# C-agreement or something close to it: the 'alls-construction'✻

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**Abstract:** In this paper we sketch out an account for an until now undiscussed phenomenon in generative syntax, namely the so-called "alls-construction" in Midwestern American English. In this construction, a s-ending is added to *all* under certain circumstances. We compare and contrast this construction with complementizer agreement in West Germanic. The alls-construction is similar to complementizer agreement in that the s-ending on *all*, just like the inflection on complementizer in West Germanic, is sensitive to the agreement features on the embedded subject. In contrast with complementizer agreement, however, the alls-construction does not allow inflectional morphology to appear on any other constituent than *all*. Based on Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002), we assert that the alls-construction in Midwestern American English is in structure quite similar to complementizer agreement in West Germanic with the key difference found in the position of the phi-feature Probe in the extended CP-layer.

## 0. Introduction

Complementizer agreement (henceforth C-agreement) is widely attested in West Germanic languages and dialects (cf. a.o. Haegeman 1992, Zwart 1993, Carstens 2002). An example from a dialect of Dutch is provided in (1).

(1)     **Datt-e** we toffe jongens zijn, dat wille me wete.          Rotterdam Dutch

    *that-$_{INFL}$ we great boys are that want we know*

    'That we are great boys, that is what we want to know.'

In the example (1) the complementizer *dat* "that" bears inflectional morphology that agrees with the φ-feature set of the subject *jongens* "boys".[1] This form of C-agreement is assumed to be restricted to SOV-languages (cf. Zwart 1993). However, in Midwest vernacular variants of American English (an SVO-language) a construction resembling C-agreement is attested which we label: **the alls-construction**.

(2)     **All-s Jim and Carol** want to do is stay at home.          Midwest AE

(3)     **All-s I** know about Mike and Dena is that they are old.

As illustrated in (2) and (3) above, *all* exhibits the inflectional marker **–s**. Diachronically the alls-construction hails from Early Modern English "all as that is":

(4)     [all as that is] ➔ [all**s**]

The s-ending on *all* is therefore historically a reduced complementizer. Evidence shows, however, that the s-ending on *all* is much more than just a phonological reduction. Much like C-agreement phenomena in other West Germanic languages and dialects, the alls-construction appears to be sensitive to the feature specification of the embedded subject.

(5)     ***All-s old cars** do are make a lot of noise.
(6)     All old cars do are make a lot of noise.
(7)     ***All-s that I** know is that Doris talks a lot.
(8)     All that I know is that Doris talks a lot.

If the alls-construction was merely a phonological reduction, the ungrammaticality of (5) and (7) would be unexpected. In example (7) we see that the alls-construction is subject to some sort of adjacency constraint with the subject of the sentence; intervening elements such as *that* appear to bleed the s-ending on *all*.  With the appearance of intervening items such as *that*, the s-ending on *all* cannot appear (cf. (8)).

        Naturally, the fact that the s-inflection present on *all* in the alls-construction is sensitive to the feature identiy of the subject and respects adjacency conditions proves that structural considerations and syntactic operations may be at play. On the surface, the similarities between C-agreement phenomena as in (1) and the alls-construction are striking, however in this paper we will investigate to what degree both constructions are similar and, at the same time, distinct from one another. The purpose of this paper is to see to what extent the alls-construction resembles other C-agreement phenomena in West Germanic languages and dialects. Furthermore, we will also discuss the formal features

(are they syntactic?) of subjects that license the alls-construction in Midwest AE dialects. By employing Chomsky's (2000 and later subsequent work) theoretical construct known as *Agree* (i.e. Probe-Goal relation), we show that traditional C-agreement and the alls-construction are similar to the extent that both structures rely upon the feature-valuation and subsequent PF-reflex of *Agree* between both $C^o$ and the lower subject. Where C-agreement and the alls-construction critically differ with one another, however, is the placement of the CP-related phi-features in the respective languages that license these two constructions: In West Germanic SOV-languages that license C-agreement, the $C^o$ Probe resides in a lower projection in the extended CP-layer (i.e. in Rizzi's FinP (1997)). In contrast, the $C^o$ bearing φ-features in alls-construction dialects appear much higher (i.e. ForceP).

