpreted in the same prosodic domain. The prosodic phrasing they propose with is represented in (22) (from A&N:374).

(22) $[_{CP}$ C° $[_{IP}$ [modifier [DP and DP]] $[_{VP}$ …]]]→ {C° modifier DP and DP} { …

As a consequence, the first DP is no longer adjacent to C° and FCA on the complementizer is impossible.[15] This expectation is indeed borne out by the data in (23) (from Van Koppen 2003, but cf. *supra* section 3.5.3 for some refinements of these judgements).

(23) … *de-s / det auch doow en ich ôs kenn-e treffe.
that-$_{2P.SG}$/ that also [you$_{SG}$ and I] each.other$_{1P.PL}$ can-$_{PL}$ meet
'…that you and me can also meet.'

[Tegelen Dutch]

In this dialect, the complementizer does not show FCA when the coordinated subject is modified by a focus particle. Now consider the example in (24) (from Van Koppen 2003).

(24) … **da-n** zelfs **Valère en Pol** morgen goa-n
that-$_{PL}$ even [Valère and Pol] tomorrow go-$_{PL}$
'…that even Valère and Pol will go tomorrow.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

This example shows that subject modification does not influence the agreement relation between the complementizer and the coordinated subject as a whole. In other words, subject modification makes agreement with the first conjunct unavailable, but agreement with the coordinated subject as a whole is still a possibility. A&N assume that there is no hierarchical structure present. For them, agreement (or at least some agreement phenomena) should be analysed by making use of linear adjacency. In the example in (24), the complementizer is not adjacent to the first conjunct, therefore FCA is blocked. Crucially however, it is also not

[15] It is not entirely clear why FCA should be blocked in this case. Although the complementizer and the first conjunct are not adjacent, they are part of the same prosodic domain. As far as I can see, if they are in one and the same prosodic domain, prosodic checking should be possible. However, A&N seem to assume (but they do not make this explicit) that it is not enough for two elements to be in the same prosodic domain to induce prosodic checking, rather these elements should also be adjacent within this prosodic domain.

adjacent to the coordinated subject as a whole. FA should therefore also be impossible. This is not the case. The analysis of CA and FCA put forth in this thesis is able to explain the fact that the complementizer agrees with the coordinated subject as whole when it is modified, but not with the first conjunct. Due to the fact that the coordinated subject is modified, the first conjunct is no longer equally local to C° as the maximal projection of the coordinated phrase. In this case, C° agrees with just one Goal, namely the maximal projection of the coordinated phrase. This means that in dialects in which the agreement on the complementizer reflects the relation between C° and the first conjunct, agreement on the complementizer disappears under modification of the coordinated subject. This is illustrated by the example in (23) from Tegelen Dutch. In dialects in which CA spells out the relation between C° and the maximal projection of the coordinated subject on the other hand, modification of the subject does not have an effect on the presence of CA. This is shown in the example from Lapscheure Dutch in (24). Again, it becomes clear that agreement relations are sensitive to hierarchical structure and that a linear adjacency account does not suffice in order to analyse these data.

4.4 Johannessen (1998)

In the literature, there are several analyses of FCA in languages other than Dutch. I already discussed the phenomenon of FCA in Irish, Arabic and Hebrew in section 4 of chapter 2. For a more complete overview of agreement with only one conjunct of a coordinated subject in the world's languages, I refer the reader to Johannessen (1993, 1998). I already discussed several analyses of FCA in section 4.2. of chapter 2, so I here will not go into them again. However, I do want to discuss the analysis Johannessen (1998) provides for FCA.

4.4.1 The analysis of Johannessen (1998)

Johannessen (1998) provides an elaborate overview of agreement with coordinated subjects in 32 languages. She discusses two phenomena in detail, namely *Unbalanced Coordination* (henceforth UC) and *Extra-ordinary Balanced Coordination* (henceforth EBC). Unbalanced coordination has an assigning and a receiving variant. Consider the examples in (25), (26) and (27) (from Johannessen 1998:16 and Johannessen 1998:33).[16]

(25) **Receiving UC**
She and **him** will drive to the movies.
[English]

[16] It appears to be the case that not all speakers of English find the example in (25) grammatical. I am not sure what the reason for this is. Johannessen (1998) attributes the example to Schwartz (1985).

(26) **Assigning UC**
Ki-ti na **m**-guu wa meza **u**-mevunjika.
[7-chair and 3-leg of table] 3-be.broken
'The chair and the leg of the table are broken.'
[Swahili]

(27) **EBC**
Them and us are going to the game together.
[English]

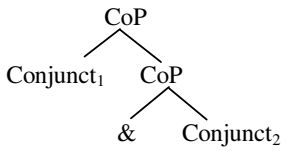
The examples in (25) and (26) are referred to with the term *unbalanced coordination*, as the conjuncts of the coordinated phrase do not behave in the same way. In the first example, the coordinated phrase is the subject of the clause. As such, it should receive nominative Case. The first conjunct has nominative Case. The second conjunct on the other hand, does not receive the Case it should receive, i.e. nominative, but it appears in the oblique Case. In the assigning type of UC, only one of the conjuncts determines the agreement morphology on the verb. This conjunct can be either the first one, or the second one, as in the Swahili-example in (26). On the basis of an investigation of 32 different languages, Johannessen (1998) presents the following generalization concerning UC.

(28) *In most languages, a language which is head final has a normal final conjunct and a deviant first conjunct; similarly, a head initial language has a normal initial conjunct and a deviant final conjunct*. (Johannessen 1998:56)

In (27) an example with EBC is provided. In this case, it is not only the second conjunct that gets the 'wrong' Case, i.e. oblique instead of nominative, but also the first one. In this case, both conjuncts are 'deviant'.

Johannessen (1998) provides an analysis for all three phenomena: assigning UC, receiving UC, and EBC. In addition to accounting for these three constructions, her analysis is also able to capture the generalization in (28). In this thesis, I have discussed FCA. In Johannessen's terminology, FCA is an assigning type of UC, in which the second conjunct is deviant. As this thesis is not concerned with the receiving type of UC or with EBC, I only discuss the analysis of the assigning type of UC. First of all, Johannessen (1998) assumes that coordinated subject have the structure represented in (29) (cf. also *supra* chapter 2, section 1).

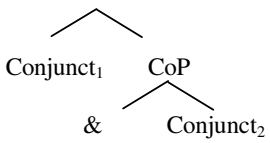
(29)



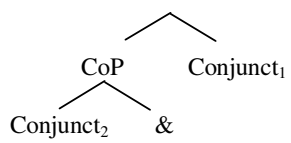
Coordinated structures are ordered hierarchically in that the first conjunct is a specifier to the conjunction, which in turn takes the second conjunct as its complement.

Furthermore, she argues that the features of the first conjunct are passed on to the conjunction via Spec,Head agreement. The conjunction projects and as a consequence, CoP carries the features of the first conjunct. When agreement with the coordinated subject is regulated via a syntactic agreement mechanism, a verb that agrees with a coordinated subject shows agreement with $Conjunct_1$, i.e. the conjunct that is in the specifier position of CoP. In order to account for the generalization in (28), Johannessen (1998:109) assumes that in head-initial languages CoP is left branching, whereas in head-final languages it is right-branching. The structure for head-initial languages and that for head-final languages is provided in (30) and (31) respectively.

(30)



(31)



In both head-initial and head-final languages, the specifier of CoP, containing $Conjunct_1$, determines the feature specification of CoP as a whole. As in head-initial languages the specifier containing $conjunct_1$ is left-adjoined to CoP, it is linearly speaking the first conjunct that determines the agreement on the verb. In head-final languages, the specifier containing $conjunct_1$ is right adjoined to CoP and hence it is linearly speaking the second conjunct that determines the agreement morphology on the verb.

Although Johannessen's (1998) analysis seems to be able to account for the data of the languages she discusses, there are a few problems with this account. First of all, if Swahili, one of the languages she discusses, is examined in more detail, it appears that the generalization in (28) might not be as solid as it appears to be at first sight. Secondly, the analysis Johannessen (1998) proposes cannot account for the data from dialect Dutch UC (FCA in my terminology). I discuss these two objections to her account in sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 respectively.

