

The non-existence of a ϕ -feature dependency between C and T

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1. Introduction

Core data: Complementizer Agreement (CA) (cf. a.o. Haegeman 1992; Zwart 1993; Carstens 2003)

(1) a k peinzen **da-n** / *da **die venten** Marie kenn-en
I think that-PL / that-SG those men Marie know-PL
'I think that those men know Marie.'
(West Flemish)

b k peinzen **da** / *da-n **dienen vent** Marie kenn-t
I think that-SG that-PL that man Marie know-SG
'I think that that man knows Marie.'
(West Flemish)

(2) a Ich denk **de-s** / *det **doow** Marie **ontmoet-s.**
I think that-_{2P.SG} that you_{2P.SG} Marie meet-_{2P.SG}
'I think that you will meet Marie.'
(Limburgian)

b. * Ich denk **det** / de-s **geej** Marie **ontmoet-s.**
I think that that-_{2P.SG} you_{2P.PL} Marie meet-_{2P.SG}
(Limburgian)

The theoretical issue in a nutshell

- Several proposals suggest a ϕ -feature dependency between T° and C° , i.e. T° and C° share one set of features (cf. Zwart 1993, 1997, Chomsky 2005 etc.).
- In most (if not all) of these proposals the core piece of empirical evidence is Complementizer Agreement (CA).

Goals of this talk

- To show that
 - CA and verbal agreement (henceforth TA) do not result from one and the same feature checking relation between the ϕ -features of T° and the subject (contra Zwart 1993, Chomsky 2005);
 - CA signals the presence of a discrete ϕ -feature set in C° , which appears in addition to the ϕ -feature set in T° leading to verbal agreement (cf. also Carstens 2003, 2009).
- To argue against alternative (non-syntactic) analyses of CA, including feature checking at the PF-interface via linear adjacency and prosodic domains (Fuss 2005, Ackema & Neeleman 2004, Miyagawa 2009), as well as an analysis in terms of analogy (Kathol 2001, Zwart 2006).

Outline of the talk

2. Theoretical background: CA and the relation between T and C
3. Arguments against a ϕ -feature dependency between T° and C°
4. Arguments against a non-syntactic analysis of CA: linear adjacency/prosodic domains
5. Analysis Complementizer agreement
6. Conclusion

2. Theoretical background: CA and the relation between T° and C°

- Two implementations of the idea that T° and C° share a single set of ϕ -features:
 - (i) The ϕ -features originate in T° (cf. a.o. den Besten 1977, 1989, Zwart 1993, 1997; Hoekstra & Maracz 1989; Watanabe 2000 etc). The features of T° , which get realized on the finite verb, are checked against the subject. Then T° (or the ϕ -feature set of T°) moves to C° . As a result the features of T° are also present on C° and get realized as CA.
 - (ii) The ϕ -features originate in C° and are inherited and checked against the subject in T° (Chomsky 2005). ϕ -features on C° are spelt out on C° as additional reflex of agreement between T° and the subject.

Chomsky (2005: fn.26) “sometimes the ϕ -features of C are morphologically expressed, as in the famous West Flemish examples”

- (iib) Another(?) implementation of this idea: CA as a reflex of PF-checking

Chomsky (2006: fn.28) : ‘it might be that what appears phonetically at C, in some cases at least, is the result of subsequent concord, not agreement’.

Miyagawa (2009:68): ‘[...] I will speculate that the complementizer portion of the agreement receives its valuation not in narrow syntax but in PF’

We come back to this option in section 4.

- In both approaches: CA is an additional reflex of TA, i.e. the feature checking relation between T° and the subject which results in verbal agreement morphology.
- In both approaches CA and TA: identical ϕ -features \rightarrow C° and T° agree with the same Goal: the subject DP
 - **Prediction: ϕ -features spelt out on complementizer = ϕ -features spelt out on finite verb.**

3. Arguments against a ϕ -feature dependency between T° and C°¹

- This section: two arguments falsifying this prediction:
 - Complementizer Agreement with coordinated subjects in Limburgian;
 - Complementizer Agreement with external possessors in West-Flemish.

