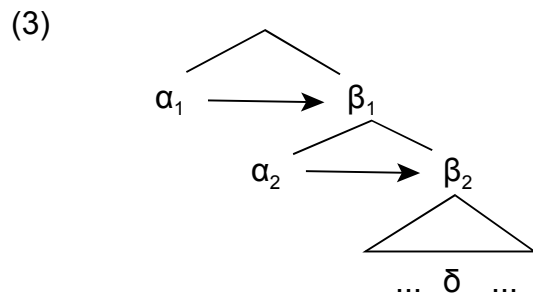# Structure

1. Syntax and morphology

(1)   Mirror Principle (Baker 1985)
       Features associated with functional heads closer to V are expressed by
       morphemes closer to the verb root.

(2)   AgrS-T-AgrO-V

   a-li-ki-soma   (Swahili)
       SM-PAST-OM-read

(3)

(4)   step 1:   β acquires feature [2]
       step 2:   β acquires feature [1]

       unmarked spell-out on δ: [[[δ] 2] 1]   (order irrelevant)

(5)   Position of δ not predicted by the system: no need for head movement to pick
       up affixes or to check features.

(6)   a.   ...dat <u>Jan</u>   Marie **kust**   Dutch
                    that   John   Mary   kiss-3SG
              '..that John kisses Mary.'
       b.   <u>Jan</u> **kust** Marie   'John kisses Mary.'
       c. **Kust**   <u>Jan</u>   Marie ?   'Does John kiss Mary?'

(7)   <kust>   [Jan] [<kust> Marie <kust>]

(8)
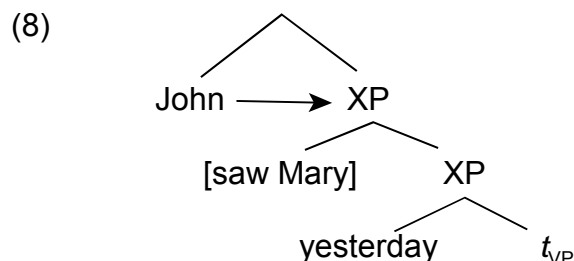
(9)   *The problem with AGR*
      AGR is just introduced in the system to keep the derivation going: no lexical semantics, no interpretation at LF -> it should not exist (Chomsky 1995).

(10) This also applies to the posited unvalued φ-features in T (or *v*).
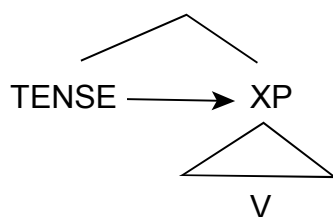
(11) Strong thesis: there are no uninterpretable features

(12) Question: are there functional heads at all?

(13) The only clear case: C (=P?)

(14) TENSE : evidence that it is a *head* revolves around morphology

(15)

TENSE ⟶ XP
            V

tense is an operator, agreeing with its sister, assigning a feature spelled out on V (or some other term of XP)

(16) NEGATION: similar, but all we know is that it is an operator with a reflex on verb morphology

(17) ..da   Valère   dienen boek <u>nie</u>   <u>en</u>-eet   West Flemish
      that   Valery   that book   not   NEG-has

(18) Consequence: no need to assume that a verb inflected for agreement/tense/ negation is very high in the structure

(19) Essentially removes motivation for remnant movement analyses of verb second (Hallman, Koopman & Szabolcsi, Müller, etc.; see Zwart 2003).

(20) [CP dat [TP [Jan Marie <kust>] kust [*t*]]]

(21) Similarly with adverb morphology (Cinque 1999)

ADV1   XP
      ADV2   XP
                  V
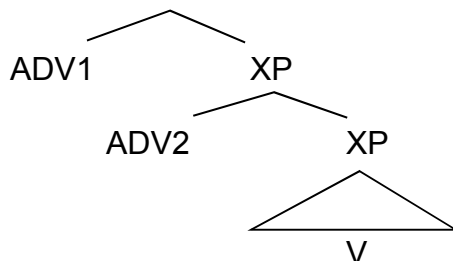
Mirror principle effect follows as in (3)-(4).

(22) No need for various 'criteria' (wh-criterium, neg-criterium, etc.).

(23) Even clause typing may be inherited from an operator rather than a head.

2. Complementizer agreement

(24) ..dat-te   wy   speul-t / *speul-n   East Netherlandic Dutch
      that-PL   we   play-1PL / play-INF
      '..that we are playing.'

(25) standard analysis (Zwart 1993)

a. main clauses   AGR   V   (V-second)

b. emb. clauses   C   AGR   V   (V-last)

(26) embedded V2: no complementizer agreement

(27) a. Heit sei datst   do   soks net leauwe   moast   Frisian
         dad said that-2SG you   such not believe must-2SG
         "Dad said that you should not believe such things."
      b. Heit sei dat(*st)   do   moast   soks net leauwe
         dad said that-(2SG) you   must-2SG such not believe
         "[the same]"

(28) Problem: C is not a term of the subject's sister

(29) a.   Wy   speult/*speule
           we   play-PL
      b.   Dan   speule/*speult   wy
           than   play-PL   we

(30) Goeman (2000): complementizer agreement is a secondary process, where the
      complementizer takes on morphology on analogy with the form of the inverted
      auxiliary when followed by a clitic

(31) a. no inversion: wy   wil-t
                                    we   want-PL   'we want'

      b. inversion with clitic: wil-le   wy
                                    want-PL:INV   we   'we want'

      c. complementizer with clitic dat-te   wy   wil-t
                                      that-PL   we   want-PL   '..that we want'

(32) evidence: first conjunct agreement only with complementizer (Van Koppen 2003)

(33) a. Ich   dink   de-s   [doow en   ich]   ôs ken-ne   treffe
         I   think that-2SG you   and   I   us can-PL   meet:INF
         'I think that you and I can meet.'

b. Ken-ne/*-s [doow en Marie] uch treffe ?
   can-PL/2SG you and Mary you:PL meet:INF
   'Can you and Mary meet ?'

Tegelen Dutch

3. Verb Second

(34) a. Merge creates an ordered pair   < α,β >
      b. β is the dependent
      c. dependency marked by   (i)   prosody
                                 (ii)   agreement
                                 (iii) position -> linkers, V2

(35) verb movement: syntax or phonology? (Chomsky 2001, Zwart 2001)

phonology	syntax
special movement properties	sensitive to structure
no interpretive effect	triggered by syntactic operation
'second' position effect	after second constituent
involves only heads	remnant movement?

(36) phonology = conversion of morphemes into strings of phonemes

See handout of CGSW19.

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C.J.W. Zwart • Faculty of Arts, P.O. Box 716, NL-9700 AS, Groningen, The Netherlands
zwart@let.rug.nl • http://www.let.rug.nl/~zwart/