4.4.2 Swahili: a language with both FCA and SCA

Johannessen (1998:33) shows on the basis of the examples in (32) that in Swahili the second conjunct determines the agreement on the finite verb. This means that the first conjunct is deviant in the terminology of Johannessen (1998) (cf. *supra*, the generalization in (28)).

(32) a. Ki-ti na **m**-guu wa meza **u**-mevunjika.
[7-chair and 3-leg of table] 3-be.broken
'The chair and the leg of the table are broken.'
b. m-guu wa meza na **ki**-ti **ki**-mevunjika
[3-leg of table and 7-chair] 7-be.broken
'The leg of the table and the chair are broken.'
[Swahili]

In both these examples, it is the second conjunct that determines the agreement on the finite verb. This is expected, as Swahili is a SOV-language and the structure of coordinated phrases in Swahili according to Johannessen (1998) is as in (31). As a consequence, it is the second conjunct that determines the features of the coordinated subject as a whole.

On the basis of this, it is not expected that Swahili shows agreement with the first conjunct. This conjunct is in the complement position of the conjunction and therefore does not define the feature specification of CoP. As a consequence, agreement with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject should not be attested in this language. Contrary to these expectations, Marten (2000) shows that the first conjunct of a direct object is able to determine the feature specification on the finite verb. This is shown in the example in (33) (from Marten 2000:87, glosses are provided by Lutz Marten p.c.).[17]

(33) BwanaMsa, a-li-po-inuka, jambo l-a kwanza
BwanaMsa S1-past-rel16-get.up 5.matter P5-of first
a-li-**mw**-omba **Bibie Shali** na jamaa w-ote
S1-past-O1-beg [Bibie Shali and 9-company P2-all]
ruhusa ya ku-ach-i-wa huru ku-vuta ki-ko ch-ake
9.permission P9-of S15-leave-appl-pass free S15-draw 7-pipe P7-his
'Bwana Msa, when he got up, the first thing he asked of Bibie Shali and the whole company was the permission to be left at liberty to smoke his pipe.'
[Swahili]

In this example, the finite verb *omba* 'to beg' carries a class 1 object-concord marker, reflecting the class feature of the first conjunct of the coordinated object *Bibie Shali na jamaa w-ote* 'Bibie Shali and the whole company'. Agreement with the second conjunct leads to class 2 agreement on the finite verb[18], as does agreement with the coordinated object as a whole (Lutz Marten p.c.).
This excursion into agreement with coordinated phrases in Swahili shows that at least for this language the generalization in (28) is not correct when it comes to object agreement. In Swahili, an SOV-language, either the first or the second

[17] The abbreviations in this example are as follows: S = subject concord, O = object concord, Rel = relative concord, P = possessive concord, 1 = class 1 etc., appl = applicative, pass = passive.
[18] Although *jamaa* 'company' is a noun that belongs to class 9, it triggers class 2 agreement on the quantifier and the finite verb, as do all nouns referring to humans (Lutz Marten p.c.).

conjunct can be 'deviant'. Either the first or the second conjunct can determine the agreement on the finite verb. This is not expected under the analysis of UC provided by Johannessen (1998). I briefly come back to second conjunct agreement in the final chapter of this thesis.

4.4.3 FCA in Dutch dialects

In chapter 2, I have shown that in certain varieties of Dutch a Probe agrees either with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject or with the coordinated subject as a whole. The choice to spell out one or the other relation depends on which one of these two agreement relations results in more specific agreement morphology on the complementizer. Put differently, the analyses of FCA and FA are completely parallel in my account. I have shown that this analysis can account for the data of not only Tegelen Dutch, Bavarian, Lapscheure Dutch, Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch, and Waubach Dutch, but also for agreement with coordinated subjects in Irish and Arabic.

There are several advantages of the analysis of agreement with coordinated subjects I have provided in the preceding chapter over the analysis of UC provided by Johannessen (1998). Johannessen (1998:139-140) assumes that whether a language has FCA or FA is not determined systematically. She notes that *agreement which involves computation of both conjuncts, such as when two singular conjuncts give plural agreement, is determined by language-specific resolotion rules* (Johannessen 1998:172, footnote 8).[19] However, in this thesis I have shown that FCA and FA are two sides of the same coin and that the choice for one of the other is made systematically on the basis of the affixes present in the lexicon of a particular language. This complex interplay between FA and FCA cannot be accounted for in Johannessen's (1998) analysis of agreement with coordinated subjects. Furthermore, I have shown in chapter 2 that agreement between a finite verb and a subject in the SVO- and CSOV-order in Dutch dialects cannot result in agreement with the first conjunct. On the other hand, agreement between a complementizer and a coordinated subject can result in agreement with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. I have shown that the absence of FCA on a Probe is related to movement of the coordinated subject past that Probe (cf. also *supra* section 4.2 of chapter 2 and Soltan 2004, Aoun et al. 1994, Munn 1999, Babyonyshev 1996, Doron 2000 for this generalization). It is also not clear how this generalization follows from Johannessen's (1998) analysis.

[19] Johannessen (1998:120-121) does discuss an analysis of the receiving type of ordinary balanced coordination. This is the kind of coordination in which both conjuncts get the same case. She analysis this by assuming that there are different types of coordinators. There are coordinators that pass through the information present on the specifier and the head of the projection to the complement (resulting in a similar Case specification for the two conjuncts) or coordinators that do not pass on such information (resulting in unbalanced coordination in which the first conjunct does not (necessarily) have the same Case as the second conjunct.

Chapter Five Conclusion and Avenues for future research

In this final chapter, I not only give the main conclusions of this thesis, but I will also briefly focus on some topics for future research. In the first section, I provide the major empirical and theoretical conclusions of this thesis. The second section focuses on topics for future research. In this latter section, I touch upon several constructions concerning agreement with coordinated subjects that have not been discussed in chapter 2. I furthermore show that the analysis provided for agreement between a Probe and two Goals in Dutch dialects can be applied to agreement in Tsez equally well. Next, I briefly discuss Bejar (2003). She discusses agreement in languages like Georgian in which the agreement on the Probe reflects the features of either the subject or the object, so-called Context Sensitive Agreement. She shows that in this case too there is one Probe with two Goals. I discuss how her analysis of agreement relates to the one put forth in this thesis. Finally, I discuss a potential counterexample to my analysis, namely the impossibility of agreement with possessors. I show that Bobaljik's (2004) hypothesis on how morphological Case interacts with agreement provides a potential way to account for this counterexample. Discussing this set of data furthermore provides a more refined picture of how agreement is divided over the syntactic and the morphological component.

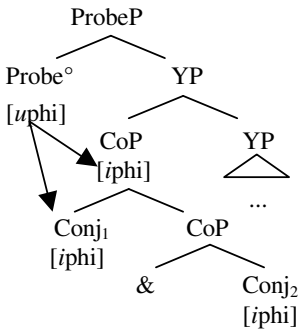
1. Conclusion

The main goal of this dissertation was to investigate the interplay between Syntax and Morphology with respect to agreement. I have shown that Syntax establishes the agreement relation between a Probe and its Goal(s) on the basis of hierarchical structure. I have argued that it does not suffice for a certain element to be linearly local enough to a Probe, it has to be hierarchically local enough to this Probe. When two Goals are (hierarchically) equally local with respect to a certain Probe, Agree relates the Probe to both these Goals simultaneously. Furthermore, I have shown that movement of the subject past the Probe results in the impossibility of agreement between this Probe and a Goal internal to the subject. I have shown that this generalisation not only holds for agreement between a Probe and coordinated subjects (as has also been observed in the literature), but also for agreement between

a Probe and a pronominal subject. At the level of Morphology, the agreement relation of the Probe gets realised as agreement morphology on this Probe. When Morphology is confronted with a Probe which is involved in more than one agreement relation, it will spell out the relation which results in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe. In this way, the (micro)variation between the dialects and languages discussed in this thesis has been reduced to variation in the (Vocabulary Item) lexicon. This result is in accordance with the idea of Chomsky (1995) that the locus of microvariation should be in the lexicon. I have shown that this conception of the interplay between Syntax and Morphology with respect to agreement accounts for a broad range of agreement phenomena in various (unrelated) languages. I briefly summarise the two major empirical domains discussed in this thesis here.

In the second chapter, I have discussed the first case study of the situation described above. I have shown that a Probe for phi-features with a coordinated subject in its c-command domain encounters two equally local Goals: namely CoP and the first conjunct of the coordinated subject occupying the specifier of CoP. This configuration is represented in the structure in (1).

