The typology of syntactic positions: L-relatedness and the A/A' distinction

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0. Introduction

The empirical focus of this paper is the distribution of object clitics in West Flemish (WF) which will be analysed in terms of the Minimalist Programme. On the theoretical level, my analysis will examine the relation between A-positions and L-related positions and I hope to show the need for maintaining a distinction between A-positions and A'-positions in addition to the contrast between L-related and non L-related positions. The outcome of the analysis is that syntactic positions are classified according to both the A/A'-contrast and to L-relatedness vs. non - L relatedness, leading to 4 types of XP positions. The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 is a summary of the standard Government and Binding (GB) assumptions concerning the notions of A and A'-positions, and it contains a brief discussion of the notion L-relatedness in Minimalist terms. Section 2 is a survey of the central properties of Romance clitics, which serves as the background for the discussion of WF clitics. Section 3 is a discussion of the distribution of argument DPs in WF; they will be shown to occupy three types of surface sentence internal positions, in three domains referred to as Zone 1, Zone 2 and Zone 3. Zone 3 corresponds to the so called Predicate Phrase (Zwart 1993a, 1993b, Koster 1993), Zone 2 is the domain which is associated with object shift and can be identified with AGRoP, Zone 1 is a domain high in the clause which also contains object clitics. Negative Concord (NC) data provide empirical evidence for distinguishing Zones 1 and 2. In section 4 I explore the structure of Zone 1 in more detail, basing the analysis on the distribution of clitics in WF. Section 5 offers further support for the analysis based on acquisition data. Section 6 is the conclusion and raises topics for future research.

1. A-positions, A'-positions and L-relatedness

1.1.The GB tradition: A-positions vs A'-positions

In this section I briefly go over the discussion of A-positions and A'-positions developed in Haegeman (Forthcoming). This section elaborates and extends the analysis of Rizzi (1991b).

1.1.1 A-positions

In the earlier GB literature (Chomsky 1981 and subsequent work, cf. Haegeman 1994[2] for a summary) A-positions were the central positions in the clause to which Grammatical Functions (GF) such as subject or object are assigned in traditional grammar, A'-positions were the more peripheral positions which were not uniquely associated with a GF. [Spec,IP], for instance, is an A-position: it is the canonical subject position; [Spec,CP], on the other hand, is a prototypical A'-position: it may be associated with various GFs. In the earlier tradition A-positions were equated with potential thematic positions, i.e. positions to which thematic roles could be assigned. A-positions are relevant for binding, the Binding Theory being a theory of A-binding. The canonical subject position, [Spec, IP] - was assumed to be the base position of subjects in transitive sentences, it is relevant for binding; A-movement, i.e. movement of an DP to an A-position instantiated by passive structures or raising structures, is typically to the canonical subject position.

Following work by Kitagawa (1986), Kuroda (1986), Sportiche (1988), Koopman and Sportiche (1991) etc. it is now generally assumed that the canonical subject position,i.e. [Spec, IP] or [Spec,AGRs] in the split INFL tradition (Pollock 1989), is not the thematic position of the subject. The base position of the thematic subject is VP-internal, the subject DP moves to [Spec,AGRP] for case reasons. Still, there are empirical arguments for distinguishing the canonical subject position from typical A'-positions such as [Spec,CP]. I repeat one such argument here (cf. Haegeman (Forthcoming chapter 5) and 1994[2] (especially chapter 12)). Consider the interpretation of the DP *John* in (1):

1 He_i is [$_{VP}$ t_i going to bed] [because $John_{j/*i}$ is sick].

In (1) coreference between the subject of the matrix clause, *he,* and that of the embedded reason clause, *John,* is excluded. If the reason clause is TP-adjoined then we cannot impute the disjoint reference effect to the role played by the VP internal trace of the subject, t_i, since t_i is too low in the structure to c-command the DP *John.* We conclude that the DP in canonical subject position of the matrix clause, he_i, is responsible for the Principle C effect in (1): $John_i$ is bound illicitly by the pronoun he_i.

Integrating the proposals that the canonical subject position, [Spec,AGRsP], is not a theta position and that the base position of the subject is VP-internal, Rizzi (1991b) defines A-positions as thematic positions and specifiers of AGR. Making the latter more precise, let us say that what is relevant for the A-status of a (non thematic) position is (i) that it be a specifier position of an AGR projection, and (ii) that the DP in the specifier position share *phi* features with the head:

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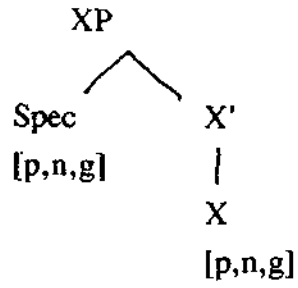

In such an approach both [Spec,AGRsP] and [Spec,AGRoP] are A-positions. [1]

1.1.2. A'-positions

In the GB tradition it was originally assumed that A-positions and A'-positions were in complementary distribution: A'-positions were those (XP)-positions which did not qualify as A-positions. There was no positive definition available for A'-positions. In Haegeman (Forthcoming) I develop an account in which A'-positions are defined by intrinsic properties.

Let us start from the prototypical A'-positions: [Spec, CP] and [Spec, NegP]. The A'-status of [Spec, CP] is based on the observation that it characteristically hosts operators (such as WH phrases). [Spec, NegP] is assumed to be occupied by an (negative) operator. The blocking effect of negative islands on WH-movement of adjuncts (cf. Rizzi 1990a) then correlates with the fact that both [Spec,CP] and [Spec,NegP] are A'-specifiers. This leads us to identify A'- position as those which have operator features. Assuming that WH phrases are subject to the WH Criterion (Rizzi 1991a) and that negative constituents are subject to the NEG Criterion (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman forthcoming), WH operators and negative operators will have to have a specifier head relation with a head with the relevant operator feature. Let us tentatively say that a constituent occupies an A'-position if it occupies a specifier position in which it shares operator features with a head, where I assume that operator features are WH, NEG and FOC (for Focus).[2]

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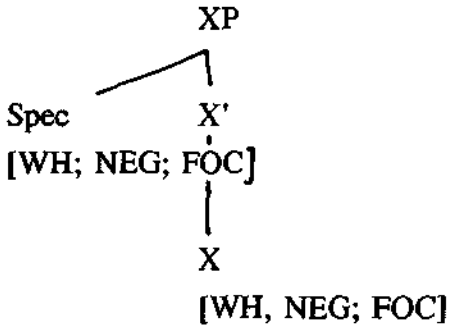


We arrive at a symmetric definition of A and A'-positions in which both configurational relations (specifier head agreement) and content of the position (feature sharing) play a part. A-positions agree with a head in terms of *phi* features (person, number, gender, perhaps case) and A'-positions agree with a head in terms of operator features (NEG, WH, F) (cf. Agouraki 1993 for similar ideas). [3]

1.2. L-relatedness and A-positions

In this section I introduce the notion of L-relatedness.as developed in Mahajan (1990) and Chomsky (1993). At first glance (see Mahajan 1990) it would appear as if the notion A-position in the GB model corresponds to the notion of L-related position as developed in the Minimalist Programme. This would mean that we replace the contrast between A-positions and A'-positions by that between : L-related positions, and non-L-related positions.

> The functional elements Tense and AGR therefore incorporate features of the verb. Let us call these features V-features: the function of the V-features of an inflectional element I is to check the morphological properties of the Verb selected from the lexicon. More generally, let us call such features of a lexical item L *L-features.* Keeping to the X-bar-theoretic notions, we say that A-position is *L-related* if it is in a local relation to an L-feature, that is, in the internal domain or checking domain of a head with an L-feature. Furthermore, the checking domain can be subdivided into two categories: non-adjoined (Spec) and adjoined. Let us call these positions *narrowly* and *broadly* L-related, respectively. *A structural position that is narrowly L-related has the basic properties of A-positions; one that is not L-related has the basic properties of A'-positions, in particular, [Spec,C], not L-related if C does not contain a V-feature.* (Chomsky 1993: 28-9)

As seen above, [Spec,CP], which is considered an A'-position in the GB tradition is a non-L related position in the Minimalist model (Zwart 1993b). If we follow Chomsky (1993) and we assimilate the contrast between L-related positions and non-L-related positions to that between A-positions and A'-positions, then we predict that in terms of Relativized Minimality, only L-related positions can intervene in chains of L-related positions, and only non-L related positions can intervene between non L-related positions. This prediction seems to be borne out in the following examples:

4a *John seems as if it is likely to go

4b *How did you wonder when [John would cut the cake t]

In (4a) the subject *John* has moved from the lower L-related subject position to the higher L-related subject position across the L-related [Spec,AGRsP] occupied by *it*. The intervention of the L-related position in the subject chain can be argued to account for the ungrammaticality (SuperRaising)[4]. In (4b) movement of the adjunct *how* to a non-L-related [Spec,CP] across the intervening *when* which is also in a non-L-related [Spec,CP] is ungrammatical.

Consider now (5):

5a Why did they say that he was going to fire John?
5b Why did they not say that he was going to fire John?

