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.

  (iia) 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 → 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.

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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.

Summary

- First Conjunct Agreement in Limburgian and External Possessor Agreement in West-Flemish show that CA and Verbal Agreement cannot result from the same φ-feature checking relation.
- CA is not an argument in favor of a φ-feature dependency between T° and C°.
- Rather CA is the result of a different feature checking relation than verbal agreement.

4. Arguments against a non-syntactic analysis of CA: linear adjacency/prosodic domains

- Alternative implementation (see section 2 above): CA (and hence First Conjunct Agreement and External Possessor Agreement) is not the result of syntactic feature checking but of a different mechanism:
- CA is the result of Prosodic Checking at PF (Ackema & Neeleman 2004)

(7) {[A (F1) (F2) (F3)…] [B (F1) (F2) (F3)…]} → {[A ($F1_i$) ($F2_j$) ($F3_k$)…] [B ($F1_i$) ($F2_j$) ($F3_k$)…]}

- if A and B are in one prosodic domain, {}, the uninterpretable features of A are related to the matching interpretable features of B and/or *vice versa*.
- right edge, XP = right edge, prosodic domain

(8) 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)

- CA is an example of prosodic checking.
- The complementizer *da-n* and the subject *die venten* are in one prosodic domain.
- The uninterpretable phi-features of the complementizer are checked at PF against the interpretable features of the subject, resulting in CA

- CA is the result of string adjacency at PF (Miyagawa 2009)

> Miyagawa (2009:68): '[...] *I will speculate that the complementizer portion of the agreement receives its valuation not in narrow syntax but in PF*'
>
> Miyagawa (2009:124): '[...] *it appears that in complementizer agreement, the probe-goal relation is established strictly through string adjacency, of the type familiar in phrasal phonology*.'

- 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)

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 broers 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

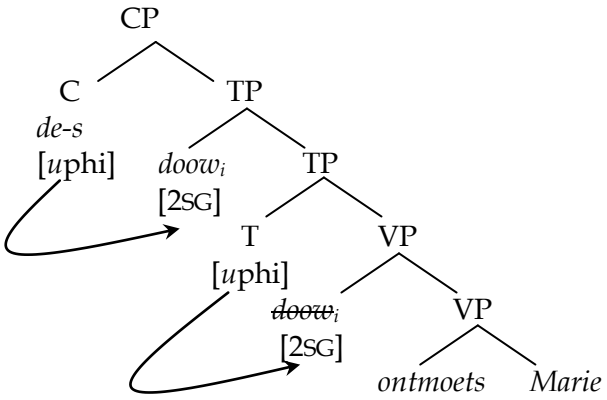
- CA and TA do not result from the same φ-feature checking relation (section 3).
  - FCA and EPA show that CA is the result of a different feature checking relation than TA
  - FCA and EPA show that CA indicates the presence of a discrete set of φ-features in the CP-domain.
- CA is not an argument in favor of a φ-feature dependency between T° and C° (section 3),
- CA is not a PF-phenomenon → 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-$_{2SG}$ you$_{2SG}$ Marie meet-$_{2SG}$
'I think that you will meet Marie.'

(17)



5.2. Agreement with coordinated subjects

[2] In terms of feature inheritance (FI) (Chomsky 2006) (17) is problematic in that after FI [*u*phi] 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)

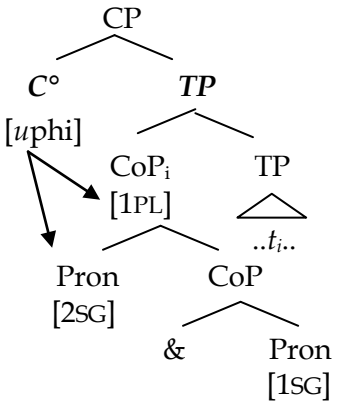
(18) a. … **de-s** **doow** en ich ôs kenne treffe.
that-$_{2SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1PL}$ each.other$_{1PL}$ can-$_{PL}$ meet
'… that you and I can meet.' (Limburgian)