(1)

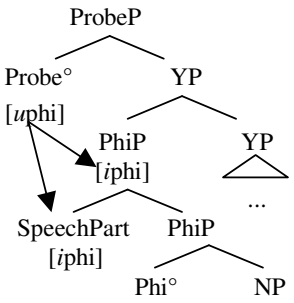


I have shown on the basis of hitherto undiscussed data from Germanic dialects that when the Probe is C°, either the agreement relation with CoP or that with $Conj_1$ can be spelled out on the complementizer: resulting in Full Agreement (henceforth FA) on the complementizer or First Conjunct Agreement (henceforth FCA). I have shown that these two 'strategies' for agreement with coordinated subjects identified by Corbett (1983) (cf. *supra* section 1 of chapter 2) are actually two sides of the same coin: FCA arises when the relation with the first conjunct results in more specific agreement morphology and FA when the relation with CoP does. Furthermore, FCA is possible on the complementizer, but not on the finite verb in CSOV- and SVO-clauses. The agreement morphology on the finite verb reflects the phi-features of T°, the complementizer those of Cº. There is no straightforward reason why C° can, but T° cannot agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. I have argued that the inability of T° to agree with the first conjunct of a

coordinated subject is related to the movement of the coordinated subject out of the c-command domain of T°. In other words, I have shown that FCA can only arise when the coordinated subject is within the c-command domain of the Probe, otherwise the Probe necessarily shows FA. This observation not only holds for the dialects under discussion, but it is also made for other languages exhibiting FCA, like Arabic (cf. among others Munn 1999) and Hebrew (cf. Doron 2000). After discarding several other possible analyses on the basis of up until now undiscussed data from Finnish and Modern Hebrew, I have argued that T° cannot agree with the first conjunct, because T° - in contrast to C° -agrees with the copy of the moved subject. By assumption, the internal structure of this copy is unavailable for agreement relations. I have shown that this analysis of agreement with coordinated subjects can be applied to a wide range of languages and dialects, among which several Dutch dialects, Arabic, Bavarian, Irish, Modern Hebrew and Finnish.

In chapter 3, I have discussed the second case study of the situation discussed above: agreement with pronominal subjects. I have shown that when the c-command domain of a Probe for phi-features contains a pronominal subject, it encounters two equally local Goals: the maximal projection of the pronoun and the speech participant features of the pronoun occupying the specifier of the pronominal projection. This configuration is schematically represented in (2).

(2)



I have shown that either the relation of Probe C° with PhiP is spelled out on the complementizer or the relation with SpeechPart is. The agreement on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch reflects the phi-features of SpeechPart, whereas that in Tegelen Dutch reflects the phi-features of PhiP. This correlates with an up until now undiscovered cluster of properties: Hellendoorn Dutch in contrast to Tegelen Dutch shows a Double Agreement (henceforth DA) pattern: the finite verb in CSOV- and SVO-clauses carries different agreement morphology than the complementizer and the finite verb in VSO-clauses. Furthermore, modification of the pronominal subject results in the absence of agreement on the complementizer in Hellendoorn Dutch, but not in Tegelen Dutch. Finally, extraction of the pronominal subject in Hellendoorn Dutch leads to the lack of CA, while this is not the case in Tegelen Dutch. I have shown that the assumption that pronouns have a complex internal structure which is available for syntactic operations like Agree, leads to an

elegant account of this cluster of properties. This analysis is not tailormade for DA and CA with pronominal subjects, as it is the same analysis that accounts for the agreement patterns with coordinated subjects discussed in chapter 2.

2. Avenues for future research

In this final section, I discuss several avenues for future research. First of all, I discuss cases of agreement with coordinated subjects that have not been addressed in the preceding chapters. Secondly, I show that the analysis provided in this thesis for agreement between a Probe and two Goals can be successfully applied to another empirical domain, namely agreement in Tsez. Furthermore, I present the analysis of agreement put forth by Bejar (2003). Interestingly, Bejar (2003) also discusses cases in which a Probe for agreement appears to have two Goals rather than just one. I show how her analysis relates to the analysis of agreement with two Goals provided in this thesis. Finally, I briefly discuss agreement with possessors. I make crucial use of the analysis of agreement provided by Bobaljik (2005).

2.1 Agreement with coordinated subjects

There are several constructions involving agreement with coordinated subjects that I have not discussed so far. In the first subsection, I focus on First Conjunct Clitic Doubling in Wambeek Dutch. The second subsection looks at several constructions involving agreement with coordinated subjects discussed in the literature (cf. in particular Corbett 1983, Johannessen 1998).

2.1.1 First Conjunct Clitic Doubling

Several dialects of Dutch exhibit the phenomenon of Clitic Doubling (cf. among others Haegeman 1992, De Geest 1995, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a,c). An example of this phenomenon is provided in (3) (cf. Van Craenenbroeck 2004:195).

(3) … da me waaile geire spelen.
that we_{CL} we_{STRONG} gladly play
'…that we like to play.'

[Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialect, the strong subject pronoun *waaile* 'we' is doubled by the clitic pronoun *me* 'we'. This construction becomes especially interesting for the topic of this thesis when the following examples are taken into account.

(4) a. … da me gou en ik makanneren zulle zien.
that we_{CL} [you_{SG} and $I]_{1P.PL}$ each.other shall see
'…that you and I will see each other.'

b. … da che gaailn en waailn makanneren mutn elpen.
that you_{CL} [you_{PL} and $we]_{1P.PL}$ each.other must help
'…that you and we must help each other.'

c. … da k ik en gau makanneren zulle zien.
that I_{CL} [I and $you_{SG}]_{1P.PL}$ each.other shall see
'…that you and I will see each other.'

[Wambeek Dutch]

These examples show that when the subject pronoun is coordinated, the clitic pronoun can either double the feature specification of the first conjunct of the coordinated subject (as in examples (4b) and (4c)), or it can double the feature specification of the coordination as a whole, as in (4a). I refer to the former situation as First Conjunct Clitic Doubling (henceforth FCCD). It would be very interesting to relate this construction in Wambeek Dutch to FCA on the complementizer as discussed in section 3 of chapter 2. In both cases, the phi-feature specification of the first conjunct of the coordinated subject can be doubled by an element (either an agreement affix or a clitic) on the complementizer. Furthermore, both constructions have a counterpart in which the element on the complementizer doubles the feature specification of the coordination as a whole. Several questions for future research immediately arise: How are FCCD and FCA related? Can the analysis of FCA also be applied to FCCD in Wambeek Dutch? Is FCCD also found in Dutch dialects that have both Clitic Doubling and CA. Put differently, what is the interaction between FCA and FCCD? What does the comparison between FCCD and FCA tell us about the differences and similarities between clitics and agreement? I will not answer these questions here, but it is clear that FCCD forms an interesting avenue for future research.

2.1.2 Second, Closest and Furthest conjunct agreement

In this thesis, I have focused on agreement with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject and agreement with the coordinated subject as a whole. The general pattern I have described in this thesis can be stated as follows: the agreement morphology on the Probe can reflect the phi-feature specification of the first conjunct of the coordinated argument when this argument is inside the c-command domain of a Probe. Although this generalisation seems to hold for several languages and dialects (cf. section 4.2 of chapter 2 for an indepth discussion), there also appear to be counterexamples to it. Consider the examples in (5) (from Corbett 1983:180).

(5) **Groza** in strah je **prevzela** vso vas
[fear$_{F.SG}$ and horror$_{M.SG}$] has seized$_{F.SG}$ the.whole village
'Fear and horror have seized the whole village.'

[Slovene]

This is an example of 'Furthest Conjunct Agreement'. The Probe agrees with the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. This subject linearly precedes the Probe, so that descriptively speaking, the Probe agrees with the conjunct that is linearly the furthest away. This is unexpected given the generalisation provided above. If linear order indeed reflects hierarchical structure (but cf. Van Gelderen 2003 for a different view on the relation between linear order and hierarchical structure in certain Slavic languages), the subject has moved out of the c-command domain of the Probe and hence FCA is not expected to occur. I have no account for these data, but in order to establish that this example is a real counterexample to the analysis for FCA provided here, a closer investigation of these languages is needed. For instance, it has to be established that this example contains coordination at the DP-level rather than for instance coordination at the CP-level, which would result in a completely different analysis (cf. for instance the analysis proposed by Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche 1994 for certain varieties of Arabic)

Several other types of agreement with coordinated arguments are discussed in the literature. Johannessen (1998), among many others, discusses cases of Second Conjunct Agreement (SCA, cf. also section 4.4 of chapter 4). Reconsider the example with SCA from Swahili in (6).