In (5a) *why* can have long construal, this means that it can be connected to a trace in the embedded clause; *why* antecedent-governs the trace in the lower clause; in (5b) long construal is not possible. Following Rizzi (1990a) we assume that the intervening *not* in [Spec,NegP] blocks the antecedent-government relation between the moved adjunct *why* and its trace. This analysis presupposes that the specifier of NegP is a position of the same kind as [Spec,CP]. In the GB approach, [Spec,CP] is an A'-position, and so is [Spec,NegP]. In the framework where L-relatedness replaces the A/A'-opposition, [Spec,CP] is non-L-related. But it is unlikely that [Spec,NegP] is not L-related. Typically the negative head is V-related, V movement cannot skip Neg° (cf. Pollock 1989 and related work), suggesting that the negative head is part of the head chain created by V-movement. Moreover very often the finite verb and the negative head incorporate. If Neg° is a functional head which is V-related, [Spec,NegP] is L-related. This means that an L-related position intervenes in an antecedent-government chain headed by a constituent in a non-L related position, an unexpected result. In order to account for the intervention effect of [Spec,NegP], one option is to maintain the contrast between A-positions and A'-positions, in addition to the contrast in terms of L-relatedness. If this account is on the right track then we cannot equate A-positions with L-related positions and A'-positions with non L-related positions, rather than 2 types of positions we end up with 4:

6. The typology of positions

	L-related	non L-related
A	[Spec,AGRsP]; [Spec,AGRoP] ?[Spec,TP] (Chomsky 1993)	
A'	[Spec,NegP]	[Spec,CP]

The classification in (6) has as yet one empty slot: there are no instances of non L-related A-positions. If L-related A'-positions can be identified, i.e. L-related positions which are associated with operators, then we would expect that there are also non-L related A-positions. In the remainder of the paper I will argue that such positions do exist.
The data I will be using will be drawn from WF. [5]

If the typology developed in (6) is motivated then the question will arise how it interacts with movement effects. In the standard assumptions A-positions intervene in A-chains, A'-positions intervene in A'-chains. Further research has to establish if there are more complex interactions in which the concept of L-relatedness plays a part, leading to further Relativized Minimality effects. Similarly, we will also need to examine the role of the typology in (6) with respect to improper movement.[6]

2. Clitics

In this section I provide a brief survey of the syntax of clitics. Section 2.1. concentrates on Romance clitics, section 2.2. concentrates on Germanic clitics.

2.1. Romance clitics

The traditional assumption in the literature is that the Romance clitics are verbal clitics (Kayne 1975); the landing site for cliticization is a V-related functional head (Rizzi 1994b). Both in pro-clisis and in enclisis, the clitic and its verbal host form a syntactic constituent (Benincà and Cinque 1991): evidence that the verb and the enclitic form a unit is that the clitic is carried along by the AUX-to-C movement in Italian (7) (cf. Rizzi (1982)). Under standard approaches (7a) will be excluded by the HMC (Travis 1984) which reduces to the ECP.

7a *Avendo Gianni la restituita al direttore
having Gianni it restored to the director

7b Avendola Gianni restituita al direttore
having-it Gianni restored to the director

In (8) I present the distribution of Romance clitics schematically: French (8a) is an example of pro-clisis, French (8b) illustrates enclisis, (8c) is the pattern for what I will call the free clitic. I return to it presently. (8d) is not attested in Romance.

8a cl-V

Je l'ai vu
I it have seen

8b V-cl
Fais-le
do it

8c cl XP V

8d V XP cl

The free clitic construction is found, for instance in Portuguese (9a), in Old Spanish (9b) , and also in certain constructions in French (9c) and (9d):

9a Mandou que lhe eu entregasse o dinheiro (Rouveret 1993)
he ordered that him I hand over the money

9b Assi como les dios auie prometido (Halpern and Fontana 1993)
so as them god had promised

9c % pour le bien faire (Kayne 1975)
for it well do

9d % n'en pas parler (Kayne 1975)
ne of it *pas* talk

In finite clauses the clitics move as high as the finite V; in (10a) the clitic *les* ('them') has moved to AGRs with the finite auxiliary *ai* ('have'), in (10b) the clitic has moved to C° along with the inflected auxiliary *as* ('have').

10a Je ne les ai pas invités à la fête
I *ne* them have not invited to the party
'I did not invite them to the party.'

10b Pourquoi ne les as-tu pas invités à la fête?
why *ne* them have you not invited to the party
'Why did you not invite them to the party?'

There is evidence that clitics in French do not always move to AGRs.

11a Ne pas les inviter à la fête serait une erreur
ne pas them invite to the party would be a mistake
'To not invite them to the party would be a mistake.'

11b Toujours les inviter à la fête est important
always them invite to the party is important

'To always invite them to the party is important.'

In (11a) the clitics *les* remains lower than *pas*, i.e. it remains lower than the specifier of NegP, and in (11b) the clitic remains lower than the adverbial *toujours*. Most plausibly we assume that the landing site of the French clitic is AGRo and that it subsequently will be carried along to a higher position (Agrs in (10a) or C° in (11b)) as a result of V-movement. Observe that the clitic cannot be stranded in AGRo:

12a *Je n'ai pas les invités à la fête. (cf. (10a))
I *ne* have not them invited to the party
12b *Pourquoi as-tu les invités à la fête? (cf. (10b))
why have you them invited to the party

Given the participial agreement in (10a), where the past participle *invités* ('invited') agrees with the clitic for gender and number features, it is standardly assumed that the clitic first moves as a maximal projection, triggering agreement with the participial head (cf. Kayne 1989). [7] Let us assume the approximate structures in (13) for cliticization in Romance:

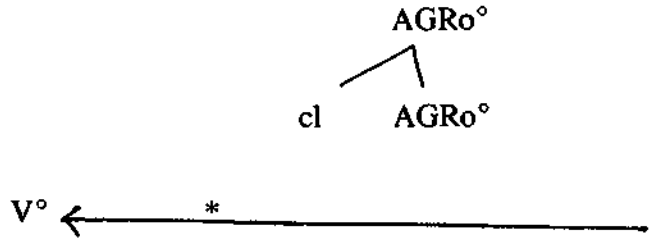
13a Proclisis vs 13b Enclisis

In (13a) the clitic is adjoined to the functional head AGRo°, and V° substitutes for the head; in (13b) the clitic adjoins to the head and V° adjoins to the clitic (cf. Rizzi 1994b). These representations are tentative. Crucial is that the clitic moves to an L-related (i.e. in this case V-related) functional head and V° must also associate with that head in order to check the relevant AGRo features. What I have called the free clitic construction in (9) would be represented as in (13c):

13c

In (13c) the clitic occupies the same position as in (13a) and in (13b) but V movement is procrastinated. (13d) represents the structure of the illicit (8d):

13d



In Romance V-movement by-passing the clitic is impossible: we assume that AGRo is V-related. When V moves, it will have to check a V-feature in AGRo and if it by-passes the head, this feature remains unchecked. In more traditional terms (13d) violates Travis's (1984) head movement constraint, reducible to the ECP (cf. also Rizzi 1990a). Given the ungrammaticality of (12a) and (12b) I assume that once associated with AGRo° the clitic V° cannot excorporate.

2.2. WF clitics

2.2.1. Introduction

In this section I consider the distribution of clitic elements *t* ('it'), *ze* ('them', 'her') and *der* ('some') in WF[8] and I will compare their properties with those of regular DPs. I assume that the analysis carries over to Dutch *t* ('it'), *er* (some') and *ze* ('them') and to German *es* ('it'). For some literature see among others Cardinaletti (1992a, 1992b), Zwart (1992b), Cardinaletti and Starke (1993, 1994).

As a first observation, note that object clitics in WF do not have the same distribution as overt DPs. In WF, a DO DP must follow the IO, but a DO clitic like *ze* or *t* has a number of additional positions (cf. 14a-c). Similarly, IO *ze* can precede the subject DP, while an IO DP cannot (14d). Finally, object clitics cannot be the complement of prepositions, while pronouns can:

14a k peinzen da Valère Marie Jan **ze/die boeken** nie zien geven eet
I think that Valère Marie Jan them/ those books not see give has
14b k peinzen da Valère Marie **ze** Jan nie zien geven eet
14c k peinzen da Valère **ze** Marie Jan nie zien geven eet
14d k peinzen da **ze** Valère Marie Jan nie zien geven eet
14c k peinzen da Valère die boeken an eur/*ze gegeven eet
I think that Valère those books to her/*cl given has

One way of accounting for the special distribution of *ze* is to assume that it is a clitic. The leftward movement of the clitic in (14b)-(14d) would be interpreted as X° movement which does not interact with the intervening DP positions. For arguments that Dutch has clitics cf. Jaspers (1989), Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991), Zwart (1992b).

Under this assumption, though, we are led to the conclusion that WF clitics (and Germanic clitics in more general terms) cannot be verbal clitics: they are dissociated from V°. This is confirmed by the distribution of object clitics in root clauses where the clitic is not carried along by the V-to-C movement.

15a Ee Valère Marie Jan ze/**die boeken** nie zien geven?
has Valère Marie Jan them/those books not seen give?
15b Ee Valère Marie **ze** Jan nie zien geven?
15c Ee Valère **ze** Marie Jan nie zien geven?

As discussed in section 2.1, pro-clisis (16a) and enclisis (16b) are the usual configurations in Romance (cf. (8a) and (8b)), and there are also some configurations where the clitic is separated from a V° to its right (16c) and which I referred to as the free clitic (cf. (8c) and the illustrations in (9)), but (16d), which would violate the HMC, is not grammatical (cf. 8d)) (Rizzi 1994). The question arises how to account for the fact that the WF (i.e. Germanic) clitic is not hosted by a verb in general and that V-movement strands the clitics, leading to a representation as in (16d) without apparent HMC violation.

16a. [cl-V°]
16b. [V°-cl]
16c. [cl] XP [V°]
16d. *Rom/OK Ger **[V°] XP [cl]**

I will propose that WF clitics are like Romance clitics in that their host is a functional head. Romance clitics are hosted by a V-related functional head; the functional head which hosts the WF clitics is not V-related, or more generally: it is not L-related. The landing site of the clitic is a non L-related functional head. As a consequence, WF clitic movement does not interact with V-movement.

2.2.2. Morphology

In the literature, a number of arguments have been advanced for the clitic status of *ze*, *der* and *t*. I shall not repeat these here for reasons of space. The reader is referred to the literature and especially to Zwart (1992b),for the WF data (Haegeman 1993a, 1993b,

1993c) and to Cardinaletti and Starke (1994) for a general discussion of the contrast clitics vs. weak pronouns.