## 1.    General Properties of C-agreement

As mentioned in the introduction, the inflection present on $C^o$ in languages exhibiting C-agreement agrees with the φ-features of the embedded subject. For example, the paradigm of C-agreement in West Flemish (WF) distinguishes all person and number combinations (cf. Law 1991, Haegeman 1992).

(9)    a.    K weten **dan-k (ik)** goan wegoan.            C + 1sg        (WF)
            *I know    that-I    (I)    go    leave*
            'I know that I am going to leave.'

       b.    K weten **da-j (gie)** goat weggoan.            C + 2sg

       c.    K weten **da-se (zie)** goat weggoan.           C + 3fsg

       d.    K weten **da-tje (jij)** goat weggoan.          C + 3msg

       e.    K weten **da-me (wunder)** goan weggoan.        C + 1pl

       f.    K weten **da-j (gunder)** goat weggoan.         C + 2pl

       g.    K weten **dan-ze (zunder)** goan weggoan.       C + 3pl

       h.    K weten **da Jan** goat weggoan.                C + NPsg (Jan)

       i.    K weten **dan Jan en Pol** goan weggoan.        C + NPpl (Jan en Pol)

The rich paradigm of C-agreement inflections that exist for WF are the exception rather than the norm for this language family; most C-agreement paradigms in West Germanic are defective (cf. Zwart 1997:159). Languages and dialects such as East Netherlandic and Frisian, for instance, only have an agreeing $C^o$ in the presence of 1st person plural and 2nd person singular subjects respectively. Other dialects such as South Hollandic and Munich Bavarian license two licit inflectional categories (i.e. for South Hollandic 1st person and 3rd person plural and for Munich Bavarian 2nd person singular and plural).

Another general property of C-agreement in West Germanic involves the inflectional morphology present on finite verbs. The finite verb in inversion contexts displays the same agreement ending as the complementizer (cf. Hoekstra & Smits 1999, Zwart 1993).

(10)  a.  **da-de** gullie kom-t                    Brabant Dutch (Zwart 1993: 177)

           *that-$_{2PL}$ you$_{2PL}$ come-$_{2PL}$*

       b.  Wanneer **kom-de**/*-t gullie?

           *When     come-$_{2PL}$     you$_{PL}$*

           'When do you come?'

       c.  Gullie **kom-t**/*-de

           *you$_{PL}$   come-$_{2PL}$*

           'You are coming.'

The complementizer in Brabant Dutch has a *de*-ending on the complementizer (10a), as does the inverted verb in (10b). The finite verb in subject-initial main clauses does not (necessarily) show the same inflection (10c). However, the majority of the dialects do not make a distinction between the inflection on inverted and non-inverted finite verbs. In those cases the inflection on the finite verb always equals the inflection on the complementizer.

Lastly, C-agreement appears on the lowest C-related item (cf. Zwart 1993:44):

(11)  a.  Ik weet niet wat of **datt-e de jonges** gedaan hebbe. South Hollandic

           *I know not what of that-$_{INFL}$ the boys done    have*

b.     Ik weet niet **watt-e de jonges** gedaan hebbe.

 *I know not what-INFL the boys done    have*

'I don't know what the boys have done.'

In (11a) the complementizer *dat* 'that' displays C-agreement morphology in coordination with the subject *de jonges* 'the boys'. Since the example in (11b) appears to lack a complementizer, the Agree relation (i.e. Probe-Goal) is represented on the *wh*-item *wat* 'what'.[2]

## 2.     Similarities between C-agreement and the alls-construction

The very fact that the alls-construction in vernacular Midwestern American English is sensitive to the φ-feature identity of the embedded subject is perhaps the clearest indication that it may be a closely related epiphenomenon to C-agreement.

(12)   a.     **All-s I** want to do, is drink coffee.

 b.     *__All-s you__SG want to do, is drink coffee.

 c.     **All-s he** wants to do, is drink coffee

 d.     **All-s we** want to do, is drink coffee.

 e.     *__All-s you__PL want to do, is drink coffee.

 f.     **All-s they** want to do, is drink coffee.

Although the inflectional paradigm appears to be fairly robust, much like other West Germanic languages and dialects Midwestern AE exhibits a weakened, defective paradigm. These dialects do not allow the alls-construction to exist in combination with $2^{nd}$ person singular and plural subjects.[3] The restriction on the alls-construction as an ungrammatical construction with $2^{nd}$ person subjects regardless of number specification is not the only constraint involving this construction.