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-$_{2SG}$ [you$_{SG}$ and I]$_{1PL}$ each.other$_{1PL}$ can-$_{PL}$ meet
'… that you and I can meet.' (Limburgian)

(20)



- C° has uninterpretable phi-features.
- Agree searches the c-command domain of Cº 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	*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*

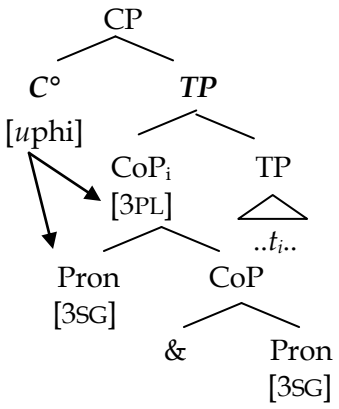
- There are two potential agreement relations to be spelled out:
  - with the [1pl]-features of CoP,
  - with the [2sg]-features of the first conjunct.
- Only the second feature specification results in an (overt) agreement affix on the Probe → it is this relation that gets spelled out on the Probe ➔ 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]

(24)



- C° has uninterpretable phi-features.
- Agree searches the c-command domain of Cº 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	*da-n*	*gaan*	*ging(en)*
2P.SG	*dat*	*gaa(t)*	*ging*
3P.SG	*dat*	*gaat*	*ging*
1P.PL	*da-n*	*gaan*	*ging-(en)*
2P.PL	*dat*	*gaa(t)*	*ging*
3P.PL	*da-n*	*gaan*	*ging-(en)*

- 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 then 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

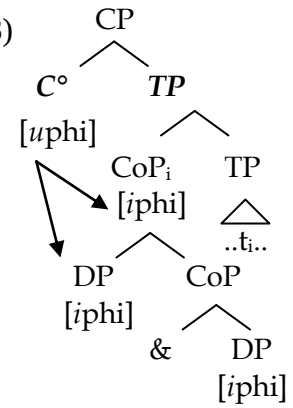
Preceding section: agreement between coordinated subject and complementizer. But what about TA? Can it also show FCA?

(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.'

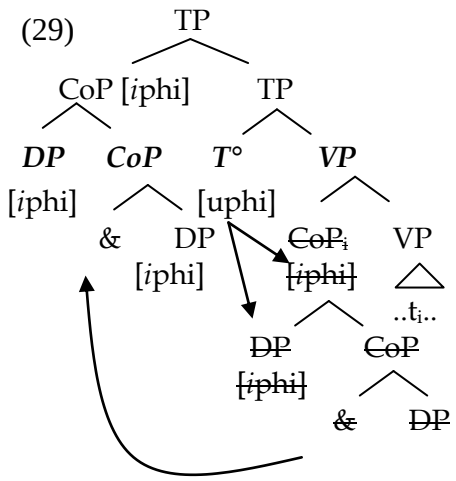
[Tegelen Dutch]

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

(28)



(29)



- **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**

- 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 <u>zen broere</u> **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 <u>zen koeien</u> **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 <u>zenen GSM</u> **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 <u>Andre en Valère</u> **tun** **juste** <u>underen computer</u>
because-$_{SG}$/because-$_{PL}$ Andre and Valère then just their computer
kapot was
broken **was**-$_{SG}$

b. **omdat**/*omda-n <u>Andre en Valère underen computer</u> 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 → 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 [[$_{DP3}$ Valère] al [$_{DP1}$ [$_{DP2}$ pro zen dochter] eur kinders]]]] zyn ziek.
Valère all his daughter her children are sick
b [[$_{DP2}$ Valère zen dochter] al [$_{DP1}$ pro eur kinders]]]] zyn ziek.
Valère his daughter all her children are sick

- (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 → it occupies a high subject position (SpecαP).