Let me discuss some specific properties of the WF clitics, though. Clitics in WF do not have any obvious morphological correlation with the parallel personal pronouns. This is shown in the table in (17). If anything, the clitic *ze*, has more affinity to a demonstrative pronoun than to the object personal pronouns *eur* ('her') and *under* ('them').[9]

17.	Personal pronoun	Clitic	Demonstrative pronoun
3sg-fem	eur	**ze**	de deze
			the this
3sg-neut		t	da/ dadde
3pl	under	**ze**	**de deze**
Indefinite:		**der** ('en/ne/some')	**doar** ('there')

2.2.3. Interpretation: clitics and Principle C

Based on the diagnostics developed by Kayne (Kayne 1975) the WF object clitics are syntactically dependent: they cannot be coordinated, they cannot be modified, they cannot occur in isolation (for similar arguments applied to the Germanic languages see among others Cardinaletti 1992a; Cardinaletti 1992b, Cardinaletti and Starke 1993; Holmberg 1991; Josefsson 1992). Semantically too, *ze*, *t* and *der* have the properties associated with dependent elements (Cardinaletti and Starke 1993). Third person object clitics can refer both to [+human] and [-human] elements, while the pronominal counterparts (*eur* ('her'), *under* ('them')) can only have the value [+human] (Haegeman 1993b).

20.	k'een ze gezien	k'een eur gezien[10]
	I have cl seen	I have pronoun seen
	'I have seen it.'	*'I have seen it.'
	'I have seen her .'	'I have seen her'

WF object clitics have additional interpretive properties which set them apart from the related personal pronouns and which also set them apart from some of the Romance clitics. This is illustrated in (21). Personal pronouns such as *eur* ('her') may receive both a reflexive reading, in which case they are bound in their GC, or a pronominal reading, in which case they are free in their GC, and can be bound outside. In (21a) *eur* may be interpreted as dependent on *Marie*, the subject, or it may be free. In (21b) the pronoun *eur* may be bound by *Marie*, the subject of the higher clause.

21a da Marie$_i$ eur$_{i/j}$ gewassen eet
that Marie her washed has
'that Marie has washed herself/her'

21b. da Marie$_i$ peinst da Jan eur$_{i/j}$ gezien eet
that Marie thinks that Jan her seen has

However, the clitic *ze* cannot have this bound reading, it seems as if the clitic is subject to Principle C in that it must not be bound either within its GC (parallel to (21a)) or outside it (as in (21b)). The following examples illustrate this.

22a da Marie$_i$ **ze**$_{j/*i}$ gewassen eet
that Marie her washed has
'that Marie has washed herself/her'

22b. da Marie$_i$ peinst da Jan **ze**$_{j/*i}$ gezien eet
that Marie thinks that Jan her seen has

In (22a) the clitic *ze* cannot receive a reflexive reading and in (22b) it cannot be bound by the DP *Marie*, even though the latter is outside its GC. Even if we embed the sentence further down, we see that the clitic cannot be bound by a c-commanding antecedent:[11]

22c. da Marie$_i$ peinst da Valère zeid da Jan **ze**$_{j/*i}$ gezien eet
that Marie thinks that Valère said that Jan her seen has

On the other hand, the clitic can be coreferential with another DP, as long as the latter does not c-command the clitic:

23a. da Marie$_i$ eur broere peinst da Jan **ze** $_{i/j}$ gezien eet
that Marie her brother thinks that Jan her seen has

23b Oa Marie$_i$ binnenkwam een-k ik **ze** $_{i/j}$ nie gezien
when marie in cam have I not her seen

23c Marie $_i$ kwam binnen en Valère zag ze $_{i/j}$ direkt
Marie came in and Valère saw her immediately

The same Principle C effects are observed with the clitic *der*, which again contrasts with the personal pronoun. In (24a) *der* cannot be bound by *Valere*, while the pronoun *em* in (24b) can be bound by *Valere*:

24a. Valère$_i$ peinst dan'k der$_{j/*i}$ nie tegen willen klappen

Valère thinks that I there not against want talk

24b. Valère$_i$ peinst dan'k nie tegen em$_{i/j}$ willen klapen

Valère thinks that I not against him want talk

In (25a)-(25c) *der* can be coreferential with *Valère*, since the latter does not c-command *der.*

25a Valère$_i$ zen moeder peinst dan-k der$_{i/j}$ nie tegen willen klappen

Valère his mother thinks that I there not against want talk

25b Oa Valère$_i$ binnenkwam een-k der$_{i/j}$ nie tegen geklaapt

when Valère in came have I there not against talked

25c k'een Valère$_i$ gezien moa k'een der$_{j/i}$ nie tegen geklaapt

I have Valère seen but I have there not against talked

'I saw Valère but I did not talk to him.'

The WF object clitics are distinct then from third person object clitics such as *le/la/les ('him', 'her', 'them')* in French: in (26) *le* can be bound by the matrix subject.

26 Jean$_i$ pense que Marie l$_{i/j}$'aime

Jean thinks that Marie him likes

On the other hand the behaviour of the object clitic *ze* and *der* is like that of the French clitic *en* as discussed extensively by Ruwet (1990) and by Lamiroy (1985, 1991).

27 Jean$_i$ pense que Marie en$_{j/*i}$ est amoureuse

(Ruwet 1990, Lamiroy 1985; 1991)

Jean thinks that Marie of-him is in love

A similar Principle C effect is observed by Belletti (1994) with respect to Italian *ne* . In (28a) *ne* replaces a PP with a pronominal complement. It can be coreferential with the DP *Gianni* in the preceding clause. But in (28b), where *Gianni* c-commands *ne,* coreference is excluded. The contrast between (28c) and (28d) shows the same effect for partitive *ne.* The pronoun *loro* does not give rise to Principle C effects in (28e).

28a. Ho visto Gianni$_j$ ieri. Ne$_{i/j}$ ho parlato agli altri

I-have seen Gianni yesterday. I talked about him to the others.

28b. Gianni$_j$ dice che ne$_{i/*j}$ ho parlato agli altri.

Gianni says that I of him have talked to the others

'Gianni says that I talked about him to the others.'

28c. [Gianni e Mario]$_j$ sono arrivati. Dovro ricerverne almeno uno $e_{j/i}$ prima delle undici

Gianni and Mario are arrived. I will have to receive ne at least one before eleven

28d. [Gianni e Mario]$_j$ mi hanno chiesto di ricerverne almeno [uno $e_{j/*i}$] prima delle undici.(Cresti 1993: 8)

Gianni and Mario me have asked to receive *ne* at least one before eleven.

'Gianni and Mario have asked me to receive at least one of them before eleven.'

28e. [Gianni e Mario]$_j$ mi hanno chiesto di ricevere almeno uno di loro$_{i/j}$ prima delle undici. (Cresti 1993: 8)

Gianni and Mario me have asked to receive at least one of them before eleven

'Gianni and Mario have asked me to receive at least one of them before eleven'.

It is not clear how the WF instances of clitics subject to Principle C and the Romance cases can be given a unified account. I leave this for future study.

3. Distribution of arguments: 'scrambling'

3.1. Some preliminary notes on the syntax of West Flemish.

Like Standard Dutch, and like German, WF is a so-called Verb Second (V2) language: in matrix clauses the finite verb ends up in second position. For the purposes of this paper I assume that the finite V° moves to C° to create the V2 configuration. I will not enter into the details of this analysis, specifically I do not want to decide between an analysis where V° always moves to a specific position in C° and an analysis in which the V2 phenomenon is not unified (as in Zwart 1993b). I hope to examine this issue in future work.

Non finite verbs and finite verbs of non root clauses appear in sentence final position in WF. In the traditional analysis this is taken as evidence that the functional projections of the IP system, AGRP and TP, are head final. In seminal work on Dutch syntax Zwart (1993a,b) adopts a universal base hypothesis (cf. Kayne 1993) which proposes that the specifier head order and the head complement order is universally fixed, and that heads always precede their complements. Following this line we propose that he functional projections of the IP system of Germanic are head-initial, and that the fact that the verb appears in final position in the contexts mentioned is due, on the one hand, to the fact that the inflected verb does not move to the highest functional head until the level of LF, and, on the other hand, to a generalized leftward movement of the complements and adjuncts[12]. We will in fact see that under the analysis proposed here the clitic data in WF provide independent evidence for head initial functional projections in the Germanic languages.

Following my own work on negation (Haegeman : Forthcoming) I also assume that WF has a NegP whose specifier position can be occupied by *nie*. [13]

3.2. Two types of scrambling

There is a vast literature on scrambling in Dutch and German and for reasons of space I cannot ho into it here. The reader is referred, among others, to Rullman (1989), van den Wyngaerd (1989), Mahajan (1990), Johnson (1991), de Hoop (1992), Frank et al (1992), Zwart (1993a, 1993b), Haeberli (1994). I assume that *nie* is in [Spec,NegP]. (29) shows that the direct object *dienen boek* has moved to the left of negation. A definite direct object DP may precede or follow the S-adverbial *verzekerst*, but it must precede the negation marker *nie* (29c).

29a. da Valère gisteren **dienen boek**$_i$ nie an Marie t_i gegeven eet
that Valère yesterday that book not to Marie given has
'that Valère did not give that book to Mary yesterday.'

29b. da Valère **dienen boek**$_i$ gisteren nie an Marie t_i gegeven eet
that Valère that book yesterday not to Marie given has
'that Valère did not give that book to yesterday.'

