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This is a contribution from *Crossroads Semantics. Computation, experiment and grammar*.
Edited by Hilke Reckman, Lisa L.S. Cheng, Maarten Hijzelendoorn and Rint Sybesma.
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Kratzer's effect in the nominal domain

Fake indexicals in Dutch and German

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Fake indexicals are 1/2 person pronouns that do not have a fixed referent but vary over a set. It has been shown that fake indexicals are subject to morphological restrictions imposed by the verbal morphology. In this paper, we show that fake indexicals in the nominal domain are subject to similar morphological restrictions. Only if the morphology is invariant under $1 \leftrightarrow 3$ person permutation does the sloppy reading occur. This is studied both theoretically and empirically within the Dutch dialectological space.

Keywords: fake indexicals, sloppy identity, verbal morphology, possessive morphology, paradigms, Limburgian, Dutch, German, English

1. Introduction

Though Grammar is modular, i.e. it is composed of independent components, these modules influence each other through their interfaces. Morphology may influence syntax, e.g. in the realm of verb movement (Pollock 1989), and syntax may have impact on the semantics, e.g. through properties of the logical form (May 1985). It was only Kratzer (2009), who showed that a direct influence by morphological properties was operative on the semantics: “fake indexicals”, discovered some 10 years earlier, turned out to have sensitivity to paradigmatic properties of the verb. Kratzer's discovery opened up the possibility of dialectological semantics, or variational semantics. In this contribution I will show that micro-variation among Dutch dialects shows variation in “sloppy anaphora”. First, we briefly explain what fake indexicals are, then we expose Kratzer's theory in our own wording, which will be of use in our later investigations. Then we present some comparative problems for the theory, brought to the fore by Maier & De Schepper (2011). We solve these problems by extending Kratzer's theory to the nominal domain. Finally, we show that this rephrasing predicts dialectal variation that is found in the Dutch dialects.

2. Fake indexicals

Fake indexicals (Partee 1989) are pronouns that display anaphoric readings in 1/2 person pronouns singular or plural. In these cases, the 1/2 person pronoun does not act like a well-behaved “indexical” in having a fixed discourse referent, but ranges over a set. They are anaphors in the semantic representation, as in (1a). The 1/2 pronoun exhibits a sloppy reading.¹

- (1) a. Only you eat what you cook.
 b. $\forall_x [(x \text{ eats what } x \text{ cooks}) \rightarrow x = 2]$ sloppy²
 c. $\forall_x [(x \text{ eats what } 2 \text{ cooks}) \rightarrow x = 2]$ nonsloppy

These constructions has been the subject of some debate (Heim 1994, Kratzer 1998, 2009, Von Stechow 2003, Rullmann 2004, Maier & De Schepper 2011, henceforth M&dS). Kratzer recent (2009) approach shows morphological blocking of certain sloppy readings. Kratzer’s effect is interesting and has far-reaching consequences for the theory of syntax as it shows that morphology, syntax and semantics are closely interacting systems. Kratzer’s analysis has been challenged in M&dS: they claim that the effect is absent in Dutch. As we will show, however, a more detailed analysis of the Dutch data, extending Kratzer’s effect to the nominal domain, makes them fit perfectly into the framework, and solves some remaining problems for English as well.

3. Kratzer (2009)

Kratzer (2009) shows that there are curious restrictions on the grammaticality of fake indexicals, both language internally, as the two German examples in (2)–(3) show, and comparatively, as the German and Dutch examples (3)–(4) show.

- (2) Wir sind die einzige, die unseren Sohn versorgen. sloppy/nonsloppy
 we are the only, who our son take.care.of
 ‘We are the only ones who take care of our son.’

1. The earliest mentioning of the construction is in Ross (1970: 251, 270), who refers to Ray Jackendoff for the two readings.

2. Paraphrases of the sloppy and non sloppy reading are, respectively:

- (i) nobody eats his own food, but you do
 (ii) nobody eats your food, but you do

- (3) Du bist der einzige, der deinen Sohn versorgt. *sloppy/nonsloppy
 you are the only, who your son take.care.of
 ‘You are the only one that takes care of your son.’
- (4) Jij bent de enige die je zoon goed verzorgt. sloppy/nonsloppy
 ‘You are the only one that takes care of your son.’

For reasons of presentation, we decompose Kratzer’s analysis into two steps. The first step is the recognition that two chains are involved. The second step is the analysis of which positions belong to which chain.