 (13)   a.     ?**All-s the man** wants to do, is drink coffee.

b.  ?? **All-s a man** wants to do, is drink coffee.

c.  *__All-s men__ want to do, is drink coffee.

As shown in the examples in (13), there appears to be a restriction on the ability of a subject to license the presence of s-inflection on *all* and its own inherent definiteness. Pronouns and full DPs (13a) – being quite high on any definiteness scale – are almost always permitted barring other restrictions on the φ-features of the embedded subject. Indefinites (13b) occurring with the alls-construction are highly marked structures and the appearance of the alls-construction with bare indefinite subjects (13c) is impossible.

There is also a structural adjacency requirement similar to the one in effect for C-agreement in West Germanic (cf. the West Flemish example in (14) from Ackema & Neeleman 2005, cf. also Carstens 2002). This example shows that C-agreement is impossible when there is an adverb intervening between C° and the subject. The same restriction is found with the alls-construction: Any impeding constituents disrupting a direct path between the C° and the embedded subject will result in an ungrammatical structure (15b).[4]

(14)   …dat/datt-e op den wärmsten dag van 't joar wiej tegen oonze wil ewärkt hebt.
       *that/that-infl on the hottest day of the year we against our will worked have*
       "…that we have worked against our will at the hottest day of the year."

(15)   a.   **All-s I** know about Joe and Kelly is that they smell bad.

       b.   *__All-s that I__ know about Joe and Kelly is that they smell bad.

If the alls-construction is the result of a local syntactic operation a Probe-Goal – a hypothesis that we both support and will provide evidence for in this paper – it only makes sense that intervention effects would nullify this Agree relation between the C° (e.g. *all*) and the embedded subject.[5]

## 3.     Differences between C-agreement and the alls-construction

One of the most interesting and revealing pieces of data about the true nature of the alls-construction and its relationship to other C-agreement phenomena in West Germanic returns us once again to the topic of intervention effects. Although it has been shown that neither West Germanic languages and dialects exhibiting C-agreement (cf. (14)) show C-agreement when there is an intervener between C° and the embedded subject, it is important to note that C-agreement in West Germanic has the potential to appear on other items than the embedded complementizer. For the sake of the reader, we repeat the data from South Hollandic (cf. (11)) below as (16) (cf. Zwart 1993:44).

(16)    a.      Ik weet niet wat of **datt-e de jonges** gedaan hebbe. South Hollandic
                *I know not what of that-$_{INFL}$ the boys done    have*

        b.      Ik weet niet **watt-e de jonges** gedaan hebbe.
                *I know not what-$_{INFL}$ the boys done    have*
                'I don't know what the boys have done.'

In (16a) and (16b) C-agreement respectively appears on the true complementizer *dat* 'that' or the *wh*-item *wat* 'what'. The examples in (16) from South Hollandic demonstrate that C-agreement in West Germanic languages occurs on other C-related items when the C°-position is empty. American English dialects that license the alls-construction, however, do not permit the s-inflection to appear on any C-related element other than *all*.

(17)    */??**All that-s I** know about Joe and Kelly is that they smell bad.
(18)    **All-s I** know about Joe and Kelly is that they smell bad.

When considered in tandem with the intervention effects previously mentioned in this paper for the alls-construction, we observe that the complementizer *that* cannot bear the s-inflection (cf. (16)). However, when the lower complementizer *that* is removed from the sentence as in (17), the alls-construction is once again licit due to the now open path

that the higher Probe (unvalued $\varphi$-set on $C^o$) has to its now accessible Goal (interpretable $\varphi$-features of the subject). The removal of the intervening *that* – which in (16) acts as a defective pseudo-Goal – eliminates any unwanted intervention effects that would cause the derivation to converge at gibberish. These data reveal more than the validity of intervention effects in the licensing of the alls-construction; they also provide evidence that *all* occupies a higher position in the CP-layer (cf. Rizzi 1997) in comparison to *that* which rests in a structurally lower position. It appears that the Probe-Goal relation involved in creating the alls-construction values the $\varphi$-features of a higher $C^o$, whereas West Germanic languages and dialects that license C-agreement create a Probe-Goal relation in which the Probe – regardless of its lexical category – residing in a lower position (something like FinP in Rizzi's extended CP-hypothesis) interacts with the sentential subject.