29c. *da Valère gisteren nie an Marie **dienen boek** gegeven eet

The leftward movement of argument DPs is often referred to as scrambling. An analysis of the distribution of argument DPs suggests that between the sentence initial complementizer and the sentence final finite V there are three zones in which object arguments appear in WF, which I schematically represent in (30):

30 Three zones for objects

1	SU <---> adverb	DPs; clitics
2	adverb <---> niet	DPs; *clitics
3	niet <---> V	*def DPs;*clitics

Zone 3 corresponds to the lowest position for objects. In a framework where it is assumed that SVO is the universal base structure, Zone 3 can be equated with the Predicate Phrase of Koster (1993) and Zwart (1993a,b). I refer the reader to the literature. Zone 2 is the domain immediately to the left of the specifier of NegP, *nie*. All definite arguments move obligatorily to A-position to the left of NegP in WF. Zone 1 is a higher domain preceding sentence adverbials. There are a number of arguments for distinguishing Zone 1 from Zone 2. I return to them presently.

Definite object DPs either precede the sentential adverbial, and occupy Zone 1 (31a), or they follow a sentence adverbial and precede negation, i.e. the appear in Zone 2 (31b). They cannot appear in Zone 3 (31c):

31a. da Valère **dienen boek**$_i$ gisteren nie an Marie t_i gegeven eet
that Valère that book yesterday not to Marie given has
'that Valère did not give Mary that book yesterday.'

31b. da Valère gisteren **dienen boek**$_i$ nie an Marie t_i gegeven eet

31c. *da Valère gisteren nie an Marie **dienen boek** gegeven eet

There is a rigid ordering constraint on the sequencing of object DPs and the subject DP in WF. (32) summarizes the ordering constraint, it applies to all the definite arguments, regardless whether they appear in Zone 2 or in Zone 1.

32a. SU-IO-DO

32b. SU1-SU2-IO2-DO2

In (33) I give the pattern for a ditransitive sentence, in (34) I give the pattern for a sentence with a causative or perception verb whose clausal complement contains a ditransitive verb: in such cases all the arguments of the lower clause (here represented as SU2, IO2 and DO2) must move into the matrix domain.

33a.	da		Valère		Marie	dienen boek verzekerst				nie	toogt
	C		SU		IO	DO	Adv			nie	V
33b.	C		SU		IO		Adv	DO		nie	V
33c.	C		SU				Adv	IO	DO	nie	

Alternative orderings violating (32a) are impossible:

33d.	*C		SU	DO	IO		Adv			nie	V
33e.	*C	DO	SU		IO		Adv			nie	...
33f.	*C	IO	SU			DO	Adv			nie	
33g.	*C		SU				Adv	DO	IO	nie	
33h.	*C		SU			DO	Adv		IO	nie	
33i.	*C	DO	SU				Adv		IO	nie	

(34) illustrates the more complex instances with perception verbs.

34a.	da		Valère	Marie	Jan	dienen	boek	verzekerst			nie	zien	geven eet
	C		SU1		SU2		IO2	DO2	Adv			nie	V1-V2
34b.	C		SU1		SU2		IO2		Adv		DO2	nie	
34c.	C		SU1		SU2				Adv	IO2	DO2	nie	
34d.	*C		SU1		SU2	**DO2**	**IO2**		Adv			nie	
34e.	*C		SU1	**DO2**	**SU2**		IO2		Adv			nie	
34f.	*C		SU1	**IO2**	**SU2**	DO2			Adv			nie	
34g.	*C		SU1		SU2			Adv	**DO2**	**IO2**		nie	
34h.	*C		SU1		SU2		**DO2**	Adv		**IO2**		nie	
34i.	*C		SU1	**DO2**	**SU2**			Adv		**IO2**		nie	
34j.	*C	**SU2**	**SU1**			IO2	DO2	Adv				nie	
34k.	*C	**IO2**	**SU1**		**SU2**		DO2.....etc						

While argument DPs must move leftward out of Zone 1, argument PPs can remain within the PredP. I take this as evidence that the leftward DP movement is case driven, hence that it will involve at least some stage of A-movement:

35 da Valère dienen boek verzekerst nie*(an) Marie gegeven eet
that Valère that book probably not *(to) Marie given has

The rigid ordering effect for scrambled DPS, both in Zone 1 and in Zone 2, suggests also that the leftward movements of the DPs is A-movement. Again PP arguments are not submitted to these ordering constraints:

36a. da Valère dienen boek *(an) Marie verzekerst nie gegeven eet
that Valère that book to Marie probably not given has
da SU DO IOpp Adv nie V

36b da Valère verzekerst dienen boek *(an) Marie nie gegeven eet
that Valère probably that book to Marie not given has
da SU adv DO IOpp

When an argument DP is moved to the first position of the root clause, arguably an instantiation of A'-movement in traditional GB terms, it is not subject to the rigid ordering constraints with respect to other argument DPs whether the latter be in Zone 2 (37a) or in Zone 1 (37b):

37a. **Dienen boek** ee Valère verzekerst **Marie** nog nie gegeven
[CP DO [C° Vfin] [IP SU Adv IO nie V

37b. **Dienen boek** ee Valère **Marie** verzekerst nog nie gegeven
[CP DO [C° Vfin] [IP SU IO Adv nie V

Another reason for assuming that the leftward movement of arguments into Zone 1 and Zone 2 is of the A-type is that it does not give rise to WCO effects:

38a dan ze die boeken$_i$ gisteren ip under$_i$ platse nie gezet een
that they those books yesterday on their place not put have
38b dan ze gisteren die boeken$_i$ ip under$_i$ platse nie gezet een

Finally, unlike typical A'-movement, the leftward movement of the object DP does not license parasitic gaps:

39a *dan-k ik dienen brief gisteren zonder te overlezen ipgestierd een
that I that letter without to reread sent have
39b *dan-k ik gisteren dienen brief zonder te overlezen ipgestierd een
that I I yesterday that letter without to reread sent have

Parasitic gaps are licensed in WF from what are generally assumed to be A'-positions: i.e. the position of the WH operator in interrogatives and that of the topic in V2 root sentences:

40a. ?Wavuonen brief een-ze zunder te overlezen ipgestierd?
which letter have they without to re read sent
'Which letter did they mail without rereading?'
40b. ?Dienen brief een-ze zunder te overlezen ipgestierd
This letter, they sent without checking.

As a first approximation, to be substantiated presently, I propose that the leftward movement of the object into Zone 2 be assimilated to movement to AGRoP along the lines argued by Vanden Wyngaerd (1989), Zwart (1993b) and which is closely similar to Scandinavian object shift. Observe, though, that on a universal SVO account, object shift in WF (and in other Westgermanic languages) does not interact with V-movement, an issue which needs to be addressed. There is no obvious way in which the movement of both object DP to [Spec,AGRoP] and of the subject DP to [Spec,AGRsP] is made possible by the leftward movement of the finite V to AGRo and AGRs.

In addition to the movement of the object to the specifier position of AGRoP, I would like to assume that there is a second movement of the object to a higher domain, identified here as Zone 1. This movement is triggered by an independent feature 'R',

associated with the functional heads in Zone 1. The distribution of clitics in WF provides overt evidence for the need to postulate head initial functional heads high in the clausal domain.

3.3. Zone 1 vs Zone 2

I have suggested that two domains for leftward movement are to be demarcated: Zone 1, to the left of the sentence adverbial and Zone 2 to the left of sentential negation. Let us consider some arguments for this assumption. Definite object DPs must appear to the left of the negative marker *nie*; they need not precede the sentential adverbial, while object clitics must precede such adverbial.[14]

41a *da Valère verzekerst ze kent
that Valère probably them knows
41b da Valère ze verzekerst kent
that Valère them probably knows
41c da ze Valère verzekerst kent
that them Valère probably knows

The clitic must remain to the left of a negative time adverbial:

42a da Valère ze nooit gezien eet
that Valère them never seen has
42b *da Valère nooit ze gezien eet

And the clitic also precedes an adverb of frequency:

43a da Valère ze dikkerst gezien eet
that Valère them often seen has
43b *da Valère dikkerst ze gezien eet

It is implausible that the ban on the order adverb-clitic in (41b), (42b) and (43b) can be derived from the properties of the clitic. In Romance, clitics may remain lower than adverbials of the type illustrated above. In (44) I have specifically selected those Romance clitics (French *en*, Italian *ne*) which are seen to be subject to Principle C.

44a Gianni probabilmente te ne riparlerà
Gianni probably you of it will talk again

44b Trop souvent lui en parler serait une erreur
too often him *en* talk would be a mistake
44c Ne jamais lui en parler serait une erreur
ne never him *en* talk would be a mistake

In WF (45) the adverbial *nooit* ('never') and *misschien* ('perhaps') occupy the first position in the root clause, i.e. they c-command the clitic, and the sentence is grammatical:

45a Nooit ee-Marie ze/der gezien
never has Marie them/some seen
45b Misschien ee Marie ze/der gezien
perhaps has Marie them/some seen

These data suggest to me (against Cecchetto 1993, 1994) that the interaction of the adverbial and the clitics as such is not at the root of the problem in the examples in which the clitic appears in Zone 2. Rather I would like to assume that the adverbial in WF occupies a position in Zone 2 (perhaps adjoined to AGRoP) and that clitics simply cannot appear in Zone 2 and must move to Zone 1.

There is a second reason for distinguishing Zone 1 from Zone 2. In work on negation (Haegeman forthcoming) I have shown that WF has negative concord (NC): two or more negative operators do not each express sentential negation independently, rather they combine to express one instance of sentential negation. I assume that multiple negative operators undergo absorption.

46 dan-k gisteren niemand niets nie gegeven een
that I yesterday no one nothing not given have
'that I did not give anyone anything yesterday.'

Observe, though, that the domain of NC is defined on Zone 2: when a negative element appears in what we have labelled Zone 1, then it will not enter into NC with a negative constituent in Zone 2:

47 da Valère niemand t nie gezeid eet
that Valère no one it not said has
'that Valère did not tell no one'

The data in (47) are significantly different from parallel data in Romance where NC is not impeded by an intervening clitic:

48a A nessuno ne ha mai parlato.
to no one *ne* has ever talked
'He never talked about it to anyone.