For high subject positions see among others, proposals for AGRP in CP (Shlonsky 2002), SubjP (Cardinaletti 1997, Rizzi 2007, Rizzi and Shlonsky 2005) and αP (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 phi-feature Probes → 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

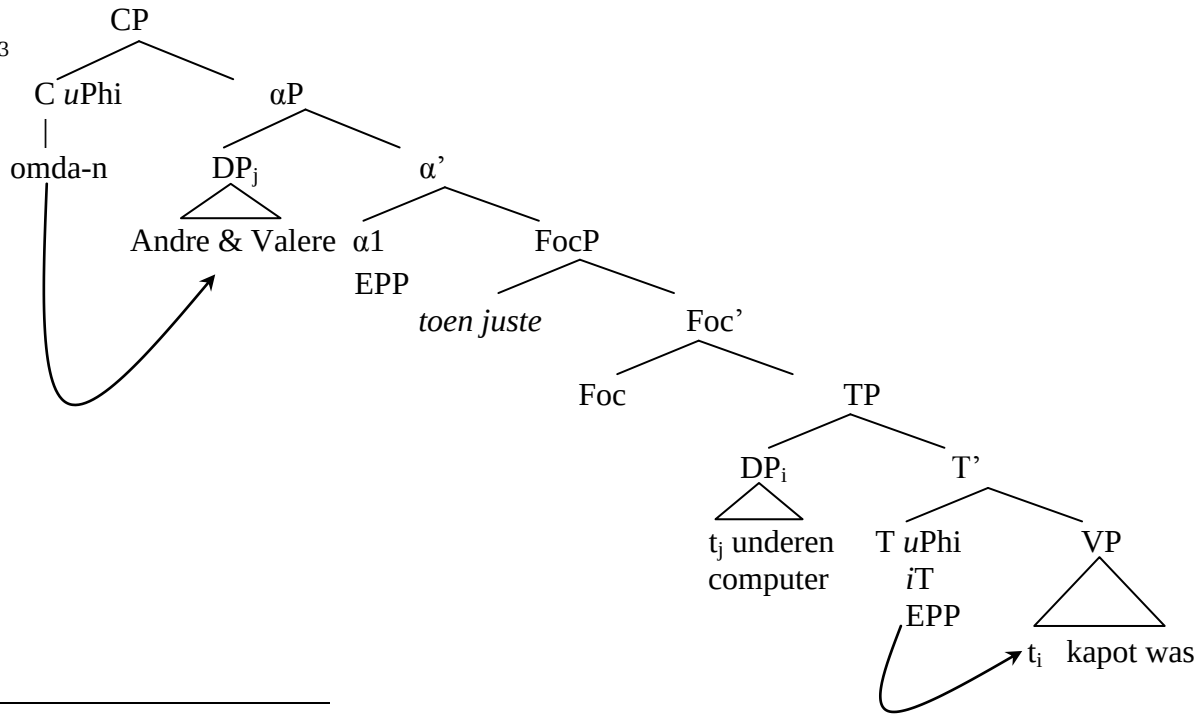
- The possessee DP occupies a the canonical VP-external subject position Spec,TP.
- The External Possessor occupies a higher subject position (αP)
- The External Possessor is moved to this higher subject position from within a possessor doubling construction.
- This higher subject position for the possessor 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 (αP). (see also Frey 2000, 2004, Grewendorf 2005 for 'discourse projections' dominating the subject position, Miyagawa 2009 for αP, 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)

(46)[3]



[3] In terms of feature inheritance (FI) (43) is problematic in that after FI [*u*phi] 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 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 αP (Miyagawa 2009).
    - αP is occupied by the External Possessor, TP by the possessee DP.
    - In the absence of the focused adjunct, αP is not projected and only one subject position is licensed → the External Possessor cannot appear.
- C agrees with the most local goal → the external possessor base-generated in αP;
- T agrees with the most local goal → 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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