3.1 CA with coordinated subjects in Limburgian (cf. Van Koppen 2005, 2007)

- CA and TA show the same ϕ -feature specification:

(3) Ich denk de-s doow Marie ontmoet-s.
I think that-2SG you_{SG} Marie meet-2SG
'I think that you will meet Marie.' (Limburgian)

- CA and TA show different ϕ -feature specification (First Conjunct Agreement):

(4) ... de-s doow en ich ôs kenn-e treffe.
that-2SG [you_{SG} and I]_{1PL} each.other_{1PL} can-PL meet
'... that you and I can meet.' (Limburgian)

- CA differs from TA in (4) → unexpected if CA and TA are the result of the same feature checking between T° and the subject.

3.2 Agreement with external possessors in West-Flemish

- CA and TA show the same ϕ -feature specification:

(5) ... omda-n/*omdat Andre en Valère tun juste gebeld een/*eet
because-PL/because-SG Andre and Valère then just phoned have-PL/has-SG
'...because Andre and Valère called just then .' (West-Flemish)

- CA and TA show different ϕ -feature specification (External Possessor Agreement):

(6) ... omda-n/*omdat Andre en Valère tun juste underen computer
because-PL/because-SG Andre and Valère then just their computer
kapot was/*woaren
broken was-SG/were-PL
'...because Andre and Valère's computer broke down just then.' (West-Flemish)

- CA differs from TA in (6) → unexpected if CA and TA are the result of the same feature checking between T° and the subject.

¹ Cf. Carstens (2002) for additional arguments against a T-to-C movement approach to CA.

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- Argument in favor of an adjacency/prosodic phrasing accounts

Disruption of prosodic phrasing/linear adjacency in East Netherlandic

- (9) a. ... *dat/dar-re wiej noar 't park loop-t
that/that-PL we to the park walk-PL
'...that we are going to the park.'
- b. .. dat/*darre op den wärmsten dag van 't joar ook wiej
that/ that-PL on the hottest day of the year also we
noar 't park loop-t
to the park walk-PL
'...that on the hottest day of the year, we too are going to the park.'
- (East Netherlandic, from Zwart 2006)

- However, Van Koppen (2005): East Netherlandic CA differs significantly from other instances of CA and hence should get a different analysis.

Regular CA: CA also with modified subject (10b) and dislocated subject (10c):

- (10) a. ... **de-s** / *det **doow** morge kum-s.
that-2P.SG / that you_{2P.SG} tomorrow come-2P.SG
'...that you will come tomorrow.'
- b. ... **de-s** / *?det auch **doow** merge kum-s.
that-2P.SG / that also you_{SG} tomorrow come-2P.SG
'...that you too will come tomorrow.'
- c. **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.'
(Limburgian)

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East-Netherlandic CA: No CA with modified subject (11b) and dislocated subject (11c):

- (11) a. ... dat zölfs wiej de wedstrijd 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
- c. **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 THEM. (East Netherlandic)

- Arguments against a linear adjacency/prosodic phrasing account of CA

Linear adjacency/prosodic phrasing but no CA (WF)

- (12) a. kpeinzen da zelfs Valère zukken boeken niet leest.
I.think that even Valère such books not reads
- b. ?? kpeinzen da zukken boeken zelfs Valère niet leest.
I.think that such books even Valère not reads
- c. * kpeinzen da-n zukken boeken zelfs Valère niet leest.
I.think that-PL such books even Valère not reads

- C° and the fronted focalised object *zukken boeken* ('such books') are in one prosodic domain (and linearly adjacent)

- However, this does not lead to (the expected) CA with fronted object DP
- Rather (unexpected) CA with subject DP: see (13a)

No linear adjacency/prosodic phrasing but CA (WF)

- (13) a kpeinzen da-n/*da zelfs men broers zukken boeken niet lezen.
I.think that-PL/*that-SG even my brothers such books not read
- b ?? kpeinzen da-n zukken boeken zelfs men broers niet lezen.
I.think that-PL such books even my brothers not read
- c ?* kpeinzen da zukken boeken zelfs men broers niet lezen.
I.think that-SG such books even my brothers not read