48b Personne n'en a jamais plus parlé
no one *ne en* has never no more talked
'No one talked about it any more.'

Again I select Italian *ne* and French *en* since these give rise to Principle C effects. On the basis of the data above, we can say that in WF NC is defined onto Zone 2, i.e. the domain of AGRoP. I have independently argued for this proposal (Haegeman, forthcoming chapter 5) where I assume that AGRoP be interpreted as the extended projection of NegP, hence [Spec,AGRoP] will be the extended specifier of [NegP]. NEG absorption is then defined on the extended projection of NegP. Observe that this means that NegP would be the part of Zone 2. This means that Zone 1 would be the thematic domain, containing the VP, or the Predicate phrase in the sense of Koster (1993).

The fact that NC is unavailable in (47) would follow then if elements in Zone 1 do not enter into NC with elements in Zone 2, which would be a natural conclusion if we were to assume that Zone 1 is NOT an extended projection of NegP. Anticipating the discussion I will assume that while the functional projections in Zone 2 are L-related, those in Zone 1 are not L-related.

I would also assume that only V-related functional projections constitute the extended projection of V. This means that unlike Grimshaw (1991) and parallel to Rizzi (1990b) I assume that the CP domain, which is not L-related, is not an extended projection of the IP domain, though possibly some forms of reanalysis may restructure CP and IP (cf. Starke 1993) or AGRs to C movement may turn C° into a derived V-related head (cf. Zwart 1993a). The analysis proposed here suggests that the clausal projections are composed of several tiers: the lowest tier is V-related and contains NegP, AGRoP, TP and AGRsP. The V-related tier is dominated by non-L-related (or non V-related) tiers. The lower one of these non-L-related clausal tiers is what I have referred to as Zone 1; the higher non V-related tier is what is standardly referred to as CP. At this point I do not see any arguments for the question whether Zone 1 should be considered as part of the CP tier, or whether it is intermediate between the V-related level and the CP level.

4 Clitics and Zone 1 in WF

Having tentatively established that there are two domains for leftward movement, Zone 1 and Zone 2, and that the clitics *ze, der,* and *t* obligatorily move as high as Zone 1 let us turn to that domain in more detail.

4.1.'Clitics' and DPs

Recall from the discussion above that WF clitics obligatorily precede adverbials such as *misschien, nooit* and *dikkerst* in (49). However, the clitics are not subject to the rigid ordering constraints that apply to full DPs (and to both weak and strong pronouns). Informally we can say that clitics move to Zone 1, where they occupy the same position as the analogous DP - at least in so far as linear order is concerned - but that subsequently clitics also may move to higher positions within Zone 1. In (49c) the clitic *ze* ('her/them') occupies a position to the left of the subject DP, this position is ruled out for non clitics.

49a *da Valère misschien/nooit/dikkerst ze gezien eet
that Valère perhaps/never/often them seen has

49b da Valère ze misschien/nooit/dikkerst gezien eet
that Valère them perhaps/never/often
'that Valère has perhaps/never/often seen them.'

49c da ze Valère misschien/nooit/dikkerst gezien eet
that them Valère perhaps/never/often seen has

In Haegeman (1993b) I propose the following analysis, based on Kayne's (1989) analysis for French clitic movement. Clitics are DP arguments; they first move as DPs to the highest position to which the corresponding DP would move. This is illustrated in (50). An IO clitic, for instance, will first object shift to [Spec,AGRoP], i.e. into Zone 2, then it will move to the A-position in Zone 1 which the corresponding indirect object DP would occupy. Clitics cannot remain in the [Spec,AGRoP] in Zone 2, to the right of the adverbial *misschien.*

In addition, I proposed that the clitic will then move to a head position to the left in Zone 1 as illustrated in (51)

50a	da	Valère	ze	die boeken	misschien		gegeven eet
.	da	SU	IO(cl)	DO	Adv		V
50b	da	Valère	Marie	ze	misschien		gegeven eet
.	da	SU	IO	DO(cl)	Adv		V
50c	da	Valère	ze		misschien	die boeken	gegeven eet
	da	Su	IO(cl)		Adv	DO	V

50d	*da	Valère		misschien	Marie	**ze**	gegeven eet
	da	SU		Adv	IO	DO(cl)	
50e.	*da	Valère		misschien	**ze**	die boeken	gegeven eet
	da	SU		Adv	IO(cl)	DO	V

51a.	da	**ze**	**Valère**	die boeken	misschien	gegeven eet	(cf. (50a))
	da	**IO(cl)**	**SU**	DO	Adv	V	
51b.	da	Valère	**ze**	**Marie**	misschien	gegeven eet	
	da	SU	**DO(cl)**	**IO**	Adv	V	
51b.	da	**ze**	**Valère**	**Marie**	misschien	gegeven eet	
	da	**DO(cl)**	**SU**	**IO**	Adv	V	

In (51a) the IO clitic *ze* precedes the subject, an option which is out for the corresponding DP. In (51b) the DO clitic *ze* precedes the IO, an ordering which is not allowed for DO DPs, in (51c) the DO clitic precedes the subject, another possibility which is not allowed for the corresponding DP.

An important point about the movement of the clitic is that it interacts with DP movement. This suggests that it is not possible to assume that clitics undergo head to head movement as from their base positions; rather, following Kayne's (1989) analysis for French, we assume that the WF clitics are DPs which first move as DPs and then undergo head to head movement. The interaction of clitic movement and DP movement is seen in that a direct object clitic can only appear to the left of the adverbial if the indirect object DP has also moved into Zone 1, i.e. to the left of the same adverbial. In (52a) the direct object clitic *ze* cannot appear to the left of the adverbial *misschien* while the IO DP remains in Zone 2, i.e. to its right. (52a)-(52c) illustrate the grammatical patterns, in (52d)-(52e) we find the illicit structures where the clitic has moved to Zone 1 but the IO DP remains lower:

52a.	da		Valère		Marie	ze	misschien	gegeven eet
	that		Valère		Marie	them	perhaps	given has
.	da			SU	IO	DOcl	Adv	
52b.	da		Valère	ze	Marie		misschien	gegeven eet
	da		SU	DOcl	IO		Adv	
52c.	da	ze	Valère		Marie	misschien		gegeven eet
	da	DOcl	SU		IO	Adv		V
52d.	*da		Valère	ze		misschien	Marie	gegeven eet
	*da		SU	DOcl		Adv	IO	V
52e.	*da	ze	Valère			misschien	Marie	gegeven eet
	*da	DOcl	SU			Adv	IO	V

The interaction is only with DP arguments. In (53) the clitic DO has moved to Zone 1 and the IO, realized as a PP, remains lower:

53a.	da	Valère	ze	misschien	an Marie	gegeven eet
	that	Valère	them	perhaps	to Marie	given has
53b	da	ze	Valère	misschien	an Marie	getoogd eet

Informally speaking, it appears as if the DO clitic can only cross the IO DP once both IO and DO have reached Zone 1. The clitic first moves as a DP and then undergoes head to head movement. As a DP, the clitic cannot cross the IO DP without violating the rigid ordering constraint; as a head, though, the DO clitic may cross the IO DP. The clitic only undergoes head-to-head movement once it has reached its highest DP position in Zone 1.

The dependency of clitic movement and DP movement also shows up in (54) in which the DO clitic of the non finite complement clause of the perception verb *zien* ('see') will have to appear in Zone 1 of the matrix clause and the subject of the non finite clause is also forced to move into that domain:

54a	da Valère gisteren Marie da kleed zien kuopen eet
	that Valère yesterday Marie that dress see buy has
54b	*da Valère t gisteren Marie zien kuopen eet
	that Valère it yesterday Marie see buy has
54c	*da t Valère gisteren Marie zien kuopen
54d	da Valère t Marie gisteren zien kuopen eet

In (54), again, the DO clitic can only cross the IO DP once both IO and DO have moved to Zone 1.

(55) represents the interaction of clitic movement and object shift schematically. The direct object clitic has to move from an A-position to the right of the indirect object DP . I assume that the clitic A-moves as a DP to the A-position to the right of the adverbial. In order to reach the higher A-position in Zone 1, the direct object clitic has to cross the indirect object DP by A-movement. But this instantiation of A-movement will result in a violation of the rigid ordering constraint on arguments discussed above:

55	C	SU	*	adverb	DP_{io}	DP_{do}	*niet*	t_{io}	t_{do}	V
			¦		¦					
			¦_____<_____¦							

Observe that following the rigid ordering constraint the IO will always precede the DO in WF. As expected, with an IO clitic there is no parallel constraint on the position of the DO DP since at no point does the IO clitic have to cross the DO: in (56a) the IO clitic *ze* ('them') precedes the sentence adverbial and the direct object DP follows. The same applies to (56b) where the IO clitic precedes the subject DP. Both orders are unproblematic:

56a	da	Valère	ze	verzekerst		dienen	boek	getoogd	eet
	that	Valère	them	probably		that	book	shown	has
	that	SU	IOcl	adv			DO		V
56b	da	ze	Valère	verzekerst	dienen	boek		getoogd	eet
	that	IOcl	SU	Adv		DO		V	

Similarly, in (57) we see that the cliticization of a subject of a non -finite complement of a perception verb does not interact with the movement of the object of the non-finite complement of such a verb.

57a da Marie ze gisteren da kleed zien kuopen eet
that Marie her yesterday that dress see buy has
57b da ze Marie gisteren da kleed zien kuopen eet

4.2. WF clitics vs. Romance clitics

Though it would appear that the distribution of the elements *ze*, *t*, and *der* in WF can receive a satisfactory analysis if such elements are treated as clitics undergoing first DP movement and then head to head movement, we must also note that the WF clitics differ from Romance clitics in several respects. Recall that the Romance clitics are typically verbal clitics, they are dependent on the V° (cf. (8) above). Specifically V-movement in Romance cannot by-pass the clitic (cf. (8d)).