(6) Ki-ti na **m**-guu wa meza **u**-mevunjika.
[7-chair and 3-leg of table] 3-be.broken
'The chair and the leg of the table are broken.'

[Swahili]

On the basis of these examples, it has been argued that languages do not so much display First or Second Conjunct Agreement, but rather Nearest Conjunct Agreement (cf. Corbett 1983, 2003). The Probe agrees with the Goal that is linearly adjacent to it. In the preceding chapters, it has become clear that at least for the dialects and languages under discussion in this thesis a linear adjacency approach to FCA is not able to account for the complete range of data (cf. in particular section 4.3 of chapter 4). The question remains how data such as those discussed in (6) should be accounted for. Arguably, the Probe agrees with the most deeply embedded conjunct in this case (but cf. Johannessen 1999 discussed in section 4.4 of chapter 4 for a different view). This is unexpected given the assumptions made in this thesis (cf. section 2 of chapter 1), as this conjunct is not local enough to the Probe in order to become a Goal for this Probe. Again, a closer investigation of languages displaying SCA is needed. However, the phenomenon whereby the most deeply embedded DP serves as the Goal for a phi-feature Probe is also found in other constructions. Consider the example in (7) (from Den Dikken 2000:19-20).

(7) a. The identity of the participants is/are unknown.
b. The key to all doors is/are missing.

[English]

In certain varieties of English, this type of example is found. The most deeply embedded DP, i.e. *the participants* and *all doors*, can trigger plural agreement on the finite verb. It would be interesting to see whether these examples could be linked to the examples in (6) with SCA.

2.2 One Probe – two Goals, a case study: agreement in Tsez

In this subsection, I show that the interaction between Syntax and Morphology discussed in this thesis is not tailor-made for Dutch dialects, but rather that the same interaction can be observed in other languages. The example I discuss in this section concerns Tsez object agreement. Both the data and a large portion of the analysis are directly taken from Polinsky & Potsdam (2001).[1] Consider the examples in (8a) and (8b) (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:584).[2]

(8) a. enir **užā** **magalu** **bāc'ruɬi** **r**-iyxo
mother [boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-ate-NMLZ].IV IV-knows
'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'
b. enir užā **magalu** bāc'ruɬi **b**-iyxo
mother [boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-ate-NMLZ] III-knows
'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'

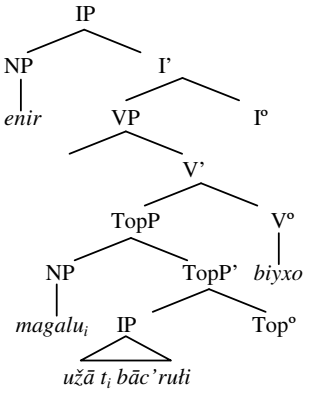
[Tsez]

In Tsez, transitive main verbs agree with their objects. In the a-example the verb *iyxo* 'know' agrees with the object clause *užā magalu bāc'ruɬi* 'the boy ate the bread'. This is indicated by the fact that the main verb shows agreement for the fourth class, reflecting the class features of the embedded clause. In example (8b) on the other hand, the verb agrees with an argument inside the embedded clause, namely the embedded object *magalu* 'bread'.[3] Polinsky & Potsdam (2001:610) argue convincingly that agreement between the main verb and the embedded object is only possible when the embedded object is the topic of its own clause. When the embedded object carries a topic interpretation, the main verb has to agree with this embedded topic and can no longer agree with the entire object clause (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:609-610). Furthermore, if a topic interpretation of the embedded

[1] Cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2003) for a slightly different analysis of this agreement pattern in Tsez.
[2] Abbreviations: NMLZ = nominalizer, I,II,III,IV = first, second third and fourth class respectively, ERG = Ergative, ABS = Absolutive, PRES = Present tense, PSTPRT = Past Participle.
[3] In both cases the verb agrees with an absolutive argument. The embedded clause in example (8a) has to occupy the absolutive position and the embedded object in (8b) has to be in the absolutive case. The fact that verbs agree with absolutive arguments is a common pattern in ergative languages, like Tsez (cf. among others Corbett 2003).

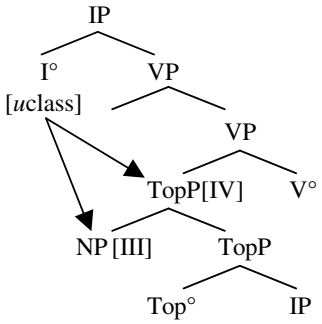
object is blocked, agreement between the main verb and the embedded object results in ungrammaticality (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:611). The structure they propose for the example in (8) is represented in (9) (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:626).

(9)



Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) argue that the embedded object topic moves to the highest specifier position of the embedded clause in covert syntax. I have rearranged this structure in such a way that it becomes mainly head initial, in order to make the comparison with the situation discussed in the previous chapters even more apparent. The adapted version of the structure in (9) is provided in (10).[4,5]

(10)



The configuration in (10) is interesting from the perspective of this thesis, as the Probe for Class features, i.e. I°, encounters two Goals at the same time. The

[4] Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) argue at length that the embedded topic has not moved into the matrix clause nor is base generated there. I will not recapitulate their arguments here. For more details, I refer the reader to the original paper.

[5] Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) argue that the movement of the topic to Spec,TopP takes place in covert syntax. This raises a problem, since according to standard assumptions (cf. among others Chomsky 2000) LF-movement does not have an effect on the PF-branch. On the basis of these and similar data Bobaljik (1995, 2002) and Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2004) argue that both 'overt' and 'covert' movement take place before the Spell-Out point to PF and LF.

inflectional head of the main clause has unvalued class features. Agree searches its c-command domain and finds two suitable, equally local Goals, namely TopP and NP.[6] Both TopP and NP are c-commanded by the matrix V°, the matrix Spec,VP and the matrix I°. According to the definitions of locality assumed in this thesis, this means that TopP and NP are equally local with respect to I°: the set of nodes c-commanding TopP is identical to the set of nodes c-commanding NP, and both nodes are c-commanded by Probe I°. As outlined in the previous section, I assume that the Probe enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals simultaneously at the Spell-Out point to PF.[7] The relation with TopP results in agreement with the object clause (as in example (8a)), the relation with NP in agreement with the embedded topic (as in (8b)). When the clause contains an embedded topic, the finite verb cannot show agreement with the object clause as a whole. Rather, agreement has to be with the embedded topic. Polinsky & Potsdam (2001:640) argue that "*…morphological agreement in Tsez has an information-structural function, marking the local topicality of the agreement trigger*".

I would like to argue that the topic marking strategy in Tsez is a side-effect of the fact that the agreement morphology dependent on embedded topics is more specific than the one dependent on embedded clauses. More specifically, I propose that Agree relates I° to both Goals, as indicated by the arrows in the configuration provided in (10). At the level of Morphology one of these two agreement relations of I° has to be spelled out on the finite verb. As the agreement relation with the embedded topic leads to more specific agreement morphology on the finite verb than the agreement relation with TopP, the former relation is spelled out on the finite verb.

In order to see that the agreement relation with the embedded clause as a whole leads to less specific agreement morphology than the relation with the embedded topic, consider the table in (11) (taken from Polinsky & Potsdam 1999:2).

(11)

	Singular	**Plural**	**Context**
Class I	ø-	b-	male human
Class II	y-	r-	female human/ inanimates
Class III	b-	r-	animals/inanimates
Class IV	r-	r-	inanimates/abstract concepts/clauses

This table displays the agreement affixes for the different classes that appear on the finite verb when it agrees with absolutive arguments. In this paradigm the *r*-prefix seems to be the elsewhere-affix (cf. also Corbett 2003 for the observation that class

[6] With respect to both the tree structure in (9) and the one in (10) the question arises if the specifier position of VP contains a trace of the subject. If so, the analysis I provide in this section predicts that if this subject is in the absolutive Case, the matrix verb would agree with it. In this case the subject is a more local Goal for the Probe than the embedded clause or the embedded object.

