

The effect of A'-contexts on A-agreement

The case of complementizer agreement

Marjo van Koppen* & Astrid van Alem[†]

j.m.vankoppen@uu.nl

alem@uni-potsdam.de

*Utrecht University & Meertens Institute

[†]University of Potsdam & Leiden University

Move and Agree Forum 2021

University of British Columbia and McGill University

31 May–4 June 2021

Complementizer agreement in West Germanic

- (1) dat-e jullie niet zo slim ben-e
that-PL you.PL not so smart are-PL
'that you are not so smart.' Katwijk aan den Rijn Dutch (Barbiers et al., 2006)

This talk:

- Properties of CA in Germanic
 - The effect of A' contexts on CA
 - Analyses of CA and their predictions for A' contexts
- ⇒ A' effects can be used to identify different types of CA

- 1 Background
- 2 A' effects on CA
- 3 Analyses of CA

Properties of Germanic languages with CA

CA is found in varieties of Dutch and German, and Frisian (i.e. continental West Germanic)

- Asymmetric V2 and SOV word order

(2) a. Jan **eet** een koekje.

John eats a cookie

'John eats a cookie.'

b. Ik denk dat Jan een koekje **eet**.

I think that John a cookie eats

'I think that John eats a cookie.'

Dutch

⇒ In contrast to other Germanic languages:

- English: no V2, SVO
- North Germanic: V2 in embedded clauses (to varying degrees)

Properties of Germanic languages with CA

- Complementary distribution between complementizer and finite verb

(3) a. Peter behauptet, dass Johann Maria küsse.

Peter claims that John Mary kisses

b. Peter behauptet, Johann küsse Maria.

Peter claims John kisses Mary

'Peter claims that John kisses Mary.'

German (Zwart, 1997, p. 47)

⇒ Standard analysis: V moves to C in the absence of a complementizer (den Besten, 1989)

Properties of Germanic languages with CA

- CA is restricted to embedded clauses that lack verb movement
- Frisian: allows for embedded V2 under a complementizer

(4) a. dat-st-o soks net leauwe **moast**.
that-2SG-you such not believe must.2SG

b. dat do/*dat-st-o **moast** soks net leauwe
that you/that-2SG-you must.2SG such not believe.
'that you should not believe such things.'

Frisian (Carstens, 2003, p. 402)

Further properties of CA

- CA in West Germanic is downwards (in contrast to CA in Lubukusu, cf. Diercks et al. (2020))

(5) dat-s tich de westrijd geis winne.
that-2SG you the game go.2SG win
'that you are going to win the game.'

Limburgian (van Alem, 2020b, p. 7)

Further properties of CA

- CA in West Germanic is with the subject (in contrast to CA in Nez Perce, where agreement is with the subject or the object (Deal, 2015))

(6) Hellendoorn Dutch

- a. darr-e wiej den besten bint.
that-1PL we the best are

'that we are the best.'

(van Koppen, 2005, p. 127)

- b. Ik dèènke dat/*dat-e oons zölfs Jan nie mag.
I think that/that-1PL us even John not likes

'I think that us, even John doesn't like.'

(Carstens, 2003, p. 399)

Further properties of CA

- CA in West Germanic can be with pronominal subjects, non-pronominal subjects (7) and (the closest conjunct of (9)) a conjoined subject (8)

- (7) K peinzen da-n / da die studenten nen buot gekocht een.
I think that-3PL / that-3SG those students a boat bought have
'I think that those students have bought a boat' (West-Flemish, Haegeman, 2000)
- (8) O-n Bart en Lieske in t paradjijs levn
if-3PL Bart and Lieske in the paradise live
'If Bart and Lieske are living in paradise, ...' (Gistel Dutch, Barbiers et al., 2006)
- (9) Ich dink de-s doow en ich ôs treffe.
I think that-2SG you and I ourselves meet-3PL
'I think that you and I will meet.' (Tegelen Dutch, van Koppen, 2005)

Further properties of CA

- CA in West Germanic can be for person and/or number (Hoekstra & Smits, 1997)

CA for number

- (10) a. as ik/jij/hij hoor(t).
when I/you/he hear(s)
'when I/you/he hear(s).'
- b. as-e we/jollie/ze hore.
when-PL we/you/they hear
'when we/you/they hear.' (Katwijk
Dutch, Barbiers et al., 2006)

CA for person

- (11) a. Du bis dass-st kummst.
you are that-2SG come-2SG
'You are the one that comes.'
- b. Ihr/es bis dass-ts kummts.
you are that-2PL come-2PL
'You are the ones that come.'
(Bavarian, Bayer, 1984)