Another characteristic of the alls-construction distinguishing it from C-agreement in West Germanic is the lack of any sort of s-inflection in inversion contexts. Recall that in West Germanic languages and dialects that license C-agreement the inverted finite verb displays the same agreement inflection as the complementizer. The examples from Brabant Dutch (cf (10)) are repeated here in (19) for the sake of the reader.

(19)   a.   **da-de**  gullie  kom-t                      Brabant Dutch (Zwart 1993: 177)
            *that-$_{2PL}$ you$_{2PL}$ come-$_{2PL}$*

       b.   Wanneer **kom-de**/*-t gullie?
            *When     come-$_{2PL}$     you$_{PL}$*
            'When do you come?'

Although inflection on inverted finite verbs in Brabant Dutch are valued by the $\varphi$-features of $C^o$, any sort of s-infection affiliated with the alls-construction is simply not possible in American English dialects that license the alls-construction as illustrated in (20).

(20)   **\*Does I** ever behave like an idiot?            Midwest AE

This disconnect is most likely due to the historical development of the alls-construction juxtaposed to C-agreement: the s-inflection on *alls* is the result of a phonological reduction of the larger unit [all as that is] that has been re-analyzed to interact with the φ-features of the subject. Nonetheless, it is a point of distinction contrasting the alls-construction and 'traditional' C-agreement in West Germanic.

## 4. Interim Summary

At this point we have observed that the alls-construction resembles C-agreement in West Germanic in two key areas: First, both the alls-construction and C-agreement are sensitive to the feature specification of the embedded subject. This leads us to believe that the alls-construction is principally syntactic in nature, licensed by some sort of formal feature in the derivation. Second, like C-agreement, the alls-construction can only occur when no intervening elements intercede between the $C^o$-Probe and the embedded subject. On the other hand, we have shown three ways in which the alls-construction starkly contrasts with C-agreement: For example, unlike C-agreement languages which allow complementizer-inflection to appear on any lexical item (e.g. complementizers and *wh*-items) that resides in $C^o$, the s-inflection can only appear on *all* and no other item, even lower intervening complementizers such as *that* (cf. (16)). This supports the hypothesis that the complementizer *all* is in a structurally higher position in the CP-layer than *that* in American English. Connected with the previous point, a second difference between the two constructions has to deal with the historical development of the alls-construction from the larger unit [all as that is]. Third, the inflection borne on finite verbs in inversion contexts are different in West Germanic languages and dialects that license C-agreement and American English dialects that allow the alls-construction. In the former, inverted finite verbs inflect to resemble the agreement morphology of the complementizer, whereas in dialects where the alls-construction is grammatical this feature is not possible. In the second half of this paper we will put forward a working analysis of the alls-construction within the framework of minimalist syntax.
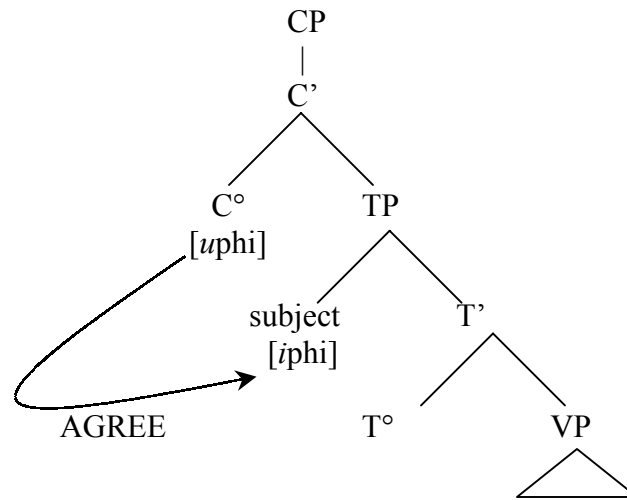
**5. A Working Analysis of the Alls-Construction**

At this point we are forced to return to the principal question sought to be addressed in our paper, namely, are the *s*-inflection in the alls-construction and inflectional morphology in West Germanic C-agreement epiphenomenal and structurally related to one another, or are they genetically dissimilar and unrelated, independent operations? As discussed thus far, the alls-construction shares certain characteristics with C-agreement in SOV West Germanic languages, and in some cases significantly deviates from them. Our proposal is that the alls-construction and West Germanic C-agreement are essentially epiphenomenal, i.e. the *s*-ending involved in the alls-construction is inflection valued through a Probe-Goal relation allowing the unvalued $\varphi$-features of $C^o$ to interact with the interpretable $\varphi$-set of the embedded subject.