[7] Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) do not mention the possibility that the main verb enters into an agreement relation with the clause as a whole when an embedded topic is present. For their analysis, this is not really relevant. For the comparison that is drawn between Tsez and the situation sketched above, this possibility is crucial, however.

IV morphology is usually the default morphology in Caucasian languages), as it occurs in several unrelated slots.[8] The agreement relation between the inflectional head and the embedded topic results in the specific agreement ending expressing class III agreement on the finite matrix verb. The agreement relation of the inflectional head with the embedded clause as a whole results in the elsewhere-agreement ending on the main verb. The more specific class III-ending takes precedence over the elsewhere-class IV-ending when it comes to insertion. The result is that the matrix finite verb agrees with the embedded topic. Although more work is needed in order to establish a full-blown analysis of the agreement paradigm in Tsez, the results seem to be promising.

The analysis proposed in this section for Tsez agreement with embedded objects makes several predictions. For instance, if TopP is dominated by a CP, the topic is no longer equally local to the matrix inflectional head as the maximal projection of the object clause. In this case, the inflectional head does not have the embedded topic and TopP as potential Goals, but rather the Goal in Spec,CP (when present) and CP itself. Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) provide some examples that seem to confirm this prediction. Consider the sentence in (12) (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:635).[9]

(12)	*	eni-r		už-ā	**magalu**	b-ac'si-λin	**b**-iyxo
		mother	[	boy-ERG	bread.III.ABS	III-ate-comp]	III-knows

[Tsez]

In this example, the embedded clause contains a complementizer and hence arguably a CP-projection. CP dominates TopP (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:116 and Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2003 for a similar analysis). This means that the Goal occupying the specifier of TopP is no longer equally local to the matrix inflectional head as the maximal projection of the embedded object clause as a whole. In this case, the topic in the specifier position of TopP is c-commanded by C°. As a consequence, the set of nodes c-commanding the maximal projection of the embedded clause is a proper subset of the set of nodes c-commanding the topic in Spec,TopP. Therefore, the matrix inflectional head encounters only one Goal with class features, as the embedded object in Spec,TopP is no longer local enough to this head. The finite matrix verb cannot agree with the embedded topic, as the matrix inflectional head does not entertain an agreement relation with this object.

Furthermore, this analysis predicts that if the specifier of CP is filled by an absolutive phrase, then the finite matrix verb could potentially agree with it. That this is indeed the case, is illustrated in the example in (13) (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001: 638, fn. 20).

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[8] The *b*-prefix, which appears with class I and class III subjects also does not seem to single out a specific feature specification. I will not go into the question of what the exact feature specification belonging to this affix is.

[9] Polinksy & Potsdam (2001:635) do not provide the example with agreement between the matrix verb and the embedded clause, but they do note in the text preceding the example that "*Properly Local Agreement is ofcourse still possible with the complementizer*".

(13) enir **šebi** yāk'i-ru-łi **y**-iy-x-ānu
mother [wh.II-ABS II-go-PSTPRT-NMLZ] II-know-PRES-NEG
'The mother does not know who [of women] left.'

[Tsez]

Wh-phrases are assumed to occupy Spec,CP in this language (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 2001:637). The finite main verb can agree either with the object clause, which arguably carries class IV agreement (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 1999:2) or with the wh-word in Spec,CP, which carries Class II agreement. As the latter relation results in more specific agreement morphology, i.e. in a specific affix, it is this relation which is spelled out on the finite main verb.

2.3 Context-Sensitive Agreement languages: Bejar 2003

Bejar (2003) discusses agreement in so-called Context-Sensitive Agreement languages. In these languages, the agreement on the finite verb appears to signal the feature specification of more than one argument. Consider, for instance, the example in (14) from Georgian (Bejar 2003: 67).

(14) g-xedav-t
$_{2P}$-see-$_{PL}$
'I see you all.'
'We see you.'

[Georgian]

The analysis of Bejar (2003) for examples like the one in (14) has several ingredients that are important for the comparison with the analysis of the agreement patterns in Dutch dialects put forth in this thesis. First of all, Bejar (2003) shows that there appears to be a specificity effect in these languages. In (14), there are two potential Goals, i.e. the subject and the direct object. The Goal with the most specific feature specification agrees with the Probe. For the example at hand, this means that when the subject is a first person singular and the direct object a second person plural, the agreement on the finite verb reflects the feature specification of the direct object. The reason for this is that in this language second person is more specific than first person and plural is more specific than singular. If on the other hand, the subject is first person plural and the object second person singular, the agreement on the finite verb signals the person features of the object, but the more specific number features of the subject.
Bejar (2003) derives this specificity effect by making two crucial assumptions. First of all, the unvalued phi-features do not probe as a bundle of phi-features, but rather, the unvalued person and number features probe separately. This can result in a situation in which a Probe agrees for person with the direct object, but for number

with the subject. Secondly, she shows that not all phi-Probes are similar. She argues that there are languages in which the phi-Probes have more strict requirements for the Goal than phi-Probes in other languages. I explain this on the basis of the schema in (15).

(15) a.

Probe [P[Participant]]	Goal [P]	Goal [P[Participant]]

b.

Probe [P]	Goal [P]	Goal [P[Participant]]

This schema should be interpreted as follows. In the language in example (15a), the probe for person features requires a speech participant to value its features. The first – most local – Goal it encounters does not qualify as such, as it is not a speech participant. In this case, the Probe searches further in its c-command domain and finds Goal 2, which does qualify as a suitable Goal for the Probe. The first Goal is not an intervener, as it does not match the features of the Probe. This is how the complex agreement patterns in CSA-language can be analysed: the Probe searches for a Goal with specific requirements. When the highest argument does not qualify as a Goal for that particular Probe, the next-highest argument can be selected as a Goal. A consequence of this is that in this type of language, certain arguments do not count as interveners for agreement. In the language represented in (15b), the Probe does not have any other requirements than that the Goal also has person-features. This means that it is not necessarily the most specific, but rather the hierarchically highest Goal that agrees with the Probe.

The question arises how this analysis of complex agreement patterns in languages like Georgian relates to the analysis of agreement patterns in Dutch dialects proposed here. First of all, it is clear that the dialects discussed in this thesis do not show CSA-effects. The agreement morphology on the complementizer and on the finite verb always reflects the phi-features of the structurally highest argument with respect to the Probe, i.e. the subject or part of the subject (i.e. the first conjunct of a coordinated subject or the speech participant features of a pronominal subject). This means that the dialects discussed here do not have a Probe with special requirements. The Probe just searches for a Goal with person and number features. An interesting overlap between the two analyses is that in both cases there is a Probe with two potential Goals in its c-command domain and only one Goal that can define the feature specification on that Probe. Bejar (2003) shows that in CSA-languages the Probe requires a certain specific Goal and in order to find that Goal can skip a more local argument with phi-features. In her analysis, it is the Probe that requires a certain specificity of the Goal. In this thesis, I have shown that the Probe in Dutch dialects does not look for a Goal with any specific requirements, but rather that the Probe agrees with the most local Goal available. The specificity effects in these dialects are of a different nature than those in CSA-languages. When there are two Goals available for one Probe, the Probe enters into an agreement relation with both these Goals. At Morphology, it is determined which Goal defines the feature

specification of the Probe, on the basis of which Goal leads to more specific agreement morphology on that Probe.

There is a subtle difference between these two analyses. For the languages Bejar (2003) discusses, the Goal has to have a certain set of features in order to determine the feature specification on the Probe. When there are two items with phi-features within the c-command domain of the Probe, the highest Goal that fulfils the requirements of the Probe is selected for agreement. For the dialects I am discussing here, it is not so much the feature specification of the Goal, but the affix on the Probe belonging to this feature specification that determines which one of the two available Goals defines the feature specification of the Probe.