Unlike Romance clitics, the WF clitics occupy different positions and are not verbal. In (59a) the clitic follows the subject clitic and precedes the subject pronoun, in (59b) it follows the subject pronoun, in (59c) it follows the IO, in (59d) it follows the subject of the embedded clause which has been scrambled in the matrix domain, in (59e) it follows the embedded IO. In none of these is the clitic associated with the inflected V°. In (59f) I summarize the various position which the clitic can occupy.

59a.	da-	j	t	gie	Marie	djoengers	gisteren	zien geven eet
	C	cl	SU1		SU2	IO2		
	that	you	it	you	Marie	the boys	yesterday	see give have

59b. da-j gie t Marie djoengers gisteren zien geven eet
that SU1 cl SU2 IO2

59c. da-j gie Marie ze gegeven eet
C SU IO cl
that you you Marie them given have

59d. da-j gie Marie ze Jan zien geven eet
C SU1 SU2 cl IO2
that you you Marie them Jan see give have

59e. da-j gie Marie Jan ze zien geven eet
C SU1 SU2 IO2 cl

59f. C cl SU1 cl SU2 cl IO2 cl DO 2 Adverb

When the finite V° is preposed to C° any of the orders available in (59) remains available: the clitic is not affected by V°-to-C° movement.

60a. Ee- j t gie Marie djoengers gisteren zien geven
C cl SU1 SU2 IO2
Have you it you Marie the boys yesterday see give

60b. Ee-j gie t Marie djoengers gisteren zien geven
that SU1 cl SU2 IO2

60c. Ee-j gie Marie ze gegeven
C SU IO cl
have you you Marie them given

60d. Ee-j gie Marie ze Jan zien geven
C SU1 SU2 cl IO2
that you you Marie them Jan see give have

60e. Ee-j gie Marie Jan ze zien geven
C SU1 SU2 IO2 cl

60f. V fin cl SU1 cl SU2 cl IO2 cl DO 2 Adverb

Also, unlike the Romance object clitics, the WF object clitics can be distributed over the various clitic positions in (59f). For instance, in (61a) the direct object clitic precedes the embedded subject, but the IO clitic follows it. In (61b) the IO clitic of the embedded clause precedes the matrix subject, the direct object follows the embedded subject. WF thus typically exhibits the option of splitting clitics, though clustering is also possible, and this in several positions, as illustrated in the remaining examples of (61):

61a. da-j gie t Marie ze gisteren zien geven eet

C SU1 cl SU2 cl
that you you it Marie them yesterday see give have
'that you saw Marie give it to them yesterday.0

61b. da-j ze-gie Marie t gisteren zien geven eet
C cl SU1 SU2 cl
that you them you Marie it yesterday see give have

61c. dan-j t gie Marie ze gisteren zien geven eet
C cl SU1 SU2 cl
that you it you Marie them yesterday see give have

61d. dan-j t-ze gie Marie gisteren zien geven eet
that you it them you Marie yesterday see give have
that cl-cl SU1

61e. da-j gie t-ze Marie gisteren zien geven eet
that I I it them Marie yesterday seen give have
that SU1 cl-cl SU2

61f. dan-j gie Marie t-ze gisteren zien geven eet
that you you Marie it them yesterday see give have
that SU1 SU2 cl-cl

Finally, regardless whether the clitics cluster (62a-b) or are split (62c-f), their order seems to be free, i.e. the IO clitic follows or precedes the DO clitic:

62a. da-j t gie ze gegeven eet
that you it you them given have

62b. da-j ze gie t gegeven et
that you them you it given have

62c. da-j t-ze gie gegeven een
that I it them I given have
'that I gave it to them.'

62d. daj ze-t gie gegeven eet

62e. da-j gie t-ze gegeven eet

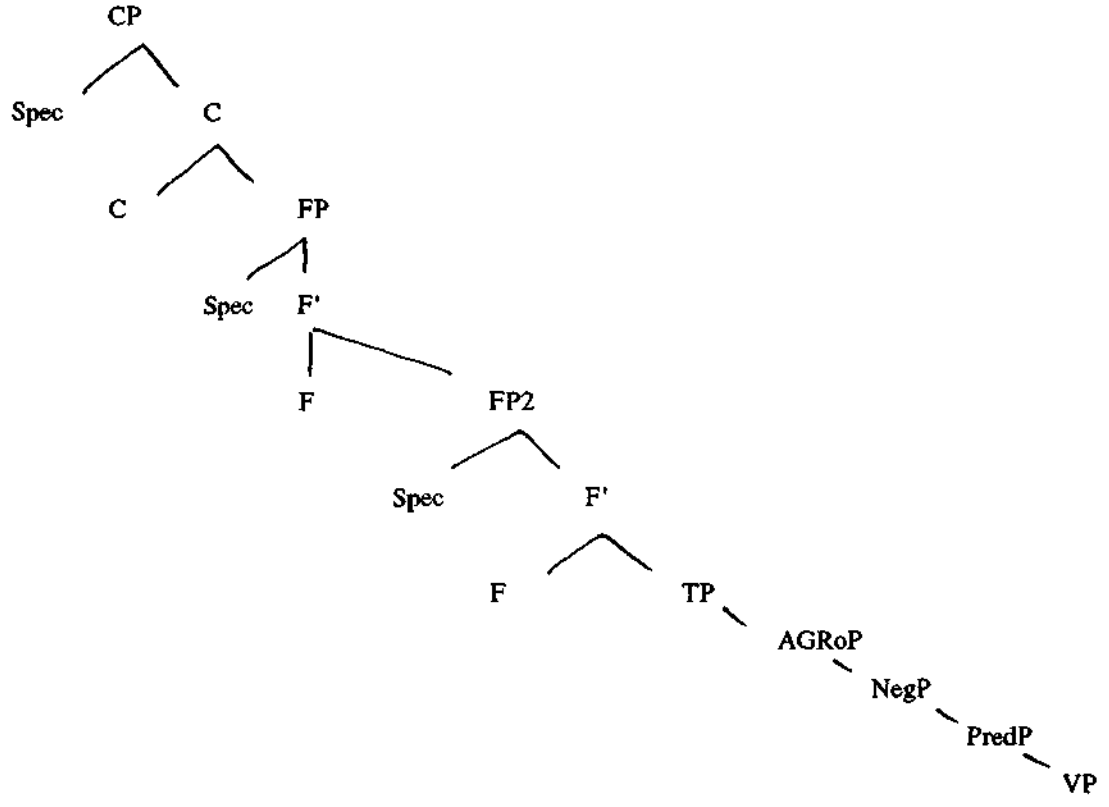
62f. dan-j gie ze-t gegeven eet

To summarize: object clitics in WF are not associated with V°, they have distinct positions in the string, splitting over these positions is possible and the order of the clitics seems free. I assume that WF clitics are DPs which first move leftward as DPs and whose heads ultimately are extracted and move to a functional head.

4.3. Zone 1

My analysis above implies that Zone 1 must be composed of a recursive functional projection which is characterized by some particular feature [R], and this functional projection is distinct from the V-related AGRoP. Schematically, then the clause structure of WF looks as follows. FP corresponds closely to Sportiche's (1992) Clitic Projections.

63



I adopt Kayne's (1993) universal base hypothesis as elaborated also in Zwart (1993a,b) and Koster (1993), and I assume that all projections are head initial. In the analysis I propose that AGRsP dominates TP and it itself dominated by the clitic projections FP, but this is a first approximation. The interaction between AGRsP and the clitic projections must be subject for future research.

I assume, following Zwart (1993a,b) and other work in the Minimalist Programme, that CP is not L-related. I also assume that since C° has operator features its specifiers are A'-positions. On the other hand AGRsP, TP, AGRoP and NegP are V-related, or in more general terms are L-related. AGRs and AGRo host nominal *phi* features and their specifiers are A-positions; NegP hosts an operator feature [NEG] and its specifier is an A'-position.[15]

Indefinite, non negative DPs, may remain in the lower PredP (cf.Koster 1993). Definite DPs all minimally move to AGRoP; this is an instantiation of case driven object shift. DPs which have the feature [R] must move to the higher domain composed of FPs whose head hosts R. Inspired by earlier work by Bennis (1986), I would like to assume

that the defining property of FP is that this is the topic domain, the specifier of FP is a topic and the complement of the corresponding FP is predicated of that topic. However, I also assume that the relevant feature in FP is an A-feature, i.e. a feature of the type person, number and gender, and not an operator feature. The [R] feature is not a verbal feature, though. Definite DPs may but need not have the feature [R] and that the feature is intrinsic to clitics (cf. also Sportiche 1992).

The status of the functional projections hosting the clitics is not quite clear at this point. One possibility that comes to mind is to see them as a recursion of the AGR head in C (Shlonsky 1992). However, it is not clear if the clitic can move to such AGR-heads, why it does not also move to AGRo. Another option is to assume that the C layer not only contains AGR projections, but that it also contains a T node. Specifically, following Enc 1986, Guéron and Hoekstra (1988, 1992), Guéron (1993) one could say that C hosts the Reference time. If we assume that the T head in C can be recursive then perhaps the DPs which move into Zone 1 move to [Spec, TcP], where they establish topics, i.e. points of reference. Similarly, the clitics would first move to [Spec, TcP] and then adjoin to a higher T head. Observe that such a hypothesis would mean that [Spec,TcP] has to be an A-position. This is not an undesirable conclusion since Jonas and Bobaljik (1993) have shown that in languages with transitive expletive constructions in fact [Spec,TP] is an A-position. WF having transitive expletive constructions, we would expect that specifiers of T are A-positions. I leave the discussion of the nature of FP at this speculative level.