The unavailability of fake indexicals in (3) typically occurs if there are two syntactic chains with distinct person features, that are identified with each other under predication. We have the 2SG chain (*du, deinen*) and 3SG chain (*der einzige, der, t(race), versorgt*). We will refer to the former as the person chain, to the latter as the gender chain.³ The two chains are indicated in (5) with *i* and *k* subscripts.

- (5) Du_{*i*} bist der einzige_{*k*}, der_{*k*} t_{*k*} deinen_{*i*} Sohn versorgt_{*k*}

The two chains are identified upon predication in the main clause.⁴ Predication disrupts the immediate *c*-command relation between *du* and *deinen*, as the AGR-index of the embedded verb starts to intervene. The empirical generalization that Kratzer defends, is that if the spell-out of the index that immediately *c*-commands the fake indexical, is invariant under the relevant person permutation (here 2SG↔3SG), the fake indexical is licit.⁵ In (3) the immediately *c*-commanding element is *versorgt*. The involved 2/3-permutation would be (**versorgst*↔*versorgt*), which is not invariant, because the two inflectional morphemes are unequal in German. In the Dutch sentence in (4), which has similar chains as the German, 2SG↔3SG permutation in the element that immediately *c*-commands the fake indexical, would be (*verzorgt*↔*verzorgt*), which is invariant as Dutch has 2SG/3SG syncretism in T.

Kratzer’s second step is less straightforward and involves the concept of “minimal pronouns”. Kratzer’s idea is that the foot of the person chain in (5) (*deinen*) does not belong to the person chain but to the gender chain. In the syntax it is an element without any specification and is anaphoric to the inflectional head with relevant features. The fact that *deinen* shows up as a 2nd person pronoun rather

3. These are simply labels and chosen for ease of reference. In the person chain we see 12-person agreement, in the latter gender agreement. The labels have no theoretical status in this paper.

4. Without equative *be* in the main clause, no sloppy readings arise:

(i) you mistreated the only person that took care of your son *sloppy/nonsloppy

5. We use “invariance under permutation” as an interface requirement and “syncretism” as a paradigmatic property that allows it.

than a 3rd person is a PF effect of spell-out. In the syntax it is an element without inherent features.⁶ The syntactic anaphoricity in the lower predicate causes the sloppy nature of the entire construction. The predicate is reflexive in the sense of Reinhart & Reuland (1993). There is a potential problem here, which Kratzer does not address. According to Reinhart & Reuland reflexive predicates should be reflexively marked, either overtly or abstractly by the lexicon. This does not seem to be the case in (5). We come back to this.

As Rullmann's (2004) data illustrate, Dutch has pervasive sloppy readings with fake indexicals. They create even a full paradigm. In (6) I give a full paradigm with a fake indexical in a verbal construction. In (7) I give a full paradigm with a fake indexical in a nominal construction. The latter is Rullmann's.

- | | | |
|--------|---|----------|
| (6) a. | Ik ben de enige die me hier verveelt | 1SG |
| b. | Jij bent de enige die je hier verveelt | 2SG |
| c. | Hij is de enige die zich hier verveelt | 3SG.MASC |
| d. | Wij zijn de enige die ons hier vervelen | 1PL |
| e. | Jullie zijn de enige die je hier verveelt/vervelen ⁷ | 2PL |
| f. | Zij zijn de enige die zich hier vervelen
'I am the one who gets bored.' (etc.) | 3PL |
| | | |
| (7) a. | Ik ben de enige die mijn best doet | 1SG |
| b. | Jij bent de enige die je best doet | 2SG |
| c. | Hij is de enige die zijn best doet | 3SG.MASC |
| d. | Wij zijn de enige die ons best doen | 1PL |
| e. | Jullie zijn de enige die je best doen | 2PL |
| f. | Zij zijn de enige die hun best doen
'I am the only one that does my best.' (etc.) | 3PL |

In the next section, we present M&D's extension of the Dutch data set that creates a problem for Kratzer's analysis.

6. This shows up in Romance by using the bare article in these sloppy readings.

7. Dutch uses the default form *je* in anaphoric context, because *jullie* resists anaphora. For a discussion: Postma (2006). The double verbal form *-t/-en* might be tied to this. Notice, however, that Standard Dutch *jullie* may take *-t* in AGR_T, never in AGR_C, where it is always *-en* (Postma 2012).

4. Problems and extensions

M&dS observe that the Dutch counterpart of the German example in (2) is ungrammatical for many speakers of Dutch (including the present author), cf. (8).