- C° and the subject *zelfs men broers* ('even my brothers') are not in one prosodic domain (and they are not linearly adjacent)
- However, this configuration leads to CA

No linear adjacency/prosodic phrasing but CA (WF)

- (14) a Da moest treffen **da-n**/*da toen juste men twee broers binnenkwamen.
that must happen that-PL/that-SG then just my two brothers in.came
- b Da moest treffen **da-n**/*da juste ip dienen moment
that must happen that-PL/that-SG just at that time
men twee broers binnenkwamen
my two brothers in.came

- C° and the subject *men twee broers* ('my two brothers') are not in one prosodic domain (and they are not linearly adjacent)
- However, this configuration leads to CA

Linear adjacency/prosodic phrasing and CA in a subset of the cases

- (15) a. **omda-n**/*omdat **Andre en Valère** tun juste **underen computer**
because-PL/because-SG Andre and Valère then just their computer
kapot **was**/*woaren
broken was-SG/were-PL
'...because Andre (and Valere)'s computer broke down just then.' (West-Flemish)
- b. ... **omda**/*omda-n **Andre en Valère under computer** kapot **was**.
because/because-PL Andre and Valère their computer broken was
'...because Andre and Valère's computer was broken'. (West-Flemish)

- C° and the possessor *Andre en Valère* ('Andre and Valère') are in one prosodic domain (and linearly adjacent) in both sentences.
- However, this configuration leads to CA in the a-sentence but not in the b-sentence

Summary

- CA and TA do not result from the same ϕ -feature checking relation (section 3).
 - FCA and EPA show that CA is the result of a different feature checking relation than TA
 - FCA and EPA show that CA indicates the presence of a discrete set of ϕ -features in the CP-domain.
- CA is not an argument in favor of a ϕ -feature dependency between T° and C° (section 3),
- CA is not a PF-phenomenon \rightarrow CA is a syntactic phenomenon (section 4),
 - CA (and hence its derivatives FCA and EPA do not result from a ϕ -feature checking relation at PF via either string adjacency (contra Miyagawa 2009) or prosodic phrasing (contra Ackema & Neeleman 2004).

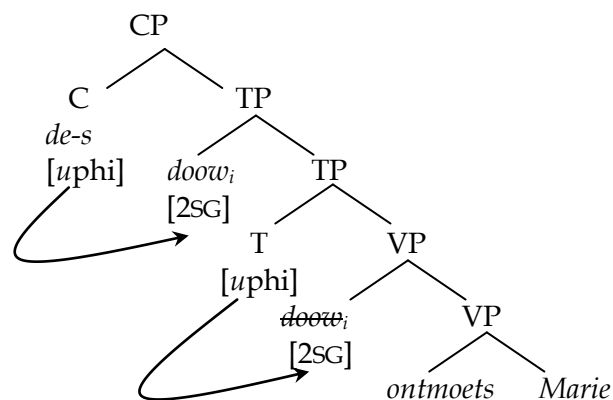
5. Analysis Complementizer Agreement

5.1. Complementizer Agreement (Carstens 2003, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002)²

(16) Ich denk **de-s** **doow** Marie ontmoet-s.
 I think that-2SG you2SG Marie meet-2SG
 ‘I think that you will meet Marie.’

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(17)



5.2. Agreement with coordinated subjects

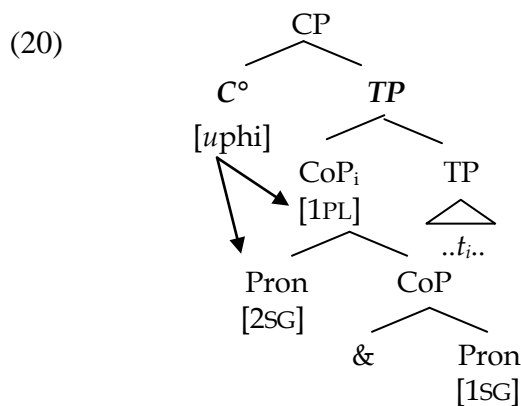
² In terms of feature inheritance (FI) (Chomsky 2006) (17) is problematic in that after FI [uphi] remains on C (cf. Chomsky 2006, Richards 2006). Possible solutions: multiple feature inheritance whereby the features of C are inherited by T and by a higher functional head in the C-domain (but see Richards 2006 for arguments against this); (ii) multiple phases, each of which with FI (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2007).