To summarise, Bejar (2003) shows that phi-Probes are not uniform across languages. She discusses cases in which the c-command domain of a certain Probe contains two potential Goals, but one of the Goals does not fulfil the requirements of the Probe, resulting in the anti-superiority effect illustrated in (15). These effects are not found in the dialects discussed in this thesis. I have shown that in these dialects the situation can also arise where a Probe has more than one Goal. In this case, however, it is not the Probe that requests certain properties of the Goal. Both Goals in principle can define the feature specification of the Probe. The Goal resulting in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe eventually determines the feature specification of the Probe. It would be interesting to see if these two analyses can be combined. In other words, it might be possible to construct an example in a CSA-language in which a Probe finds two Goals that fulfil the Probe's requirements and that are equally local. It is predicted that in this case the Goal resulting in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe would determine the feature specification of the Probe.

2.4 Agreement with Possessors

The main theme of this thesis is to show that the operation Agree can relate a Probe to two Goals when these two Goals are hierarchically equally local with respect to this Probe. The morphological component decides which one of the two available Goals eventually determines the feature specification on the Probe. There is one context that arguably also contains two Goals that are equally local with respect to the Probe, namely DPs containing a possessor (cf. also footnote 9 of the introduction to this thesis). Consider the example in (16) (from Haegeman 2003).

(16) … da-n/*da dienen vent zen broers nen buot gekocht een.
that-$_{3P.PL}$/that [[that man$_{SG}$] his brothers] a boat bought have
'…that that man's brothers have bought a boat.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

This example from the dialect of Lapscheure shows that the agreement morphology on the complementizer necessarily reflects the agreement relation with the head

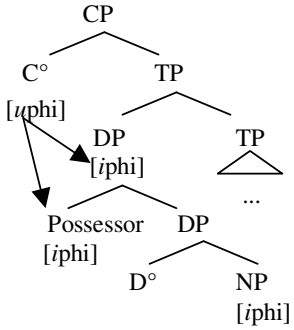
noun *zen broers* 'his brothers' and not of the possessor *dienen vent* 'that man'. This is also the case when the head noun is singular and the possessor plural. This is illustrated in the example in (17) (Liliane Haegeman p.c.).

(17) … *da-n / da die jungers under moeder dood is.
that-$_{3P.PL}$ / that-$_{SG}$ those boys their mother dead is
'…that those boys'mother is dead.'

[Lapscheure Dutch]

Consider the derivation of this sentence in (18).

(18)



The subject DP has moved from the VP-internal subject position to the specifier position of T°. C° is a Probe for phi-features. The DP contains phi-features, namely the phi-features of the head noun, and the possessor contains phi-features. If the possessor occupies the specifier position of DP, it is equally local to C° as DP, given the definitions of c-command and locality provided in the previous chapters. As the examples in (16) and (17) from Lapscheure Dutch show, however, the agreement morphology on the complementizer can never spell out the relation with the possessor. When the possessor and the maximal projection of the possessed noun phrase are equally local with respect to C°, it is expected that both would qualify as Goals, as both have phi-features. Furthermore, it is expected that the Goal resulting in the most specific agreement morphology on the Probe, would define the feature specification of the Probe. This does not appear to be the case and hence, the question arises how these data can be accounted for given the conclusions reached in this thesis.

There are two ways to resolve this problem. Firstly, it could be argued that possessors in Dutch occupy the same structural position as Szabolcsi (1994) argues nominative possessors in Hungarian do, namely a position that is hierarchically lower than D°. When this is the case, it is not equally local to C° as the maximal projection of the possessed noun phrase and hence it is not a potential Goal for C°. As it is not a potential Goal, it will never define the features of the Probe.

Another way to look at these data is to link them to the hypotheses put forth by Bobaljik (2005) and Marantz (1991) concerning the connection between morphological Case and agreement. Both Bobaljik (2005) and Marantz (1991) show that agreement is dependent on morphological Case. Only when a DP has the right morphological Case can it take part in an agreement relation. Bobaljik (2005) shows that in certain languages only nominative DPs can take part in agreement relations, whereas in other languages nominative and oblique DPs can. In Dutch only nominative DPs can. Marantz (1991) and Bobaljik (2005) both suggest that agreement takes place late in the morphological component.[10] This idea contrasts with the hypothesis defended in this thesis that Agree takes place at Spell-Out and that Goals are selected on the basis of hierarchical relations.

At this point, I would like to tentatively suggest that both views can be maintained, by assuming that agreement is devided over the various components of the grammar. I illustrate this on the basis of the examples in (16) and (17) and the derivation in (18). At the Spell-Out Point to PF, Agree takes place. Agree identifies the elements that are suitable Goals for the Probe. Both DP and Poss in (18) qualify as suitable Goals, as they both have matching features and they are equally local with respect to the Probe. The derivation is sent off to PF. At the level of Morphology, one of these two Goals has to establish the feature specification of the Probe. I would like to suggest that at this point there are also morphological requirements a Goal has to fulfil in order to define a Probe's feature specification. One of these requirements is that the Goal has to have the right morphological Case. The reason that the possessor in (16) and (17) cannot determine the feature specification of the Probe is that it does not have the right Case. To summarise, I would like to suggest that in order for a DP to define the features of a Probe, it has to fulfil several requirements: (i) it has to be hierarchically local enough to the Probe and (ii) it has to fulfil the morphological requirements of agreement, i.c. it has to have the right morphological Case.

[10] Bobaljik (2005) does not discard the idea that agreement is dependent on hierarchical structure all together however, as he does show that when two suitable NPs for a certain Probe it is the highes accessible NP that licenses the agreement on this Probe.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

In het Standaardnederlands wordt de congruentierelatie tussen het onderwerp en het werkwoord uitgedrukt door vervoeging op het werkwoord. Dit is geïllustreerd in het onderstaande voorbeeld.

(1) a. De poezen slapen in de mand.
    b. De poes slaapt in de mand.

In voorbeeld (1a) is het onderwerp *de poezen* meervoud. Het finiete werkwoord *slapen* verschijnt dan ook in het meervoud. In (1b) verschijnt er een *–t* op het werkwoord die aangeeft dat het onderwerp *de poes* enkelvoudig is. In dit proefschrift worden een aantal verschillende congruentierelaties met het onderwerp in de Nederlandse dialecten besproken. In een aantal Nederlandse (maar ook in een aantal Duitse, Zwitserse en Oostenrijkse) dialecten congrueert het onderwerp van de zin niet alleen met het finiete werkwoord van die zin, maar ook met het voegwoord dat een ingebedde zin inleidt. Dit laatste verschijnsel wordt *voegwoordvervoeging* genoemd. Een voorbeeld van een zin waarin zowel voegwoordvervoeging als werkwoordsvervoeging voorkomt is gegeven in (2) (uit Haegeman 1992:61).

(2) Kpeinzen da-n zunder goa-n kommen.
    ik.denk dat-$_{3P.PL}$ zij gaan-$_{3P.PL}$ komen
    'Ik denk dat zij zullen komen.'

[Lapscheurs]

In dit West-Vlaamse dialect congrueert het onderwerp van de ingebedde zin *zunder* 'zij' zowel met het voegwoord als met het finiete werkwoord van de ingebedde zin. Zowel het voegwoord *da* 'dat' als het werkwoord *goa* 'gaan' vertonen een *n*-uitgang die de persoons- en getalskenmerken, derde persoon meervoud, van het onderwerp reflecteert.

Dit proefschrift kan empirisch gezien in twee delen worden gesplitst, al is het theoretisch gezien één geheel. In het eerste deel worden congruentierelaties met gecoördineerde onderwerpen besproken, in het tweede deel congruentierelaties met pronominale onderwerpen. Als een onderwerp gecoördineerd is, dan is het mogelijk om ofwel met het gecoördineerde onderwerp in het geheel te congrueren of met een deel van dit gecoördineerde onderwerp. Ook voor pronominale onderwerpen laat ik zien dat het voeg- of het werkwoord zowel met het pronominale onderwerp als geheel of met een deel van dit pronominale onderwerp kan congrueren.

In deze samenvatting zal ik me eerst concentreren op congruentie met gecoördineerde onderwerpen. Een voorbeeld is gegeven in (3) voor het Beiers, een

Duits dialect dat net als een aantal Nederlandse dialecten naast werkwoordsvervoeging ook voegwoordvervoeging kent.

(3) a. … **daβ-sd** **du** und d'Maria an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds.
dat-$_{2P.SG}$ [jij en Maria] de hoofdprijs gewonnen hebben-$_{2P.PL}$
b. … **daβ-ds** **du und d'Maria** an Hauptpreis gwunna hab-ds
dat-$_{2P.PL}$ [jij en Maria] de hoofdprijs gewonnen hebben-$_{2P.PL}$
'…dat jij en Maria de hoofdprijs gewonnen hebben.'