- (8) Wij zijn de enigen die onze zoon verzorgen *sloppy/nonsloppy
 we are the only who our son take.care.of
 ‘we are the only ones who take care of our son’

This is unexpected under Kratzer’s theory, as Dutch verbs in 1PL and 3PL systematically exhibit syncretism when they sit in T, i.e. in embedded clauses in all verbs. This is true for all dialects.⁸ So, on the point of the verbal inflection, there is no variation between Dutch speakers, but there is nevertheless variation in the sloppy readings. This suggests that the trigger for the sloppy reading does not sit in the verbal paradigm. Instead of resorting to statistical empirical methods as M&dS do, it seems to us better to reflect on the triggering factor. Since these deviations from Kratzer’s predictions only occur when the fake indexical is a possessive pronoun within a nominal group, we look at the structure of the Dutch possessives. A proper analysis of Dutch possessive constructions will not only solve the problem of unexpected unavailability of sloppy readings in Dutch, it also solves the problem why English verbs unexpectedly permit sloppy readings.

Let us look more carefully at the German (2) and the Dutch (8), which are word by word parallels. We repeat them for convenience without glosses in (9)–(10).

- (9) Wir sind die einzige, die unseren Sohn versorgen sloppy/nonsloppy
 (10) Wij zijn de enigen die onze zoon verzorgen *sloppy/nonsloppy

Apart from some orthographic differences they seem to be quite similar. This picture, however, changes if we consider them into their paradigmatic dimension, as summarized in (11).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (11) | ich ... mein | -en Sohn versorg-e | ik... mijn | -ø zoon verzorg-ø |
| | du ... dein | -en Sohn versorg-st | jij ... je | -ø zoon verzorg-t |
| | er ... sein | -en Sohn versorg-t | hij ... zijn | -ø zoon verzorg-t |
| | wir ... unser | -en Sohn versorg-en | wij ... onz | -e zoon verzorg-en |
| | ihr ... eur | -en Sohn versorg-t | jullie ...je | -ø zoon verzorg-en |
| | Sie ... ihr | -en Sohn versorg-en | zij ... hun | -ø zoon verzorg-en |

8. There is not always syncretism between 1PL and 3PL when the V sits in C, e.g. in the Amsterdam dialect in inversion contexts: *dan gane wij/dan gaan zij* ‘then go we/they’.

In the verbal paradigm (*verzorg-*), Dutch shows syncretism, much more than German. This would predict that Dutch has fake indexicals more easily, not less easily than German, contrary to fact. If we turn to the nominal domain, however, we see a difference. While German has *-en* all over the paradigm, Dutch has an *-e* inflection with 1PL possessive pronouns, and a zero-inflection in 3rd. We claim that it is precisely this difference that blocks fake indexicals in (10). Before implementing we give some more data on Dutch. As we have seen from Rullmann's examples in (7), the nominal construction in (12) *does* allow for fake indexicals in 1PL constructions. This variability M&dS resort to elicitation tests.

- (12) Wij zijn de enigen die ons- \emptyset best doen sloppy
 Zij zijn de enigen die hun- \emptyset best doen
- (13) Wij zijn de enigen die onz-*e* kinderen verzorgen *sloppy/nonsloppy
 Zij zijn de enigen die hun- \emptyset kinderen verzorgen

Crucially, there is 1PL-3PL syncretism in (12): both the first person pronoun and the 3PL pronoun have zero inflection. This licenses the sloppy reading in (12) and blocks it in (13), in full compliance with Kratzer's theory.

Syncretism between 1PL and 3PL possessives applies in two cases in Standard Dutch. Firstly, it occurs when the noun has neuter gender. This is illustrated in (14)–(15) where we give the paradigm for the neuter *boek* 'book' (14) and the nonneuter *stad* 'town' (15). For the neuter there is zero-inflection in the entire paradigm.⁹ With nonneuter nouns there is no invariance: *mijn- \emptyset /.../hun- \emptyset stad* with zero inflection versus *onz-*e* stad* with schwa.

- (14) mijn/jouw/zijn/ons/hun boek (neuter)
 'my/your/his/our/their book'
- (15) mijn/jouw/zijn/onze/hun stad (nonneuter)
 'my/your/his/our/their book/town'

We cannot be sure what gender *best* in (12) has, since it cannot be modified. It is probably a neuter¹⁰ and would then comply with (14) with invariance.