Further properties of CA

- CA in West Germanic can be with the complete paradigm, for instance in West-Flemish (Haegeman, 1992), with 1pl in Hellendoorn Dutch (Van Haeringen, 1958), or with 2sg in Frisian/Bavarian/Groningen/Limburgian (Bayer, 1984); (Hoekstra & Smits, 1997)

- CA reflects features of (part of) the subject on the complementizer.
- CA can be with pronominal subjects, (conjoined) subjects
- CA is often incomplete (person, number)
- CA is with the subject of the embedded clause

- 1 Background
- 2 A' effects on CA
- 3 Analyses of CA

- A' contexts can have various effects on CA:
 - CA disappears in an A' context;
 - The A' context gives rise to CA;
 - The A' context leads to an alternative locus of realization of CA;
 - The A' context leads to ungrammaticality;
 - No effect.
- NB: there is variation both between varieties when considering one A' context, as well as within varieties when considering different A' contexts.

The embedded subject is marked as focus by a preceding focus particle.

- CA disappears:

(12) dat/*darr-e zölfs wiej de westrijd wint.
that/that-1PL we the game win
'that even we win the game.' Hellendoorn Dutch (van Koppen, 2005, p. 143)

- Different locus of realization:

(13) dat auch s tich wel is vegetarisch uts.
that also 2SG you sometimes vegetarian eat
'that you, too, sometimes eat vegetarian.' Limburgian (van Alem, 2020b, p. 7)

A'-intervention

The embedded subject is marked as focus by a preceding focus particle.

- Ungrammaticality:

- (14) *dat-st sels do Pyt helpe moastst.
that even you Pyt help must
'that even you have to help Pyt.'

Frisian (de Haan, 2010, p. 227)

- Grammaticality:

- (15) Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, wo-st morgn du mitbringa soid-st?
What has the Hannes said, that-2SG tomorrow you with-bring should-2SG
'What did Hannes say that you should bring along tomorrow?'

(Bavarian, Gmunden dialect, Gruber, 2008)

Extraction of the embedded subject to the matrix clause.

- CA disappears:

(16) Wiej denkt Jan dat/*darr-e die pries ewönnen hebt [...].
we thinks Jan that/that-1PL that prize won have
'WE, Jan thinks, won that prize.' Hellendoorn Dutch (van Koppen, 2005,
p. 145)

- No effect:

(17) Doow denk ik de-s de wedstrijd zals winnen.
you think I that-2SG the game will win
'YOU, I think, will win the game.' Tegelen Dutch (van Koppen, 2005, p. 102)

Extraction in Bavarian

Mayr (2010): CA in Bavarian is optional (for some speakers/with some subjects) in neutral contexts, but obligatory in extraction contexts.

- (18) a. Da Hauns hot gfrogt ob-s es Kinda ham kummts
the Hans has asked if-2PL you children home come
- b. %Da Hauns hot gfrogt ob- \emptyset es Kinda ham kummts
the Hans has asked if- \emptyset you children home come
'Hans asked if you children will come home.'
- c. Es Kinda hot da Hauns gfrogt [ob-s hammkummts]
you children has the Hans asked if-2PL home.come
'John asked if you children will come home.'
- d. Es Kinda hot da Hauns gsogt [dass da Michl gfrogt hot [ob-s hamkummts]]
you children has the Hans said that the Michael asked has if-2PL home.come
'Hans said that Michael asked if you children will come home.'

→ extraction licensed by CA

Relativization of the subject; CA on relative pronoun.

- CA disappears:

(19) dich dè de aanval overleefd het
 you that the attack survived has
 ‘You who survived the attack’

Limburgian

- No effect:

(20) do, dy-t-st gjin siler bist
 you that-that-2SG no sailor is
 ‘You, who is no sailor’

Frisian (de Haan, 2010, p. 220)

(21) de mensen da-n ze zeggen da-n da gekocht een
 the people that-3PL they say that-3PL that bought have
 ‘the people who they say have bought that’

East Flemish (Boef, 2013, p. 222)

Discontinuous subject

The embedded subject is 'split' as the result of movement of a part of the subject to a focus position inside the embedded clause

- Gives rise to CA:

(22) West Flemish (Haegeman & van Koppen, 2012, p. 449)

- omdat André en Valère underen computer kapot was.
because André and Valère their computer broken was
'because André and Valère's computer broke.'
- omda-n André en Valère toen juste underen computer kapot was
because-3PL André and Valère then just their computer broken was
'because André and Valère's computer broke just then.'