[Beiers]

In deze voorbeelden uit het Beiers vertonen zowel het voegwoord als het finiete werkwoord een congruentie-uitgang. In beide zinnen drukt de congruentie-uitgang op het finiete werkwoord *hab* 'hebben' tweede persoon meervoud uit. Dit zijn de persoons- en getalskenmerken van het gecoördineerde onderwerp als geheel. Het voegwoord *daβ* 'dat' kan eveneens met het gecoördineerde onderwerp als geheel congrueren zoals in voorbeeld (3b). Een andere mogelijkheid is echter dat het congrueert met het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde onderwerp, zoals in (3a). In dit geval is dat het persoonlijk voornaamwoord voor de tweede persoon enkelvoud *du* 'jij'. Het finiete werkwoord kan echter nooit congrueren met het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde subject. Dit is te zien in het voorbeeld in (4).

(4) Du undd'Maria *ho-sd / hab-ds an Hauptpreis gwunna.
[jij en Maria]$_{2P.PL}$ hebben-$_{2P.SG}$ / hebben-$_{2P.PL}$ de hoofdprijs gewonnen
'Jij en Maria hebben de hoofdprijs gewonnen.'

[Beiers]

In het tweede hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift wordt ingegaan op de vraag waarom het voegwoord in het Beiers en in een aantal andere dialecten kan congrueren ofwel met het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde subject ofwel met het hele gecoördineerde subject. Voordat ik kan ingaan op deze analyse zal ik eerst een aantal van mijn assumpties expliciteren: Ik ga uit van de assumptie dat de structuur van zinnen wordt bepaald door de syntactische component van het taalsysteem. Deze component haalt bundels kenmerken (zoals de kenmerken persoon, getal, geslacht, tijd etc.) uit het initiële lexicon en bepaalt vervolgens de hiërarchische structuur tussen deze bundels. Deze opgebouwde structuur wordt verzonden naar de PF-component en naar de LF-component. De PF-component bepaalt de lineaire volgorde van de bundels op basis van de hiërarchische structuur die is gemaakt gedurende de syntactische derivatie en voorziet deze bundels van lexicale informatie. De LF-component zorgt ervoor dat de semantische relaties tussen de bundels kenmerken worden geïnterpreteerd. Ik ga ervan uit dat congruentierelaties worden gelegd op basis van de hiërarchische structuur en wel op het moment dat deze structuur wordt verzonden van de syntactische component naar de PF-component. Een congruentierelatie is een relatie waarin een hoofd met kenmerken zonder waarde (een Probe) wordt gekoppeld aan een element met diezelfde

kenmerken met een waarde (een Goal). In het geval van voegwoordvervoeging is het bijvoorbeeld zo dat er wordt aangenomen dat het voegwoord wel de kenmerken persoon en getal heeft, maar niet de waardes behorende bij die kenmerken. Het onderwerp van de zin heeft ook de kenmerken persoon en getal en het heeft ook de waardes behorende bij deze kenmerken, zoals bijvoorbeeld eerste persoon en meervoud. Een Probe zoekt naar een Goal in zijn c-commandeerdomein: een bepaald deel van de hiërarchische structuur. Een Probe gaat een relatie aan met de Goal die hiërarchisch gezien het meest lokaal is ten opzichte van de Probe. De waardes van de kenmerken van de Goal worden uitgespeld als een congruentieaffix op de Probe. In het voorbeeld dat ik zojuist gaf betekent dit dat de waardes voor persoon en getal van het onderwerp worden uitgespeld als een congruentieaffix op het voegwoord. Dus, als het onderwerp de waardes eerste persoon en meervoud heeft en congrueert met het voegwoord dan drukt de uitgang op het voegwoord ook eerste persoon meervoud uit. In dit proefschrift laat ik zien dat als twee Goals even lokaal zijn ten opzichte van de Probe dat de Probe dan een congruentierelatie aangaat met beide Goals. Als de Probe een relatie heeft met twee Goals in plaats van met één Goal, dan doemt de vraag op welke relatie wordt uitgespeld als een congruentieaffix op de Probe. In dit proefschrift wordt de stelling verdedigd dat als er twee congruentierelaties zijn die kunnen worden uitgespeld als een congruentieaffix op de Probe, de relatie wordt gekozen die resulteert in het meest specifieke congruentieaffix op de Probe. Deze keuze wordt gemaakt door de Morfologische component. Deze component maakt deel uit van de PF-component. Kort gezegd komt het er dus op neer dat congruentierelaties worden gelegd op basis van de hierarchische structuur die is opgebouwd in de syntactische component. Dan wordt de structuur verzonden naar de PF-component. Een onderdeel van PF, namelijk de morfologische component, zorgt ervoor dat de congruentierelaties worden uitgespeld als affixen op de Probe, in dit geval het werkwoord of het voegwoord.

Nu de belangrijkste aannames duidelijk zijn kan de vraag worden beantwoord waarom er in sommige dialecten congruentie is met het eerste lid van een gecoördineerd onderwerp, in andere met het hele gecoördineerde onderwerp en weer in andere (zoals in het Beiers hierboven) met beide. In hoofdstuk 2 laat ik zien dat het de persoons- en getalskenmerken behorende bij het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde onderwerp en die behorende bij het gecoördineerde onderwerp als geheel zich op structureel gelijke afstand bevinden van het voegwoord. Als het voegwoord een Probe is, zoals in de dialecten met voegwoordvervoeging, dan gaat de Probe een congruentierelatie aan met zowel het gecoördineerde onderwerp als geheel als het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde onderwerp. De Morfologische component bepaalt vervolgens welke van deze twee relaties resulteert in een meer specifiek congruentieaffix op de Probe en dus welke van deze twee relaties wordt vertaald als een affix op de Probe. In sommige dialecten zal dit de relatie met het eerste lid zijn, in andere de relatie met het gecoördineerde onderwerp als geheel en in sommige gevallen resulteren beide relaties in een even specifiek affix op de Probe en kunnen ze dus beide worden gerealiseerd, zoals in het Beiers. De vraag die

overblijft is waarom het werkwoord niet kan congrueren met het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde onderwerp. Het werkwoord heeft evenals het voegwoord persoons- en getalskenmerken zonder waarde. Het werkwoord is dus ook een Probe op zoek naar een Goal in zijn c-commandeerdomein. Het geval wil dat de kenmerkenbundel behorende bij het eerste lid van het gecoördineerde onderwerp en die behorende bij het gecoördineerde onderwerp als geheel zich ook op structureel gelijke afstand van het werkwoord bevinden. Het verschil tussen het werkwoord en het voegwoord is echter dat het werkwoord congrueert met de kopie van het verplaatste onderwerp, terwijl het voegwoord congrueert met het eigenlijke onderwerp. Het voert te ver om hier in detail in te gaan op de analyse van deze set data, maar het komt er in het kort gezegd op neer dat de interne structuur van een kopie van een verplaatst item niet langer kan worden gebruikt voor het leggen van congruentierelaties. Voor een gedetailleerde uitwerking van deze analyse verwijs ik de lezer graag naar sectie 4 van hoofdstuk 2.

