Inflected Numerals and Spec-head Agreement
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In generative-syntactic research, the Spec-Head configuration has been identified as a structural environment which is often associated with rich morphological expression. To give an example from the clausal domain: The phenomenon of past participle agreement in Romance languages (cf. Kayne 1989), as illustrated in (1b) for French, has been interpreted as a consequence of a nominal element (typically a direct object) passing through the spec-position of the past participle projection. As indicated by (1a), no agreement morphology is present on the participle, when the direct object remains in its base position, i.e. complement to V.

(1) a. Il a conduit(*es) [combien de voitures]?
     b. Combien de voitures a-t-il conduit**es**?

In this talk, I will investigate this relationship between the Spec-head configuration and rich morphological expression in the context of the noun phrase. More specifically, I will investigate the phenomenon of inflected numerals in Dutch, by taking a micro-comparative perspective on the morphosyntax of numerals in a variety of Dutch dialects. The dialectal data that we will consider are collected as part of the DiDDD-project (Diversity in Dutch DP Design), which is carried out at Utrecht University (cf. Corver et al. 2007) and aims at laying bare the dimensions of micro-diversity in the Dutch nominal domain.

As shown in (2a) for Ouddorp Dutch, a numeral must remain morphologically bare when it is followed by an overt noun. Example (2b), however, shows that –e (i.e., schwa) appears after the numeral, when the latter is not followed by a lexical (i.e. overt) noun. Arguably, there is an empty noun ('a trace') following the numeral as a result of subextraction of the quantitative R-pronoun *er* (there, 'of them'); cf. Kranendonk (2009), Corver & Kranendonk (2008), Corver, Van Koppen & Kranendonk (2009). It will be argued that displacement of the R-pronoun to the Spec-position of the numeral triggers the appearance of the bound morpheme –e.

(2) a. Teun heet vuuf(*-e) boeken ekocht   (Ouddorp Dutch)
         Teun has five(-e) books bought
         'Teun bought five books.'
     b. Teun heet-er vuuf*(-e) ekocht
         Teun has-there five(-e) bought
         'Teun bought five of them.'

As shown in (3), -e also shows up in so-called numeric-quantifier constructions:

(3) ik he bie [alle vuuf**e** de zusjes van Jen] op school ezeten   (Ouddorp Dutch)
     I have with all five-e the sisters of Jen at school been
     'I was in the same class as all five sisters of Jen's.'

Taking the appearance of –e to be a diagnostic sign for the application of displacement to a Spec-position (yielding a spec-head agreement configuration triggering the appearance of -e), I will argue that the derivation of numeric quantifier constructions also involves a DP-internal displacement process.