9. For the sake of completeness, I note that the 1PL possessive *ons* is on a par with adjectives and quantifiers, not with the other possessives. We cannot use give this observation a place in this paper.

(i)	ons boek.n	een mooi boek	elk boek	menig boek
	onze stad.c	een mooie stad	elke stad	menige stad
	'our book/town'	'a nice book/town'	'each book/town'	'many a book/town'

10. The Van Dale dictionary (11th edition, 1984) classifies *best* in *ons best* as a neuter noun.

The other context where syncretism between 1PL and 3PL occurs, is in anaphoric contexts, even if the noun is common, such as *buik* ‘belly, abdomen, womb’, or *rug* ‘back’. This is illustrated in (16)–(17).

- (16) Als we pijn in **onze/ons** buik hebben, behandelt de arts
 if we pain in our abdomen have, treats the doctor
onze/*ons buik.
 our abdomen
 ‘if we have pain in the abdomen, the doctor treats the abdomen’
- (17) Dat kunnen we op ***onze/ons** buik schrijven
 that can we on our belly write
 ‘we can forget it’

In (16) we have two instances of ‘our abdomen’, a bound and an unbound one. The first instance allows an optional drop of the -e inflection, probably because the context is ambiguous between an anaphoric and a co-referential co-indexation. In the second instance where no antecedent is present, only the inflected form is licit. In (17), which is an expression with obligatory binding, only the uninflected form *ons* is licit.¹¹ It is certain that the zero-inflection in Rullmann’s examples in (7) realizes this context: it is an obligatory anaphoric context. As we have seen above, it is this inherent anaphoric nature that causes the sloppy reading. This was Kratzer’s second ingredient: only with a minimal pronoun does the sloppy reading arise. Apparently, the predicate’s reflexivity is not only marked abstractly by the lexicon, it has a morphological realization: null inflectional morphemes. Secondly: only if the possessive pronoun *ons* is with null inflection does invariance hold. This shows that Kratzer’s invariance approach makes exactly the correct demarcation, when applied to the nominal domain.

5. Theoretical implementation

Let us therefore implement Kratzer’s approach with more precision to the nominal domain. Consider the sentences in (18–19). The person and the gender chain are indicated again by italics and underlining, respectively.

- (18) *jij* bent de enige die t *je* zoon goed verzorgt sloppy/nonsloppy
 (19) *wij* zijn de enigen die t *onze* zoon goed verzorgen *sloppy/nonsloppy

11. The inflected e-form is not ungrammatical upon the literary reading, which is rather farfetched.

The first step in extending the approach is to apply the invariance under permutation not only on the foot of the gender chain (i.e. on *verzorgt/verzorgen*), but also on foot of the person chain, i.e. on *je/zijn* in (20) and *onze/hun* in (21).

- (20) jij ... je - \emptyset zoon verzorg-t (2SG \leftrightarrow 3SG)
 zijn - \emptyset zoon verzorg-t
- (21) wij ... onz -e zoon verzorg-en (1PL \leftrightarrow 3PL)
 hun - \emptyset zoon verzorg-en

In the verbal domain, we have the 2SG \leftrightarrow 3SG permutation (-t \leftrightarrow -t) and the 1PL \leftrightarrow 3PL permutation (-en \leftrightarrow -en), respectively. These are both lexically invariant. If we make the permutation under (1PL \leftrightarrow 3PL) in the nominal domain, we get the spell-out permutation (- \emptyset \leftrightarrow - \emptyset) for the (20) construction, which is invariant, but (*-e \leftrightarrow - \emptyset) for the construction in (21), which is not invariant. The nominal domain, therefore, distinguishes the two constructions: only (20) allows for the sloppy reading. In general, sloppy readings are only possible upon invariance under permutations of both chains.

Similarly, comparison of the Dutch and German contrast in (7) provides in the following permutations.

- (22) a. wir ... unser -en Sohn versorg-en 1PL \leftrightarrow 3PL
 ihr -en Sohn versorg-en
- b. wij ... onz -e zoon verzorg-en *1PL \leftrightarrow 3PL
 hun - \emptyset zoon verzorg-en

Once again the verbal domain is not distinctive. In the nominal domain, however, we get (-en \leftrightarrow -en) for German and (*-e \leftrightarrow - \emptyset) for Dutch under permutation, whence the contrast in the sloppy reading in (9–10).