A'-properties as a diagnostic for CA-analyses

	A'-Intervention	A'-Extraction subject	Relativization subject
West-Flemish	+	+	+
Tegelen Dutch	+	+	?
Gmunden Bavarian	+	+	NA
Limburgian	shift	-	-
Frisian	*	+	+

Overview

- 1 Background
- 2 A' effects on CA
- 3 Analyses of CA

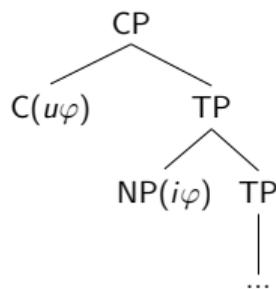
Analyses of CA: overview

- 1 CA as agreement (Carstens, 2003; van Koppen, 2005; Haegeman & van Koppen, 2012)
- 2 CA as a PF phenomenon (Ackema & Neeleman, 2004; Fuß, 2014; Weisser, 2019)
- 3 CA as clitic doubling (Gruber, 2008; van Alem, 2020a)

CA as Agree

CA is the result of a feature checking relation between a Probe (φ -features on C) and a Goal (usually the subject).

(23)



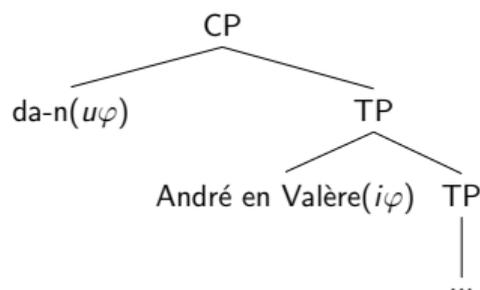
(24)

dat-s tich
that-2SG you

Predictions

- no restriction to the subject (looks for the highest Goal)
→ Goals can be (non-)pronominal subjects or non-subjects:

(25)



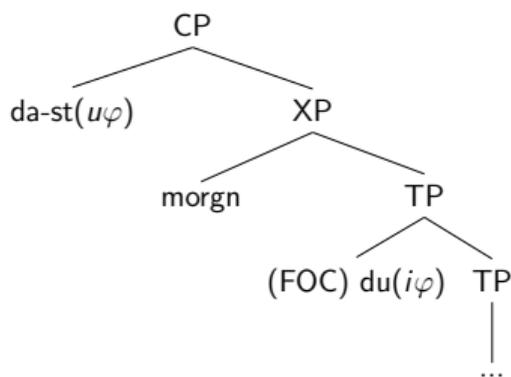
(26)

omda-n **André en Valère** toen juste underen computer kapot was.
because_{3PL} André and Valère then just their computer broken was
'because André and Valère's computer broke just then.' West Flemish (Haegeman & van Koppen, 2012, p. 449)

→ Predictions w.r.t. A'-effects:

- no sensitivity to movement or intervention of non- φ -elements (like in West-Flemish, Tegelen Dutch, (Gmunden) Bavarian, but not in Limburg Dutch)
- no shifting of agreement to focus markers (Limburgian Dutch) or loss of agreement to focus markers (Frisian)

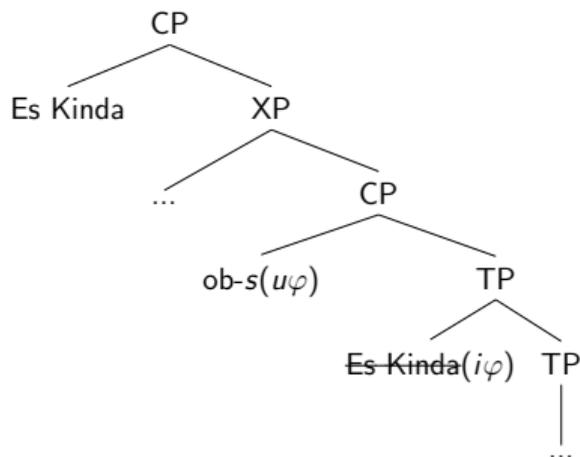
(27)



(28)

Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, wo-st **morgn** du mitbringa soid-st?
 What has the Hannes said, that-2SG tomorrow you with-bring should-2SG
 ‘What did Hannes say that you should bring along tomorrow? (Bavarian, Gmunden dialect, Gruber, 2008)

(29)



(30)

Es Kinda hot da Hauns gfrogt [ob-s hammkummts]
 you children has the Hans asked if-2PL home.come
 'John asked if you children will come home.'

(Bavarian, Mayr, 2010)

	A'-Intervention	A'-extraction
West-Flemish	+	+
Tegelen Dutch	+	+
Gmunden Bavarian	+	+
Limburgian	-	-
Frisian	-	+

CA as a PF phenomenon

CA is the result of a PF operation, such as PF feature checking (Ackema & Neeleman, 2004), feature copying (Fuß, 2008, 2014), or allomorphy (Weisser, 2019):

(31) Fin \leftrightarrow -s / _ [2SG]

(32) de-s doow
that-2SG you

PF operations can only apply when elements are sufficiently local to each other (linearly or prosodically).