First Conjunct Agreement (18a) or Full Agreement (18b)

- (18) a. ... **de-s doow** en ich ôs kenne treffe.
 that-2_{SG} [you_{SG} and I]_{1PL} each.other_{1PL} can-_{PL} meet
 ‘... that you and I can meet.’ (Limburgian)
- b. ... **da-n Bart en Jan** mekaar wel kunne verdraagn.
 that-_{PL} [Bart and Jan]_{3PL} each.other PART can-_{PL} stand
 ‘...that Bart and Jan tolerate each other.’ (Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch)

5.2.1. First Conjunct Agreement in Limburgian

- (19) ... **de-s doow** en ich ôs kenne treffe.
 that-2_{SG} [you_{SG} and I]_{1PL} each.other_{1PL} can-_{PL} meet
 ‘... that you and I can meet.’ (Limburgian)



- C° has uninterpretable phi-features.
- Agree searches the c-command domain of C° and finds two suitable Goals: CoP and the pronoun in Spec,CoP.
- Morphology spells out the relation resulting in the most specific agreement affix.

(21)

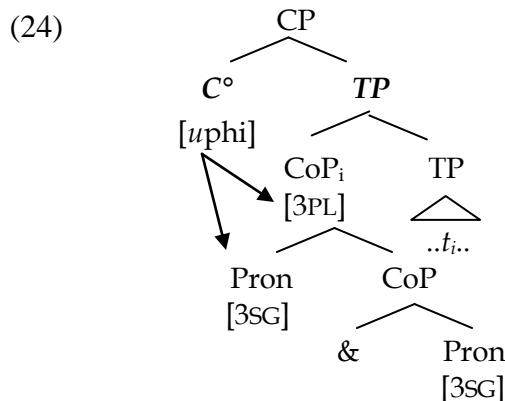
	CA	Present Tense	Past Tense
1P.SG	<i>det</i>	<i>Goan</i>	<i>Ging</i>
2P.SG	<i>de-s</i>	<i>gei-s</i>	<i>ging-s</i>
3P.SG	<i>det</i>	<i>gei-t</i>	<i>Ging</i>
1P.PL	<i>det</i>	<i>goan</i>	<i>ging-e</i>
2P.PL	<i>det</i>	<i>goa-t</i>	<i>Gingk</i>
3P.PL	<i>det</i>	<i>Goan</i>	<i>ging-e</i>

- There are two potential agreement relations to be spelled out:
 - with the [1pl]-features of CoP,
 - with the [2sg]-features of the first conjunct.
- Only the second feature specification results in an (overt) agreement affix on the Probe → it is this relation that gets spelled out on the Probe → FCA on the complementizer.
- **Prediction:** if it is the most specific relation that gets spelled out, the relation with CoP should never be spelled out → the absence of CA is not an option.

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

5.2.2 Full Agreement in Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch

(23) ... **da-n** **Bart en Jan** mekaar wel kunne verdraagn.
 that-_{PL} [Bart and Jan]_{3PL} each.other PART can-_{PL} stand
 ‘...that Bart and Jan tolerate each other.’ [Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch]



- C° has uninterpretable phi-features.
- Agree searches the c-command domain of C° and finds two Goals: CoP and the DP in Spec,CoP.
- Morphology spells out the relation resulting in the most specific agreement affix.