Let us sum up the analysis so far:(i) clitics A-move as maximal projections, exactly like the corresponding DP arguments,(ii) they first move to the left of the negation, as an instantiation of case driven object shift, (iii) then to the left of the adverb where they check their topic/ [R] feature; (iv) once arrived in the relevant specifier position in Zone 1 the clitic head will adjoin to a higher head.

The functional projections that constitute Zone 1 are not V-related, they are determined by the projection of a functional head with the [R] feature. By hypothesis, V-movement to C° can by-pass such heads since they are not V-related. On the other hand, I assume that the [R] feature is a nominal A-feature and that the specifiers of these projections are A-positions.

5. Evidence from Acquisition: root infinitives in Dutch and in French

In this section I briefly turn to some acquisition data which provides further evidence for the analysis of the Germanic clause structure proposed above. The position of clitics in Dutch (and WF) is distinct from that in French and even if we were to assume clitic projections, along the lines outlined in Sportiche (1992) for both languages, then we cannot equate the two kinds of projections. For one thing, the Dutch clitics are higher in the

structure than the French clitics, which may remain as low as AGRo; and for another the Dutch clitics are hosted by non-L-related functional heads. In addition, French clitic projections would be V-related, while WF (Germanic) clitic projections are not V-related.

5.1. Truncation and root infinitives (Rizzi 1993)

The data I shall be concerned with in this section are the child root infinitives illustrated in (64):

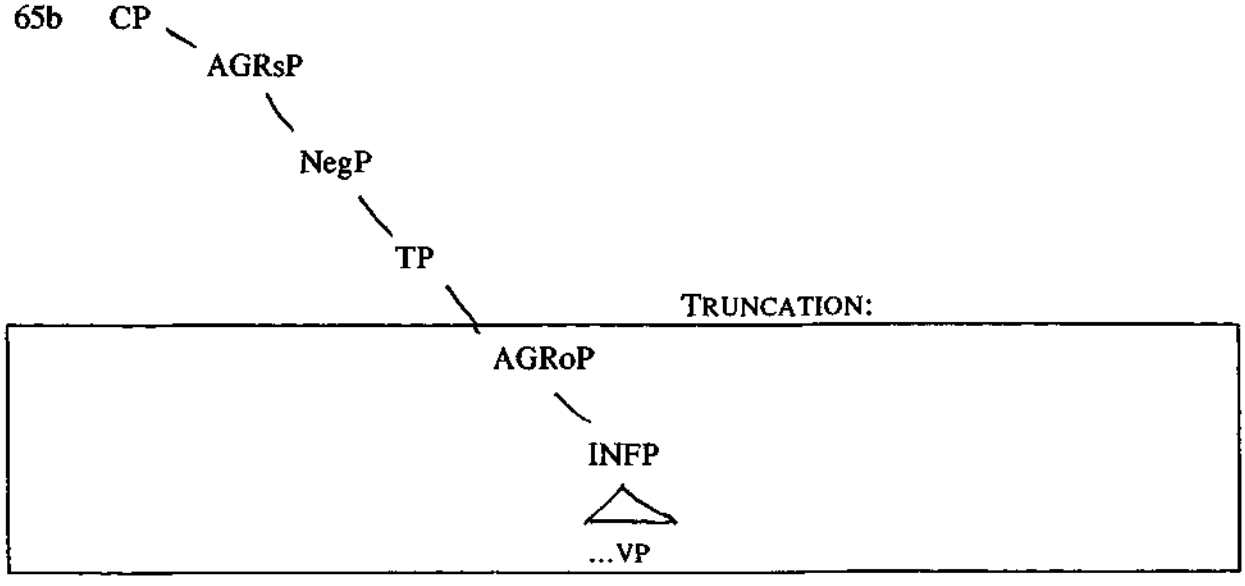
64a. Fr. Voir l'auto papa
see the car daddy

64b Du. Pappa schoenen wassen
daddy shoes wash

Rizzi (1993) proposes that root infinitives instantiate truncated structures. His assumption is that (65a) is an axiom of the adult grammar, i.e. that CP always has to be projected, and that the child grammar allows for an incomplete projection of the clause: the truncation mechanism works as follows: the projection starts from the V° level, and the projection may terminate at a certain level, say AGRoP, which will entail that projections above the termination level are not available:

65a CP= root

65b



For a way to derive (65a) see Haegeman (1994).

5.2. French child root infinitives

In the French child root infinitive AGRoP is instantiated. Friedemann (1992: 141) gives the following examples with clitics:

66a les mettre dans le garage (Philippe 2.1)
them put in the garage
66b l'ouvrir fermé (Philippe 2.2.)
it open closed
66c. Les vis les mettre là (Philippe 2.2.)
the screws them to put there
66d. La fermer avec les doigts
it close with the fingers (Philippe 2.3.)

If we assume, with Rizzi (1993) that the in the child root infinitives the projection stops at the AGRoP level then we expect that negated root infinitives are not found. Friedemann (1992) finds only 6 negated root infinitives out of 137 negated sentences in the Philippe and Grégoire corpus, i.e. 4.3 %. The rate of negated root infinitives vs negated finite clauses is much lower than that between the non negated patterns (cf. Friedemann (1992), Rizzi (1994a)). Moreover, none of the examples with root infinitives has a lexical subject. In the Philippe and Grégoire corpus Friedemann found a total of 220 lexical subjects, 162 in finite clauses, and 58 in non finite clauses.If the truncated structure lacks AGRsP we expect the absence of subject clitics in root infinitives, as confirmed by Pierce (1989) and by Friedemann (1992). Finally, the absence of auxiliaries in root infinitives can again be related to the absence of T: following Guasti (1992) Rizzi assumes that auxiliaries are associated with te T head.

5.3. Dutch child root infinitives (CHILDES: Hein 2.04-3.01)

The Dutch data I have used are taken from the Childes corpus. I have looked at the properties of root infinitives in one child, Hein, recorded between the ages of 2 years and 4 months and 3 years and 1 month. The coders were Frank Wijnen and Inge Boers.

Table (66) gives the overall figures. I examined 14589 utterances, 3768 of which contained a finite V° and 721 of which contained an infinitive:

Table 66

File	utterances	clauses	finite V	%	infinitive	%
Total	**14580**	**4489**	**3768**	**83.9%**	**721**	**16.1**

Before I turn to the results of my work (which is described in detail in Haegeman 1994) let me signal that the adult grammar of Dutch allows root infinitives, but these must be interpreted as full CP projections. Consider the data in (67). In (67a) the root infinitive is a *wh* question; in (67b) a projection whose head hosts the clitics must be available; from the ungrammaticality of the clitic in (67c) I conclude that, as in finite clauses, the functional projection whose head hosts the clitics dominates those which are associated with adverbials.

67a Waarom Jan ook vragen?
why Jan also ask
'Why also ask Jan?'

67b Ze morgen niet vergeten!
them tomorrow not forget
'Don't forget them tomorrow.'

67c Morgen je boeken /*ze niet vergeten

In the child data which I looked at, on the other hand, there is evidence that root infinitives are truncated, along the lines developed by Rizzi (1993). Among the 90 WH questions in the corpus, 88 occur in finite clauses, only 2 occur in root infinitives, both of which in one recording (2 years 6 months). This suggests that the CP level is absent in the child root infinitive. Similarly, while subject clitics and object clitics are present in the finite clauses in the child data, both types of clitics are entirely absent from the root infinitives. The relevant figures are given in table (68).

Table 68: clitics in Hein (Childes data base: Mac Whinney and Snow 1985)

	Finite	SUcl	Ocl	Infinitive	SUcl	Ocl
Overall	3768	**472**	**53**	721	0	0

There were 472 sentences with a subject clitic among the 3786 finite clauses, and none among the 721 non finite ones. Object clitics were rare in finite clauses, with only 53 instances, but in non finite clauses they were entirely lacking. The same results were obtained from two other corpora from the Childes database: the NIEK corpus (CHILDES 1985, age 2.08-3.11, coder: Frank Wijnen); and the THOMAS corpus (CHILDES 1985, age 2.3.22. -2.8.8., coders Elbers and Wijnen). In the Niek files there are 93 instances of object clitics, all of which occur in finite clauses, in the Thomas files there are 25 object clitics, 24 of which in finite clauses, 1 in root infinitives. These data suggest that the

functional projections whose heads host subject clitics and object clitics are absent in the child root infinitives. I conclude from these data that Zone 1 is absent.

On the other hand the functional projections of Zone 2, i.e. AGRoP, are available in the child root infinitives. Various authors have pointed out instances of scrambling in child data, including instances in root infinitives. (cf. Hoekstra and Jordens 1991, Barbier 1994; Hyams, Johnson and Schaeffer 1994). I also found examples in the HEIN data. For discussion and examples I refer to reader to Haegeman (1994):

69. jij mij **even** helpen? Hein 2.4
you me once help

If AGRoP dominates NegP in Westgermanic, as I have been assuming, one expects that the truncation of the root infinitive above AGRoP is compatible with negated structures. There are 43 instances of negated root infinitives out of 721, while there are 592 instances among the 3768 finite clauses. I will not dwell on this discrepancy here.

5.4. French object clitics and Dutch object clitics

The acquisiton data discussed above confirm that object clitics in French are different from their Germanic counterparts. Minimally, the availability of clitics in the French root infinitives and their absence in the Dutch parallel in acquisition data suggest that the object clitics have a different landing site in the structure. This proposal would not be directly compatible with Sportiche's approach to cliticization, where it is proposed that there are Clitic Projections high in the sentential domain which host the clitics both in Romance and in Germanic and whose specifiers host the scrambled DPs in Germanic. If my analysis is on the right track then the projections whose heads host the clitics in Germanic are the non L-related functional projections which check a topic feature (possibly a recursive TcP), and they are higher in the structure than the V-related AGRoP projections whose heads host the clitics in Romance. If one wishes to draw a parallel between scrambling in Germanic and cliticization in Romance,the parallelism will concern those projections which are associated with case driven object shift and which occur in Zone 2 in my analysis. On the other hand I claim that clitics in Germanic move higher than their Romance counterparts, and that they move to non L-related functional projections.