In het derde hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift wordt het tweede empirische domein besproken. In dit hoofdstuk ga ik in op de congruentierelaties van voeg- of werkwoorden met pronominale onderwerpen. Ik laat zien dat ook in deze gevallen het voegwoord en het werkwoord, de Probe, een congruentierelatie kunnen aangaan met twee Goals in plaats van met één Goal. De vraag is dan natuurlijk welke twee Goals er zijn bij pronominale onderwerpen. Er wordt beargumenteerd dat pronominale onderwerpen zoals *wij* bestaan uit verschillende kenmerken. Het pronominale onderwerp *wij* refereert aan een groep mensen waar de spreker deel van uitmaakt. Je kunt dus zeggen dat *wij* bestaat uit twee sets kenmerken: de eerste set geeft de rol van het pronominale onderwerp in het gesprek aan, in het geval van *wij* is dat de rol van spreker, en de tweede set geeft het getal aan van het pronominale onderwerp, in het geval van *wij* is dat meervoud. Samen vormen deze sets de kenmerken van het pronominale onderwerp in zijn geheel, in het geval van *wij* is dat de set [spreker, meervoud]. Ik laat zien dat het voeg- of werkwoord twee Goals heeft als het congrueert met een pronominaal onderwerp: de eerste Goal is de kenmerkenbundel die aangeeft welke rol het pronominale onderwerp speelt in het gesprek: in het geval van *wij* is dat de rol van spreker en in het geval van *jullie* de rol van toehoorder. De tweede mogelijke Goal bij een pronominaal onderwerp is de bundel kenmerken die behoort bij het pronominale onderwerp als geheel: in het geval van *wij* is dat de kenmerkenbundel ‘spreker, meervoud’ en bijvoorbeeld in het geval van *ik* is dat ‘spreker, enkelvoud’. Ik laat zien dat deze twee Goals zich hiërarchisch gezien op gelijke afstand bevinden van het voegwoord en het werkwoord. De Morfologische component bepaalt vervolgens welke van deze twee relaties resulteert in een meer specifiek congruentieaffix op de Probe en dus welke van deze twee relaties wordt uitgespeld op de Probe. In sommige dialecten zal dit de relatie met de eerst genoemde Goal zijn, in andere de relatie met de tweede genoemde Goal. Om dit te illustreren bespreek ik hieronder voegwoordvervoeging met pronominale onderwerpen in het Hellendoorns en in het Tegels. Voor een analyse van dit fenomeen in deze dialecten en argumentatie voor de hieronder gepresenteerde interpretatie van de data verwijs ik de lezer naar hoofdstuk 3.

Het Hellendoorns heeft voegwoordvervoeging met het pronominale onderwerp *wiej* 'wij'. De vervoegingsuitgang op het voegwoord is een schwa. Dit is geïllustreerd in (5).

(5) … **darr-e / *dat** wiej den besten bin-t / *binne
dat-$_{\text{SPREKER}}$ / dat wij de besten zijn / zijn-$_{\text{SPREKER}}$
'… dat wij de besten zijn!'

[Hellendoorns]

De congruentierelatie die wordt gerealiseerd is in dit geval niet die met de kenmerkenbundel van het pronominale onderwerp als geheel 'spreker, meervoud', maar die met de kenmerkenbundel die uitsluitend de rol van het onderwerp in het gesprek, in dit geval 'spreker', aangeeft.

In andere dialecten, zoals in het Tegels, drukt het congruentieaffix op het voegwoord bij het pronominale onderwerp *doow* 'jij' de relatie met het pronominale onderwerp als geheel uit: het drukt zowel uit dat de rol van het pronominale onderwerp die van toehoorder is als dat de toehoorder enkelvoudig is. Een voorbeeld uit dit dialect is gegeven in (6).

(6) … **de-s** **doow** Marie ontmoet-s.
… dat-$_{\text{TOEHOORDER/ENKELVOUD}}$ jij Marie ontmoet-$_{\text{TOEHOORDER/ENKELVOUD}}$
'…dat jij Marie ontmoet.'

[Tegels]

Er is dus een verschil tussen voegwoordvervoeging met pronominale onderwerpen in het Hellendoorns en in het Tegels. In het eerste dialect reflecteert de vervoegingsuitgang op het voegwoord de relatie met de kenmerkenbundel die de rol van het onderwerp in het gesprek weergeeft, terwijl in het laatst genoemde dialect deze uitgang zowel de rol van het pronominale onderwerp uitdrukt en of dat onderwerp enkelvoud of meervoud is. In hoofdstuk 3 laat ik uitgebreid zien dat dit verschil samenhangt met een aantal andere verschillen tussen deze twee dialecten. Hoewel het te ver voert om hier op de precieze analyse van voegwoordvervoeging in deze twee dialecten en het cluster van de verschillen tussen deze dialecten in te gaan zal ik wel laten zien welke verschillen er zijn tussen het Tegels en het Hellendoorns.

Ten eerste is het zo dat in het Hellendoorns het schwa-affix dat voorkomt op het voegwoord niet kan voorkomen op het werkwoord, zoals te zien is in voorbeeld (5). In het Tegels is dit niet het geval. Het affix op het voegwoord is gelijk aan het affix op het werkwoord. Verder is het zo dat als het pronominale onderwerp in het Hellendoorns wordt gemodificeerd door een focuspartikel, voegwoordvervoeging niet langer mogelijk is, terwijl dit in het Tegels geen effect heeft op voegwoordvervoeging. Dit is geïllustreerd in voorbeeld (7).

(7) a. … dat / ***darr-e** zölfs **wiej** de westrijd wint.
dat / dat-$_{SCHWA}$ zelfs wij de wedstrijd winnen
' …dat zelfs wij de wedstrijd winnen.'

[Tegels]

b. … **de-s** / *?det auch **doow** merge kum-s.
dat-$_{2P.SG}$ / dat ook jij morgen komt-$_{2P.SG}$
'…dat ook jij morgen komt.'

[Hellendoorns]

Als laatste is het zo dat als het onderwerp in het Hellendoorns wordt verplaatst naar de hoofdzin, zoals in (8a), voegwoordvervoeging niet langer mogelijk is, terwijl dit in het Tegels niet het geval is (zie 8b).

(8) a. **WIEJ** denkt Jan **dat /*darre** die pries ewönnen hebt, nie ZIEJ
wij denkt Jan dat/dat-$_{SCHWA}$ die prijs gewonnen hebben niet zij
'WIJ denkt Jan dat die prijs gewonnen hebben, niet ZIJ'

b. **DOOW** denk ik **de-s** **/** ***det** de wedstrijd winnen zal-s.
jij denk ik dat-$_{2P.SG}$ / dat de wedstrijd winnen zal-$_{2P.SG}$
'Jij denk ik dat de wedstrijd zal winnen.'

[Tegels]

Afsluitend, in dit proefschrift wordt ingegaan op de onderzoeksvraag of congruentie een syntactisch fenomeen is of dat er een taakverdeling is tussen de syntactische en de fonologische component. Ik toon aan dat er inderdaad sprake is van een dergelijke taakverdeling en wel op de volgende wijze: de syntactische component legt op basis van hierarchische overwegingen congruentierelaties. De fonologische component vertaalt deze relaties in congruentiemorfemen. Als de syntactische component meer dan één congruentierelatie voor een Probe selecteert, dan bepaalt de fonologische component op basis van de beschikbare congruentiemorfemen welke van deze relaties wordt uitgespeld. De fonologische component kiest in dat geval altijd voor die relatie die de meest specifieke informatie verschaft. Op deze wijze kan microvariatie wat betreft de constructies die worden besproken in deze dissertatie worden teruggebracht tot een verschil in het lexicon. Dit is in overeenstemming met de Chomskyaanse idee (1995) dat alle parametrische variatie, dus ook die tussen dialecten, kunnen teruggevoerd worden op lexicale en morfologische verschillen.

Curriculum Vitae

Marjo van Koppen werd op 8 mei 1976 geboren in de wereldhavenstad Rotterdam. Zij behaalde haar gymnasiumdiploma aan het City College Sint Franciscus in haar geboortestad. Na de middelbare school begon zij in 1995 met de studie Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. Zij koos de specialisatierichting Moderne Taalkunde en studeerde in 1999 af. Tijdens haar studie liep zij gedurende een half jaar stage op het Meertensinstituut te Amsterdam bij de onderzoeksgroep Variatielinguistiek. Na haar studie werd zij in januari 2000 aangenomen als Assistent in Opleiding (AiO) aan de Universiteit van Leiden binnen het toenmalige onderzoeksinstituut HIL (Holland Institute for Generative Linguistics) en het huidige onderzoeksinstituut ULCL (University of Leiden Centre for Linguistics). Haar AiO-project was nauw verbonden met het SAND-project (Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten). Naast haar aanstelling als AiO is Marjo van Koppen gedurende twee jaar werkzaam geweest bij het Meertensinstituut als medewerker digitalisering binnen het SAND-project. Dit proefschrift is het resultaat van haar werkzaamheden als AiO binnen het SAND-project aan de Universtiteit van Leiden. Vanaf april 2005 zal zij werkzaam zijn als postdoctoraal onderzoeker binnen het project 'The Noun-Phrase: Diversity in Dutch design and the design of diversity' aan het Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS (UiL-OTS) van de Universiteit van Utrecht.