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(25)

	CA	Present Tense	Past Tense
1P.SG	<i>da-n</i>	<i>gaan</i>	<i>ging(en)</i>
2P.SG	<i>dat</i>	<i>gaa(t)</i>	<i>ging</i>
3P.SG	<i>dat</i>	<i>gaat</i>	<i>ging</i>
1P.PL	<i>da-n</i>	<i>gaan</i>	<i>ging-(en)</i>
2P.PL	<i>dat</i>	<i>gaa(t)</i>	<i>ging</i>
3P.PL	<i>da-n</i>	<i>gaan</i>	<i>ging-(en)</i>

- There are two potential agreement relations to be spelled out:
 - with the [3PL]-features of CoP,
 - with the [3SG]-features of the first conjunct.
- Only the former feature specification results in an (overt) agreement affix on the Probe → it is this relation that gets spelled out → FA on the complementizer.
- **Prediction:** FCA in Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch → the relation with the first conjunct results in a more specific affix than the one with CoP.

(26) ? ... **da-n** **ze.zulder** en gulder mekaar wel kun-t verdraagn.
 ... that-_{PL} [cl.they and you_{PL}]_{2PL} each.other PART can-_{2PL} stand
 ‘...that you and they can stand each other.’ [Nieuwkerken-Waas Dutch]

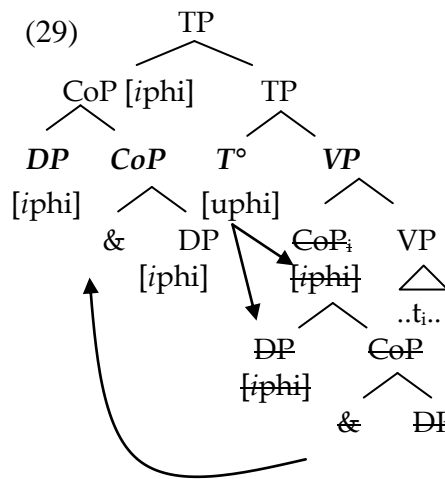
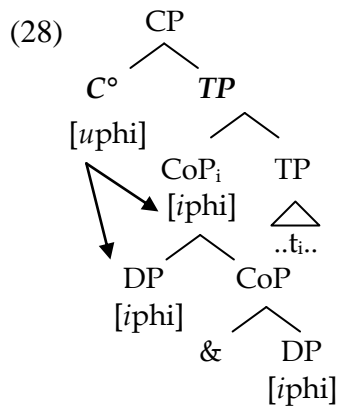
5.2.3 Movement obliterates FCA

Preceding section: agreement between coordinated subject and complementizer. But what about TA? Can it also show FCA?

(27) Doow en Marie *ontmoet-s / ontmoet-e uch.
 [you_{sg} and Marie]_{2PL} meet-2SG / meet-PL each.other_{2PL}
 ‘You and Marie will meet each other.’

[Tegelen Dutch]

- The finite verb cannot show FCA → it has to Agree with the coordinated subject as a whole. TA ≠ FCA.
- Difference between agreement between C° and the coordinated subject (28) and agreement between T° and the coordinated subject: the subject moves past T°, cf. (29), but it does not move past C°, cf. (28).



- **Movement obliterates FCA** → when the coordinated subject moves past the Probe → only FA remains possible → this is a more general property of FCA (cf. also Citko 2004, Soltan 2004, Aoun et al. 1994, Munn 1999, Babyonyshev 1996, Doron 2000)
- Movement also obliterates FCA on the complementizer → only FA

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

[Tegelen Dutch]

(31) **Pol en Valère** peinzen-k **da-n** doa morgen we goa-n zyn.
 [Pol and Valère]_{3PL} think-I that-3PL there tomorrow well go-PL be
 ‘Pol and Valère, I think will be there tomorrow.’

[Lapscheure Dutch]

- **Several syntactic analyses, among others**

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- Spec,Head-agreement results in different agreement than Long Distance Agree (cf. a.o. Bahloul & Harbert 1992, Harbert & Bahloul 2002, Munn 1999)
- Agree takes place late (at Transfer) and cannot access the first conjunct inside the copy of movement (Van Koppen 2005)
- Move = Agree + Merge → when there is movement, agreement cannot take place with the first conjunct → it will result in a Coordinated Structure Constraint-violation (Soltan 2004).