Notice that checking invariance on both the verbal and the nominal domain makes Kratzer's analysis more symmetrical. The feet of both chains must be invariant under permutation for sloppy readings to be possible. We therefore remove an imperfection from Kratzer's verbal approach. From her perspective, the foot of the person chain is part of the gender chain in the semantics but part of the person chain in its spell-out. So at least this pronoun should be invariant. Why there should be invariance of "the element c-commanding it" (the foot of the gender chain) in Kratzer's approach, was less obvious. Kratzer assumes double feature spell-out in v^0 , inserted in the base. Given the current analysis, it is much more natural: the feet of both chains must be invariant. As the sloppy reading is induced by the predicate's reflexivity, reflexivity involves both chain feet and the (relative) minimality of the lower pronoun (the minimal pronoun) is retained.

A second remark is in place. Notice that we should not apply the invariance calculus on the entire pronoun, i.e. on the root. If we did, we would get the wrong predictions since neither German (**unser-en ↔ ihn-en*) nor Dutch (**onz-e ↔ hun-ø*) is invariant in the bold part (the root). We only want to count the inflectional endings: (*-en ↔ -en*) in German and (**-e ↔ -ø*) in Dutch. Only when we ignore the “lexical” root of the elements even if they carry phi-features do the correct predictions come out for Dutch and German in the nominal domain. We indicated between brackets, the part that is not visible at the interface or level of representation where the invariance under permutations is calculated.

(23)	(mein) -en.1SG	(mijn) -ø.1SG
	(unser) -en.1PL	(ons) -e.1PL
	(ihr) -en.3PL	(hun) -ø.3PL

6. Application in English

Above, we concluded that the lexical part of phi-feature spell-out does not count in the permutation procedure. As we will see, this also solve a problem for English. As Kratzer already notices, English has a wider possibility of fake indexicals than its inflection would suggest, e.g. in rich paradigms such as *to be*.

(24)	I am the only one who is brushing my teeth	sloppy/nonsloppy
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The *is* form is not permutable with the *am* form, but the sloppy reading is possible (for some speakers). This contradicts Kratzer’s generalization. However, if we take the verb *be* and its suppletive forms as root-like, i.e. to be represented as in (25), just as we assume for German/Dutch pronouns, invariance is blind to these root alternates. Notice that which agreement is suffixal and which is part of the root is an empirical question. It seems that even the *-s* part in productive verbs is part of the root in English, not inflectional.

(25)	a.	(I).1SG	(am) -ø.1SG
	b.	(you).2SG	(are) -ø.2SG
	c.	(he).3SG	(is) -ø.3g
	d.		(cook) -ø.1SG
	e.		(cook) -ø.2SG
	f.		(cooks) -ø.3SG

The bracketing in (25) is *de facto* a representation of Kratzer’s intuition of “gender and person markedness” in English, which seems a stipulation at first glance, but is a possibility universal grammar apparently allows for in view of (23). Without

it, the German/Dutch data would not fall into place. Especially the bracketing in (25d, e, f) deserves discussion. How is it possible that the string /cooks/ is not visible to the syntax? Regularly inflected verbs in English are certainly morphologically composed, but this composition is not visible or has not come about in the syntax. Now, according to Pollock (1989)¹² the English inflectional -s is not acquired in the syntax under verb movement but is base inserted. This is the famous affix hopping rule of older generative, and the late insertion approach in more modern versions of the grammar. In terms of valued and unvalued features, both strategies can be accommodated, i.e. the distinction between Dutch/German on one side, and English on the other is given in (26).

(26)	T	V			
	a.	-t	loop-	(hij) kookt	Dutch
		val \varnothing	_ \varnothing		
	b.	- \varnothing	walks	(he) cooks	English
		_ \varnothing	val \varnothing		

According to Boskovic (2007), the featural scheme with high or low unvalued features defines the movement properties: the configuration in (26a) causes verb movement and the configuration in (26b) shows *in situ* feature resolution (under AGREE), typical for English.¹³ This is identical to the claim that the verbal inflectional part in English *cooks* is not visible to the syntax, while the verbal inflectional part in Dutch *kookt* is.

7. Variational semantics

Let us now return to the linguistic variation that M&D report on. Consider again the sentence in (10), repeated for convenience in (27).