→ Prediction: linear adjacency or proximity plays a role

(33) Wos hot da Hannes gsogt, { wo-st morgn du } mitbringa soid-st?
What has the Hannes said that-2SG tomorrow you with-bring should-2SG
'What did Hannes say that you should bring along tomorrow?
(Bavarian, Gmunden dialect, Gruber, 2008)

→ Prediction regarding extraction: not clear. Is PF sensitive to copies?

CA as a PF phenomenon

	A'-Intervention	A'-extraction
West-Flemish	+/-	?
Tegelen Dutch	+/-	?
Gmunden Bavarian	+/-	?
Limburgian	-	?
Frisian	?	?

CA as clitic doubling

Gruber (2008) and van Alem (2020a): the CA exponent (in some varieties) has properties of a clitic, rather than agreement, e.g.:

- Low degree of selection (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983):

(34) I woas net, [wie weit] -st du kumst.
I know not how far -2SG you come.2SG
'I don't know how far you'll come.'

Bavarian (Gruber, 2008, p. 39)

- Tense-invariance (Nevins, 2011):

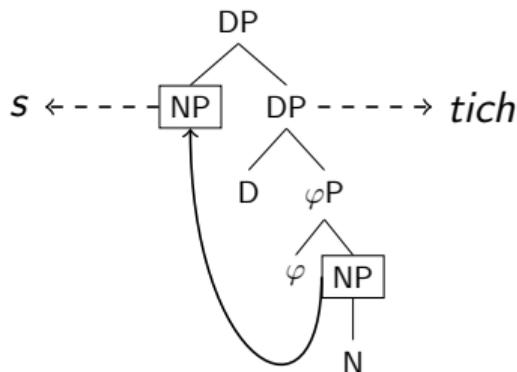
Cf. Hoekstra and Smits (1997) *The 'agreement in present tense = agreement in past tense' generalization*:

complementizer agreement can only occur when the agreement ending of the verb in verb-subject word order in the present tense is identical to the ending of the verb in inversion in the past tense.

CA as clitic doubling

- Van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2008): clitic doubling also occurs in other varieties of West Germanic. The clitic is a **partial copy** of the doubled pronoun.
- Van Alem (2020a):

(35)



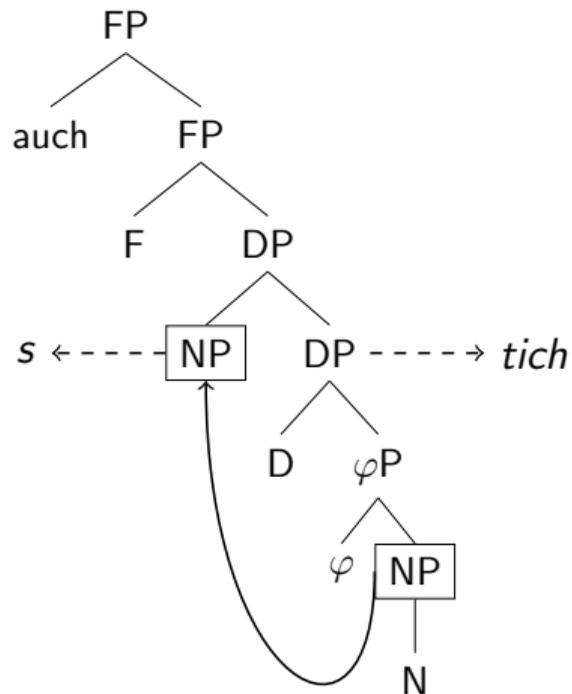
(36)

dat-s tich
that-2SG you

→ Prediction: CA is sensitive to the presence of subject modifiers (such as focus particles)

CA as clitic doubling

(37)



(38)

dat auch s tich
that also 2SG you

CA as clitic doubling

	A'-Intervention	A'-extraction
West-Flemish	–	–
Tegelen Dutch	–	–
Gmunden Bavarian	–	–
Limburgian	+	+
Frisian	+	–

A'-properties as a diagnostic for CA-analyses

	Agree	PF-operation	Clitic Doubling
West-Flemish	+	?	-
Tegelen Dutch	+	?	-
Gmunden Bavarian	+	?	-
Limburgian	-	?	+
Frisian	+/-	?	+/-

Conclusions

- CA as A-agreement is not a unitary phenomenon → microvariation
- A' effects can be used as a diagnostic to distinguish between different types of CA, such as CA:
 - as the result of spelling out a valued Probe (agreement) (West-Flemish, Tegelen Dutch and Gmunden Bavarian)
 - CA as the result of clitic doubling (Limburgian, Frisian).
- PF analyses of CA are unclear or not uniform in their predictions regarding A' effects on CA

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