5.3 Analysis Complementizer Agreement with External Possessors (EPA)

5.3.1 The properties of the External Possessor construction

- (32) a ... omdat André tun juste zenen computer kapot was
because André then just his computer broken was
- b ... **omdat**/*omda-n André tun juste zen computers kapot
because-SG/because-PL André then just his computers broken
woaren/*was
were-PL/*was-SG
- c ... *omdat/**omda-n** **Andre en Valère** tun juste underen **computer**
because-SG/because-PL Andre and Valère then just their computer
kapot was/*woaren
broken **was**-SG/were-PL
'...because Andre and Valère's computer had broken just then.' (West-Flemish)

A. The *possessum* DP occupies a position outside the VP-domain → the canonical subject position, Spec,TP

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- (33) a ... da Valère tun juste zen broere **niet** in Gent was.
that Valère then just his brother not in Gent was
'...that just then Valère's brother wasn't in Ghent.'
- b ... da Valère tun juste zen koeien **were al** ziek woaren.
that Valère then just his cows again all ill were
'...that just then Valère's cows were all ill.'
- c ... da Valère tegenwoordig zenen GSM **atent** an stoat.
that Valère these days his mobile always on stands
'...that these days Valère's mobile phone is always switched on.'

B. The External Possessor occupies a position higher than SpecTP

- (34) a. omdat/omda-n Andre en Valère **tun juste** underen computer
because-SG/because-PL Andre and Valère then just their computer
kapot was
broken **was**-SG
- b. **omdat**/*omda-n Andre en Valère underen computer kapot was
because/because-PL Andre and Valère their computer broken was
'...because Andre and Valere's computer broke down (just then).'

- The external Possessor can only occur when the focused temporal adverb is present.

- Hypothesis: Presence of temporal adjunct defines two subject domains: αP (cf. Miyagawa 2009: chapter 3 for an A-position between TP and CP) and TP
 - αP is occupied by the External Possessor, TP by the possessee DP.
 - In the absence of the adjunct, only one subject position is licensed \rightarrow the External Possessor cannot appear.

C. External Possessor is extracted from a doubling possessor DP

- WF possessor doubling is restricted to third person:

- (35)
- | | | | | |
|---|--|---------|----------|-----------|
| a | Valère | zenen | computer | is kapot. |
| | Valère | his | computer | is broken |
| | ‘Valère’s computer is broken’ | | | |
| b | Marie | euren | computer | is kapot. |
| | Marie | her | computer | is broken |
| | ‘Marie’s computer is broken’ | | | |
| c | Valère en Marie | underen | computer | is kapot. |
| | Valère and Marie | their | computer | is broken |
| | ‘Valère and Marie’s computer is broken.’ | | | |
| d | Zie ?(doar) | euren | computer | is kapot. |
| | she ?(there) | her | computer | is broken |
| | ‘Her computer is broken.’ | | | |
| e | Ie ?(doar) | zenen | computer | is kapot. |
| | he ?(there) | his | computer | is broken |
| | ‘His computer is broken.’ | | | |
| f | *Gie (doar) | jenen | computer | is kapot. |
| | You (there) | your | computer | is broken |
| g | *Wunder (hier) | onzen | computer | is kapot. |
| | We (here) | our | computer | is broken |

- EP-construction is also restricted to third person:

- (36)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-----|------|-------|-------|----------|--------|------|
| a | *omda-j | gie | tun | juste | jenen | computer | kapot | was. |
| | because-you | you | then | just | your | computer | broken | was |
| b | *omdan-k | ik | tun | juste | menen | computer | kapot | was. |
| | because-I | I | then | just | my | computer | broken | was |

- EP-construction can only occur in combination with a doubling possessor DP:

- (37) * omdat Valère tun juste de kinders ziek woaren.
 because Valère then just the children sick were

- How can the EP escape from the doubling possessor DP?
- Doubling possessors may occupy a left peripheral position in the DP (perhaps DP internal αP):

