AN ANALYSIS OF THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF SMALL CLAUSES IN AFRIKAANS: A MINIMALIST APPROACH

by

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Abstract

The main goal of this study is to provide a grammatical analysis of small clauses in Afrikaans. A proper analysis of this phenomenon has not yet been attempted in the literature on Afrikaans syntax. However, within the framework of generative grammar, including the most recent versions of Minimalist Syntax, extensive research has been conducted on the small clause phenomenon for a wide range of other languages. In these studies, various types of small clause constructions have been identified. For the purpose of this study, a systematic analysis is given for seven of these small clause construction types, focusing specifically on the Afrikaans data. In order to establish whether the Afrikaans small clause constructions exhibit the same characteristics as those found in other languages, a taxonomy is given of their Dutch, English, West Flemish and Polish counterparts as described by, among others, Hoekstra (1988a, 1992), Bennis, Corver and Den Dikken (1998), Citko (2008) and Haegeman (2010). It is against this background that the characteristics of the different Afrikaans small clause constructions are described. In addition, an explication is given of the various proposals regarding the underlying structure of such constructions. Based on proposals by Oosthuizen (2013), it is argued that a small clause construction is a projection of a particular functional category, namely a defective light verb, sc-*v*. It is claimed that such a light verb analysis can provide an adequate account of the Afrikaans facts.

Opsomming

Die hoofoogmerk van hierdie studie is om 'n grammatikale analise van beknopte sinne ("small clauses") in Afrikaans te verskaf. 'n Behoorlike analise van hierdie verskynsel is nog nie tevore aangebied in die literatuur oor Afrikaanse sintaksis nie. Binne die raamwerk van generatiewe grammatika, insluitend die mees onlangse versies van Minimalistiese Sintaksis, is daar egter uitgebreide navorsing gedoen oor die verskynsel van beknopte sinne in 'n verskeidenheid ander tale. In die betrokke studies is verskeie tipes beknopte sin-konstruksies geïdentifiseer. Vir die doel van hierdie studie word 'n sistematiese analise gegee van sewe van hierdie konstruksie-tipes, met spesifieke fokus op die Afrikaanse data. Ten einde vas te stel of die Afrikaanse beknopte sin-konstruksies dieselfde eienskappe toon as dié in ander tale, word 'n taksonomie verskaf van die ooreenstemmende konstruksies in Nederlands, Engels, Wes-Vlaams en Pools, soos beskryf deur onder meer Hoekstra (1988a, 1992), Bennis, Corver en Den Dikken (1998), Citko (2008) en Haegeman (2010). Dit is teen hierdie agtergrond dat die eienskappe van die verskillende Afrikaanse beknopte sin-konstruksies beskryf word. Verder word 'n uiteensetting gegee van verskeie voorstelle oor die onderliggende struktuur van sulke konstruksies. Gebaseer op voorstelle deur Oosthuizen (2013), word daar geargumenteer dat 'n beknopte sin-konstruksie 'n projeksie is van 'n spesifieke funksionele kategorie, naamlik 'n defektiewe ligte werkwoord, sc-*v*. Daar word aangevoer dat so 'n ligte werkwoord-analise 'n toereikende verklaring kan bied van die Afrikaanse feite.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The purpose of this study is to provide a grammatical analysis of several types of small clauses in Afrikaans. Basilico (2003:1) defines a small clause as "a string of XP YP constituents that enter into a predication relation, but where the predicate, YP, rather than containing a fully inflected verb, contains an adjective phrase, noun phrase, prepositional phrase, or uninflected verb phrase". This relationship is illustrated in (1) where the small clause subject, or XP, *the guard* enters into a predicate relationship, firstly, with the adjectival phrase *intelligent* (1a) and secondly, with the uninflected verb phrase *leave* (1b):

(1)   a.   We consider *the guard intelligent.*
       b.   We saw *the guard leave.*

Extensive research has been conducted on the phenomenon of small clauses for a wide range of languages. Various types of small clauses have been identified, including, among many others, existential constructions (e.g. Massam 2008; Keenan 2009; Sabbagh 2009); causative constructions (e.g. Vanden Wyngaerd 2001); copula constructions (e.g. Citko 2008); perception, ergative, resultative and *there*-constructions (e.g. Hoekstra 1988a,b, 1992); *with*-constructions, particle constructions (e.g. Bennis et al. 1995; Bošković 2004; Cornilescu 2004; Basilico 2008); possessive constructions (e.g. Boneh and Sichel 2010); exceptional case marking constructions (e.g. Hong and Lasnik 2010); and PRO-small clauses, locative constructions and clauses involving predicate inversion (e.g. Broekhuis and Hegedűs 2009; Frascarelli 2010). These and related studies gave rise to several proposals regarding the underlying structure of small clauses, of which most identify the small clause head as a vague – seemingly arbitrary – functional element (e.g. X, π, etc.).

As far as could be ascertained, no systematic study has yet been made of the various types of small clauses in Afrikaans. Accordingly, a first, empirical objective is to describe the characteristics of a range of small clause constructions in Afrikaans, based on similar descriptions that have been put forward for Polish and for related West Germanic languages such as Dutch, English and West Flemish. Oosthuizen (2013) provides a brief analysis of Afrikaans small clauses that exhibit obligatory reflexivity, but he does not describe any other

types of small clauses in any detail. Working within the broad framework of Minimalist Syntax,[1] Oosthuizen proposes an analysis that incorporates a specific type of light verb head, i.e. it incorporates the notion that verbal and nominal expressions, for example, are projections of a so-called "light category" (i.e. a light verb or a light noun, respectively).[2] The hypothesis then is that small clauses are also projections of an existing light category (e.g. a defective light verb) instead of a novel functional category. This raises the question of whether the main ideas underlying such an analysis can be extended to a wider range of Afrikaans small clauses. Accordingly, the second, theoretical objective of this study is to develop an analysis of Afrikaans small clauses that employs the notion *light verb*, taking Oosthuizen's (2013) ideas as a point of departure. Against this background, the main research questions can be formulated as follows:

1. What are the characteristics of the various types of Afrikaans small clauses?
2. How do these characteristics compare to those of the corresponding small clauses in other languages, specifically Polish and languages within the West Germanic family?
3. Can the characteristics in question be accounted for within an analysis that incorporates the notion *light verb*, along the lines suggested by Oosthuizen (2013)?

The study is organised as follows. Chapter 2 provides a summary of the main assumptions and concepts of Minimalist Syntax that are relevant to the proposed analysis of Afrikaans small clauses. Chapter 3 focuses on the characteristics of several types of small clauses. Firstly, the discussion addresses the idea that a small clause is a distinct syntactic entity, paying particular attention to Hoekstra's (1988a,b, 1992) claims in this regard. The chapter is divided into four main sections dealing with seven types of small clauses, namely 3.3.1, Dutch resultative small clauses (Hoekstra 1988a, 1992); 3.3.2, Polish copula clauses (Citko 2008); 3.4.1, Dutch *N van een N*, *wat voor*-interrogatives and *wat*-exclamatives (Bennis, Corver and Den Dikken 1998); and 3.4.2, West Flemish *wek*-interrogative and *zuk*-demonstrative small clauses (Haegeman 2010). Chapter 3 concludes with an outline of two main proposals for the underlying structure of small clauses as set out by Bennis et al. (1998) and Citko (2008).

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[1] For the basic assumptions and concepts of Minimalist Syntax, cf. e.g. Chomsky (1995, 2004, 2005a), Adger (2003), Baltin and Collins (2003), Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005), Radford (2009).

[2] Cf. fn 35 of section 3.5 for further reading on light categories.

Chapter 4 deals with the characteristics of the Afrikaans small clauses corresponding to the seven types discussed in chapter 3. It will be argued that these clauses can be adequately analysed by employing an underlying structure in which the small clause is headed by a type of light verb (Oosthuizen 2013). The main findings, some potential problems of the proposed analysis, and possible topics for further research are summarised in chapter 5, the concluding chapter.

Chapter 2

Minimalist Syntax as general theoretic framework

2.1   Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief outline of the main assumptions and concepts of Minimalist Syntax (MS), which forms the general theoretic framework within which the small clauses discussed in chapters 3 and 4 will be analysed. It should be noted, though, that MS cannot be regarded as a single overarching theory, but rather as a collection of – often competing – (sub)theories that developed out of the so-called Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). This programme raises two important questions relating to the design of the human language faculty and its relationship with other cognitive systems in the mind/brain. Chomsky (1995:1) puts these questions as follows:

> This work is motivated by two related questions: (1) what are the general conditions that the human language faculty should be expected to satisfy? and (2) to what extent is the language faculty determined by these conditions, without special structure that lies beyond them? The first question in turn has two aspects: what conditions are imposed on the language faculty by virtue of (A) its place within the array of cognitive systems of the mind/brain, and (B) general considerations of conceptual naturalness that have some independent plausibility, namely, simplicity, economy, symmetry, non-redundancy, and the like?

According to Putnum and Stroik (2009:3), the minimalist framework constitutes a "family of theoretic approaches that share core assumptions and guiding intuitions … [within which there is still – RB] a great deal of theoretic variation". Amidst the variation, the Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach to Universal Grammar (UG) is generally accepted. This approach posits a finite set of principles with binary parameter settings, which are valued through exposure to a specific language (Hornstein et al. 2005:20). Accordingly, the P&P approach can account for the variations across languages and explain how children acquire their first language in such a strikingly rapid and uniform manner.

2.2   General assumptions concerning architecture and devices

Within MS, it is assumed that (a) human language (HL) comprises (i) a lexicon containing substantive and functional elements and (ii) a computational system (CS) which generates syntactic structures (Chomsky 1995, 2004; Adger 2003; Stroik 2004; Hornstein et al. 2005).[1] The CS interacts with two performance systems, namely the semantic component at the conceptual-intentional (C-I) interface, and the phonetic-phonological component at the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) interface.[2]

The CS generates sentences by first selecting lexical items into a numeration (NUM), that is, an array, or subarray of substantive and functional items.[3] The elements within the numeration are subsequently combined through an operation that consists of two parts, external merge (EM) and internal merge (IM) (Stroik 2004:21; Hornstein et al. 2005:210). External merge selects items from the NUM and inserts them into the syntactic derivation (SD), whereas internal merge occurs within the confines of a particular structure by selecting items and moving them to a different site within the same structure. Movement operations are necessary to ensure (i) that the correct word order is derived and (ii) that the derivation satisfies Full Interpretation, by which is meant that the output generated by the CS is fully interpretable by the semantic and phonetic components (Chomsky 1995:219; Adger 2003:85; Narita 2011:16).

The organisation of the grammar in terms of the MS assumptions outlined above can be represented by the diagrams in (1) and (2) below (Stroik 2004:21):

(1) CS_{HL}: NUM → ‹C-I, A-P›

(2)   a. EM: NUM → SD
       b. IM: SD → SD

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[1] The computational system (Chomsky 1995) is referred to as "the syntactic component" in Adger (2003) and Radford (2009).

[2] According to Chomsky (1995:2) language comprises pairings of sound and meaning. These pairings are taken to comprise a logical form, which represents the meaning (or the speaker's intended meaning) and a phonetic form, which is the audible or visual (in the case of sign language) representation of the utterance. Also cf. Hornstein et al. (2005) and Radford (2009).

[3] Stroik (2004:22) suggests that the numeration should not be compiled in "pre-derivation blindness" as indicated by, among others, Chomsky (1995, 2004), but rather that it is built throughout the derivation.

In slightly different terms, Chomsky (1997b:5) claims that language constitutes, firstly, properties of sound and meaning ('features') that are assembled into 'lexical items' (such as morphemes, words, functional items, etc.) through merge operations. The lexical items are then combined to form more complex linguistic representations like phrases and sentences. Once compiled these sentences need to be fully interpretable on two levels – phonetically and semantically. This is effected by ensuring that all unvalued (hence uninterpretable) features are valued in the course of the derivation before they are transferred to the relevant interfaces through an operation known as "spellout" (Hornstein et al. 2005:43).[4] Chomsky (2005a:13) remarks as follows on the relation between transfer and the two basic operations of merge and spellout:

> If internal Merge precedes transfer, movement is overt; otherwise, it is covert. If movement is covert, transfer has already spelled out the lower copy; if overt, the choice is delayed to the next phase.

The operations mentioned above will be discussed in more detail in the remainder of this chapter. Specifically, attention will be given to merge and move operations, and feature valuation (or, agreement) that concerns structural case assignment and theta role assignment.

2.2.1   Merge and move operations

As noted above, there are two distinct merge operations, external merge and internal merge. Both operations are subject to the binary principle, which states that two and only two items may be involved in any given merger operation (Hornstein et al. 2005:171; Radford 2009:42). According to (2a) above, external merge constitutes an operation in which two constituents are selected directly from the numeration and combined to form a projected larger constituent (Adger 2003:62; Stroik 2004: 21; Hornstein et al. 2005:45; Radford 2009:39). In other words, "merge is essentially a constituent building operation" (Adger 2003:69). The nature of these larger constituents is determined by the properties of one of the merged elements. For instance, if three lexical items α, β and γ are involved in a particular derivation, their selection and merger will take place in a two-step process. Firstly, α and β

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[4] Spellout is the operation that "separates the structure relevant for phonetic interpretation from the structure that pertains to semantic interpretation and ships each off to the appropriate interface" (Hornstein et al. 2005:43). Within each derivation, there are multiple trigger points for spellout, generally known as "phases", which ensure that spellout is not a one-off operation within the derivation. Cf. e.g. Chomsky (2005b) and Radford (2009: chapter 9).

are merged to form a new category K and, secondly, K is merged with the third element γ, which results in L (Hornstein et al. 2005:199–200). The label K is determined by the properties of the head constituent that will be interpretable at an interface level (Adger 2003:73). Therefore, if α is the head of the phrase (P), the first merger operation will result in the structure [αP [α β]], where the resulting constituent K has been labelled as a projection of the head constituent α. The asymmetric structure that is created by merging γ with K, under X-bar theory, implies that the phrase represented by L is in fact a larger projection of αP.[5] The resulting structure is illustrated by the diagram in (3):

(3)   L
        ╱   ╲
      γ   K
               ╱   ╲
             α   β
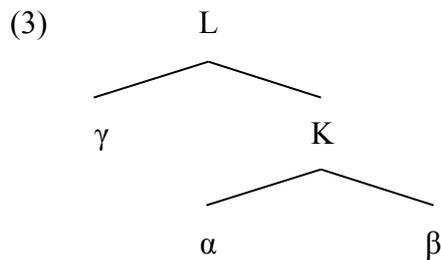
In relation to X'-theory, the first merger operation yields a head-complement relationship between α and β, which constitutes an intermediate projection α', whereas the second merger operation yields a spec(ifier)-head relationship between the head α and the specifier γ, resulting in the maximal projection of αP. It is generally assumed that the head constituent can project because it contains selectional properties that require the presence of a complement and/or a specifier (Hornstein et al. 2005:189).

Turning to internal merge, it is illustrated in (2b) that this operation takes place within the confines of an existing syntactic structure, and "seems to be driven in part at least by uninterpretable features of the phase head" (Chomsky 2005a:18).[6] In other words, a syntactic constituent is merged into the derivation from a lower node within the same structure, rather

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[5] X-bar theory (X'-theory) involves the projection of a head – the minimal projection – into a larger intermediate projection, or bar projection, which is smaller than the asymmetric phrase XP, or maximal projection (Adger 2003:111; Chomsky 2005a:14; Hornstein et al. 2005:189; Radford 2009:75). Due to the assumption that certain categories can have more than one specifier, e.g. in cases of adjunction, the bar notation α' is replaced by numeral superscripts to indicate the larger projection, $αP^1$, $αP^2$, etc. (cf. e.g. De Bruin 2011; Oosthuizen 2013). However, this notational device will not be employed here, unless the projection extends further than one specifier position (cf. chapter 4).

[6] These uninterpretable features will be discussed in section 2.2.2. Phase heads are generally taken to be light verbs and C (cf. e.g. Boeckx 2006; Chomsky 2005b; Hornstein et al. 2005; Bošković and Lasnik 2007; Radford 2009; Nunes 2010).

than directly from numeration (Radford 2009:186); in view of its effect, internal merge is informally referred to as a "move" or "movement" operation. Internal merge essentially involves two sub-operations, namely copy and merge (Chomsky 2005a; Hornstein et al. 2005:202–6). This means that movement is brought about by copying an expression and then merging it into another position within the structure. The source expression – referred to as a 'trace' in GB-theory – remains in its initial position, and is eventually deleted in the phonetic component. In short, then, a derived structure may contain (at least) two copies of a particular expression X, one in the derived position [spec,Y] and the other in its initial position. Generally only the top-most expression is spelled out in languages like English, although parametric variation is possible in this regard (Chomsky 2005a:13). The copy-merge operation is depicted in (4) in which the theme argument *die water* ("the water") enters the derivation as the complement of the verb *kook* ("boils"). It is then copied and merged into the syntactic subject position [spec,TP] (the deleted copy is given in ~~strikethrough~~).

(4) a. [TP T [VP kook [DP die water]]]

   b. [TP [DP die water] [T' T [VP kook [DP ~~die water~~]]]]

MS places great emphasis on economy conditions, taking a "less is more" perspective. Accordingly, a number of related principles and conditions converge under the economy umbrella. These include, among others, the last resort condition, the locality principle and the attract closest condition (Hornstein et al. 2005; Radford 2009). Last resort states that an operation is only licensed if the alternative is an ungrammatical representation (Baltin and Collins 2003:46). In the event that such an operation is licensed, it must apply locally in the sense that it has to attract the closest relevant constituent in the smallest number of moves (Radford 2009:21, 216, 221).

2.2.2   Feature valuation

Features constitute the building blocks of syntactic derivations and represent the abstract properties of lexical items.[7] The set of formal features generally include phi(φ)-features (e.g. person, number and gender), case features (e.g. nominative, accusative, genitive), and tense-related features (e.g. past, present, future). These relate to properties of sound and meaning that affect three aspects of a derivation: syntax, e.g. case features; morphology

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[7] Cf. e.g. Adger (2003:22); Hornstein et al. (2005:273); Radford (2009:457).

relating to agreement-related inflection, e.g. φ-features and tense features; and semantics (Adger 2003:22–24). Case features and φ-features of verbs (in languages like English that overtly show the associated inflections) are interpreted at the A-P interface, whereas nominal φ-features are interpreted at the C-I interface. If any of these features remain unvalued the derivation will crash. For example, in (5) the unvalued φ-features (person and number) of the verb *eat* need to be valued as [φ:3sg] so that they agree with the corresponding features of the subject *monkey* and the verb is spelled out as *eats*:

(5)   a.   The *monkey* eats a banana.

       b.   *The *monkey* eat a banana.

The operation by which uninterpretable features receive values within the derivation, is called 'agree'. One manner in which the agree operation brings about feature-agreement (or feature-checking) is "valuation at a distance" through probe-goal matching (Hornstein et al. 2005:349). Probe-goal matching involves a probe element, e.g. (an unvalued feature on) a functional head like T, where the T's unvalued φ-features seek a nominal goal lower in the structure with matching valued features with which they can agree. In turn, the nominal goal's unvalued case feature is valued by the valued case feature of the T probe.[8] Each element with unvalued features will remain active until all its features have been valued, after which it will become syntactically inactive, i.e. it will be unable to participate in any other agreement and movement operations (Hornstein et al. 2005:326). According to the above-mentioned economy conditions, probe-goal operations take place within a local domain: if a probe c-commands a goal and there are no intervening elements with similar interpretable features, the probe's unvalued features can be valued and deleted (Radford 2009:285).[9]

Movement operations are closely linked to feature-valuation (agreement). Chomsky (2005a:18) notes that "[i]nternal [m]erge seems to be driven in part at least by uninterpretable

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[8] According to Radford (2009:285), case-feature valuation is necessitated by agreement relations in which a goal values the φ-features of a probe:

"When a probe [...] agrees with a goal in its local domain
(i)   the unvalued (person/number) φ-features on the probe will be valued [...]
(ii)   the unvalued case feature on the goal will be valued [...]."

[9] Chomsky (1995:35) defines the structural relationship of c-command as follows: a constituent X c-commands a constituent Y if X does not dominate Y and every Z that dominates X also dominates Y.

features of the phase head, as a reflex of probe-goal matching". This assumption by Chomsky (2005a) is in line with the more recent notion of a "movement diacritic" (indicated as ^) that is associated with particular unvalued features of a probe, e.g. unvalued φ-features (cf. Biberauer, Holmberg and Roberts 2008a, 2009, 2014). In terms of this movement diacritic approach, ^ is generally associated with agreement-related operations in that it triggers raising of the goal into a [spec-probe] position as part of the feature-valuation operation.[10] As such, Biberauer et al. (2014:209) propose that the diacritic ^ – which in itself does not contain any overt meaning, cannot be assigned a value, and cannot be checked in an obvious manner – replaces Chomsky's (2000, 2001) EPP-features.[11] In cases where this diacritic is associated with a probe's φ-features, it follows that any probe can trigger raising of this nature for any suitable goal. Biberauer et al. (2014:210) give the following examples of "movement triggers":

(6)   a. $T_{[u\varphi^\wedge]}$ triggers movement of the goal of the probe [uφ] to [spec,TP].
       b. $C_{[EF^\wedge]}$ triggers A'-movement to [spec,CP].
       c. $V_{[+V^\wedge]}$ triggers movement of the sister of V to [spec,VP].

In the event that an uninterpretable feature cannot be valued by any type of agree operation before the derivation is transferred to spellout; the derivation will inevitably crash.

Biberauer et al.'s (2008a, 2009, 2014) proposals regarding the nature and function of movement diacritics will be adopted in the analyses presented in chapter 4.

2.2.3   Theta role assignment

Within MS it is generally accepted that theta(θ)-roles are assigned when an argument is externally merged with a predicate. According to Adger (2003:81), θ-role assignment seems to be purely semantic even though θ-roles appear to play a role in syntactic derivations. Furthermore, θ-roles are assigned by a predicate to an argument, thereby

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[10] As discussed in note 25 of section 4.4 as it relates the characteristics of small clauses, Biberauer et al. (2008a) make provision for a movement diacritic ^ that is freestanding or rather independent of movement and constitutes an EPP-type feature.

[11] The EPP-feature, which relates to the Extended Projection Principle, was initially posited for the head T to make provision for a specifier position by extending T's projection. It has since been argued that any probe carries an uninterpretable EPP-feature, which is only checked once a suitable goal has been moved into its specifier position. Cf. e.g. Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001); Adger (2003); Hornstein et al. (2005); Radford (2009).

specifying the semantic role that the specific argument has within the structure. Radford (2009:482) states that under the θ-criterion a predicate must assign its argument "one and only one theta-role, and that each theta-role associated with a given predicate should be assigned to one and only one argument". Analysed in this manner, it follows that all arguments originate within the minimal domain of their respective predicates, that is, as the complement or the specifier(s) of the predicate. Predicates can have up to three arguments, namely an external argument (generally the subject) and one or two internal arguments (generally the direct and indirect objects). Therefore, in order for a two-place predicate to assign a θ-role to each of its two arguments, the resulting structure will be assembled along the lines of the one presented under X'-theory discussed above. Accordingly, Hornstein et al. (2005:70) claim that if θ-theory is conceptualised in terms of X'-theory, then "(i) phrases are projections of heads; (ii) elements that form parts of phrases do so by virtue of being within such projections; and (iii) elements within a phrase are hierarchically ordered".

In order to accommodate the extended projection of a three-place predicate, the VP Internal Subject Hypothesis (VPISH) was proposed (cf. e.g. Contreras 1987; Koopman and Sportiche 1991; Adger 2003).[12] According to the VPISH, the subject is externally merged in the specifier position of the verb where it will be assigned a θ-role. However, in order to make provision for a three-place predicate like *give, receive* and *roll* to assign a θ-role to the 'indirect object', the VP-shell (or split VP) hypothesis was put forward. This hypothesis states that all lexical verbs are merged with an abstract light verb *v*. A sentence like *John gave the dog some water* would then have the structure in (7), with v representing a causative light verb. Accordingly, in terms of the VP-shell hypothesis, the canonical position for subjects would be the specifier position of the light *v*.

(7)   [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ ø] [$_{TP}$ John [$_T$ ø] [$_{vP}$ John [$_v$ gave+ø] [$_{VP}$ the dog [$_V$ gave] some water]]]]

The VP-shell hypothesis plays an important role in the current study. It will be argued that, besides containing causative and experiencer *v*'s, the category *light verb* can be expanded

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[12] In e.g. Hornstein et al. (2005:ch. 5) VPISH is referred to as the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis or PISH.

to include other types depending on the structure in which it occurs and the meaning expressed by such a structure.[13]

Lastly, the uniform theta assignment hypothesis (UTAH) states that "two arguments which fulfil the same thematic function with respect to a predicate must be merged in the same position in the syntax" (Radford 2009:347).[14] It will be shown in chapter 4 that the subject of a small clause, which generally occupies the specifier position of the small clause head, is usually assigned the theme θ-value.

2.3   Summary

This chapter provided a brief outline of the main assumptions and concepts of MS, which serves as the general theoretic framework within which the Afrikaans small clauses will be analysed in chapter 4. These included the nature and function of merge and move operations, various feature-valuation operations (e.g. those involved in φ-agreement and in case and θ-role assignment), the notion light verb, and several of the core hypotheses and principles of MS (e.g. c-command, the locality principle and the VP-shell hypothesis). We will return to some of these concepts and assumptions in the discussion of the syntax of small clauses in chapter 3.

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[13] Various other types of light categories have been proposed in the literature, e.g. light nouns and light prepositions Cf. e.g. É. Kiss (1998), Oosthuizen (2000, 2013), Stroik (2001), Baker (2003), Folli and Harley (2004, 2007), Kenesei (2005), Chomsky (2006), and Zeller (2008) for such other light categories. In section 4.5 the merit of a light *p* will be considered in the analysis of Afrikaans small clauses. In that section it will also be proposed that a nominal shell should be employed in the analysis of a particular type of small clause, the so-called *N van 'n N* ("N of a N") construction.

[14] Cf. e.g. Williams (1981); Baker (1988, 1997); and Kratzer (1996).

Chapter 3
The notion 'small clause'

3.1   Introduction

The objective of chapter 3 is to provide a brief taxonomy of some of the types of small clauses that were mentioned in chapter 1. Each section will in turn provide a concise description of the specific type of small clause as it relates to, among others, case assignment, selectional properties, interpretation, etc. A few of these brief taxonomic entries (specifically those in section 3.4) focus on small clauses that are formed through inversion in order to highlight a potentially universal small clause structure as illustrated by mainly Citko (2008), Bennis et al. (1998) and Haegeman (2010).

Each discussion will commence with Citko's (2008:262) basic assumption that small clauses comprise a subject that selects a (nonverbal) predicate to form the structure presented in (1).

(1)   SC
           /   \
       subject   predicate
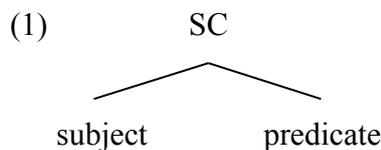
However, before these types of small clauses can be examined, section 3.2 gives a brief overview of some of the arguments that have been put forward in support of the notion 'small clause' as a distinct syntactic entity. This overview is based mainly on the account provided by Hoekstra (1992).

3.2   Arguments for small clauses

Consider the examples in (2):

(2)   a.   We found John guilty.
       b.   We found that John was guilty.   (Hoekstra 1992:321)

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According to Hoekstra (1992:321) there are three possible analyses for the sentences in (2), namely "(i) the predicational analyses …; (ii) the Complex Predicate Formation (CPF) analysis; (iii) the small clause analysis".[1] These analyses are presented in (3):

(3) a. We found [$_{SC}$ John guilty]   small clause structure

 b. We found [$_{DP}$ John]$_i$ [$_{AP}$ guilty]$_i$ predication structure

 c. We [found guilty] John   CPF structure

Hoekstra (1992) argues in favour of the small clause approach illustrated in (3a). His first argument is based on θ-role assignment. The verb *find* in (2b) is a two-place predicate that selects "two arguments, *we* and a complement clause" (Hoekstra 1992:322). According to standard assumptions about θ-role assignment the predicate *find* assigns the agent (or perhaps experiencer) role to *we* and the theme role to the complement clause *that John was guilty* in (2b).[2] Similarly, then, it seems plausible to claim that *find* in (3a) assigns the theme role to the complete small clause complement *John guilty* rather than just the DP *John* as one would expect to be the case with a structure like the one in (3b).

The second argument for the small clause approach illustrated in (3a) is based on word order. Hoekstra (1992:322) argues that because Dutch and English have different underlying word orders (SOV and SVO respectively) one would expect that the word order within the small clause, for example the order in which the DP – in the conventional 'object' position – and the secondary predicate merge with each other would also differ. However, this is not the case. The examples in (4) below illustrate that the word order within the sequences *Jan aardig*/*John nice* is the same for both languages. Note, moreover, that these sequences occur before the verb in Dutch and after the verb in English. These facts suggest that *Jan aardig* and *John nice* are in fact small clause constituents that form the object complement of the verb.

(4) a. dat wij Jan   aardig vonden

 that we John   nice   found

 "that we found John nice"

---

[1] Hoekstra (1992:321) mentions that there are numerous variants of the CPF analysis; according to him these are "irrelevant" for the purposes of his analysis of small clauses.

[2] For discussions of θ-role assignment, cf. section 2.2.3 for references.

b.   *dat wij aardig Jan   vonden

     that we nice   John found

     "that we found John nice"

The third argument relates to PP extraction in Dutch. Hoekstra (1992:322–323) states that PPs – functioning as prepositional objects, predicative adjuncts and various types of adverbials – may generally occur pre- or postverbally. The examples in (5) illustrate this dual positioning of a prepositional object and a locative PP adjunct respectively.

(5)   a.   dat Jan   over het weer   praat / praat over het weer

            that John about the weather talks / talks about the weather

            "That John talks about the weather."

      b.   dat   Jan daar z'n vriendin ontmoette / z'n vriendin daar ontmoette

            that John there his girlfriend   met   / his girlfriend there   met

            "That John met his girlfriend there."

However, if the (head of a) PP were taken to be a predicate with a θ-role to assign in examples like those in (6), the PP would not fall into any of the types mentioned above. Rather, the PP would represent the nonverbal predicate of a small clause. Therefore, in (6) the PP predicate assigns a θ-role to the DPs *de boeken* and *Jan* respectively. This would explain why the PP functioning as the nonverbal predicate of a small clause may not follow the verb, in contrast to regular PPs of the types mentioned above (Hoekstra 1992:323).

(6)   a.   dat Jan *de boeken* op de plank zette / *zette op de plank

            that John the books on the shelf put   /   put on the shelf

            "That John put the books on the shelf."

      b.   dat *Jan* in de   tuin   was / *was in de tuin

            that John in the garden was /   was in the garden

            "That John was in the garden"

The fourth argument in support of the small clause approach is taken over from Kayne (1984). According to Hoekstra (1992:323) a DP that follows a main clause verb, but holds the subject position of a secondary predicate cannot be affected by internal merge operations such as *wh*-movement. For example, in (7a) below fronting of the DP *who* in the subject

position of the secondary predicate *stupid*, results in ungrammaticality. By contrast, the postverbal DP *who* in (7b) does not fill a secondary subject position, and can therefore undergo *wh*-movement.

(7) a. *Who did you find the brother of ~~who~~ stupid?

 b. Who did you find the brother of ~~who~~ in the attic?[3]

Furthermore, Kayne (1984, in Hoekstra 1992:323) points out that "SC-complements resist nominalisation" as shown in (8).

(8) a. the consideration of the student's problem

 b. *the consideration of the students stupid

Hoekstra (1992:324) states that the small clause approach has been criticised on the basis that there is no syntactic evidence to substantiate the existence of such a constituent. However, he claims that there are at least two considerations that support the idea that small clauses represent distinct syntactic constituents. The first relates to the complement selection feature of "absolute *with*".[4] Hoekstra refers to the analysis presented in Beukeman and Hoekstra (1984) in which it was argued that it is not the DP *John* or the DP *the kitchen* in examples like those in (9) that merge with the absolute *with*; rather, it is the constituents *John in the hospital* and *the kitchen dirty* that form the complements of *with*.[5]

(9) a. with [John in the hospital]

 b. with [the kitchen dirty]

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[3] Hoekstra's (1988a,b, 1992) arguments are presented within an earlier generative framework, namely that of Government-Binding (GB) theory. In that framework, when an element is moved – for case-marking or any other reason – its original position, or extraction point, is marked with a trace or *t*. However, within the Minimalist framework the element is copied and then merged into its new position, and the copy remaining in the original position is given a null spellout in the phonological component. Though more recent publications still indicate the original position of the copied element by means of *t,* henceforth it will be indicated by means of ~~strikethrough~~ (cf. e.g. Adger (2003:ch. 1), Agbayani and Ochi (in Boeckx (ed) 2006:19–34), Baltin and Collins (2003:ch. 5 – 8), Hornstein et al. (2005:ch. 5), and Radford (2009:ch. 3)) The *t* in Hoekstra's (1992:323) example in (10) has accordingly been replaced with ~~who~~.

[4] "Absolute *with*" is the head of an absolute clause, i.e. "a non-finite adverbial clause … that is not linked syntactically to the main clause" (Richards and Schmidt 2002:1). E.g. **With John in the hospital**, *I think we should go camping this weekend.*

[5] According to Hoekstra (1992:324) it is unlikely that the CPF approach would be viable here, as the grammaticality of the complex predicate *with in the hospital* is questionable.

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The second consideration pointing towards small clause constituency, concerns "the so-called 'honorary NP' environment" (Hoekstra 1992:324). Though Hoekstra admits that honorary NP constructions pose numerous questions, they indicate that the DP and the predicate do in fact form a constituent, as shown in (10).

(10) a.   [Snakes under the bed] is a scary idea.

     b.   [Workers angry about their pay] seems to be the normal situation.

However, Hoekstra (1992:324) notes that small clause constituents do not necessarily behave according to expectations. This is seen in (11) below where the small clause blocks internal merge operations. Hoekstra also mentions that this property is not unique to small clauses – exceptional case-marking constructions, for example, also block similar internal merge operations as evident in (12).[6]

(11) a.   *[John how silly] did they find ~~John how silly~~?

     b.   *[Who silly] did they find ~~who silly~~?

     c.   *[The students incompetent] was generally considered ~~the students incompetent~~

(12) a.   They believed [there to have been a riot]

     b.   *[There to have been a riot] they all believed ~~there to have been a riot~~

     c.   *[There to have been a riot] was generally believed ~~there to have been a riot~~

As his final argument, Hoekstra (1992:326) claims that the small clause approach can explain "the distribution of NP types as subjects of secondary predicates". Consider the examples in (13a–c). In (13a) the subject of the predicate adjunct is PRO, whereas in (13b) the secondary predicate represents the complement of the verb, which requires an overt subject. However, in (13c) the subject *my skin* of the secondary predicate in the complement position of the verb must receive a null spellout. This is due to the ergative verb *turn*'s inability to provide the subject of the secondary predicate with case.

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[6] "Exceptional case marking clauses" refers to certain defective subordinate clauses (XP) in which the subject of XP is assigned accusative case by the transitive verb of a higher clause, if XP is in the complement position of the verb (Radford 2009:131). These are illustrated in (i) and (ii) below. Cf. e.g. Adger (2003:252–253), Baltin and Collins (2003:ch. 11), Biberauer (ed.) (2008b:331–349) and Hornstein and Polinsky (2010:Part I).

(i)   I believe [*him* to be guilty]

(ii)   We didn't intend [*her* to get hurt]

(13) a.   John entered the room [(*himself) drunk]

      b.   John found [*(himself) sober enough]

      c.   My skin turned [~~my skin~~ red]

Hoekstra (1992:327) similarly argues that the small clause approach accounts "for the distribution of resultative secondary predicates" as seen in the examples in (14) below. Because the secondary predicate is an adjunct in (14a), it selects a PRO subject, though by doing so the predicate does not allow a resultative interpretation. However, in (14b) the secondary predicate selects a "false reflexive" as its subject which lends the interpretation that "*under the table* is … the position *John* ends up in as a result of his drinking activity".

(14) a.   John drank [PRO under the table]

      b.   John drank [himself under the table]

      c.   *John worked [tired]

Furthermore, in the case of (14c) it could be argued that if the secondary predicate *tired* merged directly with the verb without selecting a subject, it would not only lose its resultative interpretation but also result in ungrammaticality. However, if the secondary predicate *tired*, for example, should select a "false reflexive" for a subject as in the case of the secondary predicate in (14b), it would not only allow a resultative interpretation, but it would also be grammaticality acceptable as illustrated in (15).

(15) John worked [himself tired]

Though the arguments presented above are restricted to the conventional concept of small clauses relating to secondary predication, they provide a basis for analysing small clauses as a distinct syntactic construction.

Hoekstra (1992:329) proceeds by examining the grammatical nature of small clauses. What is relevant at this point is his notion that each lexical projection is associated with a functional category. This suggests that a small clause construction consisting of a subject and a (secondary) predicate is ultimately headed by a functional element. Hoekstra (1992:330) claims that "the fundamental distinction between lexical categories (theta-assigning

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categories) and functional categories (purely syntactic categories)" is linked to the notions in (16) and (17).

(16) Subject: an agreeing specifier position

(17) a. Positions within lexical projections are theta positions.

 b. Positions outside lexical projections are non-theta positions.

In essence, the notions in (16) and (17a) are comparable to the concept of "canonical syntactic subject position", which is taken to be the specifier position of a verb in terms of the VP Internal Subject Hypothesis (Hoekstra 1992:330).[7] The notion in (17b) would correspond to the specifier position of, for example, the functional categories T and C. In other words, even though the DP in the small clause does not occupy the conventional subject position, it is still the subject of the secondary predicate as it originates in the specifier position of this predicate. Hoekstra (1992:331) states that functional elements must be present in sentences like (18a–d) to provide the postverbal DP (indicated with ~~strikethrough~~) with a landing site where it can be assigned case.

(18) a. We wanted Reagan elected ~~Reagan~~ president for a third term.

 b. They believed this theorem proven ~~this theorem~~ false.

 c. They considered the table insufficiently wiped ~~the table~~ clean.

 d. We considered this conclusion to have been arrived at ~~this conclusion~~ too easily.   (Hoekstra 1992:326)

Further evidence for the presence of a functional element in small clause constructions is provided by examples like those in (19). In these cases, Hoekstra (1992:331) claims that the matrix verb cannot select a small clause complement without an overt functional marker like *as*.

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[7] For descriptions of VPISH, VP-shells and light (small) *v*, θ-role assignment and case for other light categories, cf. section 2.2.3; and among others, É. Kiss (1998), Oosthuizen (2000, 2013), Stroik (2001), Baker (2003), Baltin and Collins (2003), Folli and Harley (2004, 2007), Kenesei (2005), Agbayani and Ochi (in Boeckx (ed.) 2006:19–34), Chomsky (2006), and Zeller (2008).

(19)   a.   we considered this example

        b.   we considered this example ungrammatical

        c.   we thought of this example:

        d.   we thought of this example *(as) ungrammatical

        e.   we looked upon John *(as) naive

Hoekstra (1992:331) argues that *of/upon* in (19c–e) is not the head of a PP which selects a DP complement, as the sequence beginning with *of/upon* cannot be moved as a unit. He argues further that *of/upon* rather selects a small clause complement with an overt functional head, i.e. *as*. The difference between the V and P predicates in (19) is therefore that they both select a small clause complement, but the V may select a small clause with an empty functional head whereas the P must select a small clause with an overt functional head.

In short, then, there seems to be ample evidence that small clauses do indeed represent distinct syntactic constructions.

3.3   Some small clause classifications

3.3.1   Resultative small clauses

The most commonly studied small clause is the resultative small clause.[8] A resultative clause is so named because it contains a DP which refers to some or other entity that is subjected to a specific state of being or location as a result of "the action denoted by its verb" (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001:766). A characteristic of, for instance, English and Dutch resultative small clauses is that they occur in the complement position of a matrix verb (Hoekstra 1992:302). In other words, they can only occur in a subordinate clause position as opposed to copula clauses in a language like Polish (cf. section 3.3.2) that can occur as main or subordinate clauses. Consider the following English examples:

(20)   a.   He laughed himself silly.

        b.   We talked her out of her crazy scheme.

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[8] Cf. e.g. for Cantonese – Cheng and Sybesma (2004); for Dutch – Vanden Wyngaerd (2001); for English – Beck and Johnson (2004); for French – Carrier and Randall (1992), and Legendre (1997); for German – Kratzer (2005); for Italian – Napoli (1992); for Kannada – Lidz and Williams (2002); for Korean – Park (2002) and Son (2008); and for Norwegian – Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2002).

(21) a.   We turned the heater down.

      b.   We mowed the scythe blunt.

      c.   They wrung a confession out of him.   (Hoekstra 1992:339)

A salient difference between these examples is that the matrix verbs in (20) are intransitive whereas those in (21) are transitive. In addition, the matrix verb does not seem to impose any selectional preferences regarding the category of secondary predicate: the examples above contain AP, PP, and particle secondary predicates.

Hoekstra (1992:340) proposes that it is not only the selectional preferences but also the distribution of resultative small clauses that are unrestricted. This is illustrated by the examples in (22), (23) and (24), where the resultative small clause is merged into the complement position of, respectively, an unergative intransitive verb, a pseudo-transitive verb (where the postverbal DP cannot naturally occur in this position without the secondary predicate), and a transitive verb (where the postverbal DP can occur independently of the secondary predicate).

(22) a.   The joggers ran the pavement thin.

      b.   He cried his heart out.

      c.   They danced their days away.

(23) a.   He washed the soap *(out of his eyes)

      b.   They drank the teapot *(empty)

      c.   He drank himself *(silly)

(24) a.   He painted the barn (red).

      b.   He swept the street (clean).

      c.   They watered the tulips (flat). [9]

Though the examples in (24) seem to illustrate an "apparent 'object' relationship" between the verb and the postverbal DP, Hoekstra (1992:340) argues that none of the postverbal DPs

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[9] Though the transitive examples in (24) are acceptable without the secondary predicate, they cannot receive a resultative interpretation.

in (22), (23) or (24) share an argument relationship with the verb. If the DPs in these examples were arguments of the verb, they would be unable to float quantifiers, such as *all* and *both,* grammatically as indicated in (25), as opposed to those in (26).

(25) a. They danced their days all away.

b. They drank the teapots all empty.

c. They painted the barns all red.

(26) a. *They painted the barns all.

b. *They swept the streets both.

Dutch resultative small clauses exhibit the same freedom regarding their selectional preferences as their English counterparts. In (27a) the secondary predicate is an AP and in (27b) a PP (Hoekstra 1988a:296). (The secondary predicates in question are presented in **bold**.)

(27) a. dat ik het hooi **plat** sla.

that I the hay flat beat

"...that I beat the hay flat"

b. dat ik de   schuur **aan barrels** sla.

that I   the barn   to   barrels beat

"...that I smash the barn to smithereens"

Dutch resultative small clauses are equally free in their distribution. As with the English examples above, those in (28)–(30) represent small clause complements of intransitive, pseudo-transitive and transitive verbs respectively (Hoekstra 1988: 298–9).

(28) a. dat ik mijn schoenen scheef loop.

that I my shoes   awry walk

"...that I wear my shoes out on one side"

b. dat Jan het kind wakker schreeuwt.

that Jan the child awake   screams

"...that Jan wakes the child by screaming"

c.   dat Marie haar tanden bloot lacht.

that Marie her teeth   naked laughs

"...that Marie's smile reveals her teeth"

(29) a.   dat Gerrit de bezem aan flarden veegt

that Gerrit the broom to   shreds sweeps

"...that Gerrit's continous sweeping wears the broom down."

b.   dat Marie de zeis   bot   maait

that Marie the scythe blunt mows

"...that Marie's mowing blunts the scythe."

c.   dat Marion haar langen zwart rookt

that Marion her   lungs   black smokes

"...that Marion causes her lungs to turn black by smoking."

(30) a.   dat Jan het schuurtje groen verft

that Jan the shed green paints

"…that Jan paints the shed green."

b.   dat Piet de biefstuk in stukken snijdt

that Piet the steak in pieces cuts

"...that Piet cuts the steak in pieces."

c.   dat Gerrit het straatje schoon veegt

that Gerrit the alley clean sweeps

"…that Gerrit sweeps the alley clean."

Again, the examples in (30) present the same "apparent object" relationship as they hold in the English examples in (24). However, as illustrated earlier in (5), PPs in Dutch may occur pre- or postverbally, unless they are in the secondary predicate of a small clause complement in which case they must occur preverbally. This is shown by the examples in (31) (Hoekstra 1992:341):

(31) a.   dat hij het argument aan stukken scheurde / *scheurde aan stukken

that he the argument to   pieces   tore   /   tore   to pieces

b.   dat hij z'n team in de eredivisie   speelde / *speelde in de eredivisie

that he his team in the major league played /   played in the major league

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Hoekstra (1992:341) concludes that three properties amalgamate to produce grammatical resultative small clauses in Dutch: (i) the compulsory preverbal positioning of complement PPs; (ii) the compulsory presence of both DP and secondary predicate; and (iii) the lack of selectional restrictions imposed on the small clause subject DP by the matrix verb.

Considering the statement in (iii) above, Hoekstra (1988a:308) infers that because there are no selectional restrictions imposed on the resultative small clause complements, its selection "is a productive process that is not regulated by means of lexical selection".

However, stative verbs like *vinden* ("find") in Dutch that select a small clause complement on a lexical basis cannot receive a resultative interpretation. For instance, (32a) cannot be interpreted as the song being popular due to the speaker's finding it. This argument holds for both Dutch and English as indicated in (32b,c) (Hoekstra 1988a:308):

(32) a.   *Ik vind   het liedje bekend.   *resultative reading*
             I   find   the song known

      b.   *Jan weet   zijn cijfer hoger.   *resultative reading*
             Jan knows his   mark higher

      c.   *Medusa saw the hero stone/into stone.

      d.   *Midas touched the tree gold/into gold.

Therefore, one can argue that this restriction is not necessarily a syntactic one, but rather a semantic one, as the impossibility lies in the interpretation rather than in, for instance, feature agreement. To this effect the examples in (33) cannot be deemed resultative. For example, in (33a) the DP in the subject position of the small clause, *hem* ("him"), is not rendered dead as a result of her hating him (Hoekstra 1988a:308).

(33) a.   *Zij haatte hem dood.
              she hated him dead

      b.   *Hij twijfelde het verhaal ongeloofwaardig.
              he doubted the story   inveracious

      c.   *Zij vreesde haar kind nerveus.
              she feared   her child nervous

d.   *Hij voelde het ijs gesmolten.

he felt   the ice melted

In conclusion, resultative small clauses in English and Dutch always fill a subordinate complement position. The matrix verb does not impose selectional restrictions regarding which secondary predicates may be selected, unless the matrix verb is stative in which case the interpretation will not be resultative.

(34)

RESULTATIVE SMALL CLAUSES	ENGLISH	DUTCH
CLAUSAL POSITION	*Subordinate Postverbal*	*Subordinate Postverbal but Preverbal PPs*
SELECTIONAL CATEGORY	*Unrestricted lexical selection*	*Unrestricted lexical selection*
SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS OR INTERPRETATION	*Stative verbs cannot receive resultative interpretation*	*Stative verbs cannot receive resultative interpretation*

3.3.2   Polish copula clauses

Citko (2008) identifies three distinct types of small clause in Polish, each containing a copular element. The first type contains a pronominal copular element, the second a verbal copular element and the third – which Citko (2008:263–5) refers to as "dual copula clauses" – contains both pronominal and verbal elements.[10] These three types are illustrated by the examples in (35).[11]

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[10] As noted in section 3.1, Citko (2008:268) defines a small clause as a "subject and a non-verbal predicate". Clearly, the verbal copula clause does not fit this definition; however, it is an accepted small clause. This will be discussed further below.

[11] Citko (2008:263) states that pronominal and verbal copula clauses are not only found in Polish, but also in Arabic, Hebrew, Russian and Scottish Gaelic. Cf. note 16 below. It is also worth mentioning here that, though Afrikaans does not have pronominal copulas, Bennis et al. (1998) indicate that the *van* ("of") in *N van een N* ("N of a N") constructions in Dutch are nominal copulas that occur as a reflex in small clauses that are formed through predicate inversion. Cf. section 3.4 below.

25

(35) a.   Jan *to* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.   *pronominal copula clause*

          Jan PRON my   best   friend

          "Jan is my best friend."

     b.   Jan *jest* moim najlepszym przyjacielem.   *verbal copula clause*

          Jan is   my   best   friend

          "Jan is my best friend."

     c.   Jan *to* *jest* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.   *dual copula clause*

          Jan PRON is my   best   friend

          "Jan is my best friend."

Consider first the pronominal copula clause. In Polish, this type of clause commonly comprises a nominal expression in the subject position, the pronominal copula *to* and a complement, as illustrated in (35a).[12] According to Citko (2008:266–7), the difference in grammaticality between (36a) and (36b–d) shows that "pronominal copulas are only compatible with nominal predicates".

(36) a.   Jan *to* [DP mój najlepszy przyjaciel]

          Jan PRON   my   best   friend

          "Jan is my best friend."

     b.   *Jan *to* [AP przyjacielski]

          Jan PRON   friendly

          "John is friendly."

     c.   *Jan *to* [PP w przyjacielskim nastroju]

          Jan PRON   in   friendly   mood

          "John is in a friendly mood."

     d.   *Jan *to* [VP się   zaprzyjaźnił   z   Marią]

          Jan PRON   REFL became-friends with Maria

          "Jan became friends with Maria."

However, Citko (2008:267) points out that a pronominal copula that selects a non-nominal complement is "fine" on the condition that the category of such a complement matches the

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[12] Citko (2008) does not mention an agreement relationship between the pronominal copula and the element in the subject position; in the data provided, the pronominal copula is always spelled out as *to*. This is in contrast to the verbal copula, which occurs in three different morphological forms; see note 14 below.

category of the expression occurring in the subject position. Therefore, if the expression in the subject position is a PP, as in (37a), the copula has to select a PP complement; similarly, an AP complement is obligatory with an AP in subject position, as shown in (37b).

(37) a. W domu *to* w domu.
        at home PRON at home
        "Home is home."
    b. Droższe   *to*   nie zawsze lepsze.
        more-expensive PRON not always better
        "More expensive is not always better."

(38) a. ??W domu *to*   wygoda.
          at home PRON comfort
        "Home is comfort."
    b. ??Droższe   *to*   nie luksus.
        more-expensive PRON not luxury
        "More expensive isn't luxurious."

Citko (2008:268) notes that the subject and the object, when appearing as DPs, must both be assigned nominative case in pronominal copula clauses, as illustrated in (39).[13]

(39) Warszawa *to*   stolica   Polski   /*stolicą   Polski.
      Warsaw   PRON capital-NOM Poland-GEN/ capital-INSTR Poland-GEN
      "Warsaw is the capital of Poland."

Furthermore, movement out of pronominal copula clauses always "results in ungrammaticality"; as illustrated in (40), these clauses block all forms of extraction, i.e. "*both* subject and predicate extraction" (Citko 2008:270). The complement of the copula has undergone long distance *wh*-movement in (40a) and long scrambling in (40b); whereas (40c) illustrates subject extraction.

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[13] The abbreviations NOM, GEN, and INSTR stand for nominative case, genitive case and instrumental case, respectively.

(40) a.　　*Co_i myślisz,　że　fizyka　to　　t_i?

　　　　　　what think.2SG that physics PRON

　　　　　　"What do you think physics is?"

　　　b.　　*$Nauka\ o$　　　$naturze_i$ myślę,　　że　fizyka　to　　t_i.

　　　　　　study　about nature　　think.1SG that physics PRON

　　　　　　"I think that physics is the study of nature."

　　　c.　　*Co_i　myślisz,　że　　t_i to　fizyka?

　　　　　　what think.2SG that　　PRON physics

　　　　　　"What do you think physics is?"

Consider, next, the verbal copula clause illustrated in (35b). In Polish, this type of clause consists of a subject, the verbal copula *być* ("be") and a complement.[14] Unlike the pronominal copula, the verbal copula in Polish can select any category as its complement regardless of the subject's category (Citko 2008:267). This is shown by the examples in (41).

(41) a.　　Maria jest [DP studentką]

　　　　　　Maria is　　　　student

　　　　　　"Maria is a student."

　　　b.　　Maria jest [AP mądra]

　　　　　　Maria is　　　　smart

　　　　　　"Maria is smart."

　　　c.　　Maria jest [PP w domu]

　　　　　　Maria is　　　　at home

　　　　　　"Maria is at home."

Regarding case assignment, the verbal copula clause differs from its pronominal counterpart in that the verbal copula assigns instrumental case to its nominal predicate as illustrated in (42); in both types the subject receives nominative case (Citko 2008:268):

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[14] Contrary to the pronominal copula, the verbal copula is inflected differently depending on the tense that is expressed: *być* (infinitival form), *jest* (3sg present tense form), *są* (3pl present tense form), *był* (3sg past tense form), *były* (3pl past tense form) and *będzie* (future tense form). Most of the data presented here takes the 3sg present tense form, *jest*.

(42) Jan *jest* lekarzem   /*lekarz.

Jan is   doctor-INSTR/ doctor-NOM

"John is a doctor."

In contrast to pronominal copula clauses, it is possible for elements to be extracted from a verbal copula clause in Polish. In (43a–b), for example, the instrumental predicate has undergone long distance *wh*-movement and long scrambling, respectively. Citko (2008:269) ascribes the slightly questionable acceptability of these examples to the "generally degraded status of long distance extraction from embedded indicative clauses". However, she goes on to state that if the indicative clause is replaced with a subjunctive clause, the extraction would result in full grammaticality, as illustrated by the examples in (44).

(43) a. $^?Kim_i$ myślisz, że był Jan t_i?

who-INSTR think.2SG that is   Jan

"Who do you think that John is?"

   b. $^?Najlepszym kandydatem_i$ myślę,   że   jest Jan t_i.

best   candidate- INSTR think.1SG that is   Jan

"The best candidate is who I think John is."

(44) a. Kim_i chcesz,   żeby był   Jan t_i?

who-INSTR want.1SG that   was Jan

"Who would you like Jan to be?"

   b. $Najlepszym kandydatem_i$ chciałabym, żeby był Jan t_i

best   candidate- INSTR want.1SG   that was Jan

"I would like John to be the best candidate."

In addition to complement extraction, verbal copula clauses also allow the extraction of the subject; for example, in (45) the subject has been fronted through *wh*-movement (Citko 2008:270).

(45) a. Kto_i chcesz,   żeby t_i był twoim najlepszym przyjacielem?

who want.2SG that   was your   best   friend-INSTR

"Who would you like to be your best friend?"

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Regarding the internal structure of the verbal copula clause, in note 10 it was mentioned that though the verbal copula clause does not fit the basic definition of a small clause, it is still accepted as such. Citko (2008:276–9) initially argues that the verbal copula clause comprises a subject and a nonverbal predicate that merges with a T containing the verbal copula. Analysed in this manner the verbal copula clause fits the definition. However, Citko (2008:288) concludes her analysis by stating that copula clauses have an asymmetric underlying structure in which a functional head acts as a mediator between the subject and nonverbal predicate. And so, instead of entering the derivation directly in T, the verbal copula enters the derivation as the head of the functional phrase πP (cf. 3.4.3). This casts doubt on the idea that copula clauses are small clauses, since the small clause would now contain a verbal element. It could be argued, though, that because the copula does not contain a complete set of φ-features and merely links the subject to the secondary predicate, it is a natural mediating functional category.[15] The underlying structure of copula clauses will be discussed further in section 3.4.3.

Consider, thirdly, the dual copula clause, that is, the type of small clause containing both a nominal and a verbal copula. In Polish, according to Citko (2008:265), such clauses can occur in any one of the tenses present, past and future, as shown in (46).[16]

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[15] See Moro (1997), among others, for more on the nature of copulas.

[16] This is in contrast to Arabic and Hebrew, in which pronominal copula clauses are only grammatical in the present tense and the verbal copula is used for past and future tenses. Citko (2008:265) provides the following examples in this regard (she does not provide ungrammatical examples to illustrate the relevant tense-related difference between the two types of copula clauses):

(i)   a.   Il-mudarris (*huwwa*) il-latiif.   *Arabic*
                the-teacher PRON   the-nice
                "The teacher is nice/ the nice one."
        b.   Il-mudarris *kaan* latiif.
                the-teacher was   nice
                "The teacher was nice."
        c.   Il-mudarris *haykuun* latiif.
                the-teacher will.be   nice
                "The teacher will be nice."

(ii)   a.   Dani (*hu*) more.   *Hebrew*
                Danny PRON teacher
                "Danny is the teacher."
        b.   Hana *haita* yafa.
                Hana was   pretty
                "Hanna was pretty."
        c.   Hana *tihye*   yafa.
                Hana will.be pretty
                "Hanna will be pretty."

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(46) a.   Jan *to   jest* mój nalepszy przyjaciel.

Jan PRON is   my   best   friend

"Jan is my best friend."

b.   Jan *to   był* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.

Jan PRON was my best   friend

"Jan was my best friend."

c.   Jan *to   będzie* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.

Jan PRON will-be my best   friend

"Jan will be my best friend."

Despite containing a verbal copula, the properties of dual copula clauses in Polish are determined by the pronominal copula element rather than its verbal counterpart. This is clear from the fact that, as in the case of pronominal copula clauses such as those in (35a) and (37), the complement has to match the category of the expression occurring in subject position. This is illustrated by the examples in (47) and (48) (Citko 2008:268).

(47) a.   Droższe   *to*   nie *jest* zawsze lepsze.

more-expensive PRON not is   always better

"More expensive is not always better."

b.   [?]*Droższe   *to*   nie *jest* luksus.

more-expensive PRON not is   luxury

"More expensive isn't luxurious."

(48) a.   Warszawa *to   jest* [DP stolica Polski]

Warsaw   PRON is   capital Poland

"Warsaw is the capital of Poland."

b.   *Warszawa *to   jest* [AP polska].

Warsaw   PRON is   Polish

"Warsaw is Polish."

c.   *Warszawa *to   jest* [PP w Polsce].

Warsaw   PRON   is   in Poland

"Warsaw is in Poland."

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Regarding case assignment, the constraint imposed by the pronominal copula element also takes preference over that of the verbal copula in dual copula clauses; in other words, nominal case is assigned to the "postcopular element" (Citko 2008:269):

(49) Warszawa to   jest stolica   Polski   /*stolicą   Polski.
      Warsaw   PRON is   capital-NOM Poland-GEN / capital-INSTR Poland-GEN
      "Warsaw is the capital of Poland."

As noted above, extraction is blocked out of pronominal copula clauses (cf. the examples in (40)). As illustrated in (50), this is also the case with dual copula clauses (Citko 2008:270).

(50) a.   *Co_i myślisz, że fizyka   to   jest t_i?
            what think.2SG that physics PRON is
            "What do you think that physics is?"

      b.   *$Nauka\ o\ naturze_i$ myślę,   że fizyka   to   jest t_i?
            study of nature   think.1SG that physics PRON is
            "The study of nature, I think that physics is that."

      c.   *Co_i myślisz, że t_i to   jest fizyka?
            what think.2SG that   PRON is   physics
            "What do you think physics is?"

Concerning the semantic interpretation of copula clauses, Higgens (1973, in Citko 2008:271) identifies four distinct readings, namely predicational, identity (or equative), specificational, and identificational. These interpretations are illustrated in (51a–d).

(51) a.   John is a bank robber.   *predicational*
      b.   The bank robber is John.   *specificational*
      c.   The morning star is the evening star.   *identity/equative*
      d.   That place is Boston.   *identificational*

Citko (2008:271) states that, in predicational copula clauses, a property is assigned to the subject; for example, in (51a) the subject is assigned the property of being a bank robber. By contrast, specificational statements such as (51b) serve to introduce the topic under discussion, with the subject referring to the general topic and the predicate specifying the

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"particular member". In the case of both the identity/equative and identificational statements in (51c–d) two individual entities are identified with each other. However, following Higgens (1973), Citko (2008:271) claims that identity statements seem to be specifically used in teaching environments rather than in ordinary conversational contexts.

A specificational interpretation is allowed in Polish pronominal and dual copula clauses as in (52a–b) respectively. However, Citko (2008:271–2) claims that a specificational reading is not possible in the case of verbal copula clauses; in (52c), for instance, the only possible interpretation is: "my best friend is impersonating or pretending to be Jan". Similarly, pronominal and dual copula clauses allow a identify interpretation whereas a verbal copula clause is considered dubious, as illustrated in (53a–c).

(52) a. Mój najlepszy przyjaciel *to*   Jan.
         my best   friend   PRON Jan
         "My best friend is Jan."

  b. Mój najlepszy przyjaciel *to*   *jest* Jan.
         my best   friend   PRON is   Jan
         "My best friend is Jan."

  c. #Mój najlepszy przyjaciel *jest* Janem.
         my best   friend   is   Jan
         "My best friend is Jan."

(53) a. Doctor Jekyll *to*   Mr Hyde.
         doctor Jekyll PRON Mr Hyde
         "Doctor Jekyll is Mr Hyde."

  b. Doktor Jekyll *to*   *jest* Mr Hyde.
         doctor Jekyll PRON is   Mr Hyde
         "Doctor Jekyll is Mr Hyde."

  c. #Doktor Jekyll *jest* panem Hyde. [17]
         doctor Jekyll is   Mr   Hyde
         "Dr Jekyll is Mr Hyde."

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[17] Citko (2008:272) mentions that (53c) could be acceptable if Dr Jekyll had taken the shape of Mr Hyde at the time of the utterance.

The same phenomenon is found with the identificational interpretation, though in this case the verbal copula clause is fully ungrammatical, as shown in (54) (Citko 2008:272).

(54) a.　To miasto *to*　Boston.

　　　　　this town　PRON Boston

　　　　　"This town is Boston."

　　b.　To miasto *to*　*jest* Boston.

　　　　　this town　PRON is　Boston

　　　　　"This town is Boston."

　　c.　*To miasto *jest* Bostonem.

　　　　　 this town　is　Boston

　　　　　"This town is Boston."

Finally, regarding predicational sentences, Citko (2008:272–4) states that, contrary to what one would expect, pronominal copula and dual copula clauses do not have an ungrammatical predicational interpretation resulting in "a clear-cut distribution". In this regard, she states that though predicational interpretations are most commonly conveyed by verbal copula clauses, all three copula clauses can grammatically be interpreted as predicational, as illustrated in (55).

(55) a.　Jan *jest* lekarzem.

　　　　　 Jan is　doctor

　　　　　 "Jan is a doctor."

　　b.　Jan *to*　　lekarz.

　　　　　Jan PRON doctor

　　　　　"Jan is a doctor."

　　c.　Jan *to*　　*jest* lekarz.

　　　　　Jan PRON is　doctor

　　　　　"Jan is a doctor."

However, Citko (2008:273–4) argues that the use of the pronominal copula in a predicational interpretation does not always result in grammaticality. This is illustrated by the dubious acceptability of pronominal copula clauses in which the predicates "are inherently

viewed as stage level, such as *fugitive*, *passenger*, *pedestrian* or *spectator*", as shown in (56). But (56) becomes more acceptable to fluent speakers when "the predicates are coerced into a more individual level of interpretation" as in (57).

(56) #Jan to   (jest) zbieg   / pasażer   / przechodzień / widz.

Jan PRON is   fugitive / passenger / pedestrian   / spectator

"Jan is a fugitive/passenger/pedestrian/spectator."

(57) a.   Jan *to*   (jest) wieczny   zbieg.

Jan PRON is   permanent fugitive

"Jan is a permanent fugitive."

b.   Jan *to*   (jest) częsty   pasażer   naszych linii lotniczych.

Jan PRON is   frequent passenger our   airline

"Jan is a frequent passenger of our airline."

c.   Jan *to*   (jest) najbardziej uważny przechodzień, jakiego znam.

Jan PRON is   most   careful pedestrian   which know-1SG

"Jan is the most careful pedestrian I know."

d.   Jan *to*   (jest) nasz najwierniejszy widz.

Jan PRON is   our most.faithful   spectator

"Jan is our most faithful spectator."

In summary, pronominal and verbal copula clauses in Polish differ from one another with regard to selectional properties, case assignment, extraction and semantic interpretation. Furthermore, the properties of dual copula clauses seem to be determined by the pronominal rather than the verbal copula. Citko (2008:275) provides the following table summarising the relevant similarities and differences between the three types of small clause in Polish:

(58)

	VERBAL COPULA CLAUSES	PRONOMINAL COPULA CLAUSES	DUAL COPULA CLAUSES
CLAUSAL POSITION	*Main or subordinate*	*Main or subordinate*	*Main or subordinate*
SELECTIONAL CATEGORY	*DPs, APs, PPs*	*DPs*	*DPs*
CASE	*Instrumental*	*Nominative*	*Nominative*
EXTRACTION	*Grammatical*	*Ungrammatical*	*Ungrammatical*
INTERPRETATION	*Predicational*	*Specificational Identity Predicational (individual level)*	*Specificational Identity Predicational (individual level)*

3.4   Predicate inversion and the structure of small clauses

This section focuses on small clause constructions that arise from predicate inversion. In order to do this, the question of whether small clause constructions exhibit similar patterns to main clause constructions with regard to movement phenomena needs to be explored. Predicate inversion within a small clause construction, as illustrated in copula examples like those in (59), is of particular interest as it may provide a basis for positing an underlying structure that could well be common to all small clause constructions (Bennis et al. 1998:88).

(59)   a.   John is the best candidate.

b.   The best candidate is John.

Firstly, this section will outline the proposals put forward by Bennis et al. (1998) regarding predicate movement in Dutch. Next, attention is given to Haegeman's (2010) application of Bennis et al.'s (1998) proposals to West Flemish, specifically pertaining to the "spurious" indefinite article (Dutch *een* and West Flemish *-en*). This is followed by a discussion of Citko's (2008) findings concerning what she refers to as "symmetrical" versus "asymmetrical" small clauses.[18]

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[18] The structure-specific discussions in chapter 3 only deal with the constructions given in section 3.3.2 and the subsections of 3.4. For more on the structure of resultative small clauses; c.f. e.g. Williams (1980, 1983, 2006); Hoekstra (1988a,b, 1992); Carrier and Randall (1992); Levin (1993); Anderson, Guasti and Cardinaletti (1995); Wechsler (1997); Bowers (1997, 2001); McKoon and Macfarland (2000); Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001); Adger and Ramchand (2003); Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004); Den Dikken (2006); and Oosthuizen (2013).

3.4.1   Dutch small clauses and predicate inversion

Bennis et al. (1998:86) state that nominal constructions behave in a similar manner to clausal constructions regarding both A- and A'-variations of predicate movement. They argue that this is because complex nominal sequences are essentially small clause constructions comprising a subject and a nonverbal predicate. Therefore, predicate movement should be possible for both complex nominal constructions and clausal constructions. Moreover, these movement operations (nominal and clausal) are claimed to be symmetrical. Bennis et al. (1998) examine three Dutch structures – *N van een N, wat voor* interrogatives and *wat* exclamatives – which illustrate the parallels between predicate movement in nominal and clausal constructions.

Consider the Dutch examples in (60) to (64) below. If a clausal and a nominal construction like those in (60) were to undergo A-movement, this would result in the respective examples in (61). Similarly, if clausal and nominal constructions like those in (62) were to undergo A'-movement, this would result in questions like those in (63) and exclamatives like those in (64) (Bennis et al. 1998:86).

A-movement

	CLAUSE	NOMINAL	TYPE
(60)	Die kerel is een beer That guy is a bear	een kerel als een beer a guy like a bear	
(61)	De grootste beer is die kerel The biggest bear is that guy	een beer van een kerel a bear of a guy	*N van een N*

A'-movement

	CLAUSE	NOMINAL	TYPE
(62)	Die kerel is *wat/zo That guy is what/so	een kerel als wat/*zo a guy as what/so ("quite a N")	
(63)	Wat is die kerel? What is that guy	wat voor een kerel? what for a guy	*wat voor-WH*
(64)	Wat is dat een kerel! What is that a guy	wat een kerel! what a guy	*wat-EXCL*

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The first movement operation that Bennis et al. (1998:87) discuss is predicate inversion relating to the *N van een N* construction in (61). The premise is that the nominal constructions in (60) and (61) (restated in (65) below) have similar initial underlying structures. Thus, it could be argued that (65b) illustrates the structure that results from applying predicate inversion to the underlying structure of (65a).

(65) a. een kerel als   een beer

          a   guy like a   bear

      b. een beer van een kerel

          a   bear of a   guy

Bennis et al. (1998:88) argue that predicate inversion in *N van een N* constructions takes place in essentially the same manner as predicate inversion in English copula clauses (as illustrated in (59) above). In copula clauses, they argue, the copula *be* takes a small clause complement in which head movement triggers raising of a constituent within the small clause to fill the subject position. Therefore, the underlying structure of (59a,b) is the same as shown in (66) where the small clause is represented by the projection XP. The example in (66b) represents the copula clause in which the subject of the small clause *John* is raised to the syntactic subject position. Conversely, in (66c) the nominal predicate is inverted past the small clause subject to fill what is presumably the same position that *John* fills in (66b), namely the specifier position of TP.[19]

(66) a. [TP … be [XP John X [Pred the best candidate]]]

      b. [TP John … be [XP ~~John~~ X[Pred the best candidate]]]

      c. [TP the best candidate … be [XP John X [Pred ~~the best candidate~~]]]

A potential problem facing this analysis is that the locality principle would be violated if the secondary predicate *the best candidate* were merged directly into [spec, TP] instead of the small clause subject *John*, because the secondary predicate will not be the closest suitable goal.[20] However, Bennis et al. (1998:90) claim that the locality principle would not be violated if there were an additional position within the same minimal domain for the

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[19] Bennis et al. (1998) use the category label IP (inflection phrase) instead of TP.

[20] The locality principle is used here to refer to aspects of economy; cf. section 2.2.1.

predicate to move to. For example, it would be possible to invert the predicate past the small clause subject without violating the locality principle if the position "that the A-moving predicate ... skips and the first position that it can land in can be rendered equidistant from its extraction site" (Bennis et al. 1998:89). In order for the derivation to be successful, and to render the landing sites equidistant, the small clause (XP) should be merged into the complement position of a functional head F. This in turn will extend the projection and create the additional landing site (abbreviated as LP) for the predicate. To satisfy the locality principle, the small clause head X would then undergo head movement and fill the head position of the functional projection F, thereby ensuring that the minimal domain contains both landing sites. This is illustrated in (67) (Bennis et al. 1998:90):

(67)

```
              FP
            /    \
        Spec      F'
        LP       /   \
            X + F      XP
                      /   \
                   Spec    X'
                          /   \
                         X     LP
                         X̶     L̶P̶
```
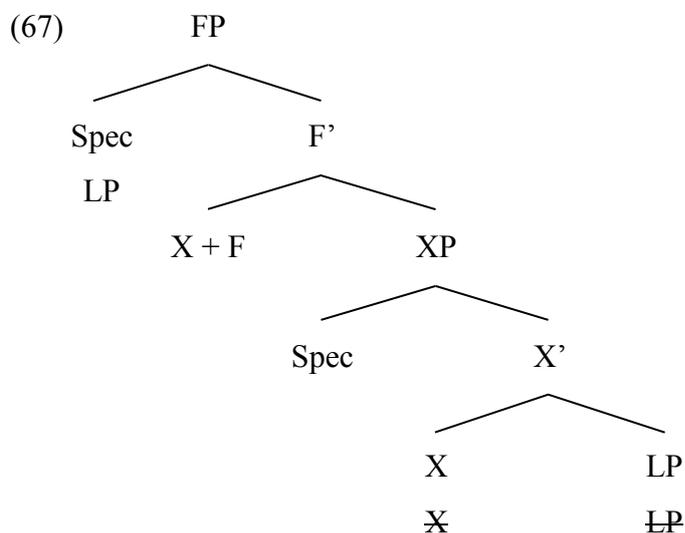
Regarding the functional head F in (67), Bennis et al. (1998:90–91) argue that the additional functional projection is only merged into the structure during predicate inversion. Furthermore, they claim that F must always be filled with an overt element. Consider therefore the examples in (68). The copula *be* is optional in (68a) but obligatory in (68b). According to Bennis et al. (1998:90–91), this dichotomy can be accounted for by taking the copula as "the surface reflex of the presence of F". As indicated above, predicate inversion necessitates the presence of F "for purely structural reasons", thus forcing an overt copula as shown by the difference in grammaticality between the two options in (68b). In non-inversion constructions such as (68a), by contrast, the absence of F means that the copula can (but need not) be spelled out.

(68) a. I consider John (*to be*) the best candidate

b. I consider the best candidate *(*to be*) John

Similarly, in the case of the Dutch *N van een N* construction, as illustrated in (65), the functional head F is filled with a "perfectly meaningless element" that must receive a spellout (Bennis et al. 1998:91). In the English copula clause, the element in question is the verbal copula *be*, whereas in Dutch *N van een N* constructions it is the nominal copula *van*. Note the similarities between the structure in (69) – which underlies the English copular construction in (68a) – and the structure in (70) – which underlies the Dutch *N van een N* construction in (65b) (Bennis et al. 1998:91).

(69) [$_{TP}$ T [$_{FP}$ *the best candidate* [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ F(=*be*) + X] [$_{XP}$ *John* [$_{X'}$ X̶ ̶t̶h̶e̶ ̶b̶e̶s̶t̶ ̶c̶a̶n̶d̶i̶d̶a̶t̶e̶]]]]]

(70) [$_{DP}$ D [$_{FP}$ *beer* [$_{F'}$ [$_{F}$ F(=*van*) + X] [$_{XP}$ *kerel* [$_{X'}$ X̶ ̶b̶e̶e̶r̶]]]]]

Let us consider next the head X in (67). Bennis et al. (1998:91–92) propose that this X not only occurs in small clause constructions where predicate inversion takes place, but in all small clause constructions since, on their analysis, it constitutes the small clause head. They claim further that the head X is ultimately the position into which "the spurious indefinite article *een*" and "other 'linkers' like *als*" ("as/like") in (65a) are merged.

Indefinite articles are generally not associated with mass nouns, proper names or plurals. Yet in the *N van een N* construction the spurious *een* can precede each of these categories. According to Bennis et al. (1998:94), *een* does not form a constituent with either the first or the second N since it is possible for both nouns to fall under categories that in other contexts would not allow the indefinite article, as shown by the examples in (71) (Bennis et al. 1998:92–3).

(71) a. $^{?}$dat schandaal van **een** directeurssalarissen

that outrage   of   a   managers' salaries

b. dat tuig   van een voetbalsupporters

that scum of a   soccer supporters

c. die   idioten van een regering

those idiots of   a government

      d.   die   schatten van een kinderen

            those darlings of   a   children

According to Bennis et al. (1998:94), the grammaticality of the examples in (71), despite the mismatch in number between *een* and the following N, can be explained if the indefinite article does not form a constituent with either of the nouns in the construction. However, predicate inversion "forces the presence of the spurious indefinite article" in the Dutch *N van een N* construction, just as the verbal copula is forced in English copula clauses that undergo predicate inversion.

Though spurious indefinite articles are allowed in all variations of the Dutch *N van een N* construction, the same is not true for the English *N of a N* construction. As shown in (71), the Dutch examples are grammatical despite number disagreement. However, in English number disagreement is only acceptable in constructions containing a singular subject and a plural predicate, as shown in (72b). Constructions with a singular predicate and a plural subject (as in (72a) or with both nouns being plural (as in (72c) are ungrammatical, in contrast to their Dutch counterparts in (71a) and (71d) respectively (Bennis et al. 1998:96).

(72) a.   *that disaster of *a* number agreement facts

      b.   those fools of *a* police force

      c.   *those darlings of *a* children

This difference in behaviour between the indefinite articles in English and Dutch cannot be accounted for if one were to assume that the indefinite article is merely "part of an idiomatic specifier" (Bennis et al. 1998:97). However, the difference in behaviour can be explained if the occurrence of an indefinite article in both English *N of a N* and Dutch *N van een N* constructions were a "lexical realisation of the small-clause-internal head X", that is, a spurious indefinite article (Bennis et al. 1998:97).

Bennis et al. (1998:97) provide two arguments for the above proposal. Firstly, as indicated in the diagram in (67), the small clause head is moved to the head position of the functional projection, which accounts for the indefinite article's position to the left of the second N, that is, the small clause subject. The head movement operation – from X to F in (67) – would also

account for the number sensitivity of English constructions even though the article never forms a constituent with the small clause subject.

The second argument relates to complementary distribution of spurious *een* and *als* ("as/like") in examples like those in (73).

(73) a. handen als (*een) kolenschoppen

hands   like (a)   coal shovels

b. kolenschoppen van (een) handen

coal shovels   of (a)   hands

Based on examples like these, it seems plausible that *als* and *een* in (73a) cannot co-occur because, each being a spellout of the small-clause-internal head, they "compete for the same structural slot", (Bennis et al. 1998:97).[21]

Consider, finally, the difference in distribution of spurious articles in English and Dutch. Bennis et al. (1998:98) present the following tables in this regard:

(74) English *N of a N* constructions and spurious articles

	WITH *A*	WITHOUT *A*
singular *of (a)* singular	idiot of a man	*idiot of man
plural *of (a)* singular	idiots of a police force	*idiots of police force
singular *of (a)* plural	*disaster of a facts	*disaster of facts
plural *of (a)* plural	*idiots of a men	idiots of men

(75) Dutch *N van een N* constructions and spurious articles

	WITH *EEN*	WITHOUT *EEN*
singular *van (een)* singular	idioot van een man	*idioot van man
plural *van (een)* singular	idioten van een regering	*idioten van regering
singular *van (een)* plural	ramp van een feiten	*ramp van feiten
plural *van (een)* plural	idioten van een mannen	idioten van mannen

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[21] Cf. Aarts (1992) for more on the distribution of *als* in Dutch small clauses.

Bennis et al. (1998:98) draw two conclusions from the facts illustrated in these tables. The first is that there is no difference between English and Dutch with regard to the distribution of the zero allomorph, that is, the construction containing the covert form of the spurious article. The second conclusion is that English only allows the spurious article when the small clause subject is singular. However, as pointed out above, Dutch allows the spurious article in all four of the cases illustrated in (75).

Bennis et al. (1998:98) provide the following explanation for the fact that, unlike in English, the spurious article in Dutch need not agree with either of the Ns in the *N van een N* construction. On the one hand, the behaviour of the English spurious article can be accounted for if *a* is specified as [-plur]; this implies that it can only co-occur with [-plur] small clause subjects, thus ruling out any clash in number agreement. In Dutch, on the other hand, the spurious article can occur with any small clause subject regardless of number, hence it could be claimed that *een* is unspecified for number. Accordingly, *een* can select any nominal expression into its specifier position (i.e. [spec, XP] as in (67)) without resulting in ungrammaticality.

Conversely, the spurious article may only receive a null spellout if both nouns in the *N of a N* construction are plural. This holds for both English and Dutch. It is therefore claimed that the small clause head must be sensitive to the number features of both nouns in the construction. Bennis et al. (1998:99) postulate that predicate inversion forces the extension of the domain associated with the small clause head X when X is merged into [head, F]. Consequently, the small clause head X enters into (i) a spec-head agreement relationship with the small clause subject and (ii) a derived spec-head agreement relationship with the inverted predicate in [spec, FP]. The effect of predicate inversion and the resulting agreement relationships are illustrated in the configuration in (76):

(76) [$_{FP}$ Pred [$_{F'}$ F + X [$_{XP}$ Subj [$_{X'}$ ~~X Pred~~]]]]

In short, then, the head of the small clause X is sensitive to both nouns because it stands in an agreement relationship with both the small clause subject and secondary predicate. As a result, the zero allomorph (i.e. the spurious article in its covert form) is only licensed in the absence of an explicit singular nominal expression.

Before proceeding with *wat voor* ("what for") interrogatives and *wat* ("what") exclamatives, consider the two tables below. The table in (77) illustrates the distribution of Dutch spurious *een* and its zero allomorph across the three constructions under discussion. The second table summarises the distribution of the overt versus covert spurious *een* (Bennis et al. 1998:101).[22]

(77)   DP-internal predication constructions across singular/plural and *een*/no *een* distinctions

	N van een N	*wat voor*	*wat*-exclamative
SINGULAR, NO *EEN*	*die etter van jongen *that creep of boy	wat voor jongen *what for boy*	*wat jongen! *what boy*
PLURAL, NO *EEN*	etters van jongens *creeps of boys*	wat voor jongens *what for boys*	*wat jongens! *what boys*
SINGULAR, *EEN*	Die etter van een jongen *that creep of a boy*	wat voor een jongen *what for a boy*	wat een jongen! *what a boy*
PLURAL, *EEN*	etters van een jongens *creeps of a boys*	wat voor een jongens *what for a boys*	wat een jongens! *what a boys*

(78)   Summary of distribution of overt versus covert spurious *een*

no *een*	*N van een N*	*	*N van een N*	√
	wat voor-WH	√	*wat voor*-WH	√
	wat-EXCL	*	*wat*-EXCL	*
een	*N van een N*	√	*N van een N*	√
	wat voor-WH	√	*wat voor*-WH	√
	wat-EXCL	√	*wat*-EXCL	√

These tables allow the following generalisations to be made regarding the distribution of spurious *een* (Bennis et al. 1998:102):

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[22] For the sake of simplicity, all examples with number disagreement have been excluded from these tables.

- Spurious *een* is obligatory in *N van een N* constructions containing an explicit singular nominal expression, but optional in constructions with both plural nominal expressions.
- Spurious *een* is optional in *wat voor* interrogatives.
- Spurious *een* is obligatory in *wat* exclamatives.

Turning to the *wat* constructions in Dutch – that is, both *wat voor* interrogatives and *wat* exclamatives – Bennis et al. (1998:104) argue that *wat* does not carry "sufficient inherent lexical meaning" and that it derives meaning from the context and the structural configuration in which it occurs. The following examples illustrate the manner in which *wat* derives meaning from its structural position:

(79) a. Hij heeft **wat** gegeten   [indefinite]

he has   what eaten

"He ate something"

    b. **Wat** heeft hij gegeten?   [interrogative]

what has   he eaten

"What did he eat?"

    c. **Wat** heeft hij gehuild (zeg)!   [exclamative]

what has   he cried   I-say

"Boy, did he cry!"

Bennis et al. (1998:105) claim that *wat* represents "an underspecified quantifier" that derives its meaning from the structure. Thus, if *wat* is positioned within the VP, it receives an indefinite interpretation as indicated in (79a). However, if *wat* were raised out of an argument position (e.g. the object position of the V *gegeten* ("ate") in (79b)) and merged into [spec, CP], it receives an interrogative interpretation in its derived position. By contrast, if *wat* does not undergo *wh*-raising – i.e. if it is not linked to an argument position, but is externally merged into [spec, CP] – the interpretation is exclamative, as in the case of (79c).

Similarly, Bennis et al. (1998:105) stipulate that *wat* derives its meaning in DP-internal structures in a manner that resembles clausal structures fairly closely. Note the likeness of the examples in (80) to those in (79):

(80)   a.   Ik heb [**wat** boeken] gelezen   [indefinite]

I   have what books   read

"I read some books"

b.   [**Wat** voor boeken] heb   jij   gelezen?   [interrogative]

what for   books   have you read

"What kind of books did you read?"

c.   [**Wat** een boeken] heb   jij   gelezen?   [exclamative]

what a   books   have you read

"Boy, did you read a lot/kind of books!"

As this section is primarily concerned with movement operations within the small clause, we will only focus on the examples in (79b,c) and (80b,c). It is generally assumed in the broad framework of MS that internal merge operations are feature-driven. This means that a functional head containing a particular feature F attracts an expression E in its c-command domain, where E also carries this feature;[23] Merge would then involve raising to either the functional head itself or its specifier position. Bennis et al. (1998:105) argue that the features involved in Dutch *wat*-constructions are carried by either the functional head C (in clausal constructions) or the functional head D (in nominal constructions). In other words, these heads contain either the [+WH] feature in interrogative examples like those in (79b) and (80b) or the [+EXCL] feature in exclamative examples like those in (79c) and (80c). Consequently, *wat* – in both types of construction – only receives its interpretation once it is merged into the specifier position of the head containing the particular feature, that is, the specifier position of C in (79) and of D in (80).

At this point, a few remarks are in order about *wat* exclamative constructions. As illustrated in (77) and (78) above, it is not possible to replace spurious *een* with its zero allomorph in

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[23] As discussed in 2.2.2, Chomsky (1995:35) defines the structural relationship of c-command as follows: A constituent A c-commands a constituent B if A does not dominate B and every C that dominates A also dominates B.

There are several proposals in the literature regarding the "trigger" for external merge (i.e. movement) operations. One possibility is that the feature carried by the functional head is inherently "strong"; cf. e.g. Chomsky (1995, 1997a,b); Radford (2009). A second possibility is that an expression E is raised in order to have its feature F valued by that of the functional head; cf. e.g. Adger (2003); Chomsky (2005a,b, 2006). A third possibility is that feature-valuation simply takes place in a c-command configuration, with raising being triggered by a so-called "movement diacritic" carried by the functional head; cf. e.g. Biberauer et al. (2008a,b, 2009, 2014); and Oosthuizen (2013).

exclamative constructions. For this reason, Bennis et al. (1998:106) propose that movement of *wat* into [spec, DP] forces the D-head to be lexicalised. This is executed by raising the small clause head (X) to the D-head position as illustrated in the "full derivation of the *wat* exclamative construction" below (Bennis et al. 1998:106).

(81) a.   The derivation of the *wat* exclamative construction

[DP wat [D' [D [X een]] [XP jongen(s) [X' ~~een wat~~]]]]

b.
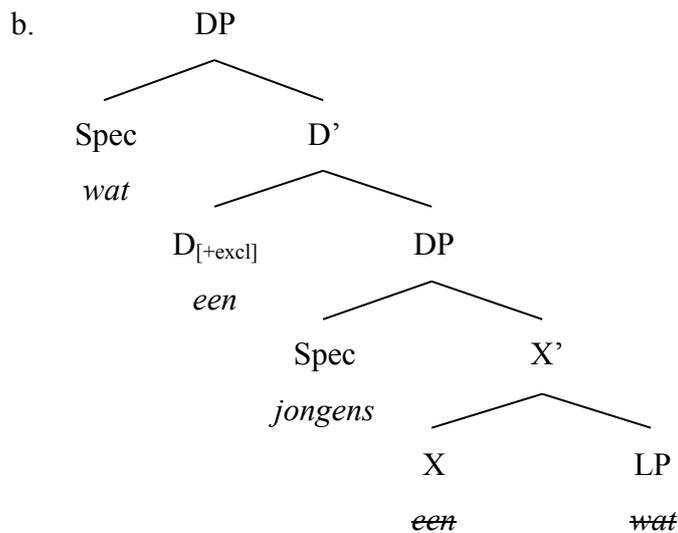
In view of this structure, consider the raising of spurious *een* in the two constructions discussed above: *N van een N* and *wat* exclamatives. The similarity between the two constructions is that both derivations will crash if the small clause head is not raised to the functional nominal head position. However, Bennis et al. (1998:107) state that the motivation behind the movement differs for each case. In *N van een N* constructions, on the one hand, the *een* is raised to ensure that the locality principle is not violated, which could also indicate why it may be replaced by the zero allomorph in the absence of a singular nominal expression. On the other hand, in the *wat* exclamatives the spurious *een* is raised in order to force a lexical spellout of the functional D-head. A further similarity between the presence of spurious *een* in *N van een N* and *wat* exclamative constructions is that in both cases *een* is merged into the derivation as the small clause head X of a construction that allows the predicate to move to a position in front of the small clause subject.

The last construction that Bennis et al. (1998) discuss is the *wat voor* interrogative construction. At the onset, Bennis et al. (1998:107) indicate that the differentiating element

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between *wat* exclamatives and *wat voor* interrogatives is the element *voor* ("for"). They claim that *voor* fills the D-head position which is marked [+WH], and is the only lexical element in the construction that can be deemed unequivocally interrogative.

The assumption that *voor* is "a prepositional complementiser with an interrogative force" is substantiated by varieties of Dutch where *voor* features "as the infinitival complementiser in constructions that feature operator movement to [spec,CP]" (Bennis et al. 1998:107–108). This is illustrated in the following examples:[24]

(82) a. een boek [**Op** voor in   te kijken]

　　　　　a   book   for   into to look

　　　　　"a book to look into"

　　 b. Dat is een man [**Op** voor in het oog te houden]

　　　　　that is a   man   for   in the eye to keep

　　　　　"That is a man to keep an eye on"

For *wat* exclamatives to be acceptable (as illustrated in (78) above) spurious *een* is obligatorily required to lexicalise the D-head. However, in the *wat voor* constructions, the D-head is already filled with *voor*, which explains why *een* is always optional. This conclusion can account for the seemingly irregular distribution of *een* in examples like those in (83).

(83) a. wat voor (**een**) jongen?

　　　　　what for a boy

　　 b. wat *(**een**) jongens!

　　　　　what a boys

However, this contradicts the earlier statement that the zero allomorph of X is only licensed if it does not agree with an explicitly singular noun. Subsequently, Bennis et al. (1998:109) propose that in *wat voor* interrogative constructions, the small clause head X:

- is either radically featureless (Ø) (see (84a)); or
- possesses semantic and morphosyntactic features (see (84b))

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[24] The **Op** in (82) stands for "operator". According to Haegeman (1994:469–471) the notion 'operator' can be defined as expressions that are usually non-overt or empty operators, that take the place of e.g. a *wh*-trace and could be equal to "the head of an A'-chain", that "is both governed and case-marked". Radford (2009:470) adds that these are, for instance "interrogative or negative expressions which … trigger auxiliary inversion".

(84)   a.   [$_{DP}$ Spec [$_{D'}$ *voor* [$_{XP}$ NP [$_{X'}$ [$_{X}$ Ø] *wat*]]]]

    b.   [$_{DP}$ Spec [$_{D'}$ *voor* [$_{XP}$ NP [$_{X'}$ [$_{X}$ *een/ec*] *wat*]]]]

Bennis et al. (1998:109) argue that the structures in (84) are derived in two different ways. The first structure, represented in (84a), is derived in the same way as *wat* exclamatives, which are illustrated in (81). Here, the predicate undergoes A'-movement to [spec, DP]; however, the small clause head is not raised to lexicalise the D-head as in the case of *wat* exclamatives because it is already lexicalised by *voor*, as shown in the following diagram:

(85)   [$_{DP}$ *wat* [$_{D'}$ *voor* [$_{XP}$ *jongen(s)* [$_{X'}$ [$_{X}$ Ø] ~~wat~~]]]]
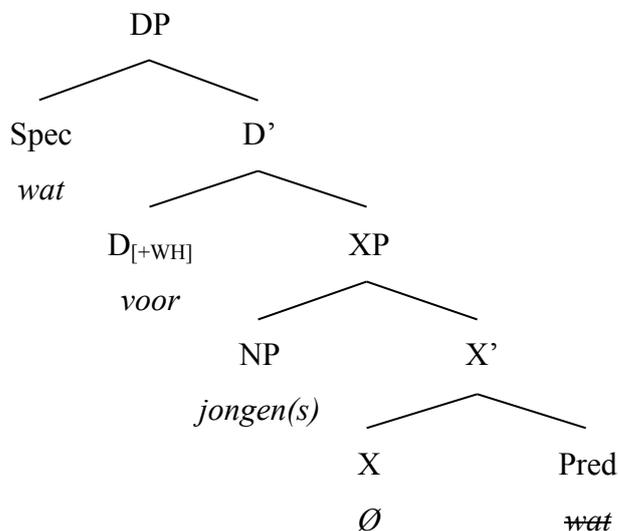
If examples like those in (86) were derived in the same manner as illustrated in (85), it is predicted that (86c,d) should be ungrammatical. As indicated above, this prediction is incorrect. Therefore, Bennis et al. (1998:110) posit that the second structure, represented in (84b) provides a viable alternative derivation for examples like those in (86c,d).

(86)   a.   wat voor jongen

    b.   wat voor jongens

    c.   (*)wat voor een jongen

    d.   (*)wat voor een jongens

As noted just now, the second structure which Bennis et al. (1998:110) propose, i.e. (84b), can account for the grammaticality of (86c,d). Adopting this structure, the derivation of

(86c,d) would be similar to that of the *N van een N* construction in the sense that it contains the domain-extending functional projection F. In this derivation, F is inserted to create an intermediary landing site for *wat,* so that the locality principle is not violated, which allows *een* to be raised into the F-head position. This ensures the correct word order as *een* would move to a position in front of the small clause subject. The following structure illustrates how (84b) is derived:

(87)   [DP *wat* [D' *voor* [FP ~~wat~~ [F' F+X (*een*) [XP *jongen(s)* [X' ~~een wat~~]]]]]]]
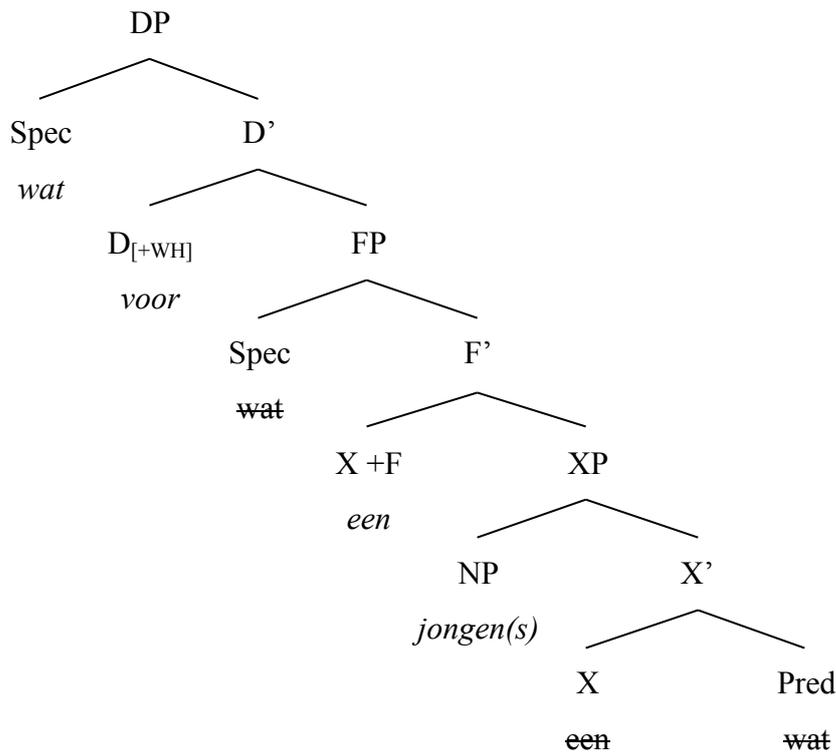
The idea that *wat voor* interrogative constructions can be derived in two different ways – (85) and (87) respectively – provides an account for the earlier assumption that spurious *een* can either be overt or covert (i.e. receive a null spellout) in such constructions. This is contrary to (i) *N van een N* constructions in which *een* can only receive a null spellout in the absence of an agreeing singular noun, and (ii) *wat* exclamatives that always require the presence of *een*.

In summary, Bennis et al. (1998) present three constructions in Dutch to account for the similarity between clausal and nominal accounts of predicate movement. These structures are (i) *N van een N*, (ii) *wat* exclamatives and (iii) *wat voor* interrogatives. All three these constructions contain a small clause head in the form of the spurious article *een* or its zero

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allomorph. The distribution of spurious *een* as it relates to these three Dutch constructions and its function as the small clause head can be summarised as follows:

(88)

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH SPURIOUS *EEN* AS THE *SC-HEAD*	*N VAN EEN N*	*WAT* EXCLAMATIVE	*WAT VOOR* INTERROGATIVE
CLAUSAL POSITION	*DP-internal SC-head*	*DP-internal SC-head*	*DP-internal SC-head*
SELECTIONAL CATEGORY	*NP (unspecified for number)*	*NP (unspecified for number)*	*NP (unspecified for number)*
SPELLOUT	*Zero allomorph licensed if there are no explicit singulars with which to agree*	Een *is always overt*	Een *is always optional (*Een-*less constructions contain either Ø or the zero allomorph)*
EXTRACTION	*Grammatical (domain extending head movement to adhere to the locality principle)*	*Grammatical (to lexicalise the D-head)*	*Grammatical (domain extending head movement to adhere to the locality principle in constructions containing F)*
INTERPRETATION	*Declarative*	*Exclamative*	*Interrogative*

3.4.2   West Flemish interrogative and demonstrative small clauses

Based on the analysis by Bennis et al. (1998) described above, Haegeman (2010) assumes that West Flemish interrogative *wek* ("which") and demonstrative *zuk* ("such") originates in the predicate position of a DP-internal small clause that undergoes predicate inversion, an instance of A-movement. In addition, she also argues that similar to the Dutch examples above, the spurious indefinite article appears in these West Flemish examples in a seemingly irregular manner. Consider the West Flemish examples in (89), where *wek* and *zuk* stand in an agreement relation with the plural noun *unden* ("dogs"). However, as in the Dutch

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examples used by Bennis et al. (1998), *wek* and *zuk* directly precede *en*, i.e. the West Flemish counterpart of Dutch spurious *een*.

(89) a.　Wekken　unden ee-j　　doa　gezien?

　　　　which *-en* dogs　have-you there seen

　　　　"Which dogs did you see there?"

　　b.　Zukken　unden een　ze　　ier　ook.

　　　　such *-en* dogs　　have they here also

　　　　"Such dogs, they also have here."　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Haegeman 2010:850)

According to Haegeman (2010:853–4), standard Dutch *welk* ("which") and *zulk* ("such") are inflected in the same way as adjectives. However, in West Flemish the addition of adjectival inflections to *wek* and *zuk* results in ungrammaticality, as illustrated in the table below.

(90)　Adjectival inflections of *wek* and *zuk* in West Flemish

	WEK	ZUK
MASC SG	*wekk-en　und which-*en* dog	*zukk-en und such-*en* dog
FEM SG	*wekk-e　enne which-*e* hen	*zukk-e enne such-*e*　hen
NEUTER SG	*wek　　undje which doggie	*zukk undje such doggie
MASC PL	*wekk-e　unden which-*e* dogs	*zukk-e unden such-*e* dogs
FEM PL	*wekk-e　ennen which-*e* hens	*zukk-e ennen such-*e*　hens
NEUTER PL	*wekk-e　undjes which-*e* doggies	*zukk-e undjes such-*e* doggies

In cases where *wek* and *zuk* seem to display inflection in a manner similar to their Dutch counterparts – as illustrated by their use with [+count] nouns in (91) and [-count] nouns in (92) – Haegeman (2010:853) claims that the suffixes do not in fact represent adjectival inflection; rather, in such cases, the suffix represents a spurious indefinite article. Like the

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Dutch examples provided by Bennis et al. (1998), West Flemish *wek* and *zuk* constructions are acceptable with an indefinite article despite not entering into a number agreement relationship with the noun.

(91)   Paradigms for *wek* and *zuk* with [+count] nouns

	WEK	ZUK
MASC SG	wek-nen und which-*nen* dog	zukk-nen und such-*nen* dog
FEM SG	wekk-en enne which-*en* hen	zukk-en enne such-*en* hen
NEUTER SG	wekk-en undje which-*en* doggie	Zukk-en undje such-*en* doggie
MASC PL	wekk-en unden which-*en* dogs	zukk-en unden such-*en* dogs
FEM PL	wekk-en ennen which-*en* hens	zukk-en ennen such-*en* hens
NEUTER PL	wekk-en undjes which-*en* doggies	zukk-en undjes such-*en* doggies

(92)   Paradigms for *wek* and *zuk* with [-count] nouns

	WEK	ZUK
MASC SG	wek-nen wyn which-*nen* wine	zukk-nen wyn such-*nen* wine
FEM SG	wekk-en aspergesoepe which-*en* asparagus soup	zukk-en aspergesoepe such-*en* asparagus soup
NEUTER SG	wekk-en eten which-*en* food	Zukk-en eten such-*en* food

Haegeman (2010:855) assumes that interrogative *wek* is derived in a similar manner to Dutch *wat voor* constructions. In other words, *wek* fills the predicate position of a DP-internal small clause that undergoes predicate inversion. *Wek* subsequently undergoes predicate fronting to [spec, DP] where it receives its interrogative interpretation, hence "typing" the DP as interrogative as opposed to, for example, exclamative. As discussed earlier, predicate

inversion triggers domain extension so that the locality principle is not violated by merging F into the derivation (as illustrated in (67) above) and raising the head X of the small clause to F. Haegeman (2010:855) furthermore assumes that, as in the Dutch examples above, the spurious indefinite article fills the small clause head position and is spelt out as *-nen* or *-en* depending on feature agreement with the head noun. As shown in (91) and (92) above, masculine singular nouns will result in a *-nen* spellout, and agreement with all other types of nouns will result in an *-en* spellout. The derivation of the masculine nominal expression *wekken unden* ("which dogs") is as follows:

(93)   [$_{DP}$ wek$_{[+WH]}$ [$_D$ $_{[+WH]}$] [$_{FP}$ ~~wek~~ [$_{X+F}$ -en] [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ unden] [$_X$ ~~(n)en~~] [~~wek~~]]]]

Haegeman (2010:855) proposes further that *wek* and *zuk* entertain the same relationship with the spurious indefinite article *-en* in (91) and (92). Consequently, "they can be seen as the interrogative and demonstrative pendants of one formative". Therefore, one would assume that they follow the same derivational pattern. In short, *zuk* would undergo predicate inversion which necessitates the presence of F, as seen in (94):

(94)   [$_{DP}$ [$_{FP}$ zuk [$_{X+F}$ en] [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ unden] [$_X$ ~~(n)en~~] [~~zuk~~]]]]

However, *zuk* does not undergo predicate fronting, as is the case with *wek* in (93). Haegeman (2010:855–6) claims that, in cases where spurious *-en* is obligatory, "prenominal *zuk* can be embedded under quantifiers and numerals ..., interrogative *hoevele* ("how many") ..., and negative *geen* ("no")". This is illustrated for [+count] and [-count] nouns in (95) and (96) respectively.

(95) a.   k'een   <u>vele /te vele /zovele   /genoeg/drie</u> zukk-en/*zuk unden gezien.
           I have many/too many/so many/enough/three such-*en*/*such dogs   seen
           "I have seen many/too many/so many/enough/three such dogs."
     b.   <u>Hoevele</u>   zukk-en/*zuk   unden ee-j gie gezien?
           how many such-*en*/*such dogs   have you seen
           "How many dogs like that did you see?"
     c.   k'(en) een   <u>geen</u> zukk-en/*zuk   unden gezien.
           I *(en)* have no   such-*en*/*such dogs   seen
           "I did not see any dogs like that."

(96) a.   k'een <u>te vele /een beetje</u> zuk-nen/*zuk wyn gedrunken.

           Ihave too much/a   little such-*nen*/*such wine drunk

           "I drank too much/a bit wine of that kind."

    b.   <u>Hoevele</u> zuk-nen/*zuk   wyn ee-j   gedrunken?

           how much such-*nen*/*such wine haveyou drunk

           "How much wine of that kind did you drink?"

    c.   k'(en) een <u>geen</u> zuk-nen/*zuk   wyn gedronken.

           I *(en)* have no   such-*nen*/*such wine drunk

           "I haven't drunk any wine of that kind."

Haegeman (2010:856) claims that the quantificational elements in (95) and (96) are merged to the left of the functional category FP (cf. (67) above). She assumes that the negative *geen* in the (c) sentences enter the derivation as the head of a QP. In contrast, the quantificational and interrogative elements in the (a) and (b) sentences, respectively, enter the derivation by being merged into the specifier position of a null Q-head. The derivations of (95a–c) would then be along the lines in (97):

(97) a.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{QP}$ veel [Q] [$_{FP}$ zuk [$_{X+F}$ en] [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ unden] [$_X$ ~~(n)en~~] ~~zuk~~]]]]]

    b.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{QP}$ hoevele$_{[+WH]}$ [$_{Q[+WH]}$] [$_{FP}$ zuk [$_{X+F}$ en] [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ unden] [$_X$ ~~(n)en~~] ~~zuk~~]]]]]

    c.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{QP}$ [$_Q$ geen] [$_{FP}$ zuk [$_{X+F}$ en] [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP}$ unden] [$_X$ ~~(n)en~~] ~~zuk~~]]]]

Haegeman (2010:857) places emphasis on *zuk* constructions containing the negative element *geen* – such as those illustrated in (98). In all three these cases *geen* is followed by *zuk,* which is in turn obligatorily followed by the spurious article.[25]

(98) a.   k'een [DP geen zuk*(nen)   boek] gezien.

           Ihave   no   such*(*nen*) book   seen

    b.   k'een [DP geen zukk*(en) boeken] gezien.

           Ihave   no   such-*(*en*) books   seen

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[25] Haegeman (2010:857) includes (i) below in her examples of *zuk* constructions containing *geen*. Here, the inflection displayed by *geen* expresses agreement with a masculine singular noun. Since examples of this type are only marginally acceptable and the inflection is not as the result of spurious *-en*, I have not included it in the discussion.

(i)   [??]k'een [DP geen*en* zuk*(nen) boek] gezien.

        I have   no-*en* such*(*nen*) book   seen

c.   k'een [DP geen zukk*(en) bier] gedrunken.

Ihave   no   such-*(*en*) beer   drunk

The above linear ordering is not the only one available for *geen* and *zuk*. Haegeman (2010:857) points out that some varieties of West Flemish allow *zuk* to precede *geen*, in which *geen* may optionally be inflected to agree with the number features of the noun, as in (99a,c,e). However, in the sequence *zuk-geen* the spurious article cannot occur as a suffix of *zuk*, as shown in (99b,d,f). Note that in the (d) and (f) sentences, where *zuk* remains uninflected, the *-en* affixed to *geen* cannot be analysed as the spurious article. But most importantly, in constructions where *zuk* precedes *geen*, *zuk* is incompatible with spurious *-en*.

(99) a.   k'een [DP <u>zuk</u> geen(en) boek] gezien.

             I have   such no-(*en*) book   seen

      b.   *k'een [DP zuknen geen(en) boek] gezien.

             I have   such-*en* no(-*en*) book   seen

      c.   k'een [DP zukk(*en) geen boeken] gezien.

             I have   such-(*en*) no   books   seen

      d.   *k'een [DP zuk geenen boeken] gezien.

             I have   such no-*en* books   seen

      e.   k'een [DP zukk(*en) geen bier] gedrunken.

             Ihave   such*(*en*) no   beer drunk

      f.   *k'een [DP zuk geen-en bier] gedrunken.

             I have   such no-*en*   beer drunk

Haegeman (2010:857–8) concludes that there is no difference in the manner in which *geen* is inflected in constructions where *zuk* and *geen* co-occur. There is also no evidence that spurious *-en* and *geen* have any sort of agreement relationship. However, the relationship between spurious *-en* and *zuk* is reliant on *zuk*'s position in the derivation. If *zuk* were to follow *geen*, the presence of the spurious article is obligatory, but if *zuk* precedes *geen*, *zuk* remains uninflected and all such derivations containing *-en* result in ungrammaticality.

According to Haegeman (2010:857–8), if uninflected *zuk* precedes *geen*, then the sequence *zuk-geen*-N forms a constituent as it can be merged into the complement position of a preposition or coordinated with another DP. This is illustrated in (100a,b), respectively.

(100) a.   G'en-meugt [$_{PP}$ tegen   [zuk   geen mensen]] klapen.

You *en* may   against [such no   people]   talk

"You shouldn't talk to such people."

b.   K'en-een [zuk geen boeken] en   [zuk geen ploaten] gekocht.

I *en* have [such no   books] and [such no   records] bought

"I didn't buy any such books and any such records."

In cases where *geen* precedes *zuk*, more than one *zuk* constituent (FPs) can be coordinated as a complement of *geen*:

(101) K'en-een *geen* [[$_{FP}$ zukken boeken] of [$_{FP}$ zukken ploaten]] gekocht.

I *en* have no   such-*en* books   or   such-*en* records   bought

"I didn't buy any such books or such records."

However, such coordination is not possible for *zuk-geen* constituents in examples like those in (102a) where *geen boeken* ("no books") and *geen ploaten* ("no records") are embedded under *zuk*. In contrast, if the phrases were merged as indicated in (102b), in which only *geen boeken* ("no books") is embedded under *zuk*, the result would be grammatical (with the interpretation as indicated by the bracketing) (Haegeman 2010:857).

(102) a.   *k'en-een [*zuk* [geen boeken] en   [geen ploaten]] gekocht.

I *en* have such no   books   and no   records   bought

b.   #k'en-een [*zuk* [geen boeken]] en [geen ploaten] gekocht.

I *en* have such no   books   and no   records   bought

"I bought no such books and no records (at all)."

This brings us to the question of the specific DP-internal position that *zuk* fills in the small clauses at hand. Assuming that the analyses in (97) above are viable for both *geen-zuk* and *zuk-geen* constructions, *zuk*, as the small clause predicate, will undergo predicate inversion to [spec, FP], as shown in (103a); *geen* (the D-head) subsequently merges with FP, and *zuk* is raised into [spec, DP], as in (103b).

(103) a.   [$_{FP}$ zuk [$_{F+X}$ en] [$_{NP}$ boeken [$_X$ (n)en] [$_{Pred}$ zuk]]]]

b.   [$_{DP}$ zuk [$_D$ geen][$_{FP}$ zuk [$_{X+F}$ en] [$_{NP}$ boeken [$_X$ (n)en] [$_{Pred}$ zuk]]]]

However, (103b) results in an anomaly: the derivation will be ungrammatical if the spurious article receives a spellout, unless "the combination of *geen*+ spurious *-en* simply spells out as *geen*" (Haegeman 2010:858). But this is not a viable option. Haegeman (2010:857) notes that "*geen* cannot itself be associated with a spurious article". Another possibility she considers is that *-en* receives a null spellout in cases where *zuk* is raised to [spec, DP].

Haegeman (2010:858) argues that the most viable explanation for *zuk-geen* constructions is that *zuk* as predicate undergoes head-movement by way of the small clause head, to eventually be merged into the D-head position with *geen*. This eliminates the necessity of having the spurious article since the functional head is lexicalised by *zuk*. The derivation would thus look as follows:

(104) [DP [D zuk+geen][FP [F ~~zuk~~] [NP boeken [X ~~zuk~~] [Pred ~~zuk~~]]]]

Zuk's ability to undergo head movement provides evidence substantiating the claim that (102a) is in fact grammatical. Because *zuk* is incorporated into the D-head that contains *geen* it does not have scope over *geen platen* ("no records"). In addition, due to *geen* holding the D-head position, it is "the only 'quantifier' that can be preceded by *zuk*"; as mentioned above, other quantifiers like those in (97) hold a higher position in the derivation, namely [spec, DP] (Haegeman 2010:859). Examples like those in (105) would thus be judged as unacceptable:

(105) *K'een zuk (vree) vee   boeken.
      I-have such very   many books

Haegeman (2010:859) points out that there are a number of restrictions on *zuk*'s head-moving ability. For example, if *zuk* may undergo head movement in *zuk-geen* constructions, then one could ask why it could not apply to *geen-zuk* constructions, as in (106a). And consequently, if it were possible for *zuk* to head-move, why would the spurious article be necessary in all other cases (106b):

(106) a.   *[DP [D geen] [FP [F zuk] [NP boeken [X ~~zuk~~] [Pred ~~zuk~~]]]]
     b.   *geen zuk boeken
         no   such books

Furthermore, in examples like those in (97) that contain quantifiers other than the negative *geen*, *zuk* cannot head-move to F – or further up to D – without resulting in ungrammaticality as spurious *-en* would be omitted. This is shown in (107) (Haegeman 2010:859).

(107) a. *[DP [D Ø] [FP [F zuk] [NP boeken [X ~~zuk~~] [Pred ~~zuk~~]]]]

 b. *[DP [D zuk] [FP [F ~~zuk~~] [NP boeken [X ~~zuk~~] [Pred ~~zuk~~]]]]

 c. *zuk boeken

  such books

To account for this seemingly contradictory behaviour of demonstrative *zuk,* Haegeman (2010:859) proposes that "when it undergoes head-movement, *zuk* is structurally deficient ... and ... must incorporate to a lexical host". In the *zuk-geen* construction, then, *geen* in the D-head position provides the lexical support *zuk* requires, as in (108a). However, if *zuk* head-moved to F without the presence of spurious *-en*, the structurally deficient element's features would not be checked, and the sentence would therefore be ungrammatical, as is clear from (108b).

(108) a. [DP [D zuk+geen][FP [F ~~zuk~~] [NP boeken [X ~~zuk~~] [Pred ~~zuk~~]]]]

 b. *[DP [D geen][FP [F zuk] [NP boeken [X ~~zuk~~] [Pred ~~zuk~~]]]]

Spurious *-en* is not inserted in (108b) for reasons of economy: if the *zuk* head-moves, it does not necessitate domain extending properties which would prevent the insertion of spurious *-en*. Consequently, Haegeman (2010:860) predicts that "if the DP structure contains a head which can provide a lexical host, *zuk* will be able to head-move and there will not be any need for spurious *en*".

Further support from West Flemish for the above prediction comes from DP-internal negative concord constructions. West Flemish makes provision for double negatives. A DP, for instance, may comprise both a negated quantifier like *nie vee* ("not many") and the negative determiner *geen*. Haegeman (2010:860) argues that the double negative is licensed by the negative marker *nie*, because if the construction simply contained a "semantic negative

quantifier", i.e. *weinig* ("little/few" or "not much/not many") the addition of *geen* would not be licensed:[26]

(109) a.   k'en-een nie vee   (geen) boeken.

   I *en* have not many (no)   books

   "I don't have many books."

  b.   K' een   weinig/minder (*geen) geld.

   I   have little/less   (*no)   money

   "I don't have much money."

In summary, Haegeman applies the theoretical proposals made by Bennis et al. for Dutch small clause-internal predicate inversion to two types of West Flemish small clauses, namely one containing interrogative *wek* ("which") and the other containing demonstrative *zuk* ("such"). In both cases, the spurious article is licenced to provide *wek* and *zuk* with a lexical host. Haegeman (2010) pays specific attention to *zuk-geen* ("no such") constructions, in which the spurious article is redundant as its role is expressed by the head *geen*. Haegeman's (2010) main findings regarding the distribution of *wek* and *zuk* in West Flemish can be summarised in the following table:

(110)

WEST FLEMISH	INTERROGATIVE *WEK*	DEMONSTRATIVE *ZUK*
CLAUSAL POSITION	*DP-internal*	*DP-internal*
SELECTIONAL CATEGORY	*NP (unspecified for number)*	*NP (unspecified for number)*
SMALL CLAUSE POSITION	*Predicate*	*Predicate*
EXTRACTION	*Grammatical (predicate inversion, followed by predicate fronting)*	*Grammatical (predicate inversion or head movement – in* zuk-geen *constructions)*
INTERPRETATION	*Interrogative*	*Demonstrative*

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[26] Haegeman (2010:860) notes that this particular construction, known as '*niet Q geen N*', should not be mistaken for the '*niet A geen N*' constructions in which the double negative is not possible.

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3.4.3   Symmetric versus asymmetric copula clauses

We end this discussion of some of the influential proposals for the underlying structure of small clauses by taking a further look at the Polish copula clauses analysed by Citko (2008) (discussed in section 3.3.2 above). Though Polish is not as closely related to Afrikaans as Dutch and West Flemish, Citko's findings provide important insight into the underlying structure of small clauses in general.

Citko (2008:262) proposes two potential underlying structures for small clauses: (i) a symmetrical structure (presented in (1) and repeated in (111)); and (ii) an asymmetrical structure (illustrated in (112), where π represents a functional projection).[27]

(111)   SC
         _____
     subject   predicate

(112)   πP
         _____
     DP   π'
   _____
           π   DP
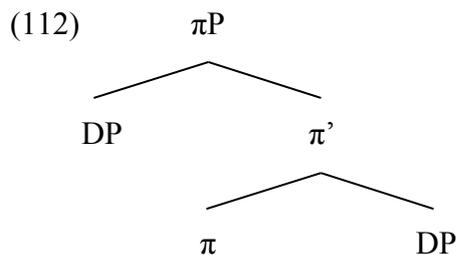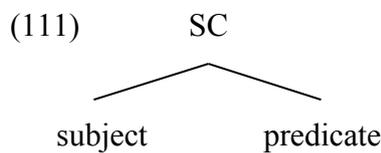
Citko (2008:276) bases her discussion of the symmetric underlying structure of copula clauses in (111) on the analysis presented by Moro (1997, 2000). In this analysis, the copula clauses in (113) both have the same underlying structure as presented in (114).[28] The main

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[27] Although Citko (2008) focuses on copula small clauses, her comments on symmetrical and asymmetrical structures are presented in a general sense, i.e. to hold for all types of small clauses. Whereas Bennis et al. (1998) and Haegeman (2010) refer to the small clause head as X that is selected by an additional functional category F, Citko refers to the small clause head as π. Various naming conventions have been retained in the discussion of the respective analyses above. However, it is not evident that there is a substantial difference between X and π.

[28] Citko (2008:276) points out that Moro's (1997, 2000) symmetric structure in (114) cannot be used to describe dual copula clauses such as those found in Polish and Hebrew (cf. section 3.3.1) because there is not enough space to accommodate both the verbal and pronominal copula elements in the same derivation. In order to alleviate the space constrains, Citko (op. cit.) claims that the small clause merges with "a lexical V head rather than a functional T head":

difference between the manner in which (113a) and (113b) are derived, concerns the question of which DP is raised to the structural subject position. Moro (2000:ch. 3) posits that if the small clause subject *John* were raised, it would form a canonical copular sentence such as the one in (113a); if the nonverbal predicate *the culprit* were raised, it would result in an inverse copular sentence like the one in (113b).[29]

(113) a.   John is the culprit.

     b.   The culprit is John.

(114)

```
          TP
         /  \
            T'
           /  \
          T     SC
          is    /  \
             DP     DP
             /\     /\
          John   the culprit
```
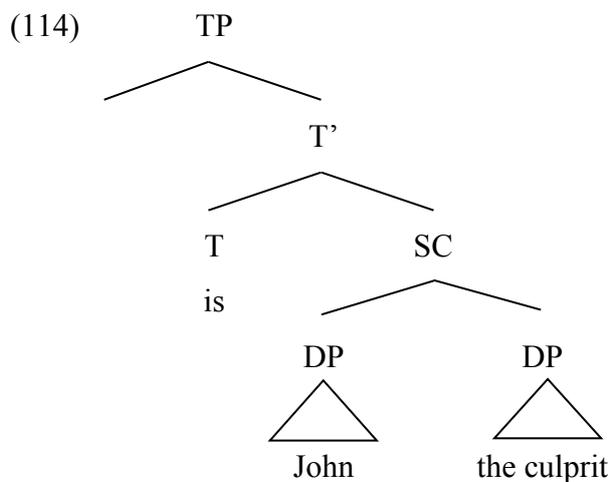
It could be argued that copula clauses like those in (113) are not small clauses as they contain the verbal copula *is*, contrary to the definition presented by Citko (2008:262) which states that small clauses consist of a subject and a nonverbal predicate. However, by adopting the structure presented by Moro (1997, 2000) and Citko (2008), it becomes evident that a copula clause is essentially a small clause that merges with a T containing a verbal copula element. The final word order is then derived by raising either the subject or nonverbal predicate.

(i)

```
       TP
      /  \
         T'
        /  \
       T    VP
           /  \
              V'
             /  \
            V    SC
                /  \
              DP    DP
```
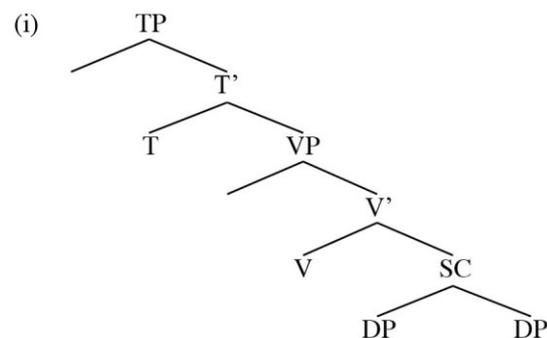
[29] Citko (2008) uses the expression "predicational sentence" for Moro's (2000) "canonical copular sentence", and "specificational sentence" instead of "inverse copular sentence".

Though the symmetric structure explains the relationship between the copula element and the small clause, it raises a number of questions regarding extraction. For example, in identity statements (cf. section 3.3.2) *wh*-movement is blocked for both DPs in the small clause (Citko 2008:276):

(115) a.　　*[Whose attitude toward Davies] would you say your attitude toward Jones is ~~whose attitude toward Davies~~?

　　　b.　　*[Whose attitude toward Jones] would you say ~~whose attitude toward Jones~~ is my attitude toward Davies?

Similarly, Citko (2008:277) notes that *wh*-movement in statements with a specificational interpretation also results in ungrammaticality as illustrated in (116), but in statements with a predicational interpretation, extraction is allowed as shown in (117).

(116) a.　　*[Whose arrest] do you think the biggest upset was ~~whose arrest~~?

　　　b.　　*[How big an upset] do you think ~~how big an upset~~ was Brian's arrest?

(117) a.　　[Whose arrest] do you think ~~whose arrest~~ was the biggest upset?

　　　b.　　[How big an upset] do you think Brian's arrest was ~~how big an upset~~?

The proposal, then, is that identity and specificational statements are derived in the same manner and that "inversion around the copula blocks extraction" (Citko 2008:277). Moro's argument (in Citko 2008:277) is based on the assumption that both DPs occur in a subject position. This idea is illustrated in (118) below, where DP_1 represents a derived subject and DP_2 a base-generated subject.

(118)　　TP
　　　　／＼
　　DP_1　　T'
　　　　　　／＼
　　　　　T　　SC
　　　　　is　／＼
　　　　　DP_2　　~~DP_1~~
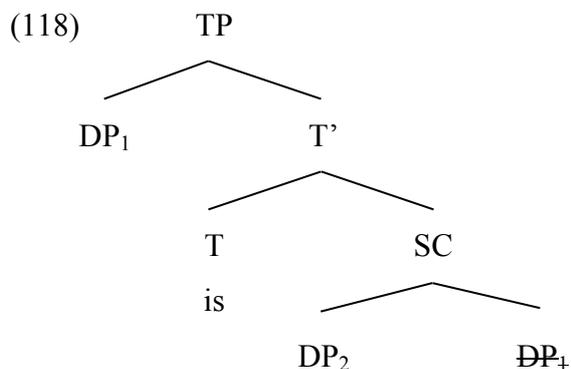
If one adopts the analysis in (118), the movement restrictions that apply to subjects in general could also be taken to apply to DP$_1$ and DP$_2$. This implies that subjects in Polish copula clauses, like other Polish subjects, should be "generally movable" (Citko 2008:277). Yet the symmetric structure does not explain why *wh*-movement leads to ungrammaticality in dual copula clauses as illustrated in (119a), but is allowed in verbal copula clauses as shown in (119b).

(119) a.　*Kto* myślisz,　że k̶t̶o̶ to　(jest) mój najlepszy przyjaciel?

　　　　　who think.2SG that　PRON is　my　best　friend

　　　　　"What do you think is my best friend?"

　　 b.　*Kto* myślisz,　że k̶t̶o̶ będzie moim najlepszym przyjacielem?

　　　　　who think.2SG that　be.FUT my　best　friend

　　　　　"Who do you think will be my best friend?"

Another potential flaw of an analysis, which incorporates a symmetric underlying structure, is that it cannot make any predictions regarding the differences between inverted copular sentences and identity and specificational sentences. This can be illustrated with reference to case assignment in Polish, where the instrumental case is maintained by the inverted predicate in inverted copular sentences like the one in (120a). Conversely, in identity and specificational sentences such as (120b,c) the relevant DPs are not assigned instrumental case, but genitive and nominative case, respectively. This suggests that predicate inversion in small clauses is not case-driven (Citko 2008:278).

(120) a.　Moim najlepszym przyjacielem　*jest* Jan.

　　　　　my　best　friend-INSTR is　Jan-NOM

　　　　　"Jan is my best friend."

　　 b.　Stoica　Polski　*to (jest)* Warszawa.

　　　　　capital Poland-GEN PRON is　Warsaw

　　　　　"The capital of Poland is Warsaw."

　　 c.　Dr Jekyll *to (jest)* Mr Hyde.

　　　　　dr Jekyll- NOM PRON Mr Hyde-NOM

　　　　　"Dr Jekyll is Mr Hyde."

Citko (2008:278) proposes that the potential flaws resulting from predicate inversion around the copula in symmetrical small clause structures could be eliminated if the relationship between the subject and predicate were "mediated by a functional head".[30] She (2008:279) draws on Adger and Ramchand's (2003) study of Scottish Gaelic copula clauses to substantiate the asymmetrical structure of small clauses. Adger and Ramchand (2003:330, 334) identify two types of copulas, namely the "substantive auxiliary" *bith* ("be") and the "defective copula" *is/bu* ("be") that occurs in inverted copular constructions. Employing these two copula elements, three copula clauses can be identified:

(121) a.　Tha　　Calum faiceallach.　　　　　*substantive auxiliary construction*
　　　　　be-PRES Calum careful
　　　　　"Calum is (being) careful."

　　b.　Is　　　mòr an　duine sin.　　　　　*inverted copular construction*
　　　　COP-PRES big that　man
　　　　"That man is big."

　　c.　'S　　　e　Calum　　an tidsear.　　　　　*augmented copular construction*
　　　　COP-PRES AUG Calum　　the teacher
　　　　"Calum is the teacher."

According to Citko (2008:279) these three constructions all "involve the same asymmetric structure … headed by a predicational head", as shown in (122).

(122)

```
          TP
         /  \
             T'
            /  \
           T    πP
               /  \
         SUBJECT   π'
                  /  \
                 π    PREDICATE
```

---
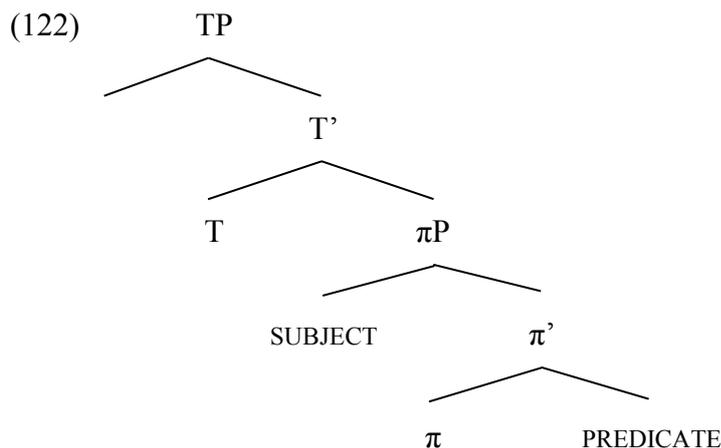
[30] This idea is by no means novel as versions of the asymmetrical small clause have been proposed in several other studies, including Bennis et al. (1998), Adger and Ramchand (2003), Den Dikken (2006) and Haegeman (2010). These studies differ regarding the precise nature of the functional head of the construction at hand. For instance, Adger and Ramchand (2003:326) claim that the functional head is a Pred head, whereas Den Dikken (2006:34) analyses it as a Relator head; Bennis et al. and Haegeman merely label it as X without commenting on the nature of the functional head.

The three constructions in (121) are derived as follows: the substantive and defective copulas enter the derivation as π. In substantive copular constructions like the (a) sentence in (121) the copula is simply raised to T. Conversely, since the defective copula does not contain the necessary features to raise to T by itself, it can only get its relevant features checked by means of a pied-piping operation, that is, the copula is raised together with its complement into [spec, TP]. Accordingly, the copula ends up in clause-initial position. The structure underlying the (b) sentence would be as follows:

(123)

```
                        TP
              _____
             π'                   T'
        _____          _____
      COP PREDICATE    T              πP
                                 _____
                             SUBJECT    PREDICATE
```
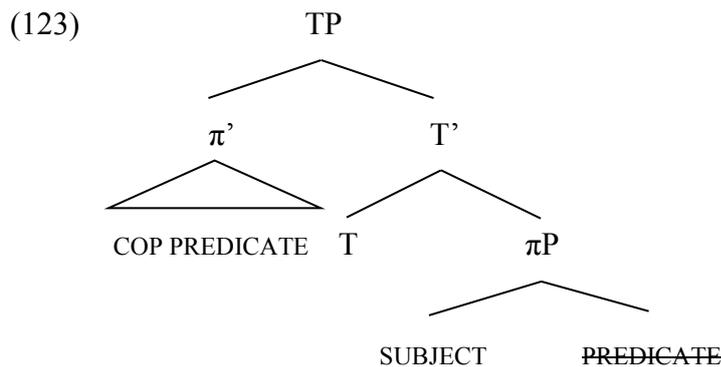
The augmented copula clause presented in (121c) follows a similar pattern to the inverted copular construction in (121b) in that raising of the defective copula also involves pied-piping. However, in this case it is not the second DP (which one would expect to be the predicate) that is raised with the copula, but a "pronominal augment" (Adger and Ramchand 2003:339).[31] Citko (2008:280) states that a second DP is not always present in an augmented copular construction and if it is, it is usually "base-generated as a right adjunct". This adjunct is usually inserted to provide contextual information, in essence to provide identifying characteristics of the individual in question, e.g. that the person referred to in (121c) is a teacher.[32]

---

[31] Adger and Ramchand (2003:339) state that in an augmented copular clause, the small clause predicate is "morphologically a third person masculine singular pronoun, traditionally termed the *pronominal augment*".

[32] For a more detailed analysis, cf. Adger and Ramchand (2003:351–355).

(124)

```
                              TP
                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                   TP                    DP₂
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             π'          T'
         ┌───┴───┐    ┌───┴───┐
      COP AUG    T   T        πP
                              ┌────┴────┐
                            DP₁        π'
                                    ┌───┴───┐
                                    π      AUG
```
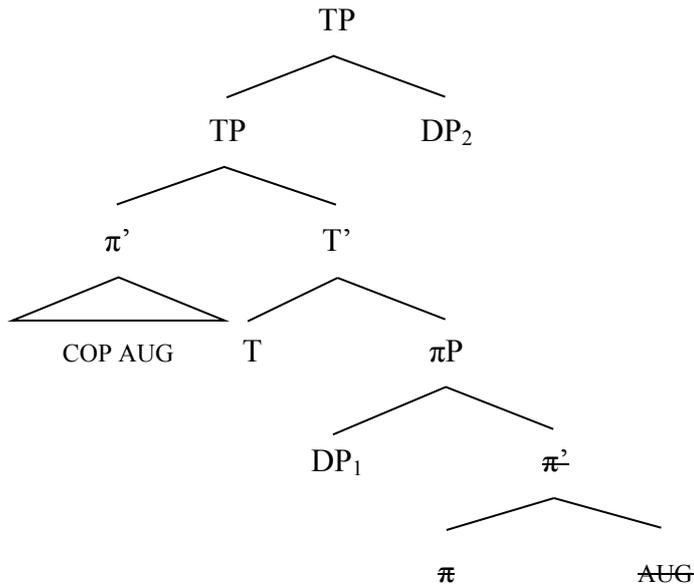
Similar to the manner in which Citko (2008) questioned the symmetrical structure's compatibility with Polish copula clauses, she questions whether the three structures provided by Adger and Ramchand (2003) for Scottish Gaelic would be compatible with the three Polish copula clauses in (35) of section 3.3.2, repeated here for convenience as (125a–c):

(125) a.   Jan *jest* moim najlepszym przyjacielem.   *verbal copula clause*
           Jan is   my   best   friend
           "Jan is my best friend."

     b.   Jan   *to*   mój najlepszy przyjaciel.   *pronominal copula clause*
           Jan PRON my   best   friend
           "Jan is my best friend."

     c.   Jan   *to*   *jest* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.   *dual copula clause*
           Jan PRON is   my   best   friend
           "Jan is my best friend."

If one were to assume that the pronominal copula in (125b) and (125c) is "a predicate that inverts with the subject", the only differentiating marker between pronominal and dual copula clauses would be that one lacks the verbal copula *jest* ("be") (Citko 2008:281). The surface word order is derived by the head π pied-piping both its complement and predicate as illustrated in (126):

(126)

```
                                      TP
                          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                         TP                       DP₂
                ┌─────────┴─────────┐      ┌───────┴───────┐
               πPᵢ                  T'    T               tᵢ
        ┌───────┴───────┐     ┌─────┴─────┐
       DP₁             π'    T            tᵢ
                   ┌────┴────┐ BE
                   π       PRON
```
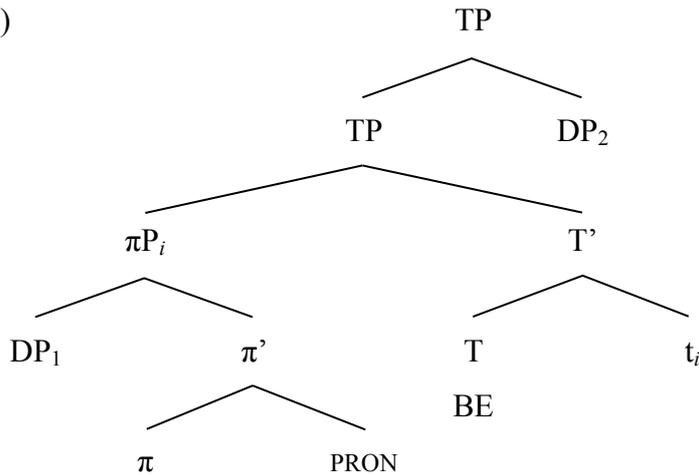
On this analysis, it is impossible to extract the adjunct DP₂ precisely because it is an adjunct. However, the analysis cannot explain why the entire DP adjunct cannot be extracted. Moreover, this derivation does not make provision for DP₂ to receive its nominative case from T as it never enters the agreement domain of T, which violates "the standard minimalist assumption that Probes can only 'probe' downwards, into their complement domain" (Citko 2008:281).

Citko (2008:281) also argues that the predicate inversion analysis of Polish copula clauses should be rejected because inverted variants exist for all three types of copula clauses; these are presented in (127)–(129). Therefore, though inversion accounts are possible in Polish, inversion does not seem to be the only mechanism through which pronominal copula clauses can be derived.

(127) a.   Jan   *jest* moim najlepszym przyjacielem   *verbal copula clauses*
           Jan-NOM is   my   best   friend-INSTR
           "Jan is my best friend."

      b.   Moim najlepszym przyjacielem *jest* Jan.
           my   best   friend-INSTR is   Jan-NOM
           "My best friend is Jan"

(128) a. Jan   *to*   mój najlepszy przyjaciel.   *pronominal copula clauses*

Jan-NOM PRON my   best   friend-NOM

"Jan is my best friend."

   b. Mój najlepszy przyjaciel   *to*   Jan.

   my   best   friend-NOM PRON Jan-NOM

"My best friend is Jan."

(129) a. Jan   *to jest* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.   *dual copula clauses*

Jan-NOM PRON is my   best   friend-NOM

"Jan is my best friend."

   b. Mój najlepszy przyjaciel   *to   jest* Jan.

   my   best   friend-NOM PRON is   Jan-NOM

"My best friend is Jan."

In short, pronominal and dual copula clauses in Polish are not solely derived through inversion, in contrast to the Dutch and West Flemish small clauses that were discussed in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.

In order to propose a structure that would correctly predict the differences between the verbal and pronominal copula clauses in Polish, Citko (2008:282–286) firstly investigates the possibility of a verbal copula clause involving a symmetric underlying structure and a pronominal copula clause involving an asymmetric underlying structure. Secondly, she investigates the reverse, i.e. a pronominal copula clause involving a symmetric structure and a verbal copula clause involving an asymmetric structure. However, Citko (2008:286) finds that neither approach can correctly predict the behaviour of the respective Polish copula clauses. As a result, she proposes that verbal and pronominal copula clauses are "structurally distinct", though neither involves a symmetric underlying structure.

In other words, Citko's (2008:286) proposal does not necessarily involve two separate structures, but rather two different functional heads. She claims that the functional π head can be either "complete" or "defective". The following table shows the properties that differentiate the one head from the other (Citko 2008:287):

69

(130) Two types of π heads

COMPLETE π_{COMPL}	DEFECTIVE π_{DEF}
• eventive	• non-eventive
• case features	• no case features
• no parallelism requirements	• parallelism required[33]

Chomsky (2001:7) defines a defective head as one that lacks a complete set of phi (φ)-features. For example, a defective head differs from a complete head in that it is selected by a V head instead of a C head, it does not have a complete set of φ-features and can therefore not assign case to a goal, whereas the complete head, with its full set of φ-features, assigns case to a suitable goal within its domain. Citko (2008:287) states that defective heads include "T heads in raising or ECM structures, and *v* heads in passive or unaccusative structures"; a defective head, then, is the head of a weak phase.

Harves (2002:111–112) and Matushansky (2000:300) apply this definition of a defective head to small clauses with nominative and instrumental predicates in Russian. They claim that these small clauses are headed by either a weak or a strong phase head, respectively, in the same manner as a *v*P can be strong or weak. Therefore, defective small clauses with nominative predicates cannot undergo *wh*-movement because the phase head lacks the necessary EPP feature to allow for *wh*-extraction. But, nominative subjects can be extracted as they are already on the edge of their phase making them accessible to the higher phase according to Chomsky's (2001:108) phase impenetrability condition:

(131) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

However, Citko (2008:287) argues that the definition she adopts for 'defective head' is stronger than the one provided above, since in Polish pronominal and dual copula clauses neither the predicate nor the subject can be grammatically extracted. The nominative subject at the edge of the phase is also inaccessible to movement operations, as illustrated in (132).

---

[33] According to Citko (2008:288) the "parallelism requirement" refers to the head of these phrases requiring that both its complement and specifier must be of the same category.

(132) a.　　*_Kto_ myślisz,　że ~~kto~~ to　(jest)?

　　　　　　who think.2SG that　PRON (is)

　　　　　　"Who do you think that this is?"

　　 b.　　*_Kto_ myślisz,　że Jan to　(jest) ~~kto~~?

　　　　　　who think.2SG that Jan PRON (is)

　　　　　　"Who do you think that this is?"

Though subject extraction is not possible in Polish pronominal and dual copula clauses, it is generally fine for Polish verbal copula clauses, as demonstrated in section 3.3.2. Therefore, Citko (2008:287) argues that the impossibility of extraction from pronominal and dual copula clauses in Polish "cannot follow from πP being a weak phase". Instead, she argues that the deficient π head of these copula clauses should rather be likened to the deficient conjunction head, which she assumes to have the following structure (Citko 2008:288):

(133)

```
          &P
         /  \
        XP   &'
            /  \
        &_def   XP
```
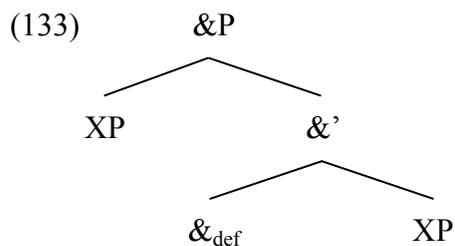
Citko's (2008:288) abovementioned argument is substantiated by a number of similarities between the defective π head in pronominal and dual copula clauses in Polish and the conjunction head: (i) both require "parallelism" (cf. note 31); (ii) in both cases extraction is blocked for both the specifier and the complement; and (iii) the complement in both structures is not valued for case by the head, but both DPs bear the same case. These three points are illustrated for conjunction sentences in (134a–c) respectively:

(134) a.　　*I saw John and smart.

　　 b.　　*_Who_ did you see ~~who~~ and Bill?

　　 c.　　I like him and her/*she.

Adopting the featural make-up of conjunction sentences as a point of departure for the analysis of pronominal and dual copula clauses, Citko (2008) identifies a number of differences between the respective π heads in verbal and pronominal copula clauses. These

differences correctly predict the behaviour of the respective clauses. Firstly, Citko (2008:288) provides a structure for verbal copula clauses that "is headed by a complete π" and "filled by the verbal copula *być*" ("be"). This is presented in (135):

(135)

```
                    TP
                   /   \
                        T'
                       /   \
                      T      πP
                 [uφ], [EPP] /  \
                            DP    π'
                      [uC], [φ:3sg] / \
                                   π   DP
                           [uφ], ([EPP]) [uC], [φ:3sg]
                              be
```
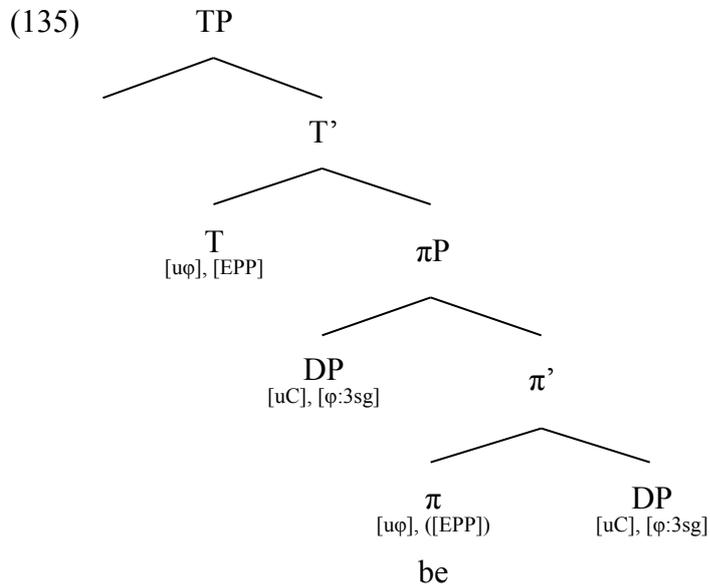
The complete π head (containing φ-features and an optional EPP feature) provides the case feature on its DP complement with the instrumental value. In turn, the T head values the case feature on the subject DP as nominative. The subject DP then values the φ-features on the T head and is raised to [spec, TP] to fulfil the EPP feature on the T head, giving rise to the following structure (Citko 2008:289):

(136)

```
                    TP
                   /   \
                 DP      T'
        [uC:Nom], [φ:3sg] / \
                          T    πP
                   [uφ:3sg], [EPP] / \
                                  DP   π'
                            [uC], [φ:3sg] / \
                                         π   DP
                                   [uφ:3sg] [uC:Instr], [φ:3sg]
```
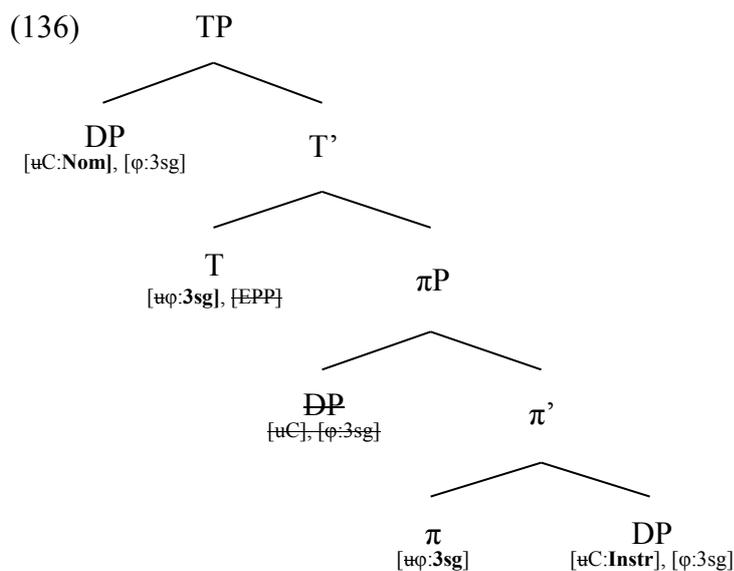
The π head's EPP feature is realised in cases where *wh*-movement takes place. Here the complement is moved "successive cyclically". As a result, the complete π embodies the "strong phase" definition as set out by Chomsky (2001) and correctly predicts the grammaticality of *wh*-movement for both the subject and predicate in verbal copula clauses in Polish (cf. section 3.3.2).

Secondly, Citko (2008:289–290) presents structures for the pronominal and dual copula clauses in Polish. Both these structures comprise a defective π head, and the pronominal copula is merged directly into T. The only difference, then, between the pronominal and dual copula clauses is that the π head is only filled in dual copula clauses, in which case it holds the verbal copula *jest* ("be"). Examples of these are presented in (137) and (138) respectively:

(137) a.　Warszawa to　stolica　　Polski.

　　　　　Warsaw　PRON capital-NOM Poland-GEN

　　　　　"Warsaw is the capital of Poland."
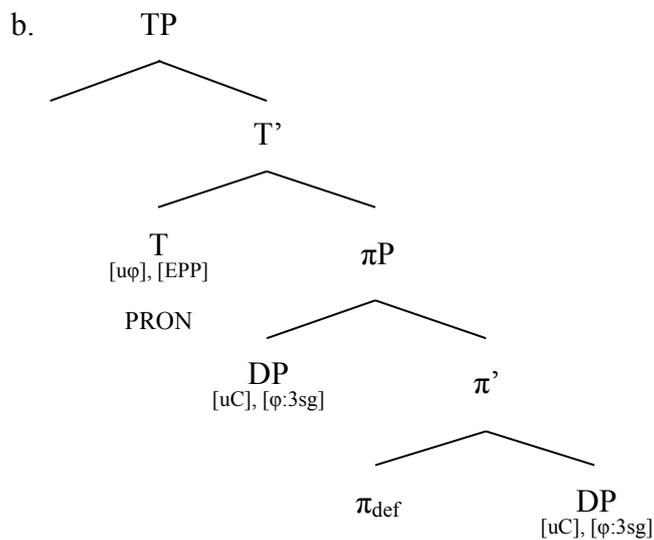
b.

```
              TP
             /  \
                 T'
                /  \
              T      πP
          [uφ], [EPP]  /  \
                      DP    π'
            PRON  [uC], [φ:3sg]  /  \
                           π_def   DP
                                [uC], [φ:3sg]
```

(138) a. Warszawa to jest stolica Polski.

   Warsaw PRON is capital Poland

   "Warsaw is the capital of Poland."

b.

```
                        TP
                       /  \
                          T'
                         /  \
                       T      πP
                  [uφ], [EPP] /  \
                    PRON    DP    π'
                         [uC], [φ:3sg] / \
                              π_def    DP
                               be   [uC], [φ:3sg]
```
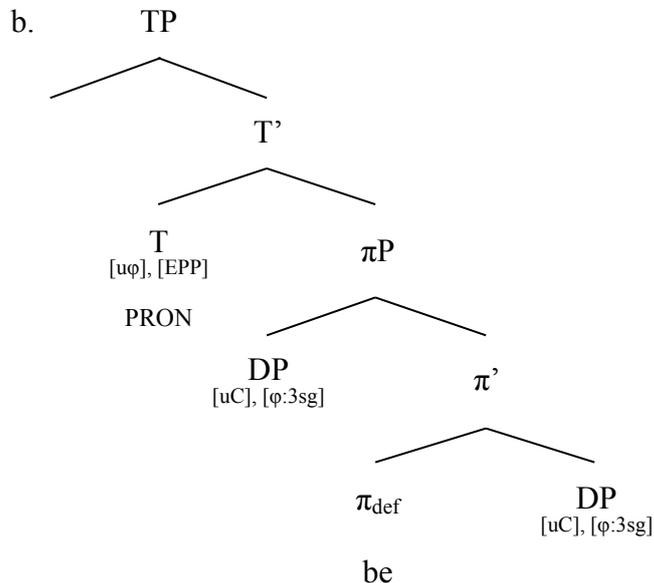
Citko (2008:290) argues that although it is the verbal copula that is marked for tense, it does not overtly adjoin to the pronominal copula under T. If the verbal copula were to adjoin under the T a number of problems would arise. Firstly, the word order would be incorrect:

(139) *Warszawa jest to stolica Polski.

  Warsaw is PRON capital Poland

  "Warsaw is the capital of Poland."

Secondly, if one were to assume that the two copulas are adjoined then one could rightly assume that they enter into an adjacency relationship. However, this is not the case as "negation, modals, and adverbs can intervene between the pronominal and verbal copula" (Citko 2008:291). This is illustrated in the data from Rutkowski (2006:170–1) provided in (140)–(142) respectively.

74

(140) a.   Waterloo to   *nie* było zwycięstwo.

          Waterloo PRON NEG was   victory

          "Waterloo wasn't a victory."

    b.   *Waterloo *nie*   to   było zwycięstwo.

          Waterloo NEG PRON was   victory

(141) a.   Waterloo to   *mogło* być zwycięstwo.

          Waterloo PRON could   be   victory

          "Waterloo could have been a victory."

    b.   *Waterloo *mogło* to   być zwycięstwo.

          Waterloo could PRON be   victory

(142) a.   Waterloo to   *naprawdę* było zwycięstwo.

          Waterloo PRON indeed   was   victory

          "Waterloo was indeed victory."

    b.   *Waterloo *naprawdę* to   było zwycięstwo.

          Waterloo indeed   PRON was   victory

Citko (2008:291) points out four properties of the pronominal and dual copula clauses as they relate to the defective π head. The first relates to the absence of an "eventuality variable".[34] She argues that this absence accounts for the interpretation restrictions posed on these copula clauses in that they can only receive individual interpretations or so-called "life-time effects" for past tense dual copula clauses.

The second differentiating property relates to the notion of parallelism mentioned above, where the defective π head, like the & conjunction head, requires that both the specifier and the complement be of the same category. Citko (2008:291) assumes that this is due to the defective heads' lack of c-selection features. That is, these heads must copy the selectional features of a higher head.

---

[34] Ramchand (2005:361) describes the "eventuality variable" as the "abstract hook" that links "the verbal descriptions with the participants expressed by the subject and the object that go with it".

The third property that defines the defective π head is its lack of φ-features, which results in its inability to assign case to its complement. As a result, T is the only complete functional head with the necessary φ-features to value the unmarked case features of the subject and complement of π, as both of them fall under the T head's domain. The mechanism by which T marks both the specifier and the complement involves the following "multiple agree" operation proposed by Hiraiwa (2005:17):

(143) Multiple Agree (P, ∀G)

Agree is a derivationally simultaneous operation Agree (P, ∀G):

$P_{u\varphi} > G_{uCase,\varphi} > G_{uCase,\varphi}$

Citko (2008:292) argues that when multiple agree is performed on copula clauses, both the subject and the predicate are assigned nominative case. She illustrates this in the following structure:

(144)

```
                TP
               /  \
                   T'
                  /  \
                 T     πP
              [φ:3sg]  /  \
                 to   DP    π'
                  [C:Nom], [φ:3sg]  /  \
                    Warszawa    π_def    DP
                                         [C:Nom], [φ:3sg]
                              jest         /\
                                     stolica Polski
```
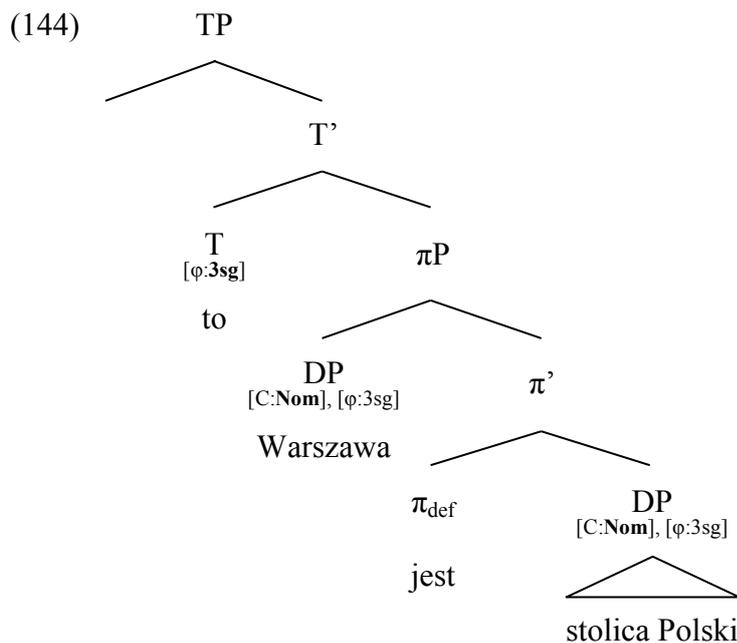
The final property presented to differentiate the defective π head from the complete π head – and which distinguishes it from the defective (or weak) head as defined by Chomsky (2001) – concerns the restrictions on movement. Dual and pronominal copula clauses in Polish block movement for both the subject and the predicate, as shown by the following examples:

76

(145) a. *Kto myślisz, że ~~kto~~ to (jest)?

      who think.2SG that   PRON (is)

    "Who do you think that this is?"

    b.   *Kto myślisz, że Jan to (jest) ~~kto~~?

      who think.2SG that Jan PRON (is)

    "Who do you think that this is?"   (Citko 2008:292)

Citko (2008:292) argues that this restriction cannot stem from Chomsky's (2001) definition as other weak phases, like passives and unaccusatives in Polish, are not subject to it; this is illustrated in (146a–b) respectively:

(146) a.   Kto ~~kto~~ został oszukany?

    who   became deceived

    "Who was deceived?"

    b.   Kto wydaje ci   się, że ~~kto~~ został oszukany?

    who seems you-DAT REFL that   became deceived

    "Who do you think was deceived?"

Citko (2008:293) assumes that the restriction on extraction rather stems from the parallelism requirement inherent to defective π. In other words, if either the specifier or the complement of the π head is replaced by a trace, then they will no longer be of the same category and this will cause the derivation to crash.

To sum up, Citko (2008) provides two potential structures for small clauses, a symmetrical underlying structure and an asymmetrical one. She claims that it is not two separate structures that give rise to the conflicting data from verbal versus dual and pronominal copula clauses in Polish, but rather an asymmetrical structure headed by two distinct heads with varying restrictions that predict their behaviour more accurately. This asymmetrical structure is not too dissimilar to the one provided by Bennis et al. (1998) and Haegeman (2010) (cf. sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2).

3.5 Summary and brief outline of a new proposal

After reviewing a number of arguments for small clauses as a distinct syntactic entity, this chapter provided a brief outline of some of the subtypes of small clauses that were identified in chapter 1. Firstly, attention was given to resultative small clauses. Since this type of clause

has been extensively researched from the perspective of numerous languages, it allows for cross-examination and broader generalisations of the nature of small clauses.

Next, Polish copula clauses were examined. Polish contains three distinct tense-related copula clauses (in that they are marked for tense), namely verbal, pronominal and dual copula clauses (where the latter contains both the verbal and pronominal copula elements). Though many of their attributes are not applicable to Afrikaans, the Polish copula clauses provide a basis from which to analyse the specific structure of small clauses as set out by Citko (2008).

Finally, attention was given to small clauses that are formed through predicate inversion. The subtypes of such small clauses that were discussed include three from Dutch, namely (i) *N van een N*, (ii) *wat voor* interrogative, and (iii) *wat* exclamatives; and two from West Flemish, namely (i) *wek* interrogatives and (ii) *zuk* demonstratives. Using these constructions as a basis, Bennis et al. (1998) and Haegeman (2010) posit a general structure for small clauses, which was then discussed in conjunction with Citko's (2008) suggestion.

As was noted in section 3.4, the broad generalisation that a functional category is merged into a small clause derivation in order to facilitate predicate inversion is generally accepted in the literature. However, as is clear from the key sources used above, there is no consensus regarding the exact nature of the functional category associated with small clauses. Bennis et al. (1998) and Haegeman (2010) posit a distinct functional category, which they simply refer to as "X" merged with "F"; Citko (2008) proposes a similar category, namely "π". In view of the minimalist aim of simplifying and reducing the set of grammatical devices, the following is now proposed regarding the functional category in question: in keeping with the idea that verbal and nominal expressions, among others, are projections of a so-called "light category" (i.e. a light verb and a light noun, respectively[35]), small clauses are also claimed to be projections of an existing light category (e.g. a light verb) instead of a novel functional category such as the arbitrarily named "X" or "π". Some of the consequences of this proposal will be addressed in the next chapter.

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[35] For more on light categories – i.e. light verbs, nouns and prepositions – cf. e.g. É. Kiss (1998); Oosthuizen (2000, 2013); Stroik (2001); Baker (2003); Folli & Harley (2004, 2007); Kenesei (2005); Chomsky (2006); and Zeller (2008).

Chapter 4
An analysis of Afrikaans small clauses

4.1   Introduction

This chapter focuses on the syntax of Afrikaans small clauses. The analysis is presented against the background of the discussion in Chapter 3 of the various small clauses in Dutch, English, Polish and West Flemish. Chapter 4 is divided into four main sections. The aim of the first section is to expand on the proposal made in section 3.5 according to which the functional element that constitutes the small clause head is taken to be a light verb with specific properties, depending on the subtype of small clause. This proposal is presented within the specific theoretic framework adopted by Oosthuizen (2013) for his analysis of obligatory reflexivity in Afrikaans; this framework is in accordance with the general assumptions and concepts of Minimalist Syntax as set out in chapter 2.

Next, attention is given to a number of different types of Afrikaans small clauses in order to establish whether, or to which extent, the Afrikaans subtypes behave in a similar manner to the Polish and West Germanic subtypes examined in Chapter 3. The discussion is organised into three sections, namely resultative small clauses (4.3), copula clauses (4.4), and predicate inversion-related small clauses (4.5). The findings of the investigation are summarised in section 4.6.

4.2   Specific theoretic framework

The term "clause" is traditionally used to refer to a construction that consists of a subject argument and a predicate, where the latter may co-occur with one or more complements and adjuncts. The predicate in such constructions is predominantly a lexical verb (Radford 2009:447). However, the traditional definition of a clause does not account for the "clause-like" character of small clauses, where an argument-predicate relationship exists between a subject and a non-verbal predicate. Oosthuizen (2013:158), expanding on Fromkin's (2000:133) definition, states that small clauses comprise clause-like expressions that "are 'smaller' than finite and infinitival clauses in the sense that 'they do not contain complementizers, auxiliary verbs, tense markers, or elements similar to the [English – JO] particle *to* preceding the verb in an infinitive'".

It is generally assumed in the literature that small clauses are projections of some or other functional category. However, the specific nature of such a small clause functional head remains unclear.[1] Moreover, the claims that have been put forward in this regard do not account for the "clause-like" character of small clauses referred to above. This potential objection could perhaps be overcome by Oosthuizen's (2013) proposal that was outlined in section 3.5 according to which the functional category heading a small clause is a light verb. In other words, if one were to assume that the small clause head is a light verb v that does not select a tense-related verbal element as its complement, but rather a non-verbal predicate, then small clauses would adhere to the traditional definition of clauses. Oosthuizen (2013:112) suggests that this light verb is "defective" in that it only has the feature [+V] and an additional feature relating to interpretation, lacking for example φ-features, a θ-feature, and a tense feature, making it a "highly 'stripped down' category".[2]

Kruger (2011:3), following Ramchand (2008) and Lundquist (2008), among others, argues that the additional feature or 'syntactic-semantic feature' (informally named [syn-sem]) of the sc-v correlates with the interpretation of the small clause, including features such as [init(iation)], [proc(ess)], etc. It could then be argued that the interpretation of copula clauses (see section 3.3.2) and other small clause types can be adduced to the nature of the [syn-sem] feature of the sc-v. On this view, then, the interpretations given in section 3.3.2 would stem from the following [syn-sem] features: [pred(icational)], [eq(uative)], [spec(ificational)], and [iden(tificational)].[3] This idea is by no means novel; Oosthuizen (2013:111–2) argues that

---

[1] As previously pointed out, this category is identified as the novel functional category X by Bennis et al. (1998) and π by Citko (2008). For other analyses of the internal structure of small clauses, cf. e.g. Williams (1983); Hoekstra (1988a,b, 1992); Anderson et al. (1995); Bowers (1997, 2001); Adger and Ramchand (2003); Den Dikken (2006).

[2] Oosthuizen's definition of a "defective" head is similar to the definition given for the defective copula clause head in section 3.4.3, based on Matushansky (2000); Chomsky (2001); Harves (2002); Adger and Ramchand (2003); Citko (2008). In section 3.4.3, the small clause head is likened to a light verb in that it can either be a strong head (with a full complement of features) or a weak head (with limited features). Therefore, it seems plausible that this similarity supports the assumption that the small clause head is in essence a weak/defective light verb.

[3] Cf. e.g. Higgins (1973) for these features. The features most commonly used in the literature on resultative small clauses are [eq], [proc], [stat(ive)] and [event(ive)]. In terms of these four features, respectively, the small clause interpretation would be as follows: (i) "equative", as discussed in relation with obligatory reflexives where the one DP is said to be equal to the other (cf. e.g. Oosthuizen 2013); (ii) "(dynamic) process" (cf. e.g. Ramchand 2008; Kruger 2011); (iii) "stative" in that a state of being is/was brought about (cf. e.g. Basillico 2008; Hong and Lasnik 2010); and (iv) "eventive" showing that an event is/was brought about (cf. e.g. Hong and Lasnik 2010).

obligatory reflexive small clauses have what he refers to as an "[eq] feature". This feature ensures the grammaticality of a sentence like (1a) in which the small clause subject *hom* ("him") is interpreted as "equal to" the matrix clause subject *die man* ("the man"), as opposed to (1b) where *hom* refers to a masculine entity other than *die man*.

(1) a. Die man$_i$ skree hom$_i$ hees.

the man shouts him hoarse

"The man shouts himself hoarse."

b. *die man$_i$ skree hom$_j$ hees

Since the sc-v essentially comprises only a [+V] and a [syn-sem] feature, it follows that the syntactic character of the clause is determined by the non-verbal predicate that the light verb selects as its complement (e.g. DP, AP, PP, etc.), whereas the interpretation is determined by the [syn-sem] feature of the sc-v.

The general ideas underlying the proposal set out above can be expressed by adapting the structures put forward by Bennis et al. (1998) and Citko (2008) – presented as (67) and (122) respectively in Chapter 3, and repeated in (2) and (3) for convenience – as indicated in (4), where sc-v represents the functional category in question.

(2)

```
              FP
            /    \
         Spec     F'
         LP      /   \
             F + X    XP
                     /   \
                  Spec    X'
                         /   \
                        X     LP
                        X̶     L̶P̶
```

(3)

```
              TP
          _____
                    T'
              _____
            T            πP
                    _____
                SUBJECT         π'
                            _____
                           π        PREDICATE
```

(4)

```
           sc-vP
        _____
    SUBJECT       sc-v'
                _____
             sc-v        PREDICATE
         [+V]; [syn-sem]    [-V]
```
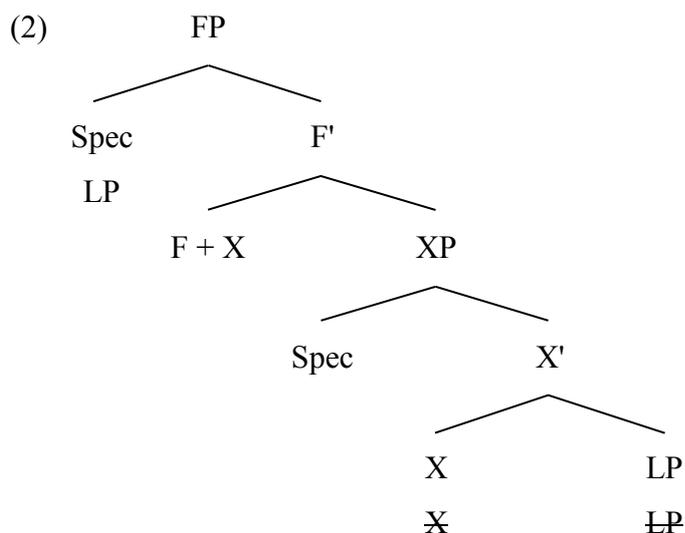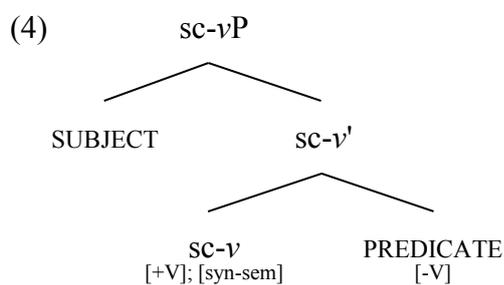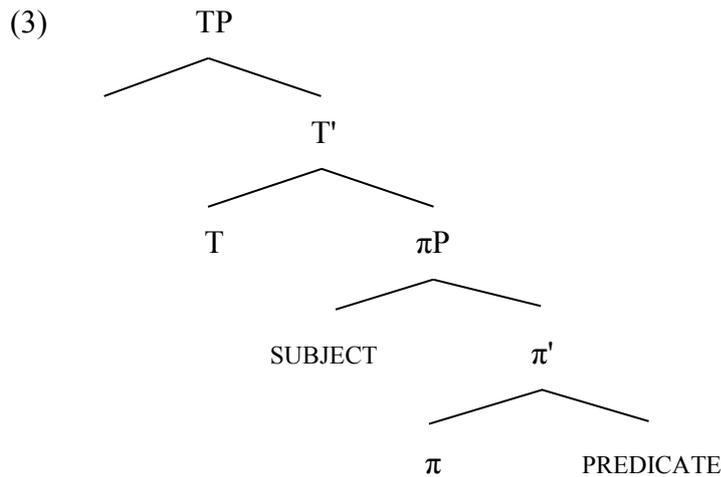
In the event that the derivation requires an additional structural position to accommodate the effect of predicate inversion – as required in the case of, for example, the Dutch *N van een N* construction (see section 3.4) – it is assumed that the sc-*v* can project further to provide such a position. This would obviate the need for positing an additional functional element to accommodate the *van* in the Dutch *N van een N* construction, which – in terms of Bennis et al.'s (1998:90) analysis – involves merging the small clause head X with a functional category F. Rather, according to the analysis in (4), *van* would represent an adjunct that brings about an extension of the sc-*v*. This idea is based on the manner in which adverbs are commonly assumed to enter into a derivation: not by selecting the verbal expression that it modifies as its complement, but rather by being adjoined to such an expression, hence extending it to "a larger projection of the same type", as indicated by the superscripts 2 and 3 in the structure below (Radford 2009:349).[4]

---

[4] Also see Adger (2003:112) for a similar account of adjunction.

(5)   sc-vP^3

ADDITIONAL   sc-vP^2
LANDING SITE

          ADJUNCT   sc-vP

               SUBJECT   sc-v'
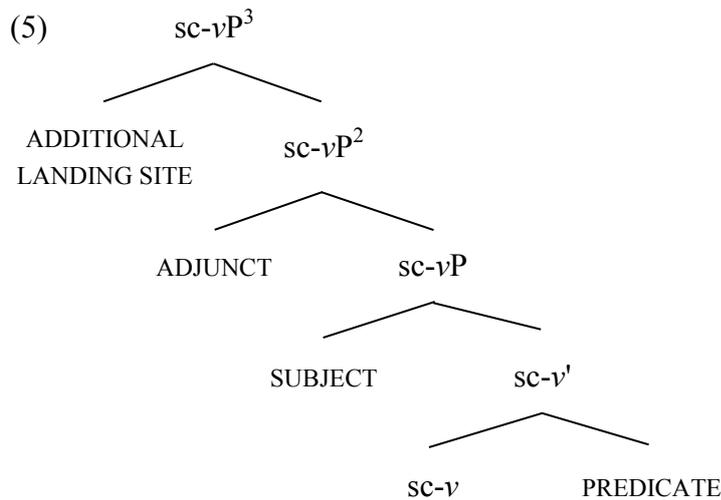
                    sc-v PREDICATE

The consequences of analysing Afrikaans resultative small clauses, copula clauses and predicate inversion-related small clauses in terms of the ideas incorporated in (4) and (5) will be examined in the next three sections.

4.3   Resultative small clauses

As discussed in Chapter 3, resultative clauses contain a matrix verb that selects a small clause complement, where the small clause represents the state resulting from the action expressed by the matrix verb. The aim of this section is to investigate whether Afrikaans resultatives show the same characteristics as those described previously (see 3.3.1). More specifically, what needs to be established is whether the derivation of resultative small clauses in Afrikaans can be accounted for – as in for instance Dutch and English – without appealing to overly complex restrictions, if any, on selection. Neither the type of matrix verb nor the type of small clause complement is specific to resultative small clauses, or excluded from them. Therefore, it seems plausible that Afrikaans resultative clauses are equally unrestricted in their distribution. As illustrated in (6) and (7), respectively, Afrikaans resultative small clause can be selected as a complement of both intransitive and transitive matrix verbs, where the complements contain either an AP, PP or particle as secondary predicate.

(6)   a.   Hy eet homself [AP dik].
           he eat himself full
           "He gorges himself."

    b.   Hulle praat haar [AP deurmekaar].

           they speak her   confused

           "Their speaking causes her to be confused."

(7)   a.   Hy draai die kraan [PAR toe].[5]

           he turn the tap   closed

           "He closed the tap by turning it."

    b.   Sy sny die mes   [AP stomp].

           she cut the knife blunt

           "The way she cuts is blunting the knife."

    c.   Ons wurg die waarheid [PP uit hom (uit)].[6]

           we wring the truth   out him out

           "We wring the truth out of him."

Furthermore, Hoekstra (1992) demonstrates that resultative small clauses in Dutch and English can be selected by (i) an unergative intransitive verb; (ii) a pseudo-transitive verb that cannot select a postverbal DP without a secondary predicate; and (iii) a transitive verb that can select a postverbal DP without a secondary predicate.[7] The Afrikaans examples in (8), (9) and (10), respectively, show the same pattern, barring the slight word order variation illustrated by the past tense examples where the small clause follows the aspectual (past tense) auxiliary *het* ("have") but precedes the matrix verb.

(8)   a.   Hulle het   die stoele blink gesit.

           They have the chairs shiny sat

           "They sat the chairs shiny."

---

[5] For more on small clauses containing particle verbs, cf. e.g. Hoekstra (1988a,b, 1992); Bennis et al. (1998); Cornilescu (2004); and Basilico (2008).

[6] Though not generally found in standard varieties of Afrikaans, cases of preposition doubling are common in colloquial varieties; cf. e.g. Oosthuizen (2000, 2013); Biberauer (2008a); Biberauer et al. (2008b, 2009); and De Vos (2009). This phenomenon is also found in some Flemish dialects; cf. Aelbrecht and den Dikken (2011); Biberauer et al. (2014).

[7] As indicated in 3.3.1, though sentences of the type in (iii) are acceptable, they do not have a resultative interpretation without the secondary predicate.

> b. Die man huil sy oë uit.
>
>   The man cries his eyes out
>
>   "The man cries his eyes out."
>
> c. Die seun slaap sy dae om.
>
>   The boy sleeps his days over
>
>   "The boy sleeps his days away."

(9) a. Sarie het die seep *(uit haar oë (uit)) gewas.

    Sarie has the soap out her eyes out washed

    "Sarie washed the soap out of her eyes."

    b. Hulle dra die winkel *(leeg).

    They carry the shop   empty

    "They empty the shop."

    c. Koos drink hom *(simpel).

    Koos drinks him   silly

    "Koos drinks himself silly."

(10) a. Die man het die dak (rooi) geverf.

    The man has the roof red   painted

    "The man painted the roof red.

    b. Die man het die straat (skoon) gevee.

    The man has the street clean swept

    "The man swept the street clean."

    c. Die man het die muur (stukkend) geslaan.

    The man has the wall   broken   hit

    "The man broke the wall down."

One of the features that Hoekstra (1988a, 1992) identifies of resultative small clauses in English concerns the phenomenon of floating quantifiers. Quantifier floating is possible in sentences where the transitive verb takes a small clause complement, but not in those that do not contain a secondary predicate (cf. 3.3.1). In similar sentences in Afrikaans, such as those in (10), this is not the case. Afrikaans contains the universal quantifiers *al* and *almal* as

counterparts of English *all*.[8] However, Oosthuizen (2013:131–138) argues that the prenominal form *al* and the postnominal form *almal* are two distinct quantifying expressions that take different though clearly related forms: (i) a "lexical (universal) quantifier (Q)" that indicates the quantity of entities referred to by the nominal expression it modifies; and (ii) a floating quantifier (FQ) that is headed by a "quantity focus light noun". In essence, what is generally referred to as a "floating/postposed quantifier" is not the same quantifier that is simply separated from the nominal expression, but rather a distinctly different pronoun-like element that enters the derivation separately. Consider the following examples based on (10) above in which the (a) sentence contains a Q; (b) contains an FQ with the secondary predicate and (c) contains an FQ without the secondary predicate. Note that the quantifying elements Q and FQ are (at least in these cases) in complementary distribution: Q can only occur to the left of the nominal expression it modifies whereas the FQ can only occur in postnominal position.[9]

(11) a.   Die man het al/[?]*almal die dakke (rooi) geverf.

      The man has   all   the roofs red   painted

      "The man painted all the roofs (red)."

      b.   Die man het die dakke *al/almal rooi geverf.

      c.   Die man het die dakke *al/almal geverf.

(12) a.   Die man het al/[?]*almal die strate (skoon) gevee.

      The man has   all   the streets clean swept

      "The man swept all the streets clean."

      b.   Die man het die strate *al/almal skoon gevee.

      c.   Die man het die strate *al/almal gevee.

---

[8] Two related quantifiers in Afrikaans are *alle* and *algar*; the former only occurs with a "determiner-less" plural noun (e.g. *alle (*die) kinders* ("all (the) children")), whereas the latter is an obsolete variant of *almal*. Cf. e.g. Oosthuizen (1989).

[9] The FQ form *almal* ("all") can also occur as a "Q-pronoun" (cf. Radford 2009) as indicated in (i):

(i)   almal verf hul dakke rooi
         all   paint their roofs red
         "They are all painting their roofs red"

It should be noted that (a) sentences of the type in (11) do occur with *almal* in prenominal position in some non-standard varieties of Afrikaans. Also, the (b) and (c) sentences are grammatical when the form *al* is used as an adverb with the interpretation "already".

(13) a.   Die man het al/$^?$*almal die mure (stukkend) geslaan.

The man has   all   the walls broken   hit

"The man broke all the walls down."

b.   Die man het die mure *al/almal stukkend geslaan.

c.   Die man het die mure *al/almal geslaan.

Moreover, Afrikaans resultative small clauses are largely similar to the Dutch ones regarding the position that a PP can occupy in the derivation. According to the data presented by Hoekstra (1992), Dutch PPs can generally occur pre- or postverbally (cf. (5) in 3.2) – this characteristic is shared by Afrikaans PPs:[10]

(14) a.   dat Jan oor die weer praat / praat oor die weer

that Jan about the weather talks / talks about the weather

"that Jan talks about the weather."

b.   dat Jan daar sy meisie ontmoet / sy meisie   daar ontmoet

that Jan there his girlfriend meet   / his girlfriend there meet

"that Jan met his girlfriend there."

In cases where the Dutch PP is a small clause secondary predicate, it can only occur preverbally. For Afrikaans, however, the PP secondary predicate can occur in at least three positions: if the small clause were the complement (i) of a present tense matrix verb, then the PP occurs postverbally (15a); (ii) of a past tense matrix verb, then the PP occurs preverbally (15b); and (iii) of a complement clause, then the PP can only occur preverbally regardless of the tense (15c,d).

(15) a.   Jan skeur die brief in stukke.

Jan tear   the letter in pieces

"Jan tears the letter to shreds."

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[10] Oosthuizen (2013:70) shows that the word order in Afrikaans sentences containing PPs can follow three possible patterns. Even though sentences of the type in (ii) and (iii) are not as common as the type in (i), they are all three acceptable:

(i)   (dat) die man die verantwoordelikheid op hom neem.   (subj–obj–PP compl–verb)
       that the man the   responsibility   on him takes
       "(that) the man takes responsibility."
(ii)   (dat) die man op hom die verantwoordelikheid neem.   (subj–PP compl–obj–verb)
(iii) (dat) die man die verantwoordelikheid neem op hom.   (subj–obj–verb–PP compl)

b. Jan het die brief in stukke geskeur/*geskeur in stukke.

Jan has the letter in pieces   tore   /   tore   in pieces

"Jan tore the letter to shreds."

c. dat Jan die brief in stukke skeur/*skeur in stukke.

that Jan the letter in pieces tears /   tore in pieces

"… that Jan tears the letter to shreds"

d. dat Jan die brief in stukke geskeur het/*geskeur het in stukke.

that Jan the letter in pieces   torn   has/   torn   has in pieces

"… that Jan tore the letter to shreds"

Furthermore, though there does not seem to be any syntactic restriction on the selection of resultative small clause complements, there are some semantic restrictions. Support for this claim is provided by cases where Dutch and Afrikaans stative verbs like *vinden* and *vind* ("find") select a small clause complement on a purely grammatical basis, that is, without any semantic considerations. In such cases, the clause cannot receive a resultative interpretation, as can be illustrated with the examples in (16). In each of these sentences, the state of the small clause subject *die meisie* ("the girl") cannot be taken to be the result of the action expressed by the matrix verb. For instance, in (a) the fact that Piet found the girl is not the reason why she is dead; and in (b) Koos cannot get the girl to leave simply by wishing it.[11]

(16) a. *Piet vind die meisie dood.

 Piet finds the girl   dead

"Piet finds the girl dead."

b. *Koos wens die meisie uit sy kamer (uit).

 Koos wishes the girl   out his room out

"Koos wishes the girl out of his room."

In sum, it should be clear from the above that Afrikaans resultative small clauses have largely similar characteristics to those described in Chapter 3 for Dutch and English. An exception is the manner in which transitive verbs relate to so-called "floating quantifiers" in cases where the secondary predicate is absent. As noted in section 3.2, this characteristic is often used to illustrate the nature of small clauses as a distinct type of construction. However, rather than

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[11] These sentences would be grammatical with a non-resultative interpretation.

strengthen the case for small clauses, the above discussion of the Afrikaans facts raises doubts about the status of floating quantifiers as simply the postposed versions of prenominal quantifiers; as pointed out, an alternative approach would be to analyse them as distinct lexical elements that enter the derivation independent of prenominal Qs.

Against this background, let us now consider an analysis of Afrikaans resultative small clauses in terms of the structure proposed in (5). The analysis is presented for resultative small clauses with AP, PP and DP secondary predicates. The structure for the resultative small clause with an AP secondary predicate in (17a) is given in (17b).

(17) a.   Die man slaan die muur stukkend.

the man hits the wall broken

"The man breaks the wall down."

b.
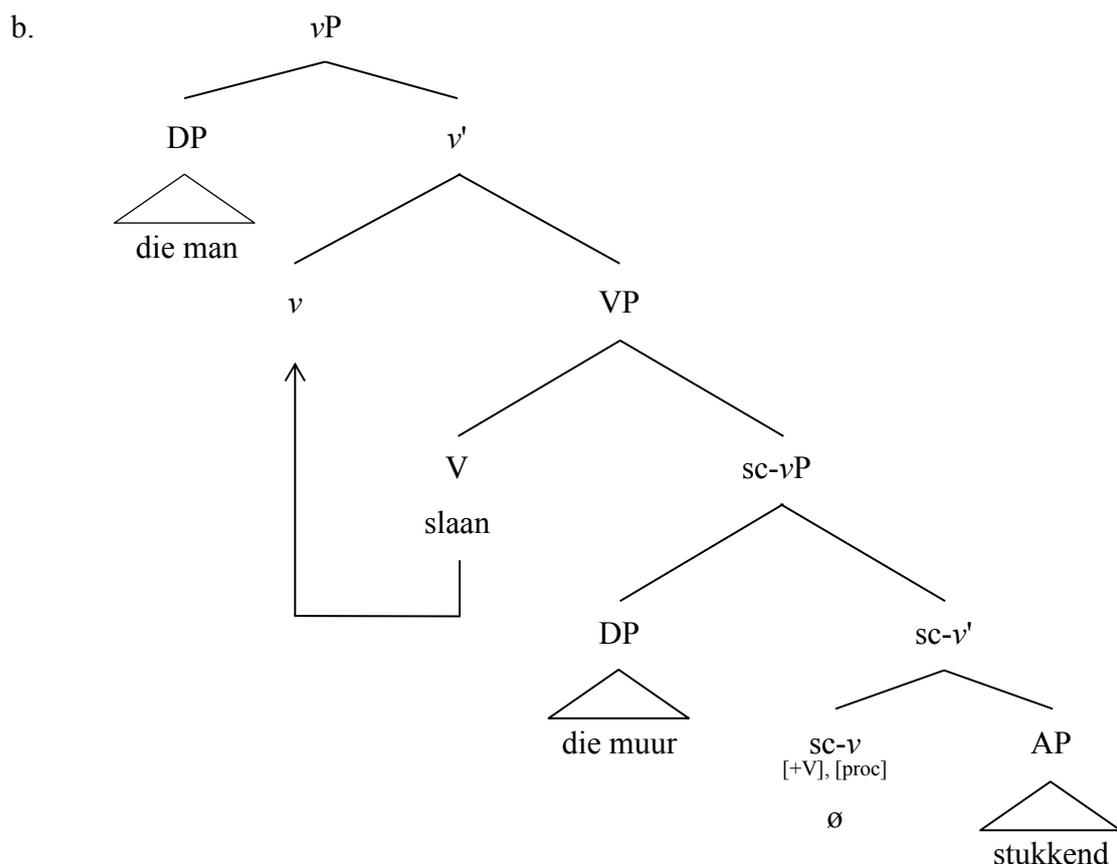
In short, (17b) is derived as follows: the small clause light verb, sc-*v* – with the features [+V] and [proc(ess)] (see section 4.2) – selects the AP secondary predicate *stukkend* as its complement and the DP *die muur* as its specifier. Together these elements comprise the

sc-*v*P. The matrix verb *slaan* subsequently selects the sc-*v*P as its complement. In terms of the VP-shell hypothesis, the VP is merged into the complement position of a nondefective light verb *v* (as opposed to the defective light verb of the small clause – see section 4.1), and V-to-*v* raising is triggered.[12] The DP *die man* is then merged into the specifier position of the *v* as the main clause subject. The [proc] feature of the sc-*v* allows the speaker to imply that the process of the wall breaking is as a result of the man's hitting it.

The second structure relates to a resultative small clause with a PP secondary predicate. The sentence given in (18a) may be represented as in (18b).

(18)   a.   Jan skeur die brief in stukke.

Jan tears the letter in pieces

"Jan tears the letter to shreds."

b.
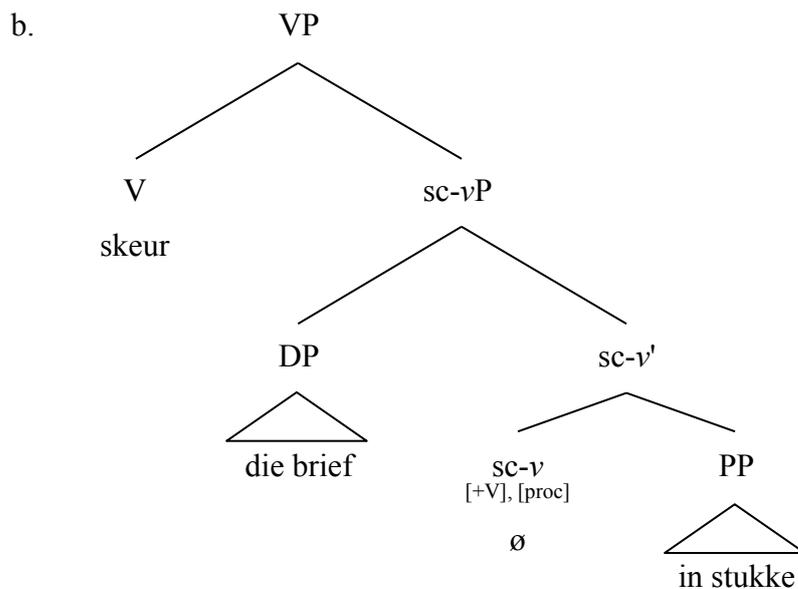
Similar to the structure in (17b), (18b) is derived via the following steps: the small clause light verb, sc-*v* – with the features [+V] and [proc] – selects the PP secondary predicate *in stukke* as its complement and the DP *die brief* as its specifier, to form the sc-*v*P. The matrix verb *skeur* then selects the sc-*v*P as its complement.

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[12] The arrow in (17b) indicates that the V *slaan* undergoes V-to-*v* raising (cf. i.e. Marantz 1997; Chomsky 2004; Biberauer and Roberts 2006; and Myler 2009). This operation is not indicated in the simplified structures in (18b) and (19b) below. In view of the focus of the present discussion, the structures at hand abstract away from case, φ- and θ-features. This is simply for ease of presentation; however, a brief discussion relating to feature valuation and case assignment is given below.

Finally, in (19a), a resultative small clause that contains a DP secondary predicate is given, and its structural analysis is presented in (19b).

(19) a. Die regter bevind Oscar 'n leuenaar.

The judge finds Oscar a liar

"The judge finds that Oscar is a liar."

b.

```
                        VP
                       /    \
                      V      sc-vP
                    bevind   /    \
                           DP      sc-v'
                          / \      /    \
                       Oscar   sc-v      DP
                            [+V], [proc]  / \
                               ø       'n leuenaar
```
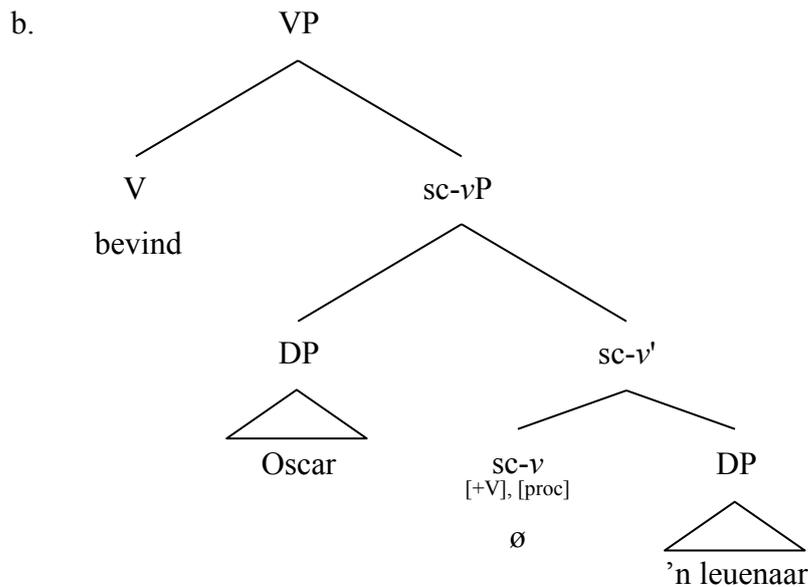
In (19b), the sc-*v*P comprises the sc-*v* – [+V]; [proc] – that selects the secondary predicate DP *'n leuenaar* as its complement and the small clause subject *Oscar* as its specifier. The sc-*v*P is then merged as the complement of the matrix verb *bevind*.

A property that the three resultative small clause structures above have in common is that none of them violates the locality principle (see 4.2), which means that there is no need for the adjunction of additional sc-*v*Ps.

Let us consider, finally, the manner in which case, φ- and θ-features are assigned in resultative small clauses. As suggested previously, sc-*v* is a defective head in that it does not contain any φ- or θ-features, and it cannot assign case. The main question, then, is how the features of the other elements within the small clause are valued. In a sentence like (19a), for instance, the small clause subject *Oscar* can be replaced with a singular, third-person, masculine pronoun; note that the pronoun must be assigned accusative rather than nominative case:

(20)   Die regter bevind (*_hy_)/_hom_ 'n leuenaar.

Because the defective sc-_v_ cannot value case features, such valuation must be ascribed to some other functional head higher up in the structure. The various unvalued features in (19b) are as indicated in (21):

(21)

v'

v
[acc-C], [uφ], [agent-θ]

VP

V
[theme-θ]

bevind

sc-vP

DP
[uC], [φ:3sg], [uθ]

Oscar

sc-v'

sc-v
[+V], [proc]

ø

DP
[uC], [φ:3sg]

'n leuenaar
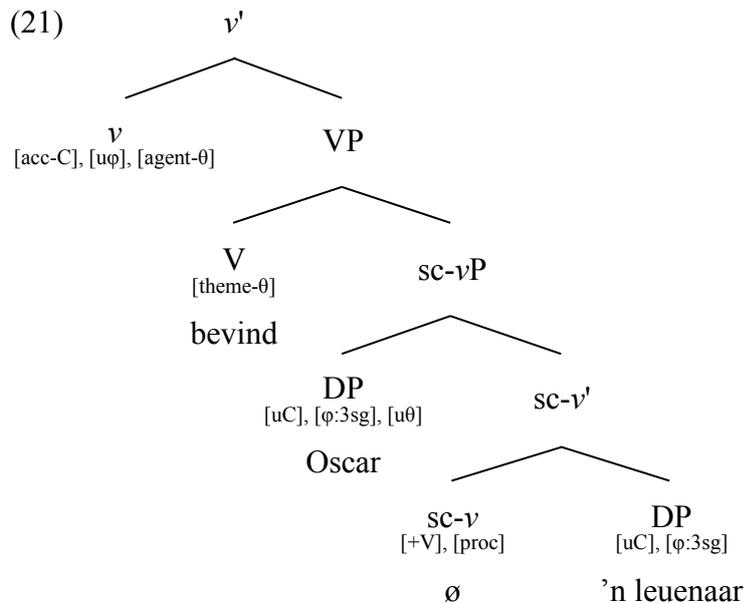
When the sc-_v_P merges with the V _bevind_, the verb's [theme-θ] feature values the [uθ] of the small clause subject _Oscar_. The VP subsequently merges with a light verb with unvalued φ-features, an [acc-case] feature and an [agent-θ] feature, giving rise to V-to-_v_ raising. Simultaneously, the unvalued case features of the small clause DPs _Oscar_ and _'n leuenaar_ are valued for [acc-case] through Hiraiwa's (2005) operation, Multiple Agree (cf. 3.4.3).[13] In turn, (one or both of) these DPs provide the light verb with the φ-values [3sg]. The main clause subject is next merged into [spec,_v_P], with its θ-feature receiving the agent value from the light verb.

4.4   Copula clauses

Afrikaans, like Dutch and English, has only one copula element – the verbal copula – that can be marked for tense. As discussed in section 3.3.2, this type of copula is also found in Polish. However, in contrast to Polish, Afrikaans does not have pronominal or dual copula elements

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[13] Cf. section 3.4.3 for a similar approach to such agreement "parallelism" in Polish copula clauses taken by Citko (2008).

that are interchangeable with the verbal ones. This does not necessarily imply that nominal copulas are entirely absent in Afrikaans. As mentioned in section 3.4.1, Bennis et al. (1998:91) claim that the *van* in Dutch *N van een N* constructions is a nominal copula, although it does not assign case like the Polish nominal copula. Given the close structural similarity between Dutch and Afrikaans, it seems plausible that the *van* in Afrikaans *N van 'n N* constructions also represents a nominal copula. The nature of Afrikaans *N van 'n N* constructions will be discussed in more detail in section 4.5.1.

The Afrikaans verbal copula clause (or copula clause, for short) consists of a subject, the copula verb *wees* ("be") and a complement.[14] Like the Polish verbal copula clause, there do not appear to be any restrictions regarding the category of the complement that is selected, as shown in (22).[15] However, in the case of a DP secondary predicate, this DP has to agree with the relevant φ-features of the DP subject,[16] and it has to co-occur with an appropriate determiner when the subject is in the singular form. Agreement is also required in cases where an AP secondary predicate expresses a gender feature. These facts are illustrated in (22).

(22) a. Marie / sy is [DP *('n) prinses / *prinsesse / *prins].
          Mary / she is   a princess / princesses / prince
          "Mary/she is a princess."

      b. Die man is [AP aantreklik / *swanger].
          The man is   handsome / pregnant
          "The man is handsome."

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[14] The Afrikaans verbal copula *wees* only inflects for tense and not for person or number as its English counterpart *be* does; the different Afrikaans forms are *wees* (infinitival form), *is* (present tense form) and *was* (past tense form).

[15] As pointed out in section 3.3.2, the selection of the subject and the complement is governed by a parallelism requirement in Polish pronominal and dual copula clauses. In terms of this requirement, the two elements (i) have to belong to the same category and (ii), in the case of DPs, have to be assigned the same case. Restriction (i) does not hold for Afrikaans, as shown in (22); we return to restriction (ii) below.

[16] In Afrikaans, such agreement (at least with regard to person, number, gender) is not overtly spelled out if the subject position is filled by expletive *dit* ("it") and *daar* ("there"), as shown in (i):

(i)   a. Dit   was   'n man / mans / 'n meisie / meisies wat deelgeneem het.
          It   was/were a man / men / a girl   / girls   what take-part has
          "It was a man/girl that took part." "It was men/girls that took part."
      b. Daar   was   'n man / mans / 'n meisie / meisies in die kamer.
          There was/were a man / men / a girl   / girls   in the room
          "There was a man/girl in the room." "There were men/girls in the room."

    c.   Die werkers is [PP by die fabriek].

            The workers are   at the factory

            "The workers are at the factory."

    d.   Die feit is [CP dat hy alles verloor het].

            The fact is   that he everything lost has

            "The fact is that he lost everything."

Recall that the Polish verbal copula assigns instrumental case to its secondary predicate (cf. 3.3.2). In contrast, similar to the Polish pronominal copula element, the Afrikaans copula verb in examples like (23) assigns nominative case to its secondary predicate.[17]

(23) a.   (Ek is Bart Nel van   toe af, en) ek is nog *hy*.[18]

           (I   am Bart Nel from then on and) I am still him

           "I have been Bart Nel since then, and I am still him."

    b.   (Marie het baie verander, maar) sy is steeds *sy*.

           (Mary has much changed   but)   she is still she

           "Mary has changed much, but she is still herself."

    c.   (Al   is ons getroud,) ek is *ek* en   hy is *hy*.

           (Even are we married,) I am me and he is him

           "Even though we are married, I am still me and he is still him.

In other words, in cases where the Afrikaans verbal copula is the head of a small clause in which both the subject and the secondary predicate are DPs, a similar case-related "parallelism requirement" to the one that applies for Polish pronominal and dual copula clauses (cf. note 15) seems to apply for Afrikaans. For both languages, this requirement ensures that

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[17] It should be noted, though, that in constructions where an apparent copula verb selects a reflexive pronoun as its complement, the pronoun takes the accusative form, as shown in (i).

(i)   Marie is (nie) *haarself* (nie).
       Mary is not herself   not
       "Mary is (not) herself."

It could perhaps be argued that the verb in sentences like (i) does not represent a "true" copula. Intuitively, in this case *is* seems to express the manner in which Marie "behaves" or is perceived, rather than who/what she "embodies" (e.g. a princess as in (22a)). On this view, then, (i) would not represent a conventional small clause. This phenomenon will not be pursued here and is left as a topic for further investigation.

[18] Van Melle, Jan. 2004. *Bart Nel* (klassiek-uitgawe). Kaapstad: Tafelberg. Interestingly, as shown by the idiomatic translations in (23), the English verbal copula assigns accusative case to its secondary predicate.

the relevant DPs are assigned the same case, i.e. nominative case. Therefore it cannot simply be assumed that the absence of instrumental case in Afrikaans sufficiently accounts for the difference between the case assigned by the Polish and Afrikaans verbal copulas.

In some Afrikaans copular constructions, it would seem as though the spellout of the verbal copula is optional. However, on this view, the question arises why the case assigned to the small clause subject changes depending on whether the copula is spelled out or not. Note the difference in case assigned to the subject pronoun in (24), where the secondary predicate is an AP, and the subject pronoun in (25), where the secondary predicate is a DP.[19]

(24) a.   Die dosent vind sy is slim.
           the lecturer finds she is clever
           "The lecturer finds that she is clever."
     b.   Die dosent vind haar slim.
           the lecturer finds her clever
           "The lecturer finds her clever."
     c.   *Die dosent vind sy slim.
     d.   *Die dosent vind haar is slim.

(25) a.   Bart vind hy is steeds hy.
           Bart finds he is   still him
           "Bart finds that he is still him."
     b.   Bart vind hom steeds hom.
           Bart finds him   still   him
           "[?]Bart finds him still him."
     c.   *Bart vind hy steeds hy.
     d.   *Bart vind hom is steeds hom.
     e.   *Bart vind hy (is) steeds hom.
     f.   [?]Bart vind hom (*is) steeds hy.

---

[19] This phenomenon is also found in English as seen in the idiomatic translations of the examples in (24) and (25). Note also that the sentences in (25a,b) are ambiguous: in each case the small clause subject pronoun *hy/hom* can either be coreferential with the main clause subject *Bart* or refer to some other unspecified male person. As shown by these two examples, the case-related parallelism requirement that applies to the *is* copula clause also applies to the null spellout variant.

Given the change in case when there is no phonetically realised verbal copula, it could be argued that sentences like (24b) and (25b) do not represent copula clauses in which the verbal copula receives a null spellout, but rather a different type of small clause altogether. Alternatively, it could be argued that these clauses are headed by a variant of the sc-*v*. This issue will be discussed further below.

Similar to Polish verbal copula clauses, the Afrikaans ones allow extraction, as illustrated in (26a,b).[20] There is, however, a salient difference between the Polish and Afrikaans verbal copula clauses as far as interpretation is concerned. In terms of the classification proposed by Higgins (1973), the Polish clause can only be interpreted as predicational, whereas any of the interpretations within Higgins' taxonomy can apply in the case of Afrikaans copula clauses. This is illustrated by the examples in (27a–d).

(26) a.   Wie$_i$ dink hulle t_i is die dokter?
           Who think they   is the doctor
           "Who do they think the doctor is?"

     b.   Die gunsteling$_i$ is Marie t_i, sê hulle.
           The favourite is Marie, say they.
           "They say that the favourite is Marie."

(27) a.   Marie is 'n prinses.
           Mary is a princess
           "Mary is a princess."   *predicational*

     b.   Die prinses is Marie.
           the princess is Mary
           "The princess is Mary."   *specificational*

     c.   Die   môrester is die aandster.
           The morning star is the evening.star
           "The morning star is the evening star."   *identity/equative*

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[20] Recall that extraction is ruled out in Polish pronominal and dual copula clauses (3.3.2). As noted above, these two types of clauses do not occur in Afrikaans.

d.   Daardie dorp is Stellenbosch.

That   town is Stellenbosch

"That town is Stellenbosch."   *identificational*

As regards the internal structure of copula clauses, it was proposed in section 4.2 that the structure of a small clause takes the form in (5), repeated as (28) below, where the head of the small clause is a defective light verb, sc-*v*.

(28)   sc-*v*P^3

ADDITIONAL

LANDING SITE   sc-*v*P^2

ADJUNCT   sc-*v*P

SUBJECT   sc-*v*'

sc-*v*   PREDICATE
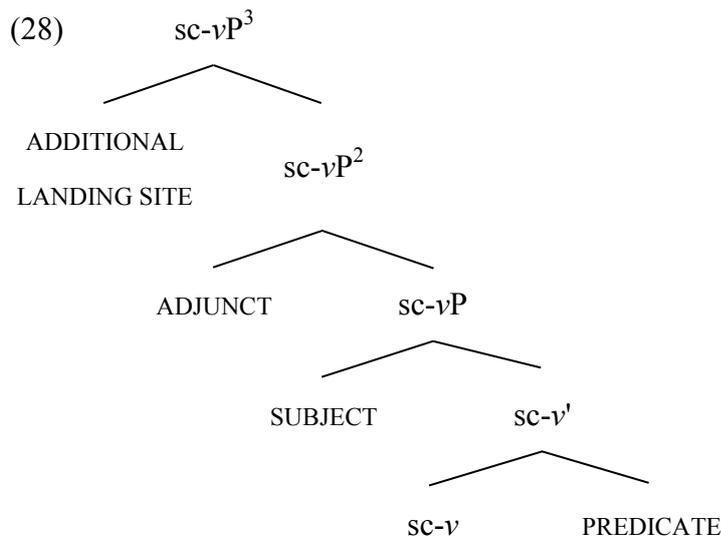
Citko (2008:287) argues that there are two types of small clause heads, a complete π and a defective π (cf. 3.4.3). The data presented thus far suggests that Afrikaans also has two different small clause heads – a realised sc-*v* and an unrealised sc-*v* – depending on the type of small clause. However, it appears as though both these heads are defective, though they present different degrees of defectiveness, i.e. the realised sc-*v* in copula clauses is less defective than the unrealised sc-*v* in, for example, resultative small clauses, etc. Such an analysis could provide a possible explanation for the case-related difference between the (a) and (b) sentences of (24) and (25), in which the small clause subjects are assigned nominative case in the realised copula clause, and accusative case in the unrealised copula clause, respectively. The relevant characteristics of these two sc-*v* s are set out in the following table.

(29) Two types of sc-*v* heads

REALISED SC-*v*	UNREALISED SC-*v*
• +V	• +V
• syn-sem feature	• syn-sem feature
• u-tense	• no tense
• uφ-features	• lacks φ-features
• assigns theme-θ to the subject	• lacks a θ-role for the subject
• lacks a θ-role for its complement	• lacks a θ-role for its complement
• lacks a case feature	• lacks a case feature
• complement of T	• complement of V

Adopting this distinction between these two types of sc-*v*s, consider the analyses of the three small clauses in (30)–(32) below. The structures in (30) and (31) are both headed by a realised sc-*v*; the former containing a [pred] syn-sem feature and the latter a [spec] syn-sem feature. The structure in (32) is headed by an unrealised sc-*v*, with an [eq] syn-sem feature.

In terms of the above proposal, sentences like (27a,b) are essentially derived as follows: the subject *Marie* and the nonverbal predicate *'n prinses* are linked by a less defective sc-*v* head realised by the verbal copula *wees*. This is followed by either the subject or the nonverbal predicate being raised to spec-TP, resulting in the predicational sentence (27a) and the specificational sentence (27b), respectively. The derived structure of (27a) is presented in (30).

(30) a.   Marie is 'n prinses.

b.
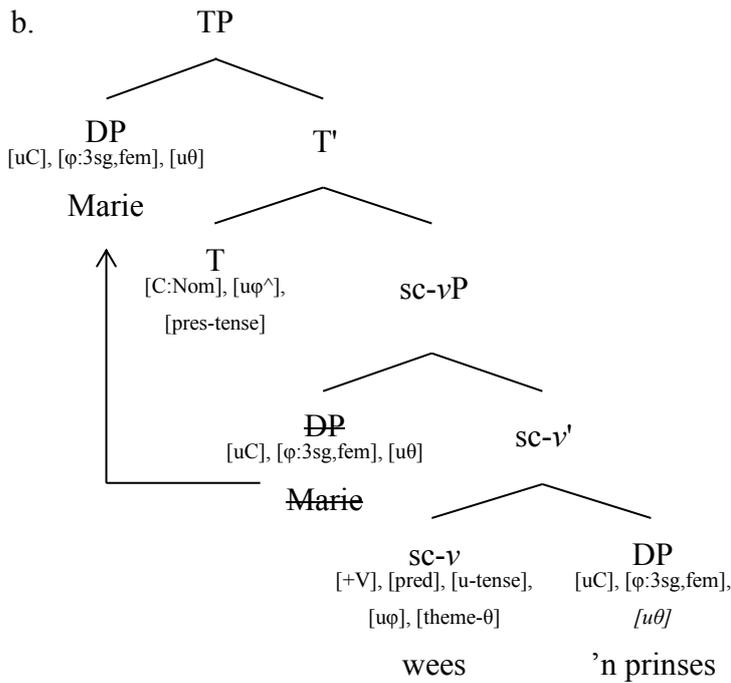
The structure in (30b) is derived as follows. Firstly, the DP secondary predicate – with the features [φ:3sg,fem], [uC], and [uθ] – merges with the less defective small clause head, sc-*v* – which contains the features [+V], [pred], [u-tense], [uφ] and [theme-θ]; this head is realised as the verbal copula *wees*. Secondly, in accordance with the parallelism requirement between the two DPs, the sc-*v* selects a small clause subject with an identical set of features to the DP secondary predicate, as its specifier. This merger, resulting in the sc-*v*P, triggers two agreement operations: the uφ of the sc-*v* is valued as [φ:3sg,fem], while the uθ of the small clause subject is valued as theme-θ.[21]

At this point in the derivation no adequate probe-goal configuration exists that can provide values for the unvalued features of the secondary predicate DP, i.e. (i) the uC and (ii) the uθ. Regarding (i), the Afrikaans sc-*v* is defective in the sense that it does not have a case feature to assign, unlike the Polish verbal copula clause (3.4.3). This implies that the case feature must be assigned by a functional category higher up in the structure. For (ii), however, it is unlikely that the uθ can be valued by an element higher up in the structure as the sc-*v* is the only possible predicate that should be able to assign the θ-role without probing past another goal. As noted in section 2.2.3, a predicate assigns a θ-role to an

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[21] The theme θ-role is assigned to the small clause subject, as it is the θ-role that best describes the role it plays within the sentence, i.e. that *Marie* is perceived to be a princess (Oosthuizen 2013:154). Also see, among others, Gruber 2001; Carnie 2002 and Radford 2009.

argument. Therefore, it seems plausible to claim that because *die prinses* is the nonverbal predicate of the small clause, it cannot simultaneously be an argument and a predicate, the implication being that it enters the derivation without an uθ feature.[22] The DP *die prinses* therefore only contains the features [uC] and [φ:3sg,fem], which means that the italicised θ-feature in (30b) should be omitted.

The third step in the derivation of (30b) involves merging the sc-*v*P with the functional head T which contains the features [C:Nom], [uφ^], [pres-tense]. A number of agreement and feature valuation operations are triggered concurrently: (i) the case feature of T marks both DPs in the string with nominative case;[23] (ii) the tense feature of T values the sc-*v* as present tense, with the latter ultimately spelled out as *is*; (iii) the T's φ-features are valued by the DP *Marie*; and (iv) the movement diacritic associated with T's φ-features triggers raising of *Marie* to spec-TP with the containing sc-*v*P pied-piped along.[24] The final word order receives a predicational interpretation in accordance with the [pred] syn-sem feature of the sc-*v*.

Consider next the derivation of the example in (31a), as shown in (31b).

(31) a.   Die prinses is Marie.

---

[22] A potential flaw in this reasoning should be noted here. It is conventionally assumed that nominal expressions carry θ-roles. However, if the nominal expression, *prinses*, were to be assigned an overt θ-role in (30a), the derivation would crash because this nominal expression does not function as a "distinct argument". Therefore, if the DP entered the derivation without a θ-role, one would assume that the lexicon holds two entries of *prinses*, one with the feature [uθ] and one without. A more likely possibility could be that all nominal expressions have an unvalued θ-role, but in the case of small clauses, for example, where the nominal complement (or non-verbal predicate) is not a distinct argument, the sc-*v* assigns the [uθ] of the nominal expression it c-commands a null value, i.e. [null-θ], "thereby grammatically marking the nominal expression as semantically inert" (Oosthuizen 2013:56–7). This proposal is similar to the one according to which PRO is assigned null case (cf. e.g. Chomsky 1995; Martin 2001 and Hornstein et al. 2005, for discussions on null case). This possibility is left as a topic for further study, and it will be assumed here that the non-verbal predicate DP enters the derivation without a θ-role.

[23] This case-marking is brought about through Multiple Agreement (Hiraiwa 2005; cf. 3.4.3), according to which all possible goals can be valued by a single probe that c-commands them.

[24] Note that these φ-feature values do not result in an overt change to the spellout of the sc-*v* in Afrikaans.

b. TP

DP T'
[uC], [φ:3sg,fem]

die prinses

T
[C:Nom], [uφ^],
[pres-tense]

sc-vP^3

DP
[uC], [φ:3sg,fem]

die prinses

sc-vP^2

sc-v
[+V], [spec], [u-tense],
[uφ], [theme-θ], EPP^

sc-vP

wees

DP
[uC], [φ:3sg,fem], [uθ]

Marie

sc-v'

sc-v
[+V], [spec], [u-tense],
[uφ], [theme-θ], EPP^

DP
[uC], [φ:3sg,fem]

wees die prinses
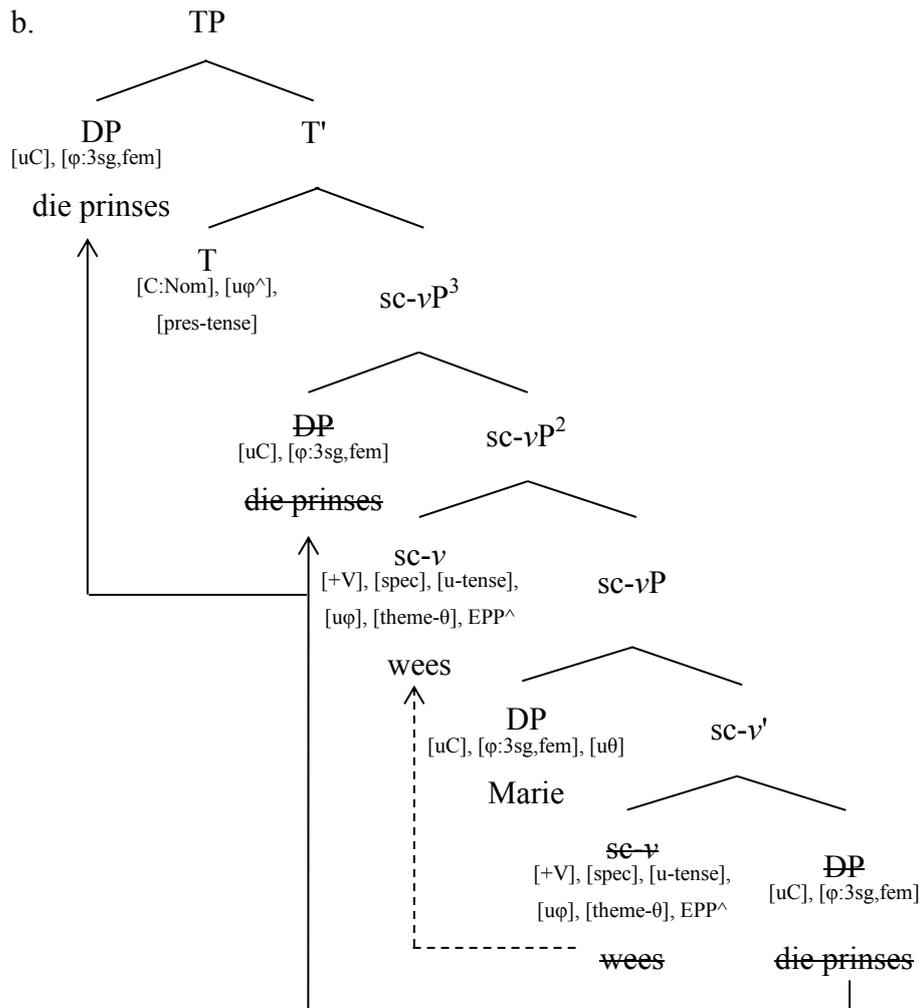
As in the case of (30b), the first step in the derivation of (31b) involves merging the secondary predicate with the sc-v, followed by the merger of the resulting structure with the small clause subject. The features of the subject and secondary predicate DPs are identical to those shown in (30), assuming that *die prinses* enters the derivation without a θ-feature. It is assumed, here, that predicate inversion-related small clause heads contain a type of movement diacritic, which ensures the inversion of the secondary predicate. [25] It is represented henceforth as subscripted $_{EPP^}$. The only featural differences, then, are the [spec] syn-sem feature and $_{EPP^}$ of the realised sc-v. The $_{EPP^}$ triggers raising of the sc-v resulting in the projection sc-vP^2, which in turn triggers raising of the secondary predicate resulting in

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[25] According to Biberauer et al. (2008a:98), a movement diacritic is generally associated with an agreement-related operation, but it "can also function independently of an Agree operation". In the case of predicate inversion-related small clauses, no obvious featural agreement relationship is evident between the sc-v and the secondary predicate, which is triggered to raise. The hypothesis, then, is that the movement diacritic in question is freestanding of agreement and its function is similar to that of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature that has been proposed in the Government and Binding (GB) and subsequent Minimalist frameworks, namely to trigger raising of a category XP into a specifier position of a head Y, thereby ensuring a further projection of Y. Cf. 2.2.2 for references on the movement diacritic and the EPP feature.

sc-vP^3. In this way, then, an additional landing site is generated for the secondary predicate so that it can be raised past the small clause subject without violating the locality principle.

Once the sc-v has selected *Marie* as its specifier, its features are assigned values in the same fashion as in (30), followed by the sc-v containing *wees* being raised to sc-vP^2 (indicated by the dotted line). Raising of *wees* ensures that the landing sites for the secondary predicate are equidistant, hence the predicate can be inverted while remaining within the same minimal domain (indicated by the solid line), ultimately resulting in sc-vP^3. The extended small clause then merges with T, which values (i) the tense feature of sc-v as present tense, resulting in *wees* being spelled out as *is,* and (ii) the DPs for nominative case through Multiple Agree. The T's φ-features are in turn valued by the secondary predicate *die prinses*. In addition, the movement diacritic associated with the φ-features of T triggers raising of *die prinses* into spec-TP, with the sc-vP^3 pied-piped along.

Consider finally the derivation of the sentence in (25b). In this case, the small clause is headed by an unrealised sc-v, and the secondary predicate *hom* enters into an obligatory reflexive relationship with the small clause subject *hom*.[26]

(32) a. Bart vind hom steeds hom.

b.

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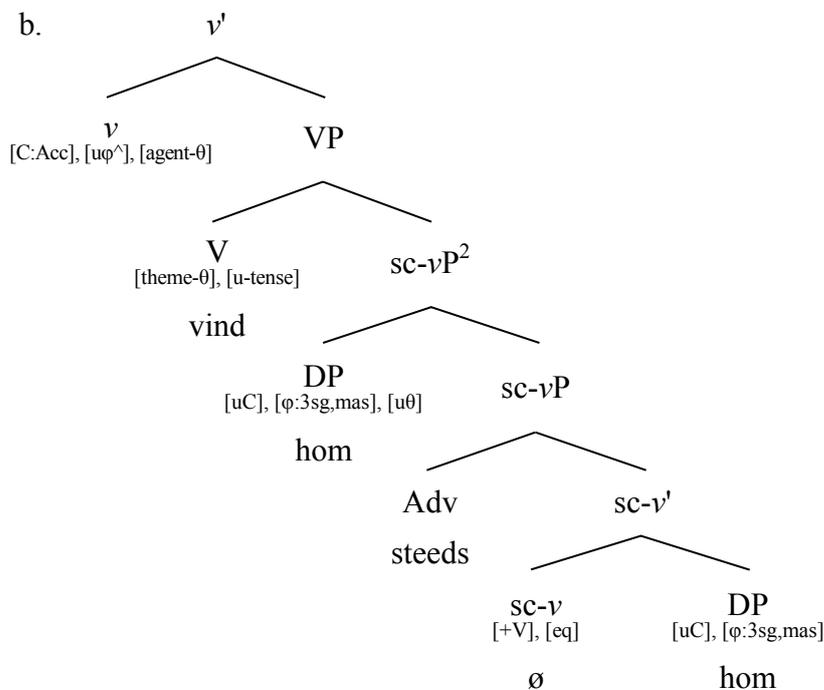
[26] For a detailed analysis of obligatory reflexivity in Afrikaans, see Oosthuizen (2013).

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In (32b) the [3sg, mas] secondary predicate pronoun is unvalued for case and moreover enters the derivation without a θ-feature (cf. the discussion of (30) above). The first step in the derivation involves merging this DP with an unrealised sc-v containing [+V] and an [eq] feature, where the latter serves to link the two DPs. In the second step, the adverb *steeds* ("still") is assumed to be adjoined to the sc-v, which it modifies, resulting in the projection sc-vP.[27]

As argued above, the unrealised sc-v is more defective than the realised one: not only does it lack – similar to its realised counterpart – a case and a θ-feature with which it can value the corresponding features of its complement, but it also lacks a θ-value to assign to its specifier. Moreover, the unrealised sc-v also does not carry tense or φ-features, as shown in (29). Therefore, when the small clause subject merges with the sc-vP to form the sc-vP^2 in the third step of the derivation, none of the unvalued features of the two DPs – i.e. the secondary predicate and the small clause subject – can be valued by the sc-v. This implies that the relevant features must all be valued by elements higher up in the structure.

The sc-vP^2 subsequently merges with the matrix verb *vind* ("find") to form the VP. In this step, the V values the [uθ] of the small clause subject as theme.[28] As a result, one could claim that for the small clause subject to receive a θ-value in cases where it functions as the specifier of an unrealised sc-v, the small clause must always be merged as the complement of a matrix verb (or another predicate of which it can form an argument). Therefore, it seems plausible to analyse a small clause headed by an unrealised sc-v as a subordinate clause, unlike one headed by a realised sc-v that is merged as the complement of T as indicated in (29).

In the next step of the derivation, the VP merges with a v containing the features [C:Acc], [uφ^] and [agent-θ]. This triggers a number of simultaneous operations: (i) V-to-v and

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[27] It is assumed for the purpose of this study that the adverb *steeds* adjoins to the immediate left of the sc-v, thereby accounting for the surface word order illustrated in (32b). However, a potential problem of such an analysis is that the adverb and the small clause subject *hom* could surface in the order illustrated in (i), which many speakers seem to find at most marginally acceptable. A proper analysis of the syntax of adverbs falls outside the scope of this study and will not be considered further here.

(i) $^?$Bart vind steeds hom $_{[subj]}$ hom $_{[secondary\ pred]}$.

[28] This claim is based on the fact that the small clause subject in (32) is perceived in a certain manner (see note 21); i.e. Bart perceives himself as the same person he used to be.

(ii) accusative case assignment to the two DPs through Multiple Agree (which ensures that they will both be spelled out as *hom* ("him")).[29] Finally, the syntactic subject *Bart* enters the derivation in the specifier position of *v* where it is assigned the θ-value of agent and in turn values the φ-features of *v*.

4.5   Predicate inversion-related small clauses

Since Afrikaans is a West Germanic language, a plausible assumption would be that the rules that govern its sentence construction should be largely similar to those of other languages of this family, such as Dutch, English, and West Flemish. This assumption could also then be extended to the construction of Afrikaans small clauses, particularly regarding the role that predicate inversion plays in the formation of certain of these clauses.

This section is organised into two subsections. Firstly, section 4.5.1 focuses on the three construction types discussed by Bennis et al. (1998), namely the *N van 'n N* ("N of a N") type created by A-movement, and two variations of A'-movement containing *wat* ("what"), i.e. *wat vir*-interrogatives and *wat*-exclamatives (cf. section 3.4.1). Secondly, section 4.5.2 examines the two variations of A-movement presented by Haegeman (2010), namely interrogative *welke/watter* ("which") and the demonstrative *sulke* ("such") (cf. 3.4.2). One of the objectives of the discussion is to determine whether the spurious indefinite article is as prevalent in Afrikaans small clauses as it is in Dutch and West Flemish, or whether it follows the more scant distribution of the English spurious indefinite article.

4.5.1   Bennis et al.'s predicate inversion-related small clauses

This section deals with the Afrikaans counterparts of the three construction types discussed by Bennis et al. (1998). The aim of this section is to outline the characteristics of the *N van 'n N*, *wat vir*-interrogative and *wat*-exclamative constructions in Afrikaans, and to determine whether they can successfully be analysed within the structure proposed in section 4.2.

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[29] It should be noted that some speakers also judge the sentence in (i) to be acceptable. This contradicts the assumption that the sentence would be unacceptable if the "parallelism requirement" regarding type and case is not fulfilled. However, it is unclear which element within the derivation can legitimately assign the secondary predicate with nominative case. This anomaly will be left as a topic for further investigation.

(i)   ?Bart vind hom steeds hy.

Consider the following Afrikaans data, which follows Bennis et al.'s (1998) Dutch template presented in (60)–(64) of 3.4.1:

A-movement

	Clause	Nominal	Type
(33)	Dié man is 'n beer that guy is a bear	'n man soos 'n beer a guy like a bear	
(34)	Die grootste beer is dié man the biggest bear is that guy	'n beer van 'n man a bear of a guy	*N van 'n N*

A'-movement

	Clause	Nominal	Type
(35)	Die man is *wat/so that guy is what/so	'n man soos $^?$wat/*so^{30} a guy as what/so ("quite a N")	
(36)	Wat is dié man? what is that guy	wat vir 'n man (is dit)? what for a guy	*wat vir-WH*
(37)	*Wat is dit 'n man! what is that a guy	wat 'n man! what a guy	*wat-EXCL*

Note that the Afrikaans clauses in the above tables show an almost identical pattern to those of their Dutch counterparts (cf. section 3.4.1), with the exception of the unacceptable clausal example in (37).

An *N van 'n N* construction comprises two nouns linked by the preposition *van* and the spurious indefinite article *'n*. Analysing their underlying structure against the proposal presented in (5) – and repeated in (28) – the small clause is headed by a sc-*v* with a [+V], an $_{EPP^}$ and an [eq] syntactic-semantic feature.[31] As stated in note 25, $_{EPP^}$ is a movement diacritic that triggers raising of the secondary predicate into a specifier position of the extended sc-*v*.

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[30] An expression such as "'n man soos wát?" would be fully acceptable as an echo question.

[31] The syntactic-semantic feature ([syn-sem]) associated with the small clause verb relates to the interpretation of the sentence. Accordingly, different types of [syn-sem] features account for different interpretations, e.g. the [proc(ess)] feature is generally associated with resultative clauses (cf. 4.3), whereas [pred(icational)] and [spec(ificational)] features are associated with some types of copula clauses (cf. 4.4). In the case of *N van 'n N* constructions the small clause subject is interpreted as equal to the secondary predicate, hence the presence of the [eq(uitive)] feature. Cf. section 4.2 for references and other types of [syn-sem] features.

Predicate inversion is a consequence of this diacritic-induced operation, without the locality principle being violated (cf. 3.4.1 and 4.4). Furthermore, it is assumed that the structure in (5) adheres to Bennis et al.'s (1998) proposal that the extended projection must always be filled by an overt functional expression that is essentially meaningless.[32] This assumption is based on the notion that nominal predicate inversion occurs in the same manner as clausal predicate inversion (cf. 3.4). In copula clauses, for instance, the copula must always be overt in cases where inversion takes place (cf. (66) of 3.4.1).

If Bennis et al.'s (1998) claim were adopted for the derivation of Afrikaans *N van 'n N* constructions, it should be assumed that the functional phrase containing the overt preposition *van* ("of") is adjoined to sc-*v*P as a "surface reflex" to ensure inversion. Hereafter, the sc-*v* is raised to co-occur with the preposition in sc-*v*P^2. In other words, for predicate inversion to take place without resulting in ungrammaticality, (i) the sc-*v* must contain an $_{EPP^}$ that ensures raising of the secondary predicate; (ii) a functional phrase, headed by the overt preposition *van*, must be adjoined to the sc-*v*P that results from the raising operations triggered by the $_{EPP^}$; and (iii) the sc-*v* must be raised to co-occur with the head *van*. The various operations are shown in (38).

(38)   [$_{sc-v P3}$ *beer* [$_{sc-v P2}$ [$_{PP}$ P(=*van*) + sc-*v* [$_{sc-v P}$ *man* [$_{sc-v'}$ ~~sc-*v* beer~~]]]]]

According to Bennis et al. (1998), a key characteristic of Dutch *N van een N* constructions is that they are grammatical despite the lack of number agreement between one or both nouns and the spurious indefinite article (cf. 3.4.1). In contrast, Afrikaans *N van 'n N* constructions are more akin to the English ones, in that they are only grammatical if the small clause subject (which directly follows the sc-*v*) or both nouns are singular, as shown in (39).

(39) a.   daardie ramp   van 'n studenteverkiesing

             that   disaster of   a student-election

       b.   daai   idiote van 'n beheerliggaam

             those idiots of   a governing-body

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[32] On Bennis et al.'s analysis, the functional expression in question is adjoined to the small clause; this step in the derivation is represented by the merger of F in their structure (cf. (67) of 3.4.1, repeated in (2) of 4.2). The assumption that "F" must always be filled by an overt expression complements the proposed structure in (5). Recall that the adjunctions in (31) and (32) of 4.4 were both filled with overt elements (the verbal copula *wees* and the adverb *steeds*, respectively), neither of which have significant descriptive meaning.

c. *daai mislukking van 'n voorleggings

   that failure of a submissions

d. *daai skatte van 'n kinders

   those darlings of a children

Consider next the table in (40), which illustrates the distribution of the Afrikaans spurious indefinite article and its zero allomorph – the unrealised substitute of the spurious article.[33] As shown in this table, the Afrikaans distribution of the spurious indefinite article (similar to the English one) is only possible if the construction contains a singular subject, and the zero allomorph (as in Dutch and English) is only licensed if both nouns are plural.

(40) Afrikaans *N van 'n N* constructions and spurious indefinite articles

	WITH *'N*	WITHOUT *'N*
singular *van ('n)* singular	idioot van 'n man *idiot of a man*	*idioot van man *idiot of man*
plural *van ('n)* singular	idiote van 'n beheerliggaam *idiots of a governing-body*	*idiote van beheerliggaam *idiots of governing-body*
singular *van ('n)* plural	*eier van 'n koppe *egg of a heads*	*eier van koppe *egg of heads*
plural *van ('n)* plural	*idiote van 'n manne *idiots of a men*	idiote van manne *idiots of men*

The distribution of the Afrikaans spurious indefinite article presented in (40) suggests that Afrikaans supports Bennis et al.'s (1998) claim that the spurious indefinite article does not form a constituent with either of the nominal elements in the string, which is based on the assumption that it is a lexically realised small clause head. This assumption provides an account for the fact that Dutch *N van een N* constructions are always grammatical despite not showing number agreement, and also for the phenomenon that the Afrikaans and English spurious indefinite articles are sensitive to the number expressed by both nouns in the construction (cf. 3.4.1). The spec-head relationship and the derived spec-head relationship

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[33] This table is based on the English one in (74) and the Dutch one in (75) of section 3.4.1.

that the sc-*v* enters into with the small clause subject and secondary predicate, respectively, are illustrated in (41).

(41) [$_{\text{sc-}v\text{P3}}$ Pred [$_{\text{sc-}v\text{P2}}$ P + sc-*v* [$_{\text{sc-}v\text{P}}$ Subj [$_{\text{sc-}v'}$ ~~sc-*v*~~ Pred]]]]

However, Bennis et al.'s (1998) somewhat problematic claim that the head of the small clause and the adjoined functional expression – that is, the sc-*v* and the preposition *van* – co-occur in the same head position within the structure as illustrated in (41) will be disregarded henceforth. Instead, it is proposed that *van* is not adjoined to create a larger sc-*v*P, but rather that the PP headed by *van* selects the small clause as its complement, and that the $_{\text{EPP}^{\wedge}}$ triggers raising of the sc-*v* to spec-PP. This is illustrated in (42).

(42) [$_{\text{PP}}$ sc-*v* [$_{\text{P'}}$ P [$_{\text{sc-}v\text{P}}$ Subj [$_{\text{sc-}v'}$ ~~sc-*v*~~ Pred]]]]

A couple of potential objections arise from this analysis; (i) the word order will be *'n van* instead of *van 'n*, and (ii) there is no space within the resulting structure for the secondary predicate to invert to. These objections can be overcome if one were to adopt Oosthuizen's (2000) proposal that prepositional phrases are projections of a light category, i.e. a light preposition. In this view, objection (i) will be overcome by P-to-*p* raising, which will result in the correct word order. As for objection (ii) the spec-*p*P will serve as an appropriate landing site for the inverted secondary predicate. Consider, then, the revised structure in (43):

(43) [$_{p\text{P}}$ Pred [$_{p'}$ P [$_{\text{PP}}$ sc-*v* [$_{\text{P'}}$ ~~P~~ [$_{\text{sc-}v\text{P}}$ Subj [$_{\text{sc-}v'}$ ~~sc-*v* Pred~~]]]]]]

Therefore, analysing the head of an *N van 'n N* construction as a realised sc-*v* within the parameters set out in (29), it could be argued that the spurious indefinite article constitutes a second type of realised sc-*v*, one which is more defective than the one realised as a verbal copula, but less defective than an unrealised sc-*v*. Moreover, it could be claimed that the only differences between the unrealised sc-*v* and the one realised as the spurious indefinite article is that the latter has a predetermined number-related φ-feature, which for Afrikaans (like English) is [-plur], and that it is the complement of P. It could then be argued that the zero allomorph – which is only licensed in the absence of an overt singular noun – is an unrealised sc-*v* with a parallelism requirement stipulating that both nouns must be plural.

Consider next the two analyses below, the first with the overt sc-*v* *'n* and the second with the zero allomorph.

(44) a.   Hy het 'n eier   van 'n kop

 he has an egg of a head

  "He has an egg-shaped head."

b.
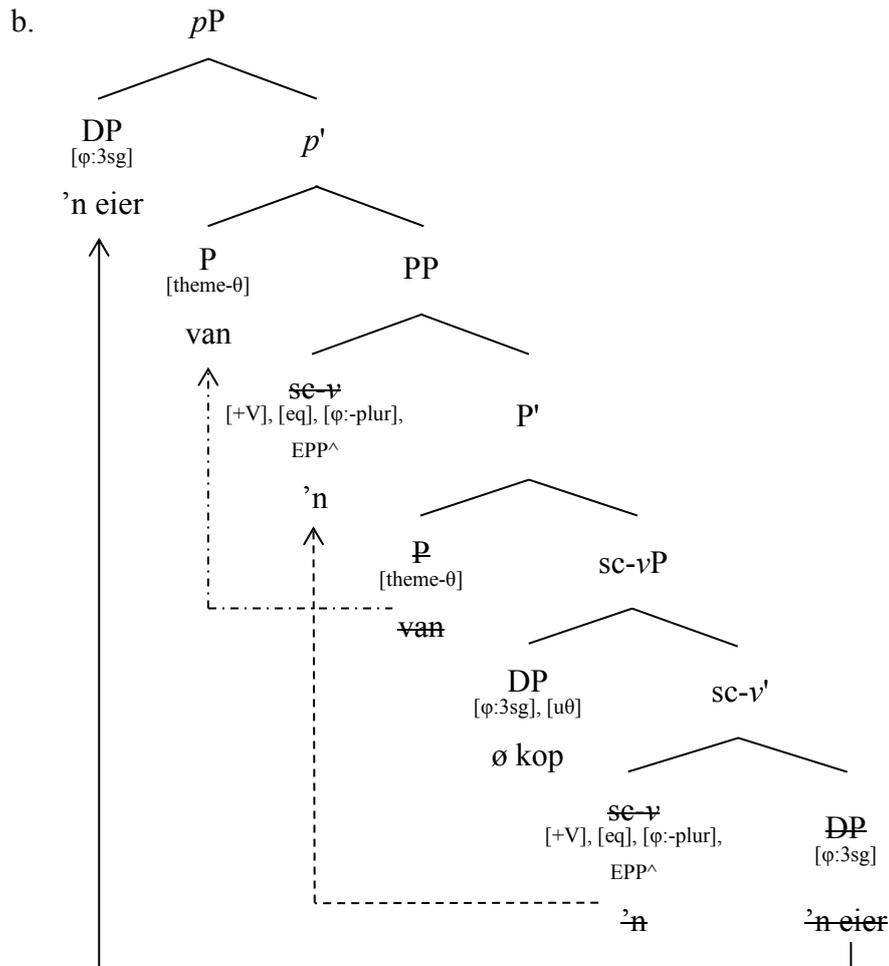
The derivation of the Afrikaans *N van 'n N* construction in (42b) takes place as follows. Firstly, the secondary predicate DP *'n eier* – with φ-features valued as third person singular – merges with sc-*v*; the latter contains [+V], an [eq] feature, a φ-feature specified as [-plur] and an ₑₚₚ^. The presence of the [-plur] φ-feature causes the obligatory spellout of the spurious indefinite article *'n* ("a"). Secondly, the small clause subject *kop* – also valued as third person singular, with an unvalued θ-feature – is merged into the structure to form sc-*v*P. For the derivation to be acceptable, the small clause subject may not contain an overt determiner,

otherwise this would yield an ungrammatical string with two adjacent "determiners" (e.g. *'n eier van 'n die kop*). Next, the preposition *van* merges with the small clause, sc-*v*P, to form the P'. The preposition *van* has a theme θ-value that it assigns to the [uθ] of the small clause subject. The result of the raising operation triggered by the movement diacritic carried by the sc-*v* is that it is raised to the specifier position of PP. Following this, P-to-*p* movement is triggered, resulting in the preposition moving to the left of the sc-*v*. Finally, the secondary predicate is raised into the specifier position of the *p*P[3].

Consider next the construction containing a zero allomorph:

(45) a. Hulle is idiote van manne.

    They are idiots of   men

    "These men are idiots."

b.

```
                    pP
                   /  \
              DP        p'
            [φ:3pl]    /  \
            idiote    P      PP
             ↑    [theme-θ]  /  \
             ┆     van    sc-v      P'
             ┆         [+V],[eq],EPP^  /  \
             ┆           ø         P      sc-vP
             ┆           ↑    [theme-θ]   /   \
             ┆           ┆     van     DP        sc-v'
             ┆           ┆         [φ:3pl],[uθ]  /  \
             ┆           ┆          ø manne   sc-v      DP
             ┆           ┆               [+V],[eq],EPP^  [φ:3pl]
             ┆           └─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ø      idiote
             └─────────────────────────────────────┘
```
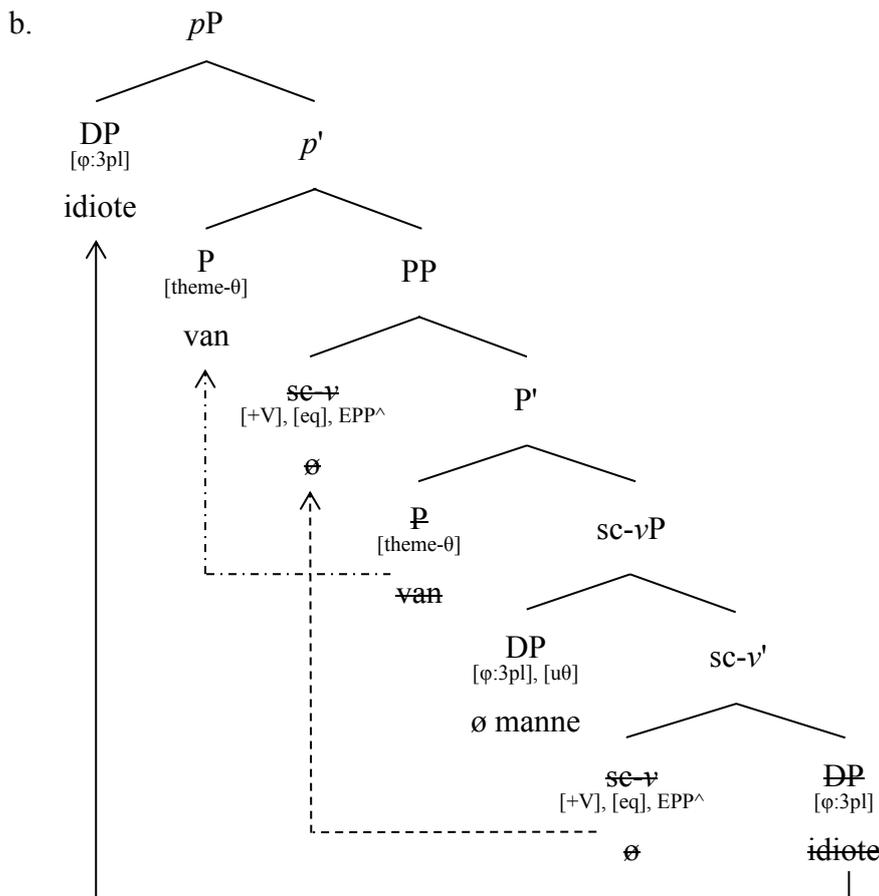
In (45b) the DP secondary predicate *idiote* is merged with the sc-*v* to form the sc-*v'*. Next the small clause subject *manne* is merged into the specifier position of the sc-*v*P. Due to both the nouns being plural, the zero allomorph is licensed. In the same manner as the overt sc-*v* in (44), the preposition *van* merges with sc-*v*P resulting in the P', this operation ensures that the small clause subject is assigned the theme θ-value. The movement diacritic carried by the sc-*v* triggers it to be raised to spec-PP. Next, P-to-*p* movement is triggered, followed in turn, by the secondary predicate *idiote* being raised to the specifier position of the light prepositional phrase.

On this analysis, the spurious indefinite article enters the derivation before the small clause subject. This is potentially problematic since the overt article has a distinct [-plur] feature which is most likely absent in the zero allomorph, thus increasing the possibility of generating an ungrammatical structure. There are at least two ways in which this problem could be resolved. On the one hand, it could be argued that the spurious indefinite article is only phonetically realised once the sc-*v* has been raised to the specifier position of PP, where it c-commands both the small clause subject and secondary predicate. On the other hand, it could be claimed that the small clause subject and secondary predicate enter the derivation before the sc-*v* as part of a "nominal shell" structure that is headed by a functional element with an [eq] feature.[34] The merit of these two possible analyses will not be explored further for the purpose of this study.

Consider next the two tables below. The table in (46) illustrates the distribution of the spurious indefinite article across the three small clause types relevant to this section, whereas the table in (47) draws a distinction between the grammaticality of sentences with an overt spurious indefinite article and those with a covert one.[35]

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[34] This possibility is based on Oosthuizen's (2013) nominal shell analysis of obligatory reflexivity and related phenomena in Afrikaans.

[35] For simplicity, all cases of number disagreement have been excluded from these tables.

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(46)   DP-internal predication constructions across singular/plural and *'n*/no *'n* distinctions

	N van 'n N	*wat vir*-WH	*wat*-exclamative
SINGULAR, NO *'N*	*die vark van seun *that pig of boy*	*wat vir seun *what for boy*	*wat man! *what man*
PLURAL, NO *'N*	varke van seuns *pigs of boys*	*wat vir seuns *what for boys*	*wat mans! *what men*
SINGULAR, *'N*	die vark van 'n seun *that pig of a boy*	wat vir 'n man *what for a man*	wat 'n man! *what a man*
PLURAL, *'N*	*varke van 'n seuns *pigs of a boys*	*wat vir 'n mans *what for a men*	*wat 'n mans! *what a men*

(47)   Summary of distribution of overt versus covert spurious *'n*

		SINGULAR		PLURAL	
no *'n*	*N van 'n N*		*	*N van 'n N*	√
	wat vir-WH		*	*wat vir*-WH	*
	wat-EXCL		*	*wat*-EXCL	*
'n	*N van 'n N*		√	*N van 'n N*	*
	wat vir-WH		√	*wat vir*-WH	*
	wat-EXCL		√	*wat*-EXCL	*

As is clear from these tables, the Afrikaans spurious indefinite article does not enjoy the same freedom of distribution as its Dutch counterpart does (cf. 3.4.1). The following conclusions can be drawn from the data presented above: (i) the zero allomorph is only licensed for plural *N van 'n N* constructions, and (ii) *wat vir*-interrogatives and *wat*-exclamatives are only grammatical with an overt spurious indefinite article in a singular construction. Based on these conclusions, it seems unlikely that an analysis of the Afrikaans *wat vir*-interrogatives and *wat*-exclamatives will yield significant additional insights; thus, these two constructions will not be pursued further here.

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4.5.2   Haegeman's predicate inversion-related small clauses

The discussion in this section focuses on two types of A-movement constructions, the first containing the interrogative *welke*/*watter* ("which") as its secondary predicate and the second containing the demonstrative *sulke* ("such").[36] Haegeman's (2010) study of these two types is based on several key assumptions made by Bennis et al. (1998) (cf. section 3.4.2). Therefore, it seems plausible that the two types of small clause structure that will be examined in this section can also be analysed within the framework put forward in section 4.2.

Consider the Afrikaans sentences in (48), where *welk-* and *sulk-* enter into an agreement relationship with the plural pronoun *honde*. It is claimed here that these items are directly followed by the spurious indefinite article *'n*, which is spelled out as *-e* on *welke*/*sulke*.

(48) a.   Welke   honde het jy daar gesien?
            which-*'n* dogs   had you there seen
            "Which dogs did you see there?"
      b.   Sulke   honde het hulle hier ook.
            such-*'n* dogs   had they here also
            "Such dogs are also found here."

Afrikaans is not as morphologically rich as other languages in the West Germanic family. For instance, determiners and adjectives in Afrikaans are not marked to show gender agreement with nouns like they are in e.g. Dutch and West Flemish. As discussed in section 3.4.2, it is argued by Haegeman (2010) that the inflection *-(n)en* on *wek* and *zuk* in Dutch and West Flemish must represent a spurious indefinite article because regular adjectival agreement is not possible with these items. In view of its meagre agreement morphology, such an argument cannot be empirically supported for Afrikaans. However, examples from older Afrikaans texts indicate that constructions containing *sulk* followed by the spurious indefinite article was spelled out as two separate words rather than illustrating a morphological relationship.

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[36] The somewhat archaic item *welke* can in all instances be replaced by *watter* in Afrikaans. However, since the spurious indefinite article is not overtly present in constructions containing *watter*, these constructions will not be analysed here.

(49) a. Ongelukkig net dat sulk 'n menigte daaronder moes lij.[37]

  unfortunate just that such a many   there-under must suffer

  "It was just unfortunate that so many had to suffer as a result."

  b. Houte   sleutel, waterslot   welk 'n wonderwerk van God.[38]

  wooden key,   water-lock which a   miracle   of God

  "Wooden key, water lock, what a miracle of God."

Adopting the idea that Afrikaans *welke*-interrogatives are constructed in the same manner as their West Flemish counterparts, the following claims can be made: (i) *welk-* is the secondary predicate of a DP-internal small clause, and undergoes inversion; (ii) *welk-* subsequently undergoes predicate fronting, which yields an interrogative interpretation; and (iii) the spurious indefinite article is a phonetically realised sc-v, which is raised to sc-vP[2]. These operations are illustrated in (48).

(50) $[_{DP}$ welk$_{[+WH]}$ $[_{D\ [+WH]}$ $[_{sc\text{-}vP3}$ ~~welk~~ $[_{sc\text{-}vP2}$ -e $[_{sc\text{-}vP}$ honde $[_{sc\text{-}v}$ ~~'n~~ [~~welk~~]]]]]]]

Haegeman (2010:855) claims that *wek* and *zuk* in West Flemish are "the interrogative and demonstrative pendants of one formative" (cf. 3.4.2). It is likely that this claim also holds for the corresponding items in Afrikaans, and that the sc-v is realised as the spurious indefinite article -*e*, appended to *welk-* and *sulk-*. In other words, the derivation of a small clause containing *sulk-* will take place by the same steps as a small clause containing *welk-*, except that *sulk-* does not undergo DP fronting, as shown in (49).[39]

(51) $[_{DP}[_{sc\text{-}vP3}$ sulk $[_{sc\text{-}vP2}$ -e $[_{sc\text{-}vP}$ honde $[_{sc\text{-}v}$ ~~'n~~ [~~sulk~~]]]]]]

---

[37] Malan, J.H. 1918. *Boer en Barbaar, of die Geskiedenis van die Voortrekkers tussen die jare 1835-1840 en verder van die Kaffernasies met wie hulle in aanraking gekom het.* Bloemfontein: De Nationale Pers, Beperkt.

[38] This example represents a Dutch riddle in which the spurious indefinite article *een* was replaced by *'n* when it was translated into Afrikaans. From here it is a plausible assumption that in adjoining *welk* and *'n*, the spurious article is expressed as -*e*.

[39] Note that in the older Afrikaans example in (47a), the item *sulk* occurs with a singular noun preceded by the indefinite article *'n* ("a"). In modern standard Afrikaans, though, the grammaticalised form *sulke* can only co-occur with a plural noun as illustrated in (i):

(i)   **sulke man/menigte   ontsel my*
       such man/multitude upsets me

Since *sulk-* does not undergo predicate fronting, it can be preceded by a numeral or a quantifier (including interrogative and negative expressions such as *hoeveel* ("how many") and *geen*/*g'n* ("no")). In West Flemish, this phenomenon is possible for [+count] and [-count] nouns (cf. 3.4.2). In Afrikaans, it is possible for sentences containing a [+count] noun, e.g. those in (52); however, although *sulk-* can be preceded by a quantifier in sentences with [-count] nouns, some speakers appear to find such sentences only marginally acceptable with interrogative and negative quantifier expressions, e.g. those in (53) (the quantifiers/numerals are given in **bold**).

(52) a. Ek het **baie /te veel /soveel /genoeg/drie** *sulke* honde gesien.

 I have many/too many/so many/enough/three such-e dogs   seen

"I have seen many/too many/so many/enough/three such dogs."

  b. **Hoeveel**   *sulke* honde het   jy gesien?

how many such dogs   have you seen

"How many dogs like this have you seen?"

  c. Ek het **geen**/**g'n** *sulke* honde gesien nie.

 I have   no   such dogs   seen not

"I did not see any dogs like that."

(53) a. Ek het **genoeg/te   veel** /[?]**'n bietjie** *sulke* hardehout gedrink.

 I have enough/too much/ a little such   spirits   drank

"I drank enough/too much/a little spirits of that kind."

  b. [?]**Hoeveel**   *sulke* hardehout het   jy gedrink?

 how much such   spirits   have you drank

"Mow much spirits of that kind have you had?"

  c. [?]Ek het   **geen**/**g'n** *sulke* hardehout gedrink nie.

 I have no such spirits   drank not

"I have not had such spirits."

Regarding the derivation of the West Flemish counterparts of sentences like those in (52) and (53) (cf. section 3.4.2), Haegeman (2010) claims that the modifiers enter the structure as part

of a quantificational phrase. Extended to Afrikaans, this means that in the (a) and (b) sentences the modifiers fill the specifier position of a null Q head, whereas the negative *geen* in the (c) sentences fills the head position of the QP as shown in (54).

(54) a. $[_{QP}$ baie $[Q [_{sc-vP3}$ sulk $[_{sc-vP2}$ -e $[_{sc-vP}$ honde $[_{sc-v}$ ²n [sulk]]]]]]]]

    b. $[_{QP}$ hoeveel$_{[+WH]} [_{Q[+WH]} [_{sc-vP3}$ sulk $[_{sc-vP2}$ -e $[_{sc-vP}$ honde $[_{sc-v}$ ²n [sulk]]]]]]]]

    c. $[_{QP} [_{Q}$ geen $[_{sc-vP3}$ sulk $[_{sc-vP2}$ -e $[_{sc-vP}$ honde $[_{sc-v}$ ²n [sulk]]]]]]]]

Haegeman (2010) pays specific attention to sentences containing *geen* in order to illustrate how the linear ordering of *geen* and *zuk* in the derivation determines whether the spurious indefinite article is present or not. West Flemish sentences containing *zuk* and *geen* can have two possible word orders: (i) *geen zuk* followed by the spurious indefinite article; or (ii) *zuk geen* where *geen* is inflected to agree with the noun. In (ii) the overt presence of the spurious indefinite article will result in ungrammaticality (cf. 3.4.2). In Afrikaans, however, the word order *sulk geen* is not possible, as shown in (53), and expressions like *geen* also do not inflect for agreement purposes. Accordingly, the presence/absence of the spurious indefinite article in Afrikaans cannot be accounted for with reference to word order and agreement considerations.

(55) *Ek het *sulke* **geen**/**g'n** honde gesien nie.

    I   have   such no   dogs   seen not

The diagrams below represent an analysis of the interrogative *welke* and demonstrative *sulke* small clauses within the structure put forward in section 4.2.

(56) a. Welke boeke lees jy?

        which books read you

        "Which books do you read?"

b.
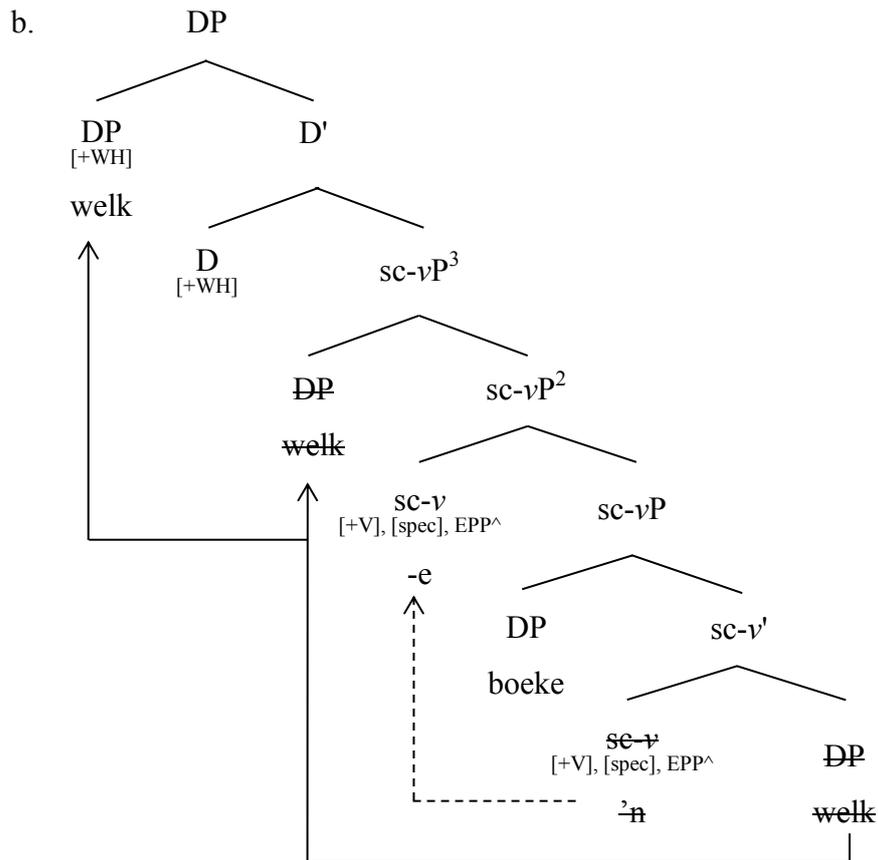
In (54b) the interrogative determiner *welk-* merges with a sc-*v* that is realised as the spurious indefinite article. Next, the small clause subject *boeke* is merged as the specifier of sc-*v*, resulting in the sc-*v*P. The freestanding movement diacritic associated with the sc-*v* triggers the small clause head to raise to sc-*v*P^2, which in turn triggers *welk-* to raise to sc-*v*P^3. The final step in the derivation of this small clause is for the sc-*v*P^3 to merge with an interrogative D [+WH], which triggers *welk-* to undergo DP fronting. In the spec-DP position *welk-* receives its interrogative interpretation.

Consider, finally, the derivation of the small clause containing *sulke* in (55).

(57) a.   Ek lees ook sulke boeke.

   I   read also such books

   "I also read such books."

b.
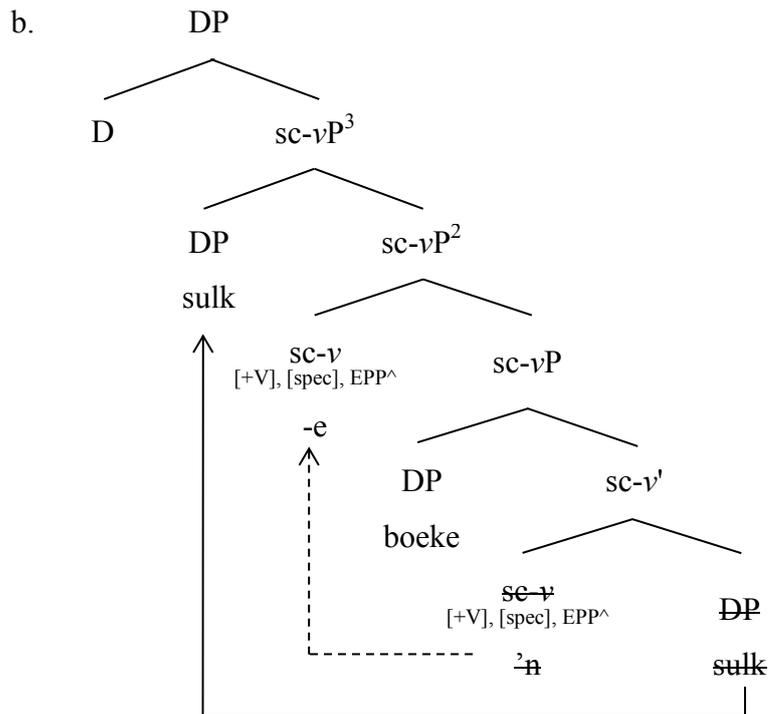
The derivation of (55b) takes place as follows. The secondary predicate DP *sulk-* merges with a sc-*v* *'n* with the features [+V], [spec] and EPP^. The resulting structure is merged with the small clause subject *boeke* to form the sc-*v*P. In order for *sulk-* to be moved around the small clause subject, sc-*v* is raised to sc-*v*P² where it is spelled out as the spurious suffix *-e*. Finally, the movement diacritic triggers *sulk-* to raise to sc-*v*P³.

4.6   Summary

Chapter 4 focused on the characteristics and analysis of small clauses in Afrikaans. Section 4.2 put forward a novel analysis of small clauses in general. According to this proposal, all small clauses are headed by a defective light verb, sc-*v*, that only carries a syntactic-semantic feature and an optional EPP-type freestanding movement diacritic EPP^. In section 4.3, the characteristics of Afrikaans resultative small clauses are described and the construction is analysed in terms of the underlying structure presented in (5)/(28). As expected, Afrikaans resultative small clauses demonstrate similar characteristics to their Dutch and English counterparts. However, in the analysis of this type of small clause, a case was made against the existence of so-called floating quantifiers. However, since this issue falls outside the scope of the present study, it was left as a topic for further research.

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In the analysis of Afrikaans copula clauses in section 4.4, it was argued that the proposed structure contains two types of small clause heads: (i) a defective phonetically unrealised head and (ii) a less defective head realised as the verbal copula *wees*. The characteristics of these two heads were presented in (29).

The last section in this chapter gave an account of predicate inversion-related small clauses in which a third type of small clause head was identified, i.e. the head realised as the spurious indefinite article *'n*, which is only marginally less defective than the unrealised small clause head. In these cases (cf. 4.5.2), even though Afrikaans is not as morphologically rich as the other languages within the West Germanic family, it was shown that the grammaticalised forms of the interrogative *welke* and demonstrative *sulke* resulted from the original form *welk* and *sulk* that merged with a suffixal form of the spurious indefinite article *-e*.

Chapter 5
Summary and conclusion

Extensive research has been conducted in recent years on the phenomenon of small clauses for a wide range of languages. The aim of this study was two-fold: firstly, to describe the characteristics of several types of small clause constructions in Afrikaans, based on similar descriptions of Dutch, English, Polish and West Flemish small clauses; and secondly, to develop an analysis of Afrikaans small clauses that employed the notion *light verb*. The main research questions posed in chapter 1 were as follows:

1.   What are the characteristics of the various types of Afrikaans small clauses?
2.   How do these characteristics compare to those of the corresponding small clauses in other languages, specifically Polish and languages within the West Germanic family?
3.   Can the characteristics in question be accounted for within an analysis that incorporates the notion *light verb*, along the lines suggested by Oosthuizen (2013)?

The study was conducted within the broad theoretical framework of Minimalist Syntax. Chapter 2 provided a summary of the main assumptions and concepts within this framework that are relevant to the proposed analysis of Afrikaans small clauses. Chapter 3 commenced with a brief discussion addressing the merit of the idea that a small clause is a distinct syntactic entity. This was followed by a discussion of seven types of small clauses, divided into four main sections: section 3.3.1 dealt with Dutch resultative small clauses; section 3.3.2 with Polish copula clauses; section 3.4.1 with Dutch *N van een N*-constructions, *wat voor*-interrogatives and *wat*-exclamatives; and section 3.4.2 with West Flemish *wek*-interrogative and *zuk*-demonstrative small clauses. Chapter 3 concluded by providing an outline of two main proposals for the underlying structure of small clauses as presented by Bennis et al. (1998) and Citko (2008) against which the proposed structure in chapter 4 was compared.

Chapter 4 examined the characteristics of the Afrikaans small clauses that correspond to the seven types discussed in chapter 3. Furthermore, a novel underlying structure was proposed in section 4.2, which employs a type of light verb as the head of the small clause. It was argued that this structure provides an adequate framework for the analysis of Afrikaans small clauses. The present chapter will conclude by briefly discussing the main findings,

some potential problems of the proposed analysis, and possible topics for further research that were identified during the course of the study.

As mentioned above, the main objectives of chapter 4 were, firstly, to describe the characteristics of the relevant Afrikaans small clauses based on the ones discussed in chapter 3 for Dutch, English, Polish and West Flemish; and secondly, to develop further the underlying structure that was proposed by Oosthuizen (2013) in which the functional element that constitutes the small clause head is taken to be a light verb with specific features, depending on the subtype of small clause.

For the most part, the Afrikaans small clauses exhibit similar characteristics to the ones presented for the other languages, despite some of the arguments in question not being applicable due to the lack of overt agreement morphology between, for example, nominal and adjectival constituents.

The structure in (1) represents the underlying structure that was proposed for the analysis of the small clauses examined in this study. Its main attribute is that it identifies an explicit small clause head with specific characteristics – i.e. a defective light verb, namely sc-v – rather than some or other functional element that cannot be easily characterised within MS. In spite of the differing natures of the small clause types that were analysed in terms of this structure, it was argued that analysis employing the sc-v can provide an adequate framework to account for all the type-specific characteristics that were identified.

(1)   sc-vP^3

ADDITIONAL
LANDING SITE   sc-vP^2

        ADJUNCT   sc-vP

                SUBJECT   sc-v'

                        sc-v PREDICATE
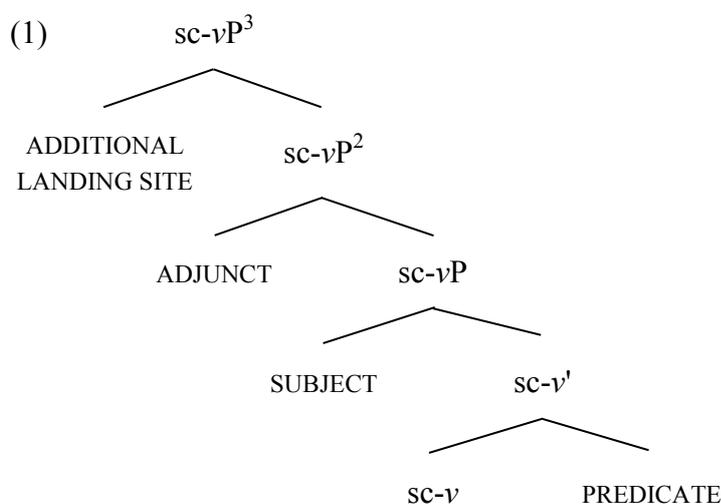
Three types of small clause heads, sc-*v*, were identified, each presenting different degrees of deficiency. Their characteristics are summarised in the table in (2):

(2)   Three types of sc-*v* heads

REALISED SC-*v wees*	UNREALISED SC-*v*	REALISED SC-*v 'n*
+V - syn-sem feature - u-tense - uφ-features - assigns theme-θ to the subject - lacks a θ-role for its complement - lacks a case feature - complement of T - carries an optional $_{EPP^}$	+V - syn-sem feature - no tense - lacks φ-features - no θ-roles to assign - lacks a case feature - complement of V - carries an optional $_{EPP^}$	+V - syn-sem feature - no tense - specified [-plur] φ-feature - no θ-roles to assign - lacks a case feature - complement of P or D - carries an optional $_{EPP^}$

A potential problem facing the proposed analysis is the idea that the small clause head, which is assumed to be a light *verb*, can house a spurious indefinite *article*.

Ideas that should be explored further relate to the NP-shell proposal in section 4.5.1, which could account for the sc-*v*'s sensitivity to the number feature of both of the nouns in the *N van 'n N* construction. Furthermore, the grammaticalisation of the spurious indefinite article as it relates to *welke*-interrogatives and *sulke*-demonstratives could be examined further, also taking into consideration other items in Afrikaans that could potentially have grammaticalised in the same manner, for example *elke* ("each"), *menige* ("many") and *sommige* ("some").

In short, even though this study gives a limited analysis of Afrikaans small clauses within the proposed structure in (1), it is plausible that such an analysis can be expanded to other small clause types in Afrikaans, as well as to the various types of small clauses found in other languages.

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