6. Conclusion

The theoretical focus of this paper is the distinction made in the literature between A-positions, and A' positions, on the one hand, and between L-related positions and non L-

related positions on the other hand. I have tried to show that both distinctions should be maintained, and I have identified a functional projection whose head is non L-related and whose specifiers are A-positions. This functional projection, which is recursive, is high in the clausal structure of WF. One option is to interpret it as a recursion of AGRcP, alternatively it is a recursion of TP in the CP system. With respect to the typology of the syntactic positions the question arises whether non-L related projections are in fact always to be seen as part of the 'split' CP (Shlonsky 1992), i.e. whether with respect to the clause structure L-related means V-related and non-L related means C-related. Further questions arise with respect to the parallelism between clause and DP.

The empirical focus of the paper is the contrast between Germanic clitics and Romance clitics. The former are non verbal clitics, they move to a non-L-related functional head, the latter are verbal clitics which move to an L (V)-related functional head. I have also shown that the landing site of the clitic is lower in French than in WF.

In the final section of the paper I have shown how data from acquisition support this claim.

If we maintain the distinction between L-related positions and non L-related positions as well as that between A-positions and A'-positions, then there are further questions which arise. For instance, we have to examine if we can also distinguish 4 types of heads, we have to examine to what extent movement between some of these different positions gives rise to improper movement relations, in other words to what extent the specifiers of the distinct types of heads may intervene in antecedent government relations. Another question is whether heads themselves are also distinguished with respect to L-relatedness and A/A' status and what the impact of these contrasts is on head movement.

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Notes

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1 Pursuing this idea I propose (Haegeman in preparation) that identification or feature checking is a bi-unique relation: a head can only check one argument, or it can only assign case to one argument. Thus, if a sentence contains more than one object argument which needs structural case we need to provide a recursive AGRoP. This hypothesis would be in line with recent work by Kayne (1993) who argues for the biuniqueness of specifier head relations on independent configurational grounds. Ura (1993), on the other hand, proposes that one AGR head may identifiy several DPs.

Anticipating the discussion below, observe that it is hard to claim that WF (or Germanic) movement to AGRoP (in the sense of Vanden Wyngaerd (1989) and Zwart (1993a and 1993b) is achieved by iterative adjunction to a single AGRoP. This would mean that in (i), for instance, both scrambled DPs and adverbials would adjoin to AGRoP:

i da Valère gisteren Marie nog ziere dienen boek gegeven eet
that Valère yesterday Marie still quickly that book given has

It is unlikely that the scrambled arguments form one constituent in (i). If they did one might expect them to be able to move to [Spec, CP] together, an option which is not available:

ii *Marie nog ziere dienen boek ee Valère gisteren gegeven
Marie yet quickly that book has Valère yesterday given

If we assume that the leftward movement of the arguments targets specifiers of recursive AGRoP then this raises problems for the Minimalist approach to object shift (cf. Haegeman 1993a, 1993b). I will not go into this point here and hope to return to it in future work.

2 The status of [Spec,TP] is not clear. See also section 4.3.

3 In Haegeman (1993c, and forthcoming, chapter 5) I argue that given the definitions developed here we also expect that there are mixed A/A' positions, i.e. positions which qualify both as A and as A'-positions. See also Rizzi (1991b). This point is tangential to the present discussion.

4 In the Minimalist Programme it is conceivable that SuperRaising effects are interpreted in terms of other theoretical notions but I leave this out of the question here (Zwart 1993a).

5 Following Shlonsky (1992), who argues for an AGRP in the CP layer, one might postulate that the specifier of the AGR-head in C is also non-L related. In Shlonsky's (1992) approach the specifier position of AGR in C is occupied by the subject, and he interprets this position as an A-position.

The analysis depends on the status of the agreement head in C, of course. If AGR in C were L-related then this would not be a relevant case. For relevant discussion of the relation between AGR and C see also Zwart (1993b).

6 Given the standard assumptions of the sentential structure movement from an L-related position (say [Spec,AGRs]) to a non-L-related on (say [Spec,CP]) is admitted. The question arises if one should also allow for movement from a non L-related position into an L-related position. This seems a less natural step. One case that one might think of is the movement of the negative constituent *rien* from a lower clause into the matrix domain in (ia):

ia Il faut rien que tu dises

there must nothing that you say

(ib) shows that *rien* is indeed within the IP domain of the matrix clause:

ib Il n'a rien fallu que je fasses
there has nothing must (part) that I do

But observe that it is unlikely that *rien* has moved via the intermediate [Spec,CP]

ic *Il faut rien qui soit dit
there must nothing that be said

If the movement of *rien* to the matrix domain were to transit through [Spec,CP] we would expect it to give rise to the familiar *que/qui* effect, and we would expect (ic) to be grammatical, contrary to fact. (cf Haegeman forthcoming; see also Shlonsky (1989) for a similar argument from Hebrew).

7 In Sportiche's (1992) account clitics are base generated as functional heads of so called Clitic Projections and that a non overt DP, *pro*, moves to their specifier. It is the movement of *pro*, i.e. a DP, which triggers participial agreement. I will not examine this alternative here. Anticipating the analyis below, we will see that in order to account for the distribution of WF clitics we also need to associate clitic movement.

8 For more detailed description of WF clitics and a comparison with other pronominal elements see also Haegeman (1993a, 1993b, 1993c). I consider *t, ze* and *der* as clitics. Their behaviour is different from that of unstressed *men* ('me') and *jen* ('you'), which are arguably weak pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1993).

For further discussion of Germanic clitics cf. among others Berendsen (1986), Cardinaletti (1992a, 1992b), Holmberg (1991), Jaspers (1989), Joseffson (1992), Zwicky (1977).

9 In Haegeman (1993c) I have pointed out the morphological parallelism between the object clitics *ze* the nominative clitic for the third person. I argued that WF clitics generally fail to encode number features and that they simply encode person features. In (i) below I give a survey of subject clitics and the parallel subject pronouns. In the examples given the personal pronoun can be decomposed into a number component and a person component. The third person feminine singular pronoun, for instance is *zie*, and the plural is *zunder*. In parallel the second person singular is *gie* and the plural is *gunder*, suggesting that the contrast *g-/z-* encodes person opposition and that *-ie/-under* encodes number.

The pure third person nature of the clitic *ze* was then related to its operator status and to the principle C effects related to its interpretation (cf. section 2.2.2). I now think that the correlation with demonstratives might be an alternative and more promising factor to pursue.

i

	Subject personal pronouns		clitics
	singular	plural	
3	z-ie	z-under	ze
2	g-ie	g-under	ge/je
1		w-under	we/me

Observe, however, that the movement of the object clitic does not give rise to WCO effects, which argues against its operator status:

ii dan Valère ze ip under platse nie wildige zetten
that Valère them on their place not wanted put

In (ii) *ze* and *under* can be coreferential.

10 Cardinaletti and Starke (1993) consider the fact that an element can have [-human] interpretation as a diagnostic for their category of 'weak pronouns'. Under this assumption, third person singular *em* ('him'), *eur* ('her') and third person plural *under* ('under') do not qualify as weak pronouns, since none of these allow for the [-human] reading.

11 Observe that subject clitics behave differently in this respect: in (i) the subject clitic *ze* can be bound by the matrix subject:

i. Marie$_i$ peinst da ze$_{i/j}$ Jan gezien eet
Marie thinks that she Jan seen has

12 Kayne (1993) has some essential differences. While Zwart (1993b) assumes that the inflected V does not move to AGRs in the syntax, Kayne proposes that it does move to AGRs. Kayne argues for V-movement given the observation that Dutch verbs, for instance, inflect for person. I leave these very interesting issues for future research.

13 In earlier work (Haegeman forthcoming) I have assumed that *en* is the head of NegP:

ia da Valère dienen boek nie en-kent
that Valère that book not en knows

In the assumption that NegP is head initial and that *nie* is a specifier of NegP this is not tenable, since *nie* ad en can be separated from the head *en* by intervening material:

ib da Valère dienen boek nie an Marie getoogd eet
that Valère taht book not to Marie shown has

I hope to return to this issue in later work. Let me simply point out that the distribution of negative quantifiers suggests strongly that *nie* occupies a fixed position in the clause. *Nie* functions intuitively as the marker of sentential negation, much along the lines of French *pas*. If this assumption turns out to be right then we can continue to assume that *nie* is in [Spec,NegP]. Under this analysis *en* will have to be reinterpreted. I propose tentatively that *en* is an inflexional prefix which encodes some irrealis mood morphology and is subject to a licensing condition which makes it dependent on sentential negation. In a sense *en* marks the inflected V° as a negative polarity verb.

Thanks to Jan Wouter Zwart for discussing this point extensively with me.

14 The exceptional cases discussed in Haegeman (1993c) must receive an independent explanation. I leave this for future study.

15 Following Rizzi (1991b) and Haegeman (forthcoming, chapter 5) I assume that an A-position may acquire A' status. Thus [Spec,AGRsP] may become a mixed position when it contains a negative subject:

i Nessuno l'ha visto
no one him has seen
'No one has seen him'.

Similarly, Zwart (1993b) proposes that C°, though intrinsically not L-related, acquires L-related status as a result of AGRs to C° movement. For reasons of space I will not pursue the nature of mixed positions here.

In my analysis I have not discussed the status of the subject clitics at all. It is not clear to me at this point whether they ought to be associated with AGRs or whether they also associate with the functional projections with the [R] feature. I also have not touched upon the relation between the functional projections with the [R] feature and the agreement morphology on C°. It is not clear to me whether the analysis developed here is immediately compatible with Zwart's (1992a, 1992b, 1993b) analysis of complementizer agreement in WF.