- (38)
- | | |
|---|---|
| a | [[DP ₃ Valère] al [DP ₁ [DP ₂ pro zen dochter] eur kinders]]] zyn ziek. |
| | Valère all his daughter her children are sick |
| b | [[DP ₂ Valère zen dochter] al [DP ₁ pro eur kinders]]] zyn ziek. |
| | Valère his daughter all her children are sick |

The non-existence of a ϕ -feature dependency between C and T

- (38a) does not apparently lead to a left branch extraction. DP3 is interpreted as the possessor in DP2, which in turn is the possessor of DP1.
- EPA: apparent left-branch violations:

(39) aomdat Valère tun juste zen dochter eur kinders ziek woaren.
because Valère then just his daughter her children sick were

D. External Possessor has subject properties: CA and nominative Case \rightarrow it occupies a high subject position (Spec α P).

For high subject positions see among others, proposals for AGRP in CP (Shlonsky 2002), SubjP (Cardinaletti 1997, Rizzi 2007, Rizzi and Shlonsky 2005) and α P (Miyagawa 2009: chapter 3). For high focus position in Germanic see Frey 2000, 2004, Grewendorf 2005.

- The external possessor cannot be dative:

(40) a * ... da-n eur ier tun juste eur scheerapparaat kapot was.
that-PL her here then just her razor broken was
b * ... da-n under tun juste under computer kapot was.
that-PL them then just their computer broken was

- Some speakers also allow the external possessors to appear in the nominative case:

(41) a %?? ... da zie ier tun juste eur scheerapparaat kapot was.
that she here then just her razor broken was
b %?? ... da-n zunder tun juste under computer kapot was.
that-PL they then just their computer broken was

E. External Possessors can only occur in embedded clauses

(42) ... omdat/*omda-n Jehan tun juste zen scheerapparoat kapot was.
because-SG/*because-PL Jehan then just his razor broken was_{SG}

(43) a * Jehan was toen juste zen scheerapparoat kapot.
Johan was then just his razor just broken
b * Jehan was/woaren toen juste zen computers kapot.
Johan was/were then just his computers broken

(44) a * Was Jehan toen juste zen scheerapparoat kapot?
was Johan then just his razor broken
b * Was/woaren Jehan toen juste zen computers kapot?
was/were Johan then just his computers broken

- West Flemish has CA and TA
- In embedded clauses there are two separate ϕ -feature Probes \rightarrow also two separate case assigners.
- **Assumption:** CA introduces an extra instance of Nominative case to license the external possessor (cf. also Haegeman 1992).

- In non-embedded clauses → the phi-features of C are checked by head movement from T to C (Den Besten 1977, 1989) → no extra phi-feature Probe → no extra case → no External Possessor licensing.

