## Agreement without Agree

Jan-Wouter Zwart, University of Groningen

The main point of this paper will be to argue that many morphological agreement phenomena, including even the most basic ones, are not accounted for by the Agree mechanism proposed in Chomsky (2000, 2001). This affects recent minimalist proposals to analyze the phenomenon of complementizer agreement, such as Carstens (2003) and Haegeman and Van Koppen (2012), which take the complementizer to act as a Probe in the Agree mechanism. I propose instead that core cases of agreement involve feature sharing under sisterhood (as a function of Merge, cf. Zwart 2006a), and that unexpected agreement phenomena, including complementizer agreement, should be understood as the result of operations and mechanisms outside narrow syntax. In the case of complementizer agreement, its history and its distribution (brought to light in the SAND project) are consistent with an analysis along the lines of Goeman (2000), Zwart (2006b) and De Vogelaer and Van der Auwera (2010), according to which the agreement is the result of an analogical extension of the agreement pattern of the verb followed by a weak pronominal subject in inversion constructions. The data of External Possessor Agreement in West Flemish of Haegeman and Van Koppen (2012) are not problematic, once the historical dimension is taken into account.

## References

- Carstens, Vicky. 2003. Rethinking complementizer agreement: Agree with a case-checked goal. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34, 393-412.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In *Step by step: essys on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin et al., p. 89-156. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: a life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, p. 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- De Vogelaer, Gunther and Johan Van der Auwera. 2010. When typological rara generate rarissima: the analogical extension of verbal agreement in Dutch dialects. In *Rara & rarissima: documenting the fringes of linguistic diversity*, ed. Jan Wohlgemuth and Michael Cysouw, p. 47-74. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Goeman, Ton. 2000. Structurele aspecten van de morfologie van voegwoordvervoeging: mogelijkheden en beperkingen, morfologisch gewicht en MCGG. In *Nochtans was scherp van zin: huldealbum Hugo Ryckeboer*, ed. Veronique De Tier, Magda Devos and Jacques van Keymeulen, p. 269-294. Gent: Vakgroep Nederlandse Taalkunde, Universiteit Gent.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Marjo van Koppen. 2012. Complementizer agreement and the relation between C<sup>0</sup> and T<sup>0</sup>. Linguistic Inquiry 43, 441-454.
- SAND: Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects, Vol I, ed. Sjef Barbiers, Hans Bennis, Gunther De Vogelaer, Magda Devos, and Margreet van der Ham. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005.
- Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 2006a. Local agreement. In *Agreement systems*, ed. Cedric Boeckx, p. 317-339. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 2006b. Complementizer agreement and dependency marking typology. *Leiden Working Papers in Linguistics* 3.2, 53-72.