**5.1 Prerequiste One: A Brief Analysis of C-agreement**

Before discussing the alls-construction in any detail, we must first provide a brief theoretical analysis of C-agreement. The minimal assumption, of course, is that inflection on the complementizer signals the presence of $\varphi$-features on $C^o$ (cf. also Bennis & Haegeman 1984, Carstens 2002, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002, Van Koppen 2005). As suggested throughout this paper, the $\varphi$-features on $C^o$ are believed to be unvalued, and can hence be classified as Probes in the sense of Chomsky (2002). The mechanism labeled *Agree* must then seek a suitable local Goal, in this case, the interpretable $\varphi$-feature set of the subject. This *Agree* relation is schematized in (21).

(21)

```
                        CP
                        |
                        C'
                       /  \
                     C°     TP
                   [uphi]  /  \
                     \  subject  T'
                      \ [iphi]  / \
                       \       T°  VP
                        \→         /\
                     AGREE        /  \
                                 /____\
```

As we will demonstrate in the following section, the minimalist analysis for C-agreement by means of Probe-Goal (*Agree*) relations is essentially the same for the alls-construction.

## 5.2    Prerequisite Two: properties of the Alls-Construction

Before we can provide our analysis of the alls-construction in Midwest AE, we first have to discuss some characteristics of this construction in more detail.

### 5.2.1    The phi-features playing a role in the Alls-construction

At this point it is necessary to determine exactly *which* features on embedded subjects actively participate in the alls-construction. We would like to suggest two potential factors that serve as triggers for the alls-construction. As indicated in the contrastive data in (12) above, re-represented as (22) below, *alls* appears when the subject is either 1$^{st}$ or 3$^{rd}$ person. A subject in 2$^{nd}$ person results in a highly marked structure.

(22)    a.    **All-s I** want to do, is drink coffee.

       b.    **\*All-s you**$_{SG}$ want to do, is drink coffee.

       c.    **All-s he** wants to do, is drink coffee

   d.  **All-s we** want to do, is drink coffee.

   e.  *__All-s you__$_{PL}$ want to do, is drink coffee.

   f.  **All-s they** want to do, is drink coffee.


To account for the fact that 2$^{nd}$ person pronouns and indefinites cannot license the alls-construction, we propose that the feature triggering agreement is [-addressee], i.e. second person pronouns have a [+addressee]-feature and hence do not trigger agreement. Furthermore, as alluded to by Richards (2005), indefinite DPs are unspecified for [person] which explains the inability of these to occur in tandem with the *alls-construction*. Second, as displayed in examples (23) – (24) below, the alls-construction can only be licensed by a definite DP (23), but not by an indefinite DP (24) or a bare indefinite (25).


(23) ?**Alls the bar** down the road does is make money on the weekends.

(24) ??**Alls a chair** can do is put you to sleep.

(25) *__Alls restaurants__ are these days is expensive.


As evidence by the data present in (23) – (25), the alls-construction is therefore licensed on a definiteness scale; highly definite XPs (e.g. pronominal and full DPs) serving as subjects are able to license the alls-construction whereas indefinites cannot.


### 5.2.2 The status of *all*


Another factor that needs to be sorted out is the status of *all*. Why can the inflection appear on this quantifier? What position does it occupy? There are two potential locations for *all.* Firstly, *all* could be assumed to be outside of the CP, in some sort of relative clause construction. Another possibility is that *all* is inside the CP. We would like to argue that the alls-construction does not involve a relative clause, with *all* being outside the CP, but rather that *all* sits inside the CP. If *all* is outside the CP, the alls-construction

should act as a DP. This means that it should be able to act as an indirect object. The examples in (26) show, however, that this is not possible.

(26)    a.      *I want to give him alls I can.                    Midwest AE

            b.      *They want to give me alls they have.

            c.      *Kelly wants to give him alls she has in her cupboard.

            d.      *I am waiting for alls you have to say.

The impossibility of the *alls-construction* to appear as an indirect object, we take as an indication that this construction is a CP, rather than a DP. Now the question arises what position *all* occupies within this CP. We will assume that *all* is an XP occupying the highest specifier of CP. This means that *all* is not te Probe for phi-features itself, as Probes are usually heads, but that the features of a lower head are spelled out on *all*. This is comparable to what happens with C-agreement in West Germanic SOV-languages, cf. example (11) above.