Summary

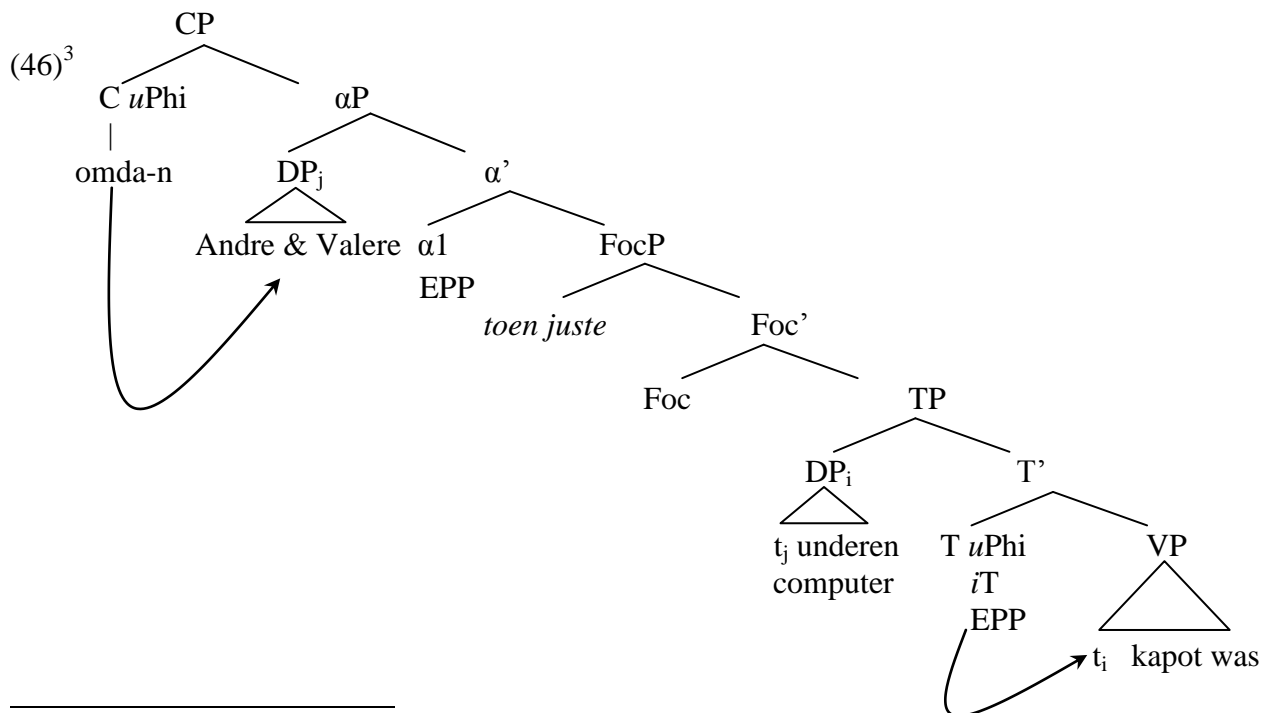
- The possessee DP occupies the canonical VP-external subject position Spec,TP.
- The External Possessor occupies a higher subject position (α P)
- The External Possessor is moved to this higher subject position from within a possessor doubling construction.
- This higher subject position for the possessor is made available by the presence of a focussed TP-adjunct in between External Possessor and possessee

5.3.2. CA and the External Possessor: two probes, two goals

Hypothesis:

Presence of a focused temporal adjunct may create a focus projection which allows for the projection of a high subject projection (α P). (see also Frey 2000, 2004, Grewendorf 2005 for ‘discourse projections’ dominating the subject position, Miyagawa 2009 for α P, also Saito’s (2006) ‘Theme projection’).

- (45) ... * **omdat/omda-n** **Andre en Valère** tun juste underen **computer**
 because-SG/because-PL Andre and Valère then just their computer
 kapot was/*woaren
 broken **was**-SG/were-PL
 ‘...because Andre and Valère’s computer had broken just then.’ (West-Flemish)



³ In terms of feature inheritance (FI) (43) is problematic in that after FI [*uPhi*] remains on C (cf. Chomsky 2006, Richards 2006). Two solutions: multiple feature inheritance whereby the features of C are inherited by T and by a higher functional head in the C-domain (but see Richards 2006 for arguments against this); (ii) multiple phases, each of which with FI (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2007).

The non-existence of a ϕ -feature dependency between C and T

- The external Possessor is moved from the doubling possessor DP to a high subject position.
- The external Possessor can only occur when the focused temporal adverb is present.
- Hypothesis: Presence of temporal adjunct can project FocP, which allows the projection of the high subject position α P (Miyagawa 2009).
 - α P is occupied by the External Possessor, TP by the possessee DP.
 - In the absence of the focused adjunct, α P is not projected and only one subject position is licensed \rightarrow the External Possessor cannot appear.
- C agrees with the most local goal \rightarrow the external possessor base-generated in α P;
- T agrees with the most local goal \rightarrow the subject in Spec,V

6. Conclusion

- CA and verbal agreement do not result from one and the same feature checking relation between the ϕ -features of T° and the subject (contra Zwart 1993, Chomsky 2005);
- CA signals the presence of a discrete ϕ -feature set in C° , which appears in addition to the ϕ -feature set in T° leading to verbal agreement.

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