(27) Wij zijn de enigen die onze zoon verzorgen. *sloppy/nonsloppy

The judgements are mine and confirmed by various Amsterdam-based colleagues. However, Crit Cremers (*pers. comm.*) finds the sloppy reading perfectly fine. It would be good to attribute this disagreement to some linguistic micro-variable. The present analysis tells us where to look: differences in the nominal domain. Now, Cremers is a native speaker of the dialect of Tegelen. This dialect is similar to

12. The discussion on verbal morphology and verb movement covers decennia (Chomsky 1957, Emond 1978, Platzack & Holmberg 1989, Chomsky 1993, Lasnik 1999), and is still going on (Nunes & Zocca 2009), just to mention some.

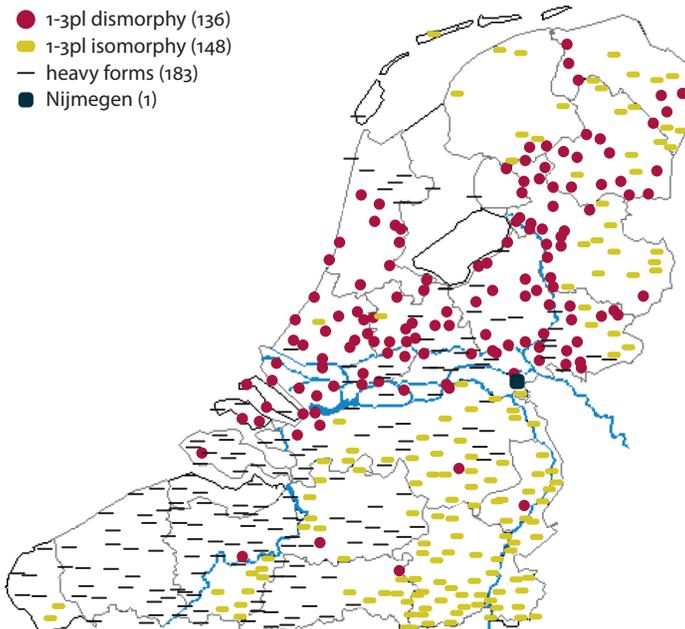
13. Boskovic (2007) defines the EPP in terms of interpretable and uninterpretable features. The implementation here uses valued and unvalued features.

German in that it has invariance within the nominal domain. In the case of kinship terms the possessors are uniformly zero-endings, as in (28).¹⁴ In other nouns they have endings in function of the gender of the noun (cf. 29), but they are always invariant over the paradigm, just as in German.

Tegelen dialect (GRTP, loc L270)

(28)	os-ø kinger	(ʔs kɪŋəʔ)	‘our children’	+kinship
	eur-ø kinger	(ø:ʔ kɪŋəʔ)	‘their children’	
(29)	oz-e knech	(ʊzə knɛʔx̥)	‘our servant’	-kinship
	eur-e knech	(ø:ʔə knɛʔx̥)	‘their servant’	

It is well known that L1-settings can be active in bilingual speaker’s L2-judgements (Van Coetsem 1988, Schwartz & Sprouse 1996). I, therefore, conjecture that some bilingual Dutch speakers generate the sloppy reading with their parallel dialect syntax. If this correct, the question arises where we might find such speakers. With the GRTP-morphological dialect database, present at the Meertens, it is possible to trace the dialectal variants that have the invariant system. We did a brief search using ‘onze knecht’ (item nr. 1784) and ‘hun knecht’ (item nr. 1787) and marked for all dialects if their inflections were equal or unequal. The results are given on the map below. We see that the Netherlands and Belgium are divided in three areas.



14. This seems to be a variant of the anaphoric effect present in Standard Dutch, discussed below (12). Kinship terms and body parts often behave as anaphors (Gueron 1985).

A western area with the Standard Dutch system of possessive split between 1/3PL possessors (the red dots), an eastern area with German-type possessive isomorphism between 1/3PL possessors (the yellow blocks), and a southern area where the 3rd person pronouns are made with complex forms, as *hullie*, etc. ‘themguys’ (the black dashes) (Flemish and Brabantish). We therefore predict that especially in the yellow area sloppy readings in sentences such as (13b) will be generated. As Nijmegen is on the border of the two dialect areas (the blue square close to where the Rhein River enters the country), and since Nijmegen University attracts students from both areas, it does not come as a surprise that the elicitation test carried out by M&dS, did not result in sharp demarcations.

8. Conclusions

We conclude that Kratzer’s theory covers the entire realm of Dutch data. It provides evidence that full permutational invariance in two chains is a condition for sloppy readings. Kratzer’s inflectional effect does not only hold in the verbal domain but also in the nominal domain. As a spin off, our interface approach resolves a problem that sloppy readings are more wide-spread in English than its morphology seems to predict.

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