### 5.3      The analysis of the alls-construction

The fact that the alls-construction does not appear in all environments and is – at least to some extent – sensitive to the feature identity of the embedded subject (cf. (12) and (13)) is perhaps the most critical evidence in favor of labeling this phenomenon as a syntactic operation similar to C-agreement. In order to align our proposal that the same Probe-Goal mechanism involved in licensing C-agreement in West Germanic is by design the same relationship active in generating the alls-construction, we put forward the minimal hypothesis that the s-ending on *all* indicates the presence of phi-features on a head in the CP-domain. However, in contrast to what is assumed about C-agreement in West Germanic, we propose that in Midwest AE it is not the lower C°-head that carries the unvalued phi-feature, but the higher C°-head (in the sense of Rizzi 1997): i.e. the phi-features in Midwest AE are on Force°, whereas those in West Germanic are on Fin°.

As discussed above, in section 3, the following are potential arguments in favor of our analysis. First, it provides an account for the data in (27).

(27)  a.  **All-s I** want to do is smoke a cigarette.

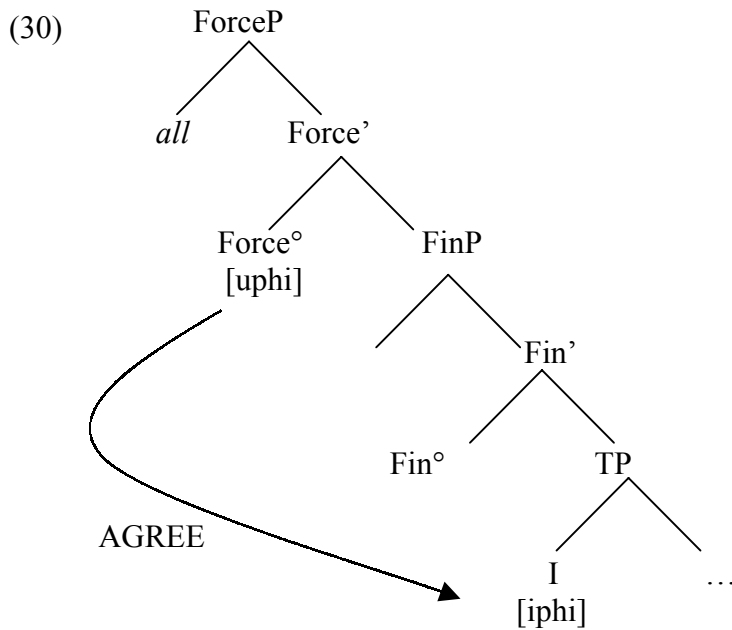 b.  ***All that-s I** want to do is smoke a cigarette.


The s-ending cannot appear on *that,* because this complementizer spells out the lower C°-head, i.e. Fin°, and hence cannot carry inflection belonging to a higher C-head. In contrast, the C-agreement in West Germanic can be spelled out on a different C-related element than the complementizer (cf. example (11)), as this inflection spells out the phi-features of a lower head, i.e. Fin°. The difference between Midwest AE and West Germanic thus boils down to the idea that the phi-features in Midwest AE are higher than all other C-related material, whereas the phi-features in West Germanic are lower than all other C-related material. Second, our hypothesis potentially provides an account for the fact that the s-ending does not appear on the finite verb as in (28):


(28)  ***Does I** have to go to school today?


The s-ending cannot appear on the finite verb in inversion context*,* because the finite verb arguably moves not higher than the lower C°-head and hence cannot carry inflection belonging to a higher C-head.

 The analysis of an example with the alls-construction now goes as follows. Consider the example in (29) and its derivation in (30).


(29)  **All-s I** want to do is smoke a cigarette.

(30)

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                  all      Force'
                          /      \
                    Force°        FinP
                    [uphi]       /     \
                       |        Fin'
                       |        /    \
                       |     Fin°     TP
               AGREE   |            /    \
                       |           I      …
                       └─────────→ [iphi]
```

In this example Force° contains unvalued phi-features. It searches it c-command domain and finds the subject as its suitable Goal. Force° and the subject enter into an agreement relation and this relation gets realized as an *s*-affix on the complementizer.

Now consider the example in (15b), repeated here as (31).

(31)    **\*All-s that I** know about Joe and Kelly is that they smell bad.

The question arises why the complementizer *that* blocks agreement on *all*. There are two potential answers. The first one is that the complementizer *that* acts as an intervener. The hi-features on Force° cannot look past the lower complementizer and hence the agreement relation between Force° and the subject cannot be established. However, it is not so clear that the lower complementizer *that* is an intervener as it does not carry phi-features itself. Another option is suggested by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002). They argue that you only get C-agreement if the subject is sufficiently local to the phi-features in C°. Thinking along these lines, we would like to claim that when the complementizer *that* is not present, the left periphery of CP is conflated and the features of Force° are sufficiently local to the subject. However, when the complementizer *that* is

present, the CP contains both a ForceP and a FinP and the phi-features of Force° and those of the subject are not sufficiently local.

## 6.      Remaining questions

There are two questions that have not been addressed before, but which represent crucial properties of the alls-construction. The first one is why the inflection in the alls-construction only appear on the quantifier *all* and not on other quantifiers, like *everything*? Secondly, the question arises why this inflection does not appear on on "high complementizers" like *whether* or *if*? Although we do not have full-fledged answers to these questions, we do like to sketch routes of investigation here.

The answer to the first question lies in one crucial difference between *everything* and *all* in the alls-construction. Consider the examples in (32).

(32)   a.      I want to give him *alls/everything I can.

        b.      They want to give me *alls/everything they have.

        c.      Kelly wants to give him *alls/everything she has in her cubboard.

        d.      I am waiting for *alls/everything you have to say.

These examples show that the alls-construction cannot appear as an indirect object. In section 5.2.2. we took this to mean that *all* in the alls-construction is within the CP. However, if we replace *all* with *everything*, then all of a sudden the construction can appear as an indirect object. Drawing the same conclusions as above, we could say that *everything* is outside CP, whereas *all* is inside CP. The construction with *everything* behaves like a DP, or more precisely like a relative clause, whereas the alls-contruction acts as a CP. Here, we think, lies the key to answer the first question.

The answer to the second question is less straightforward. A potential way to go, might be to argue that *whether* and *if* are not complementizers spelling out the Force°-head, but complementizers spelling out a lower CP-head. Potential candidates for this lower projection are IntP or WhP, projections argued by Rizzi (1999) to be lower than ForceP, hosting wh-items and wh-complementizers.

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## 7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that the alls-construction, which hails from the 'all as that'-construction, displays certain similarities with C-agreement: (i) just like C-agreement it is sensitive to the feature specification of the embedded subject and (ii) the alls-construction can only appear when there is no intervening C-related item between *all* and the embedded subject. However, the alls-construction also differs from C-agreement. Firstly, the inflectional ending of the alls-construction cannot appear on another, "lower", C-related element, like the complementizer *that*. West Germanic C-agreement can appear on another, "higher", C-related element, like a wh-word. Secondly, in contrast to C-agreement, the inflection on *all* in the alls-construction does not equal the inflection on the finite verb in inversion contexts.

We have argued that the alls-construction Midwest AE is comparable to C-agreement in West Germanic, in the sense that both constructions are the result of phi-feature checking between a head in the CP-domain and the embedded subject. However, the differences between the *alls*-construction and C-agreement can be accounted for if we assume that C-agreement in Midwest AE spells out a high C-head, whereas C-agreement in European Germanic spells out a low C-head.

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[1]    However, see Fuß (2005, forthcoming) for the argument that the Probe-Goal relation activating C-agreement morphology agrees with the entire φ-set of T rather than just the subject alone.

[2]    Zwart (1997) argues that there is a reduced complementizer in these examples. This means that the inflection according to his analysis does not sit on the wh-word, rather it is a reduced complementizer.

[3]    Although this appears to be consistently true for speakers of Midwestern American English, the restriction on 2nd person singular and plural subjects occurring with the alls-construction is acceptable to some speakers of Ozark dialects.

[4]    Unfortunately, it is impossible to put an adverb in between *all* and the embedded subject in Midwest AE. Therefore, it cannot be tested if adverbs lead to the same intervention effects as in West Germanic.

[5]    We refer the reader to Van Koppen (2005) for more subtle data